Angelology, remarks and reflections touching the agency and ministration of Holy AngelsGeorge Clayton

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A pictorial representation of the angelic orders, according to the views of the Rabbins and Fathers, the ancient Sophists and Magi. The name of the Angel-Prince, and that of his subordinate, being placed over the sign of the Zodiac, which, astrologically, they govern, in conjunction with an hieroglyphic of the Trinity, encircled by the celestial hierarchy of the Scriptures.

ANGELOLOGY.

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REMARKS AND REFLECTIONS

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TOUCHING THE
AGENCY AND MINISTRATION
OF
HOLY ANGELS;
WITH REFERENCE TO THEIR
History, Rank, Titles, Attributes, Characteristics, Residence,
Society, Employments and Pursuits;
INTERSPERSED WITH
TRADITIONAL PARTICULARS RESPECTING THEM,
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BY GEORGE CLAYTON, JR.

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Luke, xxii, 43.
"Are they not all ministering spirits."-St. Paul.
"To thee all angels cry aloud-Cherubim and Seraphim."-Com. Prayer.
"Magna opera Domini, exquisita in omnes voluntates ejus."-The Vulgate.
-
Embellished with original Illustrations.

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1851.

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MY
TO
ESTEEMED FRIEND,
GEORGE C. MORGAN;

The following pages are respectfully inscribed,-the ennobling subject which they embrace, having been considered at his request;
ACCOMPANIED WITH THE
CHRISTIAN HOPE,
OF GREETING HIM AMIDST
"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE JUST,
AND THE
INNUMERABLE COMPANY OF
ANGELS,"
IN THE BEATIFIC VISION OF THE CITY
OF THE
LIVING GOD;"
GLORIFIED IN THE RESPLENDENT RADIATIONS
OF THE
HOLY SHEKINAH
OF A
Celestial Immortality.

PREFACE.

πίςις, ἐλπὶς, ἀγάπη τα τρία ταῦτα·
μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.—1 Cor. xiii. 13.

THE transcendent dignity and overwhelming grandeur of the sublime and glorious subject of investigating the nature and attributes, the characteristics and ministrations of Holy Angels,-encompassed by the admonitory and awful silence of the Scriptures, evidently appear to have deterred even writers of philosophic research and lofty intellectual endowments, from imparting that plenitude of devotional consideration, to which, so attractive and cardinal a doctrine of divine revelation is, assuredly, entitled; to wit,-the special ministry and appointed agency of Angelic Intelligences, in reference to the wondrous economy of Redemption, and the mighty achievements of Omnipotent purpose, in executing the moral government of the universe.

A prefatory and deferential apology seems, therefore, requisite to atone for the apparently presumptuous temerity of the present production, unless justified or softened by the circumstances of its origination,—the appropriateness or fulfilment of its design.

Having prefixed, at the desire of a friend, a few remarks to the "Narrative of a Summer's Excursion, amidst the romantic and picturesque scenery of Nature," containing an allusion to a discourse touching the "Ministry of Angels," he was further requested, to contribute some observations on that inviting and majestic theme. Conscious of disqualification and the absence of all suitable and sufficient preparation for the specific consideration of so delightful and elevating a topic, the request was declined,-but, subsequent meditation led to a train of contemplation which heightened in interest and enjoyment as he pondered upon the doctrine, in the magnitude of its importance, as bearing upon the selected instrumentality and chosen medium of the condescension of Jehovah in his terrestrial intercourse and transactions with lapsed and sinful humanity, in connection with the urgent beatitude of angelic association and pursuits, -as his reflections starting from the celebration, according to the Mosaic narrative, of the Creation, proceeded, in biblical vision, along the illumed and extended vista of prophecy, the mysterious and radiant avenue of redeeming Mercy, to the apocalyptic revelations of the millennial reign and foredoomed overthrow of "the prince of the power of the air and all spiritual wickednesses," towards the final consummation of all things, at the arrival of the bright morning of the resurrection and the solemn assize of the judgment day, upon the august descent and re-appearance of "the righteous judge of the quick and the dead," attended by the resplendent retinue of heaven, to conduct the predestinated ascension of the best to the eternal mansion of celestial glory!

As regards the annexed compend, it is alike the dictate of prudence and propriety to state,—that it does not arrogate originality of ideas or extent of research; that it has been chiefly prepared, during the past few months, in those interstices of thought which have accrued in the brief intervals of a secular vocation which did not admit of a continuous or comprehensive reading, the advantageous retirement of the study, or the auxiliary exercises of the secret closet of meditation; nevertheless, in all frankness, he considers it his duty to declare,-in the hope that others may derive a similar benefit--that the mental process which it has required, together with the agreeable and instructive fellowship of the religious sentiments of the practical piety of various authors, has proved-in his own experience-peculiarly profitable,—driving away those Promethean vultures of distrust and despondency which constantly hover around the mind, whilst environed by an accumulation of uncontrollable evils,-the tormenting oppression of physical melancholy, aggravated by the cureless corrosion of internal grief, the perturbing vexations of social injustice, the inflicted wrongs of administrative turpitude and judicial malversation, the unprovoked injuries of clerical detraction and dishonor, and the mischievous devices of a Janus-faced and heartless hypocrisy.

Mr. S. T. Coleridge, with his characteristic intuition, has observed, "That the communicativeness of our nature leads us to describe our own sorrows," -an ægis which, if it do not protect the writer from the allegation of having trespassed beyond the boundary of a becoming decorum, in his figurative representation of The Escort of Angels, (including other emblematical designs,) he confidently turns for shelter, (regardless of the barbed missiles of a flippant censure or witless derision to which it may expose him,) to the remembered fidelity of the conjugal attachment of an expectant, though a disembodied affection,* as well as the sympathetic sensibility of a Christian candor-having had to traverse, unattended by earthly alleviations, amidst sickness and seclusion, desertion and dejection, darkened by the tenebrious assaults of Satanic suggestions, the via dolorosa of domestic and fraternal bereavement, as, in quick succession, from the relentless aim of the "insatiable archer,"

"Thrice the arrow flew,
And thrice his peace was slain"-

he would still fain cherish-and devoutly recommend to others, by

*The pain of my corporeal sufferings is greatly relieved; by the comforting hope of an anticipated re-union or recognition in the blessedness of heaven; and by divine aid, endeavor so to bring up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, my left dear little ones, that in God's time, they may follow after me.

One of her last death-bed sayings.

The devil ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions which accompany our sequestered imaginations.

SIR THOS. BROWNE-Religio-Medici.

virtue of its soothing and edifying tendency, under the pressure of similar afflictive dispensations,*—the salutary and animating belief, that he was sustained-during the probationary discipline of providential appointment, by the gentle and sympathetict whispers of angel voices as they vibrated on the silver chords of the golden harp of the gospel, in unison with the melodious and enrapturing tones of divine promises and scriptural consolation.

As behooveth him,—with reverential humility, he commends this imperfect tribute of adoring gratitude to the gracious benediction of the Great Angel of the everlasting covenant, who, whilst He tabernacled "in the flesh for us men and our salvation," singled out, from amidst the thronging multitude, by the divinity of His omniscience, the remaining mites of the widow's penury; recording on the page of inspiration, that as the offering of her repentant faith and "love

*They teach the soul by woe subdued,
That sweetest flowers do lie
Hid in the green, thick, tangled wood,
Of dark Adversity.

CAROLINE MAY-Proem to Treasured Thoughts.

-Being an admirable and a choice selection of striking and sterling, elegant and edifying extracts,—pithy, practical, and pious observations gleaned from the writings of eminent authors, in the diversified departments of theology, philosophy, and general literature.

† I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions have been the courteous revelations of spirits, or the charitable premonitions of good angels, which forerun our calamities; for those noble essences in heaven have a friendly regard unto their fellow-nature on earth.

SIR THOS. BROWNE-Religio-Medici.

unfeigned," they were a larger donative, than the munificent and united gifts of those, who, from the vain promptings of an ostentatious superfluity, cast in out of their abundance into the treasury of the temple of the Jewish synagogue.

To Him-the Lord of Angels-

"Whose frown can disappoint the proudest page,
Whose approbation prosper even mine."

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"O Everlasting God, who hast ordained the services of angels and men in a wonderful order; mercifully grant, that as thy holy angels always do thee service in heaven, so by thy appointment they may succor and defend us on earth, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Collect for St. Michael and All Angels.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIGHT Angels, with adoring face,
In all their shining forms,
Stand waiting, round the throne of grace,
For gifts to mortal worms.-DR. WATTS,
altered and accommodated.

Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation ?-HEBREWs 1: 14.

The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. Psalm cxi. 2.-

INVOKING the guiding afflatus of that sacred Inspiration which animated the fervid exclamation of the pious and philosophic Psalmist, whilst contemplating in the secret chamber of rapt meditation, the mighty and mysterious operations of Jehovah, displayed in the wondrous works of

the visible creation, the retributive procedures of a special providence, the revealed and prophetic glories connected with the gracious economy of Redemption-would we seek to introduce-by a few preliminary observations, sustained by the collated remarks and collateral opinions of diverse authors to the reader's serious and believing attention, the ennobling and inviting subject attempted in the succeeding pages, prompted by the sincere desire and humble hope, that it may be canvassed in such a manner, as in no wise to invalidate its manifest attractions, elevating sublimity, consolatory support, devotional and edifying tendency.

That a theme, so pregnant with the noblest sentiments and divinest considerations should have been treated with such marked indifference, cannot certainly be justified, on the alleged plea, that the perversion or abuse of any doctrine revealed in the volume of Inspiration, founded either upon the danger of the idolatrous or interdicted worship of angels, or, the impenetrable mysteriousness by which it is enveloped to our finite reason and degenerated faculties; and which disregard is fully substantiated, not merely by the prevailing slight of professing believers in the Bible, but also corroborated by the printed testimony of several pious, learned, and distinguished theologians who have adorned the various denominations of our common Christianity.

In a scarce, valuable, and anonymous treatise entitled "Pneumatologia,* or a Discourse on Angels," published in the year 1701, from the pen of a writer, who, to the rare endowment of a lucid judgment, unites the erudition of the scholar, the acuteness of the philosopher, the piety of a saint, and occasionally, the persuasive eloquence of the rhetorician; in a well written recommendatory preface by a Mr. George Hammond, the following appropriate remarks occur: "The subject here undertaken to be treated upon, is certainly very high and noble in itself, and exceedingly useful for us, to be acquainted withal, in regard there is so much spoken of the angels and their ministry in the Holy Scriptures. For that which is written therein, is written for our learning. It is then a matter which deserves to be soberly inquired into. What may be the reason why the Scripture-

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-the Roman Church doth ill,
When they adore within their churches still,
Saints, Images, and Pictures much unfitting,
As thereby great idolatry committing;
And as for miracles, they further say,
That such are wrought amongst them every day;
Some handle hot coals, without scorching, can,
And maids bear children-

THOMAS HEYWOOD, Hierarchie of the Angells, 1653.

There seems to have been in the kingdom of Judah an uninterrupted contest between the worshippers of Jehovah and those of idols, resisting all the appeals of their prophets, the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, the judgments of God, the continued fulfillment of various predictions, and every other evidence of the truth of their Scriptures.-DR. GEORGE TOWNSEND, Notes on Witch of Endor.

The history of the Jews is the record of a continual struggle between pure Theism supported by the most terrible sanctions, and the strangely fascinating desire of having some visible and tangible object of adoration. Upon the same principle or inclination may be explained, the strong tendency of the multitude in all ages and nations, to idolatry.-MACAULAY'S Review of Milton.

The angelical nature, though it is a secret for the most part to us till we come to heaven; yet it is such a secret as we may modestly inquire into and seek to know so far as it is revealed, either in nature or the Scriptures.—Pneumatologia.

* I beg to avail myself of this opportunity, to tender my respectful acknowledgments to the Rev. Mr. Cady for his obliging permission to consult some curious old theological tomes belonging to the library of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, which were not to be met with in any other of the public libraries of this city.

doctrine concerning angels is no more attended to? For it is, in our time, but sparingly treated upon; and not so frequently and deeply in the thoughts of Christians, as it should be; and consequently not improved by the children of God to their growth in faith, holiness, and comfort as might be. Let me be pardoned, if I offer my conjecture in two instances (1.) The bold, curious, and confident speculations touching the angels, both in elder times, and in the days of the schoolmen, who intruded into things not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds. This makes way for a voluntary humility, and issued in the worshipping of angels. And some (it is probable), that they might avoid this rock, have thought it dangerous to be inquisitive into these things, which are taught in the Scripture of Truth concerning them. (2). The irreligiousness and skepticism of materialists and sadducees, who deny, or pretend to doubt whether there are, indeed, any immaterial beings, at all. And if there be no separate spirits, as to their existence, there can be nothing spoken, concerning such, that is to be regarded." Further adding: "The worthy author, how much soever he extols the dignity of angels and their wonderful properties, yet he still leaves them and their ministrations under the sovereign will and command of God, and Jesus Christ their head, to whom they devote themselves and their services."
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Archbishop Tillotson observes, "The doctrine of angels is not a peculiar one of the Jewish or Christian religion, but the general doctrine of all religions that ever were, and therefore cannot be objected against by any but atheists. And yet I know not whence it comes to pass, that this great

The first great errors that infested the Christian Church were those of the Gnostics, who pretended into a very sublime yvwots, or Mystic Theology, which was no other than a corrupt complex of Orphic, Pythagoric, and Judaic infusion.-GALE, Court of the Gentiles, 1676.

truth, which is so comfortable to mankind, is so very little understood by us. Perhaps the corruption of so great a part of the Christian church in the point of worshipping the angels, may have run us so far into the other extreme, as scarcely to acknowledge any benefit by them. But surely, we may believe they do us good without any obligation to pray to them; and may own them as the ministers of God's providence without making them the objects of our worship."

The devout Bishop Hall, likewise, respecting the neglect of this sublime and glorious doctrine, to which he refers in his "Tractate Concerning the Invisible World," thus rebukingly soliloquizes in one of his searching meditations. "The good Lord forgive me, for that I have suffered myself so much to forget his Divine presence, and so the presence of his angels. It is, I confess, my great sin that I have filled mine eyes with other objects, and have been slack in returning praises to my God, for the continued assistance of those blessed and beneficent spirits. Oh! that the dust and clay were so washed out of mine eyes, that I might behold, together with the presence, the numbers, the beauties and excellencies of those ever present guardians." With regard to the reprehensible oversight of the valid claims of this interesting doctrine of Revelation, the late excellent Rev. Mr. Bickersteth has thrown out the following judicious and forcible intimations and requisitions. "No part of divine truth can be neglected without spiritual loss, and it is too evident that the deep and mysterious doctrine of Revelation respecting evil spirits and good angels, has been far too much disregarded in our age. This has arisen, on the one hand, from the wide spread of infidel principles, and on the other from the unscriptural, idolatrous and extravagant attention paid to this subject in the Church of Rome, in which good angels are worshipped, and the evil spirits brought forward to foster delusions. But we gain no solid victory over Popery, by omitting the truths which have been corrupted and abused. Our duty is rather to take forth the precious from the vile, and hold fast the simple and plain truth revealed for us and our children; thus shall we be as God's mouth to the people." Equally applicable are his additional observations, as bearing, with fearful apprehension upon the fatal tendency of those vicious theories, fraudulent manoeuvres, baneful and debasing delusions which attend the black retinue of the "Legion" of modern pretenders to a familiar intercourse, criminal and intriguing connection with supernatural agencies and spiritual beings, which disgrace the character of the present day, stultifying the understanding of infidel advocates, as well as ensnaring their imbecile devotees into the entanglements of a moral blindness and fearful perdition.* In view of these threatened evils, he fills, with an urgent breath, the warning trumpet of serious admonitions and sagacious foresight, sounded forth in the following expostulation. "Looking at the signs of the times, and the long neglect and unnatural denial of all angelic ministrations or spiritual influence, and at the express predictions of false Christs and false prophets, who shall show signs and wonders, insomuch that if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect, and that when men receive not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send among them strong delusions that they should believe a lie. I cannot but think there is a painful prospect of a sudden recoil and religious revulsion from the present unbelief and misbelief, to an unnatural and undistinguishing credulity, when antichrist shall appear in his latest form, "with signs and lying wonders." I would, therefore, leave an earnest caution on the minds of my readers. Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God. The Scriptures have forewarned us beforehand that we may not be led away with the error of the wicked and fall from our own steadfastness."

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* To the sober mind, it is painful to reflect, that a talented and popular clergyman of this city should have countenanced, by his attendance, the Satanic imposture, to converse with "the spirits of the Rochester knockings;" and which became so barefaced a fraud as even to be denounced by their recent agrarian and socialist advocate. Has it not the appearance of a wicked hypocrisy for a preacher of the gospel of Christ to visit such blasphemous exhibitions, in impious disregard to the spirit and abiding moral obligations of that interdict of divine authority recorded in Deut. xviii. 10, 11. "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer." The puerile plea of curiosity is no valid excuse. Was it not the indulgence of a forbidden and unhallowed curiosity which forfeited Paradise, “brought death into the world and all our woe," and required the sacrificial atonement and piacular sufferings of the bleeding victim on the ignominious Cross of Calvary! Moreover, why does it not more frequently occur to the thoughts of the professed adherents of the "pure and undefiled religion" of Christianity that to attend on the Sabbath, the lectures and discourses of declaimers of heterodox sentiments, who desecrate the sacred hours of the Lord's day in defending the infidel claims of the

In the fervid expressions of devotion, actuated by the ardent enthusiasm of a genuine Christian philosophy, Mr. John Reynolds, in his disquisition or "Inquiries concerning the state and economy of the angelical worlds," printed in 1723, thus proceeds, " And surely we shall find in the angelical system such heights and depths, as will raise our admiration of that God, whose fiat created the various worlds he has made, and the beautiful administrations he has chosen and ordained. No wonder we meet with inscrutable mysteries connected with the nature and order, laws and ministry of those incorporeal attendants that surround and applaud the Throne. Our inquisitive minds are apt to wonder that a door or casement is not opened for our clearer prospects into the celestial world, toward which we are called to travel. We admire, when these natives of heaven appeared, so often, in the primitive world, and came sometimes, (one would think) upon lower offices and services; that when so many inspired messengers came from God; yea, that when the Lord Himself came from heaven, to teach us how to get there, they would none of them tell us more of the world from whence they came, or to which they would invite us; and that they no more particularly describe the state, the inhabitants, employments, and felicities that are there. But they came not, it seems, to gratify our curiosity; but to direct us safely thither. An early thirst of undue knowledge soon ruined our race in the head of it, and it is not now to be indulged. Our greatest business and felicity are not to return to angels, (though they will be exceeding good company,) but to Him that made (and can make blessed) both them and us; and therefore the most the Lord of heaven tells us of them, (though he knew their essence, their regimen and offices so well) is, that they are glad when any one of us is reduced to repentance, and reconciled to God; and therefore set in a fair way to their world, their enjoyments, and society. There we shall know them as much as we shall desire. In the mean time we are to walk by faith and hope in that light that has been afforded us.

And it will be our wisdom, as well as our duty, not barely to be content with, but to be thankful for that

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founders of antichristian systems, that by so doing, they virtually belie the profession of their faith, commit an awful affront on their avowed Redeemer, and are verily guilty of a criminal violation of the fourth commandment of the decalogue!

G. C.

measure of supernatural revelation, that Divine wisdom has thought fit to vouchsafe to us; which will suffice to guide us to life and immortality, without any one's coming from the dead or descending from the world of native life and immortality." These important reflections, though well adapted to suppress the pruriency of that curiosity of the human mind, consequent on our degenerate condition, respecting those abstruse points of inquiry enshrined in the silence of Divine wisdom, yet, sufficient is revealed to excite our wondering admiration, as well as promote our edification, and also afford supporting comfort as we prosecute our toilsome pilgrimage through the wilderness of this vain world, till we have attained to the blissful associations and society of angels, and reached the bright and eternal residences of those illustrious and celestial immortals, for as Dr. Owen justly remarks: "It is the height of ingratitude not to search after what may be known of this great privilege and mercy whereof we are made partakers in the ministry of angels. God hath neither appointed or revealed it for nothing. He expects a revenue of praise and glory for it; and how can we bless him for it when we know nothing about it? This ministry then of angels, is that which with sobriety we are, in a way of duty, to inquire into. Let us on this account glorify God and be thankful. Great is the privilege, manifold are the blessings and benefits that we are made partakers of by this ministry of angels.

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See
What shall
What shall we render
for them and to them? Shall we go and bow ourselves down to the angels themselves and pay our homage of obedience to them? They all cry out with one accord:
you do it not, we are your fellow-servants."
we then do? Why, say they, worship God! Glorify and praise him, who is God of all angels; who sends them unto whom they minister in all they do for us. Let us bless God, I say, for the ministry of angels."

In an exceedingly able and very orthodox article contributed by Professor Moses Stuart to the Bibliotheca Sacra, he starts with this exegetical interrogatory. "Of what importance can the doctrine respecting good and evil angels be to us? We owe them, it is said, no duty of homage or worship, and as they are invisible beings, if they exist at all, we can never decide with any certainty whether or when they interpose in our behalf or interfere for the sake of injuring us? We have therefore no interest in this matter.

"I cannot accede to such a view of the subject; the Scriptures have taught us, that the original holy and happy condition of our race was essentially changed by the interference and crafty malignity of Satan. The necessity of the redemption of the Son of God stands inseparably connected with this. The atonement, the nucleus and centre of Christianity proper, is, in some important respects, a consequence of Satan's interference; or in other words it was rendered necessary by the tempter when he assailed our first parents. Nor is this all which may be truly and properly said in regard to this subject. If there are good angels, the voluntary ministers of God's will; or evil ones who are the executioners of his justice, or examples in their sufferings of the proper desert of sin; then, these facts are important to us, inasmuch as they cast light upon God's providential government of the world-a subject of deep interest to all moral and accountable beings,

"There is another point of view in which we may contemplate this subject. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are filled with passages that have respect to angels good or evil. Some of these passages are involved in not a little obscurity as presented to us, because we are not sufficiently familiar with the Hebrew modes of expression and thought to appreciate at once the full meaning of the sacred writers. If now it be true that a proper attention

to the angelology of the Scriptures will help us to explain these, and especially in case it will render most of the obscure passages in question altogether intelligible, then attention to this subject cannot be fairly deemed unimportant."

Sufficient, it is presumed, has now been advanced, with the support of suitable authorities, fairly to ward off the unmeaning cavils of a determined or disguised scepticism, as well as abash the daring buffoonery* of a profane derision, to whose impiety the subject may be exposed, reinforced by the scoffing irreligion of those who ridicule, as superlatively absurd, the idea, and reject, alike, the internal and historic evidences of the veritable existence of immaterial beings, those real, though invisible instruments, who unceasingly carry forward the merciful protection, benevolent designs, mysterious operations and punitive judgments of the Supreme Governor of the moral, and the Almighty Creator and Upholder of the material universe; inasmuch as the belief of their actuality is classed by them amongst those intangible objects of sense, whose nature and essence, mode or vehicle of communication with the inhabitants of this lower world are beyond the limited comprehension of the finite and degenerate faculties of the human mind† :-

* A medical satirist, indulging "in jestings not convenient," pertly inquired of me, "If I had ever caught an angel and dissected him"! Such an extraordinary and perplexing case of profound sagacity, brimstone wit and abstruse morality, unquestionably comes clear of all exceptions and demurrers, within the tenebrious jurisdiction of the Areopagus of Pandemonium. G. C.

+ Metaphysicians incline to universal skepticism, finding in the vast regions of philosophy we can, to adopt an homely phrase, scarcely see beyond our noses; have dwelt with something like exultation on the incapacity of man's intellect to overcome the difficulties which surround the most indubitable truths.-ST. JOHN, Prelim. Disc. to Browne's Religio.

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despising the assistance and illumination of that faith of celestial birth, by which alone they obtain a willing and beneficial reception into the intellect and heart; as she stands erect and unmoved, in the modest attitude of persuasive virtue,† upon the broad base of Inspiration, pointing, with

* Reason is a rebel unto Faith, and considers her propositions as absurd. There are a set of heads, that can credit the relations of mariners, yet question the testimonies of St. Paul; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of Ælian or Pliny, yet in histories of Scripture raise queries and objections; believing no more than they can parallel in human authors.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE, Religico Medicii.

To believe only possibilities is not faith, but mere philosophy; many things are true in divinity which are neither inducible by reason, nor confirmable by sense; and many things in philosophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason.-ID, Christian Morals.

The skeptic denies the realities of faith, as the blind might deny the beauty of color, or the deaf the harmony of sound.-SLACK, Ministry of the Beautiful.

The wisest of us, which is the holiest, see somewhat by the eye of faith-faith being the end of wisdom, the great lesson of the universe.—ID.

Faith only can raise us above this little daily life, and worldly business; that only can give the soul such a direction to higher things, and to objects and ideas which alone have value and importance, and amidst the circling causes of appearances and events, is an immovable pole.-M. VON HUMBOLDT, Thoughts, &c., of a Statesman.

Never yet did there exist a full faith on the divine word which did not expand the intellect, while it purified the heart; which did not multiply the aims and objects of the understanding, while it fixed and simplified those of the desires and passions.-COLERIDGE's Aids to Reflection.

Faith subsists in the synthesis of the Reason and the individual Will. Faith is the source and sum, the energy and principle of the fidelity of man to God, by the subordination of his human will, in all provinces of his nature, to his reason, as the sum of spiritual Truth, representing and manifesting the Will Divine.-ID, Confessions of an Inquiring Mind.

† Infidel France, in the height and frenzy of her barbarities and wickedness on throwing off the recognition of the divine authority of the Supreme and Moral Governor of the Universe, substituted as the idol of national worship a worse than pagan object in the gross exhibition of the nude prostitute of an egregiously depraved imagination as the unnatural, unphilosophical and lying representative of the "Goddess of Reason." For this, and other abominations, fearful judgments are still suspended over her.

G. C.

a serene and attractive countenance, to the "living oracles" of immutable and eternal Truth ;-repudiating her sacred claims and glorious hopes, so vividly described in the sublime definition of an apostle, as "the confident expectation of things hoped for, the conviction of things which are not seen;" being the only rational medium by which we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of those things which do appear; whilst by the assurances of her enlightened apprehensions, she enables us to realize the amazing scenes of the invisible and eternal world,—to await, with patience, the predicted destruction of the present fabric of this terrestial globe,-to anticipate the anxious resurrection of the redeemed in Christ,-to be prepared for the awful solemnities of the final judgment,-to espy in the resplendent perspective of eternity, "the new heavens and new earth" of the upper kingdom and sanctuary, welcomed by the "innumerable company of angels " beatified in the unfading grandeur, inconceivable felicities and immortal youth of the heavenly state;

“Where, the blest immortals,
In love's pure beauty stand;
Alluring us, through faith's translucent portals,
Into the better land."

Such exalting beatitude, ethereal sympathies, and brilliant prospects constitute the imperishable inheritance of the children of Faith; confirmed by the cheering smiles of an approving providence, and the sustaining promises of Divine asssurance as they advance along the irradiated thoroughfare of obedience and holiness to the "pearly gates" of the city of the heavenly Jerusalem! During their career on earth, they are surrounded by the fiery "chariots" and "horsemen" of the host of spiritual and benignant agencies

who take a deep interest in their welfare, strewing their path with the bright and fragrant flowers of peace and joy, and refreshing their fainting souls with the sweetest music of celestial melody. Wisely, therefore, does it behoove every tempted child of fallen Adam, to heed the momentous admonition of Lord Bacon, in the philosophy of his religion, "Not to seek the living among the dead, but, soberly, to render unto faith the things that are faith's."

By a different description of minds, or the lukewarm professors of a nominal Christianity, the discussion or expression of a belief, in the varied circumstances, in which the specific instrumentality of angelic beings has been, and is still employed, as connected with the believer's present welfare and eternal destiny, will be probably demurred to, on the shallow ground, that the subject is of too speculative a character to be of any essential service in promoting the practice of religious duties or stimulating to the more fervid exercises and frequent communion of devotional piety; but, on the contrary, rather to be discountenanced, from its obvious tendency to foster the fatal delusions of a fanatical presumption and forbidden curiosity, rashly intruding themselves into those arcana of nature and the secrets of the spiritual world, which it has pleased an all-wise God to conceal within the veil of impenetrable mysteries; yet, who, nevertheless, with an earnestness and devotion that would honor a martyr's zeal, and the characteristic inconsistencies of a superficial faith advocate and revel in the most startling absurdities of modern Mesmerism, the sublimated hallucinations of a frenzied Swedenborg, and the insidious neology and transcendentalism of the German school of Divinity.

To the multifarious and antagonistic demurrers of vain hypotheses, assuredly, it is not requisite to offer an extended

reply; forasmuch as the authority and facts of the Bible which relate the embassy and appearance of angels, during the Adamic, patriarchal, and Mosaic economy-the fulfillment of prophecy when they announced the glad tidings of redemption for mankind-the corroborative declarations of the Great Teacher, whilst in the days of his humiliation He sojourned upon this earth, respecting them; together with that angelic succor which sympathized with the agonized Redeemer in the sorrowful garden of Gethsemane—their overpowering splendor which confounded the affrighted soldiery of the guarded sepulchre; and their gracious information to the desponding Magdalene, as she stood in the attitude and anguish of pensive grief, beside the virgin and vacated tomb of the risen Saviour-their frequent interposition chronicled in the history of the lives and missions of the apostles, in their behalf, as the first heralds of the gospel of salvation, and toward the martyred disciples of the Prince of Peace their attendance and commission to execute the final dispensation of Jehovah, at the consummation of all things, on the exit of time, revealed in the awful disclosures of the apocalypse of St. John, fully answer, and solemnly rebuke the futility of all such opposing objections, and make manifest the serious temerity of such willful and questioning misbelief.*

With humble sincerity, it is hoped, in the ensuing pages, that no statement will be advanced, opinion adduced, or speculation presented, of "private interpretation," that will not bear the sanction of Scripture warrant; the Bible being the only acknowledged standard of authority—the only infallible oracle of our faith. From this living fountain of Divine Truth, whose crystal stream issues from, and circulates around, the throne of inspiring wisdom and all-sufficient grace, would we draw pure, and copious draughts of spiritual knowledge. With reverential gratitude would we heed the bright lamp of Inspiration, suspended by the golden chain of redeeming love, from the footstool of forgiving mercy, whose guiding and radiant beams, illumining the dreary passage of this wilderness-world, and gilding the gloomy entrance to the valley of the shadow of death, reflect their extended effulgence upon the beautiful portals of the everlasting gates of the celestial city, surrounded by the attendant and glittering train of the angelic messengers of the Majesty of heaven!

Happy, therefore, thrice happy they, who in the attainment of the divine science of spiritual discoveries applied this Holy Book as an effective repellant to the subtle magnetism of Satanic suggestions, and as the safest and most certain non-conductor of the latent electricity of those fallacious theories, too abundantly generated, in the charged batteries of the secret laboratory of a depraved heart and perverted reason!

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* Purely speculative opinions are of little value except so far as they tend to promote the moral objects and a saving belief in the truth of Christianity.-FOSTER, Christian Morals.

We repel that philosophizing spirit which consists in resolving all the extraordinary phenomena recorded in the Bible into the mere effect of natural causes. Nothing can be more contemptible than such presumption of philosophy.-Idem.

Controlled by the foregoing determination, with the invoked guidance of the divine blessing, will we endeavor to prosecute an inquiry into the revealed history, exalted rank, transcendent attributes, moral virtues, attractive lineaments, and heavenly habitudes of those noble and illustrious beings -the ministering and adoring angels of Jehovah.

We pause to insert the following extracts from the notes of Dr. George Townsend's Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the New Testament, a work preeminently deserving of a place in every Christian's library; and which cannot but be read with intense interest and persuasive impression.

"The doctrine of the ministry of angels, so much esteemed by the primitive church, as well as by the most eminent and pious Christians of all ages, has now become one of those which, without any one well-founded argument, is to be reasoned away. The repeated appearance of angels, both in the old and new dispensations, seems designed to point out to us the near, though mysterious, connection of the invisible state with that which we now inhabit. And what can be more consolatory to the believer, than the idea, corroborated by numerous passages in the Scripture, than the belief, that the angels of heaven are around us, the ministering spirits of God for our good, watching over us, and fulfilling the wisdom of his providence! Why should the opinion be disclaimed? Angels were present at the creation; they have been repeatedly manifested to man. Isaiah the seraphim appeared veiling their faces with widespreading wings. The form that was visible to Ezekiel had the semblance of a lambent flame, enveloping what seemed its body. To the women they appeared in shining garments, and to the keepers of the sepulchre as lightning, with raiment white as snow. They are the happy possessors of that blessedness to which the spirits of the departed hope to be admitted. And they shall be again visible in their thousands of thousands at

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* It is an admirable observation closing an introduction pointing out the pre-requisites for the correct composition and essential enjoyment of Divine Poetry, prefixed to the poem on the Messiah by the devout, though too rhapsodical, Klopstock: "It requires more than the knowledge of mythology to understand and feel the beauties of Homer, and much more than philosophy to relish the sublime graces of Revelation."-G. C.

that magnificent and glorious triumph, when the Ancient of Days shall sit on the throne of his glory, and the assembled universe be summoned before his high tribunal. Is it impossible, then, that they are invisible yet efficient agents in many of those innumerable events which are attended with moral and religious benefit to individuals and to the world; which are but too generally ascribed to incidental circumstances, or the well-laid plans of human policy?

"The soul of man is gifted with powers and properties which are distinct from the human body, and which it possesses in common with superior beings. I cannot, therefore, believe that idea to be irrational, which represents the manner of our present union with the invisible world by the following ingenious and curious image. Suppose a number of lighted lamps were placed in a room, one of which only was covered with an earthen vessel; the lamp so encumbered, as soon as the covering was either broken or removed, would find itself in the same state and condition with the other lamps. So it may be with the accountable spirit of man. The earthen vessel, the body, may be broken by violence, or silently destroyed by sickness or age, but, as soon as the veil or the covering of the body is removed, the unfettered spirit finds itself the companion of kindred spirits, which, though unseen, are continually surrounding it. The time is not far hence, when we shall know even as we are known; in the meantime, the very attempt to speculate on these things elevates and purifies the mind.

"The German commentators of the self-named liberal class, endeavor to explain away every miracle recorded in the New Testament, by representing them as natural events which have only been considered as miraculous by the misapprehending of the Hebraisms of the inspired writers.

"The explanation of Hezelius is so singular, that it may appear doubtful whether in his eagerness to remove the opinions of a miraculous interference by an angel, he does not establish a still greater miracle. He thinks that a flash of lightning penetrated the prison in the night, and melted the chains of St. Peter without injuring him. The apostle rose up, and saw the soldiers who guarded him struck prostrate to the ground by the force of the lightning. He passed them as if led by the flash of lightning, and escaped from the prison before he perceived that he had been liberated by the providence of God. So completely, however, has the skeptical philosophy of the day pervaded society, that even among professed Christians, he would now be esteemed a visionary, who should venture to declare his belief in this most favorite tenet of the ancient church. The early fathers regarded the ministry of angels as a consoling and beautiful doctrine, and so much at that time was it held in veneration, that the founders of Christianity cautioned their early converts against permitting their reverence to degenerate into adoration. We now go to the opposite extreme, and seldom think of their existence; yet what is to be found in this belief, even if the Scriptures had not revealed it, which is contrary to our reason? We believe in our own existence, and in the existence of God; is it utterly improbable, then, that between us, who are so inferior, and the Creator, who is so wonderful and incomprehensible, infinite gradations of beings should exist, some of whom are employed in executing the will of the Deity toward finite creatures? Does not God act even by human means in the visible government of the affairs of the earth? what absurdity, then, can be discovered in the opinion that the spiritual nature of man should be under the guardianship of spiritual beings? This, in fact, was a doctrine universally received till it became perverted and degraded by vain and idle speculations,-till it became so encumbered with absurdities, that the belief itself was rejected. Some writers on this subject went so far as to imagine they could ascertain the orders of a hierarchy, and could even assert the numbers of each rank. Others changed the office and ministry of angels, investing them with independent control over the works of God, an opinion strongly and justly reprobated by the most eminent authorities. And because in the original Hebrew that which executes the will of the Deity is sometimes called an "angel," whether it be winds or storms, fire or air; many again have transformed the angels in the Old Testament into obedient elements, accomplishing the designs of Providence, according to which hypothesis, the aged patriarch must have prayed that the blessings of an element might descend upon his grandchildren. The Messiah must have been created a little lower than the winds and the floods, who, in like manner, were commanded to worship him; and, again, when the superiority of Christ is declared, the passage must be rendered: To which of the elements said he at any time, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes my footstool.' Leaving all such fantastic and unreasonable interpretations out of the question, let us turn to that interpretation of Scripture on this point, which has been acknowledged by all classes and divisions of Christians, from the time of the apostles to the present day. From the evidence of Revelation, we have grounds for believing that angels are spirits superior to mankind, some of whom have lost, while others have preserved, the state of happiness in which they were primarily created, and that these are now opposed to each other. With the precise cause of the fall of the evil angels we are not made acquainted. We only know that they retain the remembrance of their original condition; that they are powerful, though under restraint ; that gradations of superiority and influence exist among them; that they acknowledge a superior head, and that they are destined to eternal punishment.

"Of good angels, we learn, that they continue in their primeval dignity. They are endued with great power, and because they are employed in the constant execution of the decrees of Providence, they have received the name of messengers or angels. They are called the armies and the hosts of heaven; in innumerable companies they surround the throne of Deity; they are made partakers of his glory and rejoice to fulfill his will.

"Their office, as ministering angels to the sincere and accepted worshippers of our common God, is more fully and accurately related. Through the whole volume of revelation we read of the agency of superior beings in the affairs of mankind. They were stationed at the tree of life in paradise. In Jacob's vision of the ladder, they are represented as ascending and descending upon earth. They appeared to the patriarchs, to Abraham, to Lot, to Jacob, and they were made alike the ministers of both the vengeance and mercy of God. They were intrusted with the destruction of the cities of the plain. And the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of Sennacherib a hundred and fourscore and five thousand.' (2 Kings xix: 35.) God sent an angel to Jerusalem to destroy it—who was seen between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hard, stretched out over Jerusalem. In the New Testament, they announced the birth of Christ, and of his forerunner; they became visible to the shepherds, and proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to the senseless world. They are interested for, and sympathize with, man; for 'there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.' They were the watchful and anxious attendants of Christ in his human nature. They ministered to him after his triumph in the wilderness and his agony in the garden. As they announced his birth, so also they proclaimed his resurrection, his ascension, and his future return to judgment. They were made the spiritual means of communication between God and man. They were the divine witnesses of the whole scheme of Redemption. By an angel Joseph was warned to flee into Egypt. (Matt. ii. 13.) By an angel Cornelius was directed to the house of Peter. (Acts x. 3-22.) By an angel that apostle was released from prison. And by the ministry of an angel were signified to St. John those things which should be hereafter. In his last and mysterions revelation, the agency of superior beings is uniformly asserted, and they are represented as fulfilling the most solemn decrees of omnipotence. They

are represented as standing on the four corners of the earth, as having the seal of the living God, as offering on the golden altar the incense and prayers of the saints, as holding the key of the bottomless pit; and as executing the vengeance of God upon the visible creation, and upon all those who have not the seal of God upon their foreheads; all which, though metaphorical expressions, imply the probable agency of these invisible beings in the affairs of the world. And when time shall be no more, these holy beings who have sympathized with man here, and been witnesses of his actions, and the infinite mercies of his almighty Creator and Redeemer, will be the accusing or approving spectators of the sentence passed upon him in eternity; for our Savior has expressly declared, that whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God. But he that denied me before men shall be denied before the angels of God."-DR. TOWNSEND, Notes on the New Testament.

HISTORY AND NATURE.

UPON the threshold of our intricate yet interesting and delectable subject,-approved by the united testimony and sanction of Revelation, Religion and Reason, that divinely-appointed triumvirate for the moral and mental government of man's social and spiritual nature, would we conspicuously inscribe the Christian sentiment and judicious admonition of Lord Lyttleton, that, "God is pleased, in this present world, to appropriate and proportion our knowledge, not to our pride and curiosity, but to our wants and condition."

The peculiar brevity, transcendent simplicity and instructive reserve which distinguish and dignify the Mosaic narrative, in reference to the primordial origin of all existences, and the vivific operations of the workmanship of omnipotence in the production of this material world, associated with the incorporeal and unseen presence of the subtle vitalities of spiritual beings, plainly and evidently declare, that "it is the glory of God,* to whom belong secret things,† in their profound and fathomless depth,‡ to conceal" from the unhallowed temerity of mortal intrusion, those incomprehensible mysteries which envelope the elemental principles of organic life, and the essential attributes of spiritual essences! For, notwithstanding the remarkable endowments and capacious faculties of the human intellect, is not the imperfect attainment of our knowledge, in connection. with the sublime and astonishing exhibitions of divine power, and benevolence and wisdom, admirably calculated to promote a beneficial tendency upon the mind, with respect to the fear, and homage and adoration due towards, and the sense of our entire dependence upon, the constant care and protection, as well as providential supplies of the almighty Creator of the heaven and the earth"? True! with the first elements, the bases, the essences, of matter and spirit, and all things contained in the circumference or presented in the phenomena of being, the prying attempts of the most penetrative, enlarged and gifted understandings cannot cope. With their properties, qualities, combinations, affinities, component parts, specific influences and peculiar effects, however, much has been recently elicited by the aid, and brought to light in the surprising and splendid discoveries of the searching science of modern chemistry; but, beyond this separating line of the demarcation of experience and knowledge, Reason is strictly forbidden to trespass, though to Faith, in the joyous hope of a believing expectation, guided by the gracious disclosures of Inspiration, she is encouraged to a nearer and more anxious approach to the Supreme Cause of all causes.

This sacred and majestic laconicism is likewise applied to the early history and society of mankind, giving but very slight information to what extent the arts and sciences flourished in primeval time; and withholding any very minute description of those excessive vices and artificial refinements of wickedness which provoked the awful punishment of divine displeasure, resulting in that watery destruction which overwhelmed and swept the entire antediluvian race from off the surface of the polluted earth! So, with regard to the inherent principles and hidden workings of nature in the curious machinery of the material universe, the invisible inhabitants and the secret agencies of the ethereal world, the communications of the Bible are circumscribed by divine" wisdom and knowledge," in correspondence with the necessities and limitation* of our finite faculties, mental apprehensions, moral condition, immortal desires and eternal destiny, either in the blissful perfection of Heaven, or the dolorous perdition of Hell!

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* Proverbs xxv. 2. † Deut. xxix. 29.
Romans xi. 33.

The unevangelical disquisitions of some theologico-geologists to quadrate the discoveries of modern science with the infallible truth of God's word and the requisitions of a divine faith, it is to be apprehended, are calculated to produce a most unfavorable tendency on the proud and unenlightened mind. The observation of Dr. Anderson, in his recently published work entitled The Course of Creation, receives its own approbation. "The wisdom of man will be confounded when it tries to fathom the methods and devices of the divine Artificer in originating his works. His safety will often be in distrusting his own understanding, in not magnifying overmuch the ingenuity of his own speculations; and in sometimes believing that even science will be exalted by approximating to, rather than departing from, the literalities of Scripture."

Indeed, it is well for Philosophy to kindle her torch, and Reason to light her lamp, at the pure and brilliant flame, which ever burns with a steady and undiminished lustre upon the ethereal altar of the sacred temple of immutable and

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"We know but little of the invisible world, or of the manner in which the disembodied spirit continues to exist; our understanding and our apprehension are so limited in this stage of existence, that we cannot comprehend one-half of those truths which both our senses, our reason and revelation compel us to approve."-DR. GEO. TOWNSEND, Note on Witch of Endor.

eternal Truth. The mind but once convinced upon the testimony of authentic history, and other demonstrative evidences of the inspiration of the Bible, whatever difficulties may arise, or apparent contradictions may present themselves to its oracular declarations, in the recent discoveries of science, must not be allowed, even, for a single moment, to interfere with the valid and established claims of a divine Revelation. The obscure province of Reason and the bright regions of Faith are too remote, and the specific objects of the one, are too distinct and dissimilar from the heavenly aspirations of the other, and a holy faith can never succumb to the vain and haughty pretensions of the former, because, in her loftiest altitude she will never be able to reach the sublimities of the latter. The very instant that reason is permitted the ascendant, Faith, also, loses her virtue, her validity, her essence,-being at once lifeless, and bereft of her vitality upon the withdrawn favor and protection of her offended God. To suppose a Revelation devoid of mysteries, involves the paradox of identifying the temple without its presiding God. Neither can I justify the bold assertion of the pompous philosophy of our quaint physician, in his Religio Medici, that in his religion there were not impossibilities (incomprehensibilities) enough to satisfy his faith: when I reflect upon the incomprehensibility of the self-existent Jehovah, who inhabiteth the immensurability of the circle of eternity, whose presence fills all space; at whose fiat came forth, "out of nothing," the beautiful fabric of this fair creation, the mysterious hypostasis of the holy trinity of the Godhead,—the permitted introduction of moral evil into this sin-disordered world,-the prophetic incarnation of Deity to impart validity to the atonement of the Redemption, in the substitution of the innocent for the guilty, typified in the sanguinary rites of the Aaronic priesthood and ceremonial, to answer the demands of moral law and harmonize the essential attributes of the divine character,-the wonderful and needful operations of the Holy Ghost, in Regeneration, by the constant descent of the enlightening, consolatory, and sanctifying influences of the promised Paraclete,—the revealed resurrection of the body, having been resolved into its original dust, to receive the irreversible sentence of its destiny, during the transforming and purifying process of the conflagrant flames of a blazing universe,—in the presence of the august assize of an assembled world, before the solemn tribunal of the omniscient scrutiny and righteous decision of the Angel-Jehovah Judge, upon the indictment of every thought, imagination and action,-every idle word and vain conversation, misapplied time and misimproved means of grace;-in this awful whirlwind of mental emotion and spiritual consternation, "the small still voice" of Faith alone restores the tranquillity of my mind, and sustains my overwhelmed and fainting spirit; whilst the thrilling apostrophe of St. Paul, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" suits my agitated feelings best, elevates me, awhile, to the "third heaven" of his supercelestial vision, or supports me in the contemplation of his unutterable spiritual experience; arresting the erratic inclinations of unbelief, and bidding her return, from whence she had wandered, to the orbit of faith in the solar system of Christianity, obscured in the penumbra of doubts, and amidst the gravitating influences of centrifugal temptation, which, but for the polarizing attractions of the MYSTIC CROSS, would draw my oscillating soul from completing the epicycle of Christian duties and moral responsibilities and conscientious monitions belonging to that nebulous sphere in which Providence has appointed me to revolve, as my terrestrial axis.*

Provided our investigations are conducted with the obedience of a biblical faith, and the humility of a reverential submission, in the reception of the revealed verities enshrined in the sanctuary of inspired truth; it is, certainly, the privileged duty and peculiar delight of the enlightened mind and sanctified heart, soberly to examine the sacred and mysterious chain of divine operations which link, in harmonious union, the wonderful economy of nature, the intercommunication of spiritual and heavenly intelligences, with the inscrutable scheme and saving dispensation of Redemption.

In the expansive and luminous firmament of celestial realities, the cheering and radiant doctrine of the appointed ministration and particular offices of unfallen angels, shines forth with a most vivid, attractive and transparent brightness; assuring us that the invisible and commissioned cohorts which attend and surround the sapphire throne of

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* I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust, after so many pilgrimages and transformations into parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements-shall, at the voice of God, return into their primitive shapes, and join again to make up their primary and predestinated forms. As at the creation, there was a separation of that confused mass into its pieces; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As, at the creation of the world, all the distinct species which we behold lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful voice of God, separated the united multitude into several species; so at the last day, when these corrupted relics shall be scattered in the wilderness of forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, God, by a powerful voice, shall command them back again into their proper shapes, and call them out by their single individuals; then shall appear the fertility of Adam, and the magic of that sperm that hath dilated into so many millions. I have often beheld as a miracle that artificial resurrection and revivification of mercury, how being mortified into a thousand shapes, it assumes again its own and returns into its numerical self. This is that mystical philosophy from whence no true scholar becomes an atheist; but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real divine; and beholds, not in a dream, as Ezekiel, but in an ocular and a visible object, the types of his resurrection. The life and spirit of all our actions is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavors; without this, all religion is a fallacy, and those impieties of Lucian, Euripides, and Julian, are no blasphemies, but sensible verities, and atheists have been the only philosophers. How shall the dead rise is no question of my faith; to believe only possibilities is not faith but mere philosophy.-SIR T. BROWNE.

Deity are constantly dispatched,—passing the flaming boundaries of their own locality and habitation in the distant regions of ethereal glory, and especially intrusted with benevolent embassies of love and mercy, grace and consolation to those "who shall be their heirs of salvation"!

Postponing, to the sequel, the presentation of a variety of relevant observations and irrefragable proofs demonstrative of the Inspiration of the Bible, we assume the rationality and necessity of yielding an implicit belief to the infallible truth of Divine testimony, as the only safe and solid basis of unimpeachable authority, upon which to establish the doctrine and dogma of the real existence and ordained ministration of angelic intelligences; illustrated by those appropriate and convincing facts recorded in the sacred Scriptures, which will exhibit to prominent view, the superlative excellence, supreme importance, and delightful character of the subject that we now advance to canvass in diametrical opposition to those impious negations,-originating in the natural enmity of the human heart toward a holy and a righteous God, and the stiff-necked pride of the perverted intellect, as regards the revealed method of a sinner's acceptance in the sight of Jehovah, realized in the atonement, the mediation, and the economy of salvation,-which have affronted the declarations of Holy Writ, and the faith and hopes of Christianity from the days of the disputatious and scornful Jews of the Sadducean sect, down to the present time of the pertinacious and infidel deism of modern materiality, or the profligate pretensions of a profane mesmerism; disguised in the protean assumptions of a pseudo-philosophy, as presented in the multiform appearances of metamorphizing theories, chameleon beliefs, atheistical principles, practice and systems.*

Amidst the chaos of the phantasmagoric fictions and discordant speculations,-evidently based upon distorted traditions of the Mosaic narrative of the genesis or origin of the solar system of the visible world,—which have disfigured the pagan descriptions of the cosmogony of this earth, together with those philosophic theories upon whose unsubstantial foundations are constructed the mythological theogonies of the more polished and enlightened nations of Greece and Rome;

* No savage worshipping the most preposterous idol, ever believed greater absurdities, than a modern sceptic, who makes his small modicum of reason the standard by which to measure the boundless universe. Christianity in the past was not limited by eighteen and a half centuries, which we call its era. It illumined the earliest ages, it burned brighter in the soul of Plato, than in most minds now. The good and wise of all ages have been of one

faith. The loftiest truth is never circumscribed by man's intellect. The deepest truths of religion and philosophy are made known to us by appeals to our sympathy.

Nature will not allow man to intellectualize himself into infidelity.

Every grand prospect, every burst of melody carries conviction to the ne that truth is eternal, and man destined for immortality.

Let the keenesi intellect soar to its sublimest heights, and when it has found some great truth among the loftiest Alps of reason, if it sink deep into the heart of the discoverer, he will be able to bring it home to the hearts of others, not as a discovery of science, but as a verity of faith.-SLACK, Ministry of the Beautiful.

To thoughtful observators the whole world is a phylactery, and everything we see an item of the wisdom, power, or goodness of God. Words cannot exceed, when they cannot express enough. Even the most winged thoughts fall at the setting out, and reach not the portal of Divinity.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE, passim.

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the only clear ray of light and information which Jehovah has condescended to vouchsafe, respecting the creation of spiritual and angelic beings is preserved and conveyed through the medium of that most ancient and authentic of all books, whose supposed author was the Jewish lawgiver -the book of Job, where in the seventh verse of the thirty-eighth chapter, they are represented, under the appellation and character of the sons of God, as celebrating the stupendous and magnificent display of the power, and benevolence, and wisdom of the Deity, in the glorious exhibition and appearance of the visible and various works of a completed universe, having received the complacent approbation of the Almighty Architect, as they sprang up innumerable, under the omnific influence of the uncreated beam of the Sun of Righteousness, along the shining banks of the crystal river of life, on the bright morning of everlasting day, instinct with the unfading youth of immortality!—

"From multitudes of angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, burst
Forth blessed voices, uttering joy.

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All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
Both day and night-
Singing their great Creator."-MILTON.

Beyond the boundary line of inspired information, with which divine wisdom, as it were, has fenced in, this sublime and inscrutable subject, it is vain for mortal intellect to try to traverse, by attempting the irrational, presumptuous, and indevout endeavor to penetrate through the veil of the intentional silence of unrevealed mystery-for as much as any additional knowledge, if it were attainable by the unaided effort of our finite comprehension, we cannot perceive, would either promote our happiness, deepen our penitence, advance our holiness, establish our faith, superinduce greater spiritu-

ality of mind, or more effectually secure our salvation; whilst from the reserve of the Mosaic account, which makes no mention of angels, the design of the Jewish lawgiver, is, therefore, obviously intended to prefer a practical confutation of the ancient and prevalent idolatry of Sabeism, or the worship of sun, moon, and stars, evidently referred to by the venerable and renowned patriarch Job: If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness ; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth kissed my hand.

Equally futile, fabulous and fantastical are those speculations which have been indulged to adjust and determine the precise period of the creation of angelical intelligences; for some, in the foolishness of their mental conception, aiming "to be wise above what is written," have supposed they were created on the same day with the "heaven and the earth;" implying that Moses included them under those terms, in the declaration that In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth; others, that he intended them under the epithet light,* which God created on the first day, comprehending under that expression both angels his angels, who, from being angels of light, by reason of their pride and rebellion were converted into Devils of darkness. At the same time, the matter of the four elements with spiritual creatures was produced, viz., those spiritual and corporeal bodies which were created in the beginning of time. Life, wisdom, and Light designate the angels who are said to have been first created, by virtue of their excellency and dignity, and especially ordained to contemplate, praise, and magnify Almighty God's liberality and goodness throughout all generations.

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* When light was commanded, then were the angels created. That when God separated the light from the darkness, by that disunion, is to be derstood, the dreadful and terrible judgments of God against the Devil and

It was a beautiful superstition,-perhaps a true one-that of the luminous nature of the soul. Light with its kindred agencies is the most spiritual of physical existences.-SLACK, Ministry of the Beautiful.

and souls; and also, that the soul of Adam was created before his body, like as the angels were, and afterwards breathed and divinely infused into him.
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The Hebrews, likewise, held the conceit, that they were created on the second day; and that God consulted them, saying, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; others, again, maintain the opinion that they were called into existence on the fifth day. Origen, with some of the Greek and Latin fathers, believed they were created before the formation of the world, and which sentiment they think derives some countenance from that passage of Job: Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth ?"

Plato considered the angels as the first born and first fruits of God's creation; upon the hypothesis that spiritual beings preceded, in priority of existence, corporeal bodies, and that the Great Parent employed them as ministers for the procreation of others. Aristotle maintains a similar opinion, speaking of them as the original movers of the universe; holding, also, the notion that the heavens were eternal, together with all empyreal souls and intelligent substances.

The supposition has likewise been favored by some modern divines, that angelic beings were created a long period antece-

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* But to determine the day and year of this time (creation of angels) is not only convincible and statute madness, but also manifest impiety.-SIR THOMAS BRowNE.

+ Pythagoras used to entertain his disciples with stating the various generations and transmigrations his soul had undergone before it entered his body, borrowing his notion of its preexistence from the east, and its gradual descent into this dark and material world from that region of spirits and light which it is supposed to have once inhabited, and to which, after a long lapse of purification, it will return. This belief, under various symbolical forms, may be easily traced in almost all the oriental theogonies.

dent to the formation of our earth,—a series of ages before the construction of the solar system; but at what era in the mysterious revolutions and immeasurable cycles of eternity, Divine Revelation has not disclosed; suggesting the idea that the Supreme Being of infinite power, wisdom, and benevolence, would not have remained inactive during this incomprehensible interval of illimitable space, leaving so vast and inert a vacuum in the immeasurable regions of his boundless kingdom, to be unoccupied by intelligent creatures, as inconsistent with the operations and character of the omnipotent Creator, and as tending to reflect discredit upon the unimpeachable and living oracles of God.

Modern, like ancient Sadducism, impiously denies the reality of the existence of angels, arising, forsooth, from the invisibility of their intangibile nature; a negative which, upon this absurd hypothesis, is likewise applicable with awful temerity, to the irrefragable truth of the very existence of the Deity, whose ubiquity we cannot apprehend, either by our visual organs or mental faculties; whilst the demonstrative refutation of St. Paul declares: That the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without rcuse. The pointed reproof of our Saviour-in addition to his other declarations, to the affrighted and disbelieving disciples, confirms the same position, a spirit has not flesh and bones as ye see me have. The belief of their existence, however, has prevailed from the earliest period of mankind, conveyed through the medium of traditions which have long been corrupted alike by Jewish Rabbies and learned pagans. The imaginary beings which human fancy has offered to our notice, have been but the superior representations of our race under the name of Genii, Demons, Dii, or gods of the

ancient eastern sages, down to the Fairies, Sylphs and Elves of modern credulity; invested by a disordered and impure imagination, with corresponding powers and attributes, dispositions and demeanor; in striking contrast to the essential particulars, extraordinary faculties, and preeminent attributes which adorn and constitute those transcendently pure, benevolent, illustrious and celestial beings described, in the sacred volume, as the constant attendants and commissioned ambassadors, and selected agents appointed to execute the gracious and punitive purposes of

Omnipotence upon the throne of universal empire.

The positive existence, the ready attendance, and protective guardianship of angelical intelligences was frequently alluded to, by the Messiah, during the humiliation of his terrestrial sojourn, as well as corroborated by the declarations and visions of the apostles and St. John the Revelator.

The Old and New Testament abound with references to the visible appearances and actual interpositions of angels. It was a cherub, armed with a flaming sword, that was stationed as a guard at the entrance of the terrestrial paradise-angels appeared to Abraham, in his tent-to Lot, and forewarned him of the impending destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, those guilty and devoted cities of the plain-it was an angel that pointed out to the disconsolate Hagar, the spring of water, to relieve the extremity of her thirst-they were angels that ascended and descended on the mystic ladder for the encouragement of the patriarch Jacob-it was an angel which opposed Balaam, in his wicked career and avaricious project, threatening to slay his she-ass which found a rebuking tongue to resent the prophet's cruelty-the archangel Gabriel visited Daniel, in Babylon, appeared to Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Redeemer of the world, and also announced to Mary, the consecrated virgin-mother, the birth of the long expected Messiah, as well as his nativity to the shepherds, who were peacefully attending their flocks--and also probably pointed out the phenomenon of a particular star, which directed the Magi to the manger which cradled the infant Christ, at Bethlehem--it was an angel that warned Joseph, in a dream, to retire, with the holy family, into Egypt, and escape the barbarous stratagem of Herod-they were angels who attended upon our Saviour after his temptation in the wilderness; and an angel descended from heaven to administer to his agony in the sorrowful garden of Olives; and after his resurrection, angels appeared to the holy women who came to the consecrated tomb to embalm his body-angels were seen by the apostles after the Resurrection of the ascended Saviour the angel of the Lord delivered the apostles from their prisons-the law was given to Moses by the ministration of angels; but without extending the enumeration, evidential of their real existence and diverse operations as revealed in the Scriptures, we will only add, that the belief of this attractive doctrine has obtained amongst the Mahometans, Greeks, Romans, and other nations of the earth,-under every imaginable form, use, and worship, in strict correspondence with the respective systems of their senseless dolatry, the theories of their pseudo-philosophy, and the delusions of their debasing superstitions.

We have now reached a point in our reflections, from which we shall not deem it expedient to venture into the imaginative and hazardous regions of abstract speculations, and which has provoked the curiosity, taxed the ingenuity, and exercised the girded efforts of the loftiest intellects, whether in the character of the philosopher, the metaphysician, the moralist, or the theologian; and therefore, it behooves us to observe the utmost Christian circumspection while treating

of the supposed constitution of angelical natures, in reference either to the immateriality or corporeity of their subsistence, the mode of their intercourse with, or those vehicles of communication in which they have appeared to the apostate inhabitants of this sublunary planet, lest in the daring excursion beyond the precincts of biblical ethics and Scriptural information, we incur the analogical penalty of that reiterated interdict which guarded the sanctified Mount, upon the delivery and enactment of the Decalogue, from the unhallowed gaze and forbidden intrusion of the children of Israel, as it trembled amidst the thunder and lightnings, the smoking cloud and reverberating voice of the trumpet waxing louder and louder, increasing the terrific solemnity of the distant and august scenery which glorified the sacred and awful summit of Sinai !

A very brief survey, then, of the opinions which have been entertained on this difficult subject will be sufficient; as any ineffective attempt at critical inquiries on so abstruse a matter would be alike vain, dissatisfactory and unprofitable.

The ancient philosophers, including the peripatetics of the Grecian schools, considered that angels or demons (for these appellatives were employed synonymously) were composed of two qualities, corporeal and incorporeal, corresponding to the body and soul of man; the only difference being, that the souls of angels never descended into such gross and terrestrial bodies as the human, and are invariably invested with aerial or fiery substances; classifying their genii into demons, angels and heroes, of which distinction, those were esteemed angels whose appropriate sphere was placed nearest to the heavens: others, giving them also, a double substance-igneous and ethereal-slightly varying in their representations, viz., that by their empyreal essence they were enabled to contemplate God, but by their material element they became visible to men.

The fathers of the church supposed angels to be possessed of subtle, ethereal, and aerial bodies, making this difference between good and evil angels, to wit, the former being clothed with a radiant splendor, and the latter with a dark fuliginous obscurity--the good angels being constituted of transcendently refined substances which always accompanied their development to mortal vision, and which they believe was only the phlogistic or ethereal essence belonging to their nature.*

The specific nature of angels, whether pure spirits divested of all corporeal vehicles, has been a controversy of long standing, not only among the ancient philosophers, but of the Christian fathers; whilst Divine Revelation has maintained an admonitory silence upon this mysterious theme of human investigation. The nature of angels is expressed in the Scriptures by the epithet "spirit." They are of a spiritual nature, not compounded of parts as bodies are, and yet they are not simple and uncompounded as God is, who is a spirit.

To the human mind it is difficult to entertain a proper perception of a spirit. Even in our endeavors to impart our individual and inadequate conceptions of the varied operations of Deity, we are confined to the imperfect medium of anthropological expressions; whilst the apostle Paul, in his striking illustrations of the doctrine of the resurrection, drawn from the analogies of the material world, makes the distinction of terrestrial and celestial bodies:-There is a natural body and there is a spiritual body. "From angels being called spirits, it is not necessary to conclude that they have no body, nor material frame at all; to be entirely immaterial, is probably peculiar to the Father of spirits, to whom we cannot attribute a body without impiety, and involving ourselves in absurdities. When the term spirit is employed to denote the angelical nature, it is most natural to take it in a lower sense, to denote their exemption from those gross and earthly bodies which the inhabitants of this world possess. Their bodies are spiritual bodies, "for there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body;" the latter of which the righteous are to receive at the resurrection, who are to be made equal to the angels.

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* Angelical bodies send forth rays and splendors such as would dazzle mortal eyes, and cannot be borne by them; but the demoniac body, though it seemeth to have been such once (from Isaias calling him, that fell from heaven, Lucifer), yet it is now dark and obscure, foul and squalid, and grievous to behold, it being deprived of its cognate light and beauty. Again the angelical body is so devoid of gross matter that it can pass through any solid thing, it being indeed more impassible than the sunbeams; for though these can permeate pellucid bodies, yet are they hindered by earthy and opaque substances by which they are refracted; whereas the angelical body is such, as that there is nothing that can resist or exclude it.-CUDWORTH, Intellectual System.

The angels are not subject to any change, saith St. Bazil, for amongst them there is neither child, young man nor old; but in the same state in which they were created in the beginning, in that they everlastingly remain; the substance of their proper nature being permanent in simplicity and immutability. By nature angels were created mutable, but by contemplation immutable.-HEYWOOD, Hierarchie.

"Whether there is in the universe any being purely spiritual, and perfectly detached from matter, except the Great Supreme, is a question, perhaps, not easy to solve, nor is the solution of it at all essential to our present inquiry. 'God is a spirit,' and we cannot conceive of any portion or modification of matter, as entering into his essence without being betrayed into contradiction and absurdity. In regard to every other class of being, it is conjectured, that the thinking principle is united to some corporeal vehicle through which it derives its perceptions, and by which it operates; while perfect spirituality, utterly separate from matter in any possible state, is the exclusive attribute of the Deity. When angels are spoken of as spirits, this mode of expression may possibly denote no more, than that the material vehicle with which they are united, is of a nature highly subtle and refined, at a great remove from flesh and blood which compose the bodily frame. Who will presume to set limits to creative power in the organization of matter, or affirm that it is not, in the hand of its Author, susceptible of a refinement which shall completely exclude it from the notice of the senses? He who compares the subtlety and velocity of light with grosser substances, which are found in the material system, will be reluctant to assign any bounds. to the possible modification of matter, much more affirm there can be none beyond the comprehension of our corporeal organs."*

But if in physics there are unfathomable depths, is it not reasonable to expect that in the obscure regions of ontological investigations—in that science particularly conversant with God and spiritual essences, that we shall be stopped, at almost every step, by phenomena beyond our comprehension ? "It is childish," remarks John Foster, "to babble about the "impossibilities of religion," until we understand the entire scheme of the intellectual and physical world—until we can explain who we are, whence we are, and wherefore we are. Until we know what laws govern the elements, mould them into sentient forms, and again after a season, dissolve those warm and beautiful structures, and give their dust to the wind. Until we can decide the nature of that mysterious principle which we term life, discover how in some it becomes a fountain of motion, in others, of passion, intellectuality, and all those marvellous phenomena which we observe in ourselves and others. Until we can determine in what consists the invisible chain we denominate affection, that binds us not only to the living but to the dead, to forms long passed away, to minds translated beyond the stars, and the utmost bourne of the visible creation. Until then, let us be humble, nor mutter even in the secrecy of our hearts; considering how very imperfectly we comprehend even our present existence, notwithstanding our experience of, and intimacy with it. Diminutive as we are, we nevertheless involve a world of mystery.* The acutest, the profoundest investigations have been baffled. What is life? How continued? and if we had the means of pursuing the inquiry into our future state, it may be presumed, that every mystery would be aggravated. It is true that the Great Revealer of secrets' could have told us by revelation some things respecting the future state which we might in some superficial general manner have understood. For example : whether the disembodied spirit will have a material vehicle? whether there will be a distinct formal process of judgment on it at death? In what place it shall dwell till the resurrection? Whether it will, during that interval, be apprised of the transactions on earth? Whether it will have sensible intimate communications with superior spirits? Whether it will have a clearer, vaster manifestation of the grand scene of the creation? Whether it will have a luminous foresight of what it will become at the resurrection? When, and of what kind will be the local habitation of the hereafter? Of what the employments will chiefly consist ?" Such overwhelming realities—such grand and incomprehensible probabilities, so mysteriously veiled, are calculated to attract, whilst they confound and elude the scrutiny of the severest investigations of scientific and metaphysical research, as they stand aloof, like the mystic and awful recess in the innermost pavilion of the Jewish temple! Yet, is not the moral intention of Divine wisdom and grace sufficiently apparent, in that concealment with which God has been pleased to screen, from the intrusion of mortal presumption, the imbecility and limitation of human faculties, of a fuller knowledge of the mysteries of the organic world, the specific nature of angelical beings, the inscrutable decrees of almighty purpose and sovereign grace, and the inconceivable wonders of the future state, that in our present sinful and spiritual condition, attended with the religious responsibilities of this probationary scene of existence, Faith should unceasingly operate as the active principle upon the stimulating anticipations of our hopes, the devout aspirations of our hearts, and the practical demeanor of our lives? This obvious appointment of faith, to be an actuating principle, upon the interior thoughts and outward actions, is partly, because it cannot be otherwise, and partly, because to be governed by the inspired declaration and revealed will of Jehovah, constitute the vital and energetic essence of all

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*Robert Hall.

*There is surely a piece of divinity in us, something that was before the elements, and owes no homage to the sun. Nature tells me that I am an image of God, as well as the Scriptures. He that understands not that much, hath not his introduction, his first lesson, and yet is to begin the alphabet of man.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

Man has the whole world in counterpoint to hm, but he contains an entire world within himself. Now, for the first at the apex of the living pyramid, it is man and nature; but man himself is a syllepsis, a compendium of nature—the Microcosm. In man, the centripetal and individualizing tendency of all nature is itself concentred and individualized—he is a revelation of nature.-S. T. COLERIDGE, Theory of Life.

All souls existed from the beginning in the divine soul; all individuality which is, has been, or will be, had its pre-existence in creative being.-SLACK, Ministry of the Beautiful.

those obligations binding upon his intelligent and amenable creatures.

The conjecture that angels-these pure intelligences and transcendently dignified spirits, assume corporeal forms, only on particular occasions, which, as soon as they are fulfilled, they throw off the transient medium which they required the vehicle of their visibility returning to the source from whence it originated; Dr. Dick, in his Philosophy and Theory of a Future State, pronounces "a mere assumption, destitute of any rational or spiritual argument to substantiate the truth. There is no passage of Scripture, with which I am acquainted," he remarks, "that makes such an assertion." The passage in Psalm civ. 4, "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire," has been frequently quoted for this purpose, but it has no reference to any opinion that may be formed on this point. Although the passage were considered as referring to angels, it would not prove that they were immaterial substances, for, while they are designated spirits, which is equally applicable to men, as well as to angels-they are also said to be a "flaming fire," which is a material substance. This passage seems to have no particular reference to either opinion; but if considered as expressing the attributes of angels, its plain meaning is, that they are endowed with wonderful activity-that they move with the swiftness of the winds, and operate with the force and energy of flaming fire; or, in other words, that He, in whose service they are engaged, and who directs their movements, employs them with the strength of the winds and with the rapidity of lightning. In every instance in which angels have been sent on embassies to mankind, they have displayed sensible qualities. They exhibited a definite form, somewhat analagous to that of man, and color and splendor, which were perceptible by the organ of vision-they emitted sounds, which struck the organs of hearing, they produced the harmonies of music, and sang sublime sentiments which were uttered in articulate words-they were distinctly heard and recognized by the persons to whom they were sent—Luke ii. 14—and they exerted their power over the sense of feeling; for the angel who appeared to Peter in the prison, "smote him on the side, and raised him up." In these instances angels manifested themselves to men through the medium of the three principal senses, by which we recognize the properties of material objects; and why, then, should we consider them as purely immaterial substances, having no connection with the visible universe? We have no knowledge of angels but from Revelation; and all the descriptions it gives of these beings, leads us to conclude, that they are connected with the world of matter as well as of mind, and are furnished with organical vehicles, composed of some refined material substance suitable to their nature and employments. When Christ shall appear the second time, we are told, that he is to come, not only in the glory of his Father, but also in the "glory of his holy angels," who will minister unto him, and increase the splendor of his appearance. Now, the glory which the angels will display, must be visible, and, consequently, material; otherwise, it would present no glory or lustre to their view. An assemblage of purely spiritual beings, however numerous, and however exalted in point of intelligence, would be mere inanity, in a sense intended to exhibit a visible display of the Divine supremacy and grandeur. The vehicles, or bodies of angels, are, doubtless, of a much finer mould than the bodies of men; but although they were at all times invisible. through such organs of vision as we possess, it would form no proof that they were destitute of such corporeal frames.

The air we breathe is a material substance, yet it is invisible; and there are substances whose rarity is more than ten times greater than that of the air of our atmosphere. Hydrogen gas is more than twelve times lighter than common atmospheric air. If, therefore, an organized body were framed of a material substance similar to air or hydrogen gas, it would in general be invisible; but in certain circumstances, might reflect the rays of light, and become visible, as certain of the lighter gaseous bodies are found to do. This is, in some measure, exemplified in the case of animalcula, whose bodies are imperceptible to the naked eye, and yet are regularly organized material substances, endowed with all the functions requisite for life, motion, and enjoyment."

To whose striking suggestions may not inappropriately be added, the acute observations of a kindred philosopher and that original thinker, Sir Thomas Browne. "Intuitive perception in spiritual beings may, perhaps, hold some analogy unto vision, but yet how they see us or one another, what eyes, what light, or what perception is requisite unto their intuition, is yet dark unto our apprehension,—and even how they see God, or how unto our glorified eyes, the beautiful vision will be celebrated, another world must tell us, when our perceptions will be new, and we may hope to behold invisibles.

"Again, desert not thy title to a divine particle and urion with invisibles. Acquaint thyself with the choragium of the stars, and consider the vast expansion beyond them. Let intellectual tubes give thee a glance of things which visive organs reach not. Have a glimpse of incomprehensibilities, and thoughts of things which thought but tenderly touch. Lodge immaterialities in thy head, ascend unto invisibles, fill thy spirit with spirituals, with the mysteries of faith, the magnalities of religion, and thy life with the honor of God, without which, though giants in wealth and dignity, we are but dwarfs and pigmies in humanity, and may hold a pitiful rank in that triple division of mankind, heroes, men, and beasts. For though human souls are said to be equal, yet, is there no small quality in their operations; some maintain the allowable station of men, many are far below it; and some have been so divine as to approach the apogeum of their natures, and to be in the very confinium of spirits."

Leaving the obscure frontiers and uncertain boundaries of doubtful speculations, we gladly re-enter the clearer atmosphere and reascend to the brighter scenes and more brilliant prospects which belong to the ethereal region of a satisfying belief and the sublimer decisions of the metaphysics of a biblical faith-recalled and re-animated by the exciting expostulation of St. Paul's glorious interrogatory, realizing the promise of our hope, the foundation of our faith, the perfection of holiness, and the victory of Redemption. Why should it be thought incredible with you, that God should raise the dead ?—or the thrilling and magnanimous challenge of the valiant warrior, the apostolic champion of the MYSTIC CROSS. Where is the wise, where is the scribe, where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after all that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that BELIEVE.

NOTE. We ought not to attempt to draw down or submit the mysteries of God to our reason, by contrariwise to raise and advance our reason to divine truth.-LORD BACON, Advancement of Learning.

Nothing contributes more to prove the spirituality of man, than the exalted delight which he is able to derive from the operations of his intellect or his fancy.-KNOX, Winter Evenings.

By spiritualizing the corporeal works of God, there may accrue to the pious soul uses far more valuable than they can afford the body.—BOYLE.

The annexed particulars have been selected from Allen's Modern Judaism ;-a most entertaining and instructive work, displaying an elaborate and extensive research into rabbinical literature, and a familiar acquaintance with Jewish traditions;-on account of the very extraordinary fictions, and representations and discrepancies which they embrace respecting the creation, other circumstances and events of the angelical world.

TRADITIONARY AND ANECDOTICAL.

"The rabbinical writings abound with traditions concerning angels. Of the time of their creation different accounts are given by different rabbies; who have endeavored to support their respective statements by the citation of texts of Scripture, which they wish their readers to accept as decisive proofs of what they have taken upon themselves to affirm. To the question, 'When were the angels created?' Rabbi Jochanan answered, 'The angels were created on the second day; this is what is written;' 'who layeth the beams of chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind; who maketh his angels spirits.'-Psalm civ. 3, 4. Rabbi Chanina said, 'The angels were created on the fifth day; this is what is found written.'

'And fowl that may fly about the earth;' and, with twain, he did fly.'-Gen. i. 20, Isaiah vi. 2. Rabbi Luliani maintains the orthodoxy of both these statements. They who follow the opinion of Rabbi Chanina, and those who adhere to that of Rabbi Jochanan, all agree that the angels were not created on the first day, that it might not be said Michael spread out the firmament in the south, Gabriel in the north, and the holy and blessed God in the middle; but "I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens above, that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself."—Isaiah xxiv. 24. Rabbi Bechai harmonizes them.

'There are some angels who continue forever, namely, those who were created on the second day but others perish, according to the explanation of our rabbies of blessed memory, who say that the holy and the blessed God created daily a multitude of angels who sing an anthem to his praise and glory, and then perish; and they are those who were created on the fifth day.' Another rabbi contradicts them all. 'Before the creation of the world, the blessed God created the shape of the holy angels, who were the beginning of all created beings, and were derived from a glance of his glory.' The description of Daniel, A fiery stream issued and came forth before him ;' 'thousand thousands minister unto him,' is supposed by Jaechiades to represent angels as emanations from the divine essence. He means to say, that they are of the very substance of that divine light which is of the same nature with the throne of glory; and because they are supporters of the throne, which is flaming fire, that is, pure light; though there can be no doubt, but that the light of the throne is a more transcendent light, because it is with God, himself, and emanated from him the first of any; whereas the angels were created afterwards, being seraphs, and a stream of fire, that is, light drawn from the first light.' But this comment is at variance with the Talmud, which from the same text had extracted the doctrine of a daily creation of angels who immediately sing an anthem and then expire;

that standard of Jewish orthodoxy not confirming this production of celestial ephemera to one particular day, as Rabbi Bechia does, but extending it to every day. Every day ministering angels are created out of the river Dinor or fiery stream, Daniel vii. 10, and they sing an anthem and cease to exist; as it is written; "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness. Lam. iii. 23. One book of high authority asserts all angels to be short-lived creatures of a single day. "The emperor Adrian (let his bones be pounded) once asked Rabbi Joshua, the son of Chanina: you say that none of the multitude of angels above do praise God twice, but the holy and blessed God creates every day in heaven, a multitude of angels who sing an anthem before him and then perish." And Rabbi Joshua answered him; "yea, we do say so." Another represents some angels as exempted from this fate. The holy and blessed God creates every day a multitude of angels, and they sing a hymn; except Michael and Gabriel and the princes of the chariot and the Metraton and Sandalphon, and their equals, who remain in their glory with which they were invested in the six days' creation of the world, and their names are never changed. After their hymn of praise the "ephemeral angels return again to the river Dinor, which is the place of their creation, and is derived from the sweat of those animals which are under the throne of glory, which sweat because they carry the throne of God." Some angels are said to be created from fire; others from water; others from wind; but from the sixth verse of the thirty-third psalm, Rabbi Jonathan inferred that there is an angel created by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God." Angels are described as differing greatly in magnitude and stature. The Talmud declares one angel to be taller than another by as many miles as a man would travel in a journey of five hundred years. One rabbi affirms, "that four classes of ministering angels sing praises in the presence of the holy and blessed God. The first class, at the head of which is Michael, is on the right hand; the second, under Gabriel, on the left; the third, under Uriel, before him; the fourth, under Raphael, behind him; and the divine Majesty is in the midst, seated on a throne high and lifted up." The distance at which the angels stand from the divine Majesty, is pretended to be stated by the famous Rabbi Akiba, almost with the geometrical exactness of an actual admeasurement. High rabbinical authority affirms that angels were consulted respecting the creation of man; that they divided into two parties, some strongly recommending his creation, and others loudly protesting against it; that while they were in a fierce pursuit on the subject God made Adam without their knowledge, and then informed them that their contentions were useless, for that man was already created.

Whatever satisfaction or dissatisfaction was produced in the angelic council by this decision, it was, long after, arranged at the bar of rabbinical scrutiny, and judgment was formally pronounced against the Creator. The following anecdote of piety and sapience is recorded in the Talmud. "The wise men say that for a number of years the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel disputed amongst themselves; some asserting that it would have been better if man had not been created; others contending that it was better for man to have been created. The votes being at length collected and counted, the majority were of opinion that it would have been better if man had not been created; but that now since he had been created, it was his duty to lead a virtuous life. Another rabbinical author asserts that the angels were previously consulted about the creation of the world. Among the Jews it is a received opinion, that the world was created on the first day of the month Tisri, and that on this day God sits in judgment on mankind; when three books are opened, of the righteous who observe the precepts, of the middling, and presumptuously wicked. The righteous are instantly written to everlasting life, and the wicked assigned to the burning fire. Those whose works are equal, remain in a state of suspense till the day of atonement. If, however, they forsake their evil works, and manifest repentance, their portion, ultimately, will be with the righteous; but if reformation do not intervene, death will be their destination."

The following additional traditionary and anecdotical statement of the diverse opinions and strange speculations which have been entertained by various writers, together with some curious particulars respecting the formation of the world, the creation and intercourse of angels, the first pair, the apostasy, Paradise, the nature of the soul, &c., may not be regarded as altogether uninteresting.

Some have imagined that the angels were created at the same time that Adam was made; while others have again considered the speculation as inconsistent or unworthy of belief from the supposition that sufficient time was not allowed for the obedience and probation of the angels in which to manifest their respective characters and moral dispositions. From the period of Adam's creation to the time of his fall, ten days were supposed to have transpired, which has undergone the following singular and descriptive calculation. Adam it appears was created on the sixth day, which was Saturday, the next being the Sabbath; which no doubt he observed and sanctified by worship; for, it is said, God ceased from his labor on that day and rested. On Monday, the animals were brought, in procession, by pairs, before him, to receive their appropriate names. On Tuesday, finding himself still companionless, God caused him to fall into a deep sleep, and took from his side the famous rib from which was produced the mother of mankind. Wednesday was occupied by Adam and Eve in forming one another's acquaintance, and selecting a suitable resting-place for the approaching night. Thursday was noted for the giving of the divine law expressing the conditions of life and death. On Friday they were shown the garden and trees of Paradise and instructed in what manner to dress and cultivate them. On Saturday they commenced their agreeable labors, unattended, however, by fatigue, indulging themselves in delightful conversation, in the examination and comparison of the beautiful objects of Paradise, and from which originated all the social happiness of the globe. On the Sabbath, they rested. Adam, with his heaven-given bride, celebrated the second Sabbath of the creation, employing its sacred hours in recounting the history of their first thoughts, and complacent interviews with angelic spirits, referring to the power and wisdom and benevolence of their Maker, and other suitable acts of devotion and holy aspirations. On Monday, they again resumed their attention to the garden of Eden, ascertaining the different kinds of fruits most delicious to their taste, beguiling their occupation by their happy conversation. Their language was imparted to them by Inspiration, and was the most comprehensive, eloquent and musical that could possibly salute the ears of immortals, resonant with the melody of heaven. On Tuesday, they became excursive in their imaginations, and desirous of knowing further respecting the extent and productions of Paradise, to wonder at its immensity, luxuriate in the profusion of its bounty, and look over its battlements to the country beyond or beneath it. The first pair, now separated from one another in the extensive grounds of the garden of Eden, but with greeting smiles met one another, at every opening of the enchanting scenery through which they wandered. As inclination actuated our first parents, so they were attracted by the fascinating objects which surrounded them. A beautiful stream, which formed a cascade, that dashed its transparent waters over a ledge of diamonds, arrested the notice and charmed the ears of our primogenitor Adam. During this time, Eve had seen at a distance, on a mount, the most gorgeous landscape of blushing roses, golden fruited trees, and luscious vines; while thousands of birds of Paradise feather the fragrant air with their burnished wings, warbling ethereal songs in harmony with the Æolian zephyrs of the atmosphere. Enchanted with the beauty of the surrounding loveliness, unobserved and unsuspected by Adam, who remained in fixed admiration by the iridescent cascade of the head waters of the Euphrates, Eve stole away. Surprised by the sportive play of a glittering fish in the silvery stream, which had not passed before him on the day he had designated the animals, he looked around to communicate his joyful astonishment to his fair helpmate, but discovered she had strayed away from his side. Not doubting of soon finding her, he strolled gently down the stream, when passing by a delicious grove of oranges, he saw her afar, descending a grassy acclivity, having in her hands the very fruit of the forbidden tree, of which she soon prevailed upon him to eat;

"Whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden."

This disastrous event completed the tenth day, including the Saturday of his creation.

The comparative extent of Eve's delinquency in proportion to Adam's guilt, has also exercised the elaborate ingenuity of the commentators, and they mostly agree that since she was not created when the prohibition was issued, she could not therefore have heard it, a conclusion confirmed by the inaccurate manner in which she reports it to the serpent; her share in the crime of disobedience is consequently considerably lighter than Adam's. In corroboration of this view of the matter, it is asserted that the Deity addressed his reproaches to Adam, alone, for having partaken of the forbidden fruit; whilst the gallantry of one annotator upon the words "I will put enmity between thee and woman," affirms the proof, that the sex from that period, became enlisted into the service of heaven as the chief foe and obstacle, which the Spirit of Evil would have to contend with in his inroads on this world.

"The fall of Adam by frail Eve-entic'd,
Was his own death, ours, and the death of Christ;
In whose backsliding may be apprehended
Offenders three, three offences, three offended.
The three offenders that mankind still grieve
Were Satan, Adam, and our grandam Eve;`
The three offences that sin first advanced
Were malice, weakness, and blind ignorance ;
The three offended to whom this was done,
The Holy Spirit, Father, and the Son.
Thus in the devilish Alcoran 'tis said
God i' the beginning four things made,

And those with his own hands: the first a pen,
Which all things from the first to the last, both when
And how they were created (writes at large ;)
The second thing he took into his charge
Was the man Adam, and the self-same day

He fashioned him of parti-colored clay,
And that's the reason (neither think it strange)
That in men's faces there is still such change
And contrariety in look and hair,
Some black, some brown, some tawny and some fair;
The third a throne, his majesty to grace;
The fourth for souls a blessed resting place
Called Paradise.-
As yet for instance, before man's creation,
The earth had solid and a firm foundation,
And was inhabited in time forepast,
By devils first, then angels, Adam last."
-HEYWOOD, Hierarchie of Angells.

Whether Eve was created in Paradise or not, has caused much controversy amongst the fathers and theologians. With respect to Adam, it is agreed, that he was created outside and put into Eden, to undergo the temptation which issued in his fall. Some of the commentators inquire with considerable warmth, why should woman, the ignoble creature of the two, be created inside? To which query, others again reply, that it was but a fair tribute to her beauty and purity that it should be so, and that in compliment to her, if the scene of creation was not already Paradise, on that event (her creation), it became so immediately. Josephus is amongst the number who believe she was made outside. The generality of the sentiments of the fathers upon this difficult subject is in favor of her being produced inside Paradise. The Rabbies have made some strange additions to the Mosaic account of the fall. They assert that Eve perceiving, by certain indications, that in consequence of eating the forbidden fruit, she must certainly die, thereupon determined that her husband should partake of the same, and amiably informed him that he must perish with her; urging him to taste of the interdicted fruit. Meeting her solicitations with repeated refusals, she tore off a branch from the tree, and belabored him without mercy, until he was induced to comply with her request; saying, this was the accusation preferred by Adam in his reply to Jehovah, "The woman whom thou gavest to be

with me, she gave me of the tree (that is, according to rabbinical interpretation, she cudgeled me with a bough of the tree) and I did eat." Some divines count Adam thirty years old at his creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man. Adam is represented as having been created of such an enormous height that he reached from earth to heaven. When the ministering angels saw him, they trembled and feared. What did they do? They all went up before God in the upper habitation and said, 'Lord of the Universe! There are two powers in the world.' Then God laid his hand upon Adam's head and reduced him to a thousand cubits; other rabbies affirm him to have been reduced to nine hundred cubits,-two hundred cubits-one hundred cubits in stature. They further mention, that in the hour in which God created the first man, he made a double person, male and female, with two faces, but joined them behind. That he afterwards cut asunder this two-fold person, thereby forming a man and a woman; and made a back for each. Not satisfied with converting Adam into a monster, the rabbies have degraded him into the similitude of an ape; gravely asserting that the creator made him with a tail, resembling an ourang-outang (Lord Monboddo's theory) but afterwards cut it off to increase his beauty. The following serio-comico description is too curious to be omitted. Adam and Eve being buried in the cave of Machpelah, this altercation is said to have happened between them. About twelve hundred years after their death, when Abraham was preparing to bury Sarah in the double cave, they arose, feeling unwilling to remain there any longer. They said, 'We have always been ashamed and confounded before the blessed God on account of the sin we have committed, and you are come to increase our disgrace, for your good works overwhelm us.'. Abraham answered: 'I promise that I will intercede with God for you, that you may not be confounded any more.' And so Adam returned to his place; but Eve, by no means satisfied with this, would not re-enter; whereupon Abraham, without losing much time, carried her, with his own hands, to Adam, and buried Sarah and Eve together. The grotesque notion was also held by some of the rabbies, that angels have bodies, which if cut, with admirable skill, would soon come together again, like the property of vermicular substances.

Amongst their ridiculous fables, the Rabbins mention as the descendants of Sammael, who was a fallen seraph, Adam and Eve. When the blessed God created the first man, whom he formed alone, without a companion, he said, 'It is not good that the man should be alone,' and therefore he created a woman and named her Lilith. They immediately began to contend with each other for superiority. The man said it behooves thee to be obedient, I am to rule over thee. The woman replied, we are on a perfect equality, for we were both formed out of the same earth. So neither would submit to the other. Lilith seeing this, uttered the Shem-hamp-horath, that is, pronounced the name of Jehovah, and instantly flew away through the air. Adam then addressed himself to God and said, 'Lord of the Universe! the woman whom thou gavest me has flown away from me.' God immediately dispatched three angels, Sennoi, Sansennoi, and Sammangeloph to bring back the fugitive. He said to them: If she consent to return, well; but if not, you are to leave her, after declaring to her that a hundred of her children shall die every day. These angels then pursued her, and found her in the midst of the sea, in the mighty waters in which the Egyptians were to be afterwards destroyed. They made known to her the divine message, but she refused to return. They threatened unless she would return to drown her in the sea. She then said, Let me go; for I was created for no other purpose than to debilitate and destroy infants; my power over the males will extend to eight days, and over the females to twenty days after their birth. On hearing this, the angels were proceeding to seize her, and carry her back to Adam by force, but Lilith swore by the name of the living God, that she would refrain from doing any injury to infants, whenever and wherever she should find those angels or their names or their pictures, on parchment or paper, or on whatever else they might be written or drawn, and she consented to the punishment denounced against her by God, that a hundred of her children should die every day. Hence it is that every day witnesses the death of a hundred demons of her progeny. And for this reason, young we write the names of these angels on slips of paper or parchment, and bind them upon infants, that Lilith, on seeing them, may remember her oath, and may abstain from doing our infants any injury. Another rabbinical writer says, 'I have also heard, that when the child laughs in its sleep in the night of the Sabbath or of the new moon, the Lilith laughs and toys with it, and that its proper father or mother, or any one that sees the infant laugh, to tap it on the nose and say, Hence, begone, cursed Lilith, for thy abode is not here, which should be said three times, and each repetition should be accompanied with a pat on the nose. This is of great benefit because it is in the power of Lilith to destroy children whenever she pleases.'

Some of the ancient divines held the opinion, that the creation of the angels was concealed from Moses, lest any man should apprehend (like some heretics of old) that they aided and assisted God in the formation of the world, when they only appeared as spectators; lest they should be deified, and the honor due to the Creator be conferred upon the creature. The schoolmen placed Paradise in the east, because the east is the nobler quarter, the right hand being more noble than the left, and the east being on the right. The period during which our first parents enjoyed their state of innocence, is as much disputed as the site of Paradise. Some extend the period to one hundred years, others, contract it to three hours; and a few, grant seven years. Cedrenus and Chrysostom place the fall on the evening of the day, in which Adam was created; and there are others who assign to the Protoplasti (as our first parents have been named), as many years of paradisiacal beatitude, as were occupied by our Saviour's ministry on earth.

The jesuit, Hardouin, places the terrestrial paradise in Palestine, intersected by the Jordan, and not far north from Enon, near Salim, in which John baptized. Different speculations have situated paradise in the third, fourth, or in the lunar heaven, in the moon itself, in a mountain near the lunar heaven, in the middle region of the air, without and above, and beneath the earth, in a place where the ken of man can never reach, under the arctic pole, in that spot of Tartary now occupied by the Caspian seas, in the extreme south, in a land of fire, in the east, on the banks of the Ganges, in Ceylon, in China, in an uninhabited place beyond the east, in America, in Africa, under the equator, above the mountains of the moon, from which the Nile is supposed to arise, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia, in Babylonia, and in Arabia. The Gannath, or happy garden of the Mahommedans, is compared to Paradise, irrigated by rivers of incorruptible water, streams of milk, pleasant wine, and clarified honey; containing flowing fountains, and abounding with all kinds of fruit, furnished with couches lined with embroidered silk, and covered with beautiful carpets interwoven with gold. Beauteous damsels, pure virgins with complexions like rubies and pearls, attended by youth with goblets of flowing wine. With the Mussulmen, it is a disputed question whether the future Paradise is already created or whether it will be created hereafter. The orthodox maintain that its locality is in the seventh heaven under the throne of God: that its soils consist of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or of saffron; its stones are pearls, and jacinths; the walls of its buildings are enriched with gold and silver, and the trunks of all its trees are of gold. The most remarkable tree in the palace of Mahommed is the Tuba, the tree of happiness, extending its boughs to the abode of every true believer. It affords grapes, dates, and pomegranates more luscious than ever regaled mortal palate, upon its twigs are ready dressed birds, silken mantles and horses with rich housings, all like fairy gifts in a panto-

mime, will burst from its opening fruits at a wish. The black-eyed damsels or Houris are formed of pure musk; some of the pavilions in which they reside are sixty miles square. Eight gates will lead to Paradise, and the first entertainment of the blessed, will be the whole earth presented as a single cake of bread, the ox Balâm and the fish Nûn, the lobes of whose liver will suffice for seventy thousand men. The very meanest will have eighty thousand servants and seventy-two Houris, besides all the wives whom they married when living. Whenever he eats, three hundred attendants will serve his table, with three hundred golden dishes at once. Wine, not forbidden in Paradise, will be supplied in equal variety and abundance. Perpetual youth will be the portion of the glorified inhabitants, who, at whatever age they may die, will be raised with the power and vigor of a man of thirty, and their stature will be increased to equal that of Adam, who measured sixty cubits.

Respecting the soul, the heathens supposed it was a coruscation of the sphere or particle of the Deity, and had an existence anterior to the foundation of the heavens. The modern Jews maintained the preexistence of the soul, considering it an emanation of the Deity, and eternal in its nature.

The Chaldeans represented the soul as originally endowed with wings, which fall away when it shrinks from its native element, and must be produced before it can hope to return. Some disciples of Zoroaster once inquired of him, "How the wings of the soul might be made to grow again." "By sprinkling them," he replied, "with the waters of life.” "But where are those waters to be found?" they asked. "In the garden of God," replied Zoroaster.

The mythology of the Persians has allegorized the same doctrine in the history of those genii who strayed from their dwellings in the stars, and obscured their original nature by mixture with the material spheres; while the Egyptians connecting it with the ascent and descent of the sun in the Zodiac,

consider autumn as emblematical of the soul's decline toward darkness, and the reappearance of spring as its return to life and light.

The Rabbinical fictions of the loves of Uzziel and the Schamchazai, may represent the fall of the soul from its original purity, and the loss of light and happiness which it suffers in the pursuit of the world's perishable pleasure; and the punishment both from conscience and divine justice with which impurity, pride, and presumptuous inquiry into the awful secrets of nature are sure to be visited.

The ancients fancied that impure souls, after their departure out of the body, wandered up and down, for a certain space, in their spirituous, vaporous, and airy body, appearing about sepulchres and haunting their former habitations.

The Arabians held the opinion that the souls of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day.

It was forbidden by the Council of Iliberit, in the year 313, to kindle a candle in a burying ground, lest it should disturb the souls of the departed. And that the dead, whose bodies were not decently interred, could not enter the world of spirits, but would have to wander about on the earth, was the general belief in Homer's time.

Origen supposed that God would not persist in his vengeance forever, but after a definite time of his wrath, he would release the damned soul from torture. He imagined it to exist anterior to the body, which as its earthly prison, would not rise again.

Pythagoras entertained the opinion of a three-fold constitution of the soul. The stoics, however, repudiated the idea of triple souls, or a triad of the mind.

The Rabbies divided the soul into three compartments-the seats of reason,-of appetite,-and of the passions.

They also held the conceit, that there is a heaven or treasury of souls called Gelph, from which God furnishes children, before their birth. On the sixth day of their existence, souls are described as having the honor of being consulted regarding their future incarnation into bodies. When the Creator said, 'Let us make man,' &c., he addressed the souls, and did not force them into the body, as a prison, without their consent. That in their original and glorious state, for centuries they enjoy the utmost happiness previously to their being embodied; and might again realize the same felicity after death; rendering the resurrection of the dead needless. The descent into and occupation of the body, however, is represented as not always perfectly voluntary. Take the following specimen of the union of the spirit to the embryo body. God beckons to the angel who is set over spirits, and says to him, Pray send me such a spirit. Presently he appears before Jehovah, and worships in his presence. Then says Jehovah to him: Betake thyself to this matter. Instantly the spirit excuses himself, and says unto him: Governor of the world, I am fully satisfied with the world in which I have existed from the day I was created; if it please thee, do not oblige me to betake myself unto this putrid matter, for I am holy and pure. Jehovah says unto him, The world into which I am going to send thee, is better than the world whence thou art; besides, when I formed thee, I did not make thee but for this matter; whereupon, God immediately coerces him, whether willing or unwilling, into the midst of the matter.

The foregoing, and many other vagaries, even more extravagant, which might be adduced from Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, are taken, be it remembered, from books which the Jews hold more sacred than the Bible of the Old Testament; and painful is the reflection, that such puerile fancies should still becloud the understandings, in connection with that awful delusion and disbelief which still paralyze the heart of Israel—once the peculiar and favorite people of Jehovah, to whom appertained the law, the prophets and the covenants-and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever.-Romans ix. 5.

RANKS AND TITLES.

In the prosecution of our inquiries, under the second division of our delightful theme, we are not forbidden the appropriate and auxiliary application of the law or principle of analogy, which we have previously employed; provided we invade not the sacred jurisdiction, nor trespass beyond the permitted boundary of an evangelical Faith,—on whose awful Peniel of solemn mysteries, wrestling Reason, Jacob-like, oft adventures with her sublime truths, a determined encounter; refusing to surrender, until the Angel of the covenant, at the day-dreak of spiritual illumination, touching the sinew of bold presumption, and checking the inquiry of vain curiosity, commands her to proceed onwards, though with the halting step of human frailty, in the toilsome and troublous journey of mortality, having achieved, in the glorious contest, the benediction and assurance of Divine aid and protection, as the victory of prevailing prayer.

The interdict of Scripture is not suspended over the supposition, that in the stupendous operations of Deity, a vast and boundless scale of beings exist, confirmed to the hallowed and modest inspection of Reason, as established by the developments and discoveries of science, and further sanctioned by the inspired declaration of apostolic authority, "That one star differeth from another star in glory;" whilst in the expanse of devout contemplation, wonders are presented exceeding the utmost ken of mortal faculties, and

the still more astonishing and brighter perceptions of angfec-intelligences—Canst thou by searching find out God?

Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection!

Any attempt, how ingenious soever or plausible, to fathom
the amazing and awful machinery of the Divine Architect,
eyond the precincts of Revelation, is not only vain and un-
fitable, but obvious impiety; and it is on this principle
we indignantly reject, notwithstanding his pretended
tions, the absurd supernaturalism of the Sweden-
ry of the intimate correspondency of terrestrial
h the celestial economy; as being in direct oppo-
the sacred averment of Inspiration, that Eye hath
seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the
heart of man, the things which God has prepared for
them that love him, as a daring encroachment upon the
invisible and resplendent domains of a genuine Faith.

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The subtle efforts, also, of another class of theorists, are equally objectionable, who would endeavor to reconcile the verities and mysteries of Christianity with the infidel notion of an eternal series; so ably considered and refuted in the following observation, of one of the strongest intellects, since the days of the Royal Preacher, which has appeared in gladiatorial conflict upon the capacious arena, of the splendid amphitheatre of metaphysical controversy and ethical science.

Soame Jenyns, in his Free Inquiry,—and to whose theory corresponded that of Pope* and Lord Bolingbroke,—

*"See through this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth;
Above, how high progressive life may go!
Around, how wide! how deep extend below!
Vast chain of being! which from God began
Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,

RANKS AND TITLES.

ached the hypothesis, that there exists a vast and finely
graduated chain of being, from Infinity to non-enity—from
God to nothing; and that to exclude a single link out of the

Beast, bird, fish, insect,-what our eye can see,
No glass can reach; from Infinite to thee,
From thee to nothing. On superior powers
Were we to press, inferior might on ours;
Or in the full creation leaves a void,
Where one step broken, the great scales, destroyed
From nature's chain, whatever link you strike,
Tenth, or tenth thousandth, breaks the chain alike."
Essay on Man.

For there is in this universe a scale of creatures, rising not disorderly or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of mere existence and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature;

between plants and animals and creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and man a far greater; and if the proportion held between man and angels there should be yet greater.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE, Religio.

Writers have not been wanting who enforce the doctrine of necessity with regard to all the phenomena of nature, as concatenated in a chain of iron mechanism, and affirm that an unbroken chain of gradually advancing organization has been evolved from the crystal to the globule, and thence through the successive stages of the polypus, the mollusk, the insect, the fish, the reptile, the bird, and the beast, up to the monkey and man. But while, on the other hand, we avoid being led away by the dazzling generality, or being offended with a wild speculation, reckless alike of inductive fasts and of moral consequences, let us not reject a principle which, when viewed, in subservient relation to other principles, may prove to exist, and to have a place in the reality of things.—HARRIS, Pre-Adamite Earth.

All the leading nations of the heathen world have fallen upon the belief of intermediate beings between man and the Great Supreme. The Dii Minores of the Latins and Greeks; the multitude of inferior gods amongst the Egyptians; the Amshaspands and Izeds, and Defs of Zoroaster and the Persians; the innumerable subordinate deities of the Hindoos, as well as other nations, all substantiate the propensity of the human mind to inculcate the doctrine of the existence of an order of intermediate beings between man and the Supreme.

concatenation would be destructive of the beauty and perfection of the whole. Dr. Johnson, however, asserted in opposition to this sentiment, "That this chain, from the very nature of things, must be incomplete at both ends-that between that which does, and that which does not exist, there must be an infinite difference, that chain, therefore, cannot be attached to nothing." The moralist further demonstrated, "That between the greatest of finite existences, and the adorable Infinite, there must exist another illimitable void,—that between unlimitedness and the limited, there must evidently appear an inevitable separation in nature and qualities, in relation to the existent and non-existent. He also asserted, that not only is it incomplete at both ends, but that we must view it as nearly incomplete, in many of its intermediate links, as well as at the terminal ones; that it is already a broken chain, seeing that between its various classes of existence, myriads of intervening existences might be produced by graduating more minutely what must necessarily be capable of infinite gradation; and that to base an infidel theory on the imaginary completeness of what is positively incomplete, and the impossibility of a gap existing in what is already replete with vacuities, is just to base one absurdity upon another.

"The scale of existence from Infinity to nothing cannot possibly have being. The highest being not infinite, must, be at an infinite distance from Infinity. Cheyne, who, with the desire inherent in mathematicians, to reduce everything to mathematical images, considering all existences as a cone, and allowing the basis is at an infinite distance from the body, in this distance between finite and infinite, there will be room for an infinite series of indefinable existences.

"Between the lowest positive existence and nothing, whenever we suppose actual existence to cease, is another chasm infinitely deep, where there is room, again, for endless orders of subordinate nature, continued forever and ever, and yet infinitely superior to non-existence. To these meditative excursions humanity is unequal. But we may inquire, not of our Maker, but of each other, since on the one side, creation, whenever it stops, must pause infinitely below Infinity, and on the other, infinitely above nothing, what necessity there is, that it should proceed so far either way-that being, so high or so low, should ever have existed. We may interrogate, but can any created wisdom supply an adequate rejoinder !"

Dr. Dick observes: "When we consider the variety of original forms and intellectual capacities which abound in our terrestrial systems, and that there is an infinite gap in the scale of being between the human mind and the Supreme Intelligence, it appears quite conformable to the magnificent harmony of the universe, and to the wisdom and beneficence of its Almighty Author, to suppose, there are beings within the range of his dominion as far superior to man in the comprehension and extent of mental and corporeal powers, as man is, in these respects, superior to the visible, despicable insect; and that these beings, in point of number, may exceed all human calculation and comprehension. The idea is corroborated by several intimations contained in the records of revelation, where we have presented to our view a class of intelligences, endowed with physical energies, power of rapid motion, and a grasp of intellect incomparably superior to those which are possessed by any of the beings which belong to our sublunary system."

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Furthermore. In the scale wheresoever it begins or ends are infinite hiatus. At whatever distance we conceive the next order of being elevated above man, there is room for an intervenient order of beings between them; and if for one, then an infinite concatenation of other orders, since everything that admits of more or less, and consequently all the parts of that which admit them, may be infinitely subdivided; so that as far as we can judge, there may be room in the vacuity between any two steps of the scale, or between any two points of the cone of being, for the infinite exertion of infinite power.

A becoming apprehension of the glorious attributes and moral perfection of God inclines to the conviction that He would take pleasure in calling into existence beings bearing a nearer resemblance to the spirituality of the divine nature, and renders it, therefore, not improbable, that Jehovah would create more than one order of intelligent and holy beings to reflect the glories of the Godhead, and celebrate with the seraphic praises of eternity the infinite benevolence and wisdom, and holiness of the incomprehensible I AM. Upon this supposition several philosophic writers have suggested that the planets are inhabited by rational beings as harmonizing with the arrangements of creative power, visible in the uniformity and developments of the natural world; and a similar inference has been drawn by theologians respecting the multitude and rank and precedency of the glorious inhabitants of the heavenly state.

The hypothesis is not without foundation, that a variety of orders prevail amongst the illustrious inhabitants of the celestial world, as consonant with the exhibitions and manifestations of almighty design and purpose, illustrated by an appeal to the physical constitution of the material universe which connects the solar system with others of a similar nature, and these not improbably, with some still greater and more magnificent central system, around which they revolve, and to which they are subordinate. What, therefore, is true and applicable with respect to the physical universe

by the parity of analogy, may be correct in reference to the great moral universe, in which Deity is represented as the central and all-influencing Sun.

"It is highly probable, independent of Revelation, that there are many orders of beings superior to man. To suppose our own species to be the highest production of Divine power would indicate irrational and puerile presumption. When we consider the infinite variety of creatures presented to our notice in the descending scale between us and nothing, it is agreeable to analogy to conceive the number is not less of those which are above us; the probability of which is enhanced by the discoveries now made of the extent of the universe, and of the existence of bodies compared to which the globe we inhabit is but a spot. While there are known to be material systems immensely superior in magnitude to that with which we are conversant, what should lead us to doubt that there are in the intellectual world beings possessing an equal mental superiority? It surely will not be pretended that there are any properties discernible in man that mark him out as the most transcendent workmanship of the Deity, the masterpiece of almighty power; or that there is any ground for supposing creative energy suspended its operations here, rather than at any other point in its progress. The distance between us and nothing is infinite, yet the interval is occupied and filled up with innumerable orders of sensitive beings; how improbable is it, then, that the distance between us and Deity, which is infinite, is an empty void! Were all the secrets of the material world laid open, and the whole structure of the human mind, with all the laws of thought, volition and emotion perfectly developed and explained, we should not be a step nearer to a solution of the question, under present consideration, nor at all more qualified to determine the number and orders of superior intelligences, or what station they occupied, or the faculties by which they are distinguished."*

An order of angels is as consentaneous with the natural apprehension of our minds, as the orders of beings lower than man, are with the observations of our senses.-PROF. STUART, Bibliotheca Sacra.

In the works of creation with which we are acquainted, we find a regular gradation pervading the whole; from the rudest specimen of brute matter, up to man, the lord and ruler of the lower world. Minerals, vegetables, and animals rise regularly in dignity, one above the other; the lowest species of these kingdoms of nature ascend, but little above the highest in that immediately beneath it; and no where do we find wide transitions or gaps in the scale of existence. It can scarcely be believed, therefore, that the interval between man and the Supreme Being, which presents such a wide chasm, is totally unpeopled. It is more natural to suppose that the interval is filled up by numerous orders of intelligent creatures, to whom the blessing of existence has been imparted by the Creator, and who are, in a variety of ways, subservient to the accomplishment of the purposes of providence.—Idem.

How natural does the thought seem which suggested itself to the profound mind of Cuvier, when indulging in a similar review of the wonders and analogies of nature. Has the last scene in the series arisen, or has Deity expended his infinitude of resources and reached the ultimate state of progression at which perfection can arrive? The philosopher hesitated, and then decided in the negative, for he was too intimately acquainted with the works of the omnipotent Creator to think of limiting his power; and he could therefore anticipate a coming period in which man would have to resign his post of honor to some nobler and wiser creature-the monarch of a better and higher world. How well it is to be permitted to indulge in the expansion of Cuvier's thought, without sharing in the melancholy of Cuvier's feelings, to be enabled to look forward to the coming of a new heaven and a new earth, not in horror, but in hope,—to be encouraged to believe in the system of unending progression, but to entertain no fear of the degradation or deposition of man! The adorable Monarch of the future, with all his unsummed perfection, has already passed into the heavens, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, and Enoch and Elias are there with him-fit representatives of that dominant race, which no other race shall ever supplant or succeed, and to whose onward and upward march the deep echoes of eternity shall never cease to respond.-HUGH MILLER, Footprints of the Creator.

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* Robert Hall, Personality of Satan.

RANKS AND TITLES.

Attracted by the rich luxuriance, and inviting landscapes of the panoramic scenery of beautiful illustrations, brave thought, curious and speculative theories, by which the pleasing investigation of our sublime subject has been surrounded, we have been detained beyond our intention; and proceed to show, so far as Revelation warrants, the preeminent dignity and exalted station which angelic beings sustain in the boundless empire of creation, irradiated in the dazzling glories of the reflected magnificence of the divine presence and the majestic display of Almighty wisdom and benevolence.

From the various representations which are given in the sacred pages of Holy Writ, respecting these celestial beings, as bearing the character, and fulfilling their exalted destination as attendants around the throne of the Most High, as the illustrious ambassadors of his will, and the appointed executioners of his purposes throughout the domains of universal empire; in connection with the transcendent attributes with which they are endowed, we cannot hesitate in determining, that they hold the highest rank and elevation in the scale of created intelligences. In the heavenly and supernatural visions vouchsafed to Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and St. John, they spoke of their overpowering resplendency, in the most exalted terms of inspired description, and with emotions of consternation and horror, indicative of their surprising grandeur. Mortal dialect fails to afford an adequate expression of their greatness and beauty, by allusions to earthly delineations and distinctions, describing them as the top, flowers, and the masterpieces of creation, the cream of all intelligent excellency, the nobles and princes of the universe, the body-guard of Jehovah, and the cabinet council of the Great Supreme, the miniatures of God. Even imagination, in her loftiest poetical strains, surrenders

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the attempt as presumptuous and vain; whilst the different and numerous titles attributed to them in the Scriptures, will further establish the pre-eminency of their distinction amongst spiritual existences.

SERAPHIM*; is the title applied, and in the Scriptures specified only, by Isaiah, in his overpowering vision recorded in the sixth chapter of his prophecy, as denominating the highest order of the celestial hierarchy, and as their name indicates, from the Hebrew epithet, burners or burning ones, "glowing with a pure and serene, intense and immortal flame of divine love; returning, without ceasing, the light and warmth which they have received from the great central Sun of the universe; reflecting with supreme beauty the image of that divine Luminary." In the entranced visions of the prophet Ezekiel, and St. John the Divine, the living creatures mentioned, if not precisely identical, present a most striking and very close resemblance. As the symbolical figures in the Holy of Holies were called cherubim, from their proximity to the Divine Presence, so Isaiah appropriates to these glorious beings which he beheld in the spirit, the term of Seraphim, to de-

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* Dionysius makes the following arrangement in the precedency of angels; giving the first place to the angels of love, called Seraphim; the second, to the angels of light, styled Cherubim ; and to the third, in their respective rotation, as angels of knowledge, illumination, office and authority, under the terms, thrones, principalities, dominions, powers, virtues, &c.

The Platonists divided angels into three classes. Supercelestes, which stand in the presence of Jehovah; Celestes, who are appointed to govern the stars; Subcelestes, commissioned to rule over kingdoms, cities, and particular persons.

Cardinal Hugo, a famous divine of the twelfth century, distributes the heavenly angels into three classes or hierarchies, each of which he subdivides into three orders. In the highest are cherubim, seraphim, and thrones; in the middle class are dominions, principalities, and powers; in the lowest are virtues, arch-angels and angels.

note their flaming, dazzling appearance; the idea being naturally suggested by the splendid effulgence of the golden cherubs, when they reflected the glory of God in the tabernacle of Israel; and in which belief the Jewish commentators agree: "This is Mercavah, which is the name they give to Ezekiel's vision of the living creatures and the wheels; and this appears by the name Seraphim, which signifies burning. So Ezekiel's living creatures are said to be like burning coals of fire."

Dr. Owen regards the seraphim as a distinct order of angelic beings. The generally received opinion of the Jews maintain, that those visions of the glory of God granted to Isaiah and Ezekiel were the same, and that Ezekiel saw nothing but what Isaiah saw also; only they say, that Ezekiel saw the glory of God and his majesty, as a countryman, who admires all the splendor of the court of a king; Isaiah, as a courtier, who took notice only of the person of the king himself. Isaiah calling the glorious ministers of God, seraphim, from their nature compared to fire and light; Ezekiel, cherubim, from their speed in the accomplishment of their duties. Isaiah saw his vision as in the temple. "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." Aben Ezra and Kimchi, suppose that he saw the throne of God in aven, and only his train of glory descending into the temple; yet it is more probable that he saw the throne itself in the temple, his train spreading abroad to the filling of the whole house; for the temple is called "The throne of his glory," Jer. xiv. 21; and, “A glorious high throne," chap. xvii. 12; that is, a throne high and lifted up, as in this place. Ezekiel saw his vision abroad in the open field, by the river Chebar; chap. i. 3. Isaiah saw first the Lord himself, and then his glorious attendants. Ezekiel saw first the chariot of his glory and then God above it. Isaiah's seraphims had six wings, with two thereof they covered their faces, which Ezekiel's cherubim had not; and that because Isaiah's vision represented Christ, referred to by the Evangelist John: These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him, involving the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews, and which the angels were not able to look into,-Eph. iii. 9, 10; and were therefore said to cover their faces with their wings, as not being able to look into the depths of those mysteries; but in Ezekiel's vision, when they attended the will of God in the works of his providence, they looked upon them with open face."*

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* Amongst the directions of Jehovah given to Moses, he was commanded to make figures of cherubim of solid gold, with which to decorate the mercy-seat of the tabernacle.-Exodus xxv. 18-22. Solomon also, ornamented the altar-piece of his magnificent temple, with immense figures of cherubim.-2 Chron. iii. 13, 14. We have no account, that there was ever made any sculptured or pictorial representations of seraphim. Sir Robert

Ker Porter, however, in his travels in the East, found in Persia an ancient relic, on one side of a square column at Mourg Aub, purporting some resemblance; but it was conjectured to have intended some superior spirit, probably the tutelary genius of the country. It is supposed to have been about the age of Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, and to furnish the best, if not the only ancient representation of the seraphim of Scripture. The figure is of the human form, with the wings attached; two of which fall to the feet, and two others rise above the head, which is covered with a symb cal mitre surrounded by horns. The figure faces the temple, with uplifted hands and open, standing in a benedictive attitude. Sir Robert, remarks, "With the exception of the mitre, there is no thing I have seen or read of, which bears so strong a resemblance to the whole figure on the pillar as the ministering or guardian angels described under the name of cherubim, by the different writers in the Bible; and if we are to ascribe these creations to Cyrus, how readily may he have found the models of his genii, either in the spoils of the temple of Jerusalem, which he saw among the treasures of Babylon, or from Jewish descriptions, in the very word of prophecy, which mentions

Though their name and title are not declared by the apostle John, it seems clear that the mysterious beings, who in vision were beheld by him when in exile in the isle of Patmos, were seraphim. His description corresponding to that of Isaiah's, "In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within; and they rest not day or night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.-Rev. iv. 6-8. "The Lord sitting upon a throne," as in human form, is declared by the apostle to have been Christ in his glory. He alone has manifested the Godhead to men; for, No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.-John i. 18. This august emblematical scene relates, therefore, to the pre-existent glory of the Son of God, as our Redeemer.

The "throne high and lifted up," the Rev. Mr. Scott, in his Commentary, observes, "seems to have been the place of the mercy-seat, over which the glory of the Lord used to appear, and where he reigned as the God of Israel over the whole earth; and as an exterior symbol of his majesty," his train or the skirts of his robes filled the whole temple. "Above," or rather over against, this throne stood the seraphim, the burning ones, the most glorious of

him by name, and which doubtless would be in the possession of Daniel, and open to the eye of the monarch, to whom it so immediately referred."

In Sweden, about the year 1334, there was a military order instituted with the title of Seraphim; but dormant from the period of the Reformation until 1748. It derived its name from the golden fringes, embroidered with cherubim, whereof the collars of the order were composed. The number of knights, besides the king, and members of the royal family, being limited to twenty-four.

the angelic order. They stood as employed in celebrating his praises, and preparing to execute his mandates. Each of them had six wings; "with twain he covered his face ;" an emblem of his inability steadfastly to behold, or fully to comprehend, all the glory of the Lord, and of profound reverence and adoring awe. "With twain he covered his feet," denoting humility, as conscious that he and his services were unworthy the notice of the Lord, or even of the other seraphim in the presence of the Lord. "And with twain he did fly," representing their prompt celerity and alacrity in executing the will of God; at the same time, they sang aloud, responsive to each other, " Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts." This three-fold repetition has generally and justly been supposed to refer to the three Divine Persons in the Trinity, and to the holiness displayed in the great work of redemption.* For the seraphim seem to celebrate to the Lord's holy hatred of sin, as displayed both in the salvation of the gospel, and in the punishment of its opposers; in which respect the whole earth, "as well as the heavens has been or will be filled with his glory. While this solemn hymn of praise was echoed from one to another of the angelic worshippers, the post or pillars of the porch of the temple shook at every response, and the whole house was filled with smoke, or thick darkness, as when it was dedicated by Solomon."-1 Kings viii. 10-14.

The Jews say that this treble ascription of praise refers to the three worlds, as if it were, Holy, is Jehovah in the world of spirits; holy, in the middle world of the stars and other heavenly bodies; and holy, upon earth which we inhabit. But leaving this fanciful interpretation, every

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* In glorious imitation of this solemn ascription of praise and homage by the angelic hosts, is said to have originated the practice of chanting or responsive worship in the Protestant Episcopal service and communion.

Christian will readily acknowledge that the mystery of the Trinity of the sacred persons in the adorable Godhead, is the evident mystery contained in this triple celebration of the glory and holiness of Jehovah.

In the book of Numbers, xxi. 6, 8, the fiery serpents there mentioned are called seraphim, either from their color, or from their rage, or the effects of their venomous bite, which produced the most painful inflammation attended with insatiable thirst. Their luminous appearance, when flying, in the air, presented a shining form like fire; and as beings of the highest order in the celestial hierarchy, are styled "angels of the presence," from Isaiah vi. 2, 6; the prominency which has been given to the serpent in ancient worship and idolatry is doubtless founded on their symbolical character. The brazen serpent raised by Moses in the wilderness, was typical of the expected Messiah, the Saviour of mankind, and so recognized by those of the Israelites whose faith realized the saving remedy for all sin in the redemption of Christ. For proof of which they adduce that passage in John iii. 14: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." Some writers having indulged the conceit that the brazen serpent exhibited the shape of the cross, formed by the appearance of its wings, which resembled, however, more those of the web-like texture of the bat, than the feathers of a bird. Some of the Christian fathers and early commentators, suggest the idea, that the success of the arch-fiend over Eve, in the temptation of the garden of Eden, was mainly attributable to his assumption of the similitude of this splendid and illustrious figure, which she had observed always attended the majesty and manifestation of the divine glory or shechinah, mistaking the voice of the serpent which addressed her as one of the Sons of God.

Istum fuisse serpentem cui Eva ut filio dei crediderat.

CHERUBIM, is also another title by which the angels of God are designated; its etymon being derived from the Hebrew, and signifies, fulness of knowledge. According to some expositors the term is taken from a Chaldaic word denoting youth. Others, give it the meaning of swiftness of flight, as angels have usually appeared with the appendage of wings. Others, again, attribute to it the same root as Rabbi, a teacher, implying the extent of knowledge and vast intelligence possessed by angels, represented also by eyes in the mysterious and apocalyptic visions of Ezekiel and St. John. Full of eyes round about, and before, and behind, and within.

The first mention of cherubim recorded in the Scripture, is in 3d chapter of Genesis and 24th verse,* from which we learn they were divinely appointed as sentinels to guard the approach to the garden of Eden immediately upon the disobedience and apostacy of our first parents.

Respecting the history, the character, the nature and the design of the cherubim, much ingenuity has been exercised, learning expended, and an abundance of theological controversy and speculative explanations indulged. Those which Moses, by divine authority, was commanded to prepare and place at each end of the mercy-seat or propitiatory, and which overshadowed the ark, with expanded wings, in the most holy place of the Jewish tabernacle, were very splendid figures, made of pure and solid, beaten and burnished gold.-Exodus xxv. 18, 19. The original import of their name, together with their form or shape, excepting that they were alata animata, winged creatures, is not definitely ascertained. The opinion of Grotius, that they resembled the figure of a calf, or the supposition of Bochart and Spencer, that they partook more of the character of the bull, than anything else, is as groundless as it is infelicitous. Josephus states that they were extraordinary creatures, of a figure unknown to mankind. The opinions of critics founded upon the 10th verse of the 1st chapter of Ezekiel were, that they were figures composed of various creatures, as a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. But we are not furnished with any decided evidence that the figures placed in the Holy of Holies in the tabernacle were of the same description as those symbolical representations which appeared, in a vision, to the prophet Ezekiel. The contrary rather seems to be indicated, inasmuch as they looked down upon the mercy-seat, which is an attitude not well adapted for a four-faced animal, like the

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* The fiery flying serpent, whose body moving in the air resembled the vibration of a sword, like flaming fire, was appointed with the cherubim to guard the entrance of the garden of Eden. Cherubim and seraphim are frequently mentioned in Scripture as attendants upon the Divine Majesty or Shechinah; which appeared here in great glory, at the passage into the garden of Paradise, as well as in aftertimes, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation of Israel, to their great astonishment.-PATRICK.

* All the multiform animals which appear in connection with Idolatry owe their origin to the cherubim; being misrepresentations of the doctrines or mysteries retained in the legends of these "overshadowers of the mercy-seat." The satyrs, sphinxes, chimera, &c., which have been introduced and interwoven into every system of pagan idolatry, probably originated from the misunderstood remembrance of these Hebraic symbols.

The cherubim mentioned by the sacred historian, were the sum and substance of the second and patriarchal dispensation, as the Jews truly confess the ark with the mercy-seat and cherubim to have been the whole Levitical service. There can be no doubt but these sacred emblems were carefully preserved by Adam and his believing posterity to the times of Noah, and from him to Moses.-PARKHURST, Lexicon.

The cherubim may be traced on the insignia of the armies of the Israelites. The standard of Reuben was the figure of a man; Judah's, that of a lion; Ephraim's, that of an ox; and Dan's, that of an eagle.

emblematical cherubim which Ezekiel beheld.

The cherubim of the sanctuary were two in number, one at each end of the mercy-seat, which, with the ark, was placed exactly in the middle, between the north and south sides of the tabernacle. It was here that atonement was made and God rendered propitious, by the high priest sprinkling the blood upon and before the mercy-seat.-Lev. xvi. 14, 15. Here the glory of God was manifested, and here, he met the high priest, and through him, maintained intercourse with his chosen people.-Exodus xxv. 22; Numb. vii. 89. From hence he gave forth his oracles; whence the whole place was called debir, from the root debar, which signifies to speak, because God who dwelt between the cherubim, declared his mind from hence, when he was consulted, by the high priest, with urim and thummin. These cherubim had feet whereon they stood, and which were joined in one continued beaten work to the ends of the mercy-seat, covering the ark, so that they were entirely over and above it.

Those in the tabernacle were wrought solid gold, but of small dimensions; whilst those in the magnificent temple of Solomon were of great magnitude, fabricated from the wood of the olive tree, or tree of oil, overlaid with gold, and whose expanded wings extending the entire breadth of the oracle or altar piece, being twenty cubits broad.-1 Kings vi. 23-28; 2 Chron. iii. 10-13.

They are also styled cherubim of glory, not from the beauty or excellency of the material of which they are composed, but from constituting a glorious symbol of the Divine Presence or Shechinah which rested between them. As this glory resided in the inner tabernacle, and as the figures of the cherubim represented the angels who surrounded the manifestation of the Divine Presence in the world above, that tabernacle was rendered a suitable emblem or image of

the court of heaven, in which light it is alluded to throughout St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews.*

The disciples of Mr. Hutchinson strenuously contended that the cherubim are emblematical representations of Jehovah himself, or rather of the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, with man received into the divine essence. To which objections have been raised ;-that God being a pure spirit, without parts or passion, perfectly separate and remote from all matter, should require Moses to make material

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*The most generally received opinions respecting the cherubim are, either that they were hieroglyphics of the Trinity, as they appear in the works of creation, providence, and redemption; or that they represent the character and office of the ministers of religion; or were descriptive of the general history of the church. The subject is intricate, but one leading idea runs through all the interpretations, namely, that they have evident reference to the plan of redemption, for they are allowed to be descriptive either of its divine authors, its divinely commissioned human instruments, or its general history.-WM. BROWN.

Cherubim were introduced into the tabernacle and the temple, and appear to have been considered as the emblems of the visible church.-TownSEND, Notes Old Test.

The word translated flaming sword, imports a bright flame of waving fire. That this appearance was permanent at the gate of Paradise, and supposed to be the same glory which was manifested to Moses in the Burning Bush. Under the Levitical institution the cherubic symbols and the burning flame were united both in the tabernacle and the temple; the cherubim being constered as emblems of the visible church, and the burning flame symbolical of the Divine Presence. The human form in Ezekiel's vision was a representation of the Angel-Jehovah; the head and protector of the visible church. From this Divine personage, out of the midst of the flame, between the cherubim, the prophet received his commission; and is the same mysterious and sacred Being who had appeared unto Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, "the school of the seers," under the Judaic, and prophetic economy as well as to the apostles, St. John, in the isle of Patmos, and the primitive saints, under the Christian dispensation, and who will descend to the Judgment, with the glory of heaven, surrounded by the resplendent train of attendant angels.

and visible images of himself is highly improbable, and counter to the repeated interdictions to the Israelites, as well as the more direct prohibition enacted in the second command of the decalogue delivered from the summit of Mount Sinai, amidst thunder and lightnings, blackness, and tempest, and the awful voice of the trumpet waxing louder and louder, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth."* Add to this, that in all places in Scripture where the cherubim are specified, God is expressly distinguished from them. The Lord placed at each end of the Garden cherubim, and a flaming sword. He rode upon a cherub and did fly. He sitteth between the cherubim. The glory of the God of Israel was gone up from the cherub, whereupon he was to the threshold of the house. Then the glory of the Lord went up from the cherub, and stood over the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the Lord's glory. And again, Then the glory of the Lord

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* Within the sanctuary of the temple at Jerusalem were the figures of the cherubim. These figures combined, in one body, a man, a bull, a lion, and an eagle, in which the form of the bull predominated. The calves which Jeroboam set up, were intended to represent these cherubim, and were either the entire figure of the cherubim, or in the shape of an ox or a calf, or perhaps, only having the head of a calf, in which case Jeroboam would merely have been guilty of schism and not idolatry. But he had no sooner set up the golden calves than he gave them the names of the Egyptian idols, declaring the cherubim to be the bulls Apis and Mneois, and pronounced them the deliverers of Israel from the thraldom of Egypt, requiring them to be received with similar rites, as those with which Jehovah was worshipped at Jerusalem. In this manner Jeroboam caused Israel to commit the heinous sin of idolatry. Hosea x. 5: Styles the idols of Jeroboam "the calves of Beth-aven." Aven was the same as the Egyptian deity Aun or On. Aven, Aun or On, was the sun, the same as Osiris. The worship of the calves, therefore, must have been, virtually, that of the sun.

departed from the threshold of the house, and stood over the cherubim.

In all the foregoing passages the glory of the Lord, that is, the shekinah, the sublime symbol of his presence is carefully distinguished from the cherubim; without the slightest intimation being afforded, that they were images or emblematical representations of the incomprehensible Jehovah. Mr. Parkhurst's elaborate attempt to sustain Mr. Hutchinson's sentiments, involve contradiction, and are much too fanciful for the sobriety of Christian judgment to obtain a ready reception.

In conformity with the opinions of many eminent divines, the cherubim are supposed to represent the angels that surrounded the Divine Presence in heaven; and accordingly their faces were directed towards the mercy-seat where God was declared to dwell; whose glory the angels in the tabernacle of the upper sanctuary always behold, and upon which their eyes are continually fixed, as they are also on Christ, the true propitiatory, which mystery of Redemption, They desire to look into, and evidently signified by the cherubim being turned inward, and their eyes steadfastly fixed, in the attitude of inspection, on the mercy-seat.

In Ezekiel's vision, the cherubic figures are obviously connected with the dispensations of providence, and they have, therefore, appropriate forms emblematical of strength, wisdom, swiftness, and constancy, requisite for holy angels, as ministering spirits to execute the designs of God; but in the sanctuary they are associated with the administration of the purposes of grace, and accordingly appear more properly in the representative character of adoring angels.

Some commentators have agreed that zōa, or the living ones (mistranslated "beasts,") are hieroglyphical representations, not of the characteristics of angels, but those of

genuine Christians during the suffering and active periods of the Church of Christ. The first a lion, signifying their undaunted courage in undergoing the torture of martyrdom; the second, a calf, indicative of unwearied patience and constant labor; the third, having the face of a man, expressive of circumspection, prudence, and compassion; the fourth, a flying eagle, to imply activity, penetration, and vigor—representing, likewise, the extensive ministration of angels, in whatever appertains to the providential events and circumstances attending the progress of Christianity.

The wheels which composed a part of the august machinery of Ezekiel's vision, have been regarded as representing the throne of the Deity. The involution of the wheels intimate, their rolling every way, with the perfect freedom of locomotion, showing how well adapted were the forms of the cherubim for the service of conducting the throne-their faces turning every way.

The eyes* in the wheels are significant of the dispensations of Providence controlled by infinite wisdom; and the glittering splendid hues or tints radiated from them, fitly represent the dazzling brightness of those illustrious and attendant spirits that encircle the divine majesty of Jehovah.

A modern divine† considers that "there is no foundation in the Scripture for the opinion that cherubim and seraphim are distinct orders of angels. The two names are merely distinctive of two attributes attaching to the same order of

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* It would not be far from the truth to say, that these eyes were of the nature of those we call eyes in the peacock's feathers, that is, they were spots peculiarly embellished with colors or streaks, like those of the golden pheasant of China.-TAYLOR.

† Dr. Henderson.

beings their nearness to Jehovah, and the glorious effulgence of their celestial nature."

Dean Woodhouse, in his translation of the Apocalypse, pronounces with much confidence a similar opinion, stating that the description of living creatures in Rev. iv. 6, is improperly rendered, and which he proceeds to prove by a comparison of several particulars; and that the living creatures of Saint John, are the same celestial intelligences with those described by Isaiah and Ezekiel, showing by the resemblance of the description, that the seraphim of Isaiah and the cherubim of Ezekiel are reconciled in the similitude or character of the living creatures of St. John's apocalyptic vision, to wit: 1st. The number of living creatures is the same as described by the prophet; but Ezekiel already intimates the indistinctness of the vision, and the difficulty of expressing by similitudes taken from earthly things; for he says, "As it were the likeness of four living creatures."

2. Here both writers concur in expressing this indistinct-
John says,
"In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne," as if he could not fix the exact station
ness.
of these heavenly attendants. Ezekiel says, "In the midst," and at the same time expresses the uncertainty of their position.

The abundance of eyes is the same in both writers, though not described exactly in the same manner. From both, it appears that no part of these heavenly ministers are without eyes. The eyes, that wonderful part of animal creation, the inlets of knowledge and intelligence, are innumerable, and thus express infinite superiority of understanding to anything which is earthly.

In the vision of Ezekiel, the cherubim had each four wings; in that of Isaiah and Saint John, they have six.

With reference to the propriety of the difference, Grotius remarks, that "the seraphim of Isaiah have two more wings than the cherubim of Ezekiel, because they are represented as being more immediately in the presence of God; and therefore each of them is furnished with twain to cover his face before such transcendent brightness." Here, also, what was wanting in Ezekiel's description is supplied by that of Isaiah. The seraphim sung the praises of God without intermission.

After this comparison of concordant passages of Scripture, we shall have little hesitation in determining the nature and species of these living creatures of the Apocalypse. They are the same with those in Isaiah and Ezekiel; and Ezekiel has settled that point, by declaring expressly that they are cherubim, and that he knew them to be cherubim. They are the highest order of angelic beings, attending nearly upon the throne, and speaking thence with the voice of thunder, which is the voice of God. They are so near to the throne, so intermingled with its dazzling splendor, that human faculties must fail in attaining any precise and adequate idea of them.

Notwithstanding the confidence with which the Dean has supported his views regarding the identity of the living creatures seen by Ezekiel and those glorious spirits beheld in the vision of Isaiah, we leave them to the judgment of those who are conversant with the difficulties of reconciling the differences of theological controversy, and submit his diatessaron accordingly.

Withdrawing, from the turbid and agitated waters of polemical theology, how much serener, more delightful, consolitary and animating is the contemplation that these illustrious, resplendent, benevolent and sympathizing spirits are ever active on our behalf, and constantly interpose for our welfare, in every temptation, trial, affliction, seasons of despondency, privation, and sorrow;-softening to our overpowered spiritual apprehension, the insufferable glory and ineffable grandeur of the Divine Majesty,* by whom they are commissioned, with errands of mercy and grace, to carry forward the benignant purpose of almighty goodness, forbearance and loving-kindness, comprehended in the great and wonderful mystery of Godliness-the Redemption.†

"A throne of pure and solid splendor framed,
On which the Monarch of Immensity,
With such intolerable brightness flamed,
That none of all the purest standers-by
Could, with cherubic or seraphic eyes,
His vast irradiations comprise."
Where the bright seraphim in burning row,
Their loud uplifted trumpets blow,
And the cherubic host in thousand choirs,
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires.
"The helmed cherubim,
And sworded seraphim,
Are seen in glittering ranks with wings displayed,
Harping in loud and solemn choir
With inexpressive notes to heaven's born heir."
BEAUMONT.
MILTON.
MILTON, The Nativity.
"Yet far more faire be those bright cherubims,

Which all with golden wings are over dight,
And those eternal seraphims,
Which from their faces dart out fierce light."
SPENSER.

Perhaps when the Jewish nation shall be converted, and become believers in Christ, there may be such new effusion of the Spirit on men, or such a happy discovery some way made of the darker parts of the Mosaic economy, and the writings of the prophets, as may show us more of the resemblance, which God designed between the type of the law in the temple and priesthood, and their antitypes in the gospel, than has ever yet appeared;

For the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him and delivereth them. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousand of angels.

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In connection with the foregoing statement, it will be only quisite that we briefly enumerate the other titles of disction by which the angelic Intelligences of the celestial hosts are designated in the sacred Scriptures.

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ARCHANGEL.-The specification of this title is no where. to be found in the Old Testament, and only mentioned twice in the New, being applied only to one personage, under the name of Michael. In St. Jude, where it is mentioned, Michael is represented as contending with the arch-fiend respecting the discovery of the body of Moses.* The other

and, among other things, the form of a cherub, as an attendance of angelic beings on the Majesty of God, in the Holy of Holies, may appear more conspicuously in its original truth and glory.-DR. WATTS.

* From an obscure passage in the New Testament, in which Michael the archangel is said to have contended with the devil, about the body of Moses (Jude 7) we may collect, that he was buried by the ministry of angels, near the scene of the idolatry of the Israelites; but the spot was purposely concealed, lest his tomb might also be converted into an object of idolatrous worship among the Israelites, like the brazen serpent. Bethpeor lay in the lot of the Reubenites (Josh. xiii. 20). His death was announced by the Lord himself to Joshua, "Moses my servant is dead," (Josh. i. 2). So that there was no human witness of his decease; the account of which was probably added by Joshua from revelation.-DR. Hales.

The same God, that by the hands of his angels carried up the soul of Moses to his glory, doth also, by the hands of his angels, convey his body down into the valley of Moab, to his sepulture. Those hands which had received the law from him, those eyes that had seen his presence, those lips which had conferred so often with him, that face that did so shine with the beams of his glory, may not be neglected when the soul is gone: He, that took charge of his birth and preservation in the reeds, takes charge of his carriage out of the world; the care of God ceaseth not over his own, either in death, or after it.-BP. HALL.

Michael seems to be invested with a rank and power in the armies of

instance in which it occurs is recorded in 1st Thessalonians iv. 16, where the term archangel is used in reference to the second advent of our Saviour at the last day, coming in his glory, and attended by the resplendent retinue of heaver respecting which Theoderet has this striking and soler apothegm. "That if the sound of the trumpet, when t law was given from Mount Sinai, was so dreadful to te Jews, that they said unto Moses, Let not the Lord spek unto us, lest we die; how terrible must be the sound of this trumpet (the archangel's) which will call all men to the final judgment.” Whether in both these instances Jesus Christ may not be intended, is deserving of the consideration, and has attracted the notice of the biblical student. Bishop Horsley, besides other critics, confidently asserts, with much ability and ingenuity, that the reference in the passage in Jude is alone applicable to the Redeemer of mankind; for the word archangel simply indicates a superiority of command over the hierarchy of heaven. Some of the ancient writers, holding the singular conceit, that the rank over which Michael presides, is the eighth of the celestial orders,* affirming that Paul mentioned only a part of the heavenly choir, there being more of which he has not spoken. Others have imagined that the distinction of the title bears some allusion to the customs of oriental order observed in the courts of the Assyrian, Chaldean and Persian kings.

heaven, to which that of Satan seems to correspond amongst the infernal crew of fallen angels.

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* The fathers entertained the opinion that the vacancies occasioned in the different orders of angels by the fall of Lucifer, were to be filled up from the human race.

A council of the papacy backs the idea, that it was only the tenth order of the celestial Hierarchy that revolted and apostatized, and that, therefore, the promotions which occasionally take place are intended for the completion of that grade alone.

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Michael, the archangel, tells Daniel that he is one of the chief princes in the court of the Almighty.

From the passages in the Bible which contain the name of Michael, he there appears, and is pointed out to our view as an angel of peculiar dignity and transcendent glory in the court of the Most High. Gabriel and Michael are the only proper names of angels recorded in the Holy Scriptures; and it has been argued from this circumstance, that all the multitudes of the angelic hosts have their appropriate distinctive appellations; and though to our finite comprehension such a conjecture presents an extreme difficulty, yet, the God "who telleth the stars and calleth them all by their names, and whose understanding is infinite, may have the name of each particular angel registered in the apocalyptic book of immortality.*

Some commentators suppose that those princes or angels, (Danl. x. 13,) who opposed Michael and Gabriel, were evil spirits, such as are described by St. Paul under the names of the rulers of the darkness of this world, having their residence in the lower regions of the air.-Ephes. ii. 2; vi. 12. These evil spirits are sometimes represented as a part of the heavenly host, both in respect to their original station, and because they are the instruments of Providence, and have a command over the inferior world, as far as God thinks fit to permit it.-(1 Kings xxii. 19; Job i. 6. They are likewise represented as accusers of good men before God, and as aggravating their faults, in order to have them delivered over to them, as the executioners of God's judgments, (Job i. 11; ii. 5; Rev. x. 12). It was the opinion of the Jews, that there are noxious and accusing spirits who fly about the air, and that there is no space between the earth and the firmament that is free from them, but the air is full of demons.

Various opinions have been given as to the dispute respecting the body of Moses in the martial contest between Michael and Satan. Some consider it has been taken from an apocryphal book, or a Jewish legend, and only mentioned as an illustration; but such a quotation hardly would have been made by an inspired penman. Others think that the body of Moses is a figurative expression for the Jewish people or polity, as Christians are called the body of Christ, and has reference to Zech. iii. 2. But it seems most reasonable to conclude that Moses was buried by the ministration of angels, Deut. xxxiv. 6, and the spot concealed, lest his remains should be made the object of idolatrous worship. Lightfoot, however, considers it a mere Jewish tradition, quoted by the apostle to meet the Jews on their own ground.

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* After the captivity, the Jews borrowing the invention of the pagan nations, gave names to angels, and were scrupulously careful to retain them. In Tobit iii. 17, we find the name of Raphael; and in 2 Esdras iv. 1; i. 36, Uriel, or Jeremiel, an archangel.

That the body of the Jews and their service, should be called the body of Moses, and that these words are to be referred to Zech. iii. 1, 2, seems not very probable, seeing in that prophet there is no mention of Michael or of the body, or the death of Moses, nor doth Onias speak of the body of Moses, (2 Macc. xv. 12), but of the whole Jewish nation.

Moreover, that Moses was not buried by the Jews, we learn from Scripture, which saith, No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day, and therefore Philo saith, he was buried not by men, but angels; that there was an altercation betwixt Michael the archangel, and Sammael the prince of Devils, about the body of Moses, we learn from the tradition of the Jews; and it is most probable it was not only that his sepulchre might be unknown, lest the Jews, who were prone to idolatry, should worship him; but about the ascent of it into heaven, he being taken away as Enoch and Elias were, and not dying the common death of men, (which Satan contended he ought to do, for killing the Egyptian), but disappearing only.

Hence the Jews say, "ascendit ad ministrandum Excelso," that he ascended to minister to the Lord. And Philo saith, God brought him near to himself, saying to him, stand with me, and that by the word of God he was translated, whence he was present with Elias at the transfiguration of our Lord.*

"Lawrence has translated from the Ethiopic, the book of Enoch (Jude 14), which was brought from Abyssinia by Bruce, and considers it to have been written by some Jew, a short time before the Christian era. It does not appear to have ever been received into the sacred canon; and the quotation of a single passage from it by St. Jude, as Lawrence observes, will not prove his approbation of the whole book, more than the quotations from uninspired writers by other apostles; but the book itself is interesting, as showing what were the Jewish opinions upon various points, before the birth of Christ. The passage quoted by St. Jude, forms what is called chap. 2 of the Book of Enoch, and is translated by Lawrence as follows: "Behold he comes with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon them, to destroy the wicked, and to reprove all the carnal for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against him."

In the testament of the twelve patriarchs, a similar fictitious or apocryphal work, about the beginning of the second century, the belief or practice seems to have existed, of the

Patrick.-Annotations.

invocation of intercessory angels, who made supplication on behalf of the righteous, and obtained the remission of their sins; and which fictions were deposited, as testimony before the angels of the presence of the Most High. In this spurious production Gabriel is represented as praying for those who dwell on earth, and supplicating the Lord of spirits.

ANGEL. This name may be considered as a generical term applied to the various orders of intelligences belonging to the spiritual world, as well as those diversified agencies and ministrations which Jehovah has been pleased to employ as instruments in accomplishing the omnipotent purposes of His will, declared in the operations of nature; the procedures of his Providence, and the economy of Grace, as connected with the redemption of mankind. The term is derived from a Greek word avyεos (angelos), signifying messenger; and in its most comprehensive acceptation is a name of office, not of nature :-nomen non naturæ sed officii. The most august and prominent personage to whom this name has been attached is the Angel-Jehovah, the Messenger of the everlasting Covenant-the Messiah.

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In several places of the Old Testament we find mention of this sacred person, under the title of Angel of the Lord, styling himself JEHOVAH and GOD; exercising Divine prerogatives, manifesting Divine perfections, and claiming the homage which is due to Deity alone.

"This person, therefore," remarks Dr. Hunter, in his Sacred Biography, can be none other than the uncreated Angel of the Covenant, who, at sundry times and in diverse manners,' in maturing the work of redemption, assumed a sensible appearance ; and at length, in the fulness of time, united his Divine nature to ours, and dwelt among men, and made them "to

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behold his glory, as the glory of the only-begotten of the

Father, full of grace and truth.'”

To Adam appeared the "Angel Jehovah," in Paradise," both before and after his transgression-although no specific or express mention is given of God being revealed to him in this character or relation before the apostacy; but as the Son of God" created all things visible and invisible," we believe that" the Lord God, who formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul," was the Angel Jehovah.

In the beginning of the third chapter of Exodus, the glorious individual who appeared to Moses, and spoke to him out of the burning bush, was this "Angel of the Covenant."-"Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro, the priest of Midian, and he led the flock to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush. Moreover, he said, I am the God of thy Father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God. And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM."

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*Three things were necessary to be known by man, even in a state of innocence and purity, and they appear to have been revealed by the voice-the Angel Jehovah, which talked with our first parents, in Eden. These were the right choice of food, the institution of marriage, and the use of language. The Angel Jehovah had been the guide and protector of man before the fall, and He afterwards becomes his Mediator and Judge. The Angel Jehovah commences a new dispensation, which, when it has passed through its three forms of the Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian, will be terminated by reviving and perfecting the primeval happiness of mankind, in that future Paradise, of which the Garden of Eden was but a type and emblem.

The reply of Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, contained in the narrative regarding her in the 16th chapter of Genesis, points out the angel which addressed her as the "Angel of the Covenant."-" Thou God seest me."

One of the three heavenly messengers whom Abraham "entertained unawares," was the Angel of the Covenant, is evident from the name Jehovah, which the patriarch rendered, and the supplication made to him to avert the destruction of Sodom; and it was the same Angel of the Lord who called to him out of heaven the second time, upon the obedience of his faith manifested in the sacrificial offering of his only son Isaac, when he received the assurance, "By MYSELF have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, that in blessing I will bless thee,-because thou hast obeyed my voice."

It was the same glorious personage who appeared to Jacob in the mysterious conflict of Peniel-" For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. Likewise unto Joshua, on succeeding Moses, as the leader of Israel, styling himself the "Captain of the host of the Lord;" to Manoah, the father of Sampson. "And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God. But his wife said unto him, if the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have told us such things as these."-Judges, xiii. 16-23.

In various passages of the prophetic book of Zechariah, this Divine Person is described as being intimately acquainted with the counsels of the Most High, as presiding over the affairs of the world, directing the ministrations of superior intelligences; as protecting, vindicating, and interceding for the oppressed Jewish church, as judging and triumphing over their enemies, as sent by the LORD of Hosts, and therefore repeatedly called "JEHOVAH." Passages evidently pointing out the Great "Angel" or "Messenger of Jehovah," respecting whom, Dr. J. Pye Smith, in his Scripture Testimony, observes—" that he claims uncontrolled sovereignty over the affairs of men; He has the attributes of omniscience and omnipresence; He performs works which only omnipotence could accomplish; He uses the awful formula by which the Deity, on various occasions, condescended to confirm the faith of those to whom the primitive revelations were given; He'swears by HIMSELF;' He is the gracious Protector, and Saviour, the Redeemer from all evil, the Intercessor, and the author of the most desirable blessings; His favor is to be sought with the deepest solicitude, as that which is of the highest importance to the interests of men; He is the object of religious invocation; He is, in the most express manner, and repeatedly declared to be JEHOVAH, God, the ineffable I AM THAT I AM; yet this mysterious person is represented as distinct from God, and acting (as the term Angel imports) under a divine mission."

GODS; from the Hebrew, translated elohim, is a word, in several instances, applied to angels in the Scripture. So the inspired Psalmist calls upon and admonishes the mightiest and noblest of created beings to render cheerful and solemn homage to the Messiah, "worship him all ye gods." Bishop Horne remarks, that this clause of the verse establishes "Christ's supremacy over all that are called god in heaven or in earth, and who are hereby enjoined to pay adoration to him instead of claiming it for themselves."

In Hebrews i. 6, St. Paul teaches us that the gods elohim in Psalm xcvii. 7, are angelic spirits. The Hebrew word elohim, is first employed in the Bible in Gen. i. 1, as the sacred name of God the creator, and though plural, it is joined to a singular verb, to inculcate, as many believe, the doctrine of the adorable Trinity.

The application of the term elohim or gods, to angels, commentators consider as denoting their power and authority as the delegated administrators of the divine government, in different parts of the world; as magistrates are appointed under kings to execute justice in assigned districts and provinces of their kingdoms. Judges and magistrates are, therefore, designated by the epithet elohim or gods, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth amongst the gods."-Psalm lxxxii. 1. Rulers and judges are here intended, as is manifest from the following verses: "How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? I have said ye are gods; and all of you shall die like men."-Verses 2, 6, 7.

SONS OF GOD, is another title applied to the angels who resemble in glory and effulgence the morning star, or as others suppose, on account of the luminous vehicles with which they are clothed. The morning star is distinguished for its peculiar brightness. What a grand appearance does the poetry of Job (xxxviii. 7) present to our view-ten thousand times ten thousand and thousand of thousands of glittering angels attending the birth of time, and hymning hallelujahs to the Almighty Creator.

The appellation also indicates their near relation to the Supreme Being in reference to His paternity, as well as the superlative beauty and splendor of character by which they outshine all other intelligent creatures, and not improbably, an intimation of their office as the harbingers of the Sun of Righteousness. Under this head it may be as well to remark, that the term of Sons of God has been applied to believers under the Old and New Testament dispensations, as in the 6th chapter of Genesis and the 2d verse ;*

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* Mr. Moore's luscious poem entitled Loves of the Angels, is founded on a misapprehension as well as misapplication of this text, "That the sons of

and also Hosea i. 10; John i. 13; Romans vii. 14, 19; Phil. 2; 1 John iii. 1, 2. A prophetic dream or vision, the pillar of fire that went before the Israelites in the journeyings of the wilderness, winds, flame of fire, specials providences, the elements, &c., as the angel over the waters, Rev. xvi. 5; angel over the fire, Rev. xiv. 18, as well as judgments, are called in the Scriptures angels of God's providential dispensations and gracious purposes.

ANGELS OF THE CHURCHES* are frequently alluded to by St. John, in the Revelation, as designative of the Pastors of the seven churches of Asia, to whom he wrote epistles of warning, admonition, and condemnation. Prideaux observes, that the minister of the Synagogue, who officiated in offering the public prayers, being the mouth of the congregation, delegated by them as their representative, messenger or angel to address God in prayer for them, was in Hebrew named Sheliack-Zibbor, that is, the angel of the church; and that from hence the chief of the ministers of the seven churches in Asia, in the, apocalypse are, by a

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God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and took them wives of all they chose." Some understood by the sons of God, the great men, nobles, rulers and judges, who being captivated with the "beauty of the daughters of men," that is of the meaner sort, took by force and violence as many as they pleased. (May not the classic fable of the Romans carrying away the Sabine women, have originated from a tradition of this misunderstood text of Holy Writ?) But other ancient interpreters, together with those of modern times, by the "Sons of God," understand the posterity of Seth, who were worshippers of the true God, (chap. iv. 26,) and who now saw and conversed with "the daughters of men," that is, the daughters of the ungodly race of Cain.

* Ephesus was the chief of the Seven Asiatic churches, the metropolis of Proconsular Asia, and principal residence of St. John; for which reason, his first epistle was addressed to this particular church, over which, as well as the others, he appointed bishops, in the ecclesiastical capacity of their metropolitan.

According to Strabo, Ephesus was one of the best and most glorious of cities, and the emporium of this part of Asia. It was called by Pliny, one of the eyes of Asia, Smyrna being the other, but recent travellers who have visited it relate, that it has nothing venerable remaining excepting the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is spoken of by the Turks, by a name which signifies the temple of the moon, from the magnificent structure anciently dedicated to the goddess Diana. The church of St. Paul is wholly destroyed. The little which remains of the church of St. Mark is a complete ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdsmen and farmers, living in low and humble mud cottages, sheltered from the inclemency of the weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls. The pride and ostentation of former days, title borrowed from the Synagogue, called the angels of the churches.

WATCHERS, is also a title by which the angels are denominated in the prophecy of Daniel, iv. 13: "and behold a watcher, and an holy one came down from heaven ;" and at verse 17 "The matter is by the decree of the watcher," who, in the divinely admonitory dream of Nebuchadnezzar, forewarned him of his doom. The Hebrew root signifies one that watches, or is waking, or one that wakeneth and stirreth up others. In Malachi ii. 12, it is rendered Master." The Lord shall cut off the man that doeth this; the master and the scholar." It was a proverbial expression descriptive of an instructor, or one that "wakeneth the ear" of his disciple. The Septuagint or Greek version, use the ward Eto, from which, as some think, the Greeks derive their Iris, or messenger of their Gods. They are called watchers or wakers, either in respect of their spiritual and incorporeal nature not needing sleep, or in respect of their
and the emblem, in these of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to more than forty or fifty families of Turks, without one Christian family among them. So strikingly has the denunciation been fulfilled, that their candlestick should be moved out of its place.-D'Oyly and Mant.

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watchful office, being always ready to do the will of God; and from their constant care and vigilant guard of God's people, are emphatically called Watchers. Bishop Horsley contends that angels are not intended by the "watchers." He says,

66 amongst those who understand the titles of "Watchers' and 'Holy Ones' of angelic beings, it is not quite agreed whether they are angels of the cabinet or the provincial governors-the tutelar angels to whom these appellations belong. The majority, I think, are for the former. But it is agreed by all, that they must be principal angels -angels of the highest order. Of how high an order, indeed, must these Watchers' and 'Holy Ones' have been on whose decrees the judgments of God himself are founded, and by whom the warrant for the execution is finally issued! It is surprising that such men as Calvin among the Protestants of the Continent, such as Wells and the elder Lowth in our own church,—and such as Calmet in the Church of Rome, should not have their eyes open to the error and impiety, indeed, of such an exposition as this, which makes them angels. The plain truth is, that some learned men, though but few, have seen it, that these

appellations, Watchers' and 'Holy Ones,' denote the Persons in the Godhead; the first, describing them by the vigilance of their universal providence, the second, by the transcendant sanctity of their nature."

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In this view of the subject, few expositors coincide with the Bishop, whilst the title appropriately portrays the attributes and characteristics of angels; for their sleepless diligence in executing the appointed services of their Almighty Sovereign, and their watchful attendance, protection and assistance to the faithful people of God during all the toils, and trials and temptations of their earthly pilgrimage; and well, therefore, might the inspired psalmist invoke them: "Bless the LORD, ye his angels that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word." -Psalm ciii. 20.

THRONES (povo), DOMINIONS (KUPLOTηTES), PRINCIPALITIES, (aoxai), POWERS (εžovolas), are titles given to the angels by St. Paul, in his epistle to the Colossians i. 16, and denote metonymically that they "sit on thrones, exercise dominion, hold authority, preside in governments, and are invested with the powers necessary for these great purposes."*

"They are also styled Chief Princes, to intimate that they are the first order of rulers in the universe, under Him who has prepared his throne in the heavens, and whose kingdom ruleth over all. They are called the Sons of God, to teach us that they are beings related to God in character, favor, place, and authority. They are called Morning Stars, implying the splendor and glory by which they surpass all other intellectual beings. They are called Cherubim and Seraphim, to inform us that they are beings furnished with superior knowledge to discern, and with superior holiness to pursue whatever is good and right, honorable to the Creator, and useful to his creatures.

From the preceding scriptural nomenclature, descriptive of the qualifications and attributes of Holy Angels, we are confirmed in the belief of the transcendent nature which they possess, the supereminent station which they sustain amongst created intelligences, and the permanent dignity by which they are adorned and distinguished, as the royal attendants around the throne of the Most High; nor can we worthily honor the "living oracles" of God as regards the information which they supply respecting them, justify our profession of faith, based on the testimony of Inspiration, neither realize the full extent of that consolation, support and felicity which the biblical doctrine of their real existence and varied ministrations is intended to impart, unless we sincerely apply our understandings and hearts to a sober and serious investigation of a subject so sublime and glorious, delightful and edifying; whilst for the constant, though invisible protection, assistance, and guidance of these benevolent, illustrious, and immortal spirits, it behooves us to render the acknowledgments of grateful praise to the Maker of heaven and of earth-the Lord of angels, who sends them forth with embassies of favor and grace, to minister especially for them who shall be the heirs of salvation."

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TRADITIONARY AND SPECULATIVE.

JEWISH traditions, with their characteristic extravagance and variety, abound with allusions to the celestial hierarchy, which they have described as containing four orders or companies, each presided over by its particular archangel; the first order is under the gubernatorial superintendence of Michael; the second, under the government of Gabriel; the third, under the dominion of Uriel; and the fourth, belongs to the jurisdiction of Raphael. Others multiply the number to ten orders, and others again, greatly increase their ranks, having numerous associations of bright spirits under their immediate direction and control, within the circuit of the seven celestial regions; whilst the various speculations of the Christian fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, in general, include nine orders, comprehending three hierarchies, founded on that passage in Colossians i. 16: For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and for him.

The Jews supposed the angelical world to be organized under ten denominations, to which they have gigthen the following names: Chaioth-Hakkodesh, Ophanim, Erellim, Chasmalim, Seraphim, Melachim, Elohim, Ben-Elohim, Cherubim, islim.

In the hierarchy of the heavenly host, the Rabbins single out as the most illustrious, Metraton, respecting whom the following particulars are related in the collection of cabalistical doctrines, called the book of Zohar, or The Book of Light. This mysterious person the Zohar styles the angel of the Lord, which denotes the Shechinah referred to in Exodus iii. 2, "It is he who

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*President Dwight.-System of Theology.

liveth forever and ever, who is arrayed with the name (Metraton) Mediator." The Mediator is the servant of the Lord, the Elder of his house, who is head of the creation of the Lord, exercising dominion over all things that are his; for the Holy and Blessed God hath given him dominion over all.

Buxtorf and Witsius have also collected some singular traditions concerning Metraton, an appellative probably derived from the latin Metator, and subsequently employed in the sense of Mediator. "The Targum of Jonathan gave the same appellation to Enoch after his translation. In subsequent times, it was differently understood; and the doctrine arose of an inferior Metraton, Enoch, and a superior, who is called Zohar. The very Shechinah himself,-the Crown of the ten Perfections,-the Pillar of the Metraton,-in whom the Holy and the Blessed God appears in his Shechinah.”*

Dr. Owen, in alluding to this angel, whom the Talmudists call Metraton, speaks of the title as a tradition of the glorious name of Messiah; of which even since their utter rejection, the Jews retain some obscure remembrance, and by which they obviously intend any uncreated angel; and the Cabalists say, Metraton was the master or teacher of Moses himself; the Talmudist adding, that he hath power to blot out the sins of Israel; whence they call him the Chancellor of Heaven; but Bechai, a famous master amongst them, affirms, that his name sig-

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* Vide Dr. J. P. Smith. Testimony to the Messiah.

nifies both a Lord, a Messenger, and Keeper. A Lord, because he ruleth all; a Messenger, because he standeth always before God to do his will; and a Keeper, because he keepeth Israel.*

From amongst the puerilities and degrading superstitions which becloud the understanding of the Messiah-rejecting Israel, the following traditions appear. The angel Metraton is the king of angels. Metraton distributes among all princes or angels of the nations their necessaries. He gathers all songs that are made in the universe, weaving the prayers and songs of the Israelites into garlands, because he is set over the songs of sinners to bring them into the innermost. He ascends up to the throne of glory above nine hundred firmaments, to carry up the prayers of the Israelites. Metraton, by some of the Rabbins, is considered as the great personage mentioned in the Old Testament, under the term of "The angel of the Lord," or "The Angel-Jehovah." "The Messenger of the Covenant," specified in Malachi, chap. iii. 1. Another Rabbi declares, "There is a man that is an angel, and this is Metraton. And there is a man in the image of God, who is an emanation from him, and this is Jehovah; of whom can be affirmed neither creation, nor formation, nor fabrication, but only emanation." One authority insists, "Behold, out of the bodies of Enoch and Elijah, are made angelical forms; for out of Enoch is made Metraton, but out of the body of Elijah, Sandalphon." The following is a specimen of absurd extravagance: "While Enoch, alias Metraton, was in the course of his ascension to the celestial regions, the various orders of angels smelled the scent of him five thousand three hundred and eighty miles off, and were somewhat displeased at the introduction of a being of the human race into their superior world, till God pacified them by explaining the cause of his translation." To complete the ludicrous contrast of meanness with magnificence, it is fur-

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* Dr. Owen, on the Hebrews.

ther asserted, that "Metraton was a cobbler, and was intent on
The name of the glory of
every stitch, and he spake of God.
his kingdom be blessed forever."*

Some of the Jewish writers have endeavored to prove, that all the angels have their proper names; and the Cabalists contend that the names of all the angels are contained in the Scriptures mysteriously.

The Mussulmen say of Gabriel, that he descended, in one hour, from heaven, overturning a mountain with a single feather of his wing.

Dionysius enumerates nine orders of angels, corresponding to the number specified in the Scriptures, and describes their several distinctions in the following manner:-The first three orders are for immediate attendance upon the Almighty; the next three, for the general government of his creatures; the last three, for the particular good of God's elect: that the archangels surpass the beauty of angels, ten times; principalities exceed the archangels, twenty times; powers excel the principalities, forty times, &c. The learned Mede, in his diatribe on the angels, speaks of seven principal angels which stand before the throne of God, and also represents them as the seven eyes of Jehovah, which run to and fro through the whole earth, being the seven spirits mentioned by St. John. The erudite prelate further remarks-that these titles which they attach to the respective class of angels are characteristic either of the qualities in which they excel, or of the offices assigned to them by God. Thus they choose to call those Cherubim which excel in the splendor of knowledge; Seraphim, those which are most ardent in divine love; Thrones, those which contemplate the glory and equity of the Divine judgments. The Cherubim, they say, enlighten others with wisdom; the Seraphim inspire them with love; the Thrones teach to rule with judgment. Those of the first class they suppose never to be sent forth to discharge any office, but wait upon God continually. In the middle class they place the Dominions, as they suppose, to regulate the duties of the Angels; the Principalities preside over the people and the provinces; the Powers are a check upon evil spirits. In the last class, they put the virtues, as having the power of working miracles assigned to them; the Archangels are sent as messengers on matters of importance; Angels, on those of less consequence. St. Augustine intimates his belief in these distinctions, but confesses his inability to define them with precision, and challenges any one else who can.

"It is the opinion of that great doctor and prince of divines, St. Thomas Aquinas, that the angels are so different in nature and perfection, that there is not two of one sort and kind (as there are of men and other creatures), but that every one is distinguished in nature and office from every one, even from the highest to the lowest. Which his opinion is generally received of all Thomists, who for their numbers and learning bear no little sway in the schools, and are no little esteemed in the church of God. The same doctor is also of opinion that the angels are far more in number than are all the species or kinds of all corporeal creatures in the world, that is, more than the celestial bodies, than the simple bodies which we call the four elements, yea, than all the mixed bodies composing them, be they animate or inanimate, living or not living, as beasts, plants, herbs, metals, and the like, which is the opinion of all his followers, do embrace as constantly as they do the former."

-MATHEW KELLISON, from Southey's Common Place Book.

Plato's Theology classified his gods, demons or spirits into three kinds,--superior, inferior, and intermediate. The superior reside in the heavens, and by the excellency of their nature, are so far above mortals, that except by the intervention of the intermediate gods, who inhabit the air, mankind can hold no intercourse with them, and whom they commission as ministers to the human race, carrying the behests of the Supreme to men, and returning with the offerings and vows of mortals to the gods, according to the appointment of each, in his respective department of the government of the world, and who preside over oracles, and divinations, in all their variety; are the authors of all miracles which are performed, and those prodigies which happen. The third class he places over rivers, and also assigns them the influence of instilling dreams as well as the

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* Allen, Modern Judaism-passim.

performance of wonders, similar to the power of the intermediate, who, fill all parts of the universe, appearing to, and vanishing from mortal vision constantly. It is most probable that the sentiments of Plato originated from the sylphs, salamanders, the elves and gnomes of the Cabbala.

Plato also inculcated the opinion, that the demon or angel which attends us at our birth, conducts the soul after death, to the place of judgment. Those who are considered to have led neither an entirely criminal, nor yet an absolutely innocent life, are transported by Acheron's boat to the Acherusian lake, where they dwell and suffer punishment proportionate to their vices, and remain, till after having undergone a sort of purgatorial abstersion from their sins, they are set at liberty and obtain the recompense of their good actions. Those whose wickedness is deemed incorrigible, who have been guilty of sacrilege and murder, or other offences of equal depravity, are by a just and fatal destiny thrown into Tartarus, where they are incarcerated forever. But those under the imputation of curable delinquencies, though considerable ones, such as homicide, are conveyed into the waters of Cocylus; parricides being cast into Phlegeton, which ultimately draws them into the Acherusian lake.

The following arrangement of angels, according to the signs of the Zodiac, will explain the pictorial representation of the Frontispiece. The ancients divided the Zodiac into twelve signs, or compartments, or houses. The first house, is the house of life; the second, of riches; the third, of brothers; the fourth, of parents; the fifth, of children; the sixth, of wealth; the seventh, of marriage; the eighth, of death: the ninth, of religion; the tenth, of dignities; the eleventh, of friends; the twelfth, of enemies. Each house had one of the heavenly bodies as its peculiar and presiding lord.

For further particulars of the singular work, from which the subjoined extracts are taken see Mesmerism in the Partorro at the end.

-The Rabbins they,
And Cabalists, further proceed and say,
(How warranted I know not). That there be,
Twelve potents of this Divine faculty;
Three oriental, and three occidental,
Three septentrional and three meridional.
Chaoz, the first great eastern power they call,
Whose prince Mathidielis, and he sways all
That doth belong to Aries; the next place

Corona hath; and Vaschiel hath the grace,
Of that to be the chief regent;
Leo he,
Hath subject in his second Empyree;
Hermaus the third; Adnachiel dost carry
That potence, and rules the Saggitary.
The first of the occidental, Gelphor, and
Ambriel the prince, the Gemini they stand,
Beneath his sway, Bleor next; his lord
Zaniel, who guides the sceptre and the sword,
Caphet the last; Gabriel the president
And o'er Aquarius hath the government.
The first Septentrional, Bethzan, Manuel prince,
And he the sign of Cancer doth convince.
The next Zonocharel by name they know,
Barchiel the chief, and rules o'er Scorpio,
Over the third, Elizan, Varchiel reigns,
He Pisces in his principate contains.
The first power Austral, they Pantheon style
Asmodes prince, in that doth reconcile
The sign called Taurus; and the second Tim,
Hamabiel is the prince and governs him.
In the sign Virgo, Haim, is the third born,
Hannuel, the prince, and governs Capricorn.

RANKS AND TITLES.

Ancient names corrresponding with the Scripture titles of the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy.

URIEL-SERAPHIM.

The blessed Seraph doth imply,
The love we owe to the Most High.
Amant Sapientes capiunt cæteri.

ZOPHIEL-CHERUBIM.

God's knowledge treats the Cherubim,
He nothing knows, that knows not God.
Nil scit qui Deus nescit.

ZAPHKIEL-THRONES.

All glory to the Holy One,
Even Him that sits upon the Throne.
Gloria sendentia super.

ZADKIEL-DOMINIONS.

There is no power, no domination,
But from the Lord of our Salvation.
Omnis dominatio a domino.

HANIEL VIRTUES.

We aim at the celestial glory,
Below the moon all's transitory.
Sancti vulnere vivescunt.

RAPHAEL-POWERS.
The mighty power of God was shown,
When the great Dragon was o'erthrown.
Puros creavit, perdite ceciderunt.
CHAMIEL-PRINCIPALITIES.
In heaven, in earth, in hell some sway,
Others again are taught to obey.
Protago, Protero.
MICHAEL-ARCHANGEL.
Michael whom Satan durst oppose,
Can guard us from inferior foes.
Vincit qui patitur.
GABRIEL-ANGEL.
The angel unto man known best,
As last of nine, concludes the rest.
Missus ad missos.

The Cherubims with wings far stretched, again
As Moses (so the Scriptures tell us plain)
Ten curtains to the sacred machine made,
So in three parts of the world are said,
To be no less than ten distinct decrees.
And first of the supercelestial; these,
Th' Angels, Archangels, and the Principates,
Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Potentates,
The Cherubims and Seraphims; then He,
(Above all the rest) the Supreme Deity.
Some write that over every heaven and sphere
Are several angels plac'd and governs there.
The sophist those Intelligences call;
The Hebrews Cherubims; whose lot thus fall;
Metraton doth the Primum Mobile guide;
Ophaniel, in the starry heaven reside;
The Sun's sphere, Varcan; the moon's lower ray
Arcan disposeth: Mars, (his) Satan sways.
Mercury's, Madan; Jove's Guth: Venus star
Jurabates and Saturn's seen from far;
Maion. And all these in the height they enjoy,
Have power inferior spirits to employ.
Seven angels (as the Scriptures witness) stand
Before the Almighty, first at his command;
And these by his divine infusion know
How to dispose of all things here below;
As those celestials; who doth institute
Those Seven, his divine will execute.
Years, days, and hours amongst them they divide,
The planets and the stars they likewise guide.

The precedent of Sol is Raphael,
The guardian of the Moon, called Gabriel,
Chamuel the third, Mars his bright star protects,
Michael the sphere of Mercury directs.
Adabiel, o'er Jove hath domination,
And Haniel of Venus gubernation.
Zaphiel is Saturn's prince and of spirits seven
Saint John makes mention with their place in heaven.

The Angels who control the elements:—

Which from th' Evangelist have doctors ground,
Because it is in the Apocaylps thus found;
On the four angles of the Earth I saw,
Standing four angels, those that kept in awe,
The four great winds restraining them from blowing
On earth, on sea, or on any tree growing.
Four angels, as four viceroys, are exprest,
To sway the four winds placed above the rest;
All princes, and with mighty power endued,
Remarkable for their celsitude.
The East, whence Eurus blows, sways Michael,
The West, whence Zephyr breathes, guide Raphael,
The North, whence Boreas blusters, Gabriel;
The South, whence Auster comes, rules Uriel.
Others there be that doth not doubt to say,
That the four elements are forc'd t' obey
Four several angels; Seraph reigns o'er fire,
Cherub, the air; and Thursus doth aspire
Over the water, and the earth's great lord,
Ariel, the Hebrew Rabbins thus accord.

Nine orders of Devils, corresponding with the nine orders of Angels, incorporated with those singled out by Burton :

BEELZEBUB.-Prince of devils, and presides over oracles, &c.
PYTHON.-Author of lies, equivocations, slanders, &c.
BELIAL.-Author of evils, and all iniquities, &c.
ASMODEUS.-Punisher of men for their depravities, &c.
SATAN. The chief of magicians, author of witchcraft, &c.
MERESIN.-Author of storms, tempests, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, plagues, &c.
ABADDON.-Author of wars, discord, &c.
ASTAROTH, or DIABOLUS.-Author of false accusations, &c.
MAMMON.-Author of sinful temptations, frauds, &c.

Next touching the rare knowledge which insists
In them by nature; some Theologists
Affirm them pregnant in theologie,
Philosophy, Mathematics, Astrologie.
In Music they are skill'd, expert in Physicke,

In Grammar, Logicke and Arithmeticke.

We add the following eccentric poetical description of Satan's ubiquitous influence, knowledge, and attributes (using modern orthography).

In all materials he acquainted is,
From the earth's superficies, to the abyss ;
He knows such virtues, as in stones abide,
Gems, minerals, creeping worms, and beasts (for hide
From him you nothing can) for he doth vaunt
Still in the marble, porphyry, adamant,
The coral, pumice, and the chrysolite,
The smaragd, topaz, and the margarite.
The onyx, carbuncle, gold, silver, lead,
Brass, iron, and sulphurs; He is likewise read
In the properties of creeping things,
Ants, toads, snails, serpents (all that the earth brings).
Of all the several fishes he hath notion,
Bred in fresh waters, or the briny ocean;
Of Beasts the sundry qualities he finds,
Sows, bears, tigers, camels, horses, hinds,
The elephant, the fox, ape, ass, mule, cat,
Sheep, wolf, hare, hedge-hog, with each other that
The earth produceth; So in herbs, and trees,
Plants, leaves, fruits, roots, seeds, juices, liquors, these
The artist hath like skill in. He can tell
The sev'ral qualities of fowls, and well
Distinguish them; as such and such belong
To the earth, air, or water.
He is strong
In further knowledge of the elements,
As in their power, their nature, and extents.

He is further represented as the sovereign lord of every species of magicians, incantation, &c.

For most of this prognosticating tribe,
Metals unto each planet can ascribe;
Silver, unto the Moon, to the Sun was
Gold sacred, unto Jove copper and brass,
To Venus white lead, unto Saturn black,
Iron and steel to Mars; nor doth there lack
Amber to Mercury. To each of them
They likewise consecrate several gem,

Unto the sun, the carbuncle is due,
And hyacinth of color green and blue;
Th' adamant and crystal to the queen of night,

To Saturn the onyx, and the chrysolite,
The sapphire with the diamond to Jove,
The jasper and the magnet Mars doth love,
Smaragd and Sardis Venus doth not hate,
Nor Mercury topaz and agate.

ATTRIBUTES AND CHARACTERISTICS.

In the present section of our inviting subject, the requisition devolves upon us, to examine a little more fully those wonderful attributes which have been manifested by angelic power and ministration, as well as portray those attractive lineaments which distinguish and adorn the disposition and character of the illustrious inhabitants of the celestial world -those constant, and innumerable, and fascinating courtiers which surround the resplendent Majesty of heaven, as confirmed and illustrated by a variety of declarative facts and striking circumstances recorded in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

Under this head it may not be inexpedient to premise and interpose the expostulation,-that the visions, which to the experience of the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, and the primitive disciples of Christianity which have preceded or attended the instrumentality of angelic operations, must be received by the mind, unencumbered by sinister reservations or suppositions, referring them to fictious representations, as opposed to positive and veritable realities; for many unestablished, in the biblical reception of divine and revealed truth, by reason of the superficiality of their faith, are apt to consider that those marvellous exhibitions of omnipotent purpose, and prophecies of gracious promise performed by angelic agency, of which they read in the Bible, are to be regarded as the mere imagery, the gorgeous drapery of a dream, the shadowy apparitions of optical illusion, because, forsooth, of the difficulty with which they realise to themselves the actual existence of incorporeal or spiritual beings; usually applying the term vision, in a sense and manner contrary to its scriptural and intended import-virtually interpreting the epithet as something intangible or not seen-a mental phantasmagoria, unreal, and easily produced by a disordered state of the bodily functions, affecting with a sympathetic morbidity, the workings of a distempered brain. Such an anti-christian conclusion no sincere believer in the declarations of an unimpeachable Inspiration can, for an instant, admit or venture upon; though many are inclined to suppose that what the inspired writers have described of what they have beheld and witnessed of angelic beings and their miraculous interpositions, must be understood as a sort of allegorical representation—a vehicle for conveying to the mental perceptions of mortals, the designs and purposes of the Divine will. With these phantomising interpretations we entertain no sympathy, and therefore believe on the sacred authority of immutable and eternal truth, that Daniel really saw with his bodily eyes the angels of God, as also the stationed keepers at our Lord's sepulchre, and the inquiring disciples after the resurrection of Christ from the entombment of the grave, as in like manner we shall all behold them when they attend the Redeemer's second advent to earth, as He comes in "the glory of his Father," surrounded by the splendid retinue of "holy angels," amidst the inconceivable agitations and awful solemnities of the judgment-day, at the assize of an assembled universe!

That God, if he please, can hold intercourse with his chosen servants without the intermediate agency of angelic interference, is proved by several instances interspersed throughout the Scriptures, but in some cases it has been His pleasure to employ one or more of the heavenly hosts in his communications with sinful humanity, and who has also commanded his witnesses to record such supernatural and superhuman interpositions for man's instruction and hope, encouragement and comfort. And assuredly we owe it to our Divine Teacher, to receive with the gratitude of reverential humility and undoubting credence, what Deity has vouchsafed to reveal to us of the disinterested cheerfulness with which benevolent angels are always ready to promote the spiritual welfare and temporal interests of those who put their trust in Jehovah, and repose implicit confidence in the assurances of divine promises; persuaded that not one thing contained in Holy Writ, dare we with impunity, presumptuously attempt to alter or impugn, which has been given by the Inspiration of God, and most profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and that to receive such a book of divine origin, as a volume of riddles, enigmas or allegories, and not as a clear and comprehensive declaration of what we are to believe, as well as what we are to do, would be a palpable violation of the dictates of sober reason, as well as an egregious infringement of the precepts of an acquiescent faith.
For thus saith the Lord,—is the solemn AMEn of truth IMMORTAL AND ETERNAL.*

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* Could we better understand the angelical nature, properties, and perfection, and what converse and intercourse of these spirits is one with the other, and with God, how they love and praise him, and how He commu-

Consistently with our previous intimation, our intention is, to adhere closely to the evidence presented to, and enforced upon, our consideration, by the several descriptive statements furnished in the Bible, respecting the astonishing and surpassing qualifications, and those noble and intellectual faculties with which the holy angels are endowed, and by which they are empowered to accomplish the behests of Jehovah, according to those special purposes of providence and grace, for the execution of which they have been delegated. In Genesis iii. 24, where angels are first mentioned under the title of cherubim, we learn they were dispatched, and divinely appointed to keep watch and guard at the passage of the garden of Eden, to prevent any endeavor, by the disobedient and fallen parents of mankind, of making the attempt for a re-entrance, being armed with the majesty of a most terrific splendor, and the dreadful appearance of the glittering brandishings of a sword of flaming fire; reflecting a glory, which, according to ancient Jewish interpretation, probably furnished the archetype of the Shechinah, first, in the tabernacle in the wilderness, and afterwards in Solomon's magnificent temple. With this characteristic grandeur and awfulness, have angels frequently appeared to, and disappeared from, mortal vision. The angel that descended to roll away the stone (a large fragment of rock), placed at the entrance of our Saviour's supulchre, presented the personal spectacle of such a superhuman and ethereal appearance, as to overpower with affrighted terror, the Roman guard, who trembled and became as dead men :- "for his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers became as dead men." "And I saw," declares St. John, "another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire." An-

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nicates himself to them, we should have more worthy and awful thoughts of God, the Maker and Lord of them,-we should have more worthy thoughts of His power, wisdom, and greatness. Nor should we so easily question his goodness, as now we do. When we hear of God's severity declared against ungodly ones, we are ready to say, Where is the goodness of God if he will send the greatest part of men to hell, to be eternally tormented? Alas! God has myriads of creatures to glorify his goodness on, beside those few mortals whose dwelling is on earth. There is a world of angels as well as of men. Oh! glorify the God of angels, magnify Him. Pneumatologia, 1701.

gels, beside the splendor of their appearance, are also endowed with amazing power, forcibly indicated by the names of might and power, which, in several places of the Scriptures, are ascribed to them, and further established by the corroborative testimony of the Psalmist, where King David, inviting the choral celebration of heaven and earth, bursts forth into the jubilant exclamation: Bless the Lord ye his angels that excel in strength! A strong angel, and a mighty angel, in the Apocalypse, are expressive and evidential of the same truth. Their great power is still further manifested by reference to those extraordinary achievements which they have performed in the execution of the Divine commission. The destruction of the first-born of Egypt was the work of an angel. Two angels overthrew the abandoned cities of the plain-Sodom and Gomorrah, smiting its guilty and profligate inhabitants with instantaneous blindness. An angel destroyed, in three days, three score and ten thousand persons out of Judah and Israel, in consequence of the sin of David in numbering the people. An angel slew, in a single night, of the army of Sennacherib, an hundred four score and five thousand men. In the Revelation of St. John, the irresistible potency of angels is represented by their holding and restraining the four winds of heaven; and as executing, in a long series, the successive judgments of God upon this evil world. In the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, a single angel is represented as binding that fierce, strong, and malignant spirit the dragon, that old serpent, the Devil, the prince of the power of the air, who has so extensively and dreadfully distressed this sinful and unhappy world, as casting him into the bottomless pit, and setting a seal upon him, binding him with a chain, that he should deceive the nations no more, until the thousand years should be fulfilled. Instances and exemplifications these, of the strength and might belonging to no other intelligent creatures, and of which humanity can only form very inadequate conceptions. In 1 Chronicles xxi., what a splendid vision is there presented to us.-A spiritual warrior with a drawn sword and outstretched arm, of surpassing strength, glorious brightness, and probably of prodigious magnitude, standing in mid-air, extended over the holy city of Jerusalem, which lay in beauty and repose beneath an evening sky. This is one of the glimpses afforded us of what is perpetually passing around us, but which our eyes are holden from seeing. We speak of casualties, of epidemics, of contagious disorders, but we regard not the hand that with unerring fidelity deals forth each mysterious dispensation, directed by the appointment of the Almighty Lord and Maker of heaven and earth. The same absurd and presumptuous disregard to the delineations of the Bible has clothed evil spirits with fantastically frightful grimaces and grotesque figures, and also invested the holy angels with a puerile childishness of appearance, wholly at variance with every scriptural representation. Baby faces between a pair of bird's wings, destitute of bodies; slender girls with long and flowing ringlets, and the appendage of pinions well feathered with silvery plumes,—these are the imaginary and inconsistent similitudes of things in heaven, which we are interdicted and warned from representing in such material shapes and fanciful apparitions to our minds, so palpably destitute of that terrible grandeur and ethereal glory with which God has invested those illustrious and beautiful ambassadors of his rainbow throne and imperial sovereignty.

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Our conceptions respecting the potential attributes of angelic beings may be yet further greatly assisted by a reference to those illustrative and surprising objects, selected from the natural history of the Scriptures, as described with such superlative sublimity in the Book of Job, where God, when answering the humbled patriarch out of the whirlwind, sets before him a few of the representatives of his Omnipotence, illustrated in the creatures of his workmanship. The ocean, with its proud waves, and secret springs, its garment of clouds and swaddling band of thick darkness; the war-horse, with his neck clothed in thunder, pawing in the valley and rejoicing in his strength, mocking at fear, and swallowing the ground with fierceness and rage; Behemoth, drinking up a river, and trusting that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth, whose bones are like brass and iron; Leviathan, making the deep to boil like a pot ;" -these are the handiworks of the Almighty, on which He bids the patriarch to meditate, as exhibitions of His majesty and glory; nor can it admit of a sober doubt that Jehovah invests his celestial hosts with still more stupendous powers, whilst waging constant battle with the myriads of apostate spirits which environ and besiege the redeemed children of faith and obedience—the heirs of salvation.

Another distinguishing attribute of the angelic nature is their astonishing activity, referred to by the Psalmist, civ. 4, and cited by the apostle in Hebrews i. 7: Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire. The word in this passage rendered spirits, usually signifies winds. In either sense the phraseology forcibly implies the remarkable velocity of the beings described by it, who are represented as moving with the swiftness of the winds,

and operating with the irresistible energy of fire. The same doctrine is emphatically inculcated in the frequent attribution of many wings to the cherubim and seraphim, and other orders of angels; and although the language is symbolical, yet its intention is very apparent, as significant of the celerity, and the alacrity with which they fulfil the missions of divine command. The following narrative in the prophet Daniel, exhibits this position with peculiar and unrivalled force. Chapter ix. verse 3 and 20-23-And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplication, with fasting, and sackcloth and ashes. And while I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sins of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God, for the holy mountain of my God; Yea while I was yet speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation. And he informed me, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding. At the beginning of thy supplication, the commandment came forth; and I am come to show thee; for thou art greatly beloved; therefore understand the matter and consider the vision. From this remarkable story, we learn that some time in the day, Daniel set himself to seek the Lord in fasting and prayer; that after his prayer was begun, the commandment was given to Gabriel, to explain to him the vision and the prophecy. In verses 20 and 21, we are told, that Gabriel came to him, while he was speaking ; that this was his evening prayer; and that during the time, in which he was employed in uttering his prayer, Gabriel came from the supreme heaven to this world. This is a rapidity exceeding all the comprehension of the most active imagina-

tion, surpassing beyond comparison, the amazing swiftness of light. Light, we know, is several years in coming from such fixed stars, as are visible to the eye of mortals. But there is reason to believe, that the Heaven of Heavens is at a much greater distance than those stars; so as, not improbably, to be a Heaven to them, as the starry firmament is to us.

The poet, therefore, is justified by this wonderful fact in that cogent expression :-

"The speed of Gods (angels) time counts not."

No stronger exhibition can be required or presented, of the rapidity of these celestial beings.*

Another peculiar and distinguishing attribute with which angels are endued, is their unfading and immortal youth. This peculiarity is beautifully pointed out by the name ¿wa, living ones, applied to them by St. John, in the Apocalypse, and by Ezekiel in his first chapter, as well as in several parts of his prophecy. By this appellation we are instructed, that life is a pre-eminent and glorious constituent of their nature-life as a peculiar property, and in a most distinguishing degree; the most perfect manifestation of that quickening energy which Christ ascribes to the Father, and challenges to himself, as an exclusive, appropriate, and wonderful attribute of the Godhead.

The truth of the immortality of the angels is also beautifully exemplified and confirmed by the adolescent appearance

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* Yet, notwithstanding the incogitable force and dexterity of spirits, the theologists are of opinion that they are not of power to destroy any one element, or to pervert that constant order by which the fabric of the world is guided and governed. Yet of their incredible celerity and strength, histories are very frequent, both in the sacred Scriptures and elsewhere. We read that the angel of the Lord took the prophet Habakkuk (as he was carrying meat unto the reapers) by the hair of his head, and in the strength of the spirit, in an instant, transported him from India to Babylon.-HEYWOOD'S Hierarchie.

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of those which were seen by Mary, in the tomb of Christ. These illustrious individuals were then, at least, four thousand years old; still they had the appearance of young men ; and in all that long succession of ages, had not undergone the slightest indications of decay. Their youth, a bright and beautiful blossom, still shone with all its lustre and fragrance; and directly indicated that it was superior both to accident and time; and would, after many such flights of years, survive in all its undiminished vigor. Even this representation may probably, after all, be only an imperfect adumbration. The youth of angels, like their other attributes, is destined to refine, improve, and brighten forever.

This distinguishing and exalting feature of the angelical nature-their immortality,—was strikingly pointed out, by the Great Teacher, during his sojourn upon the earth, whilst he "tabernacled in the flesh;" when He disconcerted, by the divinity of his answer,—as the Creator and Lord of angels, -the captious inquiry and curious question propounded by the infidel Sadducees, respecting the hypothetical marriage of a woman with seven husbands,-" whose wife she should be in the resurrection ?" to which our Savior replied, that those who should be counted worthy to obtain admission into heaven, would neither marry nor be given in marriage; neither can they die any more; for they would be equal to the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection, subject to none of the changes, and decays, and vicissitudes incidental to this mortal state, where death reigns, and marriages are requisite to supply the vacancies arising from the ravages of mortality- and therefore necessary to prevent the entire extinction and extirpation of the human family; but in the celestial kingdom, the redeemed of mankind will resemble the angels of God, glorious, unchangeable, and immortal,-resplendent in the presence of Jehovah, and beatified in the eternal enjoyment of an unalterable felicity and unfading glory.

Another prominent, most distinguishing and superlatively attractive attribute of the angelical constitution is the surprising and inconceivable extent of their knowledge and intelligence, arising from their proximity to the overflowing and inexhaustible fountain of Divine wisdom and benevolence, their closer and concomitant insight into the plans and purposes of Jehovah, as connected with the sovereign dispensations of his providence and the mysterious economy of redeeming grace.

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Doubtless, too, they have a great familiarity with our thoughts and desires, circumstances and moral necessities, and are delegated from the up-lifted throne of the Most High, to render us important and needful aid in the services and excursions of our faith, the prayers and aspirations of penitential supplication, and the retired meditations of a contemplative devotion,* being also well acquainted with the favorites of heaven, as evidenced in the prophet Daniel, the greatly beloved, on whose behalf they restrained the ferocity of the ravenous lions into whose den the prophet had been cast, by the impious and irrevocable decree of King Darius.†

Amongst the ancient Jews, whose religious belief earnestly embraced and vindicated the doctrine of the existence back into the innocuous character they sustained in the garden of Eden, and to which they shall again be restored, when the conqueror of death and sin comes to reign over a renovated earth.-CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. Principalities and Powers.

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* How gentle are the footsteps of angels! How tender their touch! How soft their whispers! How courteous their hints to dull and weary pilgrims in the wilderness !—AMBROSE. Communion and Ministry of Angels, 1664.

† He had other company than the ravenous beasts, who were thus chained

and ministry of angels, the high estimation with which they regarded the exalted and intellectual prerogatives of these magisterial and celestial beings, is clearly indicated by the proverbial expressions and sayings which were in general use amongst them; illustrated in the stratagem and flattery of the wise women of Tekoah to King David. For as an angel of God, so is my lord the king, to discover good and bad; and my lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are upon the earth.-2 Sam. xix. 17-20. Nevertheless, our knowledge, even with the aid afforded us, by the partial disclosures of Revelation, are very limited respecting the vast knowledge, sinless purity, and expansive benevolence, of these affable and amiable Immortals, either in relation to each other, or to beings in the far off regions, and distant empires of the universe. The ennobling superiority of sagacity and wisdom possessed by angels has been duly noticed and largely expatiated upon in the exegesis of theologians, the disquisitions of the philosopher, the breathing thoughts and burning words of profane and sacred Poesy. The learned and eminent expositor, Greenhill, in his Commentary on Ezekiel, observes, "That the prophet was guided by the spirit, and his cherubim hold forth the same parties to us, that Isaiah's seraphim did to him. They had the likeness of a man, verse 5. By their likeness to a man, is laid before us, the rationality, knowledge, and understanding of angels. They are the most understanding creatures in heaven and earth. They have prophetical knowledge in them, and a treasury of things that are past and done long since. There is mention, Rev. iv. 6, 8, of four living creatures, the same with those of Ezekiel, full of eyes before and behind, because they see and know what is past, and what is before them; their natural knowledge is great, being such excellent spirits. But besides that, they have much revealed to them concerning God, Christ, the church, and things contingent. Hence it is said, 1 Peter i. 2, which things the angels desire to look into. They understand partly by their essence, and partly by special communications to their understanding, as to ours. Angels are good philosophers; they know the principles, causes, effects, life, motion, death of natural things.-Rev. vii. 1, 2. They are great statists, and know the affairs of kingdoms.-Dan. x. 13. Gabriel saith: I remained with the kings of Persia ; he became a courtier, and acquainted himself with the affairs of Persia.

In his truly eloquent and thrilling discourses on this interesting and engaging subject, Dr. Dwight admirably represents the high intelligence of angels as one of the most distinguishing features which adorn the character of these bright, and noble, and heavenly beings, observing that

66 Angels are endowed with the greatest intellectual faculties, and of course are possessed of knowledge superior to that of any other created beings. This character is represented to us in the Scriptures in many forms. The Living ones mentioned by the apostle John, in the Book of Revelations, are declared to have been full of eyes within; that is, to have been all sense, all intellect, all consciousness, turning their attention every way, beholding all at once all things within the reach of their understandings, and discerning them with a clearness of perception which is the most perfect created semblance of the intuitive and boundless views of the Omniscient Mind.

"The face also of a man, attributed to one of these illustrious beings by St. John, and to all those which appeared to Ezekiel by that prophet, is another ascription of this character to angels. The face of a man was amongst the Jews and other eastern nations, the standing symbol of Intelligence, and denotes here the superior possession of this attribute by those to whom it is ascribed.

66 Angels were originally formed with an entire freedom from sin, the only source of prejudice, and the chief source of errors.

Their faculties were at first such as became the morning stars of the highest heavens,-the sons of God intended to surround the throne of JEHOVAH, and to hold the chief places of power, distinction, and glory, in his eternal kingdom. They were such as to become those to whom, in the beginning, was given by God himself, the name of Cherub, or fulness of knowledge.

"They were such, in a word, as to become their other transcendent attributes of power, youth, activity, and the exalted station which they were destined to fill forever.

With the nature and extent of their faculties, has the place of their residence exactly accorded. They have ever dwelt in the world where truth reigns without opposition-where knowledge is the universal state and character-where all mysteries are continually disclosed-and where the nature and propriety of both the means and the ends of Providence are, more than in any other part of the universe, unfolded. There, day and night, for six thousand years, they have been unceasingly employed in studying the works of God. Weariness and decay they know not. Strength of understanding in them is incapable of being impaired. Every object of investigation is to them delightful, and every faculty by its nature susceptible of improvement. What then must be the extent of their attainments at the present time?

66 Beyond this, the favor of God is extended to them in a degree incomprehensible by such minds as ours. To communicate just and extensive views of his works to these glorious beings, is declared to be Jehovah's especial intent in the creation of things by Jesus Christ (Eph. iii. 9, 10), and peculiarly his manifold wisdom in his dispensations to the church. No communication on his part, and no attainments on theirs, can be imagined too great for this divine purpose, or the goodness by which it was formed. In Matt. xxiv. 36, our Savior declares that of that day, not the day of his coming to the destruction of Jerusalem, knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven. This appeal, if we understand the passage in the common acceptation, can have force and pertinency, only on the supposition that nothing which is known of the works and ways of God is hidden from angels, and is, therefore, a complete proof of the entire superiority of their intellectual nature and attainments to those of any other created being."

Various writers, differing in the calibre and dimensions of their minds, or ascending in the loftier flights of their imaginations, have been attracted into animated descriptions of this ennobling and surpassing distinction of the angelical nature. The Rev. John Wesley with admirable point suggests, "What an inconceivable degree of wisdom must they have acquired, by the use of their amazing faculties, over and above that with which they were originally endued, in the course of more than six thousand years!" That they have existed so long we are assured; for they "sang together when the foundations of the earth were laid." How immensely must their wisdom have increased during so long a period, not only by surveying the hearts and ways of men in their successive generations, but by observing the works of God, his works of creation, his works of providence, his works of grace! and above all, by continually beholding the face of their Father who is in heaven.

The actual possession and abundant advantages of such means for advancing their intellectual acquisitions,

is thus presented by Dr. Chalmers in his "Astronomical Discourses: "God walked with our first parents in the garden of Paradise, and there did the angels hold their habitual converse ;* and should unblotted innocence, which charmed and attracted these superior beings to the haunts of Eden, be perpetuated in every planet but our own, then might each of them be the scene of high and heavenly communications, and an open way for the messengers of God be kept up with them all, and their inhabitants be admitted to a share in the themes and contemplations of angels, and have their spirits exercised on those things of which we are told that the angels desire to look into them; and thus, as we talk of the public mind of a city, or the public mind of an empire-by the well-frequented avenues of a free and ready circulation, a public mind might be formed throughout the whole extent of God's sinless and intelligent creation -and just as we read of the eyes of all Europe being turned to one spot where some affair of eventful importance is going on, there might be the eyes of a whole universe turned to the one world, where rebellion against the Majesty of Heaven had planted its standard; and for the re-admission of which, within the circle of his fellowship, God, whose justice was inflexible, but whose mercy he had, by some plan of mysterious wisdom, made to rejoice over it, was putting forth all the might, and travelling in all the greatness of the attributes which belonged to him."

In the overtures of Divine compassion and the provisions of Almighty grace, holy angels are invariably represented as exercising a most deep and ardent solicitude, as connected with the salvation of mankind, wrought out in the

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*Lord King, in his Morsels of Criticisms, expresses the idea, that some period will arrive, when the communications of earth and heaven will be visible, and the angels of God descend and ascend to converse with men.

Redemption effected by the Cross of Christ. The Scotch divine further observes, "It is an impressive circumstance, that when Moses and Elias made a visit to our Savior on the Mount of Transfiguration, and appeared in glory from Heaven, the topic they brought along with them, and with which they were fraught, was the decease he was going to accomplish at Jerusalem. And however insipid the things of our salvation may be to an earthly understanding, we are made to know, that in the sufferings of Christ and the glory which should follow, there is matter to attract the notice of celestial spirits; for these are the very "things," says the Bible, "which the angels desire to look into." And however listless we, the dull and grovelling children of an exiled family, may feel about the perfections of the Godhead, and the display of those perfections in the economy of the gospel; it is intimated to us in the book of God's message, that the creation has its districts and its provinces; and we accordingly read of " thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers ;" and whether the terms denote separate regions of government, or the beings who, by a commission granted from the sanctuary of heaven, sit in delegated authority over them,-even in their eyes the mystery of Christ stands arrayed in all the splendor of unsearchable riches; for we are told that this mystery was revealed for the very intent "that unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be made known, by the church, the manifold wisdom of God."

As a minor, yet additional confirmation of the exalted and transcendent intelligence of angels, we produce the apposite allusions of apostolic averment respecting the utter inutility of the most splendid mental endowments, as well as the denounced inefficiency of the penetrative sagacity of an intellectual philosophy, or the oratorial eloquence of a persuasive rhetoric, in lieu of the enlightened apprehensions of an evangelical faith to understand the economy of grace in the realized blessings of Redemption :-Though I speak with the tongues of men and of ANGELS, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling symbol. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have not charity, I am nothing.-1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. But though we, or an ANGEL from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. Gal. i. 8.

With augmented attractiveness, our subject now invites us to consider-though within too circumscribed a limit-- the ennobling and radiant characteristics which adorn and magnify the angelical nature. And as the firm foundation, surest safeguard, and impregnable citadel of the unfading and immortal excellencies of the angelical character we present to prominent view, their confirmed and consummate holiness. Throughout the Scriptures, instances are multiform. and the evidence is abundant confirmatory of this delightful and exalting truth. Holiness is the well-spring from whence unceasingly flow the crystal streams of their beauty, their morality, their sensibilities, and their unalloyed pleasures. These elements and attributes of moral excellence and celestial happiness are derived from this virtue which constitutes the imperishable beauty of the mind, and is as superior to the exterior grace of the body as the spirituality of the soul is superior to the earthy tabernacle in which she resides. Virtue is the essential beauty and unfailing felicity of the heavenly world; and while it engrosses the attachment and the homage of angels themselves, is regarded with entire complacency by its divine author. In virtue, according to the decision of mankind, sinful as they are, is placed the moral grandeur and loveliness of intelligent beings, that which unbiassed reason approves; which is always excellent; which is uniformly the object of delight; which will never change; and which will never cease to be desired.

This peculiar and distinguishing feature in the angelical character will be better understood and enhanced in its glory by the contrasted effects of its opposite principle, which occasioned the apostacy of the fallen angels, revealed and described in the apocalypse by St. John: And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels.

“Fallen Angels were once possessed of this illustrious attribute, and held the exalted station, which is now exclusively enjoyed by their fellows. Fallen angels are still possessed, in an eminent degree, of power, life, activity and knowledge; but they yielded up their holiness, when they revolted from their Maker; and changed forever their character and their destiny, by sinning against God. Sin converted them into fiends, and made hell their habitation. From sin, that dark and dreadful world derives all its gloom, sorrow, and despair. Sin ushered it into being; raised its prison walls; barred its iron gates; shrouded its desolate regions in the blackness of darkness; kindled the fires by which it is gloomily enlightened, and awakened all the cries, and groans, and curses, and blasphemies, which echo through its regions of sorrow. Sin changed angels, once surrounding the throne, and harmonizing in the praise of God, into liars, accusers, calumniators, adversaries, and destroyers. How amazing and dreadful the change! How loathsome, how detestable, the spirit by which it was accomplished !"

"The mighty difference between Heaven and earth, angels and men, lies in holiness and sin.* Angels are holy;

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* Sin made a sad and lamentable breach, both between God and men, and

we are sinful: their residence is happy; ours, in many respects, wretched. This world was originally formed to be a delightful habitation; and at the close of creation, was by God himself pronounced to be very good. Man was once immortal and happy; because he was just, kind, sincere, humble and pious. What has the world, what has man, gained by the change? The afflicting answer may be summed up in a word. God made the earth a beautiful image of heaven; man, by his apostacy, has changed it into no obscure resemblance of hell. God made man a little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honor. Man, being in honor, abode not, but became like the beasts that perish."*

As a glorious manifestation of this principle in the constitution of the angelical character, obedience, is a conspicuous virtue, whereby they fulfil, with an alacrity, represented in the expressive imagery of a flash of lightning, the gracious purposes, as well as punitive procedures of the Divine Will.

"Some may think it needs be to the angels loss to leave heaven and God's presence there, to follow business in this lower world and wait upon man; but no such matter. They count it no loss to follow their master's work whereever it lie. Neither is there an instance throughout the Bible, where an angel appears to have acted independently

between men and angels too, yea, and between them and all creatures.—Pneumatologia.

* Dr. Dwight, (late President of Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S.) from whose masterly and eloquent discourses in his System of Theology, on this superlatively beautiful subject, I acknowledge, once for all, that I have freely borrowed; and no writer that I have had the opportunity to consult equals him, either in the felicity of his diction, the force of his ratiocination, or the fertility of his chastened imagination.
G. C.

† Pneumatologia.

of the divine command. Perfect submission to the authority, and cheerful performance of the behests of Jehovah, is the unvaried and exemplary character of the heavenly hosts. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven, in our Savior's comprehensive formula of prayer, is declarative of the joyous subordination which reigns with supreme harmony in the kingdom of heaven, and that encircles the throne of Deity. Bless the Lord, ye his angels, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word, ye ministers of his that do his pleasure, exclaims the devout Psalmist, with the admiring emotions of expostulatory praise.

Another most attractive feature in the formation of the angelical character is their profound humility* and instructive meekness. In these great and ennobling virtues, how affecting the contrast between sinful man and unfallen angels; for though greatly exalted above mortals, the illustrious inhabitants of the celestial world are unspotted by pride, and vanity, the root of sin, and the stem of bitterness. Haughtiness or vanity would instantly disrobe of all their comeliness and glory the blessed spirits of the upper sanctuary, and cause them to resemble the worst and most odious of all the creatures of God!

Who would not rather aspire to be clothed with the stainless, spiritual, and never-fading robe of humility and righteousness; that faith, repentance, and love of the Gospel, which compose the embroidered garment, the fine linen of

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* Indeed there shines in them such a brightness of the majesty of God, that there is nothing in which men might be more easily drawn, than with a certain admiration, to fall down in worshipping them. This very thing, St. John, in the Revelation, confesseth of himself, but he added withal, that he received this answer, “See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God.”—AMBROSE, Communion and Ministry of Angels.

the saints, wrought and made white in the heavens ;-that best and beautiful robe with which, in his father's house every repenting and returning prodigal will be appareled and adorned.

How beautifully are the humility and meekness, and obedience of angels exemplified in the thrilling parable of Dives and Lazarus, "presenting to our view a choir of these illustrious and sympathising beings leaving the glory of Heaven, and directing their flight to this forlorn and sinful earth, to accompany and escort the departing spirit of poor, despised, forgotten Lazarus, to the world of happiness and love; to point the way to that delightful region; and to aid his trembling wing to the house and presence of his Father and his God. What monarch, what noble, what gentleman, what plain man would, willingly, have even attended his funeral? Who would have received him, when alive, into his house, powerfully as his sufferings pleaded for relief? Who, much more, would have consented to become his companion? Who, still more, would have acknowledged himself his friend? Yet all this, angels did not disdain.

Let us take to ourselves shame and confusion of face at the remembrance of our pride of feeling and haughtiness of heart. How often do we despise, neglect, insult, and trample under foot the disciples of Christ,-those who, in the sight of God, are far better than ourselves! For what do we despise them? Because, perhaps, their houses, their persons, their dress, their wealth, or their talents are inferior to our own. We might, indeed, sometimes pity them for these reasons, and be justified. But where shall we find an excuse for despising them ?"*

But the most fascinating and radiant lineament in the portraiture of the angelical character, is, their unbounded and affectionate benevolence ;-LOVE, an essential adjunct of their nature,-the atmosphere of their existence,-their nearest approach to the most glorious of the attributes of that Supreme Being denominated the God of Love-the essence of Redemption-the especial provision in the novel and valedictory commandment of the Great Teacher, during the days of His humiliation, when He tabernacled "in the flesh for us men and our salvation," to his persecuted and disconsolate disciples recorded by St. John in his gospel, chap. xiii. 34, emphatically the apostle of love,-the inexhaustible fountain of terrestrial happiness and celestial felicity. The very foundation of meetness for the beatitude of heaven, must be laid in the principle of love, productive of a complete renovation in the moral faculties and sensibilities of humanity.

The grand object which love proposes to accomplish, is the communication of happiness. There is not a more amiable, attractive, or comprehensive idea of the Divine Being any where to be found than that which is exhibited by the apostle in three monosyllables-God is Love. He is the uncreated and eternal source of all felicity, from which flow the varied streams of joy which gladden the heart of angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim. To manifest the exuberance of His benignity, the Almighty Creator willed into existence the material universe to serve as an immense theatre upon which to display to countless orders of sensitive and intellectual creatures, for their delight and comfort, the diversified blessings of His unlimited and spontaneous beneficence.

The excellence of love, as a principle in the moral and intelligent system, bears a striking analogy to the law of attraction in physical nature. It draws into intimate fellowship and hallowed union all holy intelligences wherever dispersed, throughout the amplitudes of creation. It assimilates and unites man to God, to the angels and archangels-those glittering courtiers of heaven, the beautiful and beatified companions of our adorable Redeemer, Jesus Christ!

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* Dr. Dwight.

Of this distinguished and attractive loveliness of character angels are supremely possessed. "Angels are sincere, gentle, meek, kind, compassionate, and perfectly conformed to that great moral principle communicated in the word of our Lord, which he said: It is more blessed to give than to receive. This sublime excellence, incomparably more precious than gold which perishes, has in them been, from the beginning, debased with no alloy, tarnished with no spot, impaired by no length of years, and changed by no weakness or imperfection. Free from every defect, and every mixture, it has varied with length of years, merely towards higher and higher perfection, and shone not only with undiminished, but with increased beauty and lustre. There is no good which it is proper for angels to do, which they are not habitually prepared to do. There is no kindness capable of being suitably exercised by them which they do not in fact exercise. The more their faculties are enlarged, and the more their knowledge is increased, the more their means of usefulness is multiplied; the more exalted is their excellence, the more disinterested and noble their dispositions; the more intense their benevolence, and the more lovely and beautiful their character; the good which they have already done, has only prepared them to do more and greater good; and the disposition with which it was done has only become stronger by every preceding exertion."

Associated with this elevating and bland distinction, angels combine in their character those magnanimous and sublimer virtues which constitute personal dignity and glory, tempered and refined by consummate humility, as connected with their intense love and undeviating apprehensions of divine truth. Truth, which consists in an account of the character and works of God,-subjects elevated above all height, and extended above all limits; possessed of inherent grandeur and sublimity literally infinite; fitted to awaken in every mind formed with an understanding to perceive, and a taste to relish them, great ideas and exalted conceptions; and calculated to inspire habits of thinking and feeling, of the most dignified nature. To these subjects angels have already devoted themselves throughout a vast period of time, with burning intensity and fervor. Their views have all been formed without error, decay, or weariness; and their relish for the objects of their knowledge has only been strengthened by indulgence. Of course their progress in understanding has been rapid, and their attainments have been very great. Of course, also, their minds have been continually expanded and ennobled by all the conceptions which they have entertained concerning these wonderful subjects.

With all the accumulated knowledge of their vast capacities and early history, angels supremely rejoiced when they announced to our fallen, and sinful, and ruined race, the incarnation of Christ—the mystery of godliness-redemption for a lost world; for on that wondrous and nation-desired event, a multitude of the heavenly host sang Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men, Luke ii. 14; whilst our blessed Savior's declaration represents their delight on the recovery of a penitent from his way of sin and misery. "The conversion of sinners is the jubilation of angels-heaven rings with the joy, and this plain sense or meaning of Christ's words, that when they see the ranks and files of lapsed angels filled with new recruits of men and women, penitent for their sins, this is matter of joy, of ecstatical joy to the holy angels of God. For there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth; Luke xv. 10, as if every convert was an addition to their happiness. Whilst they praise God for such an instance of his goodness, they exult in the victory obtained over the powers of darkness, and in the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom. They receive the young believer under their care, being commissioned to watch over him for his protection and comfort.*

66 Angels have kind propensions towards men, especially good men, in this world, knowing these are of the same society and church with them; though the Divine Wisdom hath not judged it suitable to our present state of probation there should be an open and common intercourse between them and us. It is, however, a great incongruity that we should have strange, uncouth, shy, frightful or unfrequent thoughts of them in the mean time. We should bear our part in the joys of heaven; and when we are told there is joy there, among the angels of God, for the conversion of such, who are thereby but prepared to come to their assembly, we may conclude there is much for their glorification.†

It is their delight to attend upon the saints. They know one day that they shall live together, and sing together, and rejoice together; they know that the saints shall supply the room of the fallen angels, and when they meet, Oh! the joy that will be betwixt them, knowing what Christ hath done and suffered for them. The mystery of godliness is seen of angels, yea, they are ravished in the very beholding of it, as a new and strange object; they look into, saith Peter,—their whole spirits are taken up with it, as if it were the blessedest sight they could behold, and they are also ravished at the work of our Redemption; how should they but with delight attend the redeemed ones of Jesus Christ.-AMBROSE.

*ROBINSON-Scripture Characters.

† Rev. John Howe.

"God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."-1 John iv. 16. Such is the testimony of the apostle regarding fallen men; but it is at least equally true of the holy angels. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be," the same apostle states, 66 but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."-iii. 2. The vision of God transforms the character; and what an influence must that vision have upon unfallen angels? It is the present lot of the angels, that they behold the face of our Father in heaven, and it would seem as if the effect of this was to form and perpetuate in them the moral likeness of himself; and that thus a diffused resemblance to the Godhead is kept up amongst all those adoring worshippers, who live in the near and rejoicing contemplation of the Godhead. Mark then, how that peculiar and endearing feature in the goodness of the Deity, how beauteously it is reflected downwards upon us in the revealed attitude of angels! From the high eminences of heaven are they bending a wakeful regard over the men of this sinful world, and the repentance of every one of them spreads a joy and a high gratulation throughout all its dwelling-places. Put this trait of the angelic character into contrast with the dark and lowering spirit of an infidel.

"The infidel, with his mind afloat among suns and systems, can find no place in his already-occupied regards for that humble planet which lodges and accommodates our species; the angels, standing on a loftier summit, and with a mightier prospect of creation before them, are yet represented as looking down on this single world, and attentively marking the every feeling, and the every demand of all its families. The infidel, by sinking us down to an unnoticeable minuteness, would lose sight of our dwelling-place altogether, and spread a darkening shroud of oblivion over all the concerns and all the interests of men; but angels will not so abandon us; and, undazzled by the whole surpassing grandeur of that scenery which is around them, are they revealed as directing all the fulness of their regard to this our habitation, and casting a longing and benignant eye on ourselves and on our children. The infidel will tell us of those worlds which roll afar, and the number of which outstrips the arithmetic of the human understanding—and then, with the hardness of an unfeeling calculation, he will consign the one we occupy, with all its guilty generations, to despair. But he who counts the number of the stars, is set forth to us as looking at every inhabitant among the millions of our species, and the word of the Gospel beckoning to him with the hand of invitation, and on the very first of his return is moving towards him with all the eagerness of the prodigal's father, to receive him back again into that presence from which he had wandered. And as to this world, in favor of which the scowling infidel will not permit one solitary movement, all heaven is represented as astir about its restoration; and there cannot a single son, or a single daughter, be recalled from sin unto righteousness, without an acclamation of joy among the hosts of Paradise.

The expansive range of angelic benevolence extends far beyond the boundaries of human capacity and comprehension. Angels have indeed a mighter reach of contemplation than can be comprehended by mortal ken. "Angels can look down upon this world and all it inherits, as the part of a large family. Angels were in the full exercise of their powers, even at the first infancy of our species, and shared in the gratulations of that period, when at the birth of humanity, all intelligent nature gave a gladdening response, and the morning stars sang together for joy. They loved us

with the love which a family on earth bears to a younger sister; and the very childhood of our tinier faculties did only serve the more to endear us to them; and though born at a later hour in the history of creation, did they regard us heirs of the same destiny with themselves, to rise along with them in the scale of moral elevation, to bow at the same footstool, and to partake in those high dispensations of a parent's kindness, and a parent's care, which are ever emanating from the throne of the Eternal on all the members of a duteous and affectionate family. Take the reach of an angel's mind, but, at the same time, take the seraphic fervor of an angel's benevolence along with it, how, from the eminence on which he stands, he may have an eye upon many worlds, and a remembrance upon the origin and successive concerns of every one of them; how he may feel the full flow of a most affecting relationship with the inhabitants of each, as the offspring of our common Father; and though it be both the effect and the evidence of our depravity, that we cannot sympathise with these pure and generous ardors of a celestial spirit; how it may consist with the lofty comprehension, and the sweet breathing love of an angel, that he can both shoot his benevolence abroad over a mighty expanse of planets and of systems, and lavish a flood of tenderness on each individual of their teeming population."* Oh! ye blessed spirits, by virtue of the untarnished perceptions of your cherubic knowledge, and the sympathy of your seraphic benignity; full well ye understand, that affection, is no pretender; grief, no sophist; death, no solemn fallacy; the Bible no romance of cunningly-devised fables;-the warnings of perdition, and the overtures of salvation, no superstitious delusions. Full well ye know that

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*DR. CHALMERS, Astronomical Discourses.

ye have now struck, though with the gentlest touch, an Æolian string in that Harp of Sorrow, which ye found suspended on the weeping willow of afflictive bereavement ! That beloved one, the apparition of whose saintly form, oft I see, when entranced in the reveries of my day-dreams, and during the sleepless vigils of nocturnal vision, resembled ye in the adorning traits of your virtuous dispositions. Blessed spirits! ye were no indifferent observers of the sacredness of that parting hour, when after taking a farewell embrace of the darling object of her maternal solicitude,-the expressive type, and fragrant blossom of the rosy freshness of her unvarying love, prophesying from the loveliness of his infantile character, that he would not be long absent from her bosom -she softly wrapped around me the pure and radiant mantle of her ardent affection, whilst ye hovered around her dying couch and whispered* to her believing spirit, preparing for its anxious flight, the assurance of divine favor, "Fear not, I am with thee,”—awaiting the summons of her Savior, to waft her soul, upon the downy chariots of your swift and golden wings, to the unfading inheritance of the upper skies, as she ascended in faith, bright as the morning star; in hope, serene as a summer's eve; in charity, joyous as the bliss, and seraphic as the love of heaven; singing in strains which, to the sanctified ear of a scriptural anticipation, are more ethereal, harmonious, and enrapturing than were ever warbled by the fabled and expiring melody of the classic and celestial Swan.

*If the notes of distant music wafted on the air to the ear can reach and melt the heart and lift it from earth to heaven, as they often do, why cannot angelic whispers do the same? If the sighing of every evening zephyr can move the strings of the heart, and produce a concord of the tenderest and loveliest feeling, why cannot unseen angelic influences do what is thus done by "the viewless spirit of a lovely sound ?"-SLACK, Ministry of the Beautiful.

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"Now, Saviour, now, my soul receive,
Transported from this vale, to live
And reign with thee above;
Where faith is sweetly lost in sight,
And hope in full supreme delight,
And everlasting love."

Beholding, through the medium of the bright mirror of faith, and as reflected in the revealing glass of Inspiration, the resplendent halo of those moral excellencies which encircle the celestial worshippers of the upper sanctuary—those shining ministers of state which surround the sapphire throne of the Majesty on High; well does it behoove us in viewing the contrast of our disobedience, depravity, demerit and degradation, humbly to adopt, in the prostration of admiring devotion, the impulsive exclamation of the Royal Penitent: O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! What is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor.* Psalm viii. 1, 4, 5.

* The present note comprises the general opinion of the most able commentators and divines respecting the literal and spiritual meaning of the fifth verse of this Psalm. He is made but a little lower than the angels;—lower, indeed, because by his body he is allied to the earth, and to the beasts that perish, yet by his soul, which is spiritual and immortal, he may be truly said to be but a little lower than they. He is but for a little while

lower than the angels; for the children of the resurrection shall be no longer lower than they. Luke xx. 36. He is endued with noble faculties and capacities. God gave him his beings—has distinguished and qualified him for dominion over the inferior creatures. Man's reason is his crown of glory; let him not profane that crown by disturbing the use of it, nor forfeit that crown by acting contrary to its dictates. He is invested with sovereign dominion over the inferior creatures, under God, and is constituted their lord. This is such a display of the Divine love to us, vile sinners, as cannot be expressed or comprehended, but should be humbly admired and adored. Every time we partake of them, we realize this dominion which man has over the works of God's hands; and it is a reason for our subjection to God, our chief Lord, and his dominion over us."

REMARKS AND STRICTURES.

To hear marriage spoken of by those who have assumed the Christian profession, (for in this matter, we renounce all intercourse with infidels, profligates, and socialists,) as a LOTTERY is an awful outrage upon our natural instincts, a deliberate violence committed upon our reason, and an impious impeachment of the wisdom and benevolence of God, who has circumvallated and garrisoned the domestic constitution by the most efficient provisions of our physical organization and the exquisite mental and moral sensibilities of our nature;—whilst all the discord, and concomitant infelicities which occur in this sacred enclosure have, unquestionably, arisen from those who have gained admission therein, by the imbecility or stratagems of an odious treachery. In the apostolic injunction, Be not unequally yoked, where can be discovered the necessity of the chance or fatalism of a pretended or affirmed sortilege? If through the fatal influence of family pride, the unhallowed lust of passion, the sordid love of money, an immoral compliance with the artificial requisitions of fashionable life, or an unauthorized submission to the urgency of parental pertinacity, (for of all oppressions the most insidious and contemptible is domestic tyranny,) an ill-starred marriage

The text, also, has a particular reference to Jesus Christ, as expounded and illustrated by St. Paul, in Hebrews ii. 6-8, where, to prove the sovereign dominion of Christ, both in heaven and in earth, the apostle shows that he is that Man, here spoken of, whom God has crowned with glory and honor, and made to have dominion over the works of his hand. The greatest favor ever manifested to the human race, and the greatest honor ever put upon human nature, were exemplified in the incarnation and exaltation of the Lord Jesus; these far exceed the favors and honors done us by creation and Providence, though they also are great, and far more than we deserve. In this, every other instance of Divine condescension is eclipsed, all our thoughts are swallowed up, and our contemplations must issue in wonder, love, and praise."

is effected, all the unhappiness and vicious consequences accruing therefrom,—like the unalterable law of cause and effect,—is exclusively attributable to the gross prostitution of that divine ordinance instituted by Jehovah himself, in the garden of Eden, when unpolluted by the stain and crime of man's disobedience, involving all the disastrous results which have flowed therefrom.

"Sacred wedlock! law of heaven,
By wisdom framed, in mercy given;
The spring, whence all the kindred ties
Of parents, children, brethren rise!
Curs'd be the lusts that violate
The honors of the married state;
The Lord himself in wrath severe
Will judge the vile adulterer."

The spirit of the apostolic injunction, likewise, clearly denounces the unnatural and indecorous affinity of blooming womanhood with decrepid senility, originating either in the promptings of mercenary motives, or the unseemly indulgence of amorous propensities. Equally abominable in the sight of a holy God, must be the intentions and conduct of those who think to assume the momentous responsibilities of the ministerial office, with the ostensible or avowed design of converting the pulpit into a stepping-stone for personal aggrandizement and social elevation, through the medium of an advantageous, though insincere, matrimonial alliance; while some have even gone so far as to desecrate the solemn sacrament of the Eucharist for the accomplishment of a similar purpose; neither are those clergymen free from reprehension, who, apparently unimpaired in physical strength and mental faculties, retire to the fashionable residences of watering places and summer resort, from the stated performance of ministerial labors; as soon as they have secured the otium cum dignitate of a petticoat pension.

What an offensive spectacle in the sight of God, Angels, and Christians, is the frequent exhibition of ecclesiastical coxcombs, whether in the adolescence, maturity, or decline, of their ministerial functions, that when they should be wooing a soul, they are evidently more anxious to court the admiration of their persons, manifested in the bestarched cravat, the becurled periwig, preparatory attitudinizing, the studied display of the perfumed cambric, dangling from the trimmed digits of the bejewelled fingers of a bepoulticed hand. The subtilty and malignity of Satan, the magnitude and grievous effects of sin, the priceless boon of Inspiration, the blood-bought gift of Redemption, and the sacred influences of the Holy Ghost cannot tolerate such solemn mockeries!

If, in the foregoing remarks, the writer is considered to have indulged in observations too severe and outre, he would recommend his censurers to consult the sentiments and strictures of that extraordinary theologian, the late Robert Hall, who invariably placed in juxtaposition-side by side-with vulgarity, affectation, buffoonery, pride, vanity, and pharisaism in the sacred desk-Satan, his angels and allies.

The extravagant expense for the ostentation of personal pride and social importance displayed in the fitting up, and auctioneering, for the most fashionable pews, in professing Christian churches, are also very serious abominations, converting the House of God—the house of prayer into a house of merchandise,—a den of thieves.—Matt. xxi. 12, 13.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE. The plate represents the escort of a departed believer to the gate of heaven. The conducting angel, being preceded by the announcing angel, on the banner of whose trumpet are given those passages which constitute the credentials or passport of Faith, and which, upon being presented to the receiving angel, the portals of the city of the heavenly Jerusalem are instantly thrown open for the admission of their charge. Lower down, is a guardian angel, surrounded by happy cherubs, conveying the son of the departed to the Paradise above; upon the drapery of whose ethereal vestment is inscribed that passage upon which is founded the doctrine of infant salvation, for the reception of such juvenile inhabitants amongst the angels of God.

RESIDENCE AND SOCIETY.

In the unwearied and exhilarating progress of our advancing and animating inquiries respecting the spiritual nature, exalted rank, amazing attributes, and beautiful characteristics of celestial intelligences, we have now arrived at an important point of our elevating and delightful theme, requiring the sober and serious consideration of the local or constituted residence of angels, usually denominated Heaven; and which is variously represented in Scripture-as the city of the living God,—the resplendent habitation of the innumerable company of angels,—the magnificent palace of the celestial Jerusalem,-the bright mansions of the incorruptible, unfading, and eternal inheritance of the saints in light, the holy and glorified throne of Redemption and the Godhead, the sacred Mount Zion and upper sanctuary of the Christian church, resounding with the triumphant hallelujahs of the ransomed inhabitants, victorious over

Satan, sin, and mortality,-The august and effulgent SHECHINAH OF ETERNITY.

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Various and momentous as are all the revealed communications of the Bible, it is a striking circumstance, eliciting admonitory reflections, that scarcely anything is taught us in Holy Writ concerning any of the worlds included under the general name of Heavens, except the Supreme Heaven. The reason for which, it is not difficult to ascertain, being found in the truthful conviction that whatever information might have been given or knowledge attained respecting them, would, after all, be the mere gratification of curiosity, incapable of being directed to any valuable end, as connected with our advancing holiness, or promotive of our spiritual edification; for, under the fluctuating and deceptive influence of this powerful principle, in all probability we should have been diverted by such communications, if they had been made, from the thoughtful reception of those solemn and glorious verities which ought to occupy our thoughts, as more needful in the attainment of those things which accompany salvation. Few affections of the human mind exert a stronger influence over its conduct than curiosity. Well-directed, and cautiously kept within proper bounds, it is eminently profitable to man, by prompting him unceasingly to useful inquiries, improvements in knowledge, and discoveries in science; but when suffered to wander without restraint, it conducts to mere gratification, hazardous to the real interests and eternal welfare of the soul.

But with the Heaven of Heavens we have a continual and most important concern. This glorious and delightful world is the place to which all our ultimate views are urgently directed by our Maker, God, and Saviour,—the blissful home to which a merciful and gracious Jehovah invites us to look, as our final rest and rescue from trouble and temptation; and the final seat of all the enjoyment which we are capable of attaining. With its illustrious and benevolent inhabitants, we shall, if we are wise, become familiarly acquainted and intimately united, and shall live in the midst of them, through ages which cannot end. Of this world, therefore, and of those happy and dignified beings who dwell therein, it has pleased an All-wise God, in the infinite condescension of his loving-kindness, to furnish us with information beneficial, various, and extensive, unfolding to our view the character of its noble inhabitants and attractive intercourse,-its sublime occupation, its gorgeous scenery, and inconceivable beautitude!

The word heaven is variously applied in different passages of the Bible. It is employed in reference to God, as in Daniel iv. 26. Until thou know, that the heavens do rule. To angels ;-The heavens are not clean in his sight, Job xv. 15; in which passage, some commentators have supposed that an intimation is given of the fall of Lucifer. To the Christian church :-There was war in heaven, Rev. xii. 7,* implying the struggles and conflicts of the primitive saints and of Christianity. To a great height, the cities are great and walled up to heaven;†-to distin-

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* By the woman in heaven, in the first verse of this chapter, some commentators understand the Christian church, and the man child brought forth by her, the first Christian emperor. The war in heaven, the persecutions which prevailed in the early history of Christianity. Michael and his angels, the confessors and champions of the gospel. The dragon and his angels, the idolatrous and bloody tyrants of Rome, pagan and papal, including every species of hostility against Christ and his disciples. The casting out of this dragon, was the overthrow of idolatry when the heathen lost the throne. The accusations of the brethren, those abominable, but altogether groundless, calumnies cast by the worshippers and slaves of the dragon upon the Christians and their religion. And the wrath of the dragon or devil, when thus subdued, exerted itself in the violence of some succeeding emperors, the heresies and discords sown among the members, and churches of Christ, and all the miseries consequent on the inundation of barbarous nations which tore in pieces the Roman empire itself. It is certain, also, that Christians, in the time of Constantine, thought the prophecy contained in this chapter was plainly fulfilled, by the great and baneful event of Constantine's advancement to the imperial throne of the Roman empire; the emperor's statue being set over his palace gate, representing him as trampling on a wounded dragon. Even Constantine himself, in his epistle to Eusebius, speaks of his conquest of Licinius, as the downfall of the dragon and the restoration of Christian liberty to all men.

†The people of the East anciently raised up the walls of their city so high, as not being liable to be scaled, they considered themselves perfectly secure from all external invasion. The same simple contrivance, is to this

guished glory. How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning,*—the firmament or expansion over our heads, in which are set the sun, moon, and stars ;—the kingdom prepared before the foundation of the world;-the building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens ;-the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled and that fadeth not away; the heavenly city which hath no need of a candle, nor the light of the sun or the moon to enlighten it, for God and the Lamb are the light thereof, and into which nothing that defileth can enter, being the blest abodes of purity, of knowledge, of triumph, where there are blessed companions and blest employ.

In the Scriptures the epithet Paradise is frequently applied to portray the distinguishing and superabundant felicity of heaven; and it is worthy of particular observation, that the word Eden, which imports extreme pleasure and delight, was often used by the inspired penmen of the Old Testament, to denote places which were either remarkably fruitful in their soil or enchantingly agreeable in their situation; in connection with the striking coincidences of divine Revelation, which opens and shuts with such corresponding and joyous subjects of contemplation. The Bible begins with the Mosaic description of the terrestrial Eden, and closes with the apocalyptic representation of the glories, magnificent grandeur, and exuberant happiness of the celestial Paradise.

Eden was remarkable for a river which issued from it; in like manner St. John describes, in the heavenly Eden, a pure river of the water of life proceeding from the throne of God and the Lamb. Each was adorned by a tree of Life, prolific with fruit, which grew in the midst thereof. These various analogies, as well as other similitudes, are evidently designed to teach us that Jehovah purposed, in the redemption of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, to restore to his people a more perfect and enduring state of bliss than that which was forfeited by the sad and fatal disobedience

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day, deemed a sufficient guard from the attack of the marauding Arabs. Up to heaven, was an oriental hyperbole or proverbial expression.

*Kings, princes, and rulers are sometimes represented by the heavenly hosts, and figuratively compared to the sun, moon, and stars. By Lucifer, in the above text, we are to understand, metaphorically, the king of Babylon, who outvied the other potentates of the East, as much as the morning star, by virtue of its peculiar brilliancy, outshines all other constellations in the firmament. The expression, also, doubtless alludes to the fall of Satan, the prince of the apostate angels, described by our Saviour, and recorded by the evangelist, Luke x. 18. I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven. The title of son of the morning, is common both to the morning star and to an angel; the angels being styled, in Job xxxviii. 7, morning stars. The fall of the apostate angels is not directly recorded in the Old Testament; but it is implied in the distinction which the inspired writers make between good and evil spirits, and is sometimes alluded to by the prophets, when they threaten destruction to proud and violent tyrants, who, in imitation of the pride of the devil, exalt themselves against God and his truth, and are the instruments of Satan in promoting idolatry and wickedness in the world.

of our first parents. In the closing chapters of Revelation St. John appears embarrassed and overpowered when he desired to exhibit the splendor and magnificence, the beatitude and glory of the holy and heavenly city;—its walls are jasper, high, deep, and wide;-its streets and dwelling-places of pure and pellucid gold, whose foundation and pavement are precious stones, with its twelve gates, each a pearl, watched and attended by angels.

In condescension to our limited faculties, and to aid our inadequate conceptions of invisible or spiritual things, St. John reiterates his splendid allusions to the heavenly metropolis, by reference to the holy city of Jerusalem, the pride of the Jews and the glory of the whole earth. And to express its perfect symmetry, excessive beauty, and the complete safety of its inhabitants, it is said to be four square, and to be surrounded by a wall, great and wide. It had three gates on every side, to intimate, that from all quarters of the globe there is a way opened to heaven for such who are suitably qualified to become its denizens, gathered from the east, and the west, the north, and the south, to dwell together, enfranchised with the privileges of the kingdom of God. On these gates were inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, to signify that none but the true Israel of God will be allowed admission within its sacred precincts; whilst on the twelve precious stones which composed the foundation of the city walls, were engraved the names of the apostles of the Lamb; implying that the church in heaven, like the church on earth, is built upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.

The word Paradise occurs three times in the Old Testament, where it is employed to express the high culture of beautiful gardens, fruitful orchards, and enchanting scenery; likewise in the New Testament, in relation to heaven, in the affecting spectacle of our Saviour, during the agonies and ignominy of the crucifixion, when he imparted the gracious promise to the penitent thief on the cross: To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. The ecstatic declaration of the apostle How that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it was not lawful for a man to utter ;—the animating assurance afforded to the faithful warrior in the Christian warfare: To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.

Not only in Scripture terminology is this appellation employed, as a synonyme to convey the idea of the most exquisite pleasures and consummate beatitude which reign

supremely in heaven, but the pagan world and ancient mythology attempted similar representations respecting the heaven of their gods, heroes, statesmen, philosophers, poets, and all those deemed worthy of an apotheosis, as a spot of peculiar and entrancing blessedness, which they situated in some far distant and lovely island, unvisited by mortals, or else their imagination placed it in the Hesperian gardens of their Elysian fields, which their fancy beautified with beds of odoriferous flowers, embowered walks, spicy groves, and shrubberies of aromatic sweetness, quiet valleys and crystal streams, sparkling fountains and unclouded skies, fanned by perfumed zephyrs, upon whose aereal wings floated, in unearthly melody, the harmonious chants of the matins and vespers of the blest.

But we eagerly return from this digressive reference to the dark superstitions of benighted heathenism, the classic philosophy of polished Greece, and the elaborate mythology of martial Rome, to some more appropriate reflections upon the spirituality of the heaven of Christianity; and amongst the ineffable advantages which will attend our introduction into heaven, will be the inconceivable opportunities which will be offered to our renovated perceptions, of a more satisfactory knowledge and deeper insight into the inscrutible mysteries of Divine Providence, and the economy of all-mighty grace. In heaven[*] our knowledge and attainments will brighten and expand in proportion, in glorious correspondency to the inconceivable and amazing advantages of the celestial state. Even in the present probationary and progressive steps of our fallen condition, aided by the astonishing discoveries of

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[*] If the mind of an infant can expand, during the lapse of years, to the dimensions of a Newton's mind, notwithstanding all the unfavorable circumstances in which it is here placed, why may it not, during an eternal residence in heaven, with the omniscient, all-wise God for its teacher, expand so far as to embrace any finite circle whatever.-DR. PAYSON, Sermons.

divulging science, what rapid advancement has recently been made in our apprehensions of the wonderful and hitherto hidden secrets-the sublime and surprising arcana of the natural world and physical nature. An acquaintance with. the mineral kingdom has imparted to man the power of subduing the earth, and appropriating her productions for his use and comfort. From the science of astronomy, accompanied with an insight into the properties of the magnet, he has derived the ability to traverse the wide and tempestuous ocean, converting it from a separating barrier, into a connecting medium of brotherly intercourse, with the numerous families of the different nations dispersed over the surface of the terraqueous globe. A familiarity with the principles of aerostation, enables him to ascend and float in the subtle element of the circumambient air, and penetrate the clouds, until he becomes invisible in the distant regions of atmospheric space, enveloped in the variegated and elegant curtains of the starry firmament of the solar system; so that, by the auxiliary information of analogy, drawn from the study of prying science, the rich and beauteous provinces of instructive nature, we are assured that when we dwell with celestial intelligences, our spiritualized perceptions will be rendered capable of reaching the loftiest attitudes of angelic sagacity and knowledge; for says our Saviour: The children of the resurrection—the children of God, will be equal to the angels,—on the same equality with them in glory, honor, dignity, felicity, and immortal wisdom.

'The noblest, more important, and by far the most attractive view of the angelical residence, is derived from the consideration of its being the especial dwelling-place of Jehovah, and which in the Scriptures is frequently styled the Heaven of Heavens, the holy Mountain, the House of God, the favorite habitation chosen by Deity, where God displays the manifestations of His glory and effulgence in a manner superior to any other place in the circle of the universe. It is also called by the pre-eminent distinction of the locality, The throne of God, the seat of universal and endless dominion, where the Divine authority is peculiarly exercised and made known, and the splendors of the Divine government exhibited with inconceivable lustre and grandeur.

It is likewise distinguished as being the blissful residence of his most favored creatures-the saints who are redeemed by the blood of his Son, and of the innumerable company of angels which stand round about the throne. As the centre of consummate holiness, radiating virtue, and Divine communications, it appears with transcendant beauty and glory; where the divine principle shines without alloy, and flourishes in immortal youth; where the finishings of Almighty workmanship and the endless diversities of omniscient skill are exhibited in the most exquisite forms, and in the last degrees of refinement and perfection; the ocean from which all the streams of infinite wisdom and goodness proceed, and into which they return, flowing with the unfathomable depth and inexhaustible fullness of joy everlasting, and pleasures for evermore!

The resplendent throne of God may further be considered as the capital of the universe.* "From this glorious centre embassies may be occasionally dispatched to all surrounding worlds, in every region of space. Here, too, deputations from all the different provinces of creation may occasionally assemble, and the inhabitants of different worlds mingle with each other, and learn the grand outlines of those physical operations and moral transactions which have taken place in their respective spheres. Here may be exhibited to unnumbered multitudes, objects of sublimity and glory, which are no where else to be found within the wide extent of creation. Here intelligences of the highest order, who have attained the most sublime height of knowledge and virtue, may form the principal part of the population of this magnificent region. Here the glorified body of the Redeemer may have taken its principal station, as the head of all principalities and powers, and here likewise Enoch and Elias may reside, and according to the general tenor of Scripture, where God's throne is, where Christ in his glorified body is, in this royal city of the King of Kings, and there is also the home of the sainted dead.*

The residence of angels is also denominated, by way of eminent distinction, the third heavens, the holiest of holies,† and partly to be the centre and medium of that solemn worship which the Jewish people were required and enjoined to render to him. Within the

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*There is an astronomical idea which may help us to form conceptions of this glorious high throne, which is the peculiar residence of the Eternal; it being highly probable, if not certain, from minute observations on the nature of the law of gravitation, and other circumstances, that all the systems of the universe revolve round one common centre, and that the centre may bear as great a proportion in point of magnitude, to the universal assemblages of systems, as the sun does to his surrounding planets; and since our sun is five hundred times larger than the earth, or all the other planets, and their satellites taken together, on the same scale, such a central body would be five hundred times larger than all the systems and worlds in the universe. Here may be a vast universe in itself-an example of material creation exceeding all the rest in magnitude and splendor, and in which are blended the glories of every other system. If this is in reality the case, it may with most emphatic propriety be termed the Throne of God.—DR. DICK. Philosophy of Religion.

*DR. CHALMER'S Astronomical Discourses.

†The most exact representation of the heavenly world (considered as a place) that was ever given to men, was the ancient tabernacle, formed after the pattern given to Moses in the Mount. That magnificent and divine pavilion was the emblem and the type of heaven itself, and built by Moses partly to be a place of Jehovah's visible residence, as the King of Israel,

in which converge and are concentrated all the most glorious manifestations and displays of the divine Majesty; rendering the celestial scenery worthy of the infinite merit and purchase of the Son of God,-worthy of the most enlarged desires, anticipations and hopes of the redeemed,-the amazing theatre in which an eternal providence of progressive knowledge, power and love, and all the diversities of virtuous intelligence, all the forms and hues of Moral Beauty, will brighten in an unceasing gradation, and where the harmonious anthems of gratitude and praise, love and enjoyment, will eternally resound.

This ineffably delightful spot, an apostle has enchantingly represented as the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness;—where God will wipe away all tears from every eye, where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away; and amongst its various and peculiar privileges will be access to the tree

second veil of this tabernacle called the sanctum sanctorum, or holiest of holies, Aaron was forbidden access at all times. Within its sacred enclosure were deposited the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant, and the cherubim of glory in which God dwelt in the awful cloud that overshadowed the mercy-seat; so in like manner He resides, in the holiest of all in the heavens, as he does not in any other part of the universe. Behold the heaven is his throne and the earth is his footstool. Heaven is the centre of his operations, and perhaps we might say, of his essence.

God, who only gave six days to the work of creation, employed forty days in giving instructions that the tabernacle might be made. For that in which the representation of the world of grace was manifested was by far the most wondrous work. One chapter alone is occupied by Moses in describing the structure of the visible world; more than six in explaining that of the tabernacle; thus we are taught, that the latter is no less to be attended to than the former, since from considering thereof the marvels of Christ are made known to us.-WITSIUS.

of life, denoting a state of immortality. "Blessed indeed are they who do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city."

Notwithstanding our imperfect and inadequate perceptions of the incomprehensible glories of the heavenly state, sufficient has been graciously revealed,* to animate the ravished soul, during her terrestrial sojourn in the tabernacle of this present life of darkness and doubt, dangers and despondency, distress and death, to urge her continually to chant the sonnet of devout aspiration, grateful and adoring praise:

"Who, who would live alway, away from his God;
Away from yon heaven, that blissful abode,
Where the rivers of pleasure flow o'er the bright plains,
And the noon-tide of glory eternally reigns!
Where the saints of all ages in harmony meet,
Their Savior and brethren, transported to greet,
While the anthems of rapture unceasingly roll,
And the smile of the Lord is the feast of the soul!"

*The Christian, however, must propose these questions to himself: "Amidst all this waste of worlds," where is the heaven of his religion? Where is the abode of the body of Christ, which visibly ascended into another place through the firmament above us? The Christian cannot be defrauded of his consolations by the powers of the telescope, nor the loftiest flights of imagination. The God who made the noble universe, gave also Christianity to man, to direct him to an existence in a state of immortality. But if there is a state, or condition, there must also be a place in which we must dwell; and that place we are repeatedly assured, is the same place which the body of Christ now possesses. If St. Stephen was permitted to see the Shechinah, preparatory to his being stoned, his visual faculties shall have been so strengthened that the inconceivable distance between earth and heaven was, as it were, annihilated. St. Stephen, filled with the Holy Ghost, saw, in the flesh, his blessed Redeemer. The heaven of heavens was brought near to man, and the first Christian martyr was enabled to behold it, as a pledge and earnest of his own immortal happiness ; and through him a pledge to all those who by the same faith shall offer

But we hasten to offer a few brief and concluding observations regarding the attractive society and inviting associations of the celestial state; and which will consist of those glorious spirits who have stood fast in their original integrity, have never swerved from the allegiance of their loyalty to the Majesty enthroned upon the illimitable circle of universal empire. The children of the resurrection, the children of God, will hold friendly and intimate intercourse with the purest and most fascinating, the most amiable and lovely intelligences that were ever created, as the representatives of the exuberant beneficience and supreme holiness of Jehovah-whose obedience has never been disturbed by a single emotion of rebellious feeling-whose characters have never been tarnished by one solitary stain of impurity—whose eyes have never been sullied by one momentary tear, and whose hearts have never been seduced by the influence of temptation. As objects of contemplation, angels present to us the delightful spectacle of inherent light, beauty, and greatness. These noble and illustrious beings never indulge in sloth, deceit, wrath, malice, envy, or impiety. "Angels never cheat, corrupt, betray, or oppress. Angels never profane the name of God, perjure themselves, ridicule sacred things, insult the Redeemer, resist the Holy Ghost, nor deny the being, the perfections, the word, or the government of God. Angels never consume their time in idle amusements, or guilty pleasures; never slander each other, never quarrel, never make wars, and never desire or plunder each other's blessings."

In the survey of those beauteous and resplendent excellencies which, like an ethereal and radiant garment, surrounds and adorns the character and conduct of these lovely and affectionate,* immaculate and impeccable inhabitants of the skies, and worshippers in the temple and within the veil of the upper skies, well may Poesy, animated and inspired by such an array of moral virtues, burst forth into the sacred aspiration-

"In such society as this,
My willing soul would stay;
And sit and sing herself away
To everlasting bliss."

Another most cheering, elevating, and unspeakably attractive view of the society of heaven, is presented and urged in the joyous expectation and animating desire of meeting and mingling with the most excellent characters that have ever appeared upon the face of this ruined world, -patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and the redeemed, "gathered out of every kindred, and people, and nation, and language, and tongue," purified from every earthly imperfection, divested of all infirmity, and clothed with the lustre of the spiritual body-a glorious community, which, in the comprehensive and descriptive declaration of the Scripture, is styled the general assembly and church of the first born, and the spirits of just men made perfect.

How enrapturing, too, the thought and belief, that we shall there greet in the beauty of holiness, and the worship of the liturgical services of the upper sanctuary, those endeared objects of affection-the desire of our eyes-and the children of our love, who have preceded us to the kingdom of glory, delivered from all the infelicities of those dis-

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themselves living and acceptable sacrifices to God.-DR. CHALMERS, Astronomical Discoveries.

*There is not a single reason to believe that angels ever exercised, even in one instance, personal resentment against the basest and most guilty child of Adam; or a revengeful thought against the most depraved inhabitant of hell. No provocation is able to disturb the serenity of their minds. No cloud ever overcasts their smiles, or intercepts the clear sunshine of their benevolence.-DR. DWIGHT.

ciplinary and afflictive dispensations incidental to our present state of existence in this sin-disordered world,—to greet them in those bright and celestial mansions, where the exercise of the refined sensibilities of our spiritualized nature will be liable to suffer no disturbance or interruption from the sufferings of pain, the debility of disease, the vexations of disappointment, the sorrows of unexpected vicissitudes and unforeseen woes, the aberrations of a distempered sensorium,* the avarice which annihilates natural affection, the tormenting reproaches of an awakened conscience, those invasions of mental and moral distress, which in this troublous life besiege and entrench the soul, or the heart-rending separation of the inflexible decree of death! How captivating, then, and supporting the anticipation of thus greeting one another in this goodly and harmonious fellowshipt and revealed beatitude of heaven; for Christ has averred, that in that world, the children of God, being the children of the resurrection, shall be iσayyεho, equal or like to the angels,† invested, adorned, and beatified with the same attributes, knowledge, holiness, dignity, and the ineffable enjoyment of the divine favor!‡

* Amongst the sanitary measures for the recovery of those laboring under mental affliction, as the consequence either of disease or grief, the attendance on the services of sabbatical worship and the observance of religious exercises, are found to be the most soothing, and effectively beneficial; assuredly, then, such a cogent demonstration of the adaptation of Christianity to meet the multiform ailments of our physical nature, as well as the moral necessities of the "divinity that stirs within us," it well behooves the philosopher to ponder with admonitory astonishment, and the infidel with warning consternation.

† I believe there shall never be an anarchy in heaven; but as there be hierarchies amongst the angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the saints.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE, Christian Morals.

The bodies of good men, saith St. Augustine, after the resurrection shall be qualia sunt angelorum corpora, such as the bodies of angels; and, also, that they shall be corpora angelica in societate angelorum, fit for society and converse with angels.

This animating conviction and noble aspiration of a biblical faith, is quaintly, yet strikingly represented in the following expressions of the fervid and devout Isaac Ambrose, in his nervous discourses on the Communion and Ministry of Angels: "Adam was kept out of Paradise by cherubims, yet cherubims and seraphims, and all the host of heaven are ready to receive the saints into the glorious city. O! what a joy will be in heaven at the first admittance of these souls! what clasping, closing, kissing, embracing will be at this entrance betwixt saints and angels. Welcome, say the angels, and welcome say the archangels, yea, the principalities triumph, and powers rejoice, and virtues' shine, and thrones glitter, and cherubim give light, and seraphim burn, at the soul's arrival, where they shall live together, and love together, and sing together Jehovah's praise!" To which may be added the corresponding sentiments of the eccentric and pious Skelton: "What a glow of the infinite sweetness of love and friendship will pervade the 'spirits of good men made perfect;' to see those soul's, who perhaps, in this life contended bitterly about the trifles of this world, meeting like 'righteousness and peace, kissing each other,' to see them strike hands, and unite hearts forever. Among this glorious company there is none that doth not contribute largely to the satisfaction and entertainment of the rest. There is no weak reasoning, no biassed judging, no tedious searches after knowledge; no ill-natured ridicule, no trifling, no impertinence; no pride, nor jealousy, nor envy."

Amidst the trials, and temptations, and bereavements of this probationary scene of mortality, how consolatory and sustaining the hope, and stimulating the promise of the living oracles of inspired truth, of an admission into that building of God, the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens:

"Where numerous households meet at last,
In one eternal home."

But the unspeakable majesty, the crowning glory, the splendid magnificence of the residence and society of heaven will consist of the presence of JESUS CHRIST, as seated on the throne of everlasting love and universal empire. In this transcendentally overpowering contemplation of heaven, hope, brightens; faith, adores; and charity,-the favorite and radiant guest of a blissful eternity-burns with fresh accessions of divine ardor. As the reward of Redemption, as the trophies of his victory over death and the grave,— as the purchase of his precious and atoning blood, the adopted children of God, sanctified by the gracious influences of the promised Paraclete, will forever stand around the flaming throne of his sovereignty, irradiate in the dazzling effulgence of the ineffable complacency of the Godhead,—in that resplendent pavilion and sacred temple of celestial regality, which an elegant writer has thus represented :- "Whatsoever heaven is higher than all the rest of the heavens; whatsoever sanctuary is holier than all which are called holies; whatsoever place is of greater dignity in all those courts above, into that place did Christ ascend, where in the splendor of his Deity, he was before he took upon himself our humanity.”

But before dismissing our reflections on this august and mysterious subject, we desire with respectful remonstrance, earnest expostulation and Christian sincerity, prompted by the unswerving loyalty of our faith, to address those who seek to cast Christ down from his excellency. Give a negative to the Deity Christ, and discord is instantly introduced amongst the attributes of Jehovah! Reject the Deity of Christ, and the melting tragedy of the sacrificial and ensanguined summit of Calvary becomes a solemn mockery, and dreadful delusion; extorting with a bitterness which no language can portray, the dolorous lamentation and afflictive announcement of apostolic averment, "We are of all men indeed the most miserable." Deprive Christ of his Deity, and instantly the key stone is displaced out of the arch of salvation which tumbles into inevitable ruin and irrecoverable destruction! If Christ be not divine, then Heaven is annihilated, and creation also deprived of her Maker and Lord, Benefactor and Upholder! The denial of the Deity of Christ involves the awful and petrifying alternative of making God a liar, and violating, by a forbidden idolatry, the second commandment of the decalogue, which was received by the disposition of angels, amidst the blackness and darkness, the thunder and lightnings of the august and terrific scenery enacted upon the smoking summit of the trembling mount of Sinai.*

For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself; he that believeth not God hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. 1 John v. 7, 9, 10.

For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall

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* The late Dr. Channing, (the intellectual champion and most eloquent writer amongst the Unitarians of this country,) in his essay upon heaven, represents it as scarcely better than a nursery for the improvement of our mental faculties. What a difference-what an impassable gulf-between the heaven ot the Socinian and the Christian.-G. C.

take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

Ashamed of Jesus! sooner far,
Let evening blush to own a star;
Ashamed of thee, whom angels praise,
Whose glories shines through endless days.
Ashamed of Jesus! that dear friend,
On whom my hopes of heaven depend;
No! when I blush, be this my shame,
That I no more revere his name.
Ashamed of Jesus! yes I may,
When I've no sins to wash away,
No tear to wipe, no good to crave,
No fears to quell, no soul to save.
Till then-nor is my boasting vain,
Till then, I boast a Saviour slain,
And oh! may this my glory be,
That Christ is not ashamed of me.-GRIGG.

Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

TRADITIONARY AND DELINEATIVE.

The Talmudists appear to have regarded, in the theory of their legends, the garden of Eden as an intermediate state, in the light of a residence for the souls of the righteous immediately after death; and also adopted the belief that the bodies of Enoch, Elias, and St. John the Evangelist were translated thither, in order that they might not undergo the process of death and decomposition; and that they will remain there until the end of the world;-making the dimensions of Paradise one hundred and sixty times larger than the terrestrial globe, stating

that Paradise and hell were among the seven things which God created before the formation of the material universe.

The Jews retain a tradition that Moses their leader having ascended to Heaven to intercede before God on their behalf, he received from the hands of Jehovah the two tables of stones, carved from the sapphire of the throne of his preciousness, and during his stay there, when Jah gave to him the law and commandments, the wicked of that generation arose and made a golden calf. When Moses returned, bearing the two tables, learning the offences of the people, his hands became heavy, and they fell from him, and were broken. After this serious catastrophe Moses re-ascended to propitiate Jah, on account of the rebellious wickedness of the children of Israel; Rabbinical writers affirming that in his second entrance into heaven, Moses having prayed for the people, and propitiated the displeasure of Jah, received the revelation of the institutions of divine worship, and also heard the dreadful voice of the holy and blessed God.

St. Athanasius poetically described the spicy gales which breathe over the Indian seas, to have come from the neighborhood of Paradise, which God planted in the East; whilst Origen resolved the second chapter of Genesis altogether into an allegory, referring Paradise to the third heaven; transforming the trees into angelic virtues, and its rivers into waters above the firmament. St Augustine also composed a hymn entitled de Gloria Paradisi, glowingly descriptive of the loveliness and luxuriant fruitfulness of the gardens designed and prepared for the blest.

Some suppose Eden to have been the earth in miniature, and to have contained specimens of all natural productions, as they appeared, without blemish, in an unfallen world, in the utmost profusion.

The North American Indians believe that beyond the most distant mountains of their country, there is a great river, and beyond that river a vast territory, and on the other side of that

region a world of water, and in that water a thousand islands, abounding with fruitful trees, and transparent streams, and that a thousand buffaloes and ten thousand deer graze on the grassy hills and ruminate in the verdant valleys, and that when they die the Great Spirit will conduct them to this happy and distant land of souls.

No man, it is presumed, ever read the history of our first parents contained in the second chapter of Genesis, without being deeply interested in their state as well as their character. The Paradise allotted to them as their proper residence, has, in a high degree, engaged the attention, and awakened the delight of every reader. Its majestic trees laden with luscious fruits, its fields arrayed in verdure and adorned with variegated flowers, the life which breathed in its fragrant winds and flowed in its crystal rivers, the serenity of its sky, and the splendor of its sunshine, together with the immortality which gilded and burnished all its beauteous landscapes and enchanting scenery, have filled the heart with rapture, and awakened the most romantic visions of the imagination. The poets of the West, and still more those of the East, have, down to the present hour, kindled at the thought of this exhibition of perfection and profusion, production and perfume; and the very name of Eden has met the eye as a gem, in the verse which it adorned. Nay, it has been transferred by God himself to the world of glory, and become one of the appropriate and favorite designations of Heaven, in reference to the attainment of salvation, as the noblest and all-satisfying recompense of reward to the faithful adherents of Christianity. To him that overcometh, saith our Saviour, I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.

The pagans, as well as the ancient philosophers, entertained a strange variety of opinions respecting the locality and constitution of the heavens or firmament, and the occupations of its multitudinous inhabitants. In ancient astronomy, the ethereal heavens were represented as an orb, or a circular region, in which the number of the heavens varied according to the different or apparently independent motions of the celestial bodies. Other philosophers make their enumeration to correspond with that of the seven planets. The region of the fixed stars was denominated the stellar firmament. Ptolemy included in his system nine heavens, to which Alphonso, king of Castile, added a tenth or crystalline heaven, to remedy some irregularity in his astronomical theory, and over which was drawn the empyreal heaven, which was appropriated as the particular residence of Deity. Others, again, admitted into their hypotheses a large plurality of heavens. Eudoxus specifies twenty, Callipus thirty, Regiomontanus thirty-three, Aristotle forty-seven, and Francastor seventy.

Amongst the heathens, heaven was considered as the special residence of their gods, into which no mortals were admitted, after death, unless they were accounted worthy of deification, whilst the souls of good men were assigned to the Elysian fields.

In modern astronomy the term heaven is employed to denote the ethereal expanse in which the stars, planets, comets, &c., are disposed, and called by Moses the firmament, recorded as the work of the second day's creation; whilst recent scientific discoveries have ascertained more correctly the laws which regulate the planetary motions of the solar system, and accordingly exploded the errors of ancient and numerous theories. Plato gives a description of heaven, bearing so close a resemblance to the magnificent representations of Isaiah and St. John, that Eusebius charges the philosopher with plagiary.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.-The plate is designed to represent the scriptural residence of angels. In the centre is an hieroglyphic of the Trinity, on each side of which is presented an emblematic figure of the second and third Persons of the Godhead, encircled by adoring angels and worshipping saints, as described by Saint John the apostle :-" And round about the

throne were four and twenty seats; and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold. The four and twenty elders fall down before Him that sat upon the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy to receive glory and honor and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." Rev. xiv. 4, 10, 11.

"Princes to his imperial Name,
Bend their bright sceptres down;
Dominions, Thrones, and Powers rejoice,
To see Him wear the crown.
"Archangels sound his lofty praise
Through every heavenly street;
And lay their highest honors down,
Submissive at his feet."-WATTS.
66 Legions of Angels, strong and fair,
In countless armies shine;
And swell his praise with golden harps,
Attuned to songs divine."-Gregg.

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Residence of Angels.
Drawer In Persins.

TO NEW
EMPLOYMENTS AND PURSUITS.

We have now reached and cheerfully ascend the Pisgah of our interesting and important subject, from whose elevated and sequestered summit, with the eye of our faith undimmed, and the force of our hopes unabated, we are vouchsafed a goodly and animating prospect of that heavenly Canaan which we anticipate, when it shall please the Lord God to speak to us in the summons of death, and withdraw us from the turmoil, vocations, and entanglements of the devious windings of our passage through this wilderness world, being called to worship Him in the eternal rest and unfading beatitude of the promised city and glorious temple of the celestial Jerusalem.

Before we proceed further, however, it may be expedient to advert to the objection which has been mooted, of the improbability of the continued agency and ministrations of angels, because of their non-appearance, in visible forms, since the days of the apostles, and to which objection it is deemed only requisite to reply, that the canon of Scripture being closed, and the last dispensation of Divine purpose having been ushered in by those signs and wonders, instrumentalities and manifestations, whose miraculous interventions were needed to establish the divine origin and permanent continuance of the economy and institution of Christianity-until the "consummation of all things," according to fulfilled, as well as unfulfilled prophecies,—are now withdrawn, as not requiring any additional confirmation of their truth and binding obligations. "To the law and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isaiah viii. 10. If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead. Luke xvi. 31.

During the patriarchal, Mosaic, and prophetical dispensations, Jehovah was pleased to manifest his will, and foreshow his gracious purposes, and foretell his threatened judgments by instructive dreams, informing visions, audible voices, and the apparition of angelic messengers, to awaken the attention, excite the obedience, and confirm the faith of those who put their trust in Him, in relation to the procedures of his providence, and the promises of Almighty grace, during the dawning periods of Christianity, prefigured in the types and shadows of the Aaronic priesthood, until their complete accomplishment in the meridian glory of the present and final economy of divine purpose in the Revelation of Christ Jesus, the Great Antitype, who hath brought life and immortality to light by the gospel; and, therefore, we conclude, that with the age of miracles, the supernatural interposition of the visible appearance of angels is withdrawn, as unnecessary, and contrary to the wisdom of

God, in the superfluous exhibition of miraculous operation and confirmatory evidence, beyond the necessities of human reason and the requisite apprehensions of an acquiescent faith.*

No less futile is the suggestion, that the doctrine of angelic ministration is of too speculative a character to produce sufficiently edifying results. The eternal love of God and the blessings of free grace,-the inscrutable decree of the sovereignty of a special and divine election,—justification by faith, together with our adoption as the children of God-the mediation and intercession of Christ, the joys of heaven, and the sanctifying influences of the Holy Ghost—as the essential doctrines of an orthodox Christianity, are not a whit less speculative, as regards the tendency of their practical effects, and especially designed to promote a life of holiness, and a preparation for the worship and employments of the heavenly state.

By such a process of intangible objections, it is evident that we should be deprived of the very vitalities and principles of an evangelical faith, rendering our hopes nothing better than a fleeting shadow, instead of an invaluable substance, a lifeless skeleton, instead of an animated body.

Various have been the opinions of expositors as to the time when the angels commenced their ministrations on this earth; some supposing, that they are exercised as soon as we are quickened into existence, in the womb, founded on the following passages.-Psalm cxxxix. 14-16; Luke i. 41. Others, at the time of birth, of baptism or regeneration. Every supposable case of danger to which infancy and childhood are liable, angels are supposed to watch and provide a suitable protection. The imprudences of mothers, the carelessness of nurses, the generally unguarded and hazardous circumstances to which the young from the earliest dawn of existence are exposed, receive the especial notice and provision of these celestial and benevolent intelligences, as their guardian angels.*

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* God sends not angels now to propose new articles of faith, or to give new laws to men, he having fully furnished the rule of our religion by Jesus Christ. And as for interpretations of Scripture, none must be received that agree not with the context and the analogy of faith.-Pneumatologia.

* Plato was of opinion that children are no sooner born, but they have angels to attend them, which first produce and then conjoin the soul to the

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body, and after they are grown to maturity, teach and govern them.

The ancient philosophers, as well as some modern commentators, believe that every individual has appointed unto him a guardian angel that attends upon his welfare through all the different stages of this mortal life; whilst in the Scriptures we find mention of several instances in which angels were sent by divine commission to instruct and protect the favorites of God's special regard, or to act as the executioners of the divine displeasure against all ungodliness of men, or to make known his purposes respecting the dispensations of his mercy to mankind. It was through the instrumentality of an angel that the prediction was given to Hagar respecting the future character and prosperity of Ishmael. The angel Gabriel informed Daniel of a variety of events which would befall the Jewish nation; and also visited with divine messages and announcements, Zacharias, and the Virgin Mary. They were angels that were entertained by the hospitable and venerable patriarch, and who communicated to Abraham the will and gracious purposes of Jehovah respecting the birth of Isaac, and the wonderful events which were to happen to the nations who were to spring from him. Throughout the extraordinary and eventful periods of his pilgrimage, angels constantly appeared to the patriarch Jacob, and conveyed to him counsel, and ministered to his behalf, and that of his family. Angels rescued Lot and his daughters from the destruction of Sodom. An angel of the Lord attended the Israelites during their journeyings in the wilderness; and the moral law was received by the disposition of angels on Mount Sinai.

Joshua, the successor of Moses, was encouraged by the appearance of an angel in the martial character of the captain of the host of the Lord, whilst he was meditating an attack on the city of Jericho (Joshua v. 13, 14); but who, however, by most commentators, has been considered as the Angel-Jehovah. An angel appeared to the valorous Gideon, bidding him deliver the Israelites out of the hands of the Midianites-whilst a mighty angel destroyed in one night an hundred fourscore and five thousand of the veterans of the army of Sennacherib.*

66

In the New Testament the employments of angels on behalf of those who are chosen of God, by the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, are rendered prominently conspicuous. Are they not all ministering spirits," says St. Paul, "sent forth to minister for them who shall be the heirs of salvation ?" In this passage we are obviously taught, that ministering to the saints, without any distinction or exception of rank or station, is a permanent employment of angels. They conducted Joseph and Mary to Egypt, Philip to the eunuch, and Cornelius to St. Peter, who obtained from the apostle a knowledge of the Gospel, to the salvation of himself, his family, and his friends. They also comforted the apostle and his companions after the resurrection, Paul, immediately before his shipwreck, and the church of Christ universally. Often when the child of affliction are murmuring under the disciplinary dispens tions of God's Providence and Grace, some ministeri angel is on the wing, bearing the succor they require, t comfort they need, and putting to the blush the language their unbelieving hearts.†

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* Otway tells us, in describing the horrors of the plague, which almost depopulated London, that the “Destroying Angel" stretched his arms over the city.

"Till in th' untrodden streets unwholesome grass
Grew of great stalk and color gross,
A melancholic poisonous green."

†The afflicted soul makes sad complaints sometimes. 'I am quite forsaken; I am left alone; I have none to take my part; no friends left me in

One particular employment of angels is to attend the beds of dying saints, and sustain them by the consolations and hopes of faith, preparatory to their entrance on the joys and fruition of heaven. In a peculiar sense, during their trials, temptations, sufferings, and on the eve of their departure from this world of tribulation and woe,

66
Bright seraphs dispatched from the throne,
Repair to their stations assigned;
And angels elect are sent down
To guard the elect of mankind."

Conjecturally, some special office is assigned to each one of the heavenly host. One indeed may superintend the affairs and prosperity of a kingdom, while another watches the slumbering babe in a cottage cradle,-others are appointed to meet the several necessities of the adopted children of God who are constantly assailed by the opposition of Satan and his angels; thereby hindering their growth in Christian graces, and their advancement in the way of holiness and heaven. Accordingly, in the apocalyptic representations of St. John, we behold them controlling evil spirits; wielding

ts of this world; producing, directing, and bring-
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ation the great convulsions of time; convey-

Oh, do not say so;-all the holy angels are thy hearty
e charge of thee, and with the greatest alacrity and cheer-
that charge.-Pneumatologia, 1701.

most likely, 'tis as God made the stars to have their influence
s and animals, so he made the angels that are higher than the
me service in the world, to be the instruments of his providence.

How merciful art thou, O Lord, that thou thinkest us not safe enough in our weak and slender walls, but thou sendest thine angels to be our keepers and guardians.-AMBROSE, Ministration and Communion of Angels.

It is better to think that there are guardian spirits than that there are no spirits to guard us.-SIR T. BROWNE, Christian Moral.

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ing the souls of the just to the paradise of God, and severing the wicked from the good at the day of judgment.

One of the most solemn and affecting exhibitions of angelic ministration is presented in the dolorous narratives of the Evangelists, which relate the descent of angels to relieve our Savior in the wilderness of Satanic temptation, and during his agony in the garden of Gethsemane. What a mysterious, solemn, and wonderful mission for holy angels to perform, in rendering such services and homage to Him who was the Lord of Angels.

The "innumerable company of angels,"--of the glorious host dispersed throughout the illimitable universe, is clearly intimated by the apostle as beyond all the computation of mortal arithmetic, nevertheless, several references in Scripture will somewhat aid our conceptions in this particular. To Jacob, at Bethel they appeared on the mystic ladder, ascending and descending, in multitudes; and when he returned from Padan-aram, "the angels of the Lord met him," and he called the place "Mahanaim," or the two hosts. They are represented by the Psalmist as constituting many hosts,-Psalm ciii. 21; cxlvii. 2. Micaiah, the prophet, "saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the hosts of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left."-1 Kings xxii. 19. "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels."—Psalm lxviii. 17. Elisha's servant, when "the Lord opened his eyes and he saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."-2 Kings vi. 17. Daniel beheld in the vision of God," thousand thousands minister unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before him."-Dan. vii. 10. St. John, "I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the number of

them was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands."-Rev. v. 11.*

Respecting the pursuits of angels in the heavenly state, we can form but a very inadequate conception, in the present life, and must await our arrival in those bright and blessed mansions which Christ has prepared for them that love Him. But from the declarations of Scripture we know that they are deeply occupied in investigating, with intense earnestness, the astonishing developments of the Divine Majesty in the works of creation and providence, and the wondrous economy of grace and salvation. In the celestial temple angels are engaged in the most exalted services, contemplating the perfection, and celebrating the praises of the Great Eternal.

To such ennobling and glorious pursuits who would not aspire, and devoutly prepare with a moral and spiritual meetness, to join the resounding trisagion of the celestial hierarchy.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, which is, and is to come. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, honor, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

TRADITIONARY AND ANECDOTICAL.

The Talmudical traditions and Rabbinical writings, with their characteristic fecundity, abound with singular fictions respecting the guardianship and employment of angels ;-the Jews indulging the vain conceit that the appearance of angels, and their ministrations by the commission of God, were only manifested

* Some of the fathers, with the view of representing the number of the angels compared with mankind, refer to the parable of the ninety-nine

sheep left by the shepherd on the mountains, while he went in search of the strayed one, meaning apostate humanity.

in Judea. Regarding the presidency of angels, the Rabbinical writers give the following statement, over the seventy nations into which they say the human family was divided at the confusion and subsequent dispersion of Babel.

"The Lord said to the seventy angels which stood before him, come now, and let us go down, and there let us confound their language, so that a man may not understand the language of his companion. And the word of the Lord was discovered against that city, and with it the seventy nations,—and their respective languages, which each angel respectively wrote with his hand." Another says, "The earth consisted of seven climates, and every climate divided into ten parts. Then was each country and people assigned to its respective prince, and these princes are called gods of the world. Thus were the seventy nations divided amongst the seventy princes; the blessed God taking no part in them, because He is pure. One rabbi assigns to these angels the function of "moving the heavenly bodies; another affirms them to be "the souls of the heavenly bodies;" and another asserts them to be no other than the "stars and planets." Among some of the employments of angels, the rabbies say, that the ark had no rudder, and was steered and guided by them; and that God used their services in calling together "every living thing of all flesh, cattle, and creeping things of all sorts," when God commanded Noah to assemble them for embarkation.

Guardian angels, according to the notions of the Jewish rabbins, perform very important services in favor of men. They say, "Every man has his angel who speaks for him, and prays for him; as it is said (Psalm lxv. 2), "O Thou that hearest prayer;" that is, the prayer of the angel, who is the Mashal or guardian of men. It follows, "Unto thee shall all flesh come." Wherefore, the angels are not allowed to say their hymns above, till the Israelites have said them here below; for all that a man does is imitated by his Mashal, who performs it above, in the same manner in which it is performed here below. A man should never ask his necessaries of God in the Syriac or Chaldaic language. The ministering angels do not attend, to carry any one's prayers before God, who petitions for his necessaries in the Syriac language. This is meant of one single man who prays for himself; by a whole congregation it may be done in all languages, because the presence of God is amongst them.

There are three who weave or make garlands out of the prayers of the Israelites; the first is Achtariel, the second Metraton, and the third Sandalphon. Behold! these three, who make garlands, do not attempt to make garlands of any other prayers; but only of such as are made in the Hebrew tongue.

The rabbies represent the removal of men from the present life as effected by the instrumentality of angels, whom they denominate angels of death. The execution of the mortal sentence, on those who die in the land of Israel is assigned to Gabriel, whom they style an angel of mercy; and those who die in other countries are dispatched by the hand of Samnael, the prince of demons." These two are deputies of Metraton, to whom God daily makes known those who are appointed to die. These deputies do not themselves bring away any souls out of the world; but each of them employs some of his host for that purpose.

The Jewish cabalists single out some particular angels as preceptors to the patriarchs;—to Adam was given Raziel,—to Abraham, Zidekiel,—to Moses, Metraton,—to Elias, Malashiel, -and to David, Gerviel, &c.

Amongst the chief spirits of the Mahometan heaven, such as Gabriel, the angel of revelation,-Israfil, by whom the last trumpet is to be sounded,-and Azrael, the angel of death, there were also a number of subaltern intelligences, appointed to preside over the different stages or ascents into which the celestial world was divided. Thus Kelail governs the fifth heaven, while Sadiel, the presiding spirit of the third, is employed in steadying the motions of the earth, which would be in a constant state of agitation if this angel did not keep his foot planted upon its orb.

Amongst other miraculous interpositions in favor of Mahomet, recorded in the Alcoran, was the appearance of five thousand angels on his side, at the battle of Bedr.

The Grecian academies entertained the belief that spirits behold all the actions of men, and rendered them assistance accordingly. That they, moreover, are acquainted with all our apprehensions, cogitations, and circumstances; and when the soul is delivered from the body, they bring it before the high Judge. That then they are questioned about our good or bad actions, their testimony being much prevalent either to exonerate or aggravate our doom. Porphirius asserts that many spirits or genii have the charge and custody of every man; one having a care of his health-another indulgent over his beauty and features-and another to infuse into him courage and constancy.

The ancient Persians supposed that Ormund appointed thirty angels to preside successively over the days of the month; and twelve greater ones to assume the government of the months, themselves; among whom Bahman (to whom Ormund committed the custody of all animals, except man) was the greatest Mihr. The angel of the seventh month was the spirit which watched over the affairs of friendship and love. Chur had the care of the disk of the sun. Mah was agent for the concerns of the moon. Isphandarmaz was the tutelar genius of good and virtuous women. The Persians, also, had a certain office or prayer for every day of the month, addressed to the particular angel who presided over it, and whom they called Sizouzé.

The subjoined anecdotes are chiefly extracted from Isaac Ambrose's Discourses on the Communion and Ministry of Angels; respecting whom, in a biographical sketch, the following particulars are given :-He was a native of Lancashire, England, and descended from a highly respectable family. In 1621 he matriculated in Brazen-nose College, of the University of Oxford, and took the degree of bachelor of arts. In consequence of some difference of opinion and the laxity of morals, which then prevailed, he seceded from the Church of England, though he invariably retained her form of episcopal worship against the remonstrances of the Independents, with whom he had ecclesiastically connected himself. Having notified to his friends, a few days preceding the time of his death, he was found dead in his chair, in his study, having that morning sent to the printer the last page of his work on Angels. "His character may be comprised in a few expressions. He was holy in life, happy in his death, favored of God, and held in high estimation by all good men. His writings, like those of Baxter, have a vigorous pulse beating in every page, and it would be difficult to select a paragraph in which the author does not appear in earnest for the salvation of his readers. He was one of those excellent divines who distinguished and adorned the turbulent age in which he lived, amidst those ecclesiastical troubles for which it was remarkable; and who, in their combined influences, irradiated the moral gloom which then overspread the land; and it is to their indefatigable exertions that we are indebted for many of the religious blessings which we now enjoy. He was a star of no common magnitude and effulgence in that bright constellation of worthies, who have enriched the world by their writings, bequeathing a noble example to posterity, of whom, indeed, the world was not worthy."

God does, by his angels, preserve and keep good ministers from the hands of their persecutors, as is reported by great divines of unquestionable credit, in the following instance :-" One Grynæus, a German divine, a learned and holy man, coming from Heidelberg to Spire, and going to hear a certain preacher in that city, that did then let fall some erroneous propositions of Popish doctrine, was thereat greatly offended, and presently went to the preacher, exhorting him to abandon his error; the preacher seemed to take it well, and pretended to be desirous of some further discourse with him, and so they parted. Grynæus going to his lodging, reports the passages of the late conference to those that sat at table with him, amongst whom Melancthon was one; he was called out of the room to speak with a stranger newly come into the house, and going forth he finds a grave old man of a goodly countenance, seemly and richly attired, who, in a friendly and grave manner tells him that within one hour there would come to their inn certain officers to apprehend Grynæus, and to carry him to prison, willing him to charge Grynæus with all possible speed to fly, and requiring Melancthon to see that this advantage was not neglected. Instantly Melancthon returned to the company, related the words of this strange monitor, and hasted Grynæus away, who had no sooner taken boat but he was eagerly sought for at his said lodging. No doubt this was an angel which God had sent to deliver this goodly minister from persecution.

Another worthy minister who was sought after by his persecutors, crept into a dark hole in the house, to hide himself, and as soon as he was got in, a spider drew a web over the mouth of the hole. When the searchers came, one of them would have looked in there for the man, where, indeed he was, but the other observing that there was a spider's web over the hole, concluded he could not be there, and therefore they ceased their search. What an artifice of the good man's angel-guardian was this to preserve him? Though persecutors are crafty and cruel, yet our keepers are more cunning than they, and can out-wit them.

Mr. Hawks being burnt to death, was desired by his friends to give them (if he could) some sign, by lifting up his hand, if he found his pains such as were tolerable, and might be borne with patience, and he did so; when his speech was gone, his body burning, and he thought to be dead, he lifted up his hands over his head, all on fire, and clapt them thrice together, which caused a great shout amongst his friends.

Mr. James Bingham, when the flames had half consumed him, cried out in the fire: "O ye papists! ye look for miracles; here now ye may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were, on a bed of roses!" If angels could keep Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace without any hurt, why might they not keep this holy martyr in the flames without pain, though he died in them? He is a very uncharitable wretch that will not believe he found as he spake. 'Tis, I confess, a wonderful instance, that 'tis usual for God to indulge his martyrs more than ordinary support in fiery trials."

Mr. Holland, the day before his death, on a sudden, while one was reading, said, "O stay your reading. What brightness is this I see? It is my Savior's shine. Now farewell world, welcome Heaven. The day-star from on high has visited my heart." And then turning to the minister who preached his funeral sermon, he said, "I desire you speak this for me, that God deals familiarly with man; I feel his mercy, I see his majesty, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God he knoweth ; but I see things that are unutterable."

Many have told the very day and hour of their departure; and, says Bishop Hall, these revelations and ecstacies whence are they? If a man without all observation of physical criticism, shall receive, and give intelligence many days before, what day and hour shall be his last, what cause can we attribute this to but our attending angels? And when joy arises not to such an overflowing height, yet does it frequently begin our heaven on earth, and the fears of death are fully vanquished, and the good man can see it, and feel it coming without any regret.

Angels are with the saints in the very minute of dying, taking away the terribleness of it. There is an aversion in nature to death; but, says Mr. Ambrose, the body's passage through the grave, though it be dark and dismal, yet it is safe and secure.

The grave is but a sleeping-place (they shall rest in their beds), and their soul's angels guard safe to heaven, and thus minister to the saints in death.

"Oh would God, ye saw what I see (said Mrs. Stubbs, on her death bed). Behold, I see infinite millions of angels stand about me, with fiery chariots to defend me, these are appointed of God to carry my soul unto the kingdom of heaven.”

Immediately after the separation of the soul from the body, the angels receive it, and carry it to heaven. They are a convoy for the departing souls of the godly, to bring them to their felicity, though how they do it we cannot understand. They keep them company at least, and they are a guard to them as they pass through the Devil's territories; for the Devil is called the Prince of the power of the air. He, with all his hellish crew, are the inhabitants of that region, and souls in their journey to heaven must pass through the air, and the angels wait upon them as a convoy.

The Devil drags the souls of wicked men to hell, when they die; and angels conduct the souls of good men to heaven. Such honor have all the saints. The poorest and meanest of them will be thus royally attended. Lazarus was a beggar, and he went in state to heaven.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.-Plate 1.-The guardian angel, attracted by the simplicity and innocency of childhood, presses his charge close to his side, with his arm around her neck; whilst the child, with a natural and confiding fondness, leans against him. With a dignified and benignant countenance, the angel extends his arm in the attitude of protection, as if warding off approaching danger. Plate 2.-Represents the angelic hosts celebrating the completion of the finished work of creation, “When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?"-Job xxxviii. 7. Plate 3.-Represents the final employment of angels in this world, on the arrival of the resurrection morn and the judgment day. Christ "on the throne of his glory," attended by holy angels. On one side is the recording angel, opening the book of life, in which are enrolled the names of the "heirs of salvation." In the space between the judgment seat, and those arising out of their graves, the archangel is sounding the trumpet which summons the assembling universe.

MORAL AND CONCLUSION.

Verbum Domini manet in eternum.

All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.-2 Tim. iii. 16.

UPON the opening of our divine and delightful subject, we intimated the intention of furnishing a synopsis of some of the confirmatory proofs, and illustrative facts demonstrative and recommendatory of the authenticity, antiquity, literature and inspiration of the Scriptures, to be received as the unimpeachable standard of faith and practice, requiring the entire dissociation of all negative assertions and mental reserves or suppositions, originating either in the unhallowed pride of the human intellect or the Pharaoh-like reluctance of the heart to yield an implicit obedience or acquiescent submission to the authority and precepts, the truths and doctrines contained in Holy Writ.*

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* The mass of evidence in favor of the divine inspiration of the Bible is

From the days of the apostles, (when the philosophizing Greeks arrogated to themselves the pompous title of Zopo and p2ooooo, wise men and philosophers,) to the present period, this state of mind and disposition have been the principal source from which have arisen all those heresies which have disfigured the benevolent character and perverted the gracious designs of Christianity, producing the most horrible persecutions, to all that superadded variety of evil in religion, morals and society, engendered by the violence of a sanguinary discord, the pretensions of a pseudo-philosophy, and the blasphemous negations of a presumptuous infidelity, whose name, indeed, is Legion.

Even those who have professed to have received the revelation of the Bible, too frequently employ themselves in endeavoring to help out other systems and formula of beliefs, for which no sanction can be shown, in the obvious bearing and spirit of the Sacred Scriptures, under the disguise of new constructions, rejection of alleged interpolated passages, allegorical explanation of inferences of a directly antagonistical tendency; and for which conduct nothing can be more irrational, inconsistent and injurious to the reception and utility of the Scriptures than to profess to accept them as a divine Revelation, and at the same time to constitute human opinion as the standard by which their declarations are to be tested; virtually invoking the awful consequences of sitting in judgment upon Deity, (who is the acknowledged author of them,) and to determine whether He has declared truth or spoken falsehood! Verily! must not angels wonder to see frail and fallen humanity thus engaged?

As corroborative of the importance and doctrine of the subject which we have discussed, and now deferentially sub-

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too great to be set aside by anything short of scientific demonstration. Were the Scriptures to teach that the whole is not equal to its parts, the mind could not, indeed, believe it. But if it taught a truth which was only contrary to the probable deductions of science, science, I say, must yield to the Scriptures; for it would be more reasonable to doubt the probabilities of a single science, than the various and most satisfactory evidence on which revelation rests. I do not believe that the probabilities of any science are in collision with Scripture. But the supposition is made to show how strong are my convictions of the evidence and paramount importance of the Bible.
DR. EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Religion of Geology.

Adam no sooner fell, but philosophy fell with him, and became a common strumpet for carnal reason to commit frolic with, and oh! how have the lascivious wits of lapsed human nature, ever since, gone a whoring after vain philosophy.-GALE, Preface, Court of the Gentiles.

mit to the candid and serious consideration of the Christian, as well as the philosophic and general reader, we offer the following appropriate and conciliatory remarks of President Dwight :-" In the Scriptures we find an order, or rather a kind of beings described, which were never known, nor imagined by any person who did not derive his acquaintance with them from that book. They are beings who have a character as appropriate as that of man, as far, as finite intelligences can be supposed to differ from each other. Yet the character is complete, entire, and of a piece with itself. Every attribute is suited to every other; all are angelic; all are heavenly. A station is also assigned to them, of a dignity and importance, perfectly fitted to their character, and worthy of being filled by such beings. Employments are also marked out for them, altogether becoming both the station and the character; angelic employments-suited to the Sons of God, the Morning Stars of Heaven. Can it be reasonably supposed that these things were devised by human imagination? Have similar things been ever thus devised? The fancy of man has, in all nations and ages, delighted itself with the employment of fashioning imaginary beings, of a nature superior to ours. What have been its productions? The gods, demons, and genii of ancient, and the elves, sylphs, and fairies of modern times. But how do all these shrink from a comparison with angels? They are little, base, trifling, sordid, and sinful enough to have been copied with a few easy additions from the characteristics of men. But where does this world furnish materials for the composition of an angelical character? What originals has it presented, from which the portrait could be drawn?*

A multitude of writers in the Scriptures, fifteen at least, have described these glorious beings with the most perfect harmony, and without a single discordant idea. In the mean time their descriptions are extensively various, comprising many particulars, and wholly independent of each other. All the writers are in this respect, as well as others, originals. Not one is a copier; not one a plagiary; yet their representations are universally noble, sublime, dignified, beautiful and lovely, beyond anything found in the most perfect writings of uninspired men. To which may be added a similar testimony to the authority of the Bible, from the eccentric, erudite and ironical Gale, in his preface to the "Court of the Gentiles." "But such was the infinite benignity and condescension of sovereign light and love, as that he vouchsafed to irradiate a spot of the lapsed world, even of his holy land and elect seed, with fresh and glorious rays of the light and life conveyed in and by the sacred Revelation. And oh! how bright, how ravishing were those heavens of divine light which shone on Judea? Were not all the adjacent parts illuminated thereby? Yea, did not Greece itself (esteemed the eye of the world) light her candle at this sacred fire? Were not all the Grecian schools hung with philosophic ornaments, or contemplations stolen out of the Judaic wardrobe? Were not Pythagoras's college, Plato's academy, Aristotle's peripatum, Zeno's stoa, and Epicurus's garden all watered by rivulets, though in themselves corrupt, originally derived from the sacred streams of Siloam? Whence had Phenicia, Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, with our occidental parts, their barbaric philosophy, but from the sacred emanations of Zion ?"

Our design in favor of the positive, prophetic, and miraculous evidence of the Inspiration of the Holy Bible, is so ably set forth by Dr. Townsend (whose classical learning and sincere Christianity no man will attempt to question), in the annexed statement, that we make no apology for its insertion or length, assured of the pleasure which its perusal will afford the reader, and his approbation accordingly.

From the period of the dispersion of the Jews among the Egyptians and Babylonians, we find that the Greeks began to have more exalted and refined ideas of a Deity; and that they applied themselves more particularly to that philosophy and literature, which contributed so eminently to raise them to the highest intellectual rank among ancient or modern nations. All the sects and schools of philosophy, in ancient Greece, originated from the Ionic and Italic sects. The Ionic sect was founded by Thales, the Italic by Pythagoras.

Thales was born about the year 640 before Christ, and is remarkable for being the first Grecian who taught a regular system of philosophy, and left a succession of disciples to establish and maintain it. He traveled into Egypt when he was a young man, and resided there

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* If then, we find a book which professes to be a revelation from heaven, a system of moral laws which can clearly be shown to be the basis of the moral order of the universe, and which are calculated to secure the eternal happiness of all intellectual beings, it forms a strong presumptive proof, if not an unanswerable argument, that the contents of that book are of celestial origin, and were dictated by Him who gave birth to the whole system of created beings;-a moral demonstration that a power and intelligence superior to the human mind, must have suggested such sublime conceptions and such astonishing ideas, since there are no such prototypes to be found within the range of the human understanding.-DR. DICK, Philosophy of Religion.

several years. If he went into that country when at the age of twenty or twenty-five, and resided there ten or more years (and this period was not beyond that which was usually passed by the students in Egyptian learning), he would have been in Egypt when Jehoahaz, king of Judah, was brought there as a prisoner by Pharaoh Necho. The attention of the curious Greek must have been attracted by the various captives, strangers thus introduced into Egypt; and while he improved himself in those sciences in which the Egyptians excelled, it is highly probable that from conversing with these Jewish captives, he acquired some of those great and truly philosophical notions which he afterwards taught at his native Miletus, and in Greece.

The chief of these opinions were, that the world was not eternal, but was made by God the Spirit, out of water, an opinion which seems to have been derived from the Mosaic and Christian doctrine," the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters;" that the world being God's workmanship, was exceedingly good and perfect; that the universe was filled with invisible spirits, who inspect the actions of men.

Thales was the first of the Greeks who made any philosophical inquiries into the nature and perfections of God; for though, as Gale remarks, Orpheus, Linus, Homer, and Hesiod, had some traditions of God, their value was obscured by a mixture with pagan fables. Thales however delivered his knowledge concerning God in a more plain and simple manner. He first maintained amongst the Greeks that God was the most ancient of beings; and are evidently derived from purer sources than from invented traditions or speculative heathen philosophy. From the Jews alone, therefore, with whom Thales became acquainted in Egypt, could he have received those ideas of God and his Providence, which shine like a meteor through the dark mist of the ignorance and blindness of that superstitious age.

Thales was succeeded by Anaximander, Anaximines, and Anaxagoras, the friend and tutor of Pericles; by Diogenes Apolloniates, and by Archelaus the instructor of Socrates. The various sects which are referred to the Ionic school, are the Socratic, founded by Socrates, among whose disciples and followers are Xenophon, Plato, Euclid, and Alcibiades; the Cyrenaic sect, founded by Aristippus; the Megaric, established by Euclid at Megara; the Eretriac or Elïac school, instituted by Phædo at Elis; the Academic, founded by Plato, whose school, after his death, was divided into the old, middle, and new academies; the Peripatetic, founded by Aristotle; the Cynic, by Antisthenes; the Stoic, by Zeno. These sects continued till the time of Christ; and when St. Paul visited Athens, he found the Greeks still engaged in disputes, and inquiries into the mysteries and difficulties of philosophy. Although the purest and most refined speculations of the best and most celebrated of these philosophers fall far short of the principles and morality inculcated by the Christian dispensation, they still served to advance the progress of Christianity, or rather they tended to diminish the superstitious reverence paid to the pagan deities. The commonest people became at least sensible that their philosophers only adhered to the religious ceremonies of the established superstition, from mere compliance with popular custom; and the reflecting part of the community were divided, in a state of doubt and uncertainty: Socrates, in particular, declared that a teacher from heaven was necessary to impart instruction to mankind.

Moral philosophy may be considered as a light to the dark and ignorant age in which it flourished; but when compared with Christianity, it is little less than the very darkness it so partially illuminated. Philosophy, at the height of its splendor, displayed only the corruption, the folly, and the degradation of the human mind when deprived of revelation. It was like the taper in a charnel house at midnight, which disperses the darkness of the tomb, and shows to the sickening spectator how melancholy is the sight of humanity, when bereaved of life and spirit.

Though the accounts of Pythagoras are mingled with fable there is abundant authority to induce us to believe that this philosopher conversed likewise with the Jews of the dispersion, at Tyre, in Phoenicia, and probably at Mount Carmel, where it is said his walk was long shown. It is certain that he was in Egypt, and many suppose he was taken prisoner into that country either by Nebuchadnezzar, or by Cambyses. From Egypt he either went or was taken to Babylon, where again he must have acquired an intimate knowledge of the Jews; and in this latter place he is said to have had for an instructor Zabratus, or Nazaratus—whom the learned Selden supposes to have been Ezekiel-and Prideaux, Zoroaster. The exact period of the birth of Pythagoras is not certainly known. The accounts of his life, now extant, are uncertain and contradictory; that which appears most probable and satisfactory informs us, that at the age of eighteen he consulted Thales at Miletus, who recommended him to visit Egypt.

From Miletus he proceeded to Tyre (the place of his nativity, though educated at Samos); from thence he travelled to Egypt, with letters to Amasis from Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. He quitted Egypt for Babylon, where he continued twelve years, and conversed with Zabratus or Nazaratus. He is then supposed to have returned to his own country, and to have been at that time about fifty-six years of age.

In the year 563 before Christ, the whole country of Judea was still desolate-not having recovered from its last ravage by Nebuzzaradan. In this year Nebuchadnezzar was restored from his lycanthropy, and the Jews were rising into distinction in the Persian empire. Leaving Judea and its refugees, whom he might have found both at Tyre and Carmel, Pythagoras proceeded to Egypt. He would there meet with many of the Jews who had fled with Jeremiah from Judea, nineteen years preceding. From them, as well as from the natives, he would learn the fulfilment of that prophet's predictions respecting Apries. This and other circumstances exciting his curiosity, he at last visited Babylon, where he is supposed to have arrived in the year 541, and two years before the death of Beltshazzar. During his residence of twelve years in Babylon, Pythagoras must have been a spectator of the wonderful events recorded in the Book of Daniel. The greatest statesman of the day in Babylon was a Jew. As the time and manner of Ezekiel's death are unknown; and as in this year, Ezekiel, if alive, would not be more than fifty-three years of age; it is by no means improbable that he might have conversed, as tradition asserts, with that prophet. Pythagoras must have been informed of the decree of Cyrus, before Christ 536, for the return of the Jews, and he must have been acquainted with prophecies thereby fulfilled; it is not improbable that he was a wondering spectator of their departure for their own lands. At Babylon he undoubtedly saw the school or universities established by the Jews; for he introduced into his own country institutions which were characterized by regulations similar to those adopted by the Jews.

Struck and astonished at all he read or heard or saw of this persecuted and favored people, we cannot be surprised that he should have engrafted many of the purer truths of morality on his system of philosophy.

Pythagoras quitted Babylon in 529, the same year that Cyrus died. It is probable his departure was accelerated by the cruel and tyrannical government of Cambyses, his successor. In this year the Greek philosopher returned home; and dissatisfied with the political state of affairs at Samos, he taught his new system called the Italic philosophy, in the towns of Magara Grecia. The philosophy of Pythagoras, so far as it is known, may be described as a mixture of Persian, Grecian, and Egyptian superstitions, interwoven with Jewish doctrines, institutions, and customs. The numerous coincidences between his enactments and those of the Jews, are found in the similarity of discipline established in his schools and colleges; in his distinction between the perfect or the initiated, and the service the Τεεοs and the νεodutos, or the n and p of the Jews; in the covenant among the members of his colleges, in the use of salt as a sign of union or agreement, as well as some others.

The doctrines of Pythagoras must have tended to remove many of the evils of polytheism and idolatry. He acknowledged but one God, the Creator of the world. He had some idea of the sacred name of the Petragammaton of the Jews, which he revealed as a mystery to his disciples. He described the Deity in the very words of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the *, the To òv, the self-existent. He taught by this definition that God was infinite and eternal; a truth which human reason, unassisted by divine revelation, has never yet discovered. He likewise instructed his disciples in the doctrine of a peculiar providence, particularly over good men-the necessity of pure worship-the immortality of the soul-the incorporeality of the Deity.

His morality evidently sprung from a purer source than from the profane worship of pagan deities; his golden verses (if they are certainly his) are evidently transcripts of the Mosaic precepts; and virtuous will be the life, and tranquil the death of that man who habitually observes the precepts they contain, and thrice reviews the actions of the day, before he resigns himself to rest at night.

The Italic sect flourished till the end of the reign of Alexander. It gave rise to the Eleatic, the Heraclitean, the Epicurean, and the Phyrrhonic sects, whose doctrines, however, differ materially from those enforced by Pythagoras himself. When the best pagan philosophy, considered as a system, is compared with Christianity, the observations already made on the speculations of Thales are equally applicable. But when we consider this philosophy as a virtuous effort of the human mind to penetrate through the darkness and superstition by which it was surrounded; and gaining by these efforts, and the light borrowed from revelation, more pure ideas of morality, and more just notions of a Deity, we are called upon to acknowledge that philosophy was beneficial to man, and that those who acquiesced in the doctrines of Pythagoras, and received the better part of his system, must have been wiser and purer than their more ignorant or prejudiced countrymen. That the Greeks, therefore, were indebted to their intercourse with the Jews for the origin of their philosophy, is highly probable; it is, therefore, no less probable, that their literature may be partly traced to the same source. From the temperance Pythagoras uniformly practised, it is probable that his life was extended to a late period. He is supposed to have perished in consequence of a political disturbance in the seventieth olympiad, about the year 563 before Christ. If this tradition be correct, he must at this time have entered his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year.

Eschylus, the founder of the Greek drama, in its present form, would have been at that time about twenty-five years of age; and though we are not acquainted with the particulars of his early life, we may naturally conclude that one so eminent would have carefully instructed himself in all the philosophy and learning of his age. A Pythagorean in principle, many of his sentiments are the same as those taught in the golden verses of Pythagoras. We very justly conclude, therefore, that the great tragedian was either personally acquainted with, and a disciple of the Samean; or that he was well versed in the system promulgated by that philosopher. Like many of his countrymen he gave offence to the people, by deviating from received opinions. In the mythology of Eschylus, Dr. Gray observes, there is frequent reference to principles originating in revelation.

In the passage cited by Eusebius, he describes the Supreme God as a being who is carefully to be distinguished from mortals, having nothing resembling the body of man. At one time he declares, that God shines forth in unapproachable fire; at another, he invests Him in the elements, appearing in the wind, the thunder, and the lightning! He represents the ocean, the rocks, and the fountains as ministering to the Supreme Being; the hills, and the earth, the depths of the sea, and the summit of the mountains, as trembling at His presence. The piercing

eye of God he describes as overlooking all things, for the glory of the highest God is powerful. His celebrated scene in Persia, in which the shade of Darius is summoned by Atossa, is very similar to the account of the appearance of Samuel to Saul, as related in the narrative of the Witch of Endor. Many of the Christian fathers have asserted that the character of "Prometheus" could not have been drawn, unless the author of the drama had been acquainted with the Sacred Writings, or with at least many of the prophetic books, of which it exhibits the most decisive evidence in several of its passages. It is probable that the Sacred Writings were partly made known to him by his tutor, and contemporary, Pythagoras. Similarity of desciption only, with identity of expression, would demonstrate this point; these, it is true, might be mere coincidences; but where the same personifications are used, we may justly conclude, that the resemblance is not accidental. In Jeremiah xlvii. 6, we meet with this bold personification—“O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon?" The same metaphor is adopted by Eschylus. Also, "Thus saith the Lord God, I will spread my net over him, and he shall be taken in my snare," and the same expression is employed in other portions of Scripture to describe a state of inextricable difficulty, of distress, or ruin. The same metaphor is applied by Eschylus to describe the destruction of Troy. The tragedian who followed Æschylus, although perhaps inferior to him in sublimity, maintained an exalted nobleness of moral sentiment. A higher tone seems to have been given to the public mind in Greece, which cannot entirely be attributed to their political institutions, or the incessant agitation and restlessness of mind induced by their party dissensions. We must refer this intellectual elevation to a more intellectual source; to the spirit of their philosophy, morality, and poetry, which was partially derived from the purer fountains of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the peculiar object of Providence, in thus communicating to the Greeks, through the dispersion and captivity of the Jews, some knowledge of a purer creed was shown in subsequent ages, when that language was selected to impart the knowledge of the Scriptures to the world. The universality of the Greek language may be attributed to the general interest excited by the Greek Drama, the splendid composition of the poets, and the more exalted speculations of their philosophers. The pagan nations did not, it is true, eat of the fruit of the tree of life, yet they were blessed with some few of its leaves, and the very "leaves of that tree which are for the healing of the nations." Bishop Watson finely and strikingly remarks: "To read the prophecies of Daniel with attention, intelligence and an unbiassed mind, is sufficient to convert an unbeliever from Deism to Christianity." They were declared several hundred years before the birth of Christ; they extend through many ages; and have ever been considered as the foundation of all modern history; revealing the successive rise and fall of the four great monarchies of the world; the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom upon earth; his death and sufferings; and passing from earth to heaven, they terminate only in eternity.

The psalms present every possible variety of Hebrew poetry. They may all, indeed, be termed poems of the lyric kind, that is, adapted to music, but with great variety in the style of composition. Thus some are simply odes, giving a narrative of facts, either of public history or private life, in beautiful and figurative language. Others, again, are ethic or didactic, "delivering great maxims of life, or the precepts of religion, in solemn, but for the most part, simple strains. To this class we may refer the hundred and nineteenth, and other alphabetical psalms, which are so called, because the initial letters of each line or stanza follow the order of the alphabet. Nearly one-seventh part of the psalms are elegiac or pathetic compositions on mournful subjects. Some are enigmatic, delivering the doctrines of religion in enigmatic sentences contrived to strike the imagination forcibly, and yet easy to be understood; while a few may be referred to the class of idyls or short pastoral poems. But the greatest part, according to Bishop Horsley, is a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between certain persons sustaining certain characters. In these dialogue psalms, the persons are frequently the Psalmist himself, or the chorus of priests and Levites, or the leaders of the Levitical band, opening the ode with a poem declarative of the subject, and very often closing the whole with a solemn admonition drawn from what the other persons say. The other persons are, Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another of the three persons; Christ in his incarnate state, sometimes before, sometimes after his resurrection; the human soul of Christ, as distinguished from the divine essence. Christ, in his incarnate state, is personated sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a king, sometimes as a conqueror; and, in those psalms in which he is introduced as a conqueror, the resemblance is very remarkable between this conqueror in the Book of Psalms, and the warrior on the white horse in the Book of Revelations, who goes forth with a crown on his head, and a bow in his hand, conquering and to conquer; and the conquest in the Psalms is followed, like the conquest in the Revelations, by the marriage of the conqueror. These are circumstances of similitude, which, to any one versed in the prophetic style, prove beyond a doubt that the mystical conqueror is the same personage in both.

In praise of the Psalms, all the fathers of the church are unanimously eloquent. Athanasius styles them an epitome of the whole Scriptures; Basil, a compendium of all theology; Luther, a little Bible, and the summary of the Old Testament; and Melancthon, the most elegant writing in the whole world. How highly the Psalter was valued subsequent to the Reformation, we may easily conceive by the very numerous editions of it which were executed in the infancy of printing, and by the number of commentators who have undertaken to illustrate its sacred pages. Carpzor, who wrote a century ago, enumerates

One particular employment of angels is to attend the beds of dying saints, and sustain them by the consolations and hopes of faith, preparatory to their entrance on the joys and fruition of heaven. In a peculiar sense, during their trials, temptations, sufferings, and on the eve of their departure from this world of tribulation and woe,

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Bright seraphs dispatched from the throne,
Repair to their stations assigned;
And angels elect are sent down
To guard the elect of mankind."

Conjecturally, some special office is assigned to each one of the heavenly host. One indeed may superintend the affairs and prosperity of a kingdom, while another watches the slumbering babe in a cottage cradle,-others are appointed to meet the several necessities of the adopted children of God who are constantly assailed by the opposition of Satan and his angels; thereby hindering their growth in Christian graces, and their advancement in the way of holiness and heaven. Accordingly, in the apocalyptic representations of St. John, we behold them controlling evil spirits; wielding
ts of this world; producing, directing, and bring-
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ation the great convulsions of time; convey-
Oh, do not say so;-all the holy angels are thy hearty
e charge of thee, and with the greatest alacrity and cheer-
that charge.-Pneumatologia, 1701.
most likely, 'tis as God made the stars to have their influence
s and animals, so he made the angels that are higher than the
me service in the world, to be the instruments of his providence.

How merciful art thou, O Lord, that thou thinkest us not safe enough in our weak and slender walls, but thou sendest thine angels to be our keepers and guardians.-AMBROSE, Ministration and Communion of Angels.

It is better to think that there are guardian spirits than that there are no spirits to guard us.-SIR T. BROWNE, Christian Moral.

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ing the souls of the just to the paradise of God, and severing the wicked from the good at the day of judgment.

One of the most solemn and affecting exhibitions of angelic ministration is presented in the dolorous narratives of the Evangelists, which relate the descent of angels to relieve our Savior in the wilderness of Satanic temptation, and during his agony in the garden of Gethsemane. What a mysterious, solemn, and wonderful mission for holy angels to perform, in rendering such services and homage to Him who was the Lord of Angels.

The "innumerable company of angels,"--of the glorious host dispersed throughout the illimitable universe, is clearly intimated by the apostle as beyond all the computation of mortal arithmetic, nevertheless, several references in Scripture will somewhat aid our conceptions in this particular. To Jacob, at Bethel they appeared on the mystic ladder, ascending and descending, in multitudes; and when he returned from Padan-aram, "the angels of the Lord met him," and he called the place "Mahanaim," or the two hosts. They are represented by the Psalmist as constituting many hosts,-Psalm ciii. 21; cxlvii. 2. Micaiah, the prophet, "saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the hosts of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left."-1 Kings xxii. 19. "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels."—Psalm lxviii. 17. Elisha's servant, when "the Lord opened his eyes and he saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."-2 Kings vi. 17. Daniel beheld in the vision of God," thousand thousands minister unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before him."-Dan. vii. 10. St. John, "I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the number of

them was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands."-Rev. v. 11.*

Respecting the pursuits of angels in the heavenly state, we can form but a very inadequate conception, in the present life, and must await our arrival in those bright and blessed mansions which Christ has prepared for them that love Him. But from the declarations of Scripture we know that they are deeply occupied in investigating, with intense earnestness, the astonishing developments of the

Divine Majesty in the works of creation and providence, and the wondrous economy of grace and salvation. In the celestial temple angels are engaged in the most exalted services, contemplating the perfection, and celebrating the praises of the Great Eternal.

To such ennobling and glorious pursuits who would not aspire, and devoutly prepare with a moral and spiritual meetness, to join the resounding trisagion of the celestial hierarchy.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, which is, and is to come. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, honor, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

TRADITIONARY AND ANECDOTICAL.

The Talmudical traditions and Rabbinical writings, with their characteristic fecundity, abound with singular fictions respecting the guardianship and employment of angels ;-the Jews indulging the vain conceit that the appearance of angels, and their ministrations by the commission of God, were only manifested in Judea. Regarding the presidency of angels, the Rabbinical writers give the following statement, over the seventy nations into which they say the human family was divided at the confusion and subsequent dispersion of Babel.

"The Lord said to the seventy angels which stood before him, come now, and let us go down, and there let us confound their language, so that a man may not understand the language of his companion. And the word of the Lord was discovered against that city, and with it the seventy nations,—and their respective languages, which each angel respectively wrote with his hand." Another says, "The earth consisted of seven climates, and every climate divided into ten parts. Then was each country and people assigned to its respective prince, and these princes are called gods of the world. Thus were the seventy nations divided amongst the seventy princes; the blessed God taking no part in them, because He is pure. One rabbi assigns to these angels the function of "moving the heavenly bodies; another affirms them to be "the souls of the heavenly bodies;" and another asserts them to be no other than the "stars and planets." Among some of the employments of angels, the rabbies say, that the ark had no rudder, and was steered and guided by them; and that God used their services in call-

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* Some of the fathers, with the view of representing the number of the angels compared with mankind, refer to the parable of the ninety-nine sheep left by the shepherd on the mountains, while he went in search of the strayed one, meaning apostate humanity.

ing together "every living thing of all flesh, cattle, and creeping things of all sorts," when God commanded Noah to assemble them for embarkation.

Guardian angels, according to the notions of the Jewish rabbins, perform very important services in favor of men. They say, "Every man has his angel who speaks for him, and prays for him; as it is said (Psalm lxv. 2), "O Thou that hearest prayer;" that is, the prayer of the angel, who is the Mashal or guardian of men. It follows, "Unto thee shall all flesh come." Wherefore, the angels are not allowed to say their hymns above, till the Israelites have said them here below; for all that a man does is imitated by his Mashal, who performs it above, in the same manner in which it is performed here below. A man should never ask his necessaries of God in the Syriac or Chaldaic language. The ministering angels do not attend, to carry any one's prayers before God, who petitions for his necessaries in the Syriac language. This is meant of one single man who prays for himself; by a whole congregation it may be done in all languages, because the presence of God is amongst them.

There are three who weave or make garlands out of the prayers of the Israelites; the first is Achtariel, the second Metraton, and the third Sandalphon. Behold! these three, who make garlands, do not attempt to make garlands of any other prayers; but only of such as are made in the Hebrew tongue.

The rabbies represent the removal of men from the present life as effected by the instrumentality of angels, whom they denominate angels of death. The execution of the mortal sentence, on those who die in the land of Israel is assigned to Gabriel, whom they style an angel of mercy; and those who die in other countries are dispatched by the hand of Samnael, the prince of demons.” These two are deputies of Metraton, to whom God daily makes known those who are appointed to die. These deputies do not themselves bring away any souls out of the world; but each of them employs some of his host for that purpose.

The Jewish cabalists single out some particular angels as preceptors to the patriarchs;—to Adam was given Raziel,—to Abraham, Zidekiel,—to Moses, Metraton,—to Elias, Malashiel, -and to David, Gerviel, &c.

Amongst the chief spirits of the Mahometan heaven, such as Gabriel, the angel of revelation,-Israfil, by whom the last trumpet is to be sounded,-and Azrael, the angel of death, there were also a number of subaltern intelligences, appointed to preside over the different stages or ascents into which the celestial world was divided. Thus Kelail governs the fifth heaven, while Sadiel, the presiding spirit of the third, is employed in steadying the motions of the earth, which would be in a constant state of agitation if this angel did not keep his foot planted upon its orb.

Amongst other miraculous interpositions in favor of Mahomet, recorded in the Alcoran, was the appearance of five thousand angels on his side, at the battle of Bedr.

The Grecian academies entertained the belief that spirits behold all the actions of men, and rendered them assistance accordingly. That they, moreover, are acquainted with all our apprehensions, cogitations, and circumstances; and when the soul is delivered from the body, they bring it before the high Judge. That then they are questioned about our good or bad actions, their testimony being much prevalent either to exonerate or aggravate our doom. Porphirius asserts that many spirits or genii have the charge and custody of every man; one having a care of his health-another indulgent over his beauty and features-and another to infuse into him courage and constancy.

The ancient Persians supposed that Ormund appointed thirty angels to preside successively over the days of the month; and twelve greater ones to assume the government of the months, themselves; among whom Bahman (to whom Ormund committed the custody of all animals, except man) was the greatest Mihr. The angel of the seventh month was the spirit which watched over the affairs of friendship and love. Chur had the care of the disk of the sun. Mah was agent for the concerns of the moon. Isphandarmaz was the tutelar genius of good and virtuous women. The Persians, also, had a certain office or prayer for every day of the month, addressed to the particular angel who presided over it, and whom they called Sizouzé.

The subjoined anecdotes are chiefly extracted from Isaac Ambrose's Discourses on the Communion and Ministry of Angels; respecting whom, in a biographical sketch, the following particulars are given :-He was a native of Lancashire, England, and descended from a highly respectable family. In 1621 he matriculated in Brazen-nose College, of the University of Oxford, and took the degree of bachelor of arts. In consequence of some difference of opinion and the laxity of morals, which then prevailed, he seceded from the Church of England, though he invariably retained her form of episcopal worship against the remonstrances of the Independents, with whom he had ecclesiastically connected himself. Having notified to his friends, a few days preceding the time of his death, he was found dead in his chair, in his study, having that morning sent to the printer the last page of his work on Angels. "His character may be comprised in a few expressions. He was holy in life, happy in his death, favored of God, and held in high estimation by all good men. His writings, like those of Baxter, have a vigorous pulse beating in every page, and it would be difficult to select a paragraph in which the author does not appear in earnest for the salvation of his readers. He was one of those excellent divines who distinguished and adorned the turbulent age in which he lived, amidst those ecclesiastical troubles for which it was remarkable; and who, in their combined influences, irradiated the moral gloom which then overspread the land; and it is to their indefatigable exertions that we are indebted for many of the religious blessings which we now enjoy. He was a star of no common magnitude and effulgence in that bright constellation of worthies, who have enriched the world by their writings, bequeathing a noble example to posterity, of whom, indeed, the world was not worthy."

God does, by his angels, preserve and keep good ministers from the hands of their persecutors, as is reported by great divines of unquestionable credit, in the following instance :-" One Grynæus, a German divine, a learned and holy man, coming from Heidelberg to Spire, and going to hear a certain preacher in that city, that did then let fall some erroneous propositions of Popish doctrine, was thereat greatly offended, and presently went to the preacher, exhorting him to abandon his error; the preacher seemed to take it well, and pretended to be desirous of some further discourse with him, and so they parted. Grynæus going to his lodging, reports the passages of the late conference to those that sat at table with him, amongst whom Melancthon was one; he was called out of the room to speak with a stranger newly come into the house, and going forth he finds a grave old man of a goodly countenance, seemly and richly attired, who, in a friendly and grave manner tells him that within one hour there would come to their inn certain officers to apprehend Grynæus, and to carry him to prison, willing him to charge Grynæus with all possible speed to fly, and requiring Melancthon to see that this advantage was not neglected. Instantly Melancthon returned to the company, related the words of this strange monitor, and hasted Grynæus away, who had no sooner taken boat but he was eagerly sought for at his said lodging. No doubt this was an angel which God had sent to deliver this goodly minister from persecution.

Another worthy minister who was sought after by his persecutors, crept into a dark hole in the house, to hide himself, and as soon as he was got in, a spider drew a web over the mouth of the hole. When the searchers came, one of them would have looked in there for the man, where, indeed he was, but the other observing that there was a spider's web over the hole, concluded he could not be there, and therefore they ceased their search. What an artifice of the good man's angel-guardian was this to preserve him? Though persecutors are crafty and cruel, yet our keepers are more cunning than they, and can out-wit them.

Mr. Hawks being burnt to death, was desired by his friends to give them (if he could) some sign, by lifting up his hand, if he found his pains such as were tolerable, and might be borne with patience, and he did so; when his speech was gone, his body burning, and he thought to be dead, he lifted up his hands over his head, all on fire, and clapt them thrice together, which caused a great shout amongst his friends.

Mr. James Bingham, when the flames had half consumed him, cried out in the fire: "O ye papists! ye look for miracles; here now ye may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were, on a bed of roses!" If angels could keep Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace without any hurt, why might they not keep this holy martyr in the flames without pain, though he died in them? He is a very uncharitable wretch that will not believe he found as he spake. 'Tis, I confess, a wonderful instance, that 'tis usual for God to indulge his martyrs more than ordinary support in fiery trials."

Mr. Holland, the day before his death, on a sudden, while one was reading, said, "O stay your reading. What brightness is this I see? It is my Savior's shine. Now farewell world, welcome Heaven. The day-star from on high has visited my heart." And then turning to the minister who preached his funeral sermon, he said, "I desire you speak this for me, that God deals familiarly with man; I feel his mercy, I see his majesty, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God he knoweth ; but I see things that are unutterable."

Many have told the very day and hour of their departure; and, says Bishop Hall, these revelations and ecstacies whence are they? If a man without all observation of physical criticism, shall receive, and give intelligence many days before, what day and hour shall be his last, what cause can we attribute this to but our attending angels? And when joy arises not to such an overflowing height, yet does it frequently begin our heaven on earth, and the fears of death are fully vanquished, and the good man can see it, and feel it coming without any regret.

Angels are with the saints in the very minute of dying, taking away the terribleness of it. There is an aversion in nature to death; but, says Mr. Ambrose, the body's passage through the grave, though it be dark and dismal, yet it is safe and secure.

The grave is but a sleeping-place (they shall rest in their beds), and their soul's angels guard safe to heaven, and thus minister to the saints in death.

"Oh would God, ye saw what I see (said Mrs. Stubbs, on her death bed). Behold, I see infinite millions of angels stand about me, with fiery chariots to defend me, these are appointed of God to carry my soul unto the kingdom of heaven.”

Immediately after the separation of the soul from the body, the angels receive it, and carry it to heaven. They are a convoy for the departing souls of the godly, to bring them to their felicity, though how they do it we cannot understand. They keep them company at least, and they are a guard to them as they pass through the Devil's territories; for the Devil is called the Prince of the power of the air. He, with all his hellish crew, are the inhabitants of that region, and souls in their journey to heaven must pass through the air, and the angels wait upon them as a convoy.

The Devil drags the souls of wicked men to hell, when they die; and angels conduct the souls of good men to heaven. Such honor have all the saints. The poorest and meanest of them will be thus royally attended. Lazarus was a beggar, and he went in state to heaven.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.-Plate 1.-The guardian angel, attracted by the simplicity and innocency of childhood, presses his charge close to his side, with his arm around her neck; whilst the child, with a natural and confiding fondness, leans against him. With a dignified and benignant countenance, the angel extends his arm in the attitude of protection, as if warding off approaching danger. Plate 2.-Represents the angelic hosts celebrating the completion of the finished work of creation, “When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?"-Job xxxviii. 7. Plate 3.-Represents the final employment of angels in this world, on the arrival of the resurrection morn and the judgment day. Christ "on the throne of his glory," attended by holy angels. On one side is the recording angel, opening the book of life, in which are enrolled the names of the "heirs of salvation." In the space between the judgment seat, and those arising out of their graves, the archangel is sounding the trumpet which summons the assembling universe.

MORAL AND CONCLUSION.

Verbum Domini manet in eternum.

All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.-2 Tim. iii. 16.

UPON the opening of our divine and delightful subject, we intimated the intention of furnishing a synopsis of some of the confirmatory proofs, and illustrative facts demonstrative and recommendatory of the authenticity, antiquity, literature and inspiration of the Scriptures, to be received as the unimpeachable standard of faith and practice, requiring the entire dissociation of all negative assertions and mental reserves or suppositions, originating either in the unhallowed pride of the human intellect or the Pharaoh-like reluctance of the heart to yield an implicit obedience or acquiescent submission to the authority and precepts, the truths and doctrines contained in Holy Writ.*

From the days of the apostles, (when the philosophizing Greeks arrogated to themselves the pompous title of Zopo and p2ooooo, wise men and philosophers,) to the present period, this state of mind and disposition have been the principal source from which have arisen all those heresies which have disfigured the benevolent character and perverted the gracious designs of Christianity, producing the most horrible persecutions, to all that superadded variety of evil in religion, morals and society, engendered by the violence of a sanguinary discord, the pretensions of a pseudo-philosophy, and the blasphemous negations of a presumptuous infidelity, whose name, indeed, is Legion.

Even those who have professed to have received the revelation of the Bible, too frequently employ themselves in endeavoring to help out other systems and formula of beliefs, for which no sanction can be shown, in the obvious bearing and spirit of the Sacred Scriptures, under the disguise of new constructions, rejection of alleged interpolated passages, allegorical explanation of inferences of a directly antagonistical tendency; and for which conduct nothing can be more irrational, inconsistent and injurious to the reception and

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* The mass of evidence in favor of the divine inspiration of the Bible is too great to be set aside by anything short of scientific demonstration. Were the Scriptures to teach that the whole is not equal to its parts, the mind could not, indeed, believe it. But if it taught a truth which was only contrary to the probable deductions of science, science, I say, must yield to the Scriptures; for it would be more reasonable to doubt the probabilities of a single science, than the various and most satisfactory evidence on which revela-

tion rests. I do not believe that the probabilities of any science are in collision with Scripture. But the supposition is made to show how strong are my convictions of the evidence and paramount importance of the Bible.
DR. EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Religion of Geology.

Adam no sooner fell, but philosophy fell with him, and became a common strumpet for carnal reason to commit frolic with, and oh! how have the lascivious wits of lapsed human nature, ever since, gone a whoring after vain philosophy.-GALE, Preface, Court of the Gentiles.

utility of the Scriptures than to profess to accept them as a divine Revelation, and at the same time to constitute human opinion as the standard by which their declarations are to be tested; virtually invoking the awful consequences of sitting in judgment upon Deity, (who is the acknowledged author of them,) and to determine whether He has declared truth or spoken falsehood! Verily! must not angels wonder to see frail and fallen humanity thus engaged?

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As corroborative of the importance and doctrine of the subject which we have discussed, and now deferentially submit to the candid and serious consideration of the Christian, as well as the philosophic and general reader, we offer the following appropriate and conciliatory remarks of President Dwight :-" In the Scriptures we find an order, or rather a kind of beings described, which were never known, nor imagined by any person who did not derive his acquaintance with them from that book. They are beings who have a character as appropriate as that of man, as far, as finite intelligences can be supposed to differ from each other. Yet the character is complete, entire, and of a piece with itself. Every attribute is suited to every other; all are angelic; all are heavenly. A station is also assigned to them, of a dignity and importance, perfectly fitted to their character, and worthy of being filled by such beings. Employments are also marked out for them, altogether becoming both the station and the character; angelic employments-suited to the Sons of God, the Morning Stars of Heaven. Can it be reasonably supposed that these things were devised by human imagination? Have similar things been ever thus devised? The fancy of man has, in all nations and ages, delighted itself with the employment of fashioning imaginary beings, of a nature superior to ours. What have been its productions? The gods, demons, and genii of ancient, and the elves,

sylphs, and fairies of modern times. But how do all these shrink from a comparison with angels? They are little, base, trifling, sordid, and sinful enough to have been copied with a few easy additions from the characteristics of men. But where does this world furnish materials for the composition of an angelical character? What originals has it presented, from which the portrait could be drawn?*

A multitude of writers in the Scriptures, fifteen at least, have described these glorious beings with the most perfect harmony, and without a single discordant idea. In the mean time their descriptions are extensively various, comprising many particulars, and wholly independent of each other. All the writers are in this respect, as well as others, originals. Not one is a copier; not one a plagiary; yet their representations are universally noble, sublime, dignified, beautiful and lovely, beyond anything found in the most perfect writings of uninspired men. To which may be added a similar testimony to the authority of the Bible, from the eccentric, erudite and ironical Gale, in his preface to the "Court of the Gentiles." "But such was the infinite benignity and condescension of sovereign light and love, as that he vouchsafed to irradiate a spot of the lapsed world, even of his holy land and elect seed, with fresh and glorious rays of the light and life conveyed in and by the sacred Revelation. And oh! how bright, how ravishing were those heavens of divine light which shone on Judea? Were not all the adjacent parts illuminated thereby? Yea, did not Greece itself (esteemed the eye of the world) light her candle at this sacred fire? Were not all the Grecian schools hung with philosophic ornaments, or contemplations stolen out of the Judaic wardrobe? Were not Pythagoras's college, Plato's academy, Aristotle's peripatum, Zeno's stoa, and Epicurus's garden all watered by rivulets, though in themselves corrupt, originally derived from the sacred streams of Siloam? Whence had Phenicia, Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, with our occidental parts, their barbaric philosophy, but from the sacred emanations of Zion ?"

Our design in favor of the positive, prophetic, and miraculous evidence of the Inspiration of the Holy Bible, is so ably set forth by Dr. Townsend (whose classical learning and sincere Christianity no man will attempt to question), in the annexed statement, that we make no apology for its insertion or length, assured of the pleasure which its perusal will afford the reader, and his approbation accordingly.

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* If then, we find a book which professes to be a revelation from heaven, a system of moral laws which can clearly be shown to be the basis of the moral order of the universe, and which are calculated to secure the eternal happiness of all intellectual beings, it forms a strong presumptive proof, if not an unanswerable argument, that the contents of that book are of celestial origin, and were dictated by Him who gave birth to the whole system of created beings;-a moral demonstration that a power and intelligence superior to the human mind, must have suggested such sublime conceptions and such astonishing ideas, since there are no such prototypes to be found within the range of the human understanding.-DR. DICK, Philosophy of Religion.

From the period of the dispersion of the Jews among the Egyptians and Babylonians, we find that the Greeks began to have more exalted and refined ideas of a Deity; and that they applied themselves more particularly to that philosophy and literature, which contributed so eminently to raise them to the highest intellectual rank among ancient or modern nations. All the sects and schools of philosophy, in ancient Greece, originated from the Ionic and Italic sects. The Ionic sect was founded by Thales, the Italic by Pythagoras.

Thales was born about the year 640 before Christ, and is remarkable for being the first Grecian who taught a regular system of philosophy, and left a succession of disciples to establish and maintain it. He traveled into Egypt when he was a young man, and resided there several years. If he went into that country when at the age of twenty or twenty-five, and resided there ten or more years (and this period was not beyond that which was usually passed by the students in Egyptian learning), he would have been in Egypt when Jehoahaz, king of Judah, was brought there as a prisoner by Pharaoh Necho. The attention of the curious Greek must have been attracted by the various captives, strangers thus introduced into Egypt; and while he improved himself in those sciences in which the Egyptians excelled, it is highly probable that from conversing with these Jewish captives, he acquired some of those great and truly philosophical notions which he afterwards taught at his native Miletus, and in Greece.

The chief of these opinions were, that the world was not eternal, but was made by God the Spirit, out of water, an opinion which seems to have been derived from the Mosaic and Christian doctrine," the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters;" that the world being God's workmanship, was exceedingly good and perfect; that the universe was filled with invisible spirits, who inspect the actions of men.

Thales was the first of the Greeks who made any philosophical inquiries into the nature and perfections of God; for though, as Gale remarks, Orpheus, Linus, Homer, and Hesiod, had some traditions of God, their value was obscured by a mixture with pagan fables. Thales however delivered his knowledge concerning God in a more plain and simple manner. He first maintained amongst the Greeks that God was the most ancient of beings; and are evidently derived from purer sources than from invented traditions or speculative heathen philosophy. From the Jews alone, therefore, with whom Thales became acquainted in Egypt, could he have received those ideas of God and his Providence, which shine like a meteor through the dark mist of the ignorance and blindness of that superstitious age.

Thales was succeeded by Anaximander, Anaximines, and Anaxagoras, the friend and tutor of Pericles; by Diogenes Apolloniates, and by Archelaus the instructor of Socrates. The various sects which are referred to the Ionic school, are the Socratic, founded by Socrates, among whose disciples and followers are Xenophon, Plato, Euclid, and Alcibiades; the Cyrenaic sect, founded by Aristippus; the Megaric, established by Euclid at Megara; the Eretriac or Elïac school, instituted by Phædo at Elis; the Academic, founded by Plato, whose school, after his death, was divided into the old, middle, and new academies; the Peripatetic, founded by Aristotle; the Cynic, by Antisthenes; the Stoic, by Zeno. These sects continued till the time of Christ; and when St. Paul visited Athens, he found the Greeks still engaged in disputes, and inquiries into the mysteries and difficulties of philosophy. Although the purest and most refined speculations of the best and most celebrated of these philosophers fall far short of the principles and morality inculcated by the Christian dispensation, they still served to advance the progress of Christianity, or rather they tended to diminish the superstitious reverence paid to the pagan deities. The commonest people became at least sensible that their philosophers only adhered to the religious ceremonies of the established superstition, from mere compliance with popular custom; and the reflecting part of the community were divided, in a state of doubt and uncertainty: Socrates, in particular, declared that a teacher from heaven was necessary to impart instruction to mankind.

Moral philosophy may be considered as a light to the dark and ignorant age in which it flourished; but when compared with Christianity, it is little less than the very darkness it so partially illuminated. Philosophy, at the height of its splendor, displayed only the corruption, the folly, and the degradation of the human mind when deprived of revelation. It was like the taper in a charnel house at midnight, which disperses the darkness of the tomb, and shows to the sickening spectator how melancholy is the sight of humanity, when bereaved of life and spirit.

Though the accounts of Pythagoras are mingled with fable there is abundant authority to induce us to believe that this philosopher conversed likewise with the Jews of the dispersion, at Tyre, in Phoenicia, and probably at Mount Carmel, where it is said his walk was long shown. It is certain that he was in Egypt, and many suppose he was taken prisoner into that country either by Nebuchadnezzar, or by Cambyses. From Egypt he either went or was taken to Babylon, where again he must have acquired an intimate knowledge of the Jews; and in this latter place he is said to have had for an instructor Zabratus, or Nazaratus—whom the learned Selden supposes to have been Ezekiel-and Prideaux, Zoroaster. The exact period of the birth of Pythagoras is not certainly known. The accounts of his life, now extant, are uncertain and contradictory; that which appears most probable and satisfactory informs us, that at the age of eighteen he consulted Thales at Miletus, who recommended him to visit Egypt.

From Miletus he proceeded to Tyre (the place of his nativity, though educated at Samos); from thence he travelled to Egypt, with letters to Amasis from Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. He quitted Egypt for Babylon, where he continued twelve years, and conversed with Zabratus or Nazaratus. He is then supposed to have returned to his own country, and to have been at that time about fifty-six years of age.

In the year 563 before Christ, the whole country of Judea was still desolate-not having recovered from its last ravage by Nebuzzaradan. In this year Nebuchadnezzar was restored from his lycanthropy, and the Jews were rising into distinction in the Persian empire. Leaving Judea and its refugees, whom he might have found both at Tyre and Carmel, Pythagoras proceeded to Egypt. He would there meet with many of the Jews who had fled with Jeremiah from Judea, nineteen years preceding. From them, as well as from the natives, he would learn the fulfilment of that prophet's predictions respecting Apries. This and other circumstances exciting his curiosity, he at last visited Babylon, where he is supposed to have arrived in the year 541, and two years before the death of Beltshazzar. During his residence of twelve years in Babylon, Pythagoras must have been a spectator of the wonderful events recorded in the Book of Daniel. The greatest statesman of the day in Babylon was a Jew. As the time and manner of Ezekiel's death are unknown; and as in this year, Ezekiel, if alive, would not be more than fifty-three years of age; it is by no means improbable that he might have conversed, as tradition asserts, with that prophet. Pythagoras must have been informed of the decree of Cyrus, before Christ 536, for the return of the Jews, and he must have been acquainted with prophecies thereby fulfilled; it is not improbable that he was a wondering spectator of their departure for their own lands. At Babylon he undoubtedly saw the school or universities established by the Jews; for he introduced into his own country institutions which were characterized by regulations similar to those adopted by the Jews.

Struck and astonished at all he read or heard or saw of this persecuted and favored people, we cannot be surprised that he should have engrafted many of the purer truths of morality on his system of philosophy.

Pythagoras quitted Babylon in 529, the same year that Cyrus died. It is probable his departure was accelerated by the cruel and tyrannical government of Cambyses, his successor. In this year the Greek philosopher returned home; and dissatisfied with the political state of affairs at Samos, he taught his new system called the Italic philosophy, in the towns of Magara Grecia. The philosophy of Pythagoras, so far as it is known, may be described as a mixture of Persian, Grecian, and Egyptian superstitions, interwoven with Jewish doctrines, institutions, and customs. The numerous coincidences between his enactments and those of the Jews, are found in the similarity of discipline established in his schools and colleges; in his distinction between the perfect or the initiated, and the service the Tεεos and the vεodutos, or the n and p of the Jews; in the covenant among the members of his colleges, in the use of salt as a sign of union or agreement, as well as some others.

The doctrines of Pythagoras must have tended to remove many of the evils of polytheism and idolatry. He acknowledged but one God, the Creator of the world. He had some idea of the sacred name of the Petragammaton of the Jews, which he revealed as a mystery to his disciples. He described the Deity in the very words of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the *, the To òv, the self-existent. He taught by this definition that God was infinite and eternal; a truth which human reason, unassisted by divine revelation, has never yet discovered. He likewise instructed his disciples in the doctrine of a peculiar providence, particularly over good men-the necessity of pure worship-the immortality of the soul-the incorporeality of the Deity.

His morality evidently sprung from a purer source than from the profane worship of pagan deities; his golden verses (if they are certainly his) are evidently transcripts of the Mosaic precepts; and virtuous will be the life, and tranquil the death of that man who habitually observes the precepts they contain, and thrice reviews the actions of the day, before he resigns himself to rest at night.

The Italic sect flourished till the end of the reign of Alexander. It gave rise to the Eleatic, the Heraclitean, the Epicurean, and the Phyrrhonic sects, whose doctrines, however, differ materially from those enforced by Pythagoras himself. When the best pagan philosophy, considered as a system, is compared with Christianity, the observations already made on the speculations of Thales are equally applicable. But when we consider this philosophy as a virtuous effort of the human mind to penetrate through the darkness and superstition by which it was surrounded; and gaining by these efforts, and the light borrowed from revelation, more pure ideas of morality, and more just notions of a Deity, we are called upon to acknowledge that philosophy was beneficial to man, and that those who acquiesced in the doctrines of Pythagoras, and received the better part of his system, must have been wiser and purer than their more ignorant or prejudiced countrymen. That the Greeks, therefore, were indebted to their intercourse with the Jews for the origin of their philosophy, is highly probable; it is, therefore, no less probable, that their literature may be partly traced to the same source. From the temperance Pythagoras uniformly practised, it is probable that his life was extended to a late period. He is supposed to have perished in consequence of a political disturbance in the seventieth olympiad, about the year 563 before Christ. If this tradition be correct, he must at this time have entered his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year.

Eschylus, the founder of the Greek drama, in its present form, would have been at that time about twenty-five years of age; and though we are not acquainted with the particulars of his early life, we may naturally conclude that one so eminent would have carefully instructed himself in all the philosophy and learning of his age. A Pythagorean in principle, many of his sentiments are the same as those taught in the golden verses of Pythagoras. We very justly conclude, therefore, that the great tragedian was either personally acquainted with, and a disciple of the Samean; or that he was well versed in the system promulgated by that philosopher. Like many of his countrymen he gave offence to the people, by deviating from received opinions. In the mythology of Eschylus, Dr. Gray observes, there is frequent reference to principles originating in revelation.

In the passage cited by Eusebius, he describes the Supreme God as a being who is carefully to be distinguished from mortals, having nothing resembling the body of man. At one time he declares, that God shines forth in unapproachable fire; at another, he invests Him in the elements, appearing in the wind, the thunder, and the lightning! He represents the ocean, the rocks, and the fountains as ministering to the Supreme Being; the hills, and the earth, the depths of the sea, and the summit of the mountains, as trembling at His presence. The piercing eye of God he describes as overlooking all things, for the glory of the highest God is powerful. His celebrated scene in Persia, in which the shade of Darius is summoned by Atossa, is very similar to the account of the appearance of Samuel to Saul, as related in the narrative of the Witch of Endor. Many of the Christian fathers have asserted that the character of "Prometheus" could not have been drawn, unless the author of the drama had been acquainted with the Sacred Writings, or with at least many of the prophetic books, of which it exhibits the most decisive evidence in several of its passages. It is probable that the Sacred Writings were partly made known to him by his tutor, and contemporary, Pythagoras. Similarity of desciption only, with identity of expression, would demonstrate this point; these, it is true, might be mere coincidences; but where the same personifications are used, we may justly conclude, that the resemblance is not accidental. In Jeremiah xlvii. 6, we meet with this bold personification—“O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon?" The same metaphor is adopted by Eschylus. Also, "Thus saith the Lord God, I will spread my net over him, and he shall be taken in my snare," and the same expression is employed in other portions of Scripture to describe a state of inextricable difficulty, of distress, or ruin. The same metaphor is applied by Eschylus to describe the destruction of Troy. The tragedian who followed Æschylus, although perhaps inferior to him in sublimity, maintained an exalted nobleness of moral sentiment. A higher tone seems to have been given to the public mind in Greece, which cannot entirely be attributed to their political institutions, or the incessant agitation and restlessness of mind induced by their party dissensions. We must refer this intellectual elevation to a more intellectual source; to the spirit of their philosophy, morality, and poetry, which was partially derived from the purer fountains of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the peculiar object of Providence, in thus communicating to the Greeks, through the dispersion and captivity of the Jews, some knowledge of a purer creed was shown in subsequent ages, when that language was selected to impart the knowledge of the Scriptures to the world. The universality of the Greek language may be attributed to the general interest excited by the Greek Drama, the splendid composition of the poets, and the more exalted speculations of their philosophers. The pagan nations did not, it is true, eat of the fruit of the tree of life, yet they were blessed with some few of its leaves, and the very "leaves of that tree which are for the healing of the nations." Bishop Watson finely and strikingly remarks: "To read the prophecies of Daniel with attention, intelligence and an unbiassed mind, is sufficient to convert an unbeliever from Deism to Christianity." They were declared several hundred years be fore the birth of Christ; they extend through many ages; and have ever been considered as the foundation of all modern history; revealing the successive rise and fall of the four great monarchies of the world; the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom upon earth; his death and sufferings; and passing from earth to heaven, they terminate only in eternity.

The psalms present every possible variety of Hebrew poetry. They may all, indeed, be termed poems of the lyric kind, that is, adapted to music, but with great variety in the style of composition. Thus some are simply odes, giving a narrative of facts, either of public history or private life, in beautiful and figurative language. Others, again, are ethic or didactic, "delivering great maxims of life, or the precepts of religion, in solemn, but for the most part, simple strains. To this class we may refer the hundred and nineteenth, and other alphabetical psalms, which are so called, because the initial letters of each line or stanza follow the order of the alphabet. Nearly one-seventh part of the psalms are elegiac or pathetic compositions on mournful subjects. Some are enigmatic, delivering the doctrines of religion in enigmatic sentences contrived to strike the

imagination forcibly, and yet easy to be understood; while a few may be referred to the class of idyls or short pastoral poems. But the greatest part, according to Bishop Horsley, is a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between certain persons sustaining certain characters. In these dialogue psalms, the persons are frequently the Psalmist himself, or the chorus of priests and Levites, or the leaders of the Levitical band, opening the ode with a poem declarative of the subject, and very often closing the whole with a solemn admonition drawn from what the other persons say. The other persons are, Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another of the three persons; Christ in his incarnate state, sometimes before, sometimes after his resurrection; the human soul of Christ, as distinguished from the divine essence. Christ, in his incarnate state, is personated sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a king, sometimes as a conqueror; and, in those psalms in which he is introduced as a conqueror, the resemblance is very remarkable between this conqueror in the Book of Psalms, and the warrior on the white horse in the Book of Revelations, who goes forth with a crown on his head, and a bow in his hand, conquering and to conquer; and the conquest in the Psalms is followed, like the conquest in the Revelations, by the marriage of the conqueror. These are circumstances of similitude, which, to any one versed in the prophetic style, prove beyond a doubt that the mystical conqueror is the same personage in both.

In praise of the Psalms, all the fathers of the church are unanimously eloquent. Athanasius styles them an epitome of the whole Scriptures; Basil, a compendium of all theology; Luther, a little Bible, and the summary of the Old Testament; and Melancthon, the most elegant writing in the whole world. How highly the Psalter was valued subsequent to the Reformation, we may easily conceive by the very numerous editions of it which were executed in the infancy of printing, and by the number of commentators who have undertaken to illustrate its sacred pages. Carpzor, who wrote a century ago, enumerates upwards of one hundred and sixty; and, of the subsequent modern expositors of this book, it would perhaps be difficult to procure a correct account. "The Psalms," as Bishop Horne, their best interpreter in our language, has remarked with equal piety and beauty, "are an epitome of the Bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion. They treat occasionally of the creation and formation of the world; the dispensations of providence, and the economy of grace; the transactions of the patriarchs; the exodus of the children of Israel; their journey through the wilderness and settlement in Canaan; their law, priesthood, and ritual; the exploits of these great men, wrought through faith; their sins and captivities; their repentances and restorations; the sufferings and victories of David; the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon; the advent of the Messiah, with its effects and consequences, his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, and priesthood; the effusion of the Spirit; the conversion of the nations; the rejection of the Jews; the establishment, increase, and perpetuity of the Christian church; the end of the world; the general judgment; the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King. These are the subjects here presented to our meditation. We are instructed how to conceive of them aright, and to express the different affections, which, when so conceived of, they must excite in our minds. They are for this purpose adorned with figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry; and poetry itself is designed yet further to be recommended by the charms of music, thus consecrated to the service of God; that so delight may prepare the way for improvement, and pleasure become the handmaid of wisdom, while every turbulent passion is calmed by sacred melody, and the evil spirit is still dispossessed by the harp of the son of Jesse. This little volume, like the paradise of Eden, affords us in perfection, though in miniature, everything that groweth elsewhere, "every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food," and, above all, what was there lost, but is here restored the tree of life in the midst of the garden. That which we read as matter of speculation, in the other Scriptures, is reduced to practice when we recite it in the Psalms; in these, repentance and faith are described; but in those they are acted; by a perusal of the former, we learn how others served God, but, by using the latter, we serve him ourselves. “What is there necessary for a man to know," says the pious and judicious Hooker, "which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident unto the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not, in this treasure-house, a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found."

Many of the Psalms, which bear the royal prophet's name, were composed on occasions of remarkable circumstances in his life, his dangers, his afflictions, his deliverances. But of those which relate to the public history of the natural Israel, there are few in which the fortunes of the mystical Israel are not adumbrated; and of those which allude to the life of David, there are none in which the son of David is not the principal and immediate subject. David's complaints against his enemies are Messiah's complaints, first of the unbelieving Jews, then of the heathen persecutors, and of the apostate faction in later ages. David's afflictions are Messiah's sufferings. David's penitential supplications are Messiah's, under the burden of the imputed guilt of man. David's songs of triumph and thanksgiving are Messiah's songs of triumph and thanksgiving, for his victory over sin, and death, and hell. In a word, there is not a page of this Book of Psalms, in which the pious reader will not find his Savior, if he reads with a view of finding him.

In the language of this divine book, therefore, the prayers and praises of the church have been offered up to the throne of grace, from age to age, and it appears to have been the manual of the Son of God in the days of his flesh; who, at the conclusion of his last supper, is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds, to have sung a hymn taken from it; who pronounced on the cross, the beginning of the twenty-second Psalm, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and expired with a part of the thirty-first Psalm in his mouth: "Into thy hands I commit my spirit." Thus He, who had not the spirit by measure, in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude his life, to solace himself in the greatest agony, and at last to breathe out his soul, in the Psalmist's form of words, rather than his own. "No tongue of man or angel," as Dr. Hammond justly observes, "can convey a higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who use it aright."

The Psalms have been thus classified according to their several subjects, as adapted to the purpose of private devotion under the following divisions: 1st. Prayers, for pardon of sin,-when deprived of the opportunity of the public exercise of religion-when deprived of consolation under the pressure and despondency of external afflictions and internal grief-supplications for divine assistance under conscious integrity of heart, and the justice of the suppliant's cause-expression of confidence and trust in God under trials—prayers of intercession on behalf of the people of God-with others suited to their experience under every variety of trouble and distress. 2d. Psalms of thanksgiving for mercies vouchsafed to particular persons and the Israelites in general. 3d. Psalms of praise and adoration displaying the attributes of God, including the acknowledgment of his goodness, mercy, care, and protection of good men, with reference to the power, majesty, and glory of God. 4th. Instructive Psalms, describing the happiness of good, and the misery of bad men. 5th. Psalms especially prophetical. 6th. Historical Psalms.

The Bible, then, as the bulwark of civil and religious freedom-as the Magna Charta of divine principles and privileges, guaranteeing the reversion of our immortal hopes and title to the inheritance "incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away ;"-as the water of life distilled through the crystal conduits of revelation, each and all claim from our reason a reverential and grateful reception of Holy

Writ, as the only admitted standard of faith and practice.* What infatuation! what impiety! to renounce this sacred Book; which, after the similitude of a celestial lighthouse, a gracious Jehovah has established on the Rock of Ages, and in the manifold wisdom and grace of God, placed along the shining banks of immortality, whose reflected beams, espied by the telescope of faith, will safely pilot the frail bark of mortality, tempest-tossed upon the crested billows of adversity, and amidst the dangerous and deceitful shoals of temptation as it nears the haven of eternal rest, and enters the harbor of the delectable city of the heavenly Jerusalem!

Another corollary which we would deduce from the con-

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*With such purposes and such feelings have I perused the books of the Old and New Testaments-each book as a whole, and also as an integral part. And need I say that I have met everywhere more or less copious sources of truth and power and purifying influences; that I have found words for my inmost thoughts, songs for my joy, utterances for my hidden griefs, and pleadings for my shame and feebleness? In short, whatever finds me, bears witness for itself, that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit, even from the same Spirit, which remaining in itself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets Wisd. vii.-COLERIDGE, Con. Inq. Spirit.

sideration of our delightful and important subject is the wonderful dignity and destiny of man.

If our good-hearted philosopher, in his Hydriotaphia, could speak of man amidst corruption and decay, as "splendid in ruins, and pompous in the grave," how much more ennobling a view is the Christian permitted to take of him, in connection with the declarations revealed and contained in the volume of Inspiration,—as the candidate for immortality—the heir of salvation-the child of the resurrection, and the adopted son of God, destined to be made equal to the angels, those glorious beings who have never fallen from the high and original righteousness of that radiant condition in which they were created.

In the aphoristic expostulation of the royal Preacher—Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: With what adoring gratitude and reverential humility does it behoove us to receive the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. But for the mediation, the atonement, and the intercession of Christ, seated on the right hand of the Majesty on High, we should have been hopelessly deprived of all those present benefits and prospective privileges for our bodies and souls,* in time and eternity, which flow directly from the passion of His agony, the merits and ransom of His death, when He offered himself up as a sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice! But for the atonement of Christ, angels would have never ministered to us amidst our necessities and distresses-would never have attended us through the dark valley of the shadow of death,-and then on the downy chariots of their soft and silvery pinions escort us into the presence of their God and our God, their Savior and our Savior!

In this my present unpretending attempt, I now bid ye, blessed angels, a courteous but reluctant and too abrupt a farewell; receiving, as the mantle of your departure, this gracious exhortation-this animating benediction, for my candid readers; happy, thrice happy they, who, in setting out on the uncertain voyage and agitated sea of this mortal life, having weighed the anchor of a Christian hope, have decided to take for their polar light, the guiding star of Bethlehem ;* for their compass, the magnetic attractions of the cross; for their chart the discoveries of a divine revelation; with their canvass spread, for the propitious gales of spiritual influences to waft and speed them heavenward, in their perilous course; wisely turning a deaf ear to the syren songs of temptation, and avoiding the more fatal under-currents and vortices of carnal lusts, shall escape making "shipwreck of faith and a good conscience" upon the dangerous rocks and deceitful shoals of fatal pleasures ;—and after having, by prayerful vigilance, resolutely encountered every hurricane of woe, and bravely outrode every tempest of tribulation, shall be safely launched on the unruffled ocean of a glorious eternity, over whose boundless surface no storms will ever arise, and the duration of whose unalloyed felicity shall be commensurate with the illimitable expanse of its shoreless extent, and the seraphic fervor of whose adoration will correspond with the crystal holiness of the transparent waters of its unfathomable depth !

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* The visible world, so magnificent and so beautiful, is a temple worthy of God, the Creator; the spiritual world described in the pages of the Scriptures is a temple equally worthy of God, the Redeemer. Both equally demonstrate the mercy and love of the same all-wise Providence to the bodies and the souls of men.-DR. TOWNSEND, Introduction to the Old and New Testament.

* Once on the raging seas I rode;
The storm was loud, the night was dark;
The ocean yawn'd, and rudely blow'd
The wind, that toss'd my found'ring bark.
Deep horror, then, my vitals froze;
Death-struck, I ceas'd the tide to stem;
When suddenly a star arose-
It was the star of Bethlehem.
It was my guide, my life, my all,
It bade my dark forebodings cease;
And through the storm and danger's thrall,
It led me to the port of peace.
Now safely moor'd, my perils o'er,
I'll sing first in night's diadem,
For ever, and for evermore-
The star!-the star of Bethlehem.
HENRY KIRKE WHITE

BIBLICAL AND CURIOUS.

In the last century, all the manuscripts that could be obtained of the Bible were collated with the greatest care, and collections of the various readings have been published to the world. But amongst all the various readings, both of the Old and New Testaments, none have been found to affect any point of doctrine or moral practice; so that the sacred volume has been handed down to our time, in such a state, as to demand from all its friends a grateful acknowledgment of the divine providence in its preservation.

There are not wanting proofs of the most scrupulous care of the Hebrew text on the part of the Jews: they have counted large and small sections, the verses, the words, and even the letters, in some of the books. Father Simon says he had seen a manuscript of Perpignan, which contained the following computation :

	Great sections.	Small sections.	Verses.	Words.	Letters.
Genesis,	12	43	1,534	20,713	78,100
Exodus,	11	33	1,209		63,467
Leviticus,	10				

		25	859	11,902	44,989
Numbers,	10	33	1,288	16,707	62,529
Deuteronomy,	11	31	955	16,304	54,892

They have likewise reckoned which is the middle letter of the Pentateuch, which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures.

Aleph,	42,377	Lamed,	41,517
Beth,	38,218	Mem,	77,778
Gimel,	29,537	Nun,	41,696
Daleth,	32,530	Samech,.	13,680
He,	47,554	Ain,	20,175
Vau,	76,922	Pe,	22,725

Zain,
22,867
Tzaddi,
21,882
Cheth,
23,447 Koph,
22,972
·
Teth,
11,052
Resh,
22,147
Jod,
Caph,
•
66,420
Shin,
32,148
48,253
•
Tau,
59,343

The most notable editions of the Bible are those which have been issued under the titles of the Wickliffe, about the year 1370, Tindal and Coverdale's, about 1527 and 1535; Matthew's, about 1537; Cranmer's, 1539; The Bishop's, 1569, and King James's, prepared by a conclave of the most able scholars and eminent divines in Hampton Court, in the year 1603, which is the present authorized version, and though upwards of two centuries have elapsed since it first appeared, and during this interval, notwithstanding many passages in particular books have been variously elucidated by learned men, with equal felicity and ability, perspicuity and excellence, their united labors have contributed to give the present translation a high and distinguished place in the judgment of the Christian world, wherever the English language is spoken and studied.

The middle chapter, and the shortest in the Bible, is the 117th Psalm; the middle verse is the 8th of the 118th Psalm; the 21st verse of the 7th chapter of Ezra, in the English version, contains all the letters of the alphabet; the 19th chapter of the 2d Kings, and the 37th chapter of Isaiah are alike.

The Old Testament comprises 39 books, 929 chapters, 23,214 verses, 592,493 words, 2,728,100 letters. The New Testament 27 books, 260 chapters, 181,253 verses, 838,380 letters, making a total of

Books,
66
Verses,
Chapters,
1,189
Words,
Letters,
3,566,480.
31,173
773,746

Independently of all considerations of its religious advantages, no book has conduced more than the Bible to the high cultivation and moral advancement of the human mind. The labor bestowed by so many of the learned, upon the just interpretation of this inestimable book, is of itself an attestation of its worth, and countenances the supposition, that Divine Providence has appointed it for the attainment of great designs.

The Bible, To Bißλov, is the name applied by way of eminence to the collection of sacred writings, otherwise called in Holy Scripture the Old and New Testament. "This volume to which both Jews and Christians respectively appeal; the former, to the Old Testament Scripture exclusively; the latter, to the Old and New Testament combined, which is emphatically termed the Bible. It comprises a great number of narratives and compositions written by inspired persons, at distant periods, in different languages, and on various subjects. Collectively, they claim to be a Divine Revelation, that is, a discovery afforded by God to man of Himself, or of his will beyond what He has vouchsafed to make known by the light of nature or reason."

Bishop Horne forcibly and beautifully remarks: "The Scriptures are the appointed means of enlightening the mind with true and saving knowledge. They show us what we were, what we are, and what we shall be. They show us what God has done for us, and what He expects us to do for him. They show us the adversaries we have to encounter, and how to encounter

them with success. They show us the mercy and justice of God, the joys of Heaven, and the pains of Hell. Thus will they give to the simple an understanding of such matters as philosophy, for whole centuries, taught in vain."

COLLECTANEA:
OR,
A PARTERRE

OF
SENTIMENTS,
SIMILITUDES,
SPIRITUALITIES,
SPECULATIONS,
SINGULARITIES, &c.

SPARSOS COLLIGERE FLORES ET FRONDES.

COLLECTANEA.

ABRAHAM'S WIFE; tradition respecting her beauty.

THE rabbies have invented the following singular account of Abraham's conveyance of Sarah into Egypt. "He put her into a chest, and locked the cover of the same upon her face, jealous of her beauty being noticed. When he was come to the toll or custom-house, they said, 'Pay us custom,' and he said, 'I will pay the custom.' They said to him, 'Thou carriest clothes;' and he said, 'I will pay for the clothes.' They said to him, 'Thou carriest gold;' and he answered them, ‘I will pay for my gold.' They said to him further, 'Thou carriest the finest silk;' then he said to them, 'I will pay for the finest silk.' Farther, they said to him, 'Thou carriest pearls;' and he said to them, 'I will pay for the pearls,' and he was willing to pay custom as if he had carried such valuable things. But they said unto him, 'It cannot be, but thou must open, and show us what is within.' And when he had opened the chest, the whole land of Egypt was brightly illumined by the lustre of Sarah."—Allen.

ADAM'S designation of the Animals in Paradise allegorized.

The beasts of the field which God brought to Adam, in order that he might give them names, are the unreasonable motions of the flesh. Fowls of the air, are idle thoughts, and empty speculations. The garden of Eden the spiritual purity of the mind and the region of heavenly truth into which Paul was wrapt.-HEYWOOD.

There is a tradition that our first parents were forty days in Paradise.

CHRIST, his nativity, intercession, gracious and miraculous operations spiritualized;-Nature's recognition of her Deity;-and parallelisms illustrating the Mosaic and Christian dispensations.

Unexpressible is the Sacrament of the nativity of our Lord the God of life, which we ought rather to believe than examine. A virgin conceived and brought forth, which nature affordeth not; use knew not; reason was ignorant of; understanding conceived not. This, at which heaven wondered; earth admired; the creature, was stupefied, what human language is able to deliver! Therefore, the Evangelist, as he opened the conception and birth in a human phrase, so he shut it up in a divine secret. And, this he did to show, that it is not lawful for a man to dispute that which he is commanded to believe. And, again, how can there be the least damage unto modesty when there is interested a Deity? when an angel is the messenger; faith, the bridesmaid; chastity, the contract; virtue, the espouser; conscience, the priest; God, the cause; integrity, the conception; virginity, the birth; a maid, the mother? Let no man, therefore, judge that thing after the manner of man which is done by a divine sacrament; let no man examine a celestial mystery by earthly reason, or a secret novelty, by that which is frequent and common. Let no man measure that which is singular, by example; nor derive contumely from piety; nor run into danger by his rashness, when God has promised salvation by his goodness. What was the necessity that Mary the blessed virgin should be espoused unto Joseph? but, either because that mystery should be concealed from the devil; and so the false accuser should find no cavil against her chastity, being affianced unto an husband; or else that after the infant was born, he should be the mother's conductor into Egypt and back again. For Mary was the untouched, the unblemished, the immaculate mother of the only begotten Son of God ;-the almighty Father and Creator of all things.—of that Son who, in heaven, was without a mother;-on earth, without a father;-in heaven, (according to his Deity) in the bosom of his Father; on earth, (according to his humanity,) in the lap of his mother.-HEYWOOD.

Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!

Philosophy, therefore, if it required a lesson in humanity, may come to school here. The feeling which prompted these words touched the highest culminating point of human nature, where divinity itself begins.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

The fountain with which Paradise was watered is Christ: of the four rivers into which it is often parted, Pison is prudence; Gihon, temperance; Tigris (Hiddekel), fortitude; Euphrates, justice.

That of three things the world has great cause to wonder-of Christ's resurrection after death,-of his ascension to heaven in the flesh, and that by his Apostles, being no better than fishermen, the whole world should be converted. There be four miraculous imitators made by Christ-a fisherman, to be first shepherd of his flock-a persecutor, to be first master and teacher of the Gentiles-a publican, to be the first evangelist--a thief, that first entered heaven.

Would we be acquainted with the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, we must make application not to angels, for they are themselves learners, but to Christ himself.-AMBROSE.

As in the earthly Paradise there were four rivers which watered the whole earth; so in Christ, who is our Paradise, we may find four fountains; the first is the fountain of mercy, to wash away our sins by the waters of remission; the second is the fountain of wisdom, to quench our thirst with the waters of discretion; the third is the fountain of grace, to water the plants of good works with the springs of devotion; and the fourth is the crystal fountain of everlasting life whose refreshing waters issue from the mount of the heavenly Zion.

The heavens knew him, which lent him a bright star to light him into the world. The sea knew him, which against its own nature, made itself passable for his feet. The earth knew him, which shook and trembled at his passion. The sun knew him, which hid its face, and withdrew his beams from beholding so execrable an object as the crucifixion. The stones and buildings knew him, which split and rent themselves asunder. The grave and hell knew him, the one, by yielding up the dead; the other, by witnessing his descension.

The Jews reckoned up five several marks of divine favor which distinguished the first temple, and were wanting in the second. The ark of the covenant and the mercy seat which was upon it; the Shechinah or the divine presence; the Urim and Thummim; the holy fire upon the altar; and the spirit of prophecy. Now the absence of those several things was abundantly supplied by the presence of that Divine Person of whom each of them was in some measure typical. Christ may be called the ark, as he was the material representative of the Deity, in whom was deposited the perfect law of God. Like the cedar of which the ark was composed, Christ was incorruptible; and the golden crown of divinity and glory was upon him, as it was upon the ark. Angels attended him in his humiliation, and desired to penetrate the mystery of his incarnation, as the cherubim bent over the mercy seat; so is Christ the meeting place between God and man. Christ was the Shechinah, for he dwelt in the tabernacle among men, the true glory of the Shechinah. The Urim and Thummim were not required when the Messiah was on the earth. He only has given those clear oracular answers, which shall ever instruct the world; the others were but typical of that union of light and perfection which met in Him alone. Never but in him were united perfect knowledge and perfect holiness. He is the Great High Priest, who has spoken with the mouth of God. The holy fire was not necessary, it was but typical of that eternal flame of devotion, and purity, and love, which God requires, and Christ exemplified. The spirit of prophecy was not wanted, for on him rested the spirit without measure. He was the prophet like unto Moses, in bringing in a new dispensation; though greater than Moses, for he was perfect in himself, and grace and truth are better than the law. Christ united in himself all these ornaments of the first temple, and He excelled them all, inasmuch as the substance is superior to the shadow. These things, it is true, made the first temple glorious; but the glory of the second temple was indeed greater than that of the first; when Christ uniting all the realities of which the first temple were but typical, presented himself in the second temple, to the admiring and wondering crowd as the true Messiah, the expected Hope and Savior of Israel.

Socinius and his followers believed in the actual translation of Jesus to some celestial region in the interval between his baptism and his entrance upon his public ministry.

CREATION; allegorized.

"That God has taught us by the course he took in framing and fashioning the world, how we must proceed to become a new creation or a new heaven and a new earth, renewed both in soul and body. In the first day, he made the light; therefore the first thing of the new man ought to be the light of knowledge, for saith St. Paul, 'he that cometh to God must know that he is.' On the second day, he made the firmament, so called because of its steadfastness; so the second step in man's new creation must be firmamentum fidei-the sure foundation of faith. On the third day, the seas and trees bearing fruits; so the third step in the new man is, that he become waters of relenting tears, and that he bring forth fruit worthy of repentance. On the fourth day, God created the sun, that whereas on the first day there was light without heat, now on the fourth day there is light and heat joined together; so the fourth step in the new creation of the new man is, that he join the heat of zeal with the light of knowledge; as in the sacrifices, fire and salt were coupled. The fifth day's work was of fishes to play in the seas, and fowls to fly and soar towards heaven; so the fifth step, in a new creature, is to live and rejoice in a sea of troubles, and fly by prayer and contemplation heavenward. On the sixth day, God made man; now all those things before named being performed by Him, man, is a new creature. They are all thus like a golden chain concatenated into several links by Saint Peter." Add to your light of knowledge, the firmament of faith; to your faith, seas of repentant tears; to your tears, the fruitful trees of good works; to your good works, the hot sunshine of zeal; to your zeal, the winged fowls of prayer and contemplation; and so Ecce omnia facta sunt. Behold all things are made new!-HEYWOOD.

DECALOGUE; fetched from heaven by Moses, and the opposition he encountered from angelic interference.

Moses is represented by the Cabalists as having received the law, not as is commonly believed by Christians, by the condescension of the divine Majesty, on Mount Sinai; but by actually ascending into heaven to fetch it. And ample details have been given of the opposition he experienced from numerous and mighty angels, and the means by which he overcame that opposition and surmounted other difficulties and obstacles in his progress through the celestial regions.

DEITY; hieroglyphically represented.

Divers nations, but especially the Egyptians, made certain hieroglyphics to express the sole supremacy of the Deity. First, by the stork, which is a bird that hath no tongue; and God created all things in a temperate and quiet silence: inferring from this that man ought not to speak of him too freely or rashly, nor to search too narrowly into his hidden attributes. They interpreted His infinity by a circle, which hath neither beginning nor an end. So likewise by the eye; for as in all other creatures, so especially in man the eye is of his other members, the most beautiful and excellent, as the moderator and guide of our affections and actions; so God is the bright eye of the world who by the apostle James is called the Father of men, unto whose eyes all thoughts be naked and open, who looketh upon the good and bad, and searches into the reins of either.-HEYWOOD.

DEVIL; the method and ceremony of the homage performed; and the fealty paid to him, according to the ritual of witchcraft.

First, the magician or witch is brought before the tribunal of Satan, either by a familiar spirit or else by a magi or hag of the same profession, who sits crowned upon a majestic throne, surrounded by a host of other devils, who attend upon him in the capacity and dignity of lords, barons, and princes, richly appareled in the vestments of Tartarean paraphernalia. The palace or parliament-house of his satanic majesty is represented as built of beautiful marble, and the walls of which are hung with gorgeous drapery interwoven with gold and silver and purple covered arras, and designed to augment the pomp of his regality and imperial state. Satan, from his royal seat, casts his eyes round about, as if ready to incline his benign ear, by way of encouragement, to any suitor that may be presented. A devil, of venerable aspect, now steps forth and saith, "Most potent lord and master, great patron of the spacious universe, in whose hands are all the riches and treasures of the earth, and all the goods and gifts of the world, this person I present before thine imperial throne, to follow thy standard, and to fight under the patronage of thy great name and power; who is ready to acknowledge thee to be god and creator of all things, and none but thee. It shall be thy clemency, O most sovereign lord, to vouchsafe this man (or woman) the grace of thy benign aspect and receive him (or her) unto thy patronage and favor." To which Satan, with a grave countenance and loud oration answereth, “I cannot but commend this thy friend, who so cordially hath committed himself (or herself) unto our safe guard and trust; whom as our client and favorite we accept, and promise to supply him with all felicity and pleasure, both in this present life and the future." This done, the miserable wretch is commanded to renounce his faith, baptism, the eucharist, and all other holy things, and to confess Lucifer his only lord and governor; which is done with many infernal and execrable ceremonies not befitting to be here mentioned. Then is the certificate of initiation and reception written with the blood of the left thumb. After which the devil marks him either in the brow, neck or shoulders, but commonly in the more secret parts, with the stamp or character of the foot of a hare, a black dog, or a toad, or some such figure by which he brands him (as the custom was of old, to stamp their slaves and captives whom they bought for money in the market-places) to become his perpetual slave and vassal; and this the wicked spirit doeth, as desirous to imitate God in all things; who in the Old Testament marked his chosen people with the seal of circumcision, to distinguish them from the gentiles, and in the New Testament, with the sign of the cross, which succeeded that of circumcision (according to the testimony of the fathers). And as the devil is always adverse to his creator, so he will be worshipped with contrary rites and ceremonies. Therefore, whenever magicians, and witches, present themselves unto him, they worship him with their faces from, and their backs towards him, and sometimes standing upon their heads with their heels upwards, but what is most beastly and abominable of all the requisition of their homage and fealty, the devil presents unto them his forked tail to kiss; which divers magicians have confessed. Those who put themselves under any certain constellation by which to produce curious and prodigious effects, whereby the work is taken from the creator and attributed unto the creature; and all those operations of conjuration, incantation, abjuration, murmuration, together with those conventicles and nightly assemblies of sorcerers, and other diabolical inventions, have the great devil himself for their author and abettor.-HEYWOOD.

Some of the ancient writers on Sorcery, have affirmed that every magician and witch after they have passed through the ordeal of performing homage to the devil, immediately a familiar spirit is appointed to attend them, and whom they styled Magister, Martinellus, and that he is sometimes visible with them, in the shape of a dog, a rat, an Ethiope, &c. That Simon Magus had a black dog tied to him with a chain, which, if any man attempted to speak to him, with whom he did not desire any communication, he instantly sprang at him, and the offender was soon devoured.

The knowledge of devils makes them familiar with the virtues of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, &c. They understand the nature of all creatures, birds, and beasts. They possess excellent skill in all the arts and sciences. By their influence they operate on the four elements, stars and planets; are acquainted with the cause of meteors, and can produce miraculous alterations and wonderful effects in the air.-BURTON, Anatomy.

The ancient, as well as the more recent sophists, enumerate the following kinds of devils, their particular orders, and point out their respective presidencies Fiery spirits or devils, have control over blazing stars, fire drakes, ignes fatui, &c. The aerial, keep their quarters in the air, and control tempests, thunder, lightnings, &c. The water-devils, preside over naiads or water-nymphs, oceans, rivers,

&c. The terrestrial, supervise lares, genii, wood-nymphs, fairies, robin-good-fellows, forests, &c. The subterranean, are commonly seen about mines, produce earthquakes, are conversant with the centre of the earth and volcanoes, and torture the souls of men till the day of judgment. Their egress and regress are about Etna, Lipari, Mons Hecla in Iceland, Vesuvius, Terra del Fuego, &c., because many shrieks and fearful cries are continually heard thereabouts, and familiar apparitions of dead men, ghosts, goblins, &c.—BURTON, Passim.

FANATICISM; its natural character and practical effects.

The fanatic will live on better terms with angels and with seraphs, than with his children, servants or neighbors, or he is one who, while he reverences the thrones, dominions, and powers of the invisible world, vents his spleen in railing against all "dignities and powers of the earth."-ISAAC TAYLOR.

FIRMAMENT; morally considered.

If, with Seneca, we contemplate aright in imagination the magnitude and beauty of the orbs of heaven, we shall look down, with a noble indifference, on the earth as a scarcely distinguishable atom, and say, "Is it to this little spot that the great designs and most glorious desires of man are confined? Is it for this, that there is such disturbance of nature, so much carnage, and so many ruinous wars? O! folly of deceived men, to imagine great kingdoms in the compass of an atom, to raise armies to divide a point of earth with their swords! It is just as if the ants should divide their mole hills into provinces, and conceive a field to be several kingdoms, and fiercely contend to enlarge their borders and celebrate a triumph in gaining a foot of earth, or a new province to their empire. In the light of heaven, all sublunary glories fade away, and the mind is refined and ennobled, when with the eye of faith, it penetrates within the veil and descries the splendor of the heaven of heavens.

FUTURE STATE; its necessity, reality, equality, promise, and moral influence.

It is indeed a wide ocean, said the abbé, full of waves and dangers, storms and tempests; and like the Atlantic before the adventurous Genoese first crossed it, no one comes back to tell us what is beyond. But as to the eye of Columbus, enlightened by true genius, it was self-evident that to harmonize with the known world in which he dwelt, there must be another continent beyond the broad western sea; so to the eye of the religious man, enlightened by revelation, it is self-evident, that beyond the scenes of time, there must be another world to equalise all that is unequal in this.-ANONYMOUS.

If there be men dignified by the name of philosophers who can hold that the present scene of being, with all its moral evil, and physical suffering, is to be succeeded by no better or happier state of existence, just because "all things have continued as they were" five or six thousand years; their inferences respecting the future state, would not have been less conclusive, or the revealed declaration of the scripture less true, had they based it on a period, even an hundred times more extended.-HUGH MILLER.

"Plato, thou reason'st well,
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after immortality!
Or whence this secret dread, and inward horror—
Of falling into naught? Why shrinks the soul
Back on herself, and startles at destruction?
'Tis the divinity that stirs within us,
'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter
And intimates eternity to man."—ADDISON.

The doctrine of a future state is not merely a speculative proposition to serve as a subject of metaphysical investigation or to be admitted merely to complete a system of philosophy or theological belief. It is a truth of the highest practical importance which ought to be interwoven with the whole train of our thoughts and actions. Yet how many are there even of those who bear the Christian name, who are incessantly engaged in boisterous disputes respecting the nature of faith, who have never felt the influence of that faith which realizes to the mind, as if actually present, the glories of the invisible world. If we really believe the doctrine of immortality, it will manifest itself in our thoughts, affections and pursuits. It will lead us to form a just estimation of the value of all earthly enjoyments. For in the sight of eternity all secular pursuits in which men now engage appear but vanity, and all the dazzling objects which fascinate these eyes, as fleeting shadows. A realizing view of an eternal state dissipates the illusion which the eye of sense throws over the pageantry and splendors of this world, and teaches us that is transitory and fading, and that our most exquisite pleasures will ere long be snatched from our embrace. For not a single mark of our sublunary honors, not a single farthing of our boasted treasures, not a single trace of the beauty of our persons, can be carried along with us to the regions beyond the grave. It will stimulate us to set our affections on things above, and to indulge in heavenly contemplations, for "where our treasure is, our hearts will be also." Rising superior to the delights of sense, and the boundaries of time, we will expatiate at large, on those boundless regions which “eye hath not seen," and contemplate in the eye of reason and revelation those scenes of felicity and grandeur which will burst upon the disembodied spirit when it has dropped its earthly tabernacle in the dust. Again, if we believe the doctrine of immortality, we will be careful to avoid those sins which would expose us to misery in the future world, and to cultivate those dispositions and virtues which will prepare us for the enjoyment of eternal felicity. Between virtue and vice, sin and holiness, there is an essential and eternal distinction, and this distinction will be fully and visibly displayed in the eternal world. He whose life is a continued scene of vicious indulgence, and who has devoted himself to “work all manner of uncleanness with greediness,” becomes by such habits a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction," and from the very constitution of things there is no possibility of his escaping the misery of the future state, if his existence be prolonged. Whereas, he who is devoted to the practice of holiness, who loves his creator with supreme affection and his neighbor as himself, who adds to his "faith virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, brotherly kindness and charity," is by the possession and exemplification of such graces, rendered fit for everlasting communion with the Father of Spirits, and for delightful association with all holy intelligences, that people his immense empire. The belief in a future state, also, will excite us to the exercise of contentment and reconcile our minds to whatever privations or afflictions, providence may allot us in this world. "For the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is to be revealed." If we believe that the whole train of circumstances connected with our present lot is arranged by wisdom and benevolence, every thing that befalls us here must have a certain bearing on the future world, and have a tendency to prepare us for engaging in its exercises, and for relishing its enjoyment. We will not rest satisfied with vague and confused conceptions of celestial bliss; but will endeavor to form as precise and definite ideas, on this subject, as the position of our sublunary condition will permit. We will search the oracles of divine revelation and the discoveries of science, and endeavor to deduce from both, the sublimest conceptions we can form of the glories of that "inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, which is reserved in heaven for the faithful."

GOD; understood by the works of nature and the volume of Inspiration.

Saith an old divine: we come by two ways to the knowledge and apprehension of God, by his works and by his word; by his works we learn to know there is a God, and by his word we come to know what God is. His works teach us to spell, his word to read. The first are his back parts, by which we behold Him afar off, the latter represent Him to us more visibly, and as it were "face to face." For the word is a book consisting of three leaves, and every leaf printed with many letters, and every letter containeth in itself a lecture. The leaves are heaven, the air, and the earth, with the water: the letters engraved are every angel, star and planet; the letters in the air, every meteor and fowl; those in the earth and water, every man. beast, plant, flower, mineral, fish, &c. All these, set together, spell unto us-That there is a God.

I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of

Jacob, in a special sense, not merely as their creator and preserver, which he is to all men, but as their governor, protector, supplier and friend, not of the dead, which are non-entities. In Scripture, that God is one God, and that we are his people, are correlative propositions.

The works of creation, and every thing around us, manifest the presence of God, -his radiant, life-giving circle. It is neither pantheism nor poetry alone, but the truth of nature exemplified in the variations of the seasons.

66
These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God; the rolling year
Is full of thee. Forth in the pleasing spring
Thy beauty walks, thy tenderness and love."

Every germ that is evolving, every flower that blooms, presents to us the moving presence of God. Whenever we conceive of the operations of the laws of nature in the world, or disconnected from the power of His immediate presence, at the place where such operations exhibit themselves, we practically deny his omnipresence. It is a beautiful and instructive story of the traveller, amid the emergencies of a journey in the destitution of a desert, attracted by a flower, growing upon a stone in the arid waste, exclaiming, God is here! The blooming flower was the manifestation of his presence.

"Should fate command me to the utmost verge,
Of the great earth, to distant barbarous climes;
Rivers unknown to song; where first the sun
Gilds Indian mountains, or his setting beams
Flame on the Atlantic Isles, 'tis naught to me,
Since God is ever present, ever felt,
In the void waste, as in the city full;
And where he vital breathes there must be joy."

IMMORTALITY; Symbolized by the Tomb.

It remains for death to exhibit the glory of life. It was a beautiful superstition, that of ever-burning lamps in tombs. To seek for such, imaged well the practice of the Christian, who beholds immortality in the grave.-SLACK.

JACOB'S LADDER; its prophetic and spiritual meaning.

The Rabbins have a conceit respecting the ladder which Jacob beheld in his dream, "set upon the earth, and the top of it reaching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it," which they say represents the rise and fall of the four great monarchies; the seventy steps agreeing with the seventy years captivity in Babylon, or two and fifty steps representing the time of the reign of the four Assyrian kings.

In Jacob's ladder figur'd this we see,
(Which ladder Christ himself profest to be),

Of which the foot being fixt upon the ground,
The top to heaven. Thus much to us doth sound,
That in this scale, at such large distance set,
The heaven and earth at once together met.
So Christ's humanity from earth was given,
But his divinity He took from heaven;
As from earth, earthy; as from heaven divine;
Two natures, in one person, thus combine.
HEYWOOD.

JEWS; touching the prophecies relative to their present condition, and the prospective restoration to their former possession of the divine favor, and return of their national glory.

In the midst of all changes,-the vicissitudes of time,-the revolution of kingdoms, and the downfall of empires, the Jew abides the same in every particular, the same as when God led him out of Egypt, with one creed, one language, one liturgy, one sorrow, one hope, he is found in every corner of the globe, a severed fragment of that exquisite design which the Lord shall again arrange, as of old, to be the beauty and glory of the whole earth.-CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

JOSEPH; traditionary statement respecting his burial and the journeyings of his coffin.

Rabbi Nathan affirms that Joseph was buried in the mausoleum of a certain king of Egypt, and that Moses stood near that royal cemetery and said, Joseph, the time is arrived in which God swore that he would deliver Israel; the time is come also for Israel to fulfill the oath which thou didst impose upon them; if thou show thyself, well; but, if not, we are released from our obligation. That Joseph's coffin instantly advanced; and that Moses took it, and carried it off with him, and that during all the year that Israel passed in the wilderness, the coffin of Joseph and the ark of the Lord marched side by side.-ALLEN.

JUDGMENT DAY; its necessity, equity, and moral influence.

This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God,-his justice; that must reconcile those answerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings and resolve those seeming inequalities, and respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. This is that one day that shall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the last scene, all the actors must enter to complete and make up the catastrophe of this great piece. This is the day whose memory hath only power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness. Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi, that virtue is her own reward, is but a cold principle to maintain our variable resolutions in a constant and settled way of goodness.-SIR T. Browne.

MAGIC; its author and history.

Some authors have supposed the art of magic was devised before the flood, by the Devil, who communicated the invention to the giants, by whom Cham, the son of Noah, was instructed in the science of sorcery. For this abomination, with the consequences of all manner of iniquities arising therefrom, was the deluge brought upon the world, and which, after the flood, was taught by Cham to his son, Misraim, who conveyed it to the Egyptians, Babylonians and Persians, and from them imparted to the other nations of this terraqueous globe.

Other writers on magic derive the words from Theurgia or white-magic, Goetia or black-magic, or the black-art, otherwise called necromancy. The effect of the first, they imputed to good angels; and the evils of the latter they ascribed to demons; affirming the one to be lawful, and the other unlawful.

Tertullian traces all the chief luxuries of female attire, the necklaces, armlets, rouge and the black powder for the eye lashes, to the researches of fallen angels into the inmost recesses of nature, and the discoveries they were in consequence enabled to make of all that could embellish the beauty of their earthly favorites.

MESMERISM; a characteristic and medical anecdote.

REMARKS. The daring follies and satanic delusions of the present day are not entitled to the merit or charm of novelty, as regards either their source, principles, designs, peculiarities or practices; being in spirit-in facto-precisely the same as those which existed during the dark and sanguinary period when witchcraft prevailed in England. Fortune-telling is now exploded, and entirely confined to the simplicity of silly and ignorant girls; pronounced by law a misdemeanor, and punishable upon the indictment of obtaining money under false pretences.

During the reigns of the Charles's, and the interregnum of the Protectorate, these abominations were rife. Modern Millerism corresponds to the Millenium of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men; whilst other similar vagaries, which have recently startled or seduced the imbeciles of the passing hour, are merely modified to meet the advanced stage of the scientific knowledge of a progressive civilization; putting on the disguise of new names and assuming the different dress of a changed appearance, to distinguish them from such as originated in the dark, superstitious and disastrous times of English history, when the corrupting influence of courtly intrigues, commingled with the subversive errors of a headlong fanaticism, and those heretical dogmas which provoked the outbreak "the confusion worse confounded"- of those sanguinary and sectarian conflicts which have ever attended the unyielding hostilities, fierce and violent struggles of religious denominations for the ascendency to supreme authority, or the tyranny of despotic power, so dishonoring to the benevolent character of a

Catholic Christianity, as well as abhorrent to those essential principles which involve the inalienable and sacred rights of civil and religious liberty, whose safe and solid base alone affords a sure foundation upon which to erect the various and stately superstructures of social, political, and ecclesiastical institutions; rendered most durable and attractive when built according to the glorious order of a divine architecture, and adorned by the chaste ornaments of those plastic and apostolic rules, taught and perfected only in the school of Christ.-G. C.

By the spirits called Lares, or household gods, many men have been driven into strange melancholies. Amongst others I will cite one least common. A young man had a strong imagination that he was dead, and did not only abstain from the use of meat and drink, but importuned his parents that he might be carried into his grave and buried before his flesh was quite putrefied. By the counsel of physicians, he was wrapped up in a winding sheet and laid upon a bier, and so carried toward the church upon men's shoulders. But, by the way, two or three pleasant fellows, suborned to that purpose, meeting the hearse, demanded aloud of them that followed it, whose body it was there coffined and carried to burial? They said it was such a young man's, and told them his name. Surely (replied one of them), the world is very well rid of him, for he was a man of a very bad and vicious life, and his friends may rejoice he hath rather ended his days thus, than at the gallows. Which the young man hearing, and vexed to be so injured, roused himself up upon the bier, and told them that they were wicked men to do him that wrong, which he had never deserved, and told them, that if he were alive, as he was not, he would teach them to speak better of the dead. But they proceeding to deprave him, and give him much disgraceful and contemptible language, he not being able to endure it, leapt from the hearse and fell about their ears with such rage and fury that he ceased not buffeting with them till quite wearied, and by his violent agitation the humors of his body altered, he awakened as out of a sleep or trance, and being brought home and comforted with wholesome diet, he within a few days recovered both his pristine health, strength and understanding.*

"Time is, that I, being a young man, writ of Magical Art three books in one volume, sufficiently large, which I entitled of Hidden Philosophy; in which wheresoever I have erred through the vain curiosity of youth, now in my better and more ripe understanding I recant in this palinode. I confess I have spent much time in these vanities, in which I have only profited thus much, that I am able to was enticed to proceed over its rugged and unpolished pages even after the fatigue and lateness of business—from occasionally meeting with a brilliant sentiment and diamond thought. The volume is an omnium gatherum of astrology, astronomy, cosmogony, mythology, philosophy, sorcery, theology, talmudic traditions, pagan fables, puritanical research and literature. And I am further induced to insert (using modern orthography) the additional remarks of the author respecting himself, as they embrace an admirable moral, and present a pointed and warning rebuke to such whose propensity to waste their time and indulge their fancies and mar their usefulness in the absurdities and wonders of supernaturalism bear an inverse ratio to their belief in the mysteries and truths and requisitions of the Bible.-G. C.

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*The foregoing incident is extracted from a work containing upward of seven hundred folio pages of doggerel verse and laborious prose, preceded by a dedication to Henrietta Maria Queen, which breathes the gallantry and quintessence of chivalric courtesy ; but considering it a literary curiosity I

dehort other men from entering into the like dangers. For whatsoever by the illusion of the devil, or by the operation of evil spirits shall presume to divine or prophesy by magical vanities, exorcism, incantations, amatories, enchanted ditches, and other demoniac actions, exercising blasphemous charms, spells, witchcrafts, and sorceries, or anything belonging to superstition and idolâtry; all these are foredoomed to be tormented in eternal fire with Jamnes Mambre and Simon Magus."-HEYWOOD.-(1659.)

MESSIAH; Traditions relating to the Blessings and Celebration of Christ's Kingdom.

The felicities and glories which will usher in the government of the Messiah is to be celebrated by a royal festival, to which all Israelites will be invited, and seated every one beside a golden table. As all other kings and princes on the occasion of a public festival are accustomed to entertain their guests with spectacles and games; so this banquet of the Messiah is to be introduced by a sportive exhibition. He will amuse the company with a battle between Behemoth and Leviathan, as it is written, "Thus shall the beasts of the field play." Job i. 20. The various feats of Behemoth will be highly gratifying to the Messiah. "These also shall please the Lord better than an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs." Psal. lxix: 31. But Leviathan shall advance to the contest armed with his scales, as with a breastplate and coat of mail dreadful to behold. The battle will be fierce; but the combatants being equally matched, neither will be victorious. They will both fall exhausted with fatigue. Then Messiah with a drawn sword shall stab and slay them both. "In that day the Lord, with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that crooked serpent." Isaiah xxvii. 1. These huge animals, together with Bar Juchine the enormous bird, are then to be spitted and laid to the fire, and all requisite preparations to be made for the splendid banquet, as it is written: "And on this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined. Isaiah xxv. 6. Having provided three courses of flesh, fish and fowl; the rabbies have supplied this sumptuous feast of the Messiah with the customary appendages. The dessert will consist of the most delicious fruits, the produce of the garden of Eden, including some of the fruit taken from the tree of life; the choicest and most exquisite wines of the vintage of Paradise, prepared immediately after the creation, and preserved in Adam's wine-cellar ever since, expressly for this glorious occasion. "In that day sing ye unto her, a vineyard of red wine, I the Lord do keep it." Isaiah xxvii. 2, 3. "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red, it is full of mixture, and he poureth out of the same." Psalms lxxv. 8. "Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.” Isaiah lxiv. 4. At the conclusion of the feast Messiah is represented as filling a cup, over which, according to usual custom, a grace will be pronounced; that the company giving glory to God will beseech him to undertake the office; resembling that of the cup-bearer that God will offer it Michael, Michael to Gabriel, Gabriel to Abraham, Abraham to Isaac, Isaac to Moses, Moses to Joshua; that all these declining the office as being unworthy of such high honor, will at last assign it to David; declaring it will be proper for an earthly king to perform this service to the King of Heaven,-that David will say, "Well! then I will give thanks and this office becomes me as it is said," "I will take the cup of salvation and will call upon the name of the Lord." Psalms cxvi. 13. And that this cup will contain two hundred and fourteen gallons, as it is said, "My cup runneth over." Psalms xxiii. 5. The luxuries and provisions remaining on the table will be distributed amongst the guests, who will expose them to sale at the market-place at Jerusalem; that of the part of the skin of Leviathan will be made tabernacles, pavilions or awnings for the just; and that the rest will be spread upon the walls of Jerusalem, diffusing a light to the extremities of the world; as it is written, “And kings shall come to the brightness of thy rising." Isaiah lx. 3. The banquet will be succeeded, and the festival concluded by music and dancing; God entertaining the just, with music and dancing, and will himself sit in the midst of them, in the garden of Eden, and every one will point to him with an outstretched finger. "And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God, we have waited for him; we will be glad, and rejoice in his salvation." Isaiah xxv. 9.-ALLEN.

RESURRECTION; Physically Explained and Illustrated; and Symbolized by Funereal Trees, Ornamental Flowers, and Perennial Shrubs.

During the life of any animal its particles are in a state of ceaseless change; the organism of to-day is not that of yesterday. When this removal of particles ceases to take place, according to vital laws, the organism decays. But who shall say that the power which brought them together decays also? All that we know is, that we no longer see the same process conducted; but that does not prove annihilation. All action that we are acquainted with produces reaction; and perhaps, if life operates on matter, matter operates on life. This action may, for aught we know, be needful for the development of the soul; but the necessity of that precise mode of it which takes place in what we call a living organism, is only for a time. Death is only one of change, and change has its relation to Time; it is a relation, not an absolute existence. The opponents of the natural evidence of immortality, appeal to the triumph of death in the lower world; but they know not what those triumphs are, nor to what extent they go. Nature is the art of God. It seems a constant plan of nature to build exquisite structures with worthless and often loathsome materials. The brilliant plant and the phosphorescent light spring from putrescence; and among the decay of expectations and the mangled relics of happiness, hope blossoms and shows at once a flower and a star. That in strewing their tombs the Romans affected the rose; the Greeks the amaranthus and myrtles; that the funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, cypress, fir, larix, yew, and trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expressions of their surviving hopes; wherein Christians which deck their coffins with bays, have found a more elegant emblem; for that tree seeming dead will restore from the root, and its exsuccous leaves assume their verdure again. Whether the planting of the yew in church yards hold not its original from ancient funeral rites, or as an emblem of the Resurrection, from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture. If in the decretory term of the world, we shall not all die, but be changed according to received translation; the last day will make but few graves; at least quick resurrection will anticipate lasting sepulchres; some graves will be opened before they be quite closed, and Lazarus be no wonder. When many that feared to die shall groan that they can die but once; the dismal state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned; when men shall wish the covering of mountains, not of monuments, and annihilation shall be courted.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

Death is as necessary to the constitution as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning-DR. FRANKLIN.

SAINT PAUL'S traditional descent into Hell.

Adam de Ross thus sings of St. Paul's descent into hell. The Archangel Michael performs the office of guide to the apostle. "My good son," says he to him, "follow me without fear and without suspicion." God commands me to show to thee the gnashing of teeth, the pangs and the anguish which sinners undergo. Michael goes first; Paul follows, repeating psalms. At the gate of hell grows a tree of fire; from its branches hang the souls of misers and scandal-mongers. The air is full of flying imps, who drag the wicked to the furnace. The two travellers pursue their way through the desolate regions. The archangel explains to the apostle the torments inflicted for different crimes; from the bosom of an immense forge a vast wave, in which burning furnaces roar and sparkle, issue rivers of molten metals, in which demons are disporting. The further the envoys of heaven penetrate into the bowels of the earth the more terrible become the torments, and St. Paul is filled with pity. They arrive at the mouth of a pit, sealed with the seven seals. The archangel removes the seals, and pushes back the apostle, till the pestilential vapor exhaled from the pit has passed off. From the bottom of this pit ascend the moan of the greatest sinners. St. Paul inquires how long their punishment shall last. "One hundred and forty thousand years," replies St. Michael, "though I am not quite sure of it." The apostle begs the archangel to implore the Almighty to mitigate the punishment of these reprobate spirits. Their prayers, joined by those of other compassionate angels, are granted. God ordains that in future the tortures shall be suspended from Saturday till Monday morning. St. Brandan, in his voyage to the terrestrial paradise, had obtained the same favor for Judas.--CHATEAUBRIAND.

SATAN; his subtlety, temptations and delusions.

The devil would persuade me that the brazen serpent was no miracle, but merely operated by sympathy; and to the misapplication of our studies would resolve all phenomena into natural causes. Thus the devil played at chess with me, and yielding a pawn thought to gain a queen from me, taking advantage of my honest endeavors; and whilst I labored to raise the structure of my reason, he strived to undermine the edifice of faith.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

The time when the fall of Satan and his angels took place is generally imagined to have preceded the creation of the world; and some have accounted for it by the supposition that the arch-fiend and his angels, being informed of God's purpose to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by Christ's assuming it, and thinking their glory to be thus eclipsed, coveted the happiness of man, and so revolted; and with this opinion that of the Mahometans has some affinity, who are taught that the devil, who was once of those angels who are nearest God's presence, and named Azazel, forfeited Paradise for refusing to worship or pay homage to Adam at the command of God. But whatever was the occasion or mode by which it was manifested, pride seems to have been the leading sin, and it ultimately terminated in rebellion and apostacy.

SENTIMENTS on a variety of subjects, speculative and curious.

Rest not in high strained paradoxes of old philosophy, supported by naked reason and the reward of mortal felicity; but labor in the ethics of faith, built upon heavenly assistance and the happiness of both beings. Understand the rules, but swear not unto the doctrines of Zeno or Epicurus. Let not the twelve but the two tables be thy law. Let Pythagoras be thy remembrancer, not thy textuary and final instructor; and learn the vanity of the world rather from Solomon than Phocylydes. Keep not in the dogmas of the Peripatetics, Academy, or Porticus. Be a moralist of the mount, an Epictetus in the faith, and Christianize thy notions.

Be not a Hercules Furens abroad, and a poltroon within thyself.

To chase our enemies out of the field, and be led captives by our vices; to beat down our foes, and fall down to our concupiscences; are solecisms in moral schools, and no laurels attend them. To manage well our affections, and the wild horses of Plato, are the highest circenses, and the nobles digladiation, is in the theatre of ourselves; for therein our inward antagonists, not like common gladiators, with ordinary weapons and downright blows make at us, but also like retiary and laqueary combatants with nets, frauds, and entanglements, fall upon us.

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fall upon us.

Lipara. Vulcan's art doth nothing in this internal militia; wherein not the armor of Achilles, but the armature of St. Paul, gives the glorious day, and triumphs, not leading up to the capitol, but into the highest heavens.

Let not fortune, which hath no name in Scripture, have any in thy divinity. Let Providence, not chance, have the honor of thy acknowledgment, and be thy Edipus in contingencies. Mark well the paths and windings thereof; but be. not too wise in the construction or sudden in application. The hand of Providence often in abbreviatures, hieroglyphics, and short characters which, like the Laconicism on the wall, are not to be made out but by hint or key from that spirit which indited them.

We fall not from virtue, like Vulcan, in a day. We are not left without parentheses of consideration, thoughtful rebukes, and merciful interventions to recall us unto ourselves.

It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature; and there is no future state to come; unto which this seems progressional, and otherwise made in vain. But man is a noble animal,-splendid in ashes, pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, not omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infancy of his nature.

Enjoy the whole world in the hermitage of thyself. Thus the old ascetic Christians formed a paradise in a desert, and with little converse on earth, held a conversation in heaven; thus they astronomized in caves, and though they beheld not the stars, had the glory of heaven before them.

Opinion rides upon the neck of reason; and men are happy, wise or learned, according as that empress sets them down in the register of reputation.

Some negroes who believe in the resurrection think that they shall rise white. Even in this life regeneration may imitate resurrection; our black and various tinctures may wear off, and goodness clothe us with candor. Good admonitions knock not always in vain. There will be signal examples of God's mercy, and the angels must not want their charitable rejoicings for the conversion of lost sinners.

The universe is one grand miracle.

Guide not the hand of God, nor order the finger of the Almighty unto thy will and pleasure; but sit quiet in the soft showers of Providence.-SIR THOMAS BROWNE.-Christian Morals.

The great advantage of this mean life is thereby to stand in a capacity of a better; for the colonies of heaven must be drawn from earth, and the sons of the first Adam are only heirs unto the second.

I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do Lazarus. It is no greater charity to clothe his body, than apparel the nakedness of his soul.-SIR THOS. BROWNe.

The poets considered wisdom and virtue the two wings by which we aspire and attain unto the knowledge of God.

A dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world, might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next; whereof methinks, we yet discourse in Plato's den, and are but embryo philosophers.

As the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghost proceedeth both from one and the other; in like manner is the will engendered of the understanding and memory. And as the three persons of the Trinity are but one God, so these three powers, understanding, will, and memory, and faculties of the mind, make but one soul.
HEYWOOD.

The eye of the soul is the mind; it is a substance created invisible, incorporeal, immortal, like unto God, and being the image, omnia anima et Christi spousa aut Diaboli adultera. Every soul is either the spouse of Christ or the strumpet of the Devil.-HEYWOOD.

Age is the sauce of a wise man, and a wise man is the meat of age, for not by age, but by travel and industry, wisdom is obtained.

It seems as though in mortal life we behold only images and reflections. It remains for immortality to exhibit realities as they are.

The serpent that tempted Eve had the face of a woman, quod similia similibus applaudant. That like might be pleasing to like.

HEYWOOD.

The worlds of matter and of spirit are full of analogies. Indeed matter is only Divine thoughts visible and tangible to human sense. SLACK.

Pyramids, arches, obelisks, were but the irregularities of vainglory and the wild enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolutions rest in the Christian religion, which trampleth upon pride, and sits upon the neck of ambition; humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity into which all others must diminish their diameters and be poorly seen in the angles of contingency.

Evenus, an elegiac poet of Pharos, was the first it is said, that enunciated the proverb that "Habit was second nature.”

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him,-for the one is unbelief, the other contumely.-LORD BACON.

SILENCE; Figuratively Recommended.

Nature has afforded us double eyes and ears to behold all objects and listen to all voices and sounds; but to warn us that we should be sparing in our speech, she hath afforded man but one tongue, and that portalled with lips, and portcullised with teeth, near to which are placed the five senses, to signify to us that we ought to speak nothing rashly, without their counsel and advice, with the help of the faculties of the soul, which are reason and understanding, which have their residence in the brain.

Silence is a gift without price, and a treasure without enemies.

SIMILITUDES; Moral, Devotional, and Allegorical.

What the pilot is in the ship; what the charioteer is in the chariot; what the leader of the song is in the chorus or anthem; what the law is in the city; the same is God in the world. God, if thou respecteth his force! is the most able; if his features! He is the most beautiful; if His life! immortal; if his virtue! He is the most excellent.-HEYWOOD'S HIERARCHIE.

We have for the sea, the world; for the ship, the church; for our mast, the cross; for the sails, repentance; for our pilot, Christ; for the wind, the Holy Ghost.-ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

Where nature fills the sails the vessel goes smoothly on; and when judgment is the pilot, the insurance need not be high. When industry builds upon nature, we may expect pyramids.

But as eagles when they rest, and the lions when they walk; the one plucks in his talons, the other his claws to keep them sharp, as loath to dull them till they meet their prey; so it is not fit we should trouble our heads, or exercise our wits upon things impertinent, but rather reserve them for things only behoofull and necessary.

Avarice, the offspring of usury and extortion, makes the nobleman mortgage his estates, the lawyer pawn his Lyttleton, the physician sell his Galen, the soldier his sword, the merchant his ship, and the world its peace and happiness. She is drawn in a chariot with four wheels, which are called pusillanimity, inhumanity, contempt of God, and forgetfulness of death. The beasts harnessed to it are tenacity and rapacity, which are guided and governed by the cruel charioteer named a greedy-desire-of-having.

Men's miseries, calamities, and ruins are the devil's banqueting dishes.

That in the spiritual building, the foundation below is placed in humility, the breadth thereof is disposed in charity, the height thereof is erected in good works, and is tiled and covered by Divine protection, and perfected in the length of patience.-HEYWOOD.

Nearly every part of the world has its representative in the human frame; for the head is heaven, of which the eyes are the stars; we consist of four elements; in the womb we are curled up into a ball; and when we stretch out our arms, a line drawn around us would be a circle.

SOUL: Jewish Traditions respecting it, together with a variety of Curious and Mythological particulars, and Classical Allusions ;-its Nature, Transmigrations, Modifications and Destiny.

All the souls of the Israelites, it is said, were contained in the soul of the first man, and were made ready on the entrance of every Israelite into this world. The number of souls of the Israelites are calculated to amount to six hundred thousand, and therefore the soul of the first man consisted of that number twisted together like so many threads. Of these six hundred thousand souls that there is never one man wanting, which shows them to be a model of the upper chariot, in which are to be found six hundred thousand sciences. Another rabbinical work gives the following luminous statement.

"The number of souls is six hundred thousand; and the law is the root of the souls of the Israelites, and every verse in the law was six thousand explanations, and every soul is formed particularly out of one explanation.

It is also necessary to be known, according to the doctrine of the Cabalist, says Menasseh, that at the beginning of the world souls were created by God in pairs, consisting each of a male and female; and therefore they affirm that marriage is either a reward or punishment, according to the works which a man has done. For if a man is deserving, and accounted worthy, he obtains his original consort; the person with whom he was created is bestowed upon him as a reward. But if otherwise, he is punished by being united to a person of uncongenial disposition and manners; with whom he is doomed to live in almost continual strifes, contentions and other similar miseries. As there is one mansion for the residence of those souls who never yet descended into the world, there is said to be another, for the reception of those who have departed out of this life, and on the decease of the body have returned to their source and origin."

The following passage professes to describe the manner in which a soul is received on its arrival in the latter of these places. When a soul first enters Paradise, particularly if beloved or related to any that are there, it is immediately welcomed by them with pleasant countenances; and as the people of this world delighting to hear news from distant parts, put many questions to strangers concerning them; so do the righteous, who are already in Paradise, welcome the arrival of their friends and kindred, and ask them concerning the affairs of this world.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis, or that one soul animates several bodies in succession, has been generally adopted by the Jews for many ages, and is professed by them to the present day. The revolution of souls from one body to another, says Menasseh, is a matter of justifiable faith throughout our whole community. Nor are there more than one or two rabbies who deny or reject it. But there is another very great party of the Sages of Israel who believe it; and they maintain it to be a fundamental or principle of the law, and as we are bound to hearken to the words of these teachers, so we are to embrace their faith, without doubt or hesitation. The rabbies seem not to be very eminent for their gallantry or courtesy to the ladies. "The soul of a woman goes into a man for reward," says Menasseh, "but the soul of a man passes into a woman for punishment such a punishment comes to pass on account of some heavy sin. The Cabbalists, also, believe that souls are removed out of bodies of one kind into bodies of another kind. The soul of a man passes into a beast if he has committed one more sin than he has performed good works. Some of the builders of Babel are declared to have entered cats and monkeys; and some are said to migrate into noxious reptiles and insects. The soul of a governor who proudly exalts himself above his people, into a bee. The soul of a cruel and wicked tax-gatherer, for his cruelty to the poor, into a raven in which he was recognized by a sagacious rabbi.

The souls of the righteous, whose conversation is with the law, into a fish. Other souls migrate into vegetables. For certain crimes a soul migrates into the leaf of a tree, sometimes passing from leaf to leaf, through several leaves. The soul of him who utters slanders passes into a stone. Rabbi Isaac Luria went on a time into the city of Tiberias; and passing by the great school of Rabbi Jochanan, who was then living, he showed his disciples a stone in the wall and said to them, "Into that stone has entered a soul that cries to me to pray for her; and this is the mystery of the words, For the stone shall cry out of the wall."—Hab. ii. 11. The soul of him that sheds blood goes into the water; the height of the punishment being in cataracts.

Some souls are said to transmigrate into water-mills. The Jews, doubtless, borrowed the tenet from the Gentiles. It is known to have been widely diffused in the heathen world, from the Druids of Gaul and Britain, to the Brahmins of India. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, are the first who asserted the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal, but that when the body decays it enters into some other animal which is then born; and that after having passed through all the different species of beasts, fishes, and birds, it again enters into a new born human body, and that the revolution is accomplished in three thousand years.

Know, curious reader, says Menasseh, that there are souls that migrate after a different manner, which among the Cabbalists is called Ibbur, or impregnation. The souls of the righteous, without any impairment of themselves, impregnated other souls; darting out sparks for the aid of the generality, or any particular person, of their times, and in this respect resemble candles, suffering no diminution from others being lighted by them. Some have said that the soul of Seth was pure and unspotted, and was, on account of Israel, conveyed to Moses, to qualify him for the delivery of the law. The souls which pass through the mystery of Ibbur, may return or depart at any time. The souls of Moses and Aaron came through the Ibbur to the soul of Samuel, and through Ibbur another spirit entered into Caleb, which strengthened and guided him in the right way, that he might not join the report of the spies.

Pythagoras asseverated to his disciples, that as a peculiar privilege, vouchsafed to him by Mercury, he had been first Æthalides, the reputed son of Mercury; then Euphorbus, who was slain by Menelaus at the siege of Troy, next Hermotimus.

"Even I, who these mysterious truths declare,
Was once Euphorbus in the Trojan war."

The soul of this philosopher is also represented as having been once embodied in a female named Alce, possessing surprising beauty, but divested of all chastity. Empedocles, an advocate of this Pythagorean dogma, started the notion of transmigration into vegetables, pointing out the degrees of preference due to different migrations, having declared that he had previously existed in human bodies, male and female, and also, to have been a bird, a fish, and a shrub. Among vegetables his predilection was for the laurel; among animals, for the lion; but honored mankind by saying that migration into a human body was most desirable of all.

Plato supposed the human soul to be an emanation from the divinity, Divina particulum aure, and that after the purification of various transmigrations it was again re-absorbed into the divine essence. The souls of those that have made their belly their god, and loved nothing but indolence and impurity, into the bodies of asses. Those who loved only injustice, rapine and tyranny, animated wolves, hawks and falcons. Those remarkable for popular and civil virtues, migrate into bees and ants, and again return into human bodies. Various Authors.

The Druids believed in the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration into different objects; and the clouds as palaces for its reception when it departed from the bodies of their warriors and great men.

The Mexican or American Indians indulged in similar fancies respecting the immortality and metamorphosis of the soul. Their chiefs who died in battle, and their wives who expired in childbirth, ascended up to the house of the sun, as the Lord of Glory; every day hailing his beam with demonstrations of joy, and the animation of vocal and instrumental music. After four years, these souls animated clouds, birds, or descended to the earth again. Those who were struck with lightning or died of diseases, and children sacrificed to Thalve, went to a place called Talocan, the paradise of that God. Those guilty of heinous crimes went to Mitchau or hell.-CHESTER.

Some of the ancient philosophers affirmed that spirits were of divers qualities, and operated upon men according to their different dispositions. Those of an ethereal or fiery temperament stirred up to contemplation. Those that were aerial to the business and common affairs of life.

The watery to pleasures; the earthy to base and grovelling avarice; the martial to fortitude; the jovial to prudence; the lunary to fertility of offspring; the voluptuous to licentiousness; the mercurial to policy and wisdom; the saturnine from all things that be evil. Such was the Socraticum Demonium, or genius of Socrates.—HEYWOOD.

They also indulge the conceit that the soul, together with the body, is derived from some seminal principles; others, that God created and infused souls into bodies when they are formed in the womb; others, that God framed them, first, when He created all things, and now assigns them to us, according to his pleasure.

The ancients used music at their funerals, to excite or quiet the affections of their friends, according to different harmonies. But the sweet and symbolical hint was the harmonical nature of the soul, which, delivered from the body, went again to enjoy the primitive harmony of heaven, from whence it first descended, which, according to the progress traced by antiquity, came down by Cancer and ascended by Capricornus. That they sucked in the last breath of their expiring friends, was surely a practice of no medical institution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed that way, and a fondness of affection, from some Pythagorical foundation, that the spirit of one body passed into another, which they wished might be their own.

As the doctrine of the certain existence of another world is one of the chief truths to be enforced upon man, a visible ascension into heaven has taken place in the three stages of development of the great scheme of Redemption. Enoch, Elijah, and Christ, proved to the world, by their ascension to heaven, the truth of the immortality of the soul, and that its future happiness is the object which God has constantly in view under every mode of appealing to his creatures.

I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death as before it was materialed into life; that the souls of men know neither contrary or corruption; that they subsist beyond the body and out-live death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without a miracle; that the souls of the faithful as they leave will take possession of heaven; that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering souls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting unto us mischief, blood, and villainy, instilling and stealing into our hearts; that the blessed spirits are not all at rest in their ground, but wander solicitous of the affairs of the world, but that those phantasms appear often, and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches, it is because those are dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds with pride, the spoils and trophies of his victory over Adam.

This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry, O! Adam, quid fecisti! I thank God I have not those strait ligaments or narrow obligations to the world as to dote on life, or be convulsed and tremble at the name of death.-SIR THOS. BROWNE.

The soul is an inseparable portion of the great universal mind; in other words of Brahma,—like the being from whom it emanates, it is therefore indestructible. It knows no distinction of time, it is free, immutable and eternal. The mind cannot pierce it; water cannot drown it. The earth cannot absorb it.

It is beyond the reach of the elements, invulnerable, invisible, universal, subsisting in all places and at all times, and victorious over death.-Sacred Books of the Brahmins.

Our inquiries respecting the nature of the soul must be bound over to religion, for otherwise they will be open to many errors. For since the substance of the soul was not deduced from the mass of heaven and earth, but immediately from God, how can the knowledge of the reasonable soul be derived from philosophy? It must be drawn from the same inspiration from whence its substance first flowed.-LORD BACON.

WOMEN; prototypes of the absurd and unsexing order of modern Socialism.

Lastheniæ, of Mautinea, and Axiotheo, of Phylsia, were two female disciples of Plato, who habited themselves like men, because they ridiculously conceived that that unnatural manner of dress best suited the dignity of pagan philosophy.

PROEMIA L.

But, oh! the exceeding grace
Of God Most High, that loves his creatures so,

And all his works with mercy doth embrace,
That blessed Angels he sends to and fro,—
How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
To come to succor us, that succor want!
And all for love, and nothing for reward:
Oh! why should God in heaven to man have such regard!
Man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this world, and earth his seat,
Him Lord pronounc'd; and, oh! indignity!
Subjected to his service Angel-wings,
And flaming ministers to watch and tend
Their earthly charge.
Spencer.
Milton's Paradise Lost, b. ix.
When Thou, attended gloriously from heaven,
Shalt in the sky appear, and from Thee send
The summoning Archangels to proclaim
Thy dread tribunal! forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all past ages, to the general doom
Shall hasten.
Id. b. iii.

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THE CANONICAL PRAYERBOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

THE CANONICAL PRAYERBOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

TRANSLATED WITH NOTES BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATŠ	The Thousand and Twelve Questions (*Alf Trisar Šuialia*). Text, transliteration, translation and commentary. By E. S. Drower. (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1959).
BM Or.	British Museum Oriental manuscripts.
D.A.	Diwan Abatur, Studi e Testi, No. 151. Text, translation and notes. By E. S. Drower (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome, 1950).
D.C.	The Drower collection of Mandaean mss. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
D.M.	Textes Mandaïtes (Tome V, Études Linguistiques. Publiés par J. de Morgan (Paris MCMIV).
G.R. r.	(Ginza Rba, right side). GINZĀ, Der Schatz oder Das Grosse Buch der Mandäer. Translated with commentary by Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen, 1925).
G.R. l.	(Ginza Rba, left side). (The same).
J.	Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, Marcus Jastrow, Ph.D., Litt.D. 2 vols. Pardes Publishing House, New York, 1950.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.L.	Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt u. erklärt von Mark Lidzbarski (Berlin, 1920).
MMII	The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore. By E. S. Drower (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937).
Pet.	Thesaurus. Liber magnus, descripsit et edidit by H. Petermann. 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1867.
P.S.	A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. J. Payne Smith (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1903).
Š. d-Q	Šarḥ *ḏ*-Qabin *ḏ*-Šišlam-Rba, The Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam: transliterated and translated by E. S. Drower. Biblica et Orientalia, no. 12. (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950).
W.W.	Water into Wine: a Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East. E. S. Drower. (John Murray, London, 1956).
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

The first Mandaean book which came into my hands was a small volume of two hundred and thirty-eight pages in a poor handwriting. It was presented to me by an old Mandaean silversmith a year or two after the first world war. This volume inspired me with curiosity, and later, when I had read Lidzbarski's translations and had studied Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, I found that it contained prayers for the minor ablutions, the daily office (the *'niania*) and the *masiqta* prayers.

An early visit to 'Amarah resulted in the acquisition of a damaged and imperfect copy of the entire codex, I mean prayers considered canonical and still used by priests. A head priest (a *ganzibra*) copied into it some of the missing pages, and to these I added others when I had had access to other MSS. Complete copies of the collection are hard to come by, for they are in constant use.

It was not until many years later, in the spring of 1954, that I persuaded the owner of a prayerbook, himself a *ganzibra*, to give me his in exchange for a money gift, for sacred manuscripts are never bought. This codex, No. 53 of my collection, is in a good hand and from it very little was missing. That little I was able to supplement from D.C. 3 and other fragments of the liturgical prayers that I had acquired or seen. It is this manuscript which is photographed and reproduced for the present volume, and into it, regardless of desecration, I have pasted numbering to correspond with the numbers in the translation, following throughout the arrangement of the prayers in the original.

Of the canonical prayers used for centuries by the priests fragments had reached Europe. In 1867 Euting transcribed the *Qulasta* (a word which means "collection") from manuscripts in Paris and London, and this provided Lidzbarski with the greater part of his *Mandäische Liturgien* published in Berlin in 1920. Whilst this volume contains all the baptism prayers and *masiqta* prayers, it represented only about a third of the complete book possessed by Mandaean priests. Important sections, such as the Blessed Oblation prayers and the Coronation prayers are missing.

In presenting the full version I ventured to re-translate into English, and sometimes to differ from the translations made by Lidzbarski. His was a brilliant and scholarly achievement. However, the possession and study of a number of texts unknown to him and, above all, a personal knowledge of Mandaean rites as I have seen them performed and explained by celebrants, elucidate some obscurities although, indeed, far too many still exist, for the language used by gnostics is purposely archaic, symbolic and intended to mystify. Translation often limps when forced into literal rendering of obscure passages. I have been helped by the perusal of ritual texts. These, forbidden to the Mandaean layman, contain traditional teaching about the symbolism and true meaning of the ancient rites during which prayers are recited.

That an ancient gnostic sect should have survived into our time is remarkable: that so many of their writings, their magical texts, their secret doctrine in the ritual scrolls and their liturgical literature has been preserved, is little short of a miracle.

The sect is dying out rapidly: priests are few and old and the numbers of the faithful dwindle year by year. I feel it a privilege to have been brought so nearly into contact with a religion which may before long become extinct.

E. S. Drower

THE CANONICAL PRAYERBOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly (lit. "strange") Life! From far-off [1] worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

I

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any 'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House [2] by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is infinite.

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet [3]) about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (*my ways*) the Seven were wroth with me and said, 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'."

---

[1] *Yatiria* (masc. plu.) could refer either to "the Life" (plu.) or to "worlds". The meaning of *yatiria* ("many", "exceeding", "surpassing", "many", "far-off", "strange" etc.) is vague. Elsewhere in this book I vary the translation, which is uncertain.

[2] "the House" = the earthly world.

[3] In all later texts *klila* (lit. "circlet") and here probably "crown", means always "wreath".

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth [1]) and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara (*Sam-the-White-Fruit?*), whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting[2]) Abode."

And Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Naṣoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons [3]) who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (*their knees*) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

2

Illumined and illuminating is [4]) Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-ḏ-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created 'uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own *škintas.* 1) And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent 2) on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings!" And Life be praised!

---

[1]) *Kušṭa* = Right, Troth, Truth, Sincerity, "a pact" "oath" etc. It is the name given to the rite of giving the hand in pact, and is personified. The hand-ceremony is linked with a kiss.

[2]) *Taqna* has a double meaning (a) lustrous, gleaming (b) enduring, durable, constant (particularly when in antithesis to *baṭla* in *daura baṭla*, "the abode that comes to nought".

[3]) *Almia* ("world") is also "persons".

[4]) *Zhir umzahra* also = "secure and assured". A play on words.

[This prayer is the opening 3) prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa 4), son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the *škintas.* For he is the revealer (*lit.* opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure 5) which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

4

As the 'uthras stand in their *škintas* they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their *škintas* they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they

---

1) *Škinta* ("dwelling", "indwelling", "shecinah") is also a word used for the cult-hut, the sanctuary.

2) Lit. "granted to", "permitted to".

3) Or "loosing". The word *šrita* is applied both to "conscrating and "deconsecrating" in ritual.

4) *Yawar* (act. part. YUR or 'UR) = dazzling (i.e. blinding with light).

5) D.C. 3 has *l'uṣria,* D.C. 53 *ul'uṣria* as in M.L. p. 7). Lidzbarski inserts *den Schatz* to make the sentence grammatically correct. The omission of *u,* as in D.C. 3, makes the insertion unnecessary. *'Uṣria* also means (perhaps here also) "his mind", "his thought", "minds".

dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (*thereon*).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwa]

5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First *Mana* [1]) which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nṣibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nṣibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head of the implanted *mana* which was transplanted from guarded (?) [2]) *manas*. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the *Mana* there is light, behind the *Mana* glory, and at either side of the *Mana* radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (*lit.* are found). And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

6

A crown of ether-light shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His *škintas*. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who uplifteth it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who establisheth it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And Life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing" [3]), "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown [4]) and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

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[1]) *Mana* = "mind", "intelligence": also "garment or robe", "vessel".

[2]) *Mania smiria* "*manas* kept in reserve?" The language is so high-flown that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect.

[3]) See p. 3 n. 3.

[4]) The priest's "crown" is a fillet of woven white silk.

7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš! Strengthened and enhanced [1] is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest [2] Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy *pandama* [3]) for thy baptism.]

8

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kušṭa) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (*as*) messenger [4] to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzaṭaq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh [5] the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and wellpleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

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[1] The difficulty is the word *Haial* (see M.L. p. 11, n. 1). *Kbar* = "enhanced", "increased", but *haial* remains doubtful. The prayer is repeated, p. 32.

[2] Read *ḏ-hua upta* as in D.C. 3.

[3] I.e. the long end of the turban when folded over the lower part of the face, to prevent breath, spittle or mucus from defiling sacraments. Cf. the Avestan *paitidana* (mouth-veil), Pahlevi *padam*, Pazand *penōm* and the modern Zoroastrian *padān*.

[4] Sumerian *aš-gan-da* "minister, messenger", Accadian *ašgandu*. The name given to the helper or server at Mandaean rites.

[5] Read *uahid* as in D.C. 3 and M.L.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš [1]), sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods; whose (*very*) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgment and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (*their souls*) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. [2]) Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (*but*) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper [3]) incense-pan - (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (*lit.* "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises" "Thee, Life," "I sought to raise eyes" (*Prayer* 77) and "Raising eyes".]

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[1]) Abel, Seth and the Biblical Enoch. (Anuš)

[2]) Cf. the Jewish "bundle of life" (O.T., I Sam. xxv, 29)

[3]) "Copper incense-pan". The *bit riha* or *birihia* (for description of the incense apparatus see MMII p. 106) is now made of earthenware.

9

Raising [1] my eyes and lifting up my countenance [2] toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (other-worldly) Life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded *manas* and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the *pihta* [3], need(?) [4], truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yušamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of of souls of (*their*) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

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[1] The infinitive of a verb used for an action during its performance is an idiom found fairly often in Mandaean texts: hence here "to raise" = "raising".

[2] Read *gilia parṣufai*. Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 15) translated Wellen des Antlitzes. *Gilia* suggests rounded contours, hence "features". In translation it is best omitted.

[3] *Pihta*, "the opened", "The "opened up" is the sacramental bread.

[4] *Ṣarka*. The meaning is doubtful.

I worship, laud and praise Šilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-ḏ-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance[1]) of the First Life which flowed forth[2]) from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him[3]) (and?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious.

11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose *škinta* is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded *mauas* which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (*in me*), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

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[1]) "The great pure radiance" must refer, not to Sam-Smir, but to the Jordan,

[2]) The verb NGD as Lidzbarski comments, (M.L. p. 18, n.1) is usually connected with water or with the *drabša* (light or banner. The mss. vary, D.C. 53 *ngad*, D.C. 3 *ngid:* M.L. has *'tingid*.

[3]) The first part of the hymn is obscure. Were it "aus Bihram" as Lidzbarski translates, it would be *minḫ mn Bihram*, moreover, the word *ma before* "four hundred" is meaningless. The baptist is Sam-Ziwa, although one would expect Bihram-Rba to be the officiating baptist. The formula at baptism is "Thou art immersed (baptised) with the baptism of Bihram-Rba". The names of Bihram and Ram are coupled in Prayer 25.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, " Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (*with heat?*). The *tanna*[1] dissolved and a *škinta* came into being, a *škinta* came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious

[Read this prayer and grasp thy *kanzala* (stole).[2]. It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Šilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Šitil and Anuš went with me to the jordan - they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement[3] to the limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and

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[1] This very obscure prayer does little to elucidate the meaning of the word *tana* (Tanna ?) but here, and in other passages, it might mean vapour here or a matrix. *Tannas* are often personified, as in prayer No. 305, and mentioned with *nitufiata* ("Drops"). Lidzbarski always left the word untranslated, and so must I!

[2] The *kanzala*, a long strip of white material, is used to loop round the staff when the baptist goes into the river and sticks the end of his staff in the river mud. The loop prevents the staff from floating away, and frees both the baptist's hands.

[3] D.C. 53 *pralia hindamia*, D.C. 3 *pralia handamia*, M.L. *prulia handamia*. See also p. 17. The verb PRA (cf. פרע "to break through", "to loosen") also means "cause to move or to flow". (See Pet. v. 17: 20; D.C. 36: no. 174 etc.) when used for the command to clear channels to the baptismal pool so that water may flow through it without obstruction.

(yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arise.

Their hands fell (*powerless*) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Šilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal [1]) of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain.

And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (*etc.*). And descend (*into the water*) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N."

If there are several souls, recite as written (*above*), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N. and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings - these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sam-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it (*by its power*) Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls who go down to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (*-bed*), then recite the baptism(*al prayers.*)]

15

Bound is the sea [2]), bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants [1], haunting spirits[2], and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House![3]

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[1]) "'*siqta*" = "seal", "seal-ring" and "compulsion".

[2]) *Yama* here refers to the tank of running water called the *yardna*, or, alternatively, to a shallow part of a river. Salt water is forbidden.

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA [4] and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea (*of*?) AS. Bound are (Magian) priests [5], slaughterers [6], priests who cut up victims,[7] scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon (*exorcised*) by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye [8] towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which were sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, with which Haiašum, the first Kušṭa, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

16

I am a perfected gem [9]: into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if I strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance [10] against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck [1]) by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus [2]), the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (*yea*) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mān the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

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[1] *Piqdia.*

[2] Lidzbarski translates Netzgeister. The root is LHA, my translation is tentative.

[3] See p. 1, n. 2,

[4] Words in capital letters, magical names of some kind.

[5] *Kumria* indicates priests who wear the "sacred thread": Magians.

[6] *Zabia* Lidzbarski suggests connection with the Assyrian *zabbu*.

[7] עדר "to cut, strip".

[8] A free translation: the Evil Eye is implied.

[9] *Gimra*, apparently a precious or semi-precious stone. Its whiteness, and several references in the Ginza Rba (e.g. G.R. trs. p. 172 l.11) suggest that it is a pearl, i.e. the soul.

[10] See p. 7, n. 2.

And Life is victorious.

17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-ḏ-Hiia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving [3]) the limbs of my body: I descend (*to the jordan*) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living [4]). Šilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Šum-Hai and Zamar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (*from the body*). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Uṣar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (*who are*) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (*of light*). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

18

In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings [5]), is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna [6]). When Life was ardent[1]) and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its *škinta* above the *Tanna*.

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[1]) Like Lidzbarski, I suggest that the verb should be Ethpeel.

[2]) *'usfar* in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 (M.L. p. 24:2 *'sfar*). As *'usfar* occurs in D.C. 21 with the seeming meaning of a cutting instrument, I take it here to be part of the name of a spirit.

[3]) See p. 9, n. 3.

[4]) *ḏ-hiia*, not here "of the Life", but as translated.

[5]) Lit. "healings": plural to agree with *hiia*.

[6]) The proximity of *'qad* to *yaqid* twice over justifies the translation. It is tempting, however, to think of the Syriac and ܝܩܕ Arabic عقد "bind together", "materialise", "determine." The obscure language which priests no longer understand, suggests the spontaneous emergence of life from a fiery matrix. For *Tanna*, a word of doubtful meaning, see p. 9, n. 1.

The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters[2]). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (*creatures*); above the the waters fruit appeared[3]) and a *škinta* was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (*in the name of*) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yušamin[4]) who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by Šilmai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (*go*) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (*i.e. world*) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (*in the faith*) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality[5]), I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question (tortured). (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (*Kušṭa*) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[*Then cry*] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head".[Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and

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[1]) See n. 6, p. 12.

[2]) I.e. Life produced and was innate in water-of-life.

[3]) Lit. "bore fruit", "came forth".

[4]) *Yušamin*, a spirit of fertility and increase.

[5]) *Šrara*.

and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer [1]).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N. [2]), thou hast been signed [3]) with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia have been pronounced upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreaths and place them upon their heads. [4]) When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring [5]) be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree [6]) be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Šišlam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the *Mana* and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced on thee."

Then reach them (*perform with them the rite of*) *kušṭa* [7]). And he shall go up before thee (*on to the bank*). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

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[1]) I.e. he shall face north. The north is also called "the gate of Mercies". M.L. has "their faces" etc.

[2]) The mother's name, not the father's.

[3]) The signing consists of drawing the wet forefinger of the right hand across the forehead, horizontally, from right to left.

[4]) This should be "the myrtle-wreath upon his head" etc. as only one person at a time stands in the baptismal pool with the baptist.

[5]) Ritual mss. explain the "Wellspring" as the female or "Mother" aspect of creative power.

[6]) The *Sindirka*, "palmtree" symbolises the male or "Father" aspect of creative power.

[7]) See p. 2, n. 1.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but if only one soul say "the soul of N. who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban [1] set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (*the tendrils*) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest [2])].

20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance [3]) and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its uplifting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; if only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank *and recite "I rose up from the Jordan"* [4]).]

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[1]) In D.C. 53 written *haza zban*, not as a single word. See ML p. 29 n. 2.

[2]) Again, the singular would be better. Before the person baptised leaves the water, the baptist pushes a myrtle-wreath beneath the turban of the candidate.

[3]) Lit. "radiances" and "lights". They are personified here.

[4]) Not in D.C. 53.

21

In the name of the Life!
I rose up from the jordan
And I met a group of souls,
A group [1] of souls I met,
Who surrounded our father Šitil [2]
Saying to him "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the Jordan."!
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Sun hath risen above us;
He will be our witness!"
"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The sun of which ye spake,
Riseth early, setteth at dusk.
The sun of which ye spake, the sun
Is vanity and cometh to an end.
Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,

---

[1] Nöldeke translates *kana* Gesamtheit. "Congregation", "assembly expresses the meaning: *kana ḏ-zidqa* means "a collection (or "a group") of oblations. (*Zidqa* has no plural.)

[2] Seth.

The moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand [1]).
The fire of which ye spake -
Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
I met a group of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"

"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, *kušṭa* and *mambuha* [2])
Will bear witness for us;

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[1]) *Auda.*
[2]) The sacramental bread, the *kušṭa* rite and the sacramental drink.

Habšaba, (Sunday) and *Kana-ḏ-Zidqa*[1]
Will bear witness for us;
The sanctuary[2] in which we worship
Will bear witness for us;
The alms that is in our laps
Will bear witness for us;
And our father[3] who is our head
Will bear witness for us."

"This is that which I seek,
This is that which my soul desireth!
When I rise to the House of Life
And travel to the Everlasting Abode,
When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses
Will come and will bear witness.
Witnesses of the truth are they,
Sure is all that they say!"
And Life is victorious!

[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (*believe in*) the great celestial Womb[4], in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in *Ṣbabut*, the mighty Will[5] of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling"[6] giving His Likeness its dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest[7] from which He derived His being.

(*We believe in*) Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbaṭ, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception[8], in its second (*outflow*), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (*Life*), Yukabar, the Word of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

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[1] The oblations collected for the Blessed Oblation.
[2] *Maškna*, *škinta* and *bimanda* are names given to the Mandaean cult-hut.
[3] The priest.
[4] *Mariba* = "womb" and "mixing-bowl". The Cosmic Womb.
[5] *Ṣbuta* = "affair", "business", "matter"; or, as here, צְבוּתָא "will", "desire".
[6] *Škinasar* (*škina sar*; ܫܟܝܢܐ ܣܪ)
[7] *Qina* = (b) "nest", "brood", "family-home".
[8] *Kiniana* (a) = "name", (b) nature, (c) place of origin", "base", "support".

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor.

And Life is victorious.

23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river [1]-pleasaunce, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Manda-ḏ-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange [2] being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, [1] son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (*given*) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth [3] will assume the nature of Anuš, within him [4] he will take on the nature of Anuš. From him the seven dolours of death and the eight afflictions [5] of darkness shall violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, *shedim*, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

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[1] *Yardna* = not only the "jordan" (baptismal tank) see p. 9, n. 3, but all running water. '*udna* = "a watered garden", "Eden", "a watermeadow". (P. عدن).

[2] "Strange" i.e. "other-worldly", "sublime".

[3] I.e. his speech.

[4] Lit. "in his within", "in his inside".

[5] *Mbaklauata*. Lidzbarski (see M.L. p. 37 n. 2) leaves the word untranslated. In Syriac ܒܟܠܘܬܐ = "sour or unripe grapes", "galls" hence fig. "bitternesses", "afflictions".

And Life be praised!

24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed.

For [1] He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon them [2]) [?]

This is the Oil *wherewith* he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and bestowed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (*They will be delivered*) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female *biruq* [3]) and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth: on the sick man and he stretcheth

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[1] Lidzbarski suggests that "he" here is Manda-ḏ-Hiia.

[2] The passage is faulty.

[3] *Biruq;* a kind of demon?

(*himself*); on the blind man and (*his eyes*) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end [1]). The name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the *kušṭa* (rite). Then recite [2]) and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face - thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the *pihta* and *mambuha* and give them *pihta* that they may eat and *mambuha* that they may drink and take their right hands in *kušṭa*. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (*Water of Life*) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-ḏ-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-ḏ-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbaṭ the first great Radiance; praised be Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty *Mana*; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (*škinata*); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Šilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father Hibil, Šitil and Anuš the head of the whole race.

---

[1]) Or "be successful" "efficacious".

[2]) Delete (*qria*) "recite".

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, *shedim*, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (*all those*) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-ḏ-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (*behold*) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities [1] do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight [2] Manda-ḏ-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy [3] prayer from the Occult and assure (*to us*) bliss in Thy light in the name of Šarhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Šarhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (*together*) [4] and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of Life.

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[1] All kingdoms of earth?

[2] Lit. "in thy presence", "before thee".

[3] Prayer addressed to the Life.

[4] "Bound" i.e. together: or "secured."

And Life be praised!

27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Uṣar-Hiia: through 'Uṣar-Hai and Pta-Hai union[1]) with the House of Life came to us: Manda-ḏ-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our *mana*, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran [2]) our vestment; with Hauraran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

28

Bound (*together*) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Hauraran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the being Yukabar, the (*well-*) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (*Protect them*) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted [3]) shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

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[1]) Pael of LUF "to unite" (many into one); hence "communion" might be the better word.

[2]) The Mandaean love of play on words suggests here a connection with the Pael of the verb HUR ("to cleanse", "to whiten") hence *hauran* "our whitening".

[3]) Or, "guilty".

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When . . was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ". . By 'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to [1] the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them *pihta* and *mambuha*. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst *mana*s of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ye be raised up.

And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul."]

30

In the name of the Life!

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke [2] and gave me bread (*pihta*),
Blessed [3] the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He passed into the mountain before me;
He cried loudly that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried loudly,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I climb the mountain I shall fall;
I shall overturn and perish from the world!'
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I climbed the mountain and fell not,
I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

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[1] Lit. "with all thy voice".

[2] Lit. "opened" i.e. "broke open".

[3] Lit. "praised".

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty Life).
He passed into the fire before me;
And cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into fire I shall burn,
I shall scorch [1]) and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into fire and burned not,
I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
Took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He entered the sea before me;
He cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud.
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into the sea I shall sink,
I shall be overturned and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into the sea and was not drowned,
I came, the life of my Self I found,

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[1]) Ethpa. KMR has a double meaning in Mandaic: "to turn over", "turn round" (or "back") and "to burn, scorch".

Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world
And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (*recite?*) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say "amongst *manas* of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (*planted*)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Šilmai baptised me with his baptism", "The jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank"

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Šum (Shem) son of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (*say*) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (*on the heads of*) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the *Rahmia*[1]) for the souls thou baptisest. Say "these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign."

And beware: from the beginning to this point recite all thy baptism(*al prayers*) with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform *kušṭa* with them [2]) and say to them "*Kušṭa* make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed [3]) in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their *škintas* [4]). Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance."

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[1]) The devotional prayers to be said daily at certain hours.

[2]) See p. 2, n. 1.

[3]) Lidzbarski takes *laf* for an imperative. The act of communion has, however, taken place when this is said.

[4]) Every act of devotion on earth is paralleled in the world of light, and the earthly cult-hut has its heavenly prototype.

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands [1]. If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the *kušṭa* with them and say to them "*Kušṭa* heal thee and raise thee up. Thy *kušṭa* shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your *kušṭa* shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have acted (*according to*) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (*all things?*) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised [2]". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (*found*) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-ḏ-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and *Rahmia* [3] for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Šum son of Noah. And sit [4] and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out [5] at "forgiving of sins" (*be there for*) "our forefathers" (*etc.*) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men [6] and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the *pihta* and *mambuha* and recite the eight *pihta* prayers for the *pihta* and the two *mambuha* prayers for the *mambuha*. Dip the *pihta* in the *mambuha* and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy *pandama* and unfasten it. Eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha* and drink the rinsing-water 1) and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (*Great*) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (*the words*) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the *Rahmia* for thyself. Perform the *kušṭa* with the *šganda* 2) and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy *pandama* and honour thy crown 3).]

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[1] I.e. their own hands.

[2] The 360 baptisms of purification on his return from the worlds of darkness.

[3] The daily office (see p. 26, note 1.)

[4] In practice this prayer is never recited sitting. Whilst reciting it, the priests crouch near the ground.

[5] I.e. water from the *qanina* (phial) into the drinking-bowl.

[6] D.C. 3 inserts some words here. M.L. is like D.C. 53.

31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee 4) and thy ministration will be (*noted?*) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (*too*) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious 5). It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.]

[In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, by means of these (prayers) 6), admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll *The Great Wellspring*. This

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1) The *halalta*. Water is brought in by the server for the rinsing.

2) See p. 5, n. 4.

3) "Honouring" the crown is a ceremony that takes place before a priest puts it on, and when he takes it off. He kisses it and presses it to each eye alternately saying (right eye) "*Kušṭa ašiak tagai*", and (left eye) *Kušṭa asiak rbai*". The formula should be repeated 61 times.

4) The priest is addressing the incense.

5) Or "with the pure".

6) D.C. 3 has *'niania* before *zharia*.

is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure *mana* into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"[1]

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the *qauqa* [2] (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-ḏ-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited [3] "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his *pandama*, folded his *pandama* over his mouth and recited "Incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith "covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole [4].

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles [5] thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

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[1] Pthahil, who created Adam's body, was unable to give it life.

[2] The *qauqa* (a small terracotta cube) is placed on the *birihia*. (See MMII, p. 106). See p. 6, n. 3.

[3] In D.C.53 the narrative becomes directions to the priest in the imperative. I continue to use the narrative form.

[4] The myrtle-wreath is slipped over the staff in the water and the knotted stole looped over the staff, which is pushed upright into the river-bed, in such a way that it cannot fall or float away.

[5] Lit. "tracings", "drawings". The priest traces the circles about himself as he stands in the water, with the end of the staff.

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (*Hibil-Ziwa*), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (*Adam's*) head and pronounced the secret names over him.

(*Then*) he took his hand in *kušṭa* over the staff and made him go up before him.

(*Then*) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (*of souls*) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (*the hymn*). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (*Adam's*) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed *kušṭa* with him. (Then) he took the *pihta* and recited the eight prayers for the *pihta* over the *pihta* and the two prayers for the *mambuha* over the *mambuha*. And he gave him the *pihta* so that he should eat and gave him the *mambuha* that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (*water*) [1]).

And he grasped his hand in *kušṭa* and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Uṣar-Hiia" and the greater (*longer*) "Bound and sealed" and laid his hand upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up",

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[1]) M.L. omits "and he drank the rinsing". It should be omitted.

"Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Šilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptised will bear us witness", and "I rejoice in my priests and Naṣoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Šum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his *kanzala* (stole) and "honoured" his crown [1]).

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-ḏ-Hiia hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his *pandama*. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) [2]) of the Great Wellspring: Šilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hurl him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Naṣoraean who retains his *pandama* whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments [3]) will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons [4]) will be powerless over him (*for*) he will not pass through the Purgatories [4]).

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

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[1]) See p. 28 n. 3.

[2]) D.C. 3 and M.L. both have *širiana* for *kiniana*.

[3]) D.C.3 has "his head".

[4]) Mandaean literature, especially the *Diwan Abatur*, justifies this translation. The planetary watchhouses are places of purgation.

This is the limit [1] (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the *Great Wellspring* belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. [2]

It was written in the town of Ṭib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possesion [3] I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

THE MASIQTA [4]

32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-ḏ-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous. [1]

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[1] Lidzbarski translates *Verordnung* and gives the reason in footnote 1, M.L. p. 60.

[2] According to Yaqut Ṭib was in his time inhabited by Nabataeans who spoke Nabataean (i.e. Mandaic ?). According to the *Haran Gawaita* it was the first settlement of the Naṣoraeans when they migrated from Harran under the protection of the Parthian kings. In the same manuscript, as in many other colophons, Ramuia son of 'Qaimat is mentioned as a liturgist who collected scattered texts, edited them and distributed them in early Moslem times.

[3] Lit. "fell towards me" i.e. "fell into my hands".

[4] "The raising up" (i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul).

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the *masiqta.*]

33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life [2] art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (*this*) world abashed and say "Is there (*not?*) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (*kušṭa*) and from the souls of this *masiqta*, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (*or "the living"*) in Its (*their*) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.

[This is the *mambuha* prayer]

34

Hail [3] to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzaṭaq, *Gnosis* of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence [1]), giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are still alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

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[1] Or "noble" or "distinguished".

[2] *Mia hiia* could almost always be so translated in ritual mss. Lit. "living waters". In the material sense "living water" is flowing water.

[3] *Hal* here is best translated "hail". It is a salutation, a greeting. In Prayer 5 I translated it "yea for" (Lidzbarski M.L. ja für) because the incense is a tribute to the spirits named.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of *Gnosis* of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this *masiqta* rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the *masiqta*.]

35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people [2]) who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (*worlds*). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood [3]), and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (*in thy sight*) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-ḏ-Hiia, no man is clean: we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us, who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

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[1]) See Prayer 8. Lit. "showeth forth silence".

[2]) Cf. ܓܽܘܕܳܐ "a body of people, congregation, company".

[3]) Cf. ܩܽܘܪ̈ܡܶܐ: plu. "tree-roots cast up by flood".

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish 1) human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed 2), swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (*what ye asked*) with the right hand of *kušṭa*. 3)

The first (*generations*) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied." 4)

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support 5) which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. 6) For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-ḍ-Hiia.

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1) The sentence is obscure. See M.L. p.66, n.2. The prefix *mi* shows it to be a question.

2) *Hurda* not *ḥurba*. See M.L. p.66, n.3. The picture is of a swamp country, similar to that in which Mandaeans live today, the marshes of southern 'Iraq.

3) Here *kušṭa* is the ritual act, see p. 2, n.1.

4) Lit. "empty".

5) *'Uṣṭuna*, also "body", "corporation", "trunk", "pillar".

6) D.C. 53 has *mindia*; D.C. 3 and M.L. *mandia* (a curious plural in classical Mandaic).

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (*this*) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me[1]) in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth. thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (*Though*) spirits and souls sit (*here*) as guilty, (*yet*) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (*thy name of*) Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (*bring?*) healing of life to the souls of this *masiqta* Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (*it may be used*) on occasion for the *Rahmia* (daily office), or for the *masiqta*, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the *masiqta*, after thou hast recited over the *pandama*, "water of prayer" [2]) and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the *pihta*, *mambuha* and *klila* (wreath) and set them out for the *masiqta*. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean: in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the *masiqta*.]

36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to him; (*none existed*) save that great, secret, First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

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[1]) Read *'tlan* as in M.L. D.C. 3, like D.C. 53 has *'tlun*.

[2]) "Water of prayer" is water drawn from the jordan like *mambuha*, but that poured into the "inner phial" used for the commingling - the ritual addition of water to the *hamra* (wine).

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop 1) who emanated from Him. They existed, (*but*) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort

Then I worship, laud and praise Šar, that great occult first Vine, who was with them.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance 2) of Glory who is (*at once*) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Naṣoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread 3) will receive condemnation from the House of Life,"

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

37

I worship, laud and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of 4)

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1) *Niṭufta* ניטופתא lit. "Drop". This curious appellation appears to designate the Female principle of Creation, the consort of the creator, or rather the receptive and productive side of creative deity. Because of its female character, the *Niṭufta* represents in certain texts the material side of the human spirit. For an analysis of her appearance in Mandaean texts see J.B. p. 227. Used in the plural *niṭufiata* = spirits of life of a productive (i.e. female) character.

2) Or, "Presence".

3) *Pihta* is the sacramental bread and the verbs PTA and PTH (or PHT) used in conjunction with it, describe the act of ritual breaking, of bread, and sometimes of the whole sacramental act of partaking of it. *Mqaimatum* (etc.) is repeated by a celebrant after making, baking and consuming his own *pihta* at the rite of preparation before baptism and again after the baptism and communion of the baptised. He usually makes and bakes three times, twice for himself and once for the person or persons baptised.

4) A Cloud is a spirit of life (female again, like a "Drop"). The word is used for a "divine consort", a "heavenly spouse". As priests are the earthly representatives of 'uthras and *malkas*, their wives are sometimes spoken of as "clouds" or "drops".

Life, with whom in secret, he [1] broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life is victorious.

38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty *Mana* at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras entreated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own [2] glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Naṣoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

40

I have worshipped and praised 'Uṣar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (*find*) rest in their hearts.

The holy [3] 'uthras stood in their dwellings [4] and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

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[1] Lidzbarski translates for *pta pihta* "das Pihta ..schuf" throughout these hymns. It may refer to the sacramental "breaking of bread" see p. 37, n. 3.

[2] I.e. in the glory of Yawar-Ziwa and his *Dmuta* (Likeness or Counterpart)? The plural seems unjustified by the context.

[3] *Kasia* plu. *Kasiia*, "mystic", "occult" can sometimes be better rendered by the word "holy".

[4] The various meanings of *škinta* must be borne in mind: i.e. "dwelling" "indwelling", "shecinah" and "sanctuary" or "shrine" (as of the cult-hut and its precinct).

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap: its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret *Mana*.

And Life be praised.

41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (*yawar*) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved *mana*s who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Naṣoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode.

And Life be praised!

42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (*of his light*). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own *škinta*. Radiance and Light came and were established before him: Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras[1]) ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (*its?*) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Šilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Naṣoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

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[1]) *'Utria* not in M.L. This word alters the sense of the passage.

43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (*kušṭa*) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book *Nhur* (Be light) and from *Pta 'uṣra* (They revealed treasure [1]) and from *'Uṣar Nhura* (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (*Manda, gnosis*) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge [2]) It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart(?) of [3]) Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kušṭa standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), hast taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (*pihta*), put out [4]) (*for him*) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the *pihta*].

44

Biriawiš, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (*Be*) life for the souls of this *masiqta*.

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[1]) Lit. "opened treasure".

[2]) *Rabut manda.*

[3]) Lidzbarski translated *dimat hiia*, Träne des Lebens (Life's tears), an unsatisfactory translation. "Distillation" (ܕܡܥܬܐ) is also doubtful. I take the word to be influenced by *dmu*, which follows closely, hence possibly an archaic form of *dmut?* See below, p. 43 n.5, where *dimat hiia* recurs - *dmut hiia ḏ-mn dimat hiia* (counterpart of Life that is from the *likeness* of Life ?).

[4]) *Brita.* I suggest a connection with "food put out for mourners" (see Hif. of ברי "to strengthen, offer refreshment, esp. to mourners").

[This is the appointed prayer for the *mambuha*. If there are (*several*) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

45

Thy name, (*O*) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant. Its goodness came over (*or* overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil. (*Like*) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth.

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the *mambuga* (*sacramental drink*). Make the *pihta* and the *mambuha* and place them (*ready for*) the *masiqta*, and then make *the* myrtle wreath.]

46[1]

In the Name of Life![2]

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory[2] dawned[3] and (*there was*) praise of the *Mana* who came from his Place. He came (with) an ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Niṣbat'-Utria (*She-planted i.e. was the mother of uthras*). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is-dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Niṣbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the *Mana*, planted it (there) so that it was set up (*thereon*).

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[1] Lidzbarski considers Prayer 5 so like Prayer 46 that he neither reproduces the text nor translates it. The priests, on the contrary, insist on a very exact pronunciation of the first words: (*nhur nhura* and *nhar nhura*) and say that there is a difference in meaning. In all the copies of the *ʿniania* the earlier pages and the last pages are those which become worn out most quickly, I am inclined to think that Prayer 46 is nearer the original version. However, whatever the variations in the text of the two prayers, they should be noted.

[2] *'ruta.* I am reluctant to accept without reservation Lidzbarski's translation "Erleuchtung". The root could be 'R' as the ע would disappear: derivation from 'WR or AWR or unlikely.

[3] *Nihrat* "it became light" "was light" is freely translated as "dawned".

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the *Mana* there is radiance, behind the *Mana* there is light and glory, at either side of the *Mana* are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens [1]) and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory.

And Life is victorious.

47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this *masiqta*. Sure, assured, [2]) armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (*masiqta*) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful *manas*. [3])

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the *masiqta*].

48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance [4]) loosed the bound (souls): he knit (*them into?*) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House [1]) were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

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[1]) An obvious corruption, see Prayer 5.

[2]) The play on words is intentional.

[3]) Or, acc. to Lidzbarski, "in verborgenenen wohlverwahrten Gewändern bewahren".

[4]) In support of his translation "des (schönen) Aussehens" Lidzbarski adduces GR 10,6 and JB 110,3. I cannot bring myself to agree, for the stars here are enemies, far from admirable. True, in Syriac we get *gabra hizua* "a man (of handsome) appearance" in proof of GR and JB, but *hizua* both in Syriac and Mandaic has also the meaning "a vision", "appearance". The reference is to Manda-ḏ-Hiia's (or Hibil-Ziwa's) descent to the planetary purgatories in which souls expiate sins committed on earth.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated [2]) to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-ḏ-hiia) was revealed to all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (*inhabited by*) those convicted of sin.

And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were confounded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (*aid*) the souls of this *masiqta*: it will be his name.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the *masiqta*. Read it over pure oil in something (*pure?*) and place it before thee and then read the *masiqta*].

49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced [4]) and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a.........[5]) of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning. They live in their shecinahs, [1] and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

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[1]) The earthly world.

[2]) Lit. "went out over them".

[3]) The "pure oil" of the *masiqta* is the expressed oil of sesame and date juice. These are pounded together and strained. Baptism oil is sesame oil only.

[4]) *Hadinat* (Lidzbarski leaves untranslated) is probably a corruption of *ha ʿdinat* as translated; but the meaning is doubtful.

[5]) *Dimat* again (see p. 40, n.3.)

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances [2], and each standeth by his own. And Ṣauriel the Releaser cometh - he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia which releaseth (*the soul*). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe. When she weareth the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour [3] resting (*upon her*) and the glory that accrueth to her.

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "Who will clothe us with this radiance? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kušṭa to the good, and Manda-ḏ-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she [4] went and reached Abathur's house of detention,

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[1] Or (see M.L. p. 80, 1.6) Das Leben ist in seiner Škina.

[2] The seven planets, which wait to carry off the soul to their *maṭarata* (houses of detention, purgatories).

[3] See above, p. 20, Prayer 24 "rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour" etc.

[4] The narrative is here in the 1st. person "I went on" etc. but returns again to the original "she". I think it better to continue throughout in the 3rd. person.

(Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and everything that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards [1] and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered them (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her [2]. And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and went on [3] and reacheth the watch-house (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, 'In-Hai, Šum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai [4]. Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her. She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and went[5] onwards and reached the Waters of Death [6]. The waters covered her, (*but*) Radiance crossed over - his name abode in his *škinta*: honoured and chosen, he created [7] himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of

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[1] "Rewards": fees to priests.

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] See note 4, p. 44.

[4] Well-of-Life, Name-of-Life, Radiance-of-Life, Light-of-Life

[5] See above, p. 3.

[6] *Hafiqia mia*, the name of the river of departure, of death, which is the frontier of the worlds of light. In the *Diwan Abatur* a ship ferries souls across this river.

[7] Or "called himself"? The tense continually varies.

Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we may bring out this soul of N. of this *masiqta* (so that) she cometh [1] before him".

He is a ray [2] of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the *škinta*s, and upon *škinta*s doth his name rest.

He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one *gnosis* and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Uṣar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door [3] of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living [4] they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirit [5] of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

50

[Note. The following hymn reads like pure nonsense. Lidzbarski suggested that it had been mutilated and misunderstood : Das Stück besteht aus abgerissenden schwer verständlichen, wohl auch stark enstellten Sätzen. (M.L, p. 84, n.4)].

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (*in the waters of?*) Yaluz-Yaluz [6] for their spring is Hammamulai [7]. My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (*the waters?*) knew the source from which they proceeded : its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

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[1] The translation is unsatisfactory, one would expect *titia*. I find Lidzbarski's translation unsatisfactory too: for the saviour spirit is explaining its purpose.

[2] *ṣurik* with *ziwa* occurs fairly often. Lidzbarski translated "Ausfluss" (cf. زهة); but a connection with زهش is indicated, a verb used for lightning and meteors.

[3] To justify the translation "door": see Levy, Targ. פְּתָחָא (syr. ܦܬܚܐ hebr. פֶּתַח) Eingang, Thüre. Lidzbarski translated (M.L.p. 84, n.2) die die Schöpfung des Lebens schaffen.

[4] D.C. 3. *arimlḫ kanfia hiia.*

[5] "Of the same nature as the soul". Commentaries say that after purification the spirit unites with the soul "as one". (ATŠ No. 282 "the twain become, as it were, a single body").

[6] "joyful, rejoicing?" (עלין עליזא).

[7] 'Ulai was the ancient name of the Karun river in Khuzistan. Here, Hamamulai perhaps = "the hot springs of the Karun"? There are hot springs at Shustar.

I sit on a perfected garment [1] and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. Yawar from the House of Life revealed *(himself?)* and shone forth [2], establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray [3] of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (*kušṭa*) and the great Source (*kana*) [4] of its glory.

And Life be praised!

52

Whose son am I? (Of?) the guarded *Mana*, who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

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[1] "In a perfected garment" would make better sense, if sense were possible in this obscure hymn.

[2] *'Udna* is "ear". In one copy only Lidzbarski found *'uṣrḥ* on which he based his translation. I suggest that *'udna* is simply a miscopying of *udna* "and shone forth". Yawar is always associated with light.

[3] See p. 46, n. 2. Or, "a flash".

[4] The word has *kana* has varied meanings: a receptacle, collection, assembly, group, stem, race, base, fundament, origin, place of origin, source, home etc.

53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will be set up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its *škinta*.

[This is the seal of the *masiqta*. Up to this point recite the *masiqta*, and here take the *pihta* and break off a morsel from one upper *faṭira* 1) and the undermost *faṭira* and bring a portion of the *Ba* 2) and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" 3) with the wine 4) and recite over them "Yukašar chose her (*the soul*) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy *pandama* and eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha* and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its *škinta*.]

54

Yukašar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over 5); he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own *škinta* his (*the dead man's*) soul was assigned (*a place*) and found rest in his treasure.

Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (*in splendour* 6)) and (*like them?*) shall shine forth the souls who are

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1) A *faṭira* is a disc of dough without leaven or salt. A number of these (usually sixty) are made for a *masiqta*, but only two small fragments (as described above taken from a pile on the ritual table) are eaten by celebrants. The remaining *faṭiria* are buried in the sacred precincts at the conclusion of the rite.

2) The word (always written *bḫ*) is pronounced Ba, and priests all say that it refers to the dove. The rite of slaughter of the dove is one of the ritual mss in a priest's library.

3) See p.36 n. 2.

4) *Hamra* (wine) is made just before the *masiqta* by macerating four raisins in a bowl of water.

5) D.C.31 *libraia* (= לעבראיא) i.e. the soul crossing the "waters of death". Lidzbarski, M.L. 88:5, translates "den Jenseitigen". The context shows that one soul is meant.

6) the verb עור 'UR, AUR in Mandaic has a dual meaning see M. L. p. 88, n.3.

called upon, raised up and signed [1] in this *masiqta*, (*the souls of*) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

And Life is victorious.

55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened [2])) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory.

And Life be praised.

[This is for the loosing of the *pandama*. Recite this "Yukašar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N. shall be awakened" [3]). And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth" and part thy *pandama*, eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha*. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer after another until the (prayer) "Yukašar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their *škinta*. The robes of [4]) the good were resplendent in their place. The great *Mana* was dazzlingly bright in [5]) His glory. So (*too*) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

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[1]) All the *faṭiria* have been signed. They represent the souls included in the *masiqta*, whereas the *pihta*, which has been "clothed" and to which a portion of dove's flesh and two morsels (see above) have been added, represents the deceased for whom the *masiqta* is celebrated.

[2]) Priests associate this short verse with the opening up of the *pandama* for the sacramental eating and drinking.
This rite is, according to tradition, an "opening of the mouth" of the dead, as the celebrant acts as the proxy of the deceased. Cf. the Babylonian *pit pi*.

[3]) *Nitiairia* (see p. 48, n. 6) could also mean "will shine forth".

[4]) Read *ḏ-ṭabia*.

[5]) *l'qarḫ* is written: (*chez lui?*).

57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (*kušṭa*) and (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness [1] and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness. Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (*škinata*) of the Hidden [2] for in each and every *škinta* sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, (*'uthras*) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and *masiqtas* and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, *masiqtas*, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests [3] who sit with them.

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[1] A priest who instructs postulants for priesthood is called a *rba* and his office *rabuta*, so that Mara-ḏ-Rabuta could be translated "lord of instruction".

[2] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have *kasia*, M.L. *kisia*.

[3] Or "disciples".

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this *masiqta* and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the *masiqta*. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

59

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the *pihta*].

60

The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised!

[This is the dedicatory prayer for the *mambuha*.]

61

An earthly wreath fadeth, [1] but the wreath of Life is fresh and living [2]. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (*kušṭa*). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities [3], and shineth on the heads of these souls of this *masiqta*.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a *masiqta*. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single soul say "on the head of this soul of N."]

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[1] Lit. "the wreath of the worlds".

[2] *Rauzia* is best rendered here by "fresh and living".

[3] Or "victories".

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62

The worlds glisten (*with costly*) oil, but Naṣoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.

And Life is victorious.

63

In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda [1]) baptised me, *Kušṭa* confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one [2]). Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (*of light?*).

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer offered up for the *masiqta* oil.]

64

The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light.

And Life be praised!

[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukašar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the *masiqta*-hymns.]

65

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst *manas* of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this *masiqta* and (*the souls of*) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your *manas* shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.

And Life is victorious.

66

In the name of the Life!

I am crowned with a wreath [3]) and lay me down [4])

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[1]) Cf. Prayer 23.

[2]) The personified *manda* (this time the cult-hut and its precinct)? Or Gnosis?

[3]) Or "I have reached my end". The translation given above is probable, as a dying person is dressed in a spotlessly clean *rasta* (white ritual dress), and crowned with a myrtle wreath after being thrice immersed from head to foot.

[4]) "Lay down" or "slept", a synonym for death.

In a dress in which there is no blemish.
No spot is there in the dress,
Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.
The Life knew about me.
Adam, who slept, awoke;
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And gave (not ?) into my hand a palmbranch. 1)
Light cast me into darkness,
But the darkness was filled with light.
The day that light ariseth,
Darkness returneth to its place.
The souls of this *masiqta*
Approach a cloud 2) of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.
And Life be praised.

[This is a *masiqta* hymn]

67

With him, with the Deliverer 3)
The souls of this *masiqta* will ascend.
They will behold the Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
On their road the Seven will not detain them,
Nor will the Judge of the False question them.
The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst.
To the place to which the good go they will guide you
And in the place in which they stand they will set you up;
Lamps of radiance are found before you,
Beams of light behind you.
Kušṭa will come at your right
And Piety will smoothen your path.
For you there will be loosings 4)
From here to the Everlasting Abode.
For the ferry which ferries over the Elect
Will set out towards you and take you across.

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1) **בעיין** = a palm-branch (of victory). Coptic. Delete *la* ?
2) Clouds act as ships for spirits.
3) The Death-Angel, Ṣauriel.
4) "Loosings" i.e. prayers of intercession.

(*Then*) from Abathur of the Scales
A saviour will come forth towards you.
The saviour that cometh towards you
Is all radiancy and light from head to foot
Like the wreath in his right hand.
And on his two arms is a robe.
Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!
Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles
In which nothing is awry or blemished.
Above your head there will be fruit,
And there, at your time and season
Your *mana*s will be set up in the Light.
Your *mana*s in the Light will be set up.
(*So*) rise up,behold the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.

68

Between the Hidden and the Radiance,
Between Light and the 'uthras,
Between the Hidden and the Radiance
Stand those who question the soul,
Saying to her "Speak! say, soul,
Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder?
Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"
The soul spoke and said —
The edified, well-constructed soul spoke —
And saith to the Being who questioneth her,
Said to him, "My father, One built me, One constructed me".
One was the Being who transplanted me;
One of the sons of salvation in his goodness
Took (accepted) his lot (duty).
He folded me in a wrapping of radiance,
Took (me) and gave me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood,
Took and cast me into a physical body 1);
Took me and cast me into a physical body
That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances 2).

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1) *'Uṣṭuna* a column, pillar, support, is also used for the trunk of the body, especially of cosmic man.

2) In ATŠ.: *'lania bišia kḏ šatin mia hiia gidia umraria u'lqia hauia 'lauaihun* [Evil trees when (although) they drink living water, sour, bitter and rotten (fruit) will be upon them].

(There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the body
Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it
Till its measure and count were accomplished.
When its measure and count were accomplished
The Deliverer came to her [1];
To her came the Deliverer
Who loosed her and bore her away:
(*Yea*), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul,
Went before her whom he had bound.
Coming behind him, the soul hasted
Reached [2] her Deliverer, ran (after) him
Who had bound her to her dwelling.
The soul and her Deliverer (go):
Her course is to the Place of Light,
To the place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.
To it, and to that place, those souls
That are called upon in this *masiqta*
And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited.
They shall behold the great Place of Light
And the abiding Abode.
And Life be praised.

69

Bliss and peace there will be
On the road which Adam attained:
Bliss and peace there shall be
On the road which the soul traverseth.
The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds;
She hath shed her earthly garment. [3]
She turned round, saw it and was revolted
She uttered an evil curse on the being
Who had clothed her in the body.
She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him
From the lair in which he lay. She said to him,
"Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies;

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[1] Cf. G.R. Lidz. trs. p. 569: 29 ff.

[2] D.C. 3 *miṭia*. (D.C. 539, M.L *miṭiiḫ*). "Hasted to reach" conveys the meaning better.

[3] Lit. physical garment.

The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!"
The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (*is heard*)[1],
Who howleth and weepeth for himself
And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand
Is filled with water!" And to her he saith
"Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom
In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.
Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported
From the treasuries of Life;
Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted
Her fragrance to the stinking body.
Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined
Her dark house. Go in peace,
Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"
Flying, the soul went
Until she reached the House of Life:
She arrived at the House of Life.
'Uthras went forth towards her,
Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance
And set on thy living wreath!
Arise, dwell in the *škinta*s,
The place where 'uthras abide, conversing;
And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And lovers of his name".
And Life be praised!

70

Blessed and praised be Life
Who is filled with compassion for these souls.
Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.
Praised be thou, pure Yušamin,
For thou wilt give them thy helping hand.
Be ye praised, Šilmai and Nidbai,
For ye will give true witness concerning them.
And be ye praised, Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš
For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues
And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger,

---

[1] The Fashioner of Bodies must be the unsuccessful creator, Pthahil.

And the messenger who goeth toward you
Is all radiance and light from head to foot.
In his right hand a kind of wreath
And on both his arms a robe.
Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths!
Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless!

Above your heads there will be fruit,
And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light
And will shed light.
The Lord of Tolls will not confront you
Nor will lying judges put you to the question.
They will bring you liberating words [1]
From here unto the Everlasting Abode,
The building that was built for you in the House of Life,
Will not come to nought in an age of ages!
And may some of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiance and light
And the revivifying-breath of Life [2] rest upon us!
Blessed is the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light.
And Life be praised.

[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving","Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.

If thou readest for (*several*) souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform *kušṭa* [3] with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".

And pray a prayer for yourselves and make *pihta* and *mambuha*

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[1] *Širiata* in magic texts is "exorcisms", i.e. words that liberate. Lidzbarski translates Balken (from שָׁרִיתָא, שְׁרִי).

[2] A free translation. *Ruaha* has the meaning of enlargement, refreshment, restoration.

[3] Just as in the Eastern Church the Pax marks a stage in the ritual of the mass, so in Mandaean rites the *kušṭa* is performed after every stage of a rite.

for yourselves [1]) and eat your *pihta* and drink your *mambuha* And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform *kušṭa* [2]) with one another for yourselves and (then) honour [3]) your crowns.
And Life is victorious.]

71

In the name of the Life!
Blessed and praised be the Life!
Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light!
Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia;
Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.
Praised art thou, my father Yušamin the Pure,
Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life.
Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life.
Praised are ye, Šilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the jordan.
Praised are ye, Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab.
(Praised are) [4]) our fathers Hibil, Šitil and Anuš
The name and chief of the whole race.
Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;
Blessed and established is the great *škinta* in which thou sittest.
Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;
Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.
Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised Those who dwell in thee.
Blessed art thou, Road of the great [5]), path of the perfect
And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.
Blessed art thou, Naṣirutha [6]) from whom the elect learn;
From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward [7]) and pious gift [8])

---

[1]) The *pihta* and *mambuha* consumed by celebrants at the beginning of the *masiqta* and at its end are the ordinary sacramental bread and water. They are consumed by the priest as himself, whereas the *pihta* and *mambuha* of the *masiqta* are consumed by the priest as proxy of the deceased. Moreover the former is made of saltless flour, (the *faṭira*, to which scraps of ritual food are added) and the *mambuha* is *hamra* and water.

[2]) See p. 57. n. 3.

[3]) See p. 28, n. 3.

[4]) Missing in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53.

[5]) Or "teachers", see p. 50, n. 1.

[6]) A word which means true religion, the inner teaching.

[7]) The fees given to priests.

[8]) Offerings in kind, fruit, corn, vegetables, etc.

They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of Light.
Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;
We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.
My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.
The 'uthras of light are victorious,
And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection
Who stand, praising the Life.
Enlargement [1]) of life there shall be for the believing
Who have departed out of our midst;
The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.
And my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.
Thankfully received are the good gifts [2]) (*ṭabuta*) of life,
The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life,
The *pihla* [3]) that . . . . . at the name of the Life.
For any man who giveth an oblation,
His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men
Who bestow oblations will rise by *Kušṭa*'s path.
To them [4]) it shall be given.
Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath
Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.
A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads
Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this *masiqta;*
(*And the souls of*) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body:
(*A wreath like that*) set on Its head by the Great (Life)
And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras
And given by 'uthras to their priests.
Healer, whose medicine is water, come!
Be thou a healer to thy devotees,
To thy devotees be thou a healer

---

[1]) The meaning here is renewal of life, a larger form of life.

[2]) *Ṭabuta* here refers to the ritual food placed on the *ṭariania* (sacred tables).

[3]) I am still of the opinion that *pihla* here refers to the phallus which, on the table of oblation is modelled in dough and represents the male principle of creation. The meaning of the verb depends on that of *pihla*.

[4]) With Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 107, n. 3), I read "them" rather than the written "you".

And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
My lord, bestow soundness.
Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.
My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer
Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice
And enacting justice for those who love it,
Do justice on those who persecute us,
Those persecutors who pursue us,
And on the wicked and furious ones
Who scheme to work evil upon us.
If it please Thee, High King of Light,
Look on us and condemn us not!
Behold these souls who believed in Thee
And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth
And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air
So that we may forget earthly persecution,
That we may forget the persecution of earth
And the vexation of the wicked and liars.
Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!
Thereby the Great Life communed with thee
And set thee up completely(?) [1]) with His radiance
And His light, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
And may the vivifying-power [2]) of Life rest upon us.
My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light!"
And Life be praised!

[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

72

Good is the Good [3]) for the good, and His nature [4]) is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, Lord of all healings.

---

[1]) The sentence is obscure, but is addressed to Manda-ḏ-Hiia?

[2]) Again *ruaha ḏ-hiia* is paraphrased.

[3]) This is the chief sacramental formula and during its recitation, priests crouch near the ground. The exact meaning is doubtful. *Ṭaba*, the second word, probably means "the Good One" (warranted by similar use of *ṭaba* in No. 159 and elsewhere). ṬAB has also the meaning of "to be good, wholesome, well". The formula is an ancient one, and its place in the liturgy corresponds roughly to the Christian liturgical formula "The holy (*agia*) to the holy".

[4]) *Kiniana*, a word of wide meaning; "a name" (tribal or generic name), "nature", "characteristic", "qualify", etc.

Forgive him [1] his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, *masiqta* and (*ritual*) food [2]. My lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. [3] And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised; Life is victorious over all works.

[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a *masiqta*. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the *Rahmia* ("Devotions" [4]) recite it, and after the *Rahmia*. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish. [5])

And Life is victorious.]

73

In the name of the Life!
A sealed letter which leaveth the world —
A letter written in good-faith (*kušṭa*)
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) —
Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on [6],
And suspended it about the soul's neck
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul, in her wisdom,
Pressed her nail on the letter,
Her nail she pressed on the letter;
She imbued it with her mystic radiance,
Wrapped it and veiled it in her light.
How came it that Daium saw
That the soul bore a letter?

---

[1] The person for whose benefit the *masiqta* is celebrated.

[2] *Ṭabuta* "goodness" in ritual refers to the sacramental food, the bread and the fruit. *Lahma* (lit. "bread") can refer to any nourishing food.

[3] I.e. from evil to good. The left is associated with evil, matter, materialism, darkness and "the Mother"; the right with spirituality, light and good.

[4] Prayers recited at the three daily prayer-times.

[5] *Patura* = any table, tray, large dish or food-mat on which the sacred food is spread out. The clause is missing in D.C.3

[6] See J. זרז 3, "to tie around".

How was it that Daium 1) saw it
As her seven sons gathered about her
And said "Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote the letter that is sealed in
By these protective 2) strands?"
The letter is written in good faith,
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty(Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached
The watch-house of the Seven.
The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her,
(*And*) the Governor 3), when they saw her,
Murmur discontent 4) and say
"Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote letter that is sealed
By these protective marks?"
"The letter is written in good faith
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it;
Believing men tied it up
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life".
The soul flieth and travelleth on
Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory 5).

---

1) A name given to Ruha.

2) *Miṣra* has a double meaning here, and in my translation I have tried to convey both. In general *miṣra* is a line traced about a sacred or untouchable thing or area. It isolates that which it contains from contact. In ritual, it refers to the furrow drawn about a purified area, which is purified by water, in much the same way as the Parsi priest pours water into the protective gutter (*p̣avi*) round a sacred area. The ceremony of "the Letter" is protected by such water-containing furrows. *Miṣra* (Aramaic מְעָרִי could also mean a rope, "a twisted cord".

3) *Šahardal* = שאהארדאל, middle Parthian for Middle Persian *šahriyar*, "ruler", "governor".

4) DMDM = "to mutter angrily".

5) The *maṭaraiia*, officers of the watch-houses, or places where travellers are detained at frontiers, are, as the *Diwan Abatur* shows, demons, spirits who torment and purge souls after death.

The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads
And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by.
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she came to the waters of death.
As she reached the waters of death
There came forth towards her
A great Beam [1] of radiance (and) of life, (*who*)
Grasped her by the palm of her right hand
And brought her over the waters of death [2].
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she reacheth the House of Life.
When she reached the House of Life
She uttered a cry to the House of Life,
And when He heard her call, the Life
Sent a messenger towards her,
(Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand,
Conducted her, (came) to support her
In the likeness of the Life to the place
Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence [3];
To unite her to (*the company of*) 'uthras
And to set her up amongst beams of light [4].
Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether
And took her out of the world in splendour.
Life supported life: Life found Its own:
It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found
That for which she hoped.
And Life is victorious.

[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

74

Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kušṭa and the great safeguard ot truth by the word of Kušṭa and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

---

[1] See p. 45, n. 6.
[2] See p. 46 n. 2.
[3] Read *abrḫ* as in D.C. 3 and M.L. p. 113:8.
[4] *Pasimka* = a beam or ray of light.

[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy seal-ring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].

[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (*to a dying person*), at the beginning and end order the chief (*relative*) or remaining (*persons: i.e. of the family?*) to throw water over the dying person[1]). If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify [2]) the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him [3]) and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near(?) [4]) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (*those like him*)[5])]

In the name of the Great Life!

Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.

When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and *masiqta*". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" and bind thy *pandama* over thy mouth.

And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes " and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia. With thy radiance thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (*the head of*) this the soul of N." And take care that thou readest to the end with attention!

---

[1]) Lit. "the departing" (i.e. soul).

[2]) MŠA with *'da* = "to purify the hand (either by water or other cleansing substance or fluid).

[3]) This should mean the act of partaking of the sacraments, but I am in doubt.

[4]) *'u hawia 'ka lmifaq* "If there is need for dying (to die) meaning that death appears to be near.

[5]) Should death take place before the rite is over, deputies qualified by age, status and astrological conditions act as proxies.

And recite the eight prayers for the *pihta* over the bottle and the two prayers for the *mambuha* over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-ḏ-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(*In the name of the*) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "of N". and where it saith "And Ṣauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and "Whose son am I? Of the guarded *Mana*", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers - thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger - and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kušṭa and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kušṭa and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa".

And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life" and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.". And thy *pandama* must be over thy mouth. And recite "Ye are set up and raised up up in the place where the good are established amongst *manas* of light" (*insert*) "the soul of N. is established in that place".

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The *Mana* rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departest from the world", "Sunday, and Kušṭa and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (*it shall be given*).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in *kušṭa* the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This *kušṭa* which I entrust [1]) to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur" [2]).

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in *kušṭa* the hand of him who taketh (the hand of)the dying person and say to him "This *kušṭa* I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy *pandama* must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (*so on*) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising". (prayers) *of the masiqta* [3]) from beginning to end. And be careful (*to insert*) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious.

Then, when thou holdest thy *pandama* over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make *pihta* and *mambuha* for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha*. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the *kušṭa*-rite for thyself and honour thy crown.

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[1]) D.C. 53 has *asbarlak* here; *asfarlak* when the words are repeated below.

[2]) The *ašganda* holds the hand of the dying person, as the priest would be polluted by the touch of death.

[3]) *"Of the masiqta"* missing in D.C. 53.

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" [1] without thy *pandama.* (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam, celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan [2] of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Ṭib, written by Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (*sacramental ceremonies*) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (*the apparently dying person*) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "*masiqta* of the sixty" [3] for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him [4] read a "sixty" *masiqta* for him with seven food-trays [5], and at "that which is with her" [6] sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

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[1] Prayers of deconsecration.

[2] *A diwan* is a scroll, a miscellany comprising several texts.

[3] I.e. a *masiqta* at which 60 *faṭiria* are made and signed.

[4] *Midirḫ*; or "to reach him".

[5] The word *arabata*-variously spelt as *arawata*, (*aruhata* in D.C.3) — must be, I think, the *rahbata* or *rahuata* of the ritual mss. It seems to mean "spreadings". In actual modern ritual it is either a very large *ṭariana*, or a tray, or an area of purified and smoothened mud upon which food-offerings are laid out for a *zidqa brika*. (Blessed Oblation). It occurs only in the plural. Priests translate the word simply as "food-offerings", "sacred foods" but can never be relied upon for exact meanings. רָחַב, רְוַח, רְוח = to be wide.

[6] Prayer 49 *ma ḏ-bḫ*.

(If) the soul (*be that of*) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty *masiqtas* for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him[1]) alone at (*the words*) *ma ḏ-bh̠*; at the words *bit Abatur* sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at *bit Abatur* and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a *masiqta* thou requirest meat, water of prayer, [2]) incense, *pihta*, *hamra*, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (*named above*).

And when (there is) a *masiqta*, read the homilies about the soul[3]); let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven *rahbata*[4]) and (*pray for*) Mandaeans, Naṣoraeans and the faithful. And pray the *masiqta* prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes", "I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the *pihta* and *mambuha*, the "bindings and loosings"[5]) of the *masiqta* from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (*during?*) the homilies, and loose him from his sins.

And Life is victorious.

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Naṣoraean who (whilst) reading the *masiqta* openeth his *pandama* or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Naṣoraean who holds (*to?*) the *pandama* and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase[6]), speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yušamin [1]) or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq [2]), nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

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[1]) "Him" here means the *pihta* representing the person for whose benefit the *masiqta* is celebrated. The other loaves represent other souls.

[2]) See p. 36 n. 2.

[3]) It is customary to read to mourners from the left side of the *Ginza Rba*, which consists largely of hymns and homilies about the after-life of the soul.

[4]) See above, p. 67 n. 5.

[5]) Prayers of consecration and deconsecration.

[6]) The word is misplaced in D.C. 53.

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the *pandama*. When he holdeth his *pandama* all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us.

And Life is victorious.]

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and *ganzibras*, earth beneath the feet of Naṣoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious [3]).

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun [4]) And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Riš-Draz. I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upright woman, a believing (*creature*) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kušṭa) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, yonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Šarat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called [5]) was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (*She copied it from?*) the copy of the great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Šitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of *ganzibras*, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a *šalmana* [1]) — the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Qasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (*tribe*), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asṭa Faruk, Asṭa Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anuš, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied from the book of Šaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wašia. He copied it from a book (*copied by?*)Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished *ganzibra*, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of *ganzibras*, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and yonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable *ganzibra* Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia—may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam, family name 'Asakir from the book of R. Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Šitlan, family name Riš-Draz...

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[1]) Yušamin is the archetype of a careless priest who makes mistakes in ritual. (Lit. the acts which Y. did).

[2]) The well Sumqaq is often mentioned as a well of pollution in the underworlds.

[3]) *Nasakia* here a loan-word from the Persian.

[4]) Read thus: Krun is the name of a potentate of the underworld.

[5]) Mandaeans have a baptismal name and a lay name.

[*The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16;* (*Translator*).]

...Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-

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[1]) A "perfect": i.e. a layman who embraces a life of perfect purity according to Siouffi.

Hurdšaiia [1]) and travelled around a great deal, but found no reliable *masiqta* equal to this *masiqta*. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this *masiqta* just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this *masiqta*.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this *masiqta* so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-ḏ-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the *Masiqta*" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it ?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Ṭib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anuš-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha... ? and Anuš copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Šarat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Šganda son of Yasmin, and Šganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (*was written by*) Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (*a space of*) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Ṭib in the years when Anuš son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Naṣoraeans and took many *diwans* from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and *Masiqta* and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Naṣoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them.

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[1]) Read Bit-Hudšaiia. The Hudšaiia are mentioned in the *Asfar Malwašia*, (Bit-Hudšaiia p. 52 1.7) and in the ATŠ.

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined. [1])

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumqaq Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: — "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins . . [2]) Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (*himself and sent*) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in *kušṭa* [3]).

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

75. [4])

In the name of the Great Life!

May there be healing, victory, strength, soundness, speech and a hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, from the Life!

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[1]) Meaning doubtful.

[2]) The passage appears to be faulty and obscure.

[3]) I.e. grasp his right hand in the solemn act of fealty and friendship.

[4]) The prayer is called by the priests the *Audin utušbihan*.

We have acknowledged [1] and praises (*are due*)
To the mighty sublime First Life,
The Ineffable which is over all works.
(*I come*), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth
To the Life and to the implanted Word
And to 'Uṣar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life
In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee.
(*Yet*) who shall praise Thee [2], Life?
And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories?
Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified
And Thou art exalted!
(*For lo*) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came.
At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid [3],
At Thy light gates and kingdoms were troubled.
On seeing Thee the Jordan turned about,
The waves of the sea rolled back
And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion.
Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces.
Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stags,
They opened and gave praise.
Does in the desert shed their young untimely;
The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour.
The earth trembled and was shaken.
Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back?
Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back?
Isles of the sea! why were ye thrown into confusion?
Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces?
Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent?
Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?
(Why) did ye open and give praise?
Does in the desert! on account of Whom did ye miscarry your young?
Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak?
Earth! Whom didst thou behold and (*at what*) didst thou tremble? [4]

"At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance,

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[1] According to Nöldeke a shortened form of *audinin*.
[2] M.L. *nišabak*; D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 *nišaba*.
[3] In all mss. *sararkubia* in one word. See M.L. p. 126, n.1. Doubtful.
[4] This hymn is also in the G.R.: See G.R. p. 178 of the translation by Lidzbarski.

At the Light which surpasseth all lights,
And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds
And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself."
When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth
And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building,
(Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion.
They got down meekly from their thrones
And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away
The glory of the worlds and generations
And quenched the flames of their lamps.
It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth
And in the lower glooms of Darkness.

Spirit (*ruha*) lifted up her voice,
She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father
Why didst Thou create me? My God, my God,
My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off
And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth
And in the nether glooms of darkness
So that I have no strength to rise up thither?"

All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life)
And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty
Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance
And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights,
And the Good Being who crossed the worlds,
Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself.
He sundered Light from Darkness and sundered Good from Evil,
He sundered Life from Death,
And He brought out those who love His name of Truth
From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good
And from Death to Life and set them
On roads of Truth and Faith.
And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word
And hast commanded us with Thy commandment —
"Be My glory and I will be your Glory.
Be my light and I will be your Light.
And my name shall be in your mouths
And I will be with you".

Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their high-places
And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way
And deep ignominy befell their temples
And fettered their might. 1)

Great is the splendour in which Manda-ḏ-hiia is arrayed!
Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn
On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light!
(That day) is not reckoned in a count of days.
Nor in a reckoning of months;
Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light.
We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed,
To all who love Thy name of Truth (*kušṭa*).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer,
Our submission, our *ṭabuta* 2) and our faith
In Thy presence, (O) 'Uṣar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life.
Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name,
Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord,
Who could praise Thee, Life,
Or magnify (*worthily*) the greatness of Thy victories?
Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue?
Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves
And our tongue like cleft mountains,
Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!
Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart
And him who confesseth thee with his lips.
With a pure mouth be Thou blessed
And lauded with a tongue of praise.
Supporters who do not waver, interpretations 3)
Of Truth (*kušṭa*) which vary not praise Thee.
Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless
And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance,
Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred,
Envy and dissensions exist not.
The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory

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1) D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have the more probable *tuqfaihun* (M.L. p. 128, *tuqnaihun*, 1.11.

2) Here either "goodness" or, as recited at the *masiqta*, the ritual food.

3) אופֶן J. in later Hebrew, "method of interpretation".

Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult
And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according
To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee,
The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee,
"Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And praised. And blessed is the Place
From which Thou camest: praised, magnified
And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest.
And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place
To which Thou goest."
Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries [1])
Praise thee; for Thy knowledge, Thy wisdom,
Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself.
Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting.
Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Son;
Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life;
Thou art the First, Thou art the Last,
Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come
And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself.
Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy.
Turn back, push back, remove and make impotent
Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land
And my house — mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš —
In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels,
(Let) our petition, our prayer and our submission
Rise up before Thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
That which we have done forgive us,
And that which we do, forgive us,
(For) Thou, (O) Manda-ḏ-Hiia art a forgiver of sins,
Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes.
If Thou, (O) Manda-ḏ-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins,
Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes,
Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia?
Slaves are we, who are all sin
And Thou the Lord who art all mercy.
Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying;
In Thine eyes, Manda-ḏ-Hiia (*even*) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

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[1]) The reference is again to the Mandaean *škintas*.

The worlds know not Thy name, nor recognise Thy light.
O (*fie on*) those who sit and eat and drink,
On those who quarrel and persecute!
O (*fie on*) those who fornicate and are adulterous!
O (*fie on*) those who worship portico and clay brick!
Day by day they sit on thrones of insolence
And persecute the name of the Life;
(*Yet*) they knew not the name of the Life,
Nor did the idea of the Life enter their minds.
(*But*) we have testified to Life and put our trust in Life;
And Manda-ḏ-Hiia stood by us, was of our company
And was our Helper.

The worlds reviled us and persecuted us.
With (to?) the ....? of the world do not Thou abandon us,
Nor with the judgement of the world judge us:
Range us not with the world-guilty,
Nor cut us off from the Life.

We spoke in chants [1]) of the Life
And we revealed mysteries that were veiled;
(*But*) the worlds reviled us and persecuted us.
Life! From the Hidden accept Thy [2]) prayers,
And we will establish delight in Thy light.
Thou art our Radiance, our Brightness, our Strength,
Our Help and our Enlightenment which thou didst reveal to us,

To the first lovers of thy Name, in rays of radiance.
We have confessed Thy truth and will spread Thy light
(Shed) upon us. Thy victories will bring it to pass
And we will be stablished in Thy truth (*kušṭak*).
The (false) gods in the height will see us
And will be convicted of guilt and put to shame.
Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance
And cover us with Thy light;
Thou wilt show us the road
By which Thou camest from the House of Life
And therein we will walk the course

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[1]) *Sidria;* or "in books", "in recitations".
[2]) That is "prayers addressed to Thee".

(*Set for*) righteous and believing people.
Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life
According to the purpose of the Life
And the will of the three 'uthras [1]),
And according to the will of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Sublimest of beings, and according to the will
Of the Four Beings, sons of salvation.
In Thy presence there will be restoration
For our spirit and our souls.
Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance
And cover us with Thy light
And will stand us before Thee with the innocent
And not with the guilty;
With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking.
Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name.
Pure [2]) is Thy name, magnified is Thy name,
Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name
And abiding is Thy name. Victorious [2]) art Thou
And victorious is Thy name.
Victorious are the words of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth
Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish
This my soul (*the soul of*) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.
And Life is victorious over all works.

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In the name of the Life!
Praises to the Outer Life
Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond),
The abode that hath limit.
For Your eyes are open to (*discern*) Your own,
Your ears hearken at Your Place [3]).
Praises to that one great name of Life
Which is above all names.
Its name resteth on the great Place of Light,
On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras,
And on the Beam who was greater than all beams,
With Whose light all beams shine
And by Whom all souls are justified;

---

[1]) I.e., Hibil, 'Anuš and Šitil.
[2]) *Zakaia* = "victorious" and "pure" and is used in both senses.
[3]) D.C. 3 and other copies have '*utraikun* "your 'uthras".

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off
From the House of our trust;
Who restoreth our souls 1) at the House of Ransom
On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls
On the great Day of joy.
Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras,
And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One
Who came and remained for our commemoration 2)
And who was established in the presence of Outer Life.
(One) on whose mouth Life rested and whose praise
Was established without.
Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First,
To the Son of the great Primal Life
Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth
To the generations. (*Lo*) Thou camest and didst open a door,
Thou didst level a road and tread out a path,
Didst set up a boundary-stone
And didst knit together a community.
Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide
To the Father of the great Family of Life 3),
And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life,
Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction 4)
And didst bring it 5) forth to the great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned!
O nourishers whom I have nourished!
O builders whom I have raised up
And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues!
Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell!
Worlds against whom I guard myself
Though your words are not far from my face,
If ye take mountains (*of food*) as your viaticum for eating,

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1) D.C. 53 has *umištakilan* in the next line. I think that the verb here is ŠKLL ("restoring our souls and "perfecting our souls"), see J שַׁכְלֵל. (M.L. has *umištkalin*).

2) In M.L. p. 134:9 and D.C. 53 *dukran:* D.C. 3 has the more probable *dukranan* ("our mentioning", "our commemoration").

3) I.e., Adam.

4) Lidzbarski translates *šrara* "truth" but this translation does not convey its literal meaning of "soundness" "reliability".

5) "It" is the great Family of Life.

They will not satisfy (*lit.* "*complete*") you.
If ye take seas for your drinking
They will not make you perfect [1] (*content you*).
(*But*) if with perfections [2] ye stand before the Outer Life
And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number,
And your reckoning shall be reckoned.
Betimes I will come and will fly
And will reach [3] the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign,
And the sons of the great Family of Life.
I will bind you together into the bundle [4] of Life
And I will build you into a great Building of Truth [5]
And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you
The hand of the *mbarṭabla*s (customs-officers?) will not search amongst your garments;
Ye will not pass over the Bridge [6]
Nor walk in a narrow street;
Ye will not stand before the judge
Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law;
Nor will ye see an averted face.
The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls,
One who setteth on paths of surety
His friends that are made perfect,
A great comrade of the faithful,
One of the great band of souls,
Who will come out toward you
And clothe your souls in a garments of radiance

---

[1] D.C. 53 *lagmirilkin*. As the reference is to the ritual meal, the reference may be to the sacramental meal of another rite.

[2] The expression *tušlimia* is often used for perfected souls.

[3] Read *'pra u'mṭia*.

[4] I have adopted the Jewish expression here, for *laufa* conveys the image of binding units into a whole, and the sentence corresponds closely with the ancient Hebrew metaphor.

[5] Or "sound construction", see p. 79, n. 4.

[6] The "bridge" here probably refers to the Zoroastrian "Bridge of Çinvat", "narrower than a hair" over which departed souls must pass. Only the righteous succeed. The hymn was probably written at a time when the state religion was Magian. *Tidun* from ADA to pass, make a pass.

And in good pure vestments [1] of light
Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
He will bring out toward you wreaths,
A wreath of victories.
And every leaf of your wreaths will (weigh)
One thousand and eighty mithqals [2].
Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun
And its light outshine the light of the moon.
Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths
In the presence of the Great (Life).

Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras.
Ye will open your eyes and behold your Judge.
Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon you,
In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether
And the great Beam who is all light,
Who was set up before the Great Life:
He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth
To the ages and to the worlds.
And [3] every man who giveth oblation [4];
And took part in the communion [5] from beginning to end.
They will make as perfect as the *manas*,
Like rays of light he will be made to shine
On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption,
The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act
Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift,
Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode,
The place which is ancient, (of) Primal Beings,
And sons of the great Family of Life.

They eat of that which is imperishable
And drink that which is not wine, eating well

---

[1] *Ṭarṭabunia*. Lidzbarski translates "turbans" (from Latin *turritum* a head-cover, Arabic طرطور). I incline to think that *ṭarṭabuna* is not a head-dress, but derived from the root RṬB. (The usual Mandaic word for turban is *burzinqa*).

[2] *Mitqal:* = shekel? (about one ounce?).

[3] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 *ulkulman* (M.L. *kul man*. p. 137: 7f).

[4] Those who bring offerings for the *Blessed Oblation*.

[5] The expression is that used for partaking of food and water in the ceremony of *Laufa*, a commemorative meal for the dead.

And asking solace. And an 'uthra of Life
Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour.
Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous
And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men),
And to the Unearthly[1] Being who standeth without,
Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those
Who love his name of Truth (*kušṭa*) —
Thou art he, Manda-ḏ-Hiia! for thou knowest
About that in which the perfect man is made perfect,
And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth[2].
And the Lie[3], of what doth it consist.
Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man
But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it
In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
The mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds,[4]
Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs,
Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth.
Not so: it is an 'uthra of Life which cometh
And resteth upon Thy devotees.
And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him
It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us
Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by (*calling on*) Thy name.
We hold to Thy Leader[5] of the great company of Truth
We have held staunch because of Thy victories.
Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors,
Liars, hypocrites and the censorious.
Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls!
The good will see and will be found ready[6],
(But) The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed
Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth
And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

---

[1] Lit. "Strange".

[2] Lit. "what there is belonging thereto".

[3] Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *šaqara* (lit "liar" M.L. 138: 6 *ušrara*).

[4] Read *gabarutẖ*.

[5] *Br guda.* (Not "curtain" here.)

[6] Or "are refreshed" i.e. partake of sacramental food, an ecclesiastical expression for eating and drinking at sacraments.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller [1], nourishest the nourisher, buildest the builder,
Exaltest horns [2], enlargest footsteps and settest up a road [3],
And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete [4] and he standeth (liveth) in the body, (*able*) to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House [5], thine 'uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (*kušṭa*). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence: and at the raising of your right hands (*towards Me?*) My right hand will be lifted [6] towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it (*from*) your hands".

We will pray with Thee the 'uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life),[7] a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole *Naṣiruta* [8] of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature [9]. Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, victorious are the words of truth which issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds 1).

---

[1] M.L. 139 : 5 *qaruiia*, D.C. 3 *qaruia* and D.C. 53 *aqaruiia*.

[2] A common expression for giving self-confidence.

[3] *Dirka* in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53: M.l.139:6 *kudka* (boundary-stone).

[4] Lit. "who has his measure" (or "span"), i.e. has years of life still before him: everyone being allotted a fixed measure of years.

[5] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 differ here from M.L. (which has *lraurubia sigia ḏ-ligrḫ* instead of *ulbit sagia ḏ-ligrḫ*.

[6] I.e. in blessing.

[7] I suspect a miscopying at some time, for in other passages we get *šulta ḏ-rba ulazuṭa* (a petition that is great and not small). But *rbia* in the plural implies that the Great Life is meant.

[8] *Naṣiruta:* here probably the whole body of believers, the teaching of the Naṣoraeans.

[9] *Kiniana* means both "nature" and "name".

And Life is victorious!

77

In the name of the Life!
Thee (O) life, (*is it meet*) to praise, to honour,
To magnify and to bless;
First Life, Second Life and Third Life,
Yufin-Yufafin 2) and Sam-Mana-Smira 3)
And the Vine which is All-Life
And the great Tree which is all healings.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour and magnify
And to bless 'Uṣar-Hai 4) and Pta-Hai 5)
Who open (reveal) the *pihta* of Life 6)
And transplant a planting of Light,
And instal the First Counterpart
In the House of Life.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbaṭ 7)
The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation),
The exigence of Life 8) in Its nature.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being
Who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth

---

1) *Kušṭa* is more than "truth". As antithesis to "lie": it is "sincerity", "good-faith", "rectitude", "fidelity".

2) Cf Yafefiyah "divine beauty" Targ.Y. Deut. xixv, 6. The verb יפה is not Mandaic, so that this is probably a name of foreign origin.

3) Lidzbarski always translates Sam Mana Smira as "Sam der wohlverwahrte Māna".

4) Either "Treasure-of-Life" or "Treasury of Life".

5) Literally "He (or "they") opened Life", i.e. "revealed or began life".

6) Or *pihta ḏ-hiia* = "Bread of Life".

7) The high-flown mystical language of this hymn is only comprehensible when the basic idea of creation as propounded in the inner teaching of the priesthood is brought to bear on its literal interpretation. *Nbaṭ*, "It or They burst forth" is the literal meaning, refers to the self-manifestation of a creative force after a period of quiescence. This "urge of life", this irrepressible impulse to express itself in worlds of spirit and matter, appears in the metaphor of springs of water, the bursting forth into leaf, flower and fruit of the vegetable world, the birth of creatures and so on.

8) *Ṣurik hiia* "need (or necessity) of life," could be almost rendered by the French "élan vital".

Great fruit for Himself.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy
And was great in his light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life,
The truth (*kušṭa*) that was aforetime, in the Beginning;
Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Haš, [1] the Stem of splendour, [2] radiance, light and honour
Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils
A myriad myriad. Well is it for him
Who hath looked on that Tree!
Bihram [3], who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established
And his name hath not died.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ṣanaṣiel [4], who standeth at the Gate of Life
And prayeth for spirits and souls.
He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope
And taketh in keeping in the World of Light
The prayers of pious and believing people.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Haiašum-Kušṭa [5], messenger of Life,
The Word of the first chosen elect (men).
He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament
And revealed himself.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ƀhaq-Ziwa [6], who is called "He acted and succeeded in his *škinta*."
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yukašar [7], source of radiance

---

[1] *Haš* = "He pondered".

[2] *Hadra* in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53, M.L. 142:3 has *hidra*.

[3] The *Bihram Rba* in whose name all baptisms take place? This line hints at a human being.

[4] Possibly from נָצַץ "to blossom"?

[5] "May-the-name-of-Kušṭa-live".

[6] The root BHQ means "to glisten, to be white".

[7] It seems likely that the words of the preceding clause attached to Bhaq-Ziwa, were originally part of those attached to *Yukašar*, whose name seems to mean "the spirit of success".

Who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Biriawiš, the strong source (*kana*) [1],
The *Kana* took thought so that its radiance increased.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ayar [2], the pure Vine which abideth
In the great and lofty Treasure-house [3] of Light.
(*Meet it is*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The pure Yušamin [4] who resteth upon
The treasures of the waters
And upon mighty wellsprings of light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The 'uthra Tauriel [5], the being who resteth by
The pastures [6] of the water.
When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand
Fell (off?) There was consternation on earth,
And vexation(?) [7] in the world of falsehood.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Adatan and Yadatan [8], who stand at the Gate of Life
And praise and extol Life,
And pray for the spirits and souls
Of righteous and believing people
In the Place of Life.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Šilmai and Nidbai [9], two 'uthras
Delegates of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

---

[1] See p. 47, n.4. The *Kana* of the next line probably means the Divine Source of all Water of Life in gnostic symbolism. Biriawiš = Piriawis, the heavenly jordan, see p. 12 penult.

[2] *Ayar*, "ether", "pure air" is personified in Mandaean texts. He seems to correspond with the "most thin air" of the Essenes (Josephus, vol.iv, p. 155) and the Iranian Vayah (Ether).

[3] See p. 95, n. 5.

[4] *Yušamin:* see p. 7 and p. 13, n. 6.

[5] Tauriel is often invoked in phylacteries. An obvious cattle-spirit, he calls into mind the Mithra myth, in which the bull's blood released the forces of fertility and life. The verse is obscure. To lose a little finger is one of the causes of disqualification to priesthood.

[6] (See n. 5.) (Syr. ܦܥܡܐ).

[7] Or consuming (rage)?

[8] Adatan and Yadatan, often mentioned as a pair: no function is assigned them, except here.

[9] Šilmai and Nidbai are the guardian spirits of the jordan.

Who are active and do (*the work of*) the Life.
With *kušṭa* and with the testimony of the Life
They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing [1] souls
Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (*and are baptised*)
(*But*) not in the name of gods [2] or of a messiah!
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Šum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai [3],
Four Beings, sons of perfection,
Who come towards sincere and believing people,
And take them out of bonds
(Tied by) the hands of the wicked
And from beneath the claws of scheming men;
And lift them up to the great place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.
They knit them into the Bundle of Life
And build them into a great Building
Of sure strength [4].
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš [5],
Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving,
Vigorous and sturdy:
Beings that cannot be taken by the sword
Nor consumed by flames of fire;
Nor swept away by floods of water;
Nor will the thongs of their sandals
Be dipped in the water.
They were judged and were justified;
They sought and they found;
They strove and reached the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ṣihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun [6],
'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life [7];

---

[1] Vigorous, flourishing, full of vitality.
[2] Lit. in the name of Allah-cult, Allahdom, i.e. heathen
[3] Four beings mentioned in Prayer 17.
[4] *Šrara;* see p. 80, n. 5 and p. 79, n. 4.
[5] The three sons of Adam Kasca.
[6] The names do not occur elsewhere as a trio.
[7] D.C. 3 has *ḏ-had had hawia šumaihun bit hiia adam kasia bihram uram utria ḏ-had šumaihun bit* (*hiia*) *utrin trin kinianun.* The sentence is obscure.

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia [1]), Bihram and Ram whose names are
Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (*dualistic* ?)
And the names of righteous and believing people
Will be established in the Place of Light.
Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious,
Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up.
Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth
Which issue from Thy mouth, (victorious) over all works.
Make victorious and raise up this my soul,
(*The soul of*) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš!
And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", and "Thee (Life)" for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. For my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from sons of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart for the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light.

I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Naṣuraeans ...etc.

(*The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted*).

THE RESPONSES. (*'niania*)

78

In the name of the Great Life!
May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding
Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
By means of these responses [2]) and homilies for baptism and the *masiqta*.

---

[1]) Adam Kasia, the occult Adam, has the occult Eve (Hawa Kasia) as spouse, Ram's spouse is Rud, but Bihram's spouse is unnamed .

[2]) *'niania* means "answers", "responses", hence these hymns were probably chanted antiphonally, although this is not the case now. Henceforward I shall translate *'niana* "hymn". *Drašia* = "homilies" or "canticles".

79

In the name of the Great Life!
When the myrtle [1], the myrtle, flourished
In the gardens of Hibil;
When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the *manda* [2],
They gave me two twigs of myrtle
From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan.
For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

80

In the name of the Great Life!
Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward
(O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life),
Our Father, son of the Life!
Šilmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan, and both its banks, hear me!
Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength
Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras!
Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou)
Whose creations rest on (*depend upon?*) the jordan!
Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira [3])
And raise that which ye have planted!
Hear me, hear me, Habšaba [4]) and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa [5]),
Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama [6]), whose strength
Presideth over the Scales!
Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up
Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside

---

[1]) The word also means "healed".

[2]) In the sacred enclosure of the *manda* (mod. *mandi*) myrtle must be grown. Formerly, perhaps, marjoram was grown also, but it is no longer intertwined in the myrtle-wreath.

[3]) The great mighty *Mana*.

[4]) The first day of the week, personified, Sunday.

[5]) The collection of food-offerings and offerings in kind brought for the *Zidqa brika*, Blessed Oblation.

[6]) The spirit which sits on the frontier of the worlds of light with his scales, weighing their deeds.

In the Great Wellspring
Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out
Radiance, light and effulgence!
Hear me (ye) three *manas*
Who rest upon the jordan with your treasure!
Hear me, Anuš-'Uthra [1]),
Whose strength dwelleth upon me!

81

In the name of the Great Life!
Hear me, my Father, hear me!
And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);
Our Father, Son of the Life!
Šilmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan and its two banks, hear me!
Habšaba and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa hear me!
Hear me, Great Life, from the height,
Hear me!

82 [2])

In the name of the Great Life!
At the Fountain-head came I forth,
At the Source of springs of life went I hence.
Three *škinta*s (sanctuaries) did I found
And set over them guardians as rulers.
The guardians I appointed to rule over them
Are sublime, blessed and trusty
To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the *mambuha* [3]) into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

83

In the name of the Great Life!
How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted

---

[1]) Anuš-'Uthra is a spirit active in helping the Naṣoraeans. See G.R., many passages.

[2]) Quoted G.R. p. 145.

[3]) The sacramental water or sacramental drink.

And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne
And on their heads they set living wreaths.
Yawar-Ziwa rejoiceth in the good plants
Which the jordan planted and raised.
The Plants rejoice and flourish
In the perfume of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Which breatheth [1] upon them.

84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me,
Well did my baptiser baptise me,
Truly did my baptiser baptise me
And your baptism shall attain its end.

85

Šilmai hath baptised us with his baptism,
Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign,
The great Anuš-'uthra hath placed living [2] wreaths on our heads.

86

The jordan in which we have been immersed
Shall be our witness that we have turned not away
From our sign, nor have altered our [3] pure Word.

87

I rejoice in my priests
And in Naṣoraeans who hearken to my converse.
I rejoice in you, my priests,
For ye have not changed my pure Word.

88

In the name of the great Life!
May the sublime Light be magnified!
Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen,

---

[1] Lit. "which resteth on them".
[2] I.e. fresh, or freshly cut, myrtle.
[3] D.C. 53 *mimran*, D.C. 3 *mimrai*. See M.L. 151; n.1.

Who went up with me to the jordan,
Pervert and change me not, alter me not by hand,
Pervert not nor alienate me,
Men who have heard the Voice of Life!
He who heareth the voice of Life
Will be edified, will be built up,
Built up and armed. (*Such a man's*) strength will be doubled.
Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life
Will be greatly increased,
Will be enriched and will not lack.
Into the communion that is great will he be knit,
He will enter the communion that is great
So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise
And will behold the Place of Light.
And Life is renowned and victorious,,
And victorious the man who went hence.

89

In the name of the Great Life
The great Light be magnified!
To you do I call and (you) do I teach,
Men who have received the Sign.
Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations;
Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble,
Stumble not because of their stumblings!
Be not interrogated at their tribunals,
At their tribunals be not interrogated!
Certainly have ye held to established truth,
Ye have held to the certainty about which
I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that
Ye may not turn your thought away from Me.
Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought)
Whose mind is turned against me,
Whose mind is turned from me,
Great and not small will be his hurt [1]).
If ye have attained my strength [2])

---

[1]) *Mhita* = "blow", "wound".
[2]) Or "my army".

Bear (arms for) me [1]! If ye bear (*arms for*) me firmly
Stand by me from beginning to end!
But if ye have not attained my strength (*or army* [2])
Go from me, and approach not!
For he that entereth it and beareth (*arms*) for me,
His "garment" [3] will be adjusted to the House of Perfection.
But he that weareth it [4] and doth not perfect it
Will die and his spirit will extinguish.
He will die and extinct will be his spirit,
He will become the portion of the world.
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Good One, who confirmest Thy friends!
Renowned and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who went hence.

90

In the Name of the Great Life
The sublime Light be glorified!
A disciple [5] am I, a new one;
For I went to the jordan-bank
And took my name on my head
And in my heart I took a Sign.
My Sign is not that of Fire,
Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One [6] anointed,
My Sign is a jordan of living water,
The strength of which none can attain.
He chose one out of a thousand
And from two thousand he chose two,
Making traders of them

---

[1] Lidzbarski translated *traget mich* (carry me), literal but somewhat unsatisfactory. I suggest that the word here was some form akin to the Syriac ܕܪܪ, hence "Fight for me! If ye fight for me firmly, stand by me from first to last".

[2] See above.

[3] Here a play on words: the garment is the *mana*, the imperishable soul, the "intelligence", "mind. See p. 4 note 1.

[4] Another play on words: another meaning of DRA "to bear, to carry, to take, to wear".

[5] Or "a priest". This is the meaning accepted by the priesthood here.

[6] The Messiah.

Who labour and ply their trade on earth.
And they trade for fee and pious gift,
And shine more than sun and moon.
I came to the congregation of souls,
For the Life sent me, sent me forth.
There were some who bought my wares,
There those who came to their end 1) and lay down 2).
There were those who bought my wares.
The eyes (*of such a one*) were filled with light,
Filled with light were his eyes
(On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection,
There were those who did not buy my wares.
They went on, reached their end and lay down.
They were blind and saw not,
Their ears were stopped and they heard not
And their hearts were not awakened
To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection.
As They called them and they answered not,
When they call, who will answer them?
Because it was given to them but they took not,
Who will give to them when they ask?
They hated the Way of Life and its Abode
But loved the abode of the wicked.
And lo! in the abode of the wicked
Will they be held captive.
They tied up their tribute, their money 3)
In a lappet 4) of their clothes.
When they wish to lift their heads (*hold their heads high*)
They hurl them down 5) to the Gates of Darkness
To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants

---

1) The word has a double meaning: "to come to one's end" (i.e. "die") and "to be crowned with a wreath" (a death-rite, see MMII p. 179)

2) Or "slept", "died".

3) *argbaiun uminunun*. *Argba uminuna* in the G.R. is used for wealth, property". Purple, purple dye or murex (אַרְגְּמָן) appears at one time to have been used for barter, and the Hittite loan-word *arkammana* for "tribute" suggests that *argba uminuna* may be a corruption of this or some similar word. Cf. the Assyrian *arqaman(n)u* and Aramaic אַרְגְּוָן *arguan* (Delitsch, Ass. Grammar 1889. par. 44). *Argamannu* was given to temples.

4) A corner of the robe. This, in modern ʿIraqi villages, is often used as a purse, money is tied into it.

5) A play on words.

Who stand [1] by the jordan. I say to them,
"My children (who walk) in my road,
My children (who follow) my road,
Swerve not from it or its boundary!
Let him who deviateth from its boundary
Cling to the boundary-stone.
He who hath turned aside from both
Will fall into the uttermost ends of the world".
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Good One, who confirmeth his friends!
Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord
Our sins and our trespasses.
Renowned and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who hath gone hence.

[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from here to below are the hymns and chants of the *masiqta*.]

91

My vigilance and praisegiving
Are my ferrymen [2] across (*the waters of death*);
A transformation brought me over,
A cloud [3] of light took me over.
In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

92

In the name of the Life!
Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one;
Thou art without spot.
Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on?) earth
And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles [4]
From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward.
Above all the world thou hast spoken.
Chosen and pure one (*saying*),
"I am a seer, a diviner;
A seer am I and a diviner!"

---

[1] D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 *qaimun*.

[2] D.C. *mabaraiai*, D.C.3 and M.L. *mabraiai*.

[3] Mandaean priests translate "ship".

[4] *Daria;* as in *hirba udaria umutana ḏ-hazin alma* D.C. 22(r) 282 (Pet. (r) 287): "war and *battles* and the mortality of this world".

The worlds assembled for judgement,
For judgement the worlds assembled
And judgement was pronounced on them,
On them was judgement pronounced,
On those who did not perform the works
Of right-dealing Man.
But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One,
Fair *mana*, that art burnished bright,
Thou goest not to the judgement hall.
Judgement will not be pronounced over thee,
Over thee judgement will not be pronounced,
Because thou didst perform the works
Of right-dealing mankind.
This 1), that they endure and bear,
Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee.
Escape the clutch of the planets
And the forces of this world!
Take, put on thy garment of radiance,
Set on thy living wreath!
Bow thyself! and worship!
Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life.
Praise the Place of Life
To which thy fathers go.
Thou (O) Chosen One,
Wast not from here 2);
From this place thou wast not transplanted 3)
Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life,
Thy home the Everlasting Abode.
They have set up for thee a throne of rest
In which there is no heat or wrath.
There is kept for thee a girdle
In which there is no trouble or fault 4).
Good one! Rise to the House of Life!
And go to the Everlasting Abode 5)!

---

1) Not *hazia* as in D.C. 53, but *haza* as in D.C. 3 and M.L.

2) The earth.

3) Lit. "Not from here was transplanted thy transplantation".

4) *asga* = trouble, tiresomeness. Cf. D.C. 22 (1) *ḏ-asga umuma litbẖ* (as above). (G.R.l. 80: 4)

5) The double meaning of *taqna* must be borne in mind. Here, possibly, a "light' ,meaning.

They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light
And they will shine in thy time, and at thy moment.
Arise! Behold the Place of Light!
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went thither.

93

The *mana* rejoiceth in its treasure
And in the glory of Life
Which resteth on it.
I have acknowledged thee
(O) elect righteous one,
For thou settest my soul free
From transitory things.

94

Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul
That hast departed from the world!
Thou leavest corruption and the stinking [1]) body
In which thou hast been: (*thou leavest*)
Its abode, the abode of the wicked,
The place which is all sinning,
The world of darkness,
Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions,
The abode in which the planets go about,
Bringing pains and blemishes,
Pains they bring, and blemishes,
Every day causing them tribulation.
Rise up, rise up, soul!
Ascend to thy first homeland.
Rise, rise to thy first homeland,
The place from which thou wast transplanted,
To the place from which thou wast transplanted,
To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras,
Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory
And set on thy living wreath. [2])

---

[1]) Read *saria* as in other mss.

[2]) Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 omit *Tib 'l kursiak ḏ-ziwa ḏ-hiia tirṣuiḫ batar nhur* (Rise, sit on thy throne of radiance which the Life set up for thee in the Place of Light.) See M.L. p. 160 n.1.

Rise! inhabit the *škinta*s
Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren.
As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home;
And curse this place, the house of thy fostering;
For (*during*) the years that thou didst spend therein
Every day the Seven were thine enemies,
The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve
Beset thee with persecution.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

95

Her Sunday, her *kušṭa* and her alms
Bear witness for the soul.
Ye will be her witnesses
And will pass her through at the toll-house.

96

I am provided and provisioned:
'Uthras of light equipped me.
I am provisioned; for Life provided for me.
And I am equipped by 'uthras of light.
They provided me with provision of Truth (*kušṭa*)
And armed me with all their wisdom.
Wherefore did Pthahil come into existence?
And why did he create the world?
Wherefore was a plan formed
Whereby they brought me from my home?
(Whereby) they sent me to a world of stumblings,
Filled with knots and seals.
It is all full of fire
And sown with thorns and thistles:
It is full of delusion,
All full of deception and lie.
The planets who dwell therein
Conceive plots against me daily
Plotting evil, and declare
"We will divert her thoughts!"
Of my heart that is full of true-dealing
They say, "From us shall come that

Which will make it stumble [1]".
(Of) my eyes that gaze towards the Light
They say "We will make them blink".
(Of) my mouth, which blesseth the Life,
They say "it shall speak untruth";
(Of) my hands, which give alms,
And offer the clasp of good faith [2],
They say "they shall commit murder".
(Of) my knees which bend and worship the Life
They say "they shall bend for the Seven".
(Of) my feet that tread paths of righteousness
And faith, they say, "they shall go on raids [3]" ("deeds of violence").
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited on the House of Life.
And the Life who heard my cry
Sent toward me a Deliverer.
The Deliverer who came to me
Brought me that which was lovely;
He opened out a robe and showed me its radiance
And I cast off the stinking body.
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And led me over the waters of death [4].
Over the waters of death he brought me
And led me onward; in the likeness of Life he supported me.
Life supported Life, Life found its own.
Its own Self did Life find
And my soul found that for which it had looked.
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

97

He rose and took me with him
And did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

---

[1] Literally "We will cause it to stumble on account of us".
[2] The ritual hand-clasp, also used as a form of oath or promise.
[3] חיפא J. "impetuous attack": ("Barefoot", Lidzbarski's translation, is unlikely, as it is not considered a sin to walk barefoot. *bhifia* also means "in mourning")
[4] *Hafiqia mia* see p. 45 n. 6.

98

The day on which the soul goeth forth,
On the day that the perfected one ascendeth,
On the day that the soul issueth from below
The spheres of death, of contention 1),
Strife was thrown into the earth.
Ruha's slaves sit 2) bewailing
And the Seven sit in consternation.
The robe of the stars is rent
And dust is cast on Ruha's head.
The hell-beasts 3) weep
And the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken.
The Being who brought me hither,
Who brought me that which was beautiful,
Put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance,
In a wrapping 4) of light he covered me.
He set on (*my head*) a wreath of ether
And (*gave me*) of that which Life bestoweth on the 'uthras.
He set me up amongst 'uthras
And stood me up amidst the perfected (souls).
A wreath of ether he set on my head,
And gloriously he brought me forth from the world.
Life supported Life,
Life found its own,
Its own did Life find,
And my soul found that for which it had looked.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went thither.

99

Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen ones,
By the Word and Certitude 5) that came to you

---

1) D.C. 53 p. 134 1.5. *hišgiš*, D.C. 3 *kašgš*, M.L. p. 164 1.1 *ka šgiš*. From the P. کشاکش *kašākaš* (distraction, contention, tumult).

2) Read *yatbia*.

3) *Zangaiia* "barkers, roarers, bellers" - a name given to the wolves, lions and dogs who attack souls in the *maṭarata* (purgatories. *See Diwan Abatur*).

4) *Ṭarṭabuna*, see p. 81. n. 1.

5) In both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 it is *ušrara*. Lidzbarski translates "word of *truth*".

The Word and the Certitude that came to the good,
The True Word 1) which came to believers.
My Chosen, ye sought and ye found,
Moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find.
Ye sought and found, my Chosen ones,
As the first (souls?) sought and found.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia.
And thou bringest to victory all who love thee.
And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".]

100

In a building which Life buildeth,
Good trees flourish.
Fragrant is the perfume of the trees
With the perfume of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Which pervadeth them.

[Here recite "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shem son of Noah, and "Good is good for the good".]

101

The Life hath founded a dwelling,
And radiance dawned
In the sublime Ether!
I and my brethren, the 'uthras,
Have set out every good thing 2),
Have set out the allotted portion of the Great (Life):
We have offered it up in purity to the Place of Light.

102

The building that Life buildeth
Will never come to nought.

[Repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion 3)

---

1) Read *kšiṭa* as in D.C. 3 and M.L. p. 165.

2) "I and my brethren" means the celebrant and co-celebrants. The *ṭabta* refers to the small piles of ritual food ranged round the *ṭarianas* (tables) of the priests.

3) I.e. have eaten a few mouthfuls of the ritual food.

and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark [1] and Light set up in its place".]

103

Darkness is crushed back into the Dark
And Light is set up in its place.
The Life hath accepted your prayer,
The 'uthras have accepted your praise
The oblation is assigned to its lord,
And bounty to him who giveth it.
This soul of N. and the souls of this *masiqta* [2] rest at the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the *masiqta* and pray a prayer for thyself.
And Life is victorious.]

[These hymns and homilies of baptism and the *masiqta* I copied for myself so that there may be for me commemoration on earth *etc.* (*Cf. other colophons.*)]

104 [3] (The *Rušma*)

My Lord be praised!
May Kušṭa strengthen you! In the name of the great Life may healing and purity be thine!
O my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,
Great Jordan of living water,
In the name of the Great Life
We have cleansed our hands in truth (*kušṭa*)
And our lips with faith;
We have uttered words of radiance.

---

[1] *'Uma* in M.L. p. 166: 10, also in D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and most copies. *'Uma* = "darkness", "gloom", "obscurity" (see ܥܡܡ rt.-meaning "to be dark, overclouded, and the Aramaic עמם "to be dark, obscure" and cognates). The formula occurs again in Prayer 391, but, this time, both my mss. have *'ma* (mother). The alteration may be deliberate, for in Mandaean mysticism "the Mother" is associated with matter, the gross and the physical.

[2] The soul of the person in whose name the *masiqta* was celebrated and other souls commemorated.

[3] This prayer, which is not in M.L., is recited daily by every Mandaean, and by every priest before each stage of a rite and every morning, whilst performing the minor ablutions. The water used must be "living" i.e. running, and each action and the verse accompanying it, is repeated thrice.

My mind is absorbed[1] in (*thoughts of*) Light.
Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name
My Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, and blessed and praised
Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory
Which emanated from Itself. (Three times.)
I, N. son of N (*or daughter of N.*),
Am signed with the Sign of Life
And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Were pronounced on me.
(Three times)
My ears have heard the voice of Life.
(Three times)
My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life.
(Three times)
My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire,
And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed[2] One anointed.
My Sign is in the great jordan of living water
And the Sign and name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is mentioned upon me.
Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up
And the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is mentioned upon me.
(Three times)
My mouth was filled with prayer and praise.
(Three times)
My knees bless and worship the Great Life.
(Three times)
My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kušṭa) and Faith.
(Three times)
I, N. son of N., am baptised with the baptism
Of the great Bihram, son of the Mighty (Life)
My baptism shall guard me and will succeed.
And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Are mentioned upon me.
(Three times)

---

[1] ṢHṬ, according to Lidzbarski is used almost always with fire in the sense of catch fire, and in Prayer 115 (M.L. p. 178, 1. 9) he translates '*ṣhiṭibun*" sich entflammten". Above, however, we have '*shiṭabun* in what is practically an identical passage. See J. ṢHṬ 2.

[2] The Anointed, i.e. the Messiah.

My feet [1] — and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve
Shall be powerless to rule me.
The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Are mentioned upon me.

105 [Known as the *Asiet Malkia*]

Kušṭa heal you!
In the Name of the Great Life!
Healing and victory [2] be thine,
O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies!
Healing and victory be yours;
My honoured First Parents
Healing and victory be yours;
Treasure of the great First honoured Life.
Healing and victory be thine;
King Mara-ḏ-Rabutha-'laita
Healing and victory be thine;
King Yušamin the Pure, son of Niṣibtun
Healing and victory be thine;
King Manda-ḏ-Hiia, son of Niṣibtun,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Hibil-Ziwa
Healing and victory be thine;
King Anuš-'uthra
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šišlam-Rba
Healing and victory be thine;
King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia [3]
Healing and victory be thine;
King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance
Healing and victory be yours,
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš,
Healing and victory be yours
Adatan and Yadatan,
Healing and victory be yours

---

[1] Out of place? Or should it be *Ligraihun u'daihun* ("The feet and hands of the Seven" etc.)?

[2] Or, equally "health and purity" and for *nihuilak* "shall be thine". *Asuta uzakuta* is used in fact as a formula of polite greeting, a salutation. As this hymn is recited, the priest bows at every name. The prayer is not in M.L.

[3] The-great first-Radiance-was-bright. (שחק)

Šilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan,
Healing and victory be yours;
(Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light,
Healing and victory be yours;
(Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation,
Healing and victory be yours;
Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab [1]),
Healing and victory be yours;
Sar and Sarwan,
Healing and victory be yours;
Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun,
And Tar and Tarwan
Healing and victory be yours;
Yufin (and?) Yufafin,
Healing and victory be yours;
Habšaba and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa,
Healing and victory be yours;
King Barbag-'uthra,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šingilan-'uthra,
Healing and victory be thine;
Simat-Hiia,
Healing and victory be thine;
Great 'Zlat [2]),
Healing and victory be thine;
Šarat-Niṭufta [3]),
Healing and victory be thine;
Kanat-Niṭufta,
Healing and victory be thine;
Bihrat-Anana,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Abathur-Rama [4]),
Healing and victory be thine;

---

[1]) The prefix "anan" indicates the spouse of the spirit named.

[2]) *'zlat* ("she-span") is a personification of pious wifehood of priestly caste. Šišlam-Rba, the prototype of Mandaean priesthood, took to wife 'Zlat, and the marriage is described as a pattern for earthly marriages.

[3]) See p. 37, n. 1.

[4]) There are two Abathurs, one appears to be an *dmuta* (or counterpart) of the other. In the less abstract form, he is Abathur of the Scales, the spirit of justice which weighs human souls in his balance.

King 'Uṣṭuna-rba [1]),
Healing and victory be thine;
King Abathur-Muzania,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Pthahil, son of Zahriel [2]),
Healing and victory be thine;
King Yahia [3])-Yuhana,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Adam, the first man,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šitil, [4]), son of Adam the first man,
Healing and victory be thine;
O (ye) kings and 'uthras,
And Indwellings [5]) and jordans,
And running streams and *škinta*s
Of the worlds of light,
All of you, healing and victory (be yours!)
And (may there be) forgiving of sins
For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnuš), (N. son of N.)
Who have prayed this prayer!
May there be forgiveness of sins for me!

(*Note.*— The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", i.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayer-times daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnuš. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (*Rahmia*), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

---

[1]) The "Great Body". The Great Life projected itself as a universe into the Great Body, shaped, according to gnostic tradition, like a man's body with worlds as limbs and organs. Here personified: also called Adam Kasia.

[2]) Zahriel was brought up from the underworld by Hibil-Ziwa, whose semblance wedded her there. Their offspring was Pthahil, who was therefore part darkness and part light.

[3]) John the Baptist.

[4]) Šitil, (usually one of the triad Hibil, Šitil and Anuš) died in order that Adam might live longer. Hence he is called the purest of human souls.

[5]) *Mašknia*. Or, just "abodes".

106[1]

In the Name of the Great Life!
Up, up! (ye) Elect righteous ones,
Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones!
Rise, worship and praise the Great Life!
And praise the great king Šišlam-Rba,
And praise the Occult Tanna[2] and Ham-Ziwa,
And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great,
And praise Simat-Hiia,
From whom all worlds came into being;
And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm[3]
From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being.
I worship and praise that lofty and great
King of light, the Compassionate One
Who is full of loving-kindness.

[Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours (daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions". Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]

107

In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends,
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

---

[1] In Lidzbarski's *Mandäische Liturgien*, this part comes as *II*, *Die Oxforder Sammlung* (i.e. in the Bodleian Library). Prayer 106 is Prayer I of his Erstes Buch, on p. 171 M.L.

[2] See p. 9, n. 1.

[3] See p. 14, ns. 5 and 6.

108

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship Life
And I praise my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name... in the name of that Primal Being"]

109

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship Life and I praise my lord
Manda-ḏ-Hiia and that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[Pray this prayer at the devotions of the seventh hour and then recite "In their name... in the name of that..."]

110

In the name of the great Life!
The time, the time for devotions arriveth
The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come.
My awakener is Hibil, my instructor [1] is Šitil,
Anuš lifteth up [2] my hymns,
The immerser in my immersion [3] is Šilmai
And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

111 [4]

In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

---

[1] Lidzbarski *Hymnensänger* (M.L. p. 173).
[2] D.C. 53 has *damia*, read *ramia* as in other mss.
[3] The priest immerses himself at the early morning prayer.
[4] A repetition of 107.

112 [1])

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship the Life
And I praise my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (= *In the name of the Life*) and "In the name of that (*Primal Being*) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (*Yawar-Ziwa*)", "Let there be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.]

113

In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, through this Sunday prayer!

"On the light of Ether do I stand,
I stand for the Great Light with its purities!
I am Manda-ḏ-Hiia, emanation (*lit. planting*) of the Mighty First Life.
I cried to the first day of the week, (*Habšaba*)
The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light
Who enlighteneth 'uthras. To him I said
'Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world,
To that world which is all birth,
To be with the Elect Righteous,
Men formed of flesh and blood.
Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them,
Stand by them, take care of them,
Give them strength and fortitude
So that they may stand and worship and praise
The Mighty Sublime Life!'"
Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-ḏ-Hiia
"How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth
To be with elect righteous (men)
Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me!
They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour,

---

[1]) A repetition of 108.

And remit not my sin and transgression?"
Then Manda-ḏ-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday,
"Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world
To this world that is all birth, to be with
Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood.
And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them,
Stand by them and take care of them!
Turn back and drive away from them
The seven planets together with their demons and devils,
And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures;
So that they will forgive thee thy sins [1])
And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem
And victory will be ours and will be thine".
Then Manda-ḏ-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous,
"Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom
I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you,
To uplift you and make you upright,
And to bring you prayer and praise.
Forgive him his sins [2]) and transgressions
And hold him in great esteem."
Manda-ḏ-Hiia taught and expounded and said,
"Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses
On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem,
Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras
Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory.
For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous
And bright than all the 'uthras!"
Blessed and praised is Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the Confirmer".
And Life is victorious over all works.

114

In the name of the Great Life!
Sublime Light be glorified!
Early I arose from my sleep: I stood,
Into radiance that was great I looked,
I gazed into radiance that was great,
Into the Light which is boundless.

---

[1]) Read "they will forsake *their* sins and *their* transgressions".

[2]) I feel sure that this should be "Forsake on it (Sunday) sins and transgressions".

When clothed[1] in robes of radiance
And light was thrown on my shoulders[2],
A wreath of ether He set on my head
And set it on the head of all His race[3].
He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn,
And the Light-rays[4] answer His voice.
And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up
From their sleep.
He said to them "Arise, ye sleepers who lie there,
Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled,
Arise, worship and praise the Great Life
And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life[5],
Which shineth forth and is expressed
In sublime light."
    And Life be praised!

115[6]

    In the name of the Great Life!
We have purified our hands in *kušṭa* (truth)
And our lips in faith
We have uttered words of radiance
And were absorbed[7] in thoughts of light.
Thou, my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, art blessed and praised
And thy praise is established (*on high*).
Great is the strength of Life;
Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!
Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.
This is prayer and praise which came to them[8] from

---

[1] Not as in M.L. "Ich war bekleidet". Possibly "When the dress of radiance was put on"?

[2] D.C. 53 *lkadfḫ* "on his shoulder" (D.C. 3 *lkadfiḫ*): M.L. (from the Bodley ms. *lkadfai*) "on my shoulder". As the Bodley ms. is the older I have adopted this reading.

[3] In both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 "He set an ether-wreath on *his* head and set it on all his race".

[4] *Pasimkia:* see p. 63, n. 4.

[5] Is the sun taken here as a symbol or image of the deity?

[6] The first few lines are identical with 104 (the *Rušma*).

[7] D.C. 3 makes *'shiṭ abun* two words (not *'ṣhiṭibun* as in the Oxford Ms.) De Morgan has *'shiṭabun* as in the *Rušma* and here. See Lidzbarski's note, M.L. 168 n. 2 on the meaning, which he associates with fire. Jastrow, סְחַט however, gives good reason for his second meaning "to absorb".

[8] D.C. 3 and M.L. "came to us"

The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.
We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,
Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

116

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name
My lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee:
'Ufania [1] (interpretations?) of truth which are unchangeable
Have blessed thee.
Sons of salvation who sit in thy company
Have blessed thee.
Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Naṣirutha
Hath blessed thee;
Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,
Hath blessed thee
And I [2] worship and praise that channel of light,
The messenger of all rays-of-light.
Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,
Being who resteth upon the *škinta*s!
Upon *škinta*s [3] doth his name rest.
Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness
And upon the great Countenance of Glory.
And Life be praised!

[Pray these four prayers, "On the Ether-Light do I stand", "Early I rose from my sleep", "We have purified our hands in *kušṭa*", and "Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name". Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense.]

117

I worship, praise and laud
That Šrar, the great occult First Vine
Whose fruits are a thousand thousand,

---

[1] אוּפְנָא "turn". interpretation". (In later Hebrew, see J. אוֹפֶן)

[2] D.C. 53 has *ḏ-ana* "whom I" etc.

[2] M.L. "upon all *škinta*s."

And a myriad myriad His tendrils;
Upon Whom I called and He answered me.
Further, when I call on him, He will answer me;
For He will come and will heal me,
Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me 1)
Will direct my eyes to the Light,
And my feet to steadfastness
My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That first great occult *škinta*
That is the house of dazzling beings.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That occult, first *škinta*
Which my Parents 2) inhabit.
Then I worship, praise and laud
Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine
Which loosed its milky juices 3) into the habitations.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That Ruaz, the great first Light
Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That great, occult, first *škinta*
To which the eyes of Naṣoraeans,
Men set apart, and the elect righteous
Look, that they may rise and behold
The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

[Pray this prayer in the *Rahmia* (Devotions) of the seventh hour, after incense on the fire (*and after?*) "On the Ether-Light do I stand"]

118

It is time to pray the "Devotions",
The great moment for humble worship 4),
For offering up propitiatory prayer 5)

---

1) D.C. 53 *unitaqnan*, D.C. 3 *unitraṣlia*, also M.L. p. 181, 1.3.

2) "My Parents", i.e. according to priestly teaching the cosmic Father and Mother.

3) "Nourishing juices" is perhaps better. From HLB? Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 181, n. 1) rejects this derivation.

4) Lit. "to humble oneself".

5) *Hilita* from (חִלָּה "to assuage by prayer or gifts"). French *douceur*.

To my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
For arousing 1) the elect righteous.
The priests say to Manda-ḏ-Hiia
"We will abjure that which we possess
Of fee, alms and benefit
And the (false) deity 2) of the House 3).
We will come and will be believers."
Manda-ḏ-hiia saith to them, to the priests,
"Your Father hath great strength,
Surpassing all limit, (*stronger*)
Than passionate thoughts, vain things
And the devouring flame.
The Good One clotheth His children:
He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them
That there is great enlargement 4) of Life
And your souls shall rejoice
With clouds (*spouses?*) of light.
But other souls will die and become
As though they had never existed.
Ye shall receive your vestments: 5)
Ye shall receive your wreaths.
In the presence of the Great (Life?)
Ye will be great, and will be called
'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.
And ye will say "The Living stand
In the dwelling of the Life".
And Life is victorious over all works.

[Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand".]

119

In the name of the Great Life
Be the sublime Light glorified!
On Sunday, the first of days,

---

1) Read as one word, *lmitiauria*. Different readings by scribes suggest corruption. Lit. "in order to awaken (or arouse)".

2) Read *ulalahuta*.

3) "House"here = the earth, the world.

4) Or "rebreathing", "refreshment", "renewal".

5) *Titqablun 'uṣṭlaikun* omitted in D.C. 53 : see M.L. 183 :4 and D.C. 3 p. 162, l. 5.

Who hath seen that which I have seen?
Who saw Manda-ḏ-Hiia
When he went and came to the world?
He went (thence) and came to the world.
The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.
He taught, and lovely was his voice!
And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence,
Eloquence he put into his mouth.
He revolutionized and forsook the world:
The world he revolutionised and forsook.
Spirit (*ruha*) sitteth in lamentation
In lamentation sitteth Ruha;
And the Seven sit in consternation;
They weep and prolong their mourning
Because their mysteries are disclosed,
Because disclosed are their mysteries.
They will be brought to an end
On the great Last Day.
Namrus [1] feared and trembled,
Her weapon fell from her shoulder,
From her shoulder fell her weapon
And her bows [2] from the palm of her hand,
Ruha addresseth her sons,
Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),
She saith to them, "Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do?
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"
A consuming ray [3] of light
Is in Manda-ḏ-hiia's hand; felling them
He cometh (*to?*) the rebels.
The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice
At departure [4] of the Seven
Saying to them "I have brought wares

---

[1] Another name for Ruha: *varr.* Nimrus.

[2] Plural.

[3] Or "a mace".

[4] *paṭur* occurs in D.C. 36 and DC. 6 of prayers, that they are the soul's *paṭur* (*paṭurḫ hinun*) i.e. "her discharge", her "permission to leave" seems the likeliest translation.

To my friends.
I brought truthful words to believers.
Men who buy my wares,
Their merits wreathe their heads
Twined are their merits,
And their horns are exalted
On [1] their heads.
They will arise and will behold
The Place of Light.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

120

My day — what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!
What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,
The day on which the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia dawned:
On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

121

Before the Wellsprings were transmuted [2]
Before the Awakening [3] without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world:
The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.
They become clear and shining [4]
They gush forth and cast out impurities.

---

[1] Literally "in" or "with" their heads.

[2] The whole hymn deals with the transmutation of turbid water by Water of Life: (*šinia*,, from ŠNA "to change"?).

[3] In spite of Lidzbarski's note M.L. 186 n. 4, *tirata* is undoubtedly "awakening". In D.C. 43 *ulabšinta ulabtirata* "neither in sleeping or waking". Lidzbarski takes *lbar* in this line for *lbab* ('b' and 'r' are easily mistaken).

[4] *Nasbia tuqna* has the double meaning "take on restoration" and "assume luminosity".

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?
Voices cry aloud proclamations [1]
Planning schemes, all of them talk!
(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings,
One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.
(As for) us, who have praised our Lord
Thou wilt forgive us our sins.
Thou wast victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.
And Life is victorious.

122

O Lord of devotions,
O Lord of Prayers
And of hymns and good [2] books,
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hear my voice and condemn me not!

123

Except for six or seven nations,
Fruit is set up on the Tree;
On the Tree fruit is set up
And (other) trees gather together toward it.
Toward it do the trees assemble,
And a throne is set up for the Lord [3] of Radiance
For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up
And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.
Before him are set up recompenses
Which he delivereth to the perfect,
To the perfect doth he deliver them
And said "To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded". And he said [4] "Every man who toiled [5]
And was long-suffering shall come and take with both hands,

---

[1] Or "sacred instruction" "scriptures".

[2] Reliable, orthodox books.

[3] Read *Irab*.

[4] Not in M.L.

[5] D.C. 53 is defective. For *kulhin ḏ hua* read as in other mss. *kul man ḏ hla u'tangar*. The verb is הַלָּא not חַלָּא (in Mandaic there is no distinction between the two hs.). Jastrow gives as the meaning of הלי, הלא "to be faint, to labor" i.e. to toil till fatigued. For *'tangar* read *'tnagar* (cf. [illegible]).

But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.
He will seek but will not find,
And ask, but nought will be given him,
Because he had in his hand and gave not,
He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."
Thou art praised, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Who dost not condemn thy friends.

124

I seek a boon from the Life,
From Thee, mighty Life.
I seek a boon from the Life —
That Ye will rightly guide Your praise [1])
For me.

[These three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

125

In the name of the Great Life
At the beginning of the construction [2])
I issued from thee, everlasting abode:
At the beginning of the Building I emanated from the Builder,
The Great (Life) who built me.
From the Builder, who is the Great (Life)
Who constructed me, I came.
My Transplanter transplanted me.
I came: my Transplanter transplanted me
With advice that was counselled by the Great (Life),
With advice given by the Great (Life)
They sent me that I might build a building,
That I might construct a building for the good,
For true and faithful men,
I built and constructed it;
And at the beginning of the building I established,
I planted living plants therein,
True and faithful men.

---

[1]) I.e. the worshipper's praise of the Life.

[2]) Lidzbarski took *banana* to mean "in a cloud". The context, however, and the evidence of other texts proves the word to mean the act of building, construction, a building, and usually the act of creation.

I entreat my Builder (Creator) (*saying*)
"Keep Thine eye on my Plants
Upon my Plants keep Thine eye,
Lest, perchance, they droop 1) and lie down
Forgetting the good things commanded (them),
Until they sleep (droop) and until they lie down,
And until they forget Me (and) the good things commanded,
Until they forget Me!
(*Then*) will apostasy enter into them."
Beware of it, my brethren! Beware of it my friends!
Beware, my friends of Jesu, the pseudo-Messiah,
And of those who misconstrue appearances
And alter the words of My mouth.
If ye are wary, my brethren, if ye are wary, my friends,
If ye are wary, my brethren, when ye depart from your bodies
I will be a Helper to you.
A Helper and a Support from the Place of Darkness
To the Place of Light.
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And makest victorious all those who love Thy name.

126

At the beginning of the pure *Kimṣa* 2)
Accompanied by sublime Rays of Light,
I gazed and beheld a great (sprouting) 3) Shoot
Which was transplanted from within the great Jordan.
Sublime was his voice his perfume fragrant,
His appearance shining and splendid!
And Life is victorious.

127

A Being, chosen, righteous, sprang up
And shone forth in the world.
He appeared in the world and shone forth.
He spoke with the Mighty Life;
With the mighty Life he spoke,

---

1) In the Middle East a gardener says of a drooping plant that it is *nāima* "sleeping", and here "sleeping" applied to a plant would mean "drooping".

2) *Kimṣa* especially when used with KMṢ appears to mean "formation", "materialisation", "taking shape" or "consummation". Here, possibly "formation" is the word.

3) *Nibṭa*. "a sprout", "outgrowth".

And revealed mysteries that were veiled,
Mysteries that were veiled he revealed.
His glory resteth on his friends,
On his friends his glory abideth.
But the whole world 1) persecuteth him.
When he saw that the worlds persecute him
He lifted his eyes to the Place of Light.
They opened the Gate of Light to him
And he arose into Life: They (*Life*) supported him.
Life supported Life,
Life found Its own,
And my soul hath found
That for which it had waited.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And thou bringest to victory
All those who love thee.
And Life is victorious.

128

O Man, whom acclamation chose out,
Who wast selected out of the world,
They will cause thine eyes to shine, good one! 2)
For they have clothed thee in a robe
Which is beautiful.
Because of thy cry and the sound of thy teaching,
The Great Life hath accepted thy prayer
And thy praise.

129

"Whither goest thou, chosen 3) righteous One
Whom all thy friends seek, for Whom all Thy friends
Long and desire Thine appearance amongst them?"
"I have gone to build a building 4)
Yonder in the world.
I built it 5) and constructed it

---

1) *Kulhun almia*, often means "all persons", "everyone", "all the world"
2) In D.C. 3 and Oxford ms *ṭaba* (not *uṭaba*).
3) D.C. 53 has *bhiria:* read *bhir* as in other mss.
4) For *banta* in D.C. 53 read *binta* as in other mss.
5) Read *banth̬* as in other mss.

And set it up in the beginning.
Into the Building I transplanted
Plants that were living,
True and faithful men.
I entreat my Builder,
The Being who guardeth the Building,
I entreat my Builder (*saying*)
'Direct Thine eyes to my plants,
Upon my plants keep Thine Eye;
For perchance they may wilt ¹) and lie down
And forget the good things They commanded;
Until they sleep and until they lie down
And until they forget the good things commanded (them)!'
The Being cried to the world from one end to the other,
To the world's end the Being called the world and said,
"Well is it for one who taketh heed to himself!
The man who taketh heed to himself
Hath not his like in the world! Moreover,
Men who are staunch shall live:
But those who turn aside shall come to an end.
Those who turn aside shall die ²)
But those who are staunch shall find certainty.
My brethren, hold firmly to your staves ³)
And endure the world's persecution.
The worlds' persecution endure
With a true and believing heart.
Worship Me with uprightness
And I will act as your Helper,
A Helper and support from the Place of Darkness
To the Place of Light.
And Life is victorious.

130

On the day on which They opened
The great gate of the Dwellings ⁴)

---

¹) See p. 119, n. 1.

²) So in both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3. The line is missing in M.L.

³) The olivewood staff (*margna*) is part of a priest's insignia, so that priests and not laymen are addressed.

⁴) *Hilbunia* is a literary word for "houses". Literally *hilbuna* means "egg", for which the usual word is *bit* (which also means "house"). In poetry, human beings as well as divine personages live in *hilbunia*.

The radiance of the King over the holy 'uthras
Was enhanced.
To true and faithful men there came
Prayer and thanksgiving.
They rejoice and delight therein
And raise their prayer and praise
To the Place of Light.

[These three hymns and three chants are for the second day of the week (Monday).]

131

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
"Thou camest from the House of Life;
Thou camest - what didst Thou bring us?"
"I brought you that ye shall not die:
That your souls shall not be pent back.
I brought you on the day of death, Life;
On the day of affliction, Joy. [1]).
I brought you a serenity
That existeth not in the unrest of nations".
"This, this hast Thou brought, Good One!
To the true man what hast Thou brought?"
"I have made him My treasurer,
Made him ruler over all that I have.
I have given him precepts of right-dealing
By which he entereth and departeth [2])
As a man who hath realised his desire.
Chosen ones! ye have asked and have found;
Furthermore, my chosen, ye shall seek and find
Just as the first (*believers?*) sought".
And Life is victorious.

132

Come, come, King of 'uthras,
Lofty Messenger, who came from His Father's House.
Come! receive my prayer and my praise
And lift it up in peace to the Place of Light!

---

[1]) Read *hadua* as in D.C. 3 and the Oxford ms.
[2]) I.e. "is born and dies".

133

Thou camest from the House of Good Beings.
(O) would [1] that Thou hadst not come into corruption
Into the evil and falsity of this world!
Would that Thou hadst not come into corruption
And hadst not been seen by my eyes!"
"If verily I came, if verily I appeared,
Thine eyes are eyes of falsehood
Whilst my eyes are eyes of truth.
Lying eyes are darkened utterly.
Eyes of falsity behold not the Truth!
If thou wishest to see, Ruha, [2]
Go to the house of him who knoweth Me,
Those who know me, for I dwell amongst them
In the hearts of my friends
And the thoughts of my disciples".
And Life is victorious.

134

Come, come, King of 'Uthras,
Lofty Messenger for whom my eyes look!
Hearken, hear my cry
And lift up my prayers and my praise
To the Place of Light.

135

Fragrance came from its place,
Truth came from its Home,
Fragrance came from its place,
It came and settled in the House
It crieth and maketh the dead live,
It arouseth those who who are dying
And lying prone.
It awaketh souls who are fit for [3] and worthy
Of the Place of Light.
This, this is what the Good One did,

---

[1] *'dilma* indicates a doubtful or sarcastic statement. or a negative form of stating a condition. Ruha is the speaker.

[2] Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *lruha:* the Oxford ms. *ruha.*

[3] D.C. 3 *ḏ-šihia*, D.C. 53 *ḏ-šiha.*

And set up that which liveth, His Sign.
The planets assembled, they went.
They confronted him that ruled them,
Saying to him, "Hast thou not seen, Alaha-Alihun [1]),
That a Fragrance hath come from its place,
A fragrance from its place hath come?
The (*And that*) *Mana* hath moved from its place?
It calleth and maketh the dead live,
And rouseth the dead [2]) and the sleeping;
It awaketh souls who are fit for and worthy
Of the Place of Light.
This, this hath the Good One done,
And hath set up that which liveth, His Sign".

Alaha-Alihun opened his mouth,
Saying to his sons, his first-born,
"Come, come, my children,
My first-born and my offspring!
Listen to the thing which I say unto you!
If ye find a righteous man,
Bow yourselves low before him,
One bow for himself, and the second
For the Fragrance of Life which resteth upon him".
Behold, Life is victorious!
Life triumpheth over this world.

136

Come, come, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
The Mount of Darkness becometh light,
It groweth light, the mount of Darkness,
And the turbid waters become fresh [3]).

[These three hymns and three chants are for the third day of the week (Tuesday).]

137

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!

---

[1]) I.e. God-of-gods.

[2]) D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 both bave *mitia:* The Oxford ms. *maitia* "dying", which Lidzbarski has translated "bringt her".

[3]) The antithesis of turbid. The adjective means "fresh" also of myrtle.

There was a Cry in the firmament
And thunder sounded in the House of Stars.
Ruha and the planets sit in lamentation,
They sit in lamentation over a man
Who sprang up from the Earth,
About a man who sprang up from the Earth
And rent a fissure in the House,
A fissure he rent in the House
And into it he cast dispute.
A dispute he cast into it,
Not to be resolved for an age of ages;
(Not) until Manda-ḏ-Hiia cometh
Bringing with him three chosen ones,
Bringing three chosen ones with him
And lifting them up to the everlasting Abode,
To the place which is light-giving and effulgent.
Summoned and invited (*thither*) are your souls,
And the souls of our good brothers
And those of our sisters who are believing.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,,
Good One, who establisheth his friends!
And Life is victorious.

138

The voice of a hidden Sprout [1])
It spoke and discoursed from the Earth,
From the Earth it spoke and discoursed.
The Great Life, from the Occult, answered it,
From the Occult the Great Life gave it reply.
And It transferred thither and sent a Messenger.
The Messenger (whom) It transferred and sent
Subdueth the might of rebels.

139

I ascended the mountain Carmel [2]),
Thee I ascended, Mountain, Mount Carmel!
The mountain of Carmel I ascended.

---

[1]) I take "sprout" to be a young "plant", that is a young believer.

[2]) *Karimla*, Carmel, is mentioned in the 26th. fragment of the *Drašia ḏ-Yahia*.

Twelve vines [1] awaited me.
The vines saw me, the Vines beheld me.
When they saw me, the vines waxed great,
They spread out their foliage.
They increased, spread out their foliage,
Increased their fruit and their blossom.
(*Yet*) they knew me not, did not discern me,
Nor did they take heed of me.
They knew me not, did not discern who I was,
Nor whose son I was [2],
The man who saw me and discerned me,
His course is set for the Place of Life!
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And leadest all thy friends to victory.

140

Between mountains twain,
And between three *škintas*,
Between mountains twain
Yawar, the Chosen One, founded a *škinta* [3])
A *škinta* did Yawar found,
And chosen righteous were established therein,
Therein were the chosen righteous established [4]).
And they arise and behold the Place of Light.

141

Who will come, who will tell me,
Who will inform me, who will teach me,
Who will come and who will tell me
What 'uthras are like, what 'uthras resemble,
And what do rays-of-light resemble?

'Uthras resemble Radiance,
"Rays" resemble Light.
'Uthras pledge their word [5])
And do not lie.
The planets lie: they

---

[1] The twelve tribes?
[2] The second *ana* is a miswriting. (Not in D.C. 3.)
[3] *Škinta:* The cult-hut?
[4] The second *mitqaimia* is omitted in D.C. 53.
[5] Lit. "take oath".

Come to an end on the Great Last Day.
Life is extolled, and victorious
And victorious is the man
Who went hence.

142

The advent of Hibil-'Uthra —
Like Šitil, he goeth to the house of his friends,
Priests who hearkened to the voice of Anuš the great 'uthra;
They worship and praise the Great Life
From the beginning unto the end.

[These three hymns and three chants are for the fourth day of the week (Wednesday)].

143

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified.
In the glory of my Father I stand,
And with praise of the Being who is my Creator:
In the glory of my Father I stand
And am upright in the House of Perfection.
At my voice the earth trembled;
At my radiance the heavens were shaken,
The seas dry up,
Flowing streams fall into barren wastes.
Destroyed, rent asunder are fortresses
And earthly men of might are quelled.
Mountains, however lofty,
Like bridges are laid flat.
As for the wicked, who rise up against me,
There is a Being who will hew them down,
Not with my strength but in the strength of the mighty Life.
And Life is victorious and victorious the man
Who went hence.

144

By my pure radiance am I protected;
And the 'uthras, my brothers, are covered with light.
Through the vigilance and praisegiving of the 'uthras,
My brothers, the glory of Life cometh and resteth upon me.

145

When the Mighty [1] (Life) speaketh
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection
The Great and Mighty One transporteth (*or* createth)
Šilmai and Nidbai: It transported Šilmai and Nidbai
And gave them to Nṣab-Ziwa as his helpers.
When Nṣab-Ziwa had reliance on the ʼuthras,
The perfect beings whom They had sent down,
He spoke with his calm voice
And the chosen go out towards him [2]
Towards him go out the chosen.
And he giveth them some of his glory
Some of his glory he bestoweth on them,
And the chosen on earth are confirmed
The elect righteous are confirmed;
They rise up and behold the Place of Light.
Extolled is Life victorious,
And victorious is the man who went hence.

146

I am preserved by my pure radiance
Like the Mighty One [3] in His Glory.
My raiment shone forth in the House
And my prayer and praise rise upward to His Place [4].

147

Miserable [5] am I!
When shall I go (hence?)
(*When will*) my aching heart find relief?
My heart that aches (*when will it*) find relief?
And my soul, that they made an alien,
Find its vent?
In the place where they are much questioned
The glory of Life will rest on me.
And it will rest upon my priests and (those)

---

[1] The plural indicates the Great Life.

[2] The couplet is missing in D.C. 53: I take it from other mss. including D.C. 3 and the Oxford ms.

[3] Again, the plural indicates the Great Life.

[4] In D.C. 53 very plainly *latrḥ*.

[5] *Ania* means both "poor" and "miserable".

Whom the Seven persecute in this world.
(Yea) the Seven persecute sorely!
The worlds which persecute and wrong,
The Seven, they and their king,
Are bound for conflagrations of fire.
(But) the good, the elect, the just
And the perfect rise
And behold the Place of Light.
Life is extolled, victorious,
And victorious is the man who went hence.

148

"I am poor 1) and submissive,
An elect righteous one 2).
Listen, hearken to my cry!"
"Thou, poor one, with thy children,
Thine offspring and thy priest,
Shalt rise and thou wilt behold
The Place of Light".

[These three prayers and three hymns are for the fifth day of the week (*Thursday*).]

149 3)

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
At the door of the synagogue
Her mother meeteth Miriai,
Miriai her mother meeteth,
And she questioneth her straitly,
"Whence comest thou, My daughter Miriai?
That thy face plucketh (*colour from*) the rose.
Thy face plucketh (*colour from*) the rose
And thine eyes are full of sleep,
Full of sleep are thine eyes
And thy brow beareth marks of vigil!" 4)

---

1) See p. 128, n. 5.

2) That is to say, one of the *bhiria zidqa*, one of the Mandaean community.

3) The conversion and baptism of Miriai are described in G.R., see Lidzbarski's translation, p. 341; and in J.B. II p. 123. See also 162, p. 140.

4) שְׁהַר "to be awake: *šaharta* = "a vigil", "a watch"? Doubtful: the word could also mean "sleep"!

And she (*Miriai*) answered her,
"Yea, these two or three days
My brothers stayed in my Father's house;
In my Father's house my brothers stayed
Chanting wondrous chants.
At their voice, at the sound of the discourse
Of the 'uthras, my brothers,
No sleep cometh to mine eyes,
To mine eyes no sleep cometh
And my brow (*keepeth*) vigil". [1]
Hast thou not heard, daughter Miriai,
What the Jews say about thee?
The Jews say 'Thy daughter is in love with a man,
She hath hated Jewry and loved Naṣirutha;
She hath conceived hate for the synagogue-door
And love for the door of the *maškna* [2]).
She hath taken dislike to the phylactery-band
And loveth the fresh (myrtle-) wreaths.
On the Sabbath she carries on work;
On Sunday she keepeth her hands therefrom.
Miriai hath hated [3]) the Law
Which the Seven imposed (bound) upon Jerusalem'".
On the place where she was standing,
Miriai scattereth the dust with her foot
And sayeth "Dust on the mouth of the Jews!
Ashes on the mouths of all the cohens (priests)!
And dung beneath the horses' hooves
Be upon the Elders who are in Jerusalem!
That which I have come to love I cannot hate.
That which I (now) hate, I cannot love.
(*No love have I*) except love for Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
My Lord, who standeth by (me) and will be
My Helper, lending hand and support
From the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light".
Thou hast vanquished, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
And bringest victory to all those who love thy name.
And Life is victorious.

---

[1]) Delete *la*?
[2]) The *maškna* is the Mandaean cult-hut and its enclosure.
[3]) In D.C. 3 *slitḫ*, Oxford ms. *aslitḫ* "rejected".

150

On the day that the great gate of the Dwellings 1) opened,
The radiance of the King upon the holy 'uthras was increased.
The 'uthras bowed in adoration
And the Great Life accepted their prayer and their praise
From beginning to end.

151 2)

When will my Lord come from thee
Victorious heaven?
He will lift my head from my knees
And dry my eyes from my tears.
My lap that is full of ignominies
He emptied 3) before Him
I lay low 4) and I arose.
I will tell him everything: of how
All the worlds have harried me,
Many were the persons 5) who harried me.
(*But*) my brethren, sons of Kušṭa,
Do not fail me.
The worlds stoned me with stones
(But) my brothers were moved in words to anger thereat 6).
(O) that my Lord would come from thee
Victorious heaven! for He will lift my head
From my knees and dry my eyes from my tears.
My lap, which was full of ignominies,
He hath emptied out before Him, I lay low
And I arose 7). And I will recount to Him everything,
How all the worlds persecuted me;
Many were the persons who harried me,
(*But*) my brothers, sons of Kušṭa, do not fail me.
The world stoned me with stones,

---

1) See p. 121, n. 4.

2) This prayer differs considerably in the D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and D.C. 1 versions from the Oxford ms. which Lidzbarski used.

3) Oxf. ms *'nfiṣ qudamḫ* "I will empty out before Him"

4) Oxf. ms *rmia qudamḫ 'qum*, for *qudamḫ rmit uqamit* in the other three.

5) *Almia* for "persons", see p.2, n. 3.

6) Lidzbarski is mistaken: the soul makes no complaint about her "brothers in Kušṭạ".

7) See ns. 3 and 4.

(*But*) my brothers, in words were angry (thereat [1])
They said to me "Why weepest thou, Daughter of Kušṭa?
(*Why*) do thy tears [2]) fall down into thy bosom?
Thou knowest well thy road!
Thy boundary-stone is firmly erected!
Between lamps of light
They will lift up thy lamp,
Between lamps of light
Thy lamp they will set up [3]),
And they will shine forth.
In thy time and season arise,
And behold the Place of Light.
Extolled is Life and victorious
And victorious the Man who went hence.

152

Ye are uplifted and fortified
By a word of sure truth [4])
Which hath come to you.
A word of sure truth hath come to the good,
A truthful word to the believing!
To the Place which is all Life
Your souls are bidden and invited,
And the souls of your good brothers
And of such of our sisters who are believing.

153

A cleft was cloven in the earth:
Thunder sounded in great Sion,
The being who breached the breach
Was unable with (all) his might
To stop it up.
Another who was with him,
A weaver of a fishing-nets he was,
Cast his net for fishes great and small.
Fish who had strength thereto

---

[1]) Omitted in D.C. 53.

[2]) Read *dimih* as in D.C. 3.

[3]) The repetition is in D.C. 3.

[4]) *Šrara* is more than "truth": it is something sure, fact, something that cannot be shaken, certainty, also (physical) soundness.

Broke the net and got out.
Fish whose strength was not equal thereto,
Lay beneath the lead[1].
On the day that the breach will be closed,
On the day that the waterwheels[2] gush out,
On the day that the breach is blocked,
Ye fish, where will ye go?
O ye who sup on[3] scourge and despotism,
What will ye do on the Day of Judgement?
O ye who wear flowers and silk
What will ye say to the Being of the Scales?[4]
Voices have been voiced,
Opinions have been given, all (*kinds of*) pronouncements;
Yet there cometh one Voice
And teacheth all voices,
There cometh one Saying
And teacheth all sayings.
There cometh one Being,
Who explaineth them one by one.
We who praise our Lord,
Thou wilt forgive our sins and trespasses,
Our sins and trespasses Thou wilt forgive us,
Which we foolishly committed in the world,
For the sake of the strength of the holy
And the true-dealing of the believing.
Life is victorious and victorious the man
Who hath gone hence.

154

I have spoken and discoursed with my voice:
"O Lord of devotional prayer[5],
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hearken and hear my voice,

---

[1] The *silita* is the *selīya* of the modern fisherman on the Tigris and Euphrates: a circular net, weighted round its circumference by lumps of lead.

[2] Wooden irrigation wheels. (P.) The *naura* is still employed but has been largely replaced by oil-pumps.

[3] I.e. "are avid of", lit. "eat." M.L. has *šauṭa* for *šuṭa*.

[4] Abathur (*Muzania*).

[5] I.e. the *Rahmia*, daily devotions.

And be Thou, Great Life,
To me a Helper".

[These three prayers and three hymns are Friday's.]

155

In the name of the Great Life,
Sublime Light be magnified!
Stand by Me, be steadfast,
(Ye who) know Me;
Stand by Me, be staunch,
My friends.
Stand by Me staunchly
(Ye who) know Me,
Like a stone column in storm-winds!
Tempest may go, tempest may come;
(But), My friends, change not
(The words of?) My mouth.
For men who stand firm will live,
(Whilst) those who turn away will meet their end;
Those who turn away will die
Those who remain staunch will find
Sure truth. My brothers,
Speak truthfully, not with lying lips
Prevaricate. Be not like a pomegranate
Which on its outer face is sound,
Outwardly sound is its surface,
But inside it is full of dry husks.
Be like a wine-jar full of Azmiuz wine;
Its outside is clay and pitch
But inside it is Azmiuz wine.

The Voice of Life calleth
And the ears of the chosen hearken.
Extolled is Life and victorious
And victorious the man that goeth hence.

156

By the bank of the great Jordan of the First Life,
A sublime Vine standeth erect.
Each and every day my prayer and praise
Riseth before it.

157

To the mountains I say
How fragrant are your odours,
How delightful your perfume!
Within you 1) all is full of brightness!"
They reply, "The Being who passed through our midst
Hath no tangibility or substance,
No substance or tangibility hath He,
Nor is there any kind of need in Him.
The Being who passed amongst us,
Released some of his vivifying power 2) amongst us."
The wicked hold their power of reproduction
(To consist of) questions 3) (?) and words.
But not in questions(?) and words can the vivifying power 4)
Of Life be comprehended,
But in truth and belief
Which the Elect hold as their vital principle.
Every man who holdeth to his vital principle
And is steadfast therein, raiseth up life,
To support it (*life*).
(*But on*) one who did not grasp his vital principle
And did not stand firmly upon it,
From yonder they loose strife,
They loose strife from yonder
And he will become the portion of the world.
And Life is victorious.

---

1) In mountainous regions, I suppose.

2) *Niṣubta* is a word of very complex meaning. It is primarily the urge to propagate, reproduce, the *élan vital*, the vivifying principle, procreation, planting, implanting. At the beginning of the hymn the poet, admiring the sweet herb-scented mountains, is told by them that it is the divine vivifying power of Life which has produced their perfume and beauty. The working of the vital urge in man is then described as a yearning for true life, the life of the soul. In later Mandaean literature *niṣubta* is an expression for a wife or bride, *nṣab niṣubta* = "he took a woman to wife".

3) *Šulia*. "Questions" is *šuialia*, not *šulia*. *Šul* שול is a word for "lower parts", "sexual part", and here possibly that is the meaning. A play on words may be intended.

4) The varying value of *niṣubta* makes translation difficult, and the whole poem is obscure.

158

O shoot which sprouted within the Tanna [1]
O prayer and praise
Which came to us from the Place of Light!

159

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
The departure of the sabbath
With its evening [2] (*marketh*),
The entry of Sunday for good.
At the departure of the sabbath
With its night,
The Good One set forth and came into being
And he took his lofty throne
And placed in it that which he brought [3].
And he took his shepherd's-pipe of Truth
That is filled with prayers [4] and praise.
Once on a time, Good One,
I played [5] thereon.
The door of the heavens opened!
A second time, Good One,
Did I hymn therewith,
And all the wicked became good!
And a third time, Good One,
I hymned therewith.
All were stirred to consciousness
And they arose.
It said to them, "Rise up, come [6],

---

[1] *Tanna*, see p. 9, n. 1. A modern Mandaean legend was related to me which may be founded on this prayer. It was that a green shoot sprouted in Noah's wife's oven as a portent that the flood was imminent. See MMII pp. 259-260.

[2] Read *brmaš*. (*Bar maš* and *brmaš*, "son of groping", "son of searching", may be deliberate play on words.) I translate "with its evening", not in the Christian sense of an "eve", because with Mandaeans a day begins at dawn, not at sunset of the previous day. רְמַשׁ = "evening", "night".

[3] Another play on words : עיתא = "time"?

[4] Read *pisnia*. Dalman gives *pisan* as "prayer, supplication" (loanword from the Greek).

[5] Lit. "I discoursed, preached".

[6] Not in M.L., but in both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3.

Ye sleepers who lie sleeping!
Arise, ye erring ones who have stumbled!
Is not my rule hard upon you?
And doth not my high lash fall heavy upon you?"
They say to him, "By thy life,
Our father [1], Son of the Life,
Because of the radiance and light
Thou hast brought with thee
Thy rule is not hard on us
Nor does thy high lash strike hardly upon us!
But as for the wicked,
The son of the wicked,
It entered his body
And felled him (to the ground)".
Once I cried to the evil one
"Keep aloof from my gnostic!" [2] (*or* "Avoid my hand!")
I repeated, saying to him,
"Keep aloof from my friends!"
And a third time I spoke to him
To the wicked one, and I will not let him go free,
I will slay him utterly, the evil one,
And will cast him into world's end
Into world's end will I cast him
For I cried to him [3] in his ear and he heard not,
In his ear I cried and he heard not.
I showed him, before his eyes, but he looked not.
I showed him, but he saw not with his eyes.
He will meet his end on the great Last Day.
As for us, who praise our Lord,
Thou wilt forgive us our sins and trespasses.
Life is renowned and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

160

It revealed itself, and set off and came,

---

[1] M.L. *abun*, D.C. 3 *abuhin*, D.C. 53 *abuhan*.

[2] In D.C. 3 and the Oxf. Ms. *ḏ-siṭar mn yadai huia;* DC .53 *ḏ-saṭar mn 'dai huia*, "Be an avoider of my hand".

[3] Read *qrilḫ* as in M.L.

The face of the day [1] the name of which is holy [1].
Secret mysteries were revealed to the 'uthras
Enlightenment was revealed, and praisegiving
That was great and boundless.
The 'uthras who were transported thereby
Rejoice in its wondrous radiance
From beginning to end.

[These three prayers and three hymns are for the seventh day of the week (Saturday).]

161 [2]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
The outgoing of the sabbath with its night [3]
Is the entry of Sunday for good.
(*At*) the outgoing of the sabbath with its night
The Life summoned me, from amongst Them,
And some of His serenity He imparted to my mind.
He issued a command, and they clothed me with radiance,
Brought me light that was powerful
And covered me (therewith).
They armed me with their armour
And gave command; to the earth they sent me
To voice the Call of the Life,
To found a society in the House,
To found abodes and to build in them sanctuaries [4],
To ordain priests [5] who are fit for
And worthy of the Place of Light,
To smoothen a road for the good,
To prepare a path for the believing,
To make plain and lift up
Probity [6] to its place;

---

[1] M.L. p. 223 translates *Vorabend des Tages*. Mandaeans begin a day at sunrise, not sunset the previous evening like Jews and Arabs: and this is a reference to Sunday, the morrow.

[2] This prayer is not in the Bodleian ms. (Oxford Marsh 691) — hence not in M.L.

[3] Three words are combined: *b rmaš m'iil*. See p. 135, n. 2.

[4] *mašknia* = cult-huts.

[5] Or "to teach disciples". The reference, however, is to the ordination of priests.

[6] *Tuqna*. Or "steady light", or "honesty" or "orderliness," "orthodoxy".

And to leave dross behind [1] at its proper place,
To deliver the whole congregation of souls,
(The souls) of Naṣoraeans and Mandaeans,
So that the sinner may have no power over them.
I set forth: with my radiance that is great
I came to this world,
I called with the voice of Life,
And I caused a society to dwell in the House [2].
I founded *škintas*, I built in them sanctuaries,
And I instructed priests (*or disciples*)
Who were fit for and worthy of
The Place of Light.
I levelled a road for the good
And prepared a path for the believing,
I made plain and set up probity
In its place
And left the dross behind at its place.
I delivered the whole congregation of souls,
(Those) of Naṣoraeans and Mandaeans,
So that the sinner should have no power over them.
Who told the sons of the Evil One
That they should go forth towards me?
They say, "Man, give us some of thy radiance
Which is great, and some
Of thy light which is boundless!"
I answer them, "Efface yourselves,
Be banished from before me
(Ye) dead ones, evil ones
Who have not beheld Life!"
Who giveth the portion of light
To Darkness, or truth to the wicked?
The truth which was mine I have given
To Naṣoraeans, righteous and believing men.
Behold, they dedicated themselves to goodness,
They will rise and will behold
The Place of Light.
Life is extolled and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

---

[1] *Mišubiq* in D.C. 3.
[2] The earth.

162 1)

In the name of the Great Life,
Sublime Light be magnified.
At the going-out of sabbath,
On the eve of the first day of the week, for good,
— The going-out of the sabbath —
At eventide Miriai went to the door of the sanctuary 2)
To pray her prayers and to praise the 'uthras.
All the evil ones who saw Miriai wore the *qulab* (tunic) 3)
All of them had put on clothing,
Wearing weapons they go forth toward Miriai,
Saying to her, "We adjure thee, Miriai,
By the Word, by truth and troth,
Moreover we adjure thee, Miriai.
By the Being from whom thy enlightenment proceeded,
The Being whom thine eyes beheld,
(*Tell us,*) What is He like?"
I do thus; I say to them,
"Be blotted out, be banished from my presence,
(Ye) dead, (ye) wicked men
Who beheld not the Life
Nor have ye seen that which mine eyes have seen,
Nor heard that which my ears heard.
The Being whom mine eyes 4) beheld —
There is not His peer in the world
(*Though one were*) to lift eyeballs
From bank to bank of the world!
At His tread and at His footsteps
The earthly world was alarmed.
The dead heard Him and lived.
The sick heard Him and were cured,
Lepers heard Him and were healed,
They got up, they arose, they were healed
By the healing of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

---

1) Not in M.L. (see p. 138, n. 2).

2) *Maškna* = that which is called to day a *mandi*, i.e. the Mandaean place of worship.

3) קוֹלְבִּין A tunic without or with short sleeves (χολόβιον). See Jastrow, p. 1328. The word is omitted in D.C. 3.

4) D.C. 3 *ainik;* D.C. 53 *ainai*

Which, in His goodness, He bestowed upon them.
And Life is victorious.

[Pray these two prayers in the *Rahmia* (Devotions) for candidates for priesthood, on Saturday evening after "It revealed itself and came". Then recite "Poor am poor I! from the fruits".]

163 [1])

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
On Sunday, on the chief of days,
Who saw that which I have seen?
Who saw Manda-ḏHiia who set out and came to the world?
He set out and came to the world and three 'uthras came with him.
When he had put [2]) on a robe of radiance and light
Thrown [3]) over his shoulders,
An ether-wreath he set on his head
And he set it on all his kin.
On Sunday, on the chief of days
Who hath seen that which I have seen?
Who saw the Stranger who went
And stayed at the house of his friends?
I, who saw the Stranger,
Mine eyes were filled with His light
Mine eyes with light were filled
And knowledge (*manda*) dwelt in my heart
In my heart knowledge dwelt
And my mouth filled with his praise;
His praise filled my mouth.
And I arose, and I praise my Father.
I arose and (gave?) praises to my Father
From dawn until the decline of day
I praised His great radiance
And I praised his lovely light:
And I praised my father Yušamin the Pure,
The being who dwelleth on the water-springs.
I praised the four beings sons of salvation,

---

[1]) Not in M.L.
[2]) D.C. 3 has the correct *lbišlḥ*.
[3]) D.C. 3 *mramia*, D.C. 53 *mramai*.

Beings who grasp the hand in troth [1]
Praises to the great First Palmtree! [2]
From it I brought me garments,
Garments I brought me from it
So that the good might come and clothe themselves.
Praise my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Who will be my support in the world,
A support in the world will He be to me
And His hand will help me
To the Place of light.
Blessed and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who went hence.

164 [3]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
I beheld a mountain,
White as the congregation [4] that had formed itself on it.
The day on which a wind breathes *(over it?)*
Nations delight in its perfume.
The day on which the wind holds the valleys [5]
They are illumined by its radiance.
When standing at my place, I made a great request,
A boon. I said "Grant me that from my mountain-home)[6]
And from the home of the great company that (dwelleth ?) therein
There may be (brought ?) a Healer of souls;
A Healer there may be for souls
Who healeth but taketh no fee".
As I was standing at my place
The boon I had asked was granted me,
Granted me from the mountain-home,
From the home of the great community therein.
I became a healer for souls!
I became a healer for souls

---

[1] Paraphrased: see p. 2, n. 1.

[2] See p. 14, n. 6.

[3] Not in M.L.

[4] *Kana* cf. *kana ḏ-nišmata*, "congregation" or group of souls.

[5] D.C. 3 has *parata*.

[6] *'qar, aqar, qar* = the French *chez:* i.e. an habitual residence, hence "home" seems an adequate translation.

Who healeth but taketh no fee.
I set forth, came and reached
The gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon
There were some who shut their doors on seeing me:
There were those who shut their doors.
And there were those who opened their doors.
Those who shut their doors
Hated life and loved death,
They loved death and hated life
And will be held back in the Abode of Darkness.
Those who opened their doors
Loved Life and hated Death,
They hated Death and loved Life.
They will rise up in purity
And will behold the Place of Light.
Life is extolled, Life is victorious
And victorious is the man who went hence.

[These two prayers, pray them at the dawn of Sunday after "My day what is it amongst days" then recite "Poor am I; from the fruits".]

165 [1])

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Life be magnified!
Poor am I! From the fruits... [2])
And displaced am I, from far away am I!
A poor one whom the Great Life afflicted [3]),
A displaced (being), for the 'uthras removed me;
They brought me from the Abode of the Good;
Yea! they assigned me a dwelling in the abode of evil ones,
Yea they made me dwell in the abode of evil ones
Which is all full of wickedness.
All full of evil, full of consuming fire.
I willed it not, nor do I desire
To dwell in the futile dwelling,

---

[1]) M.L. p. 223.

[2]) This makes no sense. I suggest that originally *piria* was *Piriawis*, and that it was *mn Piriawis atit* (I came from P.)

[3]) A play on words; *'niun* also means "answered me" : עני means (a) to answer (b) to afflict, oppress.

With my strength and with my vigilance (*Perforce and with vigilance?*)
Have I dwelt in the futile abode,
By my vigilance and my praise
Have I kept myselt alien from it,
From the world.
I have stood amongst them like a fatherless child,
Like a fatherless child, or like
A fruit tree with none to tend it [1]).
I hear the voice of the Seven,
Who murmur and confer together:
They say, "Whence is this being? (this) stranger,
Whose whose speech is not like our speech?"
I did not listen to their talk
And they were filled with evil rage against me.
The Life, who heard my cry, sent towards me a saviour.
He sent me a gentle 'uthra,
A being equipped and equipping.
He discoursed with me in his pure voice,
Just as 'uthras discourse in the House of Perfection
And he said, "Fear not, poor thing; and do not tremble,
Say not 'I am alone!'
Because of thee, poor one the firmament
Was thus outspanned, the heavens were outspanned thus;
And stars were created therein.
For thy sake, poor one,
This dry land came into being,
The dry land came to pass and became solid
And fell into the water.
On thine account, poor one,
The sun came; for thee was the moon revealed.
On thine account, poor one, did the seven [2]) come.
And those twelve [3]) went hither.
At thy right hand, thou poor one, abideth radiance
And at thy left are beams of light.

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[1]) Lit. with no nurseryman.
[2]) The planets.
[3]) The signs of the Zodiac.

Stand firm! Rise in thy brightness [1] (?)
Until thy measure (of years) is complete.
When thy measure is complete,
I myself will come to thee, I will bring thee
Robes of splendour
Which the world, coveteous [2], will entreat;
I will bring to thee wrappings [3],
Good and pure, of the Light
Which is great and boundless.
I will deliver thee from the wicked
And save thee from sinners.
I will set thee in thy *škinta*
In the Pure Place. I will rescue thee!"
I hear the voice of the Seven
As they mutter and whisper and say
"Blessed is it that the poor one
Hath a father, and the fruit-tree one who tendeth it.
For us there is no father: our fruit-tree hath none to tend it!"
Well is it for him whom the Great Life knoweth
But woe to him whom the Great Life knoweth not!
Well is it for him whom the Great Life knoweth,
Who keepeth himself alien from the world,
From the world of imperfection
In which the planets sit.
On thrones of rebellion do they sit
And perform their deeds with a scourge.
They stir up trouble about gold and silver,
They cast into it (*the world*) strife,
They stir up trouble cast strife into it.
And they will go into the fire: will seethe,
They will go into fire and will seethe,
The wicked will seethe and their pomp
Will perish and be brought to a stop.
(But) I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
And my offspring and my kinsfolk

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[1] D.C. 53 *bmazrutak*, D.C.3 *bmazarutak*, Oxf. ms. *bamazrutak*. Lidzbarski apparently derives from ZHR, (to take heed)· (It could equally be derived from the meaning "to emit light"). Here, perhaps (but not very probably) from MZR: see P.S. Thes. ܡܰܙܪܳܐ "stocks"...vulg. hardy, sturdy, unflinching"., hence "endurance". Doubtful.

[2] Lit "the world of coveteousness asks it".

[3] See p. 81, n. 1.

I will arise, I will behold the Place of Light
The place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.
To it, to that place, (*to that*) bourne
Your souls are bidden and invited,
And the souls of our good brothers
And those (of) our sisters who are believing.
Life is extolled and victorious
And victorious is the man who went hence.

166

In the name of the Life!
The 'uthras rejoice in His [1]) treasure,
And 'uthras increase in glory
Through the Treasure.
The 'uthras rejoice and shine
In the vigilance and praise
Which your Father, the Mighty Life,
Inspired in you. [2])

167

In the Name of the Great Life!
Thee, my Lord, do I worship
And Thee, my Lord, do I praise.
Light-in-Truth do we call Thee.
Look on us, Lord, and condemn us not!

168

Upon the Beginning of the great Ether of Life
And upon the great Source of Healings
Do I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, take stand.
I have made prayer and submission to
That great [3]) Primal Mana and the Treasure of Treasures,
And to Bihrun, Kanfiel, Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab,
To Sar and Sarwan, Tar and Tarwan, 'Urfiel and Marfiel

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[1]) Very plainly this in D.C. 53, but not in D.C. 3 or the Oxford ms.

[2]) Lit. *Nṣablkun* (planted on you) in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53. The Oxf. ms. *nṣablun* i.e. "which your Father transferred from the Mighty Life".

[3]) All the beings named in this list appear to be personifications of some function or activity of life or light, but analysis of these names cannot be entered upon here.

And to Arsapan[1], the Youth of tender years,
And to Yawar-Tatgmur and to Haš-u-Praš
The 'uthra who is Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab,
Bihram and the great Ram — Life is His name —
Who receiveth prayer and praise
And uplifteth it (them) to the Great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.
He will accept my prayer and praise, mine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
And lift it up to the Great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode
Into His own *škinta*; will uplift it and will not let
Distortion or fault appear therein.
And Life be praised!

169

To thy name, Land (world) of Light
And to the great Door of the House of Life
Have I addressed my prayer and made submission,
And to that great First Mana
And that great first Source of glory who is
Haš-uPraš (He pondered and declared) and Prišaia-rba-qadmaia
(Noble, great, First) is His name[2];
Our propitiation[3] and our Awe.
Wondrous is His voice,
And His converse other-worldly.
(He it is) who accepteth prayer and praise
And taketh it up to the great place of Light
And to the everlasting abode.
He accepteth my prayer and my praise,
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
Who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions.
And he lifteth it up to the great place of Light
And to the everlasting abode
And delivereth it to the great Yawar.
This is prayer and praise which came to us
—To the Elect Righteous—to this world

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[1] In D.C. 3 the same spelling: the Oxford ms. Arspan.
[2] Delete ḏ.
[3] See p. 113, n. 5.

Which is all birth.
For every man who prayeth this prayer
There will be forgiving of sins.
To every Naṣoraean man who prayeth this prayer
And standeth at his devotions,
And mentioneth these names sincerely,
A guardian-spirit of light will come
And will abide in his house,
(*And will abide in my house*)
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.
And I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
By means of this prayer will seek and find
And speak and be heard,
I will seek justice and win (*my case*);
I shall be without sin or trespass
In the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
Life be praised! and Life is victorious.

(These are five (?) [1] prayers which are fruits of ether (?). The first is the confirmation [2] of your "Devotions". Pray them after the hymns and psalms for the day before the major "Blessed and praised be Life".)

These are the prayers and chants and the offertory [3] of the "Devotions" which I, poor and lowly, a minor amongst brother-priests, have copied. I kiss the shoes on the feet of the pious [4] and (am) as earth on the feet of Naṣoraeans, dust [5] beneath the feet of *ganzibras*. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia and Riš-Draz by name. I copied for myself so that I might act and be successful therein and that I should have someone on earth to mention my name [1]) and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light.

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[1] Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 230 ls. 12 f.) has *Halin tartin bawata ḏ-qaiamta ḏ-rahmia qria abatar draša ḏ-yuma mn qudam Brikia umšabia hiia rabtia*) D.C. 53 here may be a miscopying.

[2] *Qaiamta* (that which confirms, or establishes, or offers up) in general seems to mean a prayer of dedication. Lidzbarski translates Festigung.

[3] Or see note 2.

[4] Nasakia has acquired this meaning from the Persian and Arabic نسك but also, again from the Arabic نسخ, "copyist".

[5] *Arqa bigar* "earth-on-the-foot" = humble slave.

I copied from the *qulasta* (collection) of Baktiar son of Mhatam-Zihrun son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, of the Dihdaria family, by the name of Sabur, which the great, lofty and respected Rabbi Ram-Yuhana copied; (he was) the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam, son of R. Šitil, 'kuma by name. And he copied from the *qulasta* that was copied for himself by R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun, 'kuma by name. He copied from his own *qulasta* for a "perfect" man, an *'stad,* [2]) Hadat son of Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the Dihdaria family, Sabur by name. He copied it from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty, revered one, a pourer-forth (*or* "copyist") of treasure, highly perfected in priestcraft, R. Sam-Yuhana, son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam, 'Asakir by name. He copied this insertion (rubric) from the *qulasta* of Zihrun-Yuhana son of R. Zihrun son of Yahia-Adam son of Zakia, Manduia by name. Adam-Yuhana copied it, son of Adam-Bihram son of Bihram son of Sam son of Yahia son of Mhatam son of Adam of the Kafašia family, known as Dubia, 'Aziz by name. He copied it from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and respected ganzibra, one exempt from all blemish, R. Mhatam-Bayan son of Zakia-Šitlan son of Sam-Yuhana son of Sarwan-Bahran son of Adam-Baktiar son of Sam-Bahran son of Yahia-Br-Zakia by name, He was of the children of Zakia son of Yuhana, known as Buhayir. He copied from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and respected R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, son of Adam-Zakia son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar, Kuhilia by name. And his teacher copied from the *qulasta* of Yahia son of Adam son of Sam son of Zakia-Zihrun, 'Asikir by name; who copied it from a *qulasta* which 'Amuyia Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Zakia Kuhilia who copied for himself from the *qulasta* of the great and lofty and revered ganzibra- a chosen one whom the First Life chose out, R. Mhatam Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, by name Kuhailia, may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied from a *qulasta* which was copied for himself by 'Amuyia, R. Mhatam-Zihrun-Br-

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[1]) *Dakar* "mentioning", "a mentioner". That is a relative or priest to insert his name when reciting the list of names commemorated at sacraments for the dead.

[2]) A skilled person, a professor, a skilled craftsman.

Hiia son of Baktiar, Kuhilia by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of R. Ram-Bayan son of R. Sam, son of Mhatam Daudania by name, which was copied by R. Sam-Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam, Tutu by name. It was kept in the library (*ginza*) of R. Adam-Yuhana son of Sam-Daudania and was copied from the *qulasta* of R. Bihram son of Bihram-Yahia-Šaiar, Tutu by name, who copied for himself from the *qulasta* of Sam-Bihram son of Bihran-Gadana that was copied by R. Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam-'qaiam son of Sarwan the Deaf, who copied it from a *qulasta* he had copied for himself from a *qulasta* copied by R. Adam-Zihrun son of Yahia-Yuhana son of Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia who copied it for himself from a *qulasta* he copied for himself from the *qulasta* of R. Bihram-Baian son of Br-Yahia-Baz, whose first pupil (*candidate for priesthood*) who copied it was the brother of his father Bihram-Baian son of Yahia-Baz who copied from his own *qulasta* which he copied from the *qulasta* of Ruzba-Bulbul son of Bihram which Adam-Zihrun copied, the son of Yahia-Yuhana- Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia. Adam-Zihrun copied it for his pupil, Adam son of Yahia-Sam-Paiiš: he copied it from the *qulasta* of Adam-Zihrun son of Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia. And Adam-Zihrun copied it a second time for himself from the *qulasta* of his father Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia, And Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad copied it for Zihrun-Br-Bihdad which Zakia son of Yuhana copied. He copied it for Sam and Anuš, the sons of Br-Hiia. He copied from the *qulasta* he had copied for his pupil, Mhatam-Bulbul son of Br-Hiia, from a *qulasta* which Anuš M'ailia copied — the son of Bihdad-Zakia son of Zihrun. He copied from the manuscript of his father, Anuš-M'ailia son of Anuš-Bihdad who copied it for himself a second time: he copied from the *qulasta* of Hibil son of Yahia son of Sam-Saiwia from the manuscript of Baian son of Zakia. His mother was Haiuna daughter of Yahia. It was copied from the library which remained with them from the place Ṭib. And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat was its compiler, and Ramuia copied from Šganda and Šganda copied from Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa: the name of his father was Naṭar. And Zazai copied from the Scroll of the First Life.

And Life, rejoice for ever! Life is victorious over all works, and victorious is Manda-d-Hiia and his helpers.

(*Translator's note*). — At this point prayerbooks used by priests vary in order, and D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 no longer run parallel. Into

D.C. 53 I have inserted the longer form of Commemoration used at every *masiqta*. It is called the *Abahatan Qadmaiia*. In the list of commemorations, family names, the names of local priests, friends or relatives are inserted according to the occasion, place, or priests, but the beginning is always the same, and in the *Abahatan Qadmaiia* the names of heavenly beings, patriarchs, ethnarchs and liturgists are permanently embedded.

This prayer, the major *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia*, is not in its full form. in M.L.

I have included here also the six prayers which follow the *Abahatan Qadmaiia* in D.C. 3.

170 [1]

Good is the Good (one?) [2] for the good, and He set His nature [3] upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread [4], *masiqta* and *ṭabuta* [5]. His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor [6] of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yušamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Habšaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin [7] and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Šitil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins.

There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud [8]. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Šurbai and Šarhabiel [1]. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Šum son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nišbai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnuš daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher [2] Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnuš: forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of Šarat-Simat,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anuš son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram-Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me.[1]) And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of *ganzibria*: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-Šitil son of Šarat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Šadia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of Šarat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and Šaria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar-Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (*Bihrat?*)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisḥaq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šabur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mhatam and Šitil, sons of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anuš son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šaiar-Ziwa and Šabur son (*sons?*) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (*them?*); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

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[1] Cf. No. 72; distinguished from No. 170 as the *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* of Šum (Shem) son of Noah.

[2] See p. 60, n. 3.

[3] See p. 60, n. 4.

[4] See p. 61, note 2.

[5] See p. 61, note 2.

[6] The person or persons who ordered the *masiqta*.

[7] "Son-of-a-Family"? Priests translate Qin as "earth", "dust"

[8] Ram and Rud were a human pair who survived the destruction of the world by sword and plague.

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[1] Šurbai and Šarhabiel were sole survivors after the destruction of the world by fire.

[2] A priest when praying this prayer always inserts the name of his "teacher" i.e. the priest who initiated him into priesthood.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa-

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[1]) Some names are omitted from the (copied) text. In most prayerbooks the family-names vary, but the first and last parts remain the same.

Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anuš Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anuš, Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (*them?*); Bihdad son of Šadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

The people, (*consisting of*) all Naṣoraeans, priests and laymen (*mandaiia*), and *ganzibria* and *ganzaiia*[1] (*headpriests and treasurers*?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations)[2]; all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (*ṭabuta*), and for you, my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ye upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling[3])"

And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

171

(*Note.* — 171 is taken from D.C. 3: in D.C. 53 it begins as No. 257, p. 287 of the Mandaic text of D.C. 53.)

In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree[4]) Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a[5]) which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great Šišlam[6]) who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree; praised is the great 'zlat[7]) Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all kings, because from them (*both*) all worlds proceeded — for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

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[1]) In most versions.

[2]) In some conclusions to this prayer *daria* is inserted here.

[3]) Or, lit. "the living stand in their *škinta*s (dwellings?)".

[4]) I.e., the two first creative forces, one male, the other female (See p. 14, ns. 5 and 6).

[5]) *Tan(n)a.* See p. 9, n. 1.

[6]) See p. 105, n. 2: 'zlat is Šišlam's bride and the archetype of wifehood.

[7]) See n. 6.

Praised is that first great Jordan [1]: praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first *Škinta* and praised are the three hundred and sixty *škinta*s [2] which proceeded from that first great mystic *Škinta*.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and said, "Upon every Naṣoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (*prayer of*) dedication [3] the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anuš-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate [4] (*his crown*) sixty-one times and make (*this*) petition [5]: (and say)

Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the great First Life, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (O) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me: be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

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[1] The Great First Jordan is the River of Life, Water of Life. A jordan is running water generally, but in particular a pool of running water used in the cult-hut garden for baptism.

[2] *Qaiamta;* a name given to a prayer of dedication.

[3] *Ṣauta* can also mean "heed" or "company", "fellowship".

[4] See p. 28, n. 3.

[5] This prayer is called the *Šal Šulta* (pron. Šāl Šūltẖa).

O Habšaba (Sunday)! deliver me from hell-beasts [1] and from purgatory-demons [2] and from water-penalties [3], and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts [4], the chief Levier of dues [5] and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth [6] to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me.

O Abathur-Rama, O Abathur-Muzania [7]! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding!

Haiašum, healer; [8] Kušṭa, and Yusmir healer of the *mana* and its counterpart, heal me (*preserve me*) from pains, from blemishes from hateful [9] curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body.

O Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba [10], Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and for my teacher [11], for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-ḏ-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life [12] Life will be with the victorious.

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[1] *Zangaiia*, see p. 100, n. 3.

[2] See p. 62, n. 5.

[3] *Qnasia*, varr. *qnasia ḏ-mia* referred to also in D.C. 24, probably a form of torture or ordeal by water.

[4] *Zangiania* in all mss. for *zangaiia*, see n. 1.

[5] D.C. 53, p. 290 text, omits *rab* before *maksia*.

[6] A free translation. The *kušṭa* rite.

[7] Abathur the Lofty and Abathur of the Scales.

[8] D.C. 53 (Prayer 257) and D.C. 24 have *ḏ-kušṭa*, but D.C. 3 is probably right in omitting the particle. D.C. 53 has also *ḏ-Yusmir*.

[9] D.C. 24 *luṭata bišata* "evil curses".

[10] D.C. 53 (Prayer 257) has *Yurba* (one word).

[11] *Rbai*, the priest who initiated him into priesthood.

[12] D.C. 53 (see Prayer 258) makes this a separate prayer. Both in this and in D.C. 24 *'in hiia u'iin hiia*. (*Hiia* is both "living" and "life").

They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us[1]. Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

172 [2]

Now (*we beseech Thee*), Life, (*bestow*) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) [3]. For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever hath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings".

And Life is victorious over all works.

173 [*The Šumhata*] [4]

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Šišlam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upon thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the *Mana* and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee.

The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures [1]), pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eye and the dimmed eye be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul, thy trunk and thy stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

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[1] Cf. G.R. p. 419, *hiia lyadin hiia lsabrin hiia lgubria masbiranan.*

[2] (D.C. 3 p. 215 text).

[3] Read *tlata zibnia:* (D.C. 3 *klata nubia!*)

[4] D.C. 3, p. 216 (text). De M. p. 1 ff "The Names."

174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (*ginza*) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil-Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

175

In the name of the Great Life.

Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou?"

I say to them, "I come from the Body[2]), the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consummation [3])".

They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called?"

I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

---

[1]) *Nidria ušalamata* are evils often mentioned in talismans.

[2]) The cosmic Body of Adam Kasia.

[3]) *Kimṣa* (see p. 119, n. 2.) here has certainly the meaning of final consummation.

Then they bless her (me) 1) and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal 2)" because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body. And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O Šilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body, compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

177 3)

In the Name of the Great Life.
Vines shone in the water
And in the jordan mighty they grew.
Ye are flourishing offshoots.
Messengers hither I bring you,
I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you
Garlands of myrtle and marjoram
For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

---

1) The poem veers constantly from the 1st to the 3rd person.

2) *Kimṣa.* (?) See p. 158 n. 3.

3) This prayer exists in several versions and appears to be very corrupt. Its use may elucidate the original meaning. It is recited when, at the Little New Year's Feast, priests hang wreaths of myrtle and willow on the door of every house. I venture on a reconstruction of the hymn as follows: —

(*From the fourth line*)

[*Messengers* (not a messenger) *I bring you.*]
Šgandia lhaka aitilkun yahbinalkun l'utria sagiia
Gadlilkun umatnalkun bbabia d-hilbunia
Klilia d-asa umarwa (*see note on this line*)
Yanqia gadlalkun umatnalkun
Alma lkimṣat almia brikinun
Yardna sagia brikinhun masbuta ḏ-labaṭla
Mn riš briš. (*cont. next page*).

I will rear up for you babes
And bring (them) to you.
We bless you unto world's end :
The full river (*yardna*)[1]) hath blessed you
And the baptism which is unfailing
From beginning to end.

178

Kušṭa strengthen thee [2]), my crown,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my teacher,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my turban,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, guardian of my turban,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Great First Radiance,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Great First Light,
Kušṭa strengthen you, my brother-priests,
Kušṭa strengthen You, Life, my Parents [3]),
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my treasure,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure!
We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times)
In an inner vessel they concealed thee [4]).
The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee,
And the Naṣirutha which emanated therefrom
Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion.
And treasure will arise to its owner.
And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever!
And Life is victorious [5]).

(Note.) — The section which follows in D.C. 53 p. 200 begins in D.C. 3 p. 357 after the Blessed Oblation Prayers. It is the section which deals with marriage and with the newly-crowned priest. I translated

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(*cont.*) I suggest that the proximity of *marua* to *yanqia* led scribes to confuse *marba ḏ-mrabia yanqia*, D.A., p. 11, with the present line, especially as *marba* is pronounced marua. However, the verse is said at the New Year, when priests visit houses and distribute wreaths which are hung on doors of houses. My translation is free, based on this supposition.

[1]) The rains fill the river at New Year.

[2]) ASA in the sense of curing that which is sick, is unsuitable to the Mandaic form of greeting *kušṭa asiak*, especially as addressed to divine beings when "give thee thy full power" is implied by *asiak*.

[3]) The cosmic parents, the Father and Mother.

[4]) The *taga* (a silk fillet) is kept in a box.

[5]) This prayer is repeated at putting on and taking off the "crown", see p. 28, n. 3.

the marriage hymns in *Biblica et Orientalia* no. 12, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome 1950, but am glad to alter certain prayers, for second thoughts have improved the earlier translation. The first prayer, No. 179, is found in a slightly different version in the G. R. (See G. R. Lidzbarski's trs. pp. 271-2).]

179

My Lord be praised!
Kušṭa strengthen thee!
In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified!

A. Come, Kušṭa, in kindness,
Light which goeth to the house of its friends.
B. Chosen art thou, pure one,
For thou establishest thy people in innocency.
G. Thou art a perfected selected gem [1]
Without flaw.
D. Thou art the Road of the perfect,
The path which leadeth up to the Place of Light.
H. Life art Thou, from eternity,
Who didst go and didst dwell in my true heart.
U. Woe to him who neither obeyeth nor listeneth to Thee, my Lord!
Whose path [2] lieth in courts of gross revelry.
Z. Thou art the armour of the perfect,
Truth without deviation.
Ḫ. Thou art wise and well-pleasing, my Lord,
For Thou teachest wisdom and faith [3] to all who love Thy name.
Ṭ. Well is it for him who heedeth and heareth Thee [4], my Lord,
And walketh his road following Thee.
Y. Thou art a day of gladness
In which there is no mourning or lamentation.
K. Thou art a Wreath of Purities (or "victories")
That is set on the heads of the enlightened.
L. Thou art a Tongue of Praise,

---

[1] *Gimra*, see p. 11, n. 9.

[2] D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 (p. 9, l. 5) both have *šabilḫ*. D.C. 53 like G.R. has *šbila* "path".

[3] In G.R. "wisdom and praise". D.C. 38 agrees with D.C. 53.

[4] Masculine in D.C. 53 and D.C. 38; feminine in G.R.

For every day thou praisest the Life.
M. Thou art the First *Mana* (Primal Mind),
Which Life constructed and built up.
N. Thou art the Light of Powerful (*Life*)
For thou didst go, and didst come to the world.
S. Thou art the Medicine that cureth pains,
The Healer who cureth all who love His name,
ʿ Thou art the Eye of the chosen righteous,
Which looketh daily toward the Life.
P. Thou art a Fruit of pleasant taste,
Which hath no blemish in it.
Ṣ. Thou art the First Consort [1])
An Espousal [2]) that none preceded
Q. Thou art the First Cry:
The Life evoked Thee from its Nature.
R. Thou art the Teacher of head-priests,
And Thy glory resteth upon them.
S. The dead heard Thee and lived,
The sick heard Thee and were healed.
T. Thou turnest (to Truth) the elect righteous,
Men who have laid hold of and believed in Wisdom,
Good men, proven and perfect;
Truth dwelt in their hearts.
Life is renowned, (and) victorious.
And victorious the man who goeth hence.

180 [3])

In the Name of the Great Life!
'Uthras assembled and Dwellings [4]) came together
And they set up a throne for Yawar, King of 'uthras,
They set up for Yawar, King of 'uthras, a throne,
And placed on his head fresh wreaths.
And his light shone forth over 'uthras and dwellings.

---

[1]) Or "association". The reference here is undoubtedly to the Father-Mother union at creation.

[2]) *Niṣubta* here is better translated thus. It is used poetically for "marriage" or "bride". See p. 135, n. 2.

[3]) M.L. p. 232. These prayers describe the investiture of Manda-ḏ-Hiia and are read for the investiture of a new priest and also for the bridegroom. See Š.ḏ-Q. p. 45, n. 1.

[4]) *Škinata:* probably the cult-huts, personified.

The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld the radiance of Yawar, king of 'uthras,
All flocked towards him, they all flocked towards him,
And laid their pure right hands on him and blessed him
With the great blessing wherewith Yawar-Ziwa the king
Was blessed in his dwelling (*škinta*)
And Life is victorious.

181

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they clad Manda-ḏ-Hiia in his vestment,
His radiance shone forth over worlds of light.
His brilliance shone forth on worlds of light,
And the worlds of light that beheld his radiance
All gathered to him, all flocked toward him,
And opened their mouths and blessed Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Saying to him, "Blessed is thy radiance
That shineth over the waters!
How bright is thy radiance!
Thine appearance giveth out light and becometh not dim!"
(*Give him to drink*) [1])

182

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they tied the girdle on Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
His radiance shone forth over 'uthras and Dwellings.
The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiance
Were all afraid of his radiance,
At his radiance all were in awe,
And all gathered to him, all flocked towards him
And laid their pure right hands upon him
And blessed Manda-ḏ-Hiia, saying to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed is this girdle wherewith they have girt thee!"
(*Give him to drink.*)

---

[1]) The *hamra* (wine) given to a bridegroom is water into which grapes or raisins (symbolical of female fertility and of the Mother) and dates (symbolical of male fertility and of the Father) have been macerated into freshly drawn water.

183

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested [1] Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the tunic [2]
His radiance shone forth over 'uthras and dwellings.
The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
All gathered towards him, all flocked towards him,
Laying theiı pure right hands upon him,
Blessing Manda-ḏ-Hiia and saying to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed is he who hath transferred to thee these vestments
For all the worlds which behold thee
Are awestruck at thy radiance.
(*Give him to drink*)

184

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia
With the stole [3], Šamašiel,
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings of radiance sprang forth therein,
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings of radiance sprang forth.
And the radiance of the wellsprings was visible at the jordans.
And the (*radiance of the?*) jordans and the radiance of the wellsprings is bright
And illumineth all the worlds of light.
(*Give him to drink*)

185

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Manda-ḏ-Hiia
His radiance shone forth upon the Houses [4],
Upon the Houses his radiance shone forth.
And He (that is) King of 'uthras, on beholding
The radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's crown,

---

[1] Lit. "planted", "transferred" = "conferred on".

[2] The long tunic worn by a Mandaean (whether priest or layman) is called the *ksuia* or the *sadra*.

[3] A long strip of white cloth used sling-wise by the priest whilst baptising to secure the staff which he plants in the river-bed, from falling or floating away. This frees his hands. See MMII, p. 31 ff.

[4] *Hilbunia* = "eggs" (a *bita* is an egg, and *bit* "a house"). See p. 121, note 4.

Leapt up from his throne; he arose,
From his throne he leapt up, stood up,
And the three hundred and sixty thousand 'uthras
With the King, stood and, laying their pure right hands
Upon him, they bless Manda-ḏ-Hiia, and say to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed this crown which they have set on thee.
All worlds thereby shine from end to end.
(*Give him to drink*)

186

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the *šarwala* [1]) Nṣab,
His radiance shone forth over the Houses,
Over the Houses his radiance shone forth.
His radiance shone forth over the Houses.
And the *niṭufiata* [2]) (heavenly spouses) who beheld Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiancy
Say to one another: "Whence cometh this radiance that shineth upon us?"
And a Youth standing in their presence said to them,
"This is radiance emitted by Manda-ḏ-Hiia's *šarwala*, Nṣab".
And all the heavenly women [2]) standing on the roofs,
Bless him and say to him, "Blessed art thou, our father,
Manda-ḏ-Hiia! and blessed be he
Who invested thee with these vestments!
This their radiance is surpassing!"
(*Give him to drink*)

187

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the staff (*margna*),
Its radiance shone forth on the jordan.
The jordan that beheld the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's staff
Leapt and rejoiced in the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

---

[1]) The ritual leggings, part of the *rasta* or ritual dress.
[2]) Lit. "Drops", see p. 37 notes 1 and 4.

And said to him, "How abundant is thy jordan!
The fruits and grapes and trees that are by it
Will be established.
Great is thy glory, and thy Root shall be preserved
From beginning to end".
(*Give him to drink*)

[Read these prayers for the staff and the crown both for a priest who celebrates a *masiqta* (*for the first time*) and for a bridal pair and chant these hymns.]

188

In the name of the Great Life!
I twined a wreath of myrtle and marjoram
And set it on the head of Yawar, king of 'uthras
And said to him, "Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in thy living wreath,
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in the Spouse [1])
Of brightness who hath been bestowed on thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice
At the kingdom [2]) that is bestowed upon thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in the jordans
That they made flow for thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in Šahrat [3]),
The Cloud of radiance who is bestowed on thee.
That floateth and floweth onward in thy jordan
From its source to its end [4]).

189

In the name of the Great Life!
Who, amongst the 'uthras, was it,
That placed the Wreath of the Great (Life)
Upon his head?
The *Tannas* [5]) and the *Niṭufiata* [6]) embrace one another
In the shade of the Wreath.
In the shade of the Wreath they embrace one another

---

[1]) Lit. "cloud" see p. 37, n. 4. The wreath is the "consort" or spouse of the *taga*, "crown".

[2]) *Malkuta*. Or, better perhaps, "kingliness", i.e. status of kingship.

[3]) So in all my mss. M.L. has Šarhat.

[4]) See Š-ḏ-Q. p. 47, n. 3.

[5]) Tannas (*tania*), see p.9, n. 1. and p. 12, n.6.

[6]) *Niṭufiata*, "Drops", see p. 37, n. 1.

And they lay their pure right hands upon him
And bless him with the mighty benediction
Wherewith Yawar was blessed
In the Place of Light.

190

Our father, they made thee chief in Tarwan
And gave thee authority (lit. "word "or" speech") in the place of Light
Yawar set a crown upon thee
In the radiance whereof 'uthras shine,
'Uthras shine in its radiance
And the planets are in fear of it.

191

On thee, our father, they have conferred a pure sovereignty
And a command which the Great (Life) hath entrusted to thee.
They have given thee a banner of radiance,
By which all the worlds of light are illumined.
They have given thee a staff of living water,
A rod by which all rebels shall be laid low.

192

Who hath sent thee, new king,
Cause [1]) of all these rites?
Thou hast illumined the world of Ether
And brightened the whole earth from end to end.

[193 [2])

Who sent thee, new king
That sitteth in the *saka* [3]) of his teacher?
Thou hast watered it with a great watering (?) [4])

---

[1]) Lit. "that from thee all these doings take place".

[2]) The scribe of D.C. 53 has omitted No. 193, but, a repetition of these hymns includes it as No. 308. It is inserted here in its proper place.

[3]) *Saka* is translated *Bereiche* by Lidzbarski, p. 242, l. 10 of the translation. *Rbiẖ* (quite plainly in the mss.) refers to the teacher. The word probably means that the novice is still under the tutelage of the priest who has initiated him. In Š.ḏ-Q. I translated "booth", but *saka* is philologically unlikely to be the *sukkah*.

[4]) Af. MSA (see Af. ܡܣܡܣ). Or (equally) "hast consolidated it by a great solidification". The former meaning seems the likelier.

And thou hast illumined and ordered
The 'uthras in their dwellings (*škinata*)
From end to end.]

194

Our father, Šihlun-Ziwa, rejoiceth in his crown
And the Mighty (Life) rejoiceth in His Word.
The Dwellings of the Mighty (Life) rejoice and are glad
With King Yawar-Ziwa who hath planted thee [1]) (here).

195

Our father, They will guard thy wreath for thee,
And the fellowship of the Great Life will rest upon thee.
Thine eyes [2]) shall enlighten thee, good one,
For as chief of the communion of Life [3])
Thou camest hither.

196

Our father, thy wreath is from the Vine Ruaz,
And the being who twined it is from the Place of Light.
Our father, the perfume of thy wreath is pleasing,
Like (*the fragrance of?*) the great Anuš-'Uthra in his Dwelling.

197

Planter of Plants, plant it (*or* "him") [4])
Twiner of wreaths, twine it [5])
Establisher [6]) of purities, establish
The bridegroom [7]) N. and make him prosperous.

198

I am small amongst 'uthras,
And a babe amongst Rays-of-Light;
Yet I grow great and my soul waxeth great,
For I have drunk water from the mouth of the Euphrates

---

[1]) *Nṣablak* in most mss: M.L. *nṣablun.*

[2]) *Ainak.*

[3]) The exact meaning of this phrase is doubtful. The prayer is also intended for the bridegroom, hence the translation I gave in Š. ḏ-Q "Because thou comest hither for the chief function of life-union", is too free a rendering.

[4]) Either the plant for the wreath, or the new priest or bridegroom; possibly both are included.

[5]) If the priest is meant — "make him great".

[6]) Read *mtaqnanin.*

[7]) If a priest, "the priest N."?

199

May pure guardians guard thee,
May thy root be raised up and flourish exceedingly,
And thy doings be made prosperous.
And mayst thou rise up and behold the great Place
The House of Perfection.
And Life is victorious.

[These (*antiphonal*) hymns are to be recited over a priest who celebrates (*for the first time*) a *masiqta*, and over bridal pairs(?) These are prayers for the vestments and clothing (investiture) which I have copied who am poor, lowly and striving, small amongst my brother-ganzivri and priests, kissing the shoes on the feet of Naṣoraeans. I endure the world's persecution with a faithful and believing heart. I copied for myself so that there might be a commemoration for me on earth, and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. A slave, am I, who is all sin. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia, Riš-Draz by name. I copied for myself so that I might work and succeed, I copied from the *qulasta* of the skilled craftsman Baktiar grandson of the skilled craftsman ʿAziz son of Kiria son of ʿAziz son of Faruk of the sons of the Dihdaria, Sabur by name. It had been copied by the great, lofty and honourable R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam known as Manduia, (family) name 'Kuma. He had copied it from a *qulasta* which R. Ram-Yuhana had also copied for himself — the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam, name 'Kuma. He had copied it for a "perfect" [1] craftsman Hadaiat son of craftsman Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the children of the Dihdaria, Sabur by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and honourable ganzibra, a reliable and tested (*priest*), a paragon in "treasure", and a high-(minded) and liberal dispenser (*or* "copyist") of his Naṣirutha (priestly wisdom), namely, R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam, 'Asikir by name. He copied for himself from a *qulasta* which was (also) copied for himself by R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar son of R. Yihia 'Asikir by name; who copied from the *qulasta* of R. Yahia-Yuhana son of R. Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of Adam-Mhatam son of R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, Kuhilia by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of his father, (*who was also*) his teacher (*i.e. initiated him into the priesthood*) and put the crown on his head (*made him a priest*), R. Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of R. Adam-Mhatam son of R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, Kuhilia by name. He copied for himself from the *qulasta* of his teacher and also copied it for the great, lofty, and respected, the reliable and tested ganzibra, R. Yahia-Mhatam son of the father of ganzibras R. Sam-Adam son of Zakia son of Ram son of Yahia son of Adam, known as Manduia, 'Kuma by name. He had copied from a *qulasta* which his brother had copied for himself, R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Sam-Adam son of Zakia son of Ram son of Yihiia son of Adam, known as Manduia, 'kuma by name. That he copied from the *qulasta* of R. Yuhana son of Sam son of Adam son of Zakia son of Zihrun son of Adam-Šitlan son of Yahia-Anuš son of R. Baian 'Asikir by name, which was copied by the great, lofty and respected R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of R. Baktiar son of R. Adam-Bihram son of R. Yahia, Kuhilia by name — may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! — from the *qulasta* of R. Ram-Bayan son of Sam-Daudania which had been copied by R. Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam son of Zihrun son of Adam, Furayih by name, from the *qulasta* which was copied for himself by R. Yihiia-Šaiar, Tutu by name. He had copied from the *qulasta* that had been copied by Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam the Deaf, who had copied it for his pupil Sam-Bihdad son of Bihram-Gadana. That was copied by Bahran son of Adam-Zihrun son of M'ailia, from his own *qulasta* which was copied from the *qulasta* of Yahia-Baktiar son of Yahia-Baz, copied by his nephew, he was his teacher — R. Adam son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Baz. And Adam copied from his own *qulasta* copied from the *qulasta* of R. Adam-Abulfaraz son of Bihram-Šitil-Barubai, which Adam-Zihrun copied a second time. His father copied it, Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-Mu'ailia, who copied it for Sam-Zakia and Anuš, sons of Br-Hiia, who copied it for Yahia-Zihrun son of Anuš who copied it for his pupil who copied it for for Bihram-Zakia son of Zihrun-Sakara, from the *qulasta* of Anuš-Mu'ailia son of Anuš-Bihdad who copied it for himself a second time from the manuscript of Bayan son of Zakia and his mother was Haiuna daughter of Yahia, which they copied from the library that was placed with them, from Ṭib, the town. And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat was its compiler in it (*that city*). Ramuia copied from Šganda son of Yasmin and Šganda copied from Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa. His father was Naṭar. And Zazai copied from the scroll of the First Life. And Life is victorious, and victorious are Hibil-Ziwa and his helpers, Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš. *Finis.*]

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[1] See p. 70, n. 1.

[In the name of the great First Strange (*Not-of-this-world*) Life, from worlds of light, the Ineffable [1] who is above all works, be there health, purity, strength, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš. And for my father Sam son of Anhar, and my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, and for my wife, Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha. And for my offspring, Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania the children of Hawa-Simat. And may our thought, our mind, and our intelligence enlighten us about the treasure of the First Life in these hymns and chants (called) "When the Proven One, Pure One went". *Finis.*]

200

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified!
(Lo) the Voice of Life from the fruits
And the voice of radiant-light from afar;
The voice of 'uthras from the Land of Light
Who speak in their sublime voices and say,
"Whence came we into being? By whom was implanted
Our power of reproduction? [2] Why was it implanted,
Our reproductive power? Our form, what doth it resemble?
Whence springeth our strength, that lofty strength
To which all the worlds cannot attain?
Whence came our voice, a pure voice
That is other(-worldly [3]), clear [4] and dignified [5] ?

---

[1] *Yatiria* could refer either to the worlds (*almia*) or to the Great Life (*hiia rbia*). It is difficult to decide to which the adjective belongs. See p. 1, n. 1.

[2] See p. 135 n. 2 and P.S. Supp. under ܢܨܒܬܐ. Here the question concerns the urge to reproduce, the vivifying principle, especially in reference to sex. This is a marriage hymn.

[3] *Šanai* = "other", "strange", "changed" etc.

[4] *Baiar* "luminous", "shining", "clear.

[5] *Mitraurab* (Palpel and Ethpauel of RAB) "magnified", glorified", "magnificent" etc.

Our praise is praise of the Great (Life),
And our form is in the likeness of the Place of Light.
Whence cometh our strength, lofty strength
To which all the worlds cannot attain?
Our voice is the pure Voice by which the bridegroom is summoned
Into the *škinta* [1]) in which 'uthras [2]) are sitting,
And he is instructed.
The king of 'uthras [3]) came,
He set off and came, the king of 'uthras
To the *škinta* in which the 'uthras sit.
He said to them "About what have ye been instructed,
(O) 'uthras?"
"About the *Mana* that is within the Occult,
About the *Mana* that came into being in the Hidden,
And about the Radiance that gloweth
In a hidden place".

201

O hang up [3]) light, let lamps of glory be hung up therein!
"Whose is this brightness? From whom cometh this light?
From whom doth this effulgence
That is vast and boundless emanate?"
"This is the radiance of Hibil,
This is the light of Šitil,
This is the effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš,
Which is great and boundless."

202

The radiance of Hibil is beauteous,
The light of Šitil is bright.
And this is the effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš
That is great and boundless".
O hang up light!
Let lamps of glory be hung therein!
O hang up light,
Let lanterns of light be hung therein!

---

[1]) The reference is to the heavenly cult-hut (or wedding-booth in which the priests and bridegroom sit for the ceremony).

[2]) I.e. the priests, who represent the 'uthras.

[3]) *Talai* Imperative, feminine: A female attendant is addressed.

203

"This building [1]), whose is it?
Whose is it, this building?
This building, whose is it,
That hath so sweet a fragrance,
Whose fragrance is so sweet
And in which fair trees are set?"
"This is Yawar's building,
This is the building of Yawar,
This is Yawar's building,
This, whose fragrance is sweet,
This, so sweet of odour.
And wherein fair trees are set".
Enjoy the perfume of the trees,
For the fragrance of Yawar hath rested upon them.
Enjoy the fragrance of the trees,
For the fragrance of Manda-d-Hiia hath rested on them."
O hang up light.
Let lamps of brightness be hung therein
O hang up light,
Let lanterns of light be hung therein.

204

They sent Hibil-Ziwa to make report [2])
Unto the 'uthras who sit there.
And he said unto them,
"From the Radiance proceeded Light,
And from Light proceeded Ether:
Ether proceeded from Light,
And glory [3]) is manifest to the 'uthras
Who are sitting here".
"Sweet is thy voice, youth Hibil,
When thou speakest in the garden of Adam

---

[1]) The *'ndruna* or *škinta* in which the priests who perform a marriage sit is a light booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses, so that it has a pleasant perfume.

[2]) This is a reference to the marriage ceremony. Here Hibil-Ziwa is the prototype of the priest sent to report that the bride is properly attired etc. to report that the bride is properly attired etc. (See Š. ḏ-Q.)

[3]) Or "companionship", "fellowship". Lidzbarski translates Glanz.

And chantest sublime hymns.
Sweet is thy voice! and its sound went thither".
And Life is victorious.

205 ¹)

When the Proven One, the Pure One, went
To the Place where perfected (beings) ²) dwell
— Great is he, the Good (Spirit)! —
Towards his Father ³) was his course set,
His course was set towards his Father,
To say to Him that which was sublime and ineffable
In the Occult Place.
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
A Home of splendour ⁴) (and) glory ⁵)
Shall be founded therein,
Glory will be enshrined therein,
And 'uthras will seek one another in prayer,
'Uthras will pray to one another,
Each one will glorify his his brother,
His brother each one will glorify,
By counsel which goeth thither from thee".
"Thou art empowered, great Spirit!
Go, shed glory there,
Go, shed glory there: let them be glorified
With the glory that is Ours and thine.
They shall be glorified with that glory,
And receive the blessing that we have sent them.
The blessing we have sent them they shall receive,
They will grasp Thy benefaction,
It shall be so that 'uthras may know
That thou art the greatest of all the 'uthras;

---

¹) Lidzbarski omits this prayer till the lines *Šaliṭit anat rba ʿzil* (see M.L. 249 : 1).

²) So literally. In Š. ḍ.-Q. 4. : 4. I took *tušlimia*, a plural, to be an epithet for the Great Life (also a plural). Several passages in this group of prayers confirm my original idea, that the Great Life is meant.

³) Plural, because he is speaking to the Great Life.

⁴) See op. cit. p. 54, n. 1.

⁵) Or "honour".

For thou hast opened up and shown to them
And bestowed on them radiance and praise".
"I went thither, thither went I,
And shed upon them a blessing.
The blessing that I shed upon them
They receive, and in their blessing
We bless Thee [1]: We bless Thee with
A benediction, with theirs,
They will glorify Thy praise,
(And) will be glorified by Thy praise.
By Thy Word they will be raised up,
They will be raised up by Thy Word,
And from (*that which is*) Thine
They will not depart".
Priests bless the great (*spirit*) in secret
And bless the great (*spirit*) who honoured them
And honour dwelt upon them.
And Life is victorious [2].

May there come One from Thy radiance before me
And One from Thy light behind me!

206

(*The alphabetical prayer on pp.* 161 *and* 162 *is repeated here*)

207

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
A Vehicle [3] am I, a small one,
Light rested on my thought.
I travel on, I go on,
I and the life's traveller whom they bound to me.
I spoke to her, to life's travelling-companion
Whom they joined to me, saying,

---

[1] The 2nd. person plural indicates the Great Life.

[2] Only the latter a part of this poem is in M.L. p. 249, l. 1 ff.

[3] The word *'gla* is derived from the root 'GL "to roll, עגל hence an *'gla* עֲגָלָא is a "roller", "wheeled vehicle". The idea of motion is conveyed. Here, in *'gla*, the last meaning is possibly a typical Mandaean pun on one meaning of the *mana*. It is here, therefore, the *mana*, rolling onward on its life's journey. (The other possible meaning "calf" is, of course, unlikely).

"I travel1) by my own strength;
(But) thou, in whose strength dost thou journey on?"
She spoke, the life-traveller that is they joined to me
Saying to me, "Just as thou travellest onward
By thine own strength, I (*travel*) by faith.
Kušṭa (*ruleth*) my heart 2), my eyes are
The eyes of Radiance.
And my heart hath been tested by chosen ones".
We entered into garments and covered ourselves
And the act of reproduction was brought into being.
The act of reproduction came into existence
And elect ones began and will be established.
Life is renowned (and) victorious
And victorious the man who went thence.

208

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
His nuptial couch is spread for the bridegroom
And bowls of wine are mixed for him.
The bridegroom's bolster is clods of earth,
(Earth) the bridegroom's pillow, his vault is the sky.
The bridegroom's robes are of pure .... 4)
The bridegroom's girdle is all of well-springs,
Full of wellsprings of radiance, light and glory.
The bridegroom's tunic is of foaming waters,
The bridegroom's wreath is of a pure kind of vine,
The bridegroom's staff is of camel-thorn tree 5)

---

1) This prayer is said whilst walking from the marriage booth to the bridal chamber.

2) D.C. 38 *lbab* like D.C. 53. D.C. 3 *lbar*.

3) I must stress that my translation of these curious and obscure poems is tentative. When translating D.C. 38 (Š.ḏ-Q.) p. 53) I took the "fellow traveller" to be the *dmuta*, the prototype, or spiritual counterpart. It seems to me now that the reference is to the bride.

4) In Š.ḏ-Q. (p. 15, l. 10) I assumed that D.C. 3's *ruhzan* was correct, and therefore suggested that the word was *ruhṣan* from RHṢ "to wash, perform lustration". D.C. 53, however, like D.C. 38, has *quhzan*. Arabic قهز *qahz* or *qihz* = "a cloth of wool and silk". The context suggests a rough cloth of some kind. It is possible, however, that my first conjecture, based on D.C. 3, was correct.

5) A flowering and highly scented shrub or tree common round the Mediterranean and in the Middle East. Its leaves are shaped like the print of a camel's foot in sand.

And they say "Come, that we may make
A great wedding-feast for the bridegroom
As hath been commanded us by the Great (Life),
To make his appearance bright,
To prosper him from beginning to end
And cause good fortune to rest upon him.
And we will say unto the bridegroom, hymning him,
"Rejoice, Bridegroom, rejoice,
Rejoice in thy living wreath!
Inasmuch as thy wreath is fresh,
Thine appearance shall be bright
And thou shalt be confirmed in the happiness (*lit.* "*glory*)
Which the Great Life hath sent thee".

209

They bring in white flour by the *khor* (heap)
They enter with sacks of fine meal and (*household?*) requisites[1],
And finest flour[2]) without measure.
Sheep arrive in flocks, and numberless oxen.
They bring in myrtle by the load,
And trails of jasmine in bunches.
Okes of gold they bring in,
And silver tied up in moneybags;
Precious stones and pearls,
All the handiwork of craftsmen;
Oil and wine, all collected by experts.
All of them — a thousand standing on the ground
And two thousand standing on the roofs.
(And) the thousand thousands of 'uthras
Standing by the bridal-canopy, say,
"Come, let us make a great wedding-feast for the bridegroom,
As hath been commanded us by the Great (Life),
To make his appearance bright,
And to make him prosperous from beginning to end.
To cause good fortune to rest upon him.
And we will hymn the bridegroom, saying to him,
'This radiance, whose is it?
This light, whose is it?

---

[1] *Šilia* = requests, desires (things asked for or needed) needs, requisites.
[2] *simad:* סְמִידָא? Or *simat* "treasure"?

This effulgence, that is great and boundless,
Whose is it?'
"This radiance is Hibil-Ziwa's, this light is Šitil's;
And this effulgence is of Anuš the great 'uthra,
So great and boundless".
"The radiance of Hibil is beauteous,
And the light of Šitil bright,
And this effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš,
Is great and boundless".

210

Sun in his majesty bowed down before the bridegroom
And shed some of the rays of light which clothed him
And clad the bridegroom therein and said to him,
"I and my warriors and doughty men,
Will stand and take care of thee
From beginning to end".
Moon, lord of crown and wreath,
Placed his crown and wreath on the bridegroom,
And said to him "Our father, thy wreath is the wreath of 'uthras,
And thine ardour [1]) proceedeth from the strength of Radiance.
The king of 'uthras that beheld thee
Removed his robes of radiance;
He clad thee therein and said to thee,
'How lovely are thy robes!
Thine appearance is bright, and shall be confirmed".
Mars, lord of arms and war, put on his armour
And war-harness and standeth before the bridegroom's bridal-canopy.
And slayeth devils and demons,
Putting an end to and slaughtering his foes,
And he said to him "I, with my warriors and mighty men,
Will stand here and will guard thee from beginning to end.'
Mercury, learned and wise, instilled some of his wisdom
Into the heart of the bridegroom,

---

[1]) D.C. 3 has *šugandak*, D.C. 38, like 53 *šgandak*. The word is an obvious substitution of a familiar word for one unfamiliar, probably a word derived from the root ŠNG which appears only in *Ṣingilan 'utra*, the name of a spirit. In Syriac ܫܓܢ = to be in love and ܫܓܢܬܐ (variously vocalised) = love, desire, passion.

And hymned the bridegroom and said to him,
"Who sent thee, new-made king?
These doings all take place on thine account.
Thou hast brightened the Ether-world
And hast made the whole world better
From one end to another".
Jupiter, Son of the water, bringeth his vesture to the bridegroom
And hymned him and said to him,
"Thy vesture, our father, is the vesture of 'uthras,
And the light thrown upon (thy) shoulders
Will make thee (weigh) light [1]) our father, in the Scales.
And sealeth thee with the Pure Sign".
Saturn, in his beauty and his ruddiness,
Bringeth his smock to the bridegroom.
And he hymned the bridegroom and said to him,
"O 'uthra in whose resplendence Naṣoraeans exult,
Vaunting themselves in the Word,
The world of light vaunts itself about thee,
(And) about the king Šihlun-Ziwa(?) who hath transplanted thee."
Venus, Lady of Beauty and Desire,
Brought her wreath and girdle-string to the bride,
Which they placed on the head of the bride;
And they hymned the bride and said to her,
"O crowned bride, who sittest upon columns of water [2]),
Rejoice, and rejoice in the spouse who hath taken thee to wife,
And rejoice in thy living wreath.
Inasmuch as thy wreath is living (refulgent)
So shall thine appearance shine,
And thou shalt be preserved until world's end."
And Life is victorious, and victorious the man
Who goeth hence.

211

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.

(*Refrain*)

I and the bridegroom's groomsman
Are the straps of his sandals
And the poles of the bridal canopy.

---

[1]) It is easy to confuse the 2nd. sing. Imperfect of QLL with TQL.

[2]) See Š.ḏ-Q. p. 58 n. 5.

I and the bridegroom's groomsman
Washed in the waters of the sea: in the waters of the sea we washed

We revealed not our secret to the sea,
To the sea we revealed not our secret.
Nor did we broadcast our wisdom to the wilderness !

O crowned bride, who was it,
Fruit that is crowned for bridal [1]), who
Revealed our secret
And broadcast our widsom in the wilderness?
Perchance Sun revealed our secret
And broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?
(*Nay!*) Sun revealed not our secret
Nor bruited our wisdom in the wilderness.
Sun, of whom ye spake,
Rose at dawn and set at dusk,
Sun revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness!

(*Refrain "I and the bridegroom's groomsman" etc.*)

O crowned bride, who was it?
Fruit that is crowned for bridal, who
Revealed our secret and broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness
Perchance Moon revealed our secret
And broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?
(*Nay!*) Moon revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness.
Moon, of whom ye spake,
Rose at dusk and set at dawn.
Moon revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness.

(*Refrain repeated*)

O crowned bride, who was it?
Fruit crowned for bridal, who
Revealed our secret and broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?

Three 'uthras [2]) not of this world revealed it.

---

[1]) See P.S. Supp. ܟܠܠ.

[2]) The three ʿuthras, Hibil, Šitil and Anuš.

They are like one another in stature and dimension,
They are clothed in one (*and the same*) radiance
And one light is spread over them all.
When they speak, the speech of these good beings is one,
Like the speech of Mighty Beings
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection.
Betwixt them there is no hatred,
Quarrelling or division.
Life is renowned (and) victorious
And victorious is the man who goeth hence.

212

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
There is a Vine for Šitil and a Tree for Anuš [1]
Šitil hath a Vine yonder
In thee, Land of the Leal,
Laden with reward, laden with oblation and laden
With Naṣirutha. The tendrils that are at the leaf-ends
Bore prayers, hymns and sublime recitations.
When I rose in my place
I made a request that was great;
I asked that a tall ladder be given me
That I might place it against the Vine for ascent,
Against the Vine for ascent I might place it,
And might mount into my Vine,
Might wax great and grasp its foliage,
Might eat, be refreshed by its shade
And enjoy its leafiness,
Might twine me a wreath of its tendrils
And place it on my head.
When I rose in my place, they granted the request I made.
They gave me a tall ladder that I could set against the Vine
for ascent.
Against the Vine for ascent I placed it.
I rose into my Vine, I waxed great, I grasped its foliage,
I ate, was refreshed by its shade and enjoyed its leafiness;
From the tendrils of my Vine I twined a wreath

---

[1] Šitil (Seth) and Anuš in this poem symbolise the soul and human spirit which compose the personality.

And set it upon my head.
The worlds gathered together, the generations assembled,
Twiners twined (wreaths) in imitation of my wreath,
They twined that which had no resemblance (*to it*).
They went, they put vines (*vine-leaves?*) on themselves
And they say, "Man, whence is thy wreath,
And whence (came) the being who twined it?"
To them I reply, "Vanish, begone from my presence,
(Ye) dead, wicked ones who beheld not the Life!
As for me, my wreath is not from here;
The being who twined it is not of this world.
My wreath is of the Vine Ruaz
And the Being who twined it [1] is from the Place of Light.
The Being who brought it and set it on my head
Is from the Eternal Home [2]".
Renowned is Life Victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

213

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
I am a *mana* of the Great Life,
A *mana* am I of the Mighty Life,
A *mana* am I of the Great Life,
A *mana* that emanated from *Manas* [3]
A *mana that* proceeded from *Manas* [3]
That went towards two lawful spouses [4] of this world.
I came and I opened living waters
And gave them to the terrestial pair to drink
I opened living waters and gave of them
To the bridal pair of this world to drink.
I sowed in them pregnancy and birth
And with sexual desire I enflamed them
And caused love to dwell in both of them.
With Kušṭa [5] I spread them a bed of leaves

---

[1] Three words missing from D.C. 53.

[2] See p. 2, n. 2.

[3] I translated this "the Mana" in Š. ḏ-Q., because the plural here might denote the divine Being.

[4] *Kišria* "legally-joined-together" i.e.: (allowed by ritual law).

[5] Here "troth", "vow" i.e. the marriage pact cemented by oath.

That were from (*living?*) 1) trees,
They will live and be happy and I, the Messenger Hibil,
Have performed and arranged
That which my Father 2) commanded me.
And Life is victorious, and victorious the man
Who went hence.

214 3)

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
A. Thou art come, Pure Pearl, who hast illumined dark hearts!
B. Radiance sought to be 4), and Light to awaken.
G. I laughed at the planets, at what they plotted and did.
D. I sojourned amongst them, but they, the Seven,
Knew not about me.
H. There shall be benefaction for the Elect who loved the Life.
U,W. Woe to the planets that scheme evil against my Chosen ones.
Z. He is the Great Radiance,
The Light which hath no limit.
Ḫ. He is the first Life
Before Whom none existed.
Ṭ. Well is it for him who obeyeth
And hearkeneth to Thee, my Lord!
And walketh his road behind Thee.
Y. He is the great Yura 5)
Like a soul when she cometh from the great House of Life.
K. He is the pure Wreath which they set
Upon Hibil in his *škinta*.
L. My heart beseecheth the Life
That He, the Life, will seek me in His *škintas* 6).

---

1) Some adjective is missing, *hiia* or *rauzia*.

2) Plural, for the Life.

3) D.C. 3 inserts a rubric before this hymn. A version of Pet. (r.) 276. It is also in the Ginza Rabba, (p. 274 Lidzbarski's translation).

4) D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *Bi lmihuia*, although the two words have been run together.

5) Lidzbarski (G.R. trs. p. 274 : 30) "Er war der grosse Glanz". Pet.(r.) 276: 17. As *Yura* is unusual as a form of *Yur* it is tempting to consider יורה "the first rain", "spring", "early season".

6) In G.R. *bškinatun*. D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 *lškinatun*. Possibly should be read "will build me into his *škintas*", a metaphor found elsewhere.

M. From the day that Hibil transplanted me
My soul hath acknowledged the Place of Light.
N. Thou art the first (Source of) Rest,
Because of Thee, 'uthras 1) find repose.
S. The Twelve Gates stray from the right path 2),
And do not ascend by roads (that lead) to Light.
The profundity of Naṣirutha is vast and boundless.
P. He is a sweet Fruit,
Pleasing of taste and without blemish.
Ṣ. I hearkened to the call of Life
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection.
Q. It is the Voice of Pure Radiance
Who speaketh and discourseth in his *škinta*.
R. It is the Pure Sign by which
The living 3) are signed in their *škinta*s.
S. I hear the converse of living (*souls*)
Who have been established in the Dwelling of Life.
T. He is the lovely Door, the Light which is Boundless.
Renowned is Life victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

Here D. C. 3 has a rubric: —

[When thou hast recited this hymn "Thou art come, Pearl" and endest it, then recite the wedding songs (*hadiata, hidiata*) "Behold, the wicked degrade" etc. but thou shalt not recite the wedding songs for a widow. Instead, they shall recite "Pure guardians shall guard you" only, without the wedding songs. (These) thou shalt not recite for a widow.]

The wedding songs are purely lay in character and I do not propose to include them amongst the liturgical prayers and hymns. They are essentially folk-songs and have a popular flavour. For my attempt to translate them, see Š. ḏ-Q. They are: —

215. *'hai qašaflia* "Lo the wicked degrade my people" Š.ḏ-Q. 18 : 3
216. *'hai ya daragai* "Behold, my portal" Š ḏ-Q. 18 : 8

---

1) Read *'uthra*s as in GR.
2) סור (J. to turn from the right path):Pael.
3) *Hiia* here refers to spirits living in bliss, not to the Great Life.

217. *'hai ya rabutia*[1] "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 13[2]
218. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 17
219. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 20
220. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 23
221. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 27[2]
222. *'hai ya ṭawasta ḏ zahba* "Lo, O thou (bride) that glitterest (with gold)" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 30
223. *Brata ḏ man anat* "Whose daughter art thou" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 1
224. *Mn yuma ḏ 'uraš rba atalia* "From the day that the great 'Uraš came for her" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 4
225. *Hiduia man ḏ amarlak* "Bridegroom, who told thee" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 7[2]
226. *Man ḏ araslẖ lhiduia* "Who wedded the bridegroom". Š. ḏ-Q 19 : 11
227. *Brakinkun hibil ziwa* "Hibil-Ziwa hath blessed you" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 16
228. *Hda 'dai atutia rišẖ* "One of my hands beneath his head" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 25
229. *Atutia diqla qaima* "Standing beneath the palm-tree" Š. ḏ-Q 19 : 27.
230. *Htimitun b'sqat hiia* Ye are sealed with the seal of Life" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 23
231. *Ṭiriankun* (*ṭariankun*) "Your table" Š.ḏ-Q. antepenult.
232. *Ninaṭrunkun naṭria dakiia* "Pure guardians watch over you" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 ult.

[This is the conclusion of the wedding songs (*hadaiata*).]

In the name of the Great First Strange Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable that is above all works, be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš healing, victory[3], strength, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiveness of sins, (also) for my father Sam son of Anhar, my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, my wife Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha, my offspring Adam Yuhana and Šarat-Mumania the children of Hawa-Simat.

And may our thought, mind and intelligence enlighten us, (enlighten me) and my offspring, for the treasure of the First Life in these hymns and psalms of "When the Proven One, the Pure one went".

---

[1] Variously spelt, D.C. 3 has *rabituia*.

[2] See M.L. pp. x - xi.

[3] Or, of course, "purity".

233

In the name of the Great Life!
When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the perfected [1] dwell
To the Place which is all Radiance
And light and glory abound (there),
The Proven Pure One speaketh to the Perfect One [1]
Hidden and guarded within Its veilings [2],
Set apart by Its glory
And giving out light in all Its wisdom.
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
Saying to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
The Ether hath all been made, [3]
Created [3] is the Ether, all of it.
And in it, great Radiance will form itself
And sublime Light be set up therein.
In it there will be 'uthras
And Rays-of-Light will be established therein,
Appearances that shine with lovely radiance.
Enlightenment [4] will be raised up
And will watch over all the 'uthras
'Uthras will shine in the enlightenment
Which went thither from Thyself.
The Great Predestinate speaketh [5]
To the Proven One, the Pure One,
Saying to him "These be (*welcome*) words
That thou hast spoken to us.
Go thou, and become guardian to them,
And all will shine through thy strength

---

[1] Either "perfected (ones)" or "the Perfect Being". Mandaean theologian apparently accept both meanings

[2] Lit. "coverings", "raiment".

[3] D.C. 53 *titbid*, D.C. 38 *mitbid*, D.C. 3 *titbar*. The difference in meaning is slight.

[4] Or "vigilance". It is personified. As the next phrase refers to guarding, "vigilance" may be more suitable.

[5] Lidzbarski (p. 251 M.L.) begins at this line.

And will praise thy Garment
And will honour thine appearance".
The Chosen One gave praise with a pure mouth
Because of that which the Great (Life) said to him.
And Life is victorious.

234

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected (beings) dwell,
To the Place which giveth out light,
And its praise is unsullied [1]),
Unsullied is its praise;
Foreordained and blessed is its benediction:
Foreordained is the blessed benediction
Which holy *mana*s pronounced,
Which was pronounced by holy *mana*s
Predestinate, calm and perfected.
The Proven, Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great Life,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
A world of light hath been made,
Created [2]) is a world of light
And a company hath been established therein,
Dwellings [3]) have been set up therein.
It will be bright in Thy praise
In Thy praise it will shine,
And will be blessed with Thy blessing.
Mystic Sprouts (offspring) will come into being
And at Thy Word they will flourish,
They will flourish at Thy Word
And Sprouts that are worthy will be raised up".
The Great Life speaketh with Its pure mouth [4])
Unto the Proven One, the Pure One.

---

[1]) *Taqna* "firm", "reliable", "constant" has also the meaning when applied to light, "steady", "unwavering", "steady", "continuous". P.S. Thes. under part. adj. gives "unsullied", which suits here admirably.

[2]) Again, D.C. 3 has *titbir* "created".

[3]) *Škinata*, could be translated better by some word like "sanctuaries".

[4]) A few lines of this hymn were translated by Lidzbarski, M.L. p. 252 II.

It saith to him, "Thou art Our Thought,
"Our Knowing and Our Understanding,
Our Heart that is limitless, Our First Voice,
Our Pure Garment and Our well-equipped
First Discerner; for Our sake
Thou wast transplanted.
Go! Perform thy work, and thy pure offspring
Shall attain perfection,
They shall attain the highest, thy pure offspring,
And be joined in union inseparable.
Make a World of Light,
And they will shine therein, yea, it shall be
All radiance and light
And will attain perfection".
And the Great Life be praised.

235

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the perfected dwell,
To the *Tana* 1) of glory
Whose blessing hath blessed 2) the Place
In which the Secret One sitteth 3)
And uttereth in Its Awakening 4)
Giveth utterance there in its Arousing 4)
And giveth out light by Its own thought;
The Proven Pure One speaketh
To Predestinate Perfection,
Saying to Him, to the Pure Vein
And Tongue that is limitless,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life)
May it be that we transport jordans,
Permit that we transport jordans

---

1) In Š. ḏ-Q. I translated this "glowing heart", a very free translation. See p. 190, n. 1. and p. 9, n. 1.

2) D.C. 3 has *brik* not *brika* as in D.C. 53 and D.C. 38.

3) See Š. ḏ-Q., p. 73, n. 2. Plural, indicating the Great Life.

4) Here *'ruta* (See P.S. Thes. ܥܝܪܘܬܐ) should be thus translated. The idea appears to be that the Great Life has its periods of quiescence, ceasing to be, and that *'ruta* is its awaking, its renewed activity, *'ruta* also has a "light" meaning-"light which awakens", "enlightenment".

And a Pure Sign shall be established therein,
A Pure Sign we will establish therein
And there will be increase for all 'uthras,
And 'uthras will be baptised
As ye were baptised, they will confirm themselves
By themselves, [1] (as) ye were confirmed
Completely. They will shine, will enlighten one another
And instruct one another about Thee, and Thy pure Vesture
Which is sublime, and brighter than any (other) appearance;
And about that which was transplanted from its place [2],
And about that which is destined to exist,
And about that which was created in a hidden covering".
The Great Predestinate spoke [3],
Saying to the Proven Pure One,
To His pure Garment [4] (?)
There is nought without limit! [5]
All that thou hast done shall be established.
All thy vines will be illustrious,
And in all thine actions there will be nought
Lacking or amiss. In none will there be blemish
And they will not go foolishly astray".
And Life is victorious!

236

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place where His appearance is lustrous,
His countenance shineth and His Counterpart
Is supported each and every time
That they seek and find and discourse of their Creator.
The Proven Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life)
If it please Thee, Great (Life)
Great (spirits) sit in glory,

---

[1] Qualify themselves for grades of priesthood?

[2] I.e. the soul.

[3] Lidzbarski begins here, see M.L. p. 253, III.

[4] Doubtful.

[5] Lidzbarski p. 253, 1. 6, *ul'tia ḏ saka litlḫ*, which he translates "zu dem Wesen, das endlos ist", probably a better version.

In glory they sit, the great (spirits),
And converse in their speech that is not mortal [1]),
They talk in their gentle voices,
And Thou sheddest upon them some of that which is Thine.
And they sit in fellowship with Thee
And employ themselves with Thy praise;
And in Thy place, in prayer to Thee, do they converse.
We will confirm their works,
Their works we will confirm:
We will raise up the horn on their heads
And will establish their Root.
And we will increase their victories: we will increase
Their victories derived from Thy strength,
Transmitted from Thy strength,
(That) went forth, came and dwelt with Thine own".
The Great Predestinate spoke to him [2]),
Saying to the Proven, Pure One,
"Go! invest [3]) the great (spirits) with radiance;
Settle them in a place which is unsullied [4]),
Reveal [5]) and give them *pihta* [6])
And in praise thy (spirits) will shine!
Act (thus) and support the *Mana*.
Life will show Itself grateful to thee.
Life be praised: Life is victorious.

237

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfect One dwelleth,
To the place where His converse is calm
And His appearance wondrous,
To the place where all are kings
And where lust and misdoing exist not,
To the place which is full of goodness

---

[1]) Lit. "not vain", "not worthless", "not temporary", "unending": "not mortal" is a very free translation.

[2]) Lidzbarski begins at this line: p. 254, IV. M.L.

[3]) Lit. "plant", "implant", "transplant", "transfer".

[4]) *Taqna*, see p 187, n. 1.

[5]) Lit. "open", "open up".

[6]) The sacramental bread, lit. "the opened" ("broken into pieces"? or "revealed"?). See M.L. p. xxiii l. 1 ff.

(And) where Their raiment is prepared
For the pure arriving (*spirit*) 1)
And for him whose form giveth light,
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, mighty (Life)
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
There shall be built a wondrous building,
A wondrous building shall be built.
Thy right hand shall erect it,
Thy right hand will set it up
And Thou wilt not cut it off from Thee.
Thy first plan 2), it will rise towards Thee,
It will be set up, it will rise Thee-wards,
And thou wilt not cut off from Thyself
The First-born that Thou hast created.
He shall be set up as Thy counterpart.
He is a fair portal, he will rise Thee-wards,
He will be established, will mount,
Will direct himself Thee-wards;
And will converse in Thy speech that is eternal.
He will not sever from Thee nor from Thy society.
Condemn him not!"
All that the Proven Pure One had said 3)
Everything the Proven Pure One said
Pleased the Great (Life),
And Sublime-Light riseth:
He said to him "Thou art possessor of will,
And lord of all victories.
Thou hast conquered and hast prevailed over thy brethren
And thy Father, (Whom) in secret thou blessest.
Go, show light (*ziwa*) to Yušamin and reassure his heart!
Say to him he shall not fear and reveal to him
That which is established here.
Explain it to him so that his heart may lighten
And confirm it that his mind may be enlightened.

---

1) The couplet is obscure and translation tentative. Read *'taqniẖ* for *taqnalẖ*?
2) Or "thought", or "device".
3) See M.L. p. 254 V.

Be gracious and kindly to him and bless him
And show him the light of thy countenance,
The light of thy countenance show to him,
And say to him that he shall not be cast down,
(But) be meek and humble, and he will illumine
The 'uthras".
The Proven One did that which was commanded him,
And the *Mana* thereupon supported the Proven One
So that he performed that which was commanded him.
And he went to the House-of-Life,
He went, he said to Them, "Thus have I done,
It hath been set in order. Should it not be so,
Set Ye in order".
The Great (Life) blesseth the Proven One
With His pure mouth for having made his report.
And Life is victorious.

238

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where Perfection dwelleth,
To the Mighty-in-Glory, to the Well-Ordered and Well-Ordering,
(Who) speaketh in His calm voice
And ordereth His ordinances;
Uttering in His calm voice
His trustworthy teaching, His mystic ¹) prayers,
And His wise discourses ²) which are not vain,
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will twine circlets ³) of radiance,
Circlets of radiance will we twine,
And will set them on the heads of the 'uthras,
We will bring them from the Great Light.

---

¹) D.C. 3 has *šutaikun*.

²) NṬF has as a derived meaning "to let fall a weighty observance" "to prophesy". (The usual meaning of *niṭufiata* "drops", "consorts of divine beings" is impossible here.)

³) Lit "wreaths": "crowns" of priesthood is the understood meaning.

We will watch over them.
If Ye do not thus,
In what can the 'uthras prosper?
In what can the 'uthras delight?
How can there be certainty for Rays-of-Light?
From what will they derive fame and honour?
And how can we preserve them,
And with what will they seek and find,
Speak with Thee and be heard?"
The Great Predestinate speaketh; [1])
He saith to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Go, join with (*unite with?*) [2]) Radiance
Take heed that they .... [2]) raiment.
Give them of my Wreath of Ether [3])
And all the 'uthras will rejoice.
And from Us and from thee
They will acquire renown and honour,
Renown and honour they will have,
And in strengthening honour they will be preserved.
Our name and thy name shall be upon them
And they will give praise in the Secret Place".
And Life is victorious.

239

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the perfected dwell,
To the place of pure wrappings,
Vestments which radiance illumineth,
To the place of Living Flame
Where all are full of goodness.
All open their eyes in radiance,
In the radiance they open their eyes,
And they shine in that Light;
The Proven, the Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1]) See M.L., p. 255 VII.

[2]) An obscure line. "Change raiment" is unlikely, but I can make nothing else of it. M.L. has "und bewahre die wundersamen Gewände."

[3]) Read *aħbalun klilia ayar* ("give them ether-wreaths")?

If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I would say one word to Thee,
One word to Thee I would say,
That is sublime and illuminating
And not (*to be?*) cut short!
How superexcellent is Thy Likeness
And how greatly hast Thou increased
And established Thy sublime company!
In the Ether (World) there is no water!
As there is no water in the Ether,
By what can the 'uthras be invigorated? [1]
How can the 'uthras thrive? [1]
And (how can) priestly knowledge be installed into their hearts?"
The Great Predestinate speaketh [2]
Saying to the Proven One the Pure One,
"How zealous thou art, Yawar!
And how dutiful and faithful
Are the words which thou hast spoken!"
They created stocks [3] of living water;
They let it flow down to the ether,
They sent it down, caused it to flow down,
To the ether, to the dwelling of the 'uthras,
All of them savoured it and it was fragrant!
'Uthras savoured it and it was fragrant!
All 'uthras will savour it and it will please.
The 'uthras all drank and throve,
They drank and rejoiced thereat.
And into their hearts Naṣirutha
Was poured. Life is renowned and victorious
And victorious is Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And those who love his name.

240

When the Proven One, the Pure One went

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[1] *Niriuzun:* or "will be glad".

[2] See M.L., p. 256 VIII.

[3] So D.C. 53. Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 have the singular. The passage was not properly understood in Š.ḏ-Q.

To the Place where Perfection dwelleth,
To the Place where dwelleth the pure perfected Being[1]
Which proceedeth[1] from Itself, and Its speech (Word),
Which proceedeth from Itself —
And its speech and words are from It
And from Its Counterpart[2].
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
To the Great (Life), saying to Him,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will summon Zihrun-Raza,
Zihrun-Raza we will summon — him and his seven
Mystic brethren who are with him.
One is called "Radiance", another is called "Light".
We will plant (*them?*) and they will shine forth
And will be made manifest.
And we will transfer for them jordans (flowing streams)
That are transcendent, transcendent jordans
We will transmit for them.
They will govern a *Kimṣa*[3] (*treasure?*) of living flame
And the Root which the Son of Hidden Mysteries led forth.
They will be baptised and established
And we will establish the *Kimṣa*[3].
In their vestments we will establish their strength.
There it shall come to pass, and at Thy name
The elect thus far[4] will be established.
If Thou dost not act thus,
Transitory matters may cause the *Kimṣa* to stumble away from Thee,
Things which lead to destruction may cause it
To fall away from Thee, and all sacramental rites[5]
Will become marred.

---

[1] The verb is plural in agreement with *tušlimia*, here undoubtedly the supreme Being.

[2] *Dmut-Hiia*, the female aspect of creative Life.

[3] *Kimṣa* here seems to refer to the body of believers, the Mandaean "Church" as a whole.

[4] *Lhaka* lit. "to here"; "up to this point".

[5] *Razia*, "mysteries" = sacramental rites.

When the Proven Pure One said this [1],
A Voice went down into all the worlds
From the Secret Radiance.
It spoke, it called Zihrun-the-Mystery;
It spoke, it called on Zihrun-Raza,
On him and on his seven mystic brethren
Who are with him. It summoned them
And it transported for them jordans.
And it set them in rule over the jordans;
Over the jordans it made them rulers
And (over) never-ceasing well-springs.
Renowned is Life victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

241

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place which was self-created
And a Presence (*Parṣufa*) set up therein,
A Voice issued from the Presence
Announcing to the Chief of Rays of-Light,
And causing the Great(est) Ray-of-Light to hearken:
Teaching him about every matter,
About every principal (*important*) subject,
So that it was explained: — thus it is.
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will tell Thee all that I have seen.
I have seen — and I desire to call forth [2] 'uthras
— If it please Thee!
I will call forth three 'uthras,
And I will instal them in my abode (*škintai*).
One shall be my companion,
Another shall be, as it were, my counterpart,
Another shall be young, and be

---

[1] See M.L. p. 257 IX.
[2] Or "summon".

Satisfactory to my mind.
They shall chant sublime hymns
And read in secret books
And recite therefrom,
In all their wisdom performing rites that are seemly.
Walking with me in the boundary of the Self (?)
Walking according to my commands
And not departing from (my word)
From (my word) they shall not depart,
Nor alter my pure Word,
Nor change my rites which they perform
And were ordained (to carry out).
I have created them according to my design,
And have set the Sign of Life upon their minds,
Have marked them with the mark of the Great Life
And placed my own name upon them."
And Life is victorious.

242

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected dwell,
To the Place which is all radiance,
And nought is as sublime or of like purity!
(*The Place*) which is full of serene (beings)
Honouring Thee with their praises [1];
The Proven, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will call forth from my 'uthras, one,
One from (amongst?) my 'uthras I will summon.
And I will clothe him in my radiance
With my radiance will I clothe him,
And with my light I will cover him.
I will cover him with my light
And he will be protected by my name.
He will have that which was apportioned him;

---

[1] The construction is curious - "in Your praises honouring", i.e. "praises of the Great Life".

He will arise with his great (*spirits*) and [1] his host
And will take to himself Knowledge of Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia)
Who went thither.
He will go to the world of Abathur,
From whom imperfection originated,
From him imperfection came into being
And he sowed bad seed [2].
Bad seed did he sow and created creations
Not worthy of him [3], who asked no advice,
Received no baptism, nor did they (he?)
Grasp the right hand of his (their) father,
But did that which was not commanded
And performed that which was useless.
One of my 'uthras shall go and shall confound
All (those) creations, he will confound
All the creations which he created,
(*Creatures*) that have neither hand nor foot.
He will straighten a road in the world,
Whereby chosen ones will mount hitherwards.
At his call [4] they will come
And will set up my boundary-stone
And testify to the one, great, pure Name.
The horn on their heads will be exalted."
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

243

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected (beings) dwell:
Pure is the place, there is no grief in it,
No infirmity existeth therein, nor is disquiet admitted there,
Friction is not accepted therein,
Wrath and violence have no place therein,
Therein are no wrath and violence

---

[1] In D.C. 53 plainly *sagiiḇ*. D.C. 38 and D.C. 3 both have *niqum bsigia* "will arise to go".

[2] "Bad seed" refers to Pthahil, the unsuccessful creator, who was Abathur's son.

[3] Or, which were not accomplished successfully for him.

[4] So in D.C. 53. D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 have "my call".

But all is calm, all is kindliness,
Because they within it are in harmony [1].
The Proven One, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Thy will shall be (wrought) on the 'uthras,
Upon the 'uthras Thy will shall be (done);
All that Thou hast willed Thou doest!
I have seen, I have spoken,
And him whom I mention in Thy presence,
I will reveal to him — this Abathur-Rama —
Why he is fallen from his throne,
Why from his throne he is fallen
And went and became Him-of-the-Scales [2],
When I call in Thy name a second time,
Lay Thou Thy right hand upon him!
The Great Predestinate speaketh [3]
Saying to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Thou knowest all hearts and discernest all thoughts,
Thine eyes are well-open
And thou distinguishest all those who know thee [4].
For thy fame's sake and for Our name's sake,
When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it?
Who will let him be when he offendeth?
And casteth Our root into polluted waters?
(*One*) who accepteth favour from Us and then goeth
And casteth it nito the abode of the dark (powers)!"
When the Proven, Pure One heard this,

---

[1] The root is ܫܘܐ, and elsewhere I have discussed the varied meaning of the Ethpe. "Smoothened", "equalised"?

[2] Abathur-Rama is the higher counterpart of Abathur-Muzania (Abathur of the Scales). The latter is in charge of the balances in which souls are weighed, with the soul of Šitil, the purest of all human being) in the opposing scale. See p. 105, n. 4.

[3] M.L. (p. 258) here has twelve lines (only) of this poem. Owing to ignorance of the context, Lidzbarski has misunderstood it. Yawar is pleading for Abathur but the Great Life explains that he cannot allow Abathur's conduct to pass.

[4] *Yadak* = "thy knowers": see N. 177: 18 and for *paršit*, *ibid* p. 22 n. 4.

He prostrated himself before Him and worshipped:
He bowed himself and prostrated himself before Him
And uttered much praise and said,
"How sublime 1) is this that I have heard from Thee!
I have accepted and am corrected by Thee!"
And Life is victorious.

244

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected (One) dwelleth,
(*He said*) "I will speak to Thee, Mystic Perfection,
Who art hidden and guarded by Thy Veilings:
I would tell Thee, Mystic Perfection,
Secrets told by the 'uthras.
One whom, according to Thy plan, I created,
I sent to that world.
How hideous and without beauty
Was everything that he saw in that world!
A world of sons of perfection
From whom there was imperfection.
He who went from here a noble 2)
Yonder they made him a slave,
A slave they made him yonder.
From the seven planets he suffered,
He suffered from the seven planets
And was tormented in the world.
He who went from hence rich 3) (*or* "having plenty")
Was in need in the world.
Yonder they made him their fellow,
Yonder their associate they made him.
From the seven planets he suffered,
He suffered from the seven planets
Was reduced to misery in the world".

---

1) D.C. 53 omits *šanai*. D.C. 3 has *kma šanai* etc.

2) Or "free".

3) Both D.C. 53 (p. 263 text) and D.C. 3 omit the lines in italics, viz. *lhil abda šawiuiḫ sawiuiḫ abda umn šuba šibiahia sbal sbal mn šibiahia asniq bgauḫ ḏ alma yatira ḏ azal mn haka.* For the missing lines see No. 272 (D.C. 53, p. 312 text), D.C. 3 p. 411 text, and D.C. 38, Š.ḏ-Q. p. 24, l. 11 ff.

4) Or "virtuous". *Yatira* from יָתַר to be rich.

The Great (Life) with pure mouth (speaketh) 1),
Saying to the Proven, Pure One,
"This that one of thine 'uthras hath told thee,
If virtuous is he about whom one spoke,
He about whom one of thine 'uthras spake,
One of thine 'uthras shall bring thee information,
We are creating (?) 2) an earth of fire,
And the planets who enslaved him
Will go to fiery chains.
Pthahil, who made the earth shall be baptised
Here in the white Jordan.
The thousand thousand vestments 3)
That will go out towards him
And presences without end
Will have compassion 4) and will together
Stretch forth (their hands) in pact and peace 5)."
"How sublime is that which Thou sayest to me!
Thou hast reassured my heart!
Thou dost indeed support and lift up,
Equippest with arms and givest enlightenment!"
And Life is victorious.

245

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected (Being) dwelleth,
To the Place where the Almighty
Empowereth Itself and its Presence (*Parṣufa*),
And steadfast and shining is its Countenance,
Showing forth Its Likeness in the Secret Place;
The Place where Their Voice is lovely
And the sound of Their speech is sweet;
And sublime is the Place where the Great (Life) abideth!
Praise of Them is unbounded 6)

---

1) M.L. p. 258 has the following lines only in a slightly different form.

2) Lidzbarski (M.L., p. 259 1. 2 f.) *anin tibil nura qria*. Read *qrainin* we have created". (Š-ḏ-Q *qrainḫ*)

3) A punning equivalent for *mania*.

4) Lit. "will be theirs", i.e. compassion for Pthahil.

5) A free translation, they "extend (their hands) in *kušta*".

6) An idiomatic form, see p. 197, n. 1 and elsewhere. In this type of hymn it is always difficult to distinguish whether the plural refers to the Supreme Being or the spirits surrounding Him.

And mighty (*beings*) shine in their hierarchies
And perform all that They (He) desire (desireth);
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
Reveal to me the mysteries of blessing (prayer)
And about the armour [1] of their souls,
And about the radiance transmitted to Thyself".
The Great (Life) with His pure mouth (speaketh) [2]
And saith to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Thou art blessed from the Place (*in which*) we are blessed [3]
And from the Place in which We came into being
Thou camest into being.
And from the Place in which We were (*self*-) planted
Firm and implanted was thy native strength? [4].
Our radiance and thy radiance are victorious,
Victorious is Naṣirutha [5] that is of Us
And victorious is he whom I summon into it.
And (those whose) eyes open in radiance and light".
And Life be praised!

246

When the Proven One, the Pure One goeth
To the Place where Perfection dwelleth:
When, filled with innocency
And bright in all his goodness,
When beautified by his great radiance
And by his pure being [6]
They(?) travel to that Place,
The Proven, Pure One spoke,
Saying to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1] *Širiana* = (a) a vein, artery, channel", "stream", (b) "body-armour, cuirass".

[2] See M.L., p. 259 XIII. The first part is missing in M.L.

[3] The verb is passive.

[4] As indicated on pp. 135 and 171 the meaning of the verb NṢB and the word *niṣubta* is wide and vague. Hence the couplet is paraphrased with misgiving.

[5] Here, the vocation of priesthood.

[6] The verse is obscure. My former translation is impossible. Should it be "with a pure being"? *'tia* is always abstract!

If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Support my words! Let there be thrones
And we will set them up in the worlds of light.
So that 'uthras shall sit (thereon)
And recite thereon.
So that their ranks [1]) will shine thereon.
By their words they will edify them,
So that their ordered array may beseem their splendour.
And the revered ones, when sitting on their thrones,
Sitting on their thrones,
Will shine with a steady light.
He spoke with His pure voice,
The Great (Life) who dwelleth in that Place [2])
Spoke with His pure mouth
And said to the Pure One,
"Thou art a pure Helper! (*Go*),
Do all that thou desirest (to do)".
"According to Thy will and mine
I have constructed thrones,
Thrones I have provided
And have instructed the 'uthras who sit on them.
The 'uthras who sit on them I have instructed,
And they praise the Great (Life) Who counselled me.
They praise me, for I prepared for each one
His throne. The 'uthras stood and praised
That which I had sought and found
Through the goodness of the Life.
For them had I sought and found
Through the goodness of the Life
Who supported them."
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

247

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
The Chosen One, whose vesture becometh him

---

[1]) *Sidria* also means "recitations", "chants".
[2]) See M.L., p. 260, XIV.

And maketh his personality[1] greater
Than all the ʻuthras,
His personality maketh him greater than all the ʼuthras
Greater than all ʼuthras doth his personality make him,
Because he beheld the Form of the Great (Life),
Because he hath seen the Likeness of the Great (Life)
Their radiance controlled his thought
And Their thought: it was reciprocally outpoured.
And They pray a prayer for the ʼuthras.
All ʼuthras trust one another,
Love one another in sincerity.
There is no division amongst them
Such as the Second[2] brought about,
So ʼuthras are undivided from one another,
All are armed with one armour,
They are equipped with one armour
And their speech is one in sincerity,
In sincerity their speech is one.
And they dwell in lovely radiance,
In lovely radiance do they dwell
The Being whose love filled them,
And whose tranquillity and love rested upon them.
Life be praised and Life is victorious.

248

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place when perfected (beings) dwell,
—Great is he, the good (spirit)! —
He set his course towards his Father,
Toward his Father was his course set,
To say to Him that which was sublime and precious
In the secret place.
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
May it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1] In these poems *nafša* is often used for "soul". Properly speaking it is a thir component of man's make-up; the self, or individuality as distinct from the *ruha* and *nišimta*

[2] "The Second", "Second Life"; the manifestation of the material world. ?

[3] Read *rhamtḫ. . .šidqḫ*.

(That) a home of splendour [1], honour within it,
Be established, dignity resident therein,
And 'uthras will seek one another,
'Uthras will seek one another (*in prayer*).
Each will reverence his brother,
Everyone will reverence his brother
According to the counsel which went thither
From Thee".
"Thou art empowered, Great (Spirit)!
Go, let Honour abide in that place.
Let Dignity rest on that place.
And in Our glory and thine they will become glorious,
They will become glorious with that glory
And will accept the blessing that We sent them:
The blessing We sent them they will accept
And be grateful to thee.
It will take place so that 'uthras may know
That thou art the greatest of all 'uthras;
For thou hast revealed and shown them light
And dost give them the praise".
"I went, I went yonder,
Yonder I went;
I caused blessing to rest upon them.
The blessing I shed upon them
They (*thankfully*) receive.
And we will bless them with a benediction [2],
Benediction we will pronounce upon them
And in Thy praise they will (*themselves*) gain honour.
They will gain honour in praise of Thee,
They will establish Thy word.
Thy word they will establish
And will not depart from Thee."
Priests in secret bless the great (spirit)
Who honoured them and caused honour to rest upon them.

---

[1] A pun on *'qar* and *'qara* follows; play on words is characteristic of Mandaean poetry.

[2] Read *dilkun* for *dilun?* ("and bless *Thee* with a benediction").

249

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place where dwelleth the Perfected [1]),
Hidden within its Self and aloof,
He goeth towards Him, speaking to Him,
(Uttering) a sublime saying.
"If it please Thee, great (Life),
If it please Thee mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, great (Life),
I will speak: accept Thou mine (utterance).
There shall be pure signings;
And there shall be perpetual watchfulness.
It will be Thine armament;
With it 'uthras will equip themselves.
Thou equippest them with Good-Faith (*kušṭa*)
And Good-Heed [2]).
Nor will they rest idle when Thou hast armed them
With Good-Faith and Good-Heed.
They will keep silence and observe obedience.
Thinking like Thee and acting like Thee,
Thinking and acting like Thee.
And their deeds will be honest,
Reliable will be their rites [3]).
And zealous counsel will issue from them.
Kings, they will counsel one another
And unite, great and small, in communion."
And Life is victorious.

250

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected One abideth,
To the Place where the sound of His voice [4]) is mild,

---

[1]) I.e. the great Life.
[2]) Or "Truth and obedience".
[3]) Both translations of this line are possible.
[4]) Again here the reversion to the singular points to *tušlimia* as an epithet for the Great Life. The narrative returns to the plural after "luminous and lovely".

His appearance fair; and luminous and lovely
Are Those 1) who dwell there
And to Themselves absolutely true;
Truth and armed-readiness are at Their head;
In Their place They discern, know and distinguish
And in their inmost 2) Self They are watchful.
The Proven, Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great(Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Speak 3), open (reveal) Thy treasury,
Speak 3), reveal Thy treasury
And take therefrom a boon,
A boon take out of it
And grant to me a servant.
A servant give to me in whom
There is no lacking or fault.
With him bring my brethren, with him bring
All my sons, bring my sons;
So that in him and in Thee they may be raised up,
Be raised up in Thy resurrection
And be blessed with a benediction
That is from Thee."
The scheme which the great (spirit) planned 4),
He planned it for good. (At) the place
That the great (spirit) thought out
The 'uthras bow down and give praise,
The 'uthras worship and praise
The Being who opened His treasury,
The Being who sent them a benefit.
The 'uthras bowed in adoration
And were grateful for all His favours.

---

1) See p. 206, n. 4.
2) Lit. "in their heart of themselves".
3) *Malil* Or, (Biblical Hebrew, demon. of מול' 'to present, show") "Reveal" ? (See J. under מָלל III).

4) M.L. has the final lines, p. 260, XV.

251

When the Chosen One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected (Being) dwelleth,
To the Place where deeply reverenced
Is His steadfast Form, he (*the Chosen One*)
Spoke, saying to the Great (Life) Whose Form is constant,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
(Let us) open a Light-Euphrates,
A Light-Euphrates we will open up
And set therein a sturdy root
So that from the root there will be pure Vines
Who will offer up praise to Thee;
So that from the Vines which appear
Sprouts may grow out, healthy offshoots;
So that from the offshoots that show forth
We may institute, reward and oblation [1]).
We will institute reward and oblation,
We will lead in a congregation of souls [2]),
In a congregation of souls we will take the lead.
From it (*the Euphrates*) water will gush out,
There will be assurance for all Rays-of-Light,
They will be full of faith and put their trust in Thee".
"Thou hast spoken and thou hast established ,
Do thou confirm it and bring it to a successful conclusion".
"I came, and I opened up a Light-Euphrates
And established therein a baptism that is efficacious [3]),
I set up thereby a sturdy Root
That giveth forth light and is bright
And will not be cut down".
And Life is victorious.

252

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected (*Being*) dwelleth,

---

[1]) Or "fee and oblation", i.e. the offerings of the faithful in money or kind which constitutes the stipend of every priest.

[2]) Individuals, see above p. 204, n.1.

[3]) Lit. "that is not void", "not useless".

To the Place where His speech is pleasant
And His converse sublime and foreign (*to the earthly world*),
To the place where personality and manhood exist not;
[*He spoke to the Great* (Life) *saying:*]
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will set up a pure Crystal,
A pure Crystal will we set up
And arcana that are within it
Shall be established. The 'uthra Hibil
Shall come, shall dwell on the Euphrates
And will guard it. At his right hand
Two beings will come. We will establish and found [1]
Three *škintas*. On them Thou wilt cause blessing to rest:
Blessing Thou wilt bestow on them.
The *arcana* concealed therein, one by one
Will come into being [2]. There will be
A Pearl that will enlighten darkened hearts.
All will be filled with faith,
It will arouse the fallen (*who have stumbled*).
He who is aroused by it will get up,
(But) he who causeth stumbling
Will perish on the spot.
He who is worthy, deserving and perfect
Will not be cut off from his place.
He will be completely confident,
(For) the Life will be his support,
His support will be the Life
And he will he protected in his own place."
And Life be praised!

253

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the perfected dwell,
To the place of Safe-keeping
That is set apart for the company [3] of the Great (Life).

---

[1] *Ñistiknat* ? (D.C. 3 *Ništaknat*, also D.C. 38. Read (*mistiknia* ?).
[2] D.C. 38 repeats *tihuia*.
[3] I.e. companion spirits.

The Proven, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will speak a word [1]: uphold it!
I word I would speak, uphold it!
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
This shall be done [2]; a secret watcher
(*Be appointed?*) set over Man,
His guardian. I will remain a long time,
— And I will guard him! —
To cheer [3] him and to raise him up toward Thee;
To cheer him and to raise him up
Towards Thyself, so that he may come
And behold Thy countenance, may come
And grasp Thy right hand in fealty [4],
May rise up and listen to Thy converse
Which is not of this world [5]".

"Thou hast said it! Go, seek him out
And bring him here: seek him out [6]
And bring him hither
And the Life will be mindful of thy goodness".
Bringing abundant radiance and boundless light.
Bringing radiance in abundance I went;
To the secret watcher I came. "Rise up",

---

[1] I.e. "make a suggestion".

[2] D.C. 38 (Š. ḏ-Q. p. 26, ult.) *nitbad hazin*.

[3] I have been in doubt about this word. In D.C. 53 it is spelt *biuiḫ* and in Š.d.-Q. p. 27: 1 *buiuia*. The verb BAA (Arm. בעי "to seek" is the first and easier solution, but the unusual first 'i" in *biuiḫ* makes this unlikely. It may come from a verb equivalent to the Aramaic בוע "to rejoice" בעי and this is confirmed by the Syriac Pa. ܒܝܐ "to console" (i.e. "gladden") (ܒܘܝܐܐ consolation). According to the poem, there is no need for the speaker to *seek* the watcher, since, apparently he is already with the watcher (a priest, or priesthood, personified?).

[4] It is usually necessary to paraphrase sentences which refer to the act or rite of *kušṭa*.

[5] *Mnakria* lit. "estranged" foreign, removed i.e. "not of the mortal world". "transcendent", "ineffable" convey the meaning.

[6] *Buiḫ*.

(*I said to him*) "Rise up! Watchers [1] are many.
Thou hast kept thy watch; arise, put on
(*The robe*) which the Great (Life) hath sent thee
And go towards Him. Come! He hath required thee with Him
And I have sought thee, so come to us
And hearken to His converse which is ineffable [2].
The Great (Life) hath stretched forth His right hand to thee [3]
Put away passion from thy thought.
Thy thought shall be filled with Ours
And thy garment and Our garment will be one".
Life be praised and Life is victorious.

[These two "responses and two hymns are to be recited for the owner of a crown [4] when thou celebratest his wedding. Recite them after the chant "To the place where speech is pleasant". And recite them for the novice in the *škinta:* (but) do not recite them for a layman's wedding. Beware! for they are recited for the owner of a crown [4]. And then recite the hymn "To go and to perform his works" unto its conclusion [5].]

254

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected dwelleth,
To go and to perform his works
And to be manifest therein
And to institute a guardian [6]

....

I, whom the Great (Life) had commanded
To relieve [7] all the *škinta*s,
I, the First (Life?) enlightened Him.
"Because of me, the 'uthras were set at rest,
Because of me, the 'uthras were satisfied
And the Rays-of-Light ranged in their degree;
All of them shone in one another's radiance

---

[1] *Maṭaraiia* : a rare use of the word in this sense.which usually means inhabitants of the *maṭarata*.

[2] See p. 210, n. 5.

[3] See p. 210, n. 4.

[4] The "owner of a crown", i.e. a priest.

[5] The rubric of D.C. 38 is slightly longer.

[6] A passage here is apparently missing.

[7] Or "to serve", "to gratify".

And light was established in all minds.
Over all the works that I had made
I set up the Great (Life).
And I became a guardian in them
I was a guardian within them
And *I upheld*[1] all the worlds of light
In their places."
And Life is victorious over all works
And victorious the man who went hence.

255

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected One dwelleth,
To the place of veiled radiance
(Where) His Likeness is beauteous;
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"Thy disciple am I, for I have grasped
And understood some of Thy wisdom
I stood before Thee like a son
Who standeth before his father.
Thou spakest to me and I hearkened,
And that which Thou didst command I did.
The glory which Thou didst bestow on me
I transmitted to all the worlds of light.
With that which Thou didst vouchsafe to me
I benefitted all the Rays-of-Light.
From Thee I have not departed
And the speech of others existed not for me".
The Great (Life) praiseth the Proven One, the Pure One,
With His pure mouth, (*saying to him*)
Who had made his report,
"How submissive and humble thou art, Yawar!
What an alleviator[2] and peacemaker thou art!
Thou makest 'uthras agree and pacifiest them
And givest stability to the Rays-of-Light!"
And Life is victorious.

---

[1] Š. ḏ-Q. p. 27: 23 *uasmikit.*
[2] Lit. "smoothener", "straightener" (of rough places).

256

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected One dwelleth,
To the place in which the Transcendent [1] abideth,
Dwelling therein in a set limit
Within an appointed limit abiding therein,
Resting within it, in the Holy [2] Place,
The Proven, Pure One speaketh
Saying to Them, the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
The works which I have performed are set in order,
They are set in order, the works I have performed.
And all that I did in Thy presence
Will be established, and these words
Which I spoke before Thee (*also*).
And (as for) me, they will realise my vision.
I have acted as thou didst desire".
When the Proven Pure One had spoken thus,
The Great (Life) rejoiced thereat, embraced him
And kissed him with His pure mouth.
And he veiled him with esoteric veils [3]
With esoteric veils did He cover him.
And a cloud which emanated from Himself
He spread over him: it hid the great (spirit)
Which He had concealed therein.
And they called him "All- 'uthras-confirm him"
And "One who arrangeth-ordinances-and-sublimates-
All-minds" is he called [4] (?)
And Life be praised.

Translator's note. — The preceding hymn-cycle, known as the *Kt azil bhira dakia* must be a selection from a volume of gnostic poems with this title. Three other poems from this lost composition are included in the *G. R.* (right side). The first two of these were translated by Professor Mark Lidzbarski in his *Ginza, der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer,* (in these pages referred to as G.R.) pp. 355-370. They were also translated into Latin and transliterated into Syriac by M. Norberg in his *Codex Nasaraeus* (3 vols. 1815-1816) pp. 3-23. (Lidzbarski belittled Norberg's work in a somewhat unfair fashion.) The third poem, included in some codices of the *Ginza Rba*, as in my own copy, D.C.22 (dated 1274 A.H.), but missing in copies seen by Lidzbarski and Norberg and also in Petermann's facsimile (1867), is undoubtedly from the same lost book.

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[1] Lit. Strange.

[2] *Yaqra* = "precious", "venerated"; "holy" conveys the idea.

[3] *Mania gawaiia* "inner vessels", "inner garments", "inner vehicles"? — in any case, something which conceals, or covers up.

[4] My translation of the last few lines is very tentative, it is obscure.

To take the first two of these, both deal with 'uthras who have in some manner bungled their parts in the cosmic plan; namely, Yušamin, Abathur and Pthahil. The first two become reconciled to the Great Life. Yušamin's re-instatement after intercession by the "Pure, Chosen One" is the theme of the latter half of hymn 237 in the present collection, and hymn 243 is an attempted intercession for Abathur. Pthahil, however, persists in rebellion and turns to the planets and demons for support. The Great Life intervenes in Yušamin's plan to punish Pthahil, and, softened, the latter at last makes his submission.

In the second Ginza poem the 'uthras urge Manda-ḏ-Hiia to reprove Yušamin for mistreating the "pure pearl" (the soul) and Manda-ḏ-Hiia tells Hibil-Ziwa to remove the "pearl" from material creation. Light, loveliness and perfume thereupon depart from the earth. Yušamin and Pthahil protest, Pthahil from the chains into which he was cast for his rebellion.

The story is a complicated one, but all ends satisfactorily with the restoration of the soul to earth and the triumphant supremacy of light and order.

The third poem, that which is missing in G. R., is in the style of all the poems of the collection, including the formula "If it please thee, Great (Life)". It describes the resentment of Pthahil who is still in bonds. He complains and threatens *'u haizin akšalta makšlitlia hašta mšawina lpisusta ḏ-lahuat* (If thou hast made me fall thus, then now I will make such a breaking-up as has never been") and he summons the planets one by one and arms them.

Just in time, a message reaches him from the Great Life, and meditation and repentance change his attitude to one of humility. He is immediately surrounded by hosts of 'uthras and re-instated in favour, whereupon he calls the planets to order.

Translator's note. — Following the *Kt azil bhira dakia* in D.C. 3. D.C. 53 and D.C. 38 there is an astrological section bound into the prayerbook for the convenience of priests performing marriages, for they are always consulted by bridegrooms as to the propitious day and hour for the consummation of the union. It would endanger the happiness of the pair if the act took place under unfavourable astrological conditions. The section, known as the *Šabania Šaiia* was translated by me in the *Šarḥ ḏ-Traṣa ḏ-Qabin ḏ-Šišlam Rba* (Š. ḏ-Q.) so that I propose to omit it here together with the long colophon which follows it. A third part therefore begins on page 257 of D.C. 53. It contains prayers which have occurred earlier in the manuscript, for the same prayers serve on a variety of occasions: those for marriage are used at the consecration of a priest, and so on. When duplication occurs, I shall refer back to the prayer by number and page of both translation and text, but will not retranslate.

257

See no. 171, p. 154 of the translation, p. 287 of the Mandaic text (D.C. 53).

258 1)

Then from (You), Life, (I ask) Your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, Yours, Great Life! Pity, forgive, be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offered up these*) devotions. Forgiveness of sins be there for me! Again, from (You) Life, (I beg) your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, (Yours) Great First Life. Pity, forgive, be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offered these*) devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me.

259

Then from (You) Life, (I ask) Your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life. Pity, forgive be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offer up these*)

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1) Nos. 258 and 259 are practically identical with no. 172, p. 157.

devotions. Be there forgiveness for me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher [1]), for my wife and children and for my priest(s) who set out the bread and (*ritual*) food [2]) for You.

And for (you) my fathers, elders, teachers and instructors when ye supported me from the Left to the Right[3]), may there be forgiveness of sins for you. And may Life be established in their *škinta*s.

And Life is victorious over all works.

[This prayer of "Blessed is the First Radiance" is the sealing [4]) of all sacramental rites [5]), "devotions" baptism, *masiqta*, commemorations and "names": it is the final prayer of all sacramental rites [5]).]

260

In the name of the Great Ineffable Life from worlds of light Who is above all works, healing, victory, strength, soundness, speech and being heard and joy of heart and forgiveness of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš. And for my father Sam son of Anhar, for my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, And for my wife, Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha, and for my offspring Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania children of Hawa-Simat. And for my brothers [6]) (*and sisters*); Maliha, Adam-Zihrun, Zihrun, Yahia-Yuhana, Šarat and Mamania, the children of Mahnuš. And for my other [7]) brothers (*and sisters*); Bihram, Simat, Bibia, Hawa-Samra, and Yahia-Yuhana the children of Mahnuš. And may my thought, mind, knowledge and intelligence enlighten me, myself and my children, about the treasure of the First Life in these antiphonal hymns and chants of "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went".

261

(No. 233, p. 186 trans.: pp. 243 and 294 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

262

(No. 234, p. 187 trans: pp. 244 and 296 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

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[1]) The *rba* is the priest (teacher) who initiated him into priesthood.

[2]) *Ṭabuta*.

[3]) The "Left" is the material, non-spiritual, also spoken of as the "Mother": the "Right" is the spiritual, the "Father".

[4]) "Sealing" a name given to a concluding prayer.

[5]) *Ginzia* (hidden treasures), here = *razia*, "sacramental rites".

[6]) A gloss adds "Sam-Šaiar and Yahia-Bihram".

[7]) By a former husband? Stepbrothers and sisters?

263

(No. 235, p. 188 trans.: pp. 246 and 297 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

264

(No. 236, p. 189 trans.; pp. 248 and 299 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

265

(No. 237, p. 190 trans.; pp. 249 and 300 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

266

(No. 238, p. 192 trans.; pp. 252 and 302 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

267

(No. 239, p. 193 trans.; pp. 253 and 304 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

268

(No. 240, p. 194 trans.; pp. 255 and 305 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

269

(No. 241, p. 196 trans.; pp. 257 and 307 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

270

(No. 242, p. 197 trans.; pp. 258 and 308 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

271

(no. 243, p. 198 trans.; pp. 260 and 310 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

272

(No. 244, p. 200 trans.; pp. 262 and 312 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

273

(No. 245, p. 201 trans.; pp. 264 and 313 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

274

(No. 246, p. 202 trans.; pp. 265 and 315 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

275

(No. 247, p. 203 trans.; pp. 267 and 316 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

276

(No. 248, p. 204 trans.; pp. 268 and 317 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

277

(No. 249, p. 205 trans.; pp. 270 and 319 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

278

(No. 250, p. 206 trans.; pp. 271 and 320 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

279

(No. 251, p. 208 trans.; pp. 272 and 322 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

280

(No. 252, p. 208 trans.; pp. 274 and 323 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

281

(No. 253, p. 209 trans.; pp. 275 and 324 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

282

(No. 254, p. 211 trans.; pp. 275 and 326 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

283

(No. 255, p. 212 trans.; pp. 278 and 326 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

284

(No. 256, p. 213 trans.; pp. 279 and 328 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

(These are hymns of "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went" I copied for myself so that there should be commemoration (*of my name*) on earth and yonder in the mighty and celestial worlds of light, and for love of holy truth and (with) reliance on the high King of Light, His name be praised in the great place of light! I am poor, lowly and infantile, a slave that is all sin and as dust beneath the feet of Naṣoraeans, one who kisseth the shoes on the feet of the pious, the least of my brother-ganzivri. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia, family name Riš-Draz. I copied for myself from the *qulasta* (collection) of the great, lofty and revered R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Šitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzivri, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia family name 'Kuma. He copied it for Statad (? *'stad*? craftsman?) Baktiar son of Mhatam-Zihrun son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Yahia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anuš son of the great, lofty and revered R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan son of Zakria, from (one of) the Beni-Dihdaria Sabur by name; who copied from a collection that R. Ram-Yuhana also copied for himself (he was) the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam, family name 'Kuma, who copied it for a *šalmana* (a "perfect one"[1]) Hadaiat son of Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the Beni-Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied it from the collection of the great, lofty and revered one, a reliable and chosen *ganzibra*, a copyist[2] of his library and a lofty paragon in priestcraft (*Naširuta*), (namely) R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid, son of Sam, son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar, family name 'Asikir, who copied from the collection that had been copied for himself by R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar, family name 'Asikir who copied from the collection of Zakia-Baian son of Yahia-Bihram son of Yahia-Sam son of Bihram-Yuhana son of Yahia-Zakia son of Bihram-Šaiar, family name Ša'puria, who copied from the collection of a great, lofty and revered *ganzibra*, a chosen one, R. Yahia son of Sam-Adam son of Zakia-Zihrun son of Adam-Šitlan, family name 'Asikir, which was copied by the great, lofty and revered copyist of (his) library, R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Yahia son of Baktiar, family name Kuhilia, which was copied a second time by the great and lofty R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar, family name Kuhilia, who copied from the collection of R. Ram-Baian son of R. Sam-Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam-Baktiar son of Sam, family name Pariḥ (*or Fariḥ?*). He copied from the collection which R. Bihram-Bihad copied for himself: (he was) son of Yahia-Šaiar, family name Tutu. He copied from the collection of R. Adam-Bihram son of Bahran-Gadana that was copied by R. Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam the Deaf who copied from the scroll of the most reverend of ganzivri, R. Adam-Abulfaraz son of Bihram-Šitil son of Ruzba-Barubai, who copied it a second time for himself, copied it for R. Adam-Zihrun son of Mhatam son of Yahia son of Hibil-Yuhana, a paragon, there acted as assistant to them therein, Ram son of Adam, there was not (?) and R. Bayan-Hadada son of Zihrun. They copied from a Diwan (*scroll containing several texts*) of a commentary on "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went".

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[1] *Šalmana.* A person who, in anticipation of death, lives in a state of complete ritual purity, subsisting only upon sacramental food and drink.

[2] *Nasaka* (a) from Arabic and P. نساك "pious" (b) from نسخ "to copy".

And they compared and studied them carefully[1] according to their powers (ability).

And Life is victorious.

Prayers 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, and 292 are identical with prayers 180-187, pp. 162-166 of the translation, and pp. 202-207 and 330-335 of the Mandaic text, D.C. 53.

Following, prayers 293 to 304 inclusive are identical with prayers 188-199: trs. pp. 166-169 and pp. 335-338 Mandaic text, D.C. 53. The colophon which follows differs from other colophons in the book, and I omit it. The series of hymns which occupies the next section are for the ordination of priests, known as their "coronation". All the features of coronation are present, the immersion, oath, unction, and investiture with royal insignia. The "crown", however, is a tubular silken fillet. Šišlam-Rba is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.

305

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they placed the crown on Šišlam-Rba
Jordans formed themselves at his right,
At his right jordans formed themselves.
In them signs were graven,
Signs were graven in them,
Banners and holy vows[2],
Banners and vows,
And kings, *Tannas*[3] and Drops
All bow down and worship the great Crown
And the Vine which they had transplanted from it[4]
For ever and aye.

306

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they placed the crown on Šišlam-Rba

---

[1] *Haqiriun*

[2] *Kuštia yaqria* (Or, "precious pacts").

[3] *Tannas* and Drops are mentioned together in Prayer 189. Lidzbarski translates "Drops" as "women". The reference may be to bystanders, probably women of two classes.

[4] Some obscurities in these hymns defy translation! The "vine" which has been transplanted is, presumably, the new priest. Could the "crown" (*taga*) at one time have been of vine-tendrils?

Treasure of Life (*Simat-hiia* [1]) shone therein.
And in his vesture twelve mirrors were formed,
Twelve mirrors were formed in his vesture
And seven others in his seal-ring [2].
And five Drops...(?) [3]
And eyes discern in them sublime treasure.
They twine [4] trees with gold (*Trees are twined with gold?*)
Bountiful is their load of pearls!
Who, amongst all the kings,
Will confirm and view the crown
Which they set on him
For ever and aye?

307.

In the name of the great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba,
The jordans, frolicking and dancing,
Restless, and giving the two banks [5] no peace
Rejoicing, laughing and disporting themselves,
Say, "Our glory hath shone here,
It hath shone in this new crown,
The like of which existeth not.
Blessed is this new crown
And blessed are its leaves, which shall not fall!
For ever and aye.

308.

In the name of the great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba
The jordans all assembled, and Rays-of-light,
And wellsprings and *Tannas*;
And palms are interwoven [6] into the tendrils
Of the crown and brighten Šišlam-Rba's crown.
And they submit themselves to the glory

---

[1] Prayer No. 388 (text p. 469) omits *hiia*.

[2] *Gušbanqa* = "a cylinder-seal, signet-ring" גּוּשְׁפַּנְקָא

[3] Perhaps *ainia* here should have been *ainaniata* (see No. 308) and that scribes inserted a gloss?

[4] *Sarsin* (P.S.Thes. ܣܪܣ "to twist, to twine".

[5] For the missing line, *lkifh trin* see D.C. 53. No. 389 p. 470 text) and B.M. Or. 6592 : 352. (It is also missing in D.C. 3.)

[6] In all versions *'strik*, except D.C. 3, which has *'utrik*.

Conferred upon it. And all kings
Do homage to its radiance, light and effulgence.
Eternally.

309

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba,
Rays-of-light summon the kings,
They call to the kings, the rays-of-light,
And *škinta*s say to one another,
"Come! let us go and see Šišlam-Rba
Upon whom the Great (Life) hath set a crown;
Seven reliable kings [1] set it upon him
And King Manhiriel confererred the sign (insignia) upon him
And took his hand in holy troth [2],
And raised him, set him up
In the House of the Perfected,
For ever and aye.

310

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba
Channels of light were formed [3] therein
Channels of light formed themselves (therein)
And the glory (or "praise") of the 'uthras shone bright.
There was radiance, there was light!
Sublime ether was in them,
It was diffused into flowings of water
And streams without end.
They (*all?*) come and kiss the crown of Šišlam-Rba
And rest in its shelter
Evermore.

311

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the great crown

---

[1] At the "coronation of a king", i.e. ordination of a priest, seven "kings" (priests) must assist the *ganzibra* who is chief celebrant.

[2] A free translation: the rite of clasping the right hand in oath. "King Manhiriel" = the chief celebrant at the "coronation".

[3] For *'ṣṭria* read, as in No. 392 (the same prayer) *'ṣṭararbḫ*. D.C. 3 p. 336 has *'ṣṭria*, (so has D.C. 34 and B.M.O. 6592 : 380).

Upon the Teacher of 'uthras, Šišlam-Rba,
Jordans formed themselves at his right,
At his right jordans formed themselves
And the cloud Šašqaliel 1) (*journeyed?*) 2) with them,
With them (*journeyed?*) the cloud Šašqaliel
And a *škinta* was founded for (him her ?) in the jordan;
For (him her ?) in the jordan a *škinta* was founded 3).
And in the ether a banner was unfurled for him.
Kings of the worlds of light assembled,
All laying their pure right hands upon him,
Laying their hands of troth (*kušṭa*) on the crown of Šišlam-Rba,
And blessing it and honouring it
In the highest degree.

[These seven prayers of Šišlam-Rba shall be recited by the ganzibra when placing the crown on a postulant and the priests shall recite these seven other hymns and make the antiphonal response.]

312

In the name of the Great Life!
Blessed is this pure voice and blessed your planting!
Blessed is this new crown and blessed this hymning!
And blessed is this sanctuary (*škinta*) in which kings are sitting!
For ever and aye.

313

In the name of the Great Life!
O king, thou art a mirror! (Yea)
Radiance art thou, of genuine form;
Oh thou art a lofty force!
For all strength 4) is derived from thee!
Blessed is this new crown
And blessed its treasure which thou hast shared with them
For ever and aye.

---

1) The root ŠŠQL (Šaf. ŠQL) is used with sails or wings. The "cloud Mašql'il" (var. Mišql'il) is mentioned in the (Lidzbarski's trs. p. 402) l. 26.

2) Here *rdibun*, but in the same prayer later (No. 393) *qrabun*. B.M. Or 6592 : 391 *rdabun*. D.C. 3 p. 337 : 6 has *rdubun*. The reflection of a cloud in water is a symbol of marriage. Cf. Prayer No. 188.

3) Probably "for him".

4) Lit. "all strengths" in the plural.

314

In the name of the Great Life!
How wondrous is the strength of the Great (Life) [1],
And how great is the glory which thou sheddest on us!
Thou hast illumined us with thy great radiance
And we praise thee and the crown of Šišlam-Rba.
We magnify it and honour it
And bring it our homage
For ever and aye!

315

In the name of the Great Life!
Our father, thou art a king, a son of kings,
For thou puttest on the crown for kings,
The crown thou puttest on is for kings [2]
And thou bestowest victory on palm-trees [3].
Šišlam blesseth his crown
And 'uthras and sanctuaries (*škinata*) establish it.
Cause some of thy glory, which is great,
To rest upon us, and give us ..... [4]
So that our minds may rejoice in it
For ever and aye.

316

In the name of the Great Life!
Hail to him! Again, hail to the king of kings,
Šišlam-Rba! Hail to him on whom the hand of a king
Hath set his crown[5]; whose kingdom abideth and passeth not away.
It passeth not away, the kingdom of a king
As long as air and water flow -
For ever and aye.

317

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1] D.C. 3, p. 338 : 9 "of 'uthras".

[2] In Prayer No. 397 the couplet is *tagia lmalkia tarṣit tagia tarṣit lmalkia* (thou puttest *crowns* on kings).

[3] The palmtree is the symbol of "the Father", (see p. 14, n. 6.) also of priesthood.

[4] "Give us *thereof?* No. 397 has *uahbilan ḏ 'uṣran hadibẖ*; D.C. 3 p. 339 : 1, *uahbalan* etc. ("Give us that in which our minds delight").

[5] Bis.

Thou art the Teacher [1]) of *ganzibria* [2]),
Thou art the King of all 'uthras!
Good is it for him who beholdeth Thee with his eyes,
Good is it for him who discerneth Thee in his thought! [3])
He shall rise with Thee to the Place of Light.

318

In the name of the Great Life!
My day, what is it amongst days? A day.
My day, what is it amongst hours? A single hour.
What is my day amongst the days?
The day on which a kingdom was accepted.
My day, what is it amongst days?
The day on which treasure was divided.
The King divided His treasure
And gave his kingdom to Šišlam-Rba.
Šišlam-Rba shone in his crown
And we praise and magnify Thee
Because Thou art called the Teacher of 'uthras
For ever and aye.

[These are seven antiphonal hymns. The response [4]) to these hymns of "Šišlam-Rba" shall be recited by the priests. Should the *ganzibra* recite those hymns, the *ganzibra* shall recite one and the priests one.]

319

In the name of the Great Life!
Thy strength shall increase, our father,
And grow mighty by means of this secret mystery, Zihrun,
By which all 'uthras are fortified.
Be strengthened and increased in might and power
By this seal-ring [5]) which is bestowed upon thee,
And thou hast authority over it.

---

[1]) *Rbaihun* = "their teacher".

[2]) *Ganzibria*, (plu. of *ganzibra*). Now the title of the chief priest.

[3]) The words *b'uṣriḫ*, "in his thought", omitted in No. 317, are in No. 398 (which includes both Nos. 316 and 317), and also in D.C. 3, p. 339 : 12. The line is repeated in No. 398.

[4]) *Pasuk* = response; the part read by the priests in an antiphonal hymn.

[5]) At coronation (ordination), the new priest is invested with his ring of office; a gold seal-ring upon which are engraven the words *Šum yawar ziwa* ("the name of Yawar-Ziwa"). It is worn on the little finger of the right hand.

Thou hast been given authority over a treasure [1]
Of living flame, and over a Root
Which is the product of gardens [2].
Go, become great and glorious! [3]
Guard thyself, be confirmed (*in office*)
By this seal-ring which is set upon thee
So that thy strength may increase Yonder,
And the Elect righteous may be uplifted by thy fame!
And Life is victorious!

[This hymn for the seal-ring shall be recited by the *ganzibra* and priests over the seal-ring for the novice-priest when he assumeth thereby his kingship.]

320

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on the king
And the king accepted his kingship,
His radiance was seen in the light of the banners [4],
And the water-springs that were in the jordan
Waltzed [5] with one another!
The king took his crown
And was resplendent in its sublime radiance.
And he distributed crowns to the kings,
To the kings he distributed crowns [6].
And his brilliance, his light and his great glory
Rested upon them
For ever and aye.

[The *ganzibra* chants this hymn to them (*whilst*) distributing crowns amongst the 'uthras[7] and kings, and the 'uthras and kings give him myrtle;they give him myrtle.] [8]

---

[1] *Kimṣa*, see p. 195, n. 3 and p. 119, n. 2.

[2] A play on words *br gninia*, lit. a son of mysteries (things hidden) is also "a son of gardens".

[3] In D.C. 3 *'tgadal* is repeated.

[4] The word *drabša* comes from the P. درفش = a bright or glittering object "anything glittering or flashing".

[5] Or "whirled round together", i.e. danced for joy.

[6] At the coronation rite of a postulant to priesthood, newly woven fillets ("crowns") are distributed to ganzivri and priests present at the rite.

[7] The word *'uthras* refers to the ganzivri, just as *malkia* ("kings") means "priests".

[8] The rubric in D.C. 3 differs: it directs the ganzibra to distribute myrtle with the crowns.

321

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that the kings assembled (to be)
In company with the king, the son of kings,
And he distributed crowns and treasures to the kings[1]),
The kings extended their right hands,
Their right hands the kings held out,
And they received crowns from the king,
Crowns they received from the king.
And they bless him with a great benediction
And honour him who gave them crowns and treasures
For ever and aye.

[The priests shall repeat this hymn, taking the crowns from the *ganzibra* who set the crown on the postulant.]

322

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that a vision was verified by eyes [2]) (?)
And the newly-inaugurated [3]) banner was purified (?) [4]) thereby
Its inauguration (*consecration*) [3]) was shared amongst the banners
And the banners shone in its radiance,
They shone with great radiance and praised the king's crown.
They praised the king's crown [5]) and said to it
"Thy counterpart [6]) shineth in the ether,
In the ether thy counterpart shineth
And the ether delighteth in thee!
'Uthras, kings and jordans praise thy counterpart
For ever and aye.

[The ganzibra shall recite this prayer for the sewing of the postulant's crown. When praying the devotions before the secret prayer is said, he shall sew the postulant's crown and shall recite this prayer over the crown.] [1]

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[1]) Lines in italics are missing in No. 321, but are given in No. 402 (p. 477 in the text), also in D.C. 3 p. 341, and B.M. Or. 6592 : 423.

[2]) Or "his vision". *Tiqnat* = was stabilised i.e. realised.

[3]) *Mšaria* = "begun", "new, "inaugurated": as a derived meaning "consecrated". The new priest has his own banner, a new one. Read *drabša* here as in Prayer No. 403 (text p. 347) not *drabšia*.

[4]) Both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have here *'ṣṭalalbh* ([illegible] = "prepared "purified") B.M. Or. 6592 : 4 has *'ṣalalbh*. D.C. 53 No. 403, however has *'tkalalbh* = "is perfected thereby".

[5]) No. 404 has "praised the great crown".

[6]) Or "thine archetype".

323

In the name of the Great Life!
Shine forth, give out light, pure Mirror!
For in all worlds thou wilt be called "Illuminator".
Rise to thy feet, great 'uthra!
Let all thy treasure awake [2] for us
That we may shine and rejoice thereat:
'Uthras and kings who sit in this sanctuary
Will beam and rejoice thereat!
From beginning to end.

[The priests and ganzivri who are sitting in the sanctuary shall recite this hymn when the postulant comes and sits upon a chair. Then he shall rise to his feet and recite the appointed prayers (*mandiz*) as far as the prayer "Darkness is crushed down"; with witnesses, one on his right and the other on his left.]

324

In the name of the Great Life!
Thou enlightenest them by thy word(s)
Sublime [3] and pure,
And glorifiest the worlds by thy glory.
Our father, thou enlightenest them
By thy pure eloquence
And thy root shall be exalted
And attain the summit.

[The priests and ganzivri shall recite this hymn when the postulant is ending his set pieces, and the witnesses shall sit and recite this hymn, as below.]

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[1] The crown is tubular. At the consecration of a priest long tubes of woven silk and cotton are cut by the *ganzibra* into short lengths: two of silk for himself and the postulant, 24 of cotton for other priests (if the postulant is the *ganzibra*'s first pupil). Women present sew the ends together so as to form "crowns", but it appears from the above insertion that the *ganzibra* himself completes the silken crown of the new priest.

[2] The "treasure" which the new priest is to "awake" or "illumine" (the word means both), is his accurate recitation of the Book of Souls before the assembly of examining priests.

[3] Only D.C. 3, p. 342 has *šania*. B.M. Or. 6592 : 126 also omits.

325 [1]

In the name of the Great Life!
The Great (Life) rejoiced, It was glad
That Yawar hath looked [2] for a banner of radiance.
And the Rays of Light rejoiced because
We have crushed down darkness
And brought to nought the rebellious Voice.
If thus we have acted, and thus it was ordained,
Then it is You, the Well-Ordered,
(Who hath) ordained it.

[The witnesses recite this hymn whilst sitting on chairs, and shall recite all the hymns (given) below.]

326

In the name of the Great Life!
Our father, thou art a pure mirror!
In all worlds thou hast become an Illuminator.
Rejoice, our father! and take joy
In all thy kingliness!
Thou, our father, art he in whom we shine and glory,
And (in whom) the 'uthras and kings
In this sanctuary shine and glory
For evermore.

[All shall recite this hymn; then the postulant (when) he has risen [3], shall kiss them on their heads, give them myrtle to smell at, and shall kiss the *ganzibra* and take the book [4]) from him.]

327

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Myrtle emerged from the Wellspring [5]
And her waters, it grew upward [6] in its glory.
The waters rushed forth and were divided
And ether emanated from light.

---

[1] This prayer (No. 325) is the only one of the coronation series translated by Lidzbarski; (M.L. p. 272).

[2] I suspect strongly that the original had *sakakl*ḫ = "planted", ("stuck in") the banner. The pointed end of the pole is driven into the earth.

[3] The Perfect tense.

[4] The Book of Souls.

[5] The "Wellspring" = the "Mother", see p. 14, n. 5.

[6] *'tgadal* = "became great", "was raised up" (to dignity).

The king took the first myrtle [1]
From the hand of the new king
Who by him had been instructed in the sublime mystery.
He twined him [2] a (myrtle-) wreath;
On the jordan he bestowed its purity.
The king was ratified (?) [3] by the myrtle
And the jordan crowned [4] by the king,
They are reciprocally crowned [5], mutually aggrandised
And rise and behold the Place of Light.

[The *ganzibra* recites this hymn, takes the myrtle from him, smells at it, twists a wreath for himself, twists a wreath for the postulant and gives it to the postulant who takes the wreath and staff. Then he gives the order that they should honour (*their crowns*).]

328

In the name of the Great Life!
Blessed be this *škinta* of the Mighty (Life)
In which crowns have been formed
Crowns have been formed in it
And a crown for a king, son of kings, was set on,
A crown was set on a king, son of kings.
All the kings pay homage to thee [6]
And kings, 'uthras, Tannas and Drops
All bow down and reverence thee
In whom crowns (or "his crown") and mysteries
Have been confirmed
And *škintas*; an indwelling of the Mighty (Life)
Hath proceeded from thee (?) [7].

---

[1] One would expect "from his first-born", but the *bukra* refers to the first myrtle that the new king twines as a king into a wreath.

[2] D.C. 3 omits *gdalḫ* and has *asia* for *asa*.

[3] D.C. 3 has *triṣ* for *tqun*. Cf. the *barsom* as confirmation of Persian kingship.

[4] The Ethpe. and Ethpe. pf KRK (to turn, surround, enfold, encircle etc.) have many derived meanings. *'tkarak* "crowned" occurs in the phrase *hu taga 'tirṣa ḏ-malkia bgauḫ 'tkarak* (D.C. 36) "it is a crown set on, wherewith kings were crowned".

[5] D.C. 3 has the correct *mitkarkin:* D.C. 53, No. 408 p. 480 1.1. has *mitgadlin*

[6] In the other mss *ldilak*. The cult-hut, scene of the coronation, is addressed

[7] *Škinat kabiria minak praš*, The meaning appears to be that the Great Life is incarnate in the priest's office. *Škinat* here might be rendered as "shecinah", "indwelling"?

And in thee the elect righteous will be uplifted;
They will worship and give praise
For thou wilt be called
"A *škinta* which nourisheth sucklings"
For ever and aye.

[This is the prayer for the consecration of the cult-hut (*škinta*) when thou intendest to take thither the first postulant on the Sunday. The priests recite this hymn before entering the cult-hut; (*they recite it*) and then they enter the cult-hut.]

329 1)

In the name of the Great Life!
Oh a burnished treasure art thou!
Oh a glittering thing 2) art thou!
(Thou) mirror 3) of kings!
In its glory kings shine; they shine in its glory.
They prepare crowns with his; 4)
Crowns they fashion with his.
Watersprings are crowned (?) by his (*crown*) 5)
And watersprings, radiancies 6) and mirrors
Worship the great Crown: they praise it, guard it
And say to it "Blessed is this (*thine*) appearance
Which we praise; and by it, in thy *škinta*
We shall be guided aright, we shall be rightly guided 7)
In thy *škinta*, and with thee we shall be united
For ever and ever.

[This is the hymn for the releasing 8) of crowns on the Sunday

---

1) This prayer is the last in Lidzbarski's collection, but his version differs from those in my collection, cf. the two texts. He takes it as an address to the banner (which it is not, even in the Oxford version, see l. 2 of the prayer) for it is addressed to the crown and its wearer.

2) *Drabša* here is "that which glitters" see p. 226, n. 4; not "banner": the crown is meant. (P. درفشان = "to shine".)

3) Or "vision".

4) The reference, as the insertion which follows it shows, is to the preparation and presentation of crowns to all the priests present at the ceremony.

5) Lidzbarski (and the Oxford ms.) *bziwḫ mitkarkan*. *Bziwḫ* is missing in D.C. 53, and I translate *mitkarkan* in the same sense as "And the jordan crowned by the king". see p. 230, n. 4'

6) Or "radiant beings". (Lidzbarski *Glanzwesen*.)

7) *Nitriṣ*. (TRṢ to make or set right, etc.)

8) Or "inauguration", "consecration" see p. 227, n. 3.

when the *ganzibra* wishes to consecrate [1] the cotton crowns for the priests [2]. Wearing all his vestments [3] and all his clothes [4], the crown in his right hand and the staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the Piriawis, the jordan, and takes also in his right hand with his own crown the cotton crowns which he wisheth to consecrate. Then he performs the ritual ablution in the jordan and comes towards the *kinta* [5] and the banner. And he examines all the clothes and recites the *Asuta* [6] to the Gate of Mercies [7] and the kings as much as he is able. And after that he entones this prayer over each crown, once over every one. And Life is victorious.]

These are the antiphonal hymns of Šišlam-Rba and their refrain, the hymn of the ring, and all the hymns for postulants (*ordination hymns*). I copied this collection from beginning to end for myself, so that I might act and be successful in the world and that there may be one to mention my name on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. For I have copied with a sincere and believing heart: my heart hath testified to the Life and to my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, so that they would be my support and my saviour. I am poor and lowly. . . (etc.)

(*The colophon resembles other colophons in the book*) . . . .

This miscellany of the Coronation was set in order and brought to successful conclusion from beginning to end in the name of the Life and as a token of Knowledge-of-Life and trust in the high King of Light, and in the names of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš — praised be their names in the great Place, the House of Perfection! It was completed on Friday (*yuma ḏ-rahaṭia*) which is *'rufta* (Friday), the fourth of the month Akir-Paiiz (Last-of-Autumn) which is *Ṭabit*, Capricornus, in the year of Wednesday (*i. e. which began on a Wednesday*) in the year 1217 by Arab computation — may the world founder upon them and Manda-ḏ-Hiia bring to nought their rage against the congregation of souls!

It was copied in Huwaiza, by the waters of Karka. . . (*etc.*)

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[1] See p. 227, n. 3.

[2] Plural in D.C. 3.

[3] *Mania* in D.C. 3

[4] I think that this means the new priest's clothes later inspected at the *kinta*.

[5] An altar in box form.

[6] The "*Asut-Malkia*" no. 105.

[7] The North, the North star.

[The end of the autobiographical part of the colophon of D.C. 53 is missing.]

THE BANNER HYMNS [1]

In the name of the Great Life! may there be health, victory and forgiveness of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš because of these antiphonal hymns for the banner.

330

In the name of the Great Life!
When radiance came forth the white land, Paris [2],
A young lad, Arsapan, son of radiant-beings,
Unfurled a banner [3]. He unfurled a great radiance
So that 'uthras and *škinta*s shone in the banner's brilliance,
They shone in the brilliance of his banner
(That was) like the radiance in the House of the Mighty (Life)

331

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba [4] unfurled his banner
Over corporate beings [5],
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings
Of radiance, light and glory were formed by him.
The glory of Šišlam-Rba's banner
Shone forth over three [6] Wellsprings of Radiance
And the three wellsprings of Radiance
Who beheld the brightness of Šišlam-Rba's banner
Prostrated themselves before its glory:
They prostrated themselves,
The three wellsprings of radiance,
Praising the banner
To all eternity.

---

[1] Lidzbarski included nineteen of the banner hymns in his collection (M.L. pp. 264 ff.).

[2] Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 264, n. 1) suggests that "Paris" is "Pars, Persis im Gegensatz zum Schwarzland (*sawwād*) Babylonien so benannt".

[3] For the banner as a light-symbol see p. 231, n. 2 and p. 226, n. 4.

[4] The great Šišlam is the archetype of king (priest) and bridegroom.

[5] '*Usṭunia* = lit. "bodies" (headless). '*Usṭuna* is the word used in priestly commentaries to connote the physical; the trunk (column) of Adams "Body", i.e. the universe conceived as a human shape.

[6] "Wellsprings" are, I imagine, a poetical name given to the three celebrants necessary for a *masiqta:* other ceremonies require seven concelebrants. See l. 5 of the next hymn.

332

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba unfurled his banner
Its glory shone out over three hundred and sixty thousand jordans,
The glory of the banner of Šišlam-Rba
Shone out over seven wellsprings,
And the wellspring Ṣihmai[1] spurted upward
Before the radiance of Šišlam-Rba's banner.
The perfume in the banner was delightful
And (*as*) it appeared over the *škinata* (sanctuaries).
How it becometh Šišlam-Rba when he is illumined
By the wondrous banner Zihrun!
How beauteous it maketh Šišlam-Rba
When he is proclaimed King of all beams of light!

333

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba shook out the banner Pirun
And unfurled it at the head of the *škinta*,
Its glory shone out over Wellspring and Palmtree[2].
(*When*) the Wellspring and Palmtree beheld[3]
The glory of Šišlam-Rba's banner,
A gush of radiance inundated Šišlam-Rba's banner
And made his banner, Pirun, bright
Beyond measure.

334

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that the banner Šišlamiel was unfurled,
Its radiance beamed forth over three hundred and sixty
Worlds of Light.
Over three hundred and sixty worlds of light
Its radiance beamed forth.
And the three hundred and sixty worlds of light

---

[1] ṢHM = "to be brilliant".
[2] See p. 14, notes 5 and 6.
[3] *ḏ hzatẖ* is influenced by the gender of *aina*.

Which beheld the brightness of the banner Šišlamiel
All flocked towards it,
Towards it they all gathered
And uttered a benediction on the banner of the Great Bihram 1),
Saying to it, "Thy radiance, (O) banner Manhariel,
Hath dawned and thine appearance shone out,
And thy jordan hath strength and flow 2)
From end to end.

335

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Bihram the Great unfurled the banner Šišlamiel,
Its radiance shone out over the waters,
Over the waters its radiance dawned,
Its radiance dawned over the waters
From the waters its radiance flooded upward
Its radiance surged up from the waters
And shone out over the worlds.
Worlds and kings who beheld the radiance of
The banner Šišlamiel, all gather towards it,
All gather towards it and utter blessing
Upon the banner of Šišlam-Rba and say to it
"Blessed be thou, Šišlamiel-Banner,
And blessed be the man that hath unfurled thee.
Great glory hath he given thee
And great is the crown 3) he set on thee!
He hath given thee myrtle which strengtheneth 'uthras:
Jordans exult 4) in thy radiance
And 'uthras delight in thy fragrance
Exceedingly".

336

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba unfurled his banner

---

1) In the Vendidad (19:37). Varathragna's epithet is *barō-χᵛarəna*: usually translated "glory".

2) Motion.

3) At the consecration of the banner, which is extended full length before the white silk is draped over the crosspiece, a myrtle-wreath is slipped over the peak by the priest or priests officiating.

4) D.C. 3 has *šahfia* "flow out", D.C. 53 (like M.L.) *šahbia* (ŠHB to exult in, vaunt, joy in etc.).

The radiance of Bihram-Rba's banner
Shone forth like the great mirror
That resteth in the Jordan.
Its radiance appeared and his *škinta*
Shone, and his people [1]) were confirmed in victory.
And Life is victorious.

[Recite these seven hymns for the banner when unfurling it [2]).]

337 [3])

In the name of the Great Life
It hath risen, it hath shone forth
Thy radiance, king of 'uthras!
It came; upon the 'uthras and *škinta*s it shone.
The 'uthras and the *škinta*s who beheld thy glory
All bless thee with a blessing,
A blessing they pronounce upon thee
And the 'uthras honour thee
Because thou camest into existence
Through the hand of a king.
The king blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave it (*thee?*) to me, Hibil-Ziwa.
To me, Hibil-Ziwa he gave it
To give light to worlds, to kings
And to jordans and *škinta*s
All of them, fully.

338

Hibil blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave thee to the Occult Adam [4]),
Adam blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave thee to the Chosen Elect.
He gave thee to the Chosen Elect
To enlighten and stabilise their counterparts [5])
Fully.

---

[1]) *Šurbta*, a race, tribe, family, descendants, kinsfolk.

[2]) These seven prayers are said by a priest over the banner during the recitation of his daily office.

[3]) This prayer and 348 are said whilst crouching and holding the staff of the banner.

[4]) This Occult Adam, is the cosmic Adam, archetype of the physical Adam.

[5]) The *dmuta* is the over-soul, the counterpart of the earthly being in the ideal world of Mšunia Kušṭa. It often acts as conscience or guardian angel, according to commentaries,

339

The Chosen Righteous rose to their feet
And grasped thee with their right hands.
They went to the jordan of living water
And set thee up, so that thy radiancy
Might be shed on the jordan.
The water and thy brightness become blended together;
Thy brightness and the water are combined
Enhancing (*the brilliance of*) Šilmai and Nidbai.
And these, the elect who go to the jordan,
Are illumined by thy radiance.
Do thou guard them and establish them
And make their baptism successful!
Life is victorious.

[Chant these hymns before thou conveyest the banner to the jordan.]

340

In the name of the Great Life!
Who took up the banner Zihrun
In which the worlds and generations glory
And went to the bank of the jordan Piriawis?
The jordan Piriawis on beholding the brilliancy
Of the banner Zihrun, leapt towards its radiance:
The waters and jordan and springs which dwell
In the jordan (*Piriawis*) leap towards the radiance
Of the banner Zihrun and exult exceedingly.

341

In the name of the Great Life!
Yawar took up the banner Šišlamiel
In which the worlds and generations exult,
And went to the bank of the jordan Piriawis.
The jordan Piriawis when it beheld the banner Zihrun
Rejoiced with a great joy, exceedingly.

[Chant these hymns and take the banner to the jordan and plant it on the bank of the jordan. Then recite "Shine forth, shine forth, brightness of Yawar".]

342

In the name of the Great Life!
Shine forth, let Yawar's radiance shine forth
Over the jordan. The brightness of the banner
Hath shone forth over the living waters! It shone forth:
The waters dance towards its radiance
And the radiance towards the waters. Waters and radiance
Are intermingled [1]), are interlaced, and its brightness
Inspiriteth the 'uthras in their *škinta*s
Immeasurably.

(Recite these hymns when thou graspest the banner on the jordan-bank. Then recite "As the head of three *škintas*".)

343

In the name of the Life,
As head of the three *škinata* [2]) —
Who was set up as their head (Chief)?
Whom did they set up as their chief?
Who unfurled the banner at the jordan,
Who at the jordan unfurled the banner?
And who took the staff into the jordan?
As the head of the three *škinata*
Who placed the great crown on their heads [3])?
On their heads and banners Yukašar placed the great crown;
He unfurled the banner at the jordan,
Yukašar unfurled at the jordan the banner
And Yusmir took the staff into the jordan.
And Life is victorious.

[Recite these hymns whilst grasping the banner on the jordan bank [4]), then perform thy baptism).[5]]

344

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1]) Or "embraced one another".

[2]) Three cult-huts? Or are, as I think may be the case, three concelebrants meant?

[3]) D.C. 53, p. 363 and D.C. 3, p. 235 have *brišaiin udrabšaiin*. Lidzbarski, using De Morgan's transcription, (D.M. p. 175) has *brišaian*. "on our heads" and omits mention of the banners.

[4]) The banner is grasped first below the peak and then, standing, above the peak.

[5]) Or "perform thine immersion".

The Great (Life) rejoiced; It rejoiced when Yawar looked [1]
Towards the banners of radiance and beams of light.
It rejoiced that we have trodden down darkness
And have brought to nought the rebellious Voice.
If we have done thus and it was brought about,
Nevertheless it is You, the (*well-*)ordered,
Who have ordained it!

345

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that 'uthras put into order
A jordan of living water
And a baptism was performed therein,
They took the banner Bihram
And brought it into the *škinta* of Šišlam-Rba.
And at the door of his House of Radiance
They unfurled it so that 'uthras and *škinta*s
Might shine in its brightness and rejoice
Exceedingly.

[Recite these two hymns after thou hast performed the baptism, and take the banner into the cult-hut.]

346

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that great Bihram furled his banner
Three hundred and sixty guardians presided thereat [2].
They concealed it in its strong-box [3]
And set the seals of the mighty (Life) upon it.
The mighty (Life) blesseth with His pure mouth
The Being who had settled here, and saith to him
"Lend with increase some of thy radiance,
And illumine the whole world with thy light!"
Our father enlighteneth with his wondrous voice;

---

[1] For *skarlḫ*, D.C. 53, p. 363, 1.17, read *skalḫ* as in D.C. 3, D.M. and other mss.

[2] I.e. were present, lit. rested upon it.

[3] Lidzbarski (M.L. 273 : 9) transliterates **בסאפטיא** and translates "Ketten von Edelsteinen". D.M. however (178: penult.) like D.C. 53 (364 : 11) and D.C. 3 (236 : 21) has *bṣafṭia hiliḫ*. *Safṭa* (the more usual form of the word) in Arabic and Persian = "chest for valuables", "wallet", "purse" "casket" etc. and occurs several times in Mandaean texts in this sense. (e.g. *bsafṭia ḏ-zahba*, D.C. 36 II no. 189). The banner is, in fact, kept in a box.

And he said, "Any man who is pious and believing,
Who went not early in the morning to the jordan
Nor is signed with the sign of the jordan...... [1]))
Utterly.

[Recite this hymn and fold up the banner on the great day of Daima [2]), by itself. And, any day on which thou baptisest, fold the banner [3]) and cover it up with this hymn.]

347

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that the radiance of the banner Šašlamiel [4])
Was hidden in its casket of radiance,
All the 'uthras rose from their seats.
And pronouncing a sublime blessing upon Zihrun-Šašlamiel [5])
The banner, they took it from its pedestal [6]) of radiance
To inner houses [7]) so that it was hidden.
They cover it, bless it, guard it and say to it,
"As surely as thy radiance waiteth safe in its casket,
Will thy form be kept safe. All worlds which behold thee
Will bless and praise thee for ever and aye".

[Recite this prayer and furl the banner when thou hast finished all thy rites. Recite it by itself alone and fold it before they cover (*put away*) the banner of the day, whilst thy crown is on thy head, except at the festival of Daima. (*On that day?*) read both hymns. Then roll up the banner and hide it in its chest (or "casket"). And Life is victorious!)[8]]

348 [THE BLESSED OBLATION PRAYERS]

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Ayar (Ether, Air) emerged from the Wellspring
The waters flowed hither, hither flowed the waters
And radiance in the jordan. (*The use of*)

---

[1]) A line must be missing, condemning such a man, for the daily ablution and signing at the jordan is a religious duty. The version given is on all copies I saw, including D.M. p. 178.

[2]) The feast of Daima, a baptism-feast, occurs ninety days after Panja (Parwanaiia), the five intercalary days.

[3]) The banner is about three meters long and an ell wide.

[4]) Var. *Šišlam'il.*

[5]) Not Zihrun *and* Šašlamiel as written (v. D.M. op. cit. pl. 178 : 10).

[6]) Its base, its column, i.e. the banner-pole.

[7]) Lit. "to inner eggs".

[8]) Here Lidzbarski's collection has No. 329 (given in this book on p. 231).

Myrtle was appointed. 1) they twine its sprigs
And its destination 2) is the sacred table 3).
We *ašgandia* (acolytes) have become acolytes 4)
And were admitted into the radiance of the mighty (Life);
By the radiance of the mighty (Life) we are sheltered.
And the Wreath is set up, into circlets it was twined,
It was plaited with myrtle leaves.
Trees bore their fruit (*lit.* "burden")
Naṣirutha was manifest in the full jordan
And they were refreshed in the full jordan,
Before you, 'uthras, my brothers,
Fully.

The *šganda* reciteth this hymn for the Blessed Oblation when the myrtle and phial are in his hand. Then the *ganzibra* taketh the myrtle and phial of wine 5) from the acolyte and reciteth "Come, come, lofty acolyte, from the House of my Father".]

349

In the name of the Great Life!
Come, come, lofty messenger 6),
Come, come from the House of my Father!
Come and irradiate us with the radiance of Life,
With the radiance of Life irradiate us!
And refresh us with some of the good things 7)
Provided there 8). For thou 9) art called
Sustainer 10) of 'uthras for ever and aye.

---

1) Myrtle and its ritual inhalation is an important rite in the "Blessed Oblation". Cf. the barsom in early Zoroastrian ritual.

2) Lit. "its course, ("its journey) is to".

3) The *patura*, corresponds to the sacramental table or altar. It may be a clay table, or a mat, or a purified washed surface. The sacred meal is arranged on it, see p. 61, n. 5.

4) *Ašganda, šganda*, see p. 5, n. 4. Usually a young man or boy who must be of priestly birth. He is consecrated for his office every time he officiates.

5) The "wine" is unfermented.

6) *Šganda*, in its more ancient meaning, see p. 5, n. 4.

7) *Ṭabuta* ("goodness", "good things") here refers to the food-offerings.

8) A better version of this prayer occurs in D.C. 42 ls. 617 ff. *uṭaibinan mn ṭabuta ḏ-'šra* (var. *'šria*) *'lḫ aminṭul ḏ-mṭaibana ḏ-'uthria 'tiqrit*. The same version occurs in D.C. 50. The form is Afel. Cf. Hif. שׁרי (J., 2) "to provide a living for".

9) *'tiqria* in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53. I prefer *'tiqrit*, see n. 8.

10) *Mṭaibana* = one who refreshes or provides with food and drink, "sustainer", "food-giver" etc.

[The *ganzibra* shall recite this hymn and take the phial of wine and the myrtle from the acolyte]

350

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that a root of fresh myrtle
Was set up before the king,
The king stretched forth his right hand for it
And gave it to the 'uthras and acolytes
And said to them "Take from me this fresh myrtle
And bless the *škinata* [1] with a blessing,
A blessing pronounce on the *škinata*
And illumine and restore the 'uthras and *škinata*
Situate at thy right and at thy left
For ever and aye. [2]

[The *ganzibra* shall recite this hymn and distribute myrtle to the 'uthras [3] and priests. Then they shall recite the "sealing" prayers, [4] to the end of that which blesseth (bless) the Blessed Oblation, and he shall seal (conclude) it.]

In the name of the Great First Strange Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable who is above all works, may there be health, purity, and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš ...... (*etc., the usual insertions with family names occurs in all mss.*)

And we shall be blessed by means of these prayers and benedictions of the *pihtania* [5] of the Blessed Oblation, and our thought, mind and understanding shall be enlightened by the might of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

351

In the name of the Great Life!
This is the Blessed Oblation!
Kušṭa regaleth his friends,

---

[1] The cult-huts, where the Blessed Oblation is celebrated.

[2] For a slight (and possibly better) variant of this prayer see Š. ḏ-Q. pp. 61-62.

[3] See p. 226, n. 7.

[4] *Hatamata* = confirmatory or concluding prayers.

[5] *Pihta* (= "opened"). Bread broken ritually and distributed and eaten sacramentally is so called. Cf. the Aramaic "piece", "bread (*Targ. O. Gen. xviii t.; Targ. Y. ib.xl*, 16); etc. See p. 37, n. 3. *pihtania* appears to be the plural form, "pieces of bread").

Kušṭa his friends regaleth,
He hath prepared and blessed it with his blessing.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken(?) [1]

352

In the name of the Great Life!
I am the white *Pihta* [2]
From Life's treasure-house was I transplanted;
I was transplanted from the treasure-house of the Great Life,
With [3] the jordan they sent me to earth,
With the jordan to earth they sent me
To spread truth in the world,
In the world to spread truth,
To enlighten darkened hearts,
My treasure, which I instilled into it [4].
I illumined and transformed it completely
Completely did I illumine and transform it.
I brought and [5] set down in it a good [6] (gift)
I removed from it the misery [7]
Which the Seven had brought to bodies
(That) the Seven had brought to bodies
And they dwelt in darkened hearts.
Pihta they ate not. (*but*) his Creator spoke
And made man, who ate not *pihta*,
Listen to Him. And He said,
"Look to it lest ye eat with a lie!
Beware that ye eat not falsely!
Look to it lest ye partake of it hypocritically!"
For the wicked and liars who eat it with falsehood

---

[1] Or, if we read, as in D.C. 53. pp. 376, 379, 380, 382 and D.C. 3,pp. 247, 248, 250 and 251, "who quickeneth us with his bounty".

[2] Wheat for the *pihta* is the best and whitest. Ground by the priest, it is mixed with water from river or jordan (salt being first added). Formed into discs, the dough is baked over the ritual brazier just before use. The *pihta* consumed during the *masiqta* by the priest as proxy for the deceased is made otherwise. See *W.W.* pp. 242-255 for full description of the rite.

[3] Or "from the jordan".

[4] I.e. into the world.

[5] D.C. 3 has *atit* "I went" (as translated in Z.D.M.G. Band 105, Heft,1 p. 134, 1. 5.)

[6] *Ṭabta* = "a good thing, gift", etc. or "goodness". See p. 254 n. 1.

[7] Lit. "sighing" "lamentation".

Will be bound and lie in darkness,
They will be bound and lie in darkness,
Darkness degraded 1) and lay heavy upon them.
The eyes of the wicked look on darkness
And their feet find nothing stable.
(*But*) the good, who eat it with sincerity
Arise and behold the Place of Light.
Their eyes behold the light
And their feet find firmness.
And Life is triumphant.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken 2).

353

In the name of the Great Life!
The white *Pihta* am I!
The creature of light, I came into existence.
Pihta am I, the white,
For Yawar was my Transplanter 3)
My Creator was Yawar, from his treasury he brought me.
Yawar-Ziwa took me and gave me to Nṣab-Ziwa.
Nṣab-Ziwa took me and gave me to Zarziel-Nhura-Rba.
Zarziel-Nhura-Rba took and gave me to Hibil-Ziwa.
Hibil-Ziwa took and brought me into the earthly world;
He took me, brought me down; set me down in the earthly world.
As food for Adam and all his sons.
Whilst the first generation existed
They ate me in good faith,
In good faith did they eat me;
No trickery 4) did they perform with me,
They performed with me no misuse 4).
Nor did they omit or subtract from 5) me
They committed no omission or subtraction

---

1) Af. of ZLL or ZUL.

2) See p. 243, n. 1.

3) Or "creator".

4) *Hargta* = (a) friction, rubbing (b) "distortion", "obliquity", "false dealing", "misuse": e.g. *kušṭana damia lmuzania ḏ-mutaqin ulaiit bgauḫ hargta* (G.R. r. 214, Lidzbarski's trs. Der Wahrhafte gleicht einer Wage, die gerade gerichter und an der keine Schiefheit ist. The crookedness is intentional (*hrig* = "cunning").

5) Lit. "they performed me with nothing lacking or deficient".

And the creatures of the Seven
Had no dominion over me.
When a second generation came into being
They (*too*) ate me aright,
Sincerely they ate me:
No trickery did they perform with me,
They performed me with no crooked dealing,
They did not omit or subtract from me,
From me they neither omitted nor subtracted
And the creatures of the Seven had no power over me.
When a third generation arose,
Adonai [1]) built a House,
A house did Adonai build,
And the Seven obtained a hold [2]) in it,
Then it was dispersed amongst the three hundred
And sixty two nations [3]).
And then I was taken from their midst
And they cast me amongst the three hundred
And sixty-two nations.
Then they ate me with falsehood,
With falsehood did they eat me,
Wrongly did they use me,
They used me falsely
And did with me that which was deficient and lacking,
That which was deficient and lacking they did with me
And creatures of the Seven gained dominion over me.
Then strength was taken from me,
And radiance, order, taste and glory.
And they made me the fodder of beasts.
Souls departed from bodies without their measure.
Naṣoraeans who eat me falsely
Will be burnt upon coals of fire.
The baptised [4]) in water who eat me with a clot of blood [5])

---

[1]) "My Lord" the Jewish name for Yahweh, Jehovah.

[2]) Colloquially "got hold of it".

[3]) Lit. "tongues" i.e. those who speak another language.

[4]) Or "immersed in water". (not in *mia hiia?*).

[5]) *Hrara* used in a double sense, (a) "illusion", "delusion, (b) "a clot of blood". The reference may be to the Christian chalice, in which the wine is spoken of as "blood".

Will be made to dwell with the demon Mahzur[1].
Any woman who believeth not in prayer and praise
Make no bread with her!
She will be made to dwell in the dwelling of Ruha-d-Qudša![2]
When Bel and Shamish[3] beheld me
They assumed an air of arrogance;
An air of arrogance they assumed
And going into the presence of Pthahil[4]
Bend and bow themselves before him
And prostrating their forms and uttering compliments
They say: "By thy life, our father Pthahil,
Grant us a commission, that we may go
And may create a creation from start to finish".
Then their father Pthahil arose and gave them commission
And said to them "Go, create the thing that ye have wished (*to create*)".
Thereupon, with the mystery of ashes and red dust[5]
And the overflow and dregs of the clouds
They went, they created Rice,
They went, they created Rice.
And held it before Pthahil.
Pthahil, when he saw it
Clenched his fists and beat on the forecourt of his breast
And he said "From this creation that ye have created
How can bread (*pihta*) come therefrom?
How can bread be produced therefrom?
Or food from that thus prepared
From beginning to end?"
Then They summoned an angel, one of (those)
Before Them, by whom *Pihta* was produced,
By him was *Pihta* produced.
And they held it before Pthahil.
When Pthahil saw it he brightened

---

[1] מַחְזוֹרָא a Jewish prayerbook for annual festivals? (Targ. Y. Gen. 1, 14.)

[2] "Holy-Spirit" is in later polemic an epithet for Ruha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality.

[3] Jupiter and Sol.

[4] The demiurge who created the material world. He failed in his task, for the breath of life was lacking.

[5] Unhusked rice in Lower Babylonia is red in colour, and the dust-storms which sometimes obscure the light in daytime are often red.

And rejoiced and was glad and delighted
Beyond measure. And he said
"The excellence of this mystery which ye have created
Surpasseth all creations which exist in the earthly world!
Yon two fundamentals — the Oblation and Table —
Yawar hath blessed with his blessing!
And this, the third fundamental, I, Pthahil,
Have blessed it with my benediction".
And this is my secret teaching
Which hath issued from mine own mouth, Hibil-Ziwa's,
"He who casteth it abroad in turbid waters
Shall be beaten with a scourge of wrath
And sobs will convulse him[2].
(*He that bringeth shame on*) my treasure,
They will tear him with mighty iron combs;
They will cast him into the cauldrons,
Of Messiah and Holy Spirit[3].
(*But*) he who covereth and taketh care of it
Will (himself) be cared for in a worthy place.
Any man who disseminateth it amongst righteous folk
And believers will rise and behold the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken[4].

354

I am the white *Pihta* whose Transplanter was Hibil,
Hibil was my Transplanter.
And he brought me, caused me to dwell in the earthly world,
Brought me, set me down in the earthly world
Which is this world.
The blessed *Pihta* speaketh
And saith to Yawar-Ziwa,
"When thou broughtest me

---

[1] *Kania* (kannia) "sources, foundations, bases": or (see. p. 260, n. 3).

[2] *Guha* ("thunder", "sobbing") may have been inserted by a scribe who misunderstood the verbs GNH and GNA. To make sense, I have inserted "He that bringeth shame on". The original line may have been *ḏ-nignalḫ l'uṣrai* "that shameth my treasure".

[3] See p. 246, n. 2.

[4] See p. 243, n. 1.

Into a world of evil ones and liars,
They ate me [1] with lie and deception.
During the first age
They ate me in good faith.
And when the second age arrived
Then (also) they ate me aright,
(But) when the third age came into existence
Liars obtained power over me, who arise,
Commit murder, not cleansing their fingers from blood.
They arise, commit murder and come and approach me
Depriving me of strength
And causing lack and defect in me".
Yawar-Ziwa speaketh and said to the blessed *Pihta*:
"When we brought thee into the world
Of evil ones and liars,
I delivered a pure warning, saying
'Yawar-Ziwa speaketh to Naṣoraeans
And sayeth to them: My Chosen!
When ye partake [2] of my bounty
Partake thereof in sincerity,
Silence and purity.
Cast it not as invitation to the Lion [3]
From whom every wild beast had its being.
Cast it not down as invitation to the House
Of the devil Simiael [4]
Which is full of foul pollutions!
The crumbs [5] which fall from you,
Cast into running water [6] lest they fall to the ground,
Lest your feet be placed thereon.
Trample it not underfoot! [7]
For it came from the Place which is life-giving,

---

[1] Not "they surrounded me". The tense is Perfect, after *Kt.*

[2] The Pael and Ethpa. of ṬUB when speaking of sacramental meals = "to partake of", "refresh oneself with".

[3] The Lion of Judah? The wild beasts which it produced were presumably sects which originated from Judaism.

[4] A demon of blindness, mentioned in G.R. (trs. p. 200 n. 1), and several times in D.C. 40 and other mss. Lidzbarski takes it (mistakenly in my opinion) for Ismael.

[5] Lit. "the fallen that fell", i.e. any fragments or crumbs.

[6] "Jordan" is not necessarily consecrated running water.

[7] Lit. "Do not put your feet on it".

From the Place which is life-giving it came;
It was transplanted from amongst
Worthy treasurers. My Elect!
Hearken and hear, and take care of my benefaction
Which came from the House of the Great Life!
And Life be praised!
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Who quickeneth us 1) with his bounty.

355

The white *Pihta* am I
Which the Life summoned and sent
In His benevolence.
In the strength of Hibil-Ziwa
He sent me to this world;
Made me chief of His *Kimṣa* (*hidden treasure?* 2))
And called me Uplifter of prayers.
I came, and became an offering set apart
For the world, and source of strength for the priests. 3)
I held a portion of Life,
And called with the voice of a son of the Mighty (Life);
I set apart Sunday and the morn of the day
Whose name is reverenced.
And I dwelt therein to reveal its glory.
I revealed (it) to the priests
And dwelt in their hearts.
Goodness I give to them: enlightenment in plenty
So that they be not lacking or faulty.
They shall offer up prayer and praise
And put them up in a sublime voice.
They will shine in the Treasure of Life
And the Word that came from the House of the Great Life.
They shall be established in sanctuaries:
They will rise up, they will behold the Place of Light.
And Life is victorious.

---

1) Here not *ṭaibinin* but *ṭaibinan* in both mss.

2) *Riša ḏ-kimṣa. Kimṣa* is a word of obscure meaning. It sometimes seems to be derived or influenced by KMS (not KMṢ) as here. (כמס Ass. כמס "to hide, store away".

3) A free translation.

I testify to Yawar 1)
Who refresheth us with his bounty.

356

In the name of the Great Life!
The voice of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Calling to the chosen righteous,
To the chosen righteous it calleth
Warning them about my Oblation.
It uttered to them a first warning,
Admonishing them about my Oblation.
He said to them: "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
That was transplanted from the House of the Great Life;
My oblation translated from the House of the Great Life!
Partake thereof in sincerity, silence and purity".
With a second warning he admonisheth them about my oblation
He said to them "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
Transplanted from the House of the Great Life!
Partake thereof with prayer and praise".
With a third warning he admonisheth them about my oblation.
He said to them "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
Transplanted from the House of the Great Life,
My oblation transferred from the House of the Great Life.
With hymns and recitations partake thereof.
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation, behold my oblation!
Eaters of 2) my oblation are like *ṣibia* 3)
Like *ṣibia* are those who eat my oblation,
Like a lion lying 4) halfway on the road.

---

1) D.C. 6 Yawar-Ziwa.

2) D.C. 53, p. 378 ult. has *aklḫ man;* D.C. 3 p. 249: 13 f. *aklḫ mn*. The latter appears the more likely version.

3) *Ṣibia*. My attempted translation in Z.D.M.G. p. 141:12 (op. cit.) is unconvincing. The whole passage is obscure. The mention just below of the lion lying in the road suggests that *ṣibia* was in the original *ṣidia* (hunted, ambushed), but such a simile appears out of place. *Ṣibia* are evidently people who misuse the *zidqa* in some way.

4) See n. 3. *Rmia* (past part. RMA = "cast", "placed", "laid down" or "lying". In Z.D.M.G. I took it as a miscopying of *ramia*.

My *zidqa* (charity) [1] is like a mountain,
A mountain over which no highway hath been levelled.
My charity is like a sea,
A sea over which there is no way of crossing. [2]
He who eateth my oblation but surrendereth nothing [3]
Is cut off and will fall into the great Sea of Suf; [4]
He that hath but giveth nought,
His eyes will not behold the Light.
This is a Blessed Oblation!
Kušṭa regaleth his friends,
Kušṭa his friends regaleth!
He prepared and gave it his blessing.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa [5]
Who refresheth us with his bounty.

357 [6]

Behold my oblation, behold my oblation, behold my oblation!
Who ate it?
The Jews, an evil nation, accursed and blasphemous ate it.
The *Kiwanaiia* [7] ate it, who cut it (?) in flames of fire.
The demented Yazuqaeans ate it, who reverence fire
Crazed creature who reverence fire
Serving a thing that is powerless.
Idumaeans ate it, who destroyed their virility,
Cast away, destroyed is their manhood,
And they set up Death [8], worshipping him.
Zandiqs (Manichaeans?), who rest on supports of falsehood, ate it,
On pillars of falsehood do they rest
And cut off their seed from the world.
Arabs ate it, evil liars, a wicked race
Who drink blood. Naṣoraeans ate it,

---

[1] Here *zidqa* has the more abstract meaning of "charity".

[2] D.C. 3 has *mabuta*, D.C. 53 *mabra* "traversing".

[3] Or "Is not made perfect therein". Again obscure. My translation is influenced by what follows.

[4] The Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host.

[5] Here, and at the end of the next hymn, D.C. 53 omits *Ziwa*.

[6] This hymn is not separated from that which precedes it.

[7] *Kiwanaiia:* "people of Saturn", "Saturn-worshippers"?

[8] Or "a corpse" (מְיתא).

A people, a stock, a family group 1).
The faithful of heart ate it,
Righteous and believing people ate it,
Those baptised in water ate it who at their baptism
Arise and behold the Place of Light.
And Life be praised! Life is victorious!
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa who quickeneth us with his bounty.

In the name of the Great Life be there healing and victory and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!

358 2)

In the name of the Life!
When He opened His Garment 3)
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared, to whom was light given?
To whom was light given and to whom was enlightenment revealed?
Enlightment, to whom was it revealed,
And on which of the 'uthras did They bestow it?
When He opened the Garment of Life
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
(When) Radiance appeared in its Place,
Light was given to Yawar,
Light to Yawar was given,
And he, Yawar, told it 4) to all the 'uthras.
The 'uthras who listened to the enlightenment (teaching)
Of Yawar, rejoiced and gloried therein to the uttermost.
Without measure they rejoiced and gloried therein
And were stablished thereby completely
He said to them "Rejoice and be edified, (ye) 'uthras
By the enlightenment which your father hath transmitted to you

---

1) *ama kana umkanana* (a free translation).

2) The series which follows is devoted to praise of Yawar. The name is derived from YWR or 'WR, and illustrates the use of a regular but rare form of Peal active participle of roots ending in 'r', usually connoting an active agent, e.g. *dakar* (a mentioner), *pašar* (a loosener, exorcist) *naṭar* (watchman, guardian). See N. p. 230. Hence Yawar means one who blinds or dazzles with light.

3) "Opened His Garment", a mystical expression meaning "revealed Himself", "appeared".

4) '*mrḫ* in in both mss.: better perhaps "caused it to rest on all the 'uthras".

From the Mighty (Life)!" And they say to him,
"Blessed art thou, our great [1] First Enlightenment
Brought hither for our sakes, by virtue of which
We (too) give light. And we praise the Great (Life)
Who gave thee". And Life be praised!
I testify to Yawar, who quickeneth us
With his bounty!

359

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared, to whom was construction [2] entrusted?
To whom was (the work of) construction given?
And who was named as head of reproductive power [3])
Who was named as head of reproductive power?
And who became chief of mighty ones?
When the Life opened Its Garment,
And the Radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared;
When Radiance was manifested at its place,
Production was entrusted to Yawar,
To Yawar was (the work of) construction given.
He, Yawar, was named head of reproduction [3],
He was created chief of mighty ones.
He implanted the reproductive power
In his brethren, and set them up
And instructed them in their places,
He established them and instructed them
And showed them archetypes
So that all should not pass away.
For the radiance of Yawar [4] is not cut off
From above them in the Secret Place.
The Life accepteth [5] the dues and oblations
Of Yawar who quickeneth us with his bounty.
And Life is victorious.

---

[1] D.C. 3, 252 : 5 *'rutan*.

[2] *Tuqna* in both its meanings, "light" and "construction".

[3] See p. 135, n. 2.

[4] Or "dazzling", "dazzler". *Yawar* is not a loan-word from the Persian *yawar* "assistant". See p. 252, n. 2.

[5] D.C. 3 hiia *qabliḫ*, D.C. 53 hiia *qabluiḫ*. The sentence is somewhat suspect.

360

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance formed itself,
On whom did the Great (Life) bestow a good [1] gift
On whom did the Great (Life) bestow bounty?
And whom did They endow [2] with blessing?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
(*When*) Radiance manifested in its place,
The Great (Life) bestowed bounty on Yawar,
Yawar took the good gift
And therewith refresheth (both) great and small.
He refreshed Yušamin and refreshed the 'uthras his sons,
And the 'uthras, sons of Yušamin.
Rejoice in the benefaction [3]
In the benefaction they rejoice
Wherewith Yawar had refreshed them completely.
Of his benefits they partook [3], all of them,
For the radiance of Yawar is not cut off
From above them in the Occult Place.
And the Great (Life) accepted the fee and oblation
Of Yawar. They partook of his bounty fully.
And Life is victorious.

361

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Upon whom was Understanding [4] bestowed?
To whom was Perception given,

---

[1] It must be remembered that these hymns refer to the sacred bread, fruit, vegetables and wine of the Blessed Oblation, i.e. to natural products eaten sacramentally. Hence *ṭabta* and *ṭabuta* refer to the good gifts of the Life, and the Pa. of the root ṬUB applied to the sacramental acts of eating and drinking, which impart life and strength to body and soul, is best translated by such words as "refresh", "quicken" and "partake of". The latter word is employed in the same sense that Christian communicants employ it.

[2] Lit. "in whom They made blessing dwell".

[3] *Ṭabuta*, see above, n. 1.

[4] *Madihta* = Understanding, perception, discernment. Part of the line missing in D.C. 53.

To whom did They give explanations?
To whom did They explain about all the distinctions 1),
And whom did They proclaim as the Voice of Life
That is not interrupted?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
Radiance appeared in its Place,
Understanding was given to Yawar,
Perception was bestowed on Yawar,
And he, Yawar, hearkened and received understanding of Life.
He was instructed by by Their Word,
And he hearkened to Their pure Voice.
And he came and summoned all the 'uthras.
They came, and heard that which the Life had said to him.
Heed that which the Great (Life) taught!
Heed that which the Great (Life) explained!
And following it, be ye all united!
Hear its praise from me. Rise to the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.

362

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
(As) envoy, whom did They send? 2)
Whom did they send as Life's messenger?
Whom did They set in command over them all? 3)
Whom did They put in command over them all?
With Their warning whom did They warn?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
When Radiance appeared in its place,
Yawar They sent (as) Envoy
As Envoy They sent Yawar.
They sent not all (any of) the 'uthras

---

1) D.C. 3 has *lkul afrišta:* "about every explanation" (or "distinction"), D.C. 53 *lkul afrišata*, as translated.

2) The construction is curious but, the context makes it evident that Yawar was the Envoy and not the being to whom an Envoy was sent.

3) For *kulhun* D.C. 3, 255 : 8 and *kulhin* D.C. 53, 385 : 3 read *lkulhun* as in the next line.

They did not send all 'uthras;
Nor did they teach all worlds (persons),
All worlds they did not teach
That they will rise, that they will see Us
That they will rise, and will see Us
And be established in praise of the Mighty.
They say to him [1]), "Blessed and lauded be the Great Life
Who raised thee up that we might praise the Life
And thyself who art sent to us as Life's Envoy".
And Life is victorious!

363

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
To whom was prayer and praise given?
Prayer and praise, to whom were they given?
And for whom was glory (*ziwa*) reserved and appointed?
The Great (Life) invested Yawar:
He (They) called him and gave him command, saying to him,
"Go, go, Yawar and make thine appearance
To the Elect Righteous yonder.
Come! rejoice in Us, and gladden the 'uthras with thee.
'Uthras shall be joyful: 'uthras shall rejoice
And 'uthras shall know who is more revered
Than any other [2]).
And Life is victorious.

364

When He opened His Garment,
And when Radiance was formed [3])
When Radiance made its appearance.
To whom was mystic converse [4]) given?
On whom was mystic converse bestowed?
And into whose heart was it poured?
Into the heart of whom was it poured,

---

[1]) I.e., the 'uthras say to Yawar.

[2]) Lit. "than whom".

[3]) '*ṣṭarar* in this line is missing in D.C. 3.

[4]) D.C. 3, 256 : 14 has *šuta kasiata* "talk (of) secret things", but below like D.C. 53, *šuta kasita*.

Awaking all its perfections?
When the Life opened His Garment
And the Radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared in its Place,
Mystic converse was given to Yawar.
Yawar was on guard 1) and was watchful!
And came and kept watch over all the 'uthras!
And Life is victorious.

365

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Who was the architect of the ether-world?
In the ether-world who was the architect? 2)
Who built a building therein,
In it who built a building?
Who designed it 3), set it in order, 4)
And upheld it so that it shineth
From end to end?
It was to Yawar that They gave charge of it,
Because of his radiance They set him in charge,
And he whose glory is sublime sheddeth light upon it;
In his building he standeth 5).
It is not vain, or void, not hath it come to naught
Because he consulted the Life,
Because he was advised by the Life about it.
Life designed and founded the building
And Life is victorious.

366

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Radiance (*Ziwa*) appeared with Yawar.

---

1) These two lines might also be an address to Yawar (*naṭar* is an alternative form of *nṭur*).

2) A line is missing here in D.C. 3, p. 257.

3) J. בִּיְּנָה to lay out, plan (a city) (*Pi.* BNA?)

4) D.C. 3, 257 : 7 *tiqnḫ*

5) Or "confirmeth his building".

They (*the Great Life*) created Light within the Garment.
When Light approached[1]) Radiance,
They called to Yawar and commissioned him, saying,
"Go, go thou Dazzling One,
Show thy divine image to the elect righteous
That they may see thee and shine
And may exalt *Laufa* (communion)[2]) to its rightful place.
At its rites[3]) they will behold Us
And will be confirmed in praise of the Mighty (Life).
They will behold the Great (Life)
And the Place which hath no end!
And Life is victorious.

367

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
To whom was his mystic archetype[4]) given,
A mystic counterpart, to whom was she given
And for whom was she guarded and established?
When He opened His Garment,
And when Radiance was formed,
When the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared
And Radiance appeared in its place,
A mystic counterpart for Yawar
Was concealed and guarded.
And Life is victorious.

368

When he opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
For it, Transmitters were appointed
For it, there were appointed Transplanters.

---

[1]) In such texts as the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* it is assumed the *nhura* (light) is the (female) complement of the (male) force *ziwa* (radiance, glory).

[2]) *Laufa* (union, communion), is the simplest form of commemorative meal for the dead. See W.W., pp. 232-5. Its modern name is *lofani*.

[3]) D.C. 3 p. 258 : 2 *l'bidatak* "at your rites".

[4]) *Dmuta*, translated in No. 366 as "divine image", is the ideal counterpart; also "appearance", "likeness". See p. 236 n. 5.

(But) yonder, yonder They covered up its arousing [1] brilliance,
It doth not flash forth amongst dull-witted Plants!
But was reserved for one, one (*only*),
And will rise with him to the Place of Light.
And Manda-ḏ-Hiia will watch over him in his place;
He will guide him, will rejoice with him
And be his companion for ever and ever.
And the Great Life be praised in his light!
Life is victorious!

369

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Who was king over the Light?
Who became king over Light?
And who, in his realm, was named chief,
Who was named chief in his realm
And who became Captain of the mighty?
Who was it who twined (*wreaths*) of virtues [2]
And set them on the heads of enlightened ones?
When Life opened His Garment
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
Radiance appeared in its place
Yawar became king over Light,
He it was who became King over Light.
In his realm he was named Captain,
Captain he was called in his realm
He became Captain of the Mighty.
He twined [3] (*wreaths of*) virtues
And set them on the heads of enlightened ones.
(*Yea*), Yawar arranged all, and did nought therein
Amiss or lacking, Nought was wanting, nought defective.
Nothing grieved him, (*for*) in it all
There was nothing awry!
And Life be praised!

In the name of the Great Other Life, be there health, purity, strength and soundness, speaking and a hearing and the aid of mighty 'uthras, sons of light, for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, and for my offspring, Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania children of Adam-Yuhana.

---

[1] *'ruta* (from 'WR, YWR, AWR) I have translated by two words to convey the double meaning here.

[2] Or "purities".

[3] *'Uṣṭun, 'uṣṭuna* (see p. 233, n. 5.) I.e. the body of the cosmic Adam.

May it establish our names in the House of Life and may the eye of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be directed upon us, with the help of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš!

370

They appointed, and the Body [1] consisteth of
Radiance within radiance, ether within Ether,
Counterpart of Life within Counterpart of Life [2]
Piriawis within Piriawis!
The Being who came and opened their eyes
To the living waters (Water of Life)
And poured them into their hearts
And (*bestowed*) wisdom and faith on the 'uthras:
He, (that) Being, will come and will open my eyes,
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And pour into my own heart wisdom and faith,
So that I may stand and may worship and praise
The Mighty, Other-world (Strange) Life;
That I may bless this *kana ḏ-zidqa* [3] and Table.

……

And (bless) thee (also), our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam [4],
And the priests and laymen of the *škinta* (cult-hut)
Who sit at thy right and thy left,
For an age of ages and for world without end;
And Life is victorious.

371

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1] See p. 259, note 3.

[2] Both have *dmut hiia bgu dimat hiia*. Here *dimat* undoubtedly is *dmut*, counterpart" and not "tear"! See p. 40, n. 3.

[3] *Kana ḏ-zidqa*. The word *kana* (receptacle, storing-place, assembly, assemblage, gathering, congregation; base, fundament, origin, place of origin etc.) in the series of hymns which follows refers to the various ritual foods set out on the holy table or platter for the sacred meal, in short, the foods collected for the purpose.

[4] This part of the hymn refers to the celebrant, and is chanted antiphonally by the priests present. (Today, owing to the lack of priests, the celebrant himself repeats the whole hymn.)

At the Source of the great Stream 1)
Of the predestined 2) Ether-World do I stand!
I am the Word of the First Life.
Pre-existent am I to all 'uthras,
For the Life created me and blessed me
And gave me strength, benison and goodness 3),
And sent me to bless my mystic brethren,
All the 'uthras; to speak and to be obeyed.
And I came and blessed them and gave them strength,
Benison and goodness, just as my Father 4)
Had given them to me.
And I, likewise, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam —
Or any man who is sincere and believing
And utters this saying sincerely —
Will receive a blessing like the blessing
And outflow 5) of the Ether-Land,
Foreordained and blessed by the Second Life.
And all 'uthras of the world of Light
Are blessed by it.
It came to this world which is all birth
And to sons of the great Family of Life.
And Life is victorious.

372

At thy name, Predestinate One,
Predestined by the Life, and at the source
Of the great Outflow of the Ether-land,
— Predestined and blessed is all the Ether,
Son of plenteousness 6) (?) from which Light emanated!—
Again it happened: the Life produced 7) Radiance.
The Tanna dissolved: 8) waters came into being

---

1) Or, "vein", "channel". See p. 228, n. 5.

2) *'tita* ("ready", "prepared", "future", "designate" "predestined". Lidzbarski G.R. trs p. 403, n. 4 says "עתיתא findet sich an einige Stellen als Bezeichnung für höhere Wesen".

3) D.C. 3, p. 261 omits a line here.

4) Plural, i.e. Life.

5) *Širiana*, see p. 202, n. 1.

6) *Br malia.*

7) Cf. these lines with that obscure hymn, No. 12, substituting *ham ziwa* for *sam ziwa.*

8) D.C. 3 p. (262 : 8) has *praš* for *pšar.*

There were freshet springs [1],
There was union without division,
Abundance that never lacked
And blessing never incomplete.
Lift up thine eyes!
Behold yon great mystic primeval Šar-Ziwa! [2]
He is from the lofty, secret and protected Place,
From mighty and celestial springs of light (*he emanated*),
A being who spoke and heard,
Was judged and was vindicated
Before the celestial Mara-ḏ-Rabutha [3].
Come! Lay thy hand of truth (*kušṭa*)
Thy great right hand of healings
Upon this *kana ḏ-zidqa* [4] and thy table,
(*And upon?*) our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And the priests and laymen of the *škinta*
Who sit at thy right and thy left.
Bless these (persons) and those souls
Of the living [5]; bless (also) and mention
(*Their names*) with "forgiving of sins"
("*Be there for them*") and with "Thy blessing shall
Rest upon them for an age of ages
And world without end".
And Life is victorious.

373

In the name of the Great Life!
And in the name of the Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And in the name of the great powerful Mind [6]
Who thought and evoked companionship for Himself,
And said "There shall be companionship for Me

---

[1] *Mambuhia* = *mambugia*, i.e. natural springs, in ritual the sacred drink.

[2] Šar-Ziwa is an epithet applied to Hibil-Ziwa (See G.R. trs. pp. 163, 28).

[3] Mara-*d*-Rabutha, "Lord of Greatness" is, in the texts which describe the ordination of priests, the prototype of *rba* or *rbai*, the priest who initiates and trains the young postulant to priesthood.

[4] See p. 260, n. 3.

[5] *Haiania*. This might mean either the dead who are commemorated, or living persons, the relatives or teachers of the priests.

[6] *Mana* here has this (foreign) meaning (Avestic *manah*), and not the Aramaic meaning ("garment", "vessel" etc.) Mandaean writers love word-play, and therefore references to a robe or vessel are sometimes hidden references to *mana* meaning "soul" or "mind".

In my dwelling! And I will administer all works
And will create a world of ether
And make a durable [1] Abode.
There shall be mystic 'uthras
By whom elect righteous (people) will be set up (fortified)
Prepared for the everlasting [1] Abode.
And then He, the great and powerful Mind [2]
Pondered and created mystic 'uthras.
And he created one mild 'uthra
Who was sublimer than all the 'uthras.
And He blessed him, established him and strengthened him.
To him he gave the waters, and spread
Abundance in the worlds of light.
He set him over all jordans and streams
And over the Root which originated therefrom.
He showed him favour, blessed him and confirmed him.
And over the *kana ḏ-zidqa* (Oblations) and the Table [3]
He made him ruler. And He made him ruler
Over all sanctuaries (*škinata*),
So that they should exist through his strength.
And they will thrive in their sanctuaries
For through him all the 'uthras are refreshed,
They rejoice and are completely enlightened.
And they praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who instituted for them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
In their sanctuaries. So that from him
There was *ṭabuta* [4], and by him it was bestowed
Upon the righteous elect who were worthy
Of the Everlasting Abode. Because it was prepared for them [5]
By him. And by (*means of*) that *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
By which their souls are uplifted [6],
Everyone who partaketh thereof in silence
Shall have strength and firmness like 'uthras,

---

[1] *Daura taqna*, a firm (*or* steady, durable, lasting, abiding) abode is the antithesis of *daura baṭla* — the vain (*or* void, perishable, null, useless, ceasing) abode.

[2] See p. 4, n. 1.

[3] *Patura* "table", see p. 61, n. 5.

[4] I. e. the sacred meal on the ritual tables.

[5] D.C. 3, p. 264 : 9; D.C. 53 has *'titlḥ*.

[6] Read *mitqaimia? nitqaima* is obviously wrong.

And increase and knowledge like sons of salvation,
And his name shall be established with his Father.
(But) he who doth not partake of the Oblation in silence,
- And there is nought which hath not its limit! —[1])
Will have neither lot nor portion[2]) in the House of Life.
The great Mighty Mind (*Mana*) taught and revealed:
He said "From him who refresheth himself[3])
By this *Kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table in silence,
And pronounceth over it the name of the Life
And the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
My charity will not be cut off".
So I worship, laud and praise the Life,
My Father, who planted me and raised me up,
Gave me strength and water
And set me in authority over
Kana ḏ-zidqa and Table.
I accepted[4]) it from Him and went towards the *škinata,*[5])
I came and established the 'uthras in their *škinata*
So that in them they should speak and be heeded,
Should have strength and increase
And praise the Being who placed them therein.
(But) any man who doth not partake
Of this *kana ḏ-zidqa* in silence
And doth not pronounce the name of Life
And of Manda-ḏ-Hiia over it,
A great retribution will befall him,
He will no more be counted among 'uthras.
For when this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table were transported hither,
I was its guardian, it was I who transferred it (*them?*)
From my Father, and distributed it (*them*)
Amongst the *škinata* of all the 'uthras.
When elect righteous (men) have come into existence
I will go towards them with guardian(-spirits);

---

[1]) This tag, probably a proverb, occurs in several Mandaean compositions, it means roughly, "and there is always an exception". See G.R. pp. 75, 290, 291 and 292.

[2]) *Hlaq umnaq* = *hlaq umna.*

[3]) Or, in ritual language "partaketh of".

[4]) Lit. "I took it from Him".

[5]) The *škinata* of the *'uthras* are the prototypes of earthly sanctuaries (the cult-huts), and 'uthras are depicted as performing in the world of light the sacred rites which men perform on earth.

I will give them strength, and water and abundance,
And knowledge like (that of) mighty 'uthras,
Sons of light. I will set up for them
A *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
In their houses, and by association therewith
Their souls will be uplifted.
For this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Were the product of the great First Vine.
And when He appeared and came into being
And created companionship [1]) for Himself,
He said, "For me there shall exist an Ether-world,
And in it there will be sanctuaries (*škinata*)
We will set up 'uthras in them.
Upon them will rest (my?) glory [1]):
They will speak with the voice of Life
From beginning to end. And we will transport to them
Sublime and illumined jordans [2]), and we will bless them
With a blessing. So that there will be bounty [3])
From them, and the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Will be given (furnished) by them.
Strength and soundness will result to all the worlds of light,
And (also) to the elect righteous who are refreshed
By this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
And they will speak and will be heard.
Now I worship, laud and praise
That great First Vine who ruleth all the worlds of light
And blesseth the elect righteous with His blessing
And with the bounty (good food) brought to them,
By which they are strengthened and increased in might.
Their hearts leap for joy: they are elated
And their appearance becomes bright in every way.
They praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who bestowed upon them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Set up for them in their sanctuaries.
(But) anyone who doth not partake in silence

---

[1]) *Ṣauta* has at least six possible meanings (including "thirst" and "obedience"!)

[2]) Rivers are meant here, I think.

[3]) *Ṭabuta*. Here better rendered "wholesome food"? See p. 254, n. 1.

Of the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table and omitteth to mention
The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ Hiia, thereon,
All demons and devils will not absent themselves from his table![1]
Because he heedeth not every word of his Father [2]
The Seven will become his persecutors [3]
He will be put to the question before his Father.
The great and mighty *Mana* taught and told
The elect righteous and the Naṣoraeans
Who are to exist in the earthly world [4],
"When ye beget generations and when ye teach them
Their knowledge, Explain to them,
Show them and tell them
About the rites which ye have performed;
About the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
(*Teach them*) to partake thereof in silence
And to mention the name of Life and the name
Of Manda-ḏ-Hiia thereon. "Partake of it,
And when ye have refreshed yourselves
Pronounce this blessing upon it
And a Helper will be yours!"
Then I worship, praise and laud
That Mystic, Great First Cloud [5] (*Spouse*)
From whom all good things came forth,
And all the 'uthras who (*were found?*) worthy [6]
When these wholesome things were transplanted.
They gave me orders concerning them
To set them down and protect them everywhere
In every place where partakers refresh themselves.
And they shall have strength and (*bodily*) soundness in their *škinata* (dwellings);
When they refresh themselves therewith
They rejoice and their souls exult exceedingly.
They praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who gave them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table of which they have partaken
And praise him eternally.

---

[1] Lit. "From before his table".
[2] Plural, (*Hiia rbia*).
[3] Lit. "his persecution".
[4] D.C. 3 has mistakenly *šaiatlḫ* for *šaialtḫ*
[5] *Anana:* "Cloud", see p. 37, n. 4.
[6] Or zealous".

Manda-ḏ-Hiia revealed and said
"Any man who partaketh in silence
Of this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table and pronounceth thereon
The name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
'Uthras of light shall bless him with their blessing;
He shall be protected by the Secret Name
And it will protect all the 'uthras.
There shall be one Helper for him:
All that he hath said will be heard by hosts
Of 'uthras of the Ether-world".
And Life be to (those who) know,
Life to the believing and Life to men
(*Who*) instruct us (in the faith)
And Life is victorious over all works.

374

In pure raiment do I stand;
In that glorious splendour in which I stand
I worship, praise and laud
The four hundred and forty four thousand names
Of Yawar-Ziwa, son of Nbaṭ-Ziwa, King of 'uthras,
The great Viceregent of *škinata* (sanctuaries),
Chief over mighty and celestial worlds
Of radiance, light and glory;
Who is within the Veil, within his own *škinta*,
Before whom no being existed.
Then I worship laud and praise
The One Great Name, which is great
And the Name which is powerful.
Moreover I worship laud and praise
That Mystic First Mind (*Mana*) of Glory,
Who emanated from Himself, Whose brilliance
Exceedeth all (other) mystic glories;
It is greater than word of mouth (can describe)
And His light mightier than lips can express.
For He is the great mystic First Mind (*Mana*)
Whose glory was transmitted
Neither from the uttermost ends of the earth
Nor from gates within it.
For He is the *Mana* (Mind),

The great, the Mysterious, the First,
Whose glory was transmitted by redoublings [1] of radiance
By intensifications [1] of light.
Then I worship, laud and praise
The redoublings of radiance
And intensifications of light by means of which
The great mighty *Mana* was formed and made.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That pure Staff [2] which was conveyed to him
By Šar-Gufna, the great mysterious First.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That pure Wreath which was transmitted to him
By Pirun, the great, mystic, First Vine,
Then I worship, praise and laud the pure vestments,
And the coverings of radiance which were transmitted to him
From the mighty Tannas [3] of the jordan.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That banner Zihrun, which was unfurled before
The great mighty *Mana*, in the radiance of which banner
Three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial worlds of light shine.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That 'Uthra whom they summoned
From amongst a thousand thousand 'uthras, 'uthras
Innumerable. They clothed him with radiance,
Covered him with light, transmitted to him strength
From the strength of the Great First Life his Father,
And "speaking and being heard" [4]
From the "speaking and being heard" of the great *Mana*,
The mighty, mysterious, First, of the glory of Life.
They called him, armed him and sent him saying to him,
"Arise, go to *Mšunia-Kušṭa* [5], to the chief of worlds,

---

[1] A typical play on words. "*Aufia* = increase, doubling, output, sprouting, foliage. (Cf. Syriac ܥܘܦ and ܥܦ "to fold over, double, multiply, increase".

[2] The ritual olivewood staff, part of the regal insignia of priests.

[3] Like Lidzbarski, I am mystified by this word. It dissolves, (*ham ziwa pšar tana* No. 19), it is personified in company with *niṭufiata*, "Drops", suggesting "vapours" No. 308, also No. 378, p. 284. (See p. 9, n. 1).

[4] This is a religious expression for prayer and communion in thought.

[5] I cannot understand why *Mšunia-Kušṭa*, a world of immaterial ideals or prototypes, should here be called "of the darkness". The line may have been inserted by accident.

That which is called 'of the darkness',
And teach pious, believing and amiable Naṣoraeans
That they should set up their Table,
(A Table) replenished with food;
And their Cup (a Cup) full of *mambuga* [1]).
So that the good may behold and be refreshed [2]),
The wicked be discomfited and the children of the world
Put to shame.
The righteous [3]) will see that the Life existeth.
They will raise their eyes
Toward the great First Father of Glory
And toward the Lord of Celestial Greatness [4])
Who giveth light (and?) sure strength
To the righteous,
And [5]) to thee, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, (be there)
Lofty strength, great and mighty confidence,
Grace, fame and honour!
And shouldest thou seek the honour that is hidden,
The *Mana* will come and will rest upon thee,
Our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And (upon) thy brother-priests here.
And the right hand of the 'uthras
Will be laid upon thee, thyself, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam and (on) all the priests
And laymen of the sanctuary (*škinta*).
And Life is victorious.

375

I have blessed, my Lord, all the good things [6])
Which Thou didst make for the ancient world in the beginning,
(For) from Thee they opened and came forth.
This is a tree [7]) which is a Tree of Life,
And a Vine, a Vine of Life!

---

[1]) *Mambuga*, see p. 262, n. 1.
[2]) Or "partake thereof".
[3]) *Šalmania* = those who are perfect, the righteous.
[4]) *Mara-ḏ-Rabuta*, see p. 262, n. 3.
[5]) This part of the hymn is probably chanted by the assistant priests.
[6]) Food, ritual food, wholesome food.
[7]) "The tree" here probably refers to the priestly bridegroom, and the "vine" to his bride? See the rubric at the end.

Satisfying (fare) that is superior to all means of healing
Is that which thou hast brought, revealed
And given to these souls!
Blessed is this pure oblation
Which goeth before its Giver.
In joy he (or "it") opened his mouth
At the Judgement and pleadeth his cause
Before the Being sitting in judgement!
(It is) a deliverer of the bound,
It cheereth those who are in affliction,
Causeth sucklings to flourish,
Is the sight of the blind
And the hearing and pleasure of the deaf.
It establisheth speech in the mouths of the stammering,
And the deaf and the dumb.
Its presence is praised,
For thereby souls are held together.
And (*it provideth?*) means of ascent
To the Great Place of Light
And to the everlasting Abode.
And blessed art thou, our good father!
For we have eaten of thine Oblation
And have lived[2].
And we have drunk from thy *mambuga*[3]
And were refreshed (*have benefited by*)
Thine unction, thine oblation, thy bounty[4],
Thy basket[5] when full of food
And thy bowl when full of spring-water[3].
And may this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Increase and be plentiful in thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
As was the table of Adam the First Man,
Which lacked nothing, nor was it stinted.
(*So be it with*) this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and table

---

[1] Lit. "talketh its speech", i.e. makes a speech in defence of the soul to the judge.

[2] D.C. 3, p. 273 *uyainin*: D.C. 53, p. 406 *uhiainin*.

[3] See p. 262, n. 1.

[4] Here probably the sacramental food.

[5] *Sala* (or "a straw or reed food-mat").

In thy house, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
For an age of ages and for ever and ever!
And Life is victorious.

[This petition of "The great Father of Glory" is a blessing bestowed on a bridegroom,]

(*Note. — Probably for the marriage of a priest. One such marriage forms part of the consecration of a ganzibra.*)

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In the name of the Great Life!
And in the name of the great Father of Glory!
Now thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that benediction wherewith
The great first Palm-tree [1] was blessed.
And the Palm-tree blessed the bursting forth [2]
Of its foliage. It was so, and the sprouting [2] (*branches*)
Blessed runnels (*of sap*) and established them
And established the waters of life.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing conferred upon
The eight hundred and eighty thousand banners [3]
And conferred upon the great Mirror.
And the jordans were blessed thereby and the running streams
And (that) whereby the seven mystic mirrors were blessed.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
And the 'uthras and the *škinata*, by that blessing,
Bestowed upon the [4] Tanna and Ham-Ziwa (Radiance-glowed [5]),
And upon the First Word given them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the Great Mystery was blessed.
And the Great Mystery blessed the two *manas*
Who dwell with one another.

---

[1] The symbol of the male principle of creation, see p. 14, n.6. ("it sprouted, gushed forth", "burst forth" see p. 84 n. 7).

[2] *Nbaṭ* the name of a life-spirit), with which here *nbaṭ* is confused; one would expect *nibṭa*, as in the next line. The context makes the meaning clear. *Nibṭa* = "a shoot, sprout, a sprouting outward and upward, hence newly-sprouting vegetation and branch. Fig. "an emanation".

[3] Or "rays of light" (see p. 226, n. 4).

[4] D.C. 3 p. 274 inserts *latiqria* before *tana* (*'tiqria* "not created"?)

[5] See obscure references in prayers Nos. 12, 18, 106 and 372.

Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the secret and guarded Treasure was blessed,
And a mystic Sprout [1]) emerged therefrom.
And the mystic Sprout [1]) blessed the Eggs (*hilbunia* [2]))
And the Drops concealed within them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam
With that blessing wherewith Smandr'iel [3]) was blessed,
Whose fragrance is pleasing like the fragrance of the Vine
When in leaf, like the foliage of the fresh myrtle
Which was set up before the King, also the blossom
Which came from them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the mystic Table was blessed,
And wondrous apparel, and the great Crown,
Were blessed therewith.
Then thou art blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
Zihwat-Aina, Kihwat-Aina, Piršat-Aina and Nibṭat-Aina [4]).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith Nbaṭ-Mana-Kasia was blessed
When He was sitting in his House (*hilbuna*) and had no consort.
When He was blessed with this blessing
A Wellspring gushed up [5]) before Him
And She, the Wellspring, parted for the *niṣubta* [6]) Planting? (Bridal?)
Within the Tanna [7]).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
King Ganzaiel, so that the treasure of 'uthras

---

[1]) See p. 271, n. 2.

[2]) *Hilbuna:* (usually a poetic term for "house", "dwelling", p. 121, n. 4): the word here may refer to testicles.

[3]) The Blossom-spirit, a spirit of fertility, often mentioned. In J.B. text p. 5, 1.16 Samandiriel receives praise and prayer and keeps them in his treasury.

[4]) The Wellspring moved (or "trembled"), the Wellspring *kihwat* (was troubled ?), the Wellspring parted, and the Wellspring gushed forth (or sprang upward).

[5]) See p. 271, n. 2.

[6]) The whole of this very obscure passage seems to deal with the union of the two creative principles, see p. 135, n. 2.

[7]) *Tanna*, see p. 9, n. 1.

Was set up (?) with him [1]).
Then thou art blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the covering seal was blessed;
And the covering seal blessed the drops
Which were directed towards it, and the seven drops
Blessed the 'uthras, the lords of seals.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the great *kinta* [2]) of two kings was blessed
So that they were completely established.
And the great *kinta* blessed the two kings.
And the two kings blessed the 'uthras, guardians
Of the *kinta*. And they said to them,
"As abundantly as flow the waters in the jordans which travel on,
May your love and favour flow to the 'uthras." [3])
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The great kindly Aether-air of Life.
And they (*the Life*) said to it,
"Just as rare air delighteth (*the soul*)
So doth thy fragrance give delight,
O lord of the house and these benefactions! [4])
And thou shalt have increase like holy *manas*
In their perfection [5]): Thou shalt have the lustre and glory
Of (like?) the jordan [6]). As abundantly as jordans (rivers)
Flow, so will love of thee [7]) increase before thee
In the minds of thy brother-'uthras!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The mystic Tanna. And the mystic Tanna

---

[1]) All this is very doubtful.

[2]) *Kinta* (Lidzbarski "ein Wort kosmischer Bedeutung"). In modern ritual a clay box used as altar, it is found in such varied meanings as "wrapping", "veil", "receptacle", "box", "cavity", "hole", "community", "foundation", and "constitution". D.C. 3. p. 276 : 15 has *kinta ḏ-rba trin malkia* for *kinta ḏ-rabtia trin malkia* in D.C. 53 410 : 4f.

[3]) See line 24 f.

[4]) The house of the priestly bridegroom (a *ganzibra* must be married himself, and must perform a marriage-ceremony for a priest before he is properly consecrated in his office).

[5]) *Klulaihun. Klula* = (a)veil, wrapping (b) fulness, completeness.

[6]) D.C. 3 *ḏ ardna;* D.C. 53 *uyardna.*

[7]) Lit. "thy love" (for "love of thee").

Blessed the rivers and running streams
And said to them, "Whoso amongst 'uthras drinketh water from you,
Shall have strength, increase and perception;
Strength and soundness will abide with him
Like beams of light".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing which Ham-Ziwa bestowed upon
The Beam-of-Light whom he set beside him,
And he endowed her with his wisdom and his faith.
And from them proceeded fertility (*niṣubta*).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
By that blessing which two pure *manas*
And holy kings pronounced.
And They say to him "Arise,
Go, lay down an earth: spread out a firmament
And hang up therein three hundred and sixty lamps.
Found a dwelling-place, draw down rivers
And distribute streams; make worlds of light;
Cause kings to dwell therein and give them fame,
Honour and increase. Bestow on them the power of reproduction [1])
And mystic treasure, so that they may worship,
Praise and raise up prayer and praisegiving
To the great Father of Glory."
And the great Father of Glory gave them living waters, [2])
And wholesome food [3]). And he conferred on them
Pregnancy and birth and increase and benefaction [3]).
And He set up a Table for the good
So that they might eat well and be refreshed
He gave them banners of radiance and beams of light
And He gave them pure-air (Aether) [4]) which delighteth them
And sweeteneth the sanctuaries (*škinata*).
He gave them rays (of light) in which the Table (*might be*) set up
And draw (*the faithful*) into their sanctuaries
And running streams of living [5]) water —

---

[1]) This comprehensive word *niṣubta* (see p. 135, n. 2) again.
[2]) Or "Water of Life".
[3]) *Ṭabuta.*
[4]) *Ayar*, see p. 86, n. 2.
[5]) *Hiia* is omitted in D.C. 3.

That for which their hands had pleaded,
(*So that*) they praise Thee for evermore.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the Vine of Life
Was blessed and liveth 1)
And the wondrous Vine blessed her young vines 2), her sons,
And said to them "Ye shall have strength and increase,
And the lustre and glory of the Jordan, 3)
And an assignment in the worlds of light".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the great Ganzaiel 4) was blessed;
And he blessed three 'uthras
And gave them strength and firmness and said to them
"Like as the bud which appeared in that Vine
And remained and sent forth a shoot 5),
May the radiance that resteth on its tendrils
Have blessed thee" 6). And he said to them
"As long as water flows will the lovingkindness
Of the mystic *Mana* 7) flow on, and He will enlighten thy mind
With *Naṣiruta* (priestly wisdom) and thou wilt receive
Fame and honour from the ether".
(*And he said to them*) Ye will shine like the brilliance
(*Of the sun?*) 8) and your forms will give out
A sublime effulgence 9) Ye will beam like Hibil-Ziwa
Amongst the 'uthras. And thou shalt (*ye will?*) have
Increase like the sublime Vein 10) which They created. 11)
And They constructed *škintas*, made 'uthras,
Drew down rivers, distributed streams
And gave them food (*ṭabuta*) and a Table,
And bestowed upon them the blessing

---

1) *Qaima* as in D.C. 3, not *qaimḫ*.

2) "Plants", "offspring", i.e. "shoots", "suckers".

3) See above, p. 273, line 23 f.

4) Ganzaiel appears to be the archetype of a *ganzibra* and the "three 'uthras" the three concelebrants.

5) *Niṣ(u)bta* (נִיצְבְתָא J.).

6) The construction is obscure.

7) D.C. 53 has *Tana* (for *Mana* as D.C. 3, p. 279 : penult.).

8) *Ziwa* is attributed in Mandaean poetry to the sun, *tuqna* to the moon.

9) *Tuqna*, see n. 8.

10) "The sublime Vein" probably means the jordan.

11) D.C. 3 has "which 'uthras created" (*ḏ-qrun ʿutria*; p. 280 : 4).

Which They bestowed upon kings 1).
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the three kings blessed Ayar 2),
They appointed and made him Chief of the *škinata*
And he was signed with a great seal
And set up (*as chief?*)
For ever and ever. They erected a throne for him;
Spread above him a canopy of radiance,
Hymned him and said to him,
"Since the day that the great Jordan extended itself
And a channel 3) was allotted to each of the *škinata*,
They made thee a king, our father!
A collector of dues (of) portions allotted 4) to the Life,
And a twiner of the wreath for postulants (*to priesthood*).
Instruct the young plant (*niṣubta*) 5) about the *škinta*
(O) establisher of its treasures! Our father!
O *mana* which passeth not away!
Troth is not broken and Union
In which there is no imperfection or fault!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
By that blessing wherewith Ziwa-Kasia (Mystic Radiance)
And Nhura-Yaqra (Holy light) 6) were blessed:
And ye shall have abundance, renown and honour.
And honour, "speaking and being heard" will be thine,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam
Like the great Father of Glory by Whose word
Worlds were created, and by Whose utterance
Dwellings (*škinata*) came into being.
And He gazed, looking upon His Likeness,
And created 'uthras in His likeness;
Made Seed and gave (it) to the 'uthras.

---

1) Priests. (D.C. 3, 280 : 7 *brakbin malkia*).

2) Ayar, or Ayar-Rba, see p. 86, n. 2, in ritual scrolls which describe rites performed by spirits as prototypes of those performed on earth, (see p. 264 n. 5), is always cast for the role of chief celebrant.

3) D.C. 3, p. 280 : 15 has the probably correct version, *giuza*, "channel". D.C. 53 (414:ult.) has *ginza*, "treasure".

4) מָנָה, and מָן = "portion", "food".

5) Here probably the young priest.

6) The reference is to the "holy union" of the male and female principles of light.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the great Father of Glory
Bestowed on His First-born, and the First-born
Blessed the Palmtree and Wellspring 1)
Which proceeded from Him.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father.
With that blessing which King Nbaṭ bestowed
Upon the Egg, the secret mystery which proceeded
From himself.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the Egg, the Secret Mystery,
Bestowed upon its inner covering
Which proceeded from the Hidden.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which Yawar bestowed
Upon the Living Flame.
And it increased and was increased.
And (*may*) the *kana ḏ-zidqa*, Table, and this *mambuha*
Increase and become plentiful in thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And the 'uthras and *škinata*
Who sit at thy right and thy left.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the mystic Vein 2) pronounced
And burst forth into sixty watersprings.
And it said to them, "Your images will shine
In my image, and your roots 3)
Will become numerous 4), and my root,
And ye will have renown and honour
Like holy *manas* in their *škinata*.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing bestowed upon
The great mystic First *Škinta*.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,

---

1) Palmtree and Wellspring, see p. 14, notes 5 and 6.
2) The mystic Vein (or Mystic Channel) = the Jordan.
3) "Root" (*širša*) here has the extended meaning of "stock", "kin".
4) The double meaning of the root NFŠ is implied, i.e. refresh", "revive".

With that blessing bestowed upon the great Sacred Unique One [1]:
And He blessed the 'uthras, his sons,
And the 'uthras and *škinata* blessed the postulants
Who stand before them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which was bestowed on the three holy *manas*
When remaining in their *hilbunia* [2] ("eggs", "houses"?)
So that none can behold their forms.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on the pure *Niṣubta* [3]).
From the jordan she arose, she endowed 'uthras with radiance,
Gave light to the *škinata*, wreaths to the Drops
And a chart [4] to postulants. Blessed is this (*chart*):
By it they are strengthened and praise
The prolific Vine and the source of the flowing channel
Which hath no end.
The three holy *manas* will bless thee,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
They will hymn thee and say to thee,
"As a leader of radiant spirits [5] art thou come hither:
As a captain of light thou goest thither,
As head of the *škinata* thou twinest a wreath
For the rays of light.
Jordans will come into being, Yawar, in thy brilliance,
And in thy Root [6] (*amongst thy kindred*) rays of light will be set up
At thy call and at the sound of thy preaching
'Uthras gather about thee.
Many vines will be raised up for thee.
And they said to thee, "Just as jordans become many,
So may thy charity to 'uthras increase".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,

---

[1] This mysterious Person is often mentioned in the religious texts. A *masiqta* is in his name. In the secret scrolls he is Adam-Kasia.

[2] See p. 121, n. 4.

[3] What are we to make of *niṣubta* here? Is she the personified spirit of procreation, or "the Bride", or..? See p. 171, n. 2 and p. 135, n. 2 for possible interpretation.

[4] *Paršigna* P., = "information (conveyed by a document) as chart, declaration, explanation, report, manual".

[5] D.C., 3, p. 283 : 15 has *ziwa*. D.C. 53 *ziwia* (p. 418 : 6).

[6] See p. 278 b, n. 4.

With that blessing bestowed upon Simat-Hiia [1].
And Simat-Hiia was blessed when she arose,
(And) came from the worlds of darkness.
They retreated(?) [2], and worlds of light were established.
And all the 'uthras gather about Yawar,
Blessing him [3], Yawar, father of all worlds
And founder of all *škinata*.
The 'uthras and *škinata* arose [4]
Blessing the sublime one, Yawar, great ruler of the *škinata*,
And saying to him, "Blessed art thou, Yawar,
And blessed is the Bride of Life who was thus proven [5] (?).
Blessed is the breach which thou, Yawar, hast broached!
Thou didst come and didst broach a breach.
Thou hast exalted horns and hast separated
The goodness of the good (*good beings?*) from the evil (*evil beings?*)
And the wicked from the good and orderly.
(Of all worlds of light) [6]
And the Disposer (*of all worlds of light and?* [7])
Of worlds of darkness transported his Bride [8])
From her pit [9], that Place.
The *škinata* were blessed, and their Disposer,
So that they were illumined
By the blessing he bestowed on 'uthras. (?) [10]
And he set up a Table for kings,
Spread out the firmament
And stars appeared therein.

---

[1] Simat-Hiia is the consort (here the bride) of Yawar, and they are usually mentioned together as a pair. From this passage it would seem that Simat-Hiia is identified with Zahriel, who came form the worlds of darkness as bride of Hibil-Ziwa.

[2] D.C. 53 (418 ult.), *uthaṣab;* D.C. 3 (284 : 9) *uthaṣib.* For *uthabiṣ* ?

[3] One would expect *mbarkilḫ!*

[4] D.C. 53 (419 : 5) *qam;* D.C. 3 (284 : 9) *qum.*

[5] D.C. 3 (284 : 16) *ḏ-šarat;* D.C. 53 (419 : 8) *ḏ-šrat.*

[6] I suggest that "of all worlds of light" is obviously misplaced, and should follow *msadrana*, making the next line "and the Disposer of all worlds of light and of darkness".

[7] See n. 6.

[8] That is to say, Simat-Hiia who had left the worlds of darkness to become his spouse.

[9] *Gibta* (*Gubta* "hill" or "pit") Or, "by her choice"? Doubtful. The word is rare, but occurs in *Pišra ḏ-Ainia* (J.R.A.S. 1937, 590 : 20).

[10] The construction makes translation doubtful.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing bestowed upon beloved 'uthras
Formed from the loins of Radiance
And nurtured by beams of light.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that benison bestowed upon the holy *Mana*
When He was in His own *škinta*.
He blessed the jordan and extended it before Him
And blessed the Table and set it up before Him
So that they might eat at it and be refreshed,
And be sustained thereby on their thrones
Of radiance, light and glory.
And He created the Crown, set it upon His head,
Blessed it and held it on his right arm [1]).
And He, the Holy [2]) *Mana* taught and said,
"Any man who crowneth himself
Will have neither lot nor portion [3]) in the House of Life".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the great First *Mana*
Blessed Himself [4]). And the great First *Mana*
Blessed the eight hundred and eighty 'uthras
Who grasped the banner [5]) of the king.
And they hymn Him, saying to Him,
"When Yawar was successful, (*with his Bride?*)
She was neither wanting nor unworthy,
There was nought in her imperfect or amiss".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on the disembodying (spirits [6]))
Of good ganzivri, and thou wilt be blessed

---

[1]) The crown, when not on the head, is slipped over the right arm and kept there until the preliminary prayers are over.

[2]) For *qra* in both mss, read *yaqra* as translated.

[3]) *Hlaq umnaq* = *hlaq umna*.

[4]) The First *Mana* was without predecessor.

[5]) A reference to the consecration of the banner before baptism. The priests (and later persons to be baptised) grasp, first the lower part of the pole and then the peak when reciting the banner hymns.

[6]) See J.B. trs. p. 181, n. 4, "für die den Körper abstreifenden Seelen"; i.e. spirits casting off the body.

(*With a blessing bestowed*) by Dmut-'Qara, and Niṣubta-Qadmaita[1]
And The Drop upon whom the seal of a king was placed.
And the Beloved 'Uthra[2] blessed thee when he was baptised
In those jordans. They immersed him, but he was not purified,
(He was still imbued with) the hue of darkness
Until Simat-Hiia arose. She took a pot of frankincense
And a king's crown, cried in the jordan
And blessed Yawar. And Simat-Hiia spoke
Hymning the jordan and saying to it, (and) say ye it (too[3])!
"From two mountains didst thou come into being!"
How fitting it is that 'uthras pronounce blessing
Upon Yawar, blessing him and uplifting him,
And raising his Bride up to the Place of Light!
They twine for him a wreath, a wreath of purities,
So that Darkness on beholding it
Is confounded and ashamed. When (thus) confounded
The plots which it had in mind are nullified".
When Simat-Hiia had said this,
All the 'uthras observed silence[6]
(But) Yušamin and Simat-Hiia bless Yawar
Saying to him "Blessed art thou, Yawar;
And blessed are 'uthras who abide with thee
With that benediction wherewith the copious
Flowings and upsurgings of mighty springs of light
Were blessed; and wherewith was blessed,,
. . . .[7], the mystery which resteth within the Well-spring.
Further, thou wilt be blessed, thou, Yawar;
And thou, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam;
With that blessing wherewith Šišlam was blessed

---

[1] Literally the names of these personifications are "Counterpart-of-Glory" and "First-Bride" or "First-Propagation". Obscure allegorical references make the text unintelligible.

[2] "The beloved 'uthra" "is probably Hibil-Ziwa, who was baptised after his sojourn in the world of darkness and marriage with Zahriel.

[3] *Timarulḫ* D.C. 53, 421: *penult*, but D.C. 3 has *himarulḫ*.

[4] This could mean "I came into being".

[5] *Niṣubta*. Could here be either "his procreation", "his fertility" or "his Bride"!

[6] More literally "held their peace".

[7] D.C. 3, (287 : 15) has *sar udnasar*, D.C. 53 (422 : 14) *sar utnasar*. Possibly a miswriting for *saq udna* "rose up and appeared".

When he ascended and abode in his *škinta*,
In his own House (Egg).
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father with that blessing
Bestowed upon the Occult Radiance and sublime Light
(Which) inspired the 'uthras.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father with that blessing
Bestowed upon the mystic Vein [1] that dwelleth
Within the Wellspring.
And thy root will multiply (branch out)
And the root of the 'uthras, thy sons,
Like the Vein which is lodged within the Jordan.
And thou wilt have chosen righteous ones
Who will exalt Treasure of Life.
And we will assign thee thy *Niṣubta* [2] of Life
(*Spouses?*) who bear witness [3] to Life,
Acknowledge Knowledge-of-Life
Give alms and offer up this (prayer of) blessing
Which was bestowed on the holy *Mana*.
And Life is triumphant over all works,
And victorious is Knowledge-of-Life
And his devotees and his people for ever and ever.

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And they address a hymn to him:
"The Egg, the Hidden Mystery, hath blessed thee
And establisheth thee.
The Vein [4] which hath no end hath blessed thee;
Jordan and Table have blessed thee; Holy Kušṭa [5] hath confirmed thee;
The three Wellsprings which give benediction in the Jordan
Bless thee, our father! [6]
Crowns, and the secret treasure of the Egg of holy *Manas*
Have blessed thee. The Spouse (cloud) hath blessed thee;
A sublime Vine confirmed thee.

---

[1] *Širiana*. See p. 277, n. 2.

[2] Reproducing power? Or "planting" in the spiritual sense?

[3] The verbs which follow *niṣubta* are fem. plu.

[4] The references appear to allude to the various offices of a head priest, beginning with simple baptism.

[5] The *kušṭa* rite in all ceremonies, and at marriage.

[6] The triple baptism necessary in cases of pollution. (Read *birkak*).

The Great Life blesseth thee with His pure mouth
And the sublime Treasure which is with thee confirmeth thee 1).

[This prayer seeketh blessing on an infant, a postulant, or a *masiqta*. And when they brought Adam into his body, it consecrated him.]

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In the name of the Great Life! may there be health, purity, joy of heart and forgiving of sin for Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which Hibil-Ziwa pronounced upon Adam,
The first man. Moreover, thou shalt be blessed,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And all thy *škinta* and the ritual food (*ṭabuta*)
And these priests and Mandaeans (laymen)
Who sit to right and left of thee,
With that blessing wherewith Manda-ḏ-Hiia was blessed
When he sprang forth and proceeded from the waters
And from celestial springs of light.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that benediction wherewith Sam-Gufna was blessed.
And Sam-Gufna blessed jordans and running streams
And said to them "Just as ye have increased,
(Ye) jordans and running streams,
So shall the progeny of Adam the first man increase.
His race, his planting and his disciples 2) (pupils),
Adam's", and thine (also) our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
Shall be plentiful as this spring of living water —
And how profound it is no man knoweth! 3)
Thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Pronounced upon Hibil-Ziwa by three 'uthras.
They said to him "Go, bring us joy, purity and goodness!
And bring us living waters (Water of Life) to the *škinata* (sanctuaries).
And bring us a sturdy stock 4) by which sanctuaries and 'uthras

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1) This prayer, like some of the more ancient and obscure prayers in the early part of the Book of Souls, makes the translator despair. It is full of esoteric and forgotten symbolism.

2) *Šualania* and *ašualania* i.e. postulants for priesthood.

3) D.C. 3 has, instead of this line, *ulika ḏ-adam 'utra* (a miswriting).

4) *Širša*, see p. 277, n. 3.

May be maintained.
In it they will shine and Rays-of-Light thrive".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
By that blessing conferred upon the jordan Sindiriawis [1])
And the great and lofty Fruit-tree [2]);
And that which the great and lofty Fruit-tree
Conferred upon its offspring, that is, its foliage.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, that that blessing
Conferred upon the jordan Hus and the torrent Pirun,
Conferred upon jordans (rivers) and running streams,
And upon the Table [3]) which is without stint
And given to 'uthras and to *škinata* so that
They may eat thereof and be refreshed.
And pronounce the blessing of the Table
Laying their pure right hands on it
And saying to it, "May this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table be life-sustaining [4])
And plentiful" (and) in thy house, thine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, (*thy table and that of*) thine [5]) offspring,
Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania the children of Adam-Yuhana,
Shall resemble that *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table which the Great and Mighty *Mana*
Brought and bestowed upon His offspring and sons.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing conferred upon Šar-Ziwa,
The First Being, who emanated from the vapours [6]) (?) of the waters,
When he rose to the bank of the jordan, blessed the jordan
And blessed (all) jordans and running streams.
And he blessed the abundance-producing [7]) utterance
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Like that speech that bestoweth plenty [7]).

---

[1]) The "jordan" or river Sindiriawis is often mentioned, in G.R., as "a jordan of Life" (145 : 4, 146 : 37) and J.B. (p. 12 n. 1).

[2]) *Pira* = "fruit" and "fruit-tree".

[3]) See p. 260, n. 3 and p. 61, n. 5.

[4]) The root NFŠ has two meanings, and there is a play on these in this passage: i.e. also "abundant and increased".

[5]) In D.C. 53 "my offspring", D.C. 3 "thy offspring".

[6]) *Tanania:* see p. 268, n. 3; p.9. n. 1.

[7]) Pa. YTR, active participle fem. *yatarta.*

So that thy treasure, thy oblation and thy goodness 1)
And thy prayer and thy praise may be much;
Be increased, be life-giving and refreshing 2);
— Thine, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam —
Like the Sprout 3) which came and grew great
In the worlds of Light.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing imparted to the mystic Crown
They set upon the 'uthras.
Thine appearance will be radiant and bright
Like that crown that they set upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia 4).
And thou wilt have plenty and renown
Like the great Crown, which hath 5) great renown
In the worlds and ages. Thou wilt have honour
Like that of teachers 6) and postulants
When they perform (rites) and give instruction
And (so) acquire fame and increase.
Then thou shalt be blessed our father.
With that blessing wherewith Sar-and-Sarwan 7) was blessed,
The Emanation which came into being of Itself;
And thy radiance will be vital and wax great 3)
Like His radiance, and thy light increase
Like His light. Thou shalt have jordans.
And abundance like His abundance,
That of the Emanation which emanated from Itself.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed upon the living waters
And given to *škinata*. And they (the waters) spread and come8)
To the *škinata*: Hibil drew them down
And sent them to the worlds.

---

1) Here again probably refers to the food-offerings.

2) The word-play on the two meanings of NFŠ occurs repeatedly in this hymn.

3) *Naṣiruta* (the cult, priestly gnosis, etc.) here might have this unusual meaning of "offshoot", "sprout". (J. נֵצֶר ii) (Cf. Tan Lekh, ed. Bub. 9).

4) D.C. 3 *ḏ-traṣlun*, D.C. 53 *ḏ-traṣlḫ*.

5) Read *ḏ-'tlḫ* for *ḏ-tla*.

6) *Rbania* (the rabbis) i.e. the priests who initiate postulants into the priesthood.

7) Sar and Sarwan, usually a pair, here an "emanation" are mentioned in Prayer 45, also in G.R. 172 : 5, 221 : 4 and 374 : 14.

8) D.C. 3 (293 : 3) *ṭafin bisšar qiriš* (*uatin* etc.) Corrupt.

(*And thou shalt be blessed with*) the blessing
That Hibil-Ziwa gave to Adam. He pronounced benediction
And said to him "Thou art blessed, Adam, First Man,
And thy plants (offspring) [1] shall be blessed,
And thy dependants [2], and thy basket when full of bread
And thy cup when full of *mambugia* [3], and thy sons
When they stand before thee."
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the 'uthra Smandriel [4] was blessed.
And the 'uthra Smandriel blessed fruits, grapes and trees.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith mighty fruit (trees) were blessed,
And wherewith was blessed the Living Flame
And the Table that lacketh nothing.
Rham and Rhamiel-'Uthra were blessed by it
And Rham and Rhamiel-'Uthra blessed clouds of mist and rain.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, with that blessing
Which blessed all clouds so that they are not wanting or lacking,
And so that this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Shall be neither wanting nor ill-provided
In thy house, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith those seven stars
Were blessed, and sovereignty was given to them.
Thou shalt be blessed, moreover, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
Those twelve constellations of the Zodiac.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Wherewith the five sensitory organs [5] were blessed.
Moreover thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on heavens and earth;
And they blessed the covering of Smandriel [6]-'Uthra
And spread it out. Then thou shalt be blessed,

---

[1] *Šitlia.*

[2] Or "postulants"?

[3] "Watersprings", i.e. the sacramental drink.

[4] The spirit of blossom, see p. 272, n. 3.

[5] *Gidia.*

[6] The "covering" is over the earth only, since here it must mean vegetation, the province of Smandriel.

Our father, with that blessing wherewith
The two pure mountains are blessed,
In which (*lie?*) outstretched [1] the earth and sky,
And they do not move, and are not removed.
(*Neither*) shall be removed this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
From thy house, Adam-Yuhana, son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed upon the First Word,
Assigned to 'uthras and *škinata*.
And on beholding the First Word,
The 'uthras and *škinata* all rose from their thrones,
And addressed a hymn to Him saying to Him,
"Our father! the Guardian of Truth (*Kušṭa*) hath blessed thee
And the *Naṣiruta* from which thou camest into being hath blessed thee.
Our father! the Cloud that gave thee being blesseth thee
And a sublime Beam-of-Light will establish thee".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the holy Tanna was blessed,
And by which the three hundred thousand 'uthras
Who sit on the bank of the Tanna are blessed.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith Ṣihmai [2] was blessed,
The Pure Mirror into which all the worlds of light gaze.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the Mystic Vein was blessed,
And it was divided into three hundred and sixty thousand channels,
And was given to the 'uthras and *škinata*.
And 'uthras and *škinata* shine therein,
And are established thereby.
And thine appearance, our father, shall shine
Just as 'uthras and *škinata* shine, and thou wilt be established,
And plants (offspring) will be raised up unto thee,
Thy sons, like those. There came a glory
Which resteth on 'uthras, and it shall come and shall rest upon thee,

---

[1] The probable meaning is that from these two mountains a wide horizon, sky and earth, lies extended below?

[2] ṢHM = to beam, gleam.

Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then, our father, thou shalt be blessed
With that blessing wherewith are blessed
Fruits, grapes and trees, and that conferred on
The beloved 'uthra. And the beloved 'uthra
Blessed the plants, his children: he gave them strength
And increase and water.
Then thou, our father, shalt be blessed,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The holy Splendour (Banner) [1]: it was endowed with radiance
From beginning to end, and to the 'uthras
It gave the pure Word which they speak
And which they hear (*and obey*).
Hence those 'uthras blessed the holy Banner.
And they come and bless thee [2],
And hymn thee, our father. They shed radiance,
They blessed thee and the *škinta* of the mighty (Life)
Blessed thee, and the great Tree which is all-healing. [3]
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
The Seven Ships [4] which float and traverse the Dwellings.
Thou shalt have progress-onward [5] like those Ships.
And thou shalt have speech and hearing
Like the 'uthras who dwell in them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith are blessed
Books and reliable teachings; moreover, our father,
Thou shalt be blessed with the blessing
Which 'uthras pronounced upon Yawar
When he brought his treasure and came towards them.
Those 'uthras who blessed Yawar
Will come and bless thee and hymn thee
Saying to thee "(O) Advent of a pure Mirror! (*Thou art*)
Chief of all enlightened beings!"

---

[1] See p. 226, n. 4. Here personified as a divine light.

[2] D.C. 3, (297 : 1) has "bless us".

[3] Lit. "all healings".

[4] The planetary ships. The illustrations to D.A. show the planetary ships and their occupants.

[5] *Sagia* (a) way, moving forward, "procedure" etc. (b) "abundance" "plenty".

They pronounce blessings in the jordan
(*Saying?*) "An Overlord 1) (?) of fair mirrors (*art thou*),
Bestower of blessing in the jordan,
And an Establisher 2) (?) of all purities" 3).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith holy *manas* were blessed.
And the holy *manas* blessed the jordan of living waters
Which they drew down hither and it cometh from its place.
(*So also*) may *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Be drawn to and come to thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
Sindiriawis, jordan of living waters,
That was drawn down 4) to the Earth and given
To Adam, the first man.
And a *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table will come
To thy house, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
Like the Sindiriawis, jordan of living waters
Which overflow 5) and come (hither). (*In like manner*)
They will come, and a *kana ḏ-zidqa* will come
And the Table and (*all manner of*) good things 6)
And will flow abundantly to thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the three Vines bestowed
Upon the holy *Mana*, imparting to Him strength and increase.
They said to Him, "Go, appoint vines like thyself
(Vines) which they have blessed (*consecrated?*) to the Holy *Mana*".
(And they will come and will bless thee (*also*), our father! 7))
"With Thy strength, (O) conquering Radiance!
And conquering is the Cloud 8) from which thou didst derive being".

---

1) Should probably be *šaliṭun ḏ* as translated.
2) Should probably be *mqaimanun ḏ-zakwata* as translated.
3) The hymn is obscure and translation tentative.
4) Or "flowed", "spread".
5) Both MSS have a miswriting — *ṭatin* for *ṭafin* (perhaps for *ḏ-atin*)
6) I.e. foods for the ritual table.
7) This reads as if in parenthesis.
8) I.e. the "Spouse", i.e. the Mother.

Rejoice, our father rejoice! rejoice in thy *škinta*!
Rejoice in the Plants, thy sons!
How great is the glory of thy banner!
Thy brightness our father, waxeth and increaseth
Over thy *škinta* and all the 'uthras!,
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The Pure Pearl, and she came and dwelt in the generations.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
The Three Wellsprings of Radiance,
Whose light is lent to one another.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith is blessed
The fair [1]) Radiance, whose like is not found
In the worlds and generations.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The pure *Kimṣa* [2]) in which there is no fault
Or falsehood, from which 'uthras had being,
And from which polished mirrors appeared.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith
A Mystic Emanation [3]) was blessed,
And the Mystic Emanation blessed the Ether Earth [4])
And established the corporate forms [5]) that dwelt therein.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father.
With that blessing they bestowed
Upon the Cloud *Šarat*. And thee (*likewise*)
Will they come and bless: they will hymn thee and say to thee,
"O Son of Treasuries of Radiance! [6])
O Son of *škinata* [7]) of the mighty (Life)

---

[1]) The adjective indicates that which commands reverence and admiration, hence "holy", "fair", "valuable" and "important" are legitimate translations. In Mandaic it cannot be translated "heavy" in the literal sense.

[2]) *Kimṣa*, see p. 119, n. 2.

[3]) See p. 271, n. 2.

[4]) The immaterial world is meant, a counterpart of the earth.

[5]) *'Uṣṭunia*.

[6]) Or "thoughts of radiance".

[7]) Here perhaps "indwellings of" etc.

O Son of banners erect (firmly set),
Who goest towards thy Father! Thou art steadfast 1),
Alterest not, nor changest aught
Of that which the Life hath given thee.
Evil (spirits) never held thee back!
Thou dost walk according to the word of the wicked.
Ruha was no enchantress 2) for thee (?)
Nor did she cast thee into her dark cauldrons!"
And Life is victorious over all works

[This prayer, for the blessed "priest's portion" (?) 3) is for a postulant, and the booth 4) (?), Parwanaiia, a book 5) and the Great Baptism. 6)]

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Health, purity and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Thy propitiatory gift shall provide thy portion.
For each one (*for whom*) thou didst intercede and help over,
And didst pile up 7) (*gifts*) here, Manda-ḏ-Hiia will lay up
A thousand thousand (*gifts*) in the world of light.
Thou wilt have joy of heart, ease of body and fulness of hand!
And thou shalt clothe with garments and cover with coverings 8);
Shalt break bread into fragments and set it in place,
Shalt recite *masiqtas*, celebrate Oblation and make *ṭabuta* (ritual meals).

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1) This should be *šarit*, as translated and indicated by the context.

2) *La huat lak ruha baznaqita* D.C. 53 (437: penult.), D.C. 3 (306 : penult.) *baznarita*. "Ruha was not to thee an *aznaqita*". As a second meaning under זנק J. gives "to make a person's mouth water". Here perhaps "to make lovesick", or "desirous". This meaning fits Ruha's character as representing physical desires.

3) *Hilita* = (a) propitiatory gift, propitiation (b) a gift to the priest. (J. Pi. HLY "to make sweet by a gift", "propitiate"). See p. 113, n. 5.

4) *Saka* is a word used for the novice's booth. Gifts of money are given to the priests for the novice-priest.

5) A *zidqa brika* should be celebrated by the copyist on completing a holy book. A sheep is killed for a *lofani* in which he and those who commissioned the copying share.

6) Three hundred and sixty baptisms, necessary to expiate a serious pollution.

7) *Amart* (עמר) may have this meaning here as it is with *nidgar*.

8) I.e. perform the ceremony known as *Ahaba ḏ-Mania*, a *zidqa brika* performed for one who dies naked or in lay dress; a proxy wearing the *rasta* for the deceased.

Then strength, soundness and victory will be thine;
And goodness, beauty, repute, honour,
Glory, aid, speech and hearing; such as that
Which the Life, His Father, gave to Yawar and Tauriel.
And which Yawar and Tauriel bestowed on Hibil-Ziwa;
And Hibil-Ziwa came and blessed three 'uthras
And the three 'uthras blessed Adam and all his descendants.
With that blessing shalt thou be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Moreover, we bless thee for 1) the Unique Great Sacred (Being)
Whose name is called "the great Mighty *Mana* (Mind)".
When He came into being, formed Himself in His own perfection,
Alone, in His *škinta,* for with Him there was no companion.
Then He, the Great Mighty Intelligence pondered
Within mighty inner Eggs that are hidden
And created Companionship for Himself.
In the beginning, He uttered a first cry 2)
And created four hundred and forty-four thousand 'uthras
And set them upon His right.
With his second Cry 2) he created three hundred and sixty-six-
Thousand 3) 'uthras and set them at His left.
And at His third Cry he called into being
Twenty-four thousand 'uthras and set them
Before Himself. And He clothed them in His radiance
And covered them with His light;
And placed upon their heads outflowings 4) of Radiance and light
And created for them wreaths in the likeness of
His (*own*) wreath, the Great Mighty *Mana's.*
He placed in their hands a staff of living water
And established in their right hand
The holy handclasp of troth 5).
He spoke with his pure mouth
And blessed them with his honest tongue
And with faithful lips of radiance, light and glory.

---

1) Probably originally "The U.G.S.M. blesseth thee" - see p. 306.
2) *Qrita* = "a calling-forth", "a creation"; "a cry".
3) A gloss in D.C. 53 has "and six".
4) *Ṭaufia* lit. "overflowings".
5) The act of *kušṭa.*

He created habitations (*škinata*) 1) for them
And drew down jordans of living water for them
And said to them, "Ye shall rejoice and be glad
In your *škinata* 1), like a jordan (river)of living water
Your consort 2) will resemble the Cloud 3) (*divine Spouse*)
From which ye came into existence,
And your perfume and sweet odour like the fragrance 4) of 'uthras.
And a *škinta* was created: it was founded, it was, it appeared
Of itself. It was a great Canopy (*or pavilion?*)
For the Great Unique Holy One,
A canopy of radiance, light and glory
Which was all eyes.
In the (eyes? . . . . 5))
It stretched out before Him, so that
It doth not reveal to them, the 'uthras, His appearance.
Then the Great Mighty Intelligence (*Mana*) planned and created
Vast and pure worlds of light.
Jordans He deployed, He made *škinata* 1)
Installed 6) 'uthras and appointed *ašgandia* 7)
Chief of these (*ašgandia*) envoys before Him
Was Adakas, "the Great Word" is his name;
For he is a "go-between", taking out 8) praise,
Blessing, prayer, heedfulness and enlightenment 9).
And them he giveth and he bestoweth on the jordan
His blessing. So the 'uthras arise, worship his name
And praise his title: they do not oppose his calling (name)
For he, (as) the *ašganda* (envoy), receiveth the praise of the 'uthras
And conveyeth it into the presence of the Great Mighty *Mana*
And layeth it up in His treasure-house.
Then those seven-hundred and seventy-eight thousand 'uthras,
Who were created by the Second Cry of the Life, will bless thee.

---

1) Or "sanctuaries" the word has its customary vagueness!

2) Or "companion"?

3) "Spouse"? See p. 37, n. 4.

4) *Rba ḏ-'utria* (in both mss.) should surely be *riha ḏ-'utria* as translated here.

5) D.C. 3 (303:13) *bania ptahibḫ*, D.C. 53 (441:2) *bainia ptahibḫ?* Obscure.

6) D.C. 3 *uahib 'utria*, D.C. 53 *uautib 'utria*

7) The Akkadian *aš-gan-du* meaning "Messenger", "ambassador" conveys the meaning of a "go between", "an envoy" and *ašganda* here is exactly that: "an intermediary", a "go-between".

8) D.C. 3 *mafaq*.

9) Or, "glory and vigilance".

By Them, and from those 'uthras one 'uthra was singled out,
Younger than his brethren and older than his fathers.
They assigned to him [1] his name, "Mahzian [2]-the-Word,"
That is Yuzaṭaq [3] Manda-ḏ-Hiia is his name —
And he gave them prayer and praise, (*so as*)
To furnish the 'uthras in the Divine Presence [4]
With praise (*befitting*) the worship
Of their Father, the Great, Mighty *Mana*.
And a messenger came to them, an envoy from the Presence
Of their Father, the Great Mighty *Mana*, (*saying*)
"The 'uthras' prayer is acceptable [5] in the Presence
Of your Father, and your prayer fitting
In the eyes of [6] the Chief of Envoys,
The Messenger who came to Mahzian-the-Word,
To rectify the rites of 'uthras, (*to purge them*)
From fault and to put in order the worlds of light".
Then the great Mighty *Mana*, when summoning Manda-ḏ-Hiia
From His left, seated him on His right,
And pronounced blessing on him and made him —
— The younger brother, more reverend than his parents —
Made him ruler over mighty and celestial worlds of light,
Over jordans and running streams
And over all dwellings, in order to regulate and to station
The 'uthras in their (appointed) places.
And by his brother-'uthras he is called "the Capable".
Manda-ḏ-Hiia called three 'uthras and blessed them.
And he summoned his elder brother Hibil-Ziwa
And clothed him with his radiance
And covered him with his light and shed on him
Some of his glory, and held him (*by the hand*)
In the presence of the great and mighty *Mana*,
And said to him "At thy command have I summoned him,
And I wish to send him to the worlds of darkness,
To the powers of Siniawis, the under-world".
The great Mighty *Mana* blessed Hibil-Ziwa,

---

[1] Missing in D.C. 3.
[2] *Mahzian*, a spirit who bestows sight?
[3] *Yuzaṭaq* = Yuzadaq (Holy-Spirit? Spirit of righteousness?).
[4] Lit. Their Presence, i.e. the Divine Presence.
[5] Lit. "is accepted."
[6] Lit. "in the presence of", "before".

Gave him lofty strength and aid.
And Hibil-Ziwa said "I will come,
And with me will come Habšaba (Sunday)
And *Kana-d-Zidqa*. With me will come lofty strength
And help: with me will come sixty-six jordans,
And within each jordan nine hundred and ninety-nine
Škinata. And in each *škinta*
Fifty thousand 'uthras will dwell!"
With that blessing thou art blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam! Moreover the mystic
Well-ordered and well-ordering *Mana* will bless thee,
And the hidden (unseen) and watchful 'uthras will bless thee,
For their names abide in the secret and guarded place
The radiance of which burneth and its light
Was set up for all the 'uthras of the Ether-world.
They acknowledge and praise it and the Great Life also
Who is concealed in praise (*addressed*) to Itself [1]) (?).
Praised be all generations of living beings
Which issue therefrom and exist and praise
That mystic Intelligence, and the Radiance which burneth,
And the Light set up in the great Presence of primal Glory
In the Place where They sit, speak and are obeyed.
(*Yea*), concerning everything that Ye have planned,
Word came, and was obeyed in each aerial world!
So also shalt thou speak and be heard, our father!
Thou wilt ask, and it will be answered thee
By that mystic and (all-) arranging Intelligence,
For all that He planneth cometh into being.
For He made, and establisheth before Him,
Sixty worlds of light: when He spoke there came into being
The 'uthras of the Ether-world, with their mysteries
And their own speech.
And then the mystic Intelligence, who giveth to every individual
Strength and glory, appointed an 'uthra,
An organizer, a great and lofty teacher of Truth,
A pleasing being, an Enlightener,
And He set him up as chief of all the 'uthras,
And granted him speech and hearing so that

---

[1]) Or meaning perhaps addressed to the *Mana*?

He speaketh with him and he heareth Him,
And He gave him dominion, and (granted him)
To speak and be heard, from yonder radiance[1] unto the depths of the earth.
With that blessing thou shalt be blessed, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Moreover, the Tree *Ṣṭarwan*[2] shall bless thee,
From which proceeded wreaths of radiance,
Light and glory for the Great mighty *Mana*.
Then that supreme Vine shall bless thee,
That which was revealed from below the First Vine *Ruaz*[3].
It came to the earth (world) of Tarwan
And Nṣab gave it to Tauriel-'Uthra
Who extended it over the Ether-earth.
And he made gushings forth of water
And made it flow to the world
Of sons of Perfection.
Then the First Life will bless thee,
And the Second Life will bless thee;
Manda-ḏ-Hiia will bless thee
And the pure Yušamin[4] will bless thee.
All the 'uthras of the world of light will bless thee;
Sons of Perfection will bless thee;
Šilmay and Nedbay will bless thee;
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš will bless thee;
Abathur of the Scales will bless thee;
The Place that is all radiance and beams of light
Will bless thee. Those who are covered
With holy and well-kept garments will bless thee.
Radiant beings, lights and beams of light will bless thee,
And 'uthras, *škinata* and jordans.
Vigilance will bless thee, and the praise-giving
In which all 'uthras shine. Holy, predestinate,
Calm and perfected *mana*s will bless thee,
And the Fellowship which existeth in the *škinata* will bless thee,

---

[1] D.C. 3 (308 : 2) *mn hibil-ziwa;* D.C. 53 (445 : ult) has *mn lhil ziwa*, the latter being the more probable version.

[2] Or, "the plant *'ṣṭarwan*". (*Ṣatra*, wild thyme?).

[3] *Ruaz* (He-flourished, sprouted) is mentioned in Prayers 71 (a Vine,) 117 and 196.

[4] *Yušamin*, see p. 12, n. 4.

That (*their?*) praise of the great First Life
Will bless thee, Those mystic sproutings (emanations)
Which bloomed at the word of the Great (Life) bless thee.
That pure Vestment will bless thee, and that union
That was knit together and cannot be divided, will bless thee.
That *mana* 1) of glory which was blessed with a hidden blessing
Will bless thee, for those who sit within it will bless thee.
Yon pure great Vein will bless thee
And the Tongue which hath no ceasing will bless thee.
Those multitudinous ones who sit in pure glory
And converse in speech which is not mortal, will bless thee.
The Enduring Place in which they dwell will bless thee, 2)
The Place whose glory is great will bless thee.
That predestinate, pure Being, whose form sheddeth light
Will bless thee. That mighty (Being) 3) of radiance
Will bless thee, that well-ordered and well-ordering One
Will bless thee. All gentle voices, all bright banners 4)
Will bless thee: those secret prayers will bless thee,
And those columns 5) of white water will bless thee.
And the Vein of pre-existent Ether will bless thee.
Yon pure Sam-Ziwa, whom the First Life created in secret
Will bless thee, and that 'Uṣṭuna 6) (Body) will bless thee
Which dwelleth in the pre-existent Ether
From which all 'uthras of the Ether-world proceeded
And which they worship and praise.
It created Ether, (It) created 'uthras for Itself,
For Itself It created 'uthras,
And dwellings (*škinata*) and lovely *mana*s
Proceeded from It. It will bless thee,
That sublime Ether, from which there came to life 7)
A living flame. And it is incorporated in all 'uthras
And (*in?*) all that exists. Its name in secret and its appelation

---

1) Here *mana* must have its Semitic (Aramaic) meaning, i.e. "robe", "garment" or "vessel". Play on this word is implied.

2) D.C. 3 (310 : 1 f.) has *atra ḏ-nafša ṣautẖ unibirbak hanik rurbia ḏ-ziwa nibirkak hanik sdiria umsadria* etc.

3) The plural here indicates the Divine Being.

4) Or "erect banners"?

5) *'uṣṭunia.*

6) The *'uṣṭuna* more or less personified here, must refer to the cosmic body of Adam Kasia.

7) Or "awoke", "came to consciousness".

Is magnified in (by?) the 'uthras.
And Mara-d-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) [1] will bless thee,
He who hath interpreted, declared and professed
In his mind the First (*Life*).
And yon Ether-Piriawis will bless thee,
The being who bestowed and abideth within yon jordans
And that one (here).
And that Occult Lord of Greatness will bless thee,
Whose form not one of the uthras beholdeth.
And that great Vine which standeth in the presence
Of the Lord of Greatness, will bless thee.
The great body (corporation) of Piriawis will bless thee:
The Treasurer of the world of light will bless thee
And the pure mountain the radiance of which shineth forth
And its light flameth, will bless thee.
All these names will bless thee, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Moreover, thou wilt be blessed with the blessing
Pronounced in the Jordan and in the land of Hauraran,
The great land of light. And upon thee shall rest
Its glory and joy, that which abideth in the Innermost [2].
On account [3] of its magnificence they rejoice, embrace one another
And take one another's hands in troth [4].
Thy fragrance will be sweet like the scent
Of trees of the world of light. Thy brightness
Will break forth and thy light shine out
In the earthly world like flashings of radiance,
And beams of light, going forth to bring into existence
And illumine a thousand thousand
And eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand myriads
Of mighty and celestial worlds of light.
Thou wilt arise in the name of Life
And wilt walk in the road of the upright.
Mighty ones, sitting in glory, the living,

---

[1] The prototype of a priest who initiates postulants.

[2] Status constructus of *giuta* is unexpected, as the sentence ends here. It was probably suggested to the writer by the frequent expression *giwat 'qara*, especially as *'qara* occurs in the following line.

[3] *Himat* for *mn himat*.

[4] Freely translated; i.e., perform the *kušṭa* rite.

Will ask about thee, and living (souls) will discuss thee
With praise of the Mighty Life.
Filled with glory will thy heart be,
And its joy rightly directed.
And thou wilt ask and wilt find
In the presence of the Great Life,
Thou wilt speak and thou wilt be heard
In the name of Yukabar-Kušṭa.
And thy fame will be the fame of the Life
And thy renown will be the renown of Yukabar-Kušṭa.
And thine appearance will be (like unto)
The appearance of mighty 'uthras, sons of light.
Thou wilt be made great with the greatness of Manda-ḏ-Hiia.
On earth thou wilt be as one of the 'uthras,
And on earth thou wilt be named as
One of the men (who were) the first Chosen Elect.
Thou wilt be great and lofty, (*they will ascribe to thee?*)
Fame and (good) taste, (name thee) head of the age,
And thou wilt be a father of honour, who provideth
His friends and the elect and the distinguished,
With viaticum, (*thou wilt be one*) who appointeth
'Uthras in their place and helpers of the Chosen
Whose Signs were taken from the jordan.
(*Thou wilt be*) the support of the discerning
Who discern with their minds;
The helping hand of the perfect
Who, from first to last, establish perfection.
The guide of sons loving the fellowship of Life,
The deliverer of the righteous who are
(True) graftings [1]) from the Stem of Life.
Thy perfume, our father, is fragrant; thine appearance
Is effulgent and giveth out light.
Thy presence giveth joy.
Thou makest thy conversation alien to[2]) the worlds (*the worldly*) (?)
And thine actions we will make wholly fair and bright.
Thy speech will delight and be pleasing
And will resemble (that of) the worlds of life.

---

[1]) Lit. "who are planted from the stock (or stem) of Life".
[2]) Obscure, translation is approximate.

And thy words be like radiance, light and glory.
Thou wilt seek an earthly dwelling:
Thou wilt ask for and tread out roads to the Place of Light.
Manda-ḏ-Hiia will set up for thee a *kana ḏ-zidqa*
And a Table in thine own house, our father.
And thy basket, so that it is filled with bread,
And thy cup, so that it is filled with *mambuga* 1)
And thy Table he will set up.
Thou wilt gather together friends,
Wilt satisfy the hungry and refresh souls.
Then came the glory of Life! It will rest on thee
And the Likeness of the Great (Life) will protect thee
From all that is hateful.
Thy radiance will shine forth with the sun,
Thine effulgence with the moon and thy glittering
With the stars. Thy strength will be like
(*The strength of*) the waters,
Thy pleasantness like (that of) pure air 2).
And thy glory like fire.
All the planets and the Twelve Gates 3)
That look on thee will bow themselves before thee.
Care will remove itself from thy heart
And sighing from thy thought. Thou wilt have
Joy of heart, wilt speak and be heard,
Wilt ask, and there will be granted thee
The strength of gods, with the command of angels.
Thou wilt seek in the day and find by night.
We will confirm thy speech in thy mouth
And will set up thy throne in majesty.
Thou wilt be the companion of the perfect
And friend of the righteous and believing.
The words of thy mouth will bring thee victory
And thy good fortune will rejoice thee.
Thou wilt act and succeed, wilt be on trial
And be vindicated; wilt strive and wilt attain.
Thy strength will be that of the storm-wind:

---

1) Cf., p. 286.

2) *Ayar* is sometimes better rendered by "pure air" than by the word "ether".

3) Other sects and faiths, each under a sign of the Zodiac.

Thy race will multiply (spread) like the waters.
And — however long thine existence in the body —[1]
No illness, sickness, pain, blemish, wound
Or (other) plague of the planets will reach thee
Or get the mastery (over thee), our father.
Great is thy blessing! Nevertheless, I (*too*) have blessed thee
With a mouth of flesh! Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed thee
With a pure mouth. I have blessed thee with a tongue of flesh:
Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed thee with a true tongue of praise.
I have blessed thee with lips of flesh,
But Manda-ḏ-Hiia with faithful[2] lips of radiance,
Light and glory.
When thou bearest him to the earth[3]
And mentionest thy fathers[4] at thy time and moment,
When thy measure (of years) is accomplished,
In a blessed old age when thou hast become
A greybeard full of honours and blessing,
We will bring thee into a state of peace.
One will set forth towards thee to set (thee) free,
Adakas-Mana, thy father[5] And he will take thee
Out (*of the body*) upon a road in which there is no heat,
Or trembling or quaking. He will pass thee over
The watch-houses of the planets and thy brightness
Will shine out over the purgatories
Until fear cometh upon those purgatory-dwellers
And guilty (souls) and (those) who have pined away (*there*[6])).
From their purgatories they will plead for thy favour
And will say "How great is the radiance, how mighty the light
Of the elect righteous being who passeth over us!"
And thou wilt free and bear away with thee

---

[1] D.C. 53 (454 : 4) *ukulman ḏ-aitak bpagrak;* D.C. 3 (315 : 7) the correct *ukma ḏ-aitak bpagrak.*

[2] D.C. 3 (315 : penult.) *mhaimata;* D.C. 53 (454 : 14) *mhaimanata.*

[3] Or, "Thou wilt endure the earth"? The first two lines are perhaps addressed to a bystander, meaning "when he (the *ganzibra* blessed in the poem) is carried to the grave".

[4] When the mourner recites the commemoration prayer "Our Forefathers"

[5] The death-angel, usually called Ṣauriel. Adakas is an abbreviation of Adam Kasia (the Occult Adam). Adakas-Mana is mentioned in G.R. trs. pp. 109, 143, 146, 244 and 245. D.C. 3 (316 : 5) has the correct *abuk.*

[6] D.C. 3 (316 : 10) has *haiban umadabin;* D.C. 53 (455 : 8) *habin umidabin.*

A thousand thousand souls which were bound and fettered
And sojourned therein [1].
And he (*Adakas*) will protect thee, and thou wilt recognise Abathur.
And Abathur, when he seeth thee, will take thy hand in holy troth,
Will clothe thee in his radiance and cover thee with his light.
And he will set thee in his scales.
Thou wilt be clothed in thy radiant-body
And mighty wrappings [2] of light.
He will set wreaths of victories on thy head;
Thou wilt become akin to 'uthras,
An (inhabitant) of the world of light
And the everlasting abode.
Thou wilt pass on to sons of perfection, who,
One by one, will bring thee his radiance
And will lend thee some of his light.
And thou wilt cross the Waters (of Death) [3]
And Adatan and Yadatan will set out towards thee
And will place upon thee thy living .... [4]
And will raise thee up as member of a company [5] of souls.
They will show thee [6] new and unused chambers [7]:
Thou wilt rise up to the place which is the House of Perfection.
Thou wilt wander freely [8] in the ether;
Wilt behold the sublime Vine of Souls
In which sons of the great Family of Life are represented.
They will send out towards thee
A banner of radiance, light and glory.
And they will take thee down and will immerse thee
In seven jordans, and will hymn thee, saying to thee,
"Thy raiment shineth and thine appearance is honoured.

---

[1] The three verbs are all in the singular!

[2] *Ṭarṭabunia*, not "turbans" see p. 81, n. 1.

[3] See p. 45, n. 6.

[4] *Knaf* D.C. 53 (456 : 8); D.C. 3 (317 : 8) *knak*. Read *kanfia* "wings"?

[5] Here *br guda* apparently has its original Aramaic meaning, and is not the P. פרונדא Possibly the verb was altered to suit the later (misunderstood) meaning?

[6] D.C. 3 (317 : 9) *unihauiak*. (In D.C. 53 the word is unclear.)

[7] *'ndirunia*. The word *'ndiruna*, *'ndruna* today indicates a booth built of greenery and reeds.

[8] *Titkarak* = "goest ḥither and thither".

In the House of thy Father, the Lord of Greatness.
Thy fame and thy perfume will pervade
Three hundred and sixty worlds of light".
And all the 'uthras of the world of light will assemble,
Take one another by the hand and will say,
"Up! we will go and see the man who hath freed himself,
And ascended from worlds of darkness, from amongst them
(*Who harbour*?) evil plots". They will call thee
"Teacher of 'uthras" and will say to thee
"How thy radiance hath increased! How greatly is thy light augmented!
How sublime and tranquil is thine appearance! how fragrant thy perfune!
Rise with us,[1] and we will show thee
The Eternal House of Life, the place
Where the souls of thy father dwell".
'Uthra after 'uthra will take thee by the right hand
And will show thee the worlds and dwellings
Of the Treasure-House. Thou wilt see the road
Of the great (*Life?*) yonder, which was (led?) from
The pure Tarwan. Thou wilt see the Vine Tauriel
Which stands by the jordan of the pure Tarwan,
Of ether-light. Thou wilt behold the Vine Yusmir,
Which is situate in the jordan of the pure Tarwan.
Thou wilt see the Tree Tatagmur[2], which is situate
In the jordan of the Lord of Greatness.
Thou wilt see the Vine Ruaz, from which
Blessing issueth, a blessing goeth out from it;
And all 'uthras delight in its fragrance.
Thou wilt see the Vine Yusmir which is situate
In the land of Sam-Ziwa.
Thou wilt see Šarhabiel who is situate
In the cloud[3] (?) of Hibil-Ziwa.
Thou wilt behold the seven canopies of radiance,
Light and glory which are outspanned over
The sublime Vine. Thou wilt see two pure mountains,
Serene, and situate behind them thou wilt see
The sublime ether-light that is set up

---

[1] Read *minam* for *minah*.
[2] D.C. 3 (319 : 1) has Tatagmir.
[3] Or, "in the building"?

In the place of the mighty First Life.
Thou wilt see the Vine Pirun which is situate
In the territory of Šarat-uabdat-ukišrat [1].
Thou wilt behold the ether-Vine set up
In the land of the First Life. Thou wilt see
The Vine which is situated in the land of Future Ether.
Thou wilt see the great Vine by the juices [2] of which
The souls of earthly babes are nurtured.
They imbibe and are satisfied by its succulence [3].
Their souls fly about, they fly about, their souls:
In the world of light they are established (brought up?).
Thou shalt behold the great mystic Yura [4]
Whom They planted. Thou wilt see Šilmai and Nidbai
Dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud
They dwell and are put in charge of all jordans.
And thy name will delight and thy fragrance be pleasing to
The great and mighty *Mana*, and to the great Presence of Glory,
And to the great First Archetype Who is hidden
And quiescent within His mighty inner Eggs,
For He is the Radiance above all radiance,
The Light above all lights.
And he will send thy baptiser (out) before Him:
Adakas-Mana will go forth to meet thee
And will take thee in his right hand, will rise
And will show thee the High King of Light.
Thou wilt see His beams of radiance — they illumine
His right hand. He will grasp thee with His hand,
Will lay his right hand (*upon thee?*)
And will grasp thine in holy troth [5].
He will clothe thee with His radiance,
Cover thee with His light, bless thee with His blessing
And His glory will rest upon thee.
He will make thee a judge in the ether

---

[1] "She-was-firm-and-she-acted-and-was-successful".

[2] *Mambuhia* here is the heavenly drink of babes who die in infancy. See D.A.

[3] D.C. 3 (320 : 1) *'bibḫ* (its thickness, luxuriant output); D.C. 53 (459 : 9) (its sweetness).

[4] *Yura*, a spirit of light. Or perhaps of rain? (יורה = "early rain, early season, spring").

[5] I.e. performs the rite of *kušṭa* with him.

Thou wilt illumine [1] (?) the jordans that thou reachest
And the *škinata* over which thou passest.
And thou shinest in thy radiance.
'Uthras call thee an arbiter and peacemaker [2],
And (one who) gave assurance to Rays-of-light.
Three hundred and sixty worlds rejoice in thee.
They will instal thee in abodes of radiance, light and glory.
Moreover, the blessing of the Mighty Life
Resteth upon thee. Life is victorious over all works!
And all that thou hast done will be put in order.
All thy vines will flourish, and in none of thine acts
Will there be lacking or fault.

380

In the name of the Life!
I worship, praise and laud that great mystic First Jordan
From which there was praisegiving,
And its brightness inspired the 'uthras.
From it living waters came into being
And its light reinforced all light-beams.
From it resulted the enlightement of the 'uthras:
In it they rejoice, and from it a wellspring of radiance
Came into being. From it, fruits, grapes and trees
Came to life; from it *pihta* (bread) derived its existence.
And it was broken and given to the One Great First *Mana*.
And He, the Great First *Mana* was invigorated thereby [3])
And worlds of light, 'uthras and all *škinata*
Refresh themselves therewith,
Exist (live) and flourish.
And they worship and give praise.
Glory, serenity [4]) and delight come upon them;
They rejoice, are glad, laugh and make merry,
Exult and disport themselves.
And on thee (*too*), our great, lofty and respected father,
Glory, bliss, perception and felicity will rest.
Yea, that jordan will bless thee

---

[1] (TQN II).
[2] See similar couplet in Prayer 255 (lines 22 and 23).
[3] Or, in the language of ritual, "partake thereof".
[4] D.C. 3 (322 : 8) has *nihutai* ("my serenity" or "my calm") for *nihuta*.

From which praisegiving originated, and it was great [1].
There will come *kana ḏ-zidqa* and a Table
And good things (food) will abound and be plentiful
In thy house. Thy strength here on earth will be firm,
And yonder, in the worlds of light like (*that of*)
The great First *Mana*.
Thou shalt have speech and hearing;
Thou wilt speak and be heard.
Thou wilt call thy brother-priests here on earth
And they will answer thee. There, thou wilt call on
'Uthras and they will answer thee.
Here on earth thou shalt have assurance
Because two of Kušṭa's witnesses stand in thy presence,
Seeing and noting what thou doest and what thou thinkest
Day after day and hour by hour.
Yonder, thou wilt be accounted as one of the 'uthras.
Life will joy in thee and the 'uthras will hymn thee
And say to thee [2]
"Thou wast from the First Jordan, our father!
From a Stock of great brilliance
Did they call thee forth! Ninṣab clothed thee in vestments of water,
Tunics of righteousness cover thee.
On thy head he set a wreath, a wreath of praise,
For 'uthras and *škinata* are twined[3] into the leaves of thy wreath."
Moreover the Great Unique Sacred One [4] will bless thee,
Whose throne they set up at the *kana ḏ-zidqa*.
He measureth [5] the pious offering of each individual
And according to his works, He recompenseth him.
He delighteth in the Chosen Elect and bestoweth raiment of light.
And four Beings, Sons of perfection, bless thee,
They who guard treasures of life and confer
Garments of radiancy on the elect who dwell in the world.

---

[1] *Utnafšat* in both texts. Either "was great", "increased", or perhaps "refreshed"?

[2] D.C. 3 [323 : 9 inserts before *nimarlak* (read *nimarulak*?)] Probably a miscopying.

[3] A play on words, *mitgadlia* also means "glorified".

[4] See p. 292. He is identified with the *Mana Rba Kabira* and with Adakas.

[5] D.C. 53 is defective here: D.C. 3 (323 : antpenult.) has *ukaiil zidqa ḏ 'niš 'niš*.

It is they who make abundant [1] thine oblation and thy Table
Which is set before thy brother-priests.
All thy brother-priests gather about thee
And open their mouths, all of them, in a loud voice,
With acclamation, prayer and praise, they bless thee,
Hymn thee and say to thee, "All that thou doest will be rightly ordered:
All thy vines [2] will give light,
And in all thy works there will be nought lacking or in fault.
And some of the blessing of the mighty First Life
Will rest upon thee."
And Life is victorious.

381

Darkness is crushed back into the Dark [3]:
Light is established in its place.
Life hath accepted your prayer
And 'uthras have received your praise,
In the name of Šarhabiel, tẖe First Great Radiance,
To support the Great *Mana* at His Place;
And to uphold the hands of good people.
There shall be healing (power) of Life
And blessing upon this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and thy Table,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana, son of Sam!
We establish thy consecration [4] (*as ganzibra*)
And thy confirmer [5] ratifieth thy consecration
In the world of light. And thy confirmer is sinless,
Thine advent is [6] with sinless ones [7] and thy confirmer sinless.
Come! as (one) fulfilled, deemed worthy, and established
In future honour and ample blessing.

---

[1] *Ninifšuia* (or, perhaps, "inspire with life thine oblation"?).

[2] By "vines," the ganzibra's pupils, postulants to priesthood or his sons, are meant.

[3] See prayer 103, p. 102, n. 1.

[4] *Tarṣa, taraṣa* (lit. a "setting-up") is a ceremony of dedication or consecration, e.g. of the cult-hut before a *masiqta*, of the "crown" when set on the head of a new priest, and of a *ganzibra* newly appointed to office.

[5] *Mqaimana* here is the celebrant at the service of consecration of the new *ganzibra*. He must himself be a *ganzibra*.

[6] Or "induction", his coming as *ganzibra*.

[7] Ritually clean priests and head priest.

He will be possessor of fee and alms 1) (*flowing like*)
The great rill of Water of Life which was drawn down (hither)
And came from its Place. Tauriel-'uthra drew down to earth
(Those waters) which come and come; come and cease not;
They are never cut off, or lacking, or deficient.
(*In like manner*) this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Shall never lack or be wanting in thy house,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, our father,
For an age of ages and for ever.
And Life is victorious over all works!

[Then they shall set up the table 2) of Blessed Oblation in (on) the altar-table 3). And when they finish the dedicatory prayer 4) the *ganzibra* takes the phial of wine 5) and reciteth the hymn "Vines shone in the water", and he poureth 6) (the wine) into the drinking-bowl and giveth it to the *baruka* 7) and the two witnesses.]

382

In the Name of the Great Life!
Vines shone in the waters:
Mighty ones were confirmed 8)
For perfecting, for clearing the waters,
Establishing Your likeness and giving us light
Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!
Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration 9),

---

1) *Agra uzidqa*, "reward and oblation" i.e. fees received by priests for their services, and offerings in kind and money brought to them by the faithful.

2) As I have seen this rite, I can explain the nature of "table" here. It is the earthen tray, or small earthen altar-table (*ṭariana*) on which the ritual food is laid out.

3) The larger altar-table (*ṭariana*) on which the smaller (see n. 2) is placed.

4) *Qaiamta*.

5) Water in which grapes or raisins have been macerated.

6) (Cf. Hif הירייק).

7) The priest who has recited the foregoing prayers of blessing for a *ganzibra*.

8) This prayer (given in another form in *Studi e Testi* 176, p. 64) is hopelessly garbled. D.C. 3 (326 : 7) has (for *lka lhil* in the latter) *lkalḫ* (D.C. 53 divides the word on two lines.) My translation in Š. ḏ-Q. was governed by the variations. Hence for *mitqaiam* which here obviously refers to the elevation of the *ganzibra*, I had "were established" (here). See also Prayer 177.

9) *bhilfa kasia*. In the Š. ḏ-Q. I translated "instead of concealing it". I think the translation given above may be the truer, but the whole prayer is obscure.

Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.
Let your fragrance come and overpower (*us with its sweetness*)

[This hymn the *ganzibra* shall pronounce over the wine-bowl, giving it to the *baruka* (blesser) and to the two witness.]

383

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Hibil-Ziwa
Walked with Yawar,
Myrtle with them was plentiful, [1])
Plentiful was the myrtle,
And to Yawar he gave it,
Into his right hand.
And he said to him,
"Take from me fresh myrtle
And pronounce blessing in the *škinata*
Its blessing pronounce in the *škinata*.
Then Yawar opened his mouth,
Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa
And said to him, "Blessed art thou,
Our father, Hibil-Ziwa!
Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand
Thy Root shall flourish
Like the root of fresh myrtle:
And thou shalt have strength and increase
Like the living waters"[2]).

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra].

384

Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;
The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,
The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,
And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,
Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle
And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.

---

[1]) There is a characteristic play of words on the two meanings of SGA.

[2]) There are variants of the myrtle-hymns: I translated some in *Studi e Testi*, 176, p. 65.

The dwellings shine in its brightness
And delight in its fragrance for ever [1].

[The *ganzibra* recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from the "blessers".]

385

In the name of the Great Life!
All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned [2] by thee
Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.
And all pure spouses will be made perfect, [3]
Delivered from evil actions.
(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads [4]
Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The *ganzibra* reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, [5] inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the *šganda* (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (*folds and*) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.") [6]

Note. — Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins: —

These are the prayers for the *pihtania* (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

(*Note.* — Before No. 386 D.C. 3 inserts "In the name of the Great Life! On the day that Radiance appeared" etc. Prayer No. 414, p. 316).

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[1] See the variation, op. cit. p. 66.

[2] D.C. 3 (327 : ult.) *ubgauak mitkarak;* D.C. 53 (468 : 1) *ubgauak mitkarkia.* For the rendering "crowned" (certainly applicable here) see p. 230, n. 4.

[3] D.C. 3 (328 : 2) *mištalmibak;* D.C. 53 (468 : 2) *mištalman,* (*fem*).

[4] D.C. 3 (328 : 4) *ubrišaian*; D.C. 53 (468 : 3) *brišaiia.*

[5] These myrtle prayers and the ritual inhalation recall the Persian *barsom* rite. Its perfume was apparently inhaled ritually and was also a symbol of kingliness as appears in the Shahnameh (Shāhnāmeh, ed. Sa'id Nafīsī, Teherān, 1914, vol. 9, p. 2995, 1.496 ff.). In this passage the king asks for barsom when food is offered: "food should be taken (only) when barsom is there". His request for barsom reveals that he is the king and results in his death.

[6] I.e., take off their "crowns" and kiss them, see p. 28, n. 3.

386

See Prayer No. 329.

(*The rubric differs slightly, so I give it*)

[This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the *ganzibra* wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (*novice's*) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (*item*) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (*i.e. facing North*), to (*as many*) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!][1])

387

See Prayer 305, p. 250.

388

See Prayer 306.

389

See Prayer 307.

390

See Prayer 308.

391

See Prayer 309.

392

See Prayer 310.

393

See Prayer 311.

[The *ganzibra* shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Šišlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

394

See Prayer 312.

395

See Prayer 313.

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[1]) For notes, see those on p. 231 and MMII p. 146 ff.

396

See Prayer 314.

397

See Prayer 315.

398

See Prayers 316 and 317.

399

See Prayer 318. and the rubric which follows it.

400

See Prayer 319 and the rubric which follows it.

401

See Prayer 320 and the rubric which follows it.

402

See Prayer 321 and the rubric which follows it.

403

See Prayer 322 (and compare Prayer 386).

404

See Prayer 323 and the rubric which follows it.

405

See Prayer 324 and rubric which follows it.

406

See Prayer 325 and rubric which follows it.

407

See Prayer 326 and rubric which follows it.

408

See Prayer 327 and rubric which follows it.

409

See Prayer 328 and rubric which follows it.

410

In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-Life.

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to Thy name, and speak (*it*) in my heart and talk (*of it*) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) .... [1]) superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth" [2]). Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse from me insecurity[1] (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshly-flowing Water of Life. Set up for me a *kana ḏ-zidqa,* a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied[2] by Naṣirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting[3]: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

---

[1]) *Šihrialia šilia? Šihrialia* = "rulers", "governors", as plural might be read as "(Divine) Ruler". *Šilia* might be the plural of *šilta* = "need", "want", "desire". Obscure.

[2]) A reference to the rite for the dying. Preceded by a form of immersion (the "proven Sign") the ceremony of "The Letter" or the *Letter of Kušṭa* is performed, during which a phial of oil is placed in the pocket of the ritual dress, and a ritual handclasp (*kušṭa*) is given to the dying or his proxy.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil[4], and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years[5], without feebleness[6], in a blessed old age, in my own home[7].

Look on the plants, marvel at the *šualania* (*those entering the priesthood under tuition*); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Manda-ḏ-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

And now (*I ask*) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation[8] and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food [1] (*here*), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you!

---

[1] Several roots (NZH, NZZ, NUZ) have the meaning of unsteadiness, wavering, etc.

[2] Pa. MLA. lit. "they were full", "they were replenished".

[3] I.e. "arrange the proper death-rites". The death-angel is sometimes called "the Transplanter".

[4] See p. 313, n. 1.

[5] Lit. "in full measure" (of years).

[6] Read *kadra* for *kadfa*.

[7] *Kaliuta* = exile, banishment, enforced absence from home: Lit "without absence from home".

[8] P.S. Ethpe. ܪܥܐ. See also G.R. trs. p. 251, note 4.

Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (*called*) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

411 [2]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yušamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins for him.

.... (*the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, "injunctions", "rubrics"*)

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

412

In the name of the Great Life.
Then, when she (*the soul*) reacheth the seven mysteries,
Servants of the Seven go out towards her
And come and surround her and question her.
And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou?
And whither goest thou?" She said to them,
"I come from the Body the name of which is Earth.
And I go toward the good *Kimṣa* [3]".
They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou?
Messenger of whom art thou called?"
She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved *Kimṣa*
And the envoy of the vast Ether".
Then they bless her and commend her and say to her,
"All who know this (pass-) word shall rise

---

[1] *Ṭabuta.*

[2] This is the great Commemoration prayer known as the "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.

[3] Nöldeke suggested "End" for *kimṣa* (root KMṢ), noting that 'k' and 'q' are often interchangeable. Lidzbarski doubted this interpretation (see J.B. p. 192, n. 1) and in his note to Prayer 126 (M.L. p. 192, n. 1) suggested an "Ort im Jenseits". In Prayer 126 I translated the word "a formation", "taking shape" etc. The word is of a very nebulous meaning. See p. 119, n. 2.

Towards the good *Kimṣa*".
For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body
And (so) question her.
And thereupon she ascendeth
Towards the Good *Kimṣa*.

[This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul[1]).]

413

See Prayer 177.

D.C. 53 *ends here. I append as a continuation the prayer which in D.C.* 3 (*p.* 331) *precedes Prayer* 386.

414

My Lord be praised!
In the name of the Great Life!
On the day when the radiance within Radiance
Broke through and emerged,
A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors;
In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed.
And water was produced in the Ether.
The jordan emerged in its glory
And the water was intermingled with the Ether,
Intermingled was Water with Ether.
And the strength of Light increased greatly,
Was increased and established.
A wreath they twisted into crowns[2])
(Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (*fruit*).
Naṣirutha spoke therein to kings (*priests*)
And their purities were intertwined.

(The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh *kušṭa* with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown[3]). Beware of performing a marriage or (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

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[1]) See 175. Prayer 412 varies slightly from it, and the explanation is missing from the former.

[2]) The union of wreath and crown is symbolical of marriage.

[3]) The hymn is for the marriage of a priest.

INDEX

Note. On Names

In Mandaean literature spirits, angels, demons, and persons are given names denoting abstract qualities, activities, virtues, vices and so on. The abstract nature of the divine First Cause is divested further of any tinge of anthropomorphism by use of a plural form: It is named *Hiia*, from the verbal root HIA "to exist"; hence it means "existence", "life". To this appellation are attached such adjectives as "First", "Second", "Third", "mighty", "majestic" and "multiform".

Abstract qualities of varied shades of related meaning are covered by the name *Kušṭa*, a personification of "truth", "pact", "sincerity", "good faith"; whilst category or species is personified in such names as Adam—"man", "mankind" and Anuš "humanity" "human being".

It is not always possible to discover the original meaning of a name. Most, indeed all of them, derive from a verbal root, or from a substantive. The suffix 'il or 'iil (corresponding to the "iel" of angel-names in English) is often attached to such names, for instance, RHM Rham'il "to love"; Tauri'il (*ṭaura*, a bull); Nuri'il (*nura*, fire); Gadfi'il (*gadṭa*, wing) and Gabri'iil (*gabra*, male, man). In magical texts angel and devil-names are legion. In the Canonical Prayers they are comparatively few.

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ERRATA

page 6, note 1, *read*: Abel, Seth and the Biblical Enos (Anuš)
page 7, line 14, *read*: Sam-Smir, *instead of*: Sam-Smira
page 9, note 1, *delete after* vapour: here
page 31, line 32, *read*: Abathur, *instead of*: Abatur
page 32, line 16, *read*: possession, *instead of*: possesion
page 40, line 9, *insert after*: (They revealed treasure 1) :) from the First Treasure
page 41, line 26, *delete*: 2). Note 2 *to be replaced by*: *’ruta*. Lidzbarski translated Erleuchtung. The implied meaning is ‘light which awakens, brings to life’
page 48, note 5, *read*: D.C. 3, *instead of*: D.C. 31
page 54, note 1, *read*: *’ṣṭuna, instead of*: *’uṣṭuna*
page 78, note 1, *read*: Anuš, *instead of*: ’Anuš
page 87, note 5, *read*: Adam Kasia, *instead of*: Adam Kasca
page 104, line 5, *read*: Asut, *instead of*: Asiet
line 27, *read*: Shaq-, *instead of*: ’Shaq-
page 105, line 11, *read*: Zihrun, *instead of*: Zahrun
page 117, note 5, *read*: *kul man ḏ, instead of*: *kul man d*
page 129, line 28, *read*: my daughter, *instead of*: My daughter
page 151, line 23, *read*: Abathur, *instead of*: Abatur
page 154, line 25, *read*: p. 288, *instead of*: p. 287
page 172, line 8, *delete*: 3)
page 174, note 2, *read*: In Š. ḏ.-Q. 4: 4., *instead of*: Š. ḏ-Q. 4,: 4.
page 199, line 29, *read*: into, *instead of*: nito
page 209, note 1, *read*: *Ništiknat?, instead of*: *Nistiknat?*
read: (*mištiknia?*), *instead of*: (*mistiknia?*)
page 213, note 4, *insert* a colon *after*: tentative
page 233, note 5, *read*: *’ṣṭunia* and *’ṣṭuna, instead of*: *’uṣṭunia* and *’uṣṭuna*
read: Adam’s, *instead of*: Adams
page 246, line 4, *read*: Ruha-ḏ-Qudša!, *instead of*: Ruha-d-Qudša!
page 259, note 3, *read*: *’ṣṭun, ’ṣṭuna, instead of*: *’uṣṭun, ’uṣṭuna*
page 285, note 7, *read*: Prayer 25, *instead of*: Prayer 45
page 297, line 22, *read*: *’ṣṭuna, instead of*: *’Uṣṭuna*
line 32, *read*: appellation, *instead of*: appelation
in notes 5 and 6, *read*: *’ṣṭunia* and *’ṣṭuna, instead of*: *’uṣṭunia* and *’uṣṭuna*

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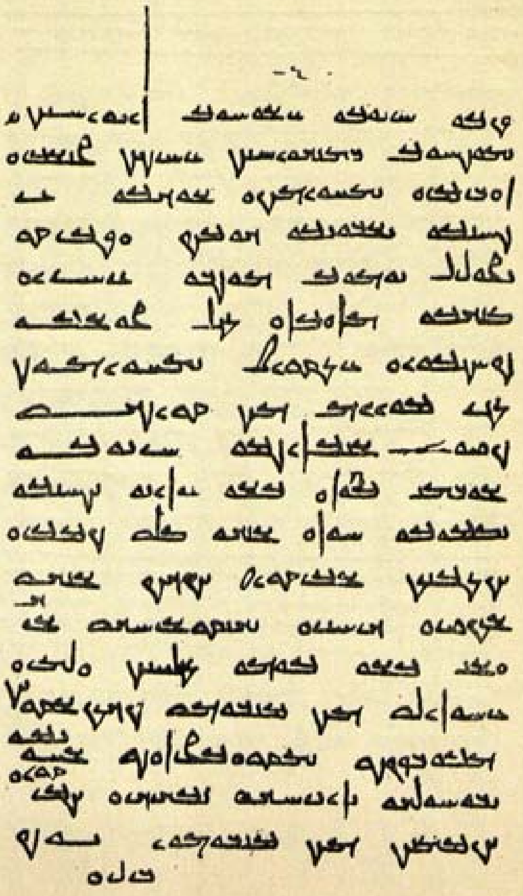

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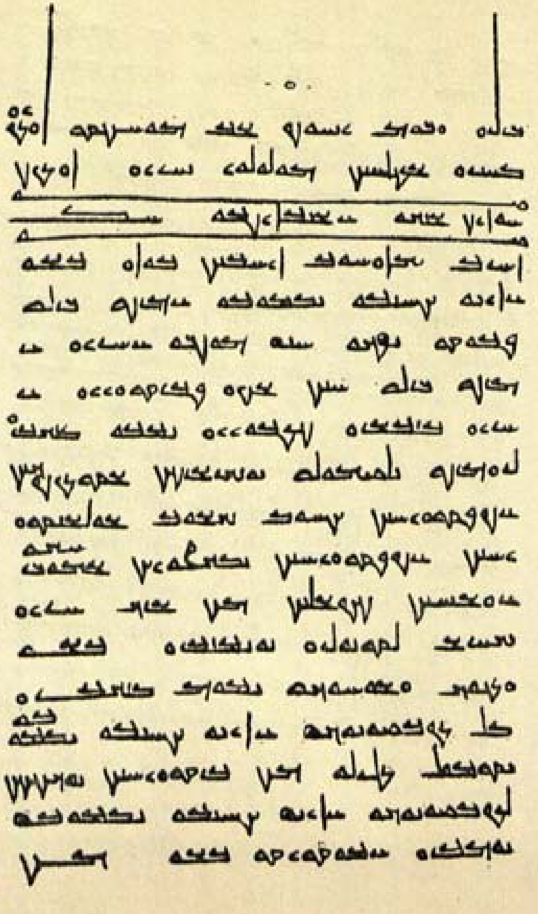

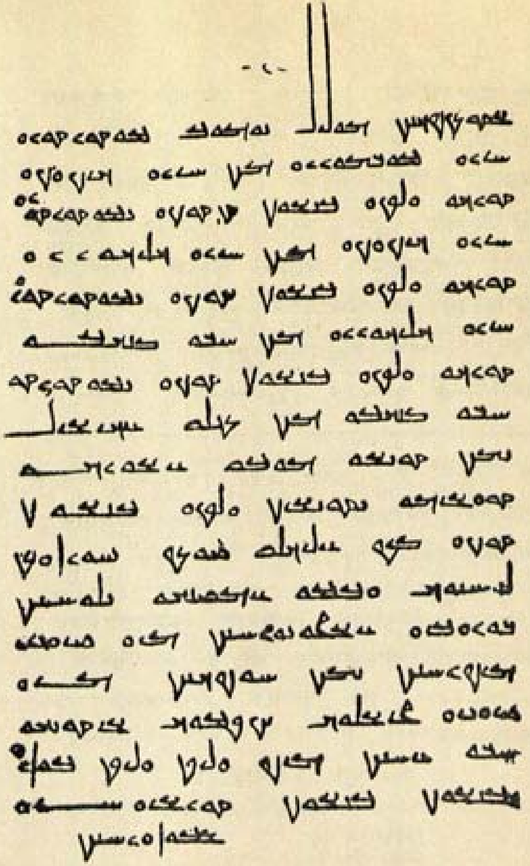

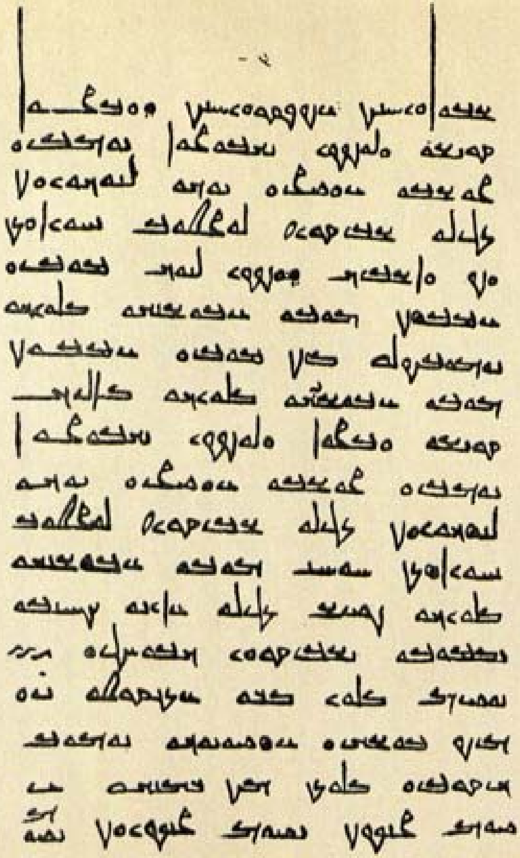

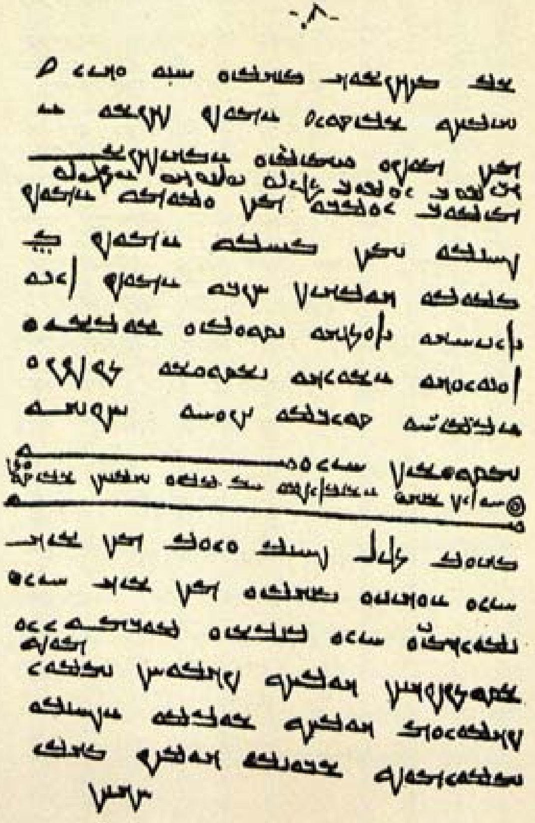

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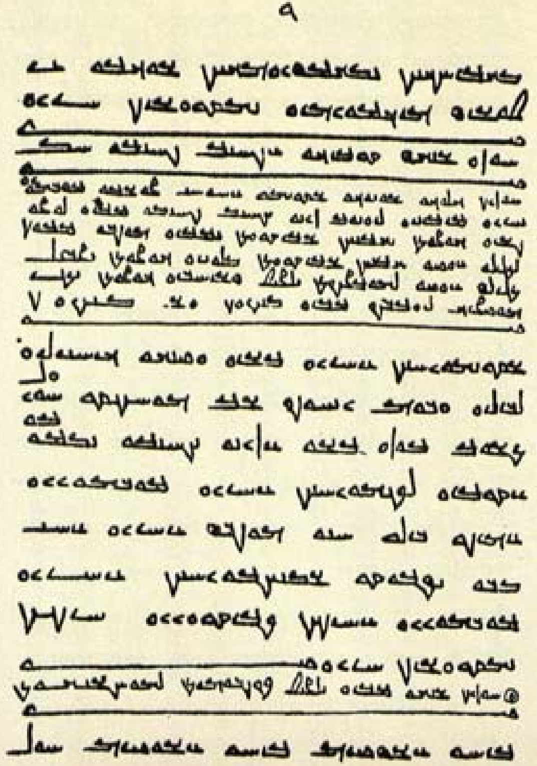

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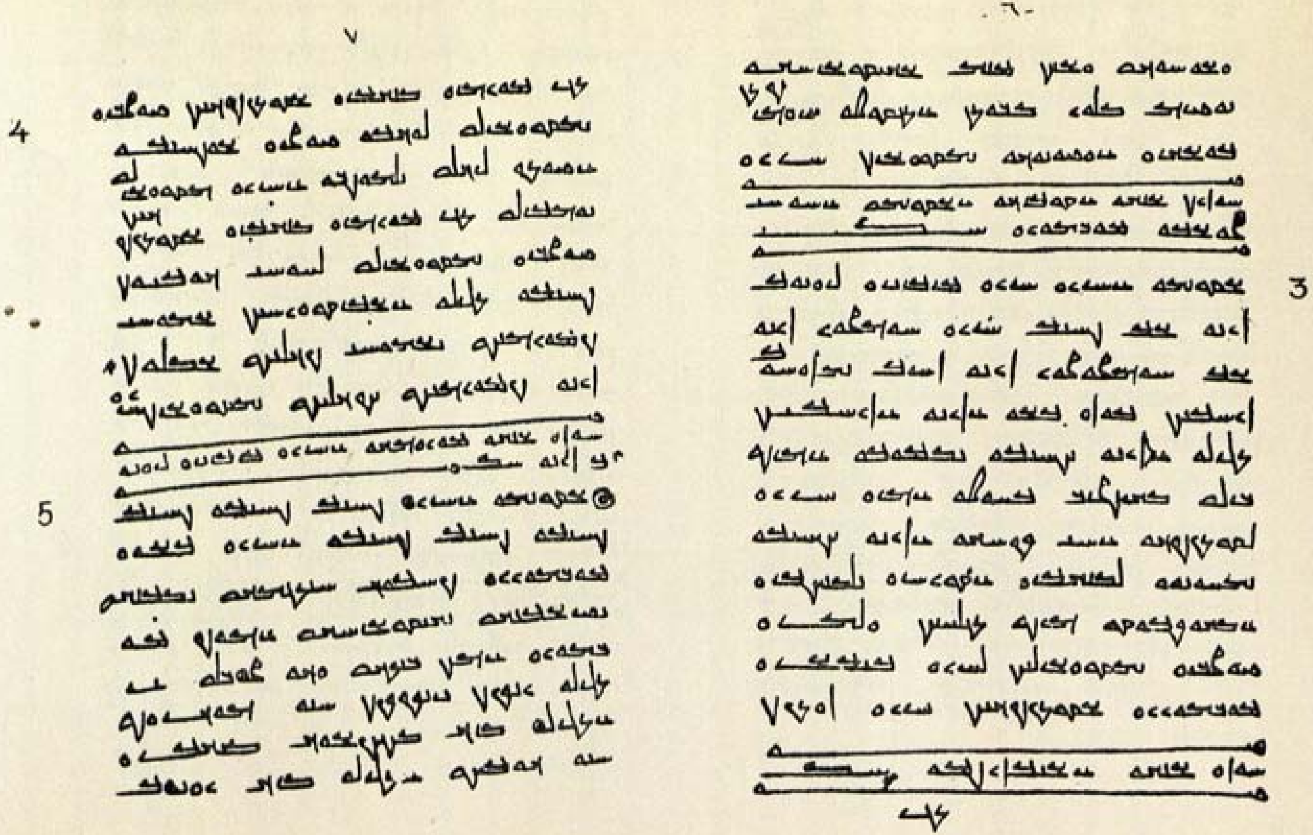
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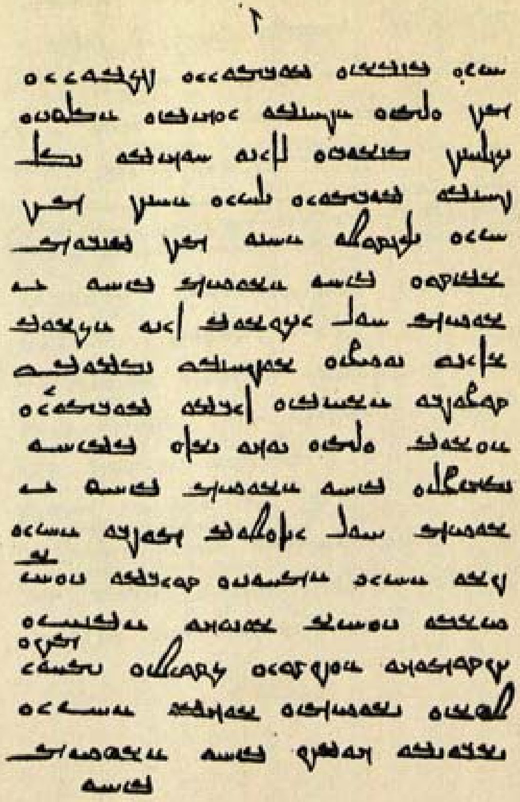

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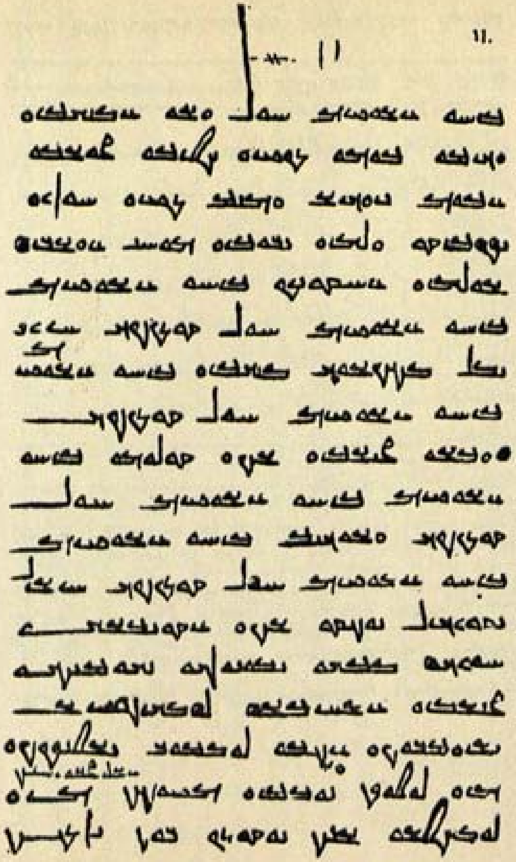

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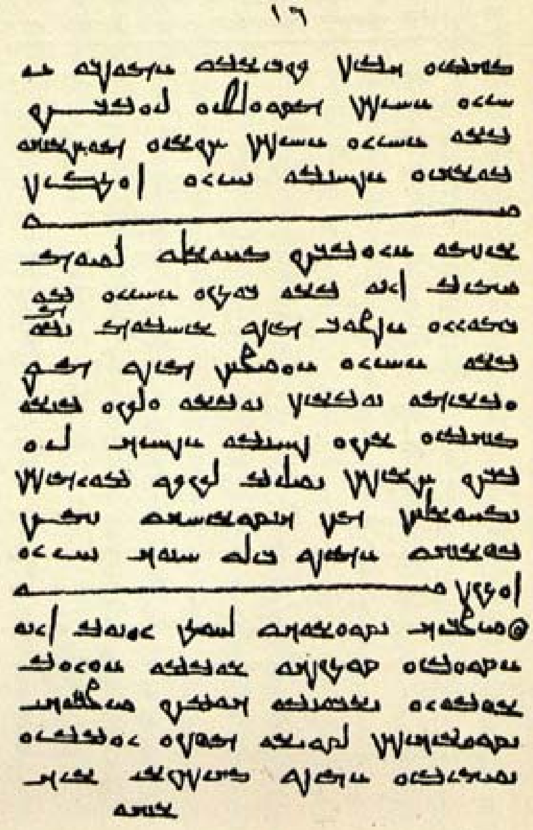

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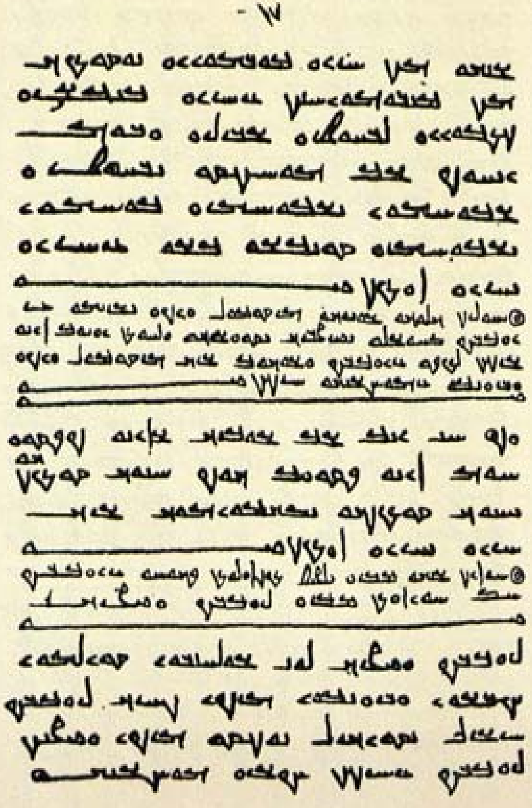

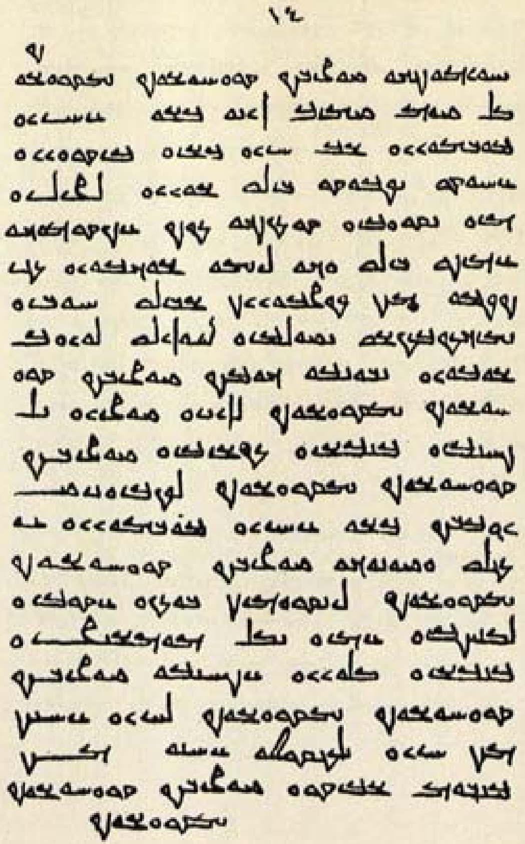
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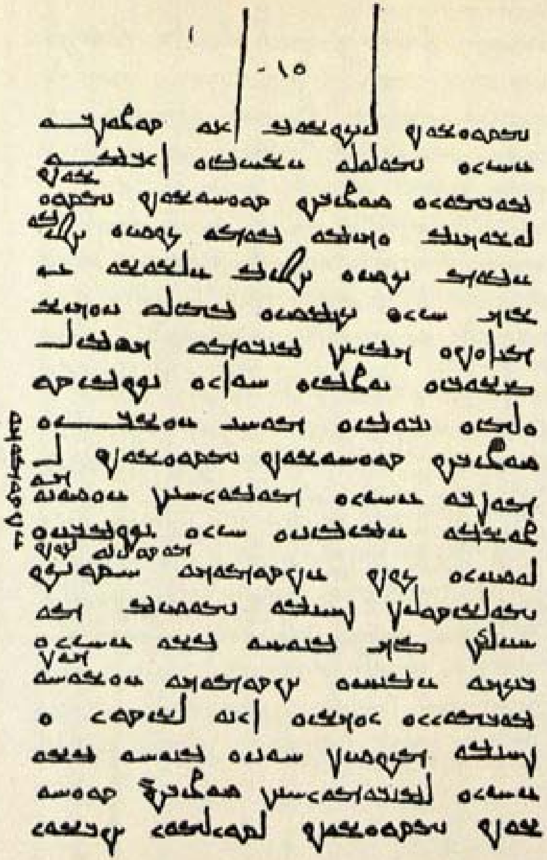
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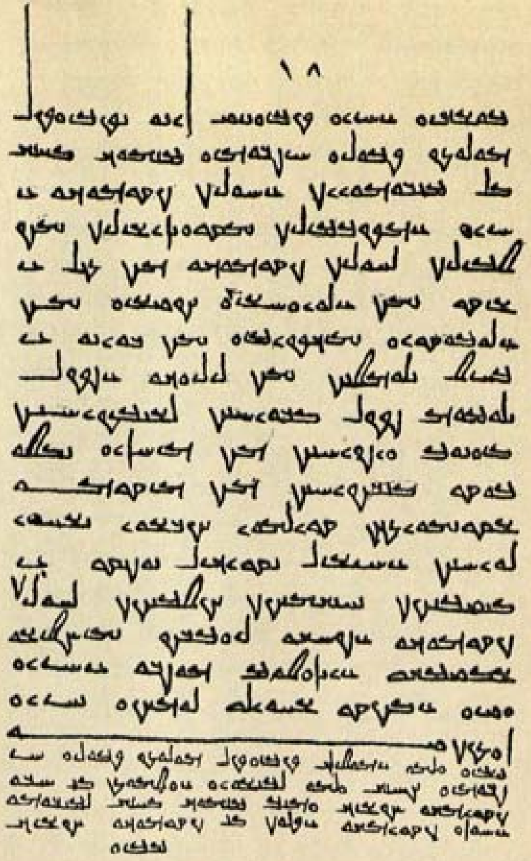

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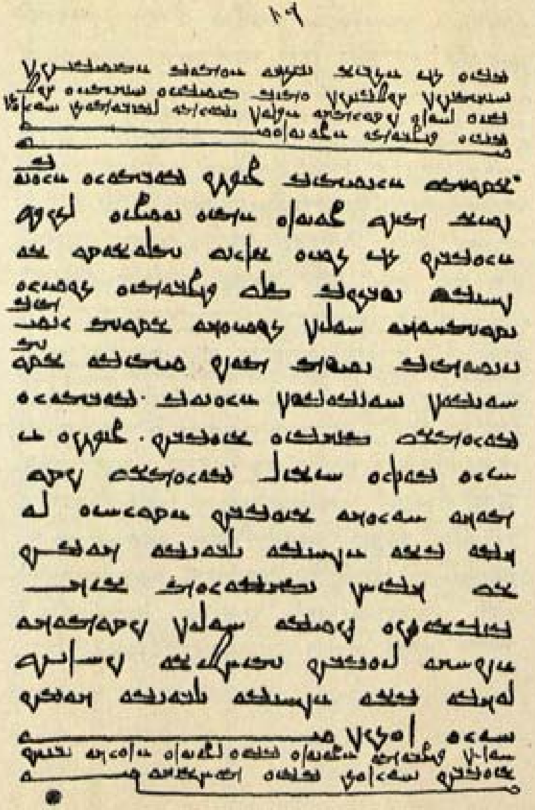

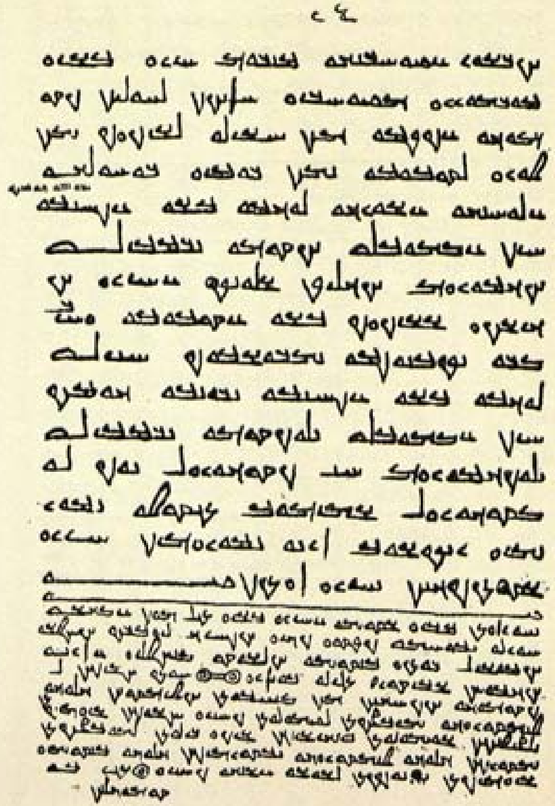

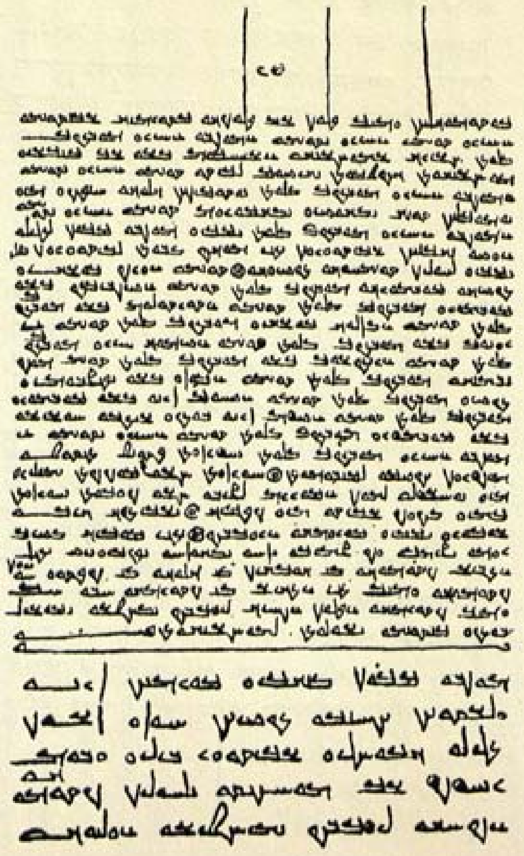

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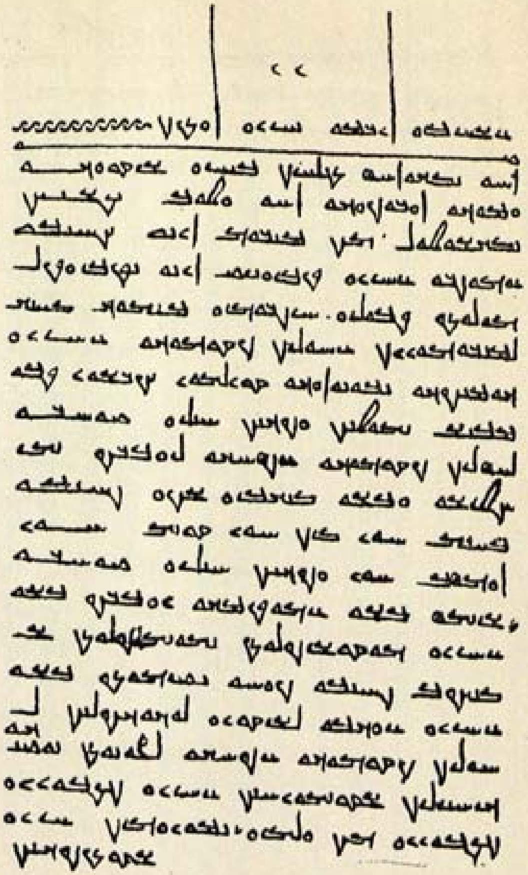

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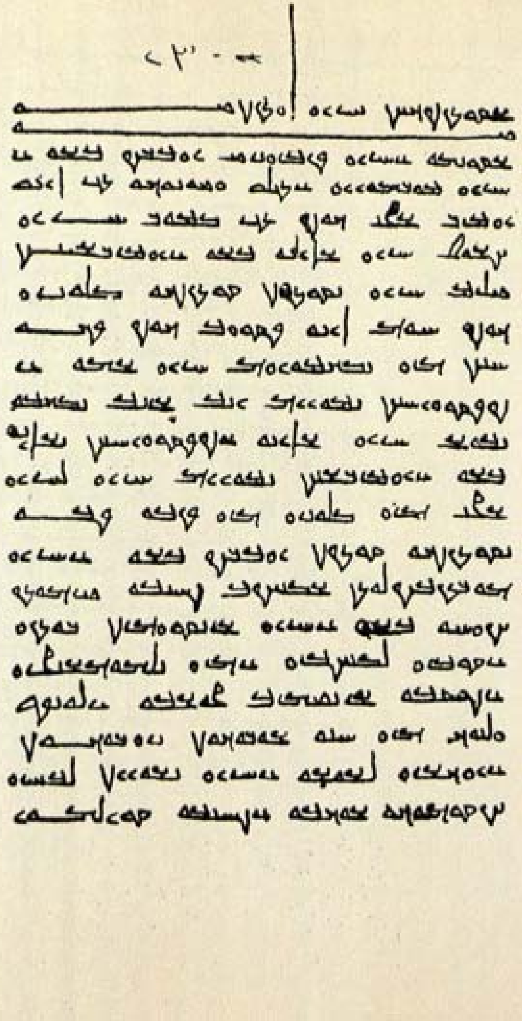

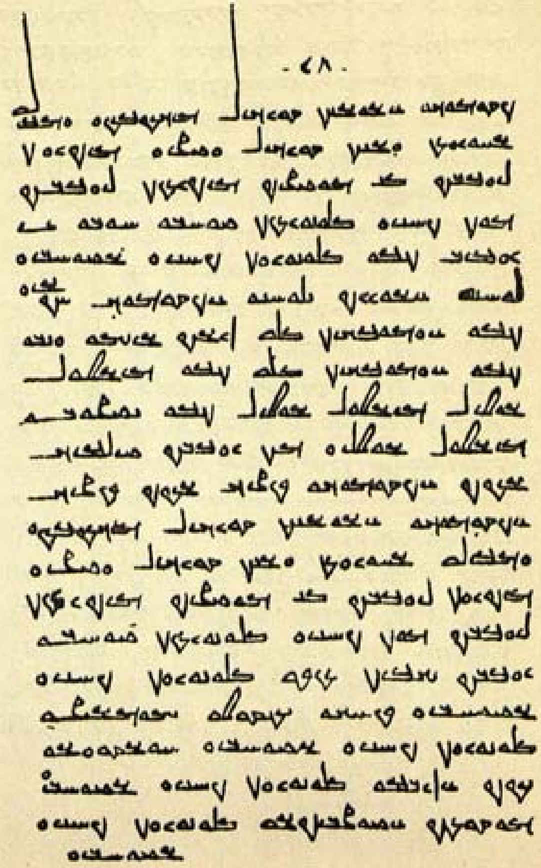

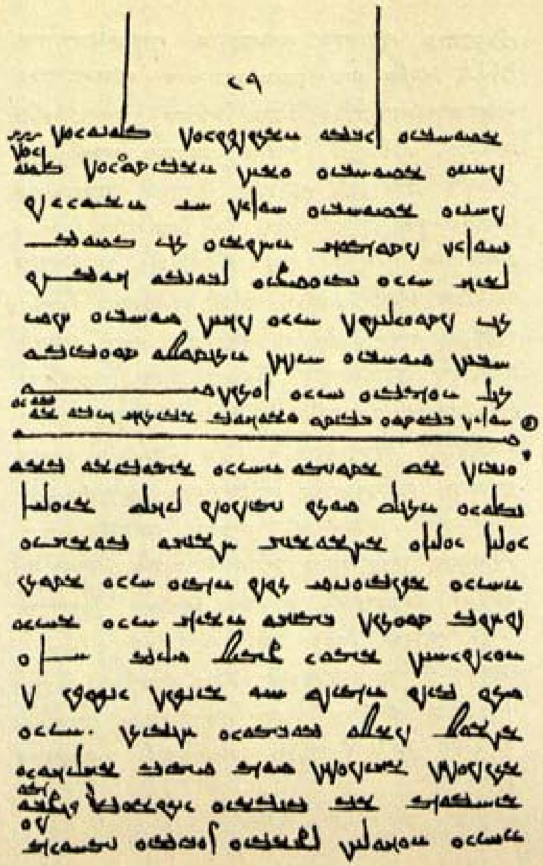

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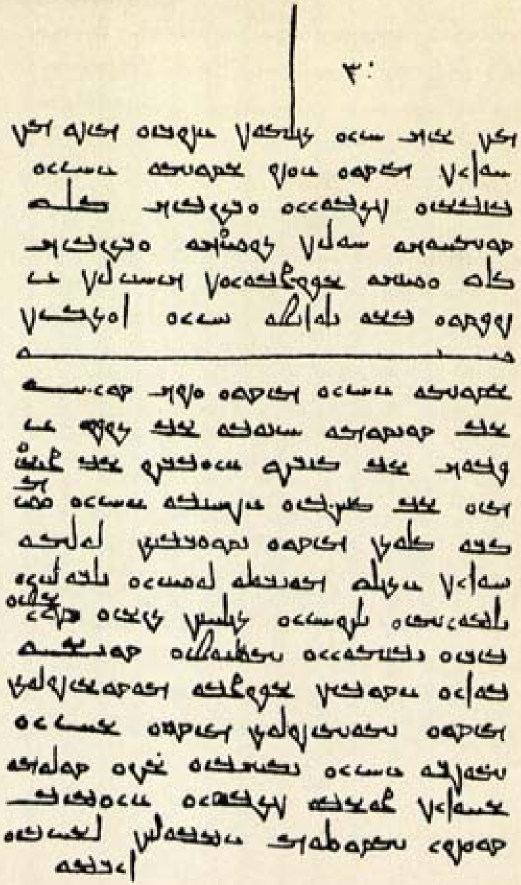

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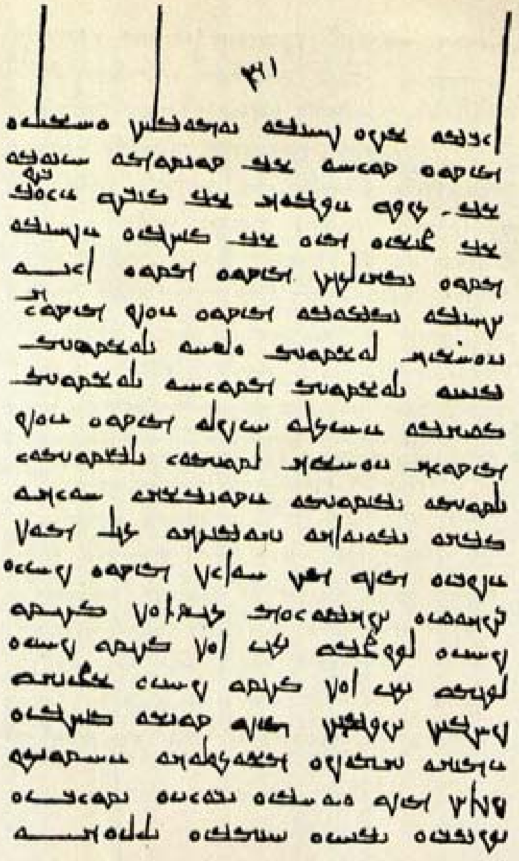

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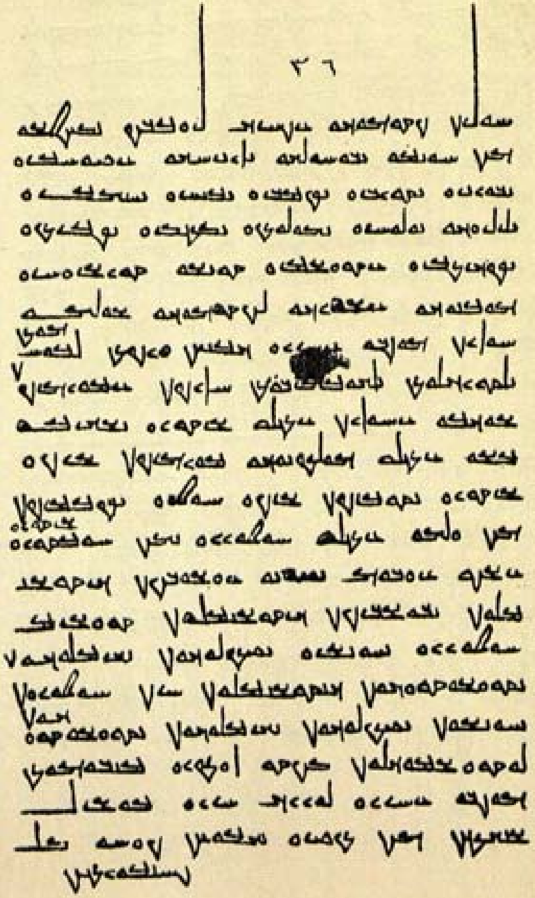

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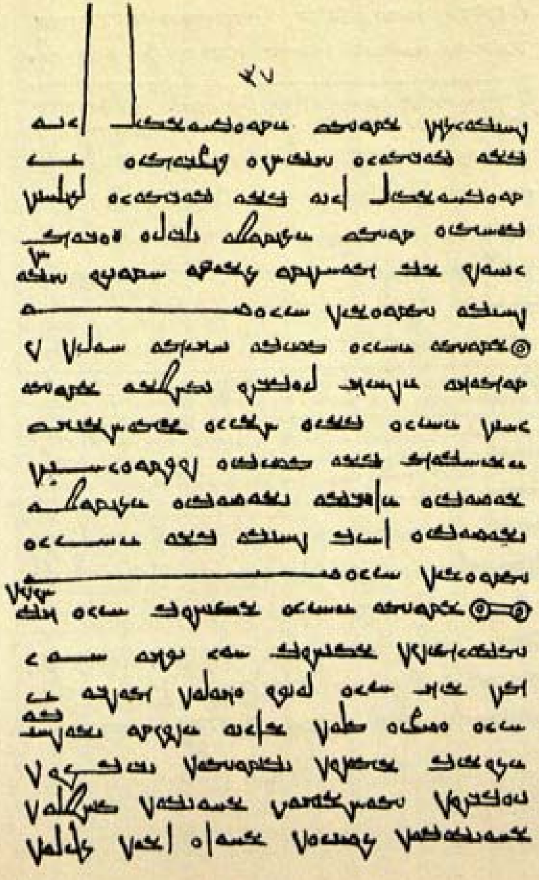

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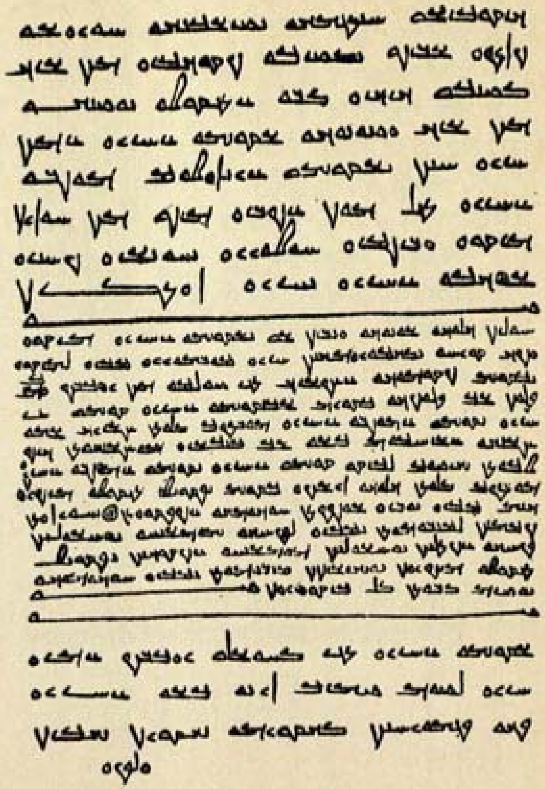

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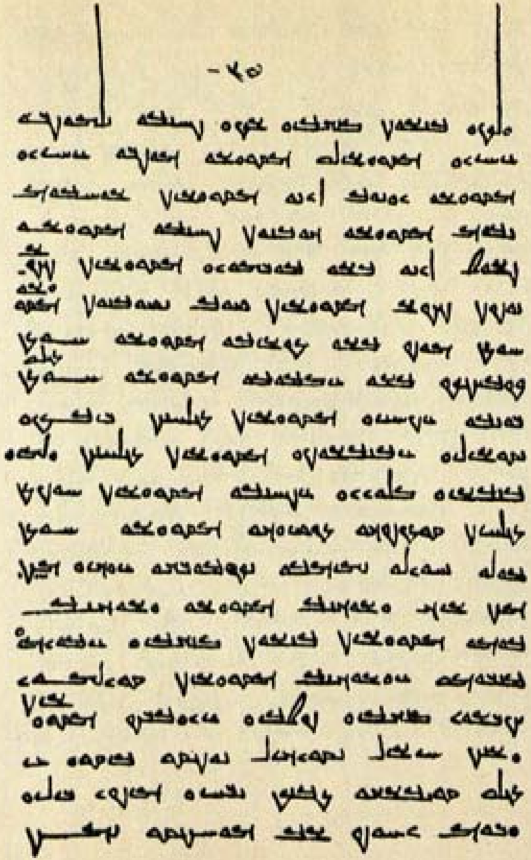

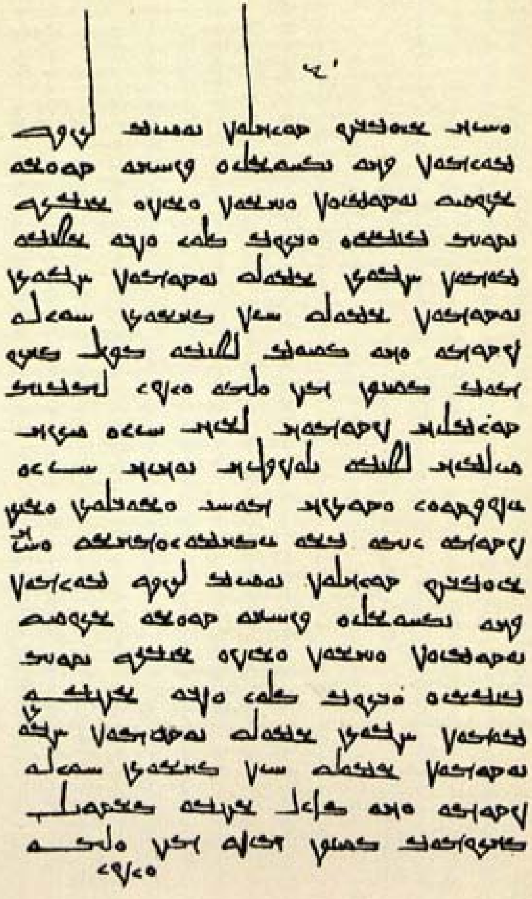

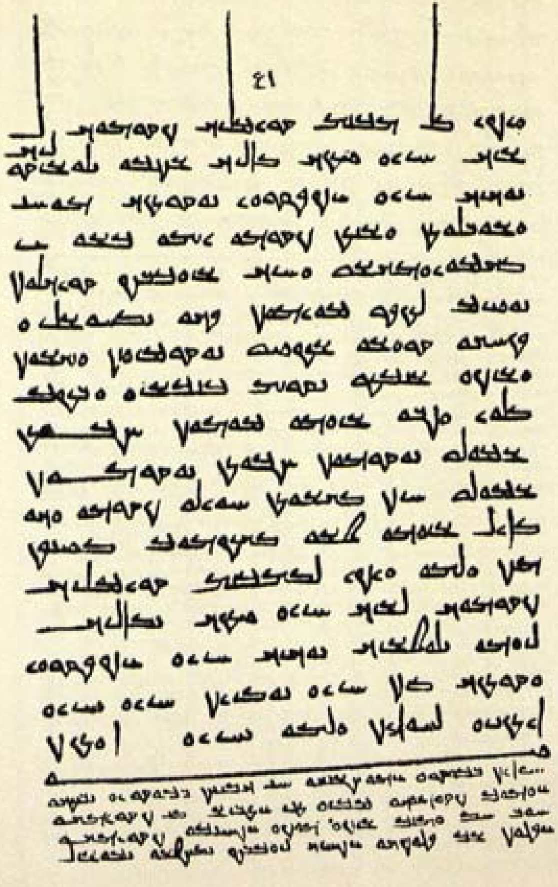

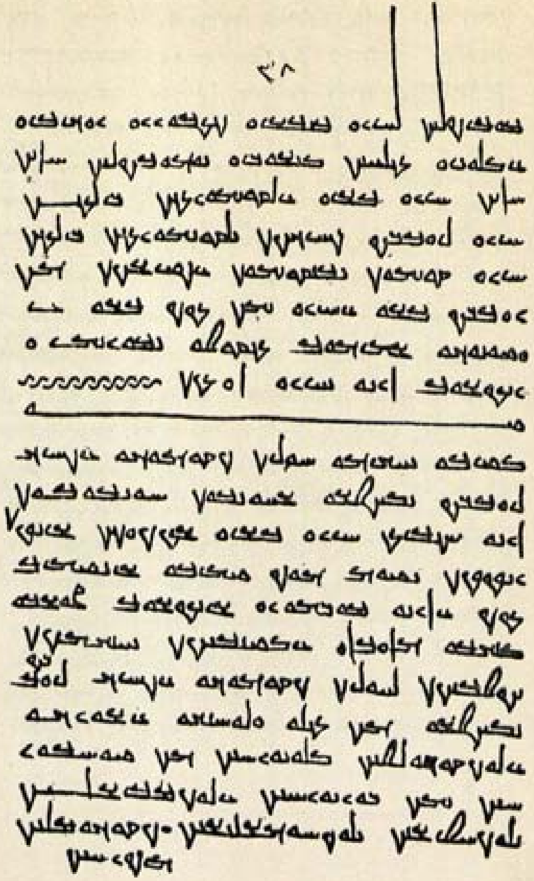

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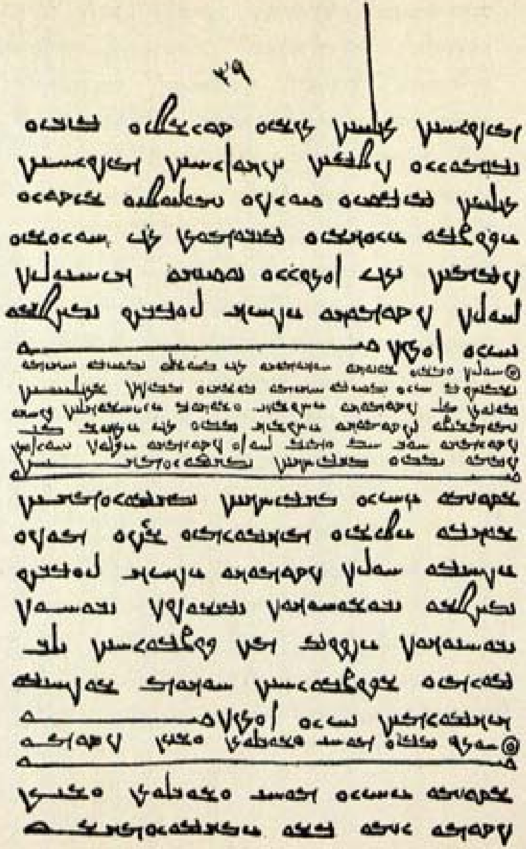

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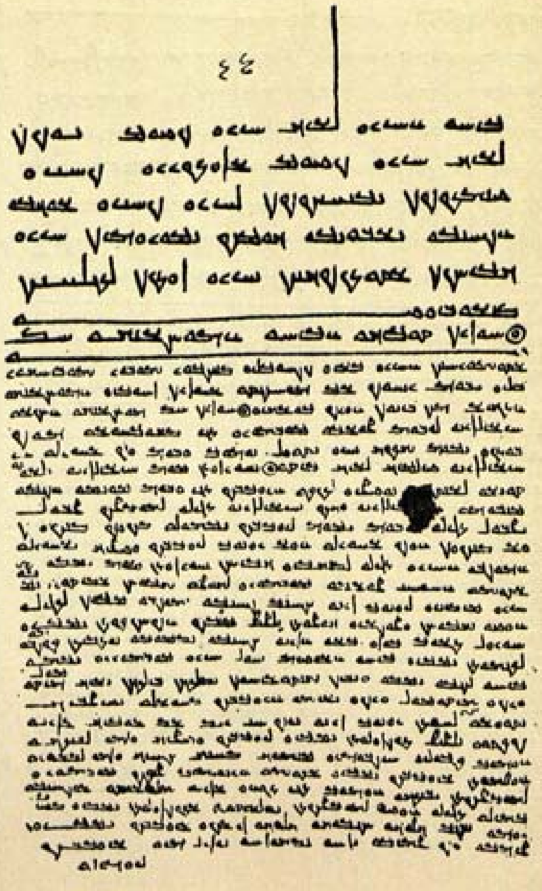

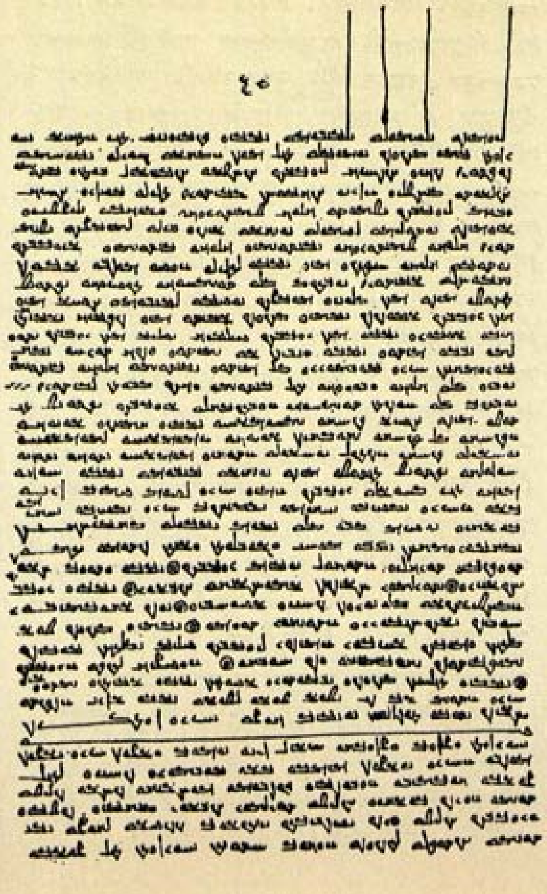

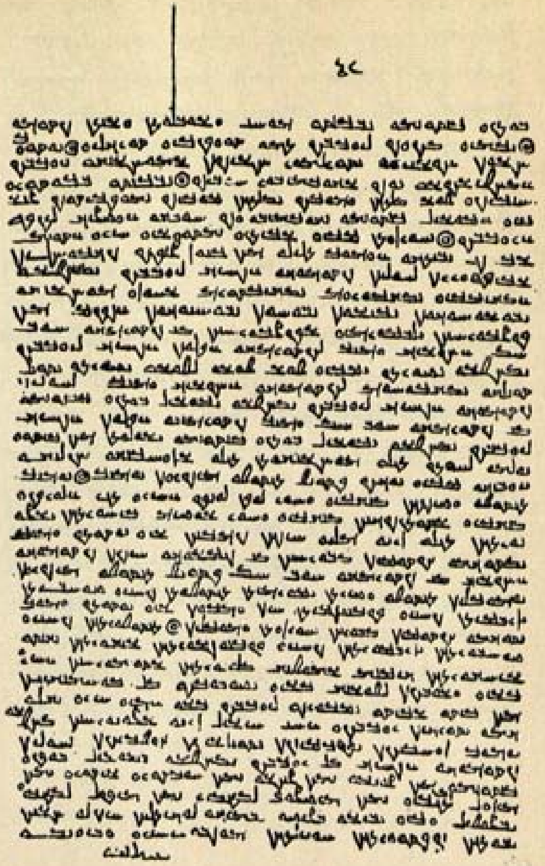

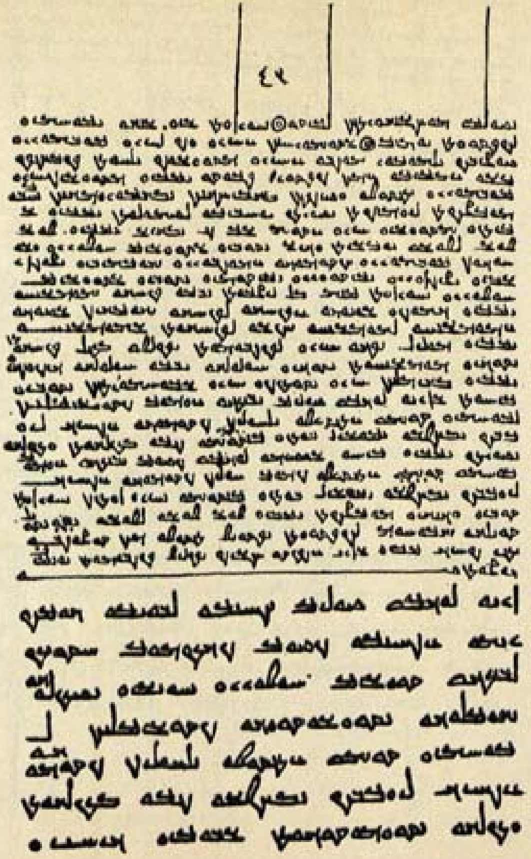

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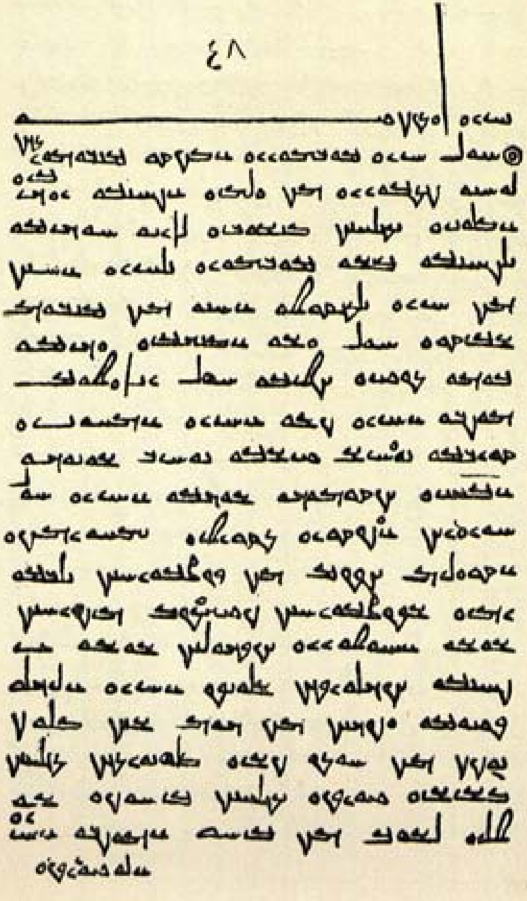

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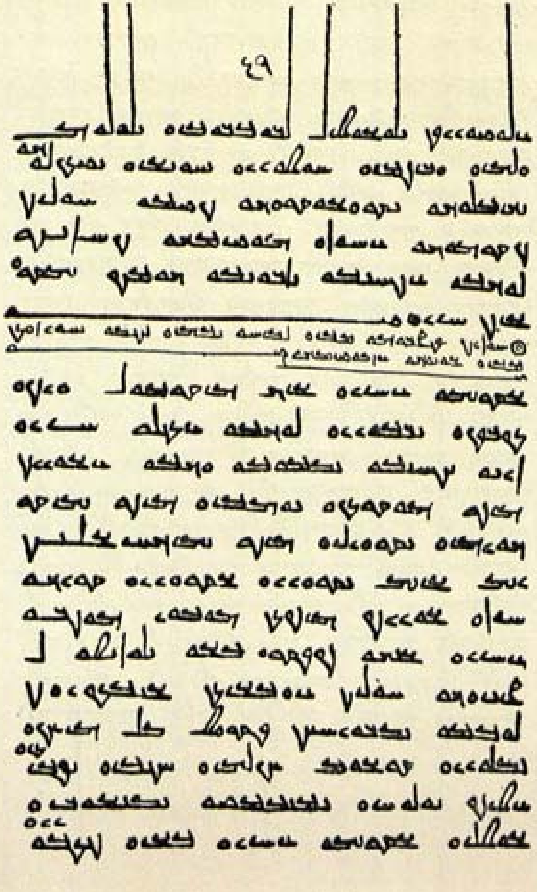

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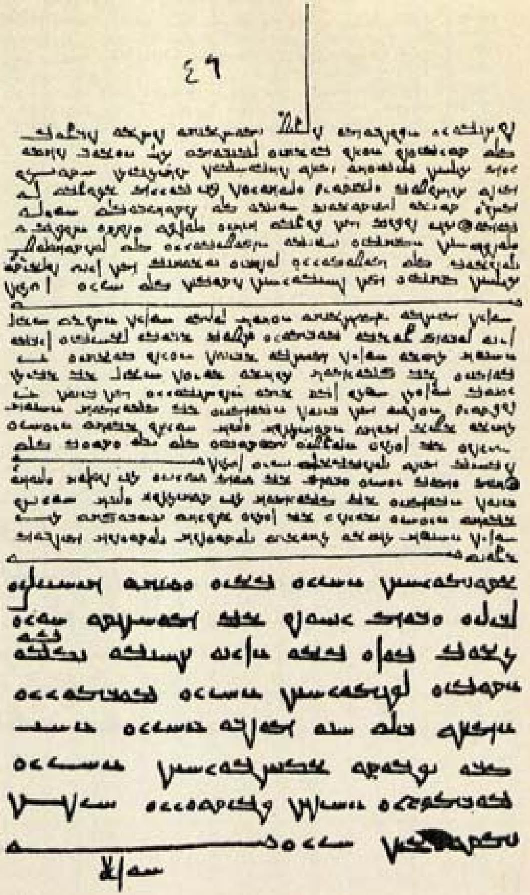

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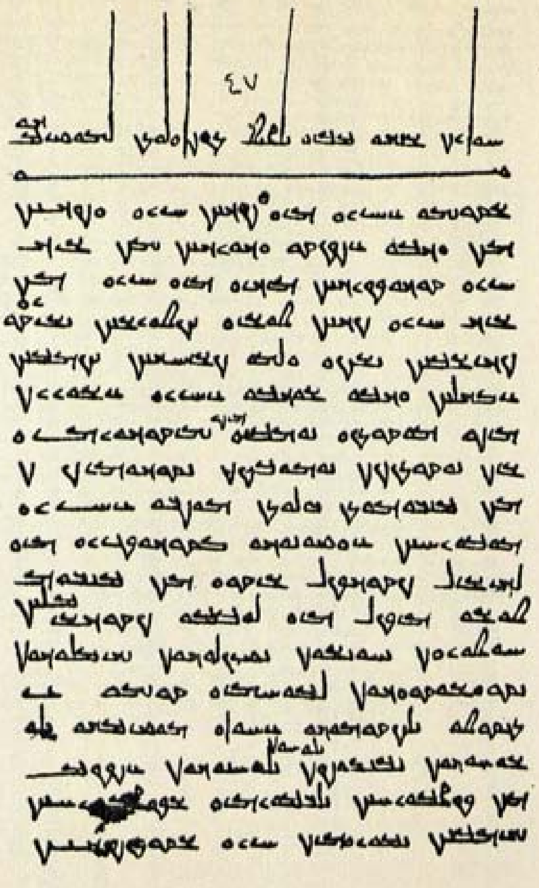

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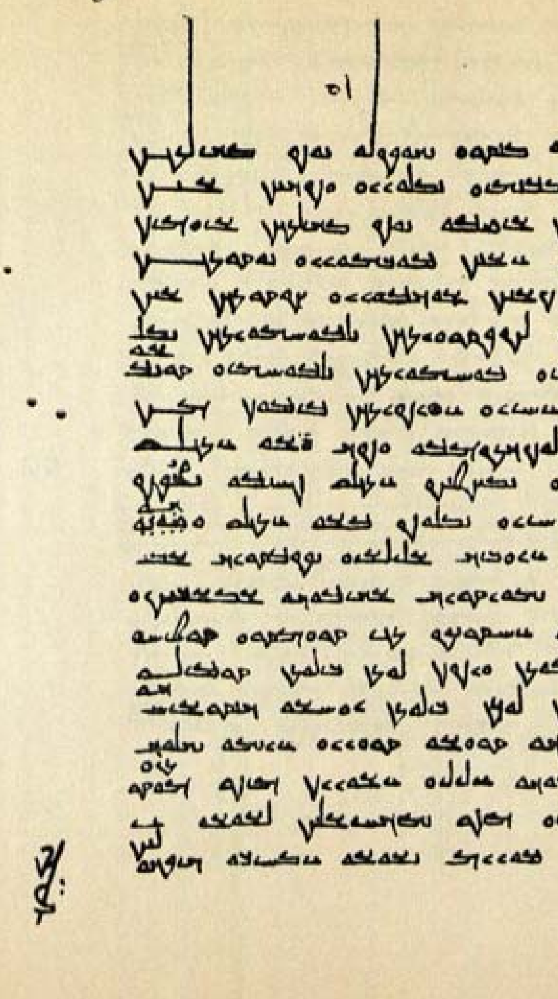

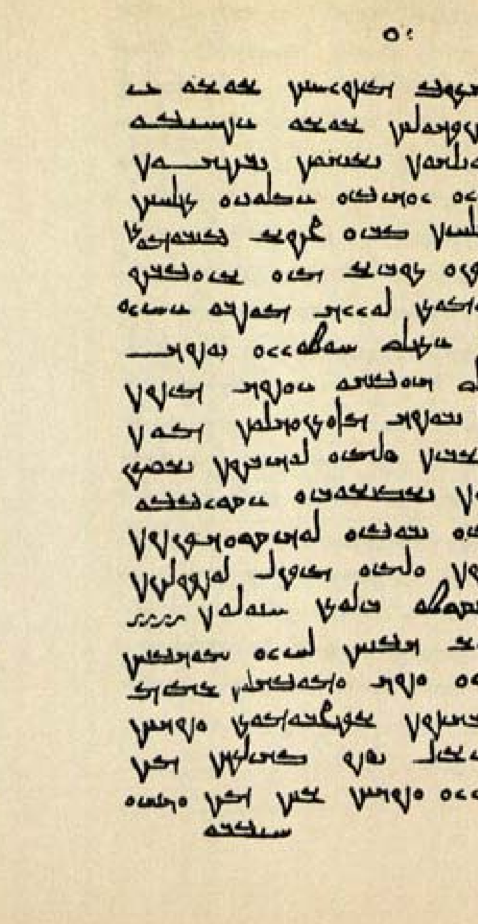

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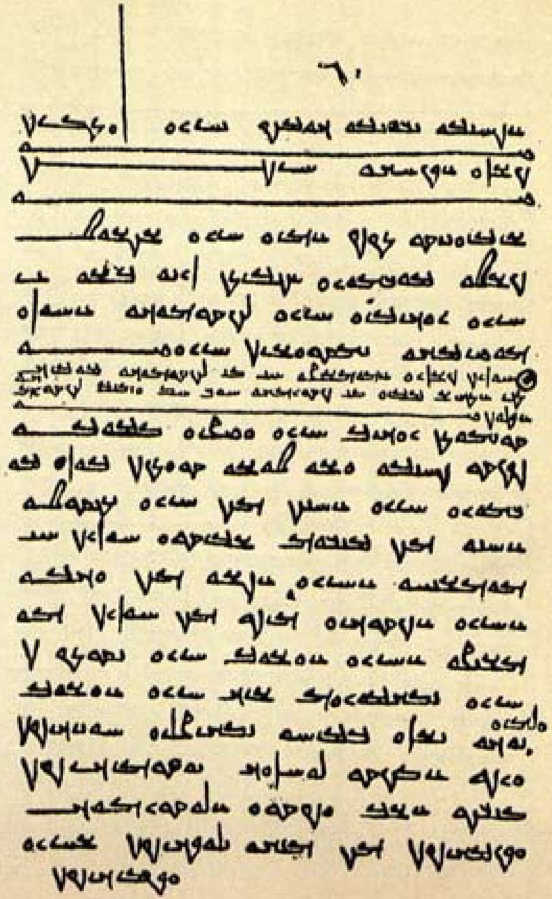

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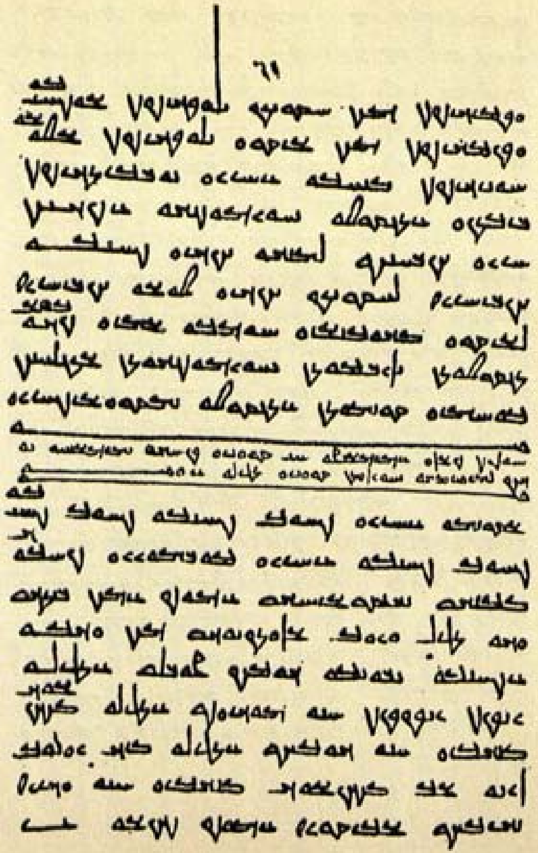

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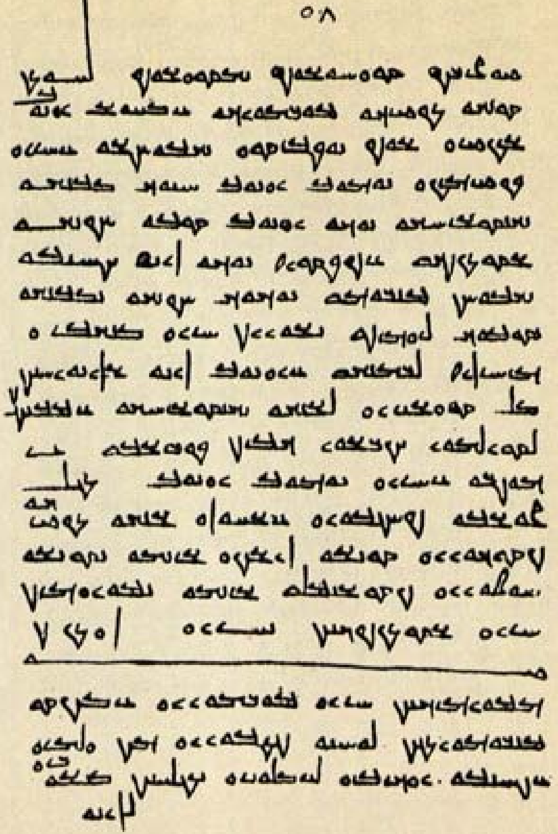

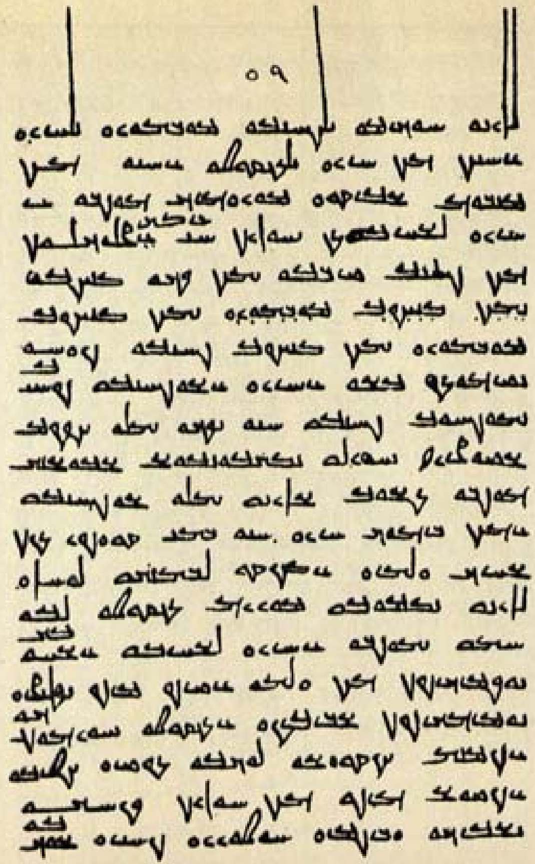

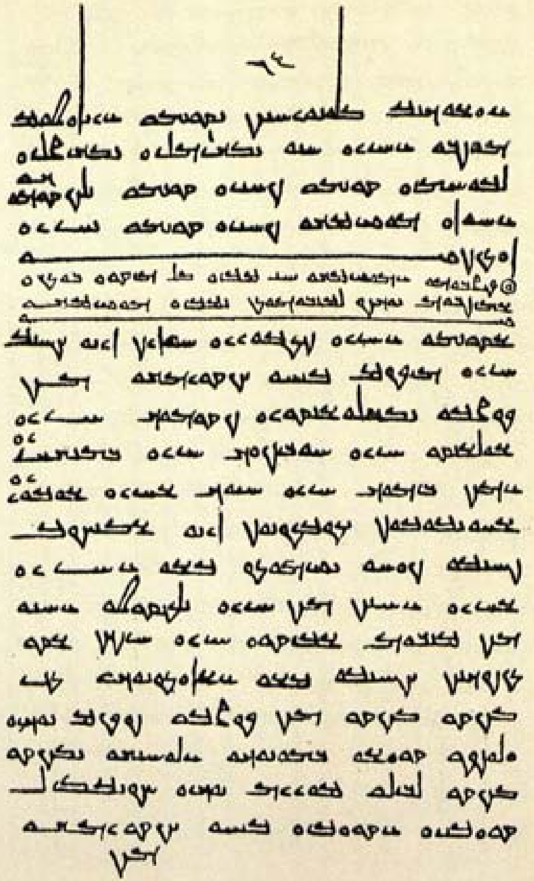

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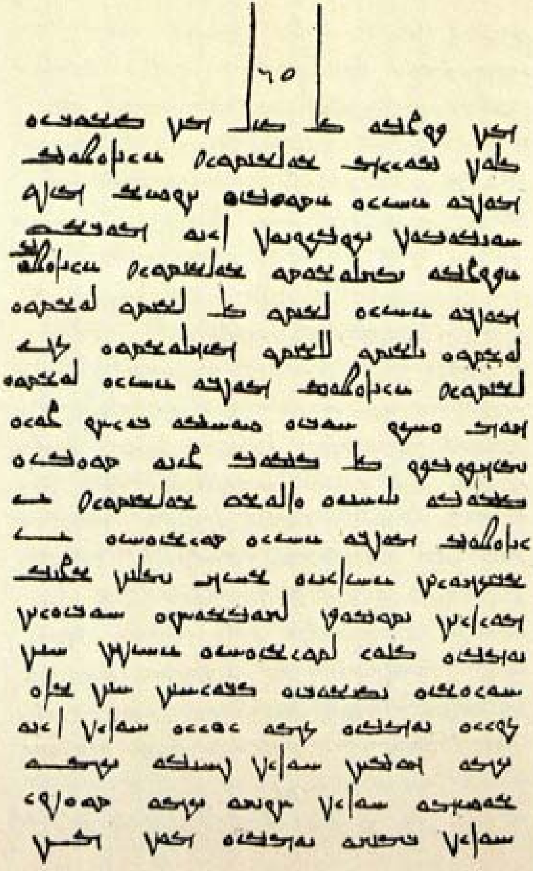

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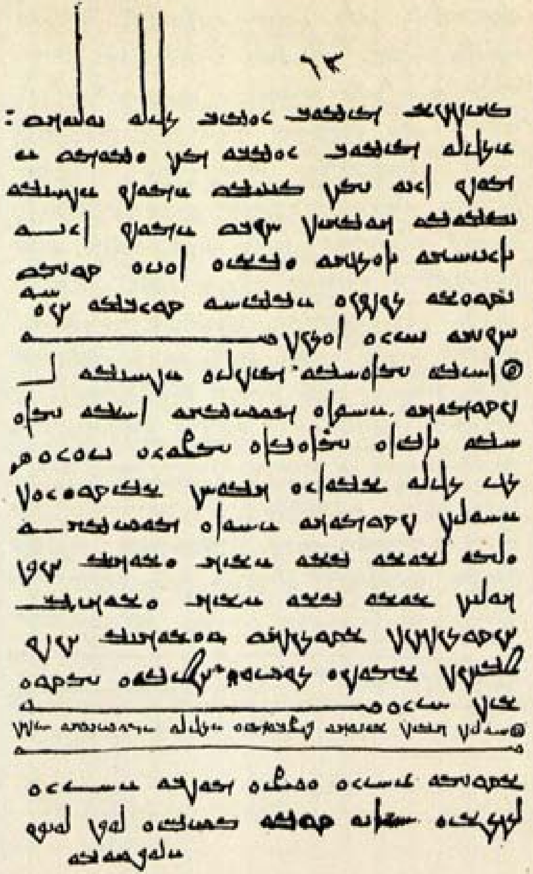

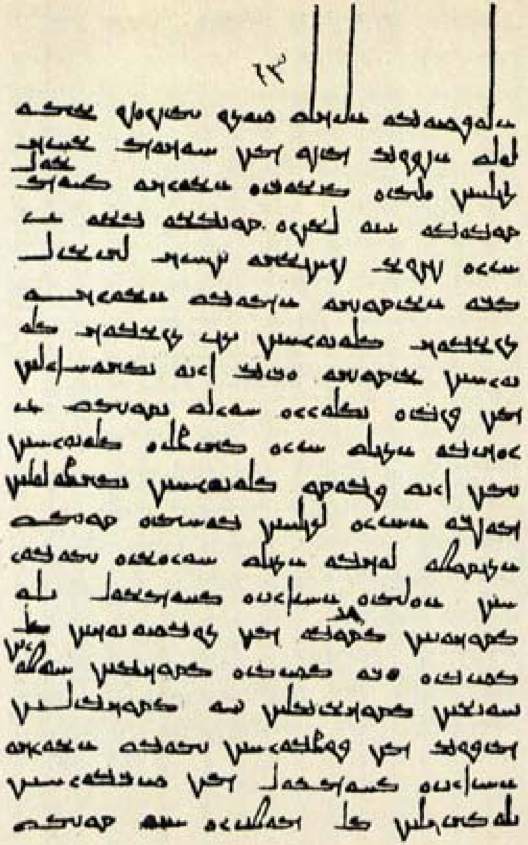

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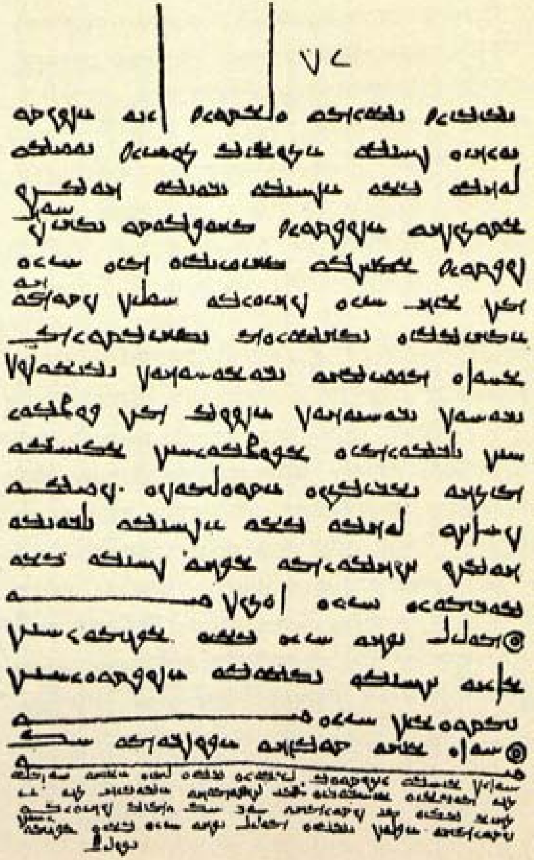

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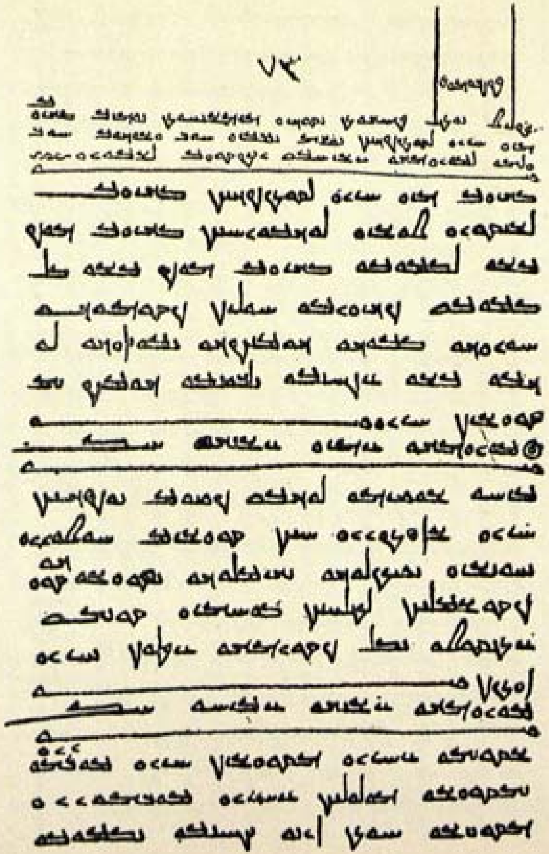

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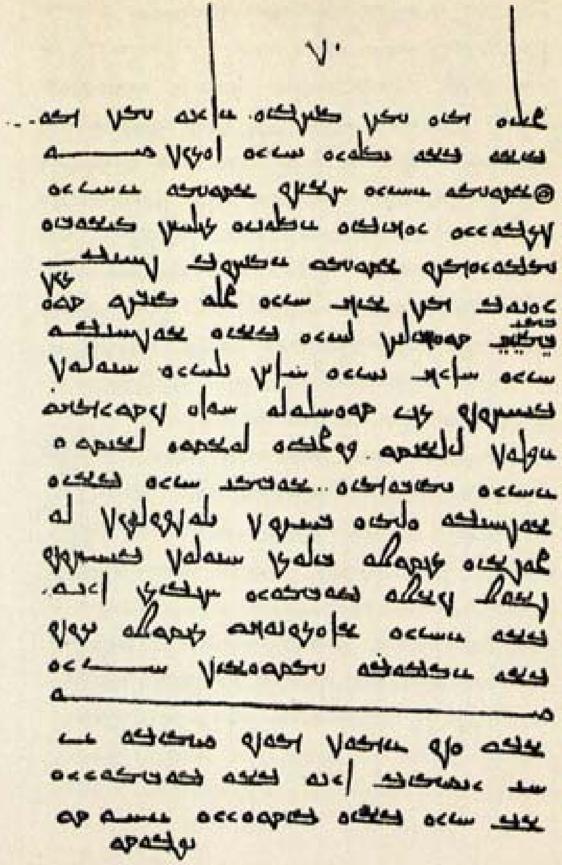

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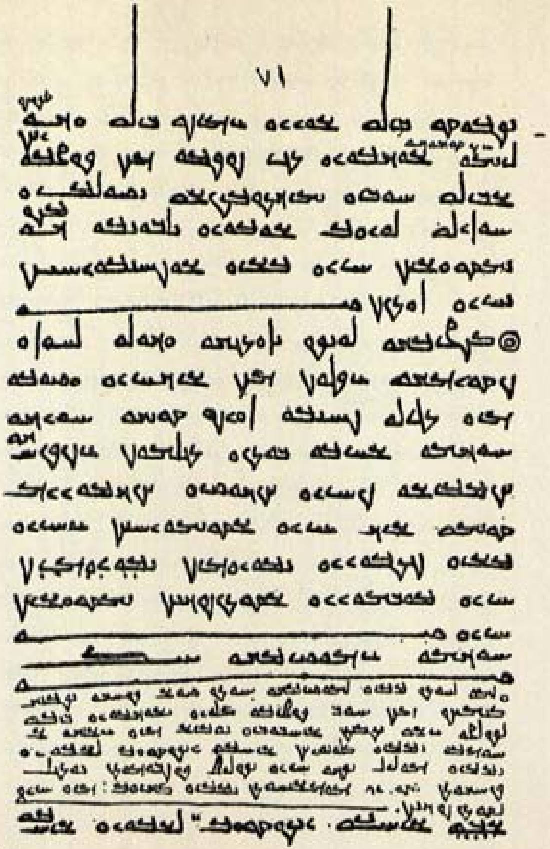

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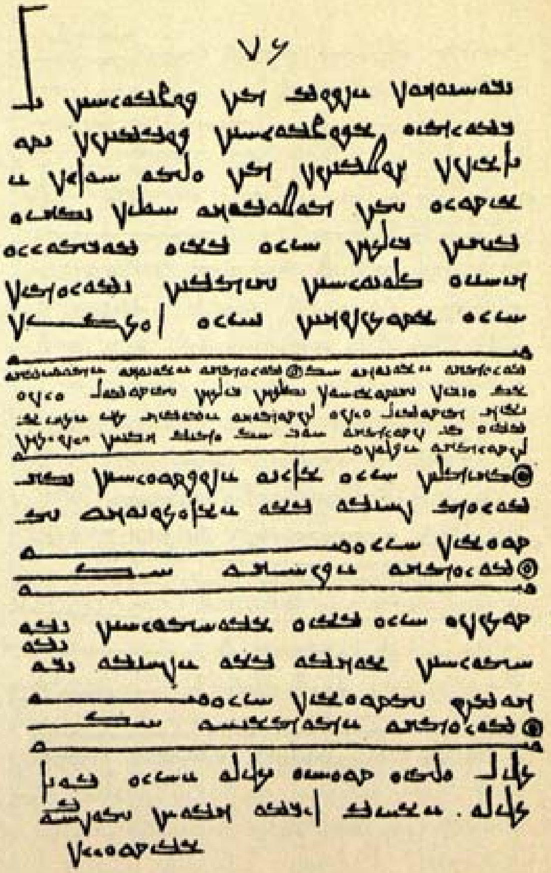

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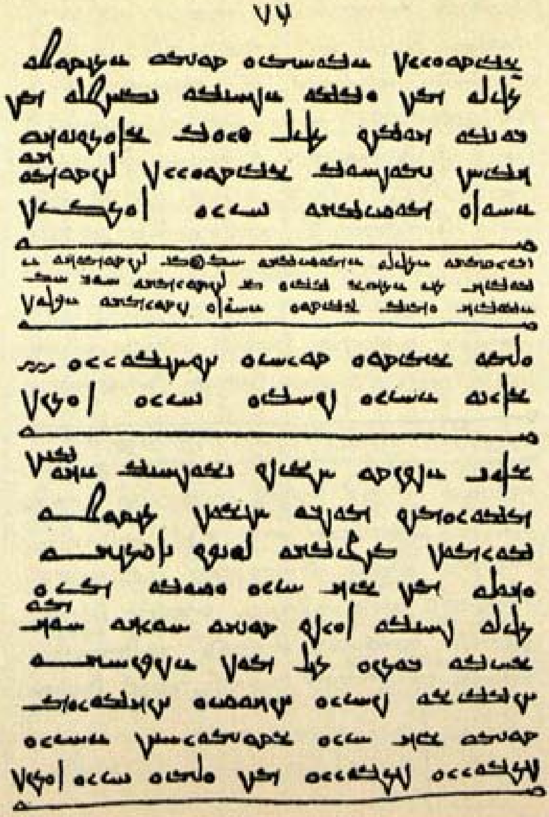

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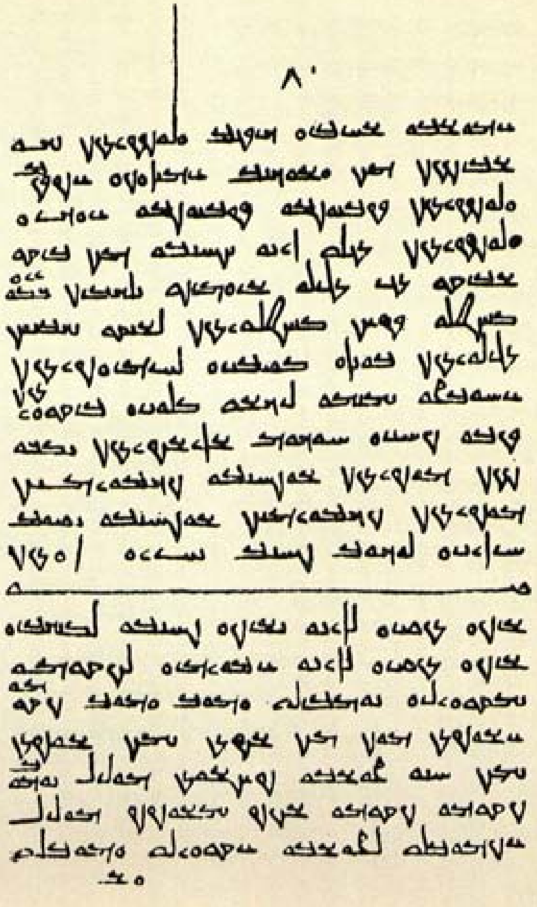

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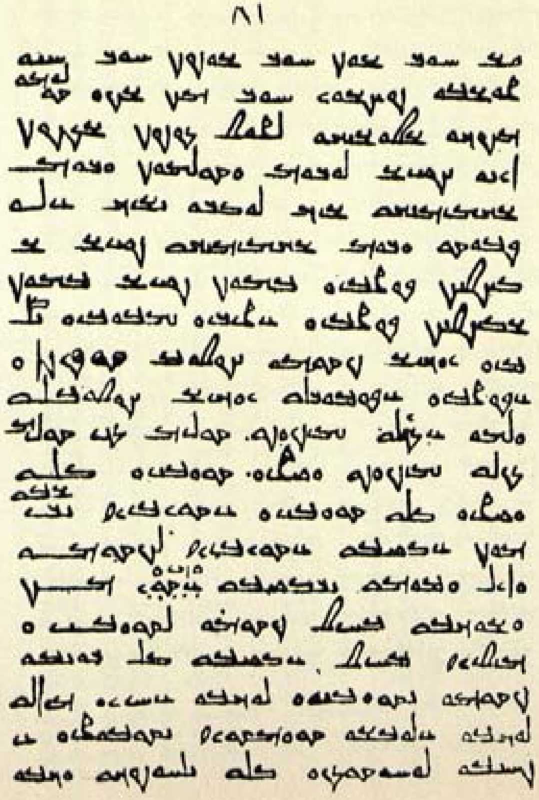

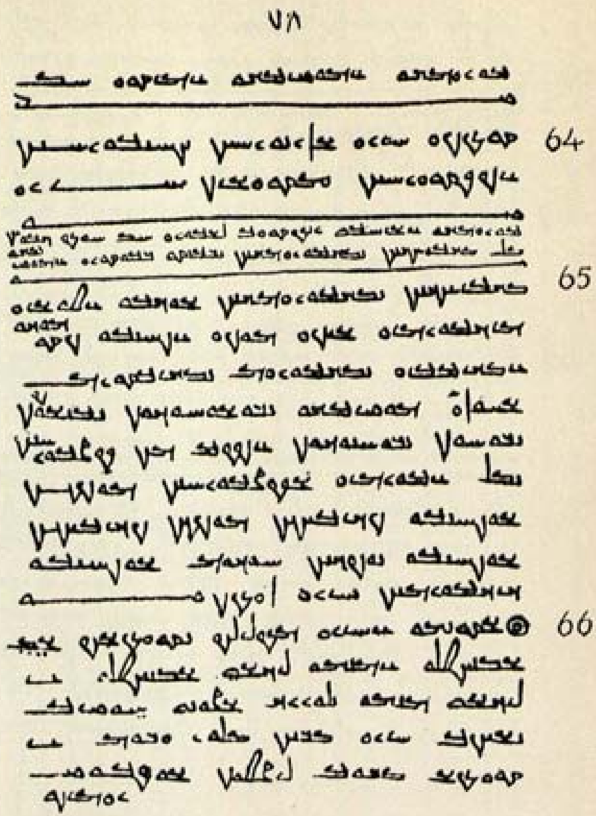
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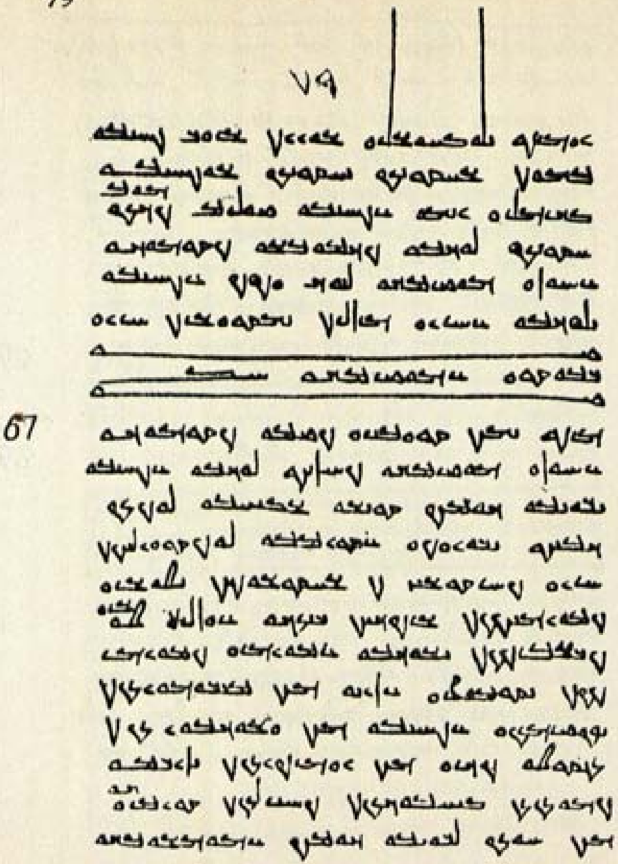
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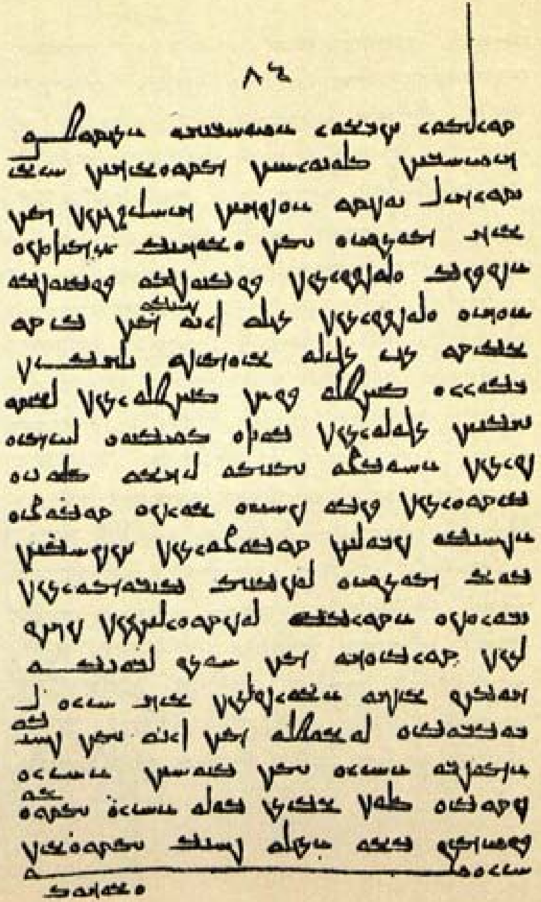

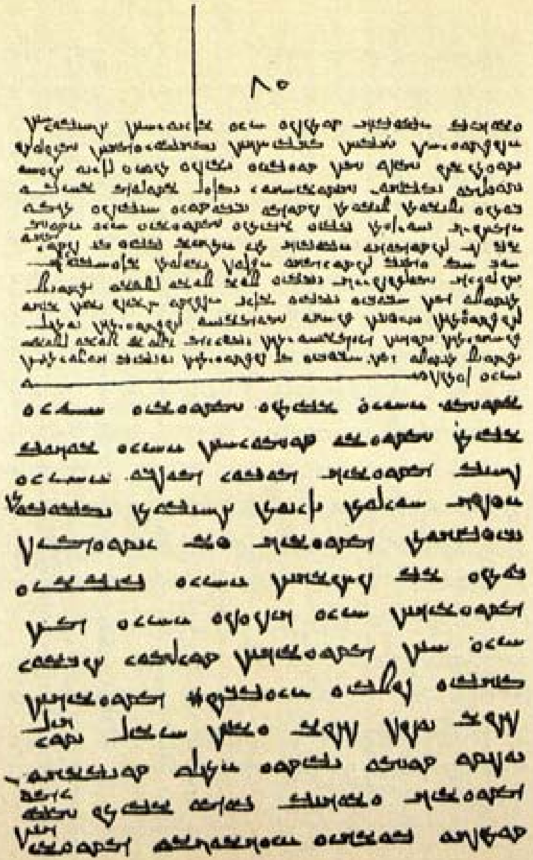

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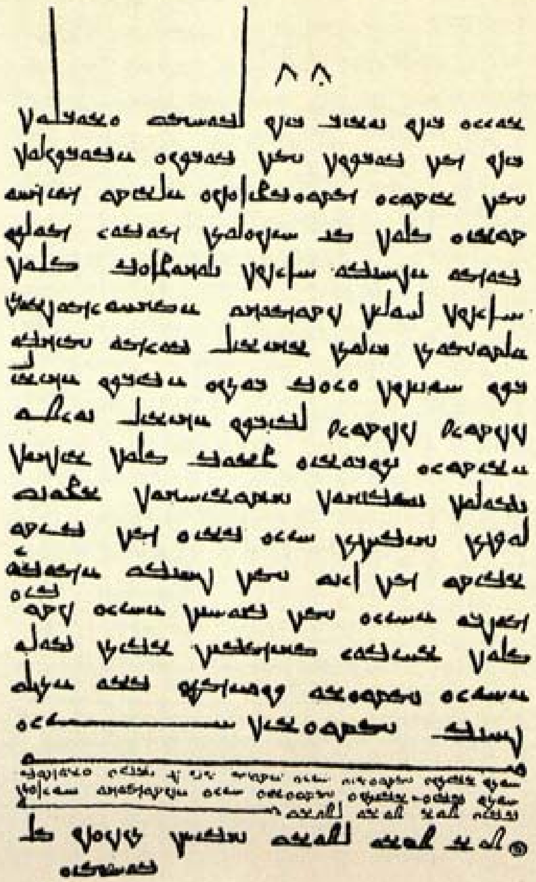
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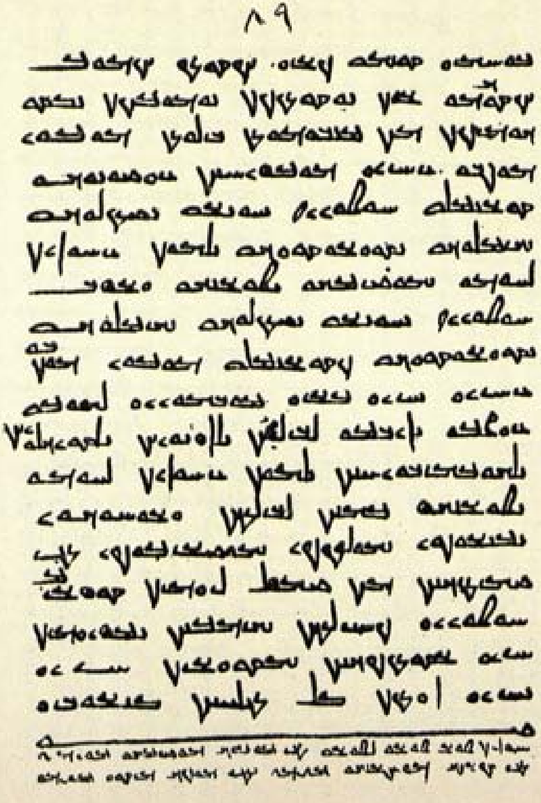

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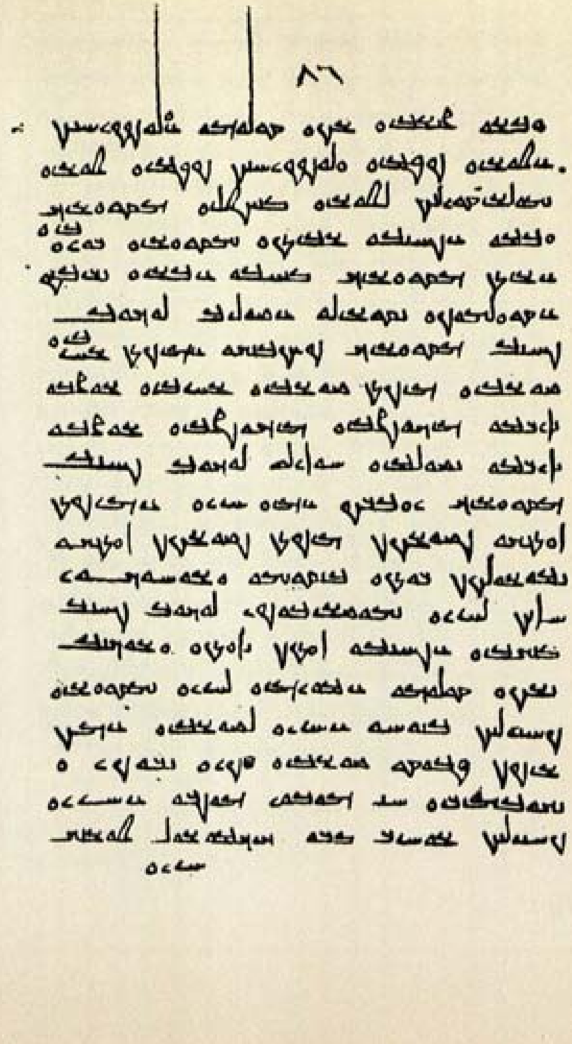

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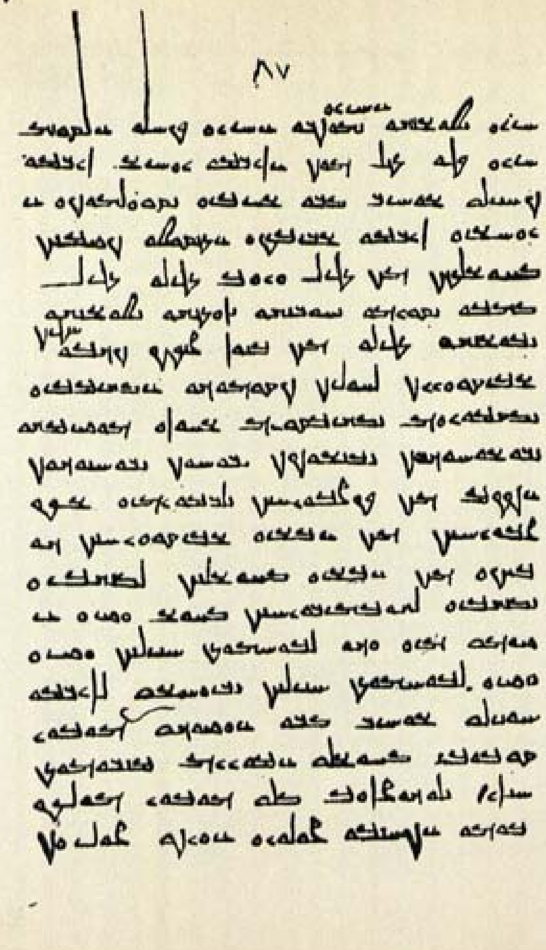

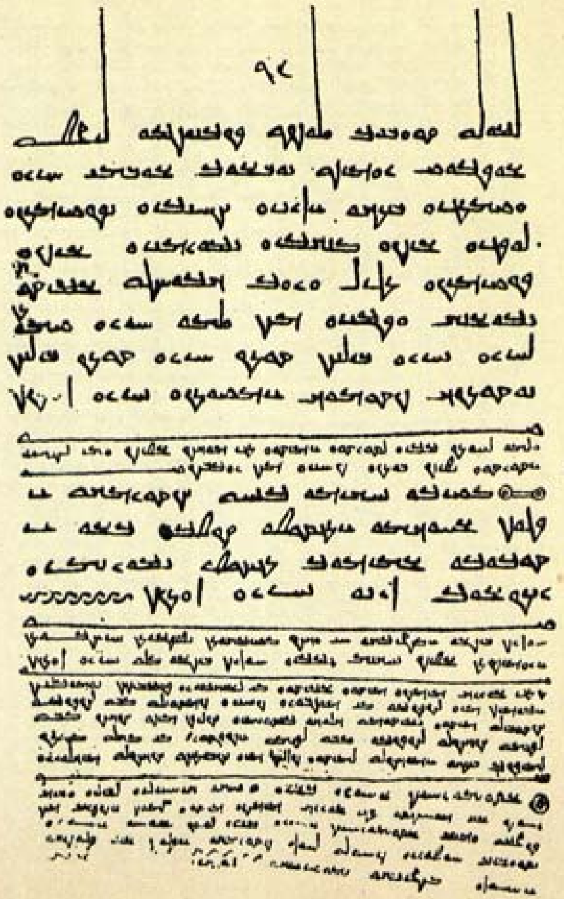

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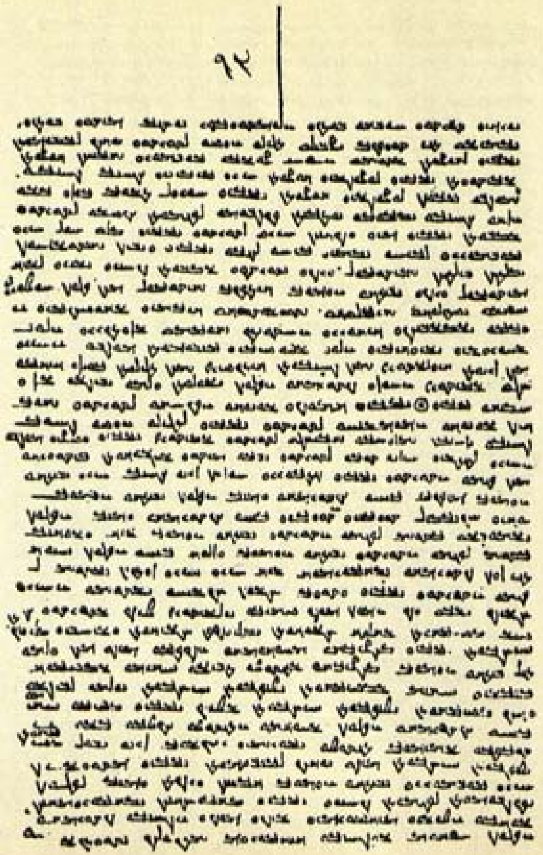

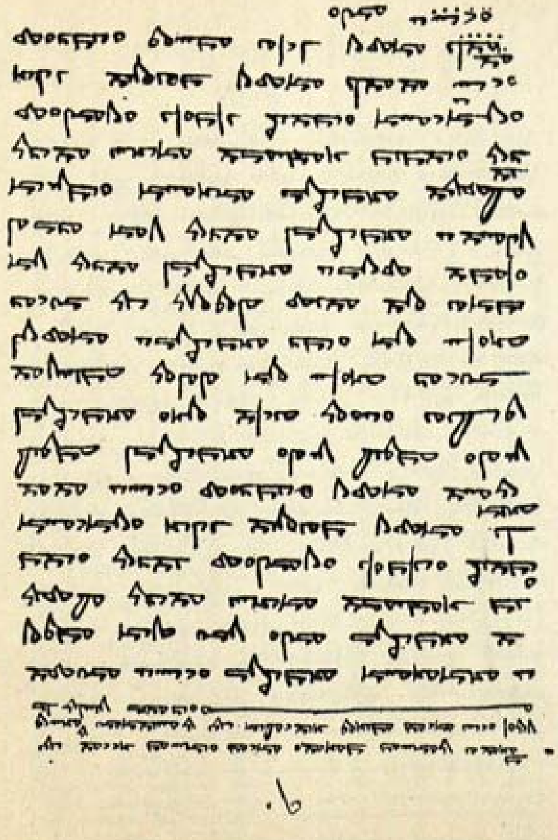

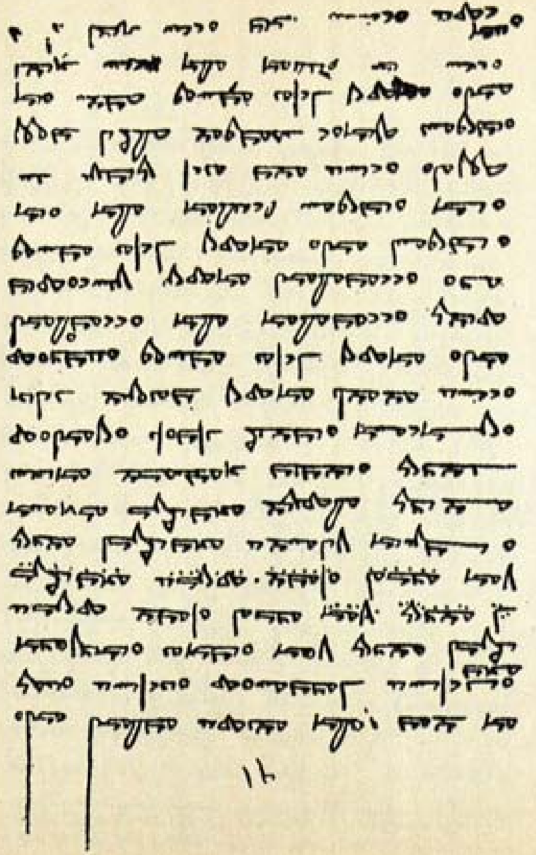

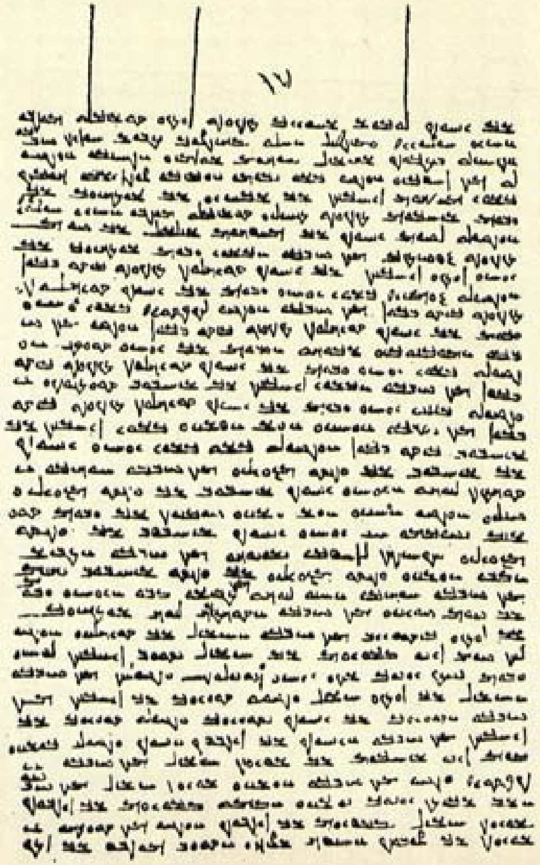

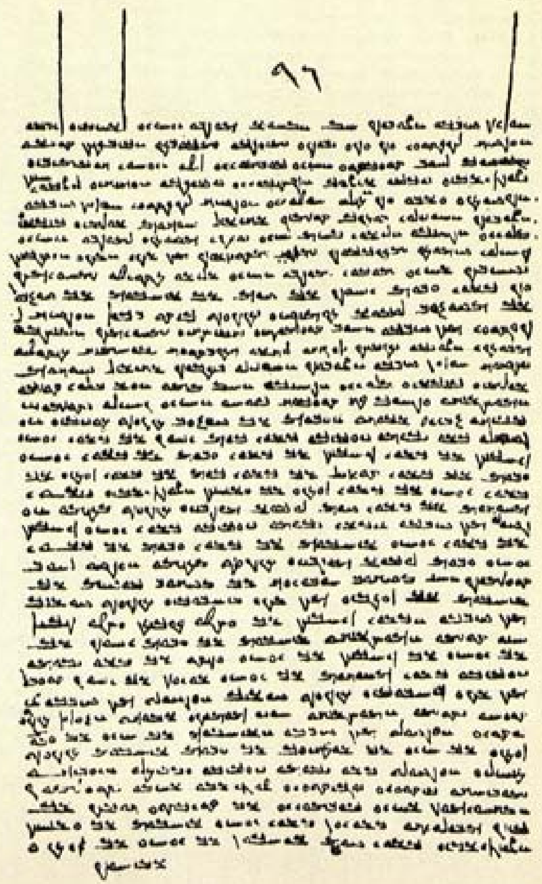

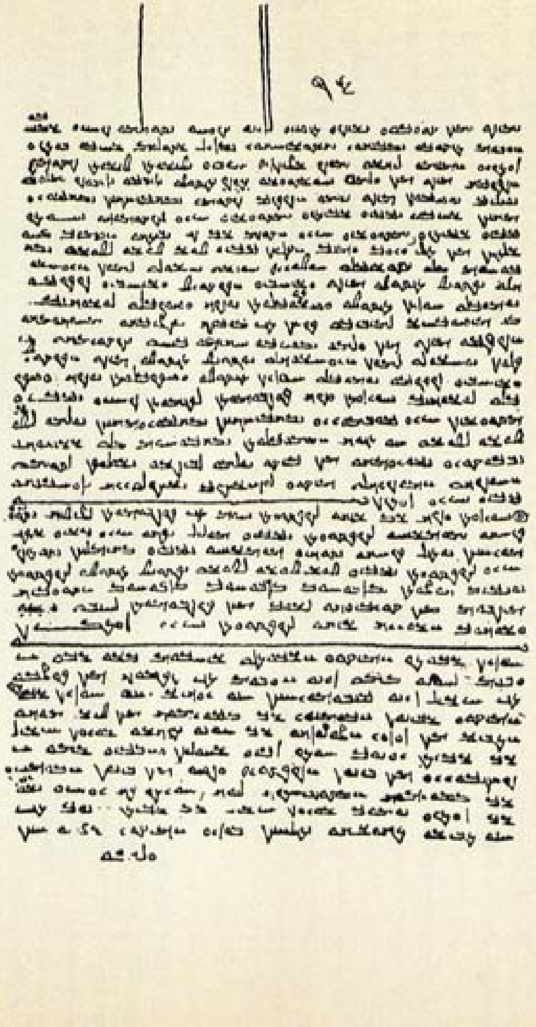
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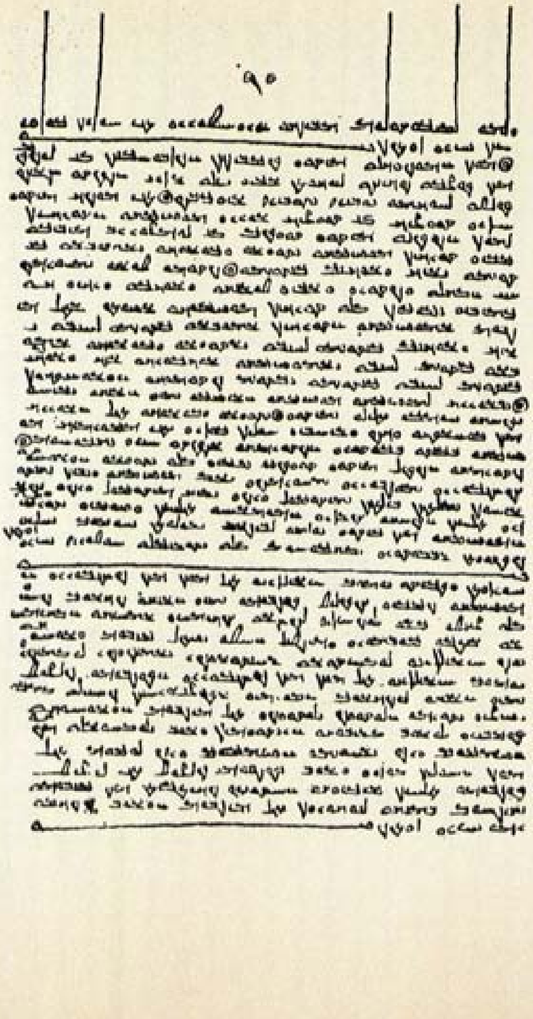
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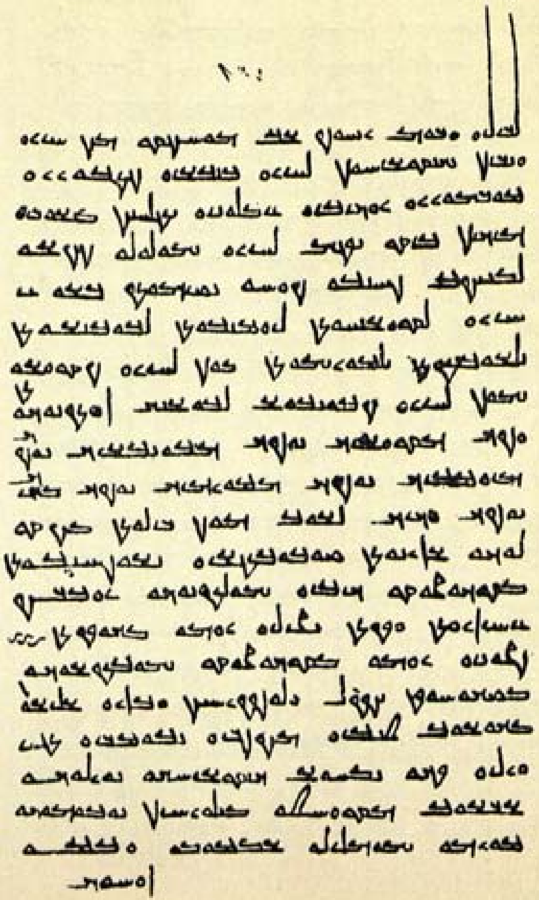

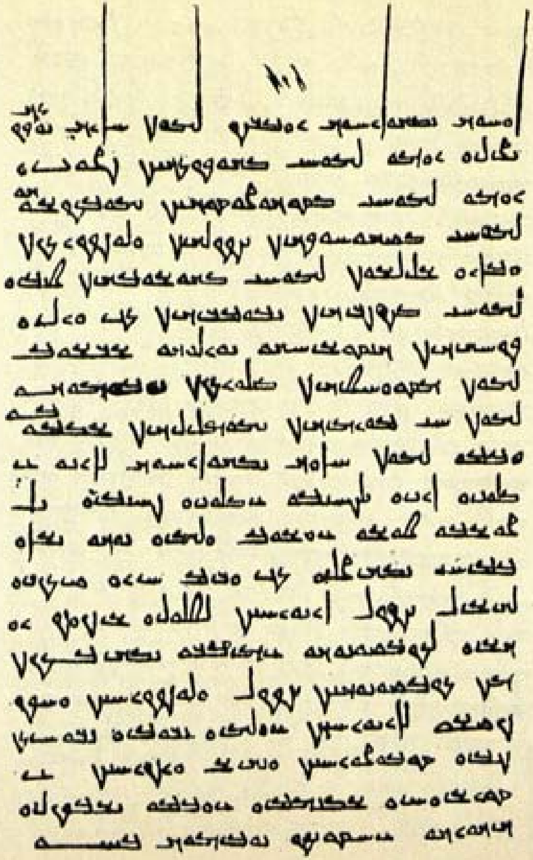

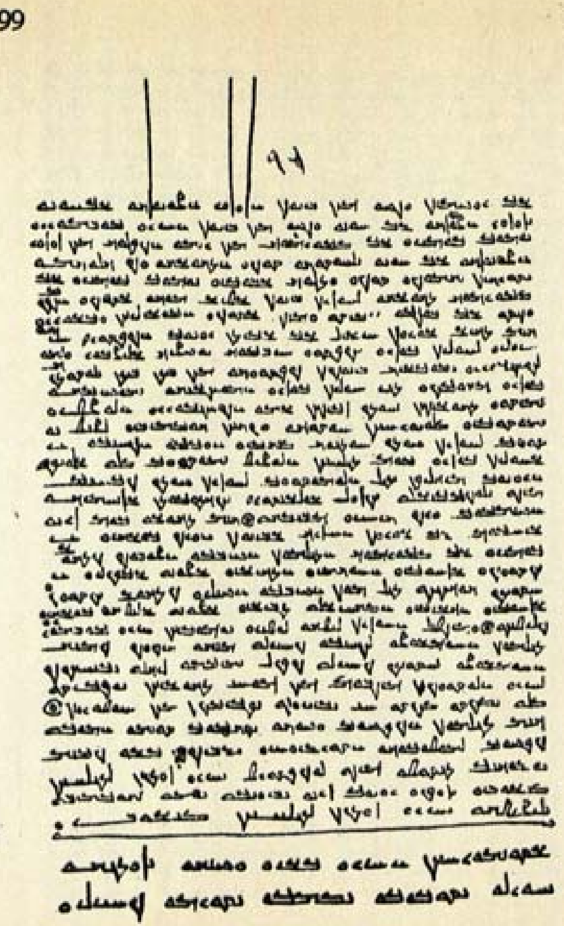
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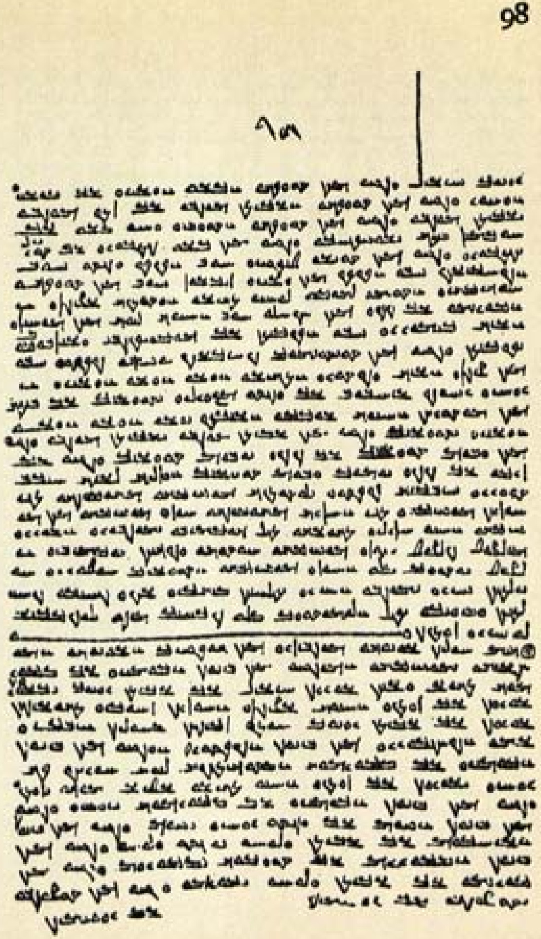
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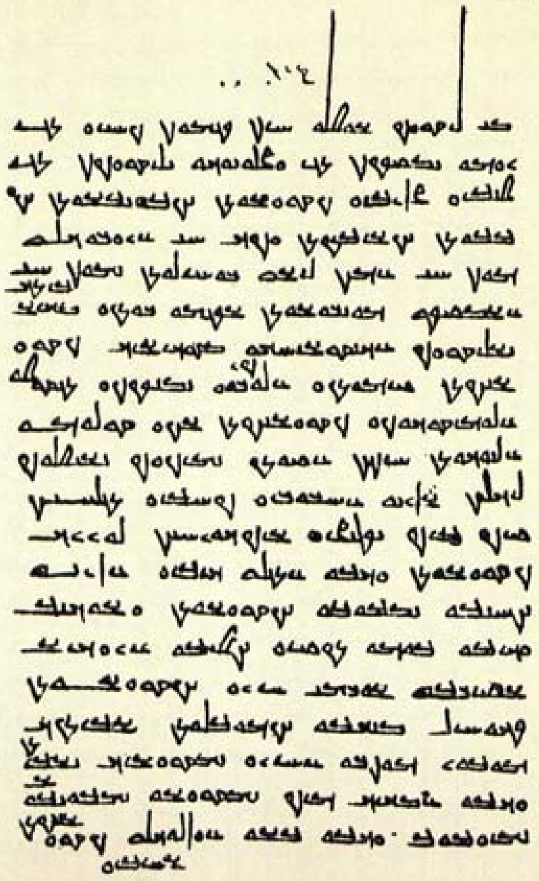
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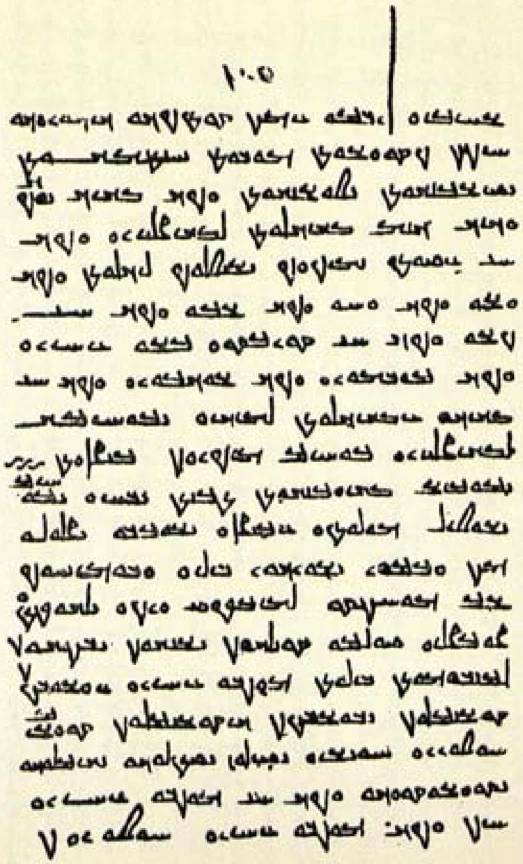
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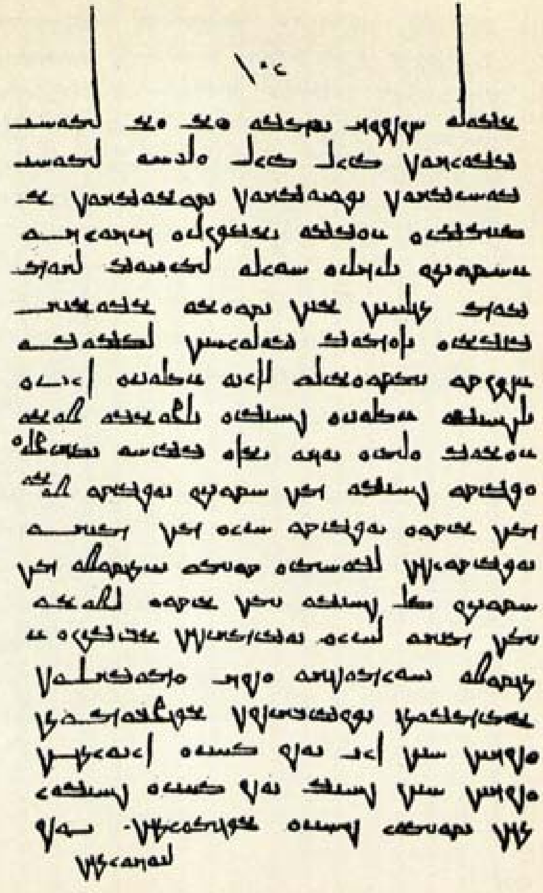

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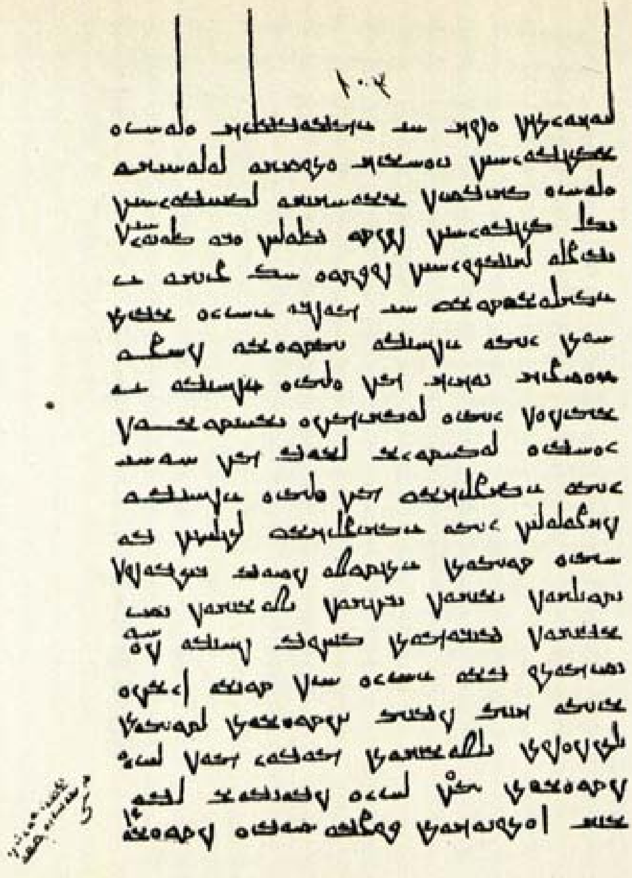

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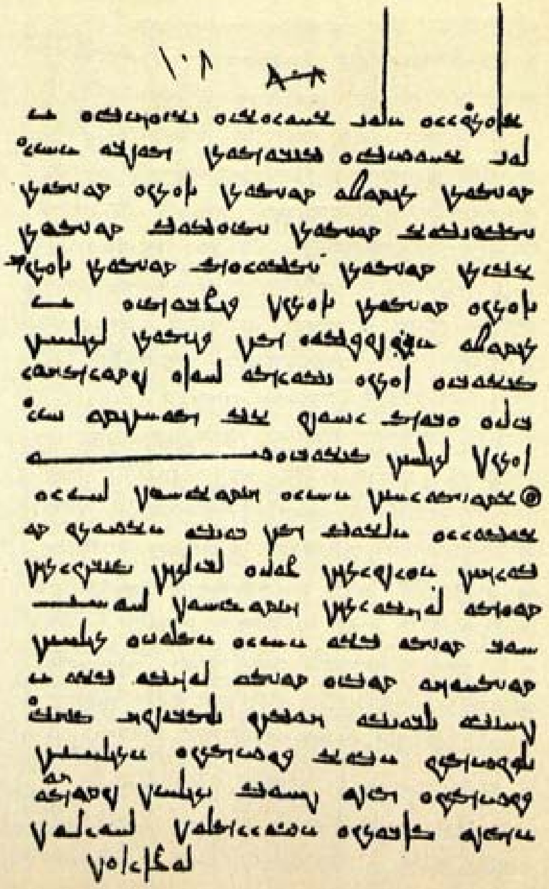

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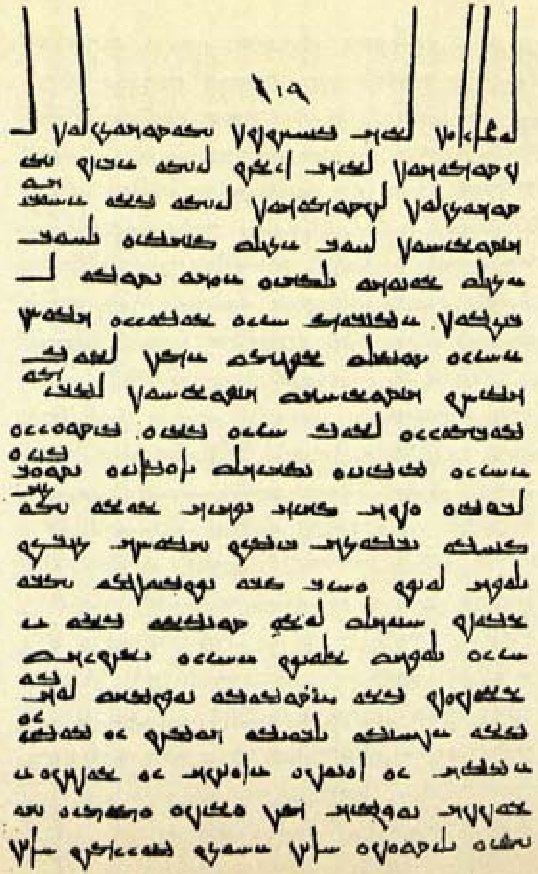

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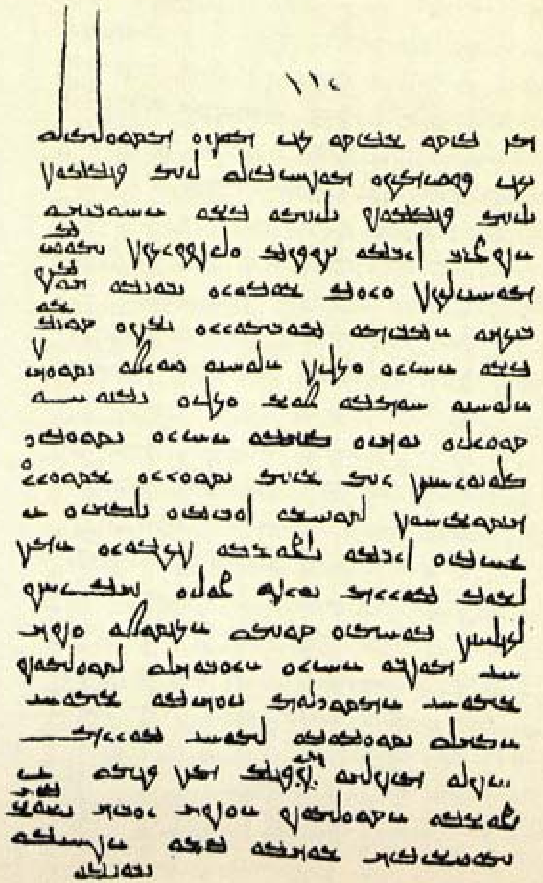

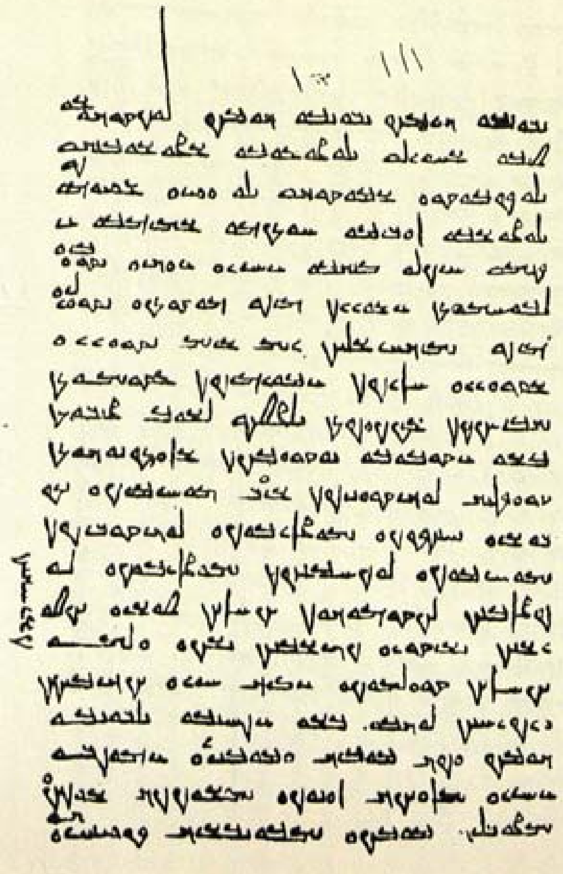

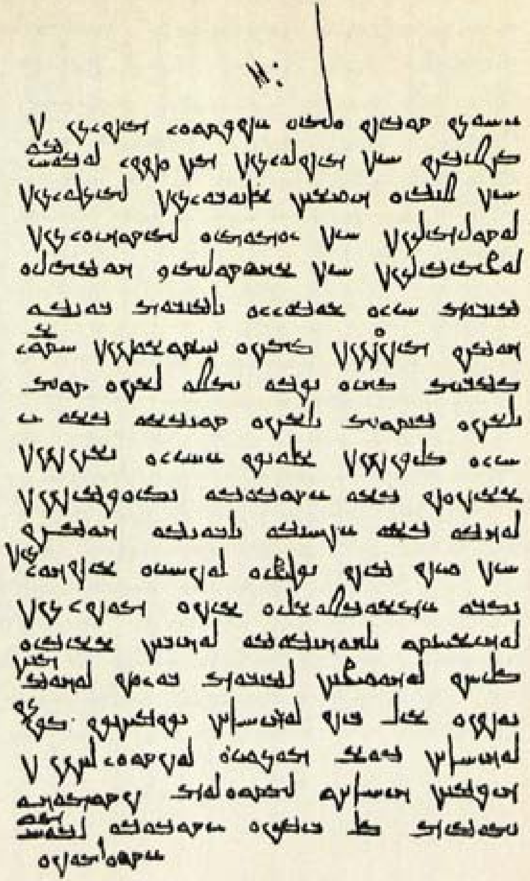

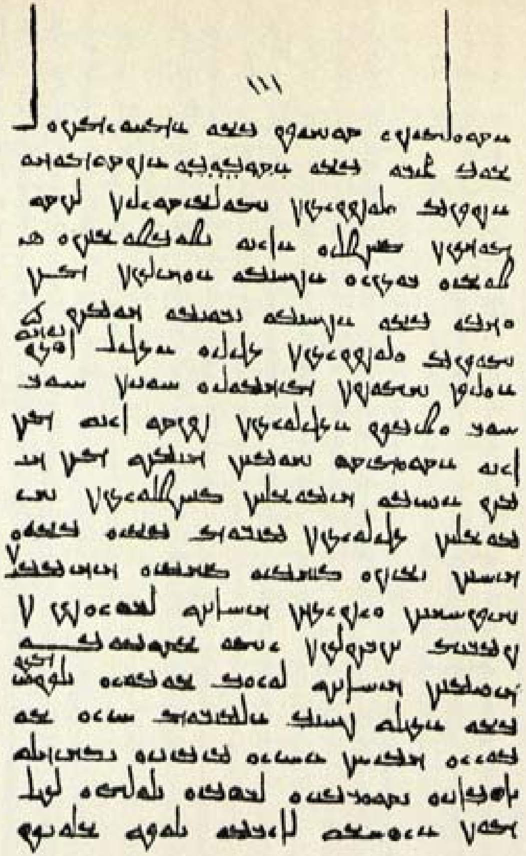

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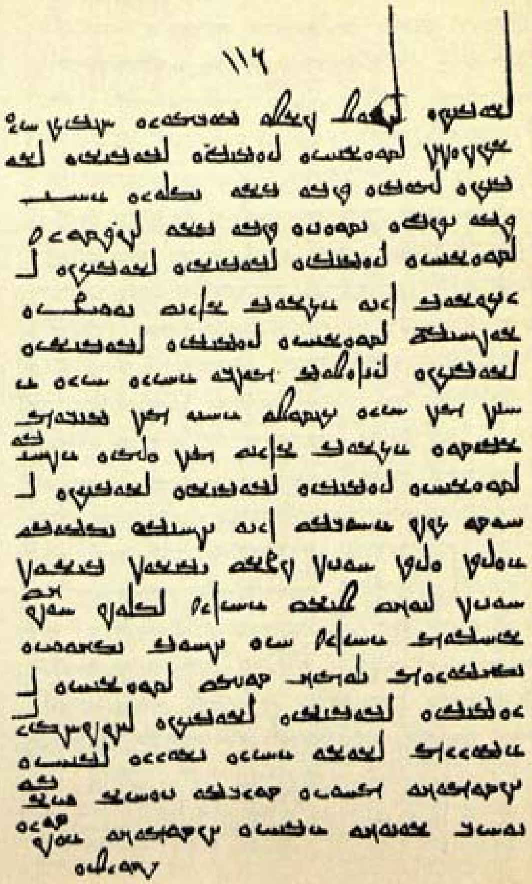

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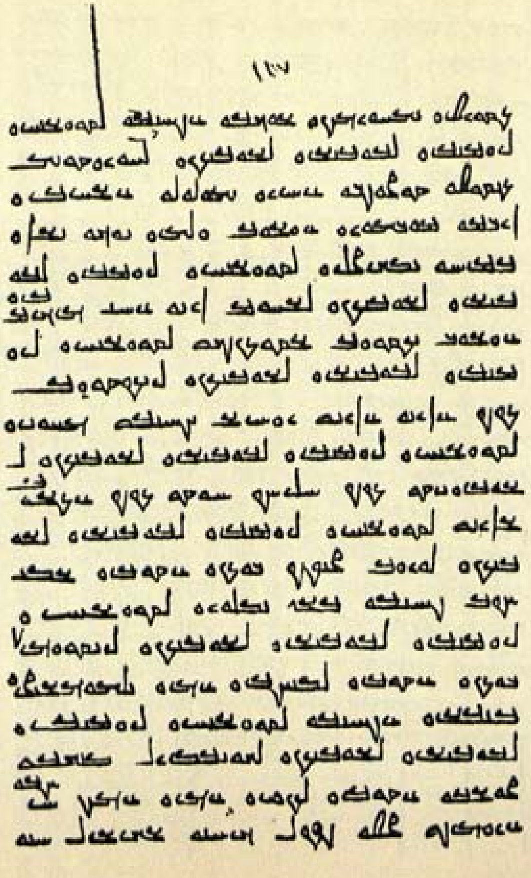

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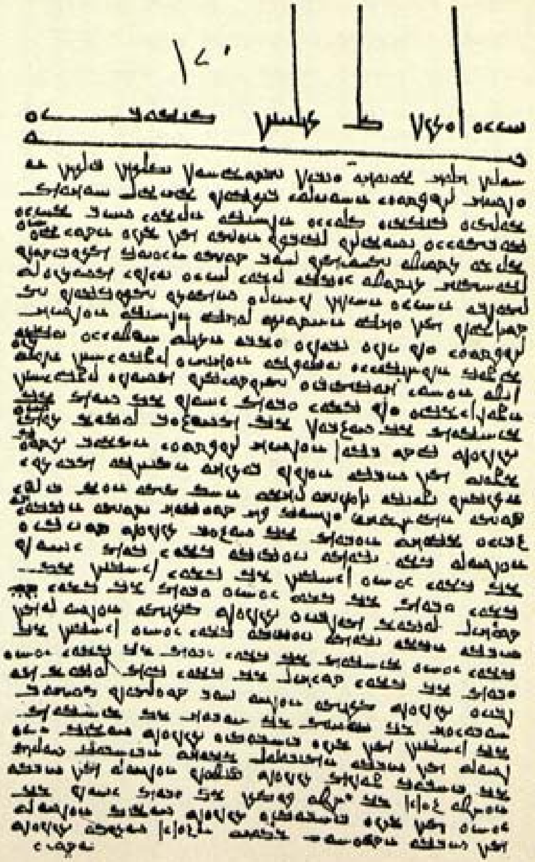

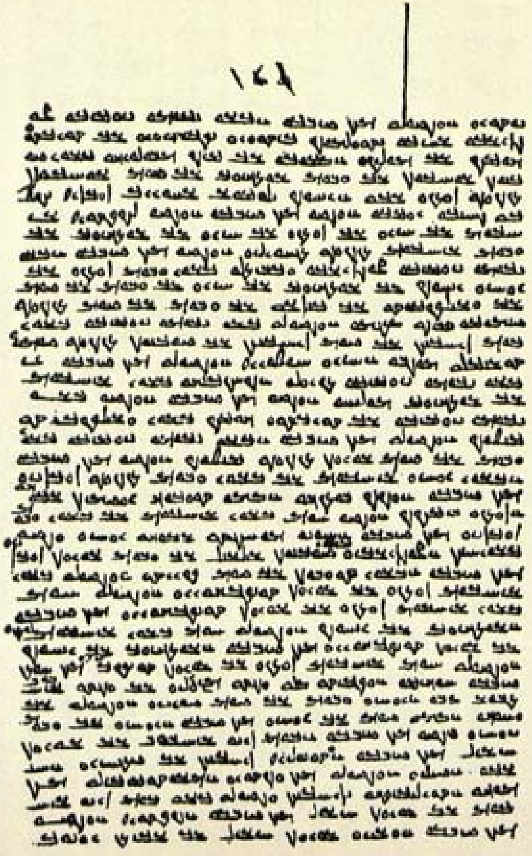

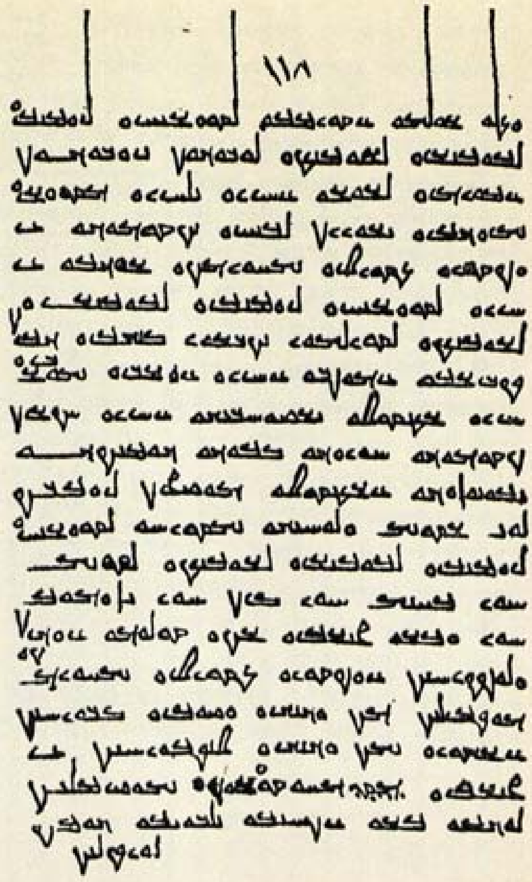
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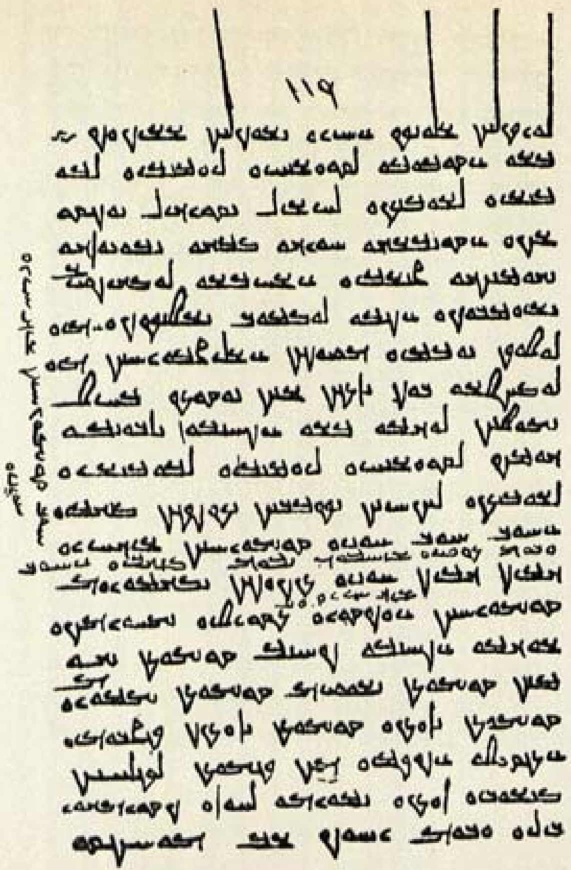
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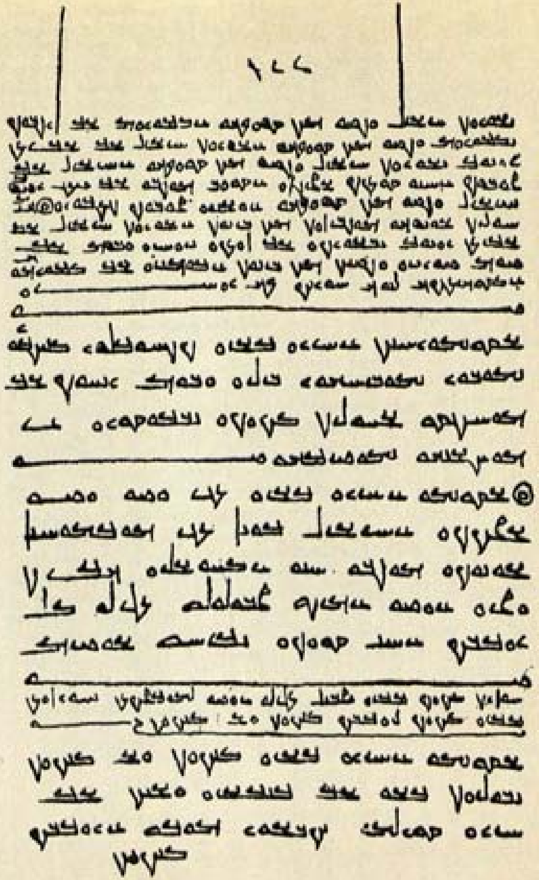

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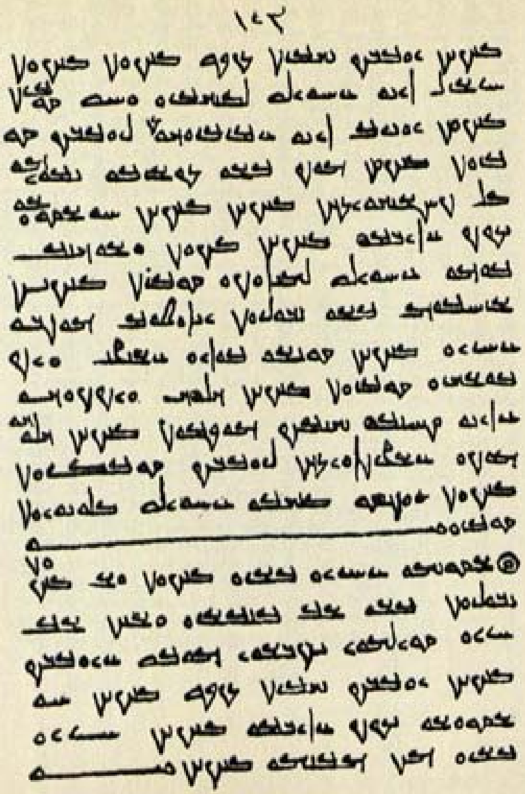

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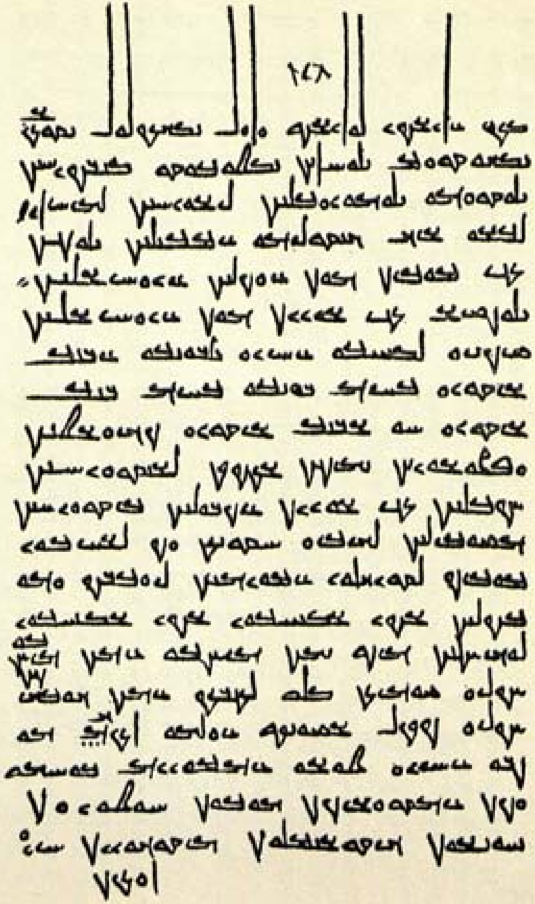

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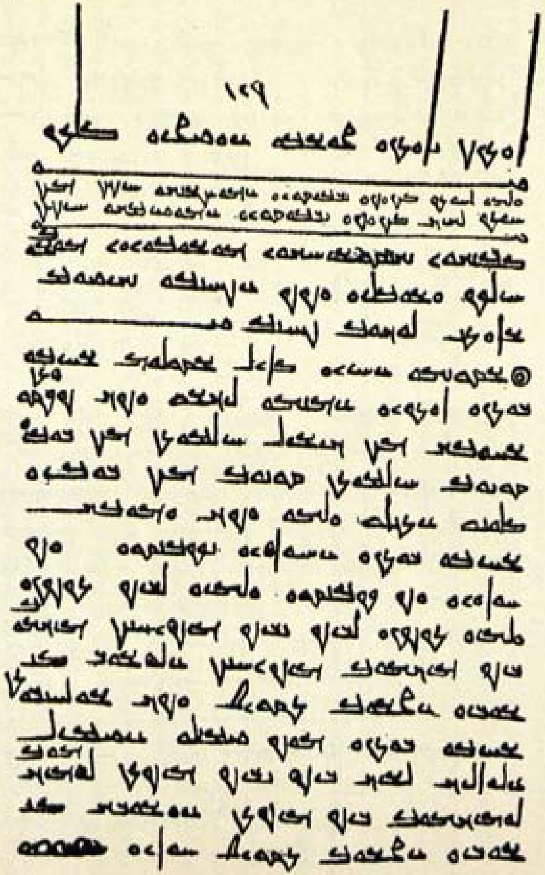

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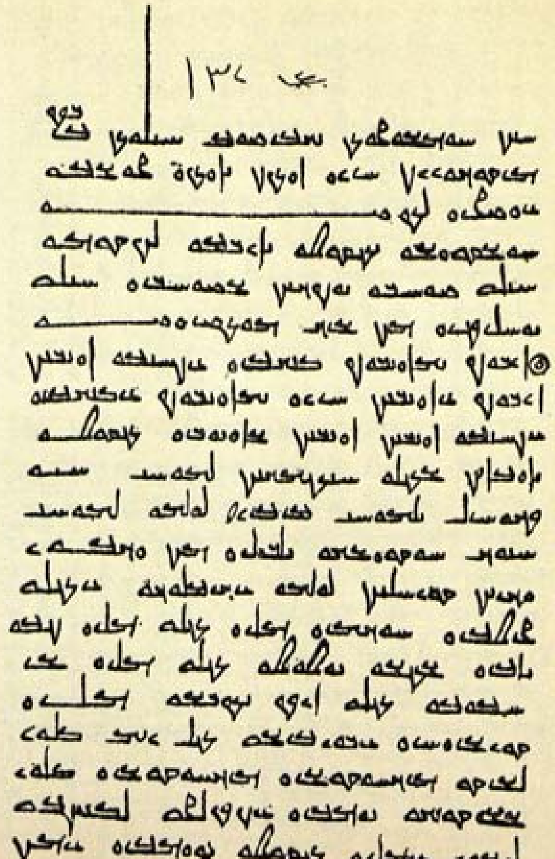

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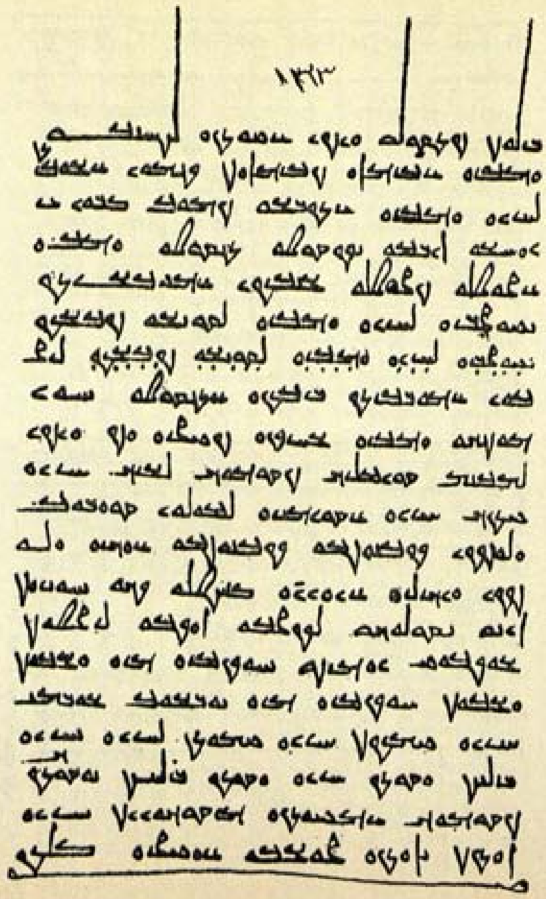

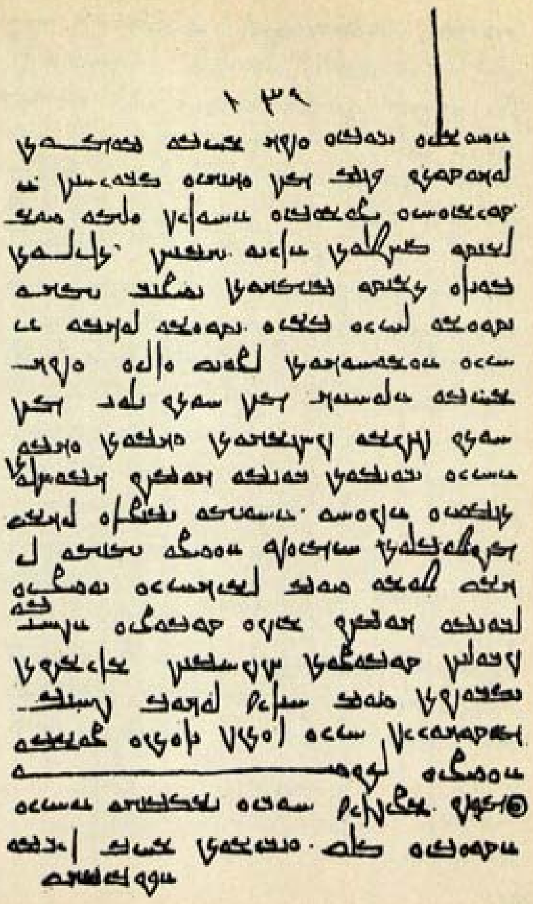

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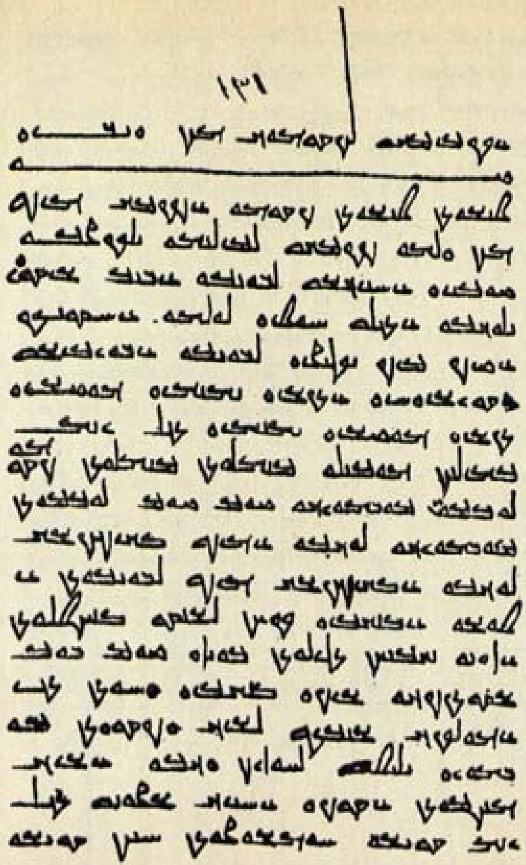

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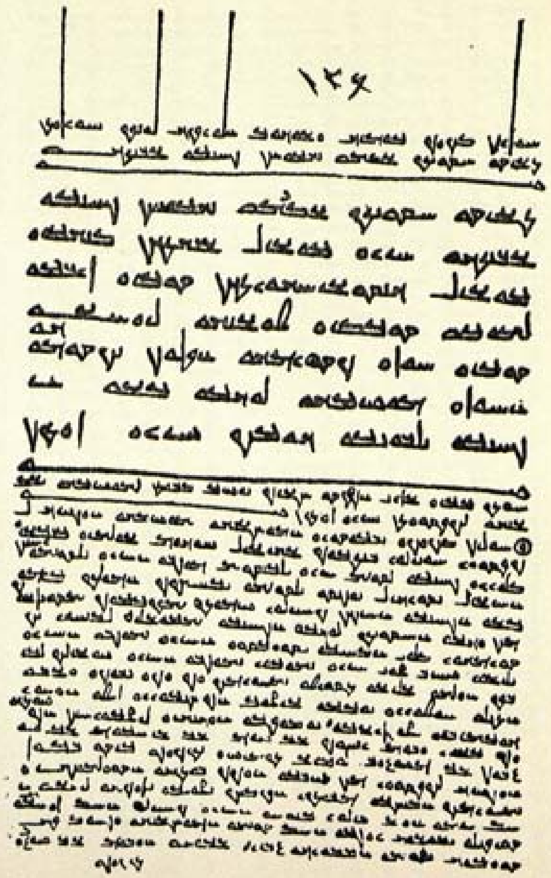

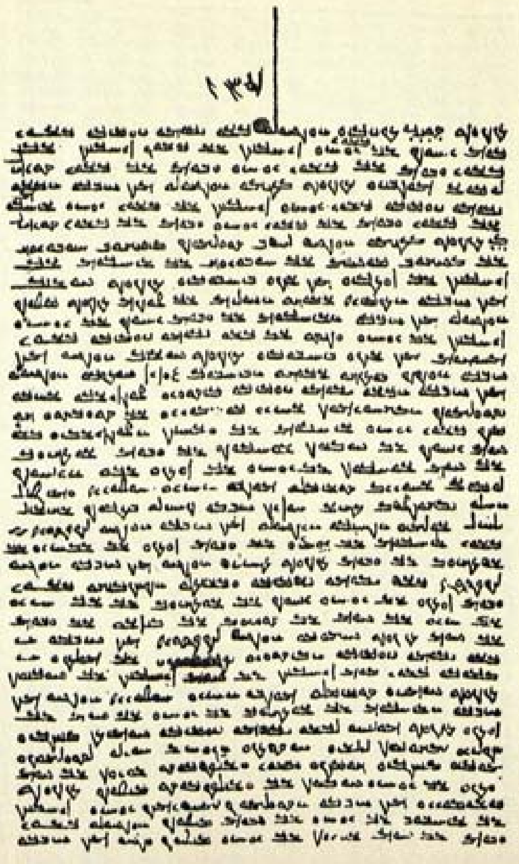

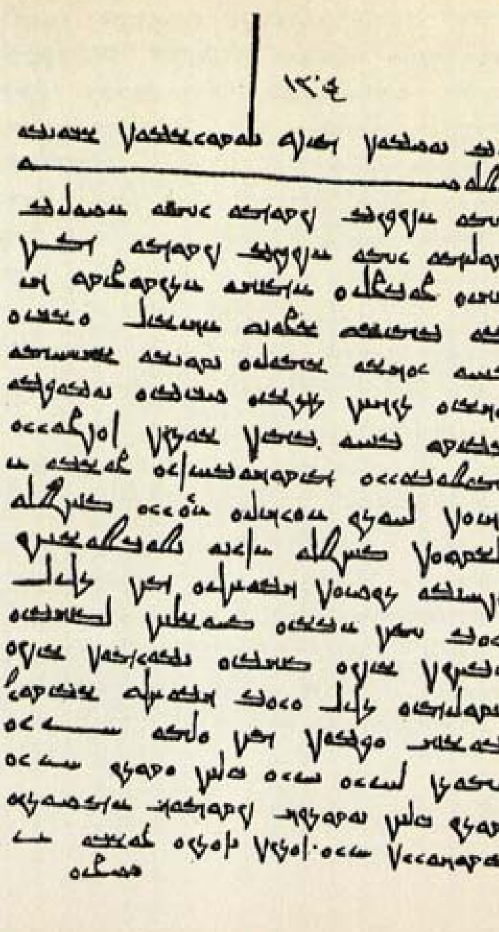

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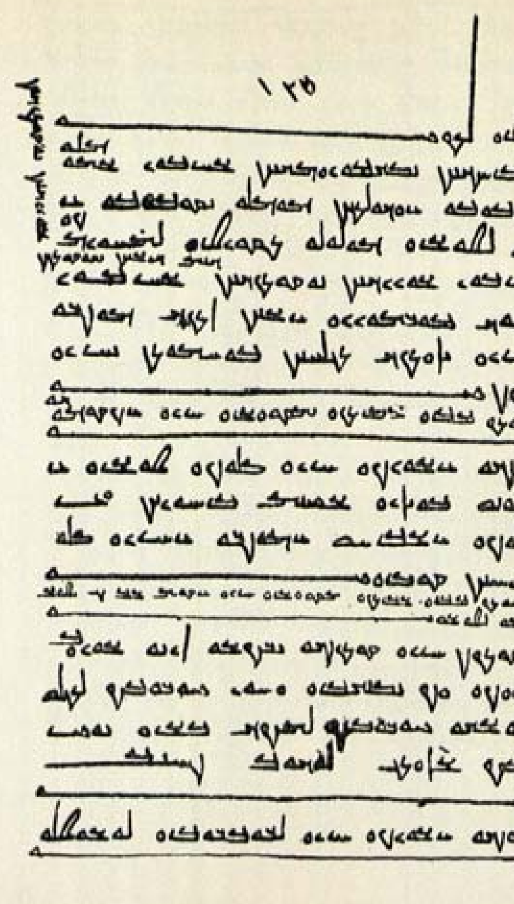

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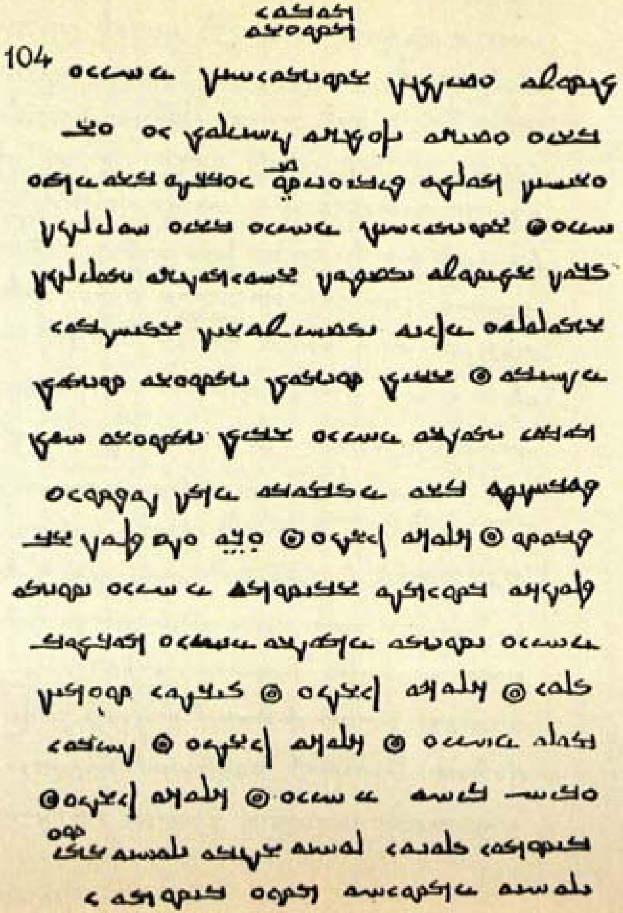

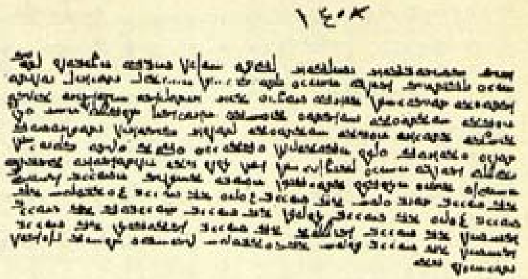

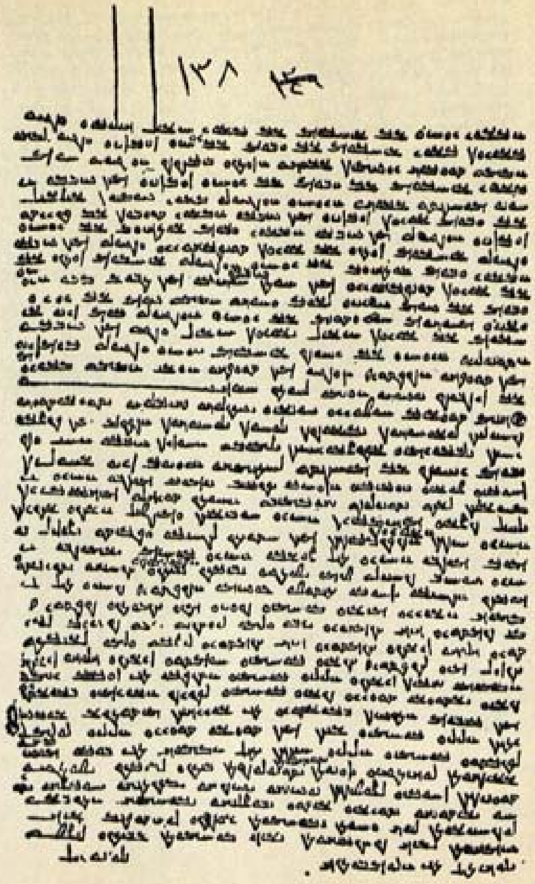

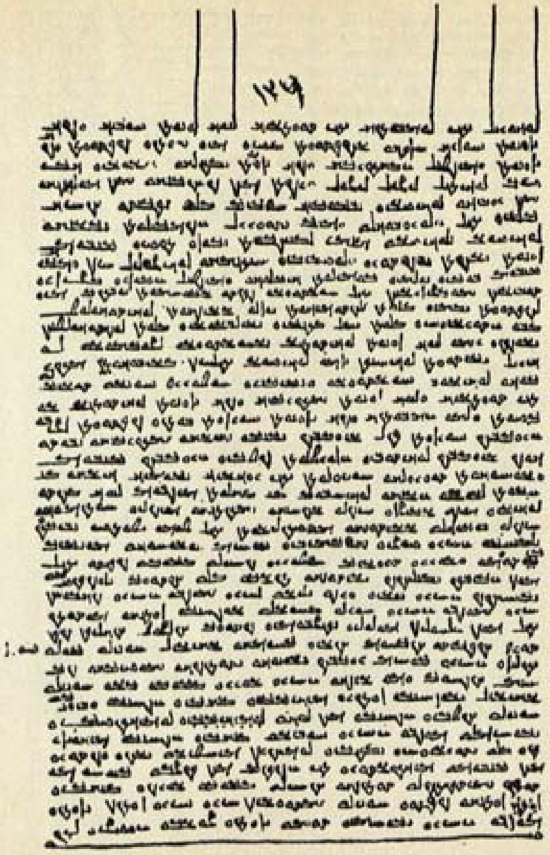

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p. 148)

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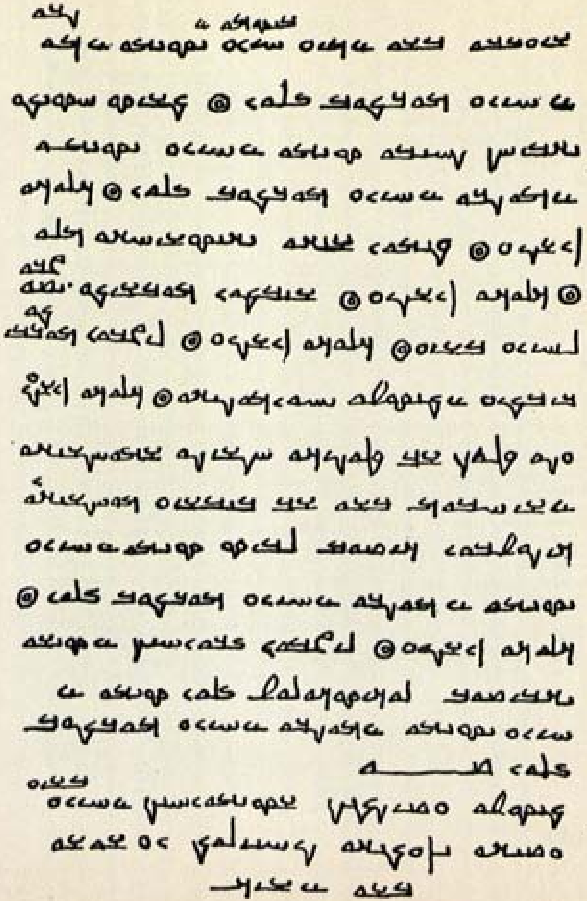

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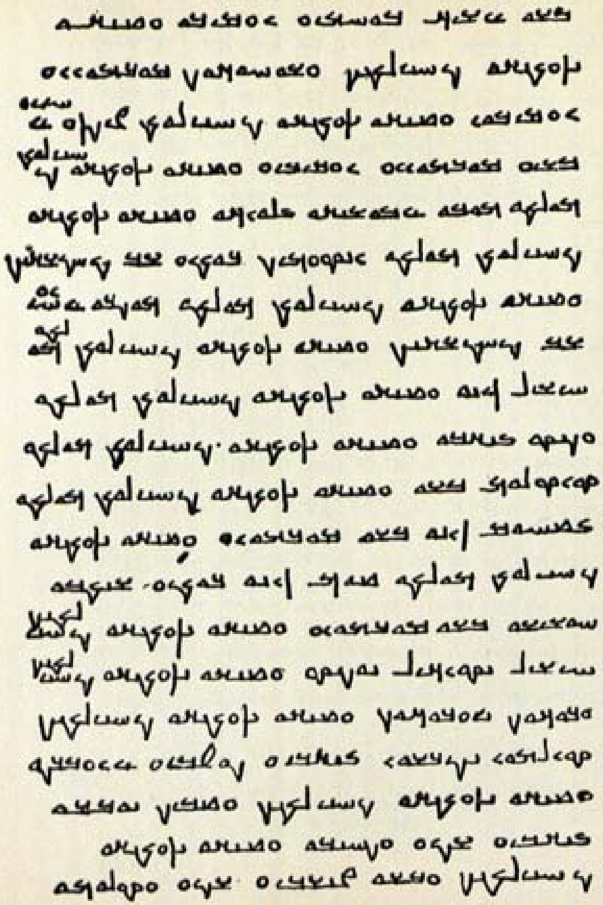

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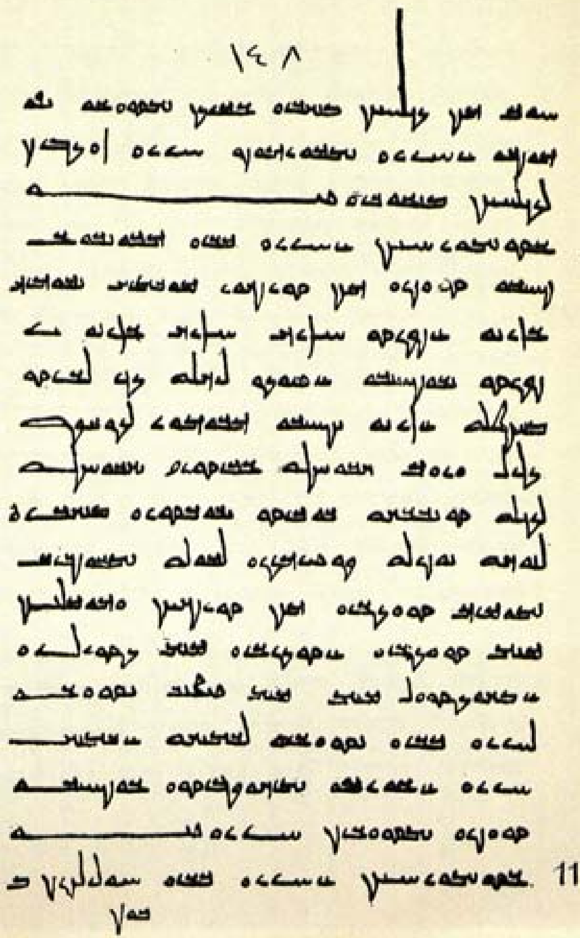

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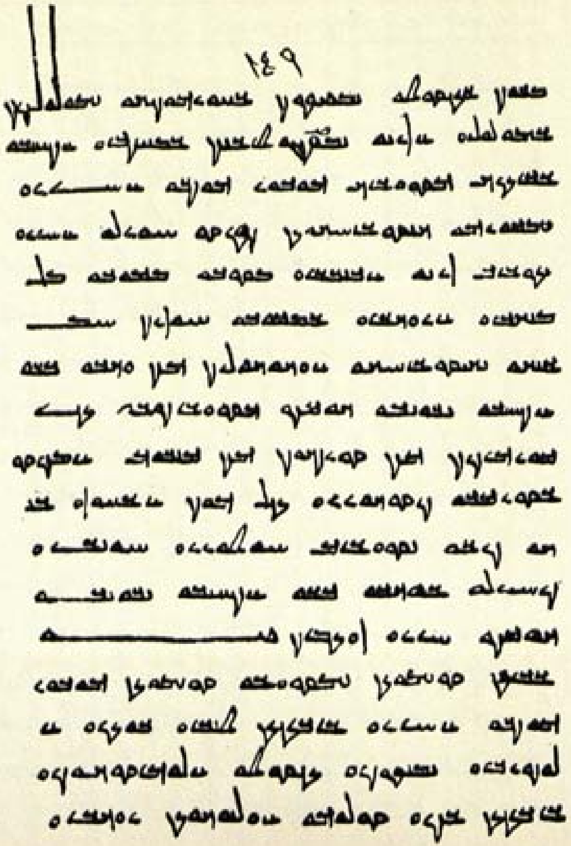

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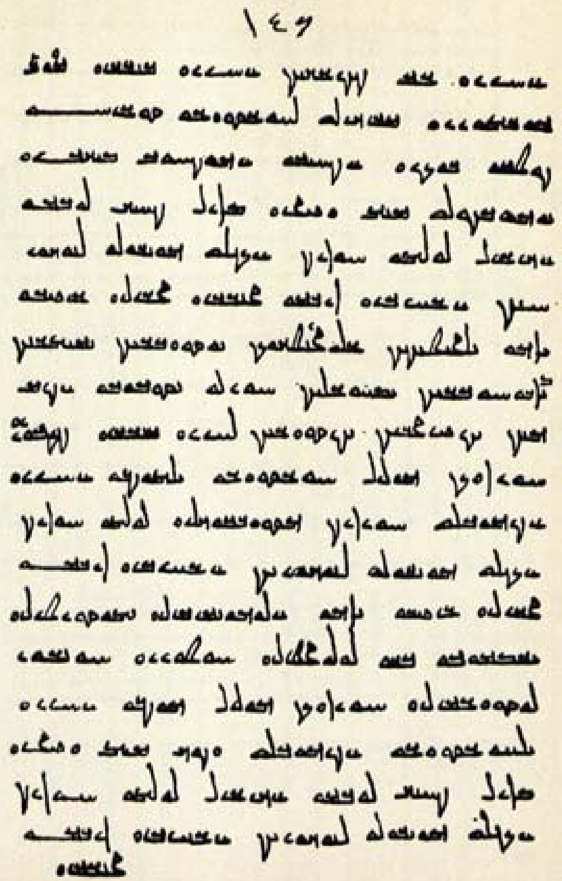

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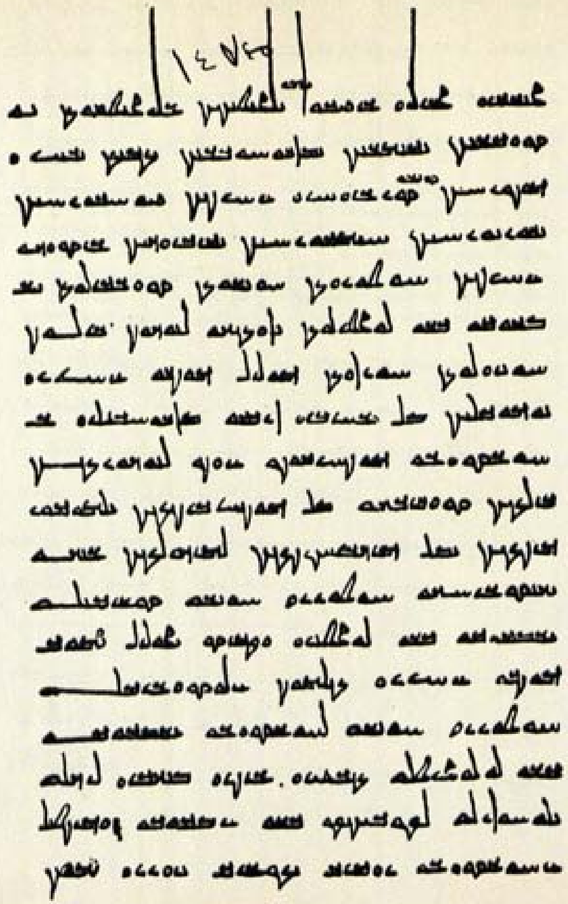

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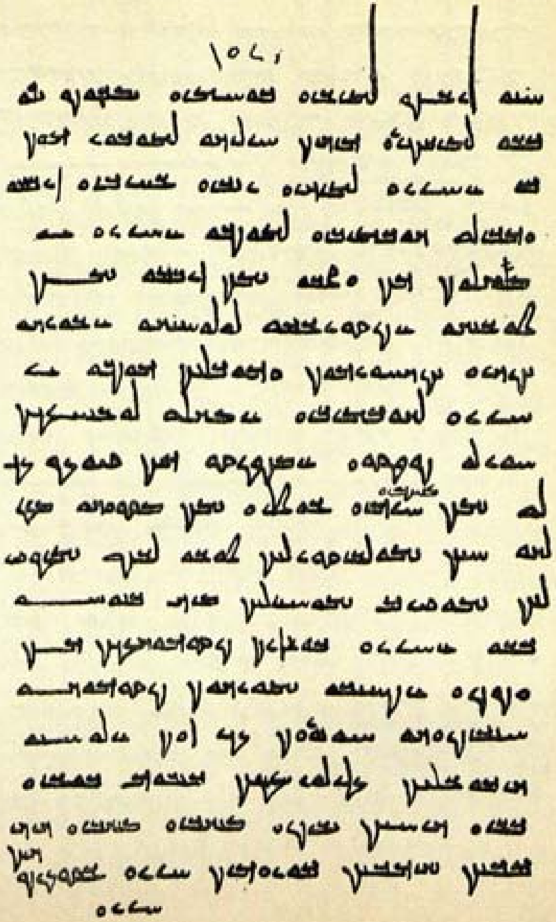

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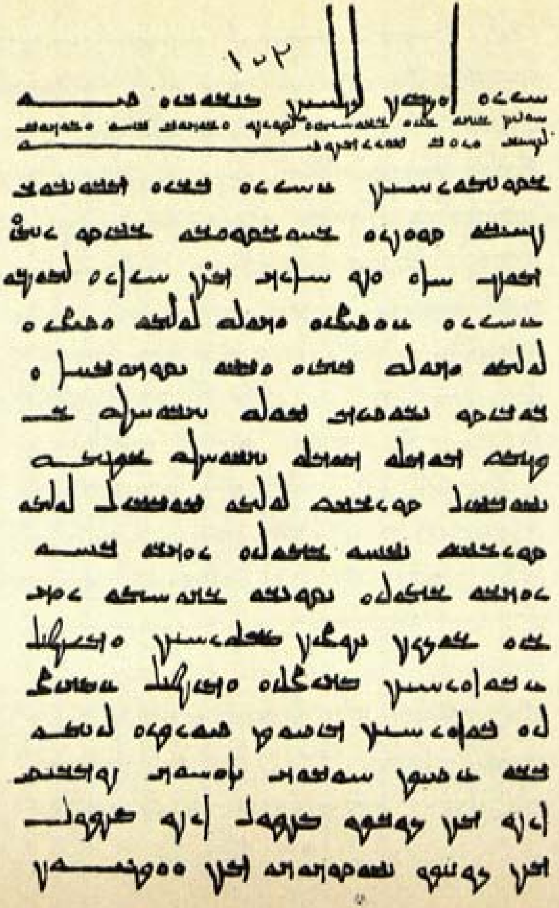

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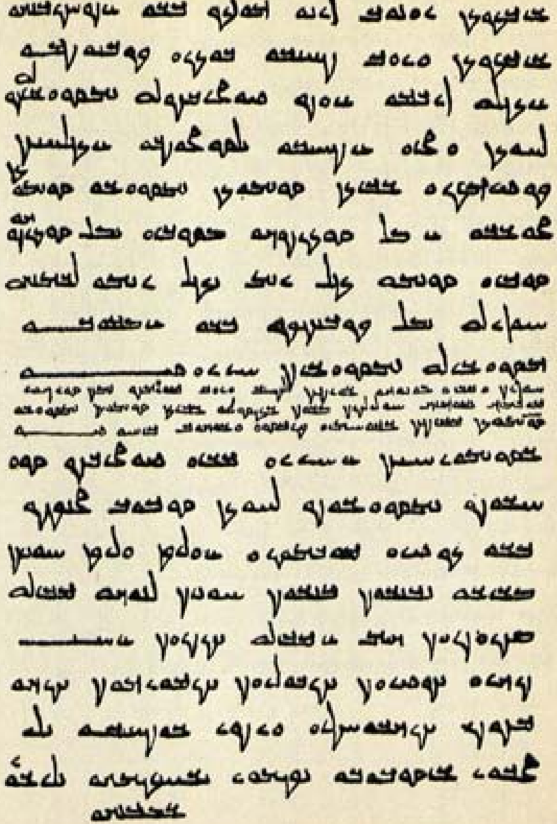

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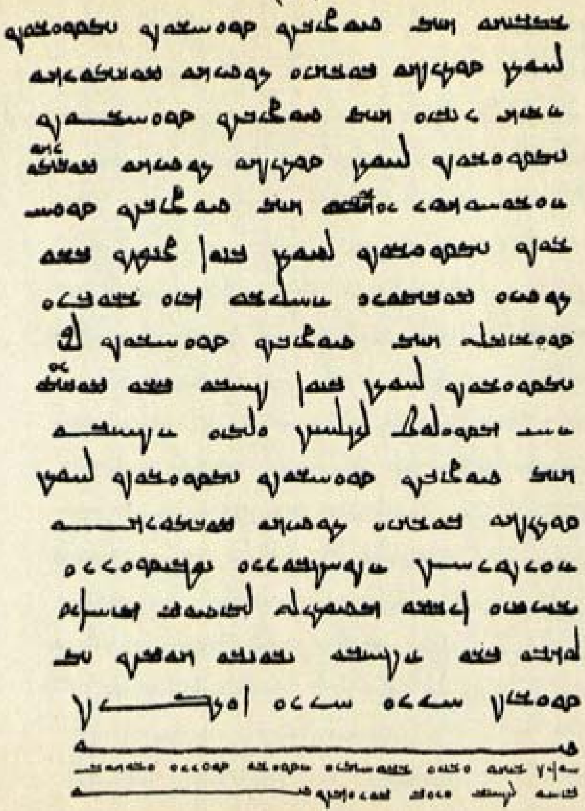

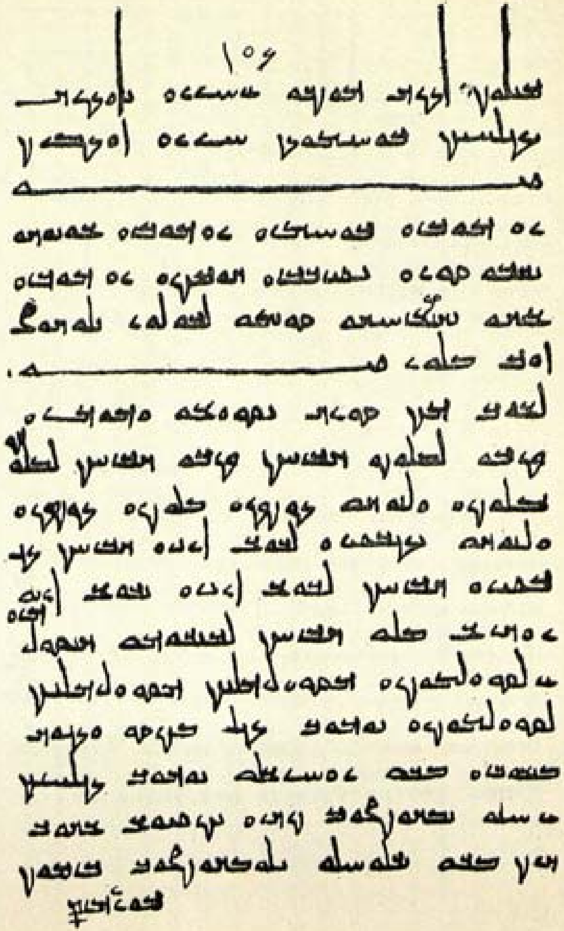

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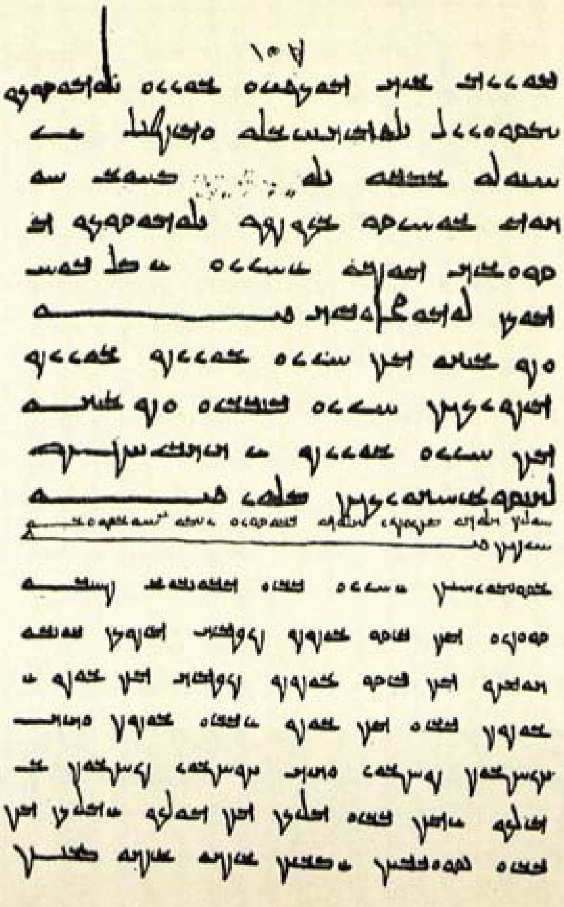

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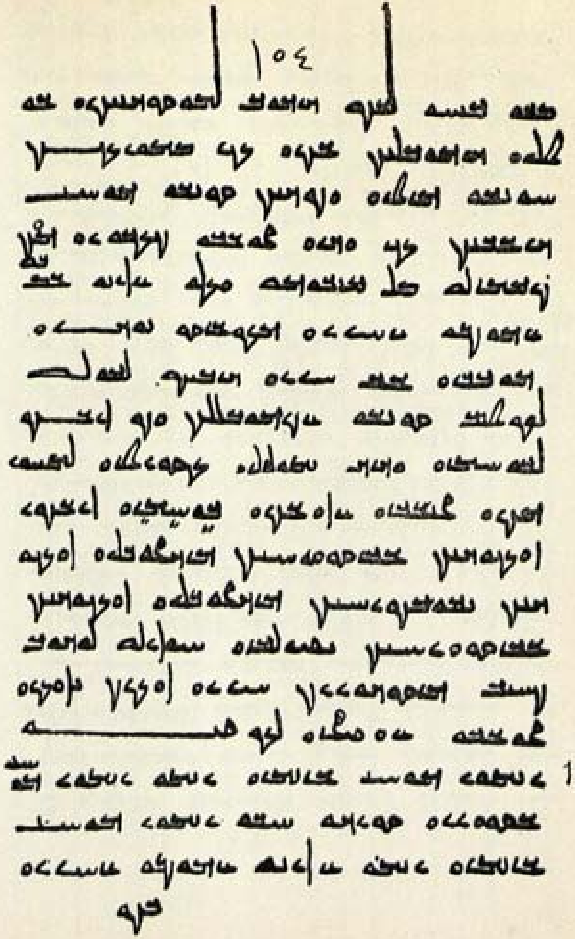

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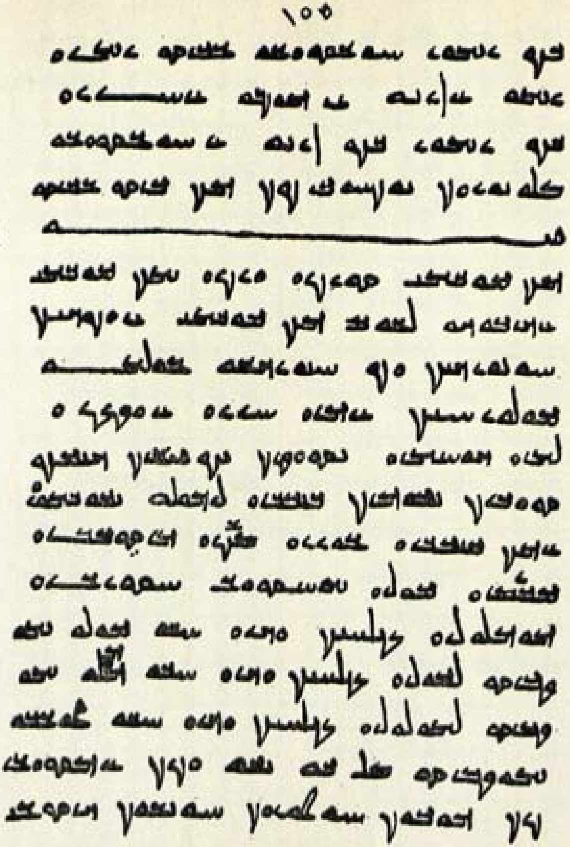

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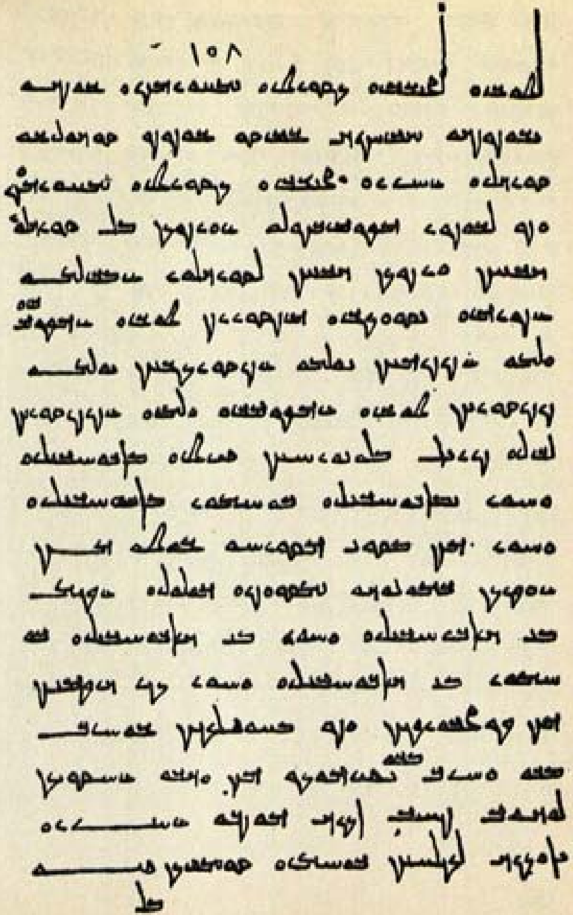

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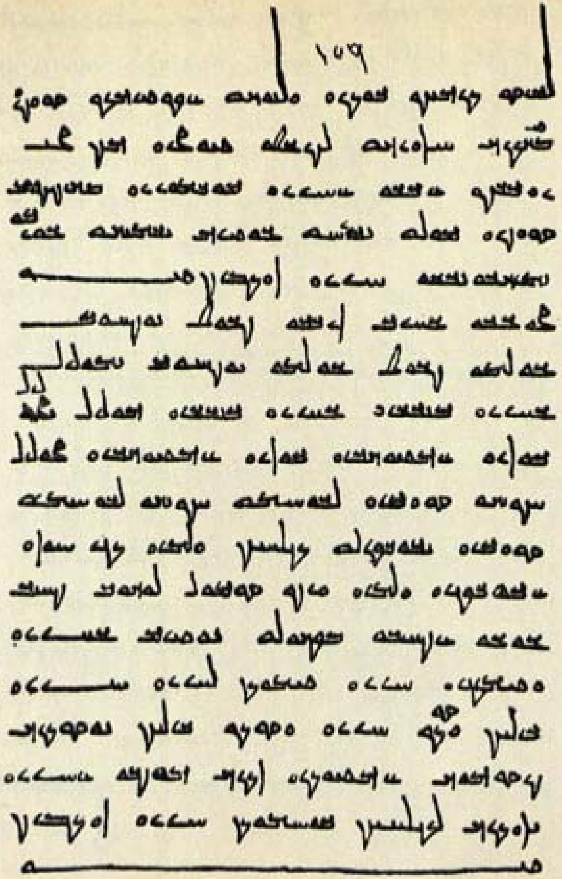

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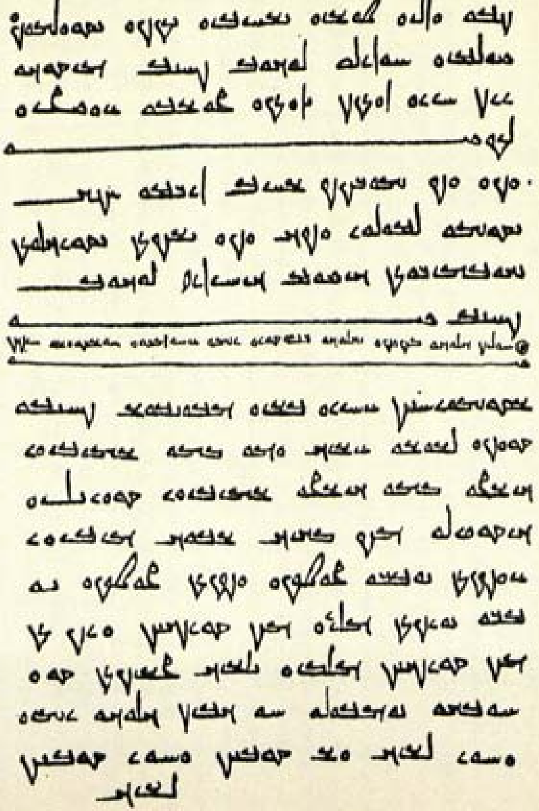

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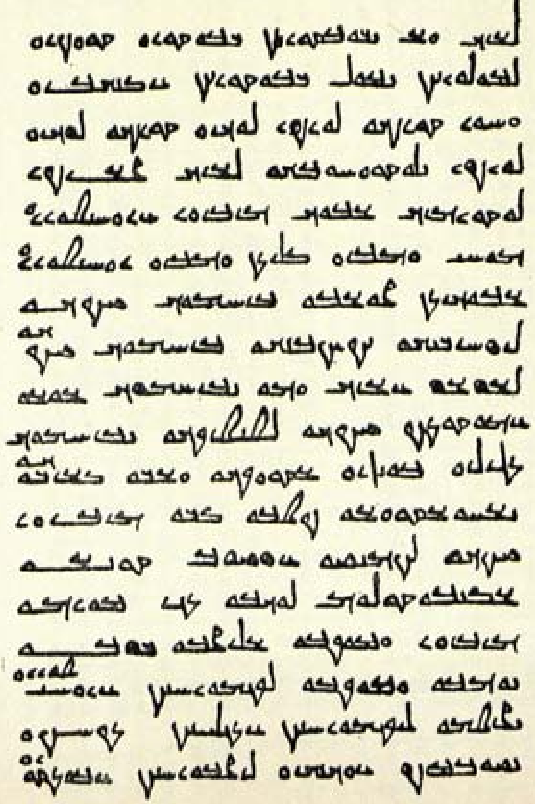

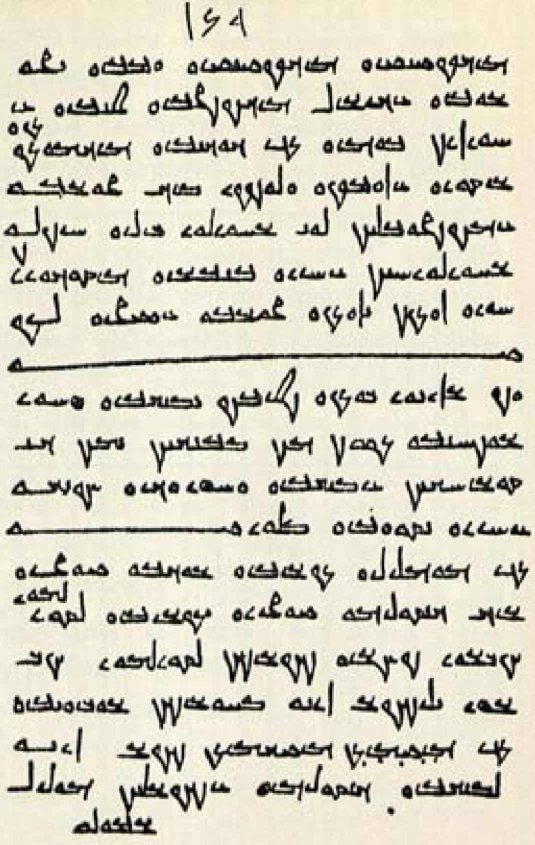

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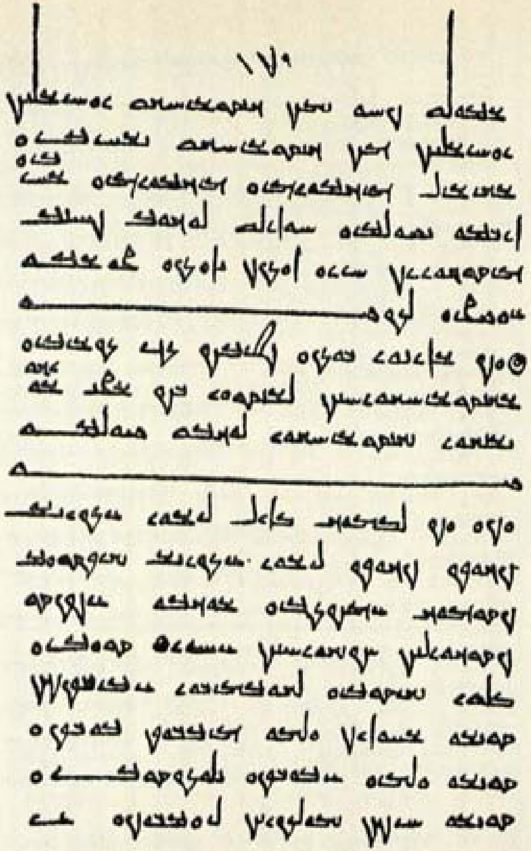

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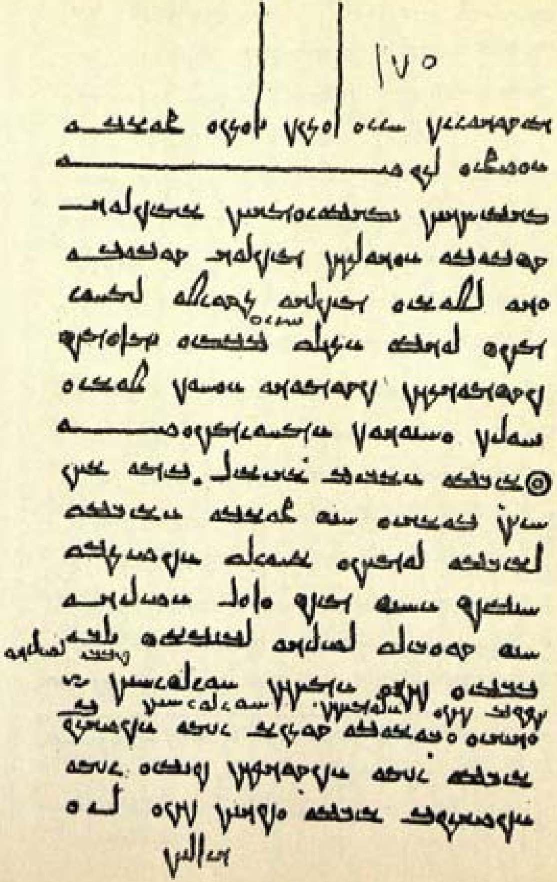

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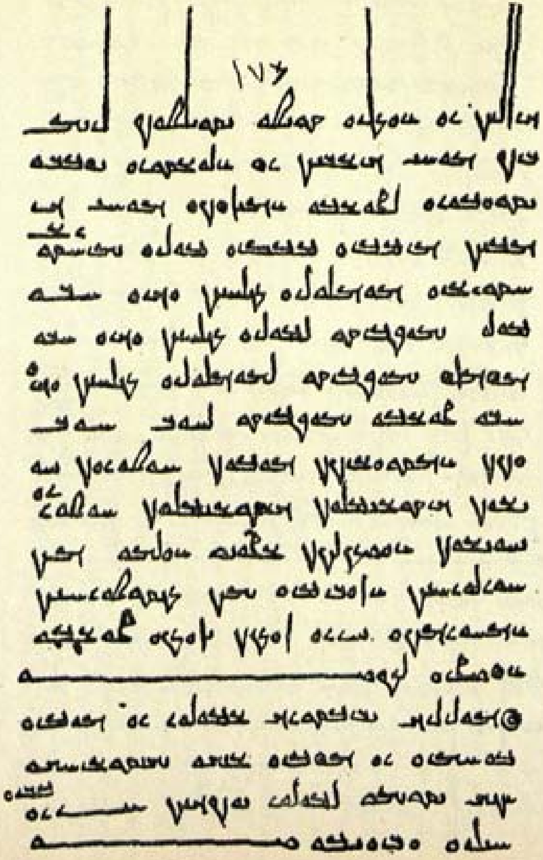

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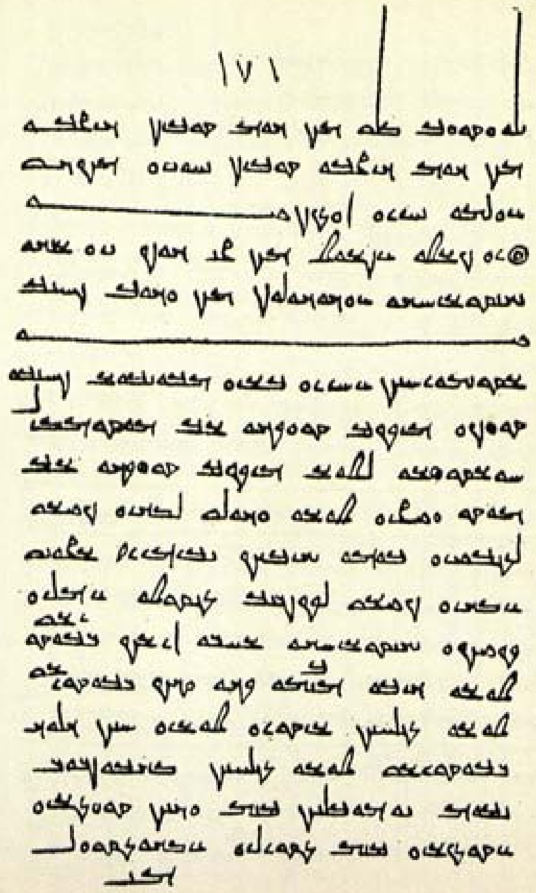

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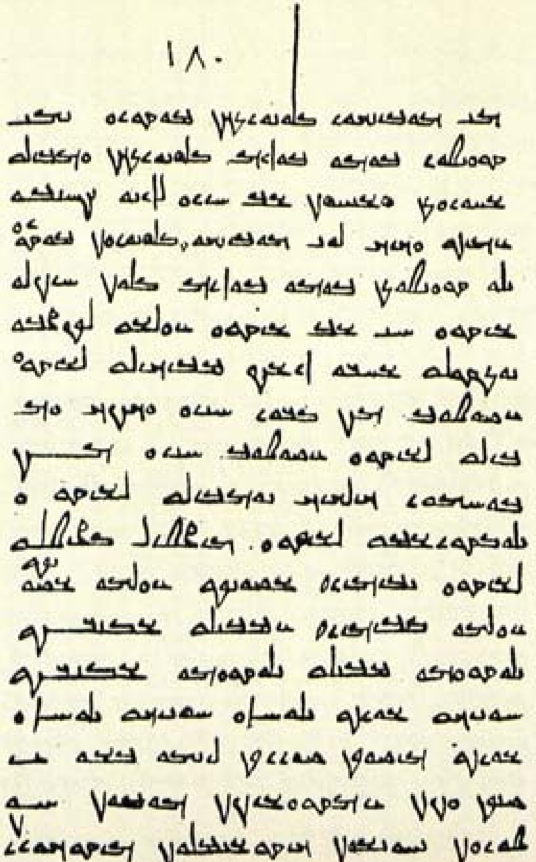

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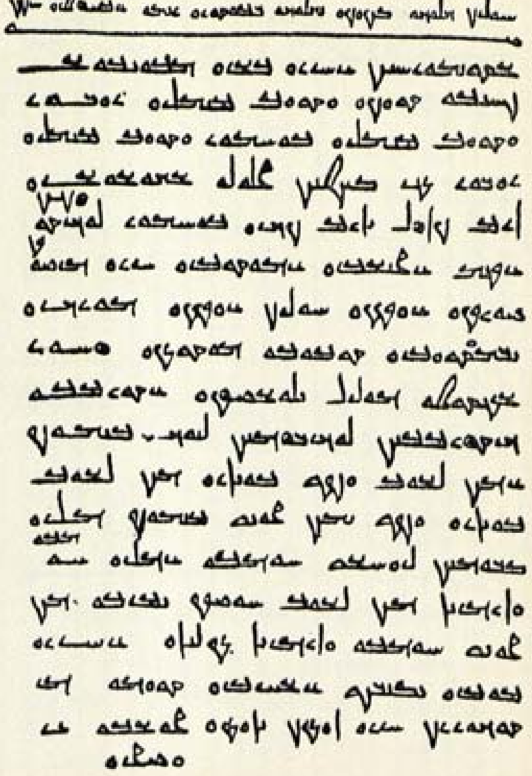

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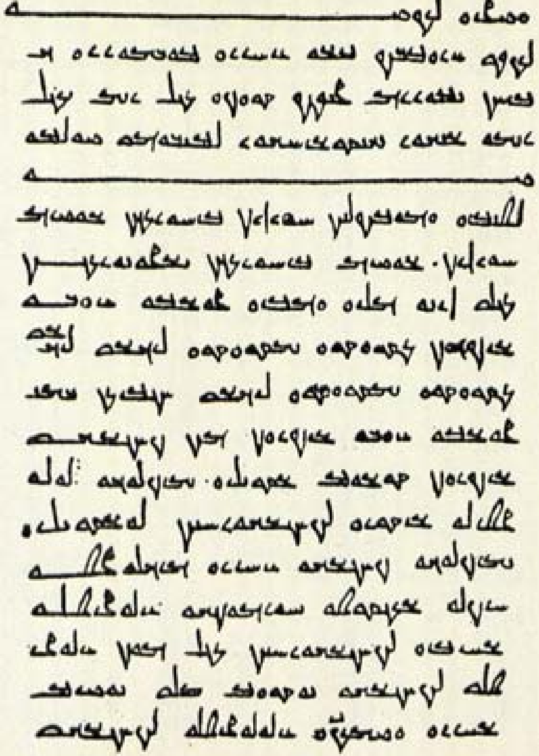

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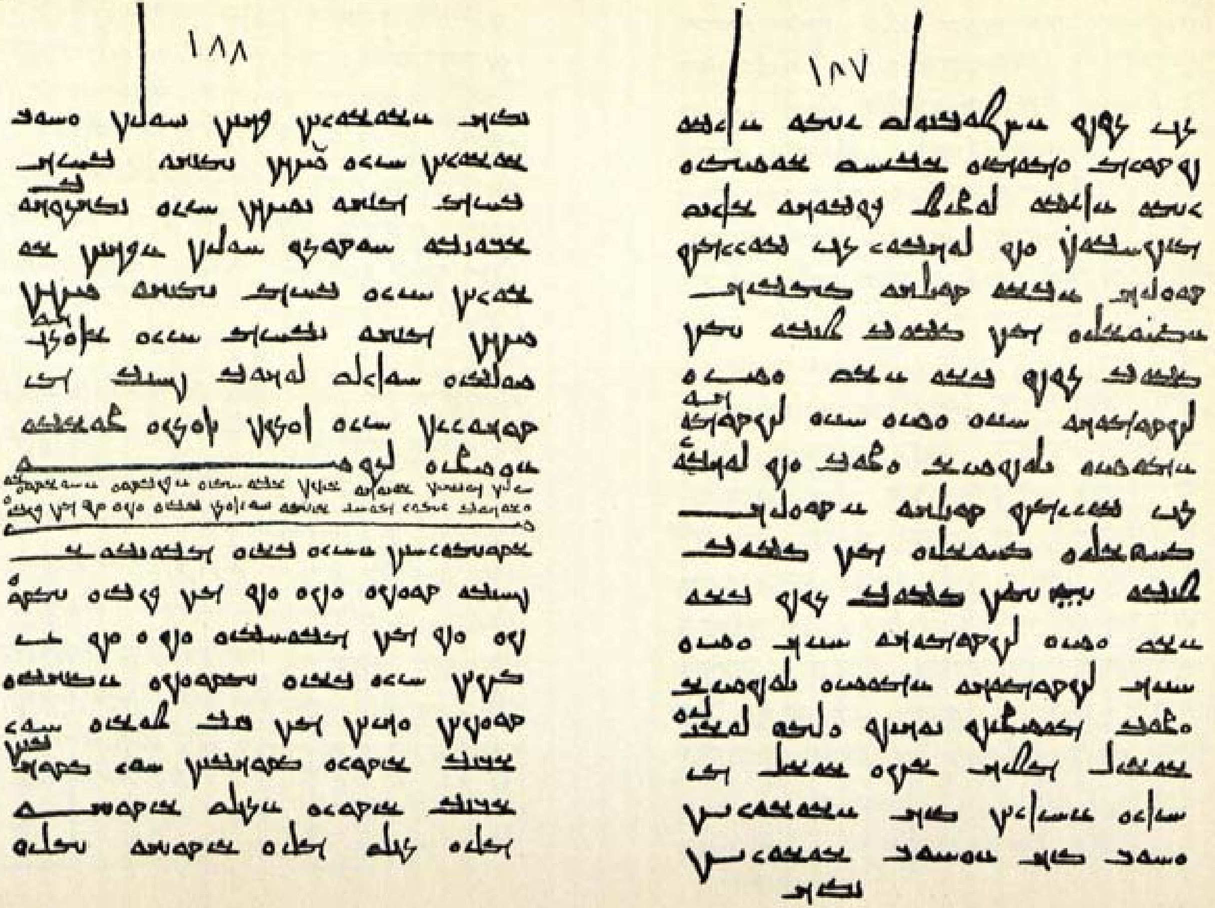

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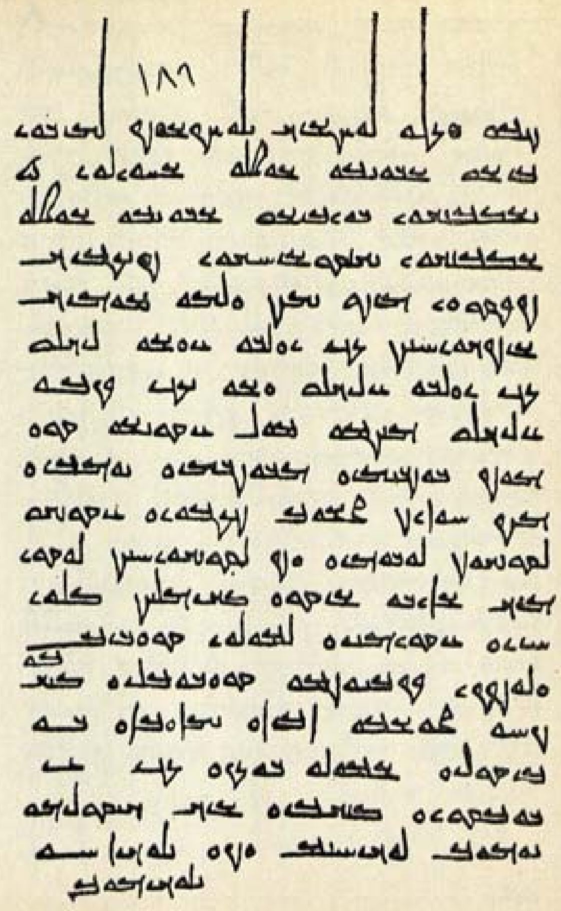
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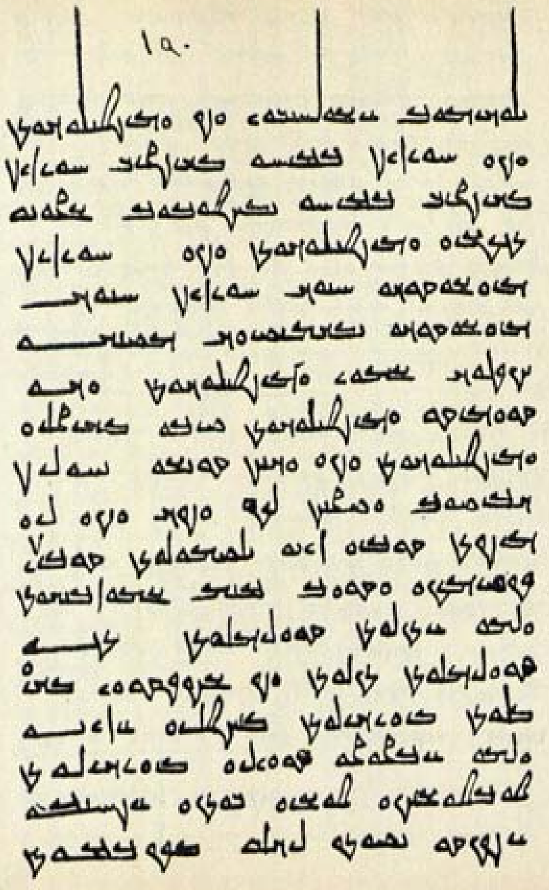
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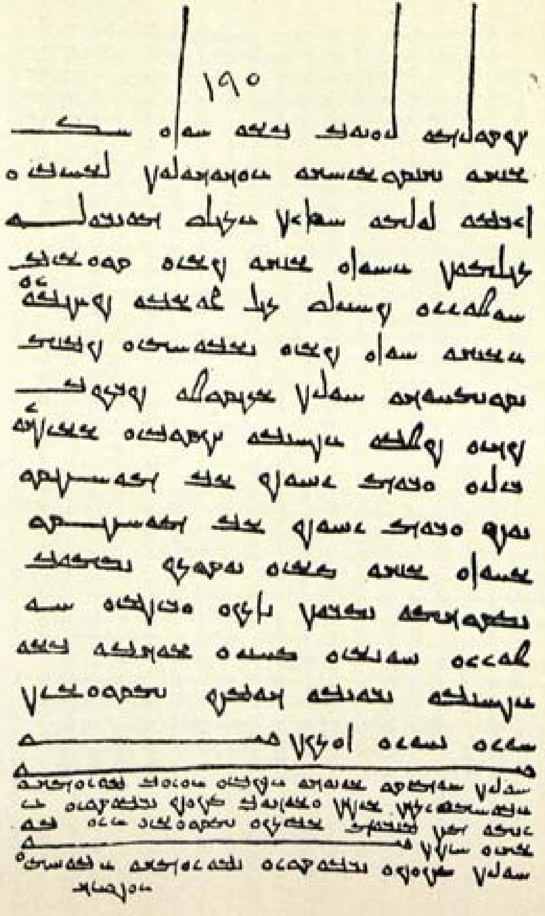
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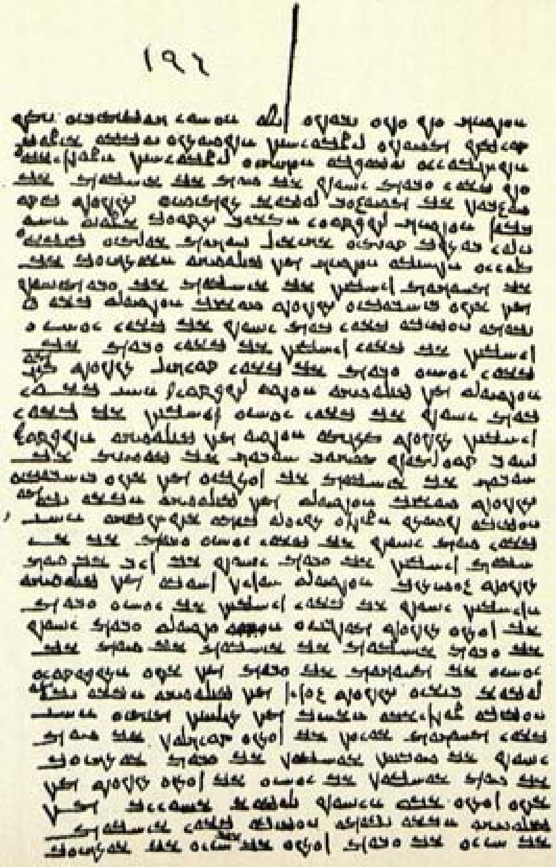
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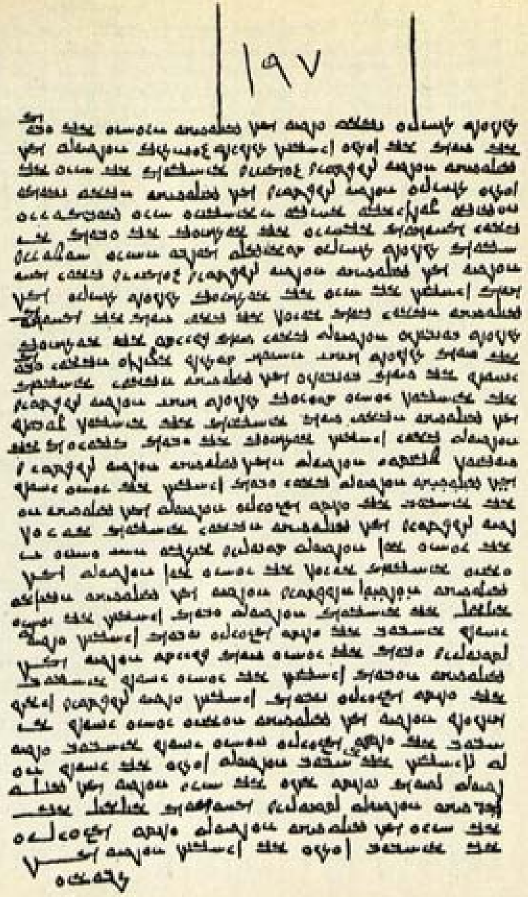

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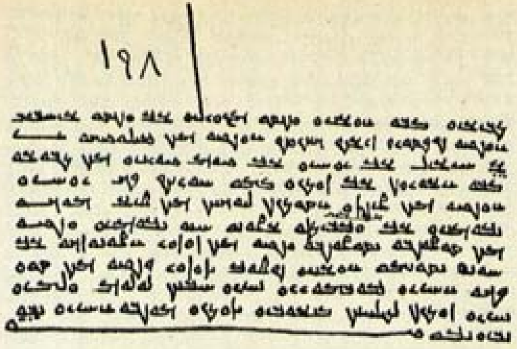

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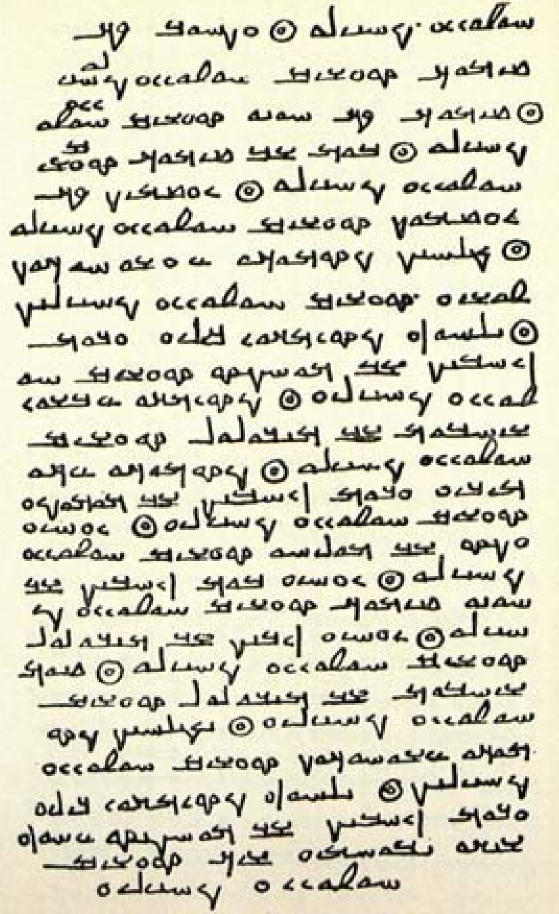

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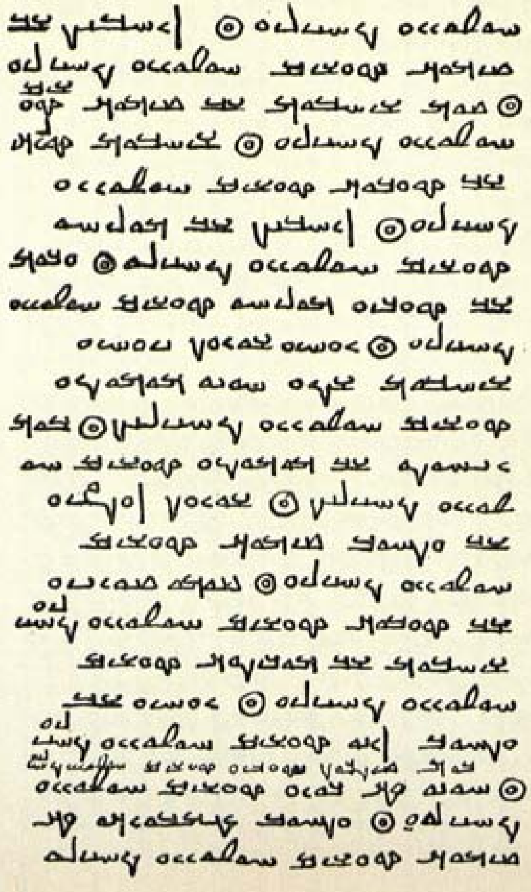

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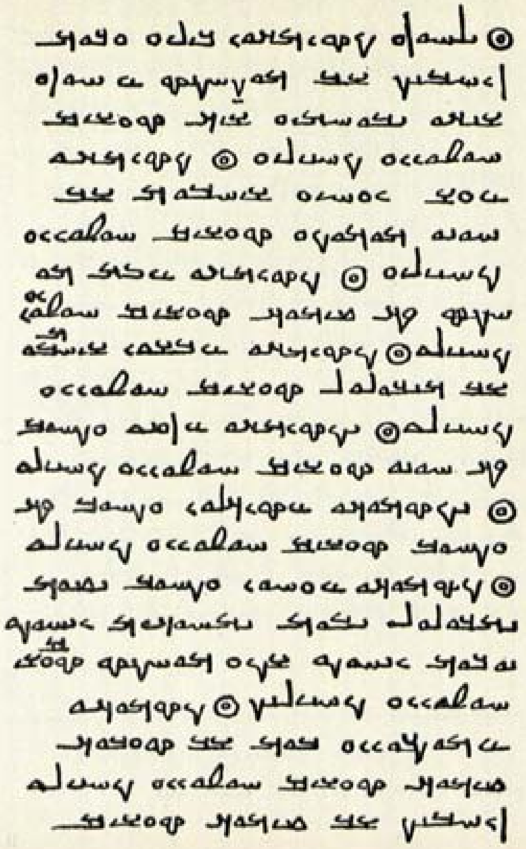

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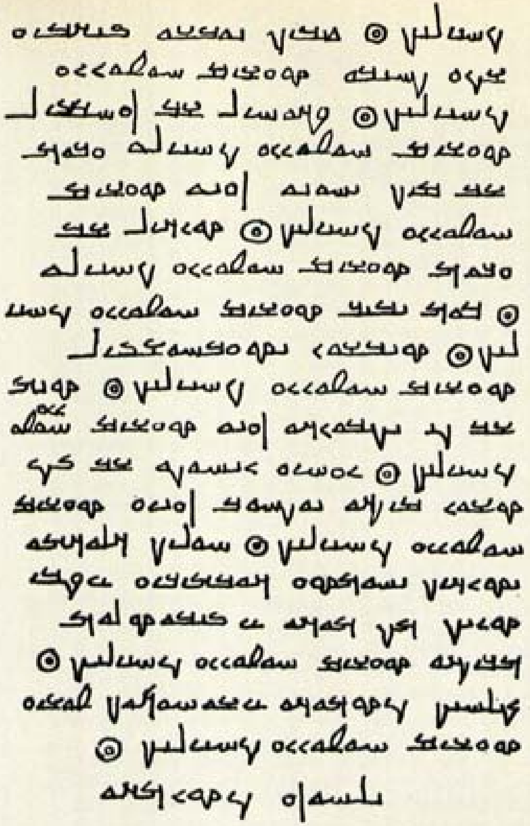

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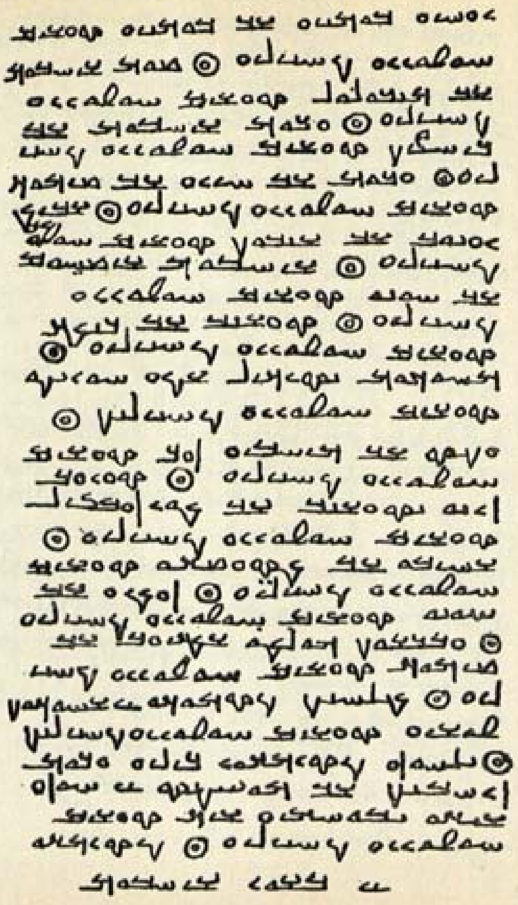

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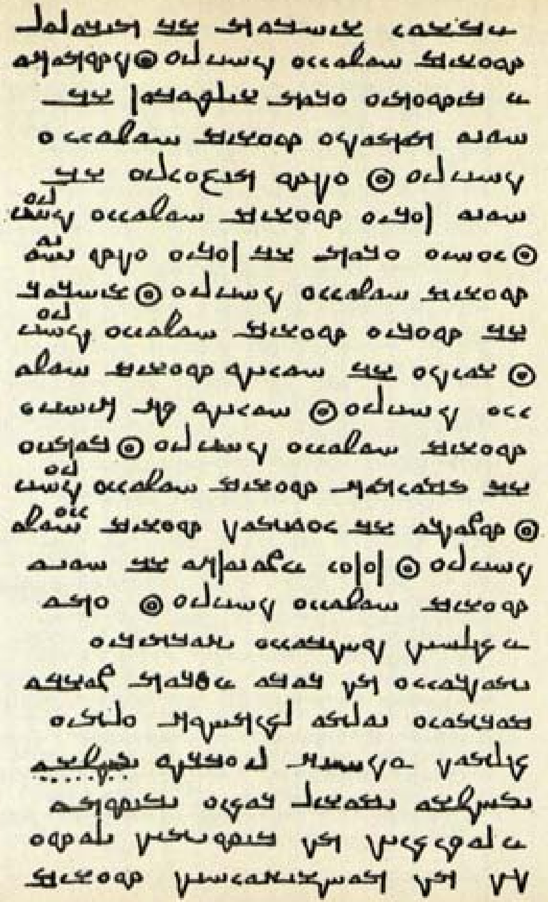

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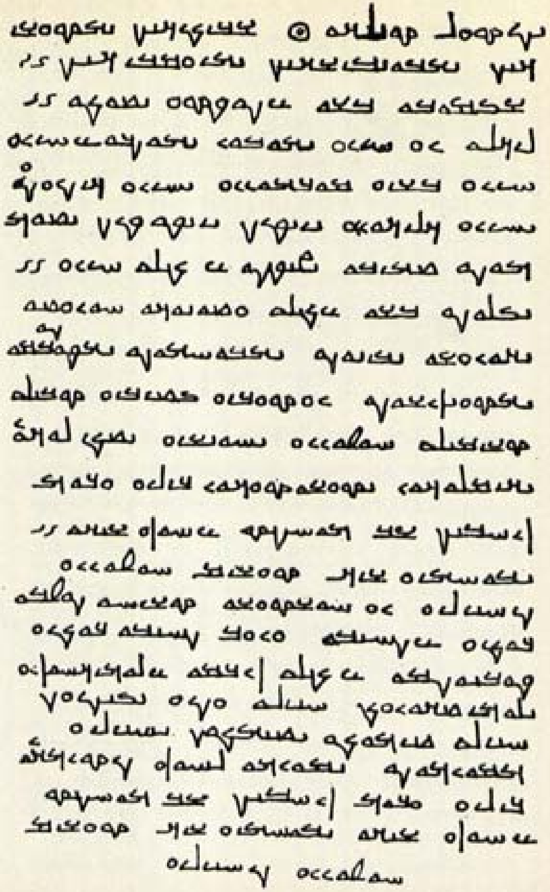

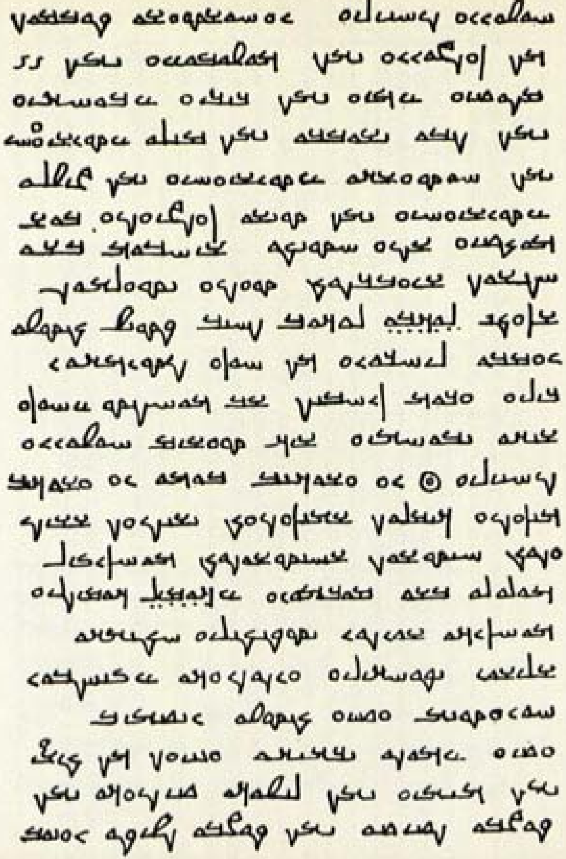

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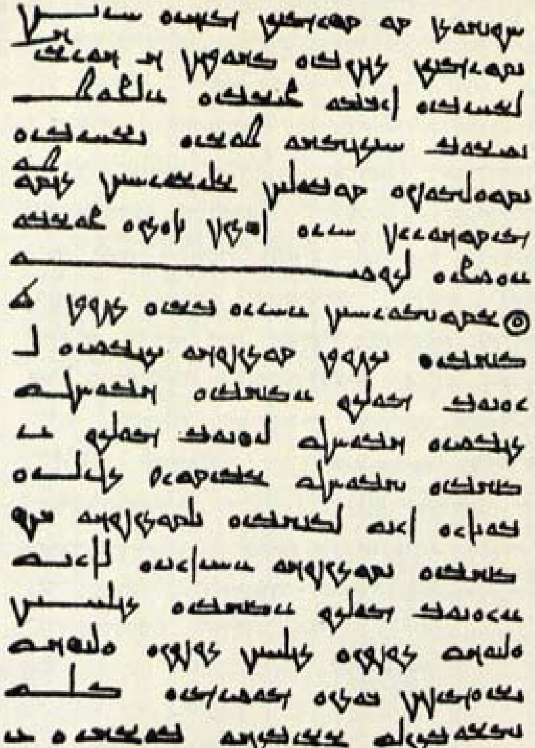

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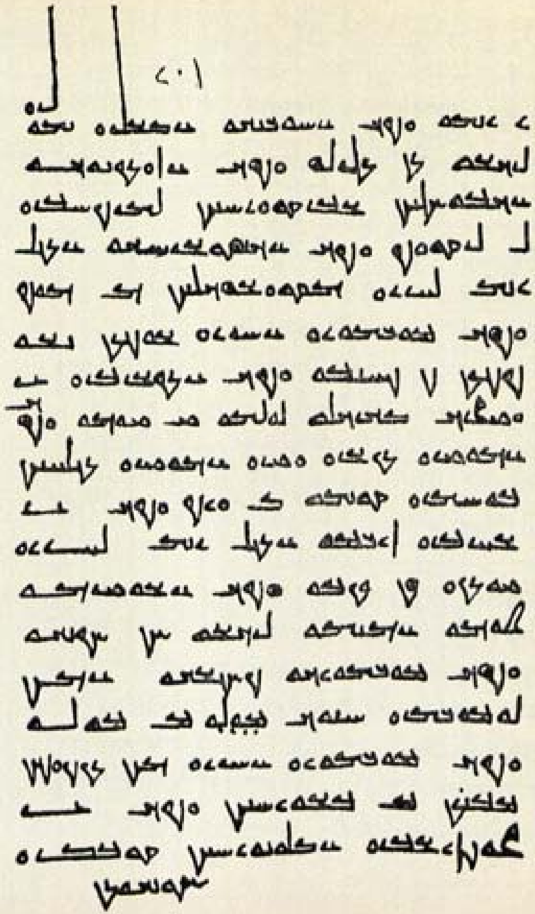

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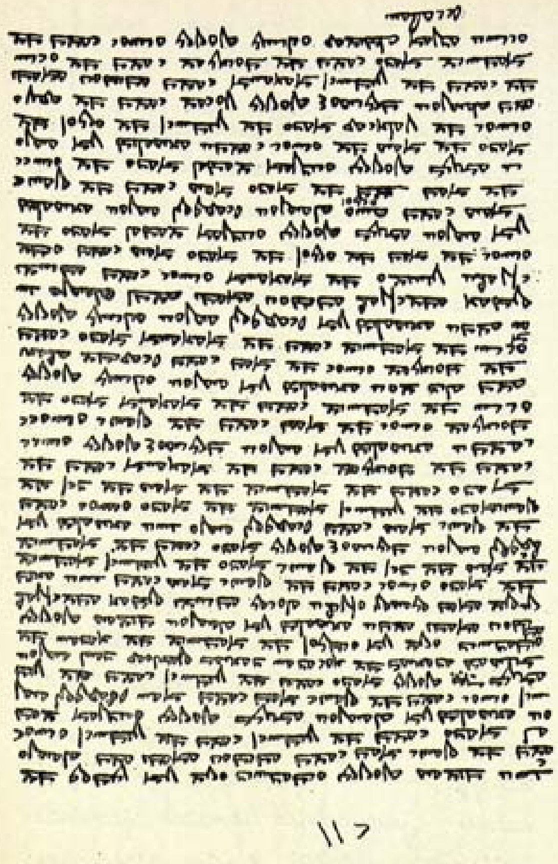

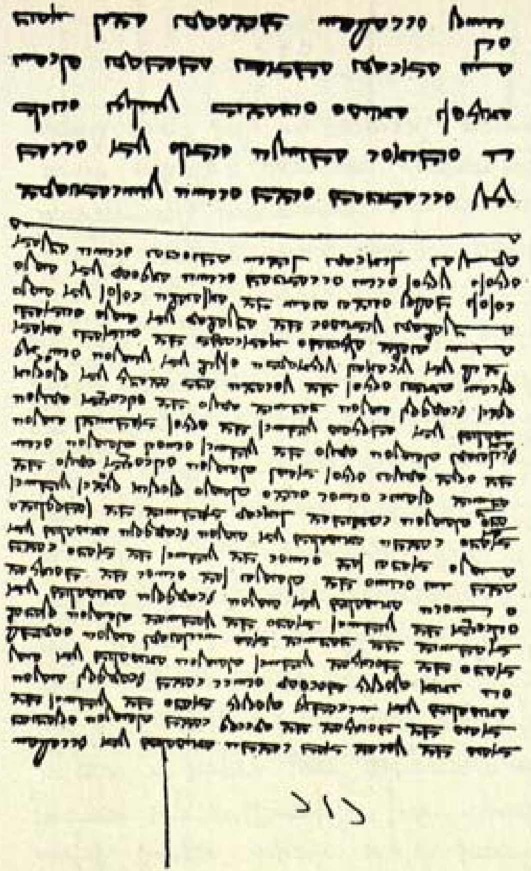

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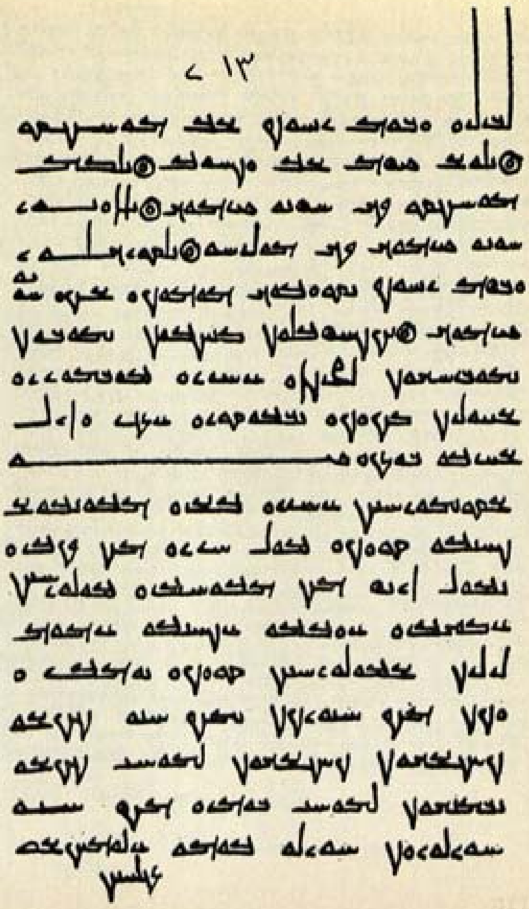

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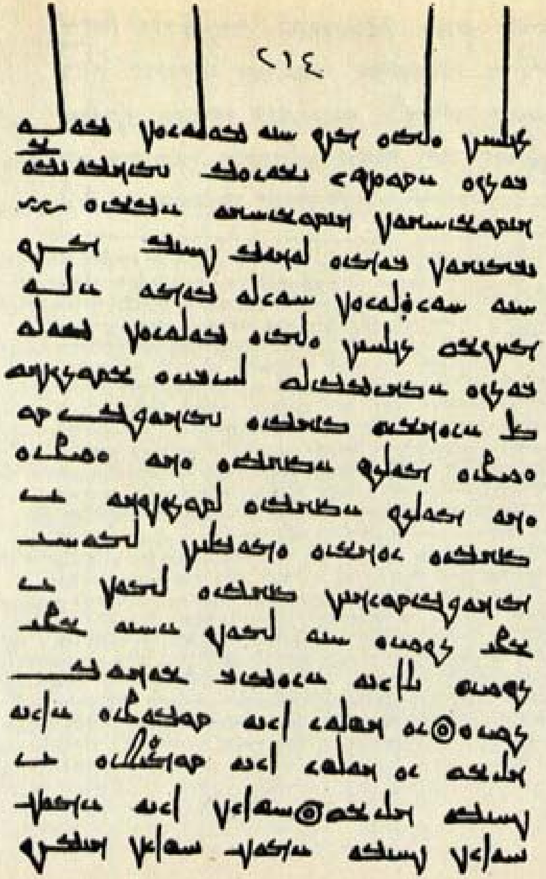

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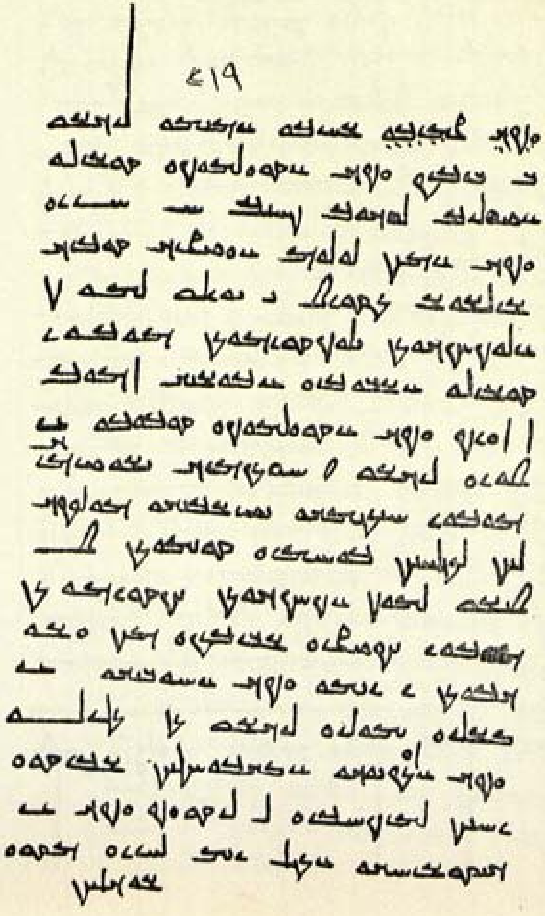

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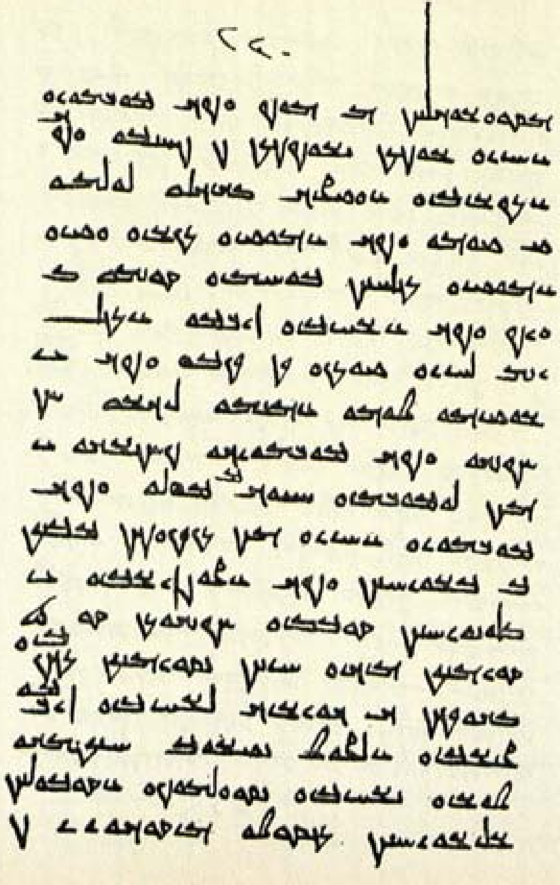

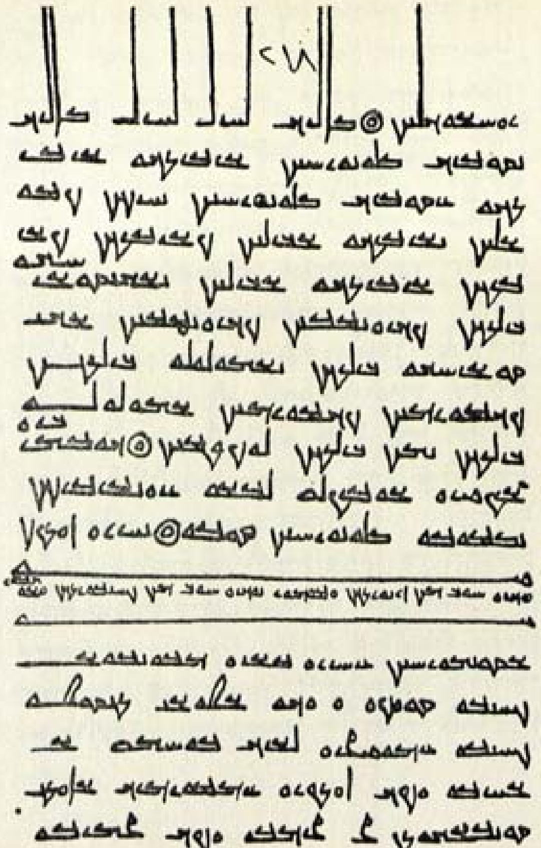
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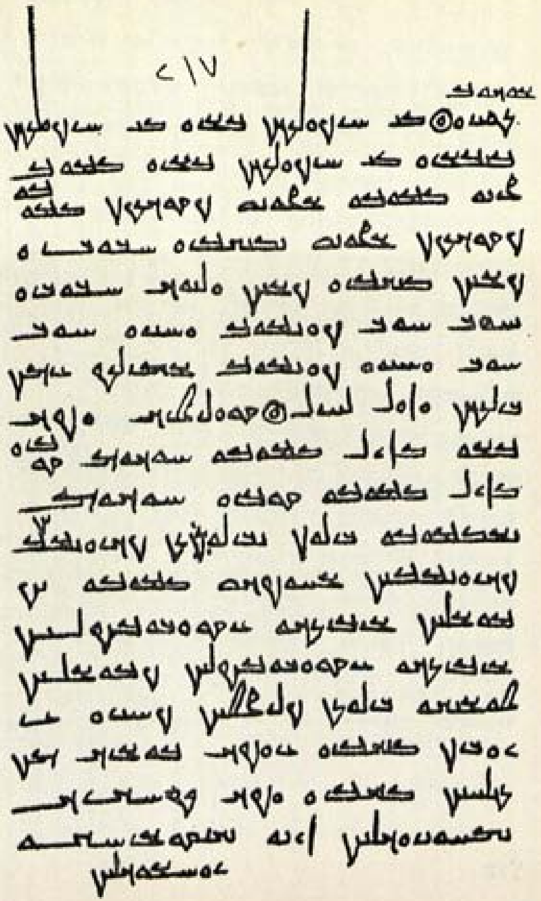
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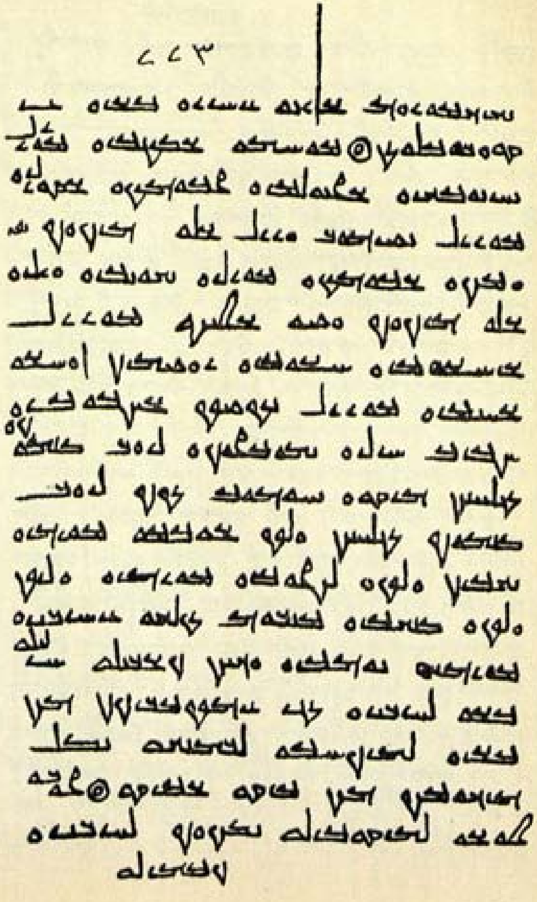

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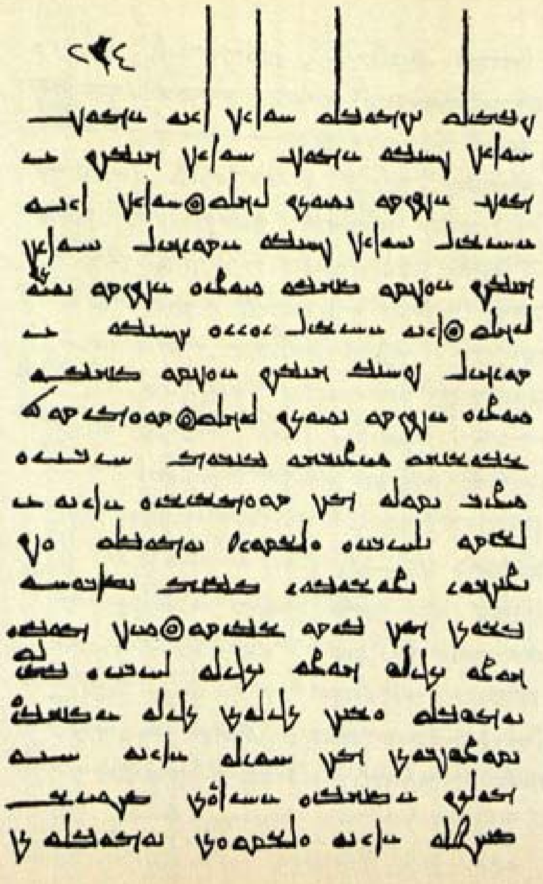

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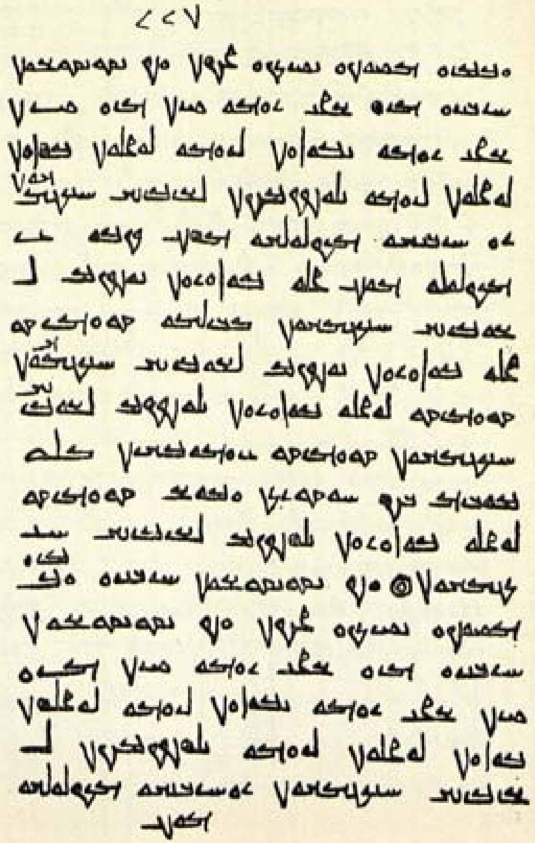

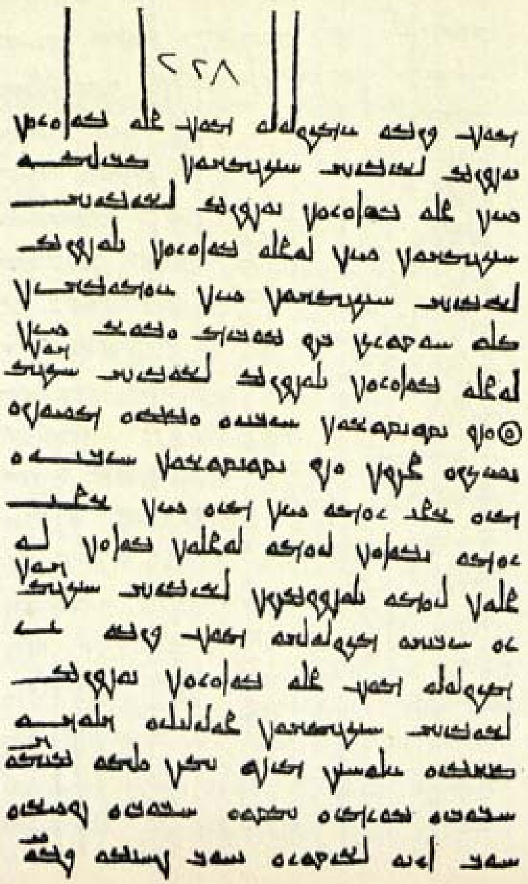

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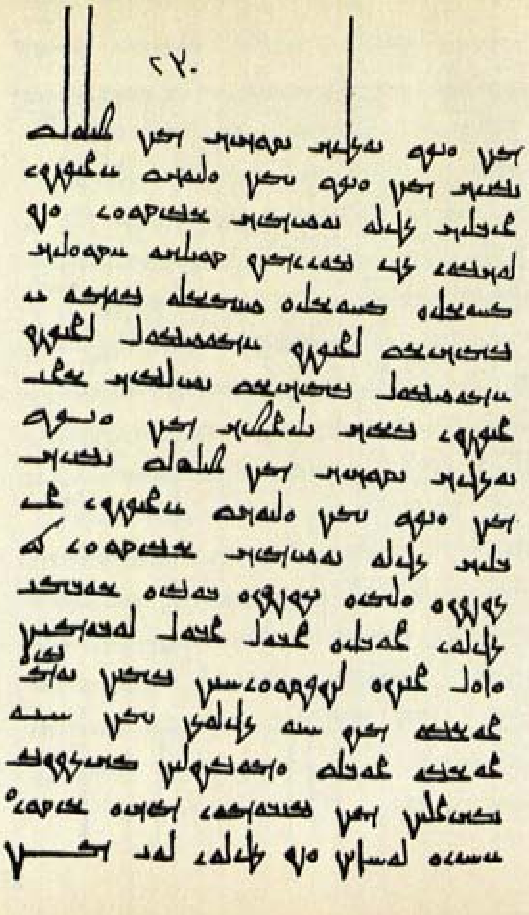

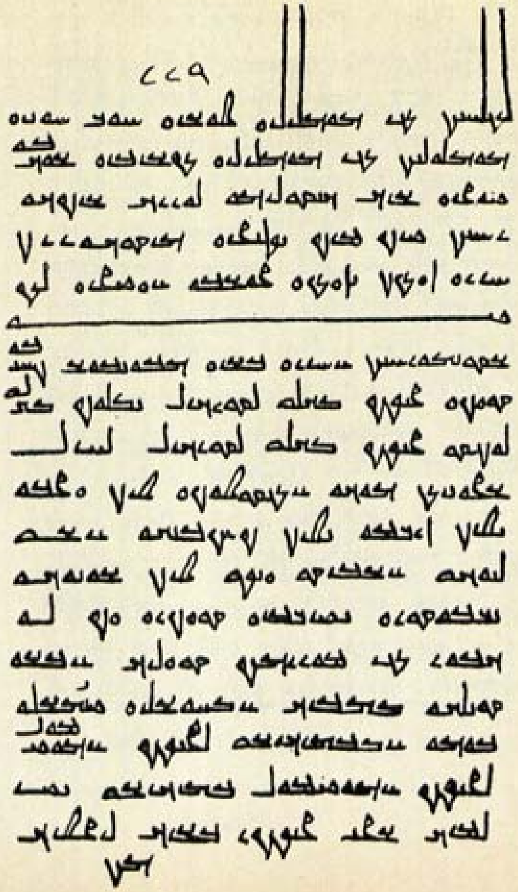

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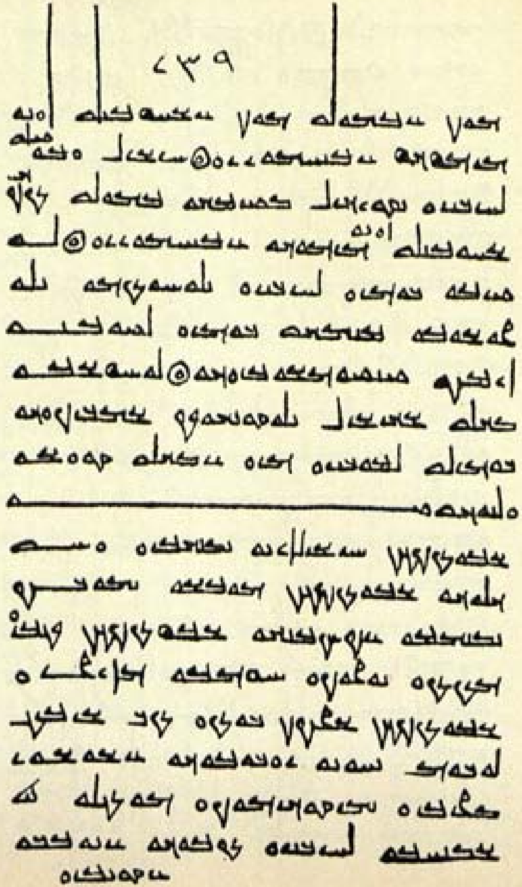

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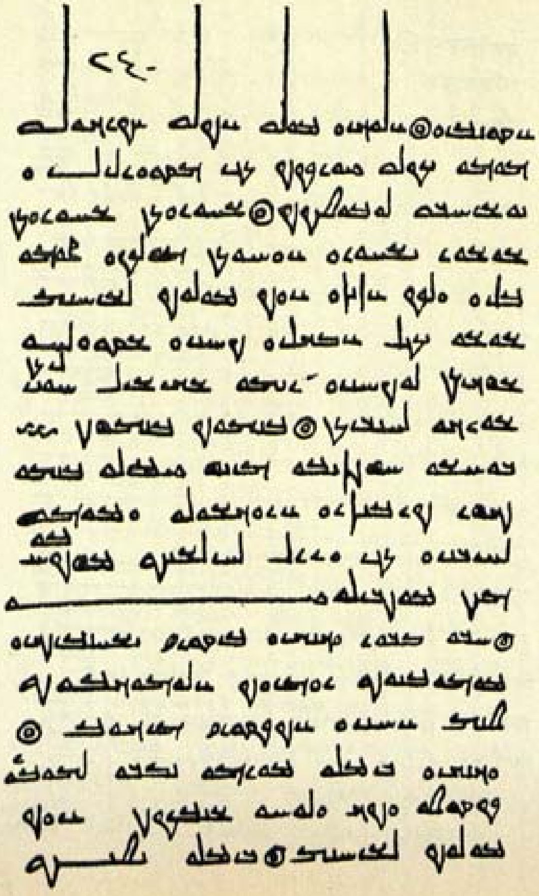

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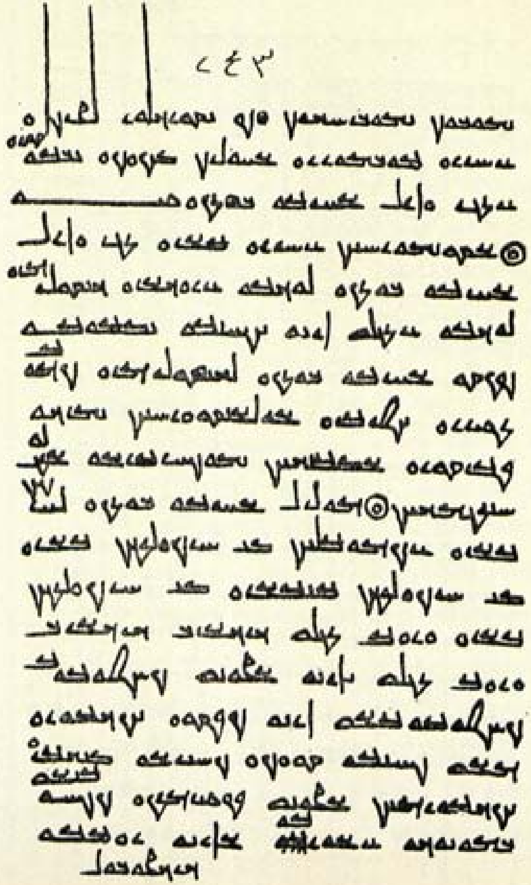

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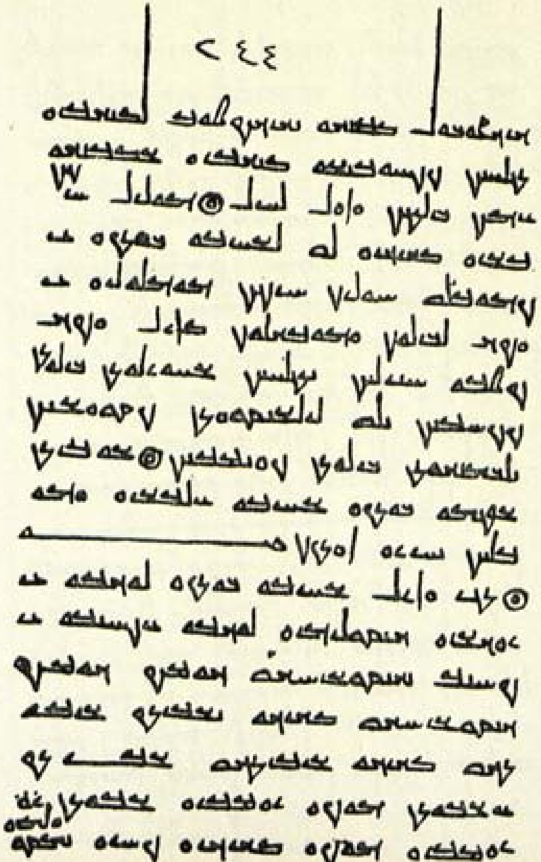

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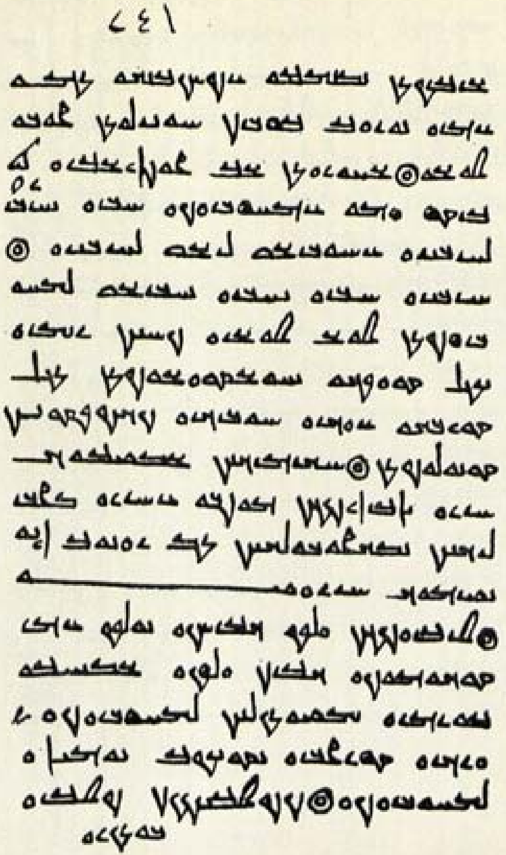

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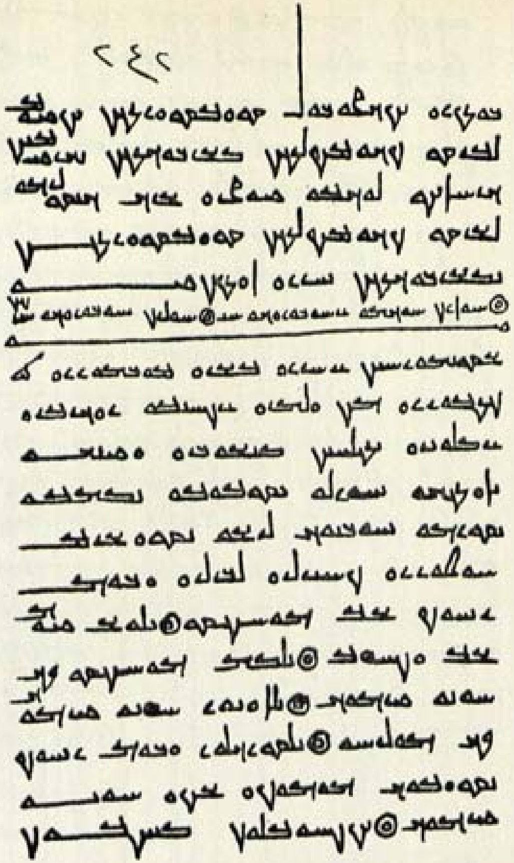

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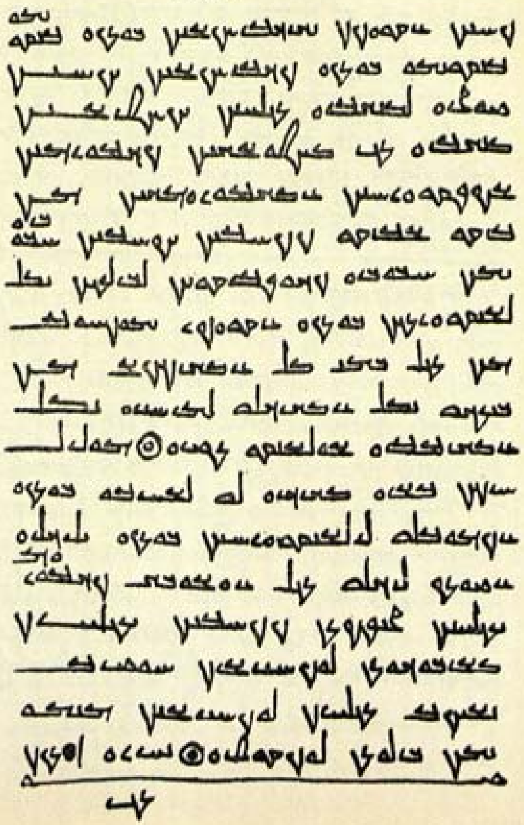

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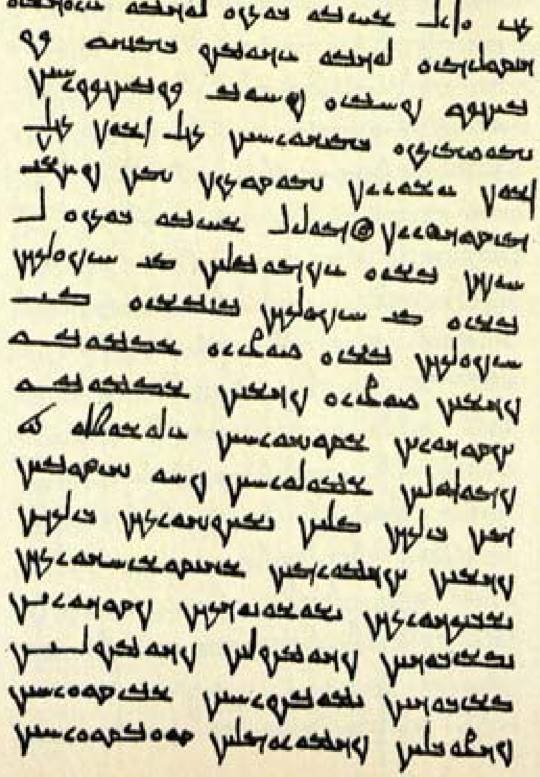

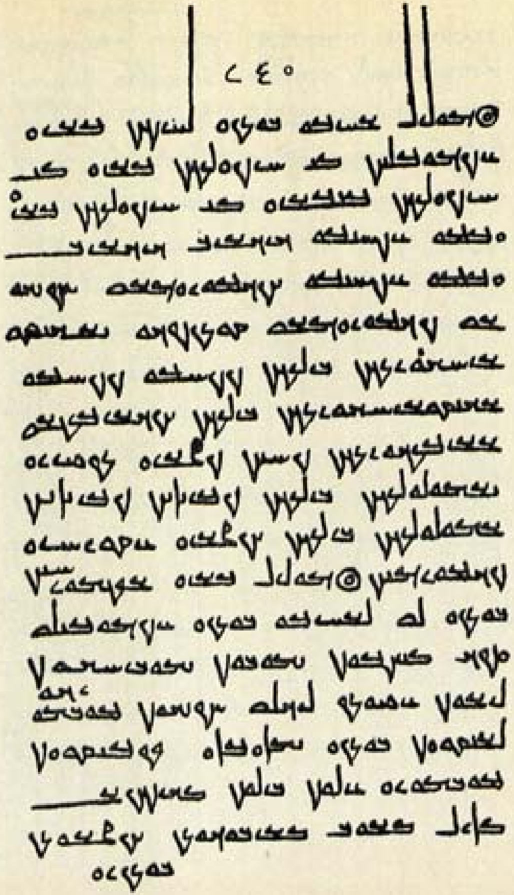

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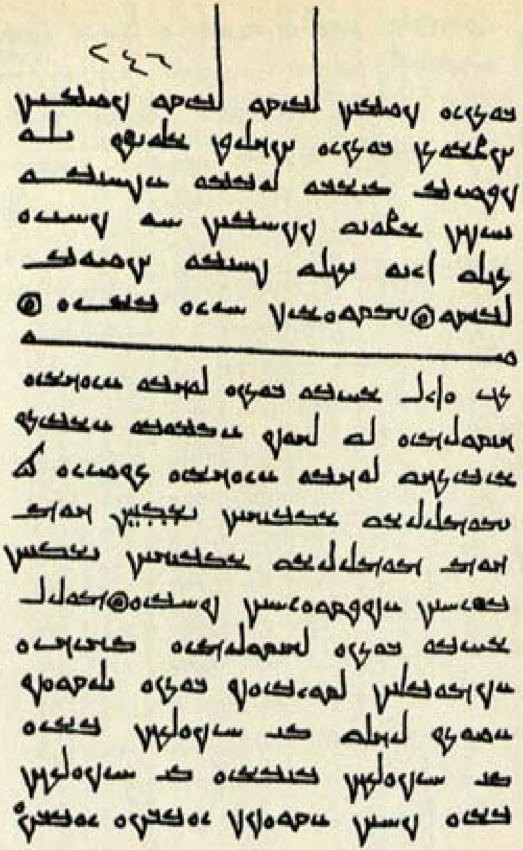

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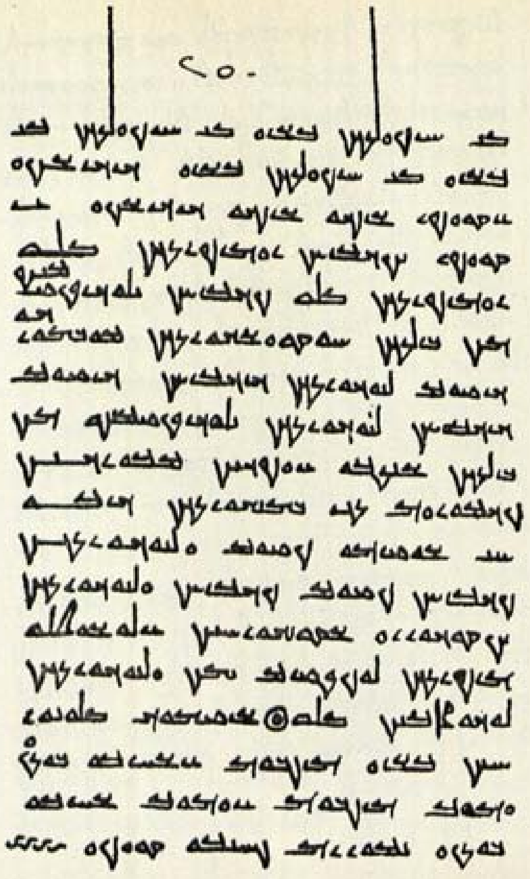

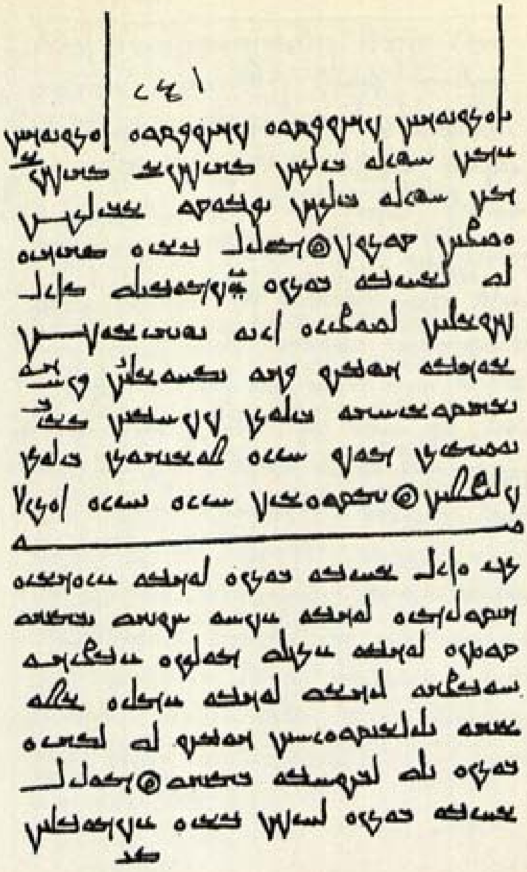

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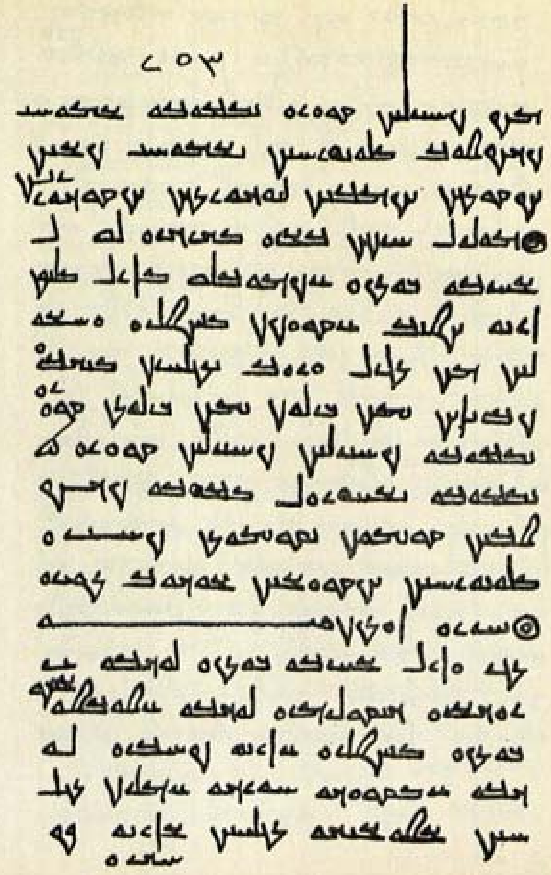

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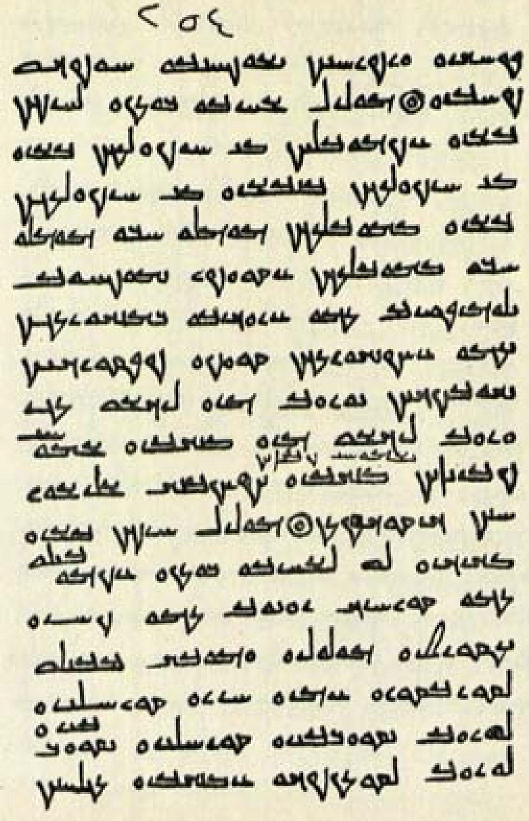

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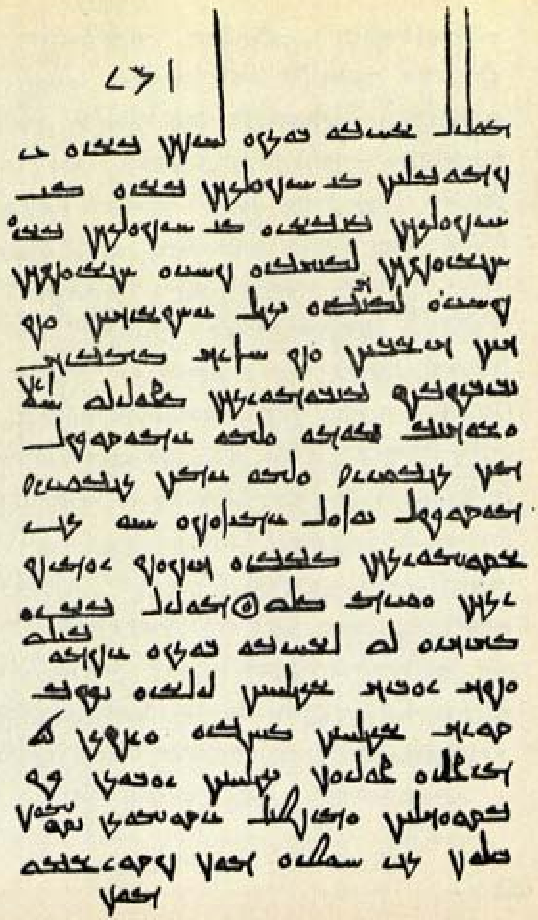

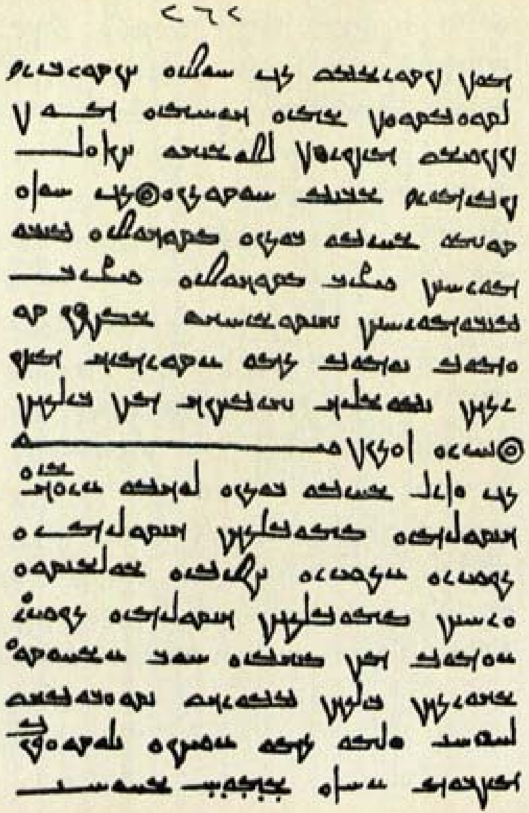

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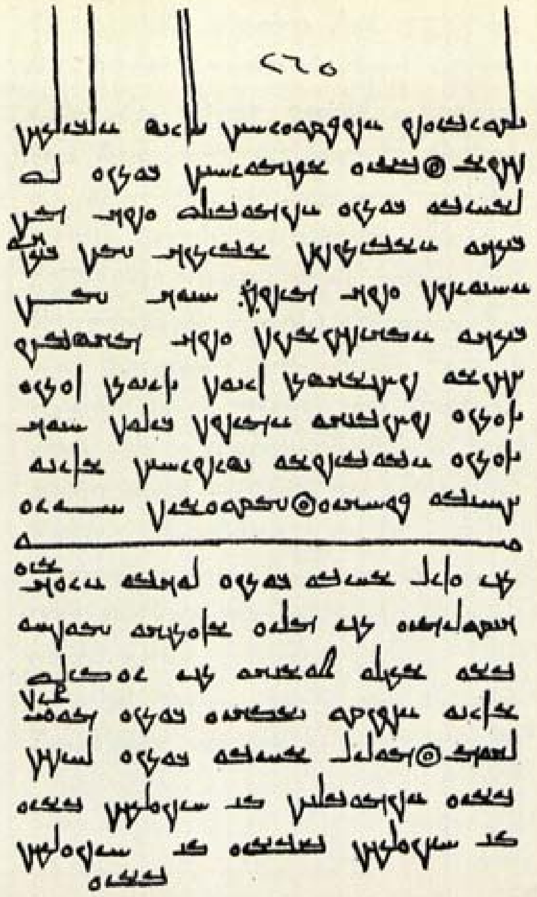

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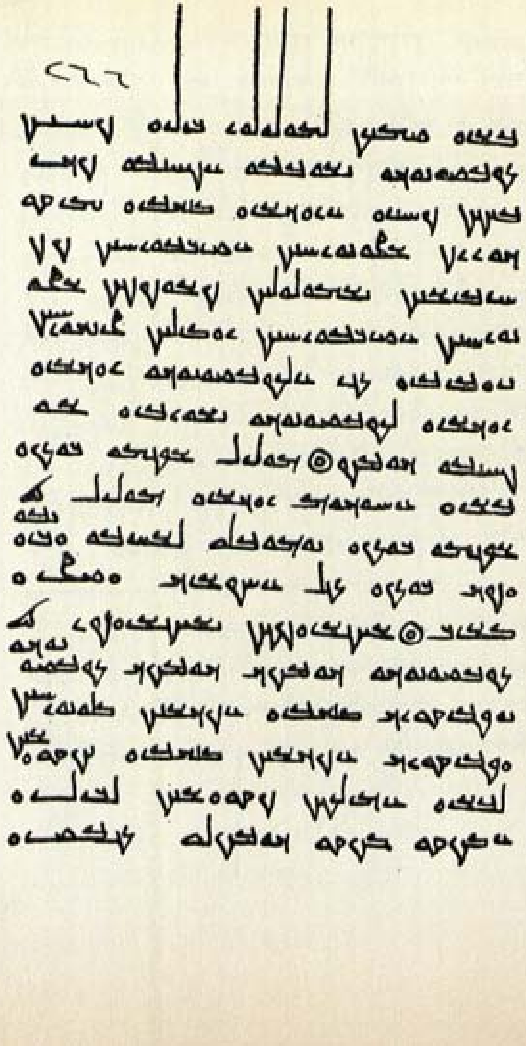

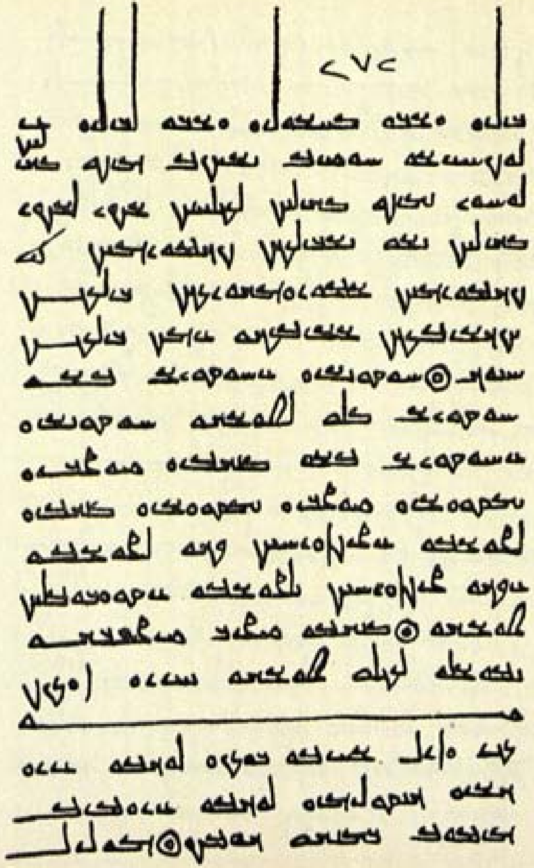

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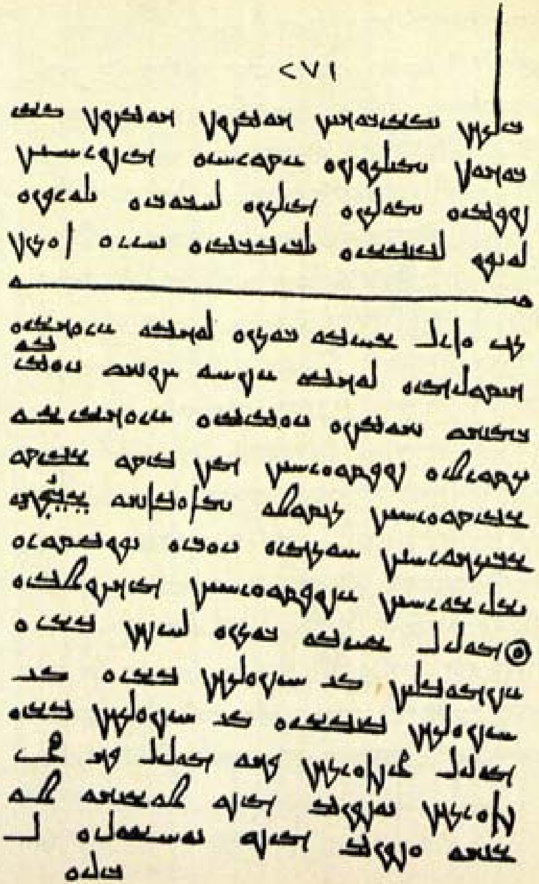

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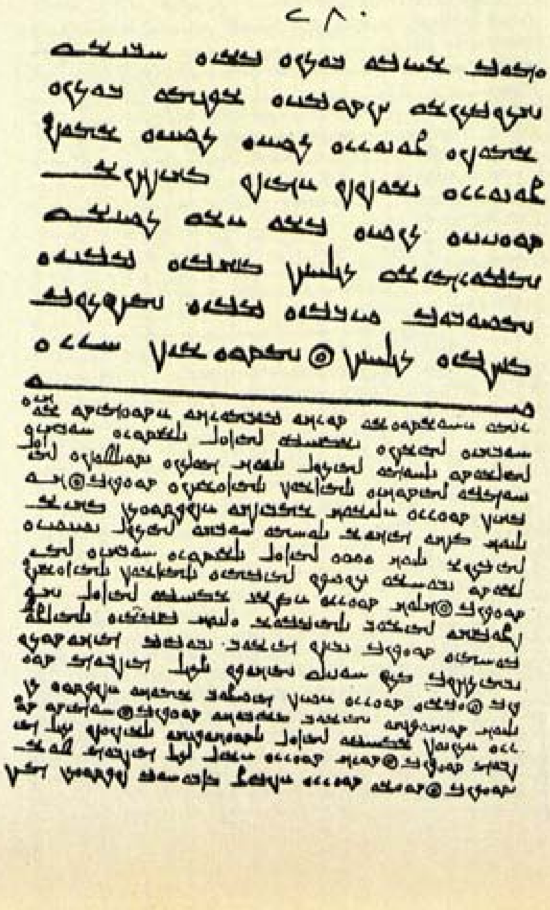

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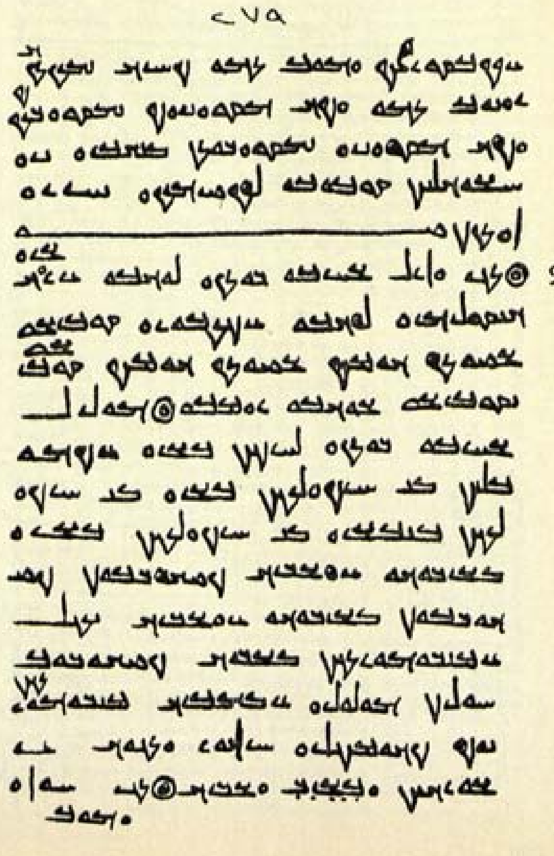

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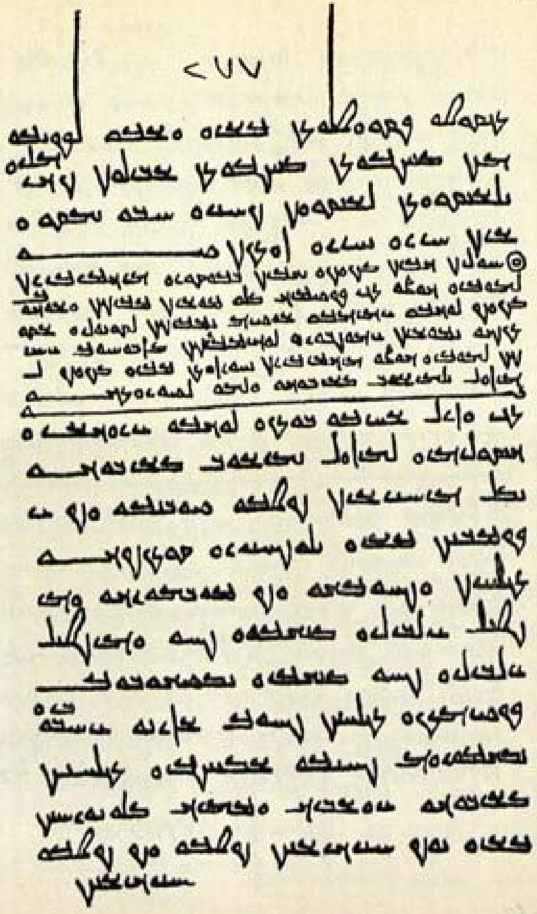

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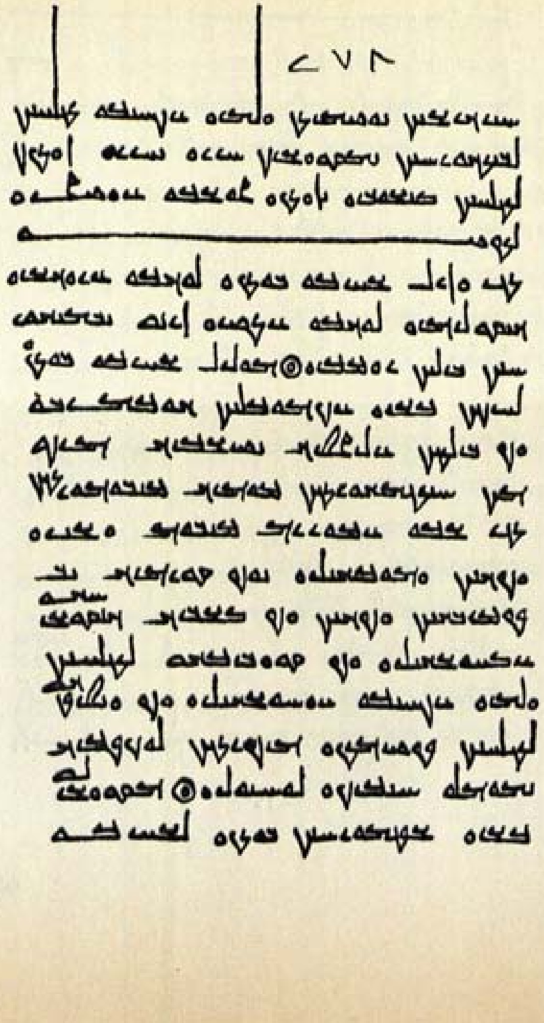

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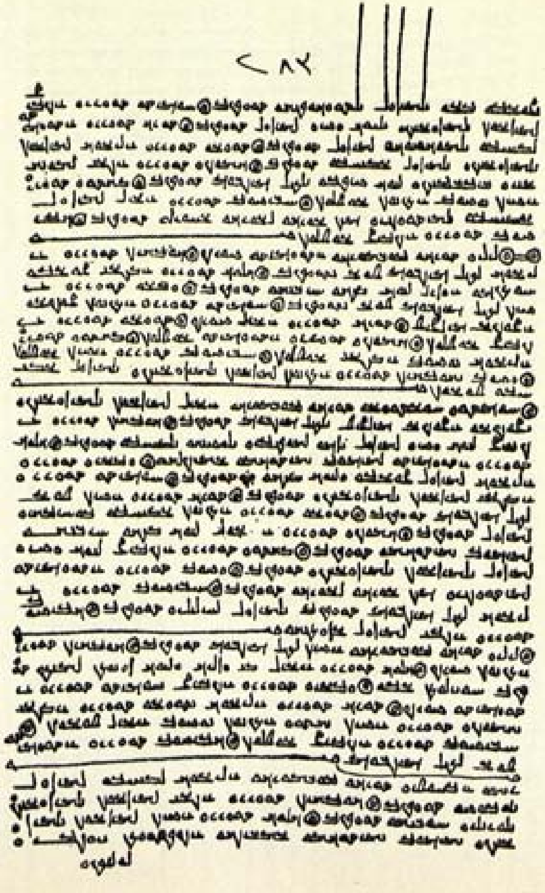

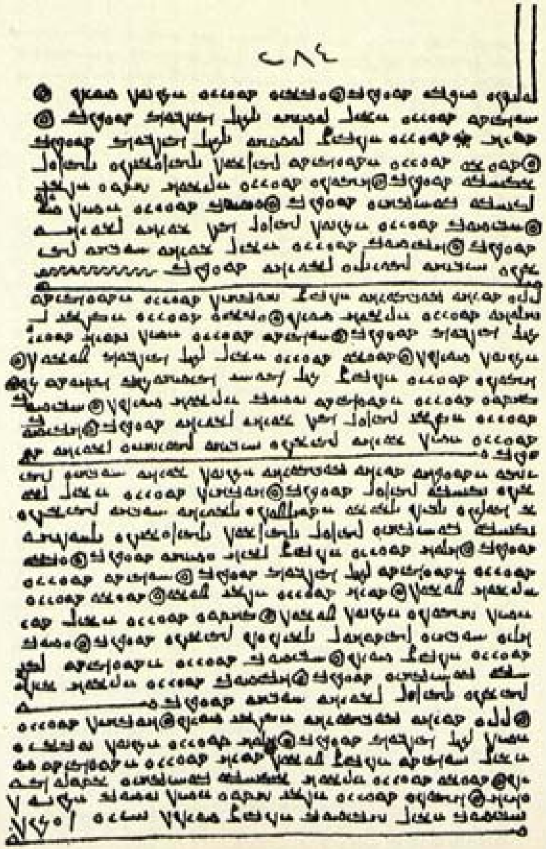

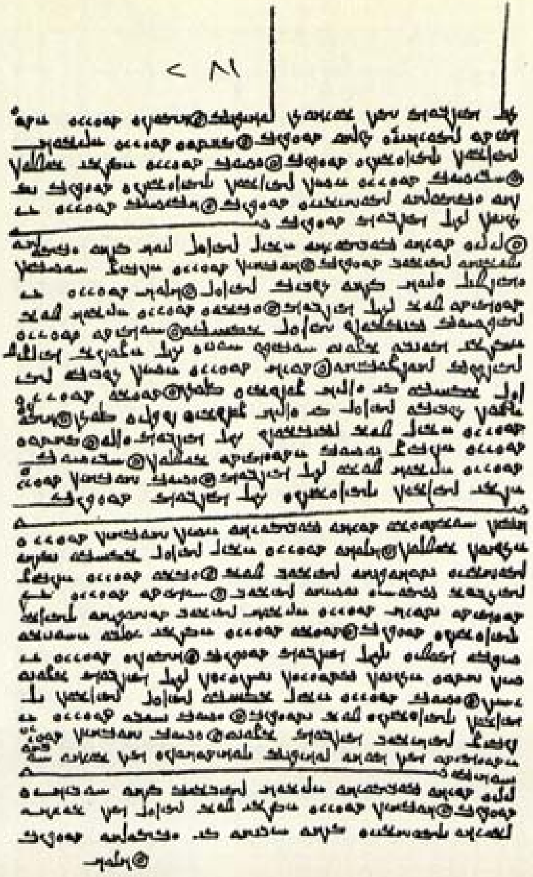

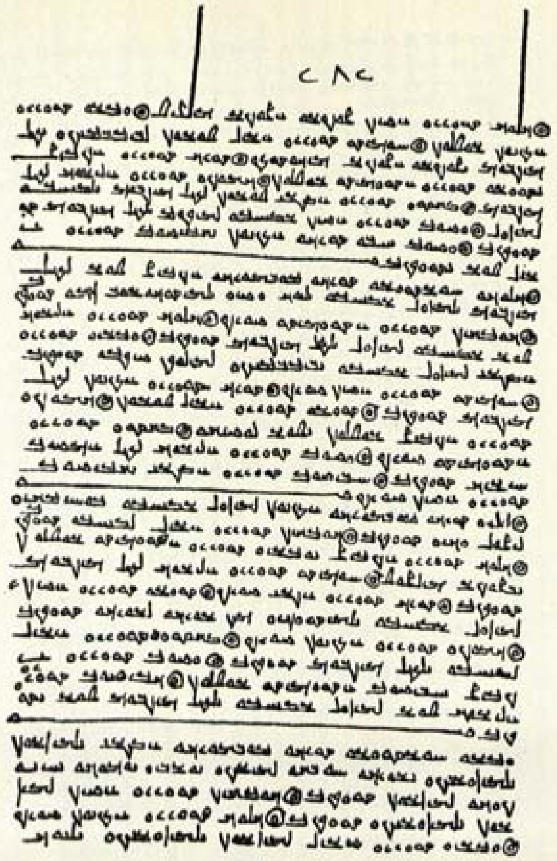

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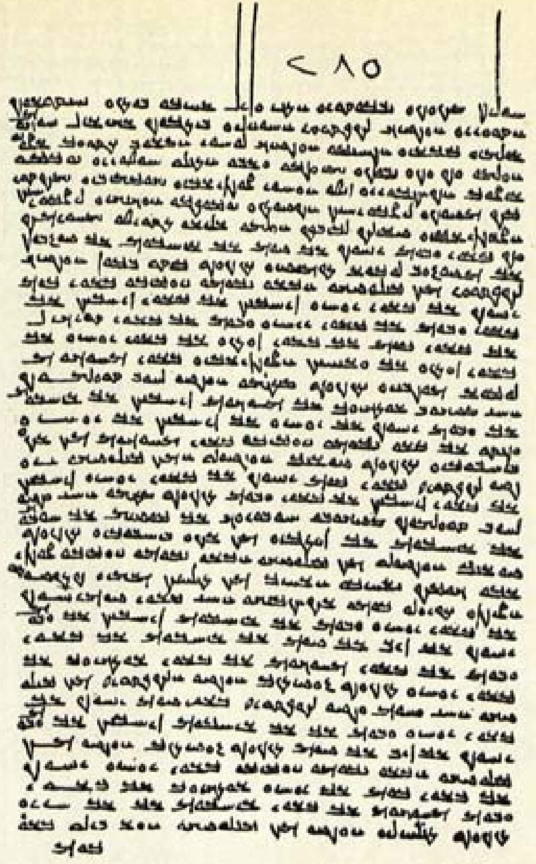

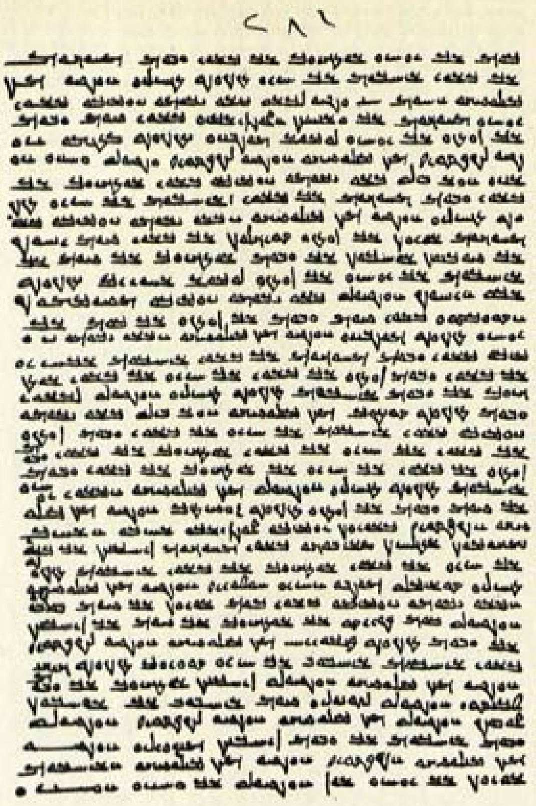

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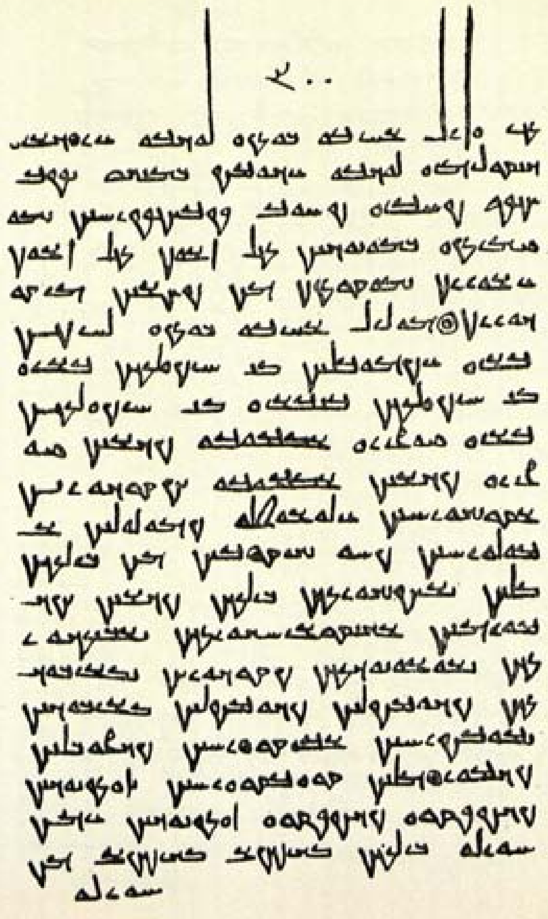

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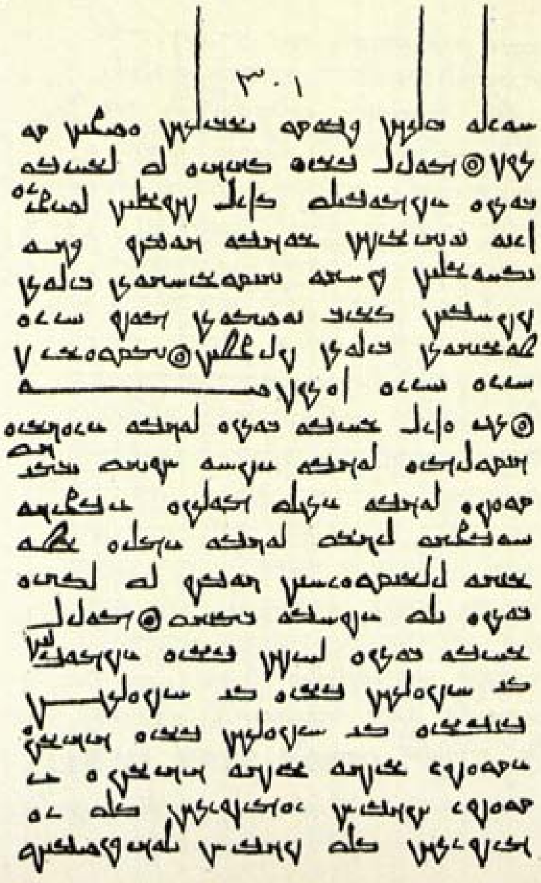

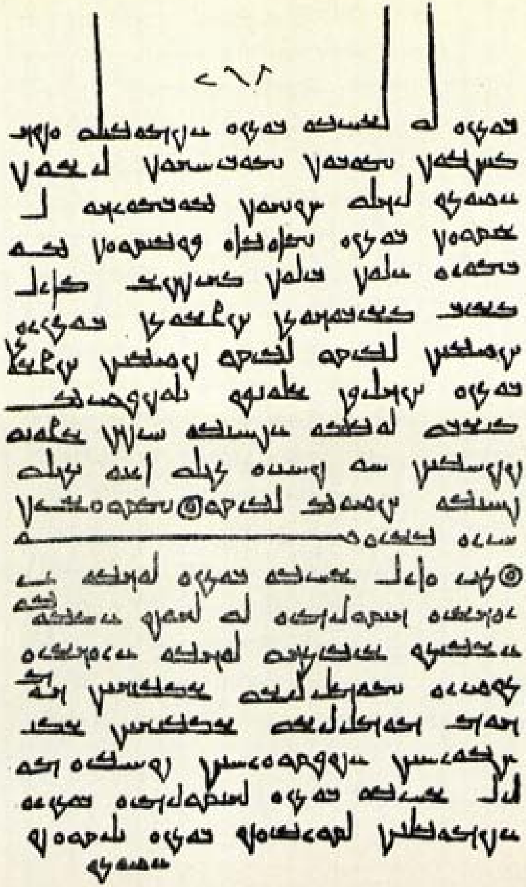

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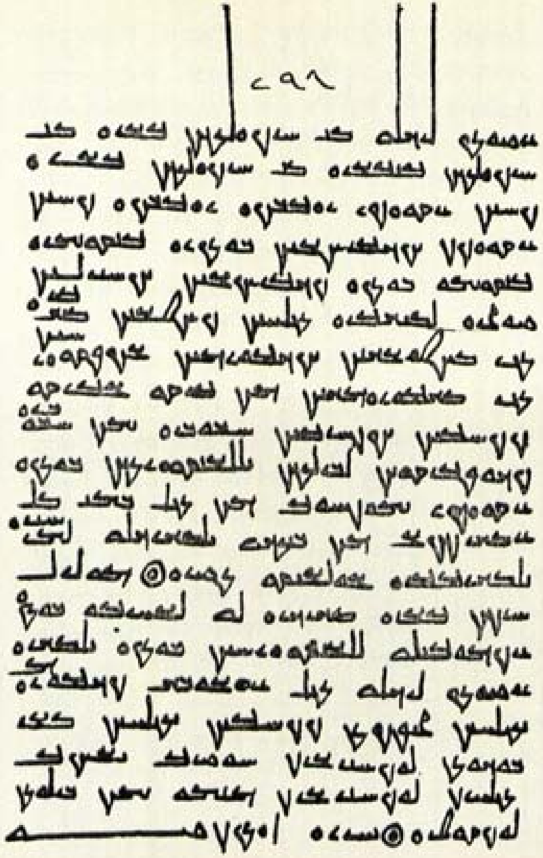

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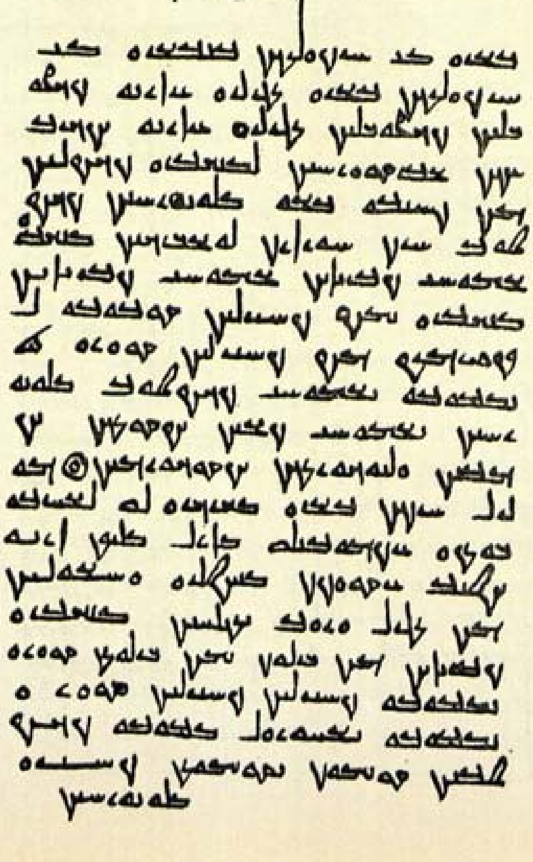

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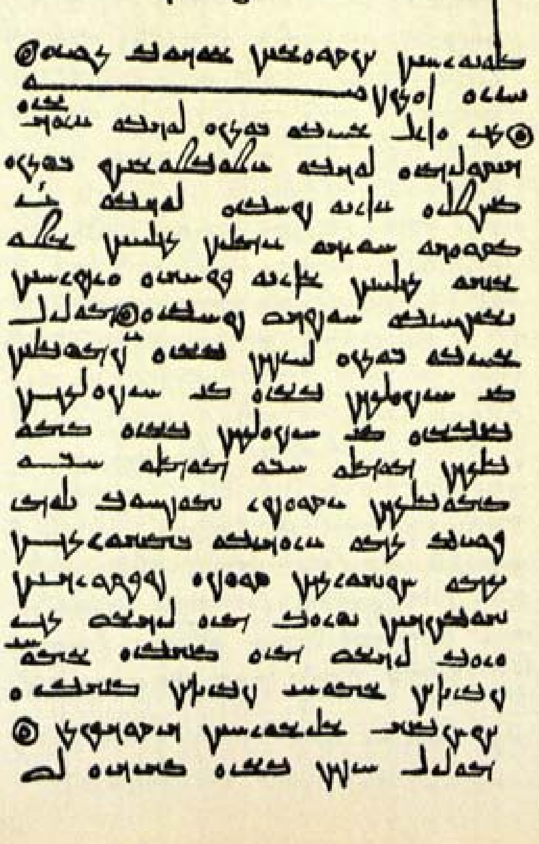

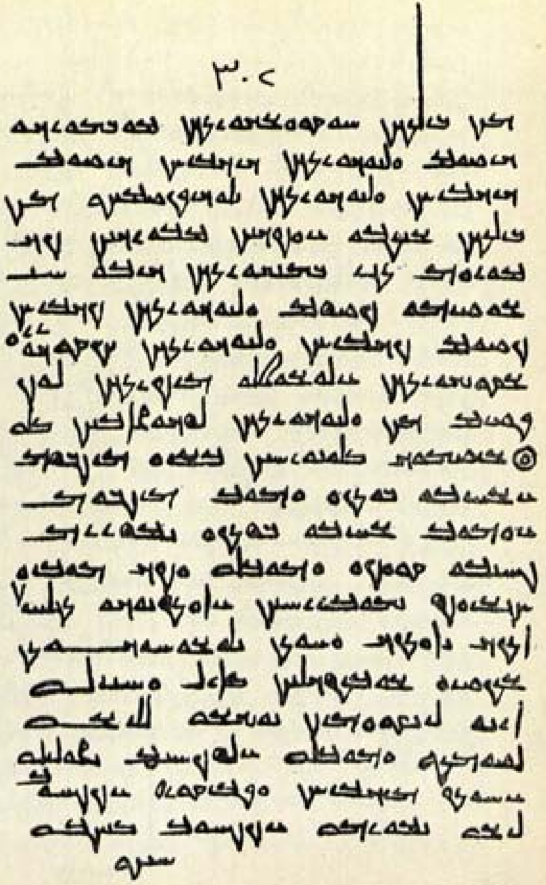

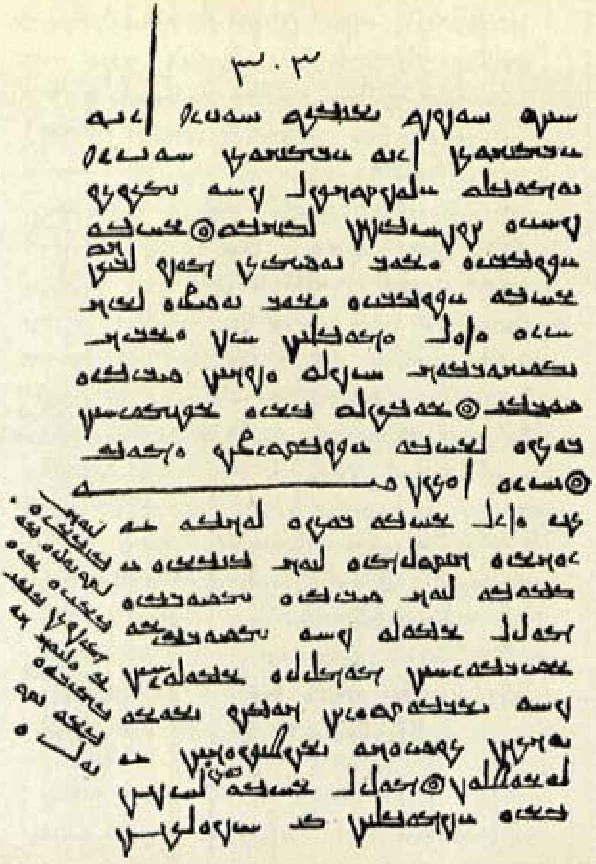

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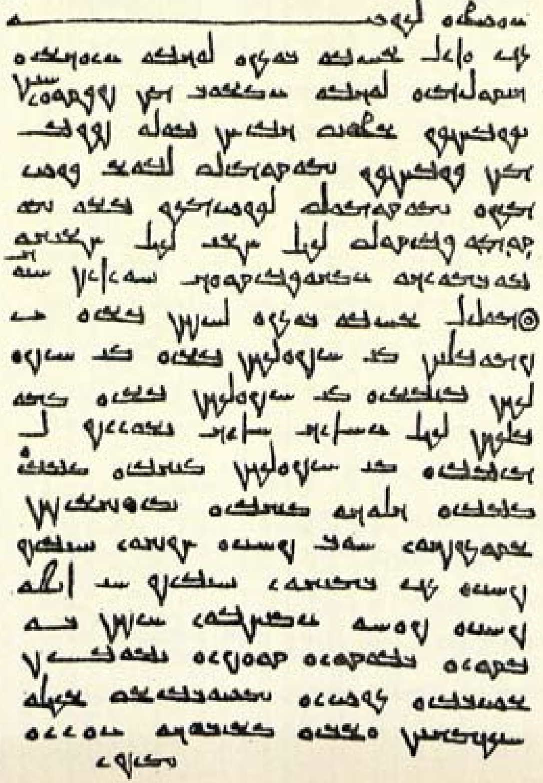

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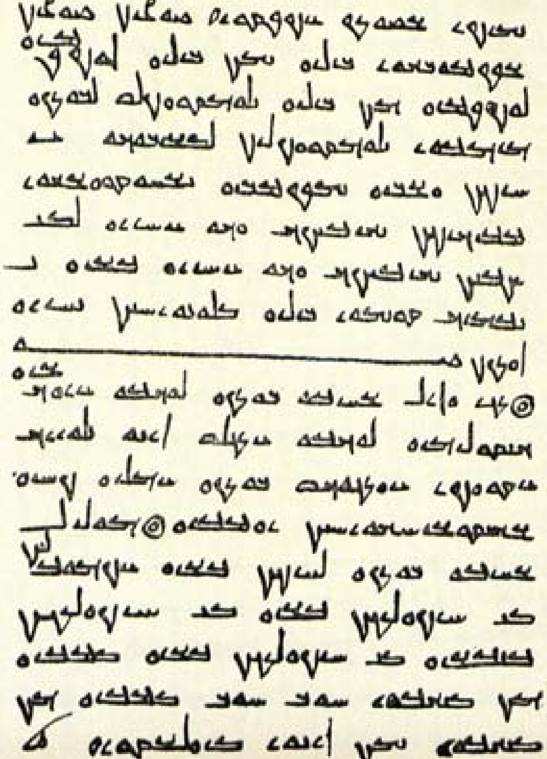

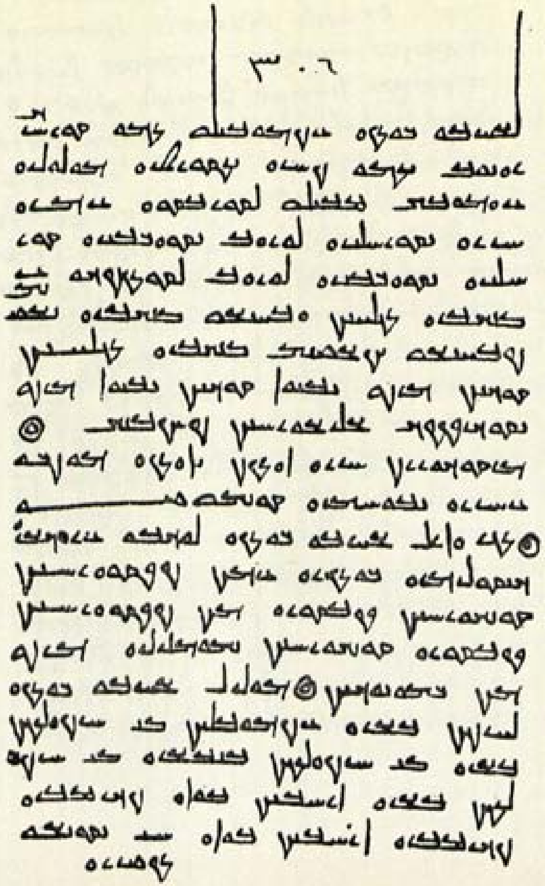

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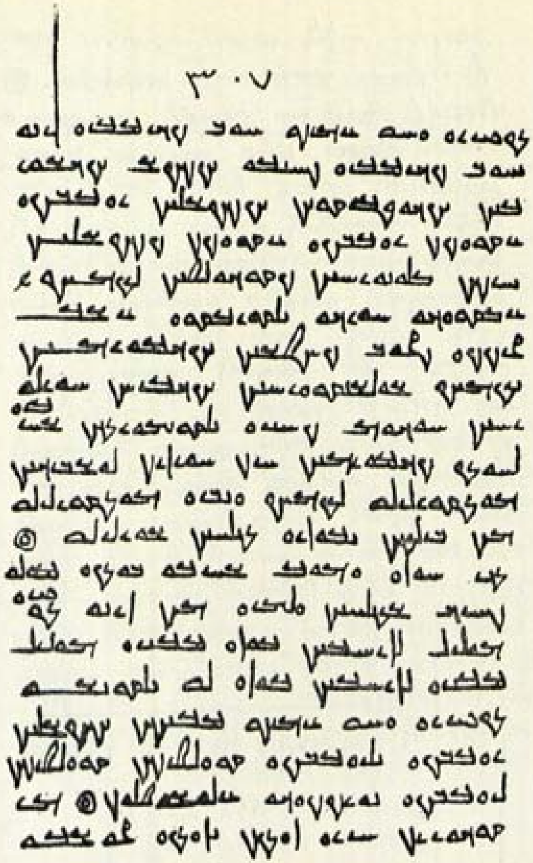

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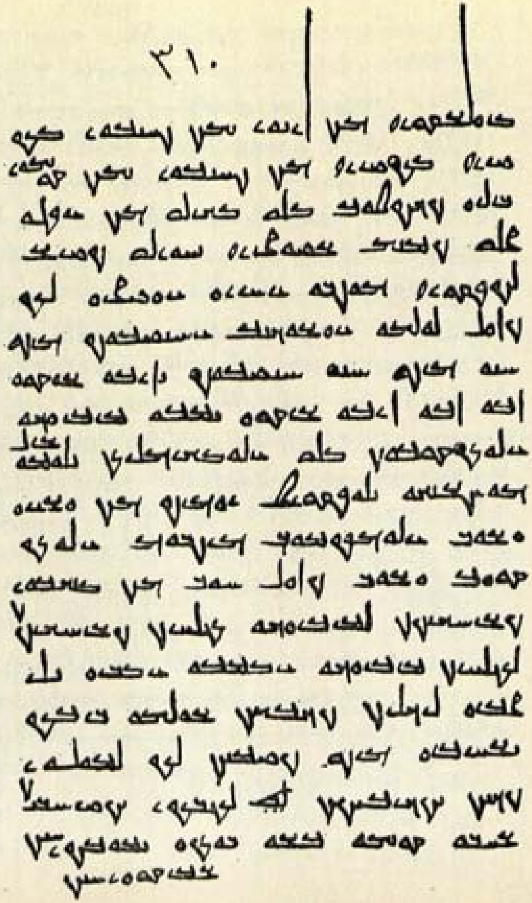

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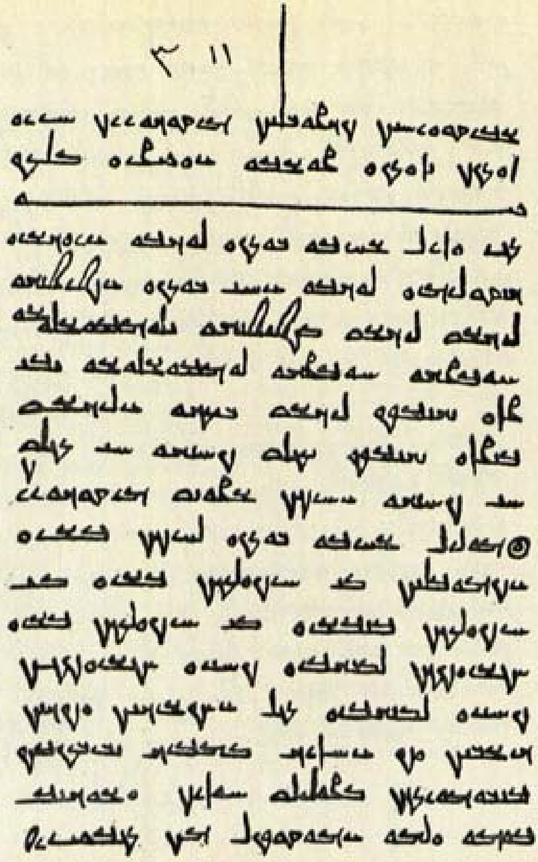

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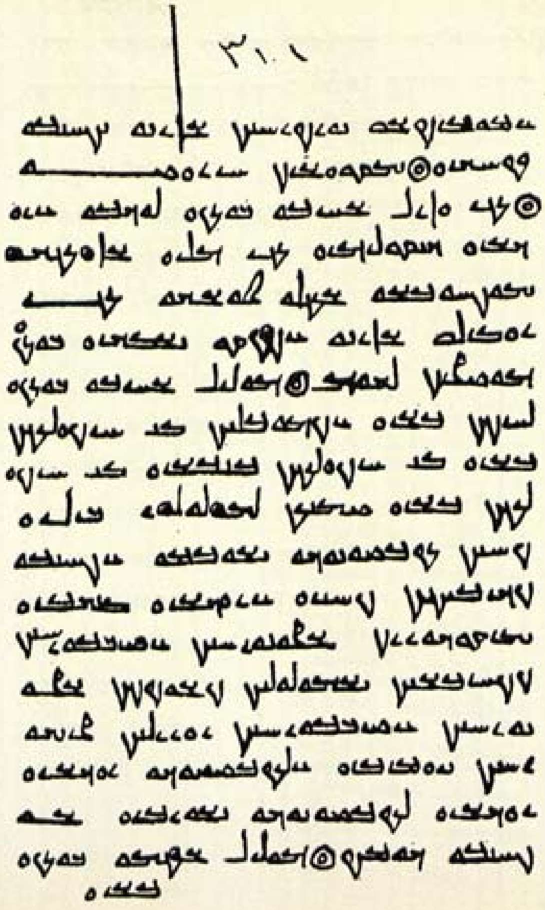

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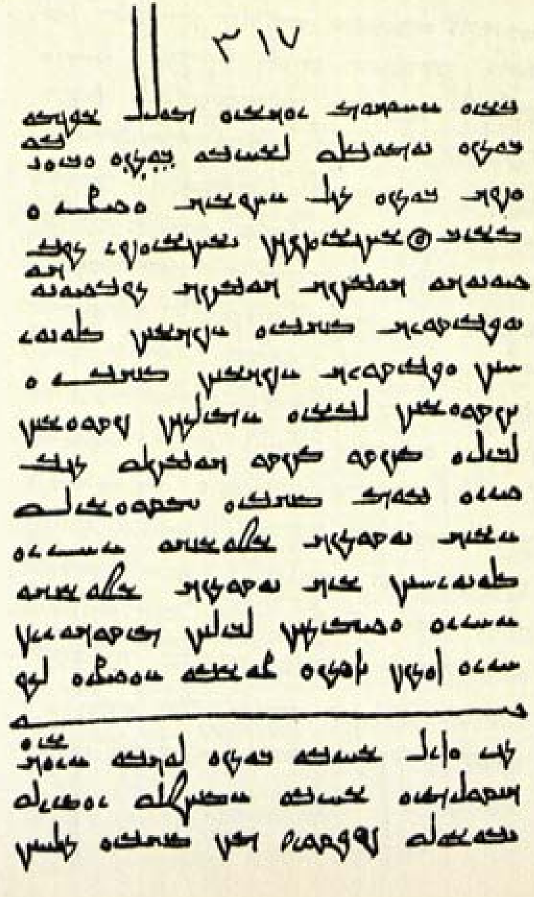

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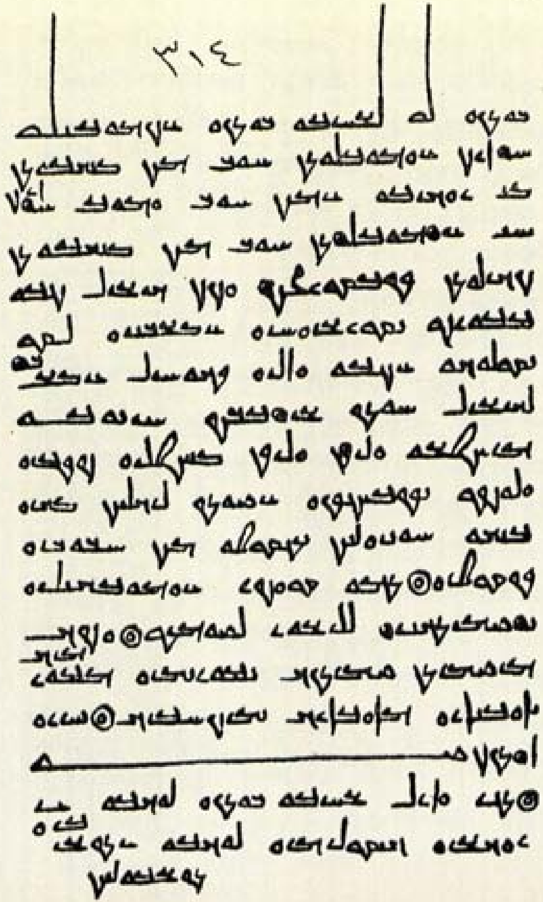

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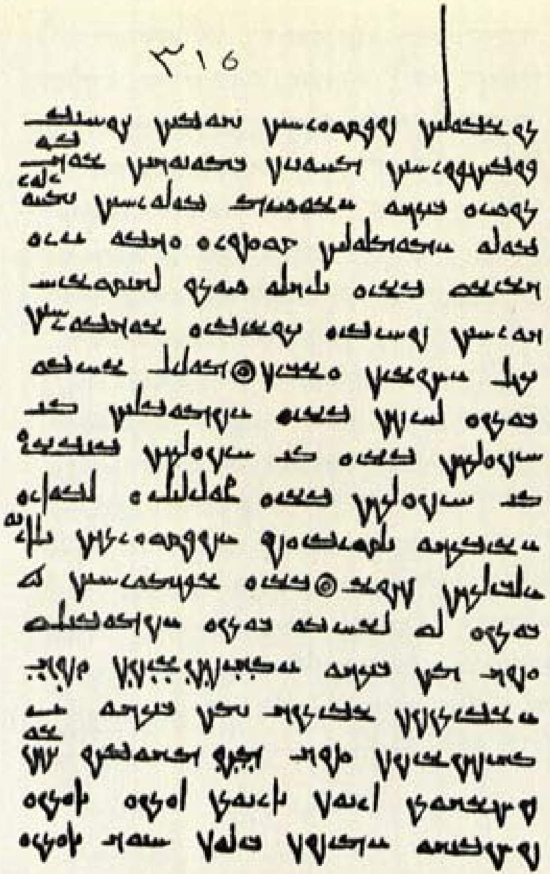

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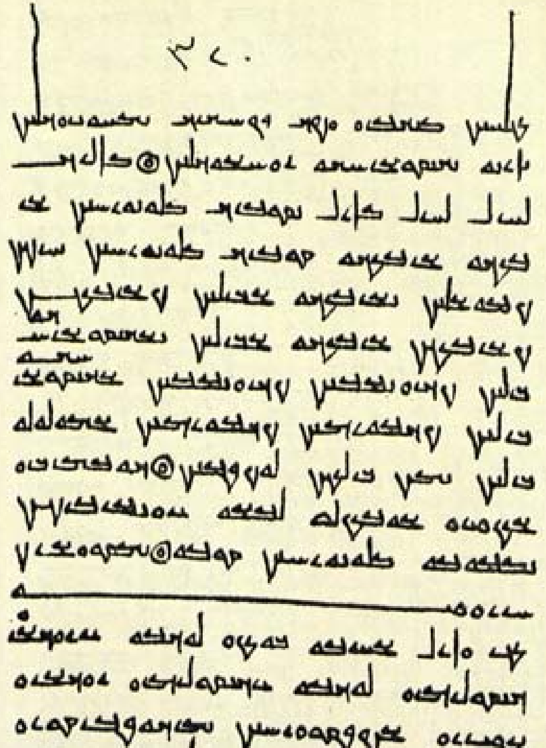

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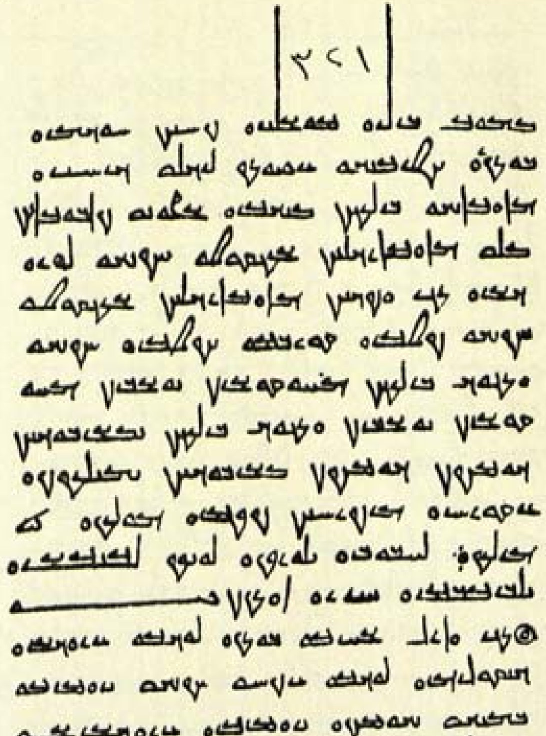

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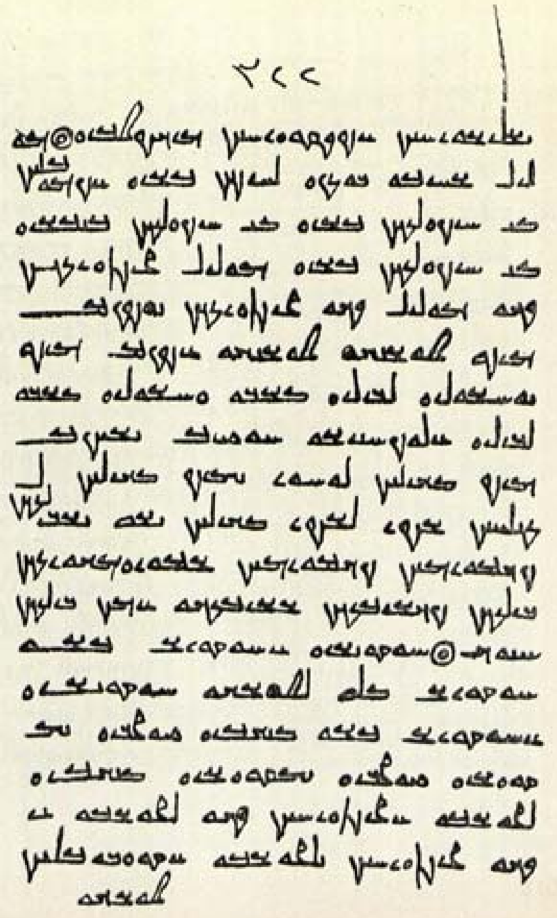

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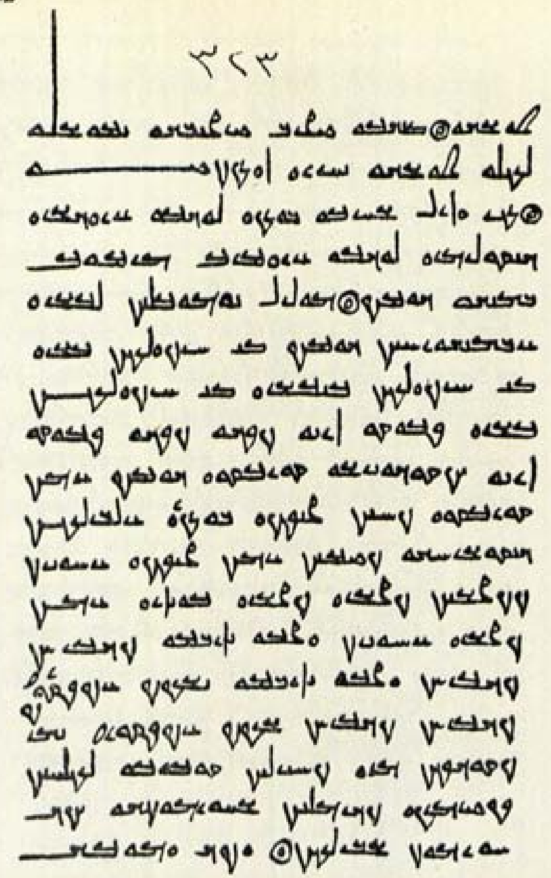

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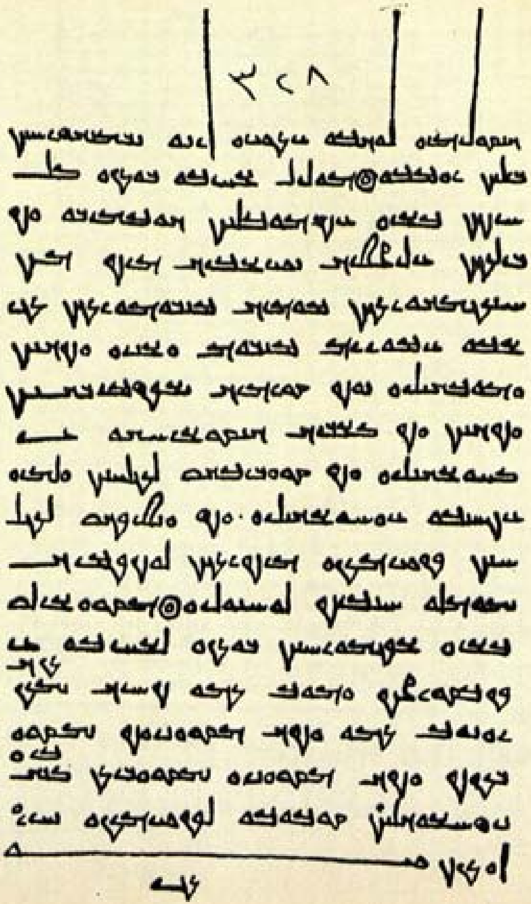

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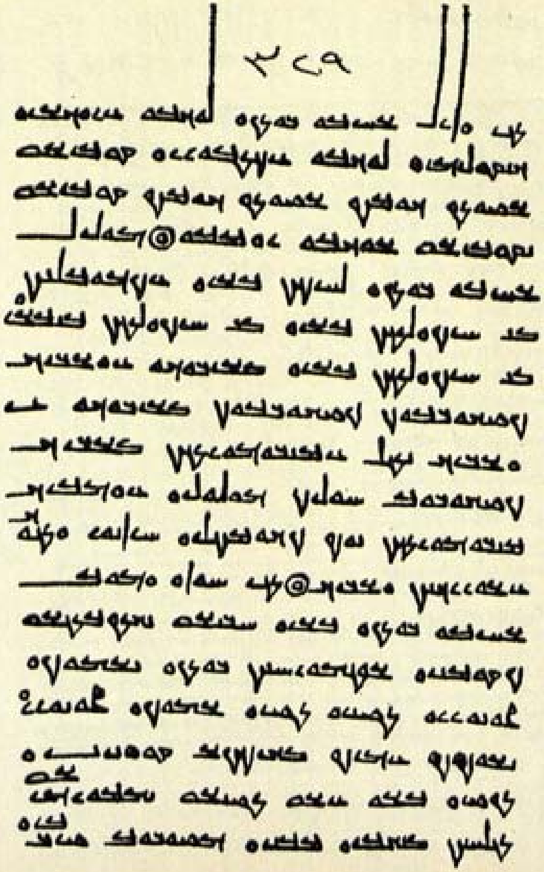

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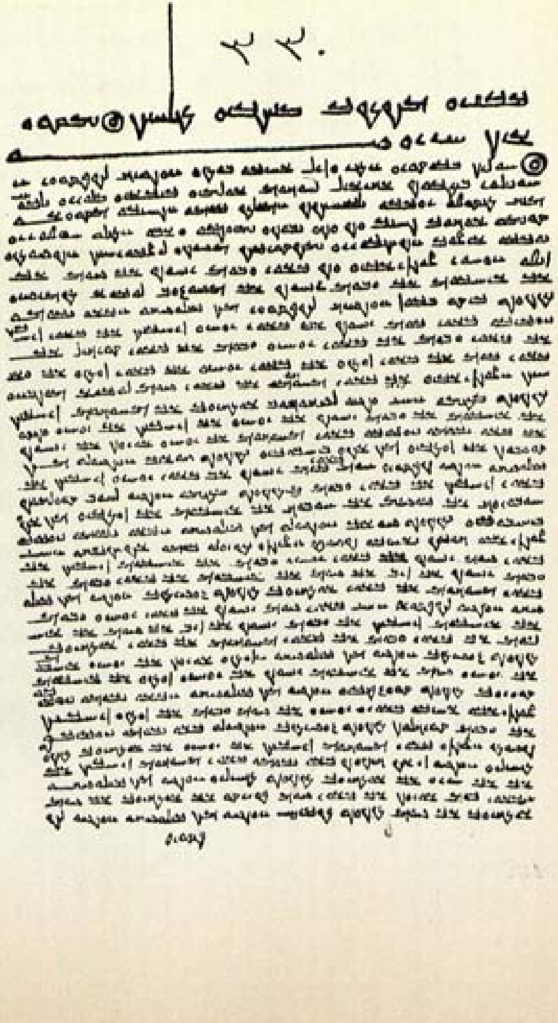

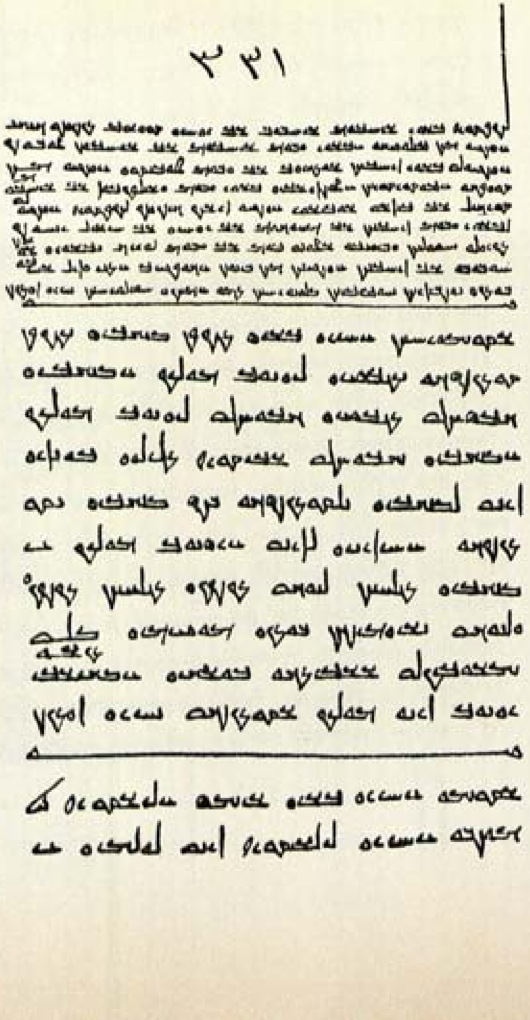

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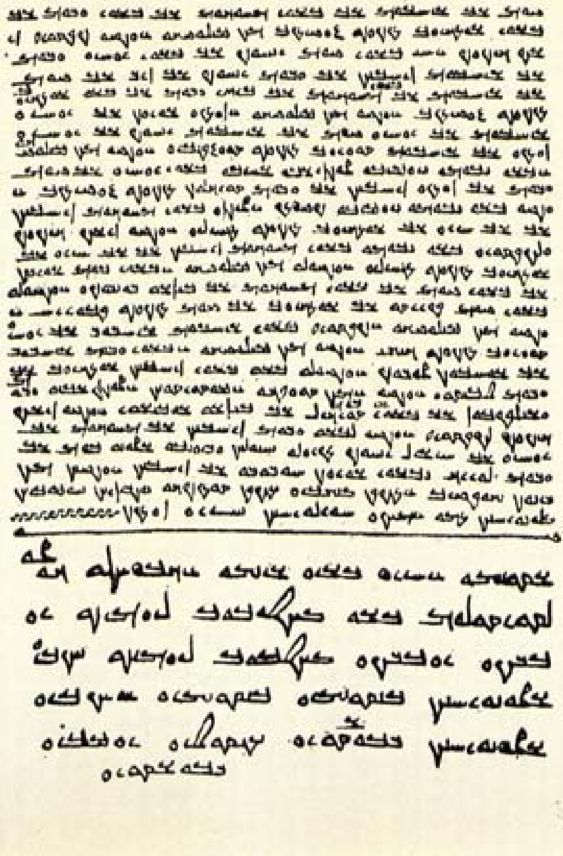

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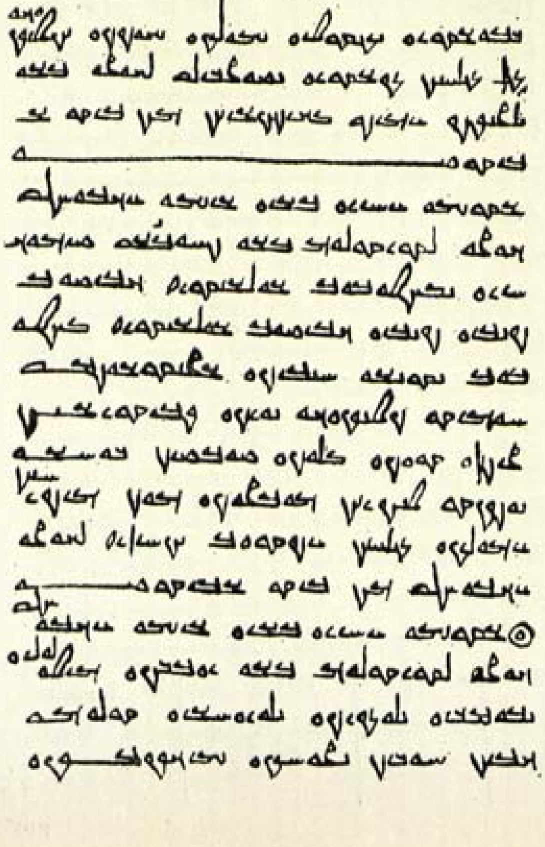

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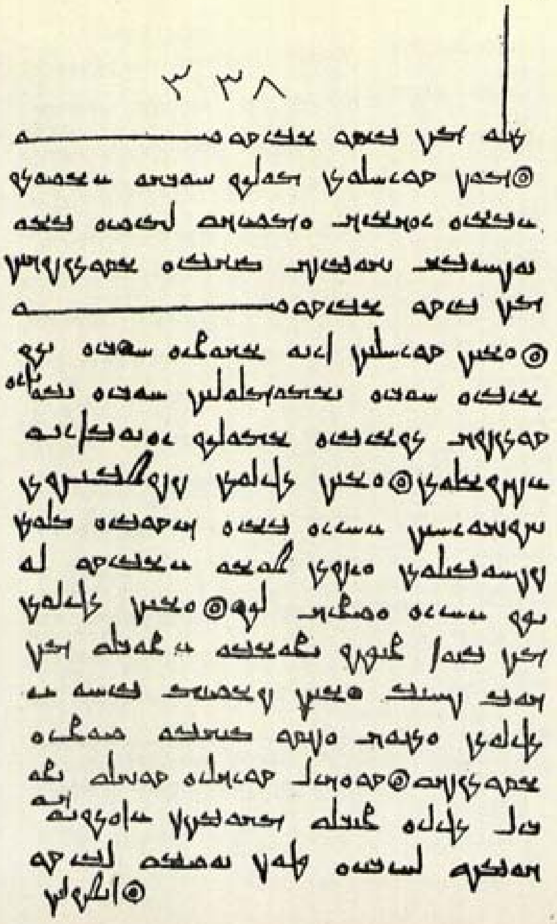

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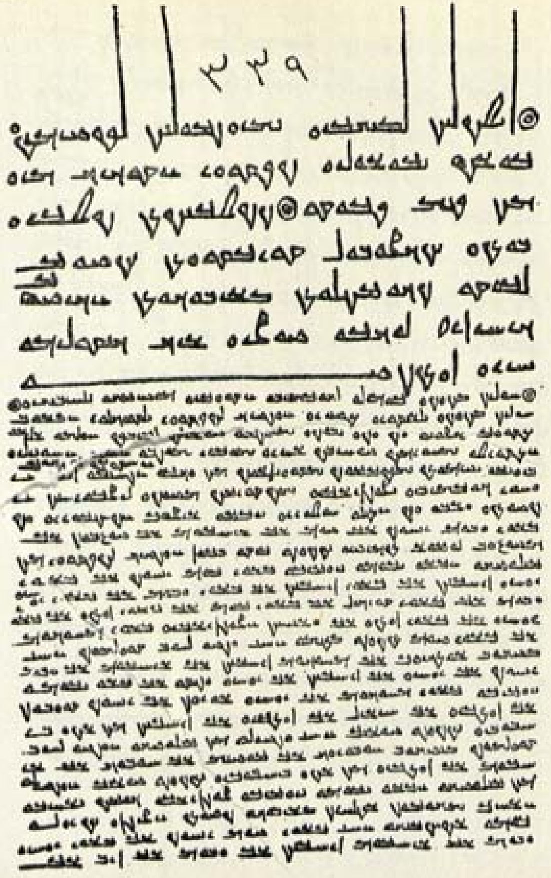

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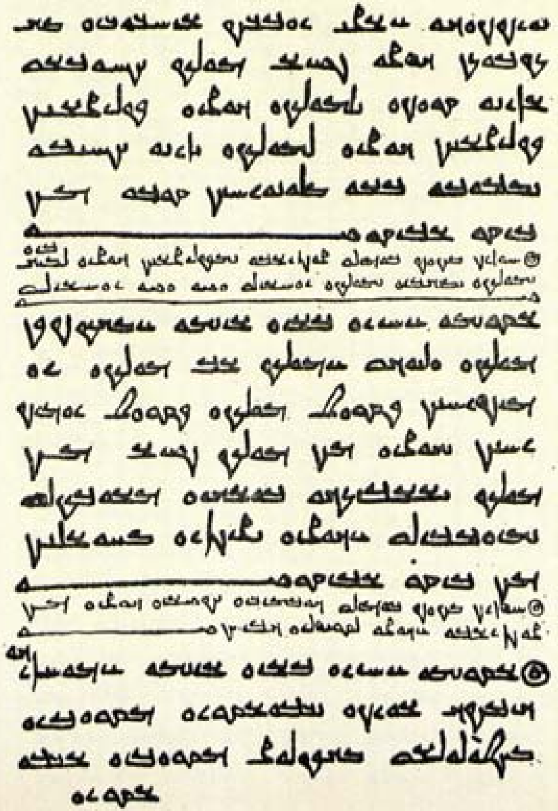

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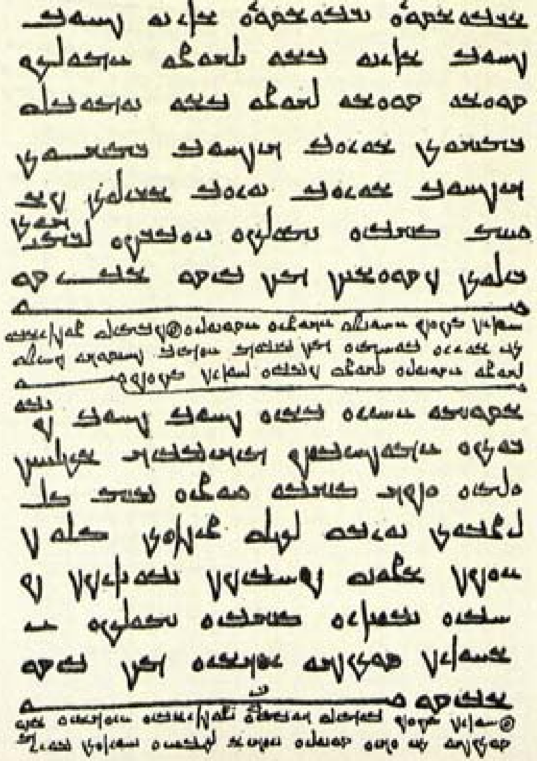

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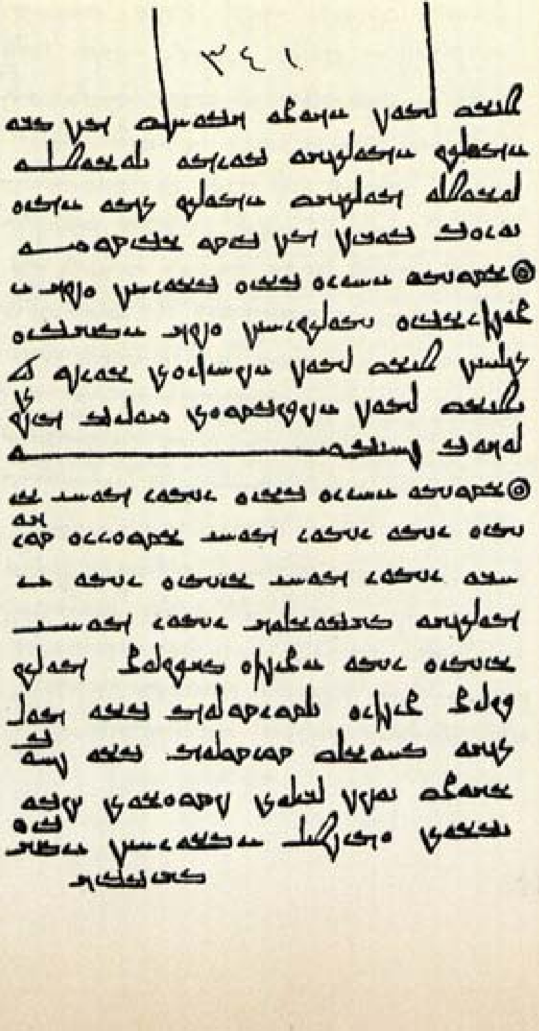

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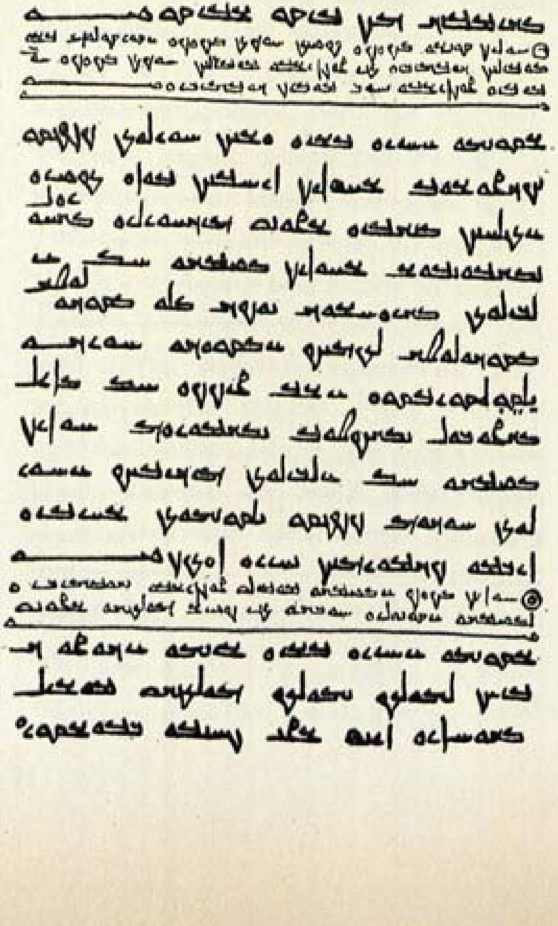

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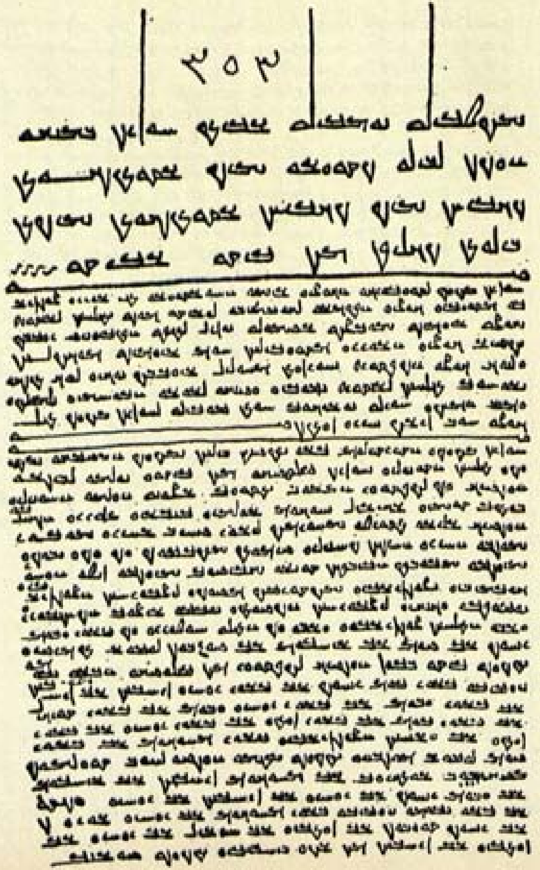

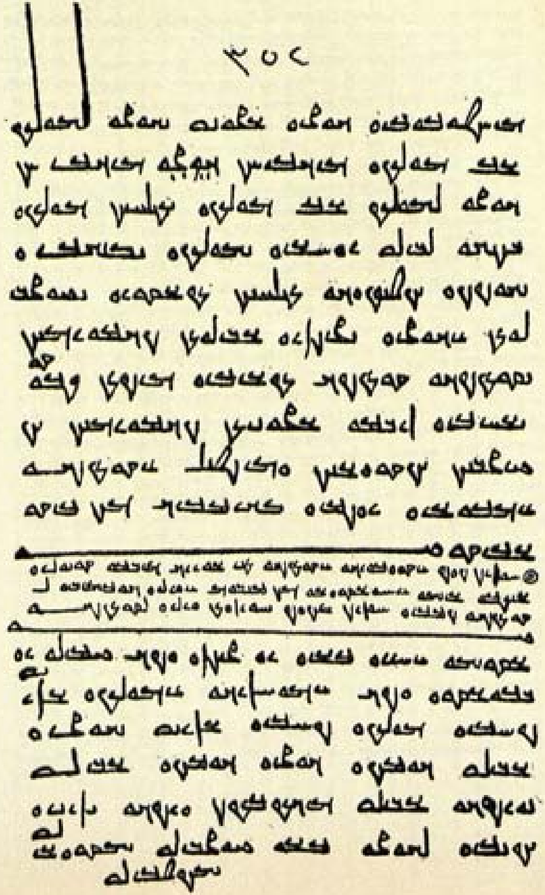

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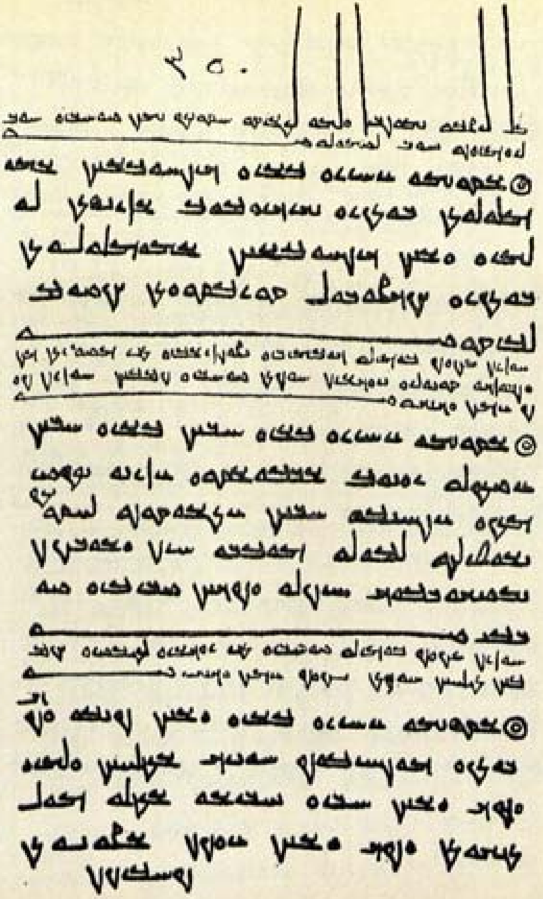

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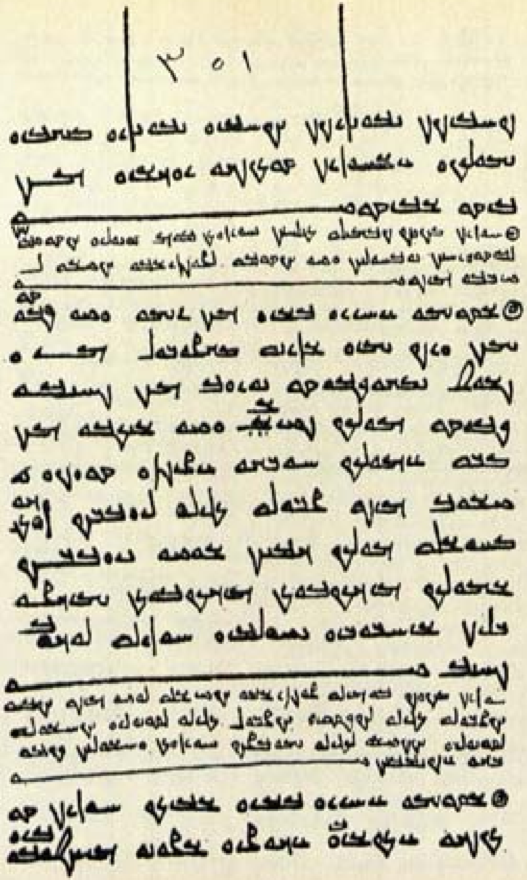

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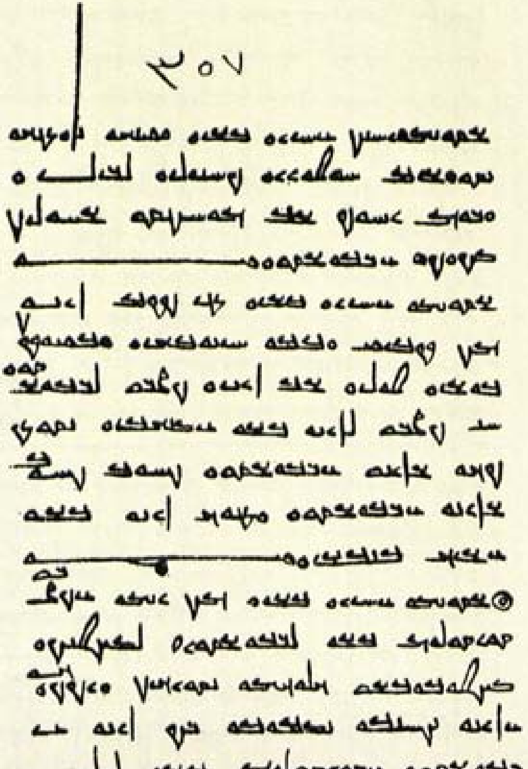

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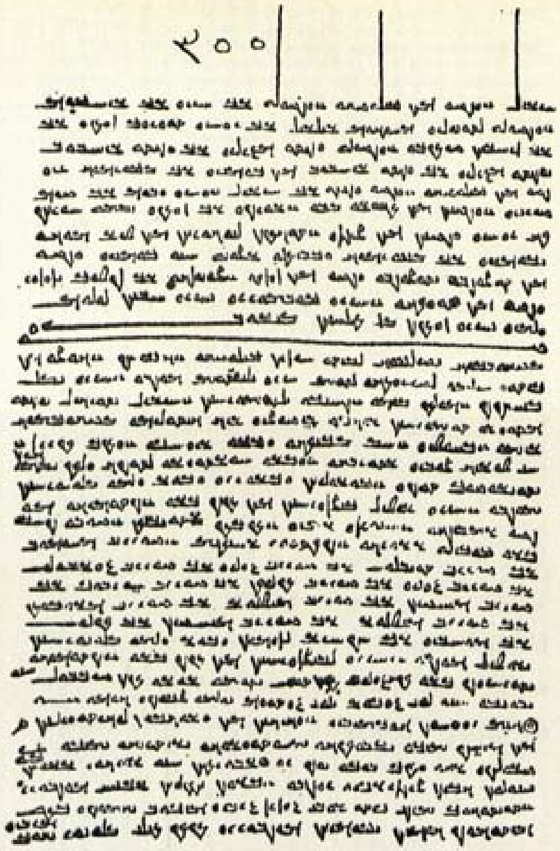
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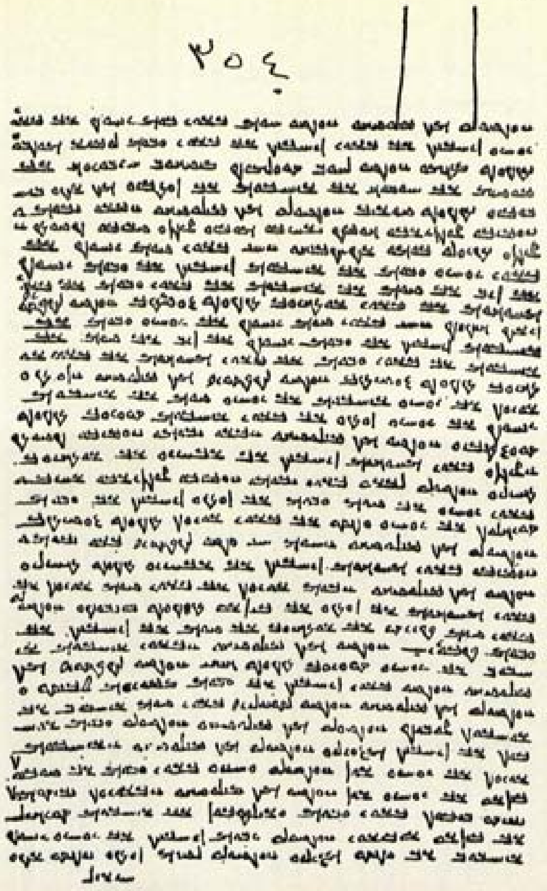
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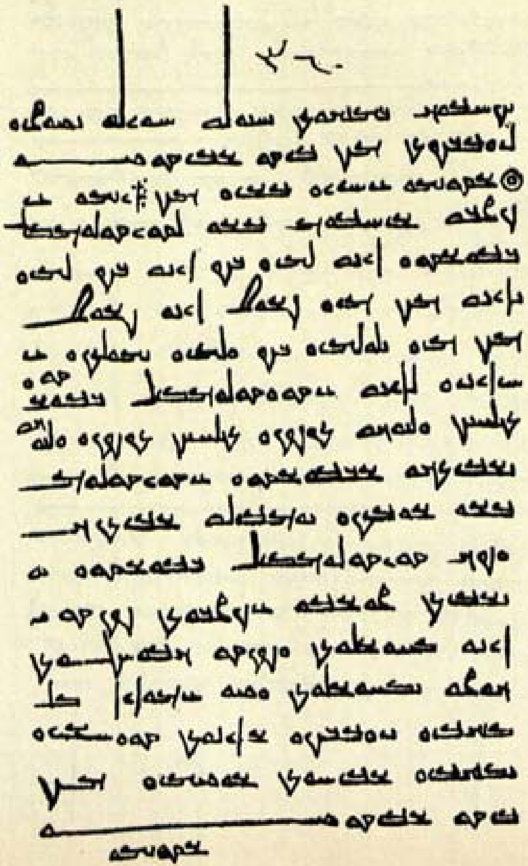

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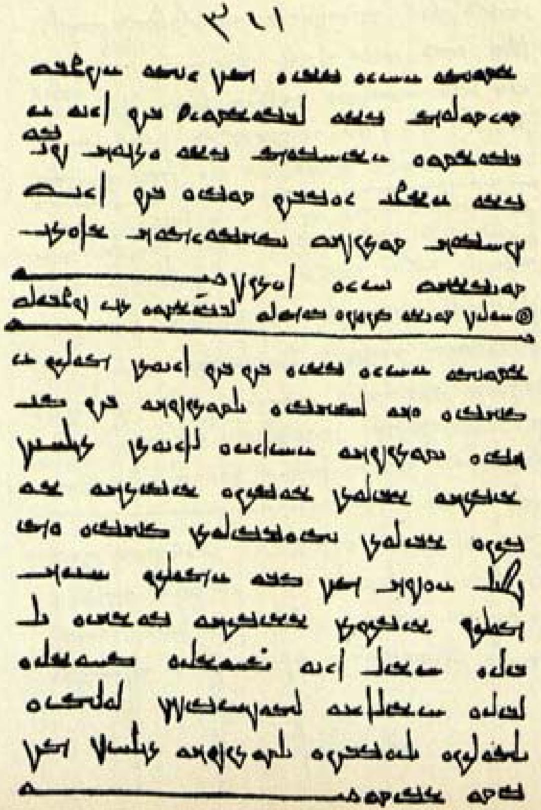

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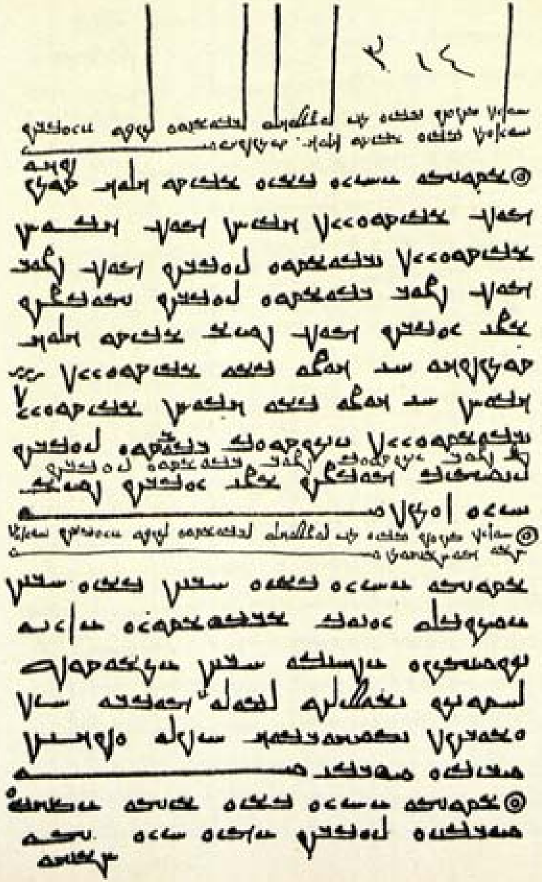

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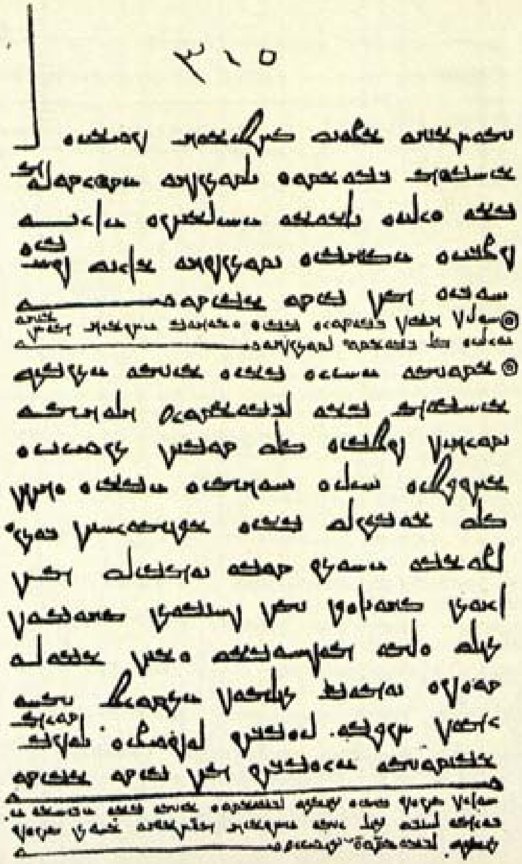

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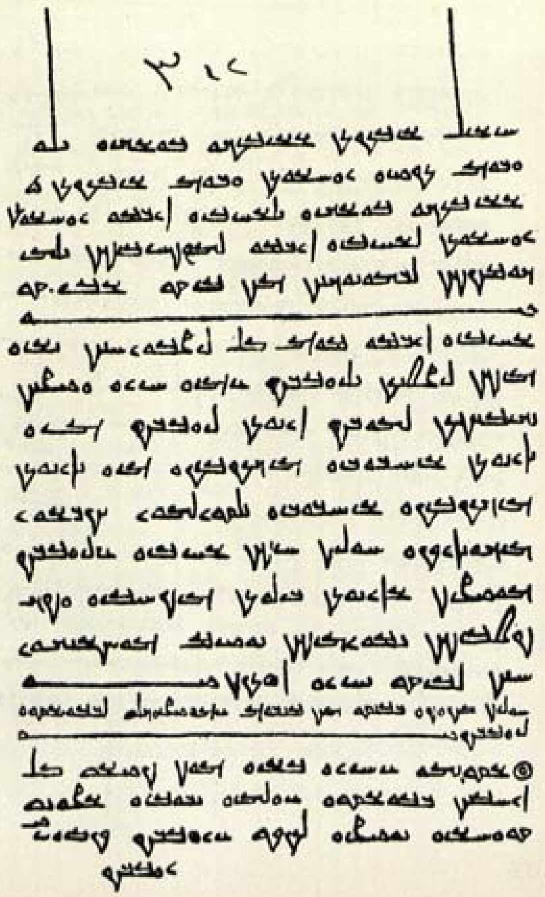

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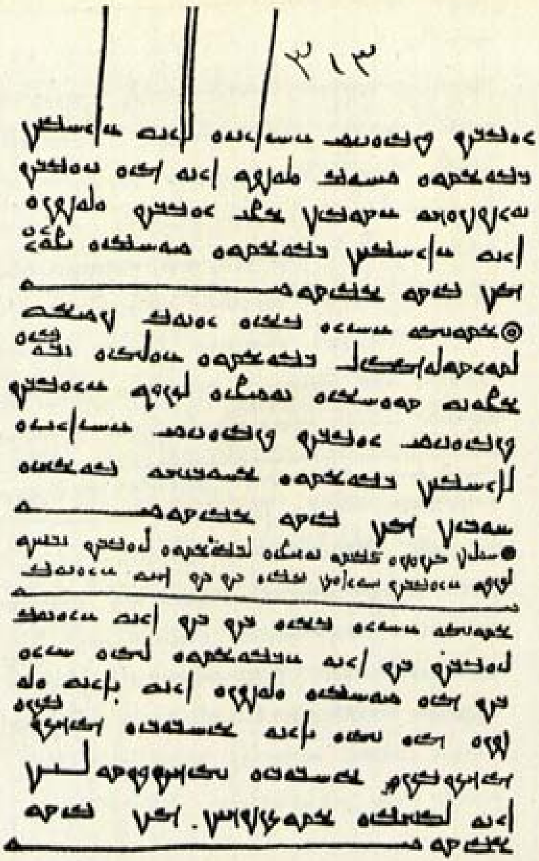

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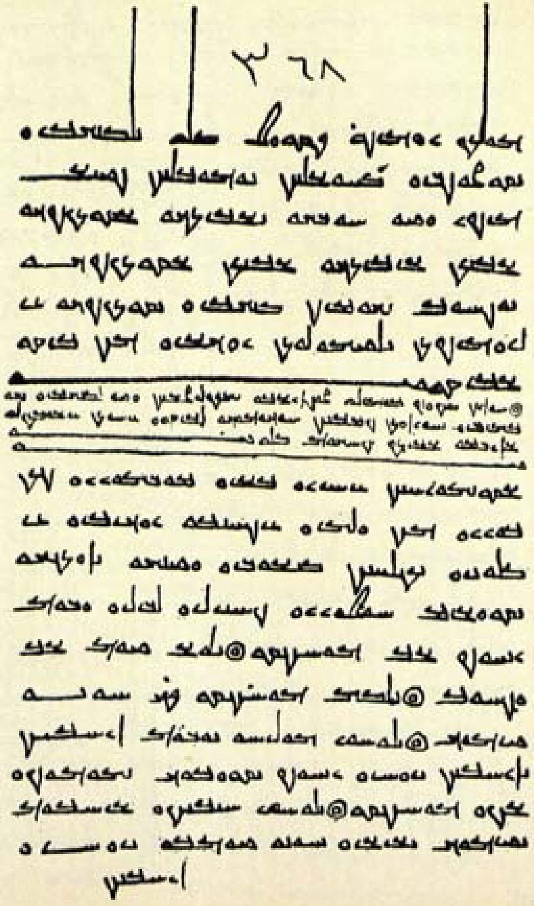

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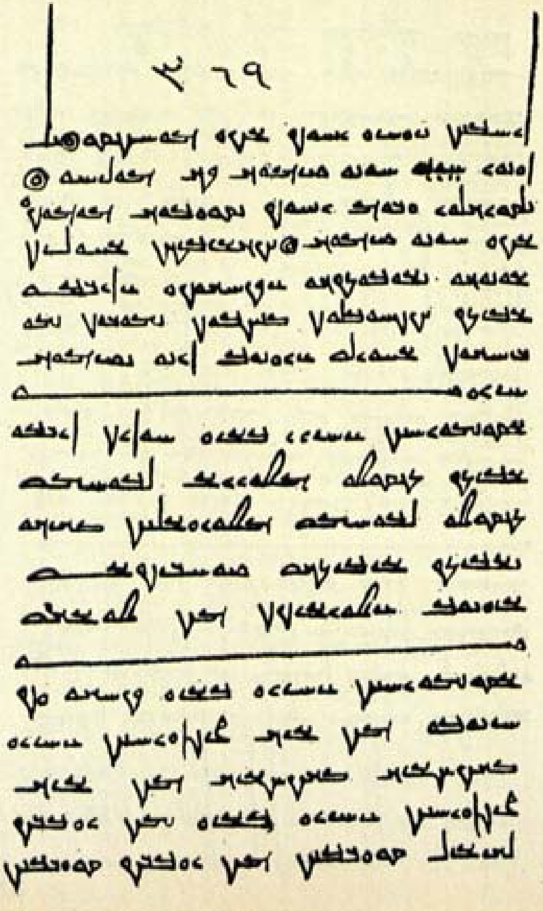

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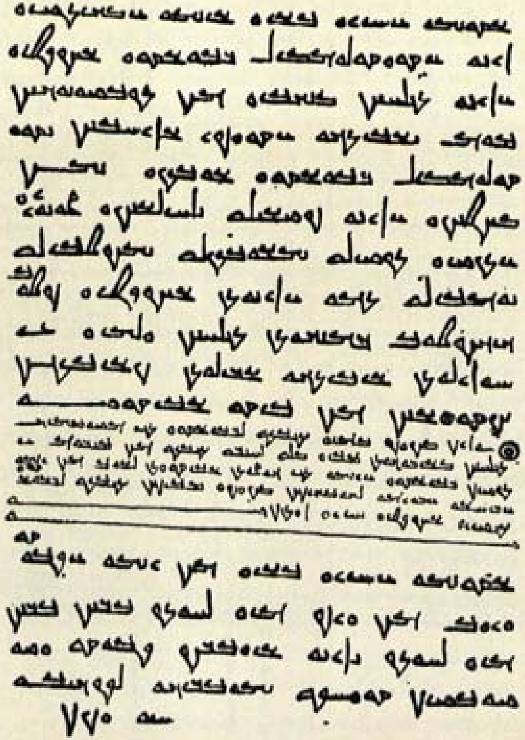

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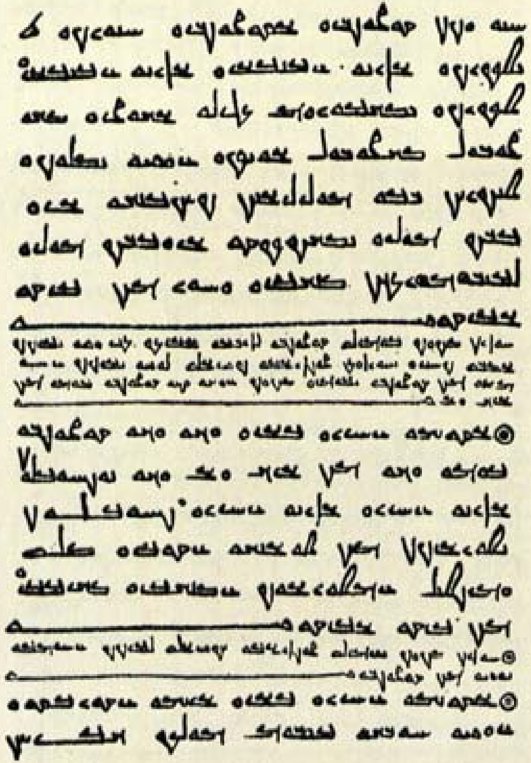

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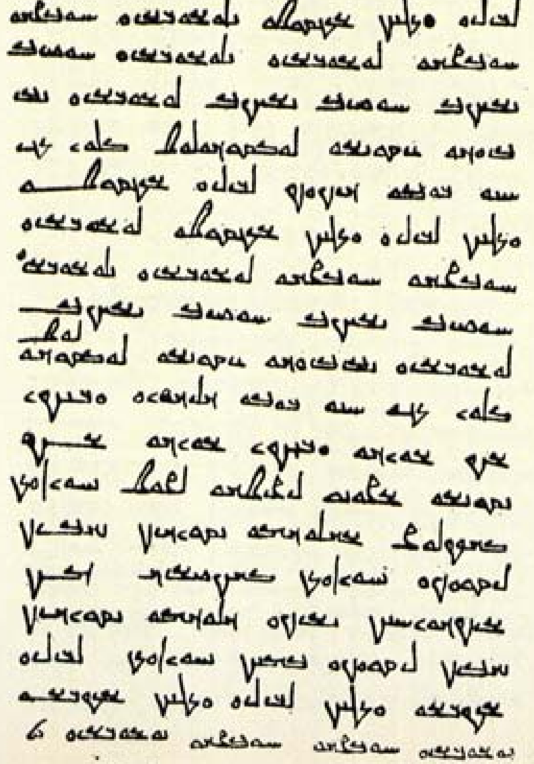

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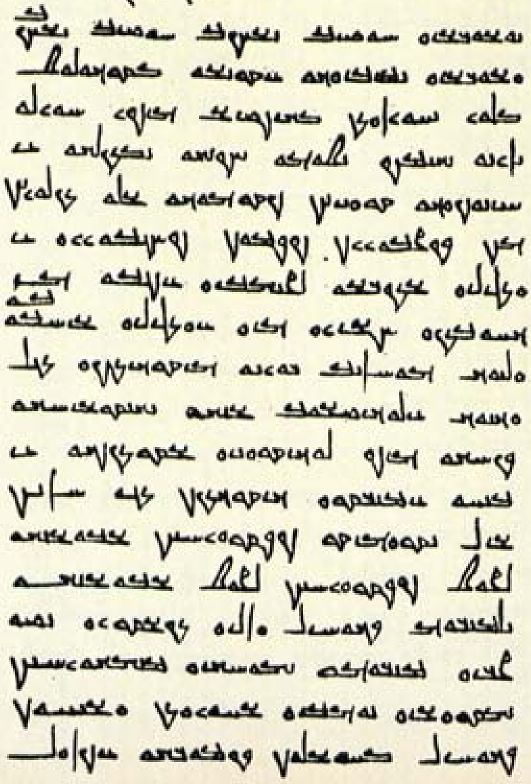

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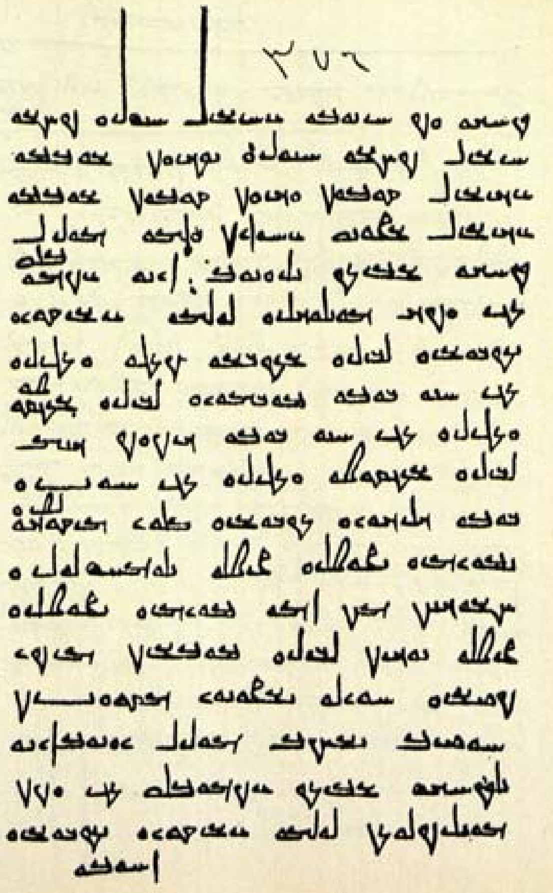

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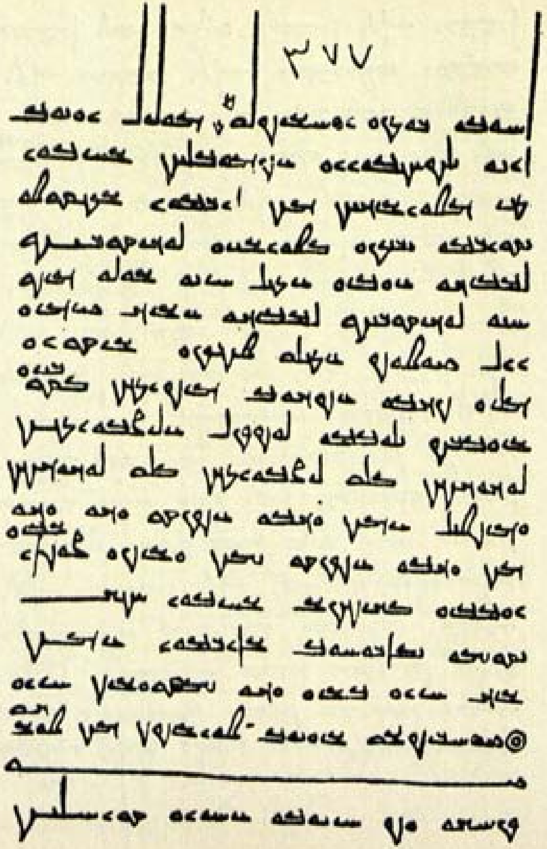

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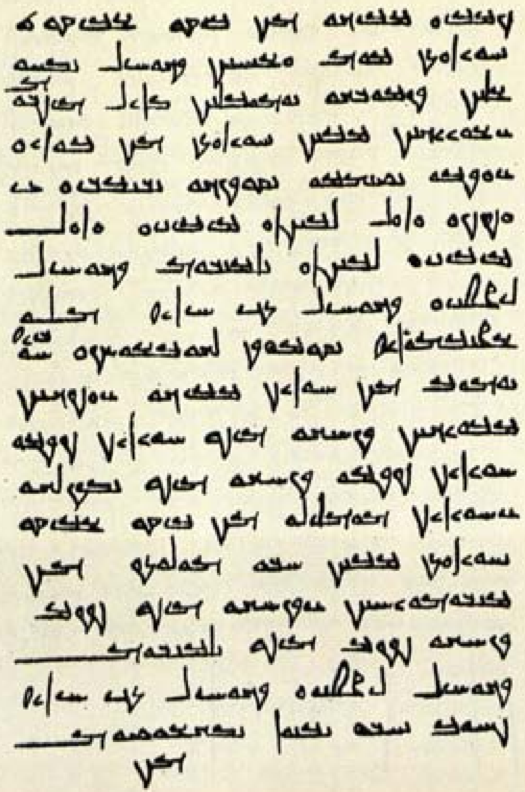

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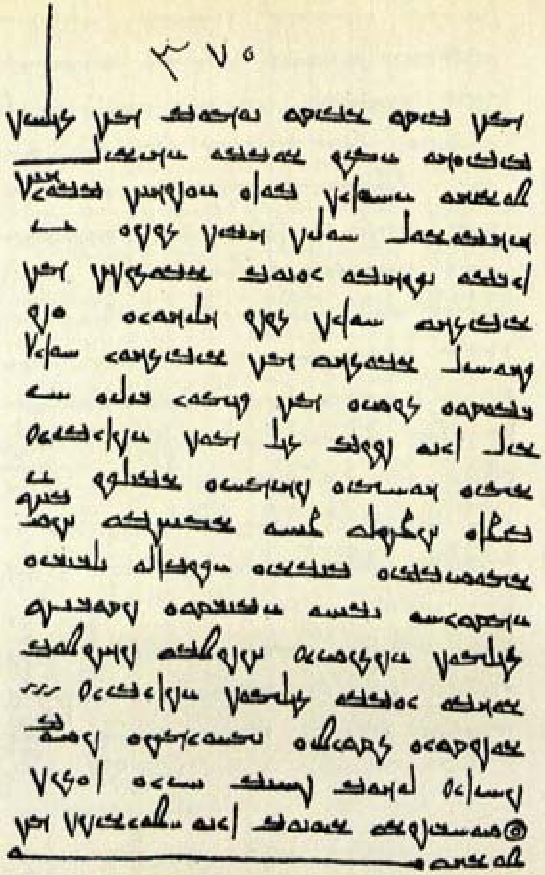

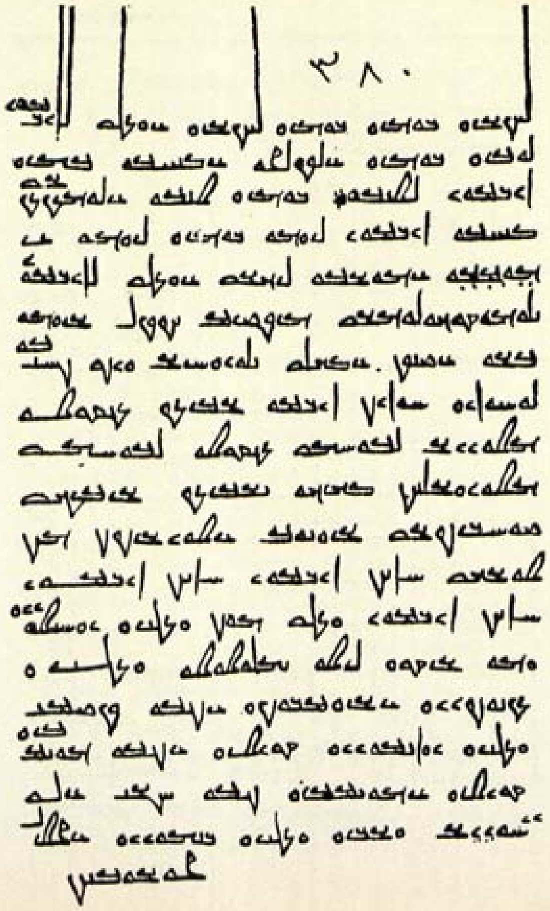

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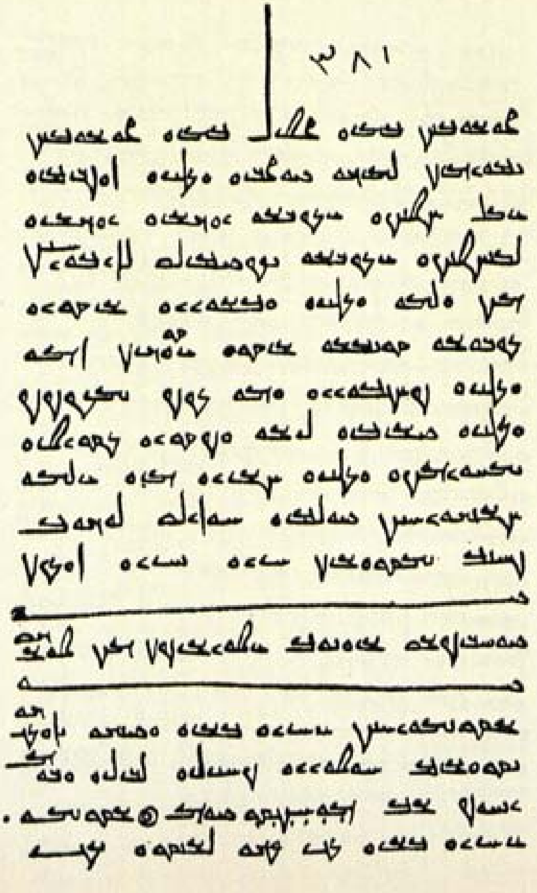

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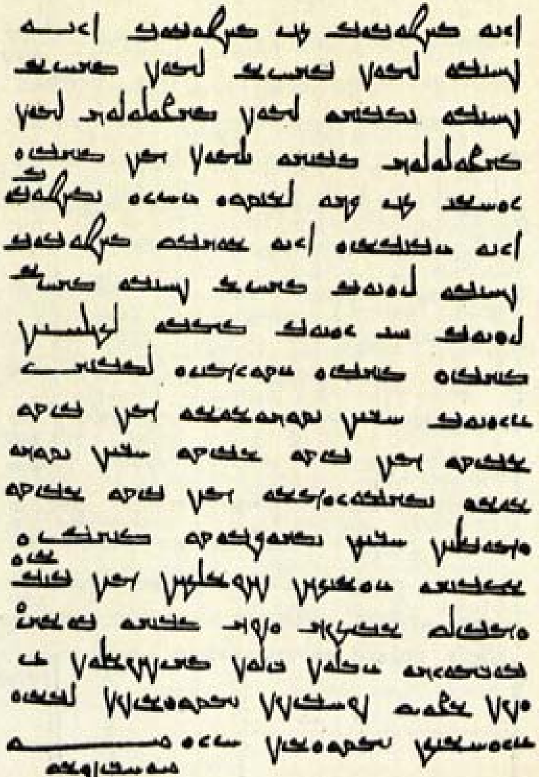

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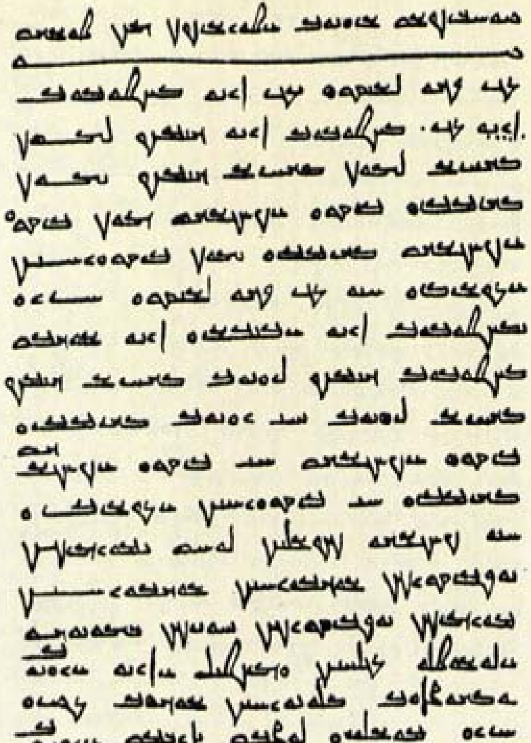

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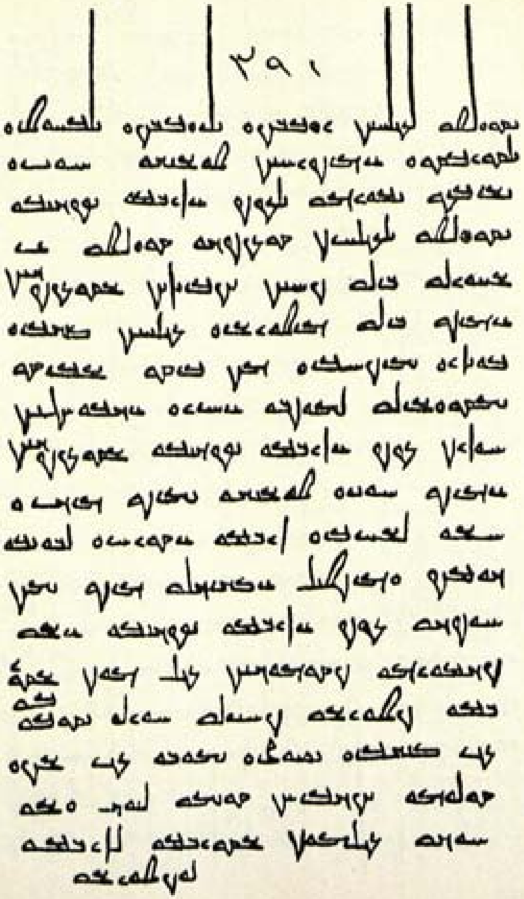
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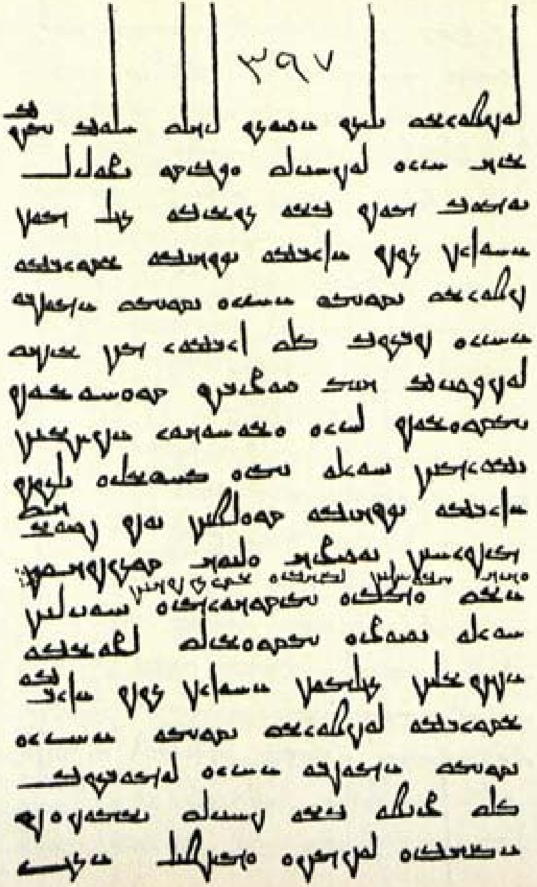
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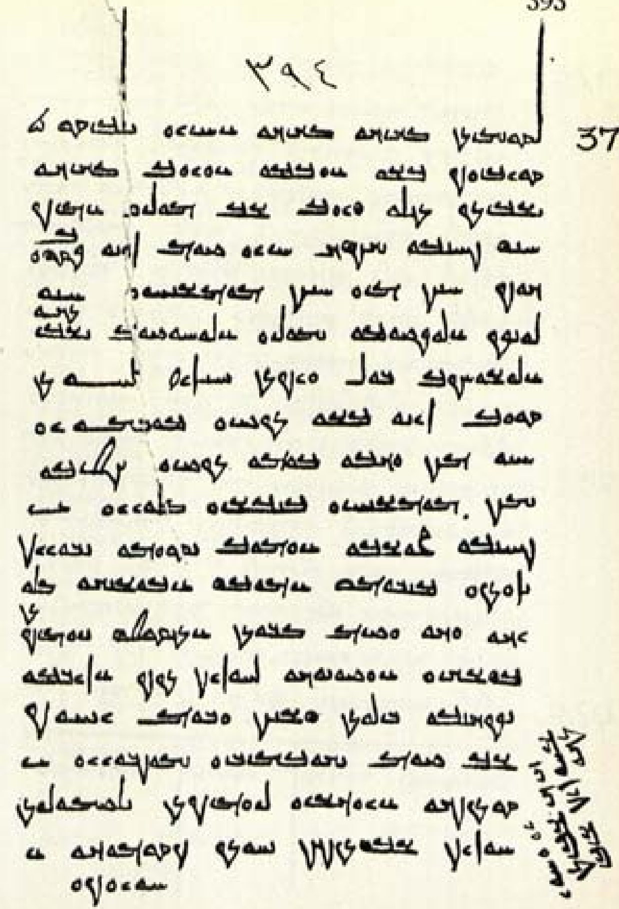

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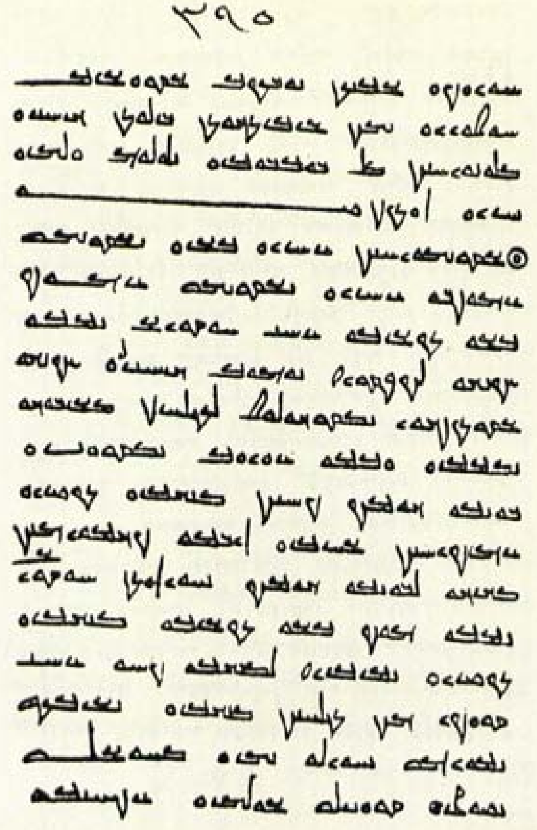

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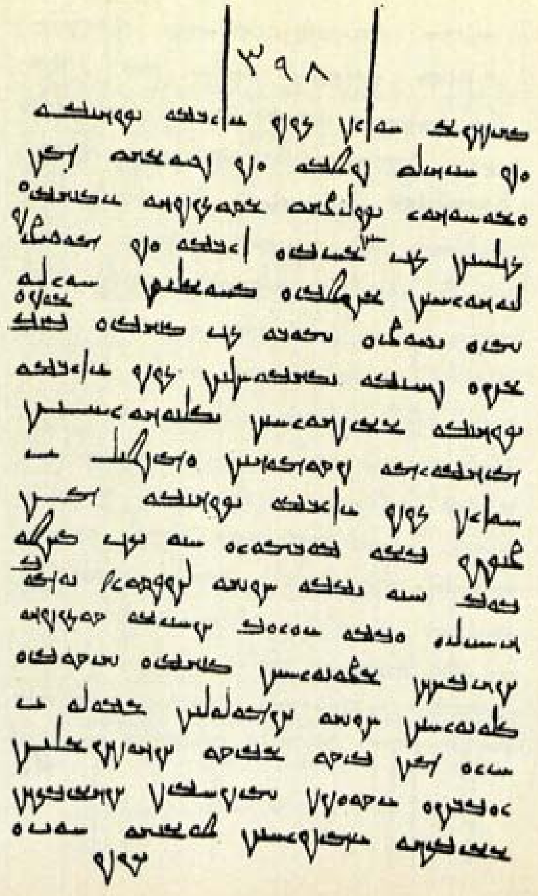

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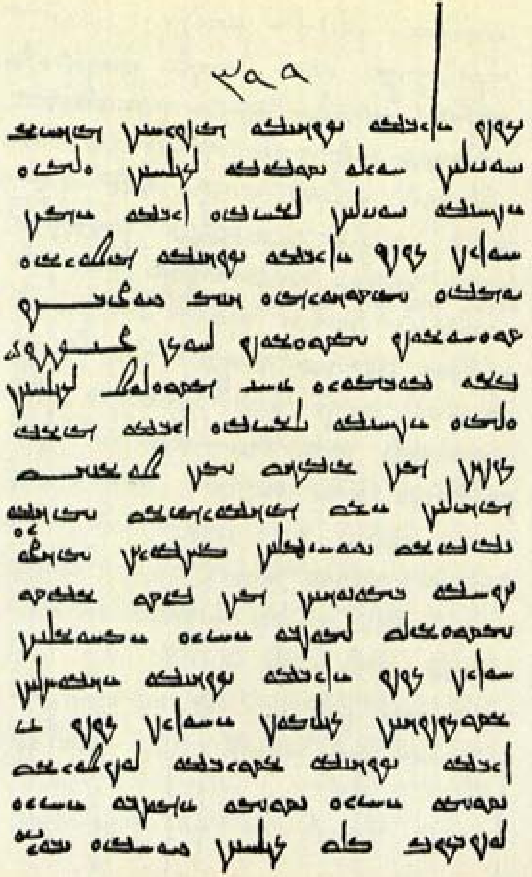

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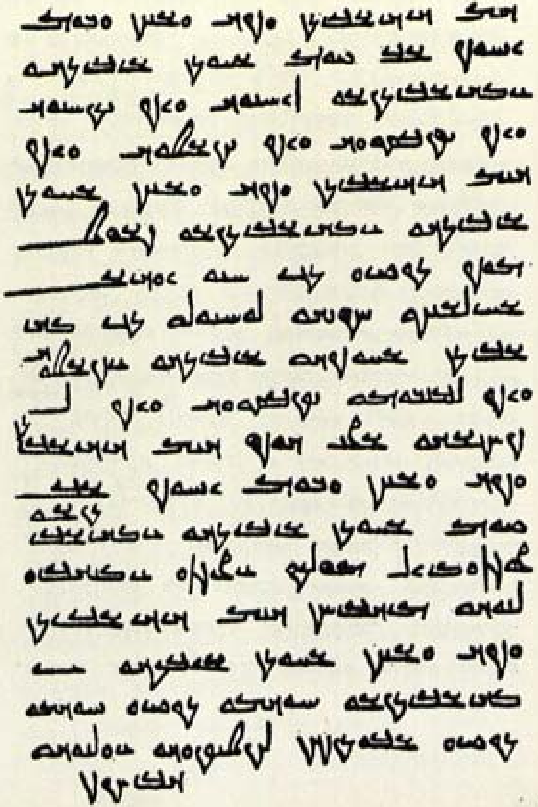

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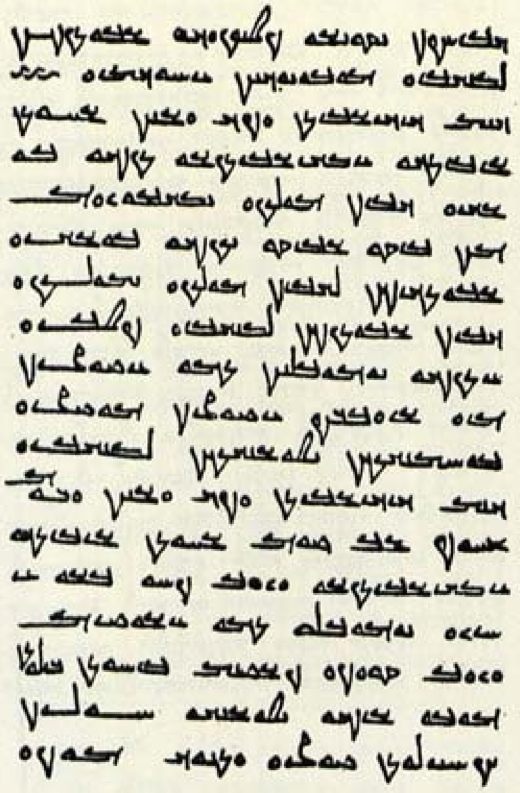

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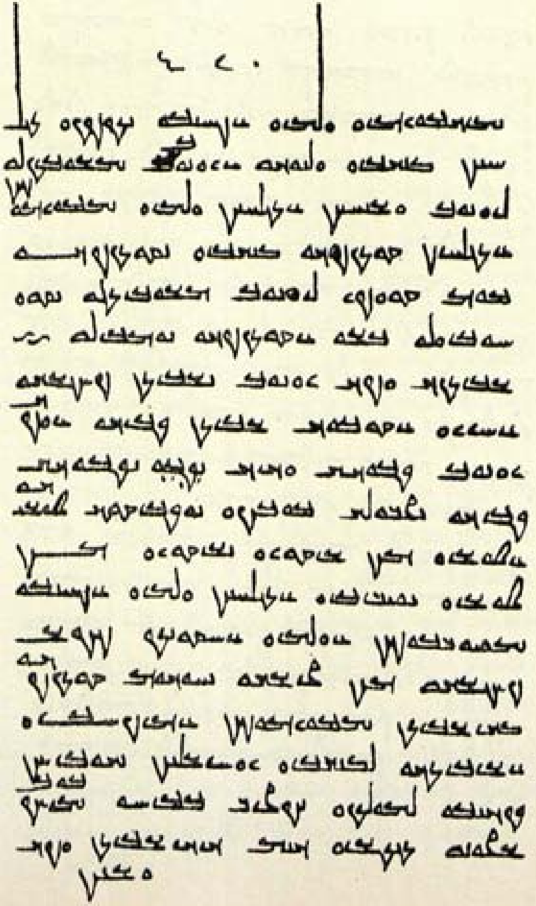

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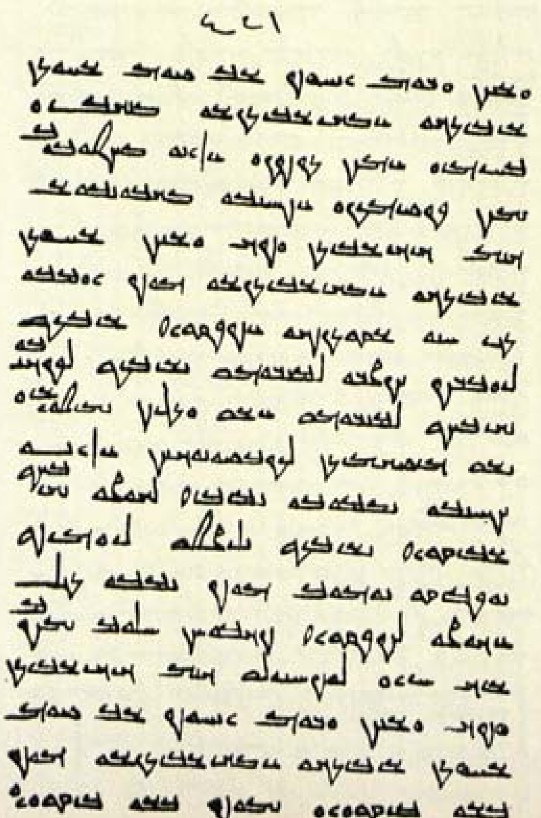

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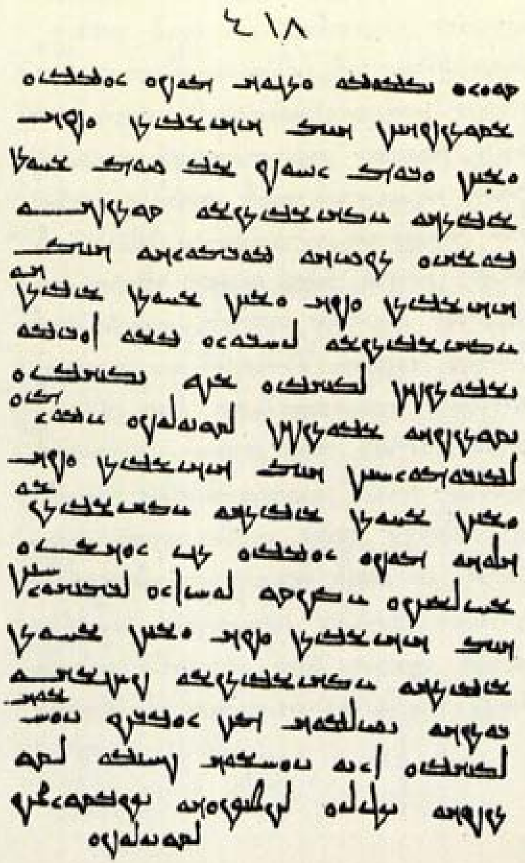

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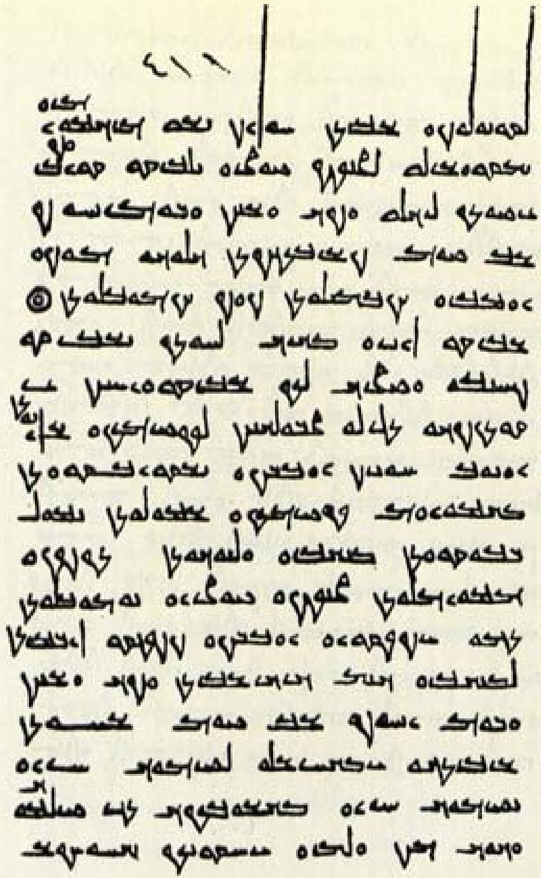

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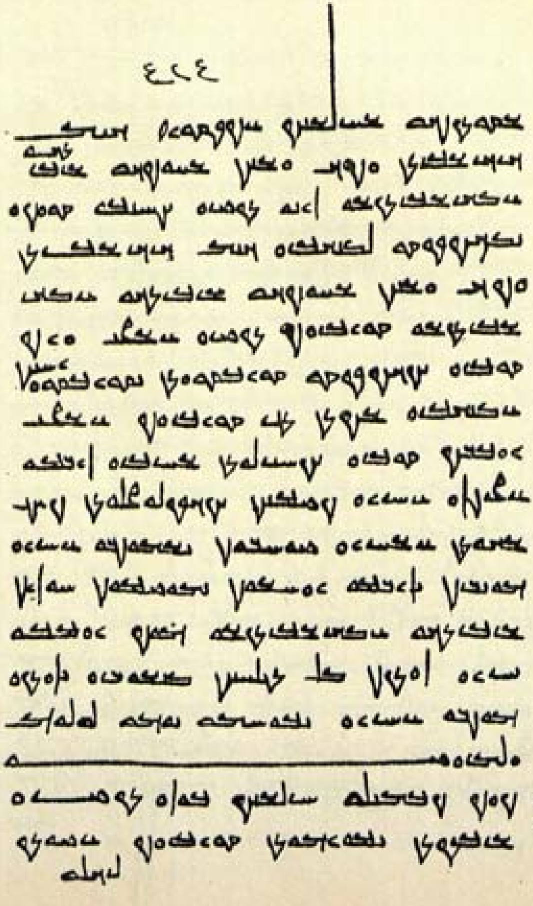

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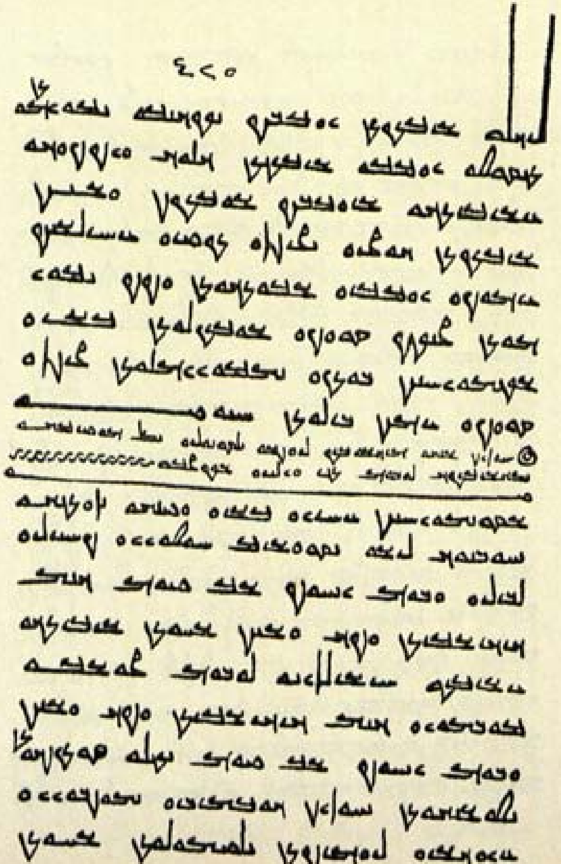

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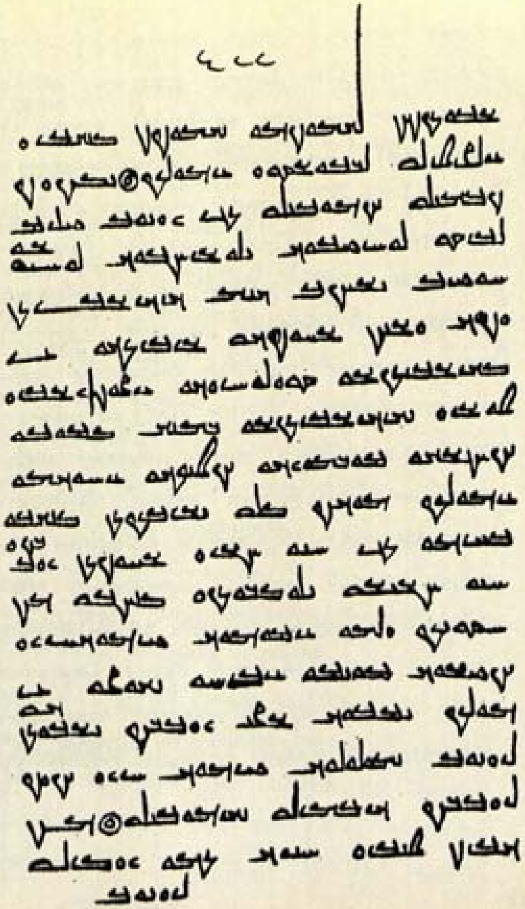

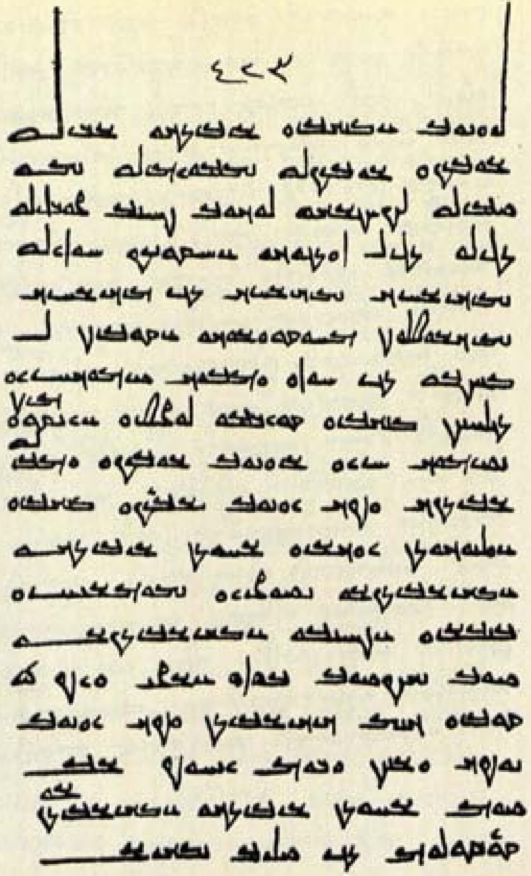

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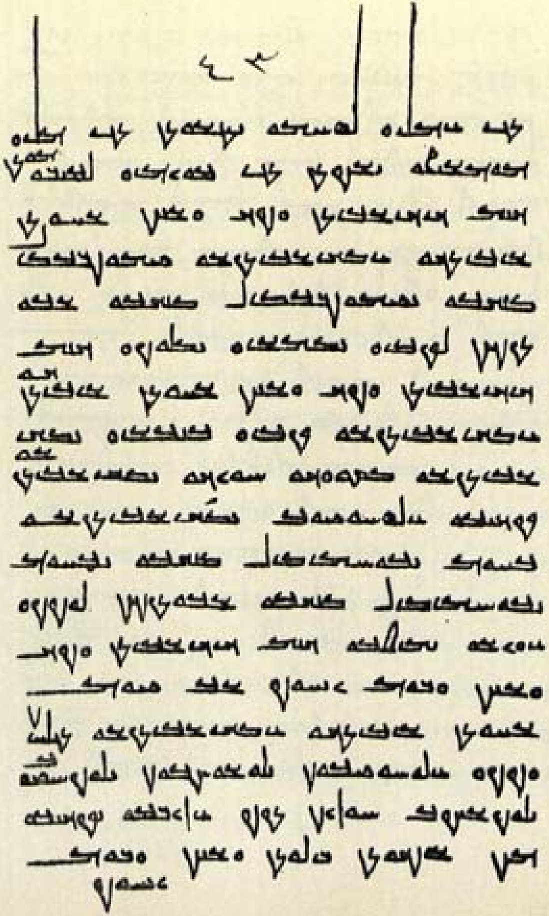
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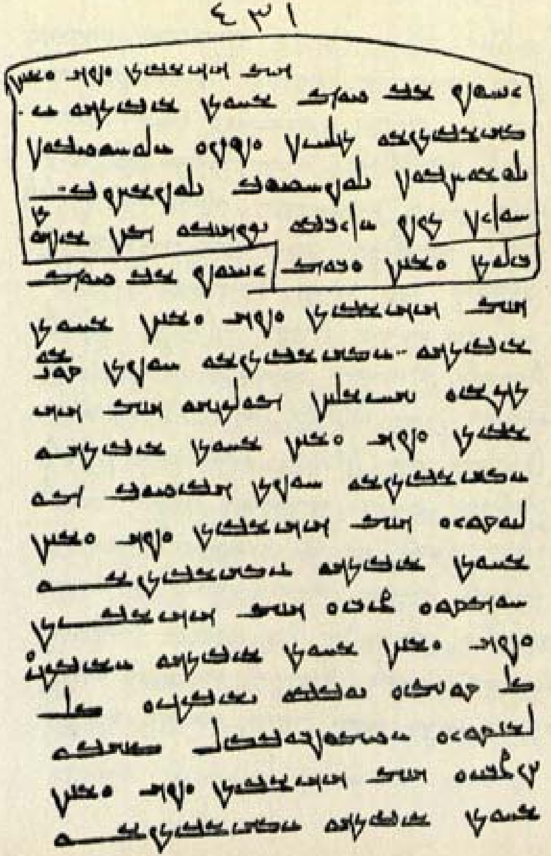
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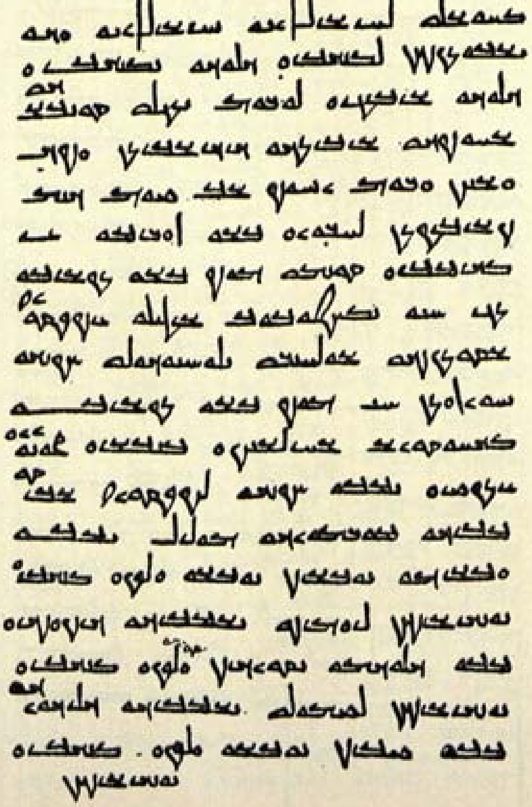

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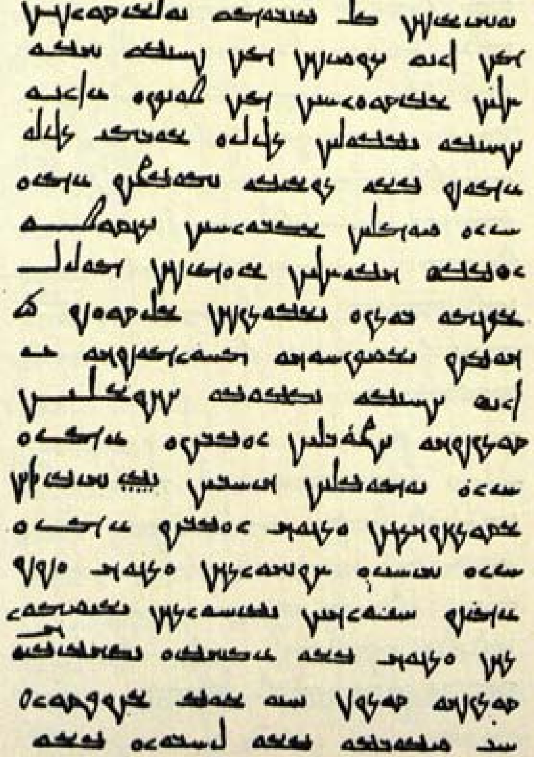

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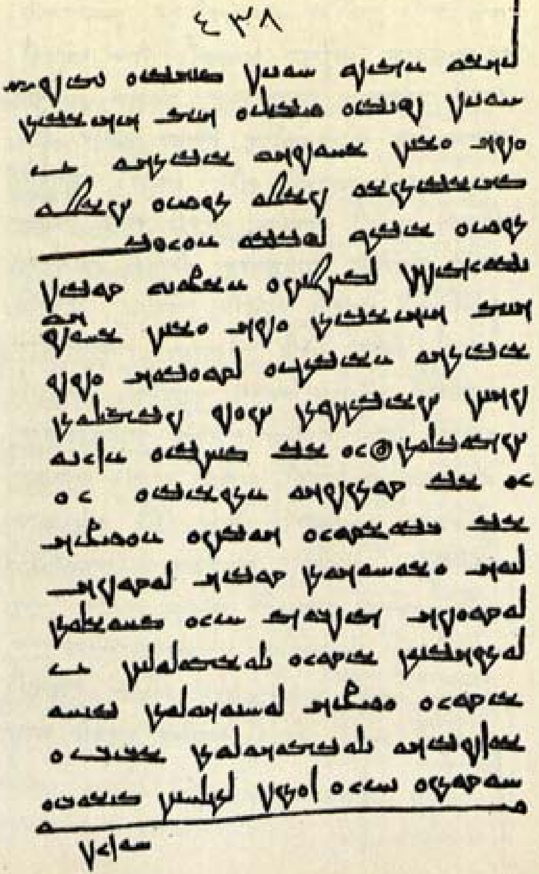

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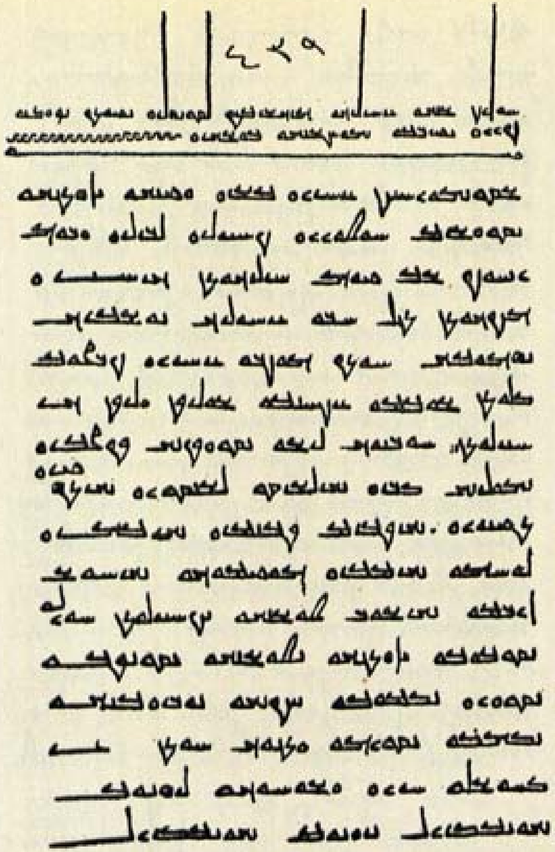

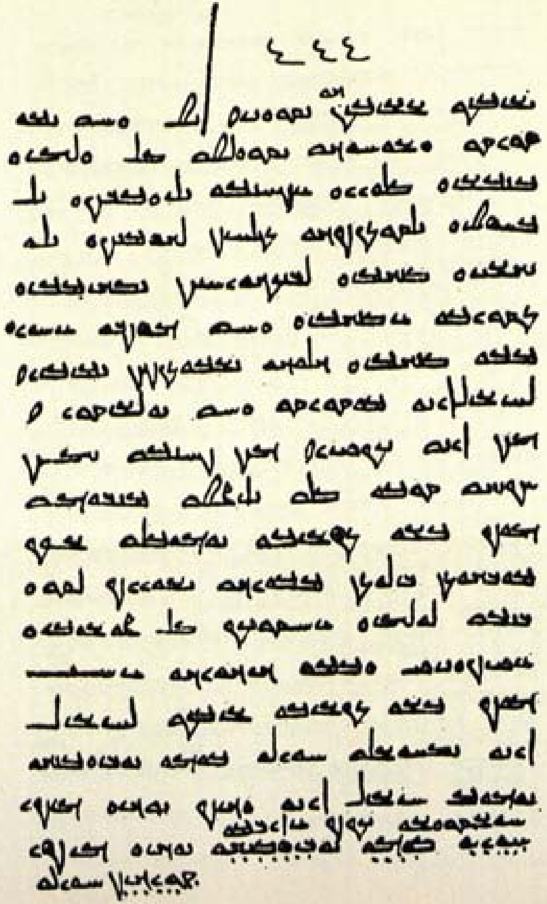

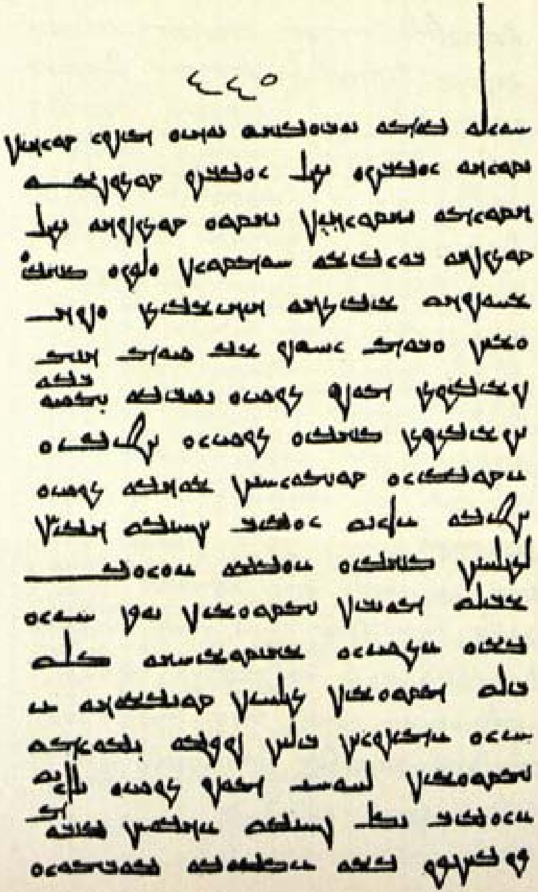

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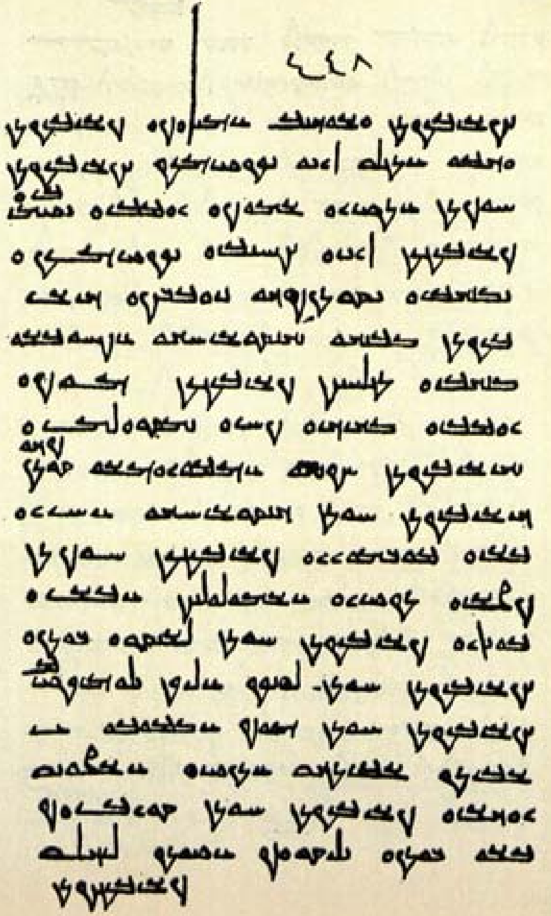

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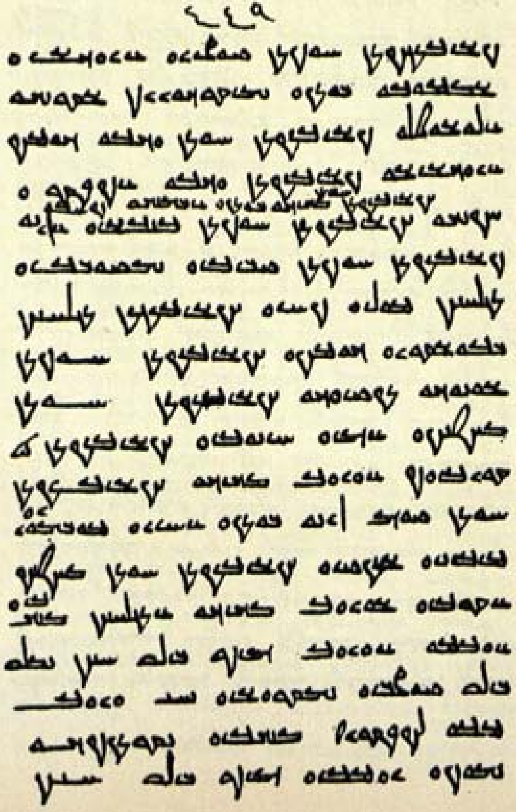

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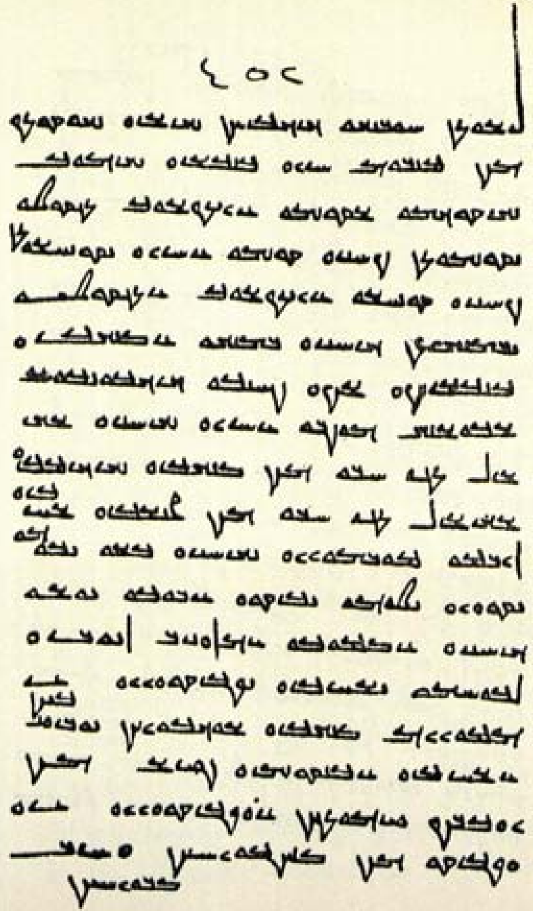

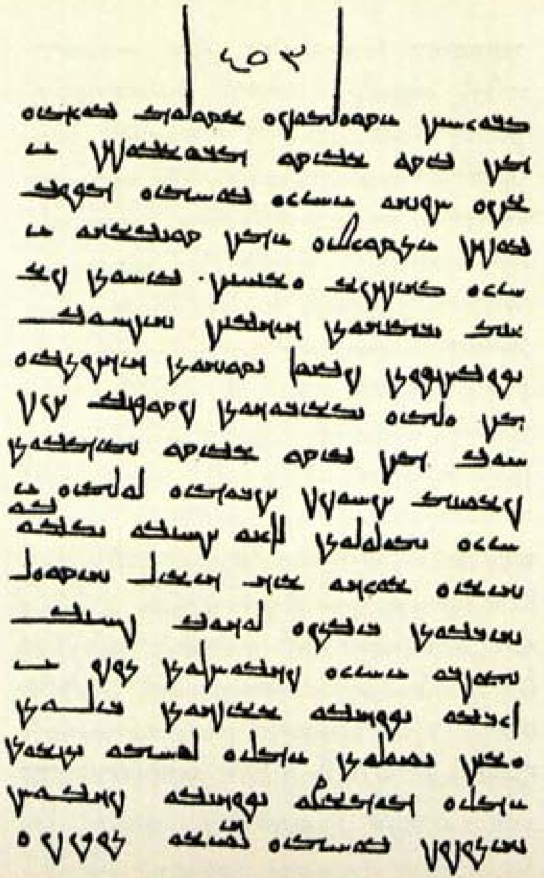

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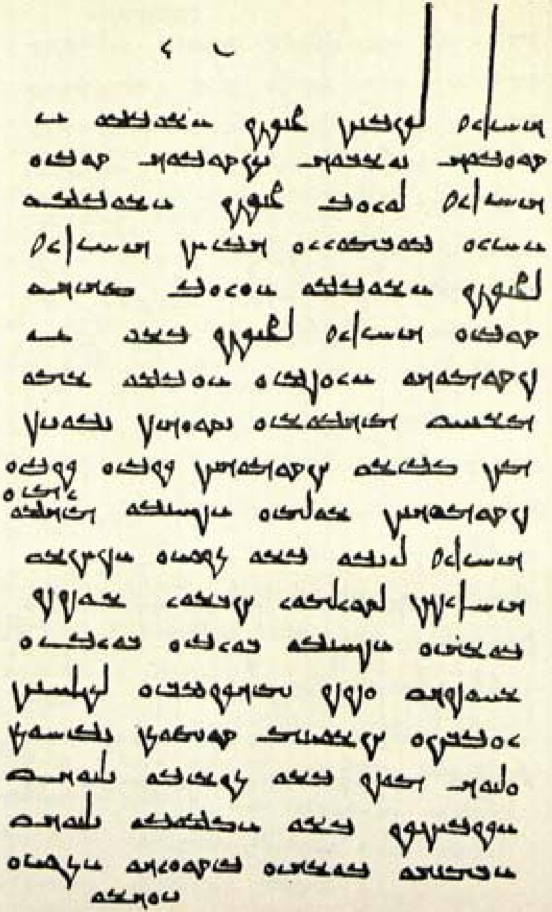

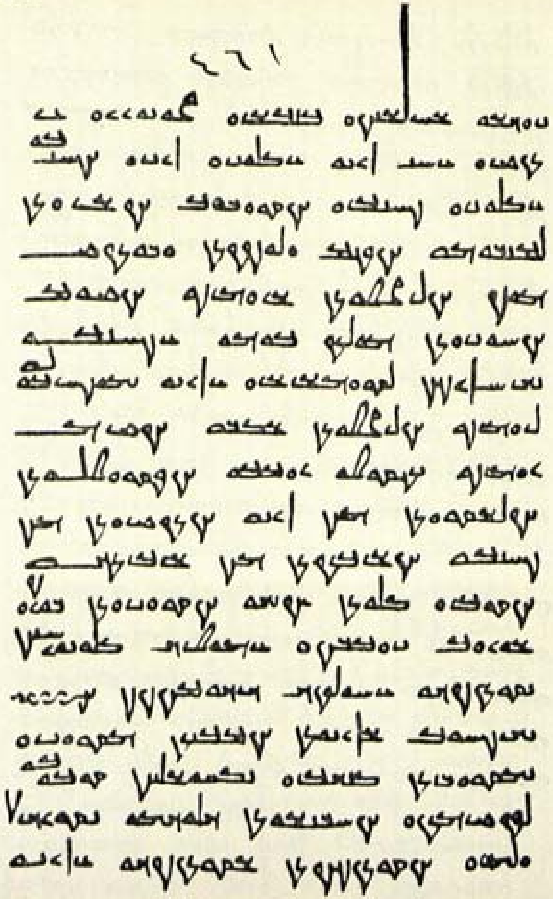

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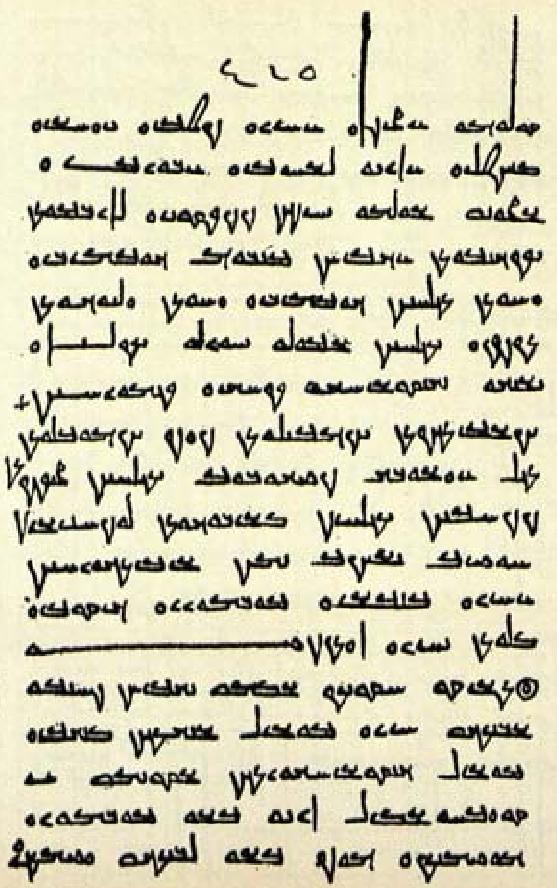

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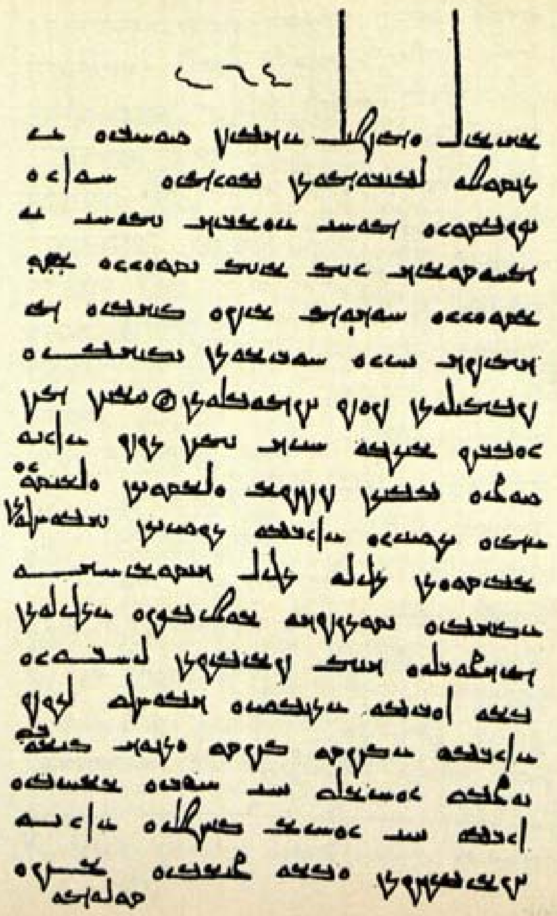

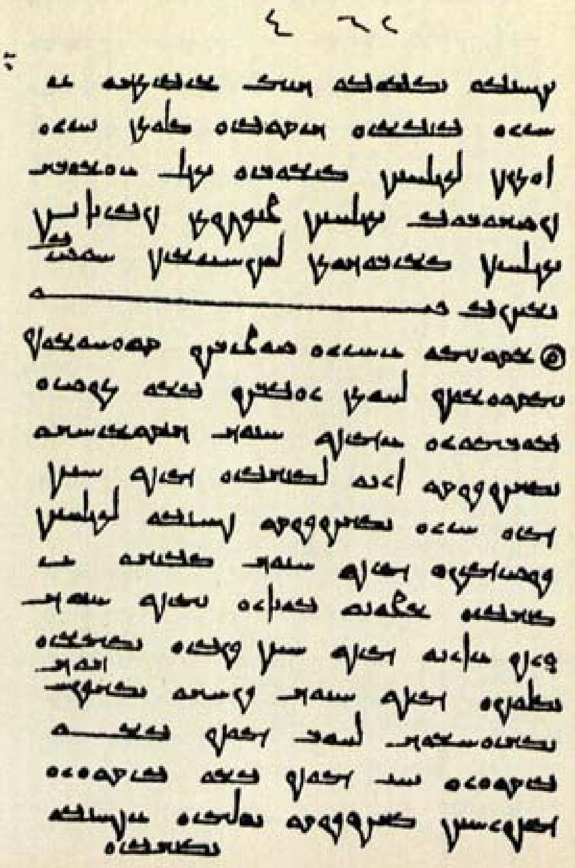

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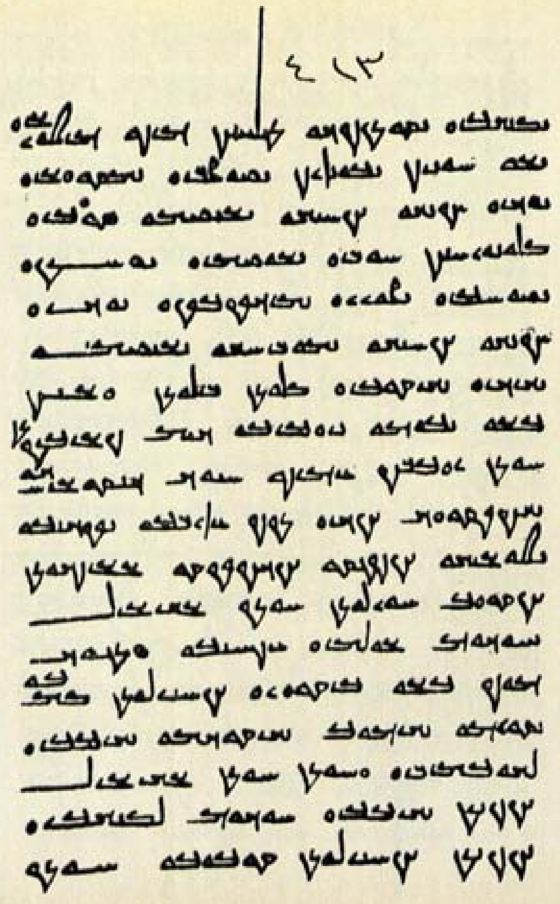

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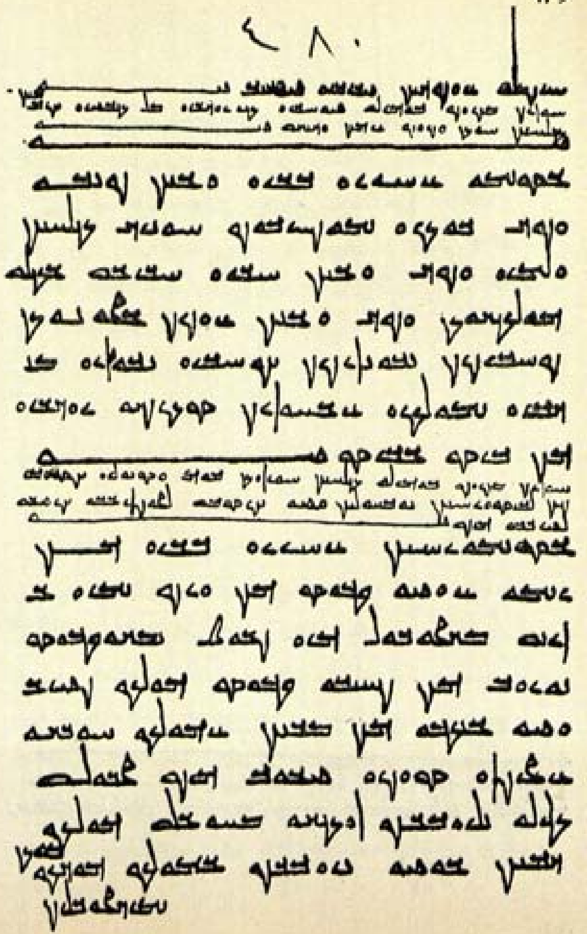

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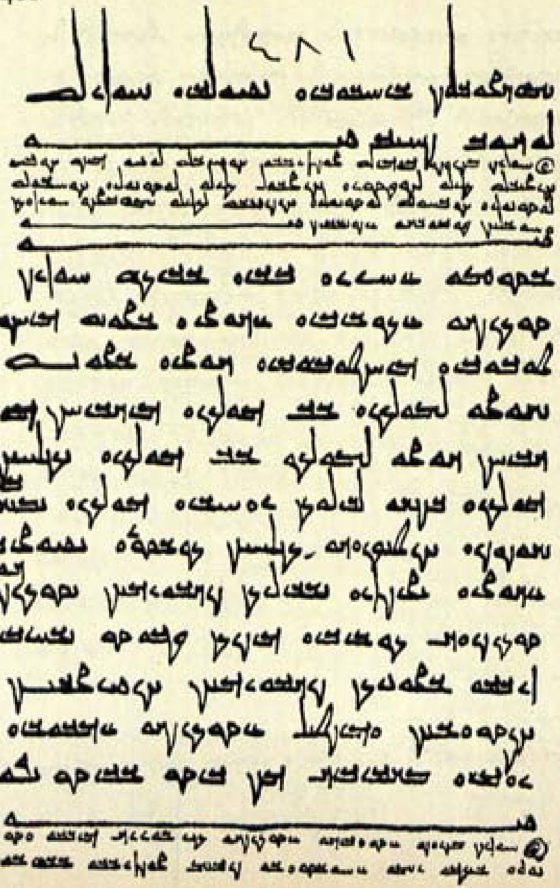

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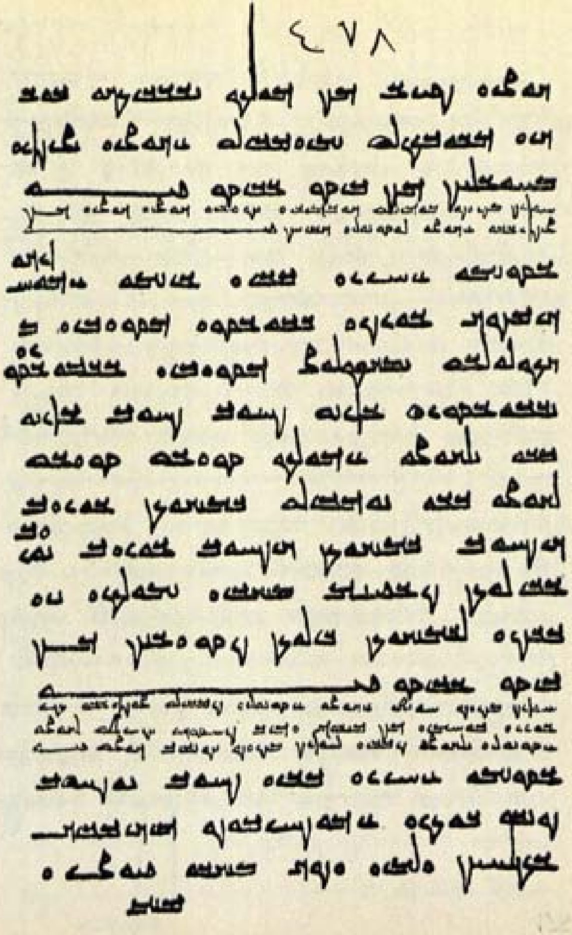

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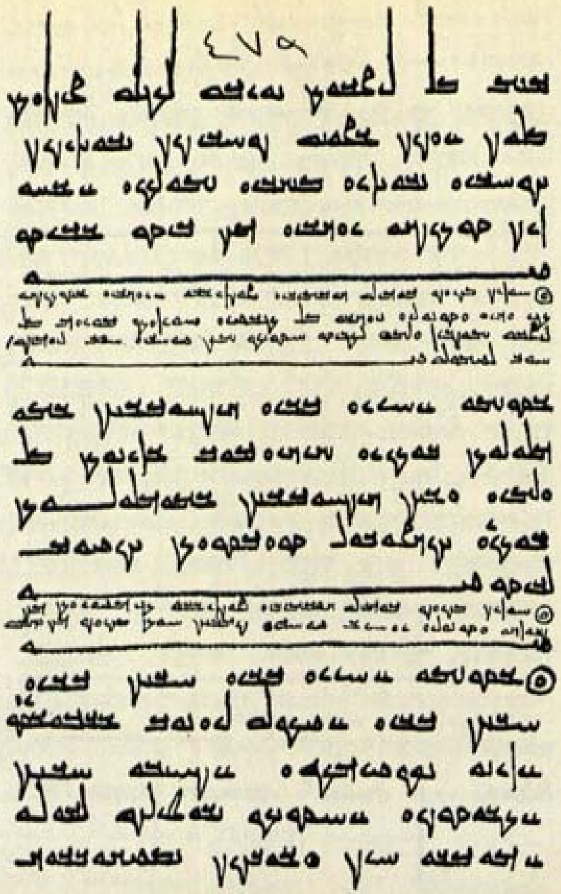

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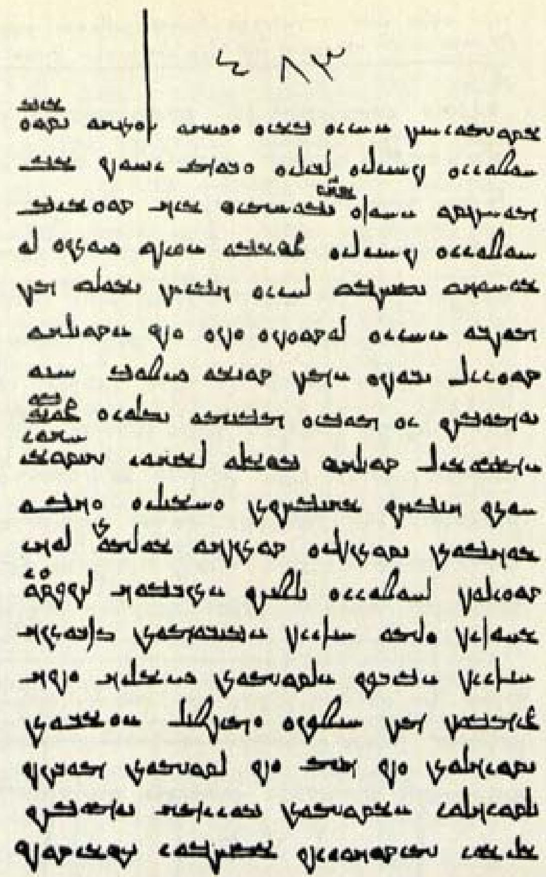

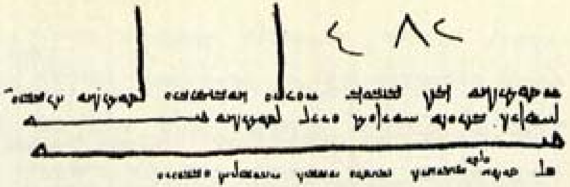

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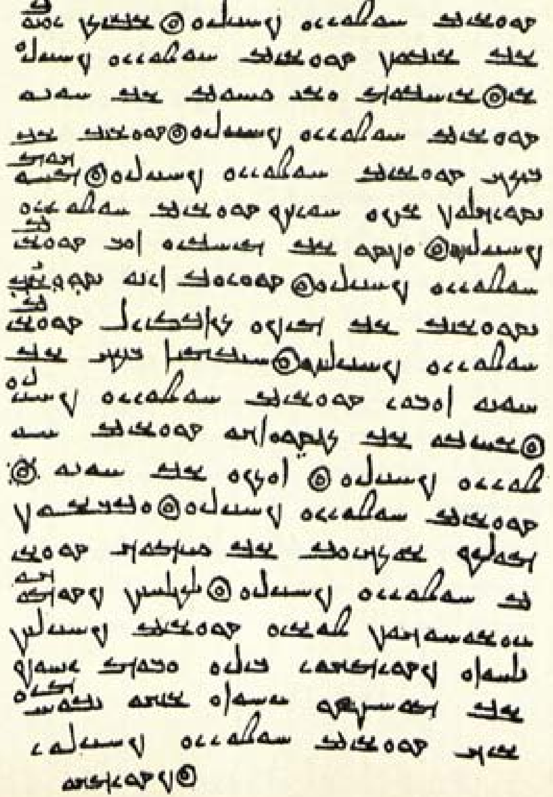

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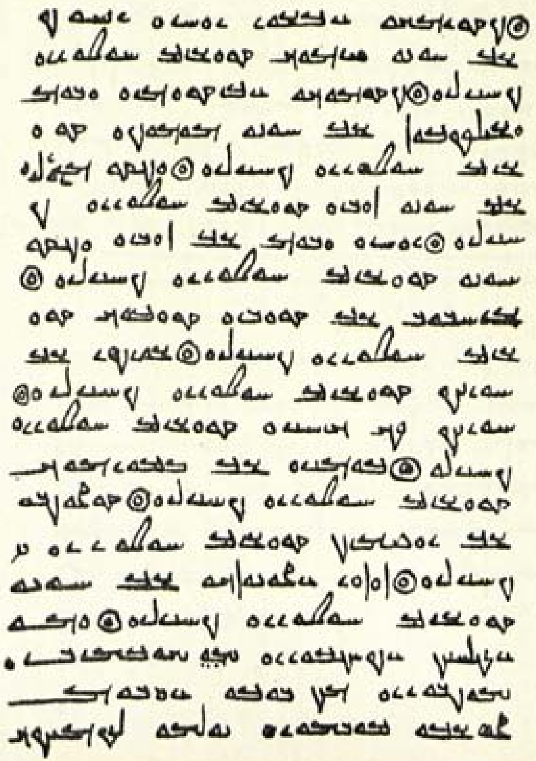

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Ginza Rabba "The Great Treasure" The Holy Book of the Mandaeans in English Featured

Written by Prof. Dr. Qais Al saadi

Ginza Rabba &quot;The Great Treasure&quot; The Holy Book of the Mandaeans in English

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Although Mandaeans neglected to document their history and **have lost much of their oral traditions**, they were quite eager to keep their religious heritage by copying their manuscripts. They therefore adopted **strict regulations for copying their sacred manuscripts**, to maintain and preserve them from one generation to the next.

The Ginza Rabba, or “Great Treasure”, is Mandaeans’ largest collection of religious principles and instructions. According to their beliefs, **the Ginza was the first revelation of God to Adam** and thus considered as their holy book. Among Mandaeans, the book is also known as

Sidra Rabba, the great codex or Sidra ’d Adam, the codex of Adam.

As unique as these people are, their holy book is specially arranged: it consists of two volumes, **the yamina or “right” and smala or “left” Ginza.** The “right” volume is larger and contains 18 chapters divided into individual tractates, whereas the “left” volume includes 3 main chapters containing many hymns. **The way of binding both volumes together is very particular and used by the Mandaeans only for this book.** Both parts have to be bundled together in one tome; the “left” part is placed upside-down to the “right” part, so that both parts can be read from right-to-left according to the Mandaic alphabet.

The Ginza Rabba varies in its contents and deals with spiritual, even metaphysical aspects. It also deals with the mortal life of human beings and describes ancient visions concerning life after death. In particular, the “right” volume depicts the Mandaean theology, cosmogony and anthropogeny, i.e. the Mandaeans' dogma of monotheism and the creation story of the cosmos and mankind; in this part, Mandaean ethics are outlined by a detailed account of moral duties. On the other hand, the "left" volume is concerned entirely with the return of the soul to its origin in the world of light; it is about the ascent of the soul after death and the idea of eternal life.

Generally, the Ginza Rabba represents consecutively the principles of the Mandaean doctrine: the belief of the only one great God, Hayyi Rabbi, to whom all absolute properties belong; he created all the worlds, formed the soul through his power, and placed it by means of angels into the human body. So he created Adam and Hawa/Eve, the first man and woman. **Since the soul was brought down to the material world, it has to stay for a defined period of time in the human body** and is obliged to suffer its worldly fate; however, the soul as a part of the divine creation should encourage human beings to do good deeds and to confront evil with God's help. God therefore **sent the saviour to protect the soul**, along with messengers to guide the people to a pious life according to His will. **When the soul completes its predestined lifespan**, the saviour will come to accompany it back from the body to its origins, whereupon it has to pass through several stations of purification.

In more recent times, Mandaeans have been facing serious difficulties in reading and understanding the Ginza Rabba, and explaining its contents to their children and neighbors because of its original Mandaic language.

In the past, there were several serious attempts to translate the Ginza Rabba into foreign languages by scholars as part of their **studies of Mandaean religion**. This began with the attempt of the Swedish Orientalist Mathias Norberg to translate it into Latin in 1815/1816. The first printed version of the Ginza Rabba was copied by the German Orientalist Heinrich Julius Petermann in 1867. Then the German scholar Wilhelm Brandt attempted to translate the whole book into German, but only published some portions in 1839. His colleague Mark Lidzbarski produced the first translation of the whole book into German in 1925. Other scholars included in their publications some passages translated into English, usually relying upon the German version.

Despite these considerable efforts, Mandaeans were unable to use these editions in Iraq and Iran due to the unfamiliarity of German and Latin there. As the result of an increasing need to have a comprehensible Ginza in Iraq, the headship of the Mandaeans decided to translate the Ginza Rabba into Arabic.

Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, the Mandaeans have been forced to leave their homelands. They have escaped to many countries, so that three-quarters of them are now living in the Diaspora.

Due to their emigration to foreign countries, the new generation of Mandaeans is becoming fully integrated into their new societies. They are deeply influenced by the cultures and the languages of these new "homelands". However, they have to sustain their identity by means of understanding their own religion and presenting their faith to other interested people.

As a result of this, it became necessary to translate the Ginza Rabba into English, so that coming generations will maintain their religious education in a language which is of common use.

Even though this edition represents a translation of the meaning, reflecting the intentions behind the original text rather than a literal translation, we were quite careful and attentive towards conveying the spiritually worded text from its Mandaic origins to an understandable language. The Ginza Rabba should be easily read and understood by everyone; our aim is to make its ancient heritage coherent with modern usage, so that readers are not confused.

This project was according to the permission and supervision of Rishema Sattar Jabbar Hillo the head of the Mandaeans in the world and Rishema Salah Jabbar Tawos the head of the Mandaeans in Australia. I would like to thank them for involving me in this important project.

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LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL IBERIA

SAN ISIDORO

Edited by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood

Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages

Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge

Amsterdam
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Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages

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Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages

Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge

Edited by
Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood

Amsterdam University Press

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Preface

Paul Fouracre, University of Manchester

‘God’s anger was shown so clearly that a star appeared in the heavens – the star astrologers call a comet: when it rises, they say, the earth is convulsed with hunger, with the swift succession of kings, with the movement of peoples, and the clashing of swords threatens it’. These are the words of a Frankish hagiographer writing probably in the early 680s. He (we can be almost certain that it was a ‘he’) was describing the interregnum of 675/6 which led to the death of his hero, Leudegar, bishop of Autun. The passage just quoted came from Isidore’s *Etymologies* (3.71.16). For an author who rarely moves beyond the scriptural in his borrowings, it is remarkable to see him turning to Isidore in this way. The borrowing is testimony both to the rapid dissemination of Isidore’s works across Western Europe and to their importance as tools for explaining human vicissitudes in a turbulent world.

Several of the chapters in this volume derive from a day workshop that was held at the Instituto Cervantes in Manchester in April 2013. The aim in putting together the volume was to combine these pieces with some specially-commissioned studies in order to create the first English-language collected volume on Isidore. Drawing on the strong scholarly tradition in the study of Isidore in France and Spain, as well as the increasing number of new editions of key Isidorian texts, the volume incorporates original contributions from established and early career scholars that provide a chronologically and geographically coherent overview of Isidore’s impact across Western Europe in the early medieval period, from Spain, Ireland, England, Italy and Francia.

The debt Western European learning of the Early Middle Ages owed to Isidore as a transmitter and translator of the classical tradition is more or less a given in narratives of intellectual history. A collection of essays that clarifies, highlights nuances and further explains his contribution is therefore most welcome. It is particularly useful to juxtapose the Iberian context of Isidore’s work with its reception in other cultures: the collection demonstrates, as the editors put it, ‘that there was not one Isidorian legacy but many’. And as Christopher Heath’s chapter suggests, we can identify that legacy in works which do not actually quote him. Heath’s thinking was in fact prompted by a question at a seminar in London where he presented a structural analysis of the works of Paul the Deacon. There, a distinguished classicist asked, ‘Where is Isidore in all this?’ Well, in linguistic terms, strictly nowhere, but was it conceivable that Paul, writing in the later eighth century, was influenced by Isidore? Careful research reveals that indeed he was: Paul's praise of Italy turns out to owe a great deal to Isidore's *Laus Spaniae.* One reason for thinking that Paul must have been familiar with Isidore's work is that he was a fixture of the Carolingian cultural project into which Paul was himself co-opted. Laura Carlson explains how the Carolingian intelligentsia were reliant on Isidore to formulate their views on spirituality, especially in relation to image and language. Interestingly it was another Spaniard, Theodulf of Orléans, who led the thinking here, and Theodulf was very proud of his Iberian heritage. Melissa Markauskas further shows how Carolingians reached for their Isidore to help them navigate Patristic material. In short, for the Carolingians Isidore was also the 'go to' for political ideas, for explanations of natural phenomena, for the definitions of orthodoxy and heresy, and for the conception of Iberia itself. It is surely no coincidence that when the Carolingians tried to put that religious definition into practice by presenting themselves as the standard bearers of orthodoxy, they turned their fire upon Adoptionism, a peculiarly Spanish (and frankly rather obscure) heresy. More surprising at first sight is to find the influence of Isidore's *Synonyma* upon Felix's *Life of Guthlac,* for this is set in the early eighth century in the badlands around Crowland, still today a remote spot in the Lincolnshire fens. But as Claudia di Siacca makes clear, it is not that surprising given the fact that Isidore was, in the words of our editors, 'a staple figure of early Anglo-Saxon libraries'.

Isidore's influence spread like the Atlantic tide, up from Spain, round the British Isles and down into Francia, as well as by land across into Francia from the south. The two pulses met in Alcuin and Theodulf, the Northumbrian and the Spaniard, two bitter rivals at Charlemagne's court. Despite their differences (porridge versus spicy sausage, according to Theodulf), they shared political ideas about how society could be 'corrected' and how it should be ruled that were ultimately derived from Isidore. The historical importance of this political/cultural narrative demands that we get it right. When, exactly, did Isidore's works reach Ireland, Marina Smyth asks. How did Isidore make use of Pliny? Critically, answers Mary Beagon. Did Isidore really wish to preserve a separate sphere of secular learning? Definitely not, argues Andrew Fear. These are questions and answers that bring us closer to understanding the Isidorian phenomenon. As important is understanding the context in which Isidore wrote, and how the whole project evolved. Jamie Wood is enlightening on Isidore's family and the importance of Leander's encounter with Pope Gregory I. Finally, Michael J. Kelly unsettles us with the suggestion that there was actually a Spanish 'school' in opposition to

Isidore's legacy. What, one wonders, would the early medieval intellectual world have been like if they had succeeded in crushing it?

This last question points to an elephant in the room: evaluation. Was Isidore's legacy massive because his works were brilliant? Was his elision of secular and Christian scholarship so successful that it set a template that could not be improved upon? Did the legacy actually prevent alternatives being developed? Or might it have been the case that there was simply no effective competition because no one else had such a command of ancient learning? This would certainly seem to be true for the *Etymologies* – hence our Frankish hagiographer turning to them for the meaning of comets. It does look, too, as if Isidore's political ideas were about all that were available to early medieval thinkers, from pseudo-Cyprian to Hincmar, from late seventh-century Ireland to late ninth-century Francia (hence Alcuin and Theodulf agreeing on rule and justice and very little else). Jacques Fontaine hinted that it was the poverty of the barbarian intellect that threw Isidore into such sharp relief and made his works so desirable to distant peoples. But if it were Isidore who set the terms for relating knowledge to God, showed the relationship between the natural and the divine orders, and the way for rulers to obey a divine mandate, then should we also hold him responsible for the unremitting masculinity of discourse in all of these areas? His conception of Christian order was, after all, predicated on the subordination of women. Starting from a counterfactual basis, these may be unfair questions, and certainly a collection of essays around the theme of *Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge: Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages* has no brief to pose or answer them. But it is testimony to the clarity with which these essays bring out the importance of Isidore's transmission and Christianisation of knowledge that such questions creep into the readers' minds. In other words, Isidore is good to think with, and always fascinating to read about, as will become very clear in what follows.

1 Introduction[1]

Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood

> 'The Great Doctor of our times, the newest ornament of the Catholic Church, last in time but by no means least in the field of doctrine [...] the most learned man in these latter times, he whom one should name with reverence, Isidore [...]'[2]

Such was the judgement on Isidore of Seville of the bishops who had gathered for the eighth Council of Toledo in 653, some 18 years after his death. Later ages have agreed – Dante placed the *ardente spiro* of Isidore alongside Solomon and Boethius in Paradise;[3] in the eighteenth century Isidore was elevated to the status of *Doctor* of the church by the intellectually minded Pope Innocent XIII; and in the late twentieth century he was to become unofficially the patron saint of computer programmers and of the Internet.

Long the subject of detailed analysis in Spanish and French scholarship[4], the past decade has witnessed a flowering of interest in Isidore in the Anglophone world.[5] As well as playing an important role in the ecclesiastical and royal politics of the first third of the seventh century, as the accolades above demonstrate, Isidore had a considerable impact in the seventh century and throughout the medieval period, especially in the Latin world. Sources written and influenced by Isidore are fundamental to our understanding of the seventh century in Spain and it could be argued that his influence on the written record for the period lends him a higher historical significance even than the Visigothic kings who were his contemporaries. Yet Isidore did not work alone and we might do better imagining him as the best remembered of a coterie of prolific Spanish bishops in the late sixth and seventh centuries. As some of the studies in this volume demonstrate, his legacy was by no means uncontested: the later reception and transmission of his works was both extensive and highly variable in both form and content. The chapters in this volume explore the relationship between the historical situation in which Isidore worked and his posthumous legacy; it is through putting these contexts in dialogue with one another that we can better understand both early seventh century Spain and the remouldings of Isidore's works and image later in the Middle Ages.

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[1] We would like to thank the staff of the Instituto Cervantes for their support and the participants at the workshop we held there in 2013 for their feedback on the papers that were delivered there, as well as the members of the Medieval Studies Research Group at the University of Lincoln for comments offered on an early draft of the introduction to this volume. Thanks must also go to the four anonymous reviewers of the manuscript and to staff at Amsterdam University Press, especially Erin Dailey and Tyler Cloherty, for their support in bringing this volume to publication.

[2] *Nostri seculi doctor egregius, ecclesiae catholicae novissimum decus, praecedentibus aetate prostremus, doctrinae comparatione non infimus... in seculorum fine doctissimus atque cum reverentia nominandus Ysidorus*, *Canon* 2, which cites Isidore's *Sententiae* as justification for this assessment. For the text of the council see Vives, ed., *Concilios Visigoticos e Hispano-Romanos* pp. 260-296, the quotation can be found on page 276.

[3] *Paradiso* 10.130.

[4] For comprehensive bibliographies of studies on Isidore and his works see: Hillgarth, 'The Position of Isidorian Studies'; Hillgarth, 'Isidorian Studies'; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418-711: A Bibliography*, pp. 327-409; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia: a supplemental bibliography, 1984-2003*, pp. 299-409; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia* (*Update*)*: A Supplemental Bibliography, 2004-2006*, pp. 113-144.

[5] Recent monographs include, but are by no means limited to: Merrills, *History and Geography*; Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*; Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*; Wood, *The Politics of Identity*. For extensive bibliography on more recent work on Isidore, see: Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia* (*update*)*: a supplemental bibliography, 2004-2006*, pp. 113-144; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia* (*update*)*:*

Isidore was probably born in the city where he would later become bishop in around AD 601. Very little is known of his family who were of Hispano-Roman, not Gothic, origin. Severian, his father, said in some later accounts to have been a high-ranking official, was a native of the province of Carthaginiensis in the south-east, but was forced to flee as a consequence of either the Byzantine invasion of the Peninsula in AD 552 or of finding himself on the wrong side of the civil war that was raging between King Agila and his rival Athanagild at that same time.[6] Isidore is often said to have been born in the 560s/570s, but the sole foundation for this is an assumption that he became a bishop as soon as his age allowed. This is itself a problematic point, though we know that the two councils of the Trinitarian Church, those of Agde (506) and Arles (524), decreed that 30 was the youngest age for a man to be made a bishop or indeed a cleric of any kind and that this was confirmed by canons 19 and 20 of the fourth Council of Toledo in 633, which was presided over by Isidore. Nevertheless it is dangerous to assume that Isidore's elder brother, Leander, whom he immediately succeeded as Bishop of Seville, died precisely at the time when

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a supplemental bibliography, 2007-2009, pp. 135-174; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia (update): a supplemental bibliography, 2010-2012*, pp. 133-168.

[6] The most important biographical writings are collected in Martín, *Scripta de vita Isidori episcopi Hispalensis*. For a discussion of the traditions concerning Isidore see Fontaine and Cazier, 'Qui a chasse de Carthaginoise Sévérianus et les siens?' and Kelly's chapter in this volume. For Isidore's family see Wood's chapter in this volume.

his younger sibling could take his place, so it may well be that Isidore's birth should be pushed back in time.

In his youth Isidore lived with his brother and, as Leander was a monk, he may also have taken up the monastic life, although this is not clear.[7] The elder brother was well educated and seems to have taken personal care of Isidore's education. The prose style of Leander's surviving works is decidedly Ciceronian and this has led Fontaine to insist that Severian had given a good classical education to his son.[8] Isidore in his brief biography of his brother describes him as 'eloquent in speech, most outstanding in ability.'[9] Sadly most of Leander's work has been lost; all that remains are a rule for nuns and a homily delivered on the conversion of the kingdom to Trinitarianism (the *De Triumpho Ecclesiæ ob Conversionem Gothorum*). From Isidore we learn that Leander also wrote 'two books against heretical dogmas (no doubt Arianism) full of learning from the scriptures'.[10]

Leander sought, it seems, to cultivate a culture of learning within the Church in Spain in order to better serve the pastoral and spiritual needs of the population. Isidore succeeded his brother as bishop of Seville in 601 and remained in office until his death on 4th April 636, producing a large number of writings across a range of genres during his long episcopacy. We have two lists of Isidore's works. One was compiled by Ildefonsus of Toledo in his *De viris illustribus* at some point between 659 and 667, the other by Braulio of Saragossa not long after Isidore's death, in what is now known as the *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* (*praenotatio* is also found).[11] Braulio intended this document to be a supplement to Isidore's own *De viris illustribus* and his list is by far the more complete of the two.[12] Besides 'many other minor writings' that he does not name,[13] Braulio lists the following seventeen major works, perhaps in the order of their composition:[14]

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[7] Leander, *De Institutione virginum et contempt mundi* 31.

[8] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville,* p. 6. Fontaine believes that Leander's prose is 'nettement superieure' to that of Isidore. For a detailed examination of Leander's prose style, see Martin, *Saint Leander*, pp. 13-27.

[9] Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus* 41: *suavis eloquio, ingenio preastantissimus.*

[10] *duos adversus haereticorum dogmata libros.*

[11] See Michael J. Kelly's chapter in this volume for more on the relationship between these two texts.

[12] Edition and translation into Spanish by Martín.

[13] *Multa alia opuscula.*

[14] This has been the assumption of most scholars and was the basis for de Aldama's chronology of Isidore's writings: 'Indicaciones sobre la cronología'. For doubts see Elfassi in Chiesa and Castaldi, p. 202.

The *Differentiae* (two books): a work which deals with the difference and correct usage of apparent synonyms and homophones. Its second book also deals with the differences between different categories of beings.[15]

The *Prooemia:* a summary of the contents of each of the books of the Bible.[16]

De ortu et obitu Patrum: a series of short biographies of key Biblical figures.[17]

De ecclesiasticis officiis (two books): dedicated to his brother Fulgentius, the bishop of Écija. The first of the two books gives a history of the Catholic liturgy, while the second describes the duties of ecclesiastic officials.[18]

The *Synonyma* (two books): sometimes known as the *Liber lamentationum*, this is in fact a religious work set as a dialogue between Man and Reason. Man laments his fallen state, while Reason consoles him by showing how he might still be saved. The work takes its name from the 'synonymous style' of arguing, where the points made are repeated via the use of synonyms. The popularity of this technique gave rise to the so-called *stylus Isidorianus* in the Middle Ages.[19]

De natura rerum: dedicated to the Gothic King Sisebut, this is an exposition of the natural world and phenomena of nature. After the *Etymologies*, it was perhaps the most widely read of Isidore's works.[20]

De numeris: an examination of the mystical significance of the numbers found in the Bible.[21]

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15 Edition of book one and translation into Spanish, Codoñer; edition of book two, Andrés Sanz; translation into English by Throop.

16 Edition by Andrés Sanz.

17 Edition by Carrecedo Fraga, another edition and translation into Spanish by Chaparro Gómez.

18 Edition by Lawson, translation into English by Knoebel.

19 Edition by Elfassi; translation into Spanish by Viñayo González; translation into English by Throop.

20 Edition and translation into French by Fontaine; translation into Italian by Trisoglio.

21 Edition by Arévalo, *PL* 83. 1293-1302 .The authenticity of this text has been challenged. McNally, *Isidoriana* and *Der irische Liber de Numeris*, believes the original Isidorian work to be lost and this text to be a product of an eighth century Irish author. However Dekkers and Gaar, *Clavis patrum Latinorum*, consider that it could be a genuine work by Isidore.

De nominibus legis et evangelorum [often referred to as the *Allegoriae*]: a discussion of the allegorical meaning of Biblical names.[22]

De haeresibus [now lost]: this work is likely to have dealt with Arianism, but also the Acephalites whom Braulio tells us Isidore expressly opposed.[23]

Sententiae (three books): a systematic treatise on church doctrine and the Christian life. One important source for the work is the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great.[24]

Chronicon: Isidore's *Chronicle* draws heavily of that of Eusebius as translated by Jerome.[25]

De fide Catholica contra Judaeos (two books): allegedly written at the request of Isidore's sister, the abbess Florentina. This treatise is ostensibly a polemic aimed at persuading Jews to convert to Christianity, but in fact is a theological work which has a Christian audience as its target.[26]

De viris illustribus: a series of brief biographies of Church Fathers and essentially a continuation of St Jerome's work of the same name.[27]

Monastica regula: a discussion in praise of monastic life with practical advice on its practice.[28]

De origine Gothorum et regno Suevorum et etiam Wandalorum: a history of the Gothic people with (in the second redaction alone) shorter sections on the Sueves and Vandals down to Isidore's own day.[29]

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[22] Edition by Arévalo, *PL* 83.97-130.

[23] See *Etymologies* 8.5.66. The *De Haeresibus* edited by Vega and later corrected by Bejarano is normally regarded as Pseudo-Isidorian, see Díaz y Díaz, *De Patrística Española,* pp. 37-39, but *contra* Vega,,El "Liber de haeresibus".

[24] Edition by Cazier; translation into Italian by Trisoglio.

[25] Edition by Martín, translation into English by Wood and Koon.

[26] Edition by Arévalo, *PL* 83.449-538; edition of book one by Ziolkowski. For a discussion of the work's purpose, see Bat-Sheva.

[27] Edition by Codoñer. Martín, *El Catálogo De Los Varones Ilustres*, argues that this is probably the earliest of Isidore's works.

[28] Edition by Campos Ruiz, translation into German by Frank.

[29] Edition and translation into Spanish by Rodríguez Alonso, translation into English by Wolf (without the sections on the Sueves and Vandals) and Ford.

> *Quaestiones* (two books): an examination of various Biblical *cruces* derived mainly from earlier Church Fathers.[30]
>
> *Etymologiae or Origines:* Isidore's last, and major, work, which was posthumously divided by Braulio into 20 books.[31] It was a compendium of classical and Christian knowledge arranged according to the etymologies of words and became a standard point of reference in the Middle Ages.[32]

Apart from these works, a small collection of thirteen of Isidore's letters has also survived.[33] Not on Braulio's list is the *De ordine creaturarum,* a further treatment of the natural world which also incorporates the supernatural heavens. This has often been accepted as Isidore's work, but may well have been composed by an Irish monk of the seventh century.[34] The plethora of other writings attributed to him are later, false accreditations, though are a testament of his intellectual standing over the centuries.

For Braulio, through Isidore God had allowed Visigothic Spain 'to mirror the learning of antiquity', as the bishop had brought back to light the works of 'the ancients', thus stopping his own generation growing old through its boorishness.[35] As well as contemporary and earlier Christian authors, Isidore makes many direct references to pagan authors as diverse as Aesop, Apuleius, Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero, Lucretius, Ovid, Plato, the Elder Pliny, Quintilian, Sallust, Solinus, Suetonius (in particular his lost encyclopaedia, the *Prata*), Varro, and Virgil. Other classical authors, such as Verrius Flaccus, who wrote his *On the Meaning of Words* in the Augustan period, and the late fourth century grammarian Servius, also influenced Isidore's work. It is difficult, of course, to know with how many of these authors Isidore was directly acquainted; he would probably have known the majority only at second hand via quotations in such authors as Augustine and Cassiodorus.[36] It does seem likely however that Isidore had first-hand access to Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Lucretius, and Martial. He may also have possessed some of the works of Ovid and Sallust. The so-called *Versus in bibliotheca,* a series of couplets modelled on Martial which were intended to be placed under the busts surmounting the book cases in the cathedral library in Visigothic Seville, mention the Greek Christian authors Origen and John Chrysostom. Isidore devotes one chapter of his *De viris illustribus* to the latter, but it is more likely that he knew John and Origen's works in translation rather than the original.[37]

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[30] Edition by Arévalo, *PL* 83 .201-434. The two books or of very uneven size that for the New Testament being very much shorter (*PL* 83.201-208). McNally, who believes that the text of this book is not by Isidore, has produced a revised edition. The much larger book on the Old Testament (*PL* 83.207-434) is often known as the *Mysticorum Espostiones Saxramentorum*.

[31] Edition by Lindsay. Reproduced with a Spanish translation by Oroz Reta & Marcos Casquero. For an annotated English translation, see Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville.*

[32] Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung'; Reydellet, 'La diffusion'; McKitterick,, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations', pp. 45, 49-50, 67, 71. See also the study by Carlson in this volume.

[33] Edition by Arévalo, *PL* 83.893-914, translation into English by Ford.

[34] Edition and translation into Spanish by Díaz y Díaz. For study and English translation see Smyth, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum*'.

[35] *nostrum tempus antiquitatis in eo scientiam imaginavit* [...] *ad restuaranda antiquorum monumenta ne usquequaque rusticitate veteresceremus* [...], Martín, ed., *Scripta de vita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, pp. 199, 205.

Braulio asserted that Isidore's learning was holistic – he had given an account of all branches of knowledge. The *Renotatio* ended with a eulogy of the bishop that was self-consciously adapted from Cicero's praise of the polymath of his own age, Varro.[38] The breadth of his work and the sources he drew on have sometimes led to him being described as the last scholar of the ancient world.[39] Nothing could be further from the truth. For Isidore the road to hell was indeed paved with ignorance: 'ignorance is the mother of all error and the nurse of vice... the uneducated man is easily deceived, the fool swiftly falls into sin'.[40] Nevertheless, he was also hostile towards secular learning merely for its own sake; pagan poetry in particular was something he detested.[41] For the bishop the world was a mirror of heaven and knowledge of it was but a protreptic to draw the mind away from mundane matters towards first the moral truth that they encapsulated, and finally the theological truth which in turn lay behind the moral truth.[42] If there was a choice to be made, knowledge of the divine was to be put before that of the world:

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[36] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*.

[37] For a general discussion of Isidore's sources, see Hillgarth, 'The Position of Isidorian Studies'. Although it is sometimes asserted that Isidore knew Greek and Hebrew, as he is described in the late twelfth century *Vita S. Isidori* as *Latinis Graecis et Hebraeis litteris instructus,* there is no good evidence that this was the case. For an overview of this problem, see Domínguez de Val, *Historia de la antigua literatura latina,* pp. 27-30. There is an edition of the *Versus* by Martín. For a discussion of the problems they raise, see Hamblenne, 'Les Tituli bibliothecae'.

[38] The adapted text is Cicero, *Academica Posteriora* 1.3.

[39] 'Le dernier savant du monde ancien' – the view of the French historian Montalambert, cited by Brehaut, *An Encyclopaedist of the Dark Age,* preface. Brehaut correctly notes that Isidore was also the 'first Christian encyclopaedist and immediately adds 'His writings, therefore, while of no importance in themselves, become important as a phenomenon in the history of European thought.'

[40] *Synonima* 2.65, *ignorantia mater errorum est, ignorantia vitiorum nutrix ... indoctus enim facile decipitur. Stultus in vitia cito dilabitur.*

[41] One of Isidore's concerns was that it was the pagan poets who had first distorted the meaning of words in order to fit the metrical schemes of their poetry (*Differentiae* 1, *praef.*), but his main animus was that such poetry was founded in pagan religion and thus: Ideo prohibetur christianus figmenta legere poetarum quia per oblectamenta inanium fabularum mentem excitant ad incentiua libidinum. Non enim solum tura offerendo daemonibus immolatur, sed etiam eorum

> 'It will be of no harm to anyone, provided that he speaks truly of God, that through his simplicity he has insufficient knowledge of the elements. For though someone may be unable to discuss the natures of the incorporeal and corporeal, a good life lived with faith will make him blessed.'[43]

Far from being part of the rearguard of the classical world, Isidore was at the forefront of a new Christian order. But this new order by no means despised learning. Ideally the good man would be an educated man: 'All wisdom comes from knowledge and conjecture,' Isidore believes, 'but an opinion derived from knowledge is better than one derived from conjecture as the former is true, whereas the latter is open to doubt.'[44] It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that the fourth Council of Toledo over which Isidore presided in AD 633, insisted that there should be an educated secular clergy and made provision for cathedral schools to be set up in every diocesis.[45]

While Isidore's prose style may not be as 'classical' as Leander's, Henderson has shown that he was not insensitive to careful prose composition.[46] According to Braulio, he could adopt his style to his audience and was outstandingly eloquent when the occasion demanded. The practical nature of the prose in his works shows that he wished them to be of real use, not showcases for his rhetorical ability. His greatest wish was to spread knowledge and thus his faith. In the short term he laid the foundations for the so-called 'Isidorian renaissance' of Visigothic Spain, of which his friend

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dicta libentius capiendo. 'The Christian is forbidden to read the compositions of their poets because by the pleasure of their inane fables they provoke the mind to incitements of lust. For a man burns not merely from offering incense to demons, but by too willingly plucking at their words.' *Sententiae* 3.13.1

[42] This is described by Isidore as the *trimodum intelligentiae genus,* 'threefold form of knowledge', *Differentiae* 2.154.

[43] Nihil obesse cuiquam si per simplicitatem anquam de elementis indigne sentiat, dummodo de Deo vera pronuntiet. Nam quamvis de incorporeis corporeisque naturis nequeat quisque disputare, beatum tamen illum facit vita recta cum fide, *Sententiae* 2.1.1.

[44] Omnis sapientia ex scientia et opinatione consistit. Melior est autem ex scientia veniens quam ex opinatione sententia. Nam illa vera est, ista dubia, *Sententiae* 2.1.8,

[45] Canons 24, 25.

[46] Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville.*

and posthumous editor of the *Etymologies,* Braulio of Saragossa, was a key part. In the long term the influence of his work in both its geographical and temporal extent show the degree to which that wish was fulfilled.

The aim of this volume is not, however, to offer a 'maximalist' interpretation of Isidore's impact.[47] Isidore exercised agency in writing his works and intervening in the world around him, yet so too did those who worked with him, notably Braulio, in the early seventh century, as well as those who interacted with and sought to mould his legacy in the decades and centuries that followed. As Michael J. Kelly's chapter demonstrates, Seville was not the only intellectual centre in the Spain of Isidore's day. Other cities strove to establish – and in the case of Toledo succeeded – their ecclesiastical and literary dominance within Spain.

Recent studies have begun to reconceptualise the ways in which knowledge was preserved and transmitted in the Roman and post-Roman worlds.[48] Scholars have explored how information moved between different contexts, in the process charting the varying ways in which cultural objects were transmitted, translated and transformed. Such work has demonstrated how the people of the medieval world – writers, copyists, translators, teachers, students, and other audiences – engaged actively with the cultural legacy of the ancient classical and Christian past. They did not simply pass on the knowledge and traditions that they had inherited from earlier civilisations, even those from which they claimed ancestry and legitimacy, but developed what they had received in many new ways that were designed to respond to contemporary needs.[49]

It is within this context of creative and contextually-grounded engagement with the cultural world of Graeco-Roman and Patristic antiquity that this volume seeks to understand Isidore. Work over the past half-century has demonstrated that the construction of Isidore's main works was determined, above all, by the context in which he was operating and his desire to influence the society for which he saw the Hispano-Visigothic church as responsible. Political, religious and social considerations influenced Isidore's writings, but studies have revealed that those writings were intended, in turn, to influence the contexts from which they emerged.[50] As has already been noted, Isidore was not writing in a vacuum and his works represented part of a thorough programme of spiritual education that was intended to have a positive impact on the training of the clergy of Visigothic Spain and, through them, the population as a whole.

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[47] For a 'minimalist' view on the impact of Isidore, see: Collins, *Visigothic Spain*.

[48] Notable recent work on the Roman context includes König, Oikonomopoulou and Woolf, eds., *Ancient Libraries*; König and Woolf, eds., *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*.

[49] Wisnovsky, Wallis, Fumo and Fraenkel, eds., *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation, and Transformation in Medieval Textual Culture*; Fischer and Wood, eds., *Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean*; Bremmer and Dekker, eds., *Foundations of Learning*; Bremmer and Dekker, eds., *Practice in Learning*.

The first three chapters in this volume examine some of the innovative ways in which Isidore was influenced by, and made use of the works of, earlier classical and Christian writers. Jamie Wood's 'A Family Affair: Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain' examines the rapid and wide-ranging influence of Pope Gregory I (d. 604) in seventh-century Spain. Gregory's works were cited extensively in Spain within a few years of his death and he found eager biographers among the episcopate there. The chapter argues that the cultivation of Gregory's memory aligned well with the efforts of Leander and Isidore to promote an image of their family as a coherent and powerful unit of exceptional Christian leaders. Gregory's meeting with Leander in Constantinople in the early 580s opened up a channel of communication between Rome and Spain that resulted in the early dissemination of Gregory's works there and provided Isidore with the opportunity and the ammunition to build up Gregory's image in Spain. Two imperatives underpinned Isidore's positive portrayal of Gregory and attempt to harness his legacy. First, his writings, especially the *Moralia in Job,* provided vital resources for Isidore's efforts to promote the education of the clergy and, through them, the evangelisation of the population. Second, the association with Leander enabled Isidore to bolster the status of members of his own family, especially Leander, as foundational figures in the history of the Spanish Nicene church.

From Isidore's engagement with the Patristic canon, the next two chapters move on to his use and refutation of classical interpretations of the natural world. In 'Variations on a Theme: Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly', Mary Beagon examines the use Isidore made of Pliny's *Natural History,* written in the late first century AD, when discussing human and animal anomalies in the *Etymologies.* The chapter demonstrates that Isidore's engagement with Pliny's work was by no means uncritical. Rather than simply copying Pliny's work, Isidore adapted his source so that it accorded with his own ideas about a divine plan that had no room for natural creativity which, if admitted, would undermine the entire

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[50] E.g. Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la Naissance de l'Espagne Catholique*; Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*; Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*; Merrills, *History and Geography*; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus* Wood, *The Politics of Identity.*

Isidorian project of rational categorisation. Isidore's theory of etymology also required the imposition of a sort of natural order on the text that mitigated any possibility of deviation from the divine plan.

Andrew Fear's 'Putting the pieces back together: Isidore and *De natura rerum*' examines Isidore's *De natura rerum* (*DNR*), arguing that the work was written to respond to a specific problem – the appearance of a number of disconcerting natural 'omens' at the beginning of King Sisebut's reign in the early 610s. Isidore used this context to develop a Christianised vision of the natural world in order to reject excessive 'superstition' at the same time as firmly integrating the natural world into a Christian framework. Rather than, as scholars such as Fontaine have suggested, wishing to preserve a separate sphere of secular learning, Isidore actually wished to elide secular and Christian scholarship. The very title *De natura rerum* presents a challenge to Lucretius's didactic poem the *De rerum natura* written in the first century BC. Lucretius's work became a classic in the ancient world and was still read in Visigothic Spain. In it, Lucretius, as a follower of the Greek philosopher Epicurus, presents an entirely atheistic picture of the world whose phenomena carry no meaning beyond themselves. Isidore, deliberately using a title which closely parallels the previous work, mounts a determined refutation of Lucretius, using his themes to argue for a "natural theology" and that in fact only a belief in God can elucidate the natural world.

Isidore thus played the role of a kind of filtering agent, receiving, transforming and reconfiguring existing learning in order to make it useful for the Christian present in seventh century Spain. Alongside work that has explored how Isidore reacted to previous authorities, classical/pagan and Christian, perhaps the strongest trend in recent Isidorian scholarship is to examine the later reception and transmission of his memory and his works across the Latin West.[51] Much of this work has stressed the variability and creativity of the ways in which later writers made use of Isidore's works. The chapters in the second half of this volume underline the fact that Isidorian legacy was by no means monolithic and was at times contested, even within Spain.

Isidore's legacy was by no means unproblematic for the bishops of seventh century Spain, especially those of Toledo who were striving to establish their city as the ecclesiastical centre of the kingdom. The Isidorian legacy and the lustre that it lent to Seville were highly problematic in this regard.[52] Michael J. Kelly's chapter, 'The Politics of History-Writing: Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania' argues that conflict over Isidore's memory began almost immediately upon his death in 636. Kelly posits the existence of two 'schools' within seventh-century Iberia – that of Isidore/Seville and that of Agali/Toledo – and suggests that competition between the two was manifested, above all and amongst a range of different media, by the production of historical texts that constructed very specific memories of past events and people. Above all, it was in historiographical texts produced by and about Isidore that this conflict played out in the later seventh century and beyond.

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[51] For a survey of the transmission of Isidore's works see: Codoñer, Martín & Andrés Sanz, 'Isidorus Hispalensis ep.' and Reydellet, 'La diffusion' for the *Etymologies*. More recent focused studies include: Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*; Hussey, 'Transmarinis litteris'; Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*.

Marina Smyth's 'The Reception of Isidore's Writings in Early Medieval Ireland' opens a series of chapters that explore concrete instances of the reception and reuse of Isidore's works outside Spain in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Some of the earliest traces of Isidore's works outside Spain can be found in manuscripts of Irish provenance and it has long been assumed that Irish monks played a key role in the preservation and transmission of the Isidorian legacy.[53] Smyth explores the longstanding assumption that, due to trading contacts between Spain and Ireland, the complete works of Isidore found their way to Ireland very soon after his death in 636.[54] This assumption has been rendered increasingly untenable by recent studies of the early manuscript transmission of Isidore's works.[55] The chapter pays particular attention to the *De Natura Rerum* and the various books of the *Etymologiae* in order to generate a more nuanced profile for the transmission of Isidore's works in Ireland.

'Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England: The *Synonyma* as a Source of Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*', by Claudia Di Sciacca, focuses on Anglo-Saxon England. Scholars have long debated the extent to which Bede was influenced by Isidore (both positively and negatively), but more recent works have begun to examine the transmission and impact of Isidore's works on other early Anglo-Saxon writers.[56] Isidore is now recognised as one of the staple figures of Anglo-Saxon libraries. Di Sciacca investigates the *Synonyma* as a source for one of the founding and most popular texts of Anglo-Saxon hagiography, the Latin life of the hermit-saint Guthlac, a highly literary work authored by the learned monk Felix, an elusive figure of whom nothing is known except that he dedicated his *Vita S. Guthlaci* to Ælfwald, king of the East Angles (*c.* 713-749). The setting of Guthlac's life itself is Crowland, a demon-infested islet in the fenland between Mercia and East Anglia, and the Mercian-East Anglian associations of the saint and his *uita* seem to offer precious evidence as to the circulation of the *Synonyma* in an age and area of Anglo-Saxon England where knowledge of this Isidorian text is otherwise hardly documented. Moreover, an appreciation of the *Synonyma* within the milieu that produced the *Vita S. Guthlaci,* a locale which seems to have nurtured an interest in eremitic values and a detailed knowledge of some of the key hagiographies concerning the founders of Eastern monasticism, namely the *Vita S. Antonii* and *Vita S. Pauli eremitae,* offers new and tantalising insights into the literary corpus with which the Isidorian text was probably associated. Such an appreciation can therefore help to further sketch out the Anglo-Saxon library to which the *Synonyma* belonged.

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[52] Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game'.

[53] See Warntjes, *The Munich Computus,* for the most recent treatment of Isidore's specific legacy in Ireland, Irish-influenced institutions, and the manuscripts that they produced.

[54] See Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland' for more general contacts between Visigothic Spain and Ireland.

[55] E.g. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*.

[56] E.g. Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words,* and Hussey, 'Transmarinis litteris' both explore the transmission of the *Synonyma*. For the influence on Bede see: Fanning, 'Bede, Imperium,

Christopher Heath's '*Hispania et Italia:* Paul the Deacon, Isidore and the Lombards' fills a surprising gap in scholarship on early medieval historiography by exploring Isidore's influence on the works of Paul the Deacon in the eighth century. Heath demonstrates that despite the somewhat peripheral role that Spain and the Visigoths played in the *Historia Langobardorum,* there are indications that Isidore had a significant influence on specific sections of the work, such as the ethnographic and historical-geographical materials. Moreover, there are indications that certain key parts of Paul's work were crafted with an eye to the *Laus Spaniae* of Isidore. Just as Isidore used previous historians creatively in order to present his Visigoths as a legitimate people in political and religious terms, so Paul the Deacon made selective use of Isidore in order to demonstrate that the Lombards were a *gens* with a long and illustrious history.[57]

Melissa Markauskas's 'Rylands MS Latin 12: A Carolingian example of Isidore's reception into the Patristic Canon?' demonstrates the selective use that later copyists made of Isidore's writings. The chapter examines Rylands MS Latin 12 as a specific and concrete example of unacknowledged copying

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and the Bretwaldas'; Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, pp. lxiv -lxvi, lxxx-lxxxiii; Laistner, 'The library of the Venerable Bede', pp. 241, 244, 247, 256, 265. Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 13-20.

[57] See Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, for Isidore's presentation of the Visigoths in his histories.

of Isidorian material in the Carolingian period. Markauskas demonstrates that Isidore's *De ortu et obitu Patrum* was frequently used as a source for the homiliary, but was clearly marked as a secondary authority through the collection's organisation and visual presentation of Patristic material. Rylands MS Latin 12 thus provides an interesting instance of Isidore's reception in a Carolingian liturgical context, where daily Patristic readings expounding the gospels were valued alongside supplementary biographical material concerning the saint for that day. In this context, it was Isidore's 'data' rather than his 'authority' that was desired. He emerges as a second-level authority who was important, but not so illustrious as to merit explicit citation like the Fathers of the Church.

In the final chapter, 'Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority: The Use of Isidore in the *Opus Caroli',* Laura Carlson delves into the broader influence of Isidore on the Carolingian intelligentsia, a massive topic in need of further study.[58] The chapter discusses the prevalence of Isidore in the eighth-century *Opus Caroli regis contra Synodum,* the largest extant work on Carolingian spirituality and a text which serves as a signpost to not only his rapid rise to the status of almost Patristic authority, but also his contribution to the development of a Carolingian linguistic philosophy. Isidore's growing status and accessibility within the eighth-century Carolingian intellectual landscape is easily confirmed by both the extant number of his works, not to mention the frequency with which Carolingian writers cite him. The chapter demonstrates that the exposition on the relationship between images and language in the *Opus Caroli* derived from Isidore's linguistic philosophy, developed in his *Etymologiae,* which advocated the widespread applicability of classical linguistic disciplines, such as grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic within the context of Christian spirituality.

Alongside other chapters in the second half of this volume, the exploration of Carolingian-era uses of Isidore by Heath, Markauskas, and Carlson provide further evidence for the flexibility with which Isidore's legacy was treated from 636 onwards. Just as the chapters by Beagon, Fear, and Wood demonstrate that Isidore himself interacted with his sources freely and was not constrained by any particular need to remain 'faithful' to the writings of his predecessors, the chapters on the western European transmission of Isidore's work demonstrate that there was not one Isidorian legacy, but many.[59] Furthermore, these legacies were by no means fixed – they were made and remade in response to specific historically-grounded agendas. It is beyond the scope of this volume to examine the continued transmission and transformation of Isidore's works and his image in post-Carolingian Europe (and beyond). It is enough to note that creative adaptation continued to typify the ways in which Isidore was used by later writers and to hope that future publications will explore what is, given the central role of 'Isidorian' methods for organising and transmitting knowledge, a fundamental element of the medieval thought-world.[60]

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[58] See, for example, Magnou-Nortier, '*L'Admonitio Generalis*'; Eastwood, 'The astronomies of Pliny', pp. 174-177; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 238-239, 247; McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations', pp. 56, 60. Elfassi, 'Les Synonyma d'Isidore de Séville'. For Isidore in Carolingian schools see Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques*, pp. 195-201.

The interplays between text and context examined in the various studies in this volume demonstrate the need to understand the varied and creative ways by which Isidore's works, wholly and in part, were transmitted and transformed over time. In summary, it is necessary to comprehend the origins and early receptions of Isidorian texts if one is to unpick their later transformations. The chapters in the first half of the volume thus establish the context from which to understand those in the second half, which provide an overview of the different ways in which Isidore's works were received across early medieval Western Europe. Both sections create the necessary context from which to develop a fuller understanding of later receptions of Isidore's work in the post-Carolingian era.

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[59] One notable gap in our coverage of the early medieval legacy of Isidore is the lack of coverage of the northern Spain. See Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers,* pp. 25-28, 43-46, for more on this.

[60] A notable recent work that engages consistently with the Isidorian legacy in the later medieval period is Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World.* See also Beer, *In Their Own Words*, pp. xii-xiii, 105, 109 for more general Isidorian influence on medieval historical writing in French.

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2 A Family Affair

Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain

Jamie Wood

Gregory
Hippo, as much as you are distinguished for your teacher Augustine,
So much is Rome for its Pope Gregory
Leander
You are held to be not much unequal to the ancient Doctors,
Leander the Bishop: your works teach us this

Gregorius
Quantum Augustino clares tu Hippone magistro
Tantum Roma suo praesule Gregorio
Leander
Non satis antiquis doctoribus impar haberis
Leander vates hoc tua dicta docent[1]

Introduction

There is no doubt that Pope Gregory I (r. 590-605) had a deep and lasting impact on the religious life of early medieval Spain.[2] It would be easy, with the benefit of hindsight, to look back from Gregory's status as one of the fathers of the Latin Church and see this as an inevitable outcome of his exemplary life and work in organising the papacy and sending missions to the Anglo-Saxons. Yet, his memory was by no means uncontested in Rome in the decades after his death and no hagiography was authored there until the ninth century. A famous *Life* of Gregory was written at Whitby in northern England around the year 700 which drew on interest in his cult in later seventh century England, Ireland and Gaul, as well as Rome.[3] This chapter will demonstrate that beginning in the first decade of the seventh century, Gregory's status as a Father of the Church was actually established more quickly and maintained more solidly in Spain than elsewhere in Latin Europe.

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[1] Isidore, *Versus* 13-14, Sánchez Martín, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Versus*, p. 225.

[2] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 60 and 73: the influence of Gregory's 'work on the Spanish Church at this time cannot be minimised'.

[3] Thacker, 'Memorialising Gregory the Great'.

The verse above, by Isidore of Seville (d. 636), is thus the first bloom of the Gregorian legacy in seventh century Spain. The extremely positive view of Gregory was not solely the result of his position as bishop of Rome, however. Relations between the papacy and the bishops and kings of seventh century Spain were infrequent and often fractious, so the memory of Gregory cannot be attributed solely to royal or papal initiative.[4] Although there had been ecclesiastical contacts between Rome and Spain throughout late antiquity, such interactions had never been intense, at least insofar as they can be pieced together from the surviving evidence.[5] This chapter will argue that Gregory's popularity in the early seventh century was due to his connection to Leander of Seville and thus to his brother Isidore of Seville. It was not derived from respect for the papacy as an institution, nor did it result from the active cultivation of Gregory's memory in Spain by later popes or their agents. Rather, it was the family connection to Isidore and Isidore's intense engagement with some of Gregory's key works that conditioned the interest of bishops and even a Visigothic king later in the seventh century.

A number of Gregory's hagiographical, exegetical and pastoral writings were transmitted to Spain during his lifetime and almost immediately used as sources and taken up as models by Spanish writers such as Isidore of Seville, Taio of Zaragoza and the author of the collective hagiography known as the *Lives of Fathers of Mérida*.[6] Figures from Isidore to Eugenius of Toledo engaged with, and sometimes sought to replicate, Gregory's self-presentation as monk, reluctant leader, theologian, and even hypochondriac.[7] Historical as well as literary circumstances contributed to the rapid spread of Gregory's popularity within Spain. He wrote letters to Spanish laymen and churchmen, including several to Leander of Seville, Isidore's brother, and received a letter from King Reccared I (r. 586-601) announcing the conversion to the Visigoths from Arian to Nicene Christianity.[8]

It was Isidore of Seville, however, who made the earliest and most extensive use of Gregory's writings. The rapid adoption of Gregory's works was aided by the fact that his legacy was so flexible: his focus on the pastoral role of leaders could be applied to thinking about monastic, episcopal and even royal authority.[9] Other works by Gregory, such as the *Moralia in Job,* could have served as educational texts in an additional sense by providing learners with models for conducting exegesis, for example.[10] Although the theological and pastoral weight of Gregory's surviving writings cannot be ignored and they certainly contributed to the depth and longevity of his impact in Spain, this chapter argues that the key to his influence lies in the connection to Leander of Seville and, through Leander, to Isidore. A meeting with Leander in Constantinople in the mid-580s opened up opportunities for the exchange of texts and letters and, more importantly, created a close association that Isidore was able to exploit as part of his efforts to boost the status of the Spanish Church and his own family. Importantly too, via Leander, Isidore had easy access to a number of Gregory's writings, which proved extremely useful in his efforts to create compendia of Christian knowledge for use by Spanish ecclesiastics.

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[4] King, *Law and Society*, p. 123.

[5] Ferreiro, 'The Iberian Church'.

[6] For surveys of Gregory's interactions with Spain see: Orlandis, 'Gregorio Magno'; Wood, 'The Rhetoric of Due Process'.

[7] Fear, 'Moaning to Some Purpose', pp. 62-3 and 67-8.

[8] For a survey of these contacts see Orlandis, 'Gregorio Magno'.

Gregory's Contacts with *Hispania*

The relative number of Gregory's letters to Spain is low, at least in comparison with the volume of letters to other western provinces, especially Italy. However, as has already been noted, such communication took place at significant moments such as the conversion, was conducted with important figures such as Reccared I and Leander of Seville, and was accompanied by the exchange of gifts and texts.[11] It may also be significant that letters were exchanged with a geographically disparate area, encompassing a large part of what would later become Visigothic *Hispania:* from the Byzantine-controlled territory in the southwest, to the capital at Toledo, and the small province in Gaul, Narbonnensis.[12] Gregory also intervened directly to try to uphold religious discipline and resolve ecclesiastical disputes within Spain, to encourage Nicene orthodoxy, and to act as a diplomatic intermediary between the Visigothic kings and the Byzantine government.[13]

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[9] The influence of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* on Spain is brought out by Fernández Alonso, *La cura pastoral*, pp. 125-129; Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, p. 143: as part of this process the king's role became increasingly analogous to that of the episcopate; Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, p. 348: on the role of the king as a pastor to his people. Cf. Gregory's thought on the key role of episcopal ministry within church and society, Markus, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 17-33.

[10] Gregory's works, alongside those of Jerome, provided Isidore with useful aids for the study of scripture, primarily for use by those who had to expound the scriptures in public or for monks, Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 63.

[11] For an overview of Gregory's contacts with and writings about Spain see: Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, pp. 41, 66, 73, 76-77, 90, 94, 109-112.

[12] Orlandis, 'Gregorio Magno'.

There were a number of different means by which communication was established with Spain. Diplomacy was perhaps the most important of these and although such interactions were reciprocal in nature, with Spaniards requesting advice, information and intervention, responding to Gregory's messages and sending gifts to him, the sources suggest that Gregory was the more active 'partner' in this exchange. This can be seen most clearly in the exchange of gifts. The relatively few letters that survive record the dispatch of relics to Reccared, a *pallium* for Leander and copies of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* and *Moralia in Job.*[14] It is important to note that this was not a one-way exchange and that gifts were sent to Gregory from Spain, but the overall pattern was for materials and texts to be sent *out* from Rome to Spain.

In terms of diplomatic exchanges, it was while Gregory was acting as papal *apocrisarius* (envoy) in Constantinople in the first half of the 580s that he first came into contact with Leander, who was conducting an embassy with the emperor on behalf of Hermenegild, a Visigothic prince who had rebelled against his father, King Leovigild (r. 568-586). There were later exchanges of letters and gifts with Reccared, Leovigild's successor, about the conversion of the Visigoths to Nicene Christianity. The king also requested that Gregory obtain a copy of an old treaty that had been made between the Visigoths and the Byzantines, and Gregory sent messages to Duke Claudius, the governor of Narbonnensis, in Visigothic-controlled southern Gaul.[15] As well as direct contact with Spain, there is evidence that Gregory obtained information from intermediaries. He sent legal advisors to the Byzantine-controlled province in south-eastern Spain to assist bishops who had been deposed, supposedly illegally, and also used clergy to act as intermediaries with the Visigothic kings.[16] Information also seems to have been gathered from people who had travelled there, perhaps for trading purposes, because in the *Dialogues* Gregory says that he heard about the death of Hermenegild from 'many who come from Spain'.[17] Of course, our record of Gregory's involvement in Spain is highly dependent on the vagaries of the surviving documentation, which is the result of the choices made by those who compiled the *Register* of Gregory's letters.[18] Nevertheless, in comparison with earlier, and certainly with later, bishops of Rome, Gregory seems to have communicated actively with Spain.

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[13] González Fernández, 'Las cartas de Gregorio Magno'; Gregory, *Ep.* 9.228; Wood, 'The Rhetoric of Due Process'; Donaldson, 'Studies in the Material, Political and Cultural Impact', pp. 44-48, 212, 217, 236.

[14] Wood, 'The Rhetoric of Due Process'.

[15] Orlandis, *Historia*, pp. 354, 375-376; Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, pp. 224, 242.

[16] Wood, 'Defending Byzantine Spain', pp. 315-9.

[17] Gregory, *Dialogues* 3.31.

Early Citations of Gregory in Spain

A significant factor in the early and rapid rise in Gregory's popularity in Spain must have been the fact that his writings circulated there at an early date. Gregory sent preliminary versions of some of what were to become his most influential works to Leander, for example. Other sources suggest that Gregory's writings were desired by discerning bishops in Spain as early as the 590s. We have already observed that Leander received early versions of the *Moralia in Job* and the *Regula Pastoralis* and Licinianus of Cartagena, a bishop in Byzantine-controlled Spain, sent a letter to Gregory about the *Regula Pastoralis* and asked for a copy of some of Gregory's homilies on the book of Job. Apparently, he found out about Gregory's work on Job when Leander was travelling through Cartagena, presumably during his return from Constantinople.[19]

Definite citations of Gregory's works in Spain can be traced to the first decade of the seventh century. Isidore's use of Gregory will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, but he was making use of the *Moralia in Job* in some of his earliest works and mentioned both it and the *Regula Pastoralis* in the biography of Gregory that he incorporated into the *De viris illustribus* (written sometime between 604 and 608).[20] The level of engagement with Gregory's writings, especially the *Moralia,* increased substantially during the subsequent two decades. As was indicated by the quotation with which this chapter began, Isidore's admiration for Gregory was made even more explicit in various biographical and encomiastic accounts of his life and achievements. Engagement with the Gregorian legacy extended beyond Isidore, however. We have evidence that Gregory's *Dialogues* were circulating elsewhere in southern Spain by the 630s because the *Vita Sanctorum*

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[18] The letters were widely read in Spain. Hillgarth, 'La conversión de los visigodos', p. 28.

[19] Licinianus*, Ep.* 1.6, Madoz, ed., *Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas*, pp. 92-96; earlier in the letter Licinianus enthuses about Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, to which he evidently already had access.

[20] For date of *De viris illustribus*, see Martín, 'Une nouvelle édition critique', pp. 141-4.

Patrum Emeritensium, a text that was redacted in two stages in 633 or shortly thereafter and then sometime between 666 and 681, refers to the text as a model for its collection of hagiographies.[21] Collins has commented that despite the fact that the *Vita Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* makes only minimal direct use of its model, it 'would be fair enough to say that the spirit of Gregory informs the work as a whole, even if in a rather primitive way'.[22] All of this suggests that Gregory's name had become by the 630s a 'tag' that added value to a text, whether or not his work was used as a specific source of information.

Family Values: Leander, Isidore and Family

Despite the quite low number of communications with Spain during Gregory's papacy, such contacts do represent an increase on previous bishops of Rome and those exchanges that did happen took place at a high level and occurred at important historical moments, for the Spanish Church at least. Gregory's works were transmitted to Spain, alluded to and cited very rapidly. The earliest peak in Gregory's popularity occurred in Spain in the early and mid-seventh century and can be largely attributed to the influence of Isidore and his followers. The connection to Leander was important here because it put Gregory's works in the hands of Isidore, an unofficial literary executor who wielded considerable influence and who had an interest in promoting his own family.

Scholars have long debated the origins of the family of Leander and Isidore. The short biography of Leander in Isidore's *De viris illustribus,* written

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21 *Vitas sanctorum patrum emeretensium, Prefatio*, Maya Sánchez, ed., *Vitas sanctorum patrum emeretensium*, pp. 3-4: *Virorum ortodoxorum maximeque catholicorum prossus uera esse nullus ambigeat miracula, qua sanctissimus egregiusque uates, Romane presul urbis, Gregorius inflammatus paracliti carismate Spiritus Dialogorum in libris ueridico edidit prenotationis stilo; qua olim scilicet omnipotens Deus seruulis per suis sibi bene placitis propter honorem nominis sui patrare dignatus est*, trans. by Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, p. 45: 'No orthodox believer and above all no Catholic ought to disbelieve in the miracles which that most holy and famed bishop, Gregory, Bishop of the city of Rome, fired by the grace of the Comforting Spirit, set down in his books of *Dialogues*, writing them with a pen which told the truth: miracles which in olden times Almighty God thought it fit to work for the glory of His name through humble servants who were indeed pleasing to Him.' For the two stages of redaction see: Velázquez, *Vidas de los santos Padres de Mérida*, pp. 11-15. See also: Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 88.

22 Collins, 'Merida and Toledo', p. 193; cf. Velázquez, *Vidas de los santos Padres de Mérida*, pp. 33-6 for a more positive appraisal of Gregory's influence on the work, which extended to other works besides the *Dialogues*.

at some point between 604 and 608, is the best evidence, but its account is opaque at best. The *De viris illustribus* lists thirty-three famous Christians, mainly Spaniards, who lived in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The text fits within the context of an emerging interest in biographical and hagiographical writing in Visigothic Spain in the early-seventh-century.[23] Leander refers in passing to his homeland in his *De institutione virginum* but does not provide any specific details. It is difficult even to ascertain the geographical origins of the family. Isidore's *De viris illustribus* states that their father, Severianus, lived in the province of Carthaginiensis and that the family was later forcibly moved to Baetica, although no clear indication is given of who was responsible for this move.[24] Roger Collins has suggested, based on onomastic evidence, that the family had African roots, although this must remain conjectural in the absence of confirmation from other sources.[25] It is clear that the family were influential because of the decision, either by the Visigothic kings or the Byzantine government, to move them away from the frontier province of Carthaginiensis. It is striking too that all three brothers became bishops, both mother and daughter took up the monastic life, and we know that both Leander and Isidore lived as monks before taking up episcopal office. Leander seems to have occupied himself primarily with administration, although at least two of his works have survived, and Isidore's literary output is nothing sort of monumental. The family thus seems to have been of considerable status, was able to establish its power base in the province of Baetica in southern Spain after being moved there sometime in the mid-sixth-century, perhaps investing heavily in ecclesiastical institutions and offices in order to hedge their bets against a changeable political climate.

More is known about the interactions between Leander, Isidore and their parents and siblings than about their family background. This is because both Leander and Isidore make both specific and passing references to members of their family in their writings. Most notable is Isidore's biography of Leander in the *De viris illustribus*. Isidore's *De viris illustribus* was largely designed to establish the status of Leander as a worthy historical figurehead for the Spanish Church to stand alongside figures such as Gregory and Augustine, a point underlined by the quotation from the *Versus* with which this chapter began. There are references to Leander's maltreatment by the Arian kings of the Visigoths, his role in the fight against heresy and the conversion of King Reccared to Nicene Christianity, and his work in organising the Church. For Isidore, therefore, Leander represented the ideal Spanish bishop, a bishop, furthermore, whose profile resembled very much his own.[26]

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[23] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, pp. 4, 75.

[24] For a thorough review of the evidence, see: Fontaine and Cazier, 'Qui a chassé'.

[25] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 154.

The *De viris illustribus* also presents Leander – and, as author of the text, Isidore – as protecting and promoting their family. Letters were exchanged between family members, they dedicated texts to one another, and there were cases where they looked after one another (or at least presented themselves as doing so). We shall see in what follows that this family did not just 'stick together'. The textual productions of Isidore and Leander strained to demonstrate this coherence rhetorically. In addition to referring briefly to their father, in the *De viris illustribus* Isidore states that Leander wrote letters to his brother, Fulgentius, and his sister, Florentina.[27] Although it is often described as a monastic rule for nuns, one of Leander's few surviving works, *De institutione virginum,* actually took the form of a letter to Florentina. In the text Leander makes reference to his brothers, to their mother and to his homeland in an effort to persuade Florentina, a virgin who had dedicated her life to God, to adopt the monastic life in the manner that he prescribed.

Isidore also dedicated texts to his siblings. The prefatory letters to *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos,* written in 614/5, are to his sister Florentina and that of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* written sometime between 598 and 615, to his brother Fulgentius, Bishop of Écija.[28] In dedicating these works to his brother and sister respectively, Isidore modelled himself on Leander, demonstrated his commitment to his family and drew them into his own efforts to provide useful educational resources for Spanish churchmen. The *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* was intended for Florentina's edification and Drews has argued that Isidore's overall aim was to make her a co-heir in his programme of educating the clergy about the errors of Judaism.[29] It is interesting to note that the later end of the range of possible dates for the *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* a text that provides an overview of the various offices of the contemporary Church and which was in all probability used by the clergy of the Visigothic kingdom to ensure the pastoral care of the population, corresponds to the date of the *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos.*[30] Just as he depicted Leander as a protector and organiser of the Catholic Church in Spain, Isidore seems to have deliberately associated Florentina and Fulgentius with his own efforts to train the clergy there.

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[26] Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', 625-8.

[27] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[28] de Aldama, 'Indicaciones'; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, pp. 37-8; Knoebel, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, pp. 12-13.

[29] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, pp. 39-46, 83, 113; the Spanish translators of the text also interpret it as being underpinned by an edificatory aim, Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Sobre la fe católica*, p. 19.

Leander and Isidore derived considerable rhetorical capital from emphasising the connectedness of their family network. For example, in comparison to earlier texts in the *De viris illustribus* tradition Isidore laid particular stress on the writing of texts on virginity by famous men.[31] Of the five men Isidore outlined as having written on virginity, he stated that four of them dedicated the texts to their sister, compared to none of the illustrious men mentioned by Jerome or Gennadius, whose works he was continuing. This seems to have been part of a deliberate attempt to centre the *De viris illustribus* on Leander as the archetypal Spanish bishop.[32] Textual connectivity between brother and sister enabled Isidore to better pattern the text and the model of illustriousness that it was generating on Leander.

In focussing a key element of the *De viris illustribus* on his siblings, Isidore followed a path that had already been trodden by Leander who, in attempting to persuade Florentina to adopt a monastic lifestyle, had emphasised the cohesiveness of the family unit. In the *De institutione virginum* Leander stresses the dislocation of his mother (and himself) from their homeland in a passage redolent of Augustine's account of his mother's travails in Italy in the *Confessions*.[33] Connections to various fourth century ascetic writings have also been suggested, including those by Jerome and Basil the Great.[34] Whatever literary predecessors Leander referred to, the religious life of reading, study and prayer that he outlined for Florentina and her companions, was modelled on the Virgin Mary and their mother. According to Leander, travel was out of the question because Florentina was, like their mother, who had been forced to leave her home city, 'a sojourner' and should remain so for the rest of her life.[35] Metaphors of refuge and exile are used to describe the life that Florentina has embarked on. Their mother's physical exile thereby becomes a model for the spiritual exile of the daughter.[36] Leander depicted his mother in this way both to persuade Florentina, and presumably her fellow nuns, to adopt a life of withdrawal from the world and to provide them with a model for how to think about and cope with their separation. Family thus served a persuasive and an educative function.

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[30] Knoebel, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, pp. 13-15 for an overview of the text.

[31] 15.1% of Isidore's authors had written on virginity, while 9.9% of Gennadius of Marseilles' had and 3.7% of Jerome's; for further discussion see Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', pp. 626-8.

[32] Leander to his sister; Osius of Córdoba to his sister; Bishop Avitus to his sister; Severus of Málaga to his sister; Julianus Pomerius (undedicated).

[33] Leander, *De institutione virginum* 31, Campos Ruiz and Roca Meliá, eds., *Santos Padres Españoles II*, pp. 73-76 ; cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, 9.13.

[34] Dietz, *Wandering Monks*, pp. 167-8.

[35] Leander, *De institutione virginum* 21.4, 31.3.

In *De institutione virginum* Leander also notes that he is fearful for the well-being of Fulgentius, who he had sent homewards on some unspecified business, and also stresses the importance of caring for Isidore, the youngest member of the family.[37] In the *De viris illustribus* Isidore records that among Leander's letters was one to Fulgentius on the fear of death.[38] This letter does not survive and therefore we cannot be sure if it was consolatory and hence evidence of Leander taking direct responsibility for the psychological well-being of his brother. Leander may also have been providing his brother with resources for use in preaching and pastoral activities with his congregation, further confirmation that Isidore saw some value in emphasising the epistolary interconnections between Leander and the rest of his family. The records of the second and third councils of Seville, held in 619 and 624 and presided over by Isidore, both contain references to disputes that involved or originated in Écija, Fulgentius' bishopric.[39] Fulgentius attended the second council and, although the acts of the third council are not extant in their entirety, reference to a dispute in the bishopric demonstrates that he must have passed away by the time it was held. Family interest in the city perhaps resulted in it receiving significant attention from Isidore, the leading ecclesiastic in the province of Baetica, and his fellow bishops. For Leander and Isidore, therefore, there was considerable rhetorical value to be derived from presenting their family as a cohesive unit, the members of which stuck together.

Gregory and Leander

Another way for Isidore to bolster the status of his family, and of Leander in particular, was to emphasise their connections to other illustrious ecclesiastics. In the *De viris illustribus* Leander is said to have written numerous letters to his fellow bishops and the importance of the dedication of the *De*

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[36] Dietz, *Wandering Monks*, pp. 167-168.

[37] Leander, *De institutione virginum* 31.

[38] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[39] Wood, 'Defending Byzantine Spain', p. 306; Stocking, Martianus, 'Aventius and Isidore'.

institutione virginum to Florentina in terms of the overall literary profile of the *illustri* has just been examined. Yet the association with Gregory was perhaps the most important strand of Isidore's efforts to focus the *De viris illustribus* on Leander. He stresses their direct contacts through the exchange of letters and also patterns the entries on Gregory and Leander on one another: they engage in similar kinds of activity such as authoring theological treatises, fighting heresy and organising the Church through letter writing.[40] As we saw at the start of this chapter, Isidore associates Leander and Gregory with one another by collocation in the *Versus,* a poem by Isidore that outlines the contents of the library in Seville, in which the verse on Leander is immediately after the one on Gregory.[41] Given these associations, it is hardly surprising that Fontaine has suggested Gregory and Leander were 'inseparable' in Isidore's imagination.[42]

All of this is not to deny that Leander and Gregory were connected in life as well as in Isidore's posthumous promotional activities and their relationship has been the subject of a recent monograph by Martyn.[43] It is well-known that Gregory and Leander met in Constantinople at some point between 579 and 582/5.[44] Gregory's *Dialogues* attribute the conversion of the Visigothic prince Hermenegild from Arianism to Catholicism to the efforts of Leander, stating that he heard about these events from travellers from Spain.[45] In one of Gregory's letters to Reccared, the king who converted the Visigoths to Catholicism later in the 580s, he granted a *pallium,* a sign that its holder possessed one of the principal seats of Christianity, to Leander. This was in recognition of Leander's role in the conversion of Reccared and was no doubt at least partially influenced by their friendship.[46] Gregory dedicated the *Moralia in Job* to Leander, and signals the influence of the Spanish bishop on the inception of the work in the letter to Leander which prefaced the book.[47]

A number of letters from Gregory to Leander have survived, although none of the replies remain, while Isidore's biography of Leander in the *De*

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[40] Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', p. 625-8, argues that the work is focussed on Gregory, Leander and John of Constantinople in order to exalt Leander.

[41] Isidore, *Versus*, ed. by Sánchez Martín; Díaz y Díaz, 'La Trasmission de los textos antiguos', esp. pp. 136-142.

[42] Fontaine, *Génesis y originalidad*, p. 69; see also: Inglebert, 'Renommée et sainteté', pp. 984-5.

[43] Martyn, *Gregory and Leander.*

[44] Collins, 'Merida and Toledo', pp. 216-7.

[45] García de la Fuente, Olegario 'Leovigildo, Hermenegildo, Recaredo y Leandro'; Collins, 'Merida and Toledo', pp. 215-7.

[46] Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, p. 242.

[47] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 60; DelCogliano, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 13-14.

viris illustribus suggests that their correspondence after meeting in Constantinople may have been even more extensive.[48] According to Collins, this important and ongoing 'channel of communication [...] meant that most of Gregory's works very quickly became available in the Visigothic kingdom and they came to exercise, with the sole exception of [...] Augustine, the greatest single influence upon the learning of the Spanish Church in the seventh century.'[49] It is to this influence that we now turn, beginning by examining the use Isidore made of Gregory.

Gregory and Isidore

In addition to his efforts to associate Leander with Gregory, Isidore made extensive use of Gregory's writings as a source. These included explicit references to Gregory's writings, what we might nowadays describe as unreferenced citations, and the biography in the *De viris illustribus*.[50] Indeed, the *De viris illustribus* may have been designed to celebrate the lives of Leander and Gregory together, both of whom had died shortly before the text was written.[51]

Gregory's illustriousness is signalled even by the seemingly insignificant conventions used to establish his dates: he took office under the Emperor Maurice (r. 582-602) and died in the reign of Phocas (r. 602-610). Only one other bishop, John of Constantinople, with whom Isidore may also have been striving to associate Gregory and Leander, receives this level of chronological detail.[52] Isidore heaps plentiful praise on Gregory:

> With the pricking [of conscience] of the full fear of God and with the highest humility, so endowed with wisdom through the grace of the Holy Spirit, that not only in the present is there no doctor equal to him but there never has been at any time. [...] It is said nevertheless that this same highly distinguished man [...]. Happy and rather too happy, he who through all his study is able to understand [Gregory's] words.
> *compunctione timoris Dei plenus et humilitate summus, tantoque per gratiam Spiritus Sancti scientiae lumine praeditus, ut non modo illi*

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[48] For overview of contents of the surviving letters, see Martyn, *Gregory and Leander*, pp. 1-14.

[49] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 60-61.

[50] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 27, Codoñer Merino, ed., *El "De viris illustribus"*, pp. 148-9.

[51] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, pp. 4, 75.

[52] On John of Constantinople see: Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', p. 626.

> *praesentium temporum quisquam doctorum, sed nec in praeteritis quidem par fuerit unquam.* [...] *Fertur tamen idem excellentissimus uir* [...]. *Felix tamen et nimium felix, qui omnium studiorum eius potuit cognoscere dicta.*

According to Isidore the key reason for Gregory's excellence was the quality of his writings, especially those to Leander. In the edition, only eight lines are devoted to writings not directed to Leander. This includes the *Pastoral Rule,* which was written at the start of the episcopate to Bishop John of Constantinople, the third member of the international episcopal triumvirate that Isidore centred on Leander:

> In which he teaches what sort of person comes to the duty of office, indeed how he should come to live, or [how] he should desire to teach his subjects [...] And he has written other moral books, and he has expounded through public sermons the whole text of the four gospels, a work unparalleled to us.
> *In quo docet, qualis quisque ad officium regiminis ueniat, uel qualiter dum uenerit uiuere uel docere subiectos studeat.* [...] *et alios libros morales scripsisse, totumque textum quattuor euangeliorum sermocinando in populis exposuisse, incognitum scilicet nobis opus.*[53]

At fifteen lines, Gregory's writings to Leander thus take up almost twice as much space in the edition as those to other recipients. Isidore lists two letters to Leander, one of which was the preface to the *Moralia in Job.* The other warned against the practice of triple immersion at baptism, presumably the reply to the letter on baptism that Isidore mentions Leander sent to Gregory. Amongst other points, the letter stated:

> He said that it can be by no means blame-worthy to submerge infants in baptism, whether once or thrice, when through three immersions it can denote the persons of the Trinity, and through one the unity of the Divinity.
> *Reprehensibile, inquit, esse nullatenus potest infantem in baptismate mergere, uel semel uel ter, quando in tribus mersionibus personarum Trinitatis, et in una potest Diuinitatis singularitas designari.*[54]

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[53] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 27, Codoñer Merino, ed., *El "De viris illustribus"*, p. 148.

[54] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 27, Codoñer Merino, ed., *El "De viris illustribus"*, p. 149.

Disputes over baptism were a common feature of theological controversy in late sixth century Spain, between Nicene bishops and between Nicene and Arian authorities. The emphasis on baptismal practices and the use of Trinitarian formulae in the *De viris illustribus* is hardly surprising given the pivotal role that Leander played in the conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism in the late 580s.[55]

Most importantly, the *Moralia in Job* was apparently written at the request of Leander and underlined Gregory's skills as an exegete:

> And the same man also, at the request of bishop Leander, interpreted the book of holy Job according to its mystic and moral meanings, and explained with a fount of bountiful eloquence the full history of its prophet in thirty-five volumes. Through these, how great the mysteries of the sacraments were indeed uncovered, and how great the moral precepts are for promoting love of eternal life or how great the decoration of words makes this clear, no one has the wisdom to explain, even if all his skill were to be turned solely to that of speech.
> *Idem etiam, efflagitante Leandro episcopo, librum beati Iob mystico ac morali sensu disseruit, totamque eius prophetiae historiam in triginta quinque uoluminibus largo eloquentiae fonte explicuit. In quibus quidem quanta mysteria sacramentorum aperiantur, quantaque sint in amorem uitae aeternae morum praecepta uel quanta clareant ornamenta verborum, nemo sapiens explicare ualebit, etiam si omnes artus eius uertantur in linguam.*

Again, Isidore emphasised two aspects of the work: first, that it was written at the request of Leander; second, its technical (i.e. exegetical), moral and literary excellence. As we shall see in the sections that follow, this was more than a lot of rhetorical hot air. Isidore and his fellow bishops made extensive and creative use of the *Moralia* in the following decades. Alongside works such as Augustine's *City of God* and Isidore's *Etymologies* and *Sententiae,* it quickly became one of the key resources for the churchmen of seventh-century Visigothic Spain.

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[55] Wood, 'Religious Strategies of Distinction'. For a brief comment on the impact of these debates on the material record, see Chavarria, 'Churches and aristocracies in seventh-century Spain', p. 6.

Isidore's Use of Gregory

Isidore's highly positive appraisal of Gregory is reflected in the extensive use he made of Gregory in virtually every one of his writings.[56] Gregory is not always Isidore's main source, but he is usually prominent, from the *Etymologies*[57], a compendium of late antique scholarship and Isidore's magnum opus, via exegetical[58] and grammatical writings, to the *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* a guidebook to the various offices of the Church.[59] The most extensive borrowings took place from the *Moralia in Job,* a clear reflection of Isidore's highly positive opinion of the work. The Isidorian text with the highest level of reliance on Gregory was the *Sententiae,* three books of spiritual instruction probably written in 614/5.[60] Isidore's earliest biographer, Braulio of Zaragoza, picked up on the reliance of the work on Gregory's *Moralia* shortly after Isidore's death, he published: 'three books of Sentences, adorned with choice selections from the books of Pope Gregory's *Morals*' (*Sententiarum libros tres, quos floribus ex libris papae Gregorii Moralibus decorauit*).[61]

One of the main intellectual trends within Visigothic Spain was the compilation and summarising of the writings of Church Fathers such as Augustine and Gregory. Recent work has demonstrated the creative uses Isidore made of his sources. He is no longer seen as an unreflective 'cut-and-paster' who sought to 'save' the knowledge of the ancient world and make it useful for the medieval period. Isidore and other writers from seventh century Spain formed anthologies that synthesised the work of earlier Christian (and often non-Christian) writers. Their purpose was not solely to preserve received Christian knowledge, but to facilitate better understanding among the ecclesiastical elites and, through them, the general public.[62] Texts such as the *Sententiae* adapted carefully-selected parts of the writings of earlier authors to generate original works that met contemporary pastoral objectives.

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[56] E.g. O'Loughlin, 'Isidore's use of Gregory the Great'; Uitvlugt, 'The Sources of Isidore's Commentaries'.

[57] Díaz y Díaz, 'Introducción General': pp. 194-195: the main Christian sources for the *Etymologies* are Augustine, Jerome and Lactantius; less important, but still used frequently are Tertullian, Cassiodorus, Ambrose and Gregory the Great. See Fontaine, *La culture classique* for specific details of borrowings; Barney et al, *Etymologies*, p. 15: books 6 to 8 of the *Etymologies* constitute the ecclesiastical and theological part of the work for which the primary sources are Augustine and Jerome, who are used extensively, as well as Gregory the Great, Lactantius' *Divine Institutions* and Tertullian.

[58] Díaz, 'Visigothic Political Institutions', p. 342 suggested that Isidore's views on unction may have been influenced by Gregory. Ullman, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 74, 76, however, considers that Isidore would have had no knowledge of the Pope's point of view, and that when he wrote, unction did not exist as a practice.

[59] Knoebel, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, p. 5: Isidore's *Differentiae*, *Proemia* and *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* contain material from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job.*

[60] Martín, 'Une nouvelle édition critique', pp. 141-5.

[61] Braulio, *Renotatio librorum Isidori*, 10, Martín, ed., *Scripta de vita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, p. 202.

Isidore did not simply use Gregory's *Moralia in Job,* his main source when writing the *Sententiae,* as a mine of quotations, but carefilly selected material in order to mould one of the monuments of late antique exegesis to new purposes. The key problem confronting Isidore was not lack of material, but what to do with the vast amount of material, Gregorian and other, that he had at his disposal. The list of definite and possible uses of Gregory's works in the *Sententiae* runs to four and a half pages in the *index fontium* of the modern edition, with the *Moralia in Job* accounting for three and a half of those pages.[63]

Given what is known about Isidore's working methods, and the wealth of sources at his disposal, it was inevitable that a reference work such as the *Sententiae* would engage in a process of selection, editing and augmentation. His construction of the *Sententiae* aligns well with practices that have been observed in other Isidorian writings. In many instances he shortened sources by excerpting and summarising them.[64] This might have been at least partly due to the fact that he possessed incomplete versions of the source works or because he was reliant on collections of excerpts.[65] Isidore was interested in communicating as effectively as possible with his audience and, in his mind, the best way of doing this was to write with brevity rather than in an overly rhetorical style. Although the admonition to write simply and with clarity, even when producing quite complex works, was commonplace by the time of Isidore, I have argued elsewhere that Isidore deliberately wrote works that were characterised by their brevity in order to improve the readability, communicative potential and ultimately the didactic power of his work.[66] Sometimes these works were indeed quite brief but, on other occasions the claim to brevity meant that Isidore was dealing in a relatively concise way with long sources rather than that his works were objectively 'brief' themselves. So, although the *Sententiae* is actually quite a long work, in comparison to the wealth of Patristic and other sources on which it draws, it is characterised by brevity and hence, to Isidore's mind at least, clarity. Isidore also tended to reduce or remove Gregory's digressions in order to turn the interpretations in a more acceptable direction, for example, in his efforts to combat what he saw as eastern heresies.[67]

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[62] Orlandis, *Historia*, p. 322.

[63] Isidore, *Sententiae*, ed. by Cazier, pp. 355-359 (only books 3, 11, 13, 16, 20, 22 and 35 of the *Moralia* are missing from the list). Despite the extensive use that Isidore made of Gregory's works in the *Sententiae*, there are no explicit references to Gregory by name in the text. This is in line with Isidore's citation practices in relation to Augustine, who is not mentioned by name either, despite the frequent use made of his works. Even biblical authors are only mentioned by name infrequently, usually when Isidore makes a direct citation.

[64] Numerous examples throughout the text; on this Isidorian practice generally see: Mullins, *The Spiritual Life*.

[65] A point made by O'Loughlin, 'Isidore's use of Gregory the Great', pp. 263-9.

[66] Wood, 'Brevitas'.

Isidore sometimes rearranged material taken from the *Moralia* in other ways, adding information taken from elsewhere in the text, condensing and merging two chapters into one, splitting apart chapters that had been together previously.[68] Another practice was to collate Gregory's words with those of other, usually Patristic, authors.[69] Augustine was the main choice here, although on occasion the *Moralia* was spliced with other works by Gregory, such as the *Regula Pastoralis*.[70]

All of this is not to deny the extent of Isidore's own contribution, which was significant and went beyond editing his sources, processes which are indicative of his deep engagement with the source texts. On the most basic level, and still pointing towards his compilatory attitude, there are multiple examples of intertexts between the *Sententiae* and other Isidorian writings. Sometimes earlier writings by Isidore, such as the *Differentiae,* served as sources for the *Sententiae,* while on other occasions material from the *Sententiae* could be found in later works, such as the *Etymologiae*.[71] Finally, as was noted above, in other places Isidore introduced his own reflections, often at the close of the chapter, in order to alter the meaning or emphasis of the Gregorian source.[72] This brief overview of the use Isidore made of Gregory's works, primarily the *Moralia in Job* in the *Sententiae,* has demonstrated Isidore's role as an active and thoughtful editor of his source.

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[67] On Isidore's hostility to eastern heresies and his splicing of patristic sources, including Gregory, see: MacCoull, 'Isidore and the Akephaloi'.

[68] E.g. Gregory, *Moralia in Job* 18.43.68 is used in Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.1.4, 3.16.7 and 3.21.2.

[69] E.g. Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.8 (*De mundo*), Cazier, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, pp. 21-25 is composed primarily from a range of Augustine's works (*Confessiones*, *De Civitate Dei*, *De Genesi ad litteram l. xii* and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*), but includes extracts from the book 6 of the *Moralia* at the beginning and near the end.

[70] E.g. Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.34 (*De indignis prapositis*), Cazier, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, pp. 273-5 is composed of a combination of extracts taken from books 7, 24, 25 and 32 of the *Moralia in Job* and the *Regula Pastoralis* 1.1.

[71] For list of commonalities between the *Sententiae* and other Isidorian texts see: Cazier, ed., *Sententiae*, p. 359.

[72] Mullins, *The Spiritual Life*, pp. 60-63.

His aim was to compose a new text that was useful for his audience in the present. This inevitably involved addressing specific points which had not necessarily been of concern or interest to Gregory and turning the contents of his predecessor's work in new directions.[73]

Another reason for Isidore's intense engagement with Gregory's works is that their approaches to scriptural reading and exegesis were similar in intention and in practice. In the preface to the *Moralia in Job,* written in the form of a letter to Leander, Gregory explained that it was the job of those who had a higher level of training and skill in scriptural interpretation to provide access to the secrets of the Bible to those who were less educated.[74] In the *De institutione virginum* Leander suggests that the untrained avoid reading biblical books such as the *Song of Songs*.[75] Leander's advice that certain scriptural passages should be interpreted spiritually rather than historically was not intended to limit access to scripture, but rather to ensure that knowledge was channelled through appropriate intermediaries or was opened up after appropriate training had taken place. Isidore's ideas about the practice, purpose and pedagogy of reading drew extensively on Gregory and others and in later centuries their works were excerpted and spliced together by later commentators such as Smaragdus of St Mihiel.[76] The views of Gregory, Leander and Isidore were therefore highly congruent with one another on the purpose of scriptural exegesis.

After Isidore: Visions of Gregory the Great in Seventh-Century Spain

Isidore's highly positive appraisal of Gregory was shared by his successors as leaders of the Spanish Church. The depth of this continuing engagement with the Gregorian legacy is demonstrated by further positive judgements on his status, by attempts to procure additional copies of his writings, and by ongoing and active engagement with his work. Braulio of Zaragoza (d. 650), Eugenius II of Toledo (d. 657), Ildefonsus of Toledo (d. 667), Julian of Toledo (d. 690) and Valerius of El Bierzo (d. c. 695), all made extensive use of

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73 For a similar point about other Isidorian writings see: Uitvlugt, 'The Sources of Isidore's Commentaries'.

74 See DelCogliano, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 66-67 for Gregory's reading and exegetical techniques as elucidated in the letter to Leander that introduced the *Moralia in Job*.

75 Leander of Seville, *De institutione virginum* 16, Campos Ruiz and Roca Meliá, eds., *Santos Padres Españoles II*, pp. 54-55.

76 Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, pp. 107-119.

Gregory in their writings on a range of topics. As with Isidore, scholars have identified processes of attributed and unattributed citation, epitomisation and adaptation across a swathe of writings.[77]

The most striking case of engagement with Gregory after Isidore is that of Taio of Zaragoza (d. post-656) who, before he became bishop, journeyed to Rome in the early 640s, possibly on the instruction of King Chindaswinth, to find, copy and bring back works by Gregory which were not at that time available in Spain.[78] It is difficult to identify with any precision the specific works that Taio brought back from Rome, although it seems certain that he extended what was available in Spanish libraries.[79] The output of all this work, in addition to the copies of Gregory's writings that Taio brought back from Rome, was a text which later came to be known as the *Sententiarum Libri V,* a series of extracts abridged from different parts of Gregory's corpus and combined with other writers such as Augustine.[80] Taio describes, in a letter to Bishop Quiricius of Barcelona, how he spent his nights working on the project while Zaragoza was besieged by the usurper Froia in 653-4.[81] Although the work has been described as 'poorly organized'[82], such value-judgements are increasingly being overturned in favour of interpretations which see successors of Isidore such as Taio as excerpting and compiling Gregory's works in a systematic fashion for highly practical purposes.[83]

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[77] For Braulio and Gregory see: Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 6. For Eugenius II and Gregory see: Fear, 'Moaning to Some Purpose', pp. 62-3, 67-8: probable influence of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* and possibly that of the *Registrum* on the poetry of Eugenius II, especially on idea of *conpunctio*. For Ildefonsus of Toledo and Gregory see: Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 77: Ildefonsus' treatises on baptism were 'basically composed of selected extracts from writings of Augustine, Gregory and Isidore.' For Julian and Gregory see: Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 78: the *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* draws principally on Augustine's *City of God*, but also on Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Isidore and others. On Valerius and Gregory see: Orlandis, *Historia*, p. 322 and Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 45.

[78] Miguel Franco, 'Ecos del Epistularium'; Madoz, *Tajón de Zaragoza*; Orlandis, *Historia*, pp. 405 and 409 suggests that the story that Chindaswinth ordered Taio to go to Spain was a later invention. Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, p. 257, however, argues that the fact that Taio was allowed to leave the country and made it to Rome and back suggests that the mission had royal backing.

[79] Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 95, n. 32; Orlandis, *Historia*, p. 407: Taio brought back Gregory's homilies on Ezequiel and perhaps the *Dialogues* and the commentary on the *Song of Songs*. See also: Palacios Martín, *Tajón de Zaragoza*.

[80] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 73; Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 89, n. 2.

[81] Thompson, *The Goths in Spain*, pp. 199-200; Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 84-85.

[82] O'Callaghan, *History*, p. 87.

[83] E.g. DelCogliano, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 49-50: 'Taio systematizes Gregory's thought in five books [...]. Each of the five books has numerous chapters, each of which is devoted to a particular subtheme.

Sometimes Gregory's works were copied almost verbatim, but even copying and pasting can, in some cases, be highly creative exercises, especially when done with specific aims in mind.[84] A letter from Braulio of Zaragoza to Taio in 649/50 reveals that the aim of Taio's visit to Rome was to obtain copies of the 'books of the holy Pope Gregory' (*codices sancti pape Gregorii*) which had not previously existed in Spain.[85] Barlow suggested that Taio was trying to locate copies of Gregory's later works because, as we have already seen, some of them were circulating in Spain even before the end of the sixth century.[86] Braulio's letter, in which he requests a copy of the books of Gregory and promises to return them whenever Taio asks, reveals that there was a demand for such works among the Visigothic ecclesiastical elite. Braulio quoted directly from the beginning of Gregory's *Moralia* at the start of the letter, suggesting that the text was well-known enough to function as a common reference point for two educated churchmen.[87] Braulio noted that Taio, and presumably other members of his circle, studied the writings of the Church Fathers to such an extent that their words (*eloquia*) remained 'nested in your heart' (*in pectore tuo* [...] *nidauerint*).[88] Taio engaged with the memory of Gregory and journeyed to Rome for practical purposes: to make available edificatory works for his fellow bishops and to enable them to use the insights from Gregory's writings to instruct others.

At about the same time as Taio travelled to Rome and then worked up his summary of Gregory's writings, there was an increase in interest in Gregory in the city of Toledo, the centre of Visigothic royal government and in the process of establishing itself as the ecclesiastical head of the kingdom. In the second canon of the eighth council of Toledo in 653 Gregory was honoured as follows:

> And also holy Pope Gregory, to be honoured for both his books and his merits, and also due to his merit to be preferred in ethical matters to almost anyone else, explains thus in his books on moral matters [in his *Moralia*] [...]

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[84] Hillgarth, 'Popular Religion', p. 19, n. 3.

[85] Braulio, *Ep.* 42, l. 150, Riesco Terrero, ed., *Epistolario de San Braulio*, p. 162, trans. by Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 95.

[86] Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 95, n. 32.

[87] Braulio, *Ep.* 42, l. 22-23, Riesco Terrero, ed., *Epistolario de San Braulio*, p. 156, trans. by Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 89; cf. Gregory, *Moralia* 1.1.

[88] Braulio, *Ep.* 42, l. 10-15, Riesco Terrero, ed., *Epistolario de San Braulio*, p. 154, trans. by Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 89.

> *Beatus etiam papa Gregorius et libris et meritis honorandus, atque in ethicis adsertionibus pene cunctis merito praeferendus, sic in libris infert moralibus* [...]

The same canon also honoured Isidore as:

> The distinguished doctor of our century, the newest ornament of the Catholic church, though the last when compared with the previous in terms of time, but not least in terms of doctrine, and furthermore, the most learned in the end times, and to be named with reverence, Isidore, in the second book of his *Sententiae* relates to the same purpose: [...]
> *Nostri quoque seculi doctor egregius, ecclesiae catholicae novissimum decus, praecedentibus aetate prostremus, doctrinae conparatione non infimus, et quod maius est in seculorum fine doctissimus, atque cum reverentia nominandus Ysidorus in libro Sententiarum secundo haec pro tali narrat negotio* [...].[89]

This is followed by a quotation from the *Sententiae* and one claiming to be from Isidore's *Synonyma.* It is also possible that the description of Isidore as *doctor egregius* may be a deliberate lexical pun on (or at least a reference back to) Gregory/ *Gregorius*. Earlier in the second canon of the eighth council of Toledo, direct quotations were taken from and references had been made to Ambrose and Augustine, before the sections on Gregory and Isidore. All of this suggests that by the mid-seventh century, deliberate efforts were being made to associate Isidore with earlier Latin Church Fathers. Isidore was being positioned as the father of the Spanish Church, and the association with Gregory played a pivotal role in generating a direct line of descent from Ambrose and Augustine.

A few years later Ildefonsus of Toledo (659-667) extended Isidore's *De viris illustribus.* In the process he wrote a new biography of Gregory, adding the *Dialogues*, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and the *22 Homilies in Ezechiel* to the list of writings.[90] Martin has argued that, in contrast to Isidore's largely intellectual biographical catalogue, Ildefonsus was inspired by Gregory's *Dialogues* to stress the miracles that had been performed by his illustrious men.[91] It may also be the case that Ildefonsus's extension of Isidore's biography of Gregory was part of a broader effort by the bishops of Toledo to demonstrate the excellence of their bishopric in opposition to Seville and other powerful ecclesiastical centres in Spain, as Michael J. Kelly explores later in this volume.[92] On this reading, control over the dissemination of Gregory's writings and the definition of his memory was one way to demonstrate Toledan superiority within Spain.

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[89] Vives, ed., *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, pp. 276-7; see also Fontaine, *Génesis y originalidad*, p. 289.

[90] Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2*, p. 95, n. 32; on later addition of the commentary on the *Song of Songs* to lists of Gregory's works, see: DelCogliano, *Gregory the Great*, p. 29.

Gregory's works thus had an impact on the pastoral aims of the bishops of the Visigothic kingdom and on how the basic tenets of Christianity might best be communicated to the clergy and, through them, the people.[93] This began during Gregory's lifetime as Spanish bishops responded to texts and letters that Gregory had sent there advising them on how to care for those in their charge. Licinianus of Cartagena, for example, wrote to Gregory in the 590s to say that if he obeyed Gregory's advice in the *Regula Pastoralis* to refrain from ordaining the ignorant, then he would not be able to ordain anyone at all in his area.[94] Although they form a relatively small proportion of the contents of Visigothic-era homiliaries from Spain, Gregory's sermons were also used by the preachers of the period, further demonstrating his direct influence on the pastoral efforts of the bishops and clergy there.[95]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the reception of the writings of Gregory I in Spain during the Visigothic period, especially in the writings of Isidore of Seville in the early seventh century. Isidore received the works of Gregory so enthusiastically because of the very close association between Gregory and Leander, Isidore's brother. Contemporary sources suggest that Leander and Isidore were particularly interested in emphasising the status of the members of their family, the coherence of the family unit and in particular its role in the development of the Church in Spain during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. The connection to Gregory, Bishop of Rome at the time of the conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism and a correspondent of Leander, was cultivated in order to bolster the historical status of Leander and because his writings had proved practically useful in Isidore's campaign to educate the clergy of the Visigothic kingdom. Due to the close association with Leander, the early circulation of his writings in Spain, and their usefulness to Isidore, Gregory virtually became a member of the family of Leander-Isidore.

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[91] Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, p. 216; for more on differences between Ildefonsus and earlier texts in the *De viris illustribus* tradition see Galán Sánchez, 'El De viris illustribus', pp. 71-74, 79-80.

[92] See also Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', pp. 628-40.

[93] Lozano Sebastián, *San Isidoro*, p. 224.

[94] Licinianus*, Ep*. 1.1-5 Madoz, ed., *Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas*, pp. 83-91, King, *Law and Society*, p. 150; Orlandis, *Historia*, p. 309.

[95] Hillgarth, 'Popular Religion', p. 24.

The Isidorian stamp of approval was particularly important for the posthumous reputation of Gregory in Spain. Gregory and his writings retained their prestige in Spain after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in the early eighth century. Works such as the *Moralia* were copied and circulated in the centuries that followed[96] and by the mid-eighth century the story of Taio's journey to Rome had taken on a distinctly legendary tone.[97] In later centuries, however, Gregory's works became popular not only because they were useful in the present and because of the association with Leander (and Isidore), but also because they created a connection to the Catholic-Visigothic past. Not only was Gregory the pope at the time of the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism, a conjunction that probably seemed more significant with hindsight than it did at the time, but he wrote a biography of the Visigothic prince Hermenegild which became highly popular in late medieval and early modern Spain.[98] Gregory presented Hermenegild as a martyr rather than the traitor of the accounts of John of Biclarum and Isidore and it was this version that served as a model of Catholic leadership for the Hapsburg monarchs.[99] Gregory's writings, bolstered by their close association with Leander and Isidore, the fathers of the Spanish Church, thus retained their utility for the educated elite of early modern Spain as they had for the ecclesiastical elite of the early medieval period.

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[96] E.g. Suárez González, 'La edición riojana'; Shailor, 'The Scriptorium of San Pedro de Cardeña'.

[97] Orlandis, *Historia*, pp. 405-409 for Taio's journey to Rome and the resultant development of legendary accounts.

[98] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 45.

[99] Lazure, 'Possessing the Sacred', pp. 78-9.

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3 Variations on a Theme

Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly

Mary Beagon

It is impossible to say for certain whether Isidore actually read Pliny's *Natural History* at first hand. As anyone who has ever considered the question of Isidore's (or indeed Pliny's) sources knows only too well, it can be almost impossible to tell what the authors of encyclopaedic and compilatory works such as the *Natural History* or the *Etymologies,* reliant as they were on multiple secondary sources, used directly and which at one or more removes. Material deriving ultimately from Pliny permeates the entire *Etymologies*; whether it was sourced at first hand or derived from an intermediary is impossible to say for certain.[1] All we can be sure of is a pervasive Plinian flavour or echo to much of Isidore's material. Threads of thought, recognizable from a reading of Pliny, recur in the books of the *Etymologies.* This chapter will examine one such thread, human anomaly. The aim is not primarily to locate inspiration from Pliny in Isidore but to consider how each treated an idea of central importance to their respective worldviews.

The animal kingdom for Pliny occupies five out of 37 books of his *Historia Naturalis* (*HN*)*,* while for Isidore two of the twenty books of the *Etymologies* (*Etym.*) cover similar ground. In both writers, the human animal has a special relationship with the creative divinity, in Pliny's case Stoic nature and in Isidore's the Christian creator God. For Pliny, indeed, the rest of creation is geared for the most part towards man's needs (*HN* 7.3). For Isidore, who implicitly recalls the Stoic pantheistic view of nature at the beginning of *Etym.* 11,[2] the human body uniquely is raised upright for contemplation of the Creator (11.1.5); another classical topos, specifically referenced in this case to lines quoted from the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Met.* 1.84); while his mind (*mens*), the superior part of the soul (11.1.11), is the cause of his being said to be the image of God (*imago dei*).

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[1] Oroz Reta, 'Présence de Pline', pp. 295-306 notes numerous echoes, in *Etym.*16's treatment of mineralogy, of the actual wording deployed by Pliny in his treatment of the same topic in *HN* 36-7. This certainly suggests Isidore had access to works containing excerpts from the *HN*, if not to the work itself.

[2] 'Hanc (i.e. naturam) quidam Deum esse dixerunt, a quo omnia creata sunt et existunt': 'Some people say that this (i.e. nature) is God, by whom all things are created and exist'. Trans. Barney et al., *Etymologies*, p. 231. (This translation of the *Etymologies* is used throughout this paper. Pliny *HN* 7 translations are from my own 2005 translation and commentary. Other translations are my own except where otherwise indicated). Later he acknowledges this more explicitly as a

For the Christian writer, then, the human animal is of dual aspect: a body formed from the soil but raised upright from the soil to face upward, and a soul.[3] Isidore then proceeds to categorize the constituent parts of this double nature: nearly three quarters of book 11 is devoted to an etymological creation-by-verbal-dissection of a generic *imago hominis.* In his study of the *Etymologies,* John Henderson contrasted Isidore's man, 'one and alone' to the 'rhetoric of plenitude' which overflows in book 12 with its emphasis on the numbers, variety and diversity of the rest of the animal kingdom.[4] The effect is perhaps exaggerated by Isidore's cramming the whole of the rest of the animal kingdom into one book, whereas Pliny uses four, rather longer, ones to complete his survey. The fact remains, however, that Isidore's catalogue of parts (11.1-2) produces a single, photofit, image. Pliny, to be sure, gives a generic treatment of human physiology in relation to that of animals in the later sections of *HN* 10 and 11, following in the tradition of the Aristotelian comparative biology of *On the Parts of Animals* and *On the Generation of Animals.* However, his dedicated treatment of humanity in *HN* 7 is a riot of diversity, variation and exception. Sometimes characterised as a book of records, the average or mean is not what *HN* 7 is about. Discussions of human lifespan, reproduction, stature and death are predominantly discussions of the exceptional rather than the norm.

Deviant Nature? Variety and Monstrosity

If we look at the treatment of the human face by each author, it is true that Isidore mentions its function in distinguishing each individual human (*Etym.*11.1.35), but only after noting its generic function in characterizing the human animal as human. Pliny, however, revels in the innumerable possibilities which nature, more skilled than any human *artifex,* can produce from just a handful of generic physical features (*HN* 7.7).

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view held by some pagans: 'unde et ipsi gentiles Deum modo naturam, modo Deum appellant': 'Even the Pagans address God sometimes as Nature, sometimes as God' (*Etym.* 11.3.1. Trans. Barney et al., *Etymologies*, p. 243).

[3] 'Duplex est autem homo: interior et exterior. Interior homo anima et exterior corpus' (11.1.6).

[4] Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore*, p. 149.

Should we read any significance into this difference of emphasis, other than the fact that naming of generic parts is intrinsic to Isidore's project, just as emphasizing the infinite *varietas* of nature is intrinsic to Pliny's? At this point, we should consider the last quarter of *Etym.* 11, where Isidore, in a sense paradoxically, attempts to define and categorize beings which defy categorization according to the orderly arrangement of parts as previously defined. For Isidore, the impression is that these 'portents' are a source of anxiety: at first sight, they appear to be *contra naturam.* Indeed, he quotes Varro's definition of such beings as 'seeming to have been born contrary to nature', but he explains that in fact they are part of the divine plan, inscrutable as that may be to mere humans; they are not contrary to nature, only contrary to what is known nature. His explanation is heavily dependent, indeed almost word for word, on Augustine ('portentum ergo fit non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura', *Civ. Dei* 21.8). His particular categorization carefully distinguishes the seriously anomalous *portenta, ostenta, prodigia,* which are divine indicators and die soon after birth, from the less serious variations, for example, people with extra digits who are *portentosa* or portent-like, but within the parameters of the acceptably natural.

As far as these individual anomalies are concerned, Pliny is not interested in deconstructing and de-mythifying them. There is some categorization in their general arrangement; for example, we have multiple births, hermaphrodites and sex-changers (*HN* 7.33-6), but application of the term *prodigium* and its associates is neither frequent nor of any particular significance. In this, Pliny's attitude is very different to that of Isidore or Augustine. Indeed, his comment that hermaphrodites were once regarded as portents but now as pets (*deliciae, HN* 7.33) may indicate underlying changes in social attitudes in the first century AD, when negative religious interpretations of physical anomaly are in decline, at any rate among the trend-setting wealthy of Rome;[5] though there was no simple temporal or social shift either now or many centuries later and attitudes even in the early modern era remained complex.[6]

After dealing with individual monstrosities, however, Isidore continues to a more difficult and controversial set of anomalies: the reputed existence of entire monstrous races of peoples[7] for which the *locus classicus* is of course Pliny *HN* 7.9-32, but which, for Isidore, could equally well have come via an intermediary; and once again Augustine's exhaustive examination in *Civ. Dei,* this time 16.8, is an obvious one. Augustine had adopted Pliny's general stance on such oddities: 'The observer who cannot see the whole (of God's plan) is offended by what seems to be the deformity of a part' (*Civ. Dei* 16.8).[8] We may compare this with Pliny *HN* 7.6: 'Indeed the power and might of nature lacks credibility at every point unless we comprehend her as a whole rather than piecemeal'.[9]

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[5] Beagon, *Pliny on the Human Animal*, pp. 167-169; cf also Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence*, pp. 31-40; Boehringer, 'Topique des *thaumata*', pp. 77-80.

[6] Park and Daston, 'Unnatural Conceptions', pp. 20-54.

Pliny's brisk survey of these monstrous races combined enthusiasm with a certain detachment betrayed by his use of third person authority (a feature of wonder literature)[10] and indirect speech. No one had after all actually seen any of these people: if they did exist they added to the cheerful exuberance of the nature deity, created as 'playthings (*ludibria*) for herself and wonders for us' (*HN* 7.32). If they did not exist, his overall depiction of *varietas naturae* was not seriously dented. For the Christian writer, however, the possible existence of such anomalies may have posed theological problems. Hence, I think, it is not sufficient to interpret Isidore's similar use of third person authority and indirect speech merely as a sign of scepticism; it seems also to betray a feeling of anxiety. Were such beings human, and therefore part of the divine salvation plan? This anxiety is clearly enunciated in Augustine: the individual anomalies, undeniably born to human parents in our society, are not a problem; they are clearly descendants of Adam. So, too, therefore, are the monstrous races, provided that their categorization as human is correct (*Civ. Dei* 16.8). We should of course remind ourselves at this point that it is soul not body which makes man *imago dei,* according to Isidore (*Etym.* 11.1.11). But identifying what is ensouled without a recognizable set of physical features as described in the earlier part of *Etym.* 11 is the crux. Such races are so very different that deception is a danger, as Augustine recognizes: 'If we did not know that monkeys, long-tailed apes and chimpanzees are not men but animals, those natural historians who plume themselves on their collection of curiosities might pass them off on us as races of men, and get away with such nonsense' (*Civ. Dei* 16.8).[11]

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[7] A third group, of one-off mythical monsters (*Etym.* 11.3.28-39), is dismissed from consideration as being symbolic representations of the truths at the heart of old stories, e.g. harlots who lured people to destitution or 'shipwreck' become the Sirens (12.3.30).

[8] 'Sed qui totum inspicere non potest tamquam deformitate partis offenditur'. Trans. Bettenson, *City of God*, p. 662.

[9] 'Naturae vero rerum vis atque maiestas in omnibus momentis fide caret si quis modo partes eius ac non totam conplectatur animo'.

[10] Schepens and Delcroix, *Ancient Paradoxography*, pp. 380-384; Jacob, 'De l'art de compiler', pp. 121-140.

Let us return to Isidore's definition of the human *facies.* As we saw, he mentions its function as a repository for the uniqueness of each individual but without embroidering on this in the manner of the Plinian celebration of *varietas.* However, he also describes it as the part of the body which above all reflects the characteristic form of a human being ('Facies dicta ab effigie. Ibi est enim tota figura hominis (et uniuscuiusque persona) cognita' (*Etym.* 11.1.33-4). It is therefore perhaps significant that, while by no means all the monstrous races' deformities are primarily facial, many are and he specifically mentions the stories of 'the monstrous faces of the nations in the far east' (*Etym.* 11.3.18: 'In ultimo autem orientis monstruosae gentium facies scribuntur'). More generally, the human head is the body's primary organ, where all senses and nerves originate, the source of all activity: to the extent that it 'plays the role of the soul, so to speak': 'animae ... quodammodo personam gerit' (11.3.25-6). For this primary indicator of soul to be seriously malformed, even missing as in the case of those such as the Blemmyae, with mouth and eyes in their chest (11.3.17) is clearly problematic for the correct categorization of the human. Another case in point is that of the dog-heads or Cynokephali. These, however, give themselves away as being non-human in Isidore's categorization by their barking (*Etym.* 11.3.15).[12] They cannot talk and words, according to Isidore's definition, are signs of the mental processes by which people show their thoughts to one another in speaking (*Etym.* 1. 9.1). Therefore they cannot possess human mind and mind, as we saw, is the most elevated aspect of the human soul and links man to God. The problematic nature of this religious conundrum is reflected in Augustine's extremely tentative conclusion to his discussion: 'I must therefore finish the discussion of this question with my tentative and cautious answer. The accounts of some of these races may be completely worthless; but if such peoples exist, then either they are not human; or, if human, they are descended from Adam.' (*Civ. Dei* 16.8).[13]

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[11] 'Nam et simias et cercopithicos et sphingas si nesciremus non homines esse, sed bestias, possent illi historici de sua curiositate gloriantes velut gentes aliquas hominum nobis inpunita vanitate mentiri'. Trans. Bettenson, *City of God*, p. 663.

[12] cf. Aug. *CD* 16.8. For the complex tradition of thought instigated by the 'taxonomic ambiguity' of the Cynokephali, see Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, p. 79; Beagon, *Pliny on the Human Animal*, pp. 152-154. For the importance of speech as a marker of humanity, see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, p. 29, who points to four other monstrous races who, implicitly or explicitly, lack speech. However, of these, only one, the Trogodytae, makes non-human sounds, rather than being unable to make any kind of noise due to their facial configurations. The source for the squeaking of the Trogodytae is Herodotus 4.153, rather than Pliny, who mentions them but without comment on their non-human speech (*HN* 5.44-5; 7.23: see Beagon, *Pliny on the Human Animal*, p. 154). This may explain why they are not mentioned by Augustine or Isidore.

Theological difficulties may have been enhanced by some of the contexts in which monsters had appeared in earlier pagan accounts. Strange-looking creatures had been central to some classical creation theories, such as those of Empedocles and Lucretius, which avoided purposive design. Their hallmark was randomness. Empedocles' scheme had included the random production of body parts, which then joined, equally randomly, to produce creatures, some viable but many, like his man-faced oxen,[14] not. Lucretius deliberately set out to avoid the idea of a teleological creator God. Random combinations of atoms in the earth produced a variety of creatures, only some of which were viable and found compatible breeding partners to produce a species. Even these, however, were subject to early extinction by the law of survival of the fittest (Lucr. *RN* 5.837-854).[15] A possible link with non-purposive creativity might, then, have further lessened Isidore's enthusiasm for the idea of monstrous races.[16] The distancing techniques used by many classical authors take on new significance in his catalogue. On the other hand, such theories tended to emphasize the non-viability of oddities and thence the unlikelihood of races of such creatures being perpetuated. It was, on the contrary, Pliny's teleological Stoic Natura which had enshrined them in an enduring tradition. We shall return to this later.

Deviant Minds? Maternal Impressions

Our second example of human variation relies in a sense on human rather than divine creativity. Both Pliny and Isidore discuss a belief with a very long history; the ability of visual and mental stimuli experienced by the mother to modify the physical appearance of her unborn offspring.[17] The basic idea can be found as early as Empedocles, whom Aetius (5.12.2 = *Dox. Graec.* p. 423) cites to explain why some children do not resemble their fathers: ‘Empedocles says that foetuses are shaped by what the woman visualized around the time of conception. For often women have fallen in love with statues and paintings and have produced offspring which resemble them’.[18] Many writers from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Imit.* 6.1) to Augustine (*Contra Iulian.* 5.14.51) repeat the story of the ugly king who fathered handsome children by making his wife look at beautiful statues during intercourse. Medical acceptance is seen in similar references in Galen (14.253-4 Kűhn), Soranus (*Gyn.* 1.39) and later medical authorities. A rationale might be found in Aristotelian physiology, according to which the female genetic material is essentially passive and impressionable. In the cases described above, the normal process by which the active male principle dominates and imprints its form on female matter is hijacked by an outside force such as the sight of a beautiful statue.[19]

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[13] 'Quapropter ut istam quaestionem pedetemtim cauteque concludam: aut illa, quae talia de quibusdam gentibus scripta sunt, omnino nulla sunt; aut, si sunt, homines non sunt; aut ex Adam sunt, si homines sunt'. Trans. Bettenson, *City of God*, p. 664.

[14] Empedocles DK fr.61; Arist. *Phys*. 2.8, 198b16-32.

[15] Campbell, *Strange Creatures*, pp. 33-35; cf. Campbell, *Lucretius on Creation*, pp. 103-123.

[16] For Isidore's opposition to Lucretius' non-teleological view, see A. Fear, this volume, on Isidore's own work entitled *De Rerum Natura*.

[17] Reeve, Conceptions', pp. 81-112 is the classic treatment. Cf. also Boucé, 'Imagination', pp. 86-100; Gourevitch, 'Se mettre à trois', pp. 559-563; Garland, *Deformity and Disability*, p. 151. Maire, 'L'imprégnation par la regard', pp. 279-94 places the idea in the context of ancient philosophical and medical theories of vision.

Pliny’s version in *HN* 7.52 introduces an element almost unique in the ancient testimony in allowing the father, as well as the mother, to be susceptible to such outside influences, effectively doubling the potential for variations and divergences from the expected patterns of heredity to emerge in the newborn infant.[20]

> Resemblances offer considerable food for thought. They are believed to be influenced by many chance occurrences, including sight, hearing, memory and images absorbed at the very moment of conception. Even a chance thought which briefly crosses the mind of one or other parent may form or confuse the resemblance. This is the reason why there are more variations within the human race than there are among all the other animals. The swiftness of men’s thoughts, his mental agility and the versatility of his intelligence produce a wide variety of features; whereas the minds of the other animals are sluggish and exhibit a uniformity in keeping with their particular species.

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[18] Ἐμποδοκλῆς τῇ κατὰ τὴν σύλληψιν φαντασίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς μορφοῦσθαι τὰ βρέφη· ανδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἠράσθησαν γυναῖκες καὶ ὅμοια τούτοις ἀπέτεκον. Trans. Inwood, *Poem of Empedocles,* p. 192.

[19] *GA* 716a47; 767a36-768b1; 728a28-b30.

[20] Beagon, *Pliny on the Human Animal*, pp. 213-215.

> *Similitudinum quidem immensa reputatio est et in qua credantur multa fortuita pollere, visus, auditus, memoriae haustaeque imagines sub ipso conceptu. Cogitatio etiam utriuslibet animum subito transvolans effingere similitudinem aut miscere existimatur, ideoque plures in homine quam in ceteris omnibus animalibus differentiae quoniam velocitas cogitationum animique celeritas et ingeni varietas multiformes notas inprimunt, cum ceteris animantibus immobiles sint animi et similes omnibus singulisque in suo cuique genere.*[21]

The key to superior variety is superior brain power. The quality of *mens* or *ratio,* deliberative thinking, was uniquely human in Pliny's view, not only in moral terms, as in the Stoic equation of moral excellence, *virtus,* with *ratio,* but also in terms of pure intelligence or brain power: note the emphasis on 'swiftness [...], agility [...] versatility' and compare what he has to say of Caesar's 'innate mental agility, with the penetrating speed and rapidity of fire' (7.91: 'proprium vigorem celeritatemque quodam igne volucrem'). This mental superiority was the key to man's pre-eminence in the world of nature.[22] It offered a link with the macrocosmic *ratio* of nature herself, and by maximizing his potential for versatility and variety not just in creative but even as here in procreative activities, allowed him to mirror in microcosmic form the *varietas* of nature, the *artifex* of creation. The only other source to suggest that the thoughts of both mother and father are involved is the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (10.10) where, too, a contrast is made with the other animals who for the most part focus on the act itself. Here, however, the Plinian emphasis on the gulf in mental processes between man and animal which causes it is absent.

Pliny, then, celebrates man's super-charged brain power and the wondrous effects it can have, even on the (self) creation of man himself. But if the animals are too dull to produce mental fantasies of such strength that they affect their unborn young, some sources do credit them with reaction to direct visual stimuli: Oppian describes how horse-breeders parade finely adorned stallions before their brood mares and pigeon-fanciers hang purple-dyed cloths near the female birds (*Cyn.* 1.328-48). It is animal-breeding which is the cue for Isidore's discussion in book 12, the section of the *Etymologies* devoted to animals. The main source is Christian rather than classical: Jerome's commentary on the story in *Genesis* of Jacob's ploy to breed variegated sheep and the tone, unlike Pliny's, is largely negative

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[21] Trans. Beagon, *Pliny on the Human Animal*, p. 70.

[22] Beagon, *Roman Nature*, pp. 55-91; 133-137.

(*Quaest. Heb. Ad Gen.* 30.32-3). However, the fact that his focus is on animals is not in itself a contradiction of Pliny's emphasis on the phenomenon as pertaining largely to the superior human mind. Not only are the sheep's reactions purely sensory but they are in any case 'set up' by the superior ingenuity of the human breeder. This is already clear in the Oppian passage, where the cleverness of the horse and dove breeders is stressed in tones of admiration rather than condemnation: 'O what a heart, what a mind have mortal men! They do what they like' (*Cyn.* 1. 330-1).[23] Isidore's main source, Jerome, had stressed the natural cunning of Jacob: 'So Jacob devised a new artifice and fought against the nature of the black and white flock with an artfulness produced by nature herself'.[24] The tone is ambiguous: Jacob's wits may be a product of nature, but they are being deployed in the undermining of a natural process: 'contra naturam [...] pecoris [...] pugnavit'. The attitude is reminiscent of Pliny's condemnation of ambitious and arrogant modifications of nature, a misuse of humanity's superior *ratio,* a topic to which we shall return shortly. Isidore lays an even more negative emphasis on the unnaturalness of the ploy, which is introduced with comments on a more straightforward breeding trick: crossing species to produce hybrids, in this case mules. Ana, Esau's great-grandson, was said to have done this *contra naturam* (*Etym.* 12.1.57). 'Indeed', Isidore continues, 'human intervention has forced animals of different species to breed with one another and has thus developed another type of animal by means of an unnatural combination. Thus too Jacob obtained similarities of colours contrary to nature, for his sheep conceived offspring similar to the image of the ram mounting them from above that they saw as a reflexion in the water'.[25] He doesn't actually give the explanation of what Jacob had done to alter the reflexions, but clearly intends to apply the same elements of 'human intervention', coercion and unnaturalness, to Jacob's breeding system.[26]

For Isidore, to act *contra naturam* is to contravene the natural order as laid down in the divine plan of creation: a presumptuous and sinful challenge from the human mind to the superior mind of God. It is interesting that no such disapproval of hybridization appears in Pliny's *Natural History* since he can be as condemnatory of human challenges to nature as his Christian counterpart. The key is motivation and purpose: Pliny's reservations about human modifications to nature centre on moral considerations of arrogance, greed and decadent living.[27] Thus the only exception to his positive attitude towards hybridization is in his discussion of trees in *HN* 12.11-12 where he criticizes the breeding of a type of plane-tree which doesn't shed its leaves in winter and the practice of creating dwarf varieties for fancy hedging. In both cases, the criticism derives from the fact that both types are purely decorative and serve no useful purpose: a plane tree's natural function, he says, is to give shade in summer but to allow light through in winter. In contrast, there is much on grafting and hybridization of fruit, which is regarded as a useful practice, giving nature a legitimate helping hand in the pursuit of *salus humana.* Similarly, the hybridization of domesticated animals, such as mules, is described enthusiastically in *HN* 8.171-5, and the high quality of Spanish donkeys for mule-breeding is praised (*HN* 8.170). Interestingly, Isidore makes no reference to Spanish horse and mule breeding, though it is possible that the detailed catalogue of horse types and colours (*Etym.* 12.1.41-56) reflects this local interest. Jerome, indeed, says that the Spaniards practise Jacob's trick on their horses.[28] This sentence immediately follows one that Isidore quotes verbatim and which we will discuss shortly.

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[23] ὢ πόσση κραδίε, πόσση μερόπεσσι πέλει φρήν. / ἔρξαν ὅπως ἐθέλουσι·

[24] 'Itaque Jacob novam stropham commentus est, et contra naturam albi et nigri pecoris, naturali arte pugnavit' (Jerome *Quaest.Heb Ad Gen.*30.32-3). Trans. Hayward*, Hebrew Questions*, p. 67.

[25] 'Industria quippe humana diversum animal in coitu coegit, sicque adulterina commixtione genus aliud repperit; sicut et Iacob contra naturam colorum similitudines procuravit. Nam tales foetus oves illius concipiebant, quales umbras arietum desuper ascendentium in aquarum speculo contemplabantur'. Trans. Barney et al., *Etymologies*, p. 250.

[26] He goes on to mention the examples of mares and doves, though here the doves are beguiled by pictures of handsome doves, cf. *Corp. Hipp. Gr.* 2.11.7.2-8: horses can be shown paintings like the doves here, as well as actual stallions.

Finally, it should be noted that Pliny does not mention any instances of maternal impressions in animals, even when devised by humans. Presumably these might detract, however slightly, from the emphasis he wishes to place on the supremacy of the human mind. Isidore, on the other hand, uses the practice to criticize human presumptuousness even where the outcome is useful, rather than the destructive luxuries to which Pliny confines his moral reservations on human ingenuity.

So much for the first half of Isidore's passage on maternal impressions. In *Etym.* 12.1.60, he turns to humans and thence to the rationale behind the phenomenon:

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[27] Beagon, *Roman Nature*, pp. 33-50; 55-79

[28] '… cum hoc ipsum etiam in equarum gregibus apud Hispanos dicatur fieri' (*Quaest. Heb.Ad Gen.* 30.32-33). 'For this very thing is reported by the Spaniards to happen even among herds of horses' (trans. Hayward, *Hebrew Questions*, p. 67).

> Whence also people advise pregnant women not to gaze at repulsive animal faces, such as cynocephali[29] or apes, lest they should bear offspring resembling what they have seen. Indeed, the nature of females is such that, whatever sort of thing they look at or imagine in the extreme heat of pleasure, while they are conceiving, is the sort of progeny they will bear.
>
> *Inde est quod quidam gravidas mulieres iubent nullos intueri turpissimos animalium vultus, ut cynocephalos et simios, ne visibus occurrentes similes foetus pariant. Hanc enim feminarum esse naturam ut quales perspexerint sive mente conceperint in extremo voluptatis aestu, dum concipiunt, talem et subolem procreant.*[30]

A noticeable variation on the theme as seen so far is the idea that impressions can affect the woman even after the act of conception. Striking too is the idea that the sight of a creature of another species might affect the foetus, though this was a possibility mooted already in Soranus, who warns against viewing monkeys during conception (*Gyn.* 1.39). Michael Reeve, in his ground-breaking article on the history of this idea, speculated that both notions, which were to have such a pronounced effect on the development of the tradition in later centuries, may owe their dissemination largely to the popularity of Isidore.[31] However, the idea that a woman may be affected during pregnancy is not in fact completely new: it is already there in Oppian, who says that the Spartans show their wives images of handsome young men 'when their bellies are swelling' (ὅτε γαστέρα κυμαίνουσι, *Cyn.* 1.359). The implications of this, slightly later, section of Oppian's discussion seems to have escaped the notice of commentators. It is also there to an extent in a bizarre passage in Augustine's *City of God* (*Civ.Dei* 18.5), in which he suggests that demons display to the cow pregnant with the next Apis a phantom bull which only she can see, thus ensuring that the calf will be a lookalike of its predecessor. Note too the implication in Aristotle that the woman's mind should be kept as undisturbed as possible since children are affected by the mother before birth as plants are by the earth (*Pol.* 1335b).

Isidore's explanation, however, focuses on the mechanics of impressions at the time of conception, taking as its lead a comment he has lifted word for word from Jerome on Jacob's sheep: 'The nature of females is such that, whatever sort of thing they look at or imagine in the extreme heat of pleasure while they are conceiving, is the sort of progeny they will have'.[32] The manuscripts bar one all follow this with: 'etenim animal in usu Venerio formas extrinsecus intus transmittit, eorumque satiata typis rapit species eorum in propriam qualitatem' ('Thus in the act of procreation, the animal transmits external forms to the interior and since she is filled with the images of those things, she combines their appearance with her own particular quality').[33] We should understand here *animal* in the sense of living creature, whether human or otherwise. André, however, in his 1986 edition of book 12,[34] chose the reading *anima,* attested in just one manuscript, but bringing the explanation much closer in wording to other, more precise, descriptions of the process. He justified his choice by reference to Pliny's use of *animum* in 'cogitatio etiam utriuslibet *animum* subito transvolans effingere similitudinem aut miscere existimatur' ('Even a chance thought which briefly crosses the mind of one or other parent may form or confuse the resemblance', *HN* 7.52). Augustine *Contra Iulianum* 5.14.51 (*PL* 44, 812) is, however, even closer, using the exact term *anima* and applying it to animals not just of the human variety: 'nam colores virgarum quas variavit Iacob, afficiendo transierunt in *animas* pecorum matrum atque inde rursus eadem affectione transeundo apparuerunt in corporibus filiorum'. ('The various colours of Jacob's rods affected the breeding ewes and passed to their souls; then, passing from the souls of the ewes by the same kind of influence, these colours appeared in the bodies of their lambs'). Isidore, as befitted a categorizer of words, recognised a nuanced difference between *animus* and *anima.* Although they can both essentially signify 'soul', *anima* is indicative of *vita*, life, while *animus* is indicative of *consilium,* deliberation (*Etym.* 11.1,11), and he goes on to associate the latter with *mens,* mind: *mens* 'knows', *sciat,* while *animus* 'wills' *velit. Anima* can be the generic word for soul, but more specifically it refers to the basic life force, as can be seen in his categorization of different aspects in *Etym.* 11.1.13: when it enlivens (*vivivicat*) the body, soul is *anima,* when it wills (*vult*), it is *animus,* when it knows (*scit*), it is *mens,* when it recollects (*recolit*), it is *memoria,* when it judges correctly (*rectum iudicat*), it is *ratio,* when it breathes (*spirat*), it is *spiritus,* when it senses (*aliquid sentit*), it is *sensus. Animus,* together with *mens, memoria* and *ratio* belongs to the more sophisticated activities which tended to be associated with man. Aristotle describes the increase in sophistication of the soul the higher up the biological ladder a living thing is. Animals have not merely the nutritive soul of plants but also sensation ranging from just touch in the lower orders to the five senses higher up. This 'sensate' soul can exercise imagination and desire (*de An.* 3.10-12; *EN* 1.1102b 13) and manifest them in courage, timidity, etc.; but only humans have *nous* = mind and reasoning ability.[35] Thus, both *animus* and *anima* are more appropriate readings in the Isidore passage than *animal*, since all our other Latin texts have one or the other.[36] *Animus* is, however, restricted to Pliny: it is particularly suited to his context, which focuses purely on mental images and in humans only, rather than on the perception of visual material; whereas *anima*, as well as being closer to *animal* for a possible textual slip, suits Isidore's more general reference to primarily sensual impressions and a female sex which embraces all animals, not just humans.

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[29] Here Isidore, like Pliny in *HN* 8.216 cf. 7.31 and Solinus 2.58 p. 143 Münzer, evidently refers to the baboon, to which the term *cynokephalus* was also applied.

[30] Trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, p. 251.

[31] Reeve, 'Conceptions', p. 88.

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[32] *Etym.* 12.1.60, above, n. 30, trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, p. 251; cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. Ad Gen.* 30.32-33.

[33] Thus Lindsay, *OCT* vol 2, (no page refs). Trans. Barney *et al. Etymologies*, p. 251.

[34] André, *Etymologiae XII*, pp. 84-85.

Unlike Pliny, but like all the other sources except the Aristotelian *Problems,* Isidore keeps to the idea of female-only impressionability. Here again, his word derivations underscore his interpretation of 'feminarum […] naturam'. *Mulier* comes from *mollities,* softness (*Etym.* 11.2.18), while one derivation of *femina* is from the Greek for fiery force, because the female desires more vehemently, 'for females are said to be more libidinous than males' (*Etym.* 11.2.24)[37] and the heat of their desire – 'in extremo voluptatis aestu' – is emphasized in the sentence Isidore takes from Jerome.[38] Jerome in turn had made play of the double desire of the flock who, after the heat of the day, were eager to drink as well as to copulate ('[…] so that out of two-fold desire, while they were eagerly drinking and being mounted by the male animals […]' etc.).[39] They were thus ready to absorb both the male seed and the cunningly variegated reflexion in the water. The admixture of the heat which prompts thirst for water and thirst for sex is found in Pliny, who comments that the great number of hybrid creatures spontaneously produced in Africa is due to the crowding together of the different species in the heat of the day at the scarce watering-places (*HN* 8.42). This, incidentally, takes us back to Isidore's starting place: hybrid animals bred *contra naturam* by man. It is surely significant that he does not acknowledge in the sections of *Etym.* 12 devoted to wild animals the existence of 'natural' wild hybrids such as these; those listed in *Etym.* 12.1.60 are all domesticated animals artificially bred; the emphasis is on hybrids as essentially perversions devised by humanity rather than a natural variation ordained by the Creator.[40]

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[35] Some animals have resemblances of intellectual understanding but not the real thing: Arist. *HA* 588a.

[36] cf. also Caelius Aurelianus 1.50, *animae* and the use of ψυχή in the Greek of Aristotle, Soranus *Gyn.* 1.39 and the *Problemata* 10.10.

[37] 'Alii Graeca etymologia feminam ab ignea vi dictam putant, quia vehementer concupiscat'.

[38] Above, pp. 67-68 and nn.30 and 32.

[39] '[…] ut ex duplici desiderio, dum avide bibunt, et ascenduntur a maribus […]', *Quaest. Heb. Ad Gen.* 30.33. Trans. Hayward, *Hebrew Questions*, p. 67.

Conclusion

On the topic of human anomaly, we have seen that Isidore in the *Etymologies* reprises two ideas given a particularly memorable treatment in Pliny's *HN* over 500 years earlier. On the types of human monstrosities and maternal (or, of course, in his case, parental) impressions, Pliny emphasizes the potential for variety in the human form, since the former exemplifies the inexhaustible variety of *natura creatrix* and the latter illustrates how the rational creativity of nature is mirrored microcosmically in her highest creation, man. Humanity is enjoined to attempt to see the apparent oddities as part of overall *naturae vis et maiestas* (*HN* 7.7). It is a power that is exuberant to the point of capriciousness: the monstrous races are playthings for her, wonders for us: *ludibria sibi, nobis miracula* (*HN* 7.32). When he describes the potential for variation wrought directly by impressions processed by the human mind at conception, Pliny underlines the link between human and divine *ratio* by stressing the role of the mind's imagery, rather than visual stimuli and doubles the potential for variation by stressing the paternal as well as the maternal involvement, specifically ruling out the capacity for this sort of mental creativity on the part of other animals. Here, too, there is a feeling of uncontrolled creativity, of the irresponsible capriciousness of random thoughts which 'briefly cross the mind' (*animo subito transvolans, HN* 7.52).

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[40] This is not to say that Isidore necessarily believes that nature cannot produce hybrids spontaneously. Another, stranger, form of inter-species mutation is attributed to her at the end of book 12, where the spontaneous generation of one life-form from the dead remains of another is mentioned; a staple of biological theory which was not seriously challenged until the seventeenth century (Harris, *Things Come to Life*: especially pp. 14-17). The mythical/folk tales of metamorphosis which begin the paragraph are reported at one remove in typically paradoxographical terms: 'they write', 'they assert with historical confirmation(!)', 'they claim'. However, the transformation of the appearance of criminals into wild beasts, assisted by charms and poisons, is recounted without such literary intermediaries and returns us to the theme of devious/deviant human activity. That (self) corruption of the soul can trigger change in the body is not out of line with the belief in the transmission of changes from mind to body through maternal impressions and, more specifically, with the engineering of the latter by a superior mind deploying tricks of nature.

For Isidore in contrast, uncontrolled inventiveness and inexplicable or unnatural forms not only raise difficult questions about the divine purpose and the relationship between the creator God and ingenious humanity; they also disrupt the order which lies at the heart of his project and undermine his rationale of categorization. The individual human monstrosities, though explained in a similar way as part of an overall divine plan whose entirety is beyond the comprehension of men, are brought under some sort of control in the *Etymologiae* by marshalling them in accordance with meaning, extremity and types of deformity. As for the monstrous races mentioned earlier, it was noted that their lack of a head, the prime physical indicator of the possession of a soul, raised questions as to their correct categorization as humans. As humans, they do not make sense. Would even God have gone that far?

Deviations caused by the human mind are viewed with considerable distrust. Pre-birth impressions are limited to women and females generally, and are a sign of weakness – the ease with which their minds and bodies can be overpowered – rather than an indication of an intellect whose power rivals the creative deity's. In the case of animals, indeed, the intellect of man is involved, but the tone is critical: his cunning is directed towards unnatural ends, the creation of species not ordained by God. As for Isidore's deity, He may be inscrutable in his creation of monstrosities, but the undisciplined, wild frivolity suggested by Pliny's *natura* happily creating *ludibria* for herself seems far removed from the Christian's ultimately rather serious divine plan.

This leads to a second, more specific, point about Isidore's overall project: for etymology to work, it requires a basis of rationality from which to derive a word's meaning.[41]

> However, not all words were established by the ancients from nature; some were established by whim, just as we sometimes give names to our slaves and possessions according to what tickles our fancy. Hence it is the case that etymologies are not to be found for all words, because some things received names not according to their innate qualities, but by the caprice of human will.

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[41] On Isidore's recognition of the limits of etymology as a methodology to promote understanding, see Merrills, *Isidore's* Etymologies, p. 311.

> *Non autem omnia nomina a veteribus secundum naturam inposita sunt, sed quaedam et secundum placitum, sicut et nos servis et possessionibus interdum secundum quod placet nostre voluntati nomina damus. Hinc est quod omnium nominum etymologiae non reperiuntur, quia quaedam non secundum qualitatem, qua genita sunt, sed iuxta arbitrium humanae voluntatis vocabula acceperunt.*[42]

According to Isidore, then, words which derive not from nature but from human whim cannot have etymologies. In addition, Adam 'conferred names on all the animals, assigning a name to each one from its visible conformation according to the position in nature that it holds' (12.1.1).[43] Humanity may make the words, but God made the creatures. It is certainly not for man to manipulate those natural conformations.[44] A *deus ludens* is not an impossibility: the Christian creator in a sense sets the rules, and is the ultimate arbiter of the 'natural', as Isidore himself says even more clearly in *Etym.* 11.3.1: 'the nature of everything is the will of the Creator'.[45] However, it would make the task of revealing an overall logic in the world's verbal manifestation much more difficult. Caprice, either of man or God, would seem to lie outside the concept of the *Etymologies.* Sporting with nature undermines the natural order of etymology itself.

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[42] *Etym.*1.29.2-3. Trans. Barney *et a*l., *Etymologies*, p. 55.

[43] Trans. Barney *et al., Etymologies*, p. 247.

[44] On the reinforcing of the relationship between humanity and God effected by the latter's giving the former permission to name the parts of creation and Isidore's idea of language as a symbol of a divinely-created reality see Laura Carlson, this volume, 215-218.

[45] 'Voluntas Creatoris cuiusque conditae rei natura sit' (*Etym.* 11.3.1).

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4 Putting the Pieces Back Together

Isidore and De Natura Rerum

Andrew Fear

The enormous achievement and success of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* has tended to eclipse the other works of this prolific author. Arguably the most significant of these is his earlier and much smaller *De Natura Rerum* (*DNR*) which comprises 48 short chapters, occupying a mere 55 columns in the *Patrologia Latina.*[1]

The *DNR* is often known as the *Liber Rotarum* because of the six circular diagrams with which it is illustrated. These are likely to be Isidore's own as the text makes reference to *figurae* or diagrams at the points where they occur. Isidore can therefore be credited with popularising, if not devising, this standard mnemonic device of the Middle Ages which reached its apogee in the works of his fellow Spaniard Ramon Llull.[2] Four of the diagrams contain an illustration of a human bust in the centre, a fact of some significance, and a further diagram (that illustrating chapter 11) contains the even more significant motto *Homo Mundus Annus.* The final chapter of the *De Natura Rerum,* dealing with the parts of the world appears, like chapter 14 of book 13 of the *Etymologies,* to have been illustrated with a T-O map, again popularising this way of envisaging the world which was to remain dominant in the medieval imagination. The best-known example in Britain is the *mappa mundi* found in Hereford cathedral.[3]

Though slight, the *DNR* became a standard point of reference and copies of the work spread across all of Western Europe and had a powerful influence on later writers, setting a template for discussion in this field. Bede's homonymous *De Natura Rerum* owes much to Isidore's *DNR,* as do books 9-11 of Hrabanus Maurus's encyclopaedia *De Universo.*[4] The work itself is composed in four sections. It begins with seven chapters of hemerology, the science of the measurement of time, a topic which remained a particular concern of Isidore's throughout his life: the subject is also discussed at length in the *Etymologies.* These chapters deal mainly with definitions of certain lengths of time, beginning with the day (on the grounds that this is what makes creation and its order visible) and in particular the question of when it begins.[5] Surprisingly Isidore is not dogmatic about this question – he lists a variety of different starting points, but gives no firm conclusion as to which is preferable. However, from the diagram accompanying the discussion, it appears that his own preference was for the 'Egyptian' system of calculating the day from dusk to dusk. After dealing with the day, Isidore goes on to the definitions of ever-longer periods of time ending with the year. Hemerology is followed by twenty chapters of astronomy, which in turn give way to nine chapters on meteorology.[6] These deal with phenomena such as thunder, lightning, and rain, followed in their turn by a section on miscellaneous natural phenomena such as the flooding of the Nile and the eruptions of Mount Etna. The work was then probably brought to a close with a concluding chapter which deals with the divisions of the world.[7]

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[1] *PL* 83 963-1018. The best modern edition is that of Fontaine, which also contains a translation into French. The work has also been translated into Italian by Trisoglio. For the work's diffusion, see Fontaine, 'La diffusion carolingienne du *De Natura Rerum*'.

[2] See Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull* and Fiodora and Rubio, *Raimundus Lullus*.

[3] See Harvey, *Mappa Mundi* and Kline *Maps of Medieval Thought*.

[4] Bede, see the discussion in Kendal and Wallis who also provide an English translation. Habranus: *PL* 111 257-330, translated into English by Throop.

Some of the *DNR*'s legacy in retrospect cannot be evaluated positively. The T-O map found at its end, implying, as it does, that the earth was flat, left a mixed blessing.[8] Moreover, the notion of a flat earth runs throughout the work. Chapter 10 deals with the 'five circles', *quinque circuli,* of the Earth. At this point Isidore is giving a version of the zonal theory derived from Hyginus's *De Astronomica.*[9] Hyginus's *zone*s were so named as they girdled a spherical earth. However, in his explanation of Hyginus's ideas, Isidore has applied the theory of *zone*s to an underlying conception of a flat earth which the sun passes on one side. This perversely means that the Arctic and Antarctic zones are placed adjacent to one another as they have both to be located on the side of the earth opposite to that passed by the sun. While educated society in the early medieval world believed that the earth was a sphere – this, for example, was the view of Bede – the popularity of the *DNR* may well have led to a continuing and widespread 'semi-educated' view that the world was flat. This notion may have been equally perpetuated by Isidore's sarcastic rejection of the antipodes found in the *Etymologies.*[10]

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[5] The latter has implications for the monastic day and the time of creation. See for example the conclusions of Archbishop Ussher in 1658: 'In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth, Gen. 1, v. 1. Which beginning of time, according to our Chronologie, fell upon the entrance of the night preceding the twenty third day of Octob[er] in the year of the Julian [Period] 710. The year before Christ 4004. The Julian Period 710.'

[6] See McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures*, pp. 123-6, 145-7.

[7] Fontaine argues that this chapter only appeared with the second recension of the work, but see the discussion by McCready, 'Isidore, the Antipodeans, and the Shape of the Earth', esp. n.35.

[8] See Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Age*, pp.49-50, Destombes, 'Newton's Commentary on the Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trismegistus' and McCready, 'Isidore, the Antipodeans, and the Shape of the Earth'. For a contrary viewpoint see Stevens, 'The Figure of the Earth'.

[9] Hyginus, *De Astronomica* 1.6.

The *DNR* was therefore a great success, to the benefit or detriment of mankind, but what prompted Isidore to write the work in the first place? The piece is often referred to as a 'text-book';[11] however, though Isidore was greatly concerned with improving education – the *Etymologies,* for example, has often been seen precisely as a handbook for educating the contemporary priesthood – there is no reason to believe that this was his intention when writing the *DNR*. The work may well have taken on this role in later years given its concise nature and its heavy use by the Church Fathers, but nothing in it makes any reference to education being the initial motive for its composition.

Rather, according to its preface, the work was a direct product of a royal command, having been commissioned by the Visigothic king, Sisebut (612-620). Caution needs to be exercised before accepting such a claim, as it could simply be an attempt by the bishop to increase his readership and add lustre to the work. However, here there do seem to be grounds to accept that the king did indeed ask Isidore to write such a work. Isidore's letters to his colleague Braulio of Saragossa, where he implies that he is a confidant of the king[12], provide some tenuous support, but Sisebut's own poem on solar and lunar eclipses, dedicated to Isidore and thanking him for composing the *DNR,* seems conclusive.[13]

When addressing Sisebut in the preface to the *DNR,* Isidore says that although his king already rejoices in intelligence, eloquence, and is an able writer in a variety of genres (as well as poetry, Sisebut wrote hagiography[14]), he has nevertheless commissioned the *DNR* because he wished to have further knowledge: knowledge without which 'that famous wise king' could never have said,

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[10] *Etym.* 9.2.133.

[11] See, for example, Stevens, 'The Figure of the Earth', p. 268.

[12] Braulio, *Ep.* 4 and 6.

[13] For an edition of this poem see Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la Nature*, pp. 328-35. The king's dedication to Isidore can be found in lines 166-169.

[14] 17-21: 'ipse enim mihi dedit horum quae sunt scientiam veram ut sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum et virtutes elementorum, initium et consummationem et medietatem temporum et meditationem omnium morum mutationes et divisiones temporum, anni cursus et stellarum dispositiones, naturas animalium et iras bestiarum vim ventorum et cogitationes hominum differentias arborum et virtutes radicum, et quaecumque sunt absconsa et inprovisa didici omnium enim artifex docuit me sapienta'. The king was the author of the short *Vita et Passio S. Desiderii* = *PL* 80 377-384.

> 'For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements. The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning of the sun, and the change of seasons. The circuits of years, and the positions of stars'.

The wise king here is Solomon, and Isidore's quotation is drawn from the *Wisdom of Solomon.* Solomon was certainly held up as a model ruler in the early medieval period and we could therefore see *DNR* as part of a propaganda campaign by the king to be acknowledged as the new Solomon, and hence the ideal ruler, of Spain.

However, it is not without significance that Isidore's quotation from the *Wisdom* is carefully edited. In full the passage in *Wisdom* goes on to speak of:

> The natures of living creatures and the furies of wild beasts: the violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots, and all such things as are either secret or manifest.[15]

None of this latter wisdom features in the *DNR.* Isidore's selective quotation is obviously to his advantage as it connects his work more firmly with Solomon, but it also casts some light on the circumstances of the *DNR*'s genesis. Isidore, and perhaps his monarch, seem more concerned about the propagation of some sorts of knowledge than others. At the time of writing there appears to have been a recrudescence in the peninsula of heresy centred on astronomical phenomena. Braulio, when writing to Fructuosus of Braga in AD 651, speaks about the dangers of Priscillianism as if it was a living threat to the church.[16] Priscillian, an extreme ascetic, who enjoyed the dubious distinction of being the first Christian to be executed by an Orthodox Christian emperor, was, and remains, a controversial figure, but astrology, rightly or wrongly, featured strongly in the reasons for his execution.[17] Whether Priscillian's cult had survived some two hundred and fifty years is certainly open to doubt, but it is plausible that 'Priscillianism' was used as a portmanteau term for astronomical/astrological-based heresies and that Braulio's concerns were genuine.[18] Sisebut was a deeply pious ruler and the existence, or indeed the growth, of heresy in his realm is likely to have been a cause for personal concern as well as a potential political threat to his rule.[19]

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[15] *Wisdom of Solomon* 7.17-21. Isidore cites only verses 17-19.

[16] Braulio, *ep.* 44.

[17] Priscillian was executed in AD 385 by the usurper Magnus Maximus. His guilt remains doubtful and various respectable ascetics, most notably Martin of Tours, urged Magnus to acquit him. For modern studies see Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* and Cabrera, *Estudios sobre el Priscilianismo en la Galicia Antigua*.

The probable date of the poem suggests that there may well have been another, much more pressing, set of reasons for the king to commission the *DNR*. Its composition is best dated to the very beginning of Sisebut's reign. This can be seen from the fact that the king's own poem on eclipses, written to thank Isidore for the *DNR,* refers to his campaigns in the north of the peninsula against the Basques and Cantabrians.[20] The *Chronicle* of the Pseudo-Fredegar places these campaigns before those Sisebut waged against the Byzantines.[21] As these date to AD 615-616, the *DNR* must predate Sisebut's northern actions and the first year of Sisebut's reign, AD 612, seems not unreasonable for the composition of the *DNR.*

This had been a time of alarming phenomena in Spain. In AD 611 there had been two total eclipses of moon visible in the peninsula which would have turned the moon red, and on 2nd August in the same year a total eclipse of the sun occurred. This was visible in the peninsula and its line of totality may have fallen just to the north of Visigothic capital Toledo.[22] The obvious response to such matters at the time would have been to turn to the Bible for solace. What Sisebut's subjects would have found there, however, is likely to have given cold comfort to them or to their king. According to chapter six of *Revelation* such eclipses presaged the beginning of the end of the world:

> And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood.[23]

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[18] For a possible parallel, see the use of 'Pelagian' in early medieval Ireland, O'Croinin, 'New heresy for old'.

[19] See Hen, 'A Visigothic king in search of an identity'.

[20] *usque nivosus cum teneat Vasco nec parcat Cantaber horrens.*

[21] Ps.Fredegar, *Chronicon* 4.7 (ed. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*).

[22] This is the view of Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la Nature,* p. 5. For his information Fontaine drew on Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*, a list of historical eclipses. However, recent calculations by NASA suggest that the line of totality in fact lay in the Algarve rather than central Spain.

[23] *Revelation,* 6.12.

These signs lead to the collapse of all earthly kingdoms with their rulers fleeing in terror:

> And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: For the great day of His wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

Obviously, Sisebut had a strong personal interest in ensuring that his subjects did not see this passage as applying to the present, and in Isidore, who was extremely hostile to millenarian speculation, he found the ideal scholar to write a work ensuring that such pernicious notions did not spread.[24]

Isidore's strategy to deal with these problems was to take a rationalising approach to remove any aura of mystery from the heavens or phenomena such as earthquakes or eclipses. The title of his work and its opening statement that his king wished to know about 'nature' and its 'causes' are themselves an act of persuasive definition, insisting that what is to be described forms part of the normal order of things, *natura,* and is not a set of supernatural signs or warnings from God. We are told firmly that the workings of nature can be perfectly well explained by 'sober, sensible teachings' and have nothing to do with 'superstitious knowledge'.[25] This is a perfectly orthodox approach. Augustine taught that both Scripture and science were of equal authority, and must always be interpreted so that they are in agreement. Because of that, the Bible had to be interpreted consistently with the natural world.[26] Isidore effectively is presenting the opposite side of the same argument – the natural world must be regarded as in accord with the Bible. In his *Etymologies* we see him taking the same attitude when dealing with human prodigies, another phenomenon that caused much alarm in antiquity. There he notes that while pagans call such things 'contrary to nature', this cannot be the case as they must be part of

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[24] Isidore's hostility to millenarian speculation can be seen at the end of the small chronicle that he inserts into the *Etymologies*. According to this his contemporaries were in the sixth age of man whose duration was known to God alone, 'Residuum sextae aetatis tempus Deo soli est cognitum'. *Etym.* 5.39.42. For a discussion of millenarianism, see Landes, 'Lest the Millennium be fulfilled'.

[25] 'Neque enim earum rerum naturam noscere superstitiosa scientia est, si tantum sana sobriaque doctrina considerentur', *DNR, Praef.* 2.

[26] St. Augustine, *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* (=*PL* 34:245-486), *sv Gen.* 2.18.

God's creation and hence part of the divine plan. As such, prodigies are not contrary to nature, but only contrary to nature as it is known to man.[27]

In taking this approach towards his brief, Isidore was adapting to his own very different ends the technique that the pagan poet Lucretius had used for the same purpose some seven centuries before. Lucretius was well-known in Isidore's day. Sisebut's poem on eclipses makes heavy use of his *De Rerum Natura* and Isidore too discusses at length, and with some sympathy, the theory of atomism in his *Etymologies.*[28] As the title of his work, *De Natura Rerum,* shows, Isidore was a conscious imitator of Lucretius whose work was entitled *De Rerum Natura.* The title of the *DNR* is most unlikely to have been a *post eventum* creation as it is found in the *renotatio Isidori,* a list of Isidore's works compiled by his near contemporary Braulio of Saragossa. At first sight, Lucretius seems an ideal ally for Isidore. He too had wished to dispel the belief that various natural phenomena were divinely inspired through applying rationality to the natural world.[29] He was also, as were Isidore and the Visigothic Church, deeply opposed to attempts to consult the supernatural through systems of divination. This was an enduring problem for the Church as can be seen by the fierce condemnation of the practice at the 4th Council of Toledo held under Isidore's supervision at the end of AD 633.[30]

Fontaine portrays Isidore in the *DNR* as drawing on Lucretius and other pagan sources, along with the Church Fathers, most notably Ambrose's work on the creation, the *Hexameron,* to produce a synthesis of pagan and Christian learning to make his case:

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[27] 'Portentum ergo fit non contra naturam sed contra quam est nota natura.' *Etym.* 11.3.1-2. See also Beagon in this collection.

[28] *Etym.* 13.2.

[29] *hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest*
non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.
'So this terror of mind and darkness must be dispelled not by the rays of the sun or the bright shafts of daylight, but by observation and the laws of nature.' Lucretius, *DRN* 1.146-8.

[30] 'Si episcopus quis, aut presbyter, sive diaconus, vel quilibet ex ordine clericorum, magos aut aruspices aut ariolos aut certe augures vel sortilegos vel eos qui profitentur artem aliquam, aut aliquos eorum similia exercentes, consulere fuerit deprehensus, ab honore dignitatis suae depositus, monasterii poenam excipiat, ibique perpetuae poenitentiae deditus scelus admissum sacrilegii luat.' 'If any bishop, priest, deacon, or anyone of the ordained clergy has been caught consulting mages, soothsayers, diviners, or indeed augurs or casters of lots or those who profess an art of this sort or others who exercise a similar arts, after being deposed from his rank, he will receive the penalty of being sent to a monastery and given perpetual penance to atone for his open sin of sacrilege'. Canon 29.

> ‘Le merite de Isidore est d’avoir voulu égalment utiliser ces auteurs chrétiens et ces sources antiques.’
> It is to Isidore’s credit that he wished to use Christian authors and ancient sources.

He goes on to argue that the work has another important intellectual aspect – the conscious separation of secular and theological learning:

> ‘Isidore est soucieux de laisser à l’ordre rationnel et à l’ordre mystique leurs domains respectifs.’
> Isidore is concerned to leave the rational order and the spiritual order in their respective domains.

But, on reflection, it is difficult to maintain either of these positions. As we shall see, Isidore does not give equal weight to his Christian and secular sources nor can he be viewed as an early champion of granting secular learning its own domain, still less as seeing it as an equal partner to religious speculation. In fact the reverse is the case. While it is noticeable that Isidore’s *magnum opus,* the *Etymologies,* begins not with divine learning, as was common with medieval encyclopaedists, but a description of the fields of secular learning, it is also the case that he sees this learning as useful only if it is applied to religious endeavours. In the *Etymologies* the canonical seven subjects of classical education are portrayed as those which free the mind from worldly care and lead it to higher things.[31] In another work, the *Sententiae,* Isidore, who had made a deep personal intellectual investment in the study of grammar and closely related subjects, strikingly compares grammarians to heretics. We are told that grammar is only better than heresy on the grounds that while the latter is always fatal, grammar can lead to salvation, if its teachings are refocused on better, i.e. religious, themes.[32] The bishop’s attitude to the study of the natural world was identical. Ignorance for Isidore is the mother of all evil.[33] In the natural sciences it could easily lead to precisely the sorts of superstitious beliefs he detested. But while knowledge of the natural world would dispel such superstitions, if it was not correctly appreciated, like grammar, it could damn the soul in different, but equally deadly, ways. Lucretius was especially dangerous in this respect as his false views were presented in the seductive medium of poetry.[34]

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[31] *Etym.* 3.71.41: Ordo autem iste septem saecularium disciplinarum ideo a Philosophis usque ad astra perductus est, scilicet ut animos saeculari sapientia implicatos a terrenis rebus abducerent, et in superna contemplatione conlocarent. ‘This order of seven secular disciplines is thus drawn from the philosophers up to the stars so that they might draw minds entangled in secular learning from earthly affairs and set them to the contemplation of higher things.’ *Etym.* 3.71.41.

[32] Meliores esse grammaticos quam haereticos. Haeretici enim haustum lethiferi succi hominibus persuadendo propinant, grammaticorum autem doctrina potest etiam proficere ad vitam, dum fuerit in meliores usus assumpta. ‘Grammarians are better than heretics. For heretics, while the learning of the grammarians can lead to life, providing that it is taken up for better purposes.’ *Sententiae* 13.11.

Isidore's quarrel with Lucretius was one of ideology. The Roman poet had been an avowed Epicurean and Epicurus is praised throughout his poem. At times Epicureanism had been quarried with profit by early Christian authors: its ridicule of pagan religion was welcome, as was its insistence that this world will pass away.[35] Jerome praises Epicurus's advice to remain celibate and his championing of a simple diet.[36] Nevertheless these Christian uses of Epicureanism were merely opportunistic: beneath them lay a sustained hostility towards the philosopher and his devotees as, undeserved though it was, Epicurus had long had an unenviable reputation in antiquity for promoting debauchery and atheism.[37] According to Augustine, carnal pleasure, *corporis voluptas,* was the Epicureans' highest good,[38] and Epicurus is also attacked as a champion of sensual excess by other influential late antique authors such as Martianus Capella[39] and Boethius.[40] The charge of atheism served to blacken Epicureanism's reputation still further. While in fact Epicureans like Lucretius were deists rather than atheists, this was of little help.[41] No Christian could accept the contention that God did not create the world, had no care for what happened in it, or that the world contained no message for mankind.[42] Still less would the Epicurean notion that there was no afterlife have been acceptable – Isidore does not think it even worthy of refutation. While Lucretius is keen to remove the fears of hell by demonstrating that death brings a final end, for the early Church Fathers the hope of reaching heaven and the fear of descending to hell were an important part of the Christian message.[43] Finally, it is inconceivable that Lucretius's anthropology as expounded in book five of the *De Rerum Natura* arguing that religion has evolved as a product of ignorance about natural events could have been smiled upon by Isidore.[44] Given these problems, we can see that any alliance between the church and philosopher was merely one of convenience as their core beliefs are quite antithetical to one another. St Ambrose, a favourite author of Isidore, was happy to term his ecclesiastical opponents 'Epicureans',[45] and Isidore himself attacks Epicurus in the *Etymologies* as a lover of *vanitas* not *sapientia* and as asserting that pleasures of the flesh are the greatest good. The bishop notes with satisfaction that because of this 'even [pagan] philosophers have named him "the pig".'[46]

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[33] Ignorantia mater omnium errorum et ignorantia vitiorum nutrix … Indoctus facile decipitur. 'Ignorance is the mother of all error, the nurse of the vices … the uneducated man is easily deceived', *Synonyma* 2.65.

[34] Isidore had a strong dislike of pagan poets: 'Superficially the disquisitions of the gentiles glisten with the eloquence of their words, but within they are devoid of the wisdom of virtue, whereas superficially sacred eloquia seems inept in the way they are composed, within they gleam with the wisdom of the mysteries. It was for this reason, the Apostle said: "This treasure we possess in vessels of clay."' *Gentilium dicta exterius verborum eloquentia nitent, interius vacua virtutis sapientia manent; eloquia autem sacra exterius incompta verbis apparent, intrinsecus autem mysteriorum sapientia fulgent. Unde et Apostolus: Habemus, inquit, thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus*, *Sententiae* 3.13.3. The quotation is from *2 Corinthians* 4. 7

[35] Lucretius, *DRN* 5.92-96.

[36] Jerome, *Contra Jovinianum* 1.48 and 2.11.

[37] See for example, Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.123.

[38] Augustine, *Civitas Dei* 14.2, 'summum bonum hominis in corporis uoluptate posuerunt.'

[39] Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis philolodiae et Mercurii et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus* 2.213.

[40] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae* 3 *prosa* 2.

[41] Lucretius, *DRN* 6.68-75.

Above all for Lucretius nature is an entirely discrete field of study. The world needs no explanation other than itself: it was not created for a purpose nor does it serve a purpose. It is ignorance of these facts and the consequent rise of religion which has led to human misery, while the realisation of this truth leads to human happiness. Lucretius's work begins with a paean of praise to Epicurus for revealing this and thus crushing religion under foot.[47] Book six of the *De Rerum Natura* from which the bulk of the topics in the *DNR* is drawn begins with another similar encomium of Epicurus.[48] These are the conclusions from the study of nature which Isidore is anxious that his readers should avoid. For him it would be pointless to avoid the scylla of superstition merely to fall into the charybdis of atheism.

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[42] Lucretius takes the classical line that there can be no creation *ex nihilo*: 'nil igitur fieri de nilo posse fatendumst' It must be admitted that nothing can come into being from nothing – *DRN* 1.205. See also *DRN* 5.187-194. Isidore would have been equally enraged by the preceding passage which argues that the world was not made for the benefit of mankind, in clear contradiction to *Genesis*. The Christian position that the world was indeed created *ex nihilo* by God is found in Ambrose's *Hexameron* (1.16; 4.31), a work on which Isidore draws heavily in the *DNR* and is stated by Augustine, *Confessions* 11.5.7. The insistence on this doctrine is found as early as Irenaeus, *AH* 3.10.3.

[43] See Augustine, *Ep.*104.3. In contrast Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 3.1023, declares hell exists only in the mind of fools. The anonymous seventh century Spanish author of the *Lives of the Meridan Fathers* (ch. 9) takes care to inform his readers that the deceased Arian king Leovigild is now 'subjected to peterpetual torments and eternally enslaved in the depths of hell, rightly bound down there to burn forever amidst the ever-seething waves of pitch'.

[44] Lucretius, *DRN* 5.925-1457, esp. 1186-1240.

[45] Ambrose, *Ep.*63. Ambrose wanted to influence the election of the bishop of Vercellae. The supporters of an alternative candidate, Sarmatio and Barbatian, are characterised as 'Epicureans – not a school of philosophers, as they themselves say, but of unlearned men who preach pleasure, persuade to luxury, esteem chastity to be of no use'.

[46] Isidore's discussion of Epicureanism is found at *Etym.* 8.6.15-16.

As Lucretius was well known in Visigothic Spain,[49] Isidore chose to confront the dangers he posed head on. By its title his book throws down a challenge to the Roman author. The *De Natura Rerum* is intended to replace its rival, the *De Rerum Natura.* To do this Isidore focuses not on Lucretius's methodology, which he found acceptable, but rather its conclusions.[50] For Isidore, Lucretius is right that a wrong-headed view of natural phenomena causes misery, but conceding this does not equally grant that a secular approach is the correct solution to interpreting nature. In contrast to Lucretius, Isidore was convinced that the natural sciences could not be divorced from an understanding of the divine, indeed he held that this could only be done through an act of deliberate perversity. Isidore's world is a source of natural theology which allows the faithful believer to discern and confirm all around him God's purpose and will. Therefore Lucretius had missed the main point as to why man should contemplate nature and had probably done so wilfully. In his later *Sententiae,* Isidore, speaking of the matters found in the *DNR,* complains bitterly: 'The philosophers of this world speak a lot about the measurement of time, the course of the stars, and the movement of the elements. But they only have this information from God. Flying conceitedly like birds, they describe the air; plunging themselves into the depths like fish, the sea, and walking like herds, the land, but verily they have been unwilling to learn about their creator with all their mind.'[51] He continues: 'The Way is Christ. Whoever does not walk in it, will by no means come to God. So the philosophers of this world, indeed recognise God, but, because the humility of Christ does not find favour with them, they cross into where there is no way and do not walk in the Way. And so as they melted away, they twisted the glory of the Lord into lies, and, abandoning the righteousness of the Way, have fallen into the morass of error.'[52] In his introduction to the *DNR* Isidore speaks of the need to use sober *doctrina,* or learning, to interpret the natural world, but also of the 'true knowledge', *scientia vera,* which was given to Solomon to understand these things. It can be seen that for Isidore this true knowledge was a contemplation of the natural world through the mediation of the scriptures and faith. *Contra* Fontaine, Isidore does not reserve a place apart for secular learning, but rather wishes to remove the possibility of such a space. For him the natural scientist is on but the first rung of the ladder of understanding and it is a perilous one, as partial apprehension of the truth could easily blind the unwary to true knowledge. The *De Natura Rerum* attempts therefore both to reject the wilder and, worryingly, politically destabilising claims which some would read into natural phenomena, but also to re-Christianise natural science in order to turn society away from what Isidore saw as the equally wrong-headed secular approach to nature found in Lucretius.

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[47] Lucretius, *DRN* 1.62-79, esp 68-9
quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
opteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo.
'Wherefore in its turn religion is crushed beneath our feet and our victory raises us to the heavens'.

[48] Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1-45.

[49] See the apparatus to Fontaine's edition (*Isidore de Séville: Traité de la Nature*) and Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*.

[50] For example, Isidore seems attracted by the Epicurean theory of atomism, but only with the modification that the 'swerve' of atoms is produced by divine will and not at random.

[51] Multum mundi philosophi praedicantur in dimensione temporum, cursuque siderum, ac discussione elementorum; et tamen hoc non nisi a Deo habuerunt. Volando enim superbe, ut

Part of this process of reclaiming nature for Christ is carried out by the choice of authorities cited in the *DNR.* Lucretius, despite inspiring the title of the work, is firmly relegated to a minor position in it and although other pagan authors, both of prose and poetry, are cited by Isidore, they are rarely the primary witnesses he chooses to produce for his readers. This is a deliberate ploy by the bishop. According to Howard Jones, 'Isidore is a compiler, and Epicurus [in fact Lucretius] is just one line of ancient thinkers whose opinion on various topics is to be recorded in order to render the account as complete as possible'.[53] But it is naive to see Isidore as a simple collector of opinions and assert as does Jones that there is no sustained engagement with Epicurean arguments in the *DNR.* Far from being the casual act of a compiler, Isidore's relegation of Lucretius in his text is a conscious part of his strategy of re-Christianisation. He centres the bulk of his arguments around quotations from the Church Fathers, especially

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aves, aerem; et demergentes se in profundum, ut pisces, mare; et ut pecora gradientes, terram descripserunt, verumtamen tota mente Auctorem eorum intelligere noluerunt, *Sententiae* 1.17.2.

[52] Via Christus est. Si quis in ea non graditur, non est quomodo ueniat ad Deum. Philosophi autem mundi utique Deum cognouerunt, sed quia displicuit illis humilitas Christi, in inuio transierunt, et non in uia. Ideoque euanescentes, gloriam Dei in mendacio mutauerunt, et rectitudinem uiae relinquentes, in anfractus inciderunt errorum, *Sententiae* 1.17.4.

[53] Jones, *The Epicurean Tradition*, p.138.

St. Ambrose's *Hexameron,* upon which he leans heavily, and passages from the Old Testament. His intention is to assure his readers that Christian learning is more than sufficient to explain the natural world. This message is re-enforced by his use of quotations from pagan authors. These are predominantly used in a supporting rôle to buttress the material he has drawn from the Church Fathers. This is not co-incidence or caprice. Isidore wishes to show that while pagan authors may be of some use, their blindness to the truth precludes them being major sources for understanding the world and that, so far from having a distinct set of insights about the world, the pagan past merely foreshadowed imperfectly the message of the Christian revelation which brought complete understanding in its wake. As for all men of his time, antiquity carried weight for Isidore, but true *gravitas* was to be found among the Christian, not pagan, classics. In the preface to the *DNR* Isidore makes this approach clear: 'We have made a concise record of all these matters according to what was written by men of old, and *especially* according to what has been written in the works of Catholic authors'.[54]

A good example of Isidore's technique can be seen in chapter 13 of the *DNR,* which deals with the seven planets. His discussion starts with a reference to Ambrose's *hexameron,* which in turn is a quotation from 'David', i.e. the Psalms (here *Psalm* 148): 'Praise him heavens of the heavens'. Isidore then goes on to say that 'pagan philosophers' have introduced the notion of seven heavens. Herein, he argues, lies their mistake, as in 'the books of the church', *ecclesiastici libri,* we are told about 'the heavens of heaven' and also that St Paul was taken up to the third heaven, but it is folly, and, perhaps, dangerous – Isidore speaks of *temeritas,* rashness – to speculate further on the matter.[55] A similar approach is taken to the question as to whether stars have souls. Isidore again starts with patristic writing and the Bible.[56] A pagan source, Virgil, is then used to back up the conclusion that this question will only be resolved on the Day of Judgement. Lucretius in the *DRN* categorically denies the possibility of the stars being animate. Isidore's careful use of Virgil aims to show his readers that Lucretius was out of step with learned opinion even in his own times.

Although the above examples show that Isidore was willing to use uncertainty as a weapon to undermine the statements of pagan authors, he also attempts to create authority through certainty. Here the late antique convention of *brevitas* comes to his aid.[57] Isidore describes the *DNR* as a short record, a *brevis tabula,* and concision is an important virtue for him, but he is also able to use this notion to give the *DNR* an air of authority. Often Lucretius is open-ended in his explanations of natural phenomena: he gives, for example, several alternative accounts of the flooding of the Nile.[58] Isidore, on the other hand, tends to give one, definitive explanation. In the case of the Nile unfortunately he incorrectly settles on the Etesian winds as the cause of the river's flooding. This creation of certainty perhaps led to the *DNR* becoming a basic textbook, but that was not the reason for the change of approach. This was to allow Isidore once more to make a point about the unreliability of pagan philosophy's ability to explain the world. Pagan doubt is replaced by Christian certainty. This seems all the more the case when we ask why the flooding of the Nile or the eruptions on Etna are found in the *DNR*'s miscellany at all. It could be argued that Lucretius had created, or was already following, a canonical list of wonders and that it was therefore inevitable that Isidore would engage with these. If that was the case, we can see how Isidore turned the list to his advantage. Isidore, however, does not deal with all the material found in Lucretius. There is no mention, for example, of the 'Avernian places' on which Lucretius spends so much time in the *De Rerum Natura.* We are left with a selection of Lucretian material and once again this selection is deliberate, not capricious. After all, Isidore could easily have replaced the flooding of the Nile, which would have been of no immediate interest to his readership, with more local phenomena, such as the tidal range in the Straits of Gibraltar, which provoked considerable interest in antiquity.[59] Isidore throws down a deliberate challenge to Lucretius and shows him wanting. This is equally true of the *DNR*'s account of Mount Etna which, despite Isidore's protests of brevity, provides more information about the physical reasons for volcanic eruptions than is found in Lucretius's account.[60]

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[54] 'Quae omnia, secundum quod a veteribus viris, ac maxime sicut in litteris catholicorum virorum scripta sunt, proferentes, brevi tabella notavimus,' *DNR, praef.* 2.

[55] For Paul's journey see 2 Corinthians 12.1. This question is also debated at length by St Augustine throughout book 12 of his *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*.

[56] St. Augustine, *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* 2.18.38; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.284 and 6.725-6.

Isidore therefore takes great care both to invoke Lucretius and to marginalise him depending on the context. The main difference, however, between the two authors is not in the number or depth of the explanations of natural phenomena they give, but rather in the style of explanation presented.

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[57] For Isidore and *brevitas*, see Wood, '*Brevitas* in the historical writings of Isidore of Seville'.

[58] Lucretius, *DRN* 6.712-737.

[59] They provoked, for example, visits from the pagan wise man Apollonius of Tyana. See Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 5.1-10.

[60] Lucretius *DRN* 6.680-702.

Lucretius, following Epicurus, wished to show that nature was all that exists, and that the supernatural was not merely an otiose, but an actively pernicious delusion brought on by muddled thinking. For Isidore the reverse is the case. Far from proving that there is no supernatural world, nature allows us a glimpse into that world. Where Isidore feels that a naturalistic explanation of phenomena will avert the problems of superstition associated with them, this is what the *DNR* gives. More often however the *DNR* allegorises its subjects and makes a firm link between the natural and supernatural. This approach is in sharp contrast to that later found in the *Etymologies,* which shows no interest in allegorising its subject matter. But this reveals a difference of purpose, not a change of intellectual approach. In the *Etymologies* the words discussed are themselves allegories as their roots reveal their true meaning.[61]

We can also see Isidore's keen interest in allegorical exegesis from his other works. His *Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae* is an extended exposition of allegories which he believes to be present in the Old Testament, while the *Liber Numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis occurrunt* deals with the hidden significance of numbers occurring in the Bible. The *DNR* is another instance of this interest. Through allegory our world and the true heavenly world can be linked together and seen to be one whole. The *DNR* reverses the message of the *De Rerum Natura:* Nature does not disprove, but proves the existence of a world beyond it. It is partially explicable in its own terms, but also yields a higher interpretation and it is this allegorical explanation which is of greater value to the believer – something to which the pagan philosophers' pride has blinded them. This contrast is explicitly pointed out in chapter 20 of the *DNR* which deals with solar eclipses. After giving a naturalistic explanation of the eclipse, Isidore continues: 'This is what the physicists and the worldly-wise say. But our teachers say that mystically the mystery of this eclipse finds its completion in Christ', and continues to give an exposition of the Passion.[62] In chapter 15 of the *DNR* after a naturalistic description of the sun, we are told: 'This pertains to its form, but according to a spiritual understanding (*spiritualis intelligencia*) the sun is Christ, for as the sun gives light and blazes forth and fosters the healthy at times of shade, but enflames those with fever with an inferno of redoubled heat, so Christ illuminates the believers in the faith with his living spirit, but roasts those who deny him in the heat of eternal fire'.[63] Similarly in chapter 18, which deals with the moon, Isidore comments: 'This same Moon can be seen to symbolise the Church because just as she takes her light from the sun, so the Church takes hers from Christ. And just as the moon waxes and wanes so the Church has her low and high points'.[64] By an extension of the same allegory, lunar eclipses, which turn the moon red, symbolise the persecutions of the church.[65] The persecutions of the Church are understood to be symbolised by the eclipse of the Moon.

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[61] *Etym.* 1.29.

[62] *Hoc physici et sapientes mundi dicunt. Caeterum doctores nostri mystice hujus eclipsis mysterium in Christo dixerunt esse completum…*

Such interpretations are the *doctrina sana* and *sapientia vera* referred to in the *preface* of the *DNR.* However Isidore's world is not simply a theatre of divine intentions – for as well as displaying how the cosmos has been ordered by God, it also, being a model of man writ large, reveals how man too is a product of intelligent design. In chapter 9 of the *DNR* Isidore notes that the world 'mundus' signifies everything in heaven and earth, but that 'in a mystic sense' *mundus* signifies man, as he is composed of the four elements that compose the world. The world is the κόσμος (cosmos), man the μικρόκοσμος (microcosm). Isidore uses Greek script at this point and then immediately glosses the latter phrase 'that is he is called the smaller world'.[66]

Isidore therefore aligns himself with a Christianised version of the Hermetic tradition which held that the earth was an accurate mirror of the celestial world: 'as above, so below'. He appears to have been the first western scholar specifically to have used this Greek terminology. According to this interpretation of the world, Nature not only provides the proof that all the world is an interconnected part of God's design, but it also shows that man is the key link between heaven and earth: the culmination of creation. It is to emphasise this centrality of man to creation that the middle of four of the circular diagrams found in the manuscripts of the *DNR* contain a man's bust at their centre and that a fifth, which shows the interconnection of the four elements, the four seasons and the four 'humours' of man, bears the hermetic motto drawn from Ambrose's *Hexameron – Mundus, Annus, Homo* – the world, the year, man.[67]

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[63] *Haec quantum ad naturam eius pertinet – at vero iuxta spiritualem intellegentiam Sol Christus est … item sol inluminat et exurit et opaco tempore confovet sanos, febricitantes vero flagrantia geminati caloris incendit, ita Christus credentes fidei spiritu vegetante inluminat, negantes se aeterni ingnis ardore torrebit.*

[64] *eadem luna etiam ecclesia accipitur. pro eo quod sic ista a sole sicut ecclesia a Christo inluminatur. sicut enim luna deficit atque crescit, ita ecclesia defectus habet et ortus.*

[65] *Figuraliter autem per lunae defectum Ecclesiae persecutiones intelliguntur quando martyrum caedibus et effusione sanguinis, tanquam illo defectu et obscuratione, quasi cruentam faciem luna ostendere videtur, ut a nomine Christiano terreantur infirmi. Sed sicut ista post defectum perspicua illustratione clarescit, adeo ut nihil detrimenti sensisse videatur, ita Ecclesia, postquam per martyrum confessionem suum pro Christo sanguinem fuderit, majore fidei claritate refulget, atque insigniori lumine decorata semetipsam latius in toto orbe diffundit.* 'Figuratively a lunar eclipse is understood as symbolising the persecutions of the church when there was the slaughter of the martyrs and an outpouring of blood, so when it gives way and is obscured the moon seems to present a blood-red face that the feeble might be terrified by the name of Christ. But just as after its eclipse it shines forth clearly with a clear light and is seen to have suffered no injury, so the church after she has poured forth her bloody witness of the martyrs for Christ, shines with a great light of faith and adorned with a more glorious light extends herself more broadly across the whole world.' *DNR* 21.

[66] *id est, minor mundus est appellatus.*

Isidore's championing of this interconnected vision of creation was a key moment in intellectual history. Though not of his devising, it was his works, above all the *DNR*, that served to popularise and place this idea at the centre of Western European thought well into the modern period, as can be seen by its espousal by Sir Isaac Newton.[68] The link it forged between the heavenly and mundane was to ensure that the natural world remained an important part of Western intellectual endeavours, albeit not in the autonomous fashion envisaged by Fontaine. Moreover, as the power of scientific positivism has waned in recent years, the potential of the work to continue its influence on Western thought shows no sign of abating in the near future.

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[67] Ambrose, *Hexameron* 3.4.18.

[68] Bede, The notion is famously found in Isaac Netwon's *Alchemical Papers* – Keynes MS. 28, King's College, Cambridge. See Dobbs, 'Newton's Commentary on the Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trismegistus' and Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius*.

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5

The Politics of History-Writing

Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania

Michael J. Kelly

Introduction

In a volume dedicated to exposing and critically exploring the reception of Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636 AD[1]) and the complicated historiography about him, what this chapter will do is take the reader back to the very origins of the historical memory of Isidore. It began in the year 636, in Seville, when the illustrious bishop died and the first historical representation of him was produced. This was followed by several other representations from writers around Hispania. The intention of this chapter is not only to introduce the reader to the inception of the written memory of Isidore, but also to problematize the natures of these first-generation historical representations. In so doing, the author shows that the long historiography on Isidore began as competing constellations for the memory of Isidore.[2] There was never in pre-Islamic Iberia, a singular representation of Isidore or agreement about the meaning and extent of his works or the significance of his life. The differing accounts illustrate the vigor that history-writing played in the fierce struggles for authority endemic to early medieval Hispania. They also demonstrate that any comprehensive account of the reception of Isidore must begin by showing the disagreements that characterized the original historiography of Isidore, which was displaced in the generations after his death and outside his network and kingdom.

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[1] All dates are AD unless otherwise noted.

[2] For elaboration on the Schools debate and Isidore-moment see Michael J. Kelly, 'Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment: the "Isidore-Moment" and the Struggle for the "Before Now" in 'Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispania' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2014).

First-Generation Historical Representations

There are four first-generation representations and historical accounts of Isidore. The first is the praise obituary known as the *Obitus Beati Isidori* written by Redemptus, a cleric at or near Seville. The text is from 636 and is preserved in a problematic eighth-century manuscript at El Escorial (R.II.14).[3] The second account of Isidore is Braulio of Saragossa's (590-651), *Renotatio Isidori a Braulione Caesaraugustano episcopo edita* (*Renotatio*), added to Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus* (*DVI*), and three of his letters (*Epistolae*), all of which are preserved in the ninth-century Toledan-Cordoban manuscript, León Cathedral 22 (c. 830-839).[4] All that can be said of the dating of the *Renotatio* is that it was written before Braulio's death in 651.[5] The forty-four letters in the collection were written over the course of two decades and include letters to and from Isidore. Third is the second canon of the Eighth Council of Toledo held in December 653, the oldest extant versions of which come from ninth-century manuscripts.[6] Finally, there is the representation of Isidore in Ildefonsus of Toledo's (c. 607-667) *De Viris*

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[3] For the edited text see *Scripta de Vita Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi*, ed. by Martín, or the older, *Obitus Beati Isidori*, *PL* 81, cols. 30-32.

[4] For the most current edition and elaborate discussions, including full manuscript details, of the *Renotatio,* see Martín, *La 'Renotatio Librorum'*, and *Scripta de Vita Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi*, ed. by Martín. In general these are the editions to refer to for the *Renotatio*, which Braulio may simply have titled, as a *DVI* chapter, *Isidoro episcopo* or *Isidorus episcopus* (Martín, *Renotatio*, p. 56). For editions of the letters and the *Renotatio* see also *PL* 80, cols. 649-700 and *PL* 81, cols. 15-17, as well as the edition of Lynch and Galindo that also contains a reproduction of the text of the León Cathedral 22 manuscript, *San Braulio, Obispo de Zaragoza*, ed. by Lynch & Galindo. The León Cathedral 22 manuscript is a composition of two manuscripts from 830 and 839. The first was made in Toledo and the latter in Cordoba. The first may have been a copy of an eighth-century exemplar. For a review of the bibliography of MS León Cathedral 22 see *Scripta*, ed. by Martín, pp. 104-05. For translation and discussion of the letters see Barlow, *Iberian Fathers 2, Braulio of Saragossa*, pp. 15-112, and Miguel Franco, 'Braulio de Zaragoza, el rey Chindasvinto y Eugenio de Toledo'. For a recent translation of the *Renotatio* see *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Barney, Lewish, Beach and Berghof, pp. 7-9, and for more information generally see Martín, *Renotatio*, pp. 55-84 and 167-209, and de Aldama, 'Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras Isidorianas'.

[5] On the date of Braulio's death see Martín, *La 'Renotatio Librorum'*, pp. 18-19.

[6] Citations from and references directly to the collection of Spanish councils known as the *Hispana* are all from, unless otherwise noted, the authoritative edition, *La Colección Canónica Hispana,* ed. by Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, referred to hereafter simply as *CCH.* For a full discussion of the manuscripts see *CCH*, VI (2002), pp. 12-15.

Illustribus continuation, written around the middle of the 660s. The oldest remaining copy of this text is in the manuscript León Cathedral 22.[7]

Redemptus: *Obitus Beati Isidori*

This short text of about seven hundred and fifty words is the obituary of Isidore composed by a cleric named Redemptus. The account is based on the first-hand experience of the clerics around Seville who knew Isidore the most intimately, and were there for the last days of his life. This list includes, notably, John, Bishop of Ilipla and Eparcius of Italica (both relatively near to modern Seville). The *Obitus Beati Isidori* was the first posthumous account of Isidore. The point of the short text is to announce Isidore's death and to demonstrate that he spent his last days honorably, in peace and in a proper Catholic manner.[8]

Braulio: *Epistolae, Renotatio* and Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus*

The three letters of Braulio that were written after Isidore's death do not provide a detailed narrative of Isidore's life. They do, however, demonstrate Braulio's fidelity to the positive image of Isidore as an authority encountered in the *Obitus Beati Isidori.* In letter 14, written to Fronimian, a priest near the tomb of St. Aemelian, and perhaps the brother of Braulio, Isidore is cited in regards to liturgical protocol.[9] In another letter (22) to Eutropius, a bishop near Zaragoza, Isidore is noted because of his authority on the date of Easter. In letter 44, a response to Fructuosus (unknown-665), Braulio refers to Isidore as an incomparable man of learning (*incomparabilis scientiae vir Isidorus*), using him to prove a point concerning the age of the Biblical Methusala. In addition to providing evidence of his support for Isidore, recently it has been argued that the letter collection was arranged by Braulio to advance a critical narrative about the monarchy in Toledo. This is consistent with the wider use of historical representations for subtle, sustained criticisms of the monarchy and others.[10]

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[7] For the text and discussion see Ildef., *DVI*, 8 (*PL*, 96, cols. 201-2), Fontaine, 'El *De Viris Illustribus* de San Ildefonsuo de Toledo', Codoñer Merino, *El* 'De Viris Illustribus' *de Ildefonsus de Toledo*, *Ildefonsus Toletani Episcopi*, ed. by Urquiola and Codoñer Merino, and Codoñer, *'El libro de 'Viris Illustribus' de Ildefonsus de Toledo'.*

[8] See Castillo Maldonado, *La Época Visigótica en Jaén*; *Obitus B. Isidori a Redempto Clerico recensitus*, *Variae lectiones ex mss. Codicibus, PL* 81; Castillo Maldonado, 'La Muerte de Isidoro de Sevilla', p. 596, Kampers, 'Exemplarisches Sterben'.

[9] That he was Braulio's brother is a weak argument based on Braulio's dedication of the *Vita S. Aemiliani* to his 'brother' (*frater*), Fronimian. On Braulio's family see note 17. For an edited version of the text see, *PL* 80, cols. 699-714, and for a translation see *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, ed. and trans. by Fear, pp. 15-43.

The *Renotatio* of Braulio was added to Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus* as a continuation, and offers a much fuller account of Isidore's life and character than that in Braulio's letters or in the obituary by Redemptus.[11] The *Renotatio* tells when Isidore lived, [supposedly all of] the councils he attended, and that he successfully fought heresy.[12] Braulio also spends significant space telling his readers that Isidore was an eloquent, intelligent and talented orator, and a skilled and knowledgeable writer. Braulio even graces his readers with an *encomium* to Isidore, quoted from Cicero, *via* Augustine's *City of God* (6.2).[13]

The most important feature of the *Renotatio,* however, is the list and short explanation of each of Isidore's works (missing a few small ones, Braulio says). Braulio lists seventeen works by Isidore in an order that is generally accepted as chronological.[14] The list goes from *Differentiae, Proemia* (introductions to Holy Scripture), *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* [*De*] *Origine*[*m*] *Officiorum* (known widely, and incorrectly, since at least 1534 as the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*[15]) through his *Sententiae, Chronicon* (*Chronicles*)*, De Origine Gothorum* and his last work, the *Origines* (*Etymologies*). Braulio also provides a short description of each work and tells the readers for whom they were written.

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[10] See Miguel Franco, 'Braulio de Zaragoza'.

[11] In lines 29-30 of the *Renotatio*, in the middle of the list and description of Isidore's works, Braulio adds, *De viris inlustribus librum unum, cui nos ista subiunximus.*

[12] Isidore was at the Council of Gundemar in 610 and the Third Council of Seville in the 620s, yet Braulio does not include either. The reasons for excluding them concern the memory of Isidore that Braulio and perhaps his collection editor wanted to preserve. For discussion of these councils see Chapter 4 of Kelly, 'Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment'.

[13] On the quote see Barlow, *Iberian Fathers 2, Braulio of Saragossa*, p. 10.

[14] Since Aldama's thesis, there have been challenges to the chronology of Braulio's list, from Jacques Fontaine to Pierre Cazier, the latest editor of Isidore's *Sententiae* (*Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, ed. by Cazier). The most recent is that of Carlos Martín, in his edition and introduction to the *Renotatio*. Carlos Martín admits that there are potential problems with the order of the works, but that any alternative conclusions on the chronology should wait for reassessments of each work and their respective manuscript transmissions. For the theses and arguments see Martín, *La 'Renotatio Librorum'*, pp. 74-84, Aldama, 'Indicaciones sobre la cronología', and Fontaine*, Isidore de Séville,* pp 217 and 436.

[15] See the introduction to the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* by Christopher Lawson who proves the original name of *De Origine Officiorum* through extensive manuscript and contextual research, *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis*, ed. by Lawson. Carlos Martín maintains this naming of the text in his edition of the *Renotatio* (Martín, *La 'Renotatio Librorum'*, p. 260).

Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus* was written about the year 619. It was a significant year in which he presided over the Second Council of Seville and finished the first version of the *De Origine Gothorum.* It was also when his pupil in Seville, Braulio, may have left Seville to return to Zaragoza.[16] The year 619 is also when Bishop Maximus of Saragossa (c. 574-619) died, and his successor John (unknown-631), the brother of Braulio,[17] took over the bishopric of Zaragoza.[18] It was at that point – the end of Maximus and the transfer of the bishopric to Braulio's family, the point at which Braulio himself may have returned to Zaragoza – that Isidore ended his *DVI.*[19] In so doing, Isidore tied the bishopric and city of Zaragoza, and the family of Braulio in particular, to a list of illustrious Christian men. Furthermore, the inclusion of Zaragoza in a list that proceeded through Pope Gregory I (c. 540-604) and Leander (c. 534-c. 600), Isidore's own brother and predecessor in Seville, connected Braulio's family and the cities of Seville and Zaragoza as twin spiritual centres. The allusion to the conversion of the kingdom to build legitimacy for particular bishoprics is a literary device common in seventh-century Hispania.

In his editing of the *DVI,* Braulio appropriately repaid the favor to Isidore by supplying an addendum on Isidore to the *DVI* that continued the story of Hispania's spiritual centres and illustrious figures. It is with this text that the *Renotatio* is transmitted in the manuscript tradition.[20] Thus, the Bishop of Zaragoza repaid the compliment from Seville with one for Seville, and the student also confirmed the legacy of his teacher, reinforcing and developing new channels between centres and networks of power.

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[16] See Barlow, *Iberian Fathers 2, Braulio of Saragossa*, p. 4.

[17] On Braulio's family see Valcárcel Martínez, 'Sobre el origen geográfico de la familia de Braulio'.

[18] In the past, scholars have had doubts concerning the historical authenticity of Gundemar's council, but it is today widely accepted that it was a real event and the records authentic. For records of the decretal and council of Gundemar see XII Toledo, *CCH*, VI (2002), pp. 205-13. In support of the authenticity of Gundemar's council and decretal see *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, ed. and trans. by Vives, pp. 403-10, *CCH*, I (1966), pp. 209-20, Séjourné, *Le dernier pére de l'église*, pp. 86-88, Thompson, *Goths in Spain,* pp. 159-60, Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios de España romana y visigoda*, pp. 248-52, Velázquez Soriano and Ripoll López, '*Toletum*, la construcción de una *urbs regia*', and Pérez Martínez*, Tarraco en la Antigüedad tardía*, pp. 355-61, p. 403, and, Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, p. 121, and n. 13. For arguments questioning the authenticity of the texts see Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Conciliorum omnium maxima collectio*, 10.511, Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, 5, p. 175, González Blanco, 'El decreto de Gundemaro', and González Blanco, 'La historia del S. E. peninsula', p. 71.

[19] In 619 there was also an inscription to *Saturninus prespiter* raised in Seville. The inscription, according to its inscribed dates, suggests that it refers to a local priest, but, given the relative lack of inscriptions from Seville, and all that had been happening between Zaragoza and Seville in the year it was presented, one wonders if this did not also serve as a reference to that S. Saturninus of the Eighteen Martyrs of Zaragoza, the sepulchral site next to which John was abbot and to which Eugenius II would flee to from Toledo. For the inscription see *Inscripciones Cristianas de la España Romana y Visogoda* (*ICERV*)*,* ed. by Vives, no. 112, p. 38.

Braulio was faithful to Isidore to such an extent that he respected his predecessor's historical lacunae in relation to certain controversial ecclesiastical events. For example, in the *Renotatio,* Braulio notes Isidore's role in the Second Council of Seville, yet he says nothing about the Third Council of Seville, which was presided over by Isidore. This council was particularly contentious since at it a certain bishop, Martianus, was stripped of his rank and see, which were transferred to one Aventius. This established a battle between Martianus and Aventius that would be played out on the streets around Baetica and eventually in the court at Toledo and subsequent councils.[21] By remaining silent about this council in *the* Renotatio, Braulio followed the suppression of the records and memory of the council established with the *Hispana,* the conciliar collection edited by Isidore's network in the early 630s, and reinforced at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 (also presided over by Isidore).[22]

The Eighth Council of Toledo

The second canon of the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653 has the following to say about Isidore: 'The illustrious doctor of our time, the newest glory of our Catholic Church' ('Nostri quoque seculi doctor egregius, ecclesiae catholicae novissimus decus').[23] These flattering words about Isidore presented nearly twenty years, and four plenary councils, after his death represent the first recognition of Isidore's authority by the monarchy and church in Toledo. Followed by citations from two of his books, the *Sententiae* and *Synonyma,* this also marks the first moment at which Toledo sought to lay out its vision of the historical image and memory of Isidore.

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[20] MS León Cathedral 22 may contain an exact copy of the original version of Isidore's *DVI*. See Barlow, *Iberian Fathers 2, Braulio of Saragossa*, p. 9.

[21] For a full discussion of the Third Council of Seville and the evidence for it see Chapter 4.4 of Kelly, 'Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment'.

[22] Councils will be abbreviated throughout the article in the following manner: Third Council of Seville = III Seville.

[23] VIII Toledo 2.

That this long overdue recognition of Isidore's spiritual authority was to happen at VIII Toledo should be no surprise. This council was a serious attempt by Recceswinth (d. 672) to soothe critical rifts caused by his father Chindaswinth (c. 563-653).[24] Recceswinth hoped to achieve this through an interrelated combination of concession and clemency, the association of this council with III Toledo, at which King Reccared (559-601) had celebrated the conversion of the Visigoths to Nicene Catholic Christianity in 589, and the sublimation of any threats to Toledo's authority. At VIII Toledo imaginary capital – in the sense of the council as the mirror to III Toledo – was ubiquitous, from superficial connections between the two names of the kings – Reccared and Recceswinth[25] – to their personal lineages to Liuvigild (c. 525-586), to their votive crowns, to their shared presentations as good, holy king in juxtaposition to their fathers.[26] Also significant was Recceswinth's elevation of the bishops and bishoprics of Mérida and Seville to the top two spots as signatories of the Eighth Council of Toledo – although their bishops, Orontius (d. c. 661) and Antonius (d. c. 656), were not the most senior at the council – as their predecessors had been at III Toledo. This dual promotion associated VIII Toledo with III Toledo. VIII Toledo was one of only three plenary councils from the 630s to the end of the Visigothic kingdom in the 710s in which the signatory from Seville was positioned higher than that of Toledo.

Making clear its theological position, the first canon of VIII Toledo proclaims Toledo's faith in the Holy Trinity, in consubstantiation, and in single baptism. The second canon, in which Isidore is cited, sets out to deal with deserters and traitors (*refugis atque perfidis*), in the context of the recent rebellion of Froia. Recceswinth had taken an oath to his father that demanded blinding and capital punishment for attempted usurpers and their associates, a rule that was confirmed by holy authority.[27] This commitment placed Recceswinth in a tough position. On the one hand, he needed to show clemency to the rebel Froia and his supporters (*fautoribus*), to show that faith and holy authority were above the law, while at the same time he had to maintain the integrity of oaths and the law, and deal with the real threat of rebellion. The council's solution was to cite Isidore, after presenting him as a doctor of the church. After citing the authority of ancient writers and doctors of the Church – Ambrose (c. 340-397), Augustine (354-430) and Gregory I – and praising Isidore, the canon cites Isidore's *Sententiae* 2.31.9, which says that an oath promised incautiously should not be kept.[28] The canon goes on to cite Isidore again, this time from his *Synonyma* 2.58.[29] As in the passage from *Sententiae,* it explains that promises given in bad faith should be rescinded: that which was unwisely offered should not be maintained because an oath should not comply with an evil deed. Toledo's initial historical representation of Isidore was, then, deeply rooted in the context of a political negotiation between the royal power centred on Toledo and aristocrats who sought clemency for former rebels.

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[24] For discussion of the events leading to VIII Toledo and Recceswinth's position in 653 see Chapter 5.2 of Kelly, 'Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment'.

[25] Some historians argue that this is no coincidence, in that Recceswinth was related, by marriages, to Reccared's family (see Garcia Moreno, 'La sucesión al trono'). For more on the idea of the Imaginary, as a primary order of identity and alienation, see Jacques Lacan's *Seminars* and *Écrits*.

[26] The votive crown was a practice imitating the Byzantines, and perhaps, specifically, the crowns in Hagia Sophia. It represented the symbolic connection between and opposition of the earthly diadem and Heavenly crown, and as such the duality of Christ, but also the cooperation between the Church and the monarch. As Isidore says in *Sententiae* 3.51.3, royal power is only effective when subordinate to the higher authority. On the votive crowns see, Molina Gómez, 'Las coronas de donación regia del tesoro de Guarrazar', *El Tesoro Visigodo de Guarrazar*, ed. by Perea, in particular the chapters by Arce, 'El conjunto votivo de Guarrazar', and Cortés, 'Influencias bizantinas', pp. 367-76, Fontaine, *L'art préroman hispanique* I, pp. 242-46, and the *benedictio corone* in the *Liber Ordinum*, col. 165 (*Le Liber Oridinum*, ed. by Férotin).

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[27] On the oath see the preface to VII Toledo, *omnes pene Hispaniae sacerdotes omnesque seniors vel iudices ac ceteros hominess officii palatini*, a definition Recceswinth essentially sums in up in his *tomus* when he says that *vos omnemque populum iurasse recolimus*. On the rebellion of Froia see the letter from Taio, Bishop of Zaragoza to the Bishop of Barcelona, Quiricius, Taio, *Ep. ad Quiricium, Sententiarum* 5, *PL* 80, col. 727ff. For discussion of the council and rebellion see Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, pp. 1-4 (the title of this text will be referred to in the rest of the notes simply as *BCC*), and, Castellanos, 'Political Nature of Taxation', 214. It is also possible that Eugenius II's *carm*. 20 and 36 refer to a rebellion of Froia as well: the former speaks of a current war in terms similar to Taio's description of Froia's attack on Zaragoza and the latter of the return of *refugi* after the war. For discussion of the possibility of their reference to Froia's rebellion see Farmhouse Alberto, 'Three historical notes on Eugenius of Toledo's *Carmina*'.

[28] In the chapter, *de iuramento*, it reads, *Non conservandum sacramentum quod malum incaute promittitur, veluti si quispiam adulterare perpetuam cum ea permanendi fidem polliceatur: tolerabilius est enim non implere sacramentum, quam permanere in stupri flagitium.* The citation from the *Sententiae* that is in the Vives edition of the canon is slightly different from other earlier and later editions. For instance, in *PL* 83 it reads, *Non* ***est*** *conservandum*, and *quo* instead of *quod*, logically presents *adulterae* over *adulterare*, and reads *perpetuo* against *perpetuam* and *flagitio* over *flagitium*. Other than the differences with *perpetuam* and *flagitium*, the new critical edition of the *Sententiae* (*CCSL* 111) follows the *PL* version.

[29] *In malis promissis rescinde fidem, in turpe votum muta decretum quod incaute voviste non facias. Inpia est promissio quae sc*[*e*]*lere adimpletur.*

Ildefonsus: Isidore and the *De Viris Illustribus*

Ildefonsus' text on Isidore is noticeably shorter than Braulio's *Renotatio,* leaving out much about Isidore's personality, for example. The reader is not told about Isidore's charity, his fight against heresy, and his knowledge of antiquity. All that Ildefonsus repeated was that Isidore was a superb orator and a man with intelligence and propriety. The smaller quantity of general information about Isidore in Ildefonsus' account is reflected in a reduction in the number of Isidore's texts to ten. The ten texts on Ildefonsus' list of works attributed to Isidore are not in chronological order (if, indeed, Braulio's list is chronological in its organization), contain almost no descriptions of the texts' contents, and do not include all of the dedications of the books. For example, Ildefonsus does not mention that the [*De*] *Origine*[*m*] *Officiorum* (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*) was dedicated to Isidore's brother Fulgentius, Bishop of Astigi (modern Écija). The works that Ildefonsus does not mention are: *De Numeris, De Nominibus Legis et Evangelorum, De Haeresibus, Chronicon, De Viris Illustribus, Monastica Regula,* and the *De Origine Gothorum, et Regno Suevorum et etiam Vandalorum Historia.* Ildefonsus appears to have left the historical writings and origins stories out of Isidore's body of work. Upon reading Ildefonsus' account of Isidore's works one is provided with a different image of Isidore in which he did not write on history or origins, on spirituality and mysticism, or on monasticism. So, the Isidore of Ildefonsus did not continue the *Chronicles* of Eusebius-Jerome, did not claim that Swinthila was the king of *totius Spaniae* or declare Spain to be the 'ornament of the world' (*ornamentum orbis*), nor is this Isidore the grand architect of consensus and unity through historical discourse and representation that recent studies have emphasised.[30]

The cutting of Isidore's *DVI* from the lists of his texts in Ildefonsus' continuation of the *DVI* tradition deserves special attention because it suggests that the text as a whole was a response to Isidore's *DVI* and Braulio's addendum. As the recent editor of the *DVI* has pointed out, Ildefonsus' principal concern in writing the *DVI* was, in contrast to Isidore, to praise the *sedes regia,* Toledo, but also to insert into the historical record the key role of the Toledan monastery of Agali, from which a number of its bishops were raised.[31] Ildefonsus, who was the last bishop of Toledo to be raised through Agali, not only re-wrote the *DVI* in favor of Toledo and Agali, his praise for Isidore was somewhat backhanded. In the preface to the work, he acknowledges that Isidore wrote a *DVI,* but says that he did not do it well, which Ildefonsus intends to remedy.[32]

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[30] All quotes from and references to Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum* are from the edition in *Las Historias de los Godos*, ed. by Rodríguez Alonso, or, when appropriate or necessary, *Historia Gothorum Vandalorum Sueborum*, ed. by Mommsen, pp. 267-303.

[31] Codoñer, 'Los *De viris illustribus* de la Hispania visigótica'.

Instead of writing from the second century forward, as Isidore had done, Ildefonsus' *DVI* includes only thirteen entries, starting with the Bishop of Toledo, Asturias (late fourth century). The next entry is on Montanus (d. c. 530s), the Bishop of Toledo that oversaw II Toledo in 527. Ildefonsus rapidly moves forward, with the fourth entry, to Aurasius, Bishop of Toledo from 603 to 615. In between Montanus and Aurasius, Ildefonsus mentions no bishops, not even Eufemius of Toledo (d. c. 590s), who presided over III Toledo, the council at which the Visigoths were converted to Catholicism in 589.[33] Instead, he includes Donatus (fifth century), the North African monk that had come to Spain with dozens of monks and books.[34] In this entry, he says that Donatus was the first to bring a monastic rule to Hispania, which likely was not true. Ildefonsus may have included this 'fact' because Agali used Donatus' rule (in privileging the authority of the Toledan monastery of Agali, Ildefonsus also ignored Isidore's *Monastic Rule*).[35] Ildefonsus' leap from Montanus to Aurasius allowed him to completely ignore III Toledo, and hence Leander of Seville.

In Isidore's *DVI,* the chapter on Pope Gregory I is followed by one about Leander, a leading figure in the conversion of the Visigothic monarchy. This literary construction placed Seville as the bishopric through which Hispania became Catholic, legitimising its spiritual primacy within the kingdom. It may be significant in this regard that Isidore mentions none of the bishops of Toledo. Ildefonsus, on the other hand, glosses over the conversion and its key figures – even Eufemius of Toledo – and charts an alternative story of ecclesiastical primacy. The lack of detail was so evident here that later scribes felt the need to add their own entries about the figures of this period, especially Gregory I.[36] Ildefonsus left Leander out of the narrative, instead focusing on the bishops who had occupied the bishopric of Toledo since the conversion, while the two bishops who were chronologically more distant provided the appearance of historical depth. Ildefonsus' *DVI* thus generated a Toledo-centred ecclesiastical history for late antique Hispania.[37] Ildefonsus thus sought to reshape the legacy of Seville, and of Isidore in particular. Ildefonsus' historical representation of Isidore reveals that there were at least two distinct historiographies of Isidore concurrent in the Hispania of the mid-seventh century.

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[32] *Ildefonsus Toletani Episcopi*, ed. by Urquiola and Codoñer Merino, p. 110.

[33] Ildefonsus' exclusion of Eufemius, the Bishop of Toledo at III Toledo, may seem strange: if Ildefonsus was trying to build the legitimacy of Toledo as the primary Catholic see of the kingdom, why would he not include Eufemius? One might reasonably believe that Toledo's bishop and signatory to the council at which the kingdom converted to Catholicism would be a necessary person to include in such a version of the narrative. However, since Gundemar's decretal had, in 610, defamed Eufemius for his 'mistakenly' recognizing Toledo as in Carpetania, not Carthaginensis, Ildefonsus had to be silent on Eufemius. For more on Gundemar's decretal and the problem of Eufemius' signature see Chapter 4.3 of Kelly, 'Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment'.

[34] Ildef., *DVI* 3. Donatus was a North African monk who brought the rule to Spain with him and who built the monastery of Servitanum. Ildefonsus claims that this was the first rule in Spain, a claim that Roger Collins says should be believed (Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 81). In contrast, Andy Fear maintains that there were earlier rules in Spain (*Visigothic Fathers*, p. 112). For discussion of the Visigothic monastic rules see Allies, 'The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Iberia', pp. 30-31.

[35] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 153.

The Next Generation: Historical Representations of Isidore

In addition to the first-generation historical representations, other texts were written about Isidore over succeeding decades in Visigothic Hispania: the *Vita Fructuosi, Epitaphion beati Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae* and the *Chronica Regum Visigothorum*. These reflect the divergent representations which have been identified in the historiography of the first-generation. The first post-Visigothic historical representation of Isidore is the eighth-century *Continuatio Hispana* (also known as the *Chronicle of 754*). This text demonstrates the merging of the original historiographical traditions.

The *Vita Sancti Fructuosi* was written by an anonymous disciple of Fructuosus, Bishop of Braga, after his master's death in 665.[38] The oldest extant manuscript is the tenth-century MS 10.007 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (formerly, MS Toletanus 10.25). In the *Life of St. Fructuosus,* together with the opening laudatory remarks for the eponymous saint, Isidore is praised for his divine love, brilliance, eloquent speech, personal charm, the reintroduction, it is said, of Roman education, as well as his productivity, in a description that is very similar to that of Braulio.[39] Fructuosus himself had been associated with Isidore's network, specifically with Braulio, and seems to have held similarly to anti-Toledan sentiments.

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[36] See Codoñer Merino, *De Viris Illustribus*.

[37] On Ildefonsus' *DVI* empowering Toledo see Galán Sánchez, 'El *De viris illustribus* de Ildefonso de Toledo', and Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game'.

[38] For a critical edition see Diaz y Diaz (ed.), *La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga*.

[39] […] *Isidorum, reverentissimum scilicet virum Spalensem episcopum, atque beatissimum Fructuosum, ab infantia immaculatum et iustum. Ille autem oris nitore clarens, insignis industriae, sophistae artis indeptus praemicans, dogmata reciprocavit Romanorum.*

The short, metrical epitaph of twelve lines to the blessed Leander, Isidore and Florentina (*Epitaphion beati Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae*) is presented as the transcription of an inscription that was made at the time of the death of Isidore in 636. The possibility that this represents an authentic inscription from the 630s is slim.[40] A few puzzling questions come to mind when one reads the text. First, there is no reference to the other brother, Fulgentius, who died several years before Isidore. This absence implies that the person who wrote the epitaph was did not know this fact, or chose to ignore some rather basic information about the family. Second, the person who transcribed or copied the inscription either did not understand the Spanish *aera* dating system, or did not know when Isidore had died. This is evident from the date of death assigned to Isidore as *era DCLXXXIII* (Spanish era year 683), the year 645 AD. Jose Vives has argued that this mistake was not the result of ignorance of the Spanish *aera* system, or Isidore's date of death, simply a mistake by a later hand, the scribe of the eighth-century manuscript Paris, *Lat.* 8093, who 'confundió la primera I con una X'.[41] If Vives is correct, the transcription reflects an authentic contemporary inscription, now preserved in an eighth- or ninth-century transcription.[42] Although it is possible that the epitaph/inscription could be a later invention, there does appear to have been a tradition in seventh-century Seville of inscribing or writing epitaphs to recently deceased bishops. This can be seen in the case of the *Obitus Beati Isidori* examined earlier in this chapter and the epitaph to Isidore's immediate successor, Bishop Honoratius, in the *Epitaphium Honorati episc. Hispalensis.* In this context, the *Epitaphion beati Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae* is simply part of an ongoing tradition of episcopal commemoration in Seville.[43] Whether created in the mid-630s or later, within Spain or outside, the fact that the *Epitaphion* has been falsely attributed to both Braulio and to Ildefonsus is a good example of the confused nature of early accounts of Isidore.[44]

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[40] For the most recent edition see Martín, 'El *Epitaphium Leandri*'.

[41] *ICERV*, ed. by Vives, num. 272, p. 81.

[42] On the manuscript tradition see De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II*, pp. 296-97, *ICERV*, ed. by Vives, pp. 80-81.

[43] *Index Scriptorum Latinorum*, ed. by Díaz y Díaz, no. 372, p. 98, and *ICERV*, ed. by Vives, no. 273, pp. 81-82, and 90, n. 287.

[44] See Ledesma, *El De Itinere Deserti*, p. 68, and *Index Scriptorum*, ed. by Díaz y Díaz, no. 226, and no. 380. Finally, preserved only in the same manuscript that contains the *Epitaphium Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae*, MS Paris BN lat. 8093, there is an anonymous text, perhaps from

Chronica Regum Visigothorum

The *Chronica Regum Visigothorum* (*CRV*) is a basic, non-descriptive list (*laterculus*) of the Visigothic kings from Athanaric in 362 to Ervig in 680.[45] It was originally composed in the late seventh century in Hispania. Appended to the entry on Sisebut is a short note saying that he was king in the time of Isidore, *sisebudi temporibus fuit isidorus episcopus.* Not much can be gleaned from this reference since in it there is no detail about Isidore other than the fact that he was bishop. Furthermore, the reference to Isidore was very likely not from the original *CRV.* The oldest extant manuscript of the *CRV* is the eighth-century MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 1024. Of the twelve extant manuscripts of the *CRV,* only two contain the reference to Isidore: the tenth-century MS Paris 1557, and the eleventh-century MS Casinas n. 1. Since the latter manuscript is built on the former, there is only one manuscript family with this entry on Isidore, and it is a late one, from the tenth century.

In addition to being the only manuscript tradition of the *CRV* to mention Isidore, there are other anomalies in MS Paris 1557. First, there is no mention in any of the other copies of the *CRV* of any figures other than Visigothic kings. The scribe of this manuscript added Isidore to the reign of Sisebut, but also Gregory I and the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (539-602) to the reign of Liugivild (*leuuigildus*).[46] The other relevant anomaly is that in the MS Paris 1557 family, the *CRV* is not collected together with the laws of the Visigoths, but rather, between a conciliar decree and letters of Gregory I. It seems, therefore, that these additions were meant to clarify, for the reader, the historical context of the life and times of Gregory I, not to discuss Isidore.

Thus, the entry on Isidore in the *CRV* appears to reveal little about the developing historical representation of Isidore in later seventh century Hispania. However, there are indications that some copyists were drawing an

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the seventh century, titled *confessio beati Isidori dicta* (*Index Scriptorum*, ed. by Díaz y Díaz, no. 307). In the ninth century, the anonymous *Ildemundus abbetis* and *versus de S. Iohanne* were added to the manuscript, and in the eleventh century a life of Isidore was also included in this dynamic manuscript (*Index Scriptorum*, ed. by Díaz y Díaz, no. 370 and 377).

[45] For the edition of the *Chronica Regum Visigothorum* (*CRV*) see the *Laterculus regum Visigothorum*, in *Chronica Minora*., ed. by Mommsen, pp. 461-68.

[46] This spelling reflects the general manuscript tradition, but also perhaps contemporary disregard for Liuvigild's attempt to Romanize (Byzantinize) his name into Leogivild. The evidence suggests that various mints in the kingdom purposely ignored royal instructions to write the king's name as 'Leo-'. On the coins and their relation to the names see Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 49-54.

association between Maurice, Gregory and Isidore in this period.[47] Braulio was the only early medieval author to associate Isidore and Maurice in the same passage, and there is an early manuscript tradition of John of Biclar's (d. c. 621) *Chronicle,* which continues the text to 602 with supplementary discussions of Gregory I and Maurice alone. The Maurice-Isidore-Gregory association may therefore reach back into the seventh century if MS Paris 1557 is built on this textual tradition.[48] This supposition receives further support from the claim by the author of the *Chronicle of 754* that a continuation of John of Biclar's *Chronicle* until the year 680 was a source. This continuation itself was likely a continuation of the earlier extension to 602, which, as noted above, focused on Maurice and Gregory I.[49] The Isidore reference in the *CRV* reinforces the impression that divergent historiographical traditions about Isidore were developing in the second half of the seventh century, one of which drew a close association between Isidore, Gregory I and Maurice.

Continuatio Hispana, or, *Chronicle of 754*

The *Chronicle of 754* was written several decades after Arab-Berber armies had overthrown the Visigothic kingdom and established a Muslim state in much of Iberia. It is thus removed from the politics of the Visigothic kingdom, which shaped the earliest accounts of Isidore's life and works.[50] The *Chronicle of 754* mentions Isidore together with, but only after praising, his potential rival, the Bishop of Toledo, Helladius (d. 633). All that is said of Isidore is that he was an illustrious teacher and staunch defender of the faith against heresy.[51] Despite the brevity of this notice, this is the first time that the two great, contemporary bishops of Seville and Toledo, respectively, were included in the same discussion. In bringing Seville and Toledo together in this way, the anonymous chronicler synthesised the historiographical traditions, presenting, what might be said to be, a neutral discourse, or a non-dialectical, or non-historical, one. However, this would be an unfair critique, since the chronicler was indeed speaking within a dialectics of power, but it was not the one colored by competition between Christians in Visigothic Hispania; rather, it was one that promoted Christianity within an Islamic polity in Al-Andalus. The chronicler, writing in Toledo or in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, was also concerned with the memory of Isidore, but his aim was to deploy the memory of Isidore (and Helladius) as historical evidence for the achievements of Christianity in Hispania: Isidore was now part of a 'unity' narrative, one which sought to see Christians in pre-Islamic Iberia as one community united under their Catholic king.

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[47] See the chapter by Jamie Wood earlier in this volume for more on the important role that writers from Visigothic Spain played in the early transmission of the works of Gregory I and in the cultivation of his memory.

[48] See Díaz y Díaz, 'La transmisión textual del Biclarense'.

[49] *Juan de Biclaro Obispo de Gerona*, ed. by Campos, p. 100.

[50] For an edition of the *Chronicle of 754* see López Pereira, *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, *Chronica Minora*, ed. by Mommsen, pp. 334-60. For extended discussion of the *Chronicle of 754* see Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus*, pp. 28-51 (esp. pp. 33-35).

[51] *Chron. 754*, 16.

Conclusion

In summary, the historiography of Isidore emerged from his near contemporaries in Hispania as part of struggles between various networks of power over the politics of historical memory and history-writing. The participants in these debates over the historical representation of Isidore were all Christian, the hegemonic religion in early medieval Hispania. Although our knowledge of life in the Iberian Peninsula of the eighth century is limited, it is evident that Christians living there, after the defeat of the Visigothic monarchy in Toledo, lived under less stable conditions; their religion was no longer an obvious marker of power and status, but put them at a potential disadvantage. It is no surprise then that from the mid-700s the history of Isidore began to be written differently. The anonymous author of the *Chronicle of 754* sought to promote Christianity and all of its illustrious figures in the peninsula. The aim of the text was to encourage an image of longstanding Christian, specifically Catholic, unity in the peninsula, and so merge the historiographical traditions, and indeed the history, into a narrative of consensus. The Franks especially, but others too, later found a desire to use Isidore's vision of what might be achieved when the church and monarchy were intimately tied to one another.[52] These two developments severed the historiography of Isidore from the historical conditions in which his memory was originally competed over. This created a displaced or re-territorialized concept of Isidore and his relation to specific pasts and historical narratives. The story of the wider medieval reception of Isidore, not to mention the theory of history, are, however, subjects for other chapters in this volume.

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[52] The first hagiographies of Isidore are from after the Visigothic kingdom's demise in the first half of the eighth century. On the hagiographical tradition of Isidore see Guiance, '*Dormavit Beatus Isidorus*', Martín, 'El corpus hagiográfico latino'.

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6 Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland

Marina Smyth

When working in the 1980s on elucidating the cosmological views current in Ireland during the seventh century, I came to question the prevailing assumption that Isidorian works such as the *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum* were available in Ireland already ca. 650. It had become clear to me that whereas Hiberno-Latin texts of the third quarter of the seventh century shared much technical terminology with those two Isidorian treatises, the Irish authors did not understand the meaning of these words.[1] Hiberno-Latin texts assigned to the mid-years of the seventh century had been adduced as evidence for early borrowings from Isidore of Seville (d. 636).[2] Variations on statements such as '... We can now be almost completely confident that the writings of Isidore were known in Ireland in the 650s. In the case of the *Etymologies*, it is at least possible that that work reached Ireland before the middle of the seventh century'[3] were commonplace in the field. This conviction led to the assignation of Hiberno-Latin texts to specific periods of the seventh century. Thus, for example, Aidan Breen concluded from his demonstration that the *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas Scotti Anonymi* was not influenced by the *Etymologiae* – contrary to previous belief[4] – that 'since the text, however, emanated from that very scholastic environment to which the works of Isidore were first introduced in Ireland, a date of 660 seems highly unlikely. In all probability, the text predates 650'.[5] Luned Mair Davies gave a very clear and concise account of the state of the question in the mid-nineties in her paper on Isidorian texts and the *Canones Hibernenses,*[6] but readers may not think to seek this information in the study of a text generally dated to c. AD 700 or later.

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[1] Smyth, 'Isidore of Seville', pp. 72-82, and more specifically pp. 82-91; *Understanding*, especially pp. 114-123.

[2] Hillgarth, 'The East, Visigothic Spain', p. 451 ; Hillgarth, 'Ireland and Spain', pp. 8-10 ; Ó Cróinín, 'A Seventh-Century Irish Computus', pp. 413 & 416.

[3] Herren, 'On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance', p. 250.

[4] McNally, *Commentarius*, pp. 1-50.

[5] Breen, 'Some Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Texts', p. 210.

[6] Davies, 'Isidorian Texts', pp. 218-222.

An early transmission of Isidore's works to a remote island lying to the west of northern continental Europe was explained by the high level of classical culture and stability in the Visigothic kingdom at that time, combined with maritime routes from northern Spain to Ireland.[7] Jonathan Wooding has pointed out: 'The presence, or non-presence, of trade routes is not in itself proof of the likelihood of the transmission of texts', and he feels that the 'pre-eminence of Spanish learning in the sixth and seventh centuries was sufficient that its influence was dominant'.[8] Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709) is generally accepted as the first witness to the knowledge of Isidore in Anglo-Saxon England, specifically to *De natura rerum.* This is consistent with my understanding of the situation in Ireland: I agree with Hillgarth that 'it can be said that Isidore is omnipresent in the Irish writings of the late seventh, eighth and ninth centuries',[9] but I believe one should be very cautious for anything before the late seventh century… and this applies to more than Isidorian texts relating to cosmology.

In this contribution, I investigate the recent research in two areas and determine its implication for knowledge of Isidore's works in seventh-century Ireland: first, the dating of texts originating from Ireland, and second, the extensive studies on manuscript transmission associated with the ongoing (and now almost completed[10]) project of providing new editions for the works of Isidore. I now present my findings on some further aspects of the transmission of Isidorian works to Ireland from the middle of the seventh century.

Changes in the Dating of Texts Written in Ireland

The dating of early Hiberno-Latin texts adduced to show that the works of Isidore were available in Ireland already by AD 650 has been modified by recent scholarship. When preparing this paper, I was surprised to find that in his 1985 edition of Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum,*[11] Chaparro Gómez questioned the credibility of what seemed like perhaps the only solid ground in the study of the spread of Isidore's works to Ireland by the mid-seventh century. Referring to the explicit mention of Isidore in the text of Marc Adriaen's edition of Lathcen MacBaith's *Egloga de Moralibus in Iob,* Chaparro Gómez commented: *si damos credibilidad al testimonio de Lathcen.*[12] I had previously accepted that in the beginning of his much abbreviated version of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great, Lathcen made explicit reference to Isidore and to his *De ortu et obitu patrum:* under the heading *Dicta Isidori in libro de uita et exitu prophetarum,* there is a close paraphrase of the short section in Isidore's work giving information on Job's origins and the duration of his life.[13] The death of Lathcen of Clonfertmuloe is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year 661,[14] and the comment in his *Egloga* seemed to make it secure that Isidore's *De ortu et obitu* was known in Ireland around the middle of the seventh century. Chaparro Gómez, on the other hand, points out that despite the mutual contamination of the various recensions, not all manuscripts of the *Egloga* contain this very section attributed to Isidore.[15] Since the earliest manuscripts of the Irish text are from the eighth century, the section may have been inserted any time before that. I also note that even though Ildefonsus of Toledo refers to Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* as *librum de ortu et obitu prophetarum,* in early manuscripts of that work, the title normally mentions the life and death of *sanctorum*, not *prophetarum.*

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[7] Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung', pp. 327-330 ; Hillgarth, 'The East, Visigothic Spain', pp. 446 & 454-455; Hillgarth', 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland', p. 168-172 & 175-179.

[8] Wooding, 'Trade as a Factor', p. 24.

[9] Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland', p. 189.

[10] For a convenient list of editions available c. 2008, see M. A. Andrés Sanz, J. Elfassi & J. C. Martín, *L'Édition critique*, pp. 253-254. We can now add for the *Etymologies:* Book III: *De mathematica* (with French transl.; 2009), Book VI: *De las Sagradas Escrituras* (with Spanish transl.; 2012), Book VII: *Dieu, les anges, les saints* (with French transl.; 2012), Book XI: *De homine et portentis* (with Italian transl.; 2010), Book XIV: *De terra* (with French transl.; 2011), Book XVI: *De las piedras y de los metales* (with Spanish transl.; 2011), Book XVIII: *De bello et ludis* (with Spanish transl.; 2007), Book XX: *De penu et instrumentis domesticie et rusticis* (with French transl.; 2010), all in the collection Auteurs latins du moyen âge (Paris, Les Belles Lettres).

Chaparro Gómez identified three main versions for *De ortu et obitu patrum,*[16] the first being the only one composed by Isidore himself at the end of the sixth century, and remaining in Spain. Another version was created soon thereafter, probably in Spain, adding material from the *Breuiarium apostolorum* and Chapter 80[17]. This is the text that would have been transmitted to Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, and also across the Pyrenees.[18] It did not contain the eight sections concerning Old-Testament figures which were added later in some of the manuscripts: 46 = PL86: Micheas; 47 = PL87: Naum; 48 = PL88: Abacuc; 51 = PL91: Zacharias; 54 = PL94: Achias; 55 = PL95: Iaddo; 56 = PL96: Azarias and 57 = PL 97: Zacharias.[19] The third type is later, with numerous and varied accretions.

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[11] Not to be confused with the similar *De ortu et obitu patriarcharum* (Carracedo Fraga, 1996), probably composed in the late eighth century by an Irish author in Bavaria, or maybe in Salzburg.

[12] Chaparro Gómez, *Isidorus Hispalensis. De ortu*, p. 93.

[13] Adriaen, *Egloga*, p. 3, lines 12-21.

[14] Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, 'The Annals', p. 132.

[15] Chaparro Gómez, *De ortu*, pp. 12-13.

[16] Chaparro Gómez, *De ortu*, pp. 92-93.

[17] PL 83:154 (Caput LXXXI.140-142); Chaparro Gómez, *De ortu*, pp. 215-216.

[18] Chaparro Gómez, *De ortu*, pp. 92-93.

In her 2012 contribution on *Lathcen* in Te.Tra. 4, Lucia Castaldi thoroughly reviewed and completely revised the stemma created by Adriaen, thereby showing that he had unfortunately produced a misleading edition in that it presents the text of one of the inflated Carolingian versions.[20] She concludes quite simply and emphatically: '*Lathcen non conosce e non cita Isidoro*'.[21] The trump card for early seventh-century transmission of Isidore's work to Ireland is gone.

Bischoff mentioned the anonymous *Versus cuiusdam Scotti de alphabeto*[22] in his 1961 paper on the early spread of Isidore's works throughout Europe, in this case specifically the *Etymologiae.*[23] Manitius had assigned this riddle poem to mid-seventh-century Ireland,[24] and his dating had been accepted by most scholars. This early dating hinged on Manitius' belief that the *explanatio* of the riddles in the poem was composed by the same anonymous author as the verses, though it had been preserved separately, and only in a single manuscript dated to the end of the ninth or to the early tenth century (*Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 75* (55), since destroyed by fire). In addition, Manitius argued that the statement in the *explanatio: KARTAGO est metropolis affricae* could only be made before or soon after the Muslim conquest, so that, in his view, it must have been made during the first half of the seventh century. (A puzzling statement since it was only at the end of the seventh century that Carthage was destroyed in the course of the Muslim expansion. It follows that insisting on historical currency for the statement that Carthage was a major African city would merely imply that the *explanatio* was composed before the end of the seventh century.) Manitius added that frequent use of the *Etymologiae* in the *Versus* pushed the date of composition forward to the middle of that century. In 1976, Bischoff pointed out that this description of Carthage need not reflect the historical situation when the *explanatio* was written and that the riddle poem, composed presumably by an Irishman on the continent, fits in well with an early Carolingian cultural environment.[25] This observation is now generally accepted and these verses are no longer cited as evidence for early familiarity with the *Etymologiae* in Ireland.

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[19] Chaparro Gómez, *De ortu*, p. 20.

[20] The 1969 Adriaen edition of the *Egloga* says that Job lived for 228 (CCXXVIII) years, whereas the 1985 edition of Isidore's work follows *Arévalo* (and the Septuagint) in reading *fuerunt omnes dies uitae eius ducenti quadraginta octo anni*, though the apparatus indicates that manuscripts read *septuaginta* instead of *quadraginta* (pp. 137-139). This suggests that the number was not spelled out in the manuscript available to the author of this addition to the *Egloga* and that the L for fifty may have been missing in CCLXXVIII, or unclear in CCXLVIII (and therefore confused with X). The St Gall manuscript of *De ortu et obitu patrum* (St. Gallen BA 240, s. IX) clearly reads ccxlviii. Checking this small point in other manuscripts might shed light on the text available to the interpolator of Lathcen's work.

[21] 'Lathcen neither knows nor cites Isidore', Castaldi, Lathcen, *Egloga*, p. 387. See Anspach, 'Das Fortleben', pp. 337-38, where he suggests that a scribe might have inserted a marginal note into his copy of the text. Anspach was mistaken when arguing that Isidore himself was the author of the *Egloga*, but his instinct was correct as regards the possibility of an interpolation!

[22] Edition by Fr. Glorie in CCSL 133A: 726-741, with a listing of earlier editions on p. 727; CPL # 1562; Kenney # 103; Lapidge & Sharpe # 731 (among the works ascribed to Irish *peregrini* to the continent).

[23] Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung', p. 328, n. 59.

[24] Manitius, 'Geschichte', p. 192.

Until the much-awaited 1992 edition of the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* (CCSL 133D), this grammatical treatise was commonly cited as evidence for extensive use of Isidore's works in seventh-century Ireland (*De natura rerum, Differentiae, Etymologiae, De ecclesiasticis officiis*). One example among others: *De natura rerum* iii.1-4 is the source in the discussion of *feriae*, as shown by the parallel passages presented by Hillgarth.[26] However, in his introduction to the edition, Bischoff assigned the text to the continent in the early eighth century, and suggested it originated from Bobbio since it makes use of texts known to have been available there at that time. He concluded that, contrary to earlier assumptions,[27] one 'cannot use the *Ad Cuimnanum* for information on sources available in Ireland': *'Angesichts dieser Bindung an das Columban-Kloster sind aus den Literatur-Kenntnissen des "Anon." keine Rückschlüsse auf der Bücherbesitz in Irland möglich'*.[28]

Toward the end of the twentieth century, developments in the study of computistics related to early medieval Ireland seemed to provide another avenue for demonstrating that the works of Isidore were available very early in Ireland. It was argued that the collection of early computistical materials in the manuscript *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 309* (saec. XI) – the Sirmond manuscript – could be dated to 658,[29] and thus provided evidence for familiarity at least with Isidore's *Etymologiae* at that time.[30] I questioned this in my 1987 paper, because such bookish collecting of data seemed at odds with the approach to scientific knowledge I encountered in *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*[31] and *Liber de ordine creaturarum,*[32] both from the third quarter of the seventh century, and in which I could find no evidence for the use of the *Etymologiae.* It seemed more likely that the short text containing the dating clause AD 658 was another of the earlier compositions included in the collection.[33] In 2010, Immo Warntjes published his analysis of what he identified as a new manuscript in the 'Sirmond group' of similar, but not identical, collections of computistical texts known in Ireland which would have been available to Bede. David Ganz had brought the manuscript *Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MSC 0046* – originating from St. Gall, c. AD 900 – to the attention of Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, who in turn encouraged Warntjes to go and examine it in Bremen. In addition to items found in other manuscripts in the Sirmond group, the Bremen compilation contains a previously unknown *Prologue* for a Victorian Easter Table, and this text can be dated unambiguously to AD 699. Warntjes points out: 'This is only the second post mid-seventh century and pre-Bedan dating clause to be found in any manuscript of the Sirmond group', and he concludes: 'If both the Oxford and the Bremen dating clauses [AD 658 and AD 699, respectively] are taken as indicative of the compilation of Sirmond material, then this suggests at least two stages, almost fifty years apart, in the same region, namely, southern Ireland'.[34] At present, there is no way of knowing precisely which texts would have been included in any one of such putative stages in the collecting of these computistical materials. It follows that one cannot assume that texts included in *Bodley 309* demonstrate the use of Isidorian texts already in AD 658.

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[25] Bischoff, 'Bannita', pp. 246-247.

[26] Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland', p. 187.

[27] Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian, Ireland' p. 187, notes 102 & 103, citing Bischoff, 'Eine verschollene Einteilung', pp. 14-20.

[28] 'In view of this connection with the Columban monastery, no inferences may be drawn from the knowledge of literature displayed by "Anon." about books available in Ireland', Bischoff & Löfstedt, *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, p. xxii.

[29] Ó Cróinín, 'The Irish Provenance', pp. 233-238.

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[30] Charles W. Jones published a numbered list of the contents of *Bodley 309* on pp. 106-108 of his 1943 edition of Bede's works on time. This list, as presented by Ó Cróinín ('Bede's Irish Computus', pp. 202-203) is also available in Graff, 'The Recension', pp. 137-138. Merely scanning through the list makes it obvious that Isidore was known by the time the compilation was made: *Sententiae Sancti Augustini et Isidori in laude compoti* is Item 3 (fols. 62v-64v) in that list and Item 35 (fols. 105v-106r) consists of excerpts from Isidore's *Etymologiae.* In this connection, see footnote 55 on pp. XXVIII-XXIX of Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, on the need to clarify terminology and to separate out Carolingian items in *Bodley 309*.

[31] PL 35:2149-2200; for an edition of both the long and the short versions, see MacGinty's Ph.D. thesis.

[32] Díaz y Díaz published an edition and Spanish translation in 1972; Smyth provided an English translation in 2011.

[33] Smyth, 'Isidore of Seville', pp. 96-101.

[34] Warntjes, 'A Newly Discovered Prologue', p. 275.

In 1982, Ó Cróinín announced that in fols. 77v-107v of the manuscript *Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS 5413-22,* s. IX-X, he had discovered an Irish computistical treatise which he assigned to the circle of Cummian, author of the AD 632 *Paschal Letter,* if not to Cummian himself.[35] He gave this *computus* the name *De ratione conputandi* and provided an edition based on the two known manuscripts.[36] Isidore is frequently cited by name in this treatise, with selections from both the *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum.* Warntjes recently carried out a very careful analysis of the content of *De ratione conputandi* in relation to the two other 'known Irish computistical text books from the post-Isidorian and pre-Bedan period, roughly to be dated to AD 650-750'[37]: the *Munich Computus* securely dated to AD 719[38] and the recently discovered *Computus Einsidlensis.*[39] He eventually concluded that the *Computus Einsidlensis* was composed sometime in the period 699-719,[40] and that *De ratione conputandi* must have been written between 719 and 727. All these *computi* quote Isidore's *Etymologiae* extensively, thereby only establishing familiarity with this work in Ireland at the very end of the seventh century and thereafter.

Bruno Krusch, Bartholomew Mac Carthy and Eduard Schwartz already saw that a dating clause of AD 689, occurring twice in the *Munich Computus* in the context of materials associated with the Victorian reckoning for the date of Easter, points to the existence of an Irish *computus* from AD 689 advocating the Victorian system.[41] Because of its association with Victorian reckoning, this now lost *computus* probably originated from east Munster where that system was observed – as opposed to the 84-year system observed in the northern parts of the island – and material from this Victorian *computus* was incorporated into the *Munich Computus.*[42] It should be noted that there is a reference to 'Isidore' in Section 63 of the *Munich Computus,* one of the sections taken from the Victorian AD 689 *computus:* '*Ysidorus ait:*

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[35] Ó Cróinín, 'A Seventh-Century Irish Computus'.

[36] Walsh & Ó Cróinín, 'Cummian's Letter', pp. 99-215.

[37] Warntjes, 'The Munich Computus', pp. CXCI-CCI.

[38] Warntjes, 'The Munich Computus', pp. LVII-LXI.

[39] Warntjes, 'A Newly Discovered Irish Computus'.

[40] With the newly discovered evidence that Victorian reckoning was still current in southern Ireland in 699 (Warntjes, 'A Newly Discovered Prologue', p. 278), Warntjes refined his earlier estimate of 689-719 for the composition of the *Computus Einsidlensis* (The Munich Computus, p. CC).

[41] Warntjes, 'The Munich Computus', pp. LVII-LVIII.

[42] Warntjes, 'The Munich Computus', pp. LVIII, LXXXII, CXXIV- CXXVI; see his recent 'Victorius vs Dionysius' for a clear account of the situation in seventh-century Ireland regarding the dating of Easter.

Quicumque ante XV luna pascha celebrari iubet, transgreditur mandatum' – 'Isidore says: Whosoever approves of Easter being celebrated before *luna* 15 violates the commandment'. This statement is consistent with Isidore's view that those who celebrate Easter on *luna* 14 are heretical, as expressed in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.xxxii (xxxi).(8)[43] and *Etymologiae* VIII.61,[44] so that it could be a paraphrase, but it does not occur as such in the edited works of Isidore of Seville. *De ratione conputandi* 98.21-22 follows the *Munich Computus* in making this same attribution.[45] This putative borrowing from the lost AD 689 Irish *computus* suggests that at least the name of Isidore of Seville was well-known in Ireland by AD 689, and probably also his works relating to the Easter question, though one cannot rule out the possibility that the reference was simply to an Irishman named Isidore.

The Manuscript Transmission of Isidorian Texts

Recent studies of the extant manuscripts of Isidore's works show that:

1. Some of Isidore's works either remained in Spain or had very limited circulation until the eighth century, as already noted by Hillgarth.[46] These include: *De haeresibus* (only one manuscript, Spain, saec. VII), *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos, Regula monachorum, De uiris illustribus, Historia Gothorum.*
2. Most of Isidore's works circulated in two versions, if not more. *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and the S*ententiae* are exceptional in this regard.[47]
3. There is very little seventh century manuscript evidence for Isidore's works, but it is increasingly clear that Lindsay's edition of the *Etymologiae* as well as the texts of the Arévalo edition in PL 83 are not reliable representations of Isidore's works as they were transmitted in this early period.

In 1991, James P. Carley and Ann Dooley published their discovery on the flyleaves of the codex *Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589,* of a late-seventh or very-early-eighth century fragment of the *Etymologies* which was almost certainly written in Ireland. The fragment contains text from

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[43] Lawson, *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* pp. 37-38.

[44] Lindsay, *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri*, p. 314.

[45] Walsh & Ó Cróinín, 'Cummian's Letter', p. 204.

[46] Hillgarth, 'Ireland and Spain', pp. 5-6.

[47] Andrés Sanz, Elfassi & Martín, 'L'Édition critique', pp. 10-11.

Book VI:16 and Book VII:1 and deals with computistical matters, including a copy of Isidore's 95-year Easter table. The inclusion of Spanish era dating (in addition to *anno mundi* dating) points towards an original text dating from AD 655 which was written in Spain, but there is no way of knowing the number of intermediate copies. This newly discovered fragment is consistent with the interest in Isidore's views on computistical matters which we observed among Irish scholars at the end of the seventh century. The leaves forming the fragment probably originated from a 'volume measuring a little in excess of 315 x 240 mm.' (p. 137), though 'it is impossible to determine whether or not this fragment was originally part of a complete copy of the *Etymologiae*'.[48]

Until the discovery of the Longleat fragments, the fragments of Book XI in *Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1399a.1* (CLA VII.995) were the only known seventh-century manuscript evidence for the *Etymologiae,* as jumps out immediately from the table drawn up by Baudoin Van den Abeele to show the number for each century of both fragments and manuscripts containing the entire text of the *Etymologiae.*[49] The fragments were preserved as part of the binding of Manuscripts 150 and 267 in the St Gall Stiftsbibliothek. Dold, who first reported on these fragments in 1940, believed they were part of a substantial codex and estimated that the folios would have measured some 277 x 165 mm. Lowe estimated the written area to have measured ca. 170 x ca. 145 mm. (CLA VII.995). If Book XI was indeed part of a full text of the *Etymologiae* in the codex, the manuscript contained a text of the twenty-book 'long version'. The division into twenty books originated from Braulio's editing, but we have no way of knowing how he divided the content within and between the books.[50] Moreover, the codex might have contained only half of this version of the *Etymologiae,* that is, Books XI-XX, since the long text could be transmitted in two separate codices. There is general agreement that the text in these fragments was written in an Irish hand – called cursive minuscule by Lowe, and cursive half-uncial by Brown[51] – towards the middle of the seventh century, but the question remains whether it originated in Ireland itself or in an Irish-influenced centre on the continent. When commenting on the 1955 revised version of Dold's announcement,[52] Hillgarth said that the fragments were 'probably' written in Ireland itself.[53] Lowe, on the other hand, opted for a continental Irish centre, probably Bobbio. Bischoff, in a 1960 private communication to Hillgarth,[54] noted that the script in the St Gall fragments is close to that of codex Usserianus Primus (*Dublin, Trinity College 55*), which Lowe and Bischoff dated to the beginning of the seventh century, as well as to the script on the Springmount wax tablets (*Dublin, National Museum, S.A. 1914:2;* CLA Supplement 1684) first published in 1920 by Armstrong and Macalister,[55] and dated by Bischoff to the seventh century.[56] In his study of the Irish elements in Insular script, Brown assigns the St Gall fragments to a scribe writing in Ireland in the middle of the seventh century.[57] It is worth noting here that both the Longleat fragmentary text and the text in the seventh-century fragments in St Gall may be related to the version of the *Etymologiae* in the manuscript *Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F.74.*[58]

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[48] Carley & Dooley, 'An Early Irish Fragment', pp. 137 & 145.

[49] Dold, 'Irische Isidorfragmente'; Van den Abeele, 'La tradition manuscrite', p. 199. Van den Abeele derived his information from the manuscript list drawn up by Fernández Catón in 1966, itself a published version of the *Anspach Nachlass*. Note: Catón lists some 1,000 manuscripts (including fragments) and this high number recurs frequently thereafter in the secondary literature, but Van den Abeele points out that this information needs to be carefully double-checked. He sees only some 500 serious contenders from the eighth to the sixteenth century for relaying the text of the *Etymologiae* (La tradition manuscrite, p. 198).

[50] Reydellet, La diffusion des *Origines*, pp. 396-398.

In my 1987 study on the lack of evidence until the late seventh century for cosmological information drawn from Isidore's works, I pointed out that while the St Gall fragment was probably written in Ireland, 'all this really proves is that the beginning of Book XI: *De Homine et Portentis* (Of man and unnatural births; edited by Gasti in 2010) was almost certainly read and copied in Ireland by the middle of the seventh century'.[59] It is well known that sections of the *Etymologiae,* sometimes corresponding to one or more of the *libri* in the long recension of that work, were transmitted separately. Books I (grammar), I-III (liberal arts), IV (medicine), the *Chronicon* and the legal matter in Book V, and the sections on heresy in Book VIII, are usually mentioned in this connection. In addition, Books I-XX were often copied in two separate codices, with the break after Book X, so that the two main parts could circulate independently. It should be noted, however, that when Díaz y Díaz, in his 1982 introduction to the Latin/Spanish text of the *Etymologiae* based on Lindsay's edition, talks about sections of the *Etymologiae* that commonly circulated separately, he does not mention Book XI among them.[60] The anatomical lists in the *lorica*/prayer *Suffragare Trinitatis Unitas*[61] composed by Lathcen of Clonfertmuloe (d. 661), and in the exorcism *Collectio super hominem qui habet Diabolum*[62] in the Antiphonary of Bangor – a late-seventh-century collection of liturgical texts – argue for the presence in Ireland of Book XI or of glossaries derived from that text at the time the lists were composed. It is, however, also likely that detailed terminology associated with parts of the body was drawn from lists of words intended to increase familiarity with the Latin language.[63] I have shown elsewhere that such lists would explain the often bizarre use of cosmological terms in the *Hisperica Famina.*[64] After all, Isidore himself used glossaries when writing: those of Placidus and Nonius Marcellus, for instance.[65] Referring to the 'detailed anatomical enumerations' in the two Irish texts, Patrick Sims-Williams observed: 'Many similarities in wording and order result from the subject-matter; nevertheless they are sufficient to show that the exorcism probably derives from the same glossary-steeped milieu in seventh-century Ireland as Laidcenn's *lorica*'.[66]

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[51] Brown, 'The Irish Element', p. 104.

[52] Dold & Duft, 'Die älteste irische Handschriften-Reliquie'.

[53] Hillgarth, 'The position of Isidorian studies', p. 826.

[54] Hillgarth, 'Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland', p. 183.

[55] Armstrong & Macalister, 'Wooden Book'.

[56] Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung', p. 327.

[57] Brown, 'The Irish Element', p. 104, n. 4.

[58] Carley & Dooley, 'An Early Irish Fragment', p. 14 ; Dold, 'Irische Isidorfragmente', p. 88.

[59] Smyth, 'Isidore of Seville', pp. 69-70.

As Herren noted, *Etymologiae* XI.1 (or glossaries compiled from it) do not account for some 35 of the 120+ of the terms in the extensive anatomical list in the *lorica,* so there must have been other sources. He created a very useful table of corresponding terms in the *lorica* and in the *Etymologiae* as found in the Lindsay edition.[67] Patrick Sims-Williams made a similar table showing the anatomical terminology common to *Etymologiae XI.1,* the Bangor exorcism and the Lathcen *lorica*.[68] Only two ninth-century manuscripts of *Differentiae II* (*Paris, BN lat. 12236* and *BN lat 12237*) omit the lengthy section on the parts of the human body (CCSL 111A: 125* and 127*)[69] so that it is almost certain that this section, which is heavily dependent on Lactantius' *De opificio Dei,* was included in the early version(s) of the text that travelled to Ireland. If the much more limited (less than 30 items) and superficial list of the parts of the body in the Bangor exorcism is not simply drawn from memory or from some elementary word-list, it could well have been derived from section XVII of Isidore's *Differentiae II* (CCSL 111A: 34-48; PL 83: 69-98) since only two items cannot be accounted for in that way.

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[60] Díaz y Díaz, 'Introduccion general', pp. 211-212.

[61] Herren, The *Hisperica famina* II, pp. 74-89.

[62] AB96 in Warren, The Antiphonary, I, fols. 30v-31r & II, pp. 71-72; Curran, 'The Antiphonary', pp. 124 & 237, notes 36 & 37.

[63] Smyth, 'Isidore of Seville', pp. 69-70.

[64] Smyth, 'Understanding', pp. 118-123.

[65] Wright, 'Los glosarios', p. 957.

[66] Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed', p. 92.

[67] Herren, 'The Authorship', pp. 46-49.

[68] Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed', p. 92.

[69] Andrés, 'Adicion o supresion?', pp. 81-82.

In manuscripts, *Differentiae II* with incipit *Inter Deum*[70] is sometimes called simply *Differentiae,* or *Liber differentiarum* or *Differentiae spirituales,* and the recent editor believes it was composed c. 600 and no later than 610.[71] It circulated at first independently from what is now known as *Differentiae I,* and was consistently attributed to Isidore in the numerous extant early manuscript witnesses.[72] Maria Adelaida Andrés was aware of 26 manuscripts dated from the eighth to the tenth century[73]! In the *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (*DOC*)[74] composed in Ireland between 655 and c. 680,[75] all references to Isidore's *Differentiae* are in fact to Book II of the *Differentiae*.[76] In particular, *DOC* VIII: *Concerning the devil and the nature of demons* relies heavily (though not exclusively) on Sections XIV-XV of *Differentiae II* (CCSL 111A: 28-32; PL 83:76-77). Comparing *De ordine creaturarum* VIII.16 and *Differentiae II*.14.42 (CCSL 111A: 29) we note that there is no reference to the rationality of demons in *De ordine creaturarum*.[77] Since this detail is also lacking in a number of manuscripts of Isidore's text, it should be possible to narrow down the type of manuscript available in Ireland when *De ordine creaturarum* was composed.

Two fragments of a codex containing *Differentiae II* are now in *Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana,*D. 23 sup,* and were formerly used as fly-leaves to the Bobbio Orosius (*Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, D. 23 sup*). They are probably from the same quire and encompass sections XXXVII.146-XL.167; PL 83:93-97 (that is, XXXV.146-XLI.167; CCSL 111A: 94-110).[78] The script is 'Irish majuscule, saec. VIII' and the fragments originated 'probably from

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[70] Andrés-Sanz, *Liber differentiarum* [*II*].

[71] Andrés, 'Adicion o supresion?', p. 80; *Liber differentiarum* [*II*}, p. 26*.

[72] Andrés-Sanz, 'Vias de investigación'; 'Relación y transmision', pp. 243, 252 & 255.

[73] Andrés, 'Adicion o supresion', p. 80.

[74] Díaz y Díaz, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*.

[75] Smyth, 'The Date and Origin'.

[76] Díaz y Díaz, 'Isidoriana I', pp. 157-159. Compare, for example, *DOC* VI.10 with *Diff. II*.12.32 (CCSL 111A: 23-24); *DOC* VIII with *Diff. II*.14-15; *DOC* XV.2 seems to refer to *Diff. II*.14.41 (CCSL 111A: 28), *DOC* XV. 8 seems to cite *Diff. II*.11.31 (CCSL 111A: 23) and *Diff. II*.30.101-2 ; *DOC* XV. 9 refers to *Diff. II*.28.100-102 (CCSL 111A: 63-65), *DOC* XV.10 refers to *Diff. II*.28.105-108 (CCSL 111A: 66-69).

[77] Smyth, 'The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise', p. 186, n. 103.

[78] Page 313* of CCSL 111A contains a convenient table for converting chapter numbers in the new edition to the PL 83 chapter numbers.

Ireland' according to Lowe (CLA II, 329), and are even *'charakteristisch echt irisch'* according to Bischoff,[79] not only on account of the script but because of the thick vellum on which the text is written. These fragments would thus confirm that *Differentiae II* was available in Ireland by the eighth century. This tells us nothing, however, about the availability of *Differentiae I* in Ireland at that time, since the manuscript evidence points to the late eighth century for the first occurrences of both texts in the same manuscript (*Paris, BN lat. 2994A* and *Montpellier, ÉM 306*) – and even then, they are not placed next to one another as parts of the same treatise.[80] We cannot therefore infer from the influence of *Differentiae II* on *DOC*, a text written in Ireland sometime between 655 and c. 680, that *Differentiae I* was available in Ireland at that time – whether in its probably original *Inter caelum* form organized by subject matter or in the alphabetized form with incipit *Inter aptum.*[81] It is possible that *Differentiae I* reached Ireland independently, but I am not aware of any evidence for an early arrival.

Another Isidorian text was used by the anonymous author of *De ordine creaturarum:* the *De ecclesiasticis officiis.* Díaz y Díaz had noticed that the four-fold division of souls described in the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great (CCSL 143B: 1304-06) did not explain the full scheme of the fate of individuals after death as presented in the Hiberno-Latin treatise. *De ordine creaturarum* XIV.6 states: 'The Lord himself does not deny that some sins shall be forgiven in the world to come, when he says: "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never have forgiveness, neither in this world nor in the world to come, but shall be guilty of everlasting sin" [Mark 3:29 with 'neither in this world nor in the world to come' added from Matt 12:32]. This implies that there are some sins which, though not forgiven in this world, can nonetheless be wiped out by fire in the judgment to come. Were this not the case, the Lord would never have made this distinction'.[82] Díaz y Díaz suggested two possible sources: Gregory's *Dialogues* IV.40-41 or Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.xvi.12 – but was hesitant to accept either one since this would be the only time the source was used by the Irish author and there was no evidence that these texts were available in Ireland at that time. However, since the anonymous Irish author endorsed the idea that really bad people are eternally damned and really good people enter eternal blessedness immediately at death, and the others *must wait till the last judgment to have their ultimate destiny determined,* he does not allow for any kind of intermediary stage of cleansing punishment, that is, for what came to be called Purgatory.[83] By the time Pope Gregory I wrote Book IV of the *Dialogues*, he was advocating the notion of that very type of cleansing process taking place *before* the last judgment, so that it is most unlikely that the Irish author had read *Dialogues* IV.41.3, for instance. As for *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.12, it is much more vague as to the time or location of the purgatorial fire and even includes a citation from Matt 12:32: 'For when the Lord says: "whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or the age to come" [Matt 12:32], he makes clear that for some their sins will be forgiven there and cleansed by some purgatorial fire' (my translation).[84] Recent studies on the *Canones Hibernenses* (for which the earliest extant manuscripts are from the middle of the eighth century and from the continent) posit an Irish proto-version from between AD 669 (arrival in England of Theodore of Canterbury – the latest source) and AD 700. The 2011 edition by Roy Flechner[85] and the tables created by Davies[86] of Isidorian borrowings in the two recensions *Hib.*A and *Hib.*B of the *Canones Hibernenses* indicate that the proto-version of that text – compiled in Ireland and from which the two recensions appear to have derived independently[87] – must have made numerous borrowings from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis,* especially in matters relating to church hierarchy and liturgy. It therefore seems safe to assume that *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was available in Ireland by the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. There is strong evidence, however, that this was not the complete text since a letter of uncertain date from one Colman to his colleague Feredach (*Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms. 5649-67*) states that 'our manuscripts' – presumably manuscripts available in Ireland – contain two serious gaps. Christopher Lawson has identified a group of manuscripts of *De ecclesiasticis officiis* which 'suffer two considerable lacunae which were caused in the subarchetype by the loss of bifolia'.[88] Were Colman and Lawson noticing the same gaps?

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[79] 'Typically Irish'. Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung', p. 327.

[80] Andrés-Sanz, 'Adicion o supresion?', pp. 80 & 84; 'Relación y transmisión', p. 256.

[81] The two early stages in the organization of *Differentiae I* were clarified by Carmen Codoñer, 'Historia del texto'.

[82] Smyth, 'The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise', p. 203; Díaz y Díaz, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*, pp. 188 & 190: 'Quasdam culpas in futuro remitti dominus ipse non dinegat, cum dicit: *qui blasphemauerit in spiritum sanctum non habet remissionem neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro sed reus erit aeterni delicti*; ex quo intellegitur quaedam esse peccata quae, etsi in hoc saeculo non remittuntur, in futuro tamen iudicio per ignem deleri possunt: si enim ita non esset, hanc districtionem dominus nequaquam posuisset'.

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[83] Smyth, 'The Origins of Purgatory', pp. 95-99.

[84] 'Nam et cum dominus dicit: *Qui peccauerit in spiritum sanctum non remittetur ei neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro*, demonstrat quibusdam illuc dimittenda peccata et quodam purgatorio igne purganda' (CCSL 113:22-23). My translation is closer to the Latin than that of Knoebel, 'Isidore of Seville', p. 44.

[85] I thank Roy Flechner for graciously sending me a copy of his very nice thesis.

[86] Davies, 'Isidorian Texts', pp. 247-249.

[87] Flechner, The *Hibernensis*, pp. 43*, 63-64* & 68*.

It is well-known that already during the lifetime of Isidore, his friend Braulio was complaining of the circulation of faulty, incomplete copies of the *Etymologiae.* Braulio himself had no qualms reorganizing the text Isidore finally sent him. It is likely that Isidore originally composed only the content of the first ten books (possibly even without Book IV), and that this spread rapidly, with or without his consent.[89] After Braulio divided the longer text Isidore sent him later into twenty books, that version also underwent numerous types of alterations in different environments.[90] It follows that regarding the *Etymologiae* even more so than for other works by Isidore, the following questions should be investigated as much as possible for any medieval citation to that text: Which version was being used? How much of the text was available to the author using it? Did Isidore write it?

The late seventh-century *Commentary on Genesis* in *Clm 17739* refers many times to Isidore, or to several of his works: *Sententiae, De natura rerum, Etymologiae,* and perhaps *Allegoriae.*[91] When Adomnán wrote his *De locis sanctis* in AD 680-690, he had access to both a version of the *Etymologiae* and the long version of *De natura rerum.*[92] The two recensions of the *Canones Hibernenses* contain citations from other works by Isidore: *Etymologiae, Sententiae, Quaestiones in uetus testamentum,* and the *Chronica.* While a number of these citations would have been added later and on the continent, it now seems likely that at least the *Sententiae* and some version(s) of the *Etymologiae* were used in the proto-version since they were available in Ireland during the late seventh-century, as we have just seen. We have also seen above that computistical material from that period presents Isidore as one of the authorities on the subject, citing from the *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum.*

There is no doubt that several works of Isidore, including at least one version of the *Etymologiae,* were available in Ireland in the later part of the seventh century – whether transmitted directly from Spain, or part 'of wider patterns of insular cross-cultural connections during the late seventh and early eighth century'.[93] While investigating which recension is involved – or even which manuscript – remains a conjectural process even for this later period, certainty about even the availability of an Isidorian text, let alone a complete text as written by Isidore, is elusive for the earlier period. In general, I hope this study shows that given the alterations to the original text made already in the medieval period and of which later scholars may not have been aware, we should not take anything for granted, so that conclusions based on earlier editions need to be revisited.

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[88] Lawson, 'Notes', p. 303.

[89] Reydellet, 'La diffusion des *Origines*', pp. 435-436.

[90] See e.g., Reydellet,' La diffusion des *Origines*'; Díaz y Díaz, 'Introduccion general'; Codoñer Merino, 'Transmisión y recepción'.

[91] Ó Cróinín, 'A New Seventh-Century Irish Commentary', p. 240.

[92] O'Loughlin, 'The Library of Iona', pp. 47-49.

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[93] Flechner, 'The *Hibernensis*', p. 25*.

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7 Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England

The *Synonyma* as a Source of Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*[1]

Claudia Di Sciacca

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Isidore was, together with Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory, one of the four major patristic authorities for the Anglo-Saxons, and his *Etymologiae, De natura rerum, Synonyma,* and *De ecclesiasticis officiis* belonged to the 'small core of staple patristic texts' housed in a typical Anglo-Saxon library.[2] Isidore undoubtedly proved an influential source for a variety of fields of Anglo-Saxon literary culture, ranging from grammar to computus, from history to homiletics and hagiography, from exegesis to charters.[3]

This chapter focuses on the *Synonyma*[4] and investigates, in particular, their role as a source for one of the founding and most popular Anglo-Saxon hagiographies, the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* (henceforth *VSG*), authored by the elusive Felix in the first half of the eighth century.[5] The *Synonyma* have not been enlisted among the rich network of source texts underlying Felix's work until very recently.[6] The case study in this chapter will hopefully contribute valuable insights into the early dissemination of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England and enhance our understanding of the subtle 'source-layering' which can be considered Felix's most distinctive compositional technique.[7]

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[2] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 127 and 309-313.

[3] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 47-55.

[4] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi.

[5] *BHL*, no. 3723; *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave. On the tenuous evidence concerning Felix's life, see below, pp. 140-141.

[6] Bremmer, 'The Reception of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*'; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 99-103.

[7] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 25-66.

The *Synonyma*

Generally grouped with Isidore's minor and juvenile works, the *Synonyma* enjoyed an 'immense' popularity and were the third most copied work by Isidore after the *Etymologiae* and the *Sententiae.*[8] Alternatively classified as a grammatical, ascetic, and dogmatic text, the *Synonyma* resist any clear-cut categorisation.[9] They consist of two books, one decidedly different from the other as to theme, tone, and sources employed. The first contains an effusive and pathetic lamentation (*lamentum paenitentiae*) expressed by a sinful man overwhelmed by guilt and despairing of redemption, while in the second book Reason draws a very detailed *norma uiuendi* for the penitent, consisting of pragmatic prescriptions and precepts to pursue a virtuous lifestyle and resist temptations. The penitential lament and hortatory consolation are distinctively combined with a most idiosyncratic style, the so-called *stilus ysydorianus,* a rhymed, rhythmical prose making pervasive use of synonymical variation and paraphrase, which was to become one of the four major kinds of Latin *Kunstprosa* in the Middle Ages.[10] It was this characteristic blend of *eloquium* and *uotum,* to put it in Isidore's own words,[11] that secured the *Synonyma* an exceptionally vast and enduring popularity throughout the Middle Ages in the Latin West, firstly as a spiritual primer and, secondarily, as a grammatical handbook.[12]

The editor of the recent critical edition of the *Synonyma* has identified two recensions, Λ and Φ, which apparently stemmed from the independent revision of two parallel versions of a primitive text carried out by Isidore himself. Contaminations of the two recensions started as early as the first half of the eighth century and are so numerous and extensive that they represent the most distinctive and recurrent feature of the manuscript tradition of the *Synonyma.*[13] As has been shown, both recensions circulated in Anglo-Saxon England, itself a symptom of the variety and complexity of the Anglo-Saxon reception of this Isidorian text.[14]

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[8] Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville: un manuel de grammaire ou de morale?', p. 167; Elfassi, 'Trois aspects inattendus', p. 109.

[9] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 19-20; Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville: un manuel de grammaire ou de morale?'; Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville (VIIe s.)'.

[10] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 24-31; Elfassi, 'Genèse et originalité'.

[11] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. 5. 21

[12] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 34-36 and 176-180; Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville: un manuel de grammaire ou de morale?'; Elfassi, 'Los centones de los *Synonyma*'; Elfassi, 'Trois aspects inattendus'; Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville (VIIe s.)'.

[13] Elfassi, 'Una edición crítica de los *Synonyma*', pp. 110-113; Elfassi, 'Isidorus Hispalensis ep.', p. 222; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. lvi-lxx; Elfassi, 'Une nouvelle hypothèse'.

Isidore and the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England

Knowledge of Isidore's texts in Anglo-Saxon England was both early and plentiful. The first testimonies can be dated to the renowned Canterbury school of Archbishop Theodore (d. 690) and Abbot Hadrian (d. 709 or 710),[15] and to the 'first Englishman of letters', Aldhelm (c. 640?-709 or 710), himself a student of Theodore and Hadrian and eventually abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne.[16] From the evidence afforded by the two major witnesses to the syllabus of the Canterbury school, namely the Canterbury Biblical Commentaries and the Leiden family of glosses, as well as by Aldhelm's corpus, it can be inferred that by the beginning of the eighth century at least the *Etymologiae, De natura rerum, Synonyma, De ecclesiasticis officiis, De ortu et obitu patrum, De differentiis uerborum,* and the dubious *Liber numerorum* were known to the Anglo-Saxons.[17] In particular, the literary and manuscript evidence shows that the *De natura rerum,* the *Etymologiae,* and the *Synonyma* were the first Isidorian works that reached Anglo-Saxon England and the most abundantly attested in Anglo-Saxon centres, both insular and continental.[18]

Anglo-Saxon England was particularly receptive to the *Synonyma.* Anglo-Saxon libraries, whether in England or on the continent, were well stocked with copies of the *Synonyma:* no fewer than eight manuscript witnesses were written or circulating in pre-Norman times and another six codices are associated with Anglo-Saxon foundations on the continent.[19] Also, another copy of the *Synonyma* is recorded in the list of books sent by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (d. 984), to the monastery of Medeshamstede c. 970.[20]

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[14] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 68-76; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. cx-cxiii.

[15] *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. by Bischoff and Lapidge; *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. by Lapidge.

[16] *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, trans. by Lapidge and Herren, p. 1; Lapidge, 'Aldhelm'; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*.

[17] Di Sciacca, 'Isidorian Scholarship'; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 47-50.

[18] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 55-76.

[19] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 68-76; Hussey, 'The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*'; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 38-140; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*'.

[20] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 164-165; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 54-55 and 134-136.

As mentioned above, both recensions of the *Synonyma* are attested in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, the earliest witnesses of both Λ and Φ are either of definite Anglo-Saxon origin or have strong Anglo-Saxon connections. Two Southumbrian codices of the first half of the eighth century, St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q. v. I. 15,[21] and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 79,[22] first attest to the Λ recension, while one of the earliest witnesses of the Φ recension is Fulda, Domschatz, Bonifatianus 2,[23] an eighth-century continental manuscript with 'insular symptoms'[24] and links to Boniface (c. 675-754),[25] the renowned Anglo-Saxon missionary and, together with Aldhelm and Felix, one of the earliest named readers of the *Synonyma* in pre-Conquest England.[26] Furthermore, source-studies of both the Old English and the Anglo-Latin corpus have shown the variety of uses the Anglo-Saxons made of the *Synonyma,* ranging from the homiletic to the devotional and the didactic, and it can be concluded that the *Synonyma* were 'the Isidorian text most abundantly attested in pre-Conquest England after the *Etymologiae*'.[27]

It has been argued that the Anglo-Saxon reception of the *Synonyma* was idiosyncratic in that, while most of Isidore's other works would have reached both South- and Northumbrian England chiefly thanks to Irish transmission,[28] the *Synonyma* would have arrived in Southumbria via France and their influence would have been concentrated in south-west

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[21] Ms. L: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xxxvii; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 845; *CLA*, xi, no. 1618; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 102-110; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 158-161.

[22] Ms. W: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xliii-xliv; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 946; *CLA*, ix, no. 1426; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 400; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 87-102; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 156-158.

[23] Ms. F: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xxviii-xxix; *CLA*, viii, no. 1197; Hussey, 'The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*'; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 111-134; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 161-163.

[24] Haseloff, 'Der Einband des Ragyndrudis Codex', pp. 42-46; McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture', p. 415; Hussey, 'The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*', pp. 235-236; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 122-124.

[25] Orchard, 'Boniface'.

[26] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 51-52, 72-74, and 151-155; Hussey, 'The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*'; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 77-140; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 150-151 and 166-168.

[27] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, p. 54.

[28] The routes of transmission of Isidore's texts from Visigothic Spain to the British Isles and the role of the Irish in it are two vexed and still largely unresolved questions; for a summary of the scholarly debate, see Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 37-47 and 55-68.

Mercia and Wessex.[29] In fact, manuscript evidence indicates two major routes of transmission of the *Synonyma,* an insular and a French one, the former pertaining to recension Λ and the latter to recension Φ, respectively.[30] However, the insular and continental paths of dissemination can hardly be kept discrete.[31] If Λ has got an unquestionably insular trademark – six out of the nine Λ-witnesses collated by Elfassi originated either in Anglo-Saxon England or on an insular centre on the continent, and the Λ-text of the *Synonyma* was likely the one first known in both England and Ireland[32] – the evidence concerning its actual route from Visigothic Spain to Anglo-Saxon England is inconclusive. In particular, although the manuscript evidence suggests that recension Λ reached England directly from Spain, a dissemination across the English Channel via France cannot be excluded.[33]

In sum, the transmission of the two recensions of the *Synonyma* as envisaged by their modern editor as well as the frequency of contaminations and interpolations between Λ and Φ suggests that the dissemination of the Isidorian text to the British Isles was probably the result of more than one route or one group of mediators, as the scope of the cultural contacts and exchanges that linked Spain, France, Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland, Italy, and Germany was wider and more complex than it has often been acknowledged.[34]

Although the *Synonyma* seem to have been less influential than other Isidorian texts in Ireland,[35] still it should be reminded that they feature among the sources of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (c. 725). Also, the most distinctive product of seventh-century Irish Latinity, the *Hisperica Famina,* betrays the stylistic influence of the *Synonyma*, as well as of the contemporary Spanish *Reimprosa* more generally.[36]

Furthermore, the diffusion of the *Synonyma* within Irish circles is indirectly attested by two miscellaneous continental manuscripts, Munich,

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[29] Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 146-155.

[30] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. cviii-cxiii.

[31] *Ibidem.*

[32] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. lxxi-lxxix and cix-cxi.

[33] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. cxii-cxiii; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 152-153.

[34] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. cx-cxiii; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 66-68. On the circulation of Isidore's texts in early medieval Ireland, see Marina Smyth, 'Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland', above, pp. 111-130.

[35] Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 146-148.

[36] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 38-40 and 46-47; cf. Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 147-148.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6433,[37] and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 908.[38] The former is a codex written at Freising in the second half of the eighth century and is the only surviving witness of the *Florilegium frisingense,* a veritable compendium of distinctively Irish exegetical, theological, and homiletic literature which draws extensively on both authentic and pseudoepigraphical Isidorian texts, including the *Synonyma.*[39] The *Florilegium frisingense* is anonymous but was possibly compiled by the scribe of the Munich manuscript, namely the Northumbrian-trained Anglo-Saxon scribe Peregrinus,[40] a circumstance which, incidentally, would challenge the argument that the early circulation of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England was confined to Southumbria. Also, the *Frisingense* is immediately followed in the manuscript by the second book of the *Synonyma* and by the *Liber scintillarum,*[41] one of the most popular biblical and patristic *florilegia* of the early Middle Ages, especially widespread in Anglo-Saxon England,[42] and also heavily indebted to the Isidorian text.[43] In sum, both the textual and codicological evidence suggests that the Munich miscellany was put together in a milieu thoroughly au fait with and appreciative of the *Synonyma.* The fact that the *Frisingense* was composed in an insular foundation on the continent is a welcome reminder that 'continental' and 'insular' should not necessarily be read as mutually exclusive terms, since insular agents of transmission were active also on the continent, and insular foundations on the continent, such as Bobbio, were undoubtedly centres where Isidore's texts were well known and zealously copied from very early on. The St Gall codex 908 is another case in point: written 'in a centre of insular cultural influence', probably in the Milan area or Bobbio, it contains three excerpts from the *Synonyma* and one from Isidore's *Sententiae* alongside the only copy of the Commentary on the Creation and Fall – the fourth item in Bischoff's (in)famous catalogue of Hiberno-Latin Biblical commentaries and itself indebted to Isidorian sources – as well as a number of texts of apocryphal content which were distinctively popular with the Irish.[44]

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[37] Ms. M: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xxxviii; *Florilegium frisingense*, ed. by Lehner, pp. xiii-xiv and xxxvi.

[38] Ms. h: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xlix-l; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 35 and 64.

[39] *Florilegium frisingense*, ed. by Lehner, pp. 1-39; see also pp. xv, xxxv, and 137-138; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xxxviii.

[40] O'Byrne, 'Peregrinus of Freising'.

[41] *Defensor Liber scintillarum*, ed. by Rochais. The traditional attribution of the *Liber scintillarum* to the monk Defensor of Ligugé about 700 has recently been challenged in favour of a later dating (*s.* viii^1) and an origin in Germany, possibly in the Trier or Würzburg area: Elfassi, 'Defensor de Ligugé'; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. cxii-cxiii; Elfassi, 'Les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville dans l'oeuvre de Raban Maur', p. 249, n. 9.

[42] Bremmer, 'The Reception of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*'. An Old English interlinear version of the *Liber scintillarum* is attested in ms. London, British Library, Royal 7.c.iv: *The Old English 'Liber scintillarum'*, ed. by Rhodes.

[43] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 34-35; Elfassi, 'Defensor de Ligugé'.

The *Synonyma* as a Hagiographic Source

Both manuscript- and source-studies have shown that throughout the Middle Ages the *Synonyma* were increasingly perceived as a moral treatise. In particular, it has been argued that they proved especially popular with authors of moral *florilegia,* prayers, and devotional texts, homilies and hagiographies, as well as canonical collections.[45] As regards hagiographic literature in particular, the *Synonyma* have been identified as a source (albeit often an indirect one) of at least eight continental saints' lives up to the beginning of the thirteenth century,[46] and they are associated with hagiographic texts in no fewer than five manuscripts collated for the modern critical edition of the *Synonyma.*[47]

Of these five codices, one, that is Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15817,[48] is particularly relevant, because here the *Synonyma* follow the earliest (if incomplete) surviving copy of the *Vita S. Cuthberti,* written by an anonymous monk (or perhaps, monks) of the Lindisfarne community c. 699-705.[49] This manuscript has been dated to Archbishop Aldaram of Salzburg's period of office (821-836), but it probably derives from an early exemplar in insular script, whose distinctively Northumbrian spellings were largely preserved by the conservative, if often careless, scribe of the Munich manuscript.[50] Another hint supporting the insular origin of this manuscript is the fact that the copy of the *Synonyma* it contains belongs to the Λ recension, which, as has been mentioned above, had a predominantly insular circulation. Also, although the circumstances of the arrival of the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* in Salzburg by the early ninth century are still obscure, a possible context for it and perhaps also for the association of the Anglo-Saxon hermit-saint's life with the *Synonyma* might be provided by Virgilius, the erudite Irish bishop of Salzburg in the second half of the eighth century (d. 784). During Virgilius's episcopate at least two popular Isidorian pseudo-epigrapha, the *Liber de numeris* and *De ortu et obitu patriarcharum,* were compiled. Another text that can be associated with Virgilius's entourage is the question-and-answer dialogue *Prebiarum de multorium exemplaribus,* which draws on at least three of Isidore's texts, the *Etymologiae, De ecclesiasticis officiis,* and *Sententiae,* and on the pseudepigraphical *Liber de numeris.*[51]

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[44] Wright, 'Apocryphal Lore and Insular Tradition', pp. 124-127 and 144-145, quotation at 125

[45] Elfassi, 'Los centones de los *Synonyma*'; Elfassi, 'Trois aspects inattendus'; Elfassi, 'Defensor de Ligugé'.

[46] Elfassi, 'Trois aspects inattendus', pp. 124-132.

[47] The five manuscripts in question are Elfassi's S, U, V, X, and b: *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xli-xlvii.

[48] Ms. S, *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xli-xlii; Bullough, 'A Neglected Early-Ninth-Century Manuscript', pp. 107-108.

[49] *BHL*, no. 2019; *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 60-139.

[50] Bullough, 'A Neglected Early-Ninth-Century Manuscript', pp. 108-110 and 130.

To my knowledge the only Anglo-Saxon saint's life where the *Synonyma* have been drawn on is the *VSG* and, thereby, the two derivative Old English prose texts, the so-called Vespasian Life and Vercelli Homily xxiii. The following pages will analyse the borrowing from the *Synonyma* in the *VSG*, identify the possible antecedent consulted by Felix, and map out the context in which such a borrowing could have taken place.

Felix and the *Vita S. Guthlaci*

A generation younger than the Northumbrian Cuthbert, Guthlac is the second earliest and most popular Anglo-Saxon hermit saint. The *VSG* provides a comprehensive account of Guthlac's life, from his youth as a successful warlord of aristocratic descent, to his conversion and tonsure at the monastery of Repton, Derbyshire,[52] and, finally, to his withdrawal to Crowland, a small island (in fact, a promontory linked to the mainland by a gravel ridge), haunted by demons on the fenland marking the border between the Mercian and East Anglian kingdoms, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life as an anchorite.[53] Guthlac soon attracted attention from the most prominent ranks of society: his visitors included Hædda, bishop of Lichfield (d. 716-727), who ordained Guthlac as priest, and Æthelbald (716-757), future king of the Mercians. His rapidly growing popularity and saintly reputation was commemorated and reinforced by the highly-literary Latin *uita* by Felix.[54]

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[51] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 41 and 43.

[52] Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton'.

[53] Mayr-Harting, 'Guthlac'; *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 2-7; Meaney, 'Felix's Life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth'; Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: History or Hagiography?'; *The Guthlac Poems*, ed. by Roberts, pp. 1-7; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', pp. 72-76; Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, pp. 7-11; Roberts, 'Guthlac, St', p. 227.

Over time, a vernacular tradition developed and lasted throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond the Norman Conquest.[55] Though Guthlac – somewhat surprisingly – found no place in the two major Anglo-Saxon *sanctoralia,* those of Bede and of Ælfric, respectively,[56] he is one of the few native saints to be added to the originally continental collection of the so-called Corpus-Cotton Legendary, the major hagiographic collection circulating in late Anglo-Saxon England and the chief source of Ælfric's *sanctorale.*[57] But more importantly, Guthlac is the Anglo-Saxon saint most celebrated in Old English and the only one commemorated in vernacular poetry. There are five major pre-Conquest vernacular texts on St Guthlac:

1. Anonymous, Old English Martyrology (prose; *s.* ix^{2}; *The Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. by Rauer, pp. 80-81 and 252)
2. Anonymous, Vespasian Life (prose; *s.* ix^{ex}-x^{in}*; Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben,* ed. by Gonser, pp. 100-173)
3. Anonymous, Vercelli Homily xxiii (prose; before c. 975; *The Vercelli Homilies,* ed. by Scragg, pp. 383-392; corresponds to Felix's *VSG*, chpts. xxviii-xxxiv)
4. Anonymous, *Guthlac A* (verse; uncertain dating; *The Guthlac Poems,* ed. by Roberts, pp. 83-107; corresponds to Felix's *VSG*, chpts. xxviii-xxxii)
5. Anonymous, *Guthlac B* (verse; uncertain dating; *The Guthlac Poems,* ed. by Roberts, pp. 108-124; corresponds to Felix's *VSG*, chpt. l)

While the relationship between the vernacular texts and the Latin life is not always unequivocal (especially in the case of the entry in the Old English Martyrology and the poem *Guthlac A*),[58] the *VSG* represents the cornerstone of this vast and enduring hagiographic tradition. Unfortunately, we are in the dark as to the exact circumstances of its composition. Felix's dedication of the *VSG* to Ælfwald, king of the East Angles (c. 713-749),[59] and his use of Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* (c. 721)[60] as a source provide a fairly definite chronological range for the text. Otherwise, the details of Felix's life and schooling and of the place where he composed the *VSG* are unknown. Even his nationality is uncertain and he may not even have been Anglo-Saxon,[61] although he must have spent at least a substantial portion of his life in England, presumably in East Anglia, since in the prologue to the *VSG*, Felix addresses the East Anglian King Ælfwald as *dominus meus* and later on refers to King Aldwulf without mentioning that he was king of the East Angles.[62] Ælfwald is an equally elusive figure.[63] According to the *VSG* (chpts. xlviiii and l), Ælfwald's sister, Ecgburh, an abbess, was in touch with Guthlac, and this family connection with the saint may have been at the origin of Ælfwald's commission to Felix[64]. More relevant for the purposes of this study, however, is that the king can be counted in among Boniface's correspondents, since Ælfwald addressed a letter to the missionary in the late 740s promising prayers from the seven monasteries in his kingdom.[65]

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[54] The *VSG* is attested in thirteen manuscripts in total, of which nine were written or owned in England up to c. 1100: see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 88, 103, 215, 344, 434.5, 456, 484, 781, and 804.

[55] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. by Colgrave, pp. 7-15; Roberts, 'An Inventory'; *The Guthlac Poems*, ed. by Roberts; Roberts, 'The Old English Prose Translation'; Roberts, 'The Old English Saints', pp. 441-445; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', pp. 77-84; Roberts, 'Guthlac, St'.

[56] Bede's knowledge of Mercia has been defined as 'patchy': Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, p. 7. As to Ælfric, his reliance on Bede as a favoured source for Anglo-Saxon saints is probably the reason behind his omission of Guthlac: see Di Sciacca, '"concupita, quaesita, ac petita solitudinis secreta"', pp. 174-175.

[57] Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*'; Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents'; *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ed. by Love, pp. xviii-xxxiii; Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources'; Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English'.

[58] Roberts, 'An Inventory', pp. 201 and 203-204; *The Guthlac Poems*, ed. by Roberts, pp. 19-29; Roberts, '*Guthlac A*'; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', pp. 77-80 and 82-84; Roberts, 'Guthlac,

It is possible that Felix was a monk at one of these seven East Anglian foundations. Otherwise, the only evidence concerning Felix and his environs is that provided by the *VSG* itself. In spite of its heavy debt to previous saints' lives and the author's frequent concessions to hagiographic topoi, the *VSG* reveals a closeness to the events related and the characters portrayed.[66]

St', p. 227; Wieland, '*Aures Lectoris*', p. 177, n. 43; Whatley, 'Guthlacus, vita', pp. 246-247; Hall, 'Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity', pp. 208-210; *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. and trans. by Rauer, pp. 80-81 and 252. On the Latin literary sources of Felix's *Vita* and their interaction with native oral tradition, see Wieland, '*Aures Lectoris*', pp. 170-177.

[59] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 16; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 59, 63, and 66-71.

[60] *BHL*, no. 2021; *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 140-307.

[61] Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', p. 186; Higham, 'Guthlac's *Vita*', p. 85; Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, p. 5.

[62] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 16 and 60.

[63] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 16; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, pp. 59, 63, and 66-71.

[64] *VSG*, chpt. xlviii: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 146-149 and 191. According to the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis*, Ecgburh was abbess of Repton, Guthlac's own motherhouse, but this is 'probably pure guess-work': Meaney, 'Felix's Life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth', pp. 30-31; cf. *The Guthlac Poems*, ed. by Roberts, p. 5; Roberts, '*Guthlac A*', p. 70.

[65] *Epistola* lxxxi: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius*, ed. Tangl, pp. 181-182; English translation in *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. by Emerton, pp. 149-150.

[66] Meaney, 'Felix's Life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth', p. 30.

Hence the impulse to connect Felix with the very same foundations to which Guthlac himself had been attached. In fact, the *VSG* mentions only one monastery, namely Repton, the double house in Derbyshire where Guthlac received his (Petrine) tonsure and from where he set off for the fens after two years of monastic training. What is more, Repton was associated with the Mercian royal house and Æthelbald (d. 757), king of Mercia in Felix's lifetime and a devotee of St Guthlac, was buried there.[67] From the account of Guthlac's eremitic life in Crowland, however, it is clear that the saint must have relied on the logistic support of a neighbouring foundation, which is never named by Felix. According to Meaney, the most likely candidate for the role of Guthlac's base was Medeshamstede (Peterborough today), a monastery only about seven miles south of Crowland and one of the most influential and thriving foundations in the area at the time.[68]

Why Felix should have kept quiet about Medeshamstede's putative role as Guthlac's logistic base is a matter of speculation,[69] as is the question of whether Felix himself could have been a member of either Repton or Medeshamstede. What seems certain is that he cannot have been a monk of Crowland, since it is unlikely that the local abbey predates the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement.[70] Thus, all that can be concluded at this stage is that Felix must have been active in a Southumbrian, presumably East Anglian, centre endowed with a library of remarkable size.[71] Indeed, the wide range of sources and their subtle integration and layering as well as the ornate, flamboyant Latin displayed by Felix reveal that he was a well-read, sophisticated author who must have benefited from a high standard of Latin training and access to a well-stocked library.[72] In particular, Felix seems to have been thoroughly conversant with and heavily influenced by Aldhelm,[73] who, notably, is also the earliest literary witness to the circulation of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England.

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[67] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 6-7, 15-16, 19, 40, 131, 139, 176, and 188; Keynes, 'Æthelbald'; Kelly, 'Ceolred (d. 757)'; Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', p. 76. Æthelbald's interaction with Guthlac is the subject of much of the so-called Guthlac Roll: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 12-14; Roberts, 'An Inventory', p. 208.

[68] Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: History or Hagiography?', pp. 78-79.

[69] *Ibidem.*

[70] Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature', pp. 70-71; Roberts, 'Guthlac, St', p. 227.

[71] Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: History or Hagiography?', p. 75.

[72] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 16-18; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 25-66; Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: History or Hagiography?', p. 75; Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', p. 186.

[73] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 17-18; Lapidge, 'The Anglo-Latin Background', p. 13; Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', p. 186; Wieland, '*Aures Lectoris*', pp. 171-172.

The *Synonyma* as a Source of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*

The borrowing from the *Synonyma* occurs in one of the central chapters of the *VSG*, that is in a section of the life which recounts the early stages of Guthlac's anachoresis and his strenuous fights with the evil spirits infesting the barrow he had chosen as his hermitage. In particular, the chapter in question tells how two devils in human form suddenly materialise in front of Guthlac while the saint is meditating and deceptively try to tempt him to fast to excess by admonishing him about the examples set by the illustrious hermits of the past – Christ himself, Moses, Elijah, and the Egyptian monks – who had all excelled in their abstinence.[74] The quote from the *Synonyma* is embedded within the lengthy address by the two demons and reads:[75]

> Quanto enim in hoc saeculo frangeris, tanto in perpetuum solidaris: et quanto in praesenti adfligeris, tanto in futuro gaudebis.
> ('For insofar as you are broken down in this world, you shall be made whole and firm in eternity; and to the degree that you are afflicted in this present life, so much shall you rejoice in the future'.)

The principle that the more one suffers in this life the more one will rejoice in eternity can be considered a commonplace tenet of Christian ethics. However, a comparison with the *Synonyma* (i. 28) shows a verbatim debt to Isidore, in that Felix's phrasing and wording are basically identical with the source-text:[76]

> Quanto enim in hoc saeculo frangimur, tanto in perpetuum solidamur; quanto in praesenti adfligimur, tanto in futuro gaudebimus.
> ('For insofar as we are broken down in this world, we shall be made whole and firm in the eternal world; to the degree that we are afflicted in this present life, so much shall we rejoice in the future'.)

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[74] On the psychological or physical nature of such demonic apparitions, see Meaney, 'Felix's Life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth', pp. 36-40; Vos, 'Demons Without and Within'; Almond, *The Devil*, pp. 111-117 and 206-216.

[75] *VSG*, chpt. xxx: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 99. 24-26, translation at 100.

[76] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. 23; my translation.

The only notable discrepancy is that, while in the *Synonyma* the verbs are in the first person plural, in the *VSG* they are in the second person singular, which can be explained by the dialogical context of Felix's text.[77]

The quote from the *Synonyma* is a brief extract from a longer passage uttered by Reason and devoted to the principle of inverse proportion ruling the destiny in the afterlife (*Synonyma* i. 27-30). In view of the concision of the borrowing, on the one hand, and of the frequency with which the *Synonyma* were abstracted and epitomised throughout the Middle Ages, on the other, it could be expected that Felix had known the Isidorian sentence second-hand and picked it from a *florilegium* or a devotional collection. Indeed, the sentence in question occurs in the *Liber scintillarum* (chpt. i. 29):[78]

> Quantum enim in hoc saeculo frangimur, tantum in perpetuo solidamur. Quantum hic in presente adfligimur, tantum in futuro gaudebimus.
> ('For insofar as we are broken down in this world, we shall be made whole and firm in the eternal world; to the degree that we are afflicted here in the present, so much shall we rejoice in the future'.)

This passage from the *Liber scintillarum* has been classified as Felix's direct source in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database,[79] while more recently Bremmer has argued that it is not possible to determine whether the *VSG* draws directly on Isidore or on Defensor's excerpt.[80]

What is certain, however, is that Felix and Defensor ultimately relied on two different recensions of the *Synonyma*, at least as far as the quote in question is concerned. This sentence features in both Λ and Φ, but while the *VSG* shares four distinctive readings with the Λ recension, namely *quant**o*** (x2) and *tant**o*** (x2), Defensor's text as we know it from Rochais' edition features the corresponding Φ-readings, namely *quant**um*** and *tant**um***; also,

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[77] The passage from the *Synonyma* was eventually translated into Old English in both the Vespasian Life and Vercelli Homily xxiii, while it has no counterpart in *Guthlac A* and *B*: see Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 99-103.

[78] *Defensor Liber scintillarum*, ed. by Rochais, p. 173; my translation. On the *Liber scintillarum*, see above n. 41.

[79] Love, 'The Sources of Felix'.

[80] Bremmer, 'The Reception of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*', pp. 83-84.

Defensor adds the adverb *hic* in the phrase *hic in presente* which is not recorded in any of the witnesses collated by Elfassi.[81]

This circumstance is consistent with the general picture of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript tradition of the *Synonyma,* according to which the Λ recension was the first to reach Anglo-Saxon England and had the widest circulation there. Felix predictably knew this text of the *Synonyma,* while the compiler of a continental *florilegium* such as the *Liber scintillarum,* whether from Ligugé or not,[82] presumably drew on the predominantly continental Φ recension.

Now, at least two Southumbrian witnesses of the Λ recension are contemporary with the *VSG*, namely the St Petersburg and Würzburg manuscripts. In particular, Felix's text seems to be closer to the latter codex, in that both read *futur**o*** while the corresponding reading in the St Petersburg manuscript is *futur**um***.[83]

The St Petersburg manuscript has been traced to a south-west English scriptorium, but it was eventually moved to the insular foundation of Corbie by the middle of the eighth century; indeed part of the contents, including the final part of the *Synonyma,* were added at Corbie.[84] In addition to its early date and Southumbrian origin, the St Petersburg *Synonyma* are especially relevant to us for their links with two Anglo-Saxon *literati* that, together with Felix, are the earliest named readers of the *Synonyma* in England, namely Aldhelm and Boniface, and whose writings, especially Aldhelm's, were current in the milieu where the *VSG* originated. Indeed, in the St Petersburg codex the *Synonyma* are bracketed by an acrostic poem on St John, *Iohannis celsi rimans mysteria caeli,*[85] which has been attributed, albeit not universally, to Boniface, and by Aldhelm's *Enigmata.*[86] What is more, it has been argued – again not unanimously – that one of the hands at work on the codex was that of Boniface himself, whose handwriting has apparently been detected in the two texts preceding the *Synonyma,* namely a copy of the Athanasian creed (*Quicumque uult*) and the St John poem.[87] If the St Petersburg manuscript really is a Bonifatian autograph, then it must be dated before 718, when Boniface set off for the continent. Boniface could even have played a role in the arrival of the codex itself on the continent because the St Petersburg manuscript could have been part of an exchange of gifts between Boniface and Grimo, abbot of Corbie (741-751).[88]

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[81] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. 23. Indeed, according to Elfassi, the *Liber scintillarum* relies on a contaminated Φ-text of the *Synonyma* similar to the text transmitted by an early ninth-century south German manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6330 (Elfassi's ms. m): Elfassi, 'Defensor de Ligugé', pp. 246-248; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. li-lii.

[82] See above, n. 41.

[83] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. 23.

[84] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 69 and 72; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 158-161; cf. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and Bakhtine, *Les anciens manuscrits latins*, p. 66.

[85] Schaller and Könsgen, *Initia carminum latinorum*, no. 8331; ptd. PLS, iv, col. 2192.

[86] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 69 and 72.

There is also a Bonifatian dimension to the Würzburg *Synonyma.* The bishopric of Würzburg was established by Boniface in 741 or 742 and the *Synonyma* seems to have been 'besonders [beliebt] in Würzburg'.[89] At least five manuscripts of the Isidorian text dating up to the first half of the ninth century are associated with Würzburg and the codex M. p. th. f. 79 is the earliest of them.[90] Dating to the first half, possibly the first quarter, of the eighth century, this manuscript has been traced to a Mercian or southwestern centre with Frankish cultural contacts, probably Worcester, on the basis of both the palaeographical evidence and the dialectal features of a number of Old English drypoint glosses roughly contemporary with the production of the manuscript.[91] The codex reached the Rhine-Main area by the end of the eighth century or beginning of the ninth and finally arrived at Würzburg, likely via Mainz, Boniface's see, by the mid-ninth century.[92] Once in Germany, a number of drypoint glosses in an east Frankish dialect were entered in a hybrid minuscule which has been dated to the early ninth century and classified as 'nachbonifatianisch' and 'deutsch insular'.[93]

It would be tempting to speculate that Felix consulted one of these two manuscripts, especially the Würzburg one with which it shares the reading *futuro.* However, if the dating of the two codices is consistent with this hypothesis, their putative places of origin (a southwestern English scriptorium for the St Petersburg codex, and a Mercian or southwestern centre, possibly Worcester, for the Würzburg one), do not correspond with the proposed East Anglian place of composition for Felix's *VSG.* Here Felix must have had access to at least one copy of the Λ-text of the *Synonyma* (whether in its entirety or in excerpts); in particular, this copy probably contained a text closer to the one preserved in the Würzburg codex. As mentioned above, Felix's putative East Anglian mother-house must have been provided with an extensive library, where hagiographic sources as well as Aldhelm's works must have featured prominently. The final part of this chapter will attempt to sketch out the contents of such a library and the original milieu of the *VSG*.

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[87] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 72 and 244-245, nn. 429 and 431.

[88] Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 160-161; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xxxvii.

[89] Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, p. 96.

[90] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 72-74; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 164-165; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, pp. xlii-xliii (ms. U), xliii-xliv (ms. W), xliv-xlv (ms. X), lvii (ms. w), and lviii (ms. y).

[91] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 68-69 and 71-72; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 164-165; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xliv.

[92] *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xliv.

[93] Thurn, *Die Handschriften*, III.1, p. 66; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, p. 72; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', p. 158; *Isidori Hispalensis Synonyma*, ed. by Elfassi, p. xliv.

The Literary Milieu of the *Vita S. Guthlaci*

Quellenforschung on the *VSG* has shown that Felix relied on an ingrained knowledge of scripture as well as on an extensive hagiographic library ranging from the lives of the two archetypal Desert Fathers, Antony and Paul the Hermit, to the two most influential hagiographies of the western Middle Ages, Sulpicius's *Vita Martini* and Gregory the Great's *Vita Benedicti,* to the lives of two of the earliest insular saints, Fursey and, especially, Cuthbert.[94] Indeed Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* is the saint's life to which Felix is most indebted, so much so that 'it is difficult to imagine that Felix was not in some way attempting to create an East Anglian counterpart to Cuthbert'.[95] Finally, Felix was familiar with Virgil and the *VSG* is frequently scattered with Virgilian echoes,[96] as is the case with the chapter in which the borrowing from the *Synonyma* occurs.

Guthlac's vision of the two devils and their long address to the saint on the spiritual benefits of extreme fasting where the quote from the *Synonyma* is embedded do not have an exact antecedent. In general, the whole passage could be described as Antonian, in that, although Antony himself does not experience an equivalent vision, in a long speech recorded in Evagrius's Latin version of the *Vita Antonii* (chpt. xvi),[97] the saint warns his disciples against the devil's mischievous attempt to lure monks to ascetic excesses only to throw them into despair.[98] The Antonian resonances are corroborated at the end of the relevant chapter of the *VSG,* when Guthlac dispels his demonic antagonists who ultimately vanish like smoke from his presence into thin air.[99] As Downey has demonstrated, this sentence represents 'a particularly complex moment of source-layering',[100] because it conflates a phrase possibly from Virgil's *Aeneid* (XII, 591-592),[101] but more likely from Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* where it describes the saint's dispelling of a false devilish fire,[102] with a biblical echo of Psalm lxvii. 2-3.[103] Notably, the same psalm is chanted by Antony in a similar context of demonic harassment and it is probably through the *Vita Antonii* that the scriptural quote filtered into Felix's text, where it is in turn echoed three more times, always to describe Guthlac's chasing away of devilish tormenters.[104]

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[94] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 16-18; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 25-66.

[95] Downey, 'Intertextuality', p. 59; see also Wieland, '*Aures Lectoris*', p. 171.

[96] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 17.

[97] *BHL*, no. 609; ptd. PL, lxxiii, cols. 125-170. On the *Vita Antonii* in Anglo-Saxon England, see Whatley, 'Antonius, vita'; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 119, 175, 179, 196, 229, 234, 238, and 281. On the *Vita Antonii* as a source of the *VSG*, see Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 33-39.

The sophisticated integration of sources and multiple criss-crossing of intertextual and intratextual borrowings has been shown to be the most characteristic of Felix's compositional techniques.[105] Indeed, in view of this practice, I would suggest that the above-quoted *fumus*-simile might provide a further link, albeit an indirect one, between the *VSG* and the *Synonyma,* particularly with the most popular and elaborated-on passage from the Isidorian text, namely the *ubi sunt.*[106] The *ubi sunt* passage of the *Synonyma* itself does not mention any smoke – the two concluding similes read ‘quasi umbra transierunt, uelut somnium euanuerunt’ (‘they passed away as if they were a shadow, they vanished like a dream’)[107] –, but no fewer than six Anglo-Saxon *ubi sunt* passages, four in Latin, namely Aldhelm’s *Epistola ad Acircium,* Boniface’s Epistles ix and lxxiii, and the anonymous sermon *In nomine Domini* in ms. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, and two in Old English, namely the anonymous homilies Napier xlix and Irvine vii, feature a smoke-simile and they are all demonstrably derivative of the *Synonyma.*[108]

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[98] Similar admonitions are also found in classics of medieval monastic literature: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 184.

[99] 'velut fumus a facie eius vacuas in auras evanuit': *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 100. 10-11, translation at p. 101.

[100] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 63-65, quotation at p. 63.

[101] The sentence in question likens panicking townspeople to bees smoked out of their hive: 'Voluitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco / Intus saxa sonant, vacuas ut fumus ad auras' (a terrible reek rolls through their house, and then the rocks resound within with their blind buzzing, and smoke goes into the empty air): translation by Downey, 'Intertextuality', p. 63, n. 230.

[102] 'fugator auctor fallaciarum ficta secum incendia uacuas reportaret in auras' ('the author of lies, having been put to flight, took his feigned fire back into the empty air'): *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 198. 22-23, translation at p. 199. Bede's text offers a more pertinent antecedent than Virgil context-wise: cf. *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 100; Love, 'The Sources of Felix'; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 63-64.

[103] 'Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius; sicut deficit fumus deficiant' ('let God rise up, and let his enemies be scattered, and let those who hate him flee from his face; let them fade away just as smoke fades away'): Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 38-39, translation at p. 38, n. 123.

[104] *VSG*, chpts. xxxiii, xxxiv, and xlix: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 108. 17-18, 110. 15-17, and 150. 2; Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 30 and 38-39.

[105] Downey, 'Intertextuality', pp. 25-66.

[106] Isidore's *Synonyma* represent the major source for the *ubi sunt* topos in the western Middle Ages: Gilson, *Les idées et les lettres*, pp. 14-15 and 33. As concerns Anglo-Saxon England in

As has been shown, the ultimate source for the *fumus*-simile itself in these Anglo-Saxon *ubi sunt* passages is biblical, that is Wisdom V. 13-15. In particular, in Aldhelm’s and Boniface’s *ubi sunt* passages, this scriptural echo was spontaneously triggered by and conflated with the *Synonyma,* a text which itself often echoes the Old Testament.[109] Given Felix’s scriptural know-how and familiarity with Aldhelm’s corpus, on the one hand, and his distinctive multi-layering of sources, on the other, it is possible that his image of the devil vanishing like smoke might betray, besides Virgilian or Bedan antecedents, also an echo of the Aldhelmian elaboration of the *fumus*-simile in the *Epistola ad Acircium.*

As to Boniface, although no firm evidence exists concerning Felix’s knowledge and use of his writings, Boniface exchanged letters with at least two royal personages mentioned in the *VSG* who were contemporaries of Felix himself, namely the very dedicatee of the *uita,* the East Anglian king Ælfwald, and the Mercian king Æthelbald. The former was probably a subject king to the latter, and indeed Æthelbald features prominently in the *VSG* as a pious devotee of the saint, who frequently visited Guthlac for counsel and encouragement during his youth as an exile and who generously enriched Guthlac’s shrine after he had finally ascended to the throne.[110]

Notably, Æthelbald is the addressee of one of the two above-mentioned epistles by Boniface featuring the *ubi sunt* motif and the concluding

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particular, Cross demonstrated that the Isidorian text is ‘quite the favourite individual source’ for the *ubi sunt* passages in Old English prose and poetry: Cross, ‘“Ubi sunt” Passages in Old English’, p. 25; Di Sciacca, ‘Il topos dell’*ubi sunt*’; Di Sciacca, ‘The *ubi sunt* Motif’; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 105-159.

[107] My translation.

[108] Di Sciacca, ‘An Unpublished *Ubi Sunt* Piece’, pp. 226-238; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 116-124, 128-129, 134, and 149-156.

[109] Di Sciacca, ’An Unpublished *Ubi Sunt* Piece’, pp. 237-238; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 20-22 and 152-155.

[110] *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac,* ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 6-7, 15-16, 19, 40, 131, 139, 176, and 188; Keynes, ‘The Kingdom of the Mercians’, pp. 7-8; Keynes, ‘Æthelbald’; Kelly, ‘Ceolred (d. 757)’; Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, pp. 5-7; cf. Higham, ‘Guthlac’s *Vita*’.

fumus-simile, namely Epistle lxxiii.[111] Here the Mercian king is depicted in far less flattering terms than in the *VSG*, as Boniface sternly reprimands Æthelbald for his depraved mores and violations of church privileges and property. With its emphasis on the transience of any worldly grandeur, the *ubi sunt* paragraph perfectly fits Boniface's admonition to the king to amend his wicked ways. Indeed, this letter can be considered as a veritable manifesto of church reform. It was authored by Boniface but nominally signed by seven other Anglo-Saxon bishops. Given the public dimension of the epistle, it is reasonable to suppose that such a well-read contemporary as Felix, possibly even in personal contact with the king targeted by Boniface, was aware of it and its flamboyant *ubi sunt* passage featuring the *fumus*-simile. Also, stylistic parallels seem to link the Bonifatian *ubi sunt* paragraph and the *VSG*, in that like the latter, the former is of 'derivative, repetitious and innately formulaic nature'.[112] Like Boniface's, Felix's own style and compositional techniques also employ a complex network of intertextual and intratextual resonances, and such a network could well have included Boniface's Epistle lxxiii and its *fumus*-simile.

Finally, a further connection between Boniface's Epistle lxxiii and Felix's *VSG* can be identified in the negative portrayal both authors give of Ceolred, king of the Mercians (709-716), predecessor and distant cousin of Æthelbald.[113] According to Felix, Ceolred had cast Æthelbald into exile and persecuted him further. Indeed, shortly before Guthlac's death, Felix has the saint prophesise to Æthelbald the death of wicked Ceolred and Æthelbald's long-awaited accession to the Mercian throne.[114] Boniface does not touch upon the dynastic controversy implied in Felix's account, but fully agrees with the latter's depiction of Ceolred as a dissolute king who ultimately died raving mad at a banquet (only, unlike Felix, Boniface uses Ceolred as a cautionary example for the equally depraved Æthelbald).

Notably, Boniface had already chastised Ceolred decades earlier, when, recounting the otherworldly vision of the monk of Much Wenlock within his epistle to Eadburg (717-719), he had depicted the soul of the evil king falling prey to a host of demons.[115] This very vision too could provide a further connection between Boniface and the *VSG*, especially the episode of Guthlac's

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[111] *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius*, ed. by Tangl, pp. 146-155; English translation in *English Historical Documents*, trans. by Whitelock, pp. 751-756.

[112] Orchard, 'Old Sources, New Resources', p. 36.

[113] Kelly, 'Ceolred (d. 716)'.

[114] *VSG*, chpt. xlix: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 150 and 192.

[115] Epistle x: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius*, ed. by Tangl, pp. 8-15 at p. 14; English translation in *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. by Emerton, pp. 25-31. See also Sims-Williams, *Religion*

descensus ad inferos, when at the height of a demonic assault, the saint is carried by a host of devils to the gates of hell and there he is made to witness the torments inflicted on the damned souls and threatened to be cast down into the hellish abyss, but is eventually rescued due to his faithfulness and the intercession of St Bartholomew.[116] Although to my knowledge no specific debt of the *VSG* to Boniface's account of the Wenlock vision has been pinpointed, it is nevertheless significant that Guthlac's *descensus ad inferos* has been associated with other early Anglo-Saxon visions, including those of Dryhthelm[117] and Fursey,[118] as making up 'a visionary tradition in early Anglo-Saxon ascetic circles in which the Latin and literary and the vernacular and oral intermingled'.[119]

In sum, although the evidence concerning Felix's knowledge of Boniface's texts remains largely circumstantial, I think there is a strong possibility that they too circulated in Felix's circle, where – it must be remembered – the works of Boniface's great model, Aldhelm, proved so influential. Not unlike Aldhelm, Boniface, one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon admirers of the *Synonyma* and an enthusiastic propagator of the Isidorian text in the Anglo-Saxon missions on the continent, could have endorsed a broader appreciation of the *Synonyma*.

Conclusion

Analysis of the *Synonyma* excerpt in the *VSG* contributes interesting data as to the circulation of this Isidorian text in Anglo-Saxon England, in that it confirms that by the mid-eighth century the *Synonyma* were already widely disseminated in Southumbrian England. In particular, the text circulating at this stage seems to have been that of the Λ-recension. The St Petersburg and the Würzburg manuscripts of the *Synonyma* are the earliest witnesses

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and Literature, pp. 243-272; Sims-Williams, 'A Recension of Boniface's Letter to Eadburg'; Bolintineanu, 'Towards A Poetics of Marvellous Spaces', pp. 32-35.

[116] *VSG*, chpts. xxxi-xxxiii: *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 100-109. On Guthlac's *descensus ad inferos*, see the recent study by Giliberto, 'The *Descensus ad inferos*'.

[117] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, V. 12: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 488-499. See also Giliberto, 'The *Descensus ad inferos*', pp. 245-254. On the influence of a seventh-century Spanish text, the *Prognosticon* by Julian of Toledo, on the depiction of the otherworld in the visions of the monk of Much Wenlock and Dryhthelm, see Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday*, pp. 77-140; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 177-179.

[118] Whatley, 'Furseus, vita'; Giliberto, 'The *Descensus ad inferos*', pp. 241-245; Roberts, *Guthlac of Crowland*, pp. 18-24.

[119] Clemoes, *Interactions of Thought and Language*, pp. 25-26.

of this recension and Felix also seems to have consulted a Λ-text, indeed a version of the text which was apparently close to the Würzburg *Synonyma.* The locales to which Felix and the Würzburg manuscript have been traced, an East Anglian foundation and a southwestern centre, possibly Worcester, respectively, do not seem to be compatible and the circumstances of both Felix's life and the itinerary followed by the Würzburg *Synonyma* from its original scriptorium to the continent are just too hazy to posit a definite association between them. It is therefore safer to suggest that Felix must have had access to another Λ-copy of the *Synonyma,* possibly related to the Würzburg codex, thereby virtually expanding our estimates of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript tradition of the *Synonyma.* Alternatively, it could be speculated that what Felix consulted was an excerpt or a *florilegium,* based on a Λ-text or even on the Würzburg *Synonyma.*

Previous scholarship has pointed out that the *Synonyma* proved especially popular with Anglo-Saxon anonymous homilists, and that in pre-Conquest England the Isidorian work contributed to the definition of a specifically Anglo-Saxon stock of eschatological, penitential, and devotional motifs. As an eschatological and devotional source, the *Synonyma* were often associated with that corpus of texts, mostly of eastern origin and Irish-transmitted, which shaped Anglo-Saxon cosmology and vision literature as well as spirituality and devotion.[120]

Within the wide pre-Conquest readership of the *Synonyma,* there are at least two distinctive intellectual environments from the early Anglo-Saxon period where the *Synonyma* were particularly appreciated, namely Aldhelm's entourage and, in turn, that of Aldhelm's great epigone, Boniface. Not only did Aldhelm and Boniface demonstrably draw on the Isidorian text in their own writings, but Boniface and his fellow missionaries also actively promoted the diffusion of the *Synonyma* in the area of the Anglo-Saxon missions on the continent.[121]

The evidence from the *VSG* both confirms and augments this picture. Through Felix's work we can glimpse a milieu that, besides holding Aldhelm in high esteem and demonstrating an extensive scriptural and hagiographic proficiency, nurtured an interest in eremitic values and had a detailed knowledge of some of the key hagiographies concerning the founders of eastern monasticism, namely Antony and Paul the Hermit, as well as

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[120] Di Sciacca, 'The *ubi sunt* Motif'; Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 159-164.

[121] Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, pp. 51-52, 72-74, and 151-55; Hussey, 'The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma*'; Hussey, 'Ascetics and Aesthetics', pp. 77-140; Hussey, '*Transmarinis litteris*', pp. 150-151 and 166-168.

Guthlac's own 'predecessor' as native Anglo-Saxon hermit-saint, namely Cuthbert.[122] Thus, the *VSG* affords precious evidence as to the association of the *Synonyma* with hagiographies specifically devoted to hermit-saints, which confirms the ascetic component of the Isidorian text and helps to illustrate and explain its fortune as a classic of monastic spirituality in the western Middle Ages.[123] More specifically, analysis of the *VSG* brings into sharper focus the literary corpus to which the *Synonyma* probably belonged in pre-Norman England and to sketch out a more detailed picture of the Anglo-Saxon library to which they virtually belonged.

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[122] It should be reminded that Cuthbert and the *Synonyma* are also joined up in the abovementioned Munich manuscript Clm 15817 – itself a continental codex but probably derived from an insular antigraph – where the Isidorian text follows the earliest surviving copy of the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti*: see above, p. 137.

[123] Fontaine, 'Isidore de Séville auteur "ascétique"', p. 164; Elfassi, 'Trois aspects inattendus', p. 197; Elfassi, 'La réception des *Synonyma*', pp. 112-117.

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8 Hispania et Italia

Paul the Deacon, Isidore, and the Lombards

Christopher Heath

The jurist and philologist Friedrich Lindenbrog's (1573-1648) edition of *Diversarum gentium historiae antiquae tres* – published in 1640 and dedicated to Johann Friedrich (1579-1634), the Archbishop (administrator) of Bremen and Bishop of Lübeck – associated three authors who provided histories of the origins and migrations of peoples.[1] Lindenbrog collated three authors in this work: first, the *De Regnorum ac temporum successionibus* of Jordanes (better known as the *Historia Romana*);[2] three items of Isidore of Seville;[3] and a *De Gestis Longobardorum*, better known as the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paul the Deacon.[4]

It is not entirely surprising that Lindenbrog should collect these writers and their works in one volume. His note to the readers emphasises the connections between the origins of the 'Germans' and the relevance of the works of Jordanes, Isidore and Paul as materials for the early histories of their peoples.[5] At the same time, Isidore of Seville and Paul the Deacon embody authors who not only delineate the origins of the *gens* upon which they write but also, through their works, assist in shaping the ethnic constructions that we term Visigoth and Lombard. As they composed their histories, we see the processes that have been termed *ethnogenesis* begin to crystallise so that both social (peoples, power) and spatial zones (geography) coalesce. Where previously in the late sixth-century both Visigothic and Lombard kings had endeavoured to perpetuate political, socio-economic and cultural hegemony over populations of Hispano- and Italo-Romans by the enforcement of legal separation, both kingdoms began to mould a territorial identity which encompassed, commanded and acquired the loyalties, or at least aimed to do so, of all the inhabitants under their rule.[6]

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[1] Lindenbrog, *Diversarum gentium,* p. 8.

[2] Mommsen (ed.), *MGH AA: Iordanis Romana et Getica & Mierow, The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*. For the *Historia Romana* see Christensen, Cassiodorus, pp. 103-109.

[3] Isidore's *De Gothis, Wandalis et Suevis* (i.e. *Historia Gothorum*), *De Origine Gothorum* and the *Chronicon Regnum Wisigothorum*.

[4] Waitz (ed.), MGH SrL; Foulke (trans.), *History of the Lombards*; and, Capo, *Paolo Diacono*.

[5] Lindenbrog, Diversarum gentium, p. 10 *In tanta vetorum scriptorum, qui res gestas maiorum nostrorum litteris tradiderunt, raritate omnino necessum est, eos pro bonis ut habeamus…* ('In many of the oldest writings which set down the deeds of our ancestors in books, it is rarely always necessary, that we have them for the good things…').

How the situation on the ground affected the context and content of the narratives of both Isidore and Paul the Deacon has been the subject of considerable recent interest and debate. Whilst the influence of Gregory of Tours, for instance, on Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* (hereafter *HL*) has been acknowledged, and the inspiration provided by both the examples of Jordanes and Bede in prompting Paul to compose a general work of history on the Lombards has been identified, the influence of Isidore at significant junctures in Paul's work and thought have not been sufficiently addressed. Isidore generally and his *Etymologiae sive Origines* specifically had a profound impact on the cultural and intellectual developments of the late eighth- and early ninth-centuries that we know as the Carolingian 'Renaissance'. As Laistner pointed out in 1957:

> The *Etymologiae* far surpassed (in demand) any other of his [i.e. Isidore's] books in popularity; for this encyclopaedia was a *sine-qua-non* in every monastic library of any pretensions. Its use by a long list of writers from the seventh to the tenth century is easily demonstrable, it appears constantly in medieval library catalogues, and the number of extant manuscripts is exceedingly great.[7]

Isidore's influence is evident in three of Paul's important works. First, in his earliest historical compilation-composition, the *Historia Romana,* composed at some point in the 760s at the bequest, we are told, of Adelperga of Benevento, daughter of Desiderius (757-74) the last Lombard king;[8] secondly, the *Homiliarium* completed in the 780s upon the direction of

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[6] These processes are complex and multi-faceted. So far as law and the application of process is concerned the concept of individuality rather than territoriality of law persists. See King, 'The alleged territoriality'; and, King, 'King Chindasvind'. For the Lombards, see Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 163-197.

[7] Laistner, *Thought and Letters*, p. 124. For details of the transmission of Isidore's works, see Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi*, pp. vii-ix; Beeson, *Isidor-studien*; Reydellet, La diffusion des Origines, pp. 383-437; and McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 196. For the *De Natura Rerum*, Fontaine, 'La diffusion carolingienne', pp. 108-127. See Melissa Markauskas, Rylands MS Latin 12: A Carolingian example of Isidore's reception into the Patristic Canon in this volume.

[8] Crivellucci (ed.), *Pauli Diaconi*, pp. 3-4. For the dating see p. xxxv; Corbato, 'Paolo Diacono', p. 12; and, Goffart, *Narrators*, pp. 337 and 339.

Charlemagne;[9] and thirdly, his best known and last work, the *Historia Langobardorum,* written in the 790s – the last decade of Paul's life.[10]

The use of Isidore in the first two works is not extensive. Often overlooked and under-rated in the canon of Paul's writings, the *Historia Romana* is a work of three distinct sections. The opening ten books are an amended version of the *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* composed by Eutropius (c. 320-c. 390).[11] The next six books attached to this Eutropian core are Paul's own work with extensive use of Orosius, Jerome and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* to name but three.[12] As one would expect from a work of political history of Rome and the Roman empire up to the time of Justinian (527-65), the Goths are dealt with as an important but incidental element within the orbit of the general narrative. Crivellucci identified six occasions within the extension that appeared to have some Isidorian influence.[13] Whilst Paul was not averse, in common with most early medieval writers, to reproduce lengthy passages verbatim from sources, only one short passage on the death of Transamund, the treatment of the catholic bishops of North Africa, and the career of Fulgentius are close enough to suggest direct use of Isidore. Thus the *Chronica maiora* has:

> [390] *Transamundum Wandalorum rex catholicas ecclesias claudit et cxx episcopos exilio Sardiniam mittit*
> [391] *Fulgentius quoque in confessione fidei et scientia floruit*
> Transamund king of the Vandals shut the catholic churches and sent 120 bishops into exile in Sardinia.
> Fulgentius also flourished in the confession of faith and knowledge.[14]

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[9] Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen-Âge*. For Charlemagne's commendation of the *Homiliarium* see King, *Charlemagne*, p. 208.

[10] Opinion varies as to the year of Paul's death. The best options would place it at some point between 796 and 799.

[11] Bird, *Eutropius*.

[12] Crivellucci (ed.), *Pauli Diaconi*, pp. xxxvi-xliii, and pp. xxxviii-xxxix where Crivellucci lists a total of 46 sources.

[13] These are: *HR* XIV 19,4-6; XV 1, 4-5; XV 6, 7-15; XVI 3 & 4, 8-18, 1-2; & XVI 7, 6-16. In order these deal with: the return of Genseric to Africa; events in Constantinople; the division of the Goths under Alaric and Fritigern; the exile of the North African bishops to Sardinia; and, the career of Fulgentius and Transamund's death.

[14] Mommsen (ed.), *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum II*, p. 474. See Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi*, p. 226. Whilst Bede's *Chronica Maiora* mentions the activities of Transamund – Bede's notice refers to '*ccxx episcopos*' and makes no connected reference to Fulgentius. See Mommsen (ed.), *Auctorum Antiquissimorum III*, p. 306.

And Paul's *Historia Romana* has:

> [XVI 3] *Eo tempore Transamundus qui fratri Honorico apud Africam in Wandalorum regno successerat, fratris vel patris Genserici secutus perfidiam clausis catholicorum ecclesiis cxx episcopos in Sardinia exilio religavit.*
> [XVI 4] *Inter hac tempestas beatus Fulgentius in confessione fidei et scientia floruit.*[15]
> At that time, Transamund who was the brother of Huneric succeeded to the Kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, following the perfidy of his brother and father, Genseric, closing the catholic churches, he sent 120 bishops into exile in Sardinia.
> During this time blessed Fulgentius flourished in the confession of faith and knowledge.

Within the orbit of the *Historia Romana,* Isidore is not a source that Paul draws upon frequently. Whilst the section above suggests a close use of that particular passage for details of events in Vandal Africa, the remaining five passages do not lead us to conclude that there is any particular pattern in Paul's use of Isidore. A similar scenario is presented by Paul's compilation, the *Homiliarium.* A compilation in four parts, the *Homiliarium* uses sermons and homilies from primarily western Patristic fathers. Out of a possible 244 items, Isidore's presence is restricted to two sermons in the *Pars Hiemalis*.[16] This in itself is a little more surprising, given the influence of Isidore upon the court intellectuals at the heart of the Carolingian renaissance.[17] The relative modest footprint of Isidore in these two works need not, however, lead us to the conclusion that Isidore remained a minor influence on Paul globally.[18] For it is in the third work, the *HL,* that there is a closer convergence of aims and interests between the two – in particular, the creation of a narrative that depicts the maintenance of strong and effective orthodox kingship of their respective peoples.

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[15] Crivellucci (ed.), *Pauli Diaconi*, p. 226.

[16] The sermons are items xvi: '*Isidori natalis domini dies ea de causa a patribus votivae'* from the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and item xxxi '*Isidori – in natale sancti Iohannis evangelistae'* from the *De ortu et obitu patrum*. For the sermons and context see: Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires Liturgique Médiévaux*, pp. 425-486; Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium*, pp. 23 & 26; and, Smetana, 'Ælfric', pp. 166-7 which has the most accessible list of items.

[17] See Laura Carlson, Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority: The Use of Isidore in the *Opus Caroli* in this volume.

[18] This is demonstrated in this volume by: Melissa Markauskas, Rylands MS Latin 12: A Carolingian example of Isidore's reception into the Patristic Canon.

The creation of a unified and orthodox Visigothic Iberian kingdom was both difficult and uncertain. In similar circumstances but with different results, the intersection between the social, political, and religious identities of the Lombards also raised questions for Lombard rulers and those they ruled. This was neither straightforward nor un-problematic for Paul or his people. Despite the themes of the *Historia Langobardorum,* where Iberia and the Visigoths remain peripheral to the main thrust of the narrative, Isidore of Seville has an impact upon two important sections in the work. In the first place, as we shall see, Isidore has significant influence upon the ethnographic and historico-geographic material with which Paul commenced book I of the *HL;* and, secondly, his excursus on the Italian provinces in book II of the *HL* provides particular evidence for Paul's knowledge and use of Isidorian materials. This chapter seeks to analyse the etymological and ethnographic responses of Paul's works and how these were formulated and crafted with an eye on the *Laus Spaniae* which introduces Isidore's *Historia Gothorum.* Isidore's image of a Gothic past based on the providential migrations of peoples provided a template for Paul's comments on the origins of the Lombards. Once settled in Italy, Paul could use an Isidorian approach to deal with the difficult (for him) pagan origins and history of his own, now catholic, *gens.* In both respects Isidore's works provided Paul with both answers and solutions. But before we can analyse these elements, we must consider Isidore's responses to the origins of the Visigoths and how these dovetail with modern perceptions of the situation on the ground.

Origines Gentium: Identities, Texts and Ethnicities

Identity and ethnicity and what might be termed the construction of identities through texts are as Pohl has demonstrated an uncertain business.[19] The trajectory in ethno-political terms of the successor 'states' of the western Roman empire and the often opaque processes that produced the Visigothic and Lombard kingdoms have generated considerable scholarly debate.[20] Identity is at the core of these processes, which of course matters as 'the interface between the individual and a given society where social codes, cultural languages and political integration are in flux or are being negotiated'.[21] book IX of Isidore's *Etymologiae sive Origines* provides definitions of languages and nations. Isidore tells us:

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[19] Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus', pp. 375-405. See also Wood, 'Religiones', pp. 126-7.

[20] Some of this debate has been uncharitable at best. The literature is extensive, but for a good introduction to the issues see Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity* which includes papers from

> *Gens est multitudo ab uno principio orta, sive ab alia natione secundum propriam collectionem distincta ut Graeciae, Asiae.*
> A nation is a number of people sharing a single origin or distinguished from another nation in accordance with its own grouping, as the nations of Greece or of Asia Minor.[22]

The writer of history is not exempt from these processes or influences and will influence and be influenced by the contextual situation on the ground. In broad terms, the historian marks the point of contact as narrator/composer/compiler with his motive(s), audience(s) and inspirations. Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* embodies these difficulties. One might characterise Isidore's temporal and spatial experience as being at the sharp end of both the creation and consolidation of a unified and orthodox Visigothic kingdom. As Lung has pointed out Isidore's works of history are written from a Toledan point of view, which flows from 'le centre de l'espace politique'.[23] Yet Isidore himself embodies a somewhat paradoxical position. In terms of ethnicity, in the first place, it is more than likely that both Isidore and his family were Hispano-Romans.[24] Secondly, as a writer, Isidore looks back to Classical Antiquity but at the same time develops an independent response to his world which does not depend upon nostalgia for the Roman Empire. Finally, he acts as an intermediary between clerical and secular culture. How he negotiates these conflicting paradigms is exemplified by

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critics of the 'ethnogenesis model' and a reasoned response from Walter Pohl who is termed a 'prominent spokesman for the *Traditionskern* model'.

[21] de Jong, McKitterick, Pohl & Wood, Introduction, pp. 12-13.

[22] Reta, Casquero & Diaz-y-Diaz (eds.), *San Isidoro de Sevilla*, p. 742; Barney, Lewis, Beach & Berghof (eds. & trans.), *Etymologies*, p. 192; and Henderson, *The Medieval World*, pp. 121-140.

[23] Lung, 'L'image de l'espace', p. 6.

[24] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, pp. 46-48. See also, Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 154-155 which posits a North African origin of the family. Merrills, 'Comparative histories', pp. 35-46, at p. 37 'the unity of *gens* and history under the aegis of the Catholic Church certainly represented a central part of Isidore's historical argument and did much to shape the inclusion or omission of material within his account'.

the approach that he adopts in the structural composition of the *Historia Gothorum*.[25]

The *Historia Gothorum* details the history of the Goths from their bellicose interventions into the ancient Mediterranean basin up until the rule of Swinthila (621-31). Here the Visigoths form the principal narrational spine of the work but, whilst Isidore must have been aware of the heterogeneous landscape of ethnicities in *Hispania,* his work concentrates on the Visigoths as the principal *leitmotif,* using the Vandals and the Sueves as useful and illustrative contrasts to emphasise Visigothic success.[26] A key feature of his approach is to provide an introductory section, now known as the *Laus Spaniae* and to conclude with a complementary *Laus Gothorum.* In this way the reader is aware from the commencement that the *Historia Gothorum* is designed to prove the appropriate and providential rule of the Visigoths in *Hispania.*[27] Isidore is selective in how he presents the origins of the Visigoths and their subsequent adventures. In his discussion of their origins he observes:

> *Gothorum antiquissimorum esse gentem certem est: quorum Originum quidam de Magog Iafeth filio suspicantur a simulitudine ultimae syllabae; et magis de Ezechiela propheta id colligentes. Retro autem eruditi eos magis Getas quam Gog et Magog appellare consueverunt.*
> It is certain that the Gothic people are very ancient. Some suspect that they originated from Magog, son of Japheth on the basis of the similarity of the last syllable, or they conclude the same from the prophet Ezekiel. But in the past learned men were in the habit of calling them '*Getae*' rather than Gog or Magog.[28]

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[25] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*, p. 6 where Isidore is described as 'le dernier philologue de l'Antiquité.'

[26] Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 195-196. Merrills notes that Isidore did not subscribe to the belief in a homogenous Hispano-Roman entity identifying *Gallaeci, Asturi* and *Cantabri* separately within the *Origines*.

[27] Merrills suggests that this approach is in distinct contrast to Jordanes and Paul the Deacon. Whilst not as explicit Paul the Deacon does provide one small pointer to his own similar agenda i.e. *Pari etiam modo et Winnilorum, hoc est Langobardorum gens, quae postea in Italia feliciter regnavit*.(HL I,1) ('In similar fashion, also, the people of the Winnili, that is, of Langobards, which afterwards ruled happily in Italy…') Capo, *Paolo Diacono*, p. 4; and, Merrills, *History and Geography*, p. 36. See also, Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 14.

[28] Mommsen (ed.), *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, p. 268; and, Wolf, *Conquerors*, pp. 80-81 (amended). This from Jerome. Ezekiel reference: 38-9.

Later within the *recapitulatio* that concludes the Gothic part of the history, Isidore returns to the same issue but whilst, once again, we are told that the Goths originated from Magog, a new element is introduced. On this occasion, he remarks that 'they have a common origin with the Scythians. That is why they are not much different in name with one letter changed and one removed. *Getae* becomes *Scythae'*.[29] So far as origins are concerned Isidore depends upon a combination of biblical exegesis and etymological sleight of hand.[30] The fusion of Isidore's political and religious concerns prompts, as Wood has suggested, a 're-write of significant proportions of the history of the Goths', which seeks to reinforce the 'Catholic identity of the Visigothic *gens*'.[31] His treatment of the emperor Valens (364-78) is a case in point. Isidore attributes the blame for Visigothic Arianism to the emperor who had 'sent heretical priests' (*haeriticis sacerdotibus*) in the first place.[32] It was he tells us:

> *Ut in tamen preaclarum gentem virus pestiferum semine pernicioso transfudit sicque errorem, quem recens credulitas ebibit, tenuit dieque servavit.* 'With this pernicious seed [that] he infused a deadly poison into this excellent people, who held and maintained for a long time the error which they had trustingly accepted'.[33]

Subsequently, Isidore attempts to minimise the impact of the Visigothic sack of Rome in 410. In describing this, he details the despoiling of St Peter's Sanctuary and recounts how Alaric directed that the items taken should be returned *dicens cum Romanis gessisse bellum, non cum apostolis* (saying that he was waging war against the Romans, not against the Apostles).[34]

Detailed analyses elsewhere have identified Isidore's cumulative message that the Goths have been re-fashioned by their contact with the Roman and Christian world.[35] Isidore has created an interpretation of Visigothic origins and identity based on an impulse to deal with the new realities on the ground in seventh-century *Hispania.*[36] Isidore's agenda shaped history into a 'picture of the operation of God's will' and his example affected Paul's responses to the origins of his own people, which, as we shall see in what follows, were selective and moulded by Isidore's interpretations.[37]

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[29] *'Gothi de Magog Iafeth filio ori cum Scythia una probantur origine sati, unde nec longe a vocabulo discrepant. Demotata enim ac detracta littera Getae quasi Scythae sunt nuncupati'* Mommsen (ed.), *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, p. 293; and, Wolf, *Conquerors*, p. 107.

[30] See Torreiro, 'El Concepto', p. 57, *'Acogiéndose a la leyenda de Gog y Magog utilizada ya en su día por San Ambrosio come símbolo de las invasiones, el obispo de Sevilla la transformará en un instrumento apologético de los godos'* ('Already in the days of St Ambrosius the legend of Gog and Magog had been used as a symbol of the invasions, the bishop of Seville transformed it into an apologetical instrument of the (Visi-)Goths')

[31] Wood, 'Heretical catholics', pp. 18-20 and pp. 23-4.

[32] Mommsen (ed.)*, MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, p. 270; and, Wolf, *Conquerors,* p. 83.

[33] Mommsen (ed.), *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, p. 270; and, Wolf, *Conquerors*, p. 83.

[34] Mommsen (ed.), *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, p. 274; and, Wolf, *Conquerors*, p. 87.

'These things are worthy of laughter'

Unlike the *Historia Gothorum,* which survives in both short and long redactions that most commentators associate with respectively earlier and later recensions, one cannot identify with ease the process of gestation of the *Historia Langobardorum.* So far as the earliest period of Lombard history is concerned Paul's problems were somewhat similar to Isidore. So far as books I and II were concerned, in particular, Paul was distant in both spatial and temporal terms from his subject matter. One has the impression that paradoxically, due to this distance and the extensive citation of classical authors in the first two books, Paul's sources were rather 'thin' and to compensate, he employs digression and oral witness in the narrative. Thus we find, for instance, notices on whirlpools and Amazons.[38] Isidore's influence in book I, which will be discussed here, however, affects the core origin story provided by Paul and his understanding of its significance.

The story of how the Langobards acquired their name is a well-known narrative that has attracted the attention of scholars such as Stefano Gasparri, Stefano Cingolani, and Walter Pohl, who have considered the importance and presentation of the Lombard origin myth.[39] It was clearly important to Paul to recount the story notwithstanding the pagan ambience of the subject, but the composition of the origin story was one of the most acute examples of his difficulties when composing the *HL.* Classical authors were silent as to Lombard origins and confined their brief and infrequent remarks to observations relating to the Lombards' fierceness in battle and their limitation in number.[40] These textual remarks place the *Winnili* (who subsequently become the *Langobardi*) in the region of the upper Elbe around the first-century C.E. rather than the island of *'Scadinavia'* from which Paul suggested his people first originated.[41] Paul relied upon later material. The story of the origins of the Lombard name survives in three sources: first, the earliest extant source is the *Chronicle* of Fredegar – composed at some point before c. 660 probably in Burgundy;[42] secondly, the *Origo gentis Langobardorum,* also composed in the mid seventh-century provides a short summary of Lombard history from its origins up to the rule of Perctarit (672-88);[43] and, finally, Paul's *HL*. None of these three narratives are entirely the same – and whilst Paul knew and referred to the *OGL* his version remains distinctive. In his narrative, Paul's *Winnili* leave *Scadinavia* and arrive in *Scoringa* where the *Wandali* demand tribute. Battle is prepared when the *Winnili* decline to pay. The *Winnili* and *Wandali* seek divine assistance of Godan and Frea respectively. Frea advises Gambara to ensure that the *Winnili* women fashion their hair into beards and stand with their men in the east.[44] Upon seeing them at sun-rise Godan says:

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[35] See Teillet, *Des Goths*, pp. 463-503 & Wood, 'Religiones and Gentes', pp. 125-8.

[36] Linehan, *History and Historians*, pp. 14 & 17. XIXth-century Spanish historians 'traced back the origins of constitutional progress … to German forests. Liberty was nourished in the shady woods and Visigothic kings were restrained from lapsing into tyranny by the spirit of *indipendencía y libertad* displayed by their sylvan subjects.'

[37] Wood, 'Heretical catholics', p. 20.

[38] For Whirlpools and Amazons see respectively Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 51 & 55; and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, pp. 10 &28.

[39] Gasparri, *La Cultura Tradizionale*; Cingolani, *Le Storie dei Longobardi*; and, Pohl, 'Paolo Diacono', pp. 413-426.

> *Qui sunt isti longibarbi?*
> Who are these long-beards?[45]

Frea then invites Godan to give the now-named *Longobardi* victory over the *Wandali*.

Apart from the clearly pagan atmosphere of the story, two features stand out. In the first place, it is remarkable that Paul should mention the story at all given the presence and importance of Godan and Frea in the text. Why, one wonders, did he bother to include the story at all? Everett suggested that Paul felt 'compelled' to include it 'for fear of disappointing his readers'.[46] It is, of course, impossible to demonstrate that this was true – although any cursory analysis of the *HL* would certainly suggest that Paul enjoyed any opportunity to tell a good story and could exhibit a rather 'gossipy' tone. Secondly, Paul's presentation of the passage is illuminating. At the start of the chapter he indicated:

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[40] Petersen (ed. & trans.), *Tacitus: Germania*, p. 319; Shipley (ed. & trans.), *Velleius Paterculus*, pp. 270-271; and, Cary (ed. & trans.), *Cassius Dio*, p. 11.

[41] See Foulke's note on this: Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 3.

[42] On date and composition see Krusch (ed.), *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, pp. 1-5; and, Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book*, pp. xxii-xxxiii.

[43] Bracciotti, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*.

[44] Gambara was the mother of the *Winnili* leaders Ibor and Aio. See Gasparri, *La cultura tradizionale*.

[45] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 52-3; and, Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 16-17.

[46] Everett, *Literacy*, p. 94.

> *Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam: quod accedentes Wandali ad Godan…*

At this point the men of old tell a silly story about the Vandals coming to Godan…[47] Subsequently he concludes the chapter with this observation:

> *Haec risui digna sunt et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est attributa hominum, sed de caelo potius ministratur.*
> These things are worthy of laughter and are to be held of no account. For victory is due not to the power of men, but it is furnished from heaven.[48]

The passage is thus framed between two markers that distance Paul as author from the material presented but also prepare the reader for his own opinion based upon Isidorian material. This continues in the next chapter where Paul informs us:

> *Certum tamen est, Langobardos ab intractae ferro barbae longitudine, cum primis Winnili dicti fuerint Ita postmodum appellatos. Nam iuxta illorum linguam lang longam, bart barbam significat*
> It is certain, however, that the Langobards were afterwards so-called on account of the length of their beards untouched by the knife, whereas at first they had been called *Winnili*; for according to their language *lang* means long and *bart* beard.[49]

This is clearly an echo of the entry in Isidore's *Etymologiae* where he says *Langobardes vulgo fertur nominatos prolixa barba et numquam tonsa* ('It is commonly said that the Lombards are named *Langobardi* from their widely spreading never cut beard').[50]

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[47] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 52; and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 16.

[48] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 52; and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 17.

[49] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 52-53 and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, pp. 17-18.

[50] Reta et al., *San Isidoro de Sevilla: Etymologiae*, p. 756; and, Barney et al., *The Etymologies*, p. 197. See Green, 'Linguistic and Literary Traces', pp. 174-175.

Here then we see that Paul has used Isidore's etymological definition to emphasise his own point that the origin story of the Lombards should be discounted. There are at the same time less obvious impulses at work which have been affected by Isidore's work. Due to its circulation and importance, he was not able to disregard the tale entirely. Instead, following Isidore's lead where Isidore has managed and manipulated the origins of the Goths, Paul attempted to re-formulate the presentation to mitigate the pagan details of his material. One generation later, the anonymously written *HL Codex Gothani* excluded the origin story of the Lombards entirely and draw a veil of silence over the whole mythic episode, preferring to simply ascribe the name to the length of beards of the *Winnili.*[51] With his second book, the narrative follows the Lombards from the north to Italy and it is here, subsequently, that we can also discern Isidorian influence on the structure and composition of the material.

'Touching briefly upon other provinces of Italy'

Whilst the first book moves the story of the Lombards forward from the north to the Elbe and on to Pannonia and finally Italy, book II deals with the period from the use of the Lombards as unruly allies by Narses in the Gothic wars in 552 up to the murder of the Lombard king, Cleph (572-4) in 574. The structure of the book can be divided as the following slightly simplified schedule shows in the table below:

Table 1 Simplified Structure of Book II of the *Historia Langobardorum*

Section	Subject	Chapters of book II
A^1	The Victory of Narses and the Advent of the Lombards	1-9
	Interlude: Gaul in 561, Pope Benedict I & Paul of Aquileia	10
B^1	The death of Narses & Alboin and the Bishop	11-12
	Interlude: Venantius Fortunatus	13
C	Alboin, Venetia and the Italian Provinces	14-24
A^2	The Undoing of Alboin	25-30
B^2	Cleph and the Lombard Dukes	31-2

Book II has a complex set of interlocking narrative threads that associate, on the one hand, Narses and the misfortunes of Byzantine Italy with, on the other hand, Alboin and the good fortune of the Lombards. If one sets aside the narrative interludes in the structural arrangement, one may discern that the geographical section knits the separate parts of the book together and acts as a chiastic pivot. Standing at this point in the book, the reader is encouraged to associate the Lombard arrival in Italy with providential rule over the entire peninsula and associated islands.[52] Paul's descriptions are not as hyperbolic as the highly accomplished *Laus Spaniae* but nonetheless we are told of the 'very rich cities of Capua, *Neapolis* and *Salernus'* (*opulentissimae urbes*);[53] of the very fertile plain of Capua' (*uberrima*);[54] that Emilia is 'adorned with wealthy cities' (*Haec locupletibus urbibus decoratur*);[55] and Ravenna is the 'most noble of cities' (*nobilissima urbium*).[56] Where one might expect rhetorical flourish or even a riposte to Isidore's classical allusions on Italy in the *Laus Spaniae*, these are not deployed. Instead, Paul's depiction of each of the provinces and his emplacement of it between an account of Alboin's capture of most of *Venetia* and his entry into *Mediolanum* mirrors for the Lombards – the marriage of Iberia and the Visigoths- thus, we understand that it is the Lombards who are the ruler-heirs of the Romans in Italy, as Paul points out at the very start of the book.[57]

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[51] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 7-12; Berto, *Testi Storici*, p. 5 (of the text) for further references.

In terms of content book II of the *HL* has the greatest accumulation of Isidorian material. A significant cluster of references is contained within a section of the book which introduces the provinces of Italy. Debate amongst scholars in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries concentrated on the sources of Paul's excursus, the origins of errors in the text, and the correlations between and across extant manuscript copies.[58] Isidore's influence upon both the formulation and creation of the excursus has attracted rather less attention.[59] There are two features here that merit closer scrutiny: first, the use and knowledge of the *Etymologiae;* and, secondly, the impact of Isidore upon Paul's structural arrangement of the book.

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[52] The closest the Lombard kingdom came to making this a reality was with the capture of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751.

[53] Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 73; and, Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 82.

[54] Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 73; and, Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 82.

[55] Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 74; and, Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 83.

[56] Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 75; and, Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 83.

[57] Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 35-46.

[58] See Jacobi, *Die Quellen*; Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 25-26; Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte;* and Mommsen, 'Die Quellen'.

[59] Waitz insisted that the additions in what he termed the *Catalogus Provinciarum Italiae* were drawn mostly from Isidore – see Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, pp. 188-189. For context, see Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 383.

Paul's excursus on the Italian provinces occupies the central third of book II. In eleven chapters he describes eighteen provinces commencing with *Venetia* and *Histria* in chapter 14 and concluding with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica in chapter 22. There is much of interest in these chapters, not least Paul's extensive use and re-use of classical authorities.[60] It is particularly noteworthy that we see Paul both updating and adapting material from the *Etymologiae* in his text. His notices in this section follow a pattern. He commences with the etymological foundations of the provincial name, discusses particular features of that area (e.g. lakes, mountains), and lists the important cities. In chapter 16, for instance, Paul describes *Tuscia* and Umbria. We are told:

> *Sexta provincia Tuscia est, quae a ture, quod populus illius superstitiose in sacrificiis deorum suorum incendere solebant, sic appellate est.*
> The sixth province is *Tuscia* which is thus called from *tus* which its people were wont to burn superstitiously in the sacrifices to their Gods.[61]

And

> *Umbria autem dicta est, quod imbribus superfuerit, cum aquosa clades olim populos devastaret*
> … and it is called Umbria because it remained above the furious rains when long ago a watery scourge devastated the nations.[62]

Both these passages reveal a connection to Isidore for their etymological foundations. Their example could be replicated with further instances in the geographical section.[63] Whilst this use of Isidore is significant, Paul's adaptation of this structural segment into his historical narrative is of fundamental importance in appreciating Paul's agenda in this part of the *HL.* Although Paul does not explicitly follow the Isidorian arrangement of the *Laus Spaniae* and *Laus Gothorum* to open and close the narrative, his delineation of the Italian provinces allows him to promote Lombard kings as the heirs of the Byzantine Empire in the Italian peninsula.

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[60] For geography in Carolingian Europe see Lozovsky, 'Roman Geography', pp. 325-364. Classical authorities used include Pliny, Pomponius Mela and the *Geographia Ravennatis*.

[61] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 82; and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 72.

[62] Waitz (ed.), *MGH SrL*, p. 82; and, Foulke, *History of the Lombards*, p. 73.

[63] For Isidore's comments see Barney et al., *Etymologies*, p. 196 (Tuscia IX.2.86) and p. 251 (Umbria XIV.4.20); and, Reta & Casquero, *San Isidoro de Sevilla,* p. 184. Further influence may be detected in *HL* II.14, II.17, II.18, II.20 and II.22. II.23 and II.24, which describe how the Galatians and the etymology of Italy are also influenced by Isidore's Etymologies.

The construction of textual identities and the adaptation, adoption, and manipulation of texts is neither straightforward nor simple. Although the focus of Isidore and Paul the Deacon varied, their aims were similar in respect of the creation and progress of their chosen *gentes*. Paul as an'assiduous user of sources' was able to bring Isidore to the foreground in the *HL* on two crucial occasions.[64] As we have noted, Paul provides two readings of the origin story of the Lombards. In the first, he presents a detailed tradition redolent of a northern pagan ambience; but, in the second, familiar to his clerical and intellectual audiences, he not only discounts the story but uses the authority of Isidore to provide a straightforward etymological response. This turn to Isidore, as authority, is illustrative of his use of materials from the *Etymologiae* in book II of the *HL* where Isidore is the basis for his comments – but also, at this point, as a rhetorical template for the description of the Italian provinces. Having associated the Lombards with all of Italy, Paul was subsequently free to develop his themes in the remaining four books of the *HL*.

Although, as we have seen, it is possible to identify the imprint of Isidore's influence in a number of respects in his *HR* and *HL,* Paul does not make explicit reference to the authority of Isidore. Similarly, even though one might be tempted to see Paul's excursus on the Italian provinces as a riposte to Isidore's *Laus Spaniae,* one cannot be certain that Paul knew or consulted Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* and consequently formulated this digression. Instead, it is possible to indicate that Isidore was one of many authorities that Paul used to enhance his work. In this respect, Isidore's authority allowed Paul to approach and resolve the difficult and uncertain history of the Lombards and to provide his own providential account of his own history and *gens*.

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[64] Goffart, Narrators, p. xxxiii.

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9 Rylands MS Latin 12

A Carolingian Example of Isidore's Reception into the Patristic Canon

Melissa Markauskas

Introduction

Rylands MS Latin 12 is a homiliary – a collection of readings set for specific occasions during the liturgical calendar – of medium size (295 x 210 mm).[1] It includes some minimally decorated initials, but otherwise is a quite workman-like, practical copy. It was very likely written at the scriptorium at Luxeuil Abbey, which was originally founded in the late sixth century by the Irish monk Columbanus but refounded in the Carolingian period under the Benedictine rule.[2] This is the period in which the core of the manuscript was written.[3] It remained at Luxeuil until at least the eighteenth century, after which it moved from the continent to London, and ultimately to Manchester.[4]

Setting aside the later addition of the first quire, Rylands MS Latin 12 is arranged liturgically and encompasses the entire year, albeit limited to particular saints' festivals within the calendar.[5] The texts excerpted are for the most part what we would term "Patristic", with Bede appearing as the latest identifiable author. Many, but not all, of the manuscript's choices of readings correspond to the so-called Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*. One particularly noteworthy variation for the purposes of this volume is the curious inclusion of a high number of excerpts of Isidore of Seville's *De Ortu et obitu patrum* (hereafter *DOOP*), a text that was written between 598 and 615 and gives brief accounts of the lives and deaths of a number of figures from the Bible.[6] Isidore combined scriptural material with biblical commentaries and a small number of histories and chronicles to create a sacred chronology focused on the Old Testament.[7] Although by no means one of Isidore's major works, the *DOOP* did circulate relatively widely, often in combination with other Isidorian works, and was excerpted as a source by compilers of biographical catalogues elsewhere in the early medieval West.[8]

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[1] Abbreviations:
PD (I & II) = Homilary of Paul the Deacon, in Grégoire, *Homéliaires Liturgiques Médiévaux*.
PDT = Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, *Homiliae de Tempore*, PL 95, 1159A-1457B.
PDS = Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, *Homiliae de Sanctis*, PL 95, 1457C-1565C.
Rylands = Rylands MS Lat 12. See Appendix 1 for full manuscript description.

[2] Victor Perrin (d.1740), sub-prior of Luxeuil, wrote a description of the manuscript on paper that has since been bound into the manuscript. He discusses as evidence of the MS's Luxeuil origins an inscription copied onto f. 10r: "Luxouio et BRIXIAE . G. IVL . / FIRMAR . IVS . V. S . L . M". See also Salmon, *Le Lectionnaire du Luxeuil*, xliv, who lists this Rylands MS among four definitely copied at Luxeuil.

[3] Dated on paleographical grounds in: Jones, 'Dom Victor Perrin', who concluded that the second to eighteenth quires dated from the early ninth century, produced as a single piece of work.

[4] James and Taylor, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 11*-12*.

[5] See Appendix 1 for full details of the manuscript's contents.

This chapter sheds light on Isidore's reception in the Carolingian period, using this manuscript to consider how and why Isidore would have been re-deployed in this liturgical context. It examines the relationship between the Isidorian material and the other texts with which it was copied in Rylands MS Latin 12 and contextualises the manuscript and the use made of Isidore by reference to Carolingian homiliary production more generally. Discussions of the Carolingian use of Isidore typically focus on his influence on Carolingian historiography.[9] This chapter is instead concerned with Isidore far from the exploits of kings, where he was re-used in a solidly liturgical, monastic context.

Carolingian Homiliaries

Homiliaries as a book-type predate the Carolingian period, but gained wider prominence and production as a highlighted element of Carolingian ecclesiastical reform.[10] In his 802 *De Examinandis Ecclesiasticis,* Charlemagne listed homilies for all feast days among the minimum required knowledge for all priests.[11] The 813 reform councils of Rheims and Tours make specific reference to the duty to preach 'the sermons and homilies of the Holy Fathers'.[12] The statutes of Riculf, of Hincmar of Rheims, and of another anonymous author recommend that individual copies of Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in evangelia* be available for every priest,[12] while the statutes of Haito of Basle demand an unspecified homiliary that encompassed each Sunday and feast day throughout the year.[13] Carolingian imperial and conciliar legislation clearly promoted homiliaries as a necessary part of the Carolingian sacerdotal library. However, this promotion has tended to be narrowly interpreted in light of its potential effect on popular preaching, leading scholars to privilege both the pastoral uses of homiliaries and the contemporary composition of homily texts.[14] This focus ignores the fact that Carolingian copies of Patristic homiliaries far outnumber the so-called 'Carolingian' composed homiliaries.[15] Furthermore, it also overlooks that Charlemagne's one commission for a 'state' homiliary,[16] that given to Paul the Deacon, emphasised a correction and revision of the Night Office drawn from the fathers of the Church, an obviously monastic rather than pastoral use.[17]

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[6] For introduction to the text and further discussion of its key characteristics see: Inglebert, 'Renommée et sainteté', esp. 985-988; the best modern edition is: Chaparro Gómez, *Isidoro de Sevilla. De ortu et obitu patrum*.

[7] Inglebert, 'Renommée et sainteté', 977-988.

[8] Dolbeau, 'Nouvelles recherches'.

[9] E.g. McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 49, 54-55, 238-239, 246-247; see also Christopher Heath's chapter in this volume on Isidore's influence on Paul the Deacon's historical works.

[10] Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, 1-422.

[11] *De Examinandis Ecclesiasticis,* MGH Cap. I, c. 4, 10, p. 358.

As noted in the brief overview of its travels offered above, Rylands MS Latin 12 belongs squarely to a monastic context as it spent the first nine centuries of its existence at Luxeuil Abbey. Its correspondences to the content/arrangement of the so-called Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* also link the manuscript to a monastic context.[18]

Rylands MS Latin 12

Rylands MS Latin 12 has itself been seldom studied, with James's catalogue entry from the 1920s providing only an incomplete identification of the manuscript's contents.[19] My own investigation began by providing firm identification for all Patristic extracts in the manuscript.[20] Thus, I will begin with a brief analysis of the manuscript's construction, decoration, and arrangement to offer a more comprehensive contextualisation of the Isidorian material within the manuscript. I will then outline the overall parallels between the Rylands MS and Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* before turning to the Isidorian material, which appears to be unusual among the family of 'Paul the Deacon'- type homiliaries so far identified.

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[12] Deleeuw, 'Gregory the Great's "Homilies on the Gospels"', 859-865, 859. On Gregory's homilies appearing in known homiliaries, see Étaix, 'Répertoire des Manuscrits', 129-130.

[13] Haito of Basle, MGH Cap. I, c.6, p. 366.

[14] Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, 34, considers Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* to be too exegetical in content for popular preaching, and therefore unlikely to be implied the legislation discussed above.

[15] Deleeuw, 'Gregory the Great's "Homilies on the Gospels"', 865-866.

[16] Charlemagne is claimed to have read the work himself before giving his approval and arranging distribution. His prefatory letter is printed at PL 95, col. 1159.

[17] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 316, links Paul's homiliary with the Carolingian production of a "corrected" Old and New Testament.

[18] For the most recent work on Paul the Deacon's homiliary, including up-to-date bibliography see: McKitterick, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 334', including reference to Paul's use of Isidore at pp. 188-190.

Rylands MS Latin 12 binds together three main sections that show clear signs of separate production. Its core is the final seventeen quires, which are preceded by an additional six leaves of paper and a medieval first quire. The paper leaves contain an eighteenth-century description of the second and third sections by Dom Victor Perrin (d. 1740), the sub prior of Luxeuil Abbey.[21] He indicates that the homiliary began with Fulgentius of Ruspe (f.ir) in his day, so it is certain that the first quire was part of the manuscript at least by this time. A hand very similar to his has written 'homiliae sanctorum patrum' at the top of f.1r, suggesting that Perrin viewed the second and third sections as a whole. However, as the second section contains no Isidorian material, my discussion will focus mainly on the third and largest section.

Quires two through eighteen contain what is described on f.10v, as a 'Liber de Nataliciis Sanctorum'. Though it does not contain the entire liturgical cycle, the material for the saints' feasts found there is arranged according to the liturgical calendar. The main cycle (ff.10v-96r) progresses from St Stephen on the seventh Kalends of January (Dec 26) to St Thomas the Apostle on the twelfth Kalends of January (Dec 21),[22] followed by three readings that are given for the martyrs (ff.96r4-106v3).[23] Next comes a further cycle of *recapitulatia,* alternative readings, which are also arranged liturgically from St Agnes to St Thomas the Apostle (ff. 106v4-132r4).[24] The collection concludes with an incomplete copy of Serapion's *De Octo Principalibus Vitiis* taken from John Cassian (ff.132r5-143v).[25]

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[19] James and Taylor, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 11*-12*.

[20] See Appendix 1.

[21] See Appendix 1, Rylands i.1. James and Taylor, *Catalogue*, 33-36, gives a partial transcription of Perrin's account.

[22] Rylands III.1-39. I will discuss the significance of the particular saints venerated below.

[23] Rylands III.40-42.

[24] Rylands III.43-60.

[25] Rylands III.61. It is difficult to assess the relation to the rest of the collection. The Serapion text is written by the manuscript's main scribe. Jones, 'Victor Perrin', 179. It completes the second

The third section of the homiliary is a working copy with minimal decoration. The text in the third section of the homiliary appears in consistent one-column blocks with an average of twenty-nine lines per page. Fifty-three of the sixty-one items begin with rubricated titles, while the other changes of text are indicated with a dot of rubrication in the first letter of the next text[26] or a marginal note.[27] Sometimes there is no indication at all. The textual format for titled items over the first calendrical cycle is usually consistent, with rubric headings listing in order the calendar date,[28] the festal occasion,[29] the gospel from which the homily pericope comes (not always rubricated),[30] the pericope itself (never rubricated),[31] and finally the attributed author.[32] The homily text itself begins with a minimally decorated initial in red and brown-black, the colours of the main text and the rubrication. These initials vary in detail, with few as fine as the initial on f.10v, beginning the first homily. In the remaining items, those described as 'for martyrs' and the recapitularia, the titles omit the calendar date, and more frequently omit the gospel, the pericope, and the author.[33] As a hint towards the manuscript's overall tendencies towards the Isidorian material, which will be discussed later, it is worth noting here that most of the excerpts that omit such details are those taken from the *DOOP*.

The table of homilies of f.10r lists thirty capitula, listing the saint's or saints' names only and eight numerals for *De plurimorum recapitulationibus sanctorum.* This table matches the first thirty 'titled' items in the following folios, though it subsumes several paired items under one *capitulum.* The main hand of f.10v has not filled in attributions for the eight recapitulatia. A further hand has indicated the presence of relevant *recapitulatia* in the margin beside the foot of related readings in the first cycle.[34] The table of homilies and the *recapitularia* marginal notes suggest two methods by

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half of quire XVII and continues over the whole of quire XVIII, but the text remains incomplete. As a further curiosity, the final four lines of the *recapitulatio* for St Thomas at the head of f. 132r have been crossed out.

[26] Rylands III.3-4, ff. 16v10, 17v9.

[27] Rylands III.27, f. 69r15.

[28] Not Rylands III.10, 18, 24, 25, 28, 32.

[29] Rylands III.26 gives the occasion before the date.

[30] Not Rylands III.10, 18, 32.

[31] Not Rylands III.10, 18.

[32] Not Rylands III.19.

[33] Rylands III. 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 53-55, 57, 59-61.

[34] For example, beside f. 64v11, there are two marginal notes (one certainly a "re-copy" of the other) indicating an alternative reading for James, the brother of John the Evangelist.

which the following texts were used, emphasising that quires II-XVIII alone enjoyed use as a complete work in its early life.

Rylands MS Latin 12 and the So-called Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*

Despite their use and production being advocated by Carolingian ecclesiastical reforms, Carolingian homiliaries have been relatively little studied and their serious examination has only begun in recent years. It is still true, as McKitterick noted in the 1970s, in reference to Grégoire's *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge* and the homiliaries printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina,* that studies of the homiliaries themselves remain at the level of catalogue entries, sacrificing much of the richness of manuscript variance.[35] Barré's *Les Homéliaires Carolingiens de l'École d'Auxerre* and Grégoire's more recent *Homéliaires Liturgiques Médiévaux* are invaluable comparisons of most known homiliary collections, but they are by necessity selective rather than exhaustive in their use of manuscripts.[36]

Barre and Grégoire offer indices for the extracts chosen in many Merovingian and Carolingian homiliary collections which pre-date Rylands MS Latin 12.[37] The Rylands MS contains none of the Auxerrois 'Carolingian'-composed homilies, and parallels between the patristic sources reproduced in the Auxerrois homiliaries are few. Among the earlier homiliaries investigated by Grégoire, only Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* offers significant parallels with *Rylands MS Latin 12* sharing almost thirty of its sixty-eight homiletic items.[38] The homiliary of Agimond has the next most concordances: a mere four. The Roman homiliary known as that of Alan of Farfa offers only two.[39] There are no parallels between Rylands MS Latin 12 and the two seventh-century Luxeuil lectionnaires considered by Grégoire.[40] Grégoire also noted that while homiliary collections before the Carolingian reforms show substantial overlap amongst themselves in terms of their text selections, the collection he termed that of Paul the Deacon showed almost total divergence, suggesting a significant difference in liturgical practice following the Carolingian reforms.[41] Rylands MS Latin 12 confirms this trend.

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[35] McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, 103.

[36] Barré, *Homéliaires*; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*.

[37] Barré, *Homéliaires*; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*.

[38] Excluding antiphons.

[39] Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, Agimond II.85, p. 363 (Rylands III.20), II.113, p. 370 (Rylands III.21); III.20, p.376 (Rylands III.25); III.34, p.380 (Rylands III.38); Alan of Farfa, 88a, p. 184 (Rylands III.8); 80, p. 181 (Rylands III.38).

[40] Salmon, *Lectionnaire*; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, 50ff.

There has not yet been a critical study investigating the manuscript tradition of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary.*[42] Thus, it is impossible to comment on whether the copyist of Rylands MS Latin 12 had access to any particular copy.[43] The homiliary appears in Migne's *Patralogia Latina,* reprinting a 1539 Cologne version that includes a homily cycle *'de tempore'* of 202 items followed by another *'de sanctis'* of 96 items.[44] Migne's version is obviously interpolated as it includes the later ninth-century homiliaries of Haimo and Heiric of Auxerre. The un-interpolated version proposed by Wiegand in the late nineteenth century remains authoritative, with a trimmer 244 items, 110 items in the winter section, and ninety-nine in the summer section, which also included a further thirty-five 'generic' items to be used commonly for saints' feasts.[45] The most recent account of the homiliary, by Grégoire, does not substantially alter Wiegand's list aside from more recent textual identifications and some altered capitula.[46]

Despite the substantial differences between the versions edited by Migne and Wiegand, twenty-four of the Rylands extracts correspond to the same-titled extracts in both versions,[47] with a slightly greater number of odd items matching in the Wiegand[48] edition compared to Migne's.[49] As Rylands MS Latin 12 focuses on saints' feasts, it is not surprising that most (though not all) of the concordances are found in Migne's 'de sanctis' cycle or the saints commonly found in Wiegand.[50] In Victor Perrin's eighteenth-century description of the manuscript, he suggested that Luxeuil had presumably once had another codex covering the festivals related to Jesus Christ and the mysteries, as these are entirely omitted by Rylands MS Latin 12.

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[41] Wiegand, *Homiliarum*, 69-78, 83-96. For more recent if briefer comments, see also: McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, 33-36; Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacrementaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West'.

[42] Szarmach, 'Vercelli', 77. Cf. The English manuscript tradition only is considered in Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology'. Zachary Guiliano is currently involved in a project to index known examples of 'Paul the Deacon' type homiliaries at the University of Cambridge. This will allow for a better understanding of the relative uniqueness of particular extract selections amongst this corpus. At an early stage of research, Guiliano indicated in personal correspondence that Isidorian material is rare among such homiliaries.

[43] 15 MSs are listed by Wiegand, *Homiliarum*, 5-10. Cf. Oldfather and Lough, 'The Urbana Ms', 293-294, who updates this total to around 20.

[44] PL 95, cols. 1159-1565. On Migne's 1539 source, see: Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology', 87-88.

[45] Wiegand, *Homiliarum*, 14-65.

[46] Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, 423-477. It is unclear from where these differences arise. Though his edition considers two additional manuscripts, Grégoire states that he has taken his capitula from Munich Clm 4533 (winter) and Clm 4534 (summer), which are manuscripts his study shares with Wiegand's edition. Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, 427. Further explanation of this difference is another line of enquiry frustrated by the lack of a concordance between Paul the Deacon manuscripts. On their choice of manuscripts, see Wiegand, *Homiliarum*, 5-12; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, 425-426.

[47] Rylands II.1, 5, 6, III.1, 5, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 55, 56. See also Appendix 2.

As noted earlier, the homilies of quires II-XVII follow two cycles of a calendar of saints. This calendar is more expansive than the one employed by any of the reconstructed editions of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary,* but it shares substantial parallels with that calendar. In comparison with Wiegand's edition, the Rylands MS celebrates almost all the saints' feasts that appear in Paul's homiliary,[51] with only three feasts absent, that of St Cyprian and two additional Marian feasts, her purification and birth.[52] As noted above, Grégoire's edition expands some of Wiegand's capitula. His edition includes St Martin 'or another confessor', where Wiegand has only 'saint' or 'confessor'[53] and St Felicitas 'or another female saint'. [56] Migne also omits Cyprian and shares with Rylands Latin 12 five additional feasts not included in Wiegand's edition,[54] with feasts for St Felicitas, Mary Magdalene and Luke the Evangelist appearing in Migne alone. In addition to these common feasts, the Rylands MS also includes feasts for the apostle Simon Zelotes and Judas, St Agatha of Sicily, the *exaltatio* of the holy Cross, St Germanus of Paris, St Medardus of Noyons, St Martin of Tours, St Denis and the martyr saints Crispin and Crispinan. Item III.7 in the Rylands MS, for St Agatha, is a text that appears in Migne and Wiegand's editions, where it is set simply for a virgin.[55] It would be impossible to say whether the template for Paul the Deacon's original homiliary, which was a state project and sponsored by the Carolingians, was intended to be as freely adapted as it has been in Rylands MS Latin 12. However, the homilies incorporated a

[48] Rylands III.4, 6, 13, 37, 50, 52.

[49] Rylands II.12, III. 2, 8, 48.

[50] Wiegand, *Homiliarum*.

[51] These are: St Stephan, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, St Agnes, the apostles Philip and James, son of Alphaeus, John the Baptist (the birth and the beheading), the apostles Peter and Paul (together and separately), St Lawrence, the archangel Michael, the apostle Matthew, the apostle Andrew and the assumption of the Virgin.

[52] Wiegand, *Homiliarum*, 73.

[53] Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, PD II.108, p. 474.

[54] Feasts for the apostle James, son of Zebedee, the apostle Thomas, St Bartholomew, the annunciation of Mary, and the *inventio* of the holy cross.

[55] Rylands III.7.

range of material on saints, martyrs, virgins and confessors and therefore do offer scope for selective and creative adaptatation.

The copyist also included material that cannot be matched to any of the published Paul the Deacon templates, and several of the new inclusions substitute different material for feasts explicitly named in Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary.* Between Wiegand and Migne's frameworks, there are a possible eight items listed as suitable for the veneration of the Holy Innocents. However, Rylands MS Latin 12 has a ninth reading at item III.5, a portion of Jerome's *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei.* Disparities such as this may explain why the present first quire was added to the original homiliary manuscript as many of the additions in the first quire correspond to 'missing' Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* entries (see appendices for details).

Items in the Rylands MS that cannot be matched to either edition of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* include extracts from Augustine's *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* and his sermons, Jerome's *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* and his *De Viris Illustribus,* Gregory of Tours' *Liber in gloria martyrum,* Rufinus' Latin translations of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica.* The most frequent new addition, however, is Isidore's *DOOP.*

Before moving on to a discussion of how often and in what ways Isidore's text was used in this manuscript, it is worth noting that almost all of the above texts have also all been excerpted in one or other of the editions of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary,* and this includes Isidore's *DOOP.* This may suggest that when the copyist inserted different readings, he or she chose to turn to the texts that Paul the Deacon had already vetted as suitable for extraction when compiling his homiliary. However, more importantly, it implies that whomever compiled the texts copied in Rylands MS Latin 12 had access not only to some sort of exemplar of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary,* but also access to some of the full texts from which he took his 'homilies'.[56]

Isidore in Rylands Latin MS 12

Rylands MS Latin 12 includes ten excerpts from Isidore's *DOOP.* The manuscript only makes use of his account of a number of New Testament figures.

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[56] On the contents of Carolingian libraries, see McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, 166-196. For homiliaries in particular, see Deleeuw, 'Gregory the Great's "Homilies on the Gospels"', 860-865. Cf. McKitterick, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 334', 201: 'The Homiliary [of Paul the Deacon] itself witnesses to the transmission and circulation of knowledge of particular patristic authors and their works within the Carolingian world.'

There are three excerpts in the main cycle of the readings: those for John the Evangelist, James the Lesser and Philip. They are all included following a longer text from an earlier patristic author: coincidentally the same in each case, Augustine's *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus.*

The main cycle includes the only extract for which I have located a parallel in any of the homiliary types listed by Barré or Grégoire. This is item four in the Rylands' manuscript's third section (*DOOP*, 72) which is item 31 in the Wiegand framework (as printed by Gregoire) and does not appear at all in Migne's version. This short paragraph of bibliographical material about John the Evangelist is the only extract from Isidore's *DOOP* listed by Barré or Grégoire. It is one of only two correspondences between Rylands MS Latin 12 and the so-called homiliary of Alan of Farfa (Gregoire, 145-148). It is also repeated in the homiliary of Eginon (Gregoire, 198), considered to be quite closely related to the previous homiliary type.

In general, Isidore is poorly represented among Merovingian and Carolingian homiliaries. The Alan of Farfa homiliary contains extracts from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (Gregoire, 155-56), *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* (Gregoire, 157-8, 171) and the *Sententiae* (Gregoire, 180). These are six extracts in a work that totals over one hundred and fifty items. These six exactly are repeated in the quite closely related homiliary of Eginon. (Gregoire, 198, 204, 206, 210, 216). The homiliary of St Peter of the Vatican repeats four from this group (Gregoire, 233-34, 241, 244), and those of Ottobeuren and of Agimond repeat just one of these same readings, albeit different ones (Gregoire, 338, 379). Gregoire's account of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* also includes one further Isidorian excerpt, although this is a different extract from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* than that which is found in the other homiliary types, which are far more closely related to one another (Gregoire, 433). This makes for only two Isidorian extracts among several hundred entries. The ten extracts from Isidore in Rylands MS Latin 12, just under one-sixth of the total number of entries in the manuscript's original homiliary core, mean that it is unusually rich in its use of Isidore.

In the *recapitulationes,* a secondary cycle of readings in the Rylands manuscript, Isidore is better represented, with seven excerpts: under John the Baptist, St Paul, James the Greater, Jude, Simon the Zealot, Andrew and Thomas. Five of these appear as texts in their own right rather than simply following on from another author. This second cycle covers roughly nineteen percent of the original homilary core, some forty-nine sides of parchment. The Isidorian material in the *recapitulationes,* seven out of eighteen texts, makes up only around seven percent of this already comparatively smaller section. In part, this is surely because Isidore's text comprises short, pithy chapters on each biblical figure, but it is also part of a broader trend where the Isidorian material seems to be judged worthy of inclusion in this collection, but is treated as of secondary importance to other authors.

A comparison with Gregory the Great, another author with substantial numbers of extracts in this manuscript, illustrates this point. As noted above, Gregory the Great's homilies themselves were sometimes considered to be the only homiliary collection that a Carolingian cleric needed. Gregory's homilies are substantial texts in their own right in contrast with the brief biographical entries that made up Isidore's *DOOP*. Covering over thirty percent of the original homiliary core, there are more lines from Gregory in Rylands MS Latin 12 than any other author. However, this manuscript has exactly the same number of extracts from Gregory as from Isidore, ten each, with only Jerome having a greater number with ten extracts from his commentary on Matthew and a single extract from his *De Viris Illustribus.*

The use made of Isidorian material in this manuscript is comparable to a few other authors in this collection. For example, short extracts from Gregory of Tours' *Liber in gloria martyrum* and Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica* are included in the main cycle only after a longer text. However, although their use is similar, the compiler of this manuscript reached for Isidore's text far more frequently than Gregory of Tours or Rufinus, who are only represented by three items each. Thus, while Isidore may be second-string, his text is definitely preferred to others on that lower level.

The extracts from Isidore are also visually relegated to a second level, below the more typical Patristic authors such as Gregory the Great, Augustine, or Jerome. Entries in the main cycle typically begin with a rubricated line listing the date, the saint and the particular gospel from which that day's reading is taken. This is followed by a gospel pericope and a further rubric listing the patristic author's name. Despite the frequent recourse to the *DOOP*, Isidore's name does not appear within Rylands MS Latin 12.

The Isidorian extracts, along with those of Gregory of Tours and of Rufinus, are often barely distinguishable from the text that precedes them. A squiggle mid-line is sometimes present to mark the break in texts, but at other times, no indication is given at all. Isidore's entries among the *recapitulationes* are clearly distinguished from the preceding text by a rubricated title, but these titles only indicate the saint that the extract concerns. Even among the *recapitulationes,* 'Patristic' authors like Augustine or Bede are named in a rubric. One exception to this is the extract from Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus.* While Jerome is otherwise usually named in the rubric, here his text seems to be treated similarly to Isidore and the other 'second-string' texts. Perhaps this can be explained by the encyclopedic nature of this particular text, in contrast with the more obviously exegetical content of the commentary on Matthew from which all other Jerome extracts in this manuscript derive.

The fact that Isidore's name is not associated with the extracts from the *DOOP* is striking. Carolingian texts do not always explicitly signal their Patristic contents, but this manuscript does indicate a Patristic author in most cases. The *DOOP* therefore does not seem to be classified as the work of a church father. This suggests that Isidore was not considered to lie within the top bracket of past authorities for Carolingian copyists, although the material that he had included in the *DOOP* was judged to be useful by the manuscript's compiler.[57]

Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* in the Carolingian Period

This chapter concludes with some brief comments about how this manuscript fits into the broader Carolingian reception of Isidore, and in particular, the *DOOP.* A homiliary is a text with a liturgical context, so the focus in this manuscript on readings that expound on the gospel verse for a particular saint's day – the longer texts like those of Gregory the Great, Augustine, and Jerome – makes obvious sense. However, we can also see value placed on more explanatory material about the saint's life and death, which is exactly the sort of material Isidore's *DOOP* provides. This might help to explain the attractiveness of his text in this Carolingian milieu.

Another text roughly contemporary with this manuscript makes significant use of Isidore's *DOOP:* the universal chronicle of the ninth century historian Bishop Freculf of Lisieux.[58] Written in the second quarter of the ninth century and dedicated to Charles the Bald, Charlemagne's grandson, its twelve books cover all history from creation to the author's own day. Yet, while Freculf sometimes takes Isidore's details as the starting point for further elaboration on the lives of Biblical figures, Rylands MS Latin 12 adheres strictly to Isidore's text. Freculf also does not reference Isidore's name explicitly when he makes use of *DOOP* even when he quotes from it rather than paraphrasing, although he does name other authorities such as Jerome. An examination of Freculf's chronicle shows us that, as with the Rylands manuscript, Freculf used Isidore as a source of data rather than as an authority.

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[57] Here we might draw a comparison with Laura Carlson's chapter elsewhere in this volume, which demonstrates the frequent use the *Opus Carolii* made of Isidore's writings, although with more frequent attribution. In contrast, Christopher Heath's chapter on Paul the Deacon's historical writings suggests unacknowledged borrowing from Isidore.

[58] Allen, 'Fréculfe de Lisieux', 59-79.

Finally, coming back to the manuscript itself, Rylands Latin MS 12 shows significant medieval wear, including the re-writing of several passages in fresh ink where the original script had worn away. Occasionally, the rubrication has been copied over in blue, perhaps to remedy fading.[59] Far more frequently, the main text itself appears to have been re-copied by tracing over the original lettering in a darker ink. This is particularly visible over ff. 86v-88v, with another interesting example at f. 11r2 where the descender of *quin* can be just barely discerned from beneath a later scribe's *cum.* The leaf 11r-12v also shows one of several stitching repairs in the manuscript.[60] On f. 103r, the same portion of original text is copied once over the original text space and again, in a different hand, in a marginal note. Re-copyings like this complicate the identification of the manuscript's hands. In the only palaeographic study of the manuscript, Jones suggested that quires II-XVIII are the work of a single ninth-century scribe, except for f. 10r and f. 21v, which are a table of homily capitula and the conclusion of the homily for St Agnes and beginning of the homily for St Agatha, respectively.[61] The different hand on f. 21v might be explained by a later scribe engaged in re-copying, particularly as this is the only folio on which a homily begins that involves absolutely no rubrication. The main hand on f. 10r may also be a later addition, a table of capitula composed on what had initially been a blank fly-leaf.

These indications suggest that the MS enjoyed use by readers concerned with the preservation of the text over a substantial period of time. This shows that this manuscript experienced significant use in the monastery. It was not a copy set aside for special occasions or display; it was clearly being used, and, given the broader context and purpose of homiliaries in this period, it seems a safe assumption that this use involved reading aloud to a monastic community. Thus, curiously, Isidore's encyclopedic text seems to have found a place in the Carolingian liturgy. His name might not have been considered worthy of rememberance, but Isidore's words were apparently exactly what the unknown Carolingian compiler at Luxeuil and subsequent users were looking for.

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[59] For example, Rylands III.45, f. 109v; Rylands III.58, f. 131v11.

[60] Another example can be found at f.56. The Rylands MS shares these stitching repairs with the other Luxeuil manuscripts discussed by Jones, 'Victor Perrin', 178.

[61] Jones, 'Dom Victor Perrin', 179.

Appendix 1 Full Manuscript Description of Rylands MS Latin 12

Listed for each item is the encompassing folio(s), the quire number,[62] the hand, and a suggestion for the hand's date.[63]

For items in the two medieval sections (II & III), incipits and excipts are also provided as well as the item's identified original source and parallels between the MS and the various editions of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* where these exist.

Bold text in the following indicates rubrication in the manuscript.

Homiliary
Vellum, 295 x 210mm, ff. vi + 143.
Collation. I^{4} (+5), II^{8}-V^{8}, VI^{6}, VII^{8}-XVIII^{8}.
Luxeuil. s.viii^{ex}-ix.

Section I

1. fols. ir-vir; i; Victor Perrin.
   Victor Perrin, description of Rylands ms. Latin 12 headed *Quatrieme Manuscrit.*

Section II

1. fols. 1r-5v15; I; A, s.ix. Title in red uncials gone, except… **Secundum Lucam**. In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis suis. Sint lumbi uestri precincti … Dominicus sermo quem debemus … atque utiliter habeamus. EXPLICIT OMELIA B. FULGENTII EP. DE CONFESSORIBUS.
   Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Sermones,* s. 1, *CCSL* 91A (ed. C. Lambot, Turnhout, Brepols, 1968), pp. 889-896.
   PD II.108, p. 474. (Legendus in S. Martini vel Alterius Confessoribus)
   PDS.84, col. 1551C. (De Confessoribus)

2. fol. 5v16-23; I; B, s.xi?. Ecce karissimi dies illa uidicit … possideatis regna calorum. (Antiphons with neumes)

3. fol. 5v24-25; I; B. Ecce mater nostra iherusalem cum magro affectu clamat ad nos et dicit prius quam hostium. (Antiphons with neumes)

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[62] Following James and Taylor, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 33.

[63] Following Jones, 'Dom Victor Perrin', 179.

4. fol. 5v26-28; I; C, s. xii? Ecce mater nostra ierusalem cum magro affectu clamat ad nos et dicit uenit filii mei dilictissimi uenite ad me ut uideatis. (Antiphons with neumes)

5. fols. 6r-6v31; I; D, s.x? SERMO S. SEUERIANI IN NATALI INNOCENTUM. Zelus quo tendit ... sed muneris est diuini.
   Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermones,* s. 152, lines 3-89, *PL* 52, cols.604C-607A.
   PD I.34, p. 436. (In Natale Innocentem)
   PDT.38, cols. 1174-1175. (In Festo Sanctorum Innocentium)

6. fols. 6v32-7v30; I; D (6v), E, s.xi? DEDICATUR NOUUS ab infantibus sermo ... uictoria per interitum comparatur.
   John Chrysostom, hom .39, *In Natali Innocentium, PDT,* cols. 1176A-1177D.
   PD I.35, p. 436. (De Eisdem Innocentum)
   PDT, as above.

7. fol. 7v31-32; I; E. Secundum Ioh. In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis suis ... Sic deus dilexit mundum ... sed habeat uitam et nam [sic]. et rt.
   John 3:16

8. fol. 8r1-6; I; F, s.xi? YMNUS DE SANCTIS INNOCENTIBUS. Saluete flores martyrum ... inpune christus tollitur. (Antiphons with neumes)
   Prudentius, *Liber Cathemorinon,* hymn 12, verse 125-135, *CCSL* 126 (ed. M.P. Cunningham, Turnhout, Brepols, 1966), p. 69.

9. fol. 8r7-10; I; G, s.xi. Exultent omnes sincera mente fideles ... simeonem duxit ad dulam uenite. (Antiphons with neumes)

10. fol. 8r11-18; I; H (no date given). Te lucis auctor ... ab ... seris. (Antiphons with neumes, ink rubbed off)

11. fols. 8r19-8v15; I; I (no date given). Sec. Ioh. Sic deus dilexit mundum... Ergo quantum in medico est sanare ... homines magis tenebras quam lucem.
   Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractus,* tract 12, par. 12, line 3- par. 13, line 10, *CCSL* 36 (ed. R. Willems, Turnhout, Brepols, 1954), pp. 126-128.

12. fols. 8v16-9r10; I; I. FERIA. III. SEC. IOH. ... Amen amen dico uobis qui non intrat. De inluminato [sic] illo qui natus est caecus ... uel inflamatione contemnunt.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractus,* tract 45, par. 1, line 1 - par. 2, line 25, *CCSL* 36, pp. 388-389.
    *PDT.*151, *In Feria Tertia Pentecostes,* col. 1341B.

13. fols. 9r11-9v5; I; I; Sec. Ioh. Nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me, traxerit eum. Magna gratiae commendatio... noli credere hoc est noli me tangere.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractus,* tract 26, par. 2, line 4 - par. 3, line 13, *CCSL* 36, pp. 260-261.

14. fols. 9v6-38; I; I. Sec. Luc. Convocatis Ihesus xiieim aposolis... Concessa primum potestate signorum ... sed potestatem dedisse in qua scirent sibi ista deberi.
    Bede, *In Lucae euangelium expositio,* lib. 3, cap. 9, line 1104-1133, *CCSL* 120 (ed. D. Hurst, Turnhout, Brepols, 1960), pp. 179-180.

Section III

i. fol. 10r; II; J, s.ix. Table of Contents, listing the first 30 homilies and numerals for a further 8 *recapitulationibus sanctorum*

1. fols. 10v-12v2; II; K, s.ix. **Incipit liber de Natali**/ciis sanctorum. VII. Kal. Ian. Natale Sancti Ste/**phani diaconi et martyris Euang**. Sec. Matth. ... Dicebat Ihesus turbis Iudaeorum. Ecce ego mitto ... **Dicta S. Hieronimi presbiteri**. Hoc quod ante dixeramus ... christi ora conspicient.
    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 4, lines 267-369, *CCSL* 77 (eds. D. Hurst & M. Adriaen, Turnhout, Brepols, 1969), pp. 218-222.
    PD I.30, p. 435. (Beati Martyri Stephani)
    *PDT.*29, col. 1169B. (De Sancto Stephano)

2. fols. 12v3-16v10; II; K. **VI. Kl. Ian. Nat. Sancti Iohannis Euangelistae. Euang. Sec. Ioh.** Dixit ihesus petro sequere me... **Dicta Sancti Agustini Episcopi.** Non parua quaestio est, cur apostolo petro ... meum terminare sermonem.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 124, *CCSL* 36, pp. 680-688.

PDT.35, col. 1174A. (De Sancto Joanne Apostolo Et Evangelista)

3. fols. 16v10-17r8; II; K. Iohannes vero apostolus et evangelista domini post peractum ... in hac et idolum dianae fuit ab apostolo paulo destructum
   Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum,* cap. 29. *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 1, 2, (Krusch, 1885), p. 505.

4. fols. 17r9-17v13; II; K. Iohannes apostolus et evangelista filius zebedie frater iacobi virgo ... puluis ebulliat quieuit autem apud epesum.
   Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 72, *PL* 83, cols. 151A-152A.
   PD I.31, p. 436. (In Natale Sancti Iohannis Euangelistae)

5. fols. 17v14-18v22; II-III; K. **V. Kal. Ian. Natale Innocentum Euang.** Ecce angelus domini apparuit... **Sec. Matt. Dicta Hieronimi presb.** Quando tollit puerum et matrem eius ... de radice conscendet.
   Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 1, lines 158-219, *CCSL* 77, pp. 14-16

6. fols. 18v23-21v6; III; K, L (21v only). **XII. KL. Feb. Nat. S. Agnetis Virg.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Simile est regnum caelorum thesauro ... **Dicta Gregorii papae.** Caelorum regnorum, fratres karissimi ... gaudia sine labore capiatis
   Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1, hom. 11, *CCSL* 141 (ed. R. Etaix, Turnhout, Brepols, 1999), pp. 73-79.
   PD II.123, p. 476. (In Natale Virginum)

7. fols. 21v6-25v27; III; L (21v only), K. Non. Feb. Nat. Agathe Virg. Euang. Sec. Matt. Simile est regnum caelorum decem ... Dicta Gregorii papae. (not red) Saepe uos fratres karissimi ammoneo praua opera ... diem neque horam
   Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1 hom. 12, *CCSL* 141, pp. 80-88.
   PD II.122, p. 476. (In Natale Virginum)
   PDS.95, col. 1566C. (De Virginibus)

8. fols. 25v27-31r17; III-IV; K. **VIII. KAL. Apr. Conceptio S. Mariae de spiritu sancto. Euang. Sec. Luc.** Missus est gabrihel ... **Dicta S. Ambrosii Ep.** Latent quidem diuina mysteria ... in euangelio primum.

Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam,* lib. 2, line 4-279, *CCSL* 14 (eds. M. Adriaen & P. A. Ballerini, Turnhout, Brepols, 1957), pp. 30-39.
PDS.14, col. 1475B. (In Annuntiatione Beatae Mariae)

9. fols. 31r17-35v5; IV-V; K. **Kl. Mai. Nat. Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi. Euang. Sec. Ioh.** Non turbertur cor uestrum... **Omelia eiusdem. Dicta b. Agustini Ep.** Hic praedicat apostolůs de passione sua. Ne mortem tamquam homines timerent ... nostro largiente reddamus ... in nomine meo hoc faciam.
Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 67, par. 1, line 5-par. 4, line 7 (end), *CCSL* 36, pp. 495-497.
No matches, but *PDS*.15, col. 1475C. (Augustine, *In Iohannis ...,* tract. 67-68; In Festo Philippi Et Jacobi.)

10. fols. 35v5-36v25; V; K. **Relatio Egesippi in hystoria ecclesiastica de Iacobi Iusti passione.** 'Suscepit', inquit, 'ecclesiam cum apostolis frater [sic] ... rursus sceleratas iniecerint manus.
Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica,* trans. Rufinus, lib. 2, cap. 23, par. 3-19, *Corpus Berolinensis,* vol. 9,1 + 9,2 (ed. Th. Mommsen, 1903-1908, Berlin: J.C. Hinrichs), pp 167-171.

11. fols. 36v25-37r5; V; K. Iacobus alfei episcopus hierosolymorum primus cognomento iustus... hierosolyma credatur esse diruta.
Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 77, *PL* 83, cols. 153A-153B.

12. fols. 37r5-10, V; K. Philippus a bethsaida ciuitate ... suis ibidem requiescit.
Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 73, *PL* 83, cols. 152B.

13. fols. 37r11-38v12; V; K. **V. NON. Mai. Inuentio S. Crucis.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Nolite arbitrari quia venerim... **Dicta b. Hieromini presb.** Supra dixerat. Quod dico uobis in tenebris ... tantum et messurus sis.
Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 1, lines 1769-1845, *CCSL* 77, pp. 73-76.
PD II.110, p. 474 (In Vigilia in Unius Martyris)

14. fols. 38v13-39r26; V; K. **V. Kal. Jun. Nat. S. Germani Ep.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Vigilat quia nescitis... **Sermo b. Hieronimi presb.** Perspicue ostendit quare supra dixerat ... uoluntatis apparuit

Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 4, lines 653-694, *CCSL* 77, pp. 233-235.

15. fols. 39r27-42v11; V-VI; K. **VI. Id. Jun. Nat B. Medardi Ep.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Homo quidam peregre… **Dicta S. Gregorii.** Lectio sancti euangelii, fratres karissimi, sollicite considerare … nos quod fecimus excuset … saecula saeculorum amen.

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1, hom. 9, *CCSL* 141, pp. 58-64.
    PD II, 104, p. 473. (In Natale Unius Sacerdotis)
    PDS.85, col. 1551C. (De Confessoribus)

16. fols. 42v11-48v26; VI-VII; K. **VIIII. Kal. Jul. Uigilia S. Ioh. Bapt. Euang. Sec. Luc.** … in diebus herodis regis iudae… **Omelia Lectionis eiusdem uenerabilis Bedae presb.** Uenturus in carne dominus … nos in uitam coronat aeternam … saecula saeculorum. Amen.

    Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii,* lib. 2, hom. 19, *CCSL* 122 (eds. D. Hurst & J. Fraipont, 1955), pp 318-327.
    PD II.40, p. 460. (In Vigilia Sancti Joannis Baptistae)
    PDS.19, col. 1476B. (In Vigilia Beati Joannis Baptistae)

17. fols. 48v27-52v; VII; K. **VIII. Kal. Jul. Natiuitas S. Iohannis. Euang. Sec. Luc.** Elizabeth impletum est tempus… **Sermo Uen. Bedae presb.** Praecursoris domini natiuitas … iesum christum deum et dominum nostrum … saecula saeculorum. Amen.

    Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii,* lib. 2, hom. 20, *CCSL* 122, pp. 328-334.
    PD II.44, p. 461. (In Natale Sancti Ioannis Baptistae)
    PDS.22, col. 1476C. (In Nativitate Sancti Joannis Baptistae)

18. fols. 53r-53v18; VII; K. **De eadem festiuitate (sermo) b. Maximi Ep.** Festiuitatem praesentis diei … testis fidelissimus reuelauit.

    Maximus of Turin, In nativitate sancti Joannis Baptistae III, *PL* 57, cols. 389B-390C.
    PD II.43, p. 461. (As above.)
    PDS.21, col. 1467C. (As above.)

19. fols. 53v19-54v30; VII; K. **IIII. Kal. Jul. Uigil S. Petri et Pauli apostolorum.** Euang. Sec. Ioh. Dixit ihesus petro simon iohannis diligis me… Cum ergo

prandissent hoc est quando [sic] tertio dominus post resurrectionem manifestauit… ut pro omnibus pateretur eius [sic] est factus.

Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 123, *CCSL* 36, pp. 675-680.

20. fols. 54v30-56v11; VII-VIII; K. **III. Kal. Jul. Natale S. Petri. Ap. Euang. Sec. Matt.** Uenit iesus in partes caesareae philippi. **Dicta b. Hieronimi presb.** Uenit autem iesus in partes caesareae philippi philippus iste est frater herodis… qui ligandus sit qui soluendus.

    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 3, lines 1-99, *CCSL* 77, pp 139-142.

21. fols. 56v11-57r26; VIII; K. **Prid. Kal. Iul. Nat. S. Pauli Ap.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Ecce nos reliquimus… **Dicta Hieronimi presb.** Grandis fiducia. petrus piscator … et omnia possidentes.

    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 3, lines 911-952, *CCSL* 77, pp 172-173.
    PD II.54, p. 462. (In Natale S. Pauli)
    PDS.7, col. 1461C. (In Conversione Sancti Pauli)

22. fols. 57r26-59r12; VIII; K. **III. Id. Iul. Translatio corporis S. Martini Ep.** Euang. Sec. Luc. Sint lumbi vestri precinti… **Omelia eiusdem lectionis b. Gregorii papae.** Sancti euangelii fratres karissimi aperta uobis est lectio … semper timeatur.

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1, hom. 13, *CCSL* 141, pp. 89-95.
    PD II.109, p. 474. (De Confessoribus)
    PDS.88, col. 1555C. (De Confessoribus)

23. fols. 59r13-64v11; VIII-IX; K. **VIII. Kal. Agust. Nat. S. Iacobi ap. fratris S. Ioh. Euang.** Euang. Sec. Ioh. Hoc est preceptum meum… **Gregorii.** Cum cuncta sacra eloquia … iuuat Iesus Christus Dominus noster [sic]. (Additional title added at top. 61v-62r. Lectio S. euang. Secundum Matth. Accessit ad eum mater filios zebedei cum filius suis… Gregorius.)

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 2, hom. 27, *CCSL* 141, pp. 229-237.
    PD II.101, p. 472. (In Natale Unius Apostolis)
    PDS.72, cols. 1537B-C. (De Apostolis)

24. fols. 64v12-66v12; IX; K. **In Nat S. Laurentii Archdiaconi. Euang. Sec. Ioh.** Amen dico uobis nisi granum frumenti… **Agustinus.** Se autem dicebat ipsum esse granum … gloriosissimas coronas receperunt. Amen.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 51, par. 9, line 5-par.13, l.18 (end), *CCSL* 36, pp. 442-445.
    PD II.68, p. 465. (In Natale Sancti Laurentii)
    PDS.42, col. 1490B. (De Sancto Laurentio Martyre)

25. fols. 66v13-68v19; IX; K. **In adsumptione S. Mariae. Euang. Sec. Luc.** Dum ambulat ihesus periter intrauit… **Dicta S. Ambrosii Ep.** Sanctum euangelium cum legeretur audiuimus … rigat sed qui incrementum dat deus.
    Augustine, *Sermones,* sermo. 104, *SPM* 1 (ed. C. Lambot, Utrecht, Spectrum, 1950), pp. 54-57.
    No matches, but cf. *PDS*.43, col. 1490C. (Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam,* lib. 11, 19; In Vigilia Assumptionis Beatae Mariae) and *PDS*.47, col. 1505A. (Augustine, s. 103; In Assumptione Sanctae Mariae).

26. fols. 68v20-69r15; IX; K. **In Nat. S. Bartholomei Ap. VIII(I) Kal. Sept.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Ecce ego mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum … **Dicta b.**
    Hieronimi presb. Lupos scribas et pharisaeos uocat … enim coepisse sed perfecisse virtutis est. (In margin at f.69r15) Finit.
    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 1, lines 1640-1662, *CCSL* 77, p. 69.

27. fol. 69r15-29; IX; K. Bartholomaeum apostolum apud Indiam … virtutibus ac benefitiis manifestat.
    Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum,* cap. 33, *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 1, 2, pp. 509-510.

28. fols. 69v- 71v5; IX; K. **In Decollatione S. Iohannis Bapt.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Audiuit herodes tethrarcha famam ihesu… **Hieronimus.** Quidam ecclesiasticorum interpretum causas … plena statim premium consiquatur.
    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 2, lines 1104-1225, *CCSL* 77, pp. 116-121.

29. fols. 71v6-16; IX; K. In urbe autem toronica est ecclesia sanctae mariae uirginis et s. ioh. baptistae nomine consecrata ... curricolo finirentur.
    Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum,* cap. 19, lines 8-13. *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 1, 2, p. 500.

30. fols. 71v16-72v8; IX-X; K. **XVIII Kal. Oct. Exaltatio S. Crucis.** Euang. Sec. Ioh. Erat homo ex pharisaeis... **Dicta S. Agustini.** Nisi quis renatus fuerit denuo non potest introire in regnum dei cum denuo non dicitur nisi ad ea... mori peccato et consepeliri christo.
    Origen, *In Epistulam Pauli ad Romanos explanationum libri,* translated by Rufinus, lib. 5, cap. 8, l. 29-84, pp. 423-426 (fragments), ed. C. P. Hammond Bammel, Vetus Latina 16, 33-34, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel, 1990-1998; Freiburg : Herder).

31. fols. 72v8-73r13; X, K. Item quomodo potest nasci cum sit senex... nisi quia eius membra erunt ut unus ascendit audi discipulum eius inquit nostra conuersatio in caelis est.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 11-13 (fragments), *CCSL* 36, pp. 109-141.
    No matches, but cf. *PDS* II.16, cols. 1475C-1475D. (Augustine, In Ioh. &c, tract 11, cap. 3ff.; In Festo Inventionis Sanctae Crucis)

32. fols. 73r14-74v5; X; K. **De serpentis exaltatione Hieronimus.** Sicut exaltatus est serpens in heremo ita exaltari oportet filius hominis iohannes apostolus dixit qui prae omnibus ... caelestia habe(bi)mus et mirabilia quae oculus non vidit nec auris auidivit nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparauit deus his qui diligunt eum.
    Unidentified

33. fols. 74v5-75v21; X; K. **XI. Kal. Oct. Nat. S. Mathei Ap. Euang. Sec. Ioh.** Ego sum inquit uitis uera ... **Dicta S. Agustini.** Numquid unum sunt agricola ... ait iam uos mundi estis propter uerbum quod locutus sum uobis.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 80, par. 2, line 4-par. 3, line 30 (end), *CCSL* 36, pp. 528-529.
    cf. *PD* II, 100 , p. 472. (tract. 80-82).
    PDS.69, *In Vigilia Apostolorum,* 1536D. (All of 80).

34. fols. 75v22-77v15; X; K. **III. Kal. Oct. Dedicatio Basilicae Archangeli Michahelis.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Accesserunt discipuli ad ihesum dicentes quis putas maior… **Hieronimi presb.** Quod saepe monui etiam nunc … feminarum propter angelos.

    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 3, lines 473-574, *CCSL* 77, pp. 156-160.

35. fols. 77v16-83v11; X-XI; K. **VII. Id. Oct. Nat. S. Dionisii.** Euang. Sec. Luc. Si quis venit ad me et non odit patrem… **Dicta Gregorii Papae.** Si consideremus, frat. kar, quae et quanta … remedia contulit … saecula saeculorum amen.

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 2, hom. 37, *CCSL* 141, pp. 348-358.
    PD II.112, *In Natale Unius Martyris,* p. 474.
    PDS.75, *De Uno Martyre*, col. 1543B.

36. fols. 83v12-88v10; XI-XII; K. **VIII. Kal. Non. Nat. Crispine(i) et Crispiniane(i).** Euang. Sec. Luc. Cum audiertus proelia… **Dicta b. Gregorii.** Quia longius ab urbe digressi sumus … concite opitulatur intentione [sic] … saecula saeculorum amen.

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 2, hom. 35, *CCSL* 141, pp. 320-330.
    PD II.116, *In Natale Plurimorum Martyrum,* p. 475.
    PDS.80, *De Martyribus*, col. 1550D.

37. fols. 88v11-92v3; XII; K. **V. Kal. Non. Nat. SS. App. Symonis et Iudae. Euang. Sec. Ioh.** Haec mando uobis ut diligatis in uicem… **Dicta S. Agustini.** Haec mando uobis ut diligatis in uicem maneat ergo … ipse non mullis [sic] facientibus fecit

    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 87-91 (fragments), *CCSL* 36, pp. 541-555.
    PD II.103, col. 473. (In Natale Unius Apostolis)
    cf. *PDS*.71, col. 1537B. (De Apostolis; tract. 87-88)

38. fols. 92v4-94r; XII; K. **Prid. Kal. Dec. Nat. Andreae Ap.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Ambulans ihesus iuxtra mare galilea… **Dicta Gregorii Papae.** Audistis fr. kar. quia ad unius iussionis uocem … ad propria contemnenda perducatur.

    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1, hom. 5, *CCSL* 141, pp. 33-37.
    PD II.98, p. 472. (In Natale Sancti Andreae)
    PDS.2, col. 1457D. (In Die Sancti Andreae)

39. fols. 94v- 96r4; XII-XIII; K. **XII. Kal. Ian. Nat. S. Thomae Ap.** Euang. Sec. Ioh. Ego sum uitis uos palmites… **Dicta S. Agustini Ep.** Secundum hoc dicit quod est caput … debitur in premio resergentium.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 80, par. 1, line 2 - tract. 83, par. 1, l. 30 (fragments), *CCSL* 36, pp. 527-535.
    No matches, but cf. *PD* II.100, p. 472. (Tract 80, 81, 82)
    PDS.69, col. 1536D. (In Vigilia Apostolorum, Tract. 80).

40. fols. 96r4-102r9; XIII; K. **De Plurimis martyribus. Euang. Sec. Matt.** Si quis uult est… **Dicta Gregorii.** Quia dominus ac redemptor … aeternum regnum citius adepturi sumus per eum qui … saecula saeculorum amen.
    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 2, hom. 32, *CCSL* 141, pp. 277-286.
    PD II.118, p. 475. (*Festivitate Martyrum*)
    PDS.77, col. 1543C. (*De Uno Martyre*)

41. fols. 102r9-104r9; XIII-XIV; K. **De plurimis martyribus.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Uidens autem ihesus turbas ascendit in mortem… **Dicta Hieronimi presb.** Dominus ad montana conscendit … opere complere.
    Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei,* lib. 1, lines 413-528, *CCSL* 77, pp. 23-27.

42. fols. 104r10-106v3; XIV; K. **De plurimis martyribus.** Euang. Sec. Matt. **Dicta S. Gregorii.** Sancti evangelii fr. kar. brevis est lectio … carnalia desideria in menta trucidamus, ipso adiuuante … sancta sanctorum amen.
    Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia,* lib. 1, hom. 3, *CCSL* 141, pp. 20-25.
    PD II.124, p. 476. (In Natale Sanctae Felicitatis Seu Et Aliarum Sanctarum)
    PDS.34, col. 1174A. (In Natali Sanctae Felicitatis)

43. fols. 106v4-109r23; XIV; K. **Recapitulatio in Nat. S. Agnae. Sermo b. Maximi Ep.** Dum [sic] in toto mundo … gaudia non neganda omnium laborum tradidit palam qui regnat … in saecula saeculorum. amen.
    Ps.-Ambrose, *PL* 17, s. 48, cols. 701-705; Maximus of Turin, *PL* 57, s. 56, cols. 643-648.
    PD I.62, p. 441. (In Natali Sanctae Agnetis Virginis)
    PDS.5, cols. 1461A-1461B. (In Natali Sanctae Agnetis)

44. fols. 109r24-109v13; XIV; K. **Recapitulatio Iohannes Bapista.** Iohannes Baptista filius zacharie ex tribu leui ... greco sermone augustan uocauit.
    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 66, *PL* 83, cols. 147B-148B.

45. fols. 109v14-111v10; XIV-XV; K. **In uigilia S. Petri.** Euang. Sec. Ioh. Simon iohannes diligis me plus his... **Lectionis eiusdem Bedae Presbiteri.** Uirtutem nobis perfectae dilectionis ... remunerare pollicetur.
    Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii,* lib. 2, hom. 22, line 1-218, *CCSL* 122, pp. 158-159.
    PD II.45, p. 461. (In Vigilia Sancti Petri)
    PDS.23, col. 1476D. (In Vigilia Apostolorum Petri Et Pauli)

46. fols. 111v11-114v8; XV; K. **Item de eadem festiuitate sermo Maximi.** Gloriosissimos christiane fidei principes ... ibi regni sui principes collocaret.
    Maximus of Turin, *Homilies,* hom. 68, In natali beatissimorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum I, *PL* 57, cols. 391-396B.
    PD II.47, p. 461. (De Natali Beatissimorum Apostlorum Petri et Pauli)
    PDS.32, col. 1484C. (In Commemoratione Sancti Pauli)

47. fols. 114v9-115v6; XV; K. **Cuius supra de eadem festiuitate.** Apostolici natalis gaudio ... effusione devoti sanguinis consecrarunt.
    Maximus of Turin, *Homilies,* hom. 69, De eodem natali sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli II, *PL* 57, cols. 397A-398B.
    PD II.48, p. 461. (De Natali Beatissimorum Apostlorum Petri et Pauli)
    PDS.25, col. 1477A. (In Die Apostolorum Petri Et Pauli)

48. fols. 115v6-119r7; XV; K. **Item de eadem die.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Venit ihesus in partes cesariae phillipi... **Omelia Bedae presb.** respondens simon petrus dixit: tu es christus filius dei uiui... Notet autem dilectio vestra... accipiemus coronam uitae ... saecula saeculorum amen.
    Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii,* lib. 1, hom. 20, l. 47-226, *CCSL* 122, pp. 145-146.
    PDS.11, cols. 1465D-1470B. (In Cathedra Sancti Petri)

49. fols. 119r8-119v12; XV; K. **Simon petrus filius iohannis frater** andreae ortus bethsaida... urbis veneratione celebratur.
    Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus,* cap. 1, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur,* 14, 1a, (ed. E. Richardson, 1896, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs), pp. 6-7.

50. fols. 119v13-120r17; XV-XVI; K. **Item sermo b. Agustini de Nat. S. Pauli.** Amen inquit dico uobis quod uos qui secuti estis me ... hic dicimus cum suis discipulis iudicaturum Iesum ... regenerata per fidem.
    Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei,* lib. 20, cap. 5, n. 3, *CCSL* 48, (eds. B. Dombart & A. Kalb, 1955; Turnhout, Brepols), pp. 704-705.
    PD II.55, p. 463. (In Natale S. Pauli)

51. fols. 120r17-120v24; XVI; K. **Paulus qui ante saulus.** Apostolus gentium aduocatus iudaeorum a christo de caelo uocatus in terram prostratus ... septimo tertio ab urbe roma miliario contra orientalem plagam
    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 69, *PL* 83, cols. 150A-150B.

52. fols. 120v24-125r9; XV-XVI; K. **Recapitulatio Natale Sancto Iacobi. Omelia Agustini ep.** Hoc est praeceptum meum. Siue dicatur preceptum sive mandatum ex uno verbo graco utrumque ... ad ratione salutis.
    Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus,* tract. 83, par. 2 - tract. 86, par. 3 (end), *CCSL* 36, pp. 535-543.
    PD II.102, p. 472. (Natale Unius Apostoli)

53. fol. 125v10-16; XVI; K. **Iacobus filius zebedei frater iohannis** quartus ... sepultusque est in achaia marmarica.
    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 71, *PL* 83, col. 151A.

54. fols. 125v16-126r8; XVI; K. **In illo autem tempore sine** dubio tempus quod sub claudio ... in apostolorum actibus conscripta nosse docet.
    Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica,* trans. Rufinus, lib. 2, cap. 9-10, par. 1, l.6, *Corpus Berolinensis,* vol. 9,1 + 9,2, pp. 125-127.

55. fols. 126r9-126v12; XVI; K. **Recapitulatio S. Iohannis. Sermo Iohannis Ep.** Heu me quid agam ... salationis accepit.
    John Chrysostom (?), *In Decollatione Beati Joannis Baptistae, PL* 95, cols. 1508D-1509C (excerpt).
    PD II.72, p. 466. (In Decollatione S. Joannis Baptistae)
    PDS.50. (As above.)

56. fols. 126v13-131v5; XVI-XVII; K. **Recapitulatio S. Matthei.** Euang. Sec. Matt. Uidit ihesus hominem sedentem … **Omelia Bedae Presbiteri.** Legimus apostolum dicentem quia omnes peccauerunt … in throno Patris una cum Spiritu sancto… saecula saeculorum. Amen.

    Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii,* lib. 1, hom. 21, *CCSL* 122, pp. 148-157.
    PD II.99, p. 472. (In S. Matthaei Apostoli)
    PDS.55, col. 1522B. (In Die Sancti Matthaei)

57. fols. 131v6-10; XVII; K. **Recapitulatio S. Iudae Ap.** Iudas iacobi frater … in nerito arminiae urbe.

    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 78, *PL* 83, col. 153B.

58. fols. 131v11-20; XVII; K. **Recapitulatio S. Symonis Ap.** Simon zelotes qui prius dictus est chananeus … sortes proprias acceperunt.

    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 80-81, *PL* 83, cols. 153C-154A.

59. fols. 131v21-25; XVII; K. **Recapitulatio S. Andreae Ap.** Andreas qui interpretatus decorus … cruci suspensus occubuit.

    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 70, *PL* 83, col. 151A.

60. fols. 131v26-132r4; XVII; K. **Recapitulatio S. Thomas Ap.** Thomas Christi discipulus didimus … sepultus est in honore.

    Isidore of Seville, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum,* cap. 74, *PL* 83, col. 152B.

61. fols. 132r5-143v; XVII-XVIII; K. **Inc. Sermo B. Sarapionis de octo uitiis principalibus.** In illo coetu antiquissimorum senum fuit vir nomine sarapion …qui cum universas cordis.

    Serapion, *De Octo Principalibus Vitiis,* cap. 1-23 (incomplete), in John Cassian, *Conferences,* pt. 1.5, *PL* 49, cols. 609D-640A.

Appendix 2 Parallels Between Rylands MS Latin 12 and Gregoire's and Migne's Editions of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*

	Gregoire's edition		Migne's edition		
Ryl. Lat 12	**PD I**	**PD II**	**PDS**	**PDT**	**Author**
II					Fulgentius
1	hom. 108		hom. 84		Severiani/P. Chr
5	hom. 34			hom. 38	Chrysostom
6	hom. 35			hom. 39	Augustine
11					Augustine
12				hom. 151	Augustine
13					Augustine
14					Bede
III					
1	hom. 30			hom. 29	Jerome
2				hom. 35	Augustine
3					Gregory of Tours
4	hom. 31				Isidore
5					Jerome
6		hom. 123			Gregory I
7		hom. 122	hom. 95		Gregory I
8			hom. 14		Ambrose
9			~hom. 15		Augustine
10					Eusebius
11					Isidore
12					Isidore
13		hom. 110			Jerome
14					Jerome
15		hom. 104	hom. 85		Gregory I
16		hom. 40	hom. 19		Bede
17		hom. 44	hom. 22		Bede
18		hom. 43	hom. 21		Maximus
19					Augustine
20					Jerome
21		hom. 54	hom. 7		Jerome
22		hom. 109	hom. 88		Gregory I
23		hom. 101	hom. 72		Gregory I
24		hom. 68	hom.42		Augustine
25			~hom. 43 / 47		Augustine
26					Jerome

	Gregoire’s edition		**Migne’s edition**		
Ryl. Lat 12	**PD I**	**PD II**	**PDS**	**PDT**	**Author**
27					Gregory of Tours
28					Jerome
29					Gregory of Tours
30					Origen
31			~hom. 16		Augustine
32					?
33		~hom. 100	~hom. 69		Augustine
34					Jerome
35		hom. 112	hom. 75		Gregory I
36		hom. 116	hom. 80		Gregory I
37		hom. 103	~hom. 71		Augustine
38		hom. 98	hom. 2		Gregory I
39		~hom. 100	~hom. 69		Augustine
40		hom. 118	hom. 77		Gregory I
41					Jerome
42		hom. 124	hom. 34		Gregory I
43	hom. 62		hom. 5		Maximus
44					Isidore
45		hom. 45	hom. 23		Bede
46		hom. 47	hom. 32		Maximus
47		hom. 48	hom. 25		Maximus
48			hom. 11		Bede
49					Jerome
50		hom. 55			Augustine
51					Isidore
52		hom. 102			Augustine
53					Isidore
54					Eusebius
55		hom. 72	hom. 50		Chrysostom
56		hom. 99	hom. 55		Bede
57					Isidore
58					Isidore
59					Isidore
60					Isidore
61					Serapion

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10 Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority

The Use of Isidore in the Opus Caroli

Laura Carlson

The art historian Ernst Kitzinger once framed the period between the fourth and the ninth centuries as one overwhelmed with talk about images.[1] The eighth century certainly would seem to illustrate his case. The adoption and subsequent abandonment of Iconoclasm by the Byzantine Empire rekindled a long-standing debate about the appropriateness of imagery in Christian worship throughout the Mediterranean world, engaging not only the Byzantines, but also the papacy and the emergent Carolingian Empire. The formal repeal of Iconoclasm at the 787 Second Council of Nicaea produced not one but two Carolingian treatises that explicitly discussed and rejected Byzantine image theory. Both treatises, the earlier, and now lost, *Capitulare adversus Synodum* and the later *Opus Caroli regis Contra Synodum* (often referred to as the *Libri Carolini*), often are contextualized as 'response' texts, written specifically to combat the conclusions reached at Nicaea, where the Byzantines revealed a new image-inclusive spiritual policy.[2] That Nicaea was the instigation behind these two texts cannot be denied; however, the presumed centrality of image theory in the *Opus Caroli* can obscure the broader insight it (and presumably the lost *Capitulare*) provides on the emergent linguistic philosophy within the Carolingian intellectual world. Yes, the *Opus Caroli* was written to combat a new Byzantine perspective of the spiritual worth of images, but in doing so it advocated a specifically Carolingian understanding of language, reflective of a growing incorporation of the etymological and linguistic philosophy of classical, late antique, and early medieval writers, specifically Isidore of Seville. The core of the *Opus Caroli* is not images, but language.

What has often been called the working copy of the *Opus Caroli* (Vaticanus Latinus 7207) clearly once commanded considerable attention at the Carolingian court. At least four distinct hands worked on the text, resulting in over 3,400 distinct corrections as well as marginal notes in Tironian shorthand.[3] Although this early manuscript lacks a title, preface, or the majority of Book One, a later, more complete, and polished manuscript (Paris, Bibliothéque de l'Arsenal, MS 663) attributes the work to Charlemagne ('The Work of Charles against the Synod'), a textual example of the Frankish king's spiritual as well as political sphere of influence. The significance of this attribution is rarely commented upon but it should serve to indicate the text's one-time prominence within the Carolingian intellectual world.[4] The attachment of Charlemagne's name to the text provided a broader cultural and geopolitical context for the image debate, in which the Carolingians (as a whole) dismissed the cultural, political, and theological legitimacy of Byzantium.[5] Analysing the text is daunting due to its size (four books of 120 chapters); however, its heft provides unparalleled access to a singular attempt at representing Carolingian linguistic and semiotic theory. The text's predominant author, Theodulf of Orléans, worked largely as a ghost-writer (his name does not appear in any of the extant manuscripts), accorded the responsibility of demonstrating the superiority of Carolingian spiritual ideology to that of the Byzantines.[6] Such an ideology was not an inclusive one. Similarly seen in attitudes towards the pagan Saxons or the Spanish Adoptionists, blanket condemnation and even violence were frequent tools of enforcing Carolingian interpretations of Christianity.[7] Accordingly, this chapter will not examine Theodulf's (and, by proxy, the Carolingians') mastery of Byzantine theology, but instead will analyse his explanation of Carolingian image theory in terms of its milieu of the late eighth century Carolingian intellectual world. Theodulf's denigration of the Greek Patriarchate, the Byzantine imperial court, and overall Greek intellectual society might be usefully understood as a 'straw man' argument, in which the Byzantines acted as a foil for the author to present and promote a Carolingian linguistic philosophy nascent within the international community of scholars at Charlemagne's court. This task was underpinned by geopolitical resonance as the Carolingians worked to establish themselves politically, militarily, and spiritually as the true successors of Rome.

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[1] Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, p. 85; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, p. 28.

[2] Unfortunately the *Capitulare* itself does not survive, available now only partially via the *Responsum* prepared to it by Pope Hadrian, c. 793. Hadrian, *Epistola* 2, pp. 6-57.

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[3] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians,* p. 166.

[4] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians,* p. 174.

[5] The style of argument within the *Opus Caroli* is largely an 'us vs. them' construction, referring collectively in the first person plural in order to indicate Carolingian policy and referring to the errors of the second Council of Nicaea as those of 'the Greeks', such as seen in Book IV, Chapter 11, 'That uselessly and without care the Greeks attempted to anathematize the catholic church in their synod…', ('Quod inutiliter et incaute Gręci ecclesiam catholicam anathematizare conati sint in eorum synodo…'), Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 332, l. 17.

[6] Although the debate regarding the authorship of the *Opus Caroli* has mostly been put to rest, thanks largely to the work of Ann Freeman, a number of scholars (Freeman included) have considered the potential influence of Alcuin of York.

[7] On the Adoptionist Controversy see Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*.

Prior to an examination of the *Opus Caroli*'s linguistic arguments, it is worth discussing the means by which the text rejects the authority and conclusions of the 787 Council of Nicaea. Early medieval conciliar authority traditionally rested on two intersecting arguments: horizontal and vertical. The vertical approach invoked the historic authority of the Christian church, referencing both the received transmission of scripture and the inspired authority of patristic authors. In contrast, the horizontal appeal rested in current ecclesiastical authority, traditionally the pentarchy of ancient patriarchates (Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome) and decisions made within ecumenical councils.[8] The *Opus Caroli* relies heavily on the vertical argument, condemning the council of 787 for wilfully departing from received patristic and Bible authority.[9] Numerous chapters of the work allude to the prohibition of image worship based on these precedents (e.g. Book I, chapters 12, 14, and 26). Interestingly, however, the *Opus Caroli* lacks any invocation to horizontal arguments, that is, appeals to current ecclesiastical authority, such as the Pope or recent church councils. Thomas Noble has surmised the prominent absence of this form of argument might be rooted in Pope Hadrian's refusal to side with the Carolingians against the 787 Council, rendering them unable to invoke current ecclesiastical authority. The Carolingians may also have taken an even more extreme approach: rejecting the 787 Council's status as a valid ecumenical council outright, claiming that it was neither catholic nor universal (as they pointedly noted they had not been invited).[10] By stripping the 787 Council of its status as ecumenical, the Carolingians simultaneously removed its 'horizontal' authority, that is, any ability to dictate or define appropriate Christian practice.

Theodulf's vertical arguments also may be linked to the broader circumstances of the dissemination of the Acts of the 787 Council to the Carolingian court. Ironically, the Carolingians' condemnation rested on a poorly translated copy of the Byzantine Council. Papal representatives who attended Nicaea in 787 provided the papal archives with a copy of the conciliar acts in Greek, to be later translated into Latin. Although the name of the scribe given this task has been lost to history, the effects of his poor translation attempt endure. The Greek Acts reveal the Byzantines' careful demarcation in vocabulary between worship (*latreia*, a term applicable exclusively to the worship of God) and reverence (*prokynesis*, a widely used term related to the action of "bowing down") when referring to images, advocating the latter as an appropriate Christian attitude toward religious imagery. The distinction between 'worship' and 'reverence', so carefully demarcated in the Greek, was removed from the Latin translation. Both *prokynesis* and *latreia* were translated indiscriminately as either *adorare* or *osculauri*, denuding the Acts' original and purposeful vocabulary choices. The reasons behind the poor translation can never be known or why the Carolingians, when receiving this Latin version, accepted the text as a genuine reflection of Byzantine image policy. Regardless, it was this Latin text on which the Carolingians (i.e. Theodulf) based the predominant arguments of the *Opus Caroli*.[11] But, as mentioned above, Theodulf's arguments should not be judged on the basis of their adequacy in representing the Byzantine position, as the Carolingians were rarely interested in expressing their enemies' views correctly.[12] Instead, we should focus on how Theodulf constructs these linguistic arguments in light of the wider context of the Carolingian intellectual world. Within this context, Theodulf's heavy incorporation of Isidore of Seville comments not only upon Isidore's increasing influence within the Carolingian literate world, but also speaks to a nascent consideration of linguistic philosophy among the intellectual elite, one that indicated a developing formal relationship between the study of language and Christian doctrine throughout the early medieval Mediterranean.

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[8] von Shubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche,* p. 384; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands,* Vol. 2, p. 343.

[9] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians,* p. 178.

[10] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, p. 178.

Isidore of Seville and the 'Spanish' Presence at the Carolingian Court

Study of the Latin language, both from a grammatical and philosophical perspective, reached new heights in the Carolingian court during the late eighth century. As Peter of Pisa and Alcuin of York turned to writing new technical grammars, they embraced an emergent sense of the higher purpose of linguistic study, in which the traditional disciplines of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) could be applied to biblical study.[13] These writers, in addition to later ninth century intellectuals such as Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena have often been cited as the turning point for the development of early medieval grammatical discourse: the years after them are marked with vocational grammars increasingly absorbing other disciplines, especially dialectic, mythology, theology, and biblical exegesis.[14] Yet these developments stemmed from a markedly increased recognition of the spiritual ramifications of etymological and linguistic theory, rooted largely in the works of Isidore of Seville.

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[11] Freeman, "An Introduction", p. 1.

[12] Freeman, "An Introduction", p. 33.

[13] Alcuin *De Dialectica*; Peter of Pisa, *Ars*.

Isidore's most influential text, the *Etymologiae,* not only provided an 'encyclopaedic' approach to knowledge (discussing everything from geography to military tactics), but was also a means of understanding knowledge itself via a Christianization of the secular liberal arts. This work is one of the largest distinguishable influences on Theodulf's arguments in the *Opus Caroli*. Although neither Isidore nor the *Etymologiae* is mentioned by name in the text, Ann Freeman's work revealed over seventy direct references to phrasing and vocabulary from the *Etymologiae* within the *Opus Caroli*, a number almost commensurate to biblical or exegetical references in the text.[15] What these references reveal is that Isidore was a model for both Theodulf's content and methodology on language in the *Opus Caroli*. Theodulf appropriated a range of topics from the *Etymologiae*, more than half of his references to Isidore relate specifically to the topics of language, largely from the first two books of the *Etymologiae*, those related to the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic).[16] The similarities between the dialectical and syllogistic reasoning in the *Opus Caroli* and these sections of the *Etymologiae* are striking, suggesting Theodulf's familiarity with the text. Simultaneously, these books provided Theodulf with extensive authoritative reasoning advocating the importance of language over images, using inherited linguistic philosophy adopted from classical and late antique writers such as Aristotle, Augustine, and Boethius. An epistemological explanation of language, as defined by the *Etymologiae*, underpinned Theodulf's arguments against the Greeks.

Theodulf's awareness and subscription to Isidore of Seville extends beyond the *Opus Caroli,* going so far as to append Isidore's *Chronicon* to his biblical manuscripts.[17] Theodulf's preference for Isidore as a Christian authority has also been suggested to stem from Theodulf's perception of their shared Iberian origins. Theodulf's sympathies for his fellow countrymen is marked in other examples of his work: a reference to Prudentius as *'noster et ipse parens'* suggests a Spanish origin as well as a reference in a poem to Charlemagne, *'Annuit is mihi qui sum inmensis casibus exul'*.[18] Although Theodulf believed (albeit erroneously) he shared a Visigothic heritage with Isidore as well as a well-developed antipathy for the Greek world, no specific allusion to Isidore's distrust for the Byzantines can be found in the *Opus Caroli*.[19] Interestingly, despite his prominence Isidore is never cited explicitly by name; that honour is reserved for a precious few patristic and classical authorities (i.e. Aristotle, Apuleius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, and Gregory the Great). Freeman postulated these writers held such authority within both the eastern and western medieval worlds that invocation of their works commanded unqualified assent.[20] Theodulf's decision not to include Isidore in these ranks may indicate an assumption that his works were relatively unknown in the Byzantine world. Although access to and appreciation of Isidore's texts had increased markedly in the Carolingian literate world in recent decades, his work did not convey the same authority as those of Aristotle or Augustine. Though explicit reference to Isidore may be lacking, the pervasiveness of his works in the *Opus Caroli* indicates their availability in the Carolingian world.[21]

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[14] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 207.

[15] This number is somewhat arbitrary as it is unable to properly assess Theodulf's awareness of other writers/texts via Isidore's *Etymologiae*; however, it does provide a useful comparison of Isidore's explicit presence in comparison to other works. Theodulf, *Opus Caroli*, p. 604.

[16] At least half of the references to the Etymologiae within the Opus Caroli stem from Books I and II. *Opus Caroli*, pp. 604-5.

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[17] This text is included in two extant copies of Theodulf's biblical manuscripts in addition to *De Nominibus Hebraicis* by Eucherius, the *Clavis Melitonis*, and the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* or the *Divinis Scripturis*. Freeman, 'Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini', p. 695; Koon & Wood, 'The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville'.

[18] 'Our very parent', Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmen 45*, p. 543, l. 16; 'He gives me, an exile far from home, his approval', *Carmen 23*, p. 481, l. 28.

[19] Although one might suggest that this belief was in error, Theodulf refers to himself as a Visigoth, while it is believed that Isidore was a Hispano-Roman, writing under Visigothic rule. See Fontaine, 'Isidore de Sevilla frente a la España Bizantina'.

[20] Freeman, 'An Introduction', p. 75.

[21] Within the *Opus Caroli*, Theodulf references Isidore's *Etymologiae*, *De Natura Rerum, Allegoriae Scripturae Sacrae, Chronica, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, De Fide catholica, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, Differentiarum, Liber Numerorum, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum,* and the *Sententiae.*

Byzantine Error and Isidore's Theory of Language

The Greek misunderstanding of language, both in its technical form (e.g. grammar) and in its role in Christian theology (e.g. the understanding of the Bible and patristic writing) underpins Theodulf's wide-sweeping attacks on the Byzantines; a profound error at the root of Greek society.[22] Theodulf embarks on an extended discussion of language: its origin, its ability to communicate God's law, and its role in human development. Theodulf and Isidore share a common approach to language as a predominantly human, as opposed to a divine, institution. Within the *Etymologiae,* Isidore refers to words '[having been] established by the ancients' either according to nature or by whim (*secundum placitum*).[23] This adhered to an emergent form of naturalism in terms of the Christian understanding of language as a human invention. Although other classical philosophical views of naturalism had led to the dismissal of language as a 'conventional' institution, in which words and their meanings were subject to change and variation according to culture or time, Isidore's (and by proxy Theodulf's) linguistic naturalism gave language a permanence rooted in Christianity. Despite its human origins, God had allowed language to accurately reflect elements of His creation. Such a philosophy was derived from Genesis 2:19, in which God accorded Adam the responsibility of naming all creatures on Earth, and man provided the first linguistic link between word (the signifier) and object (the signified): 'Now the Lord God had formed out of the ground all the wild animals and all the birds in the sky. He brought them to the man to see what he would name them; and whatever the man called each living creature, that was its name.' God's approval of Adam's names for creation instilled a semi-divine nature to language: its human origins had been transformed and elevated to having a fundamental and inseparable tie to reality. Language was thus established as an eternal institution: words and their meanings were fused irrevocably. To change or misappropriate the meaning of a word was to disrespect God's blessing of human language. Theodulf invokes this link when condemning the Greeks for their idolatrous mistake in confusing and conflating two different words in reference to the worship of images (*adorare* and *osculari*):

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[22] Arguments against the Greeks based on language can be found as early as Book I, Chapter 1, in which Theodulf attacks Constantine and Irene for claiming to 'co-reign' with God. This argument develops into an exposition on language according to the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae* about the three modes of speech. Theodulf of Orleans, *Opus Caroli*, pp. 106-108.

[23] "Non autem omnia nomina a veteribus secundum naturam imposita sunt, sed quaedam, et secundum placitum." Isidore augments this understanding with the origin of *written* words in the Hebrew language, which he derives ultimately from the Law transmitted by Moses. Isidore, ed. Lindsay, *Etymologiae* I.29.2-4; trans. Barney, Lewis, et al. *The Etymologies*, p. 39.

> And it is clear that "osculum" and "adorationem" are the names of two [different] things. For how can there be unity in the names as much as in sense, when there is such a difference in their meaning? Or why can't the words be different in sense, when the origins of the words are different when said aloud? For things are not created according to their names, but names are created according to things, nor should it be believed that things are fitted to names, but more often that names are fitted to things, since all living things were brought to the first man by God, so that he might see what he would call these things [as he saw them], the names were chosen; for the same father of the human race (Adam) gave names to the material world created by God. He did not look at material objects [*res*] that were brought before him in order to apply names themselves which he had created [previously].[24]

God's permission for man to provide names for all of creation solidified the relationship between a representation of the world (i.e. language) and the world itself. Isidore's search for etymological origins stemmed from a common patristic belief that Latin contained the fundamental linguistic elements of this original 'Edenic' language, Hebrew.[25] This link between language and Edenic purity allowed any sacred language (Hebrew, Greek, or Latin) to link to something beyond itself: to God's plan for humanity. In Christian epistemology, this allowed for language to remain a vehicle for accurate communication between man and God, expressed most fully in scripture.[26] Idolatry, the worship of images, violated this sacred relationship. Only words, a human invention blessed by God, could adequately express God's message to humanity. Images, as purely man-made creations, could never hope to rival this connection. To worship images was to worship only the world: man-made images could not possibly rival the allegorical and multi-layered nature of Scripture. Having been sanctioned by God, the Bible represented the deepest and most perfect expression of God's law, accessible on an infinite number of symbolic and allegorical layers. In confusing the words of worship (*osculari* and *adorare*), the Greeks were forgetting the fundamental link between linguistic 'symbols' and an external divinely-ordered reality. To confuse two words particularly in reference to worship was to deny the proper relationship that joined man and God via language.

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[24] Manifestum namque est osculum et adorationem duarum rerum nomina esse. Quomodo ergo erit nominum tanta in sensu unitas, cum rerum in intellectu sit tanta diversitas? Aut cur non possint vocabula differri in sensu, cum possint vocabulorum origines differri in actu? Non enim res sunt conditae propter nomina, sed nomina propter res, nec credendum est, ut res aptentur nominibus, sed nomina potius aptentur rebus, quoniam et protoplasto animantia adducta a Domino fuisse, ut videret, quid vocaret ea, leguntur; rebus enim a Deo conditis idem humani generis pater nomina dedit, non nominibus a se conditis res, quibus ipsa nomina inderet, ad se adductas perspexit. Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli,* pp. 544 l. 30-545, l. 5.

[25] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 149.

[26] See Mary Beagon's chapter in this volume for additional information on the Christian understanding of Adam's conferral of names to mankind.

In the *Opus Caroli,* Theodulf, successor to Isidore's etymological approach, bases language in an extra-verbal authority (i.e. God), which guarantees the connection between word and reality.[27] Exemplified by the biblical account of Moses receiving God's law on Mt. Sinai, the proper relationship between man and God is via words, not images. Not via painting, Theodulf argues, but in writing, did humanity receive God's law. On those tablets were not images but *apices* or letters, which are the 'signs for things', a phrase at the heart of Isidore's *Etymologiae:*

> And thus forty days after the immolation of the lamb and the crossing of the Red Sea "the Lord descending on Mount Sinai" gave the law to Moses not in pictures but writing, and delivered "in written stone" not in images but in the form of letters, which are *signs for things or the* [*physical marks*] *for the words* which have been assigned [to them].[28]

The 'Isidorian' definition of language Theodulf provides echoes throughout the *Opus Caroli* and roots Theodulf's justification of Carolingian opposition to the Greeks. Although seemingly minor, Theodulf's invocation of Isidore's etymological approach to language marks a significant development in the intellectual Christian world, as Davide del Bello states: '[Isidore's work provided] an etymological account of both the world and language, of the world *as* language'.[29] Although the theory of etymological inquiry as a means of understanding reality was certainly not unique to Isidore, the popularity of his *Etymologiae,* which combined a Christian encyclopaedic knowledge with this theory of etymological inquiry, marked a new Christian linguistic philosophy emergent within early medieval intellectual circles. Theodulf's incorporation of this philosophy within the *Opus Caroli,* a purposeful representation of Carolingian Christian philosophy, should be understood as a significant turning point in the acceptance and promotion of this approach to language within the early medieval world.

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[27] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 26.

[28] "Quinquagesimo denique die post agni immolationem et maris rubri transitum *Dominus in montem Sinai descendens* legem non pictam sed scriptam Moysi dedit, et in *tabulis lapideis* non imagine sed apices, qui *indices rerum* sive *signa verborum* esse perhibentur, tradidit" Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus* Caroli, pp. 304 l.27-305, l. It is noteworthy that Theodulf (and Isidore) use three different words to indicate "signs" or "words": *apices*, *indices*, and *signa*. The semantic variation in their meaning has yet to be fully explored. This is taken directly from Isidore's 'Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa verborum.' Ed. Lindsay, *Etymologiae* I, 3:1.

[29] Del Bello, *Forgotten Paths*, p. 97.

The Christian Encyclopaedia and the Spiritual Implications of Language

Isidore's adherence to a form of linguistic naturalism, that language has some permanent connection to reality, is evident in the philosophy that drives his most popular work, the *Etymologiae.* Isidore's etymological accounts imply a belief in the worthwhile knowledge that can be gleaned from a word's meaning or roots. Yet this philosophy was by no means widespread as an integral component of Christian learning. Rather, this text should be contextualized by the developing treatment of classical linguistic philosophy within Christian intellectual circles. A linguistic philosophy advocating naturalism or the benefits of etymological inquiry can be found in numerous classical and late antique writers, such as Plato's *Cratylus* (fifth century BCE), Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* (fourth century BCE), Varro's *De Lingua Latina* (second-first century BCE), and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (late first century CE).[30] Yet an inherent relationship between language and existence was not one universally accepted by the early Christian intellectual community. In his *Principia Dialecticae,* Augustine largely dismissed the use of etymological inquiry for the purposes of spiritual study. He refused to acknowledge the validity of the search for the true *'etymon',* arguing, 'Discerning the origin of words is like the interpretation of dreams; it is a matter of each man's ingenuity'.[31] Augustine rejected the use of grammatical science for the purposes of discovering the origins and uses of words and, by association, any fundamental link between language and existence.[32] Although not widely popular in the patristic world, the seventh and eighth centuries reveal a much wider acceptance of etymological inquiry, perhaps most prominently demonstrated by the *Etymologiae*'s popularity, but more broadly in the transmission and transcription of other works advocating its use within Christian study. The *Principia Dialecticae,* in which Augustine rejected etymological study, was largely unknown or rarely copied during this period. Although Theodulf may have known of it, only one phrase from the *Opus Caroli* has been linked to the text.[33] Instead, a popular pseudo-Augustinian text, the *Categoriae Decem* (often known by its alternate title, the *Paraphrasis Themistiana*), was far more influential in determining early medieval understanding of Augustinian etymological theory, a text which ironically supported the philosophical relevance of etymological study, based largely on the linguistic philosophy of Aristotle, who was enormously influential in his posited relationship between language and reality.[34]

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[30] Varro's lost work *Disciplinarum libri IX* would also presumably be in this category.

[31] 'Huc accedit, quod ut somniorum interpretatio, ita verborum origo pro cujusque ingenio praedicatur.' Augustine of Hippo, *Principia Dialecticae*, PL 32:1411.

[32] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 51.

If the seventh and eighth centuries mark a new approach to linguistic philosophy, particularly the 'naturalism' suggested by Isidore, this philosophy should be broadly compared with the overall role of linguistic study within Christian education. In addition to the first purpose-written etymological text of the early medieval period, Isidore's *Etymologiae* also has been considered a benchmark in the development of the medieval Christian encyclopaedia. As Jacques Fontaine has indicated, the formation of a text such as the *Etymologiae* represented more than a random synthesis of divine and worldly knowledge.[35] Both Isidore and other early encyclopaedists, such as Cassiodorus with his *Institutiones* (mid-sixth century), derived the structure and philosophy of their work from the classical *episteme*: 'a way of knowing, conditions of knowing and how these conditions determine the object of knowledge'.[36] Isidore's approach to his subject(s), arranging his material according to the *trivium* and *quadrivium,* evoked the aims of the classical *enkyklios paideia:* to discuss the full range of subjects appropriate for comprehensive knowledge, stimulus for the eventual development of the traditional medieval curriculum.[37] In Book I of the *Etymologiae,* this approach to language and knowledge is made purposefully clear: 'A discipline (*disciplina*) takes its name from "learning" (*discere*)*,* when it can also be called "knowledge" (*scientia*)'.[38] Especially resonant in this area were the disciplines of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), in which the study of language itself could yield knowledge and understanding about the world.[39] The theory of the use of secular disciplines such as the *trivium* within a Christian setting should be distinguished from the etymological inquiry and linguistic naturalism also at the heart of Isidore's work. The acceptance and perceived benefit of the secular disciplines was one suggested in patristic writings, notably by Augustine.

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[33] Although the MGH edition includes a reference to the *Principia* in Book I, Chapter II (p. 117) of the *Opus Caroli*, I have found no similarities to the known Augustinian text, based on the edition available in Migne.

[34] Freeman 'An Introduction', pp. 88-9; Pseudo-Augustine *Categoriae Decem.*

[35] Fontaine, 'Isidore de Séville et la mutation de l'encyclopédisme antique'

[36] Copeland, 'Language frontiers, literary form, and the encyclopedia', p. 508.

[37] Fowler, 'Encyclopaedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems', p. 14.

[38] Copeland, 'Language frontiers, literary form, and the encyclopedia', p. 39.

Augustine's rejection of etymological inquiry in the *Principia Dialecticae* may appear incongruent with his apparent support for the use of the liberal arts in Christian contexts, as argued in his *De Doctrina Christiana.* But although the ideas are related, they should be considered distinct, particularly in terms of changing perspectives on the two within the early medieval Christian intellectual world. Although Augustine rejected etymological inquiry as a philosophical basis for knowledge of existence, he did support the application of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) as a means of better understanding scripture. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* advocated a new perspective on the Bible as the epitome of eloquence, in which all modes and methods of speech were most fully realized, 'The literary-minded should be aware that our Christian authors used all the figures of speech which teachers of grammar call by their Greek names of tropes [...] Those who know about these tropes recognize them in sacred literature and to some extent helps them in understanding it...'.[40]

In the centuries following Augustine, the acceptance of pagan disciplines such as the *trivium* did not always indicate a similar appropriation of the philosophical implications of etymological inquiry. The growth of early medieval Christian linguistic treatises often evoked Augustine's approach to the liberal arts within the *De Doctrina Christiana,* as opposed to the *Categoriae Decem.* Study of technical aspects of language (e.g. grammar, tropes, etc.) increased as a focus of monastic pedagogy and intellectual activity, resulting in proto-encyclopaedic texts such as the seventh century Irish text, *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* (St Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek, 2/1, ff. 21-42rb), and grammatical collections such as the seventh century Italian *Ars Ambrosiana* and the ninth century *Ars Laureshamensis.*[41]

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[39] Fowler, 'Encyclopaedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems', p. 5.

[40] 'Sciant autem litterati, modis omnibus locutionis, quos grammatici graeco nomine *tropos* vocant... Quos tamen *tropos* qui noverunt agnoscunt in Litteris sanctis eorumque scientia ad eas intellegendas aliquantum adiuvantur.' Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans. Green, *On Christian Doctrine*, p. 87, ll. 87-90.

[41] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 208.

The emergence of texts incorporating Christian and pagan disciplines, such as Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* as well as his *Expositio Psalmorum,* supported and supplemented a Christian appropriation of classical disciplines for religious purposes. The increased production of Christian texts advocating the use of the liberal arts may have spurred a renewed interest in the other component to linguistic study: language's relationship to reality. The increased transmission and translation of classical philosophical texts, such as Boethius' commentaries on Aristotle in the sixth century, may have fomented a wider examination of linguistic study within the seventh and eighth centuries.[42] The promotion of the liberal arts within the *De Doctrina Christiana* as well as the 'rediscovery' of the pro-etymological *Decem Categoriae* (which advocated a largely Aristotelian view of language) may have contributed to the continued transmission of many classical and late antique linguistic philosophical treatises on etymology, such as those by Varro and Quintilian. This perspective led perhaps understandably to the supposition that the technical arts associated with language (e.g. grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) as well as the investigation into the origins of language itself (e.g. etymology) could be viewed as support systems through which one could better understand language (and in correlation, existence and/or God). The prominence of the pseudo-Augustinian *Decem Categoriae,* in addition to the growing acceptance of classical disciplines such as the trivium within Christian intellectual thought indicates a blended approach to the role of language by the time Theodulf was composing the *Opus Caroli* in the late eighth century. His acceptance of the etymological naturalism advocated by Isidore (and more distantly by Aristotle and Boethius) echoes throughout the *Opus Caroli,* as all feature prominently in his arguments against the Greeks.[43] Theodulf also relies heavily upon Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum* (c. 540-548), a text allied closely to the etymological program of Isidore.[44] Within the *Opus Caroli,* the *Expositio* is second only to Isidore's *Etymologiae* in terms of numbers of appearance.[45] As heir to these two traditions, Theodulf's subscription to the belief that an understanding of the origins or meanings of words could lead to a fuller understanding of the concepts they represented permeates the *Opus Caroli,* providing the groundwork for his attack on the Greeks.

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[42] See Boethius, *Liber Aristotelis de decem praedicamentis* and *De Interpreetatione vel Periermenias*, ed. Laurentius Minio-Paluello.

[43] Theodulf of Orleans, *Opus Caroli*, pp. 600-603.

[44] Astell, 'Cassiodorus', p. 39.

[45] Freeman 'An Introduction', p. 76.

Isidore, and subsequently Theodulf, demonstrate both an acceptance of and application of secular disciplines, but they also subscribe to the more complex philosophy that language itself denoted something fundamental about reality. The popularity of this perspective, to the degree that Theodulf felt confident in expressing it as a part of Carolingian spirituality, must to some extent rest on Isidore's shoulders. Isidore's *Etymologiae* might be considered among the first widely influential Christian texts to advocate a joint perspective: a culmination of the appropriation of the secular liberal arts in addition to a heavy emphasis on the fixed relationship between language and reality.

The *Etymologiae,* as a successful bridge to the Christian appropriation of secular disciplines, prompted a new approach to biblical study. During the Carolingian period, we find the increased copying, compilation and transmission of linguistic treatises incorporating secular education as a necessary path for deeper spiritual understanding. In Alcuin's preface to his *De Grammatica* (late eighth century), the *Disputatio de vera philosophia,* the teacher explains that grammatical study sets the student on the search for true knowledge, God, pure thought, and eternal life.[46] Knowledge of language (via grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) was considered essential in understanding scripture; the culmination of not only God's words but human wisdom.[47] Those without this education were to be considered spiritually suspect. Isidore explicitly stated the new repurposing of Christian grammar in his *De Natura Rerum*, assuming the authority to speak for the proper divine doctrine (*sana sobriaque doctrina*).[48] This newfound responsibility (and the spiritual dangers associated with its lack) encapsulates Theodulf's argument against the Greeks. In the preface to the work, Theodulf invokes Isidore's words as the stimulus behind the *Opus Caroli:* 'Therefore ambition, puffed up by arrogant winds and the most arrogant desire for empty glory, inflamed not only the rulers but also the priests of the eastern regions to such an extent that they disregarded proper and divine doctrine…'.[49] Having established their inability to recognize the importance of words as the appropriate bond between God and man, Theodulf further demonstrates the Bible as the compendium of human wisdom. Theodulf lists how the Greeks have failed to train themselves in language and thus have misunderstood God's law:

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[46] 'Est equidem facile viam vobis demonstrare sapientiae, si eam tantummodo propter Deum, [propter rerum scientiam], propter puritatem animae, propter veritatem cognoscendam, etiam et propter seipsam diligatis…' Alcuin, *De Grammatica*, PL 101: 850B.

[47] This is exemplified in the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*.

[48] See also Andrew Fear's chapter on Isidore of Seville's *De Natura Rerum* in this volume. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 134; Isidore, *De Natura Rerum,* PL 83: 963.

[49] Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 98 l. 5.

> [In the Bible] one also will find the brilliance and fluency of eloquence (Isidore *Etym.* 1.2.1), the states and types of arguments (2.4.1 & 2.5.1); there exordiums, by which listeners are rendered benevolent, docile, and attentive (2.7.1); there brief and candid narratives and also long and obscure (2.7.1), which are not related except by the revealed Holy Spirit; there conclusions by which the property of things is shown, arguments in which the souls of the listeners are stirred to carry out what is said (2.7.2); there laws (2.10.1) or maxims (2.11.), there are related [the three registers of speaking]: speaking grandly, speaking humbly, and speaking moderately (2.17.1); there prosopopoeia (2.13.1), ethopoeia (2.14.1), and all types of speech, which were bequeathed by the rhetoricians. One will also find many other types more glorious than these which when he finds them, he will take pleasure in them, which neither the school of grammarians nor that of the rhetoricians was able to grasp.[50]

This laundry list of linguistic terminology drew largely on the vocabulary and phrasing of the *Etymologiae* (as shown above in the parentheses).[51] Whether Theodulf had a copy of the text in front of him as he worked on the *Opus Caroli* may never be known; however, the ease with which Theodulf incorporates Isidore's discussion of linguistic tropes and figures into his own work demonstrates a high degree of familiarity with the *Etymologiae.*[52]

But Theodulf's use of these linguistic terms extends beyond simply listing prosopopoeia and other forms of rhetorical speech. He conspicuously demonstrates his ability to use these linguistic forms and dialectical reasoning (in the form of syllogisms) as a means to further contrast Carolingian linguistic mastery to Byzantine ignorance. As Freeman has shown, the *Opus Caroli* is littered with syllogistic phrasing; a classical method re-appropriated to demonstrate a specifically Carolingian Christian truth.[53] As the idea of the multiple layers of Scripture gained traction in the late antique and early medieval world, Christian scholars such as Theodulf increasingly had recourse to the classical disciplines – as a means to 'pull back the curtain' and reveal the various deeper meanings of the Bible. The Byzantines, by failing to demonstrate an appreciation for semiotic importance, thus had shown themselves to be poor, uneducated Christians. As the earlier *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* argued (a sentiment Isidore and Theodulf clearly shared), 'the grammarian was an expert Latinist who had mastered the *ratio* of a foreign language in a formal way and corrects grammatical errors... Without the grammarian, Latin literary and Christian wisdom cannot be attained'.[54] As the author implies, the proper Christian is the correct speaker.[55] Theodulf argues that the Byzantines prove the truth to this philosophy: their inability to understand the forms and styles of biblical and patristic language has led them into idolatry. Their ignorance of language has produced an ignorance of Christian doctrine.

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[50] 'Illic etiam inveniet *nitorem et copiam eloquentiae* (Isidore, *Etym.* 1.2.1), *genera causarum* (2.4.1) et *status* (2.5.1); illic *exordia*, quibus *benivoli, dociles* vel *adtenti auditores fiunt*; illic *narrationes apertas et breves* (2.7.1), clausas etiam et longas, quae non nisi Spiritu sancto reserante panduntur; illic conclusiones quibus proprietas rerum monstratur, argumentationes, quibus *animi audientium concitantur ad implenda ea, quae dicuntur* (2.7.2); illic *leges* (2.10.1) sive *sententiae* (2.11.1), illic *magna granditer, parva summisse, mediocria temperate* (2.17.1) promuntur; illic *prosopopeian* (2.13.1), *ethopopeian* (2.14.1) vel omnes figuras loquutionum, quae a rethoribus traduntur, inveniet et plures illis augustiores quae percepisse se gaudebit, ad quas nec grammaticorum nec rethorum scola pertingere potuit.' Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 314 ll. 3-30.

[51] The MGH edition classifies this entire section as a reference to Isidore; however, given the numerous linguistic or grammatical treatises available during this time, I am not convinced Theodulf is intentionally citing the *Etymologiae.* This could either be a list from memory or a list of terms gleaned from any grammatical treatise.

[52] Freeman 'An Introduction', p. 78.

Syllogistic phrasing illustrates the extent to which the classical trivium had been adopted into a Christian framework. Theodulf did not only employ biblical quotations to show how the Greeks' idolatry violated God's law, but also methods of deliberative rhetoric and dialectical syllogisms to illustrate how the Greeks had failed to construct a logical argument to defend their idolatrous ways.[56] Theodulf flaunts his (and by proxy the Carolingians') superiority in these disciplines, consciously invoking 'the authority of Roman eloquence' to warn the Greeks of his impending rhetorical attack in subsequent books: 'and thus it ought to be argued as such, that first we establish our position, and then demolish [our] adversary's [position],' a direct quotation from Cicero's *De Oratore* via Isidore.[57] Logic, or better stated, reason (*rationalis*) is at the heart of both Isidore and Theodulf's examination of language, one which incorporates the disciplines of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. In his *Differentiae* (*De differentiis verborum*), Isidore attributes an introspective and ontological definition to dialectic, 'A rational method of discussion which sharpens intelligence and distinguishes truth from error'.[58] The essence of *rationalis* was to discover, via language, the true causes of things.[59] For Theodulf, the Greeks failed to do this at Nicaea. Theodulf repeatedly upheld the rationality of Christian truth: '[For] the Lord God is spirit, and He ought to be adored in spirit and in truth. One should not cling carnally but spiritually to Him. It is right to cleave to him neither carnally nor via the senses, but rather by the rationality of the soul's intuition'.[60] For Isidore, and subsequently Theodulf, truth was now defined by a *rationalis* Christianity; what had been traditionally agnostic or at least predominantly secular disciplines became crucial to biblical exegesis and revelation.[61]

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[53] Freeman, 'An Introduction', p. 56.

[54] 'Ita etiam grammatici est non nescire regulas exterorum sectas vocum emendare latine loquelas linguae' (f. 42r) trans. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 210.

[55] ff. 23v, trans. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, p. 210.

[56] Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 323, l. 10.

[57] '... argumentandum est ita, ut primum nostra firmemus, dehinc adversa confringamus.' Isidore, Etymologiae, ed. Lindsay, II.vii.5-6; trans. Barney, Lewis et al., p. 71; Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 330; Reynolds *Texts and Transmissions*, p. 104.

Conclusion

Theodulf's obvious access to and application of classical deliberative rhetoric counters our understanding of the prevalence and continued copying of rhetorical, grammatical handbooks during the early medieval period. Jacques Fontaine, in his study of Isidore's language and use of rhetoric, saw in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries a weakening appreciation of the practicality of the linguistic disciplines. Ascribing a profound unoriginality in grammarians from Pseudo-Apuleius to Isidore, Fontaine saw these centuries as representative of the 'weakening of the agility of the mind' ('une sorte d'affaiblissement de l'agilité d'esprit').[62] Fontaine argued that the increased prominence on jargon rather than practical applications in these rhetorical handbooks signalled an increasingly elementary understanding of these subjects. Indeed, other linguistic handbooks from the period of Theodulf and Alcuin have been described as 'dry, technical manuals', with little to no relevance outside the schoolroom[63]. Yet this does not take into account Theodulf and the *Opus Caroli.* This is not the dry jargon-based academic texts that Fontaine warned us about, but instead a practical synthesis of both Isidore's encyclopaedic offerings on language, combined with more extensive sources on specific forms of dialectic and logic; each applied to prove the error of the Greeks.[64]

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[58] 'Dialectica est ratio sive regula disputandi, intellectum mentis acuens, veraque a falsis distinguens.' Isidore, *Differentiarum*, ed. A. Andrés Sanz, II: 39. See also Vorontsov, 'Approach to the Eloquence', p. 16.

[59] Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse,* p. 159.

[60] Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli*, p. 275, l. 15.

[61] The theme of *ratio* or the role of reason in spiritual thinking is one found throughout the writings of both Jerome and Augustine (from the Latin perspective) and also within the works of the Cappadocian Fathers. On the 'rational' in Augustine's work, see Conybeare, *The Irrational Augustine*, particularly chapter 5, 'The Interrogation of Reason'. Gregory of Nyssa's concept of the individual also plays largely into the role of logic or reason as a fundamental element of humanity. See Turcescu, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Concept of Divine Persons*, particularly chapter 2, 'Philosophical Concepts that Shaped Gregory of Nyssa's View of the Individual'.

[62] Fontaine, "Isidore de Seville et la culture classique", p. 634.

Unfortunately, Theodulf's *Opus Caroli* was destined never to reach its intended audience. The working manuscript, never fully completed, was shelved by the time of the 794 Synod of Frankfurt, at which Greek idolatry was barely referenced.[65] The text was effectively wiped out of existence, although Hincmar of Rheims attempted to produce a complete, corrected copy of it in the early ninth century.[66] But its significance should not be forgotten. Theodulf's treatise demonstrates a slow turning point in Christian intellectual circles, augmented by Alcuin in the late eighth century, and reaching full stride by the ninth. Although few would relegate Isidore to simply a 'transmitter of earlier sources', an increasingly rare generalization, his specific spiritual and intellectual influence on the later medieval world still demands more investigation, as is demonstrated by a number of other papers in this volume. This examination of the *Opus Caroli* has shown that Isidore was a source for medieval writers on a variety of levels. His *Etymologiae* provided quick access to a number of subjects and earlier writers; however, this cannot have been its sole function. Tying together Aristotelian ideas of the signifier-signified relationship in addition to early patristic formulations on the multiple meanings of Scripture (and language more generally), Isidore fused these concepts to create a more comprehensive philosophy, defined by what Davide Del Bello calls, 'Christian language as a verbal construction motivated by an extra-verbal reality'.[67] So fundamental was this formulation that, by the Carolingian period, Theodulf was able to use it to justify the entire Carolingian spiritual policy of opposition to the Greeks. Found in other Carolingian writers, such as in Hrabanus Maurus' *De Universo* and John Scottus Eriugena's universals in his commentary on the *Categoriae Decem* as well as his *Periphyseon* in the ninth century, and of course amplified and expounded in the twelfth century, Isidore was much more than simply a vehicle of transmission for late antique and early medieval intellectual thought.[68] Isidore's *Etymologiae* (and his entire corpus generally) provided the groundwork for Christian rational inquiry, but in emphasizing the 'science' of linguistic (specifically biblical) semiotics capable of analysis and understanding by the human mind, he also simultaneously cleared a path for a more well-developed sense of biblical *allegoria* in the later medieval period.[69] By localizing the origin and meaning of language in the *ratio* of the human mind, Isidore, and the etymological tradition he represented, allowed for a dual 'scientific' (analysis via a word's origins) and 'non-scientific' (allegory based on human interpretation) examination of the Bible for the rest of the middle Middle Ages.

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[63] Fontaine, "Isidore de Seville et la culture classique", p. 634.

[64] See also Marina Smith's chapter in this volume on the selective editing of Isidore's work for specific purposes.

[65] *Capitulare Francofurtense*, p. 165.

[66] Meyvaert, 'Medieval Notions of Publication', p. 80.

[67] Del Bello, *Forgotten Paths,* p. 97.

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[68] See also Melissa Markauskas and Christopher Heath's chapters on Carolingian reception and transformation of Isidore's legacy.

[69] Ohly, *Sensus Spiritualis*, p. 5.

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Abbreviations

AA	*Auctorum Antiquissimorum*
CD	Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout: Brepols)
Etymologies	Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*
HL	Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*
HN	Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*
HR	Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover: Monumenta 'Germaniae Historica')
Cap.	*Capitularia*
Conc.	*Concilia*
SS rer. Merov.	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
SS rer. Lang.	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*
OGL	*Origo gentis Langobardorum*
PL	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844-1864)
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)

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LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL IBERIA

Isidore of Seville (d. 636 AD) is a crucial figure in the preservation and propagation of Classical and Patristic learning. He put this learning to varied use in his own day, ensuring in the process that it could be made useful for future generations. Because of the depth of what he preserved and the breadth of its diffusion, Pope John Paul II proclaimed Isidore the patron saint of the Internet in 1997. His influence was felt throughout the middle ages, most acutely in early medieval Western Europe. Isidore's compilations of the works of earlier authorities provided theological, pastoral, scientific and historical resources that formed an essential part of monastic curricula for centuries.

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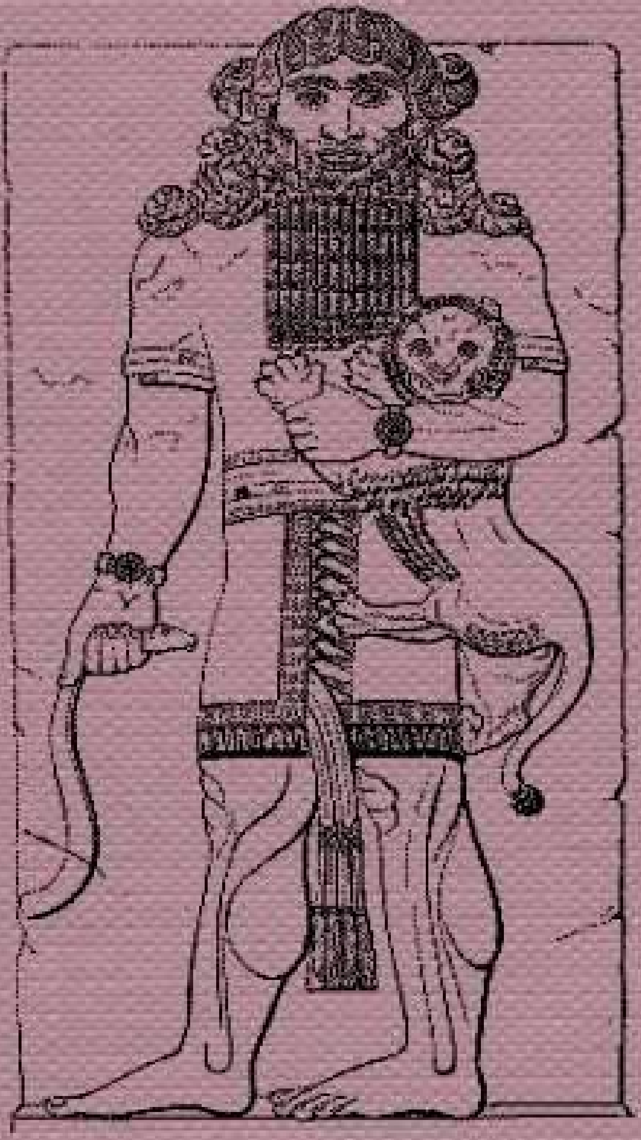

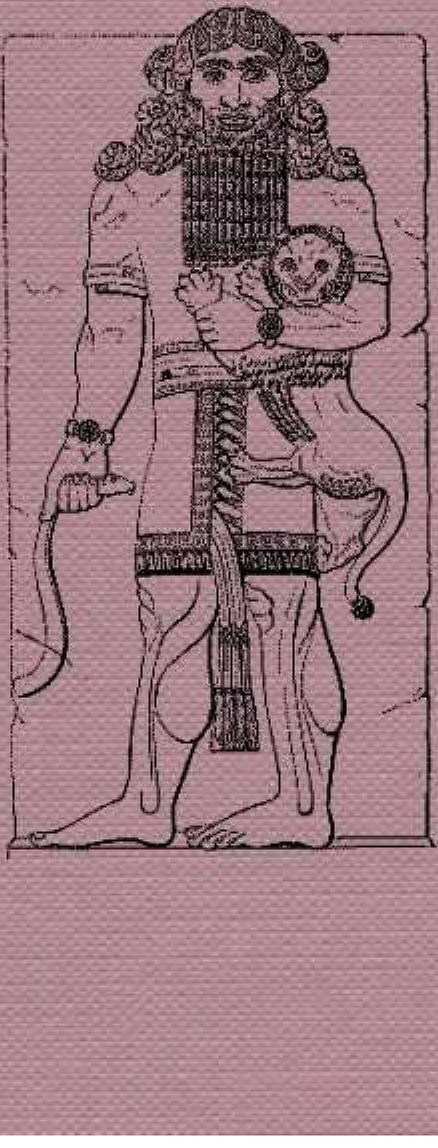

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George Smith and A. H. (Archibald Henry) Sayce

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Title: The Chaldean Account of Genesis
Containing the description of the creation, the fall of man, the deluge, the tower of Babel, the times of the patriarchs

Author: George Smith
A. H. (Archibald Henry) Sayce

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Transcriber’s Notes

Obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected. Variations in hyphenation have been standardised but all other spelling and punctuation remains unchanged.

In footnote 8 the star Benelnash is usually called Benetnash. This may be an alternative spelling so is unchanged.

In Chapter XIV it is possible that “change” should read “chain” in 32. thou didst strike him; to a pillar thou didst change him,

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THE CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF GENESIS.

THE

CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF GENESIS

CONTAINING
THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CREATION, THE DELUGE, THE
TOWER OF BABEL, THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM,
THE TIMES OF THE PATRIARCHS,

AND NIMROD;
BABYLONIAN FABLES, AND LEGENDS OF THE GODS;
FROM THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY GEORGE SMITH,
FORMERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF ASSURBANIPAL," "ASSYRIAN DISCOVERIES," ETC. ETC.

A NEW EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED AND CORRECTED (WITH ADDITIONS),

BY A. H. SAYCE,
DEPUTY-PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

NEW YORK:
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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

IT is now five years since the present volume was first laid before the public by Mr. George Smith, just before setting out on his last ill-fated expedition to the East. It naturally awakened extreme interest and curiosity. The earlier chapters of Genesis no longer stood alone. Parallel accounts had been discovered by the author among the clay records of ancient Babylonia, which far exceeded in antiquity the venerable histories of the Bible. All those who had a theory to support, or a tradition to overthrow, turned eagerly to the newly-discovered documents, which possessed an equal interest for the students of history, of religion, and of language.

The five years that have elapsed since the publication of "The Chaldean Account of Genesis" have been five years of active work and progress among Assyrian scholars. The impulse given to Assyrian research by Mr. Smith has survived his death; numberless new tablets and fragments of tablets have been brought to Europe from Assyria and Babylonia; fresh students of the inscriptions have risen up in this country and on the continent, more especially in Germany; and the scientific spirit which has been introduced into the study of the Assyrian language has immeasurably increased our knowledge of it. Thanks to the labours of men like Oppert, Lenormant and Guyard in France, or of Schrader, Delitzsch, Haupt and Hommel in Germany, texts which were obscure and doubtful at the time of Mr. Smith's death have now become almost as clear as a page of the more difficult portions of the Old Testament. The Assyrian student, moreover, has an advantage which the Hebrew student has not; he possesses dictionaries and vocabularies compiled by the Assyro-Babylonians themselves, and these frequently throw light on a word which otherwise would be a "hapax legomenon."

The more backward condition of our knowledge of Assyrian, however, was not the only difficulty against which Mr. Smith had to contend. He was pressed for time when writing the present volume, which had to be finished before his departure for the East. The class of texts, also, which he had brought to light was a new class hitherto unknown, or almost unknown, to the Assyrian decipherer. He had to break fresh ground in dealing with them. Their style differed considerably from that of the texts previously studied; they had a vocabulary of their own, allusions of their own, and even, it may be added, a grammar of their own. If the texts had been complete the difficulty perhaps would not have been so great; but it was enormously increased by their mutilated condition. The skill and success with which Mr. Smith struggled against all these difficulties show more plainly than ever what a loss Assyrian research has sustained in him.

Nevertheless, even the genius of Mr. Smith could not do more than give a general idea of the contents of the fragments, and not always even this. A comparison of the translations contained in the present edition with those contained in the preceding ones will show to what an extent the details of translation have had to be modified and changed, sometimes with important consequences. Thus the corrected translation of the fragments relating to the Tower of Babel will remove the doubts raised by Mr. Smith’s translation as to his correctness in associating them with that event; thus, too, the corrected rendering of a passage in the Izdubar Epic will show that the practice of erecting a Bethel or sacred stone was familiar to the early Babylonians. In some instances Mr. Smith has misconceived the true character of a whole text. What he believed to be a record of the Fall, for instance, is really, as M. Oppert first pointed out, a hymn to the Creator.

On the other hand, the fresh materials that have been acquired by the British Museum during the last five years, or a closer examination of the treasures it already possessed, have enabled us to add to the number of cuneiform texts which illustrate the earlier portions of Genesis. Mr. Rassam, for example, has brought home a fragment of the Deluge tablet, which not only helps us to fill up some of the *lacunæ* in the text, but is also important in another way. It is written, not in Assyrian, but in Babylonian cuneiform characters, and comes, not from an Assyrian, but from a Babylonian library. But it agrees exactly with the corresponding parts of the Assyrian editions of the story, and thus furnishes us with a proof of the trustworthiness of the

Assyrian copies of the old Babylonian texts. The text, again, which relates to the destruction of a country by a rain of fire, though long contained in the British Museum Collection, was first noticed by myself as being apparently the Babylonian version of the biblical account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Numerous alterations and insertions have had to be made in the text which accompanies the translations. The latter necessarily occupied the main part of Mr. Smith’s attention; he had neither time nor inclination to enter very elaborately into the questions raised by them, or the illustrations they might receive from elsewhere. In fact, any adequate treatment of the great Izdubar Epic, for instance, demanded a special acquaintance with the method and results of Comparative Philology, as well as a more intimate knowledge of its history and character than was possible at the time when Mr. Smith wrote.

A large proportion of the cuneiform texts from which the translations contained in the present volume are made has not yet been published. I have, however, gone carefully over them all with the exception of a small portion of the Izdubar Epic, and endeavoured to bring the translations up to the level of our present knowledge of the Assyrian language. I am indebted to the ready kindness and accurate eye of Mr. Pinches for copies of almost all the unpublished portions of the Izdubar legends. In these he has corrected several faulty readings, more especially that of the name of the pilot of Xisuthrus, which ought to be Nes-Hea, “the lion of Hea.” Mr. Pinches assures me that the name of the deity composing the second part of the name is invariably written with the numeral 40, the symbol of the god Hea, except once when the scribe has miswritten 50, the symbol of Bel, and he has pointed out to me a passage in a bilingual tablet where the name is explained in Assyrian by Nes-Hea. Unfortunately, the texts given in pp. 103-124 cannot be found, and here therefore I have been obliged to leave Mr. Smith’s translations unaltered.

The reader, however, must remember that no translations of these mutilated tablets can be more than approximately correct. Even if the meaning of all the words were well known, and they were divided from one another (which is not the case), the broken condition of so many of the inscriptions would make a good deal of the translation more or less conjectural. This must be doubly the case where the signification of the words is either unknown or only half known. I have always endeavoured to indicate a doubtful word or passage by a query; but there must be instances in which the meaning that I believe ought to be assigned to particular words will be corrected by the further progress of discovery. This is even more true of what may be termed the commentary accompanying the translations. Surprises are constantly in store for the Assyrian decipherer, and a tiny fragment may suddenly throw a new light on a question he had supposed to be settled. In fact, in Assyriology, as in all other branches of science, there is no finality; we cannot be more than approximately exact at any given time, and every month enables us to introduce fresh corrections and improvements into our work.

A fresh illustration of the fact has been afforded even while the present volume has been passing through the press. Mr. Pinches has come across two fragments (one marked S 669, the other unnumbered) which belong to two separate copies or editions of a very interesting work. This is nothing less than a list of the ancient epics and legends of Chaldea, along with the names of their reputed authors, many of whom, however, are probably as mythical as the famous Rishis of India. The list shows how numerous these early poems were, and how few of them, comparatively, we possess at present. Both fragments belong to the same part of the list, and we are therefore ignorant of many of the ancient compositions it must originally have contained. Some of the works mentioned receive their names from the heroes celebrated in them, others are named from their opening lines. A distinction is drawn between those that belonged to the Accadian period, and were written by Accadian poets in the Accadian language, and those that were of Semitic Babylonian origin. The interest of the list is enhanced by the great antiquity of the poems it records, none of them being later than about 2000 B.C. Here is a translation of the text as restored from a comparison of the two fragments according to the copies I have made of them:—

OBVERSE.

1. *Ca* ....
2. This is the work (*literally* from the mouth) of .

3. “*a khus ba a ri ....*
4. the god .... *tsu bu nu*” .... [Accadian.]
5. This is the work of Nupatuv ....

---

6. “The mighty lady, the winged one, Nigirra,” or “Bel” ....
7. “He restored Til-enni,” or “Life.”
8. “May Merodach the great lord firmly defend.” [Semitic.]
9. This is the work of Basa-Gula, the scribe ...

---

10. “The king of the sphere in their front,” or “the lord” .... [Acc.]
11. This is the work of En-me-duga ....

---

12. .... “head, thy lustre” .... [Acc.]
13. This is the work of Elum ....

---

14. .... *ci bat ....*

REVERSE.

1. ....
2. (This is the work of ....) ragas, the scribe, the man (of a non-existent tablet).

---

3. ..... “the gods” [Acc.]. This is the work of ....

---

4. .... “the bull of Bit-Esir (the firmament),” or “The great fortress of the royal crown” ....[Acc.]
5. This is the work of Cus-dib the son of....

---

6. .... *nun-na* [Acc.]. This is the work of Elum-ban-cudur, the son of Khumetis, the scribe, the man of (a non-existent) tablet.

---

7. .... “the *paggalti* which over heaven are placed” [Sem.].
8. (This) is the work of Gimil-Gula, the son of Il-khigal the scribe, the man of a non-existent tablet.

---

9. “The day of calling, the long day at the dawning of light” (?) [Acc.]. This is the work of Ekur (Esiru), the son of Nunna-tur.

---

10. The hero Izdubar. This is the work of Sin-lici-unnini the scribe ....

---

11. The hero Etana. This is the work of Nis-Sin the scribe ....

---

12. The hero the Fox. This is the work of Kak-Merodach the son of Eri-Turnunna, the man of a non-existent tablet.

---

13. (The hero) ’Sidu. This is the work of ’Sidu-labiri the prince, the man of a non-existent tablet.

---

14. .... *a tu gab* [Acc.]. This is the work of Lig-Dimir the scribe, the man (of a non-existent tablet).

What is meant by the phrase “the man of a non-existent tablet,” I do not know. Possibly it signifies that the autograph of the author no longer existed at the time the list was drawn up. “The Bull of the firmament” was a legend which was probably connected with the second month of the year, originally, it would seem, the first, which like the zodiacal sign after which it was named, was called the month of “the directing bull.”

Future excavations will doubtless bring to light some of the poems mentioned in the list and not previously known. I have myself lately come across two fragments (S 802 and S 316) which belong to legends hitherto unknown, but they are too short to be worth translating. What curious revelations, however, we may yet expect from the cuneiform records may be judged from a small and well preserved tablet recently brought to England, which contains a catalogue of the gardens belonging to Merodach-Baladan, the contemporary of Hezekiah, and grouped according to the districts in which they were situated. Merodach-Baladan must have been fond of horticulture, since the catalogue contains the names of no less than sixty-seven seed-gardens, besides six other pleasure-grounds. Many of them were named from the localities in whose neighbourhood they were, but others bore such significant titles as “the forest of reeds,” “the small enclosure,” or “the garden of the waters of the city.” As the tablet was copied by a scribe named Merodach-sum-iddin, probably in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or his successors, it is evident that some of the contents of the library of Babylon escaped the destruction brought upon that city by Sennacherib in B.C. 692.

I may add that since the greater part of this edition has been in type, I have found myself able to explain the name of the hero which in default of the true transcription has been provisionally read Izdubar. The name is composed of three ideographs, the first of which is the determinative prefix of wood, while the two latter are rendered *saptu saplitu*, “the lower lip,” in Semitic Assyrian. Now M. Lenormant has shown that Izdubar was originally the Accadian Fire-god, and Mr. Boscawen has pointed out that the fire-stick was once used in Babylonia; it is therefore evident that the three ideographs composing the name represent the lower piece of wood, with a lip or groove in it, which formed the most important part of the primitive fire-machine. I believe the Accadian pronunciation of the name will turn out to be Kibirra.

A. H. Sayce.

May 21st, 1880.

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CHAPTER I.
THE DISCOVERY OF THE GENESIS LEGENDS.

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IT has long been known from the fragments of the Chaldean historian, Berosus, preserved in the works of various later writers, that the Babylonians were acquainted with traditions referring to the Creation, the period before the Flood, the Deluge, and other matters of which we read in the book of Genesis.

Berosus, however, who recorded these events, is stated by Eusebius and Tatian to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and to have lived into the reign of Antiochus Soter. His date lies, therefore, between B.C. 330 and 260. As this was three hundred years after the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the great antiquity of these traditions could not be proved with certainty, much less their independence of the accounts which we have in Genesis.

On the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, Oriental scholars hoped that copies of the Babylonian histories and traditions would one day be found, and that earlier and more satisfactory evidence as to these primitive histories than had previously been accessible, would thus be gained.

In the mound of Kouyunjik, opposite the town of Mosul, Mr. Layard discovered part of the Royal Assyrian library, and further collections, also forming part of this library, have been subsequently found by Mr. H. Rassam, Mr. Loftus, and Mr. George Smith. Sir Henry Rawlinson, who made the preliminary examination of Mr. Layard’s treasures, and was the first to recognize their value, estimated the number of fragments brought from this Library at over twenty thousand.

The attention of decipherers was in the first instance drawn to the later historical inscriptions, particularly to those of the Assyrian kings contemporary with the Hebrew monarchy; and in this department of research a very large number of texts of great importance rewarded the toil of Assyrian scholars. Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, and numerous other ancient sovereigns, bearing directly on the Bible, and throwing new light upon parts of ancient history previously obscure, for a long time occupied almost exclusively the attention of students, and overshadowed any work in other divisions of Assyrian literature.

Although it was known that Assyria borrowed its civilization and written characters from Babylonia, yet, as the Assyrian nation was throughout the greater part of its independent existence hostile to the southern and older kingdom, it could not be guessed beforehand that the peculiar national traditions of Babylonia would have been transported to Assyria.

Under these circumstances, for some years after the cuneiform inscriptions were first deciphered, nothing was looked for or discovered bearing upon the events described in Genesis; but, as new texts were brought into notice, it became evident that the Assyrians borrowed their literature largely from Babylonian sources, and it appeared likely that search among the fragments of Assyrian inscriptions would yield traces at least of some of these ancient Babylonian legends.

Attention was early drawn to this fact by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who pointed out several coincidences between the geography of Babylonia and the account of Eden in Genesis, and suggested the great probability that the accounts in Genesis had a Babylonian origin.

While preparing the fourth volume of Cuneiform Inscriptions for the trustees of the British Museum, Mr. George Smith noticed references to the Creation in a tablet numbered K 63 in the Museum collection, as well as allusions in other tablets to similar legends; he therefore searched through a series of tablets he had previously classed as “Mythological,” in order to find, if possible, some of these legends. This series of mythological tablets was one of six into which he had divided the Museum collection of cuneiform inscriptions for convenience of working. By placing all the tablets and fragments of the same class together, he had been able to complete several texts, to find easily any subject required, and to get, whenever it was needed, a general idea of the contents of the collection.

The mythological division contained all the tablets which related to Assyrian mythology, and all the legends in which the gods took a leading part, together with prayers and similar subjects.

A steady search among these fragments soon brought to light half of a curious tablet which had evidently contained originally six columns of text; two of these (the third and fourth) were still nearly perfect; two others (the second and fifth) were imperfect, about half being lost, while the remaining columns (the first and sixth) were entirely gone. A statement in the third column that "the ship" had rested on the mountain of Nizir, followed by an account of the sending forth of a dove, and its finding no resting-place and returning, convinced Mr. Smith that he had discovered a portion at least of the Chaldean account of the Deluge. He then proceeded to read through the document, and found it was in the form of a speech from the hero of the Deluge to a person whose name might be transcribed as Izdubar. The same name had already been read on the fragment of another tablet numbered K 231, which turned out to belong to the same series of tablets as the newly-found account of the Deluge. Mr. Smith was thus encouraged to make a search for other portions of the series.

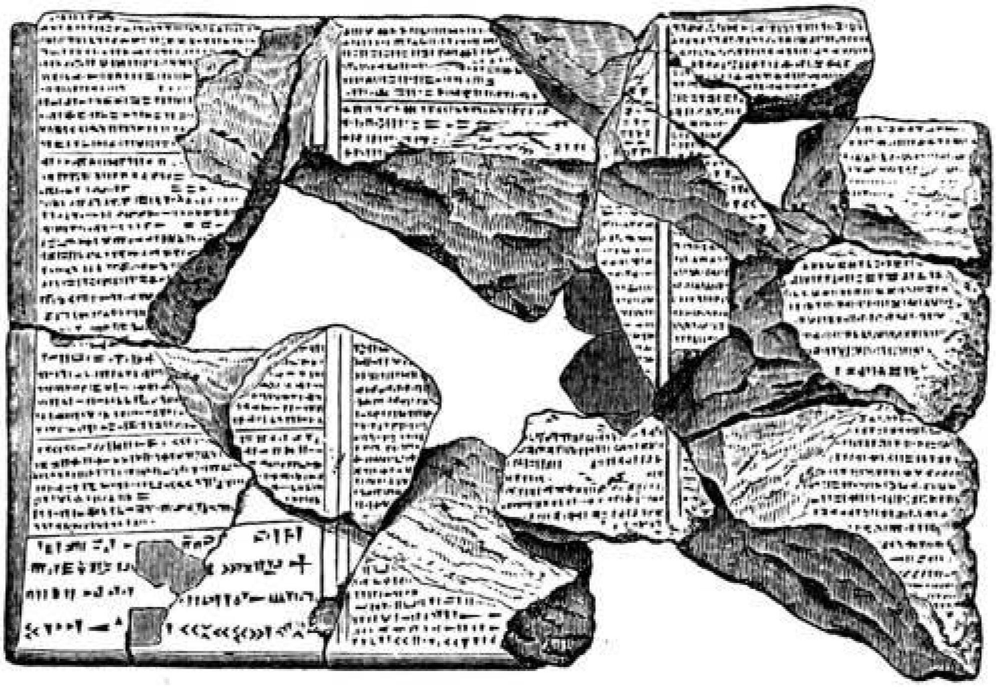
The search was a long and heavy work, for there were thousands of fragments to be examined, and these were so small, and contained so little of the text, that it was extremely difficult to ascertain their meaning. The search, however, proved successful. A fragment of another copy of the Deluge was found containing a second account of the sending forth of the birds. Several other portions of the same tablet were gradually collected and fitted one after another into their places until the greater part of the second column was filled up. Portions of a third copy were next discovered, which, when joined together, completed a considerable part of the first and sixth columns. Mr. Smith now translated the text he had so laboriously pieced together, and published his discovery to the world at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology, December 3rd, 1872. By this time he had made out that the series of Izdubar legends, as we may term them, contained twelve tablets or books. Of this series the tablet describing the Deluge was the eleventh and K 231 the sixth.

The interest excited by Mr. Smith's discovery was naturally very great. Immediately after the meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Mr. E. Arnold, in the name of the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," asked the fortunate discoverer to reopen, at their cost, the excavations in Assyria in the hope of finding the missing portions of the story of the Deluge. The trustees of the British Museum granted Mr. Smith leave of absence for the purpose, and he accordingly started for the ruins of Nineveh, and there engaged in researches, the history of which is related in his work entitled "Assyrian Discoveries." Hardly had he begun his excavations on the site of the palace of Assur-bani-pal at Kouyunjik, when he came across a new fragment of the Chaldean account of the Deluge belonging to the first column of the tablet, containing the command to build and fill the ark, and nearly filling up the most considerable blank in the story. Some other fragments, found afterwards, still further completed this tablet, which was already the most perfect one in the Izdubar series. The trench in which the fragment in question was discovered must have passed very near the part of the Library in which the Assyrians kept a series of inscriptions relating to the early history of the world. The same trench soon afterwards yielded a fragment of the sixth tablet, describing the destruction of the bull of Istar by Izdubar and Hea-bani, an incident often depicted on early Babylonian gems. The next discovery was a fragment which referred to the creation of the world; it formed the upper corner of a tablet, and gave a fragmentary account of the creation of animals. Two other portions of this legend were found further on in the trench, one of which contained a mutilated account of the war between the gods and evil spirits.

In the following year Mr. Smith was again in Assyria, in charge of an expedition sent out by the trustees of the British Museum, and succeeded in bringing home fresh fragments relating to the early traditions and legends of Babylonia. Among these is the fragment which seems to describe the building of the Tower of Babel. Then followed the disastrous expedition of 1875-6, in the course of which Mr. Smith fell a victim to over-fatigue and his zeal for Assyrian research. The subsequent explorations of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, though rich in other results, have added very little to our knowledge of the old Babylonian legends; and it seems probable that the missing portions of the tablets which contained them have irretrievably perished. We must wait for further light upon the subject until the cities and libraries of Babylonia have been excavated. After all, the early Babylonian legends, of which copies were made for the Assyrian Library at Kouyunjik, were but a selected few; the Assyrians took little interest in that part of Babylonian literature which had no connection with their own history or beliefs, and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that among the traditions they borrowed from their older and more civilized neighbours were so many which bear upon the earlier chapters of Genesis.

The fragmentary condition of the legends we possess, however, is much to be lamented. The chief difficulties with which the Assyrian scholar has to contend, when dealing with them, are due to the mutilated state of the tablets. If the inscriptions were perfect, their translation would be a comparatively easy matter. As it is, so skilled a decipherer as Mr. Smith himself was deceived by the defective character of the text into imagining that a hymn addressed to the Creator was the Babylonian version of the Fall of Man.

The fragmentary and scattered character of these legends is explained by the nature of the material of which the tablets are composed, and the changes undergone by them since they were written. They consist of fine clay and were inscribed with cuneiform characters while in a soft state; they were then baked in a furnace until hard, and afterwards transferred to the library. The library seems to have been in an upper storey of the palace, and after the destruction of Nineveh, the fall of the building in which it was placed naturally caused the tablets contained in it to be broken to pieces. Many of them were cracked and scorched by the heat of the burning ruins. Subsequently the ruins were turned over in search of treasure, and the tablets still further broken; while, to complete their destruction, the rain, soaking through the ground every spring, saturates them with water containing chemicals, and these chemicals form crystals in every available crack. The growth of the crystals further splits the tablets, some of them being literally shivered to pieces.



Reverse of Inscribed Terra Cotta Tablet containing the Account of the Deluge, showing the various fragments of which it was composed at the time of Mr. Smith's Translation.

Some idea of the mutilated condition of the Assyrian tablets, and of the work required by the restoration of a single text, will be gained from the engraving above, which exhibits the appearance of one of the Deluge tablets at the time Mr. Smith published his translation of it. In this tablet there are no less than sixteen fragments.

The clay records of the Assyrians are by these means so broken up, that a single text is in some cases divided into over one hundred fragments; and it is only by collecting and joining these together that the old texts can be restored. Many of the fragmentary tablets which have been more than twenty years in the British Museum have been added to considerably by the fragments recently brought to England by Mr. Smith and Mr. Rassam; and yet there probably remain from ten to twenty thousand fragments still buried in the ruins, without the recovery of which it is impossible to complete these valuable Assyrian inscriptions.

It is, nevertheless, out of these imperfect materials that we have at present to piece together our knowledge of the early legends of Babylonia and Assyria. Most, if not all, of them, are, it must be remembered, of Chaldean or Babylonian origin, the Assyrians having either slavishly copied Babylonian originals or simply put into a new form the story they had borrowed from their southern neighbours. Such as they are, however, they are presented to the reader as faithfully translated as our existing knowledge of the Assyrian language allows; it is for him to draw his inferences and make his comparisons. The greater number of them, as we shall see, mount back to a date earlier than the second millennium before the Christian era, and even where the actual text belongs to a later period, the legend which it embodies claims a similar antiquity. We may classify them in the following order:—

1. An account of the Creation of the world in six days, parallel to that in the first chapter of Genesis, and probably in its present form not older than the 7th century B.C.

2. A second account of the Creation, derived from the Library of Cuthah, and belonging to the oldest period of Babylonian literature.

3. A history of the conflict between Merodach, the champion of the gods, and Tiamat, "the Deep," the representative of chaos and evil. To this we may add the bilingual legend of the seven evil spirits and their fight against the moon.

4. The story of the descent of the goddess Istar or Venus into Hades, and her return.

5. The legend of the sin of the god Zu, punished by Bel, the father of the gods.

6. A collection of five tablets giving the exploits of Dibbara the god of the pestilence.

7. The story of the wise man who put forth a riddle to the gods.

8. The legend of the good man Atarpi, and the wickedness of the world.

9. The legend of the tower of Babel, and dispersion.

10. The story of the Eagle and Etana.

11. The story of the ox and the horse.

12. The story of the fox.

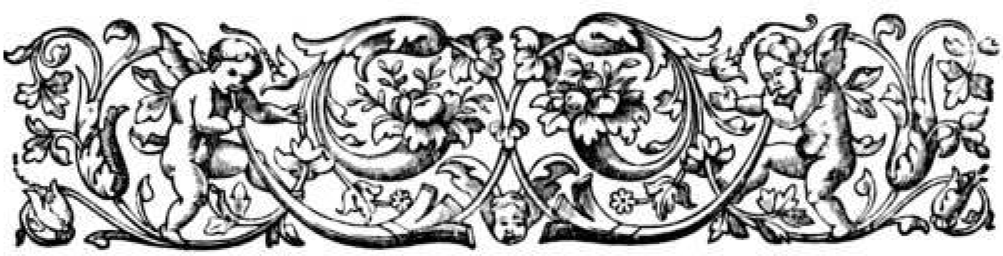
13. The legend of Sinuri.

14. The Izdubar legends: twelve tablets, with the history of Izdubar, and an account of the flood.

15. The story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Besides these there are fragments of other legends, which show that there was a considerable collection of such primitive stories still quite unknown to us. In fact we have little chance of becoming acquainted with them until the libraries of Babylonia are excavated. Thus for example we learn from Berosus that the Babylonians ascribed their civilization to certain wonderful creatures who ascended out of the Persian Gulf, and more especially to a being called Oannes. But of all this the library of Nineveh tells us nothing, although an Accadian Reading-book compiled for Assyrian students contains an excerpt which seems to be taken from the legend of Oannes. It is as follows:—

1. To the waters their god
2. had returned.
3. To the glistening house
4. he descended (as) an icicle.
5. (On) a seat of snow
6. he grew not old in wisdom.
7. The wise people
8. with his wisdom he filled.

Two fragments, belonging to two editions of the same text, have just been found, containing a list of the numerous legends and epics current among the ancient Babylonians, along with the names of their authors. Among them are found several of which translations are given further on in this volume; but there are also several of which we hear for the first time. The great Izdubar Epic, it may be noted, is ascribed to a certain Sin-lici-unnini ("O Moon-god, receive my cry!"). A fuller account of the fragments and their contents will be found in the Introduction.



CHAPTER II.
BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

Babylonian literature.—Kouyunjik library.—Fragmentary condition.—Arrangement of tablets.—Subjects.—Dates.—Babylonian source of literature.—Literary period.—Babylonian Chronology.—Accad.—Sumir.—Extinction of the Accadian language.—Izdubar legends.—Creation.—Syllabaries and bilingual tablets.—Assyrian copies.—Difficulties as to date.—Library of Senkereh.—Assyrian empire.—City of Assur.—Library at Calah.—Sargon of Assyria.—Sennacherib.—Removal of Library to Nineveh.—Assur-bani-pal or Sardanapalus.—His additions to library.—Description of contents.—Later Babylonian libraries.

IN order to understand the position to which we must assign the legends of early Chaldea, it is necessary to give some account of the literature of the Ancient Babylonians and their copyists, the Assyrians. As has been already stated, the fragments of burnt brick on which these legends are inscribed were found in the débris which covers the palaces called the South West Palace and the North Palace at Kouyunjik; the former building being of the age of Sennacherib, the latter belonging to the time of Assur-bani-pal. The tablets, which are of all sizes, from one inch long to over a foot square, are generally in fragments, and in consequence of the changes which have taken place in the ruins the fragments of the same tablet are sometimes scattered widely apart. They were originally deposited, it would seem, in one of the upper chambers of the palace, from which they fell on the destruction of the building. In some of the lower chambers the whole floor has been found covered with them, in other cases they lay in groups or patches on the pavement, and there are occasional clusters of fragments at various heights in the earth which covers the ruins. Other fragments are scattered singly through all the upper earth which covers the floors and walls of the palace. Different fragments of the same tablet or cylinder are found in separate chambers which have no immediate connection with each other, showing that their present distribution has nothing to do with the original position of the tablets of which they formed part.

The inscriptions show that the tablets were arranged according to their subjects. Stories or subjects were continued on other tablets of the same size and form as those on which they were commenced, in some cases the number of tablets in a series and on a single subject amounting to over one hundred.

Each subject or series of tablets had a title, the title consisting of the first phrase or part of a phrase in it. Thus, the series of Astrological tablets, numbering over seventy tablets, bore the title “When the gods Anu (and) Bel,” this being the commencement of the first tablet. At the end of every tablet in each series was written its number in the work, thus: “the first tablet of When the gods Anu, Bel,” “the second tablet of When the gods Anu, Bel,” &c. &c.; and, further to preserve the proper position of each tablet, every one except the last in a series had at the end a catch phrase, consisting of the first line of the following tablet. There were besides, catalogues of these documents written like them on clay tablets, and other small oval tablets with titles upon them, apparently labels for the various series of works. All these arrangements show the care taken with respect to literary matters. There were regular libraries or chambers, probably on the upper floors of the palaces, appointed for the reception of the tablets, and custodians or librarians to take charge of them. These regulations were all of great antiquity, and like the tablets had a Babylonian origin.

Judging from the fragments discovered, it appears probable that there were in the Royal Library at Nineveh over 10,000 inscribed tablets, treating of almost every branch of knowledge existing at the time.

In considering a subject like the present one it is a point of the utmost importance to define as closely as possible the date of our present copies of the legends, and the most probable period at which the original copies may have been inscribed. By far the greatest number of the tablets brought from Nineveh belong to the age of Assur-bani-pal, who reigned over Assyria from B.C. 670, and every copy of what we will term the Genesis legends yet found was inscribed with one exception during his reign. The statements made on the tablets themselves are conclusive on this point, and have not been called in question, but it is equally stated and acknowledged on all hands that most of these tablets are not the originals, but are only copies from earlier texts. It is unfortunate that the date of the original copies is never preserved, and thus a wide door is thrown open for difference of opinion on the point. The Assyrians acknowledged that this class of literature was borrowed from Babylonian sources, and of course it is to Babylonia that we have to look to ascertain the approximate dates of the original documents. But here we are met by the following difficulty. It appears that at an early period in Babylonian history a great literary development took place, and numerous works were produced which embodied the prevailing myths, religion, and science of the day. Written many of them in a noble style of poetry, and appealing to the strongest feelings of the people on one side, or registering the highest efforts of their science on the other, these texts became the standards of Babylonian literature, and later generations were content to copy them instead of composing new works for themselves. Clay, the material on which they were written, was everywhere abundant, copies were multiplied, and the veneration in which the texts were held fixed and stereotyped their style. Even the language in which they were written remained the language of literature up to the period of the Persian conquest. Thus it happens that texts of Rim-agu, Sargon, and Khammuragas, who lived at least a thousand years before Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, are composed in the same language as the texts of these later kings, there being no sensible difference in style to match the long interval between them.

We have, however, clear proof that, although the language of devotion and literature remained fixed, the speech of the bulk of the people was gradually modified; and in the time of Assur-bani-pal, when the texts of the Genesis legends which we possess were copied by Assyrian scribes, the common speech of the day was widely different from that of literature. The private letters and despatches of this age which have been discovered differ considerably in language from the contemporary public documents and religious writings, showing the change the language had undergone since the style of the latter had been fixed. So, too, in our own country the language of devotion and the style of the Bible differ in several respects from those of the English of to-day.

These considerations show the difficulty of fixing the age of a cuneiform document from its style, and the difficulty is further increased by the uncertainty which hangs over all Babylonian chronology—an uncertainty that can be cleared away only when the ruined cities of Babylonia are excavated.

Chronology is always a thorny subject, and dry and unsatisfactory to most persons besides; some notice must, however, be taken of it here, in order to fix something like an approximate date or epoch for the original composition of the Genesis legends.

The so-called Assyrian Canon affords us an exact chronology up to the year B.C. 909, and a series of contemporaneous monuments, together with one or two chronological allusions in later inscriptions, enables us to work back from this date to a period falling between B.C. 1450 and 1400 when Assyria was brought into close relation with the southern kingdom of Babylonia. Babylonia was at the time under the sway of a foreign dynasty of Kossæan princes from the mountains of Elam, which was overthrown, as we learn from the Assyrian records, about B.C. 1270. It had been in possession of the country for a considerable time, since a fragmentary list which gives the names of the first nine sovereigns composing it does not come down to the time when the first of the princes who came into close contact with Assyria was reigning. Indeed, a considerable interval must be allowed between the latter period and the last of the nine kings mentioned in the list, in which to insert the isolated names of more than one monarch of the dynasty incidentally mentioned on later monuments. Supposing that not more than fifteen kings preceded Cara-indas in B.C. 1450, and that the average length of their reigns was twenty years, we should have B.C. 1750 as the approximate date of the leader of the dynasty. He could not have been later than this, and there are many reasons which would lead us to suppose that he was earlier.

Khammuragas was the leader of the dynasty in question. He had conquered the rulers of the two kingdoms into which Babylonia was at this time divided. One of these was a queen, with whom ended a dynasty, famous in the annals of early Babylonia, whose seat was at Agané or Agadé, near Sepharvaim. She had been the successor of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, who, like his father, had extended his power far and wide, and had even penetrated as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. Sargon had been a great patron of learning as well as a conqueror; he had established a famous library at Agané, and had caused a work on astronomy and astrology to be compiled, which remained the standard authority on the subject up to the end of the Assyrian Empire. It was entitled, “The Illumination of Bel,” and was in seventy-two books. Berosus, the historian, seems to have translated it into Greek.

Like the Babylonians and Assyrians of a later day, Sargon and his subjects belonged to the Semitic stock, and were therefore related to the Hebrews and the Arabians. But they were really intruders in Chaldea. The primitive inhabitants of the country, the builders of its cities, the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing, and the founders of the culture and civilization which was afterwards borrowed by the Semites, were of a wholly different race. They spoke an agglutinative language of the same character as that of the modern Turks or Finns, and were originally divided into two sections—the inhabitants of Sumir or Shinar, the plain country, and the Accadians or “Highlanders,” who had descended from the mountains of Elam subsequently to the first settlement of their kinsfolk in Shinar. At some date between B.C. 3000 and 2000, the Semitic population which bordered upon Babylonia on the west, and had long been settled in some of its western cities, such as Ur (now Mugheir), conquered Shinar or Sumir. The Accadians, however, maintained their independence for a considerable time after this conquest, until, finally, Accad also was reduced under the sway of the Semitic kings. The old population of the country was gradually absorbed, and its language became extinct. The extinction of the Accadian or Sumerian language had already taken place—at all events among the educated classes—at the time that Sargon founded his library at Agané, and one of the chief reasons which led to the compilation of the great work on astronomy, was the necessity of preserving the astronomical and astrological observations recorded in a language which was beginning to be forgotten. At the same time Semitic translations of other portions of the old Accadian literature were made. The library at Agané, however, was not the only place where the work of translation went on; many other libraries existed, and their scribes and readers had alike become Semites, who required works written in their own tongue. The Semitic translations of Accadian works which were made for the library of Erech, one of the earliest seats of Semitic power, must have been considerably older than those made for the library of Sargon.

The extinction of the Accadian language and the translation of Accadian works into Semitic Babylonian are important facts for settling the chronology of a document or inscription. Wherever we can show that a Babylonian or Assyrian text is translated from an Accadian original, or wherever we have a copy of that original itself, we may feel pretty sure that we are dealing with something older than the eighteenth century before the Christian era.

Mr. Smith believed that the "Exploits of the God Dibbara" was one of the oldest of the mythological texts which have come down to us, though he admitted that the mention of Assyria in it was in favour of a somewhat later date.

It notices a large number of peoples or states, the principal being the people of the coast, Subartu or Syria, Assyria, Elam, the Kassi, the Sutu, Goim, Lullubu, and Accad.

The Izdubar legends, containing the story of the Flood, and possibly also the history of Nimrod, were probably written in the south of the country, and at least as early as B.C. 2000. These legends were, however, traditions before they were committed to writing, and were common in some form to the whole of Chaldea.

The account of the Creation in days, though probably of late Assyrian origin in its present form, may nevertheless rest on older traditions. At present, however, it is not possible to assign to it any great antiquity.

It should, of course, be remembered, that the texts we possess at present are written in Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian—Babylonian and Assyrian being but slightly varying dialects of the same language. They are, however, mostly translations of earlier Accadian documents, and belong to the same period as that which witnessed the foundation of the library of Agané. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, in dating them in their present form about B.C. 2000. The translations then made were copied by successive generations of librarians and scribes, the latest copies of which we know being those that have been brought from the library of Kouyunjik.

To the same early period belonged various other literary compositions, among which we may particularize a long work on terrestrial omens, compiled for Sargon of Agané, as well as the syllabaries, grammars, phrase-books and vocabularies, and other bilingual tablets by means of which a knowledge of the old language of Accad was conveyed to the Babylonian or Assyrian scholar.

On the other hand, a series of tablets on evil spirits, which contained a totally different tradition of the Creation from that in days, goes back to the Accadian epoch; and there is a third account from the City of Cutha, closely agreeing in some respects with the account handed down by Berosus, which must be placed about the same date.

In spite of the indications as to peculiarities of worship, names of states and capitals, historical allusions and other evidence, it may seem hazardous to many persons to fix the dates of original documents so high, when our only copies in many cases are Assyrian transcripts made in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, in the seventh century B.C.; but one or two considerations may show that this is a perfectly reasonable view, and no other likely period can be found for the original composition of the documents unless we ascend to a greater antiquity. In the first place, it must be noticed that the Assyrians themselves state that the documents were copied from ancient Babylonian copies, and in some cases state that the old copies were partly illegible even in their day. Again, in more than one case there is actual proof of the antiquity of a text. We may refer, for example, to a text an Assyrian copy of part of which is published in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. plate 54, Nos. 3 & 4. In a collection of tablets discovered by Mr. Loftus at Senkereh, belonging, according to the kings mentioned in it, to about B.C. 1600, is part of an ancient Babylonian copy of this very text, the Babylonian copy being about one thousand years older than the Assyrian one.

Similarly a fragment of a Babylonian transcript of the Deluge tablet has recently been brought from Babylonia, and serves not only to fill up some of the breaks in our Assyrian copies, but also to verify the text of the latter.

It is unfortunate that so many of the documents embodying the Genesis traditions are in such a sadly mutilated condition, but there can be no doubt that future explorations will reveal more perfect copies, and numerous companion and explanatory texts, which will one day clear up the difficulties which now meet us at every step of our examination of them.

So far as known contemporary inscriptions are concerned, we cannot consider our present researches and discoveries as anything like sufficient to give a fair view of the literature of Assyria and Babylonia; and however numerous and important the Genesis legends may be, they form but a small portion of the whole literature of the country.

It is generally considered that the earliest inscriptions of any importance which we now possess belong to the time of Lig-Bagas, king of Ur, who first united under his sway the petty kingdoms into which Chaldea was previously split up, and whose age is generally assigned to about three thousand years before the Christian era.

The principal inscriptions of this period consist of texts on bricks and on signet cylinders, and some of the latter may be of much greater antiquity. Passing down to a time when the country was again divided into the kingdoms of Karrak, Larsa, and Agané, we find a great accession of literary material, almost every class of writing being represented by contemporary specimens. Each of the principal cities had its library, and education seems to have been widely diffused. From Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, and its neighbourhood have come our oldest specimens of these literary tablets, the following being some of the contents of this earliest known library:—

1. Mythological tablets, including lists of the gods, and their manifestations and titles.

2. Grammatical works, lists of words, and explanations.

3. Mathematical works, calculations, tables of cube and square roots, and tables of measures.

4. Works on astronomy, astrology, and omens.

5. Legends and short historical inscriptions.

6. Historical cylinders, one of Kudur-mabuk, B.C. 1800 (?) (the earliest known cylinder), being in the British Museum.

7. Geographical tablets, and lists of towns and countries.

8. Tablets containing laws and law cases, records of sale and barter, wills and loans.

Such are the inscriptions a single library of Babylonia has produced, and beside these there are numerous texts, only known to us through later copies, but which certainly had their origin as early as this period.

Passing down from this period, for some centuries we find only detached inscriptions, accompanied by evidence of the gradual shifting of both political power and literary activity from Babylonia to Assyria.

In Assyria the first centre of literature and seat of a library was the city of Assur (Kileh Shergat), and the earliest known tablets date about B.C. 1500.

Beyond the scanty records of a few monarchs nothing of value remains of this library, and the literary works contained in it are only known from later copies.

A revival of the Assyrian empire began under Assur-natsir-pal, king of Assyria, who ascended the throne B.C. 885. He rebuilt the city of Calah (Nimroud), and this city became the seat of an Assyrian library. Tablets were procured from Babylonia by Shalmaneser, son of Assur-natsir-pal, B.C. 860, during the reign of Nabu-bal-idina, king of Babylon, and these were copied by the Assyrian scribes, and placed in the royal library. Rimmon-nirari, grandson of Shalmaneser, B.C. 812, added to the Calah library, and had tablets written at Nineveh. Assur-nirari, B.C. 755, continued the literary work, some mythological tablets being dated in his reign.

Tiglath Pileser, B.C. 745, enlarged the library, and placed in it various copies of historical inscriptions. It was, however, reserved for Sargon, who founded the last Assyrian dynasty, B.C. 721, to make the Assyrian royal library worthy of the empire. Early in his reign he appointed Nabu-zuqub-cinu principal librarian, and this officer set to work to make new copies of all the standard works of the day. During the whole of his term of office copies of the great literary works were produced, the majority of the texts preserved belonging to the early period previous to Khammuragas.

With the accession of Sargon came a revival of literature in Assyria; education became more general, ancient texts were brought from Babylonia to be copied, and the antiquarian study of early literature became fashionable.

Sennacherib, son of Sargon, B.C. 704, continued to add to his father's library at Calah, but late in his reign he removed the collection from that city to Nineveh (Kouyunjik), where from this time forth the national library remained until the fall of the empire.

Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, B.C. 681, further increased the national collection, most of the works he added being of a religious character.

Assur-bani-pal, son of Esarhaddon, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, B.C. 670, was the greatest of the Assyrian sovereigns, and he is far more memorable on account of his magnificent patronage of learning than on account of the greatness of his empire or the extent of his wars.

Assur-bani-pal added more to the Assyrian royal library than all the kings who had gone before him, and it is to tablets written in his reign that we owe almost all our knowledge of the Babylonian myths and early history, beside many other important matters.

The agents of Assur-bani-pal sought everywhere for inscribed tablets, brought them to Nineveh, and copied them there; thus the literary treasures of Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Agané, Ur, Erech, Larsa, Nipur, and various other cities were transferred to the Assyrian capital to enrich the great collection there.

The fragments brought over to Europe give us a good idea of this library and show the range of the subjects embraced by its collection of works. Among the different classes of texts, the Genesis stories and similar legends occupied a prominent place; these, as they will be further described in the present volume, need only be mentioned here. Accompanying them we have a series of mythological tablets of various sorts, varying from legends of the gods, psalms, songs, prayers, and hymns, down to mere allusions and lists of names. Many of these texts take the form of charms to be used in sickness and for the expulsion of evil spirits; some of them are of great antiquity, being older than the Izdubar legends. One fine series deals with remedies against witchcraft and the assaults of evil spirits. Izdubar is mentioned in one of these tablets as lord of the oaths or pledges of the world.

Some of the prayers were for use on special occasions, such as on starting on a campaign, on the occurrence of an eclipse, &c. Astronomy and astrology were represented by various detached inscriptions and reports, but principally by the great work of which mention has already been made, and many copies of which were in the Library of Assur-bani-pal.

Among the Astrological tablets is a fragment which professes to be copied from an original of the time of Izdubar.

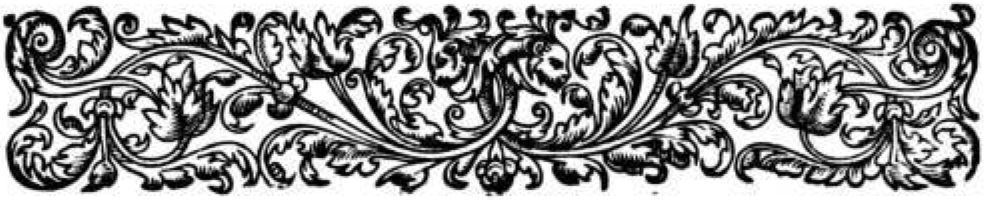
Historical texts formed another section of the library, and these included numerous copies of inscriptions of early Babylonian kings; there were besides, chronological tablets with lists of kings and annual officers, inscriptions of various Assyrian monarchs, histories of the relations between Assyria and Babylonia, Elam, and Arabia, treaties, despatches, proclamations, and reports on the state of the empire and military affairs.

Natural history was represented by bilingual lists of mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and plants, trees, grasses, reeds, and grains, earths, stones, &c. These lists are classified according to the supposed nature and affinities of the various species, and show considerable advance in the sciences. Mathematics had a place in the library, there being tables of problems, figures, and calculations; but this branch of learning was not studied so fully as in Babylonia.

Grammar and Lexicography were better represented, since there were many works on these subjects, including lists of the characters, the declension of the noun, the conjugation of the verb, examples of syntactical construction, reading-books, interlinear translations of Accadian texts, and the like. All these tablets were copied from Babylonian originals. In legal and civil literature the library was also rich, and the tablets serve to show that the same laws and customs prevailed in Assyria as in Babylonia. There are codes of laws, law cases, records of sale, barter, and loans, lists of property, lists of titles and trades, of tribute and taxes, &c.

In Geography the Assyrians were not very advanced; but there are lists of countries and their productions, of cities, rivers, mountains, and peoples.

Such are some of the principal contents of the great library from which we have obtained our copies of the Creation and Flood legends. Most of the tablets were copied from early Babylonian ones which have in most cases disappeared; but the copies are sufficient to show the wonderful progress in culture and civilization already made by the people of Chaldea long before the age of Moses or even Abraham. Babylonian literature, which had been the parent of Assyrian writing, revived after the fall of Nineveh, and Nebuchadnezzar and his successors made Babylon the seat of a library rivalling that of Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh. Of this later development of Babylonian literature we know very little, explorations being still required to bring to light its texts. A few fragments only, discovered by wandering Arabs or recovered by chance travellers, have as yet turned up, but there is in them evidence enough to promise a rich reward to future excavators.



CHAPTER III.

CHALDEAN LEGENDS TRANSMITTED THROUGH BEROSUS AND OTHER ANCIENT AUTHORS.

Berosus and his copyists.—Cory's translation.—Alexander Polyhistor.—Babylonia.—Oannes, his teaching.—Creation.—Belus.—Chaldean kings.—Xisuthrus.—Deluge.—The Ark.—Return to Babylon.—Apollodorus.—Pantibiblon.—Larancha.—Abydenus.—Alorus, first king.—Ten kings.—Sisithrus.—Deluge.—Armenia.—Tower of Babel.—Kronos and Titan.—Dispersion from Hestiæus.—Babylonian colonies.—Tower of Babel.—The Sibyl.—Titan and Prometheus.—Damascius.—Tauthe.—Moymis.—Kissare and Assorus.—Triad.—Bel.

BY way of introduction to the native versions of the early legends left us by the Babylonians, it is advisable to glance at the principal fragments bearing on them which are found in the classical writers of Greece and Rome. Several others might have been quoted, but their origin is doubtful, and they are of less importance for the subject in hand. Those who wish to consult them may turn to Cory's "Ancient Fragments" (2nd edition, 1876), whose translations, as being fairly scholarlike and correct, are here given without alteration.

Berosus, from whom the principal extracts are copied, lived, as has already been stated, about B.C. 330 to 260, and, from his position as a Babylonian priest, had the best means of knowing the Babylonian traditions.

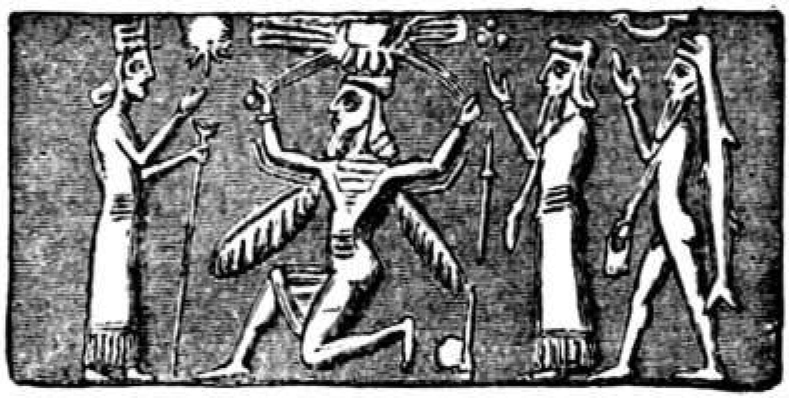
The others are later writers, who copied in the main from Berosus, most of whose notices may be taken as mere abridgments of his statements.

EXTRACT I. FROM ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR (CORY, p. 56).

Berosus, in the first book of his history of Babylonia, informs us that he lived in the age of Alexander, the son of Philip. And he mentions that there were written accounts, preserved at Babylon with the greatest care, comprehending a period of above fifteen myriads of years; and that these writings contained histories of the heaven and of the sea; of the birth of mankind; and of the kings, and of the memorable actions which they had achieved.

And in the first place he describes Babylonia as a country situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates; that it abounded with wheat, and barley, and ocrus, and sesame; and that in the lakes were found the roots called gongæ, which are fit for food, and in respect to nutriment similar to barley. There were also palm-trees and apples, and a variety of fruits; fish also and birds, both those which are merely of flight, and those which frequent the water. Those parts of the country which bordered upon Arabia were without water, and barren; but that which lay on the other side was both hilly and fertile.

At Babylon there was (in these times) a great resort of people of various races, who inhabited Chaldea, and lived in a lawless manner like the beasts of the field.

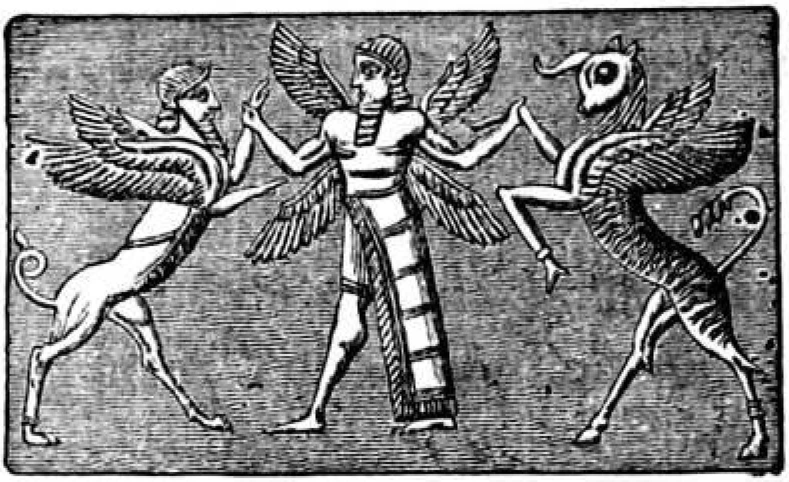


Oannes and other Babylonian Mythological Figures from Cylinder.

In the first year there appeared, from that part of the Erythræan sea which borders upon Babylonia, an animal endowed with reason, by name Oannes, whose whole body (according to the account of Apollodorus) was that of a fish; under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice, too, and language were articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day.

This being was accustomed to pass the day among men, but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. He taught them to construct houses, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits; in short, he instructed them in every thing which could tend to soften manners and humanize their lives. From that time, nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions. And when the sun had set this being Oannes used to retire again into the sea, and pass the night in the deep, for he was amphibious. After this there appeared other animals like Oannes, of which Berosus proposes to give an account when he comes to the history of the kings. Moreover, Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind, of their different ways of life, and of their civil polity; and the following is the purport of what he said:—

"There was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters, wherein resided most hideous beings, which were produced of a two-fold principle. There appeared men, some of whom were furnished with two wings, others with four, and with two faces. They had one body, but two heads; the one that of a man, the other of a woman; they were likewise in their several organs both male and female. Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of a goat; some had horses' feet, while others united the hind quarters of a horse with the body of a man, resembling in shape the hippocentaurs. Bulls likewise were bred there with the heads of men; and dogs with fourfold bodies, terminated in their extremities with the tails of fishes; horses also with the heads of dogs; men, too, and other animals, with the heads and bodies of horses, and the tails of fishes. In short, there were creatures in which were combined the limbs of every species of animals. In addition to these, fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other monstrous animals, which assumed each other's shape and countenance. Of all which were preserved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon.



COMPOSITE ANIMALS FROM CYLINDER.

“The person who was supposed to have presided over them was a woman named Omoroka, which in the Chaldean language is Thalatth; which in Greek is interpreted Thalassa, the sea; but according to the most true interpretation it is equivalent to Selene the moon. All things being in this situation, Belus came, and cut the woman asunder, and of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half the heavens, and at the same time destroyed the animals within her (or in the abyss).

“All this” (he says) “was an allegorical description of nature. For, the whole universe consisting of moisture, and animals being continually generated therein, the deity above-mentioned (Belus) cut off his own head; upon which the other gods mixed the blood, as it gushed out, with the earth, and from thence men were formed. On this account it is that they are rational, and partake of divine knowledge. This Belus, by whom they signify Hades (Pluto), divided the darkness, and separated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the universe to order. But the recently-created animals, not being able to bear the prevalence of light, died. Belus upon this, seeing a vast space unoccupied, though by nature fruitful, commanded one of the gods to take off his head, and to mix the blood with the earth, and from thence to form other men and animals, which should be capable of bearing the light. Belus formed also the stars, and the sun, and the moon, and the five planets.” (Such, according to Alexander Polyhistor, is the account which Berosus gives in his first book.)

(In the second book was contained the history of the ten kings of the Chaldeans, and the periods of the continuance of each reign, which consisted collectively of an hundred and twenty sari, or four hundred and thirty-two thousand years; reaching to the time of the Deluge. For Alexander, enumerating the kings from the writings of the Chaldeans, after the ninth, Ardates, proceeds to the tenth, who is called by them Xisuthrus, in this manner):—

“After the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthrus reigned eighteen sari. In his time happened the great deluge; the history of which is thus described. The deity Kronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that upon the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius there would be a flood, by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore enjoined him to write a history of the beginning, progress, and conclusion of all things, down to the present term, and to bury it in Sippara, the city of the Sun; and to build a vessel, and take with him into it his friends and relations; and to convey on board every thing necessary to sustain life, together with all the different animals, both birds and quadrupeds, and trust himself fearlessly to the deep. Having asked the Deity whither he was to sail, he was answered, ‘To the Gods;’ upon which he offered up a prayer for the good of mankind. He then obeyed the divine admonition, and built a vessel five stadia in length, and two in breadth. Into this he put everything which he had prepared, and last of all conveyed into it his wife, his children, and his friends.

After the flood had been upon the earth, and was in time abated, Xisuthrus sent out birds from the vessel; which not finding any food, nor any place whereupon they might rest their feet, returned to him again. After an interval of some days, he sent them forth a second time; and they now returned with their feet tinged with mud. He made a trial a third time with these birds; but they returned to him no more: from whence he judged that the surface of the earth had appeared above the waters. He therefore made an opening in the vessel, and upon looking out found that it was stranded upon the side of some mountain; upon which he immediately quitted it with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. Xisuthrus then paid his adoration to the earth: and, having constructed an altar, offered sacrifices to the gods, and, with those who had come out of the vessel with him, disappeared.

They who remained within, finding that their companions did not return, quitted the vessel with many lamentations, and called continually on the name of Xisuthrus. Him they saw no more; but they could distinguish his voice in the air, and could hear him admonish them to pay due regard to the gods; and he likewise informed them that it was upon account of his piety that he was translated to live with the gods, and that his wife and daughter and the pilot had obtained the same honour. To this he added that they should return to Babylonia, and, as it was ordained, search for the writings at Sippara, which they were to make known to all mankind; moreover, that the place wherein they then were was the land of Armenia. The rest having heard these words offered sacrifices to the gods, and, taking a circuit, journeyed towards Babylonia.

The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it yet remains in the Gordyæan (or Kurdish) mountains in Armenia, and the people scrape off the bitumen with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way of an antidote and amulet. In this manner they returned to Babylon and when they had found the writings at Sippara they built cities and erected temples, and Babylon was thus inhabited again."—*Syncel. Chron.* xxviii.; *Euseb. Chron.* v. 8.

Berosus, from Apollodorus (Cory, p. 51).

This is the history which Berosus has transmitted to us. He tells us that the first king was Alorus of Babylon, a Chaldean; he reigned ten sari (36,000 years); and afterwards Alaparus and Amelon, who came from Pantibiblon; then Ammenon the Chaldean, in whose time appeared the Musarus Oannes, the Annedotus from the Erythræan sea. (But Alexander Polyhistor, anticipating the event, has said that he appeared in the first year, but Apollodorus says that it was after forty sari; Abydenus, however, makes the second Annedotus appear after twenty-six sari.) Then succeeded Megalarus from the city of Pantibiblon, and he reigned eighteen sari; and after him Daonus, the shepherd from Pantibiblon, reigned ten sari; in his time (he says) appeared again from the Erythræan sea a fourth Annedotus, having the same form with those above, the shape of a fish blended with that of a man. Then reigned Euedorachus (or Euedoreschus) from Pantibiblon for the term of eighteen sari; in his days there appeared another personage from the Erythræan sea like the former, having the same complicated form between a fish and a man, whose name was Odakon. (All these, says Apollodorus, related particularly and circumstantially whatever Oannes had informed them of; concerning these Abydenus has made no mention.) Then reigned Amempsinus, a Chaldean from Larancha; and he being the eighth in order reigned ten sari. Then reigned Otiartes,[1] a Chaldean, from Larancha; and he ruled eight sari. And, upon the death of Otiartes, his son Xisuthrus reigned eighteen sari; in his time happened the great Deluge. So that the sum of all the kings is ten; and the term which they collectively reigned an hundred and twenty sari.—*Syncel. Chron.* xxxix.; *Euseb. Chron.* v.

BEROSUS, FROM ABYDENUS (CORY, p. 53).

So much concerning the wisdom of the Chaldeans.

It is said that the first king of the country was Alorus, and that he gave out a report that God had appointed him to be the shepherd[2] of the people; he reigned ten sari; now a sarus is esteemed to be three thousand six hundred years, a neros six hundred, and a sossus sixty.

After him Alaparus reigned three sari; to him succeeded Amillarus from the city of Pantibiblon, who reigned thirteen sari; in his time there came up from the sea a second Annedotus, a demigod very similar in form to Oannes; after Amillarus reigned Ammenon twelve sari; who was of the city of Pantibiblon; then Megalarus of the same place reigned eighteen sari; then Daos the shepherd governed for the space of ten sari, he was of Pantibiblon; in his time four double-shaped personages came up out of the sea to land, whose names were Euedokus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus, and Anementus; afterwards in the time of Euedoreschus appeared another, Anodaphus. After these reigned other kings, and last of all Sisithrus, so that in all the number amounted to ten kings, and the term of their reigns to an hundred and twenty sari. (And among other things not irrelative to the subject he continues thus concerning the Deluge): After Euedoreschus some others reigned, and then Sisithrus. To him the deity Kronos foretold that on the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius there would be a deluge of rain: and he commanded him to deposit all the writings whatever which were in his possession in Sippara the city of the sun. Sisithrus, when he had complied with these commands, sailed immediately to Armenia, and was presently inspired by God. Upon the third day after the cessation of the rain Sisithrus sent out birds by way of experiment, that he might judge whether the flood had subsided. But the birds, passing over an unbounded sea without finding any place of rest, returned again to Sisithrus. This he repeated with other birds. And when upon the third trial he succeeded, for the birds then returned with their feet stained with mud, the gods translated him from among men. With respect to the vessel, which yet remains in Armenia, it is a custom of the inhabitants to form bracelets and amulets of its wood.—*Syncel. Chron.* xxxviii.; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. ix.; *Euseb. Chron.* v. 8.

OF THE TOWER OF BABEL (CORY, p. 55).

They say that the first inhabitants of the earth, glorying in their own strength and size and despising the gods, undertook to build a tower whose top should reach the sky, in the place where Babylon now stands; but when it approached the heaven the winds assisted the gods, and overturned the work upon its contrivers, and its ruins are said to be still at Babylon; and the gods introduced a diversity of tongues among men, who till that time had all spoken the same language; and a war arose between Kronos and Titan. The place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon on account of the confusion of tongues, for confusion is by the Hebrews called Babel. —*Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. ix.; *Syncel. Chron.* xliv.; *Euseb. Chron.* xiii.

OF THE DISPERSION, FROM HESTIÆUS (*CORY*, p. 74).

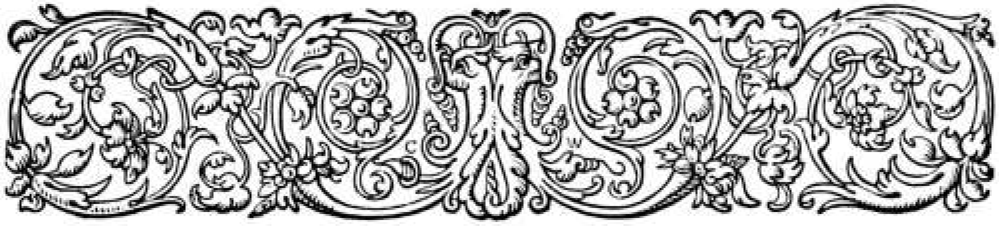
The priests who escaped took with them the implements of the worship of the Enyalian Zeus, and came to Senaar in Babylonia. But they were again driven from thence by the introduction of a diversity of tongues; upon which they founded colonies in various parts, each settling in such situations as chance or the direction of God led them to occupy.—*Jos. Ant. Jud.* i. c. 4; *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* ix.

OF THE TOWER OF BABEL, FROM ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR (CORY, p. 75).

The Sibyl says: That when all men formerly spoke the same language some among them undertook to erect a large and lofty tower, that they might climb up into heaven. But God sending forth a whirlwind confounded their design, and gave to each tribe a particular language of its own, which is the reason that the name of that city is Babylon. After the deluge lived Titan and Prometheus, when Titan undertook a war against Kronos.—Sync. xliv.; Jos. Ant. Jud. i. c. 4.; Euseb. Præp. Evan. ix.

The Theogonies, from Damascius (Cory, p. 92).

But the Babylonians, like the rest of the barbarians, pass over in silence the One principle of the universe, and they constitute two: Tauthe[3] and Apason,[4] making Apason the husband of Tauthe, and denominating her the mother of the gods. And from these proceeds an only-begotten son, Moymis,[5] which I conceive is no other than the intelligible world proceeding from the two principles. From them also another progeny is derived, Dache and Dachus;[6] and again a third, Kissare and Assorus, from which last three others proceed, Anus (Anu), and Illinus (Elum), and Aus (Hea). And of Aus and Dauke (Dav-cina, "lady of the earth,") is born a son called Belus, who, they say, is the fabricator of the world, the Demiurgus.



CHAPTER IV.
BABYLONIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Greek accounts.—Mythology local in origin.—Antiquity.—Conquests.—Colonies.—Three great gods.—Twelve great gods.—Angels.—Spirits.—Anu.—Anatu.—Rimmon.—Istar.—Equivalent to Venus.—Hea.—Oannes.—Merodach.—Bel or Zeus.—Zirat-banit, Succoth Benoth.—Bel.—Sin the moon god.—Ninip.—Samas.—Nergal.—Anunit.—Table of gods.

IN their accounts of the Creation and of the early history of the human race the Babylonian divinities figure very prominently, but it is often difficult to identify the deities mentioned by the Greek authors, because the phonetic reading of many of the names of the Babylonian gods is still very obscure, and the classical writers frequently replace them by the deities of their own mythology, whom they imagined to correspond with the Babylonian names.

In this chapter it is proposed to give a general account only of certain parts of the Babylonian mythology, in order to show the relationship between the deities and their titles and work.

Babylonian mythology was local in origin; each of the gods had a particular city which was the special seat of his worship, and it is probable that the idea of weaving the gods into a system, in which each should have his part to play, did not arise until after the Semitic occupation of the country. The antiquity of this systematized mythology may, however, be seen from the fact, that two thousand years before the Christian era it was already completed, and its deities definitely connected into a system which remained with little change down to the close of the kingdom.

In early times the gods were worshipped only at their original cities or seats, the various cities or settlements being independent of each other; but it was natural as wars arose, and some cities gained conquests over others, and kings gradually united the country into monarchies, that the conquerors should impose their gods upon the conquered. Thus arose the system of different ranks or grades among the gods. Colonies, again, were sent out at times, and the colonies, as they considered themselves sons of the cities they started from, also considered their gods to be sons of the gods of the mother cities. Political changes in early times led to the rise and fall of various towns and consequently of their deities, and gave rise to numerous myths relating to the different personages in the mythology. In some remote age there appear to have been three great cities in the country, Erech, Eridu, and Nipur, and their divinities Anu, Hea, and Bel were considered the "great gods" of the country. Subsequent changes led to the decline of these states, but their deities still retained their position to the end of the Babylonian system.

These three leading deities formed members of a circle of twelve gods, also called "great." These gods and their titles are given as:

1. Anu, meaning "the sky" in Accadian, king of angels and spirits, lord of the city of Erech.

2. Bel, Elum or Mul in Accadian, lord of the lower world, father of the gods, creator, lord of the city of Nipur.

3. Hea, "god of the house of water," maker of fate, lord of the deep, god of wisdom and knowledge, lord of the city of Eridu.

4. Sin, the Moon-god, Acu or Agu in Accadian, lord of crowns, maker of brightness, lord of the city of Ur.

5. Merodach, "the glory of the Sun," just prince of the gods, lord of birth, lord of the city of Babylon.

6. Rimmon, the Air-god, Mirmir in Accadian, the strong god, lord of canals and atmosphere, lord of the city of Muru.

7. Samas, the Sun-god, Utuci in Accadian, judge of heaven and earth, director of all, lord of the cities of Larsa and Sippara.

8. Ninip, warrior of the gods, destroyer of the wicked, lord of the city of Nipur.

9. Nergal, "illuminator of the great city" (Hades), giant king of war, lord of the city of Cutha.

10. Nusku, holder of the golden sceptre, the lofty god.

11. Belat, wife of Bel, mother of the great gods, lady of the city of Nipur.

12. Istar, Gingir in Accadian, eldest of heaven and earth, raising the face of warriors.

Below these deities there was a large body of gods forming the bulk of the pantheon, and below these were arranged the Igigi, or 300 angels of heaven, and the Anunnaki, or 600 angels of earth. Below these again came various classes of spirits or genii called Sedu, Vadukku, Ekimu, Gallu, and others; some of these were evil, some good.

The relationship of the various principal gods and their names, titles and offices will appear from the following remarks.

At the head of the Babylonian mythology stands a deity who was sometimes identified with the heavens, sometimes considered as the ruler and god of heaven. This deity is named Anu, his sign is the simple star, the symbol of divinity, and at other times the Maltese cross. In the philosophic theology of a later age, Anu represents abstract divinity, and he appears as an original principle, perhaps as the original principle of nature. He represents the universe as the upper and lower regions, and when these were divided the upper region or heaven was called Anu, while the lower region or earth was called Anatu; Anatu being the female principle or wife of Anu. Anu is termed the old god, and the god of the whole of heaven and earth; one of the manifestations of Anu was under the two forms Lakhmu and Lakhamu, which probably correspond to the Greek forms Dache and Dachus, see p. 44.[7] These forms are said to have sprung out of the original chaos, and they are followed by the two forms Sar and Kisar (the Kissare and Assorus of the Greeks). Sar means the upper hosts or expanse, Kisar the lower hosts or expanse; these are also forms or manifestations of Anu and his wife. Anu is further called lord of the old city, and bears the name of Alalu. His titles generally indicate height, antiquity, purity, divinity, and he may be taken as the general type of divinity. Anu was originally worshipped at the city of Erech, which was called the city of Anu and Anatu, and the great temple there was called the "house of Anu," or the "house of heaven."

Anatu, the wife or consort of Anu, is generally only a female form of Anu, but is sometimes contrasted with him; thus, when Anu represents height and heaven, Anatu represents depth and earth; she is also the lady of darkness, the mother of the god Hea, the mother of heaven and earth, the female fish-god, and is often identified with Istar or Venus. Anatu, however, had no existence in Accadian mythology. She is the product of the imagination of the Semites, whose grammar drew a distinction between the masculine and feminine genders.

Anu and Anatu had a numerous family; among their sons are numbered Lugal-edin, "the king of the desert," Latarak, Ab-gula, Kusu, and the air-god, whose name was Ramman or Rimmon, in Accadian Mirmir. Rimmon is god of the region of the atmosphere, or space between the heaven and earth, he is the god of rain, of storms and whirlwind, of thunder and lightning, of floods and watercourses. He was in high esteem in Syria and Arabia, where he bore the name of Dadda; in Armenia he was called Teiseba. Rimmon is always considered an active deity, and was extensively worshipped.

Another important god, a son of Anu, was the god of fire, whose name was Gibil in Accadian. The fire-god takes an active part in the numerous mythological tablets and legends, and is considered to be the most potent deity in relation to witchcraft and spells generally.

The most important of the daughters of Anu was named Istar; she was in some respects the equivalent of the classical Venus. Her worship was at first subordinate to that of Anu, and as she was goddess of love, while Anu was god of heaven, it is probable that the first intention in the mythology was only to represent love as heaven-born; but in time a more sensual view prevailed, and the worship of Istar became one of the darkest features in Babylonian mythology. As the worship of this goddess increased in favour, it gradually superseded that of Anu, until in time his temple, the house of heaven, came to be regarded as the temple of Venus.

The planet Venus, as the evening star, was identified with Istar of Erech, while the morning star was Anunit, goddess of Agané.

Istar, however, was worshipped under a great variety of forms. Each city, each state, had its own special Istar and its own special worship of her. In the syncretic age of Babylonian theology, these various forms and modes of worship were amalgamated together, and epithets of the goddess which were originally peculiar to particular localities, were applied to the single goddess of the state religion. Thus, according to the legends of one part of Babylonia, Istar was the daughter of the Moon-god, according to those of another part of the country she was the daughter of Anu. Hence in the mythology of a later period she appears sometimes as the daughter of the one deity, sometimes as the daughter of the other.

A companion deity with Anu is Hea, who is god, of the sea and of Hades, in fact of all the lower regions. In some of his attributes he answers to the Kronos of the Greeks, in others to their Poseidon. Hea is called god of the lower region, he is lord of the sea or abyss; he is also lord of generation and of all human beings and bears the titles: lord of wisdom, of mines and treasures; of gifts, of music, of fishermen and sailors, and of Hades or hell. It has been supposed that the serpent was one of his emblems, and that he was the Oannes of Berosus; but these conjectures have not yet been proved. The wife of Hea was Davkina, the Davke of Damascius, who is the goddess of the lower regions, the consort of the deep; and their principal son was Maruduk or Merodach, the Bel of later times.

Merodach, god of Babylon, appears in all the earlier inscriptions as the agent of his father Hea; he goes about the world collecting information, and receives commissions from his father to set right all that appears wrong. He is called the redeemer of mankind, the restorer to life, and the raiser from the dead. He is an active agent in creation, but is always subordinate to his father Hea. In later times, after Babylon had been made the capital, Merodach, who was god of that city, was raised to the head of the Pantheon. Merodach afterwards came to be identified with the classical Jupiter, but the name Bel, "the lord," was only given to him in times subsequent to the rise of Babylon, when the worship of the older Bel, the Accadian Elum, was falling into decay. The wife of Merodach was Zirat-panit, perhaps the Succoth Benoth of the Bible. Besides Merodach, Hea had a numerous progeny, his sons being principally river-gods.

Nebo, the god of knowledge and literature, who was worshipped at the neighbouring city of Borsippa, was a favourite deity in later times, as was also his consort Tasmit "the Hearer." Nebo, whose name signifies "the prophet,” was called Timkhir in Accadian, and had his temple in the island of Dilvun, called “the island of the gods” by the Accadians, now Bahrein. Here he was worshipped under the name of Enzak.

A third great god was united with Anu and Hea, named Enu, Mul, and Elum in Accadian, and Bel in Semitic Babylonian; he was the original Bel of the Babylonian mythology, and was lord of the surface of the earth and the affairs of men. Elum was lord of the city of Nipur, and in the Semitic period had a consort named Belat or Beltis. He was held to be the most active of the gods in the general affairs of mankind, and was so generally worshipped in early times that he came to be regarded as the national divinity, and his temple at the city of Nipur was regarded as the type of all others. The extensive worship of Bel, and the high honour in which he was held, seem to point to a time when his city, Nipur, was the metropolis of the country.

Belat, or Beltis, the wife of Bel, is a famous deity celebrated in all ages, but as the title Belat only signified “lady,” or “goddess,” it was a common one for many goddesses, and the notices of Beltis probably refer to several different personages.

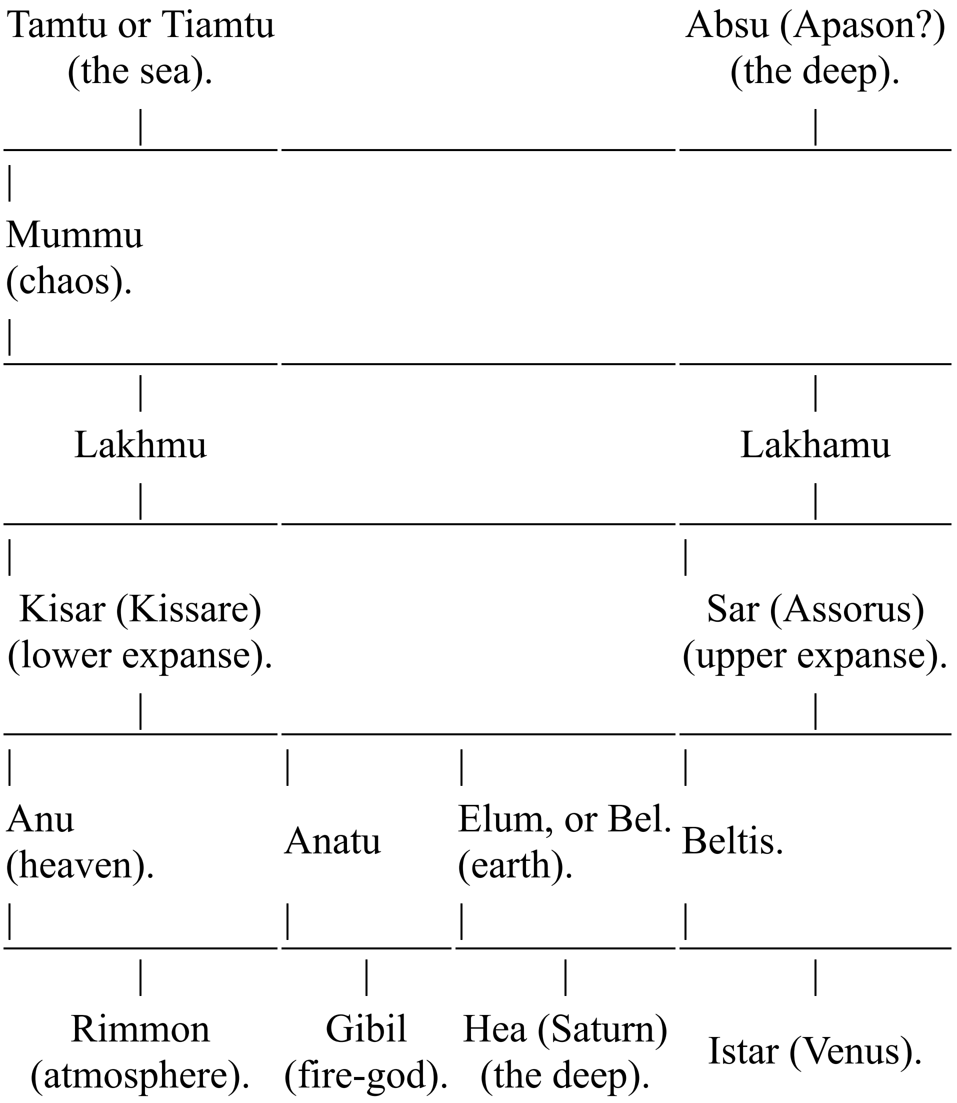
Bel had, like the other gods, a numerous family; his eldest son was the moon-god, called Agu or Acu in Accadian, in later times generally termed Sin. Sin was presiding deity of the city of Ur, and early assumed an important place in the mythology. The moon-god figures prominently in some early legends, and during the time when the city of Ur was capital of the country his worship became very widely-spread and popular throughout the country.

Ninip, god of hunting and war, was another celebrated son of Bel; he was worshipped with his father at Nipur. Ninip was also much worshipped in Assyria as well as Babylonia, his character as presiding genius of war and the chase making him a favourite deity with the warlike kings of Assyria. Originally he was a form of the sun-god.

Sin the moon-god had a son Samas, the sun-god. Samas is an active deity in some of the Izdubar legends and fables, but he is generally subordinate to Sin. In the Babylonian system the moon takes precedence of the sun, as befitted a nation of astronomers, and the Samas of Larsa was probably considered a different deity from Samas of Sippara.

Among the other deities of the Babylonians may be counted Nergal, god of Cutha, who like Ninip, presided over hunting and war, and Anunit, the goddess of one of the quarters of Sippara, and of the city of Agané.

The following table will exhibit the relationship of the principal deities as it had been drawn up by the native writers on the cosmogony; but it must be noted that it belongs to a late age of syncretic philosophy, when the scholars of Assur-bani-pal's court were endeavouring to resolve the old deities of Accad into mere abstractions, and so explain the myths which described the creation of the world.


Tamtu or Tiamtu (the sea).
Absu (Apason?) (the deep).
Mummu (chaos).
Lakhmu
Lakhamu
Kisar (Kissare) (lower expanse).
Sar (Assorus) (upper expanse).
Anu (heaven).
Anatu
Elum, or Bel. (earth).
Beltis.
Rimmon (atmosphere).
Gibil (fire-god).
Hea (Saturn) (the deep).
Istar (Venus).

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Hea (Saturn).     Davkina (Davke).
_______|_______ _________|_________
|
Merodach.       Zirat-panit.
|______________ |__________________
       |                 |
Nebo.           Tasmit.


              Elum.   Beltis.
_______ ___|___ ___|___
|       |       |
 Sin.   Ningal.   Ninip.
|______ |______
   |       |
Samas. Istar.
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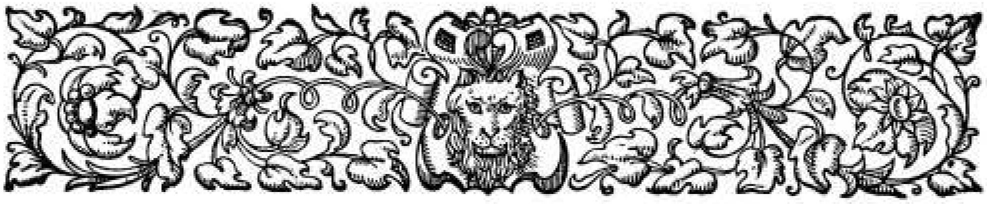


Chapter V.

BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE CREATION.

Mutilated condition of tablets.—List of subjects.—Description of chaos.—Tiamat.—Generation of Gods.—Damascius.—Comparison with Genesis.—Three great gods.—Doubtful fragments.—Fifth tablet.—Stars.—Moon.—Sun.—Abyss or chaos.—Creation of moon.—Creation of animals.—Monotheism.—Hymn to Merodach.—The black-headed race or Adamites.—Garden of Eden.—The flaming sword.—The fall.—The Sabbath.—Sacred tree.—Hymn to the Creator.

IT is extremely unfortunate that the legend of the Creation in days has reached us in so fragmentary a condition. It is evident, however, that in its present form it is of Assyrian, not of Babylonian, origin, and was probably composed in the time of Assur-bani-pal. It breathes throughout the spirit of a later age, its language and style show no traces of an Accadian original, and the colophon at the end implies by its silence that it was not a copy of an older document. No doubt the story itself was an ancient one; the number seven was a sacred number among the Accadians, who invented the week of seven days, and kept a seventhday Sabbath, and excavations in Babylonia may yet bring to light the early Chaldean form of the legend. But this we do not at present possess.

So far as the fragments can be arranged, they seem to observe the following order:—

1. Part of the first tablet, giving an account of the Chaos and the generation of the gods.
2. Fragment of subsequent tablet, perhaps the second on the foundation of the deep.
3. Fragment of tablet placed here with great doubt, possibly referring to the creation of land.
4. Part of the fifth tablet, recording the creation of the heavenly bodies.
5. Fragment of the seventh? tablet, recording the creation of land animals.

These fragments indicate that the series included at least seven tablets, the writing on each tablet being in one column on the front and back, and probably including over one hundred lines of text.

The first fragment in the story is the upper part of the first tablet, giving the description of the void or chaos, and part of the generation of the gods. The translation is as follows:

1. At that time above, the heaven was unnamed:
2. below the earth by name was unrecorded;
3. the boundless deep also (was) their generator.
4. The chaos of the sea was she who bore the whole of them.
5. Their waters were collected together in one place, and
6. the flowering reed was not gathered, the marsh-plant was not grown.
7. At that time the gods had not been produced, any one of them;
8. By name they had not been called, destiny was not fixed.
9. Were made also the (great) gods,
10. the gods Lakhmu and Lakhamu were produced (the first), and
11. to growth they ....
12. the gods Sar and Kisar were made next.
13. The days were long; a long (time passed), (and)
14. the gods Anu (Bel and Hea were born of)
15. the gods Sar and (Kisar).......

On the reverse of this tablet there are only fragments of the eight lines of colophon, but the restoration of the passage is easy; it reads:—

1. First tablet of "At that time above" (name of Creation series).
2. Palace of Assur-bani-pal king of nations, king of Assyria,
3. to whom Nebo and Tasmit gave broad ears
4. (his) seeing eyes regarded the engraved characters of the tablets;
5. this writing which among the kings who went before me
6. none of them regarded,
7. the secrets of Nebo, the literature of the library as much as is suitable,
8. on tablets I wrote, I engraved, I explained, and
9. for the inspection of my people within my palace I placed.

This colophon will serve to show the value attached to the documents, and the date of the present copies.

The fragment of the obverse, broken as it is, is precious as giving the description of the chaos or desolate void before the Creation of the world, and the first movement of creation. This corresponds with the first two verses of the first chapter of Genesis.

1. “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

2. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.”

On comparing the fragment of the first tablet of the Creation with the extract from Damascius, we do not find any statement as to there being two principles at first called Tauthe and Apason, and these producing Moymis, but in the Creation tablet the first existence is called Mummu Tiamatu, a name meaning “the chaos of the deep.” The compound Mummu Tiamatu, in fact, combines the two names Moymis and Tauthe of Damascius. Tiamatu must also be the same as the Thalatth of Berosus, which we are expressly told was the sea. It should, therefore, be corrected to Thavatth, as M. Lenormant proposed some years ago. It is evident that, according to the notion of the Babylonians, the sea was the origin of all things, and this also agrees with the statement of Genesis i. 2. where the chaotic waters are called tĕhôm, “the deep,” the same word as the Tiamat of the Creation text and the Tauthe of Damascius.

The Assyrian word *Mummu* is probably connected with the Hebrew *mĕhûmâh*, confusion, its Accadian equivalent being *Umun*. Besides the name of the chaotic deep called *tĕhôm* in Genesis, which is, as has been said, evidently the Tiamat of the Creation text, we have in Genesis the word *tohû*, waste, desolate, or formless, applied to this chaos. The correspondence between the inscription and Genesis is complete, since both state that a watery chaos preceded the creation, and formed, in fact, the origin and groundwork of the universe. We have here not only an agreement in sense, but, what is rarer, the same word used in both narratives as the name of this chaos, and given also in the account of Damascius.

Next we have in the inscription the creation of the gods Lakhmu and Lakhamu; these are male and female personifications of motion and production, and correspond to the Dache and Dachus of Damascius, and the moving *rûakh*, the wind, or spirit of Genesis. The next stage in the creation was the production of Sar and Kisar, representing the upper expanse and the lower expanse, and corresponding with the Assorus and Kissare of Damascius. The resemblance in these names is probably even closer than is here represented, since Sar is generally read Assur as a deity in later times, being an ordinary symbol for the supreme god of the Assyrians.

So far as can be made out from the mutilated text, the next step in the creation of the universe was (as in Damascius) the generation of the three great gods, Anu, Elum, and Hea, the Anus, Illinus, and Aus of that writer. Anu here symbolizes the heaven, Elum the earth, and Hea the sea.

It is probable that the inscription went on to relate the generation of the other gods, and then passed to the successive acts of creation by which the world was fashioned.

The successive forms Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Sar and Kisar, are represented in some of the lists of the gods as names or manifestations of Anu and Anatu. These lists were compiled at a time when a school of monotheists had risen in Chaldea, and an attempt was made on the part of its adherents to resolve the various deities of the popular creed into forms of “the one god” Anu. In each case there appears to be a male and female principle, which principles combine in the formation of the universe.

As has been already remarked, the conception of a male and female principle was due to the Semites. Hence it is clear that the system of cosmology embodied in these Creation tablets was of Semitic and not Accadian origin.

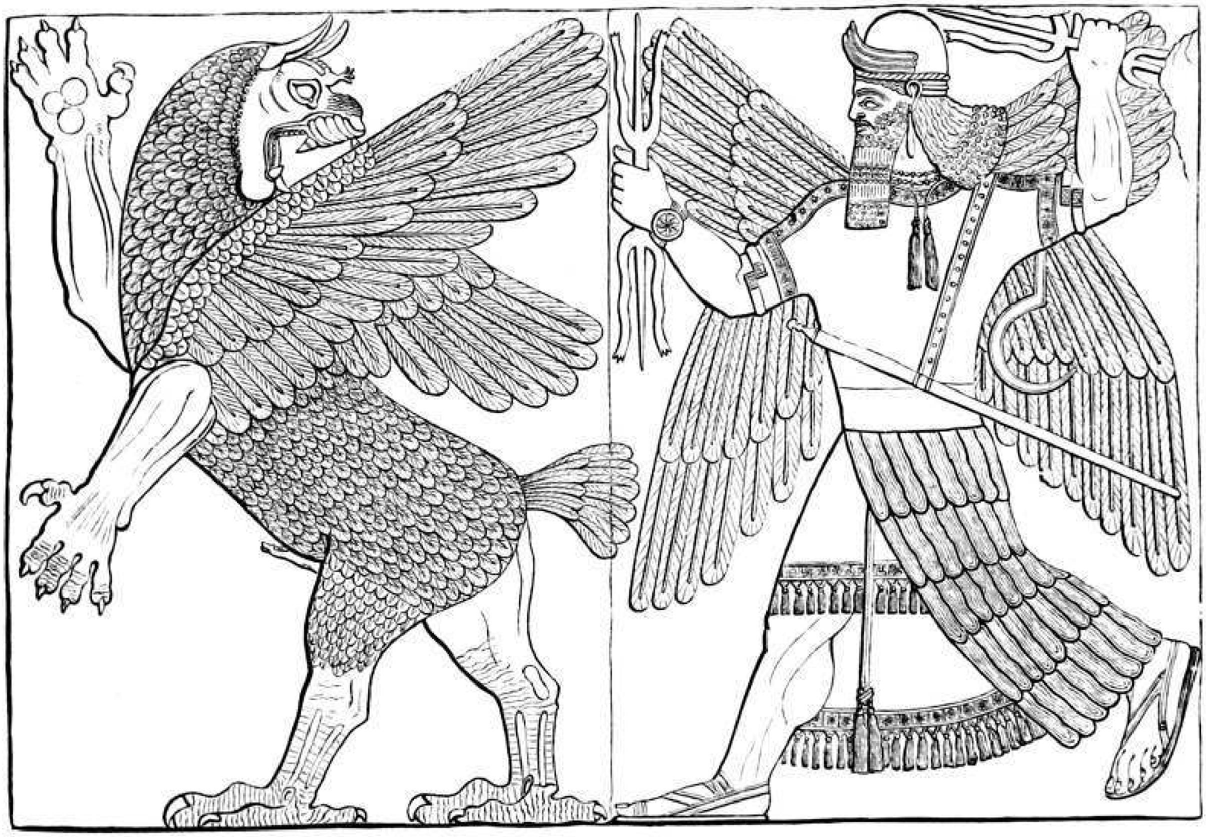
The resemblance between the extract from Damascius and the account in the Creation tablet as to the successive stages or forms of the Creation, is striking, and leaves no doubt about the source of the quotation from the Greek writer.

The three next tablets in the Creation series are absent, there being only two doubtful fragments of this part of the story. Judging from the analogy of the Book of Genesis, we may conjecture that this part of the narrative contained the description of the creation of light, of the atmosphere or firmament, of the dry land, and of plants. One fragment which probably belonged to this space is a small portion of the top of a tablet referring to the fixing of the dry land; but it may belong to a later part of the story, since it is part of a speech to one of the gods. This fragment is—

1. At that time the foundations of the caverns of rock [thou didst make];
2. the foundations of the caverns thou didst call [them] (?)
3. the heaven was named ......
4. to the face of the heaven ......
5. thou didst give ......
6. a man ......

There is a second more doubtful fragment which also may come in here, and, like the last, relate to the creation of the dry land. It is, however, given under reserve—

1. The god Khir ... si ....
2. At that time to the god ....
3. So be it, I concealed thee ....



FIGHT BETWEEN MERODACH (BEL) AND THE DRAGON.

4. from the day that thou ....
5. angry thou didst speak ....
6. The god Assur his mouth opened and spake, to the god ....
7. Above the deep, the seat of ....
8. in front of Bit-Sarra which I have made ...
9. below the place I strengthen ....
10. Let there be made also Bit-Lusu, the seat ..
11. Within it his stronghold may he build and ..
12. At that time from the deep he raised ....
13. the place .... lifted up I made ....
14. above .... heaven ....
15. the place .... lifted up thou didst make.
16. .... the city of Assur the temples of the great gods ....
17. .... his father Anu ....
18. the god .... thee and over all which thy hand has made
19. .... thee, having, over the earth which thy hand has made
20. .... having, Assur which thou hast called its name.

This fragment is both mutilated and obscure, and it is more than doubtful whether it has anything to do with the Creation tablets. It seems rather to be a local legend relating to Assur, the old capital of Assyria, and possibly recording the legend of its foundation. Bit-Sarra or E-Sarra, “the temple of the legions,” was dedicated to Ninip, and forms part of the name of Tiglath-Pileser (*Tuculti-pal-esara* “Servant of the son of Bit-Sarra,” *i.e.* Ninip). It seems to have denoted the firmament, the “legions” or “hosts” referring to the multitudinous spirits of heaven. The Biblical expression “the Lord of hosts” may be compared.

The next recognizable portion of the Creation legends is the upper part of the fifth tablet, which gives the creation of the heavenly bodies, and runs parallel to the account of the fourth day of creation in Genesis.

This tablet opens as follows:—

Fifth Tablet of Creation Legend.

Obverse.

1. (Anu) made suitable the mansions of the (seven) great gods.
2. The stars he placed in them, the *lumasi*[8] he fixed.
3. He arranged the year according to the bounds (or signs of the Zodiac, Heb. *mazzaroth*) that he defined.
4. For each of the twelve months three stars he fixed.
5. From the day when the year issues forth unto the close,
6. he established the mansion of the god Nibiru, that they might know their laws (or bonds).
7. That they might not err or deflect at all,
8. the mansion of Bel and Hea he established along with himself.
9. He opened also the great gates in the sides of the world;
10. the bolts he strengthened on the left hand and on the right.
11. In its centre also he made a staircase.
12. The moon-god he caused to beautify the thick night.
13. He appointed him also to hinder (or balance) the night, that the day may be known,
14. (saying): Every month, without break, observe thy circle:
15. at the beginning of the month also, when the night is at its height.
16. (with) the horns thou announcest that the heaven may be known.

17. On the seventh day (thy) circle (begins to) fill,
18. but open in darkness will remain the half on the right (?).[9]
19. At that time the sun (will be) on the horizon of heaven at thy (rising).
20. (Thy form) determine and make a (circle?).
21. (From hence) return (and) approach the path of the sun.
22. (Then) will the darkness return; the sun will change.
23. .... seek its road.
24. (Rise and) set, and judge judgment.

All that is left of the reverse is the latter half of the last line of the narrative, and the colophon, which runs thus:—

..... the gods on his hearing.

Fifth tablet of (the series beginning) At that time above.

Property of Assur-bani-pal king of nations king of Assyria.

This fine fragment is a typical specimen of the style of the whole series, and shows a marked stage in the Creation, the appointment of the heavenly orbs. It parallels the fourth day of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis, where we read: “And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

“15. And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

“16. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; he made the stars also.

“17. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

“18. And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

“19. And the evening and morning were the fourth day.”

The fragment of the first tablet of the Creation series was introductory, and dealt with the generation of the gods rather than the creation of the universe, and when we remember that the fifth tablet contains the Creation given in Genesis under the fourth day, while a subsequent tablet, probably the seventh, gives the creation of the animals which, according to Genesis, took place on the sixth day, it would seem that the events of each of the days of Genesis were recorded on a separate tablet, and that the numbers of the tablets generally followed in the same order as the days of Creation in Genesis, thus:

Genesis, Chap. I.

V. 1 & 2 agree with Tablet 1.
V. 3 to 5 1st day probably with tablet 2.
V. 6 to 8 2nd day probably with tablet 3.
V. 9 to 13 3rd day probably with tablet 4.
V. 14 to 19 4th day agree with tablet 5.
V. 20 to 23 5th day probably with tablet 6.
V. 24 & 25 6th day probably with tablet 7.
V. 26 and following, 6th and 7th day, probably with tablet 8.

The assertion with which the fifth tablet begins may be compared with the oft-repeated statement of Genesis, after each act of creative power, that "God saw that it was good." In fact, the difference between the expressions used by the Hebrew and Assyrian writers seems greater than it really is, since the word rendered "to make suitable" comes from a root which signifies "pleasant" or "agreeable." It may be noted that the word *yuaddi* "he arranged" or "appointed" in the third line has the same root as the Hebrew *môădhim*, which is used in the same connection Gen. i. 14 in the sense of "seasons."

We next come to the creation of the heavenly orbs, and just as the book of Genesis says they were set for signs and seasons, for days and years, so the inscription describes that the stars were set in courses to define the year. The twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac, and two other bands of constellations are referred to, corresponding with the two sets of twelve stars, one to the north and the other to the south of the zodiac, which according to Diodorus Siculus played a prominent part in Babylonian astronomy.

The god Nibiru appears in the astronomical tablets as one of the stars. Here, however, in the account of the Creation, he seems to be the deity who specially presided over the signs of the zodiac and the course of the year, and in a hymn to the Creator, which will be translated further on, he takes the place of the classical Fate, and determines the laws of the universe generally, and of the stars in particular. It is evident, from the opening of the inscription on the first tablet of the great Chaldean work on astrology and astronomy, that the functions of the stars were according to the Babylonians to act not only as regulators of the seasons and the year, but to be also used as signs, as in Genesis i. 14, for in those ages it was generally believed that the heavenly bodies gave, by their appearance and positions, signs of events which were coming on the earth.

The passage given in the eighth line of the inscription, to the effect that the God who created the stars fixed places or habitations for Bel and Hea with himself in the heavens, points to the fact that Anu, god of the heavens, was considered to be the creator of the heavenly hosts; for it is he who shares with Bel and Hea the divisions of the face of the sky, which was divided into three zones. Summer was the season of Bel, autumn of Anu, and winter of Hea, the season of spring not being recognized by the Babylonians. The new moon also was called Anu for the first five days, Hea for the next five, and Bel for the third.

The ninth line of the tablet gives us an insight into the philosophical beliefs of the early Babylonians. They evidently considered that the world was drawn together out of the waters, and rested or reposed upon a vast abyss of chaotic ocean which filled the space below the world. This dark infernal lake was shut in by gigantic gates and strong fastenings, which prevented the floods from overwhelming the world. In the centre was a staircase which led from the abyss below to the region of light above.

The account then goes on to describe the creation of the moon for the purpose of beautifying the night and regulating the calendar. The phases of the moon are recorded: its commencing as a thin crescent at evening on the first day of the month, and its gradually increasing and travelling further into the night. It will be noticed that it is regarded as appointed, in the language of the Bible, “to divide the day from the night,” and to be for a sign and a season. The expression “judge judgment” may be compared with the expression of Genesis (i. 18.) that the sun and moon were set “to rule over the day and over the night.” An account of the creation of the sun probably followed upon that of the creation of the moon.

The creation of the moon, however, is placed first in accordance with the general views of the Babylonians, who, as was natural in a people of astronomers, honoured the moon above the sun, even making the sun-god the son of the moon-god.

The details of the creation of the planets and stars, which would have been very important to us, are unfortunately lost, no further fragment of this tablet having been recovered.

The colophon at the close of the tablet gives us, however, part of the first line of the sixth tablet, but not enough to determine its subject. It is probable that this dealt with the creation of creatures of the water and fowls of the air, and that these were the creation of Bel, the companion deity to Anu.

The next tablet, the seventh in the series, is probably represented by a curious fragment, which was found by Mr. Smith in one of the trenches at Kouyunjik.

This fragment is like some of the others, the upper portion of a tablet much broken, and only valuable from its generally clear meaning. The translation is as follows:

1. At that time the gods in their assembly created .....
2. They made suitable the strong monsters .....
3. They caused to come living creatures .....
4. cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field .....
5. They fixed for the living creatures .....
6. ..... cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed .....
7. ..... the assembly of the creeping things, the whole which were created .....

8. ..... which in the assembly of my family ...
9. ..... and the god Nin-si-ku (the lord of noble face) joined the two together .....
10. ..... to the assembly of the creeping things I gave life .....
11. ..... the seed of Lakhamu I destroyed .....

This tablet corresponds with the sixth day of Creation in Genesis (i. 24-25): “And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

“And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.”

The Assyrian tablet commences with a statement of the satisfaction a former creation, apparently that of the monsters or whales, had given; here referring to Genesis i. 23. It then goes on to relate the creation of living animals on land, three kinds being distinguished, exactly agreeing with the Genesis account, and then we have in the ninth line a curious reference to the god Nin-si-ku (one of the names of Hea). One of Hea’s titles was “the lord of mankind,” and Sir Henry Rawlinson has endeavoured to show that Eridu, the city of Hea, was identical with the Biblical Garden of Eden. We may here notice a tablet which refers to the creation of man. In this tablet, K 63, the creation of the human race is given to Hea, and all the references in other inscriptions make this his work. As in Genesis, so in these cuneiform tablets the Creator is made to speak and to address the objects which he calls into existence.

The next fragment was supposed by Mr. Smith to relate to the fall of man and to contain the speech of the deity to the newly-created pair. This, however, is extremely doubtful, as will appear from the revised translation below. The fragment is in so broken a condition that almost anything may be made out of it. It is possible that nothing more is intended by it than instructions as to the construction of an image of a household god or spirit and the correct mode of worshipping it.

K 3364 obverse.

(Many lines lost.)

1. The whole day thy god thou shalt approach (or invoke),
2. sacrifice, the prayer of the mouth, the image ......
3. to thy god a heart engraved ..... thou hast.
4. How long to the image of the divinity,
5. supplication, humility, and bowing of the face,
6. fire (?) dost thou give to him, and bringest tribute,
7. and in reverence also with me thou goest straight?
8. In thy knowledge (?) also behold; in the tablets (writing)
9. worship and blessing thou exaltest.
10. Sacrifice and the preservation ...
11. and prayer for sin ....
12. the fear of the gods deserts thee (?) not ....
13. the fear of the Anunnaci thou completest ....
14. With friend and comrade speech thou makest ....
15. In the under-world speech thou makest to the propitious genii.
16. When thou speakest also he will give ....
17. When thou trustest also thou ....
18. ... a comrade also ....
19. .... thou trustest a friend ....
20. (In) thy knowledge (?) also

Reverse.

(Many lines lost.)

1. in the presence of beauty .... thou didst speak
2. thy beauty ....
3. beauty also .... the female spirit (?)
4. An age thou revolvest .. his enemies?
5. his rising (?) he seeks .... the man ....
6. with the lord of thy beauty thou makest fat (?)
7. to do evil thou shalt not approach him,
8. at thy illness .... to him
9. at thy distress ....

The next fragment is a small one; it is the lower corner of a tablet with the ends of a few lines. Mr. Smith connected it with the legend of the fall of man, but the mention of the god Sar-tuli-elli, "the king of the illustrious mound," would rather indicate that it has to do with the story of the Tower of Babel. As, however, the fragment is too small and mutilated to decide the question, it has been allowed to remain in the place assigned to it by Mr. Smith, and not transferred to a later chapter.

According to Sir H. Rawlinson, "the holy mound" is now represented by the ruins of Amrán. At any rate, it stood on the site of the Tower of Babel and was dedicated to the god Anu. Along with the adjoining buildings, among which are to be numbered the royal palace and the famous hanging gardens, it formed a particular quarter of Babylon, enclosed within its own wall and known under the name of Su-Anna, the "Valley of Anu," which Sir H. Rawlinson proposes to read Khalannê, and identify with the Calneh of the Old Testament. In support of his reading he refers to the statement of the Septuagint in Isaiah x. 9.: "Have not I taken the region above Babylon and Khalannê, where the tower was built?"

Obverse.

1. .... seat her (?)
2. .... all the lords
3. .... his might
4. .... the gods, lord of the mighty hour (?)
5. .... lord of the kingdom magnified.
6. .... mightily supreme.

Reverse.

1. .... Hea called[10] to his men
2. .... the path of his greatness
3. .... any god
4. .... Sar-tuli-elli (the king of the illustrious mound) his knowledge (?)
5. .... his illustrious ......
6. .... his fear (?) Sar-tuli-elli
7. .... his might
8. .... to them, in the midst of the sea

9. .... thy father battle

We may conclude this chapter with a fragment of some length, which Mr. Smith erroneously supposed to refer to the Fall. His mistake arose from the imperfect state in which the text of it has been preserved, and the consequent obscurity of its reference and meaning. Dr. Oppert has shown that it really contains a hymn to the Creator Hea. Before the commencement of lines 1, 5, 11, 19, 27, and 29 on the obverse, there are glosses stating that the divine titles commencing these lines all apply to the same deity. These explanatory glosses show that even in the Assyrian time the allusions in the original text were not all intelligible without the help of a commentary.

Obverse.

1. The god of (propitious) Life ..... (secondly)
2. who established light .....
3. their precepts .....
4. Never may they forsake (their) boundaries ...
5. The god of illustrious Life, thirdly, he was called, the director of the bright (firmament),
6. the god of good winds, the lord of hearing and obedience,
7. the creator of lean (?) and fat, the establisher of fertility,
8. who has brought to increase them that were small at the outset.
9. In the mighty thickets we have smelt his good wind.
10. May he command, may he glorify, may he hearken to his worshippers.
11. The god of the illustrious Crown, fourthly, may he quicken the dust!
12. Lord of the illustrious charm, who gives life to the dead,
13. who to the hostile gods has granted return,
14. the homage they rendered he has caused the gods his foes to submit to.
15. That they might obey (?) he has created mankind,
16. the merciful one with whom is life.
17. May he establish, and never may his word be forgotten
18. in the mouth of the black-headed race whom his hands created.
19. The god of the illustrious incantation, fifthly, may his foes (?) be overthrown (*or* answered) with hostile curse (?)

20. He who with his illustrious incantation has removed the curse of the enemy.
21. The God the Heart-knower, who knows the hearts of the gods, who fly from the fear of him:
22. the doing of evil they caused not to come forth against him.
23. He who establishes the assembly of the gods, (who knows) their hearts,
24. who subdues the disobedient .....
25. who directs justice .....
26. who (defends?) sovereignty .....
27. The god of prosperous life, (sixthly) .....
28. he who cuts off darkness (?) .....
29. The god Sukhkhab (?), thirdly, the flock (?) ...
30. he who adds unto them .....

Reverse.

1. ..... the star .....
2. may he seize that which has the head in the tail (? a comet)
3. since that in the midst of the sea he passed over .....
4. His name accordingly (is) Nibiru (the passer over), the possessor .....
5. may he (confirm) the precepts (or laws) of the stars of heaven.
6. Like sheep may he feed the gods all of them;
7. may he exorcise the sea, its treasures may he hedge in and summon
8. among men hereafter through length of days.
9. May he also remove mischief; may he overcome it for the future.
10. Because (all) places he made, he pierced, he strengthened.
11. Lord of the world is his name called, (even) father Bel.
12. The names of the angels he gave to them.
13. Hea also heard, and his liver (*i. e.* anger) was lulled,
14. (saying) “Since that his men he has quickened by his name,
15. he like myself has the name of Hea.
16. The bond of my command may he bring to them all, and
17. all my *tereti* (lots?) may he answer [or throw down]
18. by the fifty names of the great gods.”
19. His fifty names they pronounced; they restored his precepts.
20. May they be observed and, as formerly, may he speak.

21. Unsearchable, wise, triumphantly may he rule.
22. May father to son repeat and exalt (them).
23. May he open the ears of shepherd and flocks.
24. May (the shepherd) obey Merodach, Bel among the gods.
25. May his land be green, may he himself be at peace.
26. Established (is) his word, unyielding his command;
27. the utterance of his mouth no god has ever despised.
28. He was called by name and withdraws not his neck.
29. In the abundance of his strength there is no god, that receives for him his crown.
30. Far-reaching (is) his heart, an abyss (is) his stomach:
31. Sin and cursing before him disappear.

In a second copy which presents several variations lines 14 to 19 are omitted.

It is evident that this hymn to the Creator emanated from what Sir Henry Rawlinson has termed the monotheistic party among the ancient Babylonians, and that the speech of Hea in lines 14 to 19 has been inserted by a poet who did not belong to it. The various deities of the popular faith are all resolved into the one supreme God, the maker of the world and man, who was worshipped at Babylon under the names of Bel, "the Lord," and Merodach the sun-god, at Eridu under that of Hea and at Nipur under that of Anu. The gods of the multitude are said to be only the fifty names of the Creator. To him is ascribed the regulation of the stars, the naming of the angels, and the subjection of the subordinate demi-gods, and marginal notes expressly state that the several titles under which the Creator is addressed on the obverse of the tablets, all belong to one and the same divinity.

In the popular mythology the part of the Creator was usually assigned to Merodach. Thus we find the latter deity addressed as follows in a mutilated bilingual hymn (K 2962 *Obv.*):—

1. [King] of the land, lord of the world,
2. ... protector of heaven and earth,

3. firstborn of the god Hea,
4. the restorer of heaven and earth,
5. ... mighty lord of mankind, king of the world.
6. ... the god of gods,
7. (lord) of heaven and earth, who hast no equal,
8. companion of Anu and Bel,
9. the merciful one among the gods,
10. the merciful who raisest the dead to life,
11. Merodach, the king of heaven and earth,
12. the king of Babylon, the lord of Bit-Saggil,
13. the king of Bit-Zida, the lord of the mighty temple of life,
14. heaven and earth are thine,
15. the circuit of heaven and earth is thine,
16. the charm (to produce) life is thine,
17. the philtre of life is thine,
18. the Illustrious King, the mouth of the Abyss, is thine;
19. mankind, (even) the men with the black heads,
20. living creatures, as many as are called by a name, as exist in the land,
21. the four quarters of the world, as many as there are,
22. the angels of the hosts of heaven and earth, as many as there are, (are thine).

In these references to the names of the living creatures made by the Creator at the beginning of the world, we are irresistibly reminded of the passage in Genesis ii. 19., where we read that "out of the ground God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air; and brought them to Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof."

One of the most curious statements made in these hymns is that the race of men created by the deity was black-headed. The same race of men is mentioned elsewhere in the ancient literature of the Accadians. Thus in a hymn to the goddess Gula, the goddess is described as "the mother who bore the men of the black heads," and in another hymn the sun-god is declared to "direct the men of the black heads." Sargon of Agané is further described as ruling over "all the men of the black heads," and in imitation of this mode of expression Sennacherib in later days speaks of having overcome "all the black-headed race." The black-headed race of Sennacherib, however, was the Turanian population of Elam and the adjoining districts on the east of Babylonia, whereas it is plain that the Accadian hymns mean by the black-headed race the Accadian people itself. It was over them that Sargon of Agané, the Semite, boasts of having extended his sway, though according to an old geographical list it was Sumer or Shinar rather than Accad, which was inhabited by the people of "the black-face." But after all there is no contradiction between the statements of Sennacherib and of the hymns. The Accadians belonged to the same race as the Turanian inhabitants of Elam, and spoke a similar language to theirs.

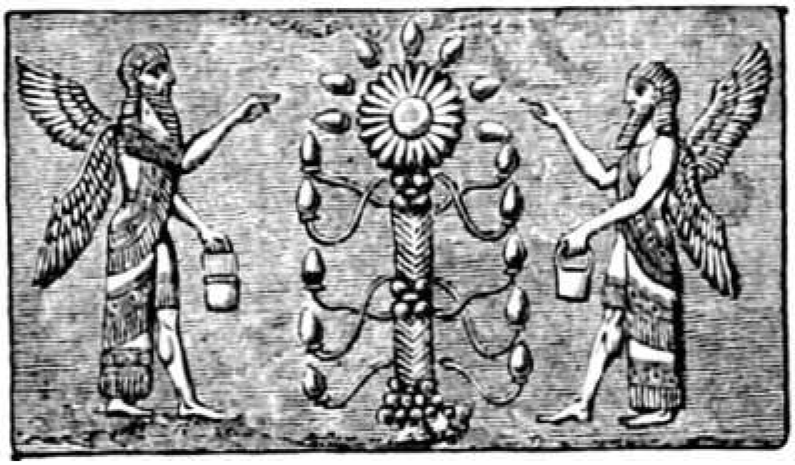
Now we shall find in the account of the exploits of Dibbara, which will be translated in a subsequent chapter, that the black race, which is identified with the Accadians, is contrasted with the people of Syria, while in the bilingual tablets, the black race is similarly contrasted with the white race. Hence it is clear that the white race was the same as the Syrians, and since the Syrians were Semites, the white race must have been synonymous in the language of the Accadians with Semitic. As a matter of fact, the Semites belong to the white-skinned division of mankind, and were accordingly painted yellow by the Egyptians. The Accadian population, on the other hand, belonged to the dark-skinned division, though it is not necessary to suppose them to have been as black as the negro or the "blameless Ethiopian." In the bilingual tablets, the black race is rendered in Assyrian by the word *Adamatu* or "red-skins."

A popular etymology connected this word *Adamatu* with the word *Adamu* or *admu*, "man," partly on account of the similarity of sound, partly because in the age of Accadian supremacy and literature, the men *par excellence*, the special human beings made by the Creator, were the dark-skinned race of Accad. The Accadian Adam or "man" was dark; it was only when the culture of the Accadians had been handed on to their Semitic successors that he became fair.

The discovery that the Biblical Adam is identical with the Assyrian *Adamu* or "man," and that the Assyrian *Adamu* goes back to the first-created man of Accadian tradition who belonged to the black, that is, to the Accadian race, is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson. He has also suggested that the contrast between the black and the white races, between the Accadian and the Semite, is indicated in the sixth chapter of Genesis, where a contrast is drawn between the daughters of men, or *Adamu*, and the sons of God. It was owing to the intermarriage of the sons of God with the Adamites that the evils were spread which brought down upon the world the punishment of the Deluge.

It was Sir Henry Rawlinson who further pointed out that the Biblical Gân Eden, or "Garden of Eden," is Gan-Duniyas (also called Gun-duni), a name under which Babylonia is frequently known in the Assyrian inscriptions. Gan-Duniyas signifies "the enclosure" or "fortress of the god Duniyas," a deity whose nature and attributes are still obscure, and who may have been merely a deified monarch of the country. Two of the four rivers of Paradise are the two great rivers that enclose the fruitful plain of Babylonia, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The Euphrates was called Purrat, or "the curving water" in Accadian from its shape; the Tigris was known under the name of Masgugar, "the current," Tiggar, and Idikna or Idikla, from the latter of which comes the Hiddekhel of Genesis, with prefixed Accadian *hid*, "river." Gihon is identified with the Arakhtu or Araxes, "the river of Babylon," which flowed westward into the desert of Arabia or Cush, though Sir H. Rawlinson suggests its identity with the modern Jukhá, which runs past the site of Eridu, while Sargon calls Elam the country of "the four rivers."[11]

The tree of life was well known to the Accadians and the Assyrians after them, and the bas-reliefs of Nineveh frequently present us with a representation of it, guarded on either side by a winged cherub who has the head sometimes of a man, sometimes of an eagle. The tree always assumes a conventional form, and since it generally bears fir-cones we may infer that the Accadians brought the tradition of it with them from their original seat in the colder mountainous land of Media, where the fir was plentiful, and identified it with the palm-tree only after their settlement in Chaldea. An old name of Babylon, or of a part of Babylon, was Din-Tir, "the life of the forest," which may possibly have some connection with the tree of life. The special spot, however, in which the site of the tree of life was localized was close to the city of Eridu, now represented by Dhib according to Sir H. Rawlinson, where the solar hero Tammuz was supposed to have received the death-blow which obliged him to spend one half the year in the lower world.



SACRED TREE, OR GROVE, WITH ATTENDANT CHERUBIM, FROM ASSYRIAN CYLINDER.

A fragmentary bilingual hymn speaks thus of the sacred spot, and of the tree of life that grew therein:—

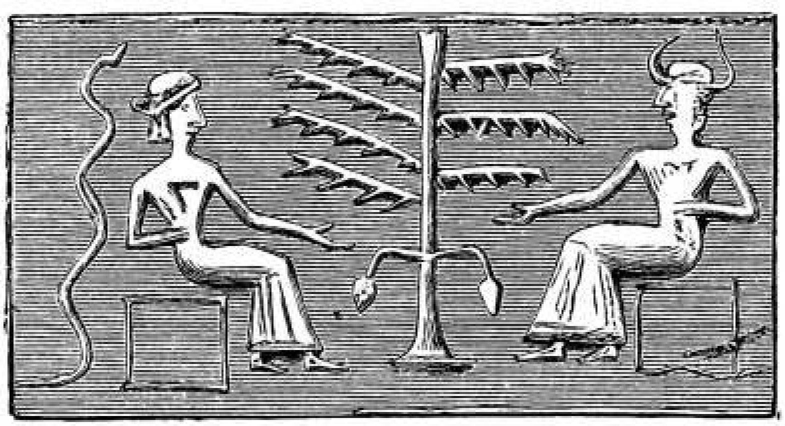
1. In Eridu a dark pine grew, in an illustrious place it was planted.
2. Its (root) was of white crystal which spread towards the deep.
3. The (shrine?) of Hea (was) its pasturage in Eridu, a canal full of (water).
4. Its seat (was) the (central) place of this earth.
5. Its shrine (was) the couch of mother Zicum, (the mother of gods and men).
6. The (roof) of its illustrious temple like a forest spread its shade; there (was) none who within entered.
7. (It was the seat) of the mighty mother (Zicum), the begetter of Anu.

Eridu was the special seat of the worship of Hea, and was often known as “the good city.”

The flaming sword, which according to Genesis guarded the approach to the tree of life is paralleled by the flaming sword of Merodach, which is explained to be the lightning. It was with this sword which is represented on the monuments as having the form of a sickle like the sword of the Greek hero Perseus, that Merodach overthrew the dragon and the powers of darkness. A hymn put into the mouth of Merodach, thus speaks of it:—

The sun of fifty faces, the lofty weapon of my divinity, I bear.

The hero that striketh the mountains, the propitious sun of the morning, that is mine, I bear.
My mighty weapon, which like an orb smites in a circle the corpses of the fighters, I bear.
The striker of mountains, my murderous weapon of Anu, I bear.
The striker of mountains, the fish with seven tails, that is mine, I bear.
The terror of battle, the destroyer of rebel lands, that is mine, I bear.
The defender of conquests, the great sword, the falchion of my divinity, I bear.
That from whose hand the mountain escapes not, the hand of the hero of battle, which is mine, I bear.
The delight (?) of heroes, my spear of battle, (I bear).
My crown which strikes against men, the bow of the lightning, (I bear).
The crusher of the temples of rebel lands, my club and buckler of battle, (I bear).
The lightning of battle, my weapon of fifty heads, (I bear).
The feathered monster of seven heads, like the huge serpent of seven heads, (I bear).
Like the serpent that beats the sea, (which attacks) the foe in the face, the devastator of forceful battle, lord over heaven and earth, the weapon of (seven) heads, (I bear).
That which maketh the light come forth like day, god of the East, my burning power, (I bear).
The establisher of heaven and earth, the fire-god, who has not his rival, (I bear).



Sacred Tree, Seated Figure on each side, and Serpent in background, from an early Babylonian Cylinder.

Allusion is made in this hymn, it will be noticed, to a fabulous serpent with seven heads, which beats the sea into waves. This serpent was originally identical with the dragon of the deep, combated by Merodach, as we shall learn from a fragment to be translated hereafter, that is to say with the principle of chaos and darkness, called Mummu Tiamtu, “the chaos of the deep,” in the account of the creation. It is also described as “the serpent of night,” “the serpent of darkness,” “the wicked serpent,” and “the mightily strong serpent,” epithets which show that it was on the one hand the embodiment of moral evil, and on the other was primitively nothing more than the darkness destroyed by the sun, the bright power of day. It is difficult not to compare the serpent of Genesis with this serpent of Babylonian mythology. No Chaldean legend of the Fall has as yet been found, but when we remember how few Chaldean legends have been discovered, and that even for these we are dependent on the selection and copies of Assyrian scribes, we need not be surprised that such should be the case. The Babylonian colouring of the history in Genesis, the fact that the rivers of Paradise are Babylonian rivers, and that the tree of life was familiar to Babylonian art and tradition, make it probable that we shall yet discover the Chaldean version of the Fall of Man as soon as the libraries of Babylonia have been explored. Indeed, this is made almost certain by the existence of an early Babylonian seal, now in the British Museum, on which a tree is represented with a human figure seated on either side of it, with the hands stretched out towards the fruit, and a serpent standing erect behind one of them. We know that the devices on these early seals were taken from the popular legends and myths. It must be admitted, however, that the two figures seem both to be males.

But if references to the Fall are few and obscure, there can be no doubt that the Sabbath was an Accadian institution, intimately connected with the worship of the seven planets. The astronomical tablets have shown that the seven-day week was of Accadian origin, each day of it being dedicated to the sun, moon, and five planets, and the word Sabbath itself, under the form of *Sabattu*, was known to the Assyrians, and explained by them as “a day of rest for the heart.” A calendar of Saint’s days for the month of the intercalary Elul makes the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the lunar month Sabbaths on which no work was allowed to be done. The Accadian words by which the idea of Sabbath is denoted, literally mean, “a day on which work is unlawful,” and are interpreted in the bilingual tablets as signifying “a day of peace” or “completion of labours.” The calendar lays down the following injunctions to the king for each of these sabbaths:—

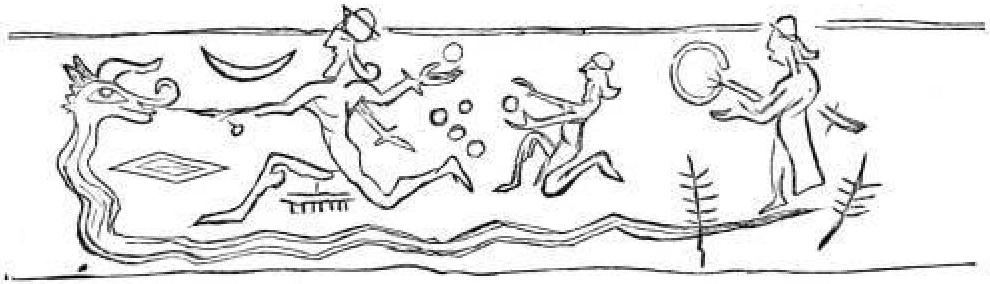
A Sabbath: the prince of many nations the flesh of animals and cooked food may not eat.

The garments of his body he may not change. White robes he may not put on.

Sacrifice he may not offer. The king may not ride in his chariot.

In royal fashion he may not legislate. A review of the army the general may not hold.

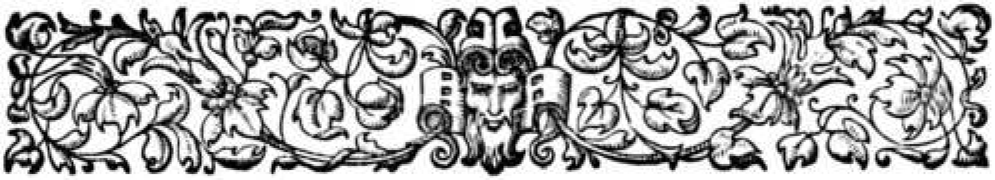
Medicine for his sickness of body he may not apply.



Merodach attacking the Serpent, on an Assyrian Cylinder, in the Possession of Dr. S. Wells Williams, Newhaven.

The antiquity of this text is evident not only from the fact that it has been translated from an Accadian original, but also from the word rendered "prince," which literally means "a shepherd," and takes us back to the early times when the Accadian monarchs still remembered that their predecessors had been only shepherd-chieftains.

Before concluding this chapter, it must be noted that the word translated "the sea," in lines three and seven of the reverse of the hymn to the Creator, is Tiamtu, which, as we have seen, was the name applied to the deep, upon which the Babylonians believed that the earth rested, and out of which it had been brought into existence.



CHAPTER VI.
OTHER BABYLONIAN ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION.

Cuneiform accounts originally traditions.—Variations.—Account of Berosus.—Tablet from Cutha.—Translation.—Composite animals.—Eagle-headed men.—Seven brothers.—Destruction of men.—Seven wicked spirits.—Mythical explanation of lunar eclipses.—Hymn to the God of Fire.—War in heaven.—Tiamat-Merodach.—The great dragon.—Parallel Biblical account.

THE traditions embodied by Accadians and Assyrians in the literature of which specimens have been given in the preceding chapter, had been handed down by word of mouth through many generations, and committed to writing only at a comparatively late period. When such is the case, traditions are naturally liable to vary, sometimes very widely, according to the period and condition of the country. Thus many different versions of a story arise, and there can be no doubt that this was actually the case with the Creation legends. The account of the Creation in six days was not the only account of the Creation current among the inhabitants of Assyria and Babylonia. It was but one out of many which had slowly grown up among the people, and been finally thrown into a literary form. The story of the Creation transmitted through Berosus (see chapter iii. pp. 34-36), for example, supplies us with an account which differs entirely from the cuneiform account in the last chapter as well as from the Genesis account, and some fragments of tablets from Kouyunjik belonging to the library of Assur-bani-pal give a copy, mutilated as usual, of a third version which has, however, points of agreement with the account of Berosus. This legend, of which the following is a translation, is stated to be copied from a tablet at Cutha.

Legend of Creation from Cutha tablet.

(Many lines lost at commencement.)

1. .... his lord, the crown of the gods ....
2. the spearmen of his host, the spearmen of (his) host ....

3. lord of those above and those below, lord of the angels ....
4. who drank turbid waters and pure waters did not drink ....
5. who with his flame, as a weapon, that host enclosed,
6. has taken, has devoured.
7. On a memorial-stone he wrote not, he disclosed not, and bodies and produce
8. in the earth he caused not to come forth, and I approached him not.
9. Warriors with the bodies of birds of the desert, men
10. with the faces of ravens,
11. these the great gods created,
12. in the earth the gods created their city.
13. Tiamtu gave them suck,
14. their life (?) the mistress of the gods created.
15. In the midst of the earth they grew up and became strong, and
16. increased (?) in number,
17. Seven kings, brethren, were made to come as begetters;
18. six thousand in number were their armies.
19. The god Banini their father was king, their mother
20. the queen was Melili,
21. their eldest brother who went before them, Memangab was his name,
22. their second brother Medudu was his name,
23. their third brother .... pakh was his name,
24. their fourth brother .... dada was his name,
25. their fifth brother .... takh was his name,
27. their sixth brother .... ruru was his name,
28. their seventh brother .... (rara) was his name.

Column II.

(Many lines lost.)

1. ..... the evil curse ....
2. The man his will turned ....
3. on a .... I arranged.
4. On a (tablet) the evil curse (which) in blood he raised
5. (I wrote and the children of) the generals I urged on.
6. Seven (against seven in) breadth I arranged them.

7. (I established) the illustrious (ordinances?)
8. I prayed to the great gods
9. Istar, ..., Zamama, Anunit,
10. Nebo .... and Samas the warrior,
11. the son of (the moon-god), the gods that go (before me).
12. .... he did not give and
13. thus I said in my heart,
14. that, Here am I and
15. may I not go .... (beneath) the ground.
16. may I not go ...... may the prayer
17. go when .... my heart,
18. may I renew, the iron in my hand may I take.
19. The first year in the course of it
20. one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers I sent out, and among them
21. not one returned.
22. The second year in the course of it, ninety thousand I sent out, and not one returned.
23. The third year in the course of it, sixty thousand seven hundred I sent out, and not one returned.
24. They were rooted out, they were smitten with sickness; I ate,
25. I rejoiced, I rested.
26. Thus I said to my heart that, Here am I and
27. for my reign what is left (to rule over)?
28. I the king, am not the replenisher of his country,

COLUMN III.

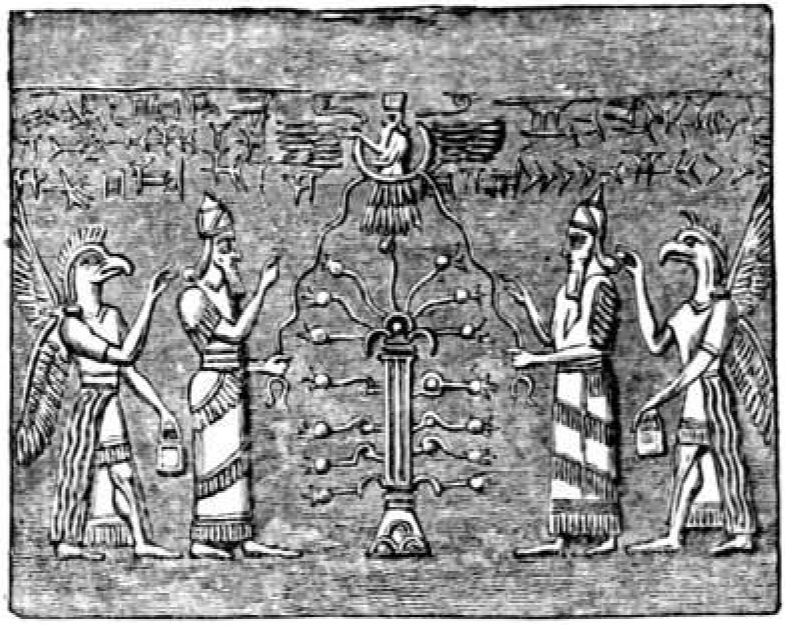
1. and (I), the shepherd, am not the replenisher of his people,
2. since I established corpses, and a desert is left.
3. The whole of the country (and) men with night, death (and) plague I cursed it.
4. (I afflicted them) as many as exist.
5. ...... there descended
6. ...... a whirlwind.
7. ...... its whirlwind.
8. .... all.

9. The foundations (of the earth were shaken?)
10. The gods ....
11. Thou didst bind and .....
12. and they were bound (?) ....
13. Thou protectedst .....
14. A memorial of ....
15. in supplication to Hea ....
16. Illustrious memorial sacrifices ....
17. Illustrious *tereti* ......
18. I collected; the children of the generals (I urged on).
19. Seven against seven in breadth I arranged.
20. I established the illustrious ordinances (?)
21. I prayed to (the great) gods,
22. Istar .... (Zamama, Anunit,)
23. Nebo ... (and the Sun-god, the warrior,)
24. the son (of the Moon-god, the gods who go before me).

COLUMN IV.

(Several lines lost at commencement.)

1. Thou O king, viceroy, shepherd, or any one else,
2. whom God shall call to rule the kingdom,
3. this tablet I made for thee, this record-stone I wrote for thee,
4. in the city of Cutha, in the temple of Gallam,
5. in the sanctuary of Nergal, I leave for thee;
6. this record-stone see, and,
7. to the words of this record-stone listen, and
8. do not rebel, do not fail,
9. do not fear, and do not curse.
10. Thy foundation may he establish!
11. As for thee, in thy works may he make splendour.
12. Thy forts shall be strong,
13. thy canals shall be full of water,
14. thy papyri, thy corn, thy silver,
15. thy furniture, thy goods,
16. and thy instruments, shall be multiplied.
(A few more mutilated lines.)



SACRED TREE, ATTENDANT FIGURES AND EAGLE-HEADED MEN, FROM THE SEAL OF A SYRIAN CHIEF, NINTH CENTURY B.C.

This is a very obscure inscription, the first column, however, forms part of a relation similar to that of Berosus in his history of the Creation; the beings who were killed by the light, and those with men's heads and bird's bodies, and bird's heads and men's bodies, agree with the composite monsters of Berosus, while the goddess of chaos, Tiamtu, who is over them, is the same as the Thalatth of the Greek writer. It may be remarked that the doctrine of the Greek philosopher, Anaximander, that man has developed out of creatures of various shape, and once like the fish was an inhabitant of the water, is but a reminiscence of the old Babylonian legend.

The relation in the third column of the inscription is difficult, and does not correspond with any known incident. The fourth column contains an address to any future king who should read the inscription which was deposited in the temple of Nergal at Cutha.

It is possible that this legend was supposed to be the work of one of the mythical kings of Chaldea, who describes the condition and history of the world before his time.

The war carried on against the monstrous creations of Tiamtu, described in this myth, was but one version of the war waged against Tiamtu, or Chaos, herself by the sun-god Merodach. The most famous form taken by the story of this war was that which described the attack of the seven wicked spirits, or storm-demons, against the moon, and their final discomfiture by the bright power of day. This attack was a primitive attempt to account for lunar eclipses, dressed up in poetry, and may be compared with the Chinese belief that when the moon is eclipsed it has been devoured by the dragon of night. Similarly the Egyptians told how Set or Typhon pursued the moon, the eye of Horus, how it waned week by week as he struck it, and finally passed into eclipse when he blinded it altogether. According to Hindu legend, the immortal head of the serpent-demon Râhu, cut off by Vishnu who had been informed by the sun and moon of his theft of the drink of immortality, incessantly pursues the two informers in order to devour them, and a Scandinavian myth makes the sun and moon to be always pursued by two wolves, Sköll and Hati, the latter of whom, also called Mânagarmr or dog of the moon, will at the end of the times swallow up the chief luminary of night.

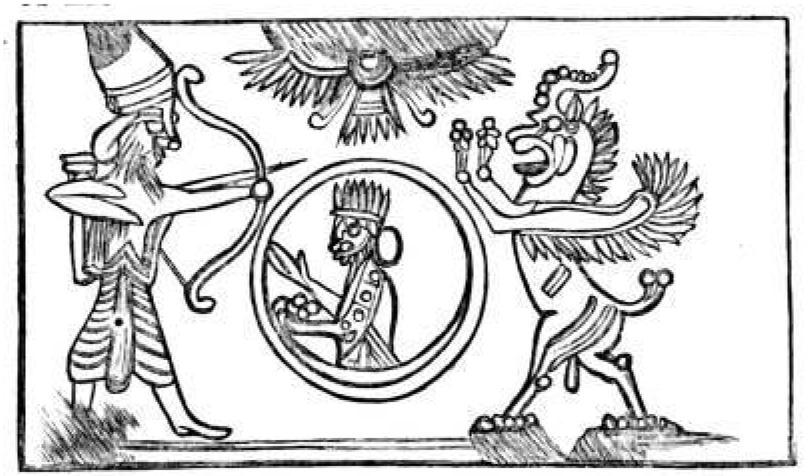
Tablet with the story of the Seven Wicked Spirits.

COLUMN I.

1. The recurring days[12] are the wicked gods.
2. The rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven
3. had been created,
4. wrought their evil work
5. devising with wicked heads (at) sunset;
6. (like) a sea-monster to the river (they marched).
7. Among the seven of them the first was a scorpion (*or* fiery sting) of rain.
8. The second was a thunderbolt which no man could face.
9. The third was a leopard ....
10. The fourth was a serpent ....
11. The fifth was a watch-dog which (rages) against (his foes).
12. The sixth was a raging tempest which to god and king submits not.
13. The seventh was the messenger of the evil wind which (Anu) made.
14. The seven of them (are) messengers of the god Anu their king.
15. In city after city they set their returning feet.

16. The raging wind which (is) in heaven, fiercely hath been bound to them.
17. The fleecy rain-clouds (are they) which in heaven establish cloudy darkness.
18. The lightning of the tempest, the raging tempests which in the bright day
19. establish gloom, are they.
20. With evil tempest, baleful wind, they began:
21. the storm of Rimmon, that was their might,
22. at the right hand of Rimmon did they march;
23. from the foundations of heaven like lightning (they darted),
24. (like) a sea-monster to the river in front they marched.
25. In the wide heavens the seat of Anu the king
26. with evil purpose did they abide, and a rival they had not.
27. Then Bel of this matter heard and
28. the word sank into his heart.
29. With Hea the supreme adviser of the gods he took counsel, and
30. Sin (the moon), Samas (the sun), and Istar (Venus) in the lower part of heaven to direct it he had appointed.
31. With Anu the lordship of the hosts of heaven he made them share.
32. The three of them, those gods his children,
33. night and day he had established; that they break not apart,
34. he urged them.
35. Then those seven, the evil gods,
36. in the lower part of heaven commencing,
37. before the light of Sin fiercely they came,
38. the hero Samas and Rimmon (the god of the atmosphere) the warrior to their quarters returned and
39. Istar with Anu the king a noble seat
40. chooses and in the government of heaven is glorious.

COLUMN II.

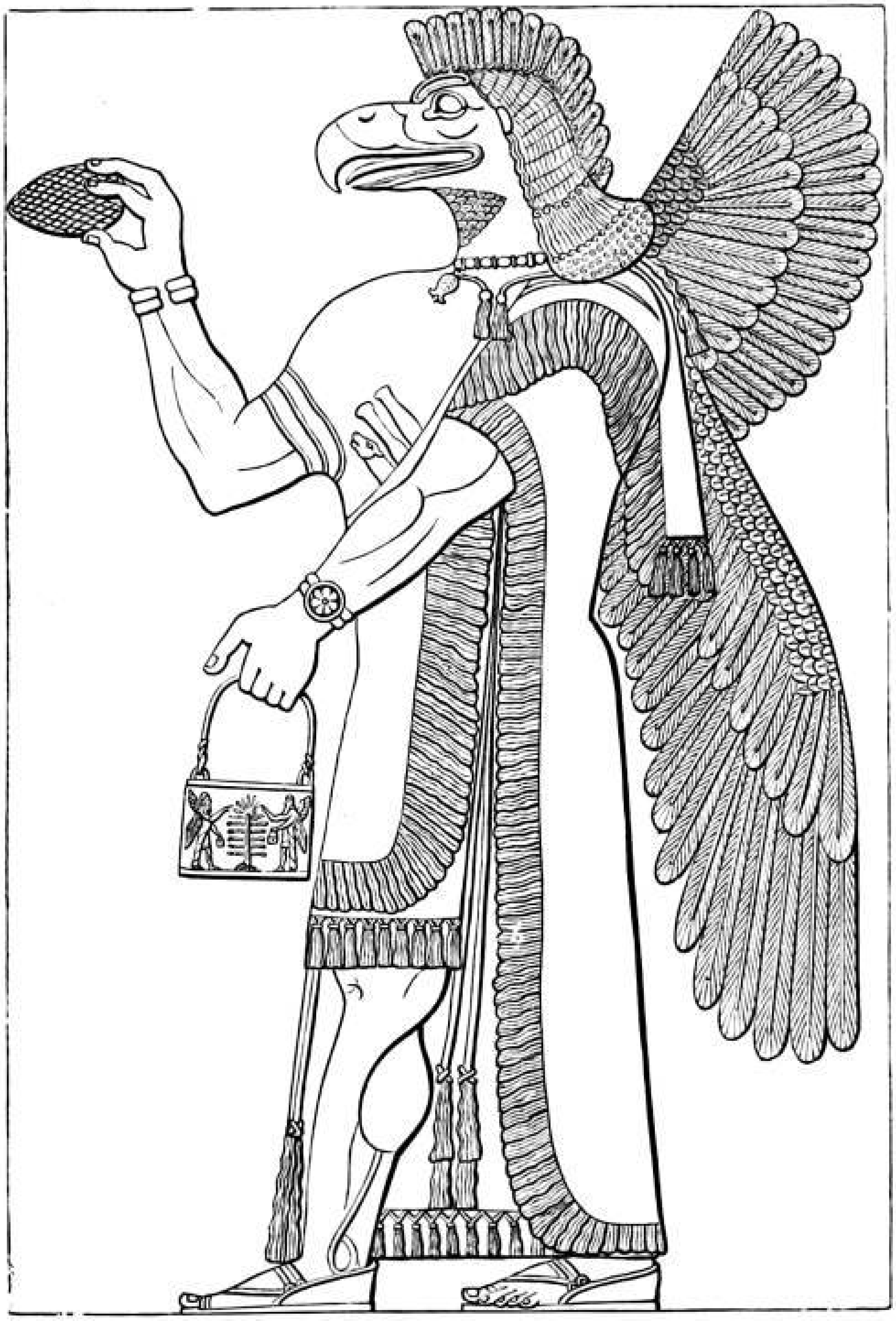


Merodach delivering the Moon-god from the evil spirits; from a Babylonian Cylinder.

The second column, which is much mutilated at the beginning, goes on to describe "the trouble" of the moon-god, how "night and day in eclipse, in the seat of his dominion he sat not." But

1. The wicked gods the messengers of Anu their king
2. devising with wicked heads assisted one another.
3. Evil they plotted together.
4. From the midst of heaven like the wind on mankind they swooped.
5. Bel the eclipse of the hero Sin
6. in heaven saw and
7. the god to his messenger the god Nusku (Nebo) said:
8. "My messenger, Nebo, my word to the deep carry:
9. the news of my son Sin who in heaven is grievously eclipsed
10. to the god Hea in the deep repeat." Then
11. Nebo the word of his lord obeyed, and
12. to Hea in the deep descended and went.
13. To the prince, the supreme councillor, the lord, the lord of mankind,
14. Nebo the message of his lord in that quarter at once repeated.
15. Hea in the deep that message heard, and
28. his lips he bit, and with outcry his mouth he filled.
29. Hea his son the god Merodach called, and the word he spake:
30. "Go, my son Merodach!
31. the light of the sky, my son Sin, whom heaven is grievously eclipsed,

32. (in) his eclipse from heaven is departing.
33. Those seven wicked gods, serpents[13] of death, having no fear,
34. those seven wicked gods, who like a whirlwind
35. (destroy) the life of mankind,
36. against the earth like a storm they come down.
37. In front of the bright one Sin fiercely they came,
38. the hero Samas and Rimmon the warrior, to their quarters (returned),
39. (Istar, with Anu the king, an illustrious seat chooses, and in the dominion of heaven is glorious).



EAGLE-HEADED MAN. FROM NIMROUD SCULPTURE.

Most of the remainder of the legend, consisting of some forty lines, is unfortunately lost, owing to a fracture of the tablet. What is left, however, shows that Merodach, "the brilliance of the sun," for such is the meaning of his name, who always appears in the Accadian hymns as a kind of

Babylonian Prometheus and universal benefactor, comes to the help of the "labouring" moon, and "awe" goes before him. Dressed in "glistening armour of unsoiled cloths and broad garments," he enters "the gate of the palace," "a king, the son of his god, who, like the bright one, the moon-god, sustains the life of the land," and there with a helmet of "light like the fire" upon his head, successfully overthrows the seven powers of darkness. The poem concludes with a prayer that they may never descend into the land, and traverse its borders.

In this story, which differs again from all the others, Bel is supposed to place in the heaven the Moon, Sun, and Venus, the representative of the stars. The details have no analogy with the other stories, and this can only be considered a poetical myth of the Creation.

This legend is part of the sixteenth tablet of the series on evil spirits; but the tablet contains other matters as well, the legend apparently being only quoted in it. There is another remarkable legend of the same sort in praise of the fire-god, on another tablet of this series published in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. iv. p. 15. The whole of this series concerns the wanderings of the god Merodach, who goes about the world seeking to remove curses and spells, and in every difficulty applying to his father Hea to learn how to combat the influence of the evil spirits, to whom all misfortunes were attributed.

The seven evil spirits illustrate well the way in which a moral signification may come to be attached to what was originally a purely physical myth. They are frequently mentioned in the literature of ancient Accad. Thus the twenty-third book, on eclipses of the moon, of the great work on astronomy compiled for Sargon of Agané, states that: "When the moon shall describe a section (in) the upper circle (of its revolution), the gods of heaven and earth bring about dearth of men (and) their overthrow; and (there is) eclipse, inundation, sickness, (and) death; the seven great spirits before the moon are broken." Elsewhere, an Accadian hymn, which has an interlinear Assyrian translation attached to it, speaks as follows of these dreaded spirits:—

1. Seven (they) are, seven they (are).
2. In the abyss of the deep seven they (are).

3. The splendours of heaven (are) those seven.
4. In the abyss of the deep, (in) a palace, (was) their growth.
5. Male they (are) not, female they (are) not. [The Accadian text, in accordance with the respect paid to women in Accad, reverses this order.]
6. As for them, the deep (is) their binder.
7. Wife they have not, son is not born to them.
8. Reverence (and) kindness know they not.
9. Prayer and supplication hear they not.
10. (Among) the thorns (?) on the mountain (was) their growth.
11. To Hea are they foes.
12. The throne-bearers of the gods (are) they.
13. Destroying the roads on the paths are they set.
14. Wicked (are) they, wicked (are) they;
15. seven (are) they, seven (are) they, seven twice again (are) they.

Another Accadian poet, who lived at Eridu, the supposed site of Paradise, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, has left another account of the Seven wicked spirits in the hymn to the fire-god mentioned above. He says of them:—

1. O god of fire, those seven how were they begotten, how grew they up?
2. Those seven in the mountain of the sunset were born;
3. those seven in the mountain of the sunrise grew up.
4. In the deep places of the earth have they their dwelling.
5. In the high places of the earth have they their name.
6. As for them, in heaven and earth wide is their habitation.
7. Among the gods their couch they have not.
8. Their name in heaven (and) earth exists not.
9. Seven they (are); in the mountain of the sunset do they rise.
10. Seven they (are); in the mountain of the sunrise did they set.
11. In the deep places of the earth did they rest their feet.
12. On the high places of the earth do they lift up their head.
13. As for them, goods they know not, in heaven (and) earth are they not learned.

Merodach is then ordered to fetch "the laurel, the baleful tree that breaks in pieces the incubi, the name whereof Hea remembers in his heart, in the mighty enclosure, the girdle of Eridu," in order that the seven evil spirits may be driven away. Can this laurel-tree be the tree of the knowledge of good and evil? It must be remembered that Hea was "the lord of wisdom," and under the form of a fish as Oannes or *Hea Khan* was supposed to have ascended from the Persian Gulf, and taught the primitive Babylonians the elements of culture and civilization.

At the head of the seven evil spirits stood Tiamtu, the representative of chaos and darkness. One of the most remarkable Babylonian legends yet discovered is one which tells of the primæval struggle between Tiamtu and Merodach, between light and darkness or good and evil, and which does but embody in a new shape the conception which found expression in the myth of the war against the moon. The tablets which contain this legend are unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition.

The first of these is K 4832, too mutilated to translate; it contains speeches of the gods before the war.

The second fragment, K 3473, contains also speeches, and shows the gods preparing for battle. It is so terribly broken that translation is impossible, and all that can be made out is a line here and there.

The third fragment, K 3938, is on the same subject; some lines of this give the following general meaning:—

1. winged thunderbolts ....
2. fear he made to carry ....
3. their sight very great (?) ....
4. their bodies may he destroy and ....
5. he raised; it was suitable, the strong serpent ....
6. Udgallum, Urbat[14] and the god ....
7. days arranged, five (?) ....
8. carrying weapons unyielding ....
9. her breast, her back ....
10. flowing (?) and first ....
11. among the gods collected ....
12. the god Kingu subdued ....

13. marching in front before ....
14. carrying weapons thou ...
15. upon war ....
16. his hand appointed ....

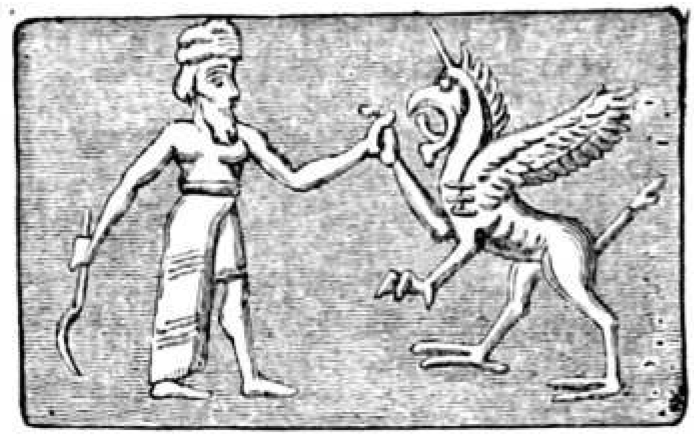
There are many more similar broken lines, and on the other side fragments of a speech by some being who desires Tiamtu to make war.

All these fragments are not sufficiently complete to allow us to translate them with certainty, or even to ascertain their order.

The fourth fragment, K 3449, relates to the making of weapons to arm the god who should meet in war the dragon.

This reads with some doubt on account of its mutilation:

1. The scimitar he had made the gods saw
2. and they saw also the bow how it had been stored up.
3. The work he had wrought (on his shoulder)
4. he raised and Anu in the assembly of the gods
5. kissed the bow; it (he addressed),
6. and he spake of the bow thus (and said)
7. The illustrious wood I have drawn out once and twice,
8. thrice also, her punishment the star of the bow in heaven (shall effect)
9. and I have made (it) the protection (of mankind).
10. From the choice of ....
11. and place his throne ....



Bel encountering the Dragon; from Babylonian Cylinder.

The next fragment or collection of fragments gives the final struggle between Tiamtu and Bel Merodach. The *saparu*, or sickle-shaped sword, is always represented both in the sculptures and inscriptions as a weapon of Bel Merodach in this war.

Sixth Fragment.

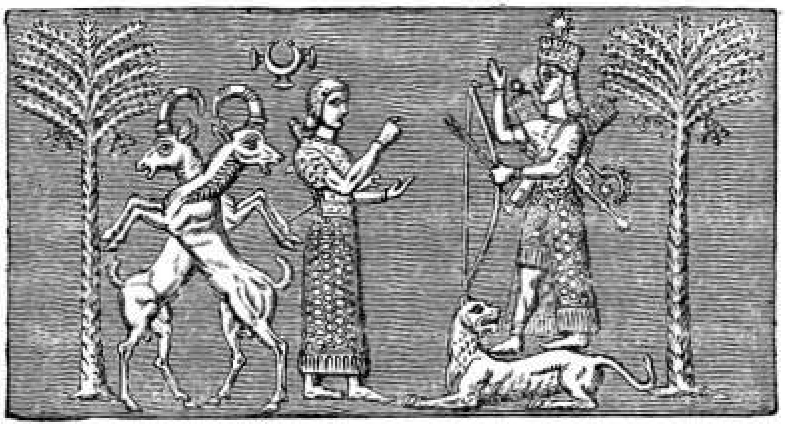
1. .... he fixed it ....
2. the weapon with his right hand he took
3. .... and the quiver from his hand he hung,
4. and he hurled the lightning before him,
5. heat filled his body.
6. He made also the scimitar (to produce) calm in the midst of the sea (Tiamtu).
7. The four winds he imprisoned that they might come forth from its calm,
8. the South, the North, the East, and the West winds.
9. His hand caused the scimitar to approach the bow of his father Anu.
10. He created the evil wind, the hostile wind, the tempest, the storm,
11. the four winds, the seven winds, the whirlwind, the unceasing wind.
12. He sent forth also the winds he had created, seven of them;
13. into the midst of the sea (Tiamtu) they were launched to disturb, they came after him.
14. He lifted up the weapon, the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon;
15. in a chariot that sweeps away all in front, which gives rest, he rode.
16. He fixed it and four yoke-thongs on its pole he hung,
17. .... the unyielding, the overwhelming, he that pursues her.
18. .... with their sting bringing poison
19. .... sweeping away knowledge (?)
20. .... destruction and fighting.

(Several other fragmentary lines.)

Reverse.

1. Unprevailing (is) thy troop; may thy arms strike their bodies!

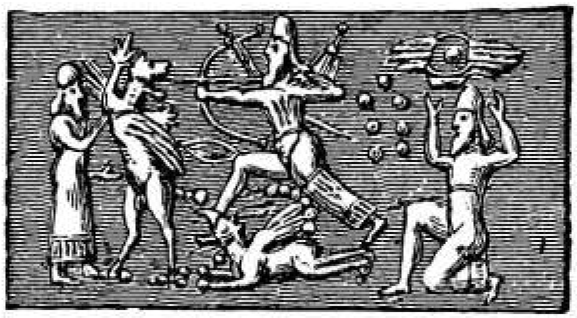
2. I also stand firm, and with thee make battle.
3. Tiamtu (the sea) on hearing this
4. as before used spells, she changed her resolution.
5. Tiamtu also raised herself; warily she ascended.
6. At the roots fully she grounded (her) foundations.
7. She told over the spell; she determined return (to chaos),
8. and the gods for the war asked for themselves their weapons.
9. Then Tiamtu attacked the prince of the gods, Merodach,
10. who had made charms as for combat for the conflict in battle.
11. Then Bel made sharp his scimitar; he smote her.
12. The evil wind that seizes behind from before him fled.
13. And Tiamtu opened her mouth to swallow him.
14. The evil wind he made to descend so that she could not close her lips;
15. the force of the wind her stomach filled, and
16. she was sickened in heart, and her mouth it distorted.
17. She bit the shaft (of the sword); her stomach failed;[15]
18. her inside it cut asunder, it conquered the heart;
19. it consumed her, and her life it ended.
20. Her death he completed, over her he fixes (it).
21. When Tiamat their leader he had conquered,
22. her ranks he broke, her assembly was scattered;
23. and the gods her helpers who went beside her
24. returned in fear, they fled back behind them.
25. They fled and feared for their life.
26. They are companions in flight, powerless.
27. He trampled on them and their weapons he broke.
28. Like a scimitar are they laid, and as in darkness they sat.
29. (They seek) their quarters, they are full of grief;
30. what was left they take away, they pull back like a rope,



Merodach, or Bel, armed for the Conflict with the Dragon; from Assyrian Cylinder.

31. and elevenfold offspring from fear they produce
32. (Through) the flood the demons go (all of them?).
33. He laid the hostility, his hand ....
34. part of their opposition under him ....
35. and the god Kingu again ....

Again the main difficulty arises from the fragmentary state of the documents, it being impossible even to decide the order of the fragments. It appears, however, that the gods have fashioned for them a scimitar and a bow to fight the dragon Tiamtu, and Anu proclaims great honour (fourth fragment, lines 7 to 11) to any of the gods who will engage in battle with her. Bel or Merodach volunteers, and goes forth armed with these weapons to fight the dragon. Tiamtu is encouraged by one of the gods who has become her husband, and meets Merodach in battle. The description of the fight and the subsequent triumph of the god are very fine, and remarkably curious in their details, but the connection between the fragments is so uncertain at present that it is better to reserve comment upon them until the text is more complete. The scimitar with which Merodach is armed is shown by the cylinders and bas-reliefs to have been of the shape of a sickle, and is therefore the same as the *harpê* or *khereb* with which the Greek hero Perseus was armed when he went forth to fight against the dragon of the sea at Joppa. The dragon itself, according to the representations of the monuments, was a composite monster, with the tail, horns, claws, and wings of the mediæval devil. The whole war between the powers of good and evil, chaos and order, finds its parallel in the war between Michael and the dragon in Revelation xii. 7 to 9, where the dragon is called "the great dragon, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.” This description is strikingly like the impression gathered from the fragments of the cuneiform story; the dragon Tiamtu who fought against the gods, and whose fate it was to be conquered in a celestial war, closely corresponds in all essential points with the dragon conquered by Michael. That the dragon originally symbolized the sea is one proof out of many that the Accadians were a seafaring people, well acquainted with the terrors of the deep, when the waves conspire with the storm-clouds, those seven evil spirits, to throw all nature once more into its primeval anarchy.



Fight between Bel and the Dragon, from Babylonian Cylinder.

CHAPTER VII.
THE SIN OF THE GOD ZU.

God Zu.—Obscurity of legend.—Translation.—Sin of Zu.—Anger of the gods.—Speeches of Anu to Rimmon.—Rimmon's answer.—Speech of Anu to Nebo.—Answer of Nebo.—Lugal-turda.—Changes to a bird.—The Zu bird.—Bird of prey.—Lugal-turda lord of Amarda.—Prometheus.

AMONG the legends of the gods, companion stories to the accounts of the Creation and Deluge, one of the most curious is the legend of the sin committed by the god Zu.

This legend stands quite alone, its incidents and its principal actor being otherwise almost unknown from cuneiform sources. Only one copy of the story has at present been detected, and this is in so mutilated a condition that it cannot be connected with any other of the legends. It belongs to the same cycle of myths as the myth of the exploits of Dibbara, which will be given in the next chapter.

The principal actor in the legend is a god named Zu, the name being found in all the three cases of an Assyrian noun Zu, Za, and Zi. Analogy would lead us to infer that the name had been borrowed by the Assyrians from the Accadians, as well as the story with which it is connected.

Mr. Smith compared the legend with that of the mutilation of Uranus by his son Kronus, and with the history of the outrage of Ham on his father Noah; but its real analogue is the myth of Prometheus, the benefactor of men, who stole the fire of heaven for their sake, and brought upon himself the anger and punishment of Zeus. It contains two difficult words, *partsi* and *tereti*. The first is ambiguous, meaning either "oracles" or "shrines," but since it is coupled with *dup-simi*, "tablets of destiny," it is probably to be rendered "oracles." *Tereti* is very obscure. The sun-god is called "the lord of *tereti*" and the word occurs in the hymn to the Creator, Rev. 17 (p. 79), where also it is united with *partsi*, "command" or "oracle." It may signify "lots." The tablets of destiny, stolen by Zu, for the benefit, apparently, of mankind, formed the vault of the palace of the under-world. We may compare the books which are to be opened on the day of judgment in Dan. vii. 10, and Rev. xx. 12.

The tablet containing the account of the sin of Zu, K 3454, in the Museum collection, originally contained four columns of text, each column having about sixty lines of writing. The first and fourth columns are almost entirely lost, there not being enough anywhere to translate from. The mutilation of the text seriously adds to the difficulties of translation.

The single fragment preserved, belonging to the first column, mentions some being who was the seed or firstborn of Bel, with a number of titles, such as "warrior, soldier of the temple of Bel," and the name of the god Zu occurs, but not so as to prove these titles to be his.

The following is a partial translation of the remains of this tablet:—

K. 3454.

COLUMN I. lost.

COLUMN II.

1. .... of the gods all of them he urged on.
2. .... the image, Zu grew old (and)
3. Zu? like .... Bel seized his heel.
4. Three streams? of water in front also
5. the work of Bel in .... he dreams of (*or* ponders) in himself.
6. The crown of his majesty, the clothing of his divinity,
7. the tablets of destiny, himself, Zu, he dreams of, and
8. he dreams that he is the father of the gods also, the protector of heaven and earth.
9. The desire to be Bel is taken in his heart,
10. Zu dreams that he is also the father of the gods, the protector of heaven and earth.
11. The desire to be Bel is taken in his heart:
12. Let me too seize the tablets of destiny of the gods,
13. and the *tereti* of the gods all of them let me kindle,
14. may my throne also be established, let me lift up the oracles,

15. let me urge on the whole of all of them, even the angels.
16. So he lifted up his heart in opposition,
17. in the lower part of the forest where he was dreaming he kept his head away from the day.
18. When Bel pours out the bright waters,
19. spread out also on the throne his crown was placed,
20. the tablets of doom his hand took,
21. the attributes of Bel he seized, he laid hold of the oracles.
22. Zu fled away and a rugged mountain concealed (him).
23. He spread darkness, and made a commotion (?).
24. The father, their king, the ruler Bel
25. ..... outpoured the glory of the gods.
26. ....
27. Anu his mouth opened, he speaks
28. and says to the gods his sons:
29. Whoever will, let him slay Zu, and
30. among all men may his name be renowned.

---

31. (To Rimmon) the powerful firstborn the son of Anu
32. his will also to him he declares:
33. To Rimmon the powerful firstborn the son of Anu
34. his will to him he declares.
35. (O mighty) Rimmon, companion, may thy power of fighting never fail.
36. (Slay) Zu with thy weapon.
37. (May thy name) be renowned in the assembly of the great gods,
38. .... a rival have thy brothers
39. may they supply and build of brick (thy) altars,
40. in the four regions may they establish thy stronghold.
41. May thy stronghold be exalted to become a shrine.
42. They shall cry (?) in the presence of the gods and blessed be thy name.
43. Rimmon answered the speech,
44. to his father Anu a word he speaks;
45. My father, to an impenetrable mountain do thou consign (him).
46. Let Zu never associate among the gods thy sons.
47. The tablets of destiny his hand took;

48. the attributes of Bel he seized, laying hold of the oracles,
49. Zu fled away and a rugged mountain concealed (him).
50. .... the opening of (his) mouth
51. .... like mud
52. .... the gods sweep away
53. .... I will not go he said.

(Sixteen lines lost here, part on this column, part on Column III.)

COLUMN III.

1. Zu fled away and a rugged mountain concealed (him).
2. .... the opening of his mouth ... the protector of heaven and earth
3. .... like mud
4. .... the gods sweep away
5. .... I will not go he said.

---

6. To Nebo the powerful .... the eldest son of Istar,
7. (Anu his will) to him also declares:
8. O mighty Nebo, companion, may thy power of fighting never fail!
9. (Slay) Zu with thy weapon.
10. May (thy name) be renowned in the assembly of the great gods,
11. ..... among the gods thy brothers a rival have (?)
12. May they supply and build (thy) altars;
13. in the four regions may they establish thy stronghold.
14. May thy stronghold be exalted to become a shrine.
15. They shall cry (?) in the presence of the gods and blessed be thy name.
16. Nebo answered the speech,
17. to his father Anu a word he speaks:
18. My father, to a trackless mountain do thou consign him.
19. Let Zu never associate with the gods thy sons.
20. The tablets of destiny his hand took,
21. the attributes of Bel he seized, laying hold of the oracles.
22. Zu fled away and a rugged mountain concealed him.
23. .... the opening of his mouth ... the protector of heaven and earth

The rest, including Column IV., is lost.

Such are the fragments of the story so far as they can be translated at present. The divine Zu here mentioned, whose sin is spoken of, is never counted among the gods, and there would be no clue to his nature were it not for a curious tablet printed in “Cuneiform Inscriptions,” vol. iv. p. 14, which throws light on his origin and character. This tablet gives the following curious relation:

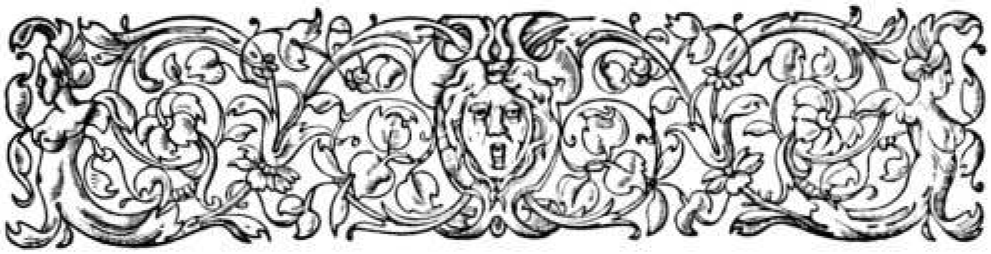
1. The god Lugal-turda (the valiant king) [fled] to the mountains, a place remote;
2. in the mountains of Sabu [he dwelt].
3. No mother gave him life[16] or (suckled him).
4. No father gave him life or with him (associated).
5. No noble who knew him (helped him).
6. Of the resolution of his heart the resolution he (changed) not.
7. In his own heart the resolution (he kept).
8. Into the likeness of a bird was he transformed;
9. into the likeness of the divine storm bird (or Zu bird) was he transformed.
10. The face of his wife who has faced?
11. The wife of the Divine Zu bird, the son of the divine Zu bird,
12. in companionship he made sit.
13. The goddess Enna, the lady of Tigenna,
14. in the mountain he brought back.
15. A woman fashioned was her mother according to likeness made,
16. the goddess of perfumes a woman fashioned was her mother according to likeness made.
17. Her hair was white crystal;
18. Her navel was pure with silver and gold,
19. brightness was fixed in the womb;
20. in the womb dwelt perfection (?).

Many lines are lost here, and the story recommences on reverse.

1. .... a turban he placed on his head
2. (when) from the nest of the god Zu he came.

This Zu bird is plainly the same as the god Zu of the former legend, and his nature is shown by a passage in the annals of Assur-nazir-pal ("Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. i. p. 22, col. ii. l. 107), who says that his warriors "like the divine Zu bird upon them darted." This bird is called the cloud or storm-bird, the flesh-eating bird, the lion or giant bird, the bird of prey, the bird with sharp beak; and it is not difficult to see what the deified bird really was. It was clearly the storm-cloud, which appears in Aryan folklore under the varying forms of the eagle, the woodpecker, and the robin redbreast, the bird of Thor; while in Chinese mythology the storm-bird is described as "a bird which, in flying, obscures the sun, and of whose quills are made water-tuns." The roc of the "Arabian Nights," with its wings of ten thousand fathoms in width, and its egg, which it was a sin in Aladdin to wish to take from the place where it hung, is but an echo of the Chinese storm-bird; and the identity of the Chaldean Zu with the latter is demonstrated by its Accadian name, which signifies "the bird of the divine storm-cloud." Just as Prometheus brought the lightning from heaven to earth, and suffered the penalty of enchainment to a desert rock, so, too, the storm-bird of Accad stole the secrets of the gods, and was punished by exile from them, and transformation into a bird. When once the storm-cloud had been likened to a bird, it was easy enough to identify it with an actual bird of similar name which swooped upon its prey with sharp beak. That the lightning which darted from the bosom of the black tempest really formed the tablets of destiny was a ready conclusion to a people who read the future in the message sent through the lightning from heaven to earth. Even the Hebrews saw in the thunder "the voice of God." Lugal-turda, it may be added, was the patron of the city of Amarda or Marad, and is said to have been the deity worshipped by Izdubar.

In the story of the offence of Zu there is another instance of the variations which constantly occur in the Assyrian inscriptions with respect to the relationship of the gods. Nebo is usually called son of Merodach, but in this inscription he is called son of Anu. The part that he plays in it is due to the fact that he was identified with the "meridian sun."



Chapter VIII.

THE EXPLOITS OF DIBBARA.

Dibbara.—God of Pestilence.—Itak.—The Plague.—Seven warrior gods.—Destruction of people.—Anu.—Goddess of Karrak.—Speech of Bel.—Sin and destruction of Babylonians.—Samas.—Sin and destruction of Erech.—Istar.—The great god and Duran.—Cutha.—Internal wars.—Itak goes to Syria.—Power and glory of Dibbara.—Song of Dibbara.—Blessings on his worship.—God Ner.—Prayer to arrest the Plague.—Antiquity of the legend.—Itak.

THE tablets recording this story are five in number, but a few fragments only of them have as yet been found. From the indications presented by these fragments the first four tablets seem each to have had four columns of writing, while the fifth tablet was a smaller one of two columns containing the remainder of the story.

The god whose exploits are principally recorded was the leader of the plague-demons, and bears the name of Dibbara. He has the title of "the darkening one," which recalls the passage in Psalm xci. 6, "the pestilence that walketh in darkness."

He has a companion deity named Itak who marches before him, and seven gods who follow him in his destructive course. The latter are the seven evil spirits in a new form.

The point of the story in these tablets appears to be, that the people of the world had offended Anu the god of heaven, and accordingly that deity ordered Dibbara to go forth and strike the people with the pest. It is evident here that exactly the same views prevailed in Babylonia as among the Jews, visitations from pestilence or famine being always supposed to be sent by the deity in punishment for some sin. In fact, the account of the pestilence inflicted upon the Israelites on account of David's sin in numbering the people is a striking parallel to the Accadian legend which follows. The angel of the pestilence seen by David, with his sword drawn, may be compared with Dibbara, the Accadian personification of the pest.

The whole of this series of tablets may be described as a poetical picture of the destruction caused by a plague, sweeping over district after district, and destroying everything before it.

The fragment which appears to come first in the series is a very mutilated portion of a tablet, containing parts of three columns of writing. Only a fragment of the first column is perfect enough to translate, and the characters on this are so worn that the translation cannot be other than doubtful. It seems to read

1. Against the paling he struck and ....
2. the fifth time he smote (?) above and below seeking .....
3. seven ......
4. The words of the account of the seven gods all of them Anu had heard.
5. He .... them also to Dibbara the warrior of the gods: May thy hands go
5(sic.). whenever the people of the nations their shame [*or* alliance] have destroyed.
7. I have set thy heart also to make darkness.
8. The people of the black heads to ruin thou shalt strike with the desolation of the god Ner;
9. may thy weapons (overthrow) them, and may thy hands go.
10. As for them ..... their weapons.
11. He said to Dibbara: ......

The speech of Anu which follows is written in characters so broken and indistinct as to make any attempt at translation impossible.

The next fragment is of a different character, but appears from its style to belong to the same series.

1. .... he ....
2. .. spake to him and he explained (?) ....
3. .. spake to him and he learned (?) ....
4. Anu at the doing of Hea shouted for joy and ....
5. the gods of heaven and earth as many as exist whosoever thus answered;

6. his command which was like the command of Anu whosoever appointed
7. .... extending from the horizon of heaven to the top of heaven
8. .... he looked and his fear he saw
9. .... Anu who .... over him .... made
10. .... of Hea his calamity (?) made
11. .... a fierce lord to later days to ....
12. .... seed of mankind
13. .... triumphantly the net (?) .. he broke
14. .... to heaven he had ascended, she thus
15. .... 4,021 people he had placed
16. .... the illness which was on the body of the people he had placed
17. .... the illness the goddess of Karrak made to cease.

The next portion of the legend is a considerable part of one of the tablets, probably the fourth, all four columns of writing being represented. There are many curious points in this tablet, beside the special purpose of the legend, such as the peoples enumerated in the fourth column, the action of the gods of the various cities, &c.

COLUMN I.

1. Bel .... his yokes and
2. (in his) heart he says:
3. Dibbara is crouching at his gate, among the corpses of chiefs and slaves;
4. Dibbara is crouching at his gate; thou knowest his seat.
5. Babylon their foes besieged, and
6. their curse art thou.
7. To the floor thou didst trample them and thou didst make a passage,
8. O warrior Dibbara.
9. Thou didst leave the land, thou didst go forth against others;
10. the destruction of the nobles wast thou made, and thou didst descend into the palace.
11. The people also saw thee; their weapons were shattered.
12. The high priest the avenger of Babylon sets his heart,
13. when the ranks of the enemies to spoil he urges on his soldiers.
14. Before the face of the people they did evil.

15. To that city whither I shall send thee, thou a man
16. shalt not fear, shalt not respect a man.
17. Small and great as one man cast down and
18. of that evil race thou shalt not save any one.
19. The collection of the goods of Babylon thou spoilest;
20. the people of the king (which) is gathered together, and entered into the city,
21. shaking the bow, planting the sword (?)
22. of the soldiers the help, the transgression (transgressors) against Anu and Dagon,
23. their weapons thou plantest,
24. their corpses like the pouring down of rain thou dost cast down in the streets of the city,
25. and their treasures (?) thou openest, and dost sweep into the river.
26. The spell Merodach saw and angrily (?) spoke,
27. his heart was taken,
28. an unsparing curse in his mouth was formed,
29. .... the river he did not ....

COLUMN II.

Many lines lost.

1. .... that city which the lord of the earth ...
2. a whirlwind he did not (make) ....
3. without Samas his tower thou crossest, the land thou givest (?)
4. of Erech the seat of Anu and Istar,
5. the city of (the handmaids) Samkhati and Kharimati, the choirs of
6. Istar. Death they fear (and) they are delivered into thy hands (?).
7. The Suti (Arab nomads) with the Suti are placed in ....
8. they are slain; the temple of Anu the priests, the festival makers,
9. who, to make the people of Istar worship, their manhood devoted,
10. carrying swords, carrying razors, *dupe*, and knives,
11. who to rejoice the glory of Istar trusted,
12. O fierce high priest, the bowing-down of the face over them thou hast made.
13. Their foundations also, their shrines ....
14. Istar cried out and was troubled over the city of Erech,

15. the enemy she strikes and like corn on the face of the waters she scatters.
16. Dwelling in his .... Bit-Parra ....
17. ... she rests not from the war.
18. The enemy whom thou hast stricken obeys not ....
19. The great god answered the speech:
20. The city of Duran to streams of blood ....
21. the people who dwell in the midst of it like reeds (are trembling);
22. .... before the waters their alliance ....
23. and ... thou dost not ....
24. to the Suti ....
25. I in my city Duran judge uprightly
26. I do not ....
27. evil (?) I do not give and ....
28. the upright people I leave ....
Five other broken lines.

COLUMN III.

Many lines lost.

1. .... the house he had built ....
2. this he did, and I ....
3. the day he brought me my fate I ....
4. him, his camp (?) also he caused to destroy ..
5. Afterwards may they destroy, and to another
6. O warrior Dibbara, the established also in Gutium,
7. the unestablished also in Gutium,
8. who sin against thee also in Gutium,
9. who do not sin against thee also in Gutium,
10. .... the destroyer (?) of the clothes of the god of Gutium,
11. .... the mover of the head of the king.
Two other mutilated lines.

COLUMN IV.

1. May the planet Mercury cause his splendour to wane;
2. to his resolutions (?) is he bound:

3. he rejoices not the mouth of his (worshippers)
4. who the structure ....
5. to the seat of the king of the gods may he urge and ....
6. The warrior Dibbara heard it also,
7. the word (which) the god Itak spake to him ..
8. and thus spake the warrior Dibbara:
9. Sea against sea, Subartu (Syria) against Subartu, Assyria against Assyria,
10. Elam against Elam,
11. Kossæan against Kossæan,
12. Sutu against Sutu,
13. Gutium against Gutium,
14. Lullubu against Lullubu,
15. country against country, house against house, man against man,
16. brother against brother also, may they destroy each other,
17. and afterwards may Accad come and
18. the whole of them destroy, and fight against them.
19. The warrior Dibbara to Itak who goes before him a word speaks:
20. Go also Itak, in the word thou hast spoken do according to all thy heart.
21. Itak against the land of Khikhi (Phœnicia) set his face,
22. and the seven warrior gods unequalled
23. marched after him.
24. To the country of Khikhi to the mountains the warrior went,
25. his hand he also lifted and destroyed the land,
26. the land of Khikhi he counted as his own country.

The next fragments of the story are on a mutilated copy of the last tablet, K. 1282. This tablet, as has been before stated, is only a smaller supplemental one to include the end of the story, which could not be written on the fourth tablet.

K. 1282.

Obverse.

1. From Dibbara ....
2. the gods all of them ....

3. the angels and spirits all ....
4. Dibbara his mouth opened and ....
5. a voice also the whole of you ....
6. I also in the first sin ....
7. in heart I cried out and ....
8. like a flock of sheep may ....
9. without the planting of boundaries against ...
10. like the spoiling of the country steadfast and ..
11. in the mouth of the high noble ....
12. and the place ....
Fifteen lines much broken here.
28. .... the land of Accad its strength ....
29. May one slay seven like ....
30. his cities to ruins and mounds thou dost reduce ....
31. his great spoil thou dost spoil, to the midst of ....
32. the gods of the country .... thou removest afar off ....
33. the god Ner and the God Serakh thou directedst ....
34. the countries their productions, the sea thou ..
35. its interior they destroyed ....
Four mutilated lines here.

Reverse.

1. For years untold the glory of the great lord the god ....
2. When Dibbara had cried out and to sweep the countries ....
3. had set his face
4. Itak his adviser had quieted him and stayed ...
5. gathering together his forces to the glorious one of the gods, Merodach the son of (Hea).
6. In the hour of night he sent him, and when in the year ....
7. Not any one ....
8. .... and sent not down against ....
9. his .... also Dibbara received before ....
10. .... Itak who goes before him, the illustrious god ....
11. are all of them laid with him.
12. Any one who speaks of the warrior Dibbara
13. and that song shall glorify, in his place thou wilt keep (his) canals,

14. .... never may he fall (?) ....
15. the heavens have caused the borders of (his) regions to increase.
16. Whoever the glory of my heroism shall recount,
17. an adversary never may he have.
18. The musician who shall sing, shall not die by the chastisement;
19. higher than king and prince may that man ascend.
20. The tablet writer who studies it (and) flees from the hostile, shall be great in the land.
21. If in the places of the people, the established place, my name they proclaim,
22. their ears I open.
23. In the house, the place where their goods are placed, if I Dibbara am angry
24. may the seven gods turn him aside,
25. may the chastising sword not touch him whose face thou establishest.
26. That song for ever may they establish and may they fix the part ....
27. may all the world hear, and glorify my heroism;
28. may the men of all nations see, and exalt my name.
Fifth tablet of the exploits of the god (Dibbara).

Here we see a picture of Oriental feeling with reference to natural phenomenon or disaster to mankind. It is supposed that some deity or angel stands with a sword over the devoted people and sweeps them into eternity.

The first fragment shows the anger of Anu at the sin of some doomed race, and his command to Dibbara to take his weapon, slay the people, and desolate the land like the god Ner. This god Ner was one of the mythical kings of Babylon who reigned after the flood, and is mentioned as having a terrible name and being with Etana a dweller in Hades. The allusion to him in this passage seems to imply that he was believed to have once rescued Babylon from a hostile attack.

The next fragment exhibits the goddess of Karrak as healing the illness of some of the people, 4,102 being mentioned as struck with disease.

In the next and largest fragment the story becomes a little more connected; it commences with a description of preparation for battle, and goes on through speeches and actions to describe the course of Dibbara and his plague that he inflicts upon Babylon, and its besiegers where he spares neither chief nor slave, and enters even the palace. It would seem that the sin of the Babylonians arose from the chief priest or governor of the city arming the troops and sending them out to plunder the enemy. For this the plague is sent, and its progress is graphically described. Merodach the special protector of Babylon at last interferes, and the god of pestilence is checked in his course. The next city visited belongs to Samas, being either Larsa, or Sippara, and then the plague reaches Erech. The character of this city is described, the worship of Venus, with her handmaids Samkhati and Kharimati, or "Joy" and "Seduction," the priests and ceremonies, and the progress of the plague over the place. Then the great god the deity of Duran comes forward and pleads for his city, calling to mind its uprightness and justice, and praying for its exemption from the plague.

In the third column mention is made of Gutium, under which name the Accadians designated the whole tract of country which extended from the Tigris to the eastern borders of Media, including the district afterwards known as Assyria. The land of Nizir, in which rose the mountain of Elwend, on the top of which the Accadians supposed the ark to have rested, also formed part of this vast tract. Sir Henry Rawlinson long ago pointed out that Gutium must be the Goyim of the 14th chapter of Genesis, ruled by Tidal, or rather, according to the reading of the Septuagint, Tur-gal "the great Son."

The fourth column next describes a prophecy of Dibbara that there should be internal war among the peoples of the Persian Gulf, of Syria, Assyria, Elam, Gutium, Lullubu and the Kossæans, from all which troubles benefit should come to the Accadians or northern Babylonians. The Kossæans or Cassi inhabited the northern part of Elam, and under Khammuragas conquered Babylonia and founded there a dynasty which lasted a long time. Lullubu lay northward of Mesopotamia and Nizir.

Then according to his wish Dibbara sends the god Itak his servant, with the seven warrior gods, to devastate, and Itak sweeps over the country and destroys it.[17]

The last tablet deals in generalities pointing out the action of Dibbara when his praise was neglected, and telling all the glories and good that should come to those who should celebrate this deity in song. On the spread of a plague it is evident that the Babylonians had no better means of arresting it than to pray and praise the supposed terrible deity of the scourge, that he might sheathe his sword of anger.

The antiquity of the legend is evident from the geographical names which occur in it. A geographical list which seems based on an Accadian original is the only other document which speaks of Phœnicia, or rather a part of Phœnicia, under the name of Khikhi; and the fact that no reference is made to the Hittites shows that the poem is earlier than the sixteenth century B.C., when the Hittites first rose into power in western Asia. Subartu is derived from the Accadian *subar* "high," applied by the Accadians to the highlands of Aram or Syria.

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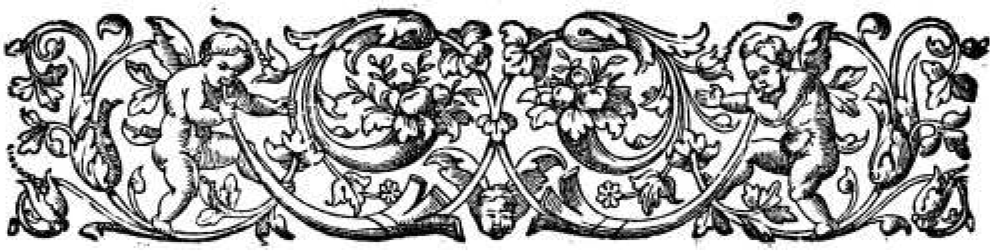

CHAPTER IX.
BABYLONIAN FABLES.

Fables.—Common in the East.—Description.—Power of speech in animals.—Story of the eagle.—Serpent.—Samas.—The eagle caught.—Eats the serpent.—Anger of Birds.—Etana.—Seven gods.—Third tablet.—Speech of eagle.—Story of the fox.—His cunning.—Judgment of Samas.—His show of sorrow.—His punishment.—Speech of fox.—Fable of the horse and ox.—They consort together.—Speech of the ox.—His good fortune.—Contrast with the horse.—Hunting the ox.—Speech of the horse.—Offers to recount story.—Story of Istar.—Further tablets.

COMBINED with these stories of the gods, traditions of the early history of man, and accounts of the Creation, are fragments of a series in which various animals speak and act. As these resemble the beast-fables of other races, more especially the African, they may be conveniently classed under the general heading of “Fables.” The idea that animals can speak, or have spoken in some former age of the world, even occurs in Genesis, where we have a speaking serpent; in Numbers, where Balaam’s ass reproves his master; and in the stories of Jotham and Joash, where the trees are made to talk; as also in the Izdubar legends, where the trees answer Hea-bani.

Four fables have been preserved among the fragmentary records of Assur-bani-pal’s library.

The first contained at least four tablets each having four columns of writing. Two of the acting animals in it are the eagle and the serpent.

The second is similar in character, the leading animal being the fox or jackal, but there are only four fragments of it; it may belong to the same series as the fable of the eagle.

The third is a single tablet with two columns of writing, and contains a discussion between the horse and ox.

The fourth is a single fragment in which a calf speaks, but there is nothing to show the nature of the story.

I. THE STORY OF THE EAGLE.

This story appears to be the longest and most curious of the fables, but the very mutilated condition of the various fragments gives as usual considerable difficulty in attempting a translation of it. One of the actors in the story is an ancient monarch named Etana, who, like Ner, ruled over Babylon in the mythical period that followed the Deluge, and whose phantom was believed to sit, crowned, on a throne in Hades along with the shades of the other heroes of old time. The story of Etana was supposed to have been written by an early poet named Nis-Sin.

It is impossible to determine the proper order of the fragments of the story owing to their mutilated condition; they must therefore be translated as they come.

K 2527.

Many lines lost at the commencement.

1. The serpent in ...
2. I gave a command (?) .....
3. to the eagle .....
4. Again the nest .....
5. my nest I have left in .....
6. the assembly? of my people .....
7. I went down and entered:
8. the sentence which Samas has pronounced on me .....
9. the ear of corn (?) which Samas thy field the earth ....
10. this thy fruit ....
11. in thy field let me not ....
12. the doing of evil the goddess Bahu (Gula) ....
13. The sorrow of the serpent [Samas saw and]
14. Samas opened his mouth and a word he spoke:
15. Go, along the way pass ....
16. he covered thee ....
17. open also his heart ....

18. .... he placed (?) ....
19. .... birds of heaven ....

Reverse.

1. The eagle with them ....
2. the god? had known ....
3. he descended, the flesh he ....
4. to cover the ....
5. to the midst at his entering ....
6. the cutting off of the feathers of his wings ....
7. his claws? and his pinions to ....
8. death by hunger and thirst ....
9. for the work of Samas the warrior, the serpent ....
10. he took also the serpent ....
11. he opened also his heart ....
12. seat he placed ....
13. peace the birds of heaven ....
14. May the eagle ....
15. with the young of the birds ....
16. The eagle opened his mouth ....
Five other mutilated lines.

On another fragment are the following few words:—

Obverse.

1. .... fierce to him also ....
2. .... the god (?) my father ....
3. like Etana thy death ....
4. like thee ....
5. the god Etana the king ....
6. they stripped him in ....

Reverse.

1. Within the gate of Anu, Bel (and Hea)
2. they are established ....

3. within the gate of Sin, Samas, Rimmon, and ....
4. .... I opened ....
5. its ... I devastated ....
6. .... in the midst ....
7. the king ....
8. the god also ....
9. I overshadowed the throne ....
10. I took (?) also ....
11. to the great one also I have explained (?) ....
12. The eagle to him also even to Etana ....
13. his .... the mouth ....
14. may thy city submit ....

The next fragment, K 2606, is curious, as containing an account of some early legendary story in Babylonian history. This tablet formed the third in the series, and from it we gain part of the title of the tablets.

K 2606.

1. .... the god had placed ....
2. of the city he had fixed its brickwork ....
3. he had shepherded them ....
4. Etana gave them ....
5. .... corn ....
6. the seven spirits of earth ....
7. .... they took their counsel ....
8. .... the world ....
9. .... all of them the angels ....
10. .... they ....
11. In those days also ....
12. and a sceptre of crystal ....
13. the bowing down of the world ....
14. the seven gods over the people raised ....
15. over the men they raised ....
16. the city of the angels Surippak
17. Istar the streets ....
18. and the king flew ....
19. the god Inninna the streets ....

20. and the king flew ....
21. Bel encircled (?) the sanctuary of the god ....
22. he worshipped also ....
23. in the wide country ....
24. the kingdom ....
25. he brought and ....
26. the gods of the country ....

Reverse.

Many lines lost.

1. from of old he caused him to wait ....

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2. Third tablet of “The city he left (?) ....”

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3. The eagle his mouth opened and to Samas his lord he spake.

The next fragment is a small portion probably of the fourth tablet.

1. The eagle his mouth (opened) ....
2. ....
3. the people of the birds ....
4. ....
5. peace he speaks ....
6. peace I speak ....
7. in the mouth of Samas the warrior ....
8. the people of the birds ....
9. The eagle his mouth opened and ....
10. Why do I go ....
11. the god Etana his mouth opened and ....

Such are the principal fragments of this curious legend. According to the fragment K 2527, the serpent had committed some sin for which it was condemned by the god Samas to be eaten by the eagle; but the eagle declined the repast.

After this, some one, whose name is lost, baits a trap for the eagle, and the bird going to get the meat, falls into the trap and is caught. Now the eagle is left, until dying for want of food it is glad to eat the serpent, which it takes and tears open. The other birds then interfere, but the tablet is too mutilated to allow us to discover for what purpose.

The other fragments concern the building of some city, Etana being king, and in these relations the eagle again appears; there are seven spirits or angels principal actors in the matter, but the whole story is obscure at present, and a connected plot cannot be made out.

This fable has evidently some direct connection with the mythical history of Babylonia, for Etana is mentioned as an ancient Babylonian monarch in the Izdubar legends. He seems to be the Titan of the Greek writers, who lived after the Deluge and made war against Kronos or Hea shortly after the confusion of tongues. The city built by Etana may be the city mentioned in Gen. xi. 4 as built at the same time as the Tower of Babel. If the Sibyl can be trusted Titan was a contemporary of Prometheus, in whom we may perhaps see the Inninna of the cuneiform inscription. That Etana was closely associated with the story of the Deluge appears plain from the fact that he ruled at Surippak, the home and kingdom of the Chaldean Noah. The legend of Etana seems in the fable to be put into the mouth of the eagle.

II. Story of the Fox.

The next fable, that of the fox, was ascribed to an author called Lal-Merodach, the son of Eri-Turnunna, but the fragments are so disconnected that they must be given without any attempt at arrangement.

K 3641.

Column I.

1. he had raised life ....
2. thou in that day also didst establish ....
3. thou knowest plots (and) the making of snares ....
4. of .... chains, his command he ....
5. from the time the fox approaches he urged me; let not ....
6. in treading down .... he had established on my feet,

7. again by command is the fecundity of life.
8. Samas by thy judgment is ruler; never may he go forth;
9. if need be, with the making of snares let them put to death the fox.

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10. The fox on hearing this, raised his head in the presence of Samas and weeps.
11. To the presence of the splendour of Samas his tears went:
12. by this judgment O Samas thou dost not make me fecund.

(Columns II. and III. lost.)

COLUMN IV.

1. I went to my forest, I turned not back after him
2. and in peace I came not forth, and the sun sees not.
3. As for thee, never may man imprison (thee),
4. since in the pride of my heart and the strength of my face thou goest straight before (me).
5. May I confine thee and not send (thee) away.
6. May I take hold of thee and thou lacerate not ....
7. May I seize thee and not tear (thee) to pieces.
8. May I tear thy limbs to pieces and (not) ....
9. The fox weeps ....
10. he bowed his face ....
11. I went and ....
Five other mutilated lines.

The next fragment has lost the commencements and ends of all the lines.

1. .... he carries (?) in the mouth ....
2. .... the face of his ....
3. .... thou knowest wisdom all ....
4. .... in the pathway the fox they are ....
5. .... in the field the fox a combatant ....
6. .... was decided under the ruler ....
7. .... all (?), the lying down of his feet at dawn ....
8. .... a sign he set up and he fled ....
9. .... no one ....

10. .... may it become old to thee .... and take ....
11. .... in those days also the fox carried ....
12. .... to the people he spoke. Why ....
13. .... the dog is removed and ....

The following fragment is in a similar condition.

1. .... The limbs I did not ....
2. .... I did not weave and against the unclothed (?) I did not ....
3. .... a stranger I cover ....
4. .... I caught and I surrounded (?) ....
5. .... from of old also the dog was my brother ....
6. .... he begot me, a firm place ....
7. .... of the city of Nisin; I of Bel ....
8. .... limbs and the bodies did not stand ...
9. .... life I did not end (?) ....

The fourth fragment contains only five legible lines.

1. .... was placed also right (and left) ....
2. .... their shepherd was prostrate ....
3. .... let it not be ....
4. .... they guarded and did not throw down his spoil ...

---

5. ...... the fox in the trap (?) ....

The last fragment is a small scrap, at the end of which the fox petitions Samas to spare him.

The incidental allusions in these fragments show that the fox was even then considered cunning, and the animal in the story was evidently a watery specimen, as he brings tears to his assistance whenever anything is to be gained by it. He had offended Samas by some means and the god sentenced him to death, a sentence which he escaped through powerful pleading on his own behalf.

III. FABLE OF THE HORSE AND OX.

The next fable, that of the horse and the ox, is a single tablet with only two columns of text. The date of the tablet is in the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and there is no statement that it is copied from an earlier text. There are altogether four portions of the text, but only one is perfect enough to be worth translating. This largest fragment, K 3456, contains about one-third of the story.

K 3456.

(Several lines are lost at the commencement.)

1. ..... the river ....
2. of food (?) .... rest ....
3. full flood .... the Tigris ....
4. they restrained .... they had the face ...
5. the water-lily .... not in the neighbourhood
6. the high place .... appearance
7. the valley .... the mountain (was perishing),
8. at the appearance .... the timid fled (not),
9. a boundless place .... he turned
10. in the side ....
11. of the waste .... earth was free within it;
12. the tribes of cattle rejoiced in companionship and friendship,
13. the ox and the horse made friendship,
14. their maw rejoiced when to friendship
15. it inclined, and their heart was glad; they made agreement together.

---

16. The ox opened his mouth, and speaks; he says to the horse glorious in war:
17. I am pondering now upon the good fortune at my hand.
18. At the beginning of the year and the end of the year I dream (*or* ponder) of fodder.
19. The abundant floods had been dried up, the waters of the canals were reduced,
20. the water-lily had drooped, it was suffering the summer-heat,
21. the valleys were stony, my mountain was perishing,
22. the high places had perished, the *zambatu* languished,
23. at the sight of my horn the timid fled not.

24. A boundless place is portioned for his ....
25. the man .... who knew ceased ....
26. he smote the ropes (?) and waited ....
27. and the horse ....
28. cut off thyself thy ....
29. he ascends also ....

Here the ox describes the state of the country during the drought of summer, and makes a league with the horse, apparently for the purpose of sharing with him the same pastures. Most of the speeches, however, made by the two animals are lost or only present in small fragments, and the story recommences on the reverse with the end of a speech from the horse.

1. fate ....
2. strong brass? ....
3. as with a cloak I am clothed ....
4. over me a child not suited ....
5. king, high priest, lord and prince do not seek the plain ....

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6. The ox opened his mouth and spake and says to the horse glorious (in war):
7. Thee they strike and thou alliest ....
8. in thy fighting why ....
9. the lord of the chariot ....
10. in my body firmness ....
11. in my inside firmness ....
12. the warrior draws out the quiver ....
13. strength carries a curse ....
14. the weapon (?) of thy masters over ....
15. he causes to see servitude like ....
16. shudder and in thee is not ....
17. he causes to go on the path over (the marsh) ..

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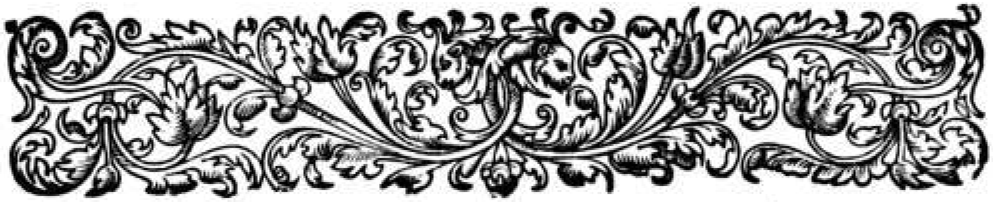
18. The horse opened his mouth and spake (and said to the ox) ....
19. In my hearing ....
20. the weapon (?) ....

21. the swords ....
22. ......
23. strength? of the heart which ....
24. in crossing that river ....
25. in the path of thy mountains ....
26. I reveal? and the ox the story ....
27. in thy appearance, it is not ....
28. thy offspring is subdued? ....
29. when thou runnest, O horse ....

30. The ox opened his mouth and spake and says to (the horse glorious in war) ....
31. In addition to the stories which thou hast told
32. open first (that of) “Behold Istar the noble ....” (Colophon)
Palace of Assur-bani-pal, king of nations, king (of Assyria).

It appears from these fragments that the story described a time when the animals associated together, and the ox and horse fell into a friendly conversation. The ox, commencing the discussion, praised himself; the answer of the horse is lost, but where the story recommences it appears that the ox objects to the horse drawing the chariot from which he himself is hunted, and the horse ultimately offers to tell the ox a story, the ox choosing the story called “Behold Istar,” probably some story of the same character as that of Istar’s descent into Hades.

It is uncertain if any other tablet followed this; it is, however, probable that there was one containing the story told by the horse. Although there is no indication to show the date of this fable, the fact that it is not stated to have been copied from an older document seems to show that it is not earlier than the time of Assur-bani-pal. The loss of the tablet containing the story of Istar, told by the horse to the ox, is unfortunate. The last fable is a mere fragment similar to the others, containing a story in which the calf speaks. There is not enough of it to make it worth translation.



CHAPTER X.
FRAGMENTS OF MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS.

Atarpi.—Punishment of world.—Riddle of wise man.—Nature and universal presence of air.—Sinuri.—Divining by fracture of reed.—The foundling.—Tower of Babel.—Obscurity of legend.—Not noticed by Berosus.—Fragmentary tablet.—Destruction of Tower.—Dispersion.—Site of the Tower.—Meaning of Babel.—Chedor-laomer.—The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

A NUMBER of stories of a similar character to those of Genesis, though not directly connected with the latter, have been included in this chapter, together with two fragments which probably relate, the one to the Tower of Babel, the other to the destruction of the cities of the Plain. The first and principal text is the story of Atarpi, or Atarpi nisu, "Atarpi the man." This story is on a tablet in six columns, and there is only one copy of it. It is terribly mutilated, very little being preserved except Column III., but there are numerous repetitions throughout the text. The inscription has originally been a long one, probably extending to about 400 lines of writing, and the text differs from the generality of these inscriptions, being very obscure and difficult. In consequence of this and other reasons, only an outline of most of the story is given here.

We are first told of a quarrel between a mother named Zibanit and her daughter, and that the mother shuts the door of the house, and turns her daughter adrift, the words of the original being "the mother to the daughter opens not her door." The doings of a man named Zamu have some connection with the affair, his "descending into the street on getting" something being mentioned immediately before the expulsion of the daughter; and at the close we are told of Atarpi, sometimes called Atarpi-nisu, or Atarpi the "man" who had his couch beside the river of the north, and was pious to the gods, but took no notice of these things. When the story next opens, we find the god Bel calling together an assembly of the gods his sons, and relating to them that he is angry at the sin of the world, stating also that he will bring down upon it disease, tempest, distress, madness, burning and sickness. This is followed by the statement that these things came to pass, and Atarpi then invoked his god Hea to remove these evils. For a whole year, it would seem, he interceded for the people, and at last Hea answered, and announced his resolve to destroy the people. After this the story reads:

> 1. (Hea called) his assembly (by the river) of the north; he said to the gods his sons:
> 2. ...... I made them
> 3. .... shall not stretch until before he turns.
> 4. Their famine I observe,
> 5. their shame the woman takes not;
> 6. I will look to judge the people?
> 7. in their stomach let famine dwell,
> 8. above let Rimmon drink up his rain,
> 9. let him drink up below, let not the flood be carried in the canals,
> 10. let it remove from the field its inundations,
> 11. let the corn-god give over increase, let blackness overspread the corn,
> 12. let the plowed fields bring forth thorns,
> 13. let the growth of their fruit perish, let food not come forth from it, let bread not be produced,
> 14. let distress also be spread over the people,
> 15. may favour be shut up, and good not be given.
>
> ---
>
> 16. He looked also to judge the people,
> 17. in their stomach dwelt famine,
> 18. above Rimmon drank up his rain,
> 19. he drank it up below, the flood was not carried in the canals,
> 20. it removed from the field its inundations,
> 21. the corn-god gave over increase, blackness spread over the corn,
> 22. the plowed fields brought forth thorns, the growth of their fruit perished,
> 23. food came not forth from it, bread was not produced,
> 24. distress was spread over the people,
> 25. favour was shut up, good was not given.
>
> ---

This will serve to show the style of the tablet. The instrument of punishment was apparently famine from want of rain.

Here the story is again lost, and where it recommences Hea is making a speech, directing another person to cut something into portions, and place seven on each side, and then to build brickwork round them. After this comes a single fragment, the connection of which with the former part is obscure.

1. Seated was the goddess ....
2. to her face also he gave ....

---

3. Anu opened his mouth and speaks; he said to (Nusku);
4. Nusku open thy gate; thy weapons (take)
5. in the assembly of the great gods when ....
6. their speech? ....
7. Anu sent m ....
8. your king sent ....

At present no satisfactory story can be made out of the detached fragments of this tablet, but it evidently belongs to the mythical portion of Babylonian history, and it is impossible not to compare the unsuccessful intercession of the righteous man Atarpi with the pleadings of Abraham on behalf of the cities of the plain.

The next text is a single fragment, K 2407, belonging to a curious story of a wise man who puts a riddle to the gods.

K 2407.

(Many lines lost.)

1. The clothing of the god ....
2. What in the house is (fixed) ....
3. What in the secret place is ....
4. what is in the foundation of the house ....
5. what on the floor of the house is fixed, what ...
6. what the lower part ....
7. what by the sides of the house goes down ....

8. what in the ditch of the house broad *nigitstsi* ....
9. what roars like a bull, what brays like an ass,
10. what flutters like a sail, what bleats like a sheep,
11. what barks like a dog,
12. what growls like a bear,
13. what into the fundament of a man enters, what into the fundament of a woman enters.
14. Then Lugal-girra (Nergal) heard the wise word the son of the people
15. asked, and all the gods he urged (to solve it):
16. Let your solution be produced, that I may bring back your answer.

After this there is a mutilated passage containing the names, titles, and actions of the gods who consider the riddle. It is evident that it is air or wind which the wise man means in his riddle, for this is everywhere, and in its sounds imitates the cries of animals.

Next we have another single fragment about a person named Sinuri, who uses a divining rod to ascertain the meaning of a dream.

1. Sinuri with the cut reed pondered ....
2. with his right hand he broke it, and Sinuri speaks and thus says:
3. Now the plant of Nusku, the shrub? of Samas art thou.
4. Judge, thou judgest (*or* divinest), divine concerning this dream,
5. which in the evening, at midnight, or in the morning,
6. has come, which thou knowest, but I do not know.
7. If it be good may its good not be lost to me,
8. if it be evil may its evil not happen to me.

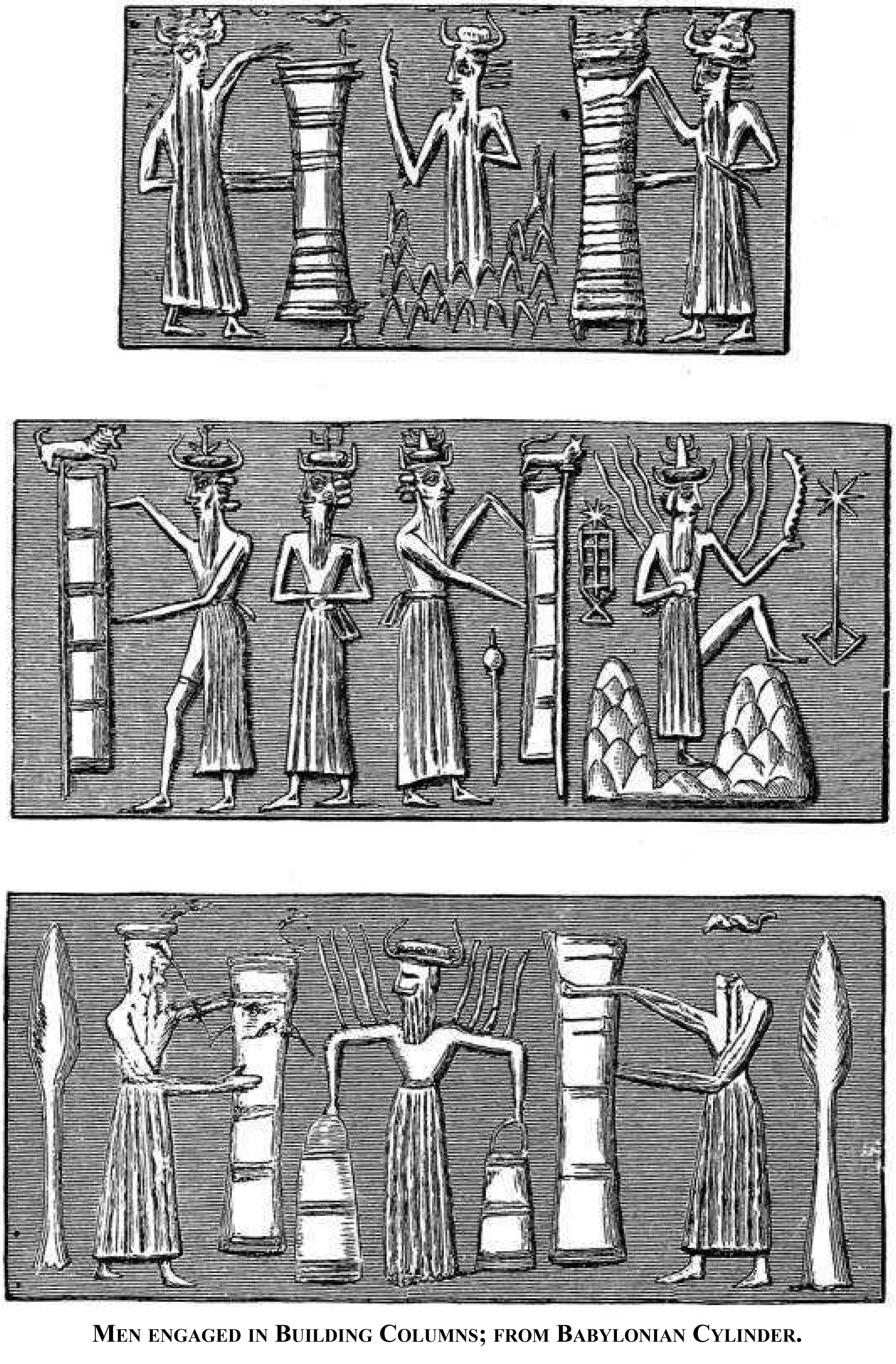
There are some more obscure and broken lines, but no indication as to the story to which it belongs.

A specimen of early Babylonian folklore may fitly be added here. It is a bilingual fragment which treats of a foundling who was picked up in the streets and finally became a great scholar. Unfortunately both the beginning and the end of the story are wanting.

1. He who father and mother had not,

2. who his father (and) his mother knew not,
3. in the gutter (was) his going, in the street (his) entering.
4. From the mouth of the dogs one took him,
5. from the mouth of the ravens one put him away.
6. In the presence of the soothsayer the .... of his mouth one took.
7. The sole of his feet with the seal the soothsayer has marked.
8. To a nurse he gave him.
9. To his nurse for three years, corn, a cradle (?)
10. (and) clothing he guaranteed.
11. Then and ever he hid from him how he was taken (from the streets).
12. His rearer he rooted out (?).
13. The ..... of the milk of mankind he gave him, and
14. as his own son he made him.
15. As his own son he inscribed him.
16. A knowledge of writing he made him possess.
17. For his education (he cared).

One of the most obscure incidents in the Book of Genesis is undoubtedly the building of the Tower of Babel. So far as we can judge from the fragments of his copyists, there was no reference to it in the work of Berosus, and early writers had to quote from writers of more than doubtful authority in order to confirm it.



Men engaged in Building Columns; from Babylonian Cylinder.

There is also no representation on any of the Babylonian gems which can with any certainty be described as belonging to this story. Mr. Smith, however, picked out three from a series of these carvings which he thought might be distorted representations of the event. In these and some others of the same character, figures have their hands on tall piles, as if erecting them; and there is a god always represented near in much the same attitude. There is no proper proportion between the supposed structure and the men, and no stress can consequently be laid on the representations. The Babylonian origin of the story is, however, self-evident. According to Genesis, mankind after the flood travelled from the east, that is from Kharsak-kurra, "the mountain of the East," now Elwend, where the Accadians believed the ark to have rested, to the plain of Shinar or Sumir. Both Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus state that the building of the Tower of Babel was known to Babylonian history, Babel, in fact, being the native form of the name which the Greeks changed into Babylon. The legend of Etana given in the last chapter seems to imply that the Tower was supposed to have been built under the superintendence of this mythical hero. However that may be, a fragment of the native story of its construction was discovered by Mr. Smith, and though shockingly mutilated, is sufficient to show what the Babylonians themselves believed on the matter.

It is evident from the wording of the fragment that it was preceded by at least one tablet, describing the sin of the people in building the tower. The fragment preserved belongs to a tablet containing from four to six columns of writing, of which portions of four remain. The principal part is the beginning of Column I.

COLUMN I.

1. .... them the father ....
2. the thought of his heart was evil,
3. .... he the father of all the gods had repudiated;
4. the thought of his heart was evil,
5. .... of Babylon he hastens to the submission (?),
6. [small] and great he confounded (on) the mound.
7. .... of Babylon he hastens to the submission,
8. [small] and great he confounded (on) the mound.

9. Their walls all the day he founded;
10. for their destruction (punishment) in the night
11. .... he did not leave a remainder.
12. In his anger also (his) secret counsel he pours out:
13. [to] confound (their) speeches he set his face.
14. He gave the command, he made strange their counsel
15. .... the going he inspected it.
16. .... he took (selected) a shrine.

There is a small fragment of Column II., but the connection with Column I. is not apparent.

COLUMN II.

1. Sar-tuli-elli (the king of the illustrious mound, *i.e.* Anu) destroys (*or* punishes).
2. In front had Anu lifted up ....
3. to Bel-esir his father ....
4. Since his heart also ....
5. who carried the command ....
6. In those days also ....
7. he lifted him up ....
8. The goddess Dav-kina ....
9. My son I rise and ....
10. his number(?) ....
11. he did not ....

There is a third portion on the same tablet belonging to a column on the other side, either the third or the fifth.

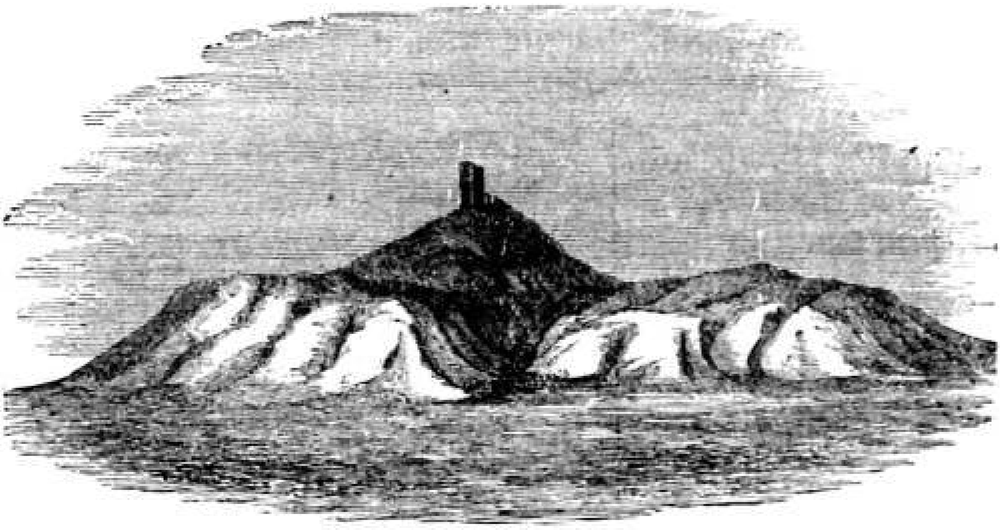
REVERSE COLUMN III. OR V.

1. In ....
2. they blew and ....
3. for future times ....
4. The god of no government went ....
5. He said, like heaven and earth ....
6. his path they went ....

7. fiercely they fronted his presence ....
8. He saw them and the earth ....
9. Since a stop they did not (make) ....
10. of the gods ....
11. the gods they revolted against ....
12. offspring ....
13. They weep hot tears for Babylon;
14. bitterly they wept (for Babylon);
15. their heart also ....

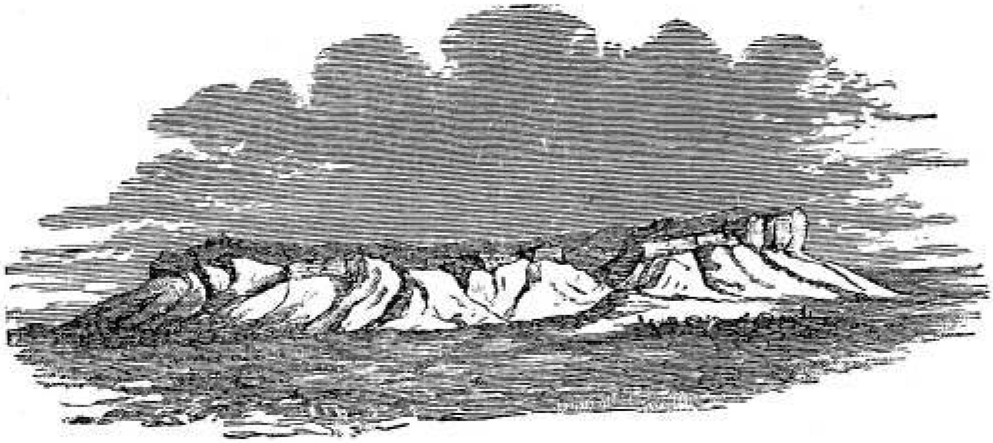
These fragments are so remarkable that it is most unfortunate we have not the remainder of the tablet.

In the first part we have the anger of Bel, the father of the gods, at the sin of those who were building the walls of Babylon and the mound of tower or palace. This mound is termed "the illustrious," and the god Anu who destroyed the builders is accordingly called *Sar-tuli-elli*, "the king of the illustrious mound." Since the Accadian name of the month Tisri, our October, was "the month of the illustrious mound," it would appear that the construction of it was believed to have taken place at the time of the autumnal equinox. The builders were punished by the deity, and the walls that had been set up in the day were destroyed at night. Prof. Delitzsch has drawn attention to a possible reference to this legend in an Accadian hymn in which the poet says to Merodach, "found during the day, destroy during the night." It is plain from the first lines that the whole attempt was directed against the gods; in fact, that like the giants and Titans in Greek mythology, whose assault on Zeus is probably but an echo of the old Babylonian tale, conveyed to Greece through the hands of the Phœnicians, the builders of the Tower of Babylon intended to scale the sky. They were, however, confounded on the mound, as well as their speech (*tammasle*). It is interesting to find the very same word signifying "to confound" used in the Babylonian as in the Hebrew account, namely *bâlal*, or rather *bâlâh*. We may also notice that the Hebrew writer once (Gen. xi. 7.) adopts the polytheistic language of the Accadian scribe; the Lord being made to say "Let *us* go down, and there confound their language."



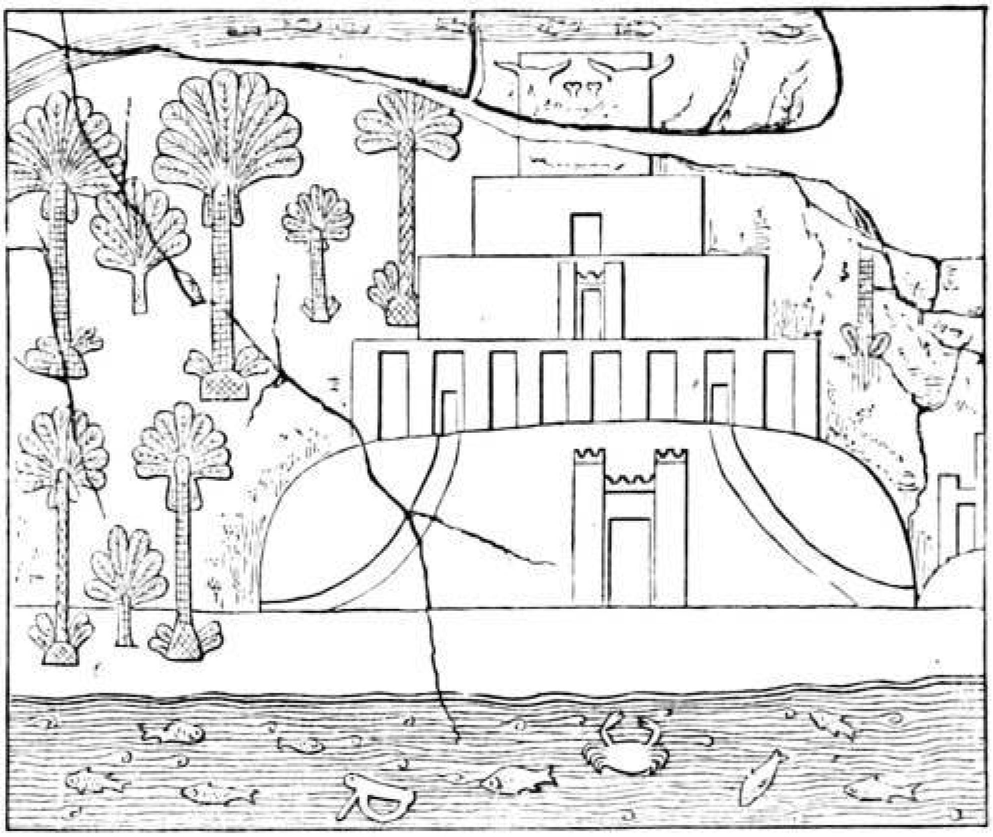
View of the Birs Nimrud, the supposed site of the Tower of Babel.

The last column shows that the winds finally destroyed the impious work of the Babylonians. This fully accords with the legend reported by Alexander Polyhistor. For a time Babylon was given over to the god of lawlessness; but at last the gods repented of the evil they had done, and order was once more restored. The shrine mentioned in the sixteenth line of the first column may receive some light from the fact that the Accadian name of Nisan or March was "the month of the upright altar," or "of the altar of Bel," and that Nisan corresponded with the vernal equinox just as Tisri did with the autumnal equinox.



View of the Babil Mound at Babylon, the site of the Temple of Bel.

The etymology of the name of Babel from *balbel*, "to confound," suggested in Genesis is one of those "popular etymologies" or plays on words of which the Old Testament writers are so fond. Thus, for instance, the name of Joseph is connected first with *'âsaph* "to take away," and then with *yâsaph* "to add" (Gen. xxx. 23, 24.), and the name of the Moabite city Dibon is changed into Dimon by Isaiah (xv. 9) to indicate that its "waters shall be full of blood," Hebrew *dâm*. Babel is the Assyrian *Bab-ili* "the gate of God" (or, as it is occasionally written in the plural, *Bab-ili* "Gate of the gods"), which was the Semitic translation of the old Accadian name of the town Ca-dimirra with the same meaning. This is not the only instance in which the original Accadian names of Babylonian cities were literally translated into Semitic Babylonian after the Semitic conquest of the country. It is possible that the name had some reference to the building of the Tower. Babylon was first made a capital by Khammuragas, the leader of the Cossæan dynasty, a position which it never afterwards lost; but the first antediluvian king of Chaldea, Alorus, according to Barosus, was a native of the place.



Tower in Stages, from an Assyrian Bas-relief.

The actual site of the Tower of Babel, beyond the mere fact that it was somewhere in Babylon, has not yet been settled. It is generally considered to be represented by the great pile of Birs Nimrud, which stood in Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon, and was dedicated to Nebo and called "the Temple of the Seven Lights" or planets. This ruin has been examined by Sir Henry Rawlinson; details of his operations here are given in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xviii., and Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," p. 544. Sir Henry discovered by excavation that the tower consisted of seven stages of brickwork on an earthen platform, each stage being of a different colour. This is explained by the fact that it was devoted to the seven planets. The height of the earthen platform was not ascertained, but the first stage, which was an exact square, was 272 feet each way, and 26 feet high, the bricks being blackened with bitumen; this stage is supposed to have been dedicated to the planet Saturn. The second stage was a square of 230 feet, 26 feet high, faced with orange-coloured bricks; supposed to have been dedicated to Jupiter. The third stage, 188 feet square, and 26 feet high, faced with red bricks, was probably dedicated to Mars. The fourth stage, 146 feet square, and 15 feet high, was probably dedicated to the Sun, and is thought by Sir H. Rawlinson to have been originally plated with gold. The fifth stage is supposed to have been 104, the sixth 62, and the seventh 20 feet square, but the top was too ruinous to decide these measurements. These stages were probably dedicated to Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. Each stage of the building was not set in the centre of the stage on which it rested, but was placed 30 feet from the front, and 12 feet from the back. The ruin at present rises 154 feet above the level of the plain, and is the most imposing pile in the whole country. According to Nebuchadnezzar it had been built to the height of 42 cubits by "a former king," who however had not completed its summit, and it had long been in a ruinous condition when Nebuchadnezzar undertook to restore and finish it. Prof. Schrader imagines that the long period during which it had remained an unfinished ruin caused the growth of the legend which saw in it a monument of the overthrow of human presumption, the diversity of languages in Babylonia being sufficient to account for the localization of the confusion of tongues in the country.

Sir Henry Rawlinson now proposes to place the Tower or *tul ellu* at the ruins now called Amrán, within the city of Babylon itself. Here he thinks were the temple of Anu, on the site of the ruined Tower, a chapel dedicated to Nebo, an altar of Merodach, the royal palace (now represented by the mound of the Kasr), and the hanging gardens, all enclosed by a common wall. The quarter of Babylon thus enclosed he would identify with the Calneh of the Bible, principally on the ground that the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah x. 9 is, “Have I not taken the region above Babylon and Chalanne where the tower was built?”

A third site has been claimed for the Tower on the Babil or Mujellibeh mound on the north side of Babylon. This represents the famous temple of Belus or Bel, whose great festival marked the beginning of the year and the vernal equinox. But there is no evidence to support this third opinion.

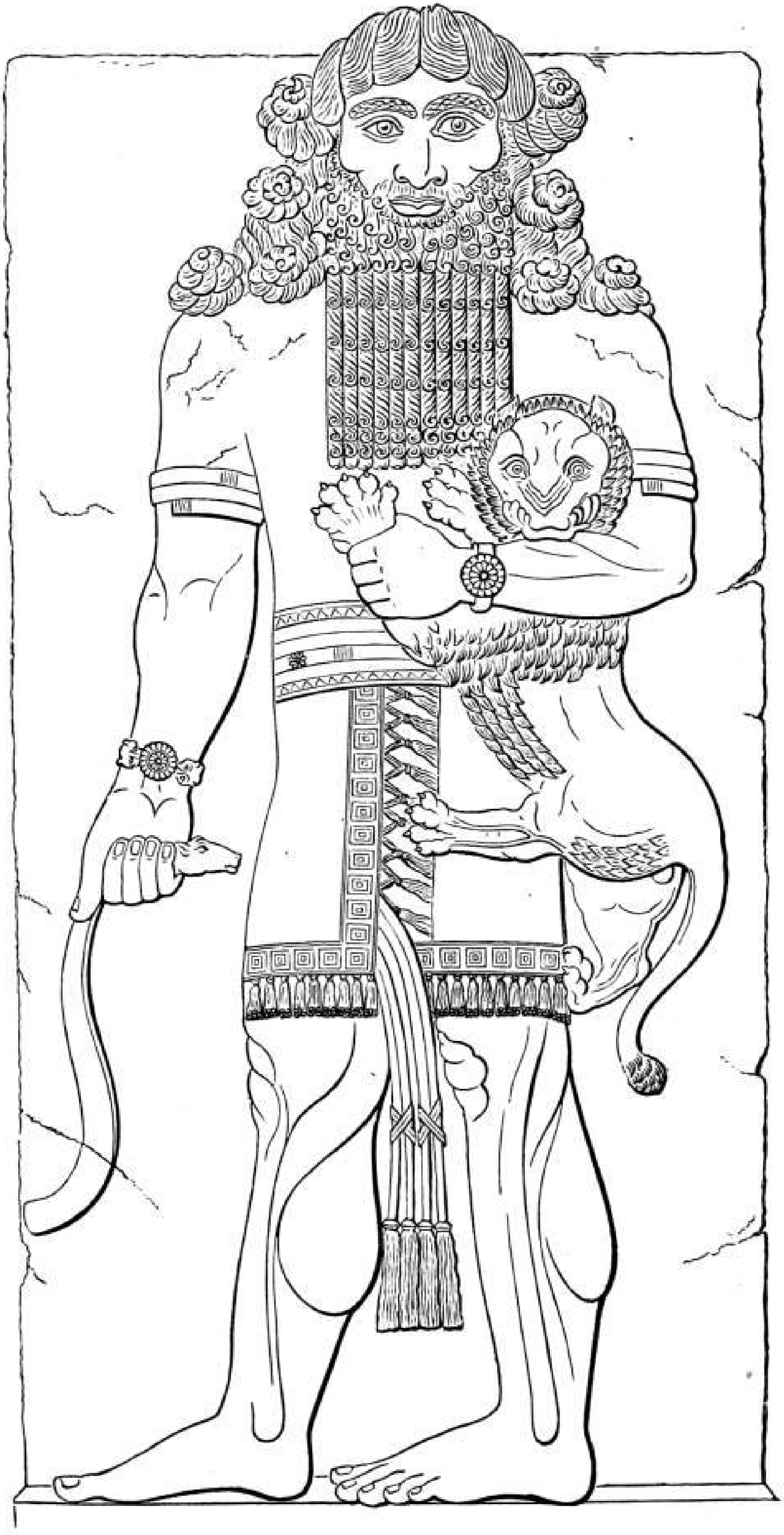
In the Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures there are occasionally representations of towers similar in style to the supposed Tower of Babel; one of these is given on the stone of Merodach Baladan I., opposite p. 236 of Mr. Smith’s “Assyrian Discoveries;” another occurs on the sculptures at Nineveh, representing the city of Babylon; this tower, however, cannot represent the Borsippa pile, since it consists of only five stages.

Besides the Tower of Babel, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire from heaven may also have been known to the Accadians. We learn from Genesis xiv. that the cities of the plain were among the conquests of Chedor-laomer and his allies, and there is some reason for thinking that the history of Chedor-laomer’s campaign may have been derived from the Babylonian state archives. At all events Amraphel or Amarpel, the king of Sumir, is mentioned first, although Chedor-laomer was the paramount sovereign and the leader of the expedition. The expedition must have taken place during the period when, as we learn from the inscriptions, Babylonia was subject to the monarchs of Elam, though subordinate princes were ruling over the states into which it was divided at the time. Though the name of Chedor-laomer has not been found, Laomer or Lagamar appears as an Elamite god, and several of the Elamite kings bore names compounded with Kudur “a servant,” as Kudur-Nankhunte, “the servant of the god Nankhunte,” Kudur-Mabug, “the servant of Mabug,” and the like. Arioch, king of Ellasar, which probably stands for al Larsa, “the city of Larsa,” has the same name as Eri-Acu (“the servant of the moon-god”), the son of the Elamite monarch Kudur-Mabug, who reigned over Larsa during his father’s lifetime, and was eventually overthrown by the Cossæan conqueror Khammuragas.

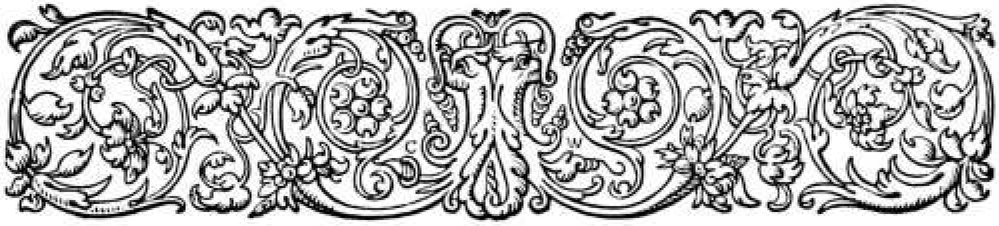
The text which perhaps relates to the destruction of the guilty cities is a bilingual one, much mutilated, and runs as follows:—

> 1. An overthrow came from the midst of the deep (the waters above the firmament).
> 2. The fated punishment from the midst of heaven descended.
> 3. A storm like a plummet the earth (overwhelmed).
> 4. Towards the four winds the destroying flood like fire burnt.
> 5. The inhabitants of the city it had caused to be tormented; their bodies it consumed.
> 6. In city and country it spread death, and the flames as they rose overthrew.
> 7. Freeman and slave were equal, and the high places it filled.
> 8. In heaven and earth like a thunderstorm it had rained; a prey it made.
> 9. To a place of refuge the gods hastened, and in a throng collected.
> 10. Its mighty (onset) they fled from, and like a garment it concealed (the guilty).
> 11. They (feared), and death (overtook them).
> 12. (Their) feet and hands (it embraced).
> 13. ....
> 14. Their body it consumed.
> 15. ..... as for the city, its foundations it defiled.
> 16. .... with (glory?) and breadth his mouth he filled.
> 17. This man the voice (of the thunder) called; the thunderbolt descended;
> 18. during the day it flashed; grievously (it fell).

Here the fragment breaks off. It is possible that the person referred to in line 17 was the pious man who like Lot escaped the destruction that befell his neighbours.



Izdubar strangling a Lion. From Khorsabad Sculpture.



CHAPTER XI.

THE IZDUBAR LEGENDS.

Izdubar.—Meaning of the name.—A solar hero.—Prototype of Herakles.—Age of Legends.—Babylonian cylinders.—Notices of Izdubar.—Surippak.—Ark City.—Twelve tablets.—Extent of Legends.—Description.—Introduction.—Meeting of Hea-bani and Izdubar.—Destruction of tyrant Khumbaba.—Adventures of Istar.—Illness and wanderings of Izdubar.—Description of Deluge and conclusion.—First Tablet.—Kingdom of Nimrod.—Traditions.—Identifications.—Translation.—Elamite conquest—Dates.

WE now come to the great Epic of early Chaldea, first discovered by Mr. Smith in 1872. The hero of this Epic is provisionally called Izdubar, though this is certainly not the right reading of his name. The first and last characters which compose it together form a compound ideograph signifying "fire," and pronounced *gibil* in Accadian, *isatu* in Assyrian, while the middle character, *dhu* or *dhun*, meant "a mass" or "a going." "A mass of fire" would have been by no means an inappropriate name for a hero, who, as we shall see, was originally the Accadian fire-god, and then a personified form of the sun-god. The two last characters of the name, however, when used as a compound ideograph, denoted "the under-lip," and the first character symbolizes "wood."

Mr. Smith believed that Izdubar was the Biblical Nimrod, and was almost inclined to think that this was the way in which the name ought to be phonetically rendered. One passage, however, in which the last syllable is followed by the syllable *ra* seems to imply that the final letter was *r*.

The originally solar character of the hero was still remembered at the time when the great Epic of the Accadians was put together. As was pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson shortly after Mr. Smith's first discovery of it, it is arranged upon an astronomical principle, its twelve books or tablets corresponding with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, through which the sun passes in his yearly course. Thus the eleventh tablet, which contains the episode of the Deluge, answers to Aquarius the eleventh sign of the Zodiac, and the eleventh month of the Accadian year called “the rainy;” and the sixth tablet, describing his courtship by Istar, answers to Virgo the sixth sign of the Zodiac, and the sixth Accadian month called that “of the errand of Istar.” It is in the second month, that of “the directing bull,” and under the sign of Taurus, that Hea-bani, half-man, half-bull, is brought to Izdubar in the second tablet; the lion is slain by Izdubar under the Zodiacal Leo, and the lamentation he makes over the corpse of his friend and seer Hea-bani is made in “the dark month” of Adar, as it was termed, at the end of the year. Like the autumnal sun, too, Izdubar sickens in the eighth book corresponding with the month of October, and only recovers his health and brilliance after bathing in the waters of the eastern ocean at the beginning of the new year.

If anything were needed to confirm the solar character of Izdubar and his history, it would be afforded by a comparison with the legends of the Greek solar hero, Herakles. Like much else of Greek mythology, the twelve adventures of Herakles were brought to Greece from Babylonia through the hands of the Phœnicians, and it has long been recognized that Herakles is but a form of Baal Melkarth, the sun-god of Tyre. Hea-bani reappears in Cheiron, the centaur, the friend and instructor of Herakles, and just as Hea-bani was created by Hea, Cheiron was said to be the son of Kronos, who is identified by Berosus with Hea in the account of the Deluge. The lion slain by Izdubar is the lion of Nemea slain by Herakles; the winged bull made by Anu is the famous bull of Krete; the tyrant Khumbaba is the tyrant Geryon; the gems borne by the trees of the forest beyond the gateway of the sun are the apples of the Hesperides; and the deadly sickness of Izdubar himself is but the fever of Herakles, caused by the poisoned tunic of Nessus.

A very slight inspection of the Epic is sufficient to show that it has been pieced together out of a number of previously existing and independent materials. Thus the history of the Deluge, which is itself but an episode somewhat violently foisted into the legend of Izdubar in order to preserve the astronomical arrangement of the Epic, may be shown to have consisted of at least two older poems on the subject; and a careful examination of other portions of the Epic brings the same fact to light elsewhere.

As, however, there is clear proof that the Epic was originally composed in Accadian, our present text being merely the Semitic translation of the

Accadian original, it must have existed in the form in which we now have it before the age of Sargon and the extinction of the Accadian language in Chaldea. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, in ascribing its composition to about B.C. 2000, or a little earlier. The older lays or poems out of which it was formed must therefore date before this period. There seems to have been a considerable number of them, each incident in the cycle of ancient Accadian mythology having been the subject of various poems. Many of these originated in different parts of the country, so that a long period of time must be allowed for their growth and subsequent reduction to a literary form. But as the legends they celebrated were traditions in the country before they were embodied in poems and committed to writing, we must go back to quite a remote epoch for their first starting-point.

The earliest evidence we have of them is in the carvings on early Babylonian cylindrical seals. Among the earliest known devices on these seals we have scenes from the legends of Izdubar, and from the story of the Creation. The seals mostly belong to the age of the kings of Ur, and some of them are a good deal older than B.C. 2000. The principal incidents represented on them are the struggles of Izdubar and his companion Hea-bani with the lion and the bull, the journey of Izdubar in search of Xisuthrus, Noah or Xisuthrus in his ark, and the war between Tiamtu the sea-dragon and the god Merodach. There is a fragment of a document in the British Museum which claims to be copied from an omen tablet belonging to the time of Izdubar himself, but it is probably not earlier than B.C. 1600, when many similar tablets were written.

There is an incidental notice of the ship or ark of "the god Izdubar" in a tablet printed in "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. ii. p. 46. He is here called "the king who bears the sceptre." This tablet, which contains lists of wooden objects, was written in the time of Assur-bani-pal, but is copied from an original, which must have been written at least eighteen hundred years before the Christian era. The geographical notices on this tablet suit the period before the rise of Babylon. Surippak is called in it the ship or ark city, this name forming another reference to the Flood legends. Izdubar is also mentioned in a series of tablets relating to witchcraft, and on a tablet containing prayers to him as a god; this last showing that he was deified, which, however, was an honour also given to several Babylonian kings.

As already stated, the legends of Izdubar are inscribed on twelve tablets, of which there are remains of at least four editions. All the tablets are in fragments, and none of them are complete; but it is a fortunate circumstance that the most perfect tablet is the eleventh, which describes the Deluge, this being the most important of the series. In the first chapter the successive steps in the discovery of these legends have been already described, and we may now therefore pass on to the description and translation of the various fragments. All the fragments of our present copies belong to the reign of Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, in the seventh century B.C. From the mutilated condition of many of them it is impossible at present to gain an accurate idea of the whole scope of the legends, and many parts which are lost have to be supplied by conjecture; the order even of some of the tablets cannot be determined, and it is uncertain if we have fragments of the whole twelve in what follows. Mr. Smith has, however, conjecturally divided the fragments into groups corresponding roughly with the subjects of the tablets. Each tablet when complete contained six columns of writing, and each column had generally from forty to fifty lines of writing, there being in all about 3,000 lines of cuneiform text. The divisions adopted by Mr. Smith will be seen by the following summary, which exhibits our present knowledge of the fragments.

Part I.—Introduction.

Tablet I.—Number of lines uncertain, probably about 240. First column initial line preserved, second column lost, third column twenty-six lines preserved, fourth column doubtful fragment inserted, fifth and sixth columns lost.

Probable subjects: conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites, birth and parentage of Izdubar.

Part II.—Meeting of Hea-bani and Izdubar.

Tablet II.—Number of lines uncertain, probably about 240. First and second columns lost, third and fourth columns about half-preserved, fifth and sixth columns lost.

Tablet III.—Number of lines about 270. First column fourteen lines preserved, second, third, fourth, and fifth columns nearly perfect, sixth column a fragment.

Probable subjects: dream of Izdubar, Hea-bani invited comes to Erech, and explains the dream.

Part III.—Destruction of the tyrant Khumbaba.

Tablet IV.—Number of lines probably about 260. About one-third of first, second, and third columns, doubtful fragments of fourth, fifth, and sixth columns.

Tablet V.—Number of lines about 260. Most of first column, and part of second column preserved, third, fourth, and fifth columns lost, fragment of sixth column.

Probable subjects: contests with wild animals, Izdubar and Hea-bani slay the tyrant Khumbaba.

Part IV.—Adventures of Istar.

Tablet VI.—Number of lines about 210. Most of first column preserved, second column nearly perfect, third and fourth columns partly preserved, fifth and sixth columns nearly perfect.

Tablet VII.—Number of lines probably about 240. First line of first column preserved, second column lost, third and fourth column partly preserved, fifth and sixth columns conjecturally restored from tablet of descent of Istar into Hades.

Probable subjects: Istar loves Izdubar, her amours, her ascent to heaven, destruction of her bull, her descent to Hades.

Part V.—Illness and wanderings of Izdubar.

Tablet VIII.—Number of lines probably about 270. Conjectured fragments of first, second, and third columns, fourth and fifth columns lost, conjectured fragments of sixth column.

Tablet IX.—Number of lines about 190. Portions of all six columns preserved.

Tablet X.—Number of lines about 270. Portions of all six columns preserved.

Probable subjects: discourse to trees, dreams, illness of Izdubar, death of Hea-bani, wanderings of Izdubar in search of the hero of the Deluge.

Part VI.—Description of Deluge, and conclusion.

Tablet XI.—Number of lines 294. All six columns nearly perfect.

Tablet XII.—Number of lines about 200. Portions of first four columns preserved, two lines of fifth column, sixth column perfect.

Probable subjects: description of Deluge, cure of Izdubar, his lamentation over Hea-bani.

TABLET I.

The opening words of the first tablet are preserved, and form as usual the title of the series, but the expressions used are obscure from want of any context to explain them. There are two principal or key-words, *naqbi* and *kugar*; the first of which means "a channel," and is more particularly applied to the canals with which Babylonia was intersected and watered, while the second is the compound ideograph which literally signifies "minister" or "servant of work." It was the special title of Izdubar, who, like his Greek double Herakles, was celebrated for 'the twelve labours' he successfully undertook. The title had no doubt been originally given to the fire-god, in whom primitive man sees his most useful servant and workman. The first line of the Epic would consequently have run: "The canals, the toiling hero, the god Izdubar, had seen." Elsewhere, however, the title of Izdubar is written *Zicar*, that is, "the male" or "hero."

After the heading and opening line there is a considerable blank in the story, two columns of writing being entirely lost. It is probable that this part contained the account of the parentage and previous history of Izdubar, forming the introduction to the story. In the subsequent portions of the history there is very little information to supply the loss of this part of the inscription; but it appears that the mother of Izdubar was named Dannat, which signifies "the powerful lady." His father is not named in any of our present fragments, but he is referred to in the third tablet. He was no doubt a deity, possibly the Sun-god, who is supposed to interfere very much in his behalf. When Izdubar, the old god of fire, after first becoming a form of the solar deity, was finally personified and regarded as a mighty leader, strong in war and hunting, he was turned into a giant, one of the mythical monarchs who had ruled in Babylonia in long-past days, and had subdued the many petty kingdoms into which the valley of the Euphrates was then divided.

The centre of the empire of Izdubar is laid in the region of Shinar, or Sumir, Erech "the lofty" being the chief seat of his power, and thus agrees with the site of the kingdom of Nimrod, according to Genesis x. 8, 9, 10, where we read: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." We cannot overlook the fact that the character of Izdubar as hunter, leader, and king, corresponds with that of Nimrod. Cush, the father of Nimrod, may be identified with Cusu, Cusi or Cus, the Accadian deity of sunset and night. The word in Accadian signified "rest" and "darkness," and is translated by the Assyrian *nakhu* "to rest," and *nukhu* or *nukh* "rest." This latter word is identical with the Biblical Noah. It is very possible, therefore, that Cush, the father of Nimrod, has nothing to do with Cush or Ethiopia, the son of Ham, the two being set side by side in Genesis merely on account of the similarity of their names. In this case all the ethnological difficulties occasioned by the belief that the Accadians of Babylonia were Cushites, and connected with Egypt or Ethiopia, will be avoided. It is curious to find the Christian writers identifying Nimrod with Evechous, the first king of Babylon, according to Berosus, after the flood.

The next passage in Genesis after the one describing Nimrod's dominion may also refer to Nimrod, if we read with the margin, "Out of that land he went forth to Assyria," instead of "Out of that land went forth Assur." These verses will then read (Genesis x. 11, 12): "Out of that land he went forth to Assyria, and builded Nineveh, and the suburbs of the city, and

Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." It must be remembered, however, that Assur was regarded by the Assyrians as their supreme god and eponymous founder, and that in Micah v. 6, "the land of Assur" and "the land of Nimrod" seem to be contrasted with one another. But it is possible to consider the two expressions in the latter passage to be both applied to the same country.

After the date of the later books of the Old Testament we know nothing of Nimrod for some time; it is probable that he was fully mentioned by Berosus in his history, but his account of the giant hunter has been lost. The reason of this appears to be, that a belief had grown up among early Christian writers that the Biblical Nimrod was the first king of Babylonia after the Flood, and looking at the list of Berosus they found that after the Flood according to him Evechous first reigned in Babylonia, and at once assumed that the Evechous of Berosus was the Nimrod of the Bible; but as Evechous has given to him the extravagant reign of four ners or 2,400 years, and his son and successor, Chomasbelus, four ners and five sosses, or 2,700 years, this identification gives little hope of our finding an historical Nimrod.

It is possible that this identification of Nimrod with Evechous, made by the early chronologists, has caused them to overlook his name and true epoch in the list of Berosus, and has thus lost to us his position in the series of Babylonian sovereigns.

Belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era are the works of various Jewish and Christian writers, who have made us familiar with a number of later traditions concerning Nimrod. Josephus declares that he was a prime mover in building the Tower of Babel, an enemy of God, and that he reigned at Babylon during the dispersion. Later writers make him a contemporary with Abraham, the inventor of idol worship, and a furious worshipper of fire. At the city of Orfa, in Syria, he is said to have cast Abraham into a burning fiery furnace because he would not bow down to his idols. These legends have been taken up by the Arabs, and although his history has been lost and replaced by absurd and worthless stories, Nimrod still remains the most prominent name in the traditions of the country; everything good or evil is attributed to him, and the most important ruins are even now called after his name. From the time of the early Christian writers down to to-day, men have been busy framing systems of general chronology, and since Nimrod was always known as a famous sovereign it was necessary to find a definite place for him in each chronological scheme. Africanus and Eusebius held that he was the Evechous of Berosus, and reigned first after the Flood. Moses of Khorene identified him with Bel, the great god of Babylon; and he is said to have extended his dominions to the foot of the Armenian mountains, falling in battle there when attempting to enforce his authority over Haic, king of Armenia. Other writers identified Nimrod with Ninus, the mythical founder of the city of Nineveh. These remained the principal identifications before modern research took up the matter; but so wide a door was open to conjecture, that one writer actually identified Nimrod with the Alorus of Berosus, the first king of Babylonia *before* the Flood.

One of the most curious theories about Nimrod, suggested in modern times, was grounded on the "Book of Nabatean Agriculture." This work is a comparatively modern forgery, pretending to be a literary production of the early Chaldean period. In this work Nimrod heads a list of Babylonian kings called *Canaanite*, and a writer in the "Journal of Sacred Literature" has argued with considerable force in favour of these Canaanites being the Arabs of Berosus, who reigned about B.C. 1550 to 1300. The southern half of Arabia is known as Cush in the Old Testament like the opposite coast of Africa, and, as Nimrod is called a Cushite in Genesis, there was a great temptation to identify him with the leader of the Arab dynasty. This idea, however, gained little favour, and has not been held by any section of inquirers as fixing the position of Nimrod. The discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions threw a new light on the subject of Babylonian history, and soon after the decipherment of the inscriptions attention was directed to the question of the identity and age of Nimrod. Sir Henry Rawlinson, the father of Assyrian discovery, first seriously attempted to fix the name of Nimrod in the cuneiform inscriptions, and he endeavoured to find the name in that of the second god of the great Chaldean triad. (See Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 117.) The names of this deity are really Enu, Elum, and Bel, and he was evidently worshipped at the dawn of Babylonian history, and is in fact represented as one of the creators of the world; time, moreover, has shown that the cuneiform characters on which the identification was grounded do not bear the phonetic values then supposed.

Sir Henry Rawlinson also suggested ("Ancient Monarchies," p. 136) that the god Nergal was a deification of Nimrod. Nergal, however, which means literally "the illuminator of Hades," was a god of the lower world, and even if Nimrod was deified under the name of Nergal this does not explain his position or epoch.

Canon Rawlinson, brother of Sir Henry, in the first volume of his "Ancient Monarchies," p. 153, and following, makes some judicious remarks on the chronological position of Nimrod, and suggests that he may have reigned a century or two before B.C. 2286; he asserts the historical character of his reign, and supposes him to have founded the Babylonian monarchy, but does not himself identify him with any king known from the inscriptions. At the time when this was written (1871), the conclusions of Canon Rawlinson were the most satisfactory that had been advanced since the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions. Since this time, however, some new theories have been started, with the idea of identifying Nimrod; one of these, brought forward by Professor Oppert, makes the word a geographical term, but such an explanation is evidently quite insufficient to account for the traditions attached to the name.

Another theory brought forward by the Rev. A. H. Sayce and Josef Grivel, "Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. part 2, p. 243, and vol. iii. part 1, p. 136, identifies Nimrod with Merodach, the god of Babylon; partly on the ground of the similarity of name, Merodach being Amar-utuci or Amar-ud in Accadian, partly because Merodach the patron-deity of Babylon stood in the same relation to that city that Asshur did to Assyria (see Micah v. 6), and partly since we find Merodach called "a hero" like Nimrod in Genesis, and assigned "four divine dogs" as though he were a hunter. These dogs are Uccumu "the despoiler," Acculu "the devourer," Icsuda "the capturer," and Iltebu "the carrier away." Merodach, it must be remembered, is always represented as a man, and is armed with weapons of war.

Mr. Smith first fancied that Nimrod might be Khammuragas, whom he identified with the first Arab king of Berosus, as this line of kings appeared to be connected with the Cossæans. This identification failing, after the discovery of the Deluge tablet in 1872, he conjectured that the hero whose name is provisionally read Izdubar is the Nimrod of the Bible, a conjecture which has since been adopted by several other scholars.

The supposition that Nimrod was an ethnic or geographical name, which was at one time favoured by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and has since been urged by Professor Oppert, is quite untenable, for it would be impossible on this theory to account for certain features in what we are told of the hero.

Mr. Smith’s opinion that he was the hero of the Izdubar Epic was first founded on the discovery that the latter formed the centre of the national historical poetry, and was the hero of Babylonian legend—in fact, occupies much the same place as Nimrod in later Arab tradition.

Izdubar, moreover, agrees *exactly* in character with Nimrod; he was a hunter, according to the cuneiform legends, who contended with and destroyed the lion, tiger, leopard, and wild bull or buffalo, animals the most formidable in the chase in any country. He ruled first in Babylonia over the region which from other sources we know to have been the centre of Nimrod’s kingdom. The principal scene, too, of his exploits and triumphs was the city of Erech, which, according to Genesis, was the second capital of Nimrod.

There remains the fact that the cuneiform name of this hero is undeciphered, the name Izdubar being a mere makeshift. It is possible that when the phonetic reading of the characters is found it will turn out to correspond with the name Nimrod. At all events it is noteworthy that Izdubar seems to have been specially connected with the town of Marad, the original Accadian name of which was Amarda, and that the Accadian *an Amarda* or “god of Amarda,” closely corresponds with the Biblical name of Nimrod. The translations and notes given in this book will lead, perhaps, to the general admission of the identity of the hero Izdubar with the traditional Nimrod; but this result can be firmly established only when more evidence is before us than that which we have at present.

At the time of the opening of the Epic, the great city of the south of Babylonia, and the capital of this part of the country, was Uruk, called in Genesis, Erech. Erech was devoted to the worship of Anu, the god of heaven, and his wife, the goddess Anatu, as well as of Istar, the Phœnician Ashtoreth, or Astarte, the myth of whose love for the Sun-god Dumuzi or

Tammuz, the Adonis of Greek story, is alluded to in the course of the poem. The worship of Anatu, however, was subsequent to the Semitic occupation of the country, since the necessity of providing a female deity by the side of every male one was not felt until the Accadians, whose language was unacquainted with genders, were succeeded by the Semites with their nouns either masculine or feminine.

Here may provisionally be placed the first fragment of the Izdubar legends, K 3200. This fragment consists of part of the third column of a tablet, which is probably the first; and it gives an account of a conquest of Erech by its enemies. The fragment reads:—

1. his ..... he left
2. .... and he goes down to the river,
3. .... in the river his ship is made good.
4. .... he is .... and he weeps bitterly
5. .... placed, the city of Ganganna which had (suffered) destruction.
6. .... their *samuri* (were) she asses
7. .... their *raburi* (were) great wild bulls.
8. Like cattle the people fears,
9. like doves the slaves mourn.
10. The gods of Erech the lofty
11. turned to flies and brood in swarms.
12. The spirits (*sedu*) of Erech the lofty
13. turned to cocks and went forth in outposts.
14. For three years the city of Erech does the enemy besiege,
15. the great gates were thrown down and trampled upon,
16. the goddess Istar before its enemies could not lift her head.
17. Bel his mouth opened and speaks,
18. to Istar the queen a speech he makes:
19. ..... in the midst of Nipur my hands have placed,
20. .... my country? Babylon (Din-tir) the house of my delight,
21. my .... I gave my hands.
22. ..... he was favourable to the sanctuaries
23. ..... in the day ....
24. ..... the great gods. ....

Here we have a graphic account of the condition of Erech, when the enemy overran the country, and the first question which occurs is, who were these conquerors? Conjecture is idle in the want of evidence. They may have been the Semitic successors of the Accadians, they may have been the Medes of Berosus, or they may have been tribes who belong only to the realm of mythology. Mr. Smith believed that they were the subjects of Khumbaba, the tyrant whose death is related in the fourth book of the Epic, and who ruled over the land of Elam.

The name of Khumbaba, or Khubaba, as it is occasionally written, is probably a compound of "Khumba," or "Khumbume," the name of one of the chief Elamite gods. Many other Elamite names compounded with Khumba are mentioned in the inscriptions: Khumba-sidir, an early chief; Khumba-undasa, an Elamite general opposed to Sennacherib; Khumba-nigas, an Elamite monarch opposed to Sargon; Tul-khumba, an Elamite city, &c.

The notice of foreign dominion, and particularly of Elamite supremacy at this time, may, perhaps, form a clue from which to ascertain the approximate age of the poems as we have them. We know that myths are localized in the country of those who hand them down to posterity, and assigned to an age which has made an impression on their narrators. There must have been some reason for the legendary siege and capture of Erech, some actual event around which the story of Izdubar has entwined itself.

Looking at the fragments of Berosus and the notices of Greek and Roman authors, we may ask whether there is any epoch of conquest and foreign dominion which can be fixed upon as representing such an actual event? Let us glance for a moment at the earlier history of Babylonia so far as it is known to us.

The earlier part of the list of dynasties quoted from Berosus gives the following periods from the Flood downwards:—

86 Chaldean kings from the Flood down to the Median conquest, reigning for 34,080 or 33,091 years.

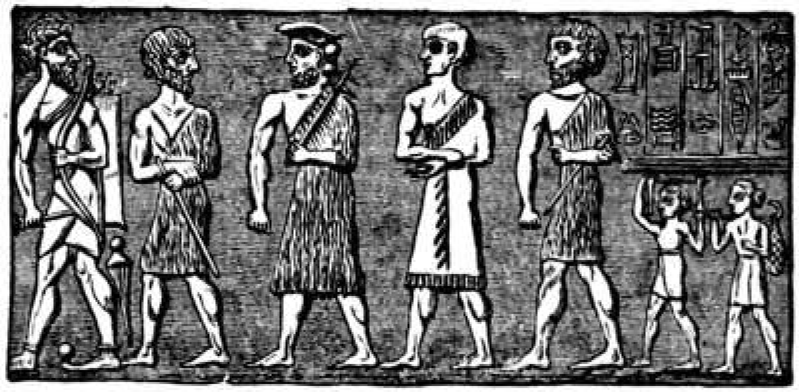
8 Median kings who conquered and held Babylon, 234, or 224, or 190 years.

11 other kings, race and duration unknown.

49 Chaldean kings, for 458 years.

The last of these dynasties preceded a dynasty of kings called Arabian by the copyists of Berosus, and though neither the number of the reigns nor the length of time assigned to the dynasty agrees with what the monuments tell us of the Cassite or Cossæan line of kings, there is no other line which can in any way be identified with the Arabians of the Babylonian historian. The 49 Chaldean kings must, therefore, have reigned before Khammuragas, that is before B.C. 2000-1750. Now an inscription of Nabonidus informs us that Lig-bagas, the first monarch of all Chaldea of whom we know, flourished 700 years anterior to the reign of Khammuragas; he would, therefore, come among the 11 nameless kings of Berosus, supposing any reliance can be placed on the statements of the latter, and about 250 years before the accession of the Chaldean dynasty. But the engraved cylinders and seals of the age of Lig-bagas show that the legend of Izdubar was already popular, and we must accordingly seek a still older period in which to place its origin and attachment to a particular historical event. Hence it may well be that the siege of Erech, the memory of which is preserved in the first book of the Izdubar Epic, was the work of those foreign invaders whom the Babylonian historian has termed Median.

Now it is not improbable that the Median dynasty was really Elamite; or at all events belonged to the same race as the primitive inhabitants of Elam. This race was closely allied to the Accadians; and it was spread over the whole range of country which stretched from the southern shores of the Caspian to the Persian Gulf. The Protomedes, as they are sometimes called, were not conquered and supplanted by Aryan invaders from the east till the ninth century B.C. It was in their country that Kharsak-kurra, "the Mountain of the East," was localized whereon the Accadians and their kinsfolk in Elam and Media believed the ark to have rested after the Flood, and which they regarded as the cradle of their race. It was therefore pre-eminently "the land," *mada* in Accadian, and from this *mada* there is every reason to think the name of Media has been derived. Consequently, the Medians of Berosus, the inhabitants of *mada* "the land" of the east, need not have been more than one of the many Elamite swarms that from time to time descended into the fertile plains of Babylonia, and not unfrequently obtained a settlement there. Such were the Accadians, or “Highlanders” themselves; such, too, the two Cassite or Cossæan dynasties which we learn from the monuments long held sway over Chaldea.



MIGRATION OF EASTERN TRIBE; FROM EARLY BABYLONIAN CYLINDER.

An early Babylonian cylinder, which came from Erech and originally belonged to a member of the royal family of that city, presents us with a curious picture of a rude nomad tribe apparently arriving in Babylonia. The chief marches in front armed with bow and arrows, and wearing the same kind of boots with turned-up ends as distinguished the Hittites in ancient times and are still worn in Asia Minor and Greece. They indicate that the wearer came from a cold and mountainous country. The animals’ skins which compose the dresses of his three retainers also point to a similar conclusion. Besides the retainers, the wife of the chief is depicted, as well as two slaves who carry some objects on their shoulders. Unfortunately no light is cast upon the group by the inscription, which simply states that the cylinder belonged to “Gibil-dur (or Ne-Zicum), the brother of the king of Erech, the librarian, thy servant.” All we can gather from it is that the famous library of Erech, which furnished Assur-bani-pal and his scribes with the original texts of the Izdubar Epic, was already in existence, and that the office of librarian was considered honourable enough to be borne by a brother of the reigning monarch.

If the legendary siege of Erech is not to be referred to the epoch of the Median conquest, it may have fallen at the time when the image of the goddess Nana was carried away from Erech by the Elamite king Kudur-nankhundi, 1635 years before the capture of Shushan, the capital of Elam, by the Assyrians (about B.C. 645), and consequently about B.C. 2280. A fragment which refers to this period in “Cuneiform Inscriptions,” vol. iii. p. 38, relates the destruction wrought in the country by the Elamites, and makes Kudur-nankhundi follow one of the other monarchs of an Elamite dynasty and exceed his predecessors in the injury he did to the country.

Putting together the detached notices of this period, the following may approximately represent the chronology, the dates being understood as round numbers.

? B.C. 2750, Elamites (Medes) overrun Babylonia.

B.C. 2280, Kudur-nankhundi, king of Elam, ravages Erech.

B.C. 1800, Khammuragas conquers Babylonia.

Although the dates transmitted through ancient authors are as a rule vague and doubtful, there are many independent notices which seem to point to somewhere about the twenty-third century before the Christian era for the foundation of the Babylonian and Assyrian power. Several of these dates are connected either directly or by implication with Nimrod, who first formed a united empire over these regions.

The following are some of these notices:—

Simplicius relates that Callisthenes, the friend of Alexander, sent to Aristotle from Babylon a series of stellar observations reaching back 1,903 years before the taking of Babylon by Alexander. This would make 1903 + 331 = B.C. 2234.

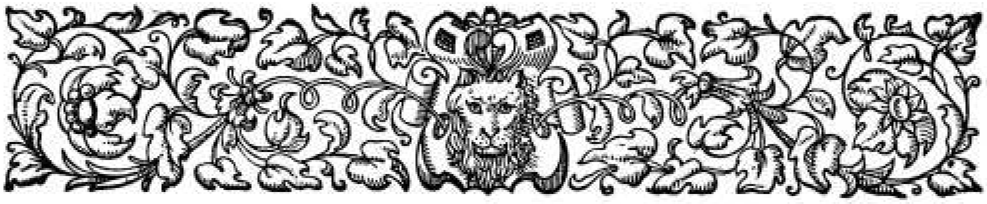
Berosus and Critodemus are said by Pliny to have made the inscribed stellar observations reach to 480 years before the era of Phoroneus; as the latter date was supposed to be about the middle of the eighteenth century B.C., 480 years before it comes also to about the period of Kudur-nankhundi.

Diodorus makes the Assyrian empire commence a thousand years or more before the Trojan war.

Ctesias and Cephalion make its foundation early in the twenty-second century B.C.

The two last statements, however, are probably derived from Ctesias, whose so-called history has been shown by cuneiform decipherment to have been a mere fiction put together out of misunderstood myths and fragments of theology. In any case, too, they apply only to the foundation of the Assyrian power, which was modern as compared with that of Babylonia, in spite of the assertion of Sargon, who boasts of having been preceded on the throne by 350 kings.

Of the latter part of the first tablet of the Izdubar Epic we have as yet no knowledge.



CHAPTER XII.
MEETING OF HEA-BANI AND IZDUBAR.

Dream of Izdubar.—Hea-bani.—His wisdom.—His solitary life.—Izdubar's petition.—Zaidu.—Kharimtu and Samkhat.—Tempt Hea-bani.—Might and fame of Izdubar.—Speech of Hea-bani.—His journey to Erech.—The midannu or tiger.—Festival at Erech.—Dream of Izdubar.—Friendship with Hea-bani.

IN this chapter are included the fragments of what appear to be the second and third tablets or books. In this section of the story Izdubar comes prominently forward, and meets with Hea-bani. The notice of his mother Dannat appears in one of the tablets given in this chapter.

Izdubar, in the Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures, is always represented with a marked physiognomy, and his peculiarities can be seen by noticing the photograph from a Babylonian gem at the beginning of the book, the engraving from an Assyrian sculpture in the last chapter, and the engraving in page 249 showing Izdubar and Hea-bani struggling with wild animals. In all these cases, and in every other instance where Izdubar is represented, he is indicated as a man with masses of curls over his head and a large curly beard. The type is so marked and so distinct from either the Assyrian or the Babylonian one that it is hard to say to what race it should be attached.

The deity of Izdubar was Lugal-turda, the god who was changed into the bird of storm according to the old myth, from which it may be supposed that he was a native of the district of Amarda or Marad, where that god was worshipped. This district Mr. Smith thought was probably the Amordacia or Mardocæa of Ptolemy, but its situation is uncertain.

The fragments of the second and third tablets assume by their notices that Izdubar was already known as a mighty hunter, and it appears a little later that he claimed descent from the old Babylonian heroes, as he calls Xisuthrus, the Chaldean Noah, his "father."

TABLET II.

A single fragment which Mr. Smith believed to belong to this tablet has been found; it is K 3389, and contains part of the third and fourth columns of writing. It appears from this that Izdubar was then at Erech, and had a curious dream. He thought he saw the stars of heaven fall to the ground, and in their descent they struck upon his back. He then saw standing over him a terrible being, the aspect of whose face was fierce, and who was armed with claws, like the claws of lions. The greater part of the description of the dream is lost; it probably occupied Columns I. and II. of the second tablet. Thinking that the dream portended some fate to himself, Izdubar calls on all the wise men to explain it, and offers a reward to any one who can interpret the dream. Here the fragment K 3389 comes in:

Column III.

1. .... *ru kili* I ....
2. .... he and the princes may he ...
3. .... in the vicinity send him,
4. .... may they ennoble his family,
5. .... at the head of his feast may he set thee
6. .... may he array thee in jewels and gold
7. .... may he enclose thee
8. .... in his .... seat thee
9. into the houses of the gods may he cause thee to enter
10. .... seven wives
11. .... cause illness in his stomach
12. .... went up alone
13. .... his heaviness to his friend
14. .... a dream I dreamed in my sleep
15. .... the stars of heaven fell to the earth
16. .... I stood still
17. .... his face
18. .... his face was terrible
19. .... like the claws of a lion, were his claws.
20. .... the strength in me
21. .... he slew
22. .... me
23. .... over me
24. .... corpse ....

The first part of this fragment appears to recount the honours offered by Izdubar to any one who should interpret the dream. These included the ennobling of his family, his recognition in assemblies, his being invested with jewels of honour, and his wives being increased. A description of the dream of the hero, much mutilated, follows. The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel, with reference to his dreams, bears some resemblance to that of Izdubar.

After this fragment we have again a blank in the story, and it would appear that in this interval application was made to a nondescript creature named Hea-bani that he would go to the city of Erech and interpret the dream of Izdubar.

Hea-bani appears, from the representations on seals and other objects on which he is figured, to have been a satyr or faun. He is always drawn with the feet and tail of an ox, and with horns on his head. He is said to have lived in a cave among the wild animals of the forest, and was supposed to possess wonderful knowledge both of nature and human affairs. In appearance he resembles the *se'irim* or hairy demons, half men, half goats, who inhabited the deserts and were a terror to passers-by. Reference is made to them in Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15, Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, from which we learn that worship was paid to them, and that they were supposed to be specially connected with the neighbourhood of Babylon. Hea-bani was angry at the request that he should abandon his solitary life for the friendship of Izdubar, and where our narrative reopens the god Samas is persuading him to accept the offer. It may be added that the name Hea-bani signifies "Hea created me," from which we may infer that the monster was believed to have originally ascended like Oannes out of the abysses of the sea.

COLUMN IV.

1. ... me
2. ... on my back

---

3. And Samas opened his mouth
4. and spake and from heaven said to him:
5. .... and the female Samkhat thou shalt choose

6. they shall array thee in trappings of divinity
7. they shall give thee the insignia of royalty
8. they shall make thee become great
9. and Izdubar thou shalt call and incline him towards thee
10. and Izdubar shall make friendship unto thee
11. he shall cause thee to recline on a grand couch
12. on a beautiful couch he shall seat thee
13. he will cause thee to sit on a comfortable seat a seat on the left
14. the kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet
15. he shall enrich thee and the men of Erech he shall make silent before thee
16. and he after thee shall take all ....
17. he shall clothe thy body in raiment and ....

---

18. Hea-bani heard the words of Samas the warrior
19. and the anger of his heart was appeased
20. .... was appeased

Here we are still dealing with the honours which Izdubar promises to the interpreter of his dream, and these seem to show that Izdubar had some power at Erech at this time; he does not, however, appear to have been an independent king, and it is probable that the next two columns of this tablet, now lost, contain negotiations for bringing Hea-bani to Erech, the subject being continued on the third tablet.

TABLET III.

This tablet is far better preserved than the two previous ones; it gives the account of the successful mission to bring Hea-bani to Erech, opening with a broken account of the wisdom of Hea-bani.

COLUMN I.

1. .... knows all things
2. .... and difficult
3. .... wisdom of all things
4. .... the knowledge that is seen and that which is hidden
5. .... bring word of peace to ....

6. from a far off road he will come and I rest and ....
7. .... on tablets and all that rests ....
8. .... and tower of Erech the lofty
9. .... beautiful
10. .... which like ....
11. .... I strove with him not to leave ....
12. .... god? who from ....
13. .... carry ....
14. .... leave ....
(Many lines lost.)

COLUMN II.

1. Izdubar did not leave .....
2. Daughter of a warrior ....
3. their might ......
4. the gods of heaven, lord ......
5. thou makest to be sons and family? .....
6. there is not any other like thee ......
7. in the depth made ......
8. Izdubar did not leave, the son to his father day and night ......
9. he the ruler also of Erech ......
10. he their ruler and ......
11. made firm? and wise ......
12. Izdubar did not leave Dannat, the son to his mother ......
13. Daughter of a warrior, wife of .....
14. their might the god .... heard and ...
15. Aruru strong and great, thou Aruru hast made ......
16. again making his strength, one day his heart ......
17. he changed and the city of Erech ......
18. Aruru on hearing this, the strength of Anu made in the midst ......
19. Aruru put in her hands, she bowed her breast and lay on the ground
20. ... Hea-bani she made a warrior, begotten of the seed of the soldier Ninip
21. ...... covered his body, retiring in companionship like a woman,
22. the features of his aspect were concealed like the corn god

23. possessing knowledge of men and countries, in clothing clothed like the god Ner
24. with the gazelles he ate food in the night
25. with the beasts of the field he consorted in the day
26. with the creeping things of the waters his heart delighted
27. Zaidu catcher of men
28. in front of that field confronted him
29. the first day the second day and the third in the front of that field the same,
30. the courage of Zaidu dried up before him
31. and he and his beast entered into his house and
32. .... fear dried up and overcome
33. .... his courage grew before him
34. .... his face was terrible

COLUMN III.

1. Zaidu opened his mouth and spake and said to ......
2. My father the first leader who shall go ....
3. in the land of ......
4. like the soldier of Anu ......
5. shall march over the country ......
6. and firmly with the beast ......
7. and firmly his feet in the front of the field ...
8. I feared and I did not approach it
9. he filled the cave which he had dug
10. .....
11. I ascended on my hands to the ....
12. I did not reach to the .....

---

13. .... and said to Zaidu
14. .... Erech, Izdubar
15. .... ascend his field
16. .... his might
17. .... thy face
18. .... the might of a man

19. ......
20. .... like a chief
21. ...... field
22 to 24. three lines of directions.
25. According to the advice of his father ....
26. Zaidu went .....
27. he took the road and in the midst of Erech he halted
28. .... Izdubar ....
29. the first leader who shall go ....
30. in the land of ....
31. like the soldier of Anu ....
32. shall march over the country ....
33. and firmly with the beast ....
34. and firmly his feet ....
35. I feared and I did not approach it
36. he filled the cave which he had dug
37. ......
38. I ascended on my hands .....
39. I was not able to reach to the covert.

40. Izdubar to him also said to Zaidu:
41. go Zaidu and with thee Kharimtu, and Samkhat take,
42. and when the beast ... in front of the field
43 to 45. directions to the women how to entice Hea-bani.

46. Zaidu went and with him Kharimtu, and Samkhat he took, and
47. they took the road, and went along the path.
48. On the third day they reached the land where the flood happened.
49. Zaidu and Kharimtu in their places sat,
50. the first day and the second day in front of the field they sat,
51. the land where the beast drank of drink,

COLUMN IV.

1. the land where the creeping things of the water rejoiced his heart.
2. And he Hea-bani had made for himself a mountain
3. with the gazelles he ate food,

4. with the beasts he drank of drink,
5. with the creeping things of the waters his heart rejoiced.
6. Samkhat the enticer of men saw him
7 to 26. details of the actions of the female Samkhat and Hea-bani.

---

27. And Hea-bani approached Kharimtu then, who before had not enticed him.
28. And he listened .... and was attentive,
29. and he turned and sat at the feet of Kharimtu.
30. Kharimtu bent down her face,
31. and Kharimtu spake; and his ears heard
32. and to him also she said to Hea-bani:
33. Famous Hea-bani like a god art thou,
34. Why dost thou associate with the creeping things in the desert?
35. I desire thy company to the midst of Erech the lofty,
36. to the temple of Elli-tardusi the seat of Anu and Istar,
37. the dwelling of Izdubar the mighty giant,
38. who also like a bull towers over the chiefs.
39. She spake to him and before her speech,
40. the wisdom of his heart flew away and disappeared.
41. Hea-bani to her also said to Kharimtu:
42. I join to Samkhat my companionship,
43. to the temple of Elli-tardusi the seat of Anu and Istar,
44. the dwelling of Izdubar the mighty giant,
45. who also like a bull towers over the chiefs.
46. I will meet him and see his power,

COLUMN V.

1. I will bring to the midst of Erech a tiger,
2. and if he is able he will destroy it.
3. In the desert it is begotten, it has great strength,
4. ...... before thee
5. .... everything there is I know
6. Hea-bani went to the midst of Erech the lofty
7. .... the chiefs ... made submission
8. in that day they made a festival

9. ..... city
10. ..... daughter
11. ..... made rejoicing
12. ..... becoming great
13. ..... mingled and
14. ..... Izdubar rejoicing the people
15. went before him
16. A prince thou becomest glory thou hast
17. .... fills his body
18. .... who day and night
19. .... destroy thy terror
20. .... the god Samas loves him and
21. .... and Hea have given intelligence to his ears
22. he has come from the mountain
23. to the midst of Erech he will ponder thy dream
24. Izdubar his dream revealed and said to his mother
25. A dream I dreamed in my sleep
26. .... the stars of heaven
27. .... struck upon my back
28. .... of heaven over me
29. .... did not rise over it
30. .... stood over .....
31. ...... him and
32. ..... over him
33. .... his ....
34. .... princess
35. .... me
36. ..... I know
37. ..... to Izdubar
38. ..... of heaven
39. ..... over thy back
40. ..... over thee
41. ..... did not rise over it
42. ..... my .....
43. ..... thee

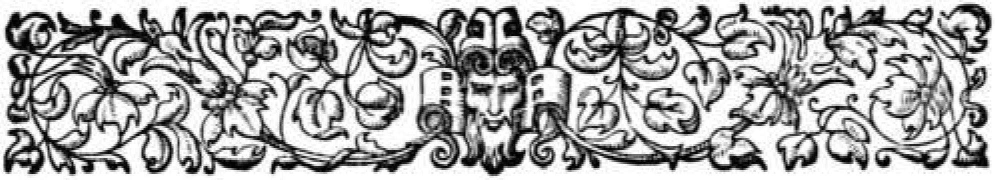
There is one other mutilated fragment of this and the next column with part of a relation respecting beasts and a fragment of a conversation between Izdubar and his mother.

The whole of this tablet is curious, and it certainly gives the successful issue of the attempt to bring Hea-bani to Erech, and in very fragmentary condition the dream of the monarch.

It appears that the females Samkhat and Kharimtu prevailed upon Hea-bani to come to Erech and see the exploits of the giant Izdubar, and he declared that he would bring a *Midannu*, most probably a tiger, to Erech, in order to make trial of the strength of Izdubar, and to see if he could destroy it.

The Midannu is mentioned in the Assyrian texts as a fierce carnivorous animal allied to the lion and leopard; it is called *Midannu*, Mindinu, and Mandinu. In a list of animals it is associated with the *dumamu* or cat.

In the fifth column, after the description of the festivities which followed the arrival of Hea-bani, there appears a break between lines 15 and 16, some part of the original story being probably omitted here. The Assyrian copy probably is here defective, at least one line being lost. The portion here omitted seems to have stated that the following speech was made by the mother of Izdubar, who figures prominently in the earlier part of these legends.



CHAPTER XIII.
DESTRUCTION OF THE TYRANT KHUMBABA.

Mythical geography.—Forest region.—Khumbaba.—Conversation.—Petition to Samas.—Journey to forest.—Dwelling of Khumbaba.—Entrance to forest.—Meeting with Khumbaba.—Death of Khumbaba.—Izdubar king.

THE wretchedly mutilated condition of the fragments that belong to the two next tablets or books of the Epic makes it impossible to ascertain their correct order and arrangement. The arrangement given here, accordingly, must be regarded as merely provisional. It may, however, be taken as certain that they all form part of the fourth and fifth tablets, and relate the contest between Izdubar and Khumbaba.

Khumbaba, the Kombabos of the Greeks, was the prototype of Geryon. He dwelt far away in the forest of pines and sherbin cedars, where the gods and spirits had their abode. It was, consequently, in the cold region of the Accadian Olympus, now Mount Elwend, that he was placed by the old mythology, and the similarity of his name to that of the Elamite god Khumba or Khumbume makes it possible that he was originally identical with the latter. In this case the antagonism between Khumbaba and Izdubar would have been merely a reflection of the antagonism that existed between the inhabitants of Babylonia and the subjects of the Elamite empire. Mr. Smith even thought that the overthrow of Khumbaba might have been an echo of the overthrow of some Elamite dynasty by a Chaldean one.

In the case of the fourth tablet Mr. Smith believed that he had found fragments of all six columns, but some of these fragments are useless until we have further fragments to complete them.

TABLET IV.

COLUMN I.

1. .... mu ....

2. .... thy ....
3. .... me, return
4. .... the birds shall rend him
5. .... in thy presence
6. .... of the forest of pine trees
7. .... all the battle
8. .... may the birds of prey surround him
9. .... that, his carcass may they destroy
10. .... to me and we will appoint thee king,
11. .... thou shalt direct after the manner of a king

---

12. [Izdubar] opened his mouth and spake,
13. and said to Hea-bani:
14. ... he goes to the great palace
15. .... the breast of the great queen
16. ..... knowledge, everything he knows
17. ...... establish to our feet
18. .... his hand
19. .... I to the great palace
20. .... the great queen
(Probably over twenty lines lost here.)

COLUMN II.

1. .... enter
2. .... he raised
3. .... the ornaments of her ....
4. .... the ornaments of her breast
5. .... and her crown I divided
6. .... of the earth he opened
7. he .... he ascended to the city
8. he went up to the presence of Samas he made a sacrifice?
9. he built an altar. In the presence of Samas he lifted his hands:
10. Why hast thou established Izdubar, in thy heart thou hast given him protection,
11. when the son .... and he goes
12. on the remote path to Khumbaba.

13. A battle he knows not he will confront,
14. an expedition he knows not he will ride to,
15. for long he will go and will return,
16. to take the course to the forest of pine trees,
17. to Khumbaba of [whom his city may] he destroy,
18. and every one who is evil whom thou hatest ...
19. In the day of the year he will ....
20. May she not return at all, may she not ...
21. him to fix ....

(About ten lines lost here.)

Here we see that Izdubar, impressed with the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, makes a prayer and sacrifice to Samas to aid him in his task. The next fragment appears also to belong to this column, and may refer to preliminaries for sacrificing to Istar, with a view also to gain her aid in the enterprise.

This fragment of Column II. reads

1. .... neighbourhood of Erech ....
2. .... strong and ...
3. he burst open the road ....
4. and that city ....
5. and the collection ....
6. placed the people together ....
7. the people were ended ....
8. like of a king ....
9. which for a long time had been made ....
10. to the goddess Istar the bed ....
11. to Izdubar like the god Sakim ....
12. Hea-bani opened the great gate of the house of assembly ....
13. for Izdubar to enter ....
14. .... in the gate of the house ....

COLUMN III.

1. the corpse of ....

2. to ....
3. to the rising of ....
4. the angels ....
5. may she not return ....
6. him to fix ....
7. the expedition which he knows not ....
8. may he destroy also ....
9. of which he knows ....
10. the road ....

Five more mutilated lines, the rest of the column being lost.

This fragment shows Izdubar still invoking the gods for his coming expedition. Under the next column Mr. Smith placed a fragment, the position and meaning of which are quite unknown.

COLUMN IV.—UNCERTAIN FRAGMENT.

1. he was heavy ....
2. Hea-bani was ....
3. Hea-bani strong not rising ....
4. When ....
5. with thy song? ....
6. the sister of the gods faithful ....
7. wandering he fixed to ....
8. the sister of the gods lifted ....
9. and the daughters of the gods grew ....
10. I Hea-bani .... he lifted to ....

Somewhere here should be the story, now lost, of the starting of Izdubar on his expedition accompanied by his friend Hea-bani. The sequel shows they arrive at the palace or residence of Hea-bani, which is surrounded by a forest of pine and cedar, the whole being enclosed by some barrier or wall, with a gate for entrance. Hea-bani and Izdubar open this gate where the story reopens on the fifth column.

COLUMN V.

1. the sharp weapon

2. to make men fear him ....
3. Khumbaba poured a tempest out of his mouth ....
4. he heard the gate of the forest [open]
5. the sharp weapon to make men fear him [he took]
6. and in the path of his forest he stood and [waited]

---

7. Izdubar to him also [said to Hea-bani]

Here we see Khumbaba waiting for the intruders, but the rest of the column is lost; it appears to have principally consisted of speeches by Izdubar and Hea-bani on the magnificent trees they saw, and the work before them. A single fragment of Column VI., containing fragments of six lines, shows them still at the gate, and when the next tablet, No. V., opens, they had not yet entered.

TABLET V.

The fifth tablet is more certain than the last; it appears to refer to the conquest of Khumbaba. Only fragments of this tablet, which opens with a description of the retreat of Khumbaba, have as yet been discovered.

COLUMN I.

1. He stood and surveyed the forest
2. of pine trees, he perceived its height,
3. of the forest he perceived its approach,
4. in the place where Khumbaba went his step was placed,
5. on a straight road and a good path.
6. He saw the land of the pine trees, the seat of the gods, the sanctuary of the angels,
7. in front? of the seed the pine tree carried its fruit,
8. good was its shadow, full of pleasure,
9. an excellent tree, the choice of the forest,
10. .... the pine heaped ....
11. .... for one kaspu (7 miles) ...
12. .... cedar two-thirds of it ...
13. .... grown ....
14. .... like it ...

(About 10 lines lost here.)
25. .... he looked ....
26. .... he made and he ....
27. .... drove to ....
28. .... he opened and ....

---

29. Izdubar opened his mouth and spake, [and said to Hea-bani]:
30. My friend ....
31. .... with their slaughter ....
32. .... he did not speak before her, he made with him ....
33. .... knowledge of war who made fighting,
34. in entering to the house thou shalt not fear ...
35. .... and like I take her also they ....
36. to an end may they seat ....
37. .... thy hand ....
38. .... took my friend first ....
39. .... his heart prepared for war, that year and day also
40. .... on his falling appoint the people
41. .... slay him, his corpse may the birds of prey surround
42. ...... of them he shall make
43. .... going he took the weight
44. they performed it, their will they established

---

45. .... they entered into the forest

COLUMN II.

(Five lines mutilated.)

6. they passed through the forest ....

---

7. Khumbaba ....
8. he did not come ....
9. he did not ....
(Seven lines lost.)
17. heavy ....
18. Hea-bani opened his mouth ....
19. .... Khumbaba in ....

20. .... one by one and ....

(Many other broken lines.)

There are a few fragments of Columns III., IV., and V., and a small portion of Column VI., which reads:

1. .... cedar to ....
2. .... he placed and ....
3. .... 120 .... Hea-bani ....
4. .... the head of Khumbaba ....

5. .... his weapon he sharpened ....
6. .... tablet of the story of fate of ....

It appears from the various mutilated fragments of this tablet that Izdubar and Hea-bani conquer and slay Khumbaba and take his goods, but much is wanted to connect the fragments.

The conclusion of this stage of the story and triumph of Izdubar are given at the commencement of the sixth tablet. The conquest of Khumbaba gave Izdubar the crown and attributes of his fallen rival, who seems to have been a sun-god, and this caused Istar, who already appears as the bride of the sun in the myth of Tammuz, to woo the triumphant hero.

CHAPTER XIV.
THE ADVENTURES OF ISTAR.

Triumph of Izdubar.—Istar's love.—Her offer of marriage.—Her promises.—Izdubar's answer.—Tammuz.—Amours of Istar.—His refusal.—Istar's anger.—Ascends to Heaven.—The bull.—Slain by Izdubar.—Istar's curse.—Izdubar's triumph.—The feast.—Istar's despair.—Her descent to Hades.—Description.—The seven gates.—The curses.—Atsu-sunamir the Sphinx.—Release of Istar.—The dog of the dawn.—Lament for Tammuz.

IN this chapter are included the sixth and seventh tablets, which both primarily refer to the doings of Istar.

TABLET VI.

The sixth tablet is in better condition than any of the former ones, and allows of something like a connected translation.

COLUMN I.

1. .... his weapon, he made bright his weapon.
2. Like a bull his mountain he ascended after him.
3. He destroyed him and clothed himself with his spoils.
4. The ... he put on and the fastening of the crown he tore.
5. Izdubar his crown put on (and the fastening of the crown he tore).
6. For the favour of Izdubar the princess Istar lifted the eyes:
7. I will make thee also Izdubar my husband,[18]
8. thy oath to me shall be thy bond,
9. thou shalt be husband and I will be thy wife.
10. I will make (thy) chariot glisten with crystal and gold,
11. of which the body is gold and its horns are strong.
12. I will cause thy days to find gifts, O judge (?) of the great.
13. Into our house enter, mid the scent of the pines.
14. When thou enterest our house
15. may the river Euphrates kiss thy feet.

16. There shall be under thee kings, lords, and princes.
17. The tribute of the mountains and plains may they bring to thee as an offering.
18. May thy herds and flocks bring forth twins,
19. may the increase of the cows come unto (thee),
20. may thy (horse) be strong, without ceasing, in the chariot,
21. may (thy steed) in the yoke never have a rival.

22. (Izdubar) opened his mouth and speaks;
23. (he says) to the princess Istar:
24. .... to thee thy possession
25. .... body and rottenness (?)
26. .... baldness and famine
27. .... I keep back the instruments of divinity
28. .... instruments of royalty
29. .... storm (?)
30. ...... he poured (?)
31. ...... I lingered
32. ...... I took thee
33. ...... caused to enter
34. the door afterwards .... ended wind and showers
35. palace .... the hero
36. mouth .... check her
37. that sign .... carry her
38. body glorious (?) .... carry her
39. grand .... tower of stone
40. they have dwelt (in) the land of the enemy
41. may she .... her lord
42. never may he woo thee for ever
43. never may a god praise thee
44. I took also the torch? .... I loved thee

COLUMN II.

1. Rest thee and .....
2. as for Tammuz the lover of (thy) youth
3. year after year thou hast wearied him with thy love.

4. Allala the eagle also thou lovest and
5. thou didst strike him, and his wings thou didst break;
6. he stood in the forest, he begged for wings.
7. Thou lovest also a lion lusty in might,
8. thou didst tear out by sevens his claws.
9. Thou lovest also a horse glorious in war,
10. he yielded himself and thou didst weary his love overmuch.
11. For seven kaspu (fourteen hours) thou didst weary his love without ceasing,
12. troubled and thirsting thou didst weary him.
13. To his mother Silele thou didst send him wearied with thy love.
14. Thou lovest also the shepherd Tabulu,
15. of whom continually thou didst ask for thy stibium.
16. Every day he propitiated thee with offerings,
17. thou didst strike him and to a hyena thou didst change him;
18. his own village drove him away;
19. his dogs tore his wounds.
20. Thou lovest also Isullanu the husbandman of thy father,
21. who continually was subject to thy order;
22. each day had he made bright thy dish.
23. The eyes thou didst take from him and didst put him in chains,
24. (saying): O Isullanu, cut thy hand, eat (thy) eyes!
25. And thy hand thou didst bring out and thou didst strike? ....
26. Isullanu says to thee:
27. As for me what dost thou ask of me?
28. My mother, thou art not beautiful, and I eat not.
29. The food I have eaten is plentiful, even pain and waking;
30. trembling and faintness overcome me (?)
31. Thou didst hear also this ....
32. thou didst strike him; to a pillar[19] thou didst change him,
33. thou didst place him also in the midst of the land ....
34. that he rise not up, that he go not ....
35. And as for me dost thou love me, and like to him wilt thou [serve me]?

---

36. When Istar (heard) this,
37. Istar was angry and to heaven she ascended;

38. Istar went also to the presence of Anu her father,
39. to the presence of Anatu her mother she went and says:
40. My father, Izdubar hates me, and

Column III.

1. Izdubar despises my beauty,
2. my beauty and my charms.

---

3. Anu opened his mouth and spake, and
4. says to the princess Istar:
5. My daughter thou shalt remove ....
6. and Izdubar will count thy beauty,
7. thy beauty and thy charms.

---

8. Istar opened her mouth and spake, and
9. says to Anu her father:
10. My father, create the bull of Anu[20] and
11. Izdubar ....
12. when he is filled ....
13. I will strike ....
14. I will join ....
15. ....
16. over ....

---

17. Anu opened his mouth and spake, and
18. says to the princess Istar:
19. .... thou shalt join ....
20. .... of noble names
21. .... *maskhi* ....
22. .... which is magnified ....

---

23. Istar opened her mouth and spake, and
24. says to Anu her father:
25. .... I will strike
26. .... I will break
27. .... of noble names

28. .... reducer
29. .... of foods
30. .... of him

(Some lines lost here.)

Column IV.

(Some lines lost.)

1. .... warriors
2. .... to the midst
3. .... three hundred warriors
4. .... to the midst
5. .... slay Hea-bani
6. in two divisions he parted in the midst of it
7. two hundred warriors .... made, the bull of Anu ....
8. in the third division .... his horns
9. Hea-bani struck? .... his might
10. and Hea-bani pierced ....
11. the bull of Anu by his head he took hold of ....
12. by the thickness of his tail ....

---

13. Hea-bani opened his mouth and spake, and
14. says to Izdubar:
15. My friend, we have strengthened ....
16. when we overthrow ...
17. My friend, I see ....
18. and the might ....
19. may I destroy ....
(Three lines lost.).
23. .... hands .... to Rimmon and Nebo
24. .... *tarka* .... *um* ....
25. .... Hea-bani took hold .... the bull of Anu
26. .... he .... also .... by his tail
27. .... Hea-bani

Column V.

1. And Izdubar like a ....
2. the hero and (his friend)
3. in the vicinity of the middle of his horns ....
4. from the city they destroyed, the heart ....
5. to the presence of Samas ....
6. they had gone to the presence of Samas ....
7. he placed at the side the bulk (?) ....

---

8. And Istar ascended over the fortress of Erech the lofty,
9. she destroyed the bull, she uttered a curse:
10. Woe to Izdubar who has overthrown me, has slain the bull of Anu.
11. Hea-bani also heard this speech of Istar,
12. and he cut off the member of the bull of Anu and before her he laid it;
13. And what of it? since I conquered thee when him also (*i.e.* Izdubar)
14. I caused thee to listen to;
15. its skin also I have hung up at thy side.
16. Istar gathered her maidens
17. Samkhati and Kharimati,[21]
18. over the member of the bull of Anu a mourning she made.
19. Izdubar called on the people, the multitude
20. all of them:
21. with the thickness of his horns the young men were glorious,
22. 30 manehs of crystal (was) their substance,
23. the sharpness of the points was destroyed,
24. 6 gurs its mass altogether.
25. For the food of his god Lugal-turda he cut it up;
26. he seethed it and hangs it up in the rising of his fire;
27. in the river Euphrates they washed their hands.
28. They had been taken and gone
29. through the street of Erech riding,
30. the assembly of the warriors of Erech put trust in them.
31. Izdubar to the inhabitants of Erech
32. .... a proclamation made.

COLUMN VI.

1. “If anyone is of ability among the chiefs,
2. if any is noble among the men,
3. Izdubar is able among the chiefs,
4. Izdubar is noble among the men,
5. .... our strength
6. .... he has not
7. .... his ....”

---

8. Izdubar in his palace made a rejoicing,
9. the chiefs reclining lie on couches at night.
10. Hea-bani lies down, a dream he dreams.
11. Hea-bani came and the dream he explains,
12. and says to Izdubar.

Tablet VII.

The seventh tablet opens with the words, “My friend, what is this counsel the great gods are taking?” It is uncertain if any other portion of this tablet has been found, but part of a remarkable fragment, with a continuation of the story of Istar, has been placed here. It appears that the goddess, failing in her attempt in heaven to avenge herself on Izdubar for his slight, resolved to descend to hell, to search out, if possible, new modes of attacking him.

Columns I. and II. are lost, the fragments recommencing on Column III.

Column III.

1. .... people? to destroy his hand approached
2. .... raise in thy presence
3. .... like before
4. .... Zaidu (shall accomplish) the wish of his heart
5. with the female Samkhat .... he brought
6. .... thee, the female Samkhat will expel thee
7. (homage) they did not perform ......
8. assemble thou a great assembly;
9. .... the strong one has caused thee to be struck, even thee.
10. ... goods of the house of thy fulness

After many lines destroyed, the story recommences in the fourth column.

COLUMN IV.

1. [To Hades the country whence none return] I turn myself,
2. I spread like a bird my hands.
3. I descend, I descend to the house of darkness, the dwelling of the god Irkalla:
4. to the house out of which there is no exit,
5. to the road from which there is no return:
6. to the house from whose entrance the light is taken,
7. the place where dust is their nourishment and their food mud.
8. Its chiefs also are like birds covered with feathers;
9. the light is never seen, in darkness they dwell.
10. In the house, O my friend, which I will enter,
11. for me is treasured up a crown;
12. with those wearing crowns who from days of old ruled the earth,
13. to whom the gods Anu and Bel have given names of rule.
14. Water (?) they have given to quench the thirst they drink limpid waters.
15. In the house, O my friend, which I will enter,
16. dwell the lord and the unconquered one,
17. dwell the priest and the great man,
18. dwell the worms of the deep of the great gods;
19. there dwells Etana, there dwells the god Ner,
20. (there dwells) the queen of the lower regions, Allat,
21. the mistress of the fields the mother of the queen of the lower regions before her submits,
22. and there is not any one that stands against her in her presence.
23. I will approach her and she will see me
24. ... and she will bring me to her

Here the story is again lost, Columns V. and VI. being absent. It would seem that Hea-bani is here telling his friend how he must die and descend into the house of Hades. Mr. Smith, however, thought that in the third column some one is speaking to Istar, trying to persuade her not to descend to Hades, while in the fourth column the goddess, who is suffering all the pangs of jealousy and hate, revels in the dark details of the description of the lower regions, and declares her determination to go there.

If this view is correct, this part of the legend would be connected with the beautiful story of the Descent of Istar into Hades which describes how the goddess descended into the lower world in search of her husband Tammuz, the Sun-god, who had been slain by the boar’s tusk of winter. Tammuz became Adonis, the Phœnician *adonai* “lord,” among the Greeks, to whom the story of Aphroditê and Adonis had been carried by the Phœnicians. The story is one which meets us in the mythologies of many races and nations throughout the world, and has grown in each case out of the winter-sleep of the sun and his resurrection in the spring. Its last echo in our own European folklore may be heard in the tale of the Sleeping Beauty. A calendar found among the banking records of the Egibi firm in Babylonia notes on the 15th day of the month Tammuz or June “an eclipse of the Moon,” apparently in reference to the descent of the Moon-goddess Istar into Hades. The legend survives in a changed form in the Talmud (*Yoma 69b, Sanhedrim 60a*). Here it is said that after the Captivity the elders of the nation, headed by Ezra and Nehemiah, besought God that the demon of lust might be delivered into their hands. In spite of a prophetic voice which warned them of the consequences of their request, it was persisted in, and the demon was given up to them and imprisoned. But before three days were over, the whole course of the world was thrown into disorder. No eggs even were to be had, and the Jewish elders were obliged to confess their mistake and release the demon from his fetters.

The descent of Istar into Hades from K 162.

1. To Hades the land whence none return, the land (of darkness),
2. Istar daughter of Sin (the moon) her ear (inclined);
3. inclined also the daughter of Sin her ear,
4. to the house of darkness the dwelling of the god Irkalla,
5. to the house out of which there is no exit,
6. to the road from which there is no return,
7. to the house from whose entrance the light is taken,
8. the place where dust is their nourishment and their food mud.
9. Light is never seen, in darkness they dwell.
10. Its chiefs also are like birds covered with feathers,
11. over the door and bolts is scattered dust.
12. Istar on her arrival at the gate of Hades,
13. to the keeper of the gate a command she addresses:

14. Keeper of the waters, open thy gate,
15. open thy gate that I may enter.
16. If thou openest not the gate that I may enter,
17. I will strike the door, the bolts I will shatter,
18. I will strike the threshold and will pass through the doors;
19. I will raise up the dead to devour the living,
20. above the living the dead shall exceed in numbers.
21. The keeper opened his mouth and speaks,
22. he says to the princess Istar:
23. Stay, lady, thou dost not glorify her,
24. let me go and thy name repeat to the queen Allat.
25. The keeper descended and says to Allat:
26. This water (of life) thy sister Istar (comes to seek).
27. The queen of the great vaults (of heaven) ....
28. Allat on hearing this says:
29. Like the cutting off of the herb has (Istar) descended (into Hades),
30. like the lip of a deadly insect (?) she has ...
31. What will her heart bring me (*i.e.* matter to me), what will her anger (bring me)?
32: (Istar replies:) This water with (my husband)
33. like food would I eat, like beer would I drink.
34. Let me weep over the strong who have left their wives.
35. Let me weep over the handmaids who (have lost) the embraces of their husbands.
36. Over the only son let me mourn, who ere his days are come is taken away.
37. (Allat says:) Go keeper open thy gate to her,
38. bewitch her also according to the ancient rules.
39. The keeper went and opened his gate:
40. Enter, O lady, let the city of Cutha[22] receive thee;
41. let the palace of Hades rejoice at thy presence.
42. The first gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw down the great crown of her head.
43. Why, O keeper, hast thou thrown down the great crown of my head?
44. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.

45. The second gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the earrings of her ears.
46. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the earrings of my ears?
47. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
48. The third gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the necklace[23] of her neck.
49. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the necklace of my neck?
50. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
51. The fourth gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the ornaments of her breast.
52. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the ornaments of my breast?
53. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
54. The fifth gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the gemmed girdle of her waist.
55. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the gemmed girdle of my waist?
56. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
57. The sixth gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the bracelets of her hands and her feet.
58. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the bracelets of my hands and my feet?
59. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
60. The seventh gate he caused her to enter and touched her, he threw away the covering robe of her body.
61. Why, keeper, hast thou thrown away the covering robe of my body?
62. Enter, O lady, of Allat thus is the order.
63. When for a long time Istar into Hades had descended,
64. Allat saw her and at her presence was arrogant;
65. Istar did not take counsel, at her she swore.
66. Allat her mouth opened and speaks,
67. to Namtar (the plague-demon) her messenger a command she addresses:
68. Go Namtar [take Istar from] me and
69. take her out to .... even Istar
70. diseased eyes (strike) her with,
71. diseased side (strike) her with,

72. diseased feet (strike) her with,
73. diseased heart (strike) her with,
74. diseased head (strike) her with,
75. strike her, the whole of her [strike with disease].
76. After Istar the lady [into Hades had descended],
77. with the cow the bull would not unite, and the ass the female ass would not approach;
78. the female slave in the streets would not let herself be touched.
79. The freeman ceased to give his command,
80. the female slave ceased to give her gift.

COLUMN II.

1. Papsukul, the messenger of the great gods bowed his face before (Samas);
2. ....
3. Samas (the sun-god) went and in the presence of his father the moon-god he stood,
4. into the presence of Hea the king he went in tears:
5. Istar into the lower regions has descended, she has not ascended back;
6. for a long time Istar into Hades has descended,
7. with the cow the bull will not unite, the ass the female ass will not approach;
8. the female slave in the street will not let herself be touched;
9. the freeman has ceased to give his command,
10. the female slave has ceased to give her gift.
11. Hea in the wisdom of his heart formed a resolution,
12. and made Atsu-sunamir[24] the sphinx:[25]
13. Go Atsu-sunamir towards the gates of Hades set thy face;
14. may the seven gates of Hades be opened at thy presence;
15. may Allat see thee and rejoice at thy presence;
16. when she shall be at rest in her heart, and her liver be appeased.
17. Conjure her by the name of the great gods.
18. Raise thy heads, to the roaring stream set thy ear;
19. may the lady (Istar) overmaster the roaring stream, the waters in the midst of it may she drink.

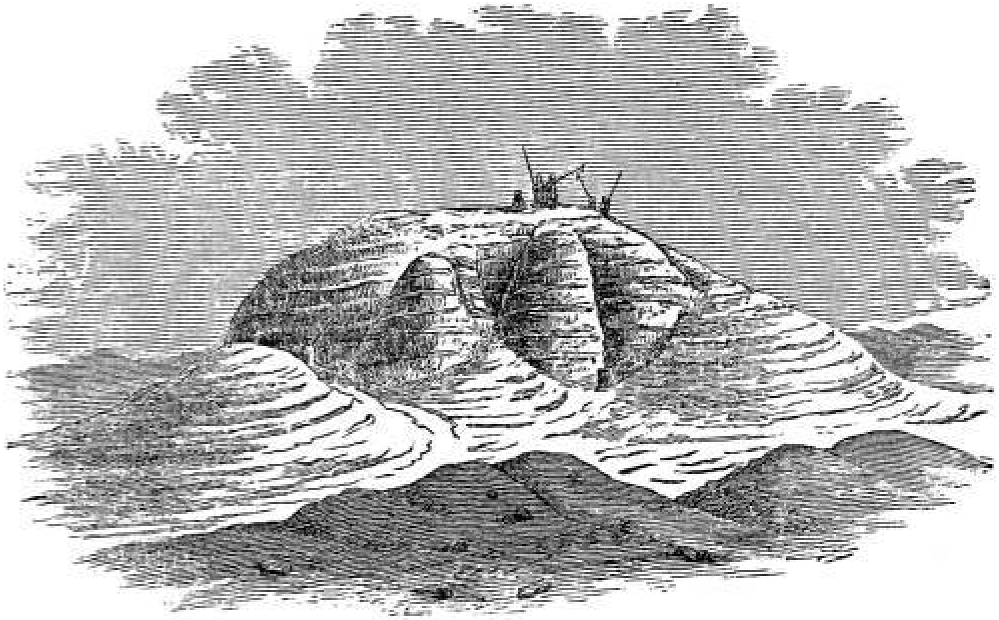
20. Allat on hearing this,
21. beat her breast, she bit her thumb,
22. she turned again, a request she asked not:
23. Go, Atsu-sunamir, may I imprison thee in the great prison,
24. may the garbage of the foundations of the city be thy food,
25. may the drains of the city be thy drink,
26. may the darkness of the dungeon be thy dwelling,
27. may a stake be thy seat,
28. may hunger and thirst strike thy offspring.
29. Allat her mouth opened and speaks,
30. to Namtar her messenger a command she addresses:
31. Go, Namtar, strike the firmly-fixed palace,
32. the *ashêrim*[26] adorn with stones of the dawn,
33. bid the spirits of earth come forth, on a throne of gold seat (them),
34. unto Istar give the waters of life and bring her before me.
35. Namtar went, he struck the firmly-fixed palace,
36. the *ashêrim* he adorned with stones of the dawn,
37. he brought forth the spirits of earth, on a throne of gold he seated (them).
38. To Istar he gave the waters of life and took her.
39. The first gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the covering robe of her body.
40. The second gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the bracelets of her hands and her feet.
41. The third gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the gemmed girdle of her waist.
42. The fourth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the ornaments of her breast.
43. The fifth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the necklace of her neck.
44. The sixth gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the earrings of her ears.
45. The seventh gate he passed her out of, and he restored to her the great crown of her head.
46. Since thou hast not paid, (he says) a ransom for thy deliverance to her (*i.e.* Allat), so to her again turn back
47. for Tammuz the husband of (thy) youth;

48. the glistening waters pour over (him), the drops (sprinkle upon him);
49. in splendid clothing dress him, with a ring of crystal adorn (him).
50. May Samkhat appease the grief (of Istar),
51. and, Kharimat,[27] give to her comfort.
52. The precious eye-stones also she destroyed not,
53. the wound of her brother (Tammuz) she heard, she smote (her breast), she, even Kharimat, gave her comfort;
54. the precious eye-stones, her amulets, she commanded not,
55. (saying): O my only brother, thou dost not lament for me.
56. In the day that Tammuz adorned me, with a ring of crystal, with a bracelet of emeralds, together with himself he adorned me,
57. with himself he adorned me; may men mourners and women mourners
58. on a bier place (him), and assemble the wake.

This remarkable text shows Istar fulfilling her threat and descending to Hades, but it does not appear that she had as yet accomplished her vengeance against Izdubar.

At the opening of the sixth tablet we have the final scene of the contest with Khumbaba. Izdubar, after slaying Khumbaba, takes the crown from the head of the monarch and places it on his own head, thus signifying that he assumed the empire. There were, as we are informed in several places, kings, lords, and princes, merely local rulers, but these generally submitted to the greatest power; and just as they had bowed to Khumbaba, so they were ready now to submit to Izdubar. The kingdom promised to Izdubar when he started to encounter Khumbaba now became his by right of superior force, and he entered the halls of the palace of Erech and feasted with his heroes.

We are thus brought to a curious part of the story, the romance of Izdubar and Istar. One of the strange and dark features of the Babylonian religion was the Istar or Venus worship, which was an adoration of the reproductive power of nature, accompanied by ceremonies which were a reproach to the country. The city of Erech, originally a seat of the worship of Anu, was now one of the foremost cities in this Istar worship. Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, the dead bridegroom of Istar, seems to be also spoken of as the brother of her handmaid Kharimat. This explains, as M. Lenormant has pointed out, the passage in Jeremiah xxii. 18, which preserves a portion of the wailing cry uttered by the worshippers of Tammuz or Adonis when celebrating his untimely death. This should be rendered: “Ah me, my brother, and ah me, my sister! Ah me, Adonis, and ah me, his lady!” Reference is made to the worship of Tammuz, which was carried on within the Temple itself at Jerusalem, in Ezek. viii. 14, Amos viii. 10, (where we should translate “as at the mourning for the only son” Tammuz), and Zech. xii. 10, 11. Tammuz is the Semitic form of the Accadian Dumuzi which signified in that language “the only son.”

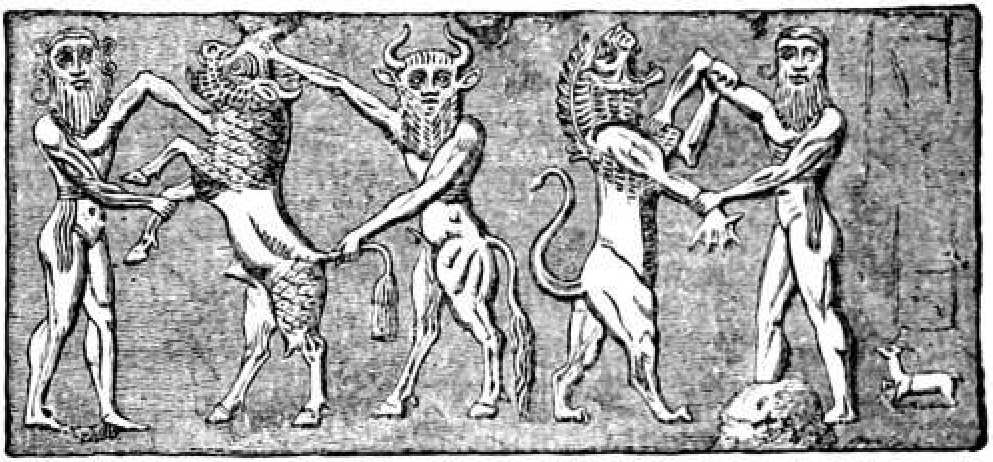


Bowareyeh Mound at Warka (Erech), site of the Temple of Istar.

The struggle with a bull on the part of Izdubar and Hea-bani, represented on the Babylonian cylinder figured on the next page, and numerous similar representations, refer to the struggle with the bull created by Anu to avenge the slight offered to Istar.

It would appear from the broken fragments of Column IV. that Hea-bani laid hold of the bull by the head and tail while Izdubar killed it, and Hea-bani in the engraving is represented holding the bull by its head and tail.

At the close of the sixth tablet the story is again lost, only portions of the third and fourth columns of the next tablet being preserved, but light is thrown on this portion of the narrative by the remarkable tablet describing the descent of Istar into Hades. It is possible that this tablet formed an episode in the sixth tablet of the Izdubar legends.



IZDUBAR AND HEA-BANI IN CONFLICT WITH THE LION AND BULL.

This tablet containing the descent of Istar into Hades was first noticed by Mr. Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," but his attempt at a translation was a failure. Mr. Smith subsequently published a short notice of it in the "North British Review," and afterwards a translation of it in the "Daily Telegraph." Prof. Schrader brought out a monograph upon it in 1874, and both M. Lenormant and Dr. Oppert have worked at it. The most recent translation is one made into Italian by M. Lenormant in a publication entitled "Il mito di Adone-Tammuz," 1879, upon the basis of the one made by Dr. Oppert.

The story of the descent of Istar into Hades is one of the most beautiful myths in the Assyrian inscriptions; it has, however, received so much attention, and been so fully commented upon by various scholars, that little need be said on the subject here.

It is evident that we are dealing with the same goddess as the Istar, daughter of Anu, in the Izdubar legends, although she is here called daughter of Sin (the moon-god).

The description of the region of Hades is most graphic, and vividly portrays the sufferings of the prisoners there. Atsu-sunamir, created by Hea to deliver Istar, is described as a composite animal, half bitch and half man, with more than one head, and corresponds with the two dogs of the Hindu

Rig-Veda, which have four eyes and broad snouts, and guard the road to the abode of Yama the king of the departed. They are also said to move among men, feasting on their lives, as the messengers of Yama; and as the offspring of Saramâ, the dawn, they are called Sârameyas, which Prof. Max Müller compares with the Greek Hermês. At any rate, the same conception of a dog of the dawn which guards the approach to the realm of Hades is found in the Greek Kerberos with his fifty heads (or three heads, according to later writers), as well as in the dog of Geryon named Orthros or “the dawn,” who seems to be identical with the Vedic Vritra the demon of night. It would appear, therefore, that in the primitive mythology both of the Hindus and of the Accadians the “fleet” dawn was likened to a dog, sometimes regarded as carrying men away to the dark under-world, sometimes as bringing light to the under-world itself.

The latter part of the tablet is somewhat obscure, but refers to the custom of lamenting for Dumuzi or Tammuz.

CHAPTER XV.
ILLNESS AND WANDERINGS OF IZDUBAR.

Hea-bani and the trees.—Illness of Izdubar.—Death of Hea-bani.—Journey of Izdubar.—His dream.—Scorpion men.—The Desert of Mas.—Siduri and Sabitu.—Nes-Hea the pilot.—Water of death.—Mua.—The conversation.—Xisuthrus.

OF the three tablets in this section, the first one is very uncertain, and is put together from two separate sources: the other two are more complete and satisfactory.

TABLET VIII.

It is again uncertain if any of this tablet has been discovered; provisionally some fragments of the first, second, third, and sixth columns of a tablet which may belong to it are placed here, but the only fragment worth translating at present is one given in Mr. Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries," p. 176. In some portions of these fragments there are references to the story of Khumbaba, but as the fragment appears to refer to the illness of Izdubar it probably belongs here.

K. 3588.

COLUMN I.

1. ....

---

2. Hea-bani (his mouth opened and spake and)
3. said to ....
4. I went (?) ....
5. in the ....
6. the door ....
7. of ....
8 and 9. ....
10. in ....

11. Hea-bani ....
12. with the door .... thy ...
13. the door on its sides does not ...
14. the creation of her ears they are not ...
15. for twenty kaspu (140 miles) I climbed up ...
16. as far as the pine tree a shrub (?) I had seen ...
17. thy tree (?) has not another ...
18. Six gars (120 feet) is thy height, two gars (40 feet) is thy breadth ....
19. thy street, thy blackness (?) thy rain ...
20. I made thee, I raised thee in the city of Nipur ....
21. yea I knew thy door like this ...
22. and this ...
23. I raised its face, I ...
24. I will fill thy bank (?) .....
25. .....
26. for he took ...
27. the pine tree, the cedar, ...
28. in its cover ...
29. thou also ....
30. may take ...
31. in the collection of everything ...
32. a great destruction ...
33. the whole of the trees ..
34. in thy land of the tree manubani ...
35. thy bush? is not strong ...
36. thy shadow is not great ...
37. and thy smell is not agreeable ...

---

38. The manubani tree was angry ...
39. made a likeness?
40. like the tree ...
......

The second, third, fourth and fifth columns appear to be entirely absent, the inscription reappearing on a fragment of the sixth column.

COLUMN II.

(Many lines lost.)

1. The dream which I saw ....
2. the tops of the mountain ....
3. ... he struck ....
4. he struck when thy royal raiment ....
5. he begat also in ....
6. He recounted to his friend Hea-bani the dream ...
7. My friend, the good omen of the dream ....
8. the dream was deceptive ....
9. My friend, the mountain which thou didst see ....
10. when I captured Khumbaba we ....
11. ... of his helpers Nitakh-garri ....
12. at the time of dawn ....

---

13. For twenty kaspu they journeyed a stage
14. at thirty kaspu they fixed
15. in the presence of Samas they dug out a pit (?) ....
16. Izdubar ascended also over ....
17. by the side of his house he crossed over ....
18. ... he brought the dream ....
19. he made it and the god ....

COLUMN III.

1. ... he brought the dream ....
2. he made it and the god ....
3. ... turban? ....
4. he cast him down and ....
5. the mountain like corn of the field ....
6. Izdubar at the destruction (?) set up ....
7. Anatu the troubler of men upon him struck,
8. and in the struggle his going he stayed.
9. He spake and said to his friend:
10. My friend thou dost not ask me why I am naked,
11. thou dost not inquire of me why I am spoiled,
12. because the god passed over, wherefore my limbs are hot.

13. My friend I saw a third dream;
14. that dream which I saw entirely disappeared.
15. They prayed; the god thunders on the ground.
16. He burnt up the exit of the darkness;
17. the lightning struck; a fire was kindled;
18. .... they took away; it rained death.
19. The glow also (disappeared), the fire sank,
20. .... they struck; it turned to a palm tree,
21. in the desert also thy lord took (his) path (?).
22. And Hea-bani his dream considered; he said to Izdubar:
23. .... Samas thy lord, the creator ....

The fourth and fifth columns of this tablet are lost. This part of the legend appears to refer to the illness of Izdubar.

COLUMN VI.

1. My friend ... the dream which is not ...
2. the day he dreamed the dream, the end ...

---

3. Hea-bani lay down also one day ...
4. which Hea-bani on (his) bed ...
5. the third day and the fourth day which ...
6. the fifth, and sixth, and seventh (days) ...
7. the eighth (and ninth, and tenth days) ....
8. when Hea-bani was sick ...
9. the eleventh and twelfth (days) ...
10. Hea-bani on (his) bed ...
11. Izdubar read also ...
12. Did my friend defend me ...
13. whenever in the midst of fight ...
14. I turn (?) to battle and ...
15. my friend who in battle ...
16. I in ......

It must here be noted that Mr. Smith's grounds for making this the eighth tablet were extremely doubtful, and it is possible that the fragments are of different tablets; but they fill up an evident blank in the story here, and they are consequently inserted pending further discoveries as to their true position.

In the first column Hea-bani appears to be addressing certain trees, and they are supposed to have the power of hearing and answering him. Hea-bani praises one tree and sneers at another, but from the mutilation of the text it does not appear why he acts so. We may conjecture he was seeking a charm to open a door he mentions, and that according to the story this charm was known to the trees. The fragment of the sixth column shows Hea-bani unable to interpret a dream, while Izdubar asks his friend to fight.

After this happened the violent death of Hea-bani, which added to the misfortunes of Izdubar; but no fragment of this part of the story is preserved.

TABLET IX.

This tablet is in a somewhat better state than the others, and all the narrative is clearer from this point, not a single column of the inscription being entirely lost. The ninth tablet commences with the sorrow of Izdubar at the death of Hea-bani.

COLUMN I.

1. Izdubar over Hea-bani his friend
2. bitterly weeps, and traverses the desert.
3. I have no judgment like Hea-bani here;
4. sickness entered into my stomach;
5. death I feared, and traverse the desert.
6. To the majesty of Xisuthrus, son of Ubara-tutu,
7. the road I am taking, and quickly I go;
8. to the lowlands of the mountains I take (my way) at night.
9. .... a (dream) I saw, and I feared.
10. I (bow) on my face, to Sin (the moon god) I pray;
11. and into the presence of the gods came my supplication;
12. Grant thou (health) to me, even unto me!
13. .... dream.
14. (Through) the dream (sent by) Sin (my) life had been gladdened.
15. Precious stones (?) ... to his hand.

16. He pulled out ..... his girdle
17. like a ... their ... he struck
18. he struck .... he smote, he broke
19. and .... they rejoiced, and
20. he threw (?) ....
21. he removed ....
22. the former name ....
23. the new name ....

(About eight lines lost here.)

The second column shows Izdubar in some fabulous region, whither he has wandered in search of Xisuthrus. Here he sees composite monsters with their feet resting in Hades and their heads reaching heaven. These beings are supposed to guide and direct the sun at its rising and setting. This passage is as follows:—

Column II.

1. Of the mountains hearing him as many as ....
2. To the mountain of Masu in his course ....
3. who all day long guard the rising (sun).
4. Their crown was at the lattice of heaven,
5. below Hades was their footing.
6. Scorpion-men guard its gate,
7. burning with terribleness, and their appearance was death,
8. the greatness of their bulk overthrows the forests.
9. At the rising of the sun and the setting of the sun, they guard the sun, and
10. Izdubar saw them and fear and terror seized his face.
11. He took his counsel and approached before them.
12. The scorpion-man of his female asked:
13. Who has gone to us with his body the flesh of the gods?
14. To the scorpion-man his female answered:
15. His going (is) that of a god, but his feeble gait (is) that of a man.
16. The scorpion-man of the hero asked,
17. .... of the gods the word he recounts:
18. .... distant road

19. .... up to the presence
20. .... of which the passage is difficult.
21. .... thy .... thou puttest on.
22. .... mountains situated.
23. .... thou puttest on.

The rest of this column is lost. In it Izdubar converses with the monsters, and where the third column begins he is telling them his purpose of seeking Xisuthrus.

Column III.

(1 and 2 lost.)
3. He Xisuthrus my father .....
4. who has been established also in the assembly (of the gods)
5. death and life [are known to him].
6. The scorpion-man opened his mouth (and spake);
7. they say to Izdubar:
8. Izdubar was not ....
9. of the mountain ....
10. for twelve kaspu (84 miles) [is the journey];
11. on the boundary of the field did he carry himself, and (there is) no light.
12. To the rising sun ....
13. to the setting sun ....
14. to the setting sun ....
15. they descended ....

In this mutilated passage, the monster describes the journey to be taken by Izdubar; there are now many lines wanting, until we come to the fourth column.

Column IV.

1. In (his) sickness ....
2. in difficulty and ....
3. in lamentation and ....
4. again thou ....

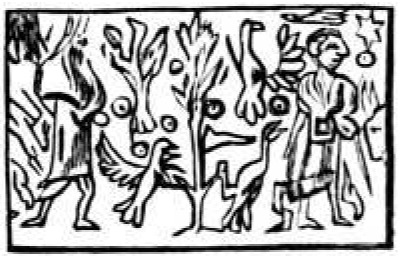
5. the scorpion-man ....
6. (said) to Izdubar ....
7. Go Izdubar ....
8. the mountains of Mas ....
9. the mountains, the path (of the Sun) ....
10. may the women ....
11. the great gate of the land ....
12. Izdubar ....
13. for a memorial ....
14. the road of the sun ....
15. 1 kaspu (he went) ....
16. on the boundary of the field ....
17. he was not able (to look behind him).
18. 2 kaspu (he went) ....

This is the bottom of the fourth column; there are five lines lost at the top of the fifth column, and then the narrative reopens; the text is, however, mutilated and doubtful.

COLUMN V.

6. 4 (kaspu he went) ....
7. on the boundary (of the field)....
8. he was not able (to look behind him).
9. 5 kaspu (he went) ....
10. on the boundary of the field ....
11. he was not able (to look behind him).
12. 6 kaspu he went ....
13. on the boundary of the field did he carry himself (and there is no light).
14. He was not able (to look behind him).
15. 7 kaspu (he went) ....
16. on the boundary of the field was it situated and not ....
17. he was not able to look behind him.
18. 8 kaspu like a .... he mounts up;
19. on the boundary of the field (did he carry himself and) there is no light.
20. He was not able to look behind him.

21. 9 kaspu he went .... to the north
22. .... his face
23. (on the boundary of the field did he carry himself and) there is no light;
24. (he was not able) to look behind him.
25. (10 kaspu he went) .... him
26. .... a meeting
27. .... 4 kaspu
28. .... from the shadow of the sun
29. .... sight was established
30. to the forest of the trees of the gods in appearance it was equal.



Izdubar among the Trees of the Gods (?) From a Babylonian cylinder found in Cyprus by Gen. di Cesnola.

31. Emeralds it carried as its fruit,
32. the branch refuses not to support a canopy.
33. Crystals they carry as shoots (?)
34. fruit they carry, and to the sight it is glistening.

Some of the words in this fragment are obscure, but the general meaning is clear. In the next column the wanderings of Izdubar are continued, and he comes to a country near the sea. Fragments of several lines of this column are preserved, but too mutilated to translate with certainty. The fragments are:—

Column VI.

(About six lines lost.)

1. the pine tree ....
2. its nest of stone ....
3. not sweeping away the sea .... jet stones

4. like the tree of Elam and the tree of the prince .... emeralds
5. a locust ....
6. jet stone, ka stone .... the goddess Istar
7. like bronze and .... he carried
8. like .... obstacles
9. which .... the sea
10. it has, and .... may he raise
11. Izdubar [saw this] in his travelling,
12. on this sea he carried ....
13. Colophon. The women Siduri and Sabitu (who on the shore) of the sea dwelt.
14. .... tablet of the series: "When the hero Izdubar saw the fountain."

This tablet brings Izdubar to the region of the sea-coast, but his way is then barred by two women, one named Siduri and the other Sabitu. His further adventures are given on the tenth tablet, which opens:

TABLET X.

1. Siduri and Sabitu (who in the land beside the sea)
2. dwelt and ....
3. it was the moon, it was the moon ....
4. a covering of fire (?) ye accomplish.
5. Izdubar approached and ....
6. the ulcer covering (his) skin
7. he had the brand of the gods on (his) ....
8. there is shame of face on ....
9. to go on the distant path his face (was set).
10. Sabitu afar off pondered,
11. she counselled to her heart (this) plan.
12. Within herself also she (considered):
13. What is this message ....
14. May no one come straight in (his path).
15. When Sabitu saw him she entered (her gate);
16. her gate she entered and entered her ....
17. And he Izdubar had ears to (hear her);

18. he had struck his hands and made ....

---

19. Izdubar to her also even said (to Sabitu:)
20. Sabitu what didst thou see (that)
21. thy gate thou barrest ....
22. I force the door ....

The rest of this column is lost, but it must have described the meeting of Izdubar with a boatman named Ur-Hea or Lig-Hea, called Nes-Hea “the lion” or “dog of Hea” in Assyrian. In the second column they commence a journey by water together in a boat. But little of this column is preserved; two fragments only are given here.

Column II.

1. .... he the word of his friend ....
2. .... the word of Hea-bani ....
3. .... I traverse (the desert).
4. .... (in) the dust he had ....
5. (the friend whom I have loved declared) lovingly; Hea-bani the friend whom I have loved made ....
6. (I am not as he) and would we had never gone up ....
7. (I did not make) the fortress of ....

---

8. (Izdubar to) her also speaks, even to Sabit:
9. (Again) O Sabit what is the way to Xisuthrus?
10. Explain the tokens of it to me; yea, explain the tokens of it to me.
11. If it be suitable the sea let me cross,
12. if it be not suitable the desert let me traverse.

---

13. Sabit to him also speaks, even to Izdubar:
14. There was no crossing (of the sea), O Izdubar, at any time,
15. and no one from remote times onwards has crossed the sea.
16. From crossing the sea Samas the hero I the mother prevented; (yet) Samas crossed, whoever
17. his mouth the passage .... its road,
18. and the well of the waters of death which extend before it
19. I approach, and, Izdubar, thou crossest the sea.

20. When thou hast come round to the waters of death, thou contrivest how
21. for Izdubar there is Ur-Hea the boatman of Xisuthrus.
22. Precious stones with him in the midst of the forest ....
23. .... may they see thy face.
24. .... and to cross with him if it is not suitable hasten behind him
25. .... upon hearing this,
26. .... an axe in the hand.
27. .... to their well he returns.
28, 29, 30. ....
31. .... Izdubar
32. .... and his lower part
33. .... the ship
34. .... (the waters) of death
35. .... wide
36. .... the field
37. .... to the river
38. .... ship
39. .... the well
40. .... the boatman
41. .... he descended
42. .... to thee

Here there are many lines lost, then recommencing the story proceeds on the third column.

Column III.

1. my friend whom I have loved made ....
2. I am not as he and would we had never gone up ....

---

3. Izdubar to him also speaks, even to Ur-Hea;
4. Again, Ur-Hea, what (is the way to Xisuthrus?)
5. what are its signs explain to me; yea, explain (to me its signs).
6. If it be suitable the sea let me cross; if it be not suitable the desert let me traverse.

---

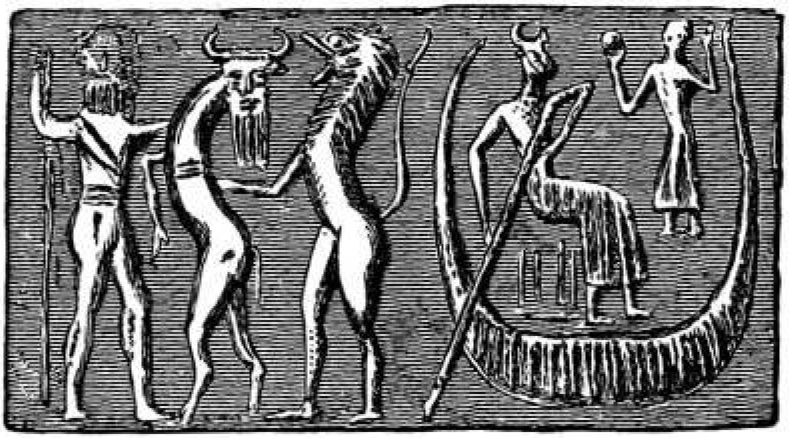
7. Ur-Hea to him also speaks, even to (Izdubar):

8. Thy hand, Izdubar, it prevents ....
9. thou hidest among the precious stones thou ...
10. the precious stones (are) a hiding-place [or canopy] and they are not ...
11. Take, Izdubar, an axe in (thy hands) ....
12. go down to the forest and a clearing of five *gar* (make).
13. Bury and make a tumulus; carry ....
14. Izdubar on his hearing this,
15. took the axe in his hand ....
16. he went down to the forest and a clearing of five *gar* (made):
17. he buried and made a tumulus; he carried ....
18. Izdubar and Ur-Hea rode (in the ship);
19. the ship the waves took and they ....
20. a journey of one month and fifteen days. On the third day in their course
21. Ur-Hea also reached the waters of death ....

COLUMN IV.

1. Ur-Hea to him also speaks, even to Izdubar:
2. The tablets O Izdubar ....
3. The waters of death smite; never mayest thou >enter the dome of the house (of the abyss).
4. The second time, the third time, and the fourth time go, O Izdubar ....
5. the fifth, sixth, and seventh time go, O Izdubar ....
6. the eighth, ninth, and tenth time go, O Izdubar ....
7. the eleventh and twelfth time go, O Izdubar ....
8. on the one hundred and twentieth time Izdubar finished ....
9. and he struck the middle of it ....
10. Izdubar seized the ....
11. on his wings an embankment he completed ...
12. Xisuthrus over him afar off pondered,
13. he counselled (this) plan within his heart.
14. With himself also he considered:
15. Why is the hiding-place of the ship ....
16. and the pilot ....

17. the man who went also is not; and ....
18. I ponder, and I do not ....
19. I ponder, and I do not....
20. I ponder, and I do not....



IZDUBAR, COMPOSITE FIGURES, AND UR-HEA IN THE BOAT; FROM AN EARLY BABYLONIAN CYLINDER.

Here there is a blank, the extent of which is uncertain, and where the narrative recommences it is on a small fragment of the third and fourth columns of another copy. It appears that the lost lines record the meeting between Izdubar and a female being named Mu-seri-ina-namari, or the "Waters of dawn at daylight." In the account of the Deluge, Mu-seri-ina-namari is mentioned as bringing the black clouds from the horizon of heaven. It was here, beyond the circular boundary of the earth, and on the shores of the ocean which surrounded it, that Izdubar is now supposed to be.

It is curious that, whenever Izdubar speaks to this being, the name Mua is used, while, whenever Izdubar is spoken to, the full name Mu-seri-ina-namari occurs. Where the story reopens Izdubar is informing Mua of his first connection with Hea-bani and his offers to him when he desired him to come to Erech.

COLUMN III. (fragment).

1. for my friend....
2. free thee....
3. weapon....
4. bright star....

COLUMN IV. (fragment).

1. On a beautiful couch I will seat thee,
2. I will cause thee to sit on a comfortable seat on the left,
3. the kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet.
4. I will enrich thee and the men of Erech I will make silent before thee,
5. and I after thee will take all....
6. I will clothe thy body in raiment and....

---

7. Mu-seri-ina-namari on hearing this
8. his fetters loosed ....

The speech of Mua to Izdubar and the rest of the column are lost, the narrative recommencing on Column V. with another speech of Izdubar.

COLUMN V. (fragment).

1. .... to me
2. .... my ... I wept
3. .... bitterly I spoke
4. .... my hand
5. .... ascended to me
6. .... to me

---

7. .... hyæna of the desert

COLUMN V.

1. Izdubar opened his mouth and said to Mu
2. .... my presence?
3. .... not strong
4. .... my face
5. .... lay down in the field,
6. .... of the mountain, the hyæna of the field,
7. Hea-bani my friend .... the same.
8. No one else was with us, we ascended the mountain.
9. We took it and the city we destroyed.

10. We conquered also Khumbaba who in the forest of pine trees dwelt.
11. Again why did his fingers lay hold to slay the lions?
12. Thou wouldst have feared and thou wouldst not have .. all the difficulty.
13. And he did not succeed in slaying the same;
14. his heart failed, and he did not strike .... over him I wept,
15. he covered also my friend like a corpse in a grave,
16. like a lion? he tore? him
17. like a lioness? placed .... field
18. he was cast down to the face of the earth
19. he broke? and destroyed his defence? ....
20. he was cut off and given to pour out? ....

21. Mu-seri-ina-namari on hearing this

Here the record is again mutilated, but Izdubar further informs Mua what he did in conjunction with Hea-bani. Where the story reopens on Column VI. Izdubar relates part of their adventure with Khumbaba.

Column VI.

1. .... taking
2. .... to thee
3. .... thou art great
4. .... all the account

5. .... forest of pine trees
6. .... went night and day
7. .... the extent of Erech the lofty
8. .... he approached after us
9. .... he opened the land of forests
10. .... we ascended
11. .... in the midst like thy mother
12. .... cedar and pine trees
13. .... with our strength
14. .... silent
15. .... he of the field

16. .... by her side
17. .... the Euphrates

Here again our narrative is lost, and where we again meet the story Izdubar is conversing with Xisuthrus. The conversation is contained in the broken fifth column of K 3382, first noticed and copied by Mr. Pinches.

COLUMN V.

1. .... Mua
2. .... my ...
3. .... they are not like.
4. .... before me.
5. .... traversed the desert.
6. .... the glare of the desert.
7. .... the same.
8. .... the mountain.
9. .... we destroy.
10. .... (among) the royal tree (and) the pine they dwell.
11. .... lions.
12. .... times to come.
13. .... were slain, the same.
14. .... over him I wept.
15. .... burial.
16. .... him.
17. .... the desert.
18. .... over me; thou hast gone round ....
19. .... I turned back; the ship (?) I ....
20. (my friend) whom I have loved declared lovingly; Hea-bani my friend (made) ....
21. (I) am not as he, and would we had never gone up; I did not make a fortress ....

---

22. Izdubar to him also speaks, even to Xisuthrus:

23. Thus may I go and Xisuthrus afar off, who has conversed with him, may I see.
24. I went round, I went through all countries;
25. I passed through difficult lands;
26. I crossed all seas.
27. A good .... they did not dwell before me.
28. I exhausted myself through weakness; with my .... the crown I filled.
29. .... the house I did not reach, and my clothing was decayed.
30. .... of a leopard, a tiger, a raging winged bull ....
31. their (lairs) I approached; their skins I stripped off ....
32. .... may they bar its gate; with much bitumen ....
33. .... the contents ....
34. .... the sides ....

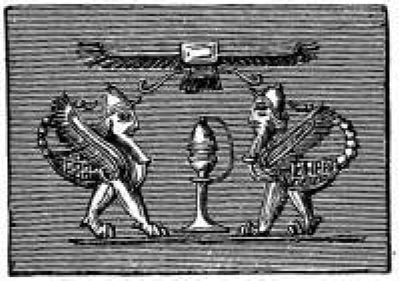
---

35. (Xisuthrus) to him speaks, even to Izdubar:
36. .... O Izdubar, sickness ....
37. .... gods and men ....
38. .... thy (father) and thy mother made ....

We now come to a fragment which forms the reverse of the tablet already translated, and recounts the visit of Izdubar to the two women Siduri and Sabitu. This reads as follows:—

1. I was angry (?) ....
2. If at any time we built a house, if ever we establish ....
3. If ever brothers fixed ....
4. If ever hatred is in ....
5. If ever the river makes a (great) flood.
6. (If ever) reviling within the mouth ....
7. the face that will bow before Samas ....
8. from of old is not ....
9. Spoiling and death together ....
10. of death the image they guarded not ....
11. The man or servant on approaching (death),
12. the spirits of the earth the great gods are they.
13. The goddess Mammetu maker of fate, to them their fate brings,

14. she has fixed death and life;
15. of death its days are not known.



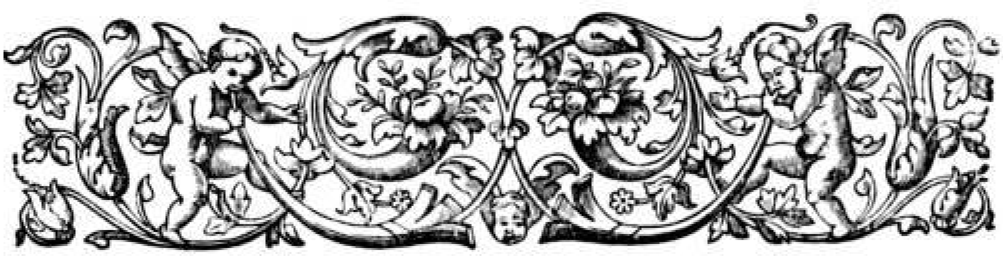
COMPOSITE FIGURES (SCORPION MEN); FROM AN ASSYRIAN CYLINDER.

This statement closes the tenth tablet and leads to the next question of Izdubar and its answer, which includes the story of the Flood.

The present division of the legends has its own peculiar difficulties; in the first place it does not appear how Hea-bani was killed. Possibly he fell in an attempt to slay a lion.

The land of Mas or desert of Mas over which Izdubar travels in this tablet is the desert on the west of the Euphrates, and the name reminds us of the Biblical Mash who is called a son of Aram in Genesis x. 23; on the sixth column the fragments appear to refer to some bird with magnificent feathers like precious stones, seen by Izdubar on his journey.

* * *



CHAPTER XVI.

THE STORY OF THE FLOOD AND CONCLUSION.

Eleventh tablet.—The gods.—Sin of the world.—Command to build the ark.—Its contents.—The building.—The Flood.—Destruction of people.—Fear of the gods.—End of Deluge.—Nizir.—Resting of ark.—The birds.—The descent from the ark.—The sacrifice, covenant, and rainbow.—Speeches of gods.—Translation of Adra-Khasis.—Cure of Izdubar.—His return.—Lament over Hea-bani.—Resurrection of Hea-bani.—Burial of warrior.—Age and composition of the Deluge tablet.—Comparison with Genesis.—Syrian nation.—Connection of legends.—Points of contact.—Duration of Deluge.—Mount of descent.—Ten generations.—Early cities.

THE eleventh tablet of the Izdubar series is the one which first attracted attention, and is certainly the most important on account of its containing the story of the Flood. This tablet is the most perfect in the series, scarcely any line being entirely lost. A new fragment of it, belonging to another edition of the story, has been recently brought to the museum by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam.

TABLET XI.

COLUMN I.

1. (Izdubar) to him also speaks even to Xisuthrus afar off:
2. O Xisuthrus,
3. (why) dost thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)?
4. (why) dost thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)?
5. .... my heart to make war
6. .... I come up after thee,
7. when thou didst take, and in the assembly of the gods didst obtain life.

---

8. Xisuthrus to him also speaks, even to Izdubar:
9. Let me reveal to thee (Izdubar) the story of my preservation,

10. and the judgment of the gods let me relate to thee.
11. The city Surippak the city which thou knowest on the Euphrates is placed,
12. that city is ancient and the gods are within it.
13. To make a deluge [*or* whirlwind] the great gods have brought their heart;
14. even he their father, Anu,
15. their king, the warrior Bel,
16. their throne-bearer, Ninip,
17. their minister, the lord of Hades, Nin-si-kha (wife of) Hea with them sat, and
18. their will he (*i.e.* Hea) repeated: to his minister the minister of the city of Kis, he declared what he had (in mind);[28]
19. his minister heard and proclaimed attentively:
20. Man of Surippak, son of Ubara-tutu,
21. build a house, make a ship to preserve the sleep of plants (and) living beings;
22. store the seed and vivify life,
23. cause also the seed of life of every kind to go up into the midst of the ship.
24. The ship which thou shalt make,
25. 600 cubits (shall be) its measure in length,
26. 60 cubits the amount of its breadth and its height.
27. ... and on the deep cover it, even it, with a roof.
28. I understood and say to Hea my lord:
29. The building of the ship which thou commandest thus,
30. .... I shall have made,
31. .... the sons of the host and the old men.
32. (Hea opened his mouth and) speaks and says to me his servant:
33. ...... thou shalt say unto them,
34. ...... he has rejected me and
35. ...... it is upon me
36. .... like caves ....
37. ... may I judge above and below ....
38. ... close the ship ...
39. ... at the season which I will make known to you,
40. into it enter and the door of the ship turn.

41. Into the midst of it thy grain, thy furniture, thy goods,
42. thy wealth, thy woman slaves, thy handmaids, and the sons of the host,
43. (the beasts) of the field, the wild animals of the field, as many as I would protect,
44. I will send to thee, and thy door shall guard (them).

---

45. Adrakhasis[29] his mouth opened and speaks, and
46. says to Hea his lord:
47. No one a ship has made ...
48. in the lower part of the ship has shut up ....
49. .... and may I see the ship ....
50. .... in the lower part of the ship ....
51. the building of the ship which thou commandest me (thus),
52. which in ....

COLUMN II.

1. strong ....
2. on the fifth day .... it rose.
3. In its circuit 14 in all (were) its girders.
4. 14 in all it contained ... above it
5. I placed its roof; it .... I enclosed it.
6. I rode in it the sixth time; I divided its passages the seventh time;
7. its interior I divided the eighth time.
8. Leaks for the waters within it I cut off.
9. I saw the rents and the wanting parts I added.
10. 3[30] *sari* of bitumen I poured over the outside.
11. 3[30] *sari* of bitumen I poured over the inside.
12. 3 *sari* of men carrying baskets, who carried on their heads food.
13. I added a *saros* of food which the people should eat;
14. two *sari* of food the boatmen shared.
15. To .... I sacrificed oxen
16. I (established) .... each day
17. I (established) .... beer, food, and wine;
18. (I collected them) like the waters of a river, and
19. (I collected) like the dust of the earth, and

20. (in the ship) the food with my hand I placed.
21. (Through the help of) Samas the seaworthiness of the ship was accomplished.
22. ... they were strong and
23. the tackling of the ship I caused to bring above and below.
24. .... they went in two-thirds of it.

* * *

25. All I possessed I collected it, all I possessed I collected it in silver,
26. all I possessed I collected it in gold,
27. all I possessed I collected it in the seed of life of all kinds.
28. I caused everything to go up into the ship, my slaves and my handmaids,
29. the beast of the field, the wild animal of the field, the sons of the people all of them, I caused to go up.
30. The season Samas fixed and
31. he spake saying: In the night I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily,
32. enter into the midst of the ship and shut thy door.
33. That season came round (of which)
34. he spake saying: In the night I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily.
35. Of the day I reached its evening,
36. the day of watching fear I had.
37. I entered into the midst of the ship and shut my door.
38. On closing the ship to Buzur-sadi-rabi the boatman
39. the habitation I gave with its goods.

* * *

40. Mu-seri-ina-namari
41. arose, from the horizon of heaven a black cloud.
42. Rimmon in the midst of it thundered, and
43. Nebo and the Wind-god went in front,
44. the throne-bearers went over the mountain and plain,
45. Nergal the mighty removes the wicked,
46. Ninip goes in front, he casts down,
47. the spirits of earth carried destruction,
48. in their terror they shake the earth;
49. of Rimmon his flood reached to heaven.

50. The darkened (earth to a waste) was turned,

COLUMN III.

1. the surface of the earth like .... they covered,
2. (it destroyed all) living beings from the face of the earth;
3. the raging (deluge) over the people, reached to heaven.
4. Brother saw not his brother, men did not know one another. In heaven
5. the gods feared the whirlwind and
6. sought a refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu.
7. The gods like dogs were fixed, in a heap did they lie down.
8. Spake Istar like a child,
9. the great goddess uttered her speech:
10. All to clay are turned and
11. that which I in the presence of the gods prophesied (even evil has happened).
12. As I prophesied in the presence of the gods evil,
13. to evil (were devoted) all my people, the trouble I prophesied thus:
14. I the mother have begotten my people, and
15. like the young of the fishes they fill the sea. And
16. the gods because of the spirits of earth are weeping with me.
17. The gods on seats are seated in lamentation,
18. covered were their lips for the coming evil.
19. Six days and nights
20. passed, the wind, the whirlwind, (and) the storm, overwhelmed.
21. On the seventh day at its approach the rain was stayed, the raging whirlwind
22. which had smitten like an earthquake,
23. was quieted. The sea began to dry, and the wind and deluge ended.
24. I watched the sea making a noise,
25. and the whole of mankind was turned to clay,
26. like reeds the corpses floated.
27. I opened the window, and the light smote upon the fortress of my nostrils.
28. I was grieved and sat down; I weep,
29. over the fortress of my nostrils went my tears.

30. I watched the regions at the boundary of the sea,
31. towards all the twelve points of the compass (there was) no land.
32. In the country of Nizir rested the ship;
33. the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able.
34. The first day, the second day, the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship.
35. The third day, the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship.
36. The fifth day, the sixth day, the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship.
37. On the seventh day at its approach

38. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went, it returned, and
39. a resting-place it did not find, and it came back.
40. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went, it returned, and
41. a resting-place it did not find, and it came back.
42. I sent forth a raven and it left.
43. The raven went, and the carrion on the water it saw, and
44. it did eat, it swam, and turned away, it did not come back.
45. I sent (the animals) forth to the four winds, I sacrificed a sacrifice,
46. I built an altar on the peak[31] of the mountain,
47. by sevens vessels I placed,
48. at the bottom of them I spread reeds, pines, and juniper.
49. The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the good savour;
50. the gods like flies over the sacrificer gathered.
51. From afar also the great goddess at her approach
52. lifted up the mighty arches (*i.e.* the rainbow) which Anu had created as his glory.
53. The crystal of those gods before me (*i.e.* the rainbow) never may I forget;

Column IV.

1. those days I devised with longing that I might never forget.

2. ‘May the gods come to my altar,
3. may Bel never come to my altar,
4. for he did not consider and had made a whirlwind,
5. and my people he consigned to the abyss.’
6. From afar also Bel at his approach
7. saw, the ship he stopped; Bel was filled with anger against the gods and the spirits of heaven:
8. ‘Let no one come out alive, never may a man live in the abyss.’
9. Ninip his mouth opened, and spake; he says to the warrior Bel:
10. ‘Who is it except Hea that forms a resolution?
11. and Hea knows and all things he ...’
12. Hea his mouth opened and spake, he says to the warrior Bel:
13. ‘Thou messenger of the gods, warrior,
14. as thou didst not consider a deluge thou madest.
15. The doer of sin bore his sin, the blasphemer bore his blasphemy.
16. Never may the just prince be cut off, never may the faithful (be destroyed).
17. Instead of thy making a deluge, may lions come and men be diminished;
18. instead of thy making a deluge, may hyænas come and men be diminished;
19. instead of thy making a deluge, may a famine happen and the country be (destroyed);
20. instead of thy making a deluge, may pestilence come and men be destroyed.
21. I did not reveal the judgment of the gods.
22. To Adrakhasis (Xisuthrus) a dream I sent, and the judgment of the gods he heard.’
23. Again also Bel considers, (*literally*, again consideration was considered); he approaches the midst of the ship.
24. He took my hand and caused me to ascend up,
25. he caused (me) to ascend; he united my wife to my side;
26. he turned unto us and fixes himself in covenant with us; he approaches us:
27. ‘Formerly Adrakhasis (was) mortal, but
28. again also Adrakhasis and his wife to live as gods are taken away, and

29. Adrakhasis also dwells in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers.'
30. They took me, and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they caused me to dwell.
31. Again also as for thee whomsoever the gods have chosen also,
32. for the health which thou seekest and askest,
33. the bulwarks shall be mounted six days and seven nights,
34. like one who sits in the vicinity of his nest,
35. a way like a storm shall be laid upon him.
36. Adrakhasis to her also says, even to his wife:
37. I announce that the chief who has sought health
38. the way like a storm shall be laid upon him.
39. His wife to him also says even to Adrakhasis afar off:
40. Turn him, and let the man be sent away;
41. by the road that he came may he return in peace,
42. thro' the great gate going forth let him return to his country.
43. Adrakhasis to her also says, even to his wife:
44. The pain of the man pains thee,
45. mount the bulwarks; his baldness place on his head.
46. And the day when he had mounted the side of the ship,
47. she mounted, his baldness she placed on his head.
48. And the day when he had mounted the side of the ship,
49. first the *sabusat* of his baldness,
50. second the *mussukat*, third the *radbat*, fourth she opened his *zikaman*,
51. fifth the *sibu* she placed, sixth the *bassat*,

COLUMN V.

1. seventh in the outlet she turned him and let the man go free.

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2. Izdubar to him also says even to Xisuthrus afar off:
3. In this way thou wast compassionate (?) over me,
4. quickly thou hast begotten me, and thou hast set eyes (on me).
5. Xisuthrus to him also says even to Izdubar.
6. .... thy baldness,
7. .... I separated thee,

8. .... thy baldness,
9. second the *mussukat*, third the *radbat*,
10. fourth I opened thy *zikaman*,
11. fifth the *sibu* I placed, sixth the *bassat*,
12. seventh in the opening I turned thee.
13. Izdubar to him also says even to Xisuthrus afar off:
14. ...... Xisuthrus whither may I go?
15. ...... they shipped
16. ...... dwelling in death,
17. ...... his tail dies also.

18. Xisuthrus to him also says even to Nis-Hea the boatman:
19. Nis-Hea, may thy (oar) accomplish a passage for thee.
20. He who ..... on the shore of (the gods) ....
21. the man whom thou goest before, disease has covered his body;
22. illness has overmastered the strength of his limbs.
23. Take him, Nis-Hea, to cleanse carry him,
24. may he cleanse his disease in the water like purity,
25. may he cast off his illness, and may the sea carry it away, may health cover his skin,
26. may it restore the hair of his head,
27. the hair clothing, the covering of his loins.
28. That he may go to his country, that he may take his road,
29. never may the hair become old and alone may he be alone (*i.e.* unrivalled).
30. Nis-Hea took him, to cleanse he carried him,
31. his disease in the water like purity (beauty) he cleansed,
32. he cast off his illness, and the sea carried it away, health covered his skin,
33. the hair of his head was restored, the hair clothing the covering of his loins.
34. That he might go to his country, that he might take his road,
35. the hair he did not cast off, but alone he was alone.
36. Izdubar and Nis-Hea rode in the ship,
37. where he had placed them they rode.

38. His wife to him also says even to Xisuthrus afar off:

39. Izdubar goes away, he is at rest, he performs
40. what thou hast given (him to do), and returns to his country.
41. And he even Izdubar lifted up the oar (?);
42. the ship touched the shore.
43. Xisuthrus to him also says even to Izdubar:
44. Izdubar, thou goest away, thou art at rest, thou performest
45. what I gave thee (to do), and thou returnest to thy country.
46. Let the story of my preservation be revealed, O Izdubar,
47. and let the judgment of the gods be related to thee.
48. This account (?) like ....
49. its renown (?) like the Amurdin tree ....
50. if he takes the whole of it in the hand ....
51. To Izdubar he revealed this in his hearing, and ....
52. he bound together heavy stones ....

COLUMN VI.

1. they dragged it and to the deep ....
2. he even Izdubar took the animal ....
3. he cut the heavy stones ....
4. one homer he poured out in libation to it for his ship.

5. Izdubar to him also says even to Nis-Hea, the boatman:
6. O Nis-Hea, the whole of this, even the whole of the story,
7. of which a man in his heart shall take its story,
8. may he bring it to the midst of Erech the lofty, may he complete (it) like ....
9. .... splendour (which) is diminished ....
10. May I record and return to perform my vengeance (?).
11. For 10 kaspu (70 miles) they journeyed the stage, for 20 kaspu (140 miles) they made hostility;
12. Izdubar saw a well which the waters were excavating.
13. He turned to the bright waters and smells (?) the waters; .... grant me thy image (?)
14. .... the men he approached and (their) goods he took away (?)
15. at his return they tore the hair.
16. Izdubar approached (?) ....

17. over the fortress of his nostrils coursed his tears, and he says to Nis-Hea the boatman:
18. What is it to me, Nis-Hea, that my hands rest?
19. What is it to me that my heart lives?
20. I have not done good to my own self;
21. and yet the lion of the earth does good (to himself).
22. Again for 20 kaspu (140 miles) alone I take the way, and
23. when I had opened the .... I heaped up the tackling,
24. the sea against its long wall I urged.
25. And he left the ship by the shore, 20 kaspu (140 miles) they journeyed the stage.
26. For 30 kaspu (210 miles) they performed the labour, they came into the midst of Erech the lofty.

27. Izdubar to him also says, even to Nis-Hea the boatman:
28. Ascend, Nis-Hea, over the fortress of Erech go;
29. the foundation-stone is scattered, the bricks of its interior are not made,
30. and its foundation is not laid to thy height (?);
31. 1 *saros* (is) thy city, 1 *saros* the plantations, 1 *saros* the boundary of the temple of Nantur the house of Istar,
32. 3 *sari* together the city of Erech ...

The opening line of the next tablet is preserved, it reads: “The gad-fly in the house of the serving-man was left.” After this the story is again lost for several lines, and where it reappears Izdubar is mourning for Hea-bani.

The fragments of this tablet are:—

COLUMN I.

1. The gad-fly in the house of the serving-man was left.

(Several lines lost.)

1. Izdubar (lamented thus over Hea-bani his friend:)
2. If to ....

3. to happiness thou (art not admitted);
4. a shining cloak (thou dost not wear),
5. like a misfortune (?) thou ....
6. Fat (and) goodly food thou dost not share;
7. to (come to) its savour they do not choose thee.
8. The bow against the ground thou dost not aim,
9. what the bow has struck escapes thee:
10. the staff to thy hands thou dost not lift,
11. the captive will not curse thee:
12. sandals to thy feet thou dost not bind,
13. a thrust against the ground thou dost not make.
14. Thy wife whom thou lovest thou dost not kiss,
15. thy wife whom thou hatest thou dost not strike;
16. thy child whom thou lovest thou dost not kiss,
17. thy child whom thou hatest thou dost not strike.
18. The destruction of the earth has seized thee.
19. Ninazu, of darkness the mother, of darkness, of darkness,
20. her illustrious stature as his mantle covers him, and
21. her feet like a deep well beget [*or* darken] him.

This is the bottom of the first column. The next column has lost all the upper part: it appears to have contained the remainder of this lament, an appeal to one of the gods on behalf of Hea-bani, and a repetition of the lamentation, the third person being used instead of the second. The fragments commence in the middle of this:

1. his wife whom he hates he strikes,
2. his child whom he loves he kisses;
3. his child whom he has hated he strikes,
4. the destruction of the earth takes him.
5. Ninazu, of darkness the mother of darkness, of darkness!
6. Her illustrious stature as a mantle covers him,
7. her feet like a deep well beget him.
8. Lo! Hea-bani from the earth to .....
9. The plague-demon did not take him, fever did not take him, the earth took him.

10. The resting-place of Nergal the unconquered did not take him, the earth took him.
11. The place of the battle of heroes did not strike him, the earth took him.
12. Lo! .... ni son of the goddess Ninsun[32] for his servant Hea-bani wept;
13. to the house of Bel alone he went.
14. “Father Bel, a gad-fly to the earth struck me,
15. a deadly wound to the earth struck me,”

COLUMN III.

1. Hea-bani who to rest (was not admitted),
2. the plague-demon did not take him, (the earth took him);
3. the resting-place of Nergal the unconquered did not take him, (the earth took him).
4. In the place of the battle of heroes they did not (strike him, the earth took him).
5. Father Bel, a judgment did not take him.
6. Father Sin, the gad-fly (struck him);
7. a deadly wound (to the earth struck him).
8. Hea-bani who to rest (was not admitted),
9. the plague-demon did not take him, (the earth took him);
10. the resting-place of Nergal (the unconquered did not take him).
(About 12 lines lost, containing a repetition of this passage.)
23. The plague-demon ....
24. the resting-place of Nergal the unconquered (did not take him);
25. the place of the battle of heroes did not (take him).
26. Father Hea ....
27. To the warrior Merodach ....
28. Heroic warrior (Merodach) ....
29. he created him the word ....
30. the spirit ....
31. To his father ....
32. the heroic warrior Merodach (son of Hea)
33. created him the word, the earth opened, and
34. the spirit (or ghost) of Hea-bani like dust from the earth (arose):

35. ..... and thou explainest,
36. he pondered and repeated this:

Column IV.

1. Tell, my friend, tell, my friend,
2. the secrets of the earth which thou hast seen, tell (me).
3. I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell thee,
4. (how) can I tell thee the secrets of the earth which I have seen?
5. ..... I sit weeping
6. ..... may I sit and may I weep
7. ..... of growth and thy heart rejoiced
8. ..... thou growest old, the worm entered
9. ..... of youth and thy heart rejoiced
10. ..... dust filling
11. ..... he passed over
12. ..... he passed over
13. ..... I saw

Here there is a serious blank in the inscription, about twenty lines being lost, and Mr. Smith has conjecturally inserted a fragment which appears to belong to this part of the narrative. It is very curious from the geographical names it contains.

1. .... I poured out ....
2. .... which thou trusted ....
3. .... city of Babylon *ri* ....
4. .... which he was blessed ....
5. .... may he mourn for my fault ....
6. .... may he mourn for him and for ....
7. .... Kisu and Kharsak-kalama, may he mourn .....
8. .... his .... Cutha ....
9. .... Eridu? and Nipur ....

The rest of Column IV. is lost, and of the next column there are only remains of the first two lines.

Column V.

1. like a good prince who ....
2. like ....

Here there are about thirty lines missing, the story recommencing with Column VI., which is perfect.

COLUMN VI.

1. On a couch he reclines and
2. pure water drinks.
3. He who in battle is slain, thou seest and I see.
4. His father (and) his mother (support) his head,
5. (and) his wife addresses the corpse.
6. His friends in the field (are standing),
7. thou seest and I see.
8. His spoil on the ground is uncovered,
9. of his spoil he has no oversight.
10. Thou seest and I see.
11. His tender orphans long for bread; the food
12. which in the tents is placed is eaten.

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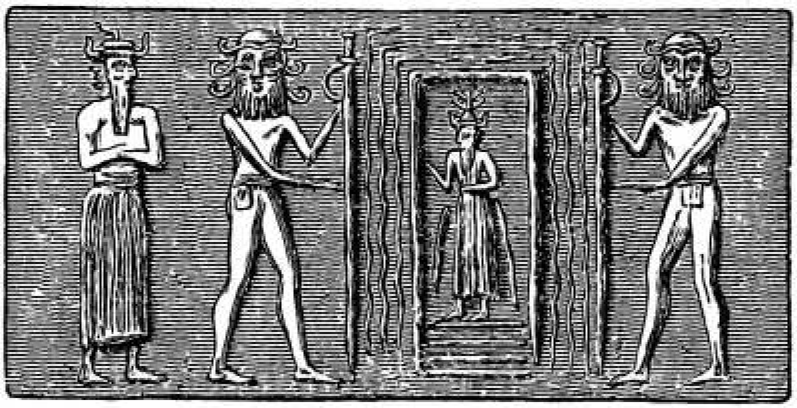
13. The twelfth tablet of the legends of Izdubar.
14. Like the ancient copy written and made clear.



XISUTHRUS OR NOAH AND IZDUBAR; FROM AN EARLY BABYLONIAN CYLINDER.

This passage closes the great Epic of the ancient Chaldeans, which even in its present mutilated form is of the greatest importance in relation to the civilization, manners, and customs of that early people. The main feature in this part of the Izdubar legends is the description of the Flood in the eleventh tablet, which evidently refers to the same event as the Flood of Noah in Genesis.

The episode of the Flood has been introduced into the Izdubar Epic in accordance with the principle upon which it has been formed. The eleventh tablet or book answers to the sign of Aquarius and the month called “the rainy” by the Accadians, and it was therefore rightly occupied by the story of the Flood. The compiler of the Epic seems to have used for this purpose two independent poems relating to the event; at least it is otherwise difficult to account for the repetitions observable in certain lines which sometimes differ slightly from one another, as well as for certain inconsistencies which the skill of the compiler has not been able entirely to remove. Thus according to I. 13, the Deluge was caused by all “the great gods;” according to II. 30, by Samas only; according to IV. 4, 5, by Bel. There is little doubt that many independent versions of the history of the Deluge were current in a poetical form; indeed, a fragment of one of these, containing the original Accadian text along with the Assyrian translation has been preserved, and the version found in Berosus differs in several notable points from the version embodied in the great Chaldean Epic.

The fragment of the variant version of which the Accadian text has been preserved is as follows:—

1. .... then like a bowl of sacrificial wine the mountain ....
2. .... country to country ran together.
3. The female-slave to her mother (?) it had caused to ascend.
4. The freeman from the house of his fecundity it had caused to go forth.
5. The son from the house of his father it had caused to go forth
6. The doves from their cotes had fled away.
7. The raven on its wing it had caused to ascend.
8. The swallow from his nest it had caused to depart.
9. The oxen it had scattered, the lambs it had scattered.
10. (It was) the great days when the evil spirits hunt.
11. The universe they subjected unto themselves.
12. Among the bricks of the foundations (they dealt destruction).
13. The earth like a potsherd (they shattered).

14. Bel and Beltis the supreme ones the mighty tablets (of destiny consulted).
15. The foot to the earth they did not (put).
16. The highways of the earth they did not (tread).

If we compare the Babylonian account of the Deluge contained in the Epic with the account in Genesis we shall find some differences between them; but if we consider the differences that existed between the two countries of Palestine and Babylonia these variations do not appear greater than we should expect. Chaldea was essentially a mercantile and maritime country, well watered and flat, while Palestine was a hilly region with no great rivers, and the Jews were shut out from the coast, the maritime regions being mostly in the hands of the Philistines and Phœnicians. There was a total difference between the religious ideas of the two peoples, the Jews believing in one God, the creator and lord of the Universe, while the Babylonians worshipped gods and lords many, every city having its local deity, and these being joined by complicated relations in a poetical mythology, which was in marked contrast to the severe simplicity of the Jewish system. With such differences it was only natural that, in relating the same stories, each nation should colour them in accordance with its own ideas, and stress would naturally in each case be laid upon points with which they were familiar. Thus we should expect beforehand that there would be differences in the narrative such as we actually find, and we may also notice that the cuneiform account does not always coincide even with the account of the same events given by Berosus from Chaldean sources, from which, as already observed, we may infer that there was more than one version of the story of the Deluge current in Babylonia itself.

The great value of the inscriptions describing the Flood consists in the fact that they form an independent testimony to the Biblical narrative at a much earlier date than any other evidence. The principal points in the two narratives compared in their order will serve to show the correspondences and differences between the two. It must, however, be remembered that the Biblical narrative is composed of two different accounts of the Flood, generally known as the Elohistic and Jehovistic, and, as M. Lenormant has observed, it is with the union of the two in our present Hebrew text rather than with either one of them alone that the Babylonian version corresponds.

The repetitions observable in the Hebrew text are not to be found in the cuneiform text.

	Genesis:		Babylonian
	Elohist.	Jehovist.	Account.
1. Announcement of the Deluge	vi. 11-13.	vi. 5-8.	i. 12-23.
2. Command to build the ark	vi. 14-16.		i. 20-27.
3. What was to enter the ark	vi. 19-21.	vii. 2, 3.	i. 41-43.
4. Size of the ark	vi. 15, 16.		i. 25, 26.
5. Speech of Xisuthrus			i. 45-52.
6. The building of the ark	vi. 22.	vii. 5.	ii. 2-24.
7. The coating within and without with bitumen.	vi. 14.		ii. 10, 11.
8. Food taken in the ark.	vi. 21.		ii. 12-20.
9. The coming of the Flood	vii. 10-12.	vii. 10.	ii. 14, &c.
10. Destruction of the people	vii. 21, 22.	vii. 23.	iii. 2-15.
11. Duration of the Deluge	vii. 12, 24.	vii. 17.	iii. 19-21.
12. Assuaging of the waters	viii. 1.	viii. 2.	iii. 21-23.
13. Opening of window		viii. 6.	iii. 27.
14. Ark rests on a mountain	viii. 4.		iii. 33-36.
15. Sending forth of the birds		viii. 6-12.	iii. 38-44.
16. Order to leave the ark	viii. 15-17.		
17. Leaving the ark	viii. 18, 19.		iii. 45.
18. Building the altar and sacrifice		viii. 20.	iii. 46-48.
19. The savour of the offering		viii. 21.	iii. 49.
20. A deluge not to happen again	ix. 11.	viii. 21, 22.	iv. 15-20.
21. The Covenant	ix. 9-11.		iv. 26.
22. The rainbow a pledge of the covenant	ix. 13-17.		iii. 51, 52.
23. The Deluge caused by the sin of	vi. 11-13.	vi. 5-7.	iv. 14, 15.

men		
24. Noah saved by his righteousness	vi. 8., vii. 1.	iv. 16.
25. The translation of the patriarch (in Genesis of Enoch)	v. 24.	iv. 28-30.

One of the first points that strike us on comparing the Biblical and cuneiform accounts together is that they both agree in representing the Flood as a punishment for the sins of mankind. This agreement is rendered remarkable by the absence of such a moral cause in the legends of a deluge current among other nations; it is wanting even in the version of the Babylonian account given by Berosus. Equally remarkable is the agreement of the two accounts in the narrative of the sending forth of the birds, two of which, the raven and the dove, are the same in both. Some of the actual phrases and words found in Genesis are also found in the cuneiform tablet; though sometimes they are modified, as when Genesis says of the entrance of Noah into the ark: “The Lord shut him in;” whereas in the Babylonian narrative the closing of the door is ascribed to Xisuthrus himself.

Positive discrepancies, however, occur between the two records. Thus they differ as regards the size of the ark. According to the cuneiform account, its length and breadth were in the proportion of ten to one and the height and breadth were the same; but the Bible makes the proportion as six to one, and describes the height as being thirty cubits and the breadth fifty. The version of the story given by Berosus, on the other hand, agrees in this matter neither with Genesis nor with the tablet from Erech. It measures the ark by stadia and not by cubits, makes the proportion of its length and breadth as five to two, and says nothing of the height.

Another difference may be found in the description of the patriarch who escapes the Flood. Xisuthrus is a king who enters the ark with his servants, people, and pilot, while in the Bible only Noah and his family are saved. So, too, no reference is made in the Babylonian account to the distinction between the clean and unclean animals mentioned by the Jehovist, though seven was a sacred number among the Babylonians. The most remarkable difference, however, between the two accounts is with respect to the duration of the Deluge. On this point the inscription gives seven days for the Flood, and seven days for the resting of the ark on the mountain, while the Elohist puts the commencement of the Flood on the 17th day of the second month (Marchesvan) and its termination on the 27th day of the second month in the following year, making a total duration of one lunar year and eleven days. This exactly accords with the climatic conditions of Babylonia, where the rains begin at the end of November. The Euphrates and Tigris then begin to rise, the country is inundated in March, the seventh month of the Hebrew narrative, and from the end of May onwards the waters go down. According to the Jehovist, however, the Deluge is announced to Noah only seven days before it takes place; the waters are at their height for forty days and then decrease during another forty days, after which the patriarch sends out the birds at intervals of seven days, so that it was not till twenty-one days after he has first opened the window that he finally leaves the ark. This is in practical agreement with the cuneiform account, since seven was a sacred number among the Babylonians just as forty is in the Old Testament. As M. Lenormant points out, the date of the 15th of Dæsius (or May) given by Berosus must be due to a scribe's error, since this would place the Flood at a time when the waters were going down. There is again a difference as to the mountain on which the ark rested; Nizir, the place mentioned in the cuneiform text, being east of Assyria, and its mountain, also called "the mountain of the world" where the gods were supposed to dwell, being the present peak of Elwend, while the mountains of Ararat mentioned in the Bible were north of Assyria, near Lake Van. It is evident that different traditions have placed the mountain of the ark in totally different positions, and there is not positive proof as to which is the earlier traditionary spot. The word Ararat is connected with a word *Urdhu*, meaning "highland," and might be a general term for any part of the hilly country to the north-east of Assyria.

It is interesting to find references in the Jehovistic account to the sacred Babylonian number seven and the seven-day week. Just as Xisuthrus set vessels by sevens on the altar of sacrifice, so Noah offered clean beasts and fowls which had been taken by sevens into the ark. And the narrative of the sending-out of the birds contains a clear reference to the seven-day week, which was known from very early times to the Accadians, who had named each day after one of the seven planets. The Sabbath also, which occurred on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th days of the lunar month, was rigorously observed by them. They called it "a day of completion of labours," or "a day unlawful to work upon," and a sort of saints' calendar for the month of the intercalatory Elul says that upon it "the shepherd of many peoples may not eat the flesh of *birds* (?) or cooked fruit. The garments of his body he must not change. White robes he may not put on. Sacrifice he may not offer. The king in his chariot may not ride. He may not legislate in royal fashion. A place of garrison the general by word of mouth may not appoint. Medicine for the sickness of the body one may not apply." The very word *Sabattu* or Sabbath was used by the Assyrians, and a bilingual tablet explains it as "a day of rest for the heart."

One striking difference between the descriptions of the Deluge given in the Old Testament and in the Epic of Izdubar is due to the fact that the Hebrews were an inland people, whereas the Accadians were a maritime, or rather fluviatile one. Hence it is that while the ark is called in the Babylonian version "a ship," it is called *têbâh*, that is, "a coffer" in Genesis. In Genesis, too, nothing is said about launching the ark, testing its seaworthiness, or entrusting it to a pilot. However, the narrative in Genesis preserves a recollection of the bitumen for which the Babylonian plain was famous, and like the cuneiform narrative states that the ark was pitched.

Some of the other differences observable in the two accounts are evidently due to the opposite religious systems of the two countries, but there is again a curious point in connection with the close of the Chaldean legend: this is the translation of the hero of the Flood.

In the Book of Genesis it is not Noah but the seventh patriarch Enoch who is translated, three generations before the Flood.

There appears to have been some connection or confusion between Enoch and Noah in ancient tradition; both are holy men, and Enoch is said, like Noah, to have predicted the Flood.

It is a curious fact that the dynasty of gods, with which Egyptian mythical history commences, resembles in some respects the list of antediluvian kings of Babylonia given by Berosus as well as the list of antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis.

This dynasty has sometimes seven, sometimes ten reigns, and in the Turin Papyrus of kings, which gives ten reigns, there is the same name for the seventh and tenth kings, both being called Horus, and the seventh king is stated to have reigned 300 years, which is the length of life of the seventh patriarch Enoch after the birth of his son.

Here are the three lists of Egyptian gods, Hebrew patriarchs, and Chaldean kings.

Egypt.	**Patriarchs.**	**Chaldean Kings.**
Ptah.	Adam.	Alorus.
Ra.	Seth.	Alaparus.
Su.	Enos.	Almelon.
Seb.	Cainan.	Ammenon.
Hosiri.	Mahalaleel.	Amegalarus.
Set.	Jared.	Daonus. (Dun in the inscriptions.)
Hor.	Enoch.	Ædorachus.
Tut.	Methuselah.	Amempsin.
Ma.	Lamech.	Otiartes (Opartes).
Hor.	Noah.	Xisuthrus.

It is well known that Enos, like Adam, signifies “man;” hence some writers have supposed that the list of Noah’s ancestors was originally counted from Enos, so that Lamech, Noah’s father, would have been the seventh in descent. There is, moreover, a curious resemblance between the names of the descendants of Seth and those of the descendants of Cain, Methuselah, indeed, being apparently more correctly written Methusael (Gen. iv. 18), which is the Assyrian *Mutu-sa-ili*, “Man of God.” Now Lamech, the descendant of Cain, is the seventh from Adam. It may be noticed that Irad or Jared is the same word as the Assyrian *Arad*, “servant,” and *Arad* or *Ardutu* is the Assyrian rendering of the Accadian Ubara, the first part of the name of the father of Xisuthrus, who is actually called Ardates by Abydenus.

Mr. George Smith believed that the real connection between the traditions of Babylonia and Palestine would never be cleared up until the literature of the Syrian population which intervened is recovered. It is very possible that light may be thrown upon the question by the excavations now being made at Jerablus, the site of Carchemish, the capital of the ancient Hittites. Terah may be the same word as Tarkhu, who seems to have been worshipped as a god by the Hittites; and Lucian has preserved a legend of the Flood and the patriarch Sisythes, who is evidently the Xisuthrus of the Babylonians, which was current at Hierapolis or Mabug, a little to the south of Jerablus. In this legend the ark has become a coffer, Sisythes and his family are alone preserved, and the Flood was sent to punish the wickedness of mankind.

There is one point which still deserves notice: these traditions are not fixed to any localities in or near Palestine, but even on the showing of the Jews themselves, belong to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates valley, and Babylonia in particular; this of course is clearly stated in the Babylonian inscriptions and traditions.

Eden, according even to the Jews, was by the Euphrates and Tigris; the cities of Babylon, Larancha, and Sippara were supposed by the Babylonians to have been founded before the Flood. Surippak was the city of the ark, the mountains east of the Tigris were the resting-place of the ark, Babylon was the site of the tower, and Ur of the Chaldees the birthplace of Abraham. These facts and the further statement that Abraham, the father and first leader of the Hebrew race, migrated from Ur to Harran in Syria, and from thence to Palestine, are all so much evidence in favour of the hypothesis that Chaldea was the original home of these stories, and that the Jews received them originally from the Babylonians; but on the other hand there are such striking differences in some parts of the legends, particularly in the names of the patriarchs before the Flood, that it is evident further information is required before we can determine how or when they were received by the Jews.

To pass, now, to the twelfth tablet of the Izdubar Epic, a curious fragment has been provisionally placed by Mr. Smith in the fourth column, in which Izdubar appears to call on his cities to mourn with him for his friend. This tablet is remarkable for the number of cities mentioned as already existing in the time of Izdubar. Combining this notice with other early inscriptions, the statements of Berosus and the notice of the cities of Nimrod in Genesis, we get the following list of the oldest known cities in the Euphrates valley:—

1. Babylon and its suburb
2. Borsippa.
3. Cutha.
4. Larsa.
5. Surippak, called Larancha by Berosus.

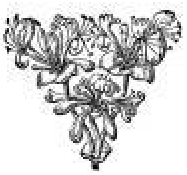
6. Eridu.
7. Nipur.
8. Erech.
9. Calneh.
10. Sippara. (Sepharvaim.)
11. Kisu (or Kis).
12. Ganganna.
13. Amarda or Marad.
14. Ur
15. Nisin or Karrak.
16. Agané.
17. Duban or Duran.
18. Abnunna or Mullias.
19. Zirghul.

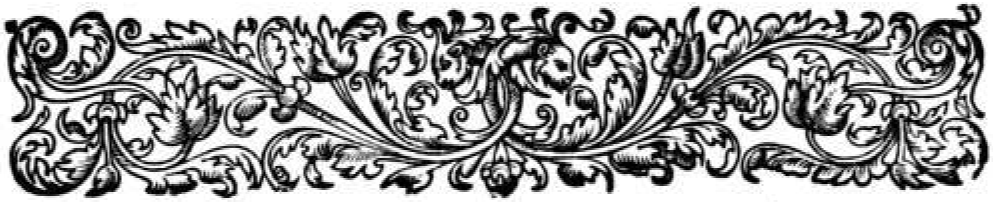
To these we may also add the great cities of Assyria:—

20. Assur, the primitive capital.
21. Ninua or Nineveh.
22. Calah.
23. Resen (Assyrian Res-eni, “the head of the spring.”)

So far as the various statements go, all these cities and probably many others were in existence in the time of Nimrod, and some of them even before the Flood; the fact that the Babylonians four thousand years ago believed their cities to be of such antiquity, shows that they were not recent foundations, and the attainments of the people at that time in the arts and sciences prove that their civilization had already known ages of progress. The legendary epoch of Izdubar must be considered at present as the commencement of the united monarchy in Babylonia, and as marking the first of the series of great conquests in Western Asia; but how far back we have to go from our earliest known monuments to reach this era we cannot now tell.

Every nation has its hero, and it was only natural that when the Accadian kings of Ur at last succeeded in establishing an united empire throughout Babylonia, the legends of the national hero should be coloured by the new conception of imperial unity.





CHAPTER XVII.
CONCLUSION.

Notices of Genesis.—Correspondence of names.—Abram.—Ur of Chaldees.—Ishmael.—Sargon of Agané.—His birth.—Concealed in ark.—Creation.—Garden of Eden.—Oannes.—Berosus.—Izdubar legends.—Babylonian seals.—Egyptian names.—Assyrian sculptures.

SCATTERED through various cuneiform inscriptions are other notices, names, or passages, connected with the Book of Genesis. Although the names of the Genesis patriarchs are not in the inscriptions which give the history of the mythical period, nevertheless some of the patriarchal names of Genesis are found here and there in the inscriptions.

The name Adam is in the Creation legends, but only in a general sense as man, as in Gen. i. 26, 27, 28.; v. 1, not as a proper name. Several of the other names of antediluvian patriarchs correspond with Babylonian words and roots, such as Methusael (Gen. iv. 18), which is the Assyrian *mutu-sa-ili*, "man of God," and has been changed into Methuselah (Gen. v. 21) in order to assimilate it to the genius of the Hebrew language, or Noah, the Assyrian nukhu, "rest;" but, besides these, certain names appear as proper names also in Babylonia, among them Cainan, Lamech, and Laban.

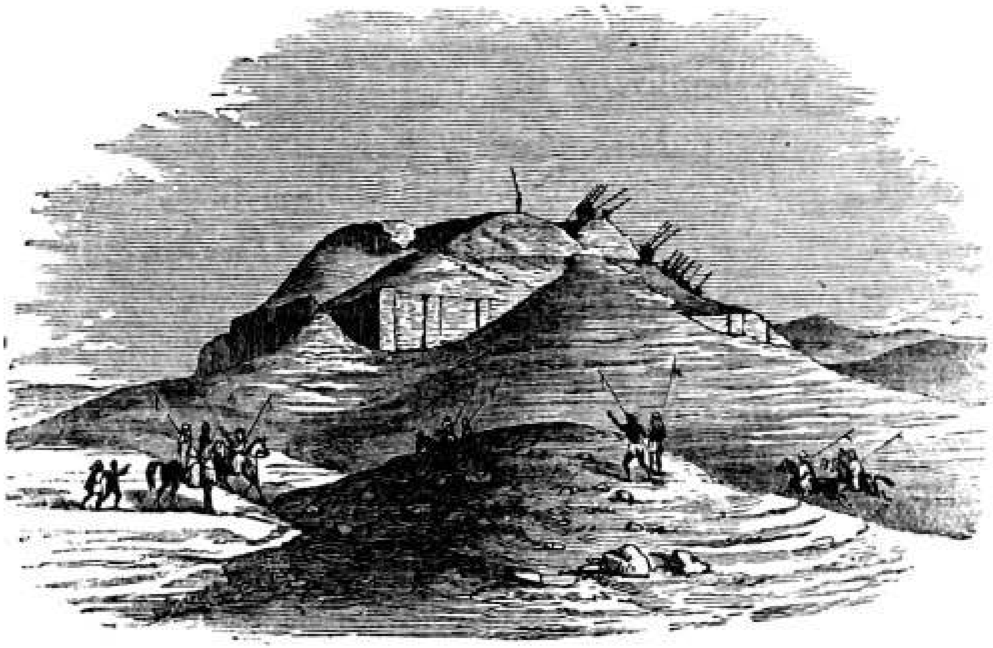
Cainan is found as the name of a Babylonian town Kan-nan; the inhabitants of which were sometimes called Kanunai, which must not be confounded with the name of the Canaanites or "lowlanders," originally the inhabitants of the coastland of Phœnicia and then, by extension, of all Palestine.

Lamech has already been pointed out by Palmer ("Egyptian Chronicles," vol. i. p. 56), in the name of the deified Phœnician patriarch Diamich; this name is found in the cuneiform texts as Dumugu and Lamga, two forms of the Accadian name of the moon.

The two wives of Lamech, Adah and Zillah, seem to be the Assyrian *edhutu* or *edhatu* "darkness," and *tsillatu* "the shades of night;" and the names of his two sons Jabal and Jubal are but varying forms of the Assyrian *abil* "son." Dr. Oppert long ago pointed out that this Assyrian word was the origin of the name Abel which has been assimilated in spelling to a Hebrew word signifying "mere breath."

Some of the names of the patriarchs after the Flood are found as names of towns in Syria, but not in Babylonia; among these are Reu or Ragu, Serug, and Harran.

Laban, on the other hand, as was first noticed by Dr. Delitzsch, is mentioned in a list of gods given in a cuneiform tablet (published in the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," iii. 66, 6.)



MUGHEIR, THE SITE OF UR OF THE CHALDEES.

The name of Abramu or Abram is found in the Assyrian inscriptions in the time of Esarhaddon. After the captivity of the ten tribes, some of the Israelites prospered in Assyria, and rose to positions of trust in the empire. Abram was one of these, he was sukulu rabu or "great attendant" of Esarhaddon, and was eponym in Assyria, B.C. 677. Various other Hebrew names are found in Assyria about this time, including Pekah, Hoshea, and several compounded with the two Divine names Elohim and Jehovah, showing that both these names were in use among the Israelites. The presence of proper names founded on the Genesis stories, like Abram, and the use at this time of these forms of the Divine name, should be taken into consideration in discussing the evidence of the antiquity of Genesis.

Ur, now represented by the mounds of Mugheir, on the western bank of the Euphrates to the south of Babylon, was the capital of the earliest Accadian dynasty with which we are acquainted. It was specially devoted to the worship of the moon-god, the ruins of whose temple have been discovered there. Ur was the birthplace of Abraham, in whom we must see one of those Semitic intruders who settled among the Accadians, and after adopting their culture and civilization finally succeeded in overcoming and supplanting them. It is probable that it is called *Ur Casdim*, "Ur of the Casdim," in Genesis only proleptically, since Casdim appears to be the representative of an Assyrian word meaning "conquerors"—a suitable epithet for the Semitic tribes after their conquest of Babylonia. The Greek names Chaldean and Chaldea are of much later date, being derived from the Kaldai, a small tribe settled on the Persian Gulf and first mentioned in the ninth century B.C., who under Merodach-Baladan (B.C. 721-709) possessed themselves of Babylonia and became so integral a portion of its inhabitants as to give their name to the whole of them in classical times.

Some of the Genesis names are found at a comparatively early date, the first which appears on a contemporary monument being Ishmael. In the reign of Khammuragas among the witnesses to some documents at Larsa in Babylonia, appears a man named "Abuha son of Ishmael."

After the time of Abraham the book of Genesis is concerned with the affairs of Palestine, and of the countries in its immediate vicinity, and it has no connection with Babylonian history and traditions; however, the cuneiform records contain one story which has a striking likeness to that of Moses in the ark, and which, although not within the period covered by Genesis, is of great interest in connection with the early history of the Jews.

Sargina or Sargon I. was a Babylonian monarch who reigned in the city of Agané about B.C. 1800. The name of Sargon signifies the right, true, or legitimate king, and may have been assumed on his ascending the throne. Sargon was probably of obscure origin, and hence the myth that attached itself to him in later popular belief. This curious story is found on fragments of tablets from Kouyunjik, and reads as follows:

1. Sargina the powerful king the king of Agané am I.
2. My mother was a princess, my father I did not know, a brother of my father chose the mountains.
3. In the city of Azupiranu which by the side of the river Euphrates is situated
4. (my) mother the princess conceived me; in an inaccessible place she brought me forth.
5. She placed me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen my exit she sealed up.
6. She launched me on the river which did not drown me.
7. The river carried me, to Akki the irrigator it brought me.
8. Akki the irrigator in tenderness of bowels lifted me up;
9. Akki the irrigator as his child brought me up,
10. Akki the irrigator as his woodman set me,
11. and in my woodmanship Istar loved me.
12. 45? years the kingdom I ruled,
13. the people of the black heads I governed, I ..
14. over rugged countries in many chariots of bronze I rode,
15. I governed the upper countries,
16. I ruled? over the chiefs of the lower countries.
17. To the sea coast three times I advanced, Dilvun (in the Persian Gulf) submitted,
18. Durankigal bowed, &c. &c.

After this follows an address to any king who should at a later time notice the inscription.

This myth is but a repetition of the oft-told story, how the hero of noble birth is born in secret, is exposed to death, but is rescued and brought up in a humble sphere of life until the time comes when his true origin and character are revealed, and he becomes a mighty prince and conqueror. The legend was told of Perseus in Greece, of Romulus in Italy, of Cyrus in Persia. But just as Cyrus was a real personage upon whom the legend was fastened, so too Sargon was a real personage, who founded the great library of Agané, and extended his conquests as far as the island of Cyprus, which he conquered in the third year of his reign.

The most hazardous of the theories put forward in the preceding chapters is the one which identifies Izdubar with Nimrod, and makes him reign in the legendary period of Babylonian history. This theory is founded on several plausible, but probably merely superficial grounds; and if any one accepts Mr. Smith's view on the point, it will be only for similar reasons to those which caused him to propose it; namely, because, failing this, we have no clue whatever to the age and position of the most famous hero in Oriental tradition.

We must never lose sight of the fact that, apart from the more perfect and main parts of these texts, both in the decipherment of the broken fragments and in the various theories projected respecting them, the Assyrian scholar must change his opinions many times, and no doubt any accession of new material would change again our views respecting the parts affected by it. These theories and conclusions, however, although not always correct, have, on their way, assisted the inquiry, and have led to the more accurate knowledge of the texts; for certainly in cuneiform matters we have often had to advance through error to truth.

In adopting Mr. Smith's theory for the position of Nimrod, one thing is certainly clear: he is placed as low in the chronology as it is possible to make him.

The stories and myths given in the foregoing pages have, probably, very different values; some are genuine traditions—some compiled to account for natural phenomena, and some pure romances. At the head of their history and traditions the Babylonians placed an account of the creation of the world; and, although different forms of this story were current, in certain features they all agreed. Beside the account of the present animals, they related the creation of legions of monster forms which disappeared before the human epoch, and they accounted for the great problem of humanity—the presence of evil in the world—by making out that it proceeded from the original chaos, the spirit of confusion and darkness, which was the origin of all things, and which was even older than the gods.

The principal story of the Creation, given in Chapter V., substantially agrees, as far as it is preserved, with the Biblical account. According to it, there was a chaos of watery matter before the Creation, and from this all things were generated.

We have then a considerable blank, the contents of which we can only conjecture, and after this we come to the creation of the heavenly orbs.

The fifth tablet in the series relates how God created the constellations of the stars, the signs of the zodiac, the planets and other stars, the moon and the sun. After another blank we have a fragment which relates to the creation of wild and domestic animals; it is curious here that the original taming of domestic animals was even then so far back in the history of the race that all knowledge of it was lost, and the "animals of the city," or domestic animals, were considered different creations from the "animals of the desert," or "field," or wild animals.

We next come to the war between the dragon and powers of evil, or chaos, on one side and the gods on the other. The gods have weapons forged for them, and Merodach undertakes to lead the heavenly host against the dragon. The war, which is described with spirit, ends of course in the triumph of the principle of good, and the overthrow of primeval anarchy.

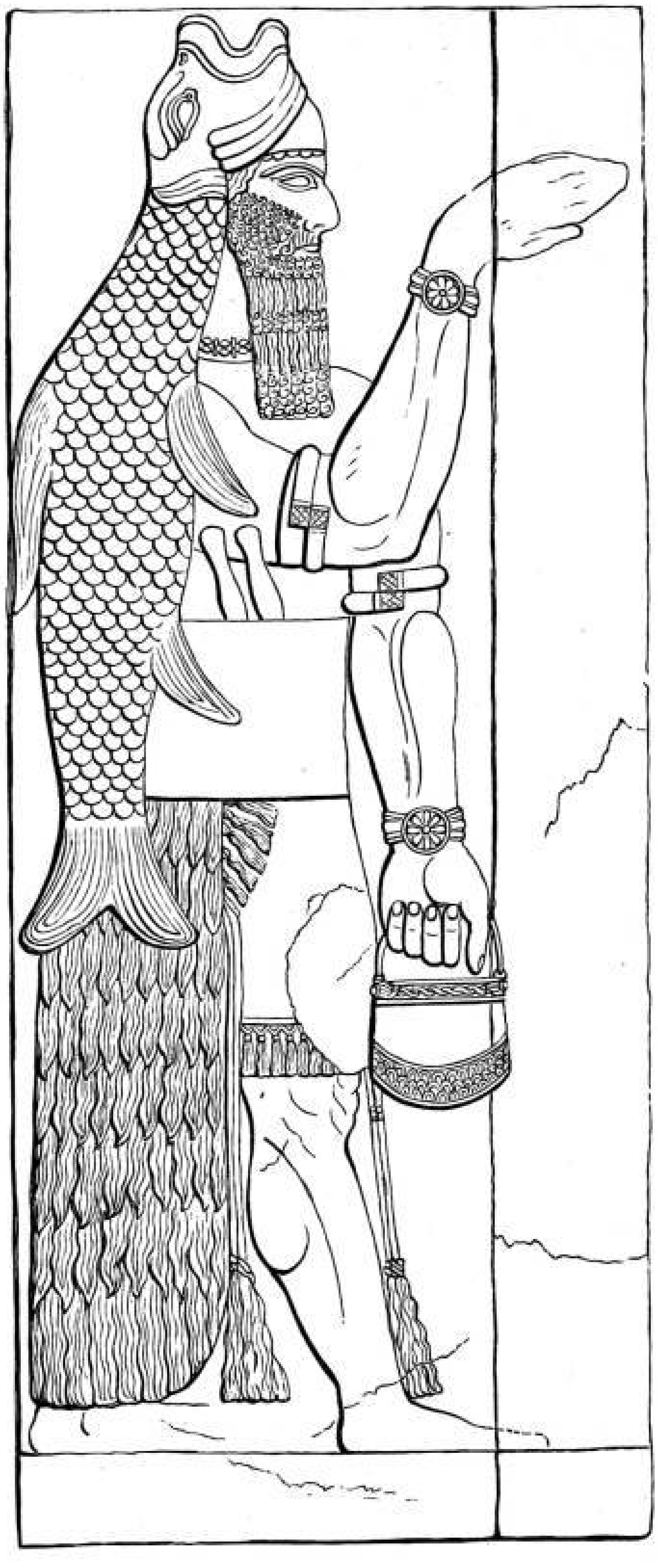
In Chapter V. another account of the Creation is given which differs materially from the first. The principal feature in the second account is the description of the eagle-headed men with their family of leaders—this legend clearly showing the origin of the eagle-headed figures represented on the Assyrian sculptures.

It is probable that some of these Babylonian legends contained detailed descriptions of the Garden of Eden, which seems to have been the district of Eridu in the south of Babylonia, as Sir Henry Rawlinson believes.

There are coincidences in respect to the geography of the region and its name which render the identification very probable; of the four rivers in each case, two, the Euphrates and Tigris, are identical; then, again, the known fertility of the region, its name sometimes Gan-duni, so similar to Gan-eden (the Garden of Eden), and other considerations, all tend towards the view that it is the Paradise of Genesis.

There are evidences of the belief in the tree of life, which is one of the most common emblems on the seals and larger sculptures, and is even used as an ornament on dresses; a sacred tree is also several times mentioned in the legends and hymns, but at present there is no direct connection known between the tree and the Fall, although the gem engravings render it very probable that there was a legend of this kind like the one in Genesis.

In the history of Berosus mention is made of a composite being, half man, half fish, named Oannes, who was supposed to have appeared out of the sea and to have taught the Babylonians all their learning. The Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures have made us familiar with the figure of Oannes, and have so far given evidence that Berosus has truly described this mythological figure; but it is a curious fact that the legend of Oannes, which must have been one of the Babylonian stories of the Creation, has not yet been recovered. In fact, as previously noticed (p. 12), there is only one fragment which can be at all referred to it, and this has been accidentally preserved among a series of extracts from various Accadian works in a bilingual reading-book compiled for the use of Assyrian students of Accadian. The fragment is as follows:—



OANNES. FROM NIMROUD SCULPTURE.

1. To the waters their god
2. has returned:
3. to the house of bright things
4. he descended (as) an icicle:
5. on a seat of snow
6. he grew not old in wisdom.

The legend of Oannes, whose name may possibly be the Accadian Hea-khan, “Hea the fish,” concerned the Babylonians only, and so did not interest the Assyrians, who did not care to have it in their libraries.

Besides the legend of Oannes, however, there are evidently many stories of early times still unknown, or only known by mere fragments or allusions.

The fables given in Chapter IX. form a series quite different in character from the legends, and the only excuse for inserting them here is the need of exhibiting as clearly and fully as possible the literature of the great epoch which produced the Genesis tablets.

Most of the other stories apparently relate to the great period before the Flood, when celestial visitors came to and from the earth, and the inhabitants of the world were very distinctly divided into the good and bad, but the stories are only fables with a moral attached, and have little connection with Babylonian history.

Two of these stories are very curious, and may hereafter turn out to be of great importance; one is the story of the sin committed by the god Zu, and the other the story of Atarpi.

Berosus in his history has given an account of ten Chaldean kings who reigned before the Flood, and the close of this period is well known from the descriptions of the Deluge in the Bible, the Deluge tablet, and the work of the Greek writer. According to Berosus several of the Babylonian cities were built before the Flood, and various arts were known, including writing. The enormous reigns given by Berosus to his ten kings, making a total of 432,000 years, force us to discard the idea that the details are historical, although there may be some foundation for his statement of a civilization before the Deluge. The details given in the inscriptions describing the Flood leave no doubt that both the Bible and the Babylonian story describe the same event, and the Flood becomes the starting-point for the modern world in both histories. According to Berosus 86 kings reigned for 34,080 years after the Flood down to the Median conquest. If these kings are historical, it is doubtful if they formed a continuous line, and they could scarcely cover a longer period than 2,000 years. The Median or Elamite conquest took place about B.C. 2700, and, if we allow the round number 2,000 years for the previous period, it will make the Flood fall about B.C. 4700. In a fragmentary inscription with a list of Babylonian kings, some names are given which appear to belong to the 86 kings of Berosus, but our information about this period is so scanty that nothing can be said about this dynasty, and a suggestion as to the date of the Deluge must be received with more than the usual grain of salt.

We can see, however, that there was a civilized race in Babylonia before the Median Conquest, the progress of which must have received a rude shock when the country was overrun by the uncivilized Eastern borderers.

Among the fragmentary notices of this semi-mythical period is the portion of the inscription describing the building of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion.

It is probable from the fragments of Berosus that the incursions and dominion of the Median Elamites lasted about two hundred years, during which the country suffered greatly from them.

The legends of Izdubar or Nimrod commence with a description of the evils brought upon Babylonia by foreign invasion, the conquest and sacking of the city of Erech being one of the incidents in the story. Izdubar, a famous hunter, who claimed descent from a long line of kings, reaching up to the time of the Flood, now comes forward; he has a dream, and after much trouble a half-human creature named Hea-bani is persuaded by Zaidu, the hunter, and two females, to come to Erech and interpret the dream of Izdubar. Hea-bani, having heard the fame of Izdubar, brings to Erech a midannu or tiger to test his strength, and Izdubar slays it. After these things, Izdubar and Hea-bani become friends, and, having invoked the gods, they start to attack the tyrant Khumbaba. Khumbaba dwelt in a thick forest, surrounded by a wall, and here he was visited by the two friends, who slew him and carried off his spoils.

Izdubar was now proclaimed king, and extended his authority over the Babylonian world, his court and palace being at Erech. The goddess Istar, daughter of Anu according to one myth, of Bel according to another, of Sin, the moon god, according to a third, who had loved the shepherd Tammuz, the Sun-god, fell in love with Izdubar. He refused her offers, and the goddess, angry at his answer, ascended to heaven and petitioned her father Anu to create a bull for her, to be an instrument of her vengeance. Anu complied, and created the bull, on which Izdubar and Hea-bani collected a band of warriors and went against it. Hea-bani took hold of the animal by its head and tail, while Izdubar slew it.

Istar on this cursed Izdubar, and descended to Hades to attempt once more to summon unearthly powers against the hero. She descends to the infernal regions, which are vividly described, and, passing through their seven gates, is ushered into the presence of the queen of the dead. The world of love goes wrong in the absence of Istar, and on the petition of the gods she is once more brought to the earth, ultimately Anatu, her mother, satisfying her vengeance by striking Izdubar with a loathsome disease.

Hea-bani, the friend of Izdubar, is now killed, and Izdubar, mourning his double affliction, abandons his kingdom and wanders into the desert to seek the advice of Xisuthrus his ancestor, who had been translated for his piety and now dwelt with the gods.

Izdubar now had a dream, and after this wandered to the region where gigantic composite monsters held and controlled the rising and setting sun: from these he learned the road to the region of the blessed, and, passing across a great waste of sand, arrived at a region where splendid trees were laden with jewels instead of fruit.

Izdubar then met two females, named Siduri and Sabitu, after an adventure with whom he found a boatman named Nes-Hea, who undertook to navigate him to the region where Xisuthrus dwelt.

Coming near the dwelling of the blessed, he found it surrounded by the waters of death, which he had to cross in order to reach the land of which he was in search.

On arriving at the other side, Izdubar was met by Mu-seri-ina-namari, “the waters of dawn at daybreak,” who engaged him in conversation about Hea-bani, and then Xisuthrus, taking up the conversation, described to him the Deluge. Izdubar was afterwards cured of his illness and returned with Nes-Hea to Erech, where he mourned anew for his friend Hea-bani, and on intercession with the gods the ghost of Hea-bani arose from the ground where the body had lain.

The details of this story, and especially the accounts of the regions inhabited by the dead, are very striking, and illustrate, in a wonderful manner, the religious views of the people.

It is worth while here to pause, and consider the evidence of the existence of the legends recounted in the preceding pages from the close of the mythical period down to the seventh century B.C.

We have first the seals: of these there are some hundreds in European museums, and among the earliest are many specimens carved with scenes from the Genesis legends; some of these are a good deal older than B.C. 2000, others may be ranged at various dates down to B.C. 1500.

With three exceptions, which are of Assyrian origin, all the seals engraved in the present volume are Babylonian. One very fine and early example is photographed as the frontispiece of the book. The character and style of the cuneiform legend which accompanies this shows it to be one of the most ancient specimens; it is engraved on a hard jasper cylinder in bold style, and is a remarkable example of early Babylonian art. Many other similar cylinders of the same period are known; the relief on them is bolder than on the later seals, on which from about B.C. 1600 or 1700, a change in the inscriptions becomes general.

The numerous illustrations to the present work, which have been collected from these early Babylonian seals, will serve to show that the legends were well known, and formed part of the literature of the country before the second millennium B.C.

After B.C. 1500, the literature of Babylonia is unknown, and we lose sight of all evidence of its legends for some centuries. In the meantime Egypt supplies a few notices bearing on the subject, which serve to show that knowledge of them was still kept up. Nearly thirteen hundred years before the Christian era one of the Egyptian poems likens a hero to the Assyrian chief, Kazartu, a great hunter. Kazartu probably means a “strong” or “powerful” one, and it has already been suggested that the reference is to the hero Nimrod. A little later, in the period extending from B.C. 1000 to 800, we have in Egypt several persons named Namurot, which seems to be an echo of the name of the mighty hunter.

On the revival of the Assyrian empire, about B.C. 990, we come again to numerous references to the Genesis legends, and these continue through almost every reign down to the close of the empire. The Assyrians carved the sacred tree and cherubim on their walls, they depicted in the temples the struggle between Merodach and the dragon, they decorated their portals with the figure of Izdubar strangling a lion, and carved the struggles of Izdubar and Hea-bani with the lion and the bull even on their stone vases.

Just as the sculptures of the Greek temples, the paintings on the vases and the carving on their gems were taken from their myths and legends, so the series of myths and legends belonging to the valley of the Euphrates furnished materials for the sculptor, the engraver, and the painter, among the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians.

In this way we have continued evidence of the existence of these legends down to the time of Assur-bani-pal, B.C. 673 to 626, who caused the present known copies to be made for his library at Nineveh.

Search in Babylonia would, no doubt, yield much earlier copies of all these works, but that search has not yet been instituted, and for the present we have to be contented with our Assyrian copies. Looking, however, at the world-wide interest of the subjects, and at the important evidence which perfect copies of these works would undoubtedly give, there can be no doubt that further progress will be made in research and discovery, and that all that is here written will one day be superseded by newer texts and fuller and more perfect light.

* * *

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FOOTNOTES

[1] The native account of the Deluge shows that this name must be corrected to Opartes, the native name being Ubara-Tutu.

[2] A common title of the early Accadian kings is “shepherd,” pointing to the fact that the Accadians had led a pastoral life before their settlement and organization in the Babylonian plain.

[3] Assyrian, Tiamtu, “the deep.”

[4] Assyrian, Apsu, “the ocean.”

[5] Assyrian, Mummu, “chaos.”

[6] Assyrian, Lakhmu or Lakhvu; and Lakhama or Lakhva.

[7] Though Lakhmu properly represented Anu or Anatu, he sometimes takes the place of the Solar hero Ninip as husband of Gula, “the great” goddess.

[8] The seven “sheep (or oxen) of the hero” Tammuz (Orion), of which the first was “the plough-handle,” perhaps Benelnash. One of the others was “the shepherd of the heavenly flock” or Arcturus.

[9] This is Dr. Oppert’s rendering of a line which is so mutilated as to make any attempt at translation extremely doubtful.

[10] The word used here is Accadian (*ba-an-an-me*).

[11] Since, however, a bilingual tablet states that the pronunciation of the Accadian word for “the desert” which lay on the west side of the Euphrates (where Ur was built) was *edinna*, it is possible that “the Garden of Eden” of Genesis may be the cultivated portion of *edinna*, “the desert,” in the neighbourhood of Eridu.

[12] The seven *mustakridhât* of Syria, the seven days between February the 25th and March 3rd, when evil spirits are supposed to have special power.

[13] This is the Assyrian translation. The Accadian original has simply “men of death.” The lightnings are still regarded as serpents by the Canadian Indians who call the thunder their hissing (Baring-Gould, “Curious Myths,” ii. p. 146).

[14] A constellation which rose heliacally in Marchesvan or October. The word means “Dog of death.”

[15] Compare Jer. li. 34.

[16] This is the reading of the original Accadian text. The Assyrian translation has, “was his establisher.”

[17] Itak had his worshippers as well as Dibbara. Thus an Accadian seal in the possession of Dr. Huggins bears a legend stating that it belonged to “Ruru-lukh, the servant of Itak, the street-traverser.” The god is represented on this seal as a

man in a flounced dress, to whom a kid is being offered, and is symbolized by two animals one of which looks like a locust, the other like a monkey.

18 Another copy of the legend reads “lover.”

19 Literally, “a thing hung up.”

20 Or “bull of heaven.” It was a constellation, perhaps Taurus.

21 “Joy” and “Seduction.”

22 A great necropolis seems to have existed in Cutha.

23 Literally “precious stones.”

24 That is, “Go forth, cause it to be light!”

25 Literally “the man who is a female dog,” or “lion.”

26 Literally “stone stakes” or “cones,” the symbols of the goddess Ashêrah. Cf. 1 Kings vii. 15-22.

27 Tillili, the Accadian name of Kharimat, is here used. Tillili was the wife of the Sun-god Alala symbolized by the eagle, which we are told was “the symbol of the southern” or “meridian sun.” What Sir H. Rawlinson calls the monotheistic party among the Babylonians resolved Tillili into Anatu and Alala into Anu.

28 This last sentence is found only in the fragment discovered by Mr. Rassam.

29 Or: He then intelligently.

30 The fragment brought to England by Mr. Rassam reads 6.

31 The word used here is *ziggurrat*, which is employed to denote the towers attached to Babylonian temples. These towers were commonly used as observatories.

32 Bricks have been found at Warka or Erech bearing the name of a certain king Sin-kudur, who calls himself the son of this same goddess, and describes himself as the builder of the temple of Anu at Erech.

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Abbreviations

Antigüedad y Cristianismo	*Antigüedad y Cristianismo: Monografías Históricas sobre la Antigüedad Tardía*
Arévalo	*S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Hispaniarum Doctoris Opera omnia, denuo correcta et aucta*, ed. Faustino Arévalo, 7 vols (Rome: 1797–1803)
BHL	Societas Bollandiana, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 12, 70, 4 vols (Brussels: 1898–1986)
BL	London, British Library
BNM	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
BUV	València, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica
CCH	G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, eds., *La colección canónica Hispana*, 6 vols (Madrid: 1966–2002)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CGL	Georg Goetz, ed., *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig: 1901), vol. 2.
CPL	Eligius Dekkers, with Aemilius Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* [1951], 3rd ed., Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Steenbrugis: 1995)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
EC	Ecclesia Catholica
Esc.	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
Etym.	Isidore, *Etymologiae Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri* XX, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: 1911)
Grial-Loaisa	*Divi Isidori Hispal. episcopi Opera, Philippi* II *Cathol. Regis iussu e vetustis exemplaribus emendata*, eds. Johannes Grial, Garcia de Loaisa, et al., 2 vols (Madrid: 1599)
GL	Wallace M. Lindsay, J.F. Mountford and Joshua Whatmough, eds., *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, 5 vols, 1 (Paris: 1926–31)
GW	*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 12 vols, in progress (Leipzig: 1925–) at <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>

LV	*Lex Visigothorum*, in K. Zeumer, ed., *Leges Visigothorum.* MGH *Leges nationum Germanicarum* 1 (Hanover: 1902), 33–456
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	*Auctores Antiquissimi*
Leges	*Leges nationum Germanicarum*
SRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
PL	J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: 1844–64)
P.Vis.	I. Velázquez Soriano, ed., *Las pizarras visigodas. Entre el Latín y su disgregación. La lengua hablada en Hispania, siglos VI–VIII* (Burgos: 2004).
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PART 1

Isidore's Contexts

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood

"It was arguably the most influential book, after the Bible, in the learned world of the Latin West for nearly a thousand years." This claim, made by the editors of a recent English translation of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, is not at all implausible and indicates Isidore's enormous intellectual impact across Europe.[1] Indeed, it is difficult to think of someone who has had an equal effect on European thought for an equivalent length of time. There are around 1,000 extant manuscripts of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and this is not counting the various excerpts from it which also circulated widely.[2] Nor was the *Etymologiae* the only work of Isidore which enjoyed a high reputation: other items from his formidable output, such as the *Sententiae*, *Differentiae*, *Synonyma*, and *De Natura Rerum*, enjoyed a fame which was equally widespread.[3] Despite his influence, Isidore is nevertheless often seen as an unoriginal collector of data, and thus as a transmitter of the classical tradition rather than a contributor to it. While, like Cassiodorus before him, there can be no doubt that Isidore was a vital conduit through which passed much of the learning of the classical past that would otherwise have been lost, part of the purpose of this volume is to demonstrate that focussing solely on this element of his career is to do the bishop an injustice. The chapters in this volume, as well as much recent research, demonstrate that he was a contributor to as well as a preserver of learning.

Isidore was far from a retiring cleric and came from a family that seems to have involved itself heavily in politics.[4] Although active in the Visigothic

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[1] Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 3.

[2] Jacques Elfassi's chapter in this volume explores the role of etymologies in Isidore's writings, while a number of other chapters explore the later dissemination and reuse of the *Etymologiae*, or sub-sections of the text (e.g. those by José Carracedo, Faith Wallis, Immo Warntjes, Sinéad O'Sullivan, and Winston Black).

[3] Isidore's grammatical writings are examined in José Carracedo's chapter in this volume, while his theological and pastoral works are the subject of chapters by Thomas O'Loughlin, Céline Martin, and Pedro Castillo Maldonado.

[4] The historical context of Isidore's life is discussed in detail in this volume in the chapter by Santiago Castellanos.

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kingdom of Spain, he was not himself a Goth, but a Hispano-Roman.[5] His family appear to have hailed from Cartagena on the Levantine coast of south-east Spain, but fled from the town in 554 during the Byzantine invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. His father, Severianus, is sometimes asserted to have been the *count* of Cartagena, but Isidore only says that he was a native of the city (or perhaps of the province of *Carthaginiensis*). We have no definitive evidence for the date of Isidore's birth. He was consecrated a bishop in 600/601. The minimum age to be so ordained in the Visigothic Church was thirty.[6] This gives us a *terminus ante quem* of 570 for his birth; we have no firm data to refine this date further. Most commentators have seen the flight of the family as one from Byzantine occupation or perhaps expulsion by the Byzantines. However, Fontaine and Cazier have argued to the contrary that it was a punitive act by the Visigothic authorities to punish Severianus for supporting the Byzantines.[7] Regardless of his father's sympathies, Isidore shows a deep attachment to the Peninsula, as is seen in his *Laus Hispaniae*, "In praise of Spain," which prefaces the second redaction of his *History of the Goths, Sueves and Vandals* and which begins in the following manner:

> Of all the lands from the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate mother of princes and peoples, are the most beautiful. Rightly are you now the queen of all provinces, from which not only the west but also the east borrows its shining lights. You are the pride and the ornament of the world, the most illustrious part of the earth, in which the Getic people are gloriously prolific, rejoicing much and flourishing greatly.[8]

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Isidore has been described as "el primer español."[9]

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[5] Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (Oxford: 2004), 154, has suggested that, given that both Leander and Isidore had names more common in the eastern Mediterranean, their family may have an East Roman origin, but this has not been generally accepted.

[6] Council of Agde (506), canon 27; Council of Arles (526), canon 17. This age was reaffirmed by canon 19 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which Isidore presided in 633.

[7] Jacques Fontaine and Pierre Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Sévérianus et les siens? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidore de Séville," in *Estudios en Homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años*, vol. 1 (Madrid: 1983), 349–400.

[8] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum, Laus Spaniae*, trans. Kenneth B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: 1990), 79.

[9] See José Luis Romero, "San Isidoro de Sevilla. Su pensamiento histórico político y sus relaciones con la historia visigoda," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 8 (1947), 5–71.

The young Isidore was brought up by his elder brother, Leander, who was to become the Trinitarian bishop of Seville in the 570s.[10] Leander's appointment was the first in a sequence of ecclesiastical offices to be occupied by the family. Not only did Isidore later succeed Leander, but another brother, Fulgentius, was to become bishop of nearby Ecija, and his sister Florentina was a nun and possibly became an abbess (perhaps of the convent S. Maria de Valle near Ecija). As is explored in the chapter on Leander's influence on Isidore by Purificación Ubric Rabaneda, Leander was highly active in the politics of the realm and was involved in prince Hermenegild's abortive uprising against his father, the Visigothic King Leovigild (r. 568–86) in 579, as well as in Hermenegild's subsequent conversion from Arianism to Trinitarianism in 582. As a result of these activities, Leander was either exiled from Spain to Byzantium or went there as an envoy for Hermenegild. In any case, while in the East he may have petitioned the Eastern emperor to support Hermenegild's uprising and certainly met and befriended the future Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604).[11] Gregory was later to dedicate his *Moralia in Job* to Leander. After his return to the Peninsula, Leander was instrumental in persuading Leovigild's younger son and successor, Reccared (r. 586–601), both to convert to Trinitarianism personally in 587 and then to enforce the Nicene Creed in his kingdom at the Third Council of Toledo in 589.

On Leander's death in 600/601, Isidore succeeded him as bishop of Seville. His incumbency was a long one: he was to preside over the see until his death on 4 April 636. Like his brother, he was politically active and his writings reveal a belief that the church ought to play the leading role in the politics of the kingdom.[12] This is seen most clearly in the *acta* of the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which he presided in 633.[13] He was, however, to be disappointed. While the kingdom was once regarded by scholars as a virtual theocracy (in part because of Isidore's writings), more recent scholarship generally accepts that secular power in the kingdom dominated its ecclesiastical hierarchy.[14] Seville's physical distance from the royal court in Toledo may in itself have limited the degree of influence that Isidore could exercise on the political life of the kingdom.[15]

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[10] For a detailed discussion of Leander and his influence on Isidore, see Purificación Ubric Rabaneda's chapter in this volume.

[11] Jamie Wood, "A Family Affair: Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 31–56.

[12] Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor: 2000).

[13] See also Andrew Fear's chapter in this volume.

[14] See R. Dykes Shaw, "The Fall of Visigothic Power in Spain," *English Historical Review* 21 (1906), 209–28, for a classic exposition of the "theocratic" point of view.

Isidore's episcopate coincided with the reigns of no fewer than nine kings. His appointment to his see came at the very end of Reccared's reign, and perhaps his brother's close friendship with the king aided his appointment. Reccared was, however, to die within the year, and his young son, Liuva II (r. 601–03), was soon ousted by Witteric (r. 603–10). This was potentially a dangerous time for Isidore, who clearly disliked Witteric, telling us that the latter did "very many forbidden things" (*plurima inlicita*) during his reign.[16] It does not seem, however, that an attempt to oust Isidore was among Witteric's sins. The king was assassinated in 610 and replaced briefly by Gundemar. On the latter's death in 611, Sisebut became king. King Sisebut (r. 612–21) seems to have been something of an intellectual and also had firm views on the church and Christian faith. His relationship with Isidore was complex and has been interpreted as anything from close friendship to ill-disguised hostility.[17] Certainly, the king's poem on eclipses is dedicated to Isidore and Isidore's *De Natura Rerum*, and the initial version of Isidore's *Etymologies* reciprocates the compliment, if compliment it be rather than evidence of rivalry. Sisebut's enthusiastic wish forcibly to convert the Jews in his kingdom drew a rebuke from Isidore, the leading bishop at the Fourth Council of Toledo, which decreed in 633 that such forced conversion should be prohibited.[18] After Sisebut's death, the royal policy towards the Jews is described by Isidore as "not in accord with reason" (*non secundum scientiam*).[19] Sisebut was succeeded on his death in 621 by his young son Reccared II. Isidore comments cagily that Reccared reigned for a few days, but in fact it is likely that he occupied the throne for at least a year.[20] Reccared was replaced by Suinthila (r. 621–31), upon whom Isidore lavishes fulsome praise in the second version of his *Historia Gothorum*.[21] Whether he was forced to do so by the new monarch and equally compelled to obscure the circumstances surrounding the demise of Reccared II, or was an enthusiastic partisan of Suinthila cannot be resolved. In 631 an uprising led by Sisenand (r. 631–36) brought about the demise of Suinthila, who in turn was succeeded by Chintila (r. 636–40) just before Isidore's death.[22] We have no evidence for Isidore's views of the latter two kings, though Collins sees the reign of Sisenand as possibly the apogee of Isidore's political influence.[23]

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[15] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 75–76. For an assertion of greater influence, see Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 129–43 (chapter title: "Le 'tuteur' du royaume de Tolède").

[16] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 58. Isidore was not alone in his dislike; Count Bulgar describes Witteric as an "impious tyrant" (*impius tirannus*), *Epistolae Wisigothicae* 13.39.

[17] For friendship, see Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité*, 123. For hostility, see Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Isidore of Seville: On the Nature of Things* (Liverpool: 2016), 52. On Sisebut more generally, see: Yitzhak Hen, "A Visigothic king in search of an identity—*Sisebutus Gothorum gloriossisimus princeps*," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Richard Corradini, Matthew Gillis, Rosamond McKitterick, and Irene van Renswoude (Vienna: 2010), 89–99.

[18] *Fourth Council of Toledo* 57: "De Iudeis autem praecepit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre."

[19] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 126.

[20] *Chronica Regum Visigothorum* 459.

Whatever his impact on contemporary politics, Isidore's effect on intellectual life cannot be doubted.[24] His written output was prodigious, encompassing the fields of theology, history, grammar, science, and church governance, to mention only the most significant fields in which he made an impact.[25] A firm believer in the power of education, he was to declare that "Ignorance is the mother of error, ignorance is the nurse of sins […] for the uneducated man is easily deceived. The fool swiftly falls into vice."[26] He also wished to ground doctrine in concrete knowledge: "All wisdom is derived from knowledge or conjecture. A view based on knowledge is better than that based on conjecture, for the former is true, while the latter doubtful."[27] Much of his work can be seen as an attempt to educate his flock, especially the clergy, whose lack of learning seems to have been a consistent concern for the bishops of the 7th century.[28] While admiring learning, he was nevertheless selective about the past and remained always deeply suspicious of the pagan aspects of classical culture and what he saw as their potentially corrupting influence. Thus, he was eager to prohibit the reading of ancient poetry.[29] Isidore certainly wished to preserve the past, but he was equally determined to recast it and make it fit for a new Christian future.[30] Isidore's concern with protecting the boundary of the Christian community from the potential dangers of outside religious influence—including illicit knowledge—is evidenced in his anti-Jewish writings, works that have been the subject of consistent scholarly debate and which form of the focus of Raúl González Salinero's chapter in the present volume.[31]

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[21] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 64.

[22] On the internal politics of the Visigothic kingdom in this period, see Luis A. García Moreno, "La oposición a Suintila: Iglesia, Monarquía y Nobleza en el Reino Visigodo," in *Estudios de historia medieval: homenaje a Luis Suárez*, eds. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, and Julio Valdeón Baruque (Valladolid: 1991), 12–24.

[23] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 79. If correct, Isidore's power may have stemmed as much from the new king's weakness as his friendship.

[24] The cultural context in which Isidore operated is examined by Graham Barrett in the second chapter in this volume.

[25] These topics are explored in detail in the chapters by Thomas O'Loughlin, Jamie Wood, Jacques Elfassi, José Carracedo, Faith Wallis, Céline Martin, and Pedro Castillo Maldonado elsewhere in this volume.

[26] Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.65: "Ignorantia mater errorum est, ignorantia vitiorum nutrix … indoctus enim facile decipitur. Stultus in vitia cito dilabitur."

[27] Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.1.8: "Omnis sapientia ex scientia et opinatione consistit. Melior est autem ex scientia veniens quam ex opinatione sententia. Nam illa vera est, ista dubia."

[28] See the chapters by Céline Martin, and Pedro Castillo Maldonado in this volume.

Isidore's library and use of sources have been an increasing focus of research in recent decades as scholars have sought to apply digital techniques to decoding his corpus. In the process they have identified many previously unrecognised sources and gained valuable insights into his working practices.[32] The *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* is a source that has often been mined for information about Isidore's writings and his contemporary reputation. This short biographical piece was written by his young contemporary Braulio of Zaragoza, and was intended to be appended to Isidore's own *De viris illustribus*.[33] A translation of the *Renotatio* follows.[34]

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[29] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.13.1: "Thus a Christian is forbidden to read the compositions of their poets because by the pleasure of their inane fables they provoke the mind to incitements of lust. For a man burns not merely from offering incense to demons, but also by too willingly plucking at their words" ("Ideo prohibetur christianus figmenta legere poetarum quia per oblectamenta inanium fabularum mentem excitant ad incentiua libidinum. Non enim solum tura offerendo daemonibus immolatur, sed etiam eorum dicta libentius capiendo").

[30] On this topic recently, see, for example, the chapters in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*.

[31] Bat-Sheva Albert, "Isidore of Seville: His attitude towards Judaism and His impact on Early Medieval Canon Law," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1990), 207–20; Juan Gil, "Judíos y cristianos en la Hispania del s. VII," *Hispania Sacra* 30 (1977), 9–110; Bernard S. Bachrach, "A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589–711," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 11–34.

[32] Jacques Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothéque pour Connaître les sources: Isidore de Séville," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 59–66, offers important methodological reflections. For recent work on Isidore's sources, see Jacques Elfassi, "Isidore de Séville connaissait-il les *Fables* d'Hygin?" *Eruditio Antiqua* 10 (2018), 73–103; David Lloyd Dusenbury, "*Ait enim Lucretius*: An affirmation of the Epicurean concept of time in Isidore," *Antiquité Tardive* 25 (2017), 341–51.

[33] On the earliest reception of Isidore's works within the Iberian Peninsula, see Mark Lewis Tizzoni's chapter in this volume.

[34] The translation has been made from the text found in José Carlos Martín, ed., *La "Renotatio librorum domini Isidori" de Braulio de Zaragoza (†651)* (Logroño: 2002). See also the more recent edition by José Carlos Martín, *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 199–207.

Isidore, an outstanding man, bishop of the church of Seville, the successor and brother of bishop Leander, began his distinguished career in the reigns of the emperor Maurice and king Reccared. In him antiquity reclaimed something of its own, or rather our times saw the knowledge of antiquity reflected in him. He was a man trained in every form of speech so that he could fit his style of address to the uneducated and educated alike. In this way, adapting to the needs of the occasion, he shone with outstanding eloquence.[35] A careful reader could easily learn how great his wisdom was from his diverse studies and the monographs which he wrote. Out of these I have made this list of those which have come to my notice:

He wrote two books of *Differentiae* in which he distinguished by subtle discrimination the meanings of words that had become blurred through their usage.

He wrote one book of *Proemia* in which he marked out with concise annotation what each book of the Holy Scriptures contains.

He wrote one book on the *Birth and Death of the Fathers* in which he noted with concise comments their deeds, rank, death, and the place of their burial.[36]

For his brother, bishop Fulgentius, he wrote two books of *Church Offices* in which, not neglecting the authority of our forefathers, he interpreted them, and explained the origin of those offices and why everything is so enacted in the Church of God.

He wrote two books of *Synonyms* which he produced, using reason as his exhortation, for the consolation of the soul and the hope of the pardon we shall obtain.

He dedicated to King Sisebut one book *Concerning the Nature of Things* in which, using equally the researches of the doctors of the Church and those of the philosophers, he clarified certain obscure matters of the material world.

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35 A skill recommended by Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 30.3.12. Isidore's eloquence is also praised by Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 8.

36 "Concision" here and elsewhere in Braulio's account demonstrates that Isidore's writings possessed the prized virtue of *brevitas*, see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: 1983), Chapter 13: "Brevity as an ideal of style." On brevity in Isidore's writings, especially the historical works, see: Jamie Wood, "*Brevitas* in the historical writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain—A Symposium*, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J. Ryan (London: 2010), 37–53.

He wrote one book *On Numbers* in which he deals with part of the science of arithmetic on account of the numbers placed in the Church's writings.

He wrote one book *On the Names of the Law and Evangelists* in which he showed the mystic meaning of those recorded there.[37]

He wrote one book *On Heresies* in which, following the example of our forefathers, he gathered together this diffuse material as concisely as he was able.

He wrote three books of *Sententiae* which he adorned with flowers plucked from the books of *Moralia* of Pope Gregory.

He wrote one book of *Chronicles* compiled with great concision starting from the beginning of the world and running down to his own time.

At the request of his sister Florentina, a professed virgin, he wrote two books *Against the Jews* in which he gives proofs from the testimony of the Law and of the Prophets concerning everything which the Catholic faith believes.

He wrote one book *On Famous Men* to which we are appending these notes here.

He wrote in one book *A Monastic Rule* which he edited in a most appropriate fashion for use in his country and the souls of the infirm.

He wrote one book on *The Origin of the Goths and the Kingdom of the Sueves, including the History of the Vandals.*

He wrote two books of *Controversies.* He who reads them will recognise a wealth of material taken from the works of old.

The volume of the *Etymologies* which is of very great length was divided by him by subjects and not into books. This work which he wrote at my request, but left unfinished, I have divided into twenty books.[38] Whoever thoughtfully and often reads through this work which contains every branch of philosophy will, and rightly so, no longer be devoid of understanding in matters both human and divine. In this work, which overflows with the eloquence of diverse arts, he gathered together and summarised almost everything that a man ought to know. There are many other small

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[37] "Law" here means the Pentateuch, or perhaps more generally the Old Testament, Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.1.3-5.

[38] Martín, *Scripta*, 167–68. It has also been suggested that Isidore intended a division into 22 or 24 books, see John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007), 20. José Carlos Martín, *Escritos medievales en honor del obispo Isidoro de Sevilla*, Corpus Christianorum in Translation 29 (Turnhout: 2017), 85, now thinks now that Braulio made the division into 15 books.

> works (*opuscula*) by him and material (*instrumenta*) which greatly adorns the Church of God.
>
> I believe that after so many years of decline in Spain, God, as if he had set before us a certain goal, raised this man up in these latest times so that we should not altogether grow old in our boorishness. He can deservedly have this philosophical sentiment applied to him by us: "Your books, he said, have, so to speak, brought us home by giving us something that allowed us to know who and where we were, as we strayed through our own city, wandering like strangers. It was you who revealed to us the times of our country, the divisions of time, the laws of the Church and of the priests, public and private conduct, the names of kingdoms, regions, and towns, the names of everything human and divine, their types, their nature, and their cause."[39]
>
> With what a flood of eloquence and with how many lances forged from the sacred Scriptures or the works of the Fathers he routed the heresy of the Acephalites is attested by the acts of the Councils held before him at Seville where he confronted Gregory the leader of the aforementioned heresy and vindicated the truth of the Catholic Faith.[40]
>
> He died during the reigns of the Emperor Heraclius and that most Christian king Chintila, both excelling all in his righteous learning and in the generosity of his charitable works.

All the books listed by Braulio are still extant. It has recently been argued that *On heresies* (*De haeresibus*), discovered by Ángel Custodio Vega in 1936 and long considered inauthentic, may be of Isidorian authorship after all.[41] Braulio implies that Isidore wrote more than he himself lists, but his catalogue has become accepted as including all of Isidore's major works. Given Isidore's fame, many pseudo-epigraphical works are also to be found.[42] It has also generally been assumed that Braulio lists Isidore's works in chronological order of production.[43] However, a later, shorter list of works composed by Ildefonsus of Toledo does not retain Braulio's order, and so there can be no certainty in this respect.[44] Among Isidore's "opuscula" may be the *Versus Isidori*, a collection of short poems which were said to have been painted at the top of Isidore's bookcases in Seville.[45] Among the "instrumenta" is possibly the initial edition of the so-called *Collectio Canonica Hispana*, a compilation of the *acta* of the ecumenical church councils, some local councils celebrated in Africa and Gaul, and a large number of Iberian councils, concluding with the Fourth Council of Toledo.[46]

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[39] Cicero, *Academia*, 1.3, originally addressed to the Roman polymath Varro.

[40] The Second Council of Seville, held on 13 November 619. For more on this episode, see: L.S.B. MacCoull, "Isidore and the *Akephaloi*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998), 169–78.

[41] Á.C. Vega, ed., *S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi De haeresibus liber* (El Escorial: 1940). On its authenticity, see L. Pirovano, "Il *De Haeresibus* attribuito a Isidoro e il *Liber glossarum*: alcune considerazioni," *Dossiers d'HEL* 10 (2016), 199–207, and José Carlos Martín, "El tratado 'De haeresibus' (CPL—1201) atribuido a Isidoro de Sevilla: notas en favor de una autoría discutida y primera edición completa del texto," *Filologia mediolatina* 25 (2018), 139–74.

[42] See R.E. McNally, "Isidorian Pseudepigraphica in the Early Middle Ages," in *Isidoriana: Colección de éstudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 305–16.

Within a few decades of his death, certain of Isidore's works were disseminated rapidly, and knowledge of his exploits was spread throughout Spain and beyond, a topic that is explored in the chapters by Mark Lewis Tizzoni (on the Iberian Peninsula) and Martin J. Ryan (on Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, mainly). Early hagiographical accounts by Braulio of Zaragoza, Redemptus of Seville, and Ildefonsus of Toledo point towards a concerted effort to channel memories of Isidore shortly after his death, as do positive references in church council records.[47] Citation of Isidore's writings began early in Spain too, with writers such as Braulio, Ildefonsus, and Julian and Eugenius II of Toledo redeploying resources produced by Isidore in their theological, polemical, pastoral, and poetic works across the mid and late 7th century, and no doubt assisting in their rapid transmission beyond the Peninsula. Scholars in Ireland were amongst the earliest and most enthusiastic audiences for his works in the early Middle Ages. In "Isidore Amongst the Islands: Reception and Use of Isidore of Seville in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages," Martin J. Ryan demonstrates the wide extent of Isidore's influence in England, Ireland and elsewhere in the Atlantic archipelago. He analyses key texts and manuscripts, exploring Isidore's impact on leading insular scholars, such as Aldhelm, Hadrian, Theodore of Canterbury, Bede, and numerous anonymous and pseudonymous Irish authors.

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[43] José Antonio de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana. Homenaje a San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII centenario de su muerte 636—4 de abril 1936* (Rome: 1936), 57–89.

[44] This topic is discussed in the chapter by Graham Barrett in the present volume. See also Martín, *La "Renotatio librorum domini Isidori,"* 74–84, and Michael Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing: Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, 95–98.

[45] J.M. Sánchez Martín, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Versus*, CCSL 113A (Turnhout: 2000). For a detailed discussion of possible minor works, see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías*, José Oroz Reta and Manuel A. Marcos Casquero, trans., 2 vols (Madrid: 1982–1983), 1:152–58.

[46] See G. Martínez Díez, *La colección canónica Hispana* (Madrid: 1966). On Isidore's active moulding of the records of the councils to meet the exigencies of contemporary ecclesiastical politics, see Rachel L. Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius, and Isidore: Provincial Councils in Seventh-Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 169–88.

[47] For more on this, see Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing."

Sinéad O'Sullivan's chapter on Isidore's reception and use in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe develops our understanding of the practical utility of many of Isidore's works in monastic libraries of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries. Focussing in particular on the function of the *Etymologiae* as a reference work, O'Sullivan examines the use of the text in Prudentius, Martianus, and Virgil glosses, and explores the importance of encyclopaedism and etymology, which lies at the heart of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, within early medieval glossing and textual culture. In particular, the chapter examines one of Isidore's most important sources, Servius, documenting the continuing connection between Isidore and Servius in Virgil manuscripts of the 9th and 10th centuries.

Winston Black examines the influence of Isidore on scholastic Europe, the first English-language study of the later medieval reception of Isidore. Black challenges a prevailing assumption that Isidore and his works, especially the *Etymologiae*, were rejected in the High Middle Ages, by providing a detailed survey of the "scholastic" reception of Isidore, illustrated with numerous examples from scholastic encyclopaedias, as well as from specific high and later medieval manuscripts. He demonstrates that the *Etymologiae* remained consistently popular throughout the Middle Ages, but other works, like *De Natura Rerum*, waned in popularity after the 12th century, while some, like the *Synonyma*, found exceptional favour toward the end of the Middle Ages. Black shows that "two different Isidores become apparent in any university or monastic libraries of the later Middle Ages: first, a Master Isidore of the *Etymologiae*, father of encyclopedias, and a revered, albeit antiquated and insufficient, scholar on the natures of things; and second, Saint Isidore of the *Sententiae* and *Synonyma*, a teacher of moral and theological truths and a guide to exploring the mystical significances of words and things" (p. 597).

The final two chapters in our volume explore how Isidore fared in the early modern period, in Europe, especially Spain, and the New World. This was the period that saw the production of the first properly critical edition of Isidore's complete works in 1598, a subject touched on in Jeremy Lawrance's chapter. Lawrance shows how Renaissance humanism was not kind to Isidore, and as a result his authority as an encyclopaedist declined sharply. At the same time, the rise of "national" monarchies and the confessional conflicts of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation lent the question of Isidore's sanctity and place within Catholic *historia sacra* a new urgency, and he became susceptible to appropriation as a contentious symbol of Spanish nationhood. In the final chapter of this volume, Amy Fuller takes us beyond Europe and seeks to unravel whether—and how—Isidore's works were received in the New World. Fuller concludes that Isidore's encyclopaedic efforts may have been an inspiration (if not a direct source) for the Catholic scholars who were entrusted with evangelising, recording and sometimes seeking to understand the indigenous populations with which the Spanish came into contact.

The body of scholarly work on Isidore is of monumental proportions, evidenced by the extensive efforts of Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, Alberto Ferreiro, and Jacques Elfassi to keep track of an ever-expanding bibliography.[48] The past two decades have witnessed something of a flourishing of studies of Isidore in English that goes some way towards matching the volume of Isidorian scholarship in Spanish and French (in particular) in the second half of the 20th century, inspired primarily by the seminal work of Jacques Fontaine on classical influences on Isidore.[49] Scholars have sought to understand the construction of the *Etymologiae*, his intellectual output more broadly, and the role of history and geography in his view of the world in which he lived.[50] Particularly important has been the 2015 issue of the journal *Antiquité Tardive*, entitled "Isidore de Séville et son temps," and a tranche of recent publications that have revealed the depth of Isidore's impact in previously unexamined arenas, especially in relation to the transmission of knowledge in the Middle Ages.[51]

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[48] J.N. Hillgarth, "The position of Isidorian studies: a critical review of the literature 1936–1975," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser. 24 (1983), 817–905; J.N. Hillgarth, "Isidorian Studies, 1976–1985," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser. 31 (1990), 925–76. A. Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418–711: A Bibliography* (Leiden: 1988), 327–409; *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia: a supplemental bibliography, 1984–2003* (Leiden: 2006), 299–409; *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia (Update): A Supplemental Bibliography, 2004–2006* (Leiden: 2008), 113–44; *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia (update): a supplemental bibliography, 2007–2009* (Leiden: 2011), 135–74; *The Visigoths in Gaul and Iberia (update): a supplemental bibliography, 2010–2012* (Leiden: 2014), 133–68. Jacques Elfassi, "Chronique isidorienne (2008–2009)," *Eruditio Antiqua* 2 (2010), 165–87; "Chronique isidorienne II (2010–2011)," *Eruditio Antiqua* 4 (2012), 19–63; "Chronique isidorienne III (2012–2013)," *Eruditio Antiqua* 6 (2014), 39–87; "Chronique isidorienne IV (2014–2015)," *Eruditio Antiqua* 8 (2016), 1–50; "Chronique isidorienne IV (2016–2017)," *Eruditio Antiqua* (2018), 239–93.

[49] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans L'espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983). Important edited collections include: *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: 1936); Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*. See also: Hans-Joachim Diesner, *Isidor von Sevilla und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: 1973); Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Rome: 1981); Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción," 1–257; Pierre Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la Naissance de l'Espagne Catholique* (Paris: 1994); Justo Pérez de Urbel, *San Isidoro de Sevilla: Su vida, su obra y su tiempo*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona: 1936; repr. León: 1995); Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité*; Marcelo Martínez Pastor, *Herejías y Sectas en la Iglesia Antigua. El octavo libro de las Etimologías de Isidoro de Sevilla y sus Fuentes* (Madrid: 2000); Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies medievales. D'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: 2001).

[50] Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*; Barney et al., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*; A.H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: 2005); Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories*

The present volume is divided into three parts. Following this synoptic introduction, three chapters address different aspects of the context in which Isidore operated. Santiago Castellanos and Graham Barrett consider Isidore's historical and cultural contexts, respectively, situating the subject of the volume in relation to his contemporaries within Hispania. Purificación Ubric Rabaneda then addresses the important role played by Leander of Seville in the ecclesiastical politics of the late 6th century and in the formation of Isidore, his younger brother. The second part examines Isidore's most important works within the broad categories of theology (Thomas O'Loughlin), history (Jamie Wood), science (Faith Wallis), grammar (José Carracedo Fraga) and etymology (Jacques Elfassi). A common feature of these chapters is the ways in which they demonstrate that Isidore was able to make creative use of the writings of his predecessors and experimented with genre boundaries across a number of different fields of practical and theoretical knowledge. Subsequent chapters take a series of cross-sectional paths through Isidore's writings, relating them to the changing historical contexts in which he was working, considering themes such as pastoral care and church governance (Céline Martin), monasticism and education (Pedro Castillo Maldonado), kingship and law (Andrew Fear), and dealing with "others," such as heretics and Jews (Raúl González Salinero). A final group of chapters in Part 3 explores Isidore's legacy, from his immediate reception in Spain in the 7th century (Mark Lewis Tizzoni) to the transformation of his legacy in the high and late medieval (Winston Black) and early modern (Jeremy Lawrance) periods. These chapters range widely in terms of geography too, from Britain and Ireland (Martin J. Ryan), across

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of Isidore of Seville (Leiden: 2012); Benjamín Hernández Blázquez, *San Isidoro de Sevilla: el erudito* (Madrid: 2014).

[51] Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's* Synonyma *in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: 2008); Immo Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation. Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its reception in Carolingian times* (Stuttgart: 2010); Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: 2012); Emma Falque, "En torno a la figura de Isidoro en el s. XIII: Lucas de Tuy," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 249–60; Luis Fernández Gallardo, "Los Godos en la memoria histórica castellana del medievo," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 261–68; Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*; José Sánchez Herrero, ed., *San Isidoro de Sevilla en Sevilla* (Seville: 2018). José Cubero Garrote, *San Isidoro: sabio en el siglo VII, santo en el siglo XII* (Madrid: 2018), is intended for a popular audience and offers an overview of Isidore and his context, as well as his later reception.

western Europe (Immo Warntjes and Sinéad O'Sullivan) and even to the New World (Amy Fuller), demonstrating not only the creative ways in which the knowledge that Isidore had generated could be moulded to new uses in new contexts, but also how Isidore's legacy was challenged, reconfigured, and reaffirmed in the process.

As the papers in this volume demonstrate, the field of Isidorian studies remains a vibrant one. In addition to continuing philological endeavours to establish editions of key works by Isidore, there is a growing—and related—interest in the reception and transmission of his writings throughout the Latin-speaking medieval world, from the cultural heartlands of the Carolingian Empire to more peripheral regions. Another key trend in scholarship is to attempt to disentangle the sources that Isidore had at his disposal and his working practices when using them, especially in relation to figures who are often thought to have had a formative impact on him: Augustine of Hippo, Gregory the Great, and Leander of Seville, his brother. Further studies have sought to situate Isidore within the context of the contemporary Iberian episcopate, on which he is often viewed as having a shaping influence. Less sustained effort has been made to contextualise Isidore—and the Iberian episcopate more generally—within the post-Roman cultural, political and social landscape. Important recent work on the material culture of late antique Iberia, as well as the continued interaction of aristocracies and state powers across the period, has also yet to be related to Isidore, his peers, and his context.[52] While much has been accomplished to understand Isidore and his world, it is clear that much remains to be done.

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[52] Damián Fernández, *Aristocracies and Statehood in Western Iberia* (Philadelphia: 2017); Pilar Diarte Blasco, *Late Antique and Early Medieval Iberia: Landscapes without Strategy* (Oxford: 2018).

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CHAPTER 2

Isidore of Seville: Historical Contexts

Santiago Castellanos

"Do not forget our little brother Isidore."[1,2] This was the wish expressed by Leander, the bishop of Seville, to his sister Florentina as she made her profession in a nunnery. Afterwards the phrase came to form part of a work dealing with the moral and ascetic training of nuns, which Leander composed specifically for Florentina. The "little brother" was Isidore of Seville. This chapter aims to place Isidore in his historical context by looking at the way he fulfilled his role as a bishop, as the author of a series of literary works, and via his social, political, and religious legacy. It must be conceded, as in previous treatments of Isidore, that in reality we know very little about his personality or the history of his life. Nevertheless, it is possible to engage with his thought and examine the influence that he exercised during his episcopate (*c.*600/602–636).

Isidore was the bishop of an important city in Hispania, Hispalis (the modern Seville), in the first third of the 7th century A.D. This was a period when the Catholic Church was beginning to enjoy a period of political hegemony, which had begun in the previous generation when the *regnum Gothorum* under Reccared (586–601) converted from Arianism to Catholicism. This is not to say that prior to this, during the late Roman and earlier Visigothic periods, Catholic bishops had not exercised important power and influence in Hispania, but this new alliance with the monarchy gave the clergy a whole new level of authority, and Isidore was to reap the benefits of this new dispensation.

1 Leander of Seville and the Formation of Isidore's World

In the same paragraph of the *De institutione uirginum*, Leander remarks to his sister Florentina that she had left the region where she was born in her early youth, "the land where they expelled its citizens, and settled foreigners to the

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[1] This paper is part of the research project HAR2013-47889-C3-3-P, funded by the Economy Office of the Spanish government. I am very grateful to Andrew Fear for translating the text into English.

[2] Leander, *De institutione uirginum* 31: "nec iunioris fratris oblivis caris." For more on these topics, see the chapters by Purificación Ubric Rabaneda and Pedro Castillo Maldonado in the present volume.

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loss of its honour, lost its fertility." Where was this region? We are given the answer by Isidore, who in his short biographical sketch of Leander makes it clear that the family hailed from *Carthaginiensis* and also reveals that their father was called Severianus.[3] The foreigners to whom Leander refers as having occupied *Carthaginiensis* were none other than the imperial Roman/Byzantine troops who took control of the south-east of Hispania during the civil war between Agila and Athanagild, in the middle of the 6th century, a war which came to an end after the triumph of the latter, who then became the rulers of the *regnum Gothorum*. The state of our knowledge does not allow us to ascertain the first origins of the family: Leander says that Florentina was born in *Carthaginiensis*, but this does not necessarily mean that this was also true of Severianus. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the family's origins lay in Africa. However, upon careful assessment of the available evidence it is impossible to make any statement with certainty on this matter. The reference to *Carthaginiensis* obscures any firm clue about the family's origins.[4] Afterwards Severianus, his wife, Leander, Fulgentius (who was soon to become bishop of Ecija), and Florentina (who took monastic vows) settled in Baetica, the most southerly of the Spanish provinces. It is quite possible that Isidore was born in Seville. Sometime before 579 Leander became bishop of Seville, and it is from this time that we are able to trace his political, religious, and intellectual career more clearly.[5]

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[3] Leander, *De institutione uirginum* 31, for the reference to the region occupied by foreigners; Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28: "genitus patre Seueriano, Carthaginiensis prouinciae Hispaniae." See the chapter on Leander by Purificación Ubric Rabaneda elsewhere in this volume for more on this topic.

[4] In favour of the family's origin being in Carthaginiensis, Ursicino Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla y la lucha contra el arrianismo* (Madrid: 1981), 21. For the possibility of an African origin, Roger Collins, *La España Visigoda, 409–711* (Barcelona: 2005), 159. For the political context in which Leander's family left the region of Cartagena for *Hispalis*, see Luis A. García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," in *Actas II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, vol. 3 (Córdoba: 1994), 555–79. For Leander and his influence on Isidore, see Jamie Wood, "A Family Affair. Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 31–56.

[5] It is not certain that his mother's name was Turtur, despite the opinion of Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 89–90. She was perhaps abbess of the monastery to which Florentina belonged, José Carlos Martín, "Isidoro de Sevilla: su familia, su vida, su producción escrita," in *Escritos medievales en honor del obispo Isidoro de Sevilla* (Turnhout: 2017), 14–53, esp. 23. It has been suggested that Leander and his family were supporters of the Byzantine occupation. This is the view of Jacques Fontaine and of Pierre Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Sévérianus et les siens? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidore de Séville," in *Estudios en Homenaje*

Isidore tells us that Leander's career flourished during the reign of Reccared, which allows us to suppose that he died before December 601, the date of Reccared's own death. It is impossible to know how precise Isidore wishes to be here, but in any event we can assume that Leander died *c.*600/601, perhaps even in 602.[6] Isidore records some of the works written by his brother, singling out two polemical works against Arianism which have sadly not survived. The first was *Against the Doctrines of the Heretics*, written in two books, and the second was a smaller work titled *Against the claims of the Arians.* Leander wrote other works such as the *De institutione uirginum et de contemptu mundi*, which he dedicated to his sister; letters; and homilies, including the famous homily delivered at the Third Council of Toledo, which will be referred to below.[7] As regards the exile which Isidore mentions Leander endured, this is most likely the journey that Leander made to Constantinople. Like many other events in Leander's life, we know neither the date of this journey nor the date of his return to Hispania. Pope Gregory the Great would later dedicate his *Moralia in Job* to Leander, and its dedicatory preface states that the journey was made "for reasons concerning the faith of the Visigoths." It is clear that Gregory and Leander met and became friends in Constantinople, one being there as the papal envoy to the imperial court and the other there for "reasons of faith." The majority of modern commentators believe that these "reasons" were the war which had broken out in 579 in *Hispania* between King Leovigild and his son. Leovigild was an Arian, while Hermenegild had converted to Catholicism,

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a don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años (Buenos Aires: 1983), 353. However, the disdain expressed towards the "foreigners" who had occupied Carthaginiensis makes this difficult to believe, even though years after leaving this region he was forced to travel Constantinople to negotiate for imperial support for Hermenegild. A more likely scenario is that proposed by Abilio Barbero, "El conflicto de los Tres Capítulos y las iglesias hispánicas en los siglos VI y VII," in *La sociedad visigoda en su entorno histórico* (Madrid: 1992), 136–67, especially 161, using the text sent to Florentina as evidence for Leander's hostility to the empire. There is much to commend the caution of María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Leandro de Sevilla," in *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literature*, ed. Carmen Codoñer (Salamanca: 2010), 63–68, which has been reiterated with respect to both Leander and Isidore by Isabel Velázquez, *Latine dicitur, vulgo vocant. Aspectos de la lengua escrita y hablada en las obras gramaticales de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Logroño: 2003).

[6] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28: "Floruit sub Recharedo, uiro religioso ac principe glorioso." For these dates, Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 91 and 113, and *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983). For the date of Reccared's death, see *Laterculus regum Visigothorum* 28. The possibility of 602 depends on the *Epitaphium Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae*, Martín, "Isidoro de Sevilla," 37.

[7] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28: "duos aduersus haereticorum dogmata libros" and "opusculum aduersus instituta arrianorum," the passage makes it clear that these were written "in exilii sui peregrinatione."

though it is unclear whether he did this prior to the war or during it. Leander's journey to the imperial court under such circumstances suggests that it stemmed from a need to seek imperial support for Hermenegild's cause. Recent investigations into this affair appear to show that the emperor did indeed promise some sort of help but that this came to nothing, as shortly afterwards Leovigild was to pay him a substantial number of *solidi*. If we believe Gregory the Great, Leander returned shortly before the death of Leovigild, which occurred in 586.[8]

According to our sources, Hermenegild's conversion to Catholicism would have taken place around 579. Our Iberian sources make no mention of it. Both John of Biclarum and Isidore describe Hermenegild as a *tyrannus*, or usurper. In his *De viris illustribus* (there is nothing in his *Historia Gothorum*) Isidore notes the role his brother played in the conversion of the Goths, but he makes no mention of Hermenegild, let alone that Leander was implicated in his revolt. John of Biclarum probably made a cryptic reference to Leander's opposition to Leovigild. But he also initiated the practice of presenting Hermenegild as a usurper and thus says nothing about his relationship with Leander. Up to 580 Leovigild was seeking forms of a liturgy that would allow Catholics to convert to Arianism, which suggests that religious issues had become part of the conflict. Outside the Visigothic kingdom Hermenegild was seen as a martyr of the Catholic Church. For this reason Gregory of Tours, for example, champions the Frankish princess Ingundis, Hermenegild's wife, and Gregory the Great praises Leander himself. Ingundis was the daughter of Brunhild and Sigibert, and thus had Visigothic blood, given that Brunhild was the daughter of King Atanagild and Goswintha, who was married to Leovigild. John of Biclarum seems to imply that Goswintha was to blame for the war when he says that it began as a domestic dispute. He places a phrase in the ablative which appears to speak of action on the part of Goswintha's faction which grammatically is best interpreted as showing that he is blaming the group that had supported the *factione Gosuinthe regine tirannidem assumens*. In Merovingian Gaul, Gregory of Tours does mention Hermenegild's conversion, as did Gregory the Great, writing in Rome. Both of these authors were writing towards the end of the 6th century, shortly after the conflicts they describe and of which they were direct contemporaries. On the other hand, it is clear that in the *regnum Gothorum* itself that care was taken to pass over this event in silence, something found in all our key sources (council *acta*, John of Biclarum, and Isidore) written during or after Reccared's reign.[9] Hermenegild's presence in Seville and his association with Leander cannot be doubted if we trust the testimony of Gregory, who makes this clear in the above-mentioned passage from his *Dialogues*. Gregory states that he knew (*cognouimus*) about these events from many (*multorum*) who visited him *ab Hispaniarum partibus*. Given the friendship the two had formed in Constantinople, Gregory's source was probably Leander.

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[8] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, praefatio. For relations between Gregory and Leander, see Leandro Navarra, "Interventi di Leandro di Siviglia negli sviluppi storice e religiosi della Spagna visigotica: aspetti positivi e limiti," *Studi Storici Religiosi* 4 (1980), 123–34; Josep Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e *Hispania*," *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33 (1991), 167–86; Pablo C. Díaz, "Gregorio Magno y el reino visigodo. Un conflicto de poderes," in *Gregorio Magno, l'impero e i "regna,"* ed. Claudio Azzara (Florence: 2008), 59–80; and Wood, "A Family Affair." For the differing possibilities and interpretation of our sources regarding Leander's voyage, see Santiago Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz* (Madrid: 2007); Luis A. García Moreno, *Leovigildo. Unidad y diversidad de un reinado* (Madrid: 2008), 118; and Margarita Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida* (Madrid: 2012), 249ff. Leovigild paid the Byzantines 30,000 *solidi*, according to Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38. Bishop Licinianus met Leander on his return from Constantinople, as he records in 595 in a letter addressed to Gregory the Great, but we cannot give a precise date for their encounter, Licinianus, *Epistola* 1. In an entry dating to 584/585, John of Biclarum, *Chronicon* 77, gives a heading which refers to Leander's "splendour": "Leander Ispalensis ecclesie episcopus clarus habetur." García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 22–23, n. 15, has suggested that, like other headings in John's *Chronicle*, it is likely that this compliment refers to his opposition to Leovigild.

We can see Leovigild's hand in the religious dimension of the conflict, as in his council of 580 he sought to build bridges that would allow the conversion of Catholics to Arianism, and he conflicted with the Catholic bishops, conflicts which would later be presented as anti-Catholic persecution on his part.[10] During the reign of Reccared and the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism after the Third Council of Toledo in 589, letters written by Gregory to Leander show once again their friendship and the level of influence Leander enjoyed, even during the reign of Reccared, who, we must remember, had been an enemy of Hermenegild, and thus presumably of Leander, in the civil war. Nevertheless, there was a political realignment after Hermenegild's defeat upon the accession of Reccared in 586, and Leander went on to hold powerful political influence, which reached its peak at the Third Council of Toledo in 589 and in the *Homily* that he delivered to the king, bishops, and leading lay members of the royal court.[11] When Leander died, at a date that cannot be fixed with certainty but which, as we have seen, can be placed between 599 and 602, Catholicism was the official religion of the Visigothic kingdom and Hermenegild remembered simply as a usurper, *tyrannus*, with both his conversion to Catholicism and any hint that Leander had taken part in his uprising buried in silence. Leander's younger brother, Isidore, succeeded him as bishop of Seville.

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[9] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28: "ut etiam fide eius atque industria populi gentis Gothorum ab arriana insania ad fidem catholicam reuerterentur." On the dating of the beginning of the revolt and Hermenegild's conversion to 579, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 112, *contra* the later date proposed by Roger Collins, "¿Dónde estaban los arrianos en 589?" in *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario* (Toledo: 1991), 211–22. For Ingundis's role, Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38. For that of Leander, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 3.31. For a grammatical and historical reading of the passage, García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 102–03. For the support of Brunhild, Ingundis's mother, for Hermenegild and the broader European and Mediterranean context in which these events took place, see Walter Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579–585)," *Traditio* 13 (1957), 73–118. For relations between the Merovingian world, Leovigild, Hermenegild, and Reccared, see Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 111ff, 269ff, 295ff. It is only at the end of the 7th century that Valerio of Bierzo, an eccentric author opposed to the church hierarchy, refers in his *De uana saeculi sapientia* 6 to Hermenegild as a kind of martyr, the first such reference in Spain.

[10] The main texts are John of Biclarum, *Chronicon* 57, *s. a.* 580; Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 50 and 55; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38 and, later in the 7th century, the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, especially book 5. For an evaluation of the documents and the main historiographic theories concerning them, see: Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 69ff.

2 Isidore as an Author in a Cultural Context

This is, perhaps, the most well-known aspect of Isidore's life. He was the author of a whole series of writings in different genres, including *historiae*, a chronicle, letters, poetry, lexicographical studies, the compilation of the knowledge of the past and present eras, works on religious and political morality, and ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, He enjoyed a long episcopate which ran from around 600/602 until his death in 636. I will not give a full list of his literary output here, but rather a small selection from it. The essential detailed discussion of his works and life is that of Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz in his introduction to the *Etymologiae*.[12] Isidore's friend Braulio, the bishop of Saragossa, wrote a *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, a short resumé of Isidore's works. Braulio and Isidore knew one another personally, perhaps since 625/626, and kept up a long correspondence, although we only have some of the letters that they exchanged.[13]

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[11] For the details and interpretation of Gregory's letters to Leander, see Vilella, "Gregorio Magno," and Díaz, "Gregorio Magno."

[12] Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías*, trans. José Oroz Reta and Manuel A. Marcos Casquero, 2 vols (Madrid: 1982–83), 1:1–257. See now Martín, "Isidoro de Sevilla."

[13] On the date of the possible first meeting and the correspondence between Braulio and Isidore, see now the new edition (and introduction) of the letters, by Ruth Miguel Franco and José Carlos Martín, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae et Isidori Hispalensis*

Just as the date of Isidore's letters has been re-evaluated, similar debates have begun concerning the dates of Isidore's other works. This is most striking with regard to the *Sententiae*, a work for which Cazier and Fontaine have proposed a late date, around 633, while Martín Iglesias suggests *c.*614/615, using as evidence the use that Sisebut made of this work in his hagiography of Desiderius of Vienne, the *Vita Desiderii*, his problems with Brunhild, and the final triumph of Chlothar II. The *Sententiarum libri tres* deals with matters of religion and morality but also focuses on the correct way to exercise political power, forming a guide to how, in Isidore's opinion, a king should conduct himself.[14]

Martín Iglesias has also suggested that Isidore's first work—or at least one of the first—was his *De viris illustribus*, on the grounds that it makes no mention of the death of Eutropius of Valencia, who played a key role at, for example, the Third Council of Toledo; nor does it mention the deaths of Maximus of Zaragoza or John of Biclarum. He also argues convincingly that the early dating of the *De viris illustribus* is shown in the way that the works of authors from the 6th and 7th centuries that Isidore cites in other, probably later, works are not found in the *De viris illustribus*. It is therefore likely that the *De viris illustribus* was written prior to the *Etymologiae*, *De natura rerum*, and *De ortu et obitu patrum*, which have normally been seen as the first of Isidore's works.[15]

From the correspondence between Braulio and Isidore we can see that Braulio had no access to the text of the *Etymologiae* until the beginning of the 630s, despite having asked for a copy from at least 625/626. The *Etymologiae* took a long period to write and edit. They were begun at the beginning of Sisebut's reign (612), and a first version dedicated to the king began to circulate towards the end of his reign, *c.*620 (Sisebut died in 621), but Isidore continued to work on them until around 632/633. The work is often, and with good reason, referred to as an "encyclopedia," as it gathers together an enormous

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epistulae ad Braulionem. Braulionis Caesaraugustani Confessio uel professio Iudaeorum ciuitatis Toletanae, CCSL 114B (Turnhout: 2018), 25* (for the date of the first meeting: 625/626). See in addition José Carlos Martín, ed., *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 73ff and 65ff. Martín's edition of the *Renotatio* is essential for its revision of the traditional chronology assigned to Isidore's works, for example by José Antonio de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de s. Isidoro," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: 1936), 57–89.

[14] Pierre Cazier, "Les *Sentences* d'Isidore de Séville et le IVe Concile de Tolède: Réflexions sur les rapports entre l'Église et le pouvoir politique en Espagne autour des années 630," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 373–86, and his edition of the *Sententiae*, *Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, CCSL 111 (Turnhout: 1998). See now Martín, *Scripta*, 70–71.

[15] José Carlos Martín, "El catálogo de los varones illustres de Isidoro de Sevilla (CPL 1206): contenidos y datación," *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 31 (2013), 129–51.

amount of data over a wide-ranging field of subjects, including botany, mathematics, rhetoric and grammar, and religion. Originally the work was dedicated to King Sisebut (612–21), as shown in the dedicatory preface of the first edition, which has been preserved in various manuscripts. But its final version was dedicated to Braulio. We ought not to read the reference made to Isidore in Braulio's *epistula* II as an indication that he had commissioned the work from him. However, it is clear that in 632/633 he reminded him that it had been seven years since he had asked to see it, and in the *Renotatio*, written after the deaths of Isidore and Sisebut, Braulio was proud to claim that he had commissioned the work ("he had it copied at my request"). Years later, when Ildefonsus of Toledo wrote his *De viris illustribus* he appears in his chapter on Isidore to have accepted Braulio's version of events. When Braulio finally obtained a copy of the *Etymologiae* he saw it was not divided into books, but by themes. He quickly altered this and divided the work into books.[16]

Isidore dedicated his *De natura rerum* to King Sisebut at the same time as the king in turn dedicated to the bishop of Seville his own *Carmen de eclipsibus solis et lunae*, a work written in hexameters that deals with lunar eclipses. The long list of Isidore's works could have been arranged in broad thematic groups, a view recently championed by Codoñer, Andrés, and Martín, and which is followed in this chapter. Thus, we encounter pedagogic works, such as *De natura rerum* or the first book of the *Differentiae*; those dealing with biblical exegesis, such as the *Prooemia*, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, *Allegoriae*, and *Liber numerorum*; works on monastic discipline, like the *Regula monachorum*; works on ecclesiastical discipline, such as the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and his revision of the *Collectio Hispana* of church councils; works in the defence of religious orthodoxy, such as the second book of the *Differentiae*, the *De fide catholica contra*

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[16] I accept here the dates proposed by Ruth Miguel Franco and José Carlos Martín in their new edition of the *Epistolarium* of Braulio, cited in n. 13. Braulio's request for the *Etymologiae*, *ep*. II (in the enumeration of Ruth Miguel Franco and José Carlos Martín, dated now post-631). In *Ep*. IV (normally dated to *c*.632/633), Braulio complains to Isidore that he asked for the work seven years ago (as Martín and Miguel Franco explain, this would have been during their first personal meeting in 625/626); after this, Isidore, when he finally sent Braulio a copy of the *Etymologiae*, told him he was sending the text and hoped he would correct it, as he found himself in poor health and had not been able to finish revising it (*Ep*. V, dated to *c*.632–33). On the long period of the *Etymologiae*'s composition, see Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción," 172–74, and Martín, *Scripta*, 79–80 and 258–59 (and also his views, *contra* Díaz y Díaz, on the role played by Sisebut). Braulio's pride is expressed in the phrase *quia rogatu meo fecit*, Braulio, *Renotatio* 44, which Martín believes probably suggests that Braulio is referring to the copies that he made of the text (*Scripta*, 78), and therefore my translation of the sentence. See also Ildefonsus, *De viris illustribus* 8. On the *Etymologiae*, see the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in the present volume.

Iudaeos; and, of course, historical works, such as the *De viris illustribus*, *Chronica*, *De origine Gothorum, Vandalorum et Sueuorum*, and, in a certain fashion, the *De haeresibus*. Regarding the letters attributed to him, at least seven appear to be authentic: the six sent to Braulio and the one, preserved in some manuscripts, sent to Sisebut along with the *Etymologiae*. The authenticity of the letter sent to Heladius of Toledo remains doubtful.[17]

Isidore's main historical work is the *Historiae*, in which he deals with the Visigoths, Sueves, and Vandals. The most consulted and influential section of this is indubitably the first section, the *De origine Gothorum*, customarily cited as the *Historia Gothorum*. The work has come down to us in both a long and a short version, and there has been a long debate over which of the two is the earlier, with different theories proposed. At present the majority of scholars appear to believe that the short version is the earlier of the two and that the two versions can be dated to 621 and 626, respectively. Isidore finished the first version shortly after the death of Sisebut; at the end of it he suggests that the king had been poisoned. The final chapters of the second version were written during the life of King Suinthila and eulogise him above all because he finally expelled imperial troops from Spanish soil. As we shall see in the following section, seven years later, at the Fourth Council of Toledo, Isidore was to show himself to be much less of an enthusiast for this king. The *Chronicle*, like the *Historiae*, was written in two versions, one produced in 615 and the other in 625/626. In both, Isidore's principal aim was to show that the Visigoths were central to God's plans for mankind and superior to the Romans and other peoples.[18]

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[17] Carmen Codoñer, María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, José Carlos Martín, "Isidoro de Sevilla," in Codoñer, *La Hispania visigótica*, 139–55, with references to the best editions of each of these works; María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, Carmen Codoñer and José Carlos Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, 2 vols, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2004–05), 274–417. These studies differ, especially on matters relating to the dating of Isidore's works, with the traditional point of view as articulated in Aldama, "Indicaciones." See also Pierre Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la naissance de l'Espagne catholique* (Paris: 1994). For details and bibliography on these works, the essential point of reference remains Díaz y Díaz "Introducción," especially 116ff. For the letters, see Martín, *Scripta*, 263–64.

[18] Following the chronology proposed by José Carlos Martín, "La *Crónica Universidad* de Isidoro de Sevilla: circunstancias históricas e ideológicas de su composición y traducción de la misma," *Iberia. Revista de la Antigüedad* 4 (2001), 199–239. See also his edition of the *Chronicle* in *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, CCSL 112 (Turnhout: 2003). For Isidore's histories, see the edition and commentary of Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias de los Godos, Vándalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla* (León: 1975), and Luis A. García Moreno, "¿Por qué Isidoro de Sevilla quiso escribir una segunda versión de su *Historia gothorum*?" in *Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Michel Rouche*, eds.

Isidore died in 636. Concerning his death we have a text written by one of the clergy of Seville, Redemptus, *Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, which formally is a letter written to a bishop or abbot but in fact takes on the form of a work of hagiography. This tells us that as he was dying, Isidore called on the bishops John of Elepla and Eparcius of Italica, two sees very close to Seville, to administer the rite of penance to him in the church of San Vicente. The subject of the text is the confession, penance, and death of Isidore, and it gives us a date for that death: 4 April 636.[19]

3 Isidore as Bishop in Social, Religious, and Political Contexts

If Leander predeceased Reccared, who died in December 601 and was succeeded by his son, Liuva II, Isidore would already have been bishop of Seville when the new king began his reign. Until his death in 636 Isidore was not only, as we have just seen, a prolific author, but he also participated directly in important affairs of state. This section will attempt to reconstruct his political biography as much as possible in terms of this participation, and also to examine the core

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Martin Aurell and Thomas Deswarte (Paris: 2005), 387–408; and Isabel Velázquez, "La doble redacción de la *Historia Gothorum* de Isidoro de Sevilla," in *L'édition critique des oeuvres d'Isidore de Séville. Les recensions multiples*, eds. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, Jacques Elfassi, and José Carlos Martín (Turnhout: 2008), 91–126. On Isidore's potential support for the Goths, Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," *Settimane di Studio* 17 (1970), 261–311; on provincials in Hispania following Roman traditions, Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Rome: 1981), 514–16; and on a form of synthesis, Suzanne Teillet, *Des Goths à la nation gothique: Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du ve au VIIe siècle* (Paris: 1984), 473–75, 494 ff. On the ideal of *breuitas* which runs throughout these historiographical works of Isidore, Jamie Wood, "*Brevitas* in the Writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain: A Symposium*, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J. Ryan (London: 2010), 37–53; and on his conception of historiography, Jamie Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes* in Isidore of Seville's *Chronica maiora*," in *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: 2013), 125–68. See also Wood's chapter in the present volume.

[19] This differs from a funerary inscription, a metrical epitaph which is only extant in the manuscript tradition which refers to the place where Leander, Florentina, and Isidore were interred, Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción," 98. See also Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "La muerte de Isidoro de Sevilla: apuntes de crítica histórico-hagiográfica," *Habis* 32 (2001), 577–96. For its possible recipients, the characteristics, and edition of the Latin text, see: *Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi* in Martín, *Scripta*, 279ff. On the written memory of Isidore, see: Michael J. Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing. Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville*, 93–110.

principles of his religious, social, and political beliefs. The period during which he held his episcopate and wielded influence was the product, in political terms, of the recent conversion of the *regnum Gothorum* to Catholicism in which his brother had played a key role. It is this author's view that to a great extent Isidore followed in his brother's footsteps, with regard to both his hostility to Byzantium and his belief that there should be an active role for the episcopate to play in political matters and the religious and social decision-making process of the elite of the *regnum*. Aspects of these elements of his episcopate will be examined below.

The efforts of Leovigild's family to consolidate themselves as a ruling dynasty came to an end with the success of the coup d'état led by Witteric in 603, which led to the overthrow of Liuva II. If we are to believe the hagiographic *Fathers of Merida*, the new king (603–10) had previously participated in the uprising in Merida against Masona and in the finally against Reccared himself *c.*587–88. Isidore was no great supporter of Witteric, judging by his comments on the king in the *Historia Gothorum*. Therefore, this short and negative biographical sketch of Witteric was more or less reproduced in texts of the post-Visigothic era, such as the *Chronica Byzantia-arabica* of the mid-8th century. It is clear that Isidore wrote not a single word about the foreign alliances that Witteric engineered with Chlothar II of Neustria, Theudebert II of Austrasia, or the Lombard Agiulf against Theuderic II of Burgundy, who in the end refused to marry Witteric's daughter, Ermenberg. The reign of Gundemar, though very short (610–12), shows us that Isidore was one of the signatories to the so-called *Decretum Gundemari*, which established the metropolitan status of Toledo over the province of *Carthaginiensis*. From the letters of the governor of Narbonensis, Bulgar, we learn that during Witteric's reign there were wars, about which Isidore says nothing, being fought between the Visigoths and Franks in the south of Gaul.[20]

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[20] *Vitas sanctorum partum Emeritensium* 5. Broader contexts are covered in E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: 1969); Abilio Barbero and Marcelo Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona: 1978); Luis A. García Moreno, *Historia de España Visigoda* (Madrid: 1989); Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (Oxford: 2004); Pablo C. Díaz, "La Hispania visigoda," in *Hispania tardorromana y visigoda*, eds. Pablo C. Díaz, Clelia Martínez Maza, and Francisco Javier Sanz Huesma (Madrid: 2007), 259–611; Javier Arce, *Esperando a los árabes* (Madrid: 2011). Isidore mentions Witteric in *Historia Gothorum* 58; see also the *Chronica Byzantia-arabica* 3. On Ermenberg and Witteric's foreign policy, Fredegar, *Chronicon* 4.30–31. On the wars between the Visigoths and the Franks, attested in Bulgar's letters, José Orlandis, *Semblanzas visigodas* (Madrid: 1992), 97ff.

Sisebut (612–21) and Isidore seem to have had a close relationship. As we have already seen, the king dedicated his poem on lunar eclipses to Isidore, and the bishop of Seville repaid the compliment with his *De natura rerum* and the first edition of the *Etymologiae*. A close reading indicates that the words Isidore used to describe Sisebut's reign in the *Historia Gothorum* and the *Chronica* suggest that he wished his readers to evaluate it in a positive manner. Isidore gives a favourable judgement of the king's military policy. Here he singles out Sisebut as *clarus* and gives details about his campaigns against the peoples of the north of the Iberian Peninsula. He also alludes to the king's campaigns against the imperial army, which, since the war between Agila and Athanagild in the middle of the 6th century, had occupied coastal areas in the east and south of the peninsula. Although both Witteric and Gundemar had also recently campaigned against the Byzantines, Isidore states that Sisebut defeated imperial forces twice and leads us to understand that he had opened negotiations about exchanging prisoners. Isidore ended the short version of the *Historia* with the death of Sisebut, which he says was due to illness or poisoning. As has already been said, it is this version that probably circulated after the death of the king at the beginning of 621, and afterwards Isidore worked on extending the *Historia* (the so-called long version), which ended in 626 with an account of the reign of Suinthila, celebrating his success in expelling the Byzantines.[21]

Isidore's views on the king's policy towards his Jewish subjects, on the other hand, are not so positive. On occasion, such as in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Isidore praises certain aspects of Judaism, such as its preservation of the tradition of reading scripture in synagogues. He had, however, no qualms—indeed, rather the opposite—in asserting that it was a religion of deicides. This can be seen in his *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, which was probably written at the beginning of Sisebut's reign. The work, which was dedicated to his sister Florentina and educational in its intent, makes clear the deicidal aspect of Judaism which, as is well known, was one of the foundations for hostility towards the Jews in the Middle Ages and beyond. As has been suggested by several authors, we ought to recognise the profound influence that eschatological thinking had on Isidore's ideas here, especially after the Persians captured Jerusalem in 614, and the Jews' role in the city's fall. When he was compiling his *Chronicle* in 615 Isidore makes scant reference to the topic in the life of Sisebut: "he converted the Jewish subjects of his kingdom to the faith of Christ." However, in both the short version of the *Historia Gothorum*, which ends with Sisebut's death, and the long version, which continues to the reign of Suinthila,

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[21] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 61, and *Chronica* 415.

Isidore criticises the conversion of the Jews to Catholicism by force "but without understanding." Careful reading of the text shows that the force of Isidore's criticism is not that the Jews were converted per se, but that this was done by force, adding that it should have been undertaken "for reasons of faith." What is clear is that Sisebut's actions mark an increase in hostility toward the Jews in the *regnum Gothorum*, reinforcing decisions taken in the reign of Reccared. It was in this way that the king was to take action against "the accursed perfidy of the Jews." A law promulgated at the beginning of his reign and following the precedent of the late Roman Empire forbade Jewish masters from continuing to own Christian slaves. Proselytising by Jews was to be punished by death and the confiscation of belongings. Isidore's dislike of this policy probably centred on his disapproval of king's intervention in religious matters, and it is certainly the case that at times the king did intervene forcefully in this field. We can see this in the letters he sent to Bishop Eusebius of Tarragona and Bishop Caecilius of Mentesa, rebuking the former for his love of the theatre at a time when he was dealing with the appointment of the next bishop of Barcelona (which belonged to the province of Tarraconensis, of which Eusebius was the metropolitan bishop), and the latter for his intention to retire in order to pursue a monastic career.[22] Isidore was certainly no friend of the Jews and criticises Sisebut's excesses not so much because of his actions towards them but rather because he took what Isidore considers to be a despotic attitude, on the grounds that he had not taken advice from his bishops (and certainly not from Isidore) when making decisions on this matter.

Isidore's direct intervention in collective decisions made by the bishops of the realm can be seen not only in his participation in the council of Gundemar but his role in the Second Council of Seville, held in 619. Church councils, especially after the conversion of the *regnum* to Catholicism under Reccared, had become a mechanism for making political as well as ecclesiastical decisions. This can be seen in the fact that the prelates dealt with, *inter alia*, matters concerning the regulation of a variety of institutions, social relations, and the role of church property in the wider community. The council in Seville followed Roman tradition closely. This, in this author's opinion, can be attributed to the influence of Isidore and is seen in its formal arrangements and its references to traditional legislation. It is worth noting the presence at this council, held with a province-wide remit for the province of *Baetica*, of Sisisclus, the "rectore rerum publicarum," and Suanila, the "rectore rerum fiscalium," i.e. senior secular functionaries of the *regnum*. The Council touched on various matters, including boundaries between dioceses which were to be returned to their former state, having previously been lost to the Byzantines and only recently recovered by the Visigoths. Other concerns were simple territorial disputes, such as that between Fulgentius of Ecija (Isidore's brother) and Honorius of Cordoba. Various points were made about ecclesiastical discipline, including an establishment of the correct episcopal hierarchy in the province. There was also a debate with an easterner who in the eyes of the assembled clergy was an acephalic heretic of the Monophysite tradition. This debate finally concluded with his recognition of Catholic orthodoxy as defined by the council.

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[22] Isidore, *De eccesiasticis officiis* 1.10.1. For the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, see the study and translation of Eva Castro Caridad and Francisco Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Sobre la fe católica contra los judíos* (Seville: 2012). See also: Isidore, *Chronica* 416 and *Historia Gothorum* 60—the key words are "sed non secundum scientiam […] potestate […] fidei ratione." The letters to Eusebius and Caecilius are numbers 6 and 1, respectively, in *Epistulae Wisigothicae*. The laws referred to are *Lex Visigothorum* 12.2.13 and 12.2.14, while at 12.2.14 there is a justification and exposition of the concept of "Ebreorum execranda perfidia." On eschatology and the potential influence of the situation in Palestine, García Moreno, *Hispania*, 148–52; Díaz, "La Hispania,*"* 401; Vallejo, *Hispania*, 331ff; on anti-Jewish feeling in the Visigothic kingdom, along with relevant bibliography, see: Raúl González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas de los judíos en el reino visigodo* (Madrid: 2000), and his chapter in the present volume. In addition, see Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour. The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2006). On Isidore's views in relation to the law, see the chapter by Andrew Fear in this volume.

In 622/624, during the reign of Suinthila, a further council, the third, was held in Seville. This was excluded from the *Colección Canónica Hispana*, a compilation of late- and post-Roman conciliar acts that were collated in various recensions during the course of the 7th century and of which Isidore is thought to have been one of the main editors. The result was that its *acta* have not survived, and we only have allusions to them in other council records. At this meeting of 622/624, where Isidore's would have been the decisive voice, Bishop Martianus of Ecija was condemned for defaming the king, Suinthila, consulting a soothsayer about the king's life, and holding inappropriate relations with women, including a slave. The Council's delegates deposed Martianus, appointing his accuser, Aventius, in his place. The story of Martianus's redress was a long one and only came to an end after Isidore's death when, at the Sixth Council of Toledo in 638, Martianus was finally restored to his see. In 633, at the Fourth Council of Toledo, where Isidore was again likely the most influential participant, Aventius's machinations ought to have been clear and Martianus restored to his episcopal rank. But he was not restored to Ecija. Given these facts it appears that Isidore remained hostile to Martianus throughout his life and that it was only after his death that the bishop was able to recover his see.[23]

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[23] For the new role which the councils came to play after Reccared's conversion, Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, and for them and for the later councils, Rachel Stocking, *Bishops,*

As had happened in the case of the deposition of Liuva II by Witteric in 603, Sisebut's dynastic plans came to nothing. He had planned to pass power on to his son, Reccared II, who in any event only remained on the throne for a short time. In 621 Suinthila (621–31) came to power. Suinthila had been one of Sisebut's generals, and military actions features strongly in what we know of his reign. He campaigned, for example, against the Basques in the north. His most well-known exploit was his victory over the Byzantines, resulting in their final expulsion from Hispania. Isidore praised this victory at great length, although we must not forget that the final version of his *Chronicle*, like that of the *Historia Gothorum*, came to a close in 626, just after the expulsion of the Byzantines but still in Suinthila's reign. The fragments concerning Suinthila which were added to the *Chronicle* are, like the rest of the text, scanty. In the *Historia Gothorum*, despite the brevity imposed by its genre, Isidore's comments are eulogistic. He underlines that Suinthila occupied the lands the imperial troops had managed to retain and was the first king to rule over all *Spania*. Isidore, who wrote this account in 626, wished to promote the notion that under Suinthila the *regnum* of the Visigoths had reached its apogee: if the kingdom had attained religious unity with Reccared, it now achieved territorial unity under Suinthila. It was with this event that Isidore decided to end the *Historia Gothorum*—an apotheosis which continues in Chapters 63–65, where he praises the king's campaigns and his virtues, such as his sharing the throne with his son Reccimer. This was another attempt to set up a dynastic succession in the manner attempted by both Reccared, who had succeeded his father and sought to pass on power to his son, and Sisebut. Isidore's writing shows that he was happy with the intended succession of Reccimer, describing him as "worthy to accede to the kingdom." In any event, Suinthila's family did not remain in power long. In 631, a coup devised in Narbonensis and led by Sisenand was successful. This Gothic magnate enjoyed the support of the Frankish king Dagobert. He paid for this with a substantial amount of gold: first in the form of a *missorium* which had once been given to the Goths by Aetius, and later with a further 200,000 *solidi*. A Frankish army commanded by Abundantius and Venerandus penetrated as far as Saragossa, where Sisenand was proclaimed king. Fredegar, a Frankish chronicler, justified the coup by implying

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councils, and consensus in the Visigothic Kingodm, 589–633 (Ann Arbor: 2000). For a detailed discussion of the case of Martianus, Rachel Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius, and Isidore: Provincial Councils in Seventh Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 169–88. A recent work on the councils of the Visigothic kingdom provides a bibliography of previous discussions: Pablo. C. Díaz, "Concilios y obispos en la península ibérica (siglos VI–VIII)," *Settimane di Studio* 61 (2014), 1095–158, esp. 1119–20 on the formal arrangements and content of the Second Council of Seville.

that Suinthila had proven to be a bad king, stating that he had provoked all the magnates of his kingdom.[24]

4 Conclusion

In the middle of the 8th century, the author of what is now called the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* stressed the importance of the council called in Toledo during the third year of Sisenand's reign, and noted the presence of Isidore and Braulio.[25] This was the Fourth Council of Toledo, held in 633, at which Isidore played an important role. The council dealt with a disparate series of matters, and Isidore's influence on it is clear. Its condemnation of Suinthila and recognition of Sisenand, who, as has been shown, came to power by force, deposing his predecessor, is particularly striking. Isidore had obviously changed his public stance on Suinthila, which was now very different from what he had written in 625/626 in the second edition of the *Historia Gothorum*. In some ways its canons firmly reflect the themes prevalent in Isidore's earlier works, such as opposition to the Jews, ecclesiastical discipline, and ethics. The Toledan council of 633 was to present, with the blessing of his colleagues, a summary of Isidore's thought on a wide variety of subjects. There are fulsome views on the behaviour of bishops, clergymen, and even monks. However, the council also dealt with the question of the Jews, banning them from holding offices and from owning slaves (cc. 65 and 66). These canons discuss the conversion of the Jews but assert that, despite the actions of Sisebut, Jewish rites continued to be practised, and they exhorted bishops to investigate this problem and force those concerned to convert to the true faith. The verb used here, *coerceat* (c. 59), leaves no doubt about what is intended and contradicts a previous canon which proscribes the use of force as a means of converting Jews (c. 57). Apart from the Jews, another important preoccupation of the council was the ownership of slaves and control of freedmen. There are various canons dedicated to these matters. Perhaps the most striking of the bishops' views here is that which insists, under Isidore's influence, that the obligations that its freed slaves owed to the Church "would never die" (c. 70, on ecclesiastical freedmen).

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[24] Isidore, *Chronica* 416B and 417; *Historia Gothorum* 62: "[…] urbes residuas, quas in Spaniis Romana manus agebat, proelio conserto obtinuit […] totius Spaniae intra oceani fretum monarchiam regni primus idem potitus"; 65: "[…] et regni successione dignissimus." See also Fredegar, *Chronicon* 4.73. For a discussion of the ideological content in Isidore's passages about Suinthila, Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 176–79. On the background of Suinthila's reign and the coronation of Sisenand, Luis A. García Moreno, "La oposición a Suintila: iglesia, monarquía y nobleza y en el reino visigodo," *Polis* 3 (1991), 13–24.

[25] *Chronica Muzarabica* 17: "[…] constante adhuc Ispalense Ysidoro episcopo uel in multis iam libris fulgente mirifice […]," in *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana. Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, ed. José Eduardo López Pereira (León: 2009), which corrects his previous *Crónica Mozárabe de 754. Edición crítica y traducción* (Zaragoza: 1980).

The most notable canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo is probably number 75. This summarises Isidore's views on monarchy and attempts to put into practice his demand for episcopal participation in the election of the monarch. The council of 633 was perhaps the high point of Isidore's direct participation in the political life of the *regnum Gothorum* and the culmination of his religious, cultural, and social thinking. The idea of a kingdom united by its Catholic faith and monarchy with a secure territory, the ideological grounding of which Isidore had earlier expounded in his *Laus Spaniae*, combined with the direct participation of bishops in the running of its affairs, is clearly visible at every turn in the *acta* of the Council—and in a great number of Isidore's other writings.[26]

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[26] The text known as *De laude Spaniae* is the beginning of Isidore's *Historiae*. In this text, Isidore offers a hyperbolic elegy of *Spania*, focussing on the country's geography and natural resources. He provides *Spania* with a feminine persona, which enabled him to play with the image that, having been dominated by Rome, she was finally conquered by the Goths. On Isidore's historiographical production, see the chapter by Jamie Wood in this volume. An edition of the text of the council can be found in Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana, V. Concilios hispanos: segunda parte* (Madrid: 1992). See also Stocking, *Bishops*; Díaz, "Concilios," 1121ff. On the attitude of Isidore towards the monarchy, see the chapter by Andrew Fear in this volume.

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CHAPTER 3

God's Librarian: Isidore of Seville and His Literary Agenda

Graham Barrett

> Anyone reading these notes without knowing me, without having read and understood *everything* of what I've written elsewhere, would remain blind and deaf to them, while he would *finally* feel that he was understanding easily.
>
> JACQUES DERRIDA[1]

Isidore of Seville could be a man of few words: about himself and his project above all.[2] No one can read his works, the *Etymologies* especially, without forming an impression of a writer "in something of a time-warp," but what exactly was he up to?[3] Confronted by an absence of obvious motivation for his vast output across many genres, we have in the main played the get-out-of-jail-free card of "educating the clergy," substituting assumed audience and (much more profitably) reception history for probing authorial intention.[4] One obstacle to

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[1] Quoted in B. Peeters, *Derrida: A Biography*, A. Brown, trans. (Cambridge: 2013), 292.

[2] I should like to express my gratitude here to Fernando Luis Corral, Peter Linehan, José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, Faith Wallis, Chris Wickham, Jamie Wood, and George Woudhuysen; and, for productive procrastination, to Laura Carlson.

When citing primary sources, I provide section or document numbers in preference to pages wherever possible; for classical texts, unless otherwise indicated, I have consulted the *Loeb Classical Library*. All translations are my own.

I use the following abbreviations: *CCH*: G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, eds., *La colección canónica Hispana*, 6 vols (Madrid: 1966–2002); *LV*: *Lex Visigothorum*, in *Leges Visigothorum. MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 1, ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover: 1902), 33–456; *P.Vis.*: I. Velázquez Soriano, ed., *Las pizarras visigodas. Entre el Latín y su disgregación. La lengua hablada en Hispania, siglos VI–VIII* (Burgos: 2004).

[3] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: 2005), 95, n. 101; cf. J. Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007), 5–7, "sorry to say" indeed.

[4] See classically I. Gutiérrez Zuluaga, "Los *Orígenes* de Isidoro de Sevilla y su trascendencia didáctica (I)," *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 28 (1970), 219–36; I. Gutiérrez Zuluaga, "Los *Orígenes* de Isidoro de Sevilla y su trascendencia didáctica (II)," *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 28 (1970), 311–27; P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, J.J. Contreni, trans. (Columbia, SC: 1976), 246–65, 274–79, 281–90, 293–303, 352–60; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps*

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getting a handle on Isidore is that "the bibliography"—both his and ours—"is of cosmic proportions."[5] Here I shall not even pretend to be treating him in the round; instead I mean only to offer a series of impressionistic *semblanzas* of what I understand to be the essential elements of his context, personality, and literary agenda.[6] It is always tempting to appoint Isidore a squadron leader for the rescue corps of the classics, confining debate to the mission's chances of success, but when viewed through the lens of the Visigothic slate texts and their evidence for a continuous history of Latin literacy in the Iberian Peninsula, he comes newly into focus as operating still very much in a late Roman cultural world.[7] If we read his letters with care, we recognise too that Isidore was altogether less worldly than we have made him out to be; his priorities lay elsewhere, his thought and energy were spent in constant revision of both ancient knowledge and Patristic exegesis, memorialised in the complex transmission of his *opera*. And by attending in particular to his prefaces to those works, we perceive an anxious determination to render the universal manageable—and on his own particular terms.

"The compiler (*compilator*)," says he, "is one who combines the words of another with his own, as makers of pigment traditionally grind up various ingredients mixed in a mortar. The poet of Mantua was accused of this crime once … He answered, 'Great strength is needed to prise the club of Hercules from his grasp.'"[8] Like Virgil taking Dante by the hand, Isidore can seem like a tour guide to a vast museum of antiquities.[9] But open the *Etymologies* to any

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des Wisigoths (Turnhout: 2000), 129–63; but also C. Codoñer, "La iglesia y la cultura hispanogoda," in *La Iglesia en la historia de España*, ed. J.A. Escudero (Madrid: 2014), 227–42; now with e.g. A. Fear and J. Wood, eds., *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge* (Amsterdam: 2016); C. Cardelle de Hartmann, "Uso y recepción de las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro," in *Wisigothica. After M.C. Díaz y Díaz*, eds. C. Codoñer and P. Farmhouse Alberto (Florence: 2014), 477–502.

[5] R. Wright, review of: M. del Carmen Bobes Naves, *La semiótica como teoría lingüística*, in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 53 (1976), 51.

[6] Some contrasting examples are E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York: 1912), 15–88; J. Madoz, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Semblanza de su personalidad literaria* (León: 1960); M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro el hombre," in *San Isidoro, doctor Hispaniae*, ed. J. González Fernández (Seville: 2002), 69–79; cf. J. Orlandis, *Semblanzas visigodas* (Madrid: 1992), from which Isidore is notably absent.

[7] J. Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes* in Isidore of Seville's *Chronica maiora*," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, eds. W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (Turnhout: 2013), 125–28, makes parallel observations.

[8] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 10.C.44.

[9] See e.g. N. Messina, "Le citazioni classiche nelle *Etymologiae* di Isidoro di Siviglia," *Archivos Leoneses* 68 (1980), 205–65.

page and its author will stare out at you in a different mask. He lives in Christian time: "in a Christian mouth, the names for the days of the week sound nicer."[10] He distills Christian knowledge: the Bible and ecclesiastical offices; God, angels, and the saints; the Church and deviant sects.[11] Yet he lives too in pagan time: "with this foot (*bacchius*) the Bacchanalia—that is, the ceremonies of the god Liber—are celebrated."[12] He distills pagan knowledge: "We also read of the burnt sacrifice which the Arcadians offered their god Lycaeus, and whoever consumed it was transfigured into a beast. This does not seem altogether doubtful."[13] Of course, he rejects ancient religion: "in this spectacle they soil themselves with the worship of their gods … impure divinities possess the circus."[14] And he refutes its claims: "this has been entirely confabulated by the poets, in an attempt to enhance their gods with some figures of speech; historiography reveals them to be fallen and full of the ignominy of shame."[15] He writes instead as a Christian: "Amongst us Christians, the first to write a history was Moses."[16] But he also writes, crucially, as a Latin: "Ennius was the first to use it (elegiac metre) amongst us Latin speakers."[17] All these are guises of a single author, who held in his grip the great chain of language, stretching from pagan antiquity to his Christian era: "in the fiction of poetry the winds, to signal their speed, are said to have wings; so also Holy Scripture says, 'he rides on the wings of the winds' (Psalm 104:3)."[18] What I hope to show in the following pages is that Isidore of Seville, seen in the mirror of his own words, aimed not to become catechist to centuries of priests and monks, nor indeed to achieve any great stylistic or generic innovation as such, but to carry through the scholarly project which he had set for himself: to take full stock of classical civilisation and recatalogue it for good in the epistemology of God.

1. The Stone Guest

The kingdom of the Visigoths in Iberia has long revelled gaily in historiographical esteem for its literate and literary culture, enjoying a reputation far greater than the Alans and so many other barbarian neighbours, with a respectable *proxime accessit* reserved perhaps for Ostrogothic Italy.[19] Ultimately this derives from an apparent intellectual sophistication, realised in and propagated through an "Isidorian Renaissance": study of the basics of a classical education in creative fusion with Christian doctrine by Isidore in Seville and his episcopal successors in 7th-century Zaragoza and Toledo.[20] Beyond the bright foreground of such bookish bishops, meanwhile, the literacy of the laity has been presumed as much as proven, fortified by encouraging noises from the Visigothic law code, in which documents remain a major intermediary of transaction, and the Visigothic legal formulary, in which the endurance of a public notariate seems indicated. Yet the balance of the evidence gives voice primarily to a social elite: a clutch of classicising compositions by King Sisebut and Count Bulgar in the first decades of the 7th century, some legislative references to lay judges on the job, and certain hagiographical cameos made by educated laymen.[21] Visigothic society, in other words, has a Roman feel, of the classics and of cultivation, of things still done by the book, which has seemed to find retrospective confirmation in the more richly documented kingdoms and counties established in the Christian north after the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula in 711. There the use of charters was routine amongst the laity as well as ecclesiastics, while both norms and procedures laid out in the Visigothic law code were explicitly in force at local courts staffed by laymen, albeit with a pronounced clerical and monastic presence.[22]

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[10] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.30.11.

[11] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6–8.

[12] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.17.11.

[13] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.9.5-6.

[14] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 18.41.3.

[15] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.29.

[16] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.42.1.

[17] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.39.15.

[18] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 7.5.3.

Ex Toleto semper aliquid novi—it is all thanks to the Second Council of Toledo: credit this ecclesiastical oversight activity in 527 with ensuring the continuation of Latin learning in Iberia.[23] The first canon provides *en passant* that the bishop should see to the education of child oblates until the age of 18, when they might manifest, regrettably, a desire for married life; scholars, observing renewed effort at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 to ameliorate sacerdotal ignorance, have detected a trend between these points, the early medieval Church attaching progressively greater importance to the schooling of its members.[24] If so, the fruit was not immediate. The 6th century offers scant prolegomenon to the achievements of Isidore and his elder brother Leander: leaving to one side Paschasius of Dume and Martin of Braga, twin leading lights of the Suevic intelligentsia, what we have amounts to the biblical commentaries of Apringius of Beja and Justus of Urgell, the epistles of Eutropius of Valencia, Licinianus of Cartagena, and Montanus of Toledo, and the chronicle of John of Vallclara.[25] Isidore profiles all those authors, Montanus excepted, in his bio-bibliography *On Illustrious Men*, with the additions of Justinianus of Valencia, Severus of Malaga, and Maximus of Zaragoza, whose works may or may not be lost; there is scarcely a hint of any literary hinterland existing beyond this roster.[26] Should we therefore join company with those who envision "the last Father" of the Latin West as the churchman, so to speak, in an age of decline, steeling himself to save an entire culture?[27]

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[19] J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols (Paris: 1959–83), 2:831–61; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend* (Toronto: 2009), esp. 10–20.

[20] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 2:863–88; cf. J. Wood and J. Martínez Jiménez, "New Directions in the Study of Visigothic Spain," *History Compass* 14 (2016), 34.

[21] Riché, *Education*, 246–65.

[22] R. Collins, "Literacy and the Laity in Early Mediaeval Spain," reprinted in *Law, Culture, and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: 1992), 114–18, 124–33; W. Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford: 2007), 88–112, 139–63; W. Davies, *Windows on Justice in Northern Iberia, 800–1000* (Farnham: 2016), 121–45, 155–231; cf. A.J. Kosto, "Laymen, Clerics, and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: the Example of Catalonia," *Speculum* 80 (2005), 53–56.

[23] P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: 1993), vii.

There is, in fact, contemporary evidence for reconstructing literacy at a less exalted level: the Visigothic *pizarras* or slates, 163 texts and uncounted numerical inscriptions, almost all fragmentary, found (and still being found) scattered across the northern Meseta, mainly in the rural environs of Ávila and

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[24] II Toledo (ed. *CCH* 4, 345–66), 1; IV Toledo (ed. *CCH* 5, 161–274), 25–26; F. Martín Hernández, "Escuelas de formación del clero en la España visigoda," in *La patrología toledano-visigoda. XXVII Semana española de teología* (Madrid: 1970), 65–78; J. Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement ecclésiastique dans l'Espagne wisigothique," *Settimane di Studio* 19, 2 vols (Spoleto: 1972), 1:145–202; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "La penetración cultural latina en Hispania en los siglos VI–VII," in *De Isidoro al siglo XI. Ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular* (Barcelona: 1976), 19; I. Velázquez Soriano, "Las pizarras visigodas como reflejo de una cultura," in *Los visigodos y su mundo* (Madrid: 1998), 132–33.

[25] See C. Codoñer, ed., *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literatura* (Salamanca: 2010), 49–92; J.C. Martín, *Sources latines de l'Espagne tardo-antique et médiévale (Ve–XIVe siècles). Répertoire bibliographique* (Paris: 2010), 124–42; cf. D.J. Wasserstein, "Ibn Biklarish—Isra'ili," in *Ibn Baklarish's Book of Simples: Medical Remedies between Three Faiths in Twelfth-Century Spain*, ed. C. Burnett (Oxford: 2008), 105–06, on identifying the venerable Biclar ("location unknown") with Vallclara.

[26] J.C. Martín and S. Iranzo Abellán, "Justo de Urgel, *Sermo de S. Vincentio* (CPL 1092): estudio de su tradición manuscrita, edición crítica y traducción," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42 (2012), 230–31; O. Zwierlein, ed., *Severi episcopi "Malacitani (?)" in Evangelia libri XII. Das Trierer Fragment der Bücher VIII–X* (Munich: 1994), 11–34; R. Collins, "Maximus, Isidore, and the *Historia Gothorum*," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (Vienna: 1994), 345–58.

[27] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 17, 21, 29, 31, 32 (cf. 20, 30, 33); P. Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église. Saint Isidore de Séville. Son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris: 1929), 485–93.

Salamanca, though also farther afield.[28] The majority, to judge by palaeography, come from the 6th and 7th centuries, but stratigraphic context has dated some numerical finds as far back as the late 4th or early 5th century.[29] As such, the slates, through their many different uses in everyday note-taking and record-keeping, land management, business transactions and legal affairs, teaching, learning, and Christian religious practice, document a continuity in the social centrality of practical, functional lay literacy from the late Roman world proper to the end of the Visigothic period (and beyond).[30] Despite the rustic setting, this literacy was to a degree commonplace: with our own eyes we see many hands capable of writing a comprehensible Latin, even as we find no trace of local schools or ecclesiastical structures of securely contemporary date.[31] The slates themselves provide the evidence for the underlying education, in that a good number seem to have been used for pedagogical purposes. When treated in ascending order of complexity, these reveal a "ground-level curriculum" which laid the literate foundation for the literary culture of Isidore and his friends.[32]

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[28] *P.Vis.*, 17–44; J.M. Abascal, H. Gimeno, and I. Velázquez, *Epigrafía hispánica. Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades* (Madrid: 2000), 295–339; I. Martín Viso, "The 'Visigothic' Slates and their Archaeological Contexts," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5 (2013), 145–68; cf. T. Cordero Ruiz and I. Martín Viso, "Sobre los usos y la cronología de las pizarras numerales: reflexiones a partir del caso del yacimiento de Valdelobos (Montijo, Badajoz)," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 85 (2012), 253–66. What follows draws on G. Barrett, *Everyday Literacy in Visigothic Spain from the Ground Up* (M.St. thesis, University of Oxford, 2008); much of this is taken up by N. Everett, "Lay Documents and Archives in Early Medieval Spain and Italy, *c.* 400–700," in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. W.C. Brown, M. Costambeys, M. Innes, and A. Kosto (Cambridge: 2013), 82–93.

[29] S. Dahí Elena, "Un contexto cerámico de la Antigüedad tardía: el yacimiento de San Pelayo (Aldealengua, Salamanca). Nuevos datos sobre la cronología de las pizarras visigodas," *Pyrenae* 38 (2007), 93–96; V. Pérez de Dios, "Nuevo epígrafe romano procedente del Cortinal de San Juan (Salvatierra de Tormes, Salamanca)," *Zephyrus* 76 (2015), 195–99.

[30] See F.J. Fernández Nieto, "A Visigothic Charm from Asturias and the Classical Tradition of Phylacteries against Hail," in *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza*, eds. R.L. Gordon and F.M. Simón (Leiden: 2010), 551–54.

[31] Díaz y Díaz, "La penetración," 18–19; Velázquez Soriano, "Las pizarras," 129, 132; I. Velázquez Soriano, "La cultura gráfica en la Hispania visigoda: las escrituras anónimas," in *Visigoti e Longobardi*, eds. J. Arce and P. Delogu (Florence: 2001), 185–89, 193–95, 208–09; cf. J.M. Ruiz Asencio, "La escritura y el libro," in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, III. España visigoda, II. La monarquía, la cultura, las artes*, ed. J.M. Jover Zamora (Madrid: 1991), 189–98.

[32] I. Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas: edición crítica y estudio* (Murcia: 1989), 623–38; *P.Vis.* 83, 105–10.

At the elementary stage, the simplest "educational slates" bear random letters in dispersed arrangement; others have partial or whole alphabets, comparable to papyri, tablets, and ostraca employed in Roman and late antique Egyptian teaching contexts for writing practice.[33] After this preparation, students progressed to whole words and phrases: one slate preserves a single word marked out between rubrics, recalling examples from Egypt where an instructor wrote a set sentence or phrase and pupils transcribed it within guidelines.[34] Another has various declined forms of *dominus* and *domina*, while on a third the same clause, *suscepimus per castros* ("we have received [X amount] through the fortified settlements"), is repeated at least six times, clearly attesting a process of learning by rote (to some, however, the latter is an obvious instance of tax collection in progress).[35] At a more advanced level, students copied out Scriptural and liturgical passages, typically from the Psalter—a standard "textbook" for the medieval classroom—in its distinctive Visigothic-Mozarabic tradition: while not of Iberian origin, the 6th-century *Rule of the Master* treats learning letters and studying the Psalms and canticles in just such conjunction, and the prescribed method of transcription and memorisation could account for the errors and omissions in these epigraphic extracts.[36] Abbreviations for "antiphonal" and "responsory" are also to be found on one slate, indicating that a liturgical manuscript was to hand, and the correction of mistakes made in copying certain words does suggest a teaching context, much like what seems to be an arithmetic exercise on a similar slate.[37] After practising letters, words, and sentences, students were finally drilled in composition: classicising moral epistles consisting of passages drawn from Scripture and the *Distichs of Cato*, another common late antique primer, or official correspondence prepared to template in suitably more ornate script.[38] One such royal petition addressed to Reccared is even partially repeated several times, as if the writer were struggling to master some of its forms, while on the reverse side we read the opening of a letter to a lord by a second hand; the slate was a "workbook" shared between two advanced pupils, learning to compose the texts clearly central to daily life by assembling portfolios of drafts.[39]

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[33] Letters: *P.Vis.* 21, 24, 84–85, 87, 99–100, 145, 147, 154–55, 163; alphabets: *P.Vis.* 25, 57, 105–06; Riché, *Education*, 461–63; Velázquez Soriano, "Las pizarras," 134–35; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: 1996), 35–118.

[34] *P.Vis.* 33; Cribiore, *Writing*, 119–52; see e.g. London, British Library, Add MS 34186.

[35] *P.Vis.* 161, 20; cf. I. Martín Viso, "Tributación y escenarios locales en el centro de la Península Ibérica: algunas hipótesis a partir del análisis de la pizarras 'visigodas,'" *Antiquité Tardive* 14 (2006), 283–90.

[36] *P.Vis.* 7, 58, 62–63, 127, 140, 148; J.M. Ruiz Asencio, "Pizarra visigoda con Credo," in *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, eds. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, J.M. Díaz de Bustamante, and M. Domínguez García, 2 vols (León: 2004), 2:1317–28; *Regula Magistri* 50.12–15, 43, 64–65, 68–69; cf. Riché, *Education*, 463–65.

[37] *P.Vis.* 7, 58; cf. Velázquez Soriano, "Las pizarras," 133–35; Velázquez Soriano, "La cultura," 200–05.

[38] See e.g. *P.Vis.* 59.

So, who were these students, and who were their teachers? For most of us, the Dark Ages have given way to a repackaged and rebranded late antiquity and early Middle Ages of bracing sociocultural originality and complexity.[40] But one tenacious element of the old paradigm is a conceptual division between the laity and the clergy, the latter still so easy to treat without really being aware of it as canny manipulators of a restricted "temple literacy."[41] Yet in a world before surplus and security, especially in the countryside, both shared the same everyday concerns, and we should be wary of erecting boundaries between them unless the sources dictate that we do so. In the case of the slates, there is little evidence to justify setting any limit on who could have been their writers, readers, or users otherwise. Social status was not a determining factor: slate records of land management were drawn up by peasant administrators and proprietors alike, equally able at least to jot down an *aide-mémoire* or two in the course of discharging their responsibilities.[42] Social order, similarly, does not appear to have been a constraint: personal titles are vanishingly rare, and even the few slate charters naming *fratres* in their address clauses may not mean ecclesiastics, since the label was also part of a simple honorific for laymen in the contemporary lexicon.[43] Most revealing of all is the fact that at least one document (perhaps two) is a holograph, a practice envisioned and sanctioned by Visigothic law, so long as appropriate form was observed and witnesses were present.[44] Here on the northern Meseta, drawing up legal papers

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[39] *P.Vis.* 128; cf. I. Velázquez Soriano, "El *suggerendum* de Tarra a Recaredo," *Antiquité Tardive* 4 (1996), 294; Velázquez Soriano, "Las pizarras," 135–36; Velázquez Soriano, "La cultura," 205–08.

[40] N. Everett, "Literacy from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, *c.* 300–800 AD," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy*, eds. D.R. Olson and N. Torrance (Cambridge: 2009), 362–63; cf. I.N. Wood, "Review Article: Landscapes Compared," *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 223–37; R. Collins, "Review Article: Making Sense of the Early Middle Ages," *English Historical Review* 124 (2009), 641–65; both offer important, if not equally measured, critical reflections.

[41] See the classic essay by S.J. Tambiah, "Literacy in a Buddhist Village in North-East Thailand," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J. Goody (Cambridge: 1968), 85–131.

[42] *P.Vis.* 45–46, 52; cf. R.S. Bagnall, *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book* (*P.Kell.* IV *Gr. 96*) (Oxford: 1997), 70–72, an essential point of comparison.

[43] *P.Vis.* 8, 41–42; D. Fernández, "What is the *De fisco Barcinonensi* About?" *Antiquité Tardive* 14 (2006), 217–24; P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: 1972), 82–83.

[44] *P.Vis.* 8, 39; *LV* 2.5, *passim*, esp. 16; King, *Law*, 109–13.

(stones) by oneself or with help as needed was a matter of course, facilitated by a free writing medium and the availability of models; local society participated in a common tradition inherited from the late Roman world, of creating charters at personal initiative to secure rights to property and manage the settlement of disputes.[45]

Both the medium itself, which offers a high degree of friction at the moment of inscription, and the broken and abraded condition of the exemplars combine to render palaeographic analysis an undertaking advisable for only the stoutest of heart.[46] With all due allowance for the decidedly tentative quality of any judgements, just four hands each of which has written more than one slate can be identified, yielding a minimum number of 158 writers in the corpus, not even counting slates with multiple hands or autograph signatures.[47] To think of these writers as "scribes" would be otiose. Such a total must reflect *ad hoc* literacy—basic, individual—on the part of those who kept notes and records, managed land, engaged in business, looked to the law, taught, learned, and prayed; most hands, with but one text each surviving to their credit, look no less practised for it.[48] Charter subscriptions too demonstrate a similar degree of comfort with writing amongst not only granters and beneficiaries, but also witnesses or "secondary participants": in all, there are 31 autograph signatures on the 10 (tolerably) legible slates, with a range of accompanying formulae directly comparable to the handful of parchment charters preserved from the period.[49] And in one document recording the terms of a sworn oath, the six presiding judicial figures appended their own subscriptions: in doing so they complied with Visigothic legislation, which required autographs of them in such contexts.[50] Instruction in the basics of literacy cannot have been rare; there are just three instances of a witness leaving a cross in lieu of a signature, and even so this counted legally to validate a contract, the same as one could either read the text oneself or else hear it read aloud before validating it.[51] Clearly there was a sizeable literate population on the rural northern Meseta, but it was a subset of a larger group for whom written modes, at some remove, were an ordinary aspect of living and interacting.

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[45] R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409–711* (Oxford: 2004), 170–73; I. Velázquez Soriano, "Ardesie scritte di epoca visigota: nuove prospettive sulla cultura e la scrittura," in *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, eds. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, and B. Zeller (Dietikon: 2009), 31–45. For translation of one example see J.N. Adams, *An Anthology of Informal Latin, 200 BC-AD 900: Fifty Texts with Translations and Linguistic Commentary* (Cambridge: 2016), 46.

[46] J.M. Ruiz Asencio, "En torno a la escritura de las pizarras visigodas," in *Centenario de la Cátedra de Epigrafía y Numismática. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1900/01–2000/01* (Madrid: 2001), 53–76.

[47] *P.Vis.* 45.2 and 48, 71 and 82, 97–98, 129–31; I. Velázquez Soriano, *Documentos de época visigoda escritos en pizarra (siglos VI–VIII)*, 2 vols (Turnhout: 2000), 2:25.

[48] J.M. Ruiz Asencio, "Nuevos hallazgos de documentos visigodos en pizarra," *Archivos Leoneses* 47 (1993), 10–11, 13–14, 17–25, 29–32; Ruiz Asencio, "La escritura," 198–202; Velázquez Soriano, "La cultura," 193–95.

[49] *P.Vis.* 12, 15, 39, 40.3, 42, 44, 92, 121–22, 126; A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, vol. 46 (Dietikon-Zurich: 1995), 1398, 1400–02; A.M. Mundó, "Pizarra visigoda de la época de Khindasvinto (642–649)," in *Festschrift Bernard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, eds. J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl (Stuttgart: 1971), 85; Velázquez Soriano, *Documentos*, 2:48–50, 62–65.

How do we account for the lack of corresponding evidence, be it textual or material, of episcopal, monastic, or other ecclesiastical school structures?[52] The "institutional approach" to literacy, focussing on formal venues of education, is something of a false start, in that there are always other ways and means of teaching, particularly when practical rather than specialised knowledge is involved.[53] Think of the types of writing on the slates: locals hardly needed the guidance of bishops assembled in pomp at Toledo to appreciate the utility of acquiring skills embedded in the pragmatics of daily life.[54] We simply want a mechanism for their dissemination. Conveniently enough, from the adjacent Bierzo, the idiosyncratic autobiographical writings of Valerius (*fl. c.*700)—a "crazed ascetic," "sour, self-righteous, ungrateful, and paranoid," or "a monk with an attractive personality" but "a tormented mind," depending on whom you ask—sketch for us a picture of how rural education operated without school walls.[55] We find him in the fastness of his mountaintop hermitage, where he "was rearing a certain child of good parents, and had composed a special booklet for his instruction"; as payment he asked only for some clothing. Absent any indication that the boy was bound for the clergy, this describes a barter economy in which Valerius, for the necessities to sustain his cantankerous solitude, supplied the teaching sought by rural folk, and not only those

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[50] *P.Vis.* 39; *LV* 2.1.25, 5.2.7; cf. Á. d'Ors, ed., *El código de Eurico: edición, palingenesia, índices* (Madrid: 1960), 307; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Un document privé de l'Espagne wisigothique sur ardoise," *Studi Medievali* 1 (1960), 63.

[51] *P.Vis.* 8, 19, 41; *LV* 2.3.3, 2.5.1, 2.5.3; King, *Law*, 104–05.

[52] But see I. Martín Viso, "Huellas del poder: pizarras y poblados campesinos en el centro de la Península Ibérica (siglos V–VII)," *Medievalismo* 25 (2015), 285–314.

[53] F.N. Akinnaso, "Schooling, Language, and Knowledge in Literate and Nonliterate Societies," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992), esp. 78–82; cf. S. Scribner and M. Cole, *The Psychology of Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1981), 113–33.

[54] See J. Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: 1977), 74–111.

[55] Wickham, *Framing*, 223; C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London: 2009), 170; Riché, *Education*, 359, 360; F.J. Udaondo Puerto, "El sistema escolar en la Hispania visigoda: el ejemplo de Valerio del Bierzo," *Helmantica* 54 (2003), 391–445.

"of good parents": "yes, in the calm season, many young lads used to arrive, who likewise bound themselves over to my tutelage," remaining until the school year ended with the onset of winter.[56] On another occasion, when our hermit "was introducing a young pupil to letters," he specifically followed a curriculum of reading, memorising, and reciting "the whole Psalter together with the canticles," while he also compiled copies of liturgical texts himself, intending them for study as well as use, all practices tallying neatly with the slates.[57]

The find-sites of the *pizarras* imply that teaching and learning took place on the ground, far from the city and the school, on the estates and in the villages where the peasantry worked and lived. At one point Valerius exchanged his own bad-tempered, ill-mannered company for residence in a church on the property of a sympathetic landowner, and notwithstanding the predictable falling-out (ending, to his evident satisfaction, in the death of his erstwhile patron) we can begin on this basis to reconstruct a rural education system staffed by itinerant literates, agents of capillary diffusion who enabled the *rustici* to attain what literacy they needed via informal person-to-person exchange.[58] And not only the basics: besides his Scriptural and liturgical reading, the troubled holy man of the Bierzo had a working familiarity with Visigothic law, drawing on it to structure and inform his misery memoirs; this makes him a possible conduit too for the knowledge of legal norms evident in the slate charters.[59] The point is that such figures, anonymous in the main and integrated into local society, were marketing a set of skills in demand, responding to a rural population habituated to the employment of writing (and counting) in day-to-day life. Together the humble slates and these all but unknown teachers are the bridge from the Roman world to the age of Isidore, spanning the intervening chasm of higher literature and laying a broad foundation for Visigothic letters. At the Swiss monastery of Sankt Gallen, the monks provided literate services to surrounding lay communities accustomed since time out of mind to doing business in writing; so too was literacy in early medieval Iberia a point of contact between the clergy and the laity.[60] When we try to make sense of Isidore, we must fix our eyes on this horizon of expectation and education, an unbroken link with the antiquity which he sought through his work not to contact or rescue but rather to condense and reframe.

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[56] Valerius of Bierzo, *Replicatio*, 6, 9.

[57] Valerius of Bierzo, *Replicatio*, 11 (cf. 22); see also his *Ordo querimoniae*, 6, and *Residuum*, 2.

[58] Valerius of Bierzo, *Ordo querimoniae*, 10.

[59] R. Collins, "The 'Autobiographical' Works of Valerius of Bierzo: their Structure and Purpose," reprinted in *Law, Culture*, 432–35; Y. García López, *Estudios críticos y literarios de la "Lex Wisigothorum"* (Alcalá de Henares: 1996), 30–31.

[60] R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: 1989), 77–134; R. McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge: 1990), 328–32.

2. The Quiet Sevillano

Who, then, was Isidore, and what was he for? Like the many “mute and reticent graves” confronting Prudentius abroad in the catacombs of Rome, a private silence stymies enquiry into the man and his motives.[61] This obtains even in his correspondence, the special genre which can so easily beguile us into believing that we really know the author despite the constant interplay between personal testament and public performance.[62] The great man of letters, in point of fact, wrote very few, that is to say, only a dozen survive: six addressed to Braulio of Zaragoza—one of them also “re-gifted” to Sisebut—and a seventh to Bishop Helladius of Toledo. The other five are generally considered doubtful or spurious, if not for equally sound reasons: one each to Eugenius I of Toledo, Masona of Merida, and Leudefredus of Cordoba, bishops all; one to Claudius, *dux* of Lusitania; and one to Redemptus, the deacon who subsequently sat Isidore’s death watch.[63] This modest haul is by no means confessional, but it is characterised by three abiding themes, of friendship maintained, books shared, and infirmity endured. While each in its own way is a common epistolary conceit, we may in the silhouette of the man projected just make out the form obscured. When the end came, Redemptus described “a body wearied by persistent sickness,” whose “compromised stomach rejected food”: Isidore rallied, however, to receive the sacrament of penance, and after primly dispersing the “hordes of women” closing in on his position made a final confession and took communion, dying in his cell four days later.[64] The model of Martin of Tours lurks in the background of this account, which also draws freely on Isidorian writings and the liturgy, yet insofar as it speaks to a recurrent complaint of his letters, one is tempted to accord it some credence.[65]

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[61] D.E. Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003), 527.

[62] R. Gibson, “On the Nature of Ancient Letter Collections,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012), 56–58; cf. Séjourné, *Le dernier père*, 71–81.

[63] J.C. Martín, “Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 12. Epistulae,” in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 2, eds. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (Florence: 2005), 387–96; R. Miguel Franco and J.C. Martín-Iglesias, eds., *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, CCSL 114B (Turnhout: 2018), 9*-56*.

[64] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi* 2.

The persona of Isidore, whether public or private, is most clearly delineated in his exchanges with Braulio. The earliest two letters of the set date to roughly 619–21 and tell a conventional story of absent comrades checking in on each other as they swap reading material.[66] In the first, Isidore plays etymologically on their shared spirit (*animus*) and friendship (*amicitia*) by enclosing, actually or metaphorically, a ring (*annulus*) and a cloak (*amictus*); he also attaches a "quaternion of rules," normally assumed to be his own *Rule for Monks* but fitting the description of any of the collections of mixed monastic handbooks by then in common circulation.[67] In the second letter, Isidore reiterates a request made previously *viva voce* for "the sixth decade of Saint Augustine," referring to part of the *Exposition of the Psalms*, and sends what he calls a *Booklet* (*Libellus*) *of Synonyms*, again possibly but not positively his own work of that name, before asking Braulio to pray for his "infirmities of the flesh and failure of mind."[68] Such professions of inadequacy to the task are a *topos* of the humility mode in contemporary epistolary (and literary) discourse, though more usually limited to alleged mental shortcomings. Physical handicap brings to mind "grim Eugenius"(II) of Toledo and his "auto-epitaph" lamentations, but also Asser and his portrait of Alfred, the Anglo-Saxon king for whom suffering sickness was the crux of his *mimesis* of Job, spiritual self-fashioning as a ruler of pious patience.[69] Are these confessed frailties deployed to invite similar interpretation from the reader, or were they a reality of Isidore's life?

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[65] G. Kampers, "Exemplarisches Sterben. Der *Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi* des Klerikers Redemptus," in *Nomen et Fraternitas. Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. U. Ludwig and T. Schilp (Berlin: 2008), 236–48.

[66] See I.N. Wood, "Family and Friendship in the West," in *The Cambridge Ancient History, XIV. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, eds. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge: 2001), 434–36; I.N. Wood, "Latin," in *A Companion to Late Antique Literature*, eds. S. McGill and E.J. Watts (New York: 2018), 34–36.

[67] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, A; I. Velázquez Soriano, "Reflexiones en torno a la formación de un *Corpus regularum* de época visigoda," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 23 (2006), 542–54; cf. J.T. Welsh, "Cato, Plautus, and the Metaphorical Use of *Anulus*," *Phoenix* 60 (2006), 133–39, for a rather startlingly different implication.

[68] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, B.

[69] A.T. Fear, "Moaning to Some Purpose: The Laments of Eugenius II," in *Early Medieval Spain: A Symposium*, eds. A. Deyermond and M.J. Ryan (London: 2010), 55–77; D. Pratt, "The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great," *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), 81–90; P. Kershaw, "Illness, Power, and Prayer in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), 217–24.

Alongside friendship maintained from afar, the motif of bodily incapacity recurs in the later correspondence, a trio of letters dating to 632/633. The first is more in the line of *opera buffa*: Isidore had just taken delivery of a note from Braulio when, summoned by the king as a matter of the utmost moment, he was forced to leave it with a servant; returning from the palace, he could locate neither the letter nor any of his other papers, leaving him no alternative but to ask his pen pal to get back in touch.[70] Seemingly a shameless name-dropper, Isidore reveals in his next missive that he is back in the majestic presence to preside at the Fourth Council of Toledo. *En route*, he had posted Braulio an unemended (*inemendatum*) copy of his *Etymologies*, amongst other codices, for emendation (*ad emendandum*), unable to do so himself "because of indisposition"; in closing he adds that he has no news to relay about the turbulent bishop of Tarragona, reportedly involved in some ongoing sensation.[71] The third letter, addressed to either Braulio or Sisebut, was perhaps initially sent to the king, then repurposed after his death: it encloses a work (*opus*) "on the origin of certain things"—the *Etymologies* again in some version—"compiled from the recollection (*recordatione*) of old reading" and partially annotated.[72] What are we to make of the primacy accorded here to memory? It is distinctly unsettling in an encyclopaedist, whether or not he had index cards to fall back on in his research, and resembles the prefatory remark of another great gatherer and transmitter of sources, the Algerian intellectual al-Maqqarī (d. 1632): "we had nothing to assist us in our gigantic undertaking but what little still remained impressed on our mind and memory.…"[73] Is it a key to their shared methodology, or a *caveat lector* about the degree of fallibility to expect from the result of so great a labour? Isidore wrote to his distant friend and correspondent for the last time in 636, if one accepts the text as topical rather than generic, asking to see him once more before his death, or else in the life to come, and begging for Braulio's prayers in his autograph valediction.[74]

These six brief and diffident communications stand in sharp contrast to the five *dubia et spuria*, broadly more forthcoming the more certainly apocryphal. Isidore's letter to Eugenius has been judged suspicious on fairly flimsy grounds: some manuscripts identify the addressee as bishop of Toledo, and this Eugenius (I) was not consecrated until late February or early March 636, by which time Isidore had only a month to live (he died on 4 April).[75] I cannot see why he need therefore have given up on his inbox. Nor do the contents read as the work of a wily forger: in response to a query, Isidore clarifies that Peter has precedence over the other Apostles, deplores the Acephalite heresy in no uncertain terms, and reminds Eugenius that subscription to the Trinity is not an optional element of Christian faith.[76] The letter to Masona is considerably longer, and its stated date of 605/606 ("in the third year of the reign of our most glorious lord Witteric") has been taken as the sign of a forgery from later in the Visigothic period (his episcopate, and his life, concluded *c.*600), seeking to establish the superiority of Toledo over Merida. If so, obliquely; the text considers the honour of the repentant sinner, and vindicates the opinion of the Council of Ancyra (314) with Scriptural citations.[77] In a similar vein is the letter to Leudefredus, thought to be a product of cunning later 7th- or 8th-century Iberian priestcraft. What it amounts to is a (reasonably) brief dissertation on ecclesiastical offices and their duties, making appeal to the authority of both logic and antiquity, while drawing out the qualities expected of an abbot.[78] Great issues here, too, are not obviously at stake, but one can see why subsequent arrangements might handily be legitimised through retrospective ascription to the venerable *padre*. Quite a different matter is the letter to Claudius, addressing papal and episcopal powers, the Credo, and the need for caution with heretics, patently a forgery of the 9th century, the age of Pseudo-Isidore (no relation); the last, to Redemptus, on liturgical differences between West and East, with a postscript praising the Bible over the rules of grammarians, belongs to the debates of the 11th or 12th.[79] Both are entirely out of keeping with the terse observations of the authentic correspondence.

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[70] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, III.

[71] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, V; cf. *Epistulae Visigothicae*, 6, for further on this case.

[72] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, En tibi.

[73] Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, P. de Gayangos, ed. and trans., 2 vols (London: 1840–41), 1:11; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 2:763–84.

[74] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, I.

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[75] M.C. Díaz y Díaz, ed., *Isidoriana. Colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla, publicados con ocasión del XIV Centenario de su nacimiento* (León: 1961), 7, notes that "a series of unfortunate circumstances for Spain" deprived the saint of worthy commemoration in 1936.

[76] G.B. Ford, trans., *The Letters of Isidore of Seville*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: 1970), 46–49.

[77] Ford, *The Letters*, 22–27, at 26; R.E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Massonam* on Lapsed Clerics: Notes on its Early Manuscript and Textual Transmission," reprinted in *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* (Farnham: 2009), 77–92.

[78] R.E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," reprinted in *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot: 1999), 260–62; cf. R.E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: Its Origins, Early Manuscript Tradition, and Editions," in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford: 1980), 269–72.

[79] Ford, *The Letters*, 30–37, 38–45; though see now S.C. Smith, "The Insertion of the *Filioque* into the Nicene Creed and a Letter of Isidore of Seville," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22 (2014), 261–86.

What little Isidore reveals of himself contains contradictions: a man battling disease for well over a decade to press on with his reading and writing; a man of affairs who drops everything to hit the road from Seville to Toledo and take his place at the king's right hand. The cottage industry of scholarship on his historical works settled long ago on a political interpretation, that he was brokering a *traditio legis* from Rome to the Catholic kingdom of the Visigoths, and this picture of a party academician has come to define Isidore in the round.[80] The problem is that, beyond what we have so far reviewed, there is virtually no evidence of his purported activism. He is a background presence at the Second Council of Seville in 619 and the Fourth Council of Toledo, the two fully documented meetings at which he was senior presiding prelate: no doubt one may trace his influence in the theological learning, concern for organisation and systematisation, and philosophy of Church and crown in cooperation present in the proceedings, but not through any overt, first-person intervention—Isidore remains, like all the other bishops, hidden behind the collective conciliar façade.[81] In this vacuum, something of a hybrid image has taken shape, the *siglo de oro* portrait painted by El Greco, austere and aloof, desiccated, the Grand Inquisitor of *Don Carlo* (Act 4, Scene 1), shuffling forth to insinuate policy into the sovereign ear, the negative to the positive of his extrovert brother Leander booming baptismal *bons mots* for the ages in 589.[82] Only one letter of Isidore, the seventh and last generally reckoned authentic (despite a late manuscript transmission), has him explicitly engaged with the world around him, discharging his pastoral responsibilities in the 620s or thereabouts. In clear and concise language, he asks Helladius "and the other prelates who are gathered with him" to depose the bishop of Cordoba, formerly a priest in Seville, for committing carnal sin, so that penitence in this life may earn forgiveness in the next.[83] Brief, and to the point. Silence may deceive, but it is past time at least to reappraise the quiet Isidore, alter ego to the politician and ideologue of our imagining. Whether we take his talk of malaise and memory as real or rhetorical struggle, by his own admission he was dedicated to his scholarly work before all else.

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[80] See J. Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 133–90, for the most careful treatment of this theme.

[81] II Seville (J. Vives, ed., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* [Barcelona-Madrid: 1963], 163–85), subscriptiones; IV Toledo 5, subscriptiones, 1.

[82] III Toledo (ed. *CCH* 5, 49–159), homilia in laudem Ecclesiae.

[83] See W. Gundlach, "Epistolae Wisigoticae," in *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi* 1, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae* 3 (Berlin: 1892), 658–90.

3. The Imperfectionist

Reserved and taciturn, Isidore had these further attributes: an inclination to revise and recraft his works continually, and a tendency to defer, cloaking and re-cloaking his own opinions in the authority of his stated sources, the secret security of the past. Even when he seems explicitly to be telling us something current and crucial—say, opining on the pronunciation of a word in his own day—he as often turns out to be channelling some fact or view culled from his omnivorous reading.[84] The point of departure for assessing the method behind the man is his *catalogue raisonné*: in life, Isidore had continued the index of Christian authors known generically as *On Illustrious Men*, and in death Braulio prepared a *Listing* (*Renotatio*) *of the Books of Isidore* by way of an appendix, enumerating and briefly describing "those works which have come to my attention." After heartily endorsing the eloquence and erudition of his subject, he presents 17 titles in all, crowned by the *Etymologies*, wherein "nearly everything which one ought to know" can be found; concluding in rapture on Isidore's articulacy and learning, he salutes his stewardship of the Second Council of Seville for definitively confuting the Acephalites, an argument in favour, perhaps, of the letter to Masona.[85] Much of the industrial output of Isidorian scholarship has sought to harness this review as a tool for identifying and interpreting his surviving *œuvres*, though disagreement remains over whether the treatises *On Numbers* and *On Heresies* latterly edited and published under his name are genuinely those cited here.[86] The order of presentation has even been mobilised as a sequential guide to relative date of composition—controversially so (and almost certainly without merit).[87] But the most interesting point is the one least often made. The *Listing* offers poor guidance in regard to the salient textual feature of Isidore's various works: the multiple extant versions attributable to their author.[88]

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[84] J. Elfassi, "*Nam benevolentia absurdum sonat* (Isidore de Séville, *Etym.* X, 26): une question de prononciation?," *Eruditio Antiqua* 5 (2013), 47–54; cf. M. Banniard, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en Occident latin* (Paris: 1992), esp. 235–47; I. Velázquez Soriano, *Latine dicitur, vulgo vocant. Aspectos de la lengua escrita y hablada en las obras gramaticales de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Logroño: 2003), 196–215.

[85] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, 200, 204.

[86] Isidore, *Liber numerorum*, viii-xiv; Isidore, *De haeresibus*: 139–60; J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 14. Traités d'authenticité incertaine," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:407–17.

[87] J.A. de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana. Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII Centenario de su muerte, 636–4 de abril 1936* (Rome: 1936), 57–89; J.C. Martín, *La Renotatio librorum domini Isidori de Braulio de Zaragoza (†651). Introducción, edición crítica y traducción* (Logroño: 2002), 74–84.

Letters, as before, provide a way in. The correspondence between the two bishops is transmitted together with the *Etymologies*, prefixed as if in lieu of the absent preface.[89] Of the pair of letters sent by Braulio, the earlier (625/626) entreats Isidore for the book (*liber*) by that title, which he had asked him to write and has heard is now complete, as well as for the proceedings of a council condemning Sintharius, "cooked to well done by the white heat of your interrogation."[90] The later (632/633), however, notes that seven years have elapsed since he placed his order for the books (*libri*) of *Origins*, a new title; in the meantime, he has been fobbed off with diverse and subtle delays, claims that they are unfinished, even unwritten, that his letter got lost in the mail. Increasingly desperate, Braulio demands his advance copy, reading Isidore the Riot Act for depriving him of love and friendship. At last, the jabbing finger: he has learned that many others are already in possession of the books (*libri*) of *Etymologies*, albeit "mutilated and chewed up"; he longs, how he longs, to hold them in his hands, but preferably "transcribed completely, emended, and properly integrated."[91] These earnest, if embarrassing, missives are the first sign that the great dictionary-encyclopaedia may have been composed and circulated not in continuous fascicles so much as in a number of distinct volumes, and that Isidore only conceived the idea of uniting them at a late stage in their production. As Braulio himself records, when the text *in toto* was finally entrusted to him for revision and dissemination, it was he who divided it into the twenty books of its present form.[92]

This editorial intervention bound together materials with separate geneses and purposes: Isidore's own *Etymologies* were not as we have them.[93] How, then? Beginning at the beginning, the first three books define the seven liberal arts, a manual not unlike the *Secular Institutes* of Cassiodorus, with an additional book on medicine.[94] Book five profiles civic and religious life by way of law, history, the Bible, canon law, and liturgical practice; books six through ten build on this foundation, discussing the Christian community in the form of God and his ministers, the structure of the Church and the nature of other religions, society and the family, and individuals and the labels for them. What now constitute books one to ten, in other words, offer the reader first an intellectual preparation, then a guide to the notional components of life, and in conclusion concrete information for participating in it, the balance firmly in favour of a Christian orientation. The second half of the *Etymologies* is a more straightforward gazetteer of the physical features of the world: man and animals, the four elements, geography, cities and buildings, precious stones and produce, social systems, and objects public and domestic. What accounts for this disjuncture of content and style? Book five closes with a brief chronicle of the six ages of man, conventionally called the *Lesser Chronicle*, and the manuscripts transmit its final entry in three versions, dating respectively to 623, 627, and 637.[95] This transparently suggests successive recensions, the third and last from a year after the death of Isidore, plausibly part of the editorial "completion" by Braulio; as is implicit in the earlier and explicit in the later of his pleading letters, copies of the text(s) seem to have circulated widely at the various stages of revision from quite early on. Importantly, book ten also has two overlapping prefaces, the second an elaboration of the first. The first is more bridging in nature ("we have inserted a certain number [of etymologies] in this work for the sake of learning"), and we may take it as introducing the final section of an initial ten-book format of the "whole" text, conceivably inscribed to Sisebut with that letter later reused for Braulio.[96] Assembled out of independent blocs, some of which circulated on their own (such as books five and perhaps ten), it was finished around 625/626, when Braulio first wrote enquiring after it. Isidore thereafter developed plans to expand his work, and composed or compiled what has become its second half, books eleven to twenty, in the years up to 632/633, when Braulio got wind of its availability (to others).

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[88] See M.A. Andrés, J. Elfassi, and J.C. Martín, eds., *L'édition critique des œuvres d'Isidore de Séville. Les recensions multiples* (Paris: 2008).

[89] R. Miguel Franco, "Posición y relaciones de las epístolas de Braulio de Zaragoza en las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Munus quaesitum meritis. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer*, eds. G. Hinojo Andrés and J.C. Fernández Corte (Salamanca: 2007), 607–16; R. Miguel Franco, "Tópicos de los prólogos en las cartas introductorias a las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Acme* 67 (2014), 109–32.

[90] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, II.

[91] Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, IV.

[92] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio*, 203–04.

[93] See C. Codoñer, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 1. Etymologiae," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:274–99, now the point of departure for any consideration of this text.

For Isidore the creative process was iterative and recursive: frequent dissemination of drafts amongst his peers, even if not always to his biggest fan, and regular revision or wholesale reconception. These practices are most clearly in evidence with his *Greater Chronicle* and *Histories of the Goths, Vandals, and Sueves*. The fearsome transmission of the former, in its full complexity, "cannot be mastered—can scarcely be approached—without an effort," but it is basically reducible to two versions, according to the date of the last entry: one in 615/616, during the reign of Sisebut, the other in 626, under Suinthila, a longer recension with new notices as well as deletions and modifications.[97] Isidore must have returned to update his earlier work for the new regime, as Suinthila, enterprisingly, had suppressed the son and successor of Sisebut to mount the Toledan throne. Yet there is also an intermediate family of manuscripts with features of both versions: he seems to have produced and circulated copies at various stages of composition, and indeed reused one such recension as the *Lesser Chronicle* in book five of the *Etymologies* (this too, as above, he rewrote).[98] The *Histories* have a similar story. Based once again on the final entry in the surviving manuscripts, we can identify two successive versions of the text: Isidore completed the first in 621, then dusted it off in 626, prosecuting "Our Peninsular Story" further in time and adding a laudatory preface and conclusion to celebrate the glorious expulsion of the east Romans.[99] He may also have bundled this second edition together with his *Greater Chronicle*, though copyists subsequently (and forgivably) jumbled up the different recensions. Heroic work disentangling the transmission has likewise brought to light a transitional form of the *Histories*, put in circulation from the scriptorium of Isidore himself before he had finalised his editorial interventions, and to be found in the same manuscripts as the intermediate *Greater Chronicle*, implying that he was amending the two texts in tandem.[100] The remarkable tradition of his historical writings unmistakeably conjures a particular Isidore, pen constantly in hand, revising his work to ensure that it remained current in content and outlook.

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[94] Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, J.W. Halporn and M. Vessey, trans. (Liverpool: 2004), 64–79; E. Montero Cartelle, "La medicina y las Artes liberales según Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Isidorus medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina*, ed. A. Ferraces-Rodríguez (A Coruña: 2005), 227–42.

[95] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.39.42.

[96] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 10.1; C. Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro x de las Etymologiae. Su lugar dentro de esta obra, su valor como diccionario* (Logroño: 2002), 12–27; cf. Miguel Franco and Martín-Iglesias, *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae*, *34–*41.

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[97] W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development*, 3 vols (Oxford: 1874–78), 1: iii; Isidore, *Chronica*, 1.417, 2.417^{a}; J.C. Martín, "Le problème des recensions multiples dans la *Chronique* d'Isidore de Séville," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 127–51; J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 9. Chronica," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:362–70.

[98] But see now C. Codoñer, "El 'De descriptione temporum' de las 'Etymologiae' (5,39) dentro de la transmisión manuscrita de la 'Chronica,'" *Filologia Mediolatina* 20 (2013), 217–54.

[99] Isidore, *Historiae*, 61, 65 (see also De laude Spaniae, 168–171; Recapitulatio, 66–70); I. Velázquez Soriano, "La doble redacción de la *Historia Gothorum* de Isidoro de Sevilla," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 91–126.

[100] J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 10. De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:370–79; J.C. Martín, "Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite de trois oeuvres d'Isidore de Séville: le *De natura rerum*, la *Regula monachorum* et le *De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum*," *Filologia Mediolatina* 11 (2004), 244–63.

Maybe we should expect this in the production of something so massive as the *Etymologies*, and so sensitive as chronicling the political vicissitudes of the day. But the same iteration and recursion are apparent in his other more modest, less topical efforts. Consider the *Synonyms*, an essay in the language of spiritual contemplation: it is transmitted in two major families of manuscripts with differences sufficient to reconstruct two recensions, notably a pair of contrasting prologues (one posthumous: "Isidore of holy remembrance") in addition to the prefatory letter.[101] While the text as a unity has variously been dated to post-595, *c.*604–12, and 631, a plausible scenario building on what we have seen is that Isidore shared a first draft with Braulio (enclosing it with his letter of 619–21), which became the basis of one surviving version, then edited his own working copy into the other at some point thereafter; the precise circumstances are still very much in debate.[102] Or take the *Allegories*, explanatory notices on the moral sense of the principal personages of the Bible perhaps for use by preachers, drawing on Patristic—especially Augustinian—citations.[103] We still lack a published critical edition, forcing us back to the volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* ("repellent though they are in appearance"), but preliminary study points strongly once more towards two recensions: here the modifications are comparatively slight, confined mainly to organisation; even so, only one branch of the manuscripts bears the cover letter to Orosius (surely Aurasius, bishop of Toledo?), in which Isidore "commended these [notes] to your judgement for correction," putting us back amidst circulating drafts and authorial proofs.[104] An exception to this pattern has in the past been found in the manual *On Ecclesiastical Offices*, a companion to the liturgy and hierarchy of the Church written at the request of Isidore's brother Fulgentius: its transmission seemed blissfully free of notable discrepancies.[105] Recent work, however, has flagged variants hitherto attributed to contamination, friend or foe to so many an editor, which may instead reflect stages of correction and revision.[106] This minor editorial activity is not on the scale of a new recension, but it does bring the text into line with general Isidorian practice, and may provide a context for its division into two books and arrangement into chapters.

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[101] Isidore, *Synonyma*, 1.1, 2, 3–4; J. Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 4. Synonyma," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 1, eds. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (Florence: 2004), 218–26; J. Elfassi, "Les deux recensions des *Synonyma*," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 153–84.

[102] J.C. Martín, review of: J. Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 68 (2010), 368–71; J. Elfassi, "Une nouvelle hypothèse sur les deux recensions des *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville: quelques remarques critiques," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 69 (2011), 179–201.

[103] D. Poirel, "Un manuel d'exégèse spirituelle au service des prédicateurs: les *Allegoriae* d'Isidore de Séville," *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 33 (2003), 95–107; J.C. Martín-Iglesias, "Las fuentes de las *Allegoriae quaedam sanctae scripturae* (CPL 1190) de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Euphrosyne* 46 (2018), 143–79.

[104] R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: 1953), 259; Isidore, *Allegoriae*, 97–98; D. Poirel, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 1. Allegoriae," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 1:196–201; D. Poirel, "*Quis quid ubi quibus auxiliis cur quomodo quando*. Les

Why write and rewrite? The shape of an answer can be glimpsed in the textual history of *On the Nature of Things*, an almanac prepared by Isidore with some encouragement from Sisebut and probably complete as of 612/613. The treatise is transmitted in three recensions: shorter, comprising 46 chapters; intermediate, appending what is now numbered chapter 48; and longer, incorporating chapter 44 as well as (for the most part) the so-called "mystical addition," which disappointingly just explicates how the day is "the image of the Law"; this last, if not Iberian in origin, may be a later contribution by Northumbrian *eruditi*.[107] The evidence admits of more than one interpretation, but Isidore most likely added chapter 48 himself, after reading book two of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, to emulate the ending of that rival forerunner with his own considered views "On the Parts of the Earth." This chapter also has many points of contact with book fourteen of the *Etymologies*, "On the Earth," suggesting that, a decade or so after finishing *On the Nature of Things*, he revisited it while engaged in his dictionary project.[108] We thereby begin to see Isidore in sharper relief: not only revising his current work as he learned of new sources, but also editing one text in light of material culled from research for another—an author continually emending, updating, and reconciling the whole corpus of his output, maintaining its consistency on the fly, not waiting for autumnal *retractationes*. In this connexion, it is worth contemplating his *Questions on the Old Testament*, an exegesis of the Pentateuch and the Histories

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recensions multiples des *Allegoriae* d'Isidore de Séville," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 15–47; cf. L.A. García Moreno, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca: 1974), 244.

[105] Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, epistula ad Fulgentium.

[106] M.A. Andrés, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 4. De ecclesiasticis officiis," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:323–32; M. Gorman, "The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Isidore's *De natura rerum* with a Note on the Manuscript Transmission of Isidore's Works," *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 529–45, at 537.

[107] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, 1.3.

[108] J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 8. De natura rerum," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:353–62; Martín, "Réflexions," 206–27; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14, xxxv-xxxix; cf. Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis* 2.112–13 (242–48).

thought to date from early in his publishing career.[109] The preface promises the reader comprehensive literal and allegorical analyses, agreeing with Braulio's description of the work as divided into two books, but the second is not identifiably extant, while in the first the much greater length of the initial five literal commentaries does make it look like Isidore simply lost interest in the rest; it is almost certainly unfinished. Yet there are alternatives to *ennui*: book two may survive (in summary form) as the *Allegories*, and he could still have been preparing the remainder of his planned essays at the time of his death.[110] Based on our knowledge of his working habits, what we have may be a series of drafts and outlines which he handed out to his colleagues, soliciting their comments and corrections—in future a complete critical edition should tell.

Textual flux is a hallmark of the entire Isidorian bibliography. At some point in the years between 612 and 614/615, he composed *On the Catholic Faith against the Jews*, offering robust refutation, "original in his formulations," of the errors of Judaism for the enlightenment of his sister Florentina.[111] Exploratory study of its transmission has revealed signal divergences amongst the few manuscripts collated: could they too reflect authorial revision? Isidore had first put *calamus* to parchment in the reign of Sisebut and the circumstance of his anti-Semitic activities; later and with political cover, he distanced himself from such initiatives in his edited *Histories*, and we may hope that here he was further developing his preference for persuasion over forced conversion, though his apparent actions at the much controverted "Third" Council of Seville (622–24?) do cast doubt on the moderation of his position.[112] Another question in this line arises with *On Differences*: the Isidorian tracts "On the

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[109] Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*.

[110] Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, *Genesis*, praefatio; Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio*, 203; J. Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 2. Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 1:201–09.

[111] Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 1, praefatio; M.A. Andrés, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 5. De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:333–38, at 333; W. Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2006), 33–136.

[112] Isidore, *Historiae* 60; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 201–305; S.A. Feldman, "Isidoro de Sevilha e o rei Sisebuto: a conversão dos judeus no reino visigótico," *Brathair* 13 (2013), 97–115; cf. Isidore of Seville, *Chronica* 1–2, 416. See VIII Toledo (ed. CCH 5, 365–485), excerptum canonicum, 20 (and CCH 1, 318–22); J.C. Martín-Iglesias, "El *Iudicium inter Marcianum et Habentium episcopos* (a. 638): estudio, edición y traducción," *Habis* 49 (2018), 218–22; with J. Orlandis, "Tras la huella de un concilio isidoriano de Sevilla," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 4 (1995), 237–46; R.L. Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius, and Isidore: Provincial Councils in Seventh-Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 169–88; W. Drews, "Jews as Pagans? Polemical Definitions of Identity in Visigothic Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 189–207.

Differences of Words" and "On the Differences of Things" are more often transmitted apart than together, and while Braulio catalogues them as comprising two books, summarised in a description drawn from the prologue to the former, Isidore may have written the latter first.[113] No early manuscripts preserve both books copied in what is now thought of as their "correct" order, and when copied together each has undergone noteworthy modification. Book one is the first surviving example of a genre, orthographic lexicography, in which synonyms and homonyms are stated, defined, and distinguished by phonetics, morphology, or semantics as appropriate. Isidore had arranged it thematically, but quite soon in its transmission it was alphabetised and expanded. Book two is much shorter and treats broadly spiritual content, from the mystery of the Trinity to the parts of the body, via grammatical distinctions. Similarly, the text was quickly revised and reorganised, with paragraphs and whole chapters added or excised, but none of this by Isidore, at least not for certain.[114] The manuscripts indicate that the two books initially circulated independently, and perhaps this reflects their composition: could it have been Braulio who combined them, even as he laid out the *Etymologies*, following the example of the author in packaging and repackaging his work?

The bishop of Zaragoza would not have been alone in interpreting his role as Isidore's literary executor expansively. While the sage of Seville has not quite achieved the distinction of certain recording artists in releasing more studio albums dead than alive, expansion *post mortem* has been the fate of much of his corpus, after his own example but also conceivably owing to its predominantly impersonal "reference" quality. Early in his career, Isidore compiled his *On Illustrious Men*, schematic profiles of Christian writers following on from Jerome and Gennadius, in 33 chapters: as above, this original subsequently acquired Braulio's catalogue for an appendix, and underwent a number of revisions, before being transformed into a second version of 46 chapters, complete with prologue, probably in Iberia at some point later in the 7th century.[115] One can readily see why an authoritative bibliography defining a canon invited modification to taste. But something similar befell the *Sentences*: the key source for Christian political philosophy in Visigothic Iberia and the most copied of Isidore's works after the *Etymologies*, it gained a whole new fourth book, though not until long after its frustratingly uncertain date of composition.[116] Still more significant are the transformations of another youthful effort, *On the Birth and Death of the Fathers*, succinct biographical notices (birth, life, death, burial) of the stars of sacred history. The text survives as both a single unit and divided piecemeal, offering introductions to individual books of the Bible, but only the coherent format is definitely Isidorian; here too chapters were added steadily over time to redress gaps in coverage—the Lesser Prophets to name one shocking omission—while the content was updated to suit new understandings of Scripture.[117] Perhaps from conception, or else very soon in its transmission, the work was assembled into a kind of Sunday School primer together with the *Allegories* and the *Prefaces*, the last a set of forty summaries and brief comments on the authorship and reception of biblical books. Like its partner, it too was carved up and distributed as introductory material; first steps towards a much-needed modern edition have revealed several stages of post-Isidorian tinkering, the addition of new content, and a systematic revision of the entire opus which may emanate from the Carolingian court.[118]

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[113] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, 200; Isidore, *Differentiae* 1, praefatio; Isidore, *Differentiae* 2.

[114] C. Codoñer and M.A. Andrés, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 3. De differentiis libri duo," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:307–22; C. Codoñer, "Historia del texto del Libro I des las *Differentiae* de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14–15 (1984–85), 77–95; M.A. Andrés, "Relación y numeración de los tres libros de *Differentiae* atribuidos a Isidoro de Sevilla (*PL* 83)," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 30 (2000), 239–62, which also discusses a third specimen of this genre betimes ascribed to Isidore; see M.L. Uhlfelder, ed., *De proprietate sermonum vel rerum. A Study and Critical Edition of a Set of Verbal Distinctions* (Rome: 1954).

[115] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 20–41, 87–128; C. Codoñer, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 2. De viris illustribus," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:299–307; J.C. Martín, "Une

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nouvelle édition critique de la 'Vita Desiderii' de Sisebut, accompagnée de quelques réflexions concernant la date des 'Sententiae' et du 'De uiris illustribus' d'Isidore de Séville," *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), 134–45; F. Dolbeau, "Une refonte wisigothique du *De viris illustribus* d'Isidore," in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine, à l'occasion de son 70^e^ anniversaire, par ses élèves, amis et collègues*, eds. L. Holtz, J.-C. Fredouille, and M.-H. Jullien, 3 vols (Paris: 1992), 2:41–56. For the later expanded version see G. von Działowski, *Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schriften "De viris illustribus" des Isidor von Sevilla und des Ildefons von Toledo* (Münster: 1898), 1–123.

[116] Isidore, *Sententiae*; J. Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 3. Sententiae," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 1:209–18; Martín, "Une nouvelle édition critique," 134–45. The text of the fourth book can be found in *PL* 83, 1153–200: see J. Keskiaho, "Pseudo-Isidorus Hispalensis: *Sententiarum liber quartus* (CPPMA 1080). Some Notes on a 12th–13th Century Florilegy," *Revue Bénédictine* 120 (2010), 100–28.

[117] Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*; M.A. Andrés, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 7. De ortu et obitu patrum," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:345–52; C. Chaparro Gómez, "El *De ortu et obitu patrum* de Isidoro de Sevilla. El problema de su composición y de su transmisión," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 49–62.

[118] Isidore, *Prooemia*; M.A. Andrés, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 6. In libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti prooemia," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:338–45; M.A. Andrés, "Las recensiones de los *In libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti proemia*," in Andrés et al., *L'édition critique*, 63–87; cf. Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, 53–96.

In life and death the writings of Isidore were mutable, subject to reconciliation with each other or the latest progressive thinking. The final work securely ascribable to him, his *Rule for Monks*, confirms this picture. The text still has no critical edition in the generally accepted sense of the term, and the manuscripts have yet to be catalogued, let alone collated, but it appears to survive in two recensions. The first reflects the monastic observance which Isidore had laid down by 620 or so, while in the second a series of chapters have been altered to prescribe greater disciplinary rigour; dateable to the mid-7th century, this later version reflects the undeniably more severe monasticism favoured by Fructuosus of Braga and his circle—the original, in other words, has been brought into line with changing fashions.[119] Such transformative transmission, recalling the successive, evolving editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, may also elucidate how we should handle a remark made by Braulio at the close of his Isidorian inventory: "there are many other minor works too by this man, and in the Church of God instruments with much elaboration."[120] The second half conjures the compilation of conciliar acts known as the *Hispana*, more or less now agreed in its earliest form to be Isidore's creation, illustrated with canonical tables of reference; the afterlife of this collection proved long and changing.[121] As to the first half, at least forty texts have been ascribed over the years to "this man" only to be reckoned dubious or spurious, including on the grounds that they are mere sets of extracts from his genuine writings.[122] One wonders whether some of them may turn out, when reread with greater sensitivity to persona and practice, to be authorial drafts or versions, prepared for other audiences and contexts, further signs of a writer ever in search of the fullest, most perfect expression of knowledge.

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[119] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*; J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 11. Regula monachorum," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:379–86; Martín, "Réflexions," 227–44; P. Barata Dias, "L'idéal monastique, les moines et les monastères du monde wisigothique," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 143–54; with M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Aspectos de la tradición de la *Regula Isidori*," *Studia Monastica* 5 (1963), 25–57; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "The Lérins Manuscript of the Isidorian Rule: An Addition and a Partial Retraction," reprinted in *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l'Espagne du VII^{e} au X^{e} siècles* (Aldershot: 1992), 143–57; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Fructuosiana," in Holtz et al., *De Tertullien*, 2:31–40.

[120] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio*, 204 (C.W. Barlow, trans., *Iberian Fathers*, vol. 2: *Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga* (Washington, DC: 1969), 142, is misleading); W.E. Preece, "The Organization of Knowledge and the Planning of Encyclopaedias: the Case of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 9 (1965), 798–818.

[121] *CCH* 1, 257–325, 327–81, respectively; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, DC: 1999), 57–72.

[122] See E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Turnhout: 1995), esp. 84^{0}, 557, 1165, 1200, 1200a, 1363a, 1660; but also 385, 635a, 636, 910, 1144, 1189, 1194, 1196–7, 1208, 1216–7, 1217a-c, 1218–22, 1225–7, 1227a, 1228–9, 1229a, 1269, 1270^{0}, 1533, 1715, 2312, $2346a^{0}$–b^{0}; with e.g. R.E. McNally, "Isidoriana," *Theological Studies* 20 (1959), 432–42; J.N. Hillgarth, "The Position of Isidorian Studies: A Critical Review of the Literature, 1936–1975,"

4. The Harmless Drudge

Where, then, did that perfection lie? One striking feature of his publications is that many open *in medias res*, with nary a word as to scope or objective.[123] The *Etymologies* has only this laconic note above the table of contents: “So that you may readily find what you are seeking after in this work, this page reveals to you, reader, what topics the author of this volume treats in its constituent books.”[124] Absent from many of the manuscripts, clearly this was not written by Isidore himself, and in any case it describes the function of the table of contents rather than the purpose of the text. Of course, one may call a point of order that, since his *magnum opus* was unfinished at the time of his death, we should not expect a preface. Yet the same is true of the *Sentences*, theologically and philosophically the most influential of his output: no prolegomena at all, and indeed Braulio characterises it as a simple *florilegium* distilled from Gregory the Great’s *Morals on Job*, as if it made no argument of its own, rather than being a fundamental exposition of *inter alia* the proper relationship between king and conventicle.[125] Further in this vein is *On Illustrious Men*, which launches without fanfare. It is possible to maintain that, because this work picks up from Jerome and Gennadius and was typically transmitted in direct continuation to them, a prologue would have been superfluous, already provided at the head of the former’s catalogue. But only implicitly is orthodoxy established as its key concern, through the opening hatchet job on Osius of Cordoba.[126] Isidore’s authorial persona called for deliberate concealment from the reader. The *Histories*, in seeming contrast, has a famously full foreword, “In Praise of Hispania,”

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reprinted in *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium, and the Irish* (London: 1985), 839–45; J.N. Hillgarth, “Isidorian Studies, 1976–1985,” *Studi Medievali* 31 (1990), 938.

[123] On the preface as a genre, see J. Lake, ed., *Prologues to Ancient and Medieval History: A Reader* (Toronto: 2013), xi-xviii; J. Marincola, *On Writing History from Herodotus to Herodian* (London: 2017), xxix-lxxi.

[124] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, index librorum.

[125] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio*, 202; cf. L. Robles Carcedo, “Isidoro de Sevilla y la cultura eclesiástica de la España visigótica. Notas para un estudio del libro de las ‘Sentencias,’” *Archivos Leoneses* 47–48 (1970), 13–185; P. Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la naissance de l’Espagne catholique* (Paris: 1994), esp. 199–272.

[126] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 1.

detaching the land from its Roman history in order to create a space for the Visigoths as the legitimate new rulers of the Peninsula. Amidst the ripe paeans to its *riqueza*, however, "in which the glorious fecundity of the Getic people rejoices so and flourishes abundantly," one realises that all speech is in the second and third person, and Isidore is nowhere to be found, screened by this curiously sexualised passing of an age: "at long last the most thriving nation of the Goths, after many victories in the world, eagerly seized and loved you, and enjoys you up to the present, amidst royal insignia and lavish wealth, secure in the fortune of empire."[127]

Where there is first-person introduction, it tends to the familiar reticence, but Isidore does nonetheless let slip some hints of his priorities. The *Greater Chronicle*, unlike *On Illustrious Men*, begins by explicitly name-checking predecessors: Julius Africanus, "the first of us to produce a summary of the times according to generations and reigns, in the simple style of history," Eusebius, Jerome, "some guys," and Victor of Tunnuna. Isidore then states flatly, phrased slightly differently in his two versions of the text, "We have recorded, with as much brevity as possible, the sum of the ages from the Creation of the world to the rule [or eras] of Heraclius Augustus and Sisebut [or Suinthila] the king."[128] Three compositional principles emerge fleetingly: simplicity and economy of expression and completeness of coverage. Elsewhere even this limited steer is lacking. The prologue of sorts to the *Prefaces* really just enumerates "the fullness of the New and Old Testament which the Catholic Church has received in the canon according to the ancient tradition of our forefathers," and modestly concludes, "having set out the order and number of books of the Old and New Testaments, let us now swiftly and briefly prefix short narrative preambles to them."[129] Be comprehensive, be succinct; now get down to business. This *modus operandi* still more blatantly characterises the two major works of contested attribution to Isidore's stylus. The treatise *On Numbers* opens abruptly with a definition of terms, pausing only to note that "it has pleased me, as you requested, to convey concisely the rules of some numbers."[130] In like fashion, *On Heresies* starts by distinguishing amongst the orthodox, the heretic, and the schismatic, before undertaking to "note down as summarily as we can the blasphemies of their errors one by one, in order that the precaution of the faithful may be the readier when the secret ways of the impious—dark and rough—are exposed."[131] Brief, but complete; nothing more.

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[127] Isidore, *Historiae*, de laude Spaniae; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse*, 361–400.

[128] Isidore, *Chronica* 1–2, 1.1, 2.

[129] Isidore, *Prooemia*, prologus, 1, 17.

[130] Isidore, *Liber numerorum* 1.1.

The four works with epistolary prefaces fortunately crack open the door a bit wider. In the *Allegories*, asking "Orosius" to improve on his writing, Isidore explains that, "briefly excerpted, I have hastily gathered some of the most noteworthy names from the Law and the Gospels which are figuratively concealed by allegory and want some interpretation, in order to render them plain and clear to readers," touching on two themes already encountered in his pithier introductions. Yet conciseness can compromise coverage, since it has "allowed me neither to produce enough for a booklet nor to explain thoroughly the mysteries of the figures," requiring fancy presentation: "my feeling was that they might be grasped from the citations which are situated both before and after them."[132] Isidore strikes a like note when dedicating *On the Catholic Faith* to Florentina, expressing hope that quoting "some few of the innumerable passages" from the Old Testament "may firm up the grace of faith and demonstrate the ignorance of the faithless Jews."[133] At the beginning of book two, on prophecy, he adds, "you will be able, from a few words, to ascertain how many words the voices of the Prophets have in rejection of the Jewish people and their ceremonies, and how many words they have thundered in praise of the people of the New Testament."[134] There is a pronounced sense of anxious synecdoche, the part for the whole: that Isidore was acutely aware of his limited compass when measured by the incomprehensible totality of Christian knowledge.

The most forthcoming prologue is the letter to Sisebut prefixed to *On the Nature of Things*: by royal invitation, "I have commented on all these matters in a short text, presenting them just as they were written about by the ancients, and especially in the literature of Catholic men," adding to the recurrent themes an appeal to past authority, pagan as well as orthodox. Isidore further promises to spell out "on certain contested points both their meanings and their words, so that the authority of those statements may inspire trust," downplaying his originality while signalling his essential role as interpreter for the reader through the juxtaposition of "meanings (*sensus*)" and "words (*verba*)."[135] Enclosing the treatise *On Ecclesiastical Offices* to his brother Fulgentius, he concedes that the work has been "annotated from the most ancient writings of authors, as space has allowed," before tacking on a similar rider that "I have put much in it of my own composition, and I have included other material just as it was in the sources, so that one's reading of the individual entries might more easily gain the authority of faith." How are we to take this? Consider his concluding statement: "forgiveness will be the more forthcoming for my errors because what draws from the testimony of writers is not to be assigned to the category of my fault."[136] All errors that remain, in other words, are not my own; citing ancient authorities, Isidore disguises his own contribution. The few words which immediately precede the text of books one and two proper lack any reference to his own input, replaced by appeal to Scripture, the Apostles, custom, and common usage.[137] Yet something of himself is undeniable in the work: he later laments how amateur lectors resent "those of us" who draw attention to their incompetent pronunciation.[138] It is Isidore the author who retreats from our view. But why?

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[131] Isidore, *De haeresibus* 7.

[132] Isidore, *Allegoriae*, praefatio, 1.

[133] Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 1, praefatio.

[134] Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 2, proemium.

[135] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, praefatio, 2, 3.

The stakes are defined in the preface to *On the Birth and Death of the Fathers*: the notion of essential knowledge, the basics of Christian history, alongside the necessarily concise form of its communication. In Isidore's words, "the birth and deeds of certain holy and most noble men, together with their genealogies, are introduced in this booklet, besides which their worth and death and burial are recorded in the brief space of a sentence." The brief space: "although these may be known to all who make it through the bulk of the Scriptures, they nevertheless return more readily to the memory if they are read briefly expressed."[139] Brevity reconciles the Isidorian principle of universal coverage with the capacity of the reader to remember, crucial, as we have seen, to his own understanding and working method. The same theme returns in the prologue (by far the longest) to his *Questions on the Old Testament*, in which Isidore proposes to elucidate the allegorical meanings prefiguring Christianity: "gathering the opinions of the churchmen of old, like flowers from sundry meadows, we have put selections to hand." At the same time, he has condensed, "for succinct statements in brief exposition do not engender disdain by their prolixity; indeed, wordy and recondite eloquence wearies one, whereas short and simple delights." Underscoring the point, he adds, "drawing out these figures of deeds from the mystical treasuries of the wise, as we said above, we have collected them into one form by the abridgement of brevity; here the reader will not read our words, but re-read those of the ancients." Finally, he signs off with a roll call, of Origen, Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome, Cassian, Augustine, Fulgentius, and above all Gregory the Great, his sources: "what I speak, they say, and my voice is their tongue."[140]

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[136] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, epistula.

[137] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1, praefatio; 2, praefatio.

[138] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.11.4; cf. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "El latín de la Península Ibérica. Rasgos lingüísticos," in *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, vol. 1: *Antecedentes. Onomástica*, eds. M. Alvar, A. Badía, R. de Balbín, and L.F. Lindley Cintra (Madrid: 1960), 196–97; Riché, *Education*, 302–03; Linehan, *History*, 47.

[139] Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, praefatio.

In his own eyes, Isidore was a simple transmitter, as an "author" actuated solely by a mission to make manageable, unobtrusively, that incomprehensible totality of Christian knowledge. How best to aid the reader in its digestion? Something of an answer is expressed in the preamble to his *Rule for Monks*, where Isidore observes, "there are a great many regulations or teachings of our ancestors to be found, enunciated here and there by the Holy Fathers; some of these have been handed down rather wordily or obscurely to posterity." From that unwieldy and inaccessible whole, "we have ventured to choose these few as examples for you, and to use rustic, common language for you to understand as easily as possible how to keep the vow of your profession." Selection and simplification: transmission, but a discreet originality of distillation and adaptation, for a new age: "he who has proven incapable of the challenging commands of the ancients should fix his step towards the discipline of this path, and be not disposed to turn away any longer."[141] The mission so stated, tension yet lingers between Isidore and his sources. Addressing the reader before book one of the *Differences*, he notes that "quite a few of the ancient authors have tried to distinguish differences in language, investigating something of the very subtle distinctions between some words and others," but alas, "owing to the needs of metre, pagan poets have confused the proper usage of language, and so from them the habit has derived of authors using a great many words indiscriminately." Critique of the classics? Acknowledging Cato (the Elder) as father of the genre, Isidore admits, "on his example I have, in part, put forth a very few distinctions of my own and, in part, produced them from books by other authors."[142] The sheer volume, the internal inconsistency, of what had to be distilled into memorable form made intervention unavoidable, but he remained uneasy—"a very few"—with shouldering that burden.

The *Synonyms* is unquestionably Isidore's most personal work, model for the "synonymous style" unfortunately adopted by some of his followers, and its oddly tripartite preface is relevant to this point. The first part, hyperbolic puff, is patently as above a later pious addition. In the second, Isidore himself says to the reader with disarming humility, "recently there came into my hands a certain book called *Synonyms*, the structure of which made up my mind to assemble some lamentation for myself, or for the miserable; doubtless I have followed not the style of that work, but my own whim."[143] Familiar sentiment, taken to another level: his own original composition, yet all credit for its fashioning deflected onto a superior exemplar, which those afflicted by the adversities of the world should really consult. One last Isidorian prologue can serve to canonise this discomfort with creation. The *Hispana* is preceded by a lengthy anonymous introduction describing the four major councils (Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon) and summarising the collection: the acts of the Greek and Latin councils and the decrees of the bishops of Rome, "gathered and arranged together by us from the discipline of the ecclesiastical order, that both the holy bishops may be instructed by paternal rules and the obedient ministers and people of the Church may be imbued with spiritual examples." These remarks end characteristically on a note of etymology:

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[140] Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, Genesis*, praefatio (cf. *Exodus*, praefatio); D.J. Uitvlugt, "The Sources of Isidore's Commentaries on the Pentateuch," *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 72–100.

[141] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, praefatio; N. Allies, "Re-Evaluating Monastic Rules: Style and Literary Purpose in the Rule of Isidore," *Downside Review* 128 (2010), 1–18.

[142] Isidore, *Differentiae* 1, praefatio.

> "canon" in Greek is called "rule" in Latin. It is called "rule" because it directs rightly, nor does it ever lead in the other direction; some say that it is called "rule" since it rules or because it reveals a norm of living rightly, or because it corrects what is distorted and evil.[144]

That act of compilation was perhaps the most important legacy of Isidore besides the *Etymologies*, selecting and transmitting such canons as would guide Church practice in the West for centuries, and he performed it from behind the screen of anonymity.

The work which went into such compilation is on full view in Isidore's *On Illustrious Men*, a guide to his reading in which he also offers the most sustained exposition of his views on composition. One distinguishing feature is his refusal to comment on texts which he has not read: he leaves a definite impression of learning in progress, in perfect alignment with his continual revising, an author acutely aware that he had not read everything, equally conscious of the imperative to do so.[145] And for practical ends; most of the surviving works cited here can be readily identified put to use in his other writings.[146] Isidore records in his notes on Martin of Braga, “I have indeed read one book of his on the distinctions of the four virtues,” while he confesses in regard to Licinianus of Cartagena that “we have certainly read not a few of his letters … but the remaining yield of his industry and labour has totally failed to come to our notice.”[147] Conscientious in bibliography, sensitive to the limits of his research: respecting a tract on virginity by Severus of Malaga, “frankly, we admit that we have learned of its title yet are ignorant of the contents,” and he signs off his notices for both Apringius of Beja and John of Vallclara by recording that they too wrote sundry other works which have not come to his attention.[148] Partly it was a question of honesty. In profiling Justus of Urgell, he minutes, “his brothers Nebridius and Elpidius are reported to have written some works, but because we are unfamiliar with them we recognise that they must be left unspoken.”[149] At the same time, it was also an aspect of Isidore’s Sisyphean task, the quest for true, literal comprehension: on Maximus of Zaragoza, he concludes that “he is also said to have written many other works—I have not read these yet.”[150]

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[143] Isidore, *Synonyma* 1.3.

[144] *Hispana*, praefatio (ed. CCH 3, 43–46). For translation see R. Somerville and B.C. Brasington, trans., *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500–1245* (New Haven: 1998), 55–57.

[145] H. Koeppler, "*De viris illustribus* and Isidore of Seville," *Journal of Theological Studies* 37 (1936), 34; cf. A. Kaldellis, *A Cabinet of Byzantine Curiosities: Strange Tales and Surprising Facts from History's Most Orthodox Empire* (Oxford: 2017), xi.

The goal of reading everything was a source of palpable anxiety. One could take as commonplace Isidore’s remarks on John Chrysostom: “he composed many and varied tractates, quite excessively long to enumerate, and indeed, although not the full measure of his zeal, nevertheless as many effusions of his eloquence as possible have been translated from Greek into Latin.”[151] There is a real (and relatable) note of despair, however, in his reaction to Possidonius and the bibliography of Augustine, “cataloguing how many works the same most blessed doctor has written, totalling volumes of over 400 books, but an infinite series of homilies, letters, and enquiries as well, such that nigh scarcely can anyone write by hand as many more works as he composed by his own effort.”[152] An opportunity was the most one could ask: Isidore concedes with regard to Fulgentius of Ruspe, “we have only plucked these from the precious flowers of his teaching; his is a better lot to whom the Lord has lent the delights of all his books.”[153] And how much truer of Gregory the Great: in the 35 volumes of his *Morals on Job*, “so many mysteries of the sacraments are revealed, so many teachings of morals are commanded unto love of the eternal life, and so many ornaments of words shine brightly, that no wise man will be able to explain, even if all his limbs should be turned into a tongue." Reviewing all the works of the *servus servorum Dei*, Isidore reaches the *Homilies on the Gospels*, "unknown to us; but happy, nay all too happy, he who has been able to know all the statements of his efforts."[154] So saying, he moves to his next subject.

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[146] J.C. Martín, “El Catálogo de los varones ilustres de Isidoro de Sevilla (*CPL* 1206): contenidos y datación,” *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 31 (2013), 129–51.

[147] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 22, 29.

[148] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 30, 17, 31.

[149] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 21.

[150] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 33.

[151] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 6.

[152] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 8.

[153] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 14.

In the face of so much still to read, Isidore prioritised *brevitas* in his own style, to the enduring frustration of all those who have looked for answers in his *Histories* ("unworthy of the famous savant who wrote it. He could hardly have told us less, except by not writing at all").[155] He also promoted it in the work of others. Paulinus of Nola is commended for a short book on the blessings of the patriarchs, "composed with succinct enough brevity," while Eugippius merits approval for the *Life of Severinus*, "communicated in a brief style."[156] But Isidore's attitude is more complex than a simple preference for telegraphic prose. He writes in praise of John the Cappadocian: "this man published in Greek a rescript on the sacrament of baptism to Bishop Leander, my lord of blessed memory and my predecessor, in which he puts nothing of his own, but only replicates the views of the Fathers of old on triple immersion."[157] Transmission trumps innovation, yet with Apringius of Beja he allows that his interpretation of the Apocalypse is "nearly better than the ancient churchmen seem to have expounded."[158] Nearly—and actually so in the person of Gregory the Great alone, "through the grace of the Holy Spirit gifted with such a light of knowledge that no learned man not only of present times, but also even in past times, was ever equal to him."[159] Through a miraculous wisdom one might match or even surpass those who had gone before; on the whole, though, it would be better to err on the side of caution, repeating or at most rewording.

Originality nonetheless had a certain role to play. Writing of Proba, authoress of a *cento* on the life of Christ composed in Virgilian metre, Isidore says, "we do not admire her effort, but we do praise her cleverness," fidelity to a sound model combined with rather more suitable subject matter.[160] Note that the exemplar for her "almost diabolical ingenuity," however, was a pagan poet.[161] Surprised? Many have remarked on the warmth of Isidore towards his brother Leander, profiled amongst these other celebrated men. Characteristically it is only here, by proxy, that he reveals the family history of flight from "Byzantine" Spain. Yet lukewarm would be more accurate: "for the rest of his fellow bishops he likewise issued a great many familiar letters, if not in overly beautiful words, at least acute in their opinions."[162] What style guide, then, was he following? Isidore articulates his sensibility in a paragraph on Eucherius, author of a minor work in celebration of the desert, "dictated most brilliantly and in sweet speech; we praise the doctor for this work, even though he nevertheless utters few beautiful words in it." Following the lead of Jerome before him, he consults Cicero (anonymously) to clarify: "for brevity, as the man says, is at times praiseworthy in one or another aspect of speaking, but it does not garner praise in all eloquence."[163] The beautiful before the brief, disciplined as by Proba, given freer rein than by Fulgentius or Eucherius. Isidore applied these criteria in his own practice, and Braulio tells us as much, for in counting his subject's 17 works, he departs from standard verbs of writing on three occasions: the *Greater Chronicle*, which he "collected (*collectum*)"; the *Rule for Monks*, which he "tempered (*temperauit*)"; and the *Sentences*, which he "embellished with choice selections (*floribus … decorauit*)" from the *Morals on Job*.[164] The work of a shaping hand—but how and with what purpose did Isidore decide amongst all the sources for potential transmission?

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[154] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 27.

[155] E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: 1969), 7; J. Wood, "*Brevitas* in the Writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain*, eds. Deyermond and Ryan, 37–53; C. Codoñer, "La lengua de Isidoro," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 47–57.

[156] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 4, 13.

[157] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 26.

[158] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 17.

[159] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 27.

[160] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 5.

5. The Stacks of Heaven

"In him," Braulio meditated on his master and mentor, "Antiquity regained a certain something for itself—or rather, our day and age pictured the knowledge of Antiquity in him." Like a mirror; perhaps more like reinforced foundations, for "God raised him in this latter-day era after so many failures in Hispania, I believe, to restore the monuments of the ancients, lest we grow old in every conceivable kind of rusticity—as if to lend us a certain support."[165] To his contemporaries, Isidore had polished, or at least propped back up, the icon of the ancient world, and its civilisation. But was the newly visible image what the old one had been? Did he restore or reimagine it? Many of Isidore's works can be comfortably situated in established Christian genres: the *Allegories*, *Prefaces*, *Questions on the Old Testament*, and *On the Birth and Death of the Fathers* are all, as we have seen, standard exercises in modes of biblical exegesis, just as *On the Catholic Faith* draws from a long tradition of anti-Jewish polemic. *On Illustrious Men* picks up the baton from Jerome and Gennadius (and pagans prior to them), while the *Rule for Monks* bills itself explicitly as a distillation of its forerunners. *On Ecclesiastical Offices* is a manual in the line of Ambrose, whereas the *Greater Chronicle* and *Histories* look to Eusebius and Cassiodorus, and the *Sentences* reflects on Gregory the Great's thought. *On Numbers* and *On Heresies*, if authentically Isidorian, operate too within the familiar parameters of numerology and categorisation of doctrinal error. This is not to say that there is no innovation here: to take one example, it has often been remarked that Isidore narrows the former universalism of *On Illustrious Men* to a distinctly North African and Iberian focus in his installment.[166] But such is hardly wholesale reinvention of the genre.

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[161] E.K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1928), 200, complete with "a mock-Miltonian rendering" at 199–200.

[162] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 28.

[163] Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 15; Cicero, *Brutus*, 13.50; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 1:321–37; cf. Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, praefatio, 4.

[164] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, 202, 203.

[165] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, 199, 205.

The transformative author hymned by Braulio begins to emerge in the lexicographical and encyclopaedic writings, where Isidore deliberately adopted hitherto pagan literary models in order to subordinate language and learning to a Christian epistemological framework.[167] The method behind the *Differences* would have been recognisable to Varro and Verrius Flaccus, founders of Latin lexicography; the novelty lies in the subject matter, or rather the adjoining of traditional linguistic enquiry to specifically Christian spiritual concerns.[168] The *Synonyms* pursues these concerns a step farther, yet still casts them in the archetypical mode of classical philosophy: a dialogue, between Man and

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[166] J. Wood, "Playing the Fame Game: Bibliography, Celebrity, and Primacy in Late Antique Spain," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20 (2012), 613–14; cf. C. Codoñer, "Los *De viris illustribus* de la Hispania visigótica. Entre la biografía y la hagiografía," in *Las biografías griega y latina como género literario. De la Antigüedad al Renacimiento. Algunas calas*, ed. V. Valcárcel Martínez (Vitoria: 2009), 239–55.

[167] See above all Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 1:27–337.

[168] C. Codoñer, "Les plus anciennes compilations de *Differentiae*: formation et évolution d'un genre littéraire grammaticale," *Revue de Philologie* 59 (1985), 201–19; C. Codoñer, "La conception de la *Differentia* dans le receuil *Inter aptum* d'Isidore de Séville," *Revue de Philologie* 60 (1986), 187–96; Velázquez Soriano, *Latine dicitur*, 61–125; T. Denecker, *Ideas on Language in Early Latin Christianity: From Tertullian to Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2017), 287–339; J.E.G. Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 CE* (Oxford: 2018), 232–33.

Reason, about *askesis* and the fate of the sinful soul.[169] In both cases, Isidore was consciously redirecting an ancient genre to a new Christian purpose: not simply a silent compiler and condenser, he was a discreet and discriminating bridge-builder between the two traditions. Where this project assumes universal dimensions is in his *On the Nature of Things*, drawing inspiration from Pliny the Elder, and above all in his *Etymologies*. The North African connexion again: the closest model for the latter is the 5th-century encyclopaedia by the pagan Martianus Capella, *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, a summary of the "seven disciplines" or liberal arts, the same taxonomy with which Isidore commenced his endeavour.[170] In a sense, all his other writings can be understood as preparatory studies to this vast compilation, which in merging pagan source material with a Christian cosmology effectively re-homed the one in the other.[171] Isidore was reframing knowledge itself: insofar as all knowledge was now to be found inside the covers of his great book, it was all Christianised knowledge; the seeming anachronism is not an anomaly but organic to his purpose, to reach back into antiquity and bring it forward from the pagan past into the Christian present, to create a poetics of Christianised antiquity, to preserve the synthesis for the memory of the future.[172] The first distinctively Christian etymological encyclopaedia, all the fragments of remembered reading laid out within it formed a card catalogue for the library of God.

One of the enduring interests of Isidorian research has been his own library at Seville. If we could only get hold of a reader's pass and rootle amongst its well-stocked shelves, surely then we would know him.[173] What we do have is 27 poems in elegiac distichs, preserved under his name and offering a guide to those holdings. They have seldom been tapped in this or any regard: perhaps because of lingering doubts about their authorship—queried authenticity is as close as academia has to a "no entry" sign.[174] Now that the question seems all but settled, what are they, and what can they teach us?[175] The first poem is entitled "legend (*titulus*) of the library (*bibliothecae*)": traditionally it and the 14 which follow have been read as inscriptions on the bookcases or boxes where the codices of the episcopal library were held. Based on their respective headings, the next three poems are in like manner thought to have decorated the infirmary, the half-dozen thereafter the pharmacy, and the last three the all-important scriptorium. The poems on Gregory the Great and Leander seem to treat them as deceased; if recently so, composition would date to the first decade of the 7th century. But that is guesswork. The run of verses, as will probably not stun you, survives in two recensions: a shorter, of 15, and a longer, of 24, transmitted at times with the *Questions on the Old Testament*, though in truth selection and ordering vary greatly amongst the manuscripts.[176] According to their most recent editor, Isidore himself picked the poems in the shorter recension and posted them to a Galician monastery, where they became associated with works by Martin of Braga, a hallmark of the transmission history. Back in Seville, a disciple of the *maestro* later copied 24 of the poems off the walls, missing out what are now the last three, and thereby created the longer recension. The latter, however, is not only the more complete, but also the more metrically correct. The simplest reconstruction of the manuscript evidence is that Isidore wrote 27 poems as a set, which he then joined to his *Questions on the Old Testament*, and a mutilated copy of this is the ancestor of the longer recension: he is rather more likely to have packaged his verses together with his own work, and this is the version subsequently known by Visigothic and Mozarabic authors, hence probably the closer to the archetype (if there was just one). The shorter recension, on the other hand, descends via corrupt transcription from the work of a 7th-century Galician monk, who made his own selection, rearranging and repackaging the poems according to his interests, in the long Isidorian tradition of dynamic transmission.

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[169] J. Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville, auteur 'ascétique': les énigmes des *Synonyma*," *Studi Medievali* 6 (1965), 163–95.

[170] W.H. Stahl, R. Johnson, and E.L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols (New York: 1971–77), vol. 1, esp. 55–71.

[171] M. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: 1989), 133–72; A.-I. Magallón, *La tradición gramatical de* differentia *y* etymologia *hasta Isidoro de Sevilla* (Zaragoza: 1996); Codoñer, *Introducción*, 47–73; B. Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales. D'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: 2001).

[172] E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton: 1953), 450–57; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 2:785–830.

[173] See Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 2:735–62; J.C. Martín-Iglesias, "La biblioteca cristiana de los padres hispanovisigodos (siglos VI–VII)," *Veleia* 30 (2013), 259–88; J. Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothèque pour connaître les sources," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 59–66; J. Elfassi, "Nuevas fuentes en la biblioteca de Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Latinidad medieval hispánica*, ed. J.F. Mesa Sanz (Florence: 2017), 107–16.

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[174] A. Ortega, "Los 'Versus Isidori,'" *Helmantica* 12 (1961), 261–69; M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "La transmisión de los textos antiguos en la Península Ibérica en los siglos VII–XI," *Settimane di Studio* 22, 2 vols (Spoleto: 1975), 1:136–42.

[175] Isidore, *Versus*, 22–27; J.C. Martín, "Nouvelles réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite des *Versus Isidori* (CPL 1212)," in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV). Actas del IV Congreso del "Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee,"* eds. M.C. Díaz y Díaz and J.M. Díaz de Bustamante (Florence: 2005), 123–36; cf. P. Hamblenne, "Les *Tituli bibliothecae* sont-ils d'Isidore?," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 80 (2002), 239–56; J. Gil, "Marcial en España," *Humanitas* 56 (2004), 228–29.

[176] Short version: 1–2, 7–8, 5–6, 10, 9, 13–4, 4, 19, 25–7; long version: 2–15, 1, 16–24; see J.C. Martín, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., 13. Versus sancti Isidori," in Chiesa and Castaldi, *La trasmissione dei testi*, 2:396–97.

The reader is invited to peruse the library and learn. Imagining a brother who says smugly, "there is nothing left for me to study" after the Histories and the Law, Isidore replies, "if you say so now, then you really understand nothing."[177] But hold a moment: is this *bibliotheca* simply a library in Seville, or is it actually the Library—the Bible itself? The term was ambiguous in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages; binding these poems together with the exegetical *Questions* starts to make sense if we take them to be arguing for a programme of reading in which Scripture has absolute precedence. In the next generation, Eugenius (II) of Toledo certainly thought so: writing his own *bibliotheca* verses, he drew directly on Isidore's language to describe the books of the Bible, a prestige copy of which his small success once adorned.[178] Perhaps we need to accept a deliberate slippage of meaning, collapsing the distinction between library and Library. The second poem, after all, adds a further note of caution, contrasting the mundane with the sacred: there are "meadows full of thorns but abundant in flowers," such that "if you do not wish to grasp thorns, pick the roses."[179] This is not immediately explained, leaving the reader primed with anticipation. The poet then moves to "the venerable volumes of the twin Law," here unambiguously the Bible ("the New with the Old"), before turning back to Origen and the looming danger: sapient, prolific, "I was ruined by a guilty tongue … my *On Principles* alone led to my fall."[180] Be careful. Alternating opposites, we regain the light with Hilary of Poitiers, "thundering of voice," and Ambrose of Milan, "distinguished in signs and hymns."[181] Gradually the message resolves itself: in reading lies potential salvation as well as damnation.

Isidore picks up a familiar theme when he reaches Augustine: "he who confesses to have read you lies," for in reality, "what reader can own all your works?" He of Hippo and his thousand volumes bear witness that, though wisdom may come from many, "if Augustine is to hand, he alone suffices for you."[182] In rapid hit parade, Jerome, "a most learned interpreter in various languages," John Chrysostom, "celebrated as doctor everywhere" for his books, and Cyprian of Carthage, "more illustrious in eloquence than all," whizz by before at last we reach the heart of the matter.[183] Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Persius are dreadful, begins one of the two longest poems; indeed, Lucan and Statius are objectionable. “Let sweet Prudentius appear with his exceptional voice,” therefore, or “read through the studious poem of fluent Avitus,” or even have a go at Juvencus and Sedulius, “both flowering with verses.”[184] The argument concerns individual poets less than the offensiveness of all classical verse in comparison with the sweetness of any Christian poetry. Lest he be misread, Isidore emphasises that the last pair, composers of biblical epics, “take long draughts from the Gospel font,” before looking the reader directly in the eye: “thus, desist from deferring to the pagan poets; when you drink such good things, what is Callirhoe to you?”[185] Frogmarching a naiad past, whose Greek name means “beautiful flow” (or “Lady Lovely Stream”), is typical etymological wordplay, but the moral of the story is now clear, a feeling shared by Christian intellectuals throughout late antiquity struggling with the need to make use of their classical inheritance: caution—danger ahead.[186]

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[177] Isidore, *Versus*, 1, ll. 6, 8.
[178] Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmina*, 8, esp. ll. 3, 26.
[179] Isidore, *Versus*, 2, ll. 3–4.
[180] Isidore, *Versus*, 3, ll. 1, 2; 4, ll. 4, 9.
[181] Isidore, *Versus*, 5, l. 1; 6, l. 1.
[182] Isidore, *Versus*, 7, ll. 1, 2, 6.
[183] Isidore, *Versus*, 8, l. 1; 9, l. 4; 10, l. 1.

Continuing our tour, Eusebius and Orosius share one (dull) bookcase, Gregory the Great shines forth as the patron of Rome like Augustine as the *magister* of Hippo, and Leander is “reckoned not wholly unequal to the ancient doctors.”[187] We then switch gears to Theodosius, Paul, and Gaius, emblematic of the real value of Roman law, “which governs the Latin forum with truthful voice.”[188] From his brother on they collectively personify Isidore’s abiding ambivalence about emulation, innovation, and precedent. This gallery of authors gives way to Cosmas, Damian, Hippocrates, and Galen, “whom medicine celebrates throughout the world,” neatly neutralising the medics of antiquity in balance with the twin brother physician-martyrs of early Christianity.[189] The first “medical poem” is usually taken as a section break, conducting us into the episcopal infirmary, but Hippocrates at least is also one authority whom Isidore name-checks in drawing up book four, “On Medicine,” of his *Etymologies*, while Galen is cited explicitly (though indirectly, via Jerome) in book twenty.[190] The next playfully urges the medic to be responsive to the patient lest he run out of business, and the third counsels him to attend to both “the pauper and the powerful,” profiting only from the latter—as if to ensure that medical practice is justly animated by Christian charity.[191] The following poem, the nineteenth in the set, is equalled in length only by Isidore's takedown of classical poets: putatively a "legend for an unguent seller" stocking "balsam, frankincense, reed, and saffron of Corycium," it provides an excuse for him to show off his knowledge of exotica from Arabia, India, and elsewhere, which "gifts are useful for many cures."[192] The point of reference is again the *Etymologies*, books four and seventeen ("On Rustic Matters"), where those products are specifically enumerated in the larger context of scents and aromatic trees and plants.[193] Evidently Isidore warmed to the theme because this poem, normally counted the first of a series adorning the episcopal drug store, is succeeded by five more on perfumes from China and the Yemen, salves from Greece and Italy, and vessels holding pigments, the last also tallying with his noted interest in storage containers in book twenty ("On Provisions and Various Implements").[194] The subject of these verses is not, or not only, places and things but the text of the *Etymologies* itself—a virtual bookstore.[195] Isidore sets his material to metre, creating images of a library, an infirmary, and a pharmacy, a *bodega* of knowledge run on Christian principles.

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[184] Isidore, *Versus*, 11, ll. 3, 5, 7.

[185] Isidore, *Versus*, 11, ll. 8–10.

[186] See G.P. Goold, ed., *Chariton. Callirhoe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1995), 12.

[187] Isidore, *Versus*, 14, l. 1.

[188] Isidore, *Versus*, 15, l. 2; cf. F.J. Andrés Santos, “Derecho y jurisprudencia en las fuentes de Isidoro de Sevilla,” *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 155–62.

[189] Isidore, *Versus*, 16, l. 1.

[190] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 4.3-4, 20.2.37; M.V. Martino, “*De inventoribus Medicinae*. L’origine de la Médecine dans les *Etymologiae* d’Isidore de Séville,” *Eruditio Antiqua* 10 (2018), 105–14.

The final three poems shift our focus back from sources and materials to books and their production in the scriptorium. The attitude is stern, inexorable; the tone martial. Hailing the reader "who knows how to vie by reed and pen with dead skin," Isidore beckons him in: "may he wage his wars here."[196] The struggle is ceaseless, and "the copyist who is wandering around at midday" is liable to be hung up and "beaten about the back with pairs of whips."[197] A mordant sense of humour? No—the final poem is fragmentary, but the first three incomplete lines are concerned with the scribe who makes repeated mistakes when he ought to do better. Audience, be silent, for "the scribe does not suffer anyone to speak in his presence"; ultimately running out of patience, Isidore snaps, "here is not where you should carry on chattering. Get lost."[198] In the world constructed by these 27 poems, learning and literature are infinite but are clearly sorted into the beneficial and the harmful: steer a safe course, or suffer a deadly fall. Isidore himself cautions in his *Rule*, "let the monk beware of reading books by pagans or heretics, for it is better to be unaware of their pernicious teaching than to fall into some snare of error through experience."[199] Forewarned and forearmed, however, we can admit some good even in that heathen past. The same author takes quiet pride in his work, fashioning the knowledge both sacred and mundane which he marshals in his *Etymologies* into programmatic verses on medicine and *orientalia*. Perhaps in this spirit book four was the first to be written? Above all, knowledge is a serious business, labour with no more end than the works of Augustine. What, then, was the goal of the quest? Writing his poem on poetry itself, Isidore defines the task before him: to subordinate the pagan to the Christian, to realise the Augustinian impulse to harness antiquity and ride it out of Egypt to the Promised Land.[200]

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[191] Isidore, *Versus*, 18, l. 1.

[192] Isidore, *Versus*, 19, titulus, ll. 4, 10.

[193] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 4.12, 17.7–9.

[194] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 20.9.

[195] See S. de Brestian, "Material Culture in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 11 (2018), 216–31.

[196] Isidore, *Versus*, 25, ll. 1, 2.

[197] Isidore, *Versus*, 26, ll. 1, 2.

[198] Isidore, *Versus*, 27, ll. 5–6.

6. Antiquity Reshelved

The middle of the 9th century saw a fight break out between Albarus of Cordoba, polemicist at large, and Bodo-Eleazar, a Christian convert to Judaism from Francia. Academic name-calling was the trigger, and Albarus did not take kindly to being labelled "a compiler (*conpilator*)," a mere transmitter of ideas and arguments.[201] Shaken, he never fully recovered from the blow, but how would Isidore, one of his heroes ("doctor of Hispania" to the Mozarabs), have reacted?[202] Centuries later, when Dante ascended into Paradise, he beheld "the glowing breath of Isidore flaming out," keeping celestial company with Boethius, Bede, and Richard of Saint-Victor: compilers all, yet who each created something new through compiling.[203] Isidore wrote his last words in 636, and strictly speaking did not join the "sacred corporation" of Church Doctors until 1722; what did he leave behind?[204] On one level, a language Christianised, as a generation after him Ildefonsus of Toledo took the "synonymous style" to its extreme in exhaustive, exhausting praise of the Virgin Mary (though Erasmus, for one, was not a fan of "authors like Isidore … at so many removes from *copia* that they are unable to express their thoughts in good Latin even once").[205] More to the point, a specifically Christian lexicography, a concern for correct and precise Christian expression, which may make the Carolingian experiment, properly, nothing more than an aspect of Isidorian reception history. But the weight of the *Etymologies*, their scale and their scope, encourages thinking of his legacy to us as a Christian encyclopaedia, when it should really be Christian encyclopaedism. In his historical writing Isidore set the Visigoths in the context of universal history, and in this overarching project he set Christian knowledge in the context of universal learning and language. Both were statements of belonging.

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[199] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, 8.

[200] See Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2.40-42; with E. dell'Elicine, "Agustín, Isidoro y el arte gramatical," in *Estudios de Derecho y Teología en la Edad Media*, ed. A. Morin (Buenos Aires: 2012), 62–84.

[201] Albarus of Cordoba, *Epistulae*, 19; F. Riess, "From Aachen to al-Andalus: the Journey of Deacon Bodo (823–76)," *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), 140–50; cf. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse*, 329–44.

[202] Elipandus of Toledo, *Epistulae*, 6.7.

[203] Dante, *Paradiso*, 10, ll. 130–31.

[204] Curtius, *European Literature*, 260.

Look ahead, to the world after the Islamic conquest of Iberia in 711. The *Collected Anecdotes*, an Arabic compilation of the 11th century (maybe), describes Seville as the great city of the Peninsula, the seat of the Romans; when the Visigothic kings relocated the capital to Toledo, all the Roman aristocracy, clergy, and leading laymen remained behind.[206] What can this be but a memory of Isidore, his see—his library—the anchor of classical civilisation? New Latin chronicles too picked up where he had left off in his *Histories*, but with more than mere continuance, a hold still firm on that great binding chain: when the Mozarabic chronicler of 754 cried out in lament for his ruined Hispania, he despaired that anyone could express the loss, even "if all his limbs were to be turned into a tongue," echoing the words used by Isidore for his anxious inability to attain the insight of Gregory the Great and his *Morals on Job*.[207] The project, the struggle and the dream, an end to anxiety: the classical in service of the Christian, the farthest reaches of learning brought home and into order, catalogued and shelved in the mansions of God's library, awaiting consultation by the interested reader.

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[205] Erasmus, *De copia*, dedicatory letter, 285; see also *De copia*, 399.

[206] *Akhbār majmūʿa*, 13, 54.

[207] *Chronicle of 754*, 55; cf. Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 27.

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CHAPTER 4

Leander of Seville and His Influence on Isidore of Seville

Purificación Ubric Rabaneda

1 Introduction

Leander (d. 600/601), the eldest brother of Isidore, is one of the keys to understanding the historical, ideological, and cultural background from which his younger sibling emerged.[1] Leander, Isidore's predecessor as bishop of Seville, was one of the most influential political and religious characters of his time and played a pivotal role in the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism. Leander, an intellectual figure of some standing himself, looked carefully after the upbringing of Isidore and seems to have ensured that he received a high-quality intellectual, spiritual, and pastoral education. It would be fair to say that Leander prepared the path for Isidore to become one of the most influential figures of the early Middle Ages.

In spite of his great significance, the personality, role, works, and thought of Leander have not received as much scholarly attention as they might deserve.[2] Leander's achievements have often been downplayed in scholarly and popular accounts of the period, especially in comparison to those of Isidore. Another

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[2] For an overview of Leander, in several languages, see Ursicino Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla* (Madrid: 1981) (with details on his life, works and thought, and sources on the Arianism controversy in Spanish Latin literature); María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Leandro de Sevilla," in *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literatura*, ed. Carmen Codoñer (Salamanca: 2010), 63–8, Domingo Ramos-Lissón, "S. Leandro de Sevilla," in *Patrología* (Navarra: 2009), 453–55; Jesús Niño Sánchez-Guisande, "Leandro de Sevilla," *Compostellanum* 45 (2000), 63–79; José Madoz, "San Leandro de Sevilla," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 56 (1981), 415–53; Luis A. García Moreno, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca: 1974), 91–3; John R.C. Martyn, *Saint Leander, Archbishop of Seville: A book on the teaching of nuns and a homily in praise of the Church* (New York: 2009); Alberto Ferreiro, "Leander of Seville," *Brepols International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages On-Line* (2005); Leandro Navarra, *Leandro di Siviglia. Profilo storico-letterario* (Rome: 1987); Valentina Lunardini, "Leandro di Siviglia," in *Enciclopedia Gregoriana*, eds. Giuseppe Cremascoli and Antonella Degl'Innocenti (Florence: 2008), 201; Franz Görres, "Leander Bischof of Sevilla und Metropolit der Kirchenprovinz Bätica," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 29 (1886), 36–50.

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tendency is to introduce a highly optimistic, even euphoric, tone into depictions of Leander's achievements, especially regarding his role in the events that ended in the Visigoths' conversion from Arianism to the Nicene Creed in 589. Other scholars have been excessively cautious in their interpretations of Leander's involvement in these events.[3] The following pages situate Leander in his historical context and introduce his works, with the intention of facilitating understanding of his position in the political, religious, and cultural world of the later 6th century and hence of establishing the extent of his influence on Isidore.

The sources of information on Leander include: a short biographical sketch by Isidore in his *De viris illustribus*; a few lines by Leander himself addressed to his sister Florentina in *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi*; and some brief references by Pope Gregory I, the chronicler John of Biclarum, and the historian Gregory of Tours. These references are scarce, at times contradictory, and difficult to interpret.[4] In addition, it is highly likely that the majority of Leander's own work has been lost.

2 The First Years of Leander

Leander was probably born sometime between 530 and 540 in the province of Carthaginiensis, perhaps in its capital, Cartagena (in the south-east of modern Spain). He was the eldest son of Severianus and of a woman of an unknown name, whom some scholars call "Turtur" due to Leander's reference (possibly metaphorical) in Leander's *On the training of nuns and the contempt of the world*.[5] Leander had, as far as we know, two brothers, Fulgentius and Isidore, and a sister, Florentina, the addressee of *On the training of nuns and the contempt of the world.*

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[3] See Leandro Navarra, "Interventi di Leandro di Siviglia negli sviluppi storici e religiosi della Spagna visigotica: aspetti positivi e limiti," *Studi Storici Religiosi* 4 (1980), 123–34, 124, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 19.

[4] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28 (Isidore also mentions his brother Leander in his *Chronica* 408, *Versus* 13, and *Epistola ad Claudium ducem* 12); Leander, *De institutione virginum* 31; Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 1.41 (April 591), 5.53 (July 595), 9.228 (July 599), and *Moralia*, praefatio; John of Biclarum, *Chronicon*, *s. a.* 579–90; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38, 6.18, 6.43, 8.46. See also Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 3.21.

[5] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28 says about his brother Leander: "Leander whose father was Severian and was born in the Spanish province of Carthaginiensis was a monk by profession and from being a monk was made bishop of the the church in Seville in the province of Baetica" ("Leander, genitus patre Seueriano, Carthaginiensis prouinciae Hispaniae, professione monachus et ex monacho Hispaliensis ecclesiae prouinciae Baeticae constitutus episcopus"). From this, most scholars deduce his origin as being from Carthaginiensis. Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409–711* (Oxford: 2004), 154, however, interprets in a different way the

Leander was probably around 14–16 years old when he left his *terra natalis* with his family and settled in Seville or in a territory close to the capital of the province of Baetica.[6] The causes and the date of the family's departure from Carthaginiensis have been debated by scholars. Based on Leander's words to his sister Florentina advising her not to return to her homeland, which had apparently been occupied by foreigners and had lost its fertility, the flight is usually located in the context of the civil war between the Visigoths Agila and Athanagild and the settlement of the Byzantines in the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula (*c*.552–55).[7] It has been argued that the family of Severianus supported the cause of Athanagild.[8] Another hypothesis is that Severianus and his family were expelled from Carthaginiensis by Agila because they and other

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passage of Isidore: "by profession a monk from the province of Spanish Carthaginiensis, he was made bishop of Seville in the province of Baetica." Collins suggests an African origin for the family and remarks that Isidore and Leander have Greek names. In his *De institutione virginum* 31.9, Leander points out: "Do not fly from the nest the dove has built and placed her chicks. You are the daughter of Simplicity, born with the Dove as your mother. In your one person you will carry out the duties of a surfeit of offices. Look to the Dove as your mother, listen to the Dove as your guide and hold she who bears you through Christ by her daily acts of love, dearer than the mother who gave you birth" ("Noli ab eo auolar nido quod inuenit turtur ubi reponat pullos suos. Simpliciatis filia es, quae Turture matre nata es. In eadem una persona complurium necessitudinum uteris officio. Turturem pro matrem respice, Turturem pro magistram attende; et quae te Christo cottidie adfectibus generat, cariorem qua nata es reputa matrem"). From these words, some scholars, such as Jacques Fontaine and Pierre Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Sévérianus et les siens? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidore de Séville," in *Estudios en Homenaje a don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* (Buenos Aires: 1983), 349–400, 353–69, have suggested that the name of the mother of Leander, Isidore, Fulgentius, and Florentina was Turtur. Fontaine and Cazier also argue that the forced departure from her land made Turtur to go deeper in her Catholic faith and that she became abbess of a monastery after Severianus's death. The hypothesis of the name of Turtur is, however, not accepted by all scholars, many of whom see the sense of *turtur* in this passage as allegoric. The legends that make Severianus duke or governor of Carthaginiensis and establish family links between Severianus, the Ostrogothic King Theodoric, Leovigild, Reccared, Hermenegild, Leander, and Isidore, through Theodora, completely lack verisimilitude; see: Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi* 2.68, and José Carlos Martín, "Vita ss. Leandri, Isidori Hispalensis, Fulgentii Astigitani et Braulionis Caesaraugustani ep. (BHL 4810). Traducción," *e-Spania* 12 (2011). There is no clear evidence either for speculations that make Leander's mother a Visigothic Arian who had converted to Catholicism.

[6] Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 22.

[7] For the political context, with bibliography, see Luis A. García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," in *Actas II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba: 1994), 3: 555–79.

[8] See Luis A. García Moreno, *Leovigildo. Unidad y diversidad de un reinado* (Madrid: 2008), and García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro."

powerful families of the region supported the Byzantine Empire.[9] Finally, other scholars think that Severianus and his family left Carthaginiensis for religious reasons, because they disagreed with the policy of the Byzantine Empire regarding the Three Chapters.[10]

For whatever reason, the family ended up settling in western Baetica, in particular in the area between Hispalis (Seville) and Astigi (Ecija). In this territory, where presumably Severianus and his family had properties and/or powerful connections, they attained a position of great power and influence.[11] Leander and Isidore became bishops of the important bishopric of Seville, and the other brother, Fulgentius, became bishop of Astigi (Ecija).[12] Their sister, Florentina, also professed the religious life, probably in a monastery in the area.[13] It would have been very difficult for newcomers to hold onto such powerful positions if they did not have access to strong local connections, influence, and wealth, and if they were not very powerful themselves. Episcopal dynasties, where members of the same family hold relevant ecclesiastical positions and/or where the episcopal see of a city was passed from one member of the family to another in succession, were highly regarded. They were a sign of prestige, honour, and devotion. As a consequence, many powerful families aimed to become one of these acclaimed ecclesiastical families and to increase in this way their social power and influence. Apart from Leander and his family, we know of other episcopal dynasties in the contemporary Spanish church: the brothers Justinian, Nebridius, Justus, and Eludius became, during Theudis's reign (531–48), bishops of Valentia, Egara (Tarrassa), Urgel, and probably Osca (Huesca). Bishop Paul (530–60), although of Greek origin, was succeed by his nephew Fidelis (560–71) in the bishopric of Merida in order to keep within the see the rich inheritance that Paul had received from wealthy locals. John (619–31) and his brother Braulio (631–51) were bishops of Sarragossa; their father, Gregory, was also a bishop of an unknown see.[14] In the same way that these episcopal dynasties played a significant role in their area of influence, Leander's family, with their relevant ecclesiastical offices, held great power and influence in western Baetica.

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[9] This is the main thesis of Fontaine and Cazier in "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise." Martyn, *Saint Leander,* thinks that the cause of the flight of the family of Leander was an Arian Visigothic attack on Cartagena, and that Leander, Isidore, and Fulgentius ended up at Seville, whereas their parents and Florentina went to Carthage in north Africa.

[10] See, with bibliography, Federico M. Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla y sus actitudes político-religiosas (nuevas observaciones sobre su historia familiar)," in *Actas I Coloquio de Historia Antigua de Andalucía* (Córdoba: 1993), 2:335–48. For the Three Chapters controversy, the Spanish Catholic Church's attitude toward it, and its political and religious consequences, see Abilio Barbero, "El conflicto de los Tres Capítulos y las iglesias hispánicas en los siglos VI y VII," in *La sociedad visigoda en su entorno histórico* (Madrid: 1992), 136–67, and Margarita Vallejo, "Desencuentros entre el emperador Justiniano y las iglesias hispanas," in *V Reunión de Arqueología Cristiana Hispánica* (Barcelona: 2000), 573–83.

[11] See García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," and Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise," 371, who remark that the family would have territories in the Baetica, as well as in Carthaginiensis, something that was very common amongst the rich and powerful aristocrats of the time.

[12] García Moreno, *Prosopografía*, 99.

[13] Leander, *De institutione virginum*; Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise," argue that Florentina was the abbess of a monastery of women, although we do not have any confirmatory evidence, nor Martyn's thesis, *Saint Leander*, 49, according to which Florentina professed first in a monastery in Carthage and afterwards became abbess of the convent of Saint María de Valle in Ecija.

At an unknown date, Leander became a monk in an unknown monastery. Sometime before 579 he was named bishop of Seville, making him metropolitan of the province of Baetica, presumably with the support of the local nobility and/or the Visigothic monarchy.[15] The pivotal political role he developed in the following years may confirm this thesis.[16]

3 The Role of Leander in the Rebellion of Hermenegild

Seville, the city in which Leander, and after him Isidore, held the office of bishop, was the capital of the province of Baetica. It occupied an important strategic location and played a prominent political and religious role within the province. During the 5th century, the Sueves and Visigoths had disputed its control, during which conflict they called on the support of powerful—and often opposed—local families.[17] Seville had been a key point of contention in the war of the early 550s between Agila (d. 555) and Athanagild (d. 567), and it was not long before it again became a point of disagreement in a broader struggle for power. In this conflict, Leander played a leading role.[18]

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[14] For Paul and Fidelis, see *Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium*, book 4. For Justinian, Nebridius, Justus, and Eludius, see Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 20–1. For Gregory, John, and Braulio, see: Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmen* 21. See Pablo Fuentes, "Sucesión dinástica y legitimidad episcopal en la Mérida visigoda," *En la España Medieval* 35 (2012), 11–35. Episcopal dynasties are also documented in the 4th and 5th centuries with the Sabini in Hispalis, the Valerii in Zaragoza, Ireneus and Nundinarius in Barcelona, and the Priscillianist Symphosius and Dictinius in Astorga. See Ramón Teja, "Las dinastías episcopales en la Hispania tardorromana," *Cassiodorus* 1 (1995), 29–39.

[15] For Leander as monk and bishop, see Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28. Being a monk before becoming a bishop was regarded very positively in the late antique church: Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: 2005); Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2004). Scholars argue that the appointment of Leander as bishop of Seville would have taken place before Hermenegild's rebellion, which started in 579.

[16] For royal support for Severianus and his family and the accession of Leander to the episcopacy of Seville, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 110, and "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 566.

In 573, in order to prevent potential future disputes over the kingship, King Leovigild (d. 586) associated his two sons, Hermenegild (d. 585), and Reccared (d. 601), with him on the throne.[19] As part of his policy of consolidating and strengthening the Visigothic monarchy, Leovigild also agreed to the marriage of his two sons with princesses from the Merovingian kingdoms of Austrasia and Neustria. Thus, Hermenegild, Leovigild's eldest son, married Ingundis (d. 584), daughter of Brunhild (d. 613) and Sigibert (d. 575) and granddaughter of Leovigild's second wife, Goswintha (d. 589), the widow of Athanagild, one of his predecessors on the Visigothic throne. It seems that shortly after Hermenegild's marriage, Leovigild entrusted him with the government of a part of the Visigothic kingdom's territory in the south. Hermenegild took up residence at Seville, presumably the centre of this territory.[20] There, in 579, Hermenegild rebelled against his father and proclaimed his rule as sole sovereign of the Visigothic kingdom.[21]

The causes, purposes, and role of Leander in Hermenegild's rebellion have been the subject of much controversy and discussion.[22] According to the contemporary Spanish chronicler John of Biclarum, the conflict between father and son was initiated by domestic strife (*domestica rixa*). He also records under the year 579 that Hermenegild rebelled, with the "faction of Goswintha" (*factione Goswinthae*).[23] Gregory of Tours, who wrote about these events some years after they had taken place, also assigns to Goswintha a primary role, underlining her determination to force her granddaughter's conversion to Arianism.[24] The religious factor was, indeed, a pivotal component of the rebellion, as at some point Hermenegild converted from Arianism to Catholicism.[25] Ever since the Visigoths had first embraced Arianism around the mid-4th century, it had become a key sign of their identity, distinguishing them from the majority Catholic Roman population of Hispania.[26] When the Visigothic kingdom was created in the course of the 5th century the religious boundary between the two groups was still maintained. By Leander's time, however, there were some sectors on the Visigothic/Arian and on the Hispano Roman/Catholic side that were more open to a union of creeds within the kingdom.[27] It may have been the case that some groups saw the rebellion of Hermenegild as an opportunity to achieve this aim.

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[17] For further discussion, see Purificación Ubric, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo v* (Granada: 2004), 72–8.

[18] García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro"; García Moreno, *Leovigildo*.

[19] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 573, 5. One of the Visigoths' "illnesses" was the struggle for power, which was especially cruel when the objective was the throne. Its virulence even drew the attention of foreign authors: see Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 3.30.

[20] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 579, 2–3. For discussion of the territory assignee to Hermenegild and the supporters of his rebellion, with sources and bibliography, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*.

[21] García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 565, suggests that, prior to the revolt of his eldest son, Leovilgild may have shown preference for his youngest son, Reccared, to whom he dedicated the city of Recopolis. Other scholars, such as Roger Collins, "¿Dónde estaban los arrianos en 589?" in *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario 589–1989* (Toledo: 1991), 211–22, give a later chronology to Hermenegild's rebellion, dating it to *c.*582–83.

[22] Scholarly interpretations range from those who give Hermenegild a prominent position in the revolt against his father to those who introduce him as a puppet of Leander, the Catholic Church, his wife Ingundis, and/or Goswintha. To understand Hermenegild's rebellion it is very important to value, analyse, and point out the interests and positions of the several factions that took part in the struggle: the Visigothic clans, the Merovingian kingdoms, the Byzantine Empire, the Suevic kingdom, powerful noblemen, and the

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Church. For an overview of events, sources, and interpretations, with bibliography, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, and Santiago Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz: Recaredo y la unidad de Spania* (Madrid: 2007), esp. 111–42, and 269–313.

[23] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 579, 3.

[24] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38. For the date and view of these events in Gregory of Tours, see Walter Goffart, "From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and back again," in *Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John Joseph Contreni (Kalamazoo: 1987), 55–76. For Goswintha as instigator, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, esp. 102–07, and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, esp. 114–16. However, Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 28, along with other researchers, thinks that Goswintha, a radical Arian, incited Leovigild to combat his Catholic son.

[25] Scholars have also valued the significance of the religious component of the rebellion in a very different way, from those who think it was the crucial factor to those for whom it was something secondary, of no importance at all. See, for example, E.A. Thompson, "The Conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 4 (1960), 4–35; Biagio Saitta, "Un momento di disgregazione nel regno visigoto di Spagna: la rivolta di Ermenegildo," *Quaderni Catanesi di Studi Classici e Medievali* 1 (1979), 81–134; Roger Collins, "King Leovigild and the Conversion of the Visigoths," in *Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: 1992), 1–12.

[26] See Luis A. García Moreno, "¿Por qué los godos fueron arrianos?" in *Tempus Implendi Promissa*, ed. Elisabeth Reinhardt (Pamplona: 2000), 187–207.

[27] For the religious context, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*.

Contemporary sources give several versions of the events surrounding the rebellion.[28] The Iberian sources written after the eventual conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism, such as John of Biclarum and Isidore of Seville, call Hermenegild *tyrannus* and completely downplay his conversion to the Catholic position and the role played by Leander in the rebellion.[29] Sources written outside the Iberian Peninsula, however, give a quite different view. Thus, Gregory the Great attributes the conversion of Hermenegild to the preaching of his friend Leander and presents Hermenegild as a martyr for the Catholic faith.[30] Gregory of Tours, a supporter of the Merovingians, attributed Hermenegild's conversion to his wife, Ingundis (a Merovingian princess).[31] For Gregory of Tours, however, Hermenegild's Catholic faith did not justify the rebellion and usurpation of legitimate power from his (heretical) father. Gregory calls Hermenegild *miserable* and points out he will have to face God's judgement for having risen up against his father.[32]

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[28] For an evaluation of the sources, see Luis Vázquez de Parga, *San Hermenegildo ante las fuentes históricas* (Madrid: 1973).

[29] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 579, 3, and 583: "King Leovigild pinned down his rebel son in a great siege" ("Leuvigildus rex … rebellen filium graui obsidione concludit"). Isidore, for his part, says in his *Historia Gothorum* 49: "[Leovigild] then besieged and defeated his son Hermenegild who was attempting to usurp his power" ("Hermenegildum deinde filium imperiis suis tyranizantem obsessum exsuperavit"). Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28, points out the outstanding role of his brother in the conversion of the Visigoths, but he does not mention anything about Hermenegild's conversion or the intervention of his brother in the revolt. In Isidore, as in other Iberian sources, all the credit for the conversion of the Visigoths to the Nicene faith goes to Reccared. This was not the first time the sources silenced the conversion of a barbarian king to Catholicism with the purpose of extolling a rival king's conversion, Purificación Ubric, "The Church in the Suevic Kingdom (A.D. 411–585)," in *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. James D'Emilio (London: 2015), 210–43.

[30] Gregory the Great, *Dialogus* 3.31. Gregory the Great is the author who gives the most positive view of Hermenegild, probably because his main source of information was his close friend Leander. He could also have had other sources, as he points out "as we have learnt from the accounts of the many people who have come from Spain" ("sicut multorum qui ab Hispaniis partibus ueniunt relatione cognouimus"). When Gregory wrote of the martyrdom of Hermenegild, Reccared had been ruling the Visigothic kingdom for around eight years. Gregory attributes the conversion of his brother to Hermenegild's mediation. This information might, however, be understood in the context of the struggle between East and West and the role developed by martyrs in it. It is not politics that mattered here but religion, and to introduce Hermenegild as a martyr of the Catholic faith served this purpose, Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 120–22. It is very significant that the first Iberian author that judges Hermenegild as a kind of martyr is the monk Valerius of Bierzo (a figure usually understood as opposed to established ecclesiastical authority) in his *De uana saeculi sapientia* 6, which was written at the end of the 7th century. It was not until the 16th century, during the reign of Philip II (1556–98), who was zealously concerned with magnifying the figure of Hermenegild as a Catholic martyr and saint, when Hermenegild received recognition for his martyrdom for the faith. Philip II indeed promoted his canonisation and brought his relics from Sigena to the Escorial. See Vázquez de Parga, *San Hermenegildo*.

Some scholars have argued that Hermenegild's rebellion was a usurpation of power on the part of the Balths—the clan of Goswintha's previous husband—to Visigothic rule. It is very significant in this regard that the son of Hermenegild and Ingundis was called Athanagild, like his grandfather.[33] We must not forget that, according to some scholars, Severianus and his family had supported Athanagild, and their loyalty had been rewarded with, among other things, Leander's promotion to the episcopacy of Seville.[34] If these two interpretations are correct, then Leander's support for Hermenegild in opposition to other powerful noblemen and ecclesiastics can be interpreted as a continuation of earlier cooperation between an elite Hispano-Roman Catholic family and one of the dominant groups within the Visigothic aristocracy.

Leander might have acted as a kind of personal advisor of Hermenegild. The "propaganda" efforts of Hermenegild and the formulation of his rebellion as a religious persecution have even been attributed to Leander.[35] Very significant in this respect is the way that Hermenegild presents himself, claiming God's sanction for his usurpation.[36] This has been interpreted as part of a broader attempt by Hermenegild and Leander to secure the support of powerful Catholic allies, including the Byzantine Empire, the Suevic kingdom, and Catholic sectors of the Spanish church and nobility.[37]

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[31] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38. García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 566, n. 61, refers to a manuscript version of Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* (MS of the Academia de la Historia de Madrid, A-189, 12th century) where the conversion of Hermenegild is attributed to both, to his wife and to Leander: "in part due to his wife's lecturings and in part due to Leander's preaching" ("partium uxoris moneritis, partium Leandri predicatione").

[32] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38, 6.18, and 6.43. Gregory of Tours' references to Leovigild and to Hermenegild's revolt and conversion lack historical reliability, as his purpose is mainly apologetic. He wrote after the events and his chronology is not accurate, García Moreno, *Leovigild*, esp. 102–07, 112, and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, esp. 114–16.

[33] The baby was born shortly after their marriage (*Epistolae Austrasicae* 27 and 28), and for some scholars would be the trigger of the rebellion, not the conversion of Hermenegild to Catholicism, as other authors point out. García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 117–18, remarks that Hermenegild's conversion to Catholicism would not enter into the plans of the fervent Arian Goswintha. It would put into opposition her and the Goths who supported her and would diminish support for Hermenegild's rebellion.

[34] According to García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 22–3, n. 15, the entry of John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 585.7 in relation to Leander's splendour: "Leander, the bishop of the Church of Seville, was held in high esteem" ("Leander Hispalensis ecclesiae episcopus clarus habetur") may refer to Leander's opposition to Leovigild, in the same way as other entries on prominent Catholic ecclesiastics.

[35] See García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 111, and Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla."

In effect, it is likely that Hermenegild knew that his father's forces were stronger than his own. He therefore needed the assistance that these Catholic parties, in particular the Byzantine Empire, could provide. It was therefore with the intention of obtaining the support of the Byzantines that Leander travelled to Constantinople sometime between 579 and 586.[38] Gregory the Great, who was at that time in the capital of the Byzantine Empire as papal emissary, tells us that Leander came to Constantinople "on an embassy from the Visigoths, charged with dealing with a number of matters of Christian faith."[39] It seems that the Byzantine Empire promised some kind of help, but with priorities in other places and facing a delicate economic situation, Leovigild's offer of 30,000 *solidi* in return for neutrality was greeted positively by the imperial authorities. Ultimately, therefore, Leander's journey to Constantinople was in vain.[40]

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[36] Illustrative in this regard is the inscription "God grant long life to the king" (*Regi a Deo Vita*), which appears on Hermenegild's coins. For interpretations of Hermenegild's coins, see Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "En el XIV centenario de *Hermenegildus rex*. La pugna de 574–585 testimoniada por los tremises godos," *Numisma*, 186–91 (1984), 189–94, and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "La leyenda *Regi a Deo Vita* de una moneda de Ermenegildo," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 31 (1958), 261–69. Further evidence of Hermenegild's propaganda effort is an inscription found in Alcalá of Guadaira, see Concepción Fernández Martínez and Joan Gómez Pallarés, "Hermenegildo, ¿para siempre en Sevilla? Una nueva interpretación de IHC, n. 76=ILCV n.50," *Gerión* 19 (2001), 629–58. The epigrapher A. Stylow, however, thinks that the inscription may be a falsification of the 16th century designed to promote Hermenegild's sanctity, García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 111, n. 274. This formula, as well as other elements of Hermenegild's "propaganda," are very similar to descriptions of Reccared's rule at the Third Council of Toledo, where Leander had a very active role, García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 113–15.

[37] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38, 6.18, and 6.43. The Suevic king Miro sent an army to support Hermenegild, which was defeated by Leovigild, John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 583, 1, and Gregory of Tours. *Decem libri historiarum* 6.43. It is worth noting that Hermenegild would not have been able to count on the support of all of the powerful Catholic families, even in those areas that were the focus of his rebellion (Lusitania and Baetica). Many of them would have viewed him as tyrannous.

[38] For Leander's trip to Constantinople, purposes, analysis, documentation, and bibliography, see Margarita Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida* (Madrid: 2012), 249–50, Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, and García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 117–20 (who claims prior contact between Hermenegild and the Byzantine governor of Hispania and points out that the long stay of Leander in Constantinople may indicate that there were difficulties in reaching an agreement). The dates of Leander's journey and stay in Constantinople are based on several pieces of information. First, in 579 Hermenegild started his rebellion against his father, so Leander could not have been at Constantinople before that year. Second, in 586 Leovigild died, and according to Gregory the Great (*Moralia In Job*, praefatio), Leander was back by this time. Additional pieces of evidence are the stay of Gregory the Great in Constantinople from 579 to 586, during which time he developed a close friendship with Leander, and the fact that in the imperial capital Leander also met John the Faster (Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 25), who was patriarch from 582 to 595. In Constantinople Leander may have met the Emperor Tiberius, his successor Maurice, or both of them.

In order to end his son's revolt, Leovigild deployed, in addition to a wide range of military and diplomatic resources, a considerable religious and ideological counteroffensive, which had among its aims the unification of Catholics and Arians under the same creed.[41] Thus, shortly after Hermenegild's conversion, in 580, Leovigild called Arian bishops to a council, which tried to smooth over differences between the faiths by aligning their theological positions. At this council some requirements to convert from Catholicism to Arianism were simplified. One of these was the requirement of a ceremony of rebaptism upon entry into Arianism, a procedure which was deemed as unnecessary in the future; a laying on of hands was henceforth enough.[42] Leovigild also focussed on linking the Catholic Church to the Visigothic monarchy. He sought to establish a kind of national Gothic church that was opposed to the Roman-Byzantine church that supported Hermenegild and was considered heretical in the West due to its defence of the Three Chapters.[43] Leovigild furthermore took measures against key Catholic figures, such as Masona (d. 605), bishop of Merida. Later Catholic sources would present these actions as part of a wide-ranging religious persecution on the part of Leovigild.[44] To counter this offensive, which had managed to attract the support of some Catholic bishops, such as Vincent of Saragossa and Nepopis of Merida, Leander wrote three anti-Arian works, in which he exposed the Arian errors in the light of Catholic doctrine.[45]

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[39] Gregory the Great, *Moralia In Job*, praefatio, trans. John R.C. Martyn, *Gregory and Leander: An Analysis of the Special Friendship between Pope Gregory the Great, and Leander, archbishop of Seville* (Newcastle: 2013), 4.

[40] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38, 6.18, and 6.43. For the political context and Byzantine support for Hermenegild, see Walter Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579–585)," *Traditio* 13 (1957), 73–118, who at p. 90 argues that the Byzantine emperor may have given some financial (but not military) support to Hermenegild. Other scholars have related the switch of the Byzantine policy to the accession of Emperor Maurice (Tiberius died in 582), Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio*, esp. 249–56. It is difficult to date the moment in which Leovigild gave the *solidi* to the Byzantines and made an agreement with them. It seems likely that it would have been at a crucial moment in the dispute, when Seville had fallen into Leovigild's hands and Hermenegild and his family had taken refuge with the Byzantines, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 157–58.

[41] Contemporary sources offer contrasting appraisals of the reign of Leovigild. Whereas his policy of unifying the kingdom militarily is highly praised, the image of the monarch and of his religious policy is quite negative. On the religious counteroffensive of Leovigild, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 127–37.

[42] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 580, 2; Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 50. The *libellus* in which the doctrine of the new church was formulated was condemned at the Third Council of Toledo (anathema 16), G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez (eds.), *La colección canónica hispana*, 6 vols (Madrid: 1966–2002), 5:82.

After several years of struggle during which Leovigild established his dominance, Seville was besieged and taken in 584. Shortly afterwards, Hermenegild was captured by his brother Reccared's forces in Cordoba, in the basilica of S. Acisclus, where he had sought sanctuary. Finally, in 585 Hermenegild was murdered in Tarragona, probably with the consent of Leovigild and Reccared.[46]

His open support for Hermenegild compromised Leander's position. It is likely that he stayed in Constantinople and evaluated what to do next. This was later depicted as an exile by Isidore, who never refers to Leander's involvement with Hermenegild's rebellion.[47] Leander stayed in the imperial capital until the political and religious situation in the Visigothic polity changed. This did not take long.

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[43] García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 120–27, argues that the alliance and negotiations of Hermenegild with the Byzantine Empire would not have been viewed positively by the majority of the Catholic Church and the Hispano-Roman population, who considered the emperors as heretics due to their policies regarding the Three Chapters.

[44] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 580, 2; Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 50 and 55; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38. For Masona of Merida, see *Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium*, esp. book 5. On exiles, see Margarita Vallejo, "Los exilios de católicos y arrianos bajo Leovigildo y Recaredo," *Hispania Sacra* 55 (2003), 35–47. For the debate on Leovigild's Catholic persecutions, García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 124–25, and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 126–33, and 204–12.

[45] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[46] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 582, 3; 583, 1 and 3; 585.3; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 5.38, 6.18, and 6.43. Scholars have questioned the veracity of the testimony of Gregory the Great, *Dialogus* 3.31, who attributes to Leovigild the death of his son Hermenegild (for bibliography and discussion, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 32–35). For the military counteroffensive of Leovigild, see García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, especially 127–73.

[47] On Leander's exile, Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28. The exile of Leander due to his opposition to King Leovigild has led to discussion and speculation, especially its location (Cartagena or Constantinople) and its dates. For some scholars, Leander travelled several times to Constantinople, first as ambassador of Hermenegild and secondly when exiled by Leovigild. Other scholars, as Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla," and García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, think that, after the defeat of Hermenegild, Leander's stay in Constantinople became an exile. For discussion, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 41–6, and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 124–29.

4 Leander, Reccared, and the Third Council of Toledo

There can be no doubt that Reccared was the greatest beneficiary of the failure of Hermenegild's revolt, which eased his path to the kingship when his father died in 586. Contrary to what might be expected given the failure of Hermenegild, Reccared decided to turn around the religious policy of the Visigothic kingdom. In effect, he realised the best means of unifying the Visigothic and Hispano-Roman elements of the kingdom was not behind Arianism, as Leovigild had attempted without success, but by converting the Visigoths to Catholicism. In deciding on Catholicism, Reccared gained for his cause powerful supporters of Hermenegild, Leander among them.[48] According to Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours, Leovigild himself had actually converted to Catholicism, possibly on his deathbed, where he entrusted Leander with the care and counsel of Reccared.[49]

It is not clear to what extent Leander was involved in the personal conversion of Reccared, which took place in 587, ten months after his ascension to the throne.[50] Reccared decided to act more cautiously than his brother had done.

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[48] For the policy of Reccared, which had among its aims to change old enemies into new allies, see Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, esp. 143–65. Leander might have re-entered the Iberian Peninsula via Cartagena. In a letter written in 595 by Licinianus of Cartagena (*Epistola* 1) to Gregory the Great, Licinianus complains that Leander's stay in the city was too short and did not allow him to examine an unfinished copy of Gregory's *Moralia* that Leander had brought with him. Although it is not possible to give an exact date for these events, scholars relate them to the return of Leander from Constantinople. Thus, Josep Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e Hispania," *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 33 (1991), 167–86, argues that it was Leovigild who recalled Leander: the bishop of Seville was in a hurry to meet the king, hence his rush and his short stay in Cartagena. García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 569–71, and García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 34, n. 48, and 172–73, thinks that Leander returned after the death of Leovigild, at which point he decided to change sides and support Reccared against the Byzantine Empire. García Moreno bases his arguments on Leander, *De institutione virginum* 31, where he shows a very negative view of the Byzantines and concern about his brother Fulgentius, who was in Cartagena at the time of writing. It is also significant that Leander did not act as ambassador to the Byzantine Empire when Reccared needed one, in spite of his previous experience (although he would recommend his close friend Gregory for this mission, Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 9.229). In addition, the harsh Byzantine policy toward bishops in their Iberian territory might have encouraged them to collaborate with Leander and the Catholic Church.

[49] Gregory the Great, *Dialogus* 3.31, and Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 8.46. This information has been questioned by scholars, many of whom do not consider it credible.

[50] Isidore does not mention Reccared's personal conversion at all. According to John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 587, 5, the king converted to Catholicism "With God's aid" (*deo*

Thus, before making his conversion official and extending it to the entirety of the Visigothic population, the king took some measures to prepare the way. There were several meetings with the main representatives of the Arian and the Catholic churches to discuss key points of contention and to overcome potential resistance.[51] The council at which the official unification of Catholic Hispano-Romans and Arian Visigoths under the Nicene Creed would take place was also carefully planned.[52] We learn from John of Biclarum that Leander of Seville and Eutropius, abbot of the monastery of Servitanum (and later Bishop of Valencia), one of the most influential cultural and intellectual centres of Catholicism in the kingdom, were pivotal figures in the council and its preparations.[53] Scholars have noticed some similarities between Reccared's propaganda and policy and those of Hermenegild, which may indicate the influence of Leander.[54]

The Third Council of Toledo, held in 589, made official the conversion of the Visigoths to Arianism.[55] Reccared was presented as a new Constantine (d. 337)

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iuuante). Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 9.15, states that the conversion occurred because Reccared was "moved to repentance through God's mercy" ("conpunctus miseratione divina"). The same idea is recorded in the Third Council of Toledo. In his *Chronicon* Fredegar says that Reccared was baptised in private, and after him all the Visigothic Arian people, something defended by E.A. Thompson, *Los godos en España* (Madrid: 1971), 108 and 111. Re-baptism, however, was contradictory to the common practice for passing from Arianism to Catholicism, Third Council of Toledo, anathema 15, Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, 5:82. Some scholars, such as Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 54–65, attributes to Leander the conversion of Reccared. Others, like Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in José Oroz Reta and Manuel A. Marcos Casquero, trans., *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías* (Madrid: 2004), 21, think it was the results of evangelisation by Abbot Eutropius, who collaborated closely with Leander in the council and its preparations, John of Biclarum, *Chronicon*, *s. a.* 590, 1.

[51] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon*, *s. a.* 587, 5, and Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* 9.15.

[52] For the political context of the council, see Luis A. García Moreno, "La coyuntura política del III Concilio de Toledo," in *Concilio III de Toledo*, 271–96. For the conversion process, see Bruno Dumézil, *Les racines chrétiennes de l'Europe. Conversion et liberté dans les royaumes barbares Ve–VIIIe siècle* (Paris: 2005). See also Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor: 2000).

[53] John of Biclarum, *Chronicon*, *s. a.* 590, 1. The monastery of Servitanum was founded by Abbot Donatus, who arrived in the Iberian Peninsula from Africa with seventy monks and a very well-stocked library, Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 3.

[54] García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 569; García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 113–15.

[55] The attention that John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 590, 1, gives to the council in comparison to other entries in his chronicle is significant. The Third Council of Toledo has been viewed as a landmark in the history of Spain, often interpreted from a strongly nationalistic and Catholic perspective. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," 24, n. 51, points out in this regard as very revealing in the book *El Concilio III de Toledo base de la nacionalidad y*

and Marcian (d. 457), who had convened the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Chalcedon (451), respectively, presiding over a council that would be a benchmark for the future. The council itself was also presented as the heir to previous ecumenical councils.[56] Within a Byzantine-style ceremonial, King Reccared, together with Queen Baddo, the noblemen of the court, and the Arian bishops, confessed their conversion to the Catholic faith and their renunciation of Arianism.[57] Catholic bishops and abbots congratulated them with extreme joy. The council also laid the groundwork for the establishment of a truly unified church within the Visigothic kingdom, within which monarchy and episcopacy would collaborate side by side.

Leander seems to have played a leading role at the council. He delivered the closing homily, and some scholars attribute to him the authorship of most of its canons, as well as its liturgical, dogmatic, and disciplinary innovations.[58] Although the records of the council give the impression of a great celebration, reading between the lines, things were perhaps not so harmonious and friendly. Several pieces of evidence suggest that the alliance of monarchy and episcopacy for the sake of unity masked a situation of tension and disagreement, as both king and bishops benefitted and lost something from the new alliance.[59] The text of the council can be read to suggest a contrast between the image of King Reccared as the driving force behind the conversion and Leander's closing homily, which ignores the king completely and uses biblical and Patristic quotations to demonstrate the central role of Christ and his church in the conversion.[60] We must not forget that Leander and Reccared had recently been on

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civilización española (Madrid: 1891), with the conciliar texts in Latin, Basque, Arabic, Castilian Spanish, Catalan, Galician, and Portuguese. The bibliography on the Third Council of Toledo is overwhelming. For a general view, with several studies, see *Concilio III de Toledo*.

[56] Reccared, in fact, signed the acts as *Flabius* (sic) *Reccaredus*. See Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, esp. 212–33.

[57] Baddo is the only Visigothic queen attested as signing the acts of a council. On Byzantine influence on the Third Council of Toledo's ceremonies, see, J.N. Hillgarth, "El III Concilio de Toledo y Bizancio," in *Concilio III de Toledo*, 357–74; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, 59, n. 3, and Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla," 347.

[58] See, with bibliography, Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla," 347. Further evidence of Leander's prominence in the council is the fact that he signed the acts of the council fourth, after the king and the bishops of Merida and Toledo.

[59] Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," 26, argues that, during the negotiations with Leander and Eutropius, Arians and Catholics made concessions in order to achieve unity.

[60] Reccared attributes to himself not just the merit of the conversion of the Visigoths, but also of the Sueves, who had already embraced Catholicism some decades before, Ubric, "The Church in the Suevic Kingdom." Scholars also remark on the tardiness with which Reccared communicated the conversion to Pope Gregory the Great, a close friend of

different sides during Hermenegild's rebellion and that Reccared was implicated in his brother's death. It seems, however, that the ultimately strong desire of Leander and Reccared, as leaders of church and the royal government, to attain religious unity within the kingdom overrode any personal animosity.[61]

The silence of the Iberian sources on the thorny issue of Hermenegild's rebellion and conversion and their very positive view of Reccared and his kingdom could not hide the fact that not all Arian or Catholic sectors of the population agreed completely with their leaders' policy of religious unification.[62] Reccared had to face several rebellions led by powerful Arians in Merida, Narbonne, and Toledo before the council was held in 589.[63] The Catholic episcopacy were by no means unanimous in agreeing to the decisions of the Third Council of Toledo either, especially regarding the status of former Arian ecclesiastics within the Catholic Church, a debate that is revealed by the records of the Council of Saragossa, held in 592.[64]

Despite such early differences, on balance the alliance of monarchy and episcopacy seems to have had positive effects for both parties. From now on bishops would support a monarchy that became increasingly involved in the internal affairs of the Church. Over time, ecclesiastical decisions in councils

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Leander. For new readings of the texts, which show a very different view from the traditional vision of friendship between Leander and Reccared, see Joaquín Mellado, "Nuevas dudas sobre las relaciones monarquía-episcopado en la época de Recaredo," in *Actas I Congreso Nacional de latín Medieval* (León: 1995), 329–36; Joaquín Mellado, "Leandro y Gregorio Magno: ¿Sólo lecciones de humildad para la soberbia de Recaredo?" in *Actas III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval* (León: 2002), 803–12; Joaquín Mellado, *La conversión de los visigodos y las relaciones Iglesia-Estado. Nueva lectura de las fuentes* (Córdoba: 2000); Antonio Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae de Leandro de Sevilla. Estudio y valoración* (Murcia: 1999). On Reccared's discourses, see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Los discursos del rey Recaredo: el *Tomus*," in *Concilio III de Toledo*, 223–36.

[61] For the veiled allusions to the past in Leander's homily, see Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*.

[62] Reccared was not the peaceful, harmonious, and idyllic monarch sources have recorded. He acted with much cruelty to put an end to dissidence against his policy. See Navarra, "Interventi di Leandro di Siviglia," 131, and Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*. On the manipulation and silence of the Iberian sources on this matter, see Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*.

[63] See Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 153–65.

[64] For the acts, see José Vives, ed., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona: 1963), 154. See also Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 252–54, and Federico M. Beltrán, "El II Concilio de Zaragoza (592) y las últimas repercusiones de la crisis arriana en la Hispania visigoda," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Historia Medieval* 3 (1990), 41–8. The status of repentant Priscillianists within the Church had also caused a sharp controversy in the Spanish church in the previous century: Ubric, *La Iglesia en la Hispania del siglo V*, 173–95.

would have the force of civil law and bishops would take part in administering the fiscal apparatus of the state. The rulings of the council also seem to have been applied almost immediately after its celebration. Thus, Leander, as metropolitan of the province of Baetica, called a council in 590 in Seville, where Baetican bishops addressed problems regarding ecclesiastical patrimony and clerical chastity.[65] Key Catholic figures who had collaborated closely with the king were furthermore rewarded shortly after the council. Thus, the abbot Eutropius was consecrated as bishop of Valencia and John of Biclarum as bishop of Gerona.[66]

The conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism also closed the confessional gap that, due to political and doctrinal issues, such as the Byzantines' posture towards the Three Chapters, had until that point existed between the territory in the hands of the Byzantines and the Catholics in the Visigothic kingdom. Some bishops who were close to Leander, such as Severus of Malaga and Licinianus of Cartagena, were suspected of disloyalty by the Byzantine Empire. In fact, Licinianus may have been poisoned in Constantinople in 602, where he had been called to give an explanation of his actions. Another means of counteracting the potential sympathy of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church in Byzantine territory for the newly Catholic Visigoths was through the appointment to the episcopate and the clergy of persons favourable to the imperial cause.[67]

In short, Leander was one of the main manufacturers of the united Visigothic Catholic kingdom, in which monarchy and episcopacy would collaborate towards the same goal, to create and strengthen the Visigothic Catholic monarchy. His brother, Isidore, would take this work even further.

5 Leander and Gregory the Great

As mentioned above, Leander and Gregory met sometime between 579 and 586 in Constantinople, when both of them were participating in diplomatic missions—Gregory as ambassador of the papacy, and Leander as Hermenegild's envoy.[68] At the imperial capital, Leander and Gregory established an intimate and lasting friendship.[69] It seems that they encouraged one another in their works. Thus, at Leander's request, Gregory wrote one of his major works, the *Moralia in Job* (*Commentary on Job*).[70] Leander returned to the Iberian Peninsula from Constantinople with a draft of the work.[71] Later on, in 595, Gregory again sent Leander part of his *Moralia*, together with a letter and a copy of his *Regula Pastoralis*.[72] Gregory's influence can also be clearly traced in Leander's writings.[73]

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[65] Canon 18 of the Third Council of Toledo stipulates the meeting of a council every year in a place chosen by the metropolitan. For the acts of the First Council of Seville, see Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, 151–53.

[66] See García Moreno, *Prosopografía*, 147 (Eutropius), 213–14 (John of Biclarum).

[67] For Licinianus, see Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 29. See Federico M. Beltrán, "El conflicto por la primacía eclesiástica de la Cartaginense y el III Concilio de Toledo," in *Concilio III de Toledo*, 497–510; García Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 569–71; García Moreno, *Leovigildo*, 34, n. 48, and 172–73.

When Gregory became pope, he and Leander exchanged several letters. Four from Gregory to Leander, dated in 591, 595, and 599, have survived.[74] The letters from Leander to Gregory are no longer extant. Gregory's letter in which he shares with Leander his deepest personal and spiritual concerns, shows the closeness, trust, and appreciation that they professed for each other.[75] Gregory's confidence in Leander was recognised by sending him the *pallium*, a relic that had been in contact with the body of St Peter and blessed during his feast. This gift probably granted Leander status of vicar of the apostolic see in Spain.[76]

From Leander, Gregory would presumably have been aware of political and religious affairs in the Iberian Peninsula, such as Hermenegild's pretensions, the conversion of Reccared and the Visigoths to Catholicism, and the controversies within the church there. Gregory indeed heard first of the conversion of Reccared and the Arian Visigoths not from the king but from Leander. Reccared would not communicate it personally to Gregory until sometime later.[77] Moreover, from Gregory's *Ep.* 1.41 we learn that Leander had asked Gregory for advice on a controversy within the Spanish Church on the use of single or triple immersion during baptism.

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[68] See note 38.

[69] For the relationship between Leander of Seville and Gregory the Great, see Martyn, *Gregory and Leander*, with translations of Gregory's letters to Leander. For the correspondence and relationship between Gregory and Hispania, see also, with bibliography and sources, Jamie Wood, "A family affair: Leander, Isidore and the legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain," in *Isidore of Seville and his reception in the early Middle Ages: Transmitting and transforming knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 31–56, Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e Hispania," José Orlandis, "Gregorio Magno y la España visigoda bizantina," in *Homenaje a D. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz*, 329–48, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 47–53.

[70] Gregory, *Moralia In Job*, praefatio, recognised it in the prologue of the work, which was dedicated to Leander. See also Paul the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii papae* 8.

[71] Licinianus of Cartagena, *Epistola* 1.6.

[72] Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 5.53. The copy of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* was presumably in the episcopal library at Seville, as Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 27, refers to its content. Licinianus of Cartagena, *Epistola* 1.1, also knew this work and had a copy.

[73] Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*.

[74] Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* 1.41 (April 591); 5.53 (July 595); 9.228 (July 599). The preface to the *Moralia in Job* is also a letter to Leander, trans. Martyn, *Gregory and Leander*, numbered it 5.53a, and dated it to July 595.

[75] For words and expressions which denote this closeness and affection, see Martyn, *Gregory and Leander*.

[76] Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* 9.228 and 9.229. Gregory communicated his decision to Leander and King Reccared in the letters sent via the abbot Cyriacus in 599. See Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e Hispania."

Leander also seems to have been a key connection between the Visigothic monarchy of Reccared and the apostolic see, enabling him to play a balancing role in their delicate political relationship with the Byzantine Empire. Thus, in one of his letters to the pope, Reccared asked Gregory for a copy of the treaty between Justinian and Athanagild, in which Byzantine possessions in the Iberian Peninsula were established. Gregory answered him diplomatically, ignoring Reccared's petition and stating that the document had been lost in a fire.[78] The role of Leander in the relationship between Gregory and Reccared and the high esteem both had for Leander is shown in Gregory's introduction of Reccared as the common son of Leander and of himself and in the praise that both pope and king lavished on the excellent qualities of the bishop of Seville.[79] Leander was also likely the link between Gregory and other influential Spaniards, such as the *clarissimus dux* Claudius.[80]

6 Works and Theology

Leander was not only notable for his work in the political and pastoral realms. He was also prominent in the intellectual and spiritual fields. In his *Chronicle* under Reccared's reign (586–601) Isidore states: "bishop Leander is considered outstanding in Spain for his knowledge and faith," and in a letter to his colleague Claudius he notes, "Remember the teacher we both had, Leander, and copy with all your might his orthodox faith" ("memento communis nostri doctoris Leandri, et eius fidem atque doctrinam pro uiribus imitare").[81] Isidore also dedicated to Leander the following verse: "You are certainly thought to rival the scholars of old, Leander, and your words prove this to teachers."[82]

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[77] Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 1.41. The letter that Reccared sent to Gregory has been transmitted in the records of the Third Council of Toledo, text in Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, 144–45.

[78] Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 9.229.

[79] Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* 1.41 and 9.229. For the letter of Reccared to Gregory, see Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, 144–45.

[80] On the relationship and correspondence of Reccared and other Spaniards with Gregory the Great, see Vilella, "Gregorio Magno e Hispania," and Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, 306–13.

Leander wrote several works. Only two of them, a treatise on virginity to his sister Florentina and the homily that closed the Third Council of Toledo, have survived. From them we learn that Leander had an excellent formation and education in classical, biblical, and Patristic studies, as well as in rhetoric. His Latin was fluent and elegant, and he was able to adapt his discourse to his audience, as is evidenced by comparison of the plain speech to his sister with the grandiloquent and majestic sermon at the Third Council of Toledo.

6.1 *De institutione uirginum et de comtemptu mundi*

On the training of nuns and the contempt of the world is a treatise addressed by Leander to his sister Florentina, probably on the occasion of her profession as a nun.[83] In this work, written in a very familiar, affectionate, and elegant style, Leander presents to his sister the advantages of espousing Christ, abandoning the world, and living a monastic and ascetic life.[84] After a long introduction praising virginity and its superiority to the worldly life of a wealthy young woman, there are thirty-one chapters in which Leander deals with a virgin's virtues, especially sobriety, temperance, charity, humility, and silence. He also gives precepts for religious and social life. The guidelines for monastic life are inspired by Tertullian and Cyprian, with contributions by Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Cassian, and Benedict of Nursia, and a number of personal touches from Leander.[85]

This text, which Isidore calls *libellus* in the *De viris illustribus*, has been transmitted as the "Rule of Leander" (*Regula s. Leandri* or *Regula virginum*).[86]

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[81] Isidore, *Chronica* 408a, trans. Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, "The Chronica Maiora of Isidore of Seville. An introduction and translation," *e-Spania* 6 (2008). Isidore, *Epistola ad Claudium ducem*, 12, *PL* 83 905, cited by F.J. Lozano Sebastián, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Teología del pecado y de la conversión* (Burgos: 1976), 30.

[82] Isidore, *Versus* 13, trans. Martyn, *Saint Leander*, 43.

[83] For an overview with analysis of all the work's features, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 123–316.

[84] The expressions used by Leander to address his sister are full of love and affection: *carissima* (dearest); *amantissima* (most loving); *soror quam diligo* (sister whom I love); *pergrata* (most delightful); *mea soror* (my sister), Martyn, *Saint Leander*, 52.

[85] The thesis according to which Leander would have also based his work on Osius of Cordoba's *De laude uirginitatus* and Severus of Malaga's *Annulus* is not supported by many scholars.

[86] For discussion on the literary character of the writing, a letter, a treatise, or a rule, with bibliography, see Oronzo Giordano, "Leandro di Siviglia: lettera alla sorella Fiorentina

Manuscripts have preserved two versions of this work. One of them is short, at twenty-one chapters, and the other, first discovered in 1948, is longer and, according to scholars, more in line with the original. It included thirty-one chapters.[87]

The date at which Leander wrote this work has been subject of discussion. Based on the biographical information given in Chapter 31, it has been argued that Leander wrote it as a kind of spiritual testament at a moment when he feared for his own life or for the life of his brother Fulgentius, whom Leander had sent to his native land. Consequently, scholars have proposed a range of dates between 579 and 587, while Leander was in Constantinople.[88]

6.2 *In laudem ecclesiae / De triumpho Ecclesiae ob conuersione Gothorum*

As mentioned above, Leander delivered the closing homily at the Third Council of Toledo in 589. The sermon, which has been transmitted in the minutes of the council, is known as *In laudem ecclesiae* or *Sermon on the Triumph of the Church for the conversion of the Goths*.[89] This homily is a literary masterpiece in which Leander displays his command of rhetoric. It shows, furthermore, his excellent linguistic, literary, and religious formation. The sermon is a complex text full of biblical and Patristic citations. A thorough reading of the text reveals

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sulla verginità e fuga dal mondo," *Vetera Christianorum* 22 (1985), 105–19; Pedro Castillo, "Gastrimargia y abstinentia gulosa en la normativa monástica hispanovisigótica (I): Leandro de Sevilla," *Florentia Illiberitana* 13 (2002), 33–52, esp. 34–41, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 150–61.

[87] The transmission of the text is very corrupt, which makes its study and translation very difficult. See Ángel Custodio Vega, "El *De institutione virginum* de San Leandro de Sevilla con diez capítulos y medio inéditos," *La Ciudad de Dios* 159 (1947), 277–394, José Madoz, "Una nueva transmisión del Libellus de institutione virginum de San Leandro de Sevilla," *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949), 407–24. Martyn, *Saint Leander*, thinks the original version is 21 chapters, not 31, and that the ten of the long version were a later addition. In consequence, he only uses 21 chapters in his English translation of the text.

[88] It has been proposed that this treatise was written sometime before Hermenegild's rebellion, during Leander's stay in Constantinople, when Hermenegild was defeated and Leander came back to the Iberian Peninsula or at the beginning of Reccared's reign. On the dates, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 123–26, and Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise," 393–95.

[89] For the text, Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, 5:148–59. For a very thorough analysis, vocabulary, expressions, quotations, influences, structure, themes, and valuation, see Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*. English translations by Martyn, *Saint Leander*, 135–49, and Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, 229–37. It is worth noting that in his *De viris illustribus* Isidore does not mention this homily among the works of his brother; see Navarra, "Interventi di Leandro di Siviglia," 124, n. 4. This fact, together with other evidence, has led to some scholars to deny that it was written by Leander.

the difficult negotiations between monarchy and episcopacy that took place before the conversion and attainment of unity, admonishing the king for taking credit for a conversion that properly belongs to Christ and his church.[90] The attribution to Leander of other parts of acts of the Third Council of Toledo, such as its liturgical, dogmatic, and disciplinary innovations, the anathemas, some canons, and in particular the *Tomus*, has not been substantiated satisfactorily.[91]

6.3 *Anti-Arian Writings*

According to Isidore, during his exile Leander wrote "Two books against the beliefs of the heretics" ("Duos aduersus haereticorum dogmata libros") and a "Pamphlet against Arian teachings" ("Opusculum aduersus instituta arrianorum"). In the two books against heretics Leander refuted the errors of the Arian heresy and corrected them through the doctrine of the Catholic Church, with a vehement style and very rich biblical erudition. The *opusculum* was written in the form of answers to Arian statements

> For here in the wanderings of his exile he composed two books against the beliefs of the heretics, richly endowed with the learning of the Holy Scriptures. In them he impaled in a vigorous style the impiety of the Arians, laying bare their depravity. For he revealed how the Catholic Church differed from them and how far they had departed from religion and the sacraments of the Faith. His admirable pamphlet against the teachings of the Arians also survives in which he sets out his replies to their beliefs
>
> (Hic namque in exilii sui peregrinatione composuit duos adversus haereticorum dogmata libros, eruditione sacrarum scripturarum ditissimos, in quibus vehementi stilo arrianae impietatis confodit ac detegit pravitatem; ostendens scilicet, quid contra eosdem habeat catholica ecclesia vel quantum distet ab eis religione vel fidei sacramentis. Extat et laudabile

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[90] According to Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*, the Patristic influence and knowledge which appears in this work, mainly derived from Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and Augustine, was acquired by Leander from his friend Gregory the Great. For an analysis of the homily, see also Jacques Fontaine, "La homilía de San Leandro ante el Concilio III de Toledo: temática y forma," in *Concilio III de Toledo*, 249–69, and José Orlandis, "La doctrina eclesiológica de la homilía de San Leandro en el Concilio III de Toledo," in *Estudios de historia eclesiástica visigoda* (Pamplona: 1998), 123–28.

[91] Gómez Cobo, *La Homelia in laude Ecclesiae*, however, argues that the documents related to the king in the council would not be the work of Leander, but of other ecclesiastical figures closer to Reccared's circle. See also Manuel Díaz, "Los discursos del rey Recaredo."

> eius opusculum adversus instituta arrianorum, in quo propositis eorum dictis, suas reponsiones opponit).[92]

These three Anti-Arian works were presumably composed in response to the religious policies of Leovigild, which, as we saw above, proved attractive to some Catholic bishops. Leander's writings asserted the truth of Catholic doctrine and the errors of the Arians. It seems that other ecclesiastics from the Spanish Catholic Church also contributed to discrediting Arianism, especially as it was reimagined by Leovigild in the early 580s.[93] Justinian and Eutropius of Valencia and Severus of Malaga are all recorded as having written anti-Arian tracts in the sixth century.[94] However, none of these anti-Arian writings, including those of Leander, is extant. Perhaps this was part of a kind of pact of silence made by contemporaries as they celebrated the conversion and the achievements of Reccared in the aftermath of the Third Council of Toledo in 589.[95]

6.4 *Letters*

Leander also wrote numerous letters. Isidore mentions two of them specifically: "To Pope Gregory concerning one baptism" and "To his brother in which he advises that no-one should fear Death" ("Ad Papam Gregorium de baptismate unam" and "Ad fratrem in qua praemonet, cuiquam mortem non esse timendam").[96] Although neither of these letters has survived, we can deduce part of the content of the one sent to Gregory from Gregory's response, dated to 591. This suggests that in his letter Leander had asked Gregory for advice on the controversial issue of baptism in the Spanish Church.[97] It seems that, due to various practices and theological disagreements on baptism between Catholics and former Arians, some churches practised triple immersion and others single immersion and that this had created some confusion and controversy within the Spanish Church. Thus, former Arians with the support of some Catholics defended triple immersion, while other Catholics were in favour of single immersion. Both stances were justified theologically, and advocates of one position refused to accept the validity of the other. It was a subject on which the apostolic see had been consulted before, namely in 538 in a letter sent by Profuturus of Braga to Pope Vigilius.[98] Gregory replied to Leander that although both of these positions were correct, the best way to avoid misunderstandings with new Arian converts was to only use single immersion.[99] This issue, however, continued to cause sharp disagreements for decades, as canon six of the Fourth Council of Toledo of 633 reveals.[100]

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[92] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[93] The debates between Arians and Catholics, very well represented in the Iberian Peninsula during the 4th century by Osius of Cordoba, had acquired a new vigour in Leander's time, especially as a consequence of the arrival to the Iberian Peninsula of ecclesiastics and monks from North Africa, who brought with them writings and polemical style developed during disputes between Arian Vandals and Catholics, as well as during the Three Chapters controversy. For the sources related to the controversy between Arianism and Catholicism in Hispania, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 317–541. For the intellectual and cultural environment, see Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, esp. 192–204, and Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, 54.

[94] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 30. Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla."

[95] Castellanos, *Los Godos y la Cruz*, argues that these theological works were not preserved on purpose, to not undermine the role of Reccared in the conversion of his kingdom to Catholicism.

[96] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[97] Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 1.41. From Gregory's letters to Leander we learn that he sent him several letters, not just the one relating to baptism. See Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 76–80.

Scholars discuss which brother was the addressee of Leander's second letter, "Ad fratrem in qua praemonet, cuiquam mortem non esse timendam." Some argue that it was Fulgentius, who was in danger in foreign territory, while others suggest that it was Isidore, who was threatened by Leovigild's siege of Seville of 583–584.[101] Isidore also says that Leander wrote very affectionate personal letters to his fellow bishops. He adds that although the form of these letters was not brilliant, they were full of firmness in thought.[102] None of these letters has survived.

6.5 *Liturgical Writings*

In the biography of his brother, Isidore records that Leander wrote a collection of prayers for the Psalter and composed numerous and heartfelt melodies for the Mass, hymns, and psalms.[103] Some scholars have suggested that some of Leander's liturgical production and ideas regarding Arianism could have been preserved in the anonymous Mozarabic *Liber psalmographus* and in Mozarabic literature more generally, which have reached us in manuscripts dated from the 8th to the 11th centuries.[104]

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[98] Canon 5 of the First Council of Braga; Vigilius, *Epistola*, Ch. 2, *PL* 84, 831A-B. See also Martin of Braga, *De trina mersione*.

[99] Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 1.41.

[100] Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, 5:189–93.

[101] Leander of Seville, *De institutione virginum* 31. For Leovigild's siege, John of Biclarum, *Chronicon s. a.* 583, 1, and 584, 1 and 3. See also Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 102–03.

[102] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[103] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.

[104] Jorge Pinell, *Liber Orationum Psalmographus. Colectas de salmos del antiguo rito hispánico* (Barcelona: 1972), esp. 93–4 and 129–65, attributes to Leander most of its compositions; José Aldazabal, "Doctrina eclesiológica del libro Salmógrafo. La Iglesia como *posesión*

6.6 *Other Works*

The *Hispana,* a collection of papal decretals and records of church councils from the East, Africa, Gaul, and Spain, the first composition of which is attributed to Isidore, was, for Manuel Díaz, a work of Leander not of Isidore.[105] Although most scholars refute this hypothesis, some agree that it was probably first put together during Leander's episcopate.[106] The attribution to Leander of the *Sermon for the feast of St. Vincent martyr* (*Sermo in solemniis sancti Vicentii martyris*) also lacks solid foundations and is not generally accepted by scholars.[107]

7 Conclusion

When Leander died, sometime around 600–601, his brother Isidore not only became bishop of Seville and metropolitan of Baetica, but he also curated Leander's legacy. This legacy is vital to understanding Isidore's achievements.[108] Leander's words to his sister Florentina suggest that he had great affection for Isidore. Their parents had entrusted him with the education of his youngest brother, and it seems that Leander took this task seriously.[109] Isidore had at his

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adquirida por Cristo y *nave* de salvación," *Revista Española de Teología* 32 (1972), 32–5. These attributions to Leander however, are not thoroughly argued. For discussion, see Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 99–102.

[105] For the *Hispana*, see the study and critical edition of Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*.

[106] See Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Pequeñas aportaciones para el estudio de la *Hispana*," *Revista Española de Derecho Canónico* 17 (1962), 384–90. For discussion and bibliography, see Beltrán, "San Leandro de Sevilla," 348, n. 58, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 106–09.

[107] See Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada* (Madrid: 1860), 8:253–54, Baudoin de Gaiffier, "Sermons en l'honneur de S. Vincent antéireurs au x siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949), 280–86, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 109–11.

[108] The date is based on Isidore's *De viris illustribus* 28, which states that Leander flourished under Reccared (Reccared died in 601), and on the fact that Gregory the Great sent Leander the *pallium* of St Peter in 599. According to Gregory's letter to Leander in that year, Leander was severely affected by gout (Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* 9.228 and 9.229). An inscription (not very reliable), which records the epitaph of Leander, Fulgentius, and Isidore in the place where they were buried, sets Leander's death on 14 March 602, José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (Barcelona: 1969), no. 272, and José Carlos Martín, "El Epitaphium Leandri, Isidori et Florentinae (ICERV 272) o la compleja transmisión manuscrita de un texto epigráfico. Nueva edición y estudio," *Euphrosyne* n. s. 38 (2010), 139–63. On Leander's death dates, see Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 91 and 113, and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 113–14.

[109] Leander of Seville, *De institutione virginum* 31. On the formation of Isidore, see Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," esp. 72–105.

disposal the very well-stocked episcopal library of Seville, which Leander had enriched with works by Gregory the Great and other eminent authors.[110] The intellectual and theological influence of Leander on his brother is evidenced by some similarities between their monastic rules.[111] Leander, furthermore, probably encouraged Isidore to write some of his most notable works, like *On the Offices of the Church*, and Isidore probably continued some projects initiated by his brother, such as the collection of papal decretals and records of church councils contained in the *Hispana*.[112]

Due to his close association with Leander, Isidore would have first-hand experience of many of the facets of episcopal office and it is likely that he was present at some of the crucial moments in the episcopacy of Leander. Leander also likely provided Isidore with connections to outstanding ecclesiastical and political figures of his time.[113] Due to all of these contexts, Isidore would carry on the policy of close collaboration between monarchy and episcopacy initiated by his brother, working for the Visigothic kingdom and its Church, and generating the ideological foundations that justified their close collaboration.[114]

The undoubted close association between Leander and Isidore contrasts with the laconic references Isidore dedicates to his brother in his own writings. In Isidore's writings, much of Leander's prominent political activity is not mentioned. Isidore's silence and his attempt to obscure his brother's role in the turbulent recent past are not, however, an impediment to appreciating Leander's contemporary importance and the profound influence that he had on the establishment of a united Catholic Visigothic kingdom and on his brother's intellection and pastoral formation.

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[110] Isidore refers to Gregory the Great at *Versus* 14 and *De viris illustribus* 27, where he mentions Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, which the pope had sent to Leander (Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 5.53).

[111] See Campos and Roca, *Reglas monásticas*, 46 and 425–27.

[112] Martyn, *Saint Leander*, 12, Díaz y Díaz, "Pequeñas aportaciones," and Domínguez del Val, *Leandro de Sevilla*, 106–09.

[113] The connections of Leander were extensive, including Gregory the Great, Reccared, and other important ecclesiastics from across the Iberian Peninsula, such as Licinianus of Cartagena.

[114] Garcia Moreno, "La Andalucía de San Isidoro," 579, points out that Isidore, however, did not reach the outstanding political role of his brother in the Visigothic kingdom, maybe because he was too young for these affairs when he became bishop.

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PART 2

Themes in Isidore's Works

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CHAPTER 5

Isidore of Seville as a Theologian

Thomas O'Loughlin

1 Introduction: The Appropriateness of the Notion of "Theologian" as a Unifying Concept over the Range of the *corpus Isidorianum*

If we seek to find a unifying factor in the vast literary output of Isidore, bishop of Seville, then the modern designation of "theologian"—someone who seeks to articulate a vision of the universe, human history, and human aspirations from within a specific religious tradition—probably comes closest. It is a title that he would not have recognised, for it presumes the division of knowledge by way of university faculties that arose centuries later, but it will be used in this chapter as the term that allows us to see common themes running throughout his work as well as to appreciate some of his more specific contributions to the Western intellectual tradition.[1] Isidore himself would possibly have preferred some term akin to *magister*: the person who took on the educational tasks set out by Augustine (354–430) as necessary for the church in his *De doctrina Christiana*. Alternatively, given Isidore's attitude to the "fathers" whose wisdom he arranged in convenient textbook style, perhaps he would have wanted to describe himself as a *discipulus* to the *magistri*.[2] However, in that he sought to comprehend and codify the Christian inheritance, resolve its problems, and then communicate it effectively—especially in a school setting—he is truly a theologian, and possibly the first Latin writer who consciously adopted that attitude to the tradition he had received that we see in its fullest form with writers such as Abelard (1079–1142/3) in his *Sic et non* and Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1142) in his *Didascalicon*.

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[1] Isidore does, of course, refer to *theologi* in the *Etymologiae*, but these are specific groups of pagan thinkers rather than individuals performing a specific task within the Christian church. At 8.6.18 the *theologi* are those Greek philosophers who wrote about God and about the nature of the divine, such as Dionysius the Stoic, or (at 8.7.9) those poets who wrote songs about the gods.

[2] One need but look at the *apparatus fontium* in any modern edition of his works to see how he sought to identify and combine what he imagined as the quotations from the fathers on particular texts or questions and thus form an authoritative resource for those who came after him. On Isidore's sense of being but the most recent moment in a tradition, the disciple of those older writers who taught with authority, see Thomas O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers: The Latin Genesis Tradition, 430–800* (Turnhout: 1999), 157–205.

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However, while it is arguable that Isidore was a major influence on the form of subsequent theology in the West, it is certain that he does not belong to the West's own perception of its theological history because he is not seen as a theological genius, as is the case with Augustine, or a technical master, such as Jerome (*c*.345–420), or a profound influence on Western spirituality, such as John Cassian (*c*.360-after 430). So, can we see Isidore as having been in any way innovative or creative theologically? A few decades ago the answer would have been a clear "no"—only those with significant and recognisably different ideas could enter the canon of "important Latin theologians". In this view the first figure worthy of attention after Augustine was Anselm (*c*.1033–1109), with occasional claims for either Boethius (*c*.480–*c*.524) and/or Eriugena (mid-9th century), and, perhaps, Bede (*c*.673–735). Figures such Cassiodorus (490–*c*.580), Isidore, and any number of other writers were relegated to a lesser league of "writers" (rather than "thinkers") who are merely of interest to medievalists and historians of the transmission of European culture. Ironically, this still common neglect might have pleased some of these writers in that one of their expressed aims was that they would hand on their inheritance without innovation; but in the very means by which they sought not to innovate, they innovated.[3] The contemporary rationale for looking at Isidore as a creative theologian owes its origin to the awareness that no cultural message can be isolated as some ideal essence—an "idea" or a set of ideas—apart from its medium within specific human societies. It was commonplace among theologians in the early part of the 20th century to imagine theology as a set of true propositions, which had a particular shape only accidentally, that were true ahistorically, although they might not have been known at particular times or in certain places or to some individuals. In such a view the only appropriate question one could ask of Isidore, as a theological writer, was whether or not he provided evidence for the presence in his time of some controverted proposition: if he did, then that was to the good, while if he were "silent" on a particular matter then that was interpreted as simply a gap in his knowledge.[4] This approach was sometimes summed up in the notion that "theology has no history, only heresy [the result of deviant human action and innovation] has a history"—and, as we shall see, Isidore held a not dissimilar view.

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[3] O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers*, 273–96.

[4] There is archetypal example of this in the treatment of Isidore in relation to the post-Tridentine Catholic teaching on the Eucharist in Juan Solano, ed., *Textos Eucaristicos Primitivos*, vol. 2: *Hasta el fin de la época patrística* (Madrid: 1952), 695–708. Solano assembles quotations from six works and presents them as being in perfect harmony with the earliest times and the most recent doctrinal statements: one can chart continuities while the changes of culture, ritual, or theology are all but invisible.

Since the mid-20th century it has become increasingly common to recognise that the forms any cultural communication takes, and the values underlying it, are part of what is communicated; indeed, they may be more important than the formal information transmitted. Medium cannot be detached from "message," nor can a message be translated from one medium to another without the transformation of the message in that it now belongs within a different world. This development in semiotics has major implications for the history of theology because it is now recognised that the values that are implicit in the media and manner of doing theology not only shape the formulation of the message but function as the users' fundamental theological assumptions, and, in particular, the forms of communication usually are a close reflection of their understanding of the nature of revelation. So, for example, the storytelling form of the gospels highlights a narrative approach to revelation, the forensic disputes of the scholastics give a dominant place to the categorical proposition as the locus of religious truth such that revelation can be contained in propositions and faith is seen as assent to these, while the desire to provide structures for the arrangement of knowledge and compendia for its transmission reveal Isidore's notion of Christianity as an all-embracing system where every question can be answered with clarity and certainty. In being the first to present theological knowledge in this form, Isidore can be seen as one of the most significant theologians in the aftermath of the Roman Empire and one whose style of theology survived, in many places, until the 20th century. It is from this perspective on Isidore as an innovator—not of the "content" of doctrine but of how the nature of doctrine was conceived, how it could approached in the activity of teaching, and how "pieces" of doctrine could be assembled and used in larger arguments—that his status as a theologian should be evaluated.

2 Isidore's View of What a Good Theologian Should Be

Although Isidore did not produce works that explicitly reflect on what a Christian teacher does or should be doing,[5] we can see, indirectly, what he valued in theological teachers in his comments in his *De viris illustribus*.[6] In contrast to his exemplars in the genre, such as Jerome's book of the same title, Isidore's work rarely acts as a bibliography; he is more interested in teachers who have had an effect within the church's ambit than those who produced books. We see this in a simple analysis of those included: 27 bishops, 2 priests, 1 abbot, and 3 laypeople (one a woman). Teaching is perceived and presented as being a function of being an office holder in the church, pre-eminently the work of a bishop, rather than a function of individual genius, inspiration, or creativity.[7] Indeed, Isidore is more interested in the writers as saintly churchmen than as Christian writers per se; and given the tone of the book it would have been inconceivable to him that he could have included, as Jerome did, writers who were not orthodox Christians. While Isidore tells us the general area of each writer's work, on only a handful of cases can we identify the specific text being referenced and in even fewer cases is the title of the work included in his description. The inference seems clear: theology is a corpus of agreed knowledge embraced by individuals and transmitted rather than being a constellation of brilliant books by outstanding individuals.[8] There are certain recurring themes in entries. The most common is that the writer had opposed heresy, or a particular heresy, in some way, and there are two identifiable concerns under this broad heading. Firstly, a concern with those involved in reacting to what he saw as the web of Arianism, presented as denying the divinity of Jesus, which beset the church and led innocent people astray; and, secondly, the heresies which Isidore linked to those who queried various practices relating to baptism: the ideal church was to be uniform not only in teaching but in its practices. The second identifiable concern is with biblical exegesis where one bishop wrote on one topic and someone else on another – and we can presume that eventually we should have a complete set of commentaries; and, thirdly, a concern with penance and monastic practice. The predominant motif is that the Christian writer, a bishop, is one who must counter false teaching and defective practice. There is a tacit assumption that theology and orthodoxy are interchangeable terms, and that theology as such is a single integral and entire edifice. All teachers, whether in Greek or Latin, whether recent (such as Maximus of Zaragoza—the last writer mentioned—who writes in Visigothic Spain) or in the past (Hosius of Cordoba—the first entry), are proclaiming the exact same doctrine. Within this edifice of teaching there are no disputes between equally legitimate approaches or positions, nor are there any novelties: disagreements, over such matters as baptism or celebrating Easter, are the result of ignorance or weakness, and these problems are resolved by teachers who write clear answers to the problems. Likewise with exegesis, there is no hint that there are better or worse commentaries on particular books, but there are writers who address this or that text (Justus on the Song of Songs, Gregory the Great on Job) and thus provided the information that is needed. The various writers are conceivable as simply contributors to an encyclopaedia of theological truth that is at all times consistent, coherent, and potentially complete (some details may still need to be written up). So just as the only new work that has been noted in the *De viris illustribus* has been responses to threatening novelties (novelties, threats, heresies being also interchangeable terms), this is the only new work that will be required from teachers; for the most part they are to repeat and clarify a wholly known *depositum*.

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[5] It is significant that in Isidore's list of ecclesial actors dealt with in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2 there is no mention of a teacher or of a preacher, and that the act of teaching and having knowledge in relation to the scriptures ("scientia scripturarum necessaria est") is just one item among the duties of the bishop (2.5.16).

[6] Carmen Codoñer Merino, ed., *El "De viris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla: Estudio y edición crítica* (Salamanca: 1964).

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[7] The ideal teachers of the *De viris illustribus* mirror exactly the ideal bishop in *De ecclesiaasticis officiis* 2.5.13–17; indeed, one can view the *De viris illustribus* as Isidore writing for his fellow bishops on the doctrinal dimension of their duties using the form of "history being theology teaching by example."

[8] It is interesting that Isidore never quotes Dan. 12:3—comparing teachers to brilliant stars in the heavens—and the only possible allusion to it (it may be to Phil. 2:15) interprets the stars of heaven "as, spiritually, the church which shines in the night of this life" (Isidore, *De natura rerum* 12.1). The collectivity, the church, is so much more significant than the actual teachers who compose it. See also: Jamie Wood, "Elites and Baptism: Religious 'Strategies of Distinction' in Visigothic Spain," in *Elite and Popular Religion*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: 2006), 3–17.

3 A Theologian at Work

We see Isidore's belief that all the orthodox teachers expound the same doctrine, and so must be virtually in complete harmony with one another, in the way he approached scriptural exegesis. Exegesis, when allegorical methods predominate, is by its nature pluriform: having found one meaning, one can then find another, and the process has no natural termination. Hence we have "the forest of interpretations"[9] from early Christian writers with many exegeses of individual texts. Such open-endedness was not to Isidore's taste, with his desire for ordered teaching and fixed concise answers. We shall look at his theoretical answer to this issue when we look at how he attempted to create a systematic net for knowledge, but he also evolved a practical answer to it in his biblical commentaries.

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[9] The image is taken from the preface to the *Liber regularum* of Tyconius the Donatist; see Pamela Bright, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius: Its Purpose and Inner Logic* (Notre Dame: 1988), 36–37. On Isidore and Tyconius, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale* (Paris: 1959), 43.

No biblical book posed as many problems to the Christian theologians as Genesis, so this is the example to be examined here.[10] On one side it presented a history of the earth and humanity that contradicted that of Greco-Roman culture, while its account of human disobedience (both in Eden and before the flood) was often seen as the background to christology and the nature of Christian life. Isidore's work was to reduce the vast variety of material on this text—nearly half a dozen different commentaries from Augustine alone—to a fixed set of exegeses drawn from his authorities.[11] Viewed in terms of his sources, his commentary on Genesis is a chain of quotations (principally from Augustine, then from Ambrose (*c.*339–97) and Jerome, and then from other authors) with very few comments of his own.[12] Where he innovates is to divide the text into small units—sometimes this is a narrative unit and sometimes just a sentence—which are identified by lemmata in the commentary, and then to each such unit attach a snippet from his authorities. So the catena of events/statements in Genesis (A, B, C, D, E …) is paralleled by a catena of interpretations (a, b, c, d, e …) such that these are imagined as linked pairs (Aa, Bb, Cc, Dd, Ee …); and the unity and consistency of the biblical text is matched by the unity and consistency of the commentators used: the authorities by appearing not to conflict with one another convey to the reader the impression that the biblical text is itself unproblematic.[13] This method contained within it two hermeneutical implications that would have a profound effect on subsequent Latin exegesis and theology. First, that the biblical text, and indeed the whole of revelation, could be conceived as a set of interconnected propositions—susceptible to analysis as propositions and to being used in theological speculation as propositions such that any conclusion that resulted in a non-contradictory set of propositions was itself part of the *depositum fidei*—and secondly, that it was possible to hold that there was a single true interpretation of any passage of scripture, and so of the whole Bible, which could be ascertained by the ecclesial body of teachers (such as those bishops listed in the *De viris illustribus*). Isidore never explicitly embraced either of these implications of his method, but he probably grasped them in some inchoate way, and certainly he would not have been averse to them. That these implications were soon drawn out as basic elements in theology can be seen by those who came after and used Isidore, such as Julian of Toledo (fl. 667–90).[14]

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[10] For edition, see: Martine Dulaey and Michael M. Gorman, eds., *Isidorus Episcopus Hispalensis Expositio in Vetus Testamentum: Genesis* (Freiburg: 2009).

[11] See Donald Jacob Uitvlugt, "The Sources of Isidore's Commentaries on the Pentateuch," *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 72–100.

[12] This is clearly visible in the apparatus and *index fontium* of the edition by Dulaey and Gorman.

[13] O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers*, 245–71.

Readers today view Isidore's writings on natural philosophy (e.g. *De natura rerum*) mainly as forming the basis of medieval science, but within Isidore's vision these works set out the background to the key doctrines of Christian belief.[15] But what is not apparent in them is the extent to which Isidore took differing solutions from earlier Christian writers and combined them to form a single position. The issue of whether or not there are "waters above the heavens" (Gen. 1:6–7) is a convenient example. On the one hand, the Bible is explicit that these waters exist, while on the other hand both classical cosmology and its underlying physics, that matter is arranged in the universe by weight, entertain no such notion. This conflict was complemented by another between Ambrose and Augustine on how to approach the problem where we find Augustine criticising and rejecting Ambrose's approach, albeit without naming his teacher.[16] Isidore not only ignored the classical–biblical conflict by presenting the biblical position as simply the "known facts," but combined conflicting elements from both Ambrose's and Augustine's answers to the problem as if they were consistent.[17] A parallel to this can be found in Isidore's treatment of the chronology of the first age of creation. There is no hint of Christians' embarrassment at their relatively short history of creation, and the biblically derived chronology is given as the only sequence of true dates. When he knows that there is a famous problem in his sources he adopts an attitude of simple declaration. So, for example, the problem relating to Methuselah's death (Gen. 5:25) *after the flood*—a conflict between the Greek and Hebrew/Vulgate texts—is mentioned without explanation,[18] and the problematic implication is then simply rejected:

> Enoch … gave birth to Methuselah, who is found to have lived, according to the series of years, for fourteen years after [the coming of] the flood. That is why there are some who have the false opinion (*falsa opinione*

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[14] Thomas O'Loughlin, "Julian of Toledo's *Antikeimenon* and the development of Latin exegesis," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 16 (1993), 80–98.

[15] O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers*, 197.

[16] Thomas O'Loughlin, "*Aquae super caelos* (Gen 1:6–7): the first faith-science debate," *Milltown Studies* 29 (1992), 92–114.

[17] O'Loughlin, Thomas, "The waters above the heavens: Isidore and the Latin tradition," *Milltown Studies* 36 (1995), 104–17.

[18] O'Loughlin, Thomas, "The controversy over Methuselah's death: proto-chronology and the origins of the western concept of inerrancy," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et medievale* 62 (1995), 182–225.

> *existimant*) that he, along with his father Enoch who was "removed" (*translatus*), survived for a little while until the flood has passed by.[19]

By labelling problems as the results of false opinions, Isidore isolates the sacred text from the sphere of argument: the text itself is not problematic; the difficulties belong to the sphere of the human readers. When they have generated questions which could be seen as impinging on the text's credibility, then it is the readers who are at fault, and their questions and doubts can be marginalised as "false opinion." Just as Isidore's method of presenting exegesis can be seen as a key moment in the development of the propositional model of theology and of the logical model of theological development, his combination of human sciences (be that cosmology or history) with the biblical narratives can be seen as a major contributor to the related notions of the sufficiency of sacred text as a product of literal inspiration and of the inerrancy of the text both as a whole, and in its most simple detail where these could be expressed as propositions.

Isidore did not leave any treatise of these basic issues, but in the way he embedded these theological perspectives in a series of works which became core texts in teaching theology for the centuries after him, he can be said to have originated many of the basic principles both of systematic theology and of how the scriptures were approached theologically in the West until the 18th century. Viewed from this perspective, Isidore's many handbooks, such as the *De ortu et obitu patrum*[20] or the *In libros veteris ac novi testamenti prooemia*,[21] should be considered as much works conveying his theological vision as being handy repositories of curious knowledge. These are not just teachers' texts, synopses, and enchiridia, but distillations of the complexity of the inheritance; indeed, since Isidore has presented the conclusions of this library with

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[19] Isidore, *Chronica* 15; and compare with Isidore, *Expositio in Vetus Testamentum: Genesis* 30, l. 755–58. The notion of Enoch being "removed" is based on the text of Gen. 5:24 that "God took him" and, as Isidore refers to it, in terms of his not dying or being destroyed by the flood using the phrase *translatus* [*est*], we see the influence of Heb. 11:5: "Enoch was removed (*translatus est*) […] lest he see death" and Sir. 44:15: "Enoch pleased God and was removed (*translatus est*) into paradise." On the history of the problem—which Bede referred to as a "most famous question"—see O'Loughlin, "The controversy over Methuselah's death."

[20] For edition, see: César Chaparro Gómez, ed., *Isidoro de Sevilla: De ortu et obitu patrum* (Paris: 1985), and note his comments on the authenticity of the text at p. 35.

[21] A critical edition of this work can be assembled from the portions provided in sequence, Donatien De Bruyne, *Prefaces to the Latin Bible* (Turnhout: 2015); not only is this a better text than that found in PL 83, 155–80, but it shows the importance of this work in the actual reading of the scriptures and in exegesis over a long period of time.

brevitas, to an extent his synopses can replace the books of ancients: the *compendium* (literally: a short cut) bypasses the very ancients whose writing have authority and deserve respect!

Reading a work like the *Prooemia* one is not given a mere one-paragraph introduction, and we know that it was read in this way from the manner in which it was excerpted in biblical codices, but a particular viewpoint for locating anything further that might be read. Moreover, in many cases, since one knows the answer to the problem, the speculation that led up to that position can now be considered redundant.[22] Why, for example, should one read the long discourses on the "waters above" in Ambrose's *Exameron* or the very complex treatment of the topic in Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* when all around are agreed about the frame of the universe, and the most valuable insights from each of those great saints have been arranged under the correct lemma in Isidore's commentary?[23] Isidore's textbooks witness his great skill as an assembler of information, his admiration for such qualities as *brevitas*,[24] and his awareness of the scholastic needs of post-Roman Europe, but they also witness his deeper convictions about the integrity and completeness of Christian knowledge. He, the Christian bishop, is the ideal reader of any book, pagan or Christian, and so can fit it perfectly into an overall arrangement of knowledge in which God has revealed all that is needed for salvation—and all the propositions that are needed for knowledge. As salvation is complete, so is the sum of human knowing.[25] In this view, theological knowledge both wraps up all other disciplines and becomes *the* meta-discipline: it knows the limits and possibilities of knowing.

4 The Sacerdotal Dimension of the Christian Teacher's Work

In all his work of compiling, summarising, and packaging, Isidore never expresses a doubt that the Christian understanding of creation, his theology, can be adequately transmitted in textbooks, and this silence, in one who had available to him an extensive library, is itself a basic premise of his theology. This attitude supposes not only that there is a dominant intellectual paradigm—to use the language of Thomas Kuhn[26]—where it is only details that need to be resolved, but that most if not all the problems have been resolved. Knowledge is not only coherent within their religious system, but also virtually complete. This perspective sets Isidore apart from his great sources: Augustine, for example, knew that there were competing visions of the creation and human history, as we see in his *De civitate Dei*, and that the solutions of today will be inadequate for tomorrow, as we see in his returning to subjects over his lifetime until his final *Retractationes*. Isidore had no such need: at best one could convey the material in a more fluent form, but for the most part where we do find him addressing an issue on several occasions, what we find are repetitions. When this sense of satisfaction with the paradigm is combined with his respect for the truth as given by the *auctoritates*, located within a view of Christian writing that amounts to a sense of the corporate personality of the Christian schoolmaster,[27] it seemed an obvious conclusion that the work of theology was complete. This notion would become a commonplace in later Latin theology when it was expressed in such formulae as "scripture is all sufficient" or "revelation ended with the death of the last apostle"—and it would be only in the 19th century that its inadequacy as a position would be tentatively broached within Christian theology—but Isidore is probably the first Latin writer who took it as axiomatic. So, would there be need for more Christian writers? Isidore would have to answer positively: there would be new confusions due to human weakness and sin, there would be the survival of false opinions, and, presumably, there might be even more concise textbooks.

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[22] On the use of these works of Isidore as basic guides to the scriptures, Thomas O'Loughlin, "Seeking the medieval view of the Song of Songs," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 18 (1995), 94–116.

[23] Isidore, *Expositio in Vetus Testamentum: Genesis* 5–6, l. 100–24.

[24] See Jamie Wood, "*Brevitas* in the historical writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain – A Symposium*, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J. Ryan (London: 2010), 37–53.

[25] This aspect of Isidore's activity as an encyclopaedist was noted long ago in Ernest Brehaut's *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York: 1912) but is often forgotten in the desire to note Isidore's sources on the one hand and his influence on the other.

However, there was a deeper and darker reason why theologians would be needed: Christian teaching—even in those matters we would imagine as "secular"—did not operate in a neutral space where there were simply teachers and pupils. Just as the divine Spirit brought illumination to the darkness of the human mind, so were there evil spiritual forces constantly working against true doctrine. Wandering in the lower atmosphere were the demons, condemned to be there until the Day of Judgement, and they are ruled by the Devil/Satan.[28] Their constant activity is to counter the virtues in human beings that lead to holiness. Therefore, humans in their pursuit of the truth are engaged in a warfare with them—for Isidore takes for granted that they are children of "the Liar," the "enemy of truth" (*veritatis inimicus*).[29] Human confusions and false opinions can be attributed to this demonic source, and it is part of the work of the Christian priest to lead the faithful in this battle.[30] Moreover, since Satan is the Antichrist, he makes opposing the mysteries of the Christ (*sacramenta Christi*), which it is the teachers' task to expound, his special concern. It is he, the Antichrist, that denies the divinity of the Christ,[31] and so Isidore assumes his readers will realise that it is this Evil One who is behind all the various christological heresies. In the *De viris illustribus* this had been one of the themes that characterised the eminent teachers; and we now see that this was not simply a tribute to their adherence to an orthodoxy but a demonstration that bishops/theologians were involved intimately in the drama of salvation. The theologian as the Christian of intellectual prowess is a notion that Isidore can barely imagine, but he has a clear view of the sacerdotal role of the theologian in opposing the attacks of the Devil, and this elevates the status of the teacher into the very structure not only of the Church but of creation.[32] Viewed in this light, the teacher's role with regard to knowledge and teaching is very close to that of the bishop, and this needs to be borne in mind when we distinguish between "secular" and "sacred" in Isidore's *oeuvre*: whether looking at pagan learning or biblical books, whether dealing with material objects or mysteries, the theologically alert teacher would be needed to ensure that the truth was enunciated, but also, perhaps more crucially, to fend off the attacks of The Tempter on the innocent.[33]

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[26] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: 1996).

[27] O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers*, 42–71.

[28] *Etymologiae* 8.11.17. On some of the sources of this section of the *Etymologiae*—and a brief introduction to his demonology, see Katherine Nell Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (*Origines* VIII.11)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 70 (1980), 1–40.

5 Isidore and the Framework of Western Theology

Even a cursory reading of Isidore shows him to be a redactor of authorities: item after item, from this source and that, placed in sequence and justified, as he sometimes remarked, by his appeal "to the writings of the men of old and especially the catholic writers."[34] Isidore's own desire not to be seen as an innovator matches our modern description of him as lacking in originality. Isidore's *own* writing is then presented with images such as the mortar between the bricks:[35] he may the formal source of some later medieval writer's position, but for the genuine source of an idea we have to look behind him. This is certainly true if one conceives the history of ideas as tracking some notion back to its earliest expression, but it runs the danger of not recognising that knowledge, particularly religious knowledge where shared story is central, always exists within a social construction and is in continual evolution. So, the question should be framed: how important is Isidore's theological input if, instead of imagining his own work as "mortar," we think of it as the steel skeleton of the edifice of Christian knowledge? This, the structure of the Christian intellectual world, was an issue that Isidore addressed in several of his writings, and his solutions were adopted, with little alteration if often with some confusion, by his successors.[36]

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[29] *Etymologiae* 8.11.19. Behind this stands his reading of such texts as John 8:44, 2 Cor. 2:11 and Rev. 12:9.

[30] This can be seen in the stress on the holiness of the bishop-teachers in his *De viris illustribus*.

[31] *Etymologiae* 8.11.20–22: this text is, in effect, several paraphrases of 1 John 2:22.

[32] Moreover, it comes full circle with his views of the sacerdotality of Christian ministry, based explicitly on the Aaronic priesthood but its perfect fulfilment, that Isidore expounds throughout the second book of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

[33] *Etymologiae* 8.11.19.

[34] *De natura rerum*, praefatio.

The teacher, knowing that truth had to be attained and falsehood avoided, was faced with a mass of material, all of which was conveyed in language: if this could be arranged in order, then the pupil could progress. Isidore sets out a scheme for this when he addresses the difference between wisdom (*sapientia*) and knowledge (*scientia*).[37] What he produces is a structure that can locate all that is known both about the creation and the Creator within a single pathway with wisdom as its destination, which he defines as "the contemplation of eternal realities", for a life lived "before the eyes of God". It can be arranged in tabular form thus:

	Physics—	Seven Arts		
W				
I		Justice	Divine Truth	
S	Ethics—	Prudence		Historical sense
D		Fortitude	Scripture	"Middle" sense
O		Temperance		Spiritual sense
M				
	Logic—	Dialectic &c		

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[35] Various images have been used, but this image of mortar is that employed by Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods," 4: "[Isidore] contributes little more than the mortar which connects excerpts from other authors."

[36] One can still see its influence in such work as the *De reductione atrium ad theologiam* by Bonaventure (*c.*1217–1274).

[37] Isidore, *De differentiis verborum* 2.39.148–158.

While each element in this structure is inherited, the simplicity with which they are brought together and aligned with each other is Isidore's; and, moreover, it expresses the core of his theology of creation. Just as the whole of the creation forms a unity in its dependence on God, so is that unity reflected in the human pursuit of wisdom. While humans could be content with a mere assemblage of facts (*scientia*), the intended end of knowing is the wholeness of the creation and its relationship to God. Implicit in this is the assumption that wisdom and truth cannot be separated, and that the truth is itself a unity—no true expression can contradict any other expression—and that unity is inherent within human knowing and not simply as a result of a true knowledge of God. By linking the structures of creation and knowing in this way he pioneered not only the scholastic method with its reliance on the transcendental unity of truth, but also a very positive view of the creation as we find it (indeed a theology of creation's goodness which, if fully spelled out, might have held as suspect).

That Isidore's position on the creation/human knowing in the *De differentiis verborum* was not just the passing thought of a moment but his considered position can be seen in the overall structure we find in the *Etymologiae*,[38] and also in the way he, firstly, links various human disciplines with the structures of revelation found in the scriptures in that work, and then, secondly, links the ways of knowing with the ends of human life. He links human wisdom (and so its study) with the scriptures (and so exegesis) in *Etymologiae* 2.24.3–8 thus:

Natural	Physics	Thales	The Material Causes	Genesis & Qoheleth
Moral	Ethics	Socrates	Human life	Proverbs, &c
Rational	Logic	Plato	The Higher Causes	The Song of Songs & the gospels

Isidore then considers how the values of knowing as valued within Christian learning—as that was conceived of within a monastic context in the aftermath of John Cassian—could be reconciled with the values of knowing found in human philosophy (*Etymologiae* 2.24.10–16). The relationship can be set out thusly:

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[38] The actual division into books and chapters is somewhat arbitrary and the work of Braulio of Zaragoza; the more valuable division is that into subject areas, which is Isidore's own work.

Inspective Concerns invisible things, divine matters, and heavenly contemplation.	Natural[a]	The creation as it was intended by God.[b]
	Doctrinal	The quadrivium founded in the abstraction of number.[c]
	Divine	Concerns the ineffable nature of God; and matters relating to the spiritual creatures.[d]
Actual Presumably the opposite of the above: visible, material, and terrestrial things.	Moral[e]	Honest living and the virtues.[f]
	Domestic	The correct order of living in a household.[g]
	Civil	Life in the city.[h]

[a] This division is made at *Etymologiae* 2.24.10. It might be objected that this tabulation of Isidore's work is itself an interpretation of him, which it is, but that Isidore had an overarching view of these matters is confirmed by the fact that the whole is internally consistent and he never contradicts himself.

[b] *Etymologiae* 2.24.12.

[c] *Etymologiae* 2.24.10 and 14–15.

[d] *Etymologiae* 2.24.13.

[e] *Etymologiae* 2.24.11.

[f] *Etymologiae* 2.24.16.

[g] *Etymologiae* 2.24.16.

[h] *Etymologiae* 2.24.16.

While in all these cases it is possible to dismiss Isidore's work as no more than that of creating a neat taxonomy—and it is neat and was appreciated as such by his successors—or that of creating a synthesis of words and appearances rather than seeking a fundamental theoretical reconciliation between Christian faith and human knowing, that would not only be unjust to Isidore's creativity within his understanding of how a Christian teacher should act, but it fails to recognise the inherent fecundity of this synthesis in terms of the Latin tradition. The scholar could draw in all human knowing into his theology, while seeing in the whole of creation and its history an apologetic and demonstration of Christian truth.

6 Conclusion: Isidore's Legacy

Given his literary productivity it is possible to ascertain, usually with a high degree of precision, Isidore's position on most theological topics that were under discussion in the Patristic period. There have been numerous studies of particular issues where he is usually studied as a moment in the movement from Augustine to the scholastics.[39] Usually these appear as a consensus of earlier disputes, and often they can be seen as the intermediate position between that found in an earlier and a later writer of note. However, by Isidore's reduction of inherently complex debates to simple categorical statements he often produced an extreme form which did a serious disservice to his sources. His Christology, for example, is so fascinated with the divinity of Christ that he presents the humanity of Jesus docetically,[40] while his doctrine of the Eucharist is so concerned with the notion of presence that it loses sight of the inherent ambiguity of the notion of a sacrament/mystery.[41]

Isidore always presents his material as settled knowledge, and he was taken at his word in that his works are usually the key to how a Patristic theme was modified to become a standard element in Western theology.[42] Equally, the extent of Isidore's impact can be ascertained by looking at the diffusion of his works, which we can measure by citations, references to him or his works, and the raw quantities of surviving manuscripts. But while these investigations are useful in understanding the development of Western thought, they should not deflect us from noting that it is Isidore's underlying assumptions about the nature of theology, expressed in text after text and reproduced in manuscript after manuscript, which are his major and most enduring legacy. Isidore described a world that lay wholly covered by a sacred mantle, and as such it is an enchanted universe. But it is also a rational space in that revelation could be known with clarity and expressed as propositions—his own actual lack of clarity notwithstanding—while contradictory evidence could be marginalised as curiosities surviving from the past or details just needing diligence to bring them to a coherent resolution. Theology—and revelation itself—was a matter of proposition calling for assent. In this ordered creation humans had about them the handiwork of the Creator and, if pious and attentive, could discover all its secrets and that "all wisdom is from the Lord" (Sir. 1:1). There was no need for any new information; indeed, there was no new information to be found, and the challenge that faced Isidore and his successors was to present and transmit it effectively. In relation to theological questions his pupils could be complacent—the answers were there—but at the same time they could not be complacent as Christians, for the Devil and his fallen angels were setting traps for them to lead them astray. The ideal theologian was a Christian *sacerdos* with a prodigious and organised memory: someone not unlike Isidore himself.

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[39] There are a few topics where his position has become an almost mandatory footnote. The most famous case is his interpretation of predestination where he was the first to use the later famous, or infamous, term of "double predestination" (Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.6.1); see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: 1978), 88–89.

[40] See Thomas O'Loughlin, "Christ as the Focus of Genesis Exegesis in Isidore of Seville," in *Studies in Patristic Theology*, eds. T. Finan and V. Twomey (Dublin: 1998), 142–62.

[41] See, for want of more recent studies: Josef Rupert Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende de christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter Isidor von Sevilla und des Sakrament der Eucharistie* (Munich: 1933), and J. Havet, "Les Sacraments et le rôle de l'Esprit Saint d'après Isidore de Seville," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 16 (1939), 32–93.

[42] For an example of this, note the role of Isidore in generating the Western notion of the problems of reading biblical apocrypha; see Thomas O'Loughlin, "Inventing the Apocrypha: The Role of Early Latin Canon Lists," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 74 (2009), 53–74.

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CHAPTER 6

Isidore of Seville as an Historian

Jamie Wood

1 Introduction

The fact that Isidore and his contemporaries in Visigothic Spain did not compose histories of significant length and detail has led many scholars to judge 6th- and 7th-century Spain as something of an historiographical wasteland.[1] For example, E.A. Thompson stated that Isidore: "could hardly have told us less, except by not writing at all".[2] Walter Goffart described Isidore as "almost distinguished enough" as an historian to be included in his quartet of "narrators of barbarian history".[3] Despite these less-than-positive appraisals of Visigothic-era historiography, the past was fundamental to how the people of Visigothic Spain understood their position in the world.[4] Aside from works of history-writing and hagiography, many of the documentary sources of the period, from the records of church councils to the efforts of kings to make and codify royal laws, were essentially backward-looking and involved the collation and reconfiguration of the knowledge of past times.[5] Knowledge of the past had to be deployed so that it could be made useful in the present and future.

This chapter seeks to move beyond the negative appraisals of Isidore as an historian by taking account of the full scope of his "historical" output. Scholars

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[1] Parts of this chapter revisit and develop points made in Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012).

[2] E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: 1969), 7. For more on this tendency, see Roger Collins, "Julian of Toledo and the Royal Succession in Late Seventh-Century Spain," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, eds. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (Leeds: 1977), 32.

[3] Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: 1988), 11.

[4] Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Rome: 1981); Suzanne Teillet, *Des Goths à la nation Gothique. Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle* (Paris: 1984); A.H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: 2005); Manuel Koch, *Ethnische Identität im Entstehungsprozess des spanischen Westgotenreiches* (Berlin: 2012); Shami Ghosh, *Writing the Barbarian Past: Studies in Early Medieval Historical Narrative* (Leiden: 2015).

[5] See the following recent study for more on this: Michael J. Kelly, *Writing History, Narrating Fulfillment: the "Isidore-Moment" and the Struggle for the "Before Now" in Late Antique and Early Medieval Hispania* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014).

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have long recognised that Isidore had a well-developed philosophy of history and that he aimed to elicit specific social responses when writing, especially in some of his more pastorally and theologically inclined works.[6] What is more, the fact that he rewrote his accounts of the past on multiple occasions has provided fertile ground for analysis of his practice as an author, including his use of sources, and the impact of changing religious and political contexts on his writing of history.[7] He wrote biographies that recounted (usually briefly) the lives, deeds, and writings of men—and a few women—who had played an important role in the recent and not-so-recent history of Christianity. He was also an enthusiastic recorder of etymologies, writings which charted the origins and histories of words. On many occasions the etymologies that Isidore offers also touch on important historical events and figures. The most clearly "historical" of Isidore's writings, however, were his narrative histories and chronicles.

In what follows, I begin by outlining Isidore's definition of history as a genre, focussing on his exposition of the origins and boundaries of the genre.[8] I then move on to review the full range of Isidore's historical output, from chronicles and histories to biographies and other writings that were organised historically, suggesting that such works, although written across a period of three decades and for a variety of purposes, were interlinked and thus can be considered as part of a coherent historiographical "project." The final section addresses the underpinning rationale for historical writing, which can be traced to Isidore's definition of history as a genre that served a moral purpose for the instruction of the present.

2 Isidore on History as a Genre

At the end of book 1 of his *Etymologiae*, "De grammatica," which provides definitions and derivations of the elements of grammar and speech, Isidore addresses the subject of history. After a definition of "historia," he moves on to discuss, in turn, the first authors of history, the usefulness of history, and the different kinds of history. While it can be problematic to contrast uncritically Isidore's theoretical writings about history with his historiographical output, the *Etymologiae* provides a clear definition of "history," an outline of origins of the literary genre and details of its internal and external boundaries. This can help us to better comprehend how such insights found expression in his writings.

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[6] Hans-Joachim Diesner, *Isidor von Sevilla und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: 1973), 40–49; Paul Merritt Bassett, "The Use of History in the Chronicon of Isidore of Seville," *History and Theory* 15 (1976), 279.

[7] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 65–241; Isabel Velázquez, "Revisiones de autor y de copistas en las obras de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 67–79.

[8] For the issue of genre when discussing medieval historiography, see Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Introduction," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: 2003), 1–7.

In the first book of the *Etymologiae* Isidore defines history as a written project on a large scale.[9] In book 6, in the midst of a discussion about the names of different-sized books, he notes that "Histories were written in a larger size book".[10] Isidore was acutely aware of the different forms of historical writing and makes clear his awareness of the subdivisions within the genre:

> There are three kinds of history. The events of a single day are called an "ephemeris;" we call this a "diary." What the Romans call "daily," the Greeks call *ephemeris*. Histories that are distributed into individual months are called "calendars." Annals are the actions of individual years, for whatever domestic or military matters, on sea or land, worthy of memory are treated year by year in records they called "annals" from yearly deeds. But history concerns itself with many years or ages, and through the diligence of history annual records are reported in books. There is this difference between history and annals, namely, that history is of those times that we have seen, but annals are of those years that our age has not known. Whence Sallust consists of history, and Livy, Eusebius, and Jerome of annals and history.[11]

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[9] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.41–44. See Also: Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.38–41. Presenting information according to an ascending or a descending scale was common Isidorian practice, as is demonstrated in more detail by Faith Wallis in her chapter in this volume.

[10] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.5.4; 6.12.1; H. de Carlos Villamarín, "Dares Frigio y el concepto de la historia en Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Poétique de la chronique. L'écriture des textes historiographiques au Moyen Âge* (*péninsule Ibérique et France*), ed. A. Arizaleta (Toulouse: 2005), 11–25.

[11] "Genus historiae triplex est. Ephemeris namque appellatur unius diei gestio. Hoc apud nos diarium vocatur. Nam quod Latini diurnum, Graeci ephemerida dicunt. Kalendaria appellantur, quae in menses singulos digeruntur. Annales sunt res singulorum annorum. Quaequae enim digna memoriae domi militiaeque, mari ac terrae per annos in commentariis acta sunt, ab anniversariis gestis annales nominaverunt. Historia autem multorum annorum vel temporum est, cuius diligentia annui commentarii in libris delati sunt. Inter historiam autem et annales hoc interest, quod historia est eorum temporum quae vidimus, annales vero sunt eorum annorum quos aetas nostra non novit. Unde Sallustius ex historia, Livius, Eusebius et Hieronymus ex annalibus et historia constant," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.44, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 67.

In the fifth book of the *Etymologiae* Isidore states that Eusebius compiled a "Chronicle," a Greek word for "succession [*series*] of times" in Greek, and that Jerome translated it into Latin.[12] Elsewhere, he notes a division between the historical accounts that were contained in scripture, histories of the church, and secular histories.[13] He also categorises history (*historia*) as "narrative," one of three elements of the Old and New Testaments, alongside "moral instruction" (*mores*) and "allegorical meaning" (*allegoria*).[14]

As with the references to Livy, Eusebius and Jerome above, and in common with the approach that underpins the *Etymologiae* as a whole, there is also a consistent emphasis on the origins of the genre.

> Among us Christians Moses was the first to write a history, on creation. But among the pagans, Dares the Phrygian was first to publish a history, on the Greeks and Trojans, which they say he wrote on palm leaves. After Dares, Herodotus is held as the first to write history in Greece. After him Pherecydes was renowned, at the time when Ezra wrote the law.[15]

At first sight, there does not seem to be much order to this list of Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christian historians and annalists.[16] As he does throughout the *Etymologiae*, Isidore notes that different peoples have varying vocabulary for the subject under review, in this case the forms of historical writing. They also have different "national" historians. Isidore's attempt to claim Moses as a Christian perhaps echoes the ancient debate between the Jews and the pagan Greeks over the relative antiquity of Moses and Homer, thereby reaffirming Jewish and, by extension, Christian, primacy.[17]

Isidore also distinguishes between the forms and subject matter of historical genres. History is primarily narrative in form, one of its main distinguishing features being the units of time on which the narrative is based.[18] The subject matter of history is times that the narrator has seen, whereas annals describe times which the current age does not know:

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[12] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.28, trans. Barney et al., 125.

[13] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 15.1.2, 6.2.48, 7.9.19.

[14] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.1.11, trans. Barney et al., 135; see also Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.18.11.

[15] "Historiam autem apud nos primus Moyses de initio mundi conscripsit. Apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit, quam in foliis palmarum ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt. Post Daretem autem in Graecia Herodotus historiam primus habitus est. Post quem Pherecydes claruit his temporibus quibus Esdras legem scripsit," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.42, trans. Barney et al., 67.

[16] Isidore was clearly concerned with defining the categories to which different authors belonged, making it clear that Lucan wrote history and not poetry, *Etymologiae* 8.7.10.

[17] At *Etymologiae* 6.2.1 Isidore again mentions Moses as a historian; de Carlos Villamarín, "Dares Frigio." Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*, 60, 81 reinforced this point by referring to Esdras and Luke the evangelist as historians.

> And history, "plausible narration" and fable differ from one other. Histories are true deeds that have happened, plausible narrations are things that, even if they have not happened, nevertheless could happen, and fables are things that have not happened and cannot happen, because they are contrary to nature.[19]

The positioning of the chapter on "fable" (*De fabula*) immediately before the definition of history shows that the issue of veracity was important for Isidore: history should be truthful and plausible.[20] As we shall see later, this was due to the moral underpinning of the genre and the role that it was envisaged as playing in the instruction of the faithful; it also had to be useful.[21]

3 Isidore's Histories

3.1 *Chronicles*

In the past, Isidore's chronographic writings were denigrated as deficient versions of the past due to their relative lack of narrative detail and reliance on a limited number of sources.[22] In 2003 a new critical edition of the text established that there were two redactions of the *Chronica Maiora*, the longest version of the text: the first, written under King Sisebut in 615/616, and the second, completed under King Suinthila in 626. Isidore's *Chronica Minora* probably reached its final state in 626 and was officially published in 627/628 as part of the fifth book of the *Etymologiae*.[23] Scholars began to unpick the complex relationships between the different versions of the *Chronica*, its sources, and Isidore's other writings. In the process, they have challenged previous negative judgements of the work.[24]

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[18] Deliyannis, "Introduction," 3–6.

[19] "Item inter historiam et argumentum et fabulam interesse. Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt; argumenta sunt quae etsi facta non sunt, fieri tamen possunt; fabulae vero sunt quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.44, trans. Barney et al., 67.

[20] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.40.

[21] See the chapter by Pedro Castillo Maldonado in this volume.

[22] For example, Roger Collins, "Isidore, Maximus, and the *Historia Gothorum*," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (Vienna: 1994), 354, describes the *Chronicle* as a "scissors and paste" composition derived largely from second-hand material and offering a deficient account of world history.

The *Chronica Minora* (Chapter 39 of book 5 of the *Etymologiae*) used to be viewed as little more than an epitome of the *Chronica Maiora*. While there is significant interdependence between the two texts, there are also differences. Some the manuscripts of the *Chronica Minora* can be characterised as "archetypes" between the first and second redactions of the *Chronica Maiora*, representing stages of epitomisation. The *Chronica Minora* therefore contains epitomised entries from both redactions of the longer text, alongside some information that is found in neither version of the *Chronica Maiora*. In addition, the *Chronica Minora* has an independent manuscript tradition compared to the *Chronica Maiora* and the *Etymologiae*, while at least one manuscript of the *Etymologiae* (Cesena, Biblioteca Comunale Malatestiana, S.XXI.5, late 8th/early 9th century, northern Italy) includes the *Chronica Maiora* rather than the *Chronica Minora*.[25] The *Chronica Minora* can therefore be seen as an independent work and not solely as a degraded version of the *Chronica Maiora*.[26]

Isidore made active use of late antique historical and chronographic sources to produce the chronicles.[27] There is a preference for Christian historians and chroniclers, with the Latin translation and continuation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon* by Jerome (and his continuators; Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclarum were notable sources from the mid-to-late sixth century) a favoured source. Isidore also used non-Christian histories. The abbreviated histories of Rome put together by Eutropius and others in the late 4th century were used with relative frequency. Often these sources were severely edited and combined with other historical and non-historical sources, such as Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, which provides one of the organising elements of the second redaction of Isidore's *Chronica*: the six ages of the world schema.[28] In places sources are summarised and augmented with Isidore's own authorial input, especially as he neared his own day.

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[23] For dates, see José Carlos Martín, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, CCSL 112 (Turnhout: 2003), 119–23, and José Carlos Martín, "El capítulo 39 del libro V de las *Etimologías* y la *Crónica* de Isidoro de Sevilla a la luz de la tradición manuscrita de esta última obra," in *Actas. III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval* (*León, 26–29 de Septiembre de 2001*), ed. Mauricio Pérez González, 2 vols (León: 2002), 1:161–70. Jacques Elfassi's chapter in this volume deals further with this issue.

[24] For summary, see Jamie Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes* in Isidore of Seville's *Chronica Maiora*: The Visigoths as a chosen people," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: 2013), 125–68.

[25] Martín, "El capítulo 39," 162–67.

[26] For further discussion and references, see Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 70–72.

[27] Jerome Patrick Mullins, *The Spiritual Life According to Saint Isidore of Seville* (Washington, DC: 1940), 42–78. D.J. Uitvlugt, "The sources of Isidore's commentaries on the Pentateuch," *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 72–73 and 93–94, makes a similar point about Isidore's use of sources in his commentaries on the Pentateuch.

Because nearly all of the sources used to compile the chronicles are extant it is possible to compare the historical information that Isidore had at his disposal (a huge amount) and what he chose to write down (a very small amount). In so doing, we can witness an early medieval historian making conscious decisions about his representation of the past. The exclusions are strikingly congruent with Isidore's explicit statements on particular topics elsewhere in his corpus. For example, positive references in earlier sources to the Roman emperors are often excluded, as is much of the negative information about the Visigoths. The material that Isidore excluded from his histories can thus tell us much about the imperatives that drove him to write (and rewrite) his accounts of the past.[29]

3.2 *Narrative Histories*

Isidore is unique among the historians of the early Middle Ages because he wrote narrative histories of three separate "barbarian" groups: the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Sueves. In the process he constructed a work of "considerable originality" that "deserves more attention than it has received."[30] The text commonly known as the *Historia Gothorum* (*History of the Goths*) was not known as such initially. In a list of Isidore's writings produced shortly after Isidore's death, Braulio of Zaragoza described the text as "A single book on the origin of the Goths (*de origine Gothorum*) and the kingdom of the Sueves and the Vandals".[31] Given Isidore's interest in etymologies and origins in other works, it is not unlikely that *De origine Gothorum*, or similar, was the original title of the text.

Isidore wrote two versions of his *Historia Gothorum*. It is generally accepted that the longer redaction of the *Historia Gothorum* is an expanded version of the shorter.[32] Although there has been some speculation that the first redaction of the text may have been the work of another historian writing in the 610s, this has not been widely accepted.[33] Elsewhere I have suggested that the first redaction of the *Historia Gothorum* aligns with Isidore's other writings and that, even if Isidore did not write the text, it certainly emerged from a cultural milieu very similar to that in which he operated.[34] In any case, the second redaction of the *Historia Gothorum* represents a significant development of the first. The shorter redaction ends with the death of Sisebut in 621 and the longer in the middle of Suinthila's reign in 625.[35] The publication of the different versions of the *Historia Gothorum* thus mirrors that of the *Chronica Maiora*, occurring under Sisebut and Suinthila, respectively, and celebrating their various achievements, especially victories against the Byzantines.[36]

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[28] Peter Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: 2012), 30.

[29] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 19.

[30] Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, "Ethnic and National History, ca. 500–1000," in Deliyannis, *Historiography*, 58.

[31] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, l. 39–41, trans. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, Volume 2: Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuousus of Braga* (Washington, DC: 1969), 141.

Although the *Historia Gothorum* has traditionally been considered a work of narrative history, its genre "has never been satisfactorily defined".[37] There are organisational similarities to the chronicles: for example, the chronological framework derives from reigns of individual Visigothic kings, just as the versions of Isidore's *Chronica* were ordered by the reigns of Roman and earlier emperors. The *Historia Gothorum* offers a fairly sparse narrative of Visigothic history, and Isidore makes few comments on the events that he records. Again, this resembles the *Chronica*, where narrative description and explicit authorial intervention are largely absent. We should still see the *Historia Gothorum*, especially in its second redaction, which included significant additions of a panegyric and encomiastic nature, as a form of narrative history, but one that was influenced by chronographical conventions and Isidore's belief that good history should be presented briefly.

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[32] Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso, ed., *Las historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla* (León: 1975), 26–49.

[33] Collins, "Isidore, Maximus," for non-Isidorian authorship; Michael Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (Baltimore: 2004), 403–06, n. 81, who tends to the opinion that Isidore did not write the first redaction, noting, however, that such a proposition is "unprovable" (at 405); Luis A. García Moreno, "¿Por qué Isidoro de Sévilla quizo escribir una segunda version de su *Historia Gothorum*?" in *Famille, violence et christianisation au Moyen Âge. Mélanges oferts à Michel Rouche*, eds. Martin Aurell and Thomas Deswarte (Paris: 2005), 387–408, is in favour of Isidorian authorship.

[34] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 72–73.

[35] There are more surviving MSS of the long redaction of the *Historia Gothorum* than the short redaction, José Carlos Martín, "Réflexions sur la tradition manuscrite de trois œuvres d'Isidore de Séville: le *De natura rerum*, la *Regula monachorum* et le *De origine Getarum, Vandalorum, Sueborum*," *Filologia Mediolatina* 11 (2004), 205–63.

[36] The scholarly consensus is that King Sisebut inspired Isidore's historical writings, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," *Isidoriana* (León: 1960), 346–47; Marc Reydellet, "Les intentions idéologiques dans la "Chronique" d'Isidore de Séville," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 82 (1970), 390; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," *Settimane di Studio* 17 (1970), 288.

[37] Martínez Pizarro, "Ethnic and National History," 59.

3.3 *Biographies*

At some point between 598 and 615 Isidore composed the *De ortu et obitu patrum*, a biographical catalogue of the lives of various biblical figures. He based the work on scriptural material combined with Patristic commentaries and a limited number of histories and chronicles, and situated his biblical fathers in universal historical time by noting the imperial reigns during which some of the apostles and evangelists lived.[38] The text was designed as a sort of general biographical introduction to the main figures of biblical history, as the preface reveals, in which Isidore states that "The birth, deeds and genealogies of certain holy and most noble men have been introduced", briefly alongside their "rank, death and burial" in a "small book." He goes on to state that anyone could have found this information by skimming through the "fullness of the Scriptures" but that it returns "more easily to memory" through a brief exposition.[39] The *De ortu et obitu patrum* was thus designed to provide an easy-to-use and accessible resource for those who wanted to engaging in scriptural study.

Isidore's *De viris illustribus* is a list of thirty-three famous Christians who mostly lived in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries. The work may have been intended to celebrate the lives of Leander of Seville and Gregory the Great, who were closely connected in the text and both of whom had probably died in the years immediately before the text was written.[40] Although scholars used to date its composition to 615–18, the *De viris illustribus* has been redated to sometime between 604 and 608.[41] Whatever date we accept, the text forms a neat pair with *De ortu et obitu patrum*, providing a list of recent Christian celebrities to complement the catalogue of ancient biblical figures.

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[38] Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum* 67.4–5 (Simon Peter), 68.5 (Paul), 71.4 (John the Evangelist), 79 (Simon Zelotes).

[39] "Quorundam sanctorum nobilissimorumque uirorum ortus uel gesta cum genealogiis suit in hoc libello indita sunt; dignitas quoque et mors eorum atque sepultura sententiali breuitate notata. Quae, quamvis omnibus nota sint qui per amplitudinem Scripturarum percurrunt, facilius tamen ad memoriam redeunt, dum breui sermone leguntur," Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, praefatio.

[40] Jamie Wood, "Playing the Fame Game: Bibliography, Celebrity and Primacy in Late Antique Spain," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20 (2012), 613–40.

[41] José Carlos Martín, "Une nouvelle édition critique de la *Vita Desiderii* de Sisebut, accompagnée de quelques réflexions concernant la date des *Sententiae* et du *De uiris illustribus* d'Isidore de Séville," *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), 141–44.

Isidore was concerned with establishing the historical excellence of the Spanish church through reference to the illustrious ecclesiastics of its past. His *De viris illustribus* therefore continued the catalogues of famous Christians that had been initiated by Jerome (347/348–419/420) in the late 4th century and extended by Gennadius of Marseilles (d. 496) at the end of the 5th.[42] However, because there had not been very many Spanish churchmen in the works of his predecessors, Isidore created a list that included a host of orthodox and literary Spanish bishops. In addition, if, as seems likely, the three different *De viris illustribus* texts circulated together, then *De ortu et obitu patrum* can be read as preliminary to that collection. Isidore's *De viris illustribus* closed out the compilation, creating a full catalogue of illustrious Christians from biblical times up to the (increasingly Spanish) present.

4 The *Etymologiae* and Beyond

Isidore's *magnum opus*, the *Etymologiae*, was probably published in 627/628, although it was written over a period of perhaps a decade and preliminary versions may have been released earlier.[43] The text was a compendium of classical and Christian knowledge arranged according to the etymologies of words. It used to be seen as little more than an extended exercise in antiquarianism, but recent research has overturned this judgement. Isidore's efforts to epitomise and etymologise ancient knowledge are now seen as part of a determined attempt to connect with the past in order to put its legacy to work for positive ends in the present, namely to educate the clergy and evangelise the population of Spain.[44]

The *Etymologiae* are also important to our inquiries into Isidore's historical worldview because the text includes a vast amount of information about the past, including the *Chronica Minora*, and, as we saw above, a definition of

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[42] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Bibliography before Print: The Medieval *De viris illustribus*," in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September – 1 October 1982,* ed. Peter Ganz, 2 vols (Turnhout: 1986), 1:135, 139–40.

[43] W. Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae* des Isidorus von Sevilla," *Hermes* 72 (1937), 129–70; José M. Fernández Catón, *Las Etimologías en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach* (León: 1966). See the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in this volume for more on this topic.

[44] Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies medievales: D'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: 2001); John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007).

"history." Indeed, historical reasoning was central to the *Etymologiae* as a whole, and etymological thinking can be considered as a form of historical discourse.[45] Isidore stated that etymology "is the origin of words, when the power of a word or a name is gathered together through interpretation. […] For when you have seen whence a word has originated, you understand its force more quickly. Indeed, one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known".[46] The *Etymologiae* thus sought out the (historical) origins of words in order to find out their true underlying meanings.

A large number of Isidore's other writings, even those that are not "historical" in form, design, or stated intent, were composed via a process that involved excerpting and editing earlier authors. In producing texts such as the *Sententiae*, Isidore essentially created "collages" of the works of those who had gone before him, focussing on particular topics of spiritual, pastoral, and grammatical importance. Equally significant was the role that Isidore played in the collation and editing of the records of church councils, including contemporary councils within Spain, as well as those from further afield and from the more distant past.[47] Isidore aimed, as many previous commentators have acknowledged, to collate the knowledge of earlier Christian and non-Christian writers in order to make it useful for his contemporaries. Whether or not the form or content of the resulting works was "historical," the process of composition can be considered as such.

5 An Historiographical Project

Although Isidore was acutely aware of the historiographical traditions in which he wrote, in practice there was overlap between narrative histories and chronicles.[48] It was not uncommon for chronicles to provide very full narrative accounts of near contemporary events and to include a great deal of comment by the author. Often this was because chroniclers were implicated in the (recent) events that they were recounting. Conversely, some histories, including the *Historia Gothorum*, offered quite sparse accounts of history and incorporated minimal authorial comment, while histories and chronicles also often drew on each other as sources of information. Isidore's historical writings are no exception here; there was a significant degree of interpenetration between the various elements of his historiographical output, and this caused a blurring of the boundaries between what we have come to consider as separate genres: history, biography, and chronography (and etymology).

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[45] For more on the *Etymologiae* and etymological thinking in Isidore more generally, see the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in this volume.

[46] "Etymologia est origo vocabulorum, cum vis verbi vel nominis per interpretationem colligitur. […] Nam dum videris unde ortum est nomen, citius vim eius intellegis. Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.29.

[47] Charles Munier, "Saint Isidore de Seville est-il l'auteur de l'Hispana chronologique?" *Sacris-Erudiri* 17 (1966), 230–41; Rachel L. Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius, and Isidore: Provincial Councils in Seventh-Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 169–88.

[48] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 217–33, offers a survey of Isidore's histories and chronicles.

As was noted above, Isidore identified several different forms of historical writing in the *Etymologiae* (diaries, annals, histories) and focussed on defining the boundaries of the genre. Although he did not distinguish between annals and chronicles at the point at which he defined history in the *Etymologiae* (1.41–44), later in the text he discussed the vocabulary for chronicles (5.28). Presumably, the reason that he did not mention chronicles earlier was because there was a very close interrelationship between annals and chronicles.

> "Chronicle" is the Greek term for what is called a "succession (*series*) of times" in Latin. Among the Greeks Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, compiled such a work, and the priest Jerome translated it into Latin.[49]

In Isidore's conception, therefore, chronicles were a form of history because a chronicle was a *series* of times (the period remained undefined), a term that is defined in the section on history in the *Etymologiae*.[50] As was noted above, he describe and organised the *Historia Gothorum* in terms that fitted his definition of chronicles, as recording a succession of reigns (in this case of Visigothic kings). This would make additional sense if the *Historia Gothorum* was originally entitled *De origine Gothorum* (or similar) because chronicles and etymologies (the search for the origins of words) were closely related ways of thinking about and presenting the past. Annals were a subcategory of chronicles (and histories) because they only dealt with the yearly division and succession of history, while chronicles could cover history divided into any series of units of time (including yearly, annalistic accounts).[51]

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[49] "Chronica Graece dicitur quae Latine temporum series appellatur, qualem apud Graecos Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus edidit, et Hieronymus presbyter in Latinam linguam convertit. Χρόνος enim Graece, Latine tempus interpretatur," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.28, trans. Barney et al., 125.

[50] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.41. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.17.2.

[51] For discussion of the distinction that Isidore draws between histories and annals see Matthew Kempshall, "Some Ciceronian Models for Einhard's Life of Charlemagne," *Viator* 26 (1995), 16–17.

There is less certainty about how Isidore understood the relationship between chronicles and narrative histories. Chronicles were a form of historical writing, while narrative histories could also fall into the category of chronicles if they dealt with a succession of kings, as in the case of the *Historia Gothorum*. The blurred boundary between chronicles and histories can be illustrated by the decision by the authors of the texts known collectively as the *Chronicle of Alfonso* III, written in northern Spain at some point in the late 9th century, to use the *Historia Gothorum* rather than the *Chronica* as the baseline for their text.[52] The chronological ordering of the *Historia Gothorum* meant that it was a suitable basis from which later chroniclers could continue, while its more explicit emphasis on Visigothic history meant that it was more useful than the *Chronica* for Asturian historians, who by the 9th century were seeking to present their kingdom as standing in legitimate succession to the Goths.[53]

For Isidore, therefore chronicles were defined by form: the chronological ordering of the past. Histories were defined by their contents—that is, that they recounted the events of the past and put them to use in the present. Isidore, therefore, recognised that there were broad categories of historical writing but that they accomplished different objectives and took different forms. Isidore's sources influenced his delineation of these categories, but his own histories do not adhere to the strict distinctions between ideal historiographical types. Of course, this may be because the histories were written before he had laid down the theories. However, a more productive reading is to focus on the key features of all historical writing: its chronological ordering and its moral imperative, rather than its conformity or otherwise to strictly defined genre boundaries. Chronology and morality were thus structuring principles that underlay the entirety of Isidore's historical discourse.

The breadth of Isidore's writing about history raises questions about the inter-relations between his different historical works. As was noted above, the *De viris illustribus*, a catalogue of biographies of famous men, built on the list of biblical figures presented in *De ortu et obitu patrum* and the earlier works of the Christian historians Jerome and Gennadius to place orthodox Spaniards at the centre of universal church history. More purely "historical" works, such as the *Chronica Maiora* and the *Historia Gothorum* occupied complementary positions on a continuum: they were intimately connected, since they sought to praise the Visigoths and to discredit their barbarian and Roman opponents, using varying tactics to accomplish this. The *Historia Gothorum* emphasised the military power of the Visigoths in the recent past, while the *Chronica Maiora* tried to discredit the Romans by presenting them as politically and religiously illegitimate over a longer period. The *Chronica Maiora* enabled Isidore to tie the Visigoths into the development of universal history, positioning the newly orthodox people at the culmination of universal history and in legitimate possession of Spain, while the *Historia Gothorum* praised the orthodoxy and legitimacy of the Visigoths and their kings and demonstrated that they held Spain by right of conquest.[54] It is therefore unsurprising that the Visigoths and Spain are largely absent from the *Chronica Minora*, since Isidore had already exalted them to varying degrees in the *Chronica Maiora*, the *Historia Gothorum*, and the *De viris illustribus*.

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[52] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: 1999), 43–46.

[53] Julio Escalona, "Family Memories. Inventing Alfonso I of Asturias," in *Building legitimacy. Political discourses and forms of legitimation in medieval societies*, eds. Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona (Leiden: 2004), 223–62.

There is a striking degree of continuity on these topics across Isidore's historical writings and between his histories and other works. The histories often align with one another thematically, and the manuscript transmission of the histories suggests that later copyists recognised that they were connected to one another in their focus on Visigothic-Nicene royal power within Spain. The inclusion of an epitomised version of Isidore's *Chronica* into the *Etymologiae* is further evidence of the integration of the histories into Isidore's overall output. Scholars have also noted the close association between Isidore's theological and polemical writings on the Jews and his depiction of Jewish history in the histories.[55]

Although Isidore's views developed over time—for example on the negative impact of the Byzantines on Spain and the need for the Hispano-Roman population to work with, rather than against, the Visigothic monarchy—these often represent intensifications of earlier positions, not absolute changes of opinion. Isidore built on the close working relationship that his brother, Leander of Seville, had enjoyed with the Visigothic kings under whom he held office, especially Reccared I (r. 586–601), who had been responsible for the conversion of the Visigoths from Homoian to Nicene Christianity.[56] An absolute belief in the righteousness of the Nicene cause was the single most important position underpinning Isidore's historical writings. The conversion narratives of the

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[54] Teillet, *Des Goths*, 465–69; Reydellet, "Les intentions idéologiques," 389; José Carlos Martín, "La *Crónica Universal* de Isidoro de Sevilla: circunstancias históricas e ideológicas de su composición y traducción de la misma," *Iberia* 4 (2001), 201–02, 207. See also: Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 133–190.

[55] Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour. The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2006).

[56] As explored in the chapter by Purificación Ubric Rabaneda in this volume.

Visigoths (broadly speaking, from paganism and heresy towards Christian orthodoxy) and of the Roman-Byzantine Empire (from paganism to orthodoxy and then heresy) are the most important unifying strands running through his various histories. The conversion of the Visigoths to Nicene Christianity under Reccared in 587–89 stands as the pivotal moment in Isidore's recent history, affecting his depiction of the histories of the Roman (and Byzantine) Empire, Visigothic kingdom, and other "barbarian" groups within and beyond Spain.[57]

Isidore thus depicted the Visigoths positively, even when they were heretics, while he portrayed the Romans negatively, even when they adopted an orthodox position. Contemporary confessional considerations thus configured Isidore's depiction of the more distant past.[58] His positive views of the Visigoths meant that other barbarian groups, especially those who had defeated the Visigoths in the past, such as the Franks, and those who had occupied Spain before the Visigoths in the 5th century, such as the Vandals and the Sueves, were depicted negatively. Heretics and Jews were presented in a negative fashion due to the threat that they posed to the Nicene Christian consensus that Isidore sought to promote within Spain.[59] Isidore promoted consensus government in his writings on how the church should be run, and similar considerations underpinned his thinking on how the Visigothic kings should run the country in collaboration with their nobles and bishops. These ideas were given historiographical shape in the various histories.[60]

Isidore's focus on consensus reveals him as a pragmatist. The bishops were unlikely to get very much done on the ground without the approval of the king, his administration, and the provincial elites, both Visigothic and Hispano-Roman.[61] He seems to have realised that the Byzantines were no longer a realistic option—their oppressive taxes and religious deviance apparently threatened the Nicene consensus that he sought to promote between king, elite, and bishops within Spain.[62]

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[57] Jamie Wood, "Catholic heretics and heretical catholics: Isidore of Seville and the Religious History of the Goths," in *From Orosius to the Historia Silense: Four Essays on the Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography of the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. David Hook (Bristol: 2005), 17–50.

[58] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 191–231.

[59] It is also likely that the Jews became a scapegoat within Spain after the conversion of the Visigoths removed the Arian threat. Céline Martin, "Les juifs visigothiques, un peuple hérétique," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 234 (2017), 315–35. See the chapter by Raúl González Salinero in this volume for more on Isidore's views on the Jews.

[60] See the chapters by Andrew Fear and Céline Martin in this volume.

[61] Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, "Unity from disunity: law, rhetoric and power in the Visigothic kingdom," *European Review of History* 16 (2009), 793–808.

[62] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 147–90.

The manuscript traditions of the histories also point towards interrelationships between the texts. There are perhaps as few as three manuscripts containing any of Isidore's writings that were produced in the 7th-century Visigothic kingdom.[63] The number of manuscripts from Spain or elsewhere that predate the end of the Visigothic kingdom in the early 8th century and contain the historical works is also low. The manuscript evidence therefore does not offer much hope for developing our understanding of the context in which Isidore produced the works. Nevertheless, there are manuscripts from the late 8th, 9th, and early 10th centuries that contain the histories, both individually and in combination. These artefacts cannot inform us about Isidore's design for his histories, but they do tell us something about how the works were received, read, and repurposed in the centuries immediately after his death.

Among the earliest manuscripts (from the 10th century and before), Isidore's histories were either collated with other Isidorian works or copied into manuscripts with other late antique or early medieval histories. Such compendia seem to have been particularly popular in the Carolingian Empire.[64] The circulation of Isidore's works with those of other historians is particularly important because it suggests that his histories were understood as being integrated into the mainstream of Christian chronography and historiography, sitting comfortably alongside the foundational texts of late antique and early medieval historical writing in Latin: the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome, Rufinus's translation and continuation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Orosius's *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*.[65] They were also included alongside texts on Frankish history and those reflecting the increasing Carolingian interest in Alexander the Great.[66] Similarly, Isidore's *De viris illustribus* circulated alongside the earlier works of Jerome and Gennadius. Together with the mid-7th-century *De viris illustribus* of Ildefonsus of Toledo they became essential biographical and bibliographical resources for historians and librarians in Frankia and northern Spain in the 9th and 10th centuries.[67]

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[63] Matthew T. Hussey, "Transmarinis litteris: Southumbria and the Transmission of Isidore's Synonyma," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107 (2008), 143–44, provides details of these manuscripts.

[64] For example, Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: 2004); Helmut Reimitz, "Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der Codex Vindobonensis palat. 473," in *Text – Shrift – Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, eds. Christoph Egger and Herwig Weigl (Vienna: 2000), 34–90. See the chapter by Sinéad O'Sullivan in this volume for Isidore's reception in the Carolingian period.

[65] Paris, BNF lat. 4860 includes Isidore's *Chronicle* alongside a number of other chronographical and computistical writings. Paris, BNF lat. 10910 contains the *Chronicle* of Isidore alongside that of Pseudo-Fredegar, Martín, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, 73*–78*; 96–97.

[66] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 28.

Early manuscripts in which Isidore's historical writings circulate together are particularly important. In Wolfenbuttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt, 532, produced in 820 in Salzburg or Wissemburg, the *De ortu et obitu patrum*, the *Chronica*, and extracts from books 6 and 7 of the *Etymologiae* accompany other Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian writings, as well as works by other authors.[68] El Escurial, R.11.18 also transmits a range of Isidorian historical and non-historical writings, along with a number of other historical texts, including: the second redaction of Isidore's *Historia Gothorum*, his *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum*, the *Breviary* of Rufius Festus, and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Jerome.[69]

Of even greater significance are the manuscripts now situated in Bern (Burgerbibliothek, 83), St Gallen (Stiftsbibliothek, 133), and St Petersburg/Paris (Publichnaja Biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykove Shchedrina, lat. Q.I.v.20/BNF, lat. 14144).[70] In each of these manuscripts, the dates of which range from the late 8th century to the first half of the 10th century and all of which derive from Frankia, Isidore's *Chronica* is copied alongside a range of other late antique and Frankish historical writings. Most importantly, included in these historical writings are Isidore's *De Laude Spaniae* (in two manuscripts) and *Laus Gothorum* (in all three), respectively the preface and epilogue to the second redaction of the *Historia Gothorum*, which celebrate the greatness of Spain and the power of the Visigoths. The praise writings are inserted directly after the *Chronica* in the manuscripts. An early-9th-century manuscript, León Cathedral 22, seems to have undergone a similar process of production. It contains the *De Laude Spaniae* alongside the *De viris illustribus* of Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, and Ildefonsus.[71] These cases suggest that, at various times, Isidore's *Chronica* and *De viris illustribus* were read and copied alongside the second redaction of the *Historia Gothorum*. Later copyists deliberately extracted the praise writings from the *Historia Gothorum* and inserted them directly after the *Chronica* or the *De viris illustribus*, excluding the main parts of the *Historia*. If the intention was to create an Isidorian historical compendium, then the *Chronica*, *De viris illustribus*, and the praise writings would have emphasised Hispano-Visigothic particularism. This agenda is largely implicit in the

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[67] Carmen Codoñer Merino, ed., *El "De viris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Salamanca: 1964), 87–94; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 238–39.

[68] Martín, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, 91*–96*.

[69] Rodríguez Alonso, ed., *Las historias*, 126–27.

[70] Martín, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, 58*–61*, 83*–87*.

[71] Rodríguez Alonso, ed., *Las historias*, 125–26.

Chronica and *De viris illustribus*, but it would have been intensified when such texts were read against the triumphal rhetoric of the praise texts. Whatever the reasons for the decision to include the *Chronica*, *De viris illustribus*, the *De Laude Spaniae*, and the *Laus Gothorum* in the same manuscripts, their relationship is strong evidence that some later readers and compilers made close connections between the different parts of Isidore's historical output.

Yet more evidence for the interconnections between Isidore's historical writings is provided by Madrid BAH 78, which dates to the 10th or 11th century.[72] The manuscript transmits a range of historical writings from the post-Visigothic period in northern Spain and a number of Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian texts. The Isidorian writings include, in order: the histories of the Vandals and the Sueves; the *Chronica*; the *Historia Gothorum*; the *De laude Spaniae* (which normally acts as the preface to the second redaction of the *Historia Gothorum*). Madrid BAH 78 therefore points towards active engagement with the Isidorian historiographical patrimony in northern Spain in the 10th and 11th centuries. As part of this process, Isidore's histories were broken up and repositioned in combination with one another and with later Spanish histories.

The earliest manuscripts therefore provide some support for the thesis that Isidore's histories were designed to be read together. Of course, the destruction of the Visigothic kingdom by the Arab-Berber armies in the early 8th century means that it is impossible for us to know much about how Isidore's histories were received by the generations that followed him within Spain.[73] An indirect result of the invasion was, however, the movement of Spanish manuscripts and manpower elsewhere in Western Europe. This facilitated the dispersal of Isidorian historiography. Examination of the manuscripts of Isidore's histories reveals that, whether or not he intended them to be read as a group, later copyists made associations between the different historical writings.

These associations emerged within three main contexts: first, the growth of historiographical collection and production within Frankia in the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries; second, the educational reform programmes of Ireland, Frankia, and Anglo-Saxon England, in which Isidore's writings played a pivotal role; and third, in northern Spain in the 9th and 10th centuries.[74] Sometimes Isidore's histories were connected with each other, with their late antique historiographical sources, and with other Isidorian writings. On the majority of occasions, however, a far more complex process went on: the histories were copied together, but in a creative manner. They were broken down into their constituent parts and put back together to create new historical texts. Importantly, these "new" histories often emphasised the same features of history as seem to have underlain Isidore's work, celebrating Spanish and Visigothic particularism (even triumphalism) and promoting grammatical, spiritual, and historical education within the church. On this interpretation, those who engaged with Isidore's histories in the centuries after his death actually intensified the driving forces behind the Isidorian historiographical programme rather than dissipating them.

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[72] Rodríguez Alonso, ed., *Las historias*, 127–28; Martín ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, 111*–113*.

[73] For more on this, see Mark Tizzoni's chapter in this volume.

[74] For Isidore's reception in Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Ireland, see Martin J. Ryan's chapter in this volume.

6 The Purpose of History-Writing

Early medieval history-writing was a process by which people sought to articulate ideas about how and why present times had taken on their distinctive shape: "a clearly structured concept of time […] can only be established within an agreement to put events in a temporal and causal relationship. History is exegetical commentary."[75] The definition of history in the *Etymologiae* underlines this point, making clear that the genre only incorporated information that was deemed worth recording and served a moral purpose. Writing historically involved making a claim about the truth or accuracy of what was being written.

> A history is a narration of deeds accomplished; through it what occurred in the past is distinguished. History is so called from the Greek term ἱστορεῖν ("inquire, observe"), that is, from "seeing" or from "knowing." Indeed, among the ancients no one would write a history unless he had been present and had seen what was to be written down, for we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than what we gather with our hearing, since what is seen is revealed without falsehood. This discipline has to do with Grammar, because whatever is worthy of remembrance is committed to writing. And for this reason, histories are called "monuments," because they grant a remembrance of deeds that have been done.[76]

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[75] Richard Corradini, "The rhetoric of crisis. *Computus* and *Liber annalis* in early ninth-century Fulda," in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, eds. Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: 2003), 296.

[76] "Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur. Dicta autem Graece historia ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστορεῖν, id est a videre vel cognoscere. Apud veteres

Two chapters later, Isidore explains that history is a useful form of writing because it can instruct people in the present through the use of past examples:

> Histories of peoples are no impediment to those who wish to read useful works, for many wise people have imparted the past deeds of humankind in histories for the instruction of the living. Through history they handle a final reckoning back through seasons and years, and they investigate many indispensable matters through the succession of consuls and kings.[77]

Similar ideas are present elsewhere in Isidore's writings. In the *Sententiae*, for example, Isidore discusses historical and other ways of understanding divine law: "Therefore, in this way history ought to preserve faith, so that we must both interpret it morally and understand it spiritually."[78] Writing about the past was a powerful carrier for moral and spiritual truth.

The importance of history-writing for Isidore is further signalled by the numerous references that he makes to "history," "histories", and individual historians as sources of information, across his different works. For example, in the *Versus*, he contrasts history with fables or poetry.[79] Reference to "history" was a way of demonstrating that his sources were reliable and thus that what he was saying was trustworthy. In addition to emphasising the traditions and forms of historical writing, there is, in Isidore's definition of history, a focus on the moral value of history. According to Isidore, history is used by wise people for the instruction of the living. Isidore held this opinion in common with the majority of ancient and late antique historians, who used historical writing to make didactic points, to moralise, and to provide examples from the past for the

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enim nemo conscribebat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset. Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione colligimus. Quae enim videntur, sine mendacio proferuntur. Haec disciplina ad Grammaticam pertinet, quia quidquid dignum memoria est litteris mandatur. Historiae autem ideo monumenta dicuntur, eo quod memoriam tribuant rerum gestarum. Series autem dicta per translationem a sertis florum invicem conprehensarum," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.41, trans. Barney et al., 67.

[77] "Historiae gentium non inpediunt legentibus in his quae utilia dixerunt. Multi enim sapientes praeterita hominum gesta ad institutionem praesentium historiis indiderunt, siquidem et per historiam summa retro temporum annorumque supputatio conprehenditur, et per consulum regumque successum multa necessaria perscrutantur," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.43, trans. Barney et al., 67.

[78] "Ergo sic historiae oportet fidem tenere, ut eam et moraliter debeamus interpretare, et spiritaliter intellegere," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.18.12; see also Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.19.6.

[79] Isidore, *Versus*, 12; de Carlos Villamarín, "Dares Frigio."

instruction of the present.[80] The same was true for other Christian authors who wrote about history in more abstract terms. Cassiodorus, whose *Institutiones*, written in 6th-century Italy, was an important source for the *Etymologiae*, also stressed the moral imperative underpinning history-writing.[81]

It was not simply the content of history that could drive home moral points for the instruction of contemporaries: the form in which history was presented could also further this objective. In his *Sententiae*, Isidore notes that the actions of kings play an exemplary role for their subjects: "Kings either improve or overturn the life of their subjects easily by their examples, and for that reason it is necessary that the leader is not found wanting, lest with the unpunished licence of his sin he establishes a pattern of sinning."[82] As was noted above, Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* and *Chronica* are both structured according to the reigns of kings and emperors, respectively. At the start of the *Historia Gothorum*, for example, Isidore notes that the work compiles the deeds of individual kings in succession: "In the past, many centuries ago, they [the Goths] employed military leaders and later kings, whose reigns it is fitting to review quickly and in succession, weaving together the information extracted from the histories about their identities and deeds."[83] Isidore also described his *Chronica Maiora* as recording history according to a succession of reigns.[84] We should therefore see a close interpenetration between the moral objectives of history-writing and their practical working out in the exemplary actions of rulers.

It is significant that Isidore refers to his history as reviewing the reigns of kings quickly because the style of historical writing was understood to help the author to put across moral messages. Ancient writers on history discussed the need to strike a balance between an overly detailed and wordy narrative and excessive brevity.[85] For Isidore, the need to keep things brief was paramount:

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[80] For moralising in ancient history writing, see Michael Grant, *Greek and Roman Historians: Information and Misinformation* (London: 1995), 85–87; David Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (London: 2002), 151; Kempshall, "Some Ciceronian Models."

[81] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.17.1. For the relationship between Cassiodorus and Isidore, see T. Stettner, "Cassiodors Enzyklopädie eine Quelle Isidors," *Philologus* 82 (1927), 241–42; Jacques Fontaine, "Cassiodore et Isidore: l'evolution de l'encyclopedisme latin du VIe au VIIe siecle," in *Settimane di studio* 32 (1986), 72–91.

[82] "Reges uitam subditorum facile exemplis suis uel aedificant, uel subuertunt, ideoque principem non oportet delinquere, ne formam peccandi faciat peccati eius inpunita licentia," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.50.6; cf. Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.47.3; 2.11.7; Pierre Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la Naissance de l'Espagne Catholique* (Paris: 1994), 247–48.

[83] "Per multa quippe retro saecula ducibus usi sunt, postea regibus, quorum oportet tempora per ordinem cursim exponere et quo nomine actuque renauerint, de historiis libata retexere," Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, second redaction, 2 (the first redaction has a similar entry).

[84] Isidore, *Chronica Maiora*, both redactions, 1.

> Often extended narrative causes the memory of reading to be forgotten for the reason of length. Because if it is concise then it is read without effort, and when the book has been removed the meaning is drawn back into the soul, and those things which have been read, being recalled, will be extracted with very little memory.[86]

Brevity was thus, in Isidore's opinion, a way of articulating moral truths in the most efficient manner possible.[87] Abbreviation was also common in Isidore's biblical commentaries, and, as in the histories, such practices were underpinned by didactic and moralising principles.[88] Brief writing was therefore the best way of ensuring that his message remained in the mind of the audience. An excessively detailed historical narrative would achieve the opposite aim and blind the audience to the truth.[89]

7 Conclusion

In addition to the usually negative appraisals of Isidore's attempts to write history, scholars often used to comment on the dearth of Iberian historiogaphy in the period after Isidore in general. In 1970, Hillgarth went a long way toward dispelling this misapprehension by demonstrating that there was actually a great deal of historical writing available in Visigothic Spain, both in the form of original compositions and via the circulation of earlier texts.[90] New histories on the classical model may not have been composed (just as they were not composed elsewhere in the post-Roman West), but that does not mean that scholars in 7th-century Spain were not reading histories and using them in their writings. An overly deterministic focus on genre and on models of historical writing that derive from classical and ancient historiography has sometimes blinded scholars to the true significance of historical writing—understood as any kind of writing that is past-focussed—to unravelling contemporary mentalities.

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[85] Luke Pitcher, *Writing Ancient History: An Introduction to Classical Historiography* (London: 2009), 125–26.

[86] "Saepe prolixa lectio longitudinis causa memoriam legentis oblitterat. Quod si breuis sit, submotoque libro sententia retractetur in animo, tunc sine labore legitur, et ea quae lecta sunt recolendo memoria minime exciduntur," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.14.8; see also Isidore, *Etymologies* 2.29.1.

[87] Jamie Wood, "*Brevitas* in the historical writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain – A Symposium. Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J Ryan (London: 2010), 37–53.

[88] Uitvlugt, "The sources," 86–87.

[89] Wood, "*Brevitas*," 44–47.

[90] Hillgarth, "Historiography."

The emphasis that is laid on the failure of the Visigoths to write "history" is to misunderstand the true importance of history to the Isidorian and post-Isidorian project in Spain and, in my view, the role of the past in the early medieval period in general. We know that the works of Isidore were circulating later in the 7th century in Spain, as were many of the works from which Isidore had drawn inspiration. Education in history and through historical exemplars played an important role in the pedagogic projects of Visigothic churchmen too. Scholars after Isidore, such as Taio of Zaragoza, continued the work of excerpting, summarising, and glossing Patristic authors in order to make them useful for the clergy and monks of the Visigothic kingdom. People who came after Isidore in 7th-century Spain wrote histories of different sorts, from Braulio of Zaragoza's hagiography of St Aemilian to Julian of Toledo's history of King Wamba.[91] Several other hagiographies were written. Although these texts may include information of varying degrees of historicity, they also provide powerful further evidence of the important of past-oriented writing to contemporaries.[92] The purposes of these hagiographical texts were, like the histories of Isidore, to promote particular visions of the past that emphasised the historical importance of particular individuals or communities.[93]

There was also a continued interest in chronograpy in the later 7th century. Lists of Visigothic kings (the so-called *laterculus Visigothorum*) were written.[94] Their organisation by reign is exactly the same as that of Isidore's *Chronica* (imperial reigns structure the text) and the *Historia Gothorum* (organised by reigns of Visigothic kings) and, like their predecessors, the king lists include details of length of reigns and, in a limited number of cases, some information about historical events. The fact that Isidore's *Chronica* was used as the starting point for later histories and chronicles in northern Spain implies that they, too, were being copied earlier, while, as we have seen, there are Spanish transmission histories for the *Historia Gothorum* and the *De viris illustribus*.

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[91] A.T. Fear, "Taming Rasputin? Braulio and St Aemilian," *Medium Aevum* 76 (2007), 191–206; Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba. Julian of Toledo's Historia Wambae Regis* (Washington, DC: 2005).

[92] See the introductions and texts collected in A.T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic fathers* (Liverpool: 1997).

[93] For more on the context in which Isidore was working, see the chapters by Santiago Castellanos and Graham Barrett in this volume.

[94] On the *Laterculus*, see Mario Huete Fudio, "Fuentes menores para el estudio de la historiografía latina de la alta edad media hispánica," *Medievalismo* 4 (1994), 7–12.

It is also worth considering eschatological writings from Visigothic Spain if we are to understand fully the role of history in the religious imagination of Visigothic Spain. I have argued elsewhere that thinking about the end of time in Visigothic Spain involved considering what had gone before it, inevitably drawing the author and his audience into history.[95] All of the different versions of Isidore's *Chronica* end with warnings that the date of the end of the world is known only to God, in order to discourage eschatological speculation. Other eschatological texts from the 7th century, including Julian of Toledo's *De comprobatione sextae aetatis*, incorporate brief overviews of history. Importantly, the ages of the world are organised in Julian's *De comprobatione* in the same way as they had been in the second redaction of Isidore's *Chronica Maiora*.[96] These works—and many others beside them—are not framed as classical histories, but they do include accounts of Christian world history in its entirety, and, in passing, they incorporate substantial amounts of historical information. This may not be "historical" information as modern historians or classicists conceive of it, but accounts of biblical figures and events would clearly have been considered historical by Isidore and his contemporaries. Isidore's histories and chronicles were thus penned within and influenced by an intellectual world in which history played a pivotal role. Isidore's Spain was not some kind of historiographical wasteland, but a place in which history was fundamental to understanding past and present, as well as to influencing the future.

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[95] Jamie Wood, "Individual and Collective Salvation in Late Visigothic Spain," in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, eds. P. Clarke and T. Claydon (Woodbridge: 2009), 74–86.

[96] Wood, "Individual and Collective Salvation," 80.

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CHAPTER 7

Isidore of Seville and Science

Faith Wallis

1 Introduction

As Ascension Day 735 drew near, Bede the Venerable lay dying in his Northumbrian monastic cell. According to his disciple Cuthbert, he was anxious to complete two projects: turning the Gospel of John into the vernacular "to the great profit of the church," and translating or making selections (*exceptiones*) from Isidore of Seville's *Liber rotarum*, i.e. *De natura rerum* (*On the Nature of Things*), "for he said, 'I cannot have my children learning what is not true (*mendacium*), and losing their labour on this after I am gone.'"[1] This statement has often been taken as evidence that Bede held Isidore in low esteem, and that the *mendacia* he was concerned with were Isidore's. After all, in Chapter 35 of his mature synthesis of *computus*, *The Reckoning of Time* (*De temporum ratione*), Bede had compared different dates for the beginning of the seasons and declared his preference for the authority of "the Greeks and Romans" rather than "the Spaniards" and their bishop Isidore.[2] Many have concluded that this is a criticism of Isidore's reliability.[3]

But is this the case? The beginnings of the seasons, unlike the equinoxes, were not determined by astronomy, but by custom. Where usages differed, Bede gave precedence to the ancients, but this is not the same thing as saying the moderns are wrong. Indeed, the very fact that Bede thought it worthwhile to spend his last days in the company of Isidore's *On the Nature of Things* undermines the argument that he disdained him. Cuthbert does not say that Bede was correcting Isidore, but rather that he was excerpting, or perhaps translating his work. The *mendacia* may be the ignorance Isidore's words would dispel, or even a faulty translation already in circulation.[4] One suspects that

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[1] *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: 1969), 582–83.

[2] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 35.

[3] See for example C.W. Jones, *Bedae opera de temporibus* (Cambridge MA: 1943), 131.

[4] Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede, On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: 2010), 13–20; William McCready, "Bede and the Isidorean Legacy," *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995),

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the conventional view owes much to scholarly prejudice: Bede is admired as a "scientist"; Isidore's learning is derided as superficial and unoriginal.[5]

More pertinently, Bede's first dated work (702), also called *On the Nature of Things*, is essentially derived from Isidore's book; perhaps Cuthbert, and even Bede himself, appreciated the symbolism of closing his earthly career with the very enterprise which began it. Bede recast Isidore by removing the chapters on the units of time (these he relocated to his companion treatise *On Times* [*De temporibus*]) and adding information from Pliny and Irish cosmographies,[6] but much of the balance is direct quotation from his model. When Bede revised these two books as *The Reckoning of Time* in 725, he retained what he had borrowed from Isidore and added further material from the *Etymologies.* Throughout his career, Bede used Isidore as a major resource for information about the material cosmos and issues concerning time, as did the Irish computists, cosmographers, and exegetes, and the Carolingians who followed in his wake.[7] A lineage of books entitled *On the Nature of Things*, stretching from Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) to Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), followed Bede by borrowing Isidore's title, as well as their scientific content from his *Etymologies*, as did encyclopedias with more creative titles, like Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*.[8] Isidore's authority as a touchstone of erudition guaranteed

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41–73; William McCready, "Bede, Isidore, and the *Epistola Cuthberti*," *Traditio* 50 (1995), 75–94.

[5] Bede as "scientist:" Thomas R. Eckenrode, "The Growth of a Scientific Mind: Bede's Early and Late Scientific Writings," *Downside Review* 94 (1976), 187–212; Thomas R. Eckenrode, "Venerable Bede as a Scientist," *American Benedictine Review* 22 (1971), 486–507; Wesley Stevens, *Bede's Scientific Achievement* (Jarrow: 1985). Isidore's science by contrast is "the merest sketch of ancient learning": Stephen C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: 1998), 125. A typically dismissive assessment is found in Richard C. Dales, *The Scientific Achievement of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: 1973), 10.

[6] Kendall and Wallis, *Bede, On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 12–13; Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales d'Isidore de Séville aux carolingiens* (Paris: 2001), 214–71.

[7] Kendall and Wallis, *Bede, On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 13–20. Cf. the chapters by Martin J. Ryan, Immo Wartjes and Sinéad O'Sullivan in the present volume. On the transmission of Isidore's *De natura rerum* to the end of the Carolingian period, see the chapter by Martín José Carlos, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *De natura rerum*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 2, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2005), 353–62. To appreciate the heavy exploitation of *De natura rerum* in Carolingian compendia of *computus* it suffices to consult the source index of Arno Borst, *Schriften zur Komputistik im Frankenreich von 721 bis 818*, MGH, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 21, 3 vols. (Hannover: 2006), 1489–490.

[8] M. Paulmier-Foucart, "Les *Etymologies* d'Isidore de Séville dans le *Speculum maius* de Vincent de Beauvais," in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, eds. Jacques Fontaine and

the integration into medieval clerical culture of a wide range of scientific topics and disciplines that far exceeded the practical requirements of exegesis or *computus*.

Isidore's profound and durable influence is also related to his attitude towards ancient science. Compared with the great Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries or his contemporary Gregory the Great, Isidore took a broadminded and almost relaxed approach to secular learning. He perhaps had less to fear from any continued intellectual attraction of paganism or classical culture than did earlier generations of Christian thinkers, but he also had a positive vision of the value of that culture for ecclesiastical and national revival in Spain.[9] When it came to matters of science, he drew on both classical and Patristic writings, seemingly without discrimination: indeed, he often "reverse engineered" his information from allusions to ancient science and philosophy found on the pages of Lactantius, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*.[10] Unlike Cassiodorus, who was certainly one of his major inspirations, Isidore did not segregate "divine" and "human" learning.[11] He wove exegesis and allegory into the cosmology of *On the Nature of Things*, but not consistently; and the books of the *Etymologies* on Scripture, God and the saints, and the Church are embedded between the liberal and learned disciplines (books 1–5), and the survey of the natural world and the mechanical arts (books 11–20). In both works, Isidore exploited classical handbooks, like Hyginus' *On Astronomy*, commentaries on the *Timaeus* of Plato, and compendia like Solinus' *Collectanea* and Pliny's *Natural History* (*Historia naturalis*), but a significant percentage of his science comes from the Latin poets—notably Lucan, Virgil, and Lucretius—and their scholiasts, particularly Servius.

On the Nature of Things is the first comprehensive work on cosmology by a Latin Christian writer that is not a commentary on the account of creation in

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Christine Pellistrandi (Madrid: 1992), 269–83; Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: 2012), esp. 100–01, 224–25, 227–29; Ribémont, *Les origines* 273–313.

[9] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* [hereafter Fontaine, *Isidore culture*], 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983), esp. part 6, Chs. 1, 3–4, 6; Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique a temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), Ch. 16.

[10] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 389–91, 543–45.

[11] Ribémont, *Les origines*, 19–38; Jacques Fontaine, "Cassiodore et Isidore: l'évolution de l'encyclopédisme latin du VIe au VIIe siècle," *Settimane di Studio* 32 (1986), 72–91.

Genesis.[12] Its format—a survey of the world-system from the heavens down to the earth—yokes astronomy to the topics encompassed by Aristotelian *meteora*: atmospheric phenomena, weather, tides and the water cycle, and seismic and volcanic activity. While astronomy focused on the regularities of heavenly motion, meteorology sought to explain how sublunar events, although inherently unpredictable, are nonetheless natural consequences of the interactions of earth, air, water, and fire.[13] Clouds (Isidore tells us) are formed from *water*, but when *wind* agitates them, they are set on *fire*, producing lightning. Earthquakes can be caused by gusting winds in subterranean caverns, the collapse of underground caves, and buried rivers.[14]

On the Nature of Things also innovates by beginning with a survey of the units of time, from the day up to the year with its division into seasons and into astronomical quarters marked by the solstices and equinoxes (Chs 1–8). This is therefore a summary of classical calendar time; although it was excerpted into works on *computus*, notably by Bede, it does not discuss the management of the Christian calendar or the calculation of Easter. When Isidore deals with units of time in the *Etymologies*, he separates this subject from astronomy (book 3) and cosmology (book 13), locating it instead in book 5, as part of his treatment of law, as if time-keeping served essentially as a function of social order. *Computus*, on the other hand, is located in book 6, dedicated to Scripture and ecclesiastical observances and offices. There the Paschal tables are treated as a special type of Christian graphic representation of information, directly after canon tables. While *computus* was destined to evolve into a platform for early medieval scientific learning, Isidore does not seem to have regarded it in this light.[15]

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[12] The critical edition is by Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la nature*, 2nd edition (Paris: 2002); the translation is by Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Isidore of Seville: On the Nature of Things* (Liverpool: 2016).

[13] Liba Taub, *Ancient Meteorology* (London: 2003).

[14] Isidore, *De natura rerum* 30.2 and 46; Isidore's explanations of earthquakes closely match those of Lucretius, *De natura rerum* 6.557–95. Whether Isidore intended to give his book the same title as Lucretius' poem is a matter of debate. This was the title given by Braulio of Zaragoza in his *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, ed. J.C. Martín, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 201–02. MSS from the 7th and 8th centuries either have no title, or the rubric *De mundo* or *Liber rotarum*. *De natura rerum* is standard from the 9th century onwards, and is particularly associated with the long recension of the text that probably represents Isidore's final edition: see Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Isidore of Seville: On the Nature of Things* (Liverpool: 2016), 38–40.

[15] Isidore's *computus* and its reception is discussed in a separate chapter of the present volume, by Immo Wartjes.

The *Etymologies*[16] has long been hailed as the first Christian "encyclopedia,"[17] and if this anachronistic term can be problematic, it nonetheless reflects the way medieval readers treated this book as a rich, flexible, and useful repository of authoritative knowledge. The etymological method ultimately proved less interesting than "the ecumenical breadth of the work, and … its staggering accretion of detail."[18] Much of that breadth and detail concern subjects which, for a modern reader, constitute science: mathematics, including astronomy (book 3); the *On the Nature of Things*' constellation of cosmology, meteorology, and geography (books 13–14); human biology and psychology (book 11); animals (book 12); and minerals (book 16). Plants are subsumed within the techniques of agriculture (book 17), but the supremely scientific *ars* is medicine, the "Second Philosophy" that, like the first philosophy, deals with the entire human person and draws on all the liberal disciplines (book 5, esp. 5.13).

2 Isidore's "Science," Isidore's "Nature"

Before surveying the content of these works,[19] however, it is necessary to adjust our modern expectations of science to the categories that Isidore recognized, and to clarify what he understood by science's epistemic object, "nature." "Science" in the modern sense of the word is a 19th-century coinage, and though Isidore certainly could conceive of factual knowledge about, and models of, the physical world and its contents, including living beings, there was no single term or discipline which for him encompassed such knowledge.[20] For Isidore, *scientia* denoted securely established rational knowledge on any subject (*cum res aliqua certa ratione percipitur*), as distinct from uncertain "opinion" (*opiniatio*). But knowledge about the physical world is not necessarily *scientia.* In fact, Isidore's illustrative example of *opiniatio* is cosmology:

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[16] The edition by Wallace M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1911), is being replaced by book-by-book critical editions, with facing page translations in the vernacular of the editor, published by Les Éditions Les Belles Lettres in Paris. The volumes cited in this chapter are: *Etymologies Book 2: Rhetoric*, ed. Peter K. Marshall (1983); *Etymologiae III: De mathematica,* eds. G. Gasparotto and Jean-Yves Guillaumin (2009); *Etymologiae XI: De homine et portentibus*, ed. F. Gasti (2010); *Étymologies livre XII: Des animaux*, ed. Jacques André (1986); *Etymologiae XIII: De mundo et partibus*, ed. G. Gasparotto (2004); *Étymologies livre XIV: De terra,* ed. Olga Spevak (2011); *Etymologiae XVI: De las piedras y de los metales*, ed. José Feáns Landeira (2011); *Étymologies livre XVII: De l'agriculture*, ed. Jacques André (1981). Translations here, unless otherwise indicated, are from Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006). On the transmission of *Etymologies*, see the chapter by Carmen Codoñer, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Etymologiae*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo*, vol. 2, eds. Chiesa and Castaldi, 274–99.

[17] This is the argument of Ribémont, *Les origines*, and it stands in a long tradition, beginning with Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York: 1912) and consolidated by Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et la mutation de l'encyclopédisme antique," *Cahiers de civilisation mondiale* 9 (1966), 520–38.

[18] A.H. Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*: On Words and Things," in *Encyclopedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, eds. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: 2014), 312.

[19] This chapter will concentrate on these two works, but Isidore composed other books in which he included some scientific material, notably book 1 of the *Differences* (*De differentiis I*); the *Book of Numbers* (*Liber numerorum*), a handbook of numerology for exegetes; and the *Sentences* (*Sententiae*). For a discussion of the way in which, for example, his

> … for instance whether the sun is as large as it seems to be or is larger than the whole earth, or whether the moon is spherical or concave, or whether the stars are stuck to the sky or are carried through the air in a free course, or of what size and what material the heavens themselves may be, whether they are at rest and immobile or are whirling at unbelievable speed, or how thick the earth is, or on what foundation it endures balanced and suspended.[21]

Isidore's notion of "natural philosophy" is indeterminate as well, since he entertains different schemes for locating natural philosophy within the larger project of philosophy. The tripartite Platonic division of philosophy into "natural (*naturalis*) which in Greek is 'physics' (*physica*)", moral, and rational or logical defines natural philosophy as that which "discusses the investigation of nature" using the mode of "inquiring" The founder of *physica*, Thales of Miletus, "examined the first principles of the sky and the power of natural things (*rerum naturalium*) with contemplative reason." But Isidore then adds that Plato divided *physica* into the four mathematical disciples of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.[22] The *disciplinae*, though, are defined as "concerned with things that have only one possible outcome", as distinct from

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ideas about the human body as microcosm appears in these three works, see Fontaine, *Isidore culture* pt. 5, Ch. 3, esp. 649–50, 654–57, 663–65, 670.

[20] On the challenge of discussing "science" in early medieval culture, see Faith Wallis, "*Si Naturam Quaeras*: Reframing Bede's 'Science'," in *Tradition and Innovation in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Morgantown: 2006), 61–94; Faith Wallis, "Bede's 'Science'," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: 2010), 113–26.

[21] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 2.23.2, trans. Barney *et al.*, 79. Isidore is drawing on Lactantius, *Institutiones* 3.3.4.

[22] Both the definition of *scientia* and the cosmology example are from *Etymologies* 3.24.3–4; cf. Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, pt. 5, Ch. 3, esp. 647–48.

the *artes* that consist of "matters that can turn out in different ways."[23] This aligns them with *scientia* as knowledge which is necessary and determinate, about objective realities; it would apply to both abstract numbers and concrete material entities.

Isidore offers a second division of philosophy, this time from Cassiodorus. Philosophy is divided into speculative and practical, and speculative philosophy comprises natural philosophy, "doctrinal" philosophy, and "divine" philosophy. The *quadrivium* is now classified as "doctrinal," but whether natural philosophy deals with *res naturales* is unclear, for Isidore defines speculative philosophy as a whole as exclusively concerning invisible, incorporeal, divine, and heavenly things.[24] At the same time, he declares that "natural philosophy" deals with "the nature (*natura*) of each individual thing", that is "those properties according to which the Creator defined it, unless perhaps by the will of God some miracle is shown to occur."[25]

Isidore clearly was not concerned with imposing a unitary structure on *scientia*, or defining *res naturales* in only one way. His views become more legible if we read them through the lens of the genres or expository registers in which he wrote about science. These are three: the mathematical disciplines of the *quadrivium* (*Etymologies* 3); the macrocosmic world-system (cosmology, meteorology, geography: *On the Nature of Things* and *Etymologies* 13–14); and the inventory of nature (humans, animals, plants, minerals: *Etymologies* 11–12, 16–17). What "science" and "nature" are depends on the register.

In his first dedicatory letter to King Sisebut, Isidore referred to the *Etymologies* as "the work concerning the origin of certain things (*opus de origine quarundam rerum*)".[26] The phrase finds an interesting counterpart in the preface—also addressed to Sisebut—of *On the Nature of Things*, where Isidore claims to be responding to the king's request for instruction "concerning the nature and causes of things (*ex rerum natura uel causis*)."[27] Nature, origin, and cause are closely aligned concepts in Isidore's thinking. Both *causa* and *origo* are synonyms for "etymology,"[28] and Isidore relished the ambiguity: in the opening section of *Etymologies* book 12, he observes that Adam gave the animals their original names "according to their natural situation (*iuxta condicionem naturae cui serviret*)," thereby extending and completing God's work of creation.[29] In "inventory register" Isidore works from the premise that *origo* in the sense of creation is the *causa* or the reason why things happen as they do. The only passage in *Etymologies* where *natura* is explicitly defined is the beginning of book 11, on human beings, and there it is glossed as that which has the capacity of "engendering and creating." Some people, Isidore says, equate nature with God, because he creates everything.[30] Later in the same book, Isidore dismisses the idea that abnormal bodies are "unnatural," because giants, pygmies, and even monsters are all "created by divine will, since the nature of everything is the will of the Creator". Thus, prodigies are "not created contrary to nature, but contrary to what is known [about] nature."[31] These are also, of course, products of generation, even if they are anomalous.

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[23] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.1.1, trans. Barney *et al.*, 39. Isidore's source is Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.20; cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 6.3.1139b and 6.4.1140b; in practice, however, Isidore considers all the liberal arts as *disciplinae* and tends to use the terms interchangeably: Ribémont, *Les origines*, 94–95.

[24] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3.24.10–11; cf. Ribémont, *Les origines*, 91.

[25] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3.24.12, trans. Barney *et al.*, 80.

[26] Isidore, *Epistola* 6, ed. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis*, l. 20–21; Fontaine *Isidore culture*, 11, n. 1.

[27] Isidore, *De natura rerum* ed. Fontaine, p. 167, line 3.

[28] *Causa*: *Etymologiae* 13, *argumentum*: "so that the reader may go through them in a short time, and through this succinct brevity comes to know their etymologies and causes (*ety-*

In *On the Nature of Things*, however, where Isidore again reflects on anomalies, the relationship of "nature" and "cause" is construed in a different way. The storms and earthquakes of *On the Nature of Things* are "natural" because they are the results of physical processes which can be understood and explained. These processes are their "cause"; God of course created them, but unlike the monsters of *Etymologies*, the unpredictable lightning strikes or volcanic eruptions of *On the Nature of Things* are not construed as direct acts of divine will. This is true even in cases of pestilence (Ch. 39); Isidore concedes that human sin might contribute a *moral* cause, but this just sets in train the *natural* cause, which is corruption of the air by heat or excess moisture.[32] In Chapter 40, various theories of tides are aired, but Isidore declares the question unresolvable in our present state of knowledge: which theory is correct "God alone knows,

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mologias eorum causasque)" (trans. Barney *et al.*, 270; ed. Gasparotto, 4). *Origo*: *Etymologies* 1.29.1: "Etymology is the origin (*origo*) of words" (trans. Barney *et al.*, 54).

[29] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.1.

[30] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.1, trans. Barney *et al.*, 231.

[31] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.3.1–2, trans. Barney *et al.*, 243. Isidore is quoting Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 21.8. Isidore's views on the "naturally unnatural" are judged to be more negative by Mary Beagon, "Variations on a Theme. Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam, 2016), 57–72. Her analysis is pertinent to anomalous humans and animals (see note 99 below), but less so to inanimate phenomena, such as earthquakes.

[32] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 303.4–8: "Quae sit uero causa huius pestilentiae quidam dixerunt: quando pro peccatis hominum plaga et correptio terris inicitur, tunc aliqua ex causa, id est aut siccitas aut caloris ui aut pluuiatum intemperantia, aera corrumpuntur."

whose work the world is, and the entire plan of the world is known only to him."[33] But the implication is that there is, in fact, a correct theory, even if it is not known.

In sum, when Isidore is working within the "world-system" tradition of *On the Nature of Things*, he implicitly thinks of "nature" as a process that issues in a result. In the "inventory of nature" sections of the *Etymologies*, "natures" are the properties of species, implanted at creation. Indeed, Isidore distinguishes etymologies derived from (purposeful) *causa* (kings or *reges* take their name from *recte agendo*, "acting justly") and etymologies derived from (generative) *origo* (e.g. "human" from *humus*, or earth).[34] These complementary dimensions of nature constitute his field of scientific knowledge and reflection.

3 *On the Nature of Things*: The System of the World Revisioned

Though Isidore wrote in the "world-system" register in both *On the Nature of Things* (composed 612–13) and *Etymologies* (begun 615), the earlier book is not merely a fragment of, or a rehearsal for, the later one.[35] While it deploys etymologies, *On the Nature of Things* is not structured by them, but instead around expositions, explanations (sometimes diverse), and occasionally arguments. One has only to compare the extended discussion of the mechanism of lunar and solar eclipses in *On the Nature of Things* chapters 20–21 with the exceedingly compressed account in *Etymologies* 3.57–58. Moreover, unlike *Etymologies*, *On the Nature of Things* includes illustrative schemata.[36] Finally, it is an *oeuvre de circonstance*, composed apparently in some haste at the request of

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[33] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 307.17–18: "… hoc soli Deo cognitum est cuius et opus mundus est solique omnis mundi ratio nota est."

[34] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.29.3, trans. Barney *et al.*, 55.

[35] This is the view of Ribémont, *Les origines*, pt. 2, ch.1, esp. 239.

[36] These famous *figurae* – many of them circular (hence the medieval title *Liber rotarum*), mark an important stage in the history of the graphic presentation of scientific information, and merit a longer discussion than can be afforded here. Important analyses include: Michael Gorman, "The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Isidore's 'De natura rerum' with A Note on the Manuscript Traditions of Isidore's Works," *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 529–45; Bruce S. Eastwood, "The Diagram of the Four Elements in the oldest Manuscripts of Isidore's 'De natura rerum,'" *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 549–64; Faith Wallis, "What a Medieval Diagram Shows: a Case Study of Computus," *Studies in Iconography* 35 (2015), 1–40; and Barbara Obrist, "Le diagramme isidorien des saisons: Son contenu physique et les représentations figuratives," *Mélange de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 108 (1996), 95–164; Barbara Obrist, "Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology," *Speculum* 72 (1997), 33–84; Barbara Obrist, *La cosmologie médiévale: textes et images.* Vol. 1: *Les fondements antiques* (Florence: 2004), esp. 273–83.

Isidore's sovereign, King Sisebut; the *Etymologies* was initiated by Isidore himself and was the product of decades of slow accumulation.[37]

Isidore's preface frames *On the Nature of Things* as a response to a royal command for information about "certain matters concerning the nature and causes of things." The hypothesis that this commission was related to an unusual series of lunar and solar eclipses in 611–12 is intriguing, but the inference that Isidore composed the work to allay "popular" panic at these phenomena fails to find support in the text itself.[38] To the contrary: Isidore refutes the charge that it is knowledge of "the nature of these things" *itself* that is superstitious (*superstitiosa*). This is not so, he says; provided that this knowledge accords with teaching (*doctrina*) that is sound (*sana*) and sensible (*sobria*), it is not superstitious. In classical Latin, *superstitio* denotes irrational credulity, or excessive dread of the gods or of omens. However, the term was redefined by Christian writers of the Patristic age to denote pagan beliefs in the very existence of the gods and *daimones*.[39] Hence when Isidore says that his science is not *superstitiosa* he may be defending his discussion of the names of the constellations (Ch. 26.1), or the days of the week (Ch. 3.4) from any charge of approving pagan mythology. Indeed, Isidore is less concerned with popular hysteria than with astrology. He distinguishes astronomy from astrology in the *Etymologies*: *astronomia* is the science of "the turning of the heavens, the rising, setting and motion of heavenly bodies, as well as the reason behind their names," and is without qualification legitimate; *astrologia* is a matter of fact (*naturalis*) when it measures the course of the sun and moon and planets, but *superstitiosa* when practiced by astrologers (*mathematici*) who divine which zodiac sign rules which part of the human body or mind, or presume to cast horoscopes.[40] Lurking in the back of Isidore's concerns with astrology may also be the heresy of Priscillian, bishop of Avila (d. 385), who embraced astral determinism and a belief that the heavenly bodies were agents in the cosmic war of good against evil.[41]

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[37] The role of Braulio in the genesis of the *Etymologiae* is discussed by Graham Barrett in this present volume.

[38] Fontaine, ed., *Isidore de Séville: Traité*, 3–6 (eclipses of 611–12) and 13 (evidence of hasty composition); Fontaine's views are endorsed by Stephen C. McCluskey, "Natural Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 2: *Medieval Science*, eds David C. Lindberg and Michael Shank (Cambridge: 2013), 288.

[39] Dale B. Martin, *Inventing Superstition: from the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, MA: 2004).

[40] Isidore, *Etymologies* 3.27(26).1–2, trans. Barney *et al.*, 99 (modified). On the sources and impact of this distinction, see Max Lejbowicz, "Les antécédants de la distinction isidorienne: *astrologia/astronomia*," in *Observer, lire, écrire le ciel au moyen âge: actes du colloque d'Orléans 22–23 avril 1989*, ed. Bernard Ribémont. (Paris: 1990), 173–212, and Max Lejbowicz, "Posterité médiévale de la distinction isidorienne *astrologia/astronomia*: Bède et le vocabulaire de la chronométrie," in *Documents pour l'histoire du vocabulaire scientifique* 7 (Paris: 1985), 1–41.

In defending himself against charges of "superstition" (i.e. paganism), Isidore may also be answering a trend in 6th-century Christian thought that amplified the opposition between classical Greco-Roman cosmology and the biblical picture of the world, associated particularly with the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes. But what ultimately justifies the study of the subjects covered in *On the Nature of Things* is its origin in a royal command. As a king, Sisebut can lay claim to the model of Solomonic wisdom represented in Isidore's quotation from Wisdom 7:17–19. This model encompasses the cosmos: "the disposition of the heavens, and the virtues of the elements, … the alterations of their courses, and the changes of seasons, the revolutions of the years, and disposition of the stars."[42] Oddly, given that *On the Nature of Things* includes a section on the divisions of time, Isidore omits from the quotation "the beginning and ending and midst of the times," probably because his treatise does not deal with history.[43] He also does not extend the catalogue of Solomonic wisdom to verse 20: "the natures of living creatures and rage of wild beasts, the force of winds and reasonings of men, the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots." These topics lie outside the "world-system" and belong with the "inventory of nature" that will feature in the *Etymologies.*

In the first chapter of *On the Nature of Things*, Isidore establishes a pattern which he will follow throughout the hemerological section of his book (Chs 1–8) by underscoring the relationship between time-reckoning and cosmology. A day is both a uniform unit of time-measurement and an event in the natural world—"the presence of the sun between its rising and setting"—for in the Genesis narrative, three days (in the sense of units of time) unfold before the sun makes the first natural day on the fourth day of creation.[44] Night (Ch. 2) is only a cosmological phenomenon – the absence of sunlight between sunset and sunrise—for as time, it is included within the day. The months are also treated both as divisions of time and in terms of the increase and decrease of daylight across the year (Ch. 5).

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[41] Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: the Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford: 1976), 82–83, 231–32. Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie," *Revue des études latines* 31 (1953), 271–300, rejects the argument of M.L.W. Laistner, "The Western Church and Astrology during the Early Middle Ages," *Harvard Theological Review* 34 (1941), esp. 264–68, that Isidore had little awareness of judicial astrology.

[42] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 167, lines 6–10. It has been argued that Isidore intended to put Augustine's program of Christian learning into action: Bruce S. Eastwood, "Early Medieval Cosmology, Astronomy and Mathematics," in *The Cambridge History of Science,* vol. 2: *Medieval Science*, eds. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank (Cambridge: 2013), 306. However, there is little evidence of inspiration from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana.*

[43] See the chapter by Jamie Wood in this volume for Isidore as an historian.

Isidore defines the year (Ch. 6) etymologically as a complete circuit (*annus* = *anus*, or ring), symbolizing the totality of human life, or even eternity itself. He will not extend himself to longer epochs or ages (as he will in *Etymologies* book 5); instead, and in keeping with his book's focus on the system of the world, he reverses direction to analyse the year in terms of its natural seasons (Ch. 7) and its astronomical divisions by the solstices and equinoxes (Ch. 8).

In Chapter 9 (*De mundo*), Isidore switches his perspective to the material universe. *Mundus* for Isidore can mean either "cosmos" or "earth." This ambiguity extends to the two ways of dividing the *mundus*: the five circles of Chapter 10 (at once celestial circles and terrestrial climates), and the "parts of the world (*de partibus mundi*)" of Chapter 11, which are the four elements that govern physics below the orbit of the Moon. From Chapter 12 ("Heaven and its name") onwards, Isidore's text tracks the vertical order of the cosmos from the heavens down to the bowels of the earth. First he describes the "parts" of the celestial architecture, like the vault (*cohus*) or visible dome that seems to sit over the earth like an inverted silver bowl engraved with stars, and the axis that joins the poles. Then he sets this machinery in motion, the whole sphere turning on its axis once a day, from east to west. The sphericity of the universe justifies the biblical "waters above the firmament," which prevent the buildup of excess heat under the revolving orb (a Stoic concept).[45] The ultimate reason for the emphasis on the sphere, however, becomes evident in Chapter 12.5: the spherical shape of the universe is proof of the rational mind of its Creator, and even pagans like Plato acknowledge this. The universe's circular motion is rationality and intelligence itself, in contrast to the linear motions of forward, back, right and left, up and down.[46]

Chapters 13–21 on the planets form a tightly structured block, culminating in two chapters on eclipses, and reinforcing the themes of divine rationality and providential care. In Chapter 14 he deals directly with the one element of

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[44] Fontaine, ed., *Isidore de Séville: Traité*, 7, n. 2; Marek Hermann, "Zwischen heidnischer und christlicher Kosmologie: Isidore von Sevilla und seine Weltanschauung," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 32 (2004), 317.

[45] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 478–79.

[46] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 221. On the importance of this theme for Isidore, and his dependence on commentaries on the *Timaeus* 34A and 43B for the arguments which follow, see Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 476–78.

Christian cosmology that defied rationalization in terms of ancient physics, namely the waters above the firmament of Genesis 1:7. Isidore's argument is an interesting illustration of how he mined his science from his Patristic sources as well as from his classical reading, and shaped scientific problems in his own way.

For many Church Fathers, the "waters above the firmament" represented a point on which Scripture and pagan science could not be reconciled, and on which the superior authority of revelation must prevail. Origen attempted to resolve the problem of how water could rest on top of the fiery lower heavens, in defiance of the physics of the elements, by interpreting the waters as an allegory. This provoked a strenuous response from Basil of Caesarea in his *Hexaemeron,* the model and source of Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*: the waters had to be physical waters, and no scientific explanation of their existence was required. Augustine offered a more tentative defence of the reality of the supercelestial waters in *The Literal Interpretation of Genesis*. Though Isidore knew both these works, he chose here to follow Ambrose.[47] Ambrose dismisses the objections of philosophers who complain that the liquid waters would run down the sides of the sphere of the universe: "the one who could create everything from nothing could also stabilize the nature of the waters in heaven." But Isidore expanded Ambrose by adding after "the nature of the waters" the phrase "with the solidity of ice" (*glaciali soliditate*), which he lifted from Augustine's *The Literal Interpretation of Genesis* 2.5.[48] Augustine is presenting a hypothetical argument against the philosophers: if (as some pagans believe) Saturn, the planet closest to the outermost zone of heaven, is by nature cold, then there must be water in its vicinity, congealed into ice. The irony is that Augustine thinks this a rather foolish argument; Isidore, however, takes it at face value as celestial physics. This almost accidental hypothesis about the frozen nature of the supercelestial waters was destined to have a long career in Christian treatments of cosmology.[49]

Chapters 15–21 concern the motion and relative size of the Sun and Moon, and lead up to the explanation of solar and lunar eclipses. King Sisebut responded to *On the Nature of Things* by composing a poem on eclipses[50] that may have been intended to supplement or even correct Isidore's work. Among other things, it explains why eclipses do not occur every month, something which Isidore omits. Moreover, Sisebut explicitly chastises “superstition,” which Isidore does not. Instead, and rather surprisingly, Isidore offers both conventional and alternative explanations of eclipses, and some of the latter might even encourage irrational fear. In the case of the solar eclipse, “philosophers and wise men of this world” argue that the hole (*foramen*) in the atmosphere through which the Sun’s light passes can be blocked by “some exhalation” (*aliquo spiritu*).[51] The “exhalation” hints at atmospheric corruption, like pestilence (see Ch. 39), and even suggests some arbitrary or malevolent force. If one compares this chapter with Chapter 21 on the eclipse of the Moon the same pattern emerges: an explanation based on celestial mechanics is followed by one ascribed to the Stoics that suggests that a lunar eclipse is a shadow cast by mountains on the periphery of the earth.[52] Why is Isidore offering an alternative explanation at all?

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[47] Thomas O'Loughlin, "*Aquae super caelos* (Gen 1:6–7): The First Faith-Science Debate?," *Milltown Studies* 29 (1992), 92–114; Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 548.

[48] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 227, lines 10–12.

[49] Thomas O'Loughlin, "The Waters above the Heavens: Isidore and the Latin Tradition," *Milltown Studies* 36 (1995), 104–17.

[50] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. and trans. Fontaine, 328–35.

The answer lies in the spiritual interpretations that close both chapters 20 and 21. In Chapter 21, Isidore compares Christ’s death and resurrection to the eclipse and re-emergence of the Sun. In so doing, he explains that the eclipse that took place at the Crucifixion was “unnatural,” though he does state why, namely that Christ was executed at Passover, when the Moon would have been full. Instead, Isidore interprets the darkness that covered the earth as the “sacrilegious conspiracy” of the Jews against Jesus[53]—a sort of spiritual corruption or pestilence which infected the elements. Likewise, in Chapter 21, lunar eclipses are likened to persecutions inflicted on the Church, whose earthly enemies might be imagined as hedging her around like mountains. This suggests that the less predictable and mechanistic explanations for eclipses were invoked by Isidore in order to do some particular exegetical work in relation to his allegories. For Sisebut, on the other hand, this was not the unequivocally rational explanation for which he was looking.

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[51] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 249, lines 17–19. Though cited as a parallel by Fontaine, Aetius (i.e. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum* 2.24) mentions no *formamen*, but rather a condensation of clouds obscuring the Sun. Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 497 suggests that the theory is a misreading of a model propounded by Anaximander, and transmitted through a doxographical compendium. Anaximander’s view was that the Sun is obscured by thick clouds, from which its light emerged by a narrow orifice.

[52] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 500, argues that the mountain theory derives from a gloss on Lucan, whom Isidore somewhat inappropriately quotes, but he provides no evidence. Curiously, the mountain model bears some resemblance to Cosmas Indicopleustes’s explanation for *night*, namely that the Sun disappears behind a huge mountain in the centre of the (flat) earth: Jeffrey C. Anderson, “Description of the Miniatures and Commentary,” in *The Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 9.28): The Map of the Universe Redrawn in the Sixth Century, with a Contribution on the Slavic Recensions*, ed. Jeffrey C. Anderson (Rome: 2013), 42–44.

[53] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, ed. Fontaine, 249–50; cf. Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 556–57.

Chapters 22–27 constitute a block on the "stars" (*stellae, sidera*), by which Isidore denoted either the fixed stars or the planets or both. This ambiguous terminology generates some confusion, because Isidore shifts from discussing stars or constellations to discussing planets without warning, notably when describing their motion in Chapter 22.[54] Chapter 23 on the planets also contains puzzles: his names for the planets are eccentric (e.g. Mars is "Vesper," which normally denotes Venus) and quite different from those in *Etymologies* 3.71, and his figures for the length of each planet's circuit through the zodiac are peculiar: the Moon is said to take 8 years, Mercury 20 years, Venus 9 years, the Sun 19 years, and Mars 15 years. Only Jupiter and Saturn are correctly stated to have periods of 12 and 30 years, respectively. The subject of Chapter 24 is the source of starlight, and Isidore provides the answer in the first sentence: the stars shine with reflected light from the Sun. The remainder of the chapter exposes Isidore's real concern, namely to refute the idea that the stars can fall. Their reflected light may be drowned out by the radiance of daylight, but they merely appear to vanish, as is evident during a solar eclipse, when they are temporarily visible. In Chapter 25 he adds that falling stars are optical illusions—just fragments of celestial fire that rain down from the ether and are blown about by the winds.

Isidore frames his discussion of the names of the constellations (Ch. 26) with considerable caution. Job 38:31–32 indeed refers to the constellations by pagan mythological names, but this just proves that they are nothing more than conventional labels, like the planetary names of the weekdays. While constellation legends are part of late antique astronomical tradition (notably in Hyginus), and also reflect Isidore's dependence on literary scholia, it is nonetheless worth remarking that he did not have to include this information at all. To be sure, most of the star names in this chapter are the ones found in the passage from Job, which gives the chapter the air of an exegetical aid. But if this catalogue of star names was supposed to aid the reader of Scripture, it exceeded its mandate, for it includes Boötes and Sirius, which are not in the Bible. Neither Sirius nor comets (Ch. 26.15) are given allegorical meanings, and Isidore's motivation for including them is obscure. Sirius, it can be argued, fits into Isidore's strategy of replacing mythological origins with explanations focussed on astro-meteorology:[55] as the Pleiades and Orion delimit the summer and winter seasons, so does Sirius mark the height of summer heat. But Sirius shares with the comet an implied malevolence, because it "burns." Isidore's reader is thus nudged towards the problem of whether stars have souls (Ch. 27).

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[54] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 507–09.

[55] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 526–27.

Given Isidore's views on astral worship and astrology, it is disconcerting to find him entertaining this question, and in such an inconclusive way. Yet his agnostic stance is precisely that of his source, Augustine's *The Literal Interpretation of Genesis*. Augustine's reserve reflects a vigorous Patristic controversy on this topic. Origen endorsed the Platonic idea that the stars were animated beings, and Jerome in his commentary on Ecclesiastes seems to back him up; Basil and others argued that the stars were not alive, but were corporeal bodies propelled by intelligent spiritual beings. Isidore lays out both these possibilities but adds a third scenario proposed by Augustine, namely that the stars are purely material entities.[56] Isidore is not impressed by the materialist option, but if stars have souls, what will become of them at the resurrection? Isidore does not answer this question, or even explain its implications. Was he in contact with Jewish circles in Spain who held that the stars were angels whose judgement was reserved to the end of time?[57] Or is his question a distant echo of the controversy surrounding Origen's speculations that our bodies after the resurrection will be similar in some way to the bodies of the stars?[58]

The remainder of *On the Nature of Things* is devoted to meteorology in the Aristotelian sense: atmospheric conditions, the behaviour of waters, earthquakes, and volcanoes. Isidore's focus on the stars as indicators of seasonal weather conditions prepares the reader for this transition and bridges the time-reckoning of the opening chapters to the terrestrial phenomena with which the book closes. The exposition follows the vertical hierarchy of air (Chs 29–39), water (Chs 40–44), and earth (Chs 45–48). Within the airy zone, Isidore chooses to start with phenomena which have traditionally provoked scientific curiosity and debate, but also fear and "superstition": thunder (Ch. 29), lightning (Ch. 30), and the rainbow (Ch. 31). This is followed by explanations of more commonplace weather conditions: clouds (Ch. 32), rain (Ch. 33), snow (Ch. 34), and hail (Ch. 35). The explanation of hail shows how Isidore could go beyond his sources by explaining not only its formation (which Aristotle covered in *Meterologica* 1.11.347b28) but its fall, and its spherical shape. No single source can account for all of his information. Isidore states that the round shape of hail is due to the warmth of the Sun, plus the slow descent of the hail through the atmosphere. Seneca (*Natural Questions* 4B.3) also invokes a prolonged fall but does not mention the Sun, and he thinks that hail is round because water droplets are globular.[59]

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[56] Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie," 284–85.

[57] Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie," 295.

[58] Alan Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: a History of an Idea* (Oxford: 1991), Ch. 9.

Linking the atmosphere to the heavens above and the solid earth beneath are the winds (Chs 36–37), and Chapter 38 on "Signs of Storms or Fair Weather" follows logically on the winds. Extrapolation of weather predictions from prevailing winds as well as the rising and setting of prominent constellations lies in the deepest substrate of ancient observation about the physical world and forms the foundation of classical meteorology.[60] To these were added the appearance of the sky itself, as well as the behaviour of animals. When it comes to the aspect and colour of the Sun and Moon, Isidore claims as his authority Publius Nigidius Figulus (d. 45 B.C.), whom Jerome in his *Chronicon* called a Pythagorean and a *magus* because of his interest in divination. However, Isidore disinfects his source by explaining that changes to these planets are the consequence of thickening air, and hence a natural result of atmospheric conditions; and for good measure he quotes Christ's words in Luke 12.55: "If in the evening the sky is red, in the morning it will be fair weather. If in the morning the gloomy sky is red, there will be a storm." Weather prognostication, somewhat like medical prognosis, was treated in antiquity as an inference from natural signs, and not as a form of divination; this probably contributed to its easy adoption by Christians, and Isidore's casual juxtaposition of Nigidius with Christ speaks to this hospitable attitude.[61] Nonetheless, Bede dropped this chapter of *On the Nature of Things* from his own book of the same title, and he sharply attacked Isidore's notion that the angle of the horns of the Moon can presage weather in Chapter 25 of *The Reckoning of Time.*[62]

Given the role of pestilence in the Bible as God's signature punishment for sin, as well as its association with guilty "pollution" in ancient Greek literature, it is interesting that Isidore concentrates on the Hippocratic model of pestilence as natural epidemic disease, caused by averse atmospheric conditions. Pestilence "strikes" (a term that carries a valence of punishment) "because of mankind's sins," but Isidore merely ascribes this view to "some people." Properly, it is "from some [natural] cause," namely the corruption of the atmosphere through an excess of one of the four elemental qualities of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. The air envelops the whole earth, the corruption is borne on the winds, and everything that comes into contact ("contagion") with it is

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[59] Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 552.

[60] Taub, *Ancient Meteorology*, Ch. 1; Daryn Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather, and Calendars in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: 2007).

[61] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse*, 338–39.

[62] See Faith Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, revised ed. (Liverpool: 2004), 301–04.

"infected" or tainted. *Pestilentia* is primarily a problem with the air itself, and not the humans who were made sick by it.[63] Isidore also records the view of "others" that wind-borne "plague-bearing seeds (*semina*)" cause pestilence; his source here is Lucretius' *De rerum natura* 6.1090–132, who argues that plague is just exposure to an unfamiliar ailment that is endemic in some other part of the world.

In chapters 40–44, Isidore moves into the element of water, first to explain tides (Ch. 40) and then to answer questions about why the sea does not increase in size (Ch. 41) and why its waters are bitter (Ch. 42), with multiple hypotheses and models. The anomalous flooding of the Nile in summer (Ch. 43) had been an object of speculation for many ancient savants, and Isidore here opts for Lucretius' theory (*De natura rerum* 6.712–37) that it is the consequence of the contrary force of the Etesian winds from the north.

On the Nature of Things closes with the earth but remains within the conceptual world of meteorology. Chapter 45 unravels another scientific problem: the heavy spherical earth is surrounded on all sides by an envelope of lighter air, so how does it remain stable? Ambrose's answer is that the Creator "suspended the earth in the void (*in nihilo*)" so that it hangs in space. Isidore prefers to align Ambrose with "the philosophers" (e.g. Pliny, *Natural History* 2.4.10) who argue that the earth floats on a mass of thick air. In the end, Isidore concludes that both models are equally reasonable, and equally unprovable. This is the second time that he invokes the mystery of God's creative plan to bring closure to an argument, the other being the discussion of the tides in Chapter 40. Alternative explanations are also on offer for earthquakes (Ch. 46)—winds gusting through subterranean caverns, collapsing underground caves, and buried rivers—but Isidore this time declares a preference for the wind theory that Lucretius (6.577–84) borrowed from Aristotle. While Isidore turned to a work of history for his information on Mount Etna (Ch. 47)—Justinus's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus—his account accords with the model prevalent in scientific accounts. Winds, once again, are the principal cause.[64]

The final chapter of *On the Nature of Things* presents two pictures of Earth. The first depicts the planet in the centre of the universe, while the second represents the inhabited lands, as these were known to the ancients. Isidore likewise visualizes the *oekumene* in two different ways. From Hyginus he derives a mental map of three continents separated by conspicuous bodies of water; from Augustine, he borrows the more abstract concept of the continents occupying sectors defined by the cardinal directions. Finally, he cites Ambrose's geometrical formula: Asia occupies half the world, Europe and Africa the other half. Manuscripts of *On the Nature of Things* are the oldest witnesses to a form of stylized map that encompasses all three of these approaches: the so-called T-O map of the inhabited lands of Earth. This "map" is in fact a diagram or schema that represents the land mass of the known world as a disk (the O) divided horizontally, and with its lower half bisected vertically (the T). Whether Isidore devised, or even knew of, such a map is the subject of debate, but there is no controversy over the role of *On the Nature of Things* in its exceptional medieval diffusion and influence.[65]

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[63] Cf. Isidore, *De differentiis I* 143: "*Pestis* is the name of a disease, but *pestilentia* is what produces it from itself. There are three modes of *pestilentia*: from earth, from water, and from air." ("Inter pestem et pestilentiam. Pestis ipsum nomen est morbi, pestilentia uero id quod ex se efficit. Pestilentiae autem tres modi sunt: aut ex terra, aut ex aqua, aut ex aere.")

[64] Liba Taub, *Aetna and the Moon: Explaining Nature in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Corvallis: 2008), 45–55, esp. 49.

3.1 Etymologies (*1*)*: The* disciplinae

Something important about Isidore's project in the *Etymologies* would be lost if we simply plucked the information we thought pertinent to science without paying attention to the larger structure of the work. The first ten books march beneath the banner of *disciplina*, which is also the first word of book 1. *Disciplinae* are first and foremost the liberal arts: the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the *quadrivium* of the mathematical sciences.[66] While the *quadrivium* is our focus here, it is important to remember that Isidore saw the whole ensemble of the arts as a program that prepared the mind to rise to "contemplation of what is above."[67] Taking his cue from Varro, Isidore added two learned professions—medicine and law—to the arts. Medicine comes within the purview of science both for its object and its methods, but law, it will be recalled, is the arena in which Isidore chooses to discuss time-reckoning. For the Christian, "what is above" is revelation, the true philosophy revealed by God, his angels and saints, and the Scriptures and the Church (books 6–8). This first half of the *Etymologies*, which begins with grammar, ends with languages (book 9) and an alphabetical dictionary (book 10).

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[65] On the negative side, Patrick Gautier Dalché, "De la glose à la contemplation. Place et fonction de la carte dans les manuscrits du haut moyen âge," in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo,* Settimane di studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 41 (Spoleto: 1994), 707; in favour, David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," in *The History of Cartography. Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: 1987), 301–02. See also Wesley Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's *De natura rerum*," *Isis* 71 (1980), 268–77.

[66] See the chapter by José Carracedo Fraga in this volume.

[67] *Etymologiae* 3.71(70).41, trans. Barney *et al.*, 107.

The second group of ten books opens with the word *natura* at the head of the book devoted to human psychology and the human body. Book 11 ends in a discussion of monstrous births, which bridges to book 12, on animals. At this point, Isidore turns to the "system of the world" outlined in *On the Nature of Things*, beginning with the heavens, atmosphere, and waters (book 13), and surveying the geography of Earth (book 14). We will not be following him into the human-built environment (cities, farms, and roads) of book 15, but will reconnect with his "inventory of nature" in book 16 (metals and stones) and book 17 (crops, vines, trees, and herbs). Indeed, Isidore considers the vegetable kingdom under the rubric of agriculture, and book 17 opens a suite of books on other crafts and their gear.

We will first consider Isidore's treatment of the mathematical disciplines in book 3 and medicine in book 4; and then, in defiance of his own order, we will examine the "inventory of nature" before revisiting the "system of the world." While acknowledging the significance, subtlety, and originality of Isidore's etymological method,[68] we will (following the example of his medieval readers) concentrate on the information he conveys.[69] Nonetheless, the method and the content cannot be disentangled, because unlike *On the Nature of Things*, the *Etymologies* is not committed to providing explanations or answers to questions; its mandate is to define what things are, based on their names.

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[68] Key studies include Mark Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: 1989), Ch. 3; Jacques Fontaine, "Cohérence et originalité de l'etymologie isidorienne," *Homanaje a Eleuterio Elorduy S.J.* (Bilbao: 1978), 133–44; Ribémont, *Les origines*, pt. 1, Ch. 2; and most recently, the unusual but thought-provoking analysis of John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007). Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*," 311–13 argues that Henderson overstates the coherence of the etymological method, and points out that it is not, in fact, sustained throughout *Etymologies*. Etymology would remain a privileged medieval mode of *presenting* information, but would not again be used as the ordering principle of an encyclopedia (Ribémont, *Les origines*, 85). See also the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in the present volume.

[69] Isidore's etymological method was directly relevant in certain contexts, for example the debate of signs and images in the *Liber Caroli* discussed by Laura Carlson, "Adoption, Adaptation, and Authority: the Use of Isidore in the *Opus Caroli*," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, eds. Fear and Wood, 210–30. On the other hand, readers of the *Etymologies*' scientific sections tended to excerpt the information without the etymologies. Early Irish references to Isidore's computistics and anatomical terminology are cases in point: Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, eds. Fear and Wood, 119 and 121.

Isidore's etymological method had a strong impact on the mathematical disciplines of book 3.[70] Although his argument promises to investigate the principles (*causae*) of the four sciences, he passes over arithmetical operations, geometrical theorems, and astronomical models, concentrating instead on expounding terminology and classificatory schemes. The section on arithmetic, for example (3.1–9), is about the properties of numbers—odd and even, prime and compound, "superfluous," "diminutive," and "perfect" (i.e. the sum of their factors) (3.5); superpartient and superparticular and their minor homologues (3.6); and discrete, continuous, linear, planar, and solid (3.7). In the midst of this catalogue, however, Isidore inserts a remarkable encomium of arithmetic's sacred and secular worth:

> The theory (*ratio*) of numbers ought not to be despised, for in many passages of sacred writings it elucidates how great a mystery they hold. Not for nothing is it said in praise of God (Wisdom 11:21), "Thou has ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight." The [number] that contains six units (*senarius*), which is perfect in its own parts, declares the completion (*perfectionem*) of the world by a certain signification of its number. Likewise for the forty days during which Moses and Elijah and the Lord himself fasted: without an understanding of numbers, the span of days is unintelligible. So also there are other numbers in the Sacred Scriptures whose figurative meaning cannot be resolved except by those skilled in the knowledge of the mathematical art. It is even our lot to depend on the discipline of numbers to some extent when through it we name the hours, when we dispute about the course of the months, and when we recognize the duration of the turning year. Indeed, through numbers we are provided with the means to avoid confusion. Remove numbers from all things, and everything perishes. Remove computation (*conputum*) from the world, and blind ignorance embraces all things; those who are ignorant of the method of calculation cannot be differentiated from the other animals.[71]

This ode to number closely echoes the opening word of Isidore's *Book of Numbers* (*Liber numerorum*): "To pay attention to the principles [*causas*] underlying the numbers found in Scripture is not superfluous."[72] Like *On the Nature of Things* the *Book of Numbers* is a ground-breaking work: the first Christian handbook of number symbolism. Much of its material finds its way into *Etymologies* book 3. However, the *Etymologies* is not concerned with what numbers signify as much as with how they are signified by their names and classificatory affiliations.[73] It is also interesting to note that the quotation from Wisdom 11:21 appears again in book 17 of the *Etymologies* on stones and metals, where it opens the discussion of Roman units of weight and volumetric measures. The metaphysical measurement of mathematics is separate from the practical world of corporeal objects, "each … ruled by its own weight."[74]

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[70] For extended discussion of book 3, see Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, pts. 3–4; Ribémont, *Les origines*, 97–118; and the introduction to Gasparotto and Guillaumin's edition.

[71] *Etymologies* 3.1.1–4, trans. Barney *et al.* 90 (modified).

Isidore's discussion of "infinite numbers" (3.9) is an interesting illustration of how he extracted scientific data from Patristic sources, leaving their theological arguments behind. Numbers are infinite, Isidore argues, because however large a number one can imagine, one can always add to it, or even multiply it an unlimited number of times. His source here is Augustine's *City of God* 12.19, but Isidore effaces Augustine's argument, which was to prove to skeptics that *God's knowledge* is infinite, because he has knowledge of all numbers, and numbers are infinite.[75] Significantly, the *Etymologies* situate the infinite number directly after a discussion of different kinds of ratio, in increasing order of complexity—arithmetical, geometrical, and harmonic—as if capping this progression.[76] Certainly the order of ratios was important to Isidore, as it inspired him to alter the received order of the disciplines of the *quadrivium*. Boethius and Cassiodorus both adopted an epistemological sequence—arithmetic deals with number per se, music with number in ratio, geometry with number extended in space, and astronomy with number in motion—while Martianus placed "Harmony" at the end of his series after astronomy, as it symbolizes the transcendent perfection of the heavenly realm. Isidore's *argumentum* or summary introduction to book 3 announces the Boethius-Cassiodorus order; but in the text, he follows his "ratio order."[77]

Isidore's definition of geometry is a creative mosaic of phrases from Augustine's *De ordine* and Cicero's *De oratore*: "The art of this discipline is concerned with line, distances, sizes and shapes, and the dimensions and numbers found in shapes."[78] But his brief treatment of geometry contains no theorems or proofs; he seems unacquainted with Euclid, save for the division of geometry into planes, measurable magnitudes, rational magnitudes, and solids, which was channelled through Cassiodorus.[79] Indeed, Isidore is concerned exclusively with defining figures and shapes, and only gestures towards mathematics when he deals with geometric ratios (3.13).

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[72] *Liber numerorum/Le Livre des nombres*, ed. Jean-Ives Guillaumin (Paris: 2005), 5; my translation.

[73] Ribémont, *Les origines*, 108–10.

[74] *Etymologies* 16.25.1, trans. Barney *et al.*, 332.

[75] Bernard Ribémont, "Isidore de Séville et les mathématiques," *Discours et savoirs: encyclopédies médiévales*, ed. Bernard Baillaud, Jérôme de Gramont and Denis Hüe (Rennes: 1998): 33–35; Ribémont, *Les origines*, 110–11.

[76] Ribémont, "Isidore et les mathématiques," 38–39:

[77] Ribémont, *Les origines*, 101–07.

The mutation of geometry into the literal "measuring the earth" (3.10.3) is echoed by Isidore's definition of music as "the practical knowledge (*peritia*) of modulation" that "consists of sound and song."[80] Isidore stands on the threshold of a profound transformation of music theory. For Augustine (notably in *De ordine*) and Boethius, music was still the classical Pythagorean-Platonic contemplation of mathematical proportion; its goal was to raise the soul above the realm of the sensual and corporeal so that it could grasp rational truth and cosmic harmony. The true musician was the philosopher who could judge the fundamental essences of music, not the performer or composer. Isidore (leaning on Cassiodorus) articulates a new Christian vision of music based on the exalted role of performed music in the Bible (especially the Psalms), and the centrality of singing in the worship of the Church. He gives a brief nod to the notion of cosmic harmony (3.1.1), but his account bypasses mathematics completely in favour of catalogues of instruments and terminology—except, tellingly, for a closing chapter on musical ratios.[81]

Mathematics seems to be reinstated when Isidore turns to astronomy. Whoever discovered astronomy—the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, Abraham, or the Greeks—

> was stirred by the movement of the heavens and prompted by the reasoning of his mind, and through the changing of the seasons, through the fixed and defined courses of the stars, through the *measured expanses* of their distances apart, he made observations of certain *dimensions and numbers*.[82]

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[78] *Etymologies* 3.10.3, trans. Barney *et al.*, 93. For discussion see J.-Y. Guillaumin, "Sur une définition de la géometrie dans la latinité tardive (Isidore, *Étymologies* 3.10.3)," *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* (Besançon: 1989), vol. 2, 267–71.

[79] *Etymologies* 3.11; *cf.* Ribémont, "Isidore et les mathématiques," 26–27; Ribémont, *Les origines* 115–17; Eastwood, "Early Medieval Cosmology," 320–21.

[80] *Etymologies* 3.14, trans. Barney *et al.*, 95.

[81] Calvin M. Bower, "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages," *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: 2006), 136–49.

[82] *Etymologies* 3.25.2, trans. Barney *et al.*, 99 (my emphases).

In practice, however, the account of astronomy is a description of the shape of the cosmos—a sphere (3.30), with planetary spheres nested within (3.32), that rotates on its axis (3.33–36), and is marked off into regions, hemispheres, and circles (3.43–45). Size only comes up when discussing the relative magnitude of the Sun, Moon, and Earth (3.48–49). The few references to measured time are less than satisfying: in 3.57, the Moon is said to traverse the same distance in "thirty days" (a rough approximation) as the Sun travels in 365, and in 3.66, Isidore gives the same bewildering figures for the courses of the planets through the zodiac as he relayed in *On the Nature of Things*.[83] The catalogue of star names (3.71), on the other hand, is a richly detailed mosaic of lore culled from Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid*, the Latin Aratus, Cicero, Cassiodorus, and extensive reading of Augustine. It ends with a denunciation of astrology (*mathesis*) that echoes the beginning of this section (3.27). Not only the Fathers, but even "Plato, Aristotle, and others among the pagans" condemned astral determinism and its corollary, the abnegation of free will. The study of the stars is not for "harmful computations," but to stimulate us to turn from material to heavenly things (3.39, 41).

Varro's great encyclopedia enlarged the liberal arts by adding architecture and medicine, two professions which claimed a foundation in science. Isidore retains only medicine, which he explicitly calls an "art" and which he treats as he does the other arts, first by defining it, and then by relating its "inventors" and history.[84] Medicine's privileged status in the *Etymologies*, and its position directly following astronomy, may reflect Cassiodorus' commendation of cosmography and medicine in the part of the *Institutions* devoted to "divine letters" (1.25, 1.31).[85] However, the closing chapter of book 4 goes well beyond

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[83] See the edition of Gasparotto and Guillaumin, 126–27 and notes.

[84] Book 4 of the *Etymologies* has long been the object of scholarly interest. Older treatments include: L. Spengler, "Isidorus Hispaliensis in seiner Bedeutung für die Naturwissenschaften und Medizin," *Janus* 3 (1848), 54–90; O. Probst, "Isidors Schrift *De medicina*," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 8 (1914), 22–38; G.R. Fletcher, "St. Isidore of Seville and his Book on Medicine," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (*Section of the History of Medicine*) 12 (1919), 70–95. It is the subject of a monograph by H.K. Schütz, *Die Schrift De medicina des Isidor von Sevilla. Ein Beitrag zur Medizin im spätantiken Spanien* (Giessen: 1984), and a collection of essays edited by Arsenio Ferraces Rodíguez, *Isidorus medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina* (A Coruña: 2005). See also Ribémont, *Les origines*, 118–24; Bertrand Lançon, "La médecine dans l'encyclopédisme latin (Ier-VIIe siècles)," *Sciences, techniques et encyclopédies. Actes du Colloque de Mortagne-au-Perche, 28–29 mars 1992*, ed. Denis Hüe (Caen: 1993), 215–26, esp. 221–23; Vivian Nutton, "Early Medieval Medicine and Natural Science," *The Cambridge History of Science,* Vol. 2: *Medieval Science*, eds. Lindberg and Shank, 335.

[85] Ribémont, *Les origines*, 23.

Cassiodorus's praise of medical care as practical piety. Isidore asks why the art of medicine is not included with "the other liberal disciplines." His unexpected answer is that it is because medicine includes and deploys all the liberal arts: grammar to read its books; rhetoric to compose case histories; dialectic to deduce cures from causes; arithmetic to track the periodicity of fevers; geometry to assess the quality of places; music for therapy; and astronomy to observe the changes of the seasons that affect the human body. "Thus medicine is called the Second Philosophy, for each discipline claims for itself the entire human: by philosophy the soul is cured; by medicine, the body."[86] This encomium is quoted in a spirited defence of medicine in the 9th-century manuscript compendium known as the *Lorscher Arzneibuch*,[87] and finds echoes in the medieval iconography of personified Medicine as the recipient of wisdom at the hands of Philosophy and Mathematics.[88] The exalted position Isidore granted medicine also played a role in its transformation into *physica* in the 12th century.[89] It also proved difficult for medieval readers to resist supplementing book 4 with additional materials on the history of medicine, and the parts of the human body.[90]

Isidore defines medicine as both therapeutic action against healing and wounds, and preventive advice about nutrition, clothing, and shelter. It thus becomes an encompassing guide to right living; this is reinforced by its etymology from "moderation" (*modus*), with its associations of virtue and wisdom.[91] His definition of health and illness is grounded in the Hippocratic-Galenic model of the four bodily humours, which are in turn linked to the four elements (4.5). The bulk of book 4, however, is divided between two topics: diseases and remedies. Isidore adopts a broadly Methodist classification of ailments into acute diseases (4.6), chronic diseases (4.7), and skin conditions (4.8), but discussion of disease is dominated by etymology: the name denotes the symptom and the symptom justifies the name.[92] Nonetheless, Isidore's knowledge of medical science should not be underestimated: his sources range from the Latin commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* to the compilation on acute diseases called *Aurelius*, from Vegetius's work on veterinary medicine *Digesta artis mulomedicinalis*, to pseudo-Soranus' *Quaestiones medicinales*, Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*, and the letters of Jerome.[93] His grasp of some specialized topics, like melancholy, is quite sophisticated.[94] His discussion of therapeutic remedies (4.9) conveys the Hippocratic order of resort from regimen, through drugs, to surgery, and briefly discusses curing by opposites and similars, before launching into a catalogue of remedies, forms of medical literature (4.10), and tools (4.11).

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[86] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.13, trans. Barney *et al.*, 115.

[87] Ulrich Stoll, *Das 'Lorscher Arzneibuch.' Ein medizinisches Kompendium des 8. Jahrhunderts* (*Codex Bambergensis medicinalis 1*). *Text, Überseztung und Fachglossar* (Stuttgart: 1992), 50.

[88] Bruce Eastwood, "The Place of Medicine in the Hierarchy of Knowledge: the Illustration in Lyon Palais des Arts, ms. 122, f. 1r, from the Eleventh Century," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 66 (1982), 20–37, esp. 27.

[89] Jerome Bylebyl, "The Medical Meaning of Physica," *Osiris*, 2nd Series, 6 (1990), 24–26.

[90] Carmen Codoñer, "Textes médicaux insérés dans les *Etymologiae* isidoriennes," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* (XIIe–XVe siècles) 16 (2008), 17–37.

[91] Isidore, *Etymologies* 4.2, trans. Barney *et al.*, 109; Ribémont, *Les origines* 119.

[92] Ribémont, *Les origines* 121.

3.2 Etymologies (2)*: The Inventory of Nature*

The book on medicine was often paired with book 11, "On the human being and on portents," by medieval (and modern) readers, because book 11 covers human anatomy, physiology, psychology, and embryology. However, Isidore consults almost no medical sources for this book, apart from pseudo-Soranus' *Quaestiones medicinales*. Instead, he leans heavily on Lactantius (*Institutiones*, *De opificio Dei*),[95] supplemented by Augustine, Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*, Tertullian, and above all, Servius's glosses on Virgil. When he turns to monsters in the second half of the book, he draws on Augustine's *City of God* 16.8, and Solinus.[96] In consequence, book 11 strikes a more metaphysical and moral tone than book 4.

Book 11 begins with the soul (*anima*), will (*animus*), mind (*mens*), memory, reasoning, and sensation (11.1.7–13).[97] These form a hierarchy, with sensation as the link between soul and body. The body in turn is an epitome of the four elements: earth (flesh), air (breath), water (blood), and fire (vital heat) (11.1.16).

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[93] Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, "Neue oder vernachlässigte Quellen der *Etymologien* Isidors von Sevilla (Buch 4 und 11)," in *Isidorus medicus*, ed. Ferraces Rodíguez, 131–74; Manuel E. Vázquez Buján, "Isidoro de Sevilla y los libros de medicina. A propósito del Antiguo comentario latino a los *Aforismos* hipocráticos," in *Isidorus medicus*, ed. Ferraces Rodíguez, 245–62.

[94] Jackie Pigeaud, "De la mélancholie et de quelques autres maladies dans les *Etymologies* d'Isidore de Séville." *Textes médicaux latins antiques* (Saint-Etienne: 1984), 87–107.

[95] F. Gasti, *L'antropologia di Isidoro. Le fonti del libro XI delle Etimologie* (Como: 1988); F. Gasti, "Lattanzio e Isidoro: aspetti storico-culturali di una compilazione," in *Le De opificio Dei: regards croisés sur l'anthropologie de Lactance* (Saint-Étienne: 2007), 131–47; Cesare Magazzù, "L'influsso del *De opificio dei* di Lattanzio sul libro XI delle *Etymologiae* di Isidoro," *Bolletino di studi latini* 12 (1982), 247–50.

[96] F. Gasti, "I Collectanea di Solino come fonte del libro XI delle *Etymologiae* di Isidoro," *Athanaeum* 66 (1988), 121–29.

[97] On Isidore's classification of psychological functions, see Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 689–92.

Hence Isidore treats the senses (11.1.18–24) separately from the organs of sensation, which are lodged in the head (11.1.25). The hierarchical principle now becomes structural. Isidore begins with the crown (*vertex*) of the head, where the hairs grow in a whorl (11.1.26), and inches his way down to the temples, to the eyes, cheeks, and jaw before turning to the ears, nostrils, and mouth. After reaching the feet, he turns to the internal organs: the heart, vessels, lungs, liver, spleen, intestines, uterus, and bladder. Throughout this survey, his etymological method supports a kind of teleological reasoning, mixed with allusions to the exceptional stature of the human being as the pinnacle of creation. The neck (*collum*), for example, is a like a column (*columns*) "carrying the head and sustaining it as if it were a citadel"; the fingers (*digiti*) take their name either from the "perfect number" ten (*decem*) or because their arrangement is seemly (*decenter*), and so on.[98] By contrast, there is almost no structural description of human anatomy or discussion of physiology: for example, in the chapter on the heart (11.1.118), the two main vessels are mentioned but not given distinctive names. The left one contains "more blood" and the right "more air," but Isidore does not explain what venous and arterial blood do, or the role that the heart plays in the genesis and regulation of vital heat.

A short discussion of embryology (11.1.143) ushers in a section on the life cycle (11.2). This is also Isidore's opportunity to discuss gender differences (11.2.17–28), though gender in fact permeates book 11: there are distinctive terms for men's and women's hair (11.1.28) and lips (11.1.50), and the very word *femina* comes from the thigh (*femur*), whose structure differentiates the sexes (11.1.106).[99]

Generation and embryology also cue the second half of book 11, on portents. A portent is an "unnatural being" (*portenuosus*), though Isidore distinguishes between the "normal abnormal" (such as a person with six fingers), and a "being of transformed appearance" (11.3.6). The latter include humans who are part animal (11.3.9), or who exhibit the attributes of both sexes (11.3.11). However, "abnormality" is problematic when whole races of "monstrous" people presumably reproduce after their kind (11.3.12–27).[100] Finally, there are the purely imaginary monsters of pagan fable, like the Sirens or Cerberus, "which do not exist but are concocted to interpret the causes of things."[101] But if Isidore is skeptical about the Hydra or the Chimaera, he treats stories about metamorphosis in a more neutral manner, rather as he discusses the monstrous races. He ends with a note on creatures which undergo natural mutation, like bees or beetles that emerge from rotting flesh (11.4.3).

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[98] *Etymologies* 11.1.60 and 11.1.70, trans. Barney *et al.*, 235; cf. Fontaine, *Isidore culture*, 660–76.

[99] Maria Jesús Pérez Ibañez, "La distinción sexual hombre y mujer," in *Medicine y filología. Estudios de léxico médico latin en la Edad Media*, ed. Ana Isabel Martín Ferreira (Porto: 2010), 200.

[100] The analysis of Isidore's views in Beagon, "Variations on a Theme" is particularly salient here.

The mixture of human and animal in the monsters of book 11 sets the stage for Isidore's survey of animals in book 12. Isidore's classification of animals has excited considerable interest.[102] He begins by invoking Adam's naming of the animals, and the classification seems structured by terminology: livestock (*pecus*) and draft animals (*iumenta*) (12.1), "beasts" (*bestiae*) (12.2), "small animals" (12.3), snakes (12.4), "vermin" (12.5), fish (12.6), birds (12.7), and "tiny flying animals"—essentially insects (12.8). This order broadly replicates that of Pliny's *Natural History* books 8–11, but Isidore offers us several ways to read this sequence. Adam's naming of the animals suggests an orientation based on the relationship of animal to human: hence domesticates come first. The presence of the dog amongst the *bestiae*, however, hints that the distinction is also between herbivores and carnivores.[103] Size matters as well, but the small animals of 12.3 (mice, moles, and their like, but also crickets) all share the habit of living underground, so "smaller" also means "lower." "Vermin" are the least animal of animals, because they generate spontaneously; but they are also disgusting and frightening creatures, like spiders, leeches, lice, and maggots. When he comes to fish,[104] however, Isidore insists that their name (*piscis*) is related to *pecus*, or "livestock" (12.6.1): implicitly, then, the first five chapters dealt with the animals that live on the earth, and now he begins anew with water animals. Fish are more problematic for Isidore, however, because their names, and thus their natures and classification, are less sharply delineated than those of land animals. Land animals were named before fish, because fish are less visible; thus, many water animals take their names from the land animals they resemble (12.4.4). It is almost with a sense of relief that Isidore turns to birds, which are grouped under a single generic term, though they vary considerably in their nature (12.7.1). On the other hand, Isidore does not use Pliny's term *insecta* for the bees, wasps, moths, and flies of 12.8.

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[101] *Etymologies* 11.3.28, trans. Barney *et al.*, 245.

[102] I. Bona, "La classificazione zoologica isidorea: aspetti positivi e negativi in rapporto alle classificazioni precedenti," *Koinonia* 13 (1989), 153–64.

[103] Liliane Bodson, "Les paradoxes du témoignage d'Isidore de Séville sur les chiens (*Etymologies* XII, 2, 25–28)," *Milieux naturels, espaces sociaux: Etudes offertes à Robert Delort,* eds. Elisabeth Mornet and Franco Morenzoni (Paris: 1997), 177–88.

[104] Ferruccio Bertini, "Il catalogo dei pesci in Isidoro," *Reinardus* 23 (2010–2011), 1–11.

Within this complex articulation of the animal kingdom, Isidore integrates a wide range of lore from Pliny[105] as well as his more ubiquitous sources: Servius, Ambrose, and Solinus. The issue of whether he used the Latin *Physiologus*, either directly or indirectly, is a matter for debate, as he does not propose any symbolic or allegorical interpretations.[106] On the other hand, the book on animals provides considerable detail. Compared, for example, to the discussion of human anatomy in book 11, there is a wealth of information here (albeit unevenly distributed) about the appearance, habitat, and behaviour of animals. For example, the chapter on snakes closes with a lengthy treatment of venom, hibernation, self-regeneration after wounding, vision, and locomotion in snakes, and their habit of shedding their skin. In consequence, this book of the *Etymologies* contributed a substantial share of the Middle Ages' knowledge about animals, particularly before the recovery of Aristotle's biological works in the 13th century.[107]

Etymologies book 16 on minerals also exerted a huge influence on the later encyclopedias and lapidaries,[108] and for much the same reason, namely, that besides etymologizing the name, it also describes characteristics, locations, and uses. Sometimes the etymology is omitted altogether, such as in the section on bitumen (16.2.1), which nonetheless dilates on how it is gathered on the surface of the Dead Sea, how it cannot be broken (save by menstrual blood), and how it is used to caulk ships.[109] Book 16 also contains numerous tantalizing references to how magicians use stones, as well as memorable anecdotes, like the story of the man who invented unbreakable glass and was executed for his pains by the emperor Tiberius, lest his invention drive down the value of gold and silver. Isidore's classification of stones and metals, by contrast, is somewhat neutral. He starts with mineral substances that are the products of earth itself—dust, mud, clay, but also sulphur (16.1)—and then turns to those that come from water, notably salt (16.2). Stones (*lapides*) are divided into "ordinary" (*vulgares*: 16.3) and "more important" (*insigniores*: 16.4), that is, with remarkable qualities, like the magnet. Marble merits a chapter of its own (16.5), but gemstones are classified by colour: green (16.7), red (16.8), purple (16.9), white (16.10), black (16.11), varicoloured (16.12), crystalline (16.13), fiery (16.14), and golden (16.15). Glass (16.16) bridges the gems with the metals: gold (16.18), silver (16.19), bronze (16.20), iron (16.21), lead (16.22), tin (16.23), and electrum (16.24). Book 16 ends with an important synopsis of Roman weights and volumetric measurements, which was often excerpted on its own.

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[105] J. Oroz Reta, "Présence de Pline dans les *Etymologies* de saint Isidore de Séville," *Helmantica* 38 (1987), 295–306.

[106] André (introduction to edition of Book 12, 19–21) argues for Isidore's use of *Physiologus*; Bertini, "Il catalogo," 1–2 is more cautious.

[107] This can be appreciated by consulting the index of Jacques Voisenet, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval. Le bestiare des clercs du* V*e au* XII*e siècle* (Turnhout: 2000).

[108] Isabelle Draelants, "Encyclopédies et lapidaires médiévaux. La durable authorité d'Isidore de Séville et de ses *Étymologies*," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 16 (2008), 39–91; see also the introduction to Féans Landeira's edition of book 16, LXIII–LXXIII.

[109] Isidore's source here, as for much of book 16, is Pliny: see the edition of Féans Landeira, LIX–LXII and 315–16.

In book 17, plants are situated within the context of "rural affairs" (*de rebus rusticis*), which, like the liberal arts or medicine, has "inventors" and a systematic body of literature (17.1). That being said, the bulk of the book is a catalogue of the plant kingdom. Unlike the animals of book 12, however, Isidore's plants are only those cultivated or exploited by humans, and the accent is overwhelmingly on vocabulary, rather than a description of the actual plant. Nonetheless, details concerning vine-dressing (17.5) and grafting (17.6.11) slip in, as well as comments on the qualities of different varieties of fruit. The chapters on exotic trees and spices (16.8–9) are rather more expansive; Isidore's remarks on the adulteration of black pepper (16.8.8) and balsam (16.8.14) suggest one reason why they are more expansive, but he can also presume less familiarity with the plant on the part of his readers. "Aromatic or common plants" (16.9) covers a wide spectrum from flowers like iris and rose, to weeds like burdock (16.9.66), and plants cultivated for their medicinal qualities. Two chapters on garden vegetables (17.10) and culinary herbs (17.11) close the series.

The sources of book 17 are quite diverse: Servius and Solinus, and the Fathers, notably Ambrose, are still Isidore's mainstays, but he also draws on Roman works on husbandry by Columella and Palladius. Gargilius Martialis's *Medicine from Vegetables and Fruits* (*Medicina ex oleribus et pomis*) bridges horticulture and medicine, but Isidore's medico-botanical reading is more difficult to get into focus. He may have used one or more translations or reworkings of Diocorides. The total absence of Pliny is remarkable.[110]

3.3 Etymologies (*3*)*: The System of the World Revisited*

Between book 12 on animals and book 16 on stones and metals lie two books which reprise themes from *On the Nature of Things*: book 13 on the "world-system," and book 14 on "earth and its parts," comprising both the disposition of lands and regions, and physical features like islands, promontories, and mountains. Fontaine finds the positioning of this material significant: a survey of the macrocosm to parallel the microcosm of the human body in book 11.[111] But this ignores the role of the animals of book 12, which form an ascending ladder from terrestrial animals, to marine animals, and finally to the birds of the air. Books 13 and 14 literally bring us down from the sky to the earth again, where we can consider the products of the earth, namely metals and plants.

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[110] See the introduction to André's edition of book 17, 6–11; and Brigitte Maire, "Isidore de Séville, lecteur de Gargilius Martialis," in *Isidorus medicus*, 197–213.

Book 13 begins on a grandiose note with a definition of the universe (*mundus*) that encompasses the whole of creation (13.1). The discussion of the four cardinal directions (13.1.3–8) seems to echo the book on astronomy (cf. 3.43), but Isidore will not tarry long in the heavens. The two classic theories of the structure of matter, namely atomism (13.2) and element theory (13.3), are laid out in a dry and didactic manner, but it is evidently the latter of which Isidore (and his source, Lactantius) approves, for it reflects the architecture of creation:

> The elements are assigned by Divine Providence to the appropriate living beings, for the Creator himself has filled heaven [i.e. the fiery realm] with angels, air with birds, water with fish, and earth with humans and the rest of the living things.[112]

After three chapters on the structure of the celestial sphere (13.4–6; cf. 3.21–44), Isidore turns to "meteorology." The order mirrors that of *On the Nature of Things* quite closely:

Etym. 13	*On the Nature of Things*
7. Air and clouds	32. Clouds
8. Thunder	29. Thunder
9. Lightning	30. Lightning
10. The rainbow and phenomena of clouds [including rain, hail, and snow]	31. The rainbow; 33. Rains; 34. Snow; 35. Hail
11. Winds	36.–37. Winds
12. Waters	–
13. Different kinds of water	*cf.* 42. Why the sea has bitter waters
14. The sea	44. The names of the sea and the rivers

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[111] Fontaine, *Isidore culture* pt. 5, Ch. 3.

[112] *Etymologiae* 13.3.3; trans. Barney *et al.*, 272.

Etym. 13	*On the Nature of Things*
15. The Ocean	*cf.* 40. The Ocean's tide
16. The Mediterranean Sea	*cf.* 44. The names of the sea and the rivers
17. Gulfs of the sea	*cf.* 44. The names of the sea and the rivers
18. Tides and straits	*cf.* 40. The Ocean's tide
19. Lakes and pools	–
20. The abyss	44. The names of the sea and the rivers
21. Rivers	*cf.* 43. The river Nile
22. Floods	–

Isidore is generally not interested in considering problems in the *Etymologies*: for example, he does not bring up the "waters above the firmament" or explain why the sea is salt. On the other hand, his discussion of weather phenomena relates how lightning and rainbows are produced. The chapter on the Mediterranean is an opportunity for an extended tour of "the Great Sea," strewn with nuggets of history and mythology, while Chapter 21 opens onto a gazetteer of rivers, reading from the Niles and Ganges in the east to Isidore's own Guadalquivir in southern Spain.

Book 14 follows a similar trajectory, from Asia westwards to Europe and then to Africa, and within each of these continents, from east to west in two "sweeps," first through the south, and then through the north. Asia, for example, begins in the earthly Paradise (14.3.2–4) and then moves from India, through Parthia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine to Egypt. Isidore then returns east to trace a line from China through Scythia, Hyrcania, *Albania* (i.e. Georgia), Armenia, Asia Minor, Phrygia, and Pamphilia, ending in Cilicia.[113] Etymology becomes a key to history, as the names of places are often derived from eponymous founders, or aboriginal peoples.[114] After the continents come the islands (14.4). Here, the west-to-east order is abandoned in favour of a periphery-to-centre axis, beginning with the British Isles and the Atlantic islands, leaping to the islands of the Indian Ocean, and coming to rest in the Mediterranean, whose islands are once again enumerated from east to west. Isidore's geography is remarkably sophisticated in its grasp of spatial order and the contiguity of provinces and regions, but it also innovates with respect to his sources. Unlike Orosius or Solinus, he makes no distinction between the Roman Empire and the lands beyond. Isidore's is a truly Christian and universal geography.[115]

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[113] A.H. Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*," 317–18; A.H. Merrills, "Geography and Memory in Isidore's *Etymologies*," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: 2013), 49–54.

[114] Olga Spevak, "Isidore de Séville: le livre XIV des *Etymologiae* et la tradition étymologique," *Revue des études latines* 87 (2010), 231–48.

Book 14 ends with gazetteers of promontories (14.7); landforms, like mountains and mountain ranges, hills, woods, groves, and miscellaneous "places"; coastal features (14.8); and finally subterranean structures, from caves to Gehenna (14.9). The survey of the world that began with the encomium of the universe in all its fullness and fairness ends, literally, in hell. For Isidore's Christian geography is also a moral macrocosm: "Just as the heart of an animal is in its centre, so also the underworld is said to be in the centre of the earth," and the infernal regions (*inferi*) are so called "because souls are carried (*ferre*) there from here."[116]

4 Conclusion

Patrick Gautier Dalché characterizes Isidore's *Etymologies*, in a felicitous oxymoron, as an "original compilation,"[117] and the description applies equally well to *On the Nature of Things.* It also allows us to reframe Isidore's science by moving beyond its oft-cited weaknesses and lacunae, and considering its larger purpose. Isidore was the first Christian intellectual to attempt to give a full account of the material creation in both its grand architecture and its manifold and diverse contents, and to join, and (in part) integrate this knowledge with the disciplines of the *quadrivium.* The sheer scope and methodical perseverance of his scientific writing gave medieval Europe not only a treasury of information about the created world, but a capacious and ambitious way of imagining scientific knowledge as a conversation between mathematics, the world-system, and the inventories of natural history.[118] By his practice of compilation, Isidore also quietly, even surreptitiously, persuaded his readers that Christian truth and classical science could collaborate in shaping a new model of erudition.[119]

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[115] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Principes et modes de la réprésentation de l'espace géographique durant le haut moyen age," *Settimane di Studio* 50 (2003), 126–29; Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Sur 'l'originalité' de la 'géographie' médiévale," in *Auctor et auctoritas: invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale. Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14–16 juin 1999)*, ed. Michel Zimmermann (Paris: 2001), 140–41.

[116] *Etymologiae* 14.9.11, trans. Barney *et al.*, 300.

[117] Gautier Dalché, "Principes et modes," 128.

[118] See the contributions by Sinéad O'Sullivan, Martin J. Ryan and Winston Black in the present volume.

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[119] See the contributions of Jacques Elfassi and Thomas O'Loughlin in the present volume.

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CHAPTER 8

Isidore of Seville as a Grammarian

José Carracedo Fraga

1 Introduction

Isidore of Seville was born into a Hispano-Roman family of noble origin, and as such, he had access to a well-rounded education. It was his brother Leander, twenty years his senior, monk and then bishop of Seville (*c*.578–*c*.601), who oversaw a great part of his schooling; Leander was, indubitably, the most prominent personality within the culture of Visigothic Iberia at the end of the 6th century. Grammatical studies were accorded the utmost importance at the school in Seville where Isidore was a student, as well as in other Visigothic-era institutions cemented in a more classical tradition. As a result, this school of thought not only shaped Isidore's education but also his way of understanding instruction, the acquisition of knowledge, and thus his vast literary work, which focused on comprehensive instruction for the clergy. Grammar, thought of as an "all-encompassing science" ("una ciencia totalitaria"), is therefore an essential element to describe and understand the person of Isidore, and his concern for the intellectual and spiritual instruction of readers of his writings and teachings.[1]

2 Isidore's Grammatical Programme

An entire book addressing grammatical concepts is found at the beginning of Isidore's universal encyclopaedia of all knowledge, called the *Etymologiae*.

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[1] The correct and successful expression "la gramática ciencia totalitaria" concerning Isidore is taken from Eleuterio Elorduy, "San Isidoro, unidad orgánica de su educación reflejada en sus escritos, la gramática ciencia totalitaria," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana. Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII centenario de su muerte* (Rome: 1936), 293–322. On Isidore's education and the influence of his brother Leander, see the chapter by Purificación Ubric Rabaneda in this volume. An excellent description of the Visigothic schooling in general and that of Isidore is found in Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in José Oroz Reta and Manuel A. Marcos Casquero, trans., *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías* (Madrid: 2004), 70–94 and 104–06.

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Isidore himself provides a reason for this (*Etym.* 1.5.1):[2] "Grammar is the knowledge of speaking correctly, and is the origin and foundation of liberal letters." Grammar is the origin and foundation of all education. In other words, the entire formative process is based on grammar, and without grammar one cannot acquire knowledge. A good command of a language is vital to have access to any other sphere of knowledge, as it is only through language and words that we can interpret reality. The method that Isidore utilizes to create his great work is just a grammatical element: the etymology. However, this way of understanding grammar is not exclusive to the Sevillian erudite; it relates precisely to early scholastic instruction and had, within the Christian context, important promoters, such as Augustine of Hippo and Cassiodorus. Both authors are found among the ones that most inspired Isidore, and to the former he owes his definition of grammar cited above.[3]

The first book of the *Etymologiae* is, as mentioned, a complete grammatical manual despite having been written with the synthesis and brevity that characterize the encyclopedia and Isidore's work more generally.[4] Its main inspiration is the treatises of Aelius Donatus, a key referent for grammarians during the late Middle Ages.[5] It includes the three major themes defined in each of the three books of the *Ars maior* from the Roman teacher: the minor elements of language (*littera*, *syllaba*, *pedes*, *toni*, *positurae*), the eight parts of speech, or

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[2] "Grammatica est scientia recte loquendi, et origo et fundamentum liberalium litterarum." I quote the text of the *Etymologiae* from the edition by Wallace M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford: 1911). All the translations of the Latin texts are mine. Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983), 53–54, talks about how Isidore intentionally uses the same word *origo* to define grammar and etymology alike (*origo vocabulorum*: "origin of words," *Etymologiae* 1.29.1). The importance of grammar is clearly emphasized, as it constitutes the introduction of Isidore's great encyclopaedia and he allocated much more space to this subject than to any other of the liberal arts.

[3] Besides having penned works that were specifically grammatical, Augustine insists, in many of his texts, on the importance of grammatical instruction as a foundation of all general culture and especially Christianity. Cassiodorus offers his educational plan in his *Institutiones*, and in the second book of this work he gives special attention to grammar. The definition of grammar Isidore copied is found in *Institutiones* 2.praef. see also Cassiodorus *Variae* 9.21.

[4] On the role of brevity in Isidore's work see the chapter by Graham Barrett in this volume.

[5] Despite the fact that Isidore cited his sources very seldom, on four occasions he mentions Donatus in the first book of the *Etymologiae* (6.1; 16.2, where he directly recommends *lege Donatum*, "read Donatus"; 33.4; 37.1). To learn of Donatus's importance during the Middle Ages, the best reference continues to be Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris: 1981; repr. 2010), esp. 254–61 for the relationship between Isidore and the Roman teacher. An interesting presentation of Donatus and his later influence can be read in Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden: 2008), 1–73.

partes orationis (*nomen*, *pronomen*, *verbum*, *participium*, *adverbium*, *coniunctio*, *praepositio*, *interiectio*), and the defects and adornments in the use of language (*vitia et virtutes orationis*). Nevertheless, Isidore lays out his contents in an order different from Donatus's original, which was the one circulating in Visigothic Hispania. In this new order we find at the beginning the *partes orationis*, generally congruent with the model of the *Ars minor* from the Roman grammarian. Following this section were the equivalent parts to the aforementioned books from the *Ars maior*, but in the order 1, 3, 2. This results in a circular structure in which the word categories, as main elements, open and close the grammatical teachings, first at a basic level and lastly with a more specialized approach. An organizational variant of this model, also typical of Visigothic schools, is the one that Isidore employs. It consists in avoiding duplication in two different places the teachings about the *partes orationis* and in compiling this entire chapter at the beginning. As a result, we obtain the following sequence: 2, 1, 3. The content of the *Ars minor* can then be subsumed in the part corresponding to book 2 of the *Ars maior,* or, as in the *Etymologiae*, can be completely eliminated.[6]

Isidore still introduces some other variants in this last structure and omits a short chapter, *De voce*, which is the heading of the *Ars maior*. Servius and Pompeius, commentators on Donatus's works who were well known within Visigothic-era schools, had already eliminated that chapter, and so it disappeared from the Visigothic grammatical tradition. In a context in which grammar is almost exclusively focused on the good command of the written language, the short reference to an aspect related to oral language becomes unnecessary. Isidore introduces another variant: placing the chapter on letters at the beginning of his manual on grammar,[7] even before the definition of the term *grammatica*. His reasons for this modification are as follows: the teaching of letters and numbers corresponds to the named *ludorum magister* and thus constitutes the first academic stage, prior to that of the *grammaticus*.

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[6] See Louis Holtz, "Le *De grammatica* des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville, structure générale et traitement des sources," in *IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico*, eds. Aires A. Nascimento and Paulo F. Alberto (Lisbon: 2006), 55–68, and José Carracedo Fraga, "De gramáticas y gramáticos en la Hispania visigótica," in *Wisigothica. After M.C. Díaz y Díaz*, eds. Carmen Codoñer and Paulo Farmhouse Alberto (Florence: 2014), 69–71.

[7] There are actually two chapters (1.3–4) dedicated respectively to *litterae communes* (the term is defined and it pertains to the first alphabets) and specifically to Latin letters. At the beginning of the corresponding part of book 1 of the *Ars maior* some codices of the *Etymologiae* include a very brief paragraph entitled *De litteris apud grammaticos* and in which the aforementioned definition of the term is repeated (1.3.3); that brief chapter (1.15) seems to have been added later to re-establish the order of the contents by Donatus.

Moreover, Isidore completes the basic grammatical program as defined by Donatus's manuals and includes several other complements which he considers important within the sphere of grammar. At the end of the section corresponding to book 1 of the *Ars maior* he adds two supplements: some brief chapters (1.21–26) about graphic signs, and a thorough chapter on orthography (1.27). The first ones are a complement to the chapter on punctuation, useful and practical for scribes and readers. The second one meets the need to clearly stipulate the orthographical norms of a written language which was becoming more dissimilar to spoken language. This need had led to the creation of monographic manuals on orthography since the 2nd century A.D., including that of Cassiodorus, a model for Isidore.[8]

The chapter on orthography lends itself to the introduction of other important additions to the text before addressing the contents of book 3 of the *Ars maior*, before the discussion of the mistakes that should be avoided in proper language and the adornments that can render such language more eloquent and effective. The review of letters and graphical problems allows the Sevillian bishop to call attention to one of his main concerns: vocabulary. A great portion of the elements cited in this chapter on orthography has to do with words which are phonetically similar and can only be distinguished if they are learned and written with the correct spelling. Isidore then introduces four "grammatical categories" taught since antiquity at the school of the *grammaticus* and which he clearly associates with vocabulary: *analogia* (1.28), *etymologia* (1.29), *glossa* (1.30), *differentia* (1.31). The main purpose of these complementary categories is the *varietas* ("variety") and the *proprietas* ("propriety") in the acquisition and command of lexis; in other words, the knowledge and usage of a vast and varied vocabulary, taking into consideration each word and its specific meaning. Having the ability to be able to select the words and arrange them with precision to express thoughts would allow the utterer to communicate with the accuracy and elegance that the grammarian aims to teach.[9]

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[8] Cassiodorus prioritized orthography in his grammatical teachings (*Institutiones* 2.1.2) and also wrote his own manual *De orthographia*, which was one of the direct models for Isidore and his main source for the chapter on orthography: at least 25 passages refer back to Cassiodorus's manual; see Patricia Stoppacci, *Casiodoro. De orthographia* (Florence: 2010), CLXXVII–CLXXX. Isidore had a great repertoire of manuals on orthography, which he also utilized for that specific chapter and for a number of his writings, especially for the *Differentiae*: Scaurus, (Ps.-)Caper, Agroetius, Velius Longus.

[9] The analysis of these four categories, which became the model, is taken from Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 38–48. If we leave aside analogy, a grammatical category considered more general and complementary to the other ones, it seems as if Isidore presents the other three grammatical categories in the order of greater to lesser importance and complexity, and in reverse sequence, as we will see, to the chronological order

The *analogia* ("analogy") is a systematization principle in ancient grammar based on the similarity between elements, in the knowledge of an element from its similarities to another known element. Isidore mainly associates analogy with the precise identification of vocabulary. The *etymologia* ("etymology") allows us to know the exact meaning of a word on the basis of its origin and its natural association with what the word denotes. The *glossa* ("gloss") refers to the explanation of a word through another having the same or an analogous meaning; it is therefore directly linked to analogy and synonymy. The *differentia* ("difference") is the specific element distinguishing a word from another very similar in meaning and form. Isidore uses these four grammatical categories as a methodological basis for research and literary creation. Not only do they appear with great frequency in Isidore's writings, but they also serve as a specific outline providing the title to some of his works, as we have stated with regards to the *Etymologiae* and we will analyse in more detail later in the case of the *Differentiae* and the *Synonyma*.[10]

To close this first book dedicated to the study of grammar in the *Etymologiae*, Isidore adds other chapters that differ from the structure of Donatus's technical manuals: *De prosa* (1.38), *De metris* (1.39), *De fabula* (1.40), *De historia* (1.41–44). His aim is to complete the grammatical curriculum with a brief introduction to the literary genres, first establishing a difference between poetry and prose and then between the genres of fiction and history. These chapters probably constitute a way to introduce, in a theoretical manual, a practical task and a very important component of the grammarian's teachings: the *enarratio auctorum*, or the analysis of those texts deemed exemplary due to their good use of language.[11]

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of the composition of the works to which they lend their names (of course, that is if we understand *glossa* as a form of synonymy).

[10] What Jacques Fontaine calls "the Isidorian grammatical *triptyche*" is found in *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 36–55, and in *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 167–82. For a more detailed analysis of the *etymologia* (also in relation to other three categories) and the work to which it lends its name, refer to the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in this volume.

[11] Isidore pays special attention to the chapter on metre, especially as a complement to the preceding chapter on metrical feet (1.17), in order to provide a comprehensive treatment of the elements of prosody and metrics, which were objects of great interest in Visigothic schools; see José Carracedo Fraga, "Poesía y poetas en la escuela visigótica," in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV). Actas del IV Congreso del Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee*, eds. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and José M. Díaz de Bustamante (Florence: 2005), 93–107; Carracedo Fraga, "De gramáticas y gramáticos," 76–77 and 83–85; Paulo F. Alberto, "Poesía visigótica y escuela carolingia," in *Latinidad medieval hispánica*, ed. Juan F. Mesa Sanz (Florence: 2017), 27–53.

We are not aware of a specific model that could have served as a reference in Isidore's complete grammatical curriculum presented in his *Etymologiae*. It is evident that Isidore inherited a grammatical tradition that had transformed Donatus's manuals into basic models, but he had also seen the need to complement the outline with other content deemed important for grammatical training. As we have seen, Cassiodorus is an example of this *Donatus auctus,* since he includes orthography and etymology among the fundamental elements of grammar. At the beginning of an *Ars grammatica*, copied under the name of Sergius in the codex Lat. 2 (s. VII/VIII) at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, one can read this most complete presentation similar to the program that Isidore proposes (fol. 55r-v):[12] "Grammar is the teaching of a correct language. It includes the following contents: letters, syllables, accents, feet, the eight parts of speech, anomalies, defects, figures, clauses, metres, etymology, orthography, explanation of historians and poets." It is evident that Isidore is also introducing his personal experience, his syllabus as a student and a teacher at the school in Seville.

An important aspect to consider is the process of Christianization at the school of the grammarian. It had been taking place since late antiquity within the Christian West, especially in the north of Africa, and it enjoyed great growth in Visigothic Hispania.[13] The grammatical teachings are mainly aimed at the service of Christianity. The clergy must possess a well-rounded education in order to properly understand and interpret Scripture as well as effectively carry out their pastoral duties. Isidore, therefore, understands and promotes the combination between secular and Christian culture as two necessary complementary elements. Perhaps what is most noteworthy is Isidore's pursuit of equilibrium among the two, which entails respect and an explicit awareness of all the good that a classical tradition can bestow. One can clearly observe this, for instance, in the chapters devoted to the *vitia et virtutes orationis* in the first book of the *Etymologiae* (32–37). We know that Isidore had at his disposal a specific Christianized treatise which included, for each element covered, numerous examples from both classical and Christian authors and from the Bible.[14] However, in his brief presentation Isidore offers, almost always (only on four occasions does he include a citation from the Bible), an example from a classical work, preferably the one included by Donatus himself.

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[12] "Ars grammatica institutio sermonis periti. Haec his rebus continetur: litteris, syllabis, accentibus, pedibus, VIII partibus orationis, anomalis, vitiis, figuris, clausulis, metris, etymologia, orthographia, expositione historicorum et poetarum." The text is transcribed in the *Grammatici Latini*, 7, 537–38. See Luigi Munzi, "Spigolature grammaticali in una silloge scolastica carolingia," *Bollettino dei Classici* 14 (1993), 110–15, and Holtz, "Le *De grammatica*," 67–68. Remember also that in the fifth book of the *Ars grammatica* by Charisius there is a chapter on *De differentiis*, another on *Glossulae multifariae idem significantes*, and another on *Synonyma* (ed. Karl Barwick [Leipzig: 1925], 386–403, 408–12, and 412–49, respectively), although Charisius's authorship is not certain.

[13] See José Carracedo Fraga, "La cristianización de la gramática latina en la Hispania visigótica," *Compostellanum* 40 (2000), 389–410; José Carracedo Fraga, "Cristianización del capítulo *de vitiis et virtutibus orationis* en las gramáticas visigóticas," *Revista de Poética Medieval* 17 (2006), 23–47.

3 The *Differentiae*

Three treatises on *differentiae* were attributed to Isidore and under his name circulated in medieval codices. These are known as, respectively, *Inter caelum/Inter aptum*, *Inter Deum*, and *Inter polliceri*.[15] If we agree, however, with Braulio of Zaragoza's statement in his *Renotatio librorum Domini Isidori* ("he published two books of *Differentiae*"), it is almost certain that Isidore was the author of only two of these treatises.[16] For this reason, it is highly likely that Isidore did not write the *Inter polliceri*, as it exhibits many differences in comparison with the other two works, and especially because of the fact that he does not use a single Patristic source.[17] The specific attribution in the majority of the pre-9th-century manuscripts transmitting the works and the citations of subsequent authors assure Isidore's authorship of the *Inter Deum*. The Isidorian authorship of the *Inter caelum* is also confirmed by older manuscript transmission as well as coincidences between the prologue and presentation of this work in the aforementioned *Renotatio*, written by Braulio.[18]

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[14] See Carracedo Fraga, "Cristianización del capítulo," 28–36.

[15] From now on I will use the term *Inter caelum* to refer to the first of the treatises, as *inter caelum et aethera* is the first theme in this treatise according to the original thematic order. A subsequent alphabetical version led to the change to first place of the *inter aptum et utile* and, given that this version was edited in the *Patrologia Latina*, 83, 9–70, *Inter aptum* became the usual way to allude to the brief treatise before its most recent edition. On the relationship between the three treatises see: María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Relación y transmisión manuscrita de los tres libros de *Differentiae* editados en PL 83 (Isidoro de Sevilla)," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 30 (2000), 239–62.

[16] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, José Carlos Martín, ed., *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 200: "Edidit enim libros Differentiarum duos."

[17] The editor of the *Inter polliceri* has already tried to clearly demonstrate that this treatise could not have been written by Isidore: Myra L. Uhlfelder, *De proprietate sermonum vel rerum* (Rome: 1954).

[18] On Isidore's authorship of the *Inter Deum* see the recent edition by María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum* [*II*], CCSL 111A (Turnhout: 2006), 13*–16*. On the authorship of the *Inter caelum* see Carmen Codoñer, "La conception

Braulio associates, under the same title, the two Isidorian texts by addressing their common characteristics. As a result, the first editors of Isidore's *Differentiae* presented the *Inter caelum* and the *Inter Deum* as books 1 and 2. This is precisely what we find, for instance, in Juan Grial's edition (Madrid: 1599) and in the more recent edition by Faustino Arévalo (Rome: 1802) that becomes *vulgata* thanks to its reprinting in the *Patrologia Latina*.[19] However, despite the common elements that might lead us to see the two texts as complementary, there are a number of elements which lead us to believe that Isidore conceived these two texts as separate entities. The prologue at the beginning of the *Inter caelum* serves exclusively as presentation of this text, as it does not reflect the character of the *Inter Deum*, nor does it refer in any way to this portion of the text. The contents, the structure of each chapter and the work as a whole, as well as the objectives, are different in each text. We also find that the manuscript transmission is not the same: from the more than 120 known handwritten copies of the *Inter Deum* and the 24 of the *Inter caelum*, only 13 transmit both texts, and not always next to each other.[20]

We do not know which treatise Isidore wrote first, if at any point he had the intention of considering both texts as parts of the same work, or if he produced some manuscript with both texts copied together. What we can agree on with certainty is that the two brief treatises came about during Isidore's first creative period and that their composition should be situated around the year 600.[21] The more grammatical and scholarly character of the *Inter caelum* (with greater attention given to the method of its composition) as opposed to the highly doctrinal and elaborate *Inter Deum*, and the inclusion of a specific

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de *Differentia* dans le recueil *Inter aptum* d'Isidore de Séville," *Revue de Philologie* 60 (1986), 187–90.

[19] The same occurs in the *editio princeps* by Marguerin de la Bigne (Paris: 1580) and in the editions by Jacques du Breul (Paris: 1601 and Cologne: 1617), although here the *Inter polliceri* substitutes for the *Inter caelum*.

[20] In this way, for instance, the most ancient codex that contains both texts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2994A (s. IX), transmits the first one in fols 73v–133v and the second in fols 141r–186v. In the common manuscript tradition, the first book is sometimes the *Inter caelum* and others the *Inter Deum*. See María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *De differentiis libri duo*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 2, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2005), 307–22.

[21] See José Carlos Martín, *La "Renotatio librorum domini Isidori" de Braulio de Zaragoza (†651)* (Logroño: 2002), 55–84, and Andrés Sanz, ed., *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum [II]*, 22*–26*.

prologue in the first one (in which both intention and method were explained) and not in the second,[22] lead us to speculate that the *Inter caelum* came first.

Just as Isidore himself defines it in the prologue to the *Inter caelum*[23] and in the corresponding chapter of the *Etymologiae* mentioned above (1.31), the *differentia* is the grammatical procedure seeking to explain with precision what distinguishes two words or expressions that are similar in meaning or form. It is therefore a lexicographical method which has as its objective the correction and the proper use of vocabulary, thus eliminating possible ambiguities and confusion between synonymous or homonymous terms. The usual outline contains the following elements: the introductory syntagma *inter X et Y* (sometimes another unit is added), sometimes a verbal structure that means "to differentiate" (*ita distinguitur*, *sic discernitur*, *hoc distare solet*, *hoc interest*, etc.), the definition tackling the specific characteristics of each term.[24]

We do not know of an earlier manual independently dedicated to the *differentia* which could have served Isidore as an immediate model. We know that, since antiquity, the *differentia* was included in manuals of rhetoric as a useful mechanism for the formulation of arguments. It was possible to see it appear sporadically in other works as a creative locus, also in grammatical texts. Examples can be found in grammars since the time of Varro (116–27 B.C.), although they abound especially from the 4th century A.D.[25] Isidore himself declares in the prologue of the *Inter caelum* that his main purpose was to compile the differences found among his readings, without denying personal authorship in some cases: "For the first time Cato wrote on *differentiae* among the Roman people; following his example I composed some *differentiae* and extracted other ones from *auctores'* works and compiled them to delight you, the reader."[26] Perhaps we should ascribe to Isidore a leading role both in considering the *differentia* an integral part of grammatical instruction and in having originality in elaborating specific autonomous manuals.

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[22] The lack of a specific prologue in the *Inter Deum* resulted in the incorporation of another prologue known as *Nonnulli norunt* in a branch of the textual tradition; this probably took place in the 12th century; see María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "El prólogo *Nonnulli norunt* en copias tardías del *Liber differentiarum* [*II*]," in *'Munus quaesitum meritis'. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer*, eds. Gregorio Hinojo Andrés and José Carlos Fernández Corte (Salamanca: 2006), 61–69.

[23] Isidore expressly points out that the value of each word comes mainly from its *origo*, in other words, through its "etymology"; by this method he establishes a relationship between the *differentia* and the *etymologia*. On the relationship between the two grammatical categories and the works they inspired in Isidore, see Carmen Codoñer, "*Differentia* y *etymologia*, dos modos de aproximación a la realidad," in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*, eds. Louis Holtz and Jean-Claude Fredouille, vol. 2 (Paris: 1992), 19–30.

[24] A detailed analysis of the formal outlines of the *Inter caelum* can be seen in Isabel Velázquez, *Latine dicitur, vulgo vocant. Aspectos de la lengua escrita y hablada en las obras gramaticales de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Logroño: 2003), 96–100 (119–25 for the *Inter Deum*), and Andrés Sanz, *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum* [*II*], 30*–41*.

[25] Among the vast bibliography on the history of the genre of the *differentia*, refer to Carmen Codoñer, "Les plus anciennes compilations de *Differentiae*: formation et évolution d'un genre littéraire grammatical," *Revue de Philologie* 59 (1985), 201–19; Adriana della Casa, "Le

The sources Isidore employed to compose his *Inter caelum* are mainly grammatical works written by some of the authors of late antiquity.[27] The most abundant coincidences (approximately a hundred or so entries) are with Servius's commentaries on the poems of Virgil. Some variations, noteworthy because of their similarities in many cases with the text from the so-called *Servius auctus*, suggest that Isidore also utilized Aelius Donatus's commentaries on Virgil, which have been lost (there are also several coincidences with the commentaries of Donatus on the comedies of Terence). A great number of entries (56 and 19, respectively) present literal or almost literal correlations with passages from the treatises *De orthographia* by Agroetius and (Ps.-)Caper. There are also many parallelisms (in some 20 entries) with the work *De compendiosa doctrina* written by the African grammarian Nonius Marcellus, especially with his fifth book dedicated precisely to *De differentiis similium significationum*, but the discrepancies in some citations and parts of the definition allow us to speculate that there was a common model rather than direct use of Nonius's work. Nor can we establish with certainty a direct use of Charisius's grammatical treatise because of the coincidences in 20 or so entries.[28] It is more certain

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Differentiae verborum e i loro autori," *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 13 (1992), 47–62; Ana Isabel Magallón García, *La tradición gramatical de "differentia" y "etymologia" hasta Isidoro de Sevilla* (Zaragoza: 1996).

[26] "De his apud Latinos Cato primus scripsit, ad cuius exemplum ipse paucissimas partim edidi, partim ex auctorum libris depromsi tibique, lector, pro delectatione notavi", Carmen Codoñer, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis. De differentiis I* (Paris: 1992), 84.

[27] On the sources of the *Inter caelum*, see the specific chapter in Codoñer, *Isidorus Hispalensis. De differentiis I*, 27–42; there is also more information in the explanatory notes on each entry, 302–412. Some specific examples are offered by Magallón García, *La tradición gramatical*, 239–44, and Jacques Elfassi, "Quelques sources non repérées du premier livre des *Différences* et des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville, ou comment deux œuvres s'éclairent mutuellement," *Voces* 22 (2011), 25–38.

[28] Within a vast production of grammatical texts, it is often difficult to establish concrete dependencies and intermediaries; it is these which probably have produced the coincidences and parallelisms we find here with other grammatical authors, such as Varro, Quintilianus, Aulus Gellius, Probus, Marius Victorinus, and Placidus.

that the writings of Christian authors were utilized, given that Isidore states that it is necessary to draw from both Pagan and Christian authors, even in a work that is eminently grammatical. These authors are mainly Jerome (15 parallelisms) and Augustine (around 40 parallelisms).[29] It is worth noting that Isidore transcribes Jerome word for word, whereas he very seldom copies directly from the work of Augustine; he elaborates and adapts the text of the bishop of Hippo, as if indicating a greater familiarity with and assimilation of the works. The Bible also influences the work necessarily, and its use becomes more evident and direct in 11 entries.

Another important aspect is the direct citations used as explanatory examples. Almost all these citations are taken from classical authors: Afranius (4 citations), Ennius (1), Horace (1), Juvenal (1), Livy (1), Lucilius (1), Pacuvius (2), Plautus (3), Sallustius (4), Terence (3), and, above all, Cicero (12) and Virgil (18). Only 3 citations are taken from these Christian authors: Augustine, Jerome, and Tertullian. It is almost certain that the classical citations derive from intermediary sources, whereas the Christian ones were taken directly by Isidore himself. It is evident that even here Isidore wished to complement classical and Christian conventions, but his respect for the classical tradition is especially manifest in his grammatical work.

In the aforementioned edition by Arévalo (Rome: 1802) the *Inter caelum* featured 610 entries in alphabetical order from the *Inter aptum et utile*. The most recent editor of the text has demonstrated[30] that there were only 482 entries originally and that these were organized in thematic groups in which the criterion for the type of word (nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections) or the criterion for formative elements of words (prefixes or suffixes) is taken into account. It is natural that a work with such a practical and open character be subjected, from the very beginning, to new additions of entries as well as to the process of alphabetization.

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[29] The works by Augustine which were probably utilized are: *De animae quantitate*, *De civitate Dei*, *De doctrina christiana*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De musica*, *De ordine*, *De Trinitate*, *De vera religione*, *Epistulae*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Sermones*, *Soliloquia*. The works by Jerome are: *Epistulae*, *In Danielem*, *In epistulam ad Ephesios*, *In epistulam ad Galatas*, *In epistulam ad Titum*, *In Matthaeum*. There are also some coincidences with the works by Hilarius, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great.

[30] Carmen Codoñer, "Historia del texto del libro I de las *Differentiae* de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14 (1984), 77–79. A classification of the entries by semantic values can be seen in Magallón García, *La tradición gramatical*, 247–60; Velázquez, *Latine dicitur*, 69–95, offers an analysis of the different procedures Isidore utilized to establish the differences and organize the different entries.

The *Inter Deum*, often known as book 2 of *De differentiis*, is briefer than the previous text, and the most recent edition is organized into only 41 chapters. These chapters are not structured as homogenously as the entries of the *Inter caelum* because, as we have mentioned, the content and objectives are clearly different. In the *Inter Deum* Isidore also utilizes the composite procedure of the genre of *differentia*, formerly explained, to introduce and structure the contents. However, now the main interest is not exclusively grammatical, nor is it the metalinguistic reflection on similar terms that must be clearly distinguished; the main interest is inherent in the referential content, in the detailed explanation of the referents behind the terms serving as an introduction to each theme. Beneath a formal frame, typical of grammatical differences, there is an anthropological and theological reflection on God and the Trinity, on the creation of the world and the creatures that inhabit it, and on humans in all their different aspects. The differences between the two treatises are reflected in the names attributed to them by the tradition: the title *De differentiis verborum* ("On the differences between words") was already given to the *Inter caelum* in a number of the medieval manuscripts; the *Inter Deum* has received names related to its doctrinal content, such as *Differentiae de divinitate* ("Differences on the divinity"), *Differentiae spiritales* ("Spiritual differences"), *Differentiae theologicae* ("Theological differences"), or the more widespread title in modern times for having been utilized in the aforementioned edition by Arévalo (Rome: 1802), *Differentiae rerum* ("Differences of things").

The sources of the *Inter Deum* are almost exclusively Patristic.[31] Augustine continues to be the most cited author in the work. The *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great also leaves an important imprint. Other authors serve as support for the composition of some chapters: Lactancius, Gregory of Elvira, Gaudentius, Jerome, Cassian, and Fulgentius.[32] Of course, the Scriptures are more evident here: there are 44 citations or direct allusions referring back to 20 different books from the biblical text. Nevertheless, there are also sporadic uses of classical texts (probably also through intermediaries) by Ennius (1 citation) and Cicero (3). In this more theological treatise Isidore wishes to record his scholarly character and continue to play with the combination between what is Christian and what is pagan.

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[31] See the corresponding chapter in Andrés Sanz, *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum* [*II*], 53*–64*.

[32] Besides the *Moralia*, the texts that most influenced the *Inter Deum* are: *De civitate Dei*, *Confessiones*, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De ordine*, and *De Trinitate* by Augustine; *Divinae institutiones* and *De opificio Dei* by Lactantius; *De fide* by Gregory of Elvira; *Tractatus* by Gaudentius; *Contra Iohannem*, *In epistulam ad Ephesios*, and *In epistulam ad Galatas* of Jerome; *Conlationes* by Cassian; and *De veritate praedistinationis*, *Epistulae*, and *De Trinitate* by Fulgentius.

The *Inter Deum* was also subject to manipulation after Isidore. Still on Iberian soil and early on, some brief complementary phrases were added and words were changed; yet the linguistic characteristics suggest that Isidore was not responsible. Some copies of this revised text were found in the south of Gallia and in Northern Italy, and in the latter it was subjected to further, more significant, modifications: the alterations of some paragraphs, the elimination of others, and, above all, the addition of some new ones inspired by other works by Isidore, such as the *Sententiae* or the *Etymologiae*, or taken from the same sources that Isidore himself utilized.[33] The branch of transmission within which these major alterations were done, whose common antecedent is denoted by the editor as ψ, is the one transmitting both treatises on *De differentiis* by Isidore together, and is also responsible for some of the most important modifications in the *Inter caelum*.

The more theological, doctrinal, and even more encyclopaedic character of the *Inter Deum* fostered a greater dissemination of this work. As we have already mentioned, we know more than 120 manuscripts maintaining this brief treatise, of which 40 were written before the 11th century. Of the *Inter caelum*, however, we know of 24 codices, and only 5 of these codices were compiled before the 11th century. This last treatise circulated as a scholarly work of reference mainly associated with—besides other Isidorian writings—grammatical texts, primarily dealing with lexicon; it attracted special attention in Renaissance Italy, where scholars were very interested in the genre of the *Differentiae*. The testimonies of the *Inter caelum* that remain allow us to define two main textual families:[34] one (known as φ) is situated in Gaul and organized by themes; another (referred to as χ) transmits the version in alphabetical order with a greater number of additions and derives from Italy or the south of France. This last family coincides in part, as I have already mentioned, with the branch ψ of the tradition of the *Inter Deum*.

We can establish four other main branches for the *Inter Deum* (γ, ζ, λ, ρ), which transmit a text without the more extensive additions typical of the family ψ. Branch γ must be situated in central and northern France; branch ρ originates in some location in Switzerland connected to the British Isles; family λ is composed of offshoots disseminated throughout all Europe, but located above all in Switzerland and around Lyon; family ζ is clearly related to Irish and Anglo-Saxon centres, both in the British Isles and on the continent.[35] The citations of the work testify to an important circulation within Visigothic and Mozarabic Hispania; we find quotations in the *Apologeticum fidei* (*c.*686) by Julian of Toledo. Citations from it are also found in the *acta* of the Fifteenth Council of Toledo (a. 688), the *Epistula episcoporum Hispaniae* (*c.*792) by Elipandus of Toledo, the *Epistulae* (5.9.4) by Albarus of Cordoba (*c.*800-*c.*863), and the text also known as *Apologeticum fidei* (*c.*880) by Samson of Cordoba. In all these texts the *Inter Deum* is employed as a dogmatic authority. This interest was, indubitably, a priority throughout the whole history of its dissemination, but all the more so during the late Middle Ages.[36] For this reason the *Inter Deum* circulated with doctrinal and exegetical texts, mainly of Trinitarian content. However, its hybrid character is also evident during the most ancient phase of its reception, and for this reason, in the codices dating before the 12th century the treatise appears connected with relative regularity with other grammatical and lexicographical texts.

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[33] See Andrés Sanz, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *De differentiis libri duo*," 313–18; Andrés Sanz, *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum* [*II*], 258*–272*.

[34] See Codoñer, "Historia del texto," 91–93; Codoñer, *Isidorus Hispalensis. De differentiis I*, 77–79, and Andrés Sanz, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *De differentiis libri duo*," 310–12.

4 The *Synonyma*

Isidore utilizes yet another grammatical procedure and presentation to create his *Synonyma*, as the author himself declares in the introduction of the work (1.3):[37] "Recently a booklet called *Synonyma* came to my hands; its form persuaded my mind to compose a lament for myself or for wretched people." It is evident that Isidore has within his reach and uses as a source of inspiration some text in which there were lists of synonymic phrases. These types of texts were used and prepared in the grammar and rhetorical schools of late antiquity in order to train students in *copia* and *varietas verborum*, in other words, in the richness and elegance of the vocabulary necessary for an appropriate and elegant use of language. Catalogues compiling simple lists of synonyms (as in the style of the *Synonyma Ciceronis*), or more complete treatises in which synonymy is presented in more complex syntactical structures (phrases or sentences) were useful resources both in grammar and rhetorical schools and enjoyed great popularity and dissemination during late antiquity and early Middle Ages.[38] Isidore's main model is, without a doubt, some brief treatise of this second sort, but we do not know which one it could have been. We have the *Glossulae multifariae idem significantes*, which are included in the fifth book of the *Ars grammatica* by Charisius, and we know, through the *Collectaneum miscellaneum* by Sedulius Scottus, that there exists a catalogue entitled *Glossa consentanea*. Both texts present similarities with Isidore's work, but perhaps we should rather think about similar outlines whose common antecedents or relationships cannot be defined precisely at this time.[39]

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[35] It is also probable that there was an early dissemination of the *Inter caelum* throughout the British Isles, which would explain its influence on some of the biblical commentaries of the school of Canterbury at the time of Theodore and Adrian (see Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* [Oxford: 2006], 177), or its use by the grammarian Malsachanus (see Bengt Löfstedt, *Der Hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus* [Uppsala: 1965], 50–51 and 250). See also Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages. Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 112–30, and the chapter by Martin J. Ryan in this volume.

[36] See María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Vers une typologie de la réception tardo-médiévale de l'*Inter Deum* (CPL 1202)," *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* 16 (2008), 159–73; María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, "Transmisión y recepción altomedieval de las *Differentiae* isidorianas: nuevos apuntes. El *De praedestinatione* de Ratramno de Corbie," in Mesa Sanz, *Latinidad medieval hispánica*, 85–94. See also the chapters by Mark Tizzoni, Sinéad O'Sullivan, and Winston Black in this volume.

[37] "Venit nuper ad manus meas quaedam scedula, quam Sinonimam dicunt, cuius formula persuasit animo quoddam lamentum mihi vel miseris condere," Jacques Elfassi, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, CCSL 111B (Turnhout: 2009), 5.

Furthermore, Isidore follows a model of grammatical and rhetorical exercises which through syntactical structures of similar meaning (playing with parallelisms or variations) facilitate the study of synonyms and antonyms, the different word classes, types of verb complements and structures, and types of sentences.[40] Nevertheless, behind this grammatical form we also find the main objective, which is to create a single spiritual and moral treatise. The work is organized in two books that differ both in content and tone. In the first one, more lyrical, man as sinner laments his suffering, and reason invites him to sincerely examine his conscience and repent of his faults. In the second book, more normative, reason offers the necessary guidelines for that man who has repented and is willing to live a virtuous life. Isidore already refers to this content in the aforementioned prologue to the work,[41] and copyists of manuscripts highlight it by adding explanatory subtitles, such as *De virtutibus, vitiis et moribus* ("On virtues, vices, and good conduct"), *Formula honestae vitae* ("Rules for a noble life"), *De miseria humanae conditionis* ("On the misery of the human condition"), *De contemptu mundi* ("On contempt for the world"), *De lamentatione animae peccatricis* ("On the lamentations of the sinner's soul"), etc.[42]

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[38] Isidore associates synonymy with the school for grammarians, when in book 1 of the *Etymologiae* he addresses the *nomina synonyma* (1.7.14) or, as it has been said, he includes among the grammatical categories the *glossa* (1.30), understood as a play on synonyms. Yet he also recognizes the importance and continuity of synonymy in the rhetor's school, as he explains it as part of rhetorical figures (*Etymologiae* 2.21.6).

[39] See Jacques Elfassi, "Genèse et originalité du style synonymique dans les *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville," *Revue des Études Latines* 83 (2005), 226–33.

[40] An analysis of the formal procedures is found in Velázquez, *Latine dicitur*, 129–34.

[41] I am referring to the original prologue by Isidore (1.3–4, Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*). Another prologue (1.1–2, Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*),

These complements to the title do not appear, however, in the oldest manuscript tradition and cannot be attributed to Isidore. The only two titles documented in the oldest codices are *Synonyma* and *Liber soliloquiorum*. The first, which is the one we use to refer to the work nowadays, was offered by the family of textual transmission Λ. It is without question the original title, as Isidore himself utilizes it in his correspondence with Braulio of Zaragoza (*Epistula* B). Braulio also uses it in his *Renotatio*, and it also appears in the *De viris illustribus* by Ildefonsus of Toledo. The second title is offered by family Φ, and it is justified because the text is constructed as a personal reflection of a man sustaining an internal dialogue with reason, and it is probable that it can also be attributed to Isidore.[43]

The Patristic sources are, indeed, the most widely used in the *Synonyma*, and the reference authors are the same ones we have already seen with the two books of the *Differentiae*. The *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great is the most utilized work. Many loan words are taken, above all in the second book, from Ambrose of Milan's *De officiis*. We have evidence of the use of other authors in specific chapters: Cyprian (*Ad Donatum*, *De bono patientiae*, *De lapsis*, *De zelo et livore*, *Epistulae*), Lactantius (*Divinae institutiones*), Cassian (*Collationes*), Arnobius the Younger (*Ad Gregoriam*), Cassiodorus (*Expositio Psalmorum*), and Leander of Seville (*De institutione virginum*). Jerome and Augustine are present

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which was clearly not written by Isidore, was added during the 8th century (it was probably written outside the Iberian Peninsula and is exclusively associated with manuscript family Φ); its author wanted to highlight Isidore's authorship and offer a complete summary of the moral and ascetic content of the two books.

[42] The last subtitle appears in the codex El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, f.IV.8 (s. XV), which was utilized, among other manuscripts, by Juan de Mariana in the edition of Juan Grial (Madrid: 1599). This subtitle was subsequently employed by Faustino Arévalo in his edition (Rome: 1802); this edition became the referent in modern times thanks to its reprinting in the PL (83, 825–68).

[43] Isidore includes soliloquy besides synonymy in the rhetorical devices, as the translation of the Greek term *peusis* (*Etymologiae* 2.21.47). Although there is no evidence that Isidore had read and used the *Soliloquia* by Augustine with the same intensity as other works by the bishop of Hippo, and although the content and the style of the Augustinian treatise and those of Isidore are very different, the coincidence in the title and dialogic style between man and reason does not seem arbitrary. Jacobus de Gruytrode, in his incunable edition (Antwerp: 1487), wanted to highlight in the title the dialogical form of the text: *Dyalogus sive Synonima Ysidori de homine et ratione*.

throughout the entire text.[44] The Bible is cited frequently: in the first book the texts of Job and the prophet Jeremiah stand out, corresponding to the first part's lyricism and tone of lamentation; in the second book the wisdom texts predominate, coinciding with its normative and gnomic tone. In both books we find numerous citations of the Psalms, very appropriate, again, for a normative, lyrical, synonymic, and repetitive style.

We have already established that Isidore probably had available some manual of synonymic exercises similar to that known as the *Glossa consentanea*. To this source we probably owe all or almost all citations of classical authors that we find in the *Synonyma* conferring on the text its character of an academic treatise within the classical tradition. Naturally, the most employed work is the *Tusculanae Disputationes* by Cicero (14 citations). There are also citations from Cicero's *De oratore* and from the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, as well as from the *Breviarium* of Eutropius, the *Carmina* of Horace, the *Saturae* of Juvenal, fragments of the poet Marcius, the *Epigrammata* of Martial, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the *Bacchides* and the *Captivi* of Plautus, the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian, the *Adelphoe*, the *Andria* and the *Phormio* of Terence, and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

The two aforementioned families of textual transmission correspond with two different stages of composition. Besides the different titles, numerous and very significant textual variants allow us to appreciate clearly that we are dealing with deliberate and independent corrections in several parts of the text. The harmony among the style and sources of specific passages of each composition indicates that both versions belong to the same author, Isidore. The hypothesis brought forward by the treatise's editor to explain this singularity is very coherent and convincing:[45] between the years 619 and 631 Isidore sent

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[44] Other works by Gregory the Great are: *Homiliae in Ezechielem* and *Regula pastoralis*. From Ambrose there are also: *De Cain et Abel*, *De Iacob et vita beata*, *De Nabuthae*, and *Hexameron*. There are several works by Jerome: *Contra Iohannem*, *Epistulae*, *In Amos*, *In epistulam ad Galatas*, *In Ezechielem*, *In Ionam*, *In Matthaeum*, and mainly *In Ecclesiasten*. The works by Augustine are numerous: *Confessiones*, *Contra mendacium*, *Contra Priscillanistas et Origenistas*, *De baptismo*, *De continentia*, *De excidio urbis Romae*, *De moribus*, *De quantitate animae*, *De sermone Domini in monte*, *De Trinitate*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Enchiridion*, *Epistulae*, and *Sermones*. A brief presentation of the sources is found in Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, XVI–XXII.

[45] See Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, LVIII–LXV and CVIII–CXIII. The hypothesis had already been presented by Jacques Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Synonyma*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 1, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2004), 218–26, and also in "Les deux recensions des *Synonyma*," in *L'édition critique des œuvres d'Isidore de Séville. Les recensions multiples*, eds. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, Jacques Elfassi, and José Carlos Martín (Paris: 2008), 153–84. On another possible interpretation see Jacques Elfassi, "Une

Braulio, at this point archdeacon in Zaragoza, a copy of the *Synonyma*, whose first draft had been in preparation since 610.[46] The copy that Braulio received or another related copy led to the origin of the family Λ, whose earliest dissemination is documented in the British Isles and in centres on the continent related to the Insular mission.[47] Isidore reproduced, based on the first rough copy (perhaps because he was left without a copy of the text he sent to Zaragoza), a second version, which is preserved in family Φ, disseminated in earlier times mainly within France.

The novel combination of a useful and ascetic spiritual guide with a didactic grammatical form later termed *stilus Isidorianus* ("Isidorian style") transformed the *Synonyma* into a highly successful work throughout the Middle Ages. There are more than 500 complete manuscripts and more than 80 codices with important extracts from the work dating before the year 1400; some 40 of these copies date to the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. Let us add to this list the existence of translations into old English and old French, each one preserved in two medieval codices, and above all, some centos based on the *Synonyma* that were produced between the 10th and 14th centuries and which were disseminated independently, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries. Among these centos it is worth mentioning: the *Collectum* preserved in at least 145 manuscripts, the *De norma vivendi* preserved in at least 84 manuscripts, the *Monita* preserved in at least 40 codices, and the *Tractatus deflentis hominis et ammonentis rationis* preserved in at least 38 codices.[48]

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nouvelle hypothèse sur les deux recensions des *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville: quelques remarques critiques," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 69 (2011), 197–201.

[46] I use the dates proposed by José Antonio de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana. Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII centenario de su muerte* (Rome: 1936), 66–67. In any case, it is not possible to determine with precision the date at which the *Synonyma* was written, as the only precise piece of information we do have tells us it was created after the year 595, the date at which the *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great arrived in Seville. On the date of the work and the arguments that can be employed see Martín, *Scripta de uita Isidori*, 231–33, and Elfassi, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, XI–XVI.

[47] On the dissemination of the *Synonyma* in the British Isles we cannot leave out the work by Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's Synonyma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: 2008), which at 16–36 includes a brief presentation on the structure, the style, and the sources of this treatise. See also Claudia Di Sciacca, "Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England. The *Synonyma* as a Source of Felix's *Vita S. Gutlaci*," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages. Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 131–57, and the chapter by Martin J. Ryan in this volume.

[48] On the subsequent popularity of the *Synonyma*, see, besides the works by Di Sciacca previously cited, some of the writings by Jacques Elfassi: "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Synonyma*,"

Although later authors who imitated the *Synonyma* prove that this work served as a model of grammatical teaching and, above all, exercises in style, and for this reason was utilized in grammar schools throughout medieval Europe,[49] its manuscript transmission and reception suggest that the work was seen mainly as a moral and ascetic text in the Middle Ages, as Isidore had probably designed it.[50] The great majority of manuscripts transmitting the work include it with other texts of theological and doctrinal content, especially ascetic, moral, and dogmatic treatises. It is also significant that in codices incorporating other elements of the Isidorian *corpus,* the *Synonyma* are generally associated with the *Sententiae* and the *Inter Deum* (the second book of the *Differentiae*). Very seldom do the *Synonyma* accompany any other grammatical text. The most representative example is the third part of a codex in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 310 (s. IX$^{\text{in}}$): beside the *Synonyma* we find the glossary *Abavus*, the *Inter polliceri*, the *Inter Deum*, and the dictionary or lexical catalogue which is book 10 of the *Etymologiae*.

5 Conclusion

Isidore wished to present a complete education in all branches of learning to his intended audience, as is shown by his wide and varied writings, above all the *Etymologiae*. Grammar formed the indispensable foundation of this education, as a sound understanding of language was the only path, as he saw it, to any further area of study. Above all, therefore, Isidore wrote as a *grammaticus* and, as we have seen, presents in the first book of the *Etymologiae* a detailed resumé of necessary grammatical learning. This programme is linked to the

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224–25; “Trois aspects inattendus de la postérité des *Synonyma* d’Isidore de Séville: les prières, les textes hagiographiques et les collections canoniques,” *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* n.s. 1 (2006), 109–52; “Los centones de los *Synonyma* de Isidoro de Sevilla,” in *Actas do IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico*, eds. Aires A. Nascimento and Paulo F. Alberto (Lisbon: 2006), 393–401; “La réception des *Synonyma* d’Isidore de Séville aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: les raisons d’un succès exceptionnel,” *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* 16 (2008), 107–18; “Les *Synonyma* d’Isidore de Séville dans le Moyen Âge hispanique,” in Codoñer and Farmhouse Alberto, *Wisigothica*, 405–19.

[49] A good example is found in the *Colloquia* by the Anglo-Saxon scholar Ælfric Bata (*c.*1000); see Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 164–75.

[50] It is true that in the prologue Isidore insists mainly on this moral and ascetic content, but it is also true that he wished to utilize a title for his work that could highlight its grammatical structure. A classic work on this aspect is the one by Jacques Fontaine, “Isidore de Séville auteur ‘ascetique’: les énigmes des *Synonyma*,” *Studi Medievali* 6 (1965), 163–95. This work is complemented by Jacques Elfassi, “Les *Synonyma* d’Isidore de Séville: un manuel de grammaire ou de morale? La réception médiévale de l’œuvre,” *Revue d’Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 52 (2006), 167–98.

tradition associated with Aelius Donatus, which had become the principal model for schools in late antiquity and the high Middle Ages. To it were added other elements which were of especial concern to schools in Visigothic Iberia: orthography, metre, and, above all, the acquisition of a large vocabulary. This particular focus on commanding a knowledge of a wide variety of words and their precise meanings is what led Isidore to pay special attention to lexical differences, synonyms, and etymology, and writing specific works focussed on these topics. As a result, his *Differentiae*, *Synonyma*, and *Etymologiae*, while having dogmatic, technical, or academic content, are also *thesauri* of vocabulary, guides to writing, and therefore works of grammar. It is thanks to these works that Isidore came to be regarded as the master of grammar in the centuries following his death and that his works frequently circulated in medieval codices as parts of compilations dealing with grammar.

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CHAPTER 9

Isidore of Seville and the *Etymologies*

Jacques Elfassi

1 Introduction

The *Etymologies* are considered Isidore's masterwork: his longest work, the one that, as far as we know, most occupied the bishop until his death; the one that, along with the *Sententiae* and the *Synonyma*, was the most appreciated in the Middle Ages; the one that has been the most studied in our time; the one responsible for Isidore's recent designation as Patron Saint of the Internet. And yet, much about the *Etymologies* remains unknown, although, as we shall see, great strides have been made in the past few years. Furthermore, recent research has also invited new questions. For example, we are no longer sure today that Isidore divided his encyclopedia into twenty books, nor even that some of these books were part of the project as conceived by its author. While covering the basic facts, it seemed to me important to touch on these new hypotheses and even to suggest a few paths for new research. This chapter is intended less as a declaration of the current "state of the question" than as a declaration of research in progress.

2 The Genesis of the Work

The surviving documents shedding light on the genesis of the *Etymologies* fall into two groups: the first consists of the oldest manuscripts; the second includes Isidore's correspondence and Braulio of Zaragoza's *Renotatio*.[1] Because these sources are often very difficult to interpret, they have given rise to many more hypotheses than certainties. The major facts conveyed by the oldest manuscripts are as follows:[2] first of all, certain witnesses contain a dedication

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[1] See Carmen Codoñer's brief but very clear presentation, "Problemas de transmisión en la primera parte de las *Etimologías*: algunas reflexiones," in *L'édition critique des œuvres d'Isidore de Séville. Les recensions multiples. Actes du colloque organisé à la Casa de Velázquez et à l'Université Rey Juan Carlos de Madrid (14–15 janvier 2002)*, eds. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, Jacques Elfassi, and José Carlos Martín (Paris: 2008), 195–98.

[2] Not only is the account below a mere sketch, but the reader should recall that extant manuscripts all bear some signs of contamination. For a discussion in greater depth, see the classic

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to King Sisebut (612–21); furthermore, in certain manuscripts, the first ten books (in the modern division into books) are divided into three books and there is a notable correlation between the copies that show signs of this division into three books and those dedicated to Sisebut. In all cases, in this first grouping of ten books, three (of the modern division into books) are problematic. Book 4 is missing from some manuscripts or appears in the second part of the *Etymologies*. Book 5 is sometimes in two parts (*De legibus* and *De temporibus*), and its final section (the chronicle in chapter 39) contains major variants. Some manuscripts contain only the second prologue of book 10. Although it involves going beyond the evidence of the manuscript tradition, it can also be noted that the contents of chapter 5.39 and of book 10 seem to confirm their heterogeneous character: chapter 5.39 is an abbreviated form of Isidore's *Chronicle*, and book 10 is a kind of dictionary which is the only part of the *Etymologies* to be classified alphabetically. Carmen Codoñer suggested that *Etym.* 5.39 might contain the marks of a smaller independent work later inserted into the *Etymologies.*[3] The same can be said for book 10.[4] Finally, we should mention that several rather long passages (for example, 1.34–37 and 2.21.3–48) are found in only a few manuscripts, which might indicate intentional reworkings (by Isidore or others).

Isidore's correspondence with Braulio of Zaragoza is a source of other kinds of information. In letter II, dated after 631,[5] Braulio asks Isidore for a copy of the *Etymologies*, which he has heard has been completed. In letter IV, sent to Isidore in 632–33, Braulio writes that there is already an incomplete version of the *Etymologies* circulating among many people, and he reminds Isidore that he had already asked him for a copy of the work seven years ago (that is to say, around 625–26). In letter V, from the same period, Isidore replies, sending a copy of his work and explaining that, due to ill health, he has not been able to correct any errors, and asking that his friend do so.

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article (still valid) by Marc Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville au haut Moyen Âge," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 78 (1966), 383–437; and the more recent review by Carmen Codoñer, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Etymologiae*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 2, eds.. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2005), 274–99.

[3] Carmen Codoñer, "El 'De descriptione temporum' de las 'Etymologiae' (5,39) dentro de la transmisión manuscrita de la 'Chronica,'" *Filologia mediolatina* 20 (2013), 217–54.

[4] See Carmen Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro X de las "Etymologiae": su lugar dentro de esta obra, su valor como diccionario* (Logroño: 2002), 46.

[5] For the numbering and dating of Braulio's letters to Isidore, I follow the conclusions of Ruth Miguel Franco, "Introducción," in *Braulionis Caesaraugustani Epistulae et Isidori Hispalensis Epistulae ad Braulionem*, ed. Ruth Miguel Franco (with the collaboration of José Carlos Martín), CCSL 114B (Turnhout: 2018), 9*–56*.

In his *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori*, Braulio explains that he has divided the *Etymologies* into books (*libri*), whereas Isidore had arranged them in "titles" (*tituli*). It is quite probable that the "titles" Braulio speaks of do not correspond to the present chapters, but it is not easy to know how these subdivisions were organized and whether such divisions may be reflected in the manuscripts.[6] However, the text of the *Renotatio* presents an even greater problem because it is unclear whether Braulio divided the encyclopedia into fifteen or twenty books. The oldest manuscripts of the *Renotatio* all speak of fifteen books, suggesting that the archetype of the manuscript tradition of the *Renotatio* had the number "fifteen." However, most experts believe that this fifteen should be corrected to twenty (that "xx" might turn into "xv" is easy to imagine), since the *Etymologies* are generally divided into twenty books.[7] Veronika von Büren has noted that the oldest manuscripts of the *Etymologies* in which the text is divided into twenty books (that is, where the division was not added later), are no earlier than the 9th century.[8] In other words, the division into twenty books is perhaps not as old as has often been thought. One problem that von Büren has not solved is that there is no known early copy in which the *Etymologies* are divided into fifteen books. She suggests that the fifteenth book's organization is present in those manuscripts that divide the first ten books into three parts and combine books 11 and 12 into one. Her view is that there were three books corresponding to the present books 1–3, 5–6, and 7–9; the present book 4 (*de medicina*), which was separate from these three units; the sections *De astronomia* of book 3 and *De temporibus* of book 5, which were each considered separate books; a book corresponding to the present books 11 and 12; and finally, eight books corresponding to each of books 13–20.[9]

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[6] The only scholar to have studied this question has changed her mind: Carmen Codoñer, "Los *tituli* en las *Etymologiae*. Aportaciones al estudio de la transmisión del texto," in *Actas. I Congreso Nacional de Latín Medieval* (*León, 1–4 Diciembre de 1993*), ed. Maurilio Pérez González (León: 1995), 29–46; and, more recently, her *Introducción al Libro X*, 20–25.

[7] This was the opinion of the scholar responsible for a critical edition of the *Renotatio*: José Carlos Martín, *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 167–68. However, Martín thinks now that "xv" is not only the reading of the archetype, but also, probably, of the author: see José Carlos Martín, *Escritos medievales en honor del obispo Isidoro de Sevilla*, Corpus Christianorum in Translation 29 (Turnhout: 2017), 85.

[8] Veronika von Büren, "La place du manuscrit Ambr. L 99 sup. dans la transmission des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville," in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno* (*Milano, 6–7 ottobre 2005*), eds. Mirella Ferrari and Marco Navoni (Milan: 2007), 35–36.

[9] Von Büren, "La place," 32–33. See also Veronika von Büren, "Les Étymologies de Paul Diacre? Le manuscrit Cava de' Tirreni, 2 (XXIII) et le *Liber Glossarum*," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 53 (2012), 1, n. 1.

Nevertheless, the case von Büren makes is not entirely convincing because the elements important in her view (uniting books 1–3, or separating the section *De astronomia* from book 3) are in fact attested in certain manuscripts, but there is no copy that includes all of these elements.

According to Marc Reydellet, "Braulio's division into twenty books is an incontrovertible truth."[10] On the other hand, von Büren believes that she has "demonstrated" the original division into fifteen books.[11] Given the current state of our knowledge, such peremptory affirmations should be avoided. The evidence of the oldest manuscripts of the *Renotatio* in favor of fifteen cannot be ignored, but neither can the ease with which "xv" can be mistaken for "xx," nor the fact that there is no extant manuscript of the *Etymologies* in fifteen books.

I have spent a lot of time on the problem of the division into fifteen or twenty books in order to show, by means of a specific example, how contradictory the documentation at our disposal can be, and how difficult it is to interpret. Reconstituting the phases of the construction of the *Etymologies* remains an extremely hypothetical undertaking. Let us nonetheless attempt a sketch of the history of the oldest text of the *Etymologies*.[12]

The earliest version is that dedicated to Sisebut, necessarily earlier than 621. We do not know what this "Sisebutian" version was like, but it may have included only the first nine books as we have them, divided into three parts: the liberal arts (present books 1–3), human law and divine law (book 5, perhaps without chapter 39, and book 6), and names of God and of the people (books 7–9). Book 10 was perhaps included as a kind of appendix.

Isidore, then, finished, revised, and rewrote that first version. This process of revision was probably progressive and relatively continuous in the 620s and at the beginning of the 630s. Around 633, he sent Braulio a version that he must have considered nearly definitive, although he advised that it still should be revised. We can identify some obvious signs of the unfinished state of the *Etymologies*, like empty or missing lemmas[13] or insertions in the manuscript announcing a biblical citation not in fact provided.[14] The repetitions that occur throughout the work are perhaps also reflections of its incomplete state, but it is difficult to be sure of this, since the *Etymologies* are an encyclopedia rather than a text to be read from start to finish, so such repetitions are not necessarily troubling.[15] In any case, it is impossible to know what the *Etymologies* would have looked like if Isidore had been able to complete them himself.

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[10] Reydellet, "La diffusion," 396.

[11] Von Büren, "Les Étymologies," 1.

[12] See Carmen Codoñer, "Fases en la edición de las *Etymologiae*, con especial referencia al libro x," *Euphrosyne* 22 (1994), 125–46; see also the very good presentation (with some new approaches) by Miguel Franco, "Introducción", 41*-56*.

[13] For example, in book 4 alone: *Syringio* (8.22), *Similaria. Angistrum. Spatomele* (11.3), *Clistere* (11.4), *Cerotum. Calasticum. Marciatum* (12.11). To the best of my knowledge, the empty or missing entries in the *Etymologies* have never been studied. Ana-Isabel Magallón García, *La tradición gramatical de* differentia *y* etymologia *hasta Isidoro de Sevilla*

At Isidore's death in 636, the posthumous history of the *Etymologies* begins, and it too is not clear. Braulio tells us that the division into books was his own work, but did he also add other major corrections? The praise of Zaragoza in 15.1.66 has sometimes been attributed to him,[16] but nothing proves that it is his addition.[17] In any case, the most important problem is whether the "vulgate" version as we have it today corresponds to Braulio's version. That is the most widespread belief, but von Büren proposed new hypotheses. She suggests that the "vulgate" version we use today actually dates from the Carolingian period and was the result of the work of Theodulf of Orleans and his circle as they were elaborating the *Liber glossarum*.[18] According to her, only in the Carolingian period were the *Etymologies*, which Braulio had divided into fifteen books, arranged into twenty books; and only then were certain chapters added (e.g. chapters 1.34–37 and 2.21.3–48, two passages concerning rhetorical figures). Such conclusions have the merit of questioning well-established traditions, although more research is needed to develop such insights.[19]

(Zaragoza: 1996), 275, notes that the number of empty or missing entries increases in the last three books.

[14] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14.9.7: "Cocytus is an underworld place of which Job speaks thus" ("Iob ita loquitur"). The English translation used here is: Stephen A. Barney, Wendy J. Lewis, Jennifer A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *Isidore of Seville, The Etymologies* (Cambridge: 2006), 300. Barring exceptions, for the remainder of this chapter this translation is the source of most of the translated passages from the *Etymologies*.

[15] See Ana-Isabel Magallón García, "El método de trabajo de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Veleia* 17 (2000), 277–78.

[16] See Reydellet, "La diffusion," 416.

[17] See Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in José Oroz Reta and Manuel A. Marcos Casquero, *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías* (Madrid: 2004), 178–79.

[18] Von Büren, "La place" and "Les Étymologies."

[19] For example, it is hard to see where *T* (Madrid BN Vitr. 14.3) belongs in von Büren's stemma. See also a critique of von Büren's theory in Anne Grondeux, "Note sur la présence de l'*Hypomnesticon* pseudo-augustinien dans le *Liber glossarum*," *Dossiers d'HEL* 8 (2015), 71–74. Grondeux also proposes a very interesting hypothesis which, if it is verified, could shed new light on the genesis of the *Etymologiae*: according to her, the *Liber glossarum* could keep track of some preparatory dossiers of Isidore's encyclopedia.

3 Structure and Contents

It is customary, whatever the nature of the work being analysed, to examine its structure. When the work in question is an encyclopedia, such a study is indispensable. This is not the place to attempt yet again to define the encyclopedia as a genre, but we can agree that it contains at least three characteristics: multidisciplinarity; exhaustivity (or at least the aim of being exhaustive); and systematic organization of knowledge.[20] Multidisciplinarity and the aim of exhaustivity are characteristics of the *Etymologies* stressed by Braulio in his *Renotatio*: "Overflowing with eloquence of various arts (*diuersarum artium*) with regard to nearly every point of them that ought to be known (*quaecumque fere scire debentur*)."[21] But encyclopedias aspire not merely to collect as broad a body of information as possible, they also seek to organize it. This leaves researchers the task of attempting to understand the logic, the worldview, behind this immense work.

In most medieval manuscripts, and in modern editions, the *Etymologies* are divided into twenty books. Of course, as the preceding section showed, this division is not necessarily to be attributed to Isidore himself, and it is not even clear that it can be traced to his first "editor," Braulio of Zaragoza. Nevertheless, the overall scheme, the division of subjects discussed and their order (the choice, for example of beginning with a book on grammar), can certainly be attributed to Isidore. From the historical point of view, it is an undeniable fact that almost all Isidore's readers have become acquainted with the work in the form in which we have it today, in twenty books. The contents of these twenty books are as follows: I grammar, II rhetoric, III mathematics, music, and astronomy, IV medicine, V law and chronology, VI Holy Writ and Church services, VII God, angels, and saints, VIII the Church and heresies, IX languages and social groups, X an alphabetical list of nouns and adjectives describing human nature and activities, XI humans and monsters, XII animals, XIII the world and its parts, XIV the earth, XV cities, XVI stones and metals, XVII agriculture, XVIII war and games, XIX ships, buildings, and clothing, XX food, drink, and utensils.

It is possible, starting from this basic structure, to perceive a kind of superstructure explaining the overarching organization of the *Etymologies*. The most frequent current scheme of analysis involves dividing the work into two parts: books 1–10 and books 11–20.[22] Two arguments are offered to justify this division. The first is historical: it is plausible, as we have seen earlier, that a first version of the *Etymologies* consisted only of the first ten books. The oldest manuscript tradition marks a clear break between the first ten books, whose division and order are very variable in the manuscript tradition, and the last ten, where the composition is much more stable.[23] Furthermore, several old manuscripts retain the marks of a separation between these two groupings. For example, the manuscript *Madrid BN Vitr. 14.3* (*T*), copied at the end of the 8th century, separates book 10 from book 11 with the words *Item pars secunda*.[24] The second argument is connected to the content of the two groupings. It is often agreed that books 1–10 are more intellectual and spiritual than books 11–20, which are more concerned with material reality. "The first half of the *Etymologies* focuses on the spiritual and intellectual aspects of man. […] In the second half of the *Etymologies* the general subject is man in his material dimensions, and his environment."[25]

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[20] The bibliography of encyclopedias as a genre is immense. Because it brings together contributions from a great variety of sources, I will mention here only the work of Jason König and Greg Woolf, eds., *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 2013), especially the contribution of Andrew H. Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*: On Words and Things," 301–24.

[21] Martín, *Scripta*, 204, l. 48–49, trans. Barney et al., 8.

And yet, this division into two parts does not seem obvious to me. One might ask if this was not influenced, unconsciously, by the Oxford edition of Lindsay, which breaks the work into two volumes in just this way.[26] But as its editor said explicitly, "The division of the whole work into 'pars I' (= Books 1–10) and 'pars II' (= Books 11–20) was a mere matter of convenience."[27]

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[22] The most common division is into two parts in this way, but it is an overstatement to declare, as does Carmen Codoñer, "De l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Isidore de Séville," in *L'encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12–16 janvier 1987*, ed. Annie Becq (Paris: 1991), 31, that this division is generally accepted by all.

[23] This argument is proposed, notably by Carmen Codoñer, "La enciclopedia. Un género sin definición. Siglos I a. C.–VII d. C.," in *Giornate Filologiche Genovesi. L'enciclopedismo dall'Antichità al Rinascimento* (Genoa: 2012), 152–53.

[24] See Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro X*, 20–25; see also her "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," 283–84.

[25] Josefa Cantó Llorca, "La distribución del material en la segunda mitad de las *Etimologías* de Isidoro de Sevilla," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 331 and 334. I mention J. Cantó Llorca because her formulation is especially clear, but the same idea can be found in other experts on Isidore: see, e.g., Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et la mutation de l'encyclopédisme antique," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 9 (1966), 527–28; Carmen Codoñer, "Historia del texto de las *Etimologías* isidorianas," in *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval (León, 26–29 de septiembre de 2001)*, ed. Maurilio Pérez González (León: 2002), 485 and 488.

[26] Wallace M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: 1911).

[27] Wallace M. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly* 5 (1911), 50.

The whole of the work was too long to fit into a single volume, so the break between books 10 and 11 made it possible to publish two volumes of about equal size, each containing the same number of books. The same solution was applied in the bilingual edition (Latin and Spanish) published in Madrid in 1982. Significantly, the reprint of this edition in 2004 appeared as a single volume.[28]

Among the arguments in favor of dividing the work into two parts, the historical one is apparently the strongest, since it has an objective basis: it is not the interpretation of modern readers but the evidence of the oldest manuscripts, going back, perhaps, as far as Isidore himself. However, it seems to me that two different points of view are being conflated here: the diachronic point of view (the history of the composition of the *Etymologies*) and the synchronic (the analysis of the completed work). It is not necessary to conclude that because, at a given moment in the first stage of their composition, the *Etymologies* (may have) consisted only of their present first ten books, those books should be dissociated from the ten that follow (in the final version). It would be better to reverse the reasoning: if Isidore chose to add to his first version (hypothetically limited to the first ten books), it was because he considered it incomplete. It would then be paradoxical to continue to dissociate the parts that the author sought to bring together. It is probably not an accident, for example, that the second part begins with a book devoted to the parts of the human body (book 11), because this allows the creation of a link between books 9, 10, and 11, all three devoted to humans: human institutions in book 9, human properties in book 10, and human anatomy in book 11. The contrast between a first part about intellectual training of man and a second part devoted to describing material reality also should be nuanced. For example, book 9 discusses geographical questions that are quite close to those of books 13, 14, and 15.[29] In what way is it more "intellectual" or "spiritual"? It too describes the visible world. Conversely, seemingly very materialistic books like books 15 or 20 also have a theological background and theological aims.[30]

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[28] Reta and Casquero, *San Isidoro de Sevilla*.

[29] Two good overviews of the geographical chapters of the *Etymologies* have appeared: Silke Diederich, "Oikumene im Wandel – Isidor von Sevilla," in *Vermessung der Oikumene*, eds. Klaus Geus and Michael Rathmann (Berlin: 2013), 255–86; Andrew H. Merrills, "Geography and Memory in Isidore's *Etymologies*," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies. Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: 2013), 45–64.

[30] Jean-Yves Guillaumin (with the collaboration of Pierre Monat), *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XV. Les constructions et les terres* (Paris: 2016), vii-xxi; Jean-Yves Guillaumin, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XX. De penu et instrumentis domesticis et rusticis* (Paris: 2010), xxiv.

More than a century ago, another bipartite structure was proposed by Ernest Brehaut.[31] According to him, the first eight books constitute an "encyclopedia of education," that is, a textbook of liberal arts and religion, inspired by Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus; books 9–20 form an "encyclopedia of all knowledge," in the tradition of Varro or Pliny the Elder. Time has not been kind to Brehaut's book which is rarely cited by Isidore experts today. Still, that his division into two big units is not absurd is suggested by the fact that it was echoed by Codoñer. According to her, the first part of the *Etymologies* is a kind of textbook of liberal arts, to which Isidore added other subjects, like medicine, law, and history, creating a "kind of textbook intended exclusively for clerics." Only after this does the "encyclopedia proper begin, the description of everything known about the material world, the visible."[32] Codoñer retains and even defends the traditional bipartite division into two parts of ten books each (1–10 and 11–20), but it seems to me that her analysis is closer to the organization proposed by E. Brehaut. The textbook of liberal arts corresponds to books 1–3, the Isidorian addition (medicine, law, and history) to books 4–5, and the "textbook intended for clerics" to books 6–8. The "encyclopedia proper," the description of the visible world, begins with book 9.

Codoñer herself also suggested another two-part model that seems to me to account for the evidence even more effectively: books 1–5 provide the "techniques" allowing knowledge to be acquired, whereas books 6–20 provide things to know.[33] In the end, it is J. Fontaine, working with this model, who offered the best interpretation of the structure of the *Etymologies.* He identified four broad sections: books 1–5 (preparation for a range of learning); 6–8 (religion); 9–14 (man, animate nature, and the universe); and 15–20 (material culture).[34] But Fontaine marks the first five books clearly as preparation for the knowledge set forth in the remaining books. Fontaine's essential contribution comes from his dynamic interpretation of books 6–20, arranged in a descending hierarchy: Isidore starts with God (books 6–8), goes on to man (books 9–11), to animals (book 12), inanimate nature (books 13–17), and finally to man-made objects (books 18–20). The order is not static, organized by the juxtaposition of distinct thematic blocks, but proceeds. rather according to a dynamic of the whole, where each book is connected to the others.

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[31] Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages* (New York: 1912), 44 and 86–87.

[32] Carmen Codoñer, review of: Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths*, in *Gnomon* 76 (2004), 459.

[33] Carmen Codoñer Merino, "La literatura," in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal,* ed. José María Jover Zamora, vol. 3.2: *España visigoda. La monarquía, la cultura, las artes* (Madrid: 1991), 245.

[34] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 176–79.

The art of connections can be seen especially in the care that Isidore takes with transitions, setting up connecting bridges. This is visible at the start of pivotal books, or those that can seem transitional: book 6, which presents the descendent dynamic of the *Etymologies*, and book 9, where the description of the visible world begins. Book 6 ("Books and ecclesiastical offices") is naturally connected to book 5 ("Laws and time"). From certain angles, they have the same contents, both juridical and chronological, with the distinction that book 5 is mostly profane, while book 6 focuses on conciliar canons and the liturgical year.[35] Those two books can therefore be understood as a sort of diptych describing the practical instruments required for civil and religious life.[36] As for book 9, depicting the civic dimensions of human society, it logically follows book 8, which presents human society from a Christian point of view. This is in keeping with Augustine's model where man has a place in both the city of God and the city of man.[37] Chapter titles (which may be a reflection of Isidore's *tituli*)[38] stress the continuity between the two books: the last chapter of book 8 (Chapter 11) is titled *De diis gentium* (the gods of nations), and the first chapter of book 9 is *De linguis gentium* (the tongues of nations).[39]

"The generally descending hierarchy of facts" and "overlap of the various elements in a constructed whole" in book 15 can be applied to understanding the whole of the *Etymologies*.[40] The movement of the whole and the ability to organize the various books is what, beyond the widespread use of etymologies, helps make the encyclopedia coherent.

Isidore drew inspiration from many sources, he borrowed from many kinds of works, but he was able to bring these different genres together into a relatively coherent whole. For example, the first three books are often treated as a unit, and indeed they are a textbook of liberal arts, but their organization and conception are not especially different from that of the other books of the *Etymologies*. Analysing the chapters devoted to arithmetic and geometry in book 3, Jean-Yves Guillaumin showed how Isidore gave them a distinctly personal slant.[41] For example, in the field of geometry, he omits a number of passages found in his model, Cassiodorus, replacing them with land-surveying and etymological considerations. Even when he describes the liberal arts, his final aim is practical (geometry is a means of measuring land), and his approach is above all taxonomic and etymological.

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[35] Reydellet, "La diffusion," 416. As has already been noted, in some early manuscripts, the present books 5–6 are joined as a single book.

[36] Codoñer, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," 277.

[37] Codoñer, "De l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge," 33.

[38] Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro X*, 24.

[39] Marc Reydellet, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre IX. Les langues et les groupes sociaux* (Paris: 1984), 3.

[40] See Guillaumin and Monat, "Introduction," *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XV. Les constructions et les terres* (Paris: 2016), viii.

There are, of course, some passages that seem to preserve their independence, like 5.39, which belongs to a quite specific literary genre, the chronicle, or book 10, quite distinct from the other books by its alphabetical arrangement (if in fact this is attributable to Isidore himself).[42] However, even 5.39 is well integrated into book 5 and the body of the *Etymologies* as a whole.[43] Book 10 has an obvious link to the other books: the words there are almost all defined in terms of etymology, the procedure that gives the work as a whole its title. Moreover, its place, between book 9 (on human society) and book 11 (devoted to human anatomy), can be explained if we recall that it describes human qualities.

To claim that the *Etymologies* form a totally homogeneous whole would be excessive, but taken together, it presents a logical structure with a degree of coherence. Given the multiplicity of sources on which the work is based and the mass of information that the *Etymologies* contains, its coherence is one of the most notable aspects of the work.

4 Etymology

Isidore uses four grammatical categories to explain words: analogy (*analogia*), gloss (*glossa*), differentiation (*differentia*), and etymology (*etymologia*).[44] These function, to use Jacques Fontaine's words, like "categories of understanding." According to Isidore's definition, "analogy, that is, similarity" (*analogia, id est similitudo*), is the "comparison of similar things" (*similium conparatio*).[45]

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[41] Jean-Yves Guillaumin, "Isidore de Séville, l'arithmétique et la géométrie," in *Wisigothica. After Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*, eds. Carmen Codoñer and Paulo Farmhouse Alberto (Florence: 2014), 91–117.

[42] It is possible that the alphabetical order of book 10 of the *Etymologiae* was not Isidore's creation, Carmen Codoñer, "El libro x de las *Etymologiae*, ¿léxico o diccionario?" *Voces* 21 (2010), 50. But, as Codoñer is careful to point out, nothing can be proven, especially because all extant manuscripts transmit the book in alphabetical order.

[43] Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 109–12.

[44] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.5.4, and the important analysis by Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983), 36–48.

[45] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.28.1–2.

For example, “the leaves of books are so called from their likeness (*ex similitudine*) to the leaves of trees” (*Etym.* 6.14.6). Metaphorical appellations based on resemblance are sometimes included among the various categories of etymologies found in Isidore’s work,[46] although the author himself does not include them in his list of the different kinds of etymology (*Etym.* 1.29.3–4). Instead, he treats *similitudo* as a form of analogy, not an etymology. From the morphological point of view, an etymological relationship almost always implies that there are two words in relation to one another, one of which is derived from the other. On the other hand, naming something metaphorically does not create a new word, but rather a pre-existing term acquires a new sense. Furthermore, the common characteristics of the two do not appear in the word itself. For example, a sheet of paper (*folia*) is like the leaf of a tree (*folium*) because both are thin, delicate; but this quality does not appear in the noun *folia*, and that is why Isidore does not consider it useful to make this relationship explicit. One is not derived from the other; they are the same word with different meanings, and therefore in such cases etymology is not involved.[47]

A gloss defines a word by means of another word.[48] As J. Fontaine remarks, in practice, a gloss is often used to provide a simple synonym to explain a Latin word that might be difficult, or a Greek word,[49] for example, “*Gnarus,* ‘knowing’” (*Etym.* 10.112), or “*Katholicus*, ‘universal,’ a Greek term” (*Etym.* 10.153). According to Isidore, the gloss “defines the utterance in question by means of one single word” (*uno et singulari uerbo*). In reality, the term offered as a gloss is often further defined by one or several other words. For example, in the expression, *Subulcus, porcorum pastor* (*Etym.* 10.263), pastor (“herdsman”) is offered as a gloss for *subulcus* (“swine-herd”), but *pastor* itself requires the addition of *porcorum* (“of pigs”); only then is the sense of *subulcus* clear. The limits of gloss can be extended to include more complex definitions, like *populus*:

> Populus est humanae multitudinis coetus iuris consensu et concordi communione sociatus

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[46] See Olga Spevak, “Isidore de Séville: le livre XIV des *Etymologiae* et la tradition étymologique,” *Revue des Études Latines* 87 (2009), 236.

[47] Actually, Isidore’s distinction between *analogia*/*similitudo* and *etymologia* is not always perfectly clear. In this example, *folia* and *folium* are a little different, at least synchronically: *folia* is the plural of *folium* reinterpreted as a feminine singular. For a stricter use of *analogia*, see *Etymologiae* 12.6.4–6, where Isidore explains how some fishes were named “on a similarity (*ex similitudine*) to land animals.”

[48] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.30.1.

[49] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 47.

> The *populus* is an assembly of a human multitude, allied by the sharing of law and by agreement as if of one mind (*Etym.* 9.4.5).[50]

Populus is first glossed by *humanae multitudinis coetus* ("an assembly of a human multitude"), followed by the characteristics of that "assembly." Isidore adds another detail to his discussion of *populus*:

> Populus autem eo distat a plebibus quod populus uniuersi ciues sunt, connumeratis senioribus ciuitatis. Plebs autem reliquum uulgus sine senioribus ciuitatis. Populus ergo tota ciuitas est. Vulgus uero plebs est.
>
> But the *populus* differs in this respect from the plebs, because all the citizens make up the *populus*, including the higher ranks of the citizen body. But the plebs is the remaining people apart from the higher ranks of the citizen body. So the *populus* is the entire citizen body, while the plebs is the common people (*Etym.* 9.4.5–6).

This brings to bear a third "category of understanding": differentiation, which allows distinctions to be made between two words, which are close in sense or in pronunciation, and are therefore often confused.[51]

In any case, analogy, gloss, and differentiation are not used very frequently in the *Etymologies*, in which the principal category is etymology. The fact that Isidore chose to give his encyclopedia the title *Etymologies* is proof of its importance. In some editions (notably Wallace Martin Lindsay's) the work has another title: *Origines*. But *Etymologiae* is the only one attested in the manuscript tradition and in the catalogues of medieval libraries, and also the one used by Braulio in the *Renotatio*. It is true that Braulio's letter IV mentions the "books of *Origines*" (*libri … Originum*), but this is the only—very indirect—evidence for *Origines* over *Etymologiae*. Basing his remarks primarily on this passage, Fontaine conjectured that perhaps Isidore chose *Origines* as a first title before finally adopting *Etymologiae*.[52] But this hypothesis does not undermine the testimony of the entire manuscript tradition: the definitive title is *Etymologiae*.

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[50] This translation uses that of Jamie Wood, "Elites and Baptism: Religious 'Strategies of Distinction' in Visigothic Spain," in *Elite and Popular Religion*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: 2006), 5.

[51] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.31.

[52] Jacques Fontaine, "Cohérence et originalité de l'étymologie isidorienne," in *Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy, S.J.* (Bilbao: 1978), 142–44.

The choice is significant. In dictionaries of modern languages, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, etymology is treated as supplementary information, independent of the definition proper of a word. In contrast, in the *Etymologies,* not only is etymology included in the definition, but it is the very foundation of the definition. Isidore's concept of etymology has been the subject of many studies by both historians of the philosophy of language[53] and Latin philologists.[54] Attempting to understand the logic and the range of chapter 1.29, "On Etymology" (*De etymologia*), they applied themselves to distinguishing Isidore's use of *etymologia* and *origo*, and, beyond the *Etymologies*, they showed that Isidore's theory had roots in ancient grammatical thought. The quantity and quality of these studies permit me to be relatively brief here. We should recall that Isidore's own account is very succinct. The famous chapter 1.29 on etymology consists of only 225 words. This brevity is not surprising, because Latin writers did not devote many pages to etymological theory.[55] Moreover, Isidore is generally not especially expansive in explaining the theoretical assumptions that underlie his work. As we have seen, nowhere does he offer an explanation of the principles underpinning the organization of his encyclopedia. It should also be noted that although he wrote an entire work in a style dominated by synonyms, the *Synonyma*, he only devotes a paragraph to the definition of synonymy (*Etym.* 2.21.6). The very fact that he devotes a whole chapter to etymology is therefore significant. However, one cannot fail to be struck by the contrast between Isidore's short chapter and the large number of commentaries it has provoked recently.

These commentaries are probably caused by the bewilderment of modern readers when faced with Isidore's concept and widespread application of etymology, and, more generally, with the significance of this concept in ancient and medieval thought. Modern linguistics, following Ferdinand de Saussure, distinguishes the signifier of a word, that is, its form, its acoustic effect, from its signified, that is, the concept to which it is tied. The connection between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, that is, unmotivated. There is no natural relation between a word and the concept associated with it. To put it another way, the relationship between a word and the concept it designates depends entirely on a convention accepted by the speakers. Saussure nuances this principle by adding that some words can by "relatively motivated," as is the case for compound or derived words. Another major contribution of Saussurian linguistics is the distinction between diachrony and synchrony. The diachronic study of a language seeks to understand its evolution over the course of its history, while a synchronic approach focuses on a single moment in the history of that language.

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[53] Mark Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: 1989), esp. 133–72; Davide Del Bello, *Forgotten Paths. Etymology and the Allegorical Mindset* (Washington, DC: 2007), esp. 95–115.

[54] The starting point is Fontaine's indispensable article, "Cohérence" (which contains references to the major earlier works, 113–14, n. 2). See also Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 288–90, which picks up and very clearly recapitulates his earlier work's major conclusions. More recently, see Codoñer, "El libro X de las *Etymologiae*," 66, n. 23, with bibliography up to 2010. To these can be added Magallón García, *La tradición gramatical*, 261–368, and Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales. D'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: 2001), 13–191.

[55] This point is noted by Françoise Desbordes, "La pratique étymologique des Latins et son rapport à l'histoire," in *L'étymologie de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Claude Buridant (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: 1998), 69.

In a very schematic way, which will be further examined below, Isidore's point of view is almost totally different from that of Saussure. For Isidore, there is usually a natural connection between a word and what it signifies. The word is not an arbitrary sign of the thing, but rather a reflection of its essence. Starting with the word, it is possible to drill down to its very essence. Of course, Isidore is aware that a word often has only an imperfect reflection of the thing, but this imperfect is like a hazy mirror that must be cleared up. Clarifying the mirror is all that is needed to gain access to reality,[56] and that is exactly the role of etymology.

> Etymologia est origo uocabulorum, cum uis uerbi uel nominis per interpretationem colligitur. [...] Cuius cognitio saepe usum necessarium habet in interpretatione sua. Nam dum uideris unde ortum est nomen, citius uim eius intellegis. Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est.[57]

> Etymology (*etymologia*) is the origin (*origo*) of words, when the force of a verb or a noun[58] is inferred through interpretation. [...] The knowledge of a word's etymology often has an indispensable usefulness for interpreting the word, for when you have seen whence a word has originated, you understand its force more quickly. Indeed, one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known (*Etym.* 1.29.1–2).

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[56] The image of the hazy mirror can be found in Ribémont, *Les origines*, 44.

[57] Text from Lindsay's edition.

[58] An alternate reading would be "the force of a word or name" ("uis uerbi uel nominis"): see Amsler, *Etymology*, 139–40.

From the etymological experience of a word, its "force" can be seen, its essential meaning, leading to the connection between the word and the thing. By discovering the deep sense of a word in this way, the etymologist is not far from discovering the very essence of reality as it was conceived by God. Clearly—and this is an important detail—Isidore himself recognized that "some things received names not according to their innate qualities, but by the caprice of human will" (*Etym.* 1.29.3). This constitutes a major concession that explains why sometimes, as we have seen, recourse to a gloss, an analogy, or differentiation is required to explain certain words.

Nonetheless, this limit of etymology is almost never mentioned in the rest of the work. One of the few exceptions concerns the word *quinque* ("five"), which "did not take its name from nature, but rather from the arbitrary will" (*Etym.* 3.3.2). At the same time, it is worth noting that the source is not an undefined "arbitrary will," but rather "the arbitrary will of the one who bestowed the names." The intent of this periphrasis is not clear. It evokes the "legislator" of Plato's *Cratylus* (which Isidore may have known indirectly) or Adam at the start of Genesis (2:20), although the names given by Adam were in Hebrew,[59] or divine intervention in a more general sense.[60] In any case, what matters here is that when Isidore speaks of the arbitrary origin of certain words he does not mean, as modern linguists would, that there is an arbitrary convention among speakers of the same language; he assumes that their origin is super-human.

The notion of origin, which is at the very heart of the definition of etymology ("Etymology is the origin of words"), might give Isidore's etymologies a historic depth.[61] It is known that Isidore used the word *origo* in the title of one of his major historical works (the second version of the *History of the Goths* is titled *De origine Gothorum*, "On the Origin of the Goths"). He also used the word in the *Etymologies* (15.1.2), explicitly attaching it to a historical context: "histories" (*historiae*) bring us the "origin" (*origo*) of certain cities. Still, Isidore's etymology is not historical. It is neither diachronic nor synchronic; rather, it is achronic. It strives to present the "origin" of a word, but without giving its history. To the best of my knowledge, the definition of etymology has never been compared to another text of Isidore concerning the creation of the world (*Sententiae* 1.8.6). Yet this text is very interesting, since it shows clearly that *origo* should not automatically be understood in a temporal sense (*origine non tempore*):

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[59] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 12.1.2.

[60] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 359, n. 1.

[61] Fontaine, "Cohérence," 134–38; Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, 106–07. See also the chapter by Jamie Wood elsewhere in this volume.

> Materies, ex qua formatus est mundus, origine non tempore res a se factas praecessit.
>
> The matter from which the world was formed preceded the things made out of it in origin, not in time.[62]

This passage from the *Sentences* draws on Augustine's *Confessions* (12.29.40),[63] but Isidore reformulates it, making it more concise and striking: *origine non tempore.* He clarifies his analysis with a comparison taken from the same passage in the *Confessions*:

> ut sonus cantum. Prior enim est sonus cantu, quia suauitas cantilenae ad sonum uocis, non sonus pertinet ad suauitatem. Ac per hoc utrumque simul sunt, sed ille ad quem pertinet cantus prior est, id est sonus.
>
> in the same sense as sound precedes the song.[64] For sound is prior to the song, because the pleasantness of the song pertains to the sound of the voice; the sound does not pertain to the pleasantness. And because of this, both exist simultaneously (*simul*), although that to which the song pertains is prior, that is, the sound.

The origin is prior in logical terms, not chronologically. In other words, a thing is not necessarily earlier in time because it is implicated in the "origin" of another thing. The same is true for etymology: it is not because a word is implicated in the "origin" of another word that it is pre-existent; the connection between a word and its "origin" is atemporal.

Such a declaration requires nuancing, to be sure. Occasionally there is the shadow of a diachronic move to be found in Isidore's work. For example, in *Etym.* 15.4.11, the entry on "basilica" includes a real history of the word:

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[62] Latin text: Pierre Cazier, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis Sententiae*, CCSL 111 (Turnhout: 1998), 21, Thomas L. Knoebel, trans., *Isidore of Seville, Sententiae* (New York: 2018), 45.

[63] See Michele Pellegrino, "Le 'Confessioni' di s. Agostino nell'opera di s. Isidoro di Siviglia," in *Isidoriana. Estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV Centenario de su nacimiento*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 236–37 and 263.

[64] See also Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3.19.8 (3.20.8 in Lindsay's edition).

> Basilicae prius uocabantur regum habitacula, unde et nomen habent; nam basileus rex et basilicae regiae habitationes. Nunc autem ideo diuina templa basilicae nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offeruntur.
>
> The dwellings of kings were called "basilicas" at first, whence they take their name, for the term *basileus* means "king," and basilicas, "royal habitations." But now "basilica" is the name for divine temples because there worship and sacrifices are offered to God, the king of all.

There is a clear opposition between "at first" (*prius*) and "now" (*nunc*), as well as between the imperfect tense used in the first sentence and the present tense in the second. But passages like this are rare. The near total absence of diachronic consideration is striking in the *Etymologies*, even in passages which might have—which by modern standards should have—led to such considerations. In *Etym.* 5.30.15, for example, the etymology of *meridies* ("noon") is in keeping with what is accepted today:[65]

> Meridies dicta quasi medidies, hoc est medius dies.
>
> Midday (*meridies*) is so called as if the word were *medidies*, that is, the "middle of the day" (*medius dies*).

However, the sentence is in the present tense, and *quasi* introduces the etymon "medidies" without in any way situating it in the past. In this case, etymology has no historical dimension. Another passage is even more significant, as it allows us to compare Isidore's practice to that of another ancient scholar. At issue is the definition of the word *abstemius* (*Etym.* 10.11):

> Abstemius, a temeto, id est uino, quasi abstinens a uino.
>
> Abstemious (*abstemius*), from *temetum*, that is, "wine," as if abstaining from wine.

Aulus Gellius (10.23.1) provides the same connection between *abstemius* and *temetum*:

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[65] See Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, 4th ed. (Paris: 1959), 399–400; Michiel De Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden: 2008), 369.

> Mulieres Romae atque in Latio aetatem abstemias egisse, hoc est uino semper, quod 'temetum' prisca lingua appellabatur, abstinuisse.
>
> The women of Rome and Latium were lifelong *abstemiae*, that is abstainers from the use of wine, called *temetum* in the old language.

Here, Aulus Gellius furnishes a temporal specificity where Isidore does not.[66]

The passages cited above have illustrated the impossibility of separating etymological theory from its practice. In the case of *meridies*, for example, the etymon is introduced by *quasi*. Such a metalinguistic tool is significant, since *quasi* neutralizes the distinction between the cause and the origin of the word. It permits the etymon of a word to be presented from the point of view of its form at the same time that it explains its meaning.[67] *Meridies dicta quasi medidies* means both that "*meridies* is derived from *medidies*" and "*meridies* is so called because the word means the 'middle of the day.'"

However, philologists have only recently begun to focus on the formal procedures Isidore used in the *Etymologies*. Carmen Codoñer was the pioneer in this area, distinguishing four "basic formulas":[68] equivalence, indicated directly by means of one or several synonyms, a present participle, or a relative pronoun; the phrase *ab* + ablative; *quasi*, addressed above; and a causal subordinate clause starting with *quod* or *quia*. This typology was noted by other philologists who added other prepositions like *ex*, *ob*, *pro* or *propter*, or adverbs like *inde* and *unde*.[69] However, as Codoñer pointed out, these different types are often combined. They are discriminated here in the interests of clarity, but they engage the same conception of etymology—and the desire for variation should be kept in mind. Etymology is not represented by any particular syntactic structure. It requires only the presence of the origin which connects a word and its etymon phonologically, and the possibility of explaining that origin semantically.[70]

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[66] It does not seem that Isidore knew Aulus Gellius directly. Despite the proximity of the two authors, in this case it is plausible that they are using a common source independently. See other parallels in Robert Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds.: 1991), 2 (*s.v.* "abstemius"). Modern linguistics affirms the link between *temetum* and *abstemius*: Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 679–80; De Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary*, 609.

[67] On Isidore's frequent blending of etymology-as-origin and etymology-as-cause see Aude Morel-Alizon, "L'expression de la cause et de l'origine dans les énoncés étymologiques latins (Varr. *Ling.* V et VI; Isid. *Etym.* X)," in *La causalité en latin*, eds. Aude Morel-Alizon and Jean-François Thomas (Paris: 2014), 157–61.

[68] Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro X*, 83–85.

[69] Isabel Velázquez, *Latine dicitur, uulgo uocant. Aspectos de la lengua escrita y hablada en las obras gramaticales de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Logroño: 2003), 187–96; Rosa María Herrera García, "El uso de las estructuras sintácticas que introducen la expresión del origen y la causa, en las *Etimologías* de san Isidoro de Sevilla," *Helmantica* 56 (2005), 202–08.

Isidore frequently superimposes morphological and semantic layers, as we saw in the case of *meridies* above, since for him etymology is at once a matter of form and meaning. But for a contemporary reader, mixing these two levels is disturbing, and sometimes even results in what seems like nonsense to us. For example, in a sentence like *Proci … a procando et petendo dicti* (*Etym.* 9.7.7), *procando* is the etymological explanation of *proci*, but not *petendo*, which is a synonym of *procando*. Isidore means at once that "*procus* comes from *procare*" (*proci … a procando*) and that "suitors are so called because they seek and claim" (*proci … a procando et petendo*). But for a modern reader, *procando* and *petendo* are not related, and bringing them together seems an aberration.[71]

That sentence is a particularly striking illustration of one of the major difficulties of ancient etymology, especially as deployed by Isidore. In contemporary usage, the autonym (that is, the word focused on, which is the sign of itself) is typographically marked by quotation marks or italics, neither of which exists in Latin. The major problem is syntax: modern languages can mark the specificity of the autonym, separating it from normal rules of agreement. Isidore is aware of this possibility. For example, in the case of *Nemo ab homine tractum*, "Nobody (*nemo*), derived from 'human being' (*homo*)" (*Etym.* 10.184), *tractum* is neuter, that is, it does not agree with the subject, *nemo*, which is masculine. In the same way, in the case of *Non … dicimus beneuolus*, "We do not say *beneuolus*" (*Etym.* 10.26), *beneuolus* is nominative even though after *dicere* an accusative would be expected. But these examples are in fact exceptions; most of the time, Isidore does present the autonym in the expected case, gender, and number. For example, in the sentence cited above, *Proci … a procando … dicti*, *petendo* is in the ablative because the preposition *a* is followed by that case, and *dicti* is masculine plural, agreeing with the subject, *proci*. It would be interesting to follow Isidore's metalinguistic choices more closely, comparing them to other Latin etymologists. Isidore's etymological theory has thus been the object of considerable study, while its practical applications have so far been little examined.[72]

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[70] Codoñer, *Introducción al Libro X*, 91.

[71] See Christian Nicolas, "Les contours linguistiques flous de la mention," in *Hôs ephat', dixerit quispiam, comme disait l'autre… Mécanismes de la citation et de la mention dans les langues de l'Antiquité*, ed. Christian Nicolas (Grenoble: 2006), 141–42.

[72] To date, this field of study has been touched only by Nicolas, "Les contours linguistiques," where the author also mentions several of his earlier works.

5 Sources

To compose his encyclopedia, Isidore took almost all his material from earlier sources, long earning him the unflattering reputation of being a compiler lacking originality. In 1959, Jacques Fontaine revolutionized Isidorian studies by showing, on the contrary, that Isidore's originality consisted precisely in his way of choosing and treating his sources.[73] Not only did Isidore adapt his sources in very diverse ways, ranging from directly copying a long passage to free adaptations, but he also mixed and intertwined them. Rather than try to make a list of all the methods used by Isidore, I would like to focus on three practices that he used in rewriting his sources and that are likely to strike the modern reader as particularly disconcerting: "auto-combination"; citations taken out of their frame of reference; and the use of synonyms.

The word "auto-combination" was invented by Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz to describe the process of contaminating a text with another that is the source of the former.[74] So, chapter 7.6 of the *Etymologies* at once borrows from the *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* of Jerome and from the *Instructiones* of Eucherius of Lyon, who himself drew his information from Jerome. It is therefore not enough to settle on the most obvious source (Jerome) without considering the intermediate source (Eucherius) as well.[75]

Isidore has another surprising habit, that of taking a sentence from a work that is about something completely different. For example, the definition of the military formation called a *cuneus* is taken from Augustine's *De ordine* and about the *Vascones* from Jerome's *Contra Vigilantium*.[76] Sometimes, the sentence has no connection at all with its original context. To use Fontaine's expression, it may be totally removed from its original frame of reference ("décadrée").[77] For example, the definition of etymology in *Etym.* 1.29.2 uses a formulation found in Tertullian where it refers to something entirely different (the origin of persecution). Likewise, the definition of a hearth in *Etym.* 20.9.1[78] is taken directly from Servius, *Aen.* 6.265, where he explains Virgil's reference to the river Phlegethon.[79]

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[73] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*; see also his "Problèmes de méthode dans l'étude des sources isidoriennes," in Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*, 115–31.

[74] See Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción," 183.

[75] Jacques Elfassi, review of: Guillaumin and Monat, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre VII*, in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 72 (2014), 412–13.

[76] See Reydellet, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre IX*, 20.

[77] Fontaine, "Cohérence," 122, n. 26.

[78] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 20.10.1 following Lindsay's numbering.

[79] I believe I am the first to note this source.

I would also like to consider another kind of rewriting that, to the best of my knowledge, has not yet been studied in the *Etymologies*: synonymous rewriting. For example, the portrait of Jerome in *Etym.* 7.1.1 is taken from Augustine (*Ciu. Dei* 18.43):[80]

> Presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui… ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem Scripturas conuerterit > Beatissimus Hieronymus, uir eruditissimus et multarum linguarum peritus, Hebraeorum nominum interpretationem primus in Latinam linguam conuertit.
>
> The most blessed Jerome, a most erudite man and skilled in many languages, first rendered the meaning of Hebrew names in the Latin language.

The synonymous rewriting can be observed for each group of words:

- presbyter Hieronymus > beatissimus Hieronymus
- homo doctissimus > uir eruditissimus
- et omnium trium linguarum peritus > et multarum linguarum peritus
- ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem Scripturas conuerterit > Hebraeorum nominum interpretationem primus in Latinam linguam conuertit.

It is true that Isidore is referring here to Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*, while Augustine's subject was the Bible, but Isidore was under no obligation to change, for example, *homo doctissimus* into *uir eruditissimus* and *in Latinum eloquium* to *in Latinam linguam*. Isidore is much more faithful to the same passage in Augustine in *Etym.* 6.4.5.[81] Here, he rewrote almost the entirety of Augustine's text using a stylistic mode he was particularly fond of, the synonymous style that he used in his *Synonyma*. Another even more striking example concerns the invention of pottery in Samos. Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (35.152) is rewritten:

> *In Samo primos omnium plasticen inuenisse … tradant* is totally rewritten as

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[80] Elfassi, review of: Guillaumin and Monat, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre VII*, 411.

[81] César Chaparro Gómez, ed., *Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías. Libro VI. De las Sagradas Escrituras* (Paris: 2012), 179 [= p. 46, n. 4].

> *In hac insula reperta prius fictilia uasa traduntur*,
> Tradition has it that clay vases were first invented on this island (*Etym.* 14.6.31).[82]
> – *in Samo* > *in hac insula*
> – *inuenisse* > *reperta*
> – *primos* > *prius*
> – *plasticen* > *fictilia uasa*
> – *tradant* > *traduntur*

In this case, the borrowing from Pliny is probable, as Isidore uses the same section of Pliny, more literally, in *Etym.* 20.3.3[83] (it is also possible that in *Etym.* 14 Isidore did no more than rewrite his own text from *Etym.* 20). In any case, Pliny seems to be the only writer likely to be known by Isidore to mention the invention of pottery at Samos. But clearly, without the parallel of *Etym.* 20.3.3 and without any knowledge of the antique traditions about the invention of pottery, the identification of the source would have been very difficult.

Isidore does not usually cite his sources. He incorporates extracts into his text proper without any indication of their origin. When he does introduce them by stating the name of the author explicitly, or even the title of the work he is excerpting, that generally indicates that he is citing them from an intermediate source.[84] This usage, which seems paradoxical to moderns, does have a few exceptions. For example, the fact that Isidore includes Ambrose's name when he cites *De fide* in *Etym.* 11.3.35 does not mean that he was not acquainted with this text. In *Etym.* 7.1.14 and *Etym.* 8.5.70, he uses it without mentioning Ambrose; it is not possible to draw any conclusion whatsoever from the difference between the two practices.[85]

This illustrates the difficulty of distinguishing primary and secondary sources. For example, there is near unanimity that Isidore did not know Terence, Horace, or Juvenal except by means of excerpts in grammatical works or in commentaries. On the other hand, his direct acquaintance with Virgil, Quintilian, and Martial is, if not certain, at least probable.[86] Among profane authors, those most used by Isidore are "technical" authors: grammarians, like Diomedes, Pompeius, or Sergius; historians, like Eutropius, Florus, Justin, or Rufius Festus; doctors, like Caelius Aurelianus, Dioscorides (known in two separate Latin translations), Gargilius Martialis, or Vindicianus;[87] agronomists, like Columella and Palladius; or experts on architecture, like Faventinus. The five profane authors he uses most often are, in order of increasing use: Placidus; Festus; Pliny the Elder; Solinus; and Servius.[88] But Isidore makes much more use of Christian authors, especially Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and Augustine (again listed in order of increasing use). José Carlos Martín has published a very useful list of the Patristic works that Isidore knew,[89] yet much detailed analysis remains to be done.[90]

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[82] See Jacques Elfassi, review of: Spevak, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XIV*, in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 70 (2012), 386.

[83] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 20.4.3, following Lindsay's numbering. See Guillaumin, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XX*, 52, n. 211.

[84] See Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique*, 745.

[85] See Jacques Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothèque pour connaître les sources: Isidore de Séville," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 62.

[86] It is impossible in such a study to examine each case in detail. See an initial approach (with a bibliography of earlier works) in Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothèque," 63–64.

Many other sources of the *Etymologies* are still to be discovered. The edition of the *Etymologies* presently being prepared in Paris in the collection "Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge" has profited from electronic data banks, which since the 1990s have greatly facilitated the search for sources.[91] However, it should not be forgotten that this undertaking is still incomplete (books 1, 4, 8, and 10 have not yet appeared[92]). Even these recent editions are sometimes imperfect.[93] Moreover, the search for sources is unending. In a review of the edition of book 14, I was able to add thirty-seven sources the editor had missed.[94] Later I found a thirty-eighth, indicated in a second review.[95] I thought that I covered them all, but since then I have found five or perhaps six others:

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[87] On Isidore's medical sources, see Arsenio Ferraces Rodríguez, ed., *Isidorus medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina* (A Coruña: 2005).

[88] On Festus, see Jacques Elfassi, "Festus chez Isidore de Séville," *Eruditio Antiqua* 6 (2014), 153–214.

[89] José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, "La biblioteca cristiana de los Padres hispanovisigodos (siglos VI–VII)," *Veleia* 30 (2013), 259–88.

[90] As, for example, in the article by Alessandro Capone, "Tertulliano e Isidoro di Siviglia," in *Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris. Proceedings of the VIth Congress of the International Medieval Latin Committee* (*Benevento-Naples, November 9–13, 2010*), eds. Edoardo D'Angelo and Jan Ziolkowski (Florence: 2014), 157–98. See also my detailed review of Capone's article ("Tertulliano e Isidoro di Siviglia") in *Chronica Tertullianea et Cyprianea 2014*, nº 57, in *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* 61 (2015), 357–60.

[91] The first of Isidore's editors to have made use of computerized data banks was Miguel Rodríguez-Pantoja, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías. Libro XIX. De naves, edificios y vestidos* (Paris: 1995).

[92] However, the sources of book 8 were studied by Angelo Valastro Canale, *Herejías y sectas en la Iglesia Antigua. El octavo libro de las* Etimologías *de Isidoro de Sevilla y sus fuentes* (Madrid: 2000).

[93] This is especially the case in book 13: Giovanni Gasparotto, *Isidoro di Siviglia. Etimologie. Libro XIII. De mundo et partibus* (Paris: 2004). See the review (harsh, but unfortunately accurate) by Patrick Gautier Dalché, in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 62 (2004), 305–11.

[94] Elfassi, review of: Spevak, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XIV*, in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 70 (2012), 385–87.

- *Etym.* 14.3.13 < Pliny the Elder, *Nat. hist.* 6.137 (ed. Mayhoff, p. 487 l. 9)
- *Etym.* 14.3.40 < Eucherius, *Instr.* 2.4 (ed. Mandolfo, l. 218–21)[96]
- *Etym.* 14.4.1 (first sentence) < perhaps Solinus 3.1 (ed. Mommsen, p. 44 l. 13)
- *Etym.* 14.4.1 (second sentence) < Hyginus, *Astr.* 2.21.1 (ed. Viré, l. 875–78)[97]
- *Etym.* 14.5.20 < Latin commentary on the *Aphorisms of* Hippocrates Lat A 2.46[98]
- *Etym.* 14.6.14 < Rufius Festus 13.1 (ed. Arnaud-Lindet, p. 19 l. 12)

It is not implausible that others remain to be discovered.

Recent work has identified not only a large number of sources but also texts that previously scholars had no idea that Isidore might have known, like Augustine's *Contra Secundinum* and his Sermon 4, sources for books 5 and 7 of the *Etymologies.*[99] I have also just discovered that *Etym.* 10.240 borrows from Basil's *Rule*, as translated by Rufinus (cap. 110, resp. 1–3, CSEL 86, p. 137 l. 3–9)—the first known sign of this text in Visigothic Spain.[100] It is worth repeating: there are still many sources to be found.

6 Medieval Reception

This will be a short section, for three reasons. The first is that this *Companion* already has several chapters concerning Isidore's medieval reception, including that of the *Etymologies*.[101] Moreover, Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann has published an article on this subject which provides an *état présent* of knowledge about this question and outlines a few original approaches. There is no point in repeating what she has already written.[102] In the end, the study of the *Etymologies*' medieval reception is a vast field, of which so much work remains to be done. It is more appropriate to discuss what is not known than to claim to offer even a provisional synthesis.

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[95] Elfassi, review of: Spevak, *Isidore de Séville. Étymologies. Livre XIV*, in *Revue des Études Latines* 90 (2012), 355–56.

[96] See Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Isidorus Hispalensis, *De gentium uocabulis* (*Etym.* IX, 2): quelques sources non repérées," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 31 (1985), 281, n. 8.

[97] See Jacques Elfassi, "Isidore de Séville connaissait-il les *Fables* d'Hygin?" *Eruditio Antiqua* 10 (2018), 84.

[98] See Manuel Enrique Vázquez Buján, "Isidoro de Sevilla y el antiguo comentario latino a los *Aforismos* hipocráticos: una revisión," in Codoñer and Farmhouse Alberto, *Wisigothica*, 234.

[99] There is a list of these recent discoveries (not limited to the *Etymologies*) in Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothèque," 60.

[100] See Jacques Elfassi, "La découverte de nouvelles sources d'Isidore de Séville," *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église* 145 (2017), 50.

[101] See the chapters in Part 3 of this volume.

Still, it is worth recalling that the foundation of any study of the transmission of the *Etymologies* in the Middle Ages is the list of manuscripts published by August Eduard Anspach.[103] That list includes 1080 entries, but Baudoin Van de Abeele has established that only 455 manuscripts include either a complete text or a substantial portion of the *Etymologies* (at least two books).[104] If this seems to reduce the corpus, we should at the same time recall that at the time when Anspach wrote his list, many collections were only partially catalogued. So, there are probably more than 500 extant manuscripts of the *Etymologies*.[105]

So many manuscripts make a global study of the manuscript tradition impossible. Until now, work in this field concentrated on the oldest manuscripts.[106] Carmen Codoñer, who at present is probably the person who has examined the greatest number of manuscripts of the *Etymologies*, also drew attention to the many kinds of transformations this text underwent in the Middle Ages: selections of extracts, additions, or displacement of certain passages.[107] This is very interesting work, but it brings with it the possibility of creating a false notion of the medieval reception of the *Etymologies.* Although I am not able to back this affirmation with precise numbers, it seems to me that most medieval manuscripts contain the "canonical" text, close to the text as we read it today.

In 2014, I had the opportunity to study a manuscript that the private owner wished to have appraised, supported by an agreement with the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris.[108] This 10th-century copy, which once belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps (described in his catalogue as number 2129), was sold at Christie's in London on 23 November 2010 (sale 7882, lot 9). It contains a text broken off by lost quires at *Etym.* 11.1.137. Otherwise it is in keeping with the "canonical" version of the *Etymologies.* However, this manuscript is not without interest because it has many signs of having been handled. In particular, there is evidence of two occasions when the text was subject to systematic rereading and appropriation: one in the 12th century, resulting in the addition of many corrections all the way through; and another in the 13th century, with the addition of several entries in the margin to facilitate reading. This example proves that even "normal" manuscripts reveal interesting details of how the *Etymologies* was engaged with in late centuries. At the same time, it should be noted that a systematic study of the 500 or so extant manuscripts (not counting those which contain only excerpts) would easily become overwhelming.

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[102] Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, "Uso y recepción de las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro," in Codoñer and Farmhouse Alberto, *Wisigothica*, 477–501.

[103] A list published posthumously by José María Fernández Catón, "Las *Etimologías* en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach," *Archivos leoneses* 19 (1965), 121–384.

[104] Baudoin Van den Abeele, "La tradition manuscrite des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville: pour une reprise en main du dossier," *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* 16 (2008), 198.

[105] See the chapters in Part 3 of this volume.

[106] See especially the summary by Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción," 200–12.

[107] See Carmen Codoñer, "Transmisión y recepción de las *Etimologías*," in *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso internacional de latín medieval hispánico. Barcelona, 7–10 de septiembre de 2009*, eds. José Martínez Gázquez, Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Candida Ferrero Hernández (Florence: 2011), 5–26.

[108] I have presented the main conclusions of this study in the 48th Congress of the APLAES (Association des Professeurs de Langues Anciennes de l'Enseignement Supérieur), held in Besançon on 29–31 May 2015. I hope the acts will be published.

The task is even vaster when the aim is to study the literary reception of the *Etymologies*, given how frequently the work was cited in the Middle Ages. Certainly, more and more is known about the way it was used in medieval encyclopedias.[109] But its influence goes well beyond encyclopedias.[110] Signs of it are found in medieval texts of many literary genres. Consulting any recent critical edition of a medieval Latin text will likely turn up a borrowing from the *Etymologies*, which need not, of course, have been the direct source. For example, of the indices of sources in the six volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis* that appeared in 2014,[111] four contain extracts from the *Etymologies*. It can be found in the acts of a synod,[112] as well as in biblical commentaries.[113]

Such a state of affairs may seem discouraging. Studying the medieval reception of the *Etymologies* is like plunging into a boundless ocean. But it is also possible to see it as a fascinating entryway to medieval literature. To offer only a single example, Ernst Robert Curtius wished for a history of the literary genre of lists of the names of Christ until the time of Luis de León (1527–91)—and one of the major texts of that literary tradition is chapter 7.2 of the *Etymologies.*[114]

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[109] See Ribémont, *Les origines*, 259–71 and 289–319; and Isabelle Draelants, "Encyclopédies et lapidaires médiévaux: la durable autorité d'Isidore de Séville et de ses *Étymologies*," *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* 16 (2008), 39–91.

[110] See the chapter by Winston Black in this volume.

[111] Found in vols 135C, 195 suppl., 260, 263, 267, and 270.

[112] Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* (t. 270).

[113] Haimo of Auxerre, *Annotatio libri Isaiae Prophetae* (t. 135C); Claudius de Turin, *Tractatus in epistolas Pauli* (t. 263); Anselm of Laon, *Glosae super Iohannem* (t. 267).

[114] See Jacques Elfassi, "Les noms du Christ chez Isidore de Séville (*Etym.* VII, 2)," in *La christologie et la Trinité chez les Pères*, ed. Marie-Anne Vannier (Paris: 2013), 241–72, esp. 253.

7 Conclusion

My conclusion is therefore deliberately very open-ended. In the first part of this chapter, we have seen that the composition of the *Etymologies* took place over a long period of time, from a first version that was probably dedicated to King Sisebut (before 621) until an unfinished version was sent to Braulio of Zaragoza around 633; but the history of the genesis of the work still has many obscurities. Then, in the second part, I have shown how the structure of the encyclopedia has been much discussed among scholars, even if, in my opinion, the interpretation proposed by Jacques Fontaine is the best one (books 1–5 functioning as a foundation for various fields of knowledge, and books 6–20 ordered according to a descending hierarchy, from God to the material world). In the third part, I have studied the concept of etymology, again underlining the research that remains to be done: Isidore's etymological theory has been well studied, but not so its concrete application in terms of the metalinguistic methods he used to formulate etymologies. In the fourth section, devoted to the sources of the encyclopedia, I have recalled that, despite recent progress, due to the impulse given by J. Fontaine after 1959 and the development of electronic databases in the 1990s, there are still many sources to discover. Finally, the fifth part examined the medieval reception of the *Etymologies*, an immense field of investigation, which received minimal attention. I shall repeat it: there is much research still to be done on the *Etymologies*. I would be happy if this essay could encourage others to engage in the exploration of this immense and still little-known work.

Translated by Marian Rothstein

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CHAPTER 10

Isidore of Seville's Theories and Practices of Pastoral Care and Church Organization

Céline Martin

1 Introduction[1]

Pastoral functions inform all of Isidore of Seville's work and life. Having lost his parents as a child, he was raised by his older brother, Leander, bishop of Seville and friend of Gregory the Great.[2] The nature of his education (although we do not know its exact setting), as much as the influence of the author of the *Pastoral Rule*, predisposed Isidore not only to take on the responsibilities of pastor, as he did when he succeeded his brother around 602, but also to devote his life and writings to consolidating and improving the way the Church of his day guided the faithful to salvation. It might even be maintained that his political thought, equally under the influence of Gregory the Great, was shaped by the notion of pastoralism.[3] This chapter, however, will be limited to exploring the ecclesiastical side of Isidore's thought. This is expressed in many of his treatises, above all in his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, devoted to the origins of liturgical rites and the diverse functions of the clergy, and in his correspondence. It appears as well in the decisions of the various councils in which he participated, where his influence was no doubt deeply felt: the Second Council of Seville, held in 619; the Third Council of Seville at an unknown date (probably in

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[1] The following councils, with dates (where known), abbreviations used in the text, and editions are cited in the chapter: Second Council of Seville (619; II Seville): José Vives, ed., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona: 1963), 163–85; Third Council of Seville (III Seville): Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, eds., *La colección canónica hispana* (Madrid: 1992), 5:482–85; Third Council of Toledo (589; III Toledo): Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección*, 5:49 ff; Fourth Council of Toledo (633; IV Toledo): Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección*, 5:161 ff.

[2] Jacques Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement ecclésiastique dans l'Espagne wisigothique," *Settimane di Studio* 19 (1972), 173.

[3] On the connection between the king and the bishop, each understood as pastors: Céline Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique* (Lille: 2003), 192 and 347–53; Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain. Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 146.

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622/624); and the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, three years before his death. The corpus of Visigothic sources tends to be very theoretical, hardly a helpful guide to the study of practical actions. Council records provide the evidence that, although primarily normative (primarily but not totally, since they include sentences pronounced by the bishops functioning as a tribunal), best allows us to come close not only to Isidore's thought but also to his actions in relation to Church government. In this chapter, we will undertake a cautious attempt to evaluate Isidore of Seville's achievements, in particular within the Church.

2 Strengthening the Structure of the Church

Around the year 600, the Church, understood as a complex organization of religious experts devoted to God, was already well structured enough to be able to claim to direct the *Ecclesia*, the whole of Christianity.[4] Yet this structure was incomplete, and Isidore worked to improve it, not only by means of his written works but also by his actions as titular bishop of one of the most prestigious sees of Hispania. His efforts were aimed at enhancing the internal hierarchy of the Church and unifying it at a hitherto unprecedented level, that of the Gothic kingdom.

2.1 Structuring the *Ecclesia* Vertically

The most basic dimension of the vertical structuring of the Church involves first of all distinguishing the flock from the shepherds, that is, defending and justifying the dominant position of the clergy over laypeople. Isidore was profoundly convinced of the superiority and the responsibility of the former over the latter. This is why some of his major works—like the *Differences*, the *Synonyms*, the *Etymologies*—put grammar in the service of pastoral duties and make it an indispensable instrument for pastors. According to this vision, only those in clerical orders, who were supposed to be better educated than the rest of the population, were capable of comprehending Scripture and Creation, and as a consequence, of acting as mediators between God and his people. Despite his admiration for Augustine, Isidore is much more elitist than the bishop of Hippo, and his views on knowledge stand far from the asceticism of Jerome or Gregory the Great, who denied the necessity of grammar in pastoral duties.[5]

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[4] *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, eds. J.-M. Mayeur, C. and L. Piétri, A. Vauchez, and M. Venard, vol. 3: *Les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (432–610)*, ed. L. Piétri (Paris: 1998).

So that this distinction might enter people's thinking, making the authority of the clergy over the laity acceptable, it had to be made visible, affecting physical appearance as well as behavior. From the spatial point of view, the place of each person in the church-as-edifice reflects that person's position within the *Ecclesia*. Although Isidore did not invent such a layout, he justifies it when he explains the origin of the choir, a restricted space reserved for clerics before the altar, forming a crown facing the lay worshipers separated by sex, modeled on how Moses had arranged the Hebrews to praise the Lord after their crossing of the Red Sea.[6] In terms of appearances, the tonsure was the major visible distinction between the clergy and the laity. But in the 6th century, its application varied from place to place. That is why the Fourth Council of Toledo, presided over by Isidore in 633, was concerned with unifying the tonsure throughout Hispania.[7] Henceforth, tonsure would consist of shaving the entire head except for a crown of hair—a crown appropriate to clerics with its echo of the crown of the choir—and the Gallic practice of allowing those tonsured grow their hair long was banned as peculiar to laymen. Finally, the ban on bishops employing a secular treasurer introduced by the Second Council of Seville in 619 and repeated at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 theorizes the necessity for this separation:

> It is not fitting that a lay person should act in the name of the bishop and that lay people should have jurisdiction in the Church. For a given office, there should not be two professions. It is also forbidden by divine Law, as Moses says: "You shall not plow with an ox and an ass at the same time," which means "You shall not associate in a single office men of differing professions."[8]

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[5] Eleonora Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo. Políticas del signo y estrategias del poder eclesiástico en el reino visigodo de Toledo (589–711)* (Cadiz: 2013), 48–59.

[6] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.3: "Choros idem Moyses post transitum rubri maris primus instituit, utrorumque sexuum distinctis classibus se ac sorore praeeunte canere Deo in choris carmen triumphale perdocuit. Chorum autem ab imagine factum coronae et ex eo ita uocatum," cited by Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo*, 79.

[7] IV Toledo, 41.

[8] II Seville, 9: "Indecorum est enim laicum uicarium esse episcopi et seculares in ecclesia iudicare: in uno enim eodemque officio non decet dispar professio. Quod etiam in lege diuina prohibetur dicente Moyse: Non arabis in boue simul et asino; id est homines diuersae professionis in officio uno non sociabis." This idea is repeated in IV Toledo, 48.

Beyond separating clergy and laity, Isidore also sought to more strictly define the hierarchy within the clergy. The ecclesiastical hierarchy was already well articulated in the 6th century. The bishops (some of whom, metropolitans, had jurisdiction over their suffragans) shared the sacerdocy with priests (so that the word *sacerdos* means both, without distinction). Beneath the bishops were deacons and clerics (*clerici*), that is, minor clergy. One of the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo[9] concretizes this hierarchy by enumerating the attributes that should be restituted to unfairly deposed ecclesiastics: the stole, the ring, and the crosier for a bishop; the chasuble for a priest, the alb for a deacon; and for a sub-deacon and plain clerics, only such objects as they received at the time that they entered their order. Isidore insists that this inequality of rank obliged clerics to show respect and obedience to their superiors, the *seniores.*[10] This inequality also entails particular positions in the church: canon 39 of the Fourth Council of Toledo reproaches some deacons for impudently taking a place in the first choir, while priests were relegated to the second; it orders both to occupy both sections of the choir without regard to rank, so that there be no doubt that priests are superior (*sublimiores*) to deacons. The canon's suggestion that there were two distinct choirs in churches is difficult to interpret[11] and has to be related to another canon of the same council that established order of communion and the respective positions of the priest and the deacon (in front of the altar), the *clerici* (in the choir, now seen as a single area), and the *populus* (in the nave).[12] Whatever the details, the bishops at the Fourth Council of Toledo, led by Isidore of Seville, were clearly concerned with giving each person his place in the liturgical order, as much as in Christian society.[13] As early as the Second Council of Seville, Isidore also dealt with the distribution of prerogatives among the members of the hierarchically organized clergy. Implementing his metropolitan power, he settled conflicts among his suffragans (canons one and two); he enumerated the episcopal functions from which priests were excluded (canon seven), of which some were new, like post-baptismal chrismation. He thus strived to enhance not only clerical superiority on the laity, but also internal hierarchy among the clergy.[14]

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[9] IV Toledo, 28.

[10] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.2: "[Clerici] senioribus quoque debitam praebeant oboedientiam, neque ullo iactantiae studio semetipsos adtollant."

[11] See Paul Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église: Saint Isidore de Séville. Son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris: 1929), 189–90. Séjourné attempts to explain this division from an architectural point of view.

[12] IV Toledo, 18: "eo uidelicet ordine, ut sacerdos et Leuita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus." See Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture wisigothique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 139.

[13] Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo*, 76: liturgy permits the Church to organize society in keeping with its norms.

2.2 *Constructing a Church at the Level of the Kingdom*

It is possible to argue that the verticalization of the Church is a long preexisting tendency, with beginnings well before Isidore's time, flourishing during the Carolingian era and culminating in the Gregorian reform of the 11th century.[15] Nevertheless, the construction of a discrete ecclesiastical unit on a scale greater than that of a province represents a new undertaking. Although Isidore does not make explicit any desire to construct a brand-new ecclesiastical unit (innovations are not usually presented overtly in the early Middle Ages), some of his efforts certainly point in that direction. Adapting the organization of the Church to the political structure of the day seems logical enough if we consider the considerable extent to which both spiritual and temporal functions assigned to ecclesiastic and civil officials were intertwined during this period.

One indicator of the inclusion of a new level spanning the kingdom of the Goths in the organization of the Church is the preeminent judiciary function Isidore seems to have assigned to the see of Toledo, beyond any "conventional" ecclesiastical structure. Shortly after 615, he called upon Bishop Helladius of Toledo to judge a bishop of Cordoba, originally from the clergy of Seville—probably Agapius, to whom there will be cause to return:

> We have learned that a Sevillian bishop in the Cordoban church has fallen from the great height of his station into the sins of the flesh and has lowered himself from the summit of [episcopal] honor into the depth of turpitude by a deplorable fall. Since the pastoral responsibility (*sollicitudo pastoralis*) falls on you, and divine judgement has decided that the errors of those who fail are to be dispelled by your judgement […], we most tearfully beg your holiness to receive this sinner before your holy gathering, to hear his confession, and to remove him from the priesthood by a synodal sentence.[16]

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[14] Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 102.

[15] Mayeur et al., *Histoire du christianisme*.

[16] "Cognouimus enim Espalensem Cordubensis ecclesiae sacerdotem in pontificali culmine carnali labe dilapsum et de altitudine honoris in profundo flagitiorum flenda ruina dimersum; et quia uobis solicitudo pastoralis incumbit, uestroque iudicio delinquentium errore discutiendos censura diuina disposuit […] cum effussione lacrimarum uestram sanctitatem deposcimus, ut idem lapsus sancto cetui uestro praesentatus, agnito a uobis

Toledo, capital of the Visigothic kingdom, was at the time incontestably the metropolis of the province of Carthaginiensis.[17] But the synod to which Isidore appealed must have operated above the metropolitan level, since the metropolitan bishop of Baetica (the province in which Cordoba was located) was Seville. The *sollicitudo pastoralis*, which, according to Isidore, fell to Helladius, was not the metropolitan function, but a superior responsibility, either one Isidore was trying to establish or a pre-existing one to which he appealed. This case recalls the ambiguous nature of the Toledo Council of 597 (Ramos-Lissón called it "pluri-provincial"[18]), which has come down to us only in the *codex Emilianensis.* It contains but two canons, of which one precisely concerns sins of the flesh by ecclesiastics, as in Agapius's case, and the context in which it was held, neither provincial nor general, is not clear. It is not impossible that, at the turn of the 7th century, before it even took on the privilege of ordaining all the kingdom's bishops (at the Twelfth Council of Toledo in 681), Toledo already exercised in practice a judicial function, perhaps based on the fact that bishops from across the kingdom occasionally spent time in the capital. This Toledan *sanctus coetus* (holy assembly) could have functioned as a superior court to the provincial council, rather like the Permanent Synod of Constantinople.[19] Whether or not such a superior synodal tribunal already existed during Isidore's time, sending the bishop of Cordoba to appear before Helladius, a move that may equally have been driven by political considerations,[20] served to legitimate Toledo's overarching authority and prepared the way for the see's exceptional future status.[21]

While the letter to Helladius of Toledo leaves some questions unanswered, in contrast, Isidore's attempt to institutionalize two kinds of conciliar assemblies, at the provincial level and that of the whole kingdom, seems much

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confessionis elogio, sinodali sententia a gradu sacerdotii deponatur," Isidore, *Epistola ad Helladium episcopum*, W. Gundlach, ed., *MGH Epistolae*, vol. 3: *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aeui*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1892), 661.

[17] Abilio Barbero, "Las divisiones eclesiásticas y las relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la España de los siglos VI y VII," in *La historia en el contexto de las ciencias humanas y sociales, Homenaje a Marcelo Vigil Pascual* (Salamanca: 1989), 169–89.

[18] José Orlandis and Domingo Ramos Lissón, *Die Synoden auf der Iberischen Halbinsel bis zum Einbruch des Islam* (Paderborn: 1981), 129.

[19] The residence in turn of suffragan bishops alongside the metropolitan of Toledo became obligatory in 646 (VII Toledo, 6). See Juan F. Rivera Recio, "El encumbramiento de la sede toledana durante la dominación visigoda," *Hispania Sacra* 8 (1955), 3–34; Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 242–53.

[20] See *infra.*

[21] There has been some controversy among scholarship about the "primacy" attained by the see of Toledo after 681; see summary in Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 246–47.

clearer. Councils were, in this case, no longer considered solely as a higher judicial venue, but rather as an instrument for the collective government of the Church.[22] Provincial councils which brought together the suffragans and the metropolitan bishop were well established by the start of the 7th century, and in all probability, as a cleric in Seville Isidore had participated in the council that his older brother Leander had called in the city in 590. But he was clearly responsible for establishing operating rules for provincial councils at the Toledo council of 633, as well as for introducing some modifications to conciliar functions as metropolitan of Baetica.[23] For the Fourth Council of Toledo not only recalled the Third Council of Toledo in 589, which laid down that councils should occur on an annual basis,[24] but also mandated that they be called together on a set day, 17 May, and granted them a role as courts where cases involving bishops, agents of the king, and powerful laypersons could be adjudicated.[25] Canon four gives the first version of the *Ordo de celebrando concilio* (Order to be followed in celebrating councils), which concerned provincial councils, as the ceremonial activity is centered on the metropolitan and his archdeacon. It is not easy to evaluate the distance between norm and practice in this first statement of Isidore's vision of government by council. The surviving acts reveal that only four provincial councils met between 633 and 711.[26] It certainly would be questionable to imagine, in the absence of textual evidence, that after the celebration of the Fourth Council of Toledo, the metropolitans systematically convoked a provincial council in every year in which a general council was not called, in keeping with canon three. However, the opposite extreme, the idea that the extant collections of conciliar deliberations might have transmitted the canons of all of the assemblies of bishops held in Visigothic Spain, also seems extremely dubious.[27] If, in fact, the impact of Isidore's project on later practice is hard to gauge, it can at least be noted, without forcing the sources, that there is a great contrast between the proceedings of the Second Council of Seville in 619, the only complete provincial council presided over by Isidore of which the entire record has come down to us, and the proceedings of the other provincial councils convoked following the Third Council of Toledo in 589. The brevity of the earlier is in contrast to the richness and the rigor of the council of 619, including its extensive citations of Scripture and elements of Roman law, and its adherence to Roman judicial procedure.[28]

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[22] Pablo C. Díaz, "Concilios y obispos en la península ibérica (siglos VI–VIII)," *Settimane di studio* 41 (2014), 1123.

[23] Rachel L. Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius and Isidore: Provincial Councils in Seventh-Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6.2 (1997), 174–76. Stocking describes the "rigidification" of conciliar practice in 633.

[24] III Toledo, 18, which already eliminated the twice-yearly convocation ordered at Nicea and, unlike IV Toledo, did not distinguish among various kinds of councils.

[25] IV Toledo, 3. See Stocking, "Martianus," 179.

[26] Stocking, "Martianus," 187.

[27] For more on this, see Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 119.

But canon three of the Toledo gathering of 633 also institutes another kind of council, a general council, bringing together the bishops of the Visigothic kingdom in an alternative way, depending on the purpose:

> If the issue is a question of faith or another common cause of the Church, a general council of all Hispania and Gaul will be convoked. However, when neither faith nor the common interests of the Church is in question, it will be a special [*speciale*] council of each province, wherever the metropolitan will choose to hold it.[29]

The canon notably defines the jurisdiction of the general council as "all Hispania and Gaul," rather than by listing ecclesiastical provinces, which would have been more tedious but no doubt better suited to the definition of the terms of a general council. Indeed, the formulation "all Hispania and Gaul" corresponds to the limits of the *regnum gothorum*, although the Visigothic kingdom is not referred to explicitly. The canon refers to two geographic units, rather than ecclesiastical districts or political demarcations. Such a choice may be explained by the desire to locate the general council on a universal basis (*totius Hispaniae*) comparable to an ecumenical council, without drawing attention to the novelty of its founding principle. It should also be noted that the Third Council of Toledo of 589 had already adopted these geographic units in 589, perhaps upon the suggestion of King Reccared.[30]

In hindsight, the Third Council of Toledo in 589 can certainly be classed among the general councils of the Church of the Visigothic kingdom, although the category had at this moment not yet been established. It seems that the concept of the general council had its roots in Isidore of Seville's reflection on practice (the Third Council of Toledo ratified the conversion of the Gothic *gens* to Catholicism, a paramount "question of faith" and relating directly to the common interests of the Church), and in his desire to systematize and rank the various mechanisms that he had put in place for the government of Church. The distinction seems not to have been fully developed in his mind in 619, for the twelfth and thirteenth canons of the Second Council of Seville, devoted to the duality of the nature of Christ, would have been more appropriately the subject of a general council. The general council as an instrument of Church government, which would become a characteristic of the Visigothic regime in the mid to late 7th century, can therefore be seen as the result of Isidore's latest reflections about the government of the Church in the early 630s. Unlike the provincial councils, which do not seem to have been adopted widely, the practical success of the idea of general councils can hardly be questioned.

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[28] Díaz, "Concilios y obispos," 1119.

[29] *Conc. Tol. IV*, c. 3: "[…] ita tamen ut, si fidei causa est aut quaelibet alia ecclesiae communis, generalis totius Spaniae et Galliae synodus conuocetur: si uero nec de fide nec de communi ecclesiae utilitate tractabitur, speciale erit concilium uniuscuiusque prouinciae, ubi metropolitanus elegerit peragendum."

[30] Reccared's speech at III Toledo had required the recitation of the Apostles Creed every Sunday in "all the churches of the Hispaniae and Gaul" ("omnes Spaniarum et Galliae ecclesiae": Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección*, 5:101a), a measure the second canon of the gathering promulgated for "all the churches of Hispania, Gaul and Galicia," III Toledo 2.

Finally, Isidore's desire to construct an ecclesiastical edifice that incorporated the level of the *regnum* can be seen in his efforts to unify the liturgy of Hispania. In doing so, his efforts were congruent with developments beyond Hispania and his precise lifetime, which resulted in the late antique liturgy, at first very variable, becoming more and more fixed and codified in the 6th and 7th centuries. In Hispania, the council of 633 is a watershed, for that gathering devoted a large number of canons to the unification of the liturgy in a way that broadly reflected the order of subjects treated in Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, as much that of the first book on ritual as of the second on the officers.[31] However, it seems possible once more to detect an evolution in Isidore's thought between the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*—written between 598 and 615 according to its editor, or even in 598, before he was bishop, according to Jacques Fontaine[32]—and the end of his life. One of its chapters, "On the various practices of the Church," shows a remarkable tolerance for diverse forms of observance as long as they do not contradict either faith or morals, and even envisages respect for local practices as the best source of protection against schism.[33] Canon two of Toledo IV declares slightly different intentions:

> We have decided that [...] henceforth we will do nothing diverse or discordant in the sacred things of the Church so that our diversity might not be presented as a schismatic error to those who are ignorant or those who

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[31] Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 138–39.

[32] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 201.

[33] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.44: "Quod enim neque contra fidem neque contra mores bonos habetur indifferenter sequendum, et propter eorum inter quos uiuitur societatem seruandum est, ne per diuersitatem obseruationum scismata generentur."

> judge according to the flesh [*carnales*], and so that the diversity of churches may not cause the fall [*scandalum*] of many.[34]

In both these cases, schism is the major danger that the Church should avoid, but the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* distinguishes two kinds of observances: those which are practiced "by the whole universe," or were set forth by the Apostles or the "major councils," and those which vary from church to church, like the Saturday fast or the frequency of communion, local variations that were of minor importance. What matters is following the customs of "those among whom one lives," so as not to "scandalize" them (cause them to fall). In Toledo in 633, in contrast, scandal and the danger of schism are said to have their origins in "the diversity of churches," whatever its nature. The solution proposed by the bishops (including and led by Isidore) was the unification of the whole liturgy. There could no longer be more than one *ordo orandi atque psallendi*, one way of praying and saying the psalms, one *modus in missarum solemnitatibus*, a single ritual for the mass,[35] as also for the services in the evening and in the morning. Just as for the general councils, the scale of reference is now "all Hispania and Gaul" (*omnem Spaniam atque Galliam*). But here the bishops did not prudently restrict themselves to geographical notions, as the decisive word *regnum* appears in the justification: "so that henceforth ecclesiastical custom may not vary among us who are united by a single faith in a single kingdom."[36] Until then there had been attempts at unification of the liturgy at the level of the ecclesiastical province,[37] but applying such changes to the whole kingdom constitutes what Paul Séjourné has termed "a notable innovation."[38] The council finally supported this innovation by invoking canonical authority: "for earlier canons also decided that each province (*prouincia*) should follow the same usage in saying the psalms and administering religious services."[39] Multiple meanings of *prouincia* may be in play here, as in the 6th century the term might mean a provincial district dating back to Roman times (and therefore also an ecclesiastical province) or the territory of a sovereign,[40] thus reducing this innovation to no more than respect for the canonical letter. Religious unity, as ordered by the canon within the framework of *prouincia*, can thus be understood as operating at different scale levels. Nevertheless, moving the determination of the date of Easter (canon five) from the purview of the metropolitan, as had been the custom, to a prior agreement of all the metropolitans of the kingdom, is an example of the change of scale that took place in 633.[41]

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[34] IV Toledo, 2: "[…] placuit ut […] nihil ultra diuersum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis sacramentis agamus, ne qualibet nostra diuersitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismatis errorem uideatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalum uarietas ecclesiarum."

[35] So the following canons, 11 to 18, apply to this unification of the mass.

[36] IV Toledo, 2: "… nec diuersa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui una fide continemur et regno."

[37] For example, the first canon of the council of Gerona (517).

[38] Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 142–43.

[39] IV Toledo, 2: "[…] hoc enim et antiqui canones decreuerunt, ut unaquaeque prouincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat."

Why did the Fourth Council of Toledo support such a change? Beyond the issue of scandal[42] and schism feared by the bishops, what was at stake was not merely the unity of the Church, but, according to Rachel Stocking, the governability of the kingdom. The "program of consensus" put forth on the level of the kingdom of Toledo sought to make conciliar decisions executable and so to assure the survival of the *regnum*,[43] a concept, we should recall, understood by clerics not only as a political construct, but also as having metaphysical dimensions.[44] Then again, application of this attempted unification of the liturgy was by no means swift. In 675, the Eleventh Council of Toledo once again asked bishops and abbots to put an end to the variations of religious services within the province.[45] In practice, until the time of Julian of Toledo (680–90), each church seems to have had a system of *libelli*, a few pages bound together containing the contents of one celebration or another,[46] easy to spread over a diocese but leading also to a degree of disorder, in the absence of a single established ritual for all Hispania. We are forced to conclude that Toledo IV issued a kind of "order of unification" without really enforcing it.[47] At least Isidore of Seville can be credited with having opened the way towards greater standardization from a theoretical point of view.

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[40] Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 67–68.

[41] Ramón Gonzálvez Ruiz, "La obra de unificación litúrgica del Concilio IV de Toledo," in *Hispania Gothorum. San Ildefonso y el reino visigodo de Toledo. 23 enero - 30 junio 2007. Toledo, Museo de Santa Cruz* (Toledo: 2007), 269–84.

[42] The word *scandalum*, which must be understood in its Christian sense, "that which causes a fall," appears four times in the acts of 633; Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor: 2000), 156ff.

[43] Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus*, passim; Stocking, "Martianus," 186.

[44] Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir*, 321ff.

[45] XI Toledo, 3: "Ut in una prouincia diuersitas officiorum non teneatur."

[46] IV Toledo, 26: "Quando presbyteres in parrociis ordinantur, libellum officiale a sacerdote suo accipiant."

[47] Gonzálvez Ruiz, "La obra de unificación," 281.

3 Guaranteeing the Quality of Ecclesiastical Mediation

As a builder of institutions, Isidore could not concentrate all his efforts on ecclesiastical structure while neglecting the quality of the building blocks. After all, clerics, mediators of the sacred, had a crucial responsibility to the laity and took responsibility for the salvation of all God's people who had no means to access His Law by themselves: "The Apostles Creed and the Our Father are like the whole Law for the little people (*paruuli*) of the Church, and suffice them to attain the celestial kingdoms."[48] The seeming laxity with regard to the laity, at least to the simplest or most "childlike" among them (like *iuniores* or *seniores*, more commonly used, the word *paruulus* designates a social group using an age metaphor), in contrast demanded much of those leading them, the *praepositi Ecclesiae*,[49] who were expected to be able unhesitatingly to guide the laity on the true path. This position implied that the clergy needed to be trained and overseen.

3.1 *Training the Clergy*

The problem of clerical illiteracy had already been discussed at the Council of Narbonne in 589, which forbade the ordination of illiterate priests or deacons, prescribed forced instruction for those who had been ordained in spite of their ignorance, and punished resistance to learning with enclosure in a monastery.[50] The Fourth Council of Toledo (633) approached the same problem in the higher ranks of the Church. Its canon nineteen repeats from earlier canons the numerous conditions closing access to the episcopate and denying ordination to "those who could not read,"[51] certainly to priests, but above all to bishops. The ability to read was, however, only the most elementary level of the education that Isidore expected of clerics, and in particular of all those upon whom fell the *regimen animarum* (government of souls).[52] For, as canon 25 of the council of 633 indicates, "Ignorance, mother of all errors, is to be avoided above all among the priests of God."[53] Priests and bishops (it should be recalled that the word *sacerdos* does not distinguish between the two) should know Scripture and the canons so as to be able to preach and edify the faithful.

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[48] "Fidei symbolum et dominica oratio pro tota lege paruulis ecclesiae ad caelorum regna sufficit capescenda," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.21.

[49] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.33–35.

[50] Canon 11 of the Council of Narbonne (589).

[51] IV Toledo, 19: "[…] non promoueantur ad sacerdotium […] qui inscii litterarum sunt."

[52] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.33.

[53] IV Toledo, 25: "Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum maxime in sacerdotibus Dei uitanda est."

Holiness unsupported by knowledge would profit only the prelate himself, whereas by his learning and his words he could instruct his flock and confront his adversaries.[54] The priest sent to serve a parish beyond the city walls, necessarily far from his bishop, would therefore receive from him a *libellum officiale*, a sort of aide-memoire replacing the support of the best trained ecclesiastic of the diocese for his duty of ruling souls and celebrating worship.[55] Despite this focus on the role of the priest, Isidore's own efforts as a teacher were focused on the bishop.

Episcopal schools are attested in Hispania as early as the Second Council of Toledo in the first third of the 6th century. What this teaching consisted of has been described in diverse ways. According to Pierre Riché, it was entirely religious, without a trace of liberal arts, in both Hispania and in Gaul.[56] Jacques Fontaine, however, has found instances of educated Hispanic bishops who seem not to have been trained in monastic schools (the last bastion of the *artes* said Riché).[57] Whatever prevailed in episcopal schools in the 6th century, the instruction that Isidore sought for pastors of souls in the early 7th century was very far from being limited to a purely religious content, as other chapters in this volume demonstrate.

A review of the whole of Isidore's works gives a clear idea of his program of clerics' training, which was certainly implemented at least in the episcopal school of Seville. The primacy he gives grammar puts us at once in the realm of the liberal arts, where grammar is the first step.[58] Moreover, the first three books of the *Etymologies* give a complete view of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, and were to a great extent the instrument of their transmission in the Middle Ages in the West, as Jacques Fontaine reminds us.[59] Some of Isidore's other works are, as one might expect, devoted to biblical exegesis, especially *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, the *Mysticorum Expositiones Sacramentorum*, or the *De Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos*. The *Prooemia* are, in the view of Jacques Fontaine, an unfinished collection of rather disorganized notes which might have been an introductory course in the Bible, given at Seville's episcopal school. The dedication to "Orasius" of the *Allegoriae*, another minor work of exegesis, might be intended for Aurasius of Toledo, which would suggest that it was transmitted to be used in an episcopal school other than that of Seville.[60] Other treatises, like the *Book of Numbers* or the *De Natura Rerum,* associate exegesis with profane learning, following a procedure Isidore often uses. His three major grammatical treatises, *Differences*, *Synonyms,* and *Etymologies*, also bring together Christian content and a profane approach.[61] The relatively uncomplicated language of the *Synonyms* has been interpreted, we should note, as a sign of Isidore's desire to place it within the reach of not only of his episcopal colleagues, but also a broader public, including priests.[62] If there is no proof of use of his historical works (the *Chronicle, De viris illustribus, De Origine Gothorum*) for training the clergy in the Visigothic kingdom, still, Braulio of Zaragoza's reference to them in his *Renotatio* should be noted.[63] Finally, in Jacques Fontaine's view, we should consider Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* a real "reference book" intended for all Christians but especially for bishops, those who presided over the *officia* in the double sense of services (book 1) and ecclesiastical functions (book 2).[64] In some passages Isidore speaks familiarly to the reader, whom one can imagine as an episcopal colleague.[65]

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[54] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5.16.

[55] See n. 46 above.

[56] Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare. VI^e–VIII^e siècles* (Paris: 1962).

[57] Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement."

[58] See José Carracedo Fraga's chapter in this volume.

[59] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris: 1959). For more on the *Etymologiae*, see Jacques Elfassi's chapter in this volume.

It may seem futile to attempt an assessment of Isidore's program for the education of clerics. Admittedly, as late as 675, canon two of the Twelfth Council of Toledo deplores the ignorance of the provincial clergy. Granted, all of Isidore's works were not uniformly well known in Hispania, episcopal schools functioned more or less well, depending on the personality of the bishop in charge of them, and the levels of training of many members of the rural clergy probably left much to be desired. Be that as it may, assessing the cultural level of a kingdom by the measure of one of its great men (the "Isidorian Renaissance") seems thoroughly outdated.[66] In any case, once again, written sources are far too patchy for us to conclude failure or success.

3.2 *Supervising the Supervisors*

The quality of the supervision of the faithful is not merely a function of the education of the clergy but also of their orthodoxy and their behavior.

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[60] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 196.

[61] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 173.

[62] Jacques Elfassi, "Introduction," *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi. Synonyma,* CCSL 111B (Turnhout: 2009), X.

[63] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori.* It should be recalled that Braulio was probably not Isidore's student at the Seville school, José Carlos Martín, ed., *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensi episcopi,* CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 73–89.

[64] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 201.

[65] For example, Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.12–13.

[66] See Graham Barrett's chapter in this volume.

Affirmation of the true faith and the fight against heretical clergy were Isidore's constant preoccupations, perhaps originating in his youth spent in a world politically dominated by Visigothic Arians, before the conversion in 589.[67] In this sense, the major profession of faith which opens the Fourth Council of Toledo recalls the very long canon thirteen of the second provincial council of Baetica, held in Seville in 619, on Christ's double nature. A key moment in Isidore's fight against heresy, as Braulio stresses,[68] was the affair of the *Acephali* that provoked canon thirteen of the Second Council of Seville as well as the preceding canon: "on a certain bishop of the *Acephali*."[69] The synod in Seville "purged" the Monophysite errors of the Syrian bishop in question, known as Gregory, and obtained an orthodox profession of faith from him. Isidore's choice of the unusual adjective *acephalus* is not an innocent one; he also uses it remarkably often in his chronicle.[70] According to the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, the *Acephali* in his view are not so much heretics as impostor clerics, having neither leadership nor discipline, failing to respect Church hierarchy, in opposition to those who lived as they ought under the direction of bishops.[71] One should maybe understand that in his mind the verticality of ecclesiastical structures was the best guarantor of doctrinal purity, so that a commentator should not impose a clear distinction between these two problems. Some years later, two canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo were directed against the Arians. The first, mentioned above, bars former Arians from the episcopate,[72] formally reversing thus the integration of Arian bishops into the ranks of the Catholic episcopacy that had occurred in 589.

The other canon takes the position opposite that of Martin of Braga (*De trina mersione,* a letter of unknown date) and prescribes simple immersion for baptism so as not to seem to recognize the Arians' triple immersion, until then the practice of some Hispanic Catholics too.[73] This relative rejection in 633 of solutions adopted in the previous century certainly owes much to the preoccupations of Isidore, who devoted extended chapters of his *Sentences* to heresy[74] at about the same time (at least if we accept, with Pierre Cazier, that this is a very late work).[75] The question of the number of baptismal immersions is at the intersection of dogma and ritual, and bishops were supposed to oversee the ritual practice of rural clerics, according to the Fourth Council of Toledo. This oversight was supposed to occur at least twice a year: when the parish priests came to the provincial council or to litanies, they were to report to the bishop how they celebrated mass and administered baptism;[76] the prelate was also supposed to go out to inspect his clergy, by making a yearly tour through his diocese.[77] But the primary functions of the provincial council and the bishops' tour were to oversee and correct the discipline of the clergy, for which the bishop was the guarantor, as canon three of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 recalls.[78] The bishop was to see to it that the clerics in his diocese respected the duties and prohibitions enumerated at length in the chapter devoted to them in the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, "On the rules pertaining to clerics,"[79] while applying to himself (under the oversight of the metropolitan and the council) equivalent or more demanding conditions.[80] The Fourth Council of Toledo repeats some essential points of discipline punished by deposition and penitence in a monastery: from young boys up to the bishop, members of the clergy must respect the rule of chastity, which in some cases did not exclude legitimate marriage;[81] they were strictly forbidden to seek the advice of diviners or magicians;[82] they were not to shed blood, either in passing sentence for capital crimes (in the case of bishops) or by participating in armed sedition;[83] they were not to disturb sepulchres.[84]

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[67] See Purificación Ubric Rabaneda's chapter in this volume.

[68] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori.*

[69] II Seville 12.

[70] Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 97: Isidore "sees *Acephali* everywhere."

[71] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.3.1.

[72] IV Toledo 19.

[73] IV Toledo 6. For that reason, Gregory the Great, *Epistula* 1.41, had approved the decision of Leander of Seville to avoid the triple immersion practiced in Rome.

[74] Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.16 and 17(16). See Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, 239.

A final subject of surveillance of priests and even bishops is the preservation of the interests of churches against their own resident clergy, easily tempted to confuse the goods they were in charge of with their property. The Third Council of Toledo in 589 was already concerned with bishops' exactions from their parishes following complaints to this effect.[85] Similar complaints can be seen to have persisted in the 7th century, as the Second Council of Seville (619) forbade bishops from destroying or despoiling monasteries in their diocese,[86] and the Fourth Council of Toledo protects family foundations against bishops, even though it assigns their management (*ordinatio*) to them.[87] Finally, another canon limits bishops' tendency to free ecclesiastical slaves before their death, since such actions impoverished their church. These manumissions would benefit the bishops in the afterlife and harmed the church that had been confided to them; they were to be annulled by their successor, unless the Church had been compensated from the bishop's personal fortune.[88] To sum up, Isidore wished a particularly close watch to be taken on the orthodoxy of the clergy, their fulfillment of ritual, and the protection of the churches with which they were entrusted.

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[75] *Contra*, for a much earlier date for the *Sententiae*, see José Carlos Martín, "Une nouvelle édition critique de la *Vita Desiderii* de Sisebut, accompagnée de quelques réflexions concernant la date des *Sententiae* et du *De uiris illustribus* d'Isidore de Séville," *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), 127–80.

[76] IV Toledo 26.

[77] IV Toledo 36.

[78] IV Toledo 3: "Nulla paene res disciplinae mores ab ecclesia Christi depulit quam sacerdotum neglegentia qui contemptis canonibus ad corrigendos ecclesiasticos mores synodum facere neglegunt."

[79] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.2: *De regulis clericorum.*

[80] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5: *De sacerdotibus.*

[81] IV Toledo 21–24 and 42–44.

[82] IV Toledo 29.

[83] IV Toledo 31 and 45.

[84] IV Toledo 46. The canon alludes to "public laws" punishing this crime by death, two laws of the *Liber Iudiciorum* (*Leges Visigothorum* 11.2.1–2).

4 God's Church and Human Quarrels

One of the major obstacles to perfecting the ecclesiastical system imagined by Isidore was probably a function of the political nature, in the broader sense of the term, of the 7th-century Church. The Church was then a human organization with a role in the management of public affairs and in which power relations were at work that interfered with those of the great families and factions of the realm. In this setting, the repression of clerics' disciplinary infractions, especially of the defaming sin of the flesh (*carnalis labes*), cannot be seen as merely a theoretical matter. In some cases it must also be understood in the light of possible conflicts within the Church itself. The judicial function of conciliar assemblies, as well as the fact that canons were sometimes adopted in response to real-life problems, allow us a rare insight into two cases which point to this kind of conflict—in which a bishop was deposed by Isidore or at his urging. The first is the case of Agapius of Cordoba, mentioned earlier. The Second Council of Seville (619) specifically mentions him as being responsible for the usurpation of certain episcopal functions by the priests of the diocese,[89] without, for all that, condemning him, since he was no longer a bishop in 619.[90] That Agapius should have made such a mistake is not surprising as, untrained in Church matters, he had been named directly (*statim*) from secular service (*militia saecularis*[91]) to the priestly ministry,[92] which means he had not received in succession all of the ecclesiastical ranks. Offspring of an illustrious Visigothic family,[93] Agapius (II) was named to his position after 597 and before 612, no doubt appointed by King Witteric (603–10) to oversee Cordoba, an important city that had recently been in rebellion.[94] The need to assert his power may have led Agapius to depose some clerics unjustly or for political rather than strictly disciplinary reasons. The council of 619 presents the case of the priest Fragitanus, stripped of his position and exiled by the bishop of Cordoba "although he was innocent" and "he was sentenced by tyrannical power, not canonical authority."[95] It seems likely that Agapius was appointed in the context of the factional struggles affecting Baetica, of which Fragitanus's expulsion was one episode.[96] Isidore's letter to Helladius of Toledo asking him to depose an unnamed bishop by sentence of the synod, as analysed earlier, most certainly refers to Agapius, who would thus have been unseated for having committed "sin of the flesh" between 615 and 619, during the reign of Sisebut. He was replaced by Honorius, who sat at the Second Council of Seville.[97]

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[85] III Toledo 20.

[86] II Seville 10.

[87] IV Toledo 33.

[88] IV Toledo 67. In 656, X Toledo was to annul the will of Bishop Ricimir of Dumio, who had freed 500 ecclesiastical slaves.

[89] II Seville 7: "Septimo examine relatum est nobis uenerantissimum quondam Agapium Cordobensis sedis episcopum frequenter presbyteres destinasse, qui absente pontifice altaria erigerent, baselicas consecrarent [...]."

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[90] He is termed "once (*quondam*) bishop of Cordoba" by the canon; moreover, Bishop Honorius subscribes to the acts for the see of Cordoba.

[91] The "military" origin often ascribed to Agapius of Cordoba comes from a loose translation of this expression, which may refer either to civil or to military service. See Céline Martin, "Hiérarchie et service dans le monde visigothique: la *militia* des laïcs," in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident médiéval (400–1100)*, eds. D. Iogna-Prat, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan (Turnhout: 2009), 325–41.

[92] II Seville 7: "[…] quod quidem non est mirum id praecipisse uirum ecclesiasticis disciplinis ignarum et statim a saeculari militia in sacerdotale ministerium delegatum."

[93] *Passio sancti Zoili Cordubensis* 4: "[…] quidam uir nobilis ex Uisegotorum propagine, clarus genere, Agapius nomine […]." On the connections and the contradictions between the Council of Seville and the later Passion of Saint Zoilus, see Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "Inventiones reliquiarum en la Hispania tardoantigua: análisis de sus actores," *Polis* 16 (2004), 35–44.

[94] Luis A. García Moreno, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca: 1974), 251–52; in his view the object of this appointment was to counter the influence of Isidore's family in Baetica.

[95] II Seville 6: "potestate tyrannica non auctoritate canonica."

[96] Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "In ecclesia contra ecclesiam. Algunos ejemplos de disputas, violencias y facciones clericales en las iglesias tardoantiguas hispanas," *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007), 270.

[97] Castillo Maldonado, "Inventiones reliquiarum," 41–43.

The second case, concerning Martianus of Astigi (modern Ecija), is more complex. He was deposed by a council of Seville whose acts have not come down to us (like those of the Toledan synod that probably deposed Agapius). It is nonetheless generally accepted, after Paul Séjourné,[98] that the same canon of the Third Council of Seville (probably held sometime between 622 and 624) is the origin for the canons later integrated into the Hispana (the canonical collection that transmitted the Hispanic canons prior to 711).[99] Another cleric from Astigi, Aventius, had succeeded Martianus, who could not appeal, as he was imprisoned. When the case was reopened in 638, after Isidore's death, some irregularities became apparent, including the fact that Aventius had sought false witnesses against Martianus.[100] The case is clearly part of the factional struggle within the city.[101] Still, the role played by the metropolitan seems crucial: he did not uncover these irregularities at the time of the first trial; he accepted Martianus' return to his rank, but not to his episcopal see at the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which he presided in 633;[102] and his death alone permitted the deposition of Aventius two years later. As Rachel Stocking stresses, Isidore of Seville's intervention changed a factional episode into a problem of Church government. The resulting discomfort with the extended failure of the Church to take care of the matter is indicated by the disappearance of the acts of Seville III, which remained lost at the time of the 638 retrial, possibly because Isidore did not include them in his probable revision of the Hispana.[103]

5 Conclusion

In all these different ways, Isidore endeavored to construct a stronger Church for his own times and beyond: enhancing its verticality, creating the ecclesiastical level of the kingdom, training and supervising the clergy so the flock would be correctly attended. Yet, far from playing the part of an impartial observer, Isidore also took sides in the factional quarrels that shook Baetica in his time—to what extent is hard to know. And yet again, he was capable of transmuting such conflicts into guidelines intended to organize a solid Church government, often by resorting to the most "modern" resources of Roman law.[104] A full assessment of his role in the construction of the Church of Hispania must focus as much on his factional biases as on his creative actions.

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[98] Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 30–32.

[99] Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección*, 5:482–85.

[100] *Exemplar iudicii inter Martianum et Aventium episcopos*: J.C. Martín, ed., "El *Iudicium inter Martianum et Habentium episcopos* (a. 638): Estudio, edición y traducción", *Habis* 49 (2018), 139–74.

[101] Castillo Maldonado, "In ecclesia contra ecclesiam," 275.

[102] An inglorious half-measure. See Stocking, "Martianus," 173.

[103] Stocking, "Martianus."

Translated by Marian Rothstein

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[104] Fregarius's reinstatement as priest (II Seville 6) was based on the Codex Justinianus (3.22.6), which legal experts long insisted was unknown in the kingdom of Toledo; see Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'Église*, 107.

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CHAPTER 11

Living a Christian Life: Isidore of Seville on Monasticism, Teaching, and Learning

Pedro Castillo Maldonado

1 Introduction

Given the context of an overwhelmingly Christian milieu in which he lived, Isidore's wisdom could only be understood as extraordinary.[1] It was destined to guide the souls—"*Ars est artium regimen animarum,*" in the words of Pope Gregory the Great,[2] who had a profound influence on Isidore.[3] It was Braulio who urged Isidore to send him a copy of the *Etymologiae* (*c.*632), as he regarded Isidore's talent as a divine gift which must be shared and distributed as spiritual nourishment for salvation, wisdom, and knowledge.[4] Isidore perfectly fulfils these requirements. Far from the figure of the anonymous sage secluded in his ivory tower, he made an important impression on both the Church and the Visigothic state, known as Isidore's "*tutela*" (guardianship) over the Visigothic kingdom.

Isidore carried out an arduous mission as a religious and social leader, part of which was a vast plan of ecclesiastical reforms after a decade of turbulence, the 580s. Such reforms were considered essential if a confessional Catholic state was to be attained following the Third Council of Toledo in 589. Isidore's main goal was the optimal training of the consecrated persons. In an institutionalized church, it was no longer sufficient for its members to live a life of integrity (and the ideal of purity was very far from reality at the time). In

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[1] In what follows, church councils will be cited according to the following system: numeral followed by name of city hosting the council (edition); e.g. III Toledo 3 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez) refers to the third canon of the Third Council of Toledo in the edition of Martínez Díez and Rodríguez. Two editions of church councils are cited in this chapter: Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, eds., *La colección canónica hispana*, 6 vols (Madrid: 1966–2002); and José Vives, ed., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona: 1963).

[2] Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis* 1.1.

[3] See Jamie Wood, "A Family Affair. Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages. Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 45–48.

[4] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistola* 5, 41–43.

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particular, the main aspiration was to homogenize the different orders culturally in order to prepare them for their specific functions.

If a bishop's main duty was to teach, Isidore asks himself: how can one teach what one has not learned? As a result, the bishop's first obligation is to study the Scriptures and the canons.[5] Isidore was very well aware of the irregularities that an ignorant bishop could generate without the proper training.[6] Similar challenges faced the rest of the ecclesiastical ranks, mainly those who were in charge of preaching and liturgy. According to Isidore, it was utterly unacceptable to ordain illiterate priests.[7] It was then that he promoted a norm demanding that the clergy know how to read at least the *manuale* or *liber missarum*, which the priests would receive upon being ordained to work in rural churches.[8] Already during the Third Council of Toledo in 589 this norm had been established, if not word for word, at least in spirit. That same year, bishops gathered in Narbonne ruled that no priest or deacon would receive an ordination if he did not know how to read; and those who had been ordained illiterate had to learn to read immediately. In case of resistance, the priest in question would lose any sort of allowance and would be confined to the walls of the monastery under the authority of an abbot.[9] Naturally, monasticism is not exempt from these reforms. Isidore's doctrine and course of action regarding monastic life affect mainly organization and discipline, but also the education and spiritual life of monks.

2 Isidore's Monasticism

In order to understand the nature of Isidore's teachings in this field we should begin from two apparently contradictory but actually very complementary personality traits: Isidore's contemplative vocation, and a life of pastoral responsibilities in his position as bishop. Destined for the bishopric, he longed for the secluded life of a monk—the monk he never was.[10] It is even very probable that with time his longing for a monastic life was exacerbated. In one of the few passages in which Isidore expresses intimate feelings he appears to be overwhelmed by all his responsibilities.[11]

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[5] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.35.1a-b; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5.12–17.

[6] Isidore participated in the synod that oversaw the case of Agapius of Cordoba, who had become a priest straight from the military and was illiterate: II Seville 7 (ed. Vives).

[7] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.7.4.

[8] IV Toledo 26 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez). Similarly, right education was the responsibility of every individual: accents, the correct inflections and, in general, a deep knowledge of texts were essential: Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.11.2. On this topic, see Michael Richter, "Oral communication," *Settimane di Studio* 52 (2005), 454–55, 465–67.

[9] Narbonne 11 (ed. Vives). However, the bishops gathered at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653 recognized that the number of ignorant priests was far too high and established prerequisites such as knowledge of the psalter, the songs and hymns, and how to administer baptism, VIII Toledo 8 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez).

Isidore's contemplative vocation takes us back to his early years as a youth. Leander, his older brother, previously a monk and then bishop of Seville, played a very important role as Isidore's tutor.[12] Whether or not Leander personally trained Isidore as his private teacher in a monastery or in the episcopal school—distinctions that are questionable—[13] what is certain is that Isidore received an archetypal monastic education. For instance, it is very likely that Isidore imagined that mealtimes would never lack books, to be expected in a refectory, just as had been established at the Third Council of Toledo.[14] It is not by chance that he emphasized the character of monks in the biographical entry he dedicated to Leander.[15] But Leander is not just any monk; he is cultured and well-equipped intellectually. Unquestionably, part of his tutelage would be the instruction of his brother.[16] Therefore, Isidore received a moral and religious education, but secular subjects and the classics were also part of the curriculum.[17]

This formative period marked Isidore's personality for the rest of his life. Lauded already as "preceptor" of the kingdom, in 633 he regulated the destiny of youths living among the clergy, presumably drawing from his own youthful experiences: let them live close to the church under the same roof—in a community, as it was in the monasteries—educated within the ecclesiastical discipline and under the tutelage of an elder. If they were orphans, they should be protected under the guidance of the bishop.[18] A century earlier, the Second Council of Toledo (531) had mentioned schools under episcopal supervision. In these schools, under the watchful eye of the bishop, those who entered from a very early age learned from an elder who was commissioned for this task, as in a monastery.[19]

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[10] As demonstrated by Julio Pérez Llamazares, "¿San Isidoro de Sevilla, monje?" in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: 1936), 39–55. The last noteworthy attempt to turn Isidore into a monk is by Justo Pérez de Urbel, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Su vida, su obra y su tiempo* (León: 1940).

[11] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.34.3b. This is how Bishop Caecilius of Mentesa retired to a monastery, Sisebut, *Epistula ad Cicilium Mentesanum*. Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.33.3, however, considers the bishopric a divine plan that he has no option but to fulfil.

[12] Leander of Seville, *De institutione uirginum* 31.11.

[13] Jacques Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement ecclésiastique dans l'Espagne visigotique," *Settimane di Studio* 19, (1972), 145–202 and 213–02. On the few differences regarding instruction in episcopal and monastic schools, the case of Fructuosus is noteworthy: having earlier been introduced to monasticism, he developed his profession in the school of Bishop Conantius of Palencia, *Vita Sancti Frutuosi.* 2.8–10.

[14] III Toledo 7.

[15] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 28.2–3.

[16] Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro el hombre," in *San Isidoro. Doctor Hispaniae* (Seville: 2002), 73. The bishop of Merida received his nephew, Fidelis, whom he instructs with the utmost dedication, although the succession is actually assured through a more efficient means, economic blackmail, *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* 4.4.1–7 and 17–23.

[17] Isidore showed off his excellent memory –*recordatio ueteris lectionis*– cultivated through long hours of *lectio* and *meditatio.* See Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1983).

This fondness for monastic life has been traditionally dealt with as something of secondary importance in the life of Isidore, overshadowed by his role of polymath and ecclesiastical and social leader.[20] His contemporaries appear to have constructed this vision. An anonymous monk compares Fructuosus with Isidore. He expressed that Isidore, with his diligence and in his writings, has taught about the external, whereas Fructuosus illuminated the inner contemplative life.[21] In my opinion, this is a rather obtuse view of Isidore because almost all his writings are permeated with monastic spirituality. Monasticism is not a main theme in his literary production, yet it is scattered in many of his works,[22] and as a result, as we will see, it is not restricted to the monastic life.

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18 IV Toledo 24 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez). This tutelage was not only formative; it was also to protect his patrimony. In fact, at the time of his death, Isidore still possessed the family's inheritance. On this topic, see Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "La muerte de Isidoro de Sevilla: apuntes de crítica histórico-hagiográfica," *Habis* 32 (2001), 577–96.

19 II Toledo 1 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez) regulates *scholae lectorum*: children of up to eighteen years of age received an education that would equip them as readers (later they would make a vow of chastity, and two years later they would have access to the subdiaconate). See the interpretation of this canon in Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Problemas culturales en la Hispania tardorromana y visigoda," in *De la Antigüedad al Medievo: siglos IV–VIII. III Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Madrid: 1993), 23 and n. 51. Naturally, the immediate objective is to learn letters but the fact that the children were meant to be under the care of a superior testifies to the religious nature of the education they received. On the position of the superior, see Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, *Jerarquías eclesiásticas y monacales en época visigótica* (Salamanca: 1976), 205–09. The fact that the act of entering is accompanied by prayer gives us an idea of the nature of this education: *Liber Ordinum* 7.

20 Perhaps because Isidore did not develop a systematic monastic theology. However, there is no shortage of notes on the topic, e.g. Ursicino Domínguez del Val, *Historia de la Antigua literatura hispano-cristiana*, vol. 3 (Madrid: 1998), 404–05.

21 *Vita Sancti Fructuosi* 1.13–14.

22 Jacques Fontaine, "La vocation monastique selon saint Isidore de Séville," in *Théologie de la Vie Monastique. Études sur la Tradition patristique* (Paris: 1961), 353–69; Adalbert de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 11 (Paris: 2007),

His first writings already attest to his interest in monasticism. In the *Differentiae* Isidore develops the distinction between two ways of life, contemplative and active. Whoever desires to come closer to the first one should begin by committing to the "study" of the second.[23] This is an idea he reiterates throughout his work: one must purify oneself through good deeds before setting out to live the ascetic life. Therefore, he sets forth a plan of spiritual progression, under the influence of Gregory, in which contemplation is granted a superior value.

The *Synonyma* also transmit the typical spirituality of one who values monastic life.[24] Besides the dichotomy between *negotium* and *contemplationis otium*, Isidore presents a *norma uiuendi* of ascetic conduct. Idleness leads to lust, whereas work tires the body, and reading, meditation, and continuous prayer conquer temptations.[25] Isidore suggests that the reader, "whomever he might be," as the words of his prologue indicate, follows a set of precepts very similar to the ones observed by monks.

However, we are dealing with a theoretical proposition, as Isidore, an experienced bishop, knew very well. Isidore's pragmatic component prevails by descending from the *desiderata* to the pragmatic. Isidore is conscious of the various categories, which he carefully records in *De ecclesisticis officiis*. Each ecclesiastical office has its own dangers, moral demands, and duties. With respect to the monks, prayer, reading, dialogues, vigils, fasts, and work must constitute their daily activities. These undertakings shall take place in accordance with and under the paternal leadership of the abbot.[26] As for physical asceticism, food would be scarce, given that its sole purpose was to meet the most basic needs. Nuns would guard their virginity through isolation. Being a measured and learned man both on the subject of ascetic literature and its practical application, he points out a risk: many monks boast about their ascetic discipline, and so they seek out fame, praise and honour.[27]

105–65; Paula Barata Dias, "L'ideal monastique, les moines et les monastères du monde wisigothique selon Isidore de Séville," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 143–54.

[23] Isidore, *Differentiae* 2.32.

[24] Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville auteur ascétique: les énigmes des Synonima," *Studi Medievali* 6 (1965), 163–95; Attilio Carpin, "Itinerario spirituale isidoriano: dal peccato alla virtù," *Sacra Doctrina* 48.5 (2003), 82–145.

[25] Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.18–19.

[26] We know something of the nature of this government thanks to hagiographical reports of the fate of a drunk monk: after verbal reprimands, there were beatings, fasts, and confinements, *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* 2.20–24 (CCSL 116:15).

[27] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.18.

Isidore's pragmatism was finally enforced in his pastoral activity at councils, cemented in the councils II of Seville (619) and IV of Toledo (633). Here, he tried to protect and promote the cenobitic phenomenon by following the path his brother had set before him in the Third Council of Toledo in 589. Besides considering monasteries as places of penitence for the clergy, the Second Council of Seville addressed monasticism in two of its canons. In the first place, it ordains that monasteries must not be damaged or dissolved, with a special cautionary tone against bishops who try to do so.[28] This is the typical defence of the economic independence of Visigothic monasteries.[29] Secondly, the council decreed male *tuitio* over female monasteries. Nuns would be led by monks both in economic matters—and this caution is important in order to subordinate the nuns doctrinally—and in the building itself. Finally, he insisted that convents must be located far from monasteries.[30] Leander had already stressed the need to avoid all contact between nuns and monks, given both sexes naturally burn like fire and tow.[31]

The Fourth Council of Toledo, convened during a delicate political situation,[32] was intended to unify both liturgy and ecclesiastical discipline. With respect to monasticism,[33] abuse at the hand of bishops was said to be rampant, and so it was stipulated that the power of bishops be limited to disciplining and naming abbots, as well as other aspects of monastic life.[34] At the same time a new measure was approved, giving the monastic movement great momentum: bishops were encouraged to allow the clergy to enter a monastery, if they so desired.[35] Above all, however, the council ruled on the impossibility of abandoning monastic life.[36] The *uagatio* was utterly prohibited[37] because these "wandering monks" are fake or pseudo monks who do not obey episcopal rules and boast of a forced asceticism; they should be secluded in the monastery.[38] Throughout his literary production Isidore could hardly conceal his suspicions about those who live the ascetic life in isolation. In his classification of monks developed in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, beholden to Jerome, Augustine, and Cassian, Isidore does not conceal value judgements. The list of "positive monks" is headed by cenobites, who are characterized by life in community. These are followed by the hermits, whose ascetic practices he can only admire. The anchorites constitute the third group of monks; they count in their favour their initial training in the monastery.[39] Likewise, in the *Etymologiae*, making a more neutral classification,[40] Isidore points out that the anchorites should achieve preliminary training in a monastery.[41] Isidore favours the monastery as the pinnacle of contemplative life, although he knows that the first monks were hermits.[42] Finally, the Council of Toledo, led by Isidore, seemed convinced about the monasteries' capacity for catechetical instruction: it was to them that Jewish parents should entrust their children,[43] although it was seclusion, isolation, and discipline that made monasteries ideal places to achieve such ends.

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[28] II Seville 10 (ed. Vives).

[29] On matters pertaining to patrimony and economy, Pablo C. Díaz Martínez, *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo* (Salamanca: 1987).

[30] II Seville 11 (ed. Vives).

[31] Leander of Seville, *De institutione uirginum* 2.

[32] See the chapter by Andrew Fear elsewhere in this volume.

[33] Paul Séjourné, *Le dernier Pére de l'Égise: Saint Isidore de Séville. Son rôle dans l'Histoire du Droit Canonique* (Paris: 1929), 211. Some of the canons could have been written by Isidore himself: Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," in *San Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías*, eds. J. Oroz Reta and Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero, 2nd ed. (Madrid: 1993), 157–58.

[34] IV Toledo 51. Nevertheless, IX Toledo 2 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez), held in 655, complained about bishops committing robberies and stipulated that lay founders of a monastery should be able to name the abbot.

[35] IV Toledo 50 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez). This norm established monks' right to be accepted into the priesthood: Lérida 3 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez).

However, Isidore's main works on monasticism, which differ in scope and presentation, are without a doubt the *Regula monachorum* and the *Sententiae*. In these he combines his most pragmatic perspective, derived from his capacity as bishop, with the most spiritual, which is marked by his vocation for contemplation.

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[36] IV Toledo 49 and 52 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez). It is impossible to desert the monastery in the same way that the profession itself is irrevocable: Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.22.3. This included oblate children: José Orlandis, *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales* (Pamplona: 1971), 51–68.

[37] IV Toledo 53 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez).

[38] The *Regula Communis* 20.641–43 (CPL 1870) stipulates that those who escaped should be returned with their hands tied to their backs.

[39] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.2–4.

[40] Antonio Linage Conde, "Isidoro de Sevilla, De monachis (Etymologiarum, VII, 13)," *Studia Patristica* 13 (1975), 479, although he prioritizes anchorites over hermits.

[41] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 7.13.3.

[42] This does not mean that the origin of monastic life was not the first Christian community of Jerusalem, Domíguez del Val, *Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispano-cristiana*, 3:402.

[43] IV Toledo 60 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez). We suppose that these children did not come into the monastery as oblates. On the development of a school inside, for those who have been tonsured, and a school outside, for laymen, see Henri-I. Marrou, *Historia de la educación en la Antigüedad*, trans. Y. Barja de Quiroga, 2nd ed. (Madrid: 2004), 429–33.

3 The Rule for Monks:[44] Norms for Monks

The *Regula monachorum*, written *c.*615–18, is addressed to monks.[45] Isidore refers to it in a letter to Braulio as a notebook, a few pages containing rules.[46] One should not be deceived by such a modest statement. The piece abounds in literary pompousness, employing the writings of Jerome, Augustine, and Cassian.[47] Isidore's intention was to select some norms, as he himself declares, and to do so in a way that was easy to understand, in a rather rustic and accessible style, with the objective of contributing to the preservation and consecration of monks.[48] In sum, it is the work of an astute organizer permeated by disciplinary and instructional regulations.[49]

The organizational and behavioural manual was destined for the monastery *Honorianensis* in particular (its place is unknown), according to the indication given in the *praescriptio* of some manuscripts.[50] Therefore, Isidore gives precise indications to clarify and set order within a monastery over which he definitely had jurisdiction.[51] His text was not meant to replace the usual system of *codex regularum*; rather, it was intended to clarify it.[52] But the norms set by a bishop with jurisdiction had an unquestionably legislative element. In the eyes of monks and their abbot, the line between "consult" and "observe" would surely have been quite blurred. In the same way, given Isidore's position, it is easy to deduce that the rules could be applied to other monasteries too. From this perspective, one could affirm that it is part of Isidore's juridical pastoral, and that it reflects and contributes to the Baetican cenobitic practice of the 7th century.[53]

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[44] There is an English translation in Aaron W. Godfrey, "The Rule of Isidore," *Monastic Studies* 18 (1998), 7–29.

[45] An effective summary can be found in Adalbert de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire*, 123–65.

[46] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistola* 2.

[47] Karl S. Frank, "Isidor von Sevilla. Regula monachorum und ihre Quellen," *Studia Patriastica* 13 (1975), 461–70; Neil Allies, "The Sermo Plebeius and the Spoken Language in the Monastic Rule of Isidore of Seville," in *In Search of the Medieval Voice: Expression of Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. L. Bleach, K. Närä, S. Prosser, and P. Scarpini (Newcastle: 2009), 3–18; Neil Allies, "Re-evaluating Monastic Rules: Style and Literary Purpose in the Rule of Isidore," *Downside Review* 128 (2010), 1–18.

[48] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, praefatio 5–9.

[49] Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "La vie monastique d'après les écrivains wisigothiques (VIIe siècle)," in *Théologie de la vie monastique. Études sur la Tradition patristique* (Paris 1961), 377. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles monastiques anciennes (400–700)* (Turnhout: 1985), 49 outlines three aspects of cultural interest with regards to the rules: relations with the outside world, internal life, and social models. Here, we are interested in internal life and specifically in the making of spiritual asceticism.

[50] Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Aspectos de la tradición de la Regula Isidori," *Studia Monastica* 5 (1963), 27–57; cf. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Meliá, eds., *San Leandro. San Isidoro. San Fructuoso. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda. Los tres libros de las Sentencias* (Madrid: 1971), 81.

[51] III Toledo 4 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez) authorized bishops to transform the churches of deacons into monasteries, as long as the monks abided by one rule.

[52] Anscari Mundò, "Il monachesimo nella Penisola Iberica fino al sec. VII. Questioni ideologiche e letterarie," *Settimane di Studio* 4 (1957), 93–97; Isabel Velázquez Soriano, "Reflexiones en torno a la formación de un corpus regularum de época visigótica," *Antigüedad y*

In the *Regula* Isidore adopts a purely pragmatic posture, conscious of the socio-historical context that was far removed from the one during the heroic times of the first ascetics.[54] As he indicates, it is the path suggested for those who cannot follow the old discipline of the elders.[55] In the same way, Braulio was said to have proposed a virtuous way of life for those of weak will.[56] Isidore's pragmatism leads him to possibilism: he constructs a behavioural guide achievable by the majority, demonstrating awareness of the multiple reasons for entering a monastery and recognizing that it was useless to hope that all monks would possess an extraordinary spirituality and asceticism.

It is difficult to take a stance on the most intimate motivations of those who entered a monastery, but their social origins can enlighten us. The social composition of Baetican monasteries was very diverse. It is evident that they attracted people of great social standing, such as Leander and Florentine, Isidore's brother and sister. In fact, Baetican monasticism, mainly situated in *suburbia*, had always had certain aristocratic and urban elements.[57] Leander in particular was very aware of social hierarchies within monasteries, dictating a more delicate treatment for those who belonged to a higher class outside the cloister. Yet the monastic movement also attracted those belonging to the

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Cristianismo 23 (2006), 531–67. See also José Freire Camaniel, "El Liber Regularum y el Codex regularum del monacato prebenedictino," in *Sub luce florentis calami: homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*, ed. M. Domínguez Garci (Santiago de Compostela: 2002), 350–58.

[53] Juan Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como Obispo," in *Isidoro de Sevilla. Doctor Hispaniae* (Seville: 2002), 87. This does not mean that there were not other monastic practices in the region; e.g. *Vita Sancti Fructuosi* 14–15. José Sánchez Herrero, "La regla monástica de san Isidoro y la evangelización," *Nova et Vetera* 20 (1995), 121–37.

[54] Regulations established by bishops opened a new phase in Spanish monasticism: Pablo C. Díaz Martínez, "Monasticism and liturgy in Visigothic Spain," in *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, ed. A. Ferreiro (Leiden: 1999), 178.

[55] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, praefatio 10–13.

[56] Braulio, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* 38–39.

[57] Luis A. García Moreno, "Los monjes y los monasterios de las Españas tardorromanas y visigodas," *Habis* 24 (1993), 179–92; Francisco Salvador Ventura, "Aspectos sociales en las Reglas monásticas de la Bética," in *La sociedad de la Bética. Contribuciones para su estudio*, ed. C. González Román (Granada: 1994), 495–514.

lowest strata of society. Leander refers to the virgins who had entered the convent from the humblest of places, saying they should be content, as they were no longer suffering from cold or hunger.[58] Indeed, since its beginnings all kinds of people from negligible origins sought help—spiritual but also material—in the monasteries, and the Visigoths were not exceptional in this regard. Religious zeal notwithstanding, the incentives for those aspiring to enter a monastery had to be concrete: there they would find a certain social prestige and, above all, a minimal level of sustenance and protection in such a context of extreme socio-economic insecurity as 7th-century Hispania. That the only motivation for monastic vocation was religious devotion, at the Fourth Council of Toledo and led by Isidore,[59] is mere *desideratum*.

Another incentive to not discard the monastic life could have been the opportunity it offered for education, and for those of modest origins, as Isidore himself declares, it would have been the only possible avenue to obtain any sort of schooling.[60] Perhaps this was the case of the young Augustus in Merida (a hagiographic character), who was still unable to read.[61] Whoever entered the monastery in this condition would receive an education very similar to the one provided in the aforementioned episcopal schools, but with at least two characteristics that are worth mentioning.

Those who had decided to enter the monastery and receive the tonsure, whether it was by their own choice or that of their parents, could not withdraw; it was a way to ensure the community's stability as well as to avoid possible funding problems. The issue was so transcendental that Isidore indicated in the rules that a promise to remain in a cloister had to be given in writing.[62] Deserting the monastery was utterly impossible. The only way to leave legitimately was to be "promoted" to the office of priest.[63] This is perfectly coherent with the organization of monks as a militia and the monastery as its barracks.[64] Baetican monasticism was aristocratic in nature, and for this reason it was subjected to a fierce hierarchical discipline which did not accept any sort of "democratic" government.[65]

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[58] Leander, *De institione uirginum* 27.

[59] IV Toledo 49 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez).

[60] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.16.

[61] *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* 1.1–6.

[62] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 4.95–97. In one *formula* the new monk promises to remain "within your cells – in the monastery – all the days of my life": *Form. Vis.* 14 (ed. Gil: 111–12). We also have access to records from post-Visigothic times on the entry ceremony, where they insist on making in writing the necessary commitment to remain in the monastery, *L.O.* 29 (ed. Férotin: 82–86).

[63] Antonio Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la península Ibérica* (León: 1973), 1:223–24. The bishops gathered at the council of Lérida refer back to the councils of Agde and Orléans when discussing the maintenance of monastic norms. Some monks interpreted cooptation into the clergy as a promotion, e.g. the Gallic hagiographic account in *Vita Patrum Iurensium* 1.6.

More relevant for its implications in education is the fact that, as opposed to the clergy, Isidore does not establish a minimal level of knowledge for entering the monastery.[66] He thought that one becomes a monk by vocation—or in the case of oblate children, by contribution. Therefore, education is something subsidiary, a means and not an end in itself.[67] This consideration has immediate consequences for the monks' education. It is not appropriate to read pagan or heretical authors, Isidore advises.[68] However, when he addresses Christians in general he values the reading of grammarians,[69] and we know very well that Isidore's library was not lacking in books written by pagans or heretics.[70] Yet the ultimate reason is simple: one essentially enters a monastery, not a school.

Nevertheless, once in the monastery a proper education became essential. Cassian had already expressed this necessity, and Isidore, who was familiar with Cassian's writings, concurred. Isidore despised ignorance, from which one could only obtain sin or heresy,[71] and of course he did not write about charismatic ascetics, such as Gregory the Great; rather, he wrote for monks who had to be trained for life in a community as well as to perform ecclesiastical services (monks could be co-opted as clergy, and monasteries could acquire the status of parish).

Illiteracy was of no concern, since the monastery would provide an education upon entry. Isidore stipulates that the instruction of novices would be the responsibility of an elder whom the abbot had appointed. He would be in charge of teaching the letters and virtues, leaving it up to the rest of the monks to provide a good example.[72] Physical punishment was part of this teaching regime. Isidore alleged that often children would pray not to be beaten in class, and in the *Regula* he commands that errors be chastised with physical punishment, albeit with limits.[73] With regard to the method for teaching reading, if we follow Valerius of Bierzo's philosophy, it essentially consisted in the repetition and memorization of songs.[74] Knowing the Psalms was equivalent to knowing how to read.[75] Although it was a very primary instruction, it was indispensable for gaining access to the Scriptures.

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[64] Juan Gil, "La normalización de los movimientos monásticos en Hispania: reglas monásticas de la época visigótica," *Codex Aquilarensis* 10 (1994), 11–14. In general, Edward E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr* (Washington, DC: 1950).

[65] In Fructuosus we can observe a greater unionization in the direction of the monastery, and this tendency is exacerbated in *Consensoria monachorum* (CPL 1872), Charles J. Bischko, "The date and nature of the Spanish Consensoria Monachorum," *American Journal of Philology* 69 (1948), 377–95.

[66] Isidore only institutes a trial period, *in hospitalitatis seruitium*, for three months: Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 4.73–75.

[67] This consideration is extended to Christians as a whole. Science, naturally religious, was a means to seek God, and it was more advantageous to live righteously than to possess great knowledge: Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.1.3 and 11.

[68] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 8.217–18.

[69] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.13.11.

[70] Isidore, *Versus* 2.

[71] Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.65. Instrumentally, Isidore prioritizes grammar: Carmen Codoñer, "La gramática y las artes liberals," *Settimane di Studio* 45 (1998), 1043–49.

Besides this elementary instruction, Isidore divides the "non-manual activities" of monks between prayers, reading, and conferences (all this without lessening their workload).[76] Prayer and reading were to be executed both in private and in groups. Monks must silently listen, said Isidore, to the preaching of the abbot and respond with quiet moans or tears.[77] In a milieu of limited literacy, as in the Visigothic one, liturgy acquired a fundamental value as a means for oral learning, where memorization was facilitated by repetition and song.[78] Moreover, lectures allow the abbot to shed light on what was read, constituting himself as the sole doctrinal authority in the monastery. The character of community, as opposed to the teachings of the catechumen,[79] encouraged doubts to be raised publicly in order for monks to learn. Finally, conferences, where the monastery's rules were reviewed, would serve to correct vices and establish order.

Each activity had its precise time. The life of monks revolved around the times of their duties, although the rhythm changed according to the season.

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[72] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 3.50–52 and 21.541–544. The monks' conduct was not always as exemplary as Isidore would have liked. Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula monachorum* 15.313–25, extends to condemning paedophilia.

[73] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.7.26; Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 18.448–51.

[74] Valerius of Bierzo, *Replicatio sermonum a prima conuersione* 11. Valerius had been taught traditionally, as a means of preparing individuals to climb the social ladder that he subsequently despised: Valerius of Bierzo, *Ordo querimonie* 1.

[75] Pierre Riché, *De l'education antique à l'éducation chevaleresque* (Paris: 1968), 35–36.

[76] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 6–7. This is further proof of Isidore's practical knowledge. Monks will sing while working to alleviate fatigue: Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 5.149–50.

[77] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.16.14.

[78] Susan Boyton, "Training for liturgy as a form of monastic education," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, eds. G. Ferzoso and C. Muesing (London: 2000), 7–20. In general, we must not magnify the role of written culture in instruction, as the basic learning process is oral: Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.67.

[79] Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De cognitione baptismi* 17.303.

In the summer, reading was done between the third and sixth hours, whereas during the rest of the seasons monks read from the morning until three in the afternoon. Isidore stipulates that during their daily duties, which had a different *ordo* from the other regions, monks should internally meditate on the songs. After vespers came the meditation, or a conference.[80] During mealtime there was also a *lectio diuina*, where together, including new converts and students, the monks would listen to a monk seated at the centre of the refectory. Upon finishing there came the prayer,[81] and then work, reading, or meditation aloud could take place.[82] Three times a week the community came together and in silence heard the preaching of the abbot or an elder whom he had chosen.[83]

Although prayer, reading, and conferences indubitably instruct the monk, they are, above all, ascetic practices. Together with work, they constitute a solution to temptation, as Isidore expressly declared.[84] The monk should have his mind and his work always focused on God, especially in times propitious for sin, such as bedtime: no solution is more effective against the nocturnal pollutions than an adequate posture and constant prayer.[85] Leander had recommended that the nuns pray continuously and read the sacred texts assiduously, even during their work and meals.[86] Nevertheless, knowledge was not counted among the virtues the nuns should treasure. It was not so much the acquisition of knowledge (even Leander omits the discussion on what was read, trusting in general that nuns would be indoctrinated by the abbess) as it was the mandate to keep busy throughout the day. In the end it was necessary that the life of the monk be a succession (without interruption) of reading, prayer, and work in order to avoid idleness and, among other vices, the demon of fornication. In this Isidore coincides with the *Regula Fructuosi*. Fructuosus's norms appear to be especially obsessed with making the monks' schedule a sequence of prayers in order to avoid idleness.[87] For instance, he fixed the second hour as a transition between the first and the third, and ordered that the last prayer before going to sleep be the *miserere.*[88] With these practices, *in primis*, both they (Isidore and Fructuosus) sought to form a spiritual rather than intellectual elite.

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[80] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 6.189–92.

[81] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 9.227–32 and 266–67.

[82] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 5.165–66.

[83] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 7.208–12 and 21.528–29.

[84] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.19.5. Obviously, this consideration does not eliminate its function supporting worship and "spiritual dialogue" with divinity: Bernardo R. García Pintado, *Espiritualidad y Lectio Diuina en las Sentencias de san Isidoro de Sevilla* (Zamora: 1980).

[85] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 13.351–69.

[86] Leander of Seville, *De instituione uirginum* 16 warns virgins against carnal readings of the Old Testament because the book Song of Songs could arouse temptations.

[87] Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles de la Edad Media*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: 1945), 2:122–23.

However, alongside their spiritual and ascetic functions, prayer, reading, and lectures had an indisputable cultural value with consequences in the spiritual and intellectual life of monks. For instance, a most fundamental tool was the library.[89] In the *Regula Isidori* the library was under the custody and responsibility of the sacristy. Monks could take out a codex just after dawn and had to return it immediately after vespers.[90] If this was not done, the monk would have committed a misdemeanour (he would be punished with three days of excommunication, or a flogging in the case of young monks).[91] While the care with which the codices were preserved is evident, Isidore, a lover of books and therefore understanding of the wear and tear incurred due to their constant use, was more severe with other irregularities stemming from an arrogant character that could mar relationships within the community.

Although it was an episcopal library rather than a monastic one, we know of the library in Seville because of Isidore's writings.[92] It allows us to affirm, nonetheless, that Christian authors constituted an overwhelming majority of it, including sacred texts, Christian poetry, Patristic literature, and canons. In the same way, school manuals as well as secular books could also be found on the shelves of the library. Literature of pagan content is mentioned in the *Versus in bibliotheca.*[93] Similar works perhaps could be found in monastic libraries.

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[88] Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula monachorum* 1.13–17 and 32–38. Thinking of hell and its flames was a technique to extinguish sexual desire: Isidore, *Synonyma* 1.46. .

[89] See Louis Holtz, "Vers la création des bibliothèques médiévales en Occident," *Settimane di Studio* 45 (1998), 1059–1106; Guglielmo Cavallo, "La biblioteca monastica come centro di cultura," *Codex Aquilarensis* 3 (1990), 11–21.

[90] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 8.211–13 and 21.509–12. Books are the property of monasteries, and for this reason they are under the care of the sacristy. On the ceremony of ordination of the sacristan and his designation as librarian and leader of the scribes, see *Liber Ordinum* 11.

[91] Isidore, *Regula monachorum* 17.402–11.

[92] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture*, 735–62; Jacques Elfassi, "Connaître la bibliothèque pour connaître les sources: Isidore de Séville," *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015), 59–66. Verses 7–10 of the epigraph allude to this library, José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (Barcelona: 1942), no. 352. See also Graham Barrett's chapter elsewhere in this volume.

[93] Isidore, *Versus* 24–27. The *Regula monachorum* does not mention it, perhaps because they considered the copying of the book as another manual task, destined for the economy of the monastery. See: Guglielmo Cavallo, "Entre lectura y escritura. Los usos del libro en el monacato primitivo y en las fundaciones benedictinas de la Alta Edad media," in *Silos. Un milenio II. Historia*, dir. J.A. Fernández Flórez (Silos: 2003), 131–42; and for Hispania,

Perhaps we could better appreciate the position Isidore bestows on spiritual asceticism within the monastery if we contrast his norms with the aforementioned *Regula Fructuosi*, written decades later, in the north-east of the peninsula and within a different sociocultural milieu. The *Regula Fructuosi* does not constitute a *vademecum* of how to conduct oneself within the monastery; rather, it is a precise code of ascetic rigour with a clear eastern influence. It talks about prayers, meditation, readings in groups, congregations, and even the reading of the rule itself and the lives of priests. But it does not mention a particular reading exercise or a monastic library. In contrast to this, Isidore bequeaths individual reading an important role in the everyday life of the monk and regulates with precision the functioning of the library. This might be yet another consequence of the aristocratic character of Baetican monasticism, and the personality of Isidore himself. However, always a realist, Isidore warns against a danger: by dedicating themselves to reading some monks aim to evade physical work.[94] The monastery of Isidore was no place for the old intellectual *otium*.

4 The Sentences: Monastic Guidelines for Clergymen and the Population

Together with the rule mentioned above, the *Sententiae* are crucial to gaining a better understanding of Isidore's monastic thought.[95] However, there is a fundamental difference that distinguishes the *Sententiae* from the *Regula*: the former text is addressed to the body of converts and not exclusively to monks.

The *Sententiae* is Isidore's crowning jewel from a spiritual perspective. This spirituality was characteristically monastic, like the *Moralia in Job*, from which he derived great inspiration. The *Sententiae* constitutes a synthesis of his thought, an authentic intellectual testament, if we accept a late dating of creation.[96] Nonetheless, it is not a theological treatise or given to speculation; it is

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Jordina Sales Carbonell, "Fabricando pergamino durante la Antigüedad Tardía. Unas notas arqueológicas para los monasterios de Hispania," *Augustinianum* 53 (2013), 469–99.

[94] Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, 5.139–40.

[95] For this analysis: Pierre Cazier, *Isidore de Séville et la naissance de l'Espagne catholique* (Paris: 1994), and Jacques Fontaine, *Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 235–50.

[96] Pierre Cazier, "Les Sentences d'Isidore de Séville et le IV^{e} concile de Tolede. Réflexions sur les rapports entre l'Eglise et le pouvoir politique en Espagne autour des années 630," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 373–85; Pierre Cazier, "Derrière l'impersonnalité des Sentences, aperçus sur la personnalité d'Isidore de Séville," in *De Tertullien aux mozarabes.*

rather a doctrinal and spiritual manual designed to aid learning and growth.[97] From this perspective it is part of his didactic pastoral project, as his compositional skill and use of persuasive language demonstrates.[98]

Structured in three books, the *Sententiae* include what should be believed and, in turn, known, the process of personal conversion, virtues as opposed to sins, and how one should live life. Isidore concludes with considerations on death, as it is the culmination of the spiritual itinerary previously described: knowledge of the faith, personal conversion, and conversion or collective morality.

The first book is a testament to Isidore's didactic intentions. Disregarding theological disquisitions, it is a doctrinal exposition of the minute, gathering together all that should be known. Nevertheless, Isidore is indebted to a whole cultural tradition, which means that he cannot avoid opposing religious science to pagan and heretical stubbornness. With regards to heresy, he stresses how the Church, initially with a very simple faith, had acquired doctrinal strength.[99]

The first chapter of the second book is dedicated to the wisdom that is based on religious science (and, for this reason, a limited science). Isidore believed that it was not convenient to scrutinize that which surpasses human comprehension.[100] But, above all, this book is centred on the figure of the convert. One should first approach and teach him the fight against the flesh with tenderness, leaving brusqueness for a later time.[101] As we have previously indicated, for Isidore the exercise of an active life—the elimination of vices and doing good deeds—is a prerequisite for the ascetic vocation. In keeping with the character of the text he concludes this book with a vast list of sins.

The third book is the most important given our purpose, and it is the most original. After a few introductory chapters, Isidore addresses the different components of society, each with their own responsibilities and different precepts. In short, he traces a descending scale of perfection corresponding to the

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Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine (Paris: 1992), 2:9–18. Nevertheless, see arguments in favour of the traditional dating of *c.*612–15 proposed by José Antonio de Aldama, in José Carlos Martín, ed., *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 133B (Turnhout 2006), 244–45.

[97] César Chaparro Gómez, "Tradición y novedad. Teoría y praxis: los proyectos culturales de Casiodoro e Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Actas del XI Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* 3, eds. J.F. González Castro et al. (Madrid: 2006), 28–35.

[98] It is important to distinguish between Isidore's original intentions and their later reception: Díaz y Díaz, "Introducción general," 134–35.

[99] Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.16.5.

[100] Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.1.7.

[101] Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.8.5.

different stages of the convert. The first echelon includes monks, and then come the priests and social leaders (the monarch, the judges; the regular people generally appear as an object of the actions of others). Once again, we see that Isidore places the monk at the uppermost level of perfection. According to Isidore, the monastic profession is not without its obstacles; the contemplative life advances in intervals. Therefore, it is the way of life for very few, the chosen ones.[102] Those who are chosen must exceed the general precepts so that those who lead the monks are distinct and superior. Monastic life needs training and a set of specific rules for its preservation. The first command is the separation and disregard for the world.[103] But this renunciation must be accompanied by an interior rejection of pleasures and human nature itself. Always downcast and dispirited as a penitent, the monk should lead a life of reading, prayer, and constant work so as to avoid pernicious idleness.[104]

If we ignore work and concentrate on the "non-manual activities" of monks, says Isidore, prayer results in purification, for which reason it is considered a priority. If not reading, it is preferable to dedicate oneself to prayer, and it should be done with the utmost tenacity, forgetting all worldly matters. There are two types of prayer: the one practiced internally and prayer uttered out loud through the singing of hymns.[105] They are both remedies, as they neutralize the attacks of sensual vices. We are dealing, therefore, with a consideration which is more ascetic than mystical.[106]

Furthermore, reading, preferably the Scriptures, instructs. Isidore was of the opinion that a brief reading in silence is better—*lectio tacita*—than a long one out loud, hence avoiding fatigue.[107] This is so that one interiorizes the text, understands it, but above all remembers it, no longer through one's ears but through one's eyes.[108] Reading is followed by meditation. This word, meditation, should not mislead us. We are not talking about an intellectual reflection, but a repetition or "rumination" of what was read. It is, once again, a method for memorization. Both reading and meditation should be done assiduously. Isidore believes that even the intellectually weak can attain the divine mysteries through diligent reading, for this is the prize of his efforts. On the contrary, the intelligent person who neglects to read commits sin because of abandonment. As with prayer, together with private reading there are duties within the monastery and mass. Isidore explains how the latter should be received in silence; it is effective for growth and most efficient if the mind thinks of images of the divine things that have just been heard.[109] It is evident that Isidore, without disregarding the nature of praise and "dialogue" with divinity inherent in the liturgy, was very aware of its instructive value. Finally, whoever learns and understands what he read has the best aptitude for communicating it to others.

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[102] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.15.1 and 8.

[103] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.17.1–2.

[104] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.19.5.

[105] On the importance of hymns, there is a theory that Isidore revised the *Psalterium* and composed an introduction to that effect, the *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum* (CPL 1220): Germain Morin, "La part de Saint Isidore dans la constitution du texte du psautier Mozarabe," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: 1936), 151–63. On individual prayer, Attilio Carpin, "La preghiera in Isidoro di Siviglia," *Sacra Doctrina* 46.6 (2001), 55–114.

[106] Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.12–13, urges the faithful to pray incessantly, adding immediately its role as an antidote against the devil.

[107] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.14.8–9.

[108] Guglielmo Cavallo, "Scrivere, leggere, memorizzare le Sacre Scritture," *Settimane di Studio* 45 (1998), 1006.

The third activity, incorporating discussion, dialogue, debate, or conferences, has the purpose of affixing what was learned. It is most useful to clarify doubts. In this respect, Isidore recommends figures of speech. The participants ask questions, but it is not about an intellectual discussion: Isidore emphasizes the importance of avoiding disputes, which can only lead to contentiousness and heresy.[110] A dogmatic authority always monopolizes the conference, avoiding the risk of it turning into a classical-styled *altercatio*. Therefore, it is not a modern seminary where there is democratic confrontation of differing ideas; rather, these processes inculcate dictates under the guise of dialogue. In any case Isidore prefers reading to conferences, perhaps because of its mystical element.

In my opinion it is important to note that Isidore places all these considerations on prayer, reading and conferences immediately before the chapters dedicated to monks. They are a sort of introduction to monastic life. Yet due to their position ahead of the chapters on the different ranks—monks, clergymen, and the faithful longing for perfection—we can deduce that Isidore aimed to propose these practices to the rest of society or at least to the group of believers wanting to attain perfection.[111] This explains why Isidore insists on how to carry out these practices and emphasized their utility, something considered superfluous in the *Regula*, as it was presumably familiar within the monasteries. If they were beneficial for the "professionals of conversion" or monks, they were good enough for the rest of the converts. It was by doing these activities that one could attain spiritual perfection. From this perspective, Isidore's anthropology is positive.[112]

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[109] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.10.1–3.

[110] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.14.1–6.

[111] New converts must become interested in reading and meditating the sacred texts, Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.19.

In sum, due to his own vocation for contemplation Isidore has the highest regard for monks. He presented an ideal of a life for the believer that was spiritually highly demanding, very similar to that of the monk.[113] From this standpoint we could talk about an authentic "monastic apologetic": Isidore presents the faithful—notably the religious leaders, and to a lesser extent the laypeople, with a treatise that soon becomes a *speculum principis*[114]—, a set of activities that he had learned during his formative years and which are characteristically cenobitic.

The way to perfection is undertaken according to rank. Isidore distinguishes a moral and specific instruction for each member of the ecclesiastical and social body. Let us concentrate briefly on this last aspect: Isidore, pragmatic and conscious of the diverse social categories which he understood as established by divine right, advocated vertical teaching, differentiated and discretionary. It was his understanding that the most venerable should receive instruction before the rest so that through them those who were under their care would in turn be taught sound doctrine. Besides, one must be aware of the nature of the receivers of instruction, just as he recommended that doctors should be according to the sex, age, and profession of their listeners.[115] We must remember that this discretionary instruction had reached its highest level in the *Regula Pastorialis* when Gregory the Great—the main source of the *Sententiae*—offers a long list of methods of exhortation. Likewise, in the *Synonyma* Isidore develops the methods and content of instruction: one must not be obscure when one teaches; one must teach people according to their profession, and—always with respect to religious science—one must teach general things to all, whereas some esoteric matters should be reserved for those who find themselves closer to perfection.[116]

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[112] Cf. Philippe Delehaye, "Les idées morales de saint Isidore de Séville," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 26 (1959), 17–49.

[113] Patrick J. Mullins, *The spiritual life according to saint Isidore of Seville* (Washington, DC: 1940), highlights the importance of compunction and asceticism—representative elements of penitential and monastic states—in Isidore's thought.

[114] The dogmatic genre related to the duties of social leaders was popular; e.g. it is found in some writings attributed to Eugenius II (see the *Appendix Eugeniana* in CPL 1236a and 1239): Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Aspectos de la cultura literaria en la España Visigótica," *Anales Toledanos* 3 (1971), 53–54.

[115] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.43.2 and 7.

[116] Isidore, *Synonyma* 2.68–69.

5 Monasteries: Cultural Hubs and the "Monasticization" of Education

Although, as we have already stated, the acquisition of knowledge was not supposed to be a primary concern for monks, two questions remain: how cultured were the monasteries under Isidore's care? Did the monks take advantage of the libraries in terms of their intellectual development? It is difficult to pronounce with assurance on this point, since we do not know the extent to which his rule was ever applied, geographically or chronologically. It is practically impossible to dissociate the literary production of Visigothic monks and bishops, from the monastery and to the clergy. Besides, the south of the Spanish peninsula seems to have fallen into a cultural lethargy after Isidore. Perhaps it would be more useful to ask about Isidore's influence in the development of Spanish monasteries as cultural centres.

Some monasteries in the Hispania of the 6th century were centres for religious teaching, an important point in the context of the supposed intellectual penury and poor training of the clergy. In fact, it was the monasteries that provided the Church with priests at that time. For instance, it was in the monastery of St Martin that little Vincent (later becoming bishop of Huesca in 557) received his education.[117] It is possible that education was essentially ascetic, but we are facing an indication of monasteries in which young monks were being trained to ascend to clerical orders.[118] We also know of Justinian of Valencia, a monk-bishop educated in the monastery of St Vincent who had a prolific literary output.[119]

During the second half of the 6th century Spanish monasticism acquired true cultural momentum[120] when a group of monks who had fled Africa under the leadership of the abbot Donatus founded the monastery *Seruitanum*. Its bookish culture was undeniable: they arrived with numerous codices, and it was the first monastery to abide by rules—in other words, to have written norms.[121] The abbot Eutropius would be Donatus's successor, an ecclesiastical leader, together with Leander, of the Third Council of Toledo. In his *De octo*

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[117] Vincent of Huesca, *Donatio* 1.

[118] Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, "La cultura en los monasterios visigodos," *Codex Aquilarensis* 3 (1990), 24–25.

[119] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 21. He carried out an important mission as founder and restorer of monasteries, as it is declared on his epitaph (José Vives, *Inscripciones*, no. 279).

[120] At the end of the century, Licinianus of Cartagena, *Epistula* 1.5.1–11, argues that it would be impossible for him to continue to meet the demands of Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*. However, it is very possible that this statement has much rhetoric and, in any case, explains the need to do away with the consideration of monks as clergymen very well.

[121] Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 3.

uitiis (CPL 1095), Eutropius demonstrates his broad knowledge, almost acting as a copyist of John Cassian. He does not hesitate to defend in a letter the authority of the abbot and the continuity of monastic rules. Isidore himself judges his text—*Epistula de districtione monachorum et ruina monasteriorom* (CPL 1096)—as being very useful for monks.[122] For his part, John, who was abbot of the monastery of Biclarum before becoming bishop of Gerona, was trained in the East. Besides his renowned *Chronica* he wrote a monastic rule—now lost—that, according to Isidore, was not only necessary for monks but also useful for all those who feared God.[123]

In the 7th century there was a multiplication of monks-bishops and, from the middle of the century, the presence of abbots at synods.[124] Culturally, the cases of John and Tajo in Zaragoza are of great significance. Concerning John, Ildephonsus states that he was more given to preaching than writing, although he created some liturgical texts and—importantly, because it indicates a level of secular knowledge—a method for calculating the date for Easter.[125] In relation to Tajo, Braulio qualifies him as an inveterate re-reader, since as an abbot he dedicated himself to the "*ocia sancta.*"[126] Yet, indubitably the best example of a monastery as a great cultural centre is Agali, which supplied Toledo with bishops, some of them famed for their literary production.[127] Eugenius I is another interesting figure, as he initially received a monastic education. He was transferred thereafter to the priesthood, where he received a new ecclesiastical instruction. He also stood out because of his knowledge of astronomy, a science which was popular in the 7th century, possibly because of its focus on heaven or because of the prevalent interest in eschatology in this century.[128]

I believe we should concede Isidore, recognized as an intellectual and, since the mid-7th century, an *auctoritas* in the schools,[129] a relevant role within this cultural landscape. Isidore attempted to institutionalize a formative function already present in the Spanish monasteries of the 6th century, and he became a mainstay of the cultural horizon of the 7th century.[130] These monasteries, together with bishops, would be the continuators of Isidore's role as saviour or renovator of the classical culture, as emphasized by his colleague, confidante, and earliest biographer, Braulio.[131]

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[122] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 32. Domínguez del Val, *Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispano-cristiana*, 2:361–70. The material on which Isidore drew was mainly derived from Africa.

[123] Isidore, *De viris illustribus* 31.

[124] Charles J. Bischko, "Spanish abbots and the Visigothic Councils of Toledo," in *Humanistic Studies in honor of John Calvin Metcalf* (Charlottesville: 1941), 1:139–50; José Orlandis, "Abades y Concilios en la Hispania visigótica," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 221–24.

[125] Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 5.

[126] Braulio of Saragoza, *Epistula* 42.10–15.

[127] Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "La obra literaria de los obispos visigóticos toledanos: supuestos y circunstancias," in *La patrología toledano-visigoda* (Madrid: 1970), 45–63.

[128] Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 12.

[129] As demonstrated by some poetry of Eugenius II of Toledo, which was directly connected with the *Etymologiae*, e.g. Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmina* 39.

More certain is the place of honour reserved for Isidore with regards to the instruction of the people of Iberia in the 7th century. We have already spoken about the training that he prescribes for the clergy and monks,[132] only differentiated according to the particularities of cenobitic life and specific functions of each clerical ministry. Yet clerical education and monastic education share a principle: they require literacy. In this regard Braulio points out that the ascetic Aemilian (deceased in the year 574) had merely been able to memorize—perhaps he did not know how to read—the first eight psalms when he had been put in charge of a rural church.[133] The literacy Isidore tried to impose is modest, but it is important to commend what we could call "professionalization," which was possibly quite demanding for the standards of the time.[134] Despite the efforts of Isidore and his posthumous reputation, we must not forget that the aforementioned cultural enlightenment was propelled by a minority of erudite clergymen, all of them abbots and bishops.

It is evident that Isidore differentiated between elements of the laity, especially rulers—at least some of them cultured—and the general populace. To King Sisebut Isidore dedicated his *De natura rerum*, where he explains natural phenomena, drawing from texts written by pagan authors yet giving them a

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[130] On Isidore's project of cultural reform in the 7th century, Jacques Fontaine, "Isidoro di Siviglia e la cultura del suo tempo," in *Seminario Isidoriano di Verona* (Padua: 1979), 3–52; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "La cultura de la España visigótica del siglo VII," *Settimane di Studio* 5 (1958), 813–44.

[131] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* 3–5. In Hispania there remained a respectable cultural level amongst the elite, as is demonstrated by poetry and its use in education. See Díaz y Díaz, "Aspectos de la cultura literaria," 34–58, and José Carracedo Fraga, "Poesía y poetas en la escuela visigoda," in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV). Actas del IV Congreso del Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee*, eds. M.C. Díaz y Díaz and J.M. Díaz Bustamante (Florence: 2005), 93–105. Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare. V^e–VIII^e siècles* (Paris: 1962), 345, states that there was nothing comparable in the rest of the Latin West. Cf., Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle* (Paris: 1979), 12–46.

[132] On his religious and intellectual training, see Justo Fernández Alonso, *La cura pastoral en la España romanovisigoda* (Rome: 1955), 71–118.

[133] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Vita Aemiliani* 5.12.

[134] IV Toledo 19, held in 636, rules that anyone who is incapable of reading—*deinceps*—cannot become a bishop.

Christian allegorical interpretation.[135] The monarch, who complains about having to complete an activity that takes up all of his time (just like Isidore),[136] responds with a poem-letter on eclipses. It is not an exchange between like-minded individuals on intellectual grounds, but Isidore does compliment the king on his originality and literary knowledge.[137] By showing his awareness of (Christianized) classical culture to the Visigothic monarch, Isidore only alludes to the religious instruction of the populace: to the uncultured people one must teach simple things.[138] For them, the infants of the Church, it was sufficient to know the symbol of faith and Sunday prayer.[139]

However, Isidore's proposed instructional programme for the clergy and monks could have had important consequences for the educational level of the population at large. At the monastery of Merida, children were taught under the influence of monk-pedagogues.[140] But it is in rural areas where this educational activity acquired a special relevance.[141] Monasteries, and perhaps to a lesser extent rural churches, were in charge of taking Christianity (or Christian education) to the countryside.[142] Here, the intention was that monks and clergymen (or monk-priests) taught, paraphrasing Isidore, what they had learned: knowledge intended for religious growth, essentially based on the Bible, hymns, and liturgical books. It is a curriculum based on the *auctoritas* of its sources, and which sets aside the *ratio* (the rational thinking).[143] In this sense, rural priests behave more like an evangelical-catechetical vanguard than teachers. In return, through the *litteratio biblica*, they preserve Latin, written tradition, and some instrumental knowledge, such as arithmetic, as demonstrated by Visigothic notarial acts and the epigraphs on slate boards found in Meseta which show school exercises in writing, accounting registries, and short religious texts.[144]

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[135] See Andrew Fear, "Putting the Pieces Back Together. *Isidore and De Natura Rerum*," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, 75–92; and Mary Beagon, "Variations on a Theme. Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception*, 57–74.

[136] Sisebut, *Carmen de eclipsibus solis et lunae* 4–9.

[137] Isidore, *De natura rerum*, praefatio 1.1–2. See Giovanni Gasparotto, "La Epistula di Sisebut a Isidoro di Siviglia nel contesto culturale del mondo visigotico di Spagna," in *De Tertullien aux mozarabes*, 2:57–67. Vincenzo Recchia, *Sisebuto di Toledo: il Carmen de Luna* (Bari: 1971), 204–11, suggests that the king had a vocation for contemplation, a result of a monastic education.

[138] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.43.4b. Obviously, this does not imply that Isidore lacks a social sensibility (as one can remark in his directions to the monarch and *potentiores*).

[139] Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.21.1–2; IV Toledo 10 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez).

[140] *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* 2.60–62. The difference between being under the discipline of the superior, as was the case with the young Augustus in Merida, and under that of teachers, which could therefore refer to schools outside monasteries.

[141] Shortly after Isidore's death, VI Toledo 10 (ed. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez) in 638 and Merida 18 (ed. Vives) in 666 stipulated that the priests teach servants at the rural churches. The so-called parochial schools date back to at least the beginning of 6th century: Francisco Martín Hernández, "Escuelas de formación del clero en la España visigoda," in *La patrología toledano-visigoda* (Madrid: 1970), 77–80.

[142] On the character of rural churches, Manuel Sotomayor, "Penetración de la Iglesia en los medios rurales de la España tardorromana y visigoda," *Settimane di Studio* 28 (1982), 639–83. Given the scarcity of these institutions, the Church used monasticism for a series of social functions, including education. On this topic, see Francisco Salvador Ventura, "El monacato como instrumento eclesial de asistencia social," in *La Iglesia como sistema de*

The result is a strong ecclesiastical or religious imprint of instruction[145] and, in my opinion, one that derives its solid monastic character from its actors, methods, and contents. The phenomenon, driven by Isidore to a great extent, had been established at the time of his death. In the second half of the 7th century the ascetic Valerius of Bierzo taught the son of a nobleman of his region.[146] Traditional education certainly survived, which would not have antagonized Isidore, but it was limited to a select aristocratic minority, possibly linked to the most important cities.[147]

Translated by Geraldine Barandiarán-Muñoz

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dominación en la Antigüedad Tardía, coords, eds. J. Fernández Ubiña, A.J. Quiroga Puertas, and P. Ubric Rabaneda (Granada: 2015), 169–87.

[143] Michel Banniard, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e^ au IX^e^ siècle en Occident latin* (Paris: 1992), 181–251.

[144] See the chapter by Graham Barrett elsewhere in this volume.

[145] Jean Leclercq, "Pedagogie et formation spirituelle du VI^e^ au IX^e^ siècle," *Settimane di Studio* 19 (1972), 255–90.

[146] Valerius of Bierzo, *Replicatio sermonum a prima conuersione* 6. Note that Valerius expects a stipend for his lessons, as stipulated in *Leges Visigothorum* 4.4.3.

[147] Pierre Riché, "L'enseignement et la culture des laïcs dans l'Occident pre-carolingien," *Settimane di Studio* 19 (1972), 238. Traditionally the treatise *De institutione disciplinae* (CPL 1216) was considered one of Isidore's texts and used as evidence for levels of lay education. But Isidorian authorship has not been proven, and its Spanish origin has been questioned by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Les arts libéraux d'après les écrivains espagnols et insulaires aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles," in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie aun Moyen Âge* (Montréal: 1969), 41–42. There are, however, examples of laymen with remarkable culture and of non-ecclesiastical libraries, as in the case of the royal library in Toledo and that of Count Laurentius: Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistola* 26. On instruction of laypersons as well as religious men see: Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Problemas culturales en la Hispania," 7–32.

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CHAPTER 12

Isidore of Seville on Law and Kingship

Andrew Fear

1 Introduction

None of Isidore's many works takes as its main subject political philosophy or secular law. Nevertheless, given his upbringing under the supervision of his elder brother, the very political cleric Leander, and his own role as a senior clergyman in the Visigothic church after he succeeded Leander as bishop of Seville, it comes as no surprise that he took a strong interest in such affairs. Moreover, his views on these matters were to have an extremely important effect on the development of political thought in Western Europe, though perhaps not in ways that he himself would have either anticipated or desired. Isidore's concern with law and politics is reflected in several of his writings. His most extensive treatment of these matters is to be found in book 3 of the *Sententiae*, which contains an extended discussion of the nature of politics and the duties of a ruler and his subordinates, though shorter, further, and, in terms of their impact on later periods, more important observations are to be found in the *Etymologies*. Moreover, the views on kingship expressed in the *acta* of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which was convened in 633, can also be seen as reflecting Isidore's views, as he presided over this national assembly of bishops held at a crucial moment in the Visigothic kingdom's history.[1]

2 *Fas, ius,* and *leges*

Isidore's political anthropology, like that of his predecessors, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and Augustine, to whom he owes a large intellectual debt, is founded firmly on biblical concepts, but with a strong adjuncture of concepts taken from the classical past.[2] This can be seen in his approach to law. Given

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[1] José Vives, *Concilios Visigoticos e Hispano-Romanos* (Barcelona: 1963), 186–225, esp. 217–22.

[2] For Isidore's debt to Augustine, see José Carlos Martín, "Isidore," in *The Oxford Handbook to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann, 3 vols (Oxford: 2013), 2:1193–95. For his debt to Cassiodorus and Gregory, see Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), translated into

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the *Etymologies*' focus on the meanings of individual words, Isidore first distinguishes between the general concept of law (*ius*) and specific laws (*leges*).[3] Law is then divided into that made by God and that made by Man:

> Now all laws are either divine or human. Divine Laws are congruent with nature, human ones with customs, which is why the latter differ from one another given that different practices please different people. What is 'fas' is divine law, what is 'lawful (*ius*)' is human law. It is *fas* to cross over another's land, but not *ius*.[4]

To complicate matters, Isidore then offers a further threefold definition of law, retaining divine law but subdividing human law into *ius civile* and *ius gentium*. This new definition follows the threefold division of law by the classical Roman jurists and takes its terminology from them.[5] However, Isidore modifies the classical model so that for him *ius civile* marks the practices of a particular group and *ius gentium* the regulation of relations between different groups. Arguably this new definition of the *ius gentium*—the term had been used by the classical jurists to mark practices common to all groups of men—makes Isidore the father of international law as it is understood today.[6]

Isidore's first category of law, which, again, somewhat confusingly given his prior use of *fas*, he is happy to style in conformity with the Roman jurists, *ius naturale*, draws heavily on the classical tradition, though once again with important modifications. Ulpian had defined *ius naturale* as "what nature teaches all animals."[7] He later also states that under natural law all men are free and equal.[8] The right of *possessio naturalis*, use of something without a wish to

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Spanish as *Isidoro de Sevilla: Génesis y originalidad de la cultura hispánica en tiempos de los visigodos*, trans. Miguel Montes (Madrid: 2002), 70.

[3] Isidore, *Etymologies* 5.3.1: "Ius generale nomen est, lex autem iuris est species."

[4] Isidore, *Etymologies* 5.2.1–2: "Omnes autem leges aut divinae sunt, aut humanae. Divinae natura, humanae moribus constant; ideoque haec discrepant, quoniam aliae aliis gentibus placent. Fas lex divina est, ius lex humana. Transire per alienum fas est, ius non est."

[5] See Justinian, *Digest* 1.1.1.2–3.

[6] See J. Westlake, *Chapters on International Law* (Cambridge: 1894), 24; E. Nys, *Le Droit International: les principes, les théories, les faits* (Brussels: 1906), 1:54; A d'Ors, "En torno a la definición isidoriana del 'ius gentium'" in *Papeles del oficio universitario* (Madrid: 1961), 278–309. At p. 283 D'Ors describes Isidore's definition as "un paso decisivo para la formación del moderno concepto de Derecho de gentes como Derecho internacional publico," a view endorsed by R. Domingo, *The New Global Law* (Cambridge: 2010), 11.

[7] *Digest*, 1.1.1.3: "Ius naturale est, quod natura omnia animalia docuit, nam ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium."

[8] *Digest* (Ulpian) 1.1.1.4: "iure naturali omnes liberi nascerentur"; *Digest* (Ulpian) 50.17.32: "quod ad ius naturale attinet, omnes homines aequales sunt."

become its owner, is also admitted, though this caused some confusion in legal circles.[9] For the classical jurists the law of nature is always equitable and good and derives from the workings of reason.[10] Isidore was happy with the majority of these arguments, though, as a Christian, he saw natural law as derived from God, the source of all good, rather than human reason. As the opening of the *Sententiae* puts it: "the highest good is God," *summum bonum Deus est*.[11] This was not, in fact, as great a deviation from the classical tradition as it may at first seem. For Cicero true law was also of divine origin and existed prior to any man-made dispensation.[12] Isidore firmly excludes animals in his definition of natural law. Such a notion would be incompatible with the account of creation in Genesis, where man is given rule over brute creation.[13] Perhaps again inspired by Cicero, Isidore also adds some points of what he, and we, would regard as natural justice, which can only apply to men. His definition of Natural Law is that this is that which is

> common to all nations, and, because it exists everywhere through the impulse of nature, it is not kept in place by any regulation: it is the union of a man and woman, the bearing and rearing of children, the common possession of all things, one form of liberty for all, and the right to possess whatever is taken from the sky, the earth, or the sea. Also the right of the return of something lent or money deposited, and resistance by force to violence. Now this, or whatever is similar to it, is never held to be unjust, but natural and fair.[14]

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[9] Justinian, *Institutes*, 2.1.11–12: "By natural law we obtain the ownership of some things which, as we have already stated, is called the law of nations … Therefore … all creatures that exist on the earth, in the sea, or in the air, as soon as they are taken by anyone, immediately become his property by the law of nations, since whatever formerly belonged to no one is conceded by natural reason (which establishes natural law) to the first person obtaining possession of the same."

[10] *Digest* (Paul) 1.1.11: "semper aequum et bonum est ius dicitur, ut est ius natural."

[11] Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.1.

[12] Divine origin: Cicero, *De Re Publica* 3.22.33 and *De Legibus* 2.4.8; predates man-made law: *De Legibus* 1.6.19.

[13] Gen. 1:28, cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 19.15, who makes the point more strongly that the fact that prelapsarian man was made herdsmen of cattle not kings of men shows that he was created free and equal.

[14] Isidore, *Etymologies* 5.4.1: "Ius naturale (est) commune omnium nationum, et quod ubique instinctu naturae, non constitutione aliqua habetur; ut viri et feminae coniunctio, liberorum successio et educatio, communis omnium possessio, et omnium una libertas, adquisitio eorum quae caelo, terra marique capiuntur. Item depositae rei vel commendatae pecuniae restitutio, violentiae per vim repulsio. Nam hoc, aut si quid huic simile est, numquam iniustum [est], sed naturale aequumque habetur." Cicero believed that

Isidore's seeming identification of God with an idealised nature, with law communicated to creation "by the impulse of nature," *instinctu naturae*, was to remain an important part of European legal thinking for centuries. In particular, in the 12th century Gratian of Bologna took Isidore's definitions of law as the starting point in his *Decretum* of Canon Law, whence they became a key aspect of the legal debates of the Middle Ages.[15] During this time they gave rise to the slogan *natura, id est Deus*, "nature—that is to say God." On one level Isidore would have been horrified at the pantheism that some have seen implicit in these words, but on another he would probably have been in agreement, if "nature" is taken to mean that which is pre-existent and non-contingent. After all, we are told that natural law is communicated by natural impulse, and that impulse, Isidore would have argued, is placed in His creation by God. The Isidorean concept of natural law has been attacked harshly by some. "Isidore had a genius for misinforming when he intended to instruct. His definition of natural law is no exception, indeed it may be his triumph in that mode" is, for example, the verdict of Greene. Nevertheless, Isidore's categorisation is as clear, if not more so, than many produced at a later date. Although his work is a crucial part of the transmission of the doctrine of natural law theory to later generations, perhaps his most important legacy in this field was the influence that his definition of this concept had on the thought of St Thomas Aquinas.[16]

Isidore's ideal state is therefore one where all are equal before their creator (*omnium una libertas*) and have equal access to the resources of the earth. What an individual then takes from these resources is his own, and he has a right to its return and a right to resist coercion.[17] Life in the Garden of Eden seems uppermost in Isidore's mind, though the right of resistance suggests that all is not ideal in paradise. It is a life that would now be characterised as that of

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self-defence was a natural right, (*Pro Milone* 4.10), along with the right of a man to secure the necessities of life for himself rather than others, though he also notes that natural law forbids self-enrichment at another's expense (see the extended discussion at *De Officiis* 3.5.21–23).

[15] For Gratian's debt to Isidore, see: A.P. Monahan, *Consent, Coercion, and Limit: The Medieval Origins of Parliamentary Democracy* (Kingston: 1987), 33–34, 84.

[16] For a survey of Isidore's influence, albeit one which is very hostile to him, see R.A. Greene, "Instinct of Nature: Natural Law, Synderesis, and the Moral Sense," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997), 175 of this article. Greene appears to be unaware of the theological reasons which led Isidore to exclude animals from his definition.

[17] These rights also form the basis of Isidore's definition of a just war at *Etymologiae* 18.1.2, "A just war is one waged after a declaration to restore taken property or in order drive back an enemy" ("Iustum bellum est quod ex praedicto geritur de rebus repetitis aut propulsandorum hostium causa"). The influence of Cicero on Isidore is strong here, see Cicero *De Re Publica* 3.23.

primitive hunter-gatherers, namely one of simple self-sufficiency. There is no place in Isidorean natural law for either communism or capitalism as the modern world knows them.

3 Law, Politics, and Sin

Yet this primitive, Edenic state exists nowhere, and complex, hierarchical arrangements which have taken away the *una libertas* of natural law are everywhere to be found. Isidore could have drawn the same conclusions from this state of affairs as John Ball did in the 14th century,

> When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman? From the beginning all men by nature were created alike, and our bondage or servitude came in by the unjust oppression of naughty men. For if God would have had any bondmen from the beginning, he would have appointed who should be bond, and who free. And, therefore, I exhort you to consider that now the time is come, appointed to us by God, in which ye may (if ye will) cast off the yoke of bondage, and recover liberty.

However, he did not. Instead, taking his lead from Gregory the Great, whose *Moralia* he follows closely here, Isidore argues that hierarchy appeared in man's affairs as one of the consequences of the Fall and that rulers are appointed by God.[18] His key text here is Romans 13:1–2: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."[19] That said, Isidore is in no way an apologist for tyranny, and his views on the genesis of politics have served as an important intellectual brake on absolutism.

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[18] See Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 21.22 and *Regula Pastoralis* 2.6. Gregory was a close friend of Isidore's elder brother Leander and had dedicated the *Moralia in Job* to him. It is not surprising therefore to find that he had a strong influence on Isidore's thinking. Apart from this personal connection, Gregory's works were in general much sought after in Visigothic Spain.

[19] See also Cassiodorus, *Complexiones in Epistolas Apostolorum*: *Epistola Scti Pauli ad Romanos,* PL 70, 1329: "He [i.e. St Paul] says that we ought to be subject to all powers ordaining justice since power is given by God and he who strives to defy the ordinances of the judiciary is seen to fight against God" ("omnibus potestatibus iustitiam praecipientibus dicit esse debere subiectos quoniam potestas a Deo datur et Deo videtur velle resistere qui ordinationi iudiciariae nititur obviare").

In the *Sententiae* Isidore makes it clear that politics arose as the consequence of sin and rulers as a product of God's mercy in response to sin.

> Because of the sin of the First Man the penalty of servitude was brought down on mankind by the Godhead and as He saw that *libertas* was unsuitable for some, for these in His mercy He imposed servitude. This came about through the sin of the human race, but God in His equity divided up life among men, making some servants and others lords in order that the license of doing wrong by those who served might be restrained by those lording it over them. For if all were without fear, who would there be who could keep anyone from wrong-doing? And so princes and kings were chosen among the nations so that through the dread they inspired they could restrain their peoples away from evil and through laws coerce them into right living.[20]

This pessimistic view of law-making as something engendered only by necessity is repeated in the *Etymologies*. Here, having posed the question, "Why was law made?" Isidore's reply is that so that "by fear of the laws human audacity might be curbed, innocence be safe amid the wicked, and that among the impious themselves their means of doing harm be restrained through fear of punishment."[21] Isidore also has firm views on the sorts of laws that should be enacted. These are characterized by both idealism and a firm pragmatism. Laws should be "noble, and just" but also "possible, according to nature, according to the customs of the country and befitting their time and place, necessary, useful, and clear so that it contains nothing deceitful through its obscurity, and written not for private advantage but for the common good of all citizens."[22] It is unsurprising that Isidore wishes laws to be good laws; more important is his insistence that legislation should be practical in its scope, thus eschewing the notion of utopian law-making, transparent in its intent and beneficial for all. His requirement that law be in conformity with *ius naturale* and also congruent with local practice is an equally important point that the essence of law may be refracted in different ways in different places and times. Overall, we see in his outline of good legal practice a devoted Christian, but also an intensely practical thinker.[23]

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[20] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.47.1: "Propter peccatum primi hominis humano generi poena diuinitus inlata est seruitutis, ita ut quibus aspicit non congruere libertatem, his misericordius inroget seruitutem. Et licet per peccatum humanae originis, tamen aequus Deus ideo discreuit hominibus uitam, alios seruos constituens, alios dominos, ut licentia male agendi seruorum potestate dominantium restringatur. Nam si omnes sine metu fuissent, quis esset qui a malis quempiam cohiberet? Inde et in gentibus principes regesque electi sunt, ut terrore suo populos a malo coercerent, atque ad recte uiuendum legibus subderent."

[21] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.20.1: "ut earum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque sit inter inprobos innocentia, et in ipsis inpiis formidato supplicio refrenetur nocendi facultas."

[22] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.21: "Erit autem lex honesta, iusta, possibilis, secundum naturam, secundum consuetudinem patriae, loco temporique conveniens, necessaria, utilis,

Given his theological outlook, Isidore holds that the state and its legal apparatus are necessary evils for mankind, designed to check the growth of sin. Secular rulers are a purely negative good, present as an act of divine mercy to alleviate the consequences of wrong-doing. Without the entry of sin into the world, there would be no need for them, and indeed their actions and elevated position would be entirely unjustifiable under the terms of natural law. Isidore spends a great deal of time on the deterrence rulers can effect and is clear that theirs is a good and necessary duty, "Good power is that which, when given by God, coerces the wicked man by fear so that he does not sin rashly." However, he is swift to add to this, "Nothing is worse than to have the power to sin freely, and nothing more unhappy than happiness obtained through acting wickedly." What immediately follows this comment in the text shows that he is thinking not of the ruled but the ruler when making these strictures: "He who exercises his temporal power well in this world, will reign forever and exchange the glory of this world for eternal glory. But those who hold sway wickedly over their kingdom, after their gleaming robes and shining gems, they go down naked and wretched to eternal torment."[24] Perhaps we can detect a note of pessimism

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manifesta quoque, ne aliquid per obscuritatem in captionem contineat, nullo privato commodo, sed pro communi civium utilitate conscripta."

[23] Isidore shows himself here to be part of the particularist school of thought, which in England finds its best expression in Edmund Burke, who makes the same point in his "These metaphysic rights entering into common life, like rays of light which pierce into a dense medium, are, by the laws of nature, refracted from their straight line. Indeed in the gross and complicated mass of human passions and concerns, the primitive rights of men undergo such a variety of refractions and reflections, that it becomes absurd to talk of them as if they continued in the simplicity of their original direction," *The Works and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, vol. 4: *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London: 1852), 200–01.

[24] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.48.5b-6: "Potestas bona est quando Deo donante est, ut malum timore coerceat, non ut temere malum committat. Nihil autem peius quam per potestatem peccandi libertatem habere, nihilque infelicius male agendi felicitate. Qui intra saeculum bene temporaliter imperat, sine fine in perpetuum regnat, et de gloria saeculi huius ad aeternam transmeat gloriam. Qui uero praue regnum exercent, post uestem fulgentem et lumina lapillorum, nudi et miseri ad inferna torquendi descendunt."

in the fact that the just ruler in this discussion is placed in the singular, while wicked rulers are found in the plural. Isidore notes that temptation is greater for kings than their subjects, and thus their fall too can be greater.[25] However, he is even more worried that a wicked ruler will almost inevitably corrupt his people: “For a king who rushes into vice, quickly shows where the path of sin lies. Thus it was said of Jeroboam who sinned and made Israel sin. For whatever ascribed to him was perpetrated by his example by his subjects.”[26]

4 The Nature of Kingship

Given his concerns, Isidore is eager to emphasise the solemn obligations of kingship, taking great pains to stress that a king, properly so called, will be a just ruler.[27] As has been seen, he is all too well aware of the temptations that secular power presents and that a ruler may be seduced to abuse his authority. The *Sententiae* dwells on this problem at some length. Isidore begins with the assumption that a truly just man would in fact eschew the world and seek a contemplative life. However, those who assume secular office should do so with due humility. Isidore uses the Bible to underline his point: “This is shown by the example of the Apostle who declined to use the power given to him even for justifiable reasons while he was able to do so, but showed a lowly demeanour in the midst of those over whom he was lord.”[28] Kings should be mindful that they are in essence no different from their subjects.[29] Here, again, Isidore takes his lead from Gregory the Great, who notes that masters as well as slaves should be admonished if "they do not recognise that those they hold in subjection because of their condition are their equals by reason of their community of nature." Gregory wishes such rebukes to make them "acknowledge themselves to be the fellow-servants [i.e. of God] of servants."[30] Isidore develops this point in a theological way. For him baptism was the equivalent of unction with chrism, and hence all Christians comprised a "priestly and royal people."[31] Thus, the commons, if faithful to the church, are the limbs of the body of Christ and should be treated accordingly.[32] This spiritual equality means that kings, as well as being respectful of their subjects and working for their general good, should equally be bound by the laws which they enforce on others.[33] Isidore's view rests again on biblical grounds. Here, it is Christ's dictum that "with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."[34] The notion that the law should apply to all, including the legislators themselves, was in direct contrast to the formulation of classical Roman law, which held, to the contrary, that a ruler was not bound by the law.[35] Isidore's view of equality before the law was quoted directly by Gratian in his *Decretum* and thus passed to other medieval thinkers, such as John of Salisbury.[36] It anticipates *Magna Carta* by almost 600 years. Isidore is also insistent that the exercise of law be tempered with mercy. In his emphasis on mercy we can perhaps see the influence on Isidore's thinking of Ambrose, who held that the purpose of the state was to provide justice and happiness.[37] Mercy for Isidore entailed in particular that a ruler be concerned as much, if not more, with restitution for those who have been wronged as he is with punishment of the guilty.[38]

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[25] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.51.5: “The higher the position a man is set in, the greater the danger he runs and the more splendid the height of honour, the greater, if he fails, the sin. Let the powerful powerfully bear their torments for to him to whom more is entrusted, the more will be required from him, including interest upon his sins” (“Quanto quisque in superiori constitutus est loco, tanto in maiori uersatur periculo; et quanto splendoris honore celsior quisque est, tanto, si delinquat, peccato maior est: Potentes enim potenter tormenta patientur. Cui enim plus committitur, plus ab eo exigitur. Etiam cum usura poenarum”).

[26] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.50.6: “Nam rex qui ruit in vitiis cito viam ostendit erroris, sicut legitur de Hieroboam qui peccavit et peccare fecit Israhel. Illius autem adscribitur quicquid exemplo eius a subditis.” The reference is to 2 Kings 17:22: “And the children of Israel walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did; they did not depart from them.”

[27] Cf. Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8.13: “A good prince is one whom it pleases to speak out for justice and against signs of bestial tyranny” (“Bonus Princeps ile est qui licet pro iustitia loqui et contra tyrannicae feritatis indicium”).

[28] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.48.1: “Vir iustus aut omni potestate saeculari exuitur aut, si aliqua cingitur, non sub illa curuatur ut superbus tumeat, sed eam sibi subicit ut humilior innotescat. Probatur autem hoc apostolico exemplo, qui datam sibi potestatem etiam nec ad hoc usus est quod licebat, sed, dum possit utere, licita abnuit seseque ut paruulum in medio eorum quibus praeerat ostendit.”

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[29] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.49.3: "God gave power to princes to order their peoples and wished them preside over those with whom they share the same condition of being born and dying […]" ("Dedit Deus principibus praesulatum pro regimine populorum, et illis eos praeesse uoluit cum quibus una est eis nascendi moriendique condition").

[30] Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis* 3.5.

[31] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.26.

[32] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.49.3: "the faithful folk are the limbs of Christ" ("Membra quippe Christi fideles sunt populi"). This point is also made by Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Psalms 20 and 118. See also N. Van Duesen, "Assembled in the Presence of God: Majestic Perseverance and the *Cantus Coronatus*," in *Mobs: An interdisciplinary Inquiry*, eds. N. Van Duesen and L.M. Koff (Leiden: 2012), 79–94.

[33] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.52.1.

[34] Matt. 7:2.

[35] "The ruler is not bound by the law," *Princeps legibus solutus est, Digest* (Ulpian) 1.3.3.31.

[36] Gratian, *Decretum* 9.2, for John of Salisbury see Monahan, *Consent, Coercion*, 61–62.

[37] Ambrose, *De Officiis* 1.22.129.

Most importantly of all for the future, Isidore insists that kingship resides not in a person, but in the qualities of that person. As such it can be lost, if those qualities are abandoned: "Kings are named from acting aright, and so the name of king is held by doing aright and by sinning it is lost."[39] In this he follows Cassiodorus, who is equally insistent that kingship is a gift from God and that true kings are those who are just and self-restrained.[40] Isidore's insistence on kingship being contingent on righteous behaviour is repeated verbatim in the most quoted and influential of Isidore's reflections on rulership which is found in book 9 of the *Etymologies*. Here, "king"/*rex* is defined as follows:

> Kings (*reges*) are so called from ruling (*regendo*). For just as a priest is so-called for sacrificing, so a king too is so-called from ruling. However, he who does not correct (*corrigit*) is no ruler (*regit*). Thus the name of king is held by doing aright and by sinning it is lost. Whence came the proverb of the ancients 'If you act aright, you will be king, if you do not, you will not.' The particular virtues of a king are two in number: justice and piety. However, piety is the more lauded in kings as justice by its very nature is severe.[41]

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[38] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.50.3: "To return wrong for wrong is a just exchange, but he who adds clemency too justice does not return wrong for wrong to the guilty, but good for wrong to those who have suffered" ("Reddere malum pro malo uicissitudo iustitiae est, sed qui clementiam addit iustitiae, non malum pro malo culpatis reddit, sed bonum pro malo offensis impertit").

[39] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.48.7: "Reges a recte agendo uocati sunt, ideoque recte faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur."

[40] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 137.4: "The kings of the earth are corporally masters through the gift of the Godhead. For that man who is shown to be a slave to sin is not properly designated a king. What he [David] calls *all* specifically signifies religious and moderate men for we see that many kings of the gentiles are enslaved by bestial sins or besmirched with wicked religious beliefs" ("Reges terrae sunt qui corporibus suis divinitatis munere dominanantur. Nam ile rex vere non dicitur, qui vitiis servire monstratur. Quod vero addidit omnes specialiter religiosos ac moderatos viros designat, quando multos reges gentium videmus aut vitiis feralibus subdi aut prava religione maculari").

[41] "Recte igitur faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Vnde et apud veteres tale erat proverbium: 'Rex eris, si recte facias: si non facias, non eris.' Regiae virtutes praecipuae duae: iustitia et pietas. Plus autem in regibus laudatur pietas; nam iustitia per se severa est," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 9.3.4–5. As can be seen, Isidore strengthens his argument, and emphasises his message, by a substantial amount of word play.

Here, we see a more concise, but identical, version of the *Sententiae*'s dogma. It is enhanced with an appeal to the classical past. Isidore's pithy proverb, *rex eris si recte facias, si non facias, non eris*, is an adaptation of a line of a Roman refrain itself old when adapted by the 1st-century B.C. poet Horace.[42] Isidore's slogan was to have powerful echoes in the political thought of the Middle Ages and beyond.

The importance of just rule to Isidore can be seen by the unforced appearance of this theme in sections of the *Etymologies* where entirely different matters are being discussed. In chapter 29 of the first book, we are told that the etymology of some words derives from their *causa*, or action,[43] and the example given is that of *reges* (kings), which we are told derives from *recte agendum*, "acting rightly."[44] Two chapters later, Isidore explains to the reader that a definition called a *differentia* is an implied difference in sense between two related words which separates their meaning. The example he chooses to use to illustrate his point is the *differentia* between a king and a tyrant: "When it is asked what difference there is between a king and a tyrant, the *differentia* is set forth that defines each of them: namely that is a king is unassuming and self-controlled, whereas a tyrant is impious and harsh."[45] The same contrast is used in the second book of the *Etymologies* to explain Isidore's seventh form of definition of words, again that of *differentia*, or in Greek κατα διαφοράν: "a king is unassuming and self-controlled, whereas a tyrant is cruel."[46]

For Isidore a king is to be judged by his actions rather than his words;[47] a consequence of this is that he is responsible for the behaviour of his underlings, and the appointment of bad judges is therefore a sin that rests at the door of the ruler.[48] For Isidore judicial corruption is a widespread and very serious matter—as much time is spent in the *Sententiae* on the need for judges to be just as there is on the obligations of kings. It is not a matter on which Isidore has much optimism:

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[42] Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.59–60: "At pueri ludentes: 'Rex eris' aiunt, 'si recte facies.'"

[43] The alternative for derivations is *ex origine, ex nomine derivationum, ex nominibus locorum*, or being of barbarian derivation.

[44] Isidore, *Etymologies* 1.29.3: "Etymologies of words are derived from either from their action such as 'kings' from acting rightly" ("Sunt autem Etymologiae nominum aut ex causa datae, ut 'reges' a recte agendo").

[45] "ut cum quaeritur quid intersit inter regem et tyrannum, adiecta differentia, quid uterque sit definitur; id est, rex est modestus et temperans, tyrannus vero inpius et inmitis," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.31.1.

[46] "rex modestus et temperatus, tyrannus vero crudelis," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 2.29.7.

[47] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.49.2: "He who rightly makes use of his power over his kingdom, establishes the substance of justice by his deeds rather than his words" ("Qui recte utitur regni potestatem, formam iustitiae factis magis quam uerbis instituit").

[48] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.52.1: "A crime to be held the responsibility of princes is the appointment, against the will of God, of wicked judges over the people" ("Ad delictum pertinet principum, qui prauos iudices contra uoluntatem Dei populis fidelibus praeferunt").

> The people suffer more at the hands of wicked judges than the most bloodthirsty of foreign enemies. For no bandit is as avaricious towards foreigners as a wicked judge is towards his own. While brigands lie in wait in dark, out-of-the-way passes and set their snares there, these men openly rage in the rapacity of their greed. Foreign foes merely seek the blood of others, judges, like the cruellest butchers of their fellow citizens that can be imagined, exterminate the lives of their subjects by their oppression. Those who destroy are many, and rare are those who rule their people with the moderation of the law.[49]

Nor does the problem end with corrupt judges. Isidore also complains that

> the majority of those who are good judges have rapacious servants. They should be pictured, someone says, as Scylla is drawn and described: namely that she has a human form, but one girt and surrounded by dogs' heads. In like fashion, it happens that certain office-holders' humanity is thrown into confusion by the iniquity of their wicked associates.[50]

Echoing his wish for education in all parts of the social hierarchy,[51] Isidore believes that the ignorant along with the wicked should be excluded from the ranks of judges, as their ignorance means that they are unable to understand the law.[52] Like the king, a good judge will be the servant of his people and, continuing another theme which runs throughout Isidore's works, will exercise his duties correctly, but temper them with mercy.[53]

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[49] "Grauius lacerantur pauperes a prauis iudicibus quam a cruentissimis hostibus. Nullus enim praedo tam cupidus in alienis quam iudex iniquus in suis. Latrones inaccessis faucibus ac latebrosis latentes insidias ponunt, isti palam rapacitatis auaritia saeuiunt. Hostes in aliorum sanguinem tantum intendunt; iudices, quasi crudelissimi carnifices ciuium, oppressione sua subiectorum uitam extingunt. Qui enim destruant multi sunt, rari sunt qui populos legum moderamine regant," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.55.7.

[50] "Plerumque et boni iudices sunt, sed ministros rapaces habent. Horum figura, ut ait quidam, tamquam Scilla pingitur atque describitur: ipsa quidem humana species, sed capitibus caninis accincta et circumdata. Non aliter quibusdam potestatibus accidit ut ipsorum humanitatem inmanitas iniquorum sociorum perturbed," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.55.10. The reference is perhaps to Virgil, *Eclogues* 6.75, or Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14. Roman authors often use Scylla as a metaphor for sexual rapacity, which may be an undercurrent in Isidore's comments here; for a discussion of this aspect of Scylla, see M. Govers Hopman, *Scylla: Myth, Metaphor, Paradox* (Cambridge: 2016), 230–53.

[51] A constant care found in Isidore's writings is that the clergy be educated, see Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.35.

5 The Church and Kingship

How, then, is a king, and indeed his subordinates, to be pious and just? For Isidore the answer is obvious: by being a good Christian in general and by being mindful in particular that he holds his position in trust from God, to Whom he will in the end have to render an account of his acts. This is all the more important because, again like Cassiodorus before him, Isidore concedes that there is no physical power able to coerce a king:

> If he becomes ensnared in vice, it is difficult for a king to change for the better. A sinning people fear their judge and are coerced from doing evil by the laws. However, kings, coerced only by their fear and terror of hell, rush freely and headlong there and fall through the abyss of license into every form of vice.[54]

It is here, therefore, that the church holds a crucial role in Isidore's thinking, as it provides a moral compass for the monarch. As Christians, secular rulers still owe a duty of moral obedience to the Church[55] and will be held to account by God for the way they have behaved towards it and furthered, or failed to further, its ends.[56] Moreover, if a true king is one who was just and merciful, who is a better judge of which individuals conform to these criteria than the Church? Isidore strongly insists that the clergy (from whom he expects as much rectitude and humility as he does from kings and judges) have a duty to defend the poor. They are not to be reticent in criticising the wrongs of secular authorities when they encounter them, given that they are the only defence available to the victims. Isidore is appalled that "many" office-holders in the church are silenced through fear of losing favour or worse. His shock is shown by the verbatim use in the text of two biblical exempla, including God's direct command to Jeremiah: "Thou therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them," from which he deduces that "thus it is shown that not to fear is a gift from God."[57] Perhaps even more startling is the use of the exclamation "the shame, the pain of it — *sed heu! pro dolor!*" when Isidore further laments that all too often this reticence betrays a worldly interest on the clergy's part, or even complicity in what has not been denounced.[58] On the other hand, if the poor are oppressed, good priests

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[52] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.55.1.

[53] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.52.2: "A good judge is ignorant of how to harm citizens and thus knows how to be of use to all" ("Bonus iudex sicut nocere ciuibus nescit, ita prodesse omnibus novit"); Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.52.4: "All who judge rightly bear a balance in their hand. In each scale he carries justice and mercy. The sentence for sin he will give through justice, but he tempers the punishment of sin through mercy so that through this balance let him with justice correct some sins, but pardon others with mercy" ("Omnis qui recte iudicat, stateram in manu gestat, in utroque penso iustitiam et misericordiam portat; sed per iustitiam reddet peccati sententiam, per misericordiam peccati temperat poenam, ut isto libramine quaedam per aequitatem corrigat, quaedam uero per miserationem indulgeat").

[54] "Difficile est principem regredi ad melius, si uitiis fuerit inplicatus. Populi enim peccantes iudicem metuunt, et a malo suo legibus coercentur. Reges autem, nisi solo Dei timore metuque gehennae coerceantur, libere in praeceps proruunt, et per abruptum licentiae in omne facinus uitiorum labuntur," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.51.1, cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum,* Ps. 50.6: "For when the king does wrong he is brought before God alone because he has no man who can judge his deeds" ("Nam quando rex delinquit soli Deo reus est quia hominem non habet qui eius facta dijudicet").

> will bring aid to those being despoiled and not fearing troubles brought on by any enemy whatever [i.e. the king included], they will openly charge, denounce, and excommunicate the oppressors of the poor. They will have no fear of the attempts of their enemies to harm them, even if these succeed, *for the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep*.[59]

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[55] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.51.3: "Worldly powers are subject to the discipline of religion and although endowed with the rule of a kingdom, nevertheless are held fast by the bounds of the faith. Thus they should profess their faith in Christ in their laws and preserve their profession of that faith through their good behaviour" ("Sub religionis disciplinam saeculi potestates subiectae sunt; et quamuis culmine regni sint praediti, uinculo tamen fidei tenentur adstricti, ut fidem Christi suis legibus praedicent, et ipsam fidei praedicationem moribus bonis conseruent").

[56] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.53.3: "Let the princes of this world know that they must render an account to God for the Church with whose safeguarding they have been entrusted by Christ" ("Cognoscant principes saeculi Deo debere se rationem propter ecclesiam, quam a Christo tuendam suscipiunt").

[57] Isa. 40:9; Jer. 1:17.

[58] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.45.2–3.

[59] "Quando a potentibus pauperes opprimuntur, ad eripiendos eos boni sacerdotes protectionis auxilium ferunt, nec uerentur cuiusquam inimicitiarum molestias, sed oppressores

Isidore may have found his inspiration for these arguments from Ambrose, who had argued passionately for freedom of speech for clerics in the face of secular disagreement.[60]

Given the strength of feeling expressed in the *Sententiae*, it is not surprising that this duty is also laid down specifically for bishops in the *acta* of the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which Isidore presided. Here it is also couched in strong language, but tactfully the king (who was also present at the Council) is assumed to be the last resort of the righteous and never a felon himself. Bishops are enjoined first to reprove the wrongdoers themselves, but if they remain obdurate, report them to the king so that "royal power may force from their wickedness those whom a bishop's warning did not move." Bishops failing this duty are to be tried for neglect at the following council.[61]

Isidore's vision for the Visigothic kingdom was thus one of a pious secular ruler working in harmony with a Church which would be fearless in its moral duty to its flock and ensure that the king was a just ruler, and thus a true king. This approach is similar to that of Pope Gelasius, whose letter to the Byzantine emperor Anastasius written in 494 also argues for two ruling authorities, one secular and one religious.[62] But while Gelasius argued for the superiority of the church on the grounds that it would give its judgement to God on the secular power, Isidore, as has been seen, believes that secular rulers will have to give that account directly to God. For him the moral superiority of the church is

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pauperum palam arguunt, increpant, excommunicant, minusque metuunt eorum nocendi insidias, etiamsi nocere ualeant: 'Pastor enim bonus animam suam ponit pro ouibus,'" Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.45.4; the quotation is John 10:11.

[60] See especially Ambrose, *Epistula* 10.74. For a detailed discussion, see Melissa Marakauskas, *From Privilege to Proscription: The Transformation of Episcopal Conflict across the Long Fourth Century*, section 4.2.1 (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2015).

[61] "Bishops must not equivocate in the duty placed on them by God to protect and defend the people. Therefore, if they see that among the judges or powerful there are oppressors of the poor first they should confront them with a bishop's warning. But if they spurn correction, let them bring their insolence to the ears of the king that royal power may force from their wickedness those whom a bishop's warning did not move. If any bishop neglects this duty, he will be accused at the council" ("Episcopi in protegendis populis ac defendendis, inpositam a Deo sibi curam non ambigant. Ideoque dum conspiciunt iudices ac potentes pauperum obpressores existere, prius eos sacerdotali ammonitione redarguant. Et si contempserint emendari, eorum insolentiam regiis auribus intiment, ut quos sacerdotalis ammonitio non flectit ad iustitiam, regalis potestas ab [i] improbitate coerceat. ||fol. 75rb|| Si quis autem episcoporum id neglexerit concilio reus erit"), IV Toledo 32.

[62] "There are two things by which this world is governed: the consecrated power of the pontiffs and royal power" ("Duo sunt quippe, imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas"), PL 66, 633.

deduced not from his views on the Final Judgement, but rather those on the Fall. There is no question in his thinking of a wish for a "theocratic" state directly ruled by bishops, but he does clearly insist that the Church's voice be listened to, and acted upon, by the secular powers. This is unsurprising, given that the enforcement of right religion and the suppression of sin was, after all, the only justification for the presence of kings at all: "What the priest cannot effect by his preaching of the faith, let that worldly power command though the fear of punishment."[63]

6 Biblical Foundations

Isidore's ideal state owes its theoretical foundations to the Deuteronomic approach to kingship in the Old Testament. This sees the need for the king to act justly, but it moves the locus of defining justice from the king to the religious. Both at the time of Deuteronomy's composition and in Isidore's own day, this was a radical approach.[64] In particular Isidore had departed from the classic formulation of the classical jurist Ulpian, who held that a ruler was not bound by the law and whatever pleased him carried the force of law.[65] In stark contrast to the Roman jurist's assertion that the ruler is above and, in fact, the source of law itself, Isidore insists that the teachings of the Bible provide external objective criteria which allow us to judge whether a ruler or his laws truly belong to these categories. He finds a biblical model for his vision of the ideal ruler in King David:

> He who rightly exercises kingly power, ought to excel all others so that the more he shines forth at the peak of honour, the more he will conduct himself with a humble heart, setting before himself as an example of

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[63] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.53.1: "quod non praeualet sacerdos efficere per doctrinae sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per disciplinae terrorem."

[64] See *Digest* (Ulpian) 1.4.1pr "*Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem,*" "what pleases the emperor has the force of law" for the classical world. For the world of the Old Testament and ancient Near East, see G.E. Gerbrandt, *Kingship according to the Deuteronomistic history* (Atlanta: 1986), and especially B.M. Levinson, "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah," *Vetus Testamentum* 51 (2001), 511–34.

[65] *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*, "Whatever pleases the ruler has the force of law," *Digest* (Ulpian) 1.4.1. *Princeps legibus solutus est*, "the ruler is not bound by the law," *Digest* (Ulpian) 1.3.31. These are dogmatic, not pragmatic, statements.

> humility, David who did not swell with pride because of his merits, but humbly abased himself, saying 'I walk as one contemptible and shall appear contemptible before the Lord who chose me.'[66]

The Bible presents David as precisely the secular auxiliary of the Church of the form that Isidore envisages his ideal monarch would be:

> I will appoint one shepherd over them to pasture them, My servant David; he shall pasture them and be their shepherd. I, the Lord, will be their God, and My servant David shall be prince among them … My servant David shall be prince over them, and there shall be one shepherd for them all; *they shall live by My statutes and carefully observe My decrees*.[67]

David owed his position, as had his predecessor, Saul, to the prophet Samuel, who had anointed him as God's chosen ruler.[68] He was a general of the first order and an effective secular ruler. He was also, a feature of which Isidore no doubt approved, merciful. David was anointed before the demise of Saul, an important point, as it showed how a ruler could cease to be a king through bad behaviour and its consequences. After God rejected Saul because he failed to obey His commands, he lost his sanity and his victories turned to defeat, resulting eventually in his own death and the extinction of his family at the hands of the Philistines.[69] In contrast, David's fidelity to God is rewarded with the extension of his line, which was ultimately to culminate in Christ Himself.[70] He is a flawed individual who sins, but he repents of those sins and shows himself willing to accept prophetic authority and chastisement by it.[71] Isidore's use of David gave the Israelite king a new lease of life as an exemplary monarch. He was to remain the ideal for kings throughout the Middle Ages, being praised by the Irish grammarian Sedullius Scotus in the 9th century for his faithfulness to

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[66] "Qui recte utitur regni potestatem, ita praestare se omnibus debet, ut quanto magis honoris celsitudine claret, tanto semetipsum mente humiliet, praeponens sibi exemplum humilitatis Dauid, qui de suis meritis non tumuit, sed humiliter sese deiciens dixit: Vilis incedam et uilis apparebo ante Deum qui elegit me." David's words are a paraphrase of 2 Sam. 6:22 referring to David's dancing before the Ark of the Covenant. Isidore has lifted them entirely out of their context to support his point.

[67] Ezek. 34:23–24; 37:24.

[68] 1 Sam. 10, Saul; 1 Sam. 16:1–13, David.

[69] 1 Sam. 16, 1 Sam. 31.

[70] See, *inter alia*, Mark 10:47, Rom. 1:3, Rev. 22:16.

[71] See 2 Sam. 12:1–15; 2 Sam. 24:10; Ps. 51.

God and equally lauded for the same reasons by the Spanish orientalist scholar Benito Arias Montano in the 16th century.[72]

It is unclear if, as part of his championing David, Isidore was thinking about the practice of royal unction in his own day.[73] This ritual would have been ideal for his vision of the state, as it would mean that any legitimate king would need to seek the approval of the church for his rule. The first attested unction of a Visigothic king, that of the King Wamba, as recorded in Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae Regis*, who was anointed at the royal villa of Gerticos in 672, postdates Isidore. Isidore does discuss unction in the *Etymologies*, but only in regard to its practice in ancient Israel.[74] Nevertheless, his reference is found in the midst of a discussion of the sacraments of the Church current in his own day, which has been seen as suggesting that the rite was in place when he wrote. Moreover, the Fourth Council of Toledo makes two explicit references to David as an anointed king when insisting on the necessity of loyalty to the king of the day, Sisenand (631–36). These proof texts make little sense if the king concerned had himself not been anointed. King believes that the ritual had been introduced shortly before the council in 631 to legitimate Sisenand, whose coup had pushed aside the previous king, Swintila (621–31).[75] This is by no means the only possibility. The practice could have begun during Hermenegild's abortive coup against his father, King Leovigild (579–84). This attempted usurpation took on a strong religious colouring when Hermenegild converted from Arianism to Trinitarianism. According to Gregory of Tours, at his conversion Hermenegild took the name John and was indeed anointed, presumably by Isidore's elder brother Leander, who was bishop of Seville at the time.[76] Once religion had been dragged into politics in this way, it would be quite plausible that the practice was adopted by Leovigild's younger son, Reccared, when he converted to Trinitarian Christianity on his accession to the throne in 589.[77] Nor can it be ruled out that a similar, but Arian, ceremony had been held still earlier for Leovigild himself. Leovigild was in many ways the founder of the unitary Visigothic kingdom, and we are told by Isidore that he was the first to surround himself with the ceremonial trappings of royalty.[78] There is no mention of unction, but perhaps, as a Hispanic patriot, Isidore would wish to pass over such blasphemy. Leovigild occupies an ambiguous position in Visigothic historiography. Later writers condemned his Arianism but took quiet pride in his consolidation of the kingdom. This problem may well explain Isidore's reticence here.

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[72] Sedulius Scottus, *De Rectoribus Christianis* 1, 13, ed. and trans. R.W. Dyson (Woodbridge: 2010); B. Arias Montano, *David, virtvtis exercitatissimae probatum Deo spectaculum: ex Dauidis pastoris, militis, ducis, exsulis ac prophetae exemplis* (Antwerp: 1575, repr. New Delhi: 2015).

[73] See the discussion, with bibliography, in R. Barroso Cabrera and J. Morín de Pablos, "Imagen soberana y unción regia el reino visigodo de Toledo," *Codex Aquilarensis* 20 (2004), 6–65.

[74] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.19.50: "For as remission of sins is granted in baptism, so sanctification of the spirit is attained by unction. This comes from the old practice in which those who attained to the priesthood and kingship were accustomed to be anointed hence Aaron was anointed by Moses" ("Nam sicut in baptismo peccatorum remissio datur, ita per unctionem sanctificatio spiritus adhibetur; et hoc de pristina disciplina, qua ungui in sacerdotium et in regnum solebant, ex quo et Aaron a Moyse unctus est").

[75] P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: 2006), 68, n. 146.

[76] Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 5.48: "he was converted to the Catholic faith, and on his unction took the name John" ("conversus est ad legem catholicam ac, dum crismaretur, Iohannis est vocitatus").

It appears likely therefore that by Isidore's day at least one king had received unction at the hands of the church. It is possible that if Sisenand was the first Visigothic king to be anointed that this innovation was introduced by Isidore himself. If so, he would have been disappointed by its results. The history of Visgothic Spain shows that unction provided very little in the way of ecclesiastical control over monarchs or influence on nobles to respect the divinely sanctioned authority of the king. For unfortunately, while the ritual could only happen at the hands of the Church, the control over the monarchy that it placed in those hands was lost in the very process of anointing the king. An anointed king possessed at least as close, and arguably a closer, relationship with God than any churchman, something ambitious monarchs were not slow to exploit when it was convenient to do so.[79] Isidore's friend King Sisebut (612–21) had been happy to intervene in church affairs, and indeed lecture the religious on them. Later monarchs too, such as Chindaswinth, had no qualms in asserting their authority over the church and doing so in theological terms.

7 The Problem of Tyranny

Nevertheless, Isidore's philosophy of the state and his view that only a just ruler could be truly called a king could be seen to raise the threat of a legitimate uprising against a monarch judged to be the result of ruling badly, and his words were used for just that purpose. For example, in 1073 Otto of Nordheim used the doctrine of right rulership to justify his rebellion against Henry IV of Germany. The contemporary historian Bruno of Magdeburg directly attributes this doctrine to Isidore in his *Saxonicum Bellum*, so we see Isidore's philosophy seemingly operating in both the realms of theory and practice. Equally, Manegold of Lautenbach in his *Ad Gebehardum Liber* of *c*.1085 also deploys Isidore's argument from *ius naturale* that "king" is not the name of a nature, but of an office, to assert that Henry IV had sinned to the degree that he should be deposed.[80] Isidore's dictum, albeit in a garbled form, was also used in 1649 at the trial of King Charles I. One of his accusers, Judge John Bradshaw, after likening Charles to Caligula and Nero, concluded:

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[77] The view of C. Sánchez Albornoz, "La *ordinatio principis* en la España goda y postvisigoda," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 35–36 (1962), 5–36. esp. 14–16, and of Barroso Cabrera and Morín de Pablos, "Imagen soberana," 33–36.

[78] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 51: "he was the first to sit on a throne among his people covered in a royal robe" ("Primusque etiam inter suos regali veste opertus in solio resedit").

[79] See A.T. Fear, "God and Caesar: The Dynamics of Visigothic Monarchy," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, eds. L. Mitchell and C. Melville (Boston: 2013), 285–302.

> Truly, sir, We have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*. And if so be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then see how you come short of it in your actions, whether the highest Tyrant, by that way of arbitrary government, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the people? Whether that was not as high an act of Tyranny as any of your predecessors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it?[81]

The notion that rulers could, and indeed, ought to be deposed if they fell short of certain standards has only gained in popularity since the 17th century, and Isidore's definition of rulership has provided powerful ammunition for its theoretical grounding. Isidore himself, however, would have been horrified that his work could be used in this way. Rather he was in agreement with Gregory the Great that, however wicked, each ruler had been set up by God and it was thus right to obey, not rebel against, him.[82] Tyrants could be identified, but they were to be endured, not deposed. A variety of reasons can be found for Isidore's advocacy of passive endurance of bad rulers. One is his own experience. Isidore had lived through a foreign invasion brought on by a civil war, lived through a further long civil war waged around Seville from 579–84, and witnessed the near outbreak of another after the accession of King Reccard in 589. Later in life he saw two further coups. All of this is likely to have convinced him that stability, even in an unjust form, was preferable to anarchy.

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[80] See J. Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges* (Washington, DC: 2001), 153–55.

[81] Thomas B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783: With Notes and Other Illustrations* (London: 1816), vol. 4, col. 1114.

[82] Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis* 3.4.

Theologically, too, Isidore was happy to accept the notion that tyrants are a *flagellum Dei*:

> Kings when they are good are a gift from God, but when they are bad, they are a product of a people's sin. For a people's worth determines the nature of their rulers as Job testified: He makes a hypocrite king because of the sins of the people. When God is angry the people receive such a ruler as their sins deserve.[83]

Isidore is even prepared to reverse his concern that bad kings corrupt their subjects to argue that "at times kings are even changed by the wickedness of their people and those who appeared good before they ruled become iniquitous when they receive their realm."[84] Even in this punishment Isidore, like Augustine before him,[85] divines God's mercy: "Humble servitude is better than arrogant freedom. For many are to be found who are set under sinful masters and freely serving God, men who though subject to their masters in the body are uplifted in their minds."[86] The good man knows that suffering in this world will lead to joy in the next.[87]

All of the threads of Isidore's political thought can be found coalescing in canon 75 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which he presided in 633.[88] The council was held some three years after the collapse of Swintila's reign and his replacement by Sisenand. Sisenand's supporters had been prepared to bribe the Frankish king Dagobert (629–34) to support their putsch—a highly risky matter given the strong dislike of the Franks in Spain[89]—and his coup seemingly provoked an attempt at secession in Andalusia and Extremadura led by one Iudila.[90] Swintila is a nebulous figure. He had himself displaced King Sisebut's young son Reccared II as king in 621 in dubious circumstances. He was nevertheless an effective monarch who ended the Byzantine occupation of parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Isidore praises him effusively during his reign,[91] but, given that he had been a good friend of King Sisebut, in reality he may have been no true ally of the usurper. After his fall Swintila was roundly denounced at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633. This may simply have been the rhetoric of the day, done for the benefit of Sisenand, the new king, but could also suggest that Swintila had not been a friend of the church, still less compliant to its wishes. If this is the case, his reign may well have provoked Isidore to think hard about the relationship between church and state and perhaps stimulated his thoughts as expressed in the *Sententiae*, which he most likely wrote in 633 shortly after the Council.[92]

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[83] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.48.11: "Reges quando boni sunt, muneris esse Dei; quando uero mali, sceleris esse populi. Secundum meritum enim plebium disponitur uita rectorum, testante Iob: Qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi. Irascente enim Deo, talem rectorem populi suscipiunt, qualem pro peccato merentur."

[84] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.48.11: "Non numquam pro malitia plebis etiam reges mutantur, et qui ante uidebantur esse boni, accepto regno fiunt iniqui."

[85] Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 1.8.

[86] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.47.3: "Melius est subiecta seruitus quam elata libertas. Multi enim inueniuntur Deo libere seruientes sub dominis constituti flagitiosis; qui, etsi subiecti sunt illis corpore, praelati tamen sunt mente."

[87] Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.1.2: "God's mercy is so disposed that it may first here correct a man's sins by blows and afterwards free him from eternal punishment. For the elect of God is polished by the woes of this life that being made more perfect he might enjoy the life to come" ("Ordinata est miseratio Dei quae prius hic hominem per flagella a peccatis emendat, et postea ab aeterno supplicio liberat. Electus enim Dei doloribus uitae huius adteritur, ut perfectior uitae futurae lucretur"); Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.1.4: "Justly the blows of this world lead on to eternal joy and so the just man ought to rejoice in his punishment and the impious ought to be afraid in his prosperity" ("Iusto temporalia flagella ad aeterna proficiunt gaudia; ideoque et iustus in poenis gaudere debet, et impius in prosperitatibus timere debet").

[88] Text and Spanish translation in Vives, *Concilios Visigoticos e Hispano-Romanos*, 217–22.

Canon 75 insists that Swintila, in horror at his crimes, had voluntarily surrendered the throne.[93] Regardless of the truth of the matter, the statement happily conforms with Isidore's doctrine that rulers are not to be overthrown by force. The need for loyalty to the king forms the first part of the canon. Its appeal is based not only on secular pragmatism—such solidarity will ensure the well-being of the nation—but also on religious sanction. Disloyalty and rebellion, it is argued, are sacrilege, as the oath of loyalty to the king was taken in God's name.[94] Rebels are directly likened to Judas and should suffer the worst of all possible religious penalties: anathema and excommunication. Two biblical exempla referring to the inviolate status of the Lord's anointed are adduced to strengthen the bishops' case, and a further one warns of the dangers of Divine wrath that will attend any such behaviour.[95] Looking to the future, the canon goes on to envisage a major role for the church as a kingmaker, stating that, on the death of the incumbent monarch, the "leaders of the people and their priests shall choose by joint counsel a successor to the kingdom."[96] The canon then outlines a vision of kingship which coincides perfectly with Isidore's writings on the subject:

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[89] Fredegar, *Chronicon* 4.73.

[90] For a general discussion of the demise of Swintila see Luis A. García Moreno, "La oposición a Suintila: Iglesia, Monarquía y Nobleza en el Reino Visigodo," *Polis* 3 (1991), 13–24.

[91] Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 62, 65.

[92] For this date, see Pierre Cazier, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis. Sententiae*, CSSL 111 (Turnhout: 1998), xiv-xix.

[93] "who in fear of his crimes deprived himself of the kingdom and set aside the trappings of power" ("qui scelera propria metuens seipsum regno privavit, et potestatis fascibus exuit").

[94] "Thus it is sacrilege if the pledged loyalty to their king is broke by a people for not only is there a breach of a pledge in them but also against God in Whose name that promise was made" ("Sacrilegium quippe est si violetur a gentibus regum suorum promissa fides, quia non solum in eis fit pacti transgressio, sed et in Deum quidem in cuius nomine pollicetur ipsa promissio").

> With due humility we ask you, our present King and those future kings of the ages to come, showing yourselves moderate and gentle towards your subjects, to rule with justice and piety over those people entrusted to you by God and to respond with reciprocal goodness to him, Christ the Giver, who has entrusted us to you, ruling in humility of heart and with earnest intent to act aright. Nor let any of you give sentence alone in capital or civil cases, but let the guilt of malefactors be made plain in open judgement through the consent of the people with their rulers. Rule gently with your people unmolested so that you may rule over them as much by mercy as severity. And while all such things are so preserved by the aid of God and your own pious moderation, let kings rejoice in their people and the people in their kings and God in both of them. But we make this declaration about future kings: if one of them, contrary to respect for the law, exercises his power cruelly over the people in an arrogant reign and right royal disdain amid outrages, crimes, and greed, let him be condemned as anathema by Christ the Lord, let him be separated from, and judged by, God for his presumption to work ill deeds and bring the kingdom to ruin.[97]

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[95] Ps. 104 (105) 15: "Touch not mine anointed" ("Nolite tangere christos meos"); 1 Sam. 26:9: "who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" ("Quis extendit manum suam in Christum domini et innocens erit?"); Isa. 34:5: "For my sword shall be bathed in heaven" ("Inebriatus est gladius meus in caelo"); the verse continues, "behold, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment." It is this threat that the council wished to emphasise.

[96] "Sed defuncto in pace principe, primatus gentis cum sacerdotibus successorem regni consilio communi constituant."

[97] "Te quoque presentem regem et futuros aetatum sequentium principes humilitate debita deposcimus. Ut moderati et mites erga subiectos existentes cum iustitia et pietate populos a deo vobis creditos regatis bonamque vicissitudinem qui vos nobis constituit largitori Christo respondeatis, regnantes in humilitate cordis, cum studio bonae actionis. Nec quisquam vestrum solus in casum capitum aut rerum sententiam ferat, sed consensu publico cum rectoribus ex iudicio manifesto delinquentium culpa patescat, servata a vobis in offensis mansuetudine, ut non severitate magis in illis quam indulgentia polleatis.

As can be seen, all of Isidore's concerns about kingship are condensed in this canon. We see his insistence that rulers of whatever kind hold their power through divine dispensation and thus must not be overthrown. The threat of anathematisation of a wicked ruler significantly comes not from the Church on earth, but rather Christ in heaven, and it is in heaven too, not on earth, where such a monarch will be called to account. However, alongside this, we can see Isidore's concomitant belief that kings are but stewards of God, not rulers by virtue of their own person, and from this it follows that their rule should be just and open and, seemingly a particular concern of Isidore's, tempered with mercy. Moreover, there is also, in the formulation of how a king is to be elected, a wish that any monarch should command the broad consensus of the community as a whole. Still, rather than positing a "social contract" between ruler and ruled, we should see Isidore's state as one which has at its heart a "divine contract" made between God and the ruler. God has given the ruler a mandate and in return expects his steward to rule well over the people he has entrusted to him. While such a rule will require firmness at times, it must necessarily be conducted in a manner which furthers the common good, not the ruler's own benefit. The Church's role in such a state is to provide guidance and warnings to the ruler to ensure that he fulfils his part of the divine contract correctly.

8 Conclusion

Isidore's legacy in later political thought is often forgotten, but his writings formed the basis for the ideas expressed in the "Mirrors of Princes" throughout the Middle Ages and preserved many traditions that are now taken for granted. These include the notions that law and government should be open and for the benefit of all, that rulers should be selected through the broad consensus of their community, that they can be judged by criteria other than those of their own devising, that they should be answerable to the law, and that they are responsible for the acts of their appointees. Isidore is more than aware of the problem of the tyrant, and his writing eloquently poses Hamlet's question of

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Ut dum omnia haec auctore deo pio a vobis moderamine conservantur, et reges in populis, et populi in regibus, et deus in utrisque laetetur. Sane de futuris regibus hanc sententiam promulgamus: Ut si quis ex eis contra reverentiam legum superba dominatione et fastigio in flagitiis et facinore sive cupiditate crudelissimam potestatem in populis exercuerit, anathematis sententia[m] a Christo domino condempnetur, et habeat a[n] deo separationem atque iudicium, propter quod presumpserit prava agere, et in pernitiem regnum convertere."

what is nobler in the mind. It shows both of the Prince of Denmark's solutions have their strengths. While Isidore's own religious beliefs and political experiences led him to believe that the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune should be endured, his writings also helped lay the intellectual foundations for the arguments of those who wished to end them. It would be wrong to present Isidore as a profound political thinker—though he is not, as is sometimes asserted, simply a slavish follower of the sources he had read.[98] His most important contribution to political thought is to have kept alive the tradition of natural law which may well have died without its popularisation through his works, and thus helped create a climate where the rulers of society could be held to account for their deeds. It is a legacy for which we should be duly thankful.

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[98] For Isidore as an original thinker see the chapters in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016).

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CHAPTER 13

Confronting the Other: Isidore of Seville on Pagans, Romans, Barbarians, Heretics, and Jews

Raúl González Salinero

1 Introduction[1]

The Visigothic conversion to Catholicism, solemnly established at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, brought about a true *societas fidelium Christi*,[2] "a unitary body bound together by a common faith and ruled over by a divinely sanctioned head."[3] Similar to the Edict of Thessalonica (*Cunctos populos*) (380), after which the identity of the Roman was equated with that of the faithful Christian, in the "new" Visigothic state, ruled by a Catholic monarch submitted to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, all subjects would be defined by the status of *fidelis*.[4] Indeed, according to Isidore of Seville, "God has granted sovereignty to princes to rule over peoples,"[5] a *donum* which should be used to protect only "members of Christ," in other words, the *fideles*:

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[1] The following abbreviations to works of Isidore are used in the main text (full references are provided in the bibliography): *Alleg.*: *Allegoriae*; *Chron.*: *Chronica*; *De fide*: *De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos*; *De vir. ill.*: *De viris illustribus*; *Etym.*: *Etymologiae*; *Hist. Goth.*: *Historia Gothorum*; *Quaest.*: *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*; *Reg. mon.*: *Regula monachorum*; *Sent.*: *Sententiae*; *Synon.*: *Synonyma*.

[2] *Leges Visigothorum* 12.2.15.

[3] P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: 1972), 132. See also Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor: 2000), 59–88; María del Rosario Valverde Castro, *Ideología, simbolismo y ejercicio del poder real en la monarquía visigoda: un proceso de cambio* (Salamanca: 2000), 195–215; Céline Martin, *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique* (Lille: 2003), 331–32.

[4] See Jeremy du Quesnay Adams, "Ideology and Requirements of 'Citizenship' in Visigothic Spain: The Case of the *Judaei*," *Societas. A Review of Social History* 2 (1972), 317–32; Wolf Liebeschuetz, "Citizen Status and Law in the Roman Empire and the Visigothic Kingdom," in *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, eds. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: 1998), 148–52.

[5] "Dedit Deus principibus praesulatum pro regimine populorum […]," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.49.3.

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> It is clear that believing peoples are the limbs of Christ so that as long as they who have received this power rule well by it, they give a good return to God, who granted it to them.[6]

The bishops present at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 were under Isidore's direct influence and leadership, and they defended in the second canon the principle of the unity of the kingdom through one faith: one *fides*, one *regnum* (*nec diuersa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui una fide continemur et regno*). Therefore, *infidelitas* to God and *infidelitas* to the king, who kept a watch over the Church of God, were one and the same.[7]

The political theory that established the religious legitimacy of the Visigothic monarchy and identified the interests of the king, as guide and intercessor of his people before God, with the Church's doctrinal principles, quickly found its most elaborate expression in Isidore's writings.

Jacques Fontaine asserts that Isidore worked very hard to outline "un proyecto global de sociedad" ("a global social project") in which he tried to harmonize all the different components of the Visigothic kingdom. He established a direct correlation between the Gothic subject, the continuity of the patriotic Roman tradition, and the sacred character of a monarchy that ruled according to the doctrinal values of the Church: *Patria Gothorum*, *romanitas*, *rex rectus* and *ciuitas Dei peregrinans*.[8] The correlation between the Visigoths' cultural roots and Roman tradition was largely the result of the kingdom's affinity with the Catholic faith.[9] Isidore established a theology of power which assigned to the king the task of protecting the Church and forming a *regnum Christi*. This conception of rule did not derive from purely political speculation but out of the doctrinal struggle against all those outside the establishment.

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[6] "Membra quippe Christi fideles sunt populi, quos dum ea potestate, quam accipiunt, optime regunt, bonam utique uicissitudinem Deo largitori restituunt," Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.49.3.

[7] This reality was evident in the Visigothic legal system: see Carlos Petit, *Iustitia gothica. Historia social y teología del proceso en la Lex Visigothorum* (Huelva: 2000), 113.

[8] Jacques Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla, padre de la cultura europea," in *La conversión de Roma. Cristianismo y paganismo*, eds. José María Candau, Fernando Gascó, and Antonio Ramírez de Verger (Madrid: 1990), 272. On the interrelation of these elements, see Marc Reydellet, "Les intentions idéologiques et politiques dans la Chronique d'Isidore de Séville," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 82 (1970), 397, and Eleonora dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo. Políticas del siglo y estrategias del poder eclesiástico en el reino visigodo de Toledo (589–711)* (Cádiz: 2013), 168–69. On Isidore's concept of *fides catholica*, see Wolfram Drews, *Juden und Judentum bei Isidor von Sevilla. Studien zum Traktat De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* (Berlin: 2001), 250–62.

[9] Bruno Luiselli, *Storia culturale dei rapporti tra mondo romano e mondo germanico* (Rome: 1992), 585–86.

Even if they could eventually be submitted to the same political authority, the one element that unified the individuals that embodied "the other" was their *infidelitas*. Pagans, heretics, and Jews were all viewed as stemming from the same source of evil, originating from the devil.[10] They posed a constant threat to the true faith, and therefore to the *regnum Christi* (*Sent.* 1.16).[11] None of these "errors" could be justified for Isidore:

> Those who turn from idolatry to Judaism or to heresy, turn, as the prophet says, from one evil to another and are not known to God as they cross over from the error of paganism to another error.[12]

Even though paganism and heresy preoccupied Isidore and the rest of the bishops of the Visigothic kingdom, after the conversion to Catholicism and the implementation of various measures that reduced the threat of heresy considerably (especially Arianism), the notion of the "perfidious" Jew slowly replaced pagans and heretics as "the other," embodying all of the elements that characterized the enemies of the *regnum Christi*.[13] One can clearly perceive this process in the different versions of Isidore's writings in the growing intensity with which he deploys the concept of the "other" sometimes viewed figuratively and on other occasions as a real threat.

2 Pagans

2.1 *Theoretical Discourse: Antiquarian Prevention*

Taking into account a considerable portion of the anti-pagan arguments found within the Patristic tradition, Isidore approached the problem of pagan religion from a perspective that is both encyclopedic and timeless. Indeed, with the exception of a few ambiguous, anachronistic references, his perspective was very far from the contemporary realities of his day.[14] The concept of *superstitio* acquired, as it did for all other Christian writers, a pejorative meaning as it related to the pernicious world of empty practices brought about by a false religion.[15] However, the definition of *superstitio* as "a superfluous or superimposed observance" and "senile with age" in the *Etymologiae* (8.3.6), suggests that Isidore wanted to convey the idea that *superstitio* applied more to practices alien to accepted Christian doctrine than to paganism itself.[16] Thus, it is not surprising to discover in his *Sententiae* a close relationship between pagans and heretics, who were both apparently incited by the devil (*Sent.* 1.16.14; *Quaest. In Iob* 8.2–3). This assumes that, in opposition to Christianity, idolatry originating in primitive religions and belonged to beliefs subject to barbarism. The word "pagan" thus came to denote, in general terms, all that belonged to the realm of superstition and unchristian ways.[17]

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[10] Emilio Mitre, "Vicisitudes políticas y cultura antiherética ante la atomización del mundo mediterráneo," in *Ortodoxia y herejía entre la Antigüedad y el Medievo* (Madrid: 2003), 100.

[11] Federico Mario Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes en las obras exegéticas y pedagógicas de san Isidoro de Sevilla," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 17 (1987), 28.

[12] "Qui ab idololatria ad Iudaismum uel haeresim transeunt, iuxta prophetam, de malo ad malum egressi sunt, et Dominum non cognouerunt, quia de infidelitatis errore in errorem alium transierunt," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.16.15.

[13] Catherine Cordero Navarro, "El problema judío como visión del 'otro' en el reino visigodo de Toledo. Revisiones historiográficas," *En la España Medieval* 23 (2000), 11–12.

In the only surviving canon of the Third Council of Seville, celebrated under Isidore's rule between the years 619 and 624, preserved in the *Juliana* recension of the *Hispana* (and, with a few textual variations, among the Pseudoisidorian Decretals), it is specified that Jewish children who, through a fraudulent simulation, had escaped forced baptism,[18] remained "pagan" (*sicque occulta ac nefaria simulatione natos suos paganos retienent*). In other words, they lacked the grace of baptism and for this reason remained outside the Church, and consequently the individual, whether Jew or pagan, was immersed in barbarism and superstition.[19]

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[14] Pablo C. Díaz and Juana M. Torres, "Pervivencias paganas en el cristianismo hispano (siglos IV–VII)," in *El cristianismo. Aspectos históricos de su origen y difusión en Hispania*, eds. Juan Santos and Ramón Teja (Vitoria-Gasteiz: 2000), 253.

[15] Rosa María Herrera, "Concepto de religión y superstición en las *Etimologías* de san Isidoro de Sevilla," *Helmantica* 44 (1993), 532–33; Sergey Vorontsov, "Some Considerations on the Concept of Religion in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville," *Athenaeum* 104 (2016), 245–50.

[16] Céline Martin, "*De sacrilegiis extirpendis*. Interpretar la legislación contra el paganismo en la *Hispania* de los siglos VI–VII," in *La Iglesia como sistema de dominación en la Antigüedad tardía*, eds. José Fernández Ubiña, Alberto J. Quiroga Puertas, and Purificación Ubric Rabaneda (Granada: 2015), 279.

[17] John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville. Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007), 118.

[18] Raúl González Salinero, "Isidoro y los judíos en el único canon conservado del desaparecido Concilio III de Sevilla," in *Guerra y rebelión en la Antigüedad tardía. El siglo VII en España y su contexto mediterráneo*, eds. Luis A. García Moreno and Sebastián Rascón Marqués (Alcalá de Henares: 2005), 201–11, reprinted in Raúl González Salinero, *Judíos y cristianos durante la Antigüedad tardía: entre la convivencia y la controversia* (Barcelona: 2006), 227–36.

[19] See Wolfram Drews, "Jews as Pagans? Polemical Definitions of Identity in Visigothic Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002), 189–207.

Isidore's interest in the origin and nature of the pagan gods originated both in his intellectual curiosity and his eagerness to register, within an encyclopedic context, the human character of some gods adored by virtue of the devil's instigation.[20] Isidore delved deeply in pagan literature, which he advised the majority of Christians not to read (*Etym.* 8.7; *Sent.* 3.13).[21] Now, mindful of the fact that ignorance is the mother of all evils and one of the nursing mothers of vice (*Synon.* 2.65),[22] Isidore was often prone to letting monks and priests read, with extreme caution, pagan authors.[23] In other instances, as in his monastic practices, Isidore asserts the opposite: "monks should not read books by pagan authors, for it is preferable to ignore their doctrines than to fall in the joke of their errors by own accord" (*Reg. mon.* 8).[24] Drawing inspiration from Augustine's *Confessions*, Isidore recognizes the accomplishments of classical philosophy[25] and pagan philosophers' cosmic knowledge, while he simultaneously reproaches them for their ingratitude to God, which was the result of the devil's influence[26]:

> The pagan philosophers as they did not seek God as they ought to have, fell into the hands of the rebel angels and the Devil set himself up as their mediator for Death, just as Christ has set himself up as our mediator for Life.[27]

According to Isidore, paganism was intimately connected with the practices of magic and divination, which could lead to the survival of demonic forces. In his *Etymologies* we find that pagan philosophers and poets are in the same category as prophetesses and magicians (*Etym.* 8.8–9). Their occultism and evil spells constantly preoccupied Isidore, who accordingly (*Etym.* 8.9.3)[28] advised Christians to be very vigilant:

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[20] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11. See Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris: 1959), 809; Katherine Nell Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (*Origines* VIII.11)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 70 (1980), 1–40; Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 253; Martin, "*De sacrilegiis extirpendis*," 279.

[21] Luca Montecchio, *I visigoti e la rinascita culturale del secolo VII* (Perugia: 2006), 80–81.

[22] In the preface to his *De natura rerum* Isidore gives the following view of the natural sciences: "it is neither a mark of futility nor of superstition to learn the nature of things, as long it is done through healthy and careful precepts."

[23] Stephen McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom* (Washington, DC: 1938), 137.

[24] See McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals*, 136; Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 254; Montecchio, *I visigoti e la rinascita culturale*, 80–81.

[25] Francisco Javier Lozano Sebastián, *San Isidoro y la filosofía clásica* (León: 1982).

[26] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad de la cultura hispánica en tiempos de los visigodos* (Madrid: 2002), 182.

[27] "Philosophi gentium non, sicut oportet, Deum quaerentes, in angelos inciderunt praeuaricatores; factus que est illis mediator diabolus ad mortem, sicut nobis Christus ad uitam," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.17.1.

> In all these the craft of demons has issued from a certain pestilential alliance of humans and evil angels. Hence all these things are to be avoided by a Christian, and entirely repudiated and condemned with every curse.[29]

2.2 *Praxis: The Dying Embers*

There are relatively few references to "popular religion" in Visigothic sources of the 7th century,[30] with the exception of a few which served, as in the case of the writings of Isidore of Seville, to expose an archaic image of ancestral practices which, from a moral standpoint, should be rejected outright.[31] Besides, not all religious and social traditions outside the norms of the Church should automatically be considered pagan, nor do the behaviours our sources describe as "superstitious" necessarily deserve the label of "pagan," as conferred on them by the Church authorities.[32] However, certain canons reveal the constant concern that some superstitious practices or remnants of paganism would surface in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Visigothic Church, over which Isidore exercised considerable authority.

The bishops gathered at the Third Council of Toledo (589) had already realized that the sacrilege of idolatry (*idolatriae sacrilegium*) was widely spread throughout Gaul and Hispania; it urged, in collaboration with local judges (*iudices territoriorum*), its investigation in all the dioceses so that, once detected, it could be properly punished (canon 16).[33] In one of the first Councils led by Isidore of Seville (the aforementioned Third Council of Seville), Bishop Martianus of Astigi (Ecija) was dismissed on the grounds of a false accusation, including a visit to a fortune-teller, Simplicia, who was asked to provide an omen on his own life and that of the king.[34] Although the minutes of the Third Council of Seville are not available in their entirety (only the above-mentioned canon), the case is known because of an exculpatory verdict which was made years later at the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) after the witnesses had withdrawn their testimony relating to the specific content of the consultation with the fortune-teller and not to the act of requesting her services. All this implied an implicit recognition on the part of the bishops in the fortune-teller's ability.[35] In the final stages of Isidore's episcopacy, the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) notes that bishops, priests, and deacons often visited "warlocks, diviners, prophets, or the sort of soothesayers who cast lots or others who profess a similar art" [*magos aut haruspices aut hariolos, aut certe augures uel sortilegos uel eos qui profitentur artem aliquam*] (canon 29).[36] This index of characters devoted to occultism seems to have been taken from the *Etymologiae* (8.9), yet this is not necessarily a reason for doubting that it may reflect contemporary beliefs and practices.[37] Isidore presided over this council, and he probably participated actively in generating its proceedings. The use of theoretical terminology to describe those dedicated to the art of divination and magic does not mean that they were not a tangible presence in the Visigothic kingdom. The definition taken from the *Etymologies* constituted a basis for understanding, describing, prohibiting, and punishing the activities mentioned in the canon. Some Christians (including the ecclesiastical hierarchy) celebrated, according to the deviant traditions of the pagans (*propter eorum gentilium aguntur*), the Kalends of January, singing the alleluia and deliberately ignoring the fast the Church established on that date so that it would not be desecrated by any pagan practice (canon 11).[38] Isidore himself had already alluded to this fact in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*:

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[28] Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 254.

[29] "In quibus omnibus ars daemonum est ex quadam pestifera societate hominum et angelorum malorum exorta. Vnde cuncta uitanda sunt a Christiano, et omni penitus execratione repudianda atque damnanda," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.9.31, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 183.

[30] On this topic, see J.N. Hillgarth, "Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain," in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: 1980), 3–60.

[31] Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 243.

[32] Yitzhak Hen, "Religious Culture and the Power of Tradition in the Early Medieval West," in *A Companion to Medieval World*, eds. Carol Lansing and Edward D. English (Oxford: 2009), 73–74.

[33] Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 243.

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[34] Rachel L. Stocking, "Martianus, Aventius and Isidore: Provincial Church Councils in Seventh-Century Spain," *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), 169–88; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, 139–42.

[35] Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 247–48; Juan Antonio Jiménez Sánchez, "Los magos en la *Hispania* tardorromana y visigoda," in *Marginados sociales y religiosos en la Hispania tardorromana y visigoda*, ed. Raúl González Salinero (Madrid: 2013), 122.

[36] McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals*, 119; Nicole Zeddies, *Religio et sacrilegium. Studien zur Inkriminierung von Magie. Häresie und Heidentum* (Frankfurt: 2003), 177–82.

[37] Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 244.

[38] See McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals*, 119; Díaz and Torres, "Pervivencias paganas," 246–47. In the *Breviarium Gothorum* (PL 86, 152D) in the service of 2 January, several passages of Visigothic liturgy stressed that pagan idols were demons. See also Hillgarth, "Popular Religion," 17.

> The church established the fast on the Kalends of January because of the errors of the pagans .... The Fathers of the Church seeing that the greater part of the human race were in thrall on that day to sacrilege or extravagance, determined that there be a public fast in all churches across the world so that men could see the depths of their depravity and the necessity of fasting in every church to atone for their sins.[39]

3 Romans, Byzantines, and Barbarians

3.1 *Theoretical Discourse: Defense of the Visigothic Identity*

Born into a family from Cartagena that was forced to immigrate to the province of Baetica, in southern Spain, following the landing of Byzantine troops in 552, Isidore could thus have cultivated a hostile attitude to the Byzantines from a very early age, although it is impossible to clearly verify this theory in Isidore's writings, despite the opinion of modern historiography.[40] Keeping in mind that Christian *romanitas* was, in a sense, still present in the Byzantine Empire, Isidore was inclined to its legitimacy and greatness, at least from a theoretical perspective (*Etym.* 15.1.42).[41] The ideological image that Isidore initially conceived of Byzantium oscillated between that of Leovigild, whose most significant act was the adoption of imperial-style ceremony in the Visigothic court,[42] and the disillusion, from an ecclesiastical perspective, of his brother Leander, who had firsthand experience dealing with Byzantine diplomats.[43] On some occasions, Isidore seems to admire the cultural model of the Byzantine court or feels compelled to adopt its ideological roots, while on others he showed a profound distrust for the Byzantines in the political and religious sphere, denouncing acrimoniously the *Romana insolentia* (*Hist. Goth.* 54.15–16).

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[39] "Ieiunium kalendarum ianuariarum propter errorem gentilitatis instituit ecclesia [...] Proinde ergo sancti patres considerantes maximam partem generis humani eodem die huiusmodi sacrilegiis ac luxoriis inseruire statuerunt in uniuerso mundo per omnes ecclesias publicum ieiunium, per quod agnoscerent homines in tantum se praue agere ut pro eorum peccatis necesse esset omnibus ecclesiis ieiunare," Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.41, trans. Thomas L. Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville: De ecclesiasticis officiis* (New York: 2008), 63.

[40] Luis A. García Moreno, "La Andalucía de Isidoro," in *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Seville: 1994), 573; José Marín, "Noticias bizantinas en España. El caso de san Isidoro de Sevilla," *Temas Medievales* 17 (2009), 63.

[41] Marín, "Noticias bizantinas," 62.

[42] Javier Arce, "*Leovigildus rex* y el ceremonial de la corte visigótica," in *Visigoti e longobardi*, eds. Javier Arce and Paolo Delogu (Florence: 2001), 79–92.

[43] Jacques Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente a la España bizantina," in *V reunió d'Arqueologia cristiana hispànica* (Barcelona: 2000), 40.

Byzantine *Spania* was in direct confrontation with the Visigoths, who ruled over the rest of the Iberian Peninsula (the Suevic kingdom of northwest Spain no longer existed as a separate political entity in Isidore's day). As a result, Isidore of Seville established a new Hispano-Gothic ideology which would, without renouncing Roman heritage and tradition, annul any justification for the Byzantine presence in the south of Spain.[44] In order to attain this goal it was necessary, first of all, to banish from descriptions of the Visigoths the use of the word "barbarian", a term that had been used to refer to the Visigoths since their earliest appearance in written sources, usually in direct contrast to the Romans.

In his historical writings Isidore defended the religious and political legitimacy of the Visigoths, deliberately ignoring their Arian past, and denigrated other barbaric populations that were militarily weaker or deviated from the true Catholic faith.[45] The concept of "barbaric" became an apologetic instrument for the Goths. In fact, in his *Historiae*, all adversaries of the Goths (save for the Byzantine Empire, evidently) would be considered barbaric: the Sueves, Vandals, and Alans were explicitly described as such (12; 22; 68), and, implicitly, so were the Huns, Persians, Franks, and Basques (27–29; 36; 41–42; 54; 59; and 63). The defense of the *ciuilitas*, naturally associated with *Nicene* Christianity,[46] was from that point on the responsibility of both Romans and Visigoths.[47] However, the "nationalist" exaltation of the Gothic people demanded that Isidore adapt or even devalue the Roman myth in relation to a new political reality: as shown with the consolidation of Visigothic power in Hispania.[48] In any case, the Rome that Isidore evokes in his *Laus Hispaniae* emanates from Western Latinity, not Eastern Rome.[49] It was in this way that the Visigoths had converted themselves into the heirs and continuators of true *romanitas*, thus removing any ideological claims to be such which emanated from the Byzantine world.

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[44] Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente a la España bizantina," 32.

[45] Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain. Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 153–61 (156: "In the historical writings he does a thorough job of presenting these groups as illegitimate in both the political and the religious spheres"). See also Jamie Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes* in Isidore of Seville's *Chronica maiora*," in *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout: 2013), 160–62.

[46] In his encyclopaedia Isidore reaffirms being a citizen of a noble civilization, both Roman and Christian. See Giulio d'Onofrio, "Il rinascere della *Christianitas* (secoli VI–VIII)," in *Storia della teologia nel Medioevo, I. I principi*, ed. Giulio d'Onofrio (Casale Monferrato: 1996), 65–66.

[47] See Federico Mario Beltrán Torreira, "El concepto de barbarie en la *Hispania* visigoda," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 57.

[48] Suzzane Teillet, *Des Goths à la nation gothique. Les origines d l'idée de nation en Occident du* V*e* *au* VII*e* *siècle* (Paris, 1984), 463–501; Juan Ramón Carbó García, "Godos y getas en la historiografía de la tardoantigüedad y del Medievo: un problema de identidad y de legitimación socio-política," *Studia Historia. Historia Antigua* 22 (2004), 199–200.

3.2 *Praxis: A Providential Kingdom*

The possibility of cooperation among Catholics to combat Arian heresy could have spawned in Isidore a better opinion about the Byzantines.[50] However, Jacques Fontaine has suggested that Byzantine rule over some dioceses located in the ecclesiastical province of Baetica, still under Isidore's authority, would have hindered any sort of attempt to reach an understanding with imperial forces, including in the religious realm.[51] In fact, the "rootlessness" of some dioceses located in Byzantine territory could have greatly damaged, according to the author, the metropolitan authority of Seville.[52] Because there were no doctrinal frictions between the two sides of the territorial conflict, communication between dioceses was not affected. There is even evidence of collaboration between the dioceses under Byzantine rule and those of the Spanish-Visigothic Church after the kingdom's official conversion to Catholicism.[53]

Nevertheless, the Byzantine occupation of the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula until the reign of Suinthila probably seemed to Isidore a momentary frustration of providential plans in favor of Visigothic power in *Hispania*. However, successful military campaigns against the *milites romani* by the *dux* (and future king) Suinthila during the reign of Sisebut (*Hist. Goth.* 47; 61–62; *Chron.*, 414–17)[54] prepared the way for the final conquest, around the year 625, of the few Byzantine territories in the Iberian Peninsula. As happened with the famous victories over the Franks in *Septimania* (*Hist. Goth.* 41; 54),[55] Isidore took pleasure in narrating the exploits of the Visigoth monarchs and in pointing out that it was Suinthila who managed to assert Visigothic rule over a unified and independent *Hispania*.[56] It is at this moment that Isidore assigned the term *imperium* to the power of the Goths (*Hist. Goth.* 65.10–12) and the title of *princeps populorum* to the virtuous Gothic monarch (*Hist. Goth.* 64.1–11).[57] According to Isidore, none of their victories over the powerful Byzantine Empire would have been possible without divine help.[58] M.R. Valverde Castro asserts that

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[49] Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente a la España bizantina," 33; Marín, "Noticias bizantinas," 63.

[50] Marín, "Noticias bizantinas," 43.

[51] Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente a la España bizantina," 30.

[52] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 282.

[53] Margarita Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida* (Madrid: 2012), 245: "la Iglesia hispana bizantina era una Iglesia militante niceno-calcedonense, por lo que, una vez que los visigodos se conviertan a esta fe, no dudará en trabajar a favor de la unión de la Península bajo un único poder, en este caso el visigodo."

[54] See Pablo C. Díaz, "En tierra de nadie: visigodos frente a bizantinos. Reflexiones sobre la frontera," in *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica. De la Antigüedad tardía a la Edad Moderna*, eds. Inmaculada Pérez Martín and Pedro Bádenas de la Peña (Madrid: 2004), 45–46; Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio*, 334–44.

[55] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 280–81.

> the divine origins of royal power lay at the heart of his political thought. We encounter a perfect distillation of this idea in the phrase *gratia divina* which Isidore uses to refer to the accession of Suintilia. It is an expression which concisely expresses the concept that royal power is a result of divine favor: that a monarch's kingdom is given to him by God's grace.[59]

For Isidore of Seville there was no doubt that the Goths, defenders of the true faith, had replaced the Romans. In fact, his apologetical vision led him to believe that only the Visigothic kingdom could offer the Church the necessary conditions for its providential progress; whereas the Byzantine Empire, a nest of heresies (*Etym.* 8.5), had recently been sympathetic towards heterodox doctrines. It was for this reason that the emperor had lost his former function as *rector ecclesiae*.[60] There is no question that Isidore had in mind the "Three Chapters Controversy" (*c.*544)[61] that emerged in the mid-6th century because of Emperor Justinian's failed attempt to re-establish, through an edict, ecclesiastical unity with the Monophysites. The writings of three theologians (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibbas of Edessa) were condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople (the Fifth Ecumenical Council, held in 553). This had repercussions in *Hispania*.[62]

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[56] Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 182; Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo*, 171.

[57] See Valverde Castro, *Ideología, simbolismo y ejercicio del poder real*, 155 and 212.

[58] On the process of the ideological construction of the Isidorian concept of the "new chosen people," see Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo*, 166–77.

[59] Valverde Castro, *Ideología, simbolismo y ejercicio del poder real*, 202; Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes*," 133.

[60] See Cristiana Godoy and Josep Vilella, "De la *fides ghotica* a la Ortodoxia nicena: inicio de la teología política visigoda," *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 3 (1986), 133; Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 282; Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 208–09; Wood, "*Religiones* and *gentes*," 126, 131, 142–46, and 159.

[61] Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 212.

[62] See Vallejo, *Hispania y Bizancio*, 132–35.

Isidore mentions an imperial rescript against bishops from the region of Illyrium and Africa, who had refused to condemn the Three Chapters (*De vir. ill.* 18).[63] The orthodoxy of the Visigoth monarchs, by contrast, was beyond suspicion.[64] At the Fourth Council of Toledo, inspired and presided over by Isidore of Seville in 633, the trust that bishops had placed in monarchs to defend the one true faith was permanently sealed[65]:

> We ask with due humility that you, our present King [i.e. Sisenand], and the future kings of the ages to come be moderate and kindly towards those who are your subjects, that you rule with justice and piety the peoples entrusted to you by God, that you respond to Christ who has given you these things by ruling with a humble heart and devotion to good deeds.[66]

4 Heretics

4.1 *Theoretical Discourse: The Loss of Ecclesial Unity*

Given that the error of heresy emerged from incorrect interpretation of the Scriptures (*Sent.* 1.16.8; 3.12.2–4; *Quaest. in Exod.* 36), Isidore took it upon himself to present, with a clear pedagogical intention, a catalog of the main deviations that had developed through time from the doctrinal core of Christianity and Judaism. In order to carry out this task Isidore followed the writings of Augustine and Gregory the Great very closely. This detailed list would impede the clergy from interpreting the Scriptures wrongly, and in turn would dispel any dangers brought about by heretics (*Sent.* 1.16.13–14; *De eccl. off.* 2.23; *Alleg.*

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[63] Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 213.

[64] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 283.

[65] Dell'Elicine, *En el principio fue el Verbo*, 180: "Lo que Toledo IV instituye es una forma de pensar y de habitar ese lazo social: en efecto, desde las palabras y desde las prácticas, esa sociedad se percibe a sí misma como una *ecclesia*, o aún más, como un pueblo elegido, como un nuevo Israel. En ese esquema, la clerecía participa junto al rey de la conducción de ese pueblo, en una postura que la sitúa paradójicamente por debajo y por encima de él."

[66] "[…] Te quoque praesentem regem [Sisenandus] futurosque aetatum sequentium principes humilitate qua debemus deposcimus ut moderati et mites erga subiectos exsistentes cum iustitia et pietate populos a Deo uobis creditos regatis, bonamque uicissitudinem, qui uso constituit, largitori Christo respondeatis regnantes in humilitate cordis cum studio bonae actionis […]," IV Toledo, 75.

127; *Quaest. in Gen.* 4.6–7).[67] Isidore thought that in order to combat heresy effectively, it was convenient only to recognize the dogmas on which heresies were based (*Etym.* 8.3.7), because even within the Church[68] faithful Christians were not exempt from falling prey to its pernicious traps:

> […] These heresies, although they disagree with each other, differing among themselves in many errors, nevertheless conspire with a common name against the Church of God. But also, whoever understands the Holy Scriptures otherwise than the meaning of the Holy Spirit, by whom they were written, can, even if he does not depart from the Church, be called a heretic.[69]

While heresies sowed discord among the Church, Isidore did not deem them a danger in themselves as they could provide valuable proof in favor of the one true faith and strengthen the orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church throughout the world (*pro eo quod universaliter per omnem sit mundum diffusa*, *Sent.* 1.16.5). Isidore expressed his views as follows:

> The Church has grown in doctrine because of the depravity of heresy. Previously it flourished with but a simple faith. With the rise of heretics doctors of the Faith grew up and because of the sharpness of these heresies church leaders arose. For now we see a brighter assertion of the Truth, whenever some dissent from it is found.[70]

Isidore compared mosquitos from the third biblical plague of Egypt with the numerous heretics who, with their vexing "bites," are ever unrelenting in their attacks on the faith of true Christians (*Quaest. in Exod.* 14.4–6, *PL* 83, 292–93). In his commentary, Leviticus-style, he compares heresy (also associated with Judaism) with leprosy. He adds that it had an off-white color typical of the illness and symbolic of those heretics who, similar to those adhering to the doctrines of Pelagianism and Novatianism, falsely proclaimed their purity (*Quaest. in Lev.* 11.12, *PL* 83, 329). For this very reason, priests especially should avoid mixing with these "neighbours" and "mercenaries," allusions to heretics (falsely calling themselves Christians) and Jews (carnal servants of the Law of Moses) (*Quest. in Vet. Test.: in Lev.* 12.13–14, *PL* 83, 332).[71]

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[67] See Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes," 17; Mitre, "Vicisitudes políticas y cultura antiherética," 98–99.

[68] Referring to the wicked Elihu from the book of Job, Isidore cautions in his *Prooemia in libros Veteris et Noui Testamenti* 32 (PL 83, 163) against arrogant preachers who, from within the Church, plot against her.

[69] "Haec sunt haereses aduersus catholicam fidem exortae, et ab Apostolis et a sanctis Patribus uel Conciliis praedamnatae: quae dum in se multis erroribus diuisae inuicem sibi dissentiant, communi tamen nomine aduersus Ecclesiam Dei conspirant. Sed et quicumque aliter Scripturam sanctam intellegit quam sensus Spiritus sancti flagitat, a quo conscripta est, licet de Ecclesia non recesserit, tamen haereticus appellari potest," Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.5.70, trans. Barney et al., 178.

[70] "Causa prauitatis haereticae doctrinis est propagata Ecclesia; nam antea simplici tantum fide uigebat. Haereticorum igitur occasione propagati sunt doctores in fide, et per acumina haeresum Ecclesiae magistri creuerunt. Nam tunc clarius manifestatur ueritatis assertio, quando patuerit quaelibet dissensio," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.16.5.

In any case, the wisdom and patience of the Church provided a common front against the attacks of heretics and pagans (*Sent.* 1.16.2 and 4).[72] Its Catholicity denoted an evident superiority in regards to the different "small heretical groups" (*conuenticula haereticorum*),[73] even though it could deteriorate very seriously given its enemies' combined efforts to upset it: "those who are divided against one another are found at times to be united in their opposition to the Church," (*qui inuicem diuisi sunt, in aduersitate Ecclesiae simul existunt uni Sent.* 1.16.10; cf. *Etym.* 8.5.70).[74] The greatest threat the Church faced from heresy was precisely its capacity to break ecclesiastical unity: "The heretics learn their lies with great zeal and struggle mightily not to come into the unity of the Church."[75]

Isidore de Seville was convinced that the only way to establish the celestial Jerusalem was through the peace and unity within the Church and establishing true doctrine: "there, when all hostility has been overwhelmed, one will possess peace, which is Christ, by gazing upon him face to face" (*Etym.* 8.1.6).[76] The synthesis and interpretation of Isidore's stance against heresy, manifest in his eighth book of the *Etymologiae*, can be rightfully summarized in the words of Angelo Valastro Canale:

> Heresy, the daughter of pride threatened the foundations of Christian unity, a unity which in the eyes of Isidore, was both religious and political at the same time. Heresy thus ought to be extirpated in order to guarantee the building of the Church Universal, in other words to guarantee the

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[71] Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes," 22.

[72] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 181–82.

[73] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.1.1; *Sententiae* 1.16.6; *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.16.1. See Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes," 26.

[74] See Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes," 26.

[75] Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.16.9: "Haeretici ingenti studio mendacia sua discunt, et labore uehementi, ne ad unitatem Ecclesiae ueniant, decertant."

[76] Trans. Barney et al., 173.

> possibility of re-establishing the lost harmony of mankind and to anticipate in a way the direct apprehension of Christ's Peace, that of the King of the celestial Jerusalem.

Thus, for Isidore, without orthodoxy being imposed and defended by the Church against the disunity that heresy sought there was no possibility of establishing political and religious stability in the Visigothic kingdom.

4.2 *Praxis: Averted Threats*

According to our sources, it does not seem that Isidore had to contend with many heretical movements during his time as head of the bishopric of Seville. While we can state that Arianism had ceased to be an urgent problem for the Church during the period that Isidore was writing his most important works, there are some indications that he could have participated in the confrontations which took place between Catholics and Arians shortly after the Third Council of Toledo (589). At least, this is what Bishop Taio of Zaragoza could have tried to convey when he stated that Isidore "expelled the dirt of the Arian heresy from all over *Hispania*, persecuting it with the world of God."[77] Furthermore, the actions carried out by Isidore during a synod against a so-called Sintharius, recorded in a letter from Braulio of Zaragoza, may have been related to the struggle to eradicate Arian heresy from the kingdom which had recently converted to Catholicism.[78] In any case, it is highly probable that Isidore's behavior took place in a clearly anti-heretical context:

> I ask you to use your influence with your son and lord, the king, to have to me right away the minutes of the council in which Sintharius was thoroughly cooked, even if not completely purified, with the fire of your inquisition. I have already asked his highness for this, since I am very much in need of it to investigate the truth in the council [...].[79]

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[77] Eduard Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori: nova fragmenta et opera* (Madrid: 1930), 61. See also Juan Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," in *San Isidoro, doctor Hispaniae*, ed. Julián González (Seville: 2002), 89.

[78] Beltrán Torreira, "La herejía y sus imágenes," 16.

[79] "Gesta etiam sinodi, in quo Sintharius examinis uestri igne etsi non purificatus inuenitur tamen decoctus, quaeso ut uestro instinctu a filio uestro domno rege nobis dirigatur cito. Nam et nostra eius sic flagitauit gloriam suggestio, quia multum in concilio pro inuestiganda opus est ueritate," Braulio, *Epistula* 2 (to Isidore), trans. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, Volume 2: Braulio of Saragosa, Fructuosus of Braga* (Washington, DC: 1969), 17–18.

In the twelfth canon of the Second Council of Seville, over which Isidore presided in 619, we find a description of the conversion to Catholicism of a Syrian bishop *ex haerese Acephalorum* who defended, so it seemed, a Monophysite theology. As described in the canon, this acephalous heresy (literally meaning "without a head," given that it belonged to one of the Monophysite communities completely separated from all Christian patriarchates) "negated the existence of two natures in Christ and affirmed that deity could suffer."[80]

The mystery of Christ's Incarnation had divided the early Church since the councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). The Catholic Church's official doctrine, sanctioned by Pope Leo I, recognized two indissoluble natures in the person of Christ. However, not all bishops adhered to this theological interpretation and maintained that there could only be one nature in Christ ("Monophysitism," from *mono* "one," and *physis*, "nature"). For this reason, it was impossible to admit the principle of divine impassivity.[81] Given that this controversy had political and social ramifications, the Emperor Justinian (527–65) attempted to settle the issue by promoting the concept of Christ's Monothelitism (from *thelema*, "will") which in the end did not satisfy either of two opposing sides. The Catholic doctrine was then forcibly imposed in the East, leading to the exile of many bishops.[82] It is probable that the difficulties that the Monophysites faced motivated the Syrian bishop known as Gregory, who, according to Braulio of Zaragoza,[83] went into (forced or voluntary) exile and later appeared before the Second Council of Seville in 619.[84] It is not unlikely that the matter was taken before the council because the bishops were concerned that this heretic could confuse the faithful Christians of Baetica.[85] From the information found in the canon we deduce that the Syrian priest did not accept the arguments of the Baetican bishops and refused to admit that Christ had two natures, while maintaining that the deity was capable of suffering. However, under constant pressure he capitulated and retracted (*gratia diuina eductus*) his error before all the bishops present at the synod:

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[80] In his *Chronica* 385, Isidore mentioned the appearance in the East of a heresy called acephalous ("without a head") which was in direct opposition with the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. He described the heresy as a "pest" and suggested that even in his own day (*hactenus*) Christianity still suffered from it. A similar explanation with a brief description on the Monophysite Christology ("unam in eius persona naturam praedicant") appears in *Etymologiae* 8.5.66. See Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente a la España bizantina," 34–35. According to Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 215, "Isidore's depiction of the emperors as supporting the *Acefali* and opposing Chalcedon showed that the Romans were heretics, undermined their claim to be defenders of orthodoxy, and suggested that their actions had led to the emergence of further heresies."

[81] On theological currents such as Theopaschite Monophysitism, see Paul Gavrilyuk, *The Suffering of Impassible God. The Dialectis of Patristic Thought* (Oxford: 2004).

[82] See Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," 89–91.

[83] Braulio of Zaragoza, *Renotatio librorum Domini Isidori*, 65.

[84] L.A. García Moreno, "Disidencia religiosa y poder episcopal en la España tardoantigua (ss. V–VII)," in *De Constantino a Carlomagno. Disidentes, heterodoxos, marginados*, eds. Francisco Javier Lomas and Federico Devís (Cádiz: 1992), 150, asserted, without any proof or sound arguments, that the Monophysite bishop was from the part of Egypt that had been invaded by Chosroes II. Without discarding the possibility that he had come directly

> By confronting him with the evidence of our Lord Jesus Christ's incarnation and reading to him the views of the Holy Fathers, we then with every exhortation and with due priestly modesty invited him to embrace the rectitude of the True Faith. By such wholesome advice after stubbornly rejecting communion in many lengthy struggles, finally he was enlightened by Divine Grace and abjured his heresy, while standing in the midst of us, and confessed that there are two natures and one person in our one and same Lord Jesus Christ, professing that His divine nature was impassible and that only in His human nature did He endure the afflictions of suffering and the cross.[86]

Isidore deemed it convenient to add at the end of the council's proceedings, as the thirteenth canon, a brief theological treatise (not exempt from doctrinal errors itself) in which he defended the double nature of Christ as human and divine.[87] This could potentially have served as a reminder of the recent case of

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from the East, Díaz, "En tierra de nadie," 58, proposes the hypothesis that the Syrian bishop could have come from the peninsula's southern region occupied by the Byzantines.

[85] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 97; Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," 91.

[86] "prolatis illi de incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi testimoniis sanctorumque patrum sententiis recitatis omni eum deinde exhortatione ad verae fidei rectitudinem sacerdotali modestia invitavimus. Qui salutaribus monitis pertinaciter per multos diuturnosque conflictus communionem renitens, tandem gratia divina edoctus cunctis coram adstantibus haeresem propriam abdicavit, duasque naturas et unam personam in uno eodemque domino nostro Iesu Christo confessus est, credens inpassibilem naturam deitatis atque in sola humanitate suscepisse infirmitates passionis et crucis," II Seville, 12. In the *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* Braulio of Zaragoza praised Isidore, describing the episode as follows: "with what a flood of eloquence, with what barbs of Divine Scriptures and proofs from the Fathers he confounded the heresy of the Acephalites, is revealed in the acts of the Council which met under his leadership at Seville, in which he established the Catholic truth against Gregory, the leader of the said heresy," trans. Barlow, 142. See also José Carlos Martín, *La renotatio librorum domini Isidori de Braulio de Zaragoza († 651)* (Logroño: 2002), 287–88, n. 43.

[87] Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 97; Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," 91; Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 216–17. According to Fontaine, "Isidoro de Sevilla frente

the Syrian heretic and as a manual for future conversions from error to Catholicism.

It did not matter that the bishops, with Isidore as their leader, twisted (indubitably out of ignorance) the doctrine of the *Acephali*, a Monophysite group that continued to exist, according to Anastasius of Sinai and George of Pisidia, as a Monophysite group in the 7th century. The bishops at the Second Council of Seville say that the Syrian bishop denied the *Proprietas* of the two natures in Christ, implying that after the union each nature had a different *Proprietas*, and that as such he defended *deitas passibilis* (*Theopaschism*), when in fact the Monophysite doctrine acknowledged the *deitas non passibilis*. The canon from the Seville council bears witness to the fact that the bishops interpreted this heretical doctrine incorrectly, possibly a sign of the distinctiveness of Western Christianity at the time.[88] However, none of the bishops was interested in shedding light on the heretical doctrine of the Syrian priest. It was sufficient to denounce the danger brought about by those situated outside orthodoxy, the perverse "other." L.S.B. MacCoull states, in relation to this particular incident: "The Syrian, doubly caught between the fallout of the Persian-Byzantine and Visigothic-Byzantine wars, is being represented as 'the other' whose terminology came from a world the westerners did not understand [...]."[89] Above all, Isidore's most important concern was with producing some doctrinal statement (be it intelligible or not) which placed the Syrian outside orthodoxy as defined by the Church.

5 Jews

5.1 *Theoretical Discourse: The Anti-Jewish Controversy*

Following the Patristic tradition of the *Adversus Iudaeos* genre, Isidore incorporated the main themes he had used to shape his anti-Jewish arguments in his most important works (*Etymologiae*, *Sententiarum libri*, *Allegoriae quaedam sanctae Scripturae*, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*) and wrote, at the request of his sister Florentina, an exegetic text directed specifically against the

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a la España bizantina," 36–37, with this florilegium Isidore wished to make clergy in Baetica aware of the scriptural and Patristic cornerstones of Nicaean Christology, in contrast to the heretical lines of thought that originated in the Byzantine East, and so praise the unequivocally Catholic nature of the Visigothic Church. See also Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 212.

[88] L.S.B. MacCoull, "Isidore and the *Akephaloi*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998), 170–74.

[89] MacCoull, "Isidore and the Akephaloi," 177–78.

Jewish religion, entitled *De fide catholica ex ueteri et nouo testamento contra Iudaeos*.[90] In the first book he stated that the Jews' hardness of heart was manifested in their denial of Jesus as the Messiah, and their reluctance to follow Christian dogmas, which he claimed was mentioned in the Old Testament. The second book addressed the hereditary condemnation of the Jews, a result of their obstinate and ignominious rejection of Jesus as well as the repeal of the Jewish Law for the New Law.[91] Even though it has often been pointed out that this work lacks originality because of its similarities to biblical *testimonia* (as with the *Ad Quirinum* of Cyprian),[92] it contains long exegetic passages written in a typically Isidorian style.[93] Furthermore,[94] there are scholars who consider these writings an attempt to attract the Jews to Christianity[95] and argue that Isidore intended to present a model of the Christian message in order to convert the Jews through persuasion.[96] It has even been suggested, within the context of the forced conversions initiated by King Sisebut in 616, that Isidore was motivated by pastoral considerations, presupposing that Isidore would have tried to convince and instruct those Jews who had recently received baptism.[97] Although in most cases the author refers to the Jews in the third person (*agnoscant Iudaei*, *respondeant Iudaei*),[98] on other occasions he uses the imperative and addresses them using the second-person plural.[99] However, this could perhaps be interpreted "as literary recourse to enliven the *expositio*."[100] Besides, we must keep in mind that if this work was written between 614 and 615,[101] it was before Sisebut's general decree of forced conversions (in the year 616), and, as such, it could not have been designed to teach Jewish converts. At the same time, it would be strange for Isidore to ignore Sisebut's decree, whose specific structure was not consistent with the hypothetical pastoral intention.[102] Isidore's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* was eminently controversial.[103] Its author manifests a clear "catechetical" intention, as he intended to indoctrinate and strengthen his readers' faith and prove "the ignorance of the unfaithful Jews" (*infidelium Iudaeorum imperitiam probet*).[104] This work could even be considered an instructional charter for the clergy, especially if we keep in mind

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[90] Both Braulio of Zaragoza in his *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* and Ildefonsus of Toledo in his *De viris illustribus* 8 assert that this was an eminently polemical work.

[91] See Arthur Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos. A Bird's-Eye view of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 1935); 216–18; Bernard Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les Juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris: 1960), 88–101; Bat-Sheva Albert, "*De fide catholica contra Judaeos* d'Isidore de Séville: la polémique antijudaïque dans l'Espagne du VII^e siècle," *Revue des Études Juives* 141 (1982), 289–316; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld* (*1–11. Jh.*), 3rd ed. (Frankfurt-am-Main: 1995), 438–41; Luis Díez Merino, "San Isidoro de Sevilla y la polémica judeocristiana," in *La controversia judeocristiana en España* (*Desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII*), ed. Carlos del Valle (Madrid: 1998), 77–110; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: 1999), 95–122; Giuseppe Laras, *Le dispute giudaico-cristiane nel Medioevo* (Milan: 2000), 61–63; Drews, *Juden und Judentum bei Isidor von Sevilla*; Jorge Yepes Temiño, *Estudio histórico-teológico del De fide Catholica de San Isidoro de Sevilla en el contexto del diálogo judeo-cristiano del reino visigodo* (PhD dissertation, Pontificia Universitas Sanctae Crucis, Rome, 2002); Andrés Barcala Muñoz, *Biblioteca antijudía de los escritores eclesiásticos hispanos, II. Siglos VI–VII: el reino visigodo de Toledo* (Madrid: 2005), 333–400; Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour. The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2006); Eva Castro Caridad and Francisco Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Sobre la fe católica contra los judíos* (Seville: 2012); Luis Pomer Monferrer, "El *De fide catholica* de Isidoro de Sevilla y la literatura romana *adversus Iudaeos*," *Revue des Études Tardo-Antiques*, 5 (2015–16), 1–23; Eva Castro Caridad and Xosé A. López Silva, "San Isidoro de Sevilla y los judíos: apología o catequética," in *San Isidoro de Sevilla en Sevilla*, ed. J. Sánchez Herrero (Seville: 2018), 87–98.

[92] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 97; Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," 92.

[93] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 35; Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 22 and 25.

[94] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 111–36.

[95] Francisco Javier Lozano Sebastián, *San Isidoro de Sevilla. Teología del pecado y la conversión* (Burgos: 1976), 40. According to Díez Merino, "San Isidoro de Sevilla," 95: "los enemigos de la fe a quienes San Isidoro trataba de convencer de la fe católica eran los judíos de su época" (cf. 93 and 110).

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[96] Ursicino Domínguez del Val, *Historia de la antigua literatura hispanorromana, III. San Isidoro de Sevilla* (Madrid: 1998), 78.

[97] Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 217; Fausto Parente, "La controversia tra ebrei e cristiani in Francia e in Spagna dal VI al IX secolo," *Settimane di Studio* 26 (1980), 566; Attilio Carpin, *Il battesimo in Isidoro di Siviglia* (Bologna: 1984), 55; Díez Merino, "San Isidoro de Sevilla," 110; Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 138; and, recently, Rodrigo Laham Cohen, "Entre la represión y la tolerancia. El derrotero de los judíos en tiempos de Gregorio Magno e Isidoro de Sevilla," *Trabajos y Comunicaciones* 36 (2010), 14–15 and 18.

[98] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 118.

[99] For example, Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 2.24.3. See Díez Merino, "San Isidoro de Sevilla," 95.

[100] Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 30.

[101] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 106–07; Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 21 and 36.

[102] Albert, "*De fide catholica contra Judaeos*," 305–06; Raúl González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas de los judíos en el reino visigodo* (Rome: 2000), 121–22; Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 19; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 117–18. Alternatively, Isidore does not suggest in this work that conversion had to take place through persuasion and not by force, as was suggested by Patrick Jerome Mullins, *The Spiritual Life according to Saint Isidore of Seville* (Washington, DC: 1940), 34.

[103] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 118: "Isidore cannot have hoped to convince or impress Jews with his arguments. Apparently active mission among Jews did not form part of his programme for Christianising Visigothic society."

[104] As he affirms in the dedicatory letter to the work, Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 19.

Isidore's constant preoccupation with their training.[105] Despite the fact that it did not reflect contemporary reality,[106] the distorted image of the Jews that the bishop of Seville presents in his works was intended to create, both in the clergy and in their congregations, a negative predisposition towards the beliefs and customs of the Jewish religion.

For instance, Isidore viewed circumcision as a distinctive sign devoid of any salvific value, while baptism (or spiritual circumcision) cleansed all sin and offered eternal salvation to the Christians.[107] When he refers to the *Sabbat* he even goes so far as to accuse the Jews of appropriating the name "Saturday," as they did not consider it a spiritual rest. The true sabbatical rest was the one affecting the soul and not the one the Hebrews observed, which was bereft of any justification (*De fide* 2.15.1–2).[108] So discredited was this precept in Isidore's eyes that he attacked it as aggressively as possible: "The idle festival of the Jews [the sabbath] is spent in extravagance, drunkenness, and carousing, all giving themselves over to lust, and to enjoyment of the earthly life, serving the stomach and sex."[109] Isidore followed the same approach and tried to undercut the religious value of other Jewish festivities, despite the fact that he did not speak Hebrew and possessed a very deficient knowledge of Judaic practices and beliefs. For this reason, his information is always imprecise and superficial, as he often made mistakes with regards to the exact date of these festivities. Nevertheless, his distorted knowledge was more than sufficient to scorn the Jews vehemently.[110] Maintaining a consistent line of reasoning, Isidore attacks the

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[105] González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas*, 122; Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 31. See also Carmen Codoñer, "Isidoro de Sevilla," in *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literatura*, ed. Carmen Codoñer (Salamanca: 2010), 141, who considers that this work was, like the *Differentiae*, orientated "to the defense of the Catholic faith and instruction in the orthodoxy of this religion," and Jamie Wood, "A Family Affair. Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages. Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 38–39.

[106] Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 37.

[107] *De fide* 2.24.1 and 2.24.10. See Raúl González Salinero, "Catholic Anti-Judaism in Visigothic Spain," in *The Visigoths. Studies in Culture and Society*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: 1999), 132. But heretical baptism did not wash clean sins; this occurred through the Catholic procedure (*Sent.* 1.22.1).

[108] González Salinero, "Catholic Anti-Judaism," 133; Raúl González Salinero, "Un antecedente: la persecución contra los judíos en el reino visigodo," in *El antisemitismo en España*, eds. Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (Cuenca: 2007), 81–82.

[109] "Ista autem Judaeorum otiosa festivitas consumitur in luxuriis, et ebrietatibus, et comessationibus, deditis omnibus in libidine, et in fructum temporalis vitae, ventri veneri que servientibus." Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 2.15.5.

[110] Albert, "*De fide catholica contra Judaeos*," 294 and 300.

Jew's physical sacrifices (*De fide* 2.17.3) and states with great contempt his repugnance for their alimentary restrictions, the observance of which would be greatly pernicious for those who followed the straight path of Christianity (*De fide* 2.18.2; 2.19; 2.28.3).[111] He was of the opinion that no effort was to great to reject the *pernitiosa Iudaeorum perfidia* (*De fide* 1.1.2; 1.4.12) emanating from their incredulity and hardness of heart[112]:

> The Jews who with their cursed incredulity deny Christ, the Son of God, impious and hard of heart they do not believe the ancient prophets and are closed to new developments. They prefer to ignore Christ's coming rather than know Him, to deny it rather than believe in it.[113]

Said incredulity allowed him to denounce the real intention of the Jewish people, which was none other than their anxious wait for the Antichrist, to whose lineage they belonged: "In times of the antichrist, the Synagogue will treat the Church even more mercilessly than how it did during the first coming of the Saviour."[114]

That same Synagogue (related to the Dalilah from the biblical text), corrupted by the devil and seduced by the unrelenting lustfulness of the flesh (*Alleg.* 40, *PL* 83, 108),[115] had refused to accept Christ and for this reason was the culprit that triggered God's abandonment of the Jewish people and their dispersal throughout the gentile nations who had responded affirmatively to the call of the Lord (*De fide* 1.27 and 31; 2.1–13).[116] Keeping in mind the argument from the

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[111] González Salinero, "Catholic Anti-Judaism," 134; González Salinero, "Un antecedente," 82.

[112] See Guglielmo Russino, "*Perfidus* nel latino ecclesiastico," *Pan. Studi dell'Istituto di Filologia Latina dell'Università di Palermo*, 24 (2008), 121.

[113] "*Judaei nefaria incredulitate Christum Dei Filium abnegantes, impii, duricordes, prophetis veteribus increduli, novis obstrusi, adventum Christi malunt ignorare, quam nosse; negare, quam credere* […]," Isidore, *De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* 1.1.1.

[114] "Grauius sub Antichristi temporibus contra Ecclesiam desaeuiet Synagoga, quam in ipso aduentu Saluatoris Christianos est persecuta," Isidore, *Sententiae* 1.25.6. See also Isidore, *Allegoriae*, 93 (PL 83, 113); *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: in librum Iudicum* 6.3 (PL 83, 386–87); Bat-Sheva Albert, "Isidore of Seville: His Attitude towards Judaism and His Impact on Early Medieval Canon Law," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1990), 212; Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 97; González Salinero, "Catholic Anti-Judaism," 135; Drews, *Juden und Judentum bei Isidor von Sevilla*, 394–97; Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 183–84.

[115] Drews, *Juden und Judentum bei Isidor von Sevilla*, 398 and 405–06.

[116] Marie-Louise Thérel, "L'origine du theme de la 'Synagogue repudiée,'" *Scriptorium* 25 (1971), 287; Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 118; Barcala Muñoz, *Biblioteca antijudía*, 360 ff; Raúl González Salinero, "Judíos sin sinagoga en la *Hispania* tardoantigua y visigoda," in

Ecclesia ex gentibus congregata (*De fide* 2.8),[117] Isidore accepted the Augustinian idea according to which, with the return of Christ and the establishment of the new allegiance, the Jews had no other purpose in the story of salvation than to be a witness to the Christian truth (*De fide* 2.12; *Quaest. in Gen.* 6.16–18, *PL* 83, 226).[118] Following Patristic tradition, Isidore was convinced that the Jews' conversion would only take place, eschatologically, at the end of time (*De fide* 2.4.1; 2.5.1–9; *Quaest. in Gen.* 6.16, *PL* 83, 226).[119] Isidore observed that the Jews continued to maintain their incredulity (*De fide* 2.5.1; 2.6.2) and that their spiritual blindness hindered their capacity to understand the truth and accept the true faith (*De fide* 2.5.4–5).[120]

Similar to the way in which Isidore placed Judaism among the heresies, he placed the Jews, because of their rejection of Christ, at the same level as heretics; in other words, outside the Church of God (*De fide* 2.2.8).[121] Isidore thought that one must not show them mercy (*non est indulgendum eis*) (*De fide* 2.22.1). Forgiveness of sins can only be attained through Catholic baptism (*De fide* 2.24.1–2) and an authentic conversion (*De fide* 2.5.1).[122] The next section examines the extent to which these doctrinal principles guided Isidore as he faced the reality of forced conversions under Sisebut.

5.2 *Praxis: Forced Conversions*

Isidore affirmed in his *Etymologiae* that "during the fourth and fifth year of the most religious ruler Sisebut the Jews in Spain convert to Christianity" (V.39.42),[123]

Marginados sociales y religiosos en la Hispania tardorromana y visigoda, ed. Raúl González Salinero (Madrid: 2013), 206.

[117] Díez Merino, "San Isidoro de Sevilla," 85–86.

[118] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 121; Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 36. According to Paula Fredriksen, "Roman Christianity and the Post-Roman West: The Social Correlates of the *Contra Iudaeos* Tradition," in *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire. The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity*, eds. Natalie B. Dohrmann and Annete Yoshiko Reed (Philadelphia: 2013), 262: "Isidore was intimately familiar with Augustine's writings, which he appropriated freely for his own […] On the topic of the Jews, in brief, Isidore's Augustinianism is selective […] Elsewhere he invokes Augustine's 'witness doctrine' minimally, nowhere quoting Ps 59.12 in his major work *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* […]."

[119] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 95–96 and 112; González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas*, 118; Fontaine, *Isidoro de Sevilla. Génesis y originalidad*, 229; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 233.

[120] Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 35.

[121] See Céline Martin, "Les juifs visigothiques, un peuple hérétique," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 234 (2017), 323–25.

[122] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 119.

[123] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.39.42: "[Huius quinto et quarto religiosissimi principis Sisebuti] Iudaei [in] Hispania Christiani efficiuntur," trans. Barney et al., 133.

and, even more explicitly, he adds in his *Historia rerum gothorum suevorum et vandalorum*:

> At the beginning of his reign he [Sisebut] led the Jews to the Christian faith and had indeed an ardent zeal, but not in accordance with wisdom, for he forced them by power when he should have roused them by the doctrine of faith. But, as it is written, "either at a favorable opportunity or by truth Christ should be preached. [cf. Phil. 1:18]."[124]

Years later, during the Fourth Council of Toledo, over which he presided, Isidore stated his opposition to the use of force to compel Jews to convert to Catholicism:[125]

> On the Jews, however, thus did the Holy Synod order, that no one should henceforth be forced to believe [...] such men should not be saved unwillingly but willingly, in order that the procedure of justice should be complete [...] They should be persuaded to convert, therefore, of their own free choice, rather than forced by violence [...] (c. 57).[126]

However, in the second part of this canon the bishops adopted a very different position with respect to the Jews who returned to their religion after having received Catholic baptism:

> [...] Those, however, who were formerly forced to come to Christianity (as was done in the days of the most religious prince Sisebut), since it is clear that they have been associated in the divine sacraments, received the grace of baptism, were anointed with chrism, and partook of the body and blood of the Lord, it is proper that they should be forced to keep the faith even though they had undertaken it under duress, lest the name of

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[124] "Aera DCL, anno imperii Heraclii II, Sisebutus post Gundemarum regali fastigio euocatur, regnans annis VIII mensibus VI. Qui initio regni Iudaeos ad fidem Christianam permouens aemulationem quidem habuit, sed non secundum scientiam: potestate enim conpulit, quos prouocare fidei ratione oportuit, sed, sicut scriptum est, siue per occasionem siue per ueritatem donec Christus adnuntietur [...]," Isidore, *Historia Gothorum* 60, trans. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford, *Isidore of Seville's History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* (Leiden: 1970), 28.

[125] Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 104.

[126] "De Iudaeis autem hoc praecepit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum uim inferre [...] Non enim tales inuiti saluandi sunt, sed uolentes, ut integra sit forma iustitiae [...] Ergo non ui sed libera arbitrii facultate ut conuertantur suadendi sunt, non potius impellendi [...]," IV Toledo, 57, trans. Amnon Linder, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit: 1997), 486.

> the Lord be blasphemed and the faith they undertaken be treated as vile and contemptible. (c. 57)[127]

José Orlandis asserts that "Theological Realism" meant that forced baptisms had to be considered legitimate; otherwise, their validity would be jeopardized.[128] Besides, rejecting this sacrament was considered perjury, as it was believed to be a betrayal of the solemn oath taken during baptism.[129] Be that as it may, it does not seem that the bishops at the Fourth Council of Toledo were willing to stop forced conversions, whether they went against the civil or canonical code. At least this is the impression obtained from other canons that address the Jewish problem: those Jews who had reverted to their old practices must return to the Christian religion, even if it meant they had to be brought back by force (canon 59); if they are accused of apostasy then they must endure the punishments for this crime (canons 59 and 61); and mixed marriages are forbidden (unless the unfaithful—i.e. Jewish—party converts to Christianity), and the children from such unions must receive Catholic baptism and be educated in the Christian faith (canon 63). Such rulings did not, however, constitute a definitive solution to the Jewish "problem" that confronted the Visigothic church and state.[130]

Even if it is true that Isidore did not think that the method of forced conversion was the most effective means of dealing with the Jews, in no way did he question its results. The truth is that the politics of forced conversions promoted by Sisebut in the 610s draw on the approval and collaboration of Isidore and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the kingdom.[131] The only extant canon of the Third Council of Seville (presided over by Isidore, as we already know) constitutes irrefutable proof of this fact.[132] Indeed, in this decree, bishops forced Jews to baptize their children, denouncing and prohibiting their common practice of substituting other children for their own in the baptismal ceremony[133]:

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[127] "Qui autem iam pridem ad Christianitatem uenire coacti sunt, sicut factum est temporibus religiosissimi principis Sisebuti, quia iam constat eos sacramentis diuinis associatos et baptismi gratiam suscepisse et chrismate unctos esse et corporis Domini et sanguinis exstitisse participes, oportet ut fidem etiam quam ui uel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur ne nomen Domini blasphemetur et fidem quam susceperunt uilis ac contemptibilis habeatur," IV Toledo, 57, trans. Linder, 486–87.

[128] José Orlandis, "Hacia una mejor comprensión del problema judío en el reino visigodo-católico de España," *Settimane di Studio* 26 (1980), 162–63; Gil Fernández, "Isidoro como obispo," 93. According to Jeremy du Quesnay Adams, "Ideology and the Requirements," 324, the principle of the "sacramental objectivity of baptism" would confer on the act an irreversible character.

[129] See Pierre Cazier, "De la coercition à la persuasion. L'attitude d'Isidore de Séville face à la politique anti-juive des souverains visigotiques," in *De l'antijudaïsme antique a l'antisémitisme contemporain*, ed. V. Nikiprowetzky (Lille: 1979), 135; Alexander Pierre Bronisch, *Die Judengesetzgebung im katholischen Westgotenreich von Toledo* (Hannover: 2005), 61–68.

[130] González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas*, 40 ff.

[131] González Salinero, "Catholic Anti-Judaism," 144–45; Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 121; Fredriksen, "Roman Christianity and the Post-Roman West," 262. The edict of forced

> We have learnt that certain Jews who have recently been called to the faith of Christ have, in the dishonesty of their perfidy have presented other children in place of their own before the holy, sacred font of baptism in order to wash these, in place of their own children in a further baptism, thus by this hidden and vile pretence they keep their children pagans. Truly they were all from the beginning perjured by their innate perfidy and never of the Faith! It behooves us to be wise to their deceitful schemes and trickery. For if some of the ancient fathers exercised such care concerning those of the Jews who had come to the grace of Christ by their own free will to prove their faith long before they were baptised, how much more should we be concerned about those who are called to the prize of faith not by a genuine conservation of their mind but solely by royal authority? For Sisebut the most loyal of God's servants and most victorious of princes amid all the concerns of his kingdom being mindful of the fathers' sayings that many good things must be set before the unwilling and knowing that he would have to give an account to God for those whom Christ had entrusted to his rule, preferred to lead even the unwilling to the Truth rather than that they persist in their ancient innate perfidy […] therefore of one accord we have decreed the following against these stubbornly impious souls that in both countryside and towns, both

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conversion was even seen as a sign of the "apostolat royal," Céline Martin, "Un prince épiscope. Le ministère royal visigothique," in *Le prince chrétien, de Constantin aux royautés barbares* (*IVe–VIIIe siècle*), eds. S. Destephen, B. Dumézil, and H. Inglebert (Paris: 2018), 260.

[132] Alexander Pierre Bronisch, "Convergencias y diferencias entre reyes visigodos y alta clerecía: el ejemplo de la legislación sobre los judíos," *Medievalismo* 26 (2016), 41–43, denies (unconvincingly, in my view) the probative force of this canon.

[133] See González Salinero, *Las conversiones forzosas*, 35–36; González Salinero, "Isidoro y los judíos," 201–11; Bruno Dumezil, "Une source méconnue sur la politique de conversions forcées du roi Sisebut: le canon 10 du concile de Séville," in *Juifs et chrétiens, Sources pour la recherche d'une relation permanente*, eds. Flocel Sabaté and Claude Denjean (Lleida: 2006), 21–35; Rachel L. Stocking, "Forced Converts, 'Crypto-Judaism', and Children: Religious Identification in Visigothic Spain," in *Jews in Early Christian Law. Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th-11th Centuries*, eds. John Tolan, Nicholas de Lange, Laurence Foschia, and Capucine Nemo-Pekelman (Turnhout: 2014), 246–47.

> presbyters and clerks should take care with them lest those of them who have not been baptised disguise their ancient errors.[134]

Isidore did not disapprove of coercive procedures. The use of force was justified when it was used to attain a higher purpose, as in the case of the king having to resort to violence to maintain, at all costs, ecclesiastical discipline (*Sent.* 3.51.5), or as in those other cases when it was necessary to force the people (even employing terror, if it was required) to obey the laws and avoid negative behavior (*Sent.* 3.47.1). It was only a small step from this to justifying forced conversions of the Jews.[135] We must not forget that Isidore does not exclude the role of divine coercion in leading a sinner to salvation:

> God brings fear to men in many ways so that, though tardily, they might convert and so feel all the more shame that their return to Him took so long. At times he alarms some with threats, at times some with blows, at times some with revelations so that those who disdain to convert of their own free will be set aright after being confounded by terror.[136]

The problem of crypto-Judaism convinced Isidore once and for all of the need to use persuasion as the only means to bring the Jews into the Christian faith,[137] even if it stood in direct opposition with his conviction of the inability to defeat, through reason, the hardness and stubbornness of the Jewish people.[138] Finally, it is possible that Pope Gregory the Great's opinion on this matter had influenced Isidore.[139] He believed that reasoning with the Jews to attract them to Christianity was more convenient than using force, since it only resulted in fake conversions, which would carry with them the desire to return to the previous religion and thus lead to even greater harm.[140]

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[134] "Comperimus quosdam Iudaeos nuper ad fidem Christi uocatos quadam perfidiae fraude alios pro filiis suis ad sacrum sanctum lauacri fontem offerre, ita ut sub specie filiorum quosdam iterato baptismate tingant, sicque occulta ac nefaria simulatione natos suos paganos retinent, uere omnes ab initio naturali et perfidia periurati et nunquam in fide. Contra quorum fraudulentas artes ac subdolas diligenter nos oportet habere sollertiam. Si enim illi antiqui Patres de his qui ex Iudaeis sponte sua ad Christi gratiam ueniebant, tantam sollicitudinis curam gesserunt, ut fides eorum ante baptismum multis temporibus probaretur, quanto magis de his quos non propria mentis conuersio sed sola regalis auctoritas ad fidei praemium prouocabat? Namque fidelissimus Deo Sisebutus ac uictoriosissimus princeps inter cunctas reipublicae suae curas memor Patrum dictis, quam multa bona praestantur inuitis sciens, super Deo se debere rationem de his quos Christus suo deputauit regimini istos etiam nolentes ueritatem perducere quam in uetustate inolitae perfidiae perdurare [...] idcirco contra indeuotos et pertinaces animos hoc in commune decernimus, ut siue in parrociis seu in urbibus tam presbyteri quam clerici peruigilem pro eis sollicitudinem gerant, ne qui ex his sine perceptione lauacri in errorem pristinum lateant," III Seville, 10.

[135] Bat-Sheva Albert, "Un nouvel examen de la politique anti-juive wisigothique. A propos d'un article récent," *Revue des Études Juives* 135 (1976), 20–21 (for whom the canon 10 of III Seville and 16 of IV Toledo were corroboration).

[136] "Multis modis terret Deus homines, ut uel sero conuertantur, atque exinde magis erubescant, quod tandiu exspectati sunt ut redirent. Nam nunc minis, nunc plagis, nunc reuelationibus quosdam concutit, ut qui uoluntate conuerti despiciunt, commoti terroribus corrigantur," Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.7.8.

6 Conclusion

When the Visigoths converted to Catholicism in 589 the association between *fides* and *regnum* became permanently sealed. In the same way that the *fides catholica* determined a subject's social and legal status under Visigothic rule, *infidelitas* forbade an individual from belonging to the *regnum Christi*. Isidore used the concept of orthodoxy to delineate the ideological boundaries outside of which the "other" was placed, whether pagan, Byzantine, barbarian, heretic, or Jew. Marginally present in civil society and alienated both politically and religiously, they were all regarded as enemies of a state which had been instituted by divine right. The "other" was outside the parameters within which Isidore of Seville defined the new Visigothic kingdom: a Gothic fatherland, a repository of Roman cultural heritage under the protection of the divine providence and the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

Translated by Geraldine Barandiarán-Muñoz

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[138] Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández, *Isidoro de Sevilla*, 41. According to these authors, "for the bishop of Seville the conversion of the Jews was a pointless task as guaranteeing Christian orthodoxy inevitably entailed the ostracism of the Jews."

[139] Gregory the Great, *Epistulae* 1.34; 1.45; 9.196.

[140] González Salinero, "Un antecedente," 70.

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PART 3

Transmission and Reception of Isidore's Work and Thought

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CHAPTER 14

Isidore of Seville's Early Influence and Dissemination (636–711)

Mark Lewis Tizzoni

1 Introduction

Within a few decades of his death, certain of Isidore's works were disseminated rapidly, and knowledge of his life was spread throughout Spain and beyond. This chapter examines the immediate reception of Isidore, from the author's death in 636 to the fall of the Visigothic kingdom to Muslim armies in 711. Isidore's legacy was, at its very start, both human and intellectual: Isidore left behind not only his literary works but his students and followers. His legacy was born not only from his own efforts but from the efforts of the Iberian intellectuals who followed him. These intellectuals, some known to Isidore and others farther removed, received his thought and employed it in their own works, thus serving to transmit his works and reputation rapidly.

Until recently, the study of Isidore's legacy has been largely the purview of Spanish and French scholarship. As is generally the case with Isidorian studies, the work of Jacques Fontaine provides a good starting point. Fontaine provides a brief overview of Isidore's immediate legacy in the epilogue to his *Isidore de Séville: Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000).[1] A detailed study of Isidore's early legacy is provided in the essays of Angel C. Vega, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, and Bernhard Bischoff found in *Isidoriana*, edited by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Leon: 1961).[2] Collectively, the relevant studies in *Isidoriana* lay out and analyse the 7th-century (and later) texts

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[1] Fontaine addresses many of the same texts covered in the present chapter, albeit in great brevity. His overview of Isidore's legacy in pre-Islamic Iberia covers pages 401–04. Fontaine barely touches upon the subject in his landmark *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris: 1983), 863 sqq. in the context of the "Isidorian Renaissance."

[2] These essays are Angel C. Vega, "Cuestiones críticas de las biografías isidorianas," in *Isidoriana*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 75–98; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 345–87 (345–59 cover the early period); Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*, 317–44. As with Fontaine's epilogue, these essays cover the same material with which the present article is concerned.

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involved in the creation of Isidore's legacy alongside their manuscript traditions. More recently, the introductions and commentary accompanying the *Corpus Christianorum* editions of the texts involved in the production and reception of Isidore's legacy provide key studies on the subject.[3] This scholarship synthesizes and establishes a fundamental understanding of these texts and their authors and provides a framework for further study. The field has likewise been furthered with the volume edited by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge* (Amsterdam: 2016). The essays in the volume bring together and analyse decades of advancement in our understanding of these texts and the period and places within which they arose, with Michael J. Kelly's chapter presenting an important re-evaluation of Isidore's early legacy.[4] Building on this work, the goal of this chapter is three-fold. Firstly, it discusses and examines the earliest hagiographical (or historiographical) accounts produced regarding Isidore and his works. The main texts here are the *Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi* of Redemptus of Seville, the *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* of Braulio of Zaragoza, and Ildefonsus of Toledo's entry on Isidore in his *De viris illustribus*. Secondly, it outlines the earliest uses of Isidore in Spain and beyond. This section chronicles in particular the use of Isidore's works and thought by Braulio of Zaragoza (*c*.590–651), Eugenius II of Toledo (*c*.600–57) and the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, Ildefonsus of Toledo (607–67), and Julian of Toledo (*c*.644–90). Attention is also paid to the earliest use of Isidore in Ireland and Frankish Gaul. Lastly, it examines the earliest manuscript evidence for the circulation of Isidore's writings.

2 The Earliest Hagiographical Accounts

2.1 *Redemptus of Seville,* Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi[5]

This text presents itself as an eyewitness account of the final days of Isidore, written by one of his priests, an otherwise unknown Redemptus, shortly after

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[3] See below for references.

[4] Michael J. Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing: Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 93–110.

[5] For a more detailed discussion of the *Obitus* see Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "La muerte de Isidoro de Sevilla: apuntes de crítica histórico-hagiográfica," *Habis* 32 (2001), 577–96, and

Isidore's death on 4 April 636. Redemptus wrote to an unnamed abbot or bishop, at their request. There has been a fair amount of speculation regarding the identity of this unnamed addressee.[6] It may well have been written for Isidore's friend Braulio or indeed for Isidore's successor Honoratus, possibly as a starting point for a no-longer-preserved *vita* of Isidore.[7] Regardless, the text was clearly designed to be sent out to the ecclesiastical, and presumably political, hierarchy of Visigothic Iberia, and thence read out to their congregations and retainers. The text represents, in form and effect, a letter, albeit a letter containing hagiographical material and underpinned by similarly hagiographical, as well as historiographical, aims.[8] The text represents an emotional account of Isidore's final days. Specifically, it details his final confession, penitence, and blessing, and the response of his flock. The text begins by laying out the context of Isidore's final days: he worked tirelessly for the poor, and, having grown weakened by recurring illnesses, he foresaw his approaching death and summoned two suffragan bishops for his final confession. Isidore then, Redemptus tells us, began receiving into his little cell (*cellula*) great crowds (*tanta agmina*) of the faithful of Seville, representative of all the differing groups of society.[9] Isidore then moved himself to near an altar in the basilica and donned the symbols of penitence.[10]

At this point, surrounded by his people and so arrayed, Isidore began his impassioned and heartfelt confession. Redemptus presents Isidore's first speech: Isidore proclaims himself an unworthy sinner and asks God for forgiveness.[11] Having made this confession to God, he received communion from the aforementioned bishops and then addressed the crowd.[12] Where his first speech was a prayer to God, his second speech was a prayer to his people: he

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Gerd Kampers, "Exemplarisches Sterben. Der 'Obitus Beatissimi Hispalensis Isidori episcopi,' Klerikers Redemptus," in *Nomen et Fraternitas. Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65 Geburtstag*, eds. Uwe Ludwig and Thomas Schilp (Berlin: 2008), 235–48.

[6] See, e.g., José Carlos Martín, "Redempto de Sevilla," in *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe: dos épocas en su literatura*, eds. Carmen Codoñer and Maria Adelaida Andrés Sanz (Salamanca: 2010), 185–86, and Castillo Maldonado, "La muerte," 584–85. See also José Carlos Martín, ed., *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*, CCSL 113B (Turnhout: 2006), 280–84.

[7] Martín, "Redempto," 185–86.

[8] Historiographical in the view of Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 96–98. See also Castillo Maldonado, "La muerte," 585, in terms of genre (the hagiographical letter).

[9] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 2.

[10] Namely, a goatskin garment and ashes, provided by his suffragans. Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 3. Isidore describes the symbolism of this at *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.17.4–5. The same action is found, for example, in the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium* 4.8.

[11] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 3.

[12] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 4.

humbly asked for their intercession on his behalf alongside forgiveness for all the wrongs which he may have done to them.[13] This speech, Redemptus tells us, was met with great tears and prayers for the remission of the congregation's own sins, accompanied by their forgiveness of all of Isidore's own debts and promises (*uincula uel cirografa*).[14] Isidore then gives one final address to those assembled, admonishing them to love one another and to live a Christian life.[15] Having completed his confession, Isidore commanded that surplus money be distributed to the poor, and stated his desire to exchange a final greeting and bestow a final blessing on all individually.[16] The text concludes with the assembled crowd leading Isidore back to his cell and, after the fourth day of penitence and confession, Isidore "accomplished an end to his continual pastoral care in peace."[17]

This text represents an important step in the creation of Isidore's legacy. Redemptus strives throughout to present Isidore as a living saint humbly approaching the end of his earthly life. This letter, which on the surface is merely an account of Isidore's last days, functions in precisely the same fashion as contemporary hagiography. Isidore sees his death coming, calmly prepares for it, says his goodbyes and prays for forgiveness, and finally meets it peacefully. The issue of central importance for Redemptus in this text is not the *death* of Isidore, which appears at the very end almost as an afterthought, but rather the fashion in which Isidore meets it. Redemptus presents Isidore as the saintly pastor, concerned with, and engaged in, the care of his flock to the very end. At both the beginning and end of the text we witness Isidore ministering to the poor and destitute, who are likewise present throughout the text. Isidore's people—not only the clergy and the poor with whom he works daily, but also the rank and file townspeople—love him. The text emphasizes this devotion on both sides. His people weep for and with him, and when he asks for their forgiveness, they respond by giving it, and by asking him to reciprocate. Crucial also is the fact that Isidore foresees his own death: this especially links the *Obitus* with the genre of hagiography.[18] Redemptus is not here showing us

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[13] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 4.

[14] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 4.

[15] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 4. Specifically, Isidore tells them not to return evil for evil, not to gossip, not to let the devil find any evil within them, nor to be greedy, but that they be snatched safely away from evil.

[16] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 5.

[17] Redemptus of Seville, *Obitus* 6. The full conclusion reads: "Conpletis his omnibus ad cellulam reductus est, et post diem confessionis vel poenitentiae quartum, pastoralem iugiter curam finem suum consummavit in pace. Amen."

[18] The same, e.g., is found in Braulio of Zaragoza's *Vita Sancti Aemiliani* 32 and in the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium*.

Isidore the scholar or Isidore the theologian, but Isidore the confessor, Isidore the saint.

Such is the legacy Redemptus set out to create. Redemptus's text is a production of Isidore's close circle in Seville and shows the bishopric's interest in representing Isidore's legacy. The presentation of their great bishop as a saint, and not as a scholar, can be seen as an effort to reinforce the authority of the see: Isidore had already increased Seville's authority significantly during his life as a known scholar and theologian (in addition to his role as tutor and friend to the king); it now remained to cement that authority by elevating Isidore to sainthood.

2.2 *Braulio of Zaragoza,* Renotatio librorum domini Isidori[19]

The most important single figure for the construction of Isidore's legacy was Braulio of Zaragoza. [20] It was he whom Isidore chose to edit his great *Etymologiae*, and he who, when the time came, wrote the *Renotatio* in memory of his teacher. The text is short and something of an obituary, written shortly after the death of its subject.[21] As the title suggests, it presents the reader with a catalogue of Isidore's published works. This catalogue, however, is combined with Braulio's eulogy for his teacher and friend, set as bookends to the list. Braulio appended the text as an additional entry at the end of Isidore's *De viris illustribus*.[22] This act served to concretize Isidore's place as a *vir illustris* and allowed Braulio to shape his image and legacy fundamentally.

Braulio begins with a short biographical notice presenting the necessary basic information: he names Isidore, describing him as an "extraordinary man", a *uir egregius*, as bishop of Seville and brother and successor to Leander, who flourished in the time of Emperor Maurice and King Reccared. Very quickly, however, Braulio moves on to Isidore's achievements, and this first notice represents, in essence, Isidore's professional biography. Braulio writes:

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[19] For a parallel discussion of the *Renotatio* in view of Isidore's *De viris illustribus*, see Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing," 96–98.

[20] Braulio was born between 585–594/595 and died in 651. For biography, see Charles H. Lynch, *Saint Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa (631–651): His Life and Writings* (Washington, DC: 1938). For a shorter but more recent treatment, including a very useful bibliography, see José Carlos Martín, "Braulio de Zaragoza," in Andrés Sanz and Codoñer, *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe*, 95–100.

[21] Martín, *Scripta*, 51.

[22] The manuscript tradition for the *Renotatio* is connected to that of Isidore's *De viris illustribus* (as well as with Ildefonsus's continuation). A detailed and comprehensive examination of the manuscript tradition can be found in Martín, *Scripta*, 92–179.

> In him antiquity gained some new fame for itself, or rather our age saw in him an image of antiquity, for he was a man well trained in every kind of locution, so that the quality of his words made him adaptable for one who was learned and for one who had no knowledge, famous both for suiting his words to his subject and for his incomparable eloquence. It can now be very easy for any prudent reader to judge how great his knowledge was from his varied interests and carefully written works.[23]

After this comes the catalogue. Braulio's list includes seventeen titles, in an order that was logical to the author—perhaps in chronological order of composition, perhaps not.[24] A concise descriptive entry accompanies each title. The *Differentiae*, the first title listed, is described as "[making] subtle distinctions between the meanings of words which are commonly confused in practice."[25] This succinct description serves as an exemplar of Braulio's treatment of the first sixteen titles. The catalogue provides the reader with a usable, informative, and convenient reference list for Isidore's works.[26] For the *Etymologiae*, however, the final item on the list, Braulio provides a larger and more detailed entry. This entry serves to link the two authors, but it also showcases the *magnum opus* of a great thinker. Braulio writes:

> A manuscript of *Etymologies*, of extremely large size, set off by him by subject matter rather than in books; because he wrote it at my request,

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[23] "In quo quiddam sibi antiquitas vindicavit, immo nostrum tempus antiquitatis in eo scientiam imaginauit. Vir in omni loquutionis genere formatus, ut inperito doctoque secundum qualitatem sermonis existeret aptus, congrua uero opportunitate loci incomparabili eloquentia clarus. Iam vero quantus sapientia fuerit, ex eius diuresis studiis et elaborates opusculis perfacile prudens lector intelligere poterit," Braulio, *Renotatio*, trans. Claude W. Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, Volume 2: Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga* (Washington, DC: 1969), 140.

[24] The titles, in Braulio's order, are: the *Differentiae*, the *Prooemii*, the *De ortu et obitu Patrum*, the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, the *Synonyma*, the *De natura rerum*, the *De numeris*, the *De nominibus Legis et Euangeliorum*, the *De haeresibus*, the *Sententiae*, his *Chronica maiora*, the *Contra Iudaeos*, his *De uiris illustribus*, his monastic *Regula*, the *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Sueuorum*, the *Quaestiones*, and the *Etymologiae*. As for whether this order is indeed chronological, for the debate in brief see Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 96 ff (in his chapter in the present volume, Graham Barrett offers a different interpretation). For a more detailed discussion, see José Carlos Martín, *La 'Renotatio Librorum Domini Isidori' de Braulio de Zaragoza* (Logroño: 2002), 74–84.

[25] "Edidit enim libros Differentiarum duos, in quibus subtili discretione ea quae confuse usu proferuntur sensu discrevit," Braulio, *Renotatio*, trans. Barlow, 140.

[26] Convenient, provided the reader found themselves in possession of a copy of the *De uiris illustribus* with the *Renotatio* attached.

> I divided it into fifteen books, although he left it unfinished. This work is suitable to every branch of philosophy; whoever reads and meditates upon it frequently will have and deserve a reputation for knowledge of divine and human affairs. It is packed with elegant statements of many kinds, collected in concise manner; from it, there is practically nothing that cannot be learned.[27]

This entry on the *Etymologiae* has a very different tone than the other entries in the catalogue and both provides a glowing "review" of the work and serves to connect the description of the text to the first part of Braulio's eulogy. Braulio presents the text as the great encyclopaedia, as the summation of knowledge and model of language, which, at the time, it certainly was. He also presents the *Etymologiae* as the greatest accomplishment of Isidore the scholar, not only his last work, but his most important.

The final section of the *Renotatio* sums up the achievements of Isidore. Braulio begins with a sentence that has caused a great deal of scholarly debate by casually referencing a number of other, smaller works by Isidore, although the current general consensus limits the authentic works of Isidore to the seventeen specifically listed.[28] Braulio proceeds to praise Isidore with the words of Cicero regarding Varro:

> As we journeyed and wandered like strangers in our own city your books have, as it were, brought us home, so that we may occasionally know who and where we are. You have revealed the history of our fatherland, the revelations of all time, the sacred laws, the laws of the priests, public and private discipline, the names, kinds, functions, and origins of sees, regions, places, and all things divine and human.[29]

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[27] "Etymologiarum codicem nimiae magnitudinis distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris, quem, quia rogatu meo fecit, quamuis inperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in viginti libros divisi. Quod opus omnimodo philosophiae conveniens quisquis crebra meditatione perlegerit, non ignotus divinarum humanarumque rerum scientia merito erit. Ibi redundans diversarum atrium elegantia, quaecumque fere scire debenture restricta collegit," Braulio, *Renotatio*, trans. Barlow, 142. Barlow reads *quindecim* (fifteen) based on Galindo's reading in C.H. Lynch and P. Galindo, *San Braulio, Obispo de Zaragoza (631–635), Su Vida y sus Obras* (Madrid: 1950), whereas Martín, *Scripta*, reads *viginti* (twenty).

[28] See for example, Lynch, *Saint Braulio*, 216.

[29] "Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possimus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptions temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, to domesticam publicamque disciplinam, tu sedium, regionum, locorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti," trans. Barlow, 142.

Following this Ciceronian adulation, Braulio praises Isidore in his own words.[30] Braulio chooses to emphasize Isidore's work in quelling the heresy of the Acephali in the Second Council of Seville (held in 619, describing his words against them as a "flood of eloquence", a *flumen eloquentiae*). After placing Isidore's death in the reigns of the Emperor Heraclius and King Chintila, Braulio gives one final description of his mentor: "of all people he was more outstanding in terms of sound teaching and more prolific in the works of charity."[31]

For a short and relatively unpretentious text, the *Renotatio* is very informative. Firstly, Braulio possessed precise knowledge of Isidore's works and likely held in his library a substantial body of his mentor's texts.[32] The *Renotatio* itself was attached to (and ultimately transmitted with) Isidore's *De viris illustribus*, which suggests that Braulio expected *both* texts to be circulated and read. Braulio certainly speaks of the texts, especially the *Etymologiae*, as works that are available to him. The text itself indicates an expectation, at least on Braulio's part, that his readers would be able to access these works.

Principally, however, the text represents Braulio's conscious effort at constructing a positive memory of Isidore and, as such, bears witness both to how Braulio himself viewed his mentor and how he wished others to view him. Indeed, the image that Braulio creates is a crucial one, as he, more than anyone else, was responsible for shaping Isidore's early legacy.[33] Braulio constructs an image of Isidore as a great and prolific scholar. Alongside this stands the glowing description of the *Etymologiae* as the font of all knowledge and, in a more understated way, the simple and plain descriptions of each of Isidore's works and why they are essential for various fields of knowledge. In many ways, the *Renotatio* represents an academic's obituary. It highlights the matters that were important to scholars like Isidore and Braulio. Most prominently, Braulio presents the reader with Isidore's publication record and promotes him as an accomplished and influential thinker whose works are of benefit to all, not only to the educated elite. In so doing, he outlines Isidore's immense contributions to the field of knowledge. Braulio also draws attention to Isidore's role in condemning the Acephali, presenting him as an accomplished theologian. Yet, the *Renotatio* is not solely concerned with the legacy of Isidore the scholar: the reader must note that the text's final statement, its final emphasis, focuses upon Isidore the holy man, Isidore the saint. Braulio ends the text by stating that Isidore "was more generous than all in the works of charity" ("cunctis et copiosior operibus caritatis"). This parallels Redemptus's text directly and helps to lay the groundwork for Isidore's veneration as a saint, separate from his scholarly achievements. Braulio effectively sets up the two-fold cult of St Isidore: on the one side stands Isidore the *uir egregius*, eloquent and learned, and on the other side Isidore the Saint, dedicated to acts of charity.

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[30] The quote is not generally considered to have been derived directly from the text of Cicero, *Academica* 1.3, but rather from Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* 6.2. See Barlow, *Iberian Fathers, Volume 2*, 10; Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro in la Edad Media hispana," 248; Lynch, *Saint Braulio*, 218–19.

[31] "Sana doctrina praestantior cunctis et copiosior operibus caritatis," Braulio, *Renotatio*.

[32] We know from his letters that Braulio sought out, and received, manuscripts from Isidore, Lynch, *Saint Braulio*, 149.

[33] A discussion of this can be found in Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 346–50, at 347: "Es Braulio, sin embargo, quien inicia una nueva etapa en la consideración y veneración a Isidoro."

2.3 *Ildefonsus of Toledo, Regarding Isidore of Seville in the* De viris illustribus[34]

The third and final in the series of early accounts of Isidore is by Ildefonsus of Toledo in his continuation of Isidore's *De viris illustribus*.[35] Unlike the works of Redemptus and Braulio, Ildefonsus's *De viris illustribus* is slightly more remote, dating from some point during his tenure as bishop of Toledo (657–67).[36] Unlike the previous two authors, Ildefonsus was not a member of Isidore's direct circle. Rather, he was solidly rooted in the ecclesiastical context of Toledo. Prior to replacing his mentor, Eugenius II, as metropolitan of Toledo, Ildefonsus served as abbot of the monastery of Agali, located outside Toledo.[37] Ildefonsus's continuation of the *De viris illustribus* departs substantially from previous versions of the *De viris illustribus* tradition in several important ways.[38]

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[34] For a parallel discussion, see Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing," 101–03.

[35] Isidore's *De viris illustribus* is itself a continuation of those of Jerome and Gennadius.

[36] A thorough discussion (along with the text) can be found in Valeriano Yarza Urquiola and Carmen Codoñer, eds., *Ildefonsi Toletani episcopi opera*, CCSL 114A (Turnhout: 2007), 475–617. See also A.T. Fear, trans., *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool: 1997), xxxiii-xxxvi. The text was written some point after the death of Eugenius II of Toledo in 657, whose substantial entry is found at the end of the text. The text is, of course, a continuation of Isidore's own.

[37] As abbot, Ildefonsus was a signatory of VIII Toledo, discussed below.

[38] The Christian tradition of the *De viris illustribus* begins with Jerome (d. 420), whose text (written in 392) sought to establish a Christian intellectual tradition that could stand up against pagan criticisms. In essence, Jerome's *De viris illustribus* creates a universal biographical-bibliographical record of the achievements of Christian authors, albeit one selected/controlled by the author himself. Gennadius of Marseille (died *c.*496) continued Jerome's text, if with a somewhat more thematic and Gallic-provincial focus. Isidore's text (written 615–18) sought to fill a perceived gap in the coverage, namely, he sought to give Hispania its place in the canon of Christian letters. For the tradition, as outlined here, Jamie Wood, "Playing the Fame Game: Bibliography, Celebrity, and Primacy in Late Antique Spain," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20 (2012), 613–40. For the development of the late

Ildefonsus's work is far narrower than that of his predecessors, focused not so much even upon the Iberian church but upon that of Toledo, and further shifting the focus from specifically men of letters to bishops, whether prominent authors or not.[39] The biographical entries occur in chronological order, and, although relatively brief, Isidore's entry, the eighth, is among the longer ones. Ildefonsus split his account of Isidore's life into roughly two parts: the first provides a brief biography of Isidore, and the second a short catalogue of his works. The text resembles on the surface Braulio's *Renotatio*, a logical approach, given their placement in the *De viris illustribus* tradition, yet its treatment of Isidore is decidedly different.[40]

Ildefonsus's biography of Isidore begins with his succession to the bishopric of Seville following the death of his brother Leander. Ildefonsus describes Isidore as such:

> A man distinguished both by his looks and intellect. His ability in speaking reached such a pitch of fluency and delight that his wondrous richness of expression left his audience enraptured to such a degree that a man who had heard him would not remember what he had said unless it was repeated many times. He wrote famous works and no small number of them […].[41]

Following this description, Ildefonsus provides a summary of Isidore's works. The list is decidedly less well organized and is shorter than Braulio's, and largely lacks the descriptions found in the *Renotatio*. Ildefonsus details, in order, the

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antique tradition of the *De viris illustribus*, see the survey of Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, "El género de los *de viris illustribus* de Jerónimo a Ildefonso de Toledo: su finalidad," *Talia dixit* 1 (2006), 29–54.

[39] The shift between Ildefonsus and Isidore, and between the Iberian tradition and that of Jerome and Gennadius, has been the subject of substantial scholarship. Key to this change is a shift in genre: away from bibliography, towards biography or hagiography (or historiography). Key to this debate are Pedro Juan Galán Sánchez, "El De viris illustribus de Ildefonso de Toledo o la modificación del género," *Anuario de estudios filológicos* 15 (1992), 69–80; Jacques Fontaine, "El *De uiris illustribus* de San Ildefonso de Toledo: tradición y originalidad," *Anales Toledanos* 3 (1971), 79–96; Wood, "Playing the Fame Game," 621–22 and 628–37; and Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101–03; see also Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 353–54.

[40] Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101–03.

[41] "Vir decore simul et ingenio pollens, nam tantae iucunditatis adfluentem copiam in eloquendo promeruit, ut ubertas admiranda dicendi ex eo in stuporem verteret audientes, ex quo audita is qui audisset, nonnisi repetita saepius, commendaret. Scripsit opera et eximia et non parva […]," Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus*, trans. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, 116.

De ecclesiasticis officiis, the *Prooemia*, the *De ortu et obitu Patrum*, the *Synonyma*, the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, the *De natura rerum*, the *Differentiae*, the *Sententiae*, the *Quaestiones*, and the *Etymologiae*.[42] Ildefonsus draws particular attention to Braulio's role in instigating the writing of the *Etymologiae*, and describes it as an unfinished text that Isidore worked on until the day of his death. Following this list, Ildefonsus gives a brief note of the Visigothic kings during whose reigns Isidore lived. He ends the text by referring to Isidore as "an outstanding glory and ornament of the Holy Faith."[43]

The tone of Ildefonsus's short account of Isidore and his life and works is markedly different from that adopted by Redemptus and Braulio. Certainly, Ildefonsus pays deference to Isidore and his intellectual abilities, but Ildefonsus's compliments almost appear as a criticism: Isidore was so eloquent and well spoken that no one knew what he was saying.[44] The fact that Ildefonsus fails to provide the full list of Isidore's works is also telling, particularly when one pays attention to the omissions. Ildefonsus cuts Isidore's historical and mystical writings alongside his monastic rule and, in so doing, presents his reader with a very different version of Isidore the author.[45] Isidore's *De viris illustribus* finds itself swept under the rug by Ildefonsus: a particularly pointed omission, considering that Ildefonsus references it (as an essentially faulty work) in the preface to his own *De viris illustribus*.[46] The distinctly positive light in which both the *Obitus* and the *Renotatio* portrayed Isidore is absent in the *De viris illustribus*: indeed, one scholar has gone so far as to describe

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[42] Ildefonsus fails to mention the *De numeris*, the *De nominibus Legis et Euangeliorum*, the *De haeresibus*, his *Chronica*, his *De viris illustribus*, his *Monastica regula*, and the *De origine Gothorum et regno Suevorum et etiam Vandalorum Historia*.

[43] "Doctrinae sanctae gloriam pariter et decorem," Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus*, trans. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, 117.

[44] This backhanded compliment is not the only way Ildefonsus cuts down Isidore at the same time that he is building him up. As Wood, "Playing the Fame Game," 637, has pointed out, Ildefonsus depicts Isidore as "an old-style illustrious man in a list that was written to redefine what it meant to be illustrious." He also cuts out most of Braulio's praise for Isidore, see Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101.

[45] Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, xxxv-xxxvi, attributes the failure to mention the *Historia Gothorum* to a desire to protect Isidore in light of the controversy surrounding King Suinthila. Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101, sees this in light of Ildefonsus's attempts to strengthen the position of Toledo within the text. Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 102, likewise associates the omission of Isidore's *Regula* with Ildefonsus's efforts to privilege the monastery at Agali, which employed the rule of the African Donatus, who was included in Ildefonsus's *De viris illustribus*.

[46] In light of this omission, in a useful examination of the text, Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101–03, frames Ildefonsus's *De viris illustribus* as a response to both Isidore's *De viris illustribus* and Braulio's *Renotatio*.

Ildefonsus's portrayal of Isidore as a "treacherous attack."[47] The principal reason for this decidedly less positive treatment of Isidore appears to stem from Ildefonsus's position as metropolitan of Toledo in a time when Toledo was attempting to assert dominance over the church in Iberia.[48] Isidore lent great prestige to the see of Seville, a prestige promoted by the works of Redemptus and Braulio. Seville possessed a long-seated ecclesiastical and intellectual prominence, whereas Toledo was principally the city of the Visigothic kings. In his *De viris illustribus*, Ildefonsus was attempting to assert the intellectual and ecclesiastical dominance of Toledo over Seville. Through his abbreviated list of Isidore's works, as Kelly has pointed out, Ildefonsus essentially strips Isidore of his role as the "grand architect of consensus and unity", as he has come to be seen, in order that he can shift this role onto the bishops of Toledo.[49] Thus, Ildefonsus played down the legacy of Isidore and championed that of his own Toledan forebears.[50]

3 Citations of and References to Isidore in Iberian Writings of the Later 7th Century

The Iberian authors in the generation following the death of Isidore did not create a single legacy for their illustrious predecessor. Rather, these first-generation accounts formed a divided and competing historiographical legacy for Isidore.[51] Yet, Isidore's works also spoke for themselves and helped to ensure his intellectual dominance. Even in their disparity, the earliest hagiographical/historiographical accounts laid the foundations for the cult of Isidore and his legacy as both scholar and saint. Collectively, they paint a positive picture of Isidore and they furnish us with something of an "official version" of how he was to be represented, a framework for contextualizing how he was viewed in later 7th-century Iberia. Yet they do not present the full scope of his early legacy and reception. For that, we must look at how his successors in the Visigothic kingdom employed his texts within their own.

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[47] Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 354, with a full discussion of Ildefonsus and Isidore's legacy at 352–54.

[48] This effort, which began under Eugenius II, to reorient the Visigothic church towards Toledo spanned several decades in the mid-7th century. Partly this was done through church councils, but there was also a literary element. Eugenius II's poetry served to co-opt Isidore's intellectual might into a Toledan-centred cultural and educational programme ultimately brought to full realization by Julian of Toledo (bishop from 680 to 690). For the growing ecclesiastical dominance of Toledo, see Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: 1993), 54–56, and Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain: 409–711* (Oxford: 2006), 83. For Eugenius II's use of Isidore in this regard, see: Mark Lewis Tizzoni, "(De-)Constructing the Visigothic Poet: Religious, Cultural, & Regional Identity in Eugenius II of Toledo," *Visigothic Symposia* 2 (2017), 155–75.

[49] Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 101 ff.

[50] See Wood, "Playing the Fame Game," 628–37, and Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 353–54.

[51] Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 93.

4 Braulio of Zaragoza (*c.*590–651)

In the *Renotatio*, we see Isidore depicted as both a saint dedicated to works of charity and the greatest scholar of his age, whose works paved the path towards knowledge and understanding. This depiction is central to Braulio's construction of Isidore's legacy. We know from both the *Renotatio* and from their correspondence that Braulio was familiar with the works of Isidore. These texts, however, do not provide the entire picture.

Aside from the direct correspondence between the two bishops, we find reference to Isidore of Seville in three of Braulio's letters. Letter 14, addressed to the priest Fronimian (to whom Braulio likewise addressed his *Vita Sancti Aemiliani*), presents Isidore as an authority on matters of liturgical practice. The second reference is in letter 22, addressed to a Bishop Eutropius, regarding the dating of Easter. Isidore appears here as the last in a list of authorities on the subject in question.[52] Braulio refers to Isidore as "the distinguished man of our time."[53] Once again, Isidore is described in glowing terms, this time as a *vir insignis*. The third reference comes in letter 44, addressed to Bishop Fructuosus of Braga, who had posed Braulio several questions. Having thoroughly answered the question regarding the timing of the death of Methuselah with references to Jerome and Augustine, Braulio proceeded to quote Isidore's *Etymologiae* as well. Once again, Isidore is glowingly described, this time as a "man of incomparable knowledge."[54] Braulio thus employs Isidore as his ultimate authority on a consistent basis.

5 Eugenius II of Toledo (*c.*600–57)

Eugenius II of Toledo, Braulio's student, was very different in terms of his use of Isidore's works. Unlike his predecessors, Eugenius's literary efforts were principally poetic, and his verse shows clearly the influence of Isidore.[55] Eugenius possessed a firm knowledge of Isidore's works.[56] He appears to have held a particular affection for the *Etymologiae*, as a number of his original poems versify various pieces of information drawn directly from this text. Eugenius's poetic corpus contains over sixty points of parallel with Isidore's works, with a little over forty stemming from the *Etymologiae*.[57]

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[52] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17.5–9.

[53] "Nostri temporis vir insignis," Braulio, *Epistola* 22.

[54] "Incomparabilis scientiae vir," Braulio, *Epistola* 44. The Isidorian citation here is actually rather gratuitous: the *Etymologiae* passage is somewhat off-topic and the Jerome text cited had directly answered the question at hand.

The majority of Eugenius's "Isidorian poems" are straightforward versifications of snippets from the natural history sections of the *Etymologiae*. These are principally located in the collection of distichs on natural history found between *carmen* 42 and 64 in Eugenius's corpus.[58] *Carmen* 62, *De adamante*, provides a representative example of how Eugenius employed Isidore's works. While Eugenius' poem does not directly cite the *Etymologiae*, it does contain information directly obtained from it, namely, the use of goat blood to soften the otherwise unbreakable rock adamant (and the non-typical spelling of the word *adamas* as *adamans*).[59] Eugenius's poem contains the same information as the passage from Isidore, it merely distils it into a short two lines of verse. This is Eugenius's general approach in the "Isidorian" distichs, which cover topics ranging from ornithology to geology. Eugenius's use of Isidore was not, however, restricted to these short informational versifications, as the poet also employed Isidore's works as reference for several of his longer poems. *Carmen* 39, *De inventoribus litterarum*, is another example of Eugenius's distillation of Isidore's vast reservoir of information into brief verses. This poem condenses several sentences from the *Etymologiae*, and some from the *Historia Gothorum*, into six lines of verse listing the various inventors of the alphabets known at the time.[60] These two poems demonstrate Eugenius's use of Isidore as an encyclopaedia, much as prescribed by Braulio.

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[55] Discussions of Eugenius's use of Isidore can be found in Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 350–51, and Mark Lewis Tizzoni, *The Poems of Dracontius in their Vandalic and Visigothic Contexts* (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2012), 238 and 246–47, and Tizzoni, "(De-)constructing." Eugenius wrote works other than poetry, but, apart from his letters, none of his other writings have survived.

[56] Eugenius was, at the very least, familiar with the *Differentiae*, the *Synonyma*, the *De natura rerum*, the *Sententiae*, his *Chronica*, his *De uiris illustribus*, the *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Sueuorum*, and the *Etymologiae*. For a comprehensive list of *loci similes* with Isidore's texts, see the *index fontium* in Paulo Farmhouse Alberto, ed., *Eugenii Toletani Opera Omnia*, CCSL 114 (Turnhout: 2005), 425–26.

[57] Isidore, in fact, represents one of Eugenius's most used sources for his poetry.

[58] Eugenius, *carmina* 42–52 (excluding *carmen* 49) and *carmina* 59–64 are drawn from Isidore.

[59] See Isidore, *Etymologiae* 16.13.2. Eugenius and Isidore both employ the non-typical spelling.

[60] While Eugenius reordered the list and cut out some the names, his information clearly parallels that given by Isidore. It could be argued, of course, that Eugenius was using

It is with this use of Isidore as a font of knowledge that we first see Eugenius's role in the creation of Isidore's legacy, as well as glimpse an important part of his early reception. Firstly, it demonstrates that, by the time Eugenius was writing these poems, Isidore was viewed as an authority and his *Etymologiae* as a reference for all things "scientific." Secondly, it shows the strength of his influence on one of the most important metropolitans of Toledo: an influence that his successor Ildefonsus strove unsuccessfully to curb. The most striking aspect of Eugenius's usage of Isidore, however, comes when one considers that these poems were likely to have been used as classroom exercises.[61] This means not only that Isidore was seen as a fundamental source of knowledge, but that young students, whether in Zaragoza or Toledo (or both), were being exposed to, and engaging with, Isidore's texts.[62] This educational use represents a much wider and deeper exposure to Isidore than is represented simply by his peers and their successors, such as Redemptus, Braulio, and Ildefonsus. Isidore was being presented in the classroom, information derived ultimately from his works was being taught to future monks, clerics, and laymen, to anyone in attendance at the episcopal school in Toledo or the monastic school in Zaragoza. This use of his intellectual output hints at the potential extent of Isidore's influence and reception on the ground, and shows how his legacy may have spread to future generations in Visigothic Iberia.

6 The Eighth Council of Toledo, 653

Eugenius's role in the transmission of Isidore's legacy was not limited to his poetic works. As metropolitan of Toledo, he presided alongside King

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Isidore's sources, rather than Isidore himself, but the sheer volume of Isidorian resonances, coupled with Eugenius's position as Braulio's student and intellectual successor, are highly suggestive.

[61] Considerable evidence exists to indicate that these poems were written by Eugenius to be used as teaching aids in class, and this is the position of the present author. It can also be asserted that these were exercises drawn up by Eugenius as a student in Zaragoza (the more typical assertion). Considering that he became metropolitan of Toledo in 647, and the *Etymologiae* only came into Braulio's possession in the 630s (by which time Eugenius was already Braulio's archdeacon), it is most likely that his primary and rhetorical education was completed by the time of the text's publication. Whichever the case, the text belonged in the classroom, and the implications for Isidore's legacy and reception remain the same.

[62] See the chapters by Graham Barrett and Pedro Castillo Maldonado in the present volume for more on Isidore and education in Visigothic Iberia.

Recceswinth (r. 649–72) over the Eighth Council of Toledo. This council represented another important point in the creation of Isidore's legacy.[63] The council covered a range of topics, but the matter of central concern for the purpose of the current chapter is its direct reference to Isidore and how his memory is employed in the council records.[64]

The first of these matters is straightforward: in the discussion regarding the treatment of *refugi* and *perfidi*, exiles/expatriates and traitors, found in the second canon, Isidore's *Sententiae* and *Synonyma* are used to provide an authoritative theological proof.[65] The canon quoted both texts directly and cited them by name. The canon presents Isidore as the final proof, following Augustine of Hippo and Gregory the Great, and so, as the final authority, his words carry more weight. That VIII Toledo should afford Isidore the status of chief authority, even over Augustine and Gregory, shows the power of Isidore's legacy in 653.

This level of intellectual and theological authority is underscored by the language in which Isidore is described. The records of the council state:

> The extraordinary doctor (*doctor egregius*) of our century, the most recent/utmost honor of the universal church, the most recent in an age of excelling people, not the lowest in the formation of doctrine; and what is more, at the limit of the present ages he is the most learned.[66]

Here, we witness the elevation of Isidore from Braulio's *vir egregius* to *doctor egregius* by Braulio's student Eugenius. For the bishops of Iberia, united together in council with the highest nobility of the Peninsula, Isidore was a teacher from whom all could learn, and the utmost authority available to them. The efforts of Isidore's earliest hagiographers had borne fruit.

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[63] As Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 98, points out, VIII Toledo contains the first official recognition of Isidore's intellectual authority by the Toledan power structure.

[64] Parallel treatments to what follows can be found in Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 98–100, and in Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 351–52.

[65] VIII Toledo 2, ed. José Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona: 1963), 276–77. The wider context is Recceswinth's approach to the rebellion of Froia. See Kelly, "Politics of History-Writing," 99–100.

[66] "Nostri quoque seculi doctor egregius, ecclesiae catholicae novissimum decus, praecedentibus aetate prostremus, doctrinae conparatione non infimus, et quod maius est in seculorum fine doctissimus […]," VIII Toledo 2 (in translating I have taken *prostremus* as *postremus*).

7 Ildefonsus of Toledo (607–67)

Despite the rather underwhelming praise given to Isidore by Ildefonsus in his *De viris illustribus*, Ildefonsus was nevertheless familiar with, and indebted to, the works of his Sevillian predecessor. The most obvious evidence of this is the simple fact that Ildefonsus, regardless of his motivations, chose to write a continuation of (or response to) Isidore's own continuation of the *De viris illustribus* and included, as we have seen, Isidore himself. In the preface, he describes Isidore as a *vir prudentissimus*, a most sensible (or skilled) man. The reference to Isidore in the *De viris illustribus*, however, pales in comparison to his influence on Ildefonsus's other works.

Indeed, Ildefonsus's three main theological works—the *De virginitate Sanctae Mariae*, his most famous work, which asserts the perpetual virginity of Mary; the *De cognitione baptismi*, a doctrinal treatise on baptism; and the *De itenere deserti*, a treatise on the Christian life—all bear a substantial debt to the collected works of Isidore.[67] All three texts are replete with parallels to Isidore's works, but the most heavily employed are the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, the *Etymologiae*, and the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*. In terms of source material, the *De cognitione baptismi* is particularly indebted to the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, as the *De virginitate* is to the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*. The *De virginitate* provides a good example of the extent to which Ildefonsus employed the works of Isidore. Firstly, Ildefonsus wrote the text in a synonymic fashion following Isidore's *Synonyma*. Inside this Isidorian structure, Ildefonsus constructed his arguments using evidence drawn directly from Jerome, and especially from Isidore.[68] The preface to the text contains certain, if not overt, parallels with the *Synonyma* which become more pronounced as it progresses.[69] Indeed, of the sixty-two chapters of the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* in the Migne edition, Ildefonsus employs thirty-two in writing his *De virginitate*.[70]

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[67] Thorough summations of Ildefonsus's use of sources, including of Isidore, are given, by book, in Yarza Urquiola and Codoñer, *Ildefonsi Toletani episcopi opera*, 73–85, 318–30, and 549–53 (for the *De viris illustribus*). See also the detailed *index fontium* at the end of the same volume. See also Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 352–54. For more substantial glosses on these texts see José Carlos Martín, "Ildefonso de Toledo," in Andrés Sanz and Codoñer, *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe*, 131–34.

[68] See, again, the *index fontium* in Yarza Urquiola and Codoñer, *Ildefonsi Toletani episcopi opera*, and also Martín, "Ildefonso," 131–32.

[69] Yarza Urquiola and Codoñer, *Ildefonsi Toletani episcopi opera*, 73–74.

[70] Yarza Urquiola and Codoñer, *Ildefonsi Toletani episcopi opera*, 74. The *De cognitione baptismi* and the *De itenere deserti* are likewise indebted, see 318–30.

Isidore's profound influence on Ildefonsus, the foremost theologian of the last decades of the Visigothic kingdom, demonstrates the extent of his influence on 7th-century Iberian thought. Ildefonsus nevertheless fails to cite Isidore by name (we must remember, of course, Ildefonsus's loyalty to the see of Toledo, mentioned earlier).[71] He may not give credit to Isidore, but it was no longer possible, nor was it desirable, to ignore him.

8 Other Iberian Sources[72]

Isidore's early legacy hardly confined itself to these authors. The *Lex Visigothorum*, for example, bears the marks of Isidore's *Sententiae*, and the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensum* made use of the *Synonyma*.[73] Fructuosus of Braga (died *c.*665), working in north-western Iberia, heavily employed the works of Isidore, especially his monastic *regula*, when writing his own monastic rules.[74] Indeed, Isidore even features in the *Vita Sancti Fructuosi*, written sometime after the bishop of Braga's death by an unnamed disciple of his.[75] Taio of Zaragoza, another student of Braulio, was likewise part of this ever-growing Isidorian "school."[76]

Julian of Toledo was another writer strongly influenced by Isidore. Metropolitan of Toledo from 680 to 690, he, like his predecessors, was the product of a markedly Isidorian intellectual training. Like Ildefonsus, Julian was both abbot of Agali and a student of Eugenius II.[77] In his theological works Julian employed the writings of Isidore alongside those of Augustine and Gregory the Great. Like Ildefonsus, he also failed to cite Isidore as a source.[78] More pertinent still is the mention of Isidore in the records of the Fifteenth Council of Toledo, which Julian presided over as primate in 688.[79] Once more, Isidore, whose legacy was by this point so established that he did not even need to be properly named, is the *doctor egregius*, cited as a key authority alongside Augustine, Ambrose, and Athanasius.[80]

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[71] Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 352–54 (who accuses Ildefonsus of plagiarism). We must also remember that at the time, it was not beyond the bounds of normal practice to do this, and we should perhaps not read overly much into it.

[72] For a parallel discussion with additional references, see Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing," 103–06.

[73] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Genèse et originalité*, 403.

[74] Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Genèse et originalité*, 404. Fructuosus was bishop of Braga and the founder of the monastery of Compludo; he also corresponded with Braulio, who sent him books.

[75] Kelly, "The Politics of History-Writing," 103. For the text, see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, ed., *La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga* (Braga: 1974).

[76] Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 355, and Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Genèse et originalité*, 404.

[77] Julian refers to Eugenius II as his teacher (*praeceptor*) twice in his *Prognosticon futuri saeculi* 3.17 and 3.24.

[78] Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 354 (with bibliography); Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: Genèse et originalité*, 404; J.N. Hillgarth, ed., *Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis*

9 The Earliest Use of Isidore in Non-Iberian Sources

9.1 *The Earliest Irish Evidence*[81]

Outside Visigothic Iberia, Ireland represents one of the earliest traceable avenues for the reception of Isidore's work. Scholars, notably J.N. Hillgarth, have argued that Ireland was connected very early on to the intellectual world of the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.[82] Recently, the earliest links have been called into serious question.[83] While doubt lingers regarding most of the 7th century, by its final decade/s Isidore's writings had arrived in Ireland and from that point rose to prominence.[84] The *Etymologiae* represent the most widely used of Isidore's writings in Irish contexts at the end of the 7th and opening of the 8th century, but there was also knowledge of other texts, including the *De*

Episcopi Opera, CCSL 115 (Turnhout: 1976), xvi-xviii. Julian used Isidore for his *Prognosticon futuri saeculi*, his *Liber Anticimen*, and his *Ars grammatica*. Again, Julian should be seen as continuing the Toledan consolidation undertaken by his predecessors.

[79] This council, in many ways, was an assertion of the theological strength of the Iberian church.

[80] XV Toledo 5, ed. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, 462, where Isidore is referred to simply as: "doctor egregius Spalensis sedis episcopus." For further discussion, see Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoro en la Edad Media hispana," 352.

[81] For a recent and more detailed examination of the earliest Irish reception of Isidore, see Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, 111–30. See also Martin J. Ryan's chapter in the present volume.

[82] J.N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 62.C.6 (1962), 172. See, also J.N. Hillgarth, "Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century," in *Peritia* 3 (1984), 1–16; Michael Herren, "On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford, 1980), 243–50.

[83] Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts," 112–14. This early evidence stemmed in part from links between Lathcen MacBaith's *Egloga de Moralibus in Iob*, dated *c.*650–61, and Isidore's *De ortu et obitu Patrum*: these links, it is argued, result from a Carolingian interpolation. Smyth provides substantial bibliography.

[84] Smyth, "Isidorian Texts," 125–26.

natura rerum and the *Differentiae*.[85] As Hillgarth states of Ireland: “nowhere else, outside of Isidore’s own Spain, can one find anything approaching either the range of works used or the range of writers using them.”[86] It may only be that this is truer of the early-8th century than of the mid-7th century.

9.2 *The Earliest Frankish Evidence*[87]

While the evidence for Isidore’s early legacy in Gaul is scant compared to Ireland and Iberia, knowledge of his work arrived there before the end of the 7th century. Most of the Frankish evidence revolves around a single Isidorian text, the *Chronica*. Isidore was known to Defensor of Ligugé (working around 700), Theofrid, abbot of Corbie (d. after 683), and the writer of the late-7th-century *Vita Wandregesili*.[88] Perhaps the most important piece of early Frankish evidence, however, comes from the Fredegar Chronicle.

Originating at some point in the latter half of the 7th century, the Fredegar Chronicle, albeit a multi-layered and somewhat problematic text, provides some of the earliest evidence for Isidore’s use outside of Iberia.[89] The principal Isidorian text in question when discussing the Fredegar Chronicle is Isidore’s own *Chronica*. The text’s manuscript tradition is complicated, but Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10910, dating from the late-7th to the early-8th century, is of particular importance in discussing the legacy of Isidore.[90]

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[85] Hillgarth, “Early Christian Ireland,” 186–87; Hillgarth, “Ireland and Spain,” 8. See also Herren, “On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance,” 243–50.

[86] Hillgarth, “Ireland and Spain,” 9.

[87] For later Frankish evidence, see Sinéad O’Sullivan’s chapter in the present volume. See also Melissa Markauskas, “Rylands MS Latin 12: A Carolingian Example of Isidore’s Reception into the Patristic Canon,” in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, 177–207; and Laura Carlson, “Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority: The Use of Isidore in the Opus Caroli,” in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, 209–30.

[88] Hillgarth, “Early Christian Ireland,” 182; Hillgarth, “Ireland and Spain,” 7.

[89] The oldest version of the chronicle dates to *c*.660. For this date, see Roger Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (Hanover: 2007), 105–07. For studies of the Fredegar Chronicle alongside text and translation, see Olivier Devillers and Jean Meyers, *Frédégaíre: Chronique des temps mérovingiens* (Turnhout: 2001) and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar* (Westport: 1981). For an important recent study, including the manuscript tradition, see Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (Cambridge: 2015), 166–239. In light of the recent work on Isidore in Ireland, the Fredegar Chronicle may well represent the first evidence for Isidore’s use outside of Iberia.

[90] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, xlvii. For this manuscript and especially the placement of Isidore’s writing within it, see also Walter Goffart, “The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered,” *Speculum* 38 (1963), 206–41.

Indeed, the earliest manuscript history of the Fredegar Chronicle matches that of Isidore's *Chronica* in Frankish Gaul—Paris BnF lat. 10910 contains both Isidore's *Chronica* and the earliest version of the Fredegar Chronicle, although this is the only manuscript of the Fredegar Chronicle to do so.[91]

In the prologue to part four of Paris BnF lat. 10910, representing the actual "chronicle of Fredegar", the chronicler writes that he or she carefully reviewed (*dilientissime percurrens*) the chronicle of Isidore, along with a number of other chronicles.[92] The first book of the codex, largely following the *Liber generationis* of Hippolytus of Rome, contains, in Paris BnF lat. 10910, chapter three of Isidore's chronicle.[93] More significantly, at the end of book four in this codex one finds a transcription of Isidore's *Chronica* with an *explicit* dated to the fortieth year of the reign of Clothar II (623–24).[94] The relationship between the *Chronica* and Fredegar, whether the *Chronica* was original to the codex, or when it may have been added, is intensely debated by scholars.[95] If the Isidorian material is original, and it was indeed written around 660, it bears witness to a relatively swift transmission of the *Chronica* into Frankish territory. If we are to trust the date given at the end of Isidore's chronicle in Paris BnF lat. 10910, then the text was likely present in Gaul during the lifetime of Isidore, a rapid transmission indeed. If the *Chronica*'s inclusion in the manuscript is a later addition by a scribe, it nevertheless shows that Isidore's work was present in Gaul in the 7th century, suggesting that elements of it had arrived and been copied soon after their composition.[96] In addition to the presence of Isidore's *Chronica* both as part of the text and as an appendix to it, the Fredegar Chronicle also makes use, at one point, of the *Etymologiae*. This usage comes, once more, from the prologue to part four where the Fredegar chronicler defines the word *chronica* with the definition provided by Isidore at *Etymologiae*, 5.28. Taken together, these references demonstrate that, even if the *Chronica* was merely appended to the manuscript at a later date, the original version of the Fredegar Chronicle, composed in 7th-century Gaul, referenced, took into consideration, and used as an authority, the work of Isidore of Seville.

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[91] Reimitz, *History*, 220–22.

[92] Folio 124v. There has been much debate over the authorship of this work, but the current consensus favours a single compiler, conveniently, if not accurately, referred to as Fredegar: see Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem," 209–16, alongside Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 46–55.

[93] Devillers and Meyers, *Frédégaíre*, 7–9; Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem," 209–16.

[94] Devillers and Meyers, *Frédégaíre*, 8–10. Isidore's *Chronica maiora* exists in two redactions, the earlier dating to Sisebut's reign (in 615/616) and the second to that of Suinthila's (in 626); see, with references, Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, "The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville," *e-Spania* 6 (2008).

[95] Devillers and Meyers, *Frédégaíre*, 8–10. The fact that Isidore's *Chronica* appears in no other manuscripts of Fredegar lends support to scholars who suggest that the addition of Isidore's *Chronica* stemmed not from the compiler of Fredegar's chronicle but rather the scribe of Paris BnF lat. 10910, see Reimitz, *History*, 221–22.

[96] The latest plausible date put forward for Paris 10910 is 714: even accepting this date, and whether the internal dating is credible (or not), it is clear that Isidore's text existed in Gaul by the beginning of the 8th century.

10 7th-Century Manuscript Evidence for the Circulation of Isidore's Writings

As we have seen, 7th-century Visigothic, Frankish, and Irish literature all bear witness to the early transmission of Isidore's works, even during his own lifetime. Much of the manuscript evidence is later and less clear, although it helps to paint a picture of Isidore's early influence and dissemination.[97] Perhaps the most important manuscript for this discussion is Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 226, a papyrus codex originating in the latter half of the 7th century within a continental Irish context.[98] This codex contains an abridged copy of Isidore's *Synonyma* and bears witness to knowledge of this text north of the Pyrenees. Also important is the late 7th- or early 8th-century Paris BnF lat. 10910, which, as discussed above, transmits a portion of Isidore's *Chronica.* Another relevant manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6400G, a three-part codex which contains Isidore's *De natura rerum*, written in 7th- to 8th-century uncial (part two of the codex), and *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, written in an 8th-century uncial argued to be of northern Gallic origin (part three of the codex).[99] These very early manuscripts all point to the presence of a selection of Isidore's works in Gaul (or more precisely in the network of Irish monasteries in Gaul and beyond) by the close of the 7th century. While few in number, the 7th-century manuscripts serve to complete the picture painted by the literary sources. Evidence from the 8th century is much more extensive.[100] The 8th century provides us with numerous surviving manuscripts from Italy and Gaul and displays, above all else, the importance of the Irish in the development of Isidore's legacy.[101]

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[97] The most in-depth studies of Isidore's manuscript traditions are to be found in the CCSL editions of his works cited in the bibliography. Another important work, detailing the subject as it was in 1961 is Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," 317–44.

[98] Jacques Elfassi, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Synonyma*, CCSL 111B (Turnhout: 2009), xxix-xxxv (with bibliography), and also Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung," 323, where it is numbered as 227. Both of these sources place the text in the south of France (Elfassi suggests Lyon). Hillgarth, "Early Christian Ireland," 184, on the other hand, places the text initially in Ireland, with transmission to Bobbio possibly in the 9th century.

[99] Christopher M. Lawson, ed., *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: 1989), 208, and Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung," 324. Hillgarth, "Early Christian Ireland," 185, places the manuscript at Fleury.

11 Conclusion

The impact that Isidore had upon the intellectual culture of the Latin West in his own century was both profound and pervasive. His thought dominated the world of later-7th-century Iberia, his works pervaded everything from basic instruction in the classroom to the highest affairs of church and state. His students, and their students, used his work to forge a powerful Visigothic-era theological tradition. Even those, like Ildefonsus and Julian, who sought to assert Toledo's authority over Seville, and thus over an important element of Isidore's legacy, could not avoid saturating their own writings with his. His works possessed such utility and fame that they were quickly transmitted both to Ireland and to Gaul, possibly even before his death. He was received universally as an authority of high standing: in Iberia, at the very least, he was placed alongside and sometimes even above Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great.

This legacy was built with care. A priest of Seville, Redemptus, recorded his last days, presenting him as truly a saint, worthy, through his care, devotion, and humility, of the rewards of Heaven. His student, Braulio, likewise presented his beloved teacher as a saint, given always to works of charity. Yet, like Isidore, Braulio was himself a theologian and a scholar, and so he depicted his teacher in this light too. Isidore's scholarly reputation was established early, and this is how Ildefonsus chose to portray him, however begrudgingly. These early biographies of Isidore, combined with inexorably increasing knowledge of his works and their usefulness, served to build for Isidore a bipartite saint's cult—on one side stood Isidore, devoted to charity, caretaker of the poor, and champion of orthodoxy, and on the other stood Isidore the scholar, *doctor egregius*, the greatest authority of the early medieval Iberian Peninsula.

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[100] Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung," 320–36.

[101] The 8th-century manuscripts are too numerous for detailed mention here, and the author would direct any interested parties to the CCSL editions of Isidore's works, the Bischoff article, and the two Hillgarth articles cited above.

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CHAPTER 15

Isidore amongst the Islands: The Reception and Use of Isidore of Seville in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages

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1 Introduction[1]

In the garden of Llanllyr House in what is now Ceredigion, Wales, stands an early medieval inscribed stone—much abused and now missing its left-hand side. Despite this damage, the inscription can still be made out:

> TESQUITUS DITOC MADOMNUAC OCCON FILIUS ASAITGEN DEDIT[2]

In other words, the stone records the gift of the *tesquitus* of Ditoc that Occon, son of Asaitgen, gave to Madomnuac (or Modomnoc, as he appears in other sources). What is meant by *tesquitus* is more difficult to discern: Nash-Williams suggested "waste-plot"; more recently, Handley offered "hermitage" or "monastery." For our purposes, the meaning of the word matters less than its source: *tesquitus* was coined from *tesqua*—an obscure word, known only in Britain through Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

The Llanllyr inscription with its link to Isidore is both remarkable and unsurprising. Remarkable, because the evidence for Latin learning and religious

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[1] This piece has been improved greatly by the input of numerous individuals—I thank particularly Jamie Wood, Andy Fear, Nick Higham, Rosa Vidal Doval, and Elena Carrera, as well as audiences in Manchester (Instituto Cervantes) and London (Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, QMUL). The errors and infelicities remain my own. All references to the *Etymologiae* are taken from Wallace M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford: 1911) and translations of it from Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006). Where another work draws on the *Etymologiae*, I have based my translation on that of Barney et al.

[2] For this and what follows, Mark A. Handley, "Isidore of Seville and 'Hisperic Latin' in early Medieval Wales: The epigraphic culture of Llanllyr and Llanddewi-brefi," in *Roman, Runes, and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent*, eds. John Higgit, Katherine Forsyth, and David N. Parsons (Donington: 2001), 26–36.

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culture in Wales in this period is meagre even by early-medieval standards.[3] Unsurprising, for the works of Isidore were central to learning in Britain and Ireland in this period: they were studied, copied, epitomised, expanded, glossed, even fabricated. For the Irish, Isidore's *Etymologiae* were the *Culmen*, the summit, the highest peak of learning.[4] Some of the earliest manuscripts of Isidore's writings come from an Irish cultural milieu; so, too, do some of the earliest Isidorian pseudepigrapha—back-handed, but a compliment nonetheless. Readers in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were just as enthusiastic. At the archiepiscopal school at Canterbury, the *Etymologiae* were the lecturer's crib of choice, guiding not just how texts ought to be understood but also how they should be read and taught. In the north, Isidore's impact was equally great. On his deathbed, the Northumbrian monk the Venerable Bede devoted his attention to two texts; the first was the Gospel of John, the second was Isidore's *De natura rerum*.

This chapter offers an introduction to the reception and influence of Isidore's writings in Britain and Ireland in the pre-Viking period, that is, to roughly 750. To keep things manageable, the focus will be on Latin texts—though this should not be understood as implying that Isidore's impact on vernacular literature was negligible or unimportant. Likewise, the surviving evidence means that this work will concentrate on Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms—though as the Llanllyr stone shows, Isidore's appeal reached further.

2 Isidore in Ireland

The central place of the Irish in the early reception of Isidore's writings has long been acknowledged. In the second decade of the 20th century, Beeson noted that Isidore was known in Ireland (and England, too) very early, while more recently McNally, Bischoff, and, above all, Hillgarth have championed the Irish as especially early adopters.[5] Though Beeson knew of no early Irish copies of Isidore's works, important discoveries were made subsequently. Most significant was the identification of fragments from Book XI.i of the *Etymologiae* in what is now St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 1399 a 1. These fragments date to the middle decades of the 7th century—Bischoff even suggested to Isidore's own lifetime—and were written in an Insular hand, most likely in Ireland itself; they remain the earliest manuscript witness to the *Etymologiae*.[6] A slightly later set of fragments—parts of Books 6 and 7—preserved as the flyleaves of Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589, are likewise the product of an Irish scribe, again, probably working in Ireland.[7]

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[3] For surveys, see Michael Lapidge, "Latin Learning in Dark Ages Wales: Some Prolegomena," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, eds. D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith, and E.M. Jope (Oxford: 1985), 91–107, and Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford: 2013), 625–50.

[4] Tomás Ó Máille, "The Authorship of the *Culmen*," *Ériu* 9 (1921), 71–76.

[5] Charles H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* (Munich: 1913), 129, Robert E. McNally, "Isidorian Pseudepigrapha in the Early Middle Ages," in *Isidoriana*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 306, Bernard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*, 328–29, J.N. Hillgarth, "Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century," in *Visigothic*

Herren has written that in the second half of the 7th century Ireland witnessed "a kind of 'Isidorian revolution of knowledge.'"[8] This revolution was but one part of a wider flourishing of scholarly and artistic endeavour over the course of the 7th to 9th centuries—an intellectual "Golden Age" in Ireland.[9] The causes were multiple, but two areas can be highlighted. The first was the importation of new or previously unavailable works into Ireland. Chief among these were the works of classical grammarians, such as Charisius, Diomedes, and Pompeius—many of which likely came by way of Irish foundations on the

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Spain, Byzantium, and the Irish (London: 1985), 1. For dissenting voices, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (University Park: 1991), 127–28, and Edward James, "Ireland and Western Gaul in the Merovingian Period," in *Ireland and Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, eds. Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David N. Dumville (Cambridge: 1982), 363.

[6] Alban Dold and Johannes Duft, *Die älteste irische Handschriften-Reliquie der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen mit Texten aus Isidors Etymologien* (Beuron: 1955), and for production in Ireland itself, Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung," 327. Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's* Synonyma *in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: 2008), 59, reports assertions that "the parchment of the fragments is continental," but Bischoff had already rejected the use of parchment rather than vellum as diagnostic of origin in this period, see "Die europäische Verbreitung," 327, and his comments in J.N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," in *Visigothic Spain*, 183 n. 78.

[7] James P. Carley and Ann Dooley, "An Early Irish Fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*," in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C A. Ralegh Radford*, eds. Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge: 1991), 144 for date and 149 for origin. For further comment, Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), 118–19.

[8] Michael W. Herren, "The Authorship, Date of Composition, and the Provenance of the So-Called 'Lorica Gildae,'" *Ériu* 24 (1973), 45.

[9] See in general, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (Harlow: 1995), 196–232, and, more briefly, Martin J. Ryan, "Latin Learning and Christian Art," in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c. 500–c.1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Oxford: 2009), 178–82.

Continent, such as Bobbio.[10] Material also arrived from Spain, whether directly or via intermediaries. As well as works by Isidore and a number of his near-contemporaries, such as Julian of Toledo, this included an important and influential computistical collection that reached Ireland by the 630s.[11] The second factor was the various controversies that engulfed the churches in Ireland in the 7th century—uppermost among these being the Paschal Controversy. As Ó Corráin observed, these controversies "forced the churchmen to give deep thought to themselves and their institutions [… They] led to a rapid—one might say urgent—cultivation of a higher learning."[12]

That an "Isidorian revolution" took place in Ireland in the 7th century is indisputable. What remains contested is when this revolution truly began. The problem is two-fold. Firstly, many of the works that draw on Isidore's writings are difficult to date precisely; that some exist in different versions and recensions only adds to the complexities. Secondly, it is not always clear whether a particular author is drawing on Isidore directly or via intermediaries, such as glossaries or word-lists. The surviving manuscripts demonstrate that parts at least of the *Etymologiae* were circulating in Ireland by the mid-7th century, and it is equally clear that a range of Isidore's writings were being drawn on by that century's end[13]; more difficult to ascertain is what was going on in the interim.

It is emblematic that the earliest use of Isidore in Ireland is likely by an author to whom the adjective "enigmatic" is invariably attached: Virgilius Maro Grammaticus.[14] Almost everything about him remains obscure, from his own origins to the purpose of his writings.[15] For a long time, Virgilius was believed to have been from Gaul, perhaps Toulouse; now he is held widely, but not universally, to have been Irish or at least to have been active in Ireland.[16] His two works—the *Epitomae* and the *Epistolae*—look on the surface to be conventional grammatical treatises, very much in the tradition of commentaries on Donatus and other classical grammarians.[17] Yet Virgilius's writings go far beyond the subject matter of traditional grammars and abound in bizarre vocabulary, puns and word-play, curious etymologies, and the concatenation of fictional—and often outlandishly named—authorities. Virgilius's discussions are interspersed with asides and digressions—most famously his account of the fourteen-day argument between Terrentius and Galbungus over the vocative of "ego"[18]—and he seems to delight in obscure, arcane, and probably personally invented knowledge. What Virgilius was up to has occasioned considerable debate. Were his works elaborate parodies and extended in-jokes?[19] Were they a call for a multiplicity of views and independence of thought at a time when intellectual horizons were narrowing?[20] Or were they simply the work of a teacher attempting to liven up a potentially dull and difficult subject—"like teaching Latin in a pub," as Ó Cróinín put it?[21]

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[10] Louis Holtz, "Irish Grammarians and the Continent in the Seventh Century," in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, eds. H.B. Clark and Mary Brennan (Oxford: 1981), 146.

[11] For the computistical material, Charles W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1943), 105; for near-contemporaries, Hillgarth, "Ireland and Spain," 11.

[12] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "The Historical and Cultural Background of the Book of Kells," in *The Book of Kells*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony (Dublin: 1994), 17.

[13] In addition to the texts explored below, see Immo Warntjes's chapter on the computistical material in this volume.

[14] Michael W. Herren, "On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," in *Latin Letters in Early Christian Ireland* (Aldershot: 1996), 244–50.

[15] For a summary of research, see Michael W. Herren, "Some New Light on the Life of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus," in *Latin Letters*, 27–71.

[16] Bernhard Bischoff, "Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 25 (1958), 20, Herren, "Some New Light," Damian Bracken, "Virgil the Grammarian and Bede: A Preliminary Study," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35

The sheer creative exuberance of Virgilius's writings makes it difficult to trace sources and influences—direct verbal dependencies are almost entirely absent, and debts can be heavily disguised.[22] Despite this, there is a sustained, albeit implicit, engagement with Isidore. Like Isidore, Virgilius showed a particular interest in etymology, believing the origin of words to be a key to their meaning and a route to a deeper understanding. Although Virgilius employed his own methodologies, some of his etymologies look to be derived from or responding to Isidore.[23]

(2006), 7. For doubts, see Vivien Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge: 1982), 49–51, and Giovanni Polara, "Virgilio Marone e la parodia delle dottrine grammaticali," in *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'antiquité aux lumières*, ed. Irène Rosier (Louvain: 1988), 118–19.

[17] Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians*, 42–45; Vivien Law, *Wisdom, Authority, and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Cambridge: 1995), 5–7, and Rory Naismith, "Antiquity, Authority, and Religion in the *Epitomae* and *Epistolae* of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus," *Peritia* 20 (2008), 59–60.

[18] Translated in Law, *Wisdom, Authority, and Grammar*, 109–11.

[19] Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Munich: 1922), 22, and Polara, "Virgilio Marone."

[20] Law, *Wisdom, Authority, and Grammar*, 107–08.

[21] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169," in *A New History of Ireland: 1, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: 2005), 389.

[22] Polara, "Virgilio Marone," 110.

[23] The debt to Isidore was first identified by Thomas Stangl, *Virgiliana. Die grammatischen Schriften des Galliers Virgilius Maro* (Munich: 1891), 128 n. 16. These findings were then expanded by Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich: 1911), 1:121.

> Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, *Epitoma* 11: "Sea" is thought by Latin speakers to derive from bitterness, by Hebrew speakers it is called "gathering of waters."[24]
>
> Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.14.1: A sea is a general gathering of waters, for every confluence of waters, whether they are salt or fresh, is, loosely, a "sea" […] But strictly speaking something is called sea because its waters are bitter.[25]

Taken individually, the similarities between Isidore and Virgilius are suggestive but not compelling.[26] However, as Herren notes, "many of the etymologies of [Virgilius] have parallels in *specific* parts of *specific* books of Isidore […] the parallels are not random."[27] Yet for Virgilius, Isidore was neither a definitive source nor an indisputable authority. Though never mentioned by name, Isidore was an author to be engaged with and to be challenged; perhaps, as Polara has suggested, he was even an author to be parodied. For example, in book 5.31.1 of the *Etymologiae*, Isidore defined night as follows[28]:

> Night (*nox*) is so called from "harming" (*nocere*), because it impairs the eyes. It has the light of the moon and stars, so as not to be without adornment, and so that it may comfort all those who work at night, and so that it may have sufficient light for certain living creatures that cannot tolerate sunlight.[29]

By contrast, when Virgilius offered an etymology for "night" he suggested that "those who work at night" might not deserve such comforts:

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[24] "'Mare' a Latinis ex amaritudine diriuari putatur, ab Hebreis aquarum collectus dicitur." Bengt Löfstedt, ed., *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus: Opera Omnia* (Munich: 2003), 228.

[25] "Mare est aquarum generalis collectio. Omnis enim congregatio aquarum, sive salsae sint sive dulces, abusive maria nuncupantur […] Proprie autem mare appellatum eo quod aquae eius amarae sint."

[26] Kuno Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (Dublin: 1913), 22, n. 7: "When they are examined it will be seen that though the actual etymology is the same, nowhere is there any literal agreement such as we might reasonably expect to find if there had been borrowing either way."

[27] Herren, "New Light on Virgilius Maro Grammaticus," 45.

[28] For this example, see Polara, "Virgilio Marone," 116.

[29] "Nox a nocendo dicta, eo quod oculis noceat. Quae idcirco lunae ac siderum lucem habet, ne indecora esset, et ut consolaretur omnes nocte operantes, et ut quibusdam animantibus, quae lucem solis ferre non possunt ad sufficientiam temperaretur."

> "Night" is so called because it interferes with human affairs or because during it thieves and brigands find opportunity to injure others.[30]

Isolating humour or parody in medieval texts is no easy thing, but Virgilius's jokes—if such they were—presuppose extensive familiarity with the *Etymologiae* on the part of his audience. At the very least, Virgilius's writings show an author engaged deeply with Isidore and his work.

When was Virgilius writing? Perhaps inevitably, this is no easy question to answer. Virgilius's works were known to Aldhelm of Malmesbury (see below) by 690, but he may have been cited earlier in an Irish computistical compilation—the so-called *Sirmond* collection.[31] This comprised computistical material deriving from Spain (see above) and works produced or circulating in Ireland; eventually it would travel to England, where it formed the basis of Bede's own computus.[32] The *Sirmond* collection now survives in—or, perhaps better, can be reconstructed from—a number of Continental manuscripts, dating from the 8th century onwards. One item common to many of these manuscripts is a dating clause, calculable as 658.[33] If this were the date that the *Sirmond* collection itself was compiled, as Ó Cróinín has argued, then Virgilius could be assigned safely to the mid-7th century. If, however, the date applies only to the item in which the clause is found—an item that does not draw on Virgilius—then such certainty is impossible.[34] The waters are muddied further by the recent discovery of a new *Sirmond* manuscript: Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, msc 0046.[35] This contains an item with another dating clause, calculable as 699, pointing, perhaps, to a number of stages in the production of the *Sirmond* collection, spread out over several decades.[36]

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[30] "'Nox' dicitur ab eo, quod humanis noceat negotiis, siue quod in ea fures latronesque nocendi aliis occasionem nanciscantur." Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, *Epitoma* 11, Löfstedt, ed., *Opera Omnia*, 234.

[31] Herren, "On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," 247, and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Date, Provenance, and Earliest Use of the Works of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus," in *Early Irish History and Chronology* (Dublin: 2003), 191–200.

[32] Charles W. Jones, "The 'Lost' Sirmond Manuscript of Bede's Computus," *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), 204–19; Charles W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1943), 103–13; and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus," in *Early Irish History*, 173–90. For more on the development and transmission of computistical texts in this period, see Immo Warntjes's chapter in this volume.

[33] Ó Cróinín, "Irish Provenance," 177–78, and Ó Cróinín, "Date, Provenance, and Earliest Use," 193–97.

[34] Doubts about whether the 658 date applies to the compilation of the whole collection are discussed by Immo Warntjes, ed. and trans., *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation. Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and Its Reception in Carolingian Times* (Stuttgart: 2010), LXXX–LXXI, n. 217.

[35] Immo Warntjes, "A Newly Discovered Prologue of AD 699 to the Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine in an Unknown Sirmond Manuscript," *Peritia* 21 (2010), 257.

For our purposes, these chronological uncertainties are doubly frustrating. As well as citing the work of Virgilius, a number of items in the *Sirmond* collection draw explicitly, and often verbatim, on Isidore, particularly the *Etymologiae* but also *De natura rerum*.[37] If the original compilation of the *Sirmond* collection could be dated to 658 or thereabouts it would be precious evidence for the early reception of Isidore's writings. That parts at least of the *Etymologiae* were being copied in Ireland by this time (see above) suggests that such a date is not implausible. The likely cultural milieu of the *Sirmond* collection may add further weight to this dating. The collection has connections to a productive and influential scholarly circle active in the southern midlands of Ireland across the middle decades of the 7th century.[38] This circle included Cummian, author of a relentlessly learned letter on the Paschal Controversy (*c*.633); the so-called Irish Augustine, author of *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (655); Manchianus, teacher of the Irish Augustine and abbot of Men Drochait (d. 652); Laidcend mac Baíth Bandaig of Cluain Ferta Mo Lua (d. 661); Banbannus (d. 687?); as well as the otherwise unidentified Brecannus and Bercanus, son of Áed.[39] Virgilius, too, likely had links to this group.[40]

This scholarly circle looks to have played a role in the early adoption and dissemination of Isidorian knowledge. The old idea that Laidcend drew on Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum* in his abridgement of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* has by now been effectively dismantled.[41] That Laidcend did know something of Isidore's writings is demonstrated in another of his works, the so-called *Lorica Gildae* or *Suffragare trinitatis unitas*—a protective prayer invoking God's aid and assistance.[42] Sections of this poem, particularly those concerning the different parts of the body, show a debt in terms of vocabulary to the *Etymologiae*. For example, in the extract below, the italicised words all occur in book 11.1:

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[36] Warntjes, "A Newly Discovered Prologue," 275.

[37] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Bede's Irish Computus," in *Early Irish History*, 207.

[38] Ó Cróinín, "Irish Provenance," 180–83, and Jones, *Bedae*, 97, for Cummian's use of material underlying the *Sirmond* collection. The early use of Virgilius may also point to a connection.

[39] With the exception of the first two, all are named as authorities in an anonymous commentary on the Catholic Epistles; the names are printed in Alfred Holder, "Altirische Namen im Reichenauer Codex CCXXXIII," *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 3 (1907), 266. For discussion of this group, see Mario Esposito, "A Seventh-Century Commentary on the Catholic Epistles," in *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Michael Lapidge (London: 1988), 316–18, and Ó Cróinín, "Irish Provenance," 180–83. For Cummian's membership in this circle, see Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 187.

[40] Damian Bracken, "Virgilius Grammaticus and the Earliest Hiberno-Latin Literature," in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic studies in honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, eds. Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: 2002), 251–61.

[41] For discussion, see Smyth, "Isidorian Texts," 113–14.

> For *teeth*, *tongue*, *mouth*, uvula, *throat*, *windpipe*, *underside of the tongue*, *nape*, forehead, *cartilage*, *neck*; oh merciful one, stay near for protection.[43]

Though not all the vocabulary used by Laidcend was uncommon, the consistent overlap with the vocabulary of the *Etymologiae* throughout the *Lorica* suggests that Isidore was a key source. Indeed, the thematic structure of the *Etymologiae* must have made it ideally suited to aid the composition of list-poems like the *Lorica*. Less clear is whether Laidcend knew the *Etymologiae* directly or was relying on glossaries—his only debt to Isidore seems to be vocabulary. For what it is worth, many of Laidcend's Isidorian borrowings can be found in the St Gallen fragments discussed above, so direct inspiration is possible, even if not provable.

Also connected with this southern midlands circle may have been the composers of some or all of the interrelated texts known as the *Hisperica famina*—that is, the *Western Sayings* or *Latinacious Speakifications*, to use Andy Orchard's delightfully fitting rendering.[44] The recherché vocabulary used in these texts has become infamous—alongside obscure and perhaps self-consciously pretentious synonyms for simple Latin words, the "Faminators" employed Greek and Greek-derived words, coined new hybrids of Latin and Hebrew, and used frequent metonymy.[45] Almost everything about the *Hisperica famina* has been the subject of debate. Most would accept them as the product of an Irish cultural milieu and of a mid-7th-century date, but beyond this it is hard to go. They evoke a world of wandering scholars and itinerant masters, of flyting, competitive erudition, and learning never worn lightly. With their opaque and over-inflated vocabulary, they read like parodies of the simple colloquies that formed the basis of elementary Latin instruction—but parodies to what end?[46] Were they "models for the ornamentation of style," as Herren has suggested, or a part of an Insular *enigmata* tradition, their very obscurity the key to their didacticism?[47] Whatever their purpose, the *Hisperica famina* show a clear debt to the writings of Isidore. The *Etymologiae*, in particular, were a key source for vocabulary—indeed, in certain instances words from specific sections of Isidore's text were deployed in order ("A" text, lines 44–52):

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[42] For the attribution to Laidcend mac Baíth Bandaig, see Herren, "Lorica Gildae."

[43] "dentibus lingue ori uuae guttori gurgilioni et sublinguę ceruice capitali ceutro cartilagini collo clemens adesto tutamine," Laidcend, *Lorica Gildae* l.45–48, Francis John Henry Jenkinson, ed., *The Hisperica Famina* (Cambridge: 1908), 52. For the connection with Isidore, see Herren, "Lorica Gildae," 47–49.

[44] Andy Orchard, "Latin and the Vernacular Languages: The Creation of a Bilingual Textual Culture," in *After Rome*, ed. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Oxford: 2003), 202. The texts are listed by Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (Dublin: 1985), 93–94. For the connection to the south midlands, see Herren, "Lorica Gildae," 45.

[45] Michael W. Herren, ed. and trans., *The Hisperica Famina: I. The A-Text* (Toronto: 1974), 44–49.

> This elegant assemblage of scholars is dazzling, –
> now for leagues of lapsed time
> we have not seen a phalanx equal to it,
> nor through future regions of the temporal sphere
> shall we behold a throng to match its refulgent reputation.
> But nearby there lurks a fearful serpent
> which will wound this band with its deadly strike,
> unless they beseech the ruler of the vast universe
> to release the flourishing troop from mortal peril.[48]

This may be compared with Isidore, *Etymologiae* 9.3.46–64:

> Properly we speak of a *phalanx* of Macedonians, a "band" of Gauls, and a "legion" of our forces [...] It is called a column when an army marches.[49]

Whether the *Etymologiae* were drawn on directly or via glossaries is unclear. In contrast to Isidore, the Faminators had a tendency to flatten meaning and to neglect the nuances that separated near-synonyms.[50] Such might be explained by the use of glossaries, where definitions of words would necessarily be short and simplified.[51] This might also account for seeming mistakes or confusions of meaning. Thus "proritus" (classical Latin "pruritus"—"itching") is used in the *Hisperica famina* to mean, apparently, "star" or "burning." The error—or shift in meaning—looks to have arisen from a misunderstanding of Isidore's definition: "*Prurigo* is so called from burning up and flaming" (4.8.7).[52] A glossary that simply offered "Prurigo: perurens, ardens" on the basis of this definition would go some way towards explaining the Faminators' usage.[53]

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[46] See, for example, Lapidge, "Latin Learning in Dark Age Wales," 96.

[47] Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 18, and for the insular riddling tradition, Andy Orchard, "The *Hisperica famina* as Literature," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 1–45, and Sarah Corrigan, "Hisperic Enigma Machine: Sea Creatures and Sources in the *Hisperica Famina*," *Peritia* 24–25 (2013–14), 59–73.

[48] "Hic comptus arcatorum exomicat coetus, cui dudum per lapsa temporum stadia parem non creuimus phalangem, nec futura temporalis globi per pagula equiperatam fulgidi rumoris speculabimur cateruam. Sed presto horrendus asstat chelidrus, qui talem uipereo ictu sauciabit turbam, nisi uasti exigerint rectorem poli qui florigerum agmen reguloso soluerit discrimine," Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 66–69; the debt to Isidore is discussed by Herren at 20–21.

[49] "Proprie autem Macedonum phalanx, Gallorum caterva, nostra legio dicitur. [...] Agmen dicitur cum exercitus iter facit."

Evidence for the use of other works by Isidore in the *Hisperica famina* is minimal—*De natura rerum* may have been drawn on, as may *De differentiis verborum*.[54] Herren has suggested the *Synonyma* may have inspired something of the style adopted by the Faminators, particularly their painstaking avoidance of repeated words.[55] In the absence of direct borrowing this is beyond proof; indeed, a recent survey of the transmission of the *Synonyma* denied that they were known at all in Ireland in the 7th or 8th centuries.[56]

If the religious institutions of the south midlands were amongst the earliest adopters of Isidorian knowledge in Ireland, enthusiasm for his writings quickly spread. By the end of the 7th century his works were, for example, a key intellectual resource at the Irish foundation on Iona. In *De locis sanctis*, a description of the Holy Land based on the travels of the Frankish bishop, Arculf, Adomnán, abbot of Iona from 679 to 704, drew on at least two of Isidore's work—the *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum*.[57] Information from Isidore allowed Adomnán to fill out his descriptions, to provide history and detail, and, perhaps, to check the veracity of Arculf's account.[58] Chapter thirty of book 2 is particularly indebted to Isidore,[59] for example:

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[50] M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classique d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris: 1905), 243.

[51] Michael Winterbottom, review of: Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: I. A-Text*, in *Medium Ævum* 45 (1976), 109.

[52] "Prurigo vocata est a perurendo et ardendo." For discussion, see Herren, "Lorica Gildae," 43.

[53] It is also worth noting that someone reading Isidore's definition in context—it is in a section entitled "Illnesses that appear on the surface of the body"—would be unlikely to make a mistake of this kind.

[54] Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 22.

[55] Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 17–18.

[56] Matthew T. Hussey, "*Transmarinis litteris*: Southumbria and the Transmission of Isidore's *Synonyma*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107 (2008), 146–48.

[57] Thomas O'Loughlin, "The Library of Iona in the Late Seventh Century: The Evidence from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*," *Ériu* 45 (1994), 47–49.

> Adomnán, *De locis sanctis* 2.30: On the right side of the port [i.e. Alexandria] there is a small island, on which there is a very tall tower which the Greeks and Latins in common have named 'lighthouse' from its particular use, because it may be seen from far off by sailors in order that, before they approach the port, they may, specially during the night, recognise the proximity of land by the light of the flames, that they would not be deceived in the darkness and run onto the rocks or fail to recognise the boundaries of the entrance.[60]
>
> Isidore, *Etymologiae* 15.2.37: A lighthouse is a very tall tower which the Greeks and Latins in common have named "lighthouse" from its particular use, because thanks to its signal of flames it may be seen from far off by sailors. Ptolemy is said to have constructed such a lighthouse near Alexandria for eight hundred talents of gold. Its function was to show a light for ships sailing at night, in order to make known the channels and the entrance to the port, so that sailors would not be deceived in the darkness and run onto the rocks.[61]

As can be seen, Adomnán has first applied Isidore's general etymology of lighthouse to that at Alexandria in particular and then partly copied verbatim and partly paraphrased Isidore's account of the Pharos—an approach Adomnán adopts throughout the whole of the chapter.

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[58] Describing the miraculous footprints of Christ on the Mount of Olives, Adomnán notes that Arculf's account is confirmed by other writings, *De locis sanctis* 1.23

[59] O'Loughlin, "The Library of Iona," 47.

[60] "In eiusdem dextera portus parua insula habetur, in qua maxima turris est, quam in commone greci ac latini ex ipsius rei usu farum uocitarunt eo quod longe a nauigantibus uideatur, ut prius quam in portum adpropinquent nocturno maxime tempore terram finitimam sibi esse flammarum incendio cognoscant, ne tenebris decepti in scopulos incedant aut ne uestibuli limitem non queant conprehendere," P. Geyer, O. Cuntz, A. Francheschini, R. Weber, L. Bieler, J. Fraipont, and F. Glorie, eds., *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: 1965), trans. James Rose MacPherson, *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land* (London: 1889), 49–50, with modifications.

[61] "Farum turris est maxima quam Graeci ac Latini in commune ex ipsius rei usu farum appellaverunt, eo quod flammarum indicio longe videatur a navigantibus, qualem Ptolomaeus iuxta Alexandriam construxisse octingentis talentis traditur. Usus eius est nocturno navium cursu ignes ostendere, ad pronuntianda vada portusque introitus, ne decepti tenebris navigantes in scopulos incidant."

We also find Isidore being used in the monastic classroom on Iona.[62] The so-called *Explanatio Iunii Philargyrii* or *Explanationes in Bucolica*—two versions of which survive—is a short commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues*. Alongside extracts from the work of Junius Philargyrius, the *Explanatio* contains classroom notes based on a teacher's exposition of the *Eclogues*. A number of glosses in Old Irish—dateable to *c*.700—together with a reference to one "Adamnanus" make it probable that the teacher in question was Abbot Adomnán himself. Isidore's *Etymologiae* were one of the resources drawn on to interpret and understand Virgil. Thus, when discussing *Eclogues* 3.8, "I know who was with you while the goats looked askance," the *Explanatio* quotes *Etymologiae* 12.1.14 verbatim: "the he-goat is a lascivious animal and always eager to mate; his eyes look sideways on account of wantonness, whence he has taken his name, for according to Suetonius, *hirqui* are the corners of the eyes."[63]

Some measure of the authority Isidore's writings had attained by the 8th century is provided by another work with Ionan connections—the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*. This work dates to the late 7th or the 8th century and, according to a colophon in one manuscript, at least parts of it were the work of Ruben of Dairinis (d. 725) and Cú Chuimne of Iona (d. 747).[64] It now survives in two recensions—A and B—whose relationship with each other and with any putative original version is complex and not yet fully understood. Despite its title, the *Collectio* is far more ambitious in scope than a straightforward canon law collection. Rather, it is an attempt, in Maurice Sheeley's words, "to draw up a blue-print for all aspects of Christian living."[65] The key innovation of the *Collectio* was its use of authorities. Where earlier collections of canon law had drawn almost exclusively on papal decretals and synodal canons, the *Collectio* employed a wider range of materials—the Bible, writings of the Church Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors, along with penitentials, monastic rules, and other Christian literature.[66] Isidore was amongst these new authorities, with at least five of his works utilised—the *Etymologiae*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, the *Chronicon*, the *Sententiae*, and the *Quaestiones in uetus Testamentum*—along with a number of pseudo-Isidorian works.[67] Of the two recensions of the *Collectio*, B makes the most frequent use of Isidore, but both recensions often open sections with an Isidorian etymology. For example, book 1 of recension A opens with a chapter entitled "Concerning the name of the bishop":

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[62] What follows is based on the discussion by Michael Lapidge, "Aldhelm and the 'Epinal-Erfurt Glossary,'" in *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, eds. Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (Oxford: 2010), 144–47. For further discussion and for doubts about Adomnán's role, although nevertheless accepting Irish involvement in the production of the *Explanatio*, see Michael W. Herren, "Literary and Glossarial Evidence for the Study of Classical Mythology in Ireland A.D. 600–800," in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Language and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, eds. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne-Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood (Dublin: 1999), 55–60.

[63] "Hircus lascivum animal et petulcum et fervens semper ad coitum; cuius oculi ob libidine in transversum aspiciunt, unde et nomen traxit. Nam hirqui sunt oculorum anguli secundum Suetonium."

[64] Luned Mair Davies, "Isidorian Texts and the *Hibernensis*," *Peritia* 11 (1997), 212–16.

[65] Cited in Davies, "Isidorian Texts and the *Hibernensis*," 208.

> The name "bishop" is taken from the Greek, changing "os" in "us," which in Latin is "overseer" or "supervisor"
>
> Isidore says: *"scopus," indeed, is "intention," therefore we can say in Latin that a bishop supervises.*
>
> Isidore: *However, the episcopacy, as a certain of the wise says, is the name of a burden not an honour.* It should be noted that bishops are named "sacerdotes" and also priests are held to have the name "sacerdotes." Similarly, it should be known that bishops and priests took their names in the New Law, however, sacerdotes were named both in the Old and the New Law.[68]

The italicised text is a direct quotation from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5.8, and the underlined material a paraphrase and adaptation. The rest of the material may be drawing on sections of the *Etymologiae*, such as 7.12, but seems otherwise to be original to the *Collectio*.

Our discussion has so far focused on texts that can be closely located or to which an attribution of Irish authorship is relatively uncontroversial. There exists, however, a large corpus of anonymous exegetical writings that may be the work of Irish authors. These texts were first identified by Bischoff, who argued that they contained "irischen Symptomen"—that is, clusters of particular features that are not in themselves unique to Irish works but which Bischoff believed to be diagnostic when occurring together or in high frequency.[69] Bischoff's thesis has not been without its critics, nor have all his attributions been accepted.[70] It is difficult also to use Bischoff's methods to distinguish texts produced in Ireland from texts produced by Irish scholars on the Continent or by those trained by Irish masters. Nevertheless, most scholars would accept that at least some of the texts identified by Bischoff can be safely attributed to an Irish cultural milieu. Only a limited number of these anonymous commentaries have yet been edited, so assessing their debt to Isidore and the role his writings played in their composition remains problematic.[71] One conclusion can be drawn, however. The culmination of this early Irish exegetical activity was the anonymous text that Bischoff labelled "das Bibelwerk."[72] This was a commentary on all the books of the Bible—a monumental undertaking—produced in Ireland in the second half of the 8th century. The compilers quoted Isidore at length—at excessive length, Bischoff felt—and drew on at least six of his works: the *Etymologiae*, *De natura rerum*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, *Quaestiones in uetus testamentum*, and the *Chronicon*.[73] Most significantly, the whole work opens with the second and third chapters of book 6 of the *Etymologiae*.[74] That is, by the middle of the 8th century, Isidore's authority in Ireland was such that his writings were the obvious starting point for a commentary as ambitious and important as "das Bibelwerk."

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[66] Roy Flechner, "The Problem of Originality in Early Medieval Canon Law: Legislating by Means of Contradictions in the *Collectio Hibernensis*," *Viator* 43 (2012), 29–30.

[67] Davies, "Isidorian Texts and the *Hibernensis*"; her figure of six Isidorian texts at 242–43 includes the *Epistola ad Massonam*.

[68] "Episcopus nomen a graeco ductum, os in us convertens, quod latine superspeculator sive superintentor dicitur. Isidorus ait: scopus quidem intentio est, ergo episcopum latine superintendentem possumus dicere. Isidorus: Episcopatus autem, ut quidam prudentium ait, nomen est oneris non honoris. Notandum est, quod episcopi sacerdotes nominantur, nec non et prespiteri sacerdotum nomine censentur. Item sciendum est, episcopos et prespiteros in nova lege sumsisse vocabula, sacerdotes vero sive in veteri sive in novo nuncupatos," Hermann Wasserschleben, ed., *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (Giessen: 1874), 3.

3 Isidore in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms

As the writings of Isidore were stimulating a cultural efflorescence in Ireland, so, too, was England seeing the first buds of its own intellectual flowering.

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[69] Bernhard Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese in Frühmittelalter," *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 204.

[70] For a discussion, see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Bischoff's Wendepunkte Fifty Years On," *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), 204–37, and, more sceptically, Mark Stansbury, "Irish Biblical Exegesis," in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, eds. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (London: 2016), 116–30.

[71] For a useful summary of what can be learnt see Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words*, 41–45.

[72] Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," 211 and 223–30.

[73] Martin McNamara, "Plan and Source Analysis of Das Bibelwerk, Old Testament," in *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission*, eds. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: 1987), 111. For the unnecessarily lengthy quotations from Isidore, Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," 211.

[74] McNamara, "Plan and Source Analysis of Das Bibelwerk, Old Testament," 88.

Here, initial stimulus was less the importation of new works or the fervour of ecclesiastical controversy and more the arrival in 669–70 of two inspirational teachers: Theodore and Hadrian. The former, born in Tarsus in the Hellenic Roman diocese of Cilicia and educated in Antioch and Constantinople, was the papally appointed archbishop of Canterbury; the latter, of North African origin, would become abbot of the monastery of St Peter and Paul in Canterbury.[75] Both men were fluent in Greek and Latin, and the school that they founded at Canterbury transformed the intellectual culture of Anglo-Saxon England. The Venerable Bede described the school in glowing terms:

> because both of them were extremely learned in sacred and secular literature, they attracted a crowd of students into whose minds they daily poured the streams of wholesome learning. They gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of Holy Scripture but also in the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation. As evidence of this, some of their students still survive who know Latin and Greek just as well as their native tongue.[76]

No writings by Hadrian are now extant, and little can be attributed directly to Theodore.[77] What do survive, albeit at several removes, are notes of their teachings and pronouncements, written down by their students—the most famous of these being the various collections of penitential decrees transmitted under Theodore's name.[78] More significant for our purposes, however, are the brief biblical commentaries and glossaries that preserve some of Theodore's and Hadrian's teachings. What this material demonstrates is the central role of the works of Isidore—the *Etymologiae* in particular—in the Canterbury classroom. As Porter observed, "the *Etymologiae* was not just a major interpretative tool at Canterbury, but in fact it looks very much like the reference book of first choice for practically any question."[79]

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[75] Michael Lapidge, "The Career of Archbishop Theodore" and "The School of Theodore and Hadrian," both in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London: 1996), at 93–121 and 141–68, respectively.

[76] "Et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant, ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae et arithmetiae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus contraderent. Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Graecamque linguam aeque ut propriam in qua nati sunt norunt," Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.2, Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: 1969), 332–35.

[77] Michael Lapidge, "Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, 225–45, and Jane Barbara Stevenson, "Theodore and the *Laterculus Malalianus*," in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: 1995), 204–21.

[78] Thomas Charles-Edwards, "The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*," in, *Archbishop Theodore*, Lapidge, 141–74.

Of the biblical commentaries, only the first commentary on the Pentateuch; supplementary commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and the Gospels; and the Second Commentary on the Gospels have yet been published.[80] Though Isidore is not mentioned by name in these commentaries, his etymologies inform a number of the discussions.[81] For example, the reference to a razor ("nouacula") in Numbers 6:5 is explained thus:

> *Razor is so-called because it 'renews'* the skin; it is the breadth of the fingers and is shaped thus[82]

The italicised words are quoted directly from the *Etymologiae* 20.13.4—though Isidore states a razor renews the face rather than the skin. In other cases, Isidorian etymologies look to lie behind a comment or interpretation, even if no vocabulary is borrowed directly. Thus, when discussing Abimelech of Gerar, the Canterbury commentary notes:

> *Abimelech the king sent*: that is, "abimelech" is a title, just like "pharaoh" among the Egyptians, or 'Caesar' among the Romans, or "Augustus," as the text subsequently makes clear.[83]

In the *Etymologiae* 7.6.43, Isidore stated:

> Pharaoh is the name not of a person, but of a position of rank, just as among us kings are called "Augustus"[84]

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[79] David W. Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae* at the School of Canterbury," *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014), 13.

[80] Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, eds. and trans., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: 1994).

[81] Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 204–05.

[82] "*Nouacula*: dicitur eo quod cutem innouat; est digitorum latitudinis, talisque est eius figura," Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 374–75.

[83] "*Misit ergo rex Abimelech*: .i. nomen dignitatis ut Pharao apud Ægyptios, ut Caesar cum Romanis, uel Augustus, quod ostendit postea," Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 326–27.

[84] "Pharao nomen est non hominis, sed honoris, sicut et apud nos Augusti appellantur reges."

Lengthier quotations from the *Etymologiae* are made on at least two occasions. The discussion of Paradise in the Genesis commentary is taken directly from *Etymologiae* 14.3.2–4, with some additional alternative information about its location, probably from Greek sources, added at the end.[85] Likewise, the consideration of the ephod in the first commentary on the Pentateuch draws largely verbatim on *Etymologiae* 16.13.2 in a discussion of diamonds, with the exploration of the ephod itself seemingly dependent on Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructiones*.[86]

Though the Canterbury biblical commentaries make use of Isidore, his works are by no means central. To understand the paramount importance of Isidore's writings to the school at Canterbury we need to turn to the glossaries. Of these, the most significant are the *Leiden Glossary* and its related texts.[87] The *Leiden Glossary* comprises forty-eight chapters, two of which (26 and 27) gloss words derived from works by Isidore—*De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *De natura rerum*, respectively. Chapter 47—headed "Item alia"—also includes a number of lemmata from the *Etymologiae*.[88] More significantly, a large number of the interpretamenta—that is, the definitions of the words—are drawn from the *Etymologiae*; Porter identified some 142 examples.[89] In some cases, the *Etymologiae* are quoted verbatim or near verbatim:

> Sicera: is any drink apart from wine that can inebriate a person. Although its name is Hebrew, it still has a Latin sound because it is made from the juice of grain or fruits.[90]

This is effectively the opening of *Etymologiae* 20.3.16, with a few spelling variants. In other cases, Isidore's etymologies are stripped down to their barest essentials. Thus:

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[85] Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 388.

[86] Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 354—the borrowing from Eucherius is not noted by Bischoff and Lapidge.

[87] Michael Lapidge, "Old English Glossography: The Latin Context," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, 169–81, and J.D. Pheifer, "Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury," *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), 17–44.

[88] Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 9.

[89] Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 9. The discussion in this and the following section is indebted to Porter's work.

[90] "Sicera: est omnis potio que extra uinum inebriare potest cuius licet nomen hebreum sit tamen latinum sonat pro eo quod ex suco frumentorum et pomorum conficitur," Leiden Glossary 1.111, John Henry Hessels, ed., *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University* (Cambridge: 1906), 3.

> Leiden Glossary 2.13: Library: a depository of books[91]
>
> *Etymologiae* 6.3.1: A library takes its name from Greek, because books are deposited there.[92]

The debt is deeper than a simple borrowing of etymologies. The evidence from the Leiden Glossary implies that the *Etymologiae* suggested which words in a text to gloss. That is, the *Etymologiae* were not turned to when a difficult word was encountered in a text but instead provided guidance as to which words would repay further attention.[93] On a number of occasions, successive lemmata are glossed from the same section of the *Etymologiae*:

> Leiden Glossary 1.100–01: *Proconsolaris*: in the place of consuls because they were substitutes for consuls
>
> *Procuratores*: because they discharged duties in the place of curators[94]
>
> *Etymologiae* 9.3.8: Proconsuls were substitutes for consuls, and were called proconsuls because they would function in place of consuls, as a procurator does in place of a curator, that is, an agent.[95]

Similarly, "coenobium" and "monasterium," successive entries in chapter 2, are both glossed from the same passage in 15.4.5–6.[96]

Isidore's writings, the *Etymologiae* in particular, were clearly a key intellectual resource at Canterbury. An epitome of the *Etymologiae*, now surviving in a Frankish manuscript written around 800, sheds further light on how Isidore's text was used.[97] The original exemplar for this epitome was clearly Anglo-Saxon, for it incorporates a number of glosses in Old English, dateable on linguistic grounds to *c.*700, along with Insular orthography and abbreviations.[98]

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[91] "Biblioteca: reconditorium librorum," Hessels, *Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, 3.

[92] "Bibliotheca a Graeco nomen accepit, eo quod ibi recondantur libri."

[93] Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 15.

[94] "Proconsolaris: in uice consulis quia suffecti erunt consulibus. Procuratores: quod uice curatoris fungantur," Hessels, *Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, 2–3.

[95] "Proconsules suffecti erant consulibus, et dicti proconsules eo quod vicem consulis fungerentur, sicut procurator curatori, id est actori."

[96] Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 14.

[97] Michael Lapidge, "An Isidorian Epitome from Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, 185.

[98] Lapidge, "An Isidorian Epitome," 187–89.

Where it was produced is uncertain but Canterbury, or a centre closely connected to it, is most likely. The epitome draws on the whole of the *Etymologiae*—in some cases bringing together information from a number of different places in the text—and its compiler, in Lapidge's words, basically "showed sound judgment in what he included and what he omitted."[99] A few mistakes caused by injudicious précising or copying did creep in, however. Even the most otherworldly monk would be puzzled by the statement that the Lacedaemonians, "fearing that they would lose any hope of offspring because of the prolongation of the conflict [...] commanded that their maidens should lie with the women remaining at home."[100] This epitome was not the only one in circulation; a number of later glossaries point to another, different in composition and more fully glossed in Old English than the one now extant.[101] The existence of these different epitomes led Rusche to suggest that such abridgements "may have been the standard form of transmission for Isidore's text in England as early as the late seventh century."[102]

The most famous alumnus of the school at Canterbury was Aldhelm of Malmesbury (d. 709). Although he received his early education at the hands of an Irishman and spent time on Iona, it was his time at Canterbury that was central to his intellectual development—or so he himself believed.[103] Aldhelm produced an extensive body of writing, from riddles to treatises in praise of virginity and chastity, and these demonstrate his familiarity with at least five of Isidore's works—*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De natura rerum*, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, the *Etymologiae*, and the *Synonyma*. [104]

Aldhelm's writings are indebted to Isidore both in terms of content and style. Isidore's *De ortu et obitu patrum*, for example, supplied Aldhelm with much of the information that he incorporated into his tituli on the Twelve Apostles (*Carmen Ecclesiasticum* IV).[105] *De Ortu* likewise supplied biographical information for Adlhelm's two treatises on virginity. In these examples,

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[99] Lapidge, "An Isidorian Epitome," 193.

[100] Lapidge, "An Isidorian Epitome," 196–97, text at 223: "ueriti ne diuturnitate belli spem prolis amitterent, preciperunt ut uirgines eorum cum mulieribus domi relictis concuberent."

[101] Philip G. Rusche, "Isidore's *Etymologiae* and the Canterbury Aldhelm Scholia," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104 (2005), 452–55. For an alternative view, Porter, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 22–30.

[102] Rusche, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 455.

[103] Michael Lapidge, "The Career of Aldhelm," *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), 15–69, and Michael Lapidge, "Aldhelm and the 'Epinal-Erfurt Glossary,'" 147–57.

[104] Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: 2005), 181.

[105] Michael Lapidge and James Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge: 1985), 42–43.

Aldhelm simply incorporated information he had quarried from Isidore's writings. In other cases, he cited Isidore verbatim, albeit without acknowledging his source. Thus, in his letter to King Geraint of Dumnonia, concerning the Easter question and ecclesiastical unity, Adlhelm drew on *De ecclesiasticiis officiis* 2.4.3–4 when discussing the tonsure:

> *Indeed, the tiara among the ancients was set upon the head of priests; it was round made of twisted fine linen, and was in the shape of a half sphere, and this is signified in the shaved part of the head. A crown, however, is a circular golden perimeter which girds the head of kings. And so each sign is expressed on the head of clerics, in words of Peter "But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood."* This method of tonsuring and shaving is a sign that vices are trimmed back and that we are shorn of the hair of our flesh as though of crimes.[106]

Here, Aldhelm altered the overall order of his material, giving the lengthy description from 2.4.4 (in italics above) before adapting Isidore's pun on "criminibus" ("crimes") and "crinibus" ("hairs") (underlined above). Earlier in this section, Aldhelm had also drawn briefly on 2.4.1, including, interestingly, Isidore's own statement "unless I am mistaken" ("nisi fallor").

Isidore also contributed to Aldhelm's distinctive diction. In certain cases, particular sections from the *Etymologiae* look to have provided both vocabulary and overall structuring principles for Aldhelm's writing. For example:

> Aldhelm, *De Virginitate* 60: I shall try with artistry to adorn the renown of this same chastity, with Christ's co-operation, in the heroic measures of hexameter verse, and, as if the rhetorical foundation-stones were now laid and the walls of prose were built up, so I shall—trusting in heavenly support—build a sturdy roof with trochaic slates and dactylic tiles of metre.[107]

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[106] "Nam tiara apud veteres in capite sacerdotum constituebatur; haec bisso retorto rotunda erat quasi spera media: et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa; corona autem latitudo aurea est circuli, quae regum capita cingit . Utrumque itaque signum exprimitur in capite clericorum Petro dicente: Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium. Hoc ritu tondendi et radendi, ut vitia resecentur, signatur et crinibus carnis nostrae quasi criminibus exuamur," Rudolf Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH AA 15 (Berlin: 1919), 483, Michael Lapidge and Michael W. Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge: 1979), 157.

[107] "heroicis exametrorum versibus eiusdem praeconium pudicitiae subtiliter comere Christo cooperante conabor et, velut iactis iam rethoricis fundamentis et constructis prosae parietibus, cum tegulis trochaicis et dactilicis metrorum imbricibus firmissimum culmen

> *Etymologiae* 15.8.1–15: 1. A foundation is so-called because it is the bottom of a house […] 2. A wall is so called because there are always two of equal size […] 4. […] Roofs are so called because the ancients covered their roofing with straw […] 15. […] Roof-tiles, because they cover; and "curved roof-tiles" because they fend off the rain.[108]

Unlike the Faminators, Aldhelm does not look to have "flattened" the meanings of words derived from Isidore. Though Aldhelm did use near-synonyms from Isidore to provide elegant variation, he also used differences of meaning as a method of structuring and developing passages.[109]

As well as information and vocabulary, Aldhelm took from Isidore a method for gaining knowledge and insight—etymologising. As Howe summarises, "the characteristics of a thing or creature should not be divorced from its name and etymology, because together they form a unified body of knowledge."[110] Such can be seen clearly in Aldhelm's riddles or *Enigmata*. Isidore was certainly a source of information for these riddles—for example, Aldhelm repeats Isidore's mistake about the minotaur, taking "mino" to be a general term for "man."[111] More important, however, was Isidore's influence on the pedagogic purpose of the riddles. One curious feature of Aldhelm's riddles is that the "solution" to the riddle is given as its title—seemingly defeating the purpose of the exercise. Moreover, Aldhelm's *Enigmata* are not, on the face of it, particularly enigmatic.[112] Yet this misses the point of what Aldhelm was doing. The thing that was to be solved, the meaning to be unravelled, was not the text of the riddle, but its title. The body of the riddle was a means of better understanding the title word, a means of holding it up to scrutiny, of interrogating it, and gaining greater insight.[113]

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caelesti confisus suffragio imponam," Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 321, Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 130–31. This example is highlighted by Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classique*, 297 n. 1.

[108] "Fundamentum dictum quod fundus sit domui. […] Paries nuncupatus quia semper duo sunt pares […]Culmina dicta sunt quia apud antiquos tecta culmo tegebantur […] Tegulae, quod tegant aedes; et imbrices, quod accipiant imbres."

[109] John Marenbon, "Les Sources du Vocabulaire d'Aldhelm," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 41 (1979), 86–87.

[110] Nicholas Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and Isidorian Etymology," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 38.

[111] Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 42.

[112] Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 37.

[113] Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*." For further discussion of Isidore's impact on Aldhelm and on the subsequent Anglo-Latin and Old English enigmata tradition, see Mercedes

As Theodore and Hadrian were transforming learning in the south, an equally fruitful—and in many ways far more influential—period was beginning in Northumbria. The Venerable Bede (d. 735) was the most famous product of this period, but the so-called "Northumbrian Renaissance" was broader. Alongside the poet Lutting of Lindisfarne can be placed the considerable hagiographical output from Northumbria in this period—the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti* (*c.*699), the Whitby *Vita Gregorii* (post 704), Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Wilfridi* (*c.*710–20), and the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* (post 716).[114] That the writings of Isidore played a part in this renaissance is clear, but how the Spaniard was viewed and the value placed on his works in 8th-century Northumbria have been the subject of considerable debate.

Though Isidore was used in works by some of Bede's contemporaries—the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti*, for example, quotes from *De ecclesiasticis officiis*[115]—the best evidence for Isidore's reception in Northumbria comes from Bede's own output. Though Bede's historical and hagiographical works are best known, his writings covered a much broader range embracing exegesis, figures of speech and tropes, metrics, geography, cosmography, and the computus. These writings show Bede to have been familiar with at least eight of Isidore's works—the *Chronicon*, *De differentiis verborum*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De natura rerum*, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, the *Etymologiae*, *Quaestiones in uetus Testamentum*, and the *Sententiae*.[116]

Tracing Bede's specific debts to Isidore presents particular problems. Firstly, Bede tended not to refer by name to the authorities that he drew on. He did devise a system of marginal annotations for a number of his commentaries that indicated which particular author he was making use of at any given point, but he restricted it to Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and

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Salvador-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order: The Exeter Book Riddles and Medieval Latin Enigmata* (Morgantown: 2015).

[114] For Lutting, see Michael Lapidge, "The Earliest Anglo-Latin Poet: Lutting of Lindisfarne," *Anglo-Saxon England* 42 (2013), 1–26. For the other sources, see, for example, Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: 1988), 256–57.

[115] Bertram Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge: 1940), 331, and for comment Clare Stancliffe, "Disputed Episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the Relationship between Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* and the Early Prose Lives of St Cuthbert," *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), 15–18. For use of Isidore in non-Northumbrian hagiography, see Claudia Di Sciacca, "Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England: The *Synonyma* as a Source of Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*," in, *Isidore of Seville* Fear and Wood.

[116] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, 212–15.

Jerome.[117] Likewise, though Bede did cite Isidore directly—using *Etymologiae* 16.36.13, "A *cadus* is a Greek amphora containing three urns," to interpret Luke 16:6, for example[118]—he had a tendency to put Isidorian etymologies into his own words.[119] Secondly, though most of Bede's works are now available in modern editions the identification of the sources employed is often partial and incomplete. Fortunately, recent English translations of Bede's works offer more comprehensive lists. These demonstrate just how important Isidore was for Bede: he was the third most used author in *In principium Genesis*, after Augustine and Jerome, and the fourth in *In Ezram et Neemiam*, after Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome.[120]

Although Bede drew on Isidore throughout his writings, he was particularly indebted to him early in his career. Isidore's *De natura rerum* was one of the key inspirations behind two of Bede's early works—*De natura rerum* and *De temporibus*. Effectively, Bede separated off the opening chapters of Isidore's *De natura rerum* and expanded their scope—drawing in particular on material from the *Sirmond* collection—to produce *De temporibus*. For his *De natura rerum* Bede expanded material from the rest of Isidore's *De natura rerum*, adding information from Pliny and a number of other sources, while excising the more allegorical elements of the Spaniard's work.[121] *De temporibus* closes with a chronicle arranged according to the Six Ages of the World—the *Chronica minora*—for which Isidore's own *Chronica maiora* served as a key source. Bede does quote verbatim from Isidore's chronicle in the *Chronica minora* but tends to modify his source. In particular, Bede excised nearly all references to classical paganism and to secular philosophy.[122] For example:

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[117] Mark Stansbury, "Source-Marks in Bede's Biblical Commentaries," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, eds. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: 1999), 383–89.

[118] "Cadus Graeca amphora est continens urnas tres," D. Hurst, ed., *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars II Opera Exegetica: 3 In Lucae evangelium expositio, In Marci evangelium expositio*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: 1960), 297.

[119] M.L.W. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages: Selected Essays by M.L.W. Laistner*, ed. Chester G. Starr (New York: 1983), 138.

[120] Calvin B. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis* (Liverpool: 2008), 355–59; Scott DeGregorio, *Bede: On Ezra and Nehemiah* (Liverpool: 2006), 258–60, as noted by Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: 2010), 19.

[121] Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 12; the chapter by Faith Wallis in this volume on Isidore and science; Faith Wallis, "*Si Naturam Quœras*: Reframing Bede's 'Science,'" in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Morgantown: 2006), 65–99.

[122] Jacques Elfassi, "L'occultation du paganisme dans la *Chronique Mineure* de Bède le Vénérable," in *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, eds. Stéphane Lebecq, Michael Perrin, and Olivier Szerwiniack (Lille: 2005), 66–69.

> Bede, *De temporibus* 19: Picus first reigned over the Latins[123]
>
> Isidore, *Chronica maiora* 76: In this age Picus, who is said to have been the son of Saturn, first reigned over the Latins.[124]
>
> Bede, *De temporibus* 22: Gaius [Caligula] reigned for four years. Matthew wrote his Gospel[125]
>
> Isidore, *Chronica maiora* 240–41: Gauis Caligula reigned for four years. He was wild with greed, cruelty, and excess, and, elevating himself among the gods, ordered that a statue of Jupiter be set up in the Temple of Jerusalem under his name. At the same time, Matthew, the first Apostle, wrote his Gospel in Judea.[126]

Bede may have removed some of these references out of a desire for brevity—another thing he could have learned from Isidore.[127] That he was prepared to describe Thales as a physician but not Socrates as a philosopher suggests, however, more ideological motivations.[128]

What did Bede make of Isidore? Much turns on a letter written by Cuthbert, later abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, describing Bede's final days.[129] According to Cuthbert, Bede remained the solicitous teacher to the end:

> During those days there were two pieces of work worthy of record, besides the lessons which he gave us every day and his chanting of the Psalter, which he desired to finish: the gospel of St. John, which he was turning

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[123] "Primus latinis regnat picus," Charles W. Jones, ed., *Beda Venerabilis Opera Didascalia*, CCSL 123C (Turnhout: 1980), 603, Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 121.

[124] "Hac aetate primus regnat Latinis Picus, qui fertur fuisse Saturni filius," Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, MGH AA 11 (Turnhout: 1894), 436.

[125] "Gaius ann. iiii. Mattheus euangelium scribit," Jones, *Opera Didascalia*, 607, Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 126.

[126] "Gaius Caligula regnavit ann . IIII . Hic avaritia, crudelitate, et luxuria saevus fuit atque in deos se transferens in templo Hierusolymorum statuam Iovis sub nomine suo poni iussit. Per idem tempus Matthaeus apostolus euangelium in Iudaea primus scripsit," Mommsen, *Chronica minora*, 454.

[127] Jamie Wood, "*Brevitas* in the Writings of Isidore of Seville," in *Early Medieval Spain: A Symposium*, eds. Alan Deyermond and Martin J. Ryan (London: 2010), 37–53.

[128] Elfassi, "L'occultation du paganisme," 67.

[129] Nicholas J. Higham, (*Re-*) *Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London: 2006), 16–20.

> into our mother tongue to the great profit of the Church, from the beginning as far as the words "But what are they among so many?" *et de libris Rotarum* [i.e. *De natura rerum*] *Ysidori episcopi exceptiones quasdam*; for he said "I cannot have my children learning what is not true, and losing their labour on this after I am gone."[130]

What Bede was doing with or to Isidore's *De natura rerum* remains unclear. Was Bede producing corrections or emendations to Isidore's work, removing that which was not true so that his students would not be misled?[131] Such a reading accords well with the suspicion, long held by many scholars, that Bede did not altogether approve of Isidore and was sceptical of the merits of his work. Though early in his career Bede had been indebted to Isidore, in his maturity he grew wary of Isidore's errors and tried to call out mistakes where he could.[132]

However, recent work suggests this supposed hostility has been overplayed. Returning to an earlier scholarly position, McCready argued that Cuthbert's letter should be read as a describing a dying Bede compiling extracts from *De natura rerum*—and, possibly, translating them.[133] Perhaps the results would have resembled the glossed epitomes of the *Etymologiae* discussed above. Nor was Isidore the only author whose errors were called out by Bede—Jerome was similarly criticised on occasion.[134] As Kendall and Wallis suggest, it was not that Bede was especially critical of Isidore in his later years, rather that in his maturity "he had enough experience to realise the greatest doctors were fallible [...] and [must be] corrected when shown to be wrong."[135] This reassessment accords well with changing scholarly attitudes towards Bede. He is no longer seen simply as the humble transmitter of Patristic wisdom but as a scholar confident in his own abilities and, by his later years, secure in his own authority.[136]

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[130] "In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria digna, exceptis lectionibus quas cotidie accepimus ab eo et cantu Psalmorum, facere studuit, id est a capite euangelii sancti Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur 'Sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?' in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris Rotarum Ysidori episcopi exceptiones quasdam, dicens 'Nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post meum obitum sine fructu laborent,'" Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 582–83.

[131] For example, Paul Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London: 1976), 59. For discussion of the different interpretations of this passage, see Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 16–19.

[132] Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," 58.

[133] William D. McCready, "Bede, Isidore, and the *Epistola Cuthberti*," *Traditio* 50 (1995), 87–93.

[134] Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 13–16.

[135] Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 14. See also the chapter by Faith Wallis in this volume.

If it remains uncertain what Bede was doing on his deathbed, the import of Cuthbert's letter is clear. Bede could not ignore Isidore; even as he was dying, he had to engage with Isidore's scholarship—whether to correct it or to make excerpts from it. That Bede was making a translation from the Gospel of John at the same time only serves to underline Isidore's importance.

4 Conclusion

The question of what British and Irish authors gained from the encyclopaedic writings of Isidore of Seville answers itself. His works put them in touch with wider worlds—cultural, historical, and geographical. He could act as a bridge between the ancient, classical past and the medieval, Christian present, between the Mediterranean Sea and the islands of the Northern Ocean. To those grappling with the alien lands and customs of the Bible, Isidore could act as a guide. His writings could likewise unlock complex and intractable texts and show how meaning could spring forth from words when their origins and derivations were understood.[137] But Isidore's writings provided more than just information. Works such as the *Etymologiae* and the *Synonyma* offered up new linguistic possibilities to receptive audiences. Whatever one makes of the word play of Virgilius and the Faminators or the complex, interlaced periods of Aldhelm's prose, they were the product of minds that delighted in the potentials of language, that felt keenly "the allure of Latin when newly learned."[138]

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[137] See the chapters by Thomas O'Loughlin, José Carracedo, and Jacques Elfassi in this volume for detailed comment on Isidore's contributions to these areas.

[138] The phrase is from Howe, "Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," 58.

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CHAPTER 16

Isidore of Seville and the Formation of Medieval Computus

Immo Warntjes

1 Introduction

Isidore of Seville holds a prominent place in the history of Western science. Roman science had been based on Greek authorities.[1] With the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century came the loss of Greek language skills. Key scientific texts, like Ptolemy's *Almagest* for astronomy and Euclid's *Elements* for mathematics, only became available to the Latin West through translations from Arabic or the original Greek in what is termed the Renaissance of the 12th century.[2] Boethius, advisor to the Ostrogothic King Theoderic in Ravenna in the early 6th century, tried to salvage as much Greek learning as possible (particularly in mathematics, music, and philosophy), but his effort was cut short by the wrath of the king, who sentenced him to death for high treason in AD 524.[3] His *mathematica* started to flourish in what became known as the Carolingian Renaissance in the 9th century, as did more philosophical works by Martianus Capella, Macrobius, Calcidius, and others, which included many thought-provoking scientific ideas.[4] The intervening period, the 7th and 8th centuries, was strongly influenced (though not dominated) by Isidorian thought.

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[1] See the classic by William H. Stahl, *Roman science: Origins, development, and influence to the later Middle Ages* (Madison: 1962).

[2] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the 12th century* (Cambridge: 1927), and his more detailed studies assembled in *Studies in the history of mediaeval science* (Cambridge: 1924).

[3] On Boethius, see recently John Moorhead, "Boethius' life and the world of late antique philosophy," in *The Cambridge companion to Boethius*, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge: 2009), 13–33. For his oeuvre, see Philip Edward Phillips, "Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius: a chronology and selected annotated bibliography," in *A companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, eds. Noel Harold Kaylor and Dario Brancato (Leiden: 2012), 551–90. An excellent overview is provided by Dirk Kurt Kranz, "Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus," *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 24 (2005), 259–310.

[4] For the Carolingian reception of the scientific ideas incorporated in these late antique philosophical texts, see especially Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the heavens: Roman astronomy and cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden: 2007).

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The western Mediterranean of the 6th and early 7th centuries can well be characterised by Huizinga's famous term as the "autumn" of late classical culture,[5] and, conversely, less so as the spring or awakening of a distinctively medieval approach to learning (this attribute is most appropriately given to 7th-century insular, if not Irish, culture). This is best illustrated by the cases of Cassiodorus and Isidore, who served as *lapides angulares*, as cornerstones between old Roman and new Christian science. Cassiodorus was a contemporary of Boethius but was more diplomatic in his political dealings, serving as a high-ranking official both Theorderic and his grandson Athalaric. After a long spell in Constantinople, he retired to his famous foundation, the monastery of Vivarium in Calabria.[6] There, he wrote his famous *Institutiones*, a guide to what he considered proper monastic behaviour and education.[7] Tellingly, the second book, on monastic education, followed closely the very recent concept of the *septem artes liberales*, popularised by Martianus Capella. These seven liberal arts included arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy in its scientific strand, the *quadrivium*. Interestingly, in four, principally early, manuscripts of the *Institutiones*, a short text entitled *Computus paschalis* is added to the *quadrivium*.[8] This tract consists of nine formulae for the determination of calendrical data essential for the calculation of the most important Christian feast, Easter. The nine formulae in question had been translated by Dionysius Exiguus, a contemporary and friend of Cassiodorus, from Greek into Latin in AD 525 and they were adapted to the year AD 562 in Cassiodorus's circle.[9] While the *quadrivium* remained a rather hollow, purely theoretical educational concept, at least until the mid-9th century, computus soon flourished to become the only applied science of Western Europe. Cassiodorus intentionally paved the way for monasteries to act as the new educational centres, and unintentionally for computus to establish itself as their principal scientific subject.

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[5] Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (Haarlem: 1919); English translations by Frederik J. Hopman as *The waning of the Middle Ages* (London: 1924), and by Rodney J. Payton as *The autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: 1996).

[6] On Cassiodorus, see recently M. Shane Bjornlie, *Politics and tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (Cambridge: 2013). On his oeuvre, see still the classic by André van de Vyver, "Cassiodore et son oeuvre," *Speculum* 6 (1931), 244–92.

[7] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*: Wolfgang Bürsgens, ed., *Cassiodor: Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum. Einführung in die geistlichen und weltlichen Wissenschaften*, 2 vols (Freiburg: 2003).

[8] Cassiodorus, *Computus paschalis*, ed. Paul Lehmann, "Cassiodorstudien I," *Philologus* 71 (1912), 278–99. The three early manuscripts of the tract are: Würzburg UB M.p.misc.f.5a, 30v-31v (south-west Germany?, scriptorium with insular connections, *saec.* VIII^{ex}); Karlsruhe BLB Aug. perg. 171, 49v-50v (western Germany?, *saec.* IX$^{2/3}$); Paris BnF Lat. 2200, 70v-72v (?; *saec.* IX).

[9] For the literary context of Cassiodorus's *Computus paschalis*, see Immo Warntjes, "The *Argumenta* of Dionysius Exiguus and their early recensions," in *Computus and its cultural context in the Latin West*, eds. Immo Warntjes and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Turnhout: 2010), 67–68. See also

Isidore's case is very similar; he belonged to the same tradition. The exception is his *De natura rerum*, which should be considered as the origin of Christian cosmology; but even here the novelty lay not in creating a new genre, but rather in turning a pagan tradition Christian.[10] In his 20-book *Etymologiae*, Isidore followed more traditional patterns. The first three books outline, in almost the same order, the seven liberal arts of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*.[11] Isidore adds to these medicine, law, and chronography in books 4 and 5. From book 6 he turned to Christianity proper, with a section on Easter (*De ciclo pascali*) as Chapter 17 of this book. Here, in his treatment of Easter, Isidore provided the exact opposite to Cassidorus: Isidore was interested in the definition of key terms and concepts, not in the actual application of algorithms. Still, Isidore started his project within the *c.*200-year-old framework of the *artes liberales* (first initiated by authors like Martianus Capella in the 5th century), but he moved on to include computus, the science of calculating Easter, as an integral part of his discussion.[12] Computus developed from a side-note of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* to an important and integral element in Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

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the rather problematic study by Otto Neugebauer, "On the Computus paschalis of 'Cassiodorus,'" *Centaurus* 25 (1982), 292–302.

[10] See Faith Wallis's chapter in the present volume. Isidore, *De natura rerum*: Jacques Fontaine, ed., *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la nature* (Bordeaux: 1960); for English translation, see Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Isidore of Seville: On the nature of things* (Liverpool: 2016).

[11] On Isidore's dependency on Cassidorus, see Paul Lehmann, "Cassiodorstudien II," *Philologus* 72 (1913), 503–17. See also the new editions of books 2 and 3 of the *Etymologiae* among the Auteurs latins du moyen âge series: Peter K. Marshall, ed., *Isidore of Seville, Etymologies, Book II: Rhetoric* (Paris: 1983); Giovanni Gasparotto and Jean-Yves Guillaumin, eds., *Isidore de Séville, Étymologies, Livre III: De mathematica* (Paris: 2009). On broader conceptual differences between Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* and Isidore's *Etymologiae*, see Jacques Fontaine, "Cassiodore et Isidore: l'évolution de l'encyclopédisme latin du VIe au VIIe siècle," *Settimane di Studio* 32 (1986), 72–91.

[12] Brigitte Englisch, *Die artes liberales im frühen Mittelalter (5.–9. Jh.)* (Stuttgart: 1994), tries to define the inclusion of the computus in the traditional concept of the *artes liberales*, but underestimates Isidore's role by neglecting Irish texts in favour of Bede.

2 Isidore as a Calendrical Scientist (*Etym.* 6.17 and Isidore's Easter Table)

Because of Isidore's principal preoccupation with collecting knowledge rather than engaging in its actual application, it is not straightforward to establish how good a scientist, especially in calendrical terms (the focus of this study), he was himself. The key witness in this respect is the Easter table outlined in *Etymologiae* 6.17. This has puzzled scholars at least since the 18th century.[13]

Continental Europe, in the early Middle Ages, principally knew two different ways of calculating the most important Christian feast, Easter.[14] The first, by Victorius of Aquitaine in AD 457,[15] was commissioned by the papal curia following substantial debate under Pope Leo I. This Roman reckoning competed with one devised in Alexandria, the centre of late antique learning, scientific and otherwise, around the end of the 3rd century. When this Greek reckoning was translated into Latin, again on papal initiative, by Dionysius Exiguus in AD 525,[16] conflict ensued which was resolved only in Charlemagne's day around AD 800. The debate was at its height in Visigothic Spain in Isidore's day.[17] Isidore followed the Alexandrian system, and in his writings there is only the slightest trace of its Victorian rival. But from where did Isidore receive his information about the Alexandrian method?

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[13] Johannes van der Hagen, *Observationes in veterum partum et pontificum prologos et epistolas paschales, aliosque antiquos de ratione paschali scriptores* (Amsterdam: 1734), 241.

[14] I am excluding here the so-called *latercus*, the 84-year Easter cycle with 14-year *saltus* followed in the insular world, because it had no significance for Isidore. For this Easter reckoning, see especially Daniel Mc Carthy, "Easter principles and a fifth-century lunar cycle used in the British Isles," *Journal for the history of astronomy* 24 (1993), 204–24; Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford companion to the year* (Oxford: 1999), 870–75.

[15] Victorius's Prologue and Easter table: Bruno Krusch, ed., "Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1937, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Nr. 8* (1938), 4–52.

[16] Dionysius's Latin translation of the Alexandrian Easter reckoning (consisting of two letters, an Easter table, and the *Argumenta*): Wilhelm Jan, ed., *Historia cycli dionysiani cum argumentis paschalibus et aliis eo spectantibus* (Wittenberg: 1718) (reprinted in PL 67: 453–520); Krusch, "Studien," 59–86.

[17] The key documents for the Easter question in Isidore's time were Leo the monk, *Epistola ad Sesuldum* (Bruno Krusch, ed., *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: der 84jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen* [Leipzig: 1880], 298–302); and Braulio of Zaragoza, *Epistola ad Eutropium* (= *Epistola* 22: Luis Riesco Terrero, ed., *Epistolario de San Braulio: Introducción, edición crítica y traducción* [Seville: 1975], 114–17). For Braulio's letter see Mario Ruffini, "Il computo della Pasqua nell'epistola XXII di San Braulio," *Anales Toledanos* 3 (1971), 277–91. A second manuscript of Leo the monk's letter has only recently been discovered: Immo Warntjes, "A newly discovered prologue of AD 699 to the Easter table of Victorius of Aquitaine in an unknown Sirmond manuscript," *Peritia* 21 (2010), 259. A new

Isidore worked from a variety of sources, more than the most recent edition of book 6 of the *Etymologiae* indicates.[18] He certainly knew the *Epistola Pascasini*, a response by Bishop Paschasinus of Lilybaeum in Sicily to Pope Leo I's enquiry about the controversial Easter of AD 444;[19] Archdeacon/Pope Hilarus's letter to Victorius of Aquitaine, urging him, in the aftermath of the problematic Easter of AD 455, to reconcile Roman with Alexandrian practices; Victorius's response, also in letter format, which served as a prologue to the new Easter table he designed; the *Prologus Cyrilli*, a text promoting the Alexandrian reckoning, but evidently written later than Cyril of Alexandria's lifetime (†AD 444), presumably in the late 5th century; and the *Epistola Cyrilli*, which is based on an orginal work by the bishop of Alexandria but, in the main part, was composed in AD 607.

More important for the present study is that Isidore knew Dionysius's works, especially his two letters, to Petronius on the one hand, and Boniface and Bonus on the other. But there is no indication that Isidore had Dionysius's *Argumenta* and Easter table at hand. Similar to his approach in book 3 on mathematics, Isidore does not record, cite, or even refer to a single calendrical algorithm. Among the list of authorities credited with the composition of an Easter table (*Etym.* 6.17.1–2), namely Hippolytus of Rome, Eusebius of Ceasarea, Prosper and Victorius of Aquitaine, and Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, Dionysius is tellingly absent.[20] And Isidore's Easter table differed markedly from the Dionysiac model. It appears that Dionysius and Isidore (or rather

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edition and detailed analysis of the text has just appeared: José Carlos Martín-Iglesias, "La Epistola de compvto paschali (CPL 2300) del monje León; nueva edición y estudio de una obra probablemente hispano-visigoda," *Revista di cultura classica e medioevale* 61 (2019), 205–39. A full-scale study of the Visigothic Easter controversy is a major desideratum. Outdated, but still useful, are Bruno Krusch, "Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 9 (1884), 115–22; Joseph Schmid, *Die Osterfestberechnung in der abendländischen Kirche* (Freiburg: 1907), 88–102. See also Charles W. Jones, *Bedae opera de temporibus* (Cambridge: 1943), 34–53, and pp. 509–11 below.

[18] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17: César Chaparro Gómez, ed., *Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías, Libro VI: De las Sagradas Escrituras* (Paris: 2012), 86–111 (edition and Spanish translation), 188–94 (notes), xix-xxiv (discussion of sources). All quotes from *Etymologiae* 6.17 are from this edition.

[19] Isidore also cites the *Epistola Pascasini* prominently *De viris illustribus* 11, Carmen Codoñer, ed., *El De viris illustribus de Isidoro de Sevilla: studio y edición crítica* (Salamanca: 1964), 140.

[20] Dionysius is explicitly mentioned in a similar list in Braulio's letter to Eutropius of only a few years later; Riesco Terrero, *Epistolario*, 114.

their immediate sources) worked independently from the same or a similar Greek model, like Cyril of Alexandria's Easter table.[21]

Like Cyril's Easter table, the one included by Isidore in his *Etymologiae* covered a period of 95 years. Isidore considered this a true cycle, though the Alexandrian reckoning is cyclic only after 532 years, a clear indication that Isidore's understanding of matters computistical was quite limited.[22] This leads into the most controversial aspect of Isidore's table: which 95-year period was it supposed to cover? Cyril of Alexandria's Easter table was composed for the period AD 437–531. Dionyisus's table (or its model) continued this to AD 532–626. A certain Felix, like Dionysius working in Italy, provided the next extension, AD 627–721.[23] Isidore compiled his *Etymologiae* in various stages over a considerable period of time. With his death in AD 636, the Easter table may have been produced before or after the chronological watershed of AD 627.

In his still unsurpassed "Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendland" of 1884, Bruno Krusch proved that Isidore simply copied an existing table for the years AD 532–626.[24] In the new 2012 edition of book 6 of the *Etymologiae*, César Chaparro Gómez simply worked on the assumption that Isidore copied his information from Dionysius's Easter table of AD 532–626, neglecting the manuscript witnesses in this instance.[25] When the earliest manuscripts are examined, a fairly complex picture emerges, which provides a wonderful and unique insight into the transmission history of the *Etymologiae*. In fact, Isidore's chapter on Easter appears to be the most indicative for analysing the various transmission stages of this work, because later copyists felt the need to update the table to represent their time of writing. A detailed study of the Easter table in the earliest manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* will appear elsewhere.[26] It will suffice here to summarise the tentative results of that study:

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[21] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17.2, is explicit that Cyril of Alexandria was his ultimate source: "Cuius quidem rationem beatissimus Cyrillus Alexandriae urbis episcopus in nonaginta quinque annos per quinquies decem novies calculans, quoto Kal. vel luna debeat paschalis sollemnitas celebrari, summa brevitate notavit."

[22] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17.9: "post cuius expletionem ad primum exordium recurrendum."

[23] For edition of Felix's text, see Krusch, "Studien," 86–87. Most recently, see Luciana Cuppo, "Felix of Squillace and the Dionysiac computus I: Bobbio and Northern Italy (MS Ambrosiana H 150 inf.)," in *The Easter controversy of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, eds. Immo Warntjes and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Turnhout: 2011), 110–36.

[24] Krusch, "Die Einführung," 117–18.

[25] Chaparro Gómez, *Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías, Libro VI*, 189: "Esta largo cuadro de los cinco ciclos de diecinueve años ha sido tomado por Isidoro de Dionys. Exig. pasch. (ML 67, 493 ss.). Está copiado al pie de la letra y, por ello, nos ha servido para corregor las defectuosas lecturas que dieron Arévalo, Lindsay y los posteriores traductores de este libro. Lo que sucede es Isidoro sólo copió una parte del cuadro general de Dionisio, por lo que puede resultar ininteligible. Los errores en los manuscritos son múltiples y algunos ni siquiera aportan dicho calendario."

1. Isidore included in his *Etymologiae* an Alexandrian Easter table covering the years AD 532–626. He did not work from Dionysius's model, but rather used a Greek or Latin source available in the Iberian Peninsula. One of the characteristic features of Isidore's table seems to have been an unusual sequence of common and embolismic years, reversing the order of common and embolismic years in the 16th and 17th years; since this effectively changes the structure of the 19-year cycle from the Alexandrian 8 + 11 years (*ogdoas* + *hendecas*) to two 8-year periods and one of 3 years, this hints at a Latin model.[27]
2. In the years AD 627–45, Isidore's Easter table was updated so that the first 19-year cycle covered the contemporary period AD 627–45; the remaining second to fifth 19-year cycles remained unchanged. This update may be attributed to Braulio of Zaragoza.
3. Outside of the *Etymologiae* but in Visigothic Spain, the Alexandrian Easter table of AD 532–626 was updated to the subsequent 95-year period, AD 627–721; this updated table was included in the *Etymologiae* slightly later in a rare recension transmitted through Irish channels. The update may be dated to AD 632, its inclusion to AD 655.
4. Close to the end of the 95-year period of AD 627–721, the note *A conditione mundi usque ad hunc nouissimum ciclum computantur anni V̄DCCCCXX* was included in some recensions of the *Etymologiae*. It refers to the year AM 5920 = AD 722.
5. In the period AD 779–97, Isidore's table in the *Etymologiae* was updated to the 95-year period AD 779–873. This should be connected to the Carolingian educational reforms which accepted and promoted computus as the ultimate science. Towards the end of this period, in the final 19-year cycle of AD 855–73, this table was revised by replacing Isidore's outdated sequence of bissextile years with the correct list for these final 19 years.
6. A thorough investigation of Isidore's Easter table in all 8th- to 10th-century codices of the *Etymologiae* will doubtlessly reveal many more

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[26] See n. 141.

[27] The 8-year cycle underlies the Easter table of Hyppolitus, whose 112-year table consists of five 16 (2 × 8)-year periods; cf. Eduard Schwartz, "Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 8, Nr. 6* (1905), 29–36; Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Easter computus and the origins of the Christian era* (Oxford: 2008), 116–23. The 8-year period was well known through the writings of Quintus Julius Hilarianus's *Expositum de die paschae et mensis* (PL 13, 1105–14: 113).

stages in the transmission of this text. For the table proper and its development, it will be key to include the transmission independent of the *Etymologiae*. An interesting case in this respect is the Isidorian Easter table in the famous computistical manuscript Milan BA H 150 inf., known as the Bobbio Computus.[28] The data presented match the period AD 798–892.[29] Since, again, this table is not a direct continuation of Isidore's original table (which would be AD 626–721, 722–816, 817–912), it was quite certainly composed during its first 19-year cycle, AD 798–816. This fits nicely the date of composition of the codex itself. Since the first two decades of the 9th century marked a high point in the Carolingian study of computus, an update of Isidore's table at around this time is to be expected.

3 The Formation of Computus—Isidore in Britain and Ireland (Computistical Textbook)

Isidore was deeply steeped in late antique tradition. In educational terms, the late antique approach to learning (most prominently, but not solely, represented by the *artes liberales*), which still informed the bishop of Seville's thinking, was soon replaced by a vibrant intellectual endeavour under a Christian umbrella, fostered by the rapidly spreading monasteries. While Late Antiquity was drawing to its close in the Iberian Peninsula and Italy, early medieval monastic culture rose in the insular world (Ireland and Britain). Here, learning focused on God's word and work, the principal objective being to understand the written truth and the cosmos. Latin grammar and exegesis became the core subjects, Priscian and Donatus, Jerome and Augustine the essential readings.[30] But these subjects only covered an understanding of the Bible, not of God's creation. A new subject had to be created, which became known by the term "computus." Its core component was the organisation of the liturgical calendar, which was determined by the date of Easter. Easter itself was fixed on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. Thus, the tropical year and the synodic lunar month needed to be modelled mathematically, which was done in the form of the Julian calendar and a 19-year lunar cycle. This focus on the sun and the moon opened computus up to other phenomena connected to the heavenly bodies, and ultimately to all key components necessary to understand God's creation as manifested in the cosmos. The core of computus was therefore calendrical calculations, astronomy and arithmetic its auxiliary sciences, contemplation about God's work its ultimate aim.

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[28] Milan BA H 150 inf., 108r–109r (Bobbio, early 9th century).

[29] Cuppo, "Felix of Squillace," 133–36, published this table, indicating that it covers the equivalent 95-year periods AD 608–702, 703–97, 798–892. This is obviously not correct, as the table is not cyclic; the data match only the period AD 798–892.

[30] See the chapter by José Carracedo Fraga in this volume.

As outlined above, calendrical science certainly was not Isidore's main area of interest or expertise. How little did he know, yet he would become one of the founding fathers of computus! As this subject was a new, 7th-century invention, there were no models, no textbooks available. There simply was no Donatus or Priscian for computus. But there was a constant supply of texts from the Iberian Peninsula to Ireland, which brought fundamental works to the insular world. Two channels of transmission were vitally important: (1) the Isidorian material, and (2) the so-called Sirmond group of texts.[31] When exactly Isidore's *Etymologiae* arrived in Ireland, and in what state (i.e. the full text or only selected books), remains a matter of debate.[32] Certainly, in the second half of the 7th century (whether early or late depends on interpretation) Irish monks actively engaged in a thorough study of the *Etymologiae*. Which parts of the text could be extracted and pasted together as a substitute for the missing computistical textbook?

The obvious choice would have been to combine the second part of book 5, *De temporibus*,[33] with 6.17, *De ciclo paschali*. But some of the material in the astronomy section of book 3 (*De astronomia*)[34] and book 13 on cosmology[35] also contained relevant information for computistical theory. Traces of this, no doubt, 7th-century endeavour to systematise Isidorian thought into a textbook on time-reckoning can be found in 8th- and 9th-century computistical manuscripts (all, it will be noted, with evident insular connections). One of the prime witnesses is Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1831.[36] In effect, this codex is a collection of key computistical textbooks available at the time of production, around AD 800. It contains Bede's *De temporibus* of AD 703 and *De temporum ratione* of AD 725, the Neustrian Dialogue of AD 737, the Computus of AD 757, and the *Libellus annalis* of AD 793. Sandwiched in this collection are the astronomical section of book 3 of Isidore's *Etymologiae* and book 13 on cosmology, successively.[37]

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[31] See p. 477 below.

[32] The oldest manuscript witnesses of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland are the famous St Gall fragments, originally binding supports to the codices 150 and 267 of the Stiftsbibliothek. They are from book 11 and date to the mid-7th century, Alban Dold and Johannes Duft, *Die älteste irische Handschriften-Reliquie der Stiftsbiblothek St. Gallen mit Texten aus Isidors Etymologien* (Beuron: 1955). More generally, see A.E. Anspach, "Das Fortleben Isidors im VII. bis IX. Jahrhundert," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: 1936), 327–29, 337–38; Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," *Isidoriana* (León: 1961), 317–44; Bengt Löfstedt, *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus* (Uppsala: 1965), 50–51; Marina Smyth, "Isidore of Seville and early Irish cosmography," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987), 69–102; Michael W. Herren, "On the earliest Irish acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," in *Visigothic Spain: new approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: 1980), 243–50. The evidence for the earliest reception of Isidore in Ireland and its literature is now conveniently listed by Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clavis litterarum Hibernensium: medieval Irish books and texts (c. 400–c. 1500)*, 3 vols (Turnhout: 2017), 237–40, 495–96.

[33] In the following section, the most recent edition of book 5 of the *Etymologiae* is used: Valeriano Yarza Urquiola and Francisca Javier Andrés Santos, eds., *Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías, Libro V: De legibus—De temporibus* (Paris: 2013).

More comprehensive and more focussed on calendrical science is a collection of Isidorian excerpts in the 10th-century codex Paris BnF Lat. 5239. It consists of Isidore's sections *De temporibus* (*Etym.* 5.28–39, i.e. including the chronicle), *De astronomia* (*Etym.* 3.23–70), and on cosmology (*Etym.* 13), in this order.[38] This collection of Isidorian excerpts also sheds more light on the curious fact that in the Berlin codex the table of contents of *De temporibus* is directly followed by the text of *De astronomia*.[39] Evidently, the copyist omitted, for whatever reason, the entire text of *De temporibus* of his source. Therefore, both manuscripts bear witness to the construction of a textbook on the reckoning of time from *Etymologiae* 5.28–39, 3.23–70, and 13.[40]

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[34] The chapter numbering of Gasparotto and Guillaumin, *Isidore de Séville, Étymologies, Livre III*, differs from Lindsay's (i.e. *Etym.* 3.23–70, Gasparro and Guillaumin, eds. = *Etym.* 3.24–71, Lindsay, ed.).

[35] Giovanni Gasparotto, ed., *Isidoro di Siviglia, Etimologie, Libro XIII: De mundo et partibus* (Paris: 2004).

[36] For the importance for the reconstruction of Isidore's text of this and other early manuscripts containing excerpts of the *Etymologiae*, see W.M. Lindsay, "The editing of Isidore *Etymologiae*," *Classical Quarterly* 5 (1911), 46.

[37] Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1831, 107r-115v (Verona, *saec.* IX$^{\text{inf}}$). On fol. 107r, the table of contents for book 5 of *Etym.* is outlined; the following text, however, is *Etym.* 3.24–70; see Valentin Rose, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,* vol. 1: *Die Meermann-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin: 1893), 282. Note that *De astronomia* (*Etym.* 3.23–70) on its own can more frequently be found in 9th-century manuscripts; cf. Bern BB 207, 189r-194v (Fleury?, *c.*AD 800?; available online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/bbb/0207); 417, 34r-44v (Fleury?, AD 826?).

[38] Paris BnF Lat. 5239 (Limoges, *saec.* X$^{1/3}$), 145r-162r.

[39] See n. 37 above.

[40] Note that in some manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*, *De astronomia* (*Etym.* 3.21–70) is followed by Isidore's *De natura rerum* and *De temporibus* (*Etym.* 5.28–39). For this so-called 9th-century "Zopfingen metamorphosis," see Kendall and Wallis, *Isidore of Seville, On the*

Curiously, however, the core of any computistical work, a discussion of the calculation of Easter, is missing. The 9th-century codex Paris BnF Lat. 5543 may provide the missing link here.[41] It is closely related to the just discussed manuscript BnF Lat. 5239. Thus, one would expect both codices to transmit the same Isidorian excerpts. Compared to BnF Lat. 5239, BnF Lat. 5543 likewise produces Isidore's *De temporibus* (*Etym.* 5.28–39) and *De astronomia* (*Etym.* 3.23–70) in this order, but does not include book 13 of the *Etymologiae* on cosmology.[42] The reason for this is immediately apparent: the text breaks off abruptly at *Etym.* 3.70.20 (… *Nam interdum in austrum*) at the end of the page, followed by a beautifully illustrated pseudo-Bede *De signis coeli*.[43] Clearly, pseudo-Bede replaced the end of the Isidorian excerpts of BnF Lat. 5543's exemplar, which is more faithfully preserved in BnF Lat. 5239. On the other hand, in BnF Lat. 5543 a substantial excerpt of *Etym.* 6.17(.1–20) can be found, which is separated from the other parts of the *Etymologiae* by 9th-century verses on the Julian calendar months and the zodiac signs, plus an excerpt from the 9th-century pseudo-Bede *De arithmeticis propositionibus*.[44] It may well be that these verses and pseudo-Bede were introduced by the 9th-century compiler to replace what originally was *Etym.* 6.17.21–32. If so, Paris BnF Lat. 5543 and 5239 combined may provide evidence for an earlier composition of all excerpts of the *Etymologiae* relevant for time-reckoning, in this order: *Etym.* 6.17 (*De ciclo paschali*), 5.28–39 (*De temporibus*), 3.23–70 (*De astronomia*), 13 (*De mundo et partibus*).

Our best witness, however, is the famous Bobbio Computus (Milan BA H 150 inf.), a compilation of computistical knowledge of the 4th to the early 9th centuries, assembled in Bobbio in the AD 810s on the basis of material collected through Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and Italian channels. On folios 107v-124v,

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nature of things, 40–41, 60–63. To the manuscripts listed there can be added Wolfenbüttel HAB Cod. Guelf. 2 Weiss., Hans Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt: 1964), 86–87.

[41] Paris BnF Lat. 5543, 144v-146r, 147v–157v (Fleury?, AD 847?; available online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10502052p.r=5543?rk=64378;0).

[42] Note that the related codex London BL Harley 3017, 75v-86r, 102r-109r, transmits Isidore's *De astronomia* (*Etym.* 3.23–70) and *De temporibus* (*Etym.* 5.28–39.1). Though these two excerpts are not in successive order here, they may well have been originally, with later additions separating them in this later copy. Harley 3017 also includes Isidore's Easter table updated to AD 627–721, which is closely related to Paris BnF Lat. 5543 (cf. p. 507 below).

[43] For pseudo-Bede *De signis coeli*, see Charles W. Jones, *Bedae pseudepigrapha: scientific writings falsely attributed to Bede* (Ithaca: 1939), 87.

[44] Ps-Bede, *De arithmeticis propositionibus*: Menso Folkerts, ed., "Pseudo-Beda, De arithmeticis propositionibus: eine mathematische Schrift aus der Karolingerzeit," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 56 (1972), 22–43.

it transmits successively *Etym.* 6.17 (*De ciclo paschali*), 5.28–38 (*De temporibus*, without the chronicle), and 3.23–70 (*De astronomia*). This compilation of excerpts from the *Etymologiae* focuses more strongly on computistics proper, not including book 13 on cosmology. Considering the content of the earliest Irish textbooks and Bede, this is what one would expect, as cosmology was treated by these authors as a separate discipline (though Isidore's *De natura rerum* is copied later in the Bobbio Computus and may have been connected to these excerpts originally).

But where was this compilation of Isidorian excerpts first produced? Both the Bobbio Computus and the two Paris manuscripts provide valuable clues. In the Bobbio Computus, the Isidorian excerpts form an integral part of a section of Sirmond material. As will be seen,[45] the Sirmond material was evidently available in Ireland from the AD 630s, and a major compilation of such texts was produced in the border region between Munster and Leinster in AD 658. In the Bobbio Computus, the Isidorian Easter table is updated to AD 798–892 (i.e. the time of compilation of this manuscript),[46] and the Victorian computistica immediately following the Isidorian excerpts include a *summa annorum* of AD 672 written in Burgundy.[47] This suggests that this group of texts, including the Isidorian excerpts, were first compiled in Ireland around AD 660, updated in Burgundy in AD 672, and included in this major computistical codex in Bobbio in the AD 810s.

The two Paris codices originate from mid-9th-century Fleury or the Loire Valley more generally, an area highly influenced by Irish intellectual thought at this time. More definite proof comes from a fragment of the *Etymologiae* in Irish script discovered by James Carley in Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589. Its Easter table suggests a close relationship to the Fleury excerpts.[48] The Longleat House fragment, however, covers *Etym.* 6.16.6–17.9, 7.1.29–38. Thus, it is not a fragment of a compilation of passages of the *Etymologiae* relating to time-reckoning, but rather represents a larger excerpt of the text, presumably all 20 books. The Longleat House fragment is written in Irish script and includes an Old Irish gloss, a clear indication for Irish origin of the manuscript.[49] Palaeographic analysis seems to indicate a date of composition around AD 700. The marginal notes to the Easter table reveal that the exemplar of this Irish copy was a Visigothic copy of the *Etymologiae* written in AD 655 or shortly thereafter. These facts point to the following scenario: a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* incorporating an updated Easter table for AD 627–721 was produced in Visigothic Spain in AD 655 or shortly thereafter. It reached Ireland a few years later, where all passages relating to time-reckoning were extracted to form an independent textbook on calendrical science. Presumably through Breton channels, like many other computistica from Ireland, these excerpts reached Fleury/Loire Valley, where they were copied in the mid-9th century.

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[45] See p. 477 below.

[46] See n. 29.

[47] For this *summa annorum*, ending with a countdown to the end of the sixth millennium, see Immo Warntjes, "The final countdown and the reform of the liturgical calendar in the early Middle Ages," in *Apocalypse and reform from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, eds. Matthew Gabriel and James T. Palmer (New York: 2019), 59–60, 65, including references.

[48] See Immo Warntjes, "The continuation of the Alexandrian Easter table in seventh-century Iberia and its transmission to ninth-century Francia (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17)," *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n. s. 13 (2018), 185–94.

Excerpts of Isidore's section on Easter (*Etym.* 6.17: *De ciclo paschali*) are usually transmitted independently of any other parts of the *Etymologiae*. Effectively, *Etym.* 6.17 consists of three rather independent parts: (1) *Etym.* 6.17.1–4 on the history of Easter "cycles"; (2) *Etym.* 6.17.5–9: the 95-year Easter table; and (3) *Etym.* 6.17.10–32 on the theory of Easter calculations. The second part, the Easter table, is discussed above; the first part will be discussed below.[50] The third part, *Etym.* 6.17.10–32, provided the key theory (though only from Isidore's limited perspective), and it enjoyed a separate, very early transmission. This early transmission may be the reason why it was not more commonly included in the comprehensive collection of relevant excerpts on time-reckoning, astronomy, and cosmology outlined above: this section of the *Etymologies* had already established itself as an independent tract. In fact, in two manuscripts of the separate line of transmission (Bern BB 610; Bobbio Computus), this tract (*Etym.* 6.17.10–32) is labelled *Epistola Cyrilli*,[51] presumably to give it more authority or because the beginning drew on pseudo-Cyrill.[52] In the third codex of this independent line of transmission, the 8th-century manuscript Paris BnF

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[49] A facsimile of the Longleat House fragment is reproduced in James P. Carley and Ann Dooley, "An early Irish fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*," in *The archaeology and history of Glastonbury Abbey*, eds. Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge: 1991), 138–40; the Old Irish gloss is discussed there 147–49.

[50] See p. 511 below.

[51] Bern BB 610, 69v–71v (Tours area, *saec.* IX$^{3/3}$): *De Pascha* […] *Explicit Epistola Sancti Cyrilli prima*. Milan BA H 150 inf., 66r–68r (= Bobbio Computus chapter 140; PL 129, 1353–4): *Incipit Epistola Cyrilli Alexandrinae urbis episcopi* […] *Explicit Epistola Sancti Cyrilli.*

[52] See also pp. 505–7.

Lat. 7530, it is simply headed *De ratione paschalis festivitatis et ut quid ita celebretur*.[53] A fourth manuscript that I have been able to locate (Karlsruhe BLB Aug. perg. 229), from the early 9th century, has no heading.[54] An even earlier codex (St Gall SB 913), connected to the famous 7th-century Canterbury school, only includes *Etym*. 6.17.19–32 and no heading.[55]

Shorter citations from *Etym*. 6.17 also circulated separately widely, but an analysis of such instances certainly lies outside the scope of the present article. It may suffice here to hint at the potential of studying such smaller quotes in more detail. The manuscripts St Gall SB 225, St Gall SB 110, and Einsiedeln SB 321 (647) share a computistical text consisting of the following elements:[56]

1. Explanation of the bissextile day as the annual increment of 3 hours (the remainder of dividing the 8760 hours of a year by 7), accumulating to 12 hours in four years.
2. 5228 years from the creation of the world to the passion of Christ according to Victorius of Aquitaine.
3. Calculation of AD from the indiction for the present year AD 751.
4. Calculation of the indiction from AD for AD 751.

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[53] Paris BnF Lat. 7530, 287bisv–288v (Montecassino, *c*.AD 779–798; online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84900617.r=7530?rk=42918;4).

[54] Karlsruhe BLB Aug. perg. 229, 21v-24r (Chieti area, 821?; online at: http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/20821). Appropriately (or not), the Isidorian excerpt here follows Martin of Braga (?), *De pascha*.

[55] St Gall SB 913, 118–24 (Germany, *c*.AD 790; online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0913). In Paris BnF 5543, 145v-146r, *Etym*. 6.17.10–20 is preserved as part of a larger excerpt *Etym*. 6.17.1–20; see p. 467 above.

[56] St Gall SB 225, 122–6 (St Gall, AD 773?; online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0225), St Gall SB 110, 511–6 (Verona or by Veronese scribes in Reichenau?, *saec*. VIII^{ex}; online at: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0110), and Einsiedeln SB 321 (647), 126–9 (Lake Constance region?; *saec*. IX$^{3/3}$; online at: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/sbe/0321). Comparison of these three manuscripts reveals that the items listed originally formed a cohesive text produced in AD 751 (of which the first 5 items are missing in St Gall SB 110, where the text starts abruptly on a new quire on p. 511 with the end of *Etym*. 6.17.21: *sequantur. Nam imbolismus annus* …). In each of the manuscripts, this computus of AD 751 is integrated in a larger computistical section; St Gall SB 225 and 110 share the same material up to pp. 131 and 524, respectively. The content of this computus of AD 751 is discussed by Kerstin Springsfeld, "Eine Beschreibung der Handschrift St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 225," in *Computus and its cultural context*, eds. Warntjes and Ó Cróinín, 220–25, as part of a description of the computistica in St Gall SB 225. For the 743 dating clauses, see James Palmer, "Computus after the paschal controversy of AD 740," in Warntjes and Ó Cróinín, *Computus and its cultural context*, 228–33.

5. Calculation of the concurrent from AD for AD 743.
6. *Etym.* 6.17.21–24 on common and embolismic lunar years
7. Calculation of AP from AD.
8. Calculation of AM from the indiction for AD 743.
9. On the seasons, the second half of Isidore, *De natura rerum* 7.4.[57]

The item that is of interest for the present study obviously is no. 6, *Etym.* 6.17.21–24. This Isidorian passage appears to be forced into the older layer of AD 743, probably at the time of composition of the text in AD 751. There is no immediate logic as to why a discussion of common and embolismic lunar years was introduced at this stage, or even in this text at all, since otherwise the focus is exclusively on the solar year and linear timelines. But this excerpt shows a significant alteration of the text. Isidore states that a lunar year should be counted from *luna* 14 of one Easter lunation to *luna* 14 of the following one. Dionysius Exiguus, in his letter to Boniface and Bonus, however, had more precisely argued that the count should start at *luna* 15 of an Easter lunation.[58] The excerpt here corrects Isidore's text on the basis of Dionysius,[59] which demonstrates that by AD 751 computists had compared Isidore's treatmeant of Easter calculation with his sources.

No attempt to use Isidore alone for the creation of a computistical textbook could be successful. Isidore was strong on the definition of terms, but he was very weak in the explanation of calendrical technicalities. The first task in the formation of a comprehensive computistical textbook was the definition of the various units of time. This is where Isidore was most useful. The nucleus was provided by *Etym.* 5.29.1: *Tempora autem momentis, horis, diebus, mensibus, annis, lustris, saeculis, aetatibus dividuntur*. Of these, the *lustrum* was immediately dropped, as it constituted an antiquated concept which amounted to no more than an accumulation of five years. In other parts of his *Etymologiae*, Isidore mentioned additional units: the *athomos* in *Etym.* 13.2, *quadrans* in *Etym.* 16.25.17, *hebdoma* in *Etym.* 5.32, and *tempus* (or, in 7th-century Hiberno-Latin terminology, *vicissitudo triformis*) in *Etym.* 5.35. Additionally, for calculation purposes, two extra units were defined, the *minutum* and the *punctum*.

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[57] Fontaine, *Traité*, 201–03.

[58] Krusch, "Studien," 84–5.

[59] Springsfeld, "Beschreibung," 223, n. 46. The Bobbio Computus (cf. n. 51) shares this reading.

Tellingly, their pseudo-etymologies were ascribed to Isidore.[60] Taken together, this amounted to 14 units of time, which are in ascending order, from the smallest to the largest:

> *Athomos, momentum* (= 16 *athomoi*), *minutum* (= 4 *momenta*), *punctum* (= 2 ½ *minuta*), *hora* (= 4 *puncta*), *quadrans* (= 6 *horae*), *dies* (= 4 *quadrantes*), *hebdoma* (= 7 *dies*), *mensis* (= 4 *hebdomada*), *vicissitudo triformis* (*tempus* = 3 *menses*), *annus* (= 4 *vicissitudines triformis*), *saeculum*, *aetas*.[61]

These 14 units of time formed the backbone of a 7th-century Irish tract *De divisionibus temporum*, now lost.

The problem with *De divisionibus temporum*, as with Isidore's calendrical information, was that it defined everything but explained nothing. In particular, the core problem, the calculation of Easter, was not solved, or even discussed. For this reason, a fifteenth unit was soon introduced after *annus*, the *cyclus*. At first, the idea was to provide a discussion of the 19-year lunar cycle. But it soon also included the 28-year solar cycle and, more prominently, the 532-year Easter cycle; also, the key technical features of these cycles, especially the *bissextus* and the *saltus lunae*, received special attention here, as did the Julian calendar with its structural elements, including Isidorian material whenever possible. All surviving copies of *De divisionibus temporum* are Frankish reworkings of ultimately Irish material.[62] Up to *annus*, they share a fundamental common stock, but from that point onwards the floodgates were opened. Still, the principle of organising a computistical textbook around the framework of the divisions of time in ascending order remained popular. Most importantly, two of the most influential compilers of computistical textbooks, Bede and Hrabanus Maurus, followed this principle and its Isidorian core.

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[60] Immo Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: text and translation. Irish computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede* (Stuttgart: 2010), CXXVI–CXXVIII, 14–17.

[61] For the relations of these units of time, see Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, 6–7.

[62] Jones, *Bedae pseudepigrapha*, 48–51; Eric Graff, "The recension of two Sirmond texts: Disputatio Morini and De divisionibus temporum," in *Computus and its cultural context*, 117–25. The best witnesses appear to be those that also take the largest units of time into consideration: Oxford BL Bodley 309, 64v-73v; Basel UB F III 15k, 24v-35v; Bern BB 417, 47r-61v, 33r-v. A full study of the earliest tradition of tracts on the divisions of time is in preparation by Jacopo Bisagni.

The divisions of time according to Isidore, *Etymologiae* V 29, §1 (Lindsay (1911))	The divisions of time according to DDT
	athomus
momentum	momentum
	minutum
punctus	punctus
hora	hora
	quadrans
dies	dies
	ebdomada
mensis	mensis
	uicissitudo triformis
annus	annus
lustrum	***
saeculum	aetas
aetas	saeculum
	mundus

FIGURE 16.1 The divisions of time in Isidore's *Etymologiae* compared to DDT.
Note: Bold type shows the units introduced by DDT, and *** indicates the absence of *lustrum* in DDT
SOURCE: GRAFF, "THE RECENSION OF TWO SIRMOND TEXTS," 120

How Bede's earliest work on the reckoning of time, *De temporibus*,[63] was structured is revealed by an unpublished prologue prefixed to the text proper in three manuscripts from the 9th to the 11th centuries.[64] It begins:

> D[iscipulus]: Tempora, unde dicta sunt? M[agister]: A temperamento etiam nomen acceperunt, ut Isidorus in V Ethimologiarum libro testatur, hoc modo dicens: Tempora dicta sunt a communionis temperamento,

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[63] Bede, *De temporibus*: Jones, *Bedae opera*, 293–303.

[64] Vatican BAV Pal. lat. 1447, 3r-v (Mainz, *saec.* IX^{inf}; available online at: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1447); Vatican BAV Pal. lat. 1448, 1v–2v (Trier, *saec.* IX$^{1/2}$; available online at: http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_1448); Schaffhausen SB 61, 22r-v (Lake Constance area, *saec.* X^{inf}). The Isidorian quote is from *Etym.* 5.35 and 5.29, the latter here cited through Bede, *De temporum ratione* 2 (Jones, *Bedae opera*, 182). A version of this prologue, predominantly in Tironian notes, can also be found in Milan BA M 12 sup., 1–2 (Western Saxony?, *saec.* IX$^{3/3}$).

> quod invicem se humore, siccitate, calore, frigore temperent; seu quod momentis, horis, diebus, mensibus, annis saeculisque et aetatibus, omnia mortalis vitae curricula temperentur.
> D: Divisiones temporis, quot sunt? M: XIIII, id est athomus, momentum, minutum, punctus, hora, quadras, dies, ebdomada, mensis, vicissitudo triformis, annus, aetas, saeculum.
> D: Quomodo hae divisiones temporis crescent? M: Ita etiam ab athomo in momentum, a momento in minutum, a minuto in punctum, a puncto in horam, ab hora in quadrantem, a quadrante in diem, a die in ebdomadam, ab ebdomada in mensem, a mense in vicissitudinem triformem, a vicissitudine triformi in annum, ab anno in ciclum XXVIII annorum secundum solem, XVIIII annorum secundum lunam, DXXXII annorum secundum solem et lunam, quando sit integra reversio.

> Student: The seasons (*tempora*), from what are they so called? Teacher: They took their name from regulation (*temperamentum*), as Isidore testifies in book 5 of the *Etymologiae*, saying this: The seasons (*tempora*) are called thus from the regulation (*temperamentum*) of the community, as they regulate in turn moisture, dryness, warmth, cold; or because all courses of mortal life are regulated by moments, hours, days, years, millennia, and ages.
> Student: How many divisions of time exist? Teacher: 14, which are: atom, moment, minute, point, hour, quarter-day, day, week, month, season, year, age, millennium.
> Student: How do these divisions of time grow? Teacher: Thus, from atom to moment, from moment to minute, from minute to point, from point to hour, from hour to quarter-day, from quarter-day to day, from day to week, from week to month, from month to season, from season to year, from year to 28-year solar cycle, 19-year lunar cycle, 532-year luni-solar cycle, when the return (to its beginning) is complete.

Bede rejected the *athomos* as a unit of time, directing his scorn against Irish computists.[65] Otherwise, however, Bede's *De temporibus* followed the structure of ascending units of time closely: chapters 1–6 and 8–9 discuss the nine units of *momentum* (40 *momenta* = 1 hour), hour, day, night, week, month, season, year, drawing closely on Isidore; chapters 11–12 deal with the 19-year cycle; and chapters 13–15 deal with the 532-year Easter cycle—this leaves only the rather vague largest units, *saeculum*, *aetas*, and *mundus*, which Bede tackles more or less collectively in chapter 16, his *Chronica minora*.[66] The same organising principle underlies his later, more comprehensive work of AD 725, *De temporum ratione*, though his various excursi dilute the structure.[67]

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[65] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 3 (Jones, *Bedae opera*, 183–84; cf. Jones's commentary to this chapter on pp. 331–32). A full-scale study of Bede's responses to Irish computistics remains a major desideratum; cf. Immo Warntjes, review of: Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Bede, On the nature of things and On times* in *The Medieval Review* (2010). The unpublished prologue to Bede's *De temporibus* referred to in the previous note discusses the smallest units of time up to but excluding *dies*; it then continues with *De temporibus* chapter 2, *De die*.

Hrabanus Maurus, in his *De computo* of AD 820,[68] is more explicit. Presumably in his time in the Loire Valley (notably in Tours), he must have been in contact with Irish intellectual thought. In chapter 10, he outlines 14 divisions of time, which matches the originally Irish concept in number though not in content (*hebdoma* and *mundus* are dropped, *ostentum* and *pars* are introduced). The first 12 divisions of time, from the *athomos* to the year, are then discussed, in all available detail, in chapters 11–35. Chapter 36 copies the 17 different categories of year of the *Libellus annalis* of AD 793, chapter 1.[69] This list includes the 19-year lunar, the 28-year solar, and the 532-year Easter cycle, and serves as justification for discussing these three cycles and related aspects in chapters 37–94, still effectively as part of the section on the year. The final two chapters, 95 and 96, appropriately focus on the last two units of time, *saeculum* and *aetas*.

But how much did Hrabanus Maurus draw directly on Isidore's works? The abbot of Fulda is renown for his lack of originality, basing most of his text on Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[70] Maria Rissel identified only four passages in which Hrabanus appears to have drawn directly on Isidore (and, in all cases, on his *Etymologiae*).[71] This attribution, however, is questionable. A good example is the first passage mentioned by Rissel. She believes that Hrabanus's chapter

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[66] Bede, *Chronica minora*: Theodor Mommsen, ed. MGH AA 13, 247–354 (in parallel to his edition of Bede's *Chronica maiora*). In his 1943 edition of *De temporibus*, Jones did not attempt to improve on this and omitted it altogether. In his 1977 CCSL edition, Jones simply reproduced Mommsen's ed. of the *Chronica minora* as chapter 16 of *De temporibus*.

[67] Cf. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, CX–CXI.

[68] Hrabanus Maurus, *De computo*: Wesley M. Stevens, ed., CCCM 44, 199–321.

[69] For the *Libellus annalis* see pp. 484–90 below.

[70] Hrabanus Maurus's *De computo* is even less original than is generally believed, since the standard edition by Stevens failed to identify Hrabanus's Frankish sources, like *Lib. ann.* 1 for chapter 37 (cf. note 91) and the unfinished Computus of AD 789. Cf. Immo Warntjes, "Köln als naturwissenschaftliches Zentrum in der Karolingerzeit: die frühmittelalterliche Kölner Schule und der Beginn der fränkischen Komputistik," in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek, Viertes Symposion*, eds. Heinz Finger and Harald Horst (Cologne: 2012), 54–55, 83–88.

[71] Maria Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus: Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte* (Frankfurt: 1976), 30–40. Wesley Stevens, CCCM 44, 177–82, follows Rissel in arguing that Hrabanus worked directly from Isidore.

24 *De hebdomada* is based directly on *Etym.* 5.32 (and the editor, Wesley Stevens, agrees), while it is evident that Hrabanus rather quoted from the Irish *De divisionibus temporum.*

> Hrabanus Maurus, *De computo* 24: De ebdomada: D. Ebdomada, quid est? D. Septem dierum cursus. D. Vnde dicitur ebdomada? M. A septenario utique numero ebdomada nomen accepit. Nam ebdomada Grece, septimana dicitur latine, eo quod septem manes, id est septem dies, in se complectatur.
> *De divisionibus temporum* 13:[72] De hebdomada: Hebdomada est septem dierum cursus, et a septenario numero nomen accepit; nam hebdomada Graece septimana dicitur Latine, eo quod septem manes, id est septem dies in se complectatur.
>
> Isidore, *Etym.* 5.32: De hebdomada: Hebdomada dicta a numero septem dierum, quorum repetitione et menses et anni et saecula peraguntur; epta enim Graeci septem dicunt. Hanc nos septimana vocamus, quasi septem luces. Nam mane lux est. Octavus autem dies idem primus est, ad quem reditur et a quo rursus hebdomadae series orditur.

As mentioned above, the various recensions and the textual history of *De divisionibus temporum* are still awaiting an authoritative full-scale study and critical edition. It is telling that of the remaining three chapters of Hrabanus's *De computo* identified by Rissel as evidencing considerable Isidorian influence, two (95: *De saeculis* and 96: *De aetatibus*) are integral parts of *De divisionibus temporum.* The third chapter (37: *De planetis and origine nominum earum*) is probably closer to Carolingian computistical material than Isidore's *Etymologiae.* It therefore seems most likely that Hrabanus, in his computistical textbook, cited Isidore only second-hand. By the time of Helperic's *Liber de computo,* the most influential computistical textbook of the 10th and 11th centuries, the Isidorian element was all but gone, both in terms of structure and content.[73]

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[72] PL 90: 659.

[73] Helperic, *De computo*: Bernhard Pez, ed. (or rather transcribed from a late manuscript) in 1721, and reprinted by Migne in PL 137: 17–48. A modern critical edition of this fundamental text is a pressing *desideratum.* See Ludwig Traube, "Computus Helperici," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 18 (1893), 73–105; Patrick McGurk, "Computus Helperici: its transmission in England in the eleventh and twelfth century," *Medium Aevum* 43 (1974), 1–5; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters 1: Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 1911), 446–49;

This is the history of the computistical textbooks which evolved from Isidore's list of the units of time in *Etym.* 5.29.1. The earliest known specimen of this literary genre, however, took a slightly different route. Between *c.*AD 700 and 727, three major computistical textbooks were produced in Ireland, labelled in modern scholarship *Computus Einsidlensis*, Munich Computus, and *De ratione conputandi*. Their principal structure was threefold: (1) solar theory; (2) lunar theory; and (3) Easter calculation, as the combination of the first two. The first part was based on the divisions of time and was heavily indebted to Isidore. In fact, much of this first part reads like an assembly of excerpts under various headings, with Isidore providing the first entries and thus the backbone of this section as a whole. As mentioned earlier, however, for lunar theory and Easter calculation (often considered together as the second half of these texts by Irish computists), the *Etymologiae* were more or less worthless. To be sure, when definitions were needed and the respective term or concept could be found in the *Etymologiae*, Isidore was immediately cited. But Isidore neither explained nor understood calendrical science.[74] It was very fortunate, therefore, that key texts on the calculation of Easter arrived in Ireland slightly earlier than Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Whether these texts arrived as a defined corpus or individually remains a matter of contention.[75] Quite plausibly, however, they arrived through the same channels as Isidore's works, on a direct route from the Iberian Peninsula. The texts in question, now known as the Sirmond corpus, include at their core: the so-called *Acta synodi Caesarea*; *Epistola Pascasini*; *Epistola Proterii*; *Epistola Cyrilli*; *Prologus Cyrilli*; *Prologus Theophili*; *Disputatio Morini*; *Disputatio Chori et Praetextati*; Anatolius Latinus' *De ratione paschali*; Hilarus's *Epistola ad Victorium*; Victorius's *Epistola ad Hilarium*; Dionysius Exiguus's *Epistola ad Petronium*; Dionysius's *Epistola ad Bonifatium et Bonum*; and

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André van de Vyver, "Les oeuvre inédites d'Abbon de Fleury," *Revue Bénédictine* 47 (1935), 147–49; Joachim Wiesenbach, *Sigebert von Gembloux: Liber decennalis* (Weimar: 1986), 56–58. For Pez, see now Irene Rabl, "Der digitalisierte Nachlass der Brüder Bernhard und Hieronymus Pez," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 121 (2013), 437–44.

[74] Cf. pp. 459–63 above and Bernard Ribémont, *Les origins des encyclopédies médiévales, d'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: 2001), 130–42, esp. 141.

[75] Braulio's *Epistola ad Eutropium* of AD 640 (Riesco Terrero, *Epistolario*, 114) provides a list of texts which may indicate that these were readily available in one compendium in the Iberian Peninsula by this time. However, Cummian discussed a similar list a decade earlier, Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's letter De controversia paschali, together with a related Irish computistical tract, De ratione conputandi* (Toronto: 1988), 84–87. The Sirmond manuscript contains a dating clause for AD 658 which places this collection in southern Ireland; cf. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Irish provenance of Bede's computus," *Peritia* 2 (1983), 229–47.

pseudo-Jerome's *De sollemnitatibus*.[76] Of these, Isidore himself had used some, like the letters of Hilarus, Victorius, Dionysius, Pascasinus, pseudo-Cyrill, and the Cyrillian Prologue. Still, this corpus provided Irish computists only with the bare bones of what was to flourish into a vibrant scientific subject in the second half of the 7th century. It was in the second half of their textbooks, comprising lunar theory and Easter calculation, that Irish computists had to reconstruct meticulously the calendrical systems that underlay the various tables with which they were confronted. Isidore thus seems to have provided the foundation of early medieval calendrical science, but not its technical content.

Irish texts and computistical thought hit the continent almost immediately after they were produced, no doubt owing to established pilgrim routes and monastic networks.[77] From southern Ireland the principal route of transmission appears to have been through Brittany and the Loire Valley towards south-eastern Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy.[78] By the mid-9th century, the monasteries in the Loire Valley (especially Fleury) were the leading centres of learning in the crumbling Carolingian Empire. They owed their exalted position to, among other factors, a constant influx of Irish thought and intellectuals.[79] One of the most remarkable productions of this mid-9th-century milieu is a massive scientific compendium, preserved in Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, to which Jacopo Bisagni has recently drawn the attention it deserves.[80] This encyclopaedia is divided into four books, about the sun, the moon, cosmology, and astronomy. The first two books are directly influenced by the Irish computistical textbook tradition, which is best illustrated by a comparison of the *explicit* and *incipit* of books 1 and 2, respectively, of this encyclopaedia with the division into two halves of the Irish textbook *De ratione conputandi*.

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[76] For the Sirmond corpus of texts, see Charles W. Jones, "The 'lost' Sirmond manuscript of Bede's computus," *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), 204–19; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Bede's Irish computus," in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish history and chronology* (Dublin: 1999), 201–12; Faith Wallis, *Bede: The reckoning of time* (Liverpool: 1999), lxxii-lxxix; Kerstin Springsfeld, *Alkuins Einfluß auf die Komputistik Karls des Großen* (Stuttgart: 2002), 66–80; Graff, "The recension of two Sirmond texts"; Warntjes, "Prologue of AD 699."

[77] A detailed study of the spread of Irish computistical thought in Carolingian Europe and the monastic networks involved is in preparation.

[78] Cf. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, XCVII–CVI; Immo Warntjes, "Computus as scientific thought in Ireland and the early medieval West," in *The Irish in early medieval Europe: identity, culture and religion*, eds. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (London: 2016), 172–74.

[79] See especially the studies in John J. Contreni, *Carolingian learning, masters and manuscripts* (Aldershot: 1992).

[80] Jacopo Bisagni, "The newly-discovered Irish and Breton computistica in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 123," *Peritia* 28 (2017), 13–34.

> Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, 74r: Explicit liber primus de sole. Certe interim, o sol, istic de te tacemus, atque relinquimus plura ut de luna narremus.[81] Incipiunt capitula libri secundi de luna.
>
> *De ratione conputandi* 62:[82] Finit de sole certe. Interim, o sol, istic de te tacemus, atque linquimus plura de luna narremus. De luna hic incipit.

Following Irish tradition, this encyclopaedia draws heavily on Isidore. In fact, in the first two books the authorities cited are principally Isidore, Bede, and an anonymous Irish computistical textbook similar to *De ratione conputandi*. Isidore is not cited second-hand here, but as a major authority directly from his own works. One heading in book 1, chapter 31, stands out in this respect: *Item Isidori in libro* V *Ethimologiarum capitula* III. The *Etymologiae* survive in various recensions. If the book and chapter number can be trusted here, the author of this encyclopaedia cites an unusual recension. In the 20-book recension commonly ascribed to Braulio of Zaragoza, book 5 is constituted of two parts, *De legibus* and *De temporibus*. *De temporibus* consists of chapters 28–39, of which the chapter in question here, *De diebus*, is chapter 30. In the Spanish recension represented by Madrid BN Vitr. 14, 3 (Toletanus 15, 8), the two parts of book 5 are treated as separate books: *De legibus* is book 5, *De temporibus* constitutes book 6, with the chapter in question here being chapter 3 of that book. In the Italian recension, as represented by Wolfenbüttel HAB Cod. Guelf. 64 Weiss. and Cava AB 2, *De legibus* and *De temporum* are also separate books, but *De medicina* is placed between the two, so that the order there is: book 5—*De legibus*; book 6—*De medicina*; book 7—*De temporibus* (with *De diebus* as chapter 3).[83] None of these book and chapter divisions accord with the one mentioned in the computistical encyclopaedia in Reg. lat. 123. Apparently, the author here cites from a recension of the *Etymologiae* in which book 4 (*De medicina*) is placed later in the text, and *De legibus* and *De temporibus* are separated into books 4 and 5, respectively.

Besides the heading, another interesting aspect of this chapter is the fact that it faithfully reproduces the original chapter of the *Etymologiae* but with an insertion added, without explicit indication, between *Etym*. 5.30.8 and 9. The insertion reads:

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[81] I owe the reconstruction of this passage to Jacopo Bisagni.

[82] Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's letter*, 171.

[83] For *De temporibus* in these recensions, see Yarza Urquiola and Andrés Santos, *Etymologiás Libro* V, vii-xv.

> Quidam ex his septem diebus uersibus explicauit:
> Prima dies Phebus sacrato nomine funget
> Vindicat et lucens feriam sibi Luna secundam
> Inde dies rutilat iam tercia Martis honor
> Mercurius quartam splendentem possideat
> Iuppiter ecce sequens quintam sibi iure
> Concordia Veneris magnae cum nomine sexta
> Emicat alma dies Saturno septinarium

This poem can be found (in a more complete recension) in numerous computistical manuscripts from the early 9th century onwards.[84] It may have been part of the author's recension of the *Etymologiae*, but this can only be confirmed by a thorough analysis of all 9th-century manuscripts of this text.[85] More likely, the mid-9th-century author of this computistical encyclopaedia is responsible for this addition. This reworking of Isidore's original, then, provides a good insight into how some late Carolingian computists used Isidore. He was still an authority, especially in those Carolingian monasteries influenced by Irish thought, but this did not mean that his text could not, in true encyclopaedic tradition, be amended.

Finally, Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123 helps to confirm a point raised above. The passage just discussed is tellingly part of the first book, *De sole*, following the practice of the Irish computistical textbook tradition, which also drew heavily on Isidore in the first part on solar theory. The second part, on lunar theory (and Easter calculation), relied on other authorities, with Isidore being only sporadically consulted. The Irish textbooks do not provide tables of contents, whereas this encyclopaedia does, which presents a neat overview of the use of Isidore and its limits in this more technical section of computistics:[86]

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[84] Manuscripts containing this poem are listed in the editions by Alexander Riese, *Anthologia Latina sive poesis Latinae supplementum, pars prior: carmina in codicibus scripta*, 2 vols (Leipzig: 1894), ii 44 (no. 488); Emil Baehrens, *Poetae Latini minores v* (Leipzig: 1883), 349, 353–54. It also appears in Oxford St John's College 17, 14v, available online at: http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=14v&showitem=14r-v_3ComputusTablesTextsI_23ComputusPoetry_6PrimaDies with more related 11th-century English MSS and texts.

[85] The most recent edition of book 5 by Yarza Urquiola and Andrés Santos, *Etymologiás Libro v*, 92–93, does not indicate that this poem is included at this point in any of the codices consulted. For the potential of studying addenda to the *Etymologiae*, see Carmen Codoñer, "Transmisión y recepción de las 'Etimologías,'" in *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico*, eds. José Martínez Gázquez, Óscar de la Cruz Palma, Cándida Ferrero Hernández (Florence: 2011), 5–26.

[86] Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, 74r-v.

Incipiunt capitula libri secondi de luna	Here begin the chapter headings of the second book, on the moon:
I *De nomine lunae Isidori*	1. On the term “moon” according to Isidore
II *De nomine lumine eiusdem*	2. On the term “light” according to the same
III *De formis lunae eiusdem*	3. On the shapes of the moon according to the same
IIII *De interlunio lunae eiusdem*	4. On the “inbetween-lunations” of the moon according to the same
V *De aetate lunae in exordio mundi Victorini et Augustini*	5. On the age of the moon at the creation of the world according to Victorius and Augustine
VI *De generibus lunae accensionis*	6. On the categories of moonrise
VI *De qua hora lunae accenditur Anatholius*	7. Anatolius on the hour of moonrise
VIII *Argumentum qualiter accenditur*	8. Argument: how the moon rises
VIIII *Argumentum ad lune aetatem inveniendam*	9. Argument on finding the age of the moon
X *De luna quot horas lucet Bedae*	10. On the number of hours of moonlight according to Bede
XI *De lunae cursu per signa Bedae*	11. On the course of the moon through a zodiac sign according to Bede
XII *Item de luna*[*e*] *discursu si quis signa ignorat Bedae*	12. Likewise on the course of the moon if one is ignorant about the zodiac sign according to Bede
XIII *Item Bedae de eodem si qui*[*s*] *computare non didicit*	13. Likewise on the same topic if one did not learn to calculate according to Bede
XIIII *Bedae quando uel quare luna prona uel supina uel uideatur erecta*	14. When and why the moon appears upward or downward or upright according to Bede
XV *Bede qua ratione luna, cum sit situ inferior, superior sole aliquoties uideatur*	15. By which rationale the moon sometimes appears to be above the sun, though it is situated below it, according to Bede
XVI *Bedae de effectiua lunae potentia*	16. On the effective power of the moon according to Bede
XVII *Bedae de concordia maris et lunae*	17. On the concordance between the sea and the moon according to Bede

XVIII *Bedae quare luna aliquoties maior quam computatur pareat*	18. Why the moon sometimes appears bigger than calculated according to Bede
XVIIII *De saltu lunae Bedae uel aliorum auctorum*	19. On the leap of the moon according to Bede and other authors
XX *De discrepatione solis et lunae et de exordio epactarum Augustinus et Isidorus*	20. Augustine and Isidore on the discrepancy between the sun and the moon and on the beginning of the epacts
XXI *De regulis epactarum*	21. On the rules of the epacts
XXII *De epactis lunaribus Bedae*	22. On the lunar epacts according to Bede
XXIII *Argumentum quota sit luna in Kalendas Ianuarii*	23. Argument on what lunar age happens to be on the Calends of January
XXIIII *Quota sit luna in Kalendas quasque uel uniuscuiusque diei*	24. What lunar age happens to be on whatever Calends and belongs to any given day
XXV *De natura lunae Dionysius*	25. Dionysius on the nature of the moon
XXVI *De contrari aetatibus septem cicli lunaris*	26. On the seven lunar ages contrary to the lunar cycle
XXVII *De duabus lunationibus in uno mense et de luna abortiua*	27. On two lunations in one month and on the abortive lunation
XXVIII *De differentia lunae abortiuae et embolisma*[*e*]	28. On the difference between abortive and embolismic lunation
XXVIIII *Bedae de ciclo lunari*	29. On the lunar cycle according to Bede
XXX *Eiusdem de circulo decennouennali*	30. On the decemnovenal cycle according to the same
XXXI *De annis communis et embolismis Bedae et Isidori et Dionisii*	31. On common and embolismic years according to Bede, Isidore, and Dionysius
XXXII *De cursu communium et embolismorum de ogdoade et endecade*	32. On the course of common and embolismic years through the *ogdoas* and *hendecas*
XXXIII *Item Bedae de ogdoade et endecade cum epistola Dionysii*	33. Likewise on the *ogdoas* and *hendecas* according to Bede, including the letter of Dionysius

XXXIIII Bede quomodo errant quidam in primi mensis initio	34. How some err concerning the beginning of the first month according to Bede
XXXV Eiusdem de quarta decima luna paschae	35. On the Easter full moon according to the same
XXXVI Eiusdem de die dominico paschae	36. On Easter Sunday according to the same
XXXVII Eiusdem de luna ipsius diei	37. On the lunar age on that very day according to the same
XXXVIII Eiusdem Bedae de sacramento temporis paschalis	38. On the holiness of the Easter time according to the same Bede
XXXVIIII De nomine pasche Isidori uel aliorum auctorum	39. On the term "pasch" according to Isidore and other authors
XL De celebratione primitae paschae Victorii et Proterii	40. On the celebration of the first Easter according to Victorius and Proterius
XLI De dissessione paschae post resurrectionem Teophili	41. On the dispute about Easter after the resurrection according to Theophilus
XLII De diebus azimorum Hieronimi, Anatholii uel Cirilli	42. On the days of unleavened bread according to Jerome, Anatholius, or Cyril
XLIII Bedae qui[*d*] *inter pascha et azima distet*	43. The difference between Easter and the feast of unleavened bread according to Bede
XLIIII Eiusdem typica paschae interpretatio	44. The allegorical interpretation of Easter according to the same
XLV Item epistola de pascha et ciclo	45. Likewise the letter on Easter and the cycle
XLVI Isidorus [*recte Isidori*] *et Anatholii de ciclo*	46. On the cycle according to Isidore and Anatholius
XLVII Bede de circulo magno paschae	47. On the great cycle of Easter according to Bede
Expliciunt capitula libri secundi de luna	Here end the chapter headings of the second book, on the moon.

For the new genre of the computistical textbook that emerged in the second half of the 7th century, Isidore provided, rather indirectly, the basic framework. As was to be expected, his *Etymologiae* were mined for definitions of key terms. On the more technical level, Isidore's input was minimal.

4 The Height of Computus—Isidore in the Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Era (Computistical Formularies, Calendars, and Encyclopaediae)

4.1 *Computistical Formularies*

The reception of Isidore's calendrical ideas was directly connected to the literary genre of the computistical textbook. As outlined above, it was invented in Ireland in the second half of the 7th century under heavy Isidorian influence; it was popularised by Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, and Helperic, and more anonymous textbooks were compiled for the specific needs of particular monastic and cathedral schools or individuals. At the height of computistical studies, between the formation of the subject in the second half of the 7th century and the wide reception of late antique learning in the early to mid-9th, the computistical textbook was not necessarily the preferred means of presenting calendrical knowledge. In the Carolingian 8th century, the focus shifted to what is termed the computistical formulary.

The origin of the computistical formulary in Latin can be traced back to Dionysius Exiguus's translation of Greek material into Latin in AD 525, including nine algorithms for, principally, calculating the data of his Easter table.[87] These were known to Cassiodorus, who (or whose circle) adapted them to AD 562.[88] In AD 582?, 625/627, and 675 they were expanded considerably.[89] The last of these expansions, known as the *Computus Digbeanus* of AD 675, appears to have been produced by Anglo-Saxon computists, presumably in Ireland, and Willibrord introduced this literary genre to the Frankish world, where such new texts were produced in, for example, AD 757, 760, 764, 771, 775, 780, and 789.[90] In AD 793, a monumental computistical formulary in 70 chapters was compiled, now edited under the title *Libellus annalis*.[91] It may have been influenced by the *Admonitio generalis* of AD 789, which urged all clerics to master the basics of computus.[92] Whether it was commissioned by Charlemagne (or rather his educational representatives at his palace school, especially Alcuin) is impossible to prove; the earliest transmission history points to Verona.[93] The table of contents provides a good insight into what was considered fundamental computistical knowledge:[94]

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[87] The corpus of Dionysius's original *argumenta* has not survived in its original format. His *argumenta* are best preserved embedded in an extended corpus of *formulae* transmitted in Oxford BL Bodley 309, 81r-82v; Vatican BAV Pal. lat. 1447, 6v-8v; Pal. lat. 1448, 13r-17v; Vat. lat. 5755, 3–4 (cf. Warntjes, "*Argumenta*," 64–67).

[88] See notes 8–9 above.

[89] See Warntjes, "*Argumenta*."

[90] The computistical formulary from the circle of Willibrord is discussed in Immo Warntjes, "The *Computus Cottonianus* of AD 689: A computistical formulary written for Willibrord's Frisian mission," in *The Easter controversy of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, eds. Immo Warntjes and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Turnhout: 2011), 173–212. The Computus of AD 757 can be found in Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1831, 90r-v; it was the subject of two talks at the 6th International Conference on the Science of Computus, Galway 2016, by Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Oxford) and James Palmer (St Andrews). The major computistical formulary of AD 760 is edited under the abbreviated title *Lect. comp.* by Arno Borst, *Schriften zur Komputistik im Frankenreich von 721 bis 818*, 3 vols (Hannover: 2006), 527–659. AD 775 saw the

I *Quot modis soleat annus nominari*	1. In how many ways the year is accustomed to be named
II *Argumentum, qualiter anni ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi inveniantur*	2. Argument: how the years from the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ can be found
III *Argumentum, quotus sit annus praeparationis bissextili*	3. Argument: which year in the bissextile cycle it happens to be
IIII *Argumentum, qualiter per annos ab incarnatione Domini invenire possis breviter ea, quae queries ad bissextum inveniendum*	4. Argument: how you can quickly find on the basis of the years from the incarnation of the Lord the year in the bissextile cycle you are looking for
V *Item de eadem re*	5. Likewise on the same matter
VI *Argumentum ad indictionem inveniendam*	6. Argument on finding the indiction
VII *Item quota sit indictio*	7. Likewise which indiction it happens to be
VIII *Argumentum, quot sint epactae*	8. Argument: which epact happens to be
VIIII *Est nam et alio ratio*	9. For there is another calculation
X *Item alia regula*	10. Likewise another rule

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compilation of the *Computus Rhenanus*, for which see Warntjes, "*Argumenta*," 75–76. The dates AD 764, 771, and 780 can frequently be found in the manuscripts. For the computus of AD 789, see n. 70.

[91] Borst, *Schriften*, 660–772.

[92] *Admonitio generalis* 70: Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Michael Glatthaar, eds. and trans., *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen* (Hannover: 2012), 222–25.

[93] The ascription of the *Lib. ann.* to Alcuin is analysed in detail and rejected by Springsfeld, *Alkuins Einfluß*, 90–104, 156–60, 171, 185–88, 215–16, 236–37, 255, 278–79, 294–302, 329–98. For Verona, see Arno Borst, "Alkuin und die Enzyklopädie von 809," in *Science in western and eastern civilization in Carolingian time*, eds. Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel: 1993), 61–63; Borst, *Schriften*, 660–61.

[94] Borst, *Schriften*, 676–78.

XI Item de eadem ratione	11. Likewise on the same calculation
XII Est etiam et alio ratio de eadem re	12. There is also another calculation of the same matter
XIII De diebus epactarum	13. On the days of the epacts
XIIII Leva namque lunae epactas certe clude cunctas intra	14. Keep all lunar epacts securely included
XV Argumentum, quot sint concurrentes septimane dies	15. Argument: which concurrent day of the week happens to be
XVI Item alia	16. Likewise another
XVII Argumentum de qualibet feria	17. Likewise on whatever weekday
XVIII Est et aliud argumentum ad inveniendam feriam	18. There is another argument on finding the weekday
XVIIII Incipit calculatio, quomodo repperiri posset, quota feria singulis annis quarta decima luna paschae occurrat	19. It begins the calculation on how it is possible to find on which weekday the Easter full moon occurs in any given year
XX Quota sit feria Kalendas Ianuarii per singulos annos	20. Which weekday happens to be on the Calends of January in any given year
XXI Quot dies sint Kalendas Ianuarias	21. Which days happen to be on the Calends of January
XXII De initio diei	22. On the beginning of the day
XXIII Item alia	23. Likewise another
XXIIII Argumentum, quotus sit ciclus decennovenalis	24. Argument: which year in the decemnovenal cycle happens to be
XXV Argumentum, quotus sit ciclus lunaris	25. Argument: which year in the lunar cycle happens to be
XXVI Argumentum, quotus sit annus in ciclo solari	26. Argument: which year in the solar cycle happens to be
XXVII Quotus sit annus in ciclo solari	27. Which year in the solar cycle happens to be
XXVIII Item de eadem ratione	28. Likewise on the same calculation
XXVIIII Argumentum de termino paschali inveniendo	29. Argument on finding the paschal terminus
XXX Item alia	30. Likewise another
XXXI Item de eadem ratione	31. Likewise about the same calculation
XXXII Versus de eadem re	32. Verses on the same matter
XXXIII De nativitate lunae	33. On the (Easter) new moon
XXXIIII Item alia	34. Likewise another
XXXV Item de eadem ratione	35. Likewise on the same calculation

XXXVI De paschali ratione	36. On Easter calculation
XXXVII De Christianorum pascha	37. On the pasch of the Christians
XXXVIII Quot diebus debeamus pascha celebrari	38. On the number of days on which we have to celebrate Easter
XXXVIIII De accensione lunae	39. On the waxing of the moon
XL Argumentum, in quo puncto luna accendatur, vel quota sit aetas eiusdem lunae ipsa diei	40. Argument: at which number of points the moon rises, or which age of that same moon happens to be on that very day
XLI Item de eadem re	41. Likewise on the same matter
XLII Argumentum, quota sit luna in Kalendis Ianuarii	42. Argumentum: Which moon happens to be on the Calends of January
XLIII Est aliud argumentum de qualibet luna	43. This is another argument on any given moon
XLIIII Argumentum, quot horas luna luceat	44. Argument: How many hours does the moon shine
XLV Item de eadem re	45. Likewise on the same matter
XLVI Argumentum de cursu lunae per signa	46. Argumentum on the course of the moon through the (zodiac) signs
XLVII Item de eadem re	47. Likewise on the same matter
XLVIII Racio lunaris in anno bissextili	48. Lunar calculation in bissextile years
XLVIIII De ratione saltus lunae	49. On the calculation of the leap of the moon
L. Item de eadem re	50. Likewise on the same matter
LI Concordia maris et lunae malina, ledon, malina, ledon	51. The correspondence between the sea and the moon: spring tide, neap tide, spring tide, neap tide
LII Loca embolismorum	52. The places of the embolisms
LIII De ratione aequinoctii	53. On the calculation of the equinox
LIIII De augmento diei vel noctis	54. On the increase of day(light) or night(light)
LV De ratione longissimi diei vel brevissimae noctis	55. On the calculation of the longest day or the shortest night
LVI De ogdoade et endecade	56. On the *ogdoas* and the *hendecas*
LVII De nomine decennovenali	57. On the term "decemnovenal cycle"
LVIII De differentia lunaris compoti	58. On the differences of lunar calculations
LVIIII Qualis sit annus communis	59. The characteristics of the common year

LX *Qualis sit annus solaris*	60. The characteristics of the solar year
LXI *De particione temporum*	61. On the divisions of time
LXII *Ubi incipiant epactae vel concurrentes*	62. Where (in the Julian calendar) the epacts and the concurrents begin
LXIII *De ratione bisse*	63. On the rationale of the fraction 3/4
LXIIII *De quattuor temporibus in anno*	64. On the four season in a year
LXV *De ratione numerorum*	65. On the rationale of numbers
LXVI *De quinque stellis, quae dicuntur planetae*	66. On the five stars, which are called planets
LXVII *Plinius Secundus in libro octavo decimo, cum de astrologia disputasset, de duabus stellis ita disseruit*	67. Pliny the Second (the Elder) had this to say about the two stars in book 18, where he lectured on astrology
LXVIII *Item eiusdem paulo ante in eodem libro*	68. Likewise by the same (author) slightly earlier in the same book
LXVIIII *De cursu solis et lunae per signa*	69. On the course of the sun and the moon through the (zodiac) signs
LXX *Opinatio philosophica de spatio aeris*	70. Philosophical opinion on air space

Hardly any of these headings bear any resemblance to those found in either the *Etymologiae* or Isidore's *De natura rerum*. In the *Libellus annalis*, as in this genre of the computistical formulary more generally, there was no room for Isidore. Isidore's interest lay in defining terms etymologically, while these formularies principally provided algorithms for calendrical calculation, of which Isidore was either ignorant or disinterested. Only when definitions were needed can traces of Isidore be found. A good example is the very first chapter on various types of years.[95] In *Etym.* 5.36, Isidore had outlined 3 types (*genera*) of years, the lunar "year" of 30 days, the solstitial year of 12 months, and the great year (*magnus annus*) of numerous solstitial years (the undefined period it takes all planets to return to their initial position in the zodiac). Throughout his work, however, other types of years could be found: the solar year of 365 ¼ years of *Etym.* 5.36.1; the common and embolismic years of *Etym.* 6.17.21–24; the bissextile year of 366 days of *Etym.* 6.17.25; the *iubileus annus* of *Etym.* 5.37.3.[96] Bede, in his *De temporum ratione*, used much of this information, outlining four lunar (sidereal lunar month of 27 days and 6 hours, synodic lunar month of 29 days and 12 hours, and common and embolismic years of 354 and 384 days, respectively) and three solar years (sidereal solar year of 365 ¼ days, common and bissextile years of 365 and 366 days, respectively), and the *annus magnus* defined as the period it takes for all planets to return to their initial position in the zodiac.[97] The *Libellus annalis* of AD 793 expands this list of different types of years to 17, principally adding information about the planetary orbits and the *iubileus annus* from a different chapter of Bede's work.[98] Thus, this Carolingian text incorporates Isidorian thought through a Bedan filter. Three of the years mentioned demonstrate the textual relationship:

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[95] Borst, *Schriften*, 679–83.

[96] Isidore produced a more comprehensive list of eight different types of years in *De natura rerum* 6.3–4, Fontaine, ed., *Traité*, 192–95 (this edition will be used throughout): *annus*

annus embolismus:

> *Etym.* 6.17.22–23: Embolismus annus est qui tredecim menses lunares, id est trecentos octuaginta quattuor dies habere monstratur. [...] Embolismus autem nomen grecum est, quod interpretatur latine superaugmentum, eo quod expleat numerum annorum communium, quibus undecim lunares dies esse cernuntur.
>
> Bede, *De temporum ratione* 36: Quartus qui embolismus graece dicitur, id est superaugmentum, et habet xiii menses, id est dies ccclxxxiiii.
>
> *Lib. ann.* 1.4: Quartus, qui est embolismus grece dicitur, id est superaugmentum, et habet tredecim menses, id est dies trecentos octoginta quattuor.

annus iubileus:

> *Etym.* 5.37.3: Iubileus interpretatur remissionis annus. Est enim Hebraicus et sermo et numerous, qui septenis annorum hebdomadibus, id est quadraginta nouem annis texitur, in quo clangebantur tubae et ad omnes reuertebatur antiqua possessio, debita absoluebantur, confirmabantur libertates.

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naturalis (the period from one solar eclipse to the next); *annus magnus* (the period it takes all planets to return to their initial position in the zodiac, here of 19 years); *annus solistitialis* (the period it takes the sun to traverse the zodiac); *annus civilis* of 365 days; *annus communis* and *embolismus* of 354 and 384 days, respectively; *annus bissextilis* of 366 days; *annus iubeleus* of 49 years.

[97] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 36, Jones, *Bedae opera*, 249.

[98] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 8, Jones, *Bedae opera*, 196–98.

> Bede, *De temporum ratione* 8: Sexta, anni iubilei, hoc est remissionis, hebdomada est, quae septem hebdomadibus annorum, hoc est xlix annis, texitur; qua expleta, hoc est quinquagesimo demum anno incipiente, tubae clarius resonabant et ad omnes, iuxta legem, possessio revertebatur antiqua.

> *Lib. ann.* 1.16: Sexta decima species anni est iubelei, qui est annus remissionis, et quinquaginta impletur annis.

annus magnus:

> *Etym.* 5.36.1: aut magnus, omnibus planetis in eundem locum recurrentibus, qui fit post annos solstitiales plurimos.

> Bede, *De temporum ratione* 36: Annus magnus est cum omnia simul errantia sidera ad sua quaeque loca quae simul habuere recurrunt.

> *Lib. ann.* 1.17: Septimus decimus annus est, qui vocatur magnus annus planetarum, dum omnia sidera ad locum revertuntur, ubi primum statua fuerunt, et quingentis triginta duobus annis impletur.

More generally, Bede defined most of the fundamental computistical terminology. In this, Bede (and others) drew heavily on Isidore, but the Northumbrian's explanations were more conclusive. Also, and more importantly, Bede's textbook on the reckoning of time became a more obvious and cohesive reference point than the scattered references in the *Etymologiae*. Only rarely were the *Etymologiae* still consulted directly, mainly as additional information when the strictly computistical texts were felt to be wanting. The *Libellus annalis* provides another excellent example in this respect: three excerpts were added from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, here entitled *De interlunio* (*Etym.* 3.54 [= 3.55 Lindsay]), *De eclypsin solis* (Etym. 3.57 [= 3.58 Lindsay]), and *De eclypsin lunis* (*Etym.* 3.58.1–2 [= 3.59 Lindsay], also including excerpts from *Etym.* 49.1 [= 50 Lindsay]), to chapter 69 (*De cursu solis et lunae per signa*), which is exclusively based on Bede. Of the 81 manuscripts which Borst lists as containing parts of the *Libellus annalis*, an impressive 32 codices from the 9th to the 12th century include these Isidorian excerpts (or at least some of them, and not necessarily directly connected to *Lib. ann.* 69). Isidore was still used in computistical formularies towards the end of the 8th century, but two trends worked strongly against him: his lack of engagement with calendrical calculations, which formed the core of computus, and the reworking of his definitions in a more lucid and more accessible way in Irish textbooks and, especially, by Bede.

4.2 *Calendars*

The other important early medieval literary genre introduced by Willibrord to Francia was the calendarium. The Julian calendar became authoritative in the Roman Empire in 46 BC, and it remained the standard in the successor kingdoms after the fall of the Western part of the Empire.[99] More importantly, it was embraced by Christianity, and the liturgical calendar was designed accordingly. With the Julian calendar's counter-intuitive structure of counting days backwards from fixed marker days (e.g. Ides of March = 15 March; second [day before the] Ides of March = 14 March; third [day before the] Ides of March = 13 March; etc.), some explanation was needed for students of the emerging science of computus. In *Etym.* 5.33, Isidore provided etymologies for all twelve Julian calendar months (January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December), and for the three marker days (Calends, Nones, Ides), but similar to his account of the Easter cycle, he did not provide practical information, not even the essential details, such as how many days the individual months have, or on which days the marker days are placed in the individual months. As with his chapter on Easter, 7th- and 8th-century computists embraced Isidore's definitions, but they used more appropriate literature for the technical details. For calendrical theory, relief came through excerpts from Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, which circulated under the title *Disputatio Chori et Praetextati*.[100]

Unlike his treatment of Easter, Isidore did not provide a table in his discussion of the Julian calendar months. This is important, because Isidore would have been a (if not the) prime witness for the transmission of the Julian calendar from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. As the transmission history stands, there is a fundamental gap between the calendars of Philocalus and Polemius Silvivius of AD 354 and 448/449, respectively, and Willibrord's calendar of the late 7th century.[101] The late antique calendars were produced in a Christian milieu; the calendars themselves, however, portray no information concerning the regulation of the liturgical year. This was the key function of the calendar after it was fully absorbed into monastic intellectual culture, and Willibrord's calendar is the first of its kind to include such information: it marks the beginning of the medieval calendar tradition. Within the century after its introduction to the continent in AD 690, the calendar had received a prototypical format which dominated the early and high Middle Ages right into the 12th century. At least this is the theory of Arno Borst, who has admirably outlined this tradition in his monumental three-volume edition of the so-called *Reichskalender*.[102] The centrepiece of Borst's theory is the Lorsch calendar of AD 789 (preserved in Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1869).[103]

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[99] See now Sacha Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, states, and societies* (Oxford: 2012), 204–27.

[100] An *editio princeps* of this fundamental text with translation and substantial commentary by Leofranc Holford-Strevens is in press.

[101] The *Fasti* of Philocalus and Polemius Silvius are edited in parallel in Theodor Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* 1.1 (Berlin: 1863), 332–57; Willibrord's calendar is edited by H.A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St. Willibrord: A facsimile with transcription, introduction and notes* (London: 1918).

A calendar principally contains twelve sections, one for each month. More often than not, each month occupies one manuscript page. The basic structure for each month is a list of all its dates. Since the calendar was appropriated to serve specific liturgical customs, saints' days were included for some dates. Also, key computistical information relating to the calculation of Easter (or not) was noted, such as the spring equinox, the beginnings of the seven embolismic months, the *saltus lunae*, the beginnings of the seasons, and the entry of the sun into specific zodiac signs. On the left-hand margin, alphabetic and numeric sequences allowed for the calculation of the weekday, lunar age, and place of the moon in the zodiac for any given date for any given year. Also, additional information was prefixed and attached to each month.

Tracing Isidorian influence in the calendar tradition is even more problematic than it is for the other computistical genres, simply because the transmission history is so complex. Borst has identified and classified 252 calendars dating between the 8th and the 12th centuries that fitted his definition of being ultimately descended from Charlemagne's *Reichskalender*.[104] To a surprising degree, his prototype calendar (the Lorsch calendar of AD 789), the basis of this tradition, shows no visible trace of Isidorian influence. Only the mention of the Dog Days (the period of visibility of the Dog Star, Sirius) may go back to Isidore. For 14 July, the Lorsch calendar notes *dies caniculari*. The term may have been taken from *Etym.* 3.70.14 (= 3.71.14 Lindsay) or *De natura rerum* 26.14 (both *dies caniculares*). The more likely scenario, however (especially since Isidore did not provide a specific date), is that this information was taken from a Roman (?) model, as it was an integral part of Polemius Silvius's calendar,[105] and maybe also of the *Codex cosmographium* mentioned by Bede.[106] In fact, if Borst's reconstruction of the earliest medieval calendar transmission is correct, a Roman model moved from mid-7th-century Rome to Anglo-Saxon England to Charlemagne's court in the AD 780s in a relatively unaltered form.[107] Thus, the pre–mid-7th-century Roman origin of this archetype of the medieval calendar would place it outside of Isidorian influence.

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[102] Arno Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Hannover: 2001).

[103] Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1869, 1v-11v (Prüm, *saec.* IX$^{2/3}$). This *Reichskalender* / Lorsch calendar of AD 789 can best be accessed through Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform* (Hannover: 1998), 253–301.

[104] Borst, *Reichskalender*, XIII–XX, LIII, 54–333; an additional 13 calendars are added in Arno Borst, *Der Streit um den karolingischen Kalender* (Hannover: 2004), 129–58.

[105] The *dies canicularis* is noted by Polemius Silvius for 27 July (p. 347). In the earliest medieval calendar tradition, between Willibrord (*c.*AD 690) and the Reichskalender (AD 789), the *dies caniculares* can be found for 14 July in Trento MP 1590, 211v (northern Italy, *c.*AD

On the other hand, the relatively late date of origin of the defining prototype exposed it to Bedan influence. In fact, Paul Meyvaert has argued that Borst's *Reichskalender* represents, in effect, the lost calendar originally attached to Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[108] Certainly by AD 789, originally Isidorian information would now be cited through a Bedan filter, as discussed above. A good example here are the beginnings of the Egyptian months. Isidore (DNR 4.7) had outlined the Julian calendar date on which each of the Egyptian months commenced. About their names, however, he remained silent. Bede, on the other hand, provided both in *De temporum ratione*, taking the dates from Isidore, and the names from Polemius Silvius or a comparable Roman calendar.[109] Since the names of the Egyptian months are explicitly mentioned in the *Reichskalender* at the date of their commencements, this information comes directly from Bede, not Isidore.

A more fruitful approach for tracing Isidorian influence in the early medieval calendar tradition may be to focus on its earliest, pre-*Reichskalender* specimen.[110] The computistical information in these is very limited; there is a strong focus on martyrological (and some historical) entries. This may hint at a development of the early medieval calendar tradition independent of Roman exemplars, straight out of brevaries (short martyrologies) by computistically trained

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835; the calendar can be dated to AD 772; *dies canicularii*); Paris BnF Lat. 7530, 279r (Montecassino, *c.*AD 7:779–798; online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84900617.r=7530?rk=42918;4; *dies caliculares*). Pliny NH 2.40.107; 18.269, and after him Bede, *De natura rerum* 11 (ed. by Charles W. Jones in CCSL 123, 203), talk about the rise of the star *Canicula* on 18 July, not the following *dies canicularis*. See also Arno Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte: Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments*, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg: 1995), 134–35.

[106] For the *Codex cosmographium* and Bede's potential use of it, see Paul Meyvaert, "Discovering the calendar (*annalis libellus*) attached to Bede's own copy of *De temporum ratione*," *Analecta Bollandiana* 120 (2002), 16–25.

[107] This is most pronouncedly formulated by Borst, *Streit*, 10–11.

[108] Meyvaert, "Discovering the calendar."

[109] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 11, Jones, *Bedae opera*, 205.

[110] A good overview of these can be found in Borst, *Kalenderreform*, 189–200. I also consider the calendar in Trento MP 1590, 204r-217v as pre-*Reichskalender*, as it provides the date AD 772. Borst, *Reichskalender*, 286–88, vehemently rejected this date, but I can see no compelling reason for this rejection.

monks. Certainly, there is no trace of Polemius Silvius in Willibrord's calendar. An interesting case in point is Willibrord's references to the beginning of the seasons. Polemius Silvius had noted these at the equinoxes and solstices. Willibrord, on the other hand, followed Isidore (DNR 7.5) by setting the beginning of the seasons exactly 30 days before the equinoxes and solstices. Isidore's influence is further revealed by Willibrord's mention of the length of each season. Interestingly, however, while Willibrord's calendar reproduces the exact same date for the beginnings of the seasons as Isidore (VIII Kal. Mar. = 22 February—spring; VIIII Kal. Jun. = 24 May—summer; X Kal. Sept. = 23 August—autumn; VII Kal. Dec. = 25 November—winter), the number of days attributed to each season is different (spring: Isidore 91, Willibrord 91; summer: Isidore 91, Willibrord 91; autumn: Isidore 93, Willibrord –; winter: Isidore 90, Willibrord 91). In terms of the number of days Willibrord is closer to a passage in the Bobbio Computus, and it may well be that Willibrord here worked from such an (Irish?) reworking of Isidore rather than directly from the bishop of Seville's writings.[111] Later practice, in the *Reichskalender* and subsequently, of noting both Isidore's and Bede's beginnings of the seasons (Bede's falls two weeks earlier than Isidore's) is heralded by the famous Ilmmuenster fragment in Anglo-Saxon script of the second quarter of the 8th century.[112]

Likewise, the Anglo-Saxon Walderdorffer fragment of the mid- to late 8th century noted the traditional Roman solstices and equinoxes, which may well have been taken from Isidore DNR 8.1 or *Etym.* 5.34.2–3.[113] The Irish-Merovingian Nivelles calendar of the first half of the 8th century also noted the old Roman winter solstice on 25 December but otherwise preferred the Greek date, four days earlier.[114] Irish computistical texts of the early 8th century had recorded both traditions, and it therefore is not surprising to find them both in an Irish-influenced calendar of a few decades later. Both traditions remained popular in later centuries.

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[111] Bobbio Computus 27 (Milan BA H 150 inf., 13v = PL 129, 1290). It seems that Willibrord intended to place the beginning of winter on VIII Kal. Dec. rather than Isidore's VII Kal. Dec. For the variation between 24 and 25 November in the early medieval calendar tradition, see Borst, *Reichskalender*, 1521–26.

[112] Munich HAS Raritaetenselekt 108 (now lost); Klaus Gamber, ed., *Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar und weitere frühe Liturgiebücher aus Regensburg* (Regensburg: 1975), 49–52. See esp. Paul Grosjean, "Un fragment d'obituaire anglo-saxon du VIII^{e} siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961), 320–45; Mechthild Gretsch, "Æthelthryth of Ely in a lost calendar from Munich," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), 159–77.

[113] Private possession of Graf Walderdorff in Schloss Hauzenstein (Regensburg), Gamber, *Bonifatius-Sakramentar*, 53–59 (followed by a facsimile).

[114] Zürich ZB Rh. 30, 166v-169v, Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr, eds., *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense: Handschrift Rh 30 der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Fribourg: 1970), 294–99 (48–53 for commentary).

Isidore also has his place in the post-*Reichskalender* tradition. Quite expectedly, Isidore's etymologies of the names of the months (DNR 4.3–4; *Etym.* 5.33.3–11) feature in some calendars as a prelude or, more often, appendix to each month. Some quotations are direct, others through a version of the Irish *De divisionibus temporum* (which included citations from Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, or rather the tract *Disputatio Chori et Praetextati* = *Sat.* 1.12.2–15.20, which enjoyed a separate transmission). Two lines of transmission can be traced for these etymologies in the early medieval calendar tradition, one branching out from late 9th-century St Gall to south-east Germany (especially Borst's calendars F 4, 6, f 2, 3), the other from the Loire Valley of the late 10th century to southern France (represented by G 1 and 2). It is noteworthy that these Isidorian additions were made in areas traditionally influenced by Irish thought.

More isolated examples of Isidorian influence on the calendar tradition also point to centres with Irish connections. For example, Isidore's list of concordances of the length of daylight in each month (DNR 5.1: January = December, February = November, etc.) appears as an addition to the calendar proper in a 9th-century Reichenau codex (and also in a late-9th century manuscript from Echternach).[115] More interestingly, Isidore's curious reference to *IV Nonas Martii* (2 March) in connection with the bissextile day (*Etym.* 6.17.27) can be found, explicitly mentioning Isidore by name, in the mid-9th century Loire Valley–northern French codices Karlsruhe BLB Aug. 167 (F 2) and St Gall SB 248 (F 3). These calendars were heavily influenced by Irish thought, as this reference to the bissextile day on 2 March reveals as much as the Irish saints mentioned therein.[116] From northern France–Loire Valley this Isidorian concept may have found its way back to Spain, if the calendars in El Escorial RB d.I.2 (Albelda, AD 974–76) and Silos AM 4 (Albelda, AD 1052) (c 19, 20 in Borst) were not fed by more native traditions.

On the whole, however, Isidorian influence in the calendar tradition is extremely minimal. Whether Bede or Charlemagne revolutionised this genre in the 8th century is likely to remain a matter of dispute. Certainly, Bedan (and

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[115] Reichenau: Paris BnF Lat. 4860, 160r (F1 in Borst *Der karolingische Reichskalender*; online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721203n.r=4860?rk=42918;4); Echternach: Paris BnF Lat. 9433, 14r (A8 in Borst; online at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8479011k.r=9433?rk=42918;4).

[116] For a thorough study of the calendar in Karlsruhe BLB Aug. perg. 167 (the only one in Irish script), see Marc Schneiders, "The Irish calendar in the Karlsruhe Bede (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. CLXVII, ff. 16v–17v)," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 31 (1989), 33–78.

Plinian) thought almost completely dominated the computistical and astronomical references provided in this genre. The limited space which the calendar structure provided certainly did not leave much room for discussion of alternative views. If genuinely Isidorian quotes can be traced in early medieval calendars, they relate to a pre-Bedan or pre-Bedan influence stratum (with Bede's computistica not receving a major reception before the AD 780s), or to local, often Irish-influenced preferences.

4.3 *Computistical Encyclopaediae*

If Isidore is least represented in the calendar tradition, he is best attested in the third genre of computistical texts to be discussed for the Caroligian period, and the only one that originated in the Carolingian Empire. The *Annalis libellus* of AD 793, though still a computistical formulary, had reached a considerable size. It appears that shortly after this date a central decision was taken for the production of comprehensive computistical encyclopaediae. The two key codices of the Carolingian era, produced shortly after AD 800 in Cologne and Verona (Cologne DB 83-II; Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1831), are the earliest attestations of a substantial collection of diverse material. In AD 809, the year of the famous Council of Aachen, this material was excerpted and rearranged, eventually pressed into a more cohesive structure in seven books, dealing with (1) the liturgical calendar and chronology, (2) basic calendrical formulae, (3) the Julian calendar year (solar calculations), (4) lunar calculations, (5) astronomy, (6) measurement, and (7) cosmology.[117] This was followed in AD 818 by an even more substantial work, which is commonly attributed to the bishopric of Salzburg.[118] It was arranged in 115 chapters, not in books, and therefore lacks the clear structure of the earlier work of AD 809. Here, the organising principle was literary genres rather than subjects. The first part (c. 1–12), on chronology and the liturgical calendar, deals with tables; the second (c. 13–63) is modelled on the computistical formulary; the third (c. 64–99) is an abridged version of Bede's computistical textbook, *De temporum ratione*; the fourth (c. 100–08), fifth (c. 109–11), and sixth (c. 112) are modelled on the encyclopaedia of AD 809, outlining astronomy, measurement, and cosmology; and c. 113–15 are simply addenda.

In these two encyclopaediae, the section on cosmology would have been the most natural place to incorporate Isidorian thought. However, Isidore's *De natura rerum* was superseded by Bede's work of the same name, which was included in full in both. Bede had outshone his predecessors and teachers, whose voices could only be heard through his filter, not only in computistics, but also in cosmology.

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[117] The encyclopaedia of AD 809 is ed. under the abbreviated title of *Lib. comp.* by Borst, *Schriften*, 1054–1334.

[118] The encyclopaedia of AD 818 is ed. under the abbreviated title of *Lib. calc.* by Borst, *Schriften*, 1367–1451.

But the Carolingian intellectual centre, the Aachen palace school (or any other intellectual circle), did not dominate or control scientific thought in the long run (presumably not even in the short run).[119] The disintegration of the Carolingian Empire from the AD 830s onwards led to the establishment of new intellectual powerhouses, and the periphery overtook the former centre, employing its own approaches to learning, its own preferences in essential readings. Good examples are Fleury and St Gall, whose influence is visible because of an excellent transmission history of its libraries.[120] Both monasteries benefitted from Irish intellectual thought, which the Carolingian centre around the Aachen palace school had tried to sideline in favour of Bede as the authoritative author. Since Irish tradition was strongly based on Isidore, the master received recognition when his students were consulted.

An excellent example of an Irish-influenced encyclopaedia is transmitted in Vatican BAV Reg. Lat. 123, written at Ripoll in AD 1056.[121] But except for a brief section inserted at this time and place,[122] the content reveals an origin in the mid-9th century Loire Valley (probably Fleury).[123] Compared to the two encyclopaediae of AD 809 and 818, this one has a more structured approach, classifying scientific thought in four categories/books: (1) solar theory; (2) lunar theory; (3) cosmology; and (4) astronomy. The first two books have been discussed above, and they show as strong an Isidorian influence as appropriate for the subject matters. The third and fourth books are best suited for comparison with the earlier encyclopaediae. While the texts of AD 809 and 818 simply reproduce Bede's *De natura rerum* for cosmology, the Vatican encyclopaedia assembles knowledge directly from various sources, principally Bede, Pliny, and Isidore.[124] For astronomy, the two earlier encyclopaediae principally relied on Pliny. The Vatican encyclopaedia again presents a much broader approach, as the table of contents of book 4 illustrates:[125]

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[119] For critique of Borst's model of scientific thought having been centralised in the Carolingian Empire, see Warntjes, "Köln"; James Palmer, "Calculating time and the end of time in the Carolingian world, c.740–820," *English Historical Review* 126 (2011), 1307–31; Ivana Dobcheva, "The umbrella of Carolingian computus," in *La compilación del saber en la edad media*, eds. María José Muñoz Jiménez, Patricia Cañizares Ferriz, and Cristina Martin (Porto: 2013), 211–30.

[120] For Fleury, see Marco Mostert, *The library of Fleury: a provisional list of manuscripts* (Hilversum: 1989). The St Gall manuscripts are readily accessible on http://www.cesg.unifr.ch/en/.

[121] On folio 126r-v, the only copy of a letter by the monk Oliva to the abbot Oliva (of Ripoll) is transmitted; the date of AD 1056 is provided by a note to that year in the Easter table on folio 118r: *eodem anno factus est liber iste*.

[122] Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, 111r, 119r-127v, 151r-v.

[123] For the Fleury connection, see Charles W. Jones in CCSL 123, 692. A full-scale study of this manuscript is in preparation.

Incipiunt capitula libri quarti De astranomia	The chapter headings of the fourth book on astronomy begin:
I *Isidori quid sit astranomia*	1. What astronomy may be according to Isidore
II *Eiusdem de inuentoribus astronomiae*	2. On the inventors of astronomy according to the same
III *Eiusdem de scriptoribus astronomia*	3. On the writers of astronomy according to the same
IIII *Eiusdem de differentia astronomiae et astrologiae*	4. On the difference between astronomy and astrology according to the same
V *Eiusdem de astronomiae ratione*	5. On the rationale of astronomy according to the same
VI *Eiusdem de caelo eiusque nomine*	6. On the heaven and its name according to the same
VII *Eiusdem de septem planetis caeli*	7. On the seven planets of the heaven according to the same
VIII *De spatia caelorum*	8. On the spheres of the heavens
VIIII *De nominibus caelorum secundum Grecos*	9. On the names of the heavens according to the Greeks
X *Isidori de caelo et aethere*	10. On the heaven and the ether according to Isidore
XI *Bedae de firmamento*	11. On the firmament according to Bede
XII *Eiusdem de uaria altitudine caeli*	12. On the varying altitude of the heaven according to the same
XIII *Eiusdem de caelo superiore*	13. On the higher heaven according to the same
XIIII *Isidori de caelesti spere situ*	14. On the location of the celestial sphere according to Isidore
XV *Igini de centro*	15. On the centre according to Hyginus

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[124] See the table of contents for book 3 in Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, 127r-v.

[125] Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 123, 151r-152r.

xvi *Isidori de axe caeli*	16. On the axis of the heaven according to Isidore
xvii *Hygini de caelestibus polis*	17. On the celestial poles according to Hyginus
xviii *Eiusdem de significationibus*	18. On their significance according to the same
xviiii *Isidori de spere motu*	19. On the movement of the sphere according to Isidore
xx *Eiusdem de spere cursu*	20. On the course of the sphere according to the same
xxi *Eiusdem de celeritate caeli*	21. On the speed of heaven according to the same
xxii *Eiusdem de carminibus caeli*	22. On the poems of heaven according to the same
xxiii *Eiusdem de conuexis caeli*	23. On the arches of heaven according to the same
xxiiii *Eiusdem de ianuis caeli*	24. On the doors of heaven according to the same
xxv *Eiusdem de gemina facie caeli*	25. On the double shape of heaven according to the same
xxvi *Eiusdem de emispherion*	26. On the hemisphere according to the same
xxvii *Bedae et Isidori de aquis caelestibus*	27. On the celestial waters according to Bede and Isidore
xxviii *Isidori, Bedae et Hygini de quinque circulis caeli*	28. On the five circles of heaven according to Isidore, Bede, and Hyginus
xxviiii *Macrobii Ambrosii de decem circulis caeli*	29. On the ten circles of heaven according to Macrobius Ambrosius
xxx *Bedae et Isidori de lacteo circulo*	30. On the milky way according to Bede and Isidore
xxxi *Isidori et Bedae de zodiaco circulo*	31. On the zodiac according to Isidore and Bede
xxxii *Isidori de nominibus stellarum et lapsis*	32. On the names of the stars and their fallings according to Isidore
xxxiii *Eiusdem cur sidera dicuntur*	33. Why the stars are so called according to the same
xxxiiii *Eiusdem de differentia stellarum siderumque atque astrorum*	34. On the difference between stars, star clusters, and constellations according to the same

XXXV *Eiusdem de lumine stellarum*	35. On the light of the stars according to the same
XXXVI *De stellarum situ*	36. On the location of the stars
XXXVII *Eiusdem de stellarum cursu*	37. On the course of the stars according to the same
XXXVIII *Eiusdem de uario cursu stellarum*	38. On the varying course of the stars according to the same
XXXVIIII *Eiusdem de stellarum interuallis*	39. On the intervals of the stars according to the same
XL *Bedae de stellis natura*	40. On the nature of the stars according to Bede
XLI *Isidori de circulari numero stellarum*	41. On the circular number of the stars according to Isidore
XLII *Eiusdem de precedentia et antegradatione stellarum*	42. On the preceding and the forward motion of the stars according to the same
XLIII *Eiusdem de remotiore et retrogradatione stellarum*	43. On the withdrawing and retrograde motion of the stars according to the same
XLIIII *Eiusdem de statu stellarum*	44. On the position of the stars according to the same
XLV *Eiusdem utrum sidera animam habeant*	45. Which of the stars have a soul according to the same
XLVI *Eiusdem de natura solis*	46. On the nature of the sun according to the same
XLVII *Bedae et Isidori de cursu et magnitudine solis*	47. On the course and the magnitude of the sun according to Bede and Isidore
XLVIII *Isidori et Calcidii de quantitate solis*	48. On the strength of the sun according to Isidore and Calcidius
XLVIIII *Isidori et Hygini de solis cursu*	49. On the course of the sun according to Isidore and Hyginus
L *Isidori de itinere solis*	50. On the itinerary of the sun according to Isidore
LI *Eiusdem de effectu solis*	51. On the effect of the sun according to the same
LII *Isidori et Bedae de eclipsis solis*	52. On the solar eclipse according to Isidore and Bede
LIII *Bedae de magnitudine uel defectu solis et lunae*	53. On the magnitude or eclipsing of the sun and the moon according to Bede

liiii *Macrobii Ambrosii de signis in sole*	54. On the signs in the sun according to Macrobius Ambrosius
lv *Bedae de natura et situ lunae*	55. On the nature and location of the moon according to Bede
lvi *Isidori et Hygini de cursu lunae*	56. On the course of the moon according to Isidore and Hyginus
lvii *Hygini et Isidori et Calcidii de eclipsis lunae*	57. On the lunar eclipse according to Hyginus and Isidore and Calcidius
lviii *Plinii Secundi et Bedae ubi non sit eclipsis et quare*	58. Where the eclipse does not occur and why according to Pliny the Elder and Bede
lviiii *Isidori de uicinitate lunae ad terras*	59. On the closeness of the moon to the earth according to Isidore
lx *De signis lunae*	60. On the signs of the moon
lxi *Isidori de stellis planetis*	61. On the planets according to Isidore
lxii *Bedae de cursu planetarum*	62. On the course of the planets according to Bede
lxiii *Eiusdem de ordine earum*	63. On the order of these according to the same
lxiiii *Isidori de positione septem stellarum errantium*	64. On the position of the seven wandering stars according to Isidore
lxv *Bedae et Macrobii Ambrosii de absidibus earum*	65. On the orbits of these according to Bede and Macrobius Ambrosius
lxvi *Bedae et Macrobii Ambrosii de planetis quare mutant colores*	66. On the planets, why they change colours, according to Bede and Macrobius Ambrosius
lxvii *Isidori et Hygini de stella Martis*	67. On the planet Mars according to Isidore and Hyginus
lxviii *Hygini, Isidori et Fulgentii de stella Mercurii*	68. On the planet Mercury according to Hyginus, Isidore, and Fulgentius
lxviiii *Eorundem de stella Iouis*	69. On the planet Jupiter according to the same
lxx *Eorundem de stella Ueneris*	70. On the planet Venus according to the same
lxxi *Eorundem de stella Saturni*	71. On the planet Saturn according to the same
lxxii *Hygini de tonis septem errantium*	72. On the tone of the seven wandering stars

LXXIII Bedae de duodecim signis	73. On the twelve zodiac signs according to Bede
LXXIIII Isidori, Hygini, et Aratum de primo signo Arietis	74. On the first sign Aries according to Isidore, Hyginus, and Aratus
LXXV Eorundem de secundo signo Tauri	75. On the second sign Taurus according to the same
LXXVI Eorundem de tercio signo Geminorum	76. On the third sign Gemini according to the same
LXXVII Eorundem de quarto signo Cancri	77. On the fourth sign Cancer according to the same
LXXVIII Eorundem de quinto signo Leonis	78. On the fifth sign Leo according to the same
LXXVIIII Eorundem de sexto signo Uirginis	79. On the sixth sign Virgo according to the same
LXXX Eorundem de septimo signo Librae et VIIIo Scorpionis	80. On the seventh sign Libra and the eighth Scorpio according to the same
LXXXI Eorundem de nono signo Sagittarii	81. On the ninth sign Sagittarius according to the same
LXXXII Eorundem de decimo signo Capricorni	82. On the tenth sign Capricorn according to the same
LXXXIII Eorundem de undecimo signo Aquarii	83. On the eleventh sign Aquarius according to the same
LXXXIIII Eorundem de duodecimo signo Piscium	84. On the twelfth sign Pisces according to the same
LXXXV Macrobii Ambrosii exce[r]ptum de astrologia	85. Excerpt on astrology according to Macrobius Ambrosius
LXXXVI De ceteris signis uersibus duodecim	86. On twelve further verses on the signs
LXXXVII Isidorii de nominibus astrorum	87. On the names of the stars according to Isidore
LXXXVIII Isidori, Hygini et Aratum de arcturo maiore	88. On Arcturus Major according to Isidore, Hyginus, and Aratus
LXXXVIIII Eorundem de arcturo minore	89. On the Arcturus Minor according to the same
xc Hygini et Arati de Dracone	90. On Draco according to Hyginus and Aratus
XCI Eorundem de Herculo	91. On Hercules according to the same
XCII Eorundem de Corona	92. On Corona according to the same

xciii Eorundem de Serpentario	93. On Serpentarius according to the same
xciiii Isidori et Hygini de signo Boote	94. On the constellation Boötes according to Isidore and Hyginus
xcv Eorundem de Auriga	95. On Auriga according to the same
xcvi Hygini et Arati de Cepheo	96. On Cepheus according to Hyginus and Aratus
xcvii Eorundem de Casiepia	97. On Cassiopeia according to the same
xcviii Eorundem de Andromeda	98. On Andromeda according to the same
xcviiii Eorundem de Equo	99. On Equus according to the same
c Eorundem de Deltoton	100. On Deltoton according to the same
ci Fulgentii et Hygini de Perseo	101. On Perseus according to Fulgentius and Hyginus
cii Isidori de Pliade	102. On Pleiades according to Isidore
ciii Hygini de Lyra	103. On Lyra according to Hyginus
ciiii Eiusdem de Cigno	104. On Cygnus according to the same
cv Eiusdem de Sagitta	105. On Sagitta according to the same
cvi Eiusdem de Aquila	106. On Aquila according to the same
cvii Eiusdem de Delphino	107. On Delphinus according to the same
cviii Isidori et Hygini de Orione	108. On Orion according to Isidore and Hyginus
cviiii Eorundem de Canicula	109. On Canicula according to the same
cx Isidori de cometis stella	110. On the comets according to Isidore
cxi Hygini de Lepore	111. On Leporis according to Hyginus
cxii Hygini de Naui	112. On Navus according to Hyginus
cxiii Eiusdem de Coetu	113. On Cetus according to the same
cxiiii Eiusdem de Heridano	114. On Eridanus according to the same
cxv Arati de Pisce qui auster dicitur	115. On Piscis, which is called Auster, according to Aratus
cxvi Hygini de Ara	116. On Ara according to Hyginus
cxvii Eiusdem de Centauro	117. On Centaurus according to the same

cxviii Eiusdem de Hydra	118. On Hydra according to the same
cxviiii Eiusdem de Anticano	119. On Anticanus according to the same
cxx Macrobii Ambrosii de circulis signiferis	120. On the circles of the constellations according to Macrobius Ambrosius
cxxi Isidori de errore gentilium	121. On the error of the gentiles according to Isidore
cxxii De expositio Calcidii in Timeum Platonis	122. On the exposition of Calcidius on the Timaeus by Plato

The Vatican encyclopaedia demonstrates at least two crucial aspects. First, the Carolingian centre around the Aachen palace school of the early decades of the 9th century did not dominate the scientific thought of later decades. The centre's preference for Bede was not necessarily met by the developing intellectual hubs in other regions of the disintegrating empire, like Fleury and St Gall. In these monasteries, the Isidorian voice was stronger. Second, though Bede remained Isidore's (and the Irish's) main rival for what at this stage may be classified as traditional computistical thought, in the newly emerging discipline of astronomy a more serious challenge was posed by the revival of Isidore's predecessors, the late antique authors Pliny, Hyginus, Calcidius, Macrobius, Aratus (and Martianus Capella).

5 Revival of Isidorian Thought in the 10th and 11th Centuries (Isidore's Easter Table Continued)

Post-Carolingian computus (and thus Isidorian influence) is difficult to assess because of the sheer wealth of unclassified material: hundreds if not thousands of computistical manuscripts of the 9th to the 11th centuries have survived that await systematic analysis. From what is known at present, Isidore's Easter table received some sort of a revival between the mid-10th and the mid-12th centuries, in two phases.

The first phase, connected to the famous Abbo of Fleury, certainly is the more curious of the two. Towards the end of the 10th century, Abbo kicked off a trend of recalculating the incarnation era. Eight such attempts produced between the late 11th and the mid-12th centuries are well known to modern scholarship; a ninth awaits a thorough study.[126] The authors of these recalculations are classified as the "critical computists" in recent historiography.[127] Since the introduction of the Alexandrian Easter reckoning in the Latin West through Dionysius Exiguus's table, the incarnation era introduced (or copied) by Dionysius puzzled computists. In the 7th century, adherents of the Victorian reckoning confronted followers of Dionysius with the fact that for any potential year of Christ's resurrection, AD 31 or 34 (depending on the Gospel tradition followed), the Dionysiac reckoning produced data contrary to the Gospels (which indicated crucifixion on *luna* 14 or 15, resurrection on *luna* 16 or 17). Bede tried to browse over this problem with sarcasm and reference to authority.[128] Abbo then accused Bede of scholarly misconduct or tired- and laziness, as he had identified the problem but had not even tried to find a solution.[129] Abbo's thoughts on this question developed in two stages.[130] The first may be described as a chronographical solution: When inspecting Eusebius's chronicle (in Jerome's translation), Abbo realised that three years are missing in Dionysius's count of the period from Christ's birth to the accession of Diocletian; he therefore added three years to Dionysius's AD count and then constructed a new Easter table (for which see below) that produced resurrection data in accordance with the Gospels and Patristic tradition for the year 34 in his new count. Abbo's second attempt was chronological, based on the cyclical characteristics of the 532-year Easter cycle: The combined evidence of the Gospels and Latin Patristic tradition indicated that the resurrection had taken place on Sunday, 27 March, *luna* 17. In the 532-year Easter cycle, only the 13th year

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[126] See most recently, Peter Verbist, *Duelling with the past: medieval authors and the problems of the Christian era, c. 990–1135* (Turnhout: 2010); C. Philipp E. Nothaft, *Dating the passion:*

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the life of Jesus and the emergence of scientific chronology (200–1600) (Leiden: 2012), 103–12.

[127] For the terminology, see Wiesenbach, *Sigebert*, 64–65; Borst, *Kalenderreform*, 326–35.

[128] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 47, 61 (Jones, *Bedae opera*, 265–68, 281–83).

[129] See the passages cited by Verbist, *Duelling*, 42, 46, 57–58, 73.

[130] See esp. Verbist, *Duelling*, 35–84; Peter Verbist, "Abbo of Fleury and the computational accuracy of the Christian era," in *Time and eternity: the medieval discourse*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout: 2003), 63–80; Peter Verbist, "Abbon de Fleury et l'ère chrétienne vers l'an mil: un esprit critique vis-à-vis d'une tradition erronée," in *Abbon de Fleury: philosophie, science et comput autour de l'an mil*, ed. Barbara Obrist (Paris: 2006), 61–94. See also van de Vyver, "Les oeuvres inédite," 154–58; Alfred Cordoliani, "Abbon de Fleury, Hériger de Lobbes et Gerland de Besançon sur l'ère de l'incarnation de Denys le Petit," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44 (1949), 464–69; Alfred Cordoliani, "Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Berne provenant de l'abbaye de Fleury au XI^{e} siècle: le comput d'Abbon," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte = Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse* 52 (1958), 146–48; Eva-Maria Engelen, *Zeit, Zahl und Bild: Studien zur Verbindung von Philosophie und Wissenschaft bei Abbo von Fleury* (Berlin: 1993), 149–51; Nadja Germann, *De temporum ratione: quadrivium und Gotteserkenntnis am Beispiel Abbos von Fleury und Hermanns von Reichenau* (Leiden: 2006), 114–16, 145–46; Nadja Germann, "Zwischen veritas naturae und fides historiae: Zeit und Dauer bei Abbo von Fleury," in *Das Sein der Dauer*, eds. Andreas Speer and David Wirmer (Berlin: 2008), 171–95.

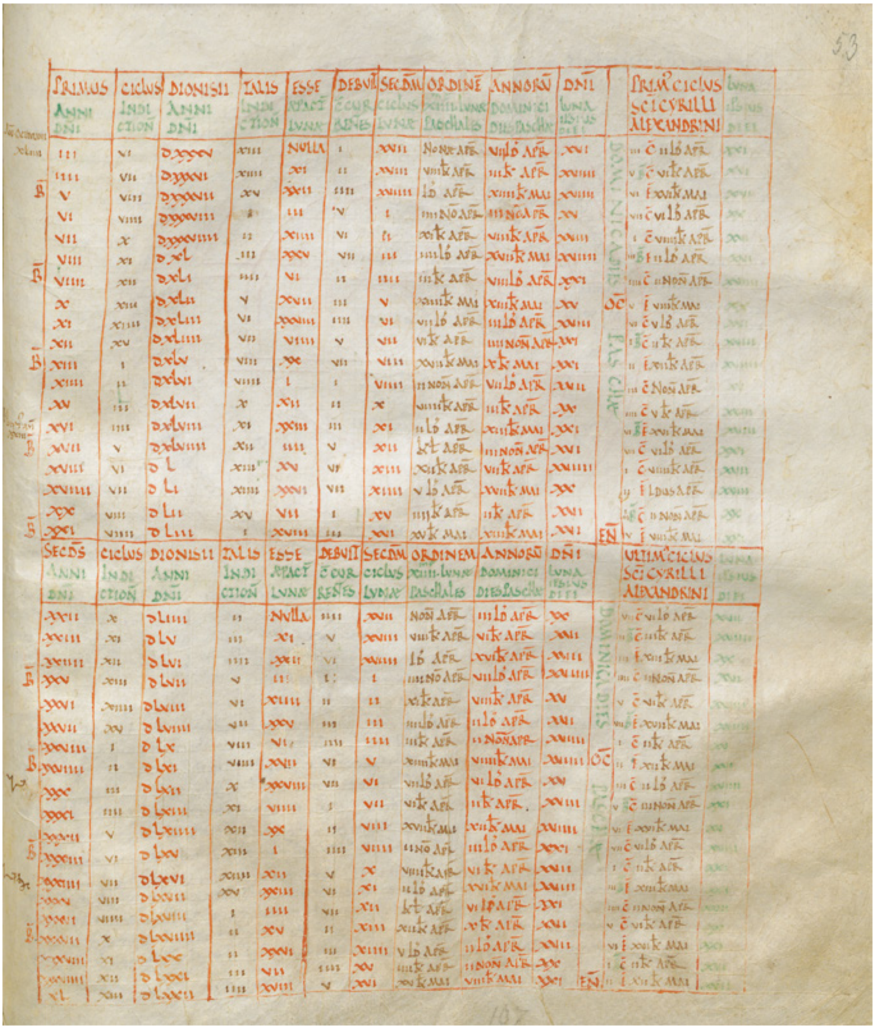

FIGURE 16.2 Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1833, 53r

displayed these required data for Easter Sunday, which was equivalent to AD 12 according to Dionysius. Abbo took this as the 33rd year of his new count, adding 21 years to Dionysius.

In both recalibrations of the incarnation era (and especially in the first), Abbo made use of a *Cyclus Sancti Cyrilli Alexandrini*, a 95-year Easter table of which the first and the last 19 years are reproduced beside Abbo's newly constructed Easter table of his first attempt (Dionysius's AD + 3).[131] The format alone suggests that Abbo's exemplar was an Isidorian Easter table (with concurrents added). In fact, what Abbo had in front of him was Isidore's Easter table updated to AD 627–721.[132]

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[131] Edited in Verbist, *Duelling*, 48–49; see below the facsimile of Berlin SBPK Phillipps 1833 (Fleury, *saec.* x$^{2/2}$; online at: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?

In the separate transmission of only Isidore's Easter table, the ascription to Cyril rather than Isidore himself certainly was not uncommon (as will be seen below), and it is worth recalling that *Etym.* 6.17.10–32 is transmitted as a letter of Cyril in the Bobbio Computus.[133] The 9th-century Fleury codex London BL Harley 3017 transmits Isidore's Easter table updated to AD 627–721, though the table is not there ascribed to Cyril.[134] The same table was also copied in another 9th-century Fleury manuscript, Paris BnF Lat. 5543, as part of a longer excerpt of *Etym.* 6.17 not identified as Isidore's composition.[135] The first page of the table (145r) contains at the bottom a continuation from the previous page of the passage that precedes the table in *Etym.* 6.17. This continuation, right underneath the table, begins *beatissimus Cyrillus Alexandrinae urbis episcopus*, which could have led to an identification of the table as a work of Cyril. Abbo worked from this table, either from these two surviving Fleury copies, or from a now lost version with a more direct attribution to Cyril.

If, therefore, Abbo is direct proof of interest in and application of Isidore's Easter table around the year AD 1000, he also hampered the reception of Isidore's computistical definitions and explanations. Under Abbo, computus became more schematised. All basic information was now pressed into a tabular format or was otherwise visually displayed. This shift from text to table certainly worked against Isidore. On the other hand, the 11th century was destined for a revival of interest in at least Isidore's Easter table, in a second, post-Abbonian phase. In the second half of the 11th century, the limits of traditional computistics became apparent, especially through the works of Hermann of

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PPN=PPN83017379X&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=). For Abbo's application of this table, see Verbist, *Duelling*, 47–52, 55–56, 58–59, 62, 65, 77–78.

[132] Verbist, *Duelling*, 47, mistakenly believes that Isidore's original table covered AD 627–721, a claim that goes back to van der Hagen, *Observationes*, 241, and was popularised by Ludwig Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 2 vols (Berlin: 1825–26), 2: 290. It also found its way into the most recent Italian and English translations: Angelo Valastro Canale, *Isidoro di Siviglia, Etimologie o Origini*, 2 vols (Turin: 2006), 501, n. 60; and Priscilla Throop, *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies*, 2 vols (Charlotte: 2005), no pagination: "judging by the dates given for Easter, Isidore uses the tables for the years 627–721"; Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 143–44.

[133] See pp. 469–70 above.

[134] London BL Harley 3017, 50r-51r (Fleury?, AD 860s?). For this table, see Charles W. Jones, "Two Easter tables," *Speculum* 13 (1938), 204. Jones only knew the Harley, not the Paris table discussed below, and was not aware of its Isidorian connection; see Warntjes, *Munich Computus*, XC–XCI. See now Warntjes, "Continuation."

[135] See n. 41.

Reichenau and the Lotharingian Gerland.[136] The 19-year lunar cycle, the basis of early-medieval Easter calculations and the unshakable centre of Abbo's chronological thought-world, was seriously called into question. The awareness of its limitations led to an intensive search for alternatives. Eventually, this paved the way for the adoption of new, Arabic science in the Latin West. More specifically, from the first half of the 12th century, the Muslim and the Jewish 30-year lunar calendars were compared with the traditional system, particularly in southern Germany.[137] Before this new science became available, alternatives were sought in the past rather than in other cultures.

This may be one explanation for the increasing antiquarianism in the 11th century. A good example for the engagement with late antique calendrical models is the (unpublished) 11th-century gloss to chapter 11 of Bede's *De temporum ratione* from Tegernsee (Munich BSB Clm 18156, 16v), in which the author compared the Easter reckonings of Dionysius Exiguus, Victorius of Aquitaine, and Anatolius Latinus. In this environment, a revival of interest in Isidore's Easter table appears like a natural reflex, especially when it was transmitted outside of its immediate Isidorian context. In that case, it appeared like an archaic 95-year Easter cycle, potentially the one famously attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. Certainly, because of the lack of AD dates, it was not immediately apparent that this table refers to the same reckoning as the standard Dionysiac one. But Isidore's table also appealed to those who knew better. As established above, Isidore's original table covered the years AD 532–626. The Easter cycle represented by this 95-year Easter table was of 532 years. Therefore, the Isidorian table was outdated after AD 626 but regained currency in AD 1064, when it could be applied again for the subsequent 95 years.

That this theory is not mere speculation is demonstrated by the codex Zürich ZB Rh. 83, 14r-17v.[138] It was originally composed in the monastery of Kempten (an offshoot of St Gall) around AD 1000. In the first quarter of the 11th century, the codex was transferred to Rheinau. The section in question here, 14r-17v, constitutes a separate quaternion and was added later. The table was introduced by the words:

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[136] The computistical works of Hermann of Reichenau are currently being prepared for the MGH series *Studien zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*; cf. Immo Warntjes, "Hermann der Lahme und die Zeitrechnung. Bedeutung seiner *computistica* und Forschungsperspektiven," in *Hermann der Lahme: Reichenauer Mönch und Universalgelehrter*, eds. Felix Heinzer and Thomas Zotz (Stuttgart: 2016), 285–321. Gerland's Computus is readily accessible in Alfred Lohr, *Der Computus Gerlandi* (Stuttgart: 2013).

[137] C. Philipp E. Nothaft, "The reception and application of Arabic science in twelfth-century computistics: new evidence from Bavaria," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 44 (2013), 35–60; C. Philipp E. Nothaft, "Roman vs. Arabic computistics in twelfth-century England: a newly discovered source (Collatio compoti Romani et Arabici)," *Early Science and Medicine* 20 (2015), 187–208.

[138] For descriptions of this manuscript, see Borst, *Reichskalender*, 231–32; Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, I. Mittelalterliche*

> Cyclum hunc quinquies per decemnovenalem ductum beatus Cyrillus Alexandrinę urbis episcopus adinvenit. In quo per XCV annos diem sancti paschę cum luna ipsius absque dubio invenies.

There are annal entries for the years equivalent to AD 1117, 1128, 1141, 1145, and 1148. Thus, in southern Germany in the second half of the 11th century, where the basis of Christian time-reckoning was called into question, the Isidorian Easter table received some attention because of its ascription to a late antique authority (Cyril of Alexandria) and its alleged 95-year cyclic period. When it was recognised as a representative of the Alexandrian-Dionysiac reckoning, which was the undisputed standard throughout Christendom, it was used for recording relevant events. Only a systematic study of 11th-century computistical manuscripts will reveal whether this 11th-century Isidorian Easter table is an isolated example or represents a broader trend.

6 Epilogue: Isidore in the Computistical Tradition of the Iberian Peninsula

The diligent reader will have realised that the forgoing study has principally outlined Isidorian influence on early medieval computistical literature outside of Isidore's native Spain (or rather the Iberian Peninsula). The evidence for the Iberian Peninsula is relatively sparse. It appears that Pope Vigilius's letter to Bishop Profoturus of Braga of AD 538 initiated a century-long Easter controversy which centred on the question of whether Victorius or Dionysius provided the more appropriate system for the calculation of Easter, as witnessed by the paschal letters of the monk Leo and Braulio of Zaragoza.[139] By AD 650, not accidentally coinciding with contemporary developments in Rome, the debate was settled in favour of Dionysius. After this time, the evidence becomes even sparser.

Two documents stand out and deserve closer examination. The first is a layer dateable to AD 663 in Paris BnF Lat. 609, a 9th-century codex written in

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Handschriften (Zürich: 1932), 196–97; Jacob Werner, "Die ältesten Hymnensammlungen von Rheinau," *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft* 23 (1891), 81–84.

[139] Cf. n. 17.

a Visigothic hand.[140] The dating clause seems to apply to the entire section of folios 71r-88v. This Computus of AD 663 is the first major surviving computistical text produced on the Iberian Peninsula,[141] and therefore is our prime witness for 7th-century Iberian computistical thought. This highly original work draws mainly on Dionysius's computistical writings, but also on Isidore's definitions: for example, Isidore's etymology for epacts (*Etym.* 6.17.29) is cited on fol. 78v; his etymology of *intercalares* (*Etym.* 6.17.28) on fols 79v-80r; the placement of the epact on 22 March (*Etym.* 6.17.31) on fol. 80r; his definition of *bissextus* (*Etym.* 6.17.26 and 27) on fol. 86r-v; his definition of *ciclum* (*Etym* 6.17.3–4) on fols 86v-87r; and his discussion of the pasch (*Etym.* 6.17.11–12) on fol. 87r-v. In general, however, most of the text is of a technical nature and contains numerous calendrical algorithms, and therefore draws rather strongly on Dionysius. For the present study, this text is of considerable importance for three main reasons: (1) it proves that Isidore is cited in computistical literature as early as AD 663; (2) it shows that *Etym.* 6.17 (*De ciclo paschali*) received an almost immediate reception in his native Iberia; and (3) it suggests that Isidore's impact on 7th-century Iberian computistical thought was extremely limited, not comparable to his defining role in the insular world.

The second document of major importance for early medieval Iberian computistics is the tract termed *Prologus Aquitanus* (*Prol. Aquit.*) by its most recent editor, Arno Borst.[142] The title is misleading, as the text is better placed in the Iberian Peninsula proper rather than in Aquitaine.[143] It survives in only one manuscript, the 11th-century Ripoll MS (Vatican BAV Lat. 123) that preserves the 9th-century computistical encyclopaedia from the Loire Valley (probably Fleury) discussed above. In this encyclopaedia, the tract constitutes book 2 chapter 45. It is dated to AD 721, which by itself is a very suggestive date: In this year, the 95-year Easter table of AD 626–721 expired, which made recalculation for the subsequent 95-year period (or longer) necessary. In fact, the tract is quite specific about its purpose, serving as a prologue to a Dionysiac Easter table covering the years AD 722–919 (the end date was determined by the next occurrence of Easter Sunday on its latest possible date, 25 April). Isidorian influence is very difficult to identify. The mention of 22 March as the placement of the epacts in chapter 3D may hint at Isidore, as he was the first author to specify this date, at least judging from the surviving evidence. But then the wording does not show direct dependence, and in the AD 720s this information certainly was common knowledge. More interesting is the second part of this text, if Borst's edition is followed. Borst considers chapters 45 and 46 of book 2 of the mid-9th-century encyclopaedia in Vatican Reg. lat. 123 as two parts of the same text. The first editor of this tract, Charles W. Jones, however, rightly put more faith in the compiler's chapter divisions.[144] The wording is strikingly different, and whereas the tract proper, chapter 45, constitutes a highly original text, the following chapter only consists of verbatim citations. The main such quotation is *Etym.* 6.17.1–4, Isidore's brief account on the history of Easter cycles. Interestingly, this short quotation has its own transmission history,[145] and should therefore be considered a separate tract here as well.

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[140] A not entirely readable scan of this manuscript can be found at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076522d. For this codex, see Walter Goffart, "The supposedly 'Frankish' table of nations: an edition and study," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), 103–04; Alden Mosshammer, "The *Praefatio* (*Prologus*) *Sancti Cyrilli de Paschate* and the 437-year (not 418!) paschal list attributed to Theophilus," *Vigilae Christianae* 67 (2013), 64–67; Warntjes, "Köln," 78–79. A full-scale study of the manuscript is being prepared by Alden Mosshammer.

[141] Earlier computistical texts that have survived from Iberia include: the paschal letters mentioned in n. 17; the tract *De pascha* attributed to Martin of Braga is not from his pen (Pierre David, "Saint Martin de Braga est-il l'auteur d'un traité de comput pascal?," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 62 (1956), 685–97), whereas the treatise *Quo tempore initium mundi* may well be; a treatise entitled *Expositio Bissexti*. Critical edition of these last two texts will be published by Alden Mosshammer shortly. A monograph on early Iberian computistics by Alden Mosshammer and myself is in preparation.

[142] Borst, *Schriften*, 329–47.

[143] Warntjes, "Köln," 78–79.

These two key texts have much more to offer than providing us with an insight into the (limited) influence of Isidorian thought on Iberian computistica. These texts reveal distinctive characteristics of Iberian computistics, like Alexandrian/Dionysiac Julian calendar limits for Easter Sunday as 22 March–24 April + 25 April (i.e. 25 April being considered an exception), the placement of the epacts on 31 December, and the *feria qua ducit annum* (the weekday of 1 January, + 1 in bissextile years), but also the Hispanic era. None of these can be found in Isidore's treatment of the subject. Isidore can thus be safely placed outside of the discernable Visigothic computistical tradition. He had no interest in the subject, did not engage with the key issues outlined by his contemporaries, and leaves no mark on Iberian computistical thought. This is extremely apparent in later manuscripts in Visigothic script, the most famous being El Escorial RB d.I.2 and d.I.1, León AC 8, and Paris BnF nal 2169.[146] They principally preserve computistica from the early 9th to the 11th century. These are heavily influenced by Carolingian thought but also include traditional Visigothic features. Isidore, on the other hand, is tellingly absent.

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[144] Charles W. Jones in CCSL 123, 691–97.

[145] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17.1–4, is transmitted separately in, e.g., Bobbio Computus 156; Munich BSB Clm 14725, 6r-v; Melk SB 412 (*olim* G 32), 192; Cologne DB 83-II, 79v; Karlsruhe BLB Aug. perg. 229, 28v (*Etym.* 6.17.1–3); London BL Harley 3017, 74v-75r (*Etym.* 6.17.1). Paris BnF Lat. 5543, 144v-145r preserves this passage as part of a longer section of *Etym.* 6.17.1–20 (cf. n. 41 above).

[146] El Escorial RB d.I.2 (*Codex Albeldensis seu Vigilanus*; final third of the 10th century; San Martín de Albelda); El Escorial RB d.I.1 (*Codex Aemilianensis*; very late 10th century; San Millán de la Cogolla); León AC 8 (1069; León); Paris BnF nal 2169 (1072; San Sebastián de

7 Conclusion

Isidore's influence on the early medieval science of computus may be summarised, chronologically, as follows:

1. In book 6, chapter 17, of his *Etymologiae*, Isidore copied a 95-year Alexandrian Easter table from an unknown source. Isidore's treatment of this table as cyclic, even though the recorded data as basic as the 4-year bissextile cycle proved the opposite at a glance, reveal the bishop of Seville as a rather limited calendrical scientist. Isidore's table (and, no doubt, his exemplar) covered the years AD 532–626. It was divided into five sections of 19 years. The first of these was very soon adapted to AD 627–45, resulting in a hybrid table covering AD 627–45 + AD 551–626. Braulio of Zaragoza may have been involved in the process, but this needs further study. Precisely because of its non-cyclic character (*pace* Isidore), the table itself was frequently adapted to the present time of the copyist. Traces of such reworkings of the table can be detected for AD 632/655, 721, 779–97, 855–73. A detailed analysis of all 8th- to 10th-century copies of the *Etymologiae* will surely reveal many more stages of adaption, which will shed a bright and unparalleled light on the reception of the *Etymologiae*.
2. The *Etymologiae* were circulated very widely almost immediately after their production.[147] Their first use in strictly computistical literature can be dated to AD 663 in Isidore's native Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, the earliest Visigothic computistical texts show very distinctive technical features. None of these is shared by Isidore, who can therefore safely be placed outside of the Visigothic computistical tradition.
3. In computistical terms, Isidore had the biggest impact in Ireland. Ireland can be regarded as the cradle of the medieval science of computus, and Isidore played a major role in its formation there. In the second half of the 7th century, Irish scientists invented the computistical textbook, a comprehensive guide to this new science. The textbooks were typically

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Silos). For these manuscripts, see Joan Gómez Pallarès, *Studia chronologica: estudios sobre manuscritos de cómputo* (Madrid: 1999).

[147] See the chapter by Jacques Elfassi in this volume.

divided into three sections: on solar and lunar theory, and the combination of the two, Easter calculation. Isidore provided the structure and much of the content, principally definitions, for the first of these (solar theory). Authors like Bede and, later, Hrabanus Maurus followed Irish precedents in two different ways. They produced comprehensive computistical textbooks in the Irish tradition, but applied a distinctive structure, which was ultimately based on 7th-century Irish tracts discussing the various divisions of time, from the atom or moment to the world ages or the cosmos. The nucleus of this structure can be found in Isidore's writings.

4. The Carolingian period (*c.*AD 750–850) constitutes the height of the science of computus. The computistical formulary became more dominant, the calendar tradition took off as an omnipresent phenomenon, and the computistical encyclopaedia was invented. Isidorian thought played a very minor role in computistical formularies, as this genre was a century older than Isidore's writings and the bishop of Seville himself did not engage with it in any way. Likewise, the *calendarium* owed to pre-Isidorian Roman models and its limited blank spaces (one line per day) came to be filled with Bede and Pliny; still, Isidorian concepts can be detected in the earliest, 8th-century specimen of this genre. The *encyclopaediae* reveal a very notable predilection towards Bede at Charlemagne's palace school, sidelining Irish thought and its Isidorian foundation.
5. In the context of the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire in the second half of the 9th century, the scientific centres of the former periphery developed into major intellectual hubs with their own interests and preferences. Especially regions traditionally influenced by Irish thought, like the Loire Valley and the Lake Constance area, gave Isidore more scope than the Carolingian centre had been prepared to do a few decades earlier. This period also saw the rise of new subjects. Astronomy did not remain an ancillary science to computus, but with the introduction of a number of late antique authors (Pliny, Hyginus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella) providing astronomical accounts of considerable length, it became a subject in its own right. The second half of book 3 of the *Etymologiae*, appropriately entitled *De astronomia*, was an obvious starting point. But the more material became available, the more Isidore was eclipsed, for the same reason as for computus: Isidore principally defined; he did not explain, conceptualise, or calculate.
6. The 10th century saw a notable shift in computus, from a principally text-based to a table-based science (still to be studied in detail). This left even less room for Isidorian thought.

7. Still, the late 10th and 11th centuries appear to have been more favourable to Isidore. It was realised that the traditional methods of time-reckoning did not operate with a sufficient level of precision, or ran counter to theological authority. Alternatives were sought, both in the past and in different cultures. Texts like *De ratione paschali* by Anatolius Latinus were studied before Arabic and Hebrew science provided serious alternatives. Isidore's Easter table, lacking a linear timeline (especially AD), thus appeared archaic. Abbo of Fleury mistook it (in an updated version of AD 627–721) for the Easter table of Cyril of Alexandria (†AD 444), and tried to use it for his recalculation of the incarnation era. Only closer inspection revealed that the underlying system was the same as that unanimously used in Western Christianity, the Alexandrian-Dionysiac system. But then, Isidore's table could be applied again for Easter calculation: The Alexandrian-Dionysiac reckoning was cyclic in 532 years; thus, Isidore's orginal table of AD 532–626 also worked for AD 1064–1158. Whether there was as much of an Isidorian revival in the 11th century, however, still needs to be investigated.[148]

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[148] See the chapter by Winston Black in this volume.

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CHAPTER 17

Isidore in the Carolingian and Ottonian Worlds: Encyclopaedism and Etymology, *c.* 800–1050

Sinéad O'Sullivan

1 Introduction

Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the "Grundbuch des ganzen Mittelalters,"[1] attests to the importance of the encyclopaedic and etymological traditions within medieval intellectual culture. Isidore's antiquarianism and penchant for collecting made him an authority in the medieval West and ensured his *floruit* in the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds. In particular, his scholarly methods, already discussed in previous chapters, were widely deployed by early medieval writers and provide insight into the intellectual context of his reception. This paper focuses on the use of Isidore by glossators and commentators from the 9th to the early 11th centuries. It highlights his significance as demonstrated by glosses on a range of heavily glossed pagan and Christian authors. Isidore was regarded as an authority and functioned as a source of information, including on Greek words. More importantly, through examination of glosses this study considers the influence of Isidore's intellectual inheritance on early medieval scholarly culture.

Whilst discussion and debate surround Isidorian studies, there is consensus about the speed of dissemination of some of his writings, his pervasive influence, and the significance of his methods.[2] Questions remain about whether or not there was direct or indirect dispatch of Isidore's works from Spain to Ireland and from Ireland to Britain,[3] and whether his knowledge of classical

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[1] Ernst R. Curtius, "Mittelalterliche Literaturtheorien," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 62 (1942), 475.

[2] However, as Marina Smyth, "Isidorian texts in seventh-century Ireland," in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, eds. Jamie Wood and Andrew Fear (Amsterdam: 2016), 111–30 has shown, there was limited transmission of a number of Isidore's works until the eighth century.

[3] For a recent summary of the debate, including a survey of the debt of "early medieval Irish or Irish-influenced exegetical learning" to Isidore, see Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words: Isidore's "Synonyma" in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: 2008), 37–76. For direct transmission, see Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "The East, Visigothic Spain and the Irish," in *Papers presented*

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literature was first- or second-hand.[4] The evidence strongly suggests that at least some of Isidore's works were in circulation in the insular and continental worlds by the late 7th century.[5] The studies of Marina Smyth, Immo Warntjes, and Roy Flechner show familiarity with Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, for example, in Ireland by the end of the 7th and early 8th centuries.[6] As for the manuscript evidence, two groups of early fragments for the *Etymologiae* are extant in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1399 a. 1, dated to the 7th century, and in the flyleaves of Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589, dated to the late 7th or early 8th century.[7] Already by the 7th century Isidore

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to the third international conference on patristic studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959, ed. Frank L. Cross (Berlin: 1957), 442–56. For transmission via France, see Charles H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 4 (Munich: 1913), 120–22.

[4] That Isidore acquired his knowledge of many of his sources at second hand has been noted by many. See, esp., Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris: 1959), vol. 2, 742–62; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "The position of Isidorian studies: a critical review of the literature 1936–1975," *Studi medievali*, 3rd Series, 24 (1983), 845–53; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "La trasmisión de los textos antiguos en la peninsula Ibérica en los siglos VII–XI," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano sull'alto medioevo* 22 (1975), 138–40; Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, Jennifer A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The "Etymologies" of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 10–17. Various arguments have been developed regarding Isidore's appropriation of antique learning, ranging from a wider Christian repurposing of the classical past to the importance of the Visigothic context. See Jacques Fontaine, "Isidorus Varro Christianus," in *Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz* (Madrid: 1983), 89–106; Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 8; Barney, *et al. The Etymologies*, 16; Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 56.

[5] See Martin Ryan's chapter in this volume for an examination of Isidore's reception in England and Ireland.

[6] Marina Smyth, "Isidorian texts in seventh-century Ireland," re-evaluates the evidence for the reception of Isidore in seventh-century Ireland and cautions against the assumption that certain works of Isidore were available by circa 650. She argues that several of Isidore's works were available by the late seventh century. See also Immo Warntjes, *The Munich computus: Text and translation: Irish computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its reception in Carolingian times* (Stuttgart: 2010). Roy Flechner, *The Hibernensis: A study, edition, and translation, with notes* (PhD dissertation, Oxford: 2011). The reference to Flechner's work on the *Canones Hibernenses* and the borrowings from Isidore are derived from Marina Smyth's paper mentioned above.

[7] The discovery of the St. Gall fragments was first published by Alban Dold and Johannes Duft, *Die älteste irische Handschriften-Reliquie der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen mit Texten aus Isidors Etymologien* (Beuron: 1955). Their origin has been attributed by E.A. Lowe to an Irish centre on the Continent, probably Bobbio, and by Bernhard Bischoff to Ireland. See E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, vol. 7 (Oxford: 1956), no. 995; Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der

was known outside the Iberian Peninsula,[8] and Isidorian pseudepigrapha were being compiled.[9] By the 8th century, ascriptions to Isidore not found in his

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Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: 1966), 180–81; Bernhard Bischoff, "Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, 285, n. 43. The Longleat House flyleaves were analysed in James P. Carley and Ann Dooley, "An early Irish fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*," in *The archaeology and history of Glastonbury abbey: Essays in honour of the ninetieth birthday of C.A. Ralegh Radford*, eds. Lesley Abrams and James P. Carley (Woodbridge: 1991), 137, 144. See also Baudoin Van den Abeele, "La tradition manuscrite des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 199.

[8] For example, computistical evidence demonstrates familiarity with Isidore by the late seventh century in Ireland. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín's original assessment that Isidore may have been available by the mid seventh century is modified by the findings of Immo Warntjes who dates various Irish computistical texts to the late seventh and early eighth centuries. See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "A seventh-century Irish computus from the circle of Cummianus," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 82 C (1982), 423–24; Warntjes, *The Munich computus*, lx; Warntjes, "A newly discovered prologue of AD. 699 to the Easter Table of Victorius of Aquitaine in an unknown Sirmond manuscript," *Peritia* 21 (2010), 255–84. Seventh-century Hiberno-Latin writings display indebtedness to Isidore. And the seventh-century writer, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, who had close connections to the Irish, appears to have drawn upon the *Etymologiae*. See Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 38–39, 47. Early knowledge of Isidore in Anglo-Saxon England is furnished by the Canterbury biblical commentaries, dated to the period *ca.* 650–750, and by the Épinal-Erfurt glossary, dated to the last quarter of the 7th century. See *Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: 1994), 1; Michael Lapidge, "An Isidorian epitome from Anglo-Saxon England," in *Anglo-Latin literature, 600–899*, ed. Michael Lapidge (London: 1996), 190–91; Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 47; Michael W. Herren, "The transmission and reception of Graeco-Roman mythology in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998), 90–91, 97–98; Loredana Lazzari, "Isidore's *Etymologiae* in Anglo-Saxon glossaries," in *Foundations of learning: the transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early Middle Ages*, eds. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker (Paris: 2007), 63–93. For the Continent, the earliest knowledge of the *Etymologiae* at Corbie can be dated to the second half of the seventh century. See Bischoff, "Verbreitung," 176.

[9] For the important role of the Irish in the development of Isidorian pseudepigrapha, see Robert E. McNally, "Isidorian pseudepigrapha in the early Middle Ages," in *Isidoriana: colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 305–16. There is a growing body of evidence that several Isidorian works were avidly read and used in early medieval Ireland. See, esp., Michael W. Herren, "On the earliest Irish acquaintance with Isidore," in *Visigothic Spain: New approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford: 1980), 243–50. Marina Smyth offers some qualifications, based on her analysis of cosmographical materials, however: Marina Smyth, "Isidore of Seville and early Irish cosmography," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987), 69–102 and Marina Smyth, "Isidorian texts in seventh-century Ireland."

writings appear in Irish computistical texts attesting to his reputation.[10] In addition, Irish grammatical and vernacular writings show indebtedness to the Spanish compiler; Isidore is a source for the *Florilegium frisingense*, a compendium of Irish exegetical material;[11] he is glossed in Old English;[12] he is used by prominent scholars, such as Bede and by Anglo-Saxon missionaries;[13] his writings appear in Frankish centres and are excerpted in florilegia;[14] and the pace of his dissemination accelerates on the Continent.[15] By the 9th and 10th centuries, Isidore is a standard author in library catalogues, booklists, and reading guides,[16] and his influence is attested by glosses, glossaries, florilegia, and encyclopaedias.[17]

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[10] Warntjes, *The Munich computus*, cxxvi–cxxviii.

[11] Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 40, 45–47.

[12] For Old English glosses on Isidore, we have the evidence of an Isidorian epitome, extant in a 9th-century continental manuscript, which is regarded as a copy of an insular exemplar written in the 8th century. See Lapidge, "Isidorian epitome," 183–223. For the relationship between the epitome and Anglo-Saxon glossaries, see also Lazzari, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 68. Moreover, the vernacularisation of Isidore is not confined to the *Etymologiae*. For instance, Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 149 has highlighted the "uses and adaptations that were made of the Isidorian text (ie *Synonyma*) in Old English."

[13] Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 47–52 and Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*, 25. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "The Anglo-Saxon continental mission and the transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge," in *Foundations of learning*, 19–50 outlines the importance of the encyclopaedic tradition as reflected in the books of Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

[14] Some of the works of Isidore were in Frankish centres by *ca.* 780, Bischoff, "Verbreitung," 178. And a number of Isidorian works were used by Defensor of Ligugé writing *ca.* 700 in his *Liber scintillarum*, a biblical and Patristic florilegium, Bischoff, "Verbreitung," 177.

[15] Hillgarth, "The position of Isidorian studies," 887. See also the recent contribution of Veronika von Büren on Theodulf of Orléans and the reception of the *Etymologiae* in the Carolingian world. Veronika von Büren, "La place du manuscrit Amb. L. 99 sup. dans la transmission des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville," in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana: Atti del Convegno. Milano, 6–7 ottobre 2005*, eds. M. Ferrari and M. Navoni (Milan: 2007), 25–44.

[16] Carolingian library catalogues show that Isidore took his place beside Patristic authorities and Bede, Bischoff, "Verbreitung," 188. See also Notker of Saint Gall's reading guide, which recommends Isidore. Erwin Rauner, ed., "Notkers des Stammlers *Notatio de illustribus uiris*, Teil I: Kritische Edition," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), 34–69.

[17] For example, Isidore is an important source for the *Liber glossarum* and Hrabanus Maurus's encyclopaedic work, *De universo*. Another interesting example is provided by Melissa Markauskas, Rylands, "MS Latin 12: A Carolingian example of Isidore's reception into the Patristic canon?," in *Isidore of Seville and his reception in the Early Middle Ages*, 177–207 who studies the heavy use of Isidorian excerpts in a Carolingian homiliary.

2 Encyclopaedism: The Weight of Authorities

Isidore's most enduring contribution, the *Etymologiae*, "destined to become *the* work of reference for the entire Middle Ages,"[18] was often the first port of call for early medieval writers and compilers. The *Etymologiae* was a veritable storehouse of learning and heir to the traditions of etymologising and encyclopaedism.[19] The encyclopaedic tradition had an ancient pedigree, which, though never uniform in its particulars, transmitted an ideal of comprehensiveness.[20] However one ordered knowledge, encyclopaedic compendia posited some kind of "definitive status,"[21] as is indeed illustrated by the testimony of Isidore's contemporary editor, Braulio of Saragossa, who regarded Isidore's works as comprehensive.[22] Methodologically, encyclopaedism was founded on the antiquarian practices of organising, excerpting, collecting, summarising, synthesising, and citing the works of authorities.[23] Such activities had a venerable ancestry and found significant expression in the medieval world.[24] Their roots are attested in Graeco-Roman culture, important milestones within which were Hellenistic Alexandria and the Roman imperial period.[25] The encyclopaedic tradition continued apace into the late antique and early medieval worlds, with noteworthy examples furnished by the works of Boethius and Martianus Capella,[26] and by the intellectual culture associated with the 10th-century Macedonian Emperor Constantine VII.[27] With regards to use, we find encyclopaedic works such as the *Etymologiae* heavily excerpted by medieval glossators and compilers, as is illustrated by early Anglo-Saxon glossarial activity.[28] And it is clear that the transfer of encyclopaedic information was no simple matter. Some indication of the complexity of the process is demonstrated by the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*, a collection of glosses compiled well before the end of the 9th century, which may perhaps have originally been a collection of excerpts from the *Etymologiae*.[29] Patrizia Lendinara has shown that the Isidorian entries in this compilation of glosses were supplemented

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[18] Michael W. Herren, "Storehouses of learning: encyclopaedias and other reference works in Ireland and pre-Bedan Anglo-Saxon England," in *Practice in learning: the transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early Middle Ages*, eds. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker (Paris: 2010), 5.

[19] Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*, 14.

[20] Many different principles of organising information developed. For which, see Christel Meier, "Organisation of knowledge and encyclopaedic *ordo*: functions and purposes of a universal literary genre," in *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts: Proceedings of the second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: 1997), 103–26. Scholars now generally urge caution in positing "a uniform cross-cultural notion of an encyclopaedic genre," Jason König and Greg Woolf, "Introduction," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, eds. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: 2013), 2.

[21] König and Woolf, "Introduction," 1.

[22] Drawing on Cicero, Braulio of Zaragoza, Isidore's correspondent, states: "Your books have brought us back, as if to our home, when we were roving and wandering in our own city like strangers, so that we might sometimes be able to understand who and where we are. You have laid open the lifetime of our country, the description of the ages, the laws of sacred matters and of priests, learning both domestic and public, the names, kinds, functions and causes of settlements, regions, places, and all matters both human and divine," Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*, 8–9. Comprehensiveness went hand-in-hand with the idea of transmitting knowledge from a "universe of learning." For *compendia* of knowledge, see Bernard Ribémont, "On the definitions of an encyclopaedic genre in the Middle Ages," in *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts*, 47–61, esp. 50. Linked to the idea of comprehensiveness is the Greek ideal of *polymatheia*, Martin Irvine, *The making of textual culture: "Grammatica" and literary theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge: 1994), 43.

[23] For Isidore's research methods, see Fontaine, *Isidore*, vol. 2, 762–78.

[24] Robert L. Fowler, "Encyclopaedias: definitions and theoretical problems," *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts*, 18 notes the importance of the tradition within medieval monastic culture. The methods associated with the encyclopaedic tradition (excerpting, gathering,

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synthesising) underpinned medieval *memoria*. For the link between composition, collation, recollection and memory, see Mary Carruthers, *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (Cambridge: 1990), 199. For a study of memory and the organisation of knowledge, see Kimberly Ann Rivers, "Memory, division, and the organisation of knowledge in the Middle Ages," in *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts*, 147–58.

[25] For Alexandrian encyclopaedism, esp. the tradition as developed under the Ptolemiac dynasty, see Myrto Hatzimichali, "Encyclopaedism in the Alexandrian library," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 64–83. For classical encyclopaedism, see Jason König and Greg Woolf, "Encyclopaedism in the Roman empire," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 23–63.

[26] Mariken Teeuwen, "Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*: A pagan 'storehouse' first discovered by the Irish?" in *Foundations of learning*, 61 has noted that early medieval glosses on Martianus display an overwhelming preoccupation with the accumulation of secular learning; such glosses furnish a kind of "second encyclopaedia of learning" and seem to fulfill a "collecting purpose"; Mariken Teeuwen, "Glossing in close co-operation: examples from ninth-century Martianus Capella manuscripts," in *Practice in learning*, 94.

[27] Paul Magdalino, "Byzantine encyclopaedism of the ninth and tenth centuries," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 219–31.

[28] A crucial witness to these activities is an Isidorian epitome (see above footnote 12). This epitome is linked with a number of glossaries. Two Old English glosses in the epitome, for which no source has been found, are also in the Épinal-Erfurt glossary. And one of the Old English glosses in the epitome is related to a gloss in the Werden glossary. It would seem that a glossed manuscript of Isidore was drawn upon by a variety of different compilers. See Lazzari, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," 67–68. Isidore is also a source for the Leiden Glossary, Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69 (Part 2): Schoolbook or proto-encyclopaedic miscellany," in *Practice in learning*, 27.

[29] Patrizia Lendinara, "The *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and Martianus Capella," in *Carolingian scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-century commentary traditions on Martianus' "De nuptiis" in context*, eds. Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan (Turnhout: 2011), 304, 326, provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis. She discovered the

and conflated over time with new material from many sources.[30] A similar process is witnessed by Irish computistical textbooks, which, it would seem, drew on lists of excerpts from well-known authors, such as Isidore, Augustine, and Jerome. These excerpts in turn had often been "added to, revised, and updated."[31]

3 Etymology: The Weight of Words

The study of words and their origins was the cornerstone of the *Etymologiae*.[32] For Isidore, words had epistemic value: *Nisi enim nomen scieris, cognitio rerum perit* ("Indeed, unless you know its name, the knowledge of a thing perishes").[33] According to him, investigation of the origin of words provided access to understanding: *Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est* ("One's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known").[34] Etymology,

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presence in MS Ripoll 74 of a version of the *Scholica* together with unalphabetized batches of excerpts from the *Etymologiae*.

[30] For example, the compilers of the *Scholica* added to their compilation excerpts from Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* and glosses on Martianus's work, Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and Martianus Capella," 310.

[31] Warntjes, *Munich computus*, cxxvi.

[32] Commenting on the *Etymologiae*, A.H. Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologiae*: On words and things," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 303 describes it as a "written manifestation of the world of words read and remembered." John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: 2007), 210 speaks of the "cosmogonic instrumentality of wordpower." See also the discussions by Jacques Elfassi on etymology and José Carracedo on grammar in this volume.

[33] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.7.1. All translations are taken from Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*. See also Irvine, *The making of textual culture*, 222. The function of names ties in with the theories of language as natural or conventional.

[34] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.29.2. For etymology and language as furnishing access to knowledge and the world, see Fontaine, *Isidore*, vol. 1, 41: "L'étymologie y est devenue la démarche essentielle de toute connaissance"; Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*," 303 and 307, maintains that, for Isidore, "language offered a simulacrum of the world," and that Isidore saw etymology as a "strategy to uncover the deeper significance (*uis*) of words and hence as a means to understand better the world they represent"; Mark Amsler, *Etymology and grammatical discourse in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: 1989), 12 argues that, for Isidore, "the etymologies of the names for things constitute epistemic access to the things themselves." Some qualification is furnished by Davide del Bello who takes issue with what he regards as Amsler's interpretation of language as the "all-embracing measure of reality," in which *res* (objects) are conflated with *uoces* (verbal signs). Del Bello, *Forgotten paths: Etymology and the allegorical mindset* (Washington, D.C.: 2007), 97–101 argues that language was "*allegorical*, the visible form of invisible meanings."

then, was much more than a "diachronic analysis of a lexeme" or a methodology.[35] For Isidore, it unlocked immanent meaning, the *uis uerbi uel nominis* ("force of a verb or a noun").[36] As he says: *Nam dum videris unde ortum est nomen, citius vim eius intellegis* ("For when you have seen whence a word has originated, you understand its force more quickly").[37]

Isidore's foregrounding of words and their origins, though crucial for medieval intellectual culture, was not new. Like the encyclopaedic tradition, etymology had a long lineage stretching back to antiquity.[38] It found a home in Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian cultures, for instance amongst Stoic philosophers, Alexandrian grammarians, as well as Jewish and Christian exegetes.[39] Its importance has been documented by modern scholars who challenge the assumption that "etymologies of the Isidorian kind" are outdated "curious specimens" that can be dismissed on the grounds of "semantic and phonological inaccuracy."[40]

The history of etymology is linked with long-standing debates on language and its relationship to reality, debates which underpin Isidore's understanding of words. To begin with, a search for the incorporeal informs much of ancient, Patristic, and medieval language theories. Letters, words, and language itself, together with grammatical, dialectical, and etymological enquiry, were often associated with the recovery of truth and original purity. For the Stoics, language was regarded as a vehicle to "glimpse the essential nature of reality."[41] For Augustine, language, with its ambiguities and its potential to "generate multiple homonymous or polysemous meanings," was a resource for "the discovery and exploration of religious understanding."[42] More generally, the esoteric and Hermetic strains in Jewish and Christian exegesis made language a tool for mystical signification.

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[35] Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 14: "The etymological study of a given word is for Isidore not just a diachronic analysis of a lexeme, but also a metaphysical investigation of a signified object."

[36] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.29.1.

[37] Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*, 55.

[38] For etymology, see, esp., Ernst Robert Curtius, "Etymology as a category of thought," in *European literature and the Latin Middle Age*, trans. Willard R. Trask (London: 1953), 495–500.

[39] Di Sciacca, *Finding the right words*, 14 describes Isidore's notion of etymology as a "syncretistic combination of Alexandrine grammatical scholarship, philosophical learning, Jewish lore and Christian exegesis."

[40] Del Bello, *Forgotten paths*, xiv.

[41] Amsler, *Etymology*, 166.

[42] John Chamberlin, *Medieval arts doctrines on ambiguity and their place in Langland's poetics* (Montreal: 2000), 37–39.

Isidore's epistemology forms part of an ancient and complex debate on the correspondence between words and the world which pivoted on the theories of language as natural (i.e. words represent reality) or conventional (words are based on convention).[43] For Isidore, as we have seen, words furnish access to knowledge of things. This correspondence illustrates what Jean Jolivet characterises as the "grammatical platonism" of medieval thought according to which words and things are homologous.[44] In this tradition, words and things are intertwined "by virtue of the forms that subsist in the divine mind according to which the world was created."[45] They correspond with the "reality of ideas that both lend essentiality to the identities of things and also articulate the formalities of words."[46] For Isidore, moreover, not only is there a correspondence between words and the world, but the latter is construed as an ordered universe, a divine creation. This, in turn, further underscores the significance of etymology and the focus on the literal in his *Etymologiae*.

For Davide del Bello, however, the full importance of etymology can only be understood when seen in relation to allegory. Both etymology and allegory were "complementary modes of thought," the former providing the foundations on which the latter was built.[47] Etymology and grammatical studies ought then to be understood as "part of a broader epistemology where the study of *voces*, of verbal signs, goes hand in hand with the study of *res*, of objects and phenomena, that are framed in language but exist beyond it."[48] In short, etymology was regarded as an epistemological practice at the heart of early medieval hermeneutics. It opened up "interpretative routes that allegory follows and ratifies at higher discursive levels."[49] This function of etymology provides insight into the wider significance of, and preoccupation with, words in the early medieval period as attested by glosses, glossaries, word lists, *glossae*

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[43] For discussion of these theories, see Amsler, *Etymology*, 24–56. See also Laura Carlson, "Adoption, adaption and authority: The use of Isidore in the *Opus Caroli*," in *Isidore of Seville and his reception*, 209–30 for discussion of the origins of words and the relationship between language and reality.

[44] "L'univers des noms et celui des choses sont homologues et que pour comprendre le second il faut d'abord connaître le contenu du premier; l'étymologie nous enseigne la nature des choses," Jean Jolivet, "Quelques cas de «platonisme grammatical» du VII^{e} au XII^{e} siècle," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, eds. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers: 1966), 94. For further discussion, see Chamberlin, *Medieval arts doctrines*, 112–13.

[45] Chamberlin, *Medieval arts doctrines*, 112.

[46] Chamberlin, *Medieval arts doctrines*, 77.

[47] Del Bello, *Forgotten paths*, xiv, 13.

[48] Del Bello, *Forgotten paths*, 99.

[49] Del Bello, *Forgotten paths*, 108.

collectae, lexicons, and the reception of writers such as Servius, whose linguistic and antiquarian focus proved invaluable to Isidore.[50]

One key aspect informing Isidore's etymological method was the notion that immanent meaning lay beneath letters and language itself, an idea at the core of sacred onomastics, mystical orthography, and biblical truth.[51] This idea is attested in Isidore's interpretation of *litterae mysticae* and more generally in his semiotic understanding of letters as signs communicating information and binding things in memory: "Indeed, letters are tokens of things, the signs of words, and they have so much force that the utterances of those who are absent speak to us without a voice…The use of letters was invented for the sake of remembering things, which are bound by letters lest they slip away into oblivion".[52]

A measure of the fundamental significance of letters and language becomes clear when one considers Isidore's understanding of the original language, which appears in his discussion of the sacred languages, the *tres linguae sacrae*, and in his exposition on the diversity of languages. For Isidore, a direct link existed between Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In this relationship, Latin "contained within its verbal structure the spirit … of Hebrew truth" and thus provided access to the pre-Babel, original language (i.e. Hebrew) and to Edenic purity.[53] Isidore's interest in letters, words, and etymology was thus founded on the principle of Edenic harmony. As Mark Amsler argues, it was "authorized by the Incarnation of the Perfect Word, revealing in its fullness the divine truth immanent in the original Edenic language." In short, for Isidore, the deployment of etymology was motivated not by linguistic goals but by a search for essential or original meaning (see also Thomas O'Loughlin's discussion of Isidore's theology and his linking of the structures of creation and knowing elsewhere in this volume).

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[50] For the reception of Servius in the ninth and tenth centuries, see Sinéad O'Sullivan, "Servius in the Carolingian Age: A case study of Harley 2782," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 26 (2016), 77–123.

[51] Amsler, *Etymology*, 151. The idea is reflected in Augustine's phrase *secreta verborum* ("hidden things of words"), Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2.2.3.

[52] "Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa verborum, quibus tanta vis est, ut nobis dicta absentium sine voce loquantur…Vsus litterarum repertus propter memoriam rerum. Nam ne obliuione fugiant, litteris alligantur idore," *Etymologiae* 1.3.1–2. Isidore was not the first to consider the memorial function of language. See, e.g., the discussion of Augustine's theory of interior illumination in Amsler, *Etymology*, 103. Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and effect: an introduction to the history of punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: 1992), 21, however, notes the differences between Isidore's focus on letters as signs *without* sounds and Augustine's notion that letters were signs of sounds.

[53] Amsler, *Etymology*, 149–51. See also Merrills, "Isidore's *Etymologies*," 307–10.

4 Encyclopaedism and Etymology in the Carolingian and Ottonian Worlds

Encyclopaedism and etymology, Isidore's "twin informing principles,"[54] thrived in Carolingian and Ottonian intellectual circles and help us better to appreciate the context in which the Spaniard was used between the 9th and 11th centuries. These traditions are illustrated by the evident enthusiasm for encyclopaedic texts like Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and Servius's commentaries on Virgil, by Hrabanus Maurus's reworking of the *Etymologiae*, and above all, by the reception of Isidore, who was not simply copied but excerpted, illustrated, translated, glossed, and reworked.[55] In Carolingian theological debates, the "signifying power of language" was foregrounded by the 9th-century writer Fredegisus in his interpretation of *nihil* as a *vox significativa* in his *De nihilo et tenebris* ("On nothing and Darkness"). For Fredegisus, words had signification, and grammar provided a means of unlocking reality.[56]

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[54] Barney *et al.*, *The Etymologies*, 13.

[55] Evina Steinova is currently working on Isidore's *Etymologiae* in the Carolingian period. For an overview of the Carolingian reception of Martianus Capella, see Sinéad O'Sullivan, "Introduction," in *Glossae aeui Carolini in libros I–II Martiani Capellae "De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii,"* ed. Sinéad O'Sullivan, CCCM 237 (Turnhout: 2010), v-xxxiv. For Servius, see O'Sullivan, "Servius in the Carolingian Age," 77–123. For Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo*, see Elizabeth Keen, "Shifting horizons: the medieval compilation of knowledge as a mirror of a changing world," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, 277–300. In the preface to his work, Hrabanus linked the study of words and mystical signification, Amsler, *Etymology*, 195. An impressive example of an Isidorian manuscript is British Library, Harley MS. 2686 (9th century, western France). It contains occasional zoomorphic and foliate decoration, diagrams, and uses yellow, green, red and brown inks. Isidore is a staple of medieval library catalogues in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. See, for instance, the appearance of Isidore in places where Prudentius is glossed in Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses on Prudentius' "Psychomachia": The Weitz tradition* (Leiden: 2004), 110–11. That Isidore was glossed is illustrated by the copy of the *Etymologiae* in a Laon manuscript (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 447) annotated by the Irish scholar Probus of Mainz and also by the appearance of Old High German glosses on *De ecclesiasticis officiis* found in 9th-century manuscripts. For the annotations of the Irish master, see John J. Contreni, "The Irish 'colony' at Laon during the time of John Scottus," in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, ed. René Roques (Paris: 1977), 62. For the Old High German glosses, see Andreas Nievergelt, "Pfiff und gesang: Althochdeutsche Griffelglossen zu Isidor von Sevilla *De ecclesiasticis officiis*," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 129 (2010), 1–48. A famous translation of Isidore's *De fide catholica ex ueteri et nouo testamento contra Iudeos* into Old High German, the so-called *Isidor*, further attests to the reception of Isidore in the 9th century. See Kurt Ostberg, *The Old High German "Isidor" in its relationship to the extant manuscripts (eighth to twelfth century) of Isidorus "De fide catholica"* (Stuttgart: 1979); Elke Krotz, *Auf den Spuren des althochdeutschen Isidor: Studien zur Pariser Handschrift, den Monseer Fragmenten und zum Codex Junius 25. Mit einer Neuedition des Glossars Jc* (Heidelberg: 1998); Jonathan West, "The language of the earliest German literature," in *German literature of the early Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Murdoch (Rochester: 2004), 46–47. Isidore's continuing importance is demonstrated by the eleventh-century work, the *Summarium Heinrici*, which draws heavily on the *Etymologiae*. See Hillgarth, "Position," 890.

Isidore was also a source of information on many subjects in the early medieval world, including the liberal arts.[57] Figures such as Theodulf of Orléans, Walahfrid Strabo, and Otfrid von Weissenburg were indebted to him.[58] And a wealth of Isidorian material occurs in florilegia, glossaries, and in the margins of manuscripts. One such compilation is Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 468, copied in the third quarter of the 9th century, edited by Martin Hiberniensis and heavily dependent on Isidore.[59] Further examples are furnished by important medieval glossaries, such as the *Scholica graecarum glossarum* and *Liber glossarum*, both of which derive large quantities of material from Isidore.[60] Glosses too highlight the authority of the Spaniard. For example, considerable Isidorian material is present in Carolingian and Ottonian glosses. Whilst this in itself is hardly a surprise, it nevertheless provides insight into the status of

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[56] See Amsler, *Etymology*, 228–29 and also Symke Haverkamp, *Making Something from nothing: content and context of Fredegisus of Tours' "De substantia nihili et tenebrarum,"* (PhD dissertation, Utrecht: 2006).

[57] See Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the heavens: Roman astronomy and cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden: 2007), 3.

[58] Hrabanus Maurus's *De uniuerso* draws very heavily on the *Etymologiae*. The work, however, is also infused with allegorical interpretations, Amsler, *Etymology*, 195. Theodulf's *Libellus de processione spiritus sancti* comprises a patchwork of excerpts from authorities such as Isidore: O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses on Prudentius' "Psychomachia,"* 18. For Walahfrid's and Otfrid's indebtedness to Isidore, see Alice L. Harting-Correa, *Walahfrid Strabo's "Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum": A translation and liturgical commentary* (Leiden: 1996), 32; Herbert Kolb, "Isidor's *Etymologien* in deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 205 (1969), 441–53. See also Laura Carlson's exposition of Theodulf's epistemological understanding of language in his *Opus Caroli* in "Adoption, adaption and authority," 209–30.

[59] On fols. 5v-8v nearly half the glosses are from the *Etymologiae* and on fols. 9r-18v, we find many excerpts from Isidore. See John J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468: A ninth-century guide to Virgil, Sedulius and the Liberal Arts* (Turnhout: 1984), 17–18.

[60] We have already seen how the compilers of the *Scholica graecarum glossarum* drew heavily on Isidore. As for the *Liber glossarum*, one of the most extensive medieval glossaries, it has been described as a "patchwork of Isidore, labelled ISID; Vergil glosses, labelled VIRGL; and two other alphabetical glossaries, namely *Abstrusa* and *Abolita*." See Herren, "Storehouses," 3. See also Patrizia Lendinara, "A storehouse of learned vocabulary: the Abbo Glossary in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Practice in learning*, 104–05; David Ganz, "The *Liber Glossarum*: A Carolingian encyclopedia," in *Science in Western and Eastern civilization in Carolingian times*, eds. Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel: 1993), 127–35.

Isidore and the influence of his "twin informing principles," namely etymology and encyclopaedism.[61]

5 Glosses in the Carolingian and Ottonian Worlds

Glosses are an invaluable source of information about the enduring reputation of Isidore and the importance of his intellectual inheritance. In what follows, I shall look at annotations across a variety of different texts in order to offer comparative analysis. To this end, I shall focus on glosses circulating between the 9th and early 11th centuries in West and East Frankish centres of learning. This study selects a cross-section of works (e.g. prose and poetic, pagan and Christian), and focuses on some of the most heavily glossed authors in the early Middle Ages, namely Virgil, Martianus Capella, and Prudentius. It will demonstrate that Isidore was a much-exploited authority whose works were heavily excerpted, interwoven with other sources and added to existing commentaries. In addition, we shall see that glosses underscore the influence of Isidore's intellectual inheritance in the early medieval period.

To begin with, Isidore was clearly regarded as an authority by compilers, as is illustrated by the prefatory material, glosses, and diagrams found in glossed Virgil manuscripts. Very often his works are excerpted or echoed, and he is sometimes named as the source of information, for example in Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 172 (saec. IX, Paris region or Fleury),[62] where his name is underlined, along with the names of Gaudentius, Gallus, and Iunilius Flagrius,[63] and in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1669 (mid or third quarter of the 9th century, Rheims), where contemporary scribes furnish Virgil with heavy marginal and interlinear additions drawn from many sources, but especially from Servius.[64] In her detailed study of the Vatican manuscript, Silvia Ottaviano demonstrates that the prefatory material in the manuscript, very likely copied at the same time as the text, transmits astronomical extracts from Bede's *De natura rerum*, Macrobius's *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, and Isidore's *De Differentiis* as well as excerpts from the *Etymologiae* and Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. One of the hands on fols 1r-2v and on fol. 3v also edits the commentary of Servius and furnishes supplementary additions from Augustine's *De civitate Dei* on fol. 16r and from the *Etymologiae* on fol. 20v.[65] The excerpt from the *Etymologiae* is from book 3.44.1–4 and describes the five zones, the *quinque circuli mundi*, portrayed as climatic regions of habitable and uninhabitable lands. The name of Isidore, written in rustic capitals, appears above the excerpt and glosses the line in Virgil's *Georgics* 1.233: *quinque tenent caelum zonae*. The Isidorian gloss goes hand in hand with a schematic representation of the world on fol. 21r where the zones are depicted as parallel bands within a circle. Ottaviano has discovered an identical map in another 9th-century manuscript which perhaps emanates from Saint Germain d'Auxerre: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7926.[66] And in yet another glossed Virgil manuscript, Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 253 (saec. IX $^2/_3$, Northeast France?), there is on fol. 21r a representation of the zones as arcs accompanied by an excerpt from *Etymologiae* 3.44.2–4.[67]

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[61] See also Martin Ryan's chapter elsewhere in this volume for more on the presence of Isidore in glossaries.

[62] Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen), Teil I: Aachen-Lambach* (Wiesbaden: 1998), Nr. 545, 115; John J. Savage, "The manuscripts of the commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932), 96–103; Marco Mostert, *The library of Fleury. A provisional list of manuscripts* (Hildesheim: 1989), BF093, 60. For an overview of the possible origins of Bern MS 172, see Silvia Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI sec.* (PhD dissertation, Pisa: 2014), 141–43.

[63] For example, we find the names of Gaudentius and Iunilius in a gloss on *Hibleis* on fol. 5r on Virgil's *Eclogue* 1.54. For the gloss on *Hibleis*, see Hermann Hagen, ed., *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica* (Leipzig: 1867; repr. Hildesheim: 1967), 753. We find the name of Isidore in a gloss on *cantantes cycni* on fol. 20r on Virgil's *Eclogue* 9.29. For the gloss on *cantantes cycni*, see Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 829. The glosses on the *Eclogues* in Bern 172 are from the so-called Bern scholia. Many of the glosses in the Bern scholia are often attributed to Iunilius, Gaudentius and Gallus. The name Iunilius Flagrius is commonly seen as identical to Iunius Filargirius (i.e. Philargyrius). See David Daintree, "Virgil and Virgil scholia in early medieval Ireland," *Romanobarbarica* 16 (1999), 351–52.

Cumulatively, these findings accord with what is known about the use of Isidore in the context of early medieval commentary on the five zones. Loredana Teresi, in her examination of the spatial depictions of the world, has noted that different visual diagrams of the zones existed and that the concept of the five zones was popularised in the Middle Ages through the writings of Macrobius, Isidore, and Bede.[68] More generally, the Isidorian excerpts and the diagrams in the glossed Virgil manuscripts listed above attest to the authority of Isidore. Further confirmation is furnished by other glossed manuscripts in which Isidore is cited, as in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 407 (saec. IX^2, Northeast France). In the Valenciennes manuscript Isidore, along with Nonius, Solinus, Virgil, and Servius, is mentioned by name, as in the following gloss on *Aeneid* 7.637.[69] The gloss is intertextual. It contains an excerpt from the *Etymologiae* which leads the reader from the Virgilian text to Isidore. By means of the annotation, the reader, in turn, is referred back to the passage in Virgil that is being glossed:

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[64] For example, we find the name of Isidore in the margins on fol. 19v. For the manuscript, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen*), *Teil III: Padua-Zwickau* (*aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger*) (Wiesbaden: 2014), Nr. 6795, 441 and also Silvia Ottaviano, "Il *Reg. lat.* 1669: un'edizione di Virgilio d'età carolingia," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 16 (Rome: 2009), 259–324.

[65] Ottaviano, "Il *Reg. lat.* 1669," 259–324.

[66] Ottaviano, "Il *Reg. lat.* 1669," 266.

[67] For a description of the manuscript, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen*), *Teil II: Laon-Paderborn* (*aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger*) (Wiesbaden: 2004), Nr. 2852, 205.

> *Aeneid* 7.637
> CLASSICA IAMQVE SONANT: Esidorus classica sunt cornua quae uocandi causa erant facta et a calando classica dicebantur. De quibus Virgilius "classica iamque sonant" (fol. 150v; see *Etymologiae* 18.4.4).

Furnishing the name of Isidore in an annotation was not uncommon. It is evident in many of the notes in the so-called Bern scholia, a collection of glosses on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* which derives its name from a number of manuscripts now housed in Bern.[70] The annotation below illustrates this. It appears in a Virgil manuscript transmitting Bern scholia on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and expanded Servius on the *Aeneid*, that is, in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 167 (third quarter of the 9th century, Brittany, Fleury, or Auxerre?):[71]

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[68] Loredana Teresi, "Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman *Mappaemundi*," in *Foundations of learning*, 341–77; Loredana Teresi, "Migrating maps: the case of the 'three-dimensional' diagram for the *quinque circuli mundi*," in *Practice in learning*, 257–83.

[69] For a description of the Valenciennes manuscript, see Robert A. Kaster, *The tradition of the text of the Aeneid in the ninth century* (New York: 1990), 27. Concerning its provenance, we know that it was at St. Amand. Bischoff locates it in Northeast France. See Bischoff, *Katalog* III, Nr. 6394, 400.

[70] Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 172 and MS 167. There is evidence that the original collection may also have had scholia on the *Aeneid* as suggested by Paul Lehmann's study of an Orosius commentary, "Reste und Spuren antiker Gelehrsamkeit in mittelalterlichen Texte," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, ed. Paul Lehmann (Stuttgart: 1959), vol. 2, 29–37. Isidore is mentioned by name in the Bern Scholia on *Bucolics* 3.111; 9.29; *Georgics* 1.50; 1.88. See Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 775, 830, 849, 853.

[71] Bischoff, *Katalog* I, Nr. 542, 114; Savage, "The manuscripts of the commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil," 103–05; Mostert, *The library of Fleury*, BF093, 60. For an overview of the possible origin of the manuscript, see Ottaviano, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, 184–85.

> *Eclogue* 3.8
> TVENTIBVS HIRCIS: 'Tuentibus hircis.' Isidorus: hircus: lasciuum est animal et petulcum feruens semper ad coiticum (*lege* coitum), cuius oculi ob libidinem in transuersum aspiciunt, unde et nomen traxit. Nam hirci sunt oculorum anguli secundum Suetonium, cuius natura adeo calidissima, ut adamantem lapidem, quem neque ignis, nec ferrum domari ualet, solus cruor desoluat (fol. 9r).[72]

Much of the above passage, which repeats verbatim Isidore's *Etymologiae* 12.1.14, occurs in another Virgilian commentary closely related to the Bern scholia, namely in the *Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* ascribed to Iunius Philargyrius.[73] Isidore is also cited by name in other 9th-century glosses, for instance in glosses on Martianus Capella. In the heavily glossed Martianus manuscript, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Folio 48 (second quarter of the 9th century, Auxerre),[74] the following annotation draws on *Etymologiae* 13.3.1–3, and a similar arrangement of information appears in the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*.[75]

> *De nuptiis* 1.1
> ELEMENTA: Ambrosius dicit a limo limas addita praepositione 'e' quasi ualde formo, inde elementa. Aliquando enim semina retinet in natura rerum, aliquando soluit ut crescant. Ilen Grece dicitur materies sicut

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[72] For this annotation, I have checked the manuscript and made a number of alterations to Gino Funaioli's transcription. Gino Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana Antica: Prolegomeni alla edizione del commento di Giunio Filargirio e di Tito Gallo* (Milan: 1930), 152–53. See also Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 50, 18–51, 3.

[73] Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, eds., *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. 3.2 (Leipzig, 1902), 50–51.

[74] A dedication formula of the archdeacon Heliseus of Auxerre on fol. 50v giving the manuscript to the monastery of Saint-Germain links it with Auxerre. Mariken Teeuwen, "The pursuit of secular learning: The oldest commentary tradition on Martianus Capella," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008), 39, however, also explores the possibility of a link with Tours.

[75] E 27: *Elimentum per l scribitur ut quibusdam videtur veniens a verbo quod est elimo id est formo ipsumque a nomine trahitur, quod est lima instrumentum fabri; sed melius ab yle venit quod est graecum et interpretatur materies, et mutatis litteris scribitur elementum, quod graece dicitur stochium*. Patrizia Lendinara, "The *Scholica Graecarum glossarum* and Martianus Capella," in *Carolingian scholarship and Martianus Capella*, 344. For an earlier edition of the *Scholica*, see Max L.W. Laistner, "Notes on Greek from the lectures of a ninth-century monastery teacher," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7 (1923), 436.

> Isidorus dicit, quia stochia Grece, Latine elementa, unde inuisibilia cuncta procedunt (fol. 2r).[76]

The glosses and diagrams discussed above demonstrate that Isidore was held in high regard in Frankish centres of learning. He is repeated verbatim, excerpted, and, along with other authorities, named as a source of information. Whether named or not, however, his high status is evidenced by the heavy use of the *Etymologiae* by Carolingian and Ottonian glossators. For instance, his reference work enriches what, according to Ottaviano, is likely to be the remnants of an ancient non-Servian Virgilian comment on the mythological *Chimera* now preserved in two 9th-century Virgil manuscripts.[77] In addition, we find verbal echoes and parallels with the *Etymologiae* in many glosses, as in the cases that follow.

The first set of glosses occurs in a 9th-century Virgil manuscript, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165 (second quarter of the 9th century, Tours).[78] Savage has shown that this manuscript is richly annotated in Carolingian minuscule by many hands drawing on a wealth of sources (e.g. Nonius, Solinus, Servius, Isidore, Festus Paulus, Philargyrius, and the Bern scholia). In the first example there are verbal echoes with the *Etymologiae*; in the second a considerable amount of the gloss repeats word for word a passage in Isidore:

> *Eclogue* 8.88
> (i) IN VLVA: Species pro genere. Herba quae et alga dicitur. Vlua autem proprie ab uligine terrae appellatur, quam uidemus in fontaneis locis nasci. (fol. 13v).[79]
>
> *Etymologiae* 17.9.100
> Vlua et typhus herbae [quae] circa fontes et paludes stagnisque nascuntur. Ex quibus ulva, id est alga mollis et quodammodo fungus, dicta ab uligine
>
> *Georgics* 1.194
> (ii) NITRO: Nitrum a loco sumpsit uocabulum. Nascitur enim in oppido Aegipti nomine Nitria, ex quo et medicinae fiunt. Huius natura non

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[76] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 8, 4–8.

[77] Silvia Ottaviano, "Scholia non serviana nei manoscritti carolingi di Virgilio: prime notizie degli scavi," *Exemplaria Classica: Journal of Classical Philology* 17 (2013), 231–37.

[78] Bischoff, *Katalog* 1, Nr. 541, 114.

[79] Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 989; John J. Savage, "The scholia in the Virgil of Tours, Bernensis 165," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 36 (1925), 115.

> multum distat a sale; quo utuntur aliquando pro lomento, uel est herba lauatoria uel liquor in criptis Nitriae in similitudinem salis pinguedinem stringens. (fol. 19v).[80]
>
> *Etymologiae* 16.2.7
> Nitrum a loco sumpsit vocabulum; nascitur enim in oppido vel regione Aegypti Nitria, ex quo et medicinae fiunt et sordes corporum vestiumque lavantur. Huius natura non multum a sale distat; habet enim virtutem salis et similiter oritur canescentibus siccitate litoribus

The next two annotations are from Leiden VLF 48, a richly glossed 9th-century Martianus manuscript. In the first case, we find clear verbal overlap between Isidore and the gloss; in the second, the annotator has selected portions from a considerably longer Isidorian passage:

> *De nuptiis* I.3
> (i) LYRICA: Lirici poetae dicti apo tu lirin, i. a uarietate carminum, unde et lira a uarietate sonorum dicitur eo quod diuersi soni sint in illa.[81]
>
> *Etymologiae* 8.7.4
> Lyra dicta APO TOU LUREIN, id est a varietate vocum, quod diversos sonos efficiat
>
> *De nuptiis* I.7
> (ii) ADAMANTINIS: Adamans Grece, Latine dicitur indomitus, quia non potest domari nisi hyrcino sanguine.[82]
>
> *Etymologiae* 16.13.2
> Adamans Indicus lapis parvus et indecorus, ferrugineum habens colorem et splendorem crystalli, numquam autem ultra magnitudinem nuclei Avellani repertus. Hic nulli cedit materiae, nec ferro quidem nec igni, nec umquam incalescit; unde et nomen interpretatione Graeca indomita vis accepit. Sed dum sit invictus ferri ignisque contemptor, hircino rumpitur sanguine recenti et calido maceratus, sicque multis ictibus ferri perfrangitur

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[80] Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 990; Savage, "The scholia in the Virgil of Tours," 118.

[81] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 22, 78–79.

[82] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 46, 21–22.

The final example is from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14395 (10th or 11th century, St Emmeram), a southern German Prudentius manuscript glossed by several hands. In the gloss below verbal parallels with the *Etymologiae* are evident:

> *Psychomachia*, Preface 50
> LINEA: Vt pictorum est futuras imagines quibusdam prius lineis adumbrare. Ita omnia in figura contingebant antiquis.[83]
>
> *Etymologiae* 19.16.2
> Vnde et nunc pictores prius umbras quasdam et lineas futurae imaginis ducent.

In all of the cases mentioned so far, glossators have either repeated Isidore verbatim or have echoed passages from the *Etymologiae*. Their annotations bear witness to the pervasive influence of Isidore on early medieval intellectual culture, further attested, as we shall see, by the heavy reliance of glossators on the *Etymologiae* for their Greek vocabulary.

6 Isidore and Greek in Carolingian and Ottonian Glosses

Carolingian and Ottonian glosses teemed with Greek and Greek-derived words (loanwords from Greek and transcriptions from Greek), as well as with Greek-Latin word pairs and etymologies. Many bilingual and Latin materials were available to supply the Greek word stock required by annotators to introduce Greek or pseudo-Greek vocabulary into their annotations, as well as to explain the Greek words and neologisms present in much-read texts, such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*. By the 9th century, bilingual resources, such as Greek-Latin and Latin-Greek dictionaries, word lists, glossaries, hermeneumata (late antique schoolbooks), and idiomata, were in circulation.[84] Greek was also found in *Graeca collecta* (collections of Greek words quarried from the writings of Latin authors), lexicons, grammatical books, late Latin and early medieval writings, and especially in Patristic works.[85] While the *Etymologiae* was clearly not the only source of Greek, it was an important one because of its rapid dissemination and use in major bilingual manuals. For example, Lendinara has demonstrated that a significantly large portion of the entries in the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*, a collection of Latin definitions of Greek words that circulated in England and the continent, was excerpted from Isidore and that many of the nonce words, primarily transcriptions from Greek, are also attested in some form in Isidore.[86] Often lemmata and *interpretamenta* in the *Scholica* simply repeat Isidore verbatim, follow him very closely,[87] or are heavily indebted to him.[88]

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[83] O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses*, 156.

[84] *Idiomata* were lists of Latin words or verbs governed by different cases to their Greek equivalents.

[85] See Bernhard Bischoff, "Das griechische Element in der abendländische Bildung des Mittelalters," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2, 246–75; Anna Carlotta Dionisotti, "Greek grammars and dictionaries in Carolingian Europe," *The sacred nectar of the Greeks: The study of*

The influence of Isidore is further evidenced by other bilingual glossaries, such as the small glossary or collection of notes known under the title *Grammaticae artis nomina graece et latine notata*.[89] This glossary is attested in a number of manuscripts, the oldest of which date back to the 8th century.[90] Helmut Gneuss suggests that the glossary very likely originated in France in either the second half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century, from whence it travelled to England and also to Italy relatively early.[91] The lemmata in the glossary comprise Greek or Greek-derived words which are accompanied by Latin glosses. A large number of the lemmata and glosses are drawn from the *Etymologiae*, a fact of which early readers would have been aware, as is

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Greek in the West in the early Middle Ages, ed. Michael W. Herren (London: 1988), 1–56; Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, D.C.: 1988); Pádraic Moran, "Greek in early medieval Ireland," *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman worlds*, eds. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: 2012), 172–92; Sinéad O'Sullivan, "The sacred and the obscure: Greek in the Carolingian reception of Martianus Capella," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012), 67–94.

[86] Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*," 303–04.

[87] See the *Scholica* entries under A6, P34, A64 and A65 in Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*," 331, 333, 336–37.

[88] See the *Scholica* entries under Ox 144 and Ox 243 in Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*," 354, 357.

[89] See Max L. Laistner, "Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 1 (1924), 29; Berschin, *Greek letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, 106, 110; Bernice Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age. The St. Gall manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA: 1988), 62.

[90] Helmut Gneuss, "A Grammarian's Greek-Latin Glossary in Anglo-Saxon England," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to Eric G. Stanley*, eds. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray and Terry Hoad (Oxford: 1994), 60–86; Louis Holtz, "Le Parisinus Latinus 7530, synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux," *Studi medievali*, 3rd Series, 16 (1975), 97–152. The oldest manuscript appears to be from Tours: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. Weiss. 86 (mid-8th-century, Tours). I am grateful to Franck Cinato for providing me with a bibliography relating to this glossary and a list of manuscripts transmitting the work.

[91] Gneuss, "A Grammarian's Greek-Latin Glossary," 72–74.

demonstrated by the rubric to the glossary in the oldest surviving manuscript dating to the middle of the 8th century now at Wolfenbüttel which includes a reference to Isidore.[92] Moreover, the glossary was not an isolated phenomenon, since many of its entries are found in other sources, for instance in the glossaries *Liber glossarum*, *Abstrusa*, *Abolita*, the First Corpus Glossary, the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*, and *Interpretatio nominum ebraicorum et grecorum*.[93] To illustrate Isidore's influence, I select a passage from one of the 8th-century manuscripts transmitting the *Grammaticae artis nomina graece et latine notata*, namely Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7530 (third quarter of the 8th century, Monte Cassino).[94] The following entries at the very start of the glossary are derived from the *Etymologiae*:

> POEMA: unius libri opus
> POESIS: opus multorum librorum
> EDILYON: paucorum uersorum
> MONOSTICHON: unus uersus
> DISTICHON: duorum uersorum
> EPHODON: clausula in poemate
> EPIGRAMMA: titulus (fol. 145r22–28)
> *Etymologiae* 1.39.21–23
>
> Poesis dicitur Graeco nomine opus multorum librorum, poema unius, idyllion paucorum versuum, distichon duorum, monostichon unius. Epigramma est titulus, quod in Latinum superscriptio interpretatur; EPI enim super, GRAMMA littera vel scriptio dicitur. Epodon in poemate clausula brevis est. Dictum autem epodon, quod adcinatur ad speciem elegiaci, ubi praemisso uno longiore, alter brevior conponitur, atque in singulis quibusque maioribus sequentes minores quasi clausulae recinunt

What the *Grammaticae artis nomina graece et latine notata* and *Scholica graecarum glossarum* illustrate is that Isidore was used as a source of Greek words in bilingual manuals in the early medieval world. That Isidore was culled for *Graeca* is evidenced by Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3088 (saec. IX, Rheims), which on fols 116r-121v transmits batches of glosses on mostly

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[92] Gneuss, "A Grammarian's Greek-Latin Glossary," 69, 79.

[93] See Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum*," 320–21. I am grateful to Franck Cinato who alerted me to the fact that the *Interpretatio nominum ebraicorum et graecorum* utilised the collection.

[94] Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, 220.

Greek terms drawn from the Hieronymian correspondence with explanations primarily derived from the *Etymologiae*.[95]

However, Isidore was not only used as a source of Greek information, but the appearance of Greek in the *Etymologiae* must surely have added value to the work. After all, we know that Greek enjoyed a high status in medieval Latin culture, as confirmed, for instance, by the Hellenism of figures like John Scottus Eriugena, Sedulius Scottus, and Heiric of Auxerre, the production of enormous Greek-Latin glossaries, such as Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 444, and the high profile of Greek in the Latin liturgy.[96]

Such, therefore, was the context in which Isidore functioned as a source of Greek in the early Middle Ages. Isidore's Greek was used by compilers of all kinds, including glossators. In what follows, I shall look at the Greek or Greek-derived words in early medieval glosses demonstrating Isidorian influence, whether direct or indirect. It should be remembered, however, that a very different perspective on all things Greek was also prevalent in the 9th century, as illustrated by the *Opus Caroli*. Interestingly, Laura Carlson has demonstrated that Isidore, whose work is rooted in the importance of words and language, functioned as a vital source for Theodulf's attack on the Greeks.[97]

7 The Use of Isidore for Greek Information

With regards to the Greek words found in early medieval glosses, it is often the case that Isidore was either the source, that there are close parallels with the *Etymologiae*, or that analogues appear in Isidore and other works. Glossators looked to Isidore for Greek etymologies, Greek-Latin word pairs, and Latin etymologies of Greek or Greek-derived words, and to introduce Greek into their annotations. In the following example, the word *palla* (a woman's outer garment) is glossed with a Greek etymology and Latin explanation derived from Isidore. The gloss occurs in a fragmentary manuscript dated to the second third of the 9th century and originating in St Emmeram in Regensburg. The fragments of the manuscript, now dispersed, transmit the *Aeneid* accompanied by glosses.[98] Silvia Ottaviano examined these fragments and discovered a close parallel between its glosses and those in another 9th-century codex, Montpellier MS 253.[99] Her critical edition of the gloss given below displays the influence of Isidore:

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[95] John J. Contreni, "John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the liberal arts and teaching," in *Insular Latin studies: Papers on Latin texts and manuscripts of the British Isles, 550–1066*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Toronto: 1981), 23–44; John J. Contreni and Pádraig P. Ó Néill, *Glossae divinae historiae: the biblical glosses of John Scottus Eriugena* (Florence: 1997), 3–4.

[96] See, for example, the chants for the Ordinary of the mass known as the *Missa graeca*; for which, see Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*, 99–113.

[97] Carlson, "The use of Isidore in the *Opus Caroli*," 209–30.

> *Aeneid* 1.648
> PALLAM palla ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλειν πάλλειν id est a mobilitate: quadr[at] um pallium muliebris vestis deductum usque ad uestigia, auro et ordine gemmis ornatum.[100]
>
> *Etymologiae* 19.25.2
> Palla est quadrum pallium muliebris vestis, deductum usque ad vestigia, quod ad fixis in ordinem gemmis. Et palla dicta APO TOU PALLEIN, id est a mobilitate, quae est circa finem huiusmodi indumenti; sive quod rugis vibrantibus sinuata crispetur

The same Isidorian passage is echoed in another 9th-century glossed Virgil manuscript, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 407. It occurs in a gloss on *Pallas* and combines two Isidorian passages, namely *Etymologiae* 19.25.2 and 8.11.75, the second of which is found in Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*.[101] Interestingly, both Isidorian passages occur in the *Liber glossarum* in the entries for *palla* and *Pallas*.[102]

> *Eclogue* 2.61
> PALLAS Pallas dicta est *apo tu pallein* id est a rugis quas habent matronae in uestibus suis siue a pallante gigante quem interfecit (fol. 4v)
>
> *Etymologiae* 8.11.75
> Pallas autem dicta vel ab insula Pallene in Thracia, in qua nutrita est; vel APO TOU PALLEIN TO DORU, id est ab hastae concussione; vel quod Pallantem gigantem occiderit

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[98] Bischoff, *Katalog* II, Nr. 3353, 276.

[99] Ottaviano, "Scholia non serviana," 221–44.

[100] Ottaviano, "Scholia non serviana," 238.

[101] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici* I, 28, 7–9.

[102] *Liber glossarum* PA86 and PA119. Wallace M. Lindsay, J.F. Mountford and Joshua Whatmough, eds., *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1926), 420 [hereafter: *GL*]. I am grateful to Franck Cinato for sending me a provisional version of a new edition of the *Liber glossarum*, which I have used in conjunction with Lindsay's edition.

Etymologiae 8.11.75 is also very likely the source of a gloss present in a miscellany transmitting a 9th-century copy of *De nuptiis*, namely Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, MS 100:

> *De nuptiis* I.40
> PALLAS Pallas Minerua dicta est, quod Pallantem gigantem interfecerit uel quod sicut putabant in Pallante palude nata est.[103]

Isidore, then, was a popular source for annotations on *palla* and *Pallas*, as is illustrated by the cases above, which derive their Latin explanations and Greek etymologies from his work. Overlap with glossaries such as the *Liber glossarum* may indicate that glossators excerpted Isidorian information second-hand.

In general, Isidore is often the source of Greek etymologies in glosses, as in glosses on *adamantinus* (incorruptible), explained in a number of 9th-century Martianus manuscripts as *adamans* (ἀδάμας "unconquerable") and *indomitus* (untamed), a pairing present in Isidore. In addition to the Greek-Latin word pair, there are verbal echoes of the *Etymologiae*:

> *De nuptiis* I.7
> ADAMANTINIS Adamans Grece, Latine dicitur indomitus, quia non potest domari nisi hyrcino sanguine[104]
> ADAMANTINIS Adamans lapis est indomabilis, qui nisi sanguine hyrcino temperatus in sua permanet duritia[105]

> *Etymologiae* 16.13.2
> Adamans Indicus lapis parvus et indecorus, ferrugineum habens colorem et splendorem crystalli, numquam autem ultra magnitudinem nuclei Avellani repertus. Hic nulli cedit materiae, nec ferro quidem nec igni, nec umquam incalescit; unde et nomen interpretatione Graeca indomita vis accepit. Sed dum sit invictus ferri ignisque contemptor, hircino rumpitur sanguine recenti et calido maceratus, sicque multis ictibus ferri perfrangitur

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[103] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 160, 14–16. For details of the manuscript, see O'Sullivan, *Glossae Aevi Carolini*, ci-cvi.

[104] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 46, 21–22. For *adamantinus*, see Oscar Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein* (Leipzig: 1882), 329.

[105] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 46, 22–47, 1–2.

A further example of a Greek-Latin word pair derived from Isidore occurs in annotations on *hyalinus* (of crystal/of glass) from ὑάλινος (of glass), which occur in 9th- and 10th-century Martianus manuscripts. The loanword is annotated with the Greek word *yalen* (ὕαλος "glass") and its Latin counterpart *vitrum* (glass). Though parallel explanations appear in both Isidore and the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*, the pairing is ultimately Isidorian:

> *De nuptiis* I.66
> HYALINOS *Yalen* enim uitrum est Grece[106]
>
> *Etymologiae* 20.5.1
> DE VASIS POTATORIIS … Phialae dictae quod ex vitro fiant; vitrum enim Graece VALOS dicitur
>
> *Scholica graecarum glossarum*
> H 6 HIALIN vitrum; P 5 Phiala eo quod fiat ex hialin, hoc est vitro. Hialin enim dicunt Graeci vitrum; Ox 236 Fiala ex Greco venit, vitrum enim graece hialin; dicuntur fialae eo quod fiat ex hialin id est ex vitro[107]

Isidore's usefulness, however, was not limited to Greek-Latin word pairs or Greek etymologies. Early medieval glossators also turned to him for Latin etymologies of Greek or Greek-derived words, as in the case of Phosphorus (Φωσφόρος), glossed as *lucem ferens* (bearing light) in 9th- and 10th-century Martianus manuscripts, an interpretation very likely drawn from Isidore:

> *De nuptiis* II.113
> PHOSPHORI Dicitur Venus Phosphorus, i. lucem ferens, unde et Lucifer et dicitur sonipedem habere, quia umbras prae ceteris facit stellis[108]
>
> *Etymologiae* 3.71.18
> Lucifer dictus eo quod inter omnia sidera plus lucem ferat

Moreover, Isidore was culled for Greek words incorporated by glossators into their annotations, as in glosses on *elementa* (elements) in 9th-century Martianus manuscripts. Here the glossators introduce the words *ilen* (ὕλη "matter") and *stochia* (στοιχεῖα “elements”) into their glosses, words which also had some circulation in medieval glossaries:[109]

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[106] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 190, 11. For *hyalinus*, see Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, 63.

[107] Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and Martianus Capella," 332–33.

[108] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 285, 20. For *Phosphorus*, see Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, 492.

> *De nuptiis* 1.1
> ELEMENTA … Ilen Grece dicitur materies sicut Isidorus dicit, quia stochia Grece, Latine elementa[110]
>
> *Etymologiae* 13.3.1–2
> DE ELEMENTIS …. Hanc ULEN Latini materiam appellaverunt, ideo quia omne informe, unde aliquid faciendum est, semper materia nuncupatur. Proinde et eam poetae silvam nominaverunt, nec incongrue, quia materiae silvarum sunt. Graeci autem elementa STOICHEIA nuncupant, eo quod sibi societatis concordia et communione quadam conveniant

In many cases, the Greek introduced by glossators into their annotations was widely known. For instance, standard Greek word-stock occurs in early medieval glosses, as in glosses on *Galaxia*, *Galumnate*, and *Galatea*, which draw on the same Greek etymology, namely γάλα “milk.”[111] This underscores an important point. Many of the Greek or Greek-derived words present in early medieval glosses were commonplace, and analogues appear not only in Isidore but also in other sources. When glossing *hydraula* (ὕδραυλις or ὕδραυλος “a water organ”), for instance, glossators made explicit the Greek etymology of the word, itself a derivate of ὕδωρ (water). They offered the pairing ὕδωρ and *aqua*, which was well known.[112] Similarly, many of the Greek loanwords and their Latin counterparts in glosses were commonplace, for example, *cristallus*

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[109] For the circulation of these words in the *Scholica*, see Lendinara, “*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and Martianus Capella,” 344–45 and 347–48. For the appearance of the term “element” (*stoicheon*, *elementum*) in grammatical discouse, see Irvine, *The making of textual culture*, 100.

[110] O’Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 8, 4–8.

[111] See glosses on *Galaxia* (O’Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 254, 9 on *De nuptiis* 1.97) and *Galumnate* (O’Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 194, 5 on *De nuptiis* 1.67). For the loanword *Galaxia*, see Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, 55. The gloss on *Galatea* is found as follows in the ninth-century glossed Virgil manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7926, fol. 2v: AMARYLLIS HABET GALATEA RELIQVIT Amaryllis et Galatea sicut iam diximus duae concubinae fuerunt Virgilii. Ergo per Amaryllidam intellege Romam, per Galatheam Mantuam. Interpretatur autem Galathea lactea dea, gala Grece, Latine lac, thea dea (on *Eclogue* 1.30).

[112] HYDRAVLARVM *Hydor* Grece, Latine aqua; *Hydraula* organum de aqua factum (O’Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 293, 6–9 on *De nuptiis* 2.117). For these pairings, see the Cyrillus glossary in Georg Goetz, ed., *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: 1901), 462, 25 [hereafter: *CGL*]; *Hermeneumata*, CGL 3, 15, 13; 315, 26; 398, 20; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 4.6.15.

(κρύσταλλος) *glacies* (ice).[113] So, too, were glosses on the loanword *palaestra* (παλαίστρα "a wrestling school"), often annotated with the Greek word πάλη (wrestling) and Latin counterpart *luctatio* (wrestling).[114] Glossators also drew on well-known associations, as in annotations on *Olympus*, glossed with the Greek word *ololampus* (ὁλολαμπής "shining all over"), analogues for which appear in Servius and Isidore.[115] And glosses discussing the significance of particular Greek letters could also have been gleaned from many sources, including Isidore. A good illustration of this is furnished by glosses on Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in 10th- and 11th-century manuscripts. In discussing the number three hundred in the prologue of the work, glossators linked it with the Greek letter Tau (with its numerical value of three hundred) and interpreted the Tau as an iconographic image of the cross.[116] The association was already well established in Patristic and early Christian thought and was given biblical authority through certain biblical passages, such as the story of Gideon defeating the Midianites with 300 men (Judg. 7:6–8) and that of Abraham rescuing Lot with 318 followers (Gen. 14:14).[117] Isidore, then, although an important commentator on the letter Tau, was certainly not alone.[118]

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[113] CRYSTALLO Grece namque glacies *cristallos* (O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 217, 9 on *De nuptiis* 1.75). See also the *Liber Glossarum,* in *GL* 1, 153 and Isidore, *Etymologiae* 16.13.1. For *crystallus*, see Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, 394.

[114] PALAESTRA Palestra dicta *apo tu palin*, hoc est rustica luctatione (O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 30, 31 on *De nuptiis* 1.5); PALESTRIS luctationibus uel luctis palestra uocatur lucta *apo tu palyn* id est a luctatione (Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine H 253, fol. 131v; *Aeneid* 6.642). For *palaestra*, a loanword from Greek, see Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, 48. For analogues in other sources, see Servius's commentary on *Georgics* 2.531 in *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, eds. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, vol. 3.1 (Leipzig, 1887), 269, 20–22; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 18.24.1; *Liber Glossarum*, *GL* 1, 420; *GL* 2, 94; *GL* 3, 63; Cyrillus, *CGL* 2, 392, 47; *Hermeneumata*, *CGL* 3, 409, 42.

[115] OLYMPI Olympus dicitur quasi *ololampus*, i. totus ardens (O'Sullivan, *Glossae aevi Carolini,* 407, 31 on *De nuptiis* 2.185); OLYMPVM Olympus dicitur quasi ololampus id est totus ardens (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 407, fol. 22v; *Georgics* 1.282). See Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 4.268 in Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 1, 514, 19 and Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14.8.9.

[116] See, e.g., the following gloss: *TRECENTI Tau greca litera quae similitudinem crucis habet istum numerum significat et sicut Abraam Loth trecentis uiris liberatur, sic Christus in cruce positus nos a diaboli potestate eripuit. Ad huc x restant, quia x uerba legis significat et viii, quia Christi uictoriam in viii die ad nostram redemptionem impletam significat.* O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses*, 159. The link between the Tau and cross is found in many sources, e.g.: *Ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis* (Tertullian, *Aduersus Marcionem*, 3.22.6, CCSL 1 (Turnhout: 1954), 539); *Tau littera crucis habet similitudinem* (Jerome, *In Hiezechielem*, 3.9.4–6, CCSL 75 (Turnhout: 1964), 106); *T ergo littera quae similitudinem crucis habet* (Hrabanus, *De laudibus s. crucis*, PL 107, col. 206B).

In short, Isidore was one amongst many sources which glossators could draw upon for their knowledge of Greek words and letters. And very often the information in Isidore was commonplace. This brings us to another important point. The *Etymologiae* was part of a broad tradition of learning that included Isidore's sources and excerptors. The result was that Isidorian material was often to be found in a variety of different places. In the remaining section of this paper, I shall explore this aspect of Isidore's work. And I shall return to Isidore's intellectual inheritance, founded on the principles of encyclopaedism and etymology, demonstrating that these principles were very much evident in Carolingian and Ottonian glosses.

8 Isidore and His Intellectual Inheritance

The influence of the *Etymologiae*, whether direct or indirect, on early medieval glosses furnishes insight not only into the importance of Isidore but also the impact of his scholarly methods.[119] To begin with, there can be no doubt that etymology found a home in early medieval intellectual culture. Carolingian and Ottonian glosses are filled with etymologies of all kinds, as is vividly demonstrated by the opening glosses on Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, where 10th- and 11th-century annotators supplied the following exposition:

> *Psychomachia*
> Psiche Grece, Latine anima, machia autem interpretatur pugna animae (Clm 14395, fol. 141r)[120]

The above gloss dissects and subdivides the various components of the lemma, an essentially etymological strategy, and, in this particular instance, provides a

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[117] For example, Bede furnished an elaborate exegesis based on the Gideon story and Genesis 14:14. See Bede, *In Genesim* 2.9.28–9, 3.14.14, CCSL 118A (Turnhout: 1967), 140, 187.

[118] Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, 30.25, CCSL 143B (1985), 1542; Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, PL 83, col. 384C.

[119] See Immo Warntjes' chapter on computus and Isidore's influence on the Irish in the early medieval period elsewhere in this volume, as well as Winston Black's chapter on Isidore's influence in scholastic Europe.

[120] O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses*, 139.

Latin equivalent and explanation of the Greek title of the work.[121] Moreover, Isidore very often took centre stage in the etymological expositions of early medieval annotators, as already witnessed by the heavy use of the *Etymologiae* for glosses on Greek or Greek-derived words.

With regards to the other major scholarly tradition which Isidore was indebted to, namely the encyclopaedic tradition, it was at the heart of early medieval glosses. Methodologically, the key principles underpinning encyclopaedism were very often at the core of glossing practice, that is, collecting, excerpting, and drawing on authorities. These practices will be explored further, as they provide valuable insight into how knowledge was constructed in the early Middle Ages. Above all, they underscore the centrality of a tradition of learning within which figures such as Isidore operated. And Isidore not only became part of a tradition of learning, but represented a pivotal moment within it.

Essential to many of Isidore's works were the authorities he drew upon.[122] His encyclopaedic work was not just a storehouse of information but a melting pot of sources, often gleaned through intermediaries. Isidore's use of the classical *auctores* must surely have resonated with the antiquarian interests of Carolingian and Ottonian scholars. Crucially, however, the *Etymologiae* did not simply draw upon earlier works but was itself excerpted by later writers. This means that Isidorian information is to be found in any one of a number of different sources. For example, in the following gloss either Servius, whose commentaries enjoyed a *floruit* in the early medieval period, or Isidore could have furnished the information. The gloss occurs in 11th-century Prudentius manuscripts emanating from East Frankish ecclesiastical centres:

> *Psychomachia* 47
> TELA Telum dicitur quicquid iaci potest
>
> Servius, *Commentary on Aeneid* 2.468
> Telum … quicquid longe iaci potest[123]
>
> *Etymologiae* 18.7.10
> Telum … quidquid longe iaci potest

Similarly, the gloss given below, also present in Prudentius manuscripts, could have been gleaned from Servius, Isidore, or Hrabanus Maurus:

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[121] For the strategies of subdivision and dissection, integral to etymologising, see Amsler, *Etymology*, 143.

[122] Fontaine, *Isidore*, vol. 1, p. x.

[123] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 1, 291, 8–9.

> *Psychomachia* 349
> ALAM Alae dicuntur equites, quia in morem alarum tegunt pedites
>
> Servius, *Commentary on Aeneid* 4.121
> ALAE equites: ob hoc 'alae' dicti, quia pedites tegunt alarum vice[124]
>
> Servius, *Commentary on Aeneid* 11.604
> ALA CAMILLAE equitatus. 'alae' autem dicuntur equites, quod alarum vice pedestrem exercitum tegunt[125]
>
> *Etymologiae* 9.3.62
> Alae autem equites ob hoc dicti, quia tegunt pedites alarum vice
>
> Hraban, *De universo* 16.3
> Alae autem equites ab hoc dicti, quia tegunt pedites, alarum vice

Given the prevalence of Isidore in East Frankish ecclesiastical centres and in the early medieval West more generally it is likely that the two Prudentius glosses mentioned above were excerpted from the Spaniard. Nevertheless, other sources were possible. In addition, Isidore's sources drew on earlier works, which again multiplies the range of possible sources from which glossators could have gleaned their material, as is illustrated by glosses on the mountain *Falernus* in 10th- and 11th-century Prudentius manuscripts. The information on *Falernus* can be traced back to Solinus, whose work is used by Servius, himself well known in the early medieval world. Servius, in turn, provides Isidore with his material.[126] Similarly, for the gloss IVPPITER *iuuans pater*, which occurs in a 9th-century Martianus manuscript, the information goes back to Cicero and is mediated by Lactantius, Servius, and Isidore.[127] A similar situation arises for the correlation of *Vesta* with *uiua flamma* in 9th-century glossed Martianus manuscripts.[128] The explication occurs in Ovid, whose work is cited by

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[124] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 2, 484, 25–26.

[125] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 2, 551, 1–2.

[126] *FALERNI Falernus mons est Campaniae in quo obtimum uinum nascitur.* For analogues, see *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin: 1895), 98; Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 3.1, 227, 19–20 (on *Georgics* 2.96); Isidore, *Etymologiae* 20.3.6.

[127] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 168, 29 (on *De nuptiis* 1.42). For the same information, see Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.64, eds. Otto Plasberg and Wilhelm Ax (Stuttgart: 1961; ed. stereotypa 1933), 74, 11; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1.11.40, eds. Eberhard Heck and Antonie Wlosok, vol. 1 (Berlin: 2006), 50; Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 1, 575, 3 (on *Aeneid* 4.638); Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.34.

[128] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 209, 1 (on *De nuptiis* 1.72)

Lactantius, Isidore, and Hrabanus.[129] Moreover, Isidore's excerptors could also have provided glossators with their material, as exemplified by the annotation on Vulcan, interpreted as *volans candor* in the Martianus manuscript, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 36 (end of the 9th century, Lorsch?). The explanation is attested in the *Etymologiae* and also in Hrabanus Maurus and Sedulius Scottus.[130] Thus, we have, in effect, chains of authorities often transmitting similar material and reinforcing one another.

To further complicate matters, Isidore very often transmitted information that was commonplace, as is illustrated by the following examples. In the first case, a grammatical term *sarcasmos* is glossed as *hostilis inrisio* in 11th-century Prudentius manuscripts. The explanation could have been derived from a number of grammatical works, including Donatus and Bede,[131] or from Servius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore.[132] In the second case, the god Mercury is annotated as *medius currens* in the 9th- and 10th-century Martianus manuscripts.[133] The interpretation occurs in Augustine and is repeated in Isidore, in Hrabanus Maurus, and in the Vatican Mythographers.[134] In the third case, glossators of *De nuptiis* annotated *crepusculum* as *dubia lux*, an explanation present in Nonius, Isidore, Bede, Hrabanus, and the *Scholica graecarum glossarum*.[135]

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[129] Ovid, *Fasti* 6.291, in *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum libri sex*, eds. Ernst H. Alton, Donald E.W. Wormell, and Edward Courtney (Leipzig: 1978), 147; Lactantius, *Diuinae institutiones* 1.12.6, eds. Eberhard Heck and Antonie Wlosok, vol. 1 (Berlin, 2006), 56; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.6; Hrabanus, *De universo* 15.6, PL 111, col. 431C.

[130] LEMNIVS … FABER Vulcanus interpretatur amor uoluptatis et dicitur quasi uolans candor (O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 41, 2–3 on *De nuptiis* 1.7). For the interpretation *uolans candor*, see Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.39; Hrabanus, *De universo* 15.6, PL 111, col. 429B; Sedulius Scottus, *In Donati artem maiorem*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CCCM 40B (Turnhout: 1977), 135, 16. For the Leiden manuscript, see O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, l-lv.

[131] Diomedes, *Ars Grammatica*, in *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: 1855), 462; Donatus, *Ars Grammatica*, in *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: 1864), 402; Pompeius, *Commentum artis Donati*, in *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: 1923), 312; Bede, *De Schematibus et Tropis*, 2.211, CCSL 123A (Turnhout 1975), 164.

[132] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 2, 448, 28 (on *Aeneid* 10.557); Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum*, 134, CCSL 98 (Turnhout: 1958), 1220; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 1.37.29.

[133] O'Sullivan, *Glossae aeui Carolini*, 3, 8–9.

[134] Augustine, *De ciuitate dei* 7.14 in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi De ciuitate dei libri XXII*, ed. Bernardus Dombart and Alfonsus Kalb (Stuttgart: 1993, ed. stereotypa 1928), 292, 2; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.45; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* 15.6, PL 111, col. 429D; *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, ed. Péter Kulcsár, CCSL 91C (Turnhout: 1987), 48, 138.

[135] Nonius, *De compendiosa doctrina libros XX*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay (Hildesheim: 1964; ed. stereotypa 1903), 20; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.31.7; Bede, *De temporum ratione* 7.89 in *Opera Didascalica*, ed. Charles W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout: 1977), 299; Lendinara, "*Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and Martianus Capella," 322 and 325; Laistner, "Notes," 450, 12; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* 10.7, PL 111, col. 292C.

In sum, the information in Isidore was frequently not unique, and the *Etymologiae* itself was part of a tradition of learning which included Isidore's sources and their sources, as well as his excerptors. That Isidore was part of a tradition reinforced his authority. Moreover, the *Etymologiae* was not simply part of a tradition, but often at the centre of it. Some indication of its importance is illustrated by glosses on the beryl in 11th-century Prudentius manuscripts. According to the annotators, the jewel has a hexagonal shape and designates perfection.[136] The information on the beryl in a gloss excerpted from Bede can be traced back to Pliny and Solinus, who in turn provide Isidore with his material.[137] Bede, however, adds an allegorical interpretation not found in the earlier sources. And his exposition is excerpted by the 9th-century compilers Hrabanus and Smaragdus.[138] The glossators, therefore, were drawing on a tradition that stretched back to Pliny and forward to Bede and Carolingian scholars, with Isidore emerging as a vital link.

9 Compiling and Constructing Knowledge

It is clear that the *Etymologiae* represents an important moment in the transmission of knowledge and that Isidore's reliance on authorities reflects a practice at the heart of the encyclopaedic tradition and of glossing more generally where annotators assembled material from a variety of sources. Collecting knowledge, an essential part of the encyclopaedic inheritance, appears to have been an important function of early medieval glossing. In the final section of this paper, I shall explore further the encyclopaedic practice of *compilatio* in order to demonstrate how glossators were gathering information. Glossators combined material from Isidore with other sources, as well as incorporated Isidore into works.

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[136] O'Sullivan, *Early medieval glosses*, 115–16.

[137] *India eos gignit, raro alibi repertos. Poliuntur omnes sexangula figura artificum ingeniis, quoniam hebes unitate surda color repercussu angulorum excitetur. Aliter politi non habent fulgorem*. Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 37.20.76 in *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, eds Karl Mayhoff and Jan Ludwig (Stuttgart: 1967; ed. stereotypa 1892–1909); *Beryllos in sexangulas formas Indi atterunt, ut hebetem coloris lenitatem angulorum repercussu excitent ad vigorem. Beryllorum genus dividitur in speciem multifariam: eximii intervirente glauci et caeruli temperamento quandam praeferunt puri maris gratiam*. See *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. Mommsen, 195; *Beryllus in India gignitur, gentis suae lingua nomen habens, viriditate similis smaragdo, sed cum pallore. Politur autem ab Indis in sexangulas formas, ut hebetudo coloris repercussu angulorum excitetur; aliter politus non habet fulgorem*. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 16.7.5.

[138] *Berillus est quasi consideres aquam solis fulgore percussam, rubicundum ac decorum reddere colorem. Sed non fulget, nisi in sexangulam formam poliendo figuretur. Repercussu enim angulorum splendor illius acuitur. Significat autem homines ingenio quidem sagaces, sed amplius supernae gratiae lumine refulgentes. Nam quod aqua, sensus altitudinem designet…Nam senario saepe numero perfectio designatur actionis…In berillo, praedicantium perfecta operatio*. Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 121A (Turnhout: 2001), 545; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, 17.7, PL 111, col. 468C; Smaragdus, *Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia*, PL 102, col. 335D.

To begin with, early medieval glossators did not simply collect, but often arranged material from different sources in various ways. For instance, they sometimes gathered citations from various works in a gloss. Such practices suggest the associative and interrelated nature of knowledge, as already illustrated by the gloss on *Aeneid* 7.637 that drew the reader from Virgil to Isidore and back to Virgil again. The following glosses, which display heavy Isidorian influence, underscore how knowledge was compiled. The first case demonstrates the interrelated nature of learning, as well as the importance of authorities. Found in a 9th-century Virgil manuscript, the gloss transmits material from three named sources: Isidore, Virgil, and Lucan. It also contains an intertextual reference to Virgil in the piece excerpted from Isidore and this reference, in turn, leads the reader back to the lemma:

> *Eclogue* 1.62
> AVT ARARIM PARTHVS BIBET AVT GERMANIA TIGRIM: … fluens. Quod dificiditatem (*lege difficultatem*) haberet, si Parthus bibisset fluuium Orientis Isidoro dicente: Ararim fluuius Orientis, de quo Virgilius ait "aut Ararim Parthus bibet." Tamen Lucanus dicit "Rodanum morantem praecipitauit Arar." Sed sic soluitur, quod Arar fluuius Galliae est, de quo hic Virgilius dicit, Araris autem est in Oriente, de quo non dixit (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 167, fol. 7r)[139]

The second example, present in 9th-century Virgil manuscripts, comprises, as Ottaviano has shown, a patchwork of three unnamed sources: Augustine, Isidore, and Servius:[140]

> *Aeneid* 4, 246
> Atlas rex fuit Aethiopum uel Africae, frater Promethei, maternus auus Mercurii maioris, cuius nepos fuit Tri<s>megistus; et iste Mercurius eo

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[139] Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana*, 151. See *Eclogue* 1.62; Lucan, *De Bello Civili* 6.475–6 in *M. Annaei Lucani De bello civili libri X*, ed. David Roy Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart: 1988), 150; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.21.13.

[140] Ottaviano, "Il *Reg. lat.* 1669," 294–95.

> tempore quo Moyses natus est fuisse reperitur a quo Atlante astrologiae artem prius dicitur excogitatam et ideo dictus est sustinuisse caelum. Vnde occasionem fabula inuenit ut eum caelum portare confingeret, quamuis mons eius nomine nuncuparetur; ob eruditionem igitur disciplinae et scientiam caeli nomen eius in montem Africae diriuatum est qui nunc Atlas cognominatur: qui propter altitudinem suam quasi caeli machinam atque astra sustentare uidetur. Qui Atlas, cum audisset oraculo cauendum esse a Iouis filio et timore nullum susciperet, a Perseo in montem conuersus est uiso Gorgonis capite, eo quod illum noluit suscipere (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 98r; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1669, fol. 85r)

The first half of the above gloss draws on Augustine and Isidore, the final section on Servius.[141] What makes the arrangement interesting is that we find the same passages from Augustine and Isidore, as Ottaviano has noted, in the *Liber glossarum* for the entry on *Athlans*.[142] Indeed, the *Liber glossarum*, itself excerpting from Virgil glosses, may in turn very well have been used by early medieval glossators of Virgil. In the third case, found in a 9th-century glossed Virgil manuscript, two sources, Servius and Isidore, are merged into a single annotation:

> *Georgics* 1.94
> RASTRIS rastri eo quod radunt terram [= Servius] siue a raritate dentium dicuntur [= Isidore] (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165, fol. 17v)[143]

In the above examples, Isidore is interwoven with and cited alongside other authorities by early medieval glossators, an indication not only of his status but also of how knowledge was being made. Glossators combined and stockpiled information from authorities. This is in line with early medieval glossing practices, which often encoded the glossed text with all kinds of references to authoritative sources. Whilst the context of such practices is difficult to ascertain, the encyclopaedic endeavour was evidently very much at the heart of them.[144]

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[141] See Augustine, *De civitate dei* 18.39 (*eo quippe tempore, quo moyses natus est, fuisse reperitur atlans ille magnus astrologus, promethei frater, maternus auus mercurii maioris, cuius nepos fuit trismegistus iste mercurius*) and 18.8 (*frater eius atlans magnus fuisse astrologus dicitur; unde occasionem fabula inuenit, ut eum caelum portare confingeret; quamuis mons eius nomine nuncupetur, cuius altitudine potius caeli portatio in opinionem uulgi uenisse uideatur*); Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14.8.17 (*Athlans frater Promethei fuit et rex Africae, a quo astrologiae artem prius dicunt excogitatam; ideoque dictus est sustinuisse caelum. Ob eruditionem igitur disciplinae et scientiam caeli nomen eius in montem Africae deriuatum est, qui nunc Athlans cognominatur: qui propter altitudinem suam quasi caeli machinam atque astra sustentare uidetur*); Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 1, 509, 19–23 (*nam rex fuit. qui cum audisset oraculo, cavendum esse a Iovis filio, et timore nullum susciperet, a Perseo in montem conversus est viso Gorgonis capite, eo quod illum noluit suscipere. ut autem in primo diximus, peritus astrologiae fuit: nam et Herculem docuit*).

[142] *Liber glossarum* AT 30–35. See *GL* 1, 70.

[143] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 3.1, 154, 12–13; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 20.14.6.

Moreover, the practice of compiling material is also evident in how Isidore is added to other works, as is illustrated, for instance, by the Isidorian interpolations in Virgilian commentaries. Isidore not only himself drew heavily on Virgilian commentary, but over time excerpts from the *Etymologiae* were added to collections and anthologies of Virgil comments. For example, a passage from Isidore (*Etymologiae* 1.39.16) is incorporated into the prologue of the *Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* ascribed to Iunius Philargyrius.[145] The *Explanatio* (in two recensions) is related to the *Brevis expositio* on the first and part of the second book of the *Georgics*, and to the more substantial set of glosses on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* known as the Bern scholia, which were in circulation by the 9th century.[146] The same Isidorian passage occurs in two other closely related manuscripts which transmit a commentary on the *Eclogues*: British Library, Harley MS 2782 (9th century, Northeast France) and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS lat. 394 (late 9th century, *prov.* St Amand).[147] Given the close relationship between the *Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* and the so-called Bern scholia it is no surprise that identical material is present in both.

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[144] There is ongoing scholarly debate about the function of glosses, a debate which originally pivoted around the notions of classroom teaching and private reading. The *locus classicus* for this debate is to be found in Gernot R. Wieland, "The glossed manuscript: classbook or library book?," *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153–73 and Michael Lapidge, "The Study of Latin Texts in late Anglo-Saxon England: [1] The Evidence of Latin Glosses," in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: 1982), 99–140.

[145] Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 3.2, 10, 14–26; Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana*, 23, 119.

[146] Debate surrounds the origin of these glosses with some scholars arguing that the collection was assembled in early medieval Ireland and others that it was edited there. These two opposing viewpoints are encapsulated by Brent Miles and Michael Herren. The former argues that there is no need "to posit a separate late antique collection…distinct from the one which we know existed in Ireland and was taken to the continent, replete with Christian content and glosses in Old Irish." Miles calls the entire collection the "Irish Filargirian collection." See Brent Miles, *Heroic saga and classical epic in medieval Ireland* (Cambridge: 2011), 32. Herren, on the other hand, argues that the collection was edited in Ireland: Michael W. Herren, "Literary and glossarial evidence for the study of classical mythology in Ireland A.D. 600–800," in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular learning and literature presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, eds. Helen Conrad-O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy and John Scattergood (Dublin: 1999), 55–61, 67.

[147] For the Harley manuscript, see O'Sullivan, "Servius in the Carolingian Age." The origin of the Valenciennes manuscript is unclear but its provenance can be located in Saint Amand. See Funaioli, *Esegesi*, pp. 22–23, 444. Bischoff, *Katalog* III, Nr. 6388, 399 says it is probably last quarter of the ninth century.

Isidore, however, was not only added to the prologues of Virgilian commentaries, but Isidorian material also appears in the body of such works, for example, in the glosses attributed to Philargyrius, in the *Brevis expositio*, and in the Bern scholia.[148] Moreover, Isidore is often mentioned by name in the Bern scholia.[149] And Isidore occurs frequently alongside Servian material in 9th-century manuscripts, as in the following glosses in Montpellier MS 253:

> PARNASIA RVPES Parnasia rupes mons Tesaliae Apollini consecratus est (fol. 10v; see Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici* III.1, 69, 7)

> PARNASIA RVPES Parnasus mons Tesaliae … Habet duo capita: Chirram quae Apollini, Nisam quae est consecreta Libero Patri (fol. 10v; see *Etymologiae* 14.4.12; 14.8.11)

The first annotation draws on Servius; the second on two Isidorian passages. More generally, the appearance of Isidore in Virgilian glosses bears testimony to the plethora of non-Servian additions in early medieval glossed Virgil manuscripts. Cumulatively, the evidence demonstrates that Isidore was both heavily used by early medieval glossators of Virgil, and incorporated into existing Virgilian commentaries.

10 Conclusion

What, then, can we conclude from the above case studies about the use of Isidore in Carolingian and Ottonian glosses? Given the wide dissemination of the *Etymologiae* and the well-known influence of Isidore, it is hardly a surprise that he is heavily deployed by early medieval glossators who looked to him as a source of information on all manner of subjects, including Greek or Greek-derived words. And glossators, focussed on the exposition of the lemma (usually a word or words), found a readily available resource in the *Etymologiae*, the cornerstone of which was words and their origins. Moreover, given the influence of Isidore's scholarly methods, namely encyclopaedism and etymology, it is not surprising that these methods are evident in the glossing practices of early medieval annotators.[150] Glosses, however, provide first-hand evidence that encyclopaedism and etymology were standard scholarly tools in early medieval centres of learning. In Carolingian and Ottonian glosses, the etymological drive is ubiquitous and underscores the importance of the word in the intellectual culture of the early Middle Ages, an importance highlighted by Isidore himself and one that is inscribed in the very practice of glossing, that is, in the interpretation of an authoritative text word by word. As for the encyclopaedic tradition, it is attested in the methods of early medieval annotators who collected and excerpted material from a "forest" of sources, demonstrating that the principle of *compilatio*, which infused many different kinds of writings, was also at play in their efforts.[151] Early medieval glosses thus provide first-hand evidence that the scholarly practices at the heart of the *Etymologiae* remained essential to early medieval scholars in their endeavour to gain access to and construct knowledge. More crucially, the twin traditions of encyclopaedism and etymology, at the core of early medieval glossing and of textual culture more generally, demonstrate how it was that scholars in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries elucidated texts and created storehouses of knowledge culled from the authorities of the past, amongst whom Isidore indubitably was fundamental.[152]

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[148] For the commentary attributed to Philargyrius, see glosses on *Eclogue* 3.8, which draw on Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.1.14 and on *Eclogue* 9.36, which draw on Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.7.18 in Thilo and Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, vol. 3.2, 50, 18–51, 3; 172, 13–18. In the *Brevis expositio* and Bern scholia, the comment on *Georgics* 1.27 (*AVCTOREM FRVGVM "Auctor" ab augendo dictus*) draws on Isidore, *Etymologiae* 10.2.1. See Luca Cadili, David Daintree and Marius Geymonat, eds., *Scholia Bernensia in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica. Vol II. Fasc. I. In Georgica Commentarii (Prooemium/Liber I 1–42)* (Amsterdam: 2003), 102–03.

[149] Isidore is mentioned by name in *Bucolics* 3.111 and 9.29 and *Georgics* 1.50 and 1.88. Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, 775, 830, 849. In addition, the Bern scholia transmits material common to both Servius and Isidore. For which, see the prologue of the *Georgics*, as well as *Georgics* 1.30 in Cadili *et al.*, eds., *Scholia Bernensia*, 4–5, 106.

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[150] Such methods were integral to the notion of the ideal encyclopaedist, the Christian Varro, and to the art of *grammatica*, "with all of its apparatus for understanding the modes of signifying in texts," Irvine, *The making of textual culture*, 189.

[151] For the principle of compilation and the trope of the "forest" (*silva*) commonly used for *compilatio*, see Irvine, *The making of textual culture*, 428.

[152] My heartfelt thanks to Marie Therese Flanagan for her many helpful suggestions.

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CHAPTER 18

Isidore of Seville in Scholastic Europe

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1 Introduction

In the decade between 1416 and 1426 an Italian scribe and notary named Bartolomeo Landi de Landis, a native of Prato working in Volterra, made a complete copy of Dante's *Commedia*.[1] The *Commedia* covers the majority of the manuscript, but for some eighty folios after it Landi and three other scribes copied a variety of theological and philosophical works in Italian and Latin by St Augustine, Cicero, St Thomas Aquinas, and St Bernard of Clairvaux. The primary work in this section is the *Sententiae* of Isidore of Seville.[2] A copy of Dante in an Italian manuscript of 1426 is hardly surprising. But what do we make of Dante being copied by the same scribe with a Visigothic-era theological treatise at that time some eight centuries old, a treatise, moreover, which another Renaissance Italian scribe saw fit to complete when Landi had stopped? Hadn't Isidore long since been relegated to the Dark Ages, surpassed by the great theologians and encyclopedists of the scholastic age? Why copy Isidore's *Sententiae* when Peter Lombard's own *Sententiae*, the most important theological textbook of the scholastic era, could be found in any school in Europe, along with countless commentaries on it, including one by Aquinas?

Dante himself can help us answer these questions, for he was among those who helped keep Isidore's spirit alive in the later Middle Ages. In the tenth canto of his *Paradiso*, Dante meets Aquinas in the Fourth Heaven, the Sphere of the Sun. Saint Thomas is one of the blessed souls eternally dancing in the circle of Prudence, each soul breathing flame or crowned with fire, symbolizing his or her wisdom. As Dante's guide, Thomas describes for him the identity and achievements of each flaming soul. Thomas indicates one triad of prudent men, namely Isidore, Bede, and Richard of Saint-Victor, who are praised for their powers of investigation in life, which had transcended the ability of normal men (*Paradiso* 10: 130–32: "Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l'ardente spiro/

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[1] Now John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, It. 49, described by N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: 1969–2002), 3:461–63.

[2] Landi copied most of this text (fols 177r–206r), but another scribe finished book 3 (fols 206v–226v).

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d'Isidoro, di Beda e di Riccardo,/che a considerare fu più che viro."). Dante, writing in the early 14th century, not only considered Isidore a distinguished father of the Church, but he also imagined that Saint Thomas (nearly Dante's contemporary) thought the same. He was correct in this estimation, for Thomas is one of many scholastic authors of the high and later Middle Ages who respected Isidore's authority and carefully used his works in their own writings.

The claim that Isidore's works continued to be read and used in the time of Aquinas or Dante is, however, more controversial than might appear at first glance. Until recently, the scholarly consensus had been that Isidore and his writings were almost wholly supplanted in the 12th and 13th centuries by the works of scholastic theologians like Abelard, Peter Lombard, and Aquinas, and that Isidore's famous *Etymologiae* in particular were replaced by the new encyclopedias of Alexander Neckam, Vincent of Beauvais, and Bartholomew the Englishmen.[3] According to this thesis, the cultural developments of the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century"—the rediscovery of Aristotelian physics and Galenic medicine, the translation of Arabic and Greek works into Latin, the rise of cathedral schools and creation of the first universities, and the establishment of new social and legal structures to manage a rapidly growing population—created an intellectual climate inimical to the survival of an early medieval relic like Isidore. But this consensus is more historiographical than historical, a product of generations of scholars who have been more interested in Isidore's impact on the cultures of Anglo-Saxon England or Carolingian Francia, to the neglect of Isidore's place in later centuries.[4]

The problems ensuing from this bias toward tracing Isidore's influence only in the early Middle Ages are compounded by the editors of Isidore's works, who typically (and usually with good reason) use only the earliest manuscripts of the 7th through 9th (and, less often, 10th) centuries.[5] This is the case with both William Lindsay's edition of the *Etymologiae* and the multivolume *Etymologiae* still in preparation by the Paris Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres* (1983–2010),[6] or, for example, with María Adelaida Andrés Sanz's edition of Isidore's *Liber Differentiarum* [II], for which she used manuscripts only through the 10th century. While we can trust Andrés Sanz when she says the manuscripts from the 11th through 16th centuries add no significant variant readings to her edition, it is unfortunate that she does not at least list those later manuscripts.[7] However, more extensive research into manuscripts and citations of Isidore demonstrates that some of his works, particularly the *Etymologiae*, were copied and read throughout the scholastic period (which I define generously as *c.*1000–1500) alongside new texts, and that other Isidorian works like the *Synonyma* gained even greater popularity in the later Middle Ages and were read in novel ways by new ascetic and spiritual movements.[8]

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[3] This thesis is associated most with Jacques Fontaine, who repeated it as recently as 2000 in his monograph *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout: 2000), 413–14.

[4] See, for example, B. Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," *Isidoriana. Estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV centenario de su nascimiento*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: 1961), 317–44; M. Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville au Haut Moyen Âge," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78 (1966), 383–437; Jacques Fontaine, "La figure d'Isidore de Séville à l'époque carolingienne," in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique. Colloque international du CNRS Paris, 14–16 mai 1990*, eds. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi (Madrid: 1992), 195–211. See also, the chapters in this volume by Mark Tizzoni, Martin J. Ryan, and Sinéad O'Sullivan. There are two essays specifically on the Carolingian reception of Isidore in *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: 2016), namely, Melissa Markauskas, "Rylands MS Latin 12: A Carolingian Example of Isidore's Reception into the Patristic Canon," 177–207; and Laura Carlson, "Adoption, Adaptation, & Authority: The Use of Isidore in the Opus Caroli," 209–30.

Some historians, to be sure, have long recognized this lasting influence of Isidore and his writing and the monumental task involved in charting this influence. Already in 1894 Theodor Mommsen marked the length of Isidore's shadow over the later medieval period: "the complete enumeration of later medieval works based on Isidore would have neither utility nor end."[9] A century later, Jacques Verger remained nearly as despairing as *die Große Mommsen* of tracing the influence of Isidore after the turn of the first millennium: "le sujet est immense et demanderait des dépouillements presque infinis."[10] At long last, this historical lacuna in Isidore studies is starting to be filled, most evidently by this volume and by a collection of ten essays published in 2008 and edited by Jacques Elfassi and Bernard Ribémont on the reception of Isidore in the 12th through 15th centuries. This present chapter is indebted to the work of those scholars.[11]

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[5] This does not mean, of course, that we should stop tracing Isidore's influence in the early medieval period, which is the subject of many of the chapters in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, as well as of several essays in a special issue of the journal *Antiquité tardive* 23 (2015), dedicated to "Isidore de Séville et son temps," edited by Isabel Velázquez and Gisela Ripoll.

[6] Wallace M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vols (Oxford: 1911). For an example of the modern editorial logic, see Peter K. Marshall, ed. and trans., *Isidore, Etymologies. Book II: Rhetoric* (Paris: 1983), 9.

[7] See *Liber differentiarum (II)*, ed. María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, CCSL 111A (Turnhout: 2006), 157–58, for a justification for neglecting all manuscripts after the 10th century.

[8] On an early instance of the reception of the *Synonyma*, see Claudia Di Sciacca, "Isidore of Seville in Anglo-Saxon England: The *Synonyma* as a Source of Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*," in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, 131–58.

[9] As quoted and translated by J.N. Hillgarth, "The position of Isidorian studies: A critical review of the literature since 1935," in Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*, 60.

[10] Jacques Verger, "Isidore de Séville dans les universités médiévales," in Fontaine and Pellistrandi, *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, 259.

To trace thoroughly the influence of Isidore's writings, or even of just his *Etymologiae*, in the second half of the Middle Ages would fill a large monograph, as Arno Borst has done in tracing the influence of Pliny's *Natural History*,[12] and this cannot be accomplished in a single essay. Considering the limits of space, I will examine here only Isidore's most popular works (divided below between the *Etymologiae* and the most important theological texts) and the modes by which those works were variously received, honored, disputed, and reshaped in the 11th through 15th centuries in Western Europe, particularly in scholastic contexts.[13] These modes include not only the direct copying of all or portions of his writings, but also the translation, versification, enlargement, or other forms of modification performed by scholastic readers upon Isidore's works, who recast his texts in new forms, and employed or confronted his ideas in scholastic disputation. In most of these cases we will find that all of the individual data in Isidore's works remained valuable to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, but that his Augustinian, etymological mindset (in which knowing the name of a thing was equivalent to knowing the thing itself) was surpassed and subsumed by the newer Aristotelian, natural-philosophical approaches of the 13th century and beyond. That is, the Isidorian parts survived, but less often the Isidorian whole. This is demonstrated by a shift in attitude toward Isidore in the scholastic age, typified by a willingness to dispute his claims while nonetheless respecting his position as a Church Father, along with a tendency to quote from or dismantle his works, taking them out of their original contexts. To be sure, this method of reading Isidore—by adapting passages of his works in new contexts and for new audiences—was hardly novel, as Isidore himself and his contemporaries carefully edited and revised passages from their own favorite ancient authors, such as Pliny and Varro.[14]

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[11] Jacques Elfassi and Bernard Ribémont, eds., *La réception d'Isidore de Séville durant le Moyen Âge tardif* (XII^e–XV^e s.) [= *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008)]. See also Elfassi's insightful chapter in the present volume on the composition and structure of the *Etymologiae*.

[12] Arno Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte. Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments*, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg: 1995)

[13] I will exclude, for the most part, the influence of Isidore in the Iberian Peninsula, a subject covered by Jeremy Lawrance's chapter in the present volume.

[14] On Isidore's methods of quotation, revision, and composition in the *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum*, see the essays in Fear and Wood, *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, esp. Mary Beagan, "Variations on a Theme: Isidore and Pliny on Human and Human-Instigated Anomaly," 57–74, and Andrew Fear, "Putting the Pieces Back Together: Isidore and De Natura Rerum," 75–92.

In the sections that follow I make frequent reference to specific manuscripts and collections containing works by Isidore. I make no claims to comprehensiveness in these references, but rather use them to indicate typical patterns of the diffusion of Isidorian texts in libraries throughout western Europe.

2 Reading and Copying the *Etymologiae*

When we say "Isidore," we very often mean "Isidore's *Etymologiae*," so monumental was the influence of this work in the development both of the encyclopedia genre and of grammatical modes of thinking that persisted for the rest of the Middle Ages. Medieval scribes and authors shared this identification of Isidore with his most famous work: scholastic theologians and encyclopedists could refer to a book in *Isidorus* and assume their readers knew that the *Etymologiae* were meant. Isidore was among the primary authorities for teaching medieval scholars how to compile and summarize knowledge, along with Pliny, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and, later, Aristotle in Latin translation. Isidore's *Etymologiae*, as edited for publication by his assistant Braulio, offered "a long-influential model for information management"[15] by summarizing the ideas of hundreds of past, and often lost, authors in topical order, an order clearly indicated by a table of contents and running headers. Lists of headings or titles in a book were rare in the early Middle Ages and became common only by the 13th century, as seen in Vincent of Beauvais's monumental table of contents to his *Speculum maius*.[16] Later encyclopedists often could do little more than rephrase the *Etymologiae*, or copy from it wholesale, as was the case in sections of Hrabanus Maurus's *De naturis rerum*, Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum libri duo*, and Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum*. Isidore likewise was a favorite example of a *compilator*, who gathered together the "flowers" of numerous authorities but claimed responsibility more for the presentation than the contents. Not surprisingly, Isidore features prominently in many of the *florilegia* compiled by students and masters of the growing universities in the 13th century.[17]

Ownership of the *Etymologiae* was expected of any worthwhile library after the Carolingian period. Alongside the *Etymologiae* Michael Twomey places the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman, the *De natura rerum* of Hrabanus Maurus, and the *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis as the four standard encyclopedias to be found in any well-stocked library of the later Middle Ages.[18] The surviving corpus of *Etymologiae* manuscripts after the 11th century quickly puts the lie to claims that Isidore was forgotten in the later Middle Ages. In 1965 José María Fernández Catón published, from the notes of the Isidorian scholar August Anspach, a checklist of over one thousand manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*.[19] On the basis of this checklist, Baudouin Van den Abeele made a sketch of the manuscript transmission of the *Etymologiae* in the later Middle Ages. He demonstrates that the *Etymologiae* continued to be copied in the 12th through 15th centuries at the same rate as in earlier centuries, and that the work was not eclipsed by the new encyclopedias of the 13th century, at least in terms of numbers, if not authority. He counted a total of 455 complete or significant (two or more complete books) copies of the *Etymologiae*, and 626 of substantial excerpts. Most of those "complete" copies (365) date from the 11th through 15th centuries, and many (355) of the extracts also date from that period (though Van den Abeele marks a dramatic peak of extracts in the 9th century, 136, suggesting a vibrant Carolingian interest in the work).[20]

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[15] Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: 2010), 34.

[16] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 135.

[17] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 175.

Historians studying encyclopedias have necessarily focused on the overwhelming influence of Isidore, and many have gone so far as to define various medieval encyclopedias according to how "Isidorian" they are. Bernard Ribémont, one of the foremost authorities on medieval encyclopedism, systematically divides the history of encyclopedias into periods of "isidorisme" and "post-isidorisme," with Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* riding the cusp between those two definitive eras.[21] Christel Meier has constructed a similar binary for the study of medieval encyclopedias, dividing them by mode of organization, that is, according to the *ordo artium* (arranged by the Roman liberal arts) or the *ordo rerum* (based on the hierarchy of things in the created world). The most successful encyclopedias, including the *Etymologiae* itself and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius*, share aspects of each *ordo*.[22]

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[18] Michael W. Twomey, "Inventing the Encyclopedia," in *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*, eds. Alisdair A. MacDonald and Michael W. Twomey (Leuven: 2004), 80–81.

[19] J.M. Fernández Caton, *Las Etimologias en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr Anspach* (León: 1966). Fernández Caton provides 967 numbered manuscripts, but some are subdivided by letters *a*, *b*, and so on, so the total is rather 1080 manuscripts, according to the count of Baudouin Van den Abeele, "La tradition manuscrite des *Etymologies* d'Isidore de Séville: pour une reprise en main du dossier," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 198.

[20] Van den Abeele, "La tradition manuscrite des *Etymologies*," 199–201.

[21] This idea appears in many of Bernard Ribémont's works, but it is at the heart of his *La renaissance du XIIe siècle et l'encyclopédisme* (Paris: 2002). On Alexander Neckam as a transitional figure between two intellectual eras, see Winston Black, "Neckam, Alexander," in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, eds. Siân Echard and Robert Rouse (Hoboken: 2017), 1411–13.

These attempts at artificially demarcating the development of encyclopedias go too far in relegating Isidore to the early medieval past. He was not forgotten at all in the scholastic period, but was simply found wanting in certain areas that were of greater importance in the 12th and 13th centuries than in the 7th. For example, readers of the scholastic age objected to Isidore's sparing quotation of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, and all of the major scholastic encyclopedists made much fuller use of that text.[23] For example, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana A 18 is a 12th-century manuscript of the *Etymologiae* to which the scribe or readers added over 100 scholia taken from Pliny.[24]

High medieval encyclopedias, in comparison to the *Etymologiae*, became (paradoxically, from the modern perspective) both more scientific and more religious. On the one hand, the combination of Isidorian etymology, Plinian natural history, and (after about 1200) Aristotelian natural philosophy became a definitive aspect of most later medieval encyclopedias. On the other hand, Isidorian etymologies were "moralized" or "clericalized" as early as the 8th century in the commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana and in the 9th-century *De natura rerum* of Hrabanus Maurus. This trend continued into the scholastic era with Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum*, in which his encyclopedic catalogue of the natures of things (ostensibly a commentary on Ecclesiastes, but really much more) is an extension of biblical exegesis, Christian morals, and ethics.[25] That is not to say that Isidore did not see God's presence everywhere,[26] but it took a scholastic mindset to see a systematic, one-for-one equivalence between every object or nature and a spiritual or biblical significance: such a reading is evident in the thousands of glosses to Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum*, in which a natural phenomenon (for example, the heat of blood in book 4 or the bitterness of large cucumbers in book 17) is made to signify (respectively) Christ's passion and original sin.

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[22] Christel Meier, "Organisation of Knowledge and the Encylopaedic *ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: 1997), 103–26.

[23] Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World. Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: 2012), 50

[24] Wallace M. Lindsay, "New evidence from the text of Festus," *Classical Quarterly* 10 (1916), 106–15; J. Whatmough, "Scholia in Isidori Etymologias Vallicelliana," *ALMA* 2 (1925), 57–75, 134–69; Michael D. Reeve, "Excerpts from Pliny's *Natural History*," in *Ways of Approaching Knowledge in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Schools and Scholarship*, eds. Paulo Farmhouse Alberto and David Paniagua (Nordhausen: 2012), 262.

[25] Tomás Záhora, *Nature, Virtue, and the Boundaries of Encyclopedic Knowledge: The Tropological Universe of Alexander Neckam (1157–1217)* (Turnhout: 2014), 8.

[26] This is a fact demonstrated by Thomas O'Loughlin's chapter in this volume on Isidore as a theologian and Fear, "Putting the Pieces Back Together."

3 Excerpting the *Etymologiae*

The *Etymologiae* were excerpted from an early date, providing single books, or parts of books as needed in new compilations: Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 114 (9th century), formerly of Reims Cathedral, starts with just *Etymologiae* book 9, 5–6;[27] and a compilation on grammar, Leiden, BPL 122 (10th century), includes numerous excerpts of *Etymologiae* book 1.[28] Such grammatical collections were still common in the scholastic age, as in the 13th-century textbook Leiden, BPL 120, a copy of Papias's *Vocabularium abbreviatum*, which is both prefaced and concluded by excerpts from the *Etymologiae*.[29] It seems that almost any time a blank folio was available, scribes and owners jotted down relevant notes from *Etymologiae*, as in the first folio of Leiden, BPL 30 (1153), before a historical compilation from Eusebius, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Sigebert of Gembloux,[30] or on the first two folios of Leiden, BPL 89 (1352), where the scribe added military vocabulary from Isidore before a copy of Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus.[31]

Single etymologies had a life of their own, wandering in and out of biblical commentaries, scientific treatises, and florilegia. They are rarely cited as coming from Isidore (this may have been assumed), as is the case with Isidore's etymology of *fingere* (*Etymologiae* 20.4.2), copied on the flyleaf of a southern French or Spanish manuscript of the early 13th century (Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 266), along with two biblical passages;[32] or when Isidorian etymologies are a source of *exempla* on the virtues and vices, as in Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 80, a northern Italian compilation from the early 15th century;[33] or as a standard source of glosses in a Bible, like Yale University, Beinecke Library 455, an English Bible from the second quarter of the 13th century.[34]

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[27] *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 3, eds. P. Voorheve and K.A. de Meyier (Leiden: 1912), 57.

[28] *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 3, 63.

[29] *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 3, 61.

[30] *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 3, 18.

[31] *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti*, vol. 3, 46–47.

[32] Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Yale University*, vol. 3 (Binghamton: 1992), 521.

Larger sections and individual books of the *Etymologiae* were easily separated and inserted with other texts, a process already begun soon after Isidore's death. This appears to have been particularly true of those fields of knowledge that were technical and cumulative in nature, as in treatises on animals, stones, or plants. Such excerpts can be seen in Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Digby 13, a 12th- and 13th-century collection of lapidaries and herbals made for Christ Church, Canterbury, which includes portions of book 16 of the *Etymologiae* as a separate treatise on gems,[35] and in a 12th-century German medical collection (British Library, Harley 4346), in which sections of *Etymologiae* book 16, on weights and measures, are made to seem exotic and new with the title *De ponderibus Almansoris et Serapionis* ("On Weights by Almansor and Serapion").[36] In a more dramatic case of excerpting Isidore, a 13th-century papal secretary, Aegidius Beneventanus, produced a florilegium in the second half of the 13th century (Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 119) that contained excerpts from numerous works on matters moral, historical, genealogical, and geographical. From Isidore come a bestiary extracted from *Etymologiae* book 12 and a discussion of great philosophers and poets from *Etymologiae* books 2 and 8.[37] This latter section demonstrates close reading on the part of the compiler, who drew passages from two separate books of *Etymologiae* to create a brief treatise on his topic.

The copying of single books for the *Etymologiae* was so common, in fact, that the designer of the latest *stemma codicum* for the *Etymologiae*, M. Reydellet, proposed that each book needs to be analysed and edited separately. This proposal has been followed by the current editors of the *Etymologiae* for Paris Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres*.[38] For example, book 4 of the *Etymologiae*, on medicine, frequently circulated on its own as a medical authority alongside later medieval translations of Galen, Aristotle, and Arabic medical scholars.[39] While the authority of Isidore's book on medicine persisted through the scholastic age, the actual contents also saw some change. Numerous manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* in the 11th through 14th centuries contain a series of additions to book 4, which enlarge Isidore's history of the founders of medicine and provide significantly more technical details, typical of scholastic medicine, on the four humors, four elements, four parts of the body, and the anatomy of the brain. Much of this material is attributed to a Jewish scholar known as Asaph.[40]

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[33] Shailor, *Catalogue*, 3:153.

[34] Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Yale University*, vol. 2 (Binghamton: 1992), 405–08.

[35] William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, pars nona* (Oxford: 1883), 10. For more on this manuscript, see Henry of Huntingdon, *Anglicanus Ortus: A Verse Herbal of the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. Winston Black (Toronto: 2012), 62–63.

[36] Described and fully digitized at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4346. (accessed 14 March 2019).

[37] Shailor, *Catalogue*, 3:213–16. This manuscript is fully digitized at https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3432886 (accessed 19 March 2019).

[38] Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines*."

4 The *Etymologiae* and New Encyclopedias

The 12th century was a golden age for the *Etymologiae*, at which time it was widely copied, both in full and in excerpts. Twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* abound, often copied with Isidore's *De natura rerum*; they were treated as a complementary pair that offered a thorough introduction to an understanding of God, man, and nature.[41] Masters and students active in Paris, Chartres, Orléans, and elsewhere—hungry for knowledge about nature before the influx of Aristotelian translations at the end of the century—continued to turn to these Isidorian works, together with the compendia of Pliny, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella.[42]

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[39] For example, Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 47 (1468–1477: Nürnberg), a medical and natural philosophical compendium featuring Galen and commentaries on Aristotle's natural texts, with Isidore, *Etymologiae* book 4, in between on fols 75–81, Ingeborg Neske, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. Band IV: Die Lateinischen Mittelalterlichen Handschriften. Varia: 13.-15. und 16.-18. Jh.* (Wiesbaden: 1997), 76; and in a set of Gaelic medical treatises from the 15th or 16th century in Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Irish 35, fols 68–71, in which Latin lines from *Etymologiae* book 4 introduce lengthier passages on medicine in Gaelic, Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:456–458.

[40] Carmen Codoñer Merino, "La medicina en lagunos manuscritos de Isidoro de Sevilla," in *Isidorus Medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina*, ed. A. Ferraces Rodriguez (A Coruña: 2005), 65–84. The additions are discussed further and edited in Carmen Codoñer Merino, "Textes médicaux insérés dans les *Etymologies* isidoriennes," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 17–37.

[41] To name just a few examples, copies of the pair were made in the West Rhineland in 1136 (now British Library, Harley 2660, described and digitized online: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_2660 [accessed 19 March 2019]) at the Cistercian monastery of Salem at the end of the 12th century (University of Heidelberg, Cod. Sal. IX 39), with extracts from Bede and Pseudo-Hrabanus, Wilfried Werner, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem* (Wiesbaden: 2000), 247–48; and another early 12th-century copy, most likely German, is now Leiden, Periz F. 2, *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti IV. Codices Perizoniani* (Leiden: 1946), 1–2.

The *Etymologiae* remained a favorite source of natural knowledge in the later Middle Ages, but Isidore's *De natura rerum* did not share such popularity. This is suggested by a survey of manuscripts of *De natura rerum* in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where only three of the dozen manuscripts held there date from after the 12th century.[43] It was typical of 12th-century philosophers to compose new works about nature, like Adelard of Bath's *Quaestiones naturales* or William of Conches's *Philosophia* and *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, which by the 13th century often supplanted the *De natura rerum* of Isidore and Bede's work of the same name as the best introduction to cosmology and physics, while still relying heavily on their early medieval ideas.[44]

The *Etymologiae* taught high medieval scholars about the nature of things, but it was obviously also a book about words. To that extent, the authors of new lexicons (proto-dictionaries) necessarily built on Isidore's model and wordlists in the *Etymologiae* and *Differentiae*:[45] Papias's *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* (or *Vocabularium*, finished by 1053) is an alphabetical redaction of the *Etymologiae*; Osbern of Gloucester used both Isidore and Papias in his mid-12th-century *Panormia*, as did Huguccio of Pisa, writing his *Liber Derivationum* in the later 12th century.[46] Alexander Neckam (whose encyclopedia I examine below) also compiled his *De nominibus utensilium* from Isidore's

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[42] Ribémont, *La renaissance du XIIe siècle et l'encyclopédisme*, 86.

[43] Jacques Elfassi and Bernard Ribémont. "La réception d'Isidore de Séville durant le Moyen Âge tardif (XIIe–XVe s.)," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 3. The most complete inventory of manuscripts of the *De natura rerum* is in Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, *Isidore of Seville, On the nature of things* (Liverpool: 2016), 66–97, but see also the review of this book by Jacques Elfassi in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, March 2017, n. 22: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017-03-22.html (accessed 19 March 2019), who adds six more manuscripts. My thanks to Dr Elfassi for providing this reference.

[44] Barbara Obrist, "Guillaume de Conches: Cosmologie, physique du ciel et astronomie," in *Guillaume de Conches: Philosophie et science au XIIe siècle*, eds. Barbara Obrist and Irene Caiazzo (Florence: 2011), 130, 136–37, n. 37, 159.

[45] Specifically, Papias used Isidore's description of the cardinal virtues from his *Differentiae*: István Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: 2011), 64.

[46] Uguccione da Pisa, *Derivationes*, eds. Enzo Cecchini, Guido Arbizzoni, Settimio Lanciotti, Giorgio Nonni, Maria Grazia Sassi, and Alba Tontini (Florence: 2004). This not-quite-critical edition does not have an *apparatus fontium*, and it is not clear how much of the work comes directly from Isidore or through intermediaries. See Wolfgang P. Mueller's review of: Enzo Cecchini et al., eds., *Uguccione da Pisa, Derivationes: Edizione critica princeps*, in *Speculum* 81 (2006), 932–33.

Etymologiae with additional information from more recent lexicons, like the *Phale totum* of his own master Adam de Petit-Pont and Osbern's *Panormia*.[47] Even well into the 13th century new dictionaries made extensive use of Isidorian etymologies, such as Guillelmus Brito's *Summa* (*c.*1270) and Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* (1286).[48]

Between 1090 and 1120 Lambert of St Omer composed his *Liber Floridus*, often considered the first of a new generation of encyclopedias in the high Middle Ages, but really more of a well-organized *florilegium*, as indicated by its name. Lambert drew extensively from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and a scribe of a later copy of the *Liber Floridus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8865, *c.*1250–1270),[49] made in Cambrai and apparently a direct copy of Lambert's autograph manuscript (now University of Ghent 92), made further additions from Isidore: a lapidary extracted from *Etymologiae* book 16 that is paired with Marbod of Rennes's *De virtutibus XII lapidum nobilium*, a bestiary composed of extracts from *Etymologiae* book 12, and an abbreviation of Isidore's *De fide catholica contra Judaeos*. Honorius Augustodunensis (probably an Englishman and not from Autun, as his name suggests) was perhaps the greatest encyclopedist of the 12th century. His encyclopedia *Imago mundi* is most similar to Bede's *De natura rerum* in its organization, but it is liberally supplemented by material from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and Pliny's *Natural History*.[50] Gossuin of Metz translated and expanded this work as *L'image du monde* in the mid-13th century, providing a pathway for Isidore into vernacular literature. Hugh of Saint-Victor makes many references to Isidore in the *Didascalicon* (*c.*1125), an introduction to a Christian education, and some have argued that Isidore was the main inspiration for this popular work.[51] Hugh also used Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* in his own *De sacramentis*.

Isidore's material on animals was useful in the compilation of bestiaries, which were particularly popular in the 12th century and incorporated into the encyclopedias of the 13th. A pair of bestiaries made in England around 1200 (now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 81, and London, British Library, Royal 12 C XIX) feature passages on animals taken from the *Etymologiae*, the book of Genesis, and the *Imago mundi* of Honorius, along with sermons and medical recipes.[52] This pairing of Isidore with a later author in the compilation of a bestiary is also seen in Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek Mc 365, a 13th-century bestiary attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor, but which is actually a compilation of bestiary material from Hugh of Fouilloy and Isidore's *Etymologiae*.[53]

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[47] R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*, ed. and rev. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: 1984), 33–34.

[48] Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 25.

[49] Jacqueline Sclafer, Marie-Pierre Laffitte, Françoise Bléchet, Marie-Françoise Damongeot, Mathieu Lescuyer, and Marie-Hélène Tesnière, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins nos. 8823–8921* (Paris: 1997), 57–68.

[50] Ribémont, *La renaissance du XIIe siècle et l'encyclopédisme*, 82–99.

[51] Hillgarth, "The position of isidorian studies," 67.

Some of the most extensive research done in recent years on the influence of Isidore's *Etymologiae* concerns its impact on the composition of the so-called scholastic encyclopedias of the 13th and 14th centuries, produced by and for the scholars of the mendicant schools and new universities, the earliest of which *studia* (Bologna, Paris, and Oxford) were established by the later 12th century. The scholastic nature of the new encyclopedias is defined by the presence of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics, available in Latin translations only by the turn of the 13th century. The most important of these new encyclopedias were Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum*, Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietiatibus rerum*, Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum*, and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, *Speculum doctrinale*, and *Speculum historiale* (known collectively as the *Speculum maius*). All of these encyclopedists designed their works in response to the academic programs of the new universities, founded on the combination of Roman liberal arts and Greco-Arabic philosophy.[54] Isidore was a key source not only for facts and etymologies for these 13th-century encyclopedists, but also for their very patterns and structures for compiling knowledge; for example, Hildegard of Bingen (already in the 12th century), Alexander Neckam, and Vincent of Beauvais followed Isidore's pattern of discussing the creatures of God according to their appearance in the Creation story of Genesis.[55]

While I wish to challenge the common belief that Isidore was abandoned in the scholastic era, there can be no denying that the encyclopedists of the 13th century broke, for the most part, with the Isidorian etymological tradition by undertaking a reorganization of knowledge according to new principles of classification learned from Aristotle, Galen, and their Arabic commentators. Bernard Ribémont, Tomás Záhora, and others have recognized especially in Neckam's *De naturis rerum* "two major shifts in medieval encyclopaedism: the move away from the tradition of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, and the acquisition of [an] Aristotelian understanding of nature."[56] This did not mean abandoning Isidore outright, and it is clear that the scholastic encyclopedists were reading both Isidore and Aristotle and exploring new ways to balance two profoundly different approaches to knowledge. For example, Vincent of Beauvais carefully distinguishes between Isidore the Church Father, who was to be followed closely in matters of faith, and Isidore the encyclopedist of the natures of things, with whom he was free to dispute. When Isidore says that snake venom is cold, and Avicenna says that it is hot, neither has greater authority and we are encouraged to judge for ourselves.[57] Despite this *caveat* Vincent, in his *Speculum naturale* and *Speculum doctrinale*, quotes from every one of the *Etymologiae*'s twenty books but one (the dictionary of book 10), and in ten cases Vincent used at least half of each book.[58]

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[52] *Two East Anglian Picture Books: A Facsimile of the Helmingham Herbal and Bestiary and Bodleian Ms. Ashmole 1504*, ed. Nicholas Barker (London: 1988), 5. The British Library manuscript is fully digitized online: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_12_c_xix (accessed 19 March 2019).

[53] Gerd Brinkhus and Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbilbiothek Tübingen*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: 2001), 2:245–46.

[54] See, for example, Michelangelo Picone, "Il significato di un convegno sull'enciclopedismo medievale," in *L'enciclopedismo medievale: Atti del convegno "L'enciclopedismo medievale," San Gimignano 8–10 ottobre 1992*, ed. M. Picone (Ravenna: 1994), 15–21.

[55] Laurence Moulinier, "Une encyclopédiste sans précédent? Le cas de Hildegarde de Bingen," in Picone, *L'enciclopedismo medievale*, 122. See also Eva Albrecht, "The Organization of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius* and of some other Latin Encyclopedias," in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy. Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference*, ed. Steven Harvey (Dordrecht: 2000), 46–74.

Among the later and lesser-known encyclopedists can also be observed extremes in their use of Isidore, from strictly adhering to the *Etymologiae* to almost completely ignoring the work. In the first case, Engelbert, abbot of Admont (*c.*1250–1331), wrote his *Tractatus de naturis animalium* based closely on book 12 of the *Etymologiae*, with little recourse to the numerous encyclopedias of the 13th century. He is rare in his devotion to Isidore, which is all the more curious given that Engelbert is known for being a student of Aristotelian philosophy in Padua and is credited with introducing Aristotle's works to the Austrian region of the Holy Roman Empire.[59] At the other extreme, Arnaldus Saxo, in his mid-13th-century encyclopedia *Liber de floribus rerum naturalium*, does not cite Isidore a single time, and Albertus Magnus uses Isidore in his *De mineralibus* only in the rare cases when there is no other authority, more ancient or more recent, available.[60] While we should acknowledge these extremes, most encyclopedists of the 13th, and even 14th, centuries were still obliged to use (or pay lip service to) the traditional encyclopedic authors like Isidore and Pliny.[61] For example, Henry of Herford, the 14th-century compiler of the encyclopedic *Catena aurea entium* followed primarily Albertus Magnus for the structure and composition of his questions about nature, but he used a variety of ancient and more recent texts (Pliny, Isidore, the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, and Thomas of Cantimpré) for detailed examples in his answers.[62]

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[56] Záhora, *Nature, Virtue, and the Boundaries of Encyclopedic Knowledge*, 45–46, challenges Ribémont's claims that Neckam actually assimilated and understood Aristotelian science, and notes the lack of any real integration of Isidorian and Aristotelian material.

[57] Monique Paulmier-Foucart, "Les Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville dans le *Speculum maius* de Vincent de Beauvais," in Fontaine and Pellistrandi, *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, 270.

[58] Paulmier-Foucart, "Les Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville dans le *Speculum maius*," 275–76.

[59] Max Schmitz, "Dans le sillage d'Isidore de Séville: Le *Tractatus de naturis animalium* d'Engelbert d'Admont (ca. 1250–1331)," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 175–94.

[60] Isabelle Draelants, "Encyclopédies et lapidaires médiévaux: durable autorité d'Isidore de Séville et de ses *Etymologies*," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 39–91.

5 Bartholomew the Englishman and Isidore of Seville

After the *Etymologiae*, perhaps the most popular encyclopedia of the entire Middle Ages was the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman, which I will use as a single, focused example of how a scholastic encyclopedist read and used Isidore.[63] Surviving in over two hundred manuscripts, *De proprietatibus rerum* was written to educate Franciscan friars and prepare them for a career in preaching, but it found use and popularity in libraries of all sorts across Europe. Bartholomew compiled his text from a wide variety of sources, encyclopedic and more strictly philosophical. Among his favorite ancient sources were Pliny and Isidore, whom he tended to use as sources of data for illustrating the philosophical arguments found in more recent texts of Greek and Arabic extraction. Much of the material in *De proprietatibus rerum* can be divided by an Isidorian-Aristotelian binary, as R. James Long observed in his study of Bartholomew's books 3 and 4: "this division [between etymologies and natural properties] reflects the author's conviction that we experience the world not only in itself but also by means of the words we employ to describe it."[64] In this respect, Bartholomew is still greatly indebted to Isidore, while nonetheless informed by Greek medicine and physics as learned through Constantine the African's *Pantegni* and Latin translations of Aristotle's *De anima*, *De generatione animalium*, and *De partibus animalium*.

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[61] Iolanda Ventura, "On philosophical encyclopaedism in the fourteenth century: The *Catena aurea entium* of Henry of Herford," in *Une lumière venue d'ailleurs: Héritages et ouvertures dans les encyclopédies d'Orient et d'Occident au Moyen Age. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 19–21 mai 2005*, eds. G. de Callataÿ and B. Van den Abeele (Turnhout: 2008), 228.

[62] Ventura, "On philosophical encyclopaedism," 213, 234, 237.

[63] *De proprietatibus rerum* is currently being edited for Brepols's series *De diversis artibus*. Two volumes have been published: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 1 [books 1–4], eds. Baudouin Van den Abeele, Heinz Meyer, Michael W. Twomey, Bernd Roling, and R. James Long (Turnhout: 2007); *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 6: Liber XVII, ed. Iolanda Ventura (Turnhout: 2007). Until the entire series is completed the preferred edition is still *Bartholomaei Anglici De Genuinis rerum coelestium, terrestrium et inferarum proprietatibus libri XVIII …* (1601; repr. Frankfurt: 1964).

[64] R. James Long, "Introduction" to book 3, in Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 1 (eds Van den Abeele et al.), 137.

Bartholomew's first book presents a brief discussion of the nature of God, restating in orthodox fashion much of the opening doctrinal statement of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, before drawing on a wide range of theologians, from ancients like Augustine and Johannes Damascenus to recent authorities like Praepositinus of Cremona Peter Lombard, and Alexander of Hales. But whenever names are concerned, Bartholomew almost invariably turns to Isidore: the meaning of *Trinitas* (DPR I, xiv, 16–22), the Hebrew names for God (DPR 1, 19, 3–33), and the various descriptors for Christ (DPR 1, 21, 7–35), such as *digitus*, *columba*, *nubes* (DPR 1, 21, 60–69).[65] In each of these cases Isidore is introduced by name, with the specific book and sometimes the title of the *Etymologiae*: *e.g. ut dicit Isidorus libro* VI *Etymologiarum*, or *sicut patet in Isidoro libro* VII. This pattern is repeated by Jean Corbechon in his 1372 French translation of Bartholomew's encyclopaedia, *Livre des proprietez de choses*: "sicomme dit Ysidoire … sicomme dit Ysidoire au .xvii^{e}. livre."[66]

Just as Bartholomew deftly wove quotes from Isidore together with more recent theological and canonical documents in his book 1, so also in his book 17, on plants and herbs, did he combine Isidorian etymologies with Aristotelian and Salernitan scientific and medical texts. Iolanda Ventura observes that Bartholomew employed books 3, 17, 19, and 20 of the *Etymologiae* in the composition of this book.[67] A typical pattern for Bartholomew in book 17, as can be seen in his passages on balm and cinnamon, is to use Isidore for the technical core of his passage, Pseudo-Aristotle's *De vegetabilibus* to help "modernize" that material, and Pliny for fabulous tales about the plants in question.[68] In two of his chapters on trees, Bartholomew paraphrased or quoted from the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De vegetabilibus* and from several glosses to the *De vegetabilibus* (all recent texts in the Latin schools). Though this paraphrase of "Aristotle" continues for nearly thirty pages in the modern edition, Bartholomew still gave pride of place to Isidore, whose etymology of *arbor* (*Etym.* 17.6.1–2) opens the entire section.[69] The same pattern is followed with most plants and herbs in the book: an opening statement on its name and basic identity taken from

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[65] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 1 (eds Van den Abeele et al.), 75, 78, 81, 82.

[66] Latin and French versions quoted in Bernard Ribémont, "Une 'botanique' encyclopédique confrontée à la merveille: l'exemple du *De proprietatibus rerum*," in *De natura rerum. Études sur les encyclopédies médiévales* (Orléans: 1995), 201–03.

[67] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 6 (ed. Ventura), xvii.

[68] Ribémont, "Une 'botanique' encyclopédique," 190–96; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, vol. 6 (ed. Ventura), xx.

[69] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*

Isidore, followed by a much lengthier section on its medicinal attributes drawn from the medical and botanical texts current in the high medieval curriculum, usually Pseudo-Aristotelian works; herbals such as *Circa instans*, *De viribus herbarum* of Macer Floridus, *Dioscorides alphabeticus*; and medical works of Constantinus Africanus and Isaac Israeli. Isidore was not forgotten, but he was hardly sufficient in the age of scholastic medicine, informed by Aristotelian philosophy, new pharmaceuticals imported from Asia, and new translations from Greek and Arabic medical works. Isidorian etymologies served for Bartholomew not so much as the encyclopedic material that his readers were seeking, but as an extended part of the title to each chapter. That is, etymology is no longer the explanation of a thing, but an introduction to the thing.

Despite all of these claims that Bartholomew "uses" Isidore's *Etymologiae*, he usually does not quote the work verbatim. It is worth looking at one example of Bartholomew's incorporation of Isidore to track the ways in which Isidore was adapted for a scholastic and mendicant audience: the first chapter of book 2 of *De proprietiatbus rerum*, on angels, was taken entirely from the *Etymologiae*. I provide below on the left Bartholomew's introductory passage on angels, with his Isidorian source on the right.

De proprietatibus rerum **2.1.1–12. De interpretatione angeli (ed. Roling, 2007, 105)**	*Etymologiae* **7.5.1–13. De angelis (ed. Lindsay, 1911)**
Angelus itaque grece, hebraice malach, latine vero nuntius interpretatur, eo quod per angelorum ministerium divina voluntas populo nuntietur. Unde angelus nomen est officii, non nature. Spiritus autem semper est angelus, sed quando a Deo mittitur, tunc primo proprie angelus nuncupatur. Cui scilicet angelo licentia pictorum alas tribuit, in quarum subito motu celerem angelorum operationem figurative predicta pictoralis licentia simplicibus preostendit, sicut et poetas[70] ventis alas ascribere antiquitas non prohibuit, sicut dicit Isidorus libro VII, capitulo VII.	Angeli Grace vocantur, Hebraice malachoth, Latine vero nuntii interpretantur, ab eo quod Domini voluntatem populis nuntiant. Angelorum autem vocabulum officii nomen est, non naturae. Semper enim spiritus sunt, sed cum mittuntur, vocantur angeli. Quibus ideo pictorum licentia pinnas faciant, ut celerem eorum in cuncta discursum significent, sicut et iuxta fabulas poetarum venti pinnas habere dicuntur, propter velocitatem scilicet.

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[70] I am using *poetas* from the 1601 edition, which makes more sense than Bernd Roling's reading of *poeticis* at this point in the 2007 edition.

Bartholomew's attribution, *sicut dicit Isidorus*, suggests to a modern reader that the whole passage is a direct quote, but a quick comparison shows differences both small and large. He replaces Isidore's plural *angeli* with the singular throughout, and he uses synonyms for other words: *nuncupatur* for Isidore's *vocantur*, *alas* for *pinnas*, and *tribuit* for *faciant*. Bartholomew also adds words and phrases, especially for implied subjects, to make his source clearer, as in *per angelorum ministerium divina voluntas populo nuntietur* for Isidore's *Domini voluntatem populis nuntiant* (where *angeli* is implied), *Spiritus autem semper est angelus* for Isidore's *Semper enim spiritus sunt* (*angeli* implied again), or *Cui scilicet angelo* for Isidore's *Quibus* (i.e. *angelis*). But towards the end of this brief paragraph, Bartholomew felt the need to rewrite his source more thoroughly. Isidore here reads, in translation, "For this reason the license of artists makes wings [*literally*, feathers] for them, to signify their swift course on all their missions, just as in poetic fiction the winds are said to have wings to indicate their speed."[71] Bartholomew changed this passage to, "The license of artists has granted him, that is, the angel, wings, for in their sudden movement the aforesaid pictorial license demonstrates for the simple the swift operation of angels in a figurative manner, just as antiquity did not forbid poets to ascribe wings to the wind."

Here Bartholomew has liberally modified Isidore's text in several ways to make the description of angels in the *Etymologiae* more accessible to his 13th-century audience: Isidore's poets are now removed another six centuries further in the past, so for Bartholomew their writings come under the authority of *antiquitas*; Isidore's vague *in cuncta* is now unpacked in terms of scholastic theology as the *angelorum operationem*; and Bartholomew takes a witty, poetic turn of his own by personifying *antiquitas* in place of Isidore's typical and arid phrase [*angeli*] *dicuntur*. The most important addition, though, is Bartholomew's explanation of angel's wings as being a *figura*, or didactic image, constructed by poets for the purpose of educating the *simplices*. This is an idea wholly missing from Isidore's passage, and is indicative of how Bartholomew modified Isidore's writings for the training of mendicant preachers, who would themselves be searching for concrete ways to express religious truths to the simple and uneducated. This shift in purpose for the imagery of wings, from mere poetic license to a heuristic tool, also can explain why Bartholomew removed Isidore's concluding phrase, *propter velocitatem scilicet*. For Bartholomew, poets did not give wings to the wind simply as a suggestion of the wind's speed, but rather they are subsumed within a universalizing Christian tradition in which every worldly image is potentially, and foremost, a tool for understanding the faith.[72]

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[71] Trans. Barney et al., *The Etymologies*, 160.

6 Isidore the Theologian in the Scholastic Age

By the high Middle Ages, Isidore's reputation was firmly cemented as a scholar of this world, of nature, of men, and of the arts. But he was also a saint, one revered particularly in his native Spain,[73] and his words were valued also in otherworldly matters. After the *Etymologiae* Isidore's two most popular works in the scholastic era were his *Sententiae* and *Synonyma*. The *Sententiae*, often called *De summo bono* in medieval manuscripts and catalogues,[74] is a compendium of concise statements, or "sentences," about moral and dogmatic theology, divided into three books covering 141 topics. Isidore was one of the founders of the genre of "sentences" in that the structure, topics, and sources he employed in constructing a manual of practical theology were widely emulated in later centuries.[75] This is especially evident during the 12th century in the teaching and writings of Anselm of Laon, Abelard, and Gilbert of Poitiers, among others, culminating with the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard (*c.*1150–60).[76] According to Philipp Rosemann, "The arrangement of topics in [Isidore's] book I foreshadows the systematic order of later, much more advanced manuals of theology. Isidore first treats the properties of and knowability of God, as well as his eternity. … Like his *Etymologiae*, Isidore's *Sententiae* were one of the most frequently read books of the medieval period."[77] Isidore's *Sententiae* were also employed in other genres as diverse as exegetical commentaries, Gratian's *Decretum*, and the chronicle of Salimbene.[78]

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[72] On the training of preachers in the 13th century through the use of *figurae*, see Winston Black, "Faces of the World: William of Auvergne and the Rhetoric of Penance," in *From Learning to Love: Schools, Law, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages*, ed. Tristan Sharp, with Isabelle Cochelin, Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Abigail Firey, and Giulio Silano (Toronto: 2017), 419–42.

[73] Emma Falque, "En torno a la figura de Isidore en el s. XIII: Lucas de Tuy," *Antiquité tardive* 23 (2015), 249–60.

[74] On the title of the work see Richard Sharpe, *Titulus* (Turnhout: 2003), 74, 91–93.

[75] See Pierre Cazier's introduction on the genre of sentences and Isidore's organizational techniques in *Isidori Hispalensis Sententiae*, ed. Pierre Cazier, CCSL 111 (Turnhout: 1998), x–xiii, xix–xxx.

[76] Marcia Colish, "The Sentence Collection and the Education of Professional Theologians in the Twelfth Century," in *The Intellectual Climate of the Early University: Essays in Honor of Otto Gründler*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Kalamazoo: 1997), 1–26.

[77] Philipp Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: 2004), 17–18.

Isidore's continuing authority as a theologian in the early scholastic age is evident in a theological collection, compiled in Admont during the later 11th and early 12th centuries, featuring several works of Augustine, the *Sententiae* of Abelard, and the *Sententiae* of Anselm of Laon. A contemporary scribe filled the end of a quire (fol. 82r-v) with excerpts from Isidore's *Sententiae*, calling them *Sermo sancti ysidori de angelica et h*[*umana*] *condicione*. This collection is an important example of early scholastic theology, and Isidore was considered a useful addendum, but not a central feature, to such a collection.[79] Despite being overshadowed by scholastic sentence collections, over 500 copies of Isidore's *Sententiae* survive, many from after the 12th century.[80] Some of these later copies reflect theology's move from the monastic cloister to the urban schools, as witnessed by copies surviving in Orléans: two different 12th-century copies of the *Sententiae* come from the Abbey of Fleury (Orléans 74 [71] and 187 [164]) and another 12th-century copy produced perhaps at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés in Fleury and later owned by the Abbey of Fleury itself (Orléans 150 [207]), while a later copy was produced and used in Paris by the mid-15th century and donated to the seminary of Arles (Orléans 186 [163]).[81] And then there is the 15th-century *Sententiae* copied with Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which I noted at the start of this essay.[82]

Isidore's main sources for his theological works were St Augustine and St Gregory, and he was placed proudly alongside these Church Fathers in later manuscripts. For example, in the first half of the 13th century Bishop Jocelyn of Wells (d. 1242) ordered made and presented to the Franciscans of Bristol a fine manuscript containing Isidore's *Sententiae* and *Synonyma*, followed by three works of Augustine.[83] Isidore could also be juxtaposed with more recent theologians. Lincoln Cathedral manuscript 203 is an early 14th-century, English copy of Hugh Ripelin's widely read *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, to which a contemporary scribe added a complete copy of Isidore's *Sententiae*. The two works make an obvious pair, as each presents a summary of theological truths.[84] The *Sententiae* were Isidore's first work in print (Nuremberg: 1470), even before the *Etymologiae* (*editio princeps* 1472).[85]

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[78] Jacques Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., *Sententiae*," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 1, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2004), 218.

[79] Princeton University Library, Garrett 169: Don C. Skemer, with Adelaide Bennett, Jean F. Preston, and William P. Stoneman, *Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, 2 vols (Princeton: 2013), 1:386.

[80] L. Robles records about 500 witnesses in "Isidoro de Sevilla y la cultura eclesiástica de la España visigótica: Notas para un estudio del libro de las 'Sentencias,'" *Archivos leoneses* 47–48 (1970), 80–153, and Pierre Cazier added twenty more in his edition. On the diffusion of the text, see Elfassi, "*Sententiae*."

[81] Élisabeth Pellegrin and Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Orléans* (Paris: 2010), 81, 163, 226–27.

[82] Manchester, John Rylands University Library, It. 49 (fols 177–226), Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:461–63.

7 The Afterlife of Isidore's Shorter Religious Treatises

Less popular than the *Sententiae*, but still influential, were Isidore's exegetical treatises, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, *Prooemia in libros ueteris ac noui testamenti*, *Allegoriae*, and *De ortu et obitu patrum*,[86] all of which (but particularly the *Quaestiones*) served as models for biblical interpretation for the rest of the Middle Ages. These Isidorian works remained in use both on their own merits and because much of Isidore's treatment of biblical signification was adopted in the 9th century by Hrabanus Maurus, and then in the 11th-century *Glossa ordinaria* to the Bible, which would be copied and later printed with many Bibles for the next five centuries.[87] Whether later medieval readers knew it or not, they were often reading Isidore's biblical commentaries when they read a glossed Bible. To give just one example, the ordinary gloss on Genesis 22, the story of Isaac, comes first from Hrabanus's *Commentariorum in genesim libri quatuor*, followed by a lengthy quote from Isidore's *Quaestiones* on Genesis.[88]

Scribes in both the Carolingian and high medieval periods recognized the similarities and utility of these exegetical texts, and frequently copied them together, especially the triad of the *Prooemia*, *Allegoriae*, and *De ortu et obitu*

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[83] Bristol, Public Library 3: Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2:202.

[84] R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: 1989), 164–65.

[85] Jacques Elfassi, "*Sententiae*," 215.

[86] On Hrabanus's use of Isidore, see Bill Schipper, "Rabanus Maurus and his Sources," in MacDonald and Twomey, *Schooling and Society*, 1–21.

[87] Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical thematics: The story of Samson in Medieval Literary Discourse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, eds. Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford: 2012), 358–59; Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: 2009), 44–47.

[88] Devorah Schoenfeld, *Isaac on Jewish and Christian Altars: Polemic and Exegesis in Rashi and the Glossa Ordinaria* (New York: 2013), 67–68.

patrum. These texts were copied together, seemingly as a single unit, in manuscripts from 9th-century Orléans, 12th-century Seckau (Austria), 14th-century Padua, and 15th-century Nürnberg.[89] The last work in this triad, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, while not nearly as common in later manuscripts as Isidore's *Etymologiae* or *Sententiae*, still found its niche in vernacular literature. Brunetto Latini translated portions of it for his Old French encyclopedia *Livre dou Tresor*, *c*.1260–70.[90]

Among just a few of the high medieval exegetes who employed Isidore's glosses on the Old Testament, either directly or through intermediaries, are Bruno of Segni (*Expositio in Pentateuchum*), Richard of Saint-Victor (*Liber exceptionum*), Andrew of Saint-Victor (*Expositio super Heptateuchum*), and Peter the Chanter (*Glossae super Genesim*).[91] Later medieval exegesis, however, amounted to more than simply copying early medieval commentators. As Greti Dinkova-Bruun has demonstrated, high medieval biblical scholars, such as Alexander of Ashby and Abbot Gottfried of Admont, respected Isidore's original interpretation of biblical symbols but offered more nuanced and complex readings of certain passages. Isidore's words could also be rewritten for a new age of learning, as in the *Vetus Testamentum uersibus latinis* of Petrus Episcopus (d. 1219), where Isidore's exegesis is rendered in Latin hexameters for ease of memorization, in a "mechanical and uninspired way." By comparison, the contemporary poet Petrus Riga (d. 1209) also versified

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[89] Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 313 (266), contains the *Prooemia*, *De ortu*, and *Allegoriae*, Élisabeth Pellegrin and Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Orléans* (Paris: 2010), 438–39; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 793 (12th century, from Seckau) contains the *Prooemia*, *De ortu*, *Differentiae*, and a note attributed to Isidore, *Nomina sanctorum patrum mistice exposita*, Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek*, 2 vols (Vienna: 1942–56), 2:48; Padua, Seminario Vescovile, Cod. 422 (14th century), a compilation of Jerome and Pseudo-Jerome texts owned by the bishop of Padua includes Isidore's *Prooemia*, *De ortu*, and *Allegoriae*, *I Manoscritti della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova*, eds. Andrea Donello et al. (Florence: 1998), 78–79; and Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, III, 83 (15th century) contains the *Prooemia*, *De ortu*, *Allegoriae*, and *Synonyma*, Karin Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. Band II: Die Lateinischen Mittelalterlichen Handschriften. Teil 1: Theologischen Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: 1967), 235–37.

[90] Bernard Ribémont, "Brunetto Latini, le *Livre dou Tresor* et l'histoire sainte: une réception du *De ortu et obitu patrum* d'Isidore de Séville," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 135–58.

[91] Jacques Elfassi, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep., Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, vol. 1, eds. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: 2004), 208.

Isidore's exegesis in his monumental poetic Bible called *Aurora* in a highly original composition.[92]

Some Isidorian texts fell out of favor, if the manuscript evidence is any indication. Christopher Lawson, in his edition of *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, records 102 manuscripts (complete or extracts) of that text.[93] A total of 43 of those come from our later period, and the bulk of those (32) are from the 11th and 12th centuries. Only 11 were copied after about 1200, and those are mostly extracts and abbreviations. Nonetheless, those extracts sometimes had active afterlives, such as Isidore's list of books of the Old Testament, found in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, which is copied in both Hereford Cathedral, O. III. 2, and in Oxford, Merton College 120. In the Merton manuscript, Isidore's list is included between a 13th-century copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and its index, and is used to supplement the newer, scholastic textbook.[94] Passages from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* even circulated as sermons, such as one for Christmas (inc. *Natalis domini dies*), which is found in a 14th-century sermon collection in Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, I, 10.[95] The same text from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is included a homiliary from Michaelbeuern, produced in the later 15th century.[96]

A pattern appears in the later diffusion of shorter Isidorian texts: they continue to be copied after the 12th century, but usually in company with similar, modern texts. Such is the case with a copy *De ecclesiasticis officiis* in a manuscript produced in England in the later 12th century, now Oxford, All Souls College 28.[97] Two or more contemporary, monastic scribes produced a handy collection of texts on the ecclesiastical offices, beginning with Isidore's, and followed by similar works from an anonymous Roman *ordo officiorum*, Rupert of Deutz, William of Malmesbury, Drogo of Laon, and Bernold of Konstanz (attributed to Ivo of Chartres). The latter three works were relatively recent and were presented as companions or addenda to the authority on this topic, Isidore.

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[92] Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical thematics," 367.

[93] Christopher M. Lawson, ed., *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: 1989), 137–41. It is likely that there are more extracts to be found in later manuscripts, but they are not likely to modify this general trend.

[94] R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford* (Cambridge: 2009), 99.

[95] Schneider, *Die Handscriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, 2:7.

[96] Michaelbeuern, Benediktinerstift, Man. cart. 21: *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Michaelbeuern bis 1600*, ed. Beatrix Koll (Vienna: 2000), 130.

[97] Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford: 1997), 55–57.

8 The *Synonyma* and *Differentiae* in the Scholastic Age

Contrary to the decline in interest in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is the revival of Isidore's *Synonyma* toward the end of the Middle Ages.[98] Jacques Elfassi has demonstrated that the *Synonyma* was a popular text throughout the 7th through 13th centuries (which preserve some 200 manuscript copies) but experienced an even greater surge of popularity, especially in German lands, in the 14th through 16th centuries. He dates this "golden age" of the *Synonyma* to *c.*1300 to *c.*1570. Approximately 60 percent of the manuscripts of the *Synonyma* (302 out of 507) were copied in this later period.[99] The *Synonyma* is not a linguistic work, or a thesaurus, as the name might suggest, but rather a devotional text understood better by its alternate titles of *Lamentatio animae peccatricis* or *Liber soliloquiorum*. Much like the narrator in Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*, the sinful soul of Isidore's *Synonyma* is consoled by Reason, who shows the sinner the path to salvation and the distinctions of virtues and vices. The *Synonyma* enjoyed its late revival for a variety of reasons, charted by Elfassi: its ascetic and moral character appealed to the devotional impulses of the 14th and 15th centuries, and it was known (to name its more famous readers) by Jan Hus, Thomas Hoccleve, and Christine de Pizan. These authors either knew the *Synonyma* directly or, more often, through an intermediary like Thomas of Ireland, who quotes extensively from the *Synonyma* in his popular *Manipulus Florum*, or in one of at least four later medieval recensions of the work (known as *Collectum*, *De norma uiuendi*, *Monita*, and *Tractatus deflentis hominis et ammonentis rationis*). Elfassi records sixteen later medieval religious texts that borrow directly from the *Synonyma*.[100] The popularity of the *Synonyma* and its recensions is also evident from the number of French translations surviving: two of the *Synonyma* itself and one of the *Monita*. In the 16th century it was also translated into German, Italian, and French yet again.[101]

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[98] Apart from Jacques Elfassi's many essays on the *Synonyma*, cited in his edition, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, CCSL 111B (Turnhout: 2009), the most complete study of the work (though mostly out of our chronological bounds here) is Claudia Di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words. Isidore's Synonyma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: 2012).

[99] Jacques Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma* d'Isidore de Séville aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: les raisons d'un succès exceptionnel," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 16 (2008), 107–18.

[100] Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 114–16.

[101] Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 110. On the French translation in particular, see Geneviève Hasenohr, "Isidore de Séville, auteur ascétique 'français'?" *Romania* 128 (2010), 299–351, and 129 (2011), 23–56.

Elfassi claims a German emphasis for the revival of the *Synonyma*, which is supported by manuscript numbers: more than half of the manuscripts from just the 15th and 16th centuries (107 of 210) are of German provenance.[102] However, a potentially earlier revival occurred in England.[103] The manuscripts of Worcester Cathedral provide evidence of this revival of the *Synonyma* and indications of how it spread. The cathedral library still possesses three manuscripts, all probably local in provenance and of the first half of the 14th century, which contain Isidore's *Synonyma* copied in collections of popular or pastoral theology, the only early medieval text copied with more recent (and often British) works: John of Wales's *Communiloquium*; shorter religious treatises of William de Montibus, Vincent of Beauvais, and Pseudo-Grosseteste; and Peter of Limoges's *De Oculo Morali* and Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum Narrationum*.[104] Many of these manuscripts suggest the training of priests for the purposes of pastoral education and effective preaching.

By contrast, most of the later manuscripts of *Synonyma* are more strictly monastic and devotional in character, and suggest that the *Synonyma* became a standard work of ascetic spirituality among later medieval monks and canons, especially in England and Germany. The *Synonyma* features prominently in the collections of other English Benedictine houses, contemporary with or later than the Worcester manuscripts, including a remarkable thirteen copies at Saint Augustine's, Canterbury.[105] Likewise, the collection of manuscripts now in the Universitätsbibliothek of Graz, which are primarily of local provenance (Graz, Neuberg, Seckau, Seitz), like those in Worcester Cathedral, contains six copies of the *Synonyma* or its redactions.[106] One of these is of the 12th century (Graz MS 480), but the other five are all of the 15th century, and predominantly from Cistercian houses. In every example of these Graz manuscripts, Isidore's *Synonyma* is copied as part of a large collection of religious texts, typically monastic, penitential, or devotional in emphasis.

The later medieval period produced some impressive collections of Isidoriana, in which the compilers sought to gather the greatest works of Isidore together in complete copies. For example, two 14th-century volumes, one of

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[102] Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 109–10.

[103] Jacques Elfassi noted to me in personal correspondence (10 December 2017) that the *Synonyma* enjoyed a similar popularity during the later Middle Ages in England, France, Italy, and Spain. See also Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 113 n. 26.

[104] Worcester Cathedral Library Q. 27, Q. 72, Q. 97, described by R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: 2001).

[105] Elfassi, "La réception des *Synonyma*," 113.

[106] Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 480, 578, 583, 683, 935, 982, described by Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*.

Isidore's *Sententiae* and the other of his *Etymologiae*, were bound together soon after (before 1500), in Merton College, MS 303.[107] A larger compilation is found in a 14th-century German manuscript, containing the *Etymologiae*, *Synonyma*, and *Differentiae*,[108] and the same three texts are copied together in a mid-13th-century manuscript from Exeter.[109] Medieval scribes found these three works to be good companions, in that each concerns the relationship of words to God and man: respectively, how the etymology of a word reflects its eternal truth, how synonymous words can be used to confess sins and address God, and how the small differences between words can highlight the order of divine creation.

The *Differentiae* contains two books, which are so different that they are sometimes treated as two distinct works, both in medieval manuscripts and today.[110] The first book, *differentiae verborum*, is more obviously about words, and it provides an alphabetical catalogue of words which are similar enough to be confused by medieval readers of Latin. The second book, *differentiae rerum*, is neither alphabetical nor clearly about words. Rather, Isidore uses the concept of *differentia* developed in the first book to provide a brief *summa* of theology, cosmology, and human nature (e.g. the difference between *Deus* and *Dominus*, *Trinitas* and *Unitas*, or *homo* and *vir*). The *Differentiae*, especially its second book, could be interpreted in the scholastic age as a linguistic work or a theological treatise (or both), if we can judge from the texts it was copied with. A 15th-century German manuscript contains just book 2 of the *Differentiae*, copied with a variety of rhetorical, epistolary, and educational texts: here, the *Differentiae* are framed as a tool to aid Latin composition.[111] The same literary tendencies are on display in the 14th-century manuscript mentioned above (Leiden, BPL 11), containing Isidore's three main treatises on words, and in two 15th-century German manuscripts from the monastery of Benediktbeuern the

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[107] Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford*, 303.

[108] Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 11 (14th century): *Biblioteca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscript III. Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini* (Leiden: 1912), 7.

[109] Exeter Cathedral Library 3549 B (mid-13th century), with *Etymologiae* on fols 24–135, *Liber sententiarum* on fols 138–69, and *Liber differenciarum* on fols 169v–74, along with texts by Jerome and an impressive collection of Seneca (items 9–20, fols 175–295): Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2:841–44.

[110] The first book is published in Carmen Codoñer, ed., *Isidorus Hispalensis. De differentiis I* (Paris: 1992), and the second in María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, ed., *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Liber differentiarum (II)*, CCSL 111A (Turnhout: 2006).

[111] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 426: Karl Halm, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 3, Pars 1: Clm 1–2329, *editio altera* (Munich: 1892), 115.

Differentiae are copied in large theological and devotional collections featuring Patristic and more recent authors, including Innocent III, Henry of Langenstein, Jean Gerson, Jerome, and Augustine.[112]

9 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I will return to Thomas Aquinas, who (as a fictional character) directed Dante's gaze toward Isidore and his flames of divine inspiration. Thomas Knoebel, in the introduction to his translation of Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, says of Isidore that, "by the time of St. Thomas Aquinas his authority had begun to wane."[113] This statement needs qualification. While Isidore's views on the nature of things were no longer to be accepted at face value in the scholastic age, as we have seen with the encyclopedists, he was still an intellectual force to be reckoned with, whose ideas still needed to be addressed in questions on almost any topic. Not least among those topics is the nature of law.

The real Thomas Aquinas, in his "Treatise on Law" (*Summa Theologica* Ia–IIae QQ.90–105), quotes extensively from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *Sententiae*. Isidore considers law primarily in book 5 of his *Etymologiae*, where he provides definitions of the types of law (*ius*, *lex*, and *mos*) and statements that Aquinas could use both for and against his articles. In this respect, Aquinas is following the example of Gratian (or his students) in quoting from Isidore in the "Treatise on Laws" that opens his *Decretum*.[114] Aquinas, in *Summa Theologica*, Ia–IIae Q.90 art.2, poses the question, "Whether the law is always directed to the common good?" He provides an objection to this question from Isidore, "If the law is based on reason, whatever is based on reason will be a law" (*Etym.* 5.3), but also the contrary, "Isidore says that laws are enacted for no private profit, but for the common benefit of the citizens" (*Etym.* 5.21).[115] On the question of whether public promulgation is essential to law, that is, must law by definition be officially promulgated, Aquinas replies to one of the objections, "The promulgation that takes place now, extends to future time by reason of the durability of written characters, by which means it is continually promulgated. Hence Isidore says that *lex* (law) *is derived from legere* (to read) *because it is written*."[116] (Note that Isidore's statement is not given force of authority but is used to illustrate a point that Aquinas has already argued logically.)

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[112] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4701 (1455) and Clm 4708 (1469–1472): Karl Halm, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 3, Pars 2: Clm 2501–5250, *editio altera* (Munich: 1895), 230, 232.

[113] Thomas L. Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville: De ecclesiasticis officiis* (New York: 2008), 12.

[114] L.R. Sotillo, "Las fuentes ibéricas del Decreto de Graciano," *Studia Gratiana* 2 (1954), 13–48; Ken Pennington, "*Lex naturalis* and *Ius naturale*," in *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, ed. Spencer E. Young (Leiden: 2011), 227–53.

[115] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* Ia–IIae Q.90 art.2, in *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, ed. Anton C. Pegis, 2 vols (New York: 1944), 2:744.

Aquinas treats Isidore as more than just a handy repository of data, which is the approach typical of many scholastic authors, for he engages seriously with Isidore's ideas on the meaning and essence of law, and gives him as much, if not more, weight on the subject as he does in the case of Aristotle. Indeed, portions of Aquinas's "Treatise on Law," especially question 95 on human law, read as an extended commentary on Isidore's *Etymologiae* 5.21.[117] The third article of this question is "Whether Isidore's description of the quality of positive law is appropriate?" and the fourth article is "Whether Isidore's division of human laws is appropriate?" In both articles, after posing the usual objections to these statements from Isidore, he offers the obligatory contrary arguments: "On the contrary stands the authority of Isidore" and "The authority of Isidore suffices."[118] While Aquinas does not take Isidore's statements on law entirely at face value, since he provides extensive commentary on them and compares them with Aristotle's statements on law in his response to each article, nonetheless Isidore's authority as a saint, Father, and "schoolmaster of the Middle Ages" is sufficient for Aquinas to quash any purported objections to his words.[119]

Aquinas is, of course, not your typical scholastic author, but at the same time he is the most famous representative of scholasticism, having internalized all the available works of Aristotle and many of the best works of Latin scholasticism produced in the 12th and 13th centuries. Aquinas is a product and producer of scholastic masters who continued to read early authorities like Isidore with great respect, but with a keener eye for highlighting internal contradictions, disputes with other authorities, and outdated opinions. In short, the words of Isidore (like those of any authority) had to be weighed against those of the two greatest authorities of scholasticism, the Bible and Aristotle. With respect to those two authorities, two different Isidores become apparent in any university or monastic libraries of the later Middle Ages: first, a Master Isidore of the *Etymologiae*, father of encyclopedias, and a revered, albeit antiquated and insufficient, scholar on the natures of things; and second, Saint Isidore of the *Sententiae* and *Synonyma*, a teacher of moral and theological truths and a guide to exploring the mystical significances of words and things. These two Isidores rarely meet in the individual manuscripts of the scholastic age, but the most perceptive readers, like Dante or Aquinas, recognized that the natural philosopher and the mystical theologian were just two faces of a profound and multifaceted Father of the Church.[120]

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[116] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* Ia–IIae Q.90 art.4, ed. Pegis, 2:747.

[117] Brian Davies, *Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Guide and Commentary* (Oxford: 2014), 216–17.

[118] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* Ia–IIae Q.90 art.4, ed. Pegis, 2:787, 788.

[119] Isidore's discussion of the essential criteria of law, as commented on by Aquinas, is still discussed by legal theorists: e.g. Cathleen Kaveny, *Law's Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society* (Washington, DC: 2012), and Anthony J. Lisska, "God, Aquinas and Revisionist Natural Law Theory: The Question of Natural Kind, Natural Rights, and Positive Law," in *Reality, Reason, and Rights. Essays in Honor of Tibor R. Machan*, eds. Douglas B. Rasmussen, Aeon J. Skoble, and Douglas J. Den Uyl (Lanham: 2011), 91–113.

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[120] I would like to thank Dr Jacques Elfassi again for his close reading of this essay and valuable suggestions, especially with regard to the circulation of the *Synonyma*.

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CHAPTER 19

Isidore of Seville in the Renaissance (1500–1700): The Role of Golden Age Spain

Jeremy Lawrance

1 Introduction

The respect accorded to Isidore during the Middle Ages is attested by an unbroken chain of a thousand extant MSS of his *Etymologiae*, *Sententiae*, and *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*, and thousands more containing excerpts, compilations, or translations. His method, allied to an attractive clarity and *brevitas* (Wood 2010), influenced countless authors even when they were not consciously imitating him, so that the *Etymologiae* has been called the "Grundbuch des ganzen Mittelalters" (Curtius 1948, 487), the "source à peu près exclusive de toute la culture savante" (Zumthor 1975, 149).[1] This study reflects on Isidore's different but no less interesting fortune in the Renaissance. It focusses on Golden Age Spain, which played a significant role in the story because Spaniards exalted Isidore as one of their most eminent ancient authors, while at the same time acquiring a global empire that expanded the horizons of what was known in ways that rendered the saint's worldview obsolete—facts which serve to raise two broader questions about the legacy of Isidore in early modern Europe.[2]

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[1] Bischoff 1961; Marrou 1966; Reydellet 1966; Fontaine and Pellistrandi 1992; Díaz y Díaz 1993, 215–23 (to avoid burdening the notes—the early books quoted often have titles of five to ten lines—citations are by author-date, full details given in "Works Cited" at the end). As Elfassi and Ribémont (2008, 1–5) point out, statistics are provisional because the tradition has been little studied after the 12th century; they count 455 complete MSS of *Etymologiae* (henceforth *Etym.*), 449 of *Sententiae*, and 507 of *Synonyma*, but if partial copies are included, Anspach traced 1080 of *Etym.* (Anspach 1936; Fernández Catón 1966), at which point counting ceased (Van den Abeele 2008). Martín 2004, Elfassi and Poirel 2004, and Codoñer et al. 2005 remind us also of the diffusion of the other fourteen titles in Braulio's *Renotatio librorum Isidori* (*BHL* 4483, Martín 2006, 11–274, at 199–207).

[2] The complexity of the pre-Renaissance tradition makes any sweeping periodization risky; there were different medieval Isidores, and though half the extant MSS date from the 14th-15th centuries, showing that he remained "au rang des autorités," he was already becoming prized less as a scientist and more as a spiritual writer (Elfassi and Ribémont 2008, 2–3, "la découverte d'Aristote et de la science arabe changèrent l'arrière-plan intellectuel des

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The first is about a quintessentially Isidorian topic, the encyclopaedia. It was chiefly for his *Etymologiae* that Isidore was regarded during the Middle Ages as an *auctoritas*, an authority in the special sense given to the word by societies that for religious reasons regard the visible world as an inscrutable delusion and written tradition—*scriptura*—as the only trustworthy source of knowledge. In the early modern period, with the rise of experimental science, scholarship, and a new curiosity, this static notion of authority began to give way to more dynamic forms of enquiry. It was not just that methods (*téchnē*) changed, as telescope and compass replaced ancient texts as tools for exploring cosmography, and even Isidore's credentials as etymologist came to be challenged by the new discipline of philology. The paradigm shift also involved society's *a priori* postulates about the content and order of the encyclopedia, the unconscious boundaries of its concept of the knowable (*epistḗmē*).[3] The episteme is determined not so much by what is in the world as by a given

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encyclopédistes […] le modèle encyclopédique isidorien fut dès lors moins prégnant"). For discussion of this point, see Winston Black's essay in this volume. The only monograph on Isidore in the Renaissance is Robert Benaway Brown, *The Printed Works of Isidore of Seville: A Trial Check-List* (Lexington: 1949); in what follows I draw on Schierbaum 2009; Eybl et al. 1995; Meier, Schuler, and Heckenkamp 2002; König and Woolf 2013, part III; Taylor 2014.

[3] On the mutability of the *épistémè*, see Foucault 1966 (though he contests the notion of paradigm shift; see next n.); "static" vs. "dynamic" in the 16th century, Maravall 1965. The term "encyclopedia" is a nice illustration: Le Goff 1994 points out its "inexistence au Moyen Âge;" Lat. *encyclopaedia* was coined by late 15th-century humanists from a mistaken reading in Quintilian's account of the orator's "rounded education," *Inst. or.* 1.10.1 "orbis ille doctrinae quem Graeci ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν [*vulg. ante 1542* ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν] vocant" (Henningsen 1966, 1967; Fowler 1997, 27–30). Beyer de Ryke (2003, 1244, n. 5) argues that, in the more extended sense "mirror of the world" (med. *speculum*), "la chose existait avant"; and indeed, the first Spanish attestations appear to predate all others, and refer specifically to Isidore. However, they are suspect for reasons directly related to our topic: Du Cange 1733–36, vol. 3, col. 83, cites a 13th-century *Vita* of Ildefonsus attrib. to Lucas of Tuy, "he was put to study with Isidore to complete the encyclopedia of all the sciences [ut omnium scientiarum *Encyclopædiam* absolveret]," but the reference is to Saenz de Aguirre 1694, 569a §164 and a text first publ. "ex varia librorum antiquorum lectione" in Illefonsus 1556 fol. ††1^{v}, whereas the word is absent from the *Vita*'s many medieval recensions (e.g. Martín 2011b, 197–98/2011c, 232–42; Gaiffier 1976). The 15th-century Castilian paraphrase by Alfonso Martínez de Toledo omits it too; but in his *Vida de sanct Isidoro* (1444) he seems to talk of "the famous book of *Etymologies*, the variety and doctrine of which is as great as all that contained in […] the *encyclopedia made up of the seven liberal arts* [la encyclopedia, que son las siete artes liberales]" (Talavera 1952, 65–161, at c. 7, 77), where the Latin (also attrib. to Lucas, n. 6, below) put only "trivii […] quadruvii investigacione" (BNM Mss/10442, fol. 5^{v}, s. XIII). If authentic, Toledo's would be the earliest occurrence in any language, but both extant witnesses, BNM Mss/1178 and Esc. Ms. b.III.1, are 16th-century copies interpolated by Alvar Gómez de Castro in the 1570s (Talavera 1952, xxxv-xlii), and the phrase is suspiciously like one in the preface to Isidorus 1577 (see n. 20 below).

society's perception of which elements among the infinite mass of phenomena are definable as knowledge, "the strategic apparatus which allows [it] to separate out, from all the statements which are possible, […] those that may from those that may not be characterized as scientific" (Foucault 1980, 197). Discoveries such as the existence of the New World or the heliocentric model of the universe demonstrate this point, for whereas learned Europe fully accepted the geographical implications of Columbus's landfall within eight years of his return, the Catholic Church strenuously rejected Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium cœlestium* of 1543, and put Galileo's 1632 defence of it, *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano*, on the Index of Prohibited Books until 1835.

The asymmetry in the fates of these two aspects of ancient cosmology, terrestrial and celestial, shows not just how culture changes what constitutes knowledge, but also how ideology and power control the articulations of that change, or, in Foucault's parlance, its "syntax." In broad terms we may conceive of the early modern European episteme as having undergone a shift from the theocentric faith of the Middle Ages towards more empirical kinds of knowledge based on reason, but the example shows that in detail the story was far more complicated. Foucault's subtitle, *An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, refers precisely to the layered stratigraphy of overlapping continuities and new beginnings that underlies the history of ideas—the wrinkles beneath its smooth surface.[4] The task for any student of the early modern reception of Isidore's writings is to chart its course through such contradictory reticulations of ideology and epistemological change.

The second broad question arises from the first, and it concerns the specific relation between authority and sanctity. For us Isidore is a late antique writer, a cataloguer of the fading lore of the ancient world and a first-hand witness of the barbarian Christian culture that brought it to an end. One might assume that scholars of the Renaissance revival of learning found him interesting for the same reason. A few did; but the chief concern of that age proved to be his role in *historia sacra*, as an apostle of Catholic orthodoxy. We are always conscious on some level that "Isidore" means St Isidore, yet one of the striking discoveries for any student of his fortunes in the Renaissance is that he was only canonized by Pope Clement VIII in 1598, and he was not officially declared a Doctor of the Church until Pope Innocent XIII's *motu proprio* of 1722.

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[4] Foucault 1966, 14 "l'archéologie […] définit des systèmes de simultanéité, ainsi que la série de mutations nécessaires et suffisantes pour circonscrire le seuil d'une positivité nouvelle." Meier (2003, 93–94, 97) likewise denies that epistemological change is unidirectional; any simple scheme of a transition from late antique/medieval arrangements by an *ordo rerum* seen as inherent (higher to lower, spiritual to material, in order of creation, etc.) to early modern "topical or methodical and systematic designs of order […] according to 'final concepts'," and then modern mechanical, e.g. alphabetic, order because an "overarching ordering [is] no longer supportable by universal systematisation of cognition" (see Dierse 1977, Schmidt-Biggemann 1983) is belied by the fact that alphabetization sometimes occurred even before 1300, while topical arrangements persisted into the Enlightenment, e.g. the "Explication détaillée du système des connoissances humaines" prefacing the *Encyclopédie* (Diderot and d'Alembert 1751–72, vol. 1, xlvii–lii and plate).

These facts do not, of course, mean that Isidore was not honoured as a saint in the interim. Only seventeen years after his death the Eighth Council of Toledo pronounced in apocalyptic tones that Isidore was the Church's latest and most likely last Doctor on earth.[5] After the Muslim conquest in 712 his tomb in a chapel in the Seville townlet of Santiponce came to be venerated as a shrine (later the Cistercian/Hieronymite monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, founded 1301). By 1063 Isidore's relics were so revered that Fernando I of León obliged the emir of Seville ʿAbbād II al-Muʿtaḍid, as part of his annual tribute, to hand them over for translation to the purpose-built basilica of San Isidoro in León, where a new cult was established.[6] Thenceforth Isidore was venerated in León-Castile as a national patron, his most notable miracle being a skyborne epiphany at Fernando III of Castile's reconquest of Seville in 1248. His feast on 4 April figured regularly in the liturgical calendars of medieval Castilian breviaries, but the local aspect remained paramount; in the calendars of other kingdoms, even neighbouring Aragon and Portugal, Isidore was replaced by, or at best shared his day with, the Italian saint and (from 1295) Doctor of the Church Ambrose.[7] In the papacy's Roman Breviary 4 April was *dies non festiva*, and

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[5] VIII Conc. Toletanum (A.D. 653) §2 "Nostri quoque seculi Doctor egregius, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ novissimum decus, præcedentibus ætate postremus, doctrinæ comparatione non infimus, & (quod maius est) in seculorum fine doctissimus atque cum reverentia nominandus, Isidorus"—a text prefixed to Grial-Loaisa, vol. 1, fol. ¶8^{v}, from its first published edition in Loaisa 1593, 416–76 (429). For discussion, see Mark Tizzoni's chapter in this volume.

[6] The cult produced a set of hagiographical texts relevant to our story, 4 works in nearly 20 recensions (Gaiffier 1961; Fontaine 2001; Martín 2005, 2006, 2008; Silva 2009): (*i*) Redemptus, *Obitus Isidori*, s. VII (BHL 4482, Martín 2006, 379–88); (*ii*) *Translatio Isidori*, *c*.1063 (BHL 4488, Martín 2011a), revised *c*.1200 as *Historia translationis* (BHL 4491, Estévez Sola 1997); (*iii*) Lucas de Tuy, *Miracula Isidori*, *c*.1224, preserved only in a Renaissance MS (León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro Ms. 63, unpubl.) and trans. (Lucas de Tuy 1525); (*iv*) some 11 versions of a *Vita* (BHL 4482–93), from contemporary accounts by Braulio and Ildefonsus (BHL 4486°, Anspach 1930, 57–64; BHL 4484, Codoñer 1972, 128) to the "fantastic tissue of legends" of *c*.1300 also attrib. to Lucas of Tuy (Talavera 1952, lxxxi), which via Renaissance copies from a Toledo cathedral MS (BNM Mss/10442) made its way into *Acta Sanctorum* (BHL 4486; Henschen 1675, 330F–351D).

[7] On nationalism see Henriet 1999; for the calendar, compare Portugal (Ecclesia Catholica (henceforth EC) 1494, fol. 2^{v}, use of Braga: Ambrose only), Roussillon and Naples, Crown of Aragon (EC 1500, fol. [*2]^{v}, use of Elne/Elna, and BUV Ms. 890, fol. 2^{v}, Dominican use, Naples *c*.1467: Ambrose only), Catalonia/Valencia/Aragon (EC 1479, fol. [iii]^{r}, use of Lleida; EC 1492,

Isidore found no place in it until the first major Renaissance revision of the liturgy in 1535. It is no coincidence that this revision was the work of a Spanish cardinal, Francisco de Quiñones OFM (*c.*1480–1540), a faithful confidant of Charles V and erstwhile protégé of the cardinal-archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), the first Spanish statesman to take an interest in publishing an Isidorian text.[8] Despite Quiñones's patriotic manoeuvre, however, Isidore was once more removed from the universal roll of saints in 1568 as part of the Council of Trent's great clear-out of the Catholic calendar, which banned Quiñones's Breviary and reduced the annual feast days to only 149.[9] There were strenuous complaints, and Gregory XIII was soon pressured into restoring Spain's saints, but merely as Proper Offices for observance in the Spanish empire.[10] However, the reform of the cult of saints involved not only rationalizing the calendar but also more stringent rules for canonization based on new "criteria of humanist historical criticism" (Burke 1999, 131). At the king's behest, therefore, Spanish scholars set to work to document Isidore's cause.

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fol. [2]^{v}, Valencia; and EC 1496, fol. [*4]^{r}, Zaragoza: Ambrose and Isidore), Galicia (EC 1497, fol. [2]^{v}, Compostela: "Ambrosii ep̄i, iiii cap. Isidori ep̄i, ii cap."), vs. Castile-León (e.g. BNM Res/186, fol. 2^{v}, Hieronymite use, copied by "Garsias Crunensis"—of Logroño?—1463: Isidore only). A cursory trawl of *c.*100 15th-century breviaries reveals no exceptions: Isidore is absent outside Iberia and stands alone only in Castile-León.

[8] EC 1535, fols †6^{r} (calendar), 304^{r} (*historia propria*), the day having been *non festiva* up to then in all Roman breviaries. On Quiñones's revision, ordered by Clement VII, see his preface to Paul III (EC 1535, fols †2–†4^{v}) and Legg 1912; for his political career, Meseguer Fernández 1958. For Cisneros's publication see below, and at n. 31.

[9] The reforming commission that produced EC 1568 restored 4 April as *dies non festiva* and assigned Ambrose a Double on 7 December. On the implications for the Counter-Reformation cult of saints of the "unprecedented step" of Pius V's bull *Quod a nobis* of 9 July 1568, which made use of the new liturgy universally obligatory and outlawed Quiñones's edition (EC 1857–72, vol. 7, 685, §CI), see Ditchfield 2007.

[10] A Compostela breviary published by order of Archbishop Gaspar Zúñiga y Avellaneda in 1569, less than a year after Pius V's bull (see n. 9, above), outrageously flouted the Tridentine reform by assigning a feast to every single day in the calendar—that is, even more than pre-reform editions such as EC 1567, fols †3–‡2^{v}. It gives 4 April to Ambrose, and 3 April to Isidore, with the terse note "erit mane" (EC 1569, fols ¶¶2^{v} and 371^{r-v}, office). A tetchy preface to the diocesan clergy (fols ¶2–5^{r}) tells how Zuñiga's plan of "revising your old Breviary" was held up by the avalanche of business from the many-headed "Lernaean monster" of Trent—pointedly, however, with no mention of the new Breviary; and the volume concludes with a peculiar device, a sword sprouting palm leaves and crowns over the motto "Last victory to the vanquished! [Cessit victoria victis]" (fol. 591^{v}). This was the sort of scandal alluded to by Gregory XIII's conciliatory breve of 30 December 1573, printed as preface to EC 1591, 3: "His Holiness had heard from representatives of our dearest son Felipe, Catholic king of the Spains, that the said edition aroused many *difficulties* in those parts"; Isidore was explicitly restored ("for whom there may be celebrated an Office of Doctor," 4).

Continued pressure led to his definitive canonization in 1598, and hence to his inclusion in the *Acta Sanctorum* of 1675.[11]

Each of these dates turns out to be significant in the story of the early modern reception of Isidore; or rather, they *are* the story. Cardinal-Archbishop Cisneros's project in 1499 to reinstate the "Gothic" liturgy that bore Isidore's name took place in the euphoric context of Castile's sudden rise, first (with the Union of Crowns and expulsion of the last Muslim sultan of al-Andalus) to a position of primacy in the Iberian Peninsula and then (with the discovery of America and foundation of the Atlantic economy) to the rank of world power. Quiñones's inclusion of Isidore in the Roman calendar was prompted by the Catholic Church's major reassessment of sainthood and hagiography as tools for a confessional sacralization of states and territories in the wake of the Protestant Reformation of the 1520s.[12] The royal commission for the first scholarly edition of his *Opera* from Visigothic MSS was formed in 1571, in the immediate aftermath of Pius V's reformed breviary; publication in 1597–99 coincided with the date of Isidore's canonization. The inclusion of Isidore by the Bollandists in the immense enterprise of *Acta Sanctorum* in the 1670s was likewise based on the efforts of antiquarians in Carlos II's Spain, such as Nicolás Antonio (1617–84), and involved another trawl of MSS in Spanish ecclesiastical libraries. Finally, in the age of Reason, beyond the purview of this study, the convulsive separation of the powers of Church and State led to a third spurt of scholarly attention at the behest of another cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (Isidorus 1775, 1778; and see Pobladura 1961), culminating in the second and, to date, greatest project to publish the complete works (Isidorus 1797–1803), based on Grial-Loaisa and also assembled by a Spaniard, Faustino Arévalo, though by that date, as a Jesuit, he had been expelled from Spain and was settled in Rome.

In the light of the two broad topics sketched out above, one is struck by a pair of remarks in two fine recent works on Isidore. Noting that modern study of Isidore began with Lindsay's Oxford text of the *Etymologiae* in 1911, which "facilitate[d] the characteristic logophily of contemporary Latin studies," John Henderson (2007, 212–13) observes: "Undoubtedly, this slant does Iberian studies no favours," but adds in passing, "for large stretches we still depend on J.B. Pérez's sparse notes in de Grial (1599) adopted by Arevallo's edition (1797–1803), which was reprinted for the Latin Patrology (Migne 1850)." So too Barney, Lewis, Beach, and Berghof, discussing the influence of the *Etymologiae* in the introduction to their translation (Isidorus 2006, 24–27), note:

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[11] As Burke notes (1999, 131), the Counter-Reformation resulted in a "hiatus" of 65 years in which no new saints were enlisted, until Sixtus V set the ball rolling again in 1588 by creating the Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies. It was under the dispensation of the latter's bureaucratic procedures—dependent on powerful sponsors rather than popular devotion (Gotor 2002; Armogathe 2003)—that Isidore's beatification came about, one of only six that century. Even so, he was not reincorporated into the General Roman Calendar of the universal Latin rite until 1730, with an optional memorial. Today it is only in the Spanish national calendar that Isidore is awarded a feast, on 26 April.

[12] On this European context of national confessionalization see Fros 1982; Boesch, Gajano, and Michetti 2002 (especially the afterwords by Roberto Rusconi, 393–95, and Simon Ditchfield, 405–09); Backus 2003; Ditchfield 2004, 2009.

> The first important scholarly edition was that of Juan de Grial, which became the basis for work on Isidore until the early nineteenth century. Its valuable notes are retained in [Arévalo's] seven-volume edition of the *opera omnia* from Rome between 1797 and 1803 [...], whose notes update and correct Grial.

Yet, apart from this sentence, the authors do not take the story of Isidore's "influence" anywhere at all beyond Dante, Chaucer, and Gower. Neither book offers any comment on why the significant editions of Isidore before the 20th century should have been made by Spaniards. We now take for granted that the saint's impact on life and thought ended before the onset of the Renaissance, and that if he has been read at all since, it is only by historians of the Latin language and late antiquity. The fact that his text was the object of prolonged attention in Spain in the early modern period perhaps strikes scholars as too odd or obvious to merit explanation; at any rate, they tend to ignore its connexion with the dispute over whether or not Isidore is a saint of the Catholic calendar, or with Spain's urgent requirement, given its Habsburg monarchs' claim to be the heirs of the Holy Roman Empire, to have at least as many Doctors of the Church as Italy.[13] These themes serve as the framework for the following notes on Isidore's reception in the Renaissance.

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[13] This aspect, mentioned by Burke (1999, 141, "If there was a 'Spanish preponderance' in the field of sanctity as in that of international relations, the two phenomena may not be unconnected," citing five examples of royal pressure), was made explicit by Felipe II's legates in their depositions on Isidore's canonization, in which they adduced the (spurious) chronicle of "Eutrand" (a manipulation of Liutprand) to prove it was him, not Ambrose, whom Boniface VIII made one of the four Doctors—Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Ambrose—when he invented the title in 1295 (*Acta Sanctorum* 1675, 327, citing Tamayo Salazar 1652, 496).

2 The Decline of Isidore as *Auctor*

The decline in Isidore's reputation as an authority, tacitly affirmed by Barney, Lewis, Beach, and Berghof's failure to find any creative or technical author after the 14th century who was influenced by him, is reflected in a variety of Renaissance sources. It may be illustrated by referring to a case that has already been mentioned: cosmography.

In a letter to the Catholic Monarchs relating the discoveries made during his third voyage to America in 1498, Columbus reported with excitement his first and, as it turned out, only landfall on Terra Firma, the continent that he insisted to his dying day was Asia. Skirting south of Trinidad, his caravels arrived at the delta of the Orinoco in mainland Venezuela. The Admiral correctly deduced that any river which pumps fresh water seven miles out to sea must either be immensely long and therefore belong not to an island but the mainland, or else come rushing down from a great height. He convinced himself that it was both: divining that he had bumped into a continent, he leapt to the further conclusion that what he had found was the huge mountain of Earthly Paradise, which is on the equator at the far eastern shore of the world and reaches many miles up to heaven, where one may have face-to-face colloquy with God—so high, in fact, that it makes the earth pear-shaped, or at least forms a mighty nipple on its broad bosom. In support of this identification, which would have had the gratifying consequence of adding the Garden of Eden to Queen Isabel's conquests, Columbus adduced Isidore, along with Bede, John Damascene, Strabo, Peter Comestor, Ambrose, and Duns Scotus, to prove that the river he had stumbled upon was the Ganges—not a New World but India.[14] Yet within a few short years, despite the fact that the imperial name for America would remain *las Indias* for another three centuries, everyone in Europe knew not just that

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[14] BNM Vitr/6/7, fols 74^r-75^v (*Relación del tercer viaje*; Colón 1992, §30, 366–406, at 381ff.) "Sant Ysidro y Beda y Damasçeno y Estrabo y el maestro de la *Hystoria scolastica* y Sant Ambrosio y Scoto y todos los sanos theólogos conçiertan qu'el Paraýso terrenal es en el Oriente, etc. [...] Las señales son muy conformes, [...] y si de allí del Paraýso no sale [el agua], parece aun mayor maravilla. [...] Yo muy assentado tengo e[n e]l ánima que allí adonde dixe es el Paraýso terrenal; y descanso sobre las razones y autoridades sobreescriptas" ("St Isidore and Bede and Damascene and Strabo and the Master of *Historia scholastica* and St Ambrose and Scotus and all sound theologians agree that Earthly Paradise exists in the Orient, etc. [...] The features match very well, [...] and if the river does not flow from Paradise, it seems even more of a marvel [...]. I am very convinced in my soul that the place I have spoken of is Earthly Paradise; I rest my case on the afore-mentioned proofs and authorities"). His direct source was Pierre d'Ailly, *Imago mundi* 55 (1410), who used *Etym.* 13.21.8–10, 14.3.1–7. On the cartography of Paradise, Scafi 2006, esp. Chapters 3, 5–8.

Columbus was mistaken but, more momentously, that the authorities he cited, Isidore at their head, had an erroneous concept of the globe.

It is instructive, then, to consult the cosmographical works produced for the Spanish Crown in the century after Columbus's voyages. The greatest of them were the atlases issued by Abraham Ortels, the Flemish geographer and mapmaker appointed as Felipe II's royal cartographer in 1575. By then he had already dedicated to Felipe the first-ever atlas, his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of fifty-three maps. At the start it contains a catalogue of ninety-seven "Auctores"; they do not include Isidore (Ortelius 1570, fols A5^{r}–6^{v}). The first map in the volume is entitled "Orbis Terrarum" and portrays the new worlds discovered by Iberian navigators in the previous seventy-eight years; in its caption Ortels does mention "Isidorus Hispalensis," but among the "Recentiores," i.e. as a medieval source not an ancient *auctor* (fol. 1^{r}). *Theatrum* is said to have been the most expensive book ever printed up to that date; nevertheless, it sold with such alacrity that some thirty-one editions were printed between 1570 and 1612, in Latin, Dutch (1571), German (1572), French (1572), Spanish (1588), English (1606), and Italian (1608), along with five *Additamenta* (1573–97) which enlarged it to 119 maps and correspondingly plumped up the list of Auctores to 183—but still without noticing Isidore, who figures only in the one line I have mentioned.

The Spanish *Theatro de la Tierra Universal* of 1588 was dedicated to King Felipe's son, the future Felipe III. By then Ortels had also laid the basis for the critical study of ancient geography with his lexicon of ancient place names, *Synonymia geographica*, issued by the royal printer Plantijn in 1578, expanded as *Thesaurus geographicus* in 1587, and then again in 1596. *Thesaurus* was dedicated to the canon of Toledo García de Loaisa (1534–99), whom we shall encounter shortly as Juan de Grial's fellow editor in the great royal edition of Isidore commanded by Felipe II; yet Isidore appears in the book's Index only as "Isidore corrected," with reference to his errors about Blemyes, Clitorius, Ceos, Erinus, Gelonium, Helles, Telos, and Tragoditae. Admittedly another late antique writer on the Goths on the same page, Jordanes, receives even shorter shrift ("A truly depraved author [...] His hallucinations [...] His errors cleared up"), but compare Pliny the Elder, who gets half a column with subentries such as "Annotated [...] Emended [...] Defended [...] Excused"; and the same holds for Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela. Lest we hastily conclude that this was because Ortels, being more modern than poor old Columbus, was almost as clever a critic of sources as we are, under *Amazons* his entry reads "Their homeland [...] Whom they married [...] Where they were defeated by Theseus."[15]

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[15] Ortelius 1588, fol. *2 "Nobili ac R° domino Garciae Loaysa, sanctæ Toletanæ ecclesiæ archidiacono" (2nd ed. 1596, fol. †2 "*doctori* Garciae *de* Loaisa *Giron*, *Regi ab eleemosynis,*

Meanwhile, in 1579 Ortels had started his *Parergon*, a series of maps illustrating ancient and sacred history that first appeared as supplements to *Theatrum*. They were published as a separate volume in 1595, shortly before his death; the last and finest edition came out in 1624 with a handsome epigraphic dedication to Felipe IV. The first map of secular history, "Geographical figure of the ancient age [...] up to A.D. 1492," sports a caption expatiating on Columbus's magnificent boon to humanity and how much greater the empire of the Felipes was than the "Roman world or Roman empire" of the Caesars shown in the next map.[16] Isidore figures not at all in either caption, and he plays almost no part in the rest of the work either. I have spotted only two passing mentions. One is on siting the Urals in the "undiscovered and fabulous" far north of the map of Europe: "almost all the Ancients believed this, [...] but all of them wrongly [...], neither these nor any other [mountains] are to be seen there today; [...] but Isidore locates the Riphaean forests here, and claims the River Don has its source in them."[17] The other is in the caption to the map of ancient Hispania, which at six leaves is the longest in the book. If we expect this to be where Isidore finally steps into the limelight, we are in for a shock. Ortels quotes Pliny, Strabo, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, and over thirty other ancient authors, even scraping the barrel of such recondite local sources as Eulogius of Cordova and "Pseudoberosus" (Berosus of Babylon, one of Giovanni Nanni da Viterbo's forged pre-Roman sources on Spain invented in 1498 to flatter the Catholic Monarchs), the Bible, Augustine and Jerome, various MSS, inscriptions, coins, and modern scholars such as Henri Estienne, Casaubon, J.J. Scaliger, and also Ambrosio de Morales and Benito Arias Montano, who were prime figures in Felipe II's project for the Isidore edition mentioned above. Yet from Isidore he culls just a single word: "*Striges* is the name for a sort of Hispanic garment in *Etym.* 19.23." That is to say, in the entire work Isidore is adduced only

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Principique a studiis, archidiacono *Caracensi* ['of Guadalajara'], *canonico* Toletano"); Qq1^{r}-Rr2^{v} "Index rerum et nominum" (2nd ed., *2^{r}-**4^{v}), at Qq3^{v}/**1^{r} "Isidorus corrigitur," "Iornandes auctor valde depravatus [...] Hallucinatur [...] Emaculatur"; Qq5^{r}/**2^{v}-3^{r} "Plinii locus adnotatur [...] Emendatur [...] [Defenditur *add. 2a ed.*] [...] Excusatur," "Pomponius emendatur," and "Ptolemæus emendatur [...] Arguitur [...] defenditur"; Qq1^{r}/*2^{r} "Amazonum domicilium ubi [...] [Cum quibus connubia *add. 2a ed.*] [...] Ubi à Theseo victæ."

[16] Ortelius 1624, fol. VIII "Aevi veteris typus geographicus [...] usque ad annum Salutis nonagesimum secundum supra milles. quadringent." and fold-out map; and ix "Orbis Romanus sive Romanum Imperium."

[17] Fol. x "Europa sive Celtica vetus," caption "incomperta & fabulosa [...] tota ferè credidit antiquitas, [...] omnes autem falsò [...], ubi nedum hi sed & nulli hodie visuntur. [...] Riphæas silvas hic habet Isidorus, & Tanaim inde effluere dicit."

for his amusing mislocation of the *montes Rhipaei* (Urals) and a vulgar Iberian word for underpants.[18]

Ortels's treatment suggests that the epistemological shift brought about by the voyages of discovery had relegated Isidore to the Gothic Age. To us it sounds a fair statement of fact, but in the Renaissance "gothic" was not a descriptive term but a damning value judgement; and this applied not just to cosmology. In the preface to lib. 2 of his *Elegantiae*, the "Magna Carta of humanism" (Dionisotti 1967, 152), Lorenzo Valla dubbed Isidore the "prime babbler and ignoramus of all time" about the Latin language.[19] The *Etymologiae* nevertheless made the transition from script to print (the Augsburg *editio princeps* of 1472 was one of the earliest incunables), and have of course comfortably outlived Valla's works. Yet the first scholarly edition, published under the title *Origines* by Flemish humanist Vulcanius (Bonaventura de Smet) alongside the 5th-century Carthaginian Vandal Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, despite a preface praising the two works because "they embrace not just any one art but the whole circle of sciences which the Greeks call *enkyklopaideía*," really envisaged them not as encyclopedias but as sources of curious antiquarian linguistic lore, as the addition of texts “on the primitive language [*de prisco sermone*]” from *veteres grammatici* Fulgentius, Nonius Marcellus, Donatus, Festus, et al. showed.[20]

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[18] Fols xiii–xiv "Hispaniae veteris descriptio" "*Striges* nominat Hispanorum vestium genus Isidorus Originum 19, cap. 23." To be fair, this was more interest than anyone else showed; there is no note on *stri*[*n*]*ges* in any 16th- or 17th-century edition of *Etym.* 19.23.1, even Juan de Grial's, though other terms in the same sentence attracted his attention (Grial-Loaisa, vol. 1/1, 382b-383a comments on Pers. *sarabara*, Gaul. *linnae*, Ger. *rhenones*, Sard. *mastruca*). The word is not listed in humanist dictionaries like Robert Estienne's *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Isidore conspicuously absent from his sources, Stephanus 1531, vol. 1, fol. *4^{v}), nor yet by Du Cange; only, with no mention of Isidore, in Calepinus 1509, sign. T8^{r} "*Strigium* vestis hispanica. Plau. Nudus est, iurat se tribulo strigium oppignerasse," and thence Ravisius Textor 1520, "Vestimentorum genera" §99 (fol. 228^{v})—garbled from some old glossary, this made its way into expanded later editions of Estienne, but still no mention of Isidore (Stephanus 1573, vol. 4, 157a; cf. Gesnerus 1749, vol. 4, 573–74 "Haec nescio unde venerint, et longum modo est quaerere"). Ortels was the only author to locate the word in Isidore before the Benedictine revision of Du Cange (1733–36, vol. 6, col. 773 s.v. Striga^{4}, conjecturing *strix* < *striga*, via *stica* "tunic" in medieval *Glossae Isidorianae*; cf. Vulcanius 1600a-b, repr. in Isidorus 1601, 959–75; Arévalo, vol. 7, App. 24, 443–93, at 488). It was left to Carpentier (1766, vol. 3, col. 884 *s.v.* striga^{4}) to uncover the word's actual meaning "breech-cloth" from medieval charters ("Chartoph. reg. [1394] Ch. 394 *unes estraintes à homme*. f. Interius subligaculum, vulgo *Caleçon*"; "strula, *veste de cul*"; repr. in Du Cange 1840–50, vol. 6, 390c, 393).

[19] Valla 1540, 41–42 "quicunque aliquid de Latinitate scripserunt balbutire vid[e]ntur, quorum primus est Isidorus, indoctorum arrogantissimus, qui quum nihil sciat, omnia præcipit." Completed in 1449, the *Elegantiae* were printed in 1471 and republished over 150 times in the succeeding century. After Valla's and Poggio's onslaughts (Stevens 1975), humanist mockery of the *lucus a non lucendo* style of etymologizing became a topos (Codoñer 2003).

In Spain, however, for chauvinist and imperialistic reasons pains were taken to rebut Valla. As Amy Fuller shows in this volume, certain of the more regressive features of Isidore’s mentality—his apocalyptic anti-Semitism, for example, or his wildly ignorant and tendentious misrepresentations of ancient paganism and mythology—could conveniently be adduced to formulate and justify, or on occasion criticize, the Crown’s immense project of eradicating Native American systems of “idolatrous” culture and belief in the New World. But even on the strictly scholarly side there were attempts at rehabilitation. Juan de Grial’s preface to his edition of the *Etymologiae* points out, for example, that Isidore’s concern was not with what Varro called *etymology*, “the thing *from* which a word comes,” a puerile task for *grammatici*, but *semantics*, “the thing *to* which it is applied,” the high calling of philosophers who “take the sounds only as a starting-point, and seek to throw light not so much on *words* as on *things*.”[21] Nonetheless, though the *Eytmologiae* continued to be cited by many Renaissance writers, it is clear that even inside Spain what scholars had really come to prize was their quaintness: weird derivations, strange vulgar words, definitions of bygone *realia*. In the dedication to Felipe III of his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, the best known Spanish lexicographer of the age lauded Felipe II's enterprise of publishing Isidore as the direct inspiration for his own work ("he took great pains to have the works of the glorious St Isidore, Doctor of the Spains, corrected and emended from various original sources and newly printed with scholarly care […], particularly his *Latin Etymologies*"); yet he added, with a hint of acid, "others had treated the same topic before the holy Doctor, and many moderns have done so after him." The upshot is that he mentions Isidore only 91 times in a text of 1.14 million words.[22]

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[20] Isidorus 1577, fol. 2^r “non unam aliquam artem sed totum orbem scientiarum, quem ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν Græci vocant, complectuntur.” Buridant (1998, 16–17) points out that the principle behind medieval etymology—*nomen est omen*, i.e. not historical linguistics but allegory (Del Bello 2007, 49–60)—was, on its own terms, scientific: the “scientia cognoscendi diccionum singularium significaciones.” His ensuing claim that this valuable insight “brise de façon décisive la dichotomie positiviste entre période préscientifique et scientifique” doubtless overstates the matter; to ignore the distinct kinds of truth-claim made by science and allegory risks making Isidore and medieval grammarians look naive, which they were not. When a 15th-century lexicographer said “est ethymologia unius vocabuli per aliud vocabulum magis notum […] expositio, ut dicendo *DEUS* quasi *D*ans *E*ternam *V*itam *S*uis” (ibid. 13, 18), he was under no delusion of contributing to linguistic science; he meant ἔτυμον in its (etymological) sense “true meaning” (“Etymologia est *veriloquium*”) and intended the conceit of the acronym to be understood as a divine hieroglyph enucleating a theological proposition about God—a rational idea, given the postulates upon which it was based (that God exists, speaks in Latin, etc.), but one that we need have little compunction in calling “prescientific.” More to the point, perhaps, is Bloch’s siting of medieval grammar within a broad cultural model characterized by “la fixité et l’inhérence des valeurs sémantiques et sociales;” in this sense “le principe de l’étymologie […] articulé sur la généalogie” may be seen as akin to their concern with lineage, etc. (1989, 127). See further Curtius 1948; Guenée 1980; Charlet 2003; Del Bello 2007.

[21] Grial-Loaisa, vol. 1, fols ¶¶2^r-¶¶3^v “ἐτυμολογική, *a* qua re vocabulum sit impositum […] περὶ σημαινομένων, *in* qua re […] occasionem tantum in vocibus captant, neque tam *verbis* quam *rebus* lucem inferre student” (cf. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.1); or as Zumthor (1975, 157) puts it, “la recherche du vrai *dans* ou *par* les mots.” Grial’s view of Isidore’s epistemology was in fact historically rather accurate (see n. 20, above). In a similar vein Antonius

Was it some kind of irony, then, that the chief Renaissance authority on the topography of the ancient world, in a succession of atlases addressed to kings of Spain who at the time were engaged in the greatest project of Isidorian scholarship of that or any succeeding age, saw fit to quote *Etymologiae* only in connexion with remote Russian forests and an obscure Hispanic *hapax* for an

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(1696, 250–52 §91 and §94–98) replied to nitpicking (*vellicatum*) about "some less felicitous derivations in his vast work on etymologies [aliquas minùs feliciter deductas origines in vasto *Etymologiarum* opere]": Isidore was pursuing the higher of the two kinds of etymology, not the "potential" derivative kind ("δυνάμει, hoc est *potentiâ*, à quibus potuerit nomen duci") but "actual" semiotics ("ἐνεργείᾳ sive *actu*, ad quę vocabulorum auctores verosimiliter respexerunt"). In the Enlightenment Arévalo still felt moved to defend Isidore (Arévalo, vol. 1 *Isidoriana*, cs 34 "Recentiorum quorumdam de Isidori scriptis iudicia varia expenduntur," 49 "Doctorum hominum de Isidori Etymologiis iudicia," 254–57, 409–16), but by then arguments from cultural relativity were vain—"progress" had been invented—so he fell back on the saint's own excuse, *Etym.* 15.1.2 "we should not condemn those who allege various things inexpertly, for *antiquity itself* created the error [nec varia dicentes imperite condemnare debemus, quia antiquitas ipsa creavit errorem]" (254).

[22] Covarrubias 1611, fol. ¶8^{r} "hizo gran diligencia para que las obras del glorioso San Isidoro Doctor de las Españas se corrigiessen y emendassen por diversos originales y de nuevo se imprimiessen con mucha curiosidad […], y particularmente de sus *Etimologías Latinas*. […] Antes de el santo Doctor avían otros tratado el mesmo argumento, y después de él muchos modernos." Though a royal chaplain, Covarrubias never failed to emphasize that he was first and foremost a university man ("licenciado") and it is clear that, nationalism notwithstanding, mentally he subscribed to the humanist view of Isidore, an attitude even more patent in the discussion of etymology in the preceding "Carta al autor" of *licenciado* Baltasar Sebastián Navarro de Arroita (fols ¶4^{r}-¶5^{v}). Arroita remarks that though Varro's fanciful patriotic Latin derivations for Greek loanwords could not fool any knowledgeable person, they succeeded in deceiving "the blessed St Isidore, who […] gave the not-so-pious occasion to mock him, thereby weakening his great authority among the rigorous critics of our times [dio ocasión a la irrisión de los no tan píos, y a que su grande autoridad se enflaqueciesse por esse camino acerca de los Críticos rigurosos de nuestros tiempos]," naming among the latter Perotti and the Scaligers, and having sarcastic fun himself with a few "ridículas Etymologías."

article of underwear? Not at all; it was normal. What it really reflected was not that Isidore held an alien concept of etymology—Renaissance and Baroque ideas about the origin of language were at least as fantastical—but that he definitively marked that rupture with the Hellenic component of ancient science which we call the Dark Ages. Ptolemy was not rendered obsolete by the voyages of discovery in the same way as Isidore; his scientific method remained compatible with the new episteme despite his ignorance of America (Portuondo 2009, 20–58). Equally telling is the contrast with Pliny, who remained an inspiration for enquiry; whereas he was the object of copious commentary and translation—including two 16th-century Spanish versions, the second commissioned by the Crown—, nothing comparable happened to Isidore.[23] Passages from *Etymologiae* 5–6 were, it is true, included as an appendix to a work on chronology by Mercator and Beroaldus (1577), but such signs of him being used in a scientific context are exceedingly rare. There were no freestanding commentaries, no translations; for though the *Etymologiae* had been partly turned into Castilian in the 13th century and a MS was acquired from Cuenca Cathedral by Gaspar de Quiroga and sent to the Escorial in 1579 for Felipe II's *Opera* project, it was never printed.[24]

One may object—it is a pertinent point—that Isidore wrote many other works besides the *Etymologiae*. His *Sententiae* were no less popular in the Middle Ages, and served as a pattern for the scholastic method embodied in Peter Lombard's work of the same name; but though they were translated into Spanish in the 15th century (*Del soberano bien*, BNM Mss/405, 6970, 9504; García Rives 1950) and the text was reprinted a few times in the Renaissance, the important edition being that by García de Loaisa (Isidorus 1593, repr. in Grial-Loaisa, vol. 2, 1–111), Isidore seems by then to have been little more regarded as a theologian than as a scientist; he was valued for his methodical approach to compilation and the antiquity of his sources, but he was not influential as an authority.[25] His chronicles were objects of deeper enquiry, but though the first edition of the *Historia Gothorum* was by the French scholar Pierre Pithou (Isidorus 1579), scholarly interest was chiefly confined to countries where the Gothic legacy was important for dynastic reasons: Spain and Scandinavia.[26] The only work of Isidore's that remained in living circulation, in the sense that it was read for other than antiquarian motives, was *Synonyma*, his devotional dialogue between Sinner and Reason. Despite its peculiar style—an extended *jeux d'esprit* of synonymic wordplay—it is the only work of his that was popularized in translations (German, French, Italian, 1560s), and it remained in print up to the Counter-Reformation (1470 to 1566, at least 21 editions, mostly printed in Protestant Germany). Elfassi (2008) talks of an "immense succès," but qualifies this by noting that it was "indirect, au deuxième voire au troisième degré," through centos or second-hand quotations often attributed to Augustine or Ambrose. Though these false attributions showed the work's standing, they also signalled the "chant du cygne" of Isidore's influence on real life. After 1570 the *Synonyma* was not translated or reprinted again, except in the national editions of his *Opera* of which I am about to speak (Grial-Loaisa, vol. 2, 367–91; Arévalo, vol. 6, 472–523), until the 20th century.

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[23] See Beagon 2016. Greenblatt (1991, 82–83) argues that Isidore's Eurocentric world view played an influential role in promoting the ideology of conquest and colonization, and (22) that his fantastical account of monstrous races (*Etym.* 11, 14) gave Renaissance writers their model for categorizing the radical otherness of the New World as savagery; but Twomey (2003, 76–77, 80) points out that there is little evidence that Isidore was the direct source. The citation adduced by Greenblatt, Jean de Léry's *Voyage faict en la terre du Brésil*, in fact names Pliny (Lery 1578, "Preface," fol. [ī]5^{r} "je me suis retracté de l'opinion que j'ay autresfois euë de Pline & de quelques autres, descrivans les pays estranges, parce que j'ay veu des choses aussi bigerres & prodigieuses qu'aucunes qu'on à ten[u]es incroyables dont ils font mention").

[24] Isidorus 1983, 15–16, 24–25, citing records of the request by Quiroga (who figures again below) and surrender of the MS to the king by Bishop Rodrigo de Castro y Osorio, a noted antiquarian, in Cuenca, Archivo Capitular, Actas capitulares 1579, fol. 3^{v}; 1580, fol. 4^{r}; and Esc. Ms. b.I.13, s. XIV, flyleaf *ex-libris*.

3 Canonization, Sanctity, and Nationalism

This brings us to the other aspect of Isidore's fortune in the Renaissance, the question of his sanctity, and why Spain remained the exception to the perceptible decline in Isidore's standing elsewhere in Europe. The growth of national feeling is one of the best-known features of Renaissance culture, but one should distinguish between modern ethnic nationalism, a poisonous form of political mobilization promoted by nation-states and their opponents, and earlier kinds of patriotism, which sprang from more localized senses of identity rooted in the customs of a particular place. The difference manifests itself in various ways. As Antonio Mestre (1995) points out, in the course of the 16th century the figure of the humanist grammarian gave way to the *erudito*, the antiquarian scholar who was still not yet what we call a critic. A characteristic task of these antiquaries was to search for facts within the nation's past that would justify its present political constitution. I have mentioned the imperative to establish Spain as the true successor of the Roman empire; this involved not only elaborating a new but appropriately "antique"-looking ideology of imperial absolutism, but also discovering, or affecting to discover, condign evidence, epigraphical, numismatic, archaeological, and literary, of the Spanish contribution to Roman civilization—for example, by investigating ancient authors from Hispania. Equally valid in Spain's case was to praise the Gothic history of the Iberian kingdoms, or trace the pre-classical ethnography and toponyms of the Peninsula; or to engage in projects of a more dubiously scientific nature, such as the confection by Giovanni Nanni of a chronicle by Berosus of Babylon purporting to prove that the Catholic Monarchs of Spain descended from Noah, and the Spaniards from Tubal's tribe of Tobelos mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* 1.6.1). More notorious frauds were Jerónimo Román de la Higuera's fabrication of chronicles by Julian of Toledo and Flavius Marcus Dexter of Barcelona, and his manipulation of the genuine chronicle of Liutprand of Cremona to yield one written by a Spanish-domiciled "Eutrand."[27]

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[25] For a while in Germany during the Lutheran reform Isidore's exegetical works attracted notice: Isidorus 1529 "ex codicibus antiquissimis," 1530. Antiquity held out the promise of biblical *fontes* uncorrupted by the sophistries of popish scholastic sources; the titles call him not Doctor (nor even saint; the first, more Lutheran one says *beatus*) but *theologus vetustissimus*, *pervetustus*. On Hagenau printer Johann Setzer's Lutheran sympathies see Flood and Shaw 1997, 55 n. 27; on Erasmian Johann Heil of Cologne, Lülfing 1972.

[26] Grotius 1655, for example, was compiled in 1637 to serve the Swedish Crown, while Isaac Vossius, editor of the text of Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* included in this posthumous edition of Grotius, was Queen Christina's librarian (Eriksonas 2004, 190, nn. 53–54; Nellen 2014, 747–48, nn. 54–57; Mengelkoch 2012; and in general Birns 2013).

Naturally kings were keen to patronize such endeavours when the antiquaries' discoveries could be used to legitimize their power or favour their economic interests. In a classic study of English antiquaries H.B. Walters (1934) showed how Henry VIII employed John Leland to scour the national records for precedents for his exercise of the royal prerogative and rupture with Rome, so justifying his expropriation of Church property. Redefining the relation of Church and State, whether in this confessional sense or in terms of the kingdom's internal jurisdictions, was a standard motive for such antiquarian activities, and Felipe II employed his royal chronicler Ambrosio de Morales (1513–91) for parallel purposes.[28] Hence missions to ransack ecclesiastical libraries became a characteristic late Renaissance form of scholarly employment. The publication of Isidore's *Opera* resulted from just such a project.

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[27] For the relevance of this last to the Renaissance fortune of Isidore see n. 13, above; on the *falsos cronicones*, the recent studies in Olds 2009, 2015; and Olds 2014 for a specific documentary insight into how Higuera's activities included defending Spain's saints against post-Tridentine sceptics like Cardinal Cesare Baronio (EC 1586; see n. 41, below). The broader context is set out by Kelley 1970, 1988, and the studies in n. 12, above; and for our subject, Taylor 2014.

[28] As a young Hieronymite novice Morales is said to have followed Origen's unfortunate lead in interpreting the call to disarm the Tempter literally, by castrating himself; but he afterwards went to Rome and obtained a dispensation to live as a secular cleric. *Memoria sanctorum*

To comprehend the regal motives behind the plan to induce the papacy to recognize Isidore as a Roman saint and Doctor of the Church, of which the Grial-Loaisa *Opera* formed a part, we may also recall the particular role of *historia sacra* in that period. As Simon Ditchfield notes (2012, 72–73), "research into the ecclesiastical past of institutions, cults, orders, dioceses, and peoples could serve a variety of purposes beyond simply challenging opposing faiths"; it played a vital role in "the formation of and reflection upon confessional identities"—and, we may add, national or supra-national identities, for in the huge multiethnic Spanish empire religious cult and practice was a most important agglutinating factor. But these more than merely dogmatic or apologetic uses of the Christian past created pressures towards kinds of historical manipulation—*pia fraus*, in Catholic terminology—similar to those at work in the field of secular history. The fact is very evident in the 16th- and 17th-century Spanish hagiographies of Isidore. The long and learned account of his *Vita* in *Acta Sanctorum* is concerned with little else than sorting out the reliable from the false in the by then abundant Iberian literature on the subject, of which the epitome is the monumental *Martyrologium Hispanum* of Tamayo Salazar (1652), described by Enlightenment luminary Mayans as one of the most

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qui orti sunt in Hispania (1541–, unpubl.; Morales 1765, x §18) led to a post in Alcalá's Colegio de San Felipe y Santiago, founded by Felipe II in 1551; his first royal commission dated from 1559, and nomination as *cronista real* followed in 1563. His 1572 trip "por orden del Rey" to search for relics and materials, the basis of the great collection of Isidorian MSS assembled in the Escorial library used for the Grial-Loaisa edition (Antolín 1923), is reported in BNM Mss/2063 (Morales 1765). By then he had been appointed the king's *procurador* in the cause to canonize Diego de Alcalá (1567–88), and overseen the translation from Aragon to Castile of the "relics" of the 4th-century child martyrs Justus and Pastor lauded by Prudentius (Morales 1568). While pursuing the Isidore project, besides publishing three volumes of his chronicle and path-finding studies on the archaeology of Spain based on the novel procedure of sending out a questionnaire to elicit topographical *relaciones* from other *eruditos*, Morales edited Eulogius of Cordova for Bishop Ponce de León, who provided him with a Visigothic MS from Oviedo (Morales 1574); wrote a *Discurso* to show Felipe II's blood relationship to St Dominic (Morales 1586); and compiled *informaciones* upholding the historicity of St James and privileges of the see of Santiago, or those of the see of Toledo, where he was rewarded with a benefice by Cardinal-Archbishop Quiroga. A worthy scholar; but to talk of "strict scientific rigour" or a "modern approach," as some do, is to skate over a vital aspect: all these works—most devoted to defending the indefensible—were expressly confected to serve his powerful patrons' vested interests. On this instrumental side of antiquarianism, besides Édouard 2003; Van Liere 2006, 2012; Collins 2014, see in general Gimeno Pascual 1998, Mora 1998.

superstitious men in Spain's history.[29] To achieve the needful purge the Bollandists resorted to the standard procedure of requesting Spanish scholars to search for MSS and other evidence in archives; by these means and the application of critical method they not only pruned out many accretions of credulous legend but also established a convincing canon of Isidore's authentic works.[30] Nevertheless, sifting still remained on the agenda for scholars in the Age of Reason, when the same process was undertaken once again. Its results were related by Rodríguez de Castro (1786) and brought to a peak in the still useful two-volume introduction to Arévalo's edition of 1797–1803, *Isidoriana*, which together with his critical text and apparatus represented the fruits of over two centuries of such research, undertaken in his case—as in the first endeavour of Spanish humanist scholarship to do with Isidore in 1499, of which more in a moment—for the cardinal-archbishop of Toledo and primate of the Spanish Church, himself a distinguished antiquarian (see Lorenzana 1782–93; Esteve Barba 1942; Sierra Nava 1975).

On the aspects which he addressed Arévalo achieved as much as any subsequent scholar; but he makes clear his debt to the Grial-Loaisa edition. Even the latter was not the first such project. As early as 1499 the Archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, sponsor of another great project of humanist textual criticism, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, commissioned for patriotic reasons an edition from old MSS of the Mozarabic liturgy attributed to Isidore, a project carried out by the humanist Alfonso Ortiz and a team of Toledan clerics.[31] The idea of an edition of *Opera omnia* based upon the same idea of a team of scholars collecting and collating Visigothic originals was urged upon Felipe II in 1571 by another future archbishop of Toledo, the aforementioned Gaspar de Quiroga (1512–95), at the suggestion of a university humanist of that city, Alvar Gómez de Castro (1515–80). The latter drafted a proposal to the king's secretary Antonio Gracián. After lamenting the dearth of editions of Isidore's works due to "the loss of many in the wars and troubles in Spain after his death, and others lying unrecognized in certain of this kingdom's ancient libraries," Castro plays subtly on the project's patriotic dimension:

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[29] On Tamayo's methods see Henriet 2002, who does not shy away from the term "forgeries" or calling his erudition "fausse." As Olds 2015 reveals, such terminology may be too simple; the technique was normally to use genuine old documents, but—doubtless with sincere intent—to correct their regrettable deficiencies; hence Higuera's fabrications took nearly two centuries to unravel and discredit. We should also recall that the rationalism of the 17th-18th centuries was not universally accepted; you can lead a horse to water but you cannot make it drink, so churchmen even in the 20th century persisted for pastoral reasons in resurrecting the legends. Few texts are as instructive in this regard as the tragicomic preface to Lucas de Tuy 1947—the date, in the wake of Franco's "nationalist" coup, speaks volumes—by the abbot of San Isidoro de León, which now strikes us as a good deal more superstitious than any 14th- to 16th-century hagiography.

[30] The role of Iberian scholarship is fully acknowledged in Henschen 1675, and also alluded to in Spanish sources such as Antonius 1696. On the general context see Boesch Gajano 1985.

[31] Isidorus 1500, 1502; see Martín Patino 1963; García Oro 1992; Gonzálvez Ruiz 2004. Ortiz's edition was reedited by Lorenzana (Isidorus 1775), equally patriotically; but it is notable that Isidore's claim to authorship was not thought substantial enough to include the Mozarabic liturgy in Isidorus 1580, Grial-Loaisa, or Arévalo.

> Your Majesty would do a deed most acceptable to God and greatly redounding to the profit of his holy Church by ordering a search for all the works of this saint that could be found in the places I have mentioned, and then, after collecting them all, having them very correctly printed, just as His Holiness has recently ordered the printing of the works of St Thomas, and as Your Majesty's father the Emperor Don Charles did with the works of El Tostado, the bishop of Ávila, *to the illustrious credit of our nation* [...]. I have said all this so that Your Majesty may see the resaon for honouring this great saint, *whose devotion along with other things has suffered a cooling-off*; and [...] for bringing to light his works and publishing them throughout the world, so that alongside the Royal Bible which is about to appear there may also appear such a great interpreter of it [...] under Your Majesty's auspices.[32]

A battery of royal letters ensued, urging Castro and his team to use every means to gather and collate Isidorian MSS, including ordering institutions to "donate" them.[33] Castro was to spend the rest of his life on the task, gathering MSS and preparing a text of *Etymologiae*; on his deathbed he wrote that he had tracked down 16 codices and nearly finished collating them.[34]

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[32] Madrid, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Envío 78^{196}, in Antolín 1923, 69–71 "Haría Vuestra [Majestad] una obra muy accepta a Dios, y que redundaría en el provecho de su sancta Iglesia, mandar que se buscassen todas las obras deste santo que en los lugares que tengo dicho se pudiessen hallar y, después de juntarlos todos, hazer que se imprimiessen muy correctos, como ahora su Santidad ha mandado imprimir las obras de sancto Thomás, y el emperador don Carlos padre de Vuestra Majestad las obras del Tostado, obispo de Ávila, con las quales *se ha illustrado nuestra nación* [...]. He dicho todo esto para que vea Vuestra Majestad la razón que ay de honrar este gran sancto, *cuya devoción con otras cosas está resfriada*; y [...] sacar a luz sus obras y publicarlas por el mundo, para que juntamente con la Biblia Regia, que saldrá agora, salga también un tan gran intérprete della [...] con los auspicios de Vuestra Majestad" (my emphases). "Biblia Regia" referred to another project of Felipe II then at press, the Antwerp Polyglot (Arias Montanus 1569–73); "devoción [...] *resfriada*," an icy allusion to Trent's messing with Spain's saints. There follows mention of MSS found by the tireless Pedro Ponce de León, bishop of Plasencia (Andrés 1967). The king's reply six months later (18 March 1572) ordered Gracián to arrange "la Impressión delas obras de S. Isidro" and asked for Castro's "relación que por su carta offresce delos libros antiguos deste S°. y delos lugares donde se hallarán, y todo lo demás que V.m. entendiere se puede hazer çerca desto" (BL Egerton MS 2047, fol. 275^{v}).

In that same year, however, there appeared a rival edition, published by the French Benedictine Marguerin de La Bigne in Paris (Isidorus 1580) and incorporating Vulcanius's *Etymologiae* (Isidorus 1577). Vulcanius was a Spanish subject and had spent the years 1559–70 as librarian to Bishop Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla in Burgos, then to his brother Archdeacon Fernando de Mendoza in Toledo; he must have learned of Felipe II's project, and was perhaps irritated not to be asked to take part (note, for example, the date of Vulcanius 1597—stealing a march again?). As for La Bigne, his edition was part of an enterprise to publish a complete *Patrologia* expressly designed as an orthodox Catholic riposte to the many Patristic editions appearing from Protestant presses, notably in Basel—the very place where Felipe II seems originally to have planned to print his Isidore.[35] Doubtless the stormy reception of the

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[33] The story is unravelled in Antolín 1923; Andrés 1975; González Cuenca, in Isidorus 1983, 25, 56 & nn. 21, 44; Nascimento 1984, 2008; Díaz y Díaz 1993, 227–28; Dávila Pérez and Lazure 2000–02; Taylor 2006; Codoñer 2009.

[34] In his will of 12 September 1580, four days before his death: "De las *Etimologías* de san Isidoro tengo diez y seis volúmines de mano, y algunos de letra Góthica, y uno ympreso […] El libro mío de las *Etimologías* que está todo glosado y escontrado con estos originales, […] con todos los demás papeles y anotaciones que a propósito desto tengo, darse-án a quien su Mag. mandare" (San Román 1928, 560–62). Castro goes on to say he had finished emending all but lib. 19, which was to be passed to Mariana, while "los libros que faltan de sacar en limpio" were to be given to "Pantino flamenco, criado del Sr. García de Loaisa […], el qual lo revea y añada el griego conforme a como está en el original y como lo an hecho él y Escoto [Schott] todo este estío en mi compañía," with a later instruction that Agustín's notes be inserted (565); see also Alvar Ezquerra 1980, vol. 1, 206–11. Castro's papers on Isidore duly passed to Loaisa, and were thought lost in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755; but see Nascimento 2008.

[35] The post-Tridentine motives behind La Bigne's *Bibliotheca* are explored by Petitmengin 1975, its relation to the printing of Spanish Fathers—Isidore among them, but by no means him alone—analysed in Taylor 2014. The idea of publishing the Philippine Isidore in Basel is alluded to in a letter of 15 April 1572 from Gracián to Arias Montano (who was in Antwerp overseeing the printing of the *Biblia Regia*, n. 32 above): "Aunque el hazerse la Impression [of Isidore] *fuera destos Reynos* paresçe trae Inconviniente por algunas razones que se han considerado, todavía ha paresçido que, mientras en España se descubren todos los más originales que se pudieren hallar, […] sería bien que *esse Impressor de Basilea* embiasse | aquí lo que tiene hasta agora estampado delas obras deste sancto, *para que se viesse su diligençia y cuydado*, y avisasse delos originales antiguos que tiene y del número delas obras que hasta agora ha descubierto y piensa impremir, para que visto y cotejado con lo que acá se hallare se pueda asu tiempo, pues el negoçio no tiene prissa, *tomar enella resoluçion que paresçiere mejor*" (BL Egerton MS 2047, fol. 286^{r-v}, my emphases). I do not know who "that Basel printer" of Isidore in the 1570s was, but Felipe's

Antwerp Biblia Regia (and Arias Montano's fall from grace in 1579: Lazure 2011) helped change the king's mind on that count, but we lack evidence as to exactly when he did so; as the most indecisive ruler in Spain's history, it would be no surprise if it took some time. All these facts and dates must interconnect, though we cannot be quite sure how. Interestingly, for example, Isidore was not at first included in La Bigne's patrology; so, did Vulcanius approach La Bigne, rather than the other way round? Yet one thing remains clear: the appearance of the rival edition had no dampening effect on the openly nationalist Philippine project. Undeterred by Gallic shots across the bows, Felipe's antiquaries were to slog on for two decades more.[36] La Bigne's was no contemptible effort; it included works printed for the first time, readings from four old French MSS, and extensive indices. The Spanish team consulted it, but Grial-Loaisa was well under way and proceeded independently. Castro's draft text of *Etymologiae* with Agustín's and Chacón's notes, for example, was already far advanced by 1580 (n. 34, above); but by the time it was printed Grial had doubled the number of MSS collated to over 30, and added further annotations by himself and Antonio de Covarrubias.[37]

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intention to publish there is clear. Even so, Gracián ends: "He tenido todo el contentamiento possible de que su Mag^{d}. aya tomado de veras este negocio, assí *por lo que toca ala honrra de nuestra nação* como porque se comiençen a favoresçer y estimar negocios de letras."

[36] Archival records concerning the project in the 1580s are less explored in the scholarly literature (n. 33, above) than those of the preceding decade. This might tempt us to conclude that La Bigne's untimely emission stalled work for 13 years; the illusion is dispelled by Schott's letter to Quiroga still talking of it in the present tense on a.d. IV Idus Aprilis (10 April O.S./20 April N.S.) 1581, despite Castro's death on 16 September 1580 ("Divi Isidori […] libris qui Regis sumtu tuoque auspicio *adornantur*," Schottus 1582, 3–4), and by Portuondo's discovery (2009, 157–58 & nn. 58–63) of fresh documents on the role of Gracián's successor Juan López de Velasco, whose letters of 1584–87 show him still busily fussing over incoming Isidore materials, and being paid to curate and edit them. And there are more sources yet to be explored, e.g. 15 letters in BL Egerton MS 2047, fols 285^{v}-305^{v} *Cartas escriptas por mandado de Su Mag^{d}. por el secretario Antonio Gracián* (April 1571–March 1576), to Castro (n. 32, above), Morales, Arias Montano (n. 35, above), D. de Covarrubias, Ponce de León, the dean of Toledo Diego de Castilla, etc.; and a *Memoria de los libros de Sant Isidro que yo el licenciado Ponçe he buscado en todas las librerías desta ciudad de Sevilla por mandado del Arçobispo* [Rodrigo de Castro] of 1582 in New York, Hispanic Society of America HC385/280 (plus his transcript of a MS of Isidore's *Chronicon*; Faulhaber 1983, 1, 459–61, §467). Much also remains to be done on the text's printing; but the chief outstanding desideratum is a textual study of the team's critical method, to build on Asensio 1981; Andrés Sanz 2002; Codoñer 2009.

[37] Grial mentions using "triginta aut eo pluribus manuscriptis libris in hoc opere [*Etym.*] emendando," and variants from La Bigne's "Parisiensis editio" of *Sententiae* (Grial-Loaisa, vol. 1, fols ¶2bis^{v}, 3^{r} "Ad lectorem").

For reasons like these the edition took over quarter of a century; but more impressive than the lapse of years was the roster of names enrolled in the project by Gaspar de Quiroga and Alvar Gómez de Castro. Many of the country's leading *eruditos* were co-opted: besides Ambrosio de Morales and the biblical scholar Arias Montano (1527–98), they included Antonio Agustín (1517–86, antiquarian and jurist, pupil of Andrea Alciato at Bologna, bishop of Tarragona); the Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana (1536–1624); the canons of Toledo and patrons of El Greco Diego de Covarrubias (1512–77, canonist) and his brother Antonio (1514/24–1602, Hellenist); university professors Pedro de Fuentidueña (1513–79, theologian) and Cipriano Suárez S.J. (1524–93, rhetorician and biblical exegete); humanists Juan Bautista Pérez Rubert (1534–97, another protégé of Quiroga, canon librarian of Toledo, Hebraist and ecclesiastical historian, bishop of Segorbe 1591), and in Rome Pedro Chacón (1520–81, classicist); and learned foreigners, such as Andreas Schott S.J. (1552–1629, antiquarian and Hellenist, protégé of Quiroga, correspondent of Casaubon and Grotius), and Pieter Pantin (1555–1611, Loaisa's librarian 1579–95, Schott's fellow student at Louvain and successor as professor of Greek in Toledo, 1583). That all were faithful subjects and servants of the Spanish Empire goes without saying, but there was nothing narrowly Peninsular about their learning; their international contacts and outlook were broad. A number had been delegates at Trent (Arias Montano, Agustín, both Covarrubias, Fuentidueña) or held posts in the Curia at Rome (Quiroga, Agustín, Mariana, Schott, Chacón). Before the project was finished many of the original team had died (Quiroga, Castro, Agustín, Morales, Chacón, Fuentidueña). At court, after Antonio Gracián's death in 1576, the role of coordinating the project was taken over by the king's *cosmógrafo*, Juan López de Velasco, who issued further royal orders to ecclesiastical libraries to "surrender" their Isidorian MSS to the Escorial; he himself was paid to correct the edition of *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, and it was he who suggested the Salamanca theologian and poet Luis de León be asked to "correct" other texts, though León declined (Portuondo 2009, 158). Leadership of the editorial task passed to the two men whose names were eventually to figure on the preliminary pages of the final product: Castro's place as general editor was taken by Juan de Grial, professor of Latin at Salamanca, while Quiroga's role devolved upon the royal chaplain and canon of Toledo García de Loaisa y Girón (later Quiroga's successor as archbishop, 1598), an ecclesiastical historian and editor of *Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniae* (Loaisa 1593). It was the latter who finally set the ball of publication rolling with preliminary editions of Isidore's *Chronicon mundi* and *Sententiae*, printed with dedications to Felipe II at Turin (Isidorus 1593a-b).

It was, then, in every sense a collaborative effort; different scholars were responsible for the various texts, and annotations were contributed by several hands over the course of years.[38] In search of early witnesses, "códices góticos," "en letra mozárabe," or "en caracteres lombardos," they travelled all over the Peninsula. Morales unearthed MSS in monasteries and churches in Galicia, Castro not only ransacked Toledo's cathedral library but also journeyed as far afield as Portugal (1575). We know of these missions not just from the editors' correspondence and autograph notebooks, or royal *cédulas*, such as the *privilegio* printed at the start of the edition, but from mentions in paratexts to other works, such as Schott's dedication to Quiroga of his edition of another "scriptor Hispanus antiquissimus [...] Hispanorum doctissimus," Pomponius Mela (Schottus 1582, 4; see n. 36, above).[39]

Given the size of the task and the primitive means at their disposal, the fifteen men's twenty-five-year labour was in fact quite speedy. Not so the printing of the resulting edition, which took four years, finally bearing fruit only after Isidore's canonization in 1598. It was published by another of Felipe II's grand cultural enterprises, the Typographia Regia, set up in its own premises in Madrid in 1592 under the direction of Salamanca-based Florentine printers Giulio and Tommaso Giunti (Junta)—the latter being granted the perpetual title *Impresor del Rey* on 24 August 1594—with the task of producing high-quality illustrated editions of religious and official texts to compete with foreign presses and so ensure that the king's subjects were provided with books in tune with imperial and Counter-Reformation ideology.[40] *Divi Isidori Hispal. episcopi Opera*'s emblematic engraved frontispiece aptly conforms to this template; the classical portico with its allegorical figures of Ecclesia and Religio flanking the royal arms makes clear the link between Crown, Church, and nation, showing that the king's intent fell firmly within the ambit of propagandistic display, Catholic *historia sacra*, and Isidore's role as iconic Spanish saint.[41] The same link is made in Felipe's *privilegio* of 28 November 1595 on the following leaf; Isidore is presented as a Doctor of the Church, a Spaniard, and a saint, not as a classical author or encyclopaedist. The king also professes his personal devotion to the saint, his own ancestor at 38 removes according to a polite fiction much played upon in the edition's preliminaries.[42]

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[38] Grial in his preface (Grial-Loaisa, "Ad lectorem," vol. 1, fols ¶2bis^r-[A5]^r) gives a summary, text by text, of the contributions of each collaborator. The bibliography on them is large but uneven (the bulk of it on the first six, e.g Alvar Ezquerra 1982; Crawford 1993; next to nothing on Grial). On general aspects of their scholarship, Gil Fernández 1981.

[39] In this sense it was typical of Renaissance styles of scholarly networking (Bustamante García 2002; Van Liere 2007), but the extent and longevity of the enterprise and its high profile made it extraordinary.

[40] On the Imprenta Real (not to be confused with the later Imprenta del Reino) see Pérez Pastor 1914–26, vol. 4, 409–43; Morales Borrero 1976. Giunti's post (held by his heirs until 1658) paralleled that of *prototypographus* granted in 1570 to Christoffel Plantijn in Antwerp for printing Ortelius's atlases and the *Biblia Regia Polyglotta* mentioned above (see pp. 612–13 and n. 32).

[41] Online at, e.g.: <http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/consulta/registro.cmd?id=7221>. Checa Cremades (1987, 40) shows the image was plagiarized, with what looks like deliberate irony, from a frontispiece designed by Rubens and engraved by Mi-

In the event the king who had spent so much promoting the project did not live to see the book, dying on 13 September 1598. Grial's dedication is addressed to his heir, Felipe III, but it hammers home the same points, laying stress on the saint's antiquity and "weighty authority in matters ecclesiastical or civil" and making a striking attack on the "danger" of "the back-to-front 'elegance' of certain persons" (a patent swipe at Valla) who as dwarfish epigones of the revival of letters ("in this age of ours when *light* seemed to dawn on things once more") insisted on disdaining Isidore's works, leaving them "cast down from their estate, scarce anywhere to be found, at any rate in no great repute" or even, to their "effeminate [*delicati*]" palates, "liable to recriminations and exposed on every side to calumnies." The express aim of the edition, Grial proclaims, was to encourage "other leading men of erudition, *not just among us but abroad*," to vie in studying his team's "most laborious harvest of the Spanish

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chelangelo Grandi for Baronio's revision of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (EC 1586)—the papalist cardinal, detested in Spain for his destruction of the legend of St James, would have been upset at the replacement of his religious motto and image of the world on its knees before Christ by the royal arms and centrepiece inscription of Felipe II's royal title—but unlike St Mary in Baronio's plate, Isidore is not haloed, despite the fact that by the time the book came out his canonization had been ratified by Rome (the plate is signed at the foot of the right column by the Italian engraver Cristoforo Cartari and dated "1587," an error for 1597, the year given in vol. 1's colophon, p. 168bis; the imprint CIↃ. IↃ. XCIX (1599) must therefore have been added later). The saint's iconography (crozier, mitre, volume of works) may be based on images in the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro in León (Fernández González 1998, 149–50), but the two female allegories are exact copies of the model: *Ecclesia*, bare-headed, carrying the tiara and Keys of St Peter and the Fisherman's ring on her middle right finger, with the crown of her motto ("Sola coronat"); *Religio*, veiled as a nun carrying a basilica, with the roses and lilies of hers ("Nec lilia nec rosae desunt").

[42] Felipe's words are in Grial-Loaisa, vol. 1, fol. ¶[1]^{r} "aviendo noticia que las obras del glorioso S. Isidoro *Doctor de las Hespañas* andavan mal escritas y depravadas [...], y desseando el remedio dello *por la mucha devoción que al Santo tengo* y el servicio que en estos Reynos se le debe, mandé buscar en las librerías antiguas dellos." The king's devotion should not be taken lightly; his obsessive-compulsive attitude to saints' relics was mentally abnormal (Lazure 2007) even for that age, when superstition was officially promoted as a substitute for faith, to counter scepticism and science. For the spurious blood relation see Alvar Gómez de Castro, *Genealogía de sant Isidoro, con la declaraçión del grado de consanguinidad* [...] *con la Magestad del Rey Don Phelippe segundo nuestro señor*, in Esc. Ms. b.III.1, fols 173–97.

Doctor's works [...], as aids and documents for the protection and propagation of religion."[43]

4 Conclusion

It cannot be said that Grial's exhortation succeeded in getting learned Europe to take up the cudgels on behalf of "the Doctor of Spain," or that his travails reversed the perceptible decline in Isidore's *auctoritas*. The evidence suggests that elsewhere scholars were content to go on using La Bigne's edition.[44] In this respect Grial-Loaisa fared little better than Grial's pedantic proposal to rename Isidore *Hispalitanus*, not *Hispalensis* (vol. 1, fol. ¶2bis^{r} "Ad lectorem"). One should conclude, however, by recognizing what Felipe II's team *did* achieve. The Renaissance reversal in Isidore's fortune as an influence upon life, thought, and action was historically inevitable and irreversible, but I hope to have shown that the story was more complex than we might assume. That age was ostensibly interested in aspects of Isidore—his nationality, his sanctity, his genealogical relationship to royal families—that seem of little interest or value to us. Despite this, however, the shift in the episteme had in fact worked to his, and our, benefit. Scholars may have taken him less seriously as an authority than at any time since the 8th century, but the removal of the medieval rose-tinted spectacles had paradoxically led people to find out far more about *him* and his works, and in a far more empirical and scientific way, than they had ever done before. And that was a first step towards taking him seriously on his own terms, and understanding him in all the particularity of his own historical moment.

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[43] Ibid., fol. ¶2 "auctoritas in rebus vel Ecclesiasticis vel civilibus gravior [...] præposteram quorundam hominum elegantiam [...] restituta hac nostra ætate re litteraria, cum lux rebus reddita videretur. [...] de statu deiecta, vix ullo in loco, exiguo certè cum honore, [...] criminationibus obnoxia calumniisque obvia & exposita [...] alii, non nostri modò sed externi etiam eruditione præstantes viri [...] laboriosissima Hispani Doctoris excerpta, [...] tuendæ propagandæque religionis adiumenta [...] atque documenta."

[44] La Bigne's 1580 volume was reissued by the same Parisian press in an augmented version by Jacques Du Breul incorporating some matter from the Spanish edition (Isidorus 1601, 789–958 "Notae virorum doctorum in quosdam libros Divi Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi per Joannem Grialum collectæ et auctæ"); and again in Isidorus 1617. La Bigne used Vulcanius's *Etym.* (Isidorus 1577), as we have seen, and this too had been reissued in Gothofredus 1585, cols 818–1326, along with Godefroy's own appendix of *variae lectiones* (cols 1905–22, mostly conjectures, with an occasional variant "in vet. cod.," "in manuscripto codice", "alii"—the closest thing to an apparatus criticus before Grial), which in turn was reprinted in 1595 and 1602. Grial-Loaisa, on the other hand, was not published again until 1778, and only in Spain.

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CHAPTER 20

Archiving Idolatry: Isidore of Seville and the Recording of Native Superstition in the New World

Amy Fuller

1 Introduction

As Jeremy Lawrance has already attested in this volume, we know that Columbus cited Isidore in a letter he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella during his third voyage to the erroneously named "Indies" in 1498.[1] If we take a cursory glance at a map of the Spanish Empire's "New World" territories, it would seem to suggest a continuation of Isidore's influence, due to the many towns and cities named "San Isidro" from Argentina to the Philippines. This chapter will focus on Isidore's reception in New Spain in particular, and in modern-day Mexico we find five towns named San Isidro, plus an additional six in areas that formally belonged to Mexico but are now in the United States. However, most of these were named after San Isidro Labrador: Saint Isidore, the patron of farmers and of Madrid, rather than the former archbishop of Seville. Indeed, just as Lawrance has demonstrated that Isidore's fate as an authority in early modern Spain was rather inconsistent, tracing his influence in the "New World" is not a straightforward task either.

Columbus returned to Spain from his historic first voyage on 15 March 1493, and on 4 May that same year, Pope Alexander VI's bull of *Inter caetera* gave the Catholic Monarchs permission to conquer the "New World" lands in the name of Spain, in return for Christianizing the people who lived there.[2] It would be another thirty-one years until the start of the "Spiritual Conquest" of Mexico, and one of the tools created to facilitate the conversion of the indigenous people were encyclopaedias compiled by friars that detailed all aspects of the lives and culture of their native charges, in order to gain an understanding of their religious practices, with a view to eradicate their pagan beliefs. The first printed edition of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* was issued by G. Zainer at Augsburg

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[1] See Jeremy Lawrance's chapter in this volume.

[2] It is worth noting that the territory included in this bull was renegotiated with Portugal in the Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494. For discussion, see Ondina E. González and Justo L. González, *Christianity in Latin America* (Cambridge: 2008), 28.

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in 1472.[3] This was followed by ten further editions by 1500, and according to O'Malley, after the first edition was printed, there were more than a thousand manuscripts of Isidore's *Etymologiae* circulating in Europe.[4] Copies of this encyclopaedic work would therefore have been available in abundance for those who needed it. It would be logical therefore to assume that the *Etymologies*, which functioned as a "little library for Christians without access to a rich store of books [...] in order to furnish capable Christian minds," would be perfect for those travelling to the "New World" with limited resources, and would serve well as a model for archiving idolatry.[5]

This chapter will demonstrate that there is considerable evidence to suggest that Isidore influenced the practice of chronicling pagan culture in Mexico, but it will also show that the extent of Isidore's impact in this area is not easy to assess. Tracing Isidore's reception with regards to the fight against native superstition is not a straightforward task. It will require an examination of many of his works, along with an exploration of the progression of his ideas on conversion, and the reception of his methodology for recording knowledge. The dissemination of works influenced by Isidore will also require consideration, as their success or failure would ultimately have had an effect on the continued significance of Isidore in the "New World."

2 The Spiritual Conquest

When a "New World" full of people with no prior knowledge of the Christian God was discovered, an apostolic mission was agreed as the best course of action to facilitate conversion. Cortés's first letter to Charles V, sent in 1519, before the siege of Tenochtitlan, indicated that there was no time to waste in beginning this process, as such was the indigenous Mexicans' penchant for human sacrifice that "not one year passes in which they do not kill and sacrifice some fifty persons in each temple."[6] In case the king was in any doubt of the gravity of the situation, Cortés clarified that "this land seems to us to be very large, and to have many temples in it."[7] He estimated the total number of souls sacrificed in any given year to be at three thousand or four thousand, leaving Charles with no option but to act. According to Cortés's account, despite their awful practices, the people of Mexico would make excellent converts, as they were extremely devoted to their religion (albeit one that was clearly demonic). They were also highly intelligent, and therefore they would be perfectly capable of understanding the word of God. A symbolic twelve Franciscan friars were sent to Mexico in 1524, as the first to embark upon the difficult process of converting the Nahua to Christianity, with Dominicans and Augustinians to follow in 1526 and 1533, respectively. Once the Spiritual Conquest was underway it became apparent that there were myriad obstacles for the friars to overcome: not least was native resistance to adopting the "True Faith," and, as Robert Ricard has explained, "there were too few workers for such an abundant harvest."[8] The vast territory and difficult terrain meant that regions distant from the administrative centre in Mexico City were hard to reach, and therefore took much longer to convert.

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[3] Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 27.

[4] John W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999), 359.

[5] Barney et al., *The Etymologies*, 19.

[6] Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 36.

[7] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 36.

Despite the friars' best efforts to eradicate traces of the religious practices, many of the Nahuas' beloved idols were small enough to be hidden and worshipped in secret, which inevitably led to relapses into idolatry.[9] Moreover, the language barrier on both sides meant that it was difficult for friars to know whether the people had ever really understood their teachings anyway. Though many endeavoured to learn the native tongues, with Nahuatl (the official language of the Aztec Empire) being the most commonly used as an auxiliary language, there were still massive difficulties to overcome in translating doctrine, due to the lack of availability of equivalent terms. The Trinity and Holy Ghost, for example, could not be effectively explained in the indigenous languages, and elucidation via the use of approximate words would be less than ideal, and could be considered heretical.[10] The Franciscans, however, were quite practical in their approach to conversion and were open to incorporating indigenous rituals and ceremonies alongside the Christian liturgy.[11] Spoken Nahuatl was converted phonetically into a written form, using the Latin alphabet, and the Franciscan Order took the decision that instruction was to be in Latin and Nahuatl in preference to Spanish.[12]

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[8] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An essay on the Apostolate and Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523–1572*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: 1982), 23.

[9] This is something that Toribio de Benavente Motolinía bemoans throughout his *Historia de las Indios de la Nueva España*, Francis Borgia Steck, ed. and trans., *Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain* (Washington, DC: 1951).

[10] For a discussion of the problems faced by those attempting to convert the Nahua, see Fernando Cervantes, *The Idea of the Devil and the Problem of the Indian: The case of Mexico in the sixteenth century* (London: 1991); Ursula Lamb, "Religious Conflicts in the Conquest of Mexico," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17 (1956), 526–39; David Tavárez, *Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: 2011).

[11] Fernando Cervantes, "The Bible in European colonial thought c. 1450–1750," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 1450 to 1750*, ed. Euan Cameron (New York: 2016), 818.

The first focus of missionary effort was to be directed toward the children who would become the teachers of the parent generation.[13] Fray Toribio de Benevente Motolinía (1482–1568), one of the first twelve "apostles" to arrive in New Spain in 1524, discusses this practice in some depth within his *History of the Indians of New Spain*, explaining in Chapter 13 of the third treatise how the converted children would keep an eye on the rest of the community, including their own parents, and report back to the friars. Similarly, another Franciscan, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), was a participant in founding and directing the early primary schools and was engaged in the instruction of the youth. The sons of indigenous nobility were assembled near the monasteries where, besides Christian doctrine, they were taught to read, write, preach, and sing.[14] Many of the missionaries discussed the need to separate the native children from their parents in order to ensure that they were not taught the idolatrous ways of their ancestors.[15] Though it would be impossible to claim a direct influence, this practice would seem to echo legislation passed during the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), which was presided over by Isidore of Seville.[16] The council decreed that children resulting from unions between Jews and Christians should go with the Christian parent if the Jewish spouse failed to convert, and Isidore also declared that children of Jewish parents were to be given to monasteries or to God-fearing Christians and separated from their parents in order to avoid following in their error.[17]

The missionaries' lack of knowledge about the indigenous religious practices was also a barrier to successful conversion, as without knowing what aspects of their culture pertained to religion, how could they possibly know what needed to be eradicated? On this premise therefore, and with plenty of evidence to suggest that the Spiritual Conquest had been fairly superficial and had allowed idolatry to continue unchecked due to a lack of cultural understanding, the Franciscan, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, supported by his superiors in the order, produced the "twelve Books of the divine, or rather, idolatrous, human, and natural things of New Spain."[18] Sahagún believed that the friars needed to learn all there was to know about the daily lives and customs of the indigenous people, in order to understand and eradicate their pagan practices fully. He claimed that:

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[12] Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, eds., *General History of Things of New Spain: Florentine Codex*, 12 vols (Santa Fe: 1950–82), 1:9.

[13] Anderson and Dibble, *General History*, 1:9.

[14] Anderson and Dibble, *General History*, 1:9.

[15] It is worth noting also that in the later colonial period, as the population of Spanish women in Mexico grew, the status of indigenous and mixed-race women fell. Children resulting from unions between Spanish men and native or mixed-race women were sometimes taken away from their indigenous or *mestiza* mothers in a practice that derived from a Spanish tradition of relieving so-called "wayward" women of their children. This meant that generations of children were therefore raised as "Spanish," despite their mixed heritage, and taught to believe that their mothers' indigenous culture was inferior. See Karen Vieira Powers, *Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The Gendered Genesis of Spanish American Society, 1500–1600* (Albuquerque: 2005), 78.

[16] For discussion see Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor: 2000); also see Céline Martin's chapter in this volume.

[17] Stefan K. Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford: 2014), 105. For discussion, see Raúl González Salinero's chapter in this volume.

> The physician cannot advisedly administer to the patient without first knowing of which humour or from which source the ailment derives. Wherefore it is desirable that the good physician be expert in the knowledge of medicines and ailments to adequately administer the cure for each ailment. The preachers and confessors are physicians of the souls for the curing of spiritual ailments. […] To preach against these matters, and even to know if they exist, it is needful to know how they practiced them in times of their idolatry, for through our lack of knowledge of this, they perform many idolatrous things in our presence without our understanding it.[19]

Therefore, by knowing what to look for, missionaries would know what to combat.

In order to gain a working knowledge of indigenous customs, Sahagún compiled an encyclopaedia detailing every aspect of Aztec life and culture by undertaking painstaking interviews and collaborating with natives. *The General History of the things of New Spain* (now known commonly as the *Florentine Codex*) was the result of this work. It took over thirty years to complete and was first written in Nahuatl and then translated into Spanish, presented in its final form as a bilingual work with two parallel columns. The mass conversion of a pagan people unaware of the Christian God had not been attempted since the early Roman Church, and so Roman and Greek gods were the obvious model for explaining the role and function of Aztec/Mexica deities. As Macfarlane attests, Isidore of Seville was the first of the Patristic writers to compile a comprehensive reference work containing "practically everything that it is necessary to know" about the pagan gods, and pagan culture in general.[20] It is therefore very possible that Isidore's methods would have been employed in the compilation of works detailing indigenous practices in the "New World," and it would seem that Isidore's fastidious nature was reflected in Sahagún's need to account for everything in order to facilitate successful conversion. This would also appear to echo Isidore's decision to compile the main deviations that had developed through time from Christianity and Judaism's doctrinal core. This has also been highlighted by González Salinero in his chapter, which explained that "Isidore thought that in order to combat heresy effectively, it was convenient to recognize the dogmas on which heresies were based."[21]

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[18] Anderson and Dibble, *General History*, 1:35.

[19] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of Things of New Spain*, book 1, prologue.

3 The *Florentine Codex*

Despite the fact that the *Etymologiae* was not available in the library of Tlatelolco, where Sahagún was based, Victoria Ríos Castaño attests to its celebrated nature, and argues that "Sahagún must have been acquainted [with it]."[22] In fact, she identifies several similarities between the *Etymologies* and the *Florentine Codex*, stating that Isidore had "struggled for two informing principles that resound strongly in the *Historia universal*; those of encyclopaedism and linguistic purity."[23] In particular, Ríos Castaño has identified similarities that would suggest that Isidore exerted a great degree of influence on book 8 of the *Historia universal*, on kings and lords, especially. Here she attests that "that the majority of its thematic elements, including the description of markets, adornments, attire, hairstyle, hobbies, games, food and drink, houses, judicial procedures, and education, are identifiable in Isidore's work."[24] Ríos Castaño provides evidence for this influence in the way in which Isidore discusses the adornments of Roman women, which is reflected in Sahagún's descriptions of the clothing and hairstyles of the Aztecs.

We also find considerable links between Isidore and Sahagún in the way in which they present the etymology of the terms they describe: Isidore in Latin and Sahagún in Nahuatl. Ríos Castaño demonstrates that "with regard to the etymology of birds' names, Isidore is certain that an onomatopoeic approach is the rule rather than the exception [… and] Sahagún is likewise keen to attach an onomatopoeic etymology to many of the birds described in Book XI [of the *Florentine Codex.*]"[25] Another example provided by Ríos Castaño would be Isidore and Sahagún's

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[20] Katherine Nell Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (*Origines* VIII.11)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 70 (1980), 4.

[21] See Raúl González Salinero's chapter in this volume.

[22] Victoria Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things of New Spain* (Madrid: 2014), 19.

[23] Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest*, 119.

[24] Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest*, 123.

> […] shared emphasis on shapes, colours, and even items of nourishment that reminded them of another aspect of reality […] Isidore perceives the Milky Way as a road, bright and white as milk, and believes this association to justify the origin of the phrase. Similarly, Sahagún understands that the origin of the word *citlalsunecuilli* [a constellation] is unravelled on the basis of the physical similitude between the stars and the shining S-shaped amaranth seed tortillas.[26]

It would seem that Sahagún's cataloguing of Nahuatl terms in order to understand the Aztec way of life and worldview was inspired by Isidore's approach to the origin of words.

If Isidore's *Etymologies* provided inspiration for the recording of everyday matters, such as attire and astrology, we can safely assume that he may have influenced the archiving of idolatry also. However, when it comes to this matter, Ríos Castaño suggests that Augustine had a greater influence on Sahagún's writing, with *The City of God* providing a particularly useful model.

> Augustine resolved to write *De civitate dei* after the sacking of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 […] Sahagún, reiterating Augustine's words, argues that the acquisition of knowledge on the pagan fictions and falsehoods is necessary to furnish indispensible 'armas' (weapons) for the Spiritual Conquest. […] He justifies the presence of Nahua gods, ceremonies, mythology, astrology, and auguries in [the] *Historia universal* as informed by Augustine's precept.[27]

Of course, to an extent, Augustine's greater influence upon Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* is understandable due to the fact that Augustine was writing at a time in which the threat of paganism was felt to be real, whereas the same concerns were not as pressing in Isidore's day. Indeed, González Salinero has explored this topic in Chapter 12 of this volume, explaining that "it does not seem that Isidore had to contend with many heretical movements during his time as head of the Sevillian episcopacy."[28] As Wolfram Drews explains:

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[25] Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest*, 125.

[26] Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest*, 126.

[27] Ríos Castaño, *Translation as Conquest*, 132.

> Isidore never discusses the existence of pagan inhabitants of the kingdom in any of his works, even though such people are attested until the second half of the seventh century. Yet the evidence for 'pagan' beliefs and practices was not substantial enough to promote their social representatives to the position of opponents of Visigothic society.[29]

Perhaps for the same reason, Isidore himself had been influenced by Augustine's take on paganism, as Katharine Nell Macfarlane explains: "The patristic writers upon whom [Isidore] drew, such as Lactantius and Augustine, were engaged in a struggle with paganism. As a result, the information they incorporated about the pagan gods was the foundation of tightly reasoned arguments ridiculing the gods and demonstrating the many inconsistencies in the pagan religion."[30] Therefore, it is likely that despite the encyclopaedic model offered by Isidore, Augustine was more helpful to Sahagún when it came to archiving idolatry.

Indeed, the prologue to book 3 of the *General History of Things of New Spain*, or *Florentine Codex*, entitled "The Origins of the gods" details Augustine's influence by way of explaining the decision to examine the origin myths of the Aztec deities.

> The divine Augustine did not consider it superfluous or vain to deal with the fictitious theology of the gentiles in the sixth Book of the City of God, because, as he says, the empty fictions and the falsehoods which the gentiles held regarding their false gods being known, true believers could easily make them understand that those were not gods nor could they provide anything that would be beneficial to a rational being.[31]

Sahagún believed that it was important to ensure that these beliefs were kept as a record for future reference, because although some believed that the fight against idolatry was being won, Sahagún stated that they should not underestimate the devil's power to return and deceive again, and as such it would be important for later missionaries to be armed with the information that he had recorded.

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[28] See Raúl González Salinero's chapter in this volume.

[29] Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2006), 255.

[30] Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods," 10.

[31] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of Things of New Spain*, book 3, prologue.

Despite the prevalence of Augustine, we can still find evidence that suggests Isidore provided inspiration for archiving idolatry in the "New World." Within his *Etymologies*, "Isidore's persistent response to pagan religious belief is euhemerism, the interpretation of pagan divinities and mythological figures as in fact human beings wrongly elevated as supernatural creatures by benighted heathen."[32] Indeed, as Macfarlane attests, Isidore argues that "the names by which the gods are known were actually those of the original mortals, and the pagan poets were responsible for contriving false etymologies for them in order to credit these 'gods' with powers that they never had."[33] Within the *Florentine Codex* we find a very similar treatment of the Aztec gods. Here, Sahagún provides explanations of pagan gods as men honoured in death, deified through mythology, in order to dismiss the Mexica gods as false. Later codices in which the Aztec religion is detailed also follow this model, providing origin myths for these gods in order to demonstrate their lack of divine status, and to present them as empty icons.

Let us begin by examining the treatment of the "Old World" pagan gods by Isidore in his *Etymologies*. Book 8 explores the "gods of the heathens," describing that "those who the pagans assert are gods are revealed to have once been humans, and after their death they began to be worshipped among their people because of the life and merit of each of them."[34] Isidore holds the pagan poets responsible for the elevation of these mortals to divine status by crediting them with false powers.[35] He explains that:

> there were certain powerful men, or founders of cities, for whom, after they had died, the people who had been fond of them made likenesses, so that they might have some solace from contemplating these images. However, at the urging of demons, this error gradually crept into later generations in such a way that those, whom people had honoured only for the memory of their name, their successors deemed as gods and worshipped. The use of likenesses arose when, out of grief for the dead, images or effigies were set up, as if in place of those who had been received into heaven

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[32] Barney et al., *The Etymologies*, 19.

[33] Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods," 9.

[34] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.1.

[35] Macfarlane, "Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods," 9.

> demons substituted themselves to be worshipped on earth, and persuaded, deceived and lost people to make sacrifices to themselves.[36]

We can find this sentiment echoed in book 1 of the *Florentine Codex*, which details the gods that the Aztecs worshipped. The first chapter of this first book identifies Huitzilipochtli (Hummingbird from the Left), who was considered to be the principal deity of the Aztecs. A god of war, Huitzilipochtli was unlike many of the other gods that the Mexica worshipped, as he was an exclusively Aztec deity who was not celebrated by other peoples, and was thought to have been adopted when the empire began to develop and prosper, less than two hundred years before it would be defeated by the Spanish conquistadors in 1521. Despite being the first god to be named in the codex, Sahagún describes him as "only a common man, just a man, a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver, a creator of war, a warlord."[37] This reflects Isidore's account of the pagan gods in the *Etymologies* as simply mortal men who were later deified when their stories were recorded as legend.

Similarly, Sahagún also discusses another god who was celebrated by the Aztecs but also by other native peoples, Quetzalcoatl (Plumed Serpent). Sahagún describes Quetzalcoatl as a king of the Toltecs, a people who were greatly admired by the Aztecs. Sahagún likens the esteem in which Quetzalcoatl was held to how the English view King Arthur.[38] Though worshipped as a god of wind, Sahagún writes that he was a necromancer and merely a man. He was thought to have travelled east, and a prophecy predicted that he would return. Sahagún explains that this confused the Aztecs when the Spaniards first arrived, as they believed that Cortés (having arrived from the east) was the returning Quetzalcoatl.[39]

In the prologue to book 7 of the *General History*, Sahagún shows sympathy towards the native Mexicans for their ignorance in worshipping false gods, as it is clear that the forefathers of the Christians, the gentiles (both Roman and Greek) made the same error.

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[36] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.4–5.

[37] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of Things of New Spain*, book 1 ("The Gods"), 1 (p. 1).

[38] It is worth noting that the English could have been included here, and aligned with the Aztecs, because of their recent break from Catholicism—and therefore orthodoxy—making them heretics and therefore putting them on a par with pagans.

[39] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of Things of New Spain*, introductory volume, prologue to book 8 (pp. 69–70). It is important to note that the idea that Cortés was mistaken for Quetzalcoatl and a reason why the Spaniards managed to defeat the Aztecs is one that has been debated by scholars for decades, but one that was firmly debunked by Camilla Townsend. For discussion, see: Camilla Townsend, "Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico," *American Historical Review* 108 (2003), 659–87.

> How foolish our forefathers, the gentiles, both Greek and Latin had been in the understanding of created things is very clear from their own writings. From them it is evident to us what ridiculous fables they invented of the sun, the moon, some of the stars, water, land, fire and of the other created things. And what is worse, they attributed divinity to them, and they worshipped them, made offerings, made sacrifices to them, and revered them as gods.
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> This originated in part from the blindness into which we fell through original sin and in part from the cunning, the long-standing hatred of our adversary, Satan, who always endeavours to incline us toward vile, ridiculous and very culpable things.
>
> So if this happened, as we know, among people of so much discretion and presumption, there is no reason for one to marvel that similar things are found among these people, so innocent and so easy to be deceived.[40]

Here we find a fundamental difference between Sahagún and Isidore, which would seem to negate the archbishop of Seville's influence upon the friar's thinking and perhaps also his method, as Isidore presents the Jews, and not the gentiles, as the precursors of the Christian message, albeit ignoring their own prophecies by refusing to accept Christ as the Messiah. Isidore certainly did not have a positive view of the Jews. For example, in his *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, Jews are described as ungrateful children, blind, hard of heart, and ignorant, and Judaism itself is presented exclusively as a negation of Christianity.[41] However, the Jews served a purpose in the development of Christian history, and Isidore considered Jewish feasts, laws, and customs as sacraments, which have to be regarded as signs pointing to Christian truth.[42]

Though Sahagún seems to have been influenced by Isidore in his methodology, there is a lack of clear evidence within the *Florentine Codex* of Isidore being used as an authority. Augustine instead takes a clearer role here, which makes sense given that Isidore was heavily influenced by Augustine himself. Nevertheless, we can trace a clear influence of the *Etymologies* in the later colonial period that provides more concrete evidence for Sahagún's reliance upon Isidore. In 1681, the Mexican-born creole Franciscan, Agustín de Vetancurt (1620–1700) accepted a commission to chronicle the activities of the order, resulting in his four-volume work, *Teatro Mexicano*, which was published between 1697 and 1698.[43] Along with detailing the activities of the Franciscans' missionary work, Vetancurt also chronicled the natural history of Mexico and Aztec culture, including native religion, and within *Teatro Mexicano* we find direct references to Isidore of Seville when Vetancurt discusses the false gods and idolatry of the native Mexicans. In Part 2 of the third treatise, Vetancurt details the gods of the Mexica with very specific reference to the pagan gods of Rome. In particular, Vetancurt labels Tezcalipoca as the Mexican version of Jupiter, and he cites information directly from Isidore's *Etymologies*, which explains that "The Romans have consecrated them [the planets] with the names of their gods, that is, Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Venus and Mercury."[44] Within his explanations, Vetancurt finds a Roman equivalent for each of the principal Aztec deities. So, for example, Mars, the Roman god of war, becomes Huitzilipochtli, the Aztec god of war; and Tlaloc, the god of water and rain, is Neptune. Throughout this discussion, Vetancurt cites Isidore's *Etymologies*, clearly demonstrating his influence in the categorizing of the gods of the "New World" pagans. It is likely that Vetancurt's *Teatro Mexicano* was based heavily on earlier sources that he had at his disposal, as it is a chronicle of the earlier missionaries, rather than an original work on the Aztecs themselves. As such, it would suggest that Isidore did influence the earlier works that Vetancurt had at his disposal, such as the *Florentine Codex*.

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[40] Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of Things of New Spain*, introductory volume, prologue to book 7.

[41] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 137.

[42] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 141.

4 Diego Durán

Another source that we can look to in order to assess Isidore's influence in this area is *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, which was completed in 1581 by the Dominican friar Diego Durán (1537–88). Durán was born in Seville and spent the majority of his life in Mexico, having come to New Spain as a small child. It is thought that he lived among the indigenous community of Texcoco, near Mexico City, for much of his life, and he was certainly well-versed in the culture of the natives, and fluent in the Nahuatl language.[45] Durán also worked at the Indian school at Santiago Tlatelolco, and it is thought that he may have collaborated with Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.[46] However, unlike Sahagún's encyclopaedic work, which was written with the use of indigenous informants, Durán's chronicle was created with the use of pre-Conquest codices. Contemporaries considered Durán to be a lot more sympathetic towards the Nahua than Sahagún; for example, Garibay states that "While Sahagún sees visions and demons, another writer, Durán—with a more profound knowledge, with more human sympathy—had listened to ancient traditions told by the natives, since childhood."[47] Ignacio Bernal explains that: "These natives were still permeated with the ancient culture at Texcoco [and that, as such] Durán writes that 'All these chants are filled with metaphors so obscure that very few persons can understand them unless their significance is studied and discussed.'"[48]

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[43] Stephanie Merrim, *The Spectacular City, Mexico and Colonial Hispanic Literary Culture* (Austin: 2012), 151.

[44] Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano* 2.3.7 (p. 70); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.71.21.

[45] Ignacio Bernal, "Introduction," in *The Aztecs: The History of the Indies of New Spain*, eds. and trans. Doris Heydon and Fernando Horcasitas (New York: 1964), xxiii-xxiv.

Despite the different methods that they employed in archiving idolatry, Sahagún and Durán had the same intention. They are known today as historians, or ethnographers, due to the richness of the sources they created and their invaluable contribution to our modern understanding of the Aztecs, but as missionaries, their jobs were to convert the Nahua to Christianity. Therefore, the main point of recording the history and culture of the indigenous Mexicans was to enable other friars to gain a greater understanding of those who were to be converted. Like Sahagún, it would seem that Durán was frustrated by the lack of progress that had been made so far, and in order to avoid the continued superficial methods that had been employed by those who came before, the aim of his work was to "destroy ancient idolatry and false religion," a task impossible to achieve "no matter how hard we work if we do not understand the old religion profoundly."[49]

One of the ways in which understanding of the natives differed between missionaries was in how the friars identified them—who exactly they believed the Nahua were, or perhaps more to the point, what they were. There was a great divide between those who believed that the Mexica/Aztecs were pagan and those who understood them to be of Jewish origin, as one of the lost tribes of Israel. Sahagún was of the former opinion and Durán was of the latter, and as such their approaches to the history and culture of the indigenous people differ quite a lot. At the very beginning of his chronicle Durán states: "Because of their nature we could almost affirm that they are Jews and Hebrew people, and

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[46] Bernal, "Introduction," xxiv.

[47] Bernal, "Introduction," xxx.

[48] Bernal, "Introduction," xxx.

[49] Bernal, "Introduction," xxi.

I believe their way of life, their ceremonies, their rites and superstitions, their omens, and false dealings, so related to and characteristic of those of the Jews."[50]

In order to support his theory, Durán presents similarities between Nahua cultural practices and Jewish rites. These included: making sacrifices in the mountains, under shaded trees, burning incense, and killing sons and daughters in sacrifice, all of which he connects to Hebrew ceremonies practised by the ten tribes of Israel.[51] Durán also emphasized this connection due to the long journey the Aztecs undertook in finding their homeland, explaining that

> They always profess to have come from strange lands and I have found this depicted in their ancient printed manuscripts, where they portray the great periods of hunger, thirst and nakedness, with innumerable afflictions that they suffered until they reached this country and settled in it.[52]

Durán also presents the origin myths of the Aztecs as mirroring Genesis. For example, he states that "an aged man from Cholula, about a hundred years old, began to describe their origins to me [...] 'In the beginning,' said this ancient man, 'before light or sun had been created, this world lay in darkness and shadows and was void of every created thing.'"[53]

Durán also relates a part of the Aztec origin myth that echoes the building of the tower of Babel and God's reaction to this act in having mankind dispersed in all directions. He describes the similarities between these accounts passed down through the generations to that which is found in Genesis as proof that "these natives belong [...] to the lineage of the chosen people of God for who He worked great marvels."[54] Durán also finds parallels within the story of Moses, stating that

> The Indians have traditions regarding a great man who, after suffering many afflictions and persecutions on the part of his countrymen, gathered the multitude of his followers and persuaded them to flee from that persecution to a land where they could live in peace. Having made himself the leader of those people, he went to the seashore and moved the

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[50] Diego Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 3.

[51] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 1, 6.

[52] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 1, 3.

[53] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 1, 5.

[54] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 1, 5.

> water with a rod that he carried in his hand. Then the sea opened and he and his followers went through.[55]

Within Durán's discussion of Aztec origin myths, his portrayal also differs from Sahagún's account by presenting a people with one principal god (Huitzilipochtli), thereby further emphasizing similarities to the Hebrews and distancing them from the gentiles. Despite stressing their reliance upon one god, Durán does discuss seven others that the Aztecs "carried," whom he explains "represented the seven caves out of which the seven tribes had emerged" in order to seek the "Promised Land."[56] In a similar fashion to Sahagún, however, Durán seems to dismiss the status of these seven gods as true deities, claiming that they "had their titles to indicate godly superiority, as today's titles denote noblemen."[57] The one principal god of the Aztecs (Huitzilipochtli) is denigrated by Durán as a "devil," and his account of the origin myth also includes the story of "Huitzilhuitl" (Hummingbird Feather), which provides an account of this deified man's mortal life. This further dismisses the god, continuing the strategy of Isidore and Sahagún. Nevertheless, although this narrative would suggest that the seven lesser gods were not divine, and therefore just men as proposed by Sahagún and Isidore, Durán may also have been reinforcing the Aztecs' status as descendants of the Hebrews.

According to John Leddy Phelan, Durán's interpretation belongs to a current in 16th-century historiography which revolved around the conviction that the conquest was a divine punishment for the alleged sins that the indigenous people had committed.[58] This would also seem to be the idea behind other chronicles, such as those by Motolinía and Torquemada (1562–1624). Fray Toribio de Benevente Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, which he started around 1536, lists the calamities that had befallen the Nahua since the arrival of the Spaniards, and he does so by presenting them as ten plagues reminiscent of the Ten Plagues of Egypt in Exodus. Among these "plagues" are the smallpox epidemic, the heavy tributes imposed upon the natives, and slave labour. These ideas are reminiscent of Isidore's portrayal of the history of the Jews prior to the birth of Christ in his *Greater Chronicle*, which, as Jamie Wood explains, is one of consistent and widespread misfortune.[59] In contrast to

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[55] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 1, 4.

[56] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 3, 15.

[57] Durán, *History of the Indies of New Spain* 3, 14–15.

[58] John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: 1970), 26.

[59] Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2012), 203.

Durán, however, Motolinía is of the opinion that the Nahua were pagan, and his use of the ten plagues within the context of his work seems to imply a comparison between the Aztecs and the ancient Egyptians, another great pagan civilization that converted to Christianity.

5 Apocalyptic Thought

These differing ideas about conversion presented by the friars were also related to contemporary ideas on the Apocalypse. The Franciscan Gerónimo de Mendieta (1526–1604) was key to this. He wrote an exegesis of Luke 14 in which a host sent out three invitations to supper. According to Mendieta, the host is Christ and the supper that is being prepared is that of eternal happiness in heaven. The three invitations symbolize the different methods of converting the people of the three principal faiths still on the margins of Christianity: the Jews, the Muslims, and the gentiles, and the hour of the supper is the end of the world.[60] The first invitation was for the Jews, who should only need to have the "Truth of the Word" announced to them, as they were closest in nature to the Christians; the second was for the Muslims, who required more persuasion than the Jews through constant examples of correct living and good works. The hardest task was the conversion of the gentiles, as, unlike the Jews and Muslims, they had no prior knowledge of the Scriptures at all. These should be guided in a much more forceful manner, though there was little agreement regarding what this meant exactly. For example, the famous Dominican campaigner for indigenous rights, Las Casas (1484–1566), advocated an apostolic model of preaching and rational persuasion. Others, however, such as Las Casas's main opponent, Sepúlveda (1494–1573), stated that the third invitation corresponded to a time after Constantine (306–37) when the Church had gained a secular arm and could therefore coerce the gentiles into conversion.[61] Mendieta was in favour of a moderate use of coercion, if necessary, which was typical of many Franciscans, such as Motolinía, whereas in general the Dominicans were in favour of minimizing the use of force.[62]

It is possible that Isidore's views in this area, especially those regarding the conversion of the Jews, may have been influential. The first book of Isidore's *De*

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[60] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 7. For discussion see also: Jonathan Boyarin, *The Unconverted Self: Jews, Indians, and the Identity of Christian Europe* (Chicago: 2009), 49–50.

[61] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 8–9.

[62] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 10.

fide catholica contra Iudaeos (*liber Ysidori contra Iudeos*) was printed in two editions prior to 1500, which meant that, according to Wolfram Drews, the anti-Jewish stereotypes reproduced by Isidore had an impact through the entire Middle Ages until the early modern period.[63] Drews attests that "an analysis of the argument in *de fide catholica* leads to the conclusion that the task of the church (and that of a Christian ruler) [...] is limited to preaching the gospel among the Christian inhabitants of the kingdom."[64] Isidore describes a rational way to achieve faith by means of examples; force is said to be counterproductive.[65] Aside from the views presented in *de fide catholica*, Isidore was also openly critical of the forced baptisms of Jews during the reign of Sisebut, an attitude expressed in canon 57 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which met in 633 under Isidore's presidency.[66] Free will is presented as crucially important here, and conversion is conceptualized as a mental act: as a voluntary answer of man to the Grace of God calling upon him.[67] As such, reason is advocated, rather than force, and this could have influenced the views of Las Casas.[68] Isidore's rejection of forced conversion could, however, merely reflect the fact that he was writing about events contemporary to him. Drews argues that Isidore believed that the conversion of the Jews would only occur at the end of times, and as such, attempts to convert the Jews in the present were not expected to succeed.[69] However, this is not to suggest that an attempt to convert the Jews would always be futile.

According to Apocalypse 7:4–9, the lost tribes of Israel were to reappear on the day of the Last Judgement. One of the most persistent ideas in apocalyptic literature was the belief that the Jews would be converted as the end of the world neared.[70] Mendieta suggested that the idea of a promised saviour—the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl—was of Hebraic origin, and that Quetzalcoatl was actually the Messiah. José de Acosta's 1590 *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, however, characterized the Jewish-Indian hypothesis as frivolous conjecture.

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[63] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 4.

[64] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 228.

[65] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 233.

[66] For discussion, see Raúl González Salinero's chapter in this volume.

[67] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 221–22.

[68] More concrete evidence for Isidore's influence on Las Casas can be found in discussions that he had with the Council of the Indies, in which Las Casas uses Isidore to verify his own reliability as a source by explaining that, according to Isidore's *Etymologiae*, only those who were eyewitnesses would be trusted to write history. See Anthony Pagden, "Introduction," in *Bartolomé de las Casas, A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, ed. and trans. Nigel Griffin (London: 1992), xxxvi-xxxvii.

[69] Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, 150.

[70] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 24.

The negative evidence seemed overwhelming to him. The Jews had an alphabet, which the American peoples lacked. The Jews, he claimed, were avaricious, the "Indians" were not. Circumcision was not practised among the gentiles of the "New World."[71] This view was, in turn, negated by those who did not consider the natives to be gentiles, and by Diego de Landa (1524–79) in particular, whose *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*, written around 1566, was a study of the Maya, a people who certainly did have an alphabet, albeit one of a very different kind. Landa also recorded that the Maya practised circumcision. Mendieta attempted to answer Acosta by suggesting that the "Indians" could have forgotten the alphabet, the practice of circumcision, and the "avarice" of their ancestors, and Mendieta spared no pains in developing the parallel between Moses and Cortés.[72] According to Mendieta, the fact that Cortés was able to overthrow the powerful Aztec state with a mere handful of Spaniards revealed that he was leading a divine enterprise.[73]

Isidore of Seville's writings on the Apocalypse were certainly influential and may well have had a bearing upon conversion in the "New World." One of the key ideas that Isidore presented was his division of human history into six ages. His chronicles divided history accordingly, and therefore served to emphasize that everything that had happened since the Incarnation belonged to the Sixth Age.[74] According to Palmer, "the greatest consequence of this [...] was that time was no longer an Augustinian 'mystery,' [...Time] was finite, enclosed and measurable."[75] One of the best documented of all pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican myths is the story of the creation and destruction of a succession of world periods or ages. This is discussed by the likes of Andrés de Olmos (1485–1571), Bernardino de Sahagún, Diego Durán, Toribio de Motolinía, Gerónimo de Mendieta, and other 16th-century chroniclers, all of whom describe the Aztec belief in the creation and destruction of the world through several ages or "Suns."[76] The sources generally agree that the Aztecs believed that the world had passed through four cosmic ages before their time and that they were living in a fifth. They also concur that each of these great cosmic periods ended with a universal cataclysm in which the inhabitants of the ages were either destroyed or transformed into some form of animal or aquatic life.[77] Wayne Elzey explains that it was claimed that the four previous Suns, were

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[71] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 25.

[72] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 25–26.

[73] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 30. It is worth noting that this of course conveniently ignored the help that Cortés received from thousands of native auxiliaries.

[74] James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 2014), 89.

[75] Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 90.

[76] Wayne Elzey, "The Nahua Myth of the Suns: History and Cosmology in Pre-Hispanic Mexican," *Numen* 23 (1976), 114.

> 'imperfect worlds,' each of which had to be destroyed before the 'present age as the fifth and perfect creation can come into being.' The succession of the ages expresses 'the idea that the worlds which were continually being created were gradually nearing perfection,' […] The fifth Sun is 'the synthesis of progress achieved in the earlier ages.' It is the 'final' age of the world because it represents the culmination and perfection of human culture and history.[78]

Elzey finds it striking that all sources of the myth are silent on the possibility of any future Suns following the fifth age, and he claims that a sixth Sun was inconceivable.[79] It may have been inconceivable to the Aztecs, but we must remember that the missionaries who documented these beliefs did so through the lens of their own understanding of who the Nahua were, all the while attempting to fit this culture into their European worldview. It is possible, therefore, that the destruction of the fifth sun equated the demise of the Aztec religion. This could suggest the influence of Isidore regarding the idea that mankind was living in the final (sixth) age, in which the end of the world would come.

According to West, the most important apocalyptic writer and exegete of prophecy in the Middle Ages was the 12th-century Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore (*c.*1135–1202), whose significant contribution to the Western intellectual tradition was to develop a persuasive outline of how the history of mankind would evolve through three successive stages, culminating in an age of the Holy Spirit.[80]

> The first two ages were guided by the Father and the Son, respectively. The Third Age of history, that of the Holy Spirit, he foresaw as a period of peace and harmony in which a renewed church would encompass a reformed people devoted to the contemplative life. […] The 'New Spiritual Men' who would convert the world. […] Very early in their history,

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[77] Elzey, "The Nahua Myth of the Suns," 117–18.
[78] Elzey, "The Nahua Myth of the Suns," 120.
[79] Elzey, "The Nahua Myth of the Suns," 130.
[80] West, "Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission," 294.

> some Franciscans believed themselves to be that evangelical order of the third age.[81]

This would appear to differ quite significantly from Isidore's idea of six ages, and perhaps negate his influence. However, according to Wood: "elsewhere in his writings Isidore refers to a three-fold division of history."[82] In the *Etymologies* Isidore states that: "the first age is before the Mosaic law, the second under the law, the third under grace [… It is because] of these three ages of the world that the resurrection of the Lord is on the third day."[83] This is shown by Wood to be reiterated in Isidore's commentary on Genesis: "that three day period […] signifies the three ages of the world. […] the third is the day of grace. In which third age, just like after the three day period, the sacrament of the sacrifice of Christ is completed."[84]

Isidore seems to have taken this idea of the three ages from Augustine, and as such, it is unlikely that he influenced Fiore's ideas in this area directly, if at all. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that some of Isidore's ideas on the Apocalypse may have trickled down to Franciscans involved in the Spiritual Conquest of Mexico via the ideas of Joachim of Fiore, through the writings of Beatus of Liébana (*c.*730–*c.*800). According to Williams, Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* included a map of the world that was prompted by his inclusion of *De Apostolis* from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, along with "a short portion of […] *De ortu et obitu patrum* sometimes attributed to Isidore, in which the Apostle James' mission was to convert Hispania."[85] In turn, according to Poole, Joachim of Fiore uses calculations that echo those of Beatus in order to explain the seven seals that are broken during the events of the Apocalypse.[86] Further to this, Poole explains that due to the crusading nature of the Reconquista (*c.*718/722–1492), "there developed in Spain a belief that there would exist at some point in the near future a 'Last World Emperor' who would turn his earthly empire over to God in Jerusalem."[87] This tradition was influenced by Joachimite ideas and prophecies attributed to Isidore.[88] As such, it is possible that in some respects Isidore may have influenced the Franciscans via Beatus and then Fiore, or directly through Fiore.

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[81] West, "Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission," 294.

[82] Wood, *Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain*, 123.

[83] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.17.16.

[84] Wood, *Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain*, 123.

[85] John Williams, *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain: Catalogue of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse and Study of the Geneva Beatus*, ed. Therese Martin (Amsterdam: 2017), 23.

[86] Kevin R. Poole, "Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam," in *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan (Jefferson: 2009), 47–66, 58.

[87] Poole, "Beatus of Liébana," 56.

6 Conclusion

A major obstacle to assessing Isidore's reception, and something that could also have proved a barrier to Isidore's influence, was the way in which the missionary works themselves were treated by contemporaries. Many of them were considered inappropriate, or even potentially dangerous, due to the detailed discussion of idolatry they contained, meaning that their fate was to remain unpublished until the 19th or even 20th century, thereby minimizing their reach. For example, as Parry explains:

> The attitude of the Council of the Indies, and of Spanish high officialdom in general, towards Indian studies was always ambiguous. It varied from decade to decade, with the political situation and with the personality of the president of the Council for the time being. There were periods of blanket prohibition, when anyone known to be engaged in such studies might have his papers seized. This happened to Sahagún, who lost the fruit of twenty years' work.[89]

Mendieta suffered a similar fate, as he was considered to be politically subversive due to his outright hostility to Philip II (1527–98), whose policy of "Hispanicization" of the "Indians" was aimed at restricting the friars' power and influence in the "New World." Mendieta reiterated a conviction shared by most of the friars: that Christianity should be superimposed upon the old pagan social structure, all of which should be carefully preserved provided it did not clash directly with the new religion.[90] Mendieta suspected that Spain's failure to crush the heretics in Europe and to convert the Chinese were hints that God was turning against his chosen people of the New Testament. Spain's inhumanity toward the "Indians" was making her an unworthy instrument of God's will.[91] According to Mendieta, Philip's reign was an apocalyptical catastrophe.

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[88] Poole, "Beatus of Liébana," 56.

[89] J.H. Parry, "Juan de Tovar and the History of the Indians," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 121 (1977), 317.

[90] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 87–89.

[91] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 107.

The Spanish government responded by banishing Mendieta's works, and the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* was not published until 1870.[92]

We can see from the evidence presented in this chapter that there is a strong likelihood that Isidore's *Etymologies* were influential in the creation of encyclopaedias in the "New World" for the purpose of extinguishing the idolatrous practices of the natives. However, in some cases it would seem that Augustine's *City of God* was preferred as a model for those who believed the Nahua to be pagans. Nevertheless, despite the importance of Augustine in the discussion of pagan practices, many of the "New World" "ethnographers" actually viewed the Aztecs as having been descended from the Jews, and in this case Isidore's ideas on the conversion of the Jews and his Apocalyptic writings may have been particularly helpful in the fight against idolatry in the "New World." It is clear that Isidore's writings were referenced and directly quoted by influential figures, such as Columbus, Las Casas, and Vetancurt. However, attempting to trace Isidore's influence is not straightforward, and it would appear that at times this passed through one or even two later writers first, such as Beatus of Liébana and Joachim of Fiore, which makes the task more difficult, and leads to rather speculative conclusions. It is also fair to say that the extent of Isidore's influence in the "New World," especially regarding archiving idolatry, has been limited by the treatment of works, such as Sahagún's *Florentine Codex*, which were not published until the 19th century or later. Counter-Reformation anxieties about the spread of heresy and continuation of idolatry arguably frustrated the conversion process. Works designed to provide the missionaries with the information they needed to more effectively eradicate idolatry, by providing a deeper understanding of native practices, were deemed inappropriate or dangerous and kept out of circulation. The loss of these works, and ultimately the methodology provided by Isidore for archiving idolatry, ultimately led to a more superficial and difficult conversion of the indigenous people, the success of which is still questionable today in some parts of rural Mexico. Tracing Isidore's influence in the process of archiving idolatry is a difficult task, but his influence is definitely identifiable and something that would merit further examination.

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[92] Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, 106.

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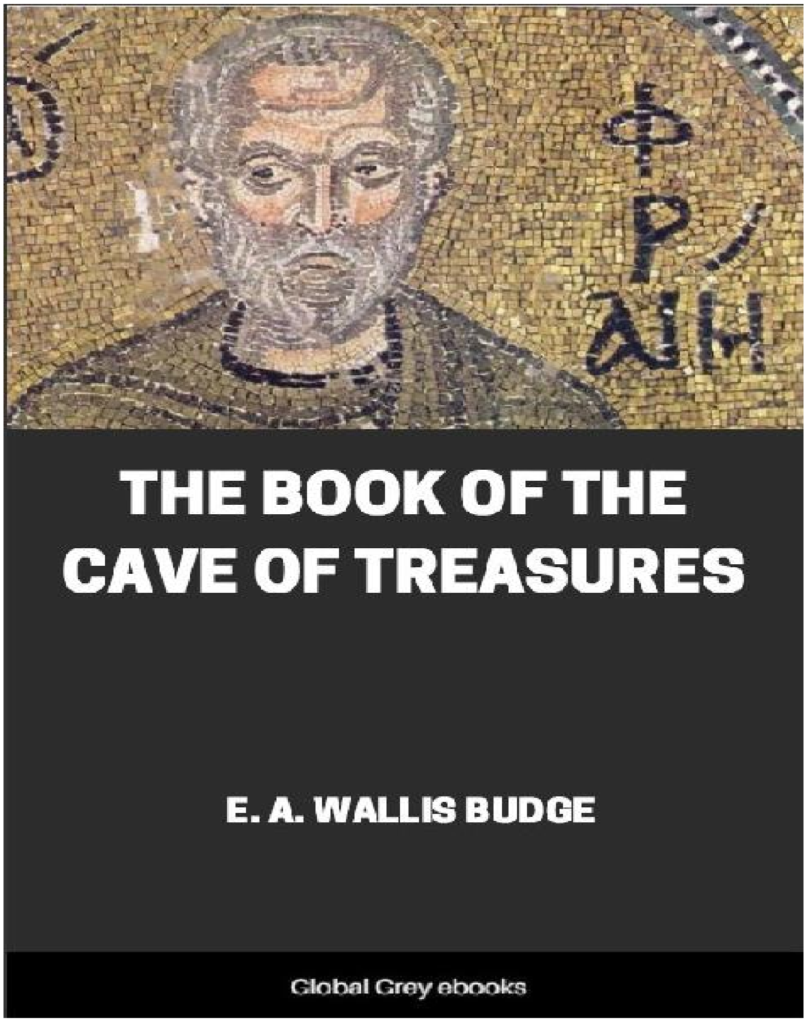
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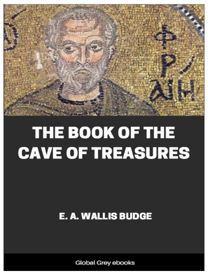
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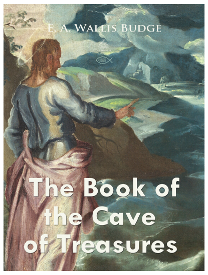
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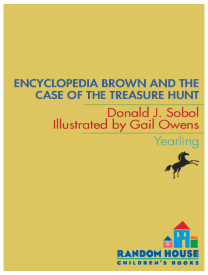
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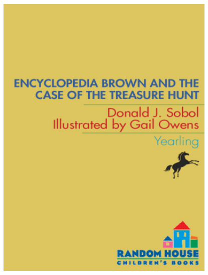
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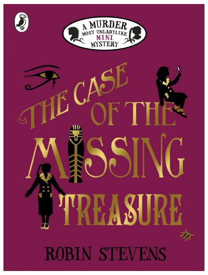
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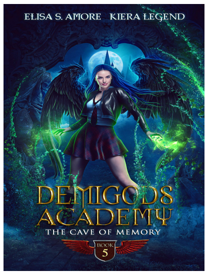
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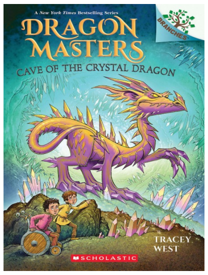
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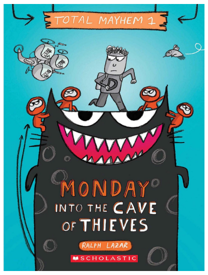
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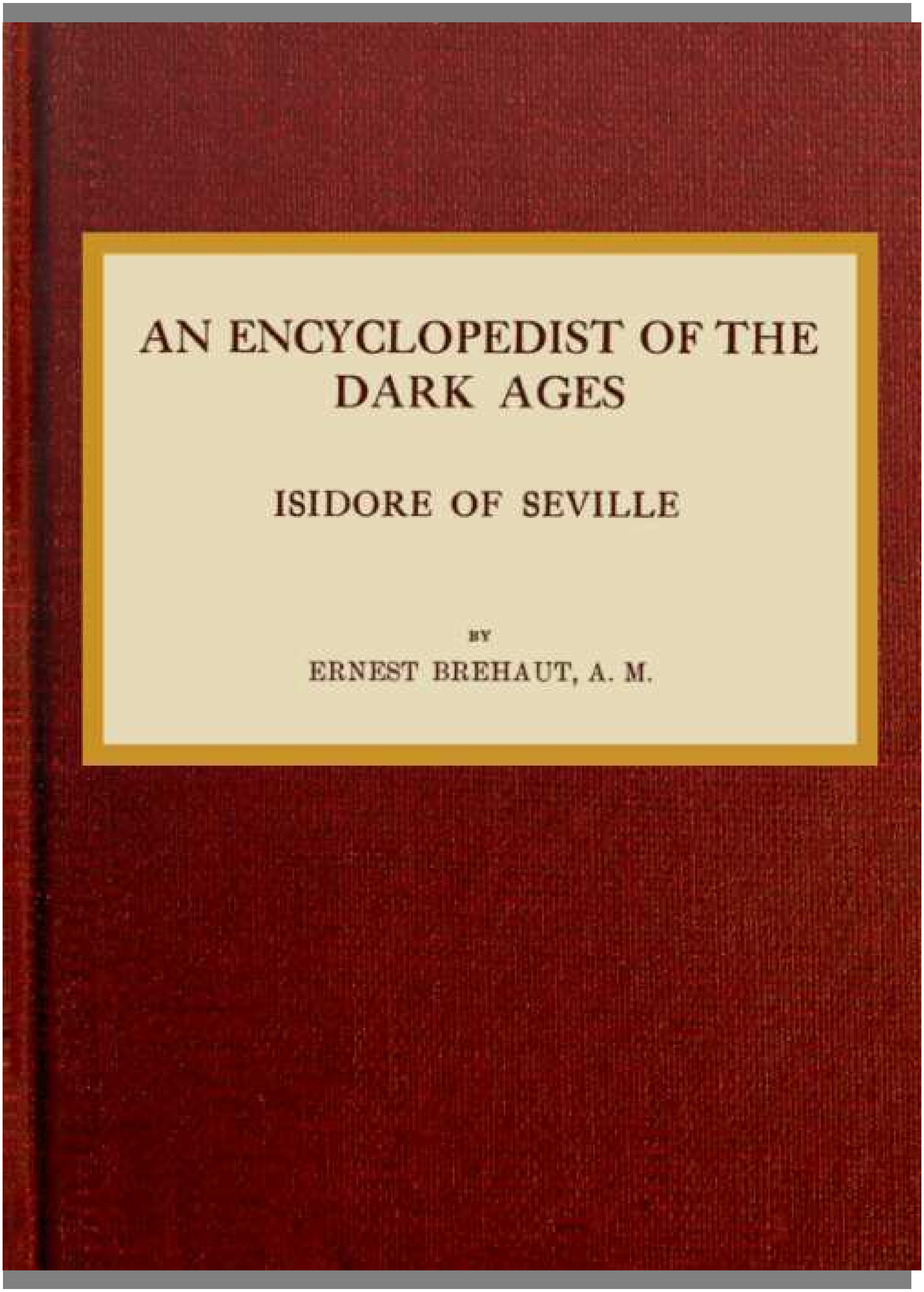

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ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

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ERNEST BREHAUT, A. M.

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AN ENCYCLOPEDIST OF THE DARK AGES

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

In saeculorum fine doctissimus
(*Ex concilio Toletano viii, cap. 2*)

BY
ERNEST BREHAUT, A. M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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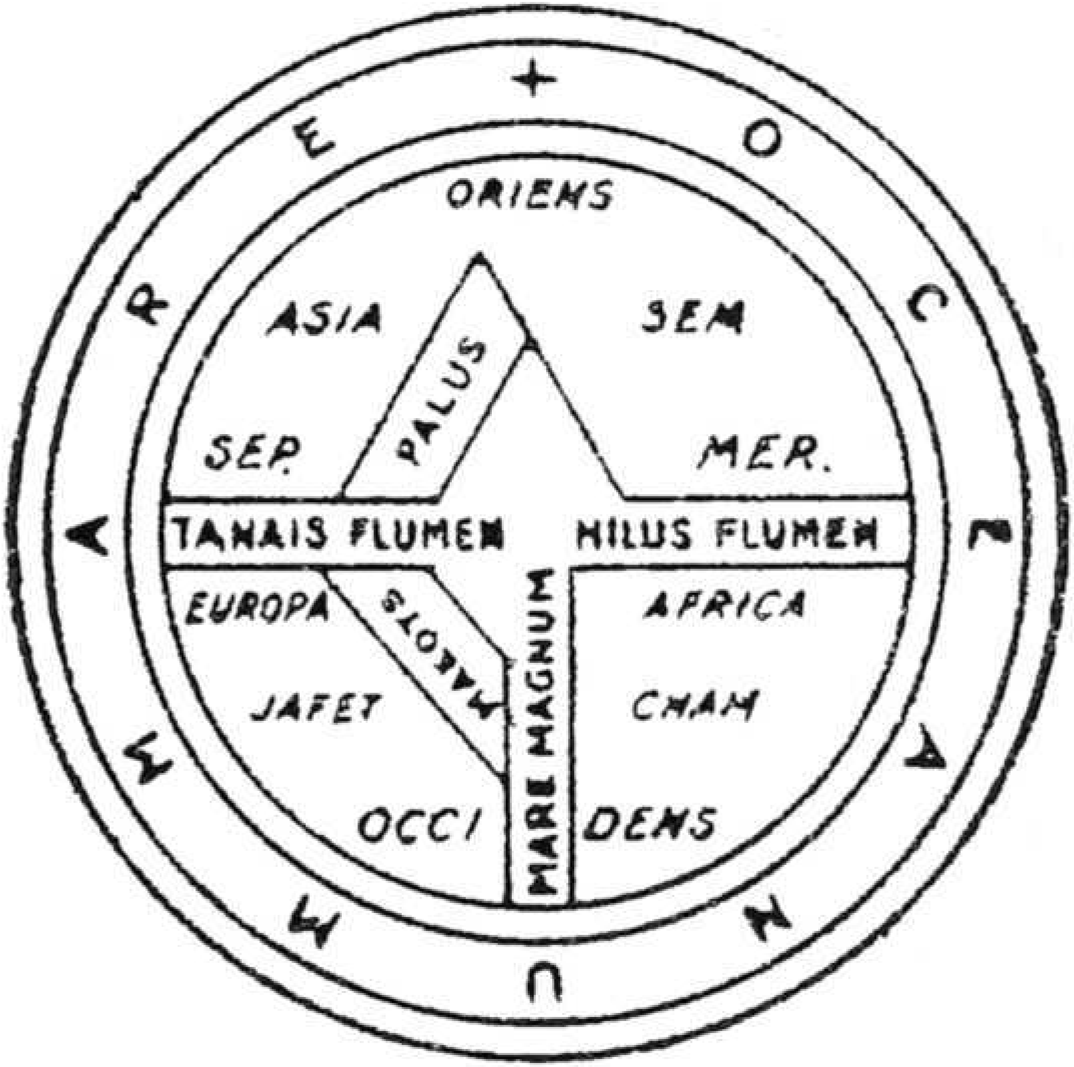
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PREFACE

THE writer of the following pages undertook, at the suggestion of Professor James Harvey Robinson, to translate passages from Isidore's *Etymologies* which should serve to illustrate the intellectual condition of the dark ages. It soon became evident that a brief introduction to the more important subjects treated by Isidore would be necessary, in order to give the reader an idea of the development of these subjects at the time at which he wrote. Finally it seemed worth while to sum up in a general introduction the results of this examination of the *Etymologies* and of the collateral study of Isidore's other writings which it involved.

For many reasons the task of translating from the *Etymologies* has been a difficult one. There is no modern critical edition of the work to afford a reasonable certainty as to the text; the Latin, while far superior to the degenerate language of Gregory of Tours, is nevertheless corrupt; the treatment is often brief to the point of obscurity; the terminology of ancient science employed by Isidore is often used without a due appreciation of its meaning. However, the greatest difficulty in translating has arisen from the fact that the work is chiefly a long succession of word derivations which usually defy any attempt to render them into English.

In spite of these difficulties the study has been one of great interest. Isidore was, as Montalambert calls him, *le dernier savant du monde ancien*, as well as the first Christian encyclopaedist. His writings, therefore, while of no importance in themselves, become important as a phenomenon in the history of European thought. His resort to ancient science instead of to philosophy or to poetry is suggestive, as is also the wide variety of his ‘sciences’ and the attenuated condition in which they appear. Of especial interest is Isidore’s state of mind, which in many ways is the reverse of that of the modern thinker.

It is perhaps worth while to remark that the writer has had in mind throughout the general aspects of the intellectual development of Isidore’s time: he has not attempted to comment on the technical details—whether accurately given by Isidore or not—of the many ‘sciences’ that appear in the *Etymologies*. The student of the history of music, for example, or of medicine as a technical subject, will of course go to the sources.

The writer is under the greatest obligation to Professors James Harvey Robinson and James Thomson Shotwell for assistance and advice, as well as for the illuminating interpretation of the medieval period given in their lectures. He is also indebted to Mr. Henry O. Taylor and Professors William A. Dunning and Munroe Smith for reading portions of the manuscript.

E. B.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1912.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

ISIDORE'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

THE development of European thought as we know it from the dawn of history down to the Dark Ages is marked by the successive secularization and de-secularization of knowledge.[1] From the beginning Greek secular science can be seen painfully disengaging itself from superstition. For some centuries it succeeded in maintaining its separate existence and made wonderful advances; then it was obliged to give way before a new and stronger set of superstitions which may be roughly called Oriental. In the following centuries all those branches of thought which had separated themselves from superstition again returned completely to its cover; knowledge was completely de-secularized, the final influence in this process being the victory of Neoplatonized Christianity.[2] The sciences disappeared as living realities, their names and a few lifeless and scattered fragments being all that remained. They did not reappear as realities until the medieval period ended.

This process of de-secularization was marked by two leading characteristics; on the one hand, by the loss of that contact with physical reality through systematic observation which alone had given life to Greek natural science, and on the other, by a concentration of attention upon what were believed to be the superior realities of the spiritual world. The consideration of these latter became so intense, so detailed and systematic, that there was little energy left among thinking men for anything else.

At the point where this de-secularizing process was complete, at the opening of the seventh century, lived the Spanish bishop and scholar, Isidore of Seville. His many writings, and especially his great encyclopedia, the *Etymologies*, are among the most important sources for the history of intellectual culture in the early middle ages, since in them are gathered together and summed up all such dead remnants of secular learning as had not been absolutely rejected by the superstition of his own and earlier ages; they furnish, so to speak, a cross-section of the debris of scientific thought at the point where it is most artificial and unreal.

The résumé that Isidore offers is strikingly complete. In this respect he surpasses all the writers of his own and immediately preceding periods, his scope being much more general than that of his nearest contemporaries, Boethius and Cassiodorus. He goes back here to the tradition of the encyclopedists of the Roman world, Varro, Verrius Flaccus, Pliny, and Suetonius, by the last of whom he is believed to have been especially influenced. Few writers of any period cover the intellectual interests of their time so completely. To understand Isidore’s mental world is nearly to reach the limits of the knowledge of his time.[3]

The influence which he exerted upon the following centuries was very great. His organization of the field of secular science, although it amounted to no more than the laying out of a corpse, was that chiefly accepted throughout the early medieval period. The innumerable references to him by later writers,[4] the many remaining manuscripts,[5] and the successive editions of his works[6] after the invention of printing, indicate the great rôle he played.[7] From the modern point of view the real benefit he conferred upon succeeding centuries was that in his encyclopaedic writings he presented to the intelligent the fact that there had been and might be such a thing as secular science; while the blunders in which he was continually involved, and the shallowness of his thinking, offered a perpetual challenge to the critical power of all who read him. There was contained in his writings also, as we shall see, the embryo of something positive and progressive, namely, the organization of educational subjects that was to appear definitely in the medieval university and dominate education almost to the present day.

For a fuller understanding of Isidore's historical setting some attention must be given to the country in which he lived. Spanish culture in the early middle ages seems to have been relatively superior. It is well known that the country had been thoroughly Romanized. How complete the process had been may be judged from the list of men of Spanish birth who had won distinction in the wider world of the empire; it includes the two Senecas, Lucan, Quintilian, Martial, Hyginus, Pomponius Mela, Columella, Orosius, and the two emperors, Trajan and Hadrian. In fact Spain had lost its individuality and had become an integral part of the Roman world, little inferior in its culture even to Italy itself; and the close of Roman rule found the people of Spain speaking the Latin language, reading the Latin literature, and habituated to Roman institutions and modes of thought.

Moreover the continuity of this ancient culture had been perhaps less rudely disturbed in Spain than elsewhere by the shock of the barbaric invasions. Here its geographical situation stood the country in good stead; the barbarian frontier was far away and the chances were that barbarians destined by fortune to enter Spain would first spend much time in aimless wandering within the empire, with consequent loss of numbers and some lessening of savagery. Such, at least, was the case with the Visigoths, who alone of the barbarians proved a permanent factor in the country's development. They were first admitted to the empire in 376, and must have passed largely into the second generation before they began to penetrate into Spain, while the real conquest by them did not begin until much later. “At the time of their appearance as a governing aristocracy in Spain” they “had become by long contact with the Romans to all intents and purposes a civilized people.”[8] They were thus in a position to coalesce with the Romanized natives, and that this was largely brought to pass is shown by the conversion of the Arian Goths to orthodoxy, the removal of the ban of intermarriage between the two races, the use of Latin in all official documents, and finally by the establishment of a common law for both peoples. The “sixty-one correct hexameters” of the Visigothic king Sisebutus (612–620),[9] compared, for instance, with the absolutely hopeless attempts of Charlemagne two centuries later to learn the art of tracing letters,[10] show plainly that Spanish culture had not sunk to the level of that of other parts of the western empire.[11]

In this cultural struggle which had taken place between the native population and their Visigothic rulers the contest between orthodox Christianity and Arianism had been of prime importance, and its settlement of the utmost significance. Since the Spaniards upheld the orthodox faith and the Visigoths were Arians, the victory of orthodoxy was a victory of the native element over the newcomers. By this victory, therefore, a position of predominance unusual for the time was given to the Spanish church organization, and the bishops, the leaders of the church in the struggle, became the most powerful men in the nation. Their power was further strengthened by the weakening of the secular power when the Visigothic royal line became extinct and it proved impossible to secure a successor to it from among the families of the turbulent nobility. From the conversion of the Visigoths in 587 to the invasion of the Saracens, Spain was a country dominated by bishops.[12]

Of Isidore’s life surprisingly little is known, considering the bulk and importance of his writings and his later fame.[13] All that can be ascertained of his family is that it belonged originally to Cartagena, that it was of the orthodox religion, and that the names of its members are Roman.[14] It is extremely probable that it belonged to the Hispano-Roman element of the population. That Isidore and his two brothers were bishops may be taken to show that of whatever origin the family was, it was one of power and influence.

A word may be said of his elder brother, Leander, who was a man of perhaps greater force than Isidore himself. Born at Cartagena, he became a monk, and later, bishop of Seville. He was the chief leader of the orthodox party in its struggle against "the Arian insanity", and in the heat of the conflict was obliged to absent himself from Spain for a time. He visited Constantinople and there became the friend of Gregory the Great.[15] Returning to Spain, we find him, under king Reccared in 587, presiding over the council of Toledo, at which the Visigothic kingdom turned formally from Arianism. Leander was a man of action rather than a writer, but according to Isidore he engaged in controversy with the heretical party, "overwhelming the Arian impiety with a vehement pen and revealing its wickedness". He wrote also a little book, which we still have, "On the training of nuns and contempt for the world",[16] and contributed music and prayers to the church service. There seems to be no doubt that Leander was the foremost churchman of his time in Spain. The prestige of his name must have made it easier for his successor, Isidore, to devote himself to the intellectual rather than to the administrative leadership of the church.[17]

As to Isidore's early years our only authentic information is that his parents died while he was still young, and left him in the care of Leander. It is very probable, however, that he looked forward from the beginning to the clerical life which his brothers had chosen and that he therefore went through the educational routine as laid down for churchmen, which was practically the only formal education of the time. The best proof of this lies in the fact that Isidore wrote text-books of the liberal arts—a task that would have been well-nigh impossible to one who had not been drilled in them in his youth.[18]

Isidore succeeded his brother Leander in the bishopric of Seville probably in the year 600.[19] His few remaining letters, written in the stilted religious phraseology of the day, give the impression that he was much consulted on ecclesiastical and political matters, and that he held a position of primacy among the Spanish bishops; but on the whole they contain remarkably little that is of personal interest. From the records of the councils we learn that he presided at the second council of Seville in 619, and probably also at the fourth of Toledo in 633.[20] According to a contemporary account written by a cleric named Redemptus, he died in April of 636. No other details of importance are known about his life. His career must have been a placid and uneventful one, and evidently much of his time was spent on his voluminous writings, which were the means by which he won his great ascendancy over the minds of his contemporaries.[21]

Perhaps the most reliable account of the impression which Isidore made on the men of his own time is given in the somewhat ponderous *Introduction* to his works furnished by his friend and correspondent, Braulio, bishop of Saragossa:[22]

> Isidore, a man of great distinction, bishop of the church of Seville, successor and brother of bishop Leander, flourished from the time of Emperor Maurice and King Reccared. In him antiquity reasserted itself—or rather, our time laid in him a picture of the wisdom of antiquity: a man practiced in every form of speech, he adapted himself in the quality of his words to the ignorant and the learned, and was distinguished for unequalled eloquence when there was fit opportunity.[23] Furthermore, the intelligent reader will be able to understand easily from his diversified studies and the works he has completed, how great was his wisdom.... God raised him up in recent times after the many reverses of Spain (I suppose to revive the works of the ancients that we might not always grow duller from boorish rusticity), and set him as a sort of support. And with good right do we apply to him the famous words of the philosopher:[24] "While we were strangers in our own city, and were, so to speak, sojourners who had lost our way, your books brought us home, as it were, so that we could at last recognize who and where we were. You have discussed the antiquity of our fatherland, the orderly arrangement of chronology, the laws of sacrifices and of priests, the discipline of the home and the state, the situation of regions and places, the names, kinds, functions and causes of all things human and divine."

From this characterization, as well as from the very brief life by another contemporary, Bishop Ildephonsus of Toledo, it is evident that Isidore impressed his own age chiefly as a writer and man of learning. Both Braulio and Ildephonsus give lists of his works. That of the former, who was Isidore's pupil and correspondent, is the fuller, and may be regarded as the more reliable. With its running comment on the content of each title, it is as follows:

> I have noted the following among those works [of Isidore] that have come to my knowledge. He wrote the *Differentiae*, in two books, in which he subtly distinguished in meaning what was confused in usage; the *Proœmia*, in one book, in which he stated briefly what each book of the Holy Scriptures contains; the *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, in one book, in which he describes with sententious brevity the deeds of the Fathers, their worth as well, and their death and burial; the *Officia*, in two books, addressed to his brother Fulgentius, bishop of Astigi, in which he described in his own words, following the authority of the Fathers, why each and every thing is done in the church of God; the *Synonyma*, in two books, in which Reason appears and comforts the Soul, and arouses in it the hope of obtaining pardon; the *De Natura Rerum*, in one book, addressed to King Sisebut, in which he cleared up certain obscurities about the elements by studying the works of the church Fathers as well as those of the philosophers; the *De Numeris*, in one book, in which he touched on the science of arithmetic, on account of the numbers found in the Scriptures; the *De Nominibus Legis et Evangeliorum*, in one book, in which he revealed what the names of persons [in the Bible] signify mystically; the *De Haeresibus*, in one book, in which, following the example of the Fathers, he collected scattered items with what brevity he could; the *Sententiae*, in three books, which he adorned with passages from the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory; the *Chronica*, in one book, from the beginning of the world to his own time, put together with great brevity; the *Contra Judaeos*, in two books, written at the request of his sister Florentina, a nun, in which he proved by evidences from the Law and the Prophets all that the Catholic faith maintains; the *De Viris Illustribus*, in one book, to which we are appending this list; one book containing a rule for monks, which he tempered in a most seemly way to the usage of his country and the spirits of the weak; the *De Origine Gothorum et Regno Suevorum et etiam Vandalorum Historia*, in

> one book; the *Quaestiones*, in two books, in which the reader recognizes much material from the old treatments; and the *Etymologiae*, a vast work which he left unfinished, and which I have divided into twenty books, since he wrote it at my request. And whoever meditatively reads this work, which is in every way profitable for wisdom, will not be ignorant of human and divine matters. There is an exceeding elegance in his treatment of the different arts in this work in which he has gathered well-nigh everything that ought to be known. There are also many slight works, and inscriptions in the church of God, done by him with great grace.[25]

For the present purpose, which is to ascertain something of the intellectual outlook of the dark ages, the *Etymologiae* is, of course, of prime importance, since it contains in condensed form nearly everything that Isidore has written elsewhere. A passing attention, however, should be given to some of his other works, especially those of the more secular sort, in which his characteristic ideas are frequently developed with greater fullness than in the *Etymologies* itself. These include in particular the *Differentiae*, the *De Natura Rerum*, the *Liber Numerorum*, the *Allegoriae*, the *Sententiae*, and the *De Ordine Creaturarum*.

The *Differentiae* is in two books, the first of which treats of differences of words, and the second, of differences of things. The plan of the first book is alphabetical; words are ranged in pairs and distinguished from each other. Usually these words are synonyms, and directions are given for their proper use; as, *populus* and *plebs*, *recens* and *novus*, *religio* and *fides*; but frequently words of similar sound are distinguished; as, *vis* and *bis*, *hora* and *ora*, *hos* and *os*, *marem* and *mare*. From these latter valuable hints on the Latin pronunciation of the time may be obtained.

The second book, *On Differences of Things*, treats in a brief way of such distinctions as those between *deus* and *dominus*; between the nativity of Christ and of man; between angels, demons, and men; angelic and human wickedness; *animus* and *anima*; the grace of God and the will of man; the life of action and that of contemplation.

The introductory remarks of the *Differentiae* are worth translating, since they reveal one of the most marked characteristics of Isidore’s thinking, the stress that he laid on words. They are as follows:

> Many of the ancients sought to define the differences of words, making some subtle distinction between word and word. But the heathen poets disregarded the proper meanings of words under the compulsion of metre. And so, beginning with them, it became the custom for writers to use words without proper discrimination. But although words seem alike, still they are distinguished from one another by having each an origin of its own.[26] Cato was the first of the Latins to write on this subject,[27] after whose example I have in part written myself of a very few, and have in part taken them from the books of the writers.[28]

The *De Natura Rerum*[29] is a work of great importance for an understanding of Isidore’s view of the physical universe. The preface is of especial interest as giving some hints of his methods of literary work and of his attitude toward pagan writers. It is addressed to Sisebutus, who was king of the Visigoths from 612 to 620.[30] It runs as follows:

> Although, as I know, you excel in talent and eloquence and in the varied accomplishments of literature (*vario flore literarum*), you are still anxious for greater attainment, and you ask me to explain to you something of the nature and causes of things. I, on my part, have run over the works of earlier writers, and am not slow to satisfy your interest and desire, describing in part the system of the days and months; the goals of the year, as well, and the changes of the seasons; the nature also of the elements; the courses of the sun and moon, and the significance of certain stars;[31] the signs of the weather, too, and of the winds; and besides, the situation of the earth, and the alternate tides of the sea. And setting forth all things as they are written by the ancients, and especially in the works of catholic writers, we have described them briefly. For to know the nature of these things is not the wisdom of superstition, if only they are considered with sound and sober learning. Nay, if they were in every way far removed from the search for the truth, that wise king would by no means have said: “Ipse mihi dedit horum quae sunt scientiam

> veram ut sciam dispositionem coeli et virtutes elementorum, conversionum mutationes, et divisiones temporum, annorum cursus et stellarum dispositiones."
>
> Wherefore, beginning with the day, whose creation appears first in the order of visible things, let us expound those remaining matters as to which we know that certain men of the heathen and of the church have opinions, setting down in some cases both their thoughts and words, in order that the authority of the very words may carry belief.

The general organization of the matter treated by Isidore in the *De Natura Rerum* is worth noticing. The preface quoted above indicates that the order of treatment is to follow the order of creation. The first topic, therefore, suggested by the creation of light, we should expect to be the phenomenon of light. Instead of this it is the day, in the calendar sense, that is described, with the natural sequel of the week, month, and year as collections of days. This section really constitutes a brief account of the elements of chronology. Next created are the heavens; so we have next astronomy, presented in a condensed form, to which are appended a few chapters on meteorological matters, such as thunder, clouds, the rainbow, wind, and finally pestilence, which comes in appropriately here as being "a corruption of the air". The topic next in order, following the first chapter of Genesis, is the sea; and after that, the dry land. It should be noted that this view of the physical universe according to the order of its creation, corresponds roughly to the analysis of matter into the four elements, fire, air, water, earth. As will be shown later, such correspondences are an important factor in the intellectual outlook of the time. This was the kind of mental connection with which people were familiar.[32]

The *Liber Numerorum* contains nothing arithmetical in the modern sense of the word, in spite of Braulio's statement that in it Isidore "touched on the science of arithmetic".[33] Its fuller title is "The book of the numbers which occur in the Holy Scriptures", and the body of the book is taken up with the mystic significance of each number from one to twenty, omitting seventeen, and also of twenty-four, thirty, forty, forty-six, fifty, and sixty. The method of treatment

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THEOLOGICAL INDEX

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PRINCIPAL WORKS
IN EVERY DEPARTMENT OF
RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

EMBRACING NEARLY
SEVENTY THOUSAND CITATIONS,
ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED UNDER TWO THOUSAND HEADS.

BY
HOWARD MALCOM, D.D., LL.D.

"*Scire ubi aliquid possis invenire, magna pars eruditionis est.*"

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PREFACE.

NOTHING was further from my mind, in commencing this body of references, than the idea of making it available to others as well as myself. On assuming the pastorship of a church in 1820, I purchased, under the guidance of my honored instructors in theology, Drs. Staughton, Alexander, and Miller, about two thousand volumes. But to many of them I was a stranger, and often found that I had help at hand when it was too late for my purpose. For my own convenience, I arranged the entire contents of my library in the manner here exhibited. For aid in future investigations, references were added, as important books came under my notice—in Reviews, or elsewhere. Lying constantly on my desk for over forty years, and receiving almost daily additions, the book grew, without any sensible deduction of time from my proper pursuits; and since my retirement from professional life, I have found pleasant occupation in endeavoring to give it completeness.

So far as I know, the work is unique, so that whatever may be its deficiences, it will be useful as far as it goes. There are bibliothecas, each of which was received favorably by the learned, but all so different in design from this, that it will lose none of its value when placed by their side. Few of them can now be had, and nearly all of them were published more than a century ago, when there were few valuable theological books in the English language. Such as desire to consult them, are referred to the head "Bibliography."

Theology has become the most voluminous of all the sciences. A minister now can read through very few of the teeming productions of the press, while there are many he must consult. In the English language alone, there are, I suppose, a quarter of a million of religious books. To become familiar with these, to say nothing of an equal number in Latin, German, and French, would require a thousand lives. Hence the absolute need of an aid like this, to enable the student to consult just those books, or parts of books, which will furnish him the required assistance.

Persons who have given special attention to some one topic, will probably be acquainted with authors on that point which are not here adduced. But such will not forget that other parts of the book, and perhaps that very part, will render them good service.

The omission which they discover may have been through my ignorance or oversight, but in thousands of cases, such omission is the result of self-imposed restraint. The book may be out of print, or very rare, or superseded by a better, or of small value compared with those which are mentioned. My aim is not to preserve the whole sum of theological literature from that oblivion which much of it merits, but to furnish ready reference to what is still both valuable and accessible. Nor am I willing to hide meritorious authors in a crowd; nor to waste a student's time in searching for books which he cannot find; nor by amassing references, useless or merely curious. to give my book a scholarly and complete appearance, and destroy its utility. Zealous bibliographers enumerate every title they can find, though the book may be nowhere in existence, and love to append to their notice, "rare;" "very rare;" "only fifty copies printed;" "unnoticed hitherto," etc. But I desire neither the credit of authorship, nor the gratification of the learned, and have no other ambition than to help the industrious. No small labor, therefore, has been spent in making careful omissions, and many more would have been made, were it not that a book may be of signal use, though not the best on the subject; and may be within reach, when a better one is not. On a few subjects, such as "English Bible," and "New Version," all the writers which have come to my knowledge are named.

"The Fathers" are constantly referred to, though the subjects may have been much better handled by others. This respect seems due to antiquity. In all cases, their testimony as to facts is important. It is desirable also to keep open the original sources of controversial theology, and to trace the succession of sacred literature. That so many of the references are to old books, will be no objection to scholars. On some of the subjects, nearly all the literature is old; and the aggregate of the good theology of all past ages, is vastly greater than the amount produced in our single age. The zeal of publishers keeps new books before the public, and the student is much less likely to be ignorant of these than of those of older date.

Lists of editions of the Hebrew and Greek scriptures, and of the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other versions, are omitted, because not only are the "Biblia" named separately in booksellers' catalogues, but there are numerous compilations of this sort, which leave nothing to be done in that department. I have mentioned the best of these under "Bibliography," and "Printed editions."

Bodies of Divinity, Bible Dictionaries, Church Histories, and Commentators, are named in their proper places; but as they are themselves works of general reference, they are not referred to under the several topics they embrace, except they discuss some one particularly and largely. The inquirer will, of course, consult such of them as are within his reach.

The abridgement of titles is the result of much reflection, and has cost much labor. To have given them in full would have trebled the cost of the book, without increasing its value. Enough of each title is given to preclude embarrassment or uncertainty.

To assort books accurately is impossible, for some may properly be placed under divers heads; but all inconvenience on this score is obviated by the references to kindred heads.

References are not made to volumes and pages, because the diversity of editions would make them not only useless but perplexing. When a work is divided into parts and chapters, the number is given. Single sermons and pamphlets are omitted, because generally ephemeral, and always difficult to find.

The date of the first publication of a book is given,* where it seemed desirable, as under Commentators, Common Prayer, Concordances, English Bible, Geography, Histories, Missions, Palestine, Theology, etc. The date given in catalogues is only that of the edition there mentioned, and in some of the best, dates are not given at all. Let the owner of this book undertake to put the date of the first editions to the works named under any single head, and he will be convinced of the folly of attempting it for all. To do it as far as I have, has been very troublesome, and in many cases it required an examination of the biography of the author. In Law, Medicine, or Science, the date of a publication may be useful; but theology has a positive basis in Revelation, and he who in any age writes well on sacred subjects, writes for all ages. If the student finds the aid he requires, it is enough. Besides, there are few important books which have not been reprinted, perhaps more than once; and some of the oldest are still being reproduced, often with valuable editorial improvements. Whenever a book relates to "the present time," or the state of a country at a certain period, the date is given, if possible; † and when some particular edition is greatly preferable, it is designated.

Observations on the comparative value of books are sparingly introduced, preferring to omit works of small merit, if there are good ones on that topic, not too rare, except when it seemed well to put the reader on his guard. The little reliance which can be placed on such notices is illustrated by the specimens below, selected because they are the utterances of well-known men in regard to well-known books.

Wake's New Version of the Psalms. "Well drawn up." "Notes judicious."—British Critic. "No value."—Orme.

McKnight on the Epistles. "Luminous and valuable." — Parkhurst. "Not often paralleled."—British Critic. "Translation rash, uncouth, and often ungrammatical. The notes tend more to perplex than enlighten."—Loundes. "With two exceptions, scarcely any doctrine is rightly stated." —Orme.

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* Some of these dates are disputed by scholars. I have intended to give those most usually assigned.

† Guild, in his useful *"Librarian's Manual,"* discriminates between intellectual and natural bibliography. The former term he applies to the consideration of the contents of books; the latter, to notices of the number of volumes, date, size, price, and rarity of editions or of particular copies. My tastes do not lead me to the latter class of inquiries, and if they did, I should not mingle both in one book.

Draper's Lectures on the Liturgy. "Perspicuous, sensible, and evangelical." — Eclectic Review. "No small portion is jargon." — Critical Review.

Burnet's History of the Reformation was honored, as no other book ever was, by a vote of thanks in the British Parliament. "Impartial, liberal, laborious."—Prof. Smyth. "Burnet is, without doubt, the English Eusebius."—Apthorpe. "One of the most thoroughly digested works of the century."—Prof. Spalding. "The style is mere chit-chat. I do not believe that Burnet intentionally lied, but he was so much prejudiced, that he took no pains to find out the truth."—Dr. Johnson, *in Boswell's Life.*

Dr. Samuel Clarke's Essays. "The most serious treatises Dr. C. ever wrote." "Very useful in all families."—Whiston. "Destitute of originality and acuteness; nor is there any thing in the style to compensate for the mediocrity of thought."—Cunningham.

Quaresmii Elucidatio terrae sanctae. "Not much esteemed."—Walch. "The most valuable work on biblical geography ever printed."—Orme.

Gifford's Translation of Juvenal. "The best version ever made of a classical author."—Sir Walter Scott. "The baldest, and in many parts the most offensive of all the translations of Juvenal."—Hazlitt.

Aikins' General Biography. "Evinces sound judgment, manly freedom, and correct taste."—Roscoe. "A worthless compilation."—Gifford.

Echard's General Eccles. History, to A. D. 313. "The best of its kind." —Prideaux. "Of little value."—Lowndes.

Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. History. "Pithy, learned, candid, and acute." —Dibdin. "Full of manly sense, ingenious strictures, and profound erudition."—Vicess. Knox. "A vulgar caricature, distinguished not more for heartlessness and the absence of every noble feeling, than for the author's shameful ignorance of the subject."—Dowling. "There are few authors to whom I am so much indebted."—Dr. Parr.

Fuller's Church History of Britain. "Even the most serious and authentic parts are so interlaced with pun and quibble, that it looks as if he had designed to ridicule our Church."—Bishop Nicholson. "Simply a caricature of history, and a systematic violation of all its proprieties. Never was there such a medley."—Henry Rogers. "There are only two writers of the genuine history of our Church who deserve the name of historians—Collier and Fuller."—Bishop Warburton. "One of the most remarkable books in the language; the varied powers of learning, sagacity, pathos, wit, humor, and imagination, all animating the pages of a Church history."—Henry Reed. "Sensible, pious, candid."—Bickersteth.

Prettyman's Elements of Theology. "Well arranged, the reasoning clear and solid, well adapted for students in theology, and may be read with advantage by the most experienced divine."—Bishop Marsh. "Merely shows how a creed may be made to signify any thing or nothing."—Williams.

Milner's Church History. "Eminently pious; an estimable treatise in the very spirit of the sacred writers."—Bickersteth. "Milner was destitute of the information necessary to an ecclesiastical historian."—Dowling. "The book has no intrinsic value, and will sink into total and merited neglect."—Dr. Hugh J. Ross.

Dunlop's History of Fiction. "He has executed a defective plan in rather a superficial manner."—LOND. QUART. REVIEW. "An agreeable miscellany, which discovers uncommon information and learning."—EDINB. REVIEW.

Beattie's Essay on Truth. "Beattie's Essay is, I believe, every day more liked; at least, I like it more, as I look upon it more."—DR. JOHNSON, *in Boswell's Life.* "Beattie's book is even more remarkable for being abusive and acrimonious, than for its defects in argument and originality."—EDINBURG REVIEW.

Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England. "Acrimonious, arrogant, unjust, ill-tempered." "The production of a decided partisan."—SOUTHEY, *in Lond. Quart. Review.* 37 : 194. "Eminently judicial." "Its whole spirit is that of the bench, not of the bar." "Calm, steady, acute, profound. The most impartial book we ever read."—T. B. MACAULEY, *Edinb. Rev.* 48 : 96.

The following are the prominent features which distinguish this undertaking from any other of its kind.

1. The alphabctical arrangement of topics, with writers annexed, instead of the usual alphabetical arrangement of authors, with their writings annexed.

2. The multiplication of heads, so as to comprehend not only principal subjects, but the widest range of theological literature. The number of heads, not counting those which merely refer to others, is over two thousand.

3. The magnitude of the work, comprising, as it does, about seventy thousand citations.* This number is perhaps nearly doubled by the extensive lists of books, which are adduced under particular heads. See the table of such heads at the end of the book.

4. The including of the great Reviews, secular and religious. Unlike pamphlets and single sermons, these are bound, and accessible. A large amount of the best theological literature is thus made available.

5. The analytical arrangement of the best English sermons. These contain a great treasure of both doctrinal and practical theology, and the number of my references to them is proportionably large, some articles consisting mainly of such, though only bound volumes are noticed.

6. The introduction of a wide range of authors not theological Nearly every head contains such references, and some are made up of them almost entirely.†

7. The insertion of the names of prominent characters, scriptural and ecclesiastical, with their biographies, works, and the critics

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* Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual, though embracing *all* departments of knowledge, contains but about fifty thousand authors. Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, designed to name *every* writer in the English language, even of an ephemeral pamphlet, embraces but thirty thousand authors.

† See Budhism, Capital punishment, Eleusinian mysteries, Ethnology, Geology, Hinduism, Mesmerism, Phrenology, Palestine, etc. etc.

upon them. Great assistance is thus furnished for investigating the history of sects and doctrines.

8. The separation of writers on controverted subjects into three divisions, viz.: for, against, and historical. Every order, sect, and school, ancient or modern, is fairly presented, as far as is in my power. Leading men, of existing sects, have been written to for lists of their best writers, and the result, though sometimes helpful, has shown how much even they needed such a book of reference.

9. The numerous references to books which do not, by their titles, indicate their subject; thus furnishing aid which no ordinary catalogues could supply.

10. The work is brought down to recent publications

To three classes of persons I hope good service is here rendered.

1. To *authors*, in furnishing them both assistance and restraint. To write well, a man must know to what extent and in what manner his subject has been treated by others. He may be wise, but writers, of whom he is ignorant, may have been more so. He may think he will enlighten the world, when his theme has been already better handled. It is not uncommon for an author to say in his preface that had he known the existence of a certain book, he would have made his own better, or not written at all. Active minds often adopt views unlike those of their cotemporaries, and perhaps lead off a party, not aware that similar notions have been published, refuted, and forgotten. Want of extensive reading is the root of many heresies and superstitions.

2. To *students*, in showing them where they may find desired knowledge. Without such aid, they may stand in a large library, or even in their own, with all needed assistance at hand, and yet be helpless. Next to knowing a thing, is to know where to obtain the information; and as no one can know much, the latter attainment, if extensive, is, on the whole, the better. The student is here introduced to the great minds of the past and the present, and taught who of them and what portions of their works will answer his inquiries or resolve his doubts.

3. *Purchasers of books* for public or private theological libraries, or the theological department of general libraries, will here be shown how to make the collection symmetrical (a quality which few libraries possess), as well as comprehensive and complete.

I am quite conscious of having made a very imperfect book. One life is not long enough, nor one man's knowledge of books extensive enough, to make such a work complete. But as the owner becomes familiar with this volume, he will find the undesirable omissions both fewer and less important than he suspected; for books which might have been named under several heads, are given but under one, and the apparent omission is supplied elsewhere. I present the result of my labors for just what it is—an arranged catalogue of many thousand books, in a single department of literature. These are books which theologians will never discard, so that what I have done is done forever. Future publications will be added by future editors, but they will add, from past publications, few of those which I have omitted.

I do not presume that my book will incur no censures but such as it deserves. Some will think many of the references should have been omitted, and some, that many more should have been added. Some will find fault for the sake of seeming to know more than the author, and some for the love of fault-finding. Some out of ignorance, or lack of reflection, will condemn real excellencies; and some will judge me by a standard which cannot be reached. I have pursued my work in full view of such considerations, content to provide for future theologians a labor-saving apparatus.

> "Si quid novisti rectius istis,
> Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum."
> HORACE. EP. VI.

PHILADELPHIA, 1868.

NOTICE.—The Latin titles occurring among English writers, are not there by mistake. It was once customary to give such titles to books in our own language.

When a writer's name is in brackets, it indicates that the book was published anonymously.

Some Reviews have several times commenced a "New Series," and some have been reprinted with altered paging. This has made some unavoidable confusion as to such references; but the only alternative was to insert them with this disadvantage, or omit them altogether.

"A Bibliotheca, or account of books in English, continued to the present day, is a desideratum."—*Bickersteth.*

"A book which treats only of other books, is the touchstone of a genuine lover of literature. He will handle it with gentle reverence, and keep it at his right hand for frequent consultation; while mere readers would throw the book aside as a dull and worthless catalogue."—*London Quarterly Review.*

"Book Catalogues are to men of letters what the compass and lighthouse are to the mariner, the digested index to the lawyer, the dispensatory to the physician, the sign-post to the traveller: in short, they are the concordances of literature."—*Western Memorabilia.*

"Books can give new views of life, and teach us how to live. They soothe the grieved, the stubborn they chastise. Fools they admonish, and the wise confirm."—*Crabbe.*

"A library is not like a dead city of stones, yearly crumbling, and needing repair: but like a spiritual tree. There it stands and yields its precious fruit, from year to year, and from age to age:—thaumaturgic, for it can persuade men."—*Carlyle.*

"Theology is by far the most voluminous of all the sciences. There is none that comes nearly up to it, in the amount, or what may be termed the dimensions of its authorship. It is a colossus of most precious and solid material, brought together by the multiplied efforts of a most prodigious industry, and elaborated into form by the skill of many thousand intellects; some of which equal, both in power and achievement, the most gigantic of those spirits that ever signalized themselves in any of the walks of philosophic investigation."—*Chalmers.*

"Hi sunt magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferula, sine pane et pecunia. Si accedis, non dormiunt; si inquiris, non se abscondunt; non remurmurant si oberrcs; cachinnos nesciunt si ignores."—*Richard de Bury.*

THEOLOGICAL REFERENCES.

Aaron. See BIOGRAPHY.
Taylor's (Dr. T.) Types of the Old Test.

Abelard.
Abelardi Opera (Various editions).
Ouvrages inedits d'A. Ed. Cousin. 1836.
Bohringer, die Kirche Christi.
Gervaise, Vie de Abeillard.
Frerich de A. doctrina et morali.
Goldhorn de Summis principiis theol. A.
Schlosser's Leben e. schwärmers u. e. philos.
Berington's Hist. of Abelard and Eloisa.

Ability. See MORAL ABILITY.

Abraham. See BIOGRAPHY, FAITH OF THE PATRIARCHS, OFFERING OF ISAAC, PATRIARCHS.
Benson's (C.) Lectures. Lect. 14, 15.
Beza's Tragedy of Abraham.
Blunt's Lectures on the hist. of Abraham.
Bowdler's (Tho.) Sermons.
Buddicom's Friendship with God. (40 sermons on the life of Abraham.)
Calvin's Sermons.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Cooper's (E.) Sermons.
Gilbank's Scripture hist. of Abraham.
Gilfillan's Alpha and Omega. Chap. 8.
Jebb's (Bp.) Sermons.
Macduff's Sunsets on the Hebrew mountains.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Short's (William) Sermons.
Stebbing's Hist. of A. and its meaning.
Thompson's (F. E.) Lent lectures.
Warburton's Divine legation of Moses.
Wilson's (Tho.) Sermons.

Abipones. See MISSIONS.
Dobrizhofferi Historia de Abiponibus. (Highly praised by SOUTHEY.)
Peramas de Vita sex sacerdotum Paraguay.
Dobrizhoffer's Account of the Abipones: tr. by Mrs. S. H. Coleridge.
The same: tr. by Dr. Southey, 1822.

Abrahamic Covenant. See INFANT BAPTISM.
Limborchii Theologia.
Witsii Economia Fœderis.

Abrahamic Covenant—*continued.*
Barrington's (J. S.) Theological works.
Bowden's Covenant right of infants.
Buddicom's Friendship with God.
Gregg on Infant church-membership.
Janeway on the Abr. covenant.
Kelly's (John) Congregational lectures.
Maye's Technobaptist.
MacKnight on the Abrahamic covenant.
Presbyterian Review. 3 : 529.
Taylor on the Covenant of grace.
Watt's Harm. of the Div. dispensations.
Worcester on the Abr. covenant.

Abrahamists. See PAULICIANS.

Abrogation of the Ceremonial Law. See CEREMONIAL LAW.
Bialloblotsky de Legibus Mosaicæ.
Limborchii Collatio cum Tryphone.
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Berriman's Boyle lectures. 1831.
Hooker's Ecclesiastical polity.
Jeacock's Vindic. of the Apostle Paul.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Leland's Answer to Morgan.
Priestley's Letters to the Jews.
Sykes on Christianity.
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Absolution. See AURICULAR CONFESSION, POPERY.
Cladenius de Natura absolutionis.
Hannekenii Dissertationes.
Krackewitzii Absolutio ministeriali.
Luther (M.) von dem Schlüssen.
Pfaffii Dissertationes.
Quistorpii Dissertationes.
Schubert's Erlautertes nein auf die frage.
Wernsdorfii Dissertationes.
Allen's (Will.) Defence of the power of the priesthood to forgive sins.
Andrews' (Lancelot) Sermons.
Burton's Bampton lectures. 1829.
Church Review. 2 : 573.
Luther (M.) on the Use of the Keys.
Maskell's Doctrine of Church of England.
Salter's Hall Sermons. Ser. by Burroughs.

Abstinence. See FASTING, MODERATION.

Abstinence from Blood. See PROHIBITION.

Acacians. See EUTYCHIANS.

Acephali. See MONOPHYSITES.

Acquaintance with God.

Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blunt's (Henry) Sermons.
Dalgleish's (Wm.) Sermons.
D'Oyly's (George) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (Chas.) Sermons.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hinton's (J. H.) Sermons.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sherman's Guide to Acquaintance with God.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.

Adamites.

Augustinus de Hæresiis.
Epiphanius de Hæresiis.
Baronii Annales ecclesiastici.
Evagrii Historia ecclesiastici. L. 1, c. 21.

Adessenarians. See CONSUBSTANTIATION.

Adiaphorists. See GOOD WORKS, INTERIM.

Aepini Epistola a. Joach. Westphalo.
Andreæ Forum Adiaphorum.
Bachmeisteri Acta Philipica.
Amsdorf's Kunstliche, spætische, &c., oration.
Flacius Leipsiger interim, mit scholien.
——— Scripta duorum doctorum.
——— Omnia Latina scripta contra A.
Galli (N.) Disputationes.
——— Erklarung d. religious treite, &c.
Melancthonis (P.) Doctrina de pœnitentia.
Pfeffingerus de Traditionibus et ceremoniis.
Schmid (C. F.) Observ. ad naturam peccati.
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Plank's History of Protestant theology.
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Blair's (James) Sermons.
Edward's (Bp.) Works.
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Hopkins' (Ezek.) Miscellaneous Sermons.

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Alexandri (Natalis) Dissertationes.
Bassnage (Benj.) Observationes.
Dorner's Entwicklunggeschichte der person Christi.
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Trellendus de Felicis et Elipandi errore.
Voightii Bibliotheca.
Walchii (C. G. F.) Historia Adoptiniarum.

For a full literary history of the controversy, see WALCH, as above.

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Brackenbury's (Edward) Discourses.
Charnock's Works.
Cotton's (Rich. L.) Sermons.
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Flavel's Works.
Kattern's (Dan.) Sermons.
Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Oram's (Will.) Discourses.
Stewart's (James H.) Sermons.
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Augustin de adulterinis conjugiis.

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Burnet (Bp.) Sermons.
[Comber's] Inquiry into the cause of the prevalence of adultery at the present time. (1810. Written under the name of Philaretes.)
Dwight's (Timothy) Discourses. (Powerful.)
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Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
McLean's Apostolical commission.
Morgan (H. D.) on Adultery and Divorce.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
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Advocacy of the Spirit. See HOLY SPIRIT, OPERATIONS.

Arnold de Sp. S. in oratione fidelium efficaci.
Guntherus de Clamore Sp. S. in cordibus.
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Jockius de Spiritu precum.
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Aëtians. See EUNOMIANS.

Affection. See BROTHERLY LOVE. FRIENDSHIP

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Amer. Bib. Repos. 3d series. 2 : 445.
Blackwood's Magazine. 33 : 124, 391.
Buckminster's (Joseph S.) Sermons.
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Maclauren's Essays.
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——— Sinai photographed. (Appendix.)
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Piries' Dissertation on Hebrew roots.
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Quarterly Review. 10 : 250. 14 : 128.
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Southern Lit. Messenger. 14 : 521.
Trench (R. C.) on the Study of words.
Weston's (S.) Conformity of European languages, especially the English, with the Oriental.
Winning's Comparative philology. (Comprises all Indo-European languages, according to Bopp and Pott.)

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Drelincourt, les Visites charitables.

Allestree's (Rich.) Sermons.
Alexander's (J. W.) Discourses.
Addington on Affliction.
Ambrose's Looking to Jesus.
Anderson's (James) Light in Darkness.
Arnold's (Tho.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Francis) Sermons.

Affliction—*continued.*

Ball's Power of godliness.
Baxter's Directions for spiritual comfort.
Beddome's (Benj.) Village Sermons.
Berens' (Edw.) Sermons for the sick.
Berriman's (Wm.) Sermons.
Bethune's Word to the afflicted.
Black's (David) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Blundell's (Tho.) Sermons.
Bolton's Instructions for right comforting.
Boston's Crook in the lot. (Excellent.)
Bradley's (Cha.) Sermons.
Brady's (N.) Sermons.
Brookes' Mute Christian.
Brown's (J.) Heart's ease in trouble.
Buchanan's (J.) Comfort in affliction.
———— Improvement of affliction.
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Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Burder's (Henry F.) Sermons.
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Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Capp's Devotional discourses.
Carrington's Temporal afflictions advantageous.
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Christian Observer. 11:203.
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Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
Dealtry's (Will.) Sermons.
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Drysdale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Dykes' Two treatises on Philemon.
Fisk's (Geo.) Sermons.
Farrington's Sermons.
Fell's (Hunter F.) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Rich.) Sermons.
Franklin's (T.) Sermons. (Excellent.)
Froude's (Rich. H.) Sermons.
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Gahan's (Will.) Sermons.
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Hale's (James) Sermons.
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Holdsworth's (R.) Sermons.
Hooker's Four treatises.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Horne's (T. H.) Manual for the afflicted.
Howard's (Leonard) Sermons.
Hunter's Sermons.

Affliction—*continued.*

Howe's (John) Sermons.
Hutchinson's (Roger) Works.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jay's (Wm.) Sermons.
Johnson's (John) Sermons.
Joles' Word to afflicted consciences.
Jones' (Will., of Nayland) Sermons.
Jortin's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Kemp's (Henry W.) Sermons.
Kennaway's Sermons.
Kennedy's Comfort to the afflicted.
Kirwan's (W. B.) Sermons.
Knowles' (Jas.) Sermons for families.
Lavington (John) on the 77th Psalm.
Major's Honey on the rod. (Small, but sweet.)
Mannering's Christian consolation.
Manning's (H. E.) Thoughts for mourners.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Mede's (Bp.) Sermons.
Morehead's (R.) Discourses. Dis. 19 and 20.
Murray's (L.) Power of religion.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Pearce's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Rutherford's Letters. (A treasure.)
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——— Soul's comfort.
Smallbridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's (D.) Chamber of affliction.
Smith's (Henry) Sermons.
Smith's (Theyre) Sermons.
Stennet's (Sam.) Sermons.
Sumner's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
Thelwell's Thoughts in affliction.
Thornton's (J.) Christian consolation.
Townsend's (Geo.) Sermons.
Vidal's (Bp.) Sermons.
Vincent on Affliction.
Walker's (T. H.) Companion for the afflicted.
Waples' Sermons.
Warren's (Sam.) Sermons.
Watson's Divine cordial.
Willison's Afflicted man's companion.
Yonge's (James) Sermons. Second series.
Young's (R.) Counter poysen; or soverain antidote against all griefe.

Agapæ. See LOVE FEASTS.

Aged. See OLD AGE.

Age of the World. See COSMOLOGY, CREATION, GEOLOGY, HARMONY OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

Agonistici. See DONATISTS.

Agur's Prayer. See POVERTY, RICHES.

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Brady's (Nich.) Sermons.
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Allegory. See FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE.

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Ambrose, Lectiones variæ.
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Baumgarten's Versuch über die apostelg.
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Girdlestone's (Cha.) Parochial sermons.
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Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Pecklington's Dead vicar's plea.
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Baronii (C.) Vita Ambrosii.
Bartholomæ Milleloquium.
Bohringer, Kirchengesch in biographien.

Costerii Vita Ambrosii.
Erasmi Prefatio ad Ambrosii opera.
Heinze's Beschr. d bücher A. de officiis.
Hermance, Vie de Saint Ambrose.
Marcelli Oratio de Ambrosio.
Michelseni de A. fidei adv. Arianos vindice.
Paulini Vita Sanctæ Ambrosii. (This life is prefixed to the famous Benedictin Edition of the works of Saint Ambrose.)

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Amos. See BIOGRAPHY.

Michaelis Dissertationes.

Amusements. See DANCING, PLEASURE, RECREATION, SOBRIETY, STAGE PLAYS.

Barbeyrac, Questions de droit morale.
Thiers (J. B.), Divertissements qui peuvent etre permis.
Witting, Ueber das Kartenspiel.

Anderson's (Geo.) Use and abuse of diversions. 1733.
Bedell's (Greg. T.) Renunciation of worldly amusements.
Bourdaloue, Sermons. (3 on this subject.)
Burton's Anatomy of melancholy. Part 3.
Burder's (George) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 8 : 201. 45 : 157.
Combe on Health.
Declaration of King James, concerning lawful sports on Sunday. (Recommends dancing, vaulting, &c. &c.)
[Gilpin] on the Amusements of clergymen.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons and tracts.
Henry (Tho. C.) on the Consistency of popular amusements with a profession of Christianity.
Hill's (R.) Warning to professors.
Jebbs' (Bp.) Works.
More (Hannah) on Education.
Northbroke on Dicing, dancing, plays, &c. (An interesting work, giving a large insight into the manners of his age. 1579.)
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Edward) Sermons.
Strutt's Sports of England, from the earliest times to the present, 1810. 40 plates.
Thompson on Fashionable amusements.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Woodward on Preaching against amusements.
Zollikoffer's (George J.) Sermons.

Anabaptists. See BAPTISTS, MENNONITES, MUNZER, SECTS.

Pro.

Menno Simonis Opera theologica.
Munzer's Ordnung des deutschen amts zu alsted.
——— Testificatio.
——— Deutsche evangelische messe.

Anabaptists—*continued.*

Kiffin's Reasons of the Anabaptists for their separation.
——— Right to church communion.
Stennet's Answer to Russen's Anabaptists.

Con.

Botsaccus' Wiederlefung der wiedertäufferischen lehre.
Bullinger, adv. omnia Catabaptistarum.
——— Widertäufferen; ursprung, furgang, Secten, wasen, artickel, &c. 1561.
Cloppenburgii Gangrena theologiæ.
Calvin, Instruction contre les Anabapt.
Gehser de Primordiis studior. Anab. Sæc. 16.
Hoornbeckii Summa controversiarum.
Hortensius (L.) de Anabaptistis.
John a Lasco, Defensio, &c. (Reply to Menno.)
Klupfelii Institutiones theologicæ. Par. 2.
Melancthonis Corpus doctrinæ theol.
Menius' vom Geist der Wiedertäuffer.
Müller's Wiedertäuffer irthum.
Pantheon, Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum. (Includes Venner, Peters, Cromwell, Hobbes, Fludd, Naylor, &c.)
Spanheimii (Fred.) Disputationes.
Ulrich's Christlichen ermahnung aus Gottes wort.
Vandervelde, les Anabaptistes—les Hussites.
Vossenhol's Gesprache mit d. Wiederdöperen.
Wigandi Refutatio dogm. Anabaptistarum.
Wills' Geschichte de Deutchland.
Zuingle de Officio concionandi.
——— Elenchus in Catabapt. strophas.

Asheton's Conference with an Anabaptist.
Bullinger's Counter-poyson.
——— Dialogue between an Anabaptist and a Christian.
Calvin's Miscellaneous works.
Russel's Fundamentals without a foundation.
Whitgift's (Abp.) Works.

Beside the books written professedly against the Anabaptists, their tenets are unfavorably discussed in the works of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Œcopampadius, Guy de Bres, Hunnius, Osiander, &c.

Anabaptists, History of.

Bullinger's Wiedertäuffern. ursprung, &c.
Bussiere, Histoire de Lūthéranisme.
Catrou, Hist. des A. et leur opinions.
Fuszlin's Kirch d. Schweizerlands.
Gobil's Geschichte der Wiedertäufer.
Harenburgii Historia Anabaptistica.
Hast's Geschichte der Wiedertäuffer.
Heresbachii Historia Anabaptistica.
Kessenbroick's Gesch. d. Wied. zur Munster.
Krohn's Gesch. der fanat. Wiedertäufer.
Meshow, Histoire des Anabaptistes.
Modæus de Initiis sectæ Anabaptistarum.
Nibsert's Urkunden zur gesch. der Wiedert.
Ottii Hist. universalis de Anabaptist.
Schyn, Historia Christianorum.

Anabaptists, History of—*continued.*

Spanheim, de Origine, progressu, &c.
Starcke's Taufe und Taufgesinnten.
Wills' Gesch. des Anabapt. Deutschland.
Winter's Gesch. der Wiedert. in 16 Jahr.

Baum's Life of Beza.
Benedict's History of the Baptists.
Henry's Life of John Calvin.
Herzog's Life of Œcolampadius.
Motley's Dutch Republic. (Fair and candid.)
Robinson's (Robt.) Eccles. researches.

These are all, with a few exceptions, opponents of the Anabaptists. Many more have written their history in a spirit equally bitter.

Analogy of Faith.

Buchanan's Analogy as a guide to truth.
Govet's Gospel analogies.
Horne's Introduction to the S. Script.

Analogy of Religion to Nature.

See CHRISTIANITY ADAPTED TO MAN, PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, NATURAL RELIGION, LAW OF NATURE.

Schmitz's Religion u. die naturforschung.

Adam's (A.) Arrangement of passages, &c.
Barton's Anal. of Div. wisdom to the natural, moral, and spiritual worlds.
Baseley's Glory of the heavens.
Brown (Bp. Peter) on Things divine.
Budinger's (M.) Way of faith.
Burnet's (C. M.) Power and goodness of God.
Butler's Analogy of religion and nature. (Edited, with notes, conspectus, and index, by Howard Malcom.)
Christian Examiner. 61 : 321.
Gahel's Accordance of religion with nature.
Graves' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Grinfield's Connection of nat. and rev. relig.
Hampden's Philos. evidence of Christianity.
Mill's Bampton lectures.
Morehead's (Robert) Dialogues.
Owen's (Henry) Sermons.
Parkinson's Hulsean lecture. 1837.
Powell (Baden) Connection of natural and divine truth.
Ragg's Creation's testimony to its God.
Reid's (Tho.) Works. Essay 1. Chap. 1.
Shuttleworth's Consist. of rev. with reason.
Valpy on the Course of nature.
Wood's Bampton lectures. 1838.

Analyses of the Bible.

See INTRODUCTIONS.

Cornis Pomphearium. (A digest of the whole Bible under alphabetical heads.)
Griesbachii Synopsis evangeliorum.
Heideggeri Enchiridion biblicum. (A minute analysis of each book.)
Kahl's Biblisch real concordanz.
Marlorati Thesaurus.
Musculi Loci communes. ("Opus divinum." —ADAM.)

Analyses of the Bible—*continued.*

Perkinsii Specimen digesta.
Van Till, Opus analyticum.

Adam's (A.) Passages under distinct heads.
Bird's Texts, arranged according to their tenor.
Bogart's Threats and punishments of Scrip.
Budinger's (M.) Way of faith.
Burnet's Analysis of the New Testament.
Butcher's (E.) Holy Scriptures methodized.
Clarke's (Sam.) Christian's inheritance. (Commonly called "Clarke on the promises." A favorite little manual of devotion.)
Craddock's Hist. of the O. Test. methodized.
Cruden's Compend of the Bible. (A conspectus of each chapter.)
Dale's Analysis of all the epistles.
Dodd's (W.) Commonplace book.
Eadie's Analytical concordance.
Farrand's Christian system.
Gaston's Collection of texts. (Needed by every minister.)
Gastrel's Christian institutes.
Inglis' (James) Bible cyclopædia.
Jones' (Jos.) Analytical view of the Bible.
Knight's (W.) Axiomatical concordance.
Latham's (H.) Harmonia Paulina. (A system of Divinity in the language of Paul.)
Locke's (John) Commonplace book.
Lloyd's (Bp.) Index to the Bible.
Longhurst's Companion to the New Test.
Martin's (R. M.) Social duty of man.
Maurice's Unity of the New Testament.
Musculus' Commonplaces.
Neligan's (James) Bible in miniature.
Pilkington's Rational concordance.
Pinnock's Analysis of Scripture history.
Priestley's (Jos.) Index to the Bible.
Roes' Analytical arrang. of the Scriptures.
Sarcerus' Commonplaces tr. by R. Taverner.
Shaw's Heads of relig. in the words of S. S.
Stroud's (Wm.) Analytical index to the Gospels and Acts.
Strutt's Commonplace book. (Recent editions are much improved, and are truly valuable.)
Talbot's Analysis. (Scarce, and well deserves to be re-printed.)
Townsend's Chronological arrangement.
Warden's Digest of the system of religion in the express words of S. Sc. ("Executed with singular ability."—HORNE.)
West's Complete anal. (Many editions.)
Wheeler's Analysis and summary. (With notes; Historical, Geographical, an. Antiquarian.)
Whewell's Analogy of the O. and N. Test.
Wilson's (H. B.) Index to the Bible.
Wirgman's Divarication of the N. Test into doctrine and history.

Anarchy. See CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Mudgos' (Zech.) Sermons.

Ancient Armor. See ARMOR, ARCHÆOLOGY, BIBLICAL HISTORY.

Ancient History. See ARCHÆOLOGY, BABYLON, CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, EGYPT, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, ORIGIN OF NATIONS, &C.

Andrew, Life of.

Hammerschmidii Cruciger apostolicus.
Hanckii Dissertationes.
Lemmii Memoria.
Saussay de Gloria sancti Andreæ apostoli.
Woogius de Martyris S. Andreæ.

Angel of the Covenant. See LOGOS, JESUS.

Markii Dissertationes Sacræ.
Witsii Economia Fœderis.

Barrington on the Divine dispensations.
Clarke on the Trinity.
Fleming's Christology.
Lowman's Civil govern. of the Hebrews.
Tennison on Idolatry.
Tompkins' Sober appeal.

Angels. See APPARITIONS, CHERUB, MINISTERING SPIRITS, GUARDIAN.

Augustini Opera.
Blasche's Kritik. d. modernen geisterglaub.
Brochmandi (C. E.), Dissertationes. (Good and bad angels, their fall, &c.)
Carpzovii varia Historia angelorum, ex Epiphania et aliorum.
Casmani (Otto) Angelographia. ("Curious.")
Clotzii (Stephan.) Angelographia.
Cotta (Jo. Frider.) Disputationes. Disp. 2.
Dionysius (Areop.) de Celesti hierarchia.
Dorchii Singularium angelic. septenarius.
Eisemenger's Entdecktes Judenthum.
Eusebii Preparatio evangelica.
Fabricii Dissertationes sacræ.
Gfrorer's Jahrenhundert des heils.
Hackspanii Disput. theol. et philologicæ.
Heideggeri (Joan. Henric.) Disputationes.
Horst (G. K.) Theurgie.
Huetius in Origianis.
Keil, Opuscula academica.
Krug (W. T.) über die geisterwelt.
Limborchii Theologia Christiana.
Loersii (J. Ch.) Dissertationes.
Marckii Diss. ad selectos textos Vet. Test.
Maimonides de fundamen. legis. Cap. xi.
Ode, Commentarius de angelis. (A scholarly work, in which, whatever is said on the subject, in the Scriptures, classics, rabbins, and modern authors, is collected.)
Petavius de Angelis, bonis et malis.
Platinæ Prelectiones theologicæ.
Remigii Demonolatria.
Schmidii (Sebastian.) in Senario angelico.
Schulthess' Engelwelt, engelgesetz, &c.
Spanheimii Disputationes theologicarum.
Suiceri Thesaurus.
Stilling's (Jung) Theorie der Geisterkunde.
Stuckii (T. G.) Meditationes.

Angels—*continued.*

Vitus de Corporibus angelorum.
Voetii Disputationes theologicæ.

Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Baxter's (Richard) Works.
Biblical Repository. Vol. 12.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:88. 2:108.
Blundel's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Calmet's Preface to Gospel of Luke.
Camfield's (Benj.) Discourses.
Charnock's Works.
Conybeare's (John) Discourses.
Clayton's (Geo.) Angelology. (Agency, rank, titles, characteristics, residence, employment, &c.)
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 210 to 214.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 18 and 19.
Edward's (Bp.) Works.
Farmer's Dissertation on miracles.
Franklin's (Tho.) Sermons.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles.
Gill's Body of Divinity.
Gilpin on Temptation.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of sermons.
Hammond's (Henry) Works.
Heber's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horts' (Josiah) Sermons.
Killen's our Companions in glory.
Lawrence on our Communion and war with angels.
Mason's (Wm.) on Paul's use of the word angel.
Mede's Works. (Apostacy of latter times.)
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Reynolds' Economy of the angelic worlds.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
Robinson's Scripture characters.
Salkeld's Treatise on angels.
Sanderson on the Nature, office, &c.
Saunder's Pneumatologia.
Scattergood's (Sam.) Sermons.
Shepard's (T.) Sermons. (Several on this subject.)
Simpson (T.) on the Nature of angels.
Steir's Words of the angels.
Stuart's (M.) Sketches. (Bibl. Sacra, No. 1.)
Timson's Angels of God, their nature, &c.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Whateley's Scriptural review concerning a future state.
———— on Good and evil angels.
Wheeler's (Prof. B.) Theological lectures.
Wilkin's World in the moon.

Angelolatria. See WORSHIP OF ANGELS.

Anger. See FORGIVENESS, HATRED, PASSIONS.

Basilii Homiliæ.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Sermons.
Berens' (Edward) Village sermons.
Blair's (Jas.) Sermons.

Anger—*continued.*

Boston's (Tho.) Sermons.
Burgess' (Dan.) Hastiness to anger disgraced.
Christian Observer. 18 : 145.
Davies' (Thomas) Sermons.
Fawcett's (Dr. John) Essay on anger.
Felton's (Henry) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons. 3 on this subj.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Hale's (Sir M.) Contemplations.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Jowett's (Jos.) Fifty-two short sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Paley's Moral philosophy.
Scott's (Thomas) Sermons.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Seneca's Morals.
Whitaker's (Edward W.) Sermons.
Wynyard's (J. M.) Sermons on Chris. duties.
Zollikoffer on Festivals and fasts. Vol. 2.

Animal Food, Lawfulness of.

Pro.

Clarke's Origin of evil.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3. Prop. 52.
Edinburg Review. 2 : 128.
Fitzosborn's Letters. Letter 8.
Magee on Atonement.
Puffendorf's Law of nations.
Reynold's Letter to a Deist.
Thompson's Seasons. Lines 336 to 378, and 1089 to 1124.

Con.

Cheyne's Philosophical conjectures.
Holwell on the Use of animal food.
Oswald on Animal food.
Ritson's Essays on the use of animal food.

Animal Magnetism. See MESMERISM.

Annihilation of the Wicked. See DESTRUCTIONISTS, IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

Anointing the Sick. See EXTREME UNCTION.

Launoius de Sacramentis. (Gives the statements of many early writers, as to this custom as it existed in the first ages of the church.)

Answers to Prayer. See PRAYER.

Buchanan's Modern atheism. Chap. 5.
Fincher's Achievements of prayer. (Instances auswers of prayer from the Bible.)
Goodwin's (Tho.) The return of prayers. (How to discern answers to prayer.)
Harding's (J.) Sermons. (Unanswered prayer.)
King's Origin of evil.
Leechman on Prayer.
Ogden's (S.) Sermons.
Stevenson on Prayer.

Antediluvians. See BIBLICAL HISTORY.

Bebelii Ecclesia, vera et falsa.
Clarkson's (Thomas) Researches.
Hall's (Robert) Notes of sermons.
Winning's Essays on the antediluvian age.

Anthropomorphists. See EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Cyril (Alex.) *Κατα ανθρωπομορφιτων.*
Schroederi Dissertationes historicæ.
Vogtii Observationes de Audianismo ante Audiam.
Kitto's Journal. 1 : 9.

Antiburghers. See ASSOCIATE CHURCH, CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, SECESSION CHURCH.

Antichrist. See COMMENTATORS ON THE APOCALYPSE, POPERY, PROPHECY, NUMBER 666.

Augustini Opera.
Abboti Demonstratio. (Against Bellarmin.)
Asili Tyrannis Antichristi.
Balduini Diatribe Theologica.
Batti (Bartholom.) Disputationes.
Bocharti Opera. (Dissert. xxviii.)
Cocceji Repetitio locorum V. et N. T. (Great.)
Danæus de Antichristo.
Danhaveri Antichristosophia.
Dorschæi (Jo. Georg.) Dissertationes.
Downami Diatribe de Antichristo.
Du Moulin, Œuvres.
Gerlachii Disput. theologicæ. Dis. xxv.
Gomari (Francisc.) Disputationes.
Grotii Com. ad loca quædam N. Test. quæ de Antichristi agere pertantur.
Gualtheri Homiliæ quinque. (Powerful.)
Heerbrandi (Jacob) Disputationes.
Hippolyti Demonstratio de Antichristo.
Hunnii (Ægid.) Dissertationes.
Huss (Joh.) de Anatomia Antichristi.
Karlii (Bern.) Dissertationes.
Koenigii Antichristus revelatus.
Laurentius, in Hugo Grotio papizante.
Lesii (Leonard.) Opuscula varia.
Luther's (M.) Sammtliche Scriften.
Lyserus (Guil.) de Antichristo.
Maresii Dissertationes. (Against Grotius.)
Nicolai de Mahumate et Pontifice.
——— L'Antichrist rencontre.
Osiandri Enchiridion controvers. relig.
Rabani Mauri Opera. (His opinion is adopted by Mede, Sir I. Newton, and others.)
Schlichtingii Commentatio in 2 Thess. ii.
Sohnii (Georg.) Opera.
Spanheimii Dissertationes. Par. I.
Thomson (G.), Chasse de la Bete Romaine. (A very ancient and curious work, by a Scotchman.)

Antichrist—*continued.*

Thummii (Theodor.) Opera.
Tilenus de Papa Romana.
Venemæ Prelectio. de methodo prophetica.
Whitakeri (Guil.) Opera.
Wigandi Synopsis Antichristi Romani.
Abbot's Antichrist demonstrated.
Apthorp's Warburton lectures. 1786.
Bagot's Sermons at Lincoln's inn chapel.
Bales' (John) Pageant of Popes.
Barlow's (Bp.) Genuine remains.
Beard's Pope of Rome the true Antichrist.
Blondell's Sibyline oracles.
Bonar's Development of Antichrist.
Brightman on the Apocalypse.
Brown's (J. H.) Character of Antichrist.
Calmet's Dissertations.
Cassel's Christ and Antichrist.
Cunninghame's Apostacy of the ch. of Rome.
Danæus on Antichrist.
Davies' (J.) Two Antichrists. (Infidelity and Romanism.)
Downame (Bp.) on Antichrist.
Elliott's Warburton lectures. 1856.
Faber's (G. S.) Dissertations.
Fleming on the fall of Antichrist.
Frith's (John) Revelation of Antichrist.
Glas' (John) Notes on Scripture texts. (Time of his reign.)
Greenfield's (Edmund) Works.
Gregory's (W.) Trial of Antichrist.
Gault's (R.) Man of sin. Prize essay. 1852.
Gavazzi's Lectures in New York. 1853.
Grotius on Antichrist.
Gualther's Homilies.
Halifax's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hammond's Commentary on Revelations.
Hardy (Sam.) on Prophecy.
Hoffman (Chr.) de Religione Christiana. (Condemned to be burnt.)
Holland on the Revelation of John.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hutchinson's Religion of Satan.
Jewell's Rise and fall of Antichrist.
Jones' (Will.) Church history.
Juriu's Accomplishment of Sc. prophecy.
Keach's (Benj.) Antichrist stormed.
Keith on the Signs of the times.
Knight's Lectures on certain prophecies.
Legget's (Rich.) Evangelical providences.
Limhorch's Theology.
———— Reply to Grotius.
Malvenda on Antichrist.
Manton's 18 Sermons on 2 Thess. ii.
Marcus' Reply to Grotius.
Mede on the Apocalypse.
More's Mystery of iniquity.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Vol. 6.
Moseley on the Fall of Babylon.
Nelson's Perfect description of Antichrist. (Makes him to be Oliver Cromwell.)
Ness' Person and period of Antichrist.
Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies.
Newton (Sir I.) on the Prophecies.
Pike's (J.) Antichrist unmasked.

Antichrist—*continued.*

Quarterly Review. 70:197.
Rabet on the Name and number of the Beast.
Ramsay's (W.) The Lord of Rome the Antichrist, proved from the writings of Solomon and Isaiah.
Richard's (Dr. Wm.) Corruptions of Christianity.
Riland's (John) Antichrist: Papal, Protestant, and Infidel.
Robinson's Premonitions of the doom of Papacy.
Rutherford's Spiritual Antichrist: Opening the Secrets of Familism, Antinomianism, &c. (Describes curious events in New England.)
Sharp's Looking glass for the Pope.
Simpson's Key to the prophecies.
Smith (Ethan) on the Prophecies.
Sohn's True description of Antichrist.
Squire's Exposition of 2 Thess. ii. 2.
[Symson's] Growth of the Roman Antichr.
Taylor (Henry) on the Grand apostacy.
Tazewell on Antichrist. (Maintains him to be the Quakers.)
Todd's (J. H.) Donnellan lectures. 1838.
Tuckney's Prelections.
Warburton's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ward's Three sermons on prophecy.
Whitley's Scheme of prophecy. (Makes Mahomet Antichrist.)
Williams' (Bp.) Antichrist revealed. (Maintains him to be the Presbyterians.)
Winthrop (J.) on Antichrist.

The writers on this subject are a great multitude; the valuable thoughts selected from them all might be contained in half a dozen volumes.

Antimasonry. See FREEMASONRY.

Antinomianism. See GOOD WORKS, IMPUTATION, MORAL ABILITY, PAUL AND JAMES.

Pro.[*]

Allen's (John) Spiritual exposition of the Bible.
Agricola (John) on Luke and the 19th Ps.
Archer's (Henry) Works. (Publicly burnt, by order of the Westminster Assembly.)
Brine's Tracts.
Crisp's (Tobias) Sermons. (Great and devout.)
Crisp's (S.) Christ made sin.
Eaton's Honeycomb of free justification. (One of the first, if not the first writer on this side. 1642.)
——— Discovery of a dead faith.
Edwards' (Tho.) Gospel truth.
———— Baxterianism barefaced.

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[*] Those here set down as Antinomians, are so considered by theological writers generally; but no body of Christians accepts this designation.

Antinomianism—*continued.*

Edwards' (Tho.) Review of Crispianism unmasked.
Goodwin's (John) Imputatio fidei.
Hussey's Glory of Christ unveiled. (An able and candid book, strong against Socinians.)
Richardson's Justification by Christ alone.
——— Answer to Holmes.
——— Divine consolations.
Saltmarsh's Free grace.
——— Shadows flying away. (Reply to Gataker.)
——— Smoke in the Temple.
——— Sparkles of glory.
Smith's (Zephaniah) Sermons.
——— Doom of heretics.
Spiritual Magazine. 2:271.
Toplady's Scheme of Christian necessity.
Town's Assertion of grace.
——— Re-assertion of grace.
——— Monomachia.
Twisse's Animadversions on J. Armenius.
——— Vindicat. of grace and providence.
——— Riches of God's love.
——— Treatise on reprobation.
——— on the Scientia Media.
Wilk's Fearless def. of leading doctrines.

Con.

Bullii Defensio fidei Nicænæ.
Hoornbeckii Summa controversia.
Petavii Dogmata.
Witsii Animadversiones Irenicas.
——— de Foedere.

Allen (Thos.) on the Two covenants.
Bates' Observations on important points.
Baxter on Justification and the covenant.
——— on Catholic theology.
Bellamy's Works. (Dialogues, Essays.)
Bull on the Nicene creed.
——— Harmonia apostolica.
Burder's (Sam.) Moral law a rule of life.
Burton's Law and gospel reconciled.
Chase's A. unmasked. (Fine preface by Robert Hall.
Chauncey's Neononianism unmasked.
——— Antidote to Neonomian bane.
Christian Observer. 16:413. 18:531.
Cottle's Strictures on Antinomianism.
Edwards' (Jno.) Crispianism unmasked.
——— (Various other treatises.)
Faber on the Prophecies.
Flavels' Rise and growth of A. errors.
Fletcher's Four checks. (Often reprinted.)
Fuller's (And.) Dialogues. Dial. 7.
——— A. contrasted with the rel. of Scrip.
——— Perpetuity of the moral law.
——— Rule and conduct of believers.
Gataker's A. discovered and confuted.
——— Antidote to error.
——— Shadow without substance.
Geree's Antinomians confuted.
Giles' Antinomian reclaimed.

Antinomianism—*continued.*

Hall's Help to Zion's travellers. (An excellent work for all unlearned Christians.)
Hall's (Robt.) Works.
Hallifax on the Prophecies.
Hampson's Blow at the root of pretended Calvinism.
Hankinson's (Tho. E.) Sermons.
Hardy on the Prophecies.
Hawker's (R.) Portrait of Antinomianism.
Huntingdon's (W.) Lamentations of Satan.
Hutchinson (Mrs.) on Antinomians.
Knollys' (Hanserd) Flaming fire in Zion.
Moore's Mystery of godliness.
Neale's History of the Puritans. Vol. 7.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
Rutherford's Spiritual Antichrist.
Sedgwick's Antinomianism anatomized.
Sharp's (Granville) Mystic Babylon.
Sherlock's Knowledge of Jesus Christ.
Simon's (Jno.) Letter on certain errors.
Stephen's Doctrinal A. refuted.
Stillingfleet on the Satisfaction of Christ.
Taylor (Henry) on the Grand apostacy.
Thomas' (John) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Weld's Rise and ruin of the A. and Familists.
White's (Hugh) Profession and practice.
Williams' (Dan.) Gospel truth vindicated.
Witsius' Conciliatory animadversions on the controversies in Great Britain. 1700.

Antiquity of Man. See NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.

Antislavery. See SLAVERY.

Anxiety. See PEACE OF MIND, TROUBLE, TRUST.

Atterbury's (Francis) Sermons.
Baxter's (Arthur G.) Sermons.
Beachcroft's (Robt. P.) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blackall's (Dr. O.) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Bloomfield's (George B.) Sermons.
Buddicom's (Robert P.) Sermons.
Butcher's (William) Sermons.
Cappe's (Newcombe) Devotional discourses.
Carmichael's (Frederick) Sermons.
Clarke's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Farringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gataker's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Hough's (Dr. John) Sermons and charges.
Howe (J.) on Thankfulness for to-morrow.
Lowth's (Bp.) Sermons.
Morrison's (Dr. Robt.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Spincke's (N.) on Casting our care on God.
Stanhope's (George) Sermons.

Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Verchoyle's (H.) Sermons.
Zollikoffer on the Festivals and fasts.

Aphthardocetæ. See MONOPHYSITES.

Apocalypse. See COMMENTATORS.

Apocrites. See MANICHEANS.

Apocrypha. See CANON, ENOCH, JASHER.

Apelii (H. E.) Libri vet. test. Apocryphi.
Arens de Evangeliorum apocr. in canonicis, usu, historico, critico, exegetico.
Augusti Libri Apocryphi.
Beausobre, Hist. critique des dogmes.
Bernard, Republique des lettres.
Beckhaus' Bemerkungen über d. Gebrauch der Apokryphen.
Bibliandri Protevangelion.
Bretschneider's Dogmatik der Apocryphen.
Chrytæi Interpretatio librorum Apoc.
Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test. (Collected and edited by Dr. Giles.)
Dallæus de Pseudepigraphis apostolicis.
Dupin, Prolegomena sur la Bible.
Eichorn's Einleitung in die Apok. des A. T.
Fabricii Codex pseudepigraphis Vet. Test.
——— Codex pseudepigraphis Nov. Test. (This collection contains every fragment of such productions; with important remarks on their character, evidence, &c.; from which Lardner, Jones, and others, have drawn largely.)
Fritzsche und Grimm's Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.
Frankelii Hagiographa posteriora.
Gaab's Philologischen Verstehen.
Gerardi Loci theologici.
Gutmann's Apocryphen d. Alt. Testament.
Grotii Interpretatio librorum Apoc.
Henckii Dissertationes. (One of these is on the use of the O. T. apocryphal writings in our New Testament.)
——— Introd. ad libros apoc. vet. test.
Henock's Vollständiger übersetzung.
Hauff's Griechisch profanscriben.
Henzel's Erklarend. anmerk. anhang, &c.
Himmelii Librorum Apoc. analysis.
Hottingeri Censura libror. Apoc. V. Test.
Ittigius de Pseudepig. Christi, V. Mariæ, &c.
Janii libri Apocryphi Vet. Testament.
Kluge's Stellung u. bedentung der Apoc.
Kuinoel, Observ. ad N. T. ex libris apoc.
Kunzgefasstes Exigetisches handbuch.
Keerl's Apocryphenfrage m. berücksicht. der darauf bezugl. schriften Stier's und Hengstenberg's, &c.
Le Clerc (or Clerici), Dissertationes.
Lemmischii Interpretatio libror. Apoc.
Leusdeni Libri V. T. Apocryphi omnes.
Millii Prolegomena ad Nov. Testamentum.
Morus de Canone Scripturæ.
Mosheim, adversus Tolandum.
Mouline, sur les livres Apoc. Ancien Test.
Neander (M.), Apocrypha.
Pellicani Interpretatio libror. Apoc.

Apocrypha—*continued.*

Rainoldi Censura libror. Apoc. V Test.
Reus' Diss. de libris V. T. apocryphis.
Schmidii Corpus Vet. Apocryphorum.
——— Corpus Nov. Apocryphorum.
Spanheimii Interpretatio libror. Apoc.
Stier, über die Apokryphen.
Thilonis Codex Apocryph. (Exact text.)
Turretini Theologia elenctica.
Vatabulus, Interpretatio libr. Apocryph.
Volkmar's Handbuch d. einleitung in die A.
Wahl, Clavis librorum Vet. Test. Apoc.
Waltheri Officina Biblica.
Wolfii (Chris.) Bibliotheca. Par. II.

Arnold's Crit. Com. with dissertations.
Bunsen's History of the Apocrypha.
Burnet's (Benj.) Discourses against Popery
Burnet (Gilbert) on the 39 articles.
Christian Examiner. 14:1.
Christian Observer. 22:1. 65:129.
Dick (John) on Inspiration.
Diodati's Comment. on the Scriptures.
Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.
Goodwin's Translation of the Apocrypha.
Gill's Dissertation on the Apocrypha.
Gorham's Impropriety of circulating the A. (Gives valuable historical facts.)
Gray & Percy's Key to the O. Test. Apocry.
Hone's Apocryphal New Test. (*All* extant pieces, translated into English.)
Jones' (Jer.) Full method of settling the canon, &c. (Describes the Apoc. books of the New Testament.)
Lardner's Credibility of the gospel.
Lewis' Antiquities. Bk. 8. Ch. 46.
Prideaux's Connection of the O. and N. T.
Princeton Review. 17:268.
Quarterly Review. 25:346. 30:472.
Wake's Preliminary discourses to the canonical epistles of the Apostolic Fathers.
Whiston's Genuine collect. of the A. books.
Wilson's (C.) Crit. and histor. observations. (Introductory discourses to each book.)
Wordsworth's Hulsean lectures. 1847.

Esdras.

Laurence, Versio Æthiopica in medium prolata et Latine angliceque reddita.
Lee's Dissertation on Esdras.
Laurence's Trans. with critical disquisitions.

Tobit.

Bedæ Explicationes allegorica.
Drusii (Joan.) Opera.
Fagii Tobias Hebraicæ.
Munsteri (Sebast.) Codex Judæorum.
Reusch's Ueberset. und erklärung.
Sengelman's Buch T. erklärung.

Judith.

Montfaucon, la Veritè de l'hist. de Judith.
Rabanus Maurus, Opera.

Wisdom of Solomon.

Bauermeister, Commentarius.

Apocrypha—*continued.*

Bibliandri Annot. in libro Sapientiæ.
Bretschneideri Versio emend. et comment.
Dieterici (Conrad.) Annotationes.
Faber (J. M.) Dissertationes ix. in sap. Sal.
Gilse de lib. S. argumento, doctr. foute, &c.
Grim de libri sapientiæ Alexandrina indole.
Schmidii (Sebast.) Annotationes.
Strigelii (Victor) Commentaria.
Thilom's Exercitationes crit. in sap. S.

Arnold's (Rich.) Critical commentary.

Ecclesiasticus.

Bretchneideri Liber de Jesu Siracidæ. 1806. (Great.)
Camerarii Annotationes in libro Eccles.
Drusii (Joan.) Annotationes in libro Eccles.
Fagii (Paul.) Annotationes in libro Eccles.
Sarçeri (Erasm.) Annotationes in libro E.
Strigelii (Victor.) Annotationes in libro E.

Arnold's (Rich.) Critical commentary.
Howard's Trans. from the Vulgate. With notes.

Baruch.

Grunebergii (Jo. Petr.) Exercitationes.
Ursinus de libri Baruchi.

Song of the Children.

Polycarp Interp. Cantici trium puerorum.

Lyseri Cant. triumph. trium puerorum.
Sike, Evangelium Infantae.

Howard's Translation and notes.

Susanna.

Chrysostom, Gregory Naz.

Bernhard Interpretatio hist. Susannæ.
Witstein (J. J.) Dissert. philol. theologica.

Howard's Translation and notes.

Maccabees.

Bertheau, Dissertations.
Gentilis (Scipio) Disputationes.
Sanctii Comment. in librorum Maccab.
Strigelii (Victor.) Dissertationes.
Thomæ (Aq.) in libros. M. explicatio.
Verhorstii Commentaria.
Wernsdorf, de Fide historica librorum M.

Cotton's (H.) Five books of Maccab. (New trans. and notes.)

Twelve Patriarchs.

Nitzschii Comm. critica.

Grosthead's (Bp.) Test. of the twelve Patriarchs. "Englished by A. G" [olding]. (18 queer wood cuts.)

Enoch.

Dillman's Buch Henock, übersets. u. erklart.
Hoffmann's Enleit. überset. und com.

Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia. Vol. 2.
Biblical Repertory. Jan. 1840.
Butt on the Genuineness of the book of E.
Foreign Quarterly Review. 24 : 251.
Lawrence's Trans. with preliminary diss.

Apocrypha—*continued.*

Murray's Attempt to separate from the books of Enoch the book quoted by Jude.
Overton's Inquiry into the truth and use of the book of Enoch.

New Testament.

Codex Apoc. Nov. Testam. J. C. Thilo.
Codex Apoc. Nov. Testam. J. A. Fabricio.
Lörsbach's Beitrage d. Apoc. d. N. T.
Sike, Evangelium infantiæ.
Tischendorfii Evangelia Apocrypha.

Hone's Apocryphal N. T. With notes.
Quarterly Review. 25 : 348. 30 : 472.
Warrin's Trans. of Nicodemus, his gospel.
Wright's Contributions to the Apocryphal literature of the N. Test. Collected from Syriac MSS.

The various editions of the Apocrypha, collective and separate, are described in MASCH, *Biblioth. Sac.*, and HORNE, *Introduction.*

Apollinarians. See HERESIES, JESUS CHRIST, INCARNATION.

Athanasius de Incarnatione Christi.
Chrysostomi Epist. ad Cæsarium.
Gregorii (Naz.) Orationes.
Gregorii (Nys.) Epistolæ.
Theodoreti Dialogi.

Bassnage Historia hæresis Apollinaris.
Damasii Epistolæ contra sectatores.
Dorner's Lehre von der person Christi.
Schrœderi (J. J.) Dissertationes.
Wernsdorfii (Gottl.) Dissertationes.

Bayle's Crit. and historical dictionary.

Apollonius Tyanæus. See FALSE MIRACLES.

Beroaldi Vita Apollonii.
Eunapius, in Vitis Sophistarum. Procem.
Eusebius adversus Hieroclem. Cap. IV.
[Dupin,] Hist. d'Apollone de Tyane. (Pub. under the name of De Claireval.)
Müller (E.) Apoll. von Tyana, ein weiser.
Philaleutheri [Zimmerman] de Miraculis.
Philostratus de Vita Apollonii.
Philostrate, Vita A. traduit par Vigenere.
Tillemont, Vie de Apollone.

Berwick's Life of A. from Philostratus.
Blount's Translation of Philostratus.
Bradley's Truth of Christianity.
Cudworth's Intellect. system. Ch. 4, Sec. 15.
Doddridge's Course of lectures. Part 6.
Douglass' Criterion of miracles.
Fleetwood on Miracles.
Jackson (John) on Credulity.
Jenkins' Confutation of pretences against natural religion.
Lardner's Testimonies.
Quarterly Review. 3 : 417.
Tillemont's Life of A. : Tr. by Robt. Jenkins.

See a great list of such authors, few of which are now extant, in HOUTEVILLE'S *Critical and historical discourse on the principal writers for and against Christianity.* 1690.

Apologetics. See AUTHENTICITY OF SCRIPTURE, DEISM, INSPIRATION.

Ambrose, de Fide resurrectionis.
Arnobius, Adversus Gentes.
Athenagoras, Apologia pro. Christianis.
Augustin, de Doctrina Christiana.
——— de Civitate dei.
——— contra Academicos.
Clemens, (Alexandrinus) stromata.
Cyprian, de Idolorum vanitate.
Justin M., Dialogus cum Triphone Judæo.
——— Apologiæ pro Christianis.
Lactantius, Institutionum divinarum.
Origen, contra Celsum.
Theodoret, de Curandis Græcor. affectibus.
Theophylus, Libri tres ad Autolycum.
Tertullian, Apologeticus adversus gentes.
——— Liber ad Scapulam.

Apollinaris ad Marcum Antoninum.
Arnobius, adversus Gentes.
Clausen, Apol. eccl. christianæ ante Theodosiani.
Eusebii Preparatio et Demonstratio.
Gourcy, Suite des anciens apologistes.
Havercampi Tertulliani apologia perpetuo commentaria.
Melito, Apologia pro Christianis.
Minutii Felicis Opera.
Mosheim de Vera ætate apologetici.
Orosius, adversus Paganos.
Senden's Geschichte der Apologetik.
Tzschirner's Geschichte der Apologetik.
Woodman's Tertulliani liber apologeticus. (With English preface and notes.)

Betty's Translation of parts of Tertullian and Theophilus.
Bolton's Evidences of Christianity, as exhibited in the writings of the Apologists.
Chevalier's Tr. of Justin M. and Tertullian.
Cunningham, on Origen cont. Celsus.
Dalrymple's Translation of the Octavius.
Dodson's Apologetics of Tertullian.
Frank's (G. S.) New system of apologetics.
Glass' Trans. of Origen contra Celsus.
Haverkamp's Comm. of the A. of Tertullian.
Humphrey's Apologetics of Athanagoras.
Lorrain's Translation of the Octavius.
North British Review. 15 : 172.
Reeve's Translation of the apologies of Justin, Tertullian, and Minutius. With notes.
Sack's Christian apologetics.

Apostacy. See BACKSLIDING, PERSEVERANCE.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Sermons.
Brameld's (G. W.) Sermons.
Bridges' (Will.) Sermons.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Cochrane's (James) Sermons.
Cruso's (Timothy) Sermons.

Apostacy—*continued.*

Fisk's (George) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic works.
Hall (Robert) on Apostacy.
Haynes' Illustrations of faith and practice.
Kidd's Danger of apostacy from Christ.
Owen's (John) Nature and causes of A.
Pike (G.) on Apostacy.
Trapp's (Joseph) Sermons.
Wallis' (Benj.) Sermons.

Apostles.

Buddæi Ecclesia Apostolica.
Burmanni Disputationes decem.
Bucher's Leben Jesu, und der apostels.
Capelli (Lud.) Hist. apostolica illustrata.
Erasmi Peregrinationes apostolorum.
Fabricii Hist. J. Christi et Apostolorum.
Hypolitus de Duodecem Apostolis.
Lampe (J.) de Eruditione Apostolorum.
Lechler das Apostolische und das nachapostolische, &c. (The "Baptist Theological Association of Haarlem, offered a prize for an essay to meet the destructive doctrines of Tübingen. This was the successful one.)
Mayer's Geschichte und schriften der Apos.
Mesner's Lehr der Apostels.
Nicetas, Orationes.
Perionius de Rebus gestis, vitisque, &c.
Sagittarii Introductio ad Hist. eccles.
Sandani Historia Apostolica.
Spanheimii (Fred.) Dissertationes.
Wilhelmi Christi. apos. u. erste bekenner.

Ashwell's (Dr. Geo.) Faith of the Apostles.
Bacon's (D. F.) Lives of the Apostles.
Barrington's Miscellanea sacra.
Benson's (C.) Lectures.
Baumgarten's Apos. history : tr. by Morris.
Bradford's History of the Apostles.
Cave's Antiquitates apostolicæ.
Craddock's Apostolical history. (Gives the time and occasion of each epistle.)
Crosthwaite's (J. C.) Sermons.
Dealtry's (Will.) Sermons.
Frank's (James C.) Hulsean lectures. 1823.
Grave's (R.) Character of the Apostles.
Kitto's Bible illustrations.
Lardner's Lives of the Apostles.
Mant's Biographical notices.
Marshall's (N.) Sermons.
Merivale's (L. A.) Christian records
Milman's Bampton lectures. 1827.
Nares' Veracity of the Evangelists.
Rhees' (Abraham) Sermons.
Shepherd's (John) Horæ Apostolicæ. (A digested narrative of the acts and writings of the Apostles.)
Sumner's (Bp.) Apos. preaching considered.

Apostles' Creed. See CREEDS.

Apostolians. See MENNONITES.

Apostolical Constitutions.

Barratieri Opera.

Apostolical Constitutions—*Cont.*

Brun's Canones Apost. (Pref. by Neander.)
Buddæi Isagoge in Theologiam.
Beveridgii Synodicon.
Capelli Epitome Apost. Constitutionum.
Cellier, Hist. generale, des auteurs sacrés.
Conradi (C.) Kritik der christlichen Dogmen.
Dallæus de Const. apostolic, apocryphis.
Drey's Untersüchungen über d. Kanones.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca.
Janus de Antiq. canon. Apost. in qua J. Dallæi et G. Beverigii sententia inter se comparantur.
Ittigius de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis.
King (P.) Hist. symboli Apostolicorum.
Krabbe's Uber d. Ursprung u. d. Inhalt, &c.
Oleviani Expositio symbolorum apostol.
Richardson Prelectiones ecclesiasticæ.
Ultzen, Textum Græcum, et annotationes.

Bibliotheca Sacra, 5 : 296.
Bunseu's Hypolitus and his age.
Christian Examiner, 44 : 223.
Christian Review, 1 : 536. 13 : 201. 15 : 505.
Chace's (Ira) Tr. of the Apostolical Const.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 119.
Grabbe's Historical and Critical Essay on the Apostol. Const. (Answer to Whiston.)
Jones (William) on the Canon.
Lardner's Works. Part 2.
Platt's (J. P.) Ethiopic Didascalia. (A tran. of the Ethiopic version.)
Princeton Review. 21 : 42.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Smallbrook's Pretended authority of the Apostolical Constitutions confuted.
Theological and literary Journal. 1 : 174.
Turner on the pretended Apostol. Const.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity.
——— Demonst. that the Apostol. Constitutions were written in the 1st century.

Apostolical Fathers. See BARNABAS, CLEMENS ROM., HERMAS, IGNATIUS, POLYCARP, JUSTIN MARTYR.

Ittigii Patres Apost.	cum annotat,		1700.
Clerici	do.	do.	1700.
Russel,	do.	do.	1746.
Horneman,	do.	do.	1816.
Jacobson,	do.	do.	1840.
Hefele,	do.	do.	1851.

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Ceillier, Histoire generale des autres sacres.
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Maréchal, Concordance des SS. PP.
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Tentzelii (Guil. Ernesti) Exercitationes.
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Cave's Fathers of the first 3 centuries.

Apostolical Succession. See EPISCOPACY, ORDINATION.

Pro.

Benzelii Dissertationes academicæ.

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Fennell, Memoires sur la validité des ordinations des Anglois. (Argues that the clergy of the English church are mere laymen.)
Masoni Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicana.
Brett's Divine right of Episcopacy.
Chapin's Order of the Primitive church.
Cook's History of the Apost. succession.
Courayer's Validity of English Ordination.
Dublin Review, 5 : 285. 7 : 139. (To show that the English church has no claim to Apostolical succession.)
Faber on the Apostolical succession.
Fry (H. P.) on the Apos. succ. (As able as anything on this side of the question, from the Tractarian school.)
Houghton's (Wm.) Theology of the Anglican reformers.
Harrington (E. C.) on Apostol. succession.
Irous (W. J.) on the Apostol. succession.
Lawreuce (R.) Lay Baptism invalid.
Palmer's (Wm.) Episcopacy in the British Churches.
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Sinclair (John) on the Episcopal succession.
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Boardman's Doct. of Apostol. succession.
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Campbell's (John) Puseyism and Popery.
Carey on the Doct. of the Apostol. Succ.
Cater's Great Fiction of the Times.
Davison's Protestant Minister's mission.
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Powell on Apostolical succession. (Replies to Percival.)
Princeton Review. 14 : 129. 19 : 539. 28 : 1.
Prynne on Independency.
Snodgrass on Apostolical succession.
Smyth's (Tho.) Doct. of Apost. succession.
——— ——— Presbytery not Prelacy.
Stratton on the Apostolical succession.
Whiston's Proof that all persons solemnly, though irregularly, set apart, are real clergymen; or else there are none such in the world.
Wisner's Lectures on prelacy and parity.

Apostolicals. See WALDENSES.

Apotactites. See ENCRATITES.

Apothegms of Scripture.

Delvii Adagia sacra, V. et N. Testament.
Drusii Classes duæ in quibus explicantur, etc.
Schottii Adagia sacra N. Testament.

Apparent Contradictions. See CHRONOLOGY, DIFFICULTIES, QUOTATIONS.

Althameri, Conciliationes locorum S. S. qui inter se pugnare videntur. (Excellent.)
Beconi, Opera.

Apparent Contradictions—*continued.*

Broughton, Concensus sacræ scripturæ.
Macri, sive Magrii, Antilogiæ.
Mayeri, Manuale biblicum.
Manassah ben Israel, de conventia locorum S. S. quæ inter se pugnare videntur.
Matthæi Antilogia biblica.
Mettingeri Harmonia in utroque Test.
Thaddei Scrip. sacra a se non diversa.
Turrettini Theologia Elenctica.
Waltheri Harmonia biblica.

Boyer's Critical conjectures, &c.
Burnett's Four discourses.
Calamy's (Edward) Sermons.
Cooper's Four hundred texts explained.
Cox's (J. H.) Harm. of Scrip. vindicated.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 6.
Falconer's Bampton lectures. 1810. (Dissonance of the Four Evangelists.)
Fuller's (And.) Works. (A judicious and learned discussion.)
Hallet's (Joseph) Notes on texts.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Kennicott's State of the printed text.
——— Remarks on select passages.
Lindo's (E. H.) The Conciliator.
Man's 3000 Seeming contrad. reconciled.
Manassah ben Israel, The Conciliator.
Paley's Evidences. Part 3.
Ridgeley's Body of divinity.
Sykes' Truth of the Christian religion.
[Thaddeus' (Jno.)] Reconciler of the Bible. (Notices 2000 seeming contradictions.)
Whately's (Rich.) Essays. Essay 7.
Wood's (Prof.) Works.

Most works of this class find apparent contradictions in a multitude of passages where there are none.

Apparitions. See MAGIC, SUPERSTITION.

Bekker, le Monde enchante.
Brierre, Hist. raisonnee des Apparations.
Boisardus de Spiritum apparitionibus.
Cahagnet Arcanes de la vie future.
Calmet, sur les angels, demons, &c.
Grasse's Wissenschaftlich Geordnete, &c.
Kerner's Seherin von prevorst.
Jung Stilling's Theorie der Geisterkunde.
Lavater de Spectris.
Lenglet Dufresnoy, sur les Revelations particuliéres.
Loyer (P.), des Spectres.
Melancthoni Epistolæ ad Hubert.
Meisneri Dissertationes.
Salverte des Sciences occultes.
Stelling (W.), Geheimnissvolle Jenseits.
Thyræi (Pet.) Opera.
Wierus de Angelis et Demonibus.
Zanchii (Hieron.) Dissertationes.

Alderson & Hibbert on Apparitions.
Abercrombie on the Intellectual powers.
Analytic Magazine. 2 : 338.
Aubrey's (John) Miscellanies.
Baxter's Histor. treatise on apparitions.
Berington's (Simon) Dissertations.

Apparitions—*continued.*

Berthogg on the Nature of spirits.
Bigland's Essays. Essay 7.
Boismont (B.) on Hallucinations.
Brewster on Natural magic.
Burrowes' (E. J.) Hours of devotion.
Calmet's Dissertations.
——— Phantom world. Tr. by Christmas.
Casaubon on Witches and apparitions.
Christian Examiner. 12 : 106.
Crowe's Night side of nature.
De Foe's Secrets of the invisible world.
Drelincourt on Death. (Preface.)
Eclectic Magazine. 3 : 71.
Edwards' (Bp.) Theologia reformata.
Ferrier's Theory of apparitions.
Frazier's Magazine. 2 : 33. 34 : 231.
Glanvill's Sadduceismus triumphatus.
——— Demon of Tedworth.
——— Essays in philos. and religion.
Hammond's (Henry) Discourses.
Hibbert's Philosophy of apparitions.
Jackson (Tho.) on the Apostles' creed.
Jung Stilling's Theory of pneumatology. Tr. by Jackson. (Gives many remarkable accounts, including one related by John Wesley.)
Lawton's (Edward) Lectures.
Littell's Living Age. 13 : 529.
London Retrospective Review. 11 : 66.
Mather's (Cotton) Magnalia.
Mather's (Increase) Remarkable providences. (Furnishes an instructive picture of the state of society among the early settlers of America.)
Moore's (Henry) Divine dialogues.
Morton's Secrets of the invisible world.
Museum of Foreign literature. 7 : 157.
New England Magazine. 2 : 8.
North British Review. 9 : 393.
Quarterly Review. 9 : 304. 48 : 287.
Radcliffe's Origin and nature of the belief in the supernatural.
Saunders on Angels and an angelic life.
Sinclair's Invisible world discovered. (Curious narratives, given as authentic.)
Telfair's Actings of a spirit which infested the house of A. Mackie. 1695.
Toplady's Sermons.
Taylor's (Joseph) Mystery of ghosts.

Appearance of Evil. See DEPORTMENT.

Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.

Appetites. See MORAL SCIENCE.

Baxter's Practical works.
Hutchinson on the Nature of virtue.
——— on the Passions.

Ararat. See ARK, GEOGRAPHY.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 7 : 390.
Blackwood's Magazine. 28 : 24. 65 : 577.
Foreign Quarterly Review. 15 : 288.

Southern Literary Messenger. 10:131.
Westminster Review. 51:199.

Archangel. See PHILOLOGY.

Stengelii Hist. archangelorum. Plates.
Witsii Miscellanea sacra. Tom. 2. Exer. 4.

Clayton's (Bp.) Miscellaneous works.
Rudd's Is Michael our Saviour?
Simpson on the Language of scripture.

Archæology. See CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, COINS, EGYPT, HIEROGLYPHICS, VESTMENTS.

Ackermanni Archæologia biblica. (Chiefly from Jahn.)
Alliolis' Biblischen Alterthumskunde.
Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie.
Baumgarten-Crusius' Dogmengeschichte.
Bauer's Hebräische Mythologie.
——— Beschreibung die Gottesdienstlichen Verfassung der alten Hebräer.
Bibliothèque archæologique. (Periodical.)
Bohlen das alte Indien und Egypt.
Bruningii Compar. antiq. Græcæ. ("Executed with great learning and judgment." —HARWOOD.)
Cremeri Antiquitates Sacræ.
Donati Roma: vetus et recens. (1725.)
Grævii Thesaurus antiq. Romanorum.
——— Idem. Italiæ, Siciliæ, Sardiniæ. (Two very valuable works, in 60 volumes.)
Gronovii Thesaurus antiq. Græcorum.
Hattemer's Denkmahl des mittel alters.
Keil's Handbuch der biblischen Archæologie.
Kinkel's Alte christliche Kunst.
Kleem's Cultur Geschichte.
Jablonski, Opuscula varia.
Jahn, Archæologia Biblica.
Lamy, Apparatus biblicus.
Millii Dissertationes.
Montfaucon, l'Antiquité expliquée.
Muller de Vitiis archæologiæ biblicæ.
Nouvelle Encyclopédie theologique.
Revue Archéologique. (Periodical.)
Rosenmuller's Biblisch Alterthumskunde.
Schilteri Thesaurus antiq. Teutonicarum. (A vast collection of curious matter.)
Suiceri Thesaurus ecclesiasticus.
Waltoni Biblia Polyglot. (Prolegomena.)

Archæologia of Lond. Antiq. Society. 1770 to 1820. (Many hundred engravings. The contributors were among the first scholars in England.)
Archæological Journal. (Begun 1844.)
Bruce's State of society in the age of Homer.
Bryant's Observations and enquiries.
Burton's Phraseology, manners, history, &c., of Eastern nations; as illustrating the sacred Scriptures.
Cory's Fragments of ancient Phœnician, Chaldæan, Egyptian, Carthagenian, Indian, Persian, and other writers.
Cumberland's Sanchoniatho's Phœnician History, translated.
——— Origin of the most ancient nations.

Archæology—*continued.*

Fosbrook's Elements of Archæology. (An excellent book for general reference.)
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. (Origin of literature and philosophy, the ancient Jewish Scriptures, &c.)
Godwin's Moses and Aaron. (Elucidates many passages of Scripture by Jewish rites.)
Gray's (Robt.) Con. between the sacred writings and the literature of the Jewish and Heathen authors. ("Profound and elegant."—ORME.)
Guerickè's Christian antiquities.
Hager on the Newly discovered Babylonian inscriptions. 1801. (Plates.)
Halliwell's Journal of antiq. science.
Heeren's Politics, intercourse, &c., of the principal nations of antiquity. ("As learned as a professed commentary, and as entertaining as a book of travels."—EDINB. REVIEW.)
Jackson's Antiq. of the most anc. nations.
Jahn's Biblical Archæology. Tr. by Upham.
Jones' Asiatic researches.
Kennet's Roman antiquities.
Landseer's Sabæan researches. (Lectures on the engraved hieroglyphics of Chaldea.)
Layard's Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.
Maurice's Indian antiquities. (Hindus, Persians, &c.)
——— Ruins of Babylon. As in 1815.
Montfaucon's Antiquity explained. (Trans. by Humphreys. A library in itself; and wholly reliable.)
Nuttal's Archæological Dictionary.
Osborn's Monumental hist. of Egypt.
Prideaux's Connection of the O. and N. Test.
Potter's Greek antiquities.
Proceedings of the Archæological Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Shaw's (H.) Alphabets, numerals, and devices of the middle ages.
Smith's (Geo.) Gentile nations.
Wait's (D. G.) Jewish, Oriental, and Classical antiquities. (Able illustrations of Scrip.)
Walsch's (Jno.) Heb. and Egyp. antiquities.
Whately on Difficult passages of the N. T.

See many other citations in FABRICII *Bibliographia Antiquaria.*

Architecture. See CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

Areopagus.

Cicero ad Atticum. Lib. 1. Epist. 14.
Witsii Meletemata.

Roscoe's Boyle lectures.

Arianism. See COUNCIL OF NICE.

Pro.

Arii Epistola ad Eusebium Nicomed.
——— θαλεια.
Febingeri Demonstrationes Christianæ.
——— die Lehre von Gott und Christ.
Sandii Confessio fidei.
——— Nucleus hist. ecclesiasticæ.
Voetii Apologia equitis Poloni.

Arianism—*continued.*

Pro.

Belsham's (Tho.) Review of Wilberforce.
Bruce's (Will.) Sermons.
Carpenter on the Doctrines of revelation.
——— on the Works of creation.
Chandler's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons and commentaries.
Chubbs' Supremacy of God the Father.
Clarke's (Dr. S.) Scrip. doct. of the Trinity. (Takes up every text in the New Test. in which the subject is mentioned.)
[Clayton (Bp.)] on the Spirit. (This book drew out more than thirty replies, mostly pamphlets.)
Cornish on the Pre-existence of Christ.
Drummond's (Geo. H.) Theological works.
Emlyn's Scripture account of Jesus Christ.
——— Vindic. of the worship of Christ.
——— Remarks on Mr. Boyse.
——— Supreme deity of the Father.
——— Three tracts in reply to Leslie.
——— (Many other treatises.)
Harwood's (Edward) Five dissertations.
[Hopkins' (Will.)] Appeal to common sense.
Price's (Richard) Sermons.
Sykes on the Epistle to the Hebrews.
Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai.
Theological Repository. 4:153.
Tompkins' Mediator.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity.
——— Sermons and essays.

Con.

Ambrose, de Fide; ad Gratianum.
Athanasii Disputationes et Orationes.
Augustine, contra Sermonem Arianorum.
Basil, Rationes syllogisticæ.
Chrysostom, de Natura Dei.
Cyrill (Alex.), de Sancta Trinitate.
Epiphanius, Epistolæ.
Gregory (Naz.), Oratio adv. Arianos.
Jerome, Epistolæ.

Bezæ Tractationes theologicæ.
——— Orthodoxæ fidei explicatio.
Bulli Defensio fidei Nicenæ.
Cocceji Examen apol. equitis Poloni.
Fulgentius contra Arianos.
Grotius de Satisfactione Christi.
Hilarius de Trinitate.
Hoornbeckii Apparatus ad controversiam.
Langii (S.) Hæresis Arii.
Meisneri (Jo.) Disputationes.
Petavii Dogmatica Theologia.
Porti Orthodoxæ fidei defensio.
Smiglecii Nova monstra.
Ursini Tractationes theologicæ. (Powerful.)
Virgilii Altercatio: sive dialogi, &c.
Wuchereri (Jo. F.) Prolusiones.

Abbadie's Antidote against socin. poison.
Allix's (Peter) Remarks on Mr. Whiston's books.
Athanasius' Four disputations: trans. by S. Parker.
Bennet's Reply to Clarke's Scrip. doctrine.
Biley (Edw.) on the 12th ch. of Revelations.

Arianism—*continued.*

Con.

Bishop's Moyer lectures. 1724, 1725.
Blackmore on the Arian hypothesis.
Bogue & Bennet's Hist. of Dissenters.
Boyse's (Joseph) Sermons.
Bull's Defence of the Nicene creed.
Burrell's Mystery of God.
Carson's (Alex.) Works.
Clagget's (John) Arianism anatomized.
Edwards' (John) Reply to S. Clarke.
Eusebius' Life of Constantius.
Felton's Moyer lectures. 1728. (Powerful.)
Gastrell's Reply to Dr. S. Clarke.
Gataker's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hancock's Ante-Nicene Fathers.
Hawker's (Robt.) Sermons.
Hey's (John) Lectures in Divinity.
Jones' (Will.) Answer to Clayton.
Kirby (John) on the Trinity. (Reply to Clayton.)
Knight's Reply to Clarke's Scrip. doctrine.
Knowles' (Thomas) Reply to Clayton.
Leslie's Short method.
Lowth's Excerpts from eccles. history.
McDonald's Answer to Hopkins' appeal.
May's Reply to Dr. Samuel Clarke.
Miller (Dr. G.) on the Doctrines of Christ'y.
Moyer lectures. (Many excellent treatises.)
Paul's (Dr. John) Refutation of Arianism.
Pike's Reply to Dr. Samuel Clarke.
Pearson (Bp.) on the Creed.
Scott's (John) Doct. of the Trinity.
Skelton's Dialogue of the gods. (Ironical.)
Smallbrook's Idolatry of Arianism.
——— Pretended authority of the Clementine constitutions.
Taylor's (Abraham) Doct. of the Trinity.
Thyrwitt's Commentaries and essays.
Tillotson on the Incarnation.
Trapp's (Jos.) Summary view of the controv.
Warren's Antidote to Arianism.
Waterland's Answer to Dr. S. Clarke.
Well's Answer to Dr. Samuel Clarke.
Whitaker's Origin of Atheism.
Wynperse's Divinity of Christ. (A masterly little manual.)

See "An account of all the considerable books and pamphlets written on either side of the controversy from 1712 to 1719." Pub. at London, 1720; and WILSON's History of Dissenting Churches.

Arians, Hist. of. See HIST. OF DOCTRINES.

Bebelii (Balthas.) Dissertationes.
Fabricii Lux salutaris evangelii.
Hanneckii Historia Arianismi.
Koenigii Historia Arianismi.
Langii Hæresis Arii.
Lupus, Vie, mors, erreurs, &c.
——— sur les Semi-ariens.
Maimbourg, Histoire de l'Arianisme, avec l'origine des Sociniens.
Meisneri (Joann.) Disputationes.
Osiandri Arianismi antiq. et novi.

Arians—*continued.*

Sandii Nucleus hist. ecclesiasticæ. (Collects from reliable sources all that is important on this subject.)
Wetzeri Restitutio veræ chronol. rerum ex controver. Arianis; ab. A. D. 315 ad 350.
Wietrowski (Soc. Jesu) Hist. de Ariana.
Zeltneri Crypto-socinismus Altorfinæ.

Berriman's Hist. of the Trinitarian controv.
Cave's Lives of the Fathers.
Christian Examiner. 12:298.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 4:192.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Jortin's (John) Works.
Lardner's Credibility of the gospel history.
Life of St. Athanasius.
Lowth's Excerpta. (Extends from the Council of Nice to that of Armenium.)
Maimbourg's History of A. Tr. by Webster.
Newman's (J. H.) Arians of the 4th century.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 4:420.
Tillemont's Hist. of the A. Tr. by Deacon.
Webster's (W.) Hist. of A. From 306 to 1666.
Whiston's Arian heresy in England.

Ark of Noah. See ARARAT, DELUGE.

Buteorus de Arca. (In Crit. Sacra.)
Hosti (Matth.) Dissertationes.
Kircheri (Athanas.) Dissertationes.
Pelletierii (Laurent.) Dissertationes.
Relandi (Adrian) Dissertationes.

Bedford's Chronology. (Appendix.)
Calmet's Dictionary.
Montanu's Jewish antiquities.
Saurius' Dissertations.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Wells' Geography of the Old Test.
Wilkins (Bp.) Real character, &c.

Ark of the Covenant. See CHERUBIM, ILLUSTRATIONS, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

Buxtorfii Exercitationes.
Sennerti (Andr.) Dissertationes.
Thaleman de Nube super arca.
Ugolini Thesaurus antiquit. sacrorum.
Van Till, (Salom.) Dissertationes.

Deyling's Sacred observations.
Hamm's Philological dissertations.

Armenian Church.

Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Aywasowski, Catéchisme Armenien.
Bembi Ritus Armeniorum.
Bonucci Vita Gregorii Archiepiscopi.
Bredenbachius de Armeniorum.
Celsii (O.) Dissertationes.
Cianciani Hist. Armeniorum. (To 1784.)
De la Croix, Etat des nations Grecque. 1686.
Fridonis Statu ecclesiæ Armeniæ.
Galani Conciliatio eccles. A. cum Romana.
——— Historia Armena.
Gerhardi (Joann.) Dissertationes.
Gravinus de Chris. religione in Armenia.
Kemp, de Statu Arm. eccles. et polit. 1665.
La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme.

Armenian Church—*continued.*

Paulini India Orientalis.
Ricaut, Hist. de l'etat present, &c. 1679.
Stierner de hodierno Statu eccles. A. 1726.

Buchanan's Researches in Asia. 1811.
Dwight's (H. G. O.) Christianity in the East. 1850.
Etheridge's Syrian Churches. (History, liturgies, literature, &c.)
Ricaut's State of the A. Church. 1679.
Simons' Religion of Eastern nations.
Smith & Dwight's Missionary researches.
Stanley's Hist. of the Eastern Church.
Yeates' Indian Church history.

Arminianism. See FIVE POINTS, PELAGIANISM, REMONSTRANTS, SYNOD OF DORT, &C.

Pro.

Arminii Disputationes.
——— Declaratio sententiæ.
——— Analysis Rom. ix.
——— do. do. vii.
——— Collatio cum Junio.
——— (Many other works. He would, by some modern writers, be charged with Calvinism.)
Batelerii Examen disputationis Voetii.
Clerici (Joann.) Commentationes.
——— Delineatio Christ. religionis.
Confessio Sententiæ pastorum qui in fœderato Belgio, "Remonstratensis" vocantur. (This is the Arm. confession of faith, drawn up by Episcopius. 1622.)
Corvini Defensio sententiæ J. Arminii.
Curcellii Institutio rel. christianæ.
Episcopii Opera theologica.
Herbert, Instructiones ex sacra scriptura.
Le Clerc, Bibliotheque.
——— Entretiens sur matieres de theol.
Limborch, Theologiæ christianæ.
Molinæi (Jo.) Armamentarium spirituale.
Nicole, Prejugez legitimès.
Poclenburgii Fred. Spanheimii Disputatio.
Tileni (Dan.) Canones Synodi Dordracænæ.
Vorstius de Natura et attributis Dei.
——— (Opera varia.)
Wetstein, Prolegomena.

Arminius' Works. Trans. by J. Nichols. (Excellent prolegomena and notes.)
Baillie's Offspring of Scotch Calvinism.
Copplestone on the Doctrine of Necessity.
Edwards (Tho.) on Irresistible grace.
Fellows' Christian philosophy.
——— Religion without cant.
Fletcher's (John W.) Works. (Very pious.)
Gleig's (Bp.) Sermons.
Goodwin (John) on Justification.
——— Expos. of Romans, 9th ch.
——— Redemption redeemed. (Very able.)
Heylin's Judgment of the Western churches.
——— Removal of the stumbling block.
Hoard's Doct. of eternal decrees.
Moorhouse's Arminianism and Calvinism compared.

Arminianism—*continued.*

Pro.

Nichols' Calv. and Armin. compared.
Playfere's Appello evangelium. (Very moderate.)
Sancroft's (Abp.) Predestinated Thief.
Taylor's Key to the Epistles.
——— Doct. of original sin.
Tomline's (Bp.) Calvinism refuted.
Watson (Rich.) on Redemption.
Wesley's (John) Works.
Wesley's (Cha.) Works.
Wheedon (D. D.) on the Freedom of the will.

Con.

Acta Synodi Dordrecti.
Amesii Antisynodalia.
——— Opera varia.
Amyraldi Declaratio fidei.
Bradwardine de causa Dei.
Capelli Theses theologicæ.
Du Moulin, Anatomie Arminianisme.
Eckardi Fasciculus controv. theol. (Exhibits the opinions of Zuingle, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, and many others, under the different points of the controversy.)
Fraxani Specimen notarum in loca, &c.
Gomari (Francisc.) Opera.
Luberti Com. ad 99 errores C. Vorstii.
Maresii (Samuel.) Dissertationes.
Molinæii (Pet.) Anatomie Arminianisme.
Musæi Disputationes.
Peltii Harmonia Remonstrantium et Socinianorum.
Spanheimii Disputationes.
Twisse, Vindiciæ graciæ Divinæ.
——— Animadversiones ad Armin.
——— de Scientia media.
Vedelii (Nic.) Arcana Arminianismi.
Zanchius de Religione christiana.

Baillie's Antidote of Arminianism.
Bates on Important points in divinity.
Beausobre's Defence of the Reformed doct.
Beza on Predestination.
Biblical Repository. Apr. 1831.
Bledsoe's Theodicy. (Able.)
Brown's (H.) Arminian inconsistencies.
Booth's Reign of grace.
Brine's (John) Works.
Burgess on the Moral law.
Claude's Defence of the Reformation.
Coles on Divine sovereignty. (Excellent.)
Du Moulin's Anatomy of Arminianism.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Edwards' (Dr. John) Answer to Dr. Whitby.
Gill's Cause of God and truth. (Reply to Whitby.)
——— on the Five points.
Hill's (Sir Rich.) Review of Wesley's doctrine. (Replies to Fletcher.)
Hussey's Glory of Christ. (Reply to Hoard.)
Kendall's Theocratia. (Reply to Goodwin.)
Lamb's Freedom from sin by Christ. (Reply to Goodwin.)

Arminianism—*continued.*

Con.

Owen's (John) Display of Arm. (Reply to Goodwin.)
——— (Other works on the subject.)
Princeton Review. 28 : 38.
Prynne's (W.) Anti-arminianism.
——— God no impostor.
Resberry's Stop to the gangrene.
——— Lightless star. (Reply to Goodwin.)
Rutherford's Apology for Divine grace.
Scott's (Tho.) Reply to Tomline.
Smith's (John) Letters to his brother.
Toplady's Historical proof.
——— Church of England vindicated.
Twisse on the Grace and power of God.
Webster's (C.) Arminianism.

Arminians, Hist. of. See ARMINIUS.

Cattenburgii Bibliotheca scrip. Remonstran.
De Vry, Hist. of te Kort und wæraechtig verhael van de oorspronck.
Epistolæ ecclesiasticæ. (These letters of Arminius, Vorstius, Episcopius, Grotius, &c., furnish a very good history of the period immediately after the synod of Dort.)
Limborch de Origine et progressu, &c.
Salomo Theodoctus [Ægidius] de Secti Belgii.
Sandii Bibliotheca.
Staudlin Ges. der theol. Wissenschaften.
Theodoti (sive Afhacker) Ενωτικον.
Triglandii Antapologia.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 1 : 226.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 9 : 532.
Lord's Literary and Theol. Review. 6 : 337.
Methodist Quart. Review. 4 : 425, 556.

See an account of Foreign Arminian writers, in CATTENBURG, *Biblioth. scriptorum Remonstrantium*, and KOECKER, *Biblioth.* theol. symbolicæ. SALOMONIS THEODOCTUS [his real name is Ægidius], in his Secti Belgii, professes to give a complete list of the writers on both sides.

Arminius.

Arminii Opera.
Brantii Vita Jacobi Arminii.
Armenius' Works, with Memoir. Trans. by Nichols and Bagnal.
——— Trans. by J. Guthrie.
Bangs' Life of Arminius.
Brandt's Life of Arminius.
Jones' Christian biography.

Armor, Ancient.

Edinburg Review. 39 : 346.
Grose's Military antiquities. 150 plates.
Quarterly Review. 30 : 335.
Meyrick's Crit. enquiry into ancient armor. (Three folios, with many fine plates.)

Armor of God. See FIGHT OF FAITH.

Bennett's (Will.) Miscellaneous sermons.
Brackenbury's (Edward) 53 Discourses.
Butts' (Thomas) Sermons.

Armor of God—*continued.*

Dale's (Thomas) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Glassebrook's (James) Sermons.
Gurnall's Christian in complete armor.
Gleig's (George) Sermons.
Hastings' (J.) Sermons at the University of Cambridge.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Latimer (Bp.) Sermons.
Scott's (John) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Sullivan's (W. H.) Parish sermons.
Trench's (Richard C.) Sermons.
Vaughn's (Henry) Sermons.
Venner's (Richard) Panoplia.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.

Arnoldists. See WALDENSES.

Bernhardi Epistolæ.
Boulay, Histoire academ. Parisiensis.
Chaupefied, Dictionnaire historique.
Murator, Droits de l'Empire.

Jones' Church history.

Arrangement of Scripture. See ANALYSES.

Artificial Memory. See MNEMONICS.

Ascension of Christ. See JESUS CHRIST.

Affelmani Disputationes.
Flaccii Explicationes.
Henrici Aphorismi triumphales.
Hoornbeckii Theologia practica. lib. v.
Koeppenii (Joann. Ulric.) Dissertationes.
Loescheri (Caspar) Dissertationes.
Mayeri (Joan. Frid.) Dissertationes.

Allison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Amory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:152.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Bloomfield's (G. B.) Sermons.
Blundell's (T.) Sermons.
Chandler's (Samuel) Sermons.
Cooper's (William) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp. T.) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hurrion on the Knowledge of Christ.
Noel's (Gerard T.) Sermons.
Riddle's (J. E.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.

Asceticism. See ESSENES, MORTIFICATION, MONASTICISM, THERAPEUTÆ.

Ashamed of Christ.

Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Milner's (Isaac) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whichcot (Benjamin) Sermons.

Ash Wednesday. See FASTS.

Andrews' (Bp.) Sermons.
Calamy's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.

Gordon's (Adam) Sermons.
Higgins' (Francis) Sermons.
Lowth's (Bp.) Sermons.
Marshal's (N.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.

Associate Church. See SECEDERS.*

Pro.

Acts of the Assoc. Presb. Church, on renewing the Covenant, &c. 1766.
Anderson (John) on Saving faith.
Anderson's (Abraham) Theology.
Associate Presbytery, Acts of. 1766.
Associate Presbytery, Brief account of. 1796.
Constitution and Standards of the A. Ch.
Erskine's (Ralph) Works.
Erskine's (Ebenezer) Works.
Fisher's (James) Catechism.
Gib's Display of the Secession testimony.
Hall (A.) on the Burgess Oath.
McKerrow's Hist. of the Secession Church.
Miller's Sketches of the A. Church in Amer.
Proceedings of the A. Synod.

Associate Reformed Church.

Pro.

Assoc. Ref. Church Const. and Standards.
——— Synodical Reports.
Blakie's Philos. of sectarianism.
Carothers, Life of. By A. Ritchie.
Claybaugh's Christian profession.
Constitution and standards of the A. R. Church in North America. 1799.
Dales' (J. B.) Christian instructor.
Harper's (R. D.) Memorial church.
Lawson's (Geo.) Works.
McDill's Exposition of the Conf. of faith.
Pressly's (John T.) Letters on Psalmody.
Proudfit, Life of. By J. Forsyth.

Assurance. See FAITH.

Barclay's Assurance vindicated.
Baxter's (Richard) Sermons.
Bellamy's Letters and dialogues.
Biddulph's Lectures on the 51st Psalm.
Brackenbury's (Edward) Discourses.
Bowers' (Dean) Sermons.
Brine's (John) Sermons. (All excellent.)
Brooks' Heaven upon earth.
Burgess' (Anthony) 141 Sermons on grace.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Coles' (Nath.) Godly man's assurance.
East (T.) on the Forgiveness of sin.
Edwards' (Prest.) Works.
Erskine's (Ebenezer) Sermons.
Erskine's (Thomas) Essay on faith.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Fuller's Gospel its own witness.
Hall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Henry's (Philip) Sermons.
Horæ Solitariæ.

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* The Associate and Associate Reformed Churches in the United States became united in 1859, under the name of United Presbyterian Church.

Assurance—*continued.*

Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio.
Jones' (Tho.) The true Christian.
Jay's (Will.) Sermons.
Keckerman on Heavenly knowledge.
McLean's Apostolical commission.
Marshall on Sanctification.
Mason's (Jno. M.) Sermons.
Maunder on Full assurance.
Mills' (Tho.) Light of life.
Owen on the Spirit.
Polhill's Mystical union between Christ and believers.
Roberts' (Arthur) Sermons.
Rogers' Righteous man's evid. for heaven.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Stewart's (J. H.) Sermons.
Thorn on the Assurance of faith.
Toplady on the Assurance of faith.
Vaughn's (Henry) Sermons.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Sermons.
——— Essays. Ess. 1.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Wilks' (Sam. C.) Christian Essays.
Zanchius on How one may know he is a child of God.

Astrology. See DIVINATION.

Pro.

Alchabitii Scientia judic. astronom.
Bartolomæi Coclitis Bononiensis.
Belin, Figures astrales.
Cardini Metopocopia.
Eschiudii Astrologia judicialis.
Grunpeckii Speculum visionis.
Hagecii Astrol. opuscula antiqua.
Wendclini Contemplationum physicarum.
Nostradami Centuriæ.

Barret's Celestial Intelligencer.
Bishop's Manual of Astrology.
Boyse's Pantheon. (Appendix.)
Case's Angelical Guide.
Coley's Key to Astrology.
Dariot's Briefe and most easie jntrod. to y^e iudgement of y^e stars.
Heydon's (Chris.) on Judicial astronomy.
Heydon's (John) Holy guide.
Holwell's (John) Discourses.
Kirby's Marrow of astrology.
Lillie's Guide to Astrologers.
Middleton's Practical astrology.
Penseyre's Guide to Astrology.
Raphael's Oracle of the future.
Ramsay on Judicial Astrology.
Sibley's (Eben.) Trans. of Placidus.
——— Key to physic.
Wharton's (Geo.) Works. (Very curious.)
Wing's Astronomy and Nature.
Worsdale's Celestial Philosophy.
Zadkiel's Horoscope.

Con.

Limborchii Theologia. Lib. v. cap. 25.
Luther (Martin) de Astrologia.
Turrettini Institutiones. Loc. v. quest. 7.

Astrology—*continued.*

Calvin (J.) on Judicial astrol. Tr. by Gilby.
Chambers on Astrology. (Reply to Heydon.)
Carleton's Exam. of Heydon's defence.
Edwards' (Dr. John) Cometomantia.
Howe's (John) Works.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Melton's (John) Astrologaster.
Moody's Complete refutation of A.
Prideaux's Connection of the O. and N. Test.
Quarterly Review. 26:180.
Rowland on Judicial Astrology.

Astronomy. See COSMOLOGY.

Athanasian Creed. See CREEDS.

Athanasius. See FATHERS.

Athanasii Opera omnia. Ed. Benedictini.
Athanasii Vita ex Photio.
——— Vita ex Aretini.
——— Vita ex Benedictinorum.
——— Vita ex Bernardi de Montfaucon.
——— Vita ex Papebrocii.
——— Vita ex Simeonis.
Boeringer Kirchengeschichte in biographien.
Goetze de Dubiis Athanasii scriptis.
Hermance. Vie de St. Athanase. (Includes a history of Arianism.)
Kalleri Dissertationes.
Mansius de Epochis conciliorum Sardic et Sirmiens.
Möhler's A. und die kirche sein Zeit.
Renaudot, Hist. de patriarc. Alexandriæ. (Collects all the accounts of Athanasius by Oriental writers.)
Valesii Observationes Ecclesiasticæ.

Athanasius' Festal epistles. Tr. from the Syriac, with notes and indexes. Oxford, 1854.)
Christian Monthly Spectator. 4:244.
Kaye's Account of the Council of Nice.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospels. Part 2.
Parker's Trans. of the orations of A.
Thirlby's Answer to Mr. Whiston.
Whiston's Athanasius convicted of forgery.

Atheism. See EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Pro.

Baur's (F. C.) Ges. des Christenthums.
——— Kritische untersuchungen.
——— (Other works.)
Beregardi Circulus Pisanus.
Brunus de Immenso et innumerabilibus.
Cæsalpini Questionum peripateticarum.
D'Holbach, le Christianisme devoilé.
——— Lois du monde.
——— La contagion sacrée.
Hekel's Encyklopädie.
Mettrie, L'homme machine.
——— Reflexions philosophique.
——— Nouvelle liberté de penser.
——— Hist. naturelle de l'ame.
——— (Other works.)
Mocenici Contemplationes.

Atheism—*continued.*

Pro.

Spinoza, Tractatus theologico-politicus.
——— Opera posthuma.
Vanini Amphitheatrum æternum.
Wolfii (Jo. Chris.) Opera.

Atkinson's Letters on the laws of man.
Blount's Oracles of reason.
Collins on Free-thinking.
D'Holbach's Christianity exposed.
Investigator. Periodical. Lond. 1855, et seq.
Holyoake (Geo. J.) on the Atonement.
——— Types of religion.
——— Discussion with Rev. B. Grant. 1853.
——— (Other treatises.)
Laws' (Tho. L.) Philosophical meditations.
Leroux (J. J.), Opera.
Mandeville's Free thoughts.
Martineau's (Harriet) Letters.
Mettrie's Natural hist. of the soul.
——— Liberty of thinking.
Mirabeau's System of nature.
Reasoner, The. Edited by Holyoake.
Spinoza, Tractatus theologico-politicus.
Toland's Nazarenus.
——— Infinite and eternal universe.
——— Amyntor.
——— Christianity not mysterious.
——— Pantheisticon.
——— Tetradymus.
——— (Other works.)

Several of these writers are by some ranked as Deists.

Con.

Abbadie, de la Religion chretienne.
Abichtius de damno Atheismi in republica.
Assonlevilla, Atheomastix.
Barchovichii Dissertatio de Deo.
Baumeisteri Exercitationes. (An philosophus possit esse Atheus?)
Bellarmin de adscensione mentis in Deum per scalas creaturum.
Benoist, Melange de remarques crit.
Buddei Thesis theologicæ.
——— de orig. gentis Ebrææ. (Ag. Toland.)
Carpzovii Programma. (Against Toland.)
Cuperi Arcana Atheismi revelata.
Cudworth, Systema intellectuale hujus Universi. (This trans., by Mosheim, is more valuable than the English original, on account of the numerous learned notes.)
Deylingii Observationes. (Against Toland.)
Donatus, num Deum esse, per se, notum?
Elsneri Dissertationes. (Against Toland.)
Fabricii Apologet. pro genere humana.
——— Delectus Argumentorum, &c. (A comprehensive review of writers against Atheists, Deists, Jews, &c.)
Fenelon, Demonstra. de l'existence de Dieu.
Frankii Atheus convictus.
Gisbert Coquei Hobbianismi anatomea.
Grappius, an Atheismus necessario ducat ad corruptionum morum?
Kortholtus de Atheismo.

Atheism—*continued.*

Con.

La Croze, Diss. sur les Athées modernes.
Langii Causa Dei et religionis.
Lasseuii Arcana politico-atheistica.
Mangii Animadversiones.
Maret's (H. L. C.) Pantheismus in d. modernen gesellschaften. 1842.
Martinii Dissertationes.
Menkenii Diss. de Hobbesii Epicureismo.
Mosheimii Vindicatio antiquæ christianorum disciplinæ.
Mulleri Atheismus devictus.
Niemanni Atheismus refutatus.
Nieuentyt, het rect Gebruyk der Werelt-beschouwingen.
Noesselt's Vertheidigung d. christl. Relig.
Phillips, de Atheismo.
Raphsoni Demonstratio de Deo.
Rechenbergii Fundamenta veræ religionis.
Reiserus de Orig., progressu, &c., Atheismi.
Riemani Hist. Atheismi et Atheorum.
Seligmanni (G. F.) Exercitationes academ.
Spanheimii Opera.
Staalkopfius de Atheismi habitu ad vitam civilem.
Thomasii Historia atheismi.
Tiezmanni (Henric.) Disputationes.
Varenii Remedio therapeutico atheologiæ.
Voetii (Gisbert.) Disputationes.
Volder, Disputationes philosophicæ.
Vossius de theologia gentili, et physiologia christiana.
Wagneri Examen atheismi speculativi.
Wittichii Adnotationes. (Agt. Des Cartes.)

Adams on the Existence of God.
Alexander's (J.) Observations. (Ag. Hobbes.)
Allen's Oracles of reason.
Allen's (Thomas) Modern Atheism.
Balguy's Sermons and Tracts.
Batchellor's (Henry) Logic of Atheism.
Baxter's (Andrew) Works.
Bayle's Dictionary. (Under Diagorus, Theodorus, Vaninus.)
Beecher's (Lyman) Atheism considered theologically and politically.
Bentley's (Richard) Sermons.
Berkeley's (Bp.) Works.
Boyle Lectures. (From 1692 to the present.)
——— Inquiry into received notions.
——— Essay on final causes.
Buchanan's Modern Atheism: as exhibited under the forms of Pantheism, Materialisms, Secularism, and Development. 1855.
Carleton's Darkness of Atheism.
Charnock's Works.
Cheyne's Philosophical Principles.
Christian Examiner. 50 : 309. 78 :
Clarendon's Reply to Hobbes.
Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God.
Cudworth's Intellectual System.
——— ——— Abridged by Dr. Wise.
Cumberland's Law of nature.
Delaney's Revelation examined with candor.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part II.

Atheism—*continued.*

Con.

Dix's (Morgan) Lectures on Pantheism.
Durham's Demonstration.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 1, 2, and 3.
Eclectic Review. New series. 7:329.
Edwards on the Visible struct. of the world.
Elliot's Folly of Atheism.
Estlin's Nature and causes of Atheism.
Foster (James) on Natural Religion.
Fotherby's Atheomastix.
Gardner's Doom's-day book.
Grant's (Brewin) Public discussion with G. J. Holyoake, in 1854.
Godwin's Lectures on the A. controversy.
Gregory's Modern Atheism.
Grew's Cosmologia Sacra.
Hale's (Sir Matthew) Origin of man.
Hall's (Robt.) Modern Infidelity.
Harris on Atheistical objections.
Hattecliffe's God or nothing.
Hill's Lectures and Reflections.
Howel's Spirit of prophecy. (Agt. Hobbes.)
Howe's (John) Works.
Hunt's Essay on Pantheism.
Jenyn's (Soame) Disquisitions.
Lectures on Secularism, by Gregory, Condor, Savage, and Mellor.
Lesser's Insecto-theology.
Lewis' (Tayler) Plato against the Atheists.
Locke's Works.
McAll's Logic of Atheism.
McLaurin's Essays.
McCullock's (John) Sermons.
Mills on the Attempted application of Pantheistic principles to the historic criticism of the Gospel.
Monthly Review. 54:163.
More's (Henry) Philosophical works. Part 1.
Nelson's Cause and cure of infidelity.
Nieuentyt's Religious philosopher.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
Parker on God and Providence.
Pattison's Anti-Nazarenus.
Pilling on the Existence of God.
Pironett's Disquisitions. (Against Hobbes.)
Phillips' Diss. Historico-philosophica.
Ray's Physico-theology. (Great, and most useful.)
Saisset's Modern Pantheism. 1863.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Sparks' Antidote of Atheism.
Talmot's (Bp.) Sermons.
Temple's Doctrine of Leviathan.
Tennison's (Abp.) Sermons. (Agt. Hobbes.)
Thompson's (R. A.) Christian Theism.
Tower's Atheismus vapulans.
Tullock's Theism. Burnett prize essay. 1854.
Vaughn's (J.) Lectures. Lect 4.
Vince's Laws and constitutions of the heavenly bodies. (Uses profound astronomical knowledge, in the simplest language.)
Ward's (Bp.) Essay toward an eviction, &c.
Whish on the First Cause.
Wise's (Tho.) Reason and Philosophy of A.
Wisheart's (William) Sermons.
Wharton (Francis) on Theism.
Woolsey's Unreasonableness of Atheism.

The above are a very small specimen of the numerous writers on this subject.

Atheism, History of.

Brucker de Stratonis Atheismo.
Buddeus de A. et superstitione. Cap. 1.
Burgman, de Stoa.
Fabricii Delectus argumentorum.
Foppii Atheis philosophorum gentilium celebriorum.
Gregoire, Hist. des sectes religieuses.
Jenkin (Tho.), Historia Atheismi.
Parker, Disputationes de Deo. Disp. I.
Phillips, Historia Atheismi.
Riemanni Hist. Universalis Atheorum.
Rieserus de Origine, progressu, &c.
Treverus de Theologia Luciana.
Triller, in Hippocrate.
Upmark, Atheomastix.
Wagner, Examinatio, A. Speculatio. Cap. 4, 5.
Zimmermanni Dissertationes.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 2d series. 2:320.
Christian Examiner. 40:108.
Eclectic Review. 4th series. 9:85.
New England Magazine. 7:500.

Athenagoras.

Athenagoræ Opera, cum notis, &c. Rechenbergio.
La Crose de Fabula erotica.
Leyserus de Athanag. Athen. philosopho.
Mosheim, de Vera ætate libelli ab Athan. conscripti.
Tentzelii Exercitationes.
Veyssierii Epistola ad Wolfium, de fabula erotica quæ sub Athenag. nomine prodiit.
Athenagoras' Apologetics. Translated by D. Humphreys.
Conybeare's Bampton lectures. 1839.
Humphrey's Trans. of the Apologetics.

Atonement. See DEFINITE ATONEMENT, IMPUTATION, POLEMIC THEOLOGY, REDEMPTION, SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST, UNITARIANISM, &C.

Callixtus de Sacrificio Christi.
Grotius de Satisfactione Christi.
Jaegerus de Christo sponsore.
Mayerus de Officio Christi sacerdoti.
Outram de Sacrificiis.
Stapferi Institutiones Theologicæ.
Turretini Disputatio de Satisfactione.

Adams' Letter to Gannet.
Amer. Bibl. Repository. 2d series. 10:**110.** 12:177. 3d series. 4:86.
Appleton's Works. Lect. 33 to 35.
Balguy (Thomas) on Atonement.
Bampton Lectures.
Barrow on the Creed.
——— Sermons on Redemption.
Bates' (William) Works.
Bradford's Boyle Lectures. 1699.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 13:130. 15:132. 18:**284.**

Atonement—*continued.*

Beveridge's Thesaurus theologicus.
Blundell's Sermons.
Brown's (E. H.) Sermons.
Burton's (Hezekiah) Sermons.
Burton's (Edward) Sermons.
Calamy's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Candlish's (R.) Cross of Christ.
——— on the Atonement.
Carson (A.) on the Atonement.
Chalmers' Discourses.
Charnock's Works.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 2:21, 82, 139. 6:475, 659.
Christian Review. 1:215.
Christian Observer, 1861, p. 160.
Close's (Fr.) Sermons.
Coles on Divine Sovereignty.
Daubeney's (Charles) Discourses.
Dewar's Nature, reality, efficacy, &c.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 55–57.
Eclectic Review. 4th series. 18:249.
Edwards' (Prest.) Works.
Evans' (Dr. Caleb) Christ crucified.
——— 4 Discourses on the Atonement.
Fuller's Gospel its own witness.
Gibert's Basis, nature, bearings, &c.
Haldane's (J. A.) Nature, &c., of the A.
Hampton on the Atonement.
Hare's (A. W.) Sermons.
Hoadley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasius.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jamieson's Sacred History.
Jerram's Letters on the Atonement.
Jenkin on the Atonement. (Infirm.)
Jones on the Mediation of Christ. (A beautiful epitome of the gospel.)
Juke's (H.) The Law of the Offerings.
Kirk's (Edw. N.) Sermons.
Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature. 3:74.
Lumley's Letters.
Magee on A. and sacrifice. ("One of the profoundest writers of the age."—Bp. Jebb.)
Mann's (Bp.) Essay on the Atonement.
Marshall's Divine purpose of the A.
Mant's (Bp.) Lectures.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 6:392. 7:379.
Newton's (B. Will.) The Perfect Sacrifice.
Outram on Sacrifices. (No work is so satisfactory on the typical relations of Jewish sacrifices.)
Owen on the Satisfaction of Christ.
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Parks on the A. (A collection of tracts.)
Pearson on the Creed.
Penrose's Moral principle of the A.
Princeton Review. 8:201.
Quaif's Necess. and efficacy of the A.
Reynolds on Reconciliation.
Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
Seabury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Shedd's (W. G. T.) Discourses and Essays.

Atonement—*continued.*

Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Short's (T. V.) Sermons.
Shuttleworth's (P. N.) Sermons.
Simpson's Plain Thoughts.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:25.
South's (Robt.) Sermons.
Stanhope's Boyle Lectures. 1702.
Stevenson's (Geo.) Essay on the A.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Works.
Symington on the A. and Intercession.
Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai.
Taylor's (John) Scripture doctrine of the A.
Thompson's Bampton Lectures. 1853.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Treffry's Letters. (Highly esteemed, especially by Methodists.)
Trench's (R. C.) Sermons.
Turner's Boyle Lectures. 1708.
Turrettin on the A. Tr. by J. R. Wilson.
Urwick's Person and A. of Christ.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Veysie's Bampton Lectures. 1795.
Walker's (Geo.) Letters.
Wardlaw's (R.) Nature of the Atonement.
Watt's (Isaac) Sermons.
West's (Steph.) Scripture doct of the A.
Willson's History of opinions on the A.
Winslow's (Octav.) View of the Atonement.
Wintles' Bampton Lectures. 1794.
Witsius on the Covenants.

Attributes of God. See under THE SEVERAL ATTRIBUTES.

Doederlini Theologia.
Gerhardi Loci theologici.
Lessii Opuscula varia.
Parkeri (Sam.) Disputationes.
Turrettini Instit. Theologiæ elencticæ.
Vorstius de Deo.
Zanchius de natura Dei.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Balguy's Moral and theological tracts.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 7:686.
Barrows' (Isaac) Sermons.
Bates' Harmony of the Divine attributes.
Boyle Lectures. (Several.)
Brown on the Being and attributes of God.
Bryant's Truth of the Christian religion.
Burder (Geo.) on the Divine perfections.
Burder's (H.) Scripture character of God.
Charnock's Discourses. ("One of the most inestimable productions that ever did honor to the sanctified judgment and genius of a human being."—Toplady.)
Christian Family Library. Vol. 15. (Comprising selections from Charnock, Wisheart, Bates, and Goodwin.)
Clarke's (Sam.) Demonstration of the exist. of God.
——— Sermons. (Grand.)
Clark's (Adam) Discourses.
Dick's (T.) Philosophy of religion. Chap. 1.

Attributes of God—*continued.*

Drew (Sam.) on the Being and attrib. of God.
Duncan on the Attributes of God.
Dwight's (Timothy) Discourses.
Erskine's (Ralph) Sermons. (Excellent.)
Gastrell's Christian Institutes.
Graves' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Grinfield on the Attributes of God.
Harris' (John) Refutation of objections agt. the being and attributes of God.
Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Haynes' Attributes and worship of God.
Hickman's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hunt's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Jackson's Divine essence and attributes.
Jamieson's Sacred history.
Knight's Being and attrib. of God demonstr.
Knowles' (Thos.) Discourses.
Law's Limit of human enquiry.
Leigh's (Sir E.) Discourses.
Limborch's Christian theology.
London Eclec. Review. 4th series. 3 : 37.
McCulloch (John) on the Attrib. (Physical argument.)
Moore's Divine Dialogues.
Morton (Bp.) on the Nature of God.
Phillip (R.) on the Attributes of God.
Preston on the Divine essence.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Skelton's (P.) Deism revealed.
——— Sermons.
Sumner on the Moral attributes of God.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Toplady's Preliminary discourse.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Veysie's Bampton Lectures. 1795.
Vizard's Principles of Religion and Philos.
Watts' Glory of Christ as God. (Often reprinted.)
Whitby's 33 Sermons.
Wilson on the Attributes of God.
Wisheart's (George) Sermons. (Precious.)

Audæans. See ANTHROPOMORPHISTS.

Augustine, de Hæresibus.
Epiphanius, adversus lxxx. hæreses.
Theodoret, de Fabula hæreticorum.
Schrœder, de Hæresi Audianorum.
Voght, de Audianismo ante Audium.

Audianists. See AUDÆANS.

Augsburg Confession. See CREEDS, LUTHERANISM.

Altingii Exegesis August. confessionis.
Auzeigung und Bekentniss des glaubens und Lehre, so die adpellierenden stende Key. First German edition. 1530.
Batti Disputationes Theologicæ.
Baumgarten (M.), Disputationes.
Calovii Criticus Sacer.
Carpzovii Isagoge in libros ecclesias.
Chytræi Hist. Augustanæ confessionis.
Cyprian (E. S.), Hist. der Augsb. Confes.
Deylingius de Auctoritate Aug. Confes.
Feverlini de Libris hypognosticon.

Augsburg Confession—*continued.*

Feverlini Observationes in Aug. Confession.
Finck, de omnibus artic. Aug. Confessionis.
Gerhardi Confessio Catholica.
Graveri Prelectiones in August. Conf.
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Dore's Antipedobaptism and female communion consistent. (Reply to passages in P. Edwards.)
Duke on the Christian Covenant.
Dyke's The Baptist's answer to Mr. Willis.
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——— Practical uses of Christian baptism.
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——— Sermons. (7 on this subject.)
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——— Reply to Towgood. (Tradition.)
——— (Other treatises.)
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——— Facts opposed to fiction.
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——— Antidote to a late counterfeit. 1694. (Answer to Shute.)
——— Axe laid to the root. (Answer to Flavel, Rothwell, and Exel.)
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——— Centenary traces of the Baptists.
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Toulmin (Dr. Joshua) on Baptism.
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——— Extracts from various authors.
Wiberg's Baptism in the words of the Bible.
Wilson's (Sam.) Scripture Manual.
——— Plain representation of baptism.
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Baker's (Dan.) Scriptural view of baptism.
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Fleming's (Caleb) Mode and subjects of bap.
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Hemmenway (Moses) on Baptism.
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Kerr (Jas.) on Baptism. (The mode only.)
Kingdon's (T. H.) Baptism considered.
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Levington's Scripture baptism defended.
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Peters' (Absalom) Sprinkling the only mode of baptism.
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Pusey's (E. B.) Scriptural views of baptism.
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Ricraft's Looking-glass for Separatists.
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——— Picture of the Anabaptists.
Schomberg's Doctrine of baptism.
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Sheppard's New England's lamentation.
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Smith's B. sophistry discovered. (Quaker.)
Somes' (R.) Godly treatise ag. the execrable fancies of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and others of the Anabaptistical order. 1589. (These two men were martyred at Tyburn, April 6, 1593.)
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 1:295. 5:539.
Stephens' (John) Baptism accomplished.
Steward's (Geo.) Baptism explained.
Stock's (John) Essay on baptism.
Stuart's (Moses) Is the mode of baptism prescribed in the New Testament?
Taylor's (C.) Facts and evidences on bapt.
Thorn's (Wm.) Immersion not Scripture B.
Toulmin (Joshua) on Baptism.
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Turner's Preservative against the poison of Pelagius.
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Whiston's (W.) Address to the Baptists.
Whitehead's Dipper plunged, &c.
Wickham's (J. A.) Synopsis on baptism.
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Wills' Appeal to the B. (Against Danvers.)
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Mr. SAM. AGNEW, of Philadelphia, has made a list of the titles of works on baptism, which now amounts to nearly four thousand! Of these, he has about twenty-seven hundred in his possession.

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Loescheri Com. de Munzeri doct. et fatis.
Marc (L.), le Baptême dans l'eglise réf. comparé avec le bapt. dans l'eglise apost.
Memoirs de Trevoux.
Ottii Annales Anabaptistica.
Polchow (C. P.) Dissertationes.
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Racine, Source et fondement des Anab.
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Schmid (J. A.) de Baptismo per arenam.
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Spanheim de Origine, progressu, &c.
Theobald's Bericht was jammer die Wiedert.
Van Bracht's Bloodigh toonel der Doopsgesinde. 1660. (Many editions.)
——— Theatrum Martyrum.
Vanhuysen's Hist. Erzehlung von dem Ursprung und Fortgang, &c.
——— de Ortu et progres. Catabaptistarum.
Walchii Specimen historiæ Anabapt.
——— Ritus baptismales seculi II.
Wedderkamp de Baptisteriis veterum.

Adams' (John Q.) Baptists thorough reformers.
Amer. Quarterly Register. 11:44. 13:182. 14:42, 370.
Anderson (Mrs. M. F.), Baptists in Sweden.
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Christian Examiner. 10:20.
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Cutting's (S. S.) Historical vindications.
Davis' (J.) History of Welch Baptists. (From A. D. 63 to 1770.)

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Eddy's Roger Williams and the Baptists. (Traces them from the time of Christ.)
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——— Baptists of Pennsylvania.
——— Materials toward a history of American Baptists.
Haynes' The Baptist denomination.
Hinton's (Isaac T.) History of baptism.
Ivemy's Hist. of English Baptists. To 1800.
Jones' (Wm.) Church History.
Lewis' Rise and progress of Anab. in Engl.
Mann's Lectures on Non-conformity.
Millet's Hist. of the B. in Maine, U. S.
Murch's History of Baptists in England.
Orchard's Hist. of foreign Baptists; from the New Testament, Fathers, and writers of all ages.
Peck & Lawton's Origin and progress of the Baptists in Central and Western New York. (To 1837.)
Peck (J. M.), Life of: by R. Babcock. 1860.
Phillippo's Past and pres. of Jamaica. 1840.
Quarterly Review. 1:109.
Rippon's Baptist Annual Register. London.
Robinson's (of Camb.) History of Baptism.
Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists.
Sleidan's Hist. of the German Anabaptists.
Spanheim's Origin and prog. of Anabaptists.
——— England's warning by Germany's woe.
Stoupas' Religion of the Hollanders.
Taylor's (A.) History of English Baptists.
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Underhill's Martyrology of the Churches of Christ, commonly called Baptist, during the Reformation.
Westminster Review. 39:407.
Worcester's (N.) Progress of the Baptists.

The above list comprises both friends and foes—mostly foes. Other old writers on Baptism and the Baptists, are mentioned in MOSHEIM, *Sec.* 3, *Part* 2, *Ch.* 3.

Barbets. See WALDENSES.

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Beausobre, Hist. du Manichæisme. Lib. 4. Ch. 9.
Origen, Dialogus contra Marcionitas.
Strunzii Historia Bardesanistarum.

Barnabas. See LIVES OF THE FATHERS.

Barnabæ Epistolæ. (Many editions.)
Heffele's Sendschreiben des Apost. B.
Henke de Epist. quæ Barnabæ tribuiter.
Le Moyne, Exercitatiuncula.
Menardus de St. B. et ejus epistolæ.
Papebrochii Acta et passio Barnabæ. (Acta sanctorum.)
Puccinell, Vita de St. B. Milano.
Roidan, de Authentia epistolæ B.
Saxe, de Adventu Mediolanum B. apost.

Ulman's Studien und Kritiken.
Burton's (Edward) Lectures.
Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics.
Lardner's Works.
Wake's Genuine epistles of the Fathers.

See a list of all the editions in CEILLIER, *Hist. generale des auteurs sacrés.*

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Basil. See FATHERS.

Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Baertii Vita S. Basilii.
Basilii Opera.
Bohringer's die Kirche christi.
Ducæi Basilii opera, cum notis.
Erasmi Epistolæ. Epis. 7.
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Georgii Vita et doctrina Basiliæ.
Gregory (Nyssen) Orationes. Orat. 20.
Hermance, Vie de St. Basile le grand.
Werenberg, Diss. de prudentia B. in refutandis hæreticis.

Barksdale's Basil on Solitude.
Berker's Exhortations of St. Basil.
Oudin's Life and writings of Basil.

Basilidians.

Beausobre, Hist. du Manicheism. Lib. 4, c. 1.
Chifletii Abraxas proteus.
Grabbii (Joan. Ernest) Dissertationes.
Macarii Abraxas.
Massnetii Dissertatio in Ireneum.
Mosheim, de Rebus chris. ante Constantin.
Passeri Dissertatio de gemmis.
Uhlhorn's Basilidianische System.

Baxterians. See CALVINISM.

This name was given to writers who relaxed the Calvinist system; but no body of Christians is so called.

Beatitudes. See SERMON ON THE MOUNT; and also the various GRACES.

Gregory (Nys.) Orationes.

Anderson's (James S. M.) Discourses.
Anderson's (Robt.) Discourses. 8 on this sub.
Blackall's (Bp.) Discourses.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Brewster's Lectures on the Beatitudes.
Buck (Jas.) on the Beatitudes.
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Butt's (Thomas) Sermons.
Caunter's Sermons on the Beatitudes.
Cennick's (John) Discourses.
Clow's (J.) Sermons.
Cobden's (Edward) Sermons.
Cook's (John) Sermons.
Crum's (Geo.) Mount of blessing.
Cunningham's Morning Thoughts.
Edward's (Dr. John) Theologia Reformata.
Farrar's Bampton Lectures. 1803.
Garbett's (Jas.) Lectures in Lent.
Gardner's Exposition of the Beatitudes.
George's Blessing of Chris. philosophy.

Beatitudes—*continued.*

Good's (E.) Lectures on the Beatitudes.
Graves' (Rich.) Sermons. (4 on this subj.)
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Hambleton's (John) Sermons.
Harris' (Robert) Twenty-four sermons.
Horneck's (Anthony) Sermons.
James' Index of passages from the Fathers upon every verse of Matt. v.
Johnson's (Samuel) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Liefchild's Lectures on Christian temper.
Mackay's (M.) Expos. of Matt. v. 1–10.
Mather's (Increase) Sermons.
Moberly's (Geo.) Sermons.
Monsel (J. S. B.) on the Beatitudes.
Norris (John) Sermons.
Naylor's (Tho.) 8 Sermons on the B. 1828.
Orr's (John) Discourses.
Piggot's (Hugh) The blessed life.
Prince's (Thomas) Ten Lectures in Lent.
Smith's (Dean) Sermons.
Watson's (T.) Sermons on the Beatitudes.
Wintle's Christian Ethics.

Beghards, or Beguins. See FRATRICELLI.

Hemmerlini Tractatus contra Validos.
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Behemoth. See NATURAL HISTORY.

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Maresii Fœderatum Belgium orthodoxum.

Beelzebub. See SATAN.

Benedictines. [Black Friars.]

Acta Sanctorum ordinis Benedicti, in sæculorum classes distributa. 10 folios.
Armelii Bibliotheca.
Bucelini Annales Benedictini.
Bulteau, Abregé de l'hist. de l'ordre St. B.
Dacherii Acta Sancti Benedicti.
Francois, Biblioth. generale des ecrivans de l'ordre de St. Benoit.
Gregoris (Magni) Benedicti Vita.
Jepes, Hist. general de l'ordre, &c.
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Mabilloni, Annales ordinis St. B. 9 v. fol.
Pezii Bibliotheca B. (Lives and writings.)
Reyneri Apostolatus Bened. in Anglia.
Richardson (J.), Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ.
Schamel's Hist. d. alt. Benedictinerklos.
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Eclectic Magazine (same article). 16 : 433.
Littell's Living Age (same article.) 20 : 433.
Stephens' (Sir James) Eccles. Biography.

ZEIGELBAUER, *Hist. rei literariæ ord. St. B.* In 4 vols., fol. Gives not only the entire history of the order, but the lives of its principal members, and a classified list of books written by them, with a critical notice of each.

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Christian Review. 16 : 200, 254.
Clarke's Faithful Steward. (Prize essay.)
Dick on Christian Beneficence.
Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Gold and the Gospel. (Ulster prize essay.)
Gouge's Riches increased by giving.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Mason on the Human virtues.
Simpson's Essay on Beneficence.
Tennison's Sermons. (B. to posterity.)
Wayland's (Francis) Occasional discourses.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on education.

Benevolence.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 2d Series. 9 : 1.
Amer. Quarterly Register. 8 : 241.
Balguy's (Dr. Tho.) Discourses.
Barnes' (Albert) Practical Sermons.
Besley's Doctrinal Discourses.
Black's (David) Sermons.
Brown's Essay on Shaftesbury's characterist.
Christian Examiner. 2 : 241. 13 : 137.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 1 : 569. 4 : 113, 522, 617. 7 : 367.
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Dick's Philosophy of Religion.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lec. 65.
Dyer's (Geo.) Theory and practice of benev.
Eden's Harmony of Benevolence.
Fellow's Picture of Chris. philosophy.
Ferguson's Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Fuller's (And.) Socinian and Calvinistic Systems. Letter 8.
Guardian, The. No. 61.
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Hale's Contemplations.
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Jebb's (John) Excellency of Benevolence.
Johnson's (Samuel) Sermons.
Literary and Theolog. Review. 4 : 373.
McCalla's Sermons.
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Puffendorf's Law of Nature. Lib. 4, c. 3.
Stanford's (John) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued. Ch. 34.
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Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
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Appleton's (Nathaniel) Works. Lect. 6 and 7.
Balguy's Divine benevolence asserted.
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Carr's (George) Sermons.
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Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
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Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Gales' (John) Sermons.
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Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Hopkins' System of Divinity.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Langhorn's Sermons.
Leland's (Tho.) Sermons.
Pettitpierre's Thoughts on Divine goodness.
Robinson's Christian System.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Scott's (John) Sermons.
Scott's (Will.) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Strong on the Benevolence of God.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Wilder's (John) Sermons.
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Baker's (Arthur) Sermons.
Beren's (E.) Sermons. (Death of children.)
Brown's Comfortable Words.
Coverdale's Book of Death.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons. (Death of children.)
East's Memoir of Miss Humphrey.
Edwards' (Prest.) Sermons.
Erskine's (Ebenezer) Discourses.

Bereavement—*continued.*

Gataker's (Tho.) Sermons. (Death of children.)
Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.
Harris' (Robt.) Sermons. (Death of children.)
Logan's Comfort for bereaved parents.
Lucas' (Rich.) Sermons. (Death of children.)
Macfarlane's Why weepest thou?
Orton's (Job) Discourses to the aged.
Patrick's (Bp.) Discourses.
Russell's Letters, practical and consolatory.
Shaebotham's Lamentat. in Rama hushed.
Smyth's Bereaved parents consoled.
Thompson's consolation for mourners.

Berengarians. See WALDENSES.

Alexandri (Hieron.) Dissertationes.
Dassovii (Theodor.) Dissertationes.
Haberkornii (Pet.) Dissertationes.
Lupi (Christian.) Dissertationes.
Mabilloni Prefatio ad Acta Benedicti.
Mulleri Hist. Berengarianismi. vet. et novi.
Oudinus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.
Roy, de Vita, hæres., et penitent., Bereng.
Vernous, contre le père Sirmond.
Voigtii (Gottfr.) Bibliotheca.

See an account of various treatises on the controversy between Beringer and the Papists, touching the Lord's Supper, in LUPUS, and OUDIN.

Berkeley's Theory. See IDEAS.

Pro.

Berkeley's Principles of human knowledge.

Con.

Baxter (Andrew) on the Soul.
Beattie's Immutability of Truth.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 2. (Appendix.)
Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics.
Kaimes on the Principles of virtue.
McIntosh's Hist. of ethical philosophy.
Reid on the Intellectual Powers.

Besetting Sins. See TEMPTATION.

Collison's (M. A.) Sermons.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
Mason on Self-knowledge. Ch. 7.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
North American Review. 4:187.
Pamphleteer. 6:269.
Quarterly Review. 4:68. 36:1.
Smith's (Dr. H.) Sermons.

Beza.

Bezæ Opera.
Baum's Th. Beza nach Handscriftlichen quellen Dargestellt.
Bolseci Historia de vita, doctrina, &c.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 7:501.

Bible. See ENGLISH BIBLE, REVISION, TRANSLATIONS.

Bible Dictionaries. See DICTIONARIES.

Bible in Common Schools. See USE, &C.

Bible Societies.

Amer. Quarterly Register. 2:29.
Blackwood's Magazine. 18:161.
Brown's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1859.
Christian Disciple. 5:146.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 2:429, 483. 6:36, 62, 142.
Christian Review. 1:299. 2:585.
Dudley's Analysis of the system of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1822. (Gives forms of constitutions, blanks, by-laws, &c., for every sort of auxiliary.)
Haldane's Review of the conduct of the Brit. and Foreign Bible Society.
——— Second Review of the same.
Hall's (Robert) Works.
Monthly Review. 103:499. 124:1.
Owen's Hist. of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc.
Pamphleteer. 1:47, 81, 151. 6:269.
Phelan's The Bible, not the Bible Society.
Quarterly Review. 1:354.
Strickland's Hist. of the Am. Bib. Soc. 1849.
Timson's Bible triumphs. (A valuable hist. of the British and Foreign Bible Society.)
Warner's Hist. of the Br. and For. Bib. Soc.
Wyckoff's Origin, history, &c., of the Amer. and Foreign Bible Society.

Biblical Antiquities. See ARCHÆOLOGY, BIBLICAL HISTORY, ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

Biblical Criticism. See DIFFICULTIES, FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE, HEBREW LANGUAGE, HERMENEUTICS, IDIOMS, PHILOLOGY, POETRY, PRINTED EDITIONS, QUOTATIONS, STYLE, SYNONYMS, VARIOUS READINGS, VOWEL POINTS.

Abichtii Ars distincte interpretandi.
Baumgarten-Crusius, Exegetische Schriften zum Neue Testament.
Bengelii Apparatus Criticus ad N. T.
——— Gnomon Novum Testamentum.
Berger's Unterricht von der Deutch. Bibeln.
Bloomfield, Recensio Synoptica.
Bootii Animadversiones Sacræ.
Boston, Tractatus Stigmologicus.
Cameroni Myrothecium Evangelicum.
Capelli (L.) Observationes in Nov. Test.
——— Commentaria crit. in V. T.
Carpzovii Critica Sacra in V. et N. Test. (Not only profound and satisfactory himself, but gives references to the best writers on particular points.)
Clerici Ars Critica.
——— de Optimo genere interp. S. S.
Cocceii Opera Exigetica.
Crellii Opera Exegetica.
Critica Sacra. (An invaluable collection, in nine thick folios, of the writings of the best biblical critics previous to 1700.)
Crowæi Elenchus Scriptorum, &c.
Dathii Opuscula.
De Dieu, Animadversiones in Nov. Test.

Biblical Criticism—*continued.*

Deylingii Observationes Sacræ. (Quotes all the principal critics up to 1748; sustaining or refuting their opinions.)
Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek.
——— Kritische Schriften, &c.
Elsneri Observationes Sacræ.
Ewald's Gesch. der altesten Auslegung und Spracherklarung des Alt. Test.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca.
Greisbachii Prolegomena.
——— Com. criticus in Textum N. T.
——— Symbolæ Criticæ.
Grawitz, These critique sur la lang. de Matthieu. (Asserts the Hebrew original.)
Hageman Nachricht von der vörnehmsten Uebersetzungen.
Hegelmair Chaldaismi biblici fundamenta.
Heideggeri Dissertationes Selectæ.
——— Labores Exegeticæ.
——— Enchiridion Biblicum.
Hezel's Gesch. der bibl. Kritik des alten T.
Hitzig's Kurtzgefastes exegetisches.
Hodius de Bibl. textibus originalibus.
Houbiganti Prolegomena in S. Script.
Hulsius de Heb. textu. (Against Vossius.)
Hyperius de Sac. Script. lectione.
Ikenii Dissertationes. ("Egregiæ." Walch.)
Jerhovii Conjectanea in titulos psalmos.
Kluit, Vindiciæ articuli ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, in N. T.
Knappii Scripta var. exegetica.
Kortholti Tractationes theologico-philol.
Krebsii Observationes in N. Testamentum.
Kuinoel, Commentationes Theologicæ.
Kype, Observ. in N. T. ("Nothing superior, or, indeed, equal."—Michaelis.)
Le Clerc, Bibliotheq. ancienne et moderne.
Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra.
Leigh, Critica Sacra.
——— Supplementa.
Lightfoot, Opera.
Limborch, de Scriptura Sacra.
Lindanus de Optimo genere interpret.
Markii Exercitationes textualis.
Millii Dissertationes.
Montani (Arias) Prolegomena.
Montfaucon, Hexaplorum Originis, &c.
Muntingii Expositio critica V T. (A compend of the most valuable critics.)
Noesselti Opuscula.
——— Exercitationes.
Norberg (M.), Opuscula Academica.
Polli Synopsis Criticorum. (This work, in 5 folios, is an abridgement and improvement of the Critica Sacra.)
Reuschii Syrus interpres cum fonte N. Test. Græco collatus.
Rosenmulleri Scholia in V. Test. (25 vols.)
——— Scholia in N. Test. (8 vols.)
Schnurrer, Dissertationes. (On the age of manuscripts, and on various difficult texts.)
Scholz, Curæ Criticæ.
Schulten's Animadv. philolog. et crit.
——— de Utilitate dialector. orient. ad tuendam integritatem codicis, &c.

Biblical Criticism—*continued.*

Sciopius de Ars Critica.
Simonis Historia critica.
Spitzneri Inst. ad analyticam textus.
Storr, Dissertationes.
——— Opuscula Academica.
Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum cum apparatu et prolegomenis.
Venemæ Dissertationes Sacræ.
Wokenius de Elipsibus e textu Hebraice.
Wolfburgii Observationes in N. T. (A valuable supplement to Leigh's Critica Sacra.)
Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa.
——— Cura philolog. et crit. in N. T.

Alexander's (F.) Ecclesiastical Hist. (Interspersed with numerous learned and important dissertations.)
Alford's Greek Testament. (A revised text, digest of various readings, prolegomena, and critical commentary.)
American Biblical Repository. 3d Series. 2:124. 3:95, 323.
Bates on the Integrity of the Heb. text.
Bengel's Gnomon. Trans. by Fausset.
Benson on the Unity of sense.
Bentley's Proposals for printing a new edition of the Greek Testament. 1721.
Berriman's Moyer Lectures. 1741. (Critical dissertations on 1 Tim. iii. 16. Defends the received reading, and gives an acc. of 100 Greek manuscripts not before collated.)
Biblical Cabinet. 1832, and since. An Edinburgh periodical, embracing the works of Ernest, Planch, Tholuck, Tittman, Pareau, Storr, and others.
Blackwell's Sacred Classics defended.
Bloomfield's Digest of annot. on the N. T.
Bowyer's Critical conjectures. (A collection of valuable observations.)
Burton's Greek Test. with English notes.
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ. (A series of notes on the Heb. and Greek texts, versions, and printed editions.)
Calmet's Dissertations on the Sac. Scrip.
Campbell's Four gospels, with Preliminary dissertations.
Carson (Alex.) on Biblical Interpretation.
Clarke's Hebrew criticism and poetry.
Christian Examiner. 1:201. 2:210. 22:170.
Christian Review. 1:597. 6:66. 13:545.
Collyer's Sacred Interpreter.
Conybeare's Lectures on Bible. doctrines.
Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the N. T.
Davidson's (Sam.) Lectures on Bib. Crit.
Dedier's Dissertations on the Old Test.
Dibden's Introduction. (An account of Bibles, Polyglots, and Testaments.)
Dimock's Critical and explan. notes, &c.
Dodd's Dissertations on the Old Test.
——— Dissertations on the Gospels.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 92 and 97.
Dove's Vindic. of the Hebrew Scriptures.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 8:270.
Edinburgh Review. 72:69. 94:1.
Edwards' (Thomas) Dissertations.

Biblical Criticism—*continued.*

Ernest's Inst. of Bib. Crit. Tr. by M. Stuart.
——— ——— ——— Tr. by Terrot.
Fife's Critica Sacræ.
Forbes' Principles of interpretation.
Geddes' Prospectus of a new translation.
——— Critical remarks on the Heb. Script.
Gerard's Institutes of Biblical criticism. (A very good elementary work.)
Gray's Key to the Old Test. and Apocrypha.
Gray's Connexion between the sacred writings, and the literature of Jewish and Heathen authors.
Henderson's Elements of Bib. Criticism.
——— Biblical Researches.
Holston on the Word Σάρξ in the N. T.
Horseley's Biblical Criticism.
Hurdis on the first Ten Chapters of Genesis.
Jebb's Sacred Literature.
Jones' Critical Lectures.
King's (Edw.) Morsels of criticism.
Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. 1850, onward.
——— Biblical Cyclopedia.
Lamy's Biblical apparatus.
Lawrence's Critical remarks on detached passages.
——— Reflections on important misrepresentations in the Unitarian version.
Leigh's Critica Sacra. (Observations upon all the Greek words in the N. Test.)
McGill's (Prof.) Lectures.
McKnight on the Gospels and Epistles.
Marsh's Course of Lectures.
——— Letter to Archdeacon Travis.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 3 : 34.
Middleton's Doct. of the Greek article.
New York Rev. 2:133. (On Germ. Criticism.)
Nolan's Integrity of the Greek Vulgate. (Classifies the manuscripts, and vindicates the received text.)
Owens (H.) Observations on the Gospels.
——— Critica Sacra.
——— Critical Disquisitions.
——— Introduction to Heb. Criticism.
Platt's Ethiopic biblical manuscripts.
Pococke's Miscellanies.
Preston's Phraseological notes on the Hebrew text of Genesis.
Princeton Review. 9 : 266.
Quarterly Review. 1 : 473.
Roberts' Clavis Bibliorum.
Sargeant's Compend of biblical criticism.
Scrivener's Introd. to the Crit. of the N. T.
——— Collation of 20 Greek manuscripts of the four gospels.
Simpson's (D.) Sacred Literature. (A condensation, into 4 vols., of a great amount of criticisms by the early Fathers.)
Stuart's Elements of Bib. Crit. from the Latin of Ernest, Keil, Beck, Morus, &c.
Tregelles' Account of the printed text of the New Testament.
——— Edition of the Greek Test. 1861.
Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures.
Whiston's Essay toward restoring the true text of the Old Testament.
Yong's Crit. Dissertations on the N. Test.

See other authors on this subject, cited in Bp. MARSH's *Lectures*, HORNE's *Introduction*, ORME's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and CALMET's *Dictionary*.

Biblical Geography. See GEOGRAPHY.

Biblical History.

See JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

Alexandri Historia Eccles. Vet. Test.
Alliolis Biblischen Alterthumskunde.
Andilly, Histoire de l'ancien Testament.
Bassnage, Histoire du vieux Testament.
Bercherodius Lumen Hist. Sac. V. et N. T.
Berruyer, Histoire du peuple de Dieu.
Buddæi Historia Ecclesiastica V. T.
Capelli Historia Sacra et Exotica.
Carpzovii Apparatus Historiæ Criticus.
Eusebii Chronicon.
Heideggeri Historia Patriarcharum.
Hornii Historia Ecclesiastica.
Josephi Opera.
Kurtz's Biblische Geschichte.
Langii Historia Ecclesiastica Vet. Test.
Leydecker, Historia Eccles. Vet. et N. Test.
Markii Historia Paradisi.
Nichol, Hist. Sacra. (Acta erud. 1712.)
Robinson, Annales Mundi, sacri et secularis.
Saurin, Discours historiques, critiques, &c.
Schmidii Compendium. (Acta erud. 1708.)
Selden de Diis Syriis.
Simon, Hist. Critique du Vieux Test.
Spanheim, Introd. ad. Hist. et antiq. Sac.
Spondanii Annales Sacri a creatione.
Usseri Annales Veteris et Novi Test.
Venema, Institutiones Hist. V. et N. Test.
Vitringæ Hypotyposis.
Vosii Historia de Idolatria.
Witsii Miscellanea Sacra.

Bassnage's History of the Jews.
Bedford's Scripture chronology demonstrated by astronomical calculation.
Bell's Mission of St. John.
Biscoe's Hist. of the Acts of the Apostles confirmed from other authors.
Blome's Hist. of the O. and N. Testaments.
Bryant on the Plagues of Egypt.
Calmet's History of the Old and New Test.
Clarke's Bible History. (Malachi to Christ.)
Craddock's Hist. of the O. Test. methodized.
——— Apostolical History methodized.
Ellwood's Sacred Hist. of the O. and N. T.
Fleury's History of the Israelites.
Gales' Court of the Gentiles.
Geneste's Parallel histories of Judah and Israel. (Valuable matter.)
Gleig's (G. R.) Hist. of the Bible. (Maps.)
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hawker's (Robt.) Extracts and Notes.
Hawkins' Objects and uses of the Historical Scriptures of the O. T.
Howard's Scripture History of the Earth.
Howell's History of the Bible. (Plates.)
Jamieson's Use of Sacred History.

Biblical History—*continued.*

Jones' (Jos.) Chronol. and analysis of Sc.
Kimpton's History of the Bible.
Kurtz's History of the Old Covenant. Trans. by J. Martin.
Kurtz's (John H.) Manual of Sacred history. (Learned and interesting.)
Palfrey's (J. G.) Academical Lectures.
Parker's (S.) Old Test. illustrated.
Shuckford's Connexion of Sac. and Prof. Hist.
Simon's Critical History of the Old Test.
Smith's History of the Old Testament.
——— History of the New Testament.
Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible. (Poor.)
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Stukeley's Palæographia Sacra.
Thompson's (And.) Scripture History.
Trimmer's Sacred History.
Watts' (Isaac) Scripture History.
Wheeler's (J. S.) Analysis of N. Test. hist. (Very valuable.)
Winder's History of knowledge.

There exists a vast multitude of Bible histories, but few are as lucid and interesting as the Bible itself. Some, however, are useful as school books, and some as works of general reference.

Biblical Interpretation.
See HERMENEUTICS.

Bibliography. See PRINTED EDITIONS.

Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis. (Great.)
Bailly, Notices historiques sur les Bibliotheques anciennes et modernes; suivi d'un tableau comparatif des produits de la presse, de 1812 à 1825.
Balæi Scriptorum illustrium majoris Angliæ et Scotiæ Catalogus. 1615.
Bellarmin, de Scriptoribus Ecclesiast. 1617.
Bengel's (E. G.) Archiv fur die Theologie und ihre neuste Litteratur.
Brunet, Manuel du libraire, 1865. (Very complete.)
Cave, Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Historia literaria a Christo nato, usque ad seculum XIV. 1517.
Ceillier, Hist. generale des auteurs sacres et ecclesiastiques, contient leur vie, la critiq., la demonologie, l'analyse, &c. 24 vols. 4to. 1729.
Doederlein's Theologische Bibliothek. 1710.
Doering's Gelehrte theologen in Teutschland in 18 and 19 Jahrhunderten.
Dowling, Notitia Script. Patrum aliorumque.
Du Pin, Nouvelles Bibliotheques. 43 vols. 1688. (Gives the lives of authors, and a sketch of the contents of every book.)
Ebert's Allgem. bibliographisches Lexicon. 1821–30.
Eichhorn's Bibliothek der biblisch. litteratur. 1801.
Ersch's Litteratur der Theologie. 1810.
Fabricii (Jo.) Historia Bibliothecæ. 1788. 6 vols., 4to. (Gives the various editions, with an epitome, biographic sketch, and much other information.)

Bibliography—*continued.*

Fabricii (J. A.) Bibl. Ecclesiastica. (A selection from twelve authors, who, from the 4th to the 17th centuries, composed notices of ecclesiastical writers.)
Fluegge's Ges. d. theolog. Wissenschaften.
Fuerst Bibliotheca Judaica.
Fuhrman's Theologischen Litteratur.
——— Neusten theol. Litteratur.
Godwin de Praesulibus Angliæ. 1616. (Enlarged and continued to 1743, by Richardson.)
Halloix, Illustrium ecclesiæ Orientalis scriptorum. 1648.
Hardt, Hist. litter. Reformationis. 1717.
Josephi (Octav. M.) Bibliographia critica. (Contains a great amount of information not elsewhere concentrated. His analysis of the *Acta Bollandiana*, occupies 100 columns; of the *Decretals*, 60 columns. 1740. 4 vols., folio.)
Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra. 1720.
Lippenii Bibl. realis theologica. 1685.
Noeselt's Anweisung. zur Kentniss der besten algemeinern Bücher, &c. 1808.
Olearii Bibl. scriptorum eccles. 1711.
Peignot, Repertoire Bibliog. universel.
Petzholdt's Anzeiger für Bibliographie. Periodical, begun 1840.
Photii Myriobiblion. 1620. (A vast treasury of extracts from writers of the first nine centuries. Of many of these there is nothing now extant but these selections.)
Sabbathier, Dict. pour l'intelligence des auteurs. 1815. 37 vols.
Schmidt's (J. A. F.) Handbuch der Bibliothek-wissenschaft. 1840.
Städlin's Archiv fur kirchengeschichte.
——— Litteratur der kirchen Geschichte.
Ugolini Thesaurus antiq. sacrorum. 1744.
Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica. 1757.
Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa. 1600.

Bickersteth's Christian Student. 1829.
Bury's Philobiblion. Trans. in 1832.
Cave's Lives of the Fathers. 1677.
Clarke's (A.) Succession of sac. lit. To 1300.
Clarke's (Wm.) Repertorium. 1819.
Darling's Encycl. Bibliographica. 1854.
Dibden's Acc. of polyglott Bibles, &c.
——— Bibliomania.
Dodwell's Extant works of the Christian writers of the first three centuries.
Edwards' (Edw.) Memoirs of libraries. 1859. (A work which, though not theological, is of great use to every scholar, and the best of its kind in the English language.)
Guild's Librarian's Manual. 1858.
Hoffmann's Lexicon bibliographicum. 1836.
Horne's (T. H.) Biblical bibliography. 1839.
Kemp's Biblioth. of English theol. writers.
Leigh's Religious and learned men. 1656.
Lowndes' Bibliographers' Manual. (Not entirely theological.)
Marsh's (Bp.) Lectures.
Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica.

Platt's Cat. of Ethiopic biblical manuscripts.
Rhees' Manual of libraries in Amer. 1861.

The above list comprises more than any student will desire to consult. "A complete collection of bibliographical works would exceed 20,000 volumes."—NORTON. NAMUR, above cited, gives *a list* of 10,236 separate works, some of them comprising numerous volumes; comparatively few, however, of these are theological. Under more than 150 of the heads in this work, the reader is referred to the Bibliography of those particular subjects.

Bigotry. See TOLERATION.

Chandler's (H.) Effort against Bigotry.
Eaton's Familiar Dialogues.
Edwards' (Thomas) Dissertations.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Falkland's Essay on bigotry.
Fuller's Calvinistic and Socin. systems.
Investigator. 7 : 243.
Roble's (M.) Bigotry worse than Atheism.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.

Biography, Christian.

Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe colunter. (A stupendous work, issued from time to time, since 1643, till it has reached 59 folio volumes, and is still continued. It furnishes a history of Europe, and of the so-called church, in all ages.)
Adamus (M.) de Vitis Theologorum. 1620.
Bates, Vitæ selectorum. (Lives of Budeus, Scaliger, Bucer, Grotius, Savonarola, &c.)
Böhringer's Kirche Christi, u. ihre Zeugen.
Brucker's Ehren-tempel der Deutchen Gelehrsamkeit. (Has 50 fine portraits of Buxtorf, Fagius, &c.)
Dupin, Bibliotheque des auteurs. 1688.
Pippingii Sacer decadum septenarius. 1707. (Lives of seventy Lutheran ministers.)
Schaffer's Galerie der Reformators.
Schröck's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter. (Luther, Zuingle, Eck, Brent, Bucer, &c.)
Smith, Vita quorundam illustrium. (Usher, Briggs, Dee, Bainbridge, &c.)
Wendlerus de Præcipuorum, &c. (Luther, Melancthon, Chemnitz, Tarnow, Gerard.)
Wittonii Memoriæ Theologorum.

Allen's Biographia Eccles. (1st four cent.)
Brooks' Lives of eminent Puritans. (Gives memoirs of nearly 500 persons.)
Brown's Practical piety exemplified.
Burder's Pious women of Britton. 1815. (78 memoirs.)
Burnham's Pious Memorials.
Caves' Lives of the Fathers.
Chalmer's (Alex.) Biographical Dictionary. 32 vols. 1812.
Clarke's Lives of Puritan divines. 1683.
Cox's Fathers of the first three cent. 1833.
Evans' Biog. of the early Church. 1837.
Fuller's Worthies of England. 1662.
Gibbons' Eminently pious women. 1760.
Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers. 1800.

Biography, Christian—*continued.*

Granger's Biographical Dictionary. 1760. (Continued by Noble to 1806.)
Hone's Eminent Christians. 1834. (Vol. 1. Usher, Hammond, Evelyn, Wilson. Vol. 2. Bernard, Gilpin, Philip de Morney, Bedell, Horneck. Vol. 3. Ridley, Hall, Boyle. Vol. 4. Bradford, Grindale, Sir Matthew Hale.)
Hook's Ancient and modern divines. 1852.
Howie's Scots Worthies. 1781.
Innes' Select Christian Biography. 1820.
Jones' Christian Biography. 1829.
Kippis' Biographia Brittanica. 1778.
Le Clerc's Lives of eminent fathers. 1696.
Library of Chris. Biog. Period. 1837 et seq.
Livingston's Divines of Scotland. 1660.
Middleton's Biographia Evangelica. 1779.
Palmer's Non-conformist's memorial. 1770.
Sprague's Annals of the Amer. pulpit. 1865.
Stephens' Ecclesiastical biography.
Strype's Annals. 1700.
Tullock's Leaders of the Reformation.
Walton's Lives. 1680. (Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson.)
Waterhouse's Piety and policy of elder times.
Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis. (Memoirs of the writers and bishops educated at Oxford, from 1500 to 1690.)
Wordsworth's Ecc. biog. (Wholly English.)

The numbers following indicate the time of decease.

Alexander, Archib.; by J. W. Alexander. 1851.
Alleine's Life and letters. 1672.
Anderson, Chris.; by H. Anderson. 1851.
Atterbury, Bp. F.; by Stackhouse. 1732.
Baxter's Narrative of his life. 1691.
Baxter's Life; by Orme.
Bedel, Bp.; by Burnett. 1692.
Bedell, Gregory T.; by Tyng. 1834.
Belfrage's Life and correspondence. 1835.
Boardman, Geo. D.; by King. 1831.
Bœhmen, Jacob; by O'Kelly. 1674.
Bonnell, James; by Hamilton. 1699.
Boyle, Robert; by Birch. 1691.
Bradford, John; by Stephens. 1555.
Brainard, James; by Styles. 1747.
——— ——— by Pres. Edwards.
——— ——— by Pratt.
——— ——— by Peabody.
Buchanan, Claudius; by Pearson. 1718.
Buck, Charles; by Styles. 1815.
Budd, Henry; by himself. 1852.
Bull, Bp.; by Nelson. 1710.
Bunyan, 1688. See BUNYAN.
Burder, George; by F. Burder. 1832.
Bury, Mrs. E.; by Dr. Watts. 1720.
Calvin, 1564. See CALVIN.
Carey, Wm. D. D.; by John C. Marshman. 1834.
Carson, Alex.; by Moore.
Cecil, Richard; by Newlin. 1810.
Chalmers, Thomas; by Hanna. 1847.
Chamberlain, Missionary; by Yates.

Biography, Christian—*continued.*

Chrysostom, 407. See CHRYSOSTOM.
Colet, John: by Knight. 1519.
Cornelius, Elias; by B. B. Edwards. 1832.
Cranmer, 1556. See CRANMER.
De Foe, Daniel; by Wilson. 1731.
De Renty, Cardinal; by St. Jure. 1649.
Doddridge, Philip; by Orton. 1751.
———— ——— by Stoughton.
Duncan, Mary L.; by M. G. L. Duncan. 1840.
Durant's Mem. of an only son. 1822.
Edwards, John; by Hawkesley. 1716.
Elliott, John: by C. Mather. 1690.
Erasmus, 1536. See ERASMUS.
Erskine, Ebenezer; by Wellwood. 1754.
Evans, Christmas; by Jos. Cross. 1791.
——— ———— by D. Phillips.
——— ———— by D. R. Stephens.
Ewing, Greville; by his daughter. 1841.
Fenelon, Abp.; by C. Butler. 1715.
Fiske, Pliny; by Bond. 1825.
Fletcher, John W.; by Benson. 1785.
Fletcher, Mrs.; by H. Moore.
Foster, John; by Ryland. 1843.
Fry, Elizabeth; by Timson. 1844.
Fuller, Andrew; by Morris. 1815.
Gardner, Col.; by Doddridge. 1741.
Gilpin, Bernard; by Carleton. 1583.
Good, John M.; by O. Gregory. 1827.
Graham, Isabella; by Mason. 1814.
Guyon, Madame; by herself. 1717.
Haldane, James; by Alex. Haldane. 1851.
Haldane, Robt.; by Alex. Haldane. 1842.
Hale, Matthew; by Bp. Burnett. 1676.
Hall, Bp.; by Jones. 1656.
Hall, Robert; by O. Gregory. 1831.
Halyburton, Thos.; by Dr. Watts. 1712.
Hawkes, Mrs.; by Cath. Cecil.
Heber, Bp.; by Taylor. 1826.
——— —— by his widow.
Henry, Matthew; by Williams. 1714.
Henry, Philip; by M. Henry. 1696.
Hervey, James; by Ryland. 1758. (A very singular book.)
——— ——— by Brown.
Hewitson, W. H.; by Baillie. 1850.
Howard, John; by Aikens. 1790.
———— —— by Dixon.
———— —— by Brown.
———— —— by Field.
Howels, William; by Morgan. 1832.
Huntingdon, Lady; by A. H. New. 1791.
Huntingdon, Susan; by Wisner. 1824.
Hutchinson, Col.; by Mrs. Hutchinson.
Janeway, John; by J. A. Janeway. 1670.
Jebb, Bp. John; by Forster. 1833.
Jewell, Bp. John; by Le Bas. 1751.
——— ———— by Humphreys.
Judson, Adoniram; by Wayland. 1850.
Judson, Mrs. Anne; by Knowles. 1826.
Judson, Mrs. S. B.; by Mrs. Emily Judson. 1845.
Jukes, Mrs. H. M.; by Mrs. Gilbert. 1854.
Justin Martyr, 166. See JUSTIN MARTYR.
Kiffin, William; by himself. Edited with notes, by Orme. 1823.

Biography, Christian—*continued.*

Kitto, John; by J. A. Ryland.
Knox, 1572. See KNOX.
Latimer; by Gilpin. 1555.
———— by Watkins. (And others.)
Luther, 1546. See LUTHER.
Martyn, Henry; by Sargeant. 1821.
Mather, Cotton; by Sam. Mather. 1728.
Melancthon, 1568. See MELANCTHON.
Mills, Samuel; by Spring.
Mores, Henry; by Ward. 1687.
Neff, Felix; by Bost. 1840. (Of several this is the best.)
Newell, Harriet; by Woods. 1812.
Newton, John; by Cecil. 1807.
Oberlin, John F.; Anonymous. 1826.
Owen, John; by Orme. 1683.
Payson, Edward; by Cummings. 1827.
Pearce, Samuel; by Fuller.
Richmond, Leigh; by Grimshaw. 1827.
Riddle, Bp.; by G. Riddle. 1555.
Romaine, William; by Haweis. 1795.
Rutherford, Sam.; by Murray. 1661.
Ryland, John; by Newman. 1825.
Savage, Mrs.; by Williams.
Scott, Thomas; by J. Scott. 1821.
Schwartz, C. F.; by Pearson. 1798.
Spencer, Thomas; by Raffles. 1811.
Sharp, Granville; by Hoare. 1813.
Staughton, Will.; by Lynd. 1829.
Summerfield, John; by Holland. 1825.
Taylor, Jeremy; by Bp. Heber. 1667.
Tillotson, Abp.; by Burch. 1694.
———— ——— by Bp. Burnett.
Urquhart, John; by Orme. 1827.
Usher, Bp.; by Parr. 1656.
Waldo, Peter. 1179.
Walton, Bp. Bryan; by Todd. 1660.
Watts, Isaac; by Gibbon. 1748.
Wesley, 1791. See WESLEY.
Wesley, Cha.; by Jackson. 1788.
——— —— by Whitehead.
Whitefield, George. See WHITFIELD.
Wickliff, 1384. See WICKLIFF.
Williams, Roger; by Elton. 1683.
Winter, Richard; by Jay. 1799.
Woolsey, Card., 1531. See WOOLSEY.
Xavier, 1617. See XAVIER.
Ximenes, 1517. See XIMENES.
Zinzendorf, 1760. See ZINZENDORF.
Zuingle, 1531. See ZUINGLE.

There is scarcely a limit to to this class of books, and to make a selection generally satisfactory is impossible. The above are among the most precious.

Biography, Scripture. See under individual heads, such as ABRAHAM, ANDREW, &c.

Capelli (Lud.) Historia Apostolica.
Coquerell, Biographie Sacrée.
Dorotheus de Vita prophetarum, apostolorum, et septuaginta discipulorum.
Genoude, Biographie Catholique.
Grube's Characterbilder aus der H. S. (So arranged as to constitute a hist. of relig.)

Biography, Scripture—*continued.*

Heideggeri Historia Patriarcharum.
Peronius de Rebus gestis, vitisque Apost.

Aguilar's Women of Israel.
Bloomfield's (E.) Lives of Christ and the most eminent persons mentioned in the New Testament.
Candlish's Scripture characters.
Copley's Scripture Biography. (Comprises all the names recorded.)
Cox's Female Scripture Biography.
Craddock's Apostolical History.
Crossman's Old Testament characters.
Enfield's Biographical Sermons.
Evans' (R. W.) Scripture Biography.
Farr's Bible Biography. (In Bible words.)
Fleming's Sacred Biography.
Fountain's Old Test. saints.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hifferman's Characters of Scripture history. (Precious.)
Hughes' Female characters of Holy Writ.
Hunter's Sacred Biography.
Jowett's (Wm.) Characters of the New Test.
——— Characters of the Old Test.
King's Female Scripture characters.
McDuff's Sunsets on the Heb. mountains.
Mearns' Lectures on Scrip. characters.
Morris' Sacred Biography. (Plates.)
Roberts' (G.) Sacred Biography.
Robinson's (Tho.) Scrip. characters.
Smith's (S.) Sacred Biography.
Stevenson's Scripture Portraits.
Thompson's (F. E.) Lent Lectures.
Trench's (F.) Scripture Biography.
Watkins' (Isaac) Scripture Biography.
Watkins' (John) Scrip. Biography for youth.
Wordsworth's Scripture Biography.

Birth of Christ. See CHRISTMAS, INCARNATION, JESUS CHRIST, NATIVITY.

Black Friars. See DOMINICANS.

Black Jews.

Gregoire, Hist. des sectes religieuses.

Buchanan's Researches in Asia.
Wolf's Missionary Journal.

Blasphemy. See UNPARDONABLE SIN.

Witsii Ægyptica. Lib. 1, cap. 5.

Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Campbell's (Geo.) Preliminary Dissert.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Robinson's Scripture plea.
Trial of Elwell.

Blessedness of God. See ATTRIBUTES.

Colliber's (Sam.) Theological Treatises.
Doddridge's Lectures. Pt. 2, propos. 38.
Howe's (John) Works.
Price's Four Dissertations.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Watts' Scale of blessedness.

Blessedness of the Righteous. See BEATITUDES, HEAVEN, PLEASURES OF PIETY, WISDOM OF BEING RELIGIOUS.

Harding's (John) Sermons.
Howe's Blessedness of the righteous.
Langhorne's (William) Sermons.
Manton's (Tho.) Sermons.
Robinson's (D.) Privileges of the righteous.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.

Blessedness of the Persecuted.

Bragge's (Francis) Practical Discourses.
Collings' (Dr. John) Sermons.
Powell's (Samuel) Sermons.

Blood. See PROHIBITION.

Bloody Sweat. See SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST.

Bartholini Hypomnematum.
Calmeti (Augustin.) Dissertationes.
Clotzii (Stephan.) Dissertationes.
Koenigii (Georg.) Dissertationes.
Mayeri (Joann. Frider.) Dissertationes.
Widelii (Geo. W.) Exercitationes philol.

Boasting.

Irving's (Edw.) Sermons.

Body of Moses.

Bachmani (Fridem.) Dissertationes.
Calmeti (Augustin.) Dissertationes.
Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
Frischmuthii (Joann.) Dissertationes.
Gerard de Sepultura Mosis.
Hornii (Conrad.) Dissertationes.
Nierembergii Dissertationes.

Bœhmen.

Franckenburgii Vita Bœhmii.
Lüdeken (Th.) Nachricht von J. Böhme.
Rumpæi Diss. de Iacob Bœhmio.
Wullen's J. Böhme's Leben und Lehre.

Bœhmen's Works. Trans. by Sparrow.
Hotham's Life of Jacob Bœhmen.
Oakley's Memoirs of Jacob Bœhmen.

Bœhmenists. See BOURIGNONISTS, MYSTICISM, PIETISTS, QUIETESTS.

Pro.

Bœhmenis Opera. (The best edition is said to be that of Franckenberg. 1730.)
Calo, Hist. Jacobi Bœminis.
Franckenbergii Opera. (Numerous.)
Kuhlman's Neubegeisterter Bœhm. (Adelung gives a list of forty-two works by this author, who was burnt for his opinions in Russia, 1689. All his writings have a holy tendency.)
Richter's Bericht von B.'s Leben und Schrift.
Tschech's Vertheidigung Bœhmens.
Zimmermani Orthodoxia theosoph. Teuton.

Con.

Arnold's (G.) Kirchen u. Ketzerhistorie, &c.
Bücher's Systematis anti-fanatici.

Calovii Anti-Bœminum.
Carpzovii Disputationes Academicæ.
Fabricii (Joann.) Dissertationes.
Gilberti Admonitio adv. scripta B.
Harenburg, de Quirino Kulmanno.
Holzhausen's Anmerkungen über auroram.
Mori Censura philosophiæ Teutonicæ.
Wirnsdorfii (Gottl.) Dissertationes.

Dublin University Mag. 33 : 90.

Bohemian Brethren. See MORAVIANS.

Bogomiles.

Andreæ (Samuel.) Dissertationes.
Commeria Alexiados.
Engehardt's Kirchengeschichte.
Fabricii (Joann. Albert.) Dissertationes.
Heumanni (Chris. August.) Dissertationes.
Wolfii Historia Bogomilorum.

Boodhism. See BUDHISM.

Book of Common Prayer.

Anderson's Manner of Garrick in reading the book of common prayer. 1797.
Bayley's Parallel of the liturgy and mass book. 1789.
Bennet's Paraph. and Annotations. 1708.
Berens' Offices of the Church. 1830.
——— Hist. of the Prayer book. 1832.
Biddulph's (Thomas T.) Lectures. 1815.
Bisse's Sermons at the Rolls chapel. 1716.
Blakeney's Hist. of the book of C. P. 1865.
Bosworth on the Book of Common Prayer.
Boyd's Sermons on the Church. 1840.
Boyse's Exp. of all the Scriptures used in the English liturgy. 1622.
Brogden's Ritual of the Ch. of Engl. 1842.
Brownel's Introd. to the book of C. P. 1815.
Bulley's Tabular view of the variations in the communion and baptismal offices, from 1549 to 1662.
Burrows' (R.) Sermons on the lessons. 1817.
Burrows' (E. J.) Summary of faith. 1822.
Calvin's Judgment concerning the English book of common prayer. 1554.
Campion's Book of C. P. With historical and critical explanations.
Cardwell's Two books of Common Prayer, set forth under Edward VI.
Clay's (W. R) Hist. of the book of C. P.
Comber's Companion to the temple. 1701.
——— Discourses. 1668.
Close's Sermons on the Liturgy. 1840.
Cobden's (Edward) Sermons. 1755.
Downes' Lives of the compilers and revisers, &c. 1722.
Draper's (H.) Lectures. 1806.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 8 : 489.
Harwood's Illustrations of the C. P. 1826.
Hole's (Matt.) Practical discourses. 1714. (Extensive and judicious, but not evangelical.)

Book of Common Prayer—*continued.*

Howlett's Instructions as to reading the Liturgy. 1826.
Hutchin's Lectures. 1729 to 1763. (By Mangey, Watson, Stebbing, Cobden, Shuckford, Asheton, Ridley, and others.)
Keeling's Liturgiæ Brittannicæ. (The six liturgies, from the time of Edward VI. to Charles II., arranged in parallel columns.)
Ketley & Clay's Liturgies, private prayers, &c. Put forth by authority.
Lathbury's Hist. of the book of C. Prayer, with the state of religion and religious parties, from 1640 to 1660.
Mant's Selected notes. (Valuable.)
Marbeke on the Book of Common Prayer.
Markell's Ecclesiæ Anglicæ monumenta. (The fullest account of English liturgies. Enumerates 91 old "Service books.")
Nichols' Book of Common Prayer. 1712. (Notes by Bp. Andrews, Bp. Cosin, &c.)
Palmer's Antiquities of the English ritual.
Powell's (Vavassor) The Common prayer book no divine service.
Proctor's Hist. of the book of com. prayer.
Pruen's Illustrations; with a history. 1815.
Reeves' Bk. of C. P.; with preface and notes.
Rogers' (Tho.) Lectures on the Liturgy.
Sharpe (Archdeacon) on the Rubric.
Shepherd's Crit. and prac. elucidat. 1817.
Sparrow's Rationale of the C. P. 1647.
Stoddart's Hist. of the book of C. P. 1864.
Tyrrell's Ritual of the Ch. of England.
Veneer's Proof-texts, explanations, &c. 1727.
Waldo's (Peter) Commentary. 1772.
Warner's Illustrations. 1754. (Gives the observations of numerous eminent divines.)
Wheatley on the Book of C. P. 1710. (The substance of every thing liturgical in Sparrow, L'Estrange, Comber, Nichols, and others.)

For lists of the early editions of the Book of Common Prayer, see LOWNDES' *Brit. Librarian;* KEELING'S *Liturgiæ Brittanicæ,* 1851; and CARDWELL'S *History of the book of common prayer.*

Books of Prayers.
See PRAYER BOOKS.

Borrowing of the Egyptians.

Danville Review. September, 1864.
Edwards' (Bp.) Critical Exercitations.
Holbrook on Israel's borrowing, &c.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Patrick's Commentary in loc.
Shuckford's Connexion of O. and N. Test.
Waterland's Scripture vindicated.

Botany of the Bible.
See NATURAL HISTORY.

Bounty to the Poor.
See ALMSGIVING.

Bourignonists.

Pro.

De Cordt, l'Innocence reconnue.
Œuvres de Mad. Antoinette Bourignon. 18 vols., 8vo. The following works of this eminent lady have been translated into English:
  Light of the World.
  On solid virtue.
  Light risen in darkness.
  The Gospel spirit.
  Warnings against the Quakers.
  Academy of the learned divines.
Poiret de Auctoribus Mysticis.
——— Cogitationes Rationales.
——— Sainte Bible avec des explicat.
——— (Opera alia.)

De la Combe on Christian Perfection.

Con.

Arnold, Historia Eccles. et Hæretica.
Baieri (Joann. Guill.) Dissertationes.
Berkendal's Wahre Abbildung Bourignon.
Burchard's Anmerkungen über die groben Irthumer, &c.
Jurien, Traité Historique.
Molleri Cimbria Litterata.
Neumanni Dissertationes.
Pungelerus de rerum possibilium ideis.
Wolfgang, Examen theologiæ novæ.

Blackwell's Reasonableness of rev. religion.
Cockburn's Bourignonism detected.
Honeyman's Bourignonism displayed.

Brahminism. See HINDUISM.

Brazen Serpent. See SERPENT WORSHIP.

Cyril (Alex.), Glaphyra.

Buxtorfii Exercitationes.
Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
Hottingeri (Joann. Henric.) Exercitationes.
Krafftii (Jo. Melch.) Observationes Sacræ.

Anderson's (M.) Life of Moses.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Dimock's Critical notes on Genesis.
Erskine's (Thomas) Life through death.
Forsyth's (J. G.) Sermons.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Tait's (Wm.) Serpent in the wilderness.

Bread of Life.

Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Whately's (Abp.) Sermons.

Brethren of Christ.

Bloomii (A. H.) Disputationes.

Brevity of Life. See FRAILTY.

Adey's (William) Sermons.
Amory's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Benson's (George) Sermons.
Chalmer's (Thomas) Congregation sermons.
Dorrington's (Theophilus) Sermons.
Edwards' (Bp.) Theological discourses.
Green's (Samuel) Sermons.
Noel's (Gerard T.) Sermons.
Pearce's (Thomas) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.

Bribery. See SIMONY.

Downame's (John) Treaties on various subj
Reeves' (William) Sermons.

Brotherly Love. See FELLOWSHIP.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Carmichael's (Frederick) Sermons.
Darnell's (W. N.) Sermons.
Gatty's (Alfred) Sermons.
Gearing's Philadelphia Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Works. Notes of sermons.
Haynes' Illustrations of faith and practice.
Hill's Apology for brotherly love.
Horsely's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hussey's (Robert) Sermons.
James' Sermons on brotherly love.
Milner's Practical Sermons.
Owen on Evangelical love.
Thomas' (Bp.) Sermons.
Thompson (J. R.) on the Christian graces.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Ward's (Richard) Sermons.
Wilkes' (Samuel) Sermons.
Worthington's (John) Discourses.

Brownists.

Pro.

Brown (R.) on Church Government.
——— Life and manners of true Christians.
——— Description of the visible church.
——— (Various other works.)
Ainsworth's (Henry) Works.
Barrow's (H.) Discovery of the false Church.
——— Prelatism. (For these books the author was executed at Tyburn.)
Canne's (John) Works.
Clifton's Reply to Lawrence.
Davenport's (John) Letter to the Dutch.
Greenwood's Answer to Gyffard.
Jacobs' (H.) Divine institution of the Chur.
Johnson (F.) on the Ministry of England.
——— (Several other treatises.)
Robinson's Justification of separation.
Smyth's (John) Parallels and censures.
——— Difference of the Churches.

Con.

Maimbourg, Histoire du Calvinisme.

Abbot's (Abp.) Trial of Church forsakers.
Baillie's Dissuasives from the errors of the times.
Bell (Tho.) on Church Government.
Bernard's Separatist's Schism.
Bredwell's Foundation of Brownism.
Cawdwell on the Ordained ministry.
Crashaw's Sermons at the Cross.

Brownists—*continued.*

Con.

Fellowes' Anti-calvinist.
Gyffard's Plain declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists.
——— Reply to Greenwood and Barrow.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
Kipling on the XXXIX. Articles.
Lawne's Schism of the Brownists.
Paget's Reply to Ainsworth.
——— Reply to Davenport.
Rathband's Grave and modest Confutation.
Scarlet's Plain Confutation.

Brutes. See CRUELTY, SOULS OF BRUTES.

Budhism.

Bochinger, La Vie contemplative.
Bournouf, Hist. du Budhism Indien.
——— Essai sur le Veda.
Callery, Le Liki. Tr. from the Chinese.
Riganvet, Memoire sur les Ponghies.
Spiegel (F. R.), Kammavakya.
St. Hilaire, Histoire du Budhism.
Vassilief, le B. ses dogmes, son histoire, et sa literature.
Weher's Indische Studien.

Adelung's Sanscrit literature. Tr. by Talboys. (A full epitome, and much superior to the German original.)
Bird's (Jas.) Historical Researches.
Calcutta Review. (Many articles.)
Cunningham's Bhilsa topes. 1854.
Dublin University Magazine. 33:612, 681. 34:61.
Edkin's Notices of Chinese Budhism.
Elphinstone's History of India.
Franklin's Tenets of the Budhists.
Hardy's Eastern Monachism. (Very full.)
——— B. in its modern developments.
——— B. compared with hist. and science. 1850.
Hodgson's Literature and religion of the Budhists.
Joinville's Religion of Ceylon.
Journal of Amer. Oriental Society. 1850 to 1856. Especially 1:1, and 2:1.
Legge's Chinese Classics. (Contains the works of Confucius, Mencius, &c. With English translation and notes.
London Quart. Review. 10:513.
Mahony on Ceylon. (Also in Asiatic Researches.)
Malcom's (Howard) Travels in Southeastern Asia. 1837.
Mason's (Francis) The Buddhist Genesis.
Maurice's Boyle Lectures. 1847.
Monthly Review. 118:577.
Muir's Origin and progress of the religions of India.
New Englander. 3:182.
Newman's Catechism of the Shamans. Tr. from the Chinese. With notes.
Stevenson's Trans. of the Sanhita.
Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon. 1850.
Upham's (Edw.) Sacred books of Ceylon. Trans. from the Cingalese. (So comprehensive as to be sufficient for most persons in itself.)
——— Hist. and doctrines of Budhism. (43 curious plates.)
Westminster Review. 43:162.

Bulgari. See ALBIGENSES, CATHARI.

Bullaria. See PAPAL BULLS.

Burial of Moses. See BODY OF MOSES.

Burial of the Dead.

Christian Examiner. 31:137, 281.
Westminster Review. 37:201.

Bunyan.

Bunyan's Works. 8 vols., 8vo.
Baptist Family Magazine. 1851.
Christian Review. 4:394.
Dublin University Magazine. 37:435.
Eclectic Magazine. 23:318.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 3:263. 6:468. 19:129.
Frazier's Mag. 3:54. 20:115. 31:308.
Life of John Bunyan; by Condor.
——— ——— by Ivemy.
——— ——— by Montgomery.
——— ——— by Philip.
——— ——— by Southey.
——— ——— by Nelson.
——— ——— by Offir.
Littell's Living Age. 5:107.
Macauley's Miscellanies.
North American Review. 36:449.
Quarterly Review. 43:469.
Tulloch's English Puritanism.
Westminster Review. 17:103.

Burghers. See ASSOCIATE CHURCH.

Business Religion. See RELIGION.

Cabala. See RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

Buddæi Introd. ad hist. philos. Hebræorum.
Despeire, Dissertations.
Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Judenthum.
Franck's Religion's philosophie der Hehr.
Hottingeri Thesaurus. Lib. I., cap. 3.
Joel's Religion's philasophie des Sohar.
Knorr, Kabala denudata.
Molitor's Tradition des Juden.
Monk, Philosophie des Juifs.
Morini Exercitationes.
Rosenroth, Cahala denudata.
Senstius de Kabala Judæorum.
Simonis Historia Critica.
Waltoni Prolegomena.
Wolfii Bibliotheca Hehraica.

Butler's Horæ Bihlicæ.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 11:141.
Etheridge's Jerusalem and Tiherias.
Joel's Religious Philos. of the Sohar.
More on interpreting Moses according to the Cahala.

Munk's Philosophical Jewish writers.
Oxlee's Doctrine of the Trinity.

Cabiri. See IDOLATRY, MYTHOLOGY.
Astorii (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Heumanni Comment. de secta C.
Relandi (H.) Dissertationes.
St. Croix, sur les Mystéries du Paganism.
Edinburg Review. 3:313.
Faber's (Geo. S.) Mysteries of the Cabiri.

Cainites.
Heumannus Com. de secta Cainorum.

Call. See VOCATION.

Call to the Ministry. See MINISTRY.
Sadelii Vocatio pastorum.
Sanchii Dissertationes.
Tossanus de Vocatione pastorum.
Vireti (Pet.) Opera.
Amer. Quarterly Register. 1:145. 7:157.
Christian Review. 10:7.
Manual of Ministerial education.
Perkins (W.) on the Call to the ministry.
Taylor's (Jer.) Office ministerial.

Cailixtines. See SYNCRETISTS.

Calumny. See CENSORIOUSNESS, DETRACTION, EVIL SPEAKING, SLANDER.

Calvin.
Calvini Opera.
Audin, la Vie, des ecrits, le devot., &c., de C.
Beza, Vie de Calvin.
Bolsec Vie, mœurs, actes, doctrine, &c., de C.
Henry's (Paul) Leben d. J. Calvin.
Lettres Francaise, de J. C. par Bonnet.
Amer. Biblical Repository. 2:541.
Analytical Magazine. 4:153.
Andin's Life of C. Trans. by J. McGill.
Biblioth. Sacra. 2:329, 489, 710. 14:125.
Bonnet's Letters of Calvin.
Bungener's Life and writings of Calvin.
Christian Examiner. 69:73.
Christ. Monthly Spectator. 3:408. 10:239.
Christian Observer. 16:435.
Cunningham's Reformers and theology of the Reformation.
Dyer's (T. H.) Life and times of C. (Repeats refuted calumnies, and paints C. in odious colors.)
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 27:251. New Series. 3:1.
Exeter Hall Lectures to young men.
Henry's Life of C. Trans. by Dr. Stebbing. (Not only a superior memoir, but an excellent selection from his works.)
Jones' Christian Biography.
Literary and Theological Review. 6:325.
Littell's Living Age. 25:571.
McKensie's Life of Calvin.
North British Review. 13:46.
Presbyterian Review. 3:391.
Princeton Review. 9:29. 11:339. 20:279.
Quarterly Review. 88:277.
Scott's (J.) C. and the Swiss Reformation.
Smyth's (Tho. H.) Life and character of C.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 3:559, 615.
Stebbing's (H.) Life and times of C.
Tulloch's Leaders of the Reformation.
Waterman's Life of Calvin.

Calvinism.

Pro.

Calvini Opera omnia. 9 vols., folio.
Bayle, Refutatio de Maimbourg.
Benoit, Hist. de l'edit de Nantes.
Bezæ (Theod.) Opera.
Heideggeri Historia Papatus.
Jurieu, Histoire du Calvinisme. (Reply to Maimbourg.)
Turretini Institutiones Theologicæ.
Ursini Catechismus.
Zanchii Theses.
——— Compend. Doctrinæ christianæ.
——— de Natura Dei.
Alleine's Vindiciæ pietatis.
Biblical Repository. (Various pieces.)
Bledsoe's Theodicy. (A very able discussion of the points controverted by Armenians.)
Crisp's (Tobias) Works. Notes by Dr. Gill.
Drelincourt's Defence of Calvin.
Dutton's Letters to John Wesley.
Edwards' (Prest.) Works.
Ely's (Ezra S.) Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism.
Fisher's (Edw.) Marrow of mod. divinity.
Frazier's (James) Critical Expos. of Rom. vi. and vii. (Controverts with great ability Hammond, Locke, Grotius, &c.)
Fuller's (Andrew) Works.
Gill's Cause of God and truth. (A noble work.)
——— Defence of Calvinism.
Hussey's (Jos.) Glory of Christ. (Answer to Hunt.)
Lime Street Lectures.
Mandeville's Horæ Hebraicæ. (Learned.)
Princeton Review. (Many articles.)
Scott's (Tho.) Reply to Bp. Tomline.
Smyth's (T.) Calvin and his enemies.
Twisse's Works. (Powerful, but somewhat ultra.)
Vaughn's Doctrines of Calvin.
Williams' (Dan.) Def. of modern Calvinism.
——— Gospel truth stated.

Con.

Arminii Opera Theologica.
Becani Disputationes.
Eckhardi Fasciculus controv. theologicarum.
Finckii Controversiæ Theologicæ.
Gerlach's Einheimischer Kreig.
Heilbrunner's Sammarischer Begrif, &c.
Himmelii Controversiæ Theologicæ.
Kellisoni Examen Reformationis.
Maimbourg, Histoire du Calvinisme.
Mentzeri Elenchus Errororum.
Osiandri Enchiridion Controversiarum.
Reginald, Calvini-Turcissimus.

Calvinism—*continued.*

Con.

Romæi Calvini Effigies.
Schallingii Synopsis Doctrinæ.
Schmid's (Sebast.) Glauben der Reformirten.
Selnecceri Calvinus redivivus.
Wandalin, von der Calvinischen Lehre.
Winkelmanni Errores Calviniorum.

Fellows' Anti-calvinist.
Fisk's (Wilbur) Calvinistic controversy.
Graves' (Rich.) Discourses.
Houghton (W.) on Calvinism.
Hunt on the Doct. of eternal decrees.
Jones' (of Nayland) Theological works.
Kipling on the XXXIX. Articles.
Lawrence's (Abp.) Bampton Lectures. 1804. (Argues that the articles of the Church of England are not Calvinistic.)
Nichols' Calvinism and Armin. compared.
Pearson's Calv. and Arminian controversy.
Thorn's Assurance of faith. (Identifies Calvinism with Universalism.)
Tomline's (Bp.) Refutation of Calvinism.
Wesley's (John) Works.

This article might be extended indefinitely. The reader is referred to kindred heads, such as *Creeds, Decrees, Effectual calling, Election, Hist. of Doctrines, Human depravity, Human responsibility, Moral ability, Perseverance, Reprobation, Synod of Dort, Will,* &c. &c.

Calvinism, History of. See CALVIN, HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

Bassnage, Hist. de la religion.
Bayle, Histoire du Calvinisme.
Bretschneider's Bildung und Geist Calvin's.
Gerdesii Introduc. ad hist. evangelii.
Heideggeri Historia Papatus.
Henry's Leben Calvin's.
Polenz's Ges. d. französichen Calvinismus.
Schieksal's Protestisten in Frankreisch.
Schulteti Annales Evangelici.
Souliere, Hist. du C. contenant sa naissance, son progress, sa decadence, et sa fin, en France.

Laval's Hist. of the Reformation in France.
Toplady's History of Calvinism.

Camaldolites.

Heylot, Histoire des ordres.
Mabillonii Annales Benedictini.
Manriques, Annales.

Cameronians. See CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS, SECTS.

Blackwood's Magazine. 6:169, 513, 663. 7:48, 157, 277, 374, 482, 508.

Campbellites. See DISCIPLES.

Camp Meetings.

Porter's Hist. philosophy, and importance of camp meetings.

Candor. See SINCERITY.

Barret's (Joseph) Sermons.
Bell's (William) Sermons.
Eaton's Conversations on bigotry.
Fuller's Calv. and Socin. systems compared.
Goddard's Bampton Lectures. 1824. (C. necessary to a right enquiry into religious evidence.)
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of sermons.
Hey's (John) Lectures. Bk. 1, ch. 1.
Howson's (John S.) Sermons.
Jortin's Six dissertations. Diss. 3.
Van Mildert's Theological works.
Watts on Truth and sincerity.

Canon of Scripture. See APOCRYPHA.

Cochlæus de Canonica S. S.
Credner's Geschichte des Canons.
Frick de Cura vet. ecc. circa canonem S. S.
Kortholtus de Canone.
Millii Prolegomena ad Nov. Test.
Morus de Canone Scripturæ.
Planck, de Signif. canonis in ecc. antiq.
Reuss, Histoire du Canon, &c.
Schmidii Vindicatio canonis, V. et N. T.
Strosch, Hist. critica de librorum N. T.
Van Mastricht, Commentatio de canone, &c.
Weber's Gesch. des Neutestamentl. Kanons.
Wolfius de Integritate codicis sacri.

Alexander (A.) on the Canon of S. S.
Amer. Quart. Church Review. 17:583.
Blair (John) on the Canon of Scripture.
Bryant's (Jac.) Authent. of the Chris. relig.
Christian Quart. Spect. 10:69.
Cosin's Scholastic hist. of the Canon.
Dupin's Complete hist. of the Canon, &c.
Finlay's Vindication.
Gaussen on the Canon of Scripture.
General Repository. 4:1.
Giles' (J. A.) Hebrew Records.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Jones' (Jer.) Method of settling the Canon. (Best short treatise.)
Kitto's Journal. 7:174.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel hist.
——— Antiquities.
Nye on the Canon.
Owen's Introd. to Comment. on Hebrews.
Prideaux's Connexion of O. and N. Test.
Richardson's Vindication. (Reply to Toland's Amyntor.)
Stuart's (Moses) Defence of the O. T. Canon.
Townley's Illustrations of biblical literature.
United States Literary Gazette. 5:327.
Westcott's Hist. of the Canon of the N. T., during the first 4 centuries.
Wadsworth's Hulsean Lectures. 1847.

Canonization.

Buddei (J. F.) Dissertationes et Orationes.
Powell's (H. T.) Roman fallacies.

Canon Law. See COUNCILS, DECRETALS.

Balthasar Jus ecclesiasticum pastorale.
Barbosæ Opera omnia.

Canon Law—*continued.*

Berardi Commentaria. (1780. Reprinted 1846.)
Beveridgii (Bp.) Synodicon. (Contains the canons of all the early councils, with learned notes.)
——— Adnotationes ad canones apostolicos.
Boehmer, Jus ecclesiasticum Protestantium.
Calderwood, Altare Damascenum.
Cosini Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ politia.
Du Moulin, Definitions du droit canon.
Eichhorn's Grundsätze des Kirchrechts.
Feraris, Bibliotheca Canonica.
Gibson, Codex juris eccl. Anglicanæ.
Harduini Concordia discors canonum.
Hericourt, Les loies eccl. de France.
Justelli Bibliotheca canonum, &c.
Lancellotti Institutiones juris canonici. (Alphabetical arrangement.)
Lucet, Principes du droit canonique.
Meermanni (G.) Novus thesaurus jurus.
Permaneder's Handbuch des Kirchenrechts.
Phillips' Kirchenrecht.
Prompsault, Dictionaire de droit.
Reiffenstueli Jus canonicum.
Richter, Corpus juris, &c.
Schilling's Canonischen Rechte.
Schmalzgrueber Diss. generalis, Index, &c.
Schmidt, Thesaurus juris eccles.
Schmitz, Medulla Juris canonici.
——— Diss. prelectæ in jus eccles. (Containing 126 Diss., by eminent authors, on special points of Eccles. jurisprudence.)
Van Espen, Jus ecclesiasticum. ("There is nothing better, on universal Canon Law, than Van Espen."—DUPIN.)
Voelli Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris.
Walter's (F.) Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts.
Weiss' (C. E.) Kirchenrechtswissenschaft.
Zallweinii Jus ecclesiasticum.
Zoesii Com. in Jus canonicum.
Zullingeri Instit. Juris Nat. et Eccles.

Baker's Reflections on learning. Ch. 13.
Bingham's Origines ecclesiasticæ.
Bohun on Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
Buckley's Canons of the Council of Trent.
Butler's (Cha.) Horæ Juridicæ. (Notes on all the chief codes.)
Cranmer's (Abp.) Works. (Parker Society publications.)
Degge's Parson's counsellor.
Gibson's Codex juris ecc. Anglicanæ. ("The most valuable work on the subject."—BP. WATSON.)
Hammond's (W. A.) Canons of the early Ch.
Johnson's (John) Collections of all the canons, rescripts, &c., of the Church of England, published in Latin.
Waterworth's Essays.

See many other writers on this subject in DOUJAT, *Praemonitiones canonicae*, which names the various collections of canons, from A. D. 1200 to 1762; and LIPPENII, *Biblioth. Juridica, cum supplimento* SCHOTTII, 5 vols., folio. 1823.

Capital Punishment.

Pro.

Bierling (F. W.), Dissertationes.
Grotius de Jure civilis.
Michaelis de Judiciis pœnisque in S. S.
Stockius de Pœnis Hebræorum.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 5 : 9.
Beccaria on Crimes and punishments.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 4 : 270.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Blackwood's Magazine. 58 : 129.
Cheever on Capital punishment.
Christian Examiner. 12 : 1. 14 : 298. 43 : 355.
Christian Review. 14 : 365.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 71.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 115.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 10 : 554. 23 : 339. 24 : 129. 26 : 98. 27 : 33. 28 : 317.
Foreign Quarterly Review. 25 : 394.
Frazier's Magazine. 69 : 753.
Godwin's Political Justice.
Haynes' Letter to Hall.
Hutchinson's Moses' Principia.
Lewis' (Taylor) Grounds of capital pun.
Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.
New Englander. 1 : 128. 3 : 562. 4 : 563.
Paley's Political Economy.
Patton's Capital Punishment sustained by Reason and Scripture.
Princeton Review. 13 : 307. 14 : 307.
Puffendorf's Law of Nature.
Quarterly Review. 7 : 159.
Schmucker's Popular Theology.

Con.

Blackwood's Edin. Mag. 27 : 865.
Carey's Museum. 4 : 78. 5 : 47. 7 : 7, 69. 20 : 71. 204 : 300.
Democratic Review. 10 : 272. 12 : 227, 409. 19 : 90.
Dodd (Wm.) on the 6th Commandment.
Eclectic Review. 7 :
Fleetwood (Sir P. H.) on Capital Punishm.
Livingston (L.) on Capital Punishment.
Mandeville on Executions.
Montagu on the Punishment of Death.
North American Review. 62 : 40.
O'Sullivan's Lectures in New York City.
Pamphleteer. 3 : 115. 8 : 281. 12 : 287.
Polodori (John W.) on the Death penalty.
Rippon (John) on Capital punishment.

Capucins. See FRANCISCANS.

Aremberg, Flores Seraphici.
Bernardi Opera.
Bibliotheca Scriptorum Capucinorum.
Bononiæ Biblioth. Scrip. Ord. minorum, &c.
Bouchier, de Martyrio F. F. Minorum.
Boveri Annales Capucinorum. To 1612.
Bullarium Ordinis Capucinorum a P. F. Michaelis. (A coll. of bulls, briefs, decrees, rescripts, &c., with notes.)
Genvæ Biblioth. Script. Ord. minorum, &c.
Johannis, de Terra Nova, Narratio de origine fratrum Capucinorum Sancti Francisci.

Du Moulin's (P.) Lives of the Capucins.

See a great list of Capucin writers in GENVA and BONONIA, cited above.

Caraites. See KARAITES.

Cardinals.

Fabricii Bibliographia Antiquarum.
Muratori de Origine Cardinalatas.
Sagittarii Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.
Thomassini Disciplina Eccles. Vet. et Nov.

Care. See ANXIETY.

Carmelites. See FRANCISCANS.

Annales Ordinis Præmonstratensis.
Grossus de Viris illustribus et sanctis.
Jean, Histoire de l'ordre des Carmes.
Lezana, Annales sacri prophetici, &c.
Lucii Carmelitana Bibliotheca.
Martiali Bibliotheca Script. Carmelitani.
Riboti Speculum ordinis Carmelitani.
Thomæ (a Jesu) Opera. Ed. J. S. Brewer.
Trithemii de Ortu, progressu, laudibus, &c.

Carnal Mind. See HEAVENLY MINDEDNESS, HUMAN DEPRAVITY, SENSUALITY.

Brady's (N.) Sermons.
Cooper's (G.) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jones' (Wm., of Nayland) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
Powell's (Sam.) Sermons.
Rose's (H. J.) Sermons.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (Cha. H.) Sermons. 1st Series.
Whewell's (W.) Sermons.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.

Carpocratians. See HERESIES.

Clemens' (Alex.) Stromata.
Hebenstreitii (Jo. Frid.) Dissertationes.
Gesenius de Inscriptione Phœnicio-græca in Cyrenaica nuper reperta.

Cartesians.

Pro.

Bekker's Besauberte Welt.
Cartesii Meditationes metaphysicæ.
——— Principiæ philosophiæ.
Rohaultii Physica.
Schrodellii (Phil. Dan.) Commentatio.
Velthusius de Existentia Dei.
——— (Various other works.)
Willichii Adnotationes. (Agt. Maresius.)

Con.

Andalæ Syntagma theologico-physico.
Hennischii Demonstratio.
Huetii Censura philosophiæ Cartesianæ.
Maresius de Abusu philosophiæ.
——— Adnotationes. (Reply to Willichius.)
Revii Method. Cartes. theol. consideratio.
Roellius de Religione rationali.

Cartesians—*continued.*

Con.

Rohaultii Physica. (Edited by Dr. S. Clark, in which the notes quietly refute the text.)
Van Mastrecht, Gangrena.
Voetius de Atheismo.

Baker's Reflections on Learning.
Boyle on Final causes.
——— on the Vulgar notion of Nature.
Cudworth's Intellectual System.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 2:1.
Ray on the Creation.
Rohault's Physics. (Trans. by Dr. John Clark. With all the notes from Dr. S. Clark's Edition.)

The writers for and against Cartesianism, previous to A. D. 1700, are diligently described by FABRICIUS, *Syllab. scriptor. de religion.* Cap. X.

Carthusians.

Corbin, Hist. de l'ordre Chartreux.
Dorlandi Chronicon Carthusiense.
Guidon (in "Bibliotheca manuscriptorum").
Mabilloni Annales Benedictini.
Miræi Origines Carthusianorum.
Morotii Theatrum chron. Carthus. ordinis.
Nova Collectio statutorum ordinis C. 1736.
Petreii Bibliotheca Carthusiana.

Casuistry. See CONSCIENCE.

Amesius de Conscientia et ejus jure.
Baldwin, de Casibus conscientiæ.
Clavasius de Casibus conscientiæ.
Dannhaveri Liber cons. apertus.
Dicsoni Therapeutica Sacra.
Encyclopedie Theologique.
Fagundez (Steph.), Questiones.
Gilotte, le Directeur des consciences.
Lessius de Jure et Justitia.
Misleri Opus questionum theologicarum.
Osiandri Theologia casualis.
Pontas, Dictionaire des cases de consc.
Toleti Instructio sacerdotum.

Alleine's Alarm to the unconverted.
Ames' Power of conscience.
Barlow's (Bp.) Cases of cons. resolved.
Baxter's (Richard) Cause and cure of a wounded conscience.
——— Christian Directory. (Often reprint.)
Christian Magazine. Vol. 1.
Feltham's Resolves: divine, moral, and political. ("A cabinet full of precious ornaments."—BP. WRANGHAM.)
Fuller's (Dr. Thomas) Cure of a wounded conscience.
Gillespie's Miscellaneous Questions.
Hall's (Bp.) Resolutions of divers cases.
Hamilton's Mourner in Zion comforted.
Hammond's Resolution to six queries.
Hog's Casuist. Essay on the Lord's Prayer.
Jessey's Storehouse of provision to resolve cases, &c.
Kennett's Christian Casuist.

Casuistry—*continued.*

Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Norman's Cases of conscience.
Perkins' (Wm.) cases of conscience.
Phillips' Christian experience.
Pike & Hayward's Cases of conscience.
Placette's Christian Casuist. Tr. by Kennet.
Ponta's Dictionary of cases of conscience. (The original, in 3 vols., fol., is abridged by Collet into 2 vols., 4to.)
Saunderson's Obligatio Conscientiæ.
——— Nine cases of conscience.
Saurin's Christian Casuistry.
Scott's (J.) Cases of conscience.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sixteen casuistical sermons.
Shephard's Select cases resolved.
Stubbe's (Henry) Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor dubitantium.

Cataphrygians. See MONTANISTS.

Catechising.

Augustin de Catechizandis Rudibus.
Busch's Anleit. zur mittheilung der Religion.
Febiger's Vorles. über d. kunst zu katech.
Harnisch's Anweisen zur Unter. in christen.
Ludewig's Anweisen zur rel. Katech.
Plutarch de Liberis educandis.
Schmerbach's Hist. u. Doctrinellen Religions unterricht.
Thierbach's Niedern und höhern Schulen.
Weinkopf's Wissenschaftlichen katechetik.

Addison's Antiq. and benefits of catechising.
Amer. Journal of Education. 9:367.
Athill's Way of catechising.
Bather (Edw.) on the Art of catechising.
Best (Samuel) on Catechising.
Evangelical Review. 1:221.
Gilley's Advantage and duty of catechising.
Henry (Matt.) on the Catechising of youth.
New Englander. 2:180.
Princeton Review. 21:59.
Quarterly Review. 71:184.
Watts (I.) on Instruction by catechisms.
Willison's Example of catechising.

Catechisms.

Augustin, de Catechizandis rudibus.
Chrysostom, Catechesis ad illuminandos.
Cyrill (Hierosol.), Cat. ad competens.
Gregory (Nys.) Orationes.

Bellarmini Catechismus.
Boeckel's Bekentniss-schriften. (Gives the Catechisms of various national churches.)
Calvini Cat. Ecclesiæ Genevensis.
Capel, la Doctrine des eglises reformès.
Catechismus ex decreto concilii Trident.
Dieterici Institutiones Catecheticæ.
Dinter's Unterredungen. (13 vols., 8vo.!)
Drelincourt, Catechisme.
Ernesti's Katechismus-literatur.
John A Lasco, Catechismus.
Langemackii Historia Catechetica.
Luther's Catechismus.

Catechisms—*continued.*

Melancthonis Catechismus puerilis.
Niemeyeri Collectio conf. fidei Eccles. Reformatæ. (Gives the catechisms of Geneva, Belgium, Bohemia, &c.)
Norvelli Christianæ pietatis institutio.
Ostervald, Instruc. de la rel. chrètienne.
Pictet, C. familiar pour les enfans.
Saurin, Abregè de la theologie, et de morale, en forme de catechismè.
Streitwolf, Dibri symbolici Ecc. Cathol.
Waldensii Explic. orationis Dominicæ, Symboli apostolici, ac Decalogi.

Abercrombie's Lectures on the Church C.
Adams' Lectures on the Church Catechism.
Assembly's Catechism.
Baxter's (Isaac) Catechism.
Beddome on the Baptist Catechism.
Bellfrage on the Assembly's Catechism.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Exposition of the C.
Brown's Explication of the Assembly's C.
Buckley's Trans. of the C. of the Council of Trent. With notes.
Bundy's Lectures on the C.
Burnett's (Bp.) Exposition of the Church C.
Cartwright's Catechism.
Clarke on the Church C.
Crossman's Church C. explained.
Dickson's Church C. explained.
Ellis' Scripture catechist.
Fleetwood's Exposition of the Church C.
Gordon's (A.) 52 Lectures on the Church C.
Girdlestone's Lectures on the Church C.
Halton's Exposition of the Church C.
Hammond's Practical Catechism.
Hazelius' Materials for Catechization.
Hewey's Scripture Catechism.
Hole's Exposition of the Church C.
Law (E.) on Catechising.
Lowth's Catechism.
Nowell's Catechism. (Puritan.)
Perkins' Catechism. (Puritan.)
Prideaux's Commentary on the C. of the Ch. of England.
Princeton Review. 2:50.
Purdy's Lectures on the Church C.
Quarterly Review. 71:332.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. (On the Assembly's Catechism.)
Rogers' Grounds of the Christian religion.
Secker (Abp.) on the Church of Eng. C.
Sherlock's Principles of the Christian relig.
Vincent's Exposition of the Shorter C.
Wake's Comm. on the Church C.
Waterland's Works.
Wesley's (Cha.) Short commentary, &c.

To enumerate all catechisms and their commentators would require a volume. WALCH'S *Bibliotheca Theologica* gives a great list, divided into—1. Lutheran. 2. Papal. 3. Reformed. 4. Arminian. 5. Socinian. 6. Bohemian Brethren. 7. Fanatics. 8. Greek. 9. Jews. Of expositions of the Church of England catechism, there are at least 250.

Catenæ Patrum.
See USE OF THE FATHERS.

Aquinatis (Tho.) in Lucam et Joannen Cat.
Comitioli C. P P. Græcorum xxiv. in Jobum.
Corderii C. P P. Græc. in Jobum.
——— ——— ——— Psalmos.
——— ——— ——— Lucam.
——— ——— ——— Johannen.
Ittigii Biblioth. et Caten. Patrum.
Lipomani Catena in Genesin.
——— ——— Psalmos.
Nicetæ Catena in Jobum.
——— ——— Lucam.
Possini Catena in Matthæum.
——— ——— Marcum.
Roxas, Catena in Evangelia vi.
Theodoki Catena in libros Mosis.

The Catenas are very numerous, and, for the most part, very worthless. The above are given merely as specimens. Others are named in various places under the head Commentators. A very extensive list is given by WALCH, *Bibliotheca patristica.*

Cathari. See ALBIGENSES, WALDENSES.

Chatel, Histoire de Languedoc.
Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ.
Ecberti Sermones adversus Catharos.
Launoy de Scholis celebrioribus Caroli Mag.
Limborchii Historia Inquisitionis.
Moneta contra Catharos et Valdenses.
Muratori Antiquitates Ital. medii ævi.
Richini Dissertationes.
Schmidt (C.), Hist. et doctrine des Cathares.
Hurter's Hist. of Pope Innocent III.
Universalist Quart. Review. 7 : 363.

Causation. See MOTIVES.

American Biblical Repository. 2d Series. 2 : 381. 3 : 174. 4 : 217, 467. 5 : 153.
Boyle's (Hon. Robt.) Works.
Brown's Philosophy of the mind.
Buchanan's Modern Atheism.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 3 : 583.
Frazier's Magazine. 16 : 254. (Final causes.)
Hume's (David) Essays.
Irons' Doct. of final causes. (Admirable.)
Mills' Exam. of Sir W. Hamilton's philos.
——— Philosophy of necessity.
Miller's Old red sand stone. (Final causes.)
Müller's Christian doct. of sin.
New Englander. 8 : 160.
North Amer. Review. 12 : 395.
North British Rev. 7 : 1. (Final causes.)
Scott's Limits of metaphysical science.
Travis (Henry) on Moral freedom.
Whish on the First cause.
Woods (Dr.) on Cause and effect.

Caution. See PRUDENCE.

Celibacy of the Clergy.

Chrysostom de Virginitate.
Gregory (Nys.) de Virginitate.

Celibacy of the Clergy—*continued.*

Bugenhagius de Conjugio Episcoporum.
Calixtus (Geor.) de Conjugio clericorum.
Campegius de Cœlebatu sacerdotum.
Carove's Coelibatz gesetze d. Rom. clerus.
Erasmus (Rot.), Gedanken die Priesterehe.
Espencæus de Continentia.
Gaudin (l'Abbe) Les inconvéniens du célebat des prêtres.
Gusman de sacris ministris.
Hosii (Stanisl.) Opera.
Hubrici Defensio conjugii sacerdotum.
Mayeri Dissertationes.
Melancthonis Defensio conjugi sacerdotum.
Orichovii Orationes contra Syricium.
Osiandri Dissertationes.
P. Martyr de Cœlibatu sacerdotum.
Sasii Œcumenicum. (Extracts from Councils, Fathers, &c.)
Schmidii (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Smith de Cœlibatu sacerdotum.
Trefurt's Cölibat aus d. gesichtspunkte.
Wicellii Via Regia.

Beaver's Doct. of the Scripture.
Billingsley's (John) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
Hall's (J.) Honor of the married clergy.
Hey's Lectures on theology. Bk. 4.
Martin's Traictise declaryng and provyng that the pretended marriage of priestes is no marrige.
Merrick's Marriage a Divine institution.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Payne's Exam. of the texts which Papists cite, &c.
Tullie's (George) Sermons.
Wharton's Rise and progress of the celibacy of the clergy. (Reprinted in Gibson's Preservative.)

Cellites. See LOLLARDS.

Censoriousness. See EVIL SPEAKING.

Benson's (Joseph) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Bourne's (Samuel) Sermons.
Brady's (Nicolas) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 35 : 311.
Evans' (Dr. John) Christian temper.
Faulkner's (Will.) Essays. Ess. 1.
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West's Defence of Revelation.
Whitby's Necessity, Usefulness, &c.
Wilson's (J.) Reasonableness of C. (An able development of the principles of Butler's Analogy.)

The above are but a fraction of the writers on this subject, but are abundantly sufficient for the purposes of this work. See a full list of writers for and against Christianity, up to the 14th century. in CAVE's *Hist. Litteraria.*

Christianity Adapted to Man.

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Butler's (Piers E.) Rationality of revealed religion.
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Christian Examiner. 45:194.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 9:573.
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Fry's (Edw.) Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the nature of man.
Hampden's Philosophical evidences of C.
Harness' Christianity adapted to man, and therefore true.
Jones on the Claims of Religion.
Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature. 4:34.
Literary and Theol. Review. 1:632.
Methodist Quart. Review. 1:39.
Miller's Bampton Lectures. 1817.
Morehead's (Robt.) Sermons.
New Englander. 5:433.
Norman's Necessity of Revelation.
Redford's Holy Scriptures verified by science, history, and human consciousness.
Reid's (Tho.) Works. Essay 1, ch. 1.
Spence's Religion for mankind.
Trench's Hulsean Lectures. 1845.
Universalist Quarterly. 7:156.
Williamson's Boyle Lectures. 1778.
Woodgate's Bampton Lectures. 1838.

Christianity Applied to Business. See RELIGION AND BUSINESS.

Christians. See DISCIPLES, FREE-WILL BAPTISTS.

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Andrews' (Bp.) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Blomfield's (George B.) Sermons.
Brownrig's (R.) Sermons.
Clerke's (Richard) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Davies' (Prest.) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Gordon's (Adam) Sermons.
Heber's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jones' (Will. of Nayland) Sermons.
Lake's (Bp.) Sermons.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nathan) Sermons.
Newman's (John H.) Sermons.
Pott's (J. H.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
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Bertholdt, Christologia Judæorum.
Coquerell, Essai sur la person de J. C.

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Dorner's Lehre von der person Christus.
——— Geschichte der christologie.
Fabricii Chris. Noachica et Abrahamica.
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Glassii Opuscula (Explic. Ps. cx.)
——— Christologia Mosaica.
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Meignan, les Propheties messianique.
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Umbreit, der Knecht Gottes.
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——— Loganthropos.
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Gordon's (Robt.) Christ as made known to the ancient church.
Guild's (Wm.) Moses unveiled.
——— Harmony of all the prophets.
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——— ——— Abridged by T. K. Arnold.
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Literary and Theol. Rev. 4:71.
Owen's (John) Glorious majesty of Christ.
Pierce (Sam. E.) on the Pentateuch.
Polhill's View of some divine truths.
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Sartorius on the Person of Christ.
Stephenson's Christology of the O. and N. T.
Williams' Psalms interpreted of Christ.
Wilson's Early opinions of Jews and Chris.

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Baronii Annales.

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Camprian, Chronologia universalis.
Capelli Historia Apostolica illustrata.
Clemencet et Durand, Art du verifier les dates des faits historique. (An immense and valuable work.)
Corsini Dissertationes.
Eusebii Thesaurus temporum.
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Frankii Systema chron. fundamentalis.
Frenoy, Tablettes chronologique.
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Gauz, Chronologia, sacra et profana.
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Gregory (John), de Æris et Epochis.
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Hornii Dissertationes. (On the true age of the world, against J. Vossius.)
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——— Ægyptiarum antiq. investigatio.
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Vignole, Chron. de l'hist. sainte, et des hist. etrangeres. (From the Exodus from Egypt to the captivity in Babylon.)
Vitringa Hypotyposis. (An elegant compendium.)
Vossii (G.) Chronologia sacra Isagoge.
——— de LXX. Interpretibus.
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——— Castigationes ad scripta Hornii.
Walchii Calendarium Palestinæ.
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Allen's Chain of Scrip. C. (Convenient tables.)
Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 6:114.
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Amphlet's Key to Script. eras. (Very convenient.)
Ancient Universal History. (Last vol.)
Andrews' (J.) Key to Scripture chronology.
Bedford's Scripture chronology demonstrated by astronomical calculation.
Bennett's Temple of Ezekiel. (Reconciling the Jewish and Christian chronologies.)
Benson's Chronology of our Saviour's life.
Bentley's Critical observations.
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Bickmore's Tables of comparative chronol.
——— Chronological Instruction.
Blackadder's (R. B.) Chron. of the New Test.
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Bosanquet's Chron. of the times of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah.
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Carpenter's Calendarium Palestinæ.
Carr's Jewish calendar explained.
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Clayton's Hebrew chronology vindicated. (Defence of Usher.)
Craddock's Hist. of the O. Test. methodized.
Crosthwaite's Synchronology. (Showing the harmony of Egyptian, Greek, and Phœnician C., with that of the Scriptures.)
Cunningham's Chronology of Israel and the Jews.
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Downe's Ordo Seculorum. (Contains a valuable compend of the principal chronologies, an exam. of Greswell, &c.)
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Holmes' (W. A.) Prophetical chronology.
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Jarvis' Chron. Introd. to the history of the Church.
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Jones' Chronological and analytical view of the Bible.
Kennedy's (John) Scripture chronology.
King's (Robt.) Chron. of Sacred history.
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Knott's New aid to memory. 147 engrav.
Lardner's Cabinet Encyclopedia. (Chronol. of the Chinese.)
Lewin's Early Chris. C. (B. C. 70 to A. D. 70.)
Lloyd's System of Chronology.
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Mann on the true years of Christ's birth and death.
Manchester's Times of Daniel examined.
Marsham's Canons of Chronology.
Marshall's Chron. tables of Sacred history.
Monthly Review. 105:10. (Hindu chron.)
Neil's Dictionary of dates. (20,000 historical facts, to 1857.)
Newton's Chron. of ancient kingdoms. (Sir Isaac spent thirty years on this work, and wrote it over sixteen times.)
Nolan's Egyptian Chronology analyzed.
Parker's (Frank) Chronology.
Pearson's Annales Paulina.
Peckson's Chart of the Patriarchs.
Playfair's System of Chronology.
Priestley's Chart of universal history.
Riddle's Eccles. chronology. (Gives a list of councils, and is otherwise a convenient book of reference.)
Skene's Chronology of the O. Test. compared with profane history.
Skinner's Dissertations. (The chronological difficulties of the Mosaic history.)
Sponde's Annals; from the Creation to Christ.
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Wallace on the True age of the world.
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Hottingeri Dissertationes.
Lightfoot's Harmony, order, chronology, &c., of the O. Test. and Evangelists.

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Torshell's Design of a harmony, &c.
Townsend's Harmony of the O. and N. Test. (On the basis of Lightfoot. Highly commended by Archdeacon Nares.)
Usher's Annals of the O. and N. Testaments.
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Laval, Instructions tirèes de St. C.
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Garnaud, Etudes d'architecture chrétiene.
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Kreutz, das Ideal des christl. Kirchenbaues.
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Britton's Chronological, historical, and graphic illustrations of English church architecture.
——— Cathedral antiquities.
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Christian Examiner. 31:60. 44:316.
Church Review. 3:372.
Close's Early church architecture.
Coney's Ecc. edifices of olden time.
Democratic Review. 20:139.
Dennison's Lectures on Ch. Architecture.
Dublin University Mag. 21:614.
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Hope's Historical Essay on Church Archit.
Knight's Eccles. architecture of Italy, from Constantine to the 15th century. (Plates.)
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Cartwright's Directory of Church governm.
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Mudge's Nat. and extent of Ch. authority.
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Africani Fragmenta Chronographia.
Alberi Institutiones hist. ecclesiasticæ.
Alexandri Hist. Eccles. (To 1600. Deemed the best of the Papal historians. Often reprinted.)
Anastasii Historia Ecclesiæ.
Antonini Summa Historialis. (To 1459. Very respectable, but superseded by better works. Many editions.)
Arnoldi Hist. Eccl. (Shows that in all ages, the clergy, as a whole, have been the enemies of vital religion; and that the sufferers for "heresy" have been those of whom the world was not worthy.)
Assemani Kalendaria Eccl. universæ.
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Bahrdt, Entwurf einer Kirchenhistorie.
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Bassnage (J.), Hist. de l'Eglise. (A powerful reply to Bossuet's variations of Protestantism.)
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Callixti Hist. de eccles. Occident. (8th, 9th, and 10th centuries.)
Capelli Hist. Eccles. (First 5 centuries.)
Caroli Memorabilia. (Acta eruditor.)
Casauboni Exercitationes. (Criticises Baronius.)
Casiodori Historia. (A trans. of Socrates, Zosomen, and Theodoret.)
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——— Dissertationes de scriptoribus eccl. incertæ ætatis.
Centuriæ Magdeburgenses. (Invaluable.)
Choisy, Histoire de l'Eglise.
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Epiphanii (Scholasticus) Hist. Eccles. (A Latin translat. of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.)
Eusebii Hist. Ecclesiæ. (The first regular church history. Many editions and translations.)
Evagrii Hist. Eccles. (From 431 to 594.)
Fabricii (J. A.) Lux salutaris evangelii.
——— Dissertationes.
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Flugge's Gesch. d. Rel. und Theologie.
Franz's Zustande der Kirche in d. ersten sechs Jahrhunderts.
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Hafels' (J. K.) Kirchengeschichte.
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Heppe's Ursprung u. Gesch. der Bezeichnung Reform. &c.)
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Holzhausen de Fontibus quibus Socrates, Sozomenus, et Theodoretus, in scribenda hist. sac., usi sunt.
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Hottingeri Hist. Ecclesias. (Stops at the Council of Trent.)
Hubneri Cent. quatuor, hist. sacra.
Illyrici Catalogus testium veritatis.
Ittigii Schediasma de auctoribus, &c.
——— Hist. Eccles. (1st and 2d centuries.)
Jablonski Institutiones hist. eccl. ("Great merit."—Bp. Walton.)
Jageri Historia Ecclesiast. cum parallelismo profanæ.
Klein, Hist. Eccles. christianæ.
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Kurtz's Allgemein Kirchengeschichte.
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La Placette Observationes hist. eccles.
Laroque, Adversaria Sacra. (Acta erud.)
Leo's Gesch. der christlichen religion.
Le Seur, Histoire de l'Eglise.
Limborchii Epistolæ. (By Arminius, Vorst, Grotius, &c. "A precious book."—Dr. Parr.)
Linder's Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschte.
Marcæ Opuscula. (Acta eruditorum.)
Marheinecke's Universal Kirchenhistorie.
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Matthes' Kirchliche Chronik. (To 1858.)
Meiner's Gesch. der Religionen. (To 1806.)
Montrond, Tableau historique de la decadence du Paganisme en occident.
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Natalis (Alex.), Ordinis F F. Prædicatorum. (Many editions. That of Bingen, 1790, 20 vols., 4to, is generally preferred. Said to be the best church history written by a Romanist.)
Neander's Kirchen Geschichte. (To 1834.)
Nicephori Historia Ecclesiæ. (To 610.)
Nicolai Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ.
Olshausen, Hist. Eccl. veteris monumenta.
——— Gesch. d. zwei ersten Jahrh.

Orsi Hist. Eccl. (To 1587. 50 vols., 4to.)
Osiandri Hist. Eccl. (An admirable epitome of the Magdeburg centuriators, and continued to 1600.)
Parei Medulla historia eccles.
Peterson's Religions geschichte vom Standpunkte d. Offenbarung.
Pfaffii Inst. Hist. Eccl. (Acta eruditor.)
Philo, Historia Ecclesiastica.
Philostorgii Hist. Eccl. (From 300 to 425.)
Picot, Hist. Eccl. pendant le 18^{e} siécle.
Picteti Hist. Eccl. et civilis; sec. xi.
Raynaldi Annales Eccles. (A continuation of Baronius to 1534. Violently Papal.)
Rechenbergii Summarium Hist. Eccles.
Reffelt's Hauptsachlichste d. Gesc. d. Relig.
Rheinwaldi Acta historico-eccl. Sec. 19.
Rivet, Histoire de l'Eglise.
Ruffini Historia Ecclesiastica.
Sackreuter's Kirchengeschichte.
Sagittarii Introd. ad hist. ecc. (Furnishes a good account of the Councils of the 16th century.)
Sandii Nucleus hist. ecc. (Strongly Arian.)
Schaff's Gesch. der Apostolischen Kirche, nebst einer allgem. Einleit. in d. Kirchengeschichte.
Schelhornii Amenitates.
Schleiermacher's Evangelischen Kirche.
Schmidii (And.) Compendium hist. eccl.
Schmidii (Seb.) Sagittarianæ.
Schmid's (H.) Lehrb. d. Kirchengeschichte.
Schmidt (J. E. C.), Handbuch d. christlichen Geschichte.
Schoene, Tabula Hist. ecclesiasticæ.
Schröck's Kirchenges. 45 vols., 4to. (What Fleury is to France, Schrock is to Germany.)
Schrœderi Hypomnemeta Hist. eccles.
Semleri Hist. Eccles. (Neologist.)
Sigonii Hist. Ecclesiast. (To 211. Papal.)
Sleidani (J.) de Statu relig. et reipub. Carolo V. Cæsare; Commentarii.
Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica.
Sozomeni Hist. Eccles. (A good edition of Socrates and Sozomen is that of Reading, 3 vols., folio.)
Spanheimii (F.) Institutiones Hist. eccles. (Very polemic. "No better church history."—Cotton-Mather.)
Spittler's Grund. d. Gesch. der Kirche.
Spondani Annales Eccles. (An abridgment and continuation of Baronius.)
Starck's (J. A.) Ges. d. Kirche d. ersten Jahrh.
Stäudlin's Gesch. u. literatur der Kircheng.
Stubneri Tabulæ synopticæ.
Sueur, Hist. de l'Eglise. (To the end of the 10th cent. Continued by Pictet to 1700.)
Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus.
Theodoreti Historia Ecclesiastica.
Thiersch's Geschichte der Christl. Kirche in Alterthum.
Thiele's Gesch. der christl. Kirche.

Tillemont, Memoires, &c. (A vast magazine of facts.)
Troutman's Gesch. der christlichen Kirche.
Turretini Comp. Hist. eccl. (To 1700.)
Tzschirner's Fortsetzung der Schröck.
Usseri Historia Ecclesiastica. (To 1600. Written in the polemic spirit.)
Vater's Kirchengeschichte.
Venemæ Institutiones Hist. Eccl. (To 1700.)
Vitringæ Historia ecclesiastica.
Voetii Disputationes.
Walch's (C. G. F.) Grundsätze der Kirchen.
——— Historie der Kezereien, Spaltungen, und Religionstreitigkeiten. ("The German Tillemont."—DOWLING.)
Walchii (Jo. G.) Hist. eccles. ("Opus eximium."—WEISMAN.)
——— Miscellanea Sacra.
Weisman (C. E.), Hist. Eccl. (One of the Pietists. "As accurate as Mosheim, and as pious as Milner."—CONYBEARE.)
Zimmermann's (Dr. W.) Gesch. der Kirche.

Bates' (Wm.) Lectures on eccles. history.
Baumgarten's (M.) Hist. of the Apos. chur.
Bede's Church History. To 1700.
Bilson's Church of Christ.
Blunt's History of the first 2 cent. (Drawn entirely from the Fathers.)
Bright's History of the church. From 313 to 431.
British and For. Review. 12:336.
British Quarterly Review. 2:72.
Burgess' Hist. of the first 5 cent. (Extracted from the Fathers in their words.)
Burnap's Lectures.
Burton's Church Hist. (To the 4th cent.)
Campbell's (Geo.) Lectures. (Admirable.)
Carwithen & Lyall's History of the Church. From the 4th to the 12th cent.
Cave's Lives of the Apostles and primitive Fathers. (Embraces the first 4 centuries. Nothing better to this day.)
Christian Examiner. 22:27. 29:174. 33:1. 48:411.
Christian Quarterly Spectator. 3:433.
Christian Review. 1:417.
Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. history.
Comber's Ch. hist. cleared from the Roman forgeries of Councils and Baronius.
Cunningham's Tables of Eccl. history.
Dollinger's Church Hist. Tr. by E. Cox.
——— ——— ——— Tr. by N. Darnell.
Dowling's Introd. to the study of Ch. Hist.
Dublin University Magazine. 16:252.
Dupin's Hist. of ecclesiastical writers.
Echard's Ecclesiastical History. (To 400.)
Eclectic Review. 8:166. 16:402, 706. 30:192.
Edinburg Review. 8:272. 62:132.
Erskine's Sketches and Hints.
Eusebius' Ch. Hist. (Various translations.)
Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius. Trans. by Hanmer.
Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Trans. by S. Parker.

Fleury's Church History. Trans. by J. H. Newman. (To 1414. Continued by Fabre and Goujet.)
Formey's Eccl. History. (With a particular acc. of the Methodists. Superficial.)
Foulke's Manual of Church history. (To the 12th century.)
Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church.
——— Book of Martyrs.
Fuller's (Tho.) Ch. History of Great Britain. (To 1648.)
Gieseler's Church Hist. Tr. by Cunningham.
——— ——— ——— Tr. by Davidson. ("I prefer Gieseler's to any other church history."—Prof. STUART.)
Gillies' Historical Collections. (Describes the remarkable periods of the success of the gospel, and the eminent instruments of it.)
Hardwick's Hist. of the Church. (To 1520.)
——— Hist. of the Church during the Reformation.
Hase's Church hist. Trans. by Blumenthal.
Haweis' Church History.
Hinds' Rise and progress of Christianity.
Howell's (Wm.) Ecclesiastical History.
Jeremie's Hist of the 2d and 3d centuries.
Johns' Eccles. Hist. of the 2d and 3d cent.
Jones' (John) Ecclesiastical Researches.
——— Sequel to " "
Jones' (Wm.) Hist. of the Church. (Full as to Waldenses.)
Jortin's Remarks on eccl. history.
Kaye's Eccl. hist. of the 2d and 3d centuries. (Taken from various writ. of Tertullian.)
King's (Peter) Constitution, discipline, worship, &c., of the primitive church.
Kurtz's Text-book of Church history. Tr. by C. T. Schaeffer. (A convenient condensation.)
Marsden's Hist. of Churches and sects.
Maurice's Lectures. (1st and 2d centuries.)
Merivale's Boyle Lectures. 1865.
Millar's Propagation of Christianity.
Milman's Hist. of Latin Church.
Milner's (Jos.) Hist. of the Church.
Monthly Review. 84:140.
Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. (Tr. by McLaine; continued by Coote to 1819; improved with notes by Dr. Murdock; and since edited, with additions, by H. Soames.)
——— On the affairs of Christians during the first 3 centuries. Trans. by Vidall.
Neander's General history of the Church.
Peterson's History of the Church. (A good compilation for ready reference.)
Povah's Course of historical sermons.
Pridden's (W.) Early Christians.
Priestley's Church History.
Prince's Success of the gospel.
Princeton Review. 5:47. 13:237.
Reeves' Hist. of the Christian Church.
Riddle's Eccl. chron. of the Ch. (To 1840.)
Robertson's Hist. of the Church. (To 1122.)

Church History, General.

Robinson's (Robt.) Eccles. Researches.
Rose's (Hugh J.) Works. (Study of Church history recommended.)
Schaff's Apostolic Church. Tr. by Yeoman.
Soper's Hist. of the Chur. (To Constantine.)
Sozomen's Eccl. Hist. Tr. by Walford.
Spanheim's Church Hist. Tr. by Wright.
Steane's Religious condition of Christendom. 1852.
Stebbings' Hist. of the Church, from 1530 to the 18th century. (Designed as a continuation of Milner.)
Stevens' Lectures on Church history.
Stoughton's Ages of Christendom before the Reformation.
Taylor's History of Christianity.
Theodoret's Hist. of the Church. (From 322 to 427.)
Thiersch's History of the Church.
Timson's Ecclesiastical history.
Townley's Essays on various subjects of ecclesiastical history.
Townsend's Eccles. and civil hist. (To the death of Wickliff.)
Welch's External hist., &c. (First 3 cent.)
Whitaker's (Wm.) Lectures. (Arian.)
Woodrow's Church history.

The above, on general church history, are all that the largest library need contain. The remainder of this article will consist of the church histories of particular countries; and at the end will be found a bibliographical note, for the use of the curious.

Church History, Local.

AFRICA. See COPTS, JACOBITES.

Almeydæ Litteræ ex Æthiopia.
Bassnage, Hist. de patriarchat de Alexandr.
Boniouri Ægyptiaca Bibliotheca.
Capelli (M. A.) Dissertationes.
Danhaveri Dissertationes.
Dresserius de Statu religionis, &c.
Eutychius de Origine eccl. Alexandrinæ.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica.
Goes, Religio moresque Æthiopum.
Guerické de Schola Alexandrina.
Hoffman's Schilderung der Missionen in Lande Joriba. 1859.
La Croze, Hist. du christianisme d'Ethiopie.
Leydekker, Hist. Ecclesiæ Africanæ.
Lobo, Iter in Abyssiniam. 1650.
Loescherus de Patrum Africanorum.
Luderi Quinque Disputationes.
Ludolphi Historia Æthiopica.
Morcelli Africana Christiana.
Munteri Primordia eccles. Africanæ.
Oertelii Theologia Æthiopum.
Sanchez, Historia Ecclesiæ Africanæ.
Schelstraten Ecc. Af. sub Primatu Carthag.
Sollerii Tractatus Historico-theologicus.
Titelmannus de Fide, &c., Æthiopum.
Ureta, Hist. ecclesiastica de Æthiopia.
Wanselbe, Hist. de l'eglise d'Alexandrie.

Church History, Local.

Geddes' History of the Ethiopian church. (Gives a full account of the Papal missions in that country.)
Leydekker's African Church.
Ludolph's Ethiopia.

FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Ecclesiast.*, names many other writers on the African church; but of no use now.

AMERICA, NORTH.

Avilla, Theatro Eccles. de las Inglesias.
Biselii Argonauticon.
Chalmer, Nouveau Monde.
Crantz's Historie von Greenland.
Le Clerc, Premier etablissement de la foi dans la nouvelle France.
Loskiel's Mission d. Evang. Bruder.
Mœbii Dissert. an Evangelium ab apostolis etiam Americanis fuerit adnunciatum?
Oldenthorp's Missionen d. evang. Bruder.
Urlsperger's Ausfuhrl. Nachrichten von der Salzburg. 1738.
Velthusen's Nachr. v. d. Kirchenverfassung in Nord Carolina. 1786.
Witsii Exercitationes Academicæ. (Discusses the same topic as Mœbius.)

Amer. Quarterly Church Review. 2:219.
Backus' Church History of New England. 1766 to 1804.
Baird's Religion in America. Map. 1842.
Clay's Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware.
Coleman's New England colonies.
Dwight's Travels in New England. 1820.
Elliot's Christian Commonwealth.
Episcopal Magazine. 1:15, 121, 345.
Felt's Ecc. hist. of N. Eng. 1845. (A valuable collection of materials.)
Foote's Histor. sketches of Virginia. 1855.
Greenleaf's Hist. of all the churches in New York, from its first settlement to 1850.
——— Ecclesiastical History of Maine.
Halket's Indians of North America. 1825.
Hawkes' Contributions to the eccles. history of the United States.
Higginson's Plantation of New England.
Hobart (Bp.), Life of; by McVicar. (The preface, by Dr. Hook, gives the early history of the Episc. Ch. in America.)
Holmes' Annals of America. 1492 to 1826.
Hubbard's History of New England.
Mather's (Cotton) Ecclesiastical history of New England. To 1688.
Mather's (Increase) Missions to the Indians.
Morton's New England's Memorial. 1721.
Peck (Rev. John M.), Memoir of; by Dr. Babcock. 1860.
Neal's (D.) History of New England.
Phillippo's Past and pres. of Jamaica. 1840.
Prime's Eccle. history of Long Island, N. Y. To 1845.
Reed & Mattison's Visit to America. 1836.
Uden's New England Theocracy.
Waylen's Eccles. reminis. of the U. S. 1846.
Winslow's Planting of New England.

Winthrop's Hist. of N. England. 1630-1649.
Young's Chronicle of the Pilgrims.

AMERICA, SOUTH.

Bollusii Hist. rerum in Peruana. 1604.
Bourgoing, Vertus et bienfaits des mission.
Fernandez, Tuba Evangelii.
James' Religious state of South Amer. 1827.
Murator's Missions to Paraguay.

ASIA. See ARMENIANS, EUTYCHIANS, JACOBITES, MARONITES, MISSIONS, MONOPHYSITES, NESTORIANS, SEVEN CHURCHES.

BELGIUM.

Augusti (J. C. W.) Betrachtungen über den gegenwärtigen Zustand, &c. 1837.
Baselii Historia religionis instauratæ, corruptæ, reformatæ, &c.
Bertolett, Hist. ecclesiast. du Luxembourg.
Bucellini Gallo-Flandria.
Castelloni Sacra Belgii chronologia.
Heussenii Batavia Sacra.
Le Roy, Theater sacré du Brabant.
Lobetti Lodiensis Ecclesia.
Miræi Opera Historica.
Mudzoerti Historiæ ecclesiæ Belgicæ.
Revii Hist. Belgicarum Ecclesiasticarum.
Rosweidi Historia ecclesiæ Belgicæ.
Sanderi Brabantia Sacra.

Brandt's Reformation in the Netherlands.
Heugh's State of rel. in Belgium. 1844.
Rosweide's History of the Belgic church.
Vernlay's Propagation of religion in B.

CHINA. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Huc, Christianisme en Chine.
Kircheri China monumentis, &c.
Leibnitz, Novissima sacra.
Lettres Edifiantes. (Periodical, Rome.)
Mosheim, Erzehlung der neuesten Chinesisch. kirchengeschichte.
Dean's Hist. of Missions to China. 1860.
Gusman's History of China.
Gutzlaff's Travels. 1835.
Huc's Christianity in China.
Medhurt's China: its state and progress. 1838.
Yeates' (Tho.) Indian Church history.

DENMARK.

Alsace, Hist. de la Reformation en D.
Christiani Gesch. d. Glaubens. u. d. Schleswig und Holsteins.
Erici Pontoppidani annales. (Acta erud.)
Hansen's Wesen u. Bedeutung d. Grundtvigianismus in der Dänischen kirche.
Huelfeldii Historia eccles. Daniæ.
Krafftii Narratio de Ansgario.
Kranzii Chronicon.
Lukbert's Kirchl. Statistik Holsteins. 1837.
Matthiæ Introductio Chris. en Denmark.
Münter's Kirchengeschichte v. Danemark u. Norwegen. To 1823.

Pontoppidan's Kurtzgefaste reformat. Hist.
——— Annales eccl. Danicæ.
Slangendorfii Orationes.
Wormii Oratio de corruptissimo eccl. Danicæ ante Reformationem.

Numerous other ancient Latin historians of the Danish church are given by SIBBERN in his *Bibliotheca histor. Dano-Norwegica.*

ENGLAND. See DISSENT, NON-CONFORMITY.

Alfordi Fides Regia Brittanica. (First 5 centuries.)
Bedæ Hist. eccles. Anglorum. (From the invasion of Julius Cæsar to A. D. 731. This is the first historical work which employs the calculation of the year of our Lord.)
Camdeni Collectio.
Duchesne, Hist. Eccl. Angl. (838 to 1220.)
Durelli Historia Eccles. Anglicana.
Gibsoni Chronicon Saxonicum.
Goodwin, de Conversione Britt. ad Chris.
Harpsfeldi Hist. Anglicana ecclesiastica.
Hemming, Chartularium eccl. Wigornensis.
Mürdter's Reformatoren u. Martyrer in Eng.
Reggius de Statu eccl. Brit. hodierno. 1647.
Sanderus de Origine et progressu schismatis, &c. (Trans. into English, French, and Spanish.)
Sparkii Scriptores rerum Anglicarum.
Staudlin's Kirchengesch. von G. Brittan.
Usseri Antiq. Brittannicarum. (First 7 cent.)
Weber's Ges. der Kirchen Reforma. in G. B.
Weismanni Memorabilia Ecclesiastica.
Whartoni Anglia Sacra. (To 1550.)

Alford's Church in G. B. under the Romans.
Amer. Bibl. Repository. 2d Series. 4:147. 5:126.
Anderson's History of the Church of England in her colonies. (To 1845.)
Baxter's (J. A.) Church History.
Bede's Eccl. Hist. Trans. by Stevens.
Bennet's Brit. deliverance from Popery.
Blunt's Hist. of the reformation in England.
Brewster's Ecc. hist. of E. in the 18th cent.
Broughton's Eccl. Hist. of Great Britain.
Burnett's Reformation in England.
——— Hist. of his own times.
Burns' Hist. of the Walloon Churches.
Butler's English, Irish, and Scotch Cathol.
Cardwell's Documentary annals of the Reformed C. of Eng. (From 1546 to 1716.)
Carwithen's Hist. of the C. of E. (To 1660.)
Churton's Early English Church.
Clarendon's Hist. of the rebellion.
Coit's Early hist. of Christianity in Engl.
Collins' Ecclesiastical history of Gr. Britain. (To the reign of Charles II. Edited with valuable improvements, in 1852, by T. Lathbury.)
Crosby's Hist. of the English Baptists.
Daniels' Ecc. hist. of the Britons and Saxons.

Dod's Church Hist. of Engl. 1500 to 1688.
Dugdale's Abbeys, monasteries, churches, &c.
Durell's Hist. of the English church.
Fitzherbert's Antiquities of the Eng. Ch.
Fox's Acts and monuments. (Huge.)
Fuller's (Tho.) Church history of England.
Gibson's Hist. of Convocation. 1357 to 1689.
Giles' Patres Eccles. Anglicanæ. 35 vols.
Gillies' Historical Collections.
Gilpin's Life of Cranmer.
Grant's English Church, and the sects which have dissented; with an answer to each. 1811.
Hale's Origin of the Ch. in the British isles.
Hart's Ecclesiastical records. (From the 5th century to the Reformation.)
Heylin's (Peter) Ecclesia Restaurata.
Hody's Eng. Councils and Convocations.
Innet's Origines Anglicanæ. (Continuation of Stillingfleet, to the death of King John.)
Ivemy's History of the English Baptists.
Kennett's Parochial Antiquities.
——— Synods and Councils of England.
Lathbury's History of English episcopacy. (From the Long Parliament to the Act of Uniformity. Reviewed in the British Critic, 20:329; and in Edinburg Review, 64:93.)
Murch's Hist. of Presbyterian and Baptist Churches in the West of England.
Murray's English and Scotch Churches.
Palin's History of the Church of England. (1688 to 1717.)
Parker's Antiquities of the British Church.
Parsons' Three conversions of England.
Perry's Church of England, from Elizabeth to the present time. 1861.
Price's Prot. non-conformity in England.
Richards' Welch Non-conformist's memorial, or Cambo-British Biography. 1820.
Ridley (Bp.), Life of.
Robinson's Original letters relative to the English reformation.
Russel's Anglican Church.
Salmon's Lives of the Eng. bishops. (From the restoration to the revolution.)
Short's Hist. of the Ch. of Eng. (To 1683.)
Soame's Hist. of the Reform. in England.
——— History of the Anglo-Saxon Church. (A great repository of facts.)
——— Elizabethian religious history.
Southern Quart. Review. 12:170.
Stillingfleet's Antiq. of the English Church.
Strype's Annals. (Superior.)
——— Memorials relating to religion.
——— Life of Tho. Cranmer.
——— Life of Matt. Parker.
——— Life of Edmund Grindall.
——— Life of John Whitgift.
Tayler's Hippolytus. (Hist. of the 3d cent.)
Thackaray's Ecclesiastical state of Britain under the Roman emperors.
Tholuch's Church history. Tr. by Torrey.
Timson's British Ecclesiastical History.
Tillemont's Memoirs. (Several translations.)
Trapp's England's conversion and reformat.
Tyrrel's General history of England.
Uhden's Ch. of Eng. in the 19th century.
Usher's Antiquities of British churches.
Wake's Church and Clergy of England. (From the conversion of the Saxons to the present. 1703.)
Walker's History of Independence.
——— Sufferings of the clergy in the rebellion.
Warner's History of the English Ch. ("Deserves the highest applause."—Mosheim.)
Wharton's Anglia Sacra.
Willis' Cathedral churches.
Wilson's Dissenting Churches in and near London.
Williams' Antiquit. of the Cymry. (Wales.)
Woodward's Rise and progress of religious societies in England.
Wordsworth's Eccl. Biography. (English.)

Nearly every Cathedral Church in England has its own history published—often in very costly style. They relate chiefly to the ecclesiastical edifices. The history of the English Church in America is given under "*Church History, America.*"

FRANCE. See REVOCATION.

Abadie, le Temps auquel la religion Chret. a été établie en Gaul.
Aignan, l'Etat des Protestants en F. depuis le 16ᵉ siécle, jusq. nos jour. 1818.
Alexandri Dissertationes.
Barruel, l'Etat du Clergé pendant la revolut.
Beza, Hist. des Eglises reform. de France.
Bossuet, Histoire Ecclesiastique.
Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine.
Carron's Gallikan Kirche am ende des 18 Jahrh.
Carrové's Rel. u. Philos. in Frankreich.
Corbiére Hist. de l'eglise reform. (To 1861.)
De Fraissé, l'Origine des Eglisses de F.
Du Bois, Historia eccles. Parisiensis.
Du Pleix, Hist. generale, &c., avec l'etat de l'eglise. (To the death of Louis XIII.)
Felice, les Protestants de France. (To 1851.)
Gregory (Turonensis), Hist. eccl. Francorum.
Gerettè, Hist. de l'Eglise de Fr. (To 1856.)
Gersoni Epistola ad Sirmondum.
Haag, La France protestant. (To 1850. 10 vols.)
Imberdis, les Guerres rel. en Auvergne.
Köhler's Darstellung vom Gallikan Klerus im 1682.
Labat, Conciliorum Galliæ Collectio.
Labenazie, Defensio antiquit. eccles. G.
Le Boeff, Dissertationes. Confined to Paris.
Le Cointe, Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum. (To 680. "Opus vastum."—Walch.)
Longueville, Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane. (A stupendous work; to which is added a Martyrology.)

Launoy de tempore quo primum in Galliis suscepta est fides.
Marcæ Dissertationes. (On the time of the introduction of Christianity.)
Menardi Disputationes. (Contra Launoy.)
Polenz's Gesch. d. Franz. Calvinismus.
Rollin, l'Etat des Prot. jusq. Louis XVIII.
Sauclicre, Hist. du Protestantisme en F.
Scævolæ et Ludovici Gallia Christiana.
Sirmondi Dissertationes.
——— Concilia Galliæ.
Soldan's Protestantismus in Frankreich.
Soulier, Hist. du Calvinisme en France.
Urban, l'Introd. du chris. dans les Gaules.
Vincent, Protestantisme en F. (As in 1829.)
Vinet, Hist. de la predication parmi les Reformés de France, au XVII^e siècle.
Wolf's Geschichte d. Kirche in F.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 4:449.
Blackwood's Mag. 40:772. 48:252.
Browning's Hist. of the Huguenots.
Christian Examiner. 10:272.
Dublin University Mag. 12:64.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 16:535.
Edinburg Review. 16:473.
Felice's Protestants of F. Tr. by P. E. Barnes.
Geeve's Eccles. Hist. of France. (To 1670.)
Lavall's Hist. of the Reformation in F.
London Quart. Review. 83:109.
Lorimer's Hist. of the Protest. church in F.
Marolle's Persecution of the Protest. in F.
Quick's Synodicon. 1682.
Smedley's Reformed Ch. of Fr. (To 1832.)
Whittington's Eccles. antiquities of France.

GERMANY. See REFORMATION.

Altingii Historia Ecclesiæ Palatinæ.
Bertholdi Austria Sancta.
Bottger's Einfuhrung d. christenthums in Sachsen.
Broweri Antiquitatum Fuldensium.
Calles, Annales. (Vast labor and research.)
Eichhoff's Kirchenreform. in Nassau.
Francké's Halle-schen Reformation.
Frege's Reform. in der Mark Brandenburg.
Eckerman's Lehrbuch der Religion.
Hansizii Germania Sacra.
Hartnoock's Prussiche Kirchen.
——— Dissertationes.
Hassencamp's Hessiche Kir-Ges. seit d. Ref.
Hechtii Germania Sacra.
Henke's Allgem. Geschichte der Kirche.
Heppe's Deutsch. Protestantismus.
Hermann's Evang. luther. Friedenskirche.
Hiemer's Einfuhrung d. chris. in Deut. land.
Keim's Schwabische reform. Gesch. bis zum Augsburger Reichstag.
Krafft's Kircheng. d. Germanischen Volker.
Krantz (Albert), Metropolis.
Latzel's Evang-lutherische Kirche in Preussen. 1852.
Müller's Kirche in Konigreich Wurtemberg.
Muquart de Statu relig. in Germania.
Paulus' Kirche in Pfalz.
Pezii Scriptores rerum Austriacarum.
Raderi Bavaria Sancta.
Regenvolschii Hist. eccles. Sclavoniæ.
Reschii Monumenta vet. ecclesiæ.
Rettberg's Kircheng. Deutschland's.
Richter's Evang. kirchenverfassung.
Ruckerts' Culturgesch. d. Deutschen Volkes.
Sanger's Geistliche d. Chris. kirche Deutsch. nation. (To 1857.)
Schamati Corpus traditionum Fuldensium.
——— Hist. episcop. Wormatiensis.
Schlegel's (J. K. F.) Kirchen und Reform. Gesch.
Schoenleben Carniola, antiqua et nova.
Schopper's Chronographie u. Historie, &c.
Schottii, Prusia Christiana.
Schröck's Christliche Kirchengeschichte.
Spangenbergii Bonifacius.
Straus, Einfuhrung d. chr. in Schwaben.
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——— Annals of Scottish Episcopacy.
Smith's (Tho.) Hist. of the free Church of S.
Soames' Elizabethian religious history.
——— Anglo-Saxon Church.
Spalding's Transactions of the reign of Charles I.
Spottiswood's Church and State of Scotland. (Excellent.)
Stephens' Church of S., from the Reformation to the present. 1843. 24 portraits.
Stevenson's Church and State of Scotland. (From Charles I. to 1649.)
Stuart's (Gilbert) Estab. of the Ref. in S.
The Spottiswood Miscellany. (A valuable collection of papers and pamphlets touching Scottish Church history.)
Watson's (Rich.) Historical collection.
Wilson's Early hist. of Christianity in S.
Wodrow's Sufferings of the Church in Scotl., from the restoration to the revolution.
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SYRIA. See ARMINIANS, COPTS, MARONITES, MONOTHELITES, NESTORIANS, &C.

Abul Pharagii Chronicon Syriacum.
Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bessoni Syria Sancta.
La Croix, l'Etat present des eglises Greque.
Tirzi, Syria Sancta.

Church History, Local.

Etheridge's Syrian Churches. (To 1846.)
Jowett's Researches in the Mediterranean. 1820.
Yeates' (Tho.) Indian Church history.

TARTARY.

Haythoni Historia Tartarorum.
Mosheimii Hist. Tart. (The true author of this excellent book is H. C. Paulson.)

TURKEY. See GREEK CHURCH.

For notices of many hundred other church histories, see Boss, *Introd. in notitiam scrip. eccles.;* CAVE, *Hist. literaria;* DUPIN, *Bibliotheque des auteurs eccles.;* CEILLIER, *Hist. des auteurs;* BELLARMIN, *Script. eccles.;* SIENNA, *Bibliotheca Sancta;* SLUTERI, *Prophylaeum hist. Christianae;* GOUGET, *Biblioth. des auteurs ecc. du* 18^e^ *siecle;* J. G. DOWLING'S *Introd. to eccl. hist.;* WALCH, *Biblioth. Theologica;* TRITHEM, or TRITTENHEM, *Collecteana de script. eccles.* The student will, however, find them to be, for the most part, works which never were important, or are now entirely superseded by those given above.

Church Music. See HYMNOLOGY, INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, PSALMODY.

Church of England.

The symbolical books of the Church of England are: The Articles of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI.; The 39 Articles; The Canons; Book of Common Prayer; and the Book of Homilies.

Articuli Eccles. Cath. Angliæ et Hiberniæ. (A collection of tracts—many of them in the English language—published between 1547 and 1588; reprinted 1846.)
Crackenthorpii Defensio Eccles. Anglic.
Durelli Hist. rituum sanctæ eccl. Anglicanæ.
——— Eccl. Anglicanæ Vindiciæ.
Fennell, sur les Ordinations des Anglois.
Giles, Bibliotheca patrum Anglic. 36 vols.
Jewelli Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.
Nicholsii Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.
Sack's Ansichten und Beobachtungen, &c.
Spelmanni Concilia, decreta, leges, &c.
Sydow's Beitrage zur characteristik, &c.
Uhden's Zustande d. Anglican. Kirche. 1833.

Allen's (S. J.) Lectures on the Church of E.
Alsop's Melius Inquirendum.
Anderson's Hist. of the church in the colonies of England. (To 1855.)
Bates' Ritual of the church.
Bayle's Institutions of the Church of Engl.
Bingham's Apology for the Church of E.
Blackwood's Magazine. 4:341. 16:395, 548. 17:20. 19:36. 28:273, 794. 31:181. 55:221.
Boyse's (Archdeacon) Sermons.
Bramhall's Church of England defended.
Brett's Government of the C. of E. apostolic.

Church of England—*continued.*

Bristed's Anglican and Anglo-American Ch.
British and Foreign Review. 1:172.
British Anti-State-Church Assoc. Reports.
British Reformers. (A choice collection, published by the London Tract Society.)
Burnet on the XXXIX. Articles.
——— Apology for the Church of England.
Carey's Testimony of the fathers of the first 4 centuries. (May be classed with Pearson and Bull.)
Carleton's (Bp.) Examination of those points wherein the Church of England is charged with being Armenian.
Christmas on the Doct. of the Eng. Church.
——— on the Discipline of the Eng. Chur.
Churchman Armed. (A collection of treatises by Brett, Bull, Burgess, Hoadley, Leslie.)
Coleridge's (Derwent) Character of the E. C.
Collins' (C. T.) Perranzabuloe.
Constance's Fundamental doctrines, &c.
Cooper's E. Church the slave of the State.
Daubeny's Vindication of the Church of E.
Draper's Lectures on the Church Catechism.
Dugdale's Councils, decrees, laws, &c.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 8:121. 15:448. 16:431. 17:346. 19:220. 24:740. 26:257. 27:626. 28:99. 30:513.
Edinburg Review. 44:490. 56:203. 58:498.
Falkner on the Worship of the Ch. of E.
Foley's Defence of the Church of E.
Frazier's Mag. 9:127, 379. 11:247. 18:187, 750. 19:367. 31:116.
Garbet's Bampton Lectures. 1842. (Antitractarian.)
Gibson's Codex juris, &c. (The statutes, canons, &c., arranged under heads; with a commentary.)
Gray's Bampton Lectures. 1796.
Grey's Vindication. (Reply to Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters.)
Grice's Vindication of the Church of E.
Hall's (Jos.) Works. (Agt. the Brownists.)
Hammond's Defence of the Church of E.
Harding's Confut. of Bp. Jewell's Apology.
Heylin's Ecclesia Vindicata.
Hicks' Bibliotheca scriptorum, &c. (A collection of choice tracts by Hoard, Bayley, Pearson, &c.)
Hill's Apology for the Church of England.
Hole on the Liturgy.
Hooker's Works. (Nothing stronger in favor of the Church of England.)
Hopkins' Primitive Church compared with the Episcopal Church.
Horne's (Tho. H.) Ministry, doctrine, &c.
Jackman's Success no rule.
Jebb's Practical Theology.
Jewell's Apology for the Church of England.
——— Defence of the Church of England.
Jones' Rome no mother of the Ch. of E.
Joyce's Hist. of all the English Councils.
Kipling's XXXIX. Articles not Calvinistic.
Lawrence's (Abp.) Sermons. (To show that the 39 Articles are not Calvinistic.)

Church of England—*continued.*

L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine offices. (Exhibits all the liturgies of the Church of England to 1659.)
Lindsey on the Church of England.
Littell's Living Age. 1:401.
Lloyd's Formularies of the Church of E. put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.
McNeile's Lectures on the Church.
Maddox's Vindication. (Reply to Neale's Puritans.)
Manning's Answer to Leslie's case stated between the Ch. of Rome and the C. of E.
Mant's The Church and her ministrations.
Marshall's Defence of the Church of E.
Maskell's Monumenta: or, Offices of the Ch. of England. With dissertations.
Mason's (Fr.) Vindication of the Church.
Melbourne's Church of England defended.
Mills' Apology for the Church of England.
Monthly Review. 115:253. 126:430. 129:207, 284.
Morton's Innocence of the three ceremonies. (Surplice, sign of the cross, and kneeling at the supper.)
——— Episcopacy of the Church of Eng.
Muscut's Church and laws of England.
New York Review. (Many able pieces.)
Nichols' Doct. and discipline of the C. of E.
Nicholson's Apol. for the discipline, &c.
——— Expos. of the Catechism.
Nixon's Lectures on the Catechism.
Overton's Portraiture of Episcopacy.
Palmer's Antiquities of the Eng. ritual.
Parker's (Abp.) Defence of the Church.
Quarterly Review. 5:252. 21:167. 48:452. 53:94. 69:256. 72:124.
Quesnel's Validity of English ordinations.
Richmond's Fathers of the Church.
Savage on the Church of England.
Saywell's Church of England vindicated.
Sinclair's (John) Dissertations.
Skinner's Primitive truth and order.
Soames' Bampton Lectures. 1830.
Southey's Book of the Church. ("The principal object of this book seems to be to keep alive rancorous feelings, already too prevalent."—Bp. Bathurst.)
Sparrow's Collection of articles, injunctions, canons, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, in the time Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.
Sykes' Ans. to the charge of schism.
Taylor's Vindication of the Church of E.
Thackary's (F.) Ecclesias.
Thelwall's Letters to a friend.
Thorn's (W.) Errors and evils of the Eng. C.
Toplady's (A.) Historical proof of the Calvinism of the Church of England.
——— Review of the rise and progress of Arminianism in England.
——— Church of England vindicated.
Tucker's Apology for the Church of Eng.
Uhden's Anglican Ch. of the 19th cent. Tr. by W. C. C. Humphreys.
Vivian's Expos. of the Church Catechism.
Ward's Controversy with Ritchell: "Whether the Church of England is part of the true church." (Ward is the author of "Errata of the Protestant Bible.")
White's (Alex.) Confutation of Church-of-Englandism.
Wise's Vindication of the Church of Eng.
Wotton's Rights of the clergy.

See a great collection of Chur. of England writers, on all subjects, in Bibliotheca Patrum *Eccles. Anglicanae.*

Church of God [Winebrennarians].

The views of this class of Christians have been set forth chiefly in essays, sermons, &c.

Bolton's Church book.
Church Advocate. Periodical. 33 vols.
Harn on Feet-washing.
Schwartz's Trial of Pædobaptism.
——— History of Infant baptism.
Winebrenner's Hist. of religious denominations. Art. *"Church of God."*
——— Sermons on Regeneration.
——— Monthly preacher.
——— Letters to Nevin.
——— The Church of God.

Church of Scotland. See COVENANTERS, FREE CHURCH, REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS, RELIEF KIRK, &c.

Camerarius de Scotorum doctrinæ, &c.
——— de Scotorum infantia et virilis ætas.
Dempsteri Hist. Eccl. gentis Scotorum.
Gemberg's Schottische national Kirche. As in 1827.
Niemeyer Collectio confessionum fidei.
Thompson, Antiq. Christianæ apud Scotos.

Acts of the General Assembly. 1560 to 1618.
Acts, declarations, and testimony for the whole covenanted reformation, between 1638 and 1649.
Acts of the General Assembly. 1638 to 1860.
Aikman's Annals of the Ch. of Scotland.
American Eclectic Review. 2:100.
Anderson's Defence of the Church of S.
Annals of the General Assembly.
Bailey's Defence of the Reformation in S.
Balfour's Annals. To 1652.
Blackwood's Magazine. 5:136. 46:573, 799. 50:27. 55:221. 89:288.
British and Foreign Review. 16:175.
Calderwood's Altar of Damascus.
Canne's Snare broken.
Chalmer's (Tho.) Present prospects of the Church of Scotland. 1840.
——— (Numerous other treatises.)
Cumming's Apology for the Church of S.
Doctrine and discipline of the Church of S. (Composed by John Knox and John Erskine. Subscribed 1581.)

Church of Scotland—*continued.*

[Dunlop's] Collection of Confessions, Catechisms, Acts of Assembly, &c. To 1720.
Eclectic Magazine. 5:340.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 3:332, 432. 6:214. 13:121.
Edinburg Monthly Review. 1:70.
Frazier's Magazine. 23:251, 503. 27:362.
Gillispie on English Popish ceremonies.
Hill's Constitution of the Church of S.
Ker & Graham's Discovery of a conspiracy.
Lawson's (John P.) Episcopal Church of S. (Throws much light on the history of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.)
Lee's History of the Church of S., from the reformation to the revolution.
Lorimer's Scottish Reformation. (25 plates.)
McCrie's Life of Knox.
——— ——— Veitch.
——— ——— Bryson.
Martin's Dialogue anent the new ceremonics.
Methodist Quarterly. 4:485.
Museum of Foreign Literature. 19:552.
North British Review. 11:234.
Naphthali: or, the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ. 1667. (Burnt by Parliament, and a fine of £10,000 decreed against any with whom a copy should be found.)
Peterkin's Book of the Kirk. (Acts and proceedings of the General Assembly, from 1678 to 1840.)
Princeton Rev. 10:362. 15:405. 16:86, 229.
Quarterly Review. 1:390. 18:502. 67:110.
Roberts' Hist. of the disruption of Ch. of S.
Rutherford's Peaceable and temperate plea.
——— Due right of Presbyteries.
——— (Various other tracts.)
Scott's State and government of the Kirk.
Shiel's Hind let loose.
Sibbald's Liberty of the church.
Solemn League and Covenant. (Sworn to in 1581, and in 1643; annulled in 1674. Touching this Covenant, a multitude of books and pamphlets are extant, pro and con.)
Stephens' (Tho.) Hist. of the Church of S. To 1638.
Stewart's Collections and observations. (A manual, with forms of process, &c.)
Walker's Discipline, constitution, &c.
Westminster Review. 31:98. 34:461. 40:102.
Williams' Defence of the Church of Scotland.
Wodrow Society Miscellany. (A volume of letters, &c., edited by David Laing, relating to the government and faith of the Scotch Church in the 16th and 17th centuries.)

Church Rates. See TITHES.

Pro.

Arnold's (of Rugby) Miscellaneous Works.
Blackwood's Magazine. 41:682.
Campbell on the Law of Church rates.
Denison on Church rates.

Church Rates—*continued.*

Pro.

Hale's (W. H.) Antiquity of the Church rate system considered.
Hale's (W.) Law of Church rates.
Percival's Origin of Church rates.
Report of the Select Committee on Church rates. (House of Commons. 1851.)
Trelawney's Epitome of the above.
Stanley's Church rates considered.
Swan's Principle of Church rates.

Con.

Allen (John) on Church rates.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 1:56, 325. 5:218. 9:348.

Cicero.

Cicero de Natura Deorum.
Buddæi Isagoge.
Freaneri Dissert. de theologia Tullii.
Gesneri Chistomathia Ciceroniana.
Haferingii Cicero Theologicus.
Zimmermani Dissertationes.

Forsyth's Life of Cicero.
Middleton's (Conyers) Life of Cicero.

Circumcision.

Bartolocci Dissertationes.
Deylingii (S.) Observationes Sacræ.
Grotius de Veritate relig. Christianæ.
Lossius de Epispasmo Judaico.
Philo Judeus de circumcisione.
Quandtii Dissertationes Sacræ.
Spencer, de Legibus Hebræorum. Lib. 1, Sec. 4. (Discusses the origin of circumcision, and adduces the views of Herodotus, Philo Sanconiatho, Josephus, and others.)
Bassnage's History of the Jews.
Brckel on Circumcision.
Calmet's Preface to Genesis.
——— Preface to Epistle to Romans.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Goodwin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Le Clerc's 12 Dissertations. Tr. by Brown.
Marsham's Chronological Canon.
Montagu's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.
Reading's (William) Sermons.
Revelation examined with candor.
Stackhouse's History of the Bible.
Vanderhardt's Prodromus.
Whiston's (J.) Sermons.

Circumcellians.

Dietzii (S. G.) Dissertationes.
Varellas, Histoire des revolutions.

Circumspection. See PRUDENCE, WATCHFULNESS.

Cistercians.

De Visch, Biblioth. scriptorum Cist.
Gaillardin, les Trappists. To 1844.

Cistercians—*continued.*

Henrique, Regula, constitutiones, &c.
Heylot, Histoire des Ordres.
Le Nain, Histoire de l'ordre de Citaux.
Manrique, Annales Cisterciensis.
Rance, Règlemens de la Trappe.
Richardson, Prelectiones ecclesiasticæ.
Sartorii Historia Cistertium.
Tissier, Bibliotheca patrum Cister.
Vischii Biblioth. scriptorum ord. Cisterc.

See a huge list of Cistercian writers in the Bibliotheca of FABRICIUS, and in DE VISCH, or VISCHIUS, above named.

Citaux. See CISTERCIANS.

Cities.

Fregier, des Classes dangereuses, et le moyens de les rendre meilleures.

Buckley's Landmarks of civilization.
Chalmer's Christian econ. of large towns.
——— Commercial discourses. Disc. 6.
Guthrie, The City: its sins and sorrows.
Huntingdon's The Church's work in cities.
Kennaway's (Cha. E.) Sermons at Brighton.
Newcombe's Harvest and the Reapers.
Presbyterian Quart. Rev. 1:433.
Todd's Moral influence of great cities.
Vaughn's Age of great cities. (Discusses their influence on morals and religion.)

Cities of Refuge. See TYPES.

Osiandri (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Reis, Tractatus Theologicus de Asylis.

Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Gouldburn's (E. M.) Parochial Sermons.
Watson's (J. W.) Sermons.

Civil Government. See DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, MAGISTRACY, ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT, ORIGIN OF LAWS, PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

Augustin, Opera.

Guizot, l'Origine du gouvernment represent.
Mably, Droits et devours du citoyen.
Matter, Influence des lois sur les mœurs et des mœurs sur les lois.
Zornii Deliniatio Theolog. patristicæ.

Acherly's British Constitution.
American Whig Review. 2:327.
Andrews' (Bp.) Sermons.
Aristotle on Government. Tr. by W. Ellis.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ayliffe's Roman Law.
Bentham (J.) on Civil Government.
Bever on the Study of jurisprudence.
Blackstone's Commentaries.
Brown's Law of Christ respecting civil obedience.
Burke's Reflect. on the French revolution.
——— Nature and end of civil government.
Butler's Horæ Juridicæ.
Chalmer's (Thomas) Sermons.
Chitty on Criminal law.

Civil Government—*continued.*

Cunningham's (W.) Principles of Governm.
Danville Review. June, 1864.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3.
Domat on Civil law.
Donne (John) Sermons.
Edinburg Review. 49:159, 273. 50:99.
Fenelon on Civil Government.
Ferguson's History of civil society.
Filmer's (Sir R.) Patriarchal scheme.
——— Freeholder's grand inquest.
Franklin's (Benj.) Works.
Gee's Divine right of magistrates.
Gibbon's Roman Empire.
Goodrich's Observations on Price's theory.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Grey (W.) on Civil government.
Hall's (Robt.) Works.
Hoadley's Institution of civil government.
Hobbes' Philosophical rudiments of gov.
Horne's (Bp.) Origin of government.
——— Sermons.
Jones' (Sir Will.) Dialogue on Government.
Justinian's Institutes.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Leland's Advant. and neces. of Revelation.
Locke (John) on Government.
Matthews' (J. M.) Bible and civil govern.
Mills' (James) Essay on Government.
Murray's (H.) Inquiries; histor. and moral.
Needham's Excellency of a free state.
New Englander. 3:525. 7:530.
Paine's (Tho.) First principles of governm.
Pothier on Obligations.
Pownall's Principles of polity.
Price's Nature of civil liberty.
Ramsay's (G.) Disquisitions on G.
Russel's (Lord J.) Hist. of the English Gov.
Ryan's Effects of revealed religion.
Schonberg's History of Roman law.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Sheraton on Subjection to civil government.
Stebbins on Civil government.
Story on the Constitution of the U. S.
Stuart on the Constitution of England.
Sydney (Algeron) on Government.
Taylor's Elements of civil law.
Temple's (Sir Will.) Works.
Tucker (Josiah) on Civil Government.
Warwick's (Sir Philip) Discourses.
Watts (Isaac) on the Civil power.
Wayland's Elements of moral science.
Westminster Review. 11:254, 526. 13:265.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wines' Laws of the ancient Hebrews.
Wrottesley on Government and Legislation
York's (Henry) Thoughts on Government.

Civilization. See HUMAN PROGRESS.

Guizot, Hist. de Civilization.
Jonnès, Statistique de l'antiquité.
Martin, les Çivilizations primitives.
Matter, Influence des lois sur les mœurs.
Wuttke's Gesch. des Heidenthums.

Civilization—*continued.*

Amer. Whig Review. 2:80. (J. Q. Adams.) 3:611. 4:27.
Balme's Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects on the civilization of Europe.
Blackwood's Magazine. 52:27. 89:27.
Christian Examiner. 52:165. 64:233.
Democratic Review. 6:208. 15:62.
Dublin University Mag. 51:12.
Edinburg Review. 68:243. 69:55. 80:132.
Ferguson's History of civil society. 1767.
Fourier on the Passions. Tr. by Doherty.
Guizot's Hist. of C. in Europe, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution.
Hall's (Cha.) Effects of C. on Europe.
Hamilton (Dr.) on the Progress of Society.
Harris' Civilization considered as a science.
McCabe's Lectures on Civilization.
McKinnon's Hist. of Civilization.
Lord's Lectures on Civ. and government.
Moreton's C. as influenced by natural laws.
Moseley's Progress of modern legislation.
Seaman on the Progress of nations.
Taylor's (Isaac) Essays. Essay 1.
Tyler (R. H.), The Bible and social reform. (The Bible as a means of civilization.)
Vaughn on Modern civilization.
Vericour's Histor. analysis of Christian C.

Clairvoyance. See MESMERISM.

Ashburner on Clairvoyance.
Cahagnet's Celestial Telegraph.
Davis' (A. J.) Principles of nature.
——— Great Harmonia.
——— Harmonial man.
——— Several other treatises.
Frazier's Magazine. 20:17.
Gregory (Prof.) on Clairvoyance.

Clean and Unclean Beasts.
See SACRIFICES.

Cleanliness.

Littell's Living Age. 20:130.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Clementis (Tit. Flav.) Opera quæ extant. (Many editions. Some prefer that of Potter, 1715. The most recent, and probably the best, is that of Migne. 1857. 2 vols.)

Bernholdi Hypomnemeta.
Bielcke de Clemens, ejusque erroribus.
Cognat, Clément, sa doctr. et sa polemique.
Dæhne de γνωσει Clem. Alex. et de vestigiis neoplatonicis philos. in ea obviis.
De Groot, Disputationes.
Gieseleri Clement. et Origenis doctrinæ.
Ittigii Prefatio ad operum Clem. Alex.
Le Clerc, Viè de Clement,
Müller (J. H.) Idées dogmatique de C.
Tribbechovii Dissertationes.
Walchii Miscellanea Sacra.

Clemens Alexandrinus—*continued.*

British Critic. 19:100.
Conybeare's Bampton Lectures. 1839.
Kaye's Writings and opinions of Clement.
Le Clerc's Life of Clemens.
Wray's Writings and opinions of C.

The writings of this Father are not in the English language, though they deserve to be, better than some of the others.

Clemens Romanus.

Clementis Epistolæ. (Many editions. The most esteemed by some is that of Schwegler. 1847.)

Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Buddei Syntagma Dissertationum theol.
Cyprian (E. S.) de Clement. Rom. evangel.
Ephraimi Homiliæ.
Freudenbergeri Historia controversiæ de Clem. Rom. epistolis.
Grabii Commentatio de Clementis scriptis, genuinis et supposititiis.
Goltz, Gesch. aus d. apostol. Zeitalter.
Herzog des Clem. von R. Brief.
Kesleri Philosophemata potiora recognition. Clem. R. falso attributur.
Nerreter de Fragmentis Clem. R. quod sub nomine epistolæ habetur.
Oudini Com. de scriptis S. Clementis.
Randinus de St. Clemente martyre. (Collects what has been said of Clement by credible writers.)

Bibliotheca Sacra. 22:353.
Burton on the Ep. of C. to the Corinthians.
Cave's Lives of the Fathers.
Chevalier's Translation of the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius; with introduction, &c.
Lardner's Dissert. on the two epistles of C., published by Mr. Wetstein. (Shows them not to be genuine.)
——— Credibility of the Gospel history. (Touching the two epistles generally received.)

A list of the various editions of this Father is given by FABRICIUS in his *Bibliotheca.* The most esteemed is that of SCHWEGLER. 1847.

Clerical Habits.

Miller (Prof.) on Clerical Habits.
Moody's Hints to young clergymen.
North Amer. Review. 28:503.
Smith on Public Worship. (Treats only on the proprieties of the Sanctuary.)
Stillingfleet's Amusements of a clergyman.
United States Lit. Gazette. 6:377.

Close Communion.

Pro.

Arnold's Scriptural terms of admission to the Lord's Supper.

Close Communion—*continued.*

Pro.

Baldwin (Thomas) on Baptism.
Bayne's Strict communion vindicated.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 19:133.
Birt's Vindication of the Baptists.
Booth's Apology for the Baptists.
Braidwood's Purity of Christian comm.
Butterfield's Free C. an innovation. 1776. (Reply to John Brown.)
Christian Review. 16:210. 23:364.
Curtis (T. F.) on Communion.
Dagg's (J. L.) Letters on communion.
Davis' (G. F.) Peter and Benjamin.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Fuller's (Andrew) Works.
Fuller's (Richard) Terms of communion.
Gale's Reflections on Wall on Baptism.
Hickes' (Dr. Geo.) on Occasional communion. (Reasons why Churchmen should not commune with dissenters.)
Howell on Sacramental communion.
Ivemy's Baptism necessary to communion.
Keene's (Henry) Free address to Pacificus.
Kiffin (Wm.) on Church communion.
Killingworth's Reply to Robt. Hall.
——— ——— Foster.
——— ——— Bulkeley.
Kinghorn's Baptism a term of communion. (Reply to Robt. Hall.)
——— (Other pieces.)
Knapp on Close communion.
Merriam on the Terms of communion.
Morgan's Principles of Christian comm.
Newman's Bapt. an indispens. prerequisite.
Pressly (J. T.) on Communion.
Remington (S.) on Baptism.
——— Defence of restricted communion.
Ripley's Reply to Griffin's letters.
Strictures on Dr. Mason on Communion.
Taylor (J. B.) on Restricted communion.
Thomas (D. E.) on Christian Baptism.

Con.

Brown's (of Haddington) House of God opened.
Bulkeley's Plea for Catholic communion.
Bunyan's Reasons for my practice.
——— Peaceable principles.
Foster (John) on Catholic communion.
Griffin's (Edward Dorr) Letters.
Hall's (Robt.) Terms of communion.
Horner's Popery and close communion identified.
Mason's (John) Terms of communion.
Noel (B. W.) on Baptism. Ch. 5.
Pressly (J. T.) on Ecclesiastical communion. (Presbyterian.)
[Ryland's (Sen.)] Plea for free communion.
Sawtelle's The Lord's supper for the Lord's people.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:103.
Towgood's Address to the opposers of free C.
Watts on Communion.
Worcester (N.) on Close communion.

Clugni.

Balusii Miscellanea. Tom. v. and vi.
Mabillonii Annales Benedictini. Tom. v.

Coat of Treves.

Smith's (H.) Apostolical Christians. (Authentic documents.)

Cocceians.

Coccei Opera.
Alberti Διπλουν καππα.
Burmanni Synopsis Theologiæ.
Kromayeri Scrutinium Religionum.
Leydeckeri Fax veritatis.
Spanheimii (F.) Epistolæ.
Van Till, Antidotum.
Voetii Opera. (The chief opponent of C.)
Witsii Œconomia fœderum Dei cum homin.

Coincidences of Scripture.

See INTERNAL EVIDENCES.

Burke's Horæ Evangelicæ.
——— Horæ Apostolicæ.
Blunt's Undesigned coincidences. (Excel'nt.)
Graves on the Pentateuch.
Grotius' Truth of Christianity.
Faber's (G. S.) Horæ Mosaicæ. (Coincidences of the Mosaic record with profane antiq.)

Coins.

Augustini (Ant.) Opera. Vol. VIII. Plates.
Bayer de Nummis Hebræorum. (Controverts Cumberland.)
Bergeri Numismata Pontificum Roman.
Biragi Numismata. (Many engravings.)
Brerewood de Ponderibus et Pretiis, &c.
Bunting, de Monetis et Mensuris S. Scrip.
Buxtorfii Dissertationes. (Anc. Hebrews.)
Camerarii (J.) Dissertationes.
Cavedoni (G.) Biblische numismatik.
Coringii (H.) Dissertationes.
Deylingii Observationes. (Anc. Hebrews.)
Eckhel, Doctrina nummorum vet. (9 v. fol.)
Foy-Vaillant, Numismata Ærea Imperator.
Gagnier, de Nummis Samaritanis.
Gesneri Opera Numismatica. 300 plates.
Goltzii Opera numismat. (6 great folios.)
Grasse's Handbuch der alten Numismatik.
Harduini Chronologia Vet. Test.
Hottinger, de Nummis Orientalium inscript. Samaritanis.
Kock, de Nummorum Hebraicorum.
Kœhler, Remarques Historiques.
Lavy, Museum Numismaticum. (The most complete work of the kind. It names 4879 Greek coins, and 5747 Roman; with engravings.)
Lingen de Origine et inventoribus pecuniæ et numismatum.
Margraaf, Observationes.
Occo Imperatorum Roman. numismata.
Otii (J. B.) Epistolæ. (Samaritan coins.)
Patin (C.) Dissertationes.
Petavii (P.) Dissertationes.

Coins—*continued.*

Rayheri (Sam.) Dissertationes.
Rechenberghii Biblioth. nummaria.
Reland de Nummis Vet. Hebræorum.
Scaligeri Opuscula varia.
Schmidt de Drachmis a Christo solutis.
Seldeni Opera.
Semleri Vocabularia rei nummariæ Gr., Lat., Hebr., Arab, &c., ex diversis auctoribus.
Spanheim (Ezek.) de Præstantia numis.
Thottii Thesaurus Numismatum.
Tresor de Numismatique et de glyptique. (1851. Very complete. Price $250.)
Wachteri Archæologia Nummaria.
Waltoni Biblia Polyglotta. (Prolegomena.)
Waser (or Vaser) de Ant. num. Hebr. et Syr.
Wedelii Exercitationes.
Werholf's Bibliotheca Numismatica.
Widmannus ad Matt. xxii. 19.
Wilde, Selecta Numismata antiqua.

Akerman's Illustrations of the N. T. Cuts.
Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins.
Calmet's Dissertations. Tr. by N. Tindal.
Cardwell's (E.) Lectures. (Greek and Rom. coins.)
Cumberland on Jewish coins, weights, &c.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 22:215.
Ede's Gold and silver coins of all nations.
Madden's Hist. of Jewish coinage. 254 cuts.
Monthly Review. 114:457.
Murray's (John) Truth of Revelation demonstrat. by an appeal to gems, coins, &c.
Numismatic Chronicle. Periodical. London. From 1844. 32 vols.
Pelletier on Coins, Weights, &c.
Princeton Review. 2:131. 28:238.
Till's Essay on the Roman Denarius.
Walch's (R.) Ancient coins and medals. Many plates. (Intended to illustrate the progress of Christianity in the early ages.)
Walker (O.) on Coins and Medals.

Lipsius *Biblioth. Numaria*, gives a catalogue of all the authors who have written upon money and coins, up to the close of the 18th century. John Hearne, bookseller, London, in his catalogue for 1859, offers for sale about 700 works on this subject.

Collegiants. See SOCINIANS.

Colonization, African. See NEGROES.

African Repository. Monthly. Washington, United States. Since 1825.
Alexander's Hist. of C. on the West coast.
American Monthly Review. 2:151. 4:282.
Amer. Quart. Review. 4:395. 12:213. 18:245.
Ashmun, J., Life of; by Gurley.
Bacon's Plea for Africa.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 14:622.
Cary, Lott, Life of; by J. B. Taylor.
Christian Examiner. 13:96, 200, 287.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 5:485, 540. 10:358, 493.

Colonization, African—*continued.*

Christian Quarterly Spectator. 2:459. 4:311. 5:145, 631. 6:332, 445. 7:330, 503, 521.
Colonization Herald. Monthly. Philada. Since 1835.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 3:282.
Foreign Quarterly Review. 26:213.
Frazier's Magazine. 2:334. 3:114.
Jay's (Will.) Character and tendency of the Colonization Society.
Liberia Herald. Monrovia.
Literary and Theol. Review. 1:62. 2:429.
Maryland Colonization Journal. Periodical. Baltimore. Since 1841.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 12:361.
New York Colonization Journal. Period. Since 1850.
Niles' Weekly Register. 13:164. 15 Sup. 42. 16:165, 233. 17:201. 23:39, 138. 24:333. 25:175, 381. 26:270, 282, 373. 27:29. 29:329. 47:208.
North Am. Review. 18:40. 21:462. 35:118. 41:265. 63:269.
Oxford Prize Essays. 1815. (Tho. Arnold.)
Princeton Rev. 5:257, 281. 12:169. 13:266. 16:57.
Reese's (David M.) Letters to the Hon. Wm. Jay. (Reply to his book.)
Southern Review. 1:219.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:322, 396, 539.
Torrey on the Slave trade.
United States Literary Gazette. 3:20.
Wadstorm on Colonization particularly as applied to the West coast of Africa. 1794. (Describes also the then condition of Sierra Leone and Bulama.)

Colporter System.

Anneau, le Necessaire.
Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 12:214.
American Messenger. Period. New York. (Many fine articles on this subject.)
Annual Reports of Amer. Tract Society.
——— ——— Am. Tract Soc. Boston.
——— ——— Am. Bapt. Publica. Society.
Colportage as conducted by the Amer. Tract Society. (A tract. 1859.)
Cook (R. S.) on Home Evangelization.
Fison's History of Colportage. (An English abridgment of Cook's work.)

Comfort. See AFFLICTION, CONSOLATION.

Bolton's (Robt.) C. for afflicted consciences.
Colquhoun (John) on Spiritual comfort.
Durant's (Puritan) Comfort for the dejected.
Gerard's Divine Meditations.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of sermons.
Reyner's Sermons.
Russell's Letters, practical and consolatory. Letter 6.
Sharp's (Dr. J.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sibbs' Saints' comfort.
——— Letter to an afflicted conscience.

Sibbs' Heavenly conference between Christ and Mary.
Stebbing's (Henry) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Christian consolation.

Commandments. See MORAL LAW.

Dannhaveri de Collegio Decalogo.
Grotius (H.) in Decalogam.
Philo-Judæus de Decalogo.
Selnecceri Pædagoga Christiana.
Thummii Opera.
Turrettini Institutiones.
Zanchii Opera Theologica.

Anderson's (Bp.) Exposition of the C.
Andrews' (Bp.) Pattern of doctrine.
Babington's (Bp. G.) Works.
Barker's (Peter) Exposition of the ten C.
Barrow's (Bp.) Exposition of the ten C.
Bird's (C. S.) Exposition of the ten C.
Boyse's Exposition of the ten C.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Brady's (N.) Sermons.
Bradford's Godly Meditations.
Brougham's (John) Sermons.
Bullinger's Decades. (Pub. of the Parker Society.)
Bunne's Guide to Godliness.
Burgess' Vind. of the moral law. (Against Papists, Arminians, Antinomians, and Socinians.)
Burton's Exposition of the Decalogue.
Candlish's Two great commandments.
Clay's (John) Twenty-five sermons.
Cleaver's (Robt.) Sermons.
Clowes' (J.) Sermons.
Chaffer's (Rich.) Exposition of the C.
Cudworth's (Ralph) Sermons.
Dod's (John) Plain and familiar expos.
Durham's (Jas.) Law unsealed.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 100–132.
Edwards' (John) Body of Divinity. (Excellent.)
Elton on the Ten commandments.
Fidde's (Rich.) Body of Divinity.
Graham's (John) Practical Sermons on the ten commandments.
Glass' (S.) Sermons. (Plain and valuable.)
Granger's Tree of good and evil.
Hall's (Bp.) Works.
Harrison's (Wm.) Sermons on the C.
Hill's (G. D.) Practical sermons on the C.
Hooper's (Bp.) Declaration of the ten C.
Hopkins' (Bp. E.) Exposition of the ten C.
Jefferson's (J.) Lectures.
Jones' (Robt.) Sermons.
Jortin's (J.) Sermons.
Knewstub's Lectures on Exod. xx.
Larkin's (E. R.) Sermons on the C.
Laurie's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Sermons.
McCaul's (J. R.) The ten Commandments the Christian's rule.
Marsh's (E. G.) Sermons on the C.
Nance's (J.) Sermons on the C.

Commandments—*continued.*

Oakley's (J.) Christian aspect and application of the Decalogue.
Ogden's (Sam.) Sermons.
Piggot on the Decalogue.
Plumer's (Wm. S.) Law of God.
Powell on the Decalogue.
Robinson's (Disney) Law and Gospel.
Russell's Hulsean Lectures.
Ross' (John L.) Lectures.
Scott's (Tho.) Essays.
Secker (Abp.) on the Catechism.
Stackhouse's Works.
Stowel's (W.) Lectures on the ten C.
Thornton's (H.) Lectures.
Tudor's The Decalogue the Christian's law.
Wadsworth (Benj.) on the Decalogue.
Weems' (John) Expos. of the Decalogue.
Whately's Exp. of the Decalogue.

Commentators.

ON THE WHOLE BIBLE.

Augustine, Jerome, Origen.

Brenii (Dan.) Notæ in V. et N. Test. 1660.
Brentii Opera. 1575. (Lauded by LUTHER.)
Alberi Interpretatio. 1804.
Calmet, Commentaire litterale. 1707.
——— Dissertations preliminaires. (Exceedingly valuable. Horne used it largely in his introduction.)
Calovii Biblia Illustrata. 1672. (An immense storehouse of information, touching versions, expositions, and other Biblical subjects. Strong against Papists and Socinians.)
Calvini Prelectiones et Comm. 1578
Capelli Com. et notæ criticæ. 1600.
Cartwright, Melificium Hebraicum. 1627.
Castellionis, Annotationes. 1510.
Clerici (or Le Clerc) Translatio cum commentario, et Dissertationes. 1693. (Not so much a commentary as a series of criticisms. Armenian.)
Cocoei (or Le Coq.) Versio et Comm. 1701. ("Spiritualizes too much.")
Critici Sacri in Biblia. 1698.
De Dieu Animadversiones. 1631.
Drusii Annotationes. 1612.
Grotii Annotationes. 1631. (An unsafe guide; but DODDRIDGE thinks "he has done more to illustrate Scripture by profane learning, than all other commentators put together.")
Heideggeri Enchiridion Biblicum. 1700.
Houbigantii Notæ crit. cum Proleg. 1753
Hugonis (Victor), Adnotationes. 1526.
Hugonis (St. Caro) Postillæ. 1487.
Junii et Tremelii Biblia cum notis. 1600.
Lapide, Commentarii. 1664. (12 vols., fol. Highly prized by Romanists.)
Lightfoot, Commentaria Historica. 1659.
Lutheri Commentaria. 1510.

Commentators.

Marlorati Thesaurus in locos communes. 1600. (An abridgment of the best remarks of the Reformers.)
Martyris (Petri), Commentaria. 1579.
Mauri (Rabanni) Com. grammatico-criticus. 1534. (Verbal criticisms on the plan of Schaufelberger's *Clavis Homerica.*)
Melancthonis Commentaria. 1543.
Menochii (Soc. Jesu) Comment. ex optimis auctoribus collecti. 1719.
Olearius' Biblische Erklärung. 1681.
Parei Commentaria. 1620.
Pellicani Commentaria. 1532.
Piscatoris, Commentaria. 1638. (Armenian.)
Poli Synopsis Criticorum. 1674. (Gives whatever is useful in the Critici Sacri, and is more convenient and valuable, on account of its admirable arrangement, and additional matter.)
Quistorpii Commentaria. 1648.
Raphelii Annotationes. 1700. (From Zenophon, Polybius, Arrian, and Herodotus.)
Ravanelli Thesaurus Scripturæ. 1660. ("One of the most useful books to a preacher, in the world."—C. MATHER.)
Schidii (Sebastian.) Commentaria. 1740. ("Erudite, accurate, and perspicuous."—WALCH.)
Schoetgenii Horæ Hebraicæ. 1733.
Storr (G. C.), Opuscula Academica. 1796.
Tarnovii Exercitationes Biblicæ. 1632.
Thilonis, Medulla. 1683. (An epitome of Poole's Synopsis.)
Tirini (Soc. Jesu) Commentaria. 1630.
Tossani Paraphrasii et Annotationes. 1606.
Tostati Commentaria. 1491. (24 volumes, folio.)
Tremelii. (See Junii.)
Venemæ Dissertationes. 1747.

Allen's (Jno.) Exposition. 1765.
Assembly of Divines' Annotations. 1651.
Benson's Bible; with notes. 1811. (Chiefly a compilation from Wesley.)
Boothroyd's Improved vers. and notes. 1818.
Brown's Self-interpreting Bible. 1777.
Burder's (S.) Scripture Expositor. 1809.
Calvin's Com. Trans. by various persons. ("Calvin's Commentaries remain, after three centuries, unparalleled for force of mind, justness of expression, and practical views of Christianity."—BP. WILSON, of Calcutta.)
Clarke's (J.) Annotations. 1743.
Clarke's (Adam) Commentary. 1810.
Clarke's (Sam.) Analysis of the S. S. 1700.
Clarke's (Sam., Junr.) Annotations. 1760.
Clarke's (Samuel) Annotation and parallel passages. 1690.
Cobbins' Comm. 1837. (A family book.)
Coke's Commen. 1803. (Plagiarized from Dodd.)
Cornwallis' Observations. 1820.
Davidson's Pocket Commentary. 1836.
Diodati's Annotations. 1651.

Commentators.

D'Oyly and Mants' Bible. 1814.
Dodd's Commentary. 1770.
Dutch Annotations. Ordered by the Synod of Dort. Tr. by T. Haak. 1657.
Fawcett's Family Bible. 1811.
Gill's Exposition. 1748. (A great treasury of Rabbinical and Oriental literature; with criticisms. "In Rabbinical literature Dr. Gill had no equal."—HORNE.)
Girdlestone's Comm. 1835. (Short reflections for family use.)
Hawker's Poor man's comm. 1822. (Family book.)
Henry's Expos. 1731. (Pious and practical.)
Holden's (Geo.) Christian Expositor. 1834.
Kalisch's Historical and critical commentary; with new translation. 1858.
Knatchbull's Animadversions. 1659.
Lange's Comm. Tr. by Dr. Schaff. 1866.
Le Clerc's Commentary. 1710. (Critical.)
Mayer's Com. 1653. (A synopsis of preceding writers.)
O'Neill's Biblical Gleanings. 1854. (About 3000 selected comments and criticisms.)
Ostervald's Bible. 1722. (Wholly superseded by better works.)
Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, Arnold, & Lowman combined. 1769.
Piscator's Commentary. 1638.
Poole's Annotations. 1683. (Universally commended.)
Roberts' Clavis Biblicum. (Some account of each writer, and the occasion, scope, and analysis of each book.)
Scott's Commentary. 1792. (Superficial.)
Sharp's (Sam.) Historic notes. 1854.
Shitler's Domestic Commentary. 1854.
Sutcliffe's (Jos.) Commentary. 1840.
Trapp's Comm. 1662. (Very valuable.)
Wall's Critical notes. 1730. (With amendments to the Hebrew text.)
Wells' (Ed.) Paraphrase. 1708. (With a revised translation.)
Wesley's (John) Notes. 1764. (Those on the New Test. are best.)
Williams' Cottage Bible. 1825.
Wilson's (Bp.) Bible. 1785. (Chiefly useful for its collation of the present with former English versions.)

ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Athanasius, Cyril Alex., Theodoret.

Jewish.—Aben Ezra, Abraham Scholom, Jos. Carpi, Abarbanel, Kimchi, Medraschim, Levy, Gerson, Moseh ben Nachman, Solomon Jarchi, Ben Malek, Alscheich, Simeon, Maimonides, &c.

Amama, Collatio Biblica. 1620.
Baumgarten's Theologischer z. A. T. 1844.
Bibliandri Commentaria. 1543.
Boetii Commentaria. 1644.
Capelli (L. & J.) Com. et notæ criticæ. 1575.
Dathii Vet. Test. Latine versio. 1773.

Diodati Explicationes. 1635.
Grynæi Explicatio et Exegesis. 1584.
Hackspanii Notæ philologico-theolog. 1640.
Leusdeni Clavis Hebræica. 1686.
Maureri Commentarii. (One of the best for mere Historico-Grammatical Exegesis.)
Parei Opera Theologica. 1614.
Pfeifferi Clavis. 1690. (Philological.)
Rosenmulleri (E. F. C.) Scholia. 1821. (23 volumes of unsurpassed criticism.)
Scholz, die heilige Schrift des A. Test.
Schotani Commentaria. 1628.
Schultenii Animadversiones. 1760.
Schulzii Scholia. 1783.
Starkii Synopsis Exegetica. 1741.
Stephani Biblia. 1590. (Philological.)
Zanchii Commentaria. 1600.

Barrett's Synopsis of Criticisms on passages in which Commentators differ from King James' version. 1855. (The Hebrew, Septuagint, and English, are given in juxtaposition; and the opinions of Commentators, on disputed passages, quoted and considered.)
Hill's Lectures on portions of the O. T. 1810.
Keil & Delitzsch's C. Trans. by J. Martin. 1864.
Orton's Exposition. 1791. (For families.)
Patrick's Commentary. 1695.
Pyle's Paraphrase and notes. 1725.
Richardson's Observations. 1655.

PENTATEUCH. See PENTATEUCH, SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Isidore, Ambrose, Gregory N.

Alcuini Interrogat. et Responsiones. 800.
Altingii Opera. 1670.
Aretii Commentaria. 1602.
Bedæ Expositio. 725.
Borrhai Commentarii. 1555.
Burmanni Commentaria. 1670.
Catena Græcorum patrum in P. 1547.
Chrytræi Commentarius. 1557.
Drusii Annotat. ad loca difficil. 1588.
Fabricii (Geo.) Commentarius. 1584.
Fagii Paraphrasis. 1540.
Gesneri Disputationes XXXVIII. 1604.
Hammelmani Adnotationes. 1600.
Hartman's (H. C.) Historisch-kritische Forschungen.
Herrheimer, תורה d. Funfbuchs Moses. 1854.
Junii Explicationes Analyticæ. 1639.
Koolhaus, Observationes Exegeticæ. 1751.
Leusdeni Precepta Mosaica. 1686.
Lyseri Commentarius. 1604.
Marbachii Hypomnemeta. 1597.
Marckii Commentaria. 1734.
Meklenburgii Scriptura ac traditio. 1839.
Merceri Prelectiones. 1570.
Osiandri Commentaria. 1676. ("Princeps."—WALCH.)

Selnecceri Commentaria. 1559.
Varenii Decades Mosaicæ. 1659.
Vater's Commentar. 1805.
Von der Hardt's Ephemeridem Philolog. 1696.

Ainsworth's Annot. 1616. (Makes constant reference to the Greek and Chaldee versions.)
Alexander's (W.) The P. illuminated from history, geography, &c. 1828.
Allix's Reflections on the P. 1650.
Babington's (Bp.) Comfortable Notes. 1622
Blunt's Family Exposition. 1841.
Brightwell's Notes. 1840. (Selected from Poole, Rosenmuller, Le Clerc, Schrank, Dathe, &c.)
Clapham's Books of Moses. 1818. (Family book.)
Delgado's New translation and notes. 1789.
Faber's (G. S.) Horæ Mosaicæ. 1818.
Gerlach's Com. Tr. by H. Downing. 1859.
Graves' (Richard) Lectures. 1807.
Hamilton's (W. T.) P. and its assailants. 1850.
Havernick's Historico-critical introduction to the P. Trans. by A. Thompson. 1850.
Hengstenberg's P. illustrated by the monuments of Egypt. Tr. by Ryland. 1847. (A noble refutation of such writers as Bohr and Van Bolen.)
Howard (Henry E.) on the Pentat. 1856. (Learned.)
Jameson's (A.) Crit. and pract. Exposition. 1748. (A compilation from the best interpreters, ancient and modern.)
Jamieson's (Robt.) Critical and explanatory Commentary. 1858.
Kidder's Commentary, Dissertations, &c. 1694. (Refutes Le Clerc and others.)
Lowman's Ritual of Hebrew worship. 1740.
Marsh's (W.) Lectures on the Pentat. 1822. (Dwells mainly on the authenticity.)
McDonald's (D.) Introduction to the P.
Morison' Key to the first 4 books. 1810.
Parker's Bibliotheca Biblica. 1720. (A convenient compilation from writers previous to the year A. D. 451.)
Penrose's Lectures on the Pentateuch.
Pierce's (Sam. E.) Discourses on the Pent. 1815.
Popham's Extracts from the P. compared with similar passages from Greek and Latin authors. With notes.
Robertson's Clavis Pentateuchi. 1770. (An analysis of each word in its order.)
Smith's (Geo.) Lectures on the Pentat., with special reference to recent objections. 1863.
Stewart's Bible Gems. 1839.
Thompson's Guide to the study of the Pent. (A series of questions, with references to works in which answers may be found.)
Thistlewaite's Expository Sermons. 1837.

Commentators.

Townsend's Spiritual communion with God. 1849. (The P. and Job arranged in one connected history, in chronological order, with notes.)
Tyndale's Introduction to the P. 1573.
Wilson's Notes; crit. and devotional. 1854.
Wolfe's (J. R.) Messiah in the Pentateuch. 1850.
Wright's Exposition. 1688.

GENESIS. See COSMOLOGIES, CREATION, THEORIES OF THE EARTH.

Chrysostom.

Bleek (F.) Observationes. 1836.
Bohlen, Histor. Introductio. 1854.
Buttman's Mythos der Sündfluth.
Cartwright, Electa Targumico. 1648.
Casmanni Cosmopœia et Ouranographia.
Chemnitii Collegium Theologicum. 1665.
Clerici Dissertationes. 1684.
Gerhardi Com. in G. 1637. (On the embarrassing passages.)
Grambergii Liber G. secundum fontes rite dignoscendus.
Hackmanni Præcidanea sacra. 1700.
Lipomani Catena patrum in G. 1546.
Marlorati G. cum catholica expos. 1562. (A collection of the best expositions of the Reformers.)
Merceri Comm. 1598. (Preface by Beza.)
Musculi Commentaria. 1554.
Œcolampadii Annotationes. 1523. (Chiefly translations from Chrysostom.)
P. Martyris Commentaria. 1572.
Riveti Exercitationes. 1634.
Schmidii (Sebast.) Commentarius. 1597.
Schwenke's Bibelstunden u. d. erste Buch Mose.
Venemæ Dissertationes. 1747.
Von Sanden, Questiones Biblicæ. 1716.
Zuinglii Farrago adnotationum. 1527.

Bassett's (Wm.) Sermons on G. 1690.
Beke's Researches in primæval hist. 1834.
Burrough's (W. K.) Lectures on G. 1848.
Bush's (Geo.) Notes on Gen. 1832. (Small value.)
Bohlen's Introduction and Comment. 1855.
Candlish's Contrib. toward an Exposition, &c. 1852.
Close's (Francis) Historical Discourses. 1826.
Coghan's Scripture Commentary on G. 1832.
Dawson's New translation and notes. 1763.
Delitzch's Comm. on Genesis. 1860. (See Keil and Delitch, under "Old Testament.")
Dimock's Critical and explan. notes. 1804.
Foster's (John) Critical Essays. 1840. (A strong rebuff to late German critics—especially Simon.)
Frank's (James) Sacred Literature. 1802. (A compilation from eminent authors.)
Fuller's (And.) Expository Lectures. 1806.
Gibbin's Questions and disputations on G. 1601.

Commentators.

Greenfield's Interlinear tr. and notes. 1831.
Groves' (H. C.) Commentary. 1861.
Harwood's (T.) Annotations. 1789. (Practical.)
Hopkins' Corrected trans. and Notes. 1784.
Hughes' (Geo.) Analytical Expos. 1672.
Jacobus' Crit. and explan. Notes. 1865.
Jervis' (J. J. W.) Genesis illustrated. 1853.
——— Discourses on subjects contained in Genesis. 1845.
Johnson's Vindic. of the book of G. 1838.
Kennedy's Philosophy of the Mosaic record. 1827.
Le Clerc's Dissertations. 1731.
Lee's Diss. on difficult passages. 1710.
Lightfoot's Observations on G. 1670.
Lookup's Berashith. (Hutchinsonian.)
McGregor's Notes on Genesis. 1854. (For students.)
Murphy's (J. G.) Commentary. 1865. (Very valuable.)
Osborn's Genesis and Exodus illustrated by existing monuments. 1854.
Parker's (S.) Bibliotheca Biblica. 1720. (Observations gathered from the Fathers.)
Paul's (Wm.) Analysis and Interpretation.
Pratt's Genealogy of creation. 1861. (Translates from the unpointed text.)
Priaulx's Questiones Mosaicæ. 1842. (Compares the Mosaic record with ancient religions, from the Creation to Abraham.)
Preston's (T.) Notes on the Hebrew text. 1853.
Putnam's (C. H.) Gospel by Moses. 1854.
Quarry's Genesis and its authorship. 1866.
Rudge's (James) Lectures. 1823.
Sibthorp's (R. W.) Observations on G. 1835.
Turner's Companion to the book of G. 1840.
Van Bohlen's Introd. to the book of G. 1855.
Warner's Specimens of Biblical Exp. 1842.
Whately's (Wm.) Prototypus. 1640.
Willet's Hexapla, or Sixfold Com. 1608.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Bates (Julius) on the 3d ch. (A refutation of Warburton's 3d proposition.)
Scott on the 3d ch. 1753.
White (John) on the first 3 ch. 1656.
Wright (T. W.) on the first 5 ch. 1788.
Hurdis on the first 10 ch.
McGregor (C.) on the first 11 ch. 1853.
Ross on the first 14 ch.
Shute (Josiah) on the 10th ch. 1649.
Foster's (C.) Crit. essays on 20th ch. 1826.

EXODUS. See COMMANDMENTS.

Tertullian, Epiphanius.

Cartwright, Electa Targumico-Rabbinica. 1648.
Hackmanni Præcidanea Sacra. 1735.
Riveti Commentarium. 1634.
Rungii Prelectiones. 1614.

Commentators.

Simleri Commentarius. 1584.
Zuinglii Farrago Adnotationes. 1527.

Buddicom's Christian Exodus. 1826.
Bush's (Geo.) Commentary. 1842.
Cockburn's Credibility of the Jewish Exod. (Reply to Gibbon.)
Dimock's Critical Remarks. 1804.
Hopkins' New translation and notes. 1785. (Valuable for giving the additions and variations of the Samaritan and Septuagint versions.)
Lightfoot's Handful of gleanings. 1670.
Murphy's Commentary. 1865.
Murray's (M.) Practical remarks. 1830. (Adapted to family worship.)
Willet's Hexapla. 1608.

LEVITICUS.

Ambrose.

Dassovii Scholia Criticorum. 1707.
Franzii Commentaria. 1696.
Hackmanni Præcidanea Sacra. 1735.
Phrygii Explicatio. 1543.
Wolfgangii Scholia sacrificialis.

Bonar's Commentary. 1851. (Critical and practical.)
Bush's (Prof. Geo.) Commentary. 1843.
Murray's Practical remarks on L. 1845. (For family worship.)
Princeton Review. 15:164.
Spanheim's Observations. 1700.
Willet's Hexapla. 1622.

NUMBERS.

Ambrose.

Attersol's Commentary, wherein the whole body of divinity is handled. 1618. (But with small profit.)
Babington's (Bp.) Comfortable Notes. 1615.
Cumming's Sabb. morning readings. 1855.
Howard's (Dean) Translation from the LXX. With notes. 1857.

DEUTERONOMY.

Altingii Commentaria. 1688.
Bugenhagii Comment. 1824. (Able criticism.)
Gerardi Commentaria. 1657.
Maccabeus (or McBee) Commentaria. 1563.

Babington's (Bp.) Comfortable notes. 1615.
Cumming's (J.) Sabbath morning readings.

HISTORICAL BOOKS.

Arthur on the Historical Books.
Horsely's Criticisms. 1820.
Jackson's (Arthur) Annotations. 1643.
Jamieson on the O. T. Hist. books. 1860.
Lindsay's Practical Lectures. 1828.
Mayer on the Historical books. 1650.

Commentators.

JOSHUA.

Burmanni Explicatio. 1669.
Hannekenii Adnotata Philologica. 1665.
Herwerdeni Disputatio de libro J. 1826.
Isingii Exercitationes. 1683.
Keil's Commentar. über Joshua. 1847.
Lavateri Commentaria. 1576.
Masii Explicatio. 1574. (Papal. Valuable for giving the readings of the Syriac and Hexaplar versions.)
Osiandri Comment. 1681. (Gives various readings.)

Jamieson on J. (Condensed and valuable.)
Keil's Com. Tr. by J. Martin. 1849.

JUDGES.

Bertheau, Richter und Ruth Erklart. 1845.
Buceri Commentarius. 1563.
Burmanni Explicationes. 1670.
Chytræi Comm. cum chronologia. 1589.
Osiandri Commentarius. 1682.
Schmidii (Sebas.) Com. 1684. ("Præclarum opus."—Walch.)
Strigelii Argumenta et Scholia. 1575.

Coleridge (John) on the 17th and 18th chap. 1768. (A new trans. and learned notes.)
Noble's (Sam.) Sermons on the first 11 chap.
Rogers' Commentary. 1650. (Rich and practical.)
Rose's (Henry J.) Hulsean Lectures. 1833.

RUTH.

Isidore.

Burmanni Explicationes. 1671.
Carpzovii Collegium Rabbinico-biblicum. 1703. (Gives the text, Massora, four Rabbinical commentators, and many learned notes.)
Drusii Hist. Ruth, ex Ebræo Lat. conversa et explicata. 1617.
Merceri Commentaria. 1580. (Rabbinical.)
Metzger's Liber Ruth illustratus. 1856.
Rambachii Notæ uberiores. 1719.
Ringler das Buch Ruth. 1812.
Stöckicht's Auslegung. 1856.
Strigelii Illustratio. 1571.
Werneri Illustrationes. 1740.

Cadogan's Book of R. illust. 1850. Plates.
Fuller's (Thomas) Commentary. 1650.
Lawson's (G.) Expository Discourses. 1805.
McCartney's Observations. 1842.
McGowan's Discourses on Ruth. 1781.
Toller's Discourses on the book of R. 1848.

SAMUEL.

Ambrose, Gregory N.

Bugenhagii Adnotationes. 1525.
Burmanni Explicationes. 1669.
Osiandri Commentarius. 1681.
Sarceri (Sebast.) Commentarius. 1559.

Schmidii (Seb.) Com. 1684. ("Princeps." —Walch.)
Strigelii Commentaria. 1572.
Guild's (Wm.) Throne of David. 1660.
Steel's (Robt.) Life and times of S. 1860.
Willet's (And.) Expos. and Harmony. 1605.

KINGS.

Ambrose, Gregory Naz.

Bugenhagii Adnotationes. 1525.
Keil's (C. F.) Commentar. 1847.
Welleri Commentaria. 1557.
Keil's Com. Trans. by J. Murphy. 1857.

CHRONICLES.

Beckii Paraphrasis Chaldaica.
Keil's (C. F.) Apologetischer Versüch. 1833.
Loenhart Hypomnemata. 1608.
Michaelis et Rambachii Adnot. 1745.
Sarceri Commentarius. 1559.
Keil's Com. Trans. by Murphy. 1857.

EZRA.

Keil's Versüch ueber de integritat, &c. 1834.
Strigelii Argumenta et Scholiæ. 1572.
Wandalini Questiones Philolog., &c. 1654.
Lee on the Books of Ezra; spurious, and genuine. 1722.
Pemble's (Wm.) Works. 1659. (Remarks on various passages.)

NEHEMIAH.

Strigelii Illustrationes. 1572.
Wolfii Neh. Instaurata Hierosolyma. 1733.
Pilkington's Commentary. 1560. (Published by Parker Society. 1842.)
Stowell's (Hugh) Character of N. 1855.
Woodward's Hist. and character of N. 1849.

ESTHER.

Adami Observ. Theologico-philolog. 1710.
Baumgarten (M.) de Fide libri Estheræ. 1839.
Burmanni Explicationes. 1671.
Rambachii Notæ uberiores. 1720.
Rossi Specimen Var. Lect. sac. textus, &c.

Brent on Esther. Transl. by Stockwood.
Carson (Alex.) on the Book of E. 1833.
Davidson's Lectures on the book of E. 1859.
Hughes' Esther and her people. 1842.
Lawson's (Geo.) Discourses on E. 1804.
Lowrie's (John M.) Lectures on E. 1858.
McCrie's (Thomas) Lectures. 1838.

HAGIOGRAPHA.

Doderlini Scholia. 1779.
Ewald's (H.) Erklärung. 1836.
Köster, über den Strophischen character, &c. 1831.
Merceri (J.) Commentaria. 1651.

Meyer's Poetischen Bucher des alt. T.
Michaelis (J. H. et C. B.) Annotationes. 1720.
Michaelis et Rambachii Notæ uberiores. 1745.
Strakii Davidis aliarumque poetarum Heb. Carmina. 1673.
Durell's (David) Critical remarks. 1770. See Monthly Review. 47:119.
Green's New trans. and notes. 1771.
Holden's (Lawrence) Paraphrase and notes. 1763.
Isham's (Z.) Divine philosophy. 1706.
Leigh's Poetical books of the O. T. 1657.
Lowth's Lectures on Heb. poetry. 1787.
Monthly Review. 68:1.

JOB. See HAGIOGRAPHA.

Gregory Th., Ambrose, Theodoret.

Bahrdt's Paraphrastische Erklärung. 1764.
Bezæ Commentaria. 1583.
Bockel's Uebersetzung und Erläutert. 1821.
Boullier, Observationes Miscellaneæ. 1758. (The author reproves Schultens for depending so much on the Arabic to explain Hebrew words and idioms.)
Blumenfeld's Uebersetzung u. Commentar. 1826.
Bridell, Job traduis d'apres l'original non punctue, avec un commentaire. 1818.
Buceri Commentarius. 1526.
Corderii Jobus elucidatus. 1646. (A catena of the Fathers.)
Drusii Nova versio et scholia. 1636. (Separate from his Com. on the whole Bible.)
Ebrard's Buch Hiob. überset. und Erläutert. 1858.
Eckerman, Observat. 1779. (Philological and critical.)
Grey, Liber J. in versiculos metrice divisus. 1740.
Hahn's Commentar. 1850.
Hardtii Commentarius. 1728.
Hengstenberg über das buch Hiob. 1835.
Heiligstedt, Commen. grammatico-historico-criticus. 1847.
Herbart's Gedankin über Buch Hiob. 1760.
Hirzel's Hiob Erklärt. 1852.
Hottingeri Analysis. 1689.
Justi's Hiob neu übersetzt und erläutert.
Kemmler's (G.) Weisheit der Urzeit. 1853.
Koster (F. B.) das Buch Hiob. 1831.
Krehlii Observationes. 1834.
Melsheimer's Buch Hiob Anmerkung. 1823.
Œcolampadii Exegemata. 1531.
Pineda, Comment. 1600. (The best Papal commentary on this book; and serves to complete the work of Lapide.)
Schärer's Grundtext, metrisch, &c., Erläutert. 1818.
Scheuchzeri Jobi physica Sacra. 1721.
Schmidii (Sebas.) Comm. 1670. (A coherent collection of the best observations.)

Commentators.

Schlottman's Verdeutscht, &c. 1851.
Schulteni (Albert) Nova versio, et commen. 1737. (A famous work; of which an abridgment has been published by Prof. VOGEL.)
Strigelii Scholia. 1570.
Terenti liber Jobi. (Gives the Chaldee, Greek, and Latin texts, and various readings.)
Titelmanni Elucidatio, cum adnot. 1547.
Umbreit's Uebersetz. u. Auslegung. 1824.
Vavasoris Commentaria. 1679.

Barnes' (Albert) New Tran. and notes. 1844.
Bellamy's (D.) Discourses. 1748.
Beza's Exposition. 1600. (Paraphrastic.)
Blackmore's Paraphrase. 1700.
Broughton's (H.) Translation with notes. 1610.
Carey's (C. P.) Translation with notes and preliminary dissertations. 1858.
Caryll's Exposition. 1676. ("Elaborate, learned, judicious, and pious."—WILLIAMS.)
——— Abridged by John Berrie. 1836.
Chappelow's New trans. and comm. 1752. (Curious.)
Conant's (Prof.) New Translation. 1858.
Costard on various parts of Job. 1747.
Croley's (Geo.) Book of Job. 1863.
Davidson's (A. B.) Com. with new translat. 1862.
Delitzsch's Commentary. Trans. by Bolton. 1866.
Evans' (Alfred R.) Lectures on Job. 1857.
Ewing's (W.) Observations. 1844. (Critical.)
Fry's (John) New translation and notes. 1827.
Garden's Improved vers. and notes. 1796.
Garnet's Nature, arguments, age, author, &c. 1749.
Hulbert's (C. A.) Thirty lectures on Job. 1853.
Heath's New version and comment. 1756.
Hodge's Elihu. 1750. (In no estimation.)
Hutchinson's 316 Discourses on Job. 1669.
Isham's Divine philosophy. 1706.
Kempe's Course of lectures on Job. 1855.
Lee's New translation and notes. 1837.
Lowth's (Wm.) Design, argument, style, &c. 1730.
Michaelis on Lowth's 32d lecture.
Noyes' (G. R.) New Trans. and notes. 1827.
Peters' Critical Dissertations. 1751. ("Valuable."—ORME. Refutes some of Warburton's positions.)
Princeton Review. 29:281.
Umbreit's Comment. (In Biblical Cabinet.)
Warburton's Div. Legation of Moses. 1766.
Wemyss' Job and his times. 1849.
Wesley's (Sam.) Dissertations and conjectures. 1736.
Worthington's (Wm.) Dissertations. 1743. (On the design of the book.)

Commentators.

Many of these writers on Job treat on the question whether a future state was the popular belief of the ancient Jews. See further, on that subject, *Faith of the Patriarchs.*

PSALMS. See HAGIOGRAPHA, IMPRECATIONS, MESSIANIC PSALMS.

Ambrose, Athanasius, Gregory Nys., Hilary, Augustine, Theophilact.
Amyraldi Paraph. cum annotationibus. 1762.
Berlini Psal. ex recentione textus Heb. 1805. (An excellent Latin translat., with useful notes.)
Berthier, les P. avec reflections. 1785.
Bezæ, Argumentis et Paraphrasis. 1566.
Bossuet, Dissertatio in Psalmos. 1693.
Buceri Enarrationes. 1526.
Bugenhagii Adnotat. 1535. (Preface by Luther.)
Bullingeri Consciones. 1570.
Burkii Gnomon. 1760.
Bythneri Lyra prophetica. 1650. (Of great use to a student of the Heb. language.)
Clauss Beiträge zur Exegese der P. 1831.
Dathii Ps. ex rescensione textus Heb. 1787.
Delitzsch's Commentar. 1860.
De Wette, Commentar.
Duport Metaphrasis; cum vers. Lat. 1666.
Fisher's Auslegung. 1590.
Geieri Com. adductis locis parallelis. 1709.
Gomari Davidis Lyra. 1637.
Hengstenberg's Commentar. 1842.
Hesusii Commentarius. 1586.
Hitzig's Historisch-Kritischer Com. 1835.
Hupfeld's Uebersetzt. und Augelegt. 1854.
Johnston, Paraphrasis poetica. 1741.
Lampii Commentarius. 1738.
——— Meditationes Exegeticæ. 1741.
Marini Annotationes cum nova vers. 1748.
Muis Commentarius. ("One of the best."—FELLER.)
Musculi Comm. 1550. (Many editions.)
Opitii Exercitationes. 1700. (Divisions, chronology, use, and abuse of the Psalms.)
Paulus' (H. E. G.) Clavis. 1815.
Reinhard's Ueberset. u. Erläuterung. 1818.
Riveti Opera. 1651.
Tholuck (A.) Ueberset. u. Auslegung. 1843.
Titelmanni Elucidatio. 1572.
Venemæ Commen. 1781. ("Excellent."—CLARKE.)
Vicars' Decapla. 1639. (A curious and useful work, drawn from ten languages.)
Westhemeri Explicatio. 1566. (Wholly from the Fathers.)
Zuingli Farrago Annotationum. 1528.
——— Translatio nova in ling. Latinam.

Alexander's (Jos. A.) New translation and Exposition. 1850.
Ainsworth's Annotations. 1612.
Allix's (Peter) Notes of interpretation. 1687.
Augustin's Homilies on the Psalms.

Baker's (Richard) Psalms evangelized in a continued explanation. 1811.

Bernard's (John) Short notes agreeably to the sense applied in the N. T. 1816.

Bonar's Christ and his ch. in the book of P. 1815.

Bouchier's Manna in the heart. 1855.

Boys' Key. (Dwells on the parallels.)

Buxtorf's Lyre of David.

Bythner's Lyre of David.

Champney's Textual commentary. 1852.

Cole's (Wm.) Key. 1788. (A concise and convenient explanation of words and allusions, selected from the best authors.)

Cope's Meditations on 20 selected psalms. 1547.

Dickson on the Psalms. 1645. (Old Scotch piety.)

Edwards' (Jos.) Devotional Expos. 1850.

Ewart's (John) Lectures on the P. 1822.

Exton's Sixty lectures on the P. 1847.

Fenwick on the Psalms. 1747. (Unique; the lines are the same as the Hebrew.)

Gesner's Use, dignity, and connection of the Psalms. 1630.

Gillie's Notes: devotional and practical. 1796.

Gower's Exposition of the difficult passages. 1709.

Hammond's Paraphrase and notes. 1649.

Hengstenberg on the Psalms. Translated by Fairbairn. 1848.

Hibbard's Chronological arrangement; with historical introductions. 1857.

Johnson's Holy David and his English translators. 1710.

Luther's Commentary. Trans. by H. Cole. 1837.

McGavin's Copious Index, and notes.

Maclin's Pastor's gift. 1835. (For families.)

Mant's Notes; critical and illustrative. 1824.

Merrick's New trans. Paraph. and notes. 1765.

Morrison (John) on the Psalms. 1828.

Neale's Com. from primitive and mediæval office books, of Gallican. Greek, Syriac, and Armenian rites. 1860.

Nicholson's David's harp tuned. 1662.

Phillips' Chrit. and philological Com. 1846.

Plummer's Studies on the book of P. 1867.

Pridham's (A.) Notes and Reflections. 1852.

Reeves' Collation of the Hebrew and Greek texts. 1800.

Ryland's Psalms restored to Messiah. 1853.

Stoddard's Imagery and ornaments of the P., and the mode of using them; from the earliest times. (Compiled from Jebb, Horsley, Patrick, &c.)

Tholuck's Commen. Trans. by J. Mombert. 1856.

Thompson's (And.) Lectures on the Psalms. 1826.

Thompson's (Mrs.) Prac. Illustration. 1826.

Thrupp's Study and use of the Ps. 1860.

Warner's Psalms illustrated and explained; with Dissertations and Notes. 1828.

Wilson's Evangelical and prophetical Expos. 1860.

ON PARTICULAR PSALMS.

Smith's David's blessed man.	Ps. 1.	1617.
Stoneham (Matthew) on	" 1.	1610.
Hildorp's Commentary on	" 2.	1742.
Custard's Commentary on	" 2.	1747.
Pitcairn's Zion's King.	" 2.	1851.
Smith's Garment of praise.	" 3.	1850.
Horton (Thomas) on	" 4.	1670.
Leighton (Abp.) on Ps. 4, 130, 132, 135.		1664.
——— Lectures on	Ps. 39.	1670.
Schroederi Com. philologicus.	" 10.	1605.
Cartwright's Polemic Comm.	" 15.	1658.
Downame's (Geo.) Lectures on	" 15.	1603.
Dale's Golden psalm.	" 16.	1847.
Frame's Christ in Gethsemane.	" 16.	1858.
Greenham's Commentary.	" 16.	1585.
Harper's Expo. of the 2d, 45th, 110th.		1862.
Agricola's Commentary.	Ps. 19.	1730.
Stevenson's Christ on the cross.	" 22.	1842.
Stevenson's The Lord our Shep.	" 23.	1846.
Sedgwick's Shepherd of Israel.	" 23.	1658.
Stoughton's Song of C.'s flock.	" 23.	1860.
Dale's (Tho.) Good shepherd.	" 23.	1845.
Newton's Pastoral char. of God.	" 23.	1857.
Harrison's Shep. and his sheep.	" 23.	1845.
Mossom's Preacher's tripartite.	" 25.	1657.
Halket's (Lady) Meditations on	" 25.	1778.
Owen (John) on	" 30.	1669.
Bingham's Lectures on	" 32.	
Reeves' (J. W.) Lectures on	" 32.	1859.
Taylor's (T.) David's Learning.	" 32.	1618.
Horton's Ten sermons on	" 42.	1674.
McDuff's Hart and the water brooks.	" 42.	1860.
Sibbs' Soul's conflict and vict.	" 42.	
Kennicott, Notæ Criticæ. Ps. 42, 43, 44, 48, 49.		
Vansittart's Trans. and notes.	Ps. 49.	1810.
Horton's Twenty Sermons on	" 51.	1675.
De Coetlogon's Chris. Penitent.	" 51.	1775.
Hildersham's 152 Lectures.	" 51.	1630.
Cowper's Good news fr. Canaan.	" 51.	1612.
Alexander's Penitent's prayer.	" 51.	1860.
Biddulph (T. T.) on	" 51.	1830.
Buck's (J.) Sermons on	" 51.	
Bull's (J. S.) Sermons on	" 51.	1824.
Hieron's Thirty Lectures on	" 51.	1614.
Smith's David's Repentance.	" 51.	
Pearson on Psalms 27, 84, 85, 87.		1660.
Horton's Seven sermons on	Ps. 63.	1675.
Sharp (Granville) on	" 68.	1805.
Clarke's (Rich.) Commentary.	" 68.	1763.
Dixon's New Interpretation.	" 68.	1811.
Parry's David restored.	" 73.	1660.
Pierson's Exercise under afflict.	" 85.	1647.
Reynolds (Bp.) on	" 90.	1632.
Stevenson (J.) on Gratitude.	" 103.	
Romaine's Nine sermons on	" 107.	1770.
Bergami's Commentary on	" 110.	1819.

Reynolds' (Bp. E.) Explica. Ps. 110. 1633.
Gouge's Saint's Sacrifice. " 116. 1635.
Chapman's (R.) Hallelujah. " 117. 1709.
Calvin's 22 Sermons on " 119.
Greenham (Richard) on " 119. 1660.
Manton's (Tho.) 190 Sermons. " 119. 1585. (Often reprinted. Full of solid criticism and devout remarks.)
Bridges (Charles) on Ps. 119. 1841.
Stephens' Lectures on " 119. 1861.
Cowper's (Bp.) Holy alphabet. " 119. 1623.
Pierce's Incarnat. of Jehovah. " 121. 1838.
Hutchinson's 45 Sermons on " 130. 1691.
Bethune's Hist. of a Pentinent. " 130. 1848.

PROVERBS. See HAGIOGRAPHA.

Ambrose, Theophilus, Gregory Naz., Basil.

Bezæ Expositio. (Died 735.)
Cartwright, Commentaria. 1618.
Danæi Commentarius. 1590.
Fabricii Carmen. in Proverb. Solom.
Hitzig's Uebersetz. und Ausgelegt. 1856.
Jaegeri Observationes. 1721.
Lavater, Commentaria. 1576.
Merceri Com. liter. crit. et gram. 1573.
Pettani Catena aurea Græcorum. 1576.
Schleusneri Commentaria. 1794.
Schulteni Versio cum Com. 1748.
Strigelii Scholia cum Argumentis. 1570.
Umbreit's (F. W. K.) Commentar. 1826.

Arnot's Laws from heaven for life on earth. 1858.
Brooks' New arrangement of the P. Notes. 1860.
Bridges' (C.) Exposition. 1847.
Case's (R. J.) Commentary. 1822.
Cleaver's (Robt.) Brief Explanation. 1615.
Cope's (M., of Geneva,) Commentary. 1580.
Day's (Wm.) Notes and dissertations. 1862. ("Deep and striking thoughts."—Bickersteth.)
Dimock's Crit. and explan. notes. 1791.
Gauntlett's (H.) Observations. 1813.
Grey's Hebrew Grammar. 1738. (With book of Proverbs annexed, divided according to the meter, with Massoretic readings, Pagnin's Latin version, Notes, Analysis, &c.)
Hunt's Observations. 1775. (Proposes emendations of the trans. "Important."—Orme.)
——— Dissert. on Prov. vii. 22, 23.
Jermin's Meditations. 1638.
Lawson's (Geo.) Exposition. 1821. (Practical.)
Nichols' (B. E.) Proverbs explained. 1842.
Stuart's (Moses) Commentary. 1852.
Taylor (Francis) on Proverbs. 1655.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Lectures on Proverbs. 1862.
Wilcock's (Puritan) Sound Commentary. 1589.

ECCLESIASTES.

Gregory Nys., Gregory Thaum., Hippolytus, Theophilus A.

Bezæ Paraphrasis. 1588.
Buceri Commentarius. 1532.
Desvoux, Essai philosophique. 1760.
Du Viel, Explicatio literalis. 1681.
Elster's (E.) Commentar. 1854.
Fagii Versio cum notis. 1540.
Frankii Systema ethicis divina. 1724.
Guieri Comm. 1730. ("Inter optimas."—Walch.)
Hahn Ueber den Predigerbuch Salomos. 1860.
Pineda Commentaria. 1609.
Rambachii Uberiores Adnotationes. 1720.
Schmidii (Seb.) Commentatio. 1691.
Strigelii Ecc. ad Ebraicam recognitus. 1573.
Varenii Gemmæ Salomonis. 1659.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 12:197.
Bernard's (Rich.) 86 Sermons. 1620.
Beza's Solomon's Sermon to the people. 1595.
Bridges' (Cha.) Exposition. 1848.
Buchanan's Eccl.: its meaning and lessons. 1859.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 4:524.
Desvoux's Philosophical and critical Essay. 1760. (With new version, old version, and paraphrase, in parallel columns.)
Du Viel's Commentary. 1679. (Superior.)
Granger's (Tho.) Commentary. 1621.
Greenway's New trans. and notes. 1781.
Hamilton's (Jas.) Lectures on E. 1851.
Hengstenberg's Com. Tr. by D. W Simon. 1859.
Hodgson's New Trans. and notes. 1791.
Holden's (G.) Attempt to illustrate the Eccl. 1822. ("The best."—Horne.)
Jermin's (M.) Commentary. 1639.
McDonald's (James) Exposition. 1793.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 9:173, 417.
Milne's Christian's daily walk. 1859.
Nisbit's Expos. and practical observ. 1694.
Preston's Hebrew text, with Latin version. 1845.
Princeton Review. 29:419.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Commentary. 1669. (Prized for its practical observations.)
——— Revised by Washburn. 1811.
Stuart's (Moses) Commentary. 1840.
Wardlaw's (R.) Lectures on Eccles. 1821.
Weis' New trans. and Exposition. 1857.
Young's (L.) Commentary. 1865.

SOLOMON'S SONG.

Cyprian, Gregory Nys., Ambrose.

Bauermeisteri Commentarius. 1828.
Bezæ Adnotationes. 1600.
Blaubach's Uebersetzt. u Erläuterung. 1855.
Bossuet, Canticum canticorum. 1695.

Commentators.

Brightmanni Analysis et Scholia. 1614.
Delitzsch's Untersücht und Ausgelegt. 1851.
Du Viel, Explicatio literalis: ex ipsis scripturam fontibus, Ebræorum ritibus, et idiomatis, veterum et recentiorum monumentis eruta. 1679.
Gerson (John.), Opusculum. 1420.
Hahn's Uebersetzt. und Erklärt. 1852.
Hengstenberg, Hohelied Sal. Ausgel. 1853.
Keri Cantici Salom. paraph. gemina. 1727.
Kistemakeri Illustratio. 1818.
Lowth, Prelectiones.
McPherson's Cant. Canticorum structura architectonica. 1857.
Magnus' Bearbeitung und Erklärung. 1842.
Markii Analysis et Comm. 1703.
Meinhold's Hohe Lied Salomo's. 1855.
Michaelis (J. H.) Adnotationes. 1720.
Paul, Etude sur le Cantique des Cantiques.
Sanchez, Annotationes criticæ. 1619.
Scheidii Diss. philologico-exegetica. 1670.
Sennerti Notæ philologicæ. 1671.
Thomæ Aquinatis Commentarium. 1520.
Titmanni Meletemata Sacra. 1816.
Uhlemanni Versio Latina et Com. 1821.
Weseneri (or Gebhard) Explicatio. 1624.
Weissbach's Erklärt, Uebersetzung. u. Dargestellung. 1858.

Brown's (Alex. W.) Discourses on Solomon's Song. 1848.
Burrowes' (George) Commentary. 1850.
Cole (J. W.) on the Prophecies. 1830.
Collings on the Intercourse of divine love between Christ and his Church. 1652.
Cotton's (Jno.) Explication. 1645. (Makes it describe the condition of the Church in all ages.)
Dathe's Philological and crit. notes. 1750.
Davidson's (Will.) Examination. 1817.
Durham's (James) Clavis Cantica. 1668. (Preface by John Owen.)
Gill's (John) Lectures on Sol. Song. 1728.
Good's (J. M.) Sacred Idyls. 1803. (Elegant.)
Guild's Lamb and his Bride. 1658.
Hall's (Joseph) Paraphrase. 1600.
Hammond's (Henry) Paraphrase. 1653.
Harmer's New commentary. 1768. (Drawn from accounts of Eastern nations.)
Hildersham's Paraphrase. 1672.
James' Exposition. (Extracts from the Fathers.)
Knolly's (Hansard) Exposition. 1656.
Krummacher's Solomon and the Shulamite. 1838.
Leigh's Annotations. 1657.
Lowth's Prelections. 1770.
Neale's (J. M.) Sermons on the Canticles. 1857.
Princeton Review. 21:503. 26:1.
Sibbs' (Rich.) Twenty sermons. 1641.
Stuart's (A. Moody) Exposition. 1857.
Taylor's (Charles) Holy Minstrel. 1820.
Whiston's Essay for restoring the canon. 1745. (Appendix.)

Commentators.

Williams' Translat., Commentary, and notes. 1800.
Withington's Commentary. 1860.

THE PROPHETS.

Hamakeri Commentaria. 1833. (Dwells at length on the birthplace, life, &c., of each prophet.)
Hitzig's Prophetisch. Bücher d. Alten Test. 1835.
Œcolampadii Commentaria. 1538.
Tossarii Paraphrases. (The author's real name was J. Sartorius. Other Reformed writers used assumed names to escape persecution.)
Van Till, Commentaria. 1744.
Venemæ (Hermann.) Lectiones Academicæ.

Guild's Harmony of all the prophets. 1649.
Horsley's First 9 prophetical books. 1800.
Lowth's (Wm.) Commentary. 1730.
Mayer's (Jno.) Commen. on all the prophets. 1652. (Examines divers translations and criticisms; ancient and modern.)
Noyes' Translation and chron. arrangement. 1831.
Smith's (John) Summary View. 1787. (A very convenient abstract from Lowth, Newcombe, Newton, Kennicott, and Blaney.)

ISAIAH.

Ambrose, Bazil.

Bossuet, Explication. 1704.
Bullingeri Homiliæ. 1570.
Caspar's Einleitung in I. 1848.
Doderlini Esaias; ex recensione textus Heb. 1789. ("Profound and elegant."—Rosenmuller.)
Drechler's Uebersetzung u. Erklärt. 1856.
Gesenius' Uebersetzt. mit comm. 1821.
Glassii Onomatologia Messiæ proph. 1648.
Gualtheri Sermones. 1583.
Heilbrunneri Commentaria. 1590.
Hendewerk, des Proph. I. chronol. geordnet übersetzung und Erklärung. 1838.
Heshusii Commentarius. 1617.
Hitzig's Uebersetzung und Ausgelegt. 1830.
Leighii Commentarius. 1727.
Markii Analysis Exegetica. 1720.
Meier's I. Erklärt. 1850.
Montani (Ariæ) Commentaria. 1599.
Œcolampadii Hypomnemeta. 1525.
Rambach's Gründliche Erklärung. 1741.
Sanctii Comm. cum Paraph. 1615.
Schellingii Animadversiones. 1799. (Only on the difficult passages.)
Varenii Comm. ex Concilio fontum; contra Judæos, Hæreticos, et Exorbitantes. 1708.
Vitringa (C.) Com. cum Prolegomenis. 1720. ("He has left all other interpreters of Isaiah far behind."—Rosenmuller.)
Zuinglii Explanatio cum Apologia. 1529.

Alexander's (J. A.) New Trans. and Expos. 1850.
Amer. Biblical Repos. 1:700.
Barnes' (Albert) Notes. 1855.
Calvin's Com. on I. Tr. by Cotton. 1609.
Dimock's Crit. and explan. notes. 1804.
Dodson's Tr. and notes. 1790. (Unitarian.)
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 9:285. (Review of Henderson.)
Frazier's Paraphrase and notes. 1800.
Gataker's Annotations. 1630. (All his writings are of eminent value.)
Govett's Expos. with new version. 1841.
Henderson's New Trans. and Comm. 1840.
Holden's (L.) Notes; critical, historical, and practical. 1776.
Jackson's Annotations. 1682.
Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature. 6:346. (On Jewish Commentators.)
Lowth's New translation and notes. 1730.
McCulloch's Lectures. 1791. (An Epitome of Vitringa.)
Princeton Review. 2:153. (On the genuineness.)
Stock's Isaiah; with the Hebrew, new translation, and notes. 1803.
Strache's Hebrew politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib, &c. 1853.
Theological and Literary Journal. 1:544. 2:1, 222, 402, 633. 3:60, 287, 384, 595.
White's Commentary. 1709. (Valuable notes on geography, history, &c.)
Williams' (Wm.) Commentary on I. 1858.
Durham's (Jas.) 72 Sermons on Ch. 53. 1650.
Hambleton's (John) Sermons. " " 1831.
Harris' (S.) Com. (Curious.) " " 1739.
McDonough's 24 Lectures. " " 1858.
Margoliouth's Lectures. " " 1846.
Milman's Devotional Expos. " " 1853.
Storr's Lectures. " "
Stewart's (J. H.) Lectures. " 55. 1846.

JEREMIAH.

Ambrose.

Altingii Commentaria. 1688.
Broughtoni Commentarius. 1606.
Bullengeri Conciones. 1575.
Catena Patrum Græcorum et Latinorum, Chislerii. 1623.
Erdmanni Curæ Exigeticæ. 1818.
Gaab's (J. F.) Erklärung, &c. 1824.
Kueper Interpretatio atque vindicatio. 1838.
Movers, de utriusque recensionis Vaticinior. Jeremiæ, Græcæ, Alexandrinæ, et Hebraicæ, Masoreticæ, indole, et origine, Com. Crit.
Œcolampadii Commentarius. 1533.
Schleusneri Dissertationes tres. 1800.
Schmidii (Sebastian.) Commentarius. 1685. ("The best of all the Expositions of this book"—Walch.)
Spohn, Jeremias Vates. 1833.
Wiedenfeld's Jeremiah's Klagelieder. 1820.
Zuinglii Complanatio. 1531.

Bullinger's Twenty-six Sermons on J. 1575.
Dimock's Critical Notes. 1804.
Gataker's Annotations. 1630.
Lowth's Commentary. 1718.

LAMENTATIONS.

Bugenhagii Adnotationes. 1546.
Kalkari Illustrationes crit. et exeget. 1836.
Lessingii Observationes. 1770.
Œcolampadii Ennarrationes. 1533.
Schnurreri Diss. philol. critica. 1795.

Gataker's Annotations. 1633.
Henderson's (E.) New translat., with critical and exegetical notes. 1850.
Hull's Exposition by way of Lectures. 1618.
Lowth's Commentary. 1718.
Jewell's (Jos.) Contemplative Glance, &c. 1823.
Topsel's Commentary. 1615.
Udall's Commentary. 1637.

EZEKIEL.

Gregory Naz.

Greenhill, Expositio. 1660. (Doctrinal. One of the most celebrated of the Puritan divines.)
Havernick's Commentar. 1843.
Heilbrunneri Ezech. proph. in locos communes theologicos digesta. 1587.
Polani Analysis et Comment. 1608.
Pradi et Villipandi Explicatio. 1596. ("The best comment. on Ezekiel ever written."—Horne.)
Starkii Commentarius. 1731.
Strigelii Ezech. ad Ebraicam veritatem recognitus. 1572.
Venema (H.) Lectiones Academicæ. 1790.

Dimock's Critical notes. 1804.
Fairbairn's (Patrick) Exposition. 1851.
Greenhill's (W.) Exposition. 1645.
———— ———— Revised by J. Sherman. 1846.
Guthrie's (Tho.) Discourses on Ezek. 1855.
Henderson's Critical and exegetical comm. 1855.
McFarlan on the Prophecies of Ezek. 1845.
Newcombe's Improved version, metrical arrangement, and exposition. 1788.
Bennett's Temple of Ezek. (Com. on chap. 40, 41, 42.) 1824.
Mead's (Matt.) Vision of the wheels. 1689.

MINOR PROPHETS. See PROPHETS.

Cyril Alex.

Abarbanel, Commentarius. (Jewish.) 1480.
Ackermani Proph. minores illustrati. 1830.
Bahrdt, Apparatus criticus. 1775. (Makes great use of the Septuagint, and Oriental versions.)
Burkii Gnomon. 1753.
Cocceii Commentarius. 1701.

Credneri Comment. Proph. minor. versionis Syriacæ indole.
Dahl (J. C. G.) Observationes philologicæ. 1798.
Danæi Commentarius. 1586.
Du Viel, Explicat. literalis ex scriptor. ipsis fontibus. 1680. (Lauded by Calmet.)
Fabricii (Steph.) Sacræ Conciones. 1641.
Heilbrunneri Loci communes. 1603.
Kalinsky, Illustratio. 1748. (Recommended by Bp. Watson.)
Lively, Adnot. 1587. (Extolled by Poole.)
Lyseri Prelectiones Academicæ. 1709.
Marckii Annot. et Analysis exegetica. 1704.
Merceri Commentarii. 1573. (A work of vast erudition in regard to Hebrew usages, idioms, &c. It recites the comments of Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Jarchi, and other Rabbis.)
Schmidii (Joan.) Commentaria. 1585.
Schroeder, die Kleinen propheten. 1829.
Strigelii Argumenta et Scholia. 1572.
Thuani Exp. 1604. (Approved by Rosenmuller.)
Croft's (G.) Sermons on the Minor P. 1811.
Danæus' (or Daneau) Commentary. Trans. by Stockwood. 1594.
Dimock's Critical and explanatory remarks. 1804.
Du Viel's Literal Exposition. 1680.
Henderson's New Trans. and Comm. 1845.
Hutcheson's (Geo.) Exposition. 1654. Preface by Calamy. (Strongly commended by Orme and Williams.)
Lowth on the Minor prophets. 1726.
Pocock's Commentary. 1659.
Pusey's (E. B.) Commentary. 1861.
Stokes on the Minor Prophets. 1659.
Wells' Help to the understanding, &c. 1723.

DANIEL

See DANIEL, PERIOD OF 1260 YEARS, SEVENTY WEEKS.

Ambrose, Cyril.

Alstedii Trifolium propheticum. 1640.
Bertholdt's Einleitung mit Einigen, Hist. und exeget. Excursen. 1808.
Brightmani Exp. partis difficilimæ. 1640.
Bullengeri Commentaria. 1575.
Geieri Prelectiones Academicæ. 1608.
Gesneri Dissertationes, et prefatio Chronol. 1601.
Havernich Ueber das Buch Daniel. 1836.
Heilbrunneri Loci communes. 1587.
Lengerke's Verdeutscht u. Ausgelegt. 1835.
Mendelii Commentaria. 1805.
Michaelis (J. D.) Epistolæ. 1773.
Michaelis (J. H.) Adnotationes philologicæ-exegeticæ. 1745.
Schröder (J. F.) Die kleineren Propheten. 1829.
Suaningii Commentaria. 1554.
Venemæ Dissertatioues. 1754.
Wigandi Explicatio. 1564.

Auberlen's Mutual relation of Daniel and John. Tr. by A. Saphir. 1856.
Barnes' (Albert) Notes, &c. 1855.
Birks' Four prophetic Empires. 1845.
Brightman's Disquisitions. 1644.
Broughton's Daniel's visions. 1619.
Chandler's Antiquity, authority, &c. 1728.
Chauncey's (Isaac) Essay on D. prophecy. 1699.
Christian Review. 7:1.
Cox's (F. A.) Lectures on Daniel. 1833.
Crosthwaite's Lectures on Daniel. 1863.
Cumming's (John) Lectures on D. 1854.
Darby's Studies on the book of D. 1848.
Desprez's Apocalypse of the O. Test. 1865.
Dublin University Mag. 25:612. 27:497.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 15:53.
Folsom's Crit. and histor. interpret. 1842.
Frere's Combined view of Esdras, Daniel, and John. 1815.
Gaussen on the Book of Daniel. 1850.
Girdlestone's Observations. 1820.
Havernick's Critical Commentary. 1833.
Hengstenberg on Daniel and Zachariah. Translated by J. E. Ryland. 1847.
Holmes on the Apocalypse and Daniel. 1819.
Huit's Commen., Analysis, and Paraphrase. 1643.
Irving's (Edward) Babylon and infidelity doomed. 1826.
Joy's Exposition. 1855. (Gathered out of Melancthon, Œcolampadius, Pellican, and others.)
Literary and Theological Journal. 3:352.
Miles' (C. P.) Lectures on Daniel. 1841.
More's (Henry) Plain Exposition. 1681.
New Englander. 1:231.
Newton's (Sir I.) Observations on D. 1723.
Parker's (T.) Visions and prophecies of D. 1646.
Parker's (F.) Light thrown upon Thucydides. 1866.
Pemble's Remarks on difficult passages in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel. 1659.
Pusey's Lectures on Daniel. 1864.
Roos' (M. F.) Exp. of such of the prophecies of D. as received their accomplishment under the New Testament.
Stephens' Proph. of Dan. and John. 1861.
Stuart's (Moses) Commentary. 1850
Tregelles's Visions of Daniel. 1840.
Tyro's Exp. of D. and the Revelation. 1838.
Venema's Diss. on various portions. 1768.
Walter's Genuineness of the bk. of D. 1863.
Wells' Help for the understanding of Daniel. 1716. (Gr. text, trans. paraph. and notes.)
Willet's Hexapla. 1610. (Much praised.)
Wilson's Dissertations on Daniel. 1824.
Brightman (Tho.) on the 12th ch.
Downame's (John) Lectures. 1630. (On the first 4 ch.)
Hawkins' (John) on the 2d chapter. 1833.
Wodrow on the 8th and following ch. 1844.

Commentators.

HOSEA.

Cyril Alex.
Abarbanel, Commentaria. 1687.
Burmanni Commentaria. 1718.
Goldwitzer's Anmerkungen. 1828.
Krackewitzii Commentarius. 1619.
Kuinoel, Hosea; Hebr. et Latin. 1792.
Meisneri Commentaria. 1620.
Merceri Commentaria. 1575. (Gives the com. of Kimchi, Aben Ezra, and Salomon Jarchi.)
Œcolampadii Adnotationes. 1529.
Shroeder's (J. G.) Anmerkungen, &c. 1782.
Stuckii Hoseas Propheta. 1828.
Vonderhardt, Comm. 1702. (Drawn from the Chaldee version, and distinguished Rabbins.)
Burrough's (Jer.) Exposition. 1643.
Drake's Notes; critical and exposit. 1853.
Neale's (W H.) Commen. on Hosea. 1850.
Neale's (James) New translation and Comment. 1771. (A much improved edition. 1850.)
Princeton Review. 31:74.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Lightfoot on the first 4 chapters. 1684.
Downame on the first 4 chapters. 1608.
Reynolds (Bp.) on the 14th chapter. 1649.
Pierce (S. E.) " " " " 1822.
Sibbs (Rich.) " " " " 1639.
Marguliouth " " " " 1854.

JOEL.

Baueri Interpretatio. 1742.
Burmanni Commentaria. 1671.
Credner's Uebersetzt. und Erklärt. 1831.
Draconitis Comm. 1565. (With the Chaldee, Greek, and German versions.)
Grimm, Notæ Philologicæ. 1805.
Meyer's (E.) Uebersetzt. u. Erklärt. 1841.
Olshausen's die Weissagung. des J. 1829.
Pocockii Commentaria. 1705.
Rutger's (A.) Annotationes. 1830.
Svanborgii Versio Lat. cum notis, &c. 1806.
Chandler's (Sam.) Paraph. and critical com. 1735.
Pocock's Commentary on Joel. 1691.
Topsel's Commentary. 1613.

AMOS.

Dahl's Uebersetzt und Erläutert. 1795.
Gerhardi Adnotationes. 1663.
Harenburgii Amos Expositus. 1763.
Juynboll, Disputationes Academicæ. 1828
Chandler's (Sam.) Paraph. and notes. 1735.
Drake's (W.) Sermons. 1853.
Goodman's Commentary. 1560.
Ryan's (Bp.) Expository Lectures. 1850.
Benefield's 21 Sermons on Chap. 1. 1613.
——— 21 Sermons on " 2. 1620.
——— Commentary on " 3. 1629.
Hall's (Tho.) Exposit. of chap. 4 to 9. 1661.

Commentators.

OBADIAH.

Crocii Specimen philologicum. (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic.)
Gesneri Commentarius. 1618.
Grynæi Commentarius. 1584.
Hendewerkii Com. et transl. Latina. 1835.
Jäger über das Zeitalter Obadias. 1837.
Kœnigii Dissertationes Theologicæ. 1647.
Leighii Commentaria. 1697.
Leusdeni Obadias; Ebraice et Chaldaice. 1656.
Pfeifferi Comment. cum versione Latina, et examen com. Aberbanelis. 1670.
Ellis' Commentary. 1660.
Marbury's Commentary. 1649.
Pilkington's (Jas.) Commentary. 1558.
Raynold's (John) Commentary. 1613.

JONAH. See JONAH.

Bircherodii Expos. liter. et exegetica. 1686.
Bugenhagii Expositio. 1561.
Forbigeri Prolusio de Lycophr. Cassandra cum epinetro de Jona. 1827.
Grimm, Jonas Oracula Syriaca, cum notis philolog. et crit. 1805.
Jäger's Sittlichreligiosen Endzweck. 1840.
Lavater's Predigten ueber d. Buch. J. 1775.
Mylii Com. grammatico-critica. 1640.
Pfeifferi Prelectiones. 1670.
Ursini Com. ex optimis interpretibus. 1580.
Abbott's (Abp.) Expos. 1600. Reprinted 1845.
Broad's (John) Lectures on Jonah. 1860.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Lectures on J. 1815.
Desprez's Book of Jonah; illustrated by discoveries at Nineveh. 1859.
Drake's Notes; critical and explan. 1853.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 20:217.
Edwards' (Henry) Exposition. 1837.
Fairbairn on Jonah. 1855.
Harding's Expos. lectures on Jonah. 1855.
Hooper's Oversighte and deliberacion vppon Jonas. 1550. (Pub. by the Parker Soc.)
King's (John) Lectures on Jonah. 1600.
Macpherson's Lectures on Jonah. 1849.
Peddie's Practical Exposition. 1842.
Preston's (M. M.) Lectures on Jonah. 1840.
Sibthorp's (R. W.) Pulpit Recollections. 1835.
Southern Quart. Review. 22:505.
Young's (G.) Lectures on Jonah. 1819.

MICAH.

Chytræi Commentarius. 1565.
Draconitis Explicatio—cum translationibus Chaldaica, Græca, Latina, et Germanica. 1565.
Graveri Explicatio. 1664.
Hartman's neu Ueberset. und Erläut. 1800.
Justi's Uebersetzung u. Erläuterung. 1799.
Gilby on the Prophecy of Micah. 1591.
Pocock's (Edward) Works. 1680.

NAHUM.

Abarbanel, in Nahum. 1703.
Bibliandri Translatio et Exegesis. 1534.
Capelli (Lud.) Observationes. 1689.
Chytræi Commentarius. 1565.
Hafenrefferi Commentarius. 1663.
Kalinsky, Vaticinia N. illustrata. 1748.
Kreeneri Expos. 1808. (Able criticism.)
Middledorpf's Uebersetz. u. Anmerk. 1808.
Ursini Hypomnemeta. 1652.
Van Hœke, Explicatio. 1709.
Wildii Meditationes. 1712.

HABAKKUK.

Abichtii (Joann. Geo.) Adnotationes. 1732.
Capitonis Enarrationes. 1526.
Garthii (Helvici) Commentarius. 1605.
Haenlein Symbolæ Criticæ. 1795.
Kalinsky, Vaticinia Chabacuci illus. 1748.
Ranitzii Introductio. 1808.
Scheltingi Com. philol.-theologica. 1747.
Stickel Prolusio ad interpret. tertii capitis. 1827.
Van Hœke, Explicatio analytica. 1709.
Wolf's (A. A.) Uebersetz. u. krit. com. 1822.

Attersoll on Habakkuk. 1614.
Marbury's Commentary. 1650. ("Full of matter."—BICKERSTETH.)

ZEPHANIAH.

Buceri Commentarius. 1528.
Gebhardi Z. a Abarbanel. et al. vind. 1701.
Lareni Tuba Tsephaniæ. 1653.
Nolteni Com. cum Prolegomenis. 1724.
Selnecceri Ausleg. üb. d. Sophoniam. 1566.
Van Hœke, Explicatio Analytica. 1709.

HAGGAI.

Draconitis Versio Latina et explic. 1549.
Grynæi (Jo. Jacob.) Commentarius. 1580.
Merceri Scholia et Versio. 1551.
Reinbeckii Exercitationes. 1692.
Scheibelii Observ. crit. et exeget. 1822.
Tarnovii Commentaria. 1624.
Uhlandi Dissertatio exegetica. 1784.
Varenii Trifolium propheticum. 1662.
Wokenii Adnotationes exegeticæ. 1719.

Grynæus' Com. Tr. by Featherstone. 1600.
Moore's Prophets of the Restoration. 1855.
Pemble's Exposition. 1640.
Pilkington's Exp. 1560. (Parker Soc. 1842.)
Rainolds' Prophecy of Haggai. 1649.

ZECHARIAH.

Andalæ Dissertationes in præcipua Zachariæ dicta. 1720.
Balduini Commentarius. 1610.
Bieamani Commentatio. 1699.
Burges, Etudes exegetiques et crit. 1841.
Dorschæi Synopsis Theol. Zach. 1637.
Draconites Zacharias, cum translationibus Chaldaica, Græca, Latina, ac Germanica. 1564.
Forbergii Com. critica et exegetica. 1824.
Koesteri Meletemata crit. et exeget. 1818.
Reinbeckii Exercitationes. 1694.
Tarnovii Commentaria. 1636.
Van Hœke, Explicatio Analytica. 1711.
Varenii Trifolium propheticum. 1664.
Vitringæ Commentarius. 1734.

Blaney's New translation and notes. 1797.
Hengstenberg's Com. Tr. by Ryland. 1847.
Kimchi's Com. Trans. by McCaul. 1837.
Moore's Prophets of the restoration. 1855.
Park's Controv. with a Jewish Rabbi. 1832.
Raynolds on Zachariah. 1640.
Stonard's Com. and corrected trans. 1824.
Venn's Mistakes in religion exposed. 1807.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Lectures on Z. 1861.

MALACHI.

Balduini Commentarius. 1610.
Bohlii Disputationes et Explicationes; cum commentariis Rabbinorum. 1637.
Draconitis Explic. cum Vers. Chaldæa. 1564.
Reinke's Einleitung, Grundtext, u. Ueberset.
Tarnovii Commentaria. 1624.
Ursini Hypomnemeta. 1670.
Van Hœke, Explicatio Analytica. 1709.
Van Till, Commentaria analytica. 1701.
Varenii Trifolium propheticum. 1663.
Venemæ (H.) Commentarius. 1759.
Vitringæ Observationes sac. Lib. iv. 1734.

Moore's Prophets of the Restoration. 1855.
Pocock's Works. 1667.
Schlatter's Exposition and notes. 1650.
Stock's (Richard) Commentary. 1641.
Torshell's Exercitationes. 1641.

New Testament. See ANALYSES, HERMENEUTICS, INTRODUCTIONS.

Alberti Observ. philologicæ. 1725. (Illustrates the style and meaning of New Test. writers, from the Greek classics.)
Altmani Observ. philol.-criticæ. 1753.
Baumgarten Crusii, Commentar. 1817.
Beausobre, Remarques historiques, critiques, et philologiques. 1742.
Bedæ Catenena Græca. 1520.
Bengel's Gnomon. 1734. (Invaluable.)
Bezæ Annotationes. 1565.
Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum. 1656. (Socinian. Abounds in good criticisms.)
Bos, Observationes. 1710. (Excellent.)
Bullingeri Commentaria. 1554.
Calvini Comm. 1670? Curavit et prefatus est a Tholuck. 1834. ("Of expositors, I know none to be compared with Calvin." —WOTTON.)
Cameronis Myrothecium. 1632. (Observations on select passages.)
Carpzovii Commentaria critica. 1758.

Commentators.

Cartwright, Commentaria practica. 1630.
Cassauboni Adnotationes. 1660.
Castelii Adnotationes. 1667.
Crameri Catenæ Græc. patrum in N. Test. 1844.
Crellii Opera Exegetica. 1656. (Socinian.)
Crome's Beiträge zur Erklärung. 1828.
Doughty, Analecta Sacra. 1658.
Du Viel, Explicatio literalis. 1672. (In actis eruditor. Du V was a learned Baptist convert from Popery. His comm. is eminently valuable, and is reprinted by the Hansard Knollys Society.)
Elsneri Observationes sacræ. 1720.
Erasmi Paraph. et Annotationes. 1516. (In 1546, the clergy of England were enjoined to procure the New Testament, and the paraphrase of Erasmus, "for their better instruction;" and in 1550, the work was ordered to be set up in all the churches, "that the common people might read it.")
Ernesti Institutio Interpretis. 1780.
Fabricii Observationes Selectæ. 1712.
Flaccii Glossa compendaria. 1580.
Fritzche's Commentar. 1830. (Prolix.)
Gebseri Explicatio e Zend-Avesta. 1824.
Griesbachii Com. critica in textum. 1798.
Gualtperi Sylloge vocum exoticarum.
Heinsii Exercitationes Sacræ. 1639.
Hengelii Annotationes. 1824.
Heuman's Erklärung. 1750.
Hunnii Thesaurus Evangelicus. 1600.
Keuchenii Adnotat. 1755. (Philological.)
Knatchbul, Animadversiones. 1693.
Koppii Annotationes. 1738. (Reprinted 1818 and 1832, in 10 vols., 8vo.)
Krebsii Observationes ex Flav. Josepho. 1755.
Kypke, Observationes. 1755. ("Nothing of the kind superior."—MICHAELIS.)
Lightfoot, Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ. 1684. ("Held in the highest esteem."—HORNE.)
Loesneri Observationes. 1777. (Useful collection of parallel passages.)
Lyræ Glossa ordinaria. 1507. (A book regarded as having no small part in bringing on the Reformation. "Lyra's lyre woke Luther's dance.")
Marlorati Expositio Catholica. 1605. (Contains the Latin version of Erasmus, and a synopsis of the expositions of numerous great Protestants.)
Meuschen, N. Test. ex Talmude. et antiquit. Hebr. illustrat. 1736. (Highly esteemed.)
Meyer's (H. A. W.) Critisch exegetischer Com. 1856. (The Greek text, new German translation, and Commentary.)
Michælis Notæ Criticæ. 1706.
Montani (Bened. A.) Elucidationes. 1575.
Mori Prelectiones. 1661. (Philological.)
Olshausen's Commentar fur prediger. 1833.
Ottii Spicelegium ex F. Josepho. 1741.
Palairet Obs. philologico-criticæ. 1752.

Commentators.

Priscæi Comm. 1660. (From the Fathers.)
Quesnel, le N. T. avec Reflexions. 1693.
Reiche, Com. crit. 1856. (On the difficult passages.)
Rosenmulleri (J. G.) Scholia. 1805.
Scaligeri (Jos.) Notæ. 1545.
Schmidii (Seb.) Animadversiones; cum versione nova. 1658. ("Greatest of all biblical commentators."—WALCH.)
Schoetgenii Horæ Ebraicæ et Talmudicæ. 1742.
Schottii Isagoge historico-critica. 1830. (A very valuable supplement to Lightfoot.)
Schulteti Paraph. et Annot. grammaticæ, historicæ, logicæ, et theologicæ. 1720.
Simon, Hist. crit. et principaux Comment. 1689.
Slichtingii Commentaria. 1656.
Spangenbergii Tabulæ Concionaturis. 1560.
Storr (G. C.), Dissertationes exegeticæ. 1790.
——— Notitiæ historicæ. 1788.
Tholuck, Expositio. 1831.
Valckenarii Scholia. 1780.
Valpy, Notæ theologicæ et philol. 1816.
Walchii (J. G.) Observationes. 1727.
Wetsteinii Prolegomena. 1751.
Winkleri (J. D.) Hypomnemeta. 1745.
Wolfii Curæ criticæ. 1741.
Zwinglii Adnotationes. 1526.

Ainsworth's Commentary. 1600.
Alford's Greek Testam. (Revised version, various readings, prolegomena, references, and comment. A very important work.)
Ash's Notes and comments. 1849.
Ashton's Christian Expositor. 1774.
Barnes' (A.) Notes. 1855. (For Youth.)
Baxter's Paraphrase and notes. 1685.
Bengel's Gnomon. 1747. Tr. by Badinel.
Bliss' (Geo.) Explanatory notes. 1832.
Bloomfield's Greek text, with English notes. 1841.
——— Synoptica. 1826. (A critical digest of numerous eminent works, especially Wetstein's exegetical remarks. Almost necessary to a Bible student.)
Bowyer's Critical conjectures and observations. 1782. (Selected from Barrington, Gosset, Shultz, Markland, and others. "The best that can be said of these observations is that they are often ingenious." —ORME. The work was edited, with notes, by Bp. Barrington. 1815.)
Boyse's Expos. 1827. (For family use.)
Bruce's (Wm.) Commentary. 1838.
Cartwright's (Thomas) Annotations. 1618. (Confutes the Rhemish translation.)
Chapman's Critical and explanatory notes.
Churton & Jones' Expos. (Plates.) 1865.
Crosby's (Howard) Notes and Scholia. 1862. (On the surface difficulties of the text.)
Dalton's (Wm.) Commentary. 1838.
Davidson's Pocket Commentary. 1834.

Commentators.

Doddridge's Family Expos. 1738. ("Doddridge is my favorite among divines."—Robt. Hall.)
Gillie's N. Test., with devotional reflections. 1790. (For family use.)
Gilpin's (W.) Exposition. 1804.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Commentary. 1836.
Guyse's Paraphrase. 1745. (Unimportant.)
Hammond's Paraphrase and Notes. 1659.
Heylin's Lectures. 1760.
Hinchcliff's Studies of the N. T. 1843.
Kenrick's Exposition. 1807. (Unitarian.)
Keyworth's Expositor. 1825. (For family worship. Commended by Dr. Waugh.)
Knatchbull's Annotations. 1693.
Leigh's Annotations. 1650. (Translated into Latin and German.)
Lindsey's N. T. compared with the original, and the several English translations. 1736.
Longhurst's Companion to the N. T.
Mayer's (John) Comm. 1631. (Formerly thought to be the best, next to Trapp.)
Moody's Exposition; with notes and translations. 1846.
Olshausen's Com. 1851. Trans. by Brown.
——— —— Tr. by Loewe: with notes.
Penn's (Granville) New translation; with preface and notes. 1838.
Perrin's Book of the New Covenant. (Revision of the Greek text, and new transl.)
Platt's Self-interpreting N. Testam. 1827. (Thousands of various readings, and parallel passages; collected from approved critics.)
Quesnell's Reflections on each verse. 1720.
Scott's (Wm.) N. T. illustrated. (Corrections of the text, and notes, from various authors.)
Sharp's (Sam.) Critical notes. 1856.
Simon's Crit. Hist. of the principal commentators. 1695. Trans. by Webster.
Stanhope's Paraphrase and Comm. 1751.
Sumner's (Abp.) Practical Expos. 1837.
Tholuck's Com. Trans. by Kaufman. 1837.
Townsend's Chronological arrangement and notes. 1838.
Trollope's Analecta. 1834. (Critical and philological; digested from the best authors.)
Turnbull's (Joseph) Notes, &c. 1854.
Valpy's Gr. Test. with Eng. notes. 1810.
Wesley's (John) Explanatory notes. 1764.
Weston's (W.) Critical Conjectures. 1748.
Whitby's Paraphrase and Comment. 1703.
Wilson's Explan. of the New Testam. by the early Fathers, &c. 1797. (New edition, 1838.)
Wynne's New Testament collated with the Greek; with notes. 1764.

FOUR EVANGELISTS. See DURATION OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY, HARMONIES, MONOTESSARON.

Basil, Theophylact.

Commentators.

Alexandri Expos. literalis et moralis. 1707.
Baumgarten's (L. F. O.) Commentar. 1846.
Boisii Veteris interpretatio cum Beza, aliis, collatio. 1855. ("Exquisite criticism."—Todd.)
Buceri Interpretatio. 1554.
Catena aurea: Thomæ Aquinatis. 1474.
Chemnitii Harmonia Evangelica. 1600. (A commentary as well as Harmony. "I am beholden every way to Chemnitius."—Leigh.)
Crameri Catena Græcorum patrum. 1838.
Dorchæi Com., Analysis, &c. 1706.
Ewald's (H.) Uebersetzt. u. Erklärt. 1850.
Gualtheri Archetypi Homiliarum. 160[illegible].
Himmelii Postilla in Evang. 1650.
Hoffmani Demonstratio Evangelium. 1773. ("Learned and judicious."—Orme.)
Lucæ (De Bruges) Commentaria. 1606.
Lyseri Paraph. et Commentaria. 1590.
Olearii Observationes Sacræ. 1743.
Russworm's Untersuchung über den Ursprung, &c. 1797.
Saa (or De Sas) Scholia. 1596. (Often reprinted.)
Sandii Interp. paradoxæ IV. Evang. 1670.
Sarcerii Scholia. 1538. (Many editions.)
Schulteti Exercit. 1624. (Philological.)
Thomæ (Aquin.) Glossa continua. 1260.
Tischendorfii Synopsis, ordine chronologico, cum commentario.
Wallæi Com. ex antiq. illustrata. 1653.
Wichelhaus' Kommentar. 1855.

Adams' (Tho.) Exposition. 1805 and 1837. ("Holy and solid."—Bp. Wilson.)
Bickersteth's Practical reflections on the plan of a harmony. 1841. (Selections from various expositors.)
Birk's (T. R.) Horæ Evangelicæ. 1852. (Structure, design, &c., of the gospels.)
Bland's (M.) Annotations. 1829. (A compilation from the best old authors.)
Boucher's Manna in the house. 1853. (Daily meditations.)
Calvin's Com. 1584. Tr. by E. Paget.
Campbell's (Geo.) Trans. and lectures. 1789.
Clarke's (Sam.) Paraphrase and notes. 1741.
Cotton's (Archdeacon) Notes. 1857.
Ebrard's Gospel History.
Elsley's Annotations. 1812. (Vehemently praised in the British Critic. Revised and reprinted by Walker. 1844.)
Ford's Gospels illustrated from ancient and modern authors.
Gillies' Spirit of the Gospels. 1818. (Pious.)
Harcourt's 193 Lectures on the Gospels harmonized. 1851.
Jacobus' Critical and explan. notes. 1849.
Jones' (John) Illustrat. 1808. (Unitarian.)
Jowett's Christian Visitor. 1838.
Juke's Characteristic differences of the four gospels. 1853.
Kenrick's Hist. writings of the N. T. 1807.

Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel history. 1730.
Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ. 1675.
Livermore's (A. H.) Commentary. 1841.
Longking's Crit. and explan. notes. 1853.
Lyttleton's Explanatory notes. 1856.
Macknight's Harmony and Commen. 1763.
Mann's (Bp.) Notes. 1780. (A family book.)
Marlorati's Catena. Tr. by Timme. 1750.
Marsh's Dissertations on the Composition of the Gospels. 1800.
Meyer's Commentary. 1855.
Mempriss' Harmony and Exposition. (An extensive mass of introductions, illustrations, notes, indexes, maps, &c., from the best authors.)
Newman's (J. H.) Catena aurea. 1842.
Pearce's (Bp.) Comm. 1772.
Riddle's British Com. on the Gospels. 1843. (A respectable compilation.)
Ripley's (H. J.) Notes. 1850.
Robinson's Evangelists and the Mishna. 1859.
Smith's (James) Dissertations, and Synopsis of parallel passages. 1853.
Stabback's Annotations. 1809.
Stier's Words of Jesus. Tr. by Pope. 1859.
Strong's (James) Harmony and exposition; with analytical dissertations. 1852.
Sumner's (Abp.) Practical Expos. 1838.
Thomas Aq. Catena aurea. Trans. 1845.
Thompson's (And.) Practical Lectures. 1816.
Thompson's (Robt.) Crit. and explan. Notes. 1811.
Townson's (Tho.) Discourses. (Chiefly discusses the design of each gospel, and the time and place of writing. "A capital performance."—LOWTH.)
Trapp (Joseph) on Difficult passages. 1743.
Westboy's Exposition. 1837. (Experimental.)
Westcott's Histor. and explan. notes. 1861.
Wheedon's Commentary. 1862.
Williams (Isaac) on the Study of the Gospels. 1842.
Wilson's (John) Key to the critical reading of the Gospels.

MATTHEW. See MATTHEW.

Ambrose, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Hilary.

Crucigeri Enarrationes. 1540.
Gomari Selectorum loc. explicatio. 1631.
Gratz's Krit.-historischer Com. 1823.
Hegendorfii Enarrationes. 1624.
Kirstenii Notæ; ex collatione textum Arabicorum, Ægyptiacum, Syriac., Ebraicum, Græc., Lat., &c. 1620.
Meisneri (J.) Exercitationes. 1654.
Melancthon's Annotationes.
Munsteri (Seb.) Adnotationes. 1540.
Olearii Observationes. 1675.
Pelargi Questiones et Responsiones. 1612.
Pfaffii Notæ Exigeticæ. 1721.
Sauberti Variæ lectiones textus. 1660.
Van Till, Analysis, Notæ, &c. 1687. (Agt. Deists, and nominal Christians.)

Alexander's (J. A.) Exposition. 1860.
Blackmore's Paraphrase and notes. 1705.
Chrysostom's Homilies on M., with notes.
Coglan's Comm. and marginal ref. 1832.
Dunster's Synopsis. 1812.
Ford's Gospel of M. illustrated from ancient and modern authors. 1859.
Goodwin's (H.) Commentary. 1857.
Harte's (W. M.) Lectures on M. 1834.
Jones' (Wm.) Vindication of the former part of M.'s gospel, from Whiston's charge of dislocation. 1719.
Knowles (J. Sheridan) on Matthew. 1855.
Langes' Commentary. 1861.
Lodge's (O.) Lectures on M. 1818.
Nast's Com., critical and doctrinal. 1864.
Overton's (C.) Expository preacher. 1850.
Owen's (John J.) Commentary. 1857.
Penrose's (John) Explan. Lectures. 1832.
Percival's (C. G.) Plain Lectures. 1845.
Porteus' (Bp.) Lectures. 1802.
Scott's (Dan.) New version and notes. 1741. (Corrects some errors of Mill.)
Scrivener's (F. H.) Notes on Matt. 1845. (Critical remarks on the more difficult passages; from the Syriac, Latin, and early English versions.)
Wasse's (W.) Annotations. 1832.
Watson's (Rich.) Exposition. 1799.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Williams (J.) on the authenticity of ch. 1, 2.
Blakeley's lectures on the first 4 ch. 1842.
White's (Tho.) lectures on ch. 4 to 7. 1654.
Blackwood (Chris.) on the first 10 ch. 1659.
Leighton (Abp.) on the first 9 chap. 1660.
Vaughn's Sermons on 11th ch.
Manton on the 25th chapter.

MARK. See MARK.

Danæi Questiones et Scholia. 1594.
Gomari Selectorum loc. illustratio. 1633.
Knobel de Evang. Marci origine. 1831.
Myconii Commentarius. 1538.

Alexander's (Joseph A.) Exposition. 1861.
Bouchier's Manna in the house. 1852.
Bland's (Dr. M.) Annotations. 1828.
Dunster's Synopsis. 1812.
Forshall's Mark arranged in parts; with notes, preface, summaries, &c. 1862.
Owen's (John J.) Commentary. 1857.
Percival's (C. C.) Lectures on M.
Petter's Commentary. 1661. (Spiritual, but spread over 2 vols., folio.)
Watson's (Rich.) Commentary. 1800

LUKE. See LUKE.

Ambrose, Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Naz., Epiphanius, Theodoret.

Agricolæ (Fran.) Commentarius. 1599.

Commentators.

Bornemanni Scholia. 1700. (Philological.)
Corderii Catena Græcorum patrum. 1628.
Lamberti Commentationes. 1524.
Lücke's (F.) Kommentar. 1820.
Oosterzee's Kommentar. 1861.
Planck, Observ. de Lucæ evang. a Schleiermacero proposita. 1819.
Weberi Authentia, &c. 1823.

Cyril's Com. on Luke. Tr. by R. P. Smith. 1859.
Dunster's (C.) Synopsis. 1812. (Date, &c.)
Foote's (J.) Lectures. 1839. ("Very useful." —Bickersteth.)
Major's Interlineary translation and notes. 1826. (A very convenient book.)
Oosterzee's Com. Trans. by Sophia Taylor. 1863.
Ryle's (J. C.) Exposition. 1859.
Schleiermacker's Critical Essay, &c. 1825. (Neological.)
Starck's Commentary. 1866.
Sumner's (Abp.) Exposition. 1839. (Practical.)
Thompson's (James) Lectures on L. 1849. (Highly commended by Kitto.)
Trollope's (W.) Commentary. 1848.

JOHN. See JOHN.

Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex.

Astié, Explication. 1864.
Baumgarten Crusius, Auslegung. 1843.
Bugenhagii Commentarius. 1550.
Casiodori Annotationes. 1525. (Chiefly an argument for the Divinity of Christ.)
Chrytæi Commentaria et Scholia. 1556.
Corderi Catena LXX. Patrum. 1628.
Cromii Probabilia haud probabilia. 1819. (Review of Bretschneider.)
Gomari Explic. loc. selectiorum. 1640.
Lampe, Comm. analytico-exigeticus. 1724. (The most extensive commentary on this gospel ever published; and one not excelled.)
——— Dissertationes Philologicæ. 1737. (A necessary supplement to the commentary.)
Lücke's Commentar. 1840–1856.
Lyseri Disputationes Exigeticæ. 1620.
Meyer's Krit. exeget. Handbuch über d. J. 1818.
Matthäi (G.) Auslegung, &c. 1837.
Munteri Symbolæ ad interpret. evang. J. ex marmoribus et nummis. 1828.
Nefanii Com. 1684. (Against Grotius and others.)
Rolloci Com. cum Harmonia. 1599.
Schmidii (Seb.) Resolutio brevis. 1685.
Steinii Authentia evangel. J. contra Bretschneideri objectiones. 1830.
Storr über d. Zweck der evang. Geschichte. 1810.
Stronck de Doctrina et dictione J. 1797.

Commentators.

Tarnovii Comment. quo verba et phrases ex Græca, Hellenistica, Ebraica, et cognatis orientalibus linguis, explicantur. 1629.
Tholuck (A.), Com. zu d. Evang. J. 1827.
Titmanni Meletemeta Sacra. 1816.
Usteri Commentatio Critica. 1833.
Virginii Selectissimæ Notæ. 1647.
Weberi Authentia capitis ultimi, &c. 1823.
Wegscheider's Einleitung. 1806.

Anderson's (Robt.) Practical Expos. 1841.
Beith's (A.) Christ our life. 1857.
Bloomfield's (Bp.) Lectures on J. 1823.
Bosanquet's Fourth seal. 1856. (Homilies.)
Brown's (G. J.) Lectures on John. 1862.
Clagget's Paraphrase and notes. 1693.
Chrysostom's Homilies on John.
Clowes' (J.) Translation and notes. 1819. (Swedenborgian.)
Foote's (James) Lectures on J. 1858.
Heberden's Reflections on John. 1830.
Hengstenberg's Commentary. 1855.
Hutchinson's (George) Exposition. 1657. (Practical.)
Jacobus' (M. W.) Notes, critical and expository. 1864.
McIntyre's Philosophical Comment. 1833. (Against Atheists and Infidels.)
Marloratus' Expos. Trans. by Timme. 1575.
Merrick's Crit. and grammat. Notes. 1764.
Moysey's Lectures on John. 1823.
Patterson's (J. B.) Lectures on John.
Pollock's Commentary on the Gospel of J.
Rhees' (Louis) Annotations. 1846.
Shephard's (Archdeacon) Notes. 1796 and 1844. (Critical.)
Sumner's (Bp.) Exposition. 1835.
Tholuck's Comm. Trans. by C. P. Krauth. 1859. (Very valuable to scholars.)
Titman's Comm. Trans. by Young. 1845. (Notes from Tholuck, Lücke, Kuinoel, &c.)
Turner's (S. H.) Commentary. 1854.
Wade's (T.) Notes on the Gospel of John, as translated by five clergymen. 1857.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Arrowsmith's God-man. 1660. On ch. 1.
Bibliotheca Sacra. (On ch. i. 1–18.)
Hildersham's 180 Lectures on ch. 4. 1629.
Clagget's (W.) Paraph. and notes " 6. 1693.
Bryson on " 8.
Pitman on first 10 chapters. 1846.
Bonnet's Family of Bethany. ch. 11. 1855.
Watson's Lazarus of Bethany. " 11. 1853.
Beausobre's Resurrection of Lazarus. 1822.
Drummond's Last scenes in the life of Christ. 1856.
Jones' (John B.) Lectures on chap. 14, 15, 16. 1840.
Jones' (Joseph) Sermons on chap. 13 to 17. 1839.
Cogswell's 26 Sermons on chap. 17. 1839.
Burgess' (Ant.) 145 Sermons on " 17. 1656.
Manton on " 17.

Newton's (Geo.) Exposition of ch. 17. 1660.
Scobel's (Edw.) Christ's intercessory prayer. 1848.
Jefferson's (John) Sermons on ch. 17. 1828.
Burgess' (Ant.) Exposition of " 19. 1656.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. See APOSTLES, PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY.

Chrysostom.

Amyraldi Commentarius. 1654.
Baumgarten's (M.) Apostelgeschichte. 1852.
Bugenhagii Commentarius. 1524.
Callixti Com. literalis. 1663.
Capelli Historia Apostol. illustrata ex epistolis Paulinis. 1683.
Casaubon (J.), Exercitationes. 1615.
Crameri Catena Græcorum patrum. 1620.
Heinrichii Annotationes. 1792.
Hildebrand's Gesch. d. Apost. Exeget. 1824.
Kistemaker's Anmerkungen. 1822.
Langii Isagoge generalis. 1730.
Limborchii Commentaria. 1711.
Malcomi Comment. et Analysis. 1615.
Œcumenii Comment. Græco-latina. 1631. (Chiefly an abridgment of Chrysostom.)
Pearsoni Annales Paulini. 1688.
Rinkii Lucrubratio Critica. 1830.
Walchii (J. E.) Dissertationes in Acta apos. 1756. (Explains many important facts, in both sacred and profane history.)

Alexander's (Jos. A.) Exposition. 1857.
Barrington's (J. S.) Miscellanca sacra. 1725.
Baumgarten's (M.) Apostolical history. Tr. by Morrison & Meyer. 1854.
Bennet's (James) Lectures on the Acts. 1847.
Bentham's (Jos.) Exposition. 1636.
Bevan's (J. G.) Life of Paul, with the epistles inserted in their proper place; with notes. 1807.
Biscoe's History of the Acts confirmed from other authors. 1739. (The Boyle lectures for 1736, '7, '8.)
Bloomfield's (Bp.) 12 Lectures on the Acts. 1828.
Bouchier's Manna in the house. 1858. (For daily family worship.)
Brewster's (J.) Lectures on A. 1807. (Many illustrations from the Fathers.)
Burton's Chronology of the Acts. 1836.
Calvin on Acts. Tr. by Featherstone. 1585.
Cook's Prac. and devotional Comm. 1850.
Dick's (J.) Lectures on the Acts. 1805.
Downing's (Henry) Short notes. 1860.
Du Viel's Com. 1674. Tr. from the Latin by the Author. (Very valuable.)
Eadie's Paul the preacher. 1859. (A commentary on Paul's discourses.)
Eclectic Review. 21:183.
Ellesley's Annot. 1812. (Highly esteemed.)
Hacket's Com. on the original text. 1853.
Hodgson's (R.) Lectures on Acts. 1845.
Humphrey's (W. G.) Commentary. 1847.

Jacobus' Notes. 1849.
Lechler & Gerok's Homiletical Commentary. Trans. by Gloag. 1864.
Livermore's (A.) Commentary. 1844.
McBride's Lectures on the Acts. 1858.
McKenzie's Commentary. 1847.
Mant's (Bp.) Primitive Christianity. 1842.
Maskew's (T. R.) Annotations. 1847.
Neander's Planting and training of the Church. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 1851. Also by E. Robinson.
Pemberton's Introd. to the Acts. 1842.
Pierce's Commentary and Notes. ("Beyond all praise."—A. CLARKE.)
Ripley's (H. J.) Notes. 1840. (Excellent.)
Robinson's (Hastings) Notes. 1839.
Schaff's Apostolic Church. Tr. by Yeomans. 1854.
Stack's Lectures on A. 1805. (Worthless.)
Sumner's (Bp.) Lectures on the A. 1838.
Thompson's (James) Lectures. 1822. (Dwells chiefly on the prophecies which were fulfilled in the Apostolic times.)
Wheeler's Analysis, Summary, &c. 1852.

Alford's (H.) Homilies on the first 10 chap. 1858.
Krummacher's (F. A.) Cornelius; or, Meditations on the 10th chapter. 1840.
Hodgson's (R.) Lectures on the 17th chap. 1845.

THE EPISTLES.

Chrysostom, Theophylact.

Augusti's Excursen und Einleitung. 1808.
Buddei Ecclesia Apostolica. 1730.
Calixti Expositiones literales. 1663.
Chemnitii Commentariolus. 1676.
Crameri Catena Patrum.
Dicksoni Expositio Analytica. 1645.
Estius in Omnes Epistolas. 1709. (A Papal work of great merit.)
Gualtheri Homiliæ. 1599.
Œcumenii Expositio. 1610.
Schottii Commentarius. 1839.
Zanchii Commentaria. 1600.

Belsham's (Tho.) Notes. 1822. (Unitarian.)
Benson's (Geo.) Paraph. and notes. 1752. (Not on all the epistles; but, published with Locke & Pierce, makes it complete.)
Christian Observer. 1807.
Collet on the 7 Catholic Epistles. 1734.
Dale's Analysis of all the Epistles. 1850.
Dickson's (David) Analytical Expos. 1659.
Heberden's (Wm.) Literal trans. and comm. 1839.
McBride's Lectures on the Epistles. 1858.
McKnight's New translat. and notes. 1795. (Great.)
Mendham's Clavis Apostolica. 1821.
Peiles' (Tho.) Annotations. 1852. (For students of the Greek text.)
Pyles' Paraph. and annotations. 1725.

Roberts' Harmony of the Epistles. (Very convenient, both for reference, and as a commentary.)
Shuttleworth's New trans. and Notes. 1829.
Slade's Annotations. 1816.
Sumner's (Bp.) Apostolical preaching. 1815.
Trower's (W. J.) Exposition.

EPISTLES OF PAUL.

Alphenti Specimena analytica. 1734.
Anselmi Enarrationes. 1533.
Balduini Com. cum Indice. 1644.
Burgess Initia Paulina. 1659.
Capelli Historia apostolica. 1655.
Heydenreich's Erläuterung. (Learned, copious, and pious.)
Langii Commentaria Historico-hermeneutica. 1718. (A learned Pietist.)
Laurentii Explic. locor. difficil. 1630.
Michaelis (Jo. David.) Paraphrasis. 1750.
Picquigny, Explic. par une analyse. 1838.
Stenersenii Com. perpetua. 1829.
Storr, Opuscula Academica. 1789.
Van Till, Commentarius. 1726.
Weingart, Commentarius. 1816.

Addington's Discourses of Paul. 1784.
Bevan's (Joseph G.) Life of Paul; with the Epistles inserted in their order, with crit. and explanatory notes. 1807.
Burgess' (Tho.) Introd. to P. epistles. 1822.
Conybeare's (W. J.) Life and epistles of Paul. 1852. Plates and maps.
Davies' Pauline Epistles. 1866.
Eyre's New trans. and notes. 1832.
Ellicott's Critical Commentary. 1865. ("The best of its kind."—Prof. G. R. Bliss.)
Ferguson's (James) Exposition. 1661.
Hey's General observ. on P.'s writings. 1811.
Jowett's Epistles of Paul. 1849. (Unsafe critic.)
Linton's Paraphrase and notes. 1857.
Newland's New catena on P.'s epistles. 1861.
Paley's Horæ Paulinæ. 1800.
Pierce's New transl., paraphrase, and notes. 1747. ("Exceeds, on the whole, any English commentator I have read."—Prof. M. Stuart.)
Wells' (Edw.) Help for the understanding of Paul. 1720.
Whately's Essays on some of the difficulties in the writings of Paul. 1833.

ROMANS.

Altingii Com. theoretico-practicus.
Amyraldi Paraphrasis cum notis. 1656.
Baumgarten's (S. J.) Auslegung. 1749.
Beneke's Brief P. an die Römer. 1831.
Brais [or De Brais], Analysis, Paraph., &c. 1720.
Buceri Metaphrasis et enarratio. 1562.
Chytræi Dispositio, ac notæ criticæ. 1599.
Crucigeri Commentarius. 1567.
Cundisii (G.) Exercitationes XVI. 1646.

Danhaveri Collegium disputatoricum. 1708.
Ferme, Analysis logica. 1651. ("Excellent." —Orme.)
Fritzschii Commentaria. 1839.
Glocker's Brief an die Römer. 1834.
Hengelii (W. A.) Interpretatio. 1853.
Klee's (H.) Commentar. 1830.
Kolner's Commentar. 1836. (With special reference to Tholuck and Rückert.)
Leydekker de Mente Pauli in Ep. ad Rom. 1707.
Lossius (F.), Uebersetzt. und Erklärt. 1836.
Martyr (Pet.) Commentarius. 1558. ("That great man."—Beza.)
Meyer's Kritisch-exegetisch Handbuch.
Mosheim's (J. L.) Erklärung, &c. 1770.
Œcolampadii Adnotationes. 1526.
Oleviani Notæ. 1579.
Phillippi's Commentar. 1854.
Rambachii Introd. historico-theol. 1727.
Reiche's Ausfuhlich. Erklärung. 1834.
Rückert's Commentar. 1831.
Rungii Disputationes ex Ep. ad R. 1603.
Schomeri Exegesis. 1699.
Semlerus de Tempore quo scripta fuit Ep. ad R. 1550.
Spener's (P. J.) Auslegung. 1695.
Turretini (J. A.) Prelectiones criticæ. 1741.
Varenii (A.) Analysis et Exegesis. 1696.
Welleri (J.) Adnotationes. 1654. (A convenient collation of versions.)
Winzeri Adnot. ad loca quædam. 1835.

Allie's Sermons on the Ep. to the R. 1844.
Anderson's (Robt.) Practical Expos. 1833.
Beneke's (Wm.) Exposition. 1854.
Bosanquet's (Edwin) Paraphrase and notes. 1840.
Bowles' Paulus Parochialis. 1826.
Brown's (David) Commentary. 1860.
Brown's (Dr. John) Expos. discourses on R. 1765.
Brown's (John) Analysis and Expos. 1857.
Brown's (John) Explanation. 1679.
Chalmers' (Tho.) Lectures on R. 1837.
Colenso's (Bp.) New trans. and Expos. 1861. ("From a missionary standpoint.")
Cox's (Robt.) Horæ Romanæ. 1824.
Edwards' (Tim.) Paraph. and notes. 1752.
Ewbank's Trans. and commentary. 1850.
Ferme's Logical analysis. Tr. by Skae. 1850.
Fry's (John) Pract. Lectures on R. 1816.
Haldane's (Robt.) Exposition; with critical remarks on MacKnight, Tholuck, and M. Stuart. 1835. (A treasure of sound theology, and able criticism.)
Hinton's (J. H.) Exposition on the principles of parallelism, with introd. and appendix. 1863.
Hodge's (Prof. Cha.) Commentary. 1835.
Jones' (John) Analysis: developed from the circumstances of the Church of Rome by which it was occasioned. 1801.
Knight's (Rob.) Critical Commentary. 1854.

Commentators.

Livermore's (A. A.) Commentary. 1853.
Locke's (John) Paraphrase and notes.
Marriot's (Cha.) Lectures on R. 1859.
Moysey's Lectures on R. 1830.
Parr's (Elnathan) Expos. 1633. (Puritan.)
Parry's (Bp.) Lectures on R. 1857.
Prichard's Pract. and critical Comm. 1862.
Pridman's Notes and Reflections. 1852.
Purdue's New trans. and com. 1855.
Ritchie's (David) Lectnres on R. 1831.
Ruckert's Exposition. 1840.
Shepherd's The argument illustrated. 1862.
Schlater's (Wm.) Exposition and notes. 1629.
Stanhope's (Dean) Paraph. and notes. 1705.
Stuart's (Moses) New trans. and com. 1832.
Taylor's (John) Paraphrase and notes. 1745.
Terrot's Gr. text, Introd., and Notes. 1828.
Tholuck's Expos. Trans. by Menzies. 1833.
Turner's Notes for students of theology. 1824.
——— Ep. to the R. in Greek and English; with analysis, and exegetical com. 1852.
Vaughn's (C. J.) Notes. 1860.
Walford's New translation and notes. 1846.
Warner's (Rich.) Sermons.
Whitwell's New trans. and notes. 1848.
Willet's Hexapla on R. 1611.
Wilson's (Puritan) Commentary. 1614.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Adams (Thomas) on the first 11 chap. 1780.
Newton (B. W.) on the Greek of ch. 1. 1856.
Käuffer's Examinatur novissima Bretschneideri. Ch. 5.
Frazier's Crit. Exposition of ch. 6, 7. 1813.
Kohlbrugge's (H. F.) Expos. of ch. 7. 1854.
McKidd's (Alex.) “ “ 7. 1854.
Stafford's (John) “ “ 7. 1772.
Elton's (Edw.) Exposit. of ch. 7, 8, 9. 1630.
Ashley's Victory of the Spirit. Ch. 8. 1865.
Bryson's (T.) Sermons on “ 8. 1795.
Jacomb's (Tho.) Exposition of “ 8. 1762.
Binning's (Hugh) “ “ “ 8. 1650.
Maitland's Fifteen discourses on “ 8. 1831.
Horton's Forty-six sermons on “ 8. 1664.
Winslow's No condemnation in Christ. “ 8. 1852.
Goodwin's (John) Exposition of “ 9. 1640. (“Great learning and good sense.”—Job Orton.)
Jarrom's (J.) Discourses on “ 9. 1827.
Sutton's Lectures on “ 11. 1632.
Scott's (John) Lectures on ch. 8 to 12. 1847.

CORINTHIANS.

Chrysostomi Homiliæ XXX. in Ep. poster.
Clementis Romani Epistolæ ad Cor.

Bierman's (Jo.) Verkläringe. 1795.
Bilroth's (G.) Commentar. 1833.
Emerlingii Commentatio perpetua. 1823.
Flatts' Vörlesung.: Heraus. von Hoffman. 1827.
Gualtheri Homiliæ in spir. ad C. 1588.
Heydenreichii Com. in priorem epis. 1827.

Commentators.

Krousii Annotationes. 1792.
Martyris (P.) Commentarius. 1551.
Mosheimii (J. L.) Erklärung des ersten Brief. 1741.
Peile's Annot. 1848. (For Greek scholars.)
Pott (D. J.), Annotationes. 1834.
Royardi Disputatio, &c. 1818.
Ruckert's Briefe Pauli, &c. 1836.
Scharlingii Adnotationes. 1840.
Schlatteri Explicatio et Scholia. 1835.

Biblical Cabinet. Vols. 21 and 22.
Bilroth's Comm. Tr. by W. L. Alexander. 1836.
Bramston's (J.) Exposition. 1700.
Burgess' (Ant.) Com. 1661. (Huge bulk.)
Chrysostom's Homilies on C.; with notes.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 19:513.
Hodge's (Cha.) Com. 1859. (Critical and sound.)
Lightfoot's Horæ Ebraicæ et Talmudicæ. 1670.
Lothain's (W.) Expository Lectures. 1828.
Olshausen's Com. Tr. with notes by J. E. Cox.
Pridham's Commentary. 1864.
Robertson's (F. W.) Sermons on C. 1859.
Sibb's Commentary.
Stanley's (A. P.) Commentary. 1854.
Thorn's Revised trans. and com. 1852.
Tolley's Paraph. of the first Ep. 1825.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Burgess' (Ant.) Directory for church officers. Com. on 1 Cor. 3. 1659.
Bramston's (John) Charity. Exp. of 1 Cor. 13. 1835.
Fuller's (Tho.) Joseph's coat. On 1 Cor. 2. 1640.
Verschoyle's Bond of perfectness. On 1 Cor. 13. 1849.
Alexander's (John) Paraphrase, Notes, and Dissertations on 1 Cor. 15. 1766.
Coleman's (Tho.) The Redeemer's final triumph. 1 Cor. 15. 1855.
Greenwood's (Wm.) Exposition of 1 Cor. 15.
Sibbs' (Rich.) Comment. on 2 Cor. 1. 1655.
——— ——— “ “ “ 4. 1656.
Watson's (Jonathan) Preparing for home. Expos. of 2 Cor. 5. 1859.

GALATIANS.

Chrysostom.

Feurbornii Expositio. 1653.
Hoffmanni (Chr.) Introductio. 1750. (Great.)
Koppei Annotations. 1791.
Leydekker, de Mente Pauli in ep. ad Gal. 1694.
Lyseri Analysis theol. et scholastica. 1616.
Matthies' (C. S.) Erklärung. 1833.
Meyers' (H. A. W.) Krit. exeget. Handbuch. 1820.
Müller's Erklärt in Bibel-stunden. 1850.
Ruckert's Commentar. 1833.

Sardinoux, Commentaire. 1837.
Spener's Erklärung. 1697.
Storr de Consensu Epis. ad Heb. et Gal. 1812.
Vitringæ (Campeg.) Exercitationes. 1784.
Wieseler's Commentar. 1859.
Winer, Versio Lat. et Comm. 1829.

Bagg's Revised text, and com. 1856.
Brown's (Dr. John) Exposition. 1853.
Calvin on Gal. Tr. by Golding. 1574.
——— ——— Tr. by W. Pringle. 1854.
Chandler's (S.) Paraph. and notes. 1777.
Chrysostom on Galatians.
Edwards' (Tim.) Paraph. and crit. notes. 1752.
Ellicott's Critical and grammat. Com. 1854.
Furguson's (James) Exposition. 1659.
Gwynne's New trans. and Com. 1863.
Haldane's (J. A.) Exp. 1848. (Precious.)
Headland & Swete's Notes, &c. 1866.
Jowett's Crit. notes and Dissertations. 1850.
Lightfoot's Commentary. 1865.
Luther's Com. 1540. (An able discussion of justification by faith.)
Perkins on the first 5 chapters. 1617. (Finished by Ralph Cudworth.)
Ricaulton's Notes and Observations. 1671.
Ruckerts' Commentary. 1840.
Turner's (S. H.) Epistle to G. in Greek and English; with analysis. 1856.
Winer's Com. Tr. by Cunningham. 1840. (With additions from Koppe, Borger, &c.)

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Chrysostom.

Alpen, Specimen analyticum. 1742.
Amyraldi Paraphrasis cum notis. 1654.
Battii Disputationes XXI. 1519.
Bemmelini Diss. exeget. critica. 1803.
Buceri Prelectiones. 1562.
Dinantii Com. et Prolegomena. 1722.
Gerbaden's Het. Heiligdom. 1707.
Harless' Commentar. 1834.
Hoelemanni Commentarius. 1839.
Koppei Annotationes. 1791.
Matthies (C. S.) Erklärung, &c. 1835.
Oleviani Notæ. 1580.
Passavant's Auslegung, &c. 1836.
Roeli Explicatio et Analysis. 1715.
Ruckerts' Erläuterung.
Sarceri Adnotationes. 1541.
Van Till, Commentarius. 1726.
Welleri (Hieron.) Commentarius. 1559.

Bayne's (Paul) Commentary. 1647.
Chandler's Paraph. and Notes. 1767.
Chrysostom's Homilies on E. 1581 and 1845.
Eadie's Commentary on the Gr. text. 1853.
Eastburn's Lectures on E. 1832.
Ellicott's Trans. and grammat. Com. 1855.
Ferguson's (James) Exposition. 1659.
Hodge's (Cha.) Commentary. 1856.
Lathrop's Expos. 1864. (Fifty sermons.)
Leyburn's Soldier of the Cross.
Lillie's (John) Lectures on E. 1860.
McGhee's (R. J.) Expository lectures. 1846.
Newland's Catena. 1860. (Collects criticisms from the earliest times.)
Pattison's (R. E.) Doct. and prac. Com. 1859.
Percival's (A. P.) Lectures on E. 1846.
Pounden's (P.) Ephesus; or, the Church precedent. 1846.
Prichard's Com. on Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians; for Eng. readers. 1865.
Pridman's Exposition and notes. 1854.
Sincoe's Expos.: with texts, parallel, expository, and illustrative; gathered from all parts of the word of God. 1833.
Turner's Analysis and exegetical Com. 1856.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Bayne's (Paul) Comm. on chapter 1. 1628.
Goodwin's (Tho.) Expos. of " 1, 2, 3. 1681.

PHILIPPIANS.

Batti Com. cum XVII. Disputationibus. 1627.
Breighthauptii Animadversiones. 1693.
Dallæi Sermones in Epis. ad P. 1644.
Flatt's Vörlesungen über d. P.
Hoelemann's (H. G.) Interpretatio. 1834.
Hoog, Specimen academicum inaugur. 1825.
Krause's Uebersetz. mit Anmerkung. 1790.
Matthies' (C. S.) Erklärung. 1835.
Meier's Comment. 1834. New edition. 1865.
Schotani Analysis cum Observat. 1737.
Weis (B.), Ausgelegt und die Gesch. seiner Auslegung Kritisch Dargestellt. 1859.
Wiesinger's Commentar. 1850.

Acaster's Expository Lectures. 1827.
Airay's Lectures on P. 1648. New ed. 1864.
Bayne's Church at Philippi. 1834.
Daille's Sermons on P. Tr. by J. Sherman. 1841.
Eadie's Critical Commentary. 1852.
Eastburn's Practical Lectures on P. 1833.
Ellicott's Crit. and grammatical Com. 1857.
Hall's (Robt.) 12 Lectures on P. 1833.
Neal's (C.) Discourses on P. 1841.
Neander's Pract. Com. Tr. by Mrs. Conant. 1851.
Neat's (C.) Sermons on Epis. to P.
Newland's (H.) Commentary. 1860. (A collection of the most learned criticisms in every age.)
Robertson's (J. S.) Practical Exposit. 1849.
Sibbs' Exposition of chapter 3. 1639.
Weisinger's Comm. Tr. by Fulton. 1851.

COLOSSIANS.

Altingii Analysis exegetica. 1680.
Baehr, über den Brief P. an de K. 1833.
Daillæi Sermones XLIX. in Col. 1659.
Davenantii Expositio. 1630. (Highly praised by POOLE.)
Flatt's (D. J.) Vörlesungen, &c. 1829.

Commentators.

Gerardi Adnotationes. 1560. (Pious.)
Hoffmanni Introductio. 1750.
Junker's Histor.-krit. und phil. Com. 1715.
Quenstedii Disputationes. 1664.
Rambach's (J. J.) Erklärung, &c. 1740.
Rappolti (F.) Observationes. 1680.
Schleiermacheri Expositio. 1823.
Schmidii (Seb.) Paraphrasis, &c.
Spener's Erklärung. 1730.
Steiger's (Wilhelm) Commentar. 1835.
Suiceri Com. critico-exegeticus. 1699.

Byfield's (N.) Exposition. 1615.
Cartwright's Com. 1612. New edition. 1864.
Daillæ's Forty-nine sermons on C. 1662.
Davenant's (Bp.) Expos. Tr. by Alport. 1831.
Eadie's (J.) Com. on the Gr. text. 1855.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 17:296.
Ellicott's Critical and grammat. Com. 1859.
Furguson's (James) Exposition. 1656.
Gisbourne's (Tho.) Familiar Expos. 1816.
Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature. 3:349.
Milner's (Jos.) Sermons on C. 1841.
Pierce's Paraph. and Notes. 1727. (Arian.)
Tolley's Paraphrase and Commentary. 1825.
Watson's (Tho.) Discourses on C. 1833.
Wilson's (Dan.) Expos. Lectures on C. 1845. (An attempt to apply the Apostle's argument to the present circumstances of the Church.)
Bayne on Chapters 1 and 2. 1634.

THESSALONIANS.

Burgerhoudt, Specimen Academicum. 1830. (A useful introd. to the 1st Epistle.)
Flatt's (D. J. F.) Vörlesungen, &c.
Koch's (D. A.) Commentar. 1850. (1st Ep.)
Krause's Uebersetzt. mit Anmerkung. 1790.
Musculi Commentaria. 1565.
Peltii Expositio. 1830. ("Learned and judicious."—Bloomfield.)
Roichii Authent. epist. posterioris. 1829.
Rückert's Briefe Pauli T. 1836. (1st Ep.)
Schleiermacheri Commentationes. 1807.
Schottii Commentaria. 1834.
Turrettini (J. A.) Commentaria. 1739.

Chandler's Crit. and practical Com. 1760.
Edmunds' (John) Practical Com. 1853.
Ellicott's Trans. and critical Com. 1858.
Furguson's (James) Exposition. 1674.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works. 1560.
Jowett's Notes and Dissertations. 1855.
Lillie's Lectures on Thess. 1860.
Martin's Analysis of the 1st Epistle.
Patterson's (Alex.) Expos. 1st Epis. 1854.
Philips' Theological, critical, and philological notes. 1751.
Schleiermacker's Exposition. 1823.

TIMOTHY. See MINISTRY.

BOTH EPISTLES.

Chrysostom.

Alesii Disputationes. 1550.

Commentators.

Gerhardi (Jo.) Adnotationes. 1643.
Mosheim's (J. L.) Erklärung. 1755.
Planck's Bemerkungen. 1808.
Schmidii (Seb.) Paraphrasis, &c. 1694.

Benson's (Geo.) Paraphrase and notes. 1750.
Ellicott s New trans. and critical Com. 1856.
Slade's Lectures at Hampton. 1837.

FIRST TIMOTHY.

Beckhaus' Observationes crit.-exeget. 1810.
Chytræi Enarratio et Scholia. 1643.
Crucigeri Commentarius. 1540.
Curtii Disquisitio. 1828. (Pref. by Neander.)
Hagenbach's Interpretatio. 1829.
Planck's Bemerkungen, &c. 1808.
Wegscheider's Erste Briefe. &c. 1810.
Weisenger's Commentar. 1849.

Berriman's Critical Dissertation. 1741.
Pindar's Candidate for the ministry. 1837.
Weisinger's Com. Trans. by Fulton. 1851.

SECOND TIMOTHY.

Barlow's (J.) Exposition. 1625.

TITUS. See MINISTRY.

Chrysostom.

Alesii Commentaria. 1550.
Breithaupti Exercit. Exegetica. 1703.
Cramer, Hypomnemeta. 1758.
Fechtii Idea veri eccl. ministri. 1692.
Gebhardi Paraphrasis cum notis. 1714.
Schrammii Commentarius. 1763.
Von Haven, Comment. analytica. 1742.
Zentegravii, Analysis, et Exegesis. 1706.

Taylor's (Tho.) Commentary. 1612. ("Laude omnino dignum."—Walch.)
Wallis' Exposition. 1657.

PHILEMON.

Chrysostom.

Danæi Commentarium. 1579.
Hagenbachii Interpretatio. 1829.
Himmelii Interpret. 1641. Several editions.
Kock's Commentar. 1586.
Kuhne's Bibelstunden zur Erbauung. 1855.
Schmidii (Seb.) Paraphrasis, &c. 1698.

Attersol's (Wm.) Commentary. 1612.
Dyke's Exposition. 1618.
Jones' (Wm.) Exposition. 1635.
Parry's Paul, Philem., and Onesimus. 1834.
Parry's (Bp.) Lectures on P. 1857.
Taylor's (Tho.) Commentary. 1625.

HEBREWS.

Alresch Paraph. et Annotationes. 1789.
Amthor, Com. exegetico-dogmaticæ. 1828.
Baumgarten (S. J.), Erklauterung. 1763.
Baumgarten Crusius, Conjecturæ de origine Epist. ad H. 1829.
Bleek's Erläutert durch Einleitung. 1828.

Commentators.

Boehme, Lat. vers. atque Comment. 1825.
Braunii Com. cum tabulis, &c. 1705.
Brentii (Junioris) Commentaria. 1571.
Carpzovii Exercit. sacræ, ex Philone Alex. 1750. ("Of singular utility."—HORNE.)
Cellarii Verklärter Jesus. 1731.
De Grootii Disputatio. 1826. (To prove Paul to be the author.)
Delitzsch's Commentar. 1858.
Dorschei Comm. pluribus hypomnematibus apodicto analytico-exegeticus. 1718.
Ernesti (J. A.) Lectiones Academicæ. 1795.
Gelpke, Vindiciæ originis Paulinæ ad Heb. Epist. nova ratione tentatæ. 1832.
Gerhardi Commentarius. 1641.
Hornei Explanatio literalis. 1655.
Junii Enarratio. 1610.
Klee's Auslegung. 1833.
La Harpe, Essai critique.
Lyseri (Junioris) Commentarius. 1616.
Megandri Farrago Adnotationum. 1539.
Mestrezat, Sermons sur l'Ep. aux Hébreux. 1689. ("Sublime."—COBBIN.)
Moll's Theologisch-Homiletisch Bearbeitet. 1861.
Œcolampadii Explanationes. 1534.
Rambach's Grundliche Erklärung. 1742.
Schomeri Exegesis. 1710.
Spanheim (F.), Exercitationes.
Starkii (H. B.) Notæ selectæ. 1710.
Steir's Ausgelegt.
Storr, de Consensu Epistolæ ad Hebr. et Galatas. 1809.
Spanheim, de Authore, &c. 1680.
Ziegler's Einleitung. 1678.

Brown's (John) Exposition. 1861.
Collet's (Samuel) Exposition. 1734.
Dickson's (David) Explanation. 1649.
Downame's Commentary. 1646.
Duncan's (R.) Exposition. 1731. (A mere abridgment of Owen, but scarcely less valuable than the original, and much more convenient.)
Ebrard's Biblical Com. Tr. by Felton. 1851.
Forster's Apostolical authority, &c. 1838. (Refutes Michaelis and others.)
Gouge's Commentary. 1655. (The substance of 33 years' labor in lectures, and very able. 2 vols., folio.)
Haldane's (J. A.) Exposition. 1860.
Jones' (Wm.) Lectures on H. 1635.
Knox's (J. S.) Sermons on the sacrificial character of Christ. 1835.
Knowles' (E. H.) Notes; with analysis and paraphrase. 1861.
Lawson's Exposition. 1662.
Lushington's Comm. 1646. (Socinian.)
Maclean's (Archib.) Paraph. and Com. 1819. ("The best of its size."—ORME.)
Maurice's Lectures on H. 1846. (The preface renews Newman's theory of development.)
Miller's (J. A.) Expos. and notes. 1851.

Commentators.

Owen's Expos. and preliminary dissertations. 1674. (Particularly strong in relation to Judaism.)
Parry's (Bp.) Lectures on Hebrews. 1834.
Patterson's (A. S.) Commentary. 1856.
Peirce's (James) Paraph. and notes. (With a very learned essay on the authorship, and original language of the epistle.)
Peile's Annotations for students of the Greek text. 1851.
Sampson's Trans. and critical Com. 1828.
Stuart's (Moses) Commentary. 1827.
Sykes' Paraphrase and notes. 1755.
Tait's (Wm.) Meditationes Hebraicæ. 1845.
Tholuck's Com. Tr. by Hamilton. 1842.
Turner's Ep. to H. in Greek and English, with analysis and Com. 1852.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Deering's 26 Lectures on chap. 1 to 6. 1576.
Anderson's Cloud of witnesses. On ch. 11. 1839.
Binney's Power of faith. On ch. 11. 1830.
Sylvester's Christian race. On ch. 12.

JAMES.

Clemens Alex.

Baumgarten's (S. J.) Auslegung. 1750.
Bensoni Notæ philol. et exegeticæ. 1746.
Gebser's Uebersetzt. und Erklärt. 1828.
Heisen, Hypotheses interpretandæ felicius. 1739. (Highly esteemed.)
Hottingeri Com. cum vers. Germana. 1815.
Kern's Untersuchtung und Erklärt. 1838.
Mori Prelectiones. 1794.
Stier's Brief Jacobi Ausgelegt. 1859.
Schreckenburgeri Annotationes. 1822.
Theile, Commentaria. 1833.
Turnemanni Medulla meditationum. 1625.

Benson's (Geo.) Paraph. and notes. 1738.
Calvin's Com. Trans. by C. Cotton. 1605.
Gataker's (Charles) Annotations. 1660.
Hemminge's (Nich.) Commentary. 1577.
Jacobi's Expository Lectures. 1838.
Manton's (T.) Practical Exposition. 1656.
Neander's Com. Tr. by Mrs. Conant. 1851.
Patterson's (Alex.) Commentary. 1851.
Steir's Com. Trans. by W. B. Pope. 1860.
Turnbull's (R.) 28 Lectures on James. 1592.

PETER.

BOTH EPISTLES.

Amesii Expositio Analytica. 1635.
Augusti's Excursen und Einleitung. 1801.
Bibliandri Commentarium. 1536.
Eisenschmid's Uebersetzung, &c. 1824.
Gerhardi Commen. in quo textus declaratur, questiones solvuntur, et loca in speciem pugnantia, conciliantur. 1660.
Goltz's Schriftmatige Verkläringe. 1689.
Laurenti Com. perpetua. 1640.

Turnemanni Meditationes. 1625.
Van Alphcu's Sendbrief. 1734.

Adams' (T.) Exp. 1624. (Odd and happy.)
Ames' Analytical Exposition. 1700.
Benson's Paraphrase and notes. 1742.
Demarest's Exposition. 1851.
Luther's Expos. Trans. by Tho. Newton.
Nisbit's Brief Exposition. 1658.
Simpson's Commentary. 1632.
Steiger's Expos. Tr. by Fairbairn. 1836.
Whitaker's Doctrine, argument, &c. 1751.

FIRST PETER.

Clemens Alex.

Hottingeri Com. cum vers. Germana. 1815.
Klemmii Anacrisis. 1837.
Schotani Comm. et Analysis. 1637.
Watther's Kurzgefasste Erklärung. 1750. (Copious preface by J. L. Mosheim.)

Alley's Poore man's librarie. 1565.
Brown's (John) Expos. discourses. 1849.
Demarest's Trans. and Exposition. 1851.
Fairbairn's (Patrick) Exposition. 1836.
Leighton's Lectures on 1 Pet. 1648. (One of the most precious books ever printed.)
——— ——— Abridged by Bradley. 1821.
Kohlbrugge on 1 Pet. Tr. by O. Winslow. 1856.
Byfield on first 3 chapters. 1620.

SECOND PETER.

Dahl, de authentia Ep. posterior. 1807.
Nietzche, Ep. posterior vindicata. 1785.
Ullmann's Kritisch Untersucht. 1821.
Zeigleri Animadversiones. 1804.

Demarest's Exposition. 1865.
Love's Sixteen sermons. 1653.
Mede (Jos.) on Peter's prophecy of Christ's second coming.

JOHN.

ALL HIS EPISTLES.

Dusterdieck, die Drie Joh. Briefe. 1854.
Eckhardi Disputationes XVI. 1609.
Egard's Guldenes Christenthum. 1628.
Japsis Versio Latina, et Annotat. 1821.
Langii Explicatio, Analysis, &c. 1713.
Marperger's Grundliche Auslegung. 1710.
Mori Prelectiones Exegeticæ. 1797.

Benson's Paraphrase and notes. 1749.
Bickersteth's Family Exposition. 1846.
Ebrard's Commentary. Tr. by Pope. 1860.
Hawkins on J.'s canonical epistles. 1808.
Eclectic Review. New series. 3:348.
Lückes' Com. 1837. (Biblical Cabinet.)
Shephard's Notes, crit. and explan. 1841.

FIRST JOHN. See GENUINENESS OF 1 JOHN V. 7.

Clemens Alex., Augustine.

Episcopii Lectiones sacræ. 1705.
Frelinghausen's Erklärung. 1741. (A series of pious meditations.)
Hornii Explicatio literalis. 1654.
Jaspis, Versio Latina, et com. 1821.
Mori Prelectiones. 1800.
Rappolti Theologia Aphoristica. 1688.
Schmidii (Seb.) Commentarius. 1687.
Spener's Paraph. und erklärt. 1699. (All Spener's works are highly valued.)
Sarkani Analytica exegesis. 1757.
Wolf's (K. A.) Prakt. Com. über d. 1 Brief J. 1850.

Binney's Sermons on 1 John.
Cotton's (John) Practical Com. 1656.
Graham's Spirit of love. 1857.
Hancock's (W. J.) Commentary. 1861.
Hurdy's Com. 1656. New edition. 1865.
Morgan's (James) Exposition. 1865.
Neander's Pract. Com. 1850. Tr. by Mrs. Conant.
Pierce's (Bradford) Sermons on 1 John. 1855.
Stock's (John) Exposition. 1865.
Tindall's (William) Exposition. 1531.

SECOND JOHN

Carpzovii (Junioris) Explicatio. 1790.
Dorschei *ζητηματα*. 1697.
Mori Prelectiones. 1800.
Rambonnet, Specimen academicum. 1819.

Cawdrey on the 2d Ep. of John. 1640.
Cotton's (John) Practical com. 1658.
Jones' (Wm.) Explanation. 1635.
Pococke's New trans. and notes. 1660.

THIRD JOHN.

Mori Prelectiones. 1800.

Pococke's New trans. and notes. 1660.

JUDE.

Clemens Alex., Ambrose.

Arnaud, Recherches critiques.
Creightoni Commentar. 1719.
Dorschei Fragmentum commentarior. 1700.
Gerhardi Adnotationes posthumæ. 1650.
Haenleinii Comm. critica. 1799.
Jessein de *Αυθεντια* Ep. J. 1820. (Masterly.)
Lauermanni Collectanea. 1818.
Martini Commentarius. 1727.
Rappolti Observationes philologicæ. 1675.
Steir's der Brief Judä auslegung.
Titelmanni (or Schenck) Commentar. 1693. (Highly commended.)
Witsii Commentarius. 1703.

Bickersteth's (Ed.) Family exposition. 1846.
Gardner's (Frederick) Commentary. 1848.
Gardner's Last of the Epistles. 1857.
Jenkins' (W.) Exposition. 1634. (Often reprinted. Revised by J. Sherman. 1839.)
Lauerman's Dissertations on J. 1820.
McGilvary's Expository lectures. 1855.

Manton's Practical Com. and notes. 1650.
Muir's Discourses on Jude. 1822.
Oates' Explanation. 1633. (41 sermons.)
Perkins' Godly and learned Expos. 1606.
Pococke's New trans. and notes. 1662.
Ridley's (Launcelot) Commentary.
Turnbull's (Rich.) 36 Sermons on J. 1606. (With an analysis, &c.)
Willet's Commentary. 1603.

APOCALYPSE. See NUMBER 666, ANTICHRIST, MILLENNIUM, PERIOD OF 1260 YEARS, MILLENARIANS, PROPHECY, SEVEN CHURCHES.

Irenæus, Epiphanius, Cyril, Basil, Ambrose.

Abbadie, l'Ouverture des sept sceaux. 1723.
Andalæ Exegesis illustrium locorum. 1718.
Auberlen's Prophet Daniel, u. die Offenbarung J. in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss, &c.
Bassett, Explication raisonée. 1833.
Bengel's (Albert) Erklärte. 1746. (Strongly praised, and no less strongly censured.)
Bengel's (M. E.) Erklärende Umschreibung. 1772.
Bibliandri Commentarius. 1549.
Blicke in die Apocalypse. 1858.
Brandt's Offenbarung Johannes. 1847.
Brightmani Analysis et scholia. 1600.
Bullingeri Consciones in Apoc. 1557.
Chytræi Commentarius. 1563.
Cocceii Cogitationes de Apocalyp. 1659.
Dressel's Offenbarung d. Johannes. 1851.
Dressenii Meditationes. 1717. (Analytical.)
Dupin, Analysé de l'Apocalypse. 1690.
Ebrard's Offenbarung Johannes. 1853.
Eichhorn, Comm. 1791. (Regards the book as a prophetic drama, exhibiting the *spiritual* victories of the Church.)
Ewaldi Com. exegeticus et criticus. 1828.
Fehr's Anleitung zum rechten verstand, &c. 1761. (The author in the main follows Bengel, but largely notices other writers.)
Graber's Hist. Erklärung d. Offenbarung m. Berücksicht der Auslegungen v. Bengel, Hengstenberg, u. Ebrard. 1857.
Gravii Tabulæ apocalypticæ. 1657.
Hales, Comment. in Apoc. Johannis. 1647.
Harenburg's Erklärung. 1749.
Heideggeri Comment. 1687. (Eminent.)
Heinrich Annotationes. 1821. (Adopts the theory of Eichhorn.)
Hengstenberg's Offenbarung, &c. 1849.
Hennischii Synopsis chrono taxeos. 1578.
Hoe (Matt.) Commentarius. 1640. (Powerful against Romanism.)
Honerti Dissertationes Apocalypticæ. 1736.
Junii Analysis methodica, cum notis. 1590.
Kolthoffii Apocalypsis vindicata. 1829.
Langii Commentarius. 1730.
Lauermanni Dissertationes. 1822.
Lisco's Einleitung in die Offenb. J. 1852.
Lücke's (F.) Einleitung. 1832.
Luthardt's (C. E.) Uebersetzt. u. Erklärung. 1861.

Lyon's (J. C.) Erklärung, &c. 1859.
Marckii Commentarius. 1680.
Mede Clavis apocalyptica. 1627.
Reinhardi Chronotaxis nova. 1741.
Rettig's Achtheit der im Kanon, &c. 1829.
Rinck's Apokalyptische Forschungen. 1852.
Schmid (C. F.) Untersuch. ob die Offenbarung, &c. 1771.
Storr's Neue Apologie. 1800.
Stoschii Dissertationes. 1757.
Tinius' Einleitung, und Erklärung. 1839.
Van Honert, Dissertationes. 1736. (Able.)
Vitringæ Ανακρισις apocalypseos. 1705.
Vogelii Comm. de apos. Joannis. 1811.
Weyeri Initium disputationis de lib. Apoc. 1828. (Reviews the hypotheses of Grotius, Herder, Eichhorn, Heinrich, &c.)
Züllig's Erklarung. 1840.

Allwood's Key to the Revelations. 1829.
American Bib. Repos. 3d Series. 3:272, 385.
Amphlett on the Revelations. 1855.
Arnold's (T. K.) Remarks on Elliot. 1845.
Arthur's (M.) Expos., doct. and pract. 1789.
Ashe's Compendious notes. 1834.
Auberlen's Proph. of Daniel and John compared. Tr. by A. Saphir. 1856.
Bachman's (John J.) Historical Explanation. 1778.
Baillie's (John) Lectures on the Rev. 1798.
Bale's (Bp.) Image of both Churches. 1560. (Repub. by the Parker Society.)
Bengelius' Exp. Tr. by Robertson. 1757.
Bernard's Key to the mysteries, &c. 1647.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 21:319.
Bland's Apocalyptic history solved. 1858.
Bowdler's Practical Observations. 1800.
British Critic. 1827. (Compares the merits of various writers.)
Broughton's (H.) Expos. 1610. (Strongly against the Roman Church.)
Brown's (J. A.) Eventide. 1823.
Bullinger's Sermons vpo y^e^ Apocalips. 1561.
Burder's (H. F.) Notes. 1849.
Burgh's (W.) Apocalypse unfulfilled. 1834. (Discards all previous theories.)
Christian Disciple. 4:65.
Christian Examiner. 2:75. 8:146. 37:192. 40:161. 44:368. 65:60.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 9:570. 10:408.
Clark's (B. S.) Interpret. of the Apoc. 1864.
Clarke's (J.) Dragon of the Apoc. 1814.
Clay's (Edmund) Practical Expos. 1864.
Condor's Harmony of hist. and proph. 1849.
Cooke's Tr. and Explan.; with Introd., &c. 1789.
Cooper's (R. B.) Commentary. 1833.
Cowper's (Bp.) Commentary. 1623.
Craddock's (Sam.) Exposition. 1695.
Cressener's Protestant application of the Apocalypse. 1699.
Croley's (G.) New Interpretation. 1827.
Cronc's (R.) Glossarial Interp. 1826.
Cuthbertson's Pract. and Expos. lectures. 1826.

Commentators.

Daubuz' Comm. 1720. (A useful symbolical dictionary is appended.)
Dent's Ruin of Rome. 1603.
Desprez' Apoc. fulfilled. 1854. (Disputes Cummings.)
Durham's (Jas.) Comm. 1658. (Often reprinted.)
Eclectic Magazine. 7:66.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 19:156.
Elliott's (E. B.) Critical and historical Com. 1844. (Numerous engrav. of medals, &c.)
Eyton's Dates in Daniel and the Rev. 1855.
Faber's (G. S.) Calendar of prophecy. 1828. (See British Critic. April, 1833.)
Fleming's Apoc. Key. 1793. (Curious.)
Foster's (J. W.) A. its own interpreter. 1853.
Fox's Prelections and meditations. 1722.
Frazier's Magazine. 16:477.
Fuller's (And.) Expos. discourses. 1815.
Fysh's Divine hist. of the Church. 1839.
Galloway's (Joseph) Commentary. 1802.
Galloway's (W. B.) Gate of prophecy. 1846.
Galton's (J. L.) Lectures on the A. 1859.
Gascoyne's Solution of the symbols. 1815.
Gauntlett's (H.) Exposition, in 44 lectures. 1820. (Praised by T. H. Horne.)
Gell's (P.) Histor. and crit. interp. 1854.
Girdlestone's (H.) Notes on the A. 1833.
Goodwin's (Tho.) Sermons on the A. 1690.
Govet's Rev. of J. literal and future. 1841.
Habershon's Historical Expos. 1841.
Head's (H. E.) Dialogues. 1747.
Hengstenberg on the A. Trans. by P. Fairbairn. 1852.
Hoare's Harmony of the Apoc. with other prophecies. 1848.
Holmes' (J. I.) Elucidation. 1815. (Opposes Faber, Cunningham, and Pastorini.)
Hooper's (F. B.) Exposition. 1861.
Hote (or L'Hote), A. expl. by history. 1855.
Huntingford's Voice of the last prophet. 1858.
Hutcheson's Guide to the study of A. 1857.
Irving's (Edw.) Exposition. 1831. (A series of lectures.)
Jenour's Expos. 1852. (Contains an analysis of the principal commentaries.)
Johnston's (Bryce) Commentary. 1794.
Jones' (Tho.) Interpreter. 1836. (Based on Gauntlett.)
Jones' (W.) Lectures on the A. 1830.
Keith's (Alex.) Harmony of prophecy. 1823.
Kelly's (Wm.) Lectures on the A. 1861.
Kershaw on the Principal passages. 1780.
Kitto's Jour. of Sacred Literature. 6:107.
Kollock's (S. K.) Sermons.
Knight's (John C.) Genuineness, authority, &c. 1842.
Lee (Prof.) On the study of Sc. 1840.
——— Events and times of the visions of John. 1851.
Lord's (D. N.) Exposition. 1847.
——— Theol. and Liter. Journal. (Many articles.)

Commentators.

Lovett's Revel. of John explained. 1831.
Lowman's (M.) Paraphrase and notes. 1737.
McCausland's Latter-days of the Jewish Church. 1841.
McLeod's Lectures on y^e prophecies of the Revelations. 1841.
Macdonald's (J. M.) Key to the Apoc. 1849.
Maurice's Lectures on the Apoc. 1860.
Mede's (Jos.) Key to the A. Tr. by R. More. 1643. And again by B. B. Cooper. 1835.
Methodist Quart. Review. 7:5.
Milner's (Jos.) Sermons on the A. 1790.
Mill's (John) Thoughts on the A. 1860.
Mitchell's (Jno.) New trans. and notes. 1805.
Morell's Connected Elucidation.
Murray's (Rich.) Study of the A. 1826.
Museum of For. Lit. 4:458. 7:157. 22:517.
Napier's (Lord John) Essay. 1593.
New Englander. 4:139. 5:585.
Newton (Sir I.) on the Apoc. 1728.
Overton (John) Chronology of the A. 1822.
Parks' (J. R.) Exposition. 1825.
Pearson's Prophetic char. of the A. 1783.
Pollock's (Robt.) Lectures on the A. 1858.
Porter's (S. T.) Christian prophecy. 1858.
Presbyterian Review. 1:529.
Princeton Review. 19:141.
Purves' Prophetic times. 1793.
Pyles' Preservative against Popery. 1735.
Robertson's (J.) Perpetual Comment. 1730. (Discusses the whole Millennary controv.)
Robertson's (D.) Structure and unity of the Apocalypse. 1815.
Roe's (R.) Analytical arrangement. 1834.
Rogers' (G.) Lectures on the A. 1844.
Roy's Exposition. 1848. (Numerous citations from the Talmud and ancient histories.)
Ryland (Robt.) on the A. 1850.
Sanderson's (R. B.) Essays. 1838.
Schmucker (S. S.) on the Revelat. 1852.
Scott's (W. H.) Interpretation of the A. 1853.
Skeen's 23 lectures on the A. 1857.
Snodgrass' Comm. and notes. 1799.
Stuart's (Moses) Comm. 1845.
Sutcliffe's (J. K.) Lectures on the A. 1850.
Taylor (L.) on Important passages. 1770.
Tillock's Introd. to the study of the A. 1819.
——— Opening of the sealed book.
Todd's (J. H.) Lectures on the A. 1846.
Vaughn's (Cha. J.) Lectures on the A. 1863.
Ward's (W.) Fulfilment of Revelation.
Whitaker's (E. W.) Com. 1802. ("A book of reference and authority."—Brit. Crit.)
Whitaker's (J.) Review of Gibbon's Rome. (Compels Gibbon to give testimony to the fulfilment of prophecy.)
Whitgift's Works. (Parker Society's pub.)
Wickes' (Thomas) Discourses. 1851. (With a chart.)
Winslow's (G. E.) Israel in the Apoc. 1857. (Finds the interpretation in the Hebrew people, and their enemies.)

Commentators.

Woodhouse's New trans. and notes. 1806. (Controverts Mede. "The best book of the kind I have seen."—HURD.)
The same, abridged. 1828. (The symbols are all understood in a spiritual, not literal sense.)
Wordsworth's Hulsean lectures. 1848.
——— Greek text, with MS. collations, Eng. trans. and notes. 1849.

ON SELECT PORTIONS.

Hoare's Christ in glory. On chap. 1. 1848.
Perkins' Expos. of first 3 chapters. 1607.
Phelps' Com. on first 5 chapters.
Moule's Lectures. Chap. 4-7. 1853.
Birk's Myst. of providence. " 8, 9. 1848.
Burton on " 10, 11. 1640.
Biley on " 12. 1848.
(Makes it the hist. of Arianism.)
James' (Horatio) Lectures on ch. 17, 18. 1850.

The preceding list, extended as it is, comprises but a minor portion of extant commentaries, though it probably omits few which are not either obsolete or unimportant. Those who choose to seek further for old writers, are referred to DORCHÆUS, *Historia interpretationibus.* 1674. SIMON, *Hist. crit. des principeaux com. du N. Test.* WALCH, *Bibliotheca.* 1693. These specify more than 1500 commentators who are not named here.

Commonplace Books. See ANALYSES.

Common Prayer. See BOOK OF C. P.

Common Sense. See MIND.

Turrettini (Jo. Alph.) Cogitationes.
Baxter's (Richard) Works. Vol. 2.
Beattie's Immutability of truth.
Buffier's First Truths.
Locke on the Understanding.
Oswald's Appeal in behalf of religion.
Reid's (Thomas) Works.
Sale's Preface to his trans. of the Koran.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.
University Quarterly. 2:85.
Watts' Essays. Ess. 4.
Wilson's (D.) Oxford Prize Essay. 1805.

Communion of Saints. See CHRISTIAN UNION, FELLOWSHIP, UNITY.

Ainsworth on the Communion of saints.
Arndt's Meditations.
Arnold's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Behmen's (Jacob) Works.
Bennet on the Communion of saints.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Gerhard's Fifty sacred meditations.
Grant's (Johnson) Sermons.
Hill's (G. D.) Practical Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Nicholson's (Will.) Sermons.
Ryan's (Vincent) Sermons.
Secker (Abp.) on the Catechism.
Spurgeon's (Charles H.) Sermons.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Wilson's Bampton lectures. 1851.

Communion with God. See DEVOTION.

Bennett's (W. J. E.) Sermons.
Charnock's Works.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 9:345.
Henry's (Matt.) Miscellaneous works.
Hussey's (Robt.) Sermons.
Moody on Communion with God.
Owen's (John) Sermons.
Phelps' (A.) Still Hour.
Pike's Guide to the Devotional.
Rutherford's Letters.
Ryan's (V. W.) Sermons.
Sandford's (John) Lectures.
Wilkes' (Sam. C.) Sermons.

Community of Goods. See SOCIALISM.

Company. See EVIL COMPANY, EXAMPLE, SOCIAL INTERCOURSE, YOUTH.

Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Bridges' (William) Sermons.
Calamy's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Cecil's Remains.
Clark's (John) Sermons to Youth.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Henry's (Matt.) Miscellaneous Works.
Jones' (Will., of Nayland,) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Pott's (J. H.) Sermons.
Rees' (Abraham) Practical sermons. (Exct.)
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Stennet's (Jos.) Discourses.
Trebeck's (Andrew) Sermons.
Tyerman's Evils of bad company.
Wake's (Abp.) Sermons.
Wright's (Samuel) Sermons.

Compassion. See SYMPATHY.

Abercrombie's Moral feelings. Part 1, sec. 2.
Butler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Enfield's (Will.) Sermons.
Gibson's (David) Sermons.
Mason's (William) Sermons.
Vincent's (William) Sermons.

Compulsion in Religion. See CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, PERSECUTION; TOLERATION.

Conceit. See PRIDE, SELF-CONFIDENCE.

Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Bourne's (Samuel) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Erskine's (Ralph) Sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.

Hunt's (Thomas) Dissertations.
Johnson's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Le Bas' (Cha. W.) Sermons.
Munkhouse's (Richard) Practical Sermons.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
Young's (Dr. John) Sermons.

Concordances. See PARALLELS.

HEBREW.

Bombergii Concordentiæ Ebrææ. 1523. (This is the concordance of Rabbi Nathan, edited by Bomberg.)
Buxtorfii Concordantiæ Ebrææ. 1632.
Calasii Conc. Sac. bibliorum Ebræicorum. 1621. (An invaluable work, serving not only as a Concordance, but as a Lexicon. By the side of the Hebrew words is the Latin translation of them; and in the margin, the differences between the Septuagint and Vulgate versions. The work is in four large folios, printed at the expense of the Pope. The edition of London, 1747, is the most esteemed.)
Fuerstii Conc. Vet. Test. Heb. atque Chaldaiæ. 1840. (An improved edition of Buxtorf, with indexes, tables, &c.)
Lanckischi Conc. Bib. Germanico-Ebraico-Græcæ Deutsche.
Nathan (Rabbi) Concord. Hebraica. 1523.
Noldii Conc. partic. Ebræo-chaldaicarum. 1675. (The edition of 1734 is the best.)
Ravii Fons Zionis. 1677. (An abridgment of Buxtorf.)
Reuchlini Conc. Ebraicarum capita. 1556. (A Latin trans. of Rabbi Nathan.)
Stephani (Henrici) C. Græco-Latinæ N. T.
Stephani (R.) Concord. utriusque Testam.
Tympii Concord. pronominum separatorum Ebræic. et Chaldaicorum.

Englishman's Concordance, Heb. and Chald.
Taylor's Heb. Conc. adapted to the English Bible. 1754. (A huge work.)

OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

Kircheri Concord. Vet. Test. Græcæ; Ebræis Vocibus respondentes. 1607.
Tromii Conc. Græcæ versionis. 1718. (Better than Kircherer for daily use; being, in fact, a good Hebrew concordance also. "Indispensable." — MICHAELIS. "The best concordance published in any language."—DR. HALES.)

OF THE LATIN VULGATE.

Dutripon, Conc. Bibliæ sacræ. 1838. (The latest and most complete.)
Frobenii Conc. majores; cum declinabilium tum indeclinabilium, utriusque Test. dictionum. 1500.
Hugo, Sac. Bib. Concord. 1479. (The edition of Beugens, 1606, is most esteemed.)
Stephani C. cum adnotationibus. 1555.
Tossani Concordantia. 1687.

Concordances—*continued.*

Various other Latin Concordances are extant among curious book collectors; obsolete, because better are to be had.

OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

Arnauld, Histoire et Concorde des quatre evangelistes.
Betulii C. N. Test. 1546. (The earliest.)
Bruderi Concordantia. 1842.
Buchner's Real und verbal C. 1858.
Schaffii Lex. Syriacum et Conc. N. T. 1720.
Schmidii C. Græca N. T. 1717. (The best.)
Stephani (H.) Conc. Græco Latinæ. 1816.

Englishman's Greek Concordance.
Gall's Interpreting C. of the N. Test. 1863. (Gives the Greek original of every word; with a glossary of all the words, and their varied renderings in the authorized English version.)
Symson's Alphabetical Concordance.
Williams' Concordance. (Gives the corresponding Hebrew root of every word, and the rendering in the authorized English version.)

ENGLISH.

Gibson's Concordance. 1536. (Of the New Testament only.)
Marbecke's Concordance; that is to saie, a worke wherein by the Ordre of the letters A B C, ye maie redely find any worde conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there mencioned. 1550. (The *first* Concordance to the English Bible. J. Fox, in his Martyrology, first edition, states that it was the chief cause of the Author's martyrdom.)

Knight's	Concordance.	1st Edition.	1610.
Cotton's (C.)	"	"	1630.
Bernard's	"	"	1644.
Wickens'	"	"	1655.
Newman's	"	"	1658.
Downame's	"	"	1671.
Powell's	"	"	1680.
Cambridge's	"	"	1689.
Clarke's	"	"	1696.
Pilkington's	"	"	1749.
Butterworth's	"	"	1767.
Fisher's	"	"	1786.
Taylor's	"	"	1801.
Bellamy's	"	"	1819.
Hawker's	"	"	1820.

None of these will compare in value with Cruden's Concordance. 1st Edition. 1737.

Concordat.

Arnoldi Historia Eccles. Lib. XVI.
De Boulay, Historia Academ. Paris.
Du Closs, Histoire de Louis XI.
Grevii Memoria.
Hainault, Histoire de France.
Horix, Concordata nationis German.
Musæi Prelectiones.

Munch's Vollständ. samlung aller alt. und neu Koncordät.
Salig, Historia Augsb. confessionis.

Burnet's History of the Reformation.

Concubinage. See LEWDNESS.

Breithauptii (J. J.) Dissertationes.
Encratitæ (P.) Epistolæ.
Gaji Institutiones. Lib. I.
Grotius de Jure. Lib. II.
Justiniani Institutiones. Lib. I.
Puffendorf de Jure. Lib. VI.
Stoltzii Questio. an concubinatus sit tolerabilior polygamia?
Thomasii (Christian.) Dissertationes. (*Pro.*)

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3.
Salmon on Marriage.

Concupiscence. See CHASTITY.

Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Sermons.
Brackenbury's (Edward) Sermons.
Jenkins' (Joseph) Sermons.
Newcombe's Sermons.
Piggot on the Commandments.

Condescension. See HUMILITY, MEEKNESS.

Brady's (Nicolas) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Marriott's (Hervey) Sermons.
Rees' (Abraham) Sermons.
Waterland's (Dean) Sermons.

Confessing Christ. See PROFESSION.

Confession of Sin. See AURICULAR C.

Baxter's (Rich.) Christian directory.
Bishop's (William) Sermons.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Bramhall's (Abp.) Sermons.
Bright's (George) Sermons.
Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Gouldburn's (Edward M.) Sermons.
Greenham's (Richard) Sermons.
Hole's (Matthew) Sermons.
Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Yonge's (James) Sermons.

Confessional. See AURICULAR CONFESSION.

Confessions of Faith. See CREEDS.

Confirmation. See IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

Bodeker (H. W.) ueber Confirmation.
Dallæi (Joann.) Disputationes.
Drieri (Christian.) Dissertationes.

Confirmation—*continued.*

Gau, de Valore manum impositionis.
Geuzken's Bibelsprüchen.
Hammond (H.) de Confirmatione.
Henhofer's Konfirmanden-Unterricht.
Morini Opera Posthuma.
Munchmeyer's Gedenkbuch fur Konfirm.
Musæus de Conversione hominis.
Orsi Dissertationes historico-theol.
Tombes' (A Baptist) Refutatio, &c.
Tournelii (H.) Prælectiones Theologiæ.

Allen (James) on Apostolical confirmation.
Baxter on Confirmation.
Beren's (Edw.) Lent lectures.
Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.
Bradford's (Samuel) Sermons.
Canfield on Confirmation.
Christian Observer. 22:753.
Clark's (Dr. Sam.) Exp. of the Church Cat.
Cranmer's (Abp.) Works.
Comber's Companion to the temple.
Creswell's (Daniel) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ellison's (L.) Sermons.
Frere's Doctrine of Confirmation.
Griffith's (Thomas) Lectures.
Hale's Method of preparation.
Hanmer (J.) on Confirmation.
Hare's (A. W.) Sermons.
Harmer's Exercitations.
Haverfield on Confirmation.
Henshaw on Confirmation.
Hopgood on Confirmation.
Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Lancaster on Confirmation.
Morris' Testimony of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, to Confirmation.
Myers' Christian Guide.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Patrick's Aqua genitalis.
Priaulx's (John) Sermons.
Robinson's Parochial Addresses.
Scott's (John) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Works.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Smyth's (Tho.) Rite of C. examined.
Southgate's (Richard) Sermons.
Stebbing's Defence of the order of conf.
Stubb's Sermons. Ser. on Heb. vi. 2.
Taylor (Jer.) on Episcopacy. Sect. 8.
Tyng (S. H.) on Confirmation.
Vaughn's (Cha. J.) Lectures.
Watson's Lectures on Confirmation.
Wilson on Confirmation.
Wood (Basil) on Confirmation.
Wordsworth's Instruc. for first communion.
Yardley on Confirmation.

Conflagration of the World.
See CONSUMMATION.

Conformity to the World.
See WORLDLINESS.

Confucius. See BUDHISM.

Acta Eruditorum. 1700.

Buddei (Jo. F.) Historia philosophicorum.
Pritii (J. G.) Controversia circa cultum C.

Legge's Chinese Classics. (The original text of Confucius, with Eng. trans. and notes.)

Confusion of Tongues.
See TOWER OF BABEL.

Abrami Pharus Vet. Testamenti. Lib. IV.
Buxtorf de Confusione linguarum.
Casaubon Diatribe de lingua Heb.
Cellarii Philologia Sacra.
Crinesius de Confusione linguarum.
Dieterici Antiquitates Biblicæ.
Meisner, de Conf. linguarum Babylonica.
Morini Exercitationes.
Quenstedtius de Confusione linguarum.
Scaligeri Exercitationes.
Simonis Hist. Crit. de V. Test. Lib. I.
Vitringæ Observationes. Diss. I.
Waltoni Prolegomena ad Bib. Polyglot.
Wotton de Confusione linguarum.
Zeiger de Confusione linguarum.

Abbott (Abp.) on the Conf. of tongues.
Bedford's Chronology. (Appendix.)
Berrington's (Simon) Dissertations.
Brerewood on the Diversity of languages.
Brett's Essay on the Conf. of tongues.
Calmet's Dissertations.
Charles' Dispersion of men at Babel, and the cause.
Christian Review. 13:510.
Close's (Francis) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 6. Prop. 119.
Fuller's (And.) Discourses on Genesis.
——— Revelation examined.
Hutchinson's (John) Works.
Jenkins' (Joseph) Sermons.
Jones' (J.) Tower of Babel.
Law's Theory of religion.
Le Clerc's Dissertations. Diss. 6.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Parkhurst's Essay on the Conf. of tongues.
Patrick's Commentary. *In loco.*
Shuckford's Connec. of Sac. and Prof. hist.
Smith's (C. S.) Lectures.
Stackhouse's History of the Bible.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. Bk. 2, ch. 15.
Ward's Dissertations. Diss. 2.
Wotton on the Conf. at Babel.

Congregationalists. See BROWNISTS.

Pro.

Stahl's Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestantismus.
Vinet, Memoire en faveur de la liberté des cultes.

Amer. Quart. Register. 1:159. 2:153. 4:307.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 15:661. 22:284.
Brett on Church government.
Bridge's (Wm.) Works.
Brokesby's Church of the first 3 centuries.
Brown's (Robt.) Works.
Burrough's (Jer.) Sermons.

Congregationalists—*continued.*

Pro.

Cambridge Platform. 1648.
Canne's (John) Zion's prerogative.
Chauncy's Ministry and Ordinances, &c.
Christian Disciple. 2:257. 5:236.
Chris. Examiner. 8:85. 17:177. 41:230, 427.
Christian Review. 6:246.
Clap's Doct. of N. Eng. churches. 1755.
Coleman's (L.) Ancient Christianity.
——— Apostolic church.
Confession of Faith, by the messengers of the churches assembled in Boston. 1680.
Congregational Magazine. London. 1818 to the present.
Cotton's (John) Keys of the kingdom.
——— Way of the churches in N. Eng.
Cummings' Dictionary of C. usages.
Davenport's Power of churches.
Davidson's (S.) Eccles. polity of the N. T.
Declaration of faith and order agreed upon at Savoy. 1658.
Declaration of the New England churches agreed upon at Saybrook. 1708.
Declaration of the National Council convened at Boston. 1865.
Dexter (H. M.) on Congregationalism. 1865.
Eaton & Taylor's C. way justified.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 23:649.
Fuller's (And.) Discipline of the primitive churches.
Gill's Body of Divinity.
Godwin's Government of the church.
Glas' (John) Works.
Innis on Church government.
Jacobs' (Henry) Divine institution of Christ's true church.
Johnson's (G. B.) Our principles.
Johnson's (Francis) Works.
Le Bosquet's Congregation manual.
Mather's (Rich.) Reply to Herle on Cong.
——— Reply to Rutherford.
Mather's (S.) Ratio disciplina.
——— Apology for the New Eng. churches.
Mather's (Increase) Order of New England churches.
Mitchell's Guide to the principles of the New England churches.
Moulin's (Lewis) Discipline and government of the primitive Christians.
New Englander. 1:586. 2:39, 180. 4:173, 182. 7:109.
Nye (Philip) on Church Government.
Owen's (John) Nature, power, &c., of the church.
——— True nature of Schism.
Payne's Manual of Cong. principles.
Pearsall (J. S.) on Congregationalism.
Sawyer's (L. A.) Organic Christianity.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 1:57, 113. 2:128, 370. 3:539.
Upham's (C. W.) Principles of C.
Upham's (Tho.) Ratio Disciplina.
Vaughn's Causes of the corruption of Christianity.

Congregationalists—*continued.*

Pro.

Vaughn's Congregationalism viewed in relation to the State and tendency of modern society. 1842.
Watt's Foundation of a church.
——— Sermons.
Wise's Church's quarrel espoused.
——— Gov. of New England churches.
Wisner's Hist. of Old South Church, Boston.
Wood's (L.) Lectures on Ch. government.

Con. See EPISCOPACY, ESTABLISHMENTS, PRESBYTERIANISM.

Allen (Wm.) on Catholicism.
Ayton on Church government.
Bastwick's Independency not of God.
Cawdrey's Independence a great schism. (Reply to Owen.)
——— Survey of Owen's rejoinder.
——— Inconsistencies of the Indep. way.
Edwards (Thos.) on Independ. government.
——— Gangrena.
——— Antapologia. (Against Godwin, Burroughs, &c.)
Herle on Congregationalism.
Lamb's Fresh suit against Independency.
Paget's Defence of Church government.
Porter's Ecc. system of the Independents.
Princeton Review. 27:239.
Rutherford's Government of the church.
Stillingfleet's Irenicum.
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor Dubitantium.
Vickars' (John) Picture of Independence.
[Walker's] History of Independence.
——— Anarchia Anglicana.
——— Cromwell's slaughter-house. (These books were published about 1661, under the assumed name of VERAX, and are very bitter.)

Congregationalists, Hist. of.

Bohn's Englische reformations-Historie.
Uden's Geschichte d. Congregationalisten in New-England.

Burnet's Hist. of his own times.
Clarendon's Hist. of the rebellion. (Unfair.)
Coleman's Indep. in Northampton. 1853.
Felt's Eccles. hist. of New England.
Fletcher's Revival of Independency in England since the Reformation.
Hanbury's Historical memorials.
Neale's History of the Puritans.
Punchard's Hist. of Congreg'm. To 1865.
Rapin's History of England. (An enormous misrepresentation.)
Taylor's (Rich.) Hist. of the union between the Presbyt. and Cong. churches in and about London. 1698.
Uden's New England theocracy.
Vaughn's (Robt.) Essays on history, &c.
Waddington's Cong. church history.
Walker's Hist. of Independency. To 1651.
Whiston, Memoirs of.

Congress of Nations. See WAR, PEACE.

Amer. Whig Review. 5:341.
Amer. Quart. Observer. 2:50.
Beckwith's Prize Essay.
Bolles on a Congress of nations.
Christian Examiner. 29:83.
Ladd's (Wm.) Essay on a Cong. of Nations.
Meth. Quart. Review. 2:220.
North Brit. Review. 16:1.
Reports of Amer. Peace Society.
Reports of London Peace Society.

Conjugal Duties. See MARRIAGE, HUSBANDS, WIVES.

Grantham's (Tho.) Sermons on conj. duties.

Connection of Body and Mind. See RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE.

Connection of O. and N. Testam.

Alexander's Congregational Lecture. 1853.
Daubeney's (Archdeacon) Discourses.
Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ.
Jones' (Wm., of Nayland,) Lectures.
Prideaux's Connection of O. and N. Test.

Connection of Sac. and Prof. Hist. See TESTIMONY OF PROFANE AUTHORS.

Diodorus Siculus, Historia.
Jægeri Hist. ecclesiastica, cum parallelismo profanæ.
Jurieu, Histoire critique.
Tornielli Annales, ab orbe condito. (Explains numerous difficulties in Scripture chronology, geography, &c.)

Blakie's (W. G.) Bible history.
Davidson's Connection of sac. and prof. hist.
Gray's Connect. between the Scriptures and heathen authors; particularly in the classical ages. ("Profound and elegant."—ORME.)
Nary's New history of the world. 1720.
Russel's Con. of sac. and prof. history, from the death of Joshua to the decline of the kingdom of Judah. (Completes the work of Shuckford.)
Scaliger's Works.
Shuckford's Con. of sac. and prof. history.
Smith's (Geo.) Sacred annals.
Thompson's (And.) Scripture History.
Whiston's (Wm.) Sacred History; from the creation to Constantine.

Consanguinity, Degrees of, Forbidden in Marriage. See COUSINS, INCEST.

Anselm, de Nuptis consanguineorum.
Brower, de Jure Connubiali. Lib. XI.
Butler's (C.) Syngenia.
Fleury, Institutiones.
Hericourt, des Lois Eccles. Part 2.
Puffendorf, de Jure naturæ, &c.

Alleyne's Degrees of consang. considered.
Cummings on Marriages between kindred.

Consanguinity—*continued.*

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 60.
Foster's Review of the law prohibiting, &c.
Fry on Marriages between kindred.
Marshall on Marriages between parties related; with a history of opinions on this subject, and the action of ecclesiastical bodies. 1843.
Taylor's Civil Law touching marriage.
Turner's Defence of the marriage of an Uncle with the daughter of his half-brother.
Wynne's Miscellany. (Argues for the unlimited extension of collateral consang.)

Conscience. See GOOD CONSCIENCE, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

Danhaveri Dissertationes.
Drexellii Trismegistus Christianus.
Gisberti Antiprobalismus.
Hermes' grosse Lehre vom Gewissen.
Sanderson, de Obligatione conscientiæ.

Abercrombie's Moral feelings. Part 3.
Allestree's (Rich.) Sermons.
Anderson's (J. S. M.) Sermons.
Appleton's Works.
Barcroft's Rule of Conscience.
Basnage's Treatise on Conscience.
Bolton's Intructions for afflicted consciences.
Bradshawe's (John) Discourses.
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Brown's Philosophy of the mind.
Butler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Carr's (Geo.) Sermons.
Charnock's Works.
Christian Examiner. 13:69.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 2:337, 393.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 7:629.
Christian Review. 12:369.
Colston's (Alex.) Essays.
Emmon's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Fidde's (Richard) Sermons.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Fuller's Cause and cure of a wounded C.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.
Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
King's C. considered as to obligation.
Lowth's (Bp.) Sermons.
Methodist Quart. Review. 3:5.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Palmer on the Doctrine of the development of conscience.
Placette on Conscience.
Princeton Review. 12:299.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Works.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Shephard on Conscience.
Smith's (Sam. S.) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor Dubitantium.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Trapp's (Joseph) Sermons.
Universalist Quarterly. 2:90. 6:168.
Vincent's (John) Sermons.
Walker's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Wayland's Limits of Human Responsibility.
Whewell's (W.) Sermons.
Woodhouse's (G. W.) Sermons. (Hardening conscience.)

Consideration.

Atterbury's (Francis) Sermons.
Bourne's (Samuel) Sermons.
Bromley's (R. A.) Sermons. (On our latter end.)
Carr's (Geo.) Sermons.
Fawcett's (J.) Sermons.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Horneck's Great law of consideration.
Lardner's (Nath.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons
Westcott's Sermons.
Woodhouse's (G. W.) Sermons.
Wroughton's (Charles) Sermons.
Zollikoffer on Festivals and Fasts.

Consistency of Reason and Revel. See HARMONY OF REASON AND FAITH.

Consistency of Conduct.

Baxter's (R.) Christian Directory.
Cox's (R. C.) Sermons.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Fisk's (Geo.) Sermons.
Heurtley's (Cha. A.) Sermons.
Hewlett's (J. P.) Sermons.
Jeter's (J. B.) Sermons.
Lewis (J.) on Christian duties.
Mannering on Christian consistency.
Taylor's (Daniel) Sermons.
Thornwell's (J. H.) Discourses on Truth.
Titcomb on Inconsistency of conduct.

Consolation. See AFFLICTION, CHEERFULNESS, COMFORT, DESPONDENCY.

Alexander's (J. W.) Discourses.
Bateman's (Josiah) Sermons.
Becon's (Thomas) Works.
Collings' Cordial for the fainting.
Colquhoun on Spiritual comfort.
Downame's (Bp.) Sermons.
East on Affliction and desertion.
Fuller's (Andrew) Sermons.
Hall's Help to Zion's travellers.
Kempis' Imitation of Christ.

Constancy. See STEADFASTNESS.

Seneca, Opera moralia.

Bloomfield's (C. J.) Sermons.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Declarations.
Cook's (Shadrach) Sermons.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
Evans on Christian Temper.
Gerard's (Alexander) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Sermons.

Paterson's (James) Sermons.
Sullivan's (Henry W.) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Vaughn's (Charles) Sermons.

Constantine.

Cellarii Dissertationes.
Dalhusii (Enewaldi) Dissertationes.
Gualtheri Diatriba Elenchtica.
Nicolai (Jo.) de Constantini baptismo.
Polli (Reginald) Dissertationes.
Sandini (Antonii) Dissertationes Historicæ.
Schwezfleishii Disputationes.

Constantine's Vision.

Baringii (Nicol.) Dissertationes.
Cellarii (Chris.) Dissertationes Academicæ.
Fabricii (Jo. Albert.) Exercitationes Criticæ.
Granville, sur la verité de la vision, &c.
Koeberi (Jo. Frider.) Dissertationes.
Molinet, Dissertation Historique.
Schmidii (And.) Dissertationes.
Wolfii Dissertationes.

Consubstantiation.

Pro.

Andreæ (Abrah.) Opera.
Baumgarten (S. I.) Theses Theologicæ.
Callixti Epitome theologia moralis.
Chemnitius, Fundamenta doctrinæ, &c.
Ernesti Opuscula Theologica.
Heshusii Defensio, &c. (Violent.)
Kapp's liturgische Grundsätze.
Lutheri Opera.
Melancthon, de Controv. cœnæ Domini.
Musæi Introductio ad theologiam.
Sartor's Abendmahlslehre.
Scheibel's Abendmahl des Herrn.
Schrœderus de Vero corpore et sang., &c.
Zeibichii Disputationes quatuor.

Con.

Bezæ Opera.
Danæus contra Chemnitium.
Hoffmanni Errores XVII. Jac. Andreæ.
Œcolampadii Dialogus de Cœna.
Rung's Nothwendigen Unterricht.
Sturmii Epistola Apologetica.

Consummation of the World.
See DURATION OF THE WORLD.

Origen contra Celsus.
Cyprian de Casu stellarum in fine mundi.

Balduin de Fine seculi.
Benner de Exaustione mundi.
Benzelii Syntagma dissertationum.
Grotius de Veritate.
Hippolyti Orationes.
Klemmius de Orbe hoc interito, sed non annihilando.
Landius de Excidio universi totali.
Osiandri (Adam) Dissertationes.
Osiandri (Andr.) Conjecturæ.
Wagneri Tractationes theologicæ.
Christian Examiner. 29:207. 34:75.
Fleming on the Millennium.
Ibbot's Dissolution of the world by fire.
Joye's Conjectures on the end of the world.
Knight's (J.) Sermons.
More's (H.) Theological works.
Ray's Miscellaneous works.
——— Three discourses.

Contempt of the World. See OVERCOMING THE WORLD, WEANEDNESS, WORLDLINESS.

Contending for the Faith.

Gregory Naz., de Moderatione in disputat.
Jaegerus de Moderatione in controv. theol.

Beattie on Faith.
Benson's (C.) Sermons.
Bishop's (Tho.) Moyer lectures. 1724, 1725.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Dickinson's (D.) Truth's victory over error.
Hey's Lectures. (Rules for conduct. contr.)
Hoadley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hook's (W. F.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Howe's (John) Sermons.
Howarth's Hulsean lectures. 1836.
Lancaster's (Tho. W.) Sermons.
Ogden's (Sam.) Sermons.
Robinson's Claude on the comp. of a sermon.
Smith (Rich.) on Religious controversy.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
Toulmin's (Josh.) Sermons.
Wake's (Abp.) Sermons.
Watts on the Improvement of the mind.
Wrangham's (Francis) Sermons.

Contention. See PEACEABLENESS.

Contentment. See PEACE OF MIND, RESIGNATION.

Du Moulin, de la Paix de l'ame.

Amory's (Tho.) Sermons. 5 on this subj.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Barrow's (S.) Sermons.
Bell's (W.) Sermons.
Berriman's (W.) Sermons.
Brougham's (John) Sermons.
Brownrig's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burroughs' (Jer.) Sermons.
Burrows' (E. J.) Sermons.
Carr's (Geo.) Sermons.
Carrington's (James) Sermons.
Claggett's (Wm.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Delany's (Pat.) Sermons.
D'Oyley's (Geo.) Sermons.
Du Moulin on Peace of soul. Trans. by J. Scrape.
Enfield's (Wm.) Sermons.
Evans on Christian temper.
Fletcher's (Jos.) Posthumous sermons.
Gataker's (Tho.) Sermons.
Hales' (Sir I.) Contemplations.
Harwood's Duty and delight of contentment.

Contentment—*continued.*

Haynes' Illustrations of faith and practice.
Hunt's (Jer.) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Katterus' (Dan.) Sermons.
Knagg's (Tho.) Sermons.
Knowles' (Tho.) Sermons.
Mason's Christian morals.
Mede's (Jos.) Works.
Milner's (Jos.) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Pakington's Art of C.
Paley's (Wm.) Sermons.
Patrick's (Bp.) Sermons.
Price's (Rich.) Sermons.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sibbs' (Rich.) Sermons.
Smith's (Henry) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Holy living.
Tucker's Light of nature. Chap. 34.
Vaughn's (Henry) Sermons.
Watson's Art of Divine contentment.
Williams' (Alfred) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Fasts and festivals.

Controversy. See CONTENDING FOR THE FAITH, PEACEABLENESS, POLEMICS.

Contradictions of Scripture. See APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS.

Conversation. See SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Contingency. See NECESSITY, SCIENTIA MEDIA.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Clark's (Sam.) Boyle lectures.
Grove on Human liberty.
——— on Wisdom.
Hutchinson's Metaphysics.
Jackson on Human liberty.
Limborch's Theology.
Locke's Essays.
More's Enchiridion. Bk. 3, ch. 2.
Ridgeley's Body of divinity.
Watt's Ontology.

Conversion. See CONVICTION.

Fechtius de Ordine et modo gratiæ.
Koenigii Tractationes theologicæ.
Musæi Tractatio de conversione.

Ambrose's (I.) Looking to Jesus.
Bellamy's (Joseph) Discourses.
Berens' (Edward) Sermons.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 23:48.
Bisland's Preaching the Cross.
Charnock's (Stephen). Sermons.
Close's (F.) Sermons.
Cooper's (James) Sermons.
Craig's Cases recorded in the N. Testament, defective, doubtful. and real.
Doddridge's Rise and progress of religion in the soul.
Du Bosc's (P. T.) Sermons.

Conversion—*continued.*

Fuller's (And.) Sermons.
Gale's (John) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Works.
Hickman's (Bp.) Sermons.
Leifchild (John) on Christian experience.
Sibbs' Soul's conflict and victory.
——— Bruised reed, and smoking flax.
Spencer (Theod.) on Conversion.
Stewart's (J. H.) Sermons.
Stovel's Pastoral appeals.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Whichcott's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wright's Discourses.
Zanchius' How a man may know he is a child of God.

Conversion of Paul. See PAUL.

Augustin, Sermones.
Adami Exercitationes exegeticæ.
Kuckleri Dissertationes. (One is on the *date* of Paul's conversion.)
Spanheimii Dissertationes. (On the epoch of Paul's conversion; and on the name Paul.)

Bather's (Edw.) Sermons.
Burder's (Geo.) Village sermons.
Cennick's (John) Discourses.
Cooper's (E.) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Glasse's (Dr. Sam.) Lectures.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of sermons. (Superb.)
Heber's (Bp.) Sermons at Hodnet.
Lyttleton on the Conversion of Paul.
Marshall's (N.) Sermons.
Neve's (Timothy) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Townsend's (Geo.) Sermons.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whitefield's (Geo.) Sermons.

Conversion of the Jews.

Altingii Spes Israelis.
Diefenbach's Verschiedene Urtheile, &c.
Hoorneck de Convincendis Judæis.
Hosmann's Schwehr zu Bekehrenden Judenhertz.
Raw's Bekehrung d. Juden zu befœrdern.
Spanheim (Fred.) Elenchus controversiarum. (On the causes of the unbelief of the J.)
Wasmuth's Besten mitteln, die Juden zu bekehren.
Zeltner, de Impedimentis et adjumentis conv. Judæorum præcipuis. ✝

Atkin's Christians bound to diffuse Christ'y.
Bicheno's Crisis of all nations.
Blaney on Jeremiah. Chap. 30 and 31.
Calvert's Naphtali.
Clarke (Sam.) on the Promises.
Clayton's (Bp.) Dissertations.

Conversion of the Jews—*continued.*

Collyer's Glory of Israel.
Cooper's (C.) Sermons at the Jews' chapel. London.
Deluc's Letters to Jews.
Durell's Paral. proph. of Jacob and Moses.
Eyre's Observations on prophecy.
Faber's Gen. view of the prophecies relating to the restoration of the Jews.
Fletcher's Israel redux.
Girdlestone's (Cha.) Sermons.
Gregoire on the Physical, moral, and political reformation of the Jews.
Israel's Advocate. Periodical.
Jerram's (Cha.) Theological treatises.
Jewish Expositor. Periodical. London.
Lardner's Circumstances of the Jews.
Mather's (Increase) Mystery of Israel's salvation.
Priestley's Evidences of revealed religion.
Scott's Answer to Rabbi Crool.
Sermons before the London Society for the conv. of the Jews. (By Cooper, Cunningham, Graves, Gillies, Noel, &c.)
Thelwall's Scripture encouragement.

Conversion of the World.
See MILLENNIUM, MISSIONS.

Conviction of Sin. See INQUIRERS.

Arnold's (Tho.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bateman's (Josiah) Sermons.
Charnock's (Steph.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edw.) Sermons.
Halyburton's Great concern.
Henry's Letters to an anxious inquirer.
James' Anxious Enquirer.
Joles' Word to afflicted consciences.
Noel's (G. T.) Family sermons.
Oxenden's Pathway of safety.
Spencer's (J. S.) Pastoral sketches.
Spring's (Gardner) Essays. Ess. 4.
Trench's (Richard) Sermons.
Wilcox's Letters of instruction and comfort.

Copts. See EGYPT, JACOBITES.

Bonjour, Monumenta Coptica.
Gerhardi (Ernest.) Dissertationes.
Kircheri Prodomus Coptus.
Makrizii Hist. Coptorum christianorum.
Sollerus de Erroribus et institutis Copto-jacobiticis.
——— de Patriarchis Alexandrinis.
Tromler's Abbildung der Copt-kirche. (As in 1749.)

Butler's Horæ Biblicæ. Ch. 13.
Stanley's Hist. of the Eastern Church.

Corban.

Capelli (L.) Corban.
Meinhardtii Dissertationes Philolog.

Cordeliers. See FRANCISCANS.

Corporation and Test Acts. See DISSENT, SUBSCRIPTION TO CREEDS.

Pro.

Crofts' (Dr.) Sermons.
Ellis on the Sacramental test.
Fox's Speech in the House of Commons, on the repeal, &c.
Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, on the repeal, &c. 1790. (And other speeches on that occasion.)
Sherlock's (Bp.) Hist. of the test act.
——— Vindication of the test act.
Warburton (Bp.) on the Alliance between Church and State.

Con.

Bogue on the C. and T. acts.
Bristow's Cursory reflections.
Chandler's (Sam.) Works.
Heathcote on the C. and T. acts.
Loft's Hist. of the C. and T. acts.
——— Defence of the History.
Pearce's Nat. and tendency of the, &c.
Pierce's Reflections on Sherlock's vind.
——— (Other treatises.)
Priestley's Letter to Pitt, occasioned by his speech, &c.
Robinson (Robt.) on Sacramental tests.

Many books contain discussions of this subject, some of which are named elsewhere under "Dissent," "Establishments," and "Toleration;" but the controversy has subsided. "An arranged catalogue of the publications relating to the repeal of the corp. and test acts, from 1772 to 1790, containing a list of 165 pamphlets, mostly anonymous," was printed by J. Johnson, London, 1790. The full titles and date of publication are given in each case. There is also a list of tracts for and against the repeal in Kippis' Edition of Doddridge's lectures.

Corruption of Antediluvians.

Hall's (Robt.) Notes of sermons.

Cosmology. See CREATION.

De Serres, la Cosmogone de Moise.
Grotius de Veritate.
Johann, Kosmogonische Ansichten der Jud.
Kurtz's Bibel und Astronomie.
Moeller's Kosmologie in d. griechischen Kirche. (Compared with the Gnostic system.)
Shultz's Astron. Copernicum instaurata rel.

Bibliotheca Sacra. Jan., 1854.
Chevalier's Hulsean lectures. 1827.
Christian Examiner. 59:379.
Dawson's (J. W.) Archaia.
Hamilton's Pentateuch and its assailants.
Hoare's Veracity of the book of Genesis.
Howard's Scrip. hist. of the earth, compared with Oriental traditions.
Huxtable's (E.) Sacred record of Creation.
Kurtz's Bible and astron. Tr. by Simonton.

Lewis' (Taylor) Six days of creation.
Lord's Theol. and Literary Journal. 8:271. (Review of Lewis.)
Mitchell's Astronomy of the Bible.
Rhinds' Six days of creation.
Robinson's (N.) Christian Philosopher.

Councils. See CANONS, SYNODS.

Aguirre, Collectio Concil. Hispanæ, &c., cum notis et dissertationibus, &c.
——— Cura et labore Catalini.
Amyraldi Disputationes Theologicæ.
André, Hist. chron. et dogmat. des C. to 1851.
Annati Apparatus ad positivam theol. meth.
Augustini Epitome Juris Pontificii.
Aymon, Synodes Nationaux d'Eglisses Reformees en France.
Bail, Summa conc. omnium.
Balusii Nova Collect. Conciliorum.
Beveridgii Pandectæ, Canon. S. S. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab. eccl. Græca receptorum.
Biancini et Nerri, Hist. Ecclesiasticæ.
Binii Concilia General. et Provinc. Græca et Latina. (9 vols., fol.)
Binterim's Pragmatische Gesch., &c. (From 400 to 1400.)
Cabassutii Notitia Conc. ecclesiæ.
Camerarii Enumeratio œcumenicar. Synod.
Cappeli Thesaurus disputat. theologicæ.
Carranze Summa Conciliorum.
Catalini C. Œcumenicæ Prolegomenis.
Cave, Notitia Historica omnium concil.
Cellier, Hist. generale des Auteurs sacrès.
Chowanetz's Handbuch aller Concilien.
Chytræi Catalogus Conciliorum.
Coleti Sacro-Sancta Concilia. (A collection filling 30 folios.)
Collection Universelle et Complète des conciles generaux, nationaux, provinceaux, et synodeaux. (80 vols. 1858.)
Cossartii S S. concilia.
Cupii Dissertationes.
De Rives, Epitome Canonum C.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica.
Filsjeau Dictionaire des Conciles.
Harduini Collectio max. conciliorum.
Hardt, Historia Œcumen. concilii.
Hefele's Concilien Geschichte.
Hermant, Hist. de C. depuis la naissance de l'eglise jusq. present. 1704.
Hildebrandi Hist. Concil. a nato Christi.
Labbei S. S. Concil. collectio. (The latest and perhaps the most complete edition of the councils. 1759–1798. 31 vols., folio.)
Leandri Historia et Harmonia Conciliorum.
Longi (F.) Summa concilior. omnium.
Lupi Notæ et dissertationes.
Luther de Conciliis.
Maire, Le promptuaire des Conciles.
Mansi Conciliorum collectio nova. (A supplement to Coletus.)
Merlinus de Conciliis Generalibus.,
Pons, Dictionaire des Concils.

Councils.

Potter, l'Esprit de l'Eglise. (Equivalent to a full ecclesiastical history.)
Pratioli Narratio historica C. omnium.
Prideaux (J.), Opera. (Synopsis of all C.)
Richard, Analyse des conciles généraux et particuliers.
——— Analysis C. generalium et particular.
Salmon, Etude des Conciles.
Schannat Concilia Germaniæ. (An immense collection.)
Selnecceri Catalogus brevis præcip. C.
Stumpff's Grossen gemeinen conciliums.
Surii Concilia Omnia.
Sutlivius de Conciliis et eorum auctoritate. (Against Bellarmin.)
Tregarii Paradoxa de Conc. auctoritate.
Wessenberg's Kirchenversammlungen.
Wilkins' Concilia Brittaniæ et Hiberniæ. (A. D. 1346 to A. D. 1717.)

Baxter's (Rich.) True history of Councils.
Cave's Gov't of the ancient church.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 6:520.
Comber's Roman forgeries in the councils of the first 4 centuries, and in the annals of Baronius.
Dupin's Dissertations and History of eccles. writers. (To the end of the 12th century. "Distinguished for integrity and moderation."—HALLAM.)
Eclectic Magazine. 12:357.
Grier's General Councils. (From the Council of Nice, 325, to the end of that of Trent, 1563.)
Hammond's Definitions of faith.
Hey's (Dr. J.) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Hilarius on Synods.
James on the Councils and Fathers.
Jenkins' Authority of general councils. (Showing their false dealings.)
Prideaux's Synopsis of Councils.
Pusey's Councils of the Church. (To 381.)
Richer's History of General Councils.
Spelman's Roman Forgeries.

PARTICULAR COUNCILS.

Writers differ as to the number of Councils called "General," or embracing the whole Church. Romanists reckon 18, Beveridge 8, Prideaux 7, Bullinger 6. They are usually reckoned to be 10. As named here, they stand in alphabetical order.

ANTIOCH. A. D. 345. See PHOTINIANS.

Schelstrate, Sacrum Antiochenum C.

BASLE. A. D. 1431.

Ferrier, Concil. Basiliense.
Gratii Fasciculus rerum expectandarum et fugiendarum.
L'Enfant Hist. de la guerre des Hussites.

Martene, Thesaurus anecdotorum. (Fourteen folios of documents, now of small value. See list of contents in Dowling's Notitia.)
Sylvius de Concilio Basiliensi.

CARTHAGE. A. D. 252.

Balduini Disputationes de ecclesia.
Massonii Gesta Collationis C. habitæ.
Pontius' Life of Cyprian.

CHALCEDON. A. D. 451. 4th General Council. See EUTYCHIANS, NESTORIANS.

Francisci, Chalcedonensi Concilia.
Pelasgi Schola fidei.
Rumpæi Commentatio de symbolis.

CONSTANCE. A. D. 1414–1418.

Chastanet, Nouvelle hist. du C. du Const.
Ferrier, Conc. Constantiense.
Hardt [or Von Der Hardt] Hist. Œcumenicum Concilium Constantiensis. (Fine portraits of all the leading members, and views of remarkable places. 7 volumes, folio.)
L'Enfant, Hist. du C. de Constance.
Marmor's Konzil zu Konstanz.
Müller's (F. D.) Kampf um d. Autoritat, &c.
Vries, Historia Concilii Constantinensis.
Wissenberg's Kirchenversammlungen.

L'Enfant's Conc. of C. Tr. by S. Whateley. ("I cannot recommend it too highly."—Bp. Burnett.)

I. CONSTANTINOPLE. A. D. 381. 2d General Council. See MACEDONIANS, SABELLIANS.

Cowper's (B. H.) Syriac miscellanies.

II. CONSTANTINOPLE. A. D. 553. 5th General Council. See ARIANS, ORIGEN.

Verpoortenii Hist. Conc. 2d Constant.
Crackenthorp's 5th General Council. (Refutes Baronius. Preface by D. Featley.)

III. CONSTANTINOPLE. A. D. 680. 6th General Council. See IMAGE WORSHIP, MONOTHELITES.

IV. CONSTANTINOPLE. A. D. 754.

Some call this the 7th General Council, but it is generally rejected, and the 2d C. of Nice called the 7th.

V. CONSTANTINOPLE. A. D. 869. 8th General Council.

Raderi Acta Concilii octavi.
Crackenthorp's Fift Generall Covncel at Constantinople.

EPHESUS. A. D. 431. 3d General Council. See EUTYCHIANS, NESTORIANS.

Allatii (Leo) Vindicat. Syn. Ephesinæ.
[Hermannus Pacificus, seu Herdesiani,] de Synod. Ephesina, cum adjunctis thesibus.
Lucii Doct. et certamina Synodi Ephesinæ.
Lupi Opera.
Pelargi Schola Fidei.
Rumpæi Commentarius de Symbolis.
Tabberti Dissertationes.

Christian Examiner. 54:49.

FLORENCE. A. D. 1439.

Abrami Acta Synodi Florentini.
Allatius de Ecclesia.
Creightoni Historia Conc. Florentini.
Justiniani Conc. Florentini acta.
Purmanni (J. G.) Narratio, &c.
Syropuli Vera Hist. unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos.

FRANKFORT. A. D. 1794.

Curtius de C. Francofurtensis.
Dorschii Collatio ad Conc. Francofurtensim.
Struvii Historia Conc. Franc.

I. JERUSALEM.

Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Heidegger de Libertate Christianorum.
Ittigius de Hæreses ævi apostolici.
Leonhardi Diatribe de decreto C. Hierosol.
Schelvigii Exercitatio de C. Hierosol.
Stigzelii Diss. de Conc. Apostolico.

II. JERUSALEM. A. D. 1672.

Aymon, Memoires de la relig. des Grecs.
Bassnage, Hist. des Eglises Reformees.
Gisberti Cuperi epistolæ.

Crowell's State of the Greek church.

I. LATERAN. A. D. 1123. 9th General Council. See CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

Evans' Statutes of the C. of Lateran.

II. LATERAN. A. D. 1139. 10th General Council. See IMAGE WORSHIP, WALDENSES.

Buddei Miscellanea sacra.
Cennii Conc. Lateranensis.
Hannius de C. Lateranensis.
Raymondi Decretalium Gregorii IX.
Walchii Commentarius de Conc. L.

There were several other Lateran Councils. That of 1512 (5th) annulled decrees of the Council of Pisa.

MENTZ.

Sagittarii Introd. ad Hist. ecclesiasticum.
Schmidius (Jo. And.) Dissertationes.

NICE. A. D. 325. 1st General Council. See ARIANISM, CREED NICENE.

Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Baieri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Beausobre, Histoire de Manicheisme.
Benzelii Vindiciæ Conc. Nicenæ.
Camerari Hist. synodi Nicenæ.
Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Dorschei Exercitationes.
Eisenschmid, über de Unfehlbark, &c.
Fichtii Dissertationes. (*Acta erud.*)
Gelasii Acta N. conc. cum corrollario.
Ittigii Hist. Synodorum in Gallia.
Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Universelle.
Mentzeri Exercit. historico-theologica.
Pisani Acta Consilii Nicæni.
Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrinorum.
Sandii Hist. Concilii N.

Boyle's Trans. of Eusebius. (Introd.)
Cowper's Syriac Miscellanies.
Crucc's Histor. view of the C. of Nice.
Kaye's (Bp.) Acc. of the Council of Nice.
Tillemont's History of the C. of Nice.

II. NICE. A. D. 786. 7th General Council. See IMAGE WORSHIP.

Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Baieri Disputationes.
Gelasii Commentarius actorum Con. N.
Ittigii Hist. Synodorum in Gallia.
Mentzeri Bibliotheca.

Comber (T.) on the 2d C. of Nice.

PISA. A. D. 1409.

Acta Concilii Pisani.
Hieronymus de Croaria Conc. Pisani.
Lenfant, Histoire de C. de Pise.

SIRMIUM.

Dorschei Collatio hist. C. Sirmienses.
Mansi Collectio nov. Conciliorum.
Petavii Theologia Dogmatica.
Sirmondi (R.) C. Antiqua Galliæ.

TRENT. A. D. 1545-1563. 10th General Council.

Aymon, Lettres et memoires du Nonce Visconti.
Baumgarten (S. I.), Observ. de C. Trident.
Bungener, Histoire du C. de Trent.
Calvini Acta Synodi Tridentini.
Canones et Decreta C. Trid. (Many editions: that of Richter, 1853, is very complete.)
Cellarii Disputationes. Disp. XVII.
Chemnitii Examen concilii T. (In this immortal work, not only are the doctrines of this celebrated council ably refuted, but the truth happily inculcated.)
Danzii Libri symbolici eccl. Catholicæ.
Dupin, Hist. du C. de T. et des choses qui se sont passees en Europe touchant la relig.
Ebelingi Examen C. Tridentini.
Gentilleti Examen C. Tridentini.
Gentillet, le Bureau du C. de Trent. (To prove that its decisions are contrary to those of the ancient councils.)
Heideggeri C. Trident. Anatomia.
——— Tumulus C. Trid. (Reply to Reding.)
Hottingeri Dissertationes.
Jurieu, Abregé de l'hist. du C. de T. avec reflexions.
Köllner, de Actis C. Tridentini.
Labbæ C. Trid. Canones et decreta, cum aliis in concilio gestis.
Le Plat, Monumentorum ad hist. C. Trident. (Embraces 1400 treatises, protests, &c., in 8 volumes, quarto.)
Lettres, Anecdotes, et Memoires. (Acta erud. 1719.)
Meincii Christus a C. Trid. excommunicat.
Mendham, Acta Conc. Tridentini.
Mollinæus de C. Tridentini.
Paliotto, Acta Conc. Tridentini.
Pauli (Sarpi, sive Polani, "Father Paul,") Conc. du Trente. (Translated into many languages. Exposes the intrigues with which it was conducted.)
Reding's Concilia Tridentini.
Salig's Historie des Tridentischen C.
Thuani Historia C. Tridentini.
Vargas, Lettres et Memoires.

Buckley's Canons and decrees of the C. of T.
——— Catechism of the C. of T.
——— History of the C. of Trent.
Bungener's Hist. of the C. of Trent. Tr. by Scott.
Calvin's Tracts. (Pub. of Parker Society.)
Cramp's (J. M.) Text Book of Popery. (A fair and convenient abridgment.)
Fysh's (Fred.) Beast and his image.
Geddes' C. of T. no free assembly.
——— Miscellaneous tracts.
Jurieu's Hist. of the C. of Trent. (An epitome of Father Paul.)
Luzancy's Reflections on the C. of T.
Matthias' Hist. of the C. of T. (Brief.)
Mendham's Hist., &c., from MSS. and unpublished records.
Paul's Hist., &c. Trans. by N. Brent.
Ranchin's Review of the C. of Trent.
Stillingfleet's C. of T. exam. and disproved.
Watermouth's Trans. of the canons and decrees, &c., with the external and internal history of the council.

It is of no consequence what general councils have done, except as part of the history of mankind. They have not contributed either to the peace or the purity of the church. Those who would search further, will find plenty of books named by BRUNET, *Manuale du libraire;* CAVE, *Hist. literaria scriptorum conciliorum:* SALMON, *Etude des conciles.* The catalogue of a single London bookseller, DAVID NUTT, 1851, offers several hundred on this subject, besides those given above.

Courage. See FORTITUDE.

Bloomfield's (C. J.) Sermons.
Davies' (S.) Sermons. (Curse of cowardice.)
Dowling's (J. G.) Sermons.
Evans' (Arthur B.) Sermons.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Hogg's Supports for the timorous.
Hutchinson's (A.) Sermons.
Lloyd's (Pearson) Sermons.
Roe's (James) Sermons.
Webb's (Francis) Sermons.
Williams' (Alfred) Sermons.

Courtesy. See CLERICAL HABITS, POLITENESS.

Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 5:57.
Christian Observer. 3:83.
Davis' Discourses on Courtesy.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Hervey's (Geo. W.) Principles of courtesy.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Mason's (William) Sermons.
Stebbing's (Henry) Sermons.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Warter's (John W.) Sermons.

Cousins, Marriage of. See CONSANGUINITY.

Covenant of Grace.

Burmanni Œconomia Fœderum Dei.
Cappelus de religione Christiana.
Cloppenburgii Disputationes.
Cocceii Summa doctrinæ de fœdere Dei.
Fabricii Christus unicum et perpetuum fundament. ecclesiæ.
Glassii Christologia Mosaica.
Hulsemannus de Pacto Dei.
Leydekkeri Synop. Controv. (Agt. Cocceius.)
Martinus de Fœderus naturæ. et gratiæ.
Michaelis Dissertationes.
Musæus de Pactis Dei cum hominibus.
Oliviani Substantia fœderis inter Deum et electos.
Rambachii Christus in Mose.
Witsius de Œconomia fœderum. ("All his works have a sweet savor of holiness."—HERVEY.)

Alleine's (R.) Heaven opened.
Allen's Nature, ends, and difference of the two covenants.
Ball on the Covenant of Grace.
Bell's (Thos.) Cov. of Grace and of Works.
Berry Street Lectures.
Blake on the Covenants.
Bostock on the Covenant of Grace.
Boston's (Thos.) Sermons.
Brown's Natural and revealed religion.
Calvin's Discourses.
Cave's Apparatus. (Prefixed to his "Lives.")

Covenant of Grace—*continued.*

Charnock's Works.
Colquhoun on the Covenant of Grace.
Cotton (John) on the Covenant of Grace.
Dickinson's Nature of the New Testament.
Doddridge's Rise and Progress. Ch. 17.
——— Lectures. Part 8.
Dwight's Theology. Sermon 43.
Edwards' Hist. of all the Dispensations.
Erskine's (John) Dissertations. Diss. I.
Forbes' (Duncan) Thoughts on religion.
Gibb's Sacred Contemplations.
Gillespie's Ark of the Covenant opened.
Kelly (John) on the Divine Covenants.
Mede on the difference between the Old and the New Covenant.
Moor's Mystery of Godliness.
Petto's Diff. between the Old and New C.
Potts' Consideration of the Covenants.
Pratt's Doctrine of the two covenants.
Steward on Mediatorial dignity.
Strong (Wm.) on the two C.'s. ("Precious as the wedge of Ophir."—COT. MATHER.)
Taylor's (H.) Beauty of the Div. Economy.
Taylor's (John) Scripture Divinity.
Taylor (Tho.) on the Covenant of Grace.
Thorndike on the Covenant of Grace.
Truman's Grand Propitiation.
Watt's Harm. of Divine Dispensation.
Watson's Tracts.
Wells' Help to the understanding of the Divine laws. ("Admirable."—LOWNDES.)
Williams' Gospel Truth.
Witsius on the Covenants between God and Man. ("The finest combination of genius, eloquence, true divinity, and ardent devotion, that perhaps ever appeared."—RYLAND.)

Covenant of Works.

Gerhardi Dissertationes.
Jaegerus de Fœdere legali.
Kromayerus de Pacto legali et evangelico.
Mulderus de Pacto legali et evangelico.

Alford's O. and N. T. dispensat. compared.
Berry Street Lectures.
Boston's View of the Cov. of Works.
Colquhoun on the Covenant of Works.
Dixon's Nature of the two Covenants.
Hopkins (Ezek.) on Original Sin.
Kelly's (John) The Divine Covenants.
Strong on the Covenants.

Most writers on the preceding subject treat also this.

Covenanters.

Anderson's Letters on the Overtures.
Bailey's Historical Vindication.
Biographia Presbyteriana. (Lives of Peden, Wellwood, Cameron, Cargill, Renwick, &c.)
Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society, by W. K. Tweedie.

Covenanters—*continued.*

Blackwood's Magazine. 6:169.
Bramhall's Fair Warning.
British Quart. Review. 4:325.
Covenanter, The. Periodical. Belfast.
Fealtey's League illegal.
Henderson's (Alex.) Life and times.
Hetherington's Church of Scotland.
Napier's Montrose and the Covenanters: from original documents hitherto unpublished. 1838.
Nye's Exhortation to take the covenant.
Rule's Good old way defended.
——— Vindication.
Sage's Letters. (Against the Cov't.)
Shiel's Hind let loose.
Simpson's Traditions of the Covenanters.
Wilson's Defence of the Ch. of Scotland.
Womock's League and Cov. condemned.

Covetousness. See LIBERALITY.

Augustine, Sermones.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Discourses.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ethics.
Bourn's (Samuel) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 22:218.
Chalmer's (Thos.) Commercial discourses.
Copley's (Esther) Evils and cure of C.
Crouch's (Wm.) Sin of C. detected: with its branches—fraud, oppression, lying, &c.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Dick's (Thomas) Works.
Dowling's (J. G.) Sermons.
Dwight's Discourses.
Ellaby's (Thelwell) Anti-Mammon: an exposure of the unscriptural statements of "Mammon," and a statement of the true doctrine.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Foster's (John) Lectures at Broadmead.
Frazier's Magazine. 15:161.
Fuller's (A.) Works.
Gisborne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Glassford's Enquiry into Covetousness.
Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Harris' Mammon: or, Covetousness the sin of the Christian Church.
Haynes' Illustration of faith and practice.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
Hume's (David) Essays.
Hunt's (Thomas) Dissertations.
Jeter's (J. B.) Sermons.
Jones' (William) Essay on Covetousness.
Lamont's (D.) Sermons on Prevalent Vices.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Lavington's (Samuel) Sermons.
Mardley's Instruc. for covetous riche men to beholde and learne what perel and danger they be brovght unto, yf they have their consolation in miserable mammon.
Monod's (Adolphe) Sermons. Tr. by H. C. Fish.
Panoplist. 9:256.
Robertson's Moral Exercises.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Scott's (Thomas) Theological Essays.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Stoughton's Arraignment of C.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tindale's (Wm., the Martyr,) Sermons.
Treffry on Covetousness.
Verschoyle's (Hamilton) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Edw. W.) Sermons.

Cowardice. See COURAGE.

Cranmer. See MARTYROLOGY.

Cranmer's Works. (Pub. by Parker Soc.)
——— Remains; by H. Jenkins.
——— Life of; by Le Bas.
——— ——— by Todd.
Christian Examiner. 55:63.
Christian Magazine. 1:9.
Edinburg Review. 54:312.
Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers.
Strype's Memorials.
Todd's Vindication of Abp. Cranmer against Lingard, Milner, and Butler.

Creation. See COSMOLOGY, GEOLOGY, HARMONY OF REVELATION AND SCIENCE, THEORIES OF THE EARTH.

Basil, Hexameron. (Homiliæ.)
Gregory Nys., Hexameron. (The best of his works.)
Ambrose, de Opere sex dierum.

Abrami Pharus Vet. Testamenti.
Aberlen's Gottliche Offenbarung.
Affelmanni Exercitationes Academicæ.
Balthasari Historia Creationis.
Beausobre, Histoire de Manieheisme. Lib. V., ch. 3, 4, 5.
Burnett's Doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus. (Gives the sentiments of the philosophers of all natious.)
Danhaveri (Joann. C.) Exercitationes.
Fabricii Hexameron Dei opus explicatum.
Fenelon, l'Existence de Dieu demontrée.
Graverolii Vindicatio Mosæ. (Agt. Burnet.)
Honerti Dissertationes Historicæ.
Hottingeri Hist. creationis Examen.
Junii Disputationes.
Keil's (C. F.) Apologia Mosaicæ.
Kippingii Exercitationes Sacræ.
Leibnitz, Essais de Theodicée.
Leydekkeri Archæologia Sacra.
Martinii Commentatio de Creatione.
Reynoldi Dissertationes Philosophicæ.
Rougemont, du Monde dans ses rapport avec la Bible et les philosophes.
Seldeni Exercitationes.
Serres' Kosmogonie d. Moses im vergleiche mit d. geologie.
Sigwart's Problem des Bosen.
Silberschlag's Geogenie der heilig-Schrift.
Teller's (W. A.) Alteste Theodicee.

Creation—*continued.*

Vossii (G. J.) Theses Theologicæ.
Zanchius de Operibus Dei.
Zorni Theologia Patristica.

Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Berrington's (Simon) Dissertations.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 13:83, 743. 14:61, 388. 15:314.
Binning's (Hugh) Sermons.
Birks on the Difficulties of belief.
Blackmore's Creation. (A philosophical poem, greatly praised by Dr. Johnson.)
Bloomfield's (Cha. J.) Sermons.
Boston's (Thomas) Discourses.
Bowden's (J. W.) Thoughts on the work of Creation.
Bridgewater Treatises. (On the power, wisdom, and goodness of God in creation; by Chalmers, Kidd, Buckland, Prout, Bell, Kirby, Roget, Whewell, &c.)
Burton's View of the Creation.
Challis' Creation; in plan and in progress.
Charnock's Works.
Chevalier's Hulsean Lectures. 1827.
Clarke's (Dr. Adam) Discourses.
Cudworth's Confutation of Atheism.
Cumberland's Sanchoniathon.
De Bow's Review. 4:177.
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Dublin University Mag. 47:580.
Edwards' (Pres.) Sermons. (God's object in Creation.)
Essenius on the first 3 ch. of Genesis.
Foster's (Cha.) Critical Essays.
Garbett's Book of God vindicated.
Gilfillan's Alpha and Omega. Ch. 3.
Got's Genesis of the world.
Gray's Antiquity of the earth in harmony with the Mosaic record.
Grew's Cosmologia Sacra.
Hale's (Sir M.) Origin of mankind.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hamilton's Pentateuch and its assailants.
Hartwig's Harmony of Nature.
Hasting's (H. J.) Parochial sermons.
Hervey's (Jas.) Meditations.
Hoare's Veracity of the book of Genesis.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hutchinson's Moses' Principia.
Kendrick on the Primæval History.
Kennedy's Donnellan Lectures. 1824.
King's Morsels of Criticism.
Kirwan's Critical notes on Genesis. Ch. 1.
Kirwan's (Rich.) Geological Essays.
Kitto's Journal of Sacred Lit. 3:159. 5:186.
Knapp's Christian Theology.
Lewis' (Taylor) Six days of creation.
Literary and Theol. Review. 4:526.
McCosh's Typical forms, and special ends in creation.
McCullock's (John) System of Geology.
McDonald's Defence of the first 3 chapters of Genesis.

Creation—*continued.*

Mason (T. M.) on the Creation. (Reply to "Vestiges of Creation.")
Meade's (Bp.) The Bible and the Classics.
Methodist Quart. Review. 12:497.
Milne's Physico-theological Lectures.
Murray's (Jas.) Design of the Mosaic Hist.
New Englander. 9:510.
North American Review. 6:264. 60:426.
Parker's (Benj.) Survey of the six days.
Pirie's Posthumous Works.
Poole's Genesis of the earth and man. (A critical examination of passages of Scripture.)
Powell's (Baden) Inductive philosophy.
Pratt's Genealogy of Creation.
Pye's Moses and Bolingbroke.
Quarterly Review. 16:37.
Ragg's Creation's Testimony to its God.
Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures. 1859.
Ray's Physico-theology.
Repton's Boyle lectures. 1808.
Rhind's (G. W.) Letters.
Ryland's Contemplations.
Shuckford's Dissertations.
Sligo's (A.) Essays.
South's (Robt.) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Sturm's Reflections on the works of God.
Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Tottie's (John) Sermons.
Townsend's Moses as a historian.
Vincent's (Will.) Sermons.
Walker's (J. B.) God revealed in the process of creation.
Witty's Vindic. of the Mosaic history.
Wood's Mosaic account of the Creation, illustrated by modern discoveries. 1811.
Wright's Mosaic creation viewed in the light of modern Geology. 1847.

Creeds. See HISTORY OF DOCTRINES, SUBSCRIPTION TO CREEDS, USE OF CREEDS.

Augusti, Corpus librorum symbolicorum. (The most complete collection of Protestant creeds extant.)
Baier's Symbolik d. christlichen Confess.
Boeckel's Bekenntniss-Scriften der Evang. Reform. Kirche. 1847.
Bohmer's Glaubenswissenschaft.
Creuzer's Symbolik.
Danzii Lib. symb. eccl. Romano-catholicæ.
Feldmann, der Symbolzwang.
Guerikè's Allgemeine Christl. Symbolik.
Hahn's (C. U.) Symbolischen Bücher d. Evang. Prot. Kirche.
Hase, Libr. symb. ecclesiæ evangelicæ concordia.
Heppe's Bekenntniss schriften d. altprotest. kirche.
Hosii Confessio fidei. (H. was President of the Council of Trent, and his work is a standard among Papists.)
Kimmelii Libri symbol. eccl. Orientalis.
Koecheri Bibliotheca. (Praised by Walch.)

Creeds—*continued.*

Köllner's Symbolik aller chris. Confess.
Lillienthalii Theologica Bibliotheca.
Lindbergii Libri symb. Eccles. Danicæ.
Matthes' Comparative Symbolik aller christlichen Confessionen.
Mess' Symbol. Bücher d. reformirten Kirche.
Möhler's Darstellung der Dogm. gegensätze der Katholiken und Protestanten. (Papal.)
Müller's Symbolische Bücher.
Niemeyer (H. A.) Collectio. (Gives the principal creeds—twenty-eight in all.)
Ritschl, über das Verhältniss d. Bekenntnisses zur kirche.
Semleri Symbolici Lutherani.
Suiceri Thesaurus.
Titmanni Libri symb. eccl. evangelicæ.
Vossii (G. J.) Theses Theologicæ.
Walchii (C. G. F.) Biblioth. symbolica vetus. (First 5 centuries.)
Walchii (J. E. J.) Antiquitates Symbolicæ.
Winer's Darstellung des lehrbegriffs. (Gives over 60 creeds of sects previous to the 12th century.)
Zornii Opuscula Sacra. (60 ancient creeds.)

Bingham's Antiquities of the Church.
Blackburn's Confessional. ("Scarcely any age has produced a more keen and nervous reasoner."—Toplady.)
Butler's Historical and critical account of Roman, Greek, and Protestant creeds.
Dunlop's Collection of Confessions of F.
Hall's (Peter) Harmony of Prot. confessions. (A useful manual, bringing into a single volume the decisions of almost every sect in Europe; showing a unity of Christian sentiment most impressive. Of each confession a brief historical account is given, and the Scripture references.)
Harvey's Hist. and theol. of the 3 creeds.
Heurtley's (C. A.) Harmonia Symbolica.
Moehler's (J. A.) Symbolism. (Differences between Papists and Protestants.)
Nares' Discourses on the three Creeds.
Swainson's Hulsean Lectures. 1857. (The relation of creeds to Scripture and to conscience.)
Toplady's History of the Creeds.

Out of the thousand books on this subject, the above are all sufficient: but a great list of others may be found in Lowndes' *British Librarian.*

CREED, APOSTLES.

Ambrose, de Fide Orthodoxa.
Athanasius, in Symbolum Apostolicum.
Augustine, de Fide et Symbolo.
Cyril Alex., Expositio Orthodoxæ fidei.

Amyraldi Exercitationes in Symbolum.
Ashwell, Fides Catholica.
Bassnage, Exercitationes Historicæ.
Beckell's Bekenntniss Schriften, &c.

Creeds—*continued.*

Bellarmin, Explication du Symb. Apôtres.
Bemboldi Commentatio.
Borneri Institutiones Symbolicæ.
Buddæi Isagoge.
Callixti Disputationes.
Callovii Dissertationes.
Carpzovii Isagoge.
Chytræi Artic. de filio Dei.
Cockburn in Symbolum Apostolicum.
Danæi Explicatio symboli Apostolici.
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Clarke's Nature and curse of irresolution.
Coleman's (Tho.) History of Daniel and his friends.
Cook's (John) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Dorrington's (Theoph.) Sermons.
Foster's (John) Essays.
Gerard's (Alexander) Sermons.
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Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Mace's (Daniel) Sermons.
McGill's (Stephen) Sermons.
Nichols' (Benj. E.) Sermons.
Pyle's (Thomas) Sermons.
Rhees' (Abraham) Sermons.
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Verschoyle's (Hamilton) Sermons.
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Decrease of Mankind. See POPULATION.

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Affelmanni (Joann.) Dissertationes.
Amyraldus de la Predestination.
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Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
Erasmi Opera.
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Hottingeri (Joann. Jacob.) Dissertationes.
Hulsemanni (Joann.) Breviarium.
Kortholti (Christian.) Dissertationes.
Kunadi (Andr.) Loci Theologici.
Musæi (Pet.) Dissertationes.
Perkensii (Guilielm.) Dissertationes.
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Turrettini (Jo. Alphonsi) Cogitationes.
Twisse, Dissertatio de Scientia Media.
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Amer. Biblic. Repository. 2d Series. 9:285. (Hist. of the doctrine.)
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Bradford's (The Martyr) Five Dissertations.
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Brown's Natural and Revealed religion.
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Christian Monthly Spectator. 1:115.
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Coles on Divine Sovereignty.
Cooper (W.) on Predestination.
Dwight's (Tim.) Discourses. Disc. 14, 15.
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Fawcett's Critical Expos. of Romans ix.
Fuller's (Andrew) Essays.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. Part 4.
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Howe (John) on Predestination.
Hunt (John) on God's Eternal Decrees.
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Knight's (Robt.) Doct. of predestination.
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Lambert (The Martyr) on Election.
Leighton's Lectures.
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Matthews' (John) Divine purposes.
Morton's Divine purpose explained.
Musgrave's Doct. of the divine decrees.
Polhill (E.) on the Divine will.
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Pryme's Anti-Arminianism.
Rice's God sovereign, and man free.
Scott's Reply to Tomline.
Sumner's Apostolical Preaching.
Theological Essays, reprinted from Princeton Review.
Toplady's Christian and philosophical necessity asserted. (Against Wesley.)
——— Doct. of Predestination stated.

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Twisse's Clearing of John Cotton's doubts.
——— Riches of God's love.
——— Scientia Media.
Weeks (W. R.) on the Decrees of God.
Whitfield (Thomas) on God's decrees.
Williston's Sermons.
——— Vindication of the doctrines of the Reformation.
Wilson's (Thos.) God's eternal purpose.
Witsius on the Covenants. Book 3.
Zanchius on Predestination.

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Augustini (Ant.) Collectio Decretorum.
Burchardi Decretorum libri XX.
Decretalia Gratiani, Gregorii IX., et Clementis V.
Harduini Collectio regia maxima.
Joseph (Octav.), Bibliographia Critica.
Panoramitanus in Decretales.
Schambogen, Commentaria in D.
Schmitz, Medulla juris Canonici.
Schonemanni Pontificum Epistolæ.
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Theineri Com. de Pontificum Epistolis.
Van Aspen, Opera.
Wagnereck, Expositio Decretalium.

For a great list of writers on these epistles, see NUTT'S *Catalogue.* A full account of the various collections of ancient decretals and canons is given by DOUJAT, *Praenotionum Canonicarum.*

Dedication of Churches. See PLACES OF WORSHIP, PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Hospinian, de Templis.
Siberi Schediasma.

Andrews' (J.) Sermons.
Benson's (Joseph) Sermons.
Beveridge's (William) Sermons.
Brown's (John) Sermons.
Bull's (Robert) Sermons.
Burd's (Richard) Sermons.
Burnett's (Gilbert) Discourses.
Channing's (W. E.) Sermons.
Everett's (Edward) Sermons.
Gill's (John) Sermons and tracts.
Goddard's (Peter) Discourses.
Grey's (Richard) Discourses.
Harrington's Antiquity of the rite of consecration of churches, as shown by the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers.
Jones' (T.) Sermons.
Kennitt's (Dr. B.) Sermons.
Leng's (John) Sermons.
Lyng's (William) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nath.) Discourses.
Pearce's (Zachary) Discourses.
Shepherd's (John) Sermons.
Smith's (John) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
Watt's Holiness of Times and Places.
Wesley's Sermons.

Definite Atonement. See SUBSTITUTION, &C.

Pro.

Bellamy's Works.
Brine's Efficacy of Christ's death.
Calvin's Institutes.
Coles on the Sovereignty of God.
Finley's Extent of Christ's purchase.
Gilbert on the Atonement.
Gill's Body of Divinity.
Hurrion's Scrip. doctrine of redemption.
Jenkins on the Atonement.
Malcom's (H.) Extent and efficacy of the Atonement.
Marshall (A.) on the Atonement.
Owen's Salus Electorum.
Rushton on Particular redemption.
Spaulding on Universalism.
Symington on the Atonement. Sec. 11.
Toplady's Works.
Twisse's Riches of God's love.
Usher (Abp.) on the Extent of Christ's death.
Witsius on the Covenants. Lib. 2, cap. 9.

Con.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 10:110.
Barnes (Albert) on the Atonement.
Bellamy's True religion delineated.
Bernard's Reply to Abp. Usher.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 15:132.
Dwight's System. Ser. 56.
Griffin on the Atonement.
——— Discourses.
Hamilton's (William) Sermons.
Huntingdon's Calvinism improved.
Richards (Dr. James) on the Atonement.
Strong on Benevolence and Misery.
Treffry's Letters.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Sermons.
Watson (R.) on Atonement.
Wert on Atonement. Chap. 10.
Whitby's Discourses.

Degrees in Glory.

Pro.

Cotta (J. F.) Dissertationes.
Danhaveri (J. C.) Dissertationes.
Mülleri Gradus vitæ eternæ.
Neumanni Dissertationes.

Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Boyse's Four last things.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Clarke's (G. W.) The Righteous Dead.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Edwards' Body of Divinity.
Fuller's (And.) Works.

Degrees in Glory—*continued.*

Pro.

Howe's Blessedness of the Righteous.
Kollock's (S. K.) Sermons.
Mant's (Rich.) Happiness of the Blessed.
Mede on the Reward in the life to come.
Ridgely's Body of Divinity. Quest. 90.
Russel's Letters, Practical and Consolatory. Letter 13.
Thompson's (Edward) Sermons.
Toplady's Works.
Universalist Quart. Mag. 14:129
Watt's World to Come.
Williiams' (Alfred) Sermons.
Woodward's (Henry) Essays and Reflections.

Con.

Spanheimii Opera.

Degrees of Guilt in Sin. See DEADLY SIN, UNPARDONABLE SIN, VENIAL SIN.

Baumgarten, de Gradibus peccatorum.
Multerus de Diversis peccati gradibus.
Tellerus de Inæqualitate peccatorum.

Deism. See HARMONY OF REASON AND FAITH, NECESSITY OF REVELATION, PROVINCE OF REASON.

Pro.

Barthius (Jo. Henr.) de Vera Religione.
Bodini (Joann.) Colloquium.
Celsii Opera.
Chawin, de Naturali Religione.
Connor, Evangelium Medici.
Constant (B.), Religion considérées dans ses sources, ses formes, &c.
De La Serre, Examen. de la Religione.
Diderot, Pensèes philosophiques.
Gebhard, Cogitationes rationales.
Gundlingii Observationes Selectæ.
Herbert de Veritate. (The first to make Deism a science. 1624.)
——— de Causis Errorum.
——— de Religione Gentilium.
Hobbesii Opera Philosophica.
Holbach, Christianisme dévoilé.
Langsdorf's Gott und die Natur.
Liebnitz, Opera Theologica.
Machiavellii Discursis in Livium.
Meyeri Philosophia.
Mirabaud, Systéme de la nature.
Muralt, sur la Religion Essentielle.
Parizot, la Foi devoilée par la Raison.
Peyrerii Preadamitæ.
Roell, de Religione Naturali.
Rosseau, Confessions, &c.
——— Emile.
——— Various other works.
Sué, Lettres sur la Religion.
Vanini Amphitheatrum.
Voltaire, Epitre a Urane.
——— Lettres Philosophique.
——— Various other works.

Deism—*continued.*

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Blount's Anima Musedi.
——— Life of Apollonius Tyaneus.
——— Oracles of Reason.
Bolingbroke's Letters on History.
——— Philosophical Religion.
——— Various other works.
Brown's Religio Medici.
Chubb's Discourse on Miracles.
——— Foundation of the Chris. religion.
——— Subjects of the Old Testament.
——— True Gospel of Christ asserted.
——— On Redemption.
——— Four Dissertations.
——— Collection of Tracts.
——— Previous Question.
Collins' Enquiry into human liberty.
——— Grounds of the Christian religion.
——— On Free Thinking.
——— Scheme of Literal Prophecy.
——— Man's other voices.
——— Vind. of the Divine Attributes.
Elwell on the Incarnation.
English's Grounds of Chris. examined.
Evanson's Doctrine of the Trinity.
——— Dissonance of the Evangelists.
——— Letter to Dr. Hurd.
——— Letter to Dr. Priestly.
Hartley on the Human Mind.
Hobbes' Historical Narration of Heresy.
——— Human Nature.
——— Letter on Liberty and Necessity.
——— Letter to the Duke of Newcastle.
——— Leviathan.
Hume's Essay on Miracles.
——— Treatise on Human Nature.
——— Dialogues.
Kame's (Lord) Essays.
Lyon's Infallibility of Human Judgment.
Morgan's Moral Philosopher.
——— Deism fairly stated.
——— Conceptions of the Jews considered.
——— Defence of the Moral Philosopher.
——— Physico-theology.
——— Reply to Chandler.
——— Sacerdotism displayed.
New Harmony Gazette. Pub. from 1825 to 1834, by R. Dale Owen.
Newman's (F. W.) Theism.
Paine's Age of Reason. (Numerous replies, viz., by Disney, Drew, Estlin, McNeille, Scott, Simpson, Watson, &c.)
Palmer's Principles of Nature.
Shaftesbury's Charact. of men, manners, &c.
Syke's Innocency of Error.
Taylor's Translation of the arguments of Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian.
Tindall's Christianity as old as Creation.
Toland's Amyntor.
——— Pantheisticon.
——— Christianity not mysterious.
Volney's Works.
Woolston's Discourses on Miracles.
——— Defence of Do.

Deism—*continued.*

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Woolston's Moderator.
——— Supplement to Moderator.
——— Second Supplement to Moderator.

A multitude of other Deistical writers might be cited, especially in the German language, but the arguments are the same in all.

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Origen, contra Celsus.

Abbadie, Verité de la Relig. Chrétien.
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Bergier, Deisme refuté par lui meme.
Bullet, Responses Critique. (Refutes many cavils of the infidels of the 18th century.)
Carpzovii Apparatus Historico-criticus.
Crouzas, Examen du Pyrronisme, ancienne, et moderne.
Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
Diecanni Schediasma de Naturalismo.
Fabricii Delectus argumentorum veritat. relig. Christ. versus Atheos, Deistas, Judæos, &c.
Grotius de Veritate Relig. Christianæ.
[Guenèe] Lettres de quelques Juifs.
Houtteville, le Christianisme prouvé par les faits.
Huetii Demonstratio.
Jacquelot, Defence de la Religion.
Kortholtus de Tribus impostoribus. (Herbert, Hobbes, and Spinoza.
Langii Causa Dei et Religionis.
Le Clerc, de l'Incredulité.
Lemper Vorbericht der Nachricht.
Less' Wahrheit der Christl. Religion.
Limborch de Veritate rel. Christianæ.
Loescheri Prenotiones Theologicæ.
Mersen, Impieté des Deistes.
Musæi (Jo.) Dissertatio. (*Contra Herbert.*)
Musæi Examen Methodi Herberti de investigatione veritatis.
Noesselt's Wahrheit und Gottlichkeit, &c.
Olearii Synopsis Controversiarum.
Pfafiii (Chr.) Dissertationes.
Picteti (Benedict.) Dissertationes.
Placette, Réponse à M. Bayle.
Rosemond, Défense de la Rel. Christienne.
Stein's Apologetik der Offenbarung.
Titius de Insufficientia rel. naturalis.
Tribbechovii Historia Naturalismi.
Trin's Freydencker Lexicon.
Turretin, de Veritate et Divinitate, &c.
Wolfii Manichæismus ante manichæos.
Wollii Oratio in Collinum.

Allix's Reflections on the Old Testament.
Applegarth on the Human Understanding.
Apthorp's (East) Prevalence of Christianity before its civil establishment. (Gives a very useful account of civil and ecclesiastical historians.)
Asgill's (J.) Reply to Woolston on miracles.

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Atkinson on Christianity. (Rep. to Tindall.)
——— Remarks on a late work. (Reply to Morgan.)
Atkey's Examination of "Christianity as old as Creation."
Ayscough on Gospel Obedience.
Balguy's Letters to a Deist.
Bates' Infidelity scourged. (Rep. to Chubb.)
Beard's Christian Relig. defended from the assaults of Owenism.
Belknap's Dissertation. (Ans. to Paine.)
Benson's Answer to Morgan.
Bentley's Remarks on a late discourse, &c. (A powerful answer to Collins.)
Bergier's Deism self-confuted.
Berkley's Minute Philosopher.
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Bidlack's Bampton Lectures. 1811.
Bliss' Observations. (Reply to Chubb.)
Bolton's Hulsean prize essay. 1852.
Boyle Lectures. (Annual since 1692.)
Boyle on Things above Reason.
——— on the Resurrection.
Bradley's Impartial View. (Ans. to Blount.)
Bramhall against Hobbes.
Broadley on the Evidences, internal and external, of the religion of Moses.
Broughton's Answer to Tyndall.
Brown (Bp.) on the Human Understanding.
Brown's Essay on the "Characteristics."
Burnett's Scriptural doctrine of Redemption. (Reply to Morgan.)
Butler's Analogy of Religion and Nature.
Calamy's Sermons.
Campbell on Miracles.
Cary's (S.) Review of English's "Grounds of Christianity."
Chalmers' Evidences of Christianity.
Chandler (Edw.) on the Prophecies of the O. Testament. (Reply to Collins.)
——— Vindications of the same.
Chandler's (S.) Vind. of the Chris. religion.
——— on the Conduct of modern Deists.
——— Antiquity and authority of the prophecies of Daniel.
——— Reasons for being a Christian.
——— On the History of the Old and New Testaments. (Reply to Morgan.)
Chichester's Deism and Christianity.
Chapman's Eusebius.
——— Reply to Morgan and Tindall.
——— Remarks on the Prophecies of Daniel. (Reply to Collins.)
Clarke's (Dr.) Reflections on that part of the book called *Amyntor*, which relates to the writings of the Primitive Fathers.
Clayton's Vindication of Scripture. (Reply to Bolingbroke.)
Collyer's Lectures.
Conybeare's Defence of Religion. (Reply to Tindall. "The best reasoned book in the world."—Warburton.)
——— on Miracles.

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Curtis' Folly and danger of infidelity.
Dalrymple's Inquiry into the secondary causes which Mr. Gibbon assigns for the rapid progress of Christianity.
Delany's Revel. examined with candor.
Ditton on Christ's Resurrection.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 6.
——— Answer to Chubb.
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Ellis on Hume's Essay on Miracles.
Entick's Evidences. (Reply to Woolston.)
Everett's (E.) Defence of Christianity.
Fenton's Lady Moyer's lectures. 1728.
Fleming's (Caleb) Truth and Deism at variance.
Forbes (D.) on Incredulity.
Foster's (James) Usefulness and Truth of Christianity. (Answer to Tindall.)
Frothingham (N. L.) on Deism.
Fuller's Gospel its own witness.
Gassendi's Answer to Herbert's De Veritate.
Gastrell's Certainty of Christianity.
Gibson's Pastoral Letters.
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Giles' (Rev. Dr.) Christian Records.
Girdlestone's Anatomy of Scepticism.
Grave's Lectures on the Pentateuch.
——— Evidences of Christ's Resurrection. (Reply to Woolston.)
Gurdon's Boyle Lectures. 1721 and 1722.
Gregory's (Olynthus) Evidences, &c.
Grove (H.) on Christ's Resurrection.
Haldane (Robt.) on Divine Revelation.
Hallet on Providence. (Powerful.)
Hall's (Robt.) Infidelity considered with respect to its influence on society.
Halyburton's Inquiry. (Reply to Herbert.)
Hamilton's Pentateuch and its assailants.
Harris' Reasonableness of Believing.
Horne's (Geo.) Letters on Infidelity.
Horne's (T. H.) D. refuted. (Many editions.)
Hulsean Lectures. Commenced 1820. (The lectures by Benson, 1820, Franks, 1821, Wordsworth, 1848, Curry, 1852, and others, are very able, and are printed separately.)
Ibbot's (Benj.) Boyle Lectures. 1721, 1722.
Jackson's (J.) Examination. (Ans. to Chubb.)
——— Plea for Reason. (Rep. to Tindall.)
——— Address to Deists.
Jeffry's True grounds and reasons.
Jenkins' (R.) Certainty of Christianity.
Jew's Letters to Voltaire. (By Guinnée.)
Johnston's Chris. older than Creation.
Jones on the Canon. (Reply to Toland.)
Jortin's (J.) Discourses.
Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah.
King's Origin of Evil.
La Crosse's Animad. on "Oracles of Reason."
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History.
——— Circumstances of the Jews.

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Lavington on the Types. (Reply to Collins.)
Law's Case of Reason. (Reply to Tindall.)
Lawson's Exam. of Hobbes' "Leviathan."
Le Clerc's Causes of Incredulity.
Leek's Interpretation of the Law and Prophets. (Reply to Woolston.)
Leland's Advantage and Necessity of Revel.
——— Defence of the Christian Religion.
——— Divine authority of the Sacred Scriptures asserted. (Reply to Morgan.)
——— Answer to late book, &c. (Tindall.)
——— View of Deistical writers.
Leslie's Short Method with Deists.
Less' Authority, Preservation, and Credibility, &c. Trans. by Kingdon.
Lindsay (H.) on Infidelity.
Lobb's Defence of Relig. (Ans. to Collins.)
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Lowman's Hebrew Government.
——— on Prophecy. (Reply to Collins.)
Lyttleton on the Conversion of St. Paul. ("A treatise to which Infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer."—Dr. Johnson.)
Maltby's (E.) Illustrations.
Mangey's Reply to Toland's Nazarenus.
Markland on Miracles. (Ans. to Woolston.)
Marshall on the 70 Weeks. (Ans. to Collins.)
McKnight's Truth of the Gospel History.
Middleton's Case of Abraham defended.
Moss (Bp.) on the Resurrection.
Moyne on Miracles. (Reply to Chubb.)
Nares' Bampton Lectures. 1805.
Nash's Standard of Truth. (Ans. to Paine.)
Newcombe on the Character of the Saviour.
——— Sure Word of Prophecy.
Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
Nisbet's Triumphs of Christianity.
Norrison on Reason and Faith.
Ogilvie on the Cause of Scepticism. (Remarks on Herbert, Shaftsbury, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon.)
Paley's Evidences.
——— Horæ Paulinæ.
Patton's (Will.) Christianity the true theology. (Reply to Paine.)
Pearson's (Geo.) Hulsean Lectures. 1834.
Penrose's Bampton Lectures.
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Potter's Authority of the O. and N. Testam.
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Pye's Moses and Bolingbroke.
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Richardson's Hist. and Def. of the Canon.
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Roberts' Christianity Vindicated. (Reply to Volney.)
Robinson's Usefulness of Revelation.
——— Distinguishing Char. of the Gospel.
Rogers' Reply to Collins.
——— Eight Sermons.
Ross' Reply to Hobbes' Leviathan.

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Rotheram's Truth of Christianity.
Rust's Discourse on the use of reason.
Ryland (J.) on Infidelity.
Schmucker's Modern Infidelity. 1848.
Scott on Inspiration. (Reply to Paine.)
Seaton's Compendious View. (Reply to Woolston.
Sherlock's Use of Prophecy. (Agt. Collins.)
Shuttleworth's Consistency of the Scheme of Prov. with itself and with human reason.
Skelton's Works. (Reviews all the principal Deistical writers.)
Smith's (Elisha) Cure of Deism.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Lectures.
Squier's Christianity founded on reason.
Stackhouse's State of the Controversy.
Staples' Polemic Theology.
Stebbings' Defence of Scripture History.
——— Advantage of Revelation.
——— Boyle Lectures. 1747.
——— Charge to the Clergy.
Stephens (W.) on the Growth of Deism.
Stephenson on the Miracles of Christ.
Stillingfleet's Letter to a Deist.
Sykes (Ashley) on the Christian Religion. (Answer to Collins.)
——— on Phlagon's eclipse.
[Taylor's (H.)] Ben Mordecai's Apology.
Taylor's (Nath.) Preserv. against Deism.
Tennison's Creed of Hobbes, examined.
Thompson's (H.) Infidelity confuted on its own grounds.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Toulmin's (J.) Dissertations.
Walpole's (R.) Misrepresentations, ignorance, and plagiarism of infidel writers.
Warburton's View of Bolingbroke's Philos.
——— Divine Legation of Moses.
Waterland's Scripture Vindicated. (Reply to Tindall.)
Watson's Apology for Christianity. (Reply to Gibbon.)
——— Apology for the Bible. (Reply to Paine.)
Webster on the Jewish Dispensation. (Reply to Morgan.)
West on the Resurrection of Christ.
Whately's Historic doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte.
Whiston's Account of Scrip. Prophecies.
——— Examination of late discourses. (Reply to Collins.)
——— Reason and Philosophy no enemies.
Whitby's Necessity and Use of Revelation.
Wilson's (John) Dissertation on Christianity. (A powerful work, built on Butler's Analogy.)
Witherspoon's Works. (Lectures. Lect. 8.)
Witty's First principles of Deism.

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Deism, History of.

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Gregoire, Hist. des Sectes religieuses.
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Lechler's Gesch. des Englischen Deismus.
Lemker Vorbericht der Nachricht von Wollaston.
Lerminier, de l'Influence de la philosophie du 18^{e} siecle.
Saintes, Hist. Critique du rationalisme en Allemagne.
Schlosser's Gesch. des 18 Jahrhunderts.
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——— Gesch. des Scepticismus.
Villemain, Cours de litterature Francaise.

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Dejection. See CONTENTMENT, DESPONDENCY, PATIENCE, RESIGNATION.

Delay. See PROCRASTINATION.

Delivery. See ELOQUENCE.

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Alexandri (F.) Dissertationes. Diss. I.
Burnet (Th.), de Diluvio.
Capelli Historia Diluvii illustrata.
Heideggeri Historia Patriarcharum.
Kircheri (Athanas.) Dissertationes.
Marchii Scripta in selecta Scripturæ.
Neve, l'Origine de la tradition Indienne.
Strauchii Dissertationes. (The year of its occurrence.)
Vossius de Ætate Mundi. (Makes the deluge partial.)

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 9:78. 10:328. 11:1.
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Berington's (S.) Dissertations. Dissert. 2. (Opposes the conjectures of several distinguished writers.)
Bloomfield's (Cha. J.) Sermons.
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Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology.
Buckland's Reliquæ Diluvianæ.
Burnett's Theory of the Earth. (Much fuller in some parts, and in others less so, than the Latin edition. Of no value now.)
Burton's (Charles) Lectures.

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Catcoll's Proof of a Deluge. (Gives the principal Heathen accounts.)
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Townsend's Character of Moses.
Warter's (John W.) Sermons.
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Woodward's Natural history of the earth.
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Aderi Enarr. de Ægrotis et Morbidis in N. T.
Lecanu, Histoire de Satan; son culte, ses manifestations, ses œuvres, &c.
Meyeri Historia Diaboli.
Nanz, die Besessenen im N. Test.
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Thyræi (Soc. Jesu.) de Demoniacis.
Zimmerman de Demoniacis Evangeliorum.

Appleton's (Pres.) Works. Lect. 50, 51, 52.
Arnold's (Dr. Tho.) Sermons.
Barker's Nature and circumstances of the D.
Burgh's Crito; or Essays on various subj.
Calmet's Dissertations.
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Darrel's True Narrative of the grievous vexation of seven persons in Lancashire.
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Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 214.
D'Oyly's (Dr. George) Sermons.
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——— Remarks on Ward's Dissertations.
Fell on Demoniacs. (Reply to Farmer.)
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Kitto's Journal. 4:1. 7:394.
Lardner's (Nath.) Discourses.
Mather's (C.) Magnalia. (Salem witches.)
Mede's Works. (Holds the same views as Farmer and Lardner.)
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Thomasii Dissertationes.
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Toplady's (Augustus M.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Whewell's Good and evil angels.

Denarius. See COINS.

Dependence of the Mind on the Body. See RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE.

Deportment. See CONSISTENCY, COURTESY, EXAMPLE OF CHRIST, RELIGION AND BUSINESS, SOBRIETY, SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

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Berens' (Edward) Sermons.
Blackall's (Offspring) Sermons.
Colet's Order of a Christian life.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Evans' (A. B.) Sermons.
Farringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Findlater's (R.) Sermons.
Girdlestone's Christian life.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Gurnall's Christian armor.
Hickman's (B.) Sermons.
Hinton's Active Christian.
Hoare's Sermons on Christian character.
Holdsworth's (R.) Sermons.
Jackson's (J.) Sermons on Chris. character.
Jewell's (John) Sermons.
Law's Serious call.
MacLean's (Archibald) Sermons.
Melville's (Henry) Sermons.
Neale's (E.) Sermons.
Scudder's Christian's daily walk.
Secker's Non-such Professor.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
Whichcott's (B.) Sermons.
Whole duty of man. (The author of this inestimable work, of which millions have been printed, is unknown!)
Wilson's (Bp. Thomas) Sermons.
Woolton's Christian manual.
Wynyard's (M. J.) Sermons.

Dervishes. See RELIGIONS.

Thornhury's Turkish life and character.
Wolf's Missionary Journal.

Descent into Hell.

Pro.

Clemens Alex., Stromata.
Cyril Alex., Opera.
Origen, contra Celsum.
Justin M., Dialogus cum Tryphone.

Classen, de Descensu J. C. ad inferos.
Dietelmair, Historia Dogmatis, &c.
Dietelmayer, Hist. dogmatis de descensu.
Dummer, de Christi ad infernos descensu.
Eckhard de Descensu Christi ad inferos.
Harenbergii Theologia Dogmatica.
Hacker (J. G. A.) Dissertationes.
Ittigii (Thomas) Dissertationes.
Lavateri *Καταβασις εις Αδου.*
Zezschwitzii Dissert. Exegetica dogmatica.

Ballou's Histor. sketch of the interpretations of 1 Peter iii. 18–20, and iv. 6.
Bilson's Survey of Christ's sufferings.

Descent into Hell—*continued.*

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Bingham's (Richard) Immanuel.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Hill (Adam) on the Apostles' creed.
Hohart's (Bp.) Sermons on Redemption.
Horsely's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hottinger's Dissertations.
Newman's (John H.) Sermons.
Parke's Apology. (Ans. to Limhomastix.)
Smith on Christ's descent into hell.

Con.

Augustini Epist. 57 ad Dardanum.

Bezæ Tractationes Theologicæ.
Calovii Dissertationes.
Chemnitii Dissertationes.
Clausenii Observationes crit.-philologicæ.
Hacker (J. G. A.) Dissertationes.
Holtzfusii Dissertationes.
Limhomastix. [Anonymous.]
Thummii (Theodor.) Dissertationes.
Volhorth, Quantum error Apollinaris contulerit, &c.
Witsii Exercitationes. Exer. 18.

Allen on the Thirty-nine articles.
Barrington on the Divine dispensations.
Barrow on the Apostles' Creed.
Benson's Paraph. and Notes. (1 Pet. iii. 19.)
Bibliotheca Sacra. 16:309.
Broughton (Hugh) on Christ's descent, &c.
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Cox's (John Redman) Considerations.
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Frazier's Magazine. 1:341.
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Hammond's Reply to Smith.
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Jacohs' Sufferings and victory of Christ. (Reply to Bilson.)
Lightfoot's (John) Dissertations.
More's (H.) Theological Works.
Muencher on the Descent into hell.
Pearson on the Creed.
Peters on Job.
Seahury's (Samuel) Discourses.
Secker (Ahp.) on the Catechism.
Sturmy's (Daniel) Discourses.
Willet's (Andrew) Loidoromastix.

See a long list of other writers on this subject in ALGER's *Doct. of a future life*—Appendix.

Desertion.

East (J.) on Affliction and Desertion.
Flavel's Works.
Gihb's (John) Sermons.
Godwin's Child of light walking in darkness.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio.

Hill's (Bryant) Sermons.
Lambert's Sermons.
Lavington's (John) Sermons on the 77th Ps.
Sharp's (Archbishop) Sermons.
Watts' Meditations on Job.

Despondency. See MELANCHOLY, RESIGNATION, TRUST.

Barry's (J.) Reviving Cordial.
Baxter on Religious Melancholy.
Bolton's Comfort of afflicted conscience.
Buddicom's (Robert) Sermons.
Claude on the Composition of Sermons.
Christian Observer. 20:332, 401, 469.
East on Affliction and Desertion. (A collection of treatises by Sibbs, Manton, Reynolds, Flavel, Bates, Collins, Charnock, Godwin, Jay, &c.)
Fowler's (Bp.) Discourses.
Fuller's (Andrew) Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gordon's Collection of curious Tracts.
Hackett's (Bp.) Christian Consolations.
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Hall's (R.) Discouragements of pious men.
Jowett's (Jos.) Fifty-two sermons.
Knight's (Samuel) Sermons.
Lucas' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Mannering's Christian Consolations.
Rogers on Trouble of Mind.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Toplady on the fears of God's people.
Waterland's (Daniel) Sermons.

Destructionists. See ETERNITY OF HELL TORMENTS, RESTORATIONISTS.

Pro.

Barlow (J. W.) on Eternal punishment.
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Ellis' (Aaron) Bible versus tradition.
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[Storr's (Geo.)] Unity of man.
——— Other treatises.
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——— Paraphrase and notes on Romans.

Con. See IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

Martin, la Vie future.

Amer. Theolog. Review. 3:215.
Bagnall on the Intermediate state.

Destructionists—*continued.*

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Strong's (James) Review of Hudson.
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Le Clerc's Dissertations.
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Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Johnson's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Works.
Mercier's Works.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Matt. Poole.)
Opie's (Miss) Detraction Displayed.
Vaughn's Spirit of detraction convicted. (Very curious and amusing, but of no theological value.)

Development, Physical. See CREATION, EQUIVOCAL GENERATION, GEOLOGY.

Pro.

Brongniart, Tableau des genres de végétaux, fossiles, &c.
Lamarck, Hist. des Animaux sans vertébres.
Maillet, Philosophie.

Atkinson's (H. G.) Letters.
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——— Sequel to the same.
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Lyell's Antiquity of Man.
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Presbyterian Review. 1:106. 24:275.
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——— Neue Untersuchungen der Lehr gegensätze, &c. (A defence of the Symbolik.)

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——————— ——— Revised by A. P. Moor.
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——— ——— Revised by C. Hardwick.
——— ——— " by T. Woodward.
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Greenfield on Doctrinal development.
Irons' (W. J.) Sermons.

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Maurice's Warburton Lecture. 1846. Preface.
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Moberly's Exam. of Newman's Development.
North British Review. 5:418.
O'Sullivan's (M.) Theory of development.
Palmer's Doct. of D. considered in reference to the evidences of Christianity.
Phillipsohn's Devel. of the religious idea.
Presbyterian Quart. Review. 1:106.
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Townsend's (Dr. Geo.) Sermons and charges.

Devils. See DEMONS.

Devotion. See FORMS OF PRAYER, MANUALS, PRAYER, RETIREMENT.

Adams' (T.) Posthumous Works. (Precious.)
Addison's Daily Sacrifice.
Andrews' Manual of private devotion.
Augustin's Confessions and Meditations.
Batty's (Adam) Sermons.
Baxter's Dying Thoughts.
——— Saint's Rest. Chap. 12.
Bellamy's True religion delineated. Sec. 7.
Bennet's Christian Oratory.
Beren's (Edward) Devotions.
Beveridge's Private Thoughts.
Bridges on the 119th Psalm. (Excellent.)
Bragge's (Francis) Sermons.
Bull (J.) on Early Devotion.
Cave's Primitive Christianity.
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Corbet's Self-Employment.
Davis' (M.) Helps to devotion.
Dorney's Divine Contemplations.
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Fenelon's Private Thoughts.
Griffiith (Tho.) on the Lord's prayer.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
——— Walking with God.
Hopkins' (Benj.) Parochial Sermons.
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Law's Serious Call. *Malcom's Ed.*
Lee's (R.) Handbook of devotion.
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Pott's (J. H.) Sermons.
Rambach on the Sufferings of Christ.
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Devotion—*continued.*

Romaine's Life of faith.
Rowe's (Mrs.) Devout Exercises.
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Sheppard's Private thoughts.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

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Ahrens (H. L.), de Græcæ linguæ dialectis.
De Rossi, de Lingua Palestinæ.
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Beckhaus' Lang. of the N. T. Tr. by Tertot.
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De Rossi & Pfannkuche on the Language of Palestine in the age of Christ. Tr. by Repp.
Green's Grammar of the N. Test. dialect.
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Hoffman's Volks-Bibellexikon.
Illyrici Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ. 1764. (Besides the explanation of principal words, it contains treatises on the study of Scripture, quotes the opinions of others, &c. &c.)
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Brown's Dictionary. 1769. (Superseded.)
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Jones' Biblical Cyclopedia. 1816.
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Malcom's Dictionary of the Bible. Cuts. 1829. Enlarged, 1855.
McBean's Dict. of the Bible. 1779.
Oliver's Scripture Lexicon. 1792. (Limited to proper names, of which it gives 4,000.)
Robinson's (Edw.) Dict. of the Bible. 1833.
Robinson's (John) Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Dictionary. 1815.
Smith's (Will.) Dict. of the Bible. 1860.
Timson's Key to the Bible. 1845.
Wall's (Geo.) Domestic D. of the Bib. 1826.
Watson's Biblical and Theolog. Dict. ("A compilation from compilations, strongly anti-Calvinistic."—LOWNDES.)
Wilson's Christian Dict. 1648. (The signification of all Bible words.)

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Adami (Corn.) Observ. Theologicæ.
——— Exercitationes Exegeticæ.
Altmanni Meletemata philol.-critica.
Arnoldi Lux in tenebris. (Discusses several thousand controvert. passages.)
Bertrami Expositio in difficiliora utriusque Testamenti Loca.
Bootii Animadversiones Sacræ.
Bos (Lambert.) Exercitationes.
Clerici (D.) Questiones Sacræ.
De Dieu, Critica Sacra, sive Animadversiones, &c. ("Inter præstantissimos."—WALCH.)
Deylingii Observ. Sacræ. (Fine index.)
Drusius, ad Loca Difficiliora Vet. et Novum Test. (Not surpassed by any critic of the 17th cent. His notes were much used by the translators of our version of the Bible.)
Elsneri Observationes.
Ernest, de Difficultatibus Nov. Test.
Estii in Difficiliora loca Commentaria. ("One of the best Papal expositors."—ORME.)
Fesselii Adversaria Sacra.
Frankii Observationes Biblicæ.
Gatakeri Adversaria Miscellanea.
Hackspanii Notæ theologico-philologicæ.
Hasæi et Ikenii Thesaurus novus. (A great collection, similar to that of Menthenius.)
Hengelii Annot. in loca nonnulla N. Test.
Hoffmanni Observationes.

Hottingeri Opuscula.
Ikenii (Conrad.) Dissertationes.
Jablonski (Paull. Ernest.) Opuscula.
Knatchbull, Animad. paradoxiæ orthodoxæ.
Kœnigii Centuria Vindiciarum Sacrarum.
Langii Observationes Sacræ.
Laurentii Explicatio locorum difficilium.
Marckii (J.) Exercitationes.
Martin, Explications de plusieurs textes. (In the style of Harmer's observations, with plates.)
Mel, Antiquarius Sacer.
Menthenii Thesaurus. (A great collection of dissertations by eminent German divines of the 17th century.)
Michaelis Introductio ad Novum Test.
——— Observationes Sacræ.
Noeselt, Exercitationes.
Obenheim, de N. Test. locis pugnantibus.
Oderi Observationes Sacræ.
Ott, Excerpta ex. Flav. Josepho.
Pfeifferi Dubia Vexata. S. S.
Rosenmuller, Theologicæ Commentationes.
Schelling (J. E.) Animad. philol. crit.
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Simonis, Nov. Test. (Critical remarks.)
Spanheimii Dubia Evangelica.
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Storr, Exercit. exeget. ad selecta, etc.
Surenhusii Βιβλος καταλλαγης.
Tarnovii Exercitationum Biblicarum.
Venemæ Dissertationes Selectæ.
Vitringæ Exercit. in Epist. Pauli ad Corin.
Vitringæ (Filii) Dissertationes Sacræ.
Vogtii Miscellanea Biblica.
Waltheri Exercitationes Biblicæ.
Waltoni Biblia polyglotta Prolegomena. (The Edition of 1827, with Wrangham's notes, is best.)
Wesselii Dissertationes Leidensis.
Winkleri Disquisitiones.
Witsii Miscellanea Sacra.
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Zornii Opuscula Sacra.

Beausobre & L'Enfant on the Difficult passages in Matthew.
Benson's (C.) Hulsean Lectures. 1822.
Biblical Cabinet. Periodical. Edinburg and London. 1832. 35 vols.
Biblical Repertory. 1825 to 1861.
Blackmore on Four select passages.
Bowyer's Critical conjectures and observat.
Bryant's Observations on Passages of Scrip. obnoxious to enemies of religion. (700 passages.)
Bloomfield's Critical digest of the New Test. (A great storehouse of erudition.)
Carpenter (Wm.) on Scripture Difficulties.
Cochran on Some of the most difficult texts.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Discourses.
Cooper's (E.) Sermons.
Dimock's Notes on Genesis, &c. (Appendix.)

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 6, prop. 51.
Edwards' (John) Exercitations; critical, philosophical, and historical.
——— Enquiry into some difficult texts.
Falconer's Bampton Lectures. 1810.
Featly's Clavis Mystica. (Seventy sermons on hard texts.)
Godwin's Moses and Aaron.
Goodwin's Hulsean Lectures. 1856.
Gregory's (John) Observations and notes.
Gurdon's Boyle Lectures. 1721.
Hallet's (Jos.) Notes on Scripture.
Hall's (Bp.) Explication of all the hard texts of the whole Scriptures.
Harmer's Observations.
Hawkins' Bampton Lectures. 1787.
Heath's Hulsean Lectures. (The advantages of difficult texts.)
Hewlett's Bible difficulties explained.
Hume's (M. C.) 12 obscure texts illustrated.
Jeane's Mixture of scholastic and practical divinity.
Kennicott's State of the printed text.
——— Remarks on select passages.
Kentish's Notes on passages of Scripture.
Kidder's Remarks on certain passages.
King's Morsels of Criticism.
Knatchbull on Diff. texts in the New Test. (An English trans. by the author himself, and more complete than the orginal.)
Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ.
——— Explanation of difficult passages.
Longhurst's Commonplace Book.
Mann's Crit. Notes. (Comparing some passages with the ancient versions.)
Mayer's Treasury of Expositions, collected out of the most eminent interpreters.)
Moody's (N. J.) Helps to Bible readers.
Newton's (Thos.) Dissertations.
Nisbett's True Key to the more difficult passages in the New Testament.
Pilkington's Remarks on several passages.
Popham (Edw.) on Various texts.
Pott's (J. H.) Sermons.
Prescott's Every-day Scrip. difficulties.
Scragg's Ques. in Divinity, Hist. and Biog. (Expounds over 400 difficult texts.)
Scrivner's Supplement to the authorized version of the N. T. (Uses the Syriac, Latin, and earlier English versions.)
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Theological Reposit. (Many fine papers.)
Thompson's (Sam.) Exercitations.
Tomlinson's Attempt to rescue the Holy Scriptures from ridicule by a new translation of controverted passages, illustrated with critical notes.
Wake's (R.) Rationale upon some texts, &c.
Ward's (Dr. John) Dissertations.
Waterland's Scripture vindicated.
Weston on Diff. pass. in the Song of Deborah.

Whately (Abp.) on Some of the difficulties in the writings of Paul, and other parts of the New Testament.
Wratislaw's Difficulties of the N. Test.

Diligence, Christian. See INDUSTRY, REDEEMING TIME.

Dionysius Alexandrinus.

Dionysii Opera quæ extant.
Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel.

Dionysius Areopagus.

Dionysii Areopagitici Opera.
Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bebellii Antiquitates Eccles. Sæc. IV.
Buddæi Isagoge ad Theologiam. Lib. II.
Dallæus de Scriptis quæ Dion. et Ignatii nominibus circumferunter.
Fabricii (Alb.) Bibliotheca.
Ittigius de Patribus.
Lanselii Dissertatio Apologetica.
Mayeri (Frid.) Dissertationes.
Meieri (G. A.) Dion. A. et Mysticorum, sæc. xiv.; doctrinæ inter se comparatæ.
Oudinus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.
Pachymeræ Paraph. in omnia D. opera.
Riveti (And.) Opera Theologica.
Usseri Dissertationes.

Buddeus, cited above, names many authors who have written about the impostor of this name.

Discerning of Spirits.

Benson's Planting of Christianity.
Chandler's Commentary on Joel.
Foster's (John) Letters.
Stebbing against Foster.

Discerning the Lord's Body. See LORD'S SUPPER.

Brett's (Tho.) Discourses.

Disciples of Christ, or Christians. COMMONLY CALLED "CAMPBELLITES."

Pro.

Campbell's (Alex.) Christian Baptism.
——— Christian System.
——— Debate with Purcell.
——— ——— Rice.
——— ——— Walker.
——— ——— McCalla.
Christian Baptist. Periodical, from August, 1823, to August, 1829.
Lord's Review of Jeter on Campbellism.
Millennial Harbinger. Periodical, from January, 1830, to the present time.
Richardson's Principles and objects of the religious reformation.
Scott's (Rev. Walter) Death of Christ.
——— Gospel Restored.

Disciples of Christ—*continued.*

Pro.

Scott's (Rev. Walter) Messiah.
——— Union of Christians.
Stone's (Barton) Letters.

Con.

Campbell's (J. P.) Strictures on B. Stone.
Cleland's Unitarianism unmasked.
Jeter's (J. B.) Campbellism examined.
Landis' Rabbah taken.
Stile's Reply to articles in the Millennial Harbinger.

The "Debates" mentioned above, show both sides of the questions discussed.

Discipline of Primitive Churches. See CHURCH DISCIPLINE, PENANCE.

Bebelli (Balthas.) Dissertationes.
Beyeri Vet. eccl. circa penitentiæ rigorem.
Crucigeri Observationes Selectæ.
Dupin, Dissertationes Historicæ.
Hottingeri Exercitationes.
Orsi (Joseph. Aug.) Dissertationes.
Pelliccia, de Chris. eccl. primæ polititia.
Strauchii (Ægid.) Dissertat. (Acta erud.)

Brokesby's Government of the Church for the first 3 centuries.
Bryson's Compendious View.
Fuller's Discipline of the Primitive Churches.
Hall's View of the Gospel Church.
King's Enquiry into the Constitution, &c.

Discretion. See PRUDENCE.

Bateman's (Edward) Sermons.
Claggett's (William) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Lucas' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Van Mildert's Sermons at Lincoln's Inn.

Disinterested Benevolence. See HOPKINSIANISM.

Pro.

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 51.
Fawcett's (Joseph) Sermons at old Jewry.
Godwin on Political Justice. Bk. 4, ch. 8.
Hopkins' (Dr. Sam.) Works.
Hume's Principles of Morals.
Hutchinson on the Passions.

Con. (That there is no such thing.)

Brown's Essays on Shaftsbury. Ess. 2.
Rutherford's Essay on Moral Virtue.
Wardlaw's Christian Ethics.
Woodward's (Henry) Essays.

Dispersion at Babel. See CONFUSION OF TONGUES.

Dissenters. See ESTABLISHMENTS, NONCONFORMITY, SUBSCRIPTION TO CREEDS.

Pro.

Barker's (T.) Vindication of Dissenters.

Dissenters—*continued.*

Pro.

Barrowe's (Henry) Reply to Giffard.
Best's (Tho.) Answer to Foley's Discourses.
Beverly's Letters to the Abp. of York. (This bold and powerful attack called forth many replies.)
Binny's (D.) Dissent not Schism.
Bourne's Principles and practice of D.
Bradbury's Dissenting ministers defended.
Calamy's (Edmund) Tracts. (Admirable.)
Choate's (J.) Reasons of Dissent, &c.
Conder on Protestant Nonconformity.
De Foe's Test of Loyalty.
Disney's Reasons for resigning the rectory of Panton.
Eclectic Review. (Many articles.)
Ely's Address at Parade Chapel.
Foster's (Dr. J.) Answer to Stebbings.
Fownes on the Principles of toleration.
Hinton's (Jas.) Vindication of Dissenters. (Answer to Tatham.)
Hurn's Reasons for secession from the Chur. of England.
James' (John A.) Protestant Nonconformity.
Johnson's Reasons for Dissent.
Jones' (Wm.) Dissenter's Plea.
Kippis' Vindication of Dissenters.
Manning on Dissent from the Ch. of Engl.
Mauduit's Case of dissenting ministers.
Newman's Dissenter's Catechism.
Palmer's Review of England's Hierarchy.
——— Vind. of modern Dissenters.
Parry (Will.) on the Penal statutes affecting Protestant Dissenters.
Pearson's (Edw.) Three plain reasons.
Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters.
Priestley's Letters to the inhabitants of Birmingham.
Robinson's Separation from the Ch. of Eng.
——— (Other treatises.)
Scale's Principles of Dissent.
Scragg's Reasons for dissenting.
Smectymnus. (A work of prodigious ability.)
Smith's (J. Pye) Dissent vindicated.
——— Reply to Dr. Lee.
Sturgess on the State of the Church.
Swaine's Shield of Dissent.
Tasker's Reasons for separation.
Theological Repository. Birmingham. Edited by Dr. Priestley.
Thomas' (Benj.) Works.
Thompson's Comparative view of English and Scotch Dissenters. (Has a valuable preliminary dissertation on the views and duties of Dissenters.)
Tiptaft's Fourteen reasons for Dissent.
Toulmin's State of Dissenters.
——— Sermons.
Towgood's Answer to White's letters.
——— Answer to the Editor of Dr. Warren's sermons.
——— on Dissent from the Ch. of England.
——— Tracts on important subjects.
Vaughn's (Robt.) Essays.

Dissenters—*continued.*

Welch Nonconformist's Memorial. Period.
Withers' (John) Vindication of Dissenters.
Wood & Bulstrode's Letters.

Con.

Nicholsii Defensio Ecclesiæ Angl.

Barker's Defence of the English Church.
——— (Other treatises.)
Barry's (Edward) Theological essays.
Bennett's Abridgment of the London cases.
Boyd on Episcopacy, Ordination, &c.
Bramhall's (Abp.) Works.
Cock's Church of England secured.
Coleridge's Script. character of the Church of England.
Courtenay on the Revolution in France.
Crackenthorp's Defensio fidei.
Evans' (A. B.) Inconsistencies of Dissent.
Fausset's Bampton lectures. 1820.
Foley's (R.) Discourses on the Ch. of Eng.
Frazier's Magazine. 13:523.
Giffard's Donatists of England.
Grey's Vindication of the Chur. of England. (Reply to Pierce.)
Grove's Persuasives to communion.
Hall's Apology for the Ch. of England.
Hicks' (Dr. George) Works.
Hoadly's (Benj.) Works.
Hull's Pulpit guarded.
Hungerford's Call for Union.
Jessie's Defence of the Church.
Jewell's (Bp.) Apology for the Church.
Johnes' Causes of Dissent. (Received the royal medal of the Cambrian Institute. 1831.)
King's (Abp.) Admonition to Dissenters.
Langley's Tracts for priest and people.
Lee's Dissent unscriptural.
Lowth's (Wm.) Sermons. (On Acts ii. 42.)
Madan's Charges against Dissenters.
Maddox's Gov. and worship of the church.
——— Vindic. of the Church. (Reply to Neale and Pierce.)
Masheder's Dissent and Democracy.
Mason on the Lawful Ministry.
Pool's Lectures on Ely's address.
Potter on Church government.
Pruen's Popular view of the church.
Robertson's Dissenters self-condemned. (Reply to Delaune.)
Rogers' Persuasion to Conformity.
Rose's Ans. to the case of Dissenters.
Scarlet's Confutation of Brownism.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Discourses.
Stebbing's Polemic tracts.
Tatham's (Edw.) University sermons.
Thelwall's Letters to a friend.
The Independent Whig. Periodical.
Tucker's Reply to Kippis' vindication.
Vaughn's (Robert) Essays.
Ware's Foxes and Firebrands.
Wells' Ceremonies of the Eng. Church.
——— (Various other tracts.)
Wilberforce's Parochial system.

Dissenters, History of.

Bogue & Bennett's Hist. of Dissenters. From 1689 to 1808. Continued by Bennett to 1838.
Calamy's Life of Baxter.
Fletcher's History of Independency.
Hall's (Robert) Works.
Hunter's (J.) Life of Oliver Heywood.
Ivemy's (Jos.) Hist. of Dissenters. To 1810.
Neale's History of the Puritans.
Orton's Memoir of P. Doddridge.
Palmer's Dissenter's Catechism.
Rees' Hist. of Dissent in Wales. To 1861.
Sanders' Origin and progress of Dissent.
Thomson's Comparison of English and Scotch Dissenters.
Toulmin's (Josh.) State of Dissenters.
Uden's Anglican Church of the 19th century. Trans. by Humphries.
Walker's Hist. of Eng. Independence. To 1651.
Wilson's History of dissenting churches in London. To 1806. (Extensive and authentic; includes memoirs of many ministers.)

Dissolution of the World.
See CONSUMMATION.

Distinctions in Society.
See INEQUALITIES.

Distractions. See WANDERING THOUGHTS.

Diversity of Languages.
See CONFUSION.

Diversity of Races. See UNITY.

Divination. See ASTROLOGY.

Cattan, la Geomance.
Cocles, Compendium de Chiromancie.
Hartlieb's Kunst chyromantia.
Jurieu, Hist. Critique des dogmes, &c.
Lisle, des Talismans.
Peucer, les Devins.
Placet, la Superstition du temps.
Van Dale, de Origine et progressu idolitræ et superstitionum.
Zanchii Opera Theologica. Tom. VIII.

[Phillips'] English fortune-tellers.

Divine Government.
See GOVERNMENT OF GOD.

Divine Right of Kings.
See PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

Pro.

Puffendorf de Jure. Lib. VII., C. 3.

Delany on Religious duties.
Filmer's Patriarchal scheme.
Heylin's (Peter) Miscellaneous tracts.
Usher's Power communicated from God.

Divine Right of Kings—*continued.*

Pro.

Weldon's Origin of Dominion.
Williams' Jura Magistrata.

Con.

Mehliss, Comparatio Platonis doctrinæ de sua republica, cum christiana doctrina de regno divino.

Buchanan (Geo.), de Jure Regni.
Edinburg Review. 1:456.
Hoadly (Bp.) on Government.
——— on the Rights of subjects.
Kettlewell's Measures of Chris. obedience.
Monthly Review. 93:144.
Paley's Political Economy.
Rutherford's Lex Rex. (Famous.)
Sidney on Government.

Divorce. See MARRIAGE.

Tertullian, contra Marcion. Lib. IV., cap. 34.
Basil, Epistolæ.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ. Hom. XVII.
Epiphanius, Pannarium.

Bezæ Tractationes Theologicæ.
Buxtorf de Nuptiis et Divortiis Hebrorum.
Dassovii (T.) Vidua Hebræa.
Erasmi Opera.
Hotman, de la Dissolution du marriage par l'impuissance.
Housonus (J.), de Uxore dimissa.
Miltoni Tetrachordon.
Peleus de Dissolutione matrimonii ex causa frigoris.
Puffendorf de Jure, &c.
Seldeni Uxor Hebraica ex Talmudico.
Tagereau, sur l'Impuissance.
Ugolini Uxor Hebræa.

Amer. Quart. Review. 2:70.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 23:384.
Blackall's (Dr. Offspring) Discourses.
Blackwood's Magazine. 26:756.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
British and Foreign Review. 7:269.
Bucer on Divorce. Trans. by John Milton. (In the preface, Milton defends his own treatise on this subject.)
Bunney (E.) on Divorce.
Calmet's Preface to Deuteronomy.
De Bow's Commercial Review. 2:155.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 61.
Dwight's Sermons.
Erasmus' Judgement whyther divorsement betwene man and wyfe standeth with the law of God.
Greswell's (Edward) Dissertations.
Gilbert's Exp. of the 39 Articles. Art. 25.
International Magazine. 5:198.
Investigator. 2:146.
Milton's Doctrine and Discipline of D.
Necker's (Madam) Reflections.
Ochinus' Dialogues. Trans. by Osborn.
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Book 3.

Pamphleteer. 18:153.
Pye on Hebrew Divorces.
Reynolds on Divorce for Adultery.
Trumbull's Appeal to the public.
Westminster Review. 42:187.
Wolseley on Divorce and Marriage.

Docetæ. See SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST.

Clemens Alex., Stromata.
Ignatius, Epistolæ.
Irenæus, adversus Hæreses.
Tertullian, de Carne Christi.

Giesleri Com. de corpore Christi.
Neander's Gnostische Systeme.
Niemeyer de D. comment. histor. theol.

Burton's Bampton Lectures. 1829.

Dogmatic Theology. See THEOLOGY.

Doing Good. See GOOD WORKS.

Doing as we would be done by.

Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Carter's (N.) Sermons.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.

Domestic Economy. See FAMILY GOVERNMENT, FAMILY RELIGION.

Abbot's Mother at home. (Excellent.)
Anderson's Domestic Constitution. (Deserves the widest circulation.)
Babington on Christian Education in its early stages.
Bailey (R. W.) on Domestic Duties.
Bamford on the Discipline of Children.
Belfrage's Monitor to Families.
Biber's (G. E.) Lectures.
Christian Quart. Spect. 5:363. 7:185. 8:43.
Cleaver's Godlie forme of hovsehold govt.
Creswell's (D.) Sermons on domestic duties.
De Foe's Family Instructor. (Excellent.)
Dick's Christian Philosopher.
Dyke's (Oswald) Sermons.
Eclectic Magazine. 13:126.
Gouge's (William) Eight treatises. (All on this subject.)
Grant (Mrs.) on Intell. and dom. education.
Hamilton (Eliza) on the Formation of moral and religious principles.
Harris' Patriarchy.
Huntingdon's (Prof.) Sermons.
Kruger on the Educ. of Children. (Medical.)
Mother's Magazine.
Mother's Monthly Journal.
Munton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Nelson on the Government of Children.
Parke's Duties of Married life.
Payson's Sermons to Christian families.
Pickard on Family Government.
Stennett's (Sam.) Domestic Duties.
Tickell's Bottomless pit smoking. (Commended by Bp. Law.)
Tyerman's Importance of dom. discipline.
Witherspoon's Lectures.

Domestic Happiness.

Boardman's (H. A.) Bible in the family.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
James' Family Monitor.
Jay's Lectures.
Malcom's Christian rule of Marriage. (Contends against the marriage of believers to unbelievers.)
Mason's Christian Morality.
Taylor (J.) on the Importance of children.
——— on Home Education.

Dominicans.

Albertus de Viris illust. ordinis prædicat.
Altimura Bibliotheca Dominica.
Annales Ordinis prædicatorum.
Antonii Biblioth. ord. frat. prædicatorum.
Bareille, Hist. de St. Thomas d'Aquin.
Echardi, Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum.
Gerard et Liblin, Annales, &c. To 1854.
Gozzei Catalogus virorum prædicatorum.
Heylot, Hist. des Ordres Monastique.
Mamachio, Annales Prædicatorum.
Ripoll, Bullarium ord. Prædicatorum.
Rovetta, Biblioth. illustrium virorum.
Senensis, Chronicon Fratrum Prædicator.
Sovege et Teuillet, L'année Dominicaine.
Touron, Hist. des hommes illustre, &c.
——— Vie de St. Thomas d'Aquin.

Echard, cited above, gives a huge list of Dominican writers; professedly complete.

Donatists. See COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.

Augustine, contra Donatistas de baptismo. (Falsely attributed to A.)
——— contra Parmenianum.
——— de Baptismo.
Jerome, de Scriptoribus Ecclesias.

Alexandri (Natalis.) Dissertationes.
Balduini Historia Collationis Carthagensis.
——— de Schismate Donatistarum.
Danhaveri (Jo. Conradi) Disputatio ad collationem Carthaginiensem.
Dupin, Historia Donatistarum.
Ittigii Hæreses ævi apostolici.
Leydekkeri (Melchoiris) Dissertationes.
Milevetanus de Schismate Donatistarum.
Mosheimii Dissertationes Hist. Eccl.
Noris Historia Donistarum.
Optatas de Schismate D. ("Handsomely written."—MOSHEIM. But very bitter, and often unjust, which does not displease Dr. M., who calls them "a troublesome sect.")
Ottii Delineatio Schismate Donatistarum.
Rhenferdi Dissertationes.
Ribbeck's (F.) Donatus und Augustinus.
Tillemont, Memoires Ecclesiastiq. Tom. VI.
Valesii (Henr.) Dissertatio de schismate D.
Witsii (H.) Miscellanea Sacra.

Donatists—*continued.*

Barrow (Henry) on the Donatists of Eng.
Benedict's Hist. of the Baptists. (Introd.)
Burton's Eccles. hist. of the 2d and 3d cent.
Gregory's (Pope) Epistles.
Lardner's Credibility, &c. Part 2.
Long's History of the Donatists.
Lowth's (Simon) Excerpts from Eccl. Hist.
Princeton Review. 36:385.

Dort, Synod of.

Acta Synodi Dordrechti.
Benthem's dem holländischen Kirchen.
Brandt's Hist. d. Ref. de Nederlanden.
Gomari Opera.
Halesii Hist. Concilii Dordraceni.
Langii Gloria Christi.
Leydecker's nationale Synod von Dordregt. (Reply to Brandt.)
Masii (Hect. G.) Dissertationes Academ.
Peltii Harmonia Remonstrantium et Socinianorum.

Brandt's History of the Reformation.
Christian Observer. 18:761, 790.
Hale's (John) History of the Synod of D.
Leydecker's National Synod of Dort.
Nichols' Calvinism and Socin'm compared.
Scott's (Tho.) Articles of the Synod of D.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 4:256.

Doublemindedness. See INDECISION.

Double Sense of Prophecy.

Pro.

Amer. Presbyterian Review. 4:214.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Chalmers' (Tho.) Lectures on Paley's Evidences. Part 2, Ch. 1.
——— Notes on Hill's Lectures in Divinity. Book 1, Ch. 7.
Claggett's Truth defended.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 132.
Haberson on the Prophetic Scriptures.
Hey's (Dr. J.) Lectures. Bk. 1, Ch. 17.
Hurd (Bp.) on the Prophecies.
Jenour's Trans. of Isaiah; with notes.
Johnson's (Rev. Sam.) Exp. of prophecies.
Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. history.
Lowth's Sacred poetry of the Hebrews.
Mudge's Preface to the Psalms.
Turner's (S. H.) Interp. of Scrip. prophecy.
Warburton's (Bp.) Divine legation. Bk. 6.
——— Hist. of double prophecies.
Whiston's Boyle Lectures.

Con.

Benson's Critical Dissertations.
Stuart (Moses) on the Interp. of Prophecy.
Sykes' Truth of the Christian religion.
——— Principles and connection of natural and revealed religion.

Doubt. See CASUISTRY, INDECISION.

Hewlett's (C. A.) Sermons
Lewis' (W. S.) Landmarks of Faith.
Muston's (C. R.) Sermons.
Orton's (Job) Discourses. (Sinfulness of doubtful actions.)
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor Dubitantium.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on prevalent errors and vices.

Dreams.

Tertullian de Anima.

Boisment, des Hallucinations.
Cicero de Divinatione. Cap. 46.
Francastorius de Intellectu.
Jamblicus de Mysteriis.
Witsii Miscellanea Sacra.

Amyrald on the D. mentioned in Scripture.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Baxter (And.) on the Nature of the soul.
Binns' (E. E.) Anatomy of sleep.
Blackwood's Mag. 21:549. 22:173. 48:194.
Boismont on Hallucination. Translated by Mrs. Gent.
Branch on Dreaming.
Bulstrode's (W.) Essays. Ess. 2.
Christian Observer. 1:473.
Cook's True relation of a wonderful dream.
Delany's (Patrick) Dissertations.
Dendy's (W. C.) Philosophy of Dreams.
Diodati on Dreams.
Edwards (John) on the Creed.
Elwin on the Operations of the mind in sleep.
Ennemoser's History of Magic.
Goodwin's Mystery of D. (Historical.)
Jackson (Tho.) on the Apostles' Creed.
Macnish's Philosophy of sleep.
Mirror, The. Nos. 73, 74.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Phillips' (A.) Nature of sleep and death.
Smith's (John) Select Discourses.
Turner's Hist. of remarkable providences.
Wotton, Life of.

Dress. See FASHION, SELF-DENIAL.

Gregory Naz., Adv. mulieres ambitiosas.

Matensii Sermones de Exorno.

Allsop's Sinfulness of strange apparel.
Blackwood's Magazine. 53:230.
Buck's Cautions.
Collier's (Jer.) Essays on moral subjects.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Hall's (Thos.) Loathsomeness of painting, patches, naked backs and breasts, &c. 1654.
Hammond's (Henry) Sermons.
Judson's Letter to American females. (An admirable tract.)

Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Vol. 3.
Newton's (John) Miscellaneous Papers.
North Amer. Review. 47:148.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons. (Auxiliary beauty.)
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
—— Advice to Methodists with regard to dress.

Drinking Healths. See TEMPERANCE.

Matensii Opera.

Brown's (Bp. Peter) Works. Last vol.

Druids. See ETHNOLOGY.

Barth, Ueber die Druiden der Kelten.
Frickii Com: de D. Occidentalium.
Hartlieb (J. F.), de Druidis.
Julius Cæsar, de Bello Gallic. Lib. V.
Pictet, les Bardes de l'Ile de Bretagne.
Suetonii Historia.
Tacitus de M. Germanorum. Cap. 7.

Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall.
Bowles' Hermes Brittanicus.
Cook on the Patriarchal and Druidical relig.
Davies' (Edward) British Druids; with their poems, rites, &c.
Duke's Druidical temples of Wiltshire.
Duncan's Religions of profane antiquity.
Eclectic Magazine. 17:320.
Edinburg Review. 4:391.
Higgins' Celtic Druids. Plates.
Jones' History of the Druids.
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Major's Interlineary translation and notes on Luke. 1826.
Malan's (S. C.) Vind. of the authorized version from recent charges. 1826.
Mann's (Nic.) Crit. notes on some passages. 1747. (Corrects many renderings.)
Mant's Metrical tr. of the Ps. Notes. 1824.
Marcus' (B.) Mistranslations of the O. Test. corrected. 1846. (Jewish.)
Mardon's Tr. of the Epistles of John. 1853.
Marsh's (H.) Hist. of our Eng. vers. 1812.
Marsh's (E. G.) Psalms in English verse. Notes. 1832.
Marsh's (Wilmot) Biblical versions, &c. 1845. (Gives specimens of the various versions since Wickliffe.)
Martin's Manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the English sectaries. 1852. (See Fulke.)
Mather's (Cotton) Trans. of Psalms. 1718. (Blank verse.)
Matthews' [or Rogers'] Olde and Nevve Test. trvelye and pvrelye translated. 1537.
Maule's (J.) Trans. of the N. Test. Notes.
Merrick's Metrical tr. of Psalms. 1765.
Mitchell's Tr. of the Revelations. 1800.
Modern and close tr. of the Bible, arranged in order of time. "By the authors of the Christian Code." 1812.
Montague's Metrical vers. of the Ps. 1851.
Moore's (T. V.) Translation and Expos. of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. 1855.
Mortimer's Trans. of the Gospels and Acts, from the text of Mills. 1761.
Mudge's Trans. of the Psalms. 1744.
Murphy's Tr. of Genesis, and Com. 1863.
Murdock's N. T. tr. from the Peschito. 1852.
Musgrave's Tr. of Ps. in blank verse. 1833.
Nares on the Unitarian version. 1808.
Nary's N. Test., from the Vulgate. 1719.
Neale's (Jas.) Tr. of Hosea. Notes. 1771.
——— ——— With additions, by W. H. Neale. 1850.
Newcombe's Tr. of the min. Prophets. 1785.
——— —— Ezekiel. 1788 and 1836.
——— —— N. T.; with notes. 1796.
——— Historical view of the English translation. 1792.
Newman's (F. W.) Tr. of Sol. Song. 1839.
Newman's (W.) Emendations of the authorized version. 1839.
Nevv. Testament of Jesvs Christ, tr. out of the avthentic Latin; vvith argvmentes, bookes, chapters, annotations, and other necessary helpes; by the College at Rhemes. 1582.
Norton's (And.) Tr. of the Gospels. Notes. 1855.
Noyes' Tr. of Job. 1827.
——— —— Psalms. 1831.
——— —— the Prophets. 1843.
——— —— Prov., Eccles., and Cant. 1846.
O'Callaghan's List of editions of the English Bible, and parts thereof, printed in America, previous to 1860.
Oliver's Trans. of Psalms from the Syriac-Peschito version. 1861.
Pardue's Trans. of Romans. 1855.
Parker's Bible. 1568, 1570, 1572, &c. (Commonly called the "*Bishop's Bible.*)
Parkhurst's Literal vers. of Psalms. 1825.
Pearce's Tr. of 1 Corinthians. Notes. 1772.
Penn's (Granville) Critical revision of the text, and new tr. of the N. Test. 1836.
——— The same, with Annotations and Supplement. 1841.
Percy's Tr. of Solomon's Song. 1764.
Perowne's Tr. of the Psalms. Notes. 1864.
Perrin's Revised text, and new tr. of N. T.
Philalethes' [John Jones] Tr. of Colossians, Thessalonians, Titus, and James. 1819. (Socinian.)
Pick's Tr. of the Minor prophets; with notes from various Rabbis. 1833. (Jewish.)
Pierce's Trans. of Epistles of Paul. 1747.
Pococke's Tr. of 2 Peter. Notes. 1660.
Pratt's (H.) Genealogy of creation. 1861. (Tr. of Genesis from the unpointed Hebrew text.)
Purver's Literal tr. of the Bible. 1764.
Rae's Trans. of Isaiah. Notes. 1853.
Rainhold's Refutation of sundry reprehensions and cavils by which Mr. Whitaker labors to deface the Eng. translation and Catholic notes of the Rhemish Testament.
Ray's Tr. of the Sacred Scripture after the Eastern manner. 1815.
Rick's Tr. of the Minor prophets.
Reichardt's Psalms, Heb. and Eng. 1841.
Reid's Literal tr. of the Psalms. 1821. (Has the original, without points, with a grammar and lexicon.)
Rennel on the Unitarian version.
Rhemish Bible; from the Vulgate. 1582.
Roberts' (W. H.) Corrections of the English translation of the O. Test. 1794. ("Very valuable."—British Critic.)
Rodwell's Translation of Job. 1864.
Rogers' Collation of the principal English translations; with a historical account of ancient MSS. and editions. 1778. (Many fac-similes. Reprinted 1847.)
Role's Trans. of the Psalms. 1840.
Ryan's Analysis of Ward's "Errata." 1808.
Sampson's Tr. of Hebrews. Notes. 1828.

Sawyer's Tr. of the O. and N. Test., with chronological arrangement of the books, and a new division of chapters and verses. 1858–1862.
Scarlet's Tr. of the N. Test. 1798. (Conforms to the sentiments of the Universalists.)
Scott's (Dan.) New tr. of Matthew. 1741.
Scott's (Tho.) Tr. of Job. 1771. (Poetical.)
Scott's (Wm.) Tr. of the New Test. Notes. 1775.
Shadwell's Tr. of Matthew. Notes. 1859.
Sharp's Tr. of the N. Test., from the text of Griesbach. 1840. (All quotations from the Old Test. are given in Italics.)
——— ——— Hebrew Scriptures. 1864.
Shuttleworth's Tr. of the Epistles. 1829.
Sibthorp's Trans. of Jonah. Notes. 1835.
Sidney's Psalms of D. in verse. 1810.
Skinner's Tr. of the Psalms. Notes. 1830.
Smart's Metrical tr. of the Psalms. 1765.
Smith's (Eliza) Tr. of Job. 1810. (Regarded by Abp. MAGEE as then the best.)
Stather's Job in English verse. Notes.
Stennett's Tr. of Sol. Song. Notes.
Stewart's (C. E.) The New Testament and its translations. 1855.
Stock's Metrical tr. of Job. 1803. ("An entire congeries of precipitancies, mistakes, and mutilations."—MAGEE.)
——— Metrical tr. of Isaiah. (" Close, nervous, and manly."—BRIT. CRITIC, 28:466.)
Stonard's Tr. of Zechariah. Notes. 1824.
Street's Literal tr. of the Psalms; with preface and notes. 1790.
Stuart's Tr. of Rom. and Excursus. 1832.
Sturges' Remarks on Dodson's Isaiah. 1791.
Swedenborg's Tr. of the Psalms. 1760.
Sylvester's Tr. of the Psalms. Notes. 1754.
Tatham's Tr. of Job from the Coptic. 1846.
Taverner's Moste sacred Byble; recognized wyth great dylygence, after the moste faythful exemplars. 1539.
Thomson's (Cha.) Tr. of the LXX. 1808. (The only English translation, and highly approved.)
——— Tr. of the New Covenant. 1810.
Thompson's (John S.) Monotessaron: a new trans. and notes. 1826.
Thompson's (Lawrence) Tr. of the N. Test. from the Latin of Beza. 1575.
Thompson's (W.) Tr. of the N. Test.; with critical notes. 1816. (In small estimation.)
Thomson's (W. A.) Hist. of the translation and circulation of the Scriptures. 1815.
Thorn's Revised tr. of Corinthians. 1852.
Todd's (H. J.) Memoir of Bp. Walton. (Bp. W. was engaged on a revised translation of the English Bible in 1658.)
——— Vind. of our authorized vers. 1819.
——— Observations on the metrical versions of the Psalms, by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others. 1822.
Todd's Account of our authorized version. 1834.
Tomline's (Bp.) Account of the English translations. 1820.
Tomlinson's (R.) Tr. of incorrect passages in the common version. With notes. 1803.
Torshell & Madden's Bible and Apocrypha; according to the earliest English versions. 1850.
Trappe's Commentary. 1670. (Many excellent retranslations.)
Tregelle's Tr. of the Apocalypse. 1844.
Tunstell & Heath's Bible. 1541.
Turnbull (Jos.) Tr. of the N. Test. 1856.
Turner's Poetical tr. of the Psalms. 1824.
Twell's Critical exam. of the late new version. (MACE's work, both as to the text and version, is here severely handled.)
Tye's (Doctor in mvsyke) Actes of the Apos. in Englishe meter, wyth notes to eche chapter to synge; and also to play vpon the lvte. 1553.
Tyndale's Tr. of the N. Test. 1526.
——— ——— Pentateuch. 1530.
——— ——— Jonah. 1531.
——— ——— N. Testament, with the essential variations of Coverdale's, Matthew's, Genevan, and Bishop's Bible, as marginal readings. By J. P. Dabney. 1837.
Umbreight's Tr. of Job; with notes. Translated by J. Gray. 1836.
Vansittart's Tr. of the 49th Psalm. 1810.
Wake's Liberal tr. of the Psalms. 1793.
Wakefield's Tr. of the N. Test. 1790. (Unitarian. Examined by NARES, MAGEE, LAWRENCE, and the ECLECTIC REVIEW.)
Walford's Tr. of the N. Test. Notes. 1837.
——— ——— Psalms. 1838.
Walter's Letter to Bp. Marsh. 1823. (To show that Tyndale's version was not framed upon that of Luther.)
Ward's Errata of the Protest. Bible. 1706.
Webster's (Noah) Bible; with emendations of language. 1833.
Webster's (Will.) New Testament from the ancient Latin; with notes from the French of Father Simon. 1730.
Wier's Tr. of Ps., and chron. arrang. 1830.
Weiss' Tr. of Ps.; with crit. notes. 1852.
——— ——— Ecclesiastes. " " 1857.
Wellbeloved's Trans. of the N. Testament; with notes. 1833. (Unitarian.)
Wellbeloved, Smith & Porter's Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. 1859.
Wells' (Edw.) Help to the understanding of the Scriptures. 1708. (A revised translation of the O. and N. Testament, with prefaces, Greek text, notes, &c.)
Wemys' Biblical Gleanings. 1816. (A collection of proposed emendations, with important various readings; compiled from over fifty distinguished critics.)
——— Tr. of Job; with notes. 1839.
Wesley's (John) New Testament revised.

English Bible.

Whiston's Primitive New Testament. 1745. (Important, as translating from the Codex Bezæ, the Clermont MS., and the Alexandrine MS., as collated by Mill.)

Whitaker's Histor. and critical Inquiry into the right interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures; with remarks on Mr. Bellamy's translation. 1819.

——— Answer to Wm. Rainhold.

Whitwell's Tr. of Romans; with introduction and notes. 1848.

Wickliffe's New Testament from the Vulgate. 1387. (Not printed till 1731, when it was published by John Lewis, with a history of the various English translations. A reprint was issued in 1810, with a good memoir of W., and a continuation of the history of English versions. A beautiful edition was published in 1850, by Torshall & Madden, who spent several years on the work, and compared about two hundred manuscripts.)

Williams' (Benj.) Book of Psalms, as translated, paraphrased, and imitated, by the most eminent English poets. 1781.

Williams' (Rowland) Transl. of the Hebrew Prophets. 1866.

Williams' (Tho.) Lit. tr. of Sol. Song. 1800.

——————— ——— N. Test. 1812.

Willis' Tr. of Acts. 1789. (Not esteemed.)

Wilson's Emphatic Diaglot, notes, and new tr. of the New Testament. 1866..

Wilson's (Bp.) Bible, with notes. 1785. (Collates the received version, with preceding and subsequent versions.)

Winthrop's (J.) Tr. of the Apocalypse into familiar language. 1794.

Wintle's Tr. of Daniel; with notes. 1792.

Witham's N. Test. from the Vulgate. 1730.

Wolfe's (J. R.) Messiah in the Psalms, and Pentateuch.

Woodhouse's Tr. of the Apocalypse. 1806. (Answers the objections of Michaelis.)

Wordsworth's Tr. of the Apocalypse. 1829. (The Greek text, MSS. collations, and learned notes.)

Worseley's Trans. of the New Test. Notes. 1770. (Pays special attention to the particles.)

Wrangham's Tr. of the Psalms.

Wynne's New Test. collated with the Greek. 1764. (Chiefly follows Doddridge.)

Young's (Robt.) Tr. of the Bible. 1862.

THE FIRST ENGLISH VERSIONS.

(In the order of time.)

A.D. 706. Adhelm's Saxon Psalms.
721. Egbert's Four Gospels.
734. Bede's Gospel of John.
880. Alfred's Psalms.
1340. Roles' [or Hampole's] Psalms.
1387. Wickliffe's Bible.
1526. Tyndale's New Testament.
1530. ——— Pentateuch.

English Bible.

A.D. 1531. Tyndale's Jonah.
1531. Joyce's Isaiah.
1534. ——— Jeremiah, Psalms, and Songs of Moses.
1535. Coverdale's Bible.
1537. Matthews' [or Rogers'] Bible.
1538. Cranmer's Bible.
1539. Taverner's Bible.
1541. Tunstell & Heath's Bible.
1550. Cheke's New Testament.
1557. Geneva Bible.
1568. Bishop's Bible.
1582. Rhemish Testament.
1600. Douay Bible.
1611. King James' Version.

Some of these dates are disputed, but nearly all of them are certain.

Enmity of the Heart.

See CARNAL MIND.

Barnes' (Albert) Sermons.
Cooper's (G.) Sermons.
Cooper's (James) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wayland's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Weston's (Bp.) Sermons.

Enmity of the World.

Hall's Help to Zion's travellers.
Leighton's (Abp.) Comm. on 1 Peter iii:16.
Ray's Persuasives to a holy life.
Stennett's (Samuel) Sermons.
Wayland's (Samuel) Sermons.

Enoch.

Libri Enoch, Versio Ethiopica.
Heinii (J. P.) Dissertationes.
Hoffman's Ueberset. mit Commentar. 1838.

Amer. Biblical Repository. 3:
Ewald's Origin, meaning, &c., of the book of Enoch.
Hoffman's Trans. and commentary.
Lawrence's Translation, and preliminary Dissertations.
Murray's Enoch restitutus. (An attempt to separate from the book of Enoch the book quoted by Jude.)
Stuart's Christology of the book of Enoch.

Enquirers.

See CONVICTION.

Enthusiasm.

Baieri (Joan. Guil.) Dissertationes.
Bebellii (Balthas.) Dissertationes.
Casauboni Commentarius de Enthusiasmo.
Chladenii Introversio in se ipsum.
Colberg's dem Platonisch-Hermetischen.
Corbini Enthusiasticum Pantheon.
Gerdesii (Hen. Joann.) Schediasma.
Himmelii Collegio Anti-enthusiasticum.
Hoornbeckii (Joann.) Dissertationes.

Enthusiasm—*continued.*

Jæger de Enthusiasmo moderno. 1709.
Kahler de Hæresi Enthus. abominibili.
Krohn's Gesch. der Enthusiastischen.
Mori Enthusiasmus Triumphatus.
Schrammius de Enthusiastis.
Teustkingii Gynæcium hæretico-sanitico.
Turretin, Preservatif, &c.
Zeltneri Breviarium controversiarum adhuc agitarum. 1724.
Zentgravii Dissertationes. (Divine and Diabolical Enthusiasm.)

Barclay's Apology.
Bellamy's True religion delineated.
Bidlake's Bampton Lectures. 1811.
Casaubon on Enthusiasm as mistaken for divine inspiration.
Christian Observer. 19:800.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 4:118.
Edinburg Review. 71:124.
Evans' (F.) Hist. of Modern Enthusiasm.
Evans' (John) Sermons. (Effects of E.)
Evans' (Theophilus) History of E., from the Reformation to the present time. 1752.
Foster's Essays. (On the epithet Romantic.)
Frazier's Magazine. 9:159.
Green (Bp.) on Enthusiasm.
Hawkins' (Robt.) Works.
Hunter's Letter on Enthusiasm.
Lavington's E. of Methodists and Papists.
Locke on the Understanding.
Monthly Review. 119:159.
More's (Henry) Philosophical works.
Notts' Bampton Lectures. 1802.
Pickets' Academician.
Scholar Armed against error. Vol. 2.
Scott's Force of Truth.
Southern Literary Messenger. 2:321.
Spectator. No. 201.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 3:256, 330.
Stephens' Essays in eccles. biography.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Taylor's (Isaac) Natural history of E.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Wilson on Warrantable and unwarrantable inspirations.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Envy.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Sermons.
Berens' (Edward) Village Sermons.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Burton's (Hezekiah) Sermons.
Carrington's (J.) Sermons.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Hey's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Johnson's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Jones' (Walter) Sermons.
Knox's (Vicessimus) Sermons.
Lloyd's (Pearson) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on prevalent vices.

Ephraem, Syrus.

Ephraimi Opera; Assemanno editis. (Only complete edition. Six vols., folio.)
Gregory Nys., Vita atque encomium Ephr.

Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis. (Has many extracts from E.'s works.)
Augusti (J. C. G.) Quest. Patristicarum, &c.
Coleri (Chr.) Disquisitiones Criticæ.
Hoyeri (Guil. Ernest.) Dissertationes.
Lengerke, Com. crit. de Ephræmo interprete.
Oudini (Casimer.) Dissertationes.
Tentzelii (Guil. Ernest.) Dissertationes.
Tischendorf, Codex Ephræmi rescriptus.
Vossii Sancta Ephræmi narratio.

Burgess' Hymns and homilies of Ephræm. (The introduction gives an account of Syriac metrical church literature, &c.)
St. Ephraim's Select works. Trans. by J. B. Morris.
——— Repentance of Nineveh. Translated by H. Burgess.

Epicureanism.

Origen, contra Celsus.

Epicuri Vita, per Diogenem Laertium.
Cicero de Natura deorum.
——— de Fato et de finibus.
Du Rondel, Vie d'Epicure.
Gassendi Vita Epicuri.
Lucretii Opera. Lib. II.
Plutarch, de Placitis philosophiæ. Lib. I., Cap. II.
Rapin, Reflexions sur la Philosophie.

American Quart. Review. 1:357.
Brucker's History of Philosophy.
Christian Examiner. 71:1.
Cudworth's Intellectual System.
Hume's (David) Essays. Ess. 15.
Ray on the Creation. Part 1.
Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. Bk. 3.
Taylor's (Jeremy) Sermons.
Tenniman's History of Philosophy.

Epiphanius.

Epiphanii Opera quæ extant. (Several editions, the best of which is said to be that of PETAVIUS, 1682. That of MIGNE, 1858, in three volumes, is much approved.)
Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Gervasse, Vie de St. Epiphane.
Oudini (Casimer.) Dissertationes.
Papebrochii Commentarius de St. E.
Whiston's Essays.

Epiphany.

Gregorii Naz., Orationes sex.

Arzbergeri (J. Seb.) Dissertationes.
Blumenbachii Antiquit. Epiphaniorum.

Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.

Hare's (A. W.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Russel's (Alex. R.) Sermons.

Episcopacy. See APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, CONFIRMATION, ORDINATION.

Pro.

Beveridge, Canon. vet. eccl. Vindicatio.
Cosini Religio et Gubernatio.
Downamii Diss. de gubernatione Ecclesiæ.
Hammond (H.), Dissertationes quatuor.
Juellæ Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.
Saravia de Diversis gradibus, &c.
Usserus, de Origine Episcop. et Metropol.

Ainsworth (T.) on Ordination.
Bancroft's (Abp.) Works.
Barwick on Church Government.
Beaulieu's Extremes of Popery and Presbytery.
Bilson's Government of Christ's Church. (One of the ablest on this side.)
Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.
Bisse's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bowden on Episcopacy.
Boyd's (Archibald) Episcopacy and Presbytery.
Bramhall's (John) Works.
Brett on Church Government.
Bridges on the Christian ministry.
Brokesby's Hierarchy of the 3 first cent.
Burnett on the 39 Articles.
Chandler's (T. B.) Appeal on behalf of E. in America. 1768.
——— Defence of the same.
Chapin's Organiz. of the primitive church.
Chillingworth on Episcopacy.
Christian Observer. (Many articles.)
Church of Eng. Magaz. 1836 to the present.
Church of E. Quar. Rev. 1837 " "
Church Review. 1848 to 1858.
Churton's Defence of the Church of England.
Colton on Episcopacy.
Cook's Instability of Presb. ordination.
Dodwell on Episcopacy.
Dyer's Testimonies of early Chris. writers.
Earbery's Principles of Church unity.
Edwards (Tho.) on Diocesan Episcopacy.
Faber's Episcopal ordination necessary.
Fields' Book of the Church. (The best edition of this important work is that of J. S. Brewer, 1842, which gives the quotations in full.)
Gauden's Hieraspistes.
Gray's Ministry of Dissenters null and void.
——— Vindication of the Church of Engl.
——— Schismatics delineated.
Good's (Wm.) Vind. of the Ch. of England.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
——— Answer to Smyctemnus.
——— Epis. by Divine right asserted.
Hammond on E. (Replies to Blondell.)
Hawk's Constitution and Canons of the E. Church in America.

Episcopacy—*continued.*

Pro.

Heylin's History of Episcopacy.
Hicks (Geo.) on the Episcopal Order.
Hoadley's Defence of Epis. ordination.
——— Other treatises.
Hobart's Apology for Apostolical order.
Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical polity.
Horton on Episcopacy.
How's Letter to the Rev. Dr. Miller.
Ingraham's Double witness of the Church.
Jackman's Success no rule. (Rep. to Pierce.)
King's (Peter) Primitive Church.
Leaming (Jer.) on Episc. Government.
Lowth's Character of the Apostol. Church.
Manning on the Unity of the Church.
Marshall's Notes on Episcopacy.
Mason (F.) on Episcopacy.
Maurice on Diocesan Episcopacy.
Mills' Christian Priesthood.
[Mines' (F. S.)] A Presbyterian clergyman looking for a church.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Ogilvie's Lectures on the Church.
Onderdonk's E. tested by Scripture.
Overall's Convocation Book.
Overton's True Churchman.
Parker's Ecclesiastical Polity.
Pearson on the Creed.
Potter on Church Government.
Prettyman's Elements.
Pruen's View of the Church of God.
Rogers' Visible and invisible Church.
Sage's Principles of the Cyprianic age.
——— Vindication of Do. (Reply to Rule.)
Saravia on Ministerial grades.
Sclater's Draft of the primitive church.
Sinclair's Diss. on polity and doctrine.
Skinner's Primitive truth and order.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
——— Irenicum.
Sparks' (J.) Letters on the Prot. Episc. Ch.
Spencer's Christian Instructed.
Taylor's (Jer.) E. a Divine institution.
——— Collection of polemic Discourses.
The Churchman. Periodical. Lond. (High Church.)
Thorndyke's Early Church.
Tracts for the Times. Tr. 33, and others.
Usher's Opuscula. (Origin of Bishops.)
——— Apostolical institution of E.
——— Reduction of Episcopacy.
Wainwright's No church without a bishop.
Wharton's Concise View, &c.
Whitby's Preface to the Ep. of Titus.
Whitgift's (Abp.) Answer to an admonition.
——— Defence of the same.
Woodhead's Ancient Church Government.

Con.

Baur's Ursprung des Episcopats in der Christlich Kirche.
Blondel, de Episcopis et Presbyteris.
——— Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris.

Episcopacy—*continued.*

Con.

Buddæi Dissertationes.
Cameron, de Ecclesia.
Capelli Theses Theologicæ.
Frenkelii Schediasma de origine Episc.
Goetzii (Geo. H.) Dissertationes.
Grenzii (Adam.) Commentationes.
Maresius de Episcoporum Origine.
Odelemi (Joan. Philip.) Dissertationes.
Salmasii (Claud.) Dissertationes.
Zeiglerus de Diaconis vet. eccles.
Zimmerman de Presbyteris in eccles. vet.

Abbot's History of the Roman and English hierarchies, and the abuses, &c.
Alexander's (W. L.) Anglo-catholicism not apostolical.
Amer. Biblical Repos. 3d Series. 1:315.
Austin's (Sam.) View of the church.
Ayton's Const. of the Primitive Church.
Barnes' Inquiry into the organization, &c. (Reply to Onderdonk.)
——— Argument for E. examined.
Bedford's Ch. of Eng. indefensible; a reply to several recent defences. 1834.
Baxter on Church gov. and discipline.
Benson's (Christopher) Discourses on E.
Benson's (Geo.) Primitive Church.
Beza's (Theod.) Reply to Saravia.
Boardman (H. A.) on High Church E.
Boyd on Episcopal ordination.
Boyse's (J.) Ancient Episcopacy.
Bradshaw's Reply to Bilson.
Bristed on the Anglican Church. (Reply to Wilkes.)
Brown (Dr. John) on the Divine right of E.
Calderwood's Altare Damascenum. (King James, it is said, was provoked at this attack on Episcopacy; but when one of his prelates proposed to reply, he said, "Toot, mon! what would you say? Here is nothing but Scripture, Reason, and the Fathers.")
Campbell's (Geo.) Lectures on Eccles. Hist.
Cartwright's Admonition.
Chauncey's (C.) View of Episcopacy. (Reply to Chandler.)
——— Divine institution of Cong. churches.
——— Reply to Dr. Chandler's Appeal defended.
Christian Examiner. 25:190.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 8:591.
Christian Review. 1:552.
Christian Quart. Review. 6:1.
Clarkson's (D.) Primitive Episc. stated.
——— No evidence of Diocesan Episc. (A learned answer to Stillingfleet.)
Coleman's Church without a Bishop.
Collins' Priestcraft in perfection.
Collings' Ordinance of the ministry.
Dickinson (J.) on Ordination.
Davidson's (S.) Eccl. polity of the N. Test.
Delaune's Theological treatises.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 9.

Episcopacy—*continued.*

Con.

Drummond's (D. K.) Episc. in Scotland.
Duffield's Claims of Episcopal Bishops.
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Fechtii (Ioan.) Dissertationes.
Frismuthii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Grappii (Zach.) Disputationes.
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Maurocenus de Æterna Christi generatione.
Semlerus de Æterno Dei Filio.
Wesselii (Joan.) Dissertationes Academicæ.

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Gill's Body of Divinity.
Hawtrey's Appeal to the New Testament.
Hodson on the Filiation of the Son.
Hopkins' System of Divinity.
Kidd's Dissertation on the Messiah.
Lawrence's Apology for Dr. Clarke.
Owen on the Person of Christ.
Pearson on the Creed.
Sherlock's Vindication.

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Clarke's (Dr. S.) Scripture doctrine of the Trinity. (Gives copious quotations from the Fathers.)
Priestley's History of early opinions.
South on the Generation of the Son.
Stuart's Letters to Dr. Miller, of Princeton.
Sykes Truth of the Christian Religion.
Taylor's (H.) Letters.
Tucker's (Sam.) Triumph of Scripture truth.

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Eternal Existence of Matter.

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Blount's Oracles of reason.

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Clarke's (Sam.) Being and attrib. of God.
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Stoddard's Guide to Christ.
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Charnock's Works.
Davies' (Pres.) Sermons.
Drexel's Considerations on Eternity. Trans. by Dunster. (A work of great merit.)
Heylin's (Dr. John) Sermons.
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Orton (Job) on Eternity.
Pike's Guide to the thoughtful.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Shower on Eternity.
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Feverlinus de Eternitate Dei.
Gerhardi Loci Theologici.
Winckleri (J. D.) Dissertationes.

Abernethy (John) Discourses.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
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Leland's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
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Williams' (Alfred) Sermons.
Wisheart's (W.) Sermons.

Eternity of Hell Torments.

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Burthogge's (Rich.) Apology for God.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
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Horberry on Future Punishments.
Lampe's Theological Dissertations.
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Simpson on Fut. rewards and punishments.
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Vaughn's (Cha. John) Sermons.
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Evidences of Regeneration.

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Bellamy's (Joseph) Tracts.
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Ecking's (Sam.) Essays on Grace, &c.
Edwards on the Affections.
——— on the Revival in New England.
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Lawson's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Parry's (Joshua) Sermons.
Priest's (Isaac) Sermons.
Thompson's Christian Theism.

Evil Speaking. See DETRACTION, SCANDAL, SLANDER, TONGUE.

Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Berens' (Edward) Village sermons.
Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Practical discourses.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Jack on Evil speaking.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Lamont's (David) Sermons on prevalent vices.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Shuttleworth's (Wm.) Essays.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Festivals and Fasts.

Evil Spirits. See DEMONS.

Jacobi I. (Britt. rex) Demonologia.
Gottermasius de Exist. demonorum, e naturæ lumine innotescit.
Heideggeri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Heinii Dissertationes Sacræ.
Mayer, de Malorum spirituum existentia.
Pfaffius de Operationibus diabolicis.
Platinæ Prelectiones Theologicæ.
Stengelii Dissertationes.
Winzeri Demonologia in N. T. proposita.

Beaumont's Historical, physiological, and theological treatise on spirits.
Bekker's World bewitched. ("The best account of the power of devils."—LOWNDES.)
Berg's Abaddon and Mahanaim.
Bullinger's Decades.
Burgh's (James) Crito.
Casaubon's True relation of what passed for many years, between John Dee and some spirits.
Christian Monthly Spect. 5:293. 10:650.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 10.
Donaldson's Christian orthodoxy reconciled with the conclusions of modern biblical learning. Chap. 4.
Draper's Doctrine of Scripture relating to evil spirits.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 16:35.
Edwards' Body of divinity. (On the Creed.)
Foreign Quarterly Review. 6:1.
Frazier's Magazine. 5:207.
Gilpin on Temptation.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Glanvil's Sadduceism silenced.
Heber's (Bp.) Parish Sermons.
Howe's (John) Works.
Hutchinson's (Francis) Works.

Evil Spirits—*continued.*

Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Scott's (Walter) Existence of Evil Spirits.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Sharp on the Influence of Demons.
Shepherd on Angels.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:491.
Toplady's (Augustus M.) Sermons.
Townsend's (Geo.) Sermons.
Whately's View of the future state.
Whewell on Good and evil Angels.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.

Evil Thoughts. See THOUGHTS.

Chilcott's Treatise on evil thoughts.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Goodwin's (Tho.) Vanity of thoughts discovered.

Exaltation of Christ.

Limborchii Theologia Christiana.
Markii Hist. exaltationis J. C.
Martinii Demonstrationes.
Sohnii Disputationes de filio Dei.
Varenii (August.) Dissertationes.

Bennett's Christian Oratory.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Burton's (Edward) Sermons.
Russel's Letters, practical and consolatory.
Watts' (Isaac) Glory of Christ.

Example. See APPEARANCE OF EVIL, COMPANY, DEPORTMENT.

Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Allestree's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Hickman's (B.) Sermons.
Lamont's (David) Sermons.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Melvill's (Henry) Sermons.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
Steadman's (R.) Sober Singularity.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.

Example of Christ.

Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Arnold's (Tho.) Sermons. (4 on this subj.)
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Bennett's (W. J. E.) Sermons.
Bickersteth's (J.) Sermons.
Bisset's (Tho.) Sermons. (4 on this subject.)
Bradford's Boyle Lectures. 1699.
Calamy's (Benj.) Sermons.
Channing's (W. E.) Sermons.
Durand's (J. F.) Sermons.
Fisk's (George) Sermons.
Frey (C.) on the Example of Christ.
Fuller's (Thomas) Sermons.

Example of Christ—*continued.*

Hastings' (H.) Parochial Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hubbard's (J.) Berry Street Lectures.
Kempis' Imitation of Christ. (Malcom's Edition omits the sentiments objectionable to Protestants.)
Markby's The Man Christ Jesus.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Mason (John) on the Christian Virtues.
Richardson's (William) Sermons.
Riddock's (James) Sermons.
Scott's (Tho.) Jesus a pattern. (20 good sermons.)
Serle's Horæ Solitariæ.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ward's (Richard) Sermons.
Waters' (Edward) Sermons.
Watson's (Alex.) Sermons.
Whately's (Rich.) Sermons.
Wilks' (Sam. C.) Sermons.
Williams' Private life of Christ.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Zimmerman on the Knowledge of Christ.

Excellence of Christianity. See CHRISTIANITY, DEISM, INFLUENCE OF RELIGION, LIGHT OF NATURE, PLEASURES OF PIETY.

Morgues, Parall. de la monde chret. avec celles des anciens philosophes.

Gerard's Genius of Christianity.
Hall's (Robt.) Works.
Knox's Evidence and Excellence, &c.
Paynton's Evidence and Character of C.
Watson's Tracts.

Excitement. See EMOTIONS, PASSIONS, PEACE OF MIND, REVIVALS.

Excommunication. See CH. DISCIPLINE.

Augustini Opera.

Beza de Vera Excommunicatione.
Bindrin de Gradibus excom. Judæis.
Erastus (T.) de Excommunicatione.
Godeschalci Dissertationes.
Krackewitzii (Berthold.) Dissertationes.
Meisneri (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Morinus de Disciplina. Lib. IX.
Opitii Disp. de Excom. ritu apud Judæos.
Orsi (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Sirmondus Hist. pœnitentiæ publicæ.

Eclectic Review. New Series. 5:229.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
Pirie's (Alex.) Miscellaneous Works.
Prynne's Four serious Questions.

Exegesis. See HERMENEUTICS, PHILOLOGY, RULES OF INTERPRETATION, &C.

Exhortation. See ADMONITION.

Sturmey's Discourses.
Witherspoon's Works.

Existence of Evil. See EVIL, OPTIMISM, ORIGIN OF EVIL.

Bretschneider's Handbuch der Dogmatik.
Maimonides, More Nevochim. Par. III., c. 12.
Rheinard's Vorlesüngen über die Dogmatik.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Balguy's Divine benevolence asserted.
Baxter's (Richard) Works.
Bonet's Contemplations of Nature.
Butterworth on Moral Government.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 15.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Hallet's Notes on Scripture.
Hopkins' System of Divinity. Ch. 4.
Mandeville's Free Thoughts.
Pope's Ethical Epistles. No. 1.
West on Free-agency. Part 2.

Existence of God. See ATHEISM, LIGHT OF NATURE, NATURAL THEOLOGY.

Basil, de Providentia: Conscio 22.
——— Epistolæ.
Chrysostom, Orationes.
Gregory Naz., Orationes. Orat. XXXIV.
Gregory Nys., Orationes. Orat. II.
Lactantius, Opificium Dei.

Abbadie, la Religion chretienne. Sec. 1.
Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre.
Bunsen's (C. C. J.) Gott in der Geschichte.
Callixti Dissertationes.
Cicero, de Natura Deorum.
Fenelon, Demonst. de l'existence de Dieu.
Hennichii Demonstratio existentiæ Dei.
King, de Origine Mali. (With Law's notes.)
Meiner, Hist. doctrinæ de vero Deo. (Highly praised by DR. PARR.)
Melchoris (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Mendelssohn's Morgenstunden.
Parkeri Disputationes de Deo.
Paschal, Œuvres. Tom. 2.
Ruckeri Demonst., methodo mathematica.
Schrœdelii Demonstratio ex idea a priori.
Schwarzii Demonstrationes Dei.
Stapferi Theologia. Cap. III.
Vossius de Origine et progressu Idolatria.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Allen's Oracles of Reason. Sect. 2, Ch. 1.
American Biblical Repository. 9:421. 2d Series. 5:273. 6:350.
American Presbyterian Review. 4:357.
American Quarterly Observer. 1:299.
Appleton's (Jesse) Works. Lect. 1.
Arrowsmith's (John) Discourses.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Barrow's (Bp.) Discourses.
Bates' Considerations of the exist. of God.
Bennet's Philosophical Researches.
Bentley's Boyle Lectures. 1693.
Berkeley's Minute Philosopher. (Beautiful.)

Existence of God—*continued.*

Bibliotheca Sacra. 7:326. 12:338.
Boyle Lectures. (Most of the series.)
Boyle (Robt.) on Final causes.
Bridgewater Treatises.
Brown (Wm. Lawrence) on the Existence, power, and wisdom of God. (Received the Burnet prize of $6,000, at Aberdeen, August, 1815.)
Brown (Tho.) on Cause and Effect.
Brownson's Quart. Rev. 2d Series. 6:141.
Bryant's Authenticity of Scripture.
Bullet's Existence of God demonstrated.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 1:414, 586.
Clapham on the Argument *a priori.*
Clarke's (Sam.) Demonstration.
Clark (Jos.) Exam. of Dr. Clark's notions.
Clark (John) Def. of Clark's demonstration.
Clark (Geo.) on the Existence of God. (Intended as a supplement to Paley's Evidences.)
Collibeare's Existence and nature of God.
Crombie's Natural Theology. Ess. 1.
Crouza's Art of Logic.
Democratic Review. 21:102, 253.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 2, prop. 27, 28.
Drew's (Sam.) Attempt to demonstrate, &c.
Durham's Physico-Theology.
——— Astro-Theology.
Dwight's (T.) Sermons.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 18:720. New Series. 1:68.
Edwards (J.) on the Existence and providence of God.
Emmons' (Nath.) Sermons.
Evangelical Review. 1:348.
Fenelon's Demonstration of the existence of God.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Fuller's Part of a Body of Divinity. Let. 4.
Gastrell on Natural Religion.
Gillespie's Necessary existence of God.
Glover's (P.) The argument *a priori.*
Hall's Modern Infidelity.
Hamilton's Existence of God demonstrated.
Heath's (Benj.) Demonstration *a priori.*
Hodgson's Existence of God.
Jack's Existence of God geometrically demonstrated.
Jackson on the Div. essence and attributes.
Jamieson's Use of Sacred History.
Jaquelot's Existence of God.
Kiel's Astronomy. Lect. 21.
Knight (H.) on the Argument *a priori.*
Knowles' (Thomas) Discourses.
Law's Enquiry into the ideas of space, immensity, and eternity.
Le Clerc's Ontology. (End of the Book.)
Leibnitz's Mathematical principles of Theol.
Leighton's (Abp.) Lectures. Lect. 7.
Lowman's Tracts.
Macworth's Christian meditations.
Marshall's (N.) Discourses.

Existence of God—*continued.*

Millar's Propagation of Christianity.
Moore's Divine Dialogues.
More's Antidote against Atheism.
Neuentyt's Religious Philosopher.
Nicholson's (Bp.) Discourses.
Paley's Natural Theology.
Pearce's Study of Nature.
Pearson on the Creed.
Pillings on the Existence of God.
Price's Principal questions in morals.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Shaftesbury's Letter to a Clergyman.
Sillery on the Existence of God.
Smith's (S. S.) Sermons.
Squier's Irreligion indefensible.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. Bk. 3, Ch. 1.
Sturm's Reflections.
Sumner's (John B.) Records of Creation.
Taylor's (J.) Summary of the evidence.
Thompson's (R. A.) Christian Theism. (Received the first Burnet prize, of $9,000.)
Tillotson's Sermons.
Tulluck's (John) Theism.
Vaughn's (J.) Lectures.
Warburton's Divine Legation. Part 1.
Waterland on the Argument *a priori.*
Watts' Ontology.
Whish (J. C.) on the First Cause.
Whiston's Principles of Religion.
Wilkins on Natural Religion.
Williams' (R.) Dialogue of the knowledge of the Supreme Lord; in which are compared the claims of Christianity and Hinduism. (A prize essay. 1856.)
Wood's (Prof.) Works.

Existence of Matter.

Metaphysicians and philosophers generally touch upon this subject, taking the reality of the visible world for granted. The following do something more.

Pro.

Bayle's Histor. and Crit. Dict. Art. "Zeno."
Grand's Institutes of Philos. Part 4, Ch. 2.
Green's Principles of Philos. Bk. 1, Ch. 1.
Hamilton's (Sir Wm.) Dissertations.
——— Notes on Reid.
Locke's Essays. Bk. 4, Ch. 2, Sect. 14.
Norris' Ideal World. Part 1, Ch. 4.
Regnault's Philosophical Conversations.
Reid on the Intellectual powers.

Con.

Berkeley's Principles of human knowledge.
——— Dialog. between Hylas & Philolonous.
——— Minute Philosopher. Dialogue 2.
——— New theory of vision. Sect. 43.
Collier's Clavis Universali.

Exodus of the Jews.

Ayroli Dissertationes.
Dunn, de Perigrinatione in Ægypt.

Lightfoot, Opera Posthuma.
Ockelii Iter Israelitarum ex Ægypto.
Strauchii (Ægid.) Disputationes.

American Biblical Repository. 2:743.
Cockburn's Jewish Exodus. (Agt. Gibbon.)
Frazier's Magazine. 14:461.
London Quarterly Review. 1:80.
Stuart's Course of Heb. study. Excursus 4.

Exorcism.

Hoffmanni Orthodoxa doctrina de Exorcismo in administratione baptismi.
Alberi Bericht von der Kinder Taufe.
Calovii (Abrah.) Dissertationes.
Meisneri (Balthas.) Dissertationes.
Musæi (Pet.) Dissertationes.
Mylii (Georg.) Disputationes.
Sigfredi Commentatio an exorcismus de essentia religionis sit?

Expediency, Doctrine of.
See MORALITY.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:301.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Van Mildert's Sermons.

Experience. See CONVERSION.

Alexander (Archib.) on Relig. Experience.
Armstrong's Theology of Christian Exp.
Barrow's Works.
Booth's Reign of Grace.
Buck on Religious Experience.
Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.
——— Holy War.
Bridges' Exposition of the 119th Psalm. (Highly devotional.)
Crossman's (F. G.) Sermons.
Dorney's Contemplations.
Eckings' (Rev. Samuel) Essays.
Edwards on the Religious Affections.
Gurnall's Christian Armour.
Jackson's (Miles) Sermons.
Kempis' Imitation of Christ.
Leifchild's (John) Discourses.
Owen on the 130th Psalm.
Philip (R.) on Christian Experience.
Reade's Life and writings of Paul.
Scott's Christian Life.
Scougal's Life of God in the soul of man.
Secker's Nonsuch Professor.
Shepherd's Sincere Convert.
Tweedie's Lights and Shadows in the Christian life.
Wallin's (Benj.) Sermons. (Very valuable.)
Watson's Hints on Christian Experience.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Expository Preaching.
See PREACHING.

American Biblical Repos. 5:317, 384. 10:33.
Brodbelt's (Geo.) Original Essays.
Princeton Review. 10:33.

Extempore Prayer. See FORMS.

Extempore Preaching.
See ELOQUENCE, PREACHING.

Fritsch (J. H.), über d. extemporiren Predigten.
Kastner's Schnellen u. sichern memoriren d. Predigten.
Kottmeyer über d. extemp. Redekunst.
Thierbach's Entscheidenden Beautwort. der frage.

Bautain on Extemp. preaching. (Excellent.)
Brodbelt's (Geo.) Original Essays.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 6:131.
Christian Observer. 3:343.
Newton on Ext. preaching and recitation.
North American Review. 19:297. (Prof. Upham.)
Presbyterian Review. January, 1867. (Prof. Shedd.)
Princeton Review. 21:453. 26:145.
Rippingham's Art of public speaking.
Southern Literary Messenger. 1:7.
Ware (Henry) on Extempore preaching.
Warne (Jos. A.) on Reading sermons.
Wayland's (F.) Letters on the Christian ministry.

Extent of the Atonement.
See DEFINITE ATONEMENT.

Extravagance. See DRESS, FASHION, FRUGALITY, LOVE OF PLEASURE, LUXURY, MODERATION, PLEASURE, SELF-DENIAL.

Extreme Unction.

Andreæ Comment. de extremo unctione.
Dallæi (Io.) Disputationes.
Faber, Disputationes Theologicæ.
Krackewitzii (Barthol.) Examen libri controversiæ.
Victorellus de Ext. unct. sacramento.

Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Calvin's Sermons.
Princeton Review. 37:188.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Stephenson's (Geo.) Romish Church.
Whiston (William), Life of.

Extremes. See ENTHUSIASM, FANATICISM, MODERATION.

Exucontians. See EUNOMIANS.

Ezekiel. See BIOGRAPHY.

Frederici Disputationes.
Verpoorteni Fasciculus dissertationum.

Faith. See HARMONY OF REASON AND FAITH, JUSTIFICATION, PAUL AND JAMES, PROVINCE OF REASON, WALK OF FAITH.

Abichtius de Fidei difficultate.
Antonius de Harmonia fidei.
Arndtii Tract. de una fide ad salutem.
Carpzovii Disputationes Academicæ.
Chemnitii Examen Conc. Tridentini.

Faith—*continued.*

Clauswitzii Syntagma doct. de fide.
Cramer's Abbildung des wahren Glaubens.
Dassovius de Fide sine operibus.
Gerardus de Discrimine fidei Divinæ et humanæ.
Holdeni Fidei Analysis. (A summary of the whole gospel.)
Le Blanc, Thesis prima de fide.
Martin, 20 Sermons sur Heb. xi.
Musæi de Certitudine salutis.
Neumannus de Fide aliena.
Schmidtius (Sah.) de Fide *προσκαιρω*.
——— de Fide miraculosa.
——— de Fide viva et mortua.
Schelvigii Dissertationes.
Tarnovii Synopsis veræ doctrinæ.
Weidneri Fides salvivifica.

Ahernethy's (John) Sermons.
Allen's (William) Works.
Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
American Biblical Repository. 3:189. 3d Series. 1:391. 4:315,644.
Anderson's (J. S. M.) Cloud of Witnesses.
Appleton's Works. Lect. 42.
Arnold's (Thomas) Works.
Backus' (Isaac) Discourses.
Ball (John) on Faith.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Bates' (Will.) Works.
Bellamy's Letters and Dialogues.
Besley's (J.) Doctrinal discourses.
Beveridge's Thesaurus Theologicus.
——— Sermons.
Bickersteth on the Romish Controversy.
Binney's (P.) Power of faith.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Booth's (Abraham) Glad tidings.
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Bridges' (Will.) Sermons on faith.
Brougham's (John) Sermons.
Bullinger's Decades.
Burton's Truth's triumph over Trent.
——— Christian's Bulwark.
Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Capp's Devotional Discourses.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Chalmers' (Thomas) Sermons.
Charnock's (Stephen) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 13:239. (Faith a moral act.)
Christian Review. 1:511.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 1:109, 591.
Cobh's Bampton Lectures. 1783.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Clagget's (Will.) Sermons.
Colquhoun's View of Saving faith.
Cranmer's (Abp.) Homilies.
Cudworth's (Will.) Aphorisms.
Dickinson's (Jonathan) Letters.
Doddridge on Salvation by grace.
Dore's (James) Letters.
Eaton's Honeycombe of Justification.
——— Danger of dead faith.
Ecking's (Samuel) Essays.

Faith—*continued.*

Eclectic Magazine. 19:289.
Edinhurg Review. 90:115.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Erskine's (John) Theological Dissertations.
Erskine's (Ralph) Sermons on faith.
Erskine's (Thos.) Essays on faith. (Caused a great controversy, an account of which is in the Eclectic Review for July, 1830.)
Evans on Christian Temper.
Fowles' (F. W.) Sermons.
Glasse's (G. H.) Sermons.
Goodwin's (John) Works.
Grew's (Obadiah) Christ our righteousness.
Griffith's (Tho.) Sermons.
Grove on Saving faith.
Haldane's (J. A.) Works.
Hale's (Sir M.) Contemplations.
Hall's (A.) Faith of the Gospel.
Hall's (Robt.) Works. (Increase of faith.)
Hall's Help to Zion's travellers. (Nature.)
Hammond's (Henry) Practical Catechism.
——— Sermons.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hare's (J. C.) Sermons.
Harding's (John) Sermons.
Hawkins' Bampton Lectures. 1841.
Hayne's Illustrations of faith and practice.
Hayward's (Roger) Sermons.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasi
Jackson (A.) on Faith. (Is faith a *duty?*)
Jelf's Bampton Lectures. 1857.
Johnson's (John) Faith of God's elect. (Reply to Jackson.)
Kollock's (S. K.) Sermons.
Lamhert's (George) Sermons.
Laurence's Use and practice of faith.
Lavington's Nature of the Gospel offer.
Lee's The family and its duties.
Lunt's Dudleian Lecture. 1855.
Maitland's Lent Lectures.
Malkin's Sermons and Dissertations.
Manton's (Dr. Thomas) Works.
McLean's (Archihald) Sermons.
Methodist Quarterly Magazine. 12:9,169.
Milner's (Joseph) Practical Sermons.
Morehead's (R.) Sermons.
Morren's Biblical Theology. Vol. 1.
Morris' Bampton Lectures. 1791.
Nares' (R.) Sermons on Faith.
Newman's University Sermons.
Owen's (John) Sermons.
Packman's (R. C.) Sermons.
Pemhle (W.) on Faith.
Pike's (Samuel) Sermons.
Polhill on Precious Faith.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Powell's (Vavasor) Dialogues.
Princeton Review. 18:53. 35:403.
Raffle's Lectures on faith and practice.
Robinson's Christian System. Ess. 41–51.
Rogers (John) on the Doctrine of faith.
Romaine's Walk and triumph of faith.
Rotherham's Connexion of faith and good works. (Recom. by VAN MILDERT.)

Faith—*continued.*

Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Scott's (Tho.) Theolog. Works. Essay 6.
Secker's Lectures on the Catechism.
——— Sermons.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Short's (T. V.) Sermons.
Sibb's Soul's conflict with itself.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Smith's (Theyre) Sermons.
Spring's (Gardner) Essays. Ess. 8.
Spurgeon's (Cha. H.) Sermons. 7th Series.
Stebbings on Justifying faith.
Sumner's (J. Bird) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Discourses. (Nature of F.)
——— Life of Christ.
Taylor's (N.) Nature and necessity of faith.
Taylor's (T.) Necessity of faith in prayers.
Theological and Literary Review. 5:473.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Tottie's (John) Sermons.
Trail's (Will.) Christian Graces.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued.
Waterland's Works.
Watts' Degree and foundation of faith.
Watson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Wayland's (Samuel) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Westminster Review. 56:64. 52:379.
Whitaker's (Will.) Sermons.
Witherspoon's Works. (Nature of faith.)
Witsius on the Covenants. Bk. 3, Chap. 7.
Young's (T.) Sermons on faith.

Faith of Devils.

Chemnitii (C.) Dissertationes.
Zulichii Theologia dæmonum.

Ecking's Essays on Grace, faith, &c.

Faith of Infants. See INFANT BAPTISM, INFANT COMMUNION.

Affelmanni (Joan.) Dissertationes.
Balthasaris (Jac. Henr.) Dissertationes de fide presumpta.
Boerner de fide Iacobi in utero.
——— de fide Infantum in utero.
Buttstett's Vernunstmæsigen Gedancken von dem Glauben der ungetaüften Christenkinder.
Deutschmanni (Ioan.) Dissertationes.
Hecht's Versuch eines Beweises, &c.
Hulsemanni (Ioan.) de Fide infant. actuale.
Muller's Gedancken von Glauben der Kinder in mutterleibe.
Nifanii (Christiani) Exercitationes.
Osiandri (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Quistorpii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Scherzeri (Io. Adam) Dissertationes.
Voigtii Commentatio de fide infantum.
Waltheri (Mich.) Dissertationes.
Weinmanni (Ioan.) Dissertationes.

Faithfulness. See INTEGRITY.

Faithfulness of God. See ATTRIBUTES.

Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Robinson's Christian System.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Wisheart's (W.) Sermons.

Faith of the Patriarchs.

Carpzovii (Jo.) Theologia Judæorum.
Fabricius de Fide Patriarchum.
Gramberg's Krit. Gesch. d. Religionsideen.
Hahn, de Spe immortalitatis sub V. Test.
Heideggeri Patriarchum-Historia.
Iohannsenii Veterum Hebr. notiones de rebus post mortem.
Mamachius de Animabus Justorum.
Oehler's Prologomena zur Theologie.
Pareau de Spe Immortalitatis.
Ritangelii Libra Veritatis.
Wigandi Corpus doctrinæ Dei.
Zornii Theologia Patristica.

Addington's Relig. knowl. of the anc. Jews.
Bauer's Theology of the Old Testament.
Berriman's (Wm.) Boyle Lectures. 1733.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 14:166.
Biddulph's Theology of the early P.
Bloomfield's Traditional knowledge of a Redeemer.
Christian Examiner. 60:1, 169.
Christian Observer. 18:1, 158. 20:142.
Cook (John) on the Patriarchal religion.
Cook's (Wm.) Patriarchal and Druidical faith.
Craven's Jewish and Christian dispensations compared.
Faber's Genius of the several dispensations.
Fenton's Scrip. doct. of the resurrection.
Hulbert's Gospel revealed to Job.
Jackson's Belief of a future state among the early Jews. (Disputes some of Warburton's statements.)
Peters' Critical Dissertations on Job.
Pierce (S. E.) on the Pentateuch.
Putnam's Gospel by Moses.
Smith's (Eli) Patriarchal Age.
Stephens' Rel. knowledge of the anc. Jews.
Town's Opinions of ancient philosophers.
Warburton's Divine legation of Moses.
Wemyss' (Tho.) Job and his Times.

Fall of Man. See IMAGE OF GOD, ORIGIN OF EVIL, ORIGINAL SIN, SERPENT, STATE OF INNOCENCE, TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.

Abichtius de Sapientia et bonitate Dei.
Balthasaris (Jac. Henr.) Dissertationes.
Cloppenburgii Opera Theologica.
Faustus de Serpente seductore.
Frischmuthii (Ioan.) Dissertationes.
Gerhardi (Ioan.) Disputationes.
Hulsemanni (Ioan.) Disputationes.
Junius de Peccato primo Adami.
Kahlerus de Innocentia Dei circa lapsum.
Klemmius de Serpiente Seductore.
Placet, sur le Peché d'Adam.

Fall of Man—*continued.*

Selden, de Jure naturali et Gentium.
Spanheimii Disputationes.
Stapferi Institutiones.

Adams' (William) Sermons.
Barrington (Shute) on Divine dispensations.
Barry's Introd. to the Old Testament.
Bates' Harmony of the Divine attributes.
Bellamy's Works.
Berry Street Lectures. Vol. 1.
Besly's (John) Doctrinal Discourses.
Birk's Difficulties of Belief.
Boston's Fourfold State.
Bridges' Testimony of Profane Antiquity.
Burnet's Archæology.
Calcott on the Fall, Incarnation, &c.
Chandler's Posthumous Sermons.
Charnock's Works.
Chauncey's Dissertations.
Christian Observer. 2:522.
Clarke's (Sam.) Sermons.
Collier's Sacred Interpreter.
Craig's (William) Sermons.
D'Oyley's (Dr. Geo.) Dissertations. Diss. 1.
——— Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 8.
Dwight's Sermons. Ser. 27 and 28.
Emmon's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Felton's (Henry) Sermons.
Fletcher's Appeal to facts.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Fuller (And.) on Genesis. Diss. 4, 5, 6.
Gilfillan's Alpha and Omega. Ch. 4.
Goodman's Fall and corruption of man, proved from reason.
Green's (John) Sermons.
Guyse's (John) Sermons.
Holden (Geo.) on the Fall. (Able and full.)
Holden's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Howe's (John) Sermons.
Hubbard's Berry Street Lectures.
Hunt on the Divine dispensations.
Hutchinson's Moses, sine Principio.
Jeffrey's (John) Sermons.
Jenkins' (Joseph) Sermons.
Jones' (Will., of Nayland,) Sermons.
Kennicott's Dissertations.
King's (Abp.) Sermons.
Le Clerc's Dissertations.
Manton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Mede's Works.
Middleton's Examination of Sherlock.
Müller's Christian doctrine of sin.
Panoplist. 3:446. 4:5.
Pearson on the Creed.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Scott's Reply to Bp. Tomline.
Sherlock on Prophecy.
Shuckford on the Creation and Fall.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Tennis on Idolatry.
Toplady's Works.
Turner's Introduction of Sin.
Waterland's Scripture Vindicated.
Watts' Ruin and recovery of man.
Witherspoon's Works. Lect. 14.
Witsius on the Covenants. Book 1, Ch. 8.
Witty's Mosaic history of the Fall.
Worthington's Mosaic account vindicated.

Fallen Angels. See EVIL SPIRITS.

Busmanni (Io. E.) Dissertationes.
Dorscheus de Satanæ obsessione.
Fabricius de Lapsorum Angelorum peccato.
Hannekenius de Lapsu Angelorum.
Olearii Dissertationes.
Seldenus de Lapsu Angelorum.

Baumgarten's Supp. to universal history.
Boyse's (Joseph) Works.
Gisborne on the Divine attribute of love.
Henley's Dissertations on the controverted passages in Peter and Jude, &c.
Hunt's Historical Essay toward explaining divine Revelation.
Hutchinson on Witchcraft.
Reynolds on Angels.
Scott's (Walter) Existence of Evil Spirits.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:491.

Falling from Grace. See FIVE POINTS, PERSEVERANCE.

False Christs.

Christian Observer. 22:687.
Fuller on the True Messiah.
Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.
Kidder's Demonstration of the Messias.
Lent's History of False Christs.
McLaurin on the Prophecies.
Simpson's Key to the Prophecies.

False Confidence. See SELF-DECEPTION.

Falsehood. See LYING, TRUTH.

False Miracles. See APOLLONIUS, MIRACLES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Alberti Observationes Philologicæ.
Bosii (Lambert.) Exercitationes.
Brusson, Relation des mervielles que Dieu fait en France. 1694.
Chamieri Panstratiæ Catholicæ.
Helvetius, de M. quæ Pythag. Apoll. Tyan., Loyolæ, &c., tribuunter.
Raphaeli Annotationes.
Stephans (H.), Apologie pour Herodote.
[Zimmerman] de Miraculis quæ Pythagoræ, Loyolæ, &c., tribuunter.

Chapman's Eusebius.
Christian Observer. 14:565. 16:783.
Clarke's Boyle Lectures. 1704–1706.
Douglas' Criterion of miracles.
Edinburg Review. 39:55. 52:388. 53:261.
Edwards' (John) Theologia Reformata.
Farmer on Christ's Temptation.
Fleetwood on Miracles.
Hill's Lectures on the Old Test. (Egyptian Magi.)

Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical history.
Limborch's Theology.
Middleton's Free Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c.
——— Vindication of the Free Inquiry.
Richardson's Choice Observations.

False Prophets. See NEW PROPHETS.

Caroli Memorabilia Ecclesiæ.
Grapii Comment. theol. de Neoprophetis.
Groteste, Caractére des nouvelles prophecies.
Van Dale, Dissertationes.

Andrews on Divine Grace.
Arnold's History of Heresies.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Blackall's (Dr. Offspring) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Ellis' Pseudo-christus.
Kingston's Enthus. impostors no prophets.
Lacy's Cry from the Desert. (Lacy was a prominent English prophet.)
Marion's Prophetical Warnings. (A famous French prophet.)
Stampe on Spiritual Infatuation.
Vernon's Preservative against false prophets.
——— Remarks on the impostor Hermas.
Warburton (Bp.) on the prophecies of Arise Evans.

False Shame.

Benson's (Joseph) Sermons.
Cookman's (Dr. Tho.) Theolog. Discourses.
Zollikoffer on the Fasts and Festivals.

Fame. See AMBITION, HONOR.

Buckminster's (J.) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 1:218.
Fuller on Commendation.
Mason on Self-knowledge.
Smith's (S. S.) Sermons.
Venn's (Richard) Sermons.
Oxford Prize Essays. 1806. Marsh.

Familists.

Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie. Part II., Lib. 16.
Bailieus' (R.) Wiedertæuferey, &c.
Bourn's Beschreibung u. Wiederlegung.
Grevinchovius (Casp.) Dissertationes.
Hoornbeckii Summa controversiæ relig.
Martini Disputationes.
Nicolai (Hen.) Revelatio Dei. (Pastor at Leyden, regarded as the founder of the "Family of Love." He wrote many treatises, some of which are translated into English.)

Ainsworth's Refutation of H. Nicholas.
Bourne's Description of the Familists.
George's (David) Works.
Knewstubs' Confutation of the horrible heresies taught by H. Nichols.
Micron's Confut. of D. George & H. Nichols.
Rogers' Display of a horrible Sect.
Rutherford's (Sam.) Spiritual Antichrist. A very curious book. Three of the chapters are on "the Familists of New England." Antinomians are severely handled.)

Family Government. See DOMESTIC ECONOMY, PARENTAL DUTIES.

Family Religion. See FAMILY WORSHIP.

Abbot's (Jacob) Fireside.
Abbot's (J. S. C.) Child at home.
Anderson's Domestic Constitution.
Baxter's Teacher of Householders.
Bell's (William) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Buckminster's (J.) Sermons.
Christian Disciple. 1:9.
Clayton (H.) on Family Religion.
Collier's (J. A.) Christian Home.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Dale's (Thomas) Sermons.
Davies' (Samuel) Sermons.
Dewar on Family Religion.
Fisk's (Geo.) Sermons.
Fletcher's Guide to family devotion.
Garnier's (Tho.) Sermons.
Gilfillan's Domestic piety.
Gouge's Christian Householder.
Halyburton's Great concern.
Henry's (Matt.) Miscellaneous Works.
Howe's (John) Sermons.
Humphreys on Domestic Education.
Hunter's (A.) Sermons.
Innes on Domestic Religion.
Jacobson's Family Instructor.
James' Family Monitor.
Jortin's (J.) Sermons.
Kingsbury's Recommendation of fam. relig.
Lewis' (T.) Discourses on Christian duties.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Mayo on the Religious care of families.
Milnes' Practical Sermons.
Molesworth's (J. E. N.) Sermons.
Moore's (Dan.) Lectures on family duties.
Morehead's (R.) Discourses.
Nicholson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Orton's Religious Exercises.
Panoplist. 10:393.
Parker's Domestic Duties.
Parkhurst's Sermons.
Richmond's (Leigh) Domestic Portraiture.
Risley on Family Religion.
Ryan's (V. W.) Sermons.
Scamp on Family Religion.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's Sermons.
Slater's Earnest call to family religion.
Smith (B. M.) on Family Religion.
Stennet's Domestic Duties.
Trapp's Duties of domestic devotion.
Venn's Complete duty of man.
Walker's (Robt.) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Edw. W.) Sermons.
Whitfield's Sermons.
Willison's Works.

Wroughton on Religious Education.
—— on Domestic Religion.

Family Worship. See PRAYER BOOKS.

Alexander (Jas. W.) on Family Worship.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Directory.
Bishop's (Wm.) Sermons.
Bogatsky's Golden Treasury.
Brewster's Restoration of family worship.
Bridges (C.) on Family Prayer.
Burrows' (E. J.) Hours of devotion.
Cecil's (Rich.) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 28:199. 61:182.
Christian Disciple. 4:1.
Christian Observer. 11:486. 19:145.
Cockrane's Manual. (Preferred by Dr. Chalmers.)
Collins' Necessity of family prayer.
Colman's (Benj.) Sermons.
Cooper's (E.) Sermons.
Dale's (T.) Sermons.
Dalton's Family Altar.
Dehon's (Bp. T.) Sermons.
Dewar's Nature and obligation of fam. wor.
Field on Household worship.
Gibson (J.) on Family worship.
Gilfillan's Duty of family worship.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of Sermons.
Hammond on Family worship.
Hastings' (H. J.) Parochial sermons.
Jay's (Wm.) Domestic minister's assistant.
Morris' (Jos.) Sermons.
Nelson's (Robt.) Exhortation to fam. wor.
Orton's (Job) Discourses.
Princeton Review. 20:57.
Seed's (Jer.) Sermons.
Sladen (J.) on Family prayer.
Warter's (John) Sermons.

Fanaticism.

Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie.
Calixti Disputationes.
Catron, Histoire du Fanatisme.
Colberg's Platonish-hermet. Christenthum.
Corvini Enthusiasticum Pantheon.
De Brueys, Hist. du F. de notre tems. 1737.
Duttenhofer's Geschichte d. Religions Schwaermereien.
Fuestkingii Gynæceum heretico-fanaticum.
Hottingeri Disquisitiones.
Krug's (F. W.) Gesch. der protestantisch rel. Schwaermerien.
Sontagii Animadversiones.
Stinstra's Wärnung von dem Fanaticismus.
Turrettin, Preservatif contre le Fanaticisme.
Wernsdoorfii Hylotheismus.
Wideburgius de Fanaticorum caracteribus.
Zeltneri Prolegomena controversiarum.

Amer. Quarterly Review. 8:227.
Bidlake's Bampton Lectures. 1811.
Cecil's 60 Curious and authentic narratives.
Christian Quarterly Spectator. 6:118
Collinne's Spirit of Fanatics.
Eclectic Review. 1836.

Fanaticism—*continued.*

Edinburg Review. 59:30.
Ellis' Pseudo-Christus. (Against W. Franklin and Mary Gladbury.)
Fellows' Religion without cant.
Frazier's Mag. 9:159. 37:312, 441, 549.
Gray's Looking-glass for Fanatics.
Henderson's Modern Fanat. unveiled. 1831.
Mackay's Extraordinary popular delusions. 1852. Plates.
Madden's (R. R.) Phantasmata. 1857.
Owen's (Cha. G.) Scene of delusion.
Stillingfleet's Fanat. of the Church of Rome.
Stintra's Essay on Fanaticism.
—— Letters to the Mennonists.
Stone's Matthias and his impostures.
Taylor's (Isaac) History of Fanaticism.
Vole's Sources and Influence of Fanaticism. (Gives an account of the impostor Matthias, of New York. 1825.)
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Farnovians. See SOCINIANS.

Fashion. See AMUSEMENTS, DRESS.

Schrœderi Commentaria philolog. de vestitu mulierum; ad Jesuiæ 3:16–23.

Burnside's Religion of mankind. Essay 23. (The influence of fashion on religion.)
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hill's Warning to professors.
More's (Hannah) Relig. of the fashionable.
Overbury's (Sir Tho.) Serious Queries.
Owen's Fashionable world displayed.
Stone's (Mrs.) Chronicles of fashion. (From the time of Elizabeth to 1840.)
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued.

Fasting. See LENT.

Ambrose, de Elia et Jejunio.
Chrysostom, de Jejunio.
Tertullian, de Jejuniis.
Bazil, Sermones.

Beveridge, de Jejunio quadragesimali.
Marheineke, Theologia Moralis.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Andrews' (Bp.) Sermons.
Arnold's (of Rugby) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Becon's (Tho.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Bennet's Christian Oratory.
Berriman's (W.) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ. (Fasts of the ancient church.)
Brome's Use, measure, and manner of F.
Brown's (W. L.) Sermons.
Cave's Primitive Christianity.
Christian Observer. 2:75.
Cowper's Expostulation.

Fasting—*continued.*

Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Francklin's (Bp.) Sermons.
Gardner's Causes of the inefficacy of Fasts.
Gordon's (Adam) Sermons.
Gregory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gresley's (W.) Parochial Sermons.
Grosvernor's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Harris' Lawfulness and use of public F.
Harvey's (J.) Fast Sermons.
Kirk's (Ed. N.) Sermons.
Leland's (Thomas) Sermons.
Lloyd on Religious fastings.
Marshall on Sanctification.
Mason's (Henry) Treatise on fasting.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 9:205.
Milner's Practical Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Nelson's Fasts and Feasts of the church.
Potts' (Archdeacon) Sermons.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.
Robinson's Hist. and myst. of Good Friday.
Sancroft's (Bp.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Simpson's Essay on Fasting.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Discourses. (Life of Christ.)
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Warburton's (Bp.) Sermons.
Waterland's (Daniel) Sermons.
Whitby's Appendix to Com. on Matt. ch. 6.
Woodward's (Henry) Essays and Sermons. (On the question whether literal fasting is a duty.)
Zollikoffer's (G. J.) Sermons. ("They discover a talent seldom possessed—a knowledge of the human heart."—CHALMERS.)

Fast-Day Sermons.

Adams' (William) Sermons.
Allen's (John) Sermons.
Amory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Appleton's (Nath.) Sermons.
Benson's (George) Sermons.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burgess' (Anthony) Sermons.
Burton's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Calamy's (Edmund) Sermons.
Carrington's (James) Sermons.
Chandler's (Samuel) Sermons.
Chillingworth's (W.) Sermons.
Disney's (John) Sermons.
Evans' (John) Sermons.
Gastrell's (Bp.) Sermons.
Herring's (Abp.) Sermons.
Hughes' (Obadiah) Sermons.
Kirkland's (J. T.) Sermons.
Porter's (Ebenezer) Sermons.
Priestley's (J.) Sermons.
Scott's (Thomas) Sermons.
Talbot's (Bp.) Sermons.
Tennison's (Abp.) Sermons.
Wayland's (Francis) Sermons.

Fate. See CHANCE, DECREES, FREE AGENCY, NECESSITY.

Arpe, Theatro Fati.
Buchanan's Modern Atheism.
Compte's Positive philosophy.
——— Positive politics.
——— Positive catechism.
Cudworth's Intellectual system. Ch. 1.
Toplady on the "Fate" of the ancients.

See a great list of foreign writers in ARPE, above named.

Fathers. See CATENÆ, LIVES OF THE FATHERS, USE OF THE FATHERS.

Acta Sanctorum.
Augusti, Christomathia Patristica.
Baltus, Defense des Pères.
Bellarmin, de Scriptoribus Eccles.
Bigne, Bibliotheca S. S. Patrum.
Bonæ Notitia Auctorum et Librorum.
Callixti Adparatus Theologicus.
Canisii (H.) Thesaurus.
Cave, Hist. literaria scriptorum eccles.
Cellier, Hist. generale des auteurs sacrés et ecclesiastiques.
Cotellerii Eccles. Græcæ monumenta.
——— Animadv. in Pat. apostolicis.
Danzii Initia doctrinæ patristicæ.
Despont, Bibliotheca vet. P. (30 v., fol.)
Dowling, Notitia scriptor. S. S. patrum.
Dupin, Bibliothéque des auteurs eccles.
Fabricii Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica.
——— Biblioth. Græca. (Contains an account of *all* known Greek writers, and of all their editions, and commentators.)
Flaccii Catalogus Testium veritatis.
Gallandii Bibliotheca Vet. patrum.
Grabæi Spicelegium patrum et hereticorum.
Grynæi Monumenta patrum orthodoxograp.
Goldwitzer's Bibliog. der kirchenväter.
Guillon, Bibliothèque Choisie.
Hefele Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. (Describes the best editions of each, and adds valuable notes, prefaces, and index.)
Hennischii Ætates patrum principuorum.
Hilgenfeld's Apostolischen Väter.
Huber's Philosophie der Kirchenvaeter.
Hulsemanni Patrologia.
Ittigii Biblioth. et Catenis patrum.
Locherer's (J. N.) Lehrbuch der Patrologie.
Lumperi Hist. de vitis, scriptis, &c.
Maii Biblioth. patrum sanctorum.
Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotorum.
Migne, Patrologiæ cursus. (220 vols.)
Miræi Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica.
Moehler's Patrologie.
Montfaucon, Collectio Nova.
Nourry Adparatus ad bibl. max. Patrum.
Oberthuri Opera patrum cont. Gentiles et Judæos.
Olearii Abaccus Patrologicus.
Oudini Dissertationes. (Gives an account of each early writer, and an analysis of his work.)

Fathers—*continued.*

Rheinwaldi Patrist. Homiliarum collectio.
——— Reliquæ sacræ. (Consists of very scarce fragments.)
Rössler's Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.
Sandius de Veteris scriptoribus eccles.
Schleichert, Institutiones Patrologiæ. (Designates interpolations and spurious works.)
Schonemanni Biblioth. Patzum Latinorum.
Schopfii Academia Jesu Christi.
Schulteti Medulla theologiæ patrum.
Suiceri Thesaurus Eccles. (A magnificent work, illustrating the Greek Fathers, historians, rites, ceremonies, language, &c. It answers as a complete index to those Fathers, and illustrates many obscure passages of Scripture.)
Tentzelii Exercitationes.
Varenii Rationarium Theologicum.
Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica. (An account of the books, editions, commentators, &c. With chapters on their lives, learning, errors, &c.)
Whitby (Dan.), Diss. de Scripturarum interpretatione. (Quotes the conflicting opinions of the Fathers.)

Bennet's Theology of the early church. (Consists of quotations from the Fathers.)
Beveridge's Apostolical Fathers.
Bickersteth's Fathers of the 1st and 2d centuries. (Extracts from their writings.)
Blunt's Cambridge Lectures. 1840.
Boyd's Fathers not Papists. (A translation of discourses by Chrysostom, Gregory Naz., Basil, &c.)
Cary's Fathers of the first 4 centuries.
Chevalier's Trans. of the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius; and the apologies of Justin M. and Tertullian.
Clarke's Succession of sacred literature. (A conspectus of the topics written upon by the fathers, the best editions, translations, &c.)
Collingson's Bampton Lectures. 1813.
Conybeare's Bampton Lectures. 1839.
Cox's (R.) Fathers of the first 3 centuries.
Crofts' Bampton Lectures. 1786.
Dodwell's Catalogue of the Christian writers of the first 3 centuries.
Dupin's History of ecclesiastical writers. (Gives the topics of each writer, and his opinion of the work.)
Exeter Hall Lectures to young men.
Gill's Cause of God and Truth.
Hills' (S.) Vindication of the primitive fathers against Bp. Burnet.
Jortin's (John) Works.
Keary's Commonplace book to the Fathers.
Kett's Bampton Lectures. 1790.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel history.
Law's Theory of Religion.
Library of the Fathers anterior to the division of the East and West. (Translated by Dr. Pusey and others, with the text. 50 vols.)

Fathers—*continued.*

Lupton's Glory of early times.
Middleton's Free Enquiry.
Osborn's Doctrinal errors of the early F.
Parker's Bibliotheca Biblica. (A comm. on the Pentateuch, from the writings of the Fathers of the first 5 centuries.)
Riddle's Manual of Christian Antiquities. (The prefix gives an analysis of the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers.)
Shuttleworth's Translation of the Apostolical epistles; with notes.
Simpson on Religious opinions.
Wake's Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers.
Warburton's Julian.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity.

Collections of the Patristic writings, and editions of the separate fathers, are exceedingly numerous. Those of Dupin, Walch, Oudin, and Hefele, are either of them sufficient. Nutt, in his sale catalogue for 1857, offers no less than 923 works, or editions, of the Fathers. The most splendid, as well as most recent, is the uniform edition of Migne, begun in 1839, and completed 1861.

The following list of the early fathers, in the order of time, will be convenient for reference.

1*st Century.*—Barnabas, Clemens Romanus.
2*d Century.*—Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athanagoras, Theophilus, Theodosian, Clemens Alexandrinus.
3*d Century.*—Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Hippolytus, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius, Cyprian.
4*th Century.*—Lactantius, Athanasius, Cyril, Isidore, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Hilary, Epiphanius, Gregory Naz., Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Theodoret, Gregory Nys.
5*th Century.*—Augustin, Arnobius.

Fear of Death. See DEATH.

Barrow's (Wm.) Sermons. (2 on this subj.)
Bowers' (Dean) Sermons.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Burnside's Religion of mankind. Last essay.
Coxe's (R. C.) Course of Lent sermons.
Drelincourt on Death.
East's (T.) Christian Companion.
Eaton's (Sam.) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Erskine's (Eben.) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Heber's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hogg's Scriptural supports for the timorous Christian.
Lucas' (Rich.) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Dialogues on death.
Pierce's (Sam. E.) Sermons.
Rees' (Abraham) Sermons.
Sherman on Death and Heaven, and the Christian's desire for both.

Fear of God.

Alleine's Nature and necessity of godly fear.
Bates' Works. Discourse 17.
Boyle on the Veneration of the Deity.
Burroughs on Gospel fear.
Butcher's (Wm.) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 18:345. 22:685.
Clarke's (S.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Dale's (Tho.) Sermons.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 93.
Hale's (Sir M.) Contemplations.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Johnson's (John) Sermons.
Johnson's (Sam.) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Packman's (R. C.) Sermons.
Paley's (Wm.) Sermons.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Reading's (Wm.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock (Bp.) on Religious Fear.
Sherlock's (Wm.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Tothes' (J.) Sermons.
Trapp's Nature and infl. of the Fear of God.
Young's (Dr. Edw.) Sermons.

Fear of Man. See MAN-PLEASING.

Brown's (Francis) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 16:133.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Foster's (Jas.) Sermons.
Frank's (Mark) Nicodemus.
Hunt's (Jer.) Sermons.
May's (Wm.) Sermons.
Smith's (James) Sermons.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Wood's (Wm.) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons on prevalent vices.

Feasting. See FESTIVALS.

Stuckii Antiquitates Conviviales. (A curious and learned treatise on ancient feasts, both Jewish and Pagan.)
Garnet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Sheridan's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wheatley's (Richard) Sermons.

Feet Washing. See WASHING FEET.

Felicians. See ADOPTIANS.

Fellowship. See BROTHERLY LOVE, CHRISTIAN INTERCOURSE, CHRISTIAN UNION, COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

Christian Quarterly Spectator. 8:292.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 4:504.
James' Church-member's guide.
Literary and Theological Review. 2:194.
Owen's Guide to Christian fellowship.
Sutcliff's Mutual communion of Saints.
Tate's Cure of contention.
Torshell's Help to Christian fellowship.
Watts' Invitation to Church fellowship.
——— Berry Street Lectures.
Wheatley's (Richard) Sermons.

Female Communion.

I know of no book on this subject; but it is often introduced into works in defence of Infant baptism. See PETER EDWARDS, DORE, &c.

Female Education. See EDUCATION.

Babbington on Education.
Beaumont on the Instruct. of young ladies.
Burton's Lectures on fem. ed. and manners.
Christian Examiner. 22:90. 28:44.
East's Memoir of Miss Humphrey.
Edinburg Review. 15:273. (Sydney Smith.)
Fenelon on the Education of daughters.
Frazier's Magazine. 31:703.
Genlis (Madam de) on Education.
Gray (Maria) on Self-culture.
Hervey on the Religious educ. of daughters.
Jerment on Education.
Lectures to Ladies. (A collection of Tracts, by Maurice, Kingsly, &c. &c.)
Monthly Review. 112:502.
More's (Hannah) Strictures on Education.
Museum of Foreign Lit. 4:118. 32:139.
New England Magazine. 3:278.
Pendered on Female education. (A practical treatise on school management.)
Southern Lit. Messenger. 1:169. 5:597. 6:451.
Williams' (Anna) Hints from a Mother.

Female Sex. See WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Tertullian, de cultu Feminarum.

Agrippa (H. C.) Opera.
Goguet, l'Origine des lois, des artes, &c.
Hoffman's Erziehung geschl. in Indien.
Junckeri Ephemerides eruditarum fœminar.

Alexander's (Wm.) History of woman of all nations, from the earliest times to the present. 1730.
American Institute of Instruction. 1845.
American Quarterly Review. 5:438.
Beattie's Lectures on the format. of charac.
Blackwood's Magazine. 33:124, 391.
Buckminster's (J. S.) Sermons.
Burder's Memoirs of pious women.
Cary's (Mrs. V.) Letters to a young lady.
Child's (Mrs.) Cond. of women in var. ages.
Clarke's World-noted women in all ages.
Clayton's (E.) Notable women.
Clement's Noble deeds of women.
Cobb on the Pursuits of women.
——— Theory of Morals.
Conant's (W. C.) The great revival in 1847.
Cox's (F. A.) Female Biography.
De Witt's Woman: her excellence and usefulness.

Female Sex—*continued.*

Dublin University Mag. 52:1, 623, 696.
Ellis' Women of England.
——— Wives of England.
——— Daughters of England.
Farnham's (Mrs.) Woman and her Era.
Frazier's Magazine. 7:591.
Fuller's (S. M.) Woman in the 19th century.
Fullom's Hist. of woman, and her connection with religion and civilization. (To 1850.)
Garnett's Lectures.
Gibbon's Mem. of eminently pious women.
Gisbourne's Duties of the female sex.
Grave's Woman in America: her moral and intellectual condition. (As in 1844.)
Gray (Mrs.) on Self-culture.
Hale's (Mrs.) Woman's Record. (Sketches of distinguished women in all ages.)
Heywood's Exemplary lives. (Curious. 1624.)
Houston's Man a creation of woman.
Huntingdon's (Prof.) Sermons.
Jameson's Characteristics of women.
Jay's (Wm.) Lectures.
Kavenaugh's Woman in France in the 18th century.
Landell's Woman's sphere in the light of Scripture.
Lawrence's History of Woman in England.
Lectures to Ladies. (A collection of valuable treatises.)
Letheredge's Woman the glory of Man.
McIntosh's (Maria) Woman in America.
Mariot's (H.) Sermons.
Marshall's (Emily) Woman in America.
Meiner's Influence of W. in all nations.
Memoirs of Isabella Graham.
" Martha Dunn.
" Mrs. Fletcher.
" Madame Guion.
" Lady Huntingdon.
" Mrs. Lydia M. Malcom.
" Mrs. Ramsay.
Monod's (Adolph) Sermons.
——— Woman and her mission.
Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.
Newton's (John) Letters to a wife.
North American Review. 42:849.
Parke's Essays on Woman's work.
Parsons' Mental and moral dignity of W.
Phillips' The Lydias.
Reid's (Mrs.) Plea for Woman.
Robinson's (Edw. J.) Daughters of India. (Their social and religious condition in 1860.)
Sanford's Woman in her social and domestic character.
Segur's (J. A.) Condition and influence of W.
Sprague's (W. B.) Excellent Woman.
——— Letters to a daughter.
Starling's Noble deeds of Woman.
Taylor's (D.) Practical hints to young ladies.
Tonno's Wrongs of Woman.
Toplady's Sketch of mod. female character.
Wade's (John) Women: past and present. 1859.
Walker's (Alex.) W. considered as to mind, morals, marriage, and divorce.
West's (Mrs.) Letters to a young lady.
Westminster Review. 8:378. 34:254. 35:13. 84:166.

Festivals.

Alt's (J. C. W.) Predigten.
Dresserus de Festis Christianorum.
Hildebrandi Enchiridion.
Hospinian de Festis Judæorum, Ethnicorum, et Christianorum.
Mayer de Origine et causis festorum.
Nork's Deutung der Geheimlehren, &c.
Schmidii Hist. festorum et dominicarum.

Armstrong's (John) Sermons.
Bachman's Law of the Pentateuch relating to Festivals.
Cave's Primitive Christianity. Pt. 1, Ch. 7.
Christian Examiner. 38:35.
Cowper's (Dean) Sermons on the great festivals of the English Church.
Glasses' Lectures on the Holy Festivals. (Give an account of the person who is the subject of the day's celebration.)
Hobart's Fest. and Fasts of the Episc. Ch.
Mant's (H.) Holidays of the Church.
Marsden's Festivals of the Ch. of England.
Mossman's (T. W.) Sermons.
Nelson's Fasts and Feasts.
Povah's (R.) Sermons.
Russel's (A. T.) Sermons.
Stevens' Fest. and Fasts of the church.
Sumner's (Abp.) Sermons.
Whitgift's (Abp.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Zollikoffer's Festivals and Fasts.

Fetichism.

De Brosses, du culte des dieux Fétiches. (The first work which gave general use to the term. 1760.)
Krugg's Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften.
——— System der praktischen Philosophie.

This form of idolatry is more or less described by all travellers in Africa.

Fiction.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 9:362.
Amer. Quarterly Observer. 1:25.
Butler's (Piers E.) Rationality of revealed religion. (Appendix.)
Brownson's Quart. Rev. 2d Series. 1:116.
Christian Examiner. 42:101.
Christian Observer. 14:512. 16:298, 371, 425.
Christian Quart. Spect. 1:247. (Religious novels.)
Dehon's (Bp. T.) Sermons.
Dunlop's (John) History of fiction.
Episcopal Magazine. 2:373.
Frazier's Magazine. 1:318.
Murray's (H.) Tendency of fictitious narrative.

Museum of Foreign Literature. 4:40.
N. Amer. Review. 56:271. 57:128. 65:348.
Quarterly Review. 72:25. ("Evangelical novels.")

Fifth Commandment.
See FILIAL DUTIES.

Fifth Monarchy. See FOUR KINGDOMS, MILLENARIANS.

Burnet's History of his own times.
Falkner's Reproach and Censure. (Append.)
Goodwin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hartley's Paradise Restored.
Maton on Christ's personal reign.
Ranew's Glory of the saints.
Sherwin on the Prophecies.
Tillinghast's (John) Works.
Tombes' (John) Saints no Smiters. (Very able.)

Fight of Faith. See ARMOR OF GOD.

Alleine's (R.) The World conquered.
Ambrose's (Isaac) Works.
Becon's (Tho.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Boston's (Thomas) Sermons.
Breckell's (J.) Christian Warfare.
Butcher's (J.) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 1:102.
Christian Observer. 14:75.
Christopher's (Henry) Sermons. (The entire volume is on this subject.)
Downame's Christian Warfare. ("One of the best pieces of practical divinity extant."—HERVEY.)
Fuller's (Tho.) Works. (Too little known.)
Gray (Andrew) on Spiritual warfare.
Greenham's (Richard) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Works. Ser. 20.
Hawker's (Robert) Sermons.
Hayward's (Roger) Sermons.
Hooker's The Christian life a fight of faith.
Lardner's Works.
Latimer's (Bp.) Works.
Leifchild's (John) Discourses.
Leyburn's Soldier of the Cross.
Love's Combat between the flesh and the spirit.
McKay on the Christian Warfare.
Scott's (Tho.) Essays on important subjects.
Sibbs' (Rich.) Sermons. ("The soul's conflict with itself.")
Steele's (Sir Rich.) Christian Hero.
Vance's (W. F.) Sermons.
Vaughn's Christian Warfare illustrated.
Watts' Contest between flesh and spirit.
Wiseman's (Sir Wm.) Christian Knight.

Figurative Language of Scripture.

Gebelin, Monde primitif. (Includes Oriental allegories, sacred and profane.)
Gerdesii Dissertationes.
Hugonis (a St. Victoire) Opera.
Lowth, Prelectiones de Sac. Poes. Prelec. 4.
Philonis Judæi Legis allegoriarum.

Figurative Language—*continued.*

Rambach, de Sensus mystici criteriis.
Rudebach de Symbolis Sac. Scripturæ.
Spanneri Polyanthea Sacra.
Vitringæ Observationes Sacræ. Lib. VI.
——— Prefatio ad comment. in Jesaiam.

Bechaus on Biblical Interpretation.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 13:314.
Bloomfield's (G. B.) Serm. (5 on the subj.)
Brown's (John) Sacred Tropology.
Carson's (Alex.) Principles of Biblical Crit.
Christian Disciple. 5:178.
Christian Examiner. 48:390. 68:390.
Christian Review. 5:321. 10:113.
Claude on the Composition of a sermon.
Collyer on Scripture comparisons.
Conybeare's Bampton Lectures. 1824.
Foreign Quarterly Review. 23:62.
Fuller's Abuse of allegory in preaching.
Gray on Parables and allegorical writings.
Hall's (Tho.) Centuria Sacra, &c.
Horne's (Bp.) Preface to his Comm. on Ps.
Hurd's Introd. to the study of prophecy.
Jones (Wm.) on the Fig. language of Scrip.
Lord's (D. N.) Characteristics of Fig. lang.
——— Theological and Literary Journal. (In nearly every number.)
Lowth's Preface to commentary on Isaiah.
Ludlam on Scripture metaphors.
Mather's (Sam.) Figures of the Old Test.
Mills' (J.) Sacred Symbology.
Norwood on Scripture figures.
Paschall's Thoughts. Sec. 10–14.
Taylor's Moses and Aaron. (Oft. reprinted.)
Waterland's Preface to "Scrip. vindicated."
Wemyss' Symbolical language of Scripture.
West's (J. R.) Figures and types of the O. T.
Williams on the Song of Solomon. (Introd.)
Wood's (J.) Nature and use of figures.

Filial Duties. See YOUTH.

Belfrage's (Henry) Sermons.
Cleaver on the 5th Commandment.
Davis' (William) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures.
Dwight's Discourses. Disc. 110.
Edwards' Theologia Reformata.
Fleetwood's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hole on the Catechism.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
Lightfoot's Sermons.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
——— Sermons.
Parsons on the Catechism.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Secker (Abp.) on the Catechism.
Scott on the Fifth commandment.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Wright (R.) on the Duty of children.

Filled with the Spirit.
See OPERATIONS.

Goodwin (John) on Being filled with the Spirit.

Hall's (Silas) Sermons.
Howe's (Samuel) Sermons.

Final Causes. See CAUSATION.

First Commandment.
See COMMANDMENTS, CATECHISMS, IDOLATRY, UNITY OF GOD.

First Resurrection. See MILLENARIANS.

Burnet's Theory of the Earth.
Campbell's Necessity of Revelation.
Fleming on the First resurrection.
Glanvil's Lux Orientalis.
Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies.

Five Points. See under each of the points, viz.: ELECTION, DEFINITE ATONEMENT, GRACE, FREE AGENCY, PERSEVERANCE.

Cloppenburgii (Ioann.) Disputationes.
Heidanni Examen Catech. Remonstrantium.
Heylini Historia Quinquarticularis.
Hickmanni Historia quinque articularis. (A reply to Heylin, and strongly Calvinistic.)
Mollinæi Enucleatio Controversiarum.
Pœlenburgii Disputat. (Reply to Spanheim.)
Schlichtingii (Ionas) Dissertationes.
Spanheimii (Frid.) Disputationes.

Bates on the Controversy between Arminians and Calvinists.
Diekinson (J.) on the Five points.
Edwards' Veritas Redux.
Gill's Cause of God and truth.
Heylin's (Peter) Historical declaration of the judgment of the Western churches.
Ness' Antidote against Arminianism.
Parks' (Wm.) Sermons on the five points.
Whitby on the Five points.
Williams' (Dr. Edw.) Equity of the Divine government. (Reply to Whitby.)

Flagellantes.

Boileau Historia Flagellantium.
Cyprian (Ernest) de Ecclesia subterranea.
Delolme Historia Flaggellantium.
Forstman die Christlichen Geisslergesellschaften.
Kortholtus de Ecclesiis suburbicariis, &c.
Martene, Voyages literaire.
Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii ævi.
Schneegans, le Grand pelerinage des F. a Strassburg en 1348.
Schoetgenii Commentatio de secta F.
Thiers (J. B.), Critique de l'histoire Flag. (A Justification.)
Winzeti Flagellum sectariorum Historia.
Wolschoendorfii Disquisitiones Historicæ.
Zornius de Usu sacri cordicicis.

Boileau's Hist. of the F. Tr. by De Lolme.
[De Lolme's] Hist. of religious flagellations among different nations, and especially among Christians. (A paraph. and com. on the Hist. of Boileau. Curious engravings. Reprinted under the title, "Memorials of Superstition.")

Flattery.

Coney's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Hust's (Henry) Sermons.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Rees' (Abraham) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jeremy) Sermons.
Wells' (Francis) Sermons.

Flemingians. See ANABAPTISTS.

Folly of Sin.

Brady's (Nicolas) Sermons.
Waples' (Edward) Sermons.

Forbearance.

Baxter's (Arthur G.) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 16:291.
Haldane's (James) Works.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons.
Hook's (W. F.) Sermons.
McCann's (G.) Lectures.

Forbearance of God. See PATIENCE.

Foreknowledge of God.
See ATTRIBUTES, DECREES, HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY, SCIENTIA MEDIA.

Crellius de Deo.
Kromayer de Prescientia rerum contingent.

Bromley's Divine prescience viewed in connection with human liberty.
Charnock's Works.
Clarke's (S.) Boyle Lectures. 1705, 1706.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Haggar's Order of Causes.
Howe's (John) Letter to Sir Robt. Boyle.
——— Defence of the Letter.
Jackson on Human liberty.
Killingsworth's (Grantham) Tracts.
——— Essay on free agency and exposition of John i. 1, 2.
King's Sermons on the Divine prescience.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.

Forerunners of the Reformation.

Flathe's Gesch. d. Vörlaufer d. Ref.
Ulmann's Reformatoren vor d. Ref.
Wessel's Vörgänger Luther's.

Gilpin's Lives of Jerome, Zisca, &c.
Perrin's Luther's Forerunners.
Rolt's Lives of the principal Reformers.
Sharley's Lives of the Fathers and Reform.
Ulman's Reformers before the Reformation. Trans. by Menzie.

Forgiveness of Injuries.
See PEACEABLENESS, RESENTMENT.

Baxter's (Richard) Christian Politics.
Bell's (William) Sermons.
Berens' (Edward) Village sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Bourdaloue's Sunday sermons.

Forgiveness of Injuries—*continued.*

Brackenbury's (Edward) Discourses.
Brady's (Nicolas) Sermons.
Brett's (Thomas) Sermons.
Butts' (Thomas) Sermons.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Cosens' (John) Sermons.
Davies' (Thomas) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Franklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Fuller's (Andrew) Sermons.
Gatty's (Alfred) Sermons.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Gordon's (Sir A.) Sermons.
Green's (Samuel) Sermons.
Henry's (Matthew) Miscellaneous works.
Hill's (Bryan) Sermons.
Kennaway's (Charles E.) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Sermons on the human virtues.
Morony's (Joseph) Sermons.
Newlin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Pott's (J. H.) Sermons.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Southgate's (Richard) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tilly's (William) Sermons.
Weston's (Bp.) Sermons.

Forgiveness of Sin.

Augustine, Sermones.

Danæus de Peccatorum remissione.
Du Bosc (Pierre), Sermonnaire.
Goezius de Remissione peccatorum.
Loescherus de Deletione peccatorum.
Reuss' Lehre von der Rechtfertigung.

Allen's (James) Sermons.
Bates' (William) Sermons.
Baxter's (Arthur) Sermons.
Beachcroft's (Robert) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bull's Harmonia Apostolica.
Charnock's (Stephen) Sermons.
Collibeare on Natural and Rev. Religion.
East on Forgiveness and Assurance.
Foster on Natural Religion.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Gleig's (G. R.) Sermons for plain people.
Henry's (Philip) Sermons.
Hervey's (James) Works.
Hopkins' (Ezekiel) Discourses on sin.
Hughes' (Henry) Sermons.
Jenyn's Evidences of the Christian religion.
Maclean's Apostolical commission. (Exc.)
Magee on the Atonement.
Massillon's Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by T. Vincent.)

Forgiveness of Sin—*continued.*

Owen (John) on the 130th Psalm.
Schobel's (Edw.) Sermons on the Lord's prayer.
Secker's (Abp.) Lectures on the Catechism.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Trench's (Francis) Sermons.
Truman's Prevailing errors in the Church of England.
Watts' Strength and weakness of human reason.
Williams' (John) Sermons.
Witsius on the Covenants.
Yonge's (James) Sermons.

Formality. See RITES.

Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blackley's (Thomas) Practical Sermons.
Bradford's Unprofitableness of external rel.
Bragge's (Francis) Sermons on undissembled religion.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Clagget's (William) Sermons.
Fawcett's (John) Family Sermons.
Fernie's (John) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horneck's (Anthony) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Weston's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whitby's (Daniel) Sermons.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Yonge's (James) Sermons.

Forms of Prayer. See LITURGIES, PRAYER, PRAYER BOOKS.

Pro.

Annand's Panem quotidianum.
Bennet's History of the ancient methods of prayer.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burrows' Christian faith and practice.
Butler's (C.) Hist. of formularies in Papal, Greek, and Protestant churches.
Calder (Robt.) on Set forms of prayer.
Comber's Scholastic history of Liturgies.
Edwards' Theologia Reformata.
Falkner (D. W.) on Liturgies.
Gorham on Public Worship. (Prize essay.)
Jackson (E. D.) on the Lord's prayer.
Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Paley's Moral and Political Economy.
Prideaux's (H.) Connection of O. and N. T.
Prideaux's (John) Doctrine of prayer.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Stebbing's (Henry) Lectures.
Taylor's (H.) Account of prayer.
Taylor (Jer.) on Extempore prayer.

Forms of Prayer—*continued.*

Con.

Addington on the Necessity and expediency of forms.
Brekell on Forms of Prayer.
Calderwood's Altare Damascenum.
Clarkson (David) on Liturgies.
[Collings] on Prescribed forms of prayer.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, lect. 86.
Dwight's Sermons. Ser. 144.
Fleming's (Caleb) Theophilus to Gaius.
Haldane on Worship and Ordinances.
Owen's (John) Discourses concerning Litur.
Peirce's Vindication of Dissenters. Bk. 3.
Princeton Review. 18:487.
Robinson (Benj.) on Forms of prayer.
Taylor's (John) Scripture act of prayer.
Waltford's Manner of public prayer.
Watts' (Isaac) Guide to prayer.
——— Miscellany.

Formula Concordiæ. See CONSUBSTANTIATION.

Pro.

André's Fünf predigten.
Anton's Gesch. der Concordienformel.
Augusti Corpus librorum symbolicum.
Chytræus' Bedencken über die Apologie, &c.
Deutshmanni (Ioann.) Disputationes.
Elsvichii Disquisitiones Historicæ.
Francke, Libri symbolici Lutheranæ.
Graumundi Opera.
Hutteri Concordia Concors.
Hulsemanni Prælectiones Publicæ.
Kirchneri (Timoth.) Apologia.
Kuess, La formule de concorde dans ses rapports avec le N. Test.
Laurentius de Disput. et Controversis.
Müller's Lutherisches Concordienbuch.
Osiandri (Andr.) Disputationes XIII.
Petri Responsio ad scriptum, &c.
Piscatori Com. in Formulam Conc.
Quistorpii (Ioan.) Exercitationes.
Schilbe's Bekentnisstand d. Sog. reform.
Schilteri Defensio libri concordiæ.

Con.

Alhantiner's Bedencken über die Vörrede des Concordienbuch.
Balthasar's Hist. des torgischen Buchs.
Bremensii Defensio negatæ subscriptionis.
Gerdesii Scrinium Antiquarium.
Hermanni Disquisitio Historica.
Hospiniani Concordia Discors.
Irenæi Examen Form. Concordiæ.
Muhlii Dissertationes Historicæ.
Neostadiensii Admonitio Christiana.
Palmerii Protestatio.
Reinhardii (Mich. H.) Dissertationes.
Sturmii (Io.) Opera. (Many replies.)
Velerii Epistola Apologetica.
Wolfius de Ubiquitate atque adeo de corporali presentia corporis Christi.

See an account of many books on this subject, explanatory, polemic, and historical, in KOECKER, *Bibliotheca Symbolicae.*

Fornication. See UNCLEANNESS.

Acton's Prostitution considered in its moral, social, and sanitary aspects.
Foster's (Fr.) Thoughts on the Times. 1779.
Hanger's Life and Opinions.
Hanway's Causes of dissoluteness among the lower classes. 1780.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Nourse's (P.) Homilies.
Paley's (Wm.) Sermons.
Stebbing's (Henry) Sermons.
Turner (J.) on Fornication.
Wardlaw on Female prostitution.
Wilson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.

Fortitude. See DESPONDENCY.

Limborchii Theologia Christianæ.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Baddelly's (George) Sermons.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Cappe's Practical discourses.
Duchall's (James) Sermons.
Evans on Christian Temper. Ser. 19.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Glass' (Samuel) Sermons.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons.
Hunt's (Jer.) Sermons.
Kennicott's (Benj.) Sermons.
Kidder's (Bp.) Grounds of Christian F.
Leechman's Excellency of Christianity.
Mason's (John) Christian Morals.
Rees' (Abraham) Practical Sermons.
Steel's Christian Hero.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued. Ch. 31.
Watts' Sermons.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Fortune. See CHANCE, FATE.

Four Kingdoms. See FIFTH MONARCHY.

Deylingii (Salom.) Observationes Sacræ.
Dieterici Antiquitates Sacræ.
Goldast, Monarchia sancti Romani imperii.
Hardt (Herman.) Dissertationes.

Allix's Advent of Christ.
Beroald's View of the Persian Monarchy.
Birk's Four prophetic Empires.
Brown's (J. A.) Eventide.
Heling's Chronology of the four monarchies.
Helvic's Chronology of the four monarchies.

Fourierism. See SOCIALISM.

Fourth Commandmnent. See COMMANDMENTS, CHANGE OF SABBATH LORD'S DAY, SABBATH.

Fox, George.

Fox's (George) Journal.
——— Works.
Life of George Fox; by Janney.
——— ——— by Marsh.
——— ——— by Watson.

Frailty of Life.

Amory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Breckenridge's (John) Sermons.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Cook's (George) Sermons.
Crowe's (William) Sermons.
Dubois' (Peter) Sermons.
Duchall's (James) Sermons.
Henchman's (Richard) Sermons.
Hodge's (John) Sermons.
Kennett's (Basil) Sermons.
Langhorn's (William) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Lectures on Psalm 39.
Mason's (John M.) Sermons.
Mayhew's (Jonathan) Sermons.
Miller's (Joseph) Sermons.
Morris' (Joseph) Sermons.
Owen's (John) Sermons.
Quincy's (Samuel) Sermons.
Reeves' (William) Sermons.
Wallis' (Benjamin) Sermons.
Warren's (Robert) Sermons.
Whichcote's (Dr. Benjamin) Sermons.
Williams' (Bp.) Sermons.
Wilson's (William C.) Sermons.

Franciscans.

Albicii Liber Conformitatum.
Antonio Bibliotheca Franciscana.
Aremberg, Flores Seraphici.
Benonia Biblioth. scrip. ord. minorum.
Bouchier, de Martyrio fratrum sub Henrico VIII.
Boverii Flores seraphici. (A vast collection of lives, with 190 plates of miracles done by these friars during the 16th century.)
Bullarium Ordinis fratrum Minorum.
Chalippe, Vie de St. Francois.
Corneii Chronica Seraphica.
Dionysii Genuensis Biblioth. scrip. ordinis Minorum.
Ferot, Hist. des saints et saintes des tres ordres de St. Francois.
Gonzaga de Origine relig. Franciscanæ, ejusque progressu. (Embraces not only the old world, but Mexico, Peru, Yucatan, Chili, &c.)
Gubernati Orbis Seraphicus.
Kresslingeri Ortus et Progressus, &c.
Lanovii Chronicon generale.
Matutensi Bullarium Fratrum Minorum.
Sedulii Historia Franciscana.
Thuellier, Diarium patrum, fratrum et sororum ord. Minorum.
Waddingii Annales ordinis Minorum. ("A work of vast labor, but often fabulous."—WALCH.)
Willeti Athenæ orthodoxorum sodalitii, &c.

Hearne's Hist. of the English Franciscans.

For full lists of Franciscan writers, see SEDULIUS and WADDINGIUS, named above. Waddingius gives the nation of each writer, his topics, number of volumes, &c. His work has several "continuations," bringing it down to 1700, in 25 volumes, folio.

Fraud. See INTEGRITY.

Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Edw. W.) Sermons.

Free Agency.

Augustine, de Gratia et libero arbitrii.
Basil, Opera.

Alvarezii de Auxiliis Div. gratiæ et humani arbitrii libertate.
Amyraldi (Moses) Dissertationes.
Andala (Ruard.) Disputationes.
Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini.
Cochlæus de Libero arbitrio hominis.
Dittes' (F.) Ueber die Sittliche Freiheit. (Revises the systems of Spinoza, Leibnitz, and Kant.)
Erasmi Opera. (His Diatribe on this subject occasioned many publications, pro and con.)
Fischer, Freiheit des mensch. Willens.
Frankii Commentationes.
Haberkornii Vindicatio Lutheri.
Hunnii (Nicol.) Disputationes.
Krafftius de Servo et libero arbitrii.
Luther de Servo arbitrio.
Lyseri (Guil.) Dissertationes.
Märtens' Eleutheros.
Molinæ Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis, providentia, et predestinatione, concordia.
Mori Victoria Gratiæ.
Pennoti Propugnaculum.
Petavius de Libero arbitrio.
Placæi (Iosua) Opera.
Quenstedii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Quistorpius de Viribus liberi arbitrii.
Suarez de Divina Gratia.
Thummii (Theod.) Dissertationes.

Barnes' (Robt., the Martyr) Works.
Ball (John) on the Covenant of grace.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 4:77.
Brown's (Tho.) Philosophy of the mind.
Buffier's First Truths.
Butler's (Bp.) Sermons.
——— Analogy. Part 1, Ch. 6.
Butterworth on Moral Government.
Cairns (W.) on Moral Freedom.
Cole on Divine Sovereignty.
Crisp's Christ alone exalted.
Crybbace's (T. T.) Essays.
Edwards' (Dr. John) Veritas Redux.
Edwards (Pres.) on the Will.
——— Liberty and necessity.
Emmons' (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Flavel's Method of Grace.
Fuller's (And.) Essays.
Gibbs' Contemplations.
Goodwin's (John) Triumviri.
Hey's (John) Lectures.
Hussey on God's operations of grace.
Investigator. 1:35.
Jackson's Defence of human liberty.

Free Agency—*continued.*

Jortin's Six Dissertations.
Locke on the Human Understanding.
Macombie (W.) on Moral Agency.
Müller's Christian doctrine of sin.
Park Street Lectures. Lect. 10.
Princeton Review. 29:101.
Robinson's Christian System. Essay 14.
Sanderson s (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's Theory of moral sentiments.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Spring's Dialogues and Disquisitions.
Stebbings' Operations of the Holy Spirit.
Theological Essays reprinted from the Princeton Review.
Tindall's (Wm., the Martyr) Works.
Toplady's Works. (Sermons.)
Townsend's (Geo.) Sermons.
West on Moral Agency. Part 1.
Whedon's Freedom of the will, as a basis of human responsibility.

Free Church of Scotland.

Blackwood's Magazine. 53:352. 55:221.
British Quarterly Review. 1:390.
Bryson's Ten years of the Church of Scotland. (1833 to 1843.)
Buchanan's (Geo.) Ten years' conflict.
Eclectic Museum. 3:305.
Frazier's Magazine. 23:503. 24:112. 28:1.
Princeton Review. 21:82.

Freedom of the Press.

Hall's (Robt.) Works. (Splendid.)
Hunt's (F. K.) History of newspapers. (To 1850.)

Freedom of Opinion. See LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, OPINION, PRIVATE JUDGMENT, TOLERATION.

Buddæus de Libertate cogitandi.
Crouza, Examen de traité de la liberté de penser.
Pfaffius de Libertate cogitandi.

Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Dupree's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Edinburg Review. 76:198.
Ibbot's Boyle Lectures. 1713, '14.
Princeton Review. 24:312.
Tombs' Saints no Smiters. (Powerful.)

Freemasonry.

Pro.

Acerrello's Freimaurers in ihrem Zusammenhang mit d. Rel. d. Ægypter, der Juden, u. d. Christen.
Encyclopedie Maconique. 1825.
Kloss' Geschichte der Freimaurer.

Ash's Masonic Manual.
Bagnal (Tho.) on Freemasonry.
Calcott's Principles and practices, &c.
Carlisle's Manual of Masonry.

Freemasonry—*continued.*

Pro.

Chandler's Masonic Discourses.
Creigh's Masonry and Antimasonry.
Cross' True Masonic Chart.
——— Masonic text book.
——— Templar's chart.
Davis' Freemason's Monitor.
Entick's Constitutions, Regulations, &c.
Fellowes' Defence of F. (Wood cuts.)
Free Mason's Quarterly Review. London. 1834 to the present.
Harris' (T. M.) Principles, Tendency, &c.
——— Discourses on public occasions.
Hutchinson's Spirit of Masonry.
Hyneman's Masonic Record.
——— Origin of Freemasonry.
Knapp's Genius of Masonry.
Laurie's History of Freemasonry.
Leslie's (C. S.) Principles of Freemasonry.
McCoy's True Masonic guide.
Masonic Library. (A series of 30 volumes, of approved Masonic literature.)
Moore's Ancient Regulations of Masonry.
Morris' Code of Masonic laws.
Oliver's (Rev. J.) Account of the schism among free and accepted Masons in England, in the 18th century.
Oliver's (Geo.) Masonic History.
——— Theocratical philosophy.
——— (Sundry other treatises.)
Preston's Illustrations of Masonry.
Sandys' History of Masonry.

Con.

Adams' (J. Quincy) Letters on Masonry.
Alger's Ritual of Masonry. Plates.
Antimasonic Review. N. York. 1828–1836.
Baruel's History of Jacobinism.
Bernard's Light on Masonry.
Brown's Narrative of the Anti-masonic excitement in 1829.
Carwithen's Antichristian character of M.
Dublin Review. 6:137.
Dublin University Magazine. 52:271.
Fellowes' Mysteries of Masonry.
Freemasonry Exposed;. in extracts from its standard authors.
Jones' (H.) Letters on Masonry.
"Master Mason" on Masonry. (Extracts from Masonic authors.)
Morgan's Illustrations of Masonry.
New England Antimasonic Almanac, from 1829 to 1835. (Contains the oaths, signs, grips, &c.)
O'Brien's Round towers of Ireland.
Odiorne's Origin, nature, tendency, &c.
Perkins' Downfall of Masonry.
Preston's Illustrations of Masonry.
Prichard's Masonry detected. 1776.
Proceedings of Anti-Masonic Convention at Albany. 1829, 1830.
——— Boston. 1830, '1, '2, '3, '4.
——— Philadelphia. 1831, '2, '3.
——— Middlebury, Vermont. 1830.

Freemasonry—*continued.*

Con.

Proceedings of Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore. 1831, 1832.
And many others.
Robinson's Proofs of a conspiracy, &c.
Rush (Rich.) on Freemasonry.
Spencer's Report to the Senate of N. York, 1830, on the abduction of Morgan.
Stearne's (J. G.) Nature, Tendency, &c.
Stone's (W. L.) Letters on Masonry.
[Ward's (H. D.)] Pretensions of Masonry by a Master Mason.
Whittlesey's Report on the abduction of Morgan.

GOWAN'S *Catalogue*, 1866, embraces 550 treatises on this subject. BARTHELMES' *Catalogue of American books on Freemasonry*, 1856, cites 450.

Free Thinkers. See INFIDELITY.

French Prophets.
See FALSE PROPHETS.

Frequent Communion.

Arnauld, Œuvres. (Gives the sentiments of the Fathers, and decisions of Councils.)
Baker's (D. B.) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Advantages of frequent C.
Brown's (John) Apology for more frequent administration.
Duncan (Prof.) on the Lord's Supper.
Erskine's (Dr. John) Theolog. Dissertations.
Girdlestone's Sermons on the Lord's Supper.
Hesketh's Exhortation to frequent C.
Mason's (John M.) Letters.
Patrick (Simon) on the Lord's Supper.
Tillotson's (John) Sermons.
Tracts for the Times. Tract 26.
Wilson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Wordsworth's (Charles) Sermons.

Free Will. See FREE AGENCY.

Free-Will Baptists.

Pro.

The Free-Will Baptist Manual.
The Doctrine.
The Church Member's Book.
History of the Free-Will Baptists.
Memoir of John Colby.
" " Daniel Marks.
" " Benjamin Randall.
Minutes of the General Conference.
Morning Star. Period. Dover, N. Hamp.

Friends ["Hicksite"].

Pro.

Advocate of Truth. Periodical.
Belanger, James, Life of.
Berean, The. Periodical.
Christian Examiner. 51:321.
Cockburn's Review of the late divisions, &c. 1829.
Comly, John, Life of.
Friend's Intelligencer. Periodical. 1844 to present.
Friend's Miscellany. A compilation of 11 volumes.
Gibbon's Review of the causes of the separation.
Hicks, Elias, Life of; by himself.
——— ——— by M. T. C. Gould.
——— Journal and letters.
——— Extemporaneous Discourses.
——— Letters and Essays.
Jackson on the Christian ministry.
Janney's Conversations on religious subjects.
Michener's Annals of "Quakerism."
Paul & Amicus. (A forcible polemic work.)
Report of the trial of Shotwell and others.
Story's Conversations and anecdotes.
The Quaker. Periodical.
Witherald's (Thomas) Sermons.

Con.

Burnap's Elias Hicks and the Hicksites.
Senneff's (George) Bible Advocate.
View of the sentiments of E. Hicks respecting future rewards and punishments.

Numerous pamphlets, *pro* and *con*, were published on this controversy in Pennsylvania and New York, about A. D. 1820–1840.

Friends ["Orthodox"].

Pro.

Benezet, sur les Quakers.
Caton, Alarm, geblasen zu allen Nationen.
Crisp, Klang des Alarms.
Green's Zeugnis an alle Nationen.
Keith (Geo.) Responsio ad Bajeri dissertationem.
Kolhausii Dilucidationes.
Lawson, Antwort auf ein Buch gennant, der Unflat der Quaker.

Abell's Deceit made manifest.
Adams' Exhortation to all who desire to know the truth.
Alexander on Worship and the Ministry.
Anderson's Visitation in love to the people called Baptists.
Armistead's Principles and sufferings of Friends.
Arscott's State of the Chris. religion. 1730.
Ash's (E.) Essays.
——— Christian Doctrine and Practice.
Ashley's Scripture Teachings.
——— Christian Counsel.
——— True light vindicated.
Atkinson's Standard of the Lord.
Aynsloe's Besom of Truth.
Baker's (Daniel) Thundering voice out of Zion.
——— (Many other treatises.

Friends ["Orthodox"]—*continued.*

Pro.

Barclay's Truth cleared of calumny.
——— Theses Theologicæ.
——— Quakerism confirmed.
——— Anarchy of the Ranters.
——— Apology for Christian divinity.
——— Universal love.
——— Inward revelations of the Spirit.
——— Truth triumphant.
——— Many other tracts.
Bates' (Elisha) Doctrines of the Friends.
Bathhurst's (Eliz.) Truth vindicated.
Bayley on the State of man before and after the Fall.
——— Government of the Lamb.
——— Warning to all Papists.
——— Warning to Reformed churches.
Besse's Defence of Quakerism. (Answer to Smith's Preservative.)
Bevan's (John) Salutation to the Baptists.
——— Defence of Quaker doctrines.
Bevan's (Tho.) Reply to Plymton.
Burroughs' (Edw.) Works. 1672. (A very voluminous collection of the writings of Fox and others.)
Camm's Truth prevailing against Clamor.
Caton's (Wm.) Enquirer resolved. 1660.
Chalkely's (Thomas) Works. 1751.
Chandler's Apology for Quakers. 1714.
Claridge's (Richard) Works. 1723.
Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism. 1806.
Crisp's (Stephen) Scripture Truths. 1693.
——— Charitable Advice.
——— Declarations.
Crouch's Posthuma Christiana. 1712.
Crook's (John) Works.
Dewsberry's Works.
Ellwood's Forgery no Christianity.
——— Other Treatises.
Epistles of Yearly and Monthly Meetings. (Contain a great amount of wisdom and piety.)
Evans' Exp. of the faith of Friends. 1828.
Farnsworth's Light rising out of darkness.
Field's Defence of the people called Q.
——— Light and truth.
Fisher's (Samuel) Works. 1679.
Forster's Quakers defended. 1732.
Fothergill's Life, travels, and letters. 1780.
——— Reply to Owen on Baptism.
Fox's (Geo.) Journal. (A deeply interesting book.)
——— Various works.
Friend's Intelligencer. Phil. 1838, et seq.
Friend's Review. Phil. 1847 to the present.
Fuce's Fall of the visible idol.
Fuller's (Sam.) Reply to Joseph Boyle.
Grattan on Baptism and the Lord's supper.
Grubb's Life and religious labors.
Gurney's (J. J.) Distinguishing views, &c. 1825.
——— Peculiarities of the Society of Friends. 1840.
Gutton's Remarks on Quaker principles.

Friends ["Orthodox"]—*continued.*

Pro.

Hancock's (Tho.) Reply to Crewdson.
——— Several other treatises.
Haydock's Writings, labors, and sufferings.
Helton's (John) Reasons for quitting the Methodists.
Hodden's One good way of God.
Holme's Serious call to all people.
Howgill's (Francis) Works.
Hubbertson's Works. (Voluminous.)
Keese's The Church and the People.
Lawson's (Tho.) Baptismalogia. 1703.
Marshall's Way of life revealed.
——— Various other treatises.
Naylor's Old serpent's voice.
——— Discovery of the Man of sin.
——— Answer to Baxter's Q. catechism.
——— Satan's designs discovered.
——— Wickedness weighed.
——— Blindness of Babel's builders.
Pemberton's (John) Life and Travels.
Penn's (Wm.) Primitive Christ'y revived.
——— Innocency with open face.
——— Defence of Gospel truths.
——— Complete works. 2 thick folios. 1756.
Pennington's (Isaac) Works. 1761.
Phillip's Vindiciæ Veritatis.
Phipps' (Joseph) Works.
Pike on Baptism and the Lord's supper.
Pugh's (Ellis) Salutation to Brittons.
Rogers' (Wm.) Christian Quaker.
Russel's Quakerism no Paganism.
Rutty on Women's preaching.
——— on Christian discipline.
Salthouse's Works.
Savery's Discourses.
Stephenson's Call from death. 1667.
Tuke's Principles of the Quakers.
White's (Dorothy) Works.
Whitehead's Antidote to the venom of the snake in the grass.
——— Christian Quaker.
——— Apology for the Quakers.
——— Truth prevalent.
——— Other works.
Whitehouse's Doct. of perfection vindicated.
Whiting's (John) Life and writings. 1708.
Woolrich's Declaration to the Baptists.
Woolman's (J.) Works. 1794.

Con.

Arnoldi Exercitatio de Quakerismo.
Baieri Collatio Doct. Quakerorum et Protestantium.
Berkendal's der Quacker geist entdecket.
Colberg, Platonisch-hermetischen Christen.
Croesii Historia Quakeriana.
Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Loeber's Quaker Greuels.
Morgenbesser's Prüfung d. Quaker-pulvers.
Müller (J.) Quaker-quakeln.
Neumanni Synopsis errorum fanaticorum quos Tremuli fovent.

Friends ["Orthodox"]—*continued.*

Con.

Paul's Augensalbe vor die welche sagen, &c.
——— Quaker Glaube und Dienst.
Rhayii Confusa confessio tremulantium.
Rieseri Anti-Barclaius.
Schelvigii Quakerismus confutatus.
Schroederus de Spiritu.

Adamson's Quaker principles quaking.
Alexander's Jesuitico-Quakerism.
Allen's Danger of Enthusiasm.
American Quarterly Review. 15:380.
Andrews' Expostulation with the Quakers.
Audland's Spirit of Quakerism.
Ball's Holy Scripture the test of truth.
Bartlett's Soveraigne balsame applied.
Bates' Quakero-Methodism.
Baxter's (R.) Quaker's Catechism.
Bennett's (Thos.) Necessity of Revelation.
——— Confutation of Quakerism.
Bewick's Answer to Quakerism.
Bristed (John) on the Society of Friends.
Brown's Quakerism the road to Paganism.
Brownlee (Will. C.) on Quakerism.
Bugg's (Francis) Picture of Quakerism.
——— Sober expostulations.
——— Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity.
——— Quaker principles exposed. 1699.
——— Various other bitter treatises.
Burrough's Generation of the Quakers.
Byne's Scornful Quakers answered.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 6:530.
Christian Observer. 13:95.
Cockson's Quaker dissected.
Cox's Quakerism not Christianity.
Dove on Inspiration. (Internal light.)
Eaton's Quaker confuted.
Faldo's Quakerism no Christianity.
Grey's True picture of Quakerism.
Hale's Quaker principles quaking.
Hancock's (John) Reason for withdrawing from the Society.
——— The Peculium.
Haworth's Quaker confuted.
Hicke's Q. condemned out of his own mouth.
Jenner's Quakerism anatomized.
Kay's Answer to 18 queries. (Reply to Whitehead.)
Keach's Quaker doctrine weighed.
Keith's (Geo.) Deism of Wm. Penn exposed.
——— Doctrine of the Apostles.
——— Magic of Quakerism. (Against Barclay.)
——— Serious call to the Quakers.
——— Many other treatises.
Leslie's Snake in the grass.
——— Defence of the same.
——— Primitive heresy revived.
——— Other tracts.
Maurice's (F. D.) Kingdom of Christ.
Moore & Horne's Dangerous principles of the Quakers. (Especially against George and John Whitehead and George Fox.)

Friends ["Orthodox"]—*continued.*

Con.

Newton's Sentiments of the Quakers.
Norris' Works.
Pilkington's Address to Quakers.
Plimpton's Charges against the Quakers.
Princeton Review. 5:417. 20:353.
Pryne's Quaker unmasked.
Roswell's Answer to 30 queries.
Russell's Quakerism is Paganism. (Reply to Luddington.)
Scaudrell's Antidote against Quakerism.
Scotton's Becoldus redivivus.
Sharp's (Granville) Principles of the Q.
Sherlock's Quaker's questions answered.
Smith's (Pat.) Preservative against Q.
Stalham's Reviler rebuked.
Stebbing's Conference with Middleton.
Stillingfleet's Advice concerning Quakerism.
Taswell's Antichrist revealed.
Thompson's Letter to Wm. Penn.
Thornley's Doctrines of Barclay's Apology.
Underhill's (T.) Hell broke loose.
Weld's Perfect Pharisee.
Wilkinson's Quakerism examined. (Reply to Tuke.)

After this article was written I expunged about half the citations as superfluous. For a list of over three thousand works, controversial and practical, see John Whiting's "*Catalogue of Friends' books*, from the first appearance of said people." 1708.

Friends, History of.
See FOX, PENN, RELIGIONS.

Alberti's Nachrict von der Relig. d. Quäker.
Arnold's (G.) Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie. 1688.
Croesii Hist. Quakeriana. 1695. (The first history of this people.)
Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
Gregoire, Histoire des Sects. (History of the French Quakers.)
Histoire abregée de la Naissance et du progres du Quakerisme. (Acta erudit.)
Lassen's Historie der Quakerischen Secte.
[Naudé] Histoire de la naissance, &c.

Allen, Wm., Life of. Died 1843.
Backhouse, Edw., Life of. 1854.
Barclay's (John) Memoirs of the Friends in the North of Scotland.
Benezet's Origin of the religious society of Friends. 1780.
Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers. (From 1650 to 1689. 2 vols., folio.)
Bishop's New England judged. (An acc. of the persecution of Quakers. 1656 to 1660.)
Bowden's History of Friends in America. To 1845.
Chris. Exam. 2:252. 30:237. 40:145. 51:322.
Clark's Portraiture of Quakerism. (See Edinburg Review. 10:85.)

Friends, History of—*continued.*

Clark's Memoirs of the private and public life of Wm. Penn. (See Edinb. Rev. 21:444.)
Crisp, Stephen, Life of. 1695.
Croese's General History of the Quakers.
Crouch's (W.) Collection of papers, &c. 1712.
Davis' Digest of legislative enactments relating to the Quakers in England. 1849.
Davies' (Rich.) Travels in North Wales.
De Thou's (Madame) History of the Q.
Eclec. Rev. 4th Series. 1:280. N. S. 5:225.
Edinburg Review. 10:85. 87:503.
Edmundson's Journal of his life.
Fox's (Geo.) Journal. 1694.
Fox's (Jos. John) Inquiry into the causes of the weakness, &c. 1860.
Fothergill's Essay on the Society of Friends. (Causes of its decline. 1860.)
Gough's History of the Quakers. To 1790.
Hancock's Peculium. (Causes of the decline.) 1859.
Holmes' Travels in Europe and America. 1753.
Jaffray's Rise and prog. of Q. in Scotland.
Ketty's Memoirs of the primitive Quakers.
Littell's Living Age. 17:390.
Macnair's Causes of the moral and numerical decline of the Society of Friends. 1860.
Mather's (Cotton) History of New England.
Minutes of Quarterly and yearly meetings.
Mosheim's Eccles. History. (Supplement.)
Naylor, James, Life of.
Nile's Register. 24:303. 45:11.
North British Review. 27:180.
Penn's Rise and progress, &c.
Ree's Cyclopedia. (Art. "Quaker.")
Rountree's Quakerism, past and pres. 1859.
Rutty's History of Irish Quakers. 1750.
Sewell's History of the rise, increase, &c.
Tuke's Biographical notices of eminent members of the Society.
Wagstaff's History of the Quakers. 1845.
Westminster Review. 1:593.
Wight's Rise and progress of the Quakers in Ireland. 1653 to 1700. Continued by Rutty.
Yearly Meeting Minutes.

Friendship.

Abercrombie's Moral feelings. Part 1, sec. 2.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Burton's (Edward) Sermons at Oxford.
Case's (Charles) Sermons.
Coney's (Thomas) Sermons.
Darnell's (W. N.) Sermons.
Dodwell's (William) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons. (Caution in forming.)
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Mann's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Thornton's Fruits of the Spirit.
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White's Fitness of the time when Christ came.

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Aymé, les Fondemens de la foi.
Bergii Disputationes Theologicæ.
Curtius de Articulis fundamentalibus.
Graverolius de Artic. fundamentalibus.
Holdeni Divinæ fidei Analysis.
Hulsemanni (Ioann.) Disputationes.
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Pfaffius de Fidei Christi articulis, ejusque analogia.

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Walch's Geschichte der Glaubenslehre.
Wandalinus Dissertationes.
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Baxter's Saint's Rest. Ch. 3.
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Craddock's Knowledge and practice.
Douglass' (James) Truths of Religion.
Foster's (James) Essay on fundamentals.
Hammond's (Henry) Works.
Holden's Analysis of faith.
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Milner's (Jos.) Essentials of Christianity.
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Pollock's (Wm.) Essays on fund. truths.
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Short's (Tho. V.) Sermons.
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Appleton, N. Several.
Ashworth, C., on Isaac Watts.
Baldwin, Tho., on Gov. Phillips.
Bentley, W., on B. Hodges.
——— on Gen Fiske.
Buckminster, J., on S. Haven and wife.
Calamy, Edm., on Mrs. Williams.
Chandler, S., on T. Hadfield.
——— on G. Smith.
——— on M. Lowman.
Dana, D., on Gen. Washington.
Doddridge, P., on I. Norris.
——— on a Child.
Edwards, Jon., on D. Brainerd.
Everett, Edw., on J. L. Abbot.
Featley, Dan. Several.
Fleetwood, Bp., on Duke of Gloucester.
Fleming, C., on J. Foster.
Forbes', Bp., Funeral sermons.
Foster, J., on T. Emlyn.
Furman, Rich., on Gen. Washington.
Gadsden, C., on Bp. Dehon.
Gano, John, on Gen. Washington.
Hall, Robt., on Princess Charlotte.
Harris', W., Funeral discourses.
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Knaggs, T., on Princess Sophia.
Lardner, N., on W. Harris.

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Mather, Cotton. Many.
Mayhew, J., on S. Sewall.
Mellen, J., on I. Dunster.
Norton, J., on his Wife.
Nott, Eliphalet, on Alex. Hamilton.
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Parsons, J., on Geo. Whitefield.
Patrick, Bp., on I. Smith.
Pemberton on Geo. Whitefield.
Phillips, S., on a Suicide.
Priestley, J., on Dr. Price.
Reeves, W., on the Queen.
Ridgeley, T., on murder of N. Hall.
Sherlock, W., on Rev. Edm. Calamy.
Showers', J., Funeral discourses.
Skinner, I., on his Wife.
Stennett, J., on J. Piggott.
Stillman, Sam., on S. Ward.

See a list of over 200 funeral sermons in HORNE'S "*Catalogue of Queen's library.*" Also an extensive list in PEIRCE'S "*Systematic Index to the Catalogue of the library of Harvard College.*"

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Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Baxter's Reasonableness of Christianity.
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Clarke's (Samuel) Boyle Lectures. 1706.
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Genuineness of 1 John v. 7.

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Emlyn's Enquiry into the authenticity, &c.
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Huysch's Examination of Porson's 4th letter to Travis.
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Genuineness of 1 John v. 7—*continued.*

Con.

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Genuineness of 1 Tim. iii. 16.

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Biblical Repository. 1:777.
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Cheever's Sacred Streams. 50 plates. 1804.
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Cotton (John) on Baptism.
——— on the Covenant of grace.
Mather's (Richard) Visible Church in covenant with God.
——— Vindic. of the New Eng. Churches.
Scripturista on Infant Baptism.

Con.

Bellamy's One Covenant.
——— Reply to Mather's Vindication.
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Chauncey's (Pres.) Antisynodalia.
Davenport's (John) Allegations of Scripture against the baptizing of certain kinds of infants.

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——— Dissertations on the principles of a Harmony. 1830.
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Williams' (Cha.) First week of time.
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Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
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Engel, wir Werden uns Wiedersehen.
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Gretzer (Jac.) Disputationes.
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Musæus de Eterna beatitudine.
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Olshausen, Opuscula Theologica.
Storr (Gottl. C.) Opuscula Academica.

Ambrose's (Isaac) Sermons.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
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Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bonar's Morning of joy.
——— Eternal day.
Bradley's (Charles) Sermons.
Bradford's (John) Fruitful treatise, &c.
Broughton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Case's Mount Pisgah.
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Davies' Glimpses of our heavenly home.
Davis' (W.) The beautiful city.
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Donald's My father's house.
Dorrington's (Theophilus) Sermons.
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Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Short's (T. V.) Sermons.
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Thompson's (A. C.) The better land.
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Toplady's (A. M.) Works.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
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——— Scale of happiness.
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Jones' (Wm., of Nayland) Sermons.
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Paley's (William) Sermons.
Powell's (Samuel) Sermons.
Price's (James) Sermons.
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Rowe (John) on Heavenly-mindedness.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
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Venn's (John) Sermons.
Watts on the Christian graces.
Weston's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whitefield's (George) Sermons.

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The grammars and Lexicons of Bretschneider, Wahl, Tittman, Gersdorf, Winer, and Gesenius, throw all the light on this wearisome controversy which is now possible.

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Bianconi, de Antiquis litteris Hebr.
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Buxtorfii (Sen.) Thesaurus Grammaticus.
——— de Abbreviaturis.
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Capellus (Ludov.) de Ebræorum literis.
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Le Boucq, Succincta et dilucida explic.
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Thelemann's Gesch. d. H. C. u. seiner verfas.
Van Alpen's Gesch. und literatur des H. C.
Vierordt's Gesch. d. Reformation in Badeu.
Ursini Corpus doctrinæ orthodoxæ.
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Mosheim's (J. L.) Lehre vom ende der Höllenstrafen.
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Holiness. See GODLINESS, IMITATION OF CHRIST, MORTIFICATION OF SIN, PERFECTION, PRACTICAL PIETY, RELIGION AND BUSINESS, SANCTIFICATION, SELF-DENIAL, &c.

Holiness of God. See ATTRIBUTES.

Balguy on Divine Rectitude.*
Bays on Divine Benevolence.*
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Grove's (Henry) Works.*
Mole's (Thomas) Sermons.
Peabody's (A. P.) Lectures before the Lowell Institute. 1864.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Wisheart's (George) Sermons.
Wright's Answer to Mole.

* A controversy exciting much attention at the time (1730), but now forgotten, was carried on by these authors. Balguy refers the Divine actions to *rectitude*, Bays to *benevolence*, and Grove to his *wisdom*. Balguy and Grove are still valuable on general accounts.

Holydays. See FESTIVALS.

Holy Spirit. See OPERATIONS, PERSONALITY, PROCESSION, TRINITY.

Ambrose, de Spiritu Sancto.
Basil, Homiliæ.
Cyrill Hieros., Catacheses.
Arnold, contra Socinianos.

Holy Spirit—*continued.*

Cloppenburg, de Deitate Sp. Sancti.
Fritzche, de Spiritu Sancto.
Gerdin de Martyribus.
Gerhardi Loci Theologici.
Hackspanii Disputationes Theologicæ.
Hasselbach's Studien und Critiken.
Jahn (Alb.), Diss. ad quosnam pertineat promissio Spiritus.
Lampe de Spiritu Sancto.
Pfeifferus de Divinitate Sp. Sanc.
Rungius de Æternitate Spiritus Sanc.
Sandii (Christ.) Disputationes.
Storr, Doctrina Christiana.
Wernrichii Controv. contra Photinianos.
Wittichii Dissertationes Academicæ.

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Berry Street Lectures.
Biddle on the Divinity of the Spirit.
Biddulph's Lectures on divine influence.
Booth's Reign of grace.
Buchanan's (James) Office and work of the Holy Spirit.
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Burnet on the Thirty-nine articles.
Burton's Testim. of the ante-Nicene Fathers.
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Christian Quarterly Spect. 9:345.
Clagget (W.) on the Holy Spirit.
Edmondson's (Jonathan) Sermons.
Edwards' Mission of the Holy Ghost.
Estwick's Pneumatologia.
Gilfillan's (Sam.) Discourses on the H. S.
Guyse's Divinity of the Holy Spirit.
Hawker (Robt.) on the Person, Ministry, &c.
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Howe's (John) Works.
Hurrion's 16 Sermons on the Spirit. (Great.)
Middleton on the Greek article.
Muir's (Will.) Sermons.
Nolan's (F.) Sermons.
Owen (Dr. John) on the Holy Spirit.
Poole's (Matt.) Blasphemer slain.
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Serle's Horæ Solitariæ.
——— Charis.
Simeon's Four sermons at Cambridge.
Smith's (John Pye) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Works.
Whateley's Essays. Ess. 9.
Whitby's Last Thoughts.
Wilson's (Jos.) Sacred Pneumatology.
Witherspoon's Works.

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Baieri (Ioan. Guil.) Dissertationes.
Siberii Comm. de aquæ benedictæ potu.

Home Missions. See MISSIONS.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 3d Series. 4:252.
American Messenger. Periodical. N. York.
Home Evangelist. Period. N. Y.
Home Missionary. Period. Boston.
Home Mission Record. Periodical. N. Y.
Hutcheson (W.) on Home Evangelization.
Jethro; or an Essay on lay agency.
Matheson's Our Country.
Reports of the various H. M. Societies.
Sandford's Bampton Lectures. 1861.

Homiletics. See PREACHING.

Honesty. See INTEGRITY

Honor. See LOVE OF PRAISE, FAME.

Foster's (Dr. J.) Discourses.
Heber's (Bp.) Oxford Prize Essay. 1805.
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Markland's (Abraham) Sermons.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued. Ch. 24.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Hope. See PASSIONS.

Zöckler de Vi et notione vocabuli ἐλπις in N. T.

Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bateman's (Josiah) Sermons.
Bowdler's Theological Essays.
Brougham's (John) Sermons.
Chalmers' (Thomas) Sermons.
Clark's (Adam) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Craig's (Edward) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Fuller's Circular letter to the Northamptonshire Baptist Association.
Glasse's (G. H.) Sermons.
Greenwell's Patience of hope.
Grove's Moral Philosophy.
Haverfield's (Tho. T.) Sermons.
Howe's (John) Sermons. (None better.)
James' (J. A.) Christian hope.
Jay's (William) Sermons.
Lamb's (Robert) Sermons.
Lamont's (David) Sermons.
Lee's The family and its duties.
Rees' (Abraham) Practical Sermons.
Styles' (John) Sermons.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Tappan's (D.) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Christian Consolation.
Tilly's (William) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued.
Tyerman (D.) on Evangelical Hope.
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Vidal's (Bp.) Sermons.
Walker's (James, D.D.) Sermons.
Wilks' (S. C.) Christian Essays.
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Hopkins' System of Doctrines.
——— Memoirs of himself.
Bellamy's Works.
Christian Spectator. 7:566. 10:530.
Emmons' (N.) Sermons.

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Perine's Letters on the Plan of Salvation.
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Strong's (Dr. N.) Sermons.
Triangle. (A series of numbers.)
West (Dr. Stephen) on Moral agency.
Williams' (Thomas) Sermons.

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Hospitalers. See KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

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Peronet's Sermons. (Serm. on Romans xii: 13. True and false hospitality.)
Stennett's Discourses on domestic duties.

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Androque, Histoire du Languedoc.
Bouthillier, Reponse a l'avertisement des Catholiques. (Advising the killing of all the Huguenots.)
D'Aubigné (T. A.), der Hugenott von altem schrot u. Korn.
Histoire des Eglises reformées en France. (Supposed to be written by Beza.)

Browning's Hist. of the H. during the 16th century. (A new edition carries the history to 1842.)
Bungener's The Priest and the Huguenot. (Persecution under Louis XV.)
Christian Examiner. 36:74.
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Martin's History of the Huguenots.
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Clarkson's (David) Sermons.
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Dwight's Theology. Ser. 29–33.
Emmons' (Nathaniel) Sermons.
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——— Essays.
Goodwin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gray's Answer to Pierce's Vindication.
Griffin's Park Street Lectures.
Halyburton's Great Concern. Part 1.
Jamison's Use of Sacred history.
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McCheyne's (Robt. M.) Sermons.
Magee on Atonement. Diss. 12.
More (Hannah) on Female Education.
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Truman's Natural and moral impotence.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
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Wilcox's (Daniel) Sermons.
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Arnold's (of Rugby) Miscellaneous Works.
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Bather's (Edward) Sermons.
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Binning's (Hugh) Miscellaneous Sermons.
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Fuller's Calvinistic and Socinian systems. Letter 119.
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Holmes (Robt.) on Humility.
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——— Christian morals.
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Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
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Sumner's (Samuel) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jeremy) Holy living.
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——— on Humility.
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Innes' (Dr. Alexander) Sermons.
Mace's (Daniel) Sermons.
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White's (Hugh) Sermons.
Woodhouse's (G. W.) Parochial sermons.

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Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Gill's Body of Practical Divinity
Leighton's Lectures on 1 Peter.

Huss. See COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, FORERUNNERS.

Hussii Anatomia Antichristi.
——— Unitas Ecclesiæ.
——— Epistolæ.

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Horzovini Hussius et Lutherus.
Hussii et Hieronymi Historia et monumenta.
Jeep, Wiclefus et H. inter se comparati.
Martini Hussius et Lutherus.
Mayeri Concordia H. et Lutheri.
Rudigeri Vita et mors Jo. Hussi.
Seigfreidi Dissertationes de H. Vita. (Has a valuable preface by Hallbaur, and notes by Mylius.)
Spondani Annales. (Justifies his burning.)
Troutmansdorf's H.'s Martyrtod. Juli 1415.
Ulmann's Reformatoren vör d. Reformation.
Van der Horst, Hussi vita, præsertim illius condemnati causis.
Werneri J. Hus historice descriptus.
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Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers.
Huss, Life of; by Gillett.
—— ——— by Myles.
—— ——— by Seigfreid.
Huss' Letters in exile and imprisonment.
L'Enfant's Reflections on Seigfreid's Life of Huss.

Hussites. See MORAVIANS, WALDENSES.

Beausobre, Supplement a l'histoire de la guerre de Hussites, de L'Enfant.
Byzinii Diarium Hussitici Belli.
Camerarii Narratio Historica.
Cochlæi Hist. Hussitarum. (Very bitter.)
Comenii Hist. fratrum Bohemorum.
Confessio Fidei nobilum Bohemiæ.
Flaccii Confessio Taboritarum.
Kœcheri Historia de variis confessionibus fratrum Bohemorum.
Langermani Polemographi Hussitica.
Lasittius de Origine, rebus gestis, &c.
L'Enfant, Hist. des Concils.
——— Guerres des Hussites.
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Stephani Anti Hussus.
Theobald's Hussitenkrieg. (Much esteemed.)
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Varellasii Hist. bellorum in Bohemia.
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——— Meaning of Aleim and Berith.
——— Reply to Sharp on Aleim and Berith.
——— Integrity of the Hebrew text.
——— Philosophical principles of Moses.
Biddulph's Theol. of the ancient patriarchs.
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——— Reply to the Bp. of Clogher.
——— True Philosophy.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Works.
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Forbes' (Duncan) Letters to a Bishop.
Hodge's (Walter) Elihu.
——— Christian plan.
——— Strictures on Dr. Sharp.
Holloway's Remarks on Sharp's Dissertat.
——— Letter and Spirit.
Horne's (Bp.) Apology for certain gentlemen.
——— Abstract of Hutchinson's writings.
——— Candid and impartial statement.
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Jones' (of Nayland) Principles of nat. phil.
——— Disquisitions on select subjects.
——— Mosaic distinction of animals.
——— Memoirs of Bp. Horne.
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Moody's Evidences of Christianity.
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——— Works.
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——— Defence of do.

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Bunsen's (C. J.) Versuch eines allgemeine Gesangbuchs.
Curze's Gesch. des Kirchengesangs.
Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus. (A great collection, in five volumes, of hymns in common use in the 16th century.)
Gebseri Bibliotheca Lat. veterum poetarum christianorum.
Gerbert, de Cantu et musica sacra, a prima eccles. ætate, usque ad presens tempus. 1774.
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Moni Hymni Latini medii ævi.
Schurzfleischeri Disputationes. (Hymns of the early Christians.)
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Wetzel's Hymnopolographia.

Belcher's (Jos.) History of hymns.
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Busby's History of church music.
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Holland's Psalmists of Great Britain. (Sketches of 150 hymn writers, previous to 1843.)
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Kreamer's Methodist Hymnology.
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Marsh (Wilmot) on Versions of the Psalms. (From 1250 to 1820. Curious and valuable.)
Mason's (Will.) Historical and crit. Essay.
Miller's Our hymns and their authors.
Neale's (J. M.) Mediæval hymns.
Phelps & Park's Hymns and Choirs. 1845.
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Todd on the Vers. of Sternhold & Hopkins.
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Bellamy's True religion delineated.
Clarke's (David) Sermons.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Clarkson's (David) Sermons.
Crook's (Sam.) Divine characters.
Decoegleton's (C. E.) Sermons.
Duchall's (James) Sermons.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
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Flavel's Touchstone of sincerity.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gregory's (George) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Moral Philosophy.
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Hammond's (Henry) Sermons.
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Hooker's Four Treatises.
Littleton's (Edward) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Parry's (Joshua) Sermons.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sheffield's Hypocrite's Looking-glass.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons. 6th series.
Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Torshell's Hypocrite discovered and cured.
Verschoyle's (H.) Sermons.
Weedon's (James) Sermons.
Welton's (Richard) Sermons.
Whately's (Wm.) God's Husbandry.
Wilcox's (Daniel) Sermons.
Wilson's (Will. C.) Sermons.

Hypostatic Union.
See ARIANS, SABELLIANS.

Bezæ Tractationes Theologicæ.
Boethius de Trinitate.
Botsacci Gymnasium Christologicum.
Bullingeri Adsertis Orthodoxæ.
Cambachius de Persona Christi.
Chemnitii (M.) de Duabus naturis in C.
Gerhardi (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Hutteri (Leonard.) Dissertationes.
Jageri (Ioan. Wolfgang.) Dissertationes.
Lampe, Diss. philologico-theologicæ.
Martini (Matt.) Dissertationes.
Matthæus de Unione personali, &c.
Meisneri (Balthas.) Dissertationes.
Schrœderi (Ioan.) Problema Theologica.
Semleri Adsertio orthod. doctrinæ.
Zanchii (Hieron.) Theses.

Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Fawcett's Reflections on the Trinity.
Fleming's (Robert) Christology.
Howe's (John) Works.
Owen's Mystery of the person of Christ.
Wallis' Letter on the Trinity.

Hyssop. See NAT. HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

Iconoclasts. See COUNCILS—2d OF NICE, AND 4th OF CONSTANTINOPLE—IMAGE WORSHIP.

Danhaveri Iconothetes Chris. Adiaphorus.

Iconoclasts—*continued.*

Iohannes (Damasc.) Opera.
La Fevre, Histoire des Iconoclastes.
Mabilloni Annales Benedictini.
Maimbourg, Histoire des Iconoclastes. ("Full of absurd and malignant fictions."—MOSHEIM.)
Mollani Theses Theologicæ.
Muratori Annali d'Italia.
Spanheimii (Fred.) Hist. imaginum restituta. (A powerful defence, rather than a history.)
Thummii Schultetus Iconoclastes.
Walch's Historie der Kezereien.

Anderson's History of the Iconoclasts.

Iconomachi. See ICONOCLASTS.

Ideas. See BERKELEY'S THEORY, MIND.

Blackwood's Magazine. 51:812. 53:762.
Brown's Procedure of the Understanding.
Cudworth's Intellectual System.
Des Cartes on the Passions.
Dublin University Mag. 7:437,534.
Le Clerc's Logic.
Malebranche's Researches after Truth.
Monboddo's Orig. and prog. of lang. (Queer.)
More's (Henry) Philosophical Works.
Price's Review of Morals.
Stillingfleet's Answer to Locke. (To prove his doct. of ideas to be inconsistent with itself, and with Christianity.)
Taylor's (Tho.) Metaphysics of Aristotle. (Analyses also the doctrine of Plato and Pythagoras, concerning ideas.)

Identity. See PERSONAL IDENTITY.

Identity of the Body in the Resurrection.

Pro.

Canzii (J. G.) Dissertationes.
Cloppenburgii (Ioan.) Dissertationes.
Fechtii Schediasmata Sacra.
Kunadi (And.) Dissertationes.
Opitius de Statu resurgentium.
Wolfii (I.) Dissertationes.

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 10.
Locke on Romans viii. 11.
Moore's Theology.
Watts' (Isaac) Philosophical Essays.

Con.

Alexander's Preliminary Diss. to his paraphrase on 1 Cor. 15.
Felton's (Henry) Sermons.
Newton's (Bp.) Works.
Sykes' Inquiry when the resur. of the body was first inserted in the creed.

Idioms of the New Testament.
See BIBLICAL CRITICISM, DIALECTS, PHILOLOGY, STYLE OF NEW TESTAMENT.

Bockelius de Hebraismis N. T.
Cocceji Stricturæ in Pfochen Diatribe.
Gataker de Stylo Nov. Test. (Vindicates the purity of the Greek text from Pfochen's charge of Hebraisms.)

Idioms of the New Test.—*continued.*

Georgius de Latinismis Nov. Test.
——— Vindic. N. Test. ab Hebraismis.
Glassii Philologia Sacra.
Hermann, de Emendenda ratione gram. Gr.
Hombergii Parerga Sacra.
Leusden de Dialectis N. T. singulatum de ejus Hebraismis.
Pasoris Grammatica Sacra Nov. Test.
Pfocheni Diatriba de ling. N. T. puritate.
Porschebergeri Sententiæ a poetis Græcis, ad illustranda sacræ codicis oracula.
Schultzii (Laurent.) Opera.
Sturtz de Dialecto Alexandrina.
Vorst, de Hebraismis N. Test. comment.
Wachleri Annales Theologicæ.
Wahl, Clavis Nov. Test. philologica.
Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ.

Blackwall's Sacred Classics.
Green's Grammar of the New Testament.
Stuart's Grammar of the N. T. dialect.
Viger's Greek idioms. Translated and abridged by Seager; with notes.
Winer's Greek idioms of the New Testament. Translated by Agnew & Ebbeke.

Idleness. See INDUSTRY.

Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.

Idle Words. See TONGUE.

Christian Examiner. 3:277.
Flavel's Works.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Gouldburn's (Edw. M.) Religious Essays.
Lardner's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Littleton's (Edward) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Vaughn's (Cha. John) Sermons.

Idolatry. See COMMANDMENTS, MYTHOLOGY, PAGANISM, RELIGIONS, SALVATION OF THE HEATHEN.

Basil, Homiliæ.
Chrysostom, Opera.
Cyril Alex., Opera.
Lactantius, Divinæ Institutiones.
Augustine, de Civitate Dei.
Tertullian, Apologeticus adv. Gentes.
——— de Gentium diis.
Cyprian, de Idolorum vanitate.

Aberbanel de Idolatriæ speciebus.
Adami (J. C.) Exercitationes.
Brogami Theologia Gentium.
Buddeus (Guil.) de transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum.
Bynckershoeck, de Cultu apud Romanos.
Carpzovii (Ioann. Bened.) Dissertationes.
Constant (Benj.), Polytheisme Romaine.
Doret, Histoire de la philosophie payenne.
Dulaure, des Cultes qui ont precédé l'Idol.
Ficini Theologia Platonica.
Herbert (Ed.) de Relig. Gentilium, errorumque causis.

Idolatry—*continued.*

Jurieu, Dogmes et cultes, bon et mauvais.
Maimonides de Idolatria.
Maury, Religion primatif de la Greece.
Mayeri (I. F.) Dissertationes Selectæ.
Millii (D.) Dissertationes.
Mori Inquisitio in mysterium iniquitatis.
Mourques, Theol. du Pythagorisme.
Pfanneri Syst. theol. Gentilis purioris.
Pici Examen vanitatis Gentium.
Plutarch, de Iside et Oside.
Rogers' der Offen Thur zu dem Vorborgenen Heidenthum.
Saubertus de Sacrificiis veterum.
Schmidt's Religionssystemen des Orients.
Schmitt (H. J.), Grundidee des Mythus.
Seldenus de diis Syriis. (Truly great.)
Steuchi (Aug.) Opera.
Turretini Institutiones Theologiæ.
Van Dale, de Origine et progressu idol.
Viret, de Origine vet. et nov. idolatriæ. (A strong plea against Popery.)
Voetii Disputationes Selectæ.
Vossius (E. J.) de Idolatriæ origine ac progressu. (A work which can never be obsolete.)
Wichmanshausenii Dissertationes. (gods of Babylon.)
Zend-avista. *Which see.*

Ainsworth's Arrow against Idolatry.
Apthorpe (East) on the Prevalence, &c.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barker's (John) Sermons.
Bellamy's True religion delineated.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Buchanan's Asiatic Researches.
Calmet's Idolatry of the Jews in the wilderness.
Calvin's (John) Sermons.
Casaubon's Origin of Idolat. and Heresies.
Cherburg's Religion of the Gentiles.
Christie on the Worship of the elements.
Cudworth's Intellectual System.
Cunningham's Christianity in Judea.
Doddridge's Lectures.
Erskine's (Eben.) Discourses.
Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry.
——— on the Mysteries of the Cabiri.
Farmer's Worship of human spirits.
Fell's Idolatry of Greece and Rome.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles.
Grove's Moral Philosophy.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
Johnson's (John) Sermons.
Jones' (Sir William) Works.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Jurieu's Doctrine and Worship from Adam to Christ. (Gives an account of all the Idolatries which affected Jewish worship.)
Kames' History of man.
Law's (Bp.) Theory of Religion.
Leland's Advant. and necess. of Revelation.
Lindsey on Christian idolatry.
Marshman's Confucius.
Mehegan's Origin and progress of Idolatry.

Idolatry—*continued.*

Millar's Overthrow of Paganism.
Moore's Hindu Pantheon.
Moore's (Dr. Henry) Philosophical works.
Newton's Messiah.
Prideaux's Connection of the O. and N. T.
Saurin's Sermons.
Shuckford's Connect. of sac. and prof. hist.
Tennison's Nature, cause, commencement, and progress of idolatry, and its distinction from superstition. (Reviews its practice by Gentiles, Jews, Mahometans, Socinians, and Romanists.)
Tertullian's Defence of Christians. Translated by H. Brown.
Tennant's Thoughts on British Government in India. (Valuable for facts.)
Tholuck's Nature and moral influence of I.
Wake's (Abp.) Discourses.
Warburton's Divine Legation. Book 4.
Watts' Strength and weakness of human reason.
Wisheart's (George) Sermons.
Young's Idolatrous corruptions of religion, and the method of Providence in reforming them, from the beginning of the world.

Idolatry of the Church of Rome. See IMAGE WORSHIP, INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

Balduini (Frider.) Speculum idolat. papalis.
Dallæi (Ioan.) Disputationes.
Heerbrandi (Iacob.) Dissertationes.
Hœpfnerus de Idolatria Antichristi.
Lyserus de Pudenda pontificior. idolatria.
Mayeri (Io. Frider.) Dissertationes.
Rainoldus de Romanæ Ecclesiæ idolatria.
Rechenberg de Idolatria in Rom. eccl.
Sirici Ostensio abominat. papatus.
——— Idolum papale.
Thummii (Theod.) Disputationes.
Viret, Idolatria vet. et nova.

Mayhew's (Dr. Jonathan) Sermons.
Mede's (Jos.) Gentile theology revived.
More's (Henry) Disc. on Papal Idolatry.
Princeton Review. 26:147.
Stillingfleet's Idolatry of the Ch. of Rome.
——— Defence of Do.
Thelwall's Idolatry of the Church of Rome.
Wake's (Abp.) Discourses.

Ignatius. See LOYOLA.

Ignatii Epistolæ. (Edition of Cureton, 1849, is most esteemed.)
Arndt's Studien und Critiken.
Cottelerii Syntagma dissert. theologic.
Crucigeri Acta Martyrum.
Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. (Gives an account of the controversy touching the genuineness of the Epistles.)
Grabii Spicilegium S. S. patrum.
Oudini (Casimer.) Dissertationes.
Pearsoni (Io.) Dissertationes.
Ruinarti Actæ primorum martyrum.
Surii Vitæ sanctorum.

Ignatius—*continued.*

Tillemont, Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'eglise.
Usseri Dissertationes.

Bennet's (Benjamin) Discourses.
Bonhour's Life of Ignatius.
Bunsen's Ignatius and his times.
Burton's Eccl. hist. of the 2d and 3d cent.
Calder's Epistles of Ignatius.
Chevalier's Trans. of the Epistles of I.
Christian Month. Spect. 5:393.
Christian Observer. 2:129,526.
Clementson's Trans. of the Epistles of I.
Cockburn on the Epistles of Ignatius.
Cureton's Complete collection of the Ignatian epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious; with quotations from them by eccles. writers, Syriac, Greek, Ethiopic, and Latin; with English translation, notes, introductions, &c.
Edinburg Review. 90:82,155.
Hammond on the Epistles of Ignatius.
Killen's Hist., Doct., worship, and const. of the ancient church. (Regards the Epistles as spurious.)
Kitto's Journal. 5:339.
Lardner's Credibility of the gospel history.
New Englander. 7:501.
New York Review. 1:367.
Princeton Review. 21:379.
Quart. Review. 88:69.
Smith's Epistles of Ignatius.
Tracts for the Times. ("Records of the Church.")
Wake's Epistles of the Fathers.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity revived. (Contains the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Apostolical constitutions; and an essay on each.)

See a list of all the editions of the Epistles of Ignatius in DUPIN, *Bibliotheque des auteurs ecclesiastiques.*

Ignorance. See SINS OF IGNORANCE.

Butler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Proposition 10.
Foster's (John) Essays.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
Rennel's (Thomas) Sermons.
Reynerd's Sermons. (Secret faults.)

Illustrations of Scripture. See COINS, GEOGRAPHY, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

Calovii Biblia illustrata.
Celsii (Olaus.) Dissertationes.
Dieterici Illustramentum N. Test.
Goerii Antiquitates Mosaicæ.
Hartmann's Aufklärungen über Asien.
Hilleri Hierophyticon.
Lamy, Apparatus Biblicus.
Martin, Explications de textes difficile.
Mey, Physiologia Sacra.
Millii Dissertationes Selectæ.

Illustrations of Scripture—*continued.*

Perezonii Origines Babylonicæ et Egypt.
Rosenmüller's Morgenland.
Schæchi Sacrorum Ebræochrismaton.
Tohren (Konrad) Dissertationes.
Valesius de Philosophia Sacra.
Warlitz de Moribus Biblicis.
Witsii Miscellanea Sacra.

Burder's (Sam.) Oriental customs.
Bush's (Geo.) Illustrations, &c.
Callaway's Oriental collection.
Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible.
Carpenter's Scripture difficulties examined.
Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece, &c.
Christian Disciple. 1:13,53,80. 2:13,229,291, 235. 3:39,78,100,163,207,262,324. 6:356.
Clarke's Travels in Europe, Asia, &c.
Corbett's Oriental Key to the Scriptures.
Fowler's Eastern Mirror. (A compilation from Harmer and others.)
Fuller's (T.) Pisgah sight of Palestine.
Goadby's Illus. of S. S. Plates. 6 v., folio.
Goodell's Old and New; or 30 years in the East.
Guilford's Oriental and Jewish Antiquities.
Hacket's Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a tour through the Holy land. 1853.
Harmer's Observations.
Jamieson's (Robt.) Eastern Manners.
Jones' Scripture Antiquities.
King's (Edward) Morsels of Criticism.
Kitto's Bible illustrations.
——— Journ. of Sac. Lit. 2:101. 3:309. 4:46.
Latrobe's Scripture Illustrations.
Lobo's Voyages to Abyssinia. 1670.
Malcom's Travels in S. Eastern Asia. 1839.
Maundrel's Journey to Jerusalem, &c. 1697.
Methodist Quarterly Review. 3:325.
Morier's Journey through Persia, &c. 1816.
Murray's (John) Truth of S. S. demonstrated from monuments, gems, coins, &c. Plates.
Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia. 1767.
Norden's Travels in Egypt & Nubia. 1735.
Paxton's Illustrations of Holy Scripture.
Pococke's Observations in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. 1743.
Roberts' (Jos.) Illustrations of Scr. (From customs, traditions, &c., of the Hindus.)
Robinson's Biblical Researches.
Shaw's Travels in the Levant. 1740.
Taylor's Illustrations and Confirmations of the Bible, from the monuments of Egypt. Plates.
Thompson's The Land and the Book.
Thrup's Ancient Jerusalem. A new investigation into the history, topography, and plan of the city, environs, and temple. 1845.
Vansittart's Observations on the O. T.
Wait's Jewish and Oriental antiquities.
Wemyss' Job and his times.
——— Symbolical Dictionary.
——— Biblical Gleanings.
West's Dissertations on the Olympic games.
Westminster Review. 37:358. (Egyptian Anaglyphs.)
Wylie's (J.) Ancient prophecy. (Modern Judea compared with ancient prophecy.)

Image of God in Man.

Chemnitii (Martin.) Dissertationes.
Himmelii (Io.) Dissertationes.
Hoepfneri (Henric.) Dissertationes.
Langii (Io. M.) Dissertationes.
Misleri (Io. Nicol.) Dissertationes.
Osiandri (Io. Adam.) Dissertationes.
Schess de Imagine Dei in homine.
Schmidius de Imag. Dei in homine.
Van Velsen de Hominis cum Deo similitud.
Zanchius de Operibus Dei. Cap. III.
Zemannus de Controversia difficilima.

Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 7:409.
Bowdler's (Thomas) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Girdlestone's (E.) Reflected truth.
Glas' (John) Notes on Scripture texts.
Grinfield's (E. W.) Nature and import of the image of God in man. (A Universalist work.)
Marriot's (Charles) Sermons.
Ogden's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Vidal's (Bp.) Sermons.
Weemes' Works. Dissert. 2.

Image Worship. See COUNCILS, II. NICE, ICONOCLASTS, IDOLATRY. OF ROMISH CHURCH.

Alexandri Historia Ecclesiastica.
Allatius de octavâ Synodo Photiana. (This Council ended the controversy, by confirming the new custom.)
Ansaldi Dissert. de Cultu. (One of the latest defences of the custom. 1753.)
Baldwin's Bericht von Bildern Gottes.
Baronii (Jos.) Dissertationes.
Carolus Magnus de impio imaginum cultu.
Chappuzeau, Icones Historicæ Vet. Test. (360 cuts.)
Crellii Ethica.
Daillé de la Creance des Peres.
——— de Cultus Religiosi.
Damasceni Orationes Apologeticæ.
Fechtii Examen Conciliationis inter Lutheranos et Pontificos, &c.
Goldasti Imperialia Decreta, &c.
Hottinger, de Ecc. Orient. et Occ. dissensu.
Hus, de Mysterio Antichristi.
L'Enfant, Preservatif contre la re-union avec la Siege de Rome.
Molinæii Iconomachus.
Pfafii Dissertationes. ("Very able.")
Rivaldi Dissertationes Historicæ.
Schrœderi Apodixis Theologicus.
Schultetus de Imaginibus Idololatricis.
Seligmanni Exercitationes Academicæ.
Spanheimii (Fred.) Exercitationes.
——— Historia Imaginum.
Thummei Schultetus Iconoclastes.
Voetii Disputationes Theolog. selectæ.

Image Worship—*continued.*

Council of Constantinople. *Against.*
Council of Nice (2d). *For.*
Dick's Philosophy of Religion.
Edwards' (Bp.) Body of Divinity.
Evans' (B.) Modern Popery. 1855.
Fletcher's Lectures on the Romish religion.
Geddes' (M.) Miscellaneous Tracts.
Hole on the Catechism.
Hopkins on Do.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works. (Parker Soc. publ.)
King's Inventions in the worship of God.
Limborch's Theology. Bk. 5, Chap. 33.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
More on the Epistles to the seven churches.
Moyle's Posthumous Works.
Owen's (James) Hist. of Image Worship.
Piggott's (Edw.) Sermons.
Powell's (H. T.) Roman fallacies.
Richardson on Pilgrimages in Ireland.
Ridley's (Bp.) Works.
Sarcon's God only to be worshipped.
Soames' Latin Ch. during Anglo-Sax. times.
Stillingfleet's Works.
Tyler (J. E.) on Image Worship.
Wake's (William) Discourses.
Whitby's (Daniel) Works.

See a very large list of writers on this subject in Vogtius, *Catal. libr. med. aetat.* Few of them, however, are now to be found.

Imagination. See MIND.

Démangeon, de l'Imag. considerée dans ses effets sur l'homme et les animaux.

Atkinside's Pleasures of Imagination.
Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful.
Christian Examiner. 52:329.
Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty.
Mason's English Garden.
Price on the Picturesque.
Sôrtain's (Joseph) Sermons. (Province of imagination in religion.)
Spectator. No. 411, et seq.
Wayland's (Francis) Occasional Discourses.

Imitation of Christ.
See EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

Corneille, l'Imitation de Jesus Christ.
Keil, de Examplo Christi recte imitando.
Kempis, de Imitatione Christi.
Schulze's Bewegungsgründe d. Chr. Moral.

Bennet's Lectures on the history of C.
Carter's (T. T.) Series of Lent lectures.
Channing's (William E.) Discourses.
De Burgh's (William) Discourses.
Hill's Wayfarings in Christ.
Kempis' Imitation of Christ.
Law's (E.) Reflections on the life of Chris
Mason's (John) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Great Exemplar.
Williams' Private life of Christ.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

Pro.

Astorga Armamentarium.
Ballerini Sylloge Monumentorum, &c.
Bullarium Magnum Romanorum. (Especially the bulls of Sextus IV., Urban VIII., Clement XI., and Pius IX.)
Codur, de la St. Vierge.
Gousset (Cardinal) Opera.
Lanois, Prescriptiones touchant, &c.
Lezana, Apologia pro imm. conc. Virginis.
Maldonadi Armamentaria Seraphica.
Montalben de Immaculata conceptione.
Passaglia de Immaculata conceptione.
Serranus de Immaculata conceptione.

Con. See DOMINICANS.

Albertus Magnus, super Evangelium.
Alffius de Maria, peccato immuni.
Anselm, Dissertationes.
Bonaventuræ Carmina.
Callixti Im. conceptionis Historia.
Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini.
Echard, Scriptores ord. Prædicatorum.
Kieslingii Testes sistit antiq. eccles.
Laborde, Memoire des Opposants, &c.
Munscher's Kirchen Geschichte.
Passagli de Immaculato conceptu.
Rosenmülleri Observ. ad hist. dogmatis.
Strossa de Conceptione V Mariæ.
Thomæ Aquinatatis Opuscula.
Waddingii Scriptores ordinis Minorum.

Laborde's (Abbe) Impossibility of the immaculate conception as an article of faith. Translated by Coxe.
Tyler on Image worship.

A small volume would be requisite to enumerate the extant works on this useless subject.

Immateriality of the Soul.
See MATERIALISM.

Immensity of God. See ATTRIBUTES.

Limborch, Theol. Christiana. Lib. II., c. 6.
Turretini Theologia Elenctica.

Doddridge's (Philip) Lectures.
Foster's (James) Discourses.
Howe's Works.
Locke on the Understanding.
Watts' Ontology.

Immortality of the Soul. See SOUL.

Ambrose, de Dignitate humane conditioni.
Augustine, de Anima.

Bengelii (E. G.) Dissertationes.
Blasche's Unsterblichkeitslehre.
Brocke's Materie und Geist.
Bruno (Ant.), Entelechia.
Camphoræ Dialogus. (This Genoese book is rare, but is said to be worthy to be printed in letters of gold.)
Cottæ Hist. dogmatis de vita æterna.
Digbæi (Ken.) Demonst. immort. animæ.

Immortality of the Soul—*continued.*

Fichté (I. H.), Idee der Persönlichkeit.
Horn's (G.) Ewigkeit der Seele.
Houppelande, de Anima. (A collection of extracts from ancient philosophers, poets, and Christian Fathers.)
Iohannsenii Veterum Hebr. notiones de rebus post mortem.
Kant's Kritik der praktischen Vernunft.
Kiesselbach, de Rebus post mortem.
Lange (J. J.), Dissertationes.
Mendelssohn's Phaedon.
Naumann's Unsterblichkeit der Seele.
Olearii (J. G.) Dissertationes.
Osiandri (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Paulus' (C. H. E.) Unsterbl. der Seele.
Pomponatus de Immort. animi. (Denies.)
Sismondi Demonstratio de immort., &c.
Strauss' Dogmatik.
Turrettini Dissertationes. Diss. XII.
Wall (A. R.) Psychotheologia.
Wielandi Euthanasia.

Alling's (Tho.) Folly of modern Atheism.
Amer. Bib. Repos. 2d Series. 10:411. 12:294.
Amory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Appleton's Works. Lectures 9 and 10.
Ashton (W.) on the Soul and a future state.
Bakewell's Evidence of a future state from the properties of matter.
Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Bates' (William) Works.
Baxter (Andrew) on the Nature of the Soul. (Profound and clear.)
Bayle's Histor. Dictionary. Art. "Pereira."
Blackmore's (Sir Richard) Essays.
Boyle Lectures.
Boyle's Physico-theological considerations about the reconcileableness of reason and religion.
Broughton's (John) Psychology.
Brown's Philos. of the mind. Lect. 96.
Bryant's Attractions of the world to come.
Burlemaqui on the Soul.
Butler's Analogy of religion and nature.
Calvin (John) on the Soul.
Charleton's Immortality of the soul proved by the light of nature.
Chishull's Heresy of Mr. Dodwell.
Christian Examiner. 3:365. 40:349.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 8:556.
Cicero on the Imm. of the soul. (A trans. by Chace of all the allusions to this subject, in Cicero's writings.)
Clark's (S.) Letters to Dodwell.
Collier (Jer.) on the Human soul.
Craven's (Wm.) Sermons.
Crombie's Natural Theology.
Davis' True dignity of human nature.
Democratic Review. 22:59,124,225.
Digby (Sir K.) on Man's soul.
Dod's Immortality triumphant.
Dodwell's Proof from Scripture and the first Fathers that the soul is naturally mortal, but that immortality is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Immortality of the Soul—*continued.*

Doddridge's Lectures. Part 4.
Drew on the Immortality of the soul.
Drysdale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Duncan's (John) Evidences from reason, independent of abstruse enquiries into the nature of matter and spirit.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 26:338.
Fiddes' Doctrine of a future state.
Flavel on the Soul.
Flügge's Hist. of the belief of the imm., &c.
Foster's (John) Works.
Franzen's Critical history of the doctrine.
Frazier's Magazine. 13:694.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons. (5 on this subj.)
Gill's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Gray on the Immortality, &c.
Groves' Essay toward a demonstration, &c.
Hallet's (Joseph) Works. (A learned Arian, who takes the same view as Dodwell on this subject.)
Hartly on Man.
Hinton's (J. Howard) Euthanasia.
Jackson on Matter and Spirit.
Keach's (Benj.) French impostor detected.
Kuhnhardt's Comm. on the Phædo of Plato.
Layton's (H.) Search after souls. (Gives the opinions of many writers, ancient and modern.)
Leighton's (Abp.) Lectures. Lect. 5.
Locke on the Understanding.
Mattison (H.) on the I. of the soul.
Mede's Apology of the latter times.
Miller's (T.) Immortality of the soul.
Mills' Natural immortality of the soul.
Moore's (Bp.) Sermons.
Morehead's (Robert) Discourses.
New Englander. 11:362.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
Norris on the Soul. (Reply to Dodwell.)
Parker's (Benj.) Philos. Dissertations.
Pitt's Defence of Mr. Chishull.
Plato's Phædo. Trans. by C. S. Stanford.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Reynolds (Bp.) on the Soul.
Sherlock's (Dean) Discourses.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Spectator. No. 111.
Tenneman's Doct. of the Socratic School.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Towns' Opinions of the ancient philosophers. (Preface by Warburton.)
Turner's Justice done to human souls. (Reply to Dodwell.)
Vaughn's (J.) Lectures. Lect. 10.
Vizard's Principles in philos. and religion.
Wadsworth's Immortality of the soul.
Watts' (I.) Ontology.
Whitby's Reflections on some opinions of Mr. Dodwell.

For other such books see Wm. Gowan's *Cat. of books on the immortality of the soul*. Flugge's *Himmel der Zukunft*, and Doring's *Euthanasia*

Immutability of God.

Gerardi Loci Theologici.
Sherzeri Systema Theologiæ.

Abernethy's (John) Discourses.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Backiller's Select. from Mornay and others.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Dwight's Theology. Disc. 5.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Price on Providence.
Saurin's Sermons.
Stackhouse's Body of Divinity.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Watts' Ontology.
Wilkins on Natural religion.

Impenitence. See HARDNESS OF HEART.

Imposition of Hands.
See CONFIRMATION, ORDINATION.

Spanheimii (Frider.) Miscellanea.

Clarke's (Sam.) Annot. (On Matt. xix. 15.)
Firmin's Weighty questions discussed.
Frere's Doct. of the imposition of hands.
Fuller's (Andrew) Works.
Haldane (J. A.) on Social worship.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
Hammond's (Henry) Works.
King's Primitive Church.
Maurice on Social Religion.
Turner on Church Government.
Watts' Rational foundation of a church.
Woolton (Bp.) on the Soul.

Imprecations in the Psalms.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:97. 13:551. 19:165.
Christian Monthly Spect. 8:630.
Colman's (Benj.) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 6, Prop. 120.
Jackson's Truth of Scripture.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Lowth on Inspiration.
Peters' (Cha.) Sermons. (On the 109th Ps.)

Improvement of Mankind.
See CIVILIZATION, HUMAN PROGRESS, PERFECTABILITY OF MAN.

Imputation of Adam's Sin.
See FALL, ORIGINAL SIN.

Carpzovii (Iacob.) de Imputatione. (Against Whitby.)
Garisolii Defensio Synodi Carentoniensis.
Kahleri (Wigand.) Disputationes.
Musæi (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Pfaffii (C. M.) Dissertationes.
Placæus de Statu hominis ante gratiam.

Edwards on Orig. Sin. (Reply to Whitby.)
Glas' (John) Notes on Scripture texts.
Sandeman's Letters.
Watts' Ruin and recovery.
Whitby on the Imputation of Adam's sin.

Imputation of Christ's Righteousness. See JUSTIFICATION, SUBSTITUTION.

Allix (P.) de Justitiæ Christi imputatione.

Imputation—*continued.*

Bernholdus de Justitiæ Christi imputatione.
Bullii Harmonia Apostolica.
Hoepfneri Disputationes duodecim.
Holdeni Divinæ fidei Analysis.
Schmidtius (Iacob.) de Justificatione.

Baxter's End of the controversy.
——— Various pieces on this subject.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 8:594.
Bull's Harmony of the Apostles.
Burgess' True doctrine of Justification.
Burnet's (Tho.) Boyle Lectures. 1724, 1725.
Burton's Christian Bulwark.
Chandler's (Sam.) Posthumous sermons.
Cole (Tho.) on Imputed Righteousness.
Edwards' (Pres.) on Original sin.
Erskine's (Ebenezer) Sermons.
Fuller (And.) on Sandemanianism.
——— Dial. bet. Peter, James, and John.
Gataker's Way of Truth and Peace.
Goodwin's (T.) Restoration of Man.
Grove's Posthumous works.
Hall's (Robt., Sen.) Help to Zion's travellers. (Small, but very precious.)
Hall's (Robt.) Sermons.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio.
Knight's (Titus) Sermons.
Malcom (Howard) on the Extent of the Atonement.
Nelson's Review of Bp. Bull.
Owen (Jno.) on Justification by faith.
——— Meditations and Discourses.
Princeton Review. 11:553.
Ricoulton on the Spirit and tendency of Theoron and Aspasio.
Romaine's (W.) Works.
Sandeman's Letters on Theoron and Aspas.
Saurin's (James) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jeremy) Sermons. (Supplement.)
Theol. Essays reprinted from the Princeton Review.
Tyson (Wm.) on Imputed righteousness.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Watts' Ruin and Recovery.
Wesley (John) on Imputed righteousness.
Whateley's (Richard) Essays. Ess. 6.
Witherspoon's Essays.

A controversy, prolific in books, has existed on this subject for two centuries. A fair account of it is in NELSON'S *Life of Bull.*

Incantations. See MAGIC.

Incarnation of Christ.
See GENUINENESS OF 1 JOHN V. 7.

Cyrill Alex., de Incarnatione.
Cyrill Hieros., Catecheses.
Gregory Naz., Oratio in nativitatem Christi.
Gregory Nys., Oratio de deitate filii.

Baumgarten, Vind. vocis Θεος, 1 Tim. iii. 16.
Calmeti Diss. (Prefixed to Com. on Isaiah.)
Danæi Confirmatio orthodoxæ doctrinæ.
Gaillardi Specimen Questionum.
Hackspanii (Theod.) Disputat. Theologicæ.

Incarnation of Christ—*continued.*

Martinus de Natura Jesu Christi.
Schmidtii (Sebast.) Dissertationes.
Schomeri (I. C.) Dissertationes.
Spanheimii (Fred.) Dissertationes.
Zanchius de Incarnatione filii Dei.
Zornii Delineatio Theol. Patristicæ.

Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Balmer's (Robt.) Academic Lectures.
Bedford's Moyer Lectures. 1739.
Benson's (Joseph) Sermons.
Berriman's Critical Dissertations.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Biblical Repository. Jan., 1832.
Bradbury's Mystery of Godliness.
Brownson's Quarterly Review. 2d Series. 4:136. 5:137. 6:287.
Bull's Defence of the Nicene creed.
Butler's (William A.) Sermons.
Casaubon's Dissertations.
Caswall's (E.) Sermons.
Church Review. 4:428.
Dimock's (Henry) Eight Sermons.
Dow's (William) Sermons.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 42.
Eaton's Mystery of God incarnate.
Edwards (Pres.) on Redemption.
Foster's (John) Sermons.
Hacket's (Bp.) Sermons. (15 on this subj.)
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
——— Contemplations.
Harris' (Dr. John) Critical Dissertations.
Hewitt's Points of Christian Doctrine.
Hodgson's Summary of corroborating evid.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Hooper's (Bp.) Works. (Parker Soc. publ.)
Horseley's Sermons and Tracts.
Irving's (Edward) Sermons.
Jamieson's Sacred History.
Kidder on the Messiah.
Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Lardner's Works.
Law's (Wm.) Theory of Religion.
Le Bas' (Cha. W.) Sermons.
Magee on the Atonement.
Mandell's (William) Sermons.
Meldrum's Illustration of the Incarnation.
Methodist Quart. Rev. 11:114.
Moyer Lectures. 1737 and 1738.
Neal's Berry Street Sermons.
Owen on the Person of Christ.
Pearson on the Creed.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Sumner's (Bp.) Sermons.
[Taylor's] Apology of Ben Mordecai.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Trench's (Francis) Sermons.
Usher's Mystery of the Incarnation.
Velthusen's True reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16.
Watson's (Bp.) Collection of tracts.
Watts' (Isaac) Works.
Wilberforce (R. I.) on the Incarnation.
Williams' (Griffith) Sermons.
Witsius on the Covenants.

Incest. See CONSANGUINITY, MARRIAGE TO A WIFE'S SISTER.

Hottingeri (J. H.) Discursus Gemaricus.

Amer. Bibl. Repository. 8:423.
Fry on Marriage between kindred.
Glas' (John) Works.
Livingston on Incestuous marriages.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Ryan's Philosophy of marriage.

Incomprehensibility of God.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
[Brown's] Things divine and supernatural.
Caryll on Job. Ch. 27., v. 25.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 46.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Hussey's (Christopher) Sermons.
King (Abp.) on Predestination.
Law's Notes on King's Origin of evil.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Wishcart's (George) Sermons.

Inconstancy. See CONSTANCY.

Incredulity. See INFIDELITY, UNBELIEF.

Indecision. See DECISION, INSTABILITY, PROCRASTINATION.

Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Barnes' (Albert) Practical sermons.
Cecil's (Richard) Sermons.
Chishul On Being almost a Christian.
Clarke's Nature and cause of irresolution.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
Dealtry's (William) Sermons.
Denham's (John E.) Sermons.
Doddridge's (Philip) Sermons.
Edwards' (Pres.) Sermons. (Lot's wife.)
Fuller's (And.) Sermons.
Hickman's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
Horberry's (M.) Sermons.
Knowles' (Thomas) Discourses.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Smith's (Henry) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Trapp's Preservative agt. unsettled notions.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Yonge's (James) Sermons. Second Series.

Independence of God.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Clarke's (Sam.) Boyle Lectures. 1704.
Collibeare's Theological Treatises.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 2, prop. 37.
Dwight's (Tim.) Discourses.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Emmons' (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Grotius' Truth of the Christian religion.

Independents. See CONGREGATIONALISM.

Indexes Expurgatory and Prohibitory.

Brasichelleni Index libri expurgandorum. (Mendham's description of this remarkable book occupies 16 pages.)
France, de Papistorum indicibus libr. prohib. et expurgandorum. (Gives the author, occasion, contents, &c., and is all sufficient up to the date of its publication. 1684.)
Hannot, Index des princip. livres, &c. 1714.
Mendhami Index libri prohibitorum.
Peignot, Dict. critique et bibliographique, des livres condamné au feu, supprimés ou censurés. 1806.
Quirogæ Index libr. expurgandorum. 1583.
Soto-majoris Index libr. prohib. et expurg. ("As valuable as any."—MENDHAM.)

Gibbings' Exact reprint of the Vatican Index, &c. ·1837.
Mendham's Account of the various Indexes; with extracts, anecdotes, and remarks. 1826.
——— Touching books since Sextus V. 1835.
Taylor's (Jer.) Polemic Discourses.

Books of this class are numerous, and of some of them there are various editions. The above are sufficient. The Papal church circulates its "indexes" with much reserve; and they are not generally obtainable by Protestants. They furnish a ready and complete reference to every book, chapter, or page, where anti-Papal sentiments may be found; a knowledge which no opponent could otherwise obtain. An original and complete enumeration of the Indexes previous to 1560, is given by VERGERIUS, *Catalogus Haereticorum.* The work of MENDHAM, however, is amply sufficient for most purposes.

Indexes to the Bible. See ANALYSES.

Indifference.

Amyraldi Traité des religions.
Haberkornii Admonitio.
Lamennais [or Mennais], sur l'Indifference en matiére de religion.
Pictet, contre l'Indifference, &c.

Foster's (John) Essays.
Froude's (Rich. H.) Sermons.
Gerard on Indifference to religious truth.
Gray on Indifference to religion.
Horneck's Antidote against Indifference.
Squier's Indif, to religion inexcusable.
Young's (Dr. Edward, Sen.) Sermons.

Indifferentists.

Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie.
Calovii Syntagma.
Fechtii Examen novæ theologiæ.
Flacii (Matt.) Opuscula.
Gerdes' Beschæmter Indifferentist.
Grevii Memoria.
Koch's Abgewiesener Indifferentist.
Loescheri Antilatitudinius.
Melancthonis Opera.
Musæi Prelectiones.
Quistorpii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Voetii Dissertationes Selectæ.

Indolence. See SLOTH

Individual Effort.
See LAY PREACHING.

Allen's Our Home population.
[Campbell's (J.)] Jethro. Prize essay. 1839. (Treats the subject historically and Scripturally.)
Crompton's Agency of the Church.
Fish's Primitive piety revived. Ch. 6.
Hinton's (John Howard) Works.
Malcom's (H.) Evangelism the individual and universal duty of Christians.
Presbyterian Magazine. 1:137.

Indulgences. See COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Amortius de Origine, progressu, ac valore indulgentium.
Bertling's Unterricht v. Päbstisch Jubeljahr.
Capetis (J.) de Indulgentiis.
Hirscher's Ansichten von dem Jubiläum. (Papal.)
Hunnii (A.) Dissertationes.
Hussius de Indulgentiis.
Lutheri Opera.
Lyseri (Polycarp.) Dissertationes.
Sutlivius de Indulgentiis.
Thiers (J. B.) Traité des indulg. (Papal.)
Thummii (Theod.) Dissertationes.

Bennett's (W. J. E.) Lecture Sermons.
Billingsley's (John) Sermons.
Geddes' (M.) Miscellaneous Tracts.
Jerram's (Charles) Lectures.
Mendham's Venality of Rome.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Vol. 6.
Protestant Advocate. Periodical.
Protestant Herald. Periodical.
Reading on the Principal points, &c.
Staveley's Horseleech.
Stevenson's Discourses on the Catholic Ch. (A compilation from Secker and others.)

Innumerable treatises on this subject were published in the first stages of the Reformation, and many since. See lists of them in ALLEGAMBE, *Biblioth. Scriptor. Soc. Jes.*; LILLIANTHAL, *der Theolog. Biblioth.*; and VOGTIUS, *Catal. libror. varior.*

Industry. See REDEEMING TIME.

Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Banfield's (T. C.) Sermons.
Barnard's (Thomas) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Bisset's (Thomas) Sermons.
Butcher's (Edward) Sermons.
Calthrop's (John) Parochial Sermons.

Industry—*continued.*

Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Dodd's (William) Sermons.
Dwight's (Timothy) Discourses. Disc. 122.
Dyke's (Oswald) Sermons.
Edwards' (John) Sermons.
Enfield's (W.) Sermons.
Fothergill's (George) Sermons.
Franklin's (Bp.) Sermons.
Froude's (Richard) Sermons.
Granger's (James) Sermons.
Guise's (John) Sermons.
Hill's (John) Sermons.
Humphreys' (John) Sermons.
Jay's (William) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Knowles' (Thomas) Family Sermons.
Manton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Markland's (Abraham) Sermons.
Marriot's (Harvey) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Oakley's (Fred.) Sermons.
Patterson's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. (On the 8th commandment.)
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Thompson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued.
Waples' (Edward) Sermons.
Waters' (Edward) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Evils that are in the world.

Indwelling Sin. See SECRET FAULTS.

Baxter's (Richard) Practical Works.
Edwards' (Dr. J., of Oxford) Doctrine of sin.
Owen's (John) Works.
Taylor's (Jeremy) Works.
Whitby's Full answer to Dr. Edwards.

Inequalities of Human Condition.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Balle's (Nic. E.) Select sermons.
Butler's Analogy of religion and nature.
Byllsby's Sources of unequal wealth.
Conant's (John) Sermons.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 89.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
Heywood on Distinctions in Society under the Anglo-Saxon government.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Lawson's (John) Sermons.
Miller's Distinction of ranks in society.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Newton's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Pyle's (Thomas) Sermons.
Rees' (Abraham) Sermons.
Rosseau's Origin of the inequality, &c.
Saurin's Sermons.
Scott's Christian life.
Skeeler's (Thomas) Sermons.
White's (Thomas) Sermons.
Wilkins' Nature of religion.
Young's (Bp.) Sermons.

Infallibility of the Pope.

Brochmandus de Pontifice Romano.
Cranmer, contra Primatum Papæ.
Gaultheri Problemata.
Illyrici Opera.
Lubberti Opera.
Newmani (Io. Georg.) Dissertationes.
Stillingfleet, Opera varia.
Van Till, de Petro non Pontifice.

Billingsley's Sermons.
Bray on Papal usurpation.
James' (King) Pope's supremacy confuted.
James' (Tho.) Bellum Papale. (A tremendous blow. He adduces over 2,000 variations between the "infallible" editions of the Vulgate of Sextus V., and that of Clement VIII.)
Keary's Hist. Review of Papal infallibility.
Luther's Works.
Mathias' Popery not Catholicism.
Robins' (S.) Services of the Roman Church.
Sermons at Cripplegate.
Stillingfleet's Protestant grounds of faith.
Todd's (Jas.) Search after infallibility.

This topic is amply discussed in some of the works named under Popery. It is not likely to be renewed.

Infant Baptism. See ABRAHAMIC COVENANT, BAPTISMAL REGENERATION, FAITH OF INFANTS, INFANT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

Pro.

Augustine, de Baptismo.

Bucer (Mart,), de Baptismate infantium.
Cassander de Baptismo infantium.
Edzard's Nothwehr für die kindertaufe.
Grotii Baptizatorum Pueror. Institutio.
Harduin de Baptismo.
Hoornbeckii (Ioann.) Disputationes.
Hulsemanni Fides salvifica infantum.
——— de Fide infantum actualli.
Lange's Kindertaufe in d. evang. Kirche.
Melancthonis Refutatio erroris Serveti.
Plitt's Kindertaufe in der H. Scripturen und in ersten Kirche.
Salmasius Dissertatio de pædobaptismo.
Savage, Questiones Theologicæ.
——— Defensio, &c. (Contra J. Tombes.)
Scarella, de Baptism. infantium in utero.
Slotanus da Baptismo parvulorum.
Stier's Taufe und Kindertaufe.
Van Mastricht, de Susceptoribus infantium ex baptismo.
Voralei de Abortivorum baptismo.
Vossii (Gerard.) Disputationes.
Walchii Diss. de fide infantum in utero.
——— Hist. pædobap. quatuor priorum sæculorum.
Wallis, de Pædobaptismo.
Wardumus de Vi et Efficacia, etc.
Winkler's Beweis der Kindertaufe.

Infant Baptism—*continued.*

Pro.

Adams' (Wm.) Mercy to babes.
Addington's Reasons for baptizing infants.
Armstrong's (G. D.) Doctrine of baptisms.
Arnauld's Subversion of morality.
Asheton's Conference with an Anabaptist.
Bailey's Antidote against Anabaptism.
Bakewell's Defence of infant baptism.
Barlow's (Bp.) Letter to Mr. Tombes.
Baxter's State of Christian infants.
——— Infant baptism and church membership. (Against Tombes.)
Bibliotheca Sacra. 14:54.
Bickersteth on Baptism.
Biddulph's (Tho.) Seal of the Covenant.
Bingham's Antiquities of the Church.
Blake on the Covenants.
Bostwick on the Right of infants, &c.
Bottomly's Short plea for infant baptism.
Bowden's Covenant right of infants.
Breckel's Pædobaptism examined.
——— Defence of Do.
Brinsley's (William) Discourses.
Brownlee on the Mode and Subjects.
Budd's Infant baptism the means of national reformation.
Bullinger on the Baptism of Children.
Carter's Strictures on Infant baptism.
——— Reviewer reviewed. Ans. to Richards.
Cassel's (J.) Lectures.
Chapman (W.) on Infant baptism.
Christian Observer. 28:323.
Clarke's (P.) Divine right of infant baptism.
Clarke's (Dr. Sam.) Exp. of the catechism.
Cleaveland's Infant baptism from heaven.
Cotton's (John) The end of the baptism of the children of the faithful.
Cook's Answer to a treatise entitled "The vanity of childish baptism."
Craig's Arraignment of Anabaptism.
Cummings' (Dr. John) Baptismal font.
D'Assigney's Antidote against Errors.
——— Anabaptism unmasked.
Davis' Right of infants to baptism.
Dehon's (Dr. T.) Sermons.
Dodwell's Soul naturally mortal, but immortalized by the baptismal spirit which none but Bishops can impart.
Donaldson on Baptism.
Dorrington's Vind. of the Christian Church.
Douglass (R.) on Infant baptism.
Edwards' (Peter) Candid reasons, &c.
Exall's (Joshua) Serious Enquiry.
Finley's Plea for the speechless.
——— Vindication of Do.
Firmint's Weighty questions discussed.
Fish (Elisha) on Infant baptism.
Fleming's (Caleb) Plea for infants.
——— Appendix to Do.
Floyd's Essays to restore the dipping of infants.
Ford's (S.) Practical use of infant baptism.
Frith's Declaration of baptism.
Fuller's Infant's Advocate.

Infant Baptism—*continued.*

Pro.

Garner's Primitive Baptism.
Gerrie's Vindication of infant baptism.
Goode's Doctrine of the Church of England as to the effect of infant baptism.
Graves' (Rich.) Infant baptism vindicated.
Hall's (Thomas) Font guarded.
——— Words to T. Collier and J. Tombes.
Halley's Congregational Lectures.
——— Bap. the designation of catechumens.
Hammond on Infant baptism.
Harrison (Michael) on Infant baptism.
Hewerdine's Plain letters on baptism.
Hibbard (F. G.) on Infant baptism.
Hicks' Case of infant baptism.
Hitchins' Infant's cause pleaded.
Hoare on the Baptism of infants.
Hodges' Infant baptism tested by Scripture.
Holmes' Animadversions on Mr. Tombes.
Horne (John) on Infant baptism.
Horsey on Infant baptism.
Hussey's Examination. (Ans. to Tombes.)
Inglis' (Cha.) Essay on infant baptism.
Irving (Edw.) on the Sacrament of Baptism.
Jerram's Conversations on Baptism.
Kidd on Infant baptism.
Kurtz's Necessity of Infant Baptism.
Lewis' Defence of inf. bapt. (Agt. Tombes.)
Littleton's (Lord) Thoughts on inf. baptism.
Lord's (Joseph) Reasons why not Anabaptists plunging, but Infant-believer's baptism should be approved.
Luke's (J. N.) Sermons.
Mareschall's Defence of infant baptism. (Against Tombes.)
Mason's (J. M.) Essays on the Church.
Mather's (Increase) Div. right of inf. bapt.
Menge's Vindiciæ fœderis.
Middleton's (J.) Vindic. of the ord. of Bapt.
——— Second Vindication.
Miller's (Sam.) Infant baptism scriptural and reasonable.
Milligan's Plea for infant baptism.
Mills' Vindication.
Nash's Circumcision and Baptism.
Osgood (David) on Baptism.
Owen's (Rich.) Lawfulness of inf. baptism.
——— Practice of the primitive church.
Pearson's Three plain reasons, &c.
Petto on Inf. bapt. (Reply to Grantham.)
Pierre on Infant baptism.
Priestley's Letter to an Antipædobaptist.
Princeton Review. 29:1,73. 35:622.
Ram on the Baptizing of infants.
Reed's (John) Apology for infant baptism.
Rellie on Baptism.
Robertson's (D.) Parent's Guide.
[Rothwell's] Pædobaptismus vindicatus.
Saltmarsh's Smoke in the temple.
Schaffer on Infant baptism.
Shrewsbury's Infant baptism scriptural.
Stephens' Precepts out of the New Testament for Infant baptism.
Stewart (A.) on Infant baptism.

Infant Baptism—*continued.*

Pro.

Stokes on Infant baptism.
Sydenham's Exercitation on infant baptism.
Taylor's (Cha.) Facts and evidences on B.
Taylor's (Jno.) Covenant of grace.
Taylor (Nath.) on the Baptism of infants.
Towerson's Fourth part of the Catechism.
Towgood's Reasonable service.
Turner's Vindication of infant baptism.
Tyerman on Infant sprinkling.
Walford's Holiness of a Christian child, &c.
Walker's Modest plea for infant baptism.
Wall's History of Infant baptism.
——— Defence of Do.
Wardlaw's (R.) 6 Dissertations.
Webster (S.) on Infant baptism.
Whiston's Prac. of the first 2 centuries.
——— Address to the Baptists.
Whitby's Comm. (Appendix to Mark ii.)
Wills' (O.) Appeal to the Baptists.
——— Infant baptism asserted.
Williams (E.) on Antipædobaptism.
Wilson (Robt.) on Inf. bapt. and immersion.
Woods (James) on Infant baptism.
Woods' (Leonard) Lectures on Inf. baptism.
Wynell's Covenant of free grace.

Con.

Tertullian de Baptismo.

Mehring's Heilige Tauf historie.
Mennonis' (Simon) Opera Theologica.
Montanus (H.) de Vanitate pædobaptismi.
Munzer's Protestation und Entheitung.
Smith (Rich.) de Infantium baptismo.
Tombes' (Io.) Refut. positionis H. Savage.
——— Dissertationes.
Van Dale, Historia Baptismorum.

Anderson's Baptists Justified by Jer. Taylor.
Ashdowne's (Wm.) Theological works.
Baldwin (Thomas) on Baptism.
Blackwood's Storming of Antichrist.
——— Apostolical baptism.
Booth's Pædobaptism examined.
Braidwood's Letters on the grace of God.
Burroughs (Jos.) on Positive Institutions.
Carson's Mode and subjects of baptism.
Chapin's Letters on baptism.
Christian Repository. 1:561.
Collier's Font-guard routed.
Collins (Hercules) on Baptism.
——— Sandy foundation shaken.
Cornwell's Vindication of the commission. (Matthew 28:18,19.)
Cox's (F. A.) Strictures on Greville Ewing, Pres. Dwight, and Ralph Wardlaw.
Crap's (John) Infant baptism.
Dagg (J. L.) on Infant baptism.
Danvers (Henry) on Infant baptism.
Davids' Reply to Priestley.
Dobell on the Baptism and salv. of infants.
Dore's Antipædobaptism and female communion consistent. (Reply to P. Edwards.)
Ellison's (Seacome) Truth Defended.
——— Baptism as instituted of God.

Infant Baptism—*continued.*

Con.

Ewer's (Sam.) Answer to Hitchin.
Exall's Spirit of enquiry assisted.
Fleming (Caleb) on Baptism.
Foote's Letters to Bp. Hoadly.
Gale's Reflections on Wall's hist. of inf. bapt.
Gibbs' Defence of the Baptists.
Gill's Infant B. a part and pillar of popery.
——— Divine right of inf. bapt. examined.
——— Infant baptism an innovation.
——— Apostolic tradition.
——— Reply to Dr. Clarke.
Grantham on Infant baptism.
Hall (Robt.) on Infant baptism.
Hall (Jos.) on the Practice of inf. baptism.
Hobson's Fallacy of infant baptism.
Hoskin on Inf. bapt. (Reply to Brownlee.)
Howell's Evils of infant baptism.
Ives on Infant baptism. (Reply to Rellie.)
Jackson on Infant baptism.
Jenkins' (Jos.) Defence of the Baptists.
——— Inconsistency of infant sprinkling.
——— Reply to De Courcey.
Keach's Infant baptism unlawful.
——— Axe laid to the root. (Reply to Flavel and others.)
——— Rector rectified. (Ans. to Burket.)
——— Counter-antidote. (Ans. to Shute.)
Killingworth's Answer to Towgood.
——— Supplement to the sermons at Salter's Hall.
——— Exam. of the Apostol. constitutions.
Kinghorn's Defence of Infant Baptism its best refutation.
——— Sermons.
Knolly's (Hansard) Flaming fire in Zion. (Reply to Saltmarsh.)
Knott's Principles of the Baptists.
Law on the Abrahamic covenant.
Lay's Light for smoke. (Rep. to Saltmarsh.)
McGregor on Inf. B. (Rep. to Addington.)
McLean's Nature and import of baptism.
Martin's Letters to Rev. John Horsey.
May's Technobaptist.
Morgan's (Abel) Antipedorantism.
——— Antipædorantism defended.
Rees (David) on Infant baptism.
Richards' (W.) Review of Carter's strictures.
——— Serious discourse on baptism.
Richardson's Reply to Featley's "Dipper dipt."
Robinson's (Robt.) History of baptism.
Russell's Vindication of baptized churches.
——— Portsmouth Disputation. 1699.
——— Infant baptism is will-worship. (Answer to Berault.)
Spillman's God's ordinance the saint's privilege.
Stennett on Inf. bapt. (Reply to Russen.)
——— Answer to Addington.
Stovel on Christian Discipleship. (Reply to Halley.)
Tasker's Examination of Stokes' argument.
Taylor's (Dan.) Principal parts of religion.

Infant Baptism—*continued.*

Con.

Taylor's (D.) Strict. on Addington's reasons.
Tombes' (Jno.) Antipædobaptism.
——— Precursor.
——— Various other pieces. (Tombes was a B. D., and a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly. "There were few better disputants."—WOOD.)
Wilson's Scripture Manual.

A large list of ancient Latin and German authors on this subject is given by PFAFFIUS, *Introd. ad hist. theolog. litter.* Part II.

Infant Church-Membership.

Pro.

Baxter (Rich.) on Inf. church-membership.
Biddulph's Seal of the Covenant.
Croly's (G.) Regeneration of infants.
Gregg on Infant church-membership.
Hitchins' Covenant interest of infants.

Though there are scarcely any books on this express point, yet many writers in support of infant baptism take this ground.

Infant Communion.

Pro.

The Fathers generally.

Augusti Archæologia.
Harenbergii Theologia Dogmatica. (Quotes the Fathers largely.)
Meyer de Eucharistia Infantum.
Zornii Hist. Eucharistiæ Infantum.

Chillingworth's (Wm.) Additional discourses.
Peirce (Jas.) on the Ancient practice of giving the Lord's supper to infants.
Priestley's Address to Protestant Dissenters.
Taylor's (Jer.) Worthy communicant.
Waterland's Antiquity of infant communion.

Infant Schools.

Bethune (Mrs. D.) on Infant Schools.
Currie's Principles and pract. of Inf. schools.
Russell (Wm.) on Infant education.

Infants, Salvation of. See BAPTISMAL REGENERATION, FAITH OF INFANTS.

Augustine, de Pœnis parvulorum qui sine baptismo decederunt.
Beaucaire, Traité des enfans mort dans le sein.
Cassander de Baptismo infantium.
——— contra Anabaptismum.
Cœlius, von der Kindertaufe.
Conrius [or Conroy] de fato parvulorum sine baptismo, decedentium.
Florentini Disputationes.
Gueroud, de l'Efficace du baptisme.
Hulsemanni Calvinismus in agone.
——— Fides salvifica infantum.
Sartorii Hist. opinionum de sorte infantum sine baptismate mortuorum.

Beecher's (Lyman) Letters to the editors of the Christian Examiner.

Infants, Salvation of—*continued.*

Bethune's Early lost, early saved.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 18:383.
Bomberger (J. H. A.) on Infant salvation.
Brown's (R.) By-ways of the Bible.
Bruce's (John) Cypress wreath.
Christian Examiner. 4:431. 5:229,310.
Christian Review. 13:334.
Croly's Regeneration of Infants.
Cumming (John) on Infant salvation.
Doddridge's Lectures.
Edwards (Pres.) on Original sin.
Gentleman's Magazine. 9:177.
Gillard on the Salvation of infants.
Grantham's Infant's Advocate.
Harris' (Dr. Wm.) Ground of hope.
Kollock's (S. K.) Sermons.
Prime (Sam. I.) on the Death of children.
Robinson's Claude on the comp. of a sermon.
Rowlatt (David) on the Salvation of infants.
Russell's (David) Works.
Smyth's (Tho.) Solace to bereaved parents.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 1:149.
Toplady on the Scheme of necessity. (Intr.)
Watts' Ruin and Recovery of man.
Williams on the Salvation of infants.

Infidelity. See DEISM.

Callenbergii Comment. de Scepticismo.
Frantz, Briefe an einen Zweifler.
Holwerda, de Veterum Scepticor. sententia.
Meisneri Historia doctrinæ de vero Deo.
Merault, les Apologistes involontaires. (Christianity proved by the observations of Infidels.)
Seligmani Exercitationes Academicæ.
Voetii (Gisbert.) Dissertationes.
Vries, Exercitationes Rationales.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 10:89.
Anderson's Remonstrance. Ag. Bolingbroke.
Auchincloss' Sophistries of Tho. Paine.
Barnes' Certainty of the Christian religion.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons on the Creed.
Baxter's Unreasonableness of Infidelity.
Beecher's (Ly.) Lectures on Scepticism.
Berkeley's Principles of human knowledge.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 15:693.
Bidlake's Bampton Lectures. 1811.
Birk's Difficulties of belief in the creation and fall. (Profound.)
Blake's Infidelity inexcusable.
Bradford's (Sam.) Discourses.
Broughton's Christianity distinct from the religion of nature.
——— Common doctrine of the soul.
Brown's System of Natural and Revealed religion.
Chrichton's Converts from Infidelity.
Christian Disciple. 3:332.
Christian Examiner. 17:23,332.
Christian Month. Spect. 6:75.
Christian Observer. 18:215.
Christian Quart. Spect. 5:469.
Christian Review. 2:271. 3:134. 6:191.

Infidelity—*continued.*

Davies' Two Antichrists, Infidelity and Romanism, viewed in their relative bearings. (As in 1856.)
Disney's (John) Sermons.
Dove's Logic of the Christian faith.
Duncan's Libertine led to reflection.
Dwight's (Tim.) Nature and danger of I.
Eclectic Rev. New Series. 6:740.
Edinburg Monthly Review. 3:60.
Estlin's (John P.) Sermons.
Evans' (John) Sermons.
Evans' (J. H.) Checks to Infidelity.
Faber's Difficulties of Infidelity.
Farrer's Bampton Lectures. 1862.
Finch's Bampton Lectures. 1797.
Forbes (D.) on the Sources of incredulity.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Gale's Anatomy of Infidelity.
Girdlestone's Progress of Scepticism in England. 1863.
Grant's Foes of our Faith, and how to defeat them.
Grisenthwaite's Refutation of Tho. Paine.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
Hallet's Consistent Christian.
Hennel's (Miss) Christianity and Infidelity.
Hodge's (Cha.) Essays and Reviews.
Hooker's Popular Infidelity.
Horberry's (Matthew) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jamieson on the Causes of Infidelity.
Law's Appeal to all who doubt the gospel.
Leng's Boyle Lectures. 1719.
Mansel's Limits of religious thought.
McBurnie's Errors of Infidelity. ("An armory, hung all over with keen weapons." —Evang. Mag.)
Michaelis' Introd. to the New Testament.
Moore's Christian system vindicated.
Morgan's Christianity and modern I. comp.
Neale's (Erskine) Christianity and infidelity contrasted. (An account of the deaths of many prominent persons.)
Nelson's Cause and cure of Infidelity.
New York Review. 2:483.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
North British Rev. 15:18.
Ogilvie on the Causes of Infidelity.
Pearson's (Geo.) Charac. and tendency of I.
Pearson's (Thos.) Aspects, causes, &c., of I.
Post's Skeptical era in modern history.
Princeton Review. 12:31.
Quarterly Review. 28:493.
Ragg's Creation's testimony to its God.
Rennel's (Tho.) Remarks on Scepticism. (An answer to Bichat, Morgan, &c., on questions touching organization and life.)
Ripley's (Geo.) Latest form of infidelity. (Viz., German theology.)
Schmucker's (S. S.) Errors of modern I.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Simpson's (David) Plea for religion.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.

Infidelity—*continued.*

Smith's (Cha.) Shadow of Death. (Prize Essay.)
Spear's Creed of Despair. (Prize Essay.)
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:204. 8:1,447.
Stanhope's Truth of the Christian religion.
Stebbings' Christianity justified.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Thompson's French Philosophy.
Treffrey's Infidel's own book.
Turner's Boyle Lectures. 1709.
Valpy on the Course of Nature.
Van Mildert's Boyle Lectures. 1802. (A historical view of the rise and progress of infidelity, with able reasonings.)
Warburton's View of Bolingbroke's Philos.
Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity.
Young's (Edw.) Centaur not fabulous.
Young's (J. R.) Modern scepticism viewed in relation to modern science. 1865. (Specially notices Colenso, Huxley, Lyell, and Darwin.)

In Faber's *Difficulties of Infidelity*, New York edition, 1853, is given a list of all the books known to have been written on the evidence of revealed religion.

Infinity of God. See ATTRIBUTES.

Christian Review. 14:23.
Clarke's (Sam.) Boyle Lectures. 1705.
Gurdon's Boyle Lectures. 1721, 1722.
Howe's Works. Vol. 1.
——— Living Temple. Part 1, Ch. 4.
Locke's Essays.
Scott's Christian Life.

Infirmity. See PRESUMPTION, SINS OF IGNORANCE, SINS OF INFIRMITY.

Influence of Body on Mind. See RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE.

Influence of Christianity on Temporal Affairs. See CHRISTIANITY ADAPTED TO MAN, HAPPINESS, PLEASURES OF PIETY.

Balme, le Protestantisme comparé au cathol.
Carrèire's Religion in ihrem Begriff ihrem Weltgeschichtlichen entwickelung und Vollendung.
Dreolle, de l'Influence du principe religieux sur l'homme.
Gregoire, de l'influence du Christianisme sur la condition des femmes.
Laget, Sermons sur divers sujets.
Meyer's Verdienst des Chris. um den Staat.
Neubig's Christenthum als Weltreligion.
Pister, Inf. du Christianisme sur le droit.
Reinhard's Geist des Christenthums.
Rothe's Wirkungen des Christenthums.
Senac, Chris. consideré dans ses rapports avec civilization.
Tittmann's Verhältniss d. Christen. zur Entwickelung des menschl. Geschlechts.
Troplong, l'Infl. du. Chris. sur le droit civile des Romaines.

Influence of Christianity—*continued.*

Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Blakey's Temporal benefits of Christianity.
Boyle's Basis of National security.
Bryant's Mutual influence of Christianity and the Stoic school.
Campbell's (George) Sermons.
Chandler's Bampton Lectures. 1825.
Channing's (W. E.) Miscellaneous Essays.
Cook's Historical view of Christianity.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons.
Douglass' (James) Discourses.
Durham's (J. E.) Sermons.
Erskine's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Fothergill's (George) Sermons.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Sermons.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hare's (Thomas) Sermons.
Harness' Boyle Lectures. 1821.
Haverfield's (Tho. T.) Sermons.
Hoare's Fitness of Chris. to improve the social condition of the nations which overthrew the Roman empire.
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Kennedy's Hulsean prize essay. 1856.
Krasinski's Reformation in Poland.
Lancaster's (Tho. W.) Sermons.
Lupton's (Dr. W.) Sermons.
Mackensie's Inf. of the Christian Clergy of the first 10 cent. on European progress.
Meyer's Inf. of Prot. missions on the moral and physical condition of man.
Monsell's (C. H.) Sermons.
Morehead's (R.) Discourses.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Ryan's Hist. of the influence of religion on ancient and modern nations. 1788.
Scobel's (Edward) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Westminster Review. New Series. 1:182.
White's The gospel promotive of happiness.

Influences of the Spirit. See OPERATIONS.

Innate Ideas. See IDEAS, PLATONISM.

Pro.

Ciceronis Tusc. Disputat. Lib. I. c. 24.
Herbert de Veritate.
Le Grande, Institutiones philos. Pars IX.
Platonis Phædo.
Sanderson, de Conscientia.

Beattie's Immutability of truth.
Buffier on the Origin of opinions.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Ch. 4.
King on the Origin of evil.
Oswald's Appeal to common sense.
Sherlock on a Future state.
Taylor's (Tho.) Edition of Plato.

Innate Ideas—*continued.*

Con.

Aristotle's Ethics.
Crouza's System of Logic.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 1. Lect. 7.
Locke on the Human understanding.
Pearson on the Creed.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.

Inquirers. See CONVICTION.

Baxter's Saint's Everlasting Rest.
Bethune's History of a penitent.
Carleton's Letters to an anxious friend.
Henry's Letters to an anxious Inquirer.
James' Anxious Inquirer.
Matheson's Advice to religious Inquirers.
Russel's Letters. Letter 16.
Spencer's (Ichabod) Pastor's Sketches.
Spurgeon's (Cha. H.) Sermons. 3d Series.
Winslow's (Octavius) Inquirer directed.

Inquisition.

Arnoldus de Tractandis Hæreticis.
Assemanni Acta sanc. martyrum. (Vast.)
Baker's Vollstændige Historie.
Bebellius de Inquisitione Hispanica.
Benthem de Causis conservati Papatus.
Comensis Lucerna Inquisitorum.
Dillon, Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa.
Erasmus contra Monachos Hispanos.
Fabricius, Histoire de l'Inquisition.
Fereal, Mysteres de l'I. 200 plates.
Lamothe, Hist. de l'Inq. en France.
Leger, Hist. des Eglises evang. de Piemont.
Limborchii Historia Inquisitionis. (The only work containing the acts of the Toulouse Inquisition agt. the Waldenses.)
Llorente, Hist. de la Inq. d'Espana.
Loescher's Romischen Huren Regiment.
[Marsollier (J.)] Hist. de l'I. et son origine.
Montani Inquisitionis Hispanicæ.
Pignatelli, Consultationes Novissimæ.
Sarpii Historia Inquisitionis.
Servita, Historia Inquisitionis.
Thuani Historia. Lib. III.
Usserus de Eccles. successione. Cap. IV.

Achilli's Papal Rome.
——— Dealings with the Inquisition.
Amer. Quart. Review. 18:142.
Baker's History of the I. in Portugal, Spain, Italy, East Indies, and West Indies. 1736.
Blackwood's Mag. 20:70,332.
Cousta's Unparalleled sufferings at Lisbon.
Davies' Hist. of I. to the present time. 1850.
Dellon's History of the Inquisition at Goa. (Himself a prisoner there.)
Dugdale's Spanish Inquisition.
Garin's Mysteries of Popery.
Gavin's Detestable Inquisition.
Geddes' View of the I. in Portugal.
Gibbings' Record of the Roman Inquisition.
——— Were heretics ever burnt at Rome?
Gould's History of the Reformation.
Lavalle's Treatise on the Inquisition.

Inquisition—*continued.*

Limborch's Hist. of the I. Translated by Chandler; with a valuable introduction.
Llorentes' Hist. of the I. in Spain. (To the reign of Ferdinand VII. This truly great work obtained for its author the cognomen of the Suetonius of the Inquisition.)
Marchant's Bloody tribunal. (Historical.)
Monthly Rev. 91:396,535. 92:473.
Mora's Inq. revived. (A narrative of his sufferings and escape.)
Museum of Foreign Lit. 2:110. 10:328.
Niles' Register. 21:329.
Paul's [Sarpi] History of the Inquisition.
Piaza's (H. B.) Inquisition in Italy.
Princeton Review. 21:174.
Puigblanch's Inquisition unmasked.
Quart. Review. 6:313. 10:203.
Servita's Hist. of the I. Tr. by Gentilis.
Simes' History of the Inquisition.
Stockdale's History of the I. Plates.
Taylor's (Matt.) England's bloody tribunal.
Timson's Origin, policy, &c. (With memoirs of its victims, and plates.)

Insabbates. See WALDENSES.

Inscription on the Cross.

Altmanni Meletemata critica.

Insolvency, Morality of.

Hunt's Merchant's Magazine. 7:352. 8:294.

Inspiration. See CANON.

Carpzovius de Divina inspiratione.
Credner de Librorum N. T. inspiratione.
Dupin, Prolegomena.
Gaussen, Théopneustie.
Grotius de Veritate relig. Christianæ.
Henrici Lucubrationes.
Huetii Demonstratio Evangelica.
Potter, Prelectiones Theologicæ.
Quenstedtius de Divina inspiratione.
Sontagii de Inspiratione, ejusque ratio.
Waltheri (Mich.) Dissertationes.

Appleton's (Pres.) Works. Lect. 26, 27.
Bailey's (Benj.) Essay on Inspiration.
Bannerman on Inspiration.
Bateman (Josiah) on the Inspiration, &c.
Baylie's (J.) Authority and Inspiration, &c.
Bennett's (Benj.) Sermons. (14 on this subj.)
Bibliotheca Sacra. 12:217. 15:29,314.
Bingham (W. A.) on the Insp. of Scripture.
Bogue's (David) Essays.
Burgon's Bible and modern thought.
Burnet on the 39 Articles. Art. 6.
Butler's Anal. of relig. and nature. Part 2.
Butler's (W.) Testimony of history.
Calamy's (Edmund) Sermons.
Calmet's Dissertations.
Campbell (Geo.) on the Four gospels.
Carlyle's Origin and authority of the S. Scr.
Carson's (A.) Refutation of Henderson.
——— Review of Wilson, Smith, and Dick.
Cellerier's Divine origin of the Old Testam.

Inspiration—*continued.*

Chalmer's Evidences of Christianity.
Chris. Examiner. 8:362. 32:119,204. 35:340.
Christian Review. 9:1. 12:219.
Davidson's (Sam.) Text of O. T. considered.
Davies' (S.) Nature of the Divine agency as to inspiration.
Dick (John) on Inspiration.
Doddridge's Dissertations on the New Test.
Dyer on the Inspiration of Sacred Scripture.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 1:91. 11:365.
Emmons' (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Findlay's Vindic. of the sacred books and Josephus. (Reply to Voltaire.)
Fuller's Part of a Body of divinity.
Gasparin on Plenary inspiration.
Gaussen's Theopneustia. Tr. by E. N. Kirk.
Gerard's Institutes of Criticism.
Haldane (Robt.) on Inspiration.
Hawker's Evidence of plenary inspiration.
Henderson (E.) on Divine inspiration.
Hervey's (A.) Five Sermons.
Hinds on the Inspiration and authority, &c.
Howarth on Revealed religion.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity
Kelly's Exam. of Davidson's statement.
Kitto's Journal. 5:437. 7:315.
La Mothe on Inspiration.
Le Clerc's Letters.
Lee's Nature and proofs of inspiration.
Leslie's Easy method with Deists.
Lond. Quart. Rev. 10:286.
Lowe's I. a reality. (Reply to Macnaught.)
Lowth's (W.) Authority and insp. of S. Scr.
Lowth's (S.) Insp. of the Holy Scriptures.
McCaul's Testimonies to the authority, &c.
Macleod's View of inspiration.
Macnaught on Inspiration.
Marston's Manual on the inspiration, &c.
Methodist Quart. Rev. 5:594.
Michaelis' Introd. to the New Test. Ch. 3.
Middleton's Miscellaneous works.
Morel's Philosophy of Religion.
Morris' (A. J.) The Bible, what is it?
New Englander. 7:515.
Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies.
Noble on Plenary inspiration.
Paley's Evidences of Christianity.
Parry on the Insp. of the Apostles.
Powell's Nature and extent of inspiration.
Prettyman's Elements of Christian theology.
Princeton Review. 29:598,660.
Redford's Holy Scriptures verified by science, history, and human consciousness.
Scott's (Thomas) Essays.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Seed's Sermons at the Moyer Lecture. 1747.
Simpson's Plea for the sacred writings. (A masterly refutation of Deism.)
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 1:402,474,624. 2:9,70, 185,237,289. 3:369,420.
Stennet's Authority and use of Scripture.
Storr on the Historical sense.
Stuart's (Moses) Critical history and defence of the Old Testament Canon.

Inspiration—*continued.*

Taylor's (D.) Truth and insp. of Scripture.
Thomson's (Alex.) Lectures.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Tomlin's Introd. to the study of Scripture.
Townsend's (George) Works.
Van Mildert's (William) Sermons.
Vaughn's (J.) Lectures. Lect. 9.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Discourses.
Watson's (Rich.) Theological Tracts.
——— Apology for the Bible.
Westcott's Elements of Gospel harmony.
Wettenhall's Div. authority of Sac. Script.
Whitehead's (Robt.) Warrant of faith.
Whitby's Preface to Commentary on N. T.
Whittington's Inspiration of the Old Test.
Wilkinson's (T.) Inspiration of Scripture.
Williams' (Bp.) Boyle Lectures. 1695, 1696.
Wilson (Bp.) on Plenary inspiration.
Wilson's (John) Essay on enthusiasm.
Wood's (Leonard) Works.
Wordsworth's Five lectures in Westminster Abbey. 1861.

Inspired Psalmody.

Pro.

Jack, Onomasticon Poeticum: sive propriorum, &c., descriptio.

Claybaugh's Ordinance of Praise.
Dodd's (Robt. J.) Reply to Morton.
Houston's Divine Ps. agt. human hymns.
MacLaren's Psalms of Holy Scripture the only songs of Zion.
MacMaster's Apology for the bk. of Psalms.
Martin's Psalms of David. (Preface.)
Pressly's The true Psalmody.
——— Review of Ralston.
——— Strictures on Annan's Letters.
Somerville's Exclusive claims of David's Ps.
The True Psalmody. A compilation.
Wickersham's Excellence of Scripture Ps.

The above maintain the impropriety of using, in public worship, hymns of human composition.

Con.

Annan's (Wm.) Letters on Psalmody.
——— Vindication of Do.
Johnson's (Wm.) The Ps. and paraphrases.
Morton's Review of Pressly.
Ralston on the Use of evangelical Psalms.

Instability. See INDECISION.

Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Francis) Sermons.
Caswall's (E.) Sermons.
Dehon's (Dr. T.) Sermons.
Jowett's (Joseph) Fifty-two sermons.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Verschoyle's (H.) Sermons.

Installation Sermons.

Allen (Thomas)	at	his own.
Bacon (John)	"	his own.
Beecher (Lyman)	"	A. J. Keyse's.

Installation Sermons—*continued.*

Belknap (Jeremy)	at	J. Morse's.
Chauncy (C.)	"	J. Bowman's.
Cummings (Alex.)	"	his own.
Dana (James)	"	A. Holmes'.
Dana (Joseph)	"	D. Dana's.
Eckley (Joseph)	"	H. Holley's.
Emmons (Nath.)	"	J. Emerson's.
——— ———	"	H. Weeks'.
Knowles (Jas. D.)	"	Howard Malcom's.
Lord (B.)	"	N. Whitaker's.
Macarty (T.)	"	his own.
Marsh (J.)	"	W. Lockwood's.
McKean (J.)	"	E. Richmond's.
Osgood (David)	"	P. Thatcher's.
Phillips (S.)	"	S. Chandler's.
Ripley (E.)	"	W Frothingham's.
Tappan (David)	"	H. Packard's.
Thayer (N.)	"	W. Emerson's.

Such sermons, though very numerous, are almost always pamphlets.

Instinct.

Antoine, les Animaux célèbres.
Cambray, sur l'Existence de Dieu.
Chesnel, les Animaux raisonment.
Chiaverini, Analyse comparative sur les caractères de l'intelligence et de l'instinct.
Dugès, Physiologie comparé de l'homme et des animaux.
Fée (A. L. A.) Etudes Philosophiques.
Flourens, de l'Intelligence des animaux.
Gabillot, Etude Physiologique.
Posner's Seelenleben der Thiere.
Rouse, Mœurs et sagacite des animaux.

Amer. Biblical Repos. 11:74.
Baxter's (Rich.) Practical works.
Bingley's Animal Biography.
Brougham's (Lord) Dissertations.
Brown's Biog. sketches of quadrupeds.
Buffon's Natural History.
Bushnan's Philosophy of Instinct.
Couch's Illustrations of instinct.
Democratic Review. 15:408.
Derham's Physico-theology.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 2:402. New Series. 6:649.
Edwards' (George) Works.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Ferguson's Being and perfections of God.
French's True nature of Instinct.
Garratt's Marvels and mysteries of instinct.
Good's (J. M.) Book of nature.
Goulburn's (E. M.) Parochial sermons.
Guardian, The. Nos. 156 and 157.
Hancock's Phys. and moral relations of I.
Hutcheson on the Origin of our ideas of beauty and virtue.
Jarrold on Instinct and Reason.
Kemp (T. L.) on Instinct.
Kirby's Bridgewater Treatise. (The 7th.)
Knickerbocker Magaz. 22:404, 507.
Law (T.) on Instinctive Impulses.
——— Second thoughts on Do.
Littell's Living Age. 16:345. 17:595.

Instinct—*continued.*

Morris' Records of animal sagacity.
Mower on the Nature of instinct.
North Amer. Review. 63:91.
Paine's (Dr.) Soul distinct from matter.
Paley's Natural Theology.
Pennant's Arctic Zoology.
Pope's Ethical Epistles.
Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. December, 1860.
Ramsay (Sir Geo.) on Instinct and reason.
Ray's Wisdom of God in creation.
Rumball on Instinct and reason.
Scott's (John) Christian Life.
Swainson's Habits of animals.
Wakefield's Instinct displayed.
Ware's Philosophy of natural history.
Westminster Review. 48:352.

Instrumental Music in Churches.

Pro.

Apthorp on Sacred poetry and music.
Battel's (Ralph) Sermons.
Beveridge's Thesaurus Theologicus.
Bromley's (Robt. A.) Sermons.
Christian Observer. (Numerous articles.)
Cromar's Vindication of the Organ.
Dodwell on the Lawfulness of instrumental music in holy offices.
Fleming's (Alex.) Letters and Answers. (On the first attempt to introduce organs into Scotch Presbyterian Churches. 1808.
Hickman's (C.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Antiquity of church music.
Mason's (Will.) Essays on church music.
Oliver's Sermons.
Organs and Presbyterians. (Anonymous. Edinburg. 1829.)
Taswell on Church music.
Stillingfleet's (H.) Sermons.

Con.

Justin M., Questiones.
Augustine, Confessiones. Lib. X., cap. 33.
Isidore, Epistolæ.
Jerome, Comm. in Eph. 5:19.
Chrysostom, in Psalm. 144 and 150.
Theodoret, in Psalm. 33 and 150.
Basil, Commentaria in Isa. v.

Constitutiones Apostolici. Lib. VIII., c. 32.
Aquinas (Tho.) Questiones. Ques. 91.
Bona de Divina Psalmodia.
Cajetan (Card.) ad Tho. Aquin.
Erasmus, Comm. in 1 Cor. 14:19.

Candlish's The Organ Question.
Edwards' (John) Theologia Reformata.
Hickman's (Henry) Apology for Nonconformists.
Panoplist. Periodical. (Various pieces.)
Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters.
Poole (Matthew) on Evangelical worship. (Reply to Oliver.)
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. Quest. 154.
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor Dubitantium.
The Organ Cause. (Anon.)

Insufficiency of Human Reason. See LIGHT OF NATURE, NECESSITY OF REVELATION, PROVINCE OF REASON, WEAKNESS OF HUMAN REASON.

Integrity. See FRAUD.

Berens' (Edward) Village sermons.
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Burgess' (Anthony) Sermons.
Cave's Primitive Christianity. Part 3, ch. 1
Chalmers' Commercial discourses.
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Smith's (Dr. H.) Sermons.
Steele's (John) Sermons.
Thornwell's (J. H.) Discourses on Truth.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Wheatland's Sermons.

Intemperance. See DRUNKENNESS, MODERATION, TEMPERANCE.

Intercessory Prayer.

Close's (Francis) Sermons on the Liturgy.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Hall's (Robert) Works.
Henry (Matthew) on Prayer.
Hordern's (Joseph) Sermons.
Mylne (G. W.) on Intercessory Prayer.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Nichols' (Benj. E.) Practical sermons.
Ogden's (Samuel) Sermons.
Romaine's (William) Sermons.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Whitefield's Sermons.
Williams' (Isaac) Sermons.

Intercession of Christ. See MEDIATION.

Intercession of the Spirit. See ADVOCACY.

Interim. See ADIAPHORISTS.

Arnold's Kirchen und Ketzer Historie.
Bieck's Dreyfaches Interim.
Calvin, L'Interim, ou provision, &c.
Clingius de Securitate conscientiæ.
Epini Epistola ad Illyricum.
Epistola Concionatorum Hambergensium ad Melancthonem: et responsio.
Flacii (Matt.) Opera.
Frege, das Interim.
Grossman's Verdienste der chürfürsten von sachsen um abschluss d. Augsburger Religionsfreidens.
Hirsch's Gesch. des Interim zur Nurnberg.
Illyricus de Veris et falsi Adiaphoris.
——— Apologia.
——— Epistola ad Melancth. (An able and bitter oppenent of M. on several subjects.)
Joachim, Brevis comprehensio argumentorum, de ceremoniis a Papistis impositis.
Kahnis Vindiciæ pacis relig. Augustanæ.
Melancthonis Opera.
Rinks Erinnerungen zur dritten Jubelfeıer.
Schmidti (C. F.) Observ. ad naturam peccati.
Schmidii (J. A.) Historia Interimistica.

Interim—*continued.*

Schmid's (K. C. E.) Untersüchung philos. theol.
Strigelii (V.) Confessio προιρετικὴ.
Wigandt, de Neutralibus et mediis.

Calvin's Tracts.
Melancthon's Weighing of the Interim.
Planck's History of Protestant theology.
Rank's History of the Reformation.
Wirth's System of speculative Ethics.

A full account of the writers on both sides is given in DIE DANISCHE BIBLIOTH. Pt. 5.

Intermediate Place of Existence.

See PURGATORY, SLEEP OF THE SOUL.

Pro.

Ambrose, de Bono Mortuis.
Chrysostom, Opuscula varia.
Jerome, Opera.
Origen, Homiliæ.

Capelli (Lud.) Dissertationes.
Wiedenfeld, der Unmittlebare Zustand.

Bennet's (Geo.) Olam Haneshemoth.
Blakeman's State of the soul after death.
Brown's (Dr. John) Dead in Christ.
Campbell's (Geo.) Dissertations. (Claimed by both parties, and not very consistent with himself.)
Campbell's (Archib.) Doct. of a middle state.
Cockrane's (J.) World to come.
Coleman's (J. N.) Sermons.
Cook's Examination of Balfour.
Doddridge's Lectures. (Claimed on this side, but not decisive.)
Dorrington's Family Devotion.
Dwight's (Tim.) Discourses. Disc. 164.
Fisher's Doct. of an intermed. state consid.
Fuller's (Andrew) Letters.
Goddard's (Peter S.) Sermons.
Goddard's (Thomas) Sermons.
Govet on the Place of departed spirits.
Harbaugh's Abode of the sainted dead.
Heath's Man's heaven to be this earth.
Hobart's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hodge's (Walter) Place of departed souls.
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hovey's State of the impenitent dead.
Hudson's Letters to Balfour.
Huntingford's Testimonies in proof, &c. (An able reply to Whately. Selected from the writings of Beveridge, Butler, Calvin, Grotius, &c.)
Irving's (Ed.) Judgment to come.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Leifchild's (John) Discourses.
McCullough's Dead in Christ. Ch. 2 and 3.
McCausland's Truths for the times.
Methodist Quarterly Rev. 12:240.
Murdock's History of Dogmatic Theology.
Newman's (John Henry) Sermons.
Panoplist. 11:393.
Peters on Job.
Rickett's Condition of the soul after death.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. Quest. 86.

Intermediate Place, &c.—*continued.*

Pro.

Seabury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's Practical Discourses.
Sherwood on the Intermediate state.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smalley's Sermons.
Smith's (S.) Sacred Biography.
Stuart's Evangelical Essays.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
Thompson (Edw.) on the Future state.
Watson's Theological Institutes.
Watts' (Dr. Isaac) Essays.
——— World to come.
Whiston's Tr. of Josephus. (Appendix.)
Whitby's Commentary. (On 2 Tim. 4:8.)
White (Tho.) on the Intermediate state.
Wightman's The undying soul. (Superior.)

Con.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 5:464.
Balfour's Essays.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 13:153.
Crookshank's No Intermediate state.
Dawson on the State of departed souls.
——— Further remarks on Do.
Edwards' (Bp.) Body of Divinity.
Pearson on the Creed.
Peckard's Obs. on the doct. of an int. state.
——— Further Observations.
Polwheel's Evidence from Scripture.
Pond (Enoch) on the Intermediate state.
Priestley's Works.
Princeton Review. Oct., 1839.
Wheatly on the Book of Common Prayer.

It is impossible to separate with precision the writers on an intermediate *place* from those on an intermediate *state*. They often confound the two subjects. All Papal writers, and most Protestant, hold the latter doctrine. The books here cited are, for the most part, not controversial, nor wholly on the subject, but discuss it among other doctrines. See a list of over a hundred Latin and German writers on this subject in ALGER'S *Doctrine of a future life.* Appendix.

Intermediate State.

See DESCENT INTO HELL, HADES, PURGATORY.

Baumgarteni (S. J.) Hist. doct. de statu, &c.
Bretschneider's Handbuch der Dogmatik.
Burnett (Tho.) de Statu mortuorum.
Capellus de Statu animi post mortem.
Cotta, Hist. dogmat. de pœnarum duratione.
Ebrard (J. H. A.), Christ. Dogmatik. Th. III., Ab. 3.
Ernest de Vet. patrum opinione, &c.
Güder, die Lehre von der Erscheinung J. Ch. unter den Todten.
Hahn, Christliche Glaubenslehre.
Socini Epistolæ. Epis. ad Valkel.
Vossii (G. J.) Theses Theologicæ.
White, de Medium animarum statu.

Baylee (Jos.) on the Intermediate state.
Belsham's Essays. Ess. 11 and 12.

Intermediate State—*continued.*

Bennet's (G.) View of the Intermed. state.
Blackburne's Historical view of the controversy from the Reformation to the present time. 1772.
Broughton's Doctrine of the human soul.
Bryant's Attractions of the world to come.
Bull's (Bp.) Works. (Vol. 1. Sermons.)
Burton's (Edward) Sermons at Oxford.
Burton's (Hezekiah) Sermons.
Christian Review. 20:381.
Cockburn's (Alex.) Philosophical Essays.
Copland's Mortal life. (A good compilation from Protestant authors.)
Dawson's Lady Moyer's Lectures. 1764, '5.
Ditton on the Resurrection.
D'Oyly's (G.) Sermons.
Earberry's (Mathias) Reply to Tho. Burnett.
Faber's (Geo. S.) Many mansions.
Holden's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Hopkins' System of Divinity.
Humphreys' Trans. of Athanagoras on the state of the dead.
——— Hulsean Lectures. 1849.
Jones' Diss. on Paul's wishing to depart.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
McLeod's Cherubim and the Apocalypse.
Mant's (Bp.) Happiness of the Blessed.
Maywahlen's (Ulr.) Christ among the dead.
Moore's Theological Works.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Partridge's (Samuel) Discourses.
Peers on the State of the departed.
Presbyterian Quart. Review. 10:241.
Regis on the Intermediate state.
Scott's (Tho.) Theological Essays.
Secker on the Catechism.
Sheppard's Autumn Dream.
Steffe's State of the soul after death.
Sturm's (D.) 19 Discourses on the state, &c.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tournour's (E. J.) Sermons.
Townson's (Tho.) Practical Discourses.
Wadsworth on the Soul. ("Contains satisfactory evidences of the Intermediate state."—BICKERSTETH.)
Walker (Geo.) on the Separate state.
Williams' (Alfred) Sermons.
Wood's Believer's Guide.

See BLACKBURNE'S *Historical view of the controversy, from the beginning of the Reformation, to* 1772. DODGSON, in note C. to his translation of Tertullian, has given many passages from the Fathers on this subject.

Internal Evidences of S. Script.

Callixtus de Sacra Scriptura.
Borgeri Com. de Evangelio Joannis; cum Matt. Marc. et Lucæ comparato. ("A work of deep research."—HORNE.)
Edwardus de Stylo Sacræ Scripturæ.
Huettii (P. D.) Demonstratio Evangelica.
Hutteri (Leonard.) Disputationes.
Kuckler de Simplicitate Scriptorum.
Meisneri (Ioan.) Disputationes.
Thummii (Theod.) Disquisitiones.
Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Bennet's (Benj.) Discourses on 2 Tim. 3:16.
Bennett's (Jas.) Internal evidence of S. S.
Biscoe's Acts of the Apostles confirmed from other authors.
Bolton's Hulsean prize Essay. 1852.
Broadley's (Thomas) Essays.
Campbell (Arch.) on the Gospel history.
Carlyle's (Jas.) Letters. (Exc. for the young.)
Clayton's Vind. of the Scripture histories.
Dewar on the Design of Christianity.
Doddridge's Lectures. Parts 5 and 6.
Epp's Evidences from Phrenology.
Erskine's Evidences. (Often reprinted.)
Frank's Hulsean Lectures. 1821.
Graves' (R.) Character of the Apostles.
Jackson's Eternal truth of S. Scripture.
Jenyn's (Soame) Internal evidence. (Popular and effective.)
Keith's Lectures. (Very useful.)
Knox's (Vicess.) Christian Philosophy.
Lancaster's (Tho. W.) Sermons.
Lardner's Credibility of the gospel history.
McKnight's Truth of gospel history.
Maclean's (Archib.) Letters to S. Jenyns.
Marsh's (E. G.) Seventeen sermons.
Nares on the Evangelists.
Owen's (J.) Authority of the Holy Script.
Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.
Powlett's Reasons for being a Christian.
Rawlinson's Contrast of Christianity with Heathen and Jewish systems.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Shepherd's Divine origin of Christianity.
Shuttleworth's Consistency of revelation with itself.
Simpson's Internal Evidence.
Sinker on the New Testament literature.
Stephens' Christianity compared with other religions, and systems of philosophy.
Sumner's (Bp.) Evidences, &c.
Thompson (Ed.) on Prophecy. (Very able.)
Toulmin's (Joshua) Dissertations.

International Law.
See LAW OF NATIONS.

Intolerance. See TOLERATION.

Introductions to Scripture.
See STUDY OF SCRIPTURE.

TO THE WHOLE BIBLE.

Abichtii Ars distincte legendi, &c.
Berger's Einleitung.
Boetneri Isagoge. ("Elegant."—WALCH.)
Buddei Isagoge historico-literaria.
Calmeti Prolegomena et Dissertationes.
Calovii Prolegomena.
Carpzovii Apparatus historico-criticus.
Du Hamel, Institutiones Biblicæ.
Dupin, Dissertations préliminaires.
Eichhorn's (J. G.) Einleitung. (Deistical.)
Frankii Manductio ad lectionem S. S.
Frassenii Disquisitiones Biblicæ.

Introductions—*continued.*

Glaire, Introd. historique et critique.
Heideggeri Enchiridion Biblicum.
Hottingeri Clavis Scripturæ.
Houbiganti Prolegomena in S. S.
Ianssen's (J. H.) Hermeneutica Sacra. (Has an introduction to each book.)
Lamy, Biblicus Apparatus.
Marheineke's Theologische Vörlesungen.
Michaelis' Prolegomena ad S. S.
Moldenhaverii Introd. in omnes libros, &c.
Noack's Biblische Theologie, ein Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht.
Prittii Introductio ad omnes libros, &c. ("Nothing superior to it."—Bp. Watson.)
Ravii Exercitationes. (Refutes some rash principles of Houbigant.)
Riveti (And.) Isagoge.
Schumann's Einleitung, &c.
Titmanni Bibliotheca.
Van Till, Opus analyticum.
Waltheri Officina Biblica.
Waltoni Biblicus Apparatus.
——— in Biblia polyglotta prolegomena.
Whitby de S. S. Interpretatione.

Angus' Bible Hand-book. (A wonderful condensation of facts.)
Bickersteth's Scrip. Help. (Useful to youth.)
Brown's Introduction to the Bible.
Collyer's (David) Sacred Interpreter.
Frank's Guide to the study, &c. Trans. by W. Jaques.
Hamilton's (G.) Introduction to the S. S.
Havernick's Historico-critical Introduction. Trans. by W. L. Alexander.
Hayne's General view, &c. (Times, places, and persons.)
Horne's Introd. to the critical study, &c.
——— ——— Edited and improved by Davidson.
Jones' Analytical view of the Bible,
Lamy's Introduction. (Much improved by notes, &c., of the translator, R. Bundy.)
Liefchild's Help to the reading of the S. S. (A convenient little manual.)
Lukins' Introduction to the S. Scriptures.
Michaelis' Introduction, &c. Translated by Marsh. With valuable notes.
Roberts' Clavis Bibliorum.
Schumann's Introduction. Trans. by Beard.
Simon's Crit. history of the O. and N. Test.
Simpson's Sacred Literature. (Contains proofs of the authority of Scripture, directions for reading it, extracts from early writers, &c.)
Stowe's (C. E.) Int. to the interpretation, &c.
Tomline's Introd. (Small, but convenient.)
Townley's Literary history of the Bible.

TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Ackermanni Introd. in libros fœderis.
Augusti's Grundriss einer Einleitung, &c.
Berger's Einleitung ins alte Test.
Hartmann's Linguistische Einleitung, &c.
Hävernick's Handb. d. histor. kritischen, &c.
Hengstenberg's Beiträge zur Einleitung.

Introductions—*continued.*

Herbert's Einleitung.
Herbst's Historisch-kritische Einleitung.
Hottingeri Thesaurus philologicus, &c.
Jahn, Introd. ad libros V. Test.
Keil's Einleitung in die Schriften, &c.
Simon, Histoire critique du Vieux Test.

Barry's Introd. to the study of the O. Test.
Coverdale's Prologues to his translation of the Bible.
Davidson's Horne's Introd. to the O. Test.
Gray's Key to the O. Test. and Apocrypha.
Hamilton's (G.) Introd. to the Heb. Script.
Jahn's Introd., &c. Trans. by Turner and Whittingham. (With consid. improvem.)
Lyall's Propædia Prophetica. (Use and design of the Old Testament.)
Maurice on the Old Testament.
Morrison's Key to the first four books.
Planck on Theological Science.
Turner's Introd. (Chiefly a trans. of Jahn.)
Tyndale's Prologues to the five books.
Winer's Theological Literature.

TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Beausobre & L'Enfant, Introduction.
Bengelii Apparatus criticus.
——— Gnomon Nov. Test. (Highly prized.)
Credner's Einleitung.
Ellenberg's Einleitung.
Griesbach's Vörlesung. über Hermeneutic.
Guerikè Historisch-kritische Einleitung, &c.
Haenlein's Handbuch der Einleitung, &c.
Hug's Einleitung.
Kuinoel, Prolegomena.
Millii Prolegomena.
Rumpæus de libris N. Testamenti.
Russii Introductio ad N. Testamentum.
Schottii Isagoge historico-critica.
Wetstein, Prolegomena ad Nov. Test.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 12:133. (Matthew.)
Beausobre & L'Enfant's Introduction.
Bengel's Gnomon. Tr. by Faussett.
Biblioth. Sacra. 5:97. (Galatians.)
Chris. Disciple. 3:626. (John.) 5:435. (Eph.)
Christian Review. 12:192. (John.)
Davidson's Introd. to N. Test. (One of the latest, and very convenient. 1851.)
Harwood's Introd. to the New Testament.
Horne's Introduction.
Hug's (Dr. J. L.) Introd. Tr. by D. Fosdick.
——————— ——— Tr. by D. G. Wait.
Lardner's Works.
McWhorter's (G. C.) History of the N. Test. (Authorship, preservation, translat., &c.)
Michaelis' Introduction. Translated by Marsh; with notes.
Percy's Key to the New Testament.
Princeton Review. 21:144.
Roberts' (Fr.) Clavis Bibliorum.
Taylor's (John) Key to the Apost. writings.
Townson's Discourses on the Four gospels.
Tregelle's Introd. to the New Testament.
Tyndale's Prologues to the several books.
Westcott's Introduction to the Gospels.

Investitures. See SIMONY.
Dithmari Historia belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium.
Lohenschioldii (O. Ch.) Dissert. Historicæ.
Lupi (Christian.) Dissertationes.
Mascovius de Rebus imperii Germanici.
Meibonius de Jure investituræ episcopalis.
Noris Historia Investitutarum.
Thomasii Hist. contentionis inter Imperium et Sacerdotium.

Mosheim's Eccl. History. Cent. XI., Part 2.

Invocation of Saints. See MARIOLATRY.
Abichtus de Honore Sanctorum.
Affelmanni Syntagma exercitat. theolog.
Agricola (F.) de Cultu Sanctorum.
Basnage, Histoire du culte des saintes.
Bernard (Jac.) de Invocatione Sanctorum.
Brentii Opera Polemica.
Callixti (Geo.) Dissertationes.
Gerhardi Εθελοθρησκεια.
Heissii Dissertationes.
Mabilloni Opera posthuma.
Mollinæi (Petr.) Disputationes.
Schrœderi (Jo.) Disputationes.
Seligmanni (G. F.) Exercitationes Academ.
Trombellii (J. C.) Dissertationes.
Voetii Disputationes Theologicæ.
Vossii (G. J.) Theses Theologicæ.

Barlow (T.) on the Invocation of Saints.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Claggett's (Dr. William) Discourses.
Coverdale's (Miles) Remains.
Fletcher's (Jos.) Lectures on the Rom. relig.
Freeman's (Bp.) Discourses.
Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.
Mede's Apostacy of latter times.
Montagu on the Invocation of Saints.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Vol. 6.
Powell's (H. T.) Roman fallacies.
Princeton Review. 14:407.
Salter's Hall Sermons.
Stephenson's Romish Church.
Tyler's (J. E.) Primitive Christian worship.
Wharton's Enthusiasm of the Ch. of Rome.

Irenæus. See FATHERS.
Irenæi Opera. (The last edition is that of STIEREN. 1853.)
Deylingii Observationes Miscellanea.
Dodwelli (H.) Dissertationes.
Fevardentii Vita Irenæi.
Gervaise, Vie de St. Irenée.
Grabii Prolegomena ad Irenæi opera.
Massueti Dissertat. in Irenæi libros.
Sterenii (A.) Irenæi Opera. (Contains such dissertations, by previous editors, as seemed worthy of republication.)

Beavan's Life and writings of Ireneus.
Conybeare's Bampton Lectures. 1839.

Irony. See RIDICULE.
Grulich, üb. d. Ironien in den reden Jesu.

Irresistible Grace. See EFFECTUAL CALLING, FIVE POINTS, MORAL SUASION.
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Institutum Soc. Jesu in ordinem digestum. (A complete body of all that regards the government and practice of the order, printed for the use of their establishments exclusively. 1705.)
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Keller's Aushebung und Ausweisung des J.
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Dalton's (J.) Principles and acts.
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[Pascal's] Letters of a Provincial. (A withering exposure of Jesuit morality.)
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Taylor's (I.) Jesuitism in its rudiments.
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Bos (Lambert.) Exercitationes.
Bullii Defensio fidei Nicænæ. Sec. 3.
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Beatson's (John) Dialogues.
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Berryman's Critical Dissert. on 1 Tim. 3:16. (Gives the readings from 100 MSS.)
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Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Bloomfield's Lectures on the Gospel of John.
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Boyse on the true Deity of Jesus Christ.
Bradbury's Myst. of Godliness. (Excellent.)
Brett's Mediatorial character of Christ.
Brooks' Golden Key.
Burgess' (Bp.) Tracts.
Burgh's Scriptural confutation of the arguments against, &c.
——— Belief of the Christians of the first three centuries.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
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Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
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Coxe's (R. C.) Symmetry of revelation.
Dale's (Thomas) Sermons.
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Dwight's Theology. Ser. 25 to 41.
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Evans' (Caleb) Sermons.
Fairbairn's Theological Essays.
Geddes' Letter to Dr. Priestley.
Goode on the Names and titles of Christ.
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Hawker's Sermons on the Div. of Christ.
Hervey's (James) Sermons.
Hey's (Wm.) Tracts and Essays.
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Holden's Trinity in Unity.
——— Scripture Testimonies collected.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horseley's (Bp.) Tracts. (Powerful on the Historical question. Agt. Dr. Priestley.)
Hughes' Evidences of the Div. of Christ.
Jamieson's Vind. of the primitive faith. (An ans. to Priestley's Hist. of early opinions.)
Kelburn's Sermons on the Div. of Christ.
Knowles' Primitive Christianity.
McWhorter's Yahveh Christ; or the memorial name.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
Marsden's Hulsean Lectures. 1843, 1844.

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Massillon's Sermons.
Matthews' (E. W.) Lectures.
Mayer's Crit. exam. of our Saviour's disc.
Melville's (Henry) Sermons.
Moyer's (Lady) Lectures in defence of the Divinity of Christ. (They extend from 1719 to 1774. The following are among the most important, and are also printed separately.)
Waterland, 1719. Knight, 1720. Berriman, Wm., 1723. Bishop, 1724. Felton, 1728. Trapp, 1729. Brown, 1730. Seed, 1732. Wheatley, 1734. Berriman, John, 1737. Twells, 1738. Bedford, 1739. Ridley, 1740. Clements, 1757. Dawson, 1764.
Owen's Mystery of the person of Christ.
Parkhurst's Divinity and Pre-existence, &c.
Pearson on the Creed.
Pirie's Posthumous Works.
Quaife on the Divinity of Christ.
Quarterly Review. 6:391.
Robinson's Plea for the Div. of our Lord J. C.
Saurin's Sermons.
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Sharp on the Definite Greek Article.
Sherlock's Scripture Proof, &c.
Simpson's Plea for the Divinity of Christ.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Smith's (John Pye) Scripture Testimony to the Messiah. (A very precious book.)
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Stackhouse's Life of Christ.
Stephens' Celestial Filiation.
Stuart's (Prof.) Letters to Channing.
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Talbot's Divinity of Christ.
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Tillotson's Sermons.
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Wardlaw's Discourses. (Grand.)
Waterland's Vindic. of Christ's divinity.
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Witsius on the Covenants.
Wright (Rich.) on the Divinity of Christ.
Wynperse's Demonstration, &c. (Small, but powerful.)
Young's (John) The Christ of history. (Very original.)

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Becilli Evangeliorum Connexio. (A life of Christ in the order of events, in the language of the Evangelists, with marginal references, tables, &c.)

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Freppel, Examen critique de la vie de J. de Renan.
Fritzsche Αναμαρτησια.
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Hase's Leben Jesu.
Hess' Lebengeschichte Jesu.
Hoffman's Leben Jesu nach apocryphen.
Hug's Gutachten über das leben J. (Cont. Strauss.)
Krabbe's Vörlesungen ueber das leben Jesu.
Lange (J. P.), das leben Jesu.
Lichtenstein's Lebengeschichte d. Jesu.
Ludolphi Vita Jesu Christi.
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Neander, Vie de Jésus: trade par P. Goy.
Offerhausii Dissertationes historico-philolog.
Pianello, Portrait de J. C. par lui-même.
Strauss' Leben Jesu. (Infidel.)

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Chemnitii (Chris.) Dissertationes.
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Halbert's Gospel revealed to Job.
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Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Lamont's (David) Sermons.
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Hottingeri (Ioan. H.) Dissertationes.
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Witsii Observationes Historicæ.

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Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
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Bryant's (Jacob) Dissertations.
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Jordan. See GEOGRAPHY, PALESTINE.

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Calmet, Prologomena et Dissertationes.
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Davie's Lectures on the history of Joseph.
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Howard's (H. L.) Joseph and his brethren.
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Lawson's (Dr. Geo.) Lectures.
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McGowan's (Dr. John) Works.
Mason's Hist. of J. spiritually improved.
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Smith's (Thornley) History of Joseph in connection with the customs of the time.
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Eichstadt, Testimonia de J. C.
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Craddock's (Walter) Sermons.
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Donne's (John) Sermons.
Dwight's (T.) Sermons.
Evans on Christian Temper.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons and Tracts.
Hervey's (James) Sermons.
Howe (John) Delighting in God. ("One of the finest pieces of practical theology in the English language."—BOGUE & BENNETT.)
Lamont's (David) Sermons.

Joy—*continued.*

Limborch's Christian Theology.
Morris' (Joseph) Sermons.
Muston's (C. R.) Sermons.
Oakley's (Fred.) Sermons.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.
Ryan's (Vincent W.) Sermons.
Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
Tappan's (David) Sermons.
Vaughn (Henry) on the Fruits of the Spirit.
Whichcot's (B.) Sermons.

Jubilee.

Gerhardi (Ioan.) Exercitationes.
Kranold de Anno Hebræorum jubilæo.
Maimonides de Jubilæo Hebræorum.
Voisin, de Jubileo secundum Hebræos.
Wagenseilii (Ioan. Chr.) Disputationes.
Woldius de Anno Hebræorum Jubilæo.

Godwin's Moses and Aaron.
Rose's Law of Moses.

Judaism. See CABALLA, CEREMONIAL LAW, JEWISH CONTROVERSY, RABBINICAL LITERATURE, TALMUD.

Altingii Republica Hebræorum.
Ascher, ארבעה טורים.
Badenschartz' Kirchliche Verfassung, &c. (A great work.)
Bähr's Symbolik des Mosaichen Cultus.
Bartolocci Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica. (A synopsis of Heb. literature. It contains an account of the lives, as well as writings, of Jewish authors; and copious extracts, with a Latin translation.)
Beer's Geschichte Lehren und Meinungen.
Benjamini Itinerarium. 12th century.
Bindrim de Excom. apud Hebræos.
Bretschneideri Capita Theologiæ Judæorum Dogmaticæ.
Buddæi Historia Philosophiæ Hebræorum.
Buxtorf de Synagoga Judaica.
Cameri Theologia Israelis.
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Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Judenthum.
Goremburgii Synagoga Judaica.
Gramberg's Gesch. d. religionsideen d. A. T.
Heideggeri Dissertatio de articulis fundamentis Judaicæ religionis.
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——— Compendium Theologiæ Judaicæ.
Joseph Zarphati יד יוסף.
Koecheri (H. F.) Nova Bibliotheca Hebraica. (Necessary to complete Wolfius.)
Lent, Moderna Theologica Judaica. (Acta erud.)
Levi (Simon) Hist. religionis Judæorum.
Lightfoot, Opera omnia.
Maii Synopsis Theol. Jud. veteris et novæ.

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Meieri Judaica: seu vet. scriptorum profanorum de rebus Judaicis fragmenta.
Meyer de Origine et causa festorum Jud.
Mordechai Japhe, לבוש האורה.
Nicolas, des Doct. relig. des Juifs pendant les deux siècles anterieurs a l'ere chrêt.
Pinchas, מדרש פנחס.
Relandi Dissertationes Miscellaneæ.
Salvador, Hist. des Institutions de Moïse.
Schelomo, עבודת הקדש.
Schoettgenii Horæ Hebraicæ.
Schrœder's Satzungen und Gebräuche, &c.
Selden de Synedriis vet. Hebræorum.
Selemon b. Melech, מכלל יופי.
Spencer de Legibus Hebr. ritualibus et eorum rationibus. (It attempts to show that the Mosaic ritual was borrowed from the Egyptians.)
Stein's Koheleth.
Surenhusii Theologia Hebræorum.
Thummius de festis Judæorum.
Tillemont, Ruine des Juifs.
Tissard de Hebræorum ritibus.
Tolandi (J.) Dissertationes.
Triglandius de Judæorum sectis.
Ugolini Thesaurus. (A collec. of the works of eminent writers on the laws, customs, rites, &c., of the anc. Heb. 34 vols., folio.)
Vendii Dissertationes.
Vitringa de Synagoga vetere.
Voisin, Theologia Judæorum.
——— de lege Divina.
Vorstius de Synedriis Hebræorum.
Winer, Chrestomathia Talmud. et Rabbin.
Witsius de Theocratia Israelitarum.
Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa. (Not confined to Jewish writers. Gives an account of Old Testament Scriptures, Editions, Lexicons, and writers against the Jews.)

Abendana's Ecc. and civil polity of the Jews.
Addington's Relig. knowl. of the anc. Jews.
Aguilar's (G.) Spirit of Judaism.
——— The Jewish faith.
Allen's (John) Modern Judaism. 1816. (The best modern English work. Seueral editions since.)
Alexander's (L.) Hebrew ritual and doctrine; oral and traditional.
Asher's Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin.
Asmonean, The. Periodical. N. York.
Bernard's Creed and ethics of the Jews.
Berry Street Lectures.
Calmet's Preface to Exodus and Deuteron.
——— Dissertations prefixed to Comment. on Exodus.
Cappe's Critical Remarks.
Chandler on the Prophecies.
Christian Examiner. 54:1.
Christian Month. Spectator. 1:125.
Croxall's Scripture Politics.
D'Israeli's Genius of Judaism.
Durell on the Mosaic Institutions.
Eisenmenger's Traditions of the Jews.

Judaism—*continued.*

Etheridge's (J. W.) Religious and scholastic learning of the Jews. 1856.
Ewing's (G.) Essays.
Fergus' Laws and Institutions of Moses.
Fleury's Manners of the Jews.
Fuller's Sermon on the Messiah.
Godwin's Moses and Aaron. (Many editions.)
Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by Strauss.
Henry's (H. A.) Religious belief of Israel.
Home's (Jas.) Jews and their republic.
Hoppus' Hist. and polity of the Hebrews.
Isaacs' Ceremonies, customs, traditions, &c.
Jahn's Heb. Commonwealth. Tr. by Stow.
Jewish Advocate. Periodical. London.
Jewish Herald. " "
Jewish Repository. Period. Lond. 1813–1815. Continued as J. Expositor 1816–1829, and as J. Intelligencer 1830 to the present.
Johnston's Israel after the flesh. (To show that Judaism was purely national and territorial, and not a system for individual salvation.)
Jurieu's History of doctrines and worship.
Kidder's Demonstration of the Messias.
Knickerbocker Magaz. 22:168.
Law's Theory of Religion.
Leeser (Isaac) on the Jewish religion.
Leo's Ceremonies and customs of the Jews.
Lewis' Origines Ebraicæ. (Explains every branch of the Levitical law, and all the Jewish usages.)
Lightfoot's Jewish Miscellanies.
——— Temple service in the time of Christ.
——— Works. Ed. by Putnam. (13 v., 8vo.)
London Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 27:315.
Lowe's Annual festivals of the Jews.
Lowman's Rationale of the Heb. ritual.
——— Civil government of the Jews.
McCaul's Sketches of Judaism. 1838.
Maimonides' Creed and Ethics of the Jews.
Mede's Works.
Mendelssohn's Jerusalem. Tr. by Samuels.
Michaelis' Com. on the Laws of Moses.
Moccalta's Faith strengthened.
Monthly Review. 84:18. 131:117.
Pendahzur's Book of Religion.
Priestley's (Jos.) Letters to the Jews.
Raphall's Tr. of 18 treatises from the Mishna.
Ross' View of the Jewish religion.
Salomon's Sermons. Trans. by Goldsmid.
Saurin on the Conception of Christ.
Scott's (Dr.) Controv. with a learned Jew.
Selden's Tracts.
Shaw's Hist. and philos. of Judaism. (An admirable defence of the Mosaic system. Against Hume.)
Smith's Hebrew people.
Spectator. No. 495.
Stanhope's Boyle Lectures.
Stehelen's Traditions of the Jews.
Tama's Transactions of the Sanhedrim convoked at Paris. 1806.
Tomlin's Account of the Jewish Sects.
Townley's Reasons for the law of Moses.

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Warburton's Divine legation of Moses.
——— Address to the Jews.
Watson's (Alex.) Miscellaneous Discourses.
Weemes on the Ceremonial law.
Wotton's Usages of the Scribes in the time of Christ and Pharisees.

The curious will find every work against the Jews, up to 1694, in Imbonatus; and every work in their favor in Bartolocci. Fuerst, in his *Bibliotheca* notices *all* the books relating to Jews in alphabetical order, down to 1863.

Judas Iscariot.

Buddei Meditationes Sacræ.
Goetzius de Judæ proditoris cultu.
Gronovii (Iacob.) Exercitationes Academ.
Krackewitzii (Alb. Iochim.) Dissertationes.
Raymondi Metamorphosis latronis in Apos.
Rusmeyeri (M. C.) Dissertationes duæ.
Schollmeyer's Jesus und Judas.
Seldeni Opera Theologica.
Serrarii (Nicol.) Opera.
Woergeri Symbolæ Theolog. et historicæ.

Bonar's Observations on Judas Iscariot.
Bradley's (Charles) Sermons.
Christian Review. 5:328.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Smith's (Henry) Sermons.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:215,226,427.

Judas, or Jude. See APOSTLES.

Bibliotheca Bremensis.
Biel (Io. Chris.) Observationes.
Quade, Commentatio de vita Judæ.

Judea. See PALESTINE.

Judgment. See RASH JUDGMENT.

Judgment Day. See SAINTS JUDGING THE WORLD.

Altingii Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Amyraldi Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Franzii (Wolfgang) Disputationes.
Schottii Comment. exegetico-dogmaticus in Christi sermones.
Vossii Disputationes theol. Disp.14,15,16.
Willeti Tuba monitoria.
Zornii Delineatio Theologiæ patristicæ.

Amory's (Tho.) Sermons. (8 on this subj.)
Barrow's (Bp.) Works.
Bates' Four last things.
Baxter (R.) on the Judgment day.
Berens' (Edward) Sermons.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 8:471.
Bolton on Death, Judgm., Heaven, and Hell.
Boston's Fourfold state.
Brooks' Golden Key.
Brownrig's (Bp.) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 18:137.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.

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Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Davies' (Samuel) Sermons.
Doddridge's (Philip) Lectures.
Dwight's (Timothy) Discourses. Disc. 156.
Edwards' (Pres.) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Natural Religion.
Fuller's (And.) Gospel its own witness.
Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Greenham on the Universal Judgment.
Green's (Bp.) Discourses.
Greenwood's Day of Judgment.
Hale's (Sir Matthew) Contemplations.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio.
——— Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horneck's Prospect of the day of judgment.
Howe's Blessedness of the righteous.
Irving's (Edward) Orations.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Jephson's Certainty of a future judgment.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
King's Morsels of Criticism.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Lonsdale's Test. of nature, reason, and Rev.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
McCaul's (Alexander) Sermons.
Massillon's Sermons.
Melville's (Henry) Sermons.
Monthly Review. 68:417.
Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
Seabury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's Practical treatise on the J.
Simpson on the Language of Scripture.
Smith on the Great day of Judgment.
Stoddard on the Day of Judgment.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Trench's (R. C.) Sermons.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Walker's (James) Sermons.
Watts' World to come.
Whiteley's (Jos.) Advantages of Revelation.
Wilson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Yonge's (James) Sermons.

Judgments of God. See JUSTICE OF GOD, NATIONAL RETRIBUTIONS, PROVIDENCE.

Arnold's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Beard's Theatre of God's judgments. (A curious collection of narratives.)
Brown's (W. L.) Sermons.
Charnock's Works.
Fowle's (F. W.) Plain sermons.
Hoare's (C. J.) Lectures.
Hooper's (Bp.) Works. (Pestilence.)
Taylor's Life of Christ.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Turner's Hist. of remarkable providences.

Julian the Apostate.

Juliani (Imp.) Opera. Many editions.

Julian the Apostate—*continued.*

Gregory Naz., Invectivæ.
Augustine, contra Julianum.
Cyril Alex., contra Julianum.

Abichtii (Joann. Geo.) Dissertationes.
Bassnage, Histoire des Juifs.
[Bletterie], Vie de l'Empereur Julien.
Fabricii Lux Evang. toti orbis. (Gives all the testimony as to the attempt to rebuild the temple.)
Korner's Kaiser Julian d. Ahtrünnige.
Neander's Kaiser J. und sein Zeitalter.
Rabbaneri Amenitatum quinque decades.
Schulz, de Philosoph. et moribus Juliani.
Wiggers, de J. apostata et chris. persecutore.

[Bletterie's] Life of the Emperor Julian.
Duncombe's Select works of the Emperor J.
Gregory's (Naz.) Declarat. of condemnation.
Hicks' (Geo.) Jovian. (Ans. to Johnson.)
Methodist Quart. Review. 9:387.
Moyle's Posthumous Works.
Neander's Emp. Julian and his generation.
Taylor's Orations of Julian against the Christians. Trans. from the Greek.
Warburton's Julian. (Defends the reality of the miracle of the fiery eruption.)

Justice. See MORALS.

Ahercrombie's Moral Feelings. Part 1, sec. 2.
Dyke's (Oswald) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Works.

Justice of God.

Ahernethy's (John) Sermons.
Amer. Bibl. Repository. 3d Series. 4:586.
Bellamy's (Joseph) Ersays.
Bourne's (Samuel) Sermons.
Brakenridge's (William) Sermons.
Butler's Analogy of Religion and Nature.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Clarke's Demonstration of the Exist. of God.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Cole on the Righteousness of God.
Dwight's (Timothy) Theology. Disc. 10.
Foster's Natural Religion.
Griffin (Edw. D.) on the Atonement.
Grindal's (Abp.) Remains.
Jamieson's Use of Sacred History.
Jefferson (J.) on Divine Justice.
Ludlam's Essays. Essay 2.
McCaul's (Alexander) Sermons.
Magee on the Atonement. No. 24.
Owen on Divine Justice.
Rohinson's Christian System. Ess. 8.
Ryland's Contemplations.
Saurin's Sermons.
Scott's Christian life.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Wisheart's (William) Sermons.
Witsius on the Covenants. Book 12, Ch. 8.

Justification. See FAITH, GOOD WORKS, IMPUTATION, PAUL AND JAMES, UNION WITH CHRIST.

Ignatius, Epistola ad Magnesianos.
Irenæus, adversus Hæresis.

Battus adversus Pontificos.
Beckmannus de foro Dei absolutorii.
Bezæ Apologia de Justificatione.
Bulli Harmonia Apostolica.
Bullinger de Gratia Dei. (Much esteemed.).
Burmanni (Francisc.) Disputationes.
Calvini Institutiones Theologicæ.
Chemnitii Examen concilii Tridentini.
Crocius de Justif. peccatoris coram Deo.
Cundisius de Lege et Evangelio.
Fechtii Examen Conciliationis.
Fox (Joseph.) de Christo gratis, &c.
Frisius de Norma Justificationis.
Gerardi Loci Theologici.
Gerlachus de Justif. hominis coram Deo.
Gisenii Diascepsis.
Grynæi (Io. Iacob.) Dissertationes.
Hagenhachii Historia Doctrinæ. Sec. 251.
Heshusius de Justificatione hominis. (Agt. the decree of the Council of Trent.)
Hoepfneri Disputationes duodecim.
Le Blanc, Thesis de Justificatione Christi.
Loescherus de Effectibus Justificationis.
Musæus de Ratione formali Justificatione.
Noesselti Opuscula.
Paræus de Justificatione impii.
Piscator de Causa meritoria nostra.
Placette, Traite de la Justification.
Prideaux, Lectiones de capitibus Controv.
Redman de Justificatione. ("The most learned man of his time." [1515.] BP. BURNET.)
Riveti Vindiciæ Evangelii.
Scharpius de Justificatione coram Deo.
Schelvigius de Just. fidelium veteris test.
Schwartz, de Disputatione inter Melancthonem et Lutherum.
Selneccerus de Just. hominis coram Deo.
Spener's Glaubens-Gerechtigkeit.
Storr, Doctrina Christiana.
Teuberi Meletemata et Problemata.
Thummii Explicatio terminorum et distinctionum in arduo articulo Justificationis.
——— Justitia Christi; activa, et passiva.
Witsii Economia Fœderis.
——— Miscellanea Sacra.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Adam (Tho.) on the first 11 ch. of Romans.
Allen's (W.) Christian Justification stated.
Appleton's Works. Lecture 43.
Barrow's (Bp.) Works. (Two sermons on Romans 5:1.)
Bates' Sermons on forgiveness of sin.
——— Harmony of the Divine Attributes.
Baxter's (Rich.) Aphorisms of Justification.
——— on Saving faith.
——— Reply to Eyre, Kendall, and others.
Bennett's (J.) Justificat. revealed in Script.
Bennett's (William) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.

Justification—*continued.*

Black's (David) Sermons.
Booth's Reign of Grace.
Boyse's Theological Works. (Collects the passages from the New Testament, and gives a paraphrase.)
Bradshaw on Justification. (Puritan. Translated into several languages.)
Bull's (Bp.) Defence of the Nicene Creed.
Bullinger's Decades. (Parker Society pub.)
Bunyan's Defence of the doctrine of J.
Burgess' (Anthony Lectures.
Burgh's (William) Discourses.
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The Church histories of EUSEBIUS, MOSHEIM, and SPANHEIM, are full on this subject; but the whole history of the controversy may be gathered from the Epistles of CYPRIAN, and MARINUS, *Vita Cyprianae.*

Latitudinarians.

The term is used by MOSHEIM as including what some call *Low-Church men*. He enumerates as Latitudinarians, Chillingworth, Cudworth, Hales, Whichcot, Tillotson, &c. WALCH uses the term as nearly equivalent to Deists. See INDIFFERENTISTS.

Laughter. See GRAVITY, JESTING.

Law of God. See COMMANDMENTS, LAW OF MOSES.

Law of Nations. See ORIGIN OF LAWS.

Azuni, Origine et progrés du droit.
Burlemaqui, Droit naturel.
Cumberland, de Legibus naturæ.
Demangeat, Droit international privé.
Dufour, Droit maratime.
Grotius de Jure belli et pacis.
Hautefeuille, Droits et devoirs des nations neutres.
——— Droit maratime.
Heinecii Jus naturæ et gentium.
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Leibnitz, Codex juris gentium.
Mably (G. B.), Œuvres.
Marten (Cha.), Manuel diplomatique.
Marten (G. F.), Droit des gens moderne.
Montesquieu, Esprit du lois.
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Pouget, Principes de droit maratime.
Proudhon, La guerre et la paix.
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Grove's Moral Philosophy.
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Hunt's Merchants' Mag. 12:255.
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Kennedy's Hulsean Prize Essay. 1856. (The influence of Christianity on internat. law.)

Law of Nations—*continued.*

Mackintosh's (Sir J.) Law of nature and nat.
Macqueen's Chief points in the laws of war, neutrality, search, and blockade.
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Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.
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Puffendorf's Laws, &c. Tr. by Kennett.
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Sharp's (Granville) Law of nature.
Vattel's Law of nations.
Ward's History of the law of nations in Europe, from the time of the Greeks.
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——— de Legibus.
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Grotius (G.) de Principiis juris naturalis.
Grotius (H.) de Jure belli et pacis.
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——— Reply to Bingham's history.
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See CONFIRMATION.

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Haræi Vitæ Sanctorum.
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Marigot, Vie des Saints.
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Beveridge's, Bp., "
Bird's, Charles S., "
Blackall's, Offspring, "
Brownrig's, Bp., "
Burnett's, Gilbert, "
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Hare's, A. W., "
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Boase's Tithes and offerings.
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Gough's (Tho.) Surest way of thriving.
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Woodhouse's (G. W.) Practical sermons.

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Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
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Simon (Jules) la Liberté de conscience.
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Pickard's Discourses.
Piper's (Henry H.) Sermons.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 4:117,326.
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Williamson's (David) Lectures.

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Licentiousness. See CHASTITY, FORNICATION, PURITY, UNCLEANNESS.

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Creutzer, de Leibnitii doctrina.
Diogenes Laertius, de Vitis Philosophorum.
Fortlage's Darstellung und Kritik der Beweiss fur das Dasein Gottes.
Grotius de Veritate.
Hammii Scrutatio principii primi.
Hansennii (Petr.) Meditationes.
Mori (Henr.) Demonstrationes.
——— Enchiridion Ethicum.
Pfhänner, Systema Theologiæ Gentilis.
Platonis Opera. (De rebus divinis, &c.)
Plutarchi Moralia.
Poiretus de Deo.
Proclus de Theologia Platonica.
Puffendorf, de Officiis hominis et civis.
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Bulkley (C.) on Natural Religion.
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Charnock (Stephen) on Providence.

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Chris. Month. Spectator. 4:249. 3:85.
Clarke's (S.) Boyle Lectures. 1704.
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Culverwell on the Light of Nature.
Cumberland's Laws of Nature.
Dick's Philosophy of Religion.
Dryden (J.) on Natural Religion.
Duncan's (J. S.) Botano-theology.
Duncan's (H.) Sacred Philosophy.
Durham's Astro-theology.
——— Physico-theology.
Edwards on the Causes of Atheism.
Ellis on the Knowledge of Divine things.
Erbury's Confutation of Deism.
Fiddes' Theologia Speculativa.
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Gardner's (James) Sermons.
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Gerard's Evidences of nat. and rev. religion.
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Hale's (Chief Justice) Knowledge of God.
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Hallet's Future state not proved by the Light of Nature.
Halyburton's Insufficiency of natural relig.
Harris' Eight Sermons on the being of God.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures.
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Jack's Mathematical Theology.
Kames (Lord) on Natural Religion.
Law's (W.) Theory of Religion.
——— Argument *a priori.*
——— Case of Reason fairly delineated.
Mackay's Progress of the intellect.
Mole's Obligations of Natural religion.
Morehead's Dialogues.
Nye on Natural and revealed religion.
Orr's (J.) Theory of religion.
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Peabody's (A. P.) Lowell Institute Lectures. 1864.
Ramsay's Principles of religion.
Ray's Physico-theology.
Scott's Christian Life. Part 2.
Search. *See Tucker.*
Sherlock on Providence.
Simon on Nat. Religion. Trans. by Marsden.
Squier's Natural and revealed religion.
Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
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Sykes' Connection of nat. and rev. religion.
Taylor's (Jer.) Ductor dubitantium.
——— Necessity of faith in Christ.
Tennison against Hobbes.
Totham's Scale of truth.
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Twells' Vindic. of the Gospel of Matthew.
Tytler's Essays on important subjects.
Wakefield on Public worship.
Warburton's Sermons at Lincoln Inn.
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Bradley's, Charles, Sermons.
Bull's, Bp., Sermons.
Bryant's, Matthew, Sermons.
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Duché's, Jacob, Sermons.
Girdlestone's, Charles, Sermons.
Hare's, J. C., Sermons.
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Potts', J. H., Sermons.
Skelton's, Philip, Sermons.
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Limits of Human Knowledge. See PROVINCE OF REASON.

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Krehl's Evangelische Gebete.
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——— Letter to Robinson.
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Bull's (Bp.) Works.
Christian Observer. 11:501.
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Durell on the Public worship of God.
Edwards' Theologia Reformata.
Faulkner on the Lawfulness of Liturgies.
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Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
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Shuckford's (Samuel) Sermons.
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Boyse's (Jos.) Theological works.
——— Remarks on Liturgies.
Brekell on the use of forms in public prayer.
Christian Exam. 49:258. 54:23.
Clarkson (David) on Liturgies.
Doddridge's Lectures. Parts 3d and 9th.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 144.
Eclectic Rev. N. Series. 1:412.
Haldane (J. A.) on Social Worship. (Able.)
Harding's Reply to Jewell's Apology.
Jones' Essay on Public Worship.
King's Inventions of men in worship.
Orton's (Job) Lectures.
Owen (John) on Liturgies.
——— on Church Peace.
Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters.
Powell's (Vavassor) The Common Prayer book no divine service.
Robinson's (B.) Case of Liturgies.
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Bonæ Rerum Liturgicarum, etc.
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Brandt's Homiletisch-liturgisches correspondenz-blatt.
Cave, de Officiis eccles. Græcorum.
De Vert, Explicatio hist. de ceremonies.
Eisenschmid's Einige Gebräuche.
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Friderici Liturgia, vetus et nova.
Gavantii Thesaurus Rituum.
Gerberti Monumenta vet. liturgiæ.
Grancolas, Lit. d'Occident et d'Orient.
Hoffmanni Collectio rariss. et inedit, &c.
Koecheri Bibliotheca Liturgica.
Koehleri Principia theologiæ liturg.
Krazer de Apostolocis necnon antiquis eccles. occid. liturgiis. (Very complete.)
Lienhart de Antiquis liturgiis.
Lindani Libri ecclesiastici Latini.

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Muratori Liturgia Romana vetus.
Renaudoti Lit. Orientalium collectio. (Contains fifty liturgies, some of them declared to be 1,400 years old; with learned dissertations and notes.)
Zaccariæ Bibliotheca Ritualis.

Bennet's Use of preconceived forms.
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Bunsen's Hippolytus and his age.
Clay's L. of Edward VI. and Elizabeth.
Comber's Rise and use of Liturgies.
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Eclectic Review. 95:236.
Frazier's Magazine. 23:33.
Hall's Reliquæ Liturgicæ. (12 liturgies, including the Middleburg, Saxon, Scotch, and American.)
Heylin's Miscellaneous Tracts.
Keeling's Liturgiæ Brittanicæ. (The six liturgies from the time of Edward VI. to Charles II., in parallel columns.)
Neale's History of the Eastern Church.
——— Translation of the liturgies of Mark, James, Clement, and Chrysostom.
Neale & Forbes' Ancient liturgies of the Gallican church; with introd., notes, &c.
New Englander. 1:469.
Schaff's Ancient Catholic liturgies.

In BRAY'S *Bibliotheca* is a list of the chief liturgies, of all ages. L'ESTRANGE, in his *Alliance of divine offices*, exhibits all the English Protestant liturgies; with various readings, and a running commentary. PAESINI *Liturg. orient. collectio,* gives those of the East. DANIEL, *Codex liturgicus,* gives those of the Papal, Lutheran, Oriental, and Reformed churches; with valuable notes. BRUNET gives those of various nations.

Lives of the Apostles. See APOSTLES.

Lives of the Fathers. See FATHERS.

Barbeyrac, de la Morale des Peres.
Gerhardi Patrologia.
Ildefonsus de Illustribus eccles. scriptores.
Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotorum.

Allen's Fathers of the first 5 centuries.
Blakey's (R.) Primitive fathers.
Butler's (Alban) Fathers and Martyrs. (Endeavors to exculpate them from the sharp censures of Barbeyrac.)
Cave's Lives of the F. of the first 3 cent.
——— Eminent F. of the 4th century.
Evans' Biography of the early church.
Le Clerc's Lives of the primitive Fathers.
Lupton's Glory of their times.
Wayne's Religious biography.

Lives of the Saints. See LEGENDS.

Locusts. See NATURAL HISTORY.

Bornemanni (Olaus.) Dissertationes.
Cellarii (Chris.) Schediasma historicum, &c.
Gleichius de Victu Ioannis.
Oldius in Domicilio, et victu Ioannis.
Rabii Exercitationes Philologicæ.
Stolbergius de Amictu et victu Ioannis.

Elsner's Com. on the New Testament.
Paxton's Illustrations of Scripture.
Sandys' (George) Travels.
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Abicht's Philos. d. Erkenntnisse. 1791.
Albertus Magnus. 1494. (Several treatises in his "works.")
Aristotelis Ars Rhetoricæ.
——— Demonstratio Log. veræ.
Baumgarteni Acroasis Logica. 1761.
Berg's Epikritik der philosophie. 1805.
Caseii Summa vet. interpretum in universam logicam Aristotelis.
Campenellæ Philosophia rationalis. 1638.
Crousaz, Systéme de logique. 1725.
Degerando, de l'Art de pensèr. 1800.
Destutt, Elemens d'Idéologie. 1818.
Engel's Methode d. Vernunftlehre. 1780.
Ernsthausen's Inhalt der logischen Wahrheit. 1804.
Euler, Lettres a une princess. 1810.
Feverlini (J. G.) Dissertationes. 1712.
Fichté, Begriff d. Wissenschaftslehre. 1798.
Hegel (C. W. F.) Wissenschaft der Logic. 1816.
Hillegeri Institutiones logicæ eclecticæ.
Kant's Logik. 1800.
Krug's Denklehre, oder Logik. 1806.
Laromiguière, Leçons de Philosophie. 1815.
Leibnitzii Opera. 1768.
Malebranche, Recherche de la Vérité. 1700.
Ramus (P.), Institutiones Dialecticæ. 1545.
Reinhold's (K. L.) Kritik der Logic. 1789.
Rosenkreutz, Modifications de Logique.
Sluteri Anatomia logicæ Aristotelicæ.
Twesten's (A. D.) Logik. 1825.

Aristotle's Logic.
Bacon's (Sir Francis) Works.
Barron's Lectures on Belles lettres.
Belsham's Compendium of Logic.
Bentham's (Jer.) New system of Logic.
Blakey's (Robt.) Essay on Logic.
Bohour's Logic. (Examples from ancient and modern authors.)
Bosanquet's System of Logic.
Brown's (Francis) Logic.
Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric.
Christian Examiner. 40:263.
Christian Quart. Spectator. 7:322.
Coleridge on True and false reasoning.
Collard's Essentials of Logic.
De Morgan's First Notions.
Gambier on Moral evidence.
Glassford's Principles of evidence.

Logic—*continued.*

Hamilton's (Sir W.) Lectures on Logic.
Hill's System of Logic.
Houghton's Prodromus.
Kett's Logic. (Analysis of Aristotle.)
Latham's L. in its application to language.
Le Clerc's Art of reasoning.
Locke on the Human understanding.
Mansell's Prolegomena Logica. (The psychological character of logical processes.)
Mills' System of Logic.
Milton's (J.) Ars logica.
Moberly's Lectures on Logic.
Newman's (F. W.) Lectures.
Reid's Analysis of Aristotle's Logic.
Solly's (Tho.) Syllabus of Logic.
Tappan's (H. P.) Logic.
Tatham's Scale and chart of truth.
Thompson on the Laws of thought.
Waddington's Life of Ramus.
Walker (J.) on Logic.
Watts' Right use of reason.
Wesley's (C.) Guide to Syllogism.
Whately's Elements of Logic.
Whewell's History of inductive sciences.
——— Philosophy of De.
——— Logic for the million.

See, at the end of Robt. Blakey's *Essay on Logic*, London, 1848, an alphabetical list of more than a thousand writers on this subject. Few of those here cited are named in that list. The author of *Reflections upon learning*, an able work of the last century, attributed to Mr. Baker, states that between Albertus Magnus, and the time of the Reformation, "there have been twelve thousand authors that have commented on the books of Aristotle."

Logos. See CHRISTOLOGY.

Carpzovius de λογω Philonis non Johanneo adversaria.
Dorner's Entwickelung-Geschichte der Christologie.
Eusebii Preparatio Evangelica.
Kostlin's Lehrbegriff des Evangilium.
Lampe de Λογω υποστατικω, &c.
Meier, die Lehre von der Trinitat.
Misleri Theognosia.
Winzer, num quid discriminis inter τον λογον et το πνευμα intercedat.

Bryant's Sentiments of Philo Judæus.
Burton's Bampton Lectures. 1829.
Dawson's Moyer Lectures. 1773. (On the Texts in which the word occurs.)
Elmlicht's Theophania; or, pre-existent Messiah.
Howe's Critical Observations.
Kitto's Journal. 3:107.
Lady Moyer's Lectures. (Waterland, 1720; Felton, 1728; Seed, 1733; Dawson, 1764; and others.)
Lardner on the Logos.
Lowman's Tracts. Tract 3.

Logos—*continued.*

Lawrence's (Rich.) Dissertation on the Logos. (Often appended to his reflections on the Unitarian version.)
Luck's Dissertations.
Methodist Quar. Review. 11:377,536.
Pearson on the Creed.
Smith's (J. Pye) Scrip. test. to the Messiah.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Upham's Letters on the Logos.
Watts' Dissertations. Diss. 4.
Whitaker's Origin of Arianism.
Whitby's Exposition of John Chap. 1.

Lollards. See WICKLIFFITES.

Gellenius de Admiranda sacra et civili, &c.
Gramaye, Antiquitates Belgicæ.
Sanderus Brabantia et Flandria illustratæ.
Walchii (J. G.) Miscellanea Sacra.

Apology for Lollard Doctrines. (Attributed to Wickliffe. Edited by Todd. 1842.)
Knox's (John) Works. (L. of Scotland.)
Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.
Walch's Dissertation on the Lollards.

Lombards. See ALBIGENSES.

Long Life. See LOVE OF LIFE, OLD AGE.

Longsuffering of God. See PATIENCE.

Loquacity. See TONGUE.

Cooper's (Archdeacon) Sermons.
Dawes' (Abp.) Sermons.
Fell's (Bp.) The Ladies' calling.
Gouldburn's The idle tongue.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Reyner's Rules for the govt. of the tongue.
Richardson's (William) Sermons.

Lord's Day. See SABBATH.

Franke, de Diei dominici apud vet. Christianos.
Hartman, de Rebus gestis Christianorum.
Hengstenberg, Ueber den Tag des Herrn.
Liebetrut's Tag des Herrn.

Agnew (J. H.) on the Christian Sabbath.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barnes' (Albert) Practical Sermons.
Baxter's Chris. Sabb. (Reply to Whately.)
Baylee's Statistics and facts on the L.'s day.
Benson's (Charles) Lectures.
Bloomfield's Letters to the Inhabitants of London.
Brooks' Div. and moral oblig. of the L. day.
Brown's Sunday Thoughts.
Brown & Taylor's Discussion on the obligation of the Sabbath.
Bryan's (Matthew) Discourses.
Bulkley's (John) Discourses.
Burder's (H. F.) Lectures.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Burnside on the different sentiments entertained in Christendom in relation to the weekly Sabbath.

Lord's Day—*continued.*

Burton's Proper observance of the L.'s day.
Caudrey's Christian Sabbath.
Chalmers on the Christian Sabbath.
Christian Examiner. 30:92. 50:55.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 8:449,571. 9:225,393. 10:225.
Christian Observer. 16:315. 26:358.
Christian Quarterly Spectator. 4:334. 6:580.
Christian Sabbath, The. A series of discourses by

Dr. Rice,	Origin and history.
Dr. Hague,	Authority and perpetuity.
Dr. Ganse,	Duties.
Dr. Adams,	Benefits.
Dr. Vinton,	Civil relations.

Close's (F.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Croly's (Dr. George) Sermons.
Dealtry's (Wm.) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 9.
Dorrington's (Theoph.) Discourses.
Dwight's Sermons. Ser. 105.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 22:697.
Edwards' (Justin) Sabbath Manual.
Edwards' (John) Discourses.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Estlin's Apology for the Sabbath.
Fairbairn's Theological Essays.
Farquhar's Torch of time. (To show the advant. of Sunday to the working classes.)
Fisher's History of the Sabbath day. (Its uses and abuses, with notices of the Puritans, Quakers, &c.)
Foster's (James) Discourses.
Gilfillan's (James) The Sabbath viewed in the light of reason, revelation, and history.)
Gilfillan's (S.) Essay. (Practical.)
Gilpin's (Wm.) Sermons.
Glasse's (G. H.) Sermons.
Guild on the Profanation, &c.
Hacket's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hakewell's Institution, End, Dignity, &c.
Hambleton's (John) Sermons.
Hengstenberg on the Sabb. Tr. by Martin.
Hessey's Bampton Lectures. 1860.
Heylin's (Peter) Hist. of the Sabbath, from the Apostles to the present. 1636.
Hill's (Robert) Discourses.
Hill's (M.) The Sabbath made for man. (Origin, history, principles, &c.)
Holden's (George) Christian Sabbath.
Hole's (Matthew) Discourses.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Discourses.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Howlitt's (John) Sermons.
Hughes (Joseph) on the Christian Sabbath.
Humphrey on the Sabbath.
Ives' Sunday no Sabbath.
Jebb's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jenkins' (George) Sabbatismos.
Jepson on the Proper observance, &c.
Jones' (Wm., of Nayland) Sermons.
Kingdon's History, Obligation, &c.

Lord's Day—*continued.*

Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Christian Sabbath.
McFarlane on the Authority, &c. (Discusses the question of civil enforcement.)
Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Miller's Physiology in harm. with the Bible.
Milner's (Isaac) Sermons.
North British Rev. 18:393.
Ollerenshaw's Sabbath labor is seventh day slavery. (Prize essay.)
Orton's (Job) Six Discourses on the Sabbath.
Owen's (John) Sermons.
Owen's (J. B.) Six Sermons on the Sabbath.
Parsons' (Joseph) Discourses.
Piret's (David) Ethics of the Sabbath.
Pocklington's (John) Sermons. (Sunday no Sabbath.)
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Princeton Review. 35:537.
Quinton's Antidote to the curse of labor.
Rush's (Judge) Charges.
Sharp's (Abp.) Discourses.
Sherman's Plea for the Sabbath.
Singleton's Duty of keeping holy the Sabb.
Skeeler's (Thomas) Discourses.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:142,198,331. 5:39,89.
Stopford's Scripture account of the Sabbath.
Symond's (J.) Enquiry into the design, &c.
Thorn's Lectures on the Christian Sabbath.
Treffrey's Christian Sabbath.
Turner's (J. M.) Sermons on the Lord's day.
Twisse's Christian Sabbath defended.
Umfreville's (Charles) Discourses.
Veale's (W.) Prize Essay on the Sunday question. 1854.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Walker's (Robt.) Sermons.
Wardlaw's (Ralph) Discourses on the Sabb.
Webster's Sermons on the Sabbath.
Wells' Practical Sabbatarian.
Whately's Thoughts on the Sabbath. (Elicited replies from Baxter, Foster, Stopford, and others. He maintains thet the Sabbath is not a New Testament ordinance.)
White's Def. of the doct. of the Ch. of Engl.
Willison on the Sanctification of the Sabb.
Wilson's (Bp., of Calcutta) Discourses.
Wright on the Christian Sabbath.
Wroughton's (Charles) Discourses.
Wyman (R.) on the Lord's day.
Younger's Light of the week. (Prize essay.)

So many writers on the *Lord's day* call it the Sabbath, that it is impossible to separate, accurately, the references under these heads.

Lord's Prayer.

Cyprian, in Orationem Dominicam.
Origen, Περι ευχης.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ in Matt. Hom. XIX.
Tertullian, Opera.
Gregory Nyssen, in Orationem Dominicam.
Augustine, de Oratione Domini.

Lord's Prayer—*continued.*

Amyraldi (Moses) Exercitationes.
Arndt's (F.) Vaterunser.
Bonnet (L.), Sermons sur la prière, etc.
Brunner de Oratione Domini.
Chemnitii Harmonia evangelica.
Danæi Explicatio.
Harms' Vaterunser in 11 Predigten.
Marheineke's (Ph.) 13 Predigten.
Matthai's Auslegung des Vaterunser.
Noesseltii Exercitationes.
Olearii Observationes Sacræ.
Posner's (A. S.) Eilf Predigten.
Suiceri Observationes Sacræ. Cap. vii—xi.
Vitringa de Synagoge vetere.
Weber, Eclogæ Exeget. Loc. II, III.
Wernsdorfii Vindicia orationis Dominicæ.

Alison's (Archib.) Sermons.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 5:190. 6:187.
Anderson's (Robert) The Lord's prayer a manual of religious knowledge.
Andrewes' (Bp.) Sermons. (19 on this subj.)
Atmore's Discourses on the Lord's prayer.
Baker's (Sir R.) Meditations.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Baxter on the Lord's prayer.
Benson's Hulsean Lectures. 1820.
Berens' (Edward) Lent lectures.
Bevan on the Lord's prayer.
Bisse's (Tho.) Course of Sermons on L. P.
Blackall's (Bp.) Eight Sermons.
Booker's (L.) Lectures on the Lord's prayer.
Bradshaw on the Lord's prayer.
Busfield's (J. A.) Sermons on the Lord's Pr.
Cappe's Remarks upon important passages.
Clowe's (J.) Sermons.
Dallas' Ten practical Sermons.
Dalton's Expository discourses on the L. P.
Daniels' (W. B.) Sermons.
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Edwards' (Bp.) Theologia Reformata.
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Hill's (G. D.) Sermons on the Lord's prayer.
Hole's Exposition of the Catechism.
Hooker on the Lord's prayer.
Hopkins' (Ezek.) Expos. of the Lord's Pr.
Horlock's (H. D.) Sermons on the Lord's P.
Howell's (William) Eleven Sermons on the Lord's prayer. ("One of his paragraphs would have been another man's sermon. His ideas were great ideas, and struggled forth in their naked and unadorned grandeur."—H. Melvill.)
Hugo's (Tho.) Sermons on the Lord's prayer.

Lord's Prayer—*continued.*

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Jones' (Joseph) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
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King's Exposition of the Lord's prayer.
Latimer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Works.
Lloyd (J. C.) on the Lord's prayer.
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Mangey's (Thos.) Practical Discourses.
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Nance (J.) on the L. P. and ten command'ts.
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Tapprel on the Lord's prayer.
Tholuck's Com. on the Serm. on the Mount.
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Trail's (Robert) Sermons.
Verschoyle's (Hamilton) Sermons.
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Augustine, Sermones.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ.
Gregory Nyssen, Opera.

Albertin, de Eucharistia. ("Against the Papal view, and the best treatise on this side of the question."—WIESMAN.)
Baxtorfii Dissertationes.
Bezæ Summa Doct. de re sacramentaria.
Blondell de Eucharistia veteris ecclesiæ.
Bullinger de forma, &c., Cœnæ Domini.
Burmanni Disputat. XVIII, de cœna.
Calvin de Cœna Domini.
Dorschei (Ioann. Geo.) Considerationes.
Du Moulin, Abrégé des Controverses.
Hammelii Collegium Testamentarium.
Harenbergii Theol. Dogm. ex monumentis Patrum.
Hildebrandi rituale Eucharistiæ vet. eccles.
Hoepfneri Isagoge ad salutarem usum cœna.
Hospiniani Historia Sacramentaria.
Hottingeri Dissertatio philologico-theolog.

Lord's Supper—*continued.*

Laroque, Histoire de l'Eucharistie.
Melancthonis Sententia de cœna Domini.
Mylii Tract. de Sacramento eucharistico.
Pfaffii Syntagma Dissert. Theologicarum.
Quenstedii Disputationes.
Rückert d. Abendmahl in d. alten Kirche.
Vorstii (Conrad.) Dissertationes.

Adams' (Neh.) The communion Sabbath.
Addison on the Lord's Supper.
Alexander's (J. W.) Young Communicant.
Allix's Preparation for the Lord's Supper.
——— Examination of the scruples of those who refuse to partake.
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Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Discourses.
Bayard's Letters on the Lord's Supper.
Beachcroft's (Robert) Sermons.
Bell's (Wm.) Authority, nature, &c.
Belfrage's Sacramental addresses and meditations. (Excellent for young ministers.)
Bennett's (W. J. E.) History, doctrine, &c.
Beza's Discourses. (Chiefly agt. Papists.)
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Blair's Essays on important subjects.
Bloomfield's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bonnet's Meditations on the Lord's Supper.
Boston's Communion Sermons.
Bowyer (T.) on the Nature, end, &c.
Bradley's (Charles) Sermons at the Celebration, &c.
Brett's Nature and benefits of the Eucharist.
Brevant's Sacrament and Sacrifice. (Able.)
Brown's (J.) Communion Sermons.
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Calamy's (Benjamin) Sermons.
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Card's (R.) Dissertat. on the Lord's Supper.
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Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Cotton's (R. L.) Lectures.
Cranmer's (Abp.) Def. of the true doctrine.
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Dehon's (Dr. T.) Sermons.
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D'Oyly's (George) Sermons.
Drum on the Lord's Supper.
Duncan's Communicant's assistant.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 160 and 161.
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Earle's Sacramental Exercises.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.

Lord's Supper—*continued.*

Erskine's (R.) Sermons on sacram. occasions.
Erskine's (Ebenez.) Sacramental sermons.
Erskine's (J.) Theological Dissert. Diss. 5.
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Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
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Flavel's Sacramental Meditations.
Fleetwood's Reasonable Communicant.
Ford's (Jas.) Devotional Communicant.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Frith's (John, the Martyr) Works.
Gardner's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Gibson on the Lord's S. (Often reprinted.)
Girdlestone's (Charles) Seven Sermons.
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Goode's Nature of Christ's presence, &c.
Goodwin's Evangelical Communicant.
Gordon's (Adam) Sermons.
Gray's Communion Sermons.
Grierson's Doct. and practical Treatise, &c.
Grotius' Treatise on the Lord's Supper.
Grove on the Lord's Supper.
Halley (Robt.) on Symbolic institutions.
Halyburton's 10 Sermons before and after.
Haweis' Communicant's companion.
Hawker's (Robt.) Sacramental Meditations.
Henry's Communicant's companion. (Among the best known.)
Hesketh on Eating and drinking unworthily.
Hewlett's Manual of Instruction, &c.
Hildersham on the Lord's Supper.
Hoadley's Nature and end of the Supper. (Gave rise to much controversy. A list of numerous writers who engaged in it, is given in Horne's *Catalogue of Queen's College library.*)
Horneck's Crucified Jesus. (Excellent.)
Hunter's (Dr. Henry) Sermons.
Hutchinson's (R.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Ibbetson's Plain and affectionate discourses.
Immen's Pious communicant encouraged.
Jackson on the Lord's Supper.
Jefferys' (Dr. John) Sermons and tracts. (Collects and paraphrases all the passages in the New Testament where the subject is mentioned.)
Johnson's (J.) Unbloody sacrifice. (Gives the sentiments of the first four centuries.)
Kidder's Convivium Celeste.
King's Sacramental devotions.
——— Morsels of Criticism.
Kittlewell's Help to worthy communicants.
Knox's (Vicessimus) Nature, Efficacy, &c.
Lake's Guide to the Lord's Supper.
Larroque's History of the Eucharist. (Collects passages from writers in every century, and upon every question connected with the Lord's Supper.)
Law's Demonstrations of gross errors, &c. (Reply to Hoadley.)
Lisle's Testimony of Antiquity.
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Masillon on the Proper dispositions, &c.

Lord's Supper—*continued.*

Mason's First ripe fruits.
Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Morice (W.) on the Lord's Supper.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate.
Morrison's Counsels for the Communion Table. (Against Hoadley.)
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Ogden's (Samuel) Sermons.
Orme's Ordinance of the L. S. illustrated.
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Osterwald's Duties of communicants.
Owen's (John) 25 Sacramental discourses.
Patrick's Nécessity, end, and manner, &c.
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——— Essay on the Eucharist.
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——— on Covenanting with Christ.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Meditations on the Lord's Supper. ("Displays stupendous erudition."—British Critic.)
Ridley's (Bp.) Christian Passover.
Roberts' Communicant instructed.
Robertson's Letters and Dialogues.
Sellers' Week's preparation for the Lord's S.
Sharpe's (Thomas) Sermons.
Shower's Sacramental Discourses.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Smith's (Samuel S.) Sermons.
Smithie's Non-Communicant.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Spalding's Synaxis Sacra.
Stoughton's Trew Judgemente of a *Chyrstyan*, agreeing with Scripture, and moost Catholycke and trew dyffinicyon of the Doctours.
Sykes' Rational Communicant. (Many editions. Suited to humble capacities.)
Taylor's (Jer.) Christian consolation.
——— Life of Christ. Disc. 19.
——— Worthy Communicant.
Taylor's (J.) True doctrine of the Eucharist. (Replies to Archdeacon Wilberforce, and most ably.)
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Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Thompson's (Henry) Forty addresses.
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Warren on the Supper. (Reply to Hoadley.)
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Watson on the Lord's Supper.
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Lord's Supper—*continued.*

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White (Alex.) on the Lord's Supper.
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Williams (W. R.) on the Lord's Supper.
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——— Catechism for Communicants.
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Wilson's (Dan.) Addresses to young persons.
Wrangham's (Francis) Sermons.

The books on this theme amount to thousands. A large number of them belong to the Popish controversy.

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Lots. See GAMING.

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Down's Defence of lots in light matters.
Gataker's (Tho.) Historical and theological treatise on the use of lots. (Eminent in all he undertook.)
——— Defence of the treatise on lots against J. B.
Hall's (J. V.) Nature and use of lots. (Strong against playing cards.)
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Lot's Wife.

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Clerici (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Fischeri Statua Salina.
Grammii Exercitationes.
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Hewlett's (John) Sermons. (The Christian hero.)
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Leland's (Thomas) Sermons.
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Barnes' (Albert) Practical Sermons.
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Cruso's (Timothy) Sermons.
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Hall's (Robt. Sen.) Help to Zion's travellers.
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Kirk's (Edward N.) Sermons.
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Muston's (C. R.) Sermons.
Peabody's (A. P.) Lectures before the Lowell Institute.
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Chandler's (Samuel) Sermons.
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Ibbot's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Irving's (Edward) Sermons.
Pearson's (Hugh) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Van Mildert's (William) Sermons.

Love of Praise. See FAME.

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Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Blundel's (Thomas) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Vaughn (Henry) on the Fruits of the Spirit.

Love to Enemies. See FORGIVENESS.

Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
Balguy's (John) Discourses.
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South's (Robert) Sermons.
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Fuller on Spiritual declension and the means of revival.
Gardner's (John) Sermons.
Gatty's (Alfred) Sermons.
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Mason (John) on the Human virtues.
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Oakley's (Frederick) Sermons.
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Keil's M. Luther's Lebens Umstände.
Kies' (Ludwig) Luther's Leben und Tod.
Kirchmayeri Disquisitio historica de M. L.
Klein (C.), L. consideré comme predicateur.
Konig's M. Luther d. Deutsche reformator.
Kock, Ehrengedächtnis.
Ledderhose's M. Luther, nach seinem äussern u. innern Leben Dargestellt.
Mattherii Historia Martini Lutheri.
Melanchthonis Hist. vitæ Lutheri.
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Michelet, Hist. de la vie de Luther.
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Pfizer's Leben Luther's.
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Selnecceri Vita Lutheri.
Spieker's Geschichte Dr. M. Luthers.
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Hare's Vindic. of L. from his recent English assailants. 1855. (Wm. Hamilton, Hallam, Ward, Newman, &c.)
Life of Martin Luther; by Bowers.
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——— ——— by Croley. 50 plates.
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——— ——— by D'Aubignè.
——— ——— by Gelzer.
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——— ——— by Michelet.
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Stephens' (Sir James) Essays.
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Pro.

Lutheri Opera. (Many editions; that of Halle, 1740–1750, in 24 volumes, is deemed as good, on the whole, as any.)
Albert's die Gründliche Widerlegung eines pæbstlichen Buchs.
Augusti's Syst. der Christlichen Dogmatik.
Bahrd, Systema Theologiæ.
Balduini Apologia pro Augustana confess.
Bretschneider's Handbuch der Dogmatik.
Chemnitzii Loci Theologici.
Confessio Doctrinæ Saxonicarum ecclesiarum. (The famous confession drawn up by Melancthon, Bugenhagen, &c.)
Fabricii Harmonia confess. Augustanæ.
Francke, Libri symbolici Ecc. Lutheranæ.
Franzii Disputationes.
Gerhardi Loci Theologici. ("The Coryphæus of Lutheranism."—LOWNDES.)
Hardtii Historia Reformationis.
Heinrich, Lutheri Theologia sincera.
Heppe, Confess. fidei Eccl. reformatæ.
Hoffkuntz's Lehr und Wehrcatechismus.
Hulsemani Conf. August. vindicans.
Hunnii Opera. (Very bitter agt. Calvinists.)
Koecheri Opera.
Krackewitzii Theses Theologicæ.
Loescher's Reformationsacten.
Masius, Défence de la rel. Luthérienne.
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Mueller der Anti-Bretschneider.
Phillippi, Kirchliche Glaubenslehre.
Schrœder's Unterricht.
Seckendorf, Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutheranismo. (Reviews all Luther's writings, and gives copious extracts.)
Strigelii Loci Theologici.
Twesten's Vörlesungen über d. Dogmatik.
Waltheri Demonstratio.
Zeitschrift für die Lutherische Theologie.
Bretschneider's Manual of doct. theology.
Buddeus' Exhibition of religion, as professed in the Lutheran Church.
Calixtus' Adjudication of theolog. controv.
De Wette's Doctrinal System.
Gerhard's Catholic Confessions.
Hunn's Doctrines of the Lutheran Church.
Luther's Works. Trans. by H. Cole. 10 vols.
Schmidt's Dogmatic of the Lutheran Church.
Schmucker's Lutheran Manual. (Illustrates the Augsburg Confession, and gives the forms of govern't and discipline in the L. Churches of the U. States, as in 1855.)
——— Popular Theology.
——— Vindic. of American Lutheranism.
——— Church of the Redeemer.

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Abbadie, Verité de la relig. reformé.
Andreæ (Jacob.) Widerlegung d. pezelichen Berichts.
Andreæ (Conrad) Zwolff underschiedliche Tractatlein aus Luther's Schrifften Zusammen getragen. (Satirical.)
Arcudii Libri vii de Concordia Ecc. Occid. et Orient. in Septem sacramentum administratione.
Botsacci *Παρα Βαλλεταιρος.*
——— Reformatum pseudo-Augustanum.
Cancerin's Rettung der Augspurgischen Confession.
Corvin's Richtige Antwort aufein gedrucktes Bittschreiben eines Calvinisten.
Eckhardi Fasciculus Controv. theologicarum. (Contains the opinions of Zuingle, Calvin, Beza, Piscator, and many others, arranged under the various controverted heads.)
Fischeri Assertionis Lutheranæ confutatio.
Gabillon, la Verité de la relig. reformèe.
Hutteri Calvinista auto-politicus.
Lintrupii Specimen Calumniæ.
Mentzeri Collatio Augustanæ Confessionis cum doctrina Zuinglii, Calvini, Bezæ, et sociorum.
Mueleni Veritas relig. Christ. reformatæ.
Reiser's Wiederhotter Beweis.
Saluti Recens Lutheranarum Assertionum oppugnatio.
Treug, Calvinisches Todbett.
Vervesii Disputationes Viginti.
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Scheibel's Archiv für hist. Entwickelung, &c.
Seckendorfii Commentarius historicus et apologeticus. (A great standard work, which gives Papal as well as Protestant statements, reviews Luther's writings, and spreads out the original documents.)
Seelenii Stromata Lutherana.
Walchii (J. G.) Introductio in libros eccles. Lutheranæ symbolicos.
——— Einleitung in die Religions-streitigkeiten der Evang. Lutherischen Kirche, bis auf jetzige Zeiten. 1739.

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Hazelius' L. Church in America. To 1846.
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Marheinecke's Hist. of the Ref. in Germany.
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Robertson's History of Charles V.
Schaeffer's Early history of the L. Church.
Schmucker's American Lutheran Church.
Scott's History of the Church from the Diet of Augsburg (1530), to the death of Luther (1546).
Seckendorf's History of Lutheranism.

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Brown's Essay on the Characteristics.
Burgh's Importance of manners to a State.
Carrington's (James) Sermons.
Cole's (T.) Discourses.
Dennis' (J.) Vice and luxury public mischiefs. (Reply to Mandeville's fable of the bees.)
Ferguson on Civil Society.
Innes on Virtue.
Law's Theory of Religion.
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
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Robinson's Claude on the composition of a sermon.
Stockdale's Three discourses on luxury.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on prevalent vices.

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Kierkegard, de Notione atque turpitudine mendacii.
Nabe (F. A.), Dissertationes.
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Clarke on the Catechism.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.
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Downame's (John) Treatise against lying.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 125 to 127.
Dymond's (Jonath.) Essays. (Superior.)
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Grove's Moral Philosophy.
Hole on the Catechism.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
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New Englander. 1:184.
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(These two discuss the question, "Is it ever justifiable?")
Owen's (Edward) Sermons.
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Bk. 3, ch. 15.

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Ridgeley on the Catechism.
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——— Sermons.
Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
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Anquetil du Perron, Systèmes des Mages.
Beausobre, Hist. de Manichæisme. L. I, c. 5.
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Hyde, Hist. vet. Persarum. Magorum, &c.
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Littell's Living Age. 5:567.
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Habichorstius de Magistratus et suppliciorum capitalium Constitutione Divina.
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Ibbot's (Benjamin) Sermons.
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Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium.
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Tottie on Subjection to civil powers.
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Usher's Power of the Prince.
Warburton's (Bp.) Sermons. (Appendix.)
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——— ——— by Wash. Irving.
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Callixti (Fred.) Dissertationes.
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Cochrane's Manual of Devotion. ("Nothing better."—CHALMERS.)
Cosin's (Bp.) Private Devotion.
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——— Morning Devotions.
Taylor's Golden Grove.
Timson's Devout Musings.
Wellbeloved's Devotional Extracts.
Wilson's Sacra Privata.

Manuscripts of S. S. See BIB. CRITICISM, PHILOLOGY, VARIOUS READINGS.

Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis. (Enumerates and compares an immense collection of MSS.; Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebr., Armenian, Samaritan, and Ethiopic.)
De Rossi, Var. Lectiones. (Prolegomena.)
Dupin, Dissertations Preliminaire.
Houbiganti Prolegomena.
Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum.
Pfaffii (C. M.) Dissertationes.
Tischendorf, Anecdota, sacra et profana. (Gives a catalogue of the manuscripts obtained by Prof. T., and also those of the British Museum, and Bodleian Library.)
Waltoni Prolegomena.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:254.
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ.
Curzon's Visit to monasteries in Lebanon.
Dupin's Preliminary Dissertations.
Kennicott's (Benjamin) Dissertations.
Lawrence on the Systematic classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach. (An able disproof of some of G.'s decisions.)
Marsh's Michaelis. (Introduction.)
Mills' Prolegomena.
Pettigrew's Bibliotheca Sussexiana. (A descriptive catalogue of 295 ancient MSS., and 1,543 different editions of printed Bibles, collected by the Duke of Sussex.)
Platt's Catalogue of Ethiopic Biblical MSS.
Simons' Critical history of the Old Test.
Walton's (Bryan) Prolegomena.
Westwood's Paleographia Sacra. (50 beautiful illustrations.)
Wetstein's (John James) Prolegomena.

Marcellians.

Augustini Epist. ad Marcellinum.

Alexandri Dissertationes.
Irgens de Marcello, Ancyræ episcopo.
Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum.

Marcionites.

Epiphanius, de Hæresibus.
Irenæus, contra Hæreses.
Origen, contra Marcionitas.
Tertullian, contra Marcionitas.

Alexandri (Natalis.) Dissertationes.
Beausobre, Hist. de Manichæisme. Lib. 4.
Leschnerti Diss. de baptismate vicario.
Strumii Historia Bardesanii.
Tillemont, Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Eglise.

Lardner's Credibility of the gospel history.

Mariners. See SEAMEN.

Mariolatry.

Baillè, de la Devotion a la Saint vierge. (This book produced a strong sensation at the time of its publication, in 1696.)
Basnage, Histoire du culte de la Vierge.
Callixti (Frider. Ulric.) Dissertationes.
Catharini (Ambr.) Opuscula.
Costeri (Francisc.) Meditationes.
Marraccii Bibliotheca Mariana.
Memoires de Trevoux.
Sandii Horologium Mysticum.
Voetii (G.) Disputationes Selectæ. Pt. III.

Bull's (Bp. Geo.) Sermons.
Evans' (B.) Modern Popery. 1855.
Fleetwood's Life and death of the virgin M.
Gibson's Preservative against Popery.
Hall's (John) The Virgin Mary.
Horne's (T. H.) Mariolatry.
North British Review. 8:182.
Patrick's (Bp.) Mary misrepresented by the Roman church.
Powell's (H. T.) Roman forgeries.
Seymour's Mornings among the Jesuits.
Tayler's (W. F.) Char. and crimes of Popery.
Taylor's (Jer.) Wholesome advice from the Virgin to her indiscreet worshippers.
Tyler's Worship of the Virgin contrary to the Scriptures, and to the practice of the first five centuries.

Mark.

Bibliandri Protevangelion.
Dorschei (Ioan. Geo.) Dissertationes.
Justiniani Marci Evangelist. vita.
Kirsteni Vita Evangelistarum.
Knobel, de Evang. Marci origine.

Molleri (Ioann.) Disputationes.
Saunier's Quellen des Marcus.
Schneringii (Godf.) Disputationes.
Spanheimii (Frid.) Exercitationes.

Maronites. See MONOTHELITES.

Assemanni Bibliotheca Orientalis.
De la Croix, Etat present, &c. 1695.
Ecchellensis Constitut. Ecc. Maronitarum.
Gerhardi (Ioann. Ernest.) Dissertationes.
Lacroix, Etat present des eglise M. 1715.
La Roque, Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban.
Le Brun, Explication de la Messe.
Le Quien, Oriens Christianus.
Naironi Diss. de origine, nomine, &c. (A strong defence of the sect.)
Renaudot, Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrin.
——— Collectio Liturgiarum Orient.
Schnurrer, de Eccl. Maronitica. As in 1810.
Simon, Histoire critique de Chrétiens Orientaux. Ch. 12.
Sionata (a Maronite), de Maronitar. vitibus.

Churchill's Ten years' residence on Mount Lebanon. 1842 to 1852.
——— Druses and Maronites. To 1862.
Clayton's Journey to Damascus. 1736.
Green's Journey to Damascus. 1725.

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Augustin, de Nuptiis.
Tertullian, Apologeticus adv. Gentes.
——— ad Uxorem.
——— de Monogamia.

Amyraut, Considerationes sur marriage.
Bourdaloue (Comp. de Jésus), Sermons.
Brehmii Sex conciones nuptiales.
Calmeti Dissertatio. (Prefixed to Commentary on Canticles.)
Carpzovii Schediasma. (On the question, "Should persons of different religions intermarry?")
Chaussée, l'Excellence du marriage.
De Jonghe, de M. ejusque impedimentis.
Erasmi Christiani Mat. institutio.
Fabricii Bibliographia Antiquaria.
Haferungius de Jure matrimoniali.
Hotomanus de Veteri ritu nuptiarum.
Kerner's Köstiiche Hockzeitperlen.
Klee (H.), Die Ehe: eine dogmatisch-archæologische Abhandlung.
Kochii Dissertatio. (To prove that Paul was married.)
Melancthonis Opera. Tom. 1.
Neubour, Diss. in 1 Tim. 4:7,8.
Puffendorf de Jure. Lib. VI, c. 1.
Sanchez, Disp. de matrimonio. 2 vols., fol.!
Seldeni Uxor Hebræica.
Sontagius de Connubiali paradiso.
Spangenburg's Ehespiekel.
Twiskii Disputationes sacræ.

Adair's Plan of Platonic matrimony.
Amer. Biblical Repos. 2:70.
Archer's Sermons on matrimonial duties.
Astell's Reflections on marriage.
Baily's Marriage as it should be.

Marriage—*continued.*

Barr's (E.) Theolog. and philos. Essays.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Directory.
Bean's Advice to a new-married couple.
Broadbelt's (Geo.) Original Essays.
Bullinger's Christian state of matrimony. Trans. by Miles Coverdale.
——— on the Cohabitacion of y^e faythfull with y^e unfaythfull.
Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Carey's Amer. Museum. 4:21,105,213.
Cecil's Remains. (Marriage of ministers.)
Christian Month. Spect. 1:514.
Cockburn's Dignity of married life.
Coe's Christian Duties and Cautions.
Creswell's (Daniel) Sermons.
Davis' (James M.) Pastor's Offering.
Defoe's Religious courtship. (Admirable.)
——— Family Instructor.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lec. 225,234,265.
Dodwell's Obligation to marry in the true communion.
Dwight's Theology. Disc. 119.
Elliot's Wedding Sermon.
Ellison's (H. J.) Way of holiness.
Foster's Duties of the married state.
Gahan's (William) Sermons.
Gataker (Tho.) on Conjugal Duties.
Gawden's Sanctity and solemnity of M.
Gilly on Clandestine marriages.
Gilson's (David) Sermons.
Grant's (James) Essays.
Grantham's (Tho.) Discourses on conj. duty.
Hall's (Bp.) Cases of Conscience.
Hill's Letters and Reflections.
Hole's (Matt.) Sermons.
Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.
Hooper's Seconde booke of Tertullian unto his wyf; wherein is conteyned most godly counsel how y^e unmarried may choose companyons, and soe live quietly.
Jay's (Will.) Essay on marriage.
Johnson's (J.) Advantages and disadv. of M.
Johnson's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Kendall's Address to young women.
Lawrence's (William) Marriage vindicated. (The free love doctrine of 2 centuries ago.)
Lawton's (Edward) Lectures.
Leslie's (Charles) Theological Works.
Luther's Fruitful sermon on marriage.
Malcom's (Howard) Christian rule of marriage. (Against the marriage of believers with unbelievers.)
Milton's Paradise lost. Bk. 4, line 750, et seq.
Morison's Counsels to a newly wedded pair.
North Brit. Review. 12:532.
O'Donahue on Social happiness.
Ovington's Duties, advant., and sorrows of M.
Owen's (Charles) Sermons.
Pamphleteer. 17:347. 18:553.
Petrie's Marriage gift. (Admirable.)
Ryan's Philosophy of Marriage.
Salmon's Essay on M. (The M. ceremonies of all nations, and other curious matter.)
Secker's (William) Wedding ring.

Marriage—*continued.*

Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Stennet on Domestic Duties.
Stoughton's (John) Sermons.
Strachy on Holy Matrimony.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
——— Wedding ring.
Taylor's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Tunstell's Considerations on government.
West's (Moses) Unlawfulness of mixed M.
Wheatley's Rationale of the Book of common prayer.
——— Bride-bush. (Duties of M.)
——— Cure-cloth. (Troubles of M.)
Witherspoon's (John) Letters.

Many old German and Latin books on marriage are mentioned by WALCH, *Biblioth.*

Marriage with a Wife's Sister.

See CONSANGUINITY.

Pro.

Harpprecht, Com. in iv. libros Institutionem Justiniani.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:283.
Coppleston's (Bp.) Tracts.
Cook's (Parsons) The marriage question.
Denham (J. F.) on M. with a wife's sister.
Denman (Lord) on Do.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 3:735.
Foster's Review of the laws prohibiting certain marriages.
Frazier's Magaz. 41:112.
Fry's Case of marriage between relations.
Jenkinson (J. S.) on M. with a wife's sister.
London Quart. Review. 10:545.
McIlvaine's (Bp. C. P.) Letters on marriage.
Quarterly Review. 85:84.
Sleigh on Marriage with a wife's sister.
Westhead's Marriage code of Israel.
Whately's (Abp.) Tracts and Discourses.

Con.

Bucer (Martin), Commentaria. (Matt. xix.)
Chemnitii (Chris.) Dissertationes.
Perizonii (Ioachim.) Dissertationes.
Sanchez (Soc. Jesu) Disputationes.
Selden de Jure naturale et gentium.
Spengleri Instructio parochialis. Pars IV.
Wagenseil's Belehrung d. Jüdisch-teutschen.
Zanchius de Sponsalibus.

Ainsworth's Commentary. (Levit. 18.)
Andrews (Bp.) on the Moral law.
Assembly of Divines, London: *Voted* that "A man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may marry of his own."
Babington's (Bp.) Notes on the five books of Moses.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Beza on Polygamy and Divorce.
Butler's (Charles) Propinquity an impediment to Marriage.
Calvin's Commentary. (Levit. 18.)

Marriage, &c.—*continued.*

Con.

Dwight's (S. E.) Hebrew wife.
Edwards' (Bp.) Body of Divinity. (On the 7th commandment.)
Hammond's (Henry) Works.
Hayward's British laws relating to the marriage of a wife's sister. 1846.
Hope's Report on the laws, &c. 1850.
Janeway (J. J.) on Unlawful marriages.
Keble's (John) Address to Eng. churchmen.
Lee's History of the Church of Scotland. (Appendix.)
Livingston (J. H.) on Incestuous marriages.
North British Review. 12:286,532.
Perkins' Christian Economy.
Princeton Review. 15:182,420.
Proctor (W.) on M. with a wife's sister.
Pusey (E. B.) on Do.
Tindall's (Translator of the N. T.) Practice of Prelates.
Weemse's Exposition of the moral law.

Martyrology.

Chrysostom, Homiliæ.
——— Sermones panegyrici.
Ignatius, Martyrii acta.
Origen, Exhortatio ad martyrium.
Lactantius, Opera.
Tertullian, Apologeticus adv. Gentes.
——— ad Martyras.
Augustine, Sermones.

Arnoldi Historia Christianorum ad metalla damnatorum.
Assemanni Acta martyrum. (A noble work.)
Bedæ (Venerab.) Martyrologium.
Bernard, les Héros du Christianisme. (From Christ, to 1858.)
Bohemicæ Eccles. persecutionum synopsis hist. (A valuable supplement to Fox's Book of Martyrs.)
Buchta de Numero cruentorum.
Calovii (Abr.) Confessio Martyrum.
Crispini Actiones et monumenta martyrum. (From the time of Wickliffe and Huss, to 1560.)
Crocius' Gross Martyrbuch. (The martyrology of Germany, France, England, Italy.)
Dodwelli Dissertationes Cyprianæ.
Fleidner's Buch der Martyrer, und andrer Glaubenszeugen der evangel. kirche.
Galonius de Cruciatibus sanct. martyrum.
Geddes de Mart. protestantibus Hispanis.
Goebel's Marter Chrönik.
Hast's Gesch. der Wiedertaufer.
Heckel, die Martyrer der evang. Kirche in den ersten zeiten, nach der Reformation.
Histoire des Martyrs, depuis le temp des apotres, jusq'a present. 1619. (The first Protestant general martyrology.)
Ittigius Selecta hist. ecclesiastica.
Kortholtus de Vita et moribus Christianis primævis.
Loescheri Dissertations. (Early Martyrs.)

Martyrology—*continued.*

Luykin, Théatre des martyres. (Has 104 curious old engravings of martyrdoms, of Apostles, early Christians, Waldenses, &c. It is little more than extracts from Van Braght.)
Marangoni Thesaurus Parochorum. (English, Scotch, and Irish martyrs.)
Martelaers Spiegel der Werclose christenen.
Metius de Persecutione Pliniana.
Muhlii Commentaria de Martyribus.
Niemanni (Sebast.) Dissertationes.
Ortlobii (Christoph.) Dissertationes.
Ostii Diss. de hymnis martyrum.
Reuchlinus de Studio M. in eccl. primativa.
Ries' (Hans de) Hist. de Martelaaren. (A great treasure, embracing the period from 1524 to 1600. Often reprint. and enlarged.)
Ruinarti Selecta et sincera martyrum acta. (Lauded by Walch and Weisman. He collects about all the authentic accounts of the sayings and doings of the early martyrs.)
Saligius de Diptychis veterum.
Sausay, Martyrologium Gallicanum.
Schmidtii (Sebast.) Dissertationes.
Sebastiaenzoon's Het offer des Heeren. Events in 1599.
Tillemont, Memoires pour servir, &c.
Van Braght's Bloedigh toonel der Doopsgesinde en weereloose Christenen.
Walchii (Geo.) Dissertationes.
Wandelberti Martyrologium.
Weinrichii Martyrologium sanctorum.
Zornii (P.) Acta Martyrum.

Bilson's Martyrs of the reign of Mary.
Bloomfield's History of the martyrs. Plates.
Bonar's Last days of martyrs.
Boyle's Martyrd. of Theodore and Didymus.
Bray's Papal dominion.
Brown's (J. Newton) Baptist martyrs.
Cave's Lives of the Apostles.
Challoner's Modern British martyrology.
Clarke's (Sam.) General martyrology. (A very useful work, extending from the beginning to 1560.)
Comber's History of the French massacre.
Coverdale's Letters of the martyrs who gave their lyves in the late bloodye persecution. 1564.
Crookshank's Martyrology. (Modern M.)
Dodwell's Primitive martyrs.
Fox's Martyrology. (A complete edition, with plates, was published in 1841. An edition in 3 vols., folio, 1861, has an immense number of curious wood-cuts. But that of Mendham & Pratt, in 1855, is preferred. 8 vols., 8vo.)
Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.
Haile's (Lord) Remains of Chris. antiquity.
Harper's (T.) Lives and sufferings of the M.
Hook's (Ellis) Spirit of the martyrs.
Kirkman's Lives and sufferings of the M.
Mall's History of the Martyrs.
Moore's (Henry) Persecutions of the Church of Rome. (A full Protestant martyrology, with lives of Reformers and Popes, history of the Inquisition, &c. Many plates.)
Reece's Martyrology. (A valuable compend.)
Rey's Persecutions by the French clergy.
Stamp's (J. S.) Martyrologia. Plates. (Comprehensive.)
Stephens' Martyrological Biography.
Taylor's (B.) England's bloody tribunal.
Van Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists. Trans. by Underhill.
Watson's (John) English Martyrology.

A multitude of other martyrologies are extant, chiefly Papal. Bolland, in his general preface to the *Acta Sanctorum*, treats at length on the subject of Martyrologies and Menologies. A list of Latin martyrologies is given by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.* Vol. 9.

Mary Magdalen.

Anquetin, Dissertation. (To prove that Mary Magdalen, Mary, sister of Martha, and Mary the sinner, were three different persons.)
Bossuet, Œuvres Complètes. Vol. 27. ("The three Magdalens.")
Bourdaloue, Sermons.
Calmeti Dissertationes. (Pref. to Com. on Luke.)
Casauboni Exercitationes. Exerc. XIV.
Lamii Apparatus Biblicus. (Maintains that there was but one Mary Magdalen.)
Masson, La femme pecherisse de l'Evangile: son unitè avec Marie Madeleine, et Marie de Bethanie.
Pezroni Historia Evangelica.
Sorii Apologetica. (Same opinion as Lamy.)

Newlin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Tillemont's Ecclesiastical History.
Townley's Essays on var. subjects. Ess. 5.
Williams' (William) Sermons.

Mary, Mother of Christ.

Lipinii (Martin.) Disputationes.
Meisneri (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Montagu (R.), Analecta.
——— Apparatus.
Riamboldi testis veritatis in historiæ Mariæ; adv. Baronium et alios.
Schmidii (Jo. Andr.) Prolusiones.

Masonry. See FREEMASONRY.

Masora. See VOWEL POINTS.

Mass.

Albertin (Valen.) de Eucharistia.
Arcularii (Ioan. Dan.) Disputationes.
Balduini (Frider.) Disputationes.
Bauer, Prüfung der Gründe.
Bochart, Traité de sacrifice de la messe.

Mass—*continued.*

Buddei Miscellanea Sacra.
Callixti (Frider.) Dissertationes.
Carlstadt's Auslegung der Worte Christi.
Dassovii (Theodor.) Disputationes.
Derodon [or Rodon], le Tombeau de la messe.
Du Moulin, Pratique des ceremonies de la M.
Fechtius de Orig. et superstitione Missarum.
Fuerleini Dissertationes histor. theol.
Gerhardi (Ernest.) Dissertationes.
Haberkorn, d. Grundlichen Widerlegung.
Gesner de Ritibus quas Rom. eccl. a majoribus suis Gentilibus in sacra transtulit.
Jaegeri Suppositio missæ sacrificio.
Kiliani Tract. de sacrificio missatico.
Le Brun, Explication des prières, &c.
Lutheri Opera.
Molinæi Anatome Missæ.
Mornay, de doct. de l'Euchariste, quand, et par quels degres, la messe s'est introduite à sa place.
Osiandri (J. A.) Dissertationes.
Pfaffius de Falsitate, vanitate, etc.
Scheibel's Abendmahl des Herrn.
Schmidtii (And.) Exercitationes.
Schulthess' Lehre von h. Abendmahl.
Sohnii (Georg.) Opera.
Sutlivius de Variis erroribus Romanæ Eccl.
Thummii (Theodor.) Disputationes.
Zornii (Pet.) Dissertationes.
Zwinglii Expositio eucharistiæ.

Anderson's (Dr. W.) The Mass.
Becon's (Tho.) Relics of Rome.
——— (Various other tracts.)
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Brevint's (D.) Missale Romanum. (Strong.)
Cotter's Trans. of the M. and rubrics. Notes.
Cranmer's (Abp.) Works.
Dering (Sir Ed.) on Proper Sacrifice.
Derodon's Funeral of the Mass.
Du Moulin's Anatomy of the Mass.
Hicks' Controversial Letters.
Lee's The Family and its duties.
Maguire's One hundred defects of the Mass.
Meager's Popish Mass celebrated by heathen priests, for the living and the dead, for ages before Christ.
Retrospective Review. 12:70.
Whitby's Absurdity and Idolatry of the M.

See ancient books and pamphlets on this subject, in Walch's *Biblioth.*, and Lowndes' *British Librarian.* At the time of the Reformation, most of the productions of the press had reference to some part of the Popish controversy.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Brizzard's Bartholemäus nacht.

Cockburn's Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
Comber's Hist. of the Mass. of St. B. Plates.
Dublin Univ. Magazine. 33:298.
Waddington's Black Bartholomew.
Wilkes' Persecut. of Protestants in France.

Masters. See RELATIVE DUTIES.

Materialism. See IMMORTALITY, NECESSITY, SOUL, SPINOCISM.

Pro.

Büchner (Louis) Kraft und Stoff.
Cabanis, Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme.
Camper (Pierre), Œuvres.
Ezalbe's Neue Darstellung d. Sensualismus.
Feurbach's Wesen d. Christenthum.
Hobbes' Elementa Philosophiæ.
Holbach's (P. T.) Systeme de la Nature.
La Mettrie, L'Homme machine.
——— Œuvres Philosophique.
Pallas, Elenchus Zoophytorum.
——— Spicilegia Zoologica.
Spinoza, Opera posthuma.
Voigt's Bildern aus d. Thierleben.

Atkinson (Henry G.) on Materialism.
Broussais ou Irritability and insanity.
Compte's Positive Philosophy.
Cooper's (Dr. Tho.) Philosophical Essays on Materialism and association of ideas.
Coward's (Dr. W.) Thoughts on the Soul.
——— Second Thoughts.
——— Further Thoughts upon Second Thoughts. (Reply to Turner.)
Fearon's (H. B.) Thoughts on Materialism.
Hartley on Man.
Hegel's Encyclopedia of philos. sciences.
Hobbes' Elements of philosophy. Sec. 1.
——— Human Nature.
——— Leviathan.
Holmes (Ed.) on the Materiality of the soul.
Holyoake's Works. (Various articles.)
Lawrence's Lectures on Physiology.
Martineau's (J.) Rationale of relig. enquiry.
Martineau's (Miss) Laws of man's nature.
Mirabaud's System of Nature.
Morgan on the Philosophy of life.
Parker (T.) on Matters in relation to religion.
Priestley (Jos.) on Matter and Spirit.
——— Essay on Hartley's Theory.
Tattersall on the Anatomical argument.
Toland's Pantheisticon.
Vestiges of the Nat. history of creation.

Con.

Bacon, de Augmentis Scientiarum.
Bergier, Examen du Matérialisme.
Cicero, de Senectute.
Fabri, Briefe gegen d. Materialismus.
Fichté (J. H.), Anthropologie.
Frauenstadt's Materialismus sein Wahrh.
Frohschammer's Menschenseele u. Physiol.
Plato, de Legibus.
Schaller (Julius) Leib und Seele.
Scholten, M. modérne, et ses causes. 1859
Tittman (F. W.), Ueber Leben u. Stoff.
Vitringæ Observationes. Lib. III.
Weber, die neuste Vergotterung d. Stoff.

Abernethy's Physiological Lectures.
Allen on the Immortality of the soul.
Baxter (And.) on the Soul. ("Just, precise, and finished."—Warburton.)

Materialism—*continued.*

Con.

Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Beattie on Truth.
Belsham's Essays. Vol. 2.
Benson's Reply to Dr. Priestley.
Bentley's Boyle Lectures. 1691,1692.
Berington's Letters on Materialism.
Berkeley's Minute Philosopher.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 17:201.
Bold (Sam.) on the Resurrection.
Boyle's (Robert) Free Enquiry.
——— Essay on final causes.
Broughton's Psychologia. (Masterly.)
Brown's Philosophy of the human mind.
Buchanan's Modern Atheism. Ch. 4. 1855.
Cheyne's Principles of Natural Religion.
Christian Review. 27:289.
Clarke's (S.) Boyle Lectures. 1704,1705.
——— Against H. Dodwell on the Soul.
Ditton on the Resurrection.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 2, prop. 24.
Drew (Sam.) on the Soul. ("Wonderful. Nothing like it was ever published."—Prof. Kidd.)
Dudley's (John) Anti-materialist.
Dwight's Sermons. Ser. 23.
Eclectic Rev. New Series. 2:410.
Fearon's Thoughts on Materialism.
Ferriar on the Doctrine of Materialism.
Fleming's Survey of Coward on the Soul.
Frazier's Mag. 43:418.
Gifford's Outline of an Answer to Priestley.
Grove's (Henry) Thoughts on a future state.
——— Essay on the soul's immateriality.
Gurdon's Boyle Lectures. 1721,1722,1723.
Hallet's Notes on Scripture.
Hart's Materialism tested by reason.
[Hole's, (Matt.)] Antidote to Infidelity.
Horseley's Tracts.
How's Living Temple.
Hunter's Physiology.
Jackson on Matter and Spirit.
Jaeger's Examination of Spinoza.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christ'y. (Pref.)
Keach's (Benj.) Impostor detected.
Kenrick's Essay on primæval history.
Langston on the Rational Soul.
Lee's (Arthur) Immortality of the soul.
Lee's (Samuel) Eschatology.
Littell's Living Age. 29:323,373.
Locke's Essays. Book 4, chap. 3.
Memoirs of Manchester Philos. Society. 4:20.
Monboddo's (Lord) Ancient Metaphysics.
Monthly Review. 2:382. (Rev. of Holmes.)
More's Immortality of the Soul.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
Paine's Soul and Instinct, physiologically considered.
Price's Dissertations.
Princeton Review. 37:243.
Purves' Observations on Dr. Priestley.
Ramsay's Principles of Nat. and Rev. Relig.
Reid's (Thomas) Essays.
Roe's Bible versus Materialism.

Materialism—*continued.*

Con.

Rotherham on the Distinc. bet. soul and body.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Tarrier on the Brain.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued.
Turner on the Separate existence of the soul. (Reply to Coward.)
Urwin (Joseph) on Materialism.
Watts' Ontology.
——— Essays. Essay 3.
Wilkinson's Connect. of the body with man.

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Wesleyan Vindicator. Periodical.

Con.

Annan's Difficulties of Arminian M. (Strictures on Wesley, Clark, Fisk, Bangs, &c.)
Boucher's Christian religion made plain.
Brown's (A. M.) Arminian inconsistencies. (To show that all the distinctive doctrines of Presbyterians are taught by standard Methodist writers.)
Burns' (Wm.) Moral tendency of Methodism.
Christian Review. 6:45.
Cook's (J.) M. condemned by M. preachers.
Croft's Thoughts concerning the Methodists.
Downes' Methodism Examined.
Frees' Rules for discovery of false prophets.
——— Tracts.
Graves' Great Iron Wheel.
Green's (Bp.) Dissertation on Enthusiasm.
——— Principles and practices of M.
Hale's Methodism inspected.
Hill on the Pastoral function.

Methodism—*continued.*

Con.

Hunt's Folly and danger of Methodism.
Ingram's (R. A.) Causes of dissension.
Jackson's The Church and the Methodist.
Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared. Notes by Polwhele.
McMichael's Government of the M. church.
Morris on Methodist church polity.
Musgrave's Polity of the Methodist Church.
Nightingale's Portraiture of M. 1807.
Norris' Methodism and the church fundamentally opposed.
Nott on Religious Enthusiasm.
Owen's (T. E.) Methodism unmasked.
Pelton's Absurdities of Methodism.
Russell's Hints to Methodists.
——— Reply to Benson's defence.
Taylor's (Isaac) Wesley and Methodism.
Whitefield's (Geo.) Remarks on Enthusiasm.
Whitehead's Pious Christian's faith and hope.

See DECANVER'S *Cat. of works in refutation of M., from its origin, in* 1729, *to the present*, 1846. Specifies 227 Anti-Methodist publications.

Methodists, History of.

Baum's Methodismus; gekronte Preisschrift.
Burckhard, Gesch. d. Methodisten in Engl.

Atmore's Methodist Memorial. (A history of the introduction of M. into America.)
Bangs' History of the M. E. Church, from its origin in 1776. 1840.
Boehm's (Henry) Reminiscences.
Bogue & Bennet's History of Dissenters.
Clarke's Life and times of Bp. Hedding. (Contains much general information.)
Coke's (Thomas) Journal.
Crowther's Portraiture of Methodism. 1814.
Dixon's Methodism in America. 1849.
——— Origin, economy, and present condition of Methodism. 1843.
Dunn's Wesleyan M. in Nottingham. 1847.
Elliot's History of the great secession [1845] eventuating in the organization of the Methodist Church, South.
——— Life of Bp. Roberts.
Finley's Sketches of Western M. 1857.
Garret's Digest of Minutes of Conferences. From 1744 to 1826.
Gorrie's History of the Meth. Church in the United States and Canada. 1849.
Goss' Statistical history of the first century of American Methodism. 1866.
Hampson's History of Methodism. 1791.
Henkle's Life of Bp. Jackson.
Investigator. 1:367.
Jackson's (Tho.) Life of C. Wesley.
——— Centenary of Wesleyism. 1839.
——— Lives of early Methodists.
Jobson's American Methodism. 1857.
Lee's Hist. of M. Ch. in the U. S. 1776 to 1809.
London Review. 14:111. (A valuable sketch of the action of American Methodists on the subject of slavery, since 1780.)

Methodism, History of—*continued.*

Minutes of the General Conferences.
Myles' Hist. of the Methodists. 1729 to 1802.
Nightingale's Rise, progress, doct., &c. 1807.
North British Review. 27:90.
Peck's Early M. in New York and Penna.
Raybold's Methodism in West Jersey.
Quarterly Review. 3:113.
Smith's (Geo.) Hist. of Wesleyan M. 1860.
Southey's Rise and progress of Methodism.
Stevens' Memorial of M. in New England.
——— ——— 2d Series.
——— History of the M. from the origin to the death of Whitefield.
——— Life and times of Nathan Bangs, D.D.
——— Centenary of Methodism. 1866.
Tucker's History of the principles of M.
Warren's Chronicles of Wesleyan M. To 1825.

Michael. See ARCHANGEL.

Middle Aged.

Lindsey's Duties of the middle aged.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:105.

Middle Ages.

Achery, Spicelegium scriptorum, etc. (A vast collection of curious tracts of the middle ages; with learned notes.)
Cangii Nomenclator scriptorum, etc.
Canisii Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiast. et historicorum.
Cave, Historia Literaria.
Cellarii Historia medii ævi.
Dewhear, Prelectiones hiemis sæculorum.
Gos' Cultus in Mittelalter.
Morhoffii Polyhistoria.
Muratori Rerum Italicarum scriptores.
——— Antiquitates Italicæ medii ævi. (These two works make 39 large folios.)
Pertz, Monumenta Germaniæ. (From A. D. 500 to 1500. A huge work.)
Pictet, l'Eglise de l'onziéme siècle.
Schmid's (H.) Mysticismus der Mittelalters.
Schmidt's (K.) Mystiques du 14 siècle.
Zaccariæ (Soc. Jes.) Anecdotorum.

Amer. Quart. Register. 6:272.
Berington's Literary hist. of the middle ages.
Blackwood's Magazine. 47:61.
Des Michael's History of the middle ages.
Dunham's Hist. of Europe in the mid. ages.
Eclectic Magazine. 6:289.
Edinburg Review. 23:229. 30:140.
Froissart's Chronicles of France, Spain, &c.
Hallam's History of the middle ages.
Koeppen's World in the middle ages. (The institutions, customs, &c., in Europe, Asia, and Africa; from the 5th to the 15th cent.)
Maitland's State of religion in 9–12th cent.
Maurice's (F. D.) Mediæval philosophy. (A conspectus of the works of Boethius, Erigena, Lanfranc, Anselm, Abelard, &c. &c.)
Monthly Review. 87:1,136.
Museum of For. Literature. 3:393.
Neander's Memorials of Christian life.
North Brit. Review. 8:68. (Italy.)

Middle Ages—*continued.*

Petrie's History of Great Britain.
Princeton Review. 27:62.
Westminster Review. 51:334.
Wright's English literature and superstitions of the middle ages.

The following list is given by East Apthorp, in his *"Letters."*

Collections.

Schardius, 1673. Pistorius, 1613. Reuberus, 1619. Urstisius, 1670. Goldastus, 1661. Frekerus, 1717. Lindenbregius, 1706. Meibomius, 1688. Paulinus, 1698. Leibnitz, 1700. Kulpisius, 1685. Schilterus, 1702. Reineccius, 1702. Ludewig, 1718. Echard, 1723. Canisius, 1725. Pezius, 1720.

Individual Histories.

A. D.	
283– 565.	Sigonii hist. de occid. imperio.
570–1286.	——— ——— regno Italiæ.
360– 570.	Warnefridi F. Diaconus.
– 552.	Jornandes, de rebus Geticis.
176– 628.	Isidori Hist. Gothorum.
O. C.– 600.	Gregorius Turonensis.
600– 735.	——— Continuatus.
714– 900.	Annales Francorum fuldenses.
741– 842.	Adelini Benedictini annales.
U.C.– 751.	Antiq. Gauloises de C. Fauches.
755–1076.	Adami Bremensis.
768– 814.	Eginhardi vita Caroli Mag.
778– 840.	Thegani vita Ludovici Pii.
788–1504.	Alberti Crantzii de ecclesiis.
830–1370.	Ioannes Trithemius.
1– 907.	Regino, cum.
O. C.–1228.	Conrado, et.
O. C.–1352.	Lamberto Schnab.
O. C.–1100.	Hermanus Contractus.
1073–1082.	Brunonis Hist. belli Saxonici.
O. C.–1152.	Otto Frisingensis.
1162–1237.	Godefridi monachi Annales.
381–1112.	Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
1113–1210.	Robertus de Monte.
O. C.–1250.	Vicentii Speculum.
1270–1378.	Alberti Annales.
U.C.–1278.	Polonus, de quo Niceron xiv. 195.
1163–1343.	Continuatio.
1295–1362.	Henricus de Rebdorf apud Frek.
1326–1400.	Chroniques de Froissard.
1–1472.	Platina de vitis Pontificum.
1–1494.	Caspianus quem excipit.
1494-1540.	Paulus Jovius.
1461–1500.	Memoires de Philipe de Comines.

For an account of many hundred writers of the middle ages, see Cang, Cave, Dewhear, and Morhoff, mentioned above.

A most convenient *tabular* view of *all* the principal historians, with a notice of the various editions, is given in Freker's *Directorium historicorum medii aevum.*

The *literary* condition of the middle ages is abundantly illustrated by Hody, *de Graecis illust.;* Roscoe, *Lorenzo de Medici;* and Hallam, *History of Literature.*

Military Orders. See chivalry.

Fabricii Bibliotheca Antiquarum, etc.
Favyne, Theatre d'Honneur.
Gregoire, Histoire des Sectes, etc.
Hermance, Histoire de Religions.
Heylot, Histoire des Ordres.
Mabillon, Annales.
Memoirs de Trevoux.
Pantaleonis Militaris ordinis rerum, etc.
Thomasii (Christian.) Dissertationes.
Vitriarius de Ordinibus Equestribus.

Burke's (B.) Orders of Knighthood.
Pamphleteer. 5:33.

Millenarians.

Pro.

Alstedius de Mille annis Apocalypsis.
Andalæ Exegesis locorum S. Scrip.
Cocceii Opera exeget. didac. et polem.
Driessenii Meditationes in Apocalypsin.
Lambert, Exposition des Predictions, etc.
Petersen's Erklärung der Offenbarung. C. xx.
——— Nubes testium verit. de regno Christi.
——— Petachia.
——— Schlüssel der Offenbarung.

P. was the Ajax of this party in the 17th century, and wrote other strong treatises, between 1693 and 1718, which called forth a host of replies.

Rallii Halcyonia eccl. evangelicarum.
Riemann's Lehre der heiligen Scrift. vom taufendjahrigen Reiche.
Seitz's Melchisedeckisches Priesterthum.
Worthington, Ecclesiæ futuræ felicitas.

Alsted's Saint's reign on earth.
——— Beloved city.
Anderson (Wm.) on the Millen. doctrine.
Archer on the Personal reign of Christ.
Baxter's Louis Napoleon the destined monarch of the world.
Begg's (Jas. A.) Evid. of Christ's reign, &c.
——— Letter to a minister.
——— Scripture argument.
Bellamy (Jos.) on the Millennium.
Berg (Jos. F.) on the Second Advent.
Beverly's (Thomas) Works.
Bonar's Redemption drawing nigh.
Bryant's (Alfred) Millenarian views.
Christian Herald. Dublin. 1830–1834.
Clayton on the Time of Christ's coming.
Coleman's (J. N.) Sermons.
Cox's (John) Millenarian's answer to the hope that is in him.
Cunningham's Second coming of Christ.
——— Examination of Faber on prophecy.
——— Review of Wardlaw on the M.
——— Premillennial Advent.
Davis' (W.) Beautiful city.
Drummond's Scriptural doctrine of the M.
Duffield (G.) on the Second coming, &c.
——— Defence of Do.
Durant's Salvation of the saints.
Frere's Prophecy of Daniel and Ezra.
Fry's Glorious Epiphany of Christ.
Gill's (Philip) Second coming of Christ.

Millenarians—*continued.*

Pro.

Gregory's State of the world at the final outbreak of evil, and 2d coming of Christ.
Hartley's (Thomas) Paradise restored.
Henshaw's Lectures on the Advent.
Homes' Resurrection revealed.
Irving (Edward) on the Prophecies.
Jones' (H.) Kingdom at hand.
Jones' (Joel) Jesus and the coming glory.
McCausland's Jerusalem and Rome.
Mandeville's Exp. of the Ep. to the Hebrews.
Mansford on Millenarianism.
Maton on the Millennium.
Mede's (Joseph) Works.
Morning Watch. Periodical. Lond. 1829–33.
Newton (W.) on the first two visions of the book of Daniel.
Ogilvy on the Premillennial advent.
Pirie's French Revolution in the light of the Sacred Oracles.
Ranew's Saint's glory after the resurrection.
Roach's Imperial standard of Messiah.
Shimeal's Second coming of Christ.
Silliman's (Anna) The world's Jubilee.
Sirr's Letters to Rev. H. Gipps.
Waples on the Apocalypse.
Wattson's (Tho.) Shiloh's Sceptre.
White's (Hugh) Reflections on the 2d Adv.
Winthrop's (Edward) Lectures.
Wood's Believer's Guide.

Con.

Amyraut, de Régne de Mille ans.
Brockii Schediasma de Chiliasmo.
Calixti (F. U.) Tractatio de Chiliasmo.
Corodi's Geschichte des Chiliasmus.
Diedrich, Ueber d. Chiliasmus.
Duget, Traditions des S S. Peres.
Gebhard (V. C.) de Chiliasmo.
Koch's (Christop.) Grundliche Widerlegung d. ungegründeten tausendiährigen Reichs.
Mennlingius de Chiliasmo.
Meyeri Castigatio Petersenii.
——— Discussio circa Chiliasmum.
Neumanni (J. G.) Disputationes VIII.
Neumeister, der Kinder Gottesdienst.
Sandhagenii (C. H.) Epistolæ.
Waechtleri (Iacobus) Opera.
Wolfii (I. I.) Dialogus de Chiliasmo.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 12:470.
Brown's (David) Second coming of Christ.
Burgh's Lectures on the Second Advent.
Christian Review. 8:115. (Hist. of the doct.)
Craddock on the Apocalypse.
Crosby (Alpheus) on the Second Advent.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 1:248.
Faber's (Geo. S.) Calendar of prophecy.
Gipps on the First Resurrection.
Hall's (Tho.) Reply to Homes.
Hamilton (Wm.) on the Millennium.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4, Art. 4.
Jefferson (John) on the Millennium.
Jones' (Wm.) Lectures on the Apocalypse.
London Quart. Review. 5:481.

Millenarians—*continued.*

Con.

Lyons' (W. P.) Millennial studies.
Maton's Israel's Redemption.
Morrison on Christ's personal reign.
Pareus' Com. on Revelations. Chap. 20.
Petrie's Chiliasto-mastix.
Princeton Rev. 19:564. 23:1. 25:66. 28:524.
Reed's (Andrew) Sermons.
Shedd's Eschatology.
Stuart's (Prof.) Strictures on Dr. Duffield.
Vint's New illustration of prophecy. (Maintains that the millennium is past.)
Waldegrave's Bampton Lectures. 1854.
Whitby (Dan.) on the Millennium.
Williamson's Letters to a Millenarian.
Young's (Cha.) Arguments about the M.

Millennial Church [Shakers].

Pro.

A Holy and Divine book, from the Lord God of Heaven; revealed in the United Society at Lebanon, New York.
Christian Secretary. Periodical.
Christ's First and second appearing.
The Day Star. Periodical.
Evans' Origin, history, principles, and rules, of the United Society of believers in Christ's second coming. 1859.
Juvenile Guide.
The Kentucky Revival.
The Millennial Church.
The Sacred Roll. (Held to be written by inspiration.)
Summary View of the Millennial Ch. 1823.
Testimony of Christ's second coming. (Contains a full statement of the faith and practice of "The Church of God in the latter day." 1808.)

Con.

Christian Month. Spectator. 6:351.
Dyer's (Mary) Sufferings among the Shakers. 1818.
Haskell's Shakerism unmasked.
Knickerbocker Magazine. 11:552. (By Horace Greeley.)
Lamson's Two years among the Shakers.
New York Theol. Magazine. 1:82.
Niles' Weekly Register. 23:37. 37:58.
Rathbone's (Valentine) Hints. (Once belonged to this people.)

Millennial Church, History of.

Brown's History of the Shakers. 1812.
Evans' Origin, History, &c.
Panoplist. 4:289.
Taylor's Account of the Shakers.
West's History of the Shakers.

Millennium. See APOCALYPSE, GOG, MILLENARIANS, SECOND ADVENT.

Justin M., Dialog. cum Tryphonte Jud.
Lactantius, Divinæ Institutiones.
Origen, de Principiis.
Irenæus, Fragmenta.

Millennium—*continued.*

Bœhmeni (Jacob.) Opera.
Corrodi Geschichte des Chiliasmus.
Daillé, de Usu Patrum.
Dupin, Analysis Apocalypsis.
Gennadius de Dogmatibus eccles. Cap. LV.
Weigelii Apparatus Literarius.

Addison's Account of the Millennium.
Allein (W.) on the Millennium.
American Monthly Rev. 3:202.
Bellamy's Works.
Biblioth. Sacra. 6:657.
Bogue's (D.) Discourses on the Millennium.
Burnett's Theory of the Earth.
Bush on the M. (Makes it to have occurred in the days of Constantine.)
Chris. Examiner. 57:1.
Chris. Monthly Spectator. 1:71,295.
Christian Observer. 27:713.
Chris. Review. 6:528. 8:115. (History of the doctrine.) 13:249. (Signs.)
Cogswell's Harbinger of the Millennium.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Edwards' (Morgan) Academical Exercises.
Ellison (Seacombe) on the Millennium.
Emerson's (Jos.) Lectures on the M.
Eyre's Observations on the Prophecies.
Fleming on the First Resurrection.
Gill's (Dr. John) Sermons and Tracts.
Gorton s Scripture account of the M.
Gray's (Robert) Discourses.
Greenham on the Prophecies.
Hart's (Robert) Sermons.
Hartley's (T.) Paradise restored.
Holmes' (Nath.) Resurrection revealed.
Hopkins' (S.) System of Divinity.
——— on the Millennium. (Learned.)
Killingworth's (Grantham) Works.
Lardner's Works.
Loader's Millennium; or Joy to the World.
Mandeville's (Viscount) Horæ Hebraicæ.
Mede's (J.) Works.
Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies. Diss. 25.
Priestley's Institutes of Religion.
Princeton Rev. 5:204.
Russel's (Dr. M.) Discourses.
Sherwin's Collection of tracts relat. to the M.
Spaulding on the Apocalypse.
Stuart on the Apocalypse.
Vint's Illustrat. of proph. (Thinks it past.)
Whitby's Diss. (At the end of his Comment.)
Winchester on the Millennium.
Woodward's (Henry) Essays and Sermons.
Worthington on Redemption.

Millerism.

Miller's Principles of prophetic chronology.
——— Evidence of the second coming of Christ about the year 1843.
——— (Other treatises.)
Christian Examiner. 41:87.
Christian Review. 9:597.
Midnight Cry. Periodical. Boston. Published from 1842 to 1847.

Mind. See COMMON SENSE, LOGIC, MOTIVES, MORAL SUASION, PROVINCE OF REASON, RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE, TRANSCENDENTALISM.

Campanella de Libris propriis, etc.
Casmanni Psychologia.
Collard, Royer. (In Jouffroy's Reid.)
Cousin, Fragmens philosophiques, etc.
——— Œuvres.
Degerando, Hist. comparée des systémes de la philosophie.
Delitzsch's Biblische Psychologie.
Destutt de Tracy, Elemens d'Ideologie.
Francastorius de Intellectu.
Helvetius, Œuvres.
Jouffroy, Œuvres.
Kant's Metaphysic der Sitten.
——— ——— der Rechtslehre.
——— Streit der Facultaten.
——— &c. &c.
Laromiguiére, Leçons de philosophie.
Leibnitzii Opera.
Maccovii Metaphysica.
Malbranche, Recherche de la verité.
Massius, sur l'Instinct, l'intelligence, etc.
Ramus, Scholæ Metaphysicæ.
Rapin, Penseès sur la nature de l'Esprit.
Rorarius de usu Rationis.
Stahlii Metaphysica.
Wallis, Institutiones Logicæ.
Zwantzigeri Kantii metaph. morum.

Abercrombie on the Intellectual powers.
——— Essays.
Amer. Institute of Instruction. Periodical.
Amer. Quart. Review. 10:291.
Appleton's (Pres.) Works. (Value of intellectual philosophy.)
Bain's (A.) The Senses and the Intellect.
Ballantyne's Examination of the hum. mind.
Beattie on Truth.
Belsham's Philosophy of the mind.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 5:108. 8:73.
Bilfinger on Pneumatology.
Bishop's (D.) Introd. to the study of mind.
Blackwood's Mag. 4:682. 39:798. 40,122,253, 327,524,627,741. 41:258.
Blakey's History of the philosophy of mind. (Gives the opinions of all the principal writers on this subject, from the earliest period down to 1848.)
British Quart. Rev. 5:289.
Brodie's (B. C.) Psychological Inquiries.
Brown's (Peter) Procedure and limit of the understanding.
Brown's (Tho.) Lectures on the Mind.
Brucker's History of Philosophy.
Christ. Month. Review. 100:402.
Christ. Month. Spect. 7:28,66. 8:141.
Christ. Quart. Spect. 6:609. 7:89.
Christian Review. 3:418.
Clarke's (Sam.) Boyle Lectures. 1704.
Clifford (M.) on Human reason.
Colliber's Free thoughts on souls.
Corey's Metaphysical inquiries. (Ancient and modern philosophers.)
Cousin's Elements of Psychology.

Mind—*continued.*

Crouza's Art of Thinking.
Cudworth's Intellect. system of the universe.
Davies' Cultivation of the mind.
Democratic Review. 24:24.
Des Cartes' Works.
Doddridge's Lectures.
Douglass' Philosophy of the mind.
Dublin University Mag. 1:140.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 24:205.
Edinburg Review. 1:475. 27:180. 36:220. 50:194. 68:179. 70:190.
Fearns on Human consciousness.
Ferrier's Institutes of Metaphysics.
Ferrol on the Human Intellect.
Fichté's Works.
For. Quart. Review. 1:358.
Frazier's Magazine. 8:291.
Fuller's Acquirements and hist. of the mind.
Glanvill's Essays.
Gregoire's Faculties of the Negroes.
Grinfield's Evidences of Christianity, by the inductive philosophy of the mind.
Hamilton's (Sir William) Works.
Hartley on Man.
Haven's (Jos.) Mental Philosophy.
Hegel's Works.
Helvetius' Essays. Trans. by W. Mudford.
——— ——— " " W. Hooper.
Herbert's (J. F.) Philosophical works.
Hickok's Rational Psychology.
Holland's (H.) Mental Physiology.
Houghton's Prodromus. (First principles of reasoning.)
Hume's (David) Works.
Kant's Critique of pure reason.
Knickerbocker Magazine. 7:553. 11:297,435. 15:413,451. 37:525.
Le Clerc's Ontology.
Leibnitz's Philosophical works.
Literary and Theol. Review. 1:74,169,584, 614. 2:122,261,576.
Locke on the Understanding.
McCaul's Philosophy of mind and matter.
Mackey's Progress of the human mind.
Mayne's (Cha.) Philosophical works.
Mayo's Pathology of the mind.
Methodist Quarterly. 4:243.
Mills' Phenomena of the human mind.
Monboddo's (Lord) Ancient Metaphysics. ("Displays great erudition." — LORD DALHOUSIE.)
Monthly Review. 97:129. 118:441.
Mudie's Mental Philosophy.
Museum of For. Literature. 10:441. 11:6.
Norris' (J.) Ideal world.
North Amer. Review. 19:1. 24:56,480. 29:67. 36:488. 53:1. 85:19.
Oldfield's Improvement of Reason.
Oswald's Appeal to common sense.
Penrose on the Nature of human motives.
Pirie's (W. R.) Posthumous Works.
Priestley's Examination of Reid's Inquiry.
Princeton Review. 1:93.
Quarterly Review. 12:281. 17:39. 26:474.

Mind—*continued.*

Rauch's Psychology.
Reid's Intellectual and active powers.
Reinhold's Life and Works.
Riccalton's (Robert) Works.
Sawyer's Mental Philosophy.
Schelling's Works.
Schumacker's Mental Philosophy.
Scott's (R. E.) Elements of Intellec. Philos.
——— Limits and objects of physical and metaphysical science.
Shultzenstein's New system of Psychology.
Smart's New School of Metaphysics.
Smyth's Christian Metaphysics. (Plato, Malbranche, and Gioberti, compared with modern psychologists.)
Southern Review. 3:125.
Southern Lit. Messenger. 5:616.
Steinthall's Grammar, Logic, and Psychology: their relations to each other.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.
——— Essays.
Taylor's (Isaac) Elements of Thought.
——— World of mind.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sketch of Moral Philosophy.
Tenneman's History of Philosophy.
Thompson (Wm.) on the Laws of Thought.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
United States Lit. Gaz. 5:109. 6:161.
Upham's Mental Philosophy.
Usher's Theory of the human mind.
——— Clio.
Voltaire's Metaphysics of Newton.
Watts on the Improvement of the mind.
——— Strength and weakness of human reason.
Webb's (Prof.) Intellectualism of Locke. (Defends Locke's theory from the objections of Hamilton and others.)
Westminster Review. 54:353.
Wigan's Duality of the mind, proved by the structure, functions, and diseases of the brain.
Wolfe's Metaphysical Works. (Numerous.)

Mineralogy of the Bible. See NATURAL HISTORY.

Ministerial Education. See CALL TO THE MINISTRY, EDUCATION SOCIETIES, ELOQUENCE, STUDY OF THEOLOGY, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, THEOLOGY.

Bechmannus de Cognitu necessariis in præparando ministro.
Crocius de Ratione studii theologici.
Gerardi Methodus studii theologici.
Maresii Enchiridion candidatorum.
Strigelii Ratio discendi theologiam.

Am. Quart. Register. Periodical. (Many articles.)
Biblioth. Sacra. 8:235.
Bickersteth's Christian Student.
Bloomfield's Importance of learning, &c.
Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis.
Bull's (Bp.) Companion for candidates.
Campbell's (Dr. George) Lectures.

Ministerial Education—*continued.*

Chris. Rev. 1:106. 2:260,579. 3:254. 7:447. 12:95.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 1:132. 4:449.
Chris. Examiner. 11:84.
Clarke's (Adam) Letter to a preacher.
Cockburn's Lectures on a ministerial education in the University of Cambridge.
Craig's (William) Sermons.
Freeston's Advice to a young minister.
Gibbon's Christian Minister.
Hall's (Robt.) Letter to Eustace Carey.
Hinton (John H.) on Min. qualifications.
Hodgson's (Chr.) Instructions to candidates.
Kentish's Importance of M. education.
Macgill's Considerations.
Marsh's (H.) Usefulness and necessity, &c.
Mason's Student and pastor.'
——— Letter to a friend.
Mather's (Cotton) Directions to a candidate.
Napleton's Advice to a student.
New Englander. 1:126.
N. Amer. Review. 49:206.
Orton's (Job) Letters to students, &c. (Many notices of persons and books.)
Osterwald's Lectures.
Princeton Review. 5:55. 15:587.
Raike's Remarks on clerical education.
Secker's (Abp.) Eight charges.
Sisson's 300 questions in Divinity.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:268,456.
Universalist Quarterly. 7:221.

Lists of books for small theological libraries are given in EDWARDS *on Preaching,* 1705; BRAY'S *Bibliotheca Parochialis,* 1707; CLEAVER'S *List of books for the younger clergy,* 1800; and BRIDGES *on the Ministry,* 1829.

Ministerial Habits.
See CLERICAL HABITS.

Ministerial Titles.

Christian Month. Spect. 2:297.

Ministerial Vestments.
See VESTMENTS.

Ministering Spirits. See ANGELS, GUARDIAN ANGELS.

Herara de Angelis.
Meerheimii Historia angelorum.
Victorelli Dissertationes.
Wernsdorfii Exercitationes historicæ.

Ambrose's (Isaac) Works. (Ser. on Ps. 91:11.)
Boyse on the Ministry of angels.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Camfield on Angels.
Caswal's (E.) Sermons.
Clayton's History, attributes, pursuits, &c.
Clayton's (Robt.) Vindication of the O. Test.
Copner's (James) Sermons.
Hallet's (Jos.) Notes on Scripture.
Heber's (Bp.) Parish Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Johnson's (John) Sermons.

Ministering Spirits—*continued.*

Limborch's Theology. Bk. 2, ch. 2.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Mostyn's (G. T.) Ministry of angels.
Nicholson's (William) Sermons.
Patrick's (Bp.) Sermons.
Pearce's Com. on the Epis. to the Hebrews.
Reynolds on Angels.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Taylor's (Will.) Sermons.
Thomas' Ministry of angels in the church.
Walker's (G. R.) Ministry of angels.
Waters' (John W.) Sermons.
Wheatley's (Charles) Sermons.
White's (Thomas) Sermons.

Ministry. See CALL, CLERICAL HABITS, ELOQUENCE, LAY PREACHING, MINISTERIAL EDUCATION, PASTORAL THEOLOGY, PREACHING, STUDY OF SCRIPTURE, THEOLOGY.

Chrysostom, de Sacerdotio.
Ambrose, de Officiis Clericorum.
Jerome, de Vita Clericorum.
Augustine, de Vita Clericorum.
——— in Ezek. cap. xxxiv.

D'Aubigné, Il y a un ministère de la parole, institué de Dieu?
Eckhardi Opuscula Theologiæ.
Fechtius, de Necessitate, sanctitate, etc.
Fenelon, Traité du Ministère.
Henningii Pastor. (Mode of life.)
Maresii Enchiridion Candidatorum.
Ostervald, de l'Exercise de ministère.
Rampachii Commentatio. (Gives copious accounts of the sentiments of the Fathers.)
Sadeele de Legitima vocatione pastorum.
Zeltneri (Gustav. Geo.) Dissertationes.
Zornii Delineatio theol. patristicæ.

Addison's Primitive Institution, &c.
Anderson's (J. S. M.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
American Bibl. Repos. 9:64.
American Quart. Register. (Many articles.)
Bailey's (B.) Duties of the Chris. ministry.
Balguy's (Thomas) Visitation Discourses.
Barlow's (Bp.) Remains.
Baxter's Reformed Pastor.
Bearcroft's Thirteen discourses on the M.
Berens on Pastoral Watchfulness.
Blackbourn's Duties of the clergy.
Bloomfield's (Geo. B.) Sermons.
Blundell's (Thomas) Sermons.
Blunt's Parish Priest's duties and obligat.
Boardman (H. A.) on the Chris. Ministry.
Bridge's (Chas.) Christian Ministry.
Brown's Pastor's Manual. (Contains tracts by Mason, Doddridge, Watts, Erskine, Cecil, Newton, Scott, Bostwick, A. Booth, and Jennings.)
Bulkley's Christian Minister.
Bullinger's Decades.
Cappe's (Newcombe) Practical Discourses.
Cellerier on the Ministry.

Ministry—*continued.*

Channing's (Will. E.) Discourses.
Christ. Examiner. 5:101. 15:334.
Christ. Month. Spect. 3:401. 8:441. 9:487.
Christian Observer. 14:13. 19:433. 20:533, 544. 22:329,546. 28:137,416.
Christian Quart. Spect. 4:207. 6:542. 7:353. 8:411.
Christian Review. 1:15. 3:254,576. 11:256. 13:501. 15:400.
Chrysostom on the Priesthood. Translated by Cowper.
——— ——— Trans. by Mason.
Clergyman's Instructor. (A collection of valuable treatises.)
Coetlogan's Sermons.
Condor on the Importance of the clerical character.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Crosthwaite on the Christian ministry.
Davies' (Pres. Samuel) Sermons.
Dealtry's (William) Sermons.
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Dwight's Sermons. Ser. 150–154.
Eade's Comprehensive view of the Gospel M.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 20:23.
Edinburg Rev. 19:360.
Edmondson on the Christian ministry.
Edwards' (John) Preacher.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Enfield's Character, qualifications, &c.
Evans' Usefulness the great object, &c.
Fuller's Works. (Papers in Evangel. Mag.)
Gibbon's (Tho.) Christian Minister.
Gibson's Origin, Qualifications, &c.
Gilpin's Portrait of St. Paul.
Graves on the Clerical character.
Heber's (Bp.) Sermons.
Henry's (Matt.) Sermons and Tracts.
Hodge's (John) Sermons.
Holbrook's (A.) Duties of the ministry.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Huntingdon's (Prof.) Sermons.
Innes' (W.) Excitement and direction. (Extracts from Baxter, Watts, Alleine, Witherspoon, Erskine, Martyn, Brainard, Cecil, and Robert Hall.)
James' (J. A.) An earnest ministry the want of the times.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works.
Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum.
Jones' (William) Sermons.
Jurieu's Pastoral Letters.
Kentish's Nature and duty of the Ministry.
Latham's Difficulties and discouragem'ts, &c.
Law's (Wm.) Earnest address to the clergy.
Leechman's Temper, char., and duty of a M.
Lettuce (Dr.) on the Clerical character.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Lucy's Nature of a Minister.
Mackensie's Clergy of the first ten centuries.
McCaul's (Alexander) Sermons.
Mandell's Sermons on the Christ. Ministry.
Masillon's Charges and Conferences.
Mason's Student and Pastor.

Ministry—*continued.*

Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Monroe's (Edward) Sermons.
North Am. Rev. 49:206.
Orton's Letters to a young clergyman.
Osterwald's Lect. on the M. Tr. by Stevens.
Paley's (Wm.) Sermons. (Dangers of, &c.)
Pike's (J. G.) Christian M. contemplated.
Princeton Review. 26:708.
Raikes' (Henry) Ordination Sermons.
Rees on the Maintenance, &c.
Riddle's (J. E.) Sermons.
Robertson's (John) Sermons.
Rose's (H. J.) Discourses.
Ryland's (John) Sermons. (Trials of a M.)
Seabury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Charges to the clergy.
Shuttleworth's Speculum Sacrum.
Smith's (John Pye) Sermons.
Smith's (John) Nature, qualifications, &c.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 6:268,456,499.
Spring's (Gardner) Power of the pulpit.
Steward on Mediatorial sovereignty.
Stillingfleet's Amusements of the clergy.
Storry's (Thomas) Sermons.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Sumner's (Abp.) Sermons. (4 on this subj.)
Tappan's (David) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
——— Institution and necessity of the M.
——— Rules and advices to the clergy.
Thompson's (Edward) Sermons.
Tilly's (William) Sermons.
Tindale's (John) Manual for young M.
Turner's (D.) Christian ministry considered.
——— Compendium of social religion.
Universalist Quart. 7:221.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Vinet's Theory of the evangelical ministry.
Wallace's Guide to the Christian ministry.
Walker's (J.) A faithful ministry.
——— Posthumous sermons.
Watts' Foundation of a Christian church.
——— Rules for ministerial conduct.
Wayland's (Francis) Sermons.
——— Letters on the Christian ministry.
White's Letters from a father to his sons.
Wilks' Signs of conversion in ministers.
Wilkins' (Bp.) Ecclesiastes.
Wylie's Gospel ministry, and the duty of supporting it.
Wynne's The model parish. (Prize essay.)

The innumerable "charges," by Church of England Bishops, and Archdeacons, contain much valuable matter.

Ministry of Angels.
See MINISTERING SPIRITS.

Minorites. See FRANCISCANS.

Minucius Felix.

Minucii Opera. Various editions. That of Davis, Camb. 1812, is commonly preferred.
Balduini (Fred.) Dissertationes.
Bremer, Ep. crit. super aliquot M. locis.

Minucius Felix—*continued.*

Burchardi (Georg.) Dissertationes.
Heumanni (Chris. Augus.) Observationes.
Hoven, Hist. crit. de ætate, dignitate, et patria, Minucii Felex.
Lobsteini M. priscæ chris. veræ fidei testis.
Meieri (H.) Com. de Minucio Felice.
Ouselii Comm. in Minucio.
Polet's Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen.
Stieberi (F.) Observationes criticæ.

Dalrymple's Trans. of the Octavius.
Holden's —— ——— With Com.
James' (Rich.) —— ——— Notes.
Lorraine's (Pet.) —— ——— Notes.
Reeves' (W.) —— ——— Notes.

Miracles. See FALSE MIRACLES, MIRACLES OF THE FIRST AGES.

Augustine, Opera.
Justin M., Apologia.
Origen, contra Celsum.

Boniward, de la Source de l'Idolatrie.
Eck's Wundergeschichten des N. Test.
Eusebii Evangelica Demonstratio.
Gräffe, Philos. Vertheidigung, &c.
Gudii Discussio mysticæ M. Christi interp.
Helvetii Libellus de miraculis.
Hottingeri Diatribe, philos.-theologica.
Huebneri (H. L.) Dissertationes.
Koster's Immanuel.
Lilienthal's Wunderwercke Jesu
Mammachius, Orig. et Antiq. Christianorum.
Meinerhagen's Bedentung der bibl. Wunder.
Pfaffii (Christoph.) Disputationes.
Picteti Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Spencer, Notat. ad Origen contra Celsum.
Wagner's (E. F.) Thaten und Shicksale J. C.
Werenfels, Opuscula Theologica.
Witsii Meletemata. Dissertatio IV.

Adams' (Will.) Answer to Mr. Hume.
Am. Bibl. Repos. 3d Series. 3:304,423.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Atkinson's Vindication of the literal sense.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Barrington on the Witness of the H. Spirit.
Bates' Works. Chap. 3 and 4.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 19:328.
Bingham's Antiquities of the Chris. church.
Bonnett's Enquiries, philosophical and critical, concerning Christianity.
Brackenridge's (John) Sermons.
Bragge on our Saviour's miracles.
Brown's Essays on the Characteristics.
Bulkley on the Miracles of Christ.
Butler's Analogy of religion and nature.
Campbell on Miracles. (Answer to Hume.)
Chapman's Eusebius.
Chapman's M. the proper credentials, &c.
Chris. Examiner. 31:348. 49:47.
Chris. Review. 12:274,408.
Clarke's Boyle Lectures. 1705.
Collyer (W. B.) on Scripture Miracles.
Conybeare's (John) Answer to Tyndall.
——— Sermons.
——— Discourse on Miracles.

Miracles—*continued.*

Cox's (R. C.) Lectures on Miracles.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Bk. 1, ch. 5.
Cummings' (John) Foreshadows. (Poor.)
Ditton on the Resurrection of Christ.
Dodd's (William) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 5.
Douglass' Criterion of true miracles.
Doyle's Answer to Woolston.
Edinburg Review. 46:91. 52:388.
Edwards' (Thomas) Sermons.
Elrington's Lectures before Trinity College.
Encyclopedia Brittanica. Art. "Miracles."
Entick's Evidences of Christianity.
Episcopal Magazine. 1:202. 2:108.
Evangelical Review. 1:491.
Farmer's Dissertation on Miracles. (Great.)
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Fleetwood's Essays on Miracles.
Gardner's Short answer to a long letter.
Graves' (Richard) Sermons.
Hallett's Nature, kind, and number of Christ's Miracles.
Harris' Unreasonableness of Infidelity.
Hewlett's M. real evidences of a Div. revel.
Hook's (Walter F.) Sermons at Oxford.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hovey's (Alvah) The miracles of Christ.
Howarth's Hulsean Lectures. 1836.
Humphrey's (W. G.) Discourses on the M.
Hurrion on the Spirit.
James' (William) Sermons.
Jameson's Analogy between the miracles and doctrines of Scripture.
Jepton's Reality of our Saviour's miracles.
Jortin's Boyle Lectures. 1750.
Keach's Gospel mysteries revealed.
King's Morsels of Criticism.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel.
Laurent's Expostulation.
Lawson (Cha.) on the Miracles of Christ.
Le Bas (Cha. W.) on Miracles.
Leland's View of Deistical writers.
Le Moine's Diss. on M. (Against Chubb.)
Lit. and Theol. Review. 1:150. 4:489.
Locke on Miracles.
Mackenzie (M. J.) on Miracles.
Mant's (Bp.) Works.
Marsden's Hulsean Lectures. 1844.
Mayo on the Miracles of our Lord.
McGuire's Miracles of Christ.
McKnight's Truth of the Gospel.
Month. Review. 124:205. 126:180.
Mozley's Bampton Lectures. 1800.
Myers' Mosaic, Historic, and Prophetic M.
New Englander. 2:208.
Newton on the Prophecies.
Ogilvie's Bampton Lectures. 1836.
Owen's (H.) Boyle Lectures. 1769, 1770, 1771.
Paley's Evidences of Christianity. Prop. 2.
Parker's Bibliotheca Biblia. No. 28.
Patton's Two Defences. (Rep. to Heathcote.)
——— Christian Apology.
Peabody's (A. P.) Lectures before the Lowell Institute. Lect. 3.

Miracles—*continued.*

Pearce's M. of Christ. (Against Woolston.)
Penrose's Use of Scripture M. (Very able.)
Potts' (J. H.) Discourses.
Powell's (Samuel) Sermons.
Price's Dissertations. Diss. 4.
Princeton Review. 3:481. 8:348. 28:255.
Ray's Vindication of Christ's miracles.
Reeves' Apologies of Justin, Tertullian, &c.
Reinhard on Miracles.
Reynolds' (Jos. W.) on our Lord's miracles.
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Rutherford's Credib. of M. (Much valued.)
Seaton's Compendious view of Miracles.
Sheppard's Faith and Practice illustrated.
Sherlock's Trial of the Witnesses.
Smallbrooke on Miracles.
Southern Lit. Journal. 2:442.
Stebbins' Defence of Scripture History.
Stevenson on the Miracles of Christ.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. Bk. 2, ch. 9,10.
Sutton's Christ's Miracles no Allegories.
Sykes' Credibility of Miracles.
Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai. (Strong.)
Thompson's (Edw.) Bulwarks of Christ'y.
Thompson's (William) Aids to faith.
Tilley's Preservative against Infidelity.
Tillotson's Sermons. Ser. 229,236,281.
Toll's Defence of Middleton's free enquiry. (Against Dodwell.)
Trench (Francis) on the M. of our Lord.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Universalist Quar. 1:233. 4:346. 5:113.
Van Mildert's Boyle Lectures. 1802–1804.
Vince's Credibility of Scripture Miracles. (Masterly reply to Hume.)
Wardlaw (Ralph) on Miracles.
Watson's Tracts. Vol. 4.
West on the Resurrection.
Westcott's Characteristics of the gospel M.
Weston on the Rejection of the Christian Miracles by the Heathen.
Wescott's Elements of the Gospel Harmony.
Wood's (Leonard) Works. Vol. 4.

Miracles of the First Ages of the Church. See FALSE MIRACLES.

Pro.

Augustine, de Civitate Dei.
Justin Martyr, Apologia.
——— Dialog. cum Tryphone.
Irenæus, Opus eruditissimum. Ed. Frobenii.
Minucius Felix, Octavius.
Origen, contra Celsum.
Tertullian, ad Scapulam.

Mosheim, de Rebus ante Constantinum.
Pfannerus de Donis miraculis.
Schulz's Geistesgaben der ersten Christen.

Balmer's (Robt.) Academic Lectures.
——— Pulpit Discourses.
Barrington's (John S.) Miscellanea Sacra.
Boys' Suppressed Evidence; or proof from the records of the Fathers, Waldenses, &c.
Brook's Exam. of Middleton's free enquiry.
Burton's Eccles. hist. of the 2d and 3d cent.

Miracles of the First Ages—*continued.*

Pro.

Chapman on the Miraculous powers, &c.
——— Jesuit Cabal farther opened.
Church (Tho.) on the Miraculous powers, &c.
——— Appeal to the unprejudiced.
Dodwell's Free answer to Middleton.
Douglas' Criterion. (Exc't. Exposes Hume.)
Fleury's Eccles. Hist. (An essay at the end.)
Heathcote's Animadversions on Middleton.
Jackson's Remarks on Middleton's Inquiry.
Jenkins' (Tho.) Exam. of M.'s "Inquiry."
Newman's (J. H.) Miracles of eccl. history.
Parker's Miraculous powers of the early fathers.
Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures. 1859.
Reeves' Apologies of Justin, Tertullian, and Minucius.
Rutherford on Miracles.
Stebbins' Observations on Middleton.
Sykes' Credibility of Miracles.
——— Two questions impartially considered.
Walton's Miraculous powers of the church.
Whiston on Demoniacs.
——— on the Exact time when miraculous gifts ceased in the church.

Con.

Jenkins' Examination of Dodwell's reply to Middleton.
Middleton's Free inquiry into the miraculous powers supposed to have existed in the Church.
——— Vindication. (Reply to Dodwell and Church.)
——— Reply to Stebbins and Chapman.
——— Reply to Mr. Toll.
North British Rev. Vol. 4.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Toll's Defence of Middleton's Free Inquiry.
Yates' Defence of Middleton's Inquiry.

See a notice of this controversy in a note by Dr. KIPPIS, to DODDRIDGE'S *Lectures*, Part 6; and in JOSEPH CLARKE'S *Theological Treatises*.

Miracles, Pretended. See FALSE.

Miracles of the Church of Rome.

Bouchier, de Martyrio Fratrum.
Chamieri Panstraticæ Catholicæ.
Cornæi Miracula eccles. Catholicæ.
Des Vœux, Lettres sur les miracles que les Jansenistes attribuent aux reliques de l'Abbe de Paris.
Estienne, de la Conformité des marvielles anciennes avec des modern. (A keen, satirical comparison between Paganism and Popery.)
[Le Gros], Lettres Theologique.
Montgeron, la Verité des miracles de Francois de Paris.

Adams (John) on Miracles.
Brevint's Saul and Samuel at Endor.
Campbell on Miracles.

Douglass' Criterion of true miracles.
Hume's (David) Essays.
Kidder's Messiah.
Lowe on Romish Miracles.
Middleton's Free Enquiry.
Monthly Review. 124:205. 126:780.
North British Review. 4:451.
Princeton Review. 8:348.
Sykes on Miracles and Revelation.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.

Mirth. See SOBRIETY.

Colman's (Benj.) Sermons. (How to improve Mirth.)
Marriott's (John) Sermons. (Use and abuse of Mirth.)

Mishna. See RABBINICAL LITERATURE, TALMUDS.

Mishna: sive totius Hebræorum juris; cum commentariis Maimonidis et Bartenoræ. Latinitate donavit, ac notis illustravit, Surenhusius. (6 vols., folio.)

Sola & Raphall's Translation of 18 treatises from the Mishna. (The only English tr.)

Missal. See LITURGIES.

Arnaudi Epitome. (Of *Gavant.*)
Brevint, Missale Romanorum.
Cari Responsorialia et Antiphonaria.
Cochlæi Speculum antiquæ devotionis.
Gavanti Thesaurus sacrorum rituum.
Gerberti Vet. Liturgia illustrata.
Huebneri Historia Missæ. (Notices all the Papal liturgies.)
Lipenii Bibliotheca Theologica.
Mabillonii Liturgica Gallicana.
Meuschenii Ceremonialia. (Acta erud. 1732.)
Mohrenii Expos. Missæ atque Rubricarum.
Muratori Liturgia Romana vetus.
Pinii Tractatus historico-theologicus.
Pisart, Expositio Rubicarum missalis.
Piscaræ Praxis Ceremoniarum.
Rosarii Observationes.
Thomasii Codices Sacramentorum.

Lewis' Bible, Missal, and Breviary. (Contains an entire translation of the Missal, Rubrics, &c., with prefaces, and other useful matter.)

For many other works on the Missal, see LOWNDES' *British Librarian.*

Missions. See JESUIT MISSIONS, MORAVIANS, PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY.

Annales de la Propagation de la foi. (A continuation of the "Lettres Edifiante.")
Blumhardt's Allgem. missionsgeschichte und missionsgeographie. 1828.
Callenburg's Bericht an Einige Christliche Freunde. (A truly great work.)
Cerri, L'Etat present de l'eglise Romaine. 1830.
Fabricii Lux Evang. toti orbi exoriens.
Janichii de Impedimentis circa convertandos Mohammedanos.

Missions—*continued.*

Klumpp's Evangelische Missionswesen.
Kristna Saga. (A reliable and sufficient acc. of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland in 981, and its progress till 1121.)
La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme.
Lettres Edifiantes. Periodical. (60 volumes. Embracing an account of the learning and science which the Romish missionaries discov'd or acquired in both hemispheres.)
Lücke's (G. C. F.) Missionsstunden. 1841.
Mammachii Origines Christianæ.
Mascovii Dissertationes.
Niecamp, Historia Missionis evangelicæ.
Oldenthorp's Missionsgeschichte.
Paget, Christianographie.
Schmidt's (K. C. G.) Kurzgefaste lebens Beschreibungen, &c.
Sondermann's Tabellarische Uebersicht, etc. 1846.
Steger's Protestantische Missionen.
Xavieri Epistolæ. (Full of good hints to a missionary.)
Zimmermann's Gustav.-Adolf.-Verein. 1856.

Accounts of the Society for propagating the gospel.
Aikman's Cyclopedia of Christian M. 1859.
Alder's Wesleyan missions. To 1840.
Amer. Baptist Missionary Magazine. 1803, to the present.
Amer. Biblical Repos. 3d Series. 4:453.
Amer. Quarterly Review. 3:423. 4:265. 6:77. 9:164. 10:93. 12:1.
Asiatic Researches. Periodical. Calcutta.
Baptist Missionary Magazine. London.
Barge & Strickland's American Methodist Missions.
Barth on Christian Missions.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 14:418. 15:543.
Blumhardt's Christian missions in every part of the world. Maps.
Body's (J. A.) Christian missions.
Bost's History of the Moravians.
Brown's Propagation of Christianity.
Burder's Missionary Anecdotes.
Burns' (Jabez) Sermons.
Caddel's Missions in Japan and Paraguay.
Calcutta Chris. Observer. (Many articles.)
Campbell's (J.) Philosophy of M. 1842.
——— Maritime discoveries.
Carey's Enquiry respecting missions.
Carne's Lives of eminent missionaries.
Chalmer's (Thomas) Sermons.
Chandler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Choules' History of Missions. (A revised and improved edition of Tho. Smith's.)
Christian Examiner. 1:182. 29:51. 44:416.
Chris. Monthly Spectator. 8:404.
Chris. Review. 1:325. 2:485. 6:280. 8:304. 10:566. 14:167,556.
Chris. Observer. London. (In almost every volume are valuable missionary statistics.)
Church Miss. Soc. Intelligencer. Periodical.
Clarkson's (W.) Christian Missions; or facts and principles of Evangelism.

Missions—*continued.*

Conference on M., held at Liverpool, 1860.
Cox's History of the London Baptist Missionary Society. From 1792 to 1842.
Davies' (Samuel) Sermons.
Doane's (G. W.) Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Douglass' (James) History of Missions.
Drummond's (Abp.) Sermons.
Duff's Missions the chief end of the church.
Eclectic Review. London. (Many articles.)
Elliot's Christian Commonwealth.
Ellis' History of the London M. Soc. 1844.
Exeter Hall Lectures to young men.
Foreign Missionary. Periodical. New York. 1833–1836. (Presbyt. missions chiefly.)
Foster's (John) Sermons.
Frazier's Magazine. 4:261.
Friend of India. Calcutta. Periodical.
Fuller's (And.) Apology for Missions.
Gammel's Hist. of Amer. Baptist missions in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America.
Gillies' Historical Collections.
Grant's Bampton Lectures. 1843.
Green's (Ashbel) History of Presbyterian M.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
——— Address to Eustace Carey.
Hamilton (R. W.) on Missions. (An essay to which a prize of $1,000 was awarded, 1846. "One of the noblest productions of consecrated genius and learning." Prout.)
Harris' Great Commission. Prize essay.
Holmes' Missions of the United brethren. (From the beginning to 1812.)
Hoole's Year-book of Missions.
Horne's Letters on Missions.
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hough's (James) Vindic. of Prot. missions.
Huie's Hist. of M. From the Ref. to 1842.
Humphrey's History of the Society for the propagation of the gospel. 1830.
Irving's (Edward) Orations.
Jackson's Centenary volume. (Wesleyan.)
Jenkins' Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church in the conversion of the world.
Johnson's (John) Sermons. (17 on missions.)
Kennet's History of Christianity.
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Hay, Hist. Evang. dispositio ipsis Evangeliorum verbis. 1607.
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Lubini Historia Christi. 1609.
Lubomlii Monotessaron Evangelicum. 1607.
Maii Concinata ut Monotes. 1707.
Perionii (Ioach.) Monotessaron. 1553.
Riccii Monotessaron. 1607.
Saxonis Vita Jesu. 1474.
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Gurthwaite's Evangelical Harmony. 1633.
Hele's Four gospels in one. 1750.
Law's Life and character of Christ. 1749.
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Peddie's Gospel Narrative. 1857.
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Ittigius de Hæresiarchis ævi Apostolici, et Apostolico proximi.
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Schwegler d. M. und die Kirche des 2. Jahrh.
Strauchii (Ægid.) Dissertationes.
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Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
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Baieri Theologia Moralis.
Calixti Epitome Theologiæ.
Durrii (Ioann. Conrad.) Enchiridion.
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Chris. Quart. Spectator. 10:527.
Duchall's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Literary and Theol. Rev. 5:206.
New Englander. 1:525.
Warburton's (Bp.) Sermons.

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Bellamy's (Joseph) Works.
Booth's Death of Legal Hope.
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Cobbin's View of the Moral law.
Cudworth's Eternal and immutable morality.
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Fuller's (And.) Rule of believers.
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Buddei Institutiones Theol. moralis.
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Diedrich (C.), Christlichen Sittenlehre.
Dithmarsi Systema Ethicum.
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Grabovii Ethica Christiana.
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Amer. Biblical Repos. 6:117.
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Finch's Moral qualities of Man.
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Wilkins' Principles of Natural Religion.
Witherspoon's Moral philosophy.

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Chrysostom, Sermones.
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Ammon's Handbuch der Christl. Sittenlehre.
Amyrald, Morale chrêtiene.
Bassnage sur les Vertus et les Vices.
Baumgarten-Crusius' Chris. Sittenlehre.
Bruch's Lehrbuch d. Sittenlehre.
Buddei Institutiones theologiæ moralis.
Callixti Epitome theologiæ moralis.
De Wette's Christlich Sittenlehre.
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Ligori Theologia Moralis.
Merz's Christlichen Sittenlehre, in seiner Gestaltung nach den Grundsatzen des Protest. im gegensatz. zum Katholicismus.
Pictet, Morale chrêtiene.
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Dymond's Essays. (Invaluable.)
Economy of Human life.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Foster's (John) Essays on Morals.
Fox on Christian morals.
Gisbourne's (Tho.) Sixty sermons. ("We are almost at a loss for terms of approbation sufficiently strong."—ROBT. HALL.)
Hammond's Practical Catechism.
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Henry's Sketches of M. life and charrcter.
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The Telescope. Periodical.

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Book of Mormon, translated from golden plates, by Joseph Smith.
Appeal to the American people. 1840.
Pratt's (P. B.) Div. authority of the bk. of M.
——— Faith of the Latter-day saints.
Pratt's (O.) Account of several remarkable visions, and of the late discovery of ancient American records.
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Times and Seasons. Periodical. Nauvoo.

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Caswell's Prophet of the 19th cent., with an analysis of the book of Mormon.
Christian Examiner. 53:201. 64:421.
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Fuller's (Mrs.) Mormon Wives.
Geier on Irvingism and Mormonism.
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Gunnison's Valley of the Salt Lake.
Harris' Mormonism portrayed.
Howe's Mormonism unveiled.
Hyde's Mormonism and its leaders.
Kane's (T. L.) Discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society.
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Law's (Cath.) Narrative of M. proceedings.
Littell's Living Age. 15:461. 30:429.
London Review. 18:351. 20:193.
Mayhew's (Horace) Latter-day Saints.
Methodist Quart. Rev. 3:111.
Smith's (Mary) Fifteen years with the M.
Southern Literary Messenger. 10:526.
Taylder's Mormon's own book.
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Caswell's City of the Mormons. 1842.
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Clarke's Gleanings by the way.
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Ferris' Utah and the Mormons. 1856.
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Simpson's History of Mormonism.
Stansbury's Expedition to Salt Lake. 1852.
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Atkinson's (Christopher) Sermons.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Brooks' Prec. remedies for Satan's devices.
Charnock's Works.
Hopkins' (Ezekiel) Sermons.
Mead's Almost Christian discovered.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by B. Needler.)
Owen (John) on Sin in believers.
Reading's (William) Sermons.
Scougal's Life of God in the soul of man.
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Tracts for the Times. Tract 21.
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Watson's (Thomas) Sermons.

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Cattenburgii Syntagma Sapientiæ Mosaicæ.
Gaulmyn, de Vita et morte Mosis.
Pastoret, Moyse considerè comme législateur, et comme moraliste.
Philonis, Vita Mosis.

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Bradley's (Charles) Sermons.
Breay's Hist. of M. practically considered.
Close's (Francis) Sermons on typical persons.
Campbell's (John) Life of Moses.
Hamilton's Pentateuch and its assailants.
Heber's (Bp.) Parish Sermons.
Hengstenberg's Moses. (Biblical Cabinet.)
Hoare's Veracity of the book of Genesis.
Kitto's Bible Illustrations.
Melville's (Henry) Sermons.
Plumtree's History of Moses.
Ross' (J. L.) Twenty Lectures.
Smith's (Thornley) History of Moses.
Thompson's (F. E.) Lent Lectures.
Thornton's (T.) Life of Moses.
Townsend's Character of M. as a historian.

Mothers. See MATERNAL DUTIES.

Motives. See MORAL SUASION, WILL.

Bagshaw (W.) on Human Motives.
Christian Observer. 19:1.
Crombie (Alex.) on Philosophical Necessity.
——— Review of Gregory on motives.
Gregory's (James) Difference between motive and cause. (Replies to Crombie.)
——— Defence of Do.
Hazlitt's Principles of Human action.
McCombe on Moral Agency.
Moore's (Dr. G.) Man and his motives.
Penrose's Nature and discipline of motives.
Tucker's Light of nature. Ch. 5,15,16,17.
Walker's (James) Sermons.

Mourners. See AFFLICTION, BEATITUDES, BEREAVEMENT.

Abercrombie's Mourner Comforted.
Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
Bragge on Undissembled Religion.
Bruce's (John) Mourners advised.
Cecil's Visits to the House of mourning.
Cook's (John) Sermons.
Dibden's (T. F.) Sermons.
Doolittle's Mourner's Directory.
Dowling's (J. Goulter) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Flavel's Token for Mourners.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gardner (Bp.) on True obedience.
Gerard's (Alexander) Sermons.
Grosvener's Mourner Comforted.
Hincks' (John) Sermons.

Mourners—*continued.*

Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Manton's (T.) Works. (Advice to mourners.)
Newnham's Tribute of sympathy to M.
Patrick's Heart's Ease.
Peabody's Sermons on Consolation.
Shaw's Welcome to the plague.
Spurgeon's (Cha. H.) Sermons. 2nd Series.
Sturm's Reflections.
Universalist Quarterly. 5:36.

Muggletonians.

Pro.

Muggleton's Interp. of all the chief texts, &c.
——— Spiritual Epistles.
——— Sundry other tracts. 7 vols.
Reeves' News from Heaven.
——— Divine Looking-glass.
——— Remonstrance from the eternal God.
——— Other treatises.
Tomkinson's (Tho.) Truth's Triumph.

Con.

Taylor's Muggletonian Principles.
Williams' (Bp.) Absurd and mischievous opinions of the Muggletonians considered.

Muhammed. See MAHOMET.

Munzer.

Averbachii Dissertationes duæ.
Baleus' (J.) Bäpstliche Geschichte.
Bullinger, von der Wiedertäuffer Ursprung.
Bussiere, Histoire de Lutheranisme.
Dorp's Wahrhaftige Historie.
Hortensii Tumultuum Anabaptistic. liber.
Kerssenbroch de Bello Anabaptistico.
Loescheri (Valent. Ernest.) Stromata.
Melancthon's Hist. Thomæ Munzeris.
Menchenii Scriptor. rerum Germanicarum.
Meshovii Historia Anabaptistica.
Munzer (Tho.), oder der thuringische Bauerkrieg.
Schardii Scriptor. rerum Germanicarum.
Strobel's Leben, Schriften, und Lehren M.

Hughes' (W.) History of John a Leyden.

Very little reliance can be placed on the statements of bitter persecutors of Munzer and his doctrines, as most of these were.

Murder. See SUICIDE.

Brackenbury's (Edw.) Sermons for families.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 115.
Forster's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Hole (Matthew) on the Church Catechism.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
McLean's Apostolical Commission.
Newcombe's Sermons.
Parsons on the Catechism.
Pascal's Provincial Letters. Letter 14.
Reynolds' God's revenge against Murder. (Thirty tragical histories.)
Secker (Abp.) on the Catechism.
Toogood's (Charles) Sermons.

Mystery. See PROVINCE OF REASON.

Ambrose, de Mysteriis.
Baierus de Necessitate mysteriorum in religione revelata.
Bulfinger, de Mysteriis Christianæ fidei.
Buttstett der Vernunftigen Gedancken.
Cicero, contra Verrein.
Diodorus, Bibliothecæ Historicæ.
Haferungii Mysteria neque comprehendi posse neque tamen rationi adversari.
Nouvelle Encyclopedie Theologique.

Amer. Jour. of Science. 13:217.
Bloomfield's (Bp.) Sermons.
Campbell's (Geo.) Preliminary Dissertations.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Chris. Month. Spectator. 5:1.
Chris. Examiner. 17:202.
Chris. Disciple. 2:429.
Conybeare's Defence of revealed religion.
Cosin's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Foster's Contributions to the Eclectic Review. (The power of mystery.)
Hawkins' (Will.) Bampton Lectures. 1787.
Hone on Mysteries and religious shows.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Leland's Advantage and necess. of Div. revel.
Littleton's (Edward) Sermons.
McKnight's Preface to Epistle to Ephesians.
Milbourn's M. of religion vindicated.
Newman's (John H.) Sermons.
Newton's (Bp. Thomas) Dissertations.
Newton's (W.) Sermons.
Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum.
Reay's (William) Sermons.
Robinson's Claude.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Thomas) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Southern Lit. Messenger. 6:624.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
——— Discourse on Scripture Mysteries.
Sumner's (Samuel) Discourses.
Warburton's Legation of Moses. Bk. 1,2.
Wheatly's (Charles) Sermons.

Mystics. See BOEHMENISTS, BOURIGNONISTS, PIETISTS, QUIETISTS.

Pro.

Abbas (Guliel.) ad Fratres Montis.
Alvarez de Perfecta contemplatione.
——— de Vita spirituali.
Arnoldi (G.) Hist. et descriptio theol. M.
——— Other works. (A wonderful man.)
Barbanson, de Amore Dei.
——— Veræ theologiæ compendium.
Bernardi Sermones.
——— de Consideratione.
Bertot, le Directeur Mystique.
Binet, Œuvres Spirituelles.
Blammevenniæ Introd. in Theologiam.
Bona, Via Compendii ad Deum.
——— Manductio ad Cœlum.

Mystics—*continued.*

Pro.

Bonaventura de Reformatione Mentis.
——— Meditationes.
——— de l'Amour Divine.
Buchon, Choix Ouvrages mystiques.
Camera, La Reine d'amour propre.
Canfield, Regula perfectionis.
Catharine de Siena, Meditat., Dialog., etc.
Corderii Isagoge.
Desmaret, Ouvrages.
Dionysius Carthusianus Opera. ("Sober, wise, and full of wholesome maxims."—DUPIN.)
Drexelii Opera. (One of the chief of the M.)
Evangelista, de Elevatione animæ supra semetipsum.
Fenelon, Œuvres Spirituelle.
Fludd, Opera Omnia. (See a full account of them in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.)
Galenii Summa Mysticæ Theologiæ.
Gerson [or Gessen], Considerationes.
——— de Modo vivendi.
——— Contemplations sur la passion.
——— Other works.
Guillore, Œuvres.
Harpei Mystica Theologia.
Harvengii (Philippi) Opera.
Heinroth's Geschichte und Kritik der M.
Herstentii Apparatus ad Theologiam.
Hiel, de Vita essentia, etc.
Horstii Paradisus Animæ Christianæ.
Hugo (de Palma), Opera.
John a Cruce, Ascensus Montis Carmeli.
Louvencourt, le Gâteau spirituel.
Molinos, Manductio spiritualis.
Nouet (P.), Œuvres.
Picard, Miroir du monde.
Poiret, Theologie du Cœur.
——— Cogitationes.
——— l'Economie Divine.
——— La paix des bonnes ames.
——— (Various other works. Most of his writings are translated into English.)
Pomerius de Vita contemplativa.
Pontalier, Trésor du Chrétien.
Quentin, l'Orologe de dévotion.
Richard (de St. Victoire), de Statu interioris hominis. ("The Coryphæus of the Mystics."—MOSHEIM.)
Rodriguez, Pratique de la perfection.
Rusbrochius de Ornatu nuptiar. spiritualium.
——— Deutche Theologie.
Sales (Francis de), de Amore Dei.
——— Many other tracts.
Sandæi Theologia.
Savanarola de Simplicitate Chris. vitæ.
Scherer, Preces ac Meditationes.
Schramm, Institutiones Theologiæ.
St. Angela, Theologie de la croix, etc.
Stilling's Sämmtliche Werke.
Sucquet, Via Vitæ.
Suso, Leben und Scriften.
Tauleri Institutiones.
——— Medulla Animæ.

Mystics—*continued.*

Pro.

Thomas (a Kempis) de Imitatione Christi.
Turrecremata, Meditationes.
Bromley's (Thomas) Way to rest.
——— Essay on true knowledge.
Caxton's (Wm.) Treatise on love.
Cunninghame's (Jas.) Warnings of the eternal Spirit.
Everhard's Gospel Treasury opened.
Girard's (John) Holy Meditations.
Hartley's Paradise restored. Appendix.
Hilton's (Walter) Ladder of perfection.
Law (William) on Perfection.
——— Grounds of the Teutonic philosophy.
——— Various other treatises.
Lead's (Jane) Soul's union with Christ.
Life of Madame Guion.
——— Madame Bourignon.
——— Jacob Bœhmen.
Marsay (C. A.) on the Spiritual Life.
Molino's Guide to Contemplation.
Oakley's New Creature in Christ.
——— Divine Visions.
Pavey's (John) Works.
Poiret's Divine Œconomy. (A good body of Divinity.)
Sales' Introd. to a devout life. (Edited, and purged of its Romish errors, by Nichols.)
Sherwin's Saints revealed.
Whiteford's (Rich.) Fruyte of Redempcyon.

Con.

Borgeri Disputationes.
Bossuet, Memoires sur le livre intitulé "Explication des maximes des saintes, sur le vie interieure."
——— Instruction sur les etats d'oraison.
Ewald's alte Mystik u. neu. Mysticismus.
Fritzsche's Mysticismus und Pietismus.
Gravell, der Werth der Mystik.
Haug, de Theologia Mystica.
Hofling's Mysticismus.
Jægeri Theologia.
Krause's Hist. und psychol. Bemerkungen.
Spieker's Mysticismus, dessen Begriff, Ursprung und Werth.
Weber's Myst. Tendenzen unserer Zeit. 1829.

Mysticism, History of.

Anselme (H.), le Monde païen.
Baumgarten (Crusius), Compendium.
Bausset, Hist. de la vie de Bossuet. (Contains an account of the whole controversy with Fenelon.)
Buddei Isagoge ad Theologiam.
De Wette, Christliche Sittenlehre.
Ewald's Alte und neuen Mystik.
Fontaninus Hist. litterar. Aquiliensis.
Franke's Arnold von Brescia, u. seine Zeit.
Hagenbach's Dogmengeschichte.
Helferich, die Christliche Mystik.
Heinroth's Geschichte und Kritik des M.
Muratori Antiquitates Italic. medii ævi.
Pfeiffer's Deutsche Mystiken des 14 Jahrh.

Mysticism, History of—*continued.*

Planck's Gesch. d. protestantisch. Theologie.
Poiret, Bibliotheca Mysticorum. ("I have been delighted with it."—Jebb.)
Salat's Supernaturalismus und Mysticismus.
Schmid's (H.) der M. des mittel Alters.
Schmidt (C.), les Mystiques du 14th siécle.

Christian Observer. 1861. P. 509.
Eclectic Review. N. S. 12:50.
Edinburg Review. 84:102,195.
George's (David) Writers of the XVth cent.
Knox's (Alexander) Remains.
Life of De Renty.
——— Fenelon.
——— John V. Andrea.
New Englander. 5:348.
Retrospective Review. 1:288.
Vaughn's (R. A.) Hours with the Mystics.

A complete account of the host of Mystical writers, to 1740, is given in the edition of Arnold's *Kirchen Historie*, published at Schaffhausen. 1742.

Mythology. See WORSHIP OF SPIRITS.

Allatius de Templis Græcorum.
Bauer's Symbolik des Alterthums.
Bergier, Dieux du Paganisme.
Bruckeri Hist. Critica philosophiæ.
Bynckershoeckii Opuscula. ("Curious and learned."—Mosheim.)
Choul, la Religions des anciens Romains. (300 engravings.)
Cicero de Natura Deorum.
Comes, Explicatio Fabularum, etc.
Creuzer's Symbolik der alten Völker.
Cumberland, Origines Gentium.
Dupuy, Hist. des dieux et demi-dieux.
Encyclopedie Théologique.
Galæi Opuscula Mythologica.
Gerhard's Griechische Mythologie.
Grave, de Republique de champs elisées. (A curious work, connecting the Greek mythology with that of Gaul.)
Grimm's Deutche Mythologie.
Harettii Delecta Mythologiæ Græcorum.
Heffter's Religion d. Griechen u. Römer.
Herbert de Religione Gentilium.
Hermann's Handbuch der Mythologie.
Hirt's Bildung der Ægypt. gottheiten.
Hyde, Religio vet. Persarum et Medorum.
Iamblicus de Mysteriis Ægyptorum.
Iamieson, Spicilegia Antiquitatum.
Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum. (Held in the highest estimation.)
Lakemacheri Antiquitates Græcorum.
Millin, Galerie Mythologique. 190 plates.
Mover's Phœnizier. (Extensive.)
Munter's Religion der Karthagen.
Nork's (F.) Biblische Mythologie: ein neuen Theorie zur Aufhellung der Dunkelheiten u. scheinbaren Widersp. in den canon. Büchern d. Juden u. Christen.
Perizonii Origines Babylonicæ, etc.
Pfanneri Syst. theolog. gentilis purior.
Richter, Phantasien des Orients.

Mythology—*continued.*

Roack's Mythologie und Offenbarung.
Schedius de diis Germanis.
Selden de diis Syriis.
Tressan, M. comparée avec l'Histoire.
Vossii (G. J.) Theologia Gentilis.

Amer. Eclectic Rev. 2:326. (Scandinavian.)
Amer. Quart. Rev. 22:349. (Middle ages.)
Asiatic Researches.
Baldwin's Pantheon.
Banier's Mythology of the ancients.
Bassville's Elements of Mythology.
Bell's (John) Pantheon; or, Historical dictionary of gods, demigods, heroes, and fabulous personages of antiquity. Plates.
Berry's Mythological tables.
Bryant's Analysis of ancient heathen M.
Cabel's Unity of the human race.
Carr's (T. S.) Classical Mythology.
Christ. Rev. 2:515. 10:530.
Christie on the Earliest Idolatries.
Christmas' (H.) Universal Mythology.
Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus.
Cory's Mytholog. and chronolog. enquiries.
Coventry's History of false religions.
De Rougemont on the primitive people.
Dublin Univ. Mag. 12:86. (Northern.)
Faber's (G. S.) Mysteries of the Cabiri. (Tho gods of Phenicia, Egypt, Greece, Troas, &c.)
——— Origin of Pagan idolatry.
Farmer on the Worship of human spirits.
Foreign Quart. Rev. 7:33. (Greece.) 16:437. (Scandinavian.)
Foster's Mythol. and customs of the Hindus.
Frazier's Mag. 20:1,200,326. (Egyptian.)
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. (Showing the learning and religious knowledge of Pagans to be derived from Holy Scripture.)
Goodwin's Roman and Grecian antiquities.
Grey's Polynesian mythology.
Herbert's Ancient religion of the Gentiles.
Keightley's M. of ancient Greece and Italy.
Kennedy's Ancient and Hindu M. Plates.
Kennett's Antiquities of Rome.
King's Hist. acc. of heathen gods and heroes.
Knickerbocker Mag. 30:95. (Northern.)
Le Clerc's Religion of the ancient Greeks.
Mallet's Northern Antiquities.
Maurice's Indian Antiquities.
Mayo's M. of the Greeks and Romans.
Meade's (Bp.) The Bible and the Classics.
Monthly Review. 92:225. (Egyptian.) 128:175. (Hindu.)
Moore's Hindu Pantheon.
Müller's Scientific system of Mythology.
Mushet's Trinities of the Ancients.
North Amer. Rev. 28:18. (Scandinavian.) 41:327. (Classic.)
North's Mythology compared with History.
Pigot's Scandinavian Mythology.
Pluche's (Abbe la) History of the heavens.
Plutarch's Isis and Osiris.
Pomey's Mythology. Tr. by Tooke. Plates.
Potter's Antiquities of Greece.
Prescott's Mexico and Peru.

Mythology—*continued.*

Pococke's India in Greece; or, Truth in Mythology. (Traces the Hellenic race, the settlement of Egypt and Palestine, &c.)
Pritchard's Egyptian Mythology.
Quar. Review. 22:349. (Middle ages.)
Ramsay's Theology and M. of the Ancients.
Sheldon's History of the Heathen gods.
Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman M.
Spencer's Polymetis.
Thorpe's Northern Mythology. (Scandinavia, Germany, Norway, &c. Very thorough.)
Tooke's Pantheon of the Heathen gods.
Tressam's M. compared with History.
Turner's Theology of Pagans.
Ward's View of Hindu theology.
Weiderman's Essays.

The above is a mere specimen of innumerable works on this subject.

Naaman. See BIOGRAPHY.

Girdlestone's (Charles) Sermons.
Hickman's (Bp.) Sermons.
Percival's (A. P.) Sermons.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Shuttleworth's (P. N.) Sermons.

Nag's-head Consecration.

Pro.

Le Courayer's Validity of Engl. ordinations.
Le Quien's Panoplia.

Con.

Bramhall's Church of England defended.
Brett's Divine right of Episcopacy.
Brown (J.) on the Nag's-head ordination.
Harrington's Succession of English bishops.
Mason's Vindication of English bishops.

I know of no entire book written to prove the fact of such an ordination; but many writers, besides the two above named, describe it as a fact.

Names of Christ. See TITLES.

Name of God. See HUTCHINSONIANS.

Capellus de Nomine tetragramato.
Cocceii Disputationes Selectæ.
Cortici Dissertationes. (Very copious.)
Deylingii (Salamon.) Dissertationes.
Drusius de Nomine Elohim.
Falkius de Derivatione nominis Dei.
Gataker de Nomine tetragrammato.
Landauer's יהוה und אלהים.
Matani Nom. Dei juxta Hæbræos.
Michaelis (J. F.) de Nomine Dei.
Millii (D.) Dissertationes.
Osiandri (L.) Exercitationes.
Relandi Exercitationes philologicæ. (Contains extracts from Alting, Amama, Leusden, and others.)
Weberi (Ch. F.) Doctrina ævi primi.
Witsii Vindicatio argumenti desumpti a constructione nominis Elohim, cum verbo singularis numeri.
Zanchii Dissertationes.

Name of God—*continued.*

Aboab's Remarks on Sharp's Dissertation.
Bates' (Julius) Reply to Dr. Sharp.
Bayle's Dict. Articles Arnaud, Nicole, &c.
Davies' (Pres. Samuel) Sermons.
Hall's (Robert) Works.
Hodges' Christian plan exhibited.
Holloway on Elohim and Berith.
Hutchinson's Works.
Kalmar's Dissertations.
——— Reply to Holloway.
——— Reply to Aboab.
Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. 2:332.
Mather (S.) on the name Jehovah.
Moody's Evidences of Christianity contained in the words Aleim and Berith.
Pascall's Provincial Letters.
Sharp's (Tho.) Diss. on the etymology, &c.
——— Review and defence of the same.
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons. 1st & 6th Series.
Stuart (Moses) on the Apocalypse.
Sydenham's Onomasticon.
Woodhouse's Practical sermons.

Nathaniel.

Clerke's (Richard) Sermons.
Marshall's (N.) Sermons.
Neve's (Timothy) Sermons.
Waterland's (Daniel) Sermons.

National Blessings. See THANKSGIVING.

Gerard's (Alexander) Sermons.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Morehead's (Robert) Sermons.
Pearson's (Hugh) Sermons before the King.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.

National Retributions.

Flower's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Fowle's (F. W.) Ten plain sermons.
Graves' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Huntingdon's (Prof.) Sermons.
Miller's (Joseph) Sermons.
Montgomery (Robt.) on Religious Belief.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Williams.)
Parsons' (J.) Sermons.
Percival's (A. P.) Sermons.
Porteus' (Beilby) Sermons.
Saunders' (Erasmus) Sermons.
Sharp's (Granville) Warning to Gt. Britain.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Whately's (Abp.) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Edward W.) Sermons.

Nativity of Christ. See CHRISTMAS.

Augustine, Sermones.
Basil, Homiliæ.
Gregory Naz., Sermones.

Allix, Diatriba. (Memoires de Trevoux. 1715. On the month and the day.)
Cloppenburgii Diss. Chronologico-theol.
Fabricii Bibliographia antiq. Ch. 7. (Collects the opinions of the learned as to the year of Christ's birth.)

Nativity of Christ—*continued.*

Kepleri Commentatiuncula de vero anno, etc.
Kirchmeyeri Cogitationes Sacræ.
Lupus de Anno nativitatis. (*Acta erud.*)
Maii Observationes philologicæ.
Meieri Observationes chronologicæ.
Neander, Test. vet. Ebræorum de Christo.
Ravii Disputationes. (As to the time.)
Schleiermacher's Weihnachtsfeier.
Van Till, Dissertationes.

Bather's (Edward) Sermons.
Benson's (C.) Chronol. of our Saviour's life.
Christian Examiner. 38:49.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Frazier's Magazine. 38:670.
Hastings' (H. J.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Ezekiel) Sermons.
Jarvis' Church Chronology.
Mandell's (William) Sermons.
Mann's Dissertations. (The time.)
Pearson (Bp.) on the Birth of Christ.
Roberts' (Arthur) Sermons. (Situation of the world at the time.)
Robinson's (Ralph) Sermons.
Southern Lit. Messenger. 7:219.
Stewart's (J. H.) Discourses.
Thayer's (Elihu) Sermons.
Whitefield's (George) Sermons.

Natural Ability. See MORAL ABILITY.

Natural History of the Bible.

Aurogal de Heb. berbium, fluminum, etc.
Bocharti Hierozoicon. 1663. (Edited by Rosenmüller. 1793. A treasure.)
Celsii (Olaus.) Hiero-botanicon.
Cocquii Contemplatio plantarum, etc.
——— Exercitationes Physiologicæ.
Cyprian (Joh.) Animales Scripturæ.
Drusius de Mandragoris.
Eusebii et Hieronymi Onomasticon.
Forskal, de Animal. avi., amphib., pisc., etc.
Franzius de Animalibus sac. scripturæ.
Hilleri Hierophyticon. (As minute in regard to plants as Bochart is in regard to animals.)
Lesser's Insecto-theologia.
Maii Historia animalium Scripturæ.
Maurille, Phytologie Sacrée.
Montani Historia Naturæ, etc. (In the Antwerp Polyglott.)
Müller de Animalibus biblicis.
Relandi Palestina. (Very useful.)
Rosenmülleri Dissertationes.
Rudbeckii Icthyologia Biblica.
Scheuchzeri Physica Sacra. 1735. (8 folio volumes, with 800 engravings. Very full as to serpents and insects.)
Ursini Arboretum Biblicum.
Volger de Rebus naturalibus et medicis, etc.
Walchii Calendarium Palestinæ.

Abbot's Scripture natural history.
Balfour's Trees and shrubs of the Bible.
Biblical Cabinet. (Many articles.)
Biblical Repertory. Vol. 1. Tr. of Warnekross.
Brown on the Plants of Scripture.

Natural Hist. of the Bible—*continued.*

Buckham on the Mustard tree. (Agt. Frost.)
Carpenter's Nat. hist. of the Bible. Plates.
Catlow's Popular Scripture Zoology. Plates.
Christian Disciple. 3:49.
Copley's Scripture natural history.
Dun's Biblical natural science.
Frost on the Mustard tree of the New Test.
Harris' Natural history of the Bible. Plates. (Small, but the best in English.)
Lemnius' Scrip. Herbal. (Merely curious.)
Newton's (Thos.) Herbal of the Bible.
Osborn's Plants of the Holy land. Plates.
Princeton Review. 7:559.
Rosenmuller's Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible. (Trans. by Repp.)
Taylor's (C.) Scripture illustrated. Plates.
Williams' Bible Quadrupeds.

Natural History of Man. See MAN.

Naturalism. See RATIONALISM.

Natural Religion. See ATHEISM, LAW OF NATURE, LIGHT OF NATURE, NATURAL THEOLOGY.

Natural Theology.

Bullet, Exist. de Dieu demontré.
Curcellii Opera. Lib. I, cap. 2.
Delalle, Theologie Naturelle.
Doderleini Theologia.
Gerhardi Loci Theologici.
Lesser, Theologie des Insects.
Nahmmacher de Nat. Theol. Ciceronis.
Sabunde, Theologia Naturalis.
Siebelis, Disp. V. quib. periculum factum est ostendi in vet. Græcorum et Rom. doctrina cum Chris. consentiente.
St. Martin, Tableau des rapports qui existent entre Dieu, l'homme, et l'univers.
Vitringæ Opuscula.
Wild's Vernunftglaube.

Abbadie on the Christian Religion.
Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Allen's Oracles of Reason.
Anderson's Course of Creation.
Atkey's Being and attributes of God.
Barker's Natural Theology.
Barrow's (Bp.) Works.
Beavan's Elements of Natural Theology.
Bellamy's (Joseph) Sermons.
Bentley's Boyle Lectures. 1692.
Berkeley's Minute Philosopher.
Biblioth. Sacra. 3:241.
Boyle on Final causes.
Bridgewater Treatises, viz.:
  Bell's Mechanism of the hand.
  Buckland's Geology with reference to theology. (This author expended on the 90 plates the whole of the thousand pounds received from the Bridgewater fund.)
  Chalmers on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as seen in the adaptation of external nature to the moral and intellectual constitution of man.

Natural Theology—*continued.*

Kidd on the Adaptation of nature to the physical condition of man.
Kirby's Wisdom of God as seen in the history, habits, and instincts of animals.
Prout's Chemistry, Meteorol., & Digestion.
Roget's Animal and vegetable physiology.
Whewell's Astronomy and general physics.
Brit. Quar. Review. 7:204.
Brougham's Natural Theology.
Brown's Existence of a supreme Creator.
Burnett's (C. M.) Power, &c., as seen in the Animal Creation. (Capital.)
Bushman's Study of Nature.
Butler's Analogy of Religion and Nature.
Charnock s Works.
Chris. Exam. 30:273. 6:389. 13:187.
Christian Quar. Spect. 8:177. 10:319
Christian Review. 3:1.
Crabbe's (Geo.) System of Natural Theology.
Crombie's Natural Theology.
Dick's Christian Philosopher.
Dryden (J.) on Natural Religion.
Durham's Boyle Lectures. 1711,1712.
——— Astro-Theology.
Dublin Univ. Mag. 6:448. 7:597.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 5:609.
Edinb. Review. 1:287. 64:141.
Fergus' Testimony of Nature.
Frazier's Mag. 12:375. 13:694.
Gisbourne's Test. of Nat. Theol. to religion.
Gosse's Life in its manifestations.
Gretton's Review of the argument *a priori* for the being of God.
Grew's (N.) Cosmologia Sacra.
Grinfield's Conn. of nat. and rev. theology.
Grove's (N.) Wisdom of Deity.
Hall's (Robt.) Modern Infidelity.
Hamilton on the Supreme Being.
Hampden's Philos. evid. of Christianity.
Harris' (Robert) Sermons.
Hey's (John) Lectures. Bk. 1, ch. 3 and 4.
Jones' Natural evidences of Christianity.
La Pluche on the Starry Heavens.
Laws' (E.) Theory of Religion.
Leibritz's Theodice.
Leighton's (Abp.) Lectures.
Lesser's Insecto-Theology.
Leuwenhoeck's Works. Trans. by S. Hoole.
Littell's Living Age. 19:289.
Lowman's Unity and perfections of God.
McCosh's Typical forms and special ends in Creation.
——— on Intuitions.
——— Divine Gov., physical and moral.
McCullock's Proofs and illustrations, &c.
Miller's (Hugh) Works.
Milne on the State of the old world.
Month. Rev. 88:82. 120:30.
New Eng. Mag. 4:454.
New York Rev. 1:137,298.
Nieuwentyt's Religious Philosopher.
North Am. Rev. 42:467. 54:102,256.
Ollyffe on the Origin and govt. of the world.
Paley's Natural Theology.

Natural Theology—*continued.*

Ragg's Creation's testimony to its God.
Ray's Physico-theology.
Read's (H.) Palace of the great King.
Rust's (Bp.) Use of reason.
Seaton's Grounds of religion.
Simon's (M. J.) Natural religion.
Spalding (J. J.) on Religion.
Stebbings' Defence of Dr. Clark.
Steere's (Edw.) Exist. and attributes of God.
Sykes' Foundation of religion.
——— Principles of religion.
Thompson's Christian Theism.
Towne's Actonian. (A prize essay.)
Tullock's Theism. (A prize essay.)
Tunstall's (James) Academica.
Turretin's (Francis) Dissertations. Diss. 1.
Turton's Natural Theology considered with reference to Lord Brougham's discourse.
Westminster Review. 17:413.
Wilson's (Prof.) Chemical final causes.

Nature of Virtue. See VIRTUE.

Necessity. See CONTINGENCY, HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY, MIND, SCIENTIA MEDIA, WILL.

Pro.

Belsham's Essays. Ess. 1.
Bray's Philosophy of N.: or the law of consequences, mental, moral, and social.
Chalmer's Notes on Butler's Analogy.
Clarke's (Sam.) Boyle Lectures. 1704.
Collins on Human liberty.
Crombie's Essay on Philosophical necessity.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works. (On the Will.)
Hartley's Observations on man.
Hobbes' Letter to the Duke of Newcastle.
——— Leviathan.
Hume's Essays.
Kaime's (Lord) Essays.
Leibnitz's Essay on the liberty of man.
Priestley's Essays on Hartley's theory.
——— Letter to Palmer.
——— 2d " " "
——— Letter to Bryant.
Toplady on Christian and philosophical N.

Con.

Limborchii Theologia.
Abercrombie's Intellectual Philosophy.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 9:214,297.
Bates' Observations on important points.
Beattie's Works. Part 2.
Bramhall's (Abp.) Works. (Rep. to Hobbes.)
Bryant's Address to Dr. Priestley.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Butler's Analogy of Relig. and Nat. Ch. 6.
Butterworth on Moral government.
Christ. Examiner. 35:198.
Clarke's (S.) Remarks on Collins' Enquiry.
——— Sermons.
Colliber's Enquiry into the nature of God.
Coppleston's Enquiry into the Doct. of N.
Crybbace's Essay on Moral freedom.
Cudworth's Intellect. system of the universe.

Necessity—*continued.*

Con.

Dawson's Doctrine of Philosoph. necessity.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 1, prop. 16.
Eclectic Rev. 12:417.
Fisher's (Jos.) Rev. of Priestley on necessity.
Fuller's Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
Gibbs' (Adam) Sacred Contemplations.
Goad on Necessity and Contingency.
Graves on Calvinistic Predestination.
——— Two Sermons in Trinity Col., Dublin.
Gregory's Essays, Philosoph. and literary.
Grove on Human Liberty.
——— Moral philosophy.
Harris' Boyle Lectures. 1698.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hutchinson's Metaphysics.
Jackson's Defence of human liberty.
King's Origin of evil.
Lawson's Examin. of Hobbes' Leviathan.
Lyons (J.) on the Doctrine of necessity.
Maclaurin's Newtonian philosophy.
North Am. Review. 13:384.
Palmer's Observ. on the Liberty of man.
Park Street Lectures. Lect. 10.
Price's Dissertations.
Quart. Review. 26:82. (On Coppleston.)
Reid's Essays on the mind.
Rotherham's Essay on human liberty.
Scharrock on the Law of Nature.
Tucker's (Abr.) Light of Nature.
Turner's (Prof.) Sermons. (Middle way between necessity and free will.)
Watts on Liberty.
West on Moral Agency.
Wollaston's Religion of Nature.
Wood's Works. Vol. 2.

Necessity of Divine Revelation.

Clemens Alex., Exhortatio ad Gentes.
Justin Martyr, Apologia.
——— Cohortatio ad Græcos.
——— Dialogus cum Tryphone.

Auberlen, die Göttliche Offenbarung.
Bretschneider's Systemat. Entwickelung.
Campbell, de Vanitate luminis naturæ.
Laget, Sermons sur divers sujets.
Turrettini (Jo. Alphonsi) Cogitationes.

Appleton's Works. Lect. 11,12,13.
Baker's (T.) Reflections on learning.
Barrow's Necessity of Christianity.
Brown's System of nat. and revealed religion.
Bundy's (Richard) Sermons.
Chandler's Revelation and Society.
Charnock's (S.) Works.
Christian Review. 12:186.
Conybeare on Revealed Religion.
Delany's Revelation examined with candor.
Edgecombe's Reason an insufficient guide.
Ellis' Knowledge of Divine things not from reason.
Farrer's Mission of Christ.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Fuller's (And.) Part of a body of Divinity.

Necessity of Div. Revelat.—*continued.*

Gale's Court of the Gentiles.
Gastrell's (Francis) Boyle Lectures. 1793.
Glanville's Vanity of dogmatizing.
Halyburton's Natural Religion insufficient.
Hamilton (W. T.) on the Pentateuch.
Hey's Lectures. Bk. 1, ch. 12.
Jenkins on the Christian Religion.
Jones' Bampton Lectures. 1821.
Law's Considerations.
Leland's Advantage and necessity of Rev.
Mant on the Gospel.
Miller's Division of Scripture.
Morehead's (R.) Sermons.
Nare's Evidence versus Reason.
Norman on the Necessity of Revelation.
Penrose's Bampton Lectures. 1808.
Robinson's (Tho.) Necessity, nature, and evidence of revealed religion.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Tatham's Bampton Lectures. 1789.
Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai.
Umfreville's Excellence and necessity, &c.
Vincent's (William) Sermons.
Warburton's Divine legation of Moses.
Watson's Tracts.
Watts' Strength and weakness of hum. reason.
West's Defence of the Christian revelation.
Whiteley's Essays. (Praised by PORTEUS.)
Witherspoon's (John) Works. Vol. 2.
Woodgate's Bampton Lectures. 1838.

Necessity of Good Works.
See GOOD WORKS.

Negroes. See ETHNOLOGY, UNITY.

Duprat, Essai sur les Races d'Afrique.
Gregoire, de la Literature des Négres.

Anderson's (C. J.) Lake Ngami. 50 plates.
Armistead's Tribute to the Negro. (A vindication of his capacities.)
Ashman's Reports to the Colonization Soc.
Bacon's Plea for Africa.
Beard's Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture.
Beattie on Truth.
Benezet's (Anthony) Works.
Campbell's (John) Travels in Africa. (First journey, 1815. Second, 1822.)
Childs' (Mrs.) Appeal in favor of Africans. 1855.
Duroc's Life of Toussaint. (Valuable.)
Faber's (Geo. S.) Eight Dissertations.
Goodwin's Negro's Advocate.
Gregoire's Faculties and literature, &c.
Griffiu's (Rev. Dr.) Plea for Africa.
Hodgson's Notes on Works on Africa.
Heeren's (Prof.) Politics, trade, &c., of the ancient nations in Africa.
Macauley's (T. B.) Hist. and miscel. essays.
Nesbit's Capacity of N. for improvement.
Philips' (J.) Researches in S. Africa. 1828. (Illustrating the civil, moral, and religious condition of the natives.)
Proyart's History of the Loango. 1776.
Ravenelle's Bibliotheca. (Art. Cush.)

Rees' Cyclopedia. (Art. Cush, Carthage, Ethiopia, &c.)
Sharpe's (Granville) Works.
——— Life and Memoirs.
Smith (S. S.) on the Variety of the human species.
Smith's (Adam) Wealth of nations.
——— Theory of moral sentiments.

Nehemiah.

Woodward's Character and history of N.

Neology. See RATIONALISM.

Pro.

Bahrdt's Glaubensbekentniss.
——— Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston.
——— (Other treatises, the most convenient of which for observing at one view the difference between the orthodox and the new theology, is the *Systema theologiae Lutheranae*, in which the text contains the former, and the commentary the latter.)
Bassedow, Philaletbie.
Baumgarten (Jacob.) Theses Theologicæ.
Blasche, Philosophie der Offenbarung.
Bretschneideri de Evang. et epistolar. Joannis origine.
——— Handbuch der Dogmatik.
Carpovii Œconomia salutis Nov. Test.
Cranz, Compendium theologiæ puris.
——— Philosophiæ Leibnitzianæ et Wolfianæ usus in theologia.
Damm, über den historischen Glauben.
Daub, Prolegomena zur Dogmatik.
——— die Dogmat. Theologie jetziger Zeit.
——— Philos. und Theol. Vorlesungen.
Eberhard's Neue Apologie des Socrates.
Eckermanni Comp. Theologiæ Christianæ.
Ewald's (H.) Abhandlung über Entstehung.
——— Other treatises.
Fichté, die Speculative Theologie.
——— Wissenschaftslehre.
Fritsche, Com. in quatuor N. T. Evangelia.
Gruneri Institut. Theol. dogmaticæ.
Hegel's Vorrede zu Hinricks Religions Philosophie.
——— Werke, Volständige, etc.
Heinrich, Acta Apostol. cum perpetua com.
Henké, Lineamenta institutionis fidei.
——— Opuscula Theologica.
——— Gesch. der Christlichen Kirche.
Herder's Religion, Lehrmeinungen, und Gebraucher.
——— (Many other works.)
Lessing, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Literatur.
Niemayer (A. H.), Religion und Kirche.
Noesselt (J. A.) Exercitationes et Opuscula.
Paulus' Philolog, clavis über d. Alte Test.
——— Exegetisches Handbuch.
——— Commentur über das N. Test.
——— der Denkglaubige.
Reinbek's Betrachtungen.
Reuchii Introductio in Theologiam.
Ribbow, Institutiones theologiæ dogmat.
Schelling (F. W. J.), Philosophie u. Relig.
——— (Various other works.)

Neology—*continued.*

Pro.

Schmidt (J. E. C.) Litterat. d. Kirchenges.
Schuberti Introd. in Theol. revelatam.
Semler (J. S.), Opera. (Over a hundred treatises. His principal work is the Historia Ecclesiastica.)
Senf, über die Herablassung Gottes.
Steinbart. Eudamonistisches System.
Strauss' Leben Jesu.
——— Predigten.
——— (Various other works, all of which called out answers from the more orthodox.)
Veller's Religion der Volkomnen.
Tollner's Unterschied der heiligen Schrift.
Tzschirner's Dogmatik.
Wegscheideri Institutiones.
Jowett's Commentary on the Epistles.
Maurice's (F. D.) Sermons.
——— Religions of the world.
——— Theological Essays.
——— Commentary on Hebrews.

Con.

Alberi Institutiones Hermeneuticæ.
Bagge's Princip. d. Mythus im Dienst der Christlichen Position.
Baumgarten-Crusius, Opuscula.
Baumgarten's (S. J.) Untersuchung theol. Streitigkeiten. (Rep. to Semler's History.)
Beckii Fundamenta.
Bengel's Gnomon; oder Zeiger d. N. Test.
Buddæus, Bedenken ü. Wolfe's Philosophie.
Francke, de Scopo librorum Nov. Test.
——— Prelectiones.
Fry, de Officio doctoris Christiani.
Gaussen, Theopneustie.
Gumpach's Kritik u. Antikritik. (Ag. Ewald.)
Hagenbach's Predigten.
Hengstenburg's Christologie des Alten Test.
Hugg's Gutachten über das Leben Jesu von Strauss.
Keil's Lehrbuch der historisch-kiritischen Einleitung z. A. Test.
Kratander, Anti-Straus; ernstes Zeugniss für d. Chris. Wahrheit.
Krug's Altes und neues Christenthum. (Replies to Ammon and Straus.)
Langii Causa Dei et Religionis.
Löscher's Leben und Wirken.
Michelet's Gesch. d. Philos. von Kant.
Müller's (J. N.) Anti-Bretschneider.
Pareau, Disputationes de mythica sac. codicis interp. (A masterly investigation.)
Pelts' (A. F. L.) Vier Vörlesungen.
Schmid (H.) die Theologie Semler's.
——— die Dogmatik d. evang. lutherischen Kirche.
Thiersch's Verstellung des historischen Standpunct für die Kritik der N. T.
——— Kirche in apostölischen Zeitalter.
Twesten's Dogmat. d. evang. luther. Kirche.
Ulman's Leben Jesu. (Against Strauss.)
Volkmar's Religion Jesu.
Candlish's Examin. of Maurice's Essays.

Neology—*continued.*

Con.

Christian Quart. Spectator. 6:509.
Gillespie's Truth of the evangelical history. (A powerful answer to Strauss.)
Hengstenburg's Book of Moses.
Herbert's Neol. not true, and truth not new. (Replies to Jowett and Maurice.)
Hulsean Lectures. 1833.
Lord's Theol. and Lit. Journal. 3:122.
Mansel's Bampton Lectures. 1858.
Princeton Review. 29:258.
Quarterly Review. 3:393.
Ripley's Latest form of Infidelity.
Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany.
——— Laws of Moses.
Ulman's (Karl) Works. (Replies to Strauss.)
Vaughn's (R.) Essays. (Clear and judicious.)

Neonomians.

Pro.

Edwards' Crispianism unmasked.
Williams' (Dan.) Gospel truth stated.

Con.

Chauncey's Neonomianism unmasked.
Edwards on the Will.
Hussey's Glory of Christ unveiled.

Neoplatonism.

Ammonias Saccas, Opera.
Bouillet, les Ennéades de Plotin.
Fichté, de Philosophiæ novæ Plat. origine.
Iamblicus, Commentaria.
Plotini Opera.
Porphyry, Opera.
Vogt's Neoplatonismus und Christenthum.
Biblical Repository. 1834.

Nestorians.

Pro.

Eutherii (Episc.) Sermones.

Con.

Cyril Alex., adv. Nestorii blasphemias.
Theodoret, contra Nestorium.

Buddæi Isagoge in theologiam.
Facundi Defensio Concilii Chalcedon.
Fausti Epistolæ.
Garneri (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Leontius (Bysant.) contra Nestorianos.
Maxentius contra Nestorianos.
Mercatoris (Marii) Opera.
Mercatori Comparatio dogm. Pauli Samos. et Nestorii.
Simleri Scripta veterum Latina de una persona, etc.
Stozza de Dogmatibus Chaldæorum.
Ursini Tractationes Theologicæ.
Wolfhardi Nest. antiquum et novum.

This once great and powerful sect—about as orthodox on the whole as the Roman Church of its time—was assailed by hosts of writers, none of which were more bitter than Cyril Alexandrinus. They are now few and feeble, and only their history is interesting. BUDDEUS, in his *Isagoge,* gives a list of writers on this subject, pro and con, previous to 1700; but scarcely any of them can be found now.

Nestorians, History of.

Doucin, Hist. du Nestorianisme. (A very interesting and learned account of Nestorius and his doctrines; with observations.)
Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca. Vol. IX.
Franzius de Initiis et progressu, etc.
Govea, Histoire Orientale.
Kortholti (Chris.) Dissertationes.
La Croze, Hist. d. Christianisme des Indes.
——— ——————— en Ethiopie.
Le Quien, Oriens Christianus.
Liberati Historia controv. Nestorianæ.
Raulini Hist. eccles. Malaharicæ.
Renaudoti Hist. Patriarch. Alexandri.
Schouten, Voyage aux Indes Oriental.
Schroeder, de Nestoriamismo.
Vogtius de Recentissim Nestorii defensoribus. 1727.

Am. Bib. Repos. 2d Series. 5:1. 6:454.: 7:26.
Badger's N. and their ritual. 1850.
Buchanan's Researches in Asia.
Christian Review. 2:416.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 10:210.
Geddes' Miscellaneous tracts.
Grant's Lost tribes of Israel. (Describes the N. as in 1840.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Jones' (Sir William) Works.
Jowett's Researches in Syria.
Kitto's Journal. July, 1853.
Lawrie's Dr. Grant and the Nestorians.
Layard's Nineveh and its remains.
Memoir of Rev. D. T. Stoddard. 1858.
North Amer. Review. 57:156.
Perkins' N. Christians. Maps, &c. 1843.
Princeton Review. 13:59.
Smith's (Ely) Researches in Armenia.
Stanley's History of the Eastern Church.

New Heavens and Earth.

See CONSUMMATION, GOG AND MAGOG, MILLENARIANS.

New Jerusalem Church [Swedenborgians].

Pro.

Swedenborgii Opera.
Hauher's Ansicht von der Heiligen Schrift.

Abbott's Desolation of the Sanctuary. (To show that the first Christian church has come to an end, and that a new church is now being established.)
Anglo-American New Church Repository. Periodical. New York.
Barrett's (B. F.) Golden reed.
——— Lectures on the new dispensation.
——— Letters on the Divine Trinity.
——— Catholicity of the Church.
——— Beauty for ashes.
——— Letters to Henry Ward Beecher.

New Jerusalem Church—*continued.*

Pro.

Beattie's Elementary View.
Bush's Reasons for embracing the doctrines of Em. Swedenborg.
Clissold's End of the church.
——— Principles of biblical interpretation.
——— Exposition of the Apocalypse.
——— Letter to the Vice Chancellor.
——— Swedenborg and his modern critics.
Clowe's (John) New Jerusalem Sermons.
——— on the Mediums.
——— Marriage of the king's son.
——— Thoughts.
——— Miracles of Christ.
Evans' New Age.
——— Celestial Dawn.
Goyder's Expos. of the Gospel of Matthew.
——— Swedenborg and his mission.
Hayden on Modern Spiritualism.
Hiller's Doctrinal Sermons.
Hindmarsh's Magazine of knowledge.
——— Letters to Dr. Priestley.
——— Dictionary of correspondencies.
——— Seal on the lips of Unitarians.
——— Vindication of Swedenborg.
Hood's Biography of Swedenborg.
Monthly Observer and Record. Periodical. London.
New Jerusalem Mag. London. 1790.
——— ——— Boston. 1827 et seq.
New Jerusalem Messenger. Weekly.
Noble's Appeal on behalf of the new church.
——— Plenary inspiration of Sac. Scripture.
——— The doctrine of a plurality of worlds.
——— on the Commandments.
Parsons' Essays.
Proud's Answer to Dr. Priestley.
——— Unitarian doctrine refuted.
——— Letters on fundamental doctrines.
Reed's Growth of the mind.
Rendell's Peculiarities of the Bible.
Silver's (Abiel) Symbolic character of S. S.
——— Holy word its own defence.
Swedenborg's Works.
Tafel's Vindication of the doctrine of S.
Turner's (Mrs. W.) Reasons for joining the New Church.
——— Points of difference between Old and New Church.
Worcester's Sermons.

Con.

Perrone, Prælectiones Theologicæ.

Amer. Monthly Rev. 1:134.
Barrouel (Abbe), Œuvres.
Bayley (Cornel.) on the doct. of the Trinity.
Christian Review. 7:423.
Democratic Rev. 20:102.
Frazier's Mag. 39:64.
Lit. and Theol. Journal. 2:478. 3:102.
New Englander. 5:495.
Pond's (Enoch) Swedenborgianism reviewed.
Priestley's Letters to members of the N. J. C.
Princeton Rev. 20:331.

New Jerusalem Church, Hist. of.

Nanz's (C. F.) Emanuel S. der nordische Seher.
Clowe, J., Memoir of.
Hindmarsh's Rise and progress of the New Jerusalem Church.
Swedenborg, Life of; by Hobart.
——— ——— by Hood.
——— ——— by White.
——— ——— by Hillers.
——— ——— by Barrett.

New Prophets. See FALSE PROPHETS.

Grappii Commentationes theologicæ.
Weplingius de Neo-prophetis.
Calamy's (Edm.) Caveat against the new prophets.
Hicks' Spirit of enthusiasm exorcised.
Nicholson's Falsehood of the new prophets.
Woodward's Remarks on modern prophets.

New Version. See ENGL. BIBLE.

New Year. See TIME.

Berriman's, William, Sermons.
Davies', Samuel, "
Dehon's, Bp., "
Dwight's, Timothy, "
Fletcher's, Joseph, "
Foster's, James, "
Foyster's, J. G., "
Francklin's, Thomas, "
Guyse's, John, "
Heber's, Bp., "
Hewlitt's, John, "
Hobart's, Bp., "
Horne's, Bp., "
Secker's, Abp., "
Shuttleworth's, P. N., "
Spurgeon's, Cha. H., " 7th Series.
Thayer's, Elihu, "
Yonge's, James, "

Nicene Creed. See CREEDS.

Nicolaitans.

Balthasseris (Augustini) Disputationes.
Hemmii (Andr.) Dissertationes.
Janii (Io. Guil.) Com. de Nicolaites.
Mosheimii Dissertationes.
Rothii (Eberh. Rudolp.) Dissertationes.
Valckenieri (Ioan.) Disputationes.

Burton's Lectures on the First century.
Neander's Planting and training of the Ch.
Stuart (Moses) on the Apocalypse.
Tillemont's Ecclesiastical Memoirs.

Nineveh.

Blackburn's Rise and ruin of Nineveh.
Fairbairn on Jonah.
Layard's Nineveh.

Ninth Commandment.
See COMMANDMENTS, FALSEHOOD, HYPOCRISY, OATHS, SLANDER, TRUTH.

Noah. See BIOGRAPHY.

Gasseri Ultima fata Noachi.
Hahnii (J. J.) *Νωε αγυμνο.*
Kircheri (Athanasii) Dissertationes.

Benson's (C.) Lectures. Lect. 13.
Gataker's (Tho.) Sermons.
Jones' (Wm. of Nayland) Sermons.
Horseley's (Bp.) Life and death of Noah.
Kelly's (John) Congregational Lectures.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Smith's (Henry) Sermons.

Noetians. See PATRIPASSIANS.

Nominalists and Realists.

Abelard, Opera.
Baumgarten-Crusius, de Vero scholasticor.
Biel, Collectorium ex Gulielmo Occam.
Bruckeri Historia critica Philosophiæ.
Chaldenii Hist. eccles. de vita Roscelini.
Engelhardt's Dogmengeschichte.
Koehler's Realismus u. Nomin. in ihrem Einflusse auf d. dogmatischen Systeme d. Mittelalters.
Occami Centiloquium Theologicum.
——— (Various other treatises.)
Roscellini Opera.

Berkeley's (Bp.) Works.
Brown's Lectures on mental philosophy.
Brucker's History of philosophy.
Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric.
Cousin's Works of Abelard.
Hobbes' Works.
Hume's Essays.
Locke on the Human Understanding.
Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.
Reid's Intellectual and active powers.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.
Whateley's Logic. Bk. 4, ch. 5.

Non-Conformists. See DISSENTERS.

Pro.

Ainsworth's (Henry) Counter-poison.
Alsop's Melius inquirendum. (Witty and dexterous.)
——— Mischiefs of Imposition.
Baxter's (Rich.) Works. (Many treatises on this subject.)
——— Life of; by Orme.
Bennett (Benjamin) on Separation.
Beverly's Letter to the Abp. of York.
Binney's Conscientious non-conformity.
——— Dissent not Schism.
Brett's (Thomas) Works.
Burton's Conformity, Deformity.
Calamy's (Edmund) Works.
Canne's Necessity of Separation.
Cartwright on Ecclesiastical Discipline.
——— Answer to Whitgift.
Collier's (Jeremy) Works.
Collings' Reasons for not praying in public by prescribed forms of others.
Corbett on the Oath required of Non-conf.
De Foe's New Testament.
——— Test of Loyalty.

Non-Conformists—*continued.*

Pro.

De Foe's Shortest way with Dissenters. (For this pungent satire the honest Baptist was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned.)
De Laune's Plea for Non-conformists. (With a fine preface by De Foe.)
Dobson on Non-conformity.
Earbery on the Power of the Prince.
——— Various other pieces.
Hales (John) on Schism and Schismatics.
Heywood's Sermons and Lives.
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Jones' (Wm.) Lectures on Non-conformity.
——— Dissenter's plea.
Lowth's (Simon) Historical Collections.
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Milton (John) on True Religion.
——— on Ref. in the Church of England.
Neale's History of the Puritans.
Owen's (Charles) Plain Dealing.
——— Vindication of Do.
——— Validity of the dissenting ministry.
Owen's (John) Nature of Schism.
Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial.
Prynne's Practical Church.
Robinson's (Robt.) Plan of lectures on N.
[Rolle's] Answer to Bp. Patrick.
Rule's Rational defence of non-conformity.
——— Answer to Stillingfleet's Irenicum.
Shrewsbury on Conf. to the estab. church.
Strype's Annals of the Reformation.
——— Ecclesiastical Memorials.
The Non-conformist. Lond. 1841 to the pres.
Whiston's Scripture Politics.

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Bascough's (Robert) Discourses.
Bennet's (Thomas) Dissenter's Plea.
Burnet's (Gilbert) Apology for the Church.
Colet on Conforming and Reforming.
Conold's (Robert) Notion of Schism.
Croft's Naked Truth.
Dodwell (Henry) on Episcopal government.
Hart's (Edward) The Bulwark stormed.
Hoadley on Conf. to the Church of England.
Kempe (E. C.) on Non-conformity.
Lucy's Apology for the Church of England.
Ollyffe on Conformity. (Reply to Calamy.)
Page on Schism. (Reply to Hales.)
Patrick's Friendly Debate.
Pearson's Three plain reasons.
Rye (George) on Non-conformity.
Sacheverell's Rights of the Church.
Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of separation.
Warner's Church of England's principles.

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Bennet's History of Dissenters.
Brown's Non-conformists of the 17th cent.
Cornish's History of Non-conformity.
Davids' Annals of Non-conformity.
James' (J.) Protestant Non-conformity.
Neale's History of the Puritans.

Non-Conformists, Hist. of—*continued.*

Non-conformity as it was stated and argued by commissioners on both sides in 1661.
Price's History of Protestant N. in England.
Rees' History of Protestant N. in Wales, from its rise to the present time. 1861.
[Reed's (And.)] Progress of Non-conf. 1825.

England, during the 17th century, produced innumerable publications on this controversy. Most of these are now obsolete, or very scarce; but the above can be had. I distinguish Non-conformists from Dissenters. The latter still exist and multiply. The former are those who were turned out of their parishes, in the 17th century, and their followers. I may not have divided all the citations accurately, as the terms are by some used interchangeably.

Non-Essentials. See FUNDAMENTALS.

Non-Jurors.

Pro.

Agonistes' Philosophical Strictures. (Ably refutes Macauley's statements.)
Ames' Suit against ceremonies.
Bisbie's (Nathan) Sermons.
Brett's (Thomas) Works.
Brokesby's Govt. of the primitive church.
Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain. (Often reprinted.)
Dodwell's Cause of Schism.
——— Vind. of the deprived bishops.
——— Defence of the Vindication.
Hickes' (Bp. George) Works.
Howel's Cause of Schism.
Kettlewell's Measures of Chris. obedience.
Lathbury's History of the Non-Jurors. (Every way sufficient.)
Smith's Principles of Non-Jurors.
Snape's Letter to the Bp. of Bangor.
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Bernard's Church apostolical.
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Milbourne's Legacy to the Ch. of England.
Owen's (John, of Rochdale) Jacobite principles examined.
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Perrinchief's Indulgence not justified.
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Rye on the Non-Juror controversy.
Sparkes' Persuasive to unity.
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Sykes on Schism.
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Non-Resistance. See DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, PASSIVE OBEDIENCE TO KINGS, RETALIATION, SELF-DEFENCE, WAR.

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Alhaspinæi Observationes.
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Paciani Epistolæ tres ad Symphronianum.
Schelvigii (Sam.) Dissertationes.
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Lowth's (Simon) Excerpts from Eccl. hist.
Whiston's Sermons and Essays.

Novatus.*

Cyprianæ Epistolæ.
Dionysii Alex., Epistolæ de Schismate.
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* Often confounded with *Novatian,* which see above.

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Loescherus de Numero Antichristi.
Potter, Interpretatio numeri 666.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:84,384.
Clarke's (Edw.) False prophet of the Apoc.
Clarke's (J. E.) Dissertations on the dragon, beast, and false prophet.
Cunningham's Chronol. of the Apocalypse.
——— Dissertation on the Seals.
Faher (Geo. S.) on the Prophecies.
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Frazier's Mag. 16:477.
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Molembecii (B. L.) Dissertationes.
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Old Age. See MIDDLE AGE.

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Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Alexander's (A.) Counsels to the aged
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Gravinæ Synopsis theologiæ vet. Patrum.
Harenburgii Theologia primorum Christ.
Lopezii Epitome sanctorum patrum, per locos communes.
Neandri Theologia Christiana.
Noury, Apparatus ad Bibliothecam Patrum.
Petavii Dogmata Theologica.
Piscatori Bibliotheca studii theologici, ex plerisque doctorum, etc.
Schmidius de sententiis Doctorum primitivæ ecclesiæ.
Schulteti Medulla theologiæ Patrum.
Zornii Delineatio theologiæ patristicæ.

Many of the Latin writers mentioned in this work, under various heads, quote largely from the Fathers, and some of them are avowedly mere compilers of their opinions.

Oppression. See SLAVERY.

Hutchinson's (Roger) Works.
Knowles' (J. C.) Sermons.
Marriot's (George) Sermons.
Ogden's (Sam.) Sermons on the 10 comm'ts
Orton's (Job) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.

Optimism.

Pro.

Leibnitz, Essai sur la bonté de Dieu.
——— Other treatises.
——— Life of.

Godwin's (Wm.) Political Justice.
Hartley's Observations on Man.
New England Mag. 7:17.
Pope's Essay on Man.
Priestley's (Joseph) Works.
Shaftsbury's Characteristics of Men, &c.

Con.

Chalmers' Natural Theology.
McCosh on Divine Government.

Oracles. See SIBYLINE.

Justin Martyr, Oratio ad Græcos.

[Baltus], Réponse a l'Histoire des Oracles par M. de Fontenelle.
Breganii Theologia Gentium.
Bunsovius de Oraculis.
Cicero de Divinatione. Lib. I, c. 19.
Classenius de Oraculis Gentilium.
Eusebii Preparatio Evangelica.
Fontenelle, Histoire des Oracles.
Gallæi de Oraculis: Græce et Latine.
Homeri Illias. Ode. X.
Le Clerc, Remarques sur le demele que est entre M. de Fontenelle et l'auteur de la Réponse a l'histoire des oracles.
Moebii Opera. (In acta eruditorum.)
Morini (Steph.) Dissertationes. (Especially on the reason of their discontinuance.)
Ovidi Metamorphoses.
Plutarch, de Defectu Oraculorum.
——— de Pythiæ Oraculis.
Rahaneri Amœnitates hist. philolog.
Strabo, Historia.
Van Dale (Anthony), Dissertationes.
Venerii Oracula et divinat. antiquorum.
Verschuirii Opuscula Theologica.
Vossii (Isaaci) Observationes.
Zenophon, Memorabilia.

Blackwood's Mag. 51:277.
Boyse's Pantheon. (Appendix.)
Collyer's (W. B.) Lect. on prophecy. Lec. 2.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Bk. 1, ch. 4.
Dickinson's Attempt to prove that the Greeks borrowed the story of their oracles from the Holy Scriptures.
Edwards' (Pres.) History of Redemption.
Farmer on Miracles.
Fontenelle's History of Oracles.
Gilpin on Temptation.
Hickes' Answer to Fontenelle and Van Dale.
Jackson (Tho.) on the Apostles' Creed.
Oxford Prize Essays. Ess. 5:175.
Plutarch on the Cessation of Oracles.
Potter's Greek Antiquities.
Van Dale's History of Oracles. Tr. by Behn.

Ordinances. See EFFICACY OF SACRAMENTS, POSITIVE PRECEPTS.

Brockmandi Disputat. de Sacramentis.
Carpzovius de Sacramentis in genere.
Chardon, Histoire des Sacrements. ("Opus eruditessimum."—ZACCARIA.)
Chemnitii Loci Theologici.
Danhaveri Mysteriosophia.
Dieterici Mysteriologia Sacramentorum Vet. et Nov. Test.
Hoffmanus de Sacramentis in genere.
Hunnius de Sacramentis Vet. et Nov. Test.
Lyseri Decad. I et II de Sacramentis.
Meisneri Disputationes. Disp. XX.
Niemannus de Sacramentis in genere.
Roudenii Synopsis controv. loci de baptismo et cœna Dom.

Bullinger's Decades. (Pub. of Parker Soc.)

Ordination. See APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, EPISCOPACY, MINISTRY.

Buddei Exercitationes.
Courayer sur la Validité des ord. Anglaise.
Koenigii Bibliotheca Agendorum.
Losii Dissertatio Inauguralis.
Melancthonis Opera.
Marinus de sacr. Ecclesiæ ordinationibus. (Contains many rituals for O., from both Oriental and Western liturgies.)
Schmidii (And.) Dissertationes.

Brewster's Reflections on ordin. services.
Brickel on Ordination.
Campbell's Ecclesiastical History.
Channing's (Will. E.) Discourses.
Chris. Examiner. 17:177.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 9:505.
Comber on the Consecration of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.
Doddridge's Tracts.
Dorrington's Dissenting ministry condemned in Scripture.
Elrington's Validity of English ordination
Fuller's (And.) Miscellaneous Works.
Hickman on Ordination.
Hopkins' System of Divinity.
Horseley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ives' Confidence Encountered.
James (Dr. John) on the O. services.
Lavington's (Samuel) Sermons.
Leechman's (Dr. William) Sermons.
McCheyne's (Robt. M.) Sermons.
McKenzie's Ordination Lectures.
Neal's History of the Puritans.
Owen's (James) True Gospel Church.
Parker's (Dr. William) Sermons.
Raikes' (A.) Sermons at ordinations.
Theological Magazine. For 1802.
Watts' Christian Church.
Wright's (Sam.) Sermons.

Ordination Sermons.

Adams, Z., at ordination of C. Stearns.
Balch, T., " W. Patten.
Barnard, T., " I. Nichols.
Beecher, Lyman, " Missionaries.
Bentley, W., " J. Richardson.
Billingsley, S., " W. Harris.
Calamy, Ed., " J. Munckley.

Ordination Sermons—*continued.*

Collier, W., at ordinat. of		G. W. Appleton.
Conder, J.,	"	J. Stafford.
Dwight, Tim.,	"	E. Pearson.
Elliott, A.,	"	J. McKean.
Fordyce, J.,	"	Several.
Foxcroft, T.,	"	Himself.
Hale, M.,	"	J. Woodman.
Henry, Matt.,	"	M. Atkinson.
Holmes, A.,	"	D. Kendal.
————	"	W. Bascom.
————	"	H. Hildreth.
Mather, Cotton,	"	W. Waldron.
McKeen, J.,	"	A. Moore.
Porter, Eben.,	"	I. W. Putnam.
owgood, S.,	"	D. Harson.
Wood, Leonard,	"	Missionaries.

Most ordination sermons arc printed as *pamphlets*, and therefore are not here cited.

Organs. See INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Origen.

Origenis Opera. (Ed. Lommatzsch. 25 vols.)

Buddei Exerc. de allegoriis Origenis.
Doucin, Hist. des mouvments dans l'eglise.
Erasmi Vita, et opera Origenis.
Ernesti Institutio interpretis N. Test.
Gaudentii Dogmatum Origenis cum philos. Platonis comparatio.
Gregorii (Thau.) in Panegyrica oratio.
Hagenbachii Observ. circa Origenis method. interpretandæ.
Halloix, O. vita, virtutes, et documenta.
Huetii Origenis commentaria cum notis.
Karstenii (J. A.) Dissertationes.
La Motte, Histoire d'Origene.
Le Clerc, Vie d'Origene.
Rosenmulleri Historia interpretat.
Ruffini Liber de depravatione libror. O.
Simon, Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament.
Tillemonte, Memoires.
Zornii Exercit. de eunuchismo Origenis.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 4:33.
Barrow's (Capel) Theological Dissertations.
Bellamy's Trans. of O. against Celsus.
Biblioth. Sacra. 3:378.
British Quart. Rev. 2:491.
Burton's Bampton Lectures. 1829.
Chris. Exam. 10:306. 11:22.
Conybeare's (J. J.) Bampton Lectures. 1824.
Conybeare's (W. D.) " 1839.
Collinson's Bampton Lectures. 1813. (Gives a conspectus of all the numerous writings of Origen.)
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Athanasius, Orationes.

Origenists—*continued.*

Augustin, Liber ad Orosium.
Jerome, Epistolæ.

Doucin, Histoire des mouvements, etc.
Fabricii Bibliotheca.
Fontanii Historia litterar. Aquiliensis.
Horbii Historia Origeniana.
Huet, Hist. Origenianorum.
Oudini Dissertationes.
Prato [or Jerome], Dissert. de Monachis.

Original Sin. See HUMAN DEPRAVITY, IMPUTATION OF ADAM'S SIN.

Augustin, de Peccato originali.

Bartolocci de Pec. orig. secundum Rabbinos.
Broueri (P. W.) Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Calovii (Abrah.) Dissertationes.
Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini.
Chenevièrre, du Péché originel.
Hoffmann, contra Errores pontificorum.
Hulsemanni (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Meisnerus, an Peccatum origo formaliter sit, aliquid positivi?
Osiandri (Lucas) Dissertationes.
Pfaffii (Christoph.) Dissertationes.
Quistorpius, an Peccatum originale sit mere privativum?
Rivetus de Imputatione primi peccati.
Stapferi Institutiones. Cap. 3, sec. 9.
Turner, de Primo peccati introitu.
Voetius de Propagatione peccati originalis. (Gives the Augustan, Pelagian, Semi-pelagian, and Synergistic theories.)
Walchii Hist. doctrinæ de pecc. originis.
Whitaker, de Peccato originali.
Willet, de lapsu Adami et peccato originali.

Balguy's Tracts.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Bates' Rationale of the doctrine of orig. sin.
Baxter on Original sin.
Beecher's (Lyman) Views in theology.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 22:494.
Boardman'(H. A.) on Original sin.
Boston's Fourfold State.
Brine's True sense of atonement for orig. sin.
Burgess' (Ant.) Doc. of orig. sin vindicated.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Chris. Month. Spectator. 9:625. 10:16.
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Clarkson's (David) Sermons.
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Delaune's (William) Sermons.
Edwards' (John) Armenian doct. condemned by S. Scripture. (Answer to Whitby.)
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Edwards (Jonathan, of Oxford) on Orig. sin.
Fairbairn's Theological Essays.
Haldane's (Jas. A.) Answer to Drummond's defence of Edw. Irving.
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Original Sin—*continued.*

Hopkins' (Bp.) Doct. of the two covenants.
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Lime Street Lectures.
Mede's Works.
Milner's Practical Sermons.
Owen (J.) on Original sin.
Park Street Lectures, by Dr. Griffith.
Payne's (G.) Doctrine of original sin.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Smith's (Robt.) Vind. and illustration, &c.
Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible. Bk. 1, ch. 3.
Stephens' (N.) Vindiciæ fundamenta.
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Theological Essays from the Princeton Rev.
Todd's Declarations of the Reformers.
Toplady's Essays. Essay 3.
Trapp's (Joseph) Sermons.
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Watson's (Alex.) Sermons.
Watts' Ruin and recovery.
Wesley's (John) Original sin defended.
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Origin of Evil. See EVIL, FALL, FALLEN ANGELS, PRE-ADAMITES.

Beausobre, Hist. de Manichæisme. L.V, c. 1.
Bilfinger de Origine mali præcipue moralis.
Buddei Miscellan. Sacrorum. Pars III.
Calvin, de Peccato originale.
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Haberkornii (Pet.) Dissertationes.
Junii (Francisc.) Dissertationes.
King (Abp.), de Origine mali.
Leibnitz, Essais de theodicæ.
Martinus de Causa peccati.
Matthæus de Origine mali.
Scharfii Disputationes Apologeticæ.
Strangius de Voluntate Dei.
Thummii (Theod.) Dissertationes.
Tilene, la Cause et de l'origine du péché.

Am. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 8:314. 10:353.
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Balguy on Divine Rectitude.
Bayles' Origin of evil.
Bays on Divine Benevolence.
Bellamy's (Joseph) Sermons.
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Biblioth. Sac. 7:254,479.
Brougham's (Lord) Dissertations on subjects connected with natural theology. Diss. 3.
Butterworth on Moral Government.
Casaubon's Origin of temporal evil.
Chalmer's Natural Theology. (On the theory of Leibnitz.)
Christian Disciple. 1:300.
Christian Exam. 33:169.
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Christmas' Sin; its causes and consequences.
Cudworth's Intellec. system of the Universe.

Origin of Evil—*continued.*

Clarke's (John) Boyle Lectures. 1719,1720. (Answers Bayle.)
D'Oyley's (George) Dissertations. Diss. 1.
Duncan's (John) Philos. of human nature.
Edwards (Pres.) on the Will. Part 4.
——— Dissert. on Liberty and necessity.
Fenelon's Philosophical works.
Ferguson's Principles of moral science.
Fleming's Necessity not the origin of evil.
Foster's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. Part 4, bk. 3.
Gilbert's (Jos.) Reply to Bennett.
Glanvil's Lux Orientalis.
Grove on the Wisdom of God.
Hussey's (Christopher) Sermons.
Jeffrey's (John) Sermons.
Jenyn's (Soame) Enq. into the origin of evil.
Johnson's (Dr. S.) Rev. of S. J.'s Enquiry.
King's (Abp.) Origin of evil.
Law (E.) on the Origin of evil.
Lovett's Cause of evil, physical and moral.
Muller's Christian doctrine of sin.
New Englander. 1:110.
Placette's Refutation of Bayle.
Priestley's Disquisitions.
Princeton Review. 14:529.
Shepherd's Nature and origin of evil.
Smith's (John Pye) Sermons.
Squiers' Problem solved. (Not quite.)
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ. Bk. 3, ch. 3.
Todd's (H. J.) Declarations of the reformers.
Universalist Quarterly. 4:221.
West on Moral agency.
Williams' Hypothesis respecting, &c.
——— Vindication of Do.
Young's Evil not from God. (One of the last and best.)

A good key to the controversy on this subject may be found in CHISSOLD'S *Connection of theology, psychology, and physiology.*

Origin of Government. See CIVIL GOVERNMENT, MAGISTRACY, ORIGIN OF LAWS.

Goguet, Origine des loix, etc.

Burke's Reflect. on the French Revolution.
Clark's (A.) Origin of civil government.
Delany on Relative Duties.
Fenelon (Abp.) on Government.
Filmer's Patriarchal Scheme.
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Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Hume's Essays. Essay 12.
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Paley's Moral and Polit. philosophy. Bk. 6.
Price on the Nature of civil Liberty.
Priestley's First principles of Government.
Rollin's Ancient History. (Introduction.)
Sydney on Government.
Temple's Miscellanies.
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Tucker on Government.
Universal History. Book 1.

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Adelung's Mithridates. (A history of all known languages, and 500 specimens of the Lord's prayer.)
Ballanche, Essai sur la formation, etc.
Behnsch's Gesch. der Englischen Sprache.
Bergier, Elemens primatif des languages. (Compares the Hebrew with Greek, Latin, and French.)
Bibliandri Commentaria.
Brosses, de la Formation mechanique, etc.
Buschmann, Ueber den Naturlaut.
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Celarii Sciagraphia Philologiæ Sacræ
Chevallet, Origine de la langue Francaise.
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——— Histoire naturelle de la Parole.
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Morini Exercitationes.
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Barrington's Miscellanea Sacra. Vol. 3.
Beatteau's Principles of Literature.
Beke's Origines Biblicæ.
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Boswell's Life of Johnson.
Brerewood on the Diversity of languages.
Burnet's (Jas.) Origin and progress of lang.
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Condellac's Origin of human knowledge.
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Ellis' Enquiry whence cometh wisdom.
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Jones' (R.) Origin of languages. (Maintains that the Welch is the primæval language.)
Kavanagh's Science of language.
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Lyell's Antiquity of Man. Ch. 23.
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Marsh's Horæ Pelasgæ.
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Goguet, Origine des lois, etc.
Grotius (Gul.) de principiis Juris Nat.
Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis.
Puffendorf de Jure Naturæ et Gentium..
Selden de Jure. (Critic. Sacr. Tom. 8.)
Suares de Legibus.

Dawson's (George) Origo Legum.
Goguet's Origin of laws, arts, and sciences. (Interesting, but not profound.)
Hale's (Sir Matthew) Works.
Lowd on the Nature of Man.
More's Ethics.
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Spence's (George) Inquiry into the origin of laws.
Waters' (Edward) Sermons.

Origin of Nations. See ETHNOLOGY, MAN, UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

Bedecovichii Natale solum magni St. Hieronymi. (Very little of the book is indicated by the title. It is a vast storehouse of authentic history of the rise of the Goths, Vandals, Dalmatians, Sclavonians, &c. &c.)
Blumenbach de Generis humani veritate.
Cumberland, Origines Gentium antiquiss.
De Pauw, Recherches Philosophique.
Desroches, Monde primatif.
Fourmont, Reflexions sur la succession des anciens peuples. (Vast erudition.)
Gebelin, Monde primitif.
Gorres' Volkertafel des Pentateuch.
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Guignes, les Chinois sont une colonie Egyp.
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Hale's (Sir Matt.) Origin of man.
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Hemming's (S.) Colonization of the earth.
Heming's Scripture Geography.
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Jenkins on Christianity. (Preface.)
Jones' (Geo.) History of ancient America. (The identity of the people with those of Tyre and Israel.)
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Jones' (Sir Wm.) Dissertations.

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Kames' Origin and diversity of mankind.
Knox's (Robert) Races of Men.
Lang's Origin of the Polynesian nations.
Latham's Man and his migrations.
McIntosh's Origin of the N. Amer. Indians.
McKenney's Indian tribes of N. America.
McPherson's Origin of the Caledonians.
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Newton's Chronology.
Patrick on Genesis.
Pearson on the Creed. Art. 1.
Pezron's (Abbe) Origin of ancient nations.
Pickering's (Cha.) Races of man.
Pike's Origin of the English.
Pococke's (E.) India in Greece. (Sources of the Hellenistic race, coloniz. of Egypt.)
Shuckford's Connect. of sac. and prof. hist.
Smith's (C. H.) Nat. hist. of the hum. species.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
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Origin of Writing. See WRITING.

Over-Righteousness.

Allen's (John) Sermons.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Bateman's (Edward) Sermons.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
D'Oyly's (George) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Law's Earnest and serious answer to Trapp's discourse on the danger of being, &c.
Romaine's (William) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Trapp's (Dr. Jos.) Sermons. (4 on this subj.)
Whitefield's Sermons. (The danger of not being righteous enough.)

Overcoming the World. See ARMOR, FIGHT OF FAITH, WORLDLINESS.

Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Downame's Christian Warfare.
Gale's Love of the world inconsistent with love to God.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Sermons.
Maltby's (Edward) Sermons.
Nichols' (Benjamin E.) Essays.
Oakley's (Frederick) Sermons.
Ward's (Richard) Sermons.

Oxford Theology. See DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE, TRADITION.

Pro.

Essays and Reviews. (By F. Temple, R. Williams, Baden Powell, H. B. Wilson, C. W. Goodwin, M. Pattison, B. Jowett.)
Gladstone on Church and State.
Hook's Call to Union.

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——— Kingdom of Christ.
——— (Other treatises.)
Newman's (J. H.) Parochial Sermons.
——— Prophetic office of the Church.
——— Reply to "Eclipse of faith."
Plain Sermons; by Contributors to the "Tracts for the Times." (About 350 sermons, by Pusey, Newman, &c.)
Powell's (Baden) Evid. of Christianity.
Pusey's (E. B.) Letter to the Bp. of Oxford. (Intended as a full confession of faith.)
——— Vindication of Tract No. 90.
——— Sermons.
——— Reply to Dr. Hampden.
——— Essay on the Eucharist.
——— Councils of the Church, from A.D. 51 to A.D. 381.
Quarterly Review. 63:291. 81:70.
Tracts for the Times. (90 treatises, in 6 vols.)
Ward's Ideal Church.
Wilberforce's Oxford Sermons.
Wiseman's Letters to Newman.

Con.

Alexander's (W. L.) Anglo-Catholicism not Apostolical.
Arnold's (Tho.) Christian Life.
——— Life and Correspondence.
——— Works.
Beamish's Truth spoken in love.
Beaseley's Examination of Tract No. 90.
Bird's Plea for the Reformed Church.
——— Defence of the principles of the Reformation. (A second plea.)
Bricknell's Judgment of the bishops.
——— Is there not a cause?
——— Warrant and effect of preaching.
British and For. Review. 15:293. 16:1,528.
British Quart. Review. 33:3.
Brown's (John) Letters to Dr. Pusey.
Brown's (J. H.) Charge to the Archdeacons of Ely.
Brown's (T. B.) Oxford divines not members of the English Church.
Burgon's (J. W.) Sermons. (Answers Essays and Reviews in 7 Sermons.)
Burnside's Lex Evangelica.
Butler's (W. A.) Letters to Mr. Newman.
Campbell on Puseyism and Popery.
Candlish's Exam. of Essays and Reviews.
Chapman's (J.) Reply to Baden Powell.
Christian Examiner. 27:174. 28:257. 29:138. 30:41. 35:116,273. 38:72.
Christmas' History of the Hampden Controversy.
Collet's Popish frauds exemplified.
Cook's (F. C.) Ideology and Subscription.
Crosthwaite's Modern Hagiology.

Oxford Theology—*continued.*

Con.

Cummings' (J.) Lectures for the times.
D'Aubigné's Puseyism examined.
Davis' (H.) Anti-Essays.
Denison's Analysis of Essays and Reviews.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 2:558. 4:223. 7:504. 10:511. 13:654.
Edinburg Review. 66:208. 67:266. 77:264, 501. 80:163. 93:274. 94:270.
Ellicott on Inspiration and the interpretation of the New Testament.
Faber's Provincial letters from Durham.
——— Letters on the Tractarian secession.
——— The three unproved assertions.
Fendall on the Authority of Scripture.
Ferguson's Errors of the times. 1842.
Fish's (H.) Conferences of the Reformer and early divines of the English Church.
Fisher's (Robert) Sermons.
Fitzgerald on Episcopacy, Tradition, &c.
Fletcher's (Joseph) Works.
Frazier's Magazine. 20:549.
Garbett's Doctrine of the Eucharist.
——— Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King.
Godkin's Apostolic Christianity.
Golightly's New and strange doctrines.
Goode's Divine rule of faith and practice.
——— Reply to Pusey's letter to the Abp. of Canterbury.
——— Several pamphlets.
Gouldburn's Education of the world.
Graham's (James) Essays.
Green & McGill's Popery and Puseyism.
Griffin's Seven answers to the seven Essays and Reviews.
Gurney's Puseyism traced to its root.
Haddam's (A. W.) Rationalism.
Halley (Robt.) on the Sacraments.
Hamel's Tractarian tendencies of the age.
Hampden's Inaugural Lecture. (This lecture gave rise to "The Hampden Controversy," which produced many pamphlets, pro and con, in 1836 and 1837.)
Hare's (Archdeacon) Charges.
——— Contest with Rome.
——— Miscellaneous Pamphlets.
Harrison's Who are the Fathers?
Holden's Authority of tradition.
Howard's Scripture opposed by Puseyism.
Huertley (C. A.) on Miracles.
Hughes' Voice of the Anglican Church. (Cites many Bishops and Archbishops.)
Hughes' (J. G.) Philosophy of Puseyism.
Irons' Idea of a National church.
Jelf's (R. W.) Unsoundness of the Essays, &c.
Jelf's (W. E.) Supremacy of Scripture.
Jordan (J.) on Tradition.
Joyce's (J. W.) The National Church.
Lawrence's Examination of the theories of absolution.
Lee's (W.) Examination of B. Powell on the evidences of Christianity.
Livingston's Remarks on Oxford Theology.
London Rev. 14:512. 20:193. 69:291. 81:70.

Oxford Theology—*continued.*

Con.

McIlvaine's (Bp.) Oxford divinity compared with that of the Roman and Anglican Churches.
Madge on High-church principles.
Mansell's Theories of the history of man.
Methodist Quart. Rev. 1:58. 2:272.
Miller's Bible inspiration vindicated.
Neville's Observations on the Oxford tracts.
New Englander. 5:452.
New York Eclectic Museum. 2:354.
New York Review. 5:136. 6:198.
North Brit. Review. 3:166. 5:418.
Oakley's Tract No. 90 historically refuted.
Page's Position of the Church of England.
Palmer's Letters to Wiseman.
Peace's Phases of Tractarianism.
Poole's (Rich.) Grand Contrast.
Princeton Review. 10:84. 33:59.
Rawlinson on the Pentateuch.
Rogers' Eclipse of faith.
——— Defence of Do.
——— Essays; selected from contributions to the Edinburg Magazine.
Robins' Defence of the faith.
Rorison's The Creative Week.
Rose's (H. J.) Bunsen and Dr. Williams.
Scollard's Rome weighed in the balance.
Sewell's (W.) Letters to Pusey.
Shuttleworth's Not tradition, but Scripture.
Simons' (C.) Answer to Essays and Reviews.
Smith's (Geo. S.) Tractarian System.
Spurgin's (J.) Anti-tractarian tracts.
Stowell's (H.) Tractarianism tested.
Taylor's (Isaac) Ancient Christianity.
Taylor's (C. B.) Sermons.
——— Tractarianism not of God.
Thompson's Bampton Lectures. 1853.
[Trimyard's] Life of Bp. Bonner. (Ironical.)
Turton's Doctrine of the Eucharist.
——— Observations on Wiseman's reply.
Universalist Quarterly. 1:48.
Vaughn's (Robt.) Essays on Theology.
Weaver's (Rich.) View of Puseyism.
Wordsworth on the Interp. of Scripture.

A multitude of *pamphlets* on this subject have been published, especially between 1832 and 1852.

Paganism. See BUDHISM, DRUIDS, IDOLATRY, MYTHOLOGY, SALVATION OF THE HEATHEN, FETICHISM.

Arnobius adversus Gentes.
Athenagoras, Legatio pro Christianis.
Athanasius, contra Gentes.
Augustine, contra Paganos.
Basil, Homiliæ in Hexameron.
Chrysostom, contra Julianum.
Clemens Alex., Sermones.
Cyril, Opera.
Eusebius, Preparatio Evangelica.
Gregory Nys., adversus Græcos.
Justin M., Apologia.
Lactantius, Institutiones.

Paganism—*continued.*

Origen, contra Celsum.
Tertullian, de Superstitione.

Adami Exercitationes. Exerc. V.
Buddei (Fr.) Theses Theologicæ.
Buddeus (Gul.) de Transitu Hellenismi.
Classenii Theologia Gentilis.
Commodiani Instructiones.
Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus.
Kortholt, de Religione Ethnica.
Nahuys, de Ethnicismo.
Pfanneri Systema theologiæ gentilis.
Rechenbergii (Adam.) Dissertationes.
Rudiger, de Statu Paganorum sub imperat. Christianis post Constantinum.
St. Croix, Mystères du Paganisme.
Tzchirner's Fall des Heidenthum.
Van Dale, Dissertationes.
Voetii Dissertationes Theologicæ.

Appleton's Works. Lect. 15,16.
Brucker's History of Philosophy.
Campbell's Necessity of Revelation.
Cave's Primitive Christianity. (Appendix.)
Dollinger's Judaism and Paganism.
Enfield's History of Philosophy.
Fiddes on Moral Virtue.
Ireland's P. and Christianity compared.
Leland's Advant. and Neces. of revelation.
Malcom's Travels in S. Eastern Asia. 1839. (Describes the religion of the Burmans.)
Monthly Review. 2:153.
Pritchard's Egyptian Mythology. (Designed to illustrate the *origin* of Paganism.)
Tholuck's Nature and moral influence of P.
Warburton's Divine legation of Moses.

Pain.

Butler's (P. E.) Sermons.
Butt's (Thomas) Sermons.
Locke on the Understanding.
Watts on the Passions.

Palestine. See DEAD SEA, GEOGRAPHY, JERUSALEM.

Ætsingeri Terra promissionis. 1582
Allatii Symmictus. 1620.
Bachiene's Historisch und geogräphisch Beschreibung von P. 1766.
Baumgarten, Peregrinatio in P. 1594.
Bisselii P. Topothesia. 1659.
Bourasse, Voyage dans la Judea. 1860.
Breydenbachii Peregrinationes. 1486.
Brocardi Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ. 1519.
Brocquiere, Voyage a P. 1432.
Cattovici Itenerarium. 1617.
Chateaubriand, Iteneraire. 1811.
Cottard, la Judee au temps de J. C.
Fabii (F. T.) Peregrinationes. 1845.
Geramb, Pelerinage a Jerusalem. 1833.
Gesta Dei per Francos. 1611. (Gives the exact religious and social condition.)
Hasselquist, Voyages dan le Levant. 1749.
Heidmanni Palestina. 1650.
Kuttner's Geographie von Palästina. 1861.

Palestine—*continued.*

Kraft's Topographie Jerusalem. 1846. (Gives the descriptions of Jerus. from Josephus, Tacitus, and New and Old Testament.)
La Roque, Voyage dans la Palestine. 1718.
Lamprecht's Palästina. 1846.
Lucas, Voyage dans la Palestine. 1720.
Munk, Descrip. geograph., histor., etc. 1845.
Oumantz, Voyage au Sinai. 1850.
Pierotti, La P. actuelle dans ses rapports avec la P. ancienne. 1865.
Rathburger's P.; Land und Volk. 1850.
Raumer's Palästina. 1838.
Relandi P. ex monumentis veteribus illustrata. 1714.
Reybaud, la Syria, et Palestine, considerées sous leur rapport historique archæologique, etc. 1835.
Ritche's (W.) Azuba. 1852.
Roger, La Terre Sainte. 1664. (A minute topographical description.)
Saulcy, Syrie et Palestine. 1855.
Schwarze's Heilige Land. 1852.
Teuschert's Pilgerreise. 1858.
Theoderici Libellus de locis sanctis. 1172. Reprinted 1865.
Thevenot, Voyage au Egypte, etc 1664.
Völter, das Heil. Land Wanderung. 1855.
Waltoni Adparatus ad polyglotta. 1673.
Zeigleri Terræ Sanctæ descriptio. 1536.

Aiton's Lands of the Messiah. 1851.
——— Paul and his localities, as lately visited. 1856.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 1:400. 6:419. 8:219.
Amer. Eclectic Rev. 3:369.
Anderson's Wanderings in Israel. 1851.
Arundale's Picturesque tour, &c. 1837.
Aveling's Voice of many waters. 1855.
Bannister's Holy Land. 1844. Maps.
Bartlett's Footsteps of our Lord. 1855.
Benjamin's (Rabbi) Itenerary. (Accurate in the 12th cent. An abridgment is given in Pinkerton's voyages.)
Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:221.
Bonar's Land of Promise. 1858.
Brocquiere's Travels in Palestine. 1432.
Bruin's Voyage to the Levant. 1825.
Bulfinch's Holy land. 1834.
Burckhard's Travels in Palestine. 1822.
Carnes' Syria and the Holy Land. 1837.
Cheyne's Mission to the Jews. 1837. (900 references to Scripture.)
Christian Examiner. 27:88,245. 28:89,224. 31:222. 53:178. 63:211.
Clarke's Travels in the Holy land. 1800.
Crosby's (H.) Lands of the Moslem. 1851.
Drew's Scripture lands in connection with their history. 1860.
Durbin's Observations on the East. 1845.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 1:1,626.
Egerton's Tour in the Holy land. 1840.
Fiske & Hershell's Palestine. 1842.
Formby's Visit to the Holy land. 1843.

Palestine—*continued.*

Foster's Norrisean Cambridge Prize Essay. (On the mode of illustrating S. Scripture from the relation of travellers.)
Graham's Topographical Dictionary of P (Made to illustrate the Bible.)
Hackett's Tour in the Holy land. 1855.
Hardy's Places mentioned in S. S. 1835.
Hasselquist's Natural History of P. 1745.
Hibbard's Geog. and History of P. 1851.
Joliffe's Letters from Palestine. 1820.
Jowett's Syria and the Holy Land. 1825.
Kelly's Syria and the Holy Land. 1844.
Kitto's History of P. to the present. 1852.
——— Scripture lands. 1850. Atlas.
La Roque's Voyage to Syria. 1722.
Lamartine's Pilgrimage to Palestine. 1832.
Landseer's Sabæan Researches. 1823.
Leigh's Scripture Atlas.
Lightfoot's Chorography of Canaan. 1684.
Lynch's Exped. to the Jordan and Dead Sea.
Maddox's Travels in Turkey and P. 1827.
Mandeville's Holy land. 1564.
Margoliouth's Pilgrimage. 1850. Plates.
Maundrell's Journey to Jerusalem. 1697. ("A little book, but worth a folio."—Bp. Newton.)
Methodist Quart. Rev. 2:5.
Newman's From Dan to Beersheba. 1864.
North Amer. Rev. 53:174.
North British Rev. 2:215. 8:57.
Olin's (Steph.) Travels in Palestine. 1843.
Osborne's P., past and present. 1858.
Petachia's (Rabbi) Travels. (12th century.) Tr. by A. Benisch. 1856.
Pocock's Travels. 1743.
Porter's Five years in Damascus.
Princeton Review. 1:155. 13:583.
Quarterly Review. 2:150. 54:155.
Ransom's Biblical Topography.
Roberts' Holy land. 1846.
Robinson's (Ed.) Bib. Researches in P. 1838.
——— Later Researches. 1852. Maps.
Robinson's (Geo.) Palestine and Syria. 1837.
Rohr's Palestine in the time of Christ.
Russell's Palestine from the earliest period to the present. 1832. Plates.
Sepp's Jerusalem and the Holy land. 1864.
Smith's (J. V C.) Pilgrimage to P. 1852.
Southern Quart. Rev. 9:285.
Spencer's Egypt and the Holy land. 1850.
Stanley's Sinai and P. 1856. Maps, plates.
Stent's Holy land. 1843.
Taylor's (B.) Lands of the Saracen. 1855.
Thompson's The Land and the Book. 1859.
Tobin's Land of inheritance. 1863.
Walch's Amer. Rev. 1:89.
Whitby's Table of places mentioned in the New Testament. 1718.
Wilson's (John) Lands of the Bible. 1847.
Wilson's (W. R.) Travels in P. 1826.
Wright's Early travels in P. (Comprises the narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sœwulf, Benjamin, Mandeville, Brocquière, and Maundrell. With notes.)

Woodcock's Scripture lands. 1849.

This copious list is given, with dates, that the curious may trace the changes in the condition of the people.

Pandects. See CANON LAW.

Pantheism. See ATHEISM.

Papal Bulls. See DECRETALS.

Ballerin de Potestate eccles. S. Pontificum.
Benedicti Bullarium.
Bullarium Magnum Romanorum: studio Coquelines, et aliorum. 39 vols. 1849.
Cherubini Bullarium Romanorum.
Dupuy, les Libertés d'eglise Gallican.
Eisenschmid's Romisches Bullarium.

There are numerous collections of Bulls, and many of them with commentaries.

Papias.

Grabii Fragmenta librorum Papiæ. (In his *Spicilegium S. S. Patrum.* These "fragments" are all that remain of this Father, and are gathered out of Eusebius, Ireneus, and others.)

Lardner's Credibility. (Translates some of the Fragments, and is the only English version.)

Parables.

Bonneti (G.) Dissert. philol. theologicæ.
Brouer de Parabolis Christi.
Eilert's Homilien über die Parabeln Jesu.
Grossmanni P. Christi ex rebus Romanis illustrata.
Lisco's Parabeln Jesu bearbeitet.
Rettburg de Parabolis J. C.
Schulteni (W.) Diatribe de parabolis.
Schultze de Parabolarum J. C.
Unger de Parab. J. C. indole poetica.

Arnot's Parables of our Lord.
Bailey's (Dr. J.) Mysteries of the kingdom.
Bailey's (B.) Exp. of the parables.
Bourn (Sam.) on the Parables.
Bragge on the Parables.
Bulkley's (Benj.) Sermons on the Parables.
Burns' (Jabez) Sermons on the Parables.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 1:505.
Christian Rev. 8:199,588.
Close (Dean Francis) on the Parables.
Collyer's (W. B.) Lectures on the Parables.
Cumming's (John) Foreshadows. (Poor.)
Dodd's (Wm.) Miracles and par. of Christ.
Drummond's Engravings of the New Test.
Farrar's (John) Sermons on the Parables.
Gray's (A.) Delineation of the P. of Christ.
Greswell on the P. ("Sterling."—LOWNDES. "Great and learned."—BRITISH CRITIC.)
Grinfield's (E. W.) Sermons on the Parables.
Guthrie on the Parables. 1865.
Horlock's Exposition of the Parables.
Jortin's (S. F.) Sermons.
Kirk's (Ed. N.) Lectures on the Parables.
Knight's (James) Discourses on the P.

Parables—*continued.*

Krummacher on the P. Trans. by Johnson.
Keach's (Ben.) Gospel mysteries unveiled. ("Every time my attention is drawn to it, it enhances its value."—VALPY. "A book without which no minister's library is complete."—DE COETLOGON.)
Lisco's P. of Jesus. Trans. by Fairbairn.
Lonsdale's Exposition of the Parables.
Mackensie's (L. J.) Lectures on the P.
Moore's (Hannah) Works.
Neander on the Parables of Christ.
Norris' (William) Sermons.
Ogilvie's Bampton Lectures. 1836.
Oxenden's Parables of our Lord.
Princeton Rev. 5:481.
Proudfit's (Alex.) Lectures on the Parables.
Roberts' (Arthur) Sermons on our Lord's P.
Scriver (Chr.) on Select P. Tr. by Berinstoff.
Short's (Wm.) Sermons.
Stanhope's Practical explanation of the P.
Stanley's Conversations on the Parables.
Stevens' (W. B.) P. of the New Testament.
Stakes' (Dr. G.) Sermons.
Trench on the Parables of our Lord.
Trinder's (W. M.) Sermons on the Parables.
Upjohn's Parables of Christ.
Westcott's Elements of the Gospel harmony.
Wilson's Questions and answers on the P.

In addition to the above on the parables in general, are the following on particular parables.

BARREN FIG TREE.

Augustini Sermones.
Adams', Tho., Sermons at St. Paul's church.
Bishop's, William, Sermons.
Bunyan's Works.
Clarkson's, David, Sermons.
Fell's, Hunter, Sermons.
Hunter's, Henry, Sermons.
Hutton's, F. H., Discourses.
Jay's, William, Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Lawson's, Charles, Sermons.
Marriot's, Harvey, Sermons.
Muir's, James, Sermons.

DISCREET HOUSEHOLDER.

Hobart's, Bp. J. H., Sermons.
Theol. and Literary Journal. 7:600.

GOOD SAMARITAN. See LOVE TO NEIGHBOR.

Atterbury's, Bp., Sermons.
Baxter's, Arthur G., Sermons.
Brougham's, John, Sermons.
Cennick's, John, Sermons.
Girdlestone's, Charles, Sermons.
Heber's, Bp., Sermons.
Hewlett's, John, Sermons.
Hoadley's, Bp., Sermons.
Jones', William of Nayland, Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Marriot's, Charles, Sermons.
Nares', Edward, Sermons.
Newton's, Bp., Sermons.

GOOD SAMARITAN—*continued.*

Sherlock's, Bp., Sermons.
Spencer's, Aubrey, Sermons.
Vincent's, John, Sermons.
Williams', William, Sermons.

GOOD SHEPHERD.

Bowdler's, Thomas, Sermons on the character of Christ.
Brown's, John, Sermons.
Luther's, Martin, Sermons.
McGill's, Stephenson, Sermons.

HID TREASURE.

Cennick's, John, Sermons.
Enfield's, William, Sermons.
Lord's Theol. and Lit. Journal. 7:591.

IMPORTUNATE WIDOW.

Goode's, Francis, Sermons.
Howe's, John, Sermons.

INESTIMABLE PEARL.

Butcher's, Edmund, Sermons.
Cappe's, Newcombe, Practical Discourses.
Fawcett's, John, Sermons.
Stebbings', Henry, Sermons. 2 on this subj.
Theol. and Lit. Journal. 7:594.

LABORERS IN VINEYARD.

Blencoe's, Edward, Sermons.
Bradley's, Charles, Sermons.
Butler's, W. J., Sermons.
Girdlestone's, Charles, Sermons.
Hoadly's, Bp., Sermons.
Knight's, Samuel, Sermons.
Le Bas, Charles W., Sermons.
Pyles'. Philip, Sermons.
Short's, William, Sermons.
Van Mildert's, Bp., Sermons.
Whately's, Richard, Sermons.

LOST SHEEP.

Bradley's, Charles, Sermons.
Cennick's, John, Sermons.
Luther's, Martin, Sermons.
Short's, William, Sermons.
Van Mildert's, Bp., Sermons.
Wordsworth's, Christopher, Sermons.

MARRIAGE SUPPER. See SUPPER.

MUSTARD SEED.

Knight's, James, Discourses.
Maurice's, Frederick D., Sermons.
Styles, John, Sermons.

PHARISEE AND PUBLICAN.

Barker's, John, Sermons.
Bishop's, William, Sermons.
Buckminster's, Joseph S., Sermons.
Bunyan's Works.
Burder's, George, Village sermons.
Collison's, M. A., Sermons.
Gatty's, Alfred, Sermons.
Hammond's, Henry, Sermons.
Hastings', H. J., Parochial Sermons.
Heber's, Bp., Sermons.
Heylin's, John, Sermons.

PHARISEE AND PUBLICAN—*continued*

Jones', of Nayland, Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Le Bas', Charles W., Sermons.
Marriot's, Charles, Sermons.
Mills', W. H., Sermons.
Noel's, Gerard T., Sermons.
Smith's, Sydney, Sermons.
Sterne's, Lawrence, Sermons.
Tilly's, William, Sermons.
Townsend's, George, Sermons and charges.
Waterland's, Daniel, Sermons.
Whitefield's, George, Sermons.

POLITIC STEWARD. See RICHES.

Gelpke, P. de Œconomo injusto.
Hartmanni Commentatio.
Niedner's Commentar.
Schulz, über die P. vom verwalter.

Anderson's, J. S., Sermons.
Arnold's, Thomas, Sermons.
Butts', Thomas, Sermons.
Chillingworth's, William, Sermons.
Cooper's, Edward, Sermons.
Coppleston's, Edward, Sermons.
Ellis', Clement, Discourses.
Enfield's, William, Sermons.
Fowles', F. W., Sermons.
Fuller's, And., Contrib. to the Evangel. Mag.
Girdlestone's, Charles, Sermons.
Graves', Richard, Sermons.
Hampden's, R. D., Sermons.
Hastings', H. J., Parochial sermons.
Hewlett's, John, Sermons.
Hugh's, Henry, Sermons.
Ibbot's, Benjamin, Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Kennaway's, Charles E., Sermons.
King's Morsels of criticism.
Le Bas', Charles W., Sermons.
Leland's, Dr. Thomas, Sermons.
Lloyd's, Pearson, Sermons.
Nares', Edward, Sermons.
Oakley's, Frederick, Sermons.
Potts', J. H., Sermons.
Sanderson's, Bp., Sermons.
Shuttleworth's, P. N., Sermons.
Skelton's, Philip, Sermons.
Tyndale's, Wm., P. of the wicked Mammon. (The favorite book of Ann Boleyn.)
Van Mildert's, Bp., Sermons.

PRODIGAL SON. See YOUTH.

Alison's, Archib., Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Baddelly's, Geo., Sermons. (3 on this subj.
Bishop's, William, Sermons.
Blencoe's, Edward, Sermons.
Boyse's, Joseph, Sermons.
Burder's, George, Village sermons.
Cawood's, John, Sermons.
Cooper's, Edward, Sermons.
Cosens', Dr. John, Sermons.
Dwight's, Timothy, Sermons.
Francklin's, Thomas, Sermons.
Goodman's, John, Penitent pardoned.

PRODIGAL SON—*continued.*

Grant's, Robt., Lectures on the prod. son.
Graves', Richard, Sermons.
Green's, Samuel, Sermons.
Grew, Obadiah, on the Prodigal son.
Heylin's, Dr. John, Sermons.
Horne's, Bp., Discourses.
Howe's, John, Reformed prodigal.
Jones', Th., Prodigal's pilgrimage and back.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Kelly's, Dennis, Practical sermons.
Laurie's, Dr. Thomas, Sermons.
Mackenzie's Lectures on the prodigal son.
Maitland, C. D., on the P. son. (7 sermons.)
Marriot's, Harvey, Sermons.
Mount's Lectures on the prodigal son.
Neves', Timothy, Sermons.
Plumtree's, H. S., Lectures.
Powell's, Samuel, Sermons.
Rogers', Nehemiah, Indulgent Father.
Short's, William, Sermons.
Smith's, Samuel Stanhope, Sermons.
Sterne's, Lawrence, Sermons.
Thornton's, John, Youth admonished.
Vaughn's, Henry, Sermons.
Wallin's, Benjamin, Sermons.
Walton, Jonathan, on Repentance.
Waters', Edward, Sermons.
Wilks', Samuel C., Sermons.

RICH FOOL. See RICHES.

Blencoe's, Edward, Sermons.
Marriot's, Harvey, Sermons.
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Clarke's, Dr. Samuel, Sermons.
Cruso's, Tim., Sermons. (11 on this subject.)
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Trapp's, Joseph, Sermons.
Van Mildert's, William, Sermons.
Walker's, Samuel, Abraham's bosom.
Wesley's, John, Sermons.
Wordsworth's, Christopher, Sermons.
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Arnold's, of Rugby, Sermons.
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Brown's, Robert, Exposition.
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Its attainableness in this life.

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Ernesti Opuscula. (Very valuable.)
Eschenbach, Syntagma.
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Gesenii Thesaurus philologico-criticus.
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Bullialdi Dissertationes.
Cottelerii Patres Apostolicæ.
Crucigeri Oratio de Polycarpi vita.
Groddeck, de Anno passionis P.
Kortholtus de Persecutione eccl. primævæ.
Moyne, Prolegomena ad varia sancta.
Nourrii Dissertatio de Epistola P.
Ruinarti Acta sincera martyrum.
Tentzelii (G. E.) Exercitationes.
Usseri Dissertationes.

Cave's Translation of P.'s epistle.
Chevalier's Translation of the epistle of P.
Clementson's New trans. of the epistle of P.
Elborowe's Epistles of Polycarp & Ignatius, with their lives and deaths.
Wake's Epistles of the Fathers.

Polygamy. See MARRIAGE, MORMONS.

Pro.

Freudenhoefer's Eroerterung der Frage, etc.
Lyser, Kurtzes Gespräch von der P.
——— Discursus de P. (Answers replies.)
Madan's Thelypthora.
Willenbergii Præsidia juris Divini.
——— Schediasma de Finibus polygamiæ licitæ.

Burnet's (G.) Defence of polygamy.
Hanger's Life and opinions.

Con.

Bezæ Tractationes Theologicæ. Vol. 2.

Polygamy—*continued.*

Con.

Calovii (Abr.) Disputationes.
Heideggeri Historia Patriarcharum.
[Lyserus] Kurtzes Gespræch von der P.
Michaelis (J. D.) Paralipomena.
Musæi (Io.) Dissertationes.
Puffendorf de Jure.
Seldeni Uxor Hebraicas.
Wernsdorfii Doctrina de polygamia.
Zeidler, Tractatio de polygamia.

Baxter's Works.
Beattie's Elements of moral science.
——— On the attachments of kindred.
Bowers' History of the Popes.
Cookson on Polygamy.
Delany's Reflections on Polygamy.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 59.
Dunton's Young Student's Library.
Dwight's (Tim.) System of theol. Ser. 121.
Dwight's (S. E.) Hebrew Wife.
Haweis' Refutation of Thelypthora.
Hill's Blessings of P. (Replies to Madan.)
Lit. and Theol. Rev. 4:182.
Monthly Rev. Vol. 63. (2 capital articles.)
Ochinu's Dialogues. Trans. from the Italian.
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Book 3, part 3.
Palmer's Exam. of Thelypthora.
Penn's Remarks on Thelypthora.
Salmon on Marriage.
Shorthose's (Hugh) Sermons.
Smith's Polygamy indefensible.
Towers' (J.) Polygamy unscriptural.
Wills' (T.) Remarks on P. (Rep. to Madan.)

Polytheism. See IDOLATRY, MYTHOLOGY.

Pool of Bethesda.

Arnold, Dissertationes philologicæ.
Frischmuthi Dissertatio Philologica.
Outrein de Piscina probatica. (In Biblioth.)
Wendeler, Dissert. de Piscina probatica, etc.
Witsii Miscellanea Sac. Exercit. XI, cap. 54.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations. Book 4, sec. 11.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Kollock's Sermons.
Latter-Day Luminary. Periodical. Vol. 2.

Poor Laws. See POLITICAL ECONOMY, PAUPERISM.

Amer. Quart. Review. 14:66.
Analytical Mag. 2:17. 10:265.
Blackwood's Mag. 8:1. 9:217,563. 10:49,509. 11:133,373. 13:113. 16:457. 23:923. 33:811. 43:489. 51:518. 60:555. 61:261.
Bosanquet's Rights of the poor.
British and For. Rev. 4:1.
Chalmer's (Tho.) Political economy.
——— Sufficiency of parochial relief without poor laws.
Christian Observer. 17:30,236.
Cooper's (Sam.) Definitions and axioms.
Dublin Univ. Mag. 30:606. 33:215,340,401, 656.
Duulop on the Poor law of Scotland.
Ellis (Wm.) on Education.

Poor Laws—*continued.*

Edinburg Rev. 6:160. 22:181. 33:91. 36:110. 47:303. 59:227. 63:256. 74:1. 75:253. 77:207. 84:139.
Frazier's Mag. 9:507. 70:373.
Mahon (J.) on Poor laws.
Martineau's (H.) Poor laws and Paupers.
Monthly Review. 87:201. 102:181. 121:309. 129:495. 130:593.
Nichols' Hist. of English poor laws. 1854.
——— " Scotch " 1855.
——— " Irish " 1856.
North Brit. Rev. 2:471. 12:21.
Page's Principle of the English poor laws.
Pamphleteer. 8:385. 9:217,563. 10:49,509. 11:133,373,551. 13:113. 21:391.
Parliamentary Reports of England.
Pashley's Pauperism and the poor laws.
Quarterly Rev. 8:319. 14:120. 18:259. 19:79. 28:351. 33:429. 48:320. 50:347. 52:123. 53:249.
Reports of the P. law commissioners in Eng.
Richards' (Geo.) Sermons. (The immoral effect of poor laws.)
Sedgwick on the Repeal of poor laws.
Torrens' Poor laws of Ireland.
Westminster Rev. 18:427. 26:357.

Poor Men of Lyons. See WALDENSES.

Pope Joanne.

Pro.

Artopoei Dissertationes.
Bassnage, Histoire de l'eglise.
Blasci, Diatribe de Joanna papissa.
Capelli (Rudolph) Discursus Historicus.
Carionis, Chronicon.
Congnard, Traité si une femme? etc.
Cook, la Papesse Jeanne.
Deckerus de Papa et Papissa Romana.
Ehinger's altes und neues Pabstthum.
Grim's Panselicke Heiligheit.
Kleine's (G.) Papstinn Johanna keine Fabel.
Lehmanni Infelix puerpera Joannes VIII.
L'Enfant, Histoire de la Papesse Joan.
Maresii Joanna papissa, restituta.
Montagne, la Papesse Jeanne.
Nichols' vom Pabst Johanne.
Papa Mulier; sive vera narratio de P. Jo.
Platinæ Vita Christi ac Pontificum omnium. (All that relates to Pope Joanne was suppressed after the first edition.)
Smetz, Mährchen von der Pap. Johanna.
Spanheimii (F.) Disquisitiones historiæ. (Highly commended.)
Voetii Spicelegium.
Wagenseilii Dissertatio de Joanna Papissa. (Gives a candid view of the arguments on both sides.)
Witekindi Jesuitæ.

Cook's Dialogue concerning P. J. (Proofs from Popish writers.)
Mayo's Pope's Parliament.
North British Review. 12:192.
Rutherford on Church Gov. Ch. 8, sec. 8.

Pope Joanne—*continued.*

Pro.

Toplady's (Aug. M.) Works.
Ware's Pope Joan. (Proofs from Romish authors previous to Luther.)

Con.

Allatii Confutatio fabulæ, etc.
Baronii Annales. ("Makes havoc of primitive history."—DOWLING.)
Bayle, Dictionaire. Art. *Papesse.*
Bellarmini Opera.
Blondell, Eclaircissement de la question.
Eckhardt, Hist. Franciæ Orient. Lib. XXX.
Heumani Dissertationes Sacræ. Par. II.
Labbei Cenotaphium Joannæ.
Leibnitzii Flores sparsi in tumulum Papissæ.
Maresius [or Maret] de Papissa.
Palthenius de Papissa.
Raymond, Erreur populaire de la Papesse.
Schottii Physica curiosa. (Numerous curious dissertations on curious themes.)

Littell's Living Age. '25:193. (The same as in North British Review.)
North British Review. 12:354. (Adduces the arguments pro and con.)

Various writers of eminence mention the female Pope as a fact of history, without discussing the proofs—such as Marian, a Scotch monk, 1060; Martin Polaccus, Abp. of Cosenza, 1277; Amabric, an Augustine Prior, 1362; and Korner, a Dominican, 1435. See a collection of the arguments by all the principal writers who reject the story of Pope Joanne, in Allatius, named above.

Popery. See ABSOLUTION, AURICULAR CONFESSION, ANTICHRIST, CELIBACY, COUNCIL OF TRENT, DECRETALS, IMAGES, INDULGENCES, INFALLIBILITY, JUSTIFICATION, KEYS OF THE CHURCH, MASS, MIRACLES, PENANCE, PERSECUTION, POPES, PRAYER FOR THE DEAD, PROPHECY, PURGATORY, REFORMATION, RELICS, SUPREMACY, SACRAMENTS, TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Pro.

The symbolical books of the Roman Church are: The Decrees and Catechism of the Council of Trent, and the Symbol of Pius IV.

Arnauld, Œuvres. (Powerful. Boileau calls him "the most learned man that has ever written.")
Arsdekini Theologia Universa. (A great storehouse of authorities.)
Becani Manuale Controversiarum.
Beelingii Vindiciæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ.
Bellarmini Opera. (In the judgment of Bayle, the ablest defender of the Roman Church.)
Bossuet, Expos. de la doct. de l'Eglise.
——— Hist. des variations de l'Eglise Protestantes. (Numerous other treatises, in the 59 volumes of his works.)
Cassandri Defensio traditionum Patrum.
Catharini Apologia pro veritate fidei.

Popery—*continued.*

Campiani Rationes propositæ in causam fidei. ("The Romanists account it an epitome of all their doctrine."—A. Wood.)
Cochlæus cont. Augustinam confessionem.
——— de Actis et scriptis Lutheri.
Cotoni Institutio Catholica.
D'Antecourt, Defense de l'Eglise.
Dens, Manuale Theologicum.
Dollinger's Kirche und Kirchen.
Emser's Wieder das unchristliche Buch M. Luther.
Fabri Antilogiarum Lutheri Babylonia.
Haunoldus de Infallibilitate eccles. Romanæ.
Henrici VIII, Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum.
Hosii Conf. Cathol. (A standard authority.)
Mesnilii Doctrina et disciplina ecclesiæ.
Nicolas, du Protestantisme précédé de l'examen d'un ecrit. de M. Guizot.
Pole pro Unitate Ecclesiastica.
Rocaberti Bibliotheca. (A collection, in 21 volumes, folio, of the principal papal writers previous to 1700.)
Sardagna, Theologia dogmatico-polemico.

Balmez's Comparison of Prot. and Popery, in their effects on civilization.
Berrington & Kirk's Faith of the Catholics.
Bossuet's Doctrine of Catholic Church.
——— Variations of Protestant Churches.
Brownson's Quarterly Review.
Butler's (Chas.) Book of the Church.
——— Vindication of Do.
Campian's Ten reasons for embracing the Catholic faith.
Catholic World. Periodical.
Chaloner's Grounds of the old religion.
Den's Moral Theology. (Standard work.)
Dollinger's Church and the Churches. Trans. by McCabe.
Dupin on Ecclesiastical and temporal power.
Fisher's (John) Challenge to Protestants.
——— Conference with Abp. Laud.
Gother's Papist misrepresented.
Husenbeth's Faberism exposed and refuted.
Keeling's Alliance of heresy with Deism.
Kellison's Gag of the deformed gospel.
——— Examen Reformationis.
——— Hierarchy of the Church.
Kerrick's (Bp.) Primacy of the Apostolic see.
Knott's Infidelity unmasked. (Reply to Chillingworth.)
——— Protestantism unrepented destroys salvation.
Lingard's Review of anti-Catholic publicat.
Milner's (John) End of relig. controversy.
Stapleton's (Thos.) Works.
Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible.
Worseley's Protestantism without principles.
White's (Alex.) Confutation of Church-of-Englandism.

Con.

Albert's Wiederlegung einer Pæbstichen Bucher.

Popery—*continued.*

Con.

Amesii (The Puritan) Bellarminus enervatns.
Antonii Pontificiorum doctrina publica.
Balduini Diatriba Theologicæ.
Bassnage, Traité des prejuges faux et legit.
——— Hist. des Eglises reformés. (Answers Bossuet's "Variations.")
Baur's Gegensatz des Katholicismus und Protestanten.
Baxteri Clavis Catholicorum.
Bezæ Opera.
Beyer's Unterscheidungslehren d. Evang. u. Rom. Kirche.
Botsacci Demonstratio quod Ecclesia Romano papistica non sit sancta.
Bucer adv. Axioma Catholicum.
Buddei Miscellanea Sacra.
Bullengerii Antithesis evangelicæ et papisticæ doctrinæ.
Bungener, Rome et le cœur humaine.
Calovii Matæologia Papistica.
Calvini Institutiones.
Capelli Disputationes.
Cassandri Consult. de artic. religione inter Catholicos et Protestantes controversis.
Chamieri Panstratiæ Catholicæ. ("A perfect encyclopedia on all subjects relating to the Popish controversy."—Palmer.)
Coci Censura quorundum scriptorum qui a Pontificiis citari solent. (A most convenient work.)
Cranmeri Defensio veræ et Catholicæ doctr.
Dallæi Opera. (Voluminous and powerful.)
Danhaveri Opera.
Dassovii Disputationes.
De Croy de les Trois conformites, etc.
Deyling, de Insignioribus Rom. ecclesia variationibus.
Dominis (De) de Republica ecclesiastica. ("Of great use."—Fuller. "One of the most illustrious victims of the Inquisition."—Peignot.)
Drelincourt, Abrégée des controverses.
Dresseri Observationes miscellaneæ.
Drieri Controversiæ precipuæ.
Eckhardi Pandectæ Controversiarum.
Flacii Com. de Synodo VI Carthaginensi.
——— Historia de primatu Papæ.
——— Protestatio contra Conc. Tridentum.
——— Catalogus testium veritatis.
——— Various other treatises.
Franckii Dissertationes.
Furmanni Sanctitatis eccl. Rom. eversio.
Gaupp, die Romische Kirche.
Gomari Enchiridion controversiarum.
Guntheri Demonstratio solida.
Haberkorn's Gründlichen Wiederlegung.
Heilbrunner's (J.) Uncatholisch. Pabsthum.
Heshusius de Erroribus Pontificiæ ecclesiæ.
——— de Vera Ecclesia.
Hieronymi (Pragensis) Opera. (Noble.)
Hinckelmanni Papismi errores præcipui.
Hoenegg's Evangelisches Handbüchlein.
Hoepfneri Saxonia Evangelica.

Popery—*continued.*

Con.

Hospiniani Opera. (Learned elucidations of the *history* of the errors of Popery.)
Hunnii Opera. (Greatly prized.)
Hussi (Ioann.) Scripta.
Illyrici Opera. (Discusses most of the points in controversy.)
Illyrici Catalogus testium veritatis. (Written to show what learned and pious men had admitted concerning the corruption of the Roman Church, before Luther.)
Jameson, Roma-racoviana, et Racovia-rom.
James (Tho.), Bellum Papale. (Shows 2000 instances in which the two "infallible" Papal editions of the Vulgate contradict each other.)
Jewelli Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.
Jurieu, Systéme de l'Eglise.
——— la Morale des Reformés.
Kesleri Bellum religiosum Petri ac Papæ.
Koecheri Biblioth. Theol. Symbol. (List of authors against the Council of Trent.)
——— Observationes Selectæ.
Kortholti Papa Schismaticus.
——— Disquisitiones.
Krackewitzius de Ecclesiæ Rom. apostasia.
Kromayer, de Ecclesiæ Romanæ apostasia.
La Motte, les Fourberies de l'Eglise.
Le Blanc, Theses Theologicæ.
Leopard (C.), Le Glaive du géant Goliah. (Highly commended.)
Leydekker de Veritate religionis Reformatæ.
Lutherus, Opera varia.
Maccovii Πρωτον ψευδος Pontificiorum.
Magnin, La Papautè considerée dan son origine, development, et etat actuel. 1841
Megandri Petrus nec papa nec papistica.
Meisneri (Balthas.) Consultatio Catholica.
——— Prælectiones.
Meisneri (Jo.) Dissertationes.
Melancthonis Opera.
Molinæi Jugulum causæ pontificiæ.
Morgenstern, de Eccl. vera et Catholica.
Mori Inquisitio in mysterium iniquitatis.
——— Antidotus adversus Idolatriam.
——— Magni mysterii pietatis explanatio.
Mornæi (Phil.) Tractatus de ecclesia.
——— Mysterium Iniquitatis.
Mylii Disquisitiones theologicæ de ecclesia.
Neumannus de Petro a Petro alieno.
——— Dissertationes.
Osiandri Opera. ("Papa non papa." "De antichristus," etc.)
Pfaffii Demonstrationes solidæ.
Pictet, la Religion des Protestants.
Placette, Œuvres. (Greatly esteemed.)
Puffendorf, von der geistliche Monarchie.
Rainoldus de Romanæ eccl. idolatria.
Richter's Evangelische und Roemische Kirchen Lehre.
Riveti Catholicum orthodoxum.
Salmasius de Episcopiis et Presbyteris.
Scherzeri Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Schmidii (Sebast.) Syncresis.

Popery—*continued.*

Con.

Schmidii (Sebast.) Petrus non **Papa.**
Schulteti Panoplia Sacra.
——— Medulla theologica patrum.
Seldii Papismi et gentilismi comparatio.
Spanheimii (Senior.) Epitome panstratiæ chamieri.
Spanheimii (Junior.) Dissertationes.
Speneri Opera varia.
Steinbergii Anatome papismi.
Stillingfleet, Opera varia.
Taxe, des Parties casuelles de la boutique du Pape. (A damning exposure of corruptions as existing in 1564.)
Turretini (Alph.) Pyrrhonismus Pontificius.
Turrettini (Franc.) Institutiones.
Usseri Hist. controv. inter orthodos et pont.
Van Till, de Petro non Pontifice.
Viret, la Physique papale.
——— la Nécromance papale.
Voetii Disputationes Theol. Pars 1.
Vorstii Anti-Bellarminus.
Wylie's Geschichte, Lehren, Geist, und Aussichten des Papstthums. (Prize essay.)
Zuinglii Opera.

Abbott's Roman and English hierarchies, and the abuses of Episcopacy.
Achilli's Papal Rome, her priests and her Jesuits.
Abernethy's Letters to Bp. Hay.
About, The Roman question. Translated by A. T. Wood.
Allwood's Prophecies relating to the Church.
——— Papal Claims.
Amer. Biblical Repository. 2:546. 4:252. 11:363. 2d Series. 10:159. 3d Series. 4:252.
Amer. Eclectic Review. 2:446.
Ame's (The Puritan) Reply to Bellarmin.
Ashwell on the Roman Church.
Bagge's Development of the Roman system not consistent with the welfare of the state.
Balme's Protest. and Popery compared, in their effects on the civilization of Europe.
Barbeyrac's Spirit of the Ecclesiastics.
Barlow's Principles and positions of the Church of Rome.
Barnard's Rhemes against Rome.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Baxter's (Richard) Works.
Beard's (John R.) The Confessional. (Extracts from Papal sources.)
Beecher's (Edw.) Papal conspiracy exposed.
Becon's Display of the Popish Mass.
Bedell's (Bp.) Life and Letters.
Bell's (James) The Mystery unveiled.
Bennet's (W. J. E.) Distinctive errors of Popery.
Bennet's (Tho.) Confutation of Popery.
Bentley's (Rich.) Doctrinal corruptions of Popery.
Beza's Ten discourses.
——— Patched Pelagianism.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 2:451,757. 8:64.

Con.

Bicheno's Signs of the times. 1805.
Birbeck's Protestant's evidence. (From the Fathers.)
Blackmoor on the Present state of the controversy between Protestants and Papists. 1765.
Blackwood's Edinb. Magaz. 3:535. 25:331. 44:494.
Blair's Letters to Wilberforce.
Blakeney's Awful disclosure of the principles taught by the Church of Rome: being extracts from the Moral theology of Alphonsus Liguori.
Boyd's Fathers not Papists.
Bramhall's Safeguards against Popery. (A great collection of treatises by eminent divines of the 17th century.)
Bray's Papal Usurpation in anc. and mod. times. (Contains much curious matter, especially in relation to y^e old Waldenses.)
Brit. and For. Review. 6:420. 7:457. 8:1.
Brogden's Catholic Safeguards. (A very large collection of tracts by distinguished writers of the 17th century.)
Brownlee on the Rom. Catholic controversy.
——— Popery an enemy to civil liberty.
Bull's Corruptions of the Church of Rome.
Burnap's Superstitions of the Ch. of Rome.
Burnett's (Bp.) Discourses.
Burroughs' (Joseph) Creed of Pope Pius IV.
Burton's Truth's triumph over Trent.
Campbell's (John) Popery; anc. and mod.
Capper's Acknowledged doctrines of the Church of Rome, as set forth by its standard writers. 1849.
Cardwell's Enchiridion. (A collection of important tracts in 3 volumes.)
Cartwright's Pope's deadly wound.
——— Sermons at the Jews' Chapel.
Cheever on the Mixture of civil and eccles. power. (Reply to Bp. Hughes of N. York.)
Chillingworth's Safe way to heaven. ("That masterpiece of human reasoning."—Warburton.)
Christian Examiner. 2:353. 14:371. 39:284. 48:227,341. 56:223. 65:1.
Churchman Armed. (A collection of effective treatises.)
Clagget's (William) Works.
Clarkson's Practical divinity of Papists destructive of Christianity.
Claude's Posthumous Works.
Cobbin's (Ingram) Book of Popery.
Collette's Novelties of Romanism.
——— Popish frauds exemplified in Dr. Wiseman's Lectures.
Comber's Forgeries in the Councils of the first four centuries.
Cox's (John E.) Protestantism contrasted with Popery. (Consists of quotations from authors on both sides.)
Cramp's Text-book of P. (Very useful.)
Cranmer's Works.
Croft's (Bp.) Naked Truth.
Culbertson's Lectures on the Apocalypse.
Cullen's (J. E.) Voice of truth. (Small, but effective.)
Cunningham's Apostacy of the Ch. of Rome.
Curtis' Mystery of Iniquity.
Dalton's Word of God vindicated.
De Coetlogon's Sermons.
De Croy's Harmony of the Roman Church with Gentilism, Judaism, and ancient heresies.
De Foe's Curse of Popery. (Powerful.)
De Sanctis' Rome. (As in 1857.)
Dillingham's Mystery of Iniquity.
Dodwell's Fundamental principles of P.
Drelincourt's Summary of Popish errors.
Dublin University Mag. 7:437. 12:548,686. 16:197,511. 23:715. 36:494. 38:369,719.
Du Moulin's Keys of the Church.
——— History of Monks.
——— Defence of the Reformed churches.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 11:103. 22:299. 29:97. 30:296. New Series. 6:33.
Edgar's Variations of Popery. (Very able.)
Edinburg Rev. 72:119.
Elliot's (Charles) Delineation of Romanism. (Drawn from acknowledged standards of the Papal Church.)
Elliott's (E. B.) Warburton Lectures. 1856.
Emlin's Frauds of monks and priests.
Enchiridion Theologicum. (Tracts by Taylor, Barrow, &c.)
Erskine's Spirit of Popery.
Evangelical Review. 1:561.
Evans' (B.) Modern Popery. 1855.
Faber's Difficulties of Romanism.
Fleming's (Robt.) Apocalyptical Key.
Fletcher's (Jos.) Works. (His Lectures on Popery are highly praised by Robert Hall and J. Pye Smith.)
Foreign Quarterly Rev. 27:184. 1:515.
Foulis' History of Romish treasons and usurpations, collected out of their own approved authors.
Fox's Book of Martyrs.
Foye's Romish offices, legends, &c., literally translated.
Fulke's Rhemish and Prot. translations of New Test. side by side; with a confutation, &c. (Embodies the whole Popish controversy respecting the Scriptures.)
Garbett's Nullity of the Roman faith.
Gautt's P. the man of sin. (Prize ess. 1854.)
Gavin's Master Key to Popery.
Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.
Gibbings' P. falsifications of records.
Gibson's Preservatives against P. (The treatises are mostly those published during the reign of James II. The whole 18 vols. have been lately reprinted.)
——— Supplement to Do. 8 vols. 1849.
Gilley's Vigilantius and his times.
Gray's Bampton Lectures. 1796.

Popery—*continued.*

Con.

Giustiniani's Papal Rome. (Dr. G. was a Romish priest.)
Gordon's (J.) Lives of Alexander VI. and his son, Cesar Borgia.
Gordon's (W.) Popery against Christianity. (Describes the condition of the City of Rome in 1719.)
Grier's Ans. to Milner's End of controversy.
Groser's (W.) Lectures at Maidstone.
Glanvill's Less heeded dangers of Popery. 1681.
Gurney's (John H.) Sermons at St. Mary's.
Halifax's 12 Sermons on prophecy.
Hall's (Bp.) Polemic Works.
Hamilton's (Archibald) Tracts.
Harness' Errors of the Roman Creed.
Harrison's (E.) Protestant Instructor.
Heshusius On the true Church.
Horne's (T. H.) P. the enemy and falsifier of Scripture.
——— Popery delineated. (As in 1848.)
Horneck's Tracts.
Howell's (L.) View of the Pontificate.
Howick's Triple Crown.
Hulme's Comparison of P. and Christianity.
Jackson's (Dr. Tho.) Works. ("I have not read so hearty and vigorous a champion against Rome."—Geo. Herbert. "The most valuable of all our English divines." —Robt. Southey.)
James' Corruptions of the Councils, Fathers, and Scriptures, for the maintenance of P.
——— Defense of the Bellum Papale.
——— Table of books first approved and then censured by Papists.
Jewell's Apol. for the Church. (Powerful.)
Johnson's Julian. (Learned, but violent.)
Jurieu's Council of Trent.
——— Pastoral Letters. (The sophistries and inexpressible cruelties of Papists laid open.)
Keach's Antichrist stormed.
Keary's Commonplace book to the Fathers. (A selection of anti-papal passages.)
Kidd's (Rich.) 14 Lectures on Romanism.
Kirwan's Letters to Bp. Hughes of N. York.
——— Letters to Hon. R. B. Taney.
Knowles' (J. Sheridan) Rock of Rome.
Le Blanc, Theses Theologicæ.
Le Mesurier's (T.) Works.
Leslie's Case truly stated.
Lloyd's Popery no Christianity.
——— True way to suppress Popery.
Lorrain's (H.) Sermons.
Lorrin's (P.) Christianity vs. Paganism.
Lovell's (Edward) Sermons.
Lowman's Principles of P. schismatical.
Luscombe's Church of Rome. Tr. by Wright.
Luther's (Martin) Works.
Malan's (C.) Church of Rome examined.
Mariot (H.) on the Catholic religion.
Marsh's (H.) Comparative view of the Churches of England and Rome.

Popery—*continued.*

Con.

Marvel's Rehearsal transposed. (Very keen.)
Massey's Secret history of Romanism.
Matthias' (B. W.) Popery not Catholicism.
McGavin's (W.) Protestant. Comprehensive.
——— Strictures on Milner's End of controversy.
Mendham's Spiritual venality of Rome.
Middleton's Letters from Rome. (Comparison of Popery and Paganism.)
Milton (John) On true religion.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Discourses by Bates, Calamy, Howe, Poole, Owen, Baxter, Tillotson, &c.)
Morris' Arraignment of Popery.
Murray's (James) Sermons.
Mussard's Modern and ancient ceremonies. (To prove that the papal ceremonies are derived from the pagan.)
New Englander. 2:333,414,568. 3:125,172. 5:136.
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Nightingale's Portraiture of Catholicism. (Gives the history, doctrines, and present state. 1812.)
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Olmsted's Picture of Popery.
Ormerod's Picture of a Papist.
Ouseley's Old Christianity. (Replies to Milner's End of controversy.)
Owen's Church of Rome. (Powerful.)
Palmer's Letters on Romanism.
Pamphleteer. 2:71.
Patrick's (Symon) Sermons.
Percy's Romanism as it exists in Rome. 1847. (In an appendix the original documents are given.)
Philpot's Theological Letters.
Pike's Curse of Christendom.
Placette's Incurable skepticism of Rome.
Poole's (M.) Blow at the root.
Poole's (Geo. A.) Testimony of Cyprian.
Poole's (Matt.) Nullity of the Roman faith.
Pope's (R. T.) Misquotations, &c.
Porteus' Brief confutation, &c.
Powel's Roman fallacies and Catholic truths.
Poynder's Popery allied with heathenism.
Price's (E. S.) Is it not written?
Princeton Review. 5:229. 9:230,487. 18:320. 19:196. 26:454. 35:177.
Prior's Popery not Christianity.
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Pryce's Testimonies of Scripture.
Prynne's Tracts. (Powerful.)
Pyle's Paraph. and notes on the Apocalypse.
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Richardson's Popery unmasked.
Rivaloro's Echo from the Vatican.
Robinson's (C.) Impending doom of Papacy.
Robins' (Sanderson) Claims of the Roman Church. (A storehouse of facts.)
Rogers' P. unreasonable, unscript., and novel.
Roussel's Catholic and Protestant nations compared in relation to wealth, knowledge, and morality. 1855.
Sandford's Romanism considered.
Salter's Hall Sermons. (Discourses by distinguished men. "Inestimable."—Lowndes.)
Scolland's Ch. of R. weighed in the balances.
Secker's (Abp.) Works.
Seward's (Tho.) Popery and Paganism.
Seymour's Mornings among the Jesuits.
——— Evening with the Romanists.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Works.
Smith's (Jas.) Errors of the Romish Church.
Smith's (Sir C. E.) Romanism of Italy.
Soll's True Catholic and Apostolical faith.
Sortain's (Joseph) Lectures.
Sparry's Mysteries of Romanism.
Steinmetz's Novitiate. ("A revealer of secrets, and full of materials of thought; written with every appearance of truthfulness."—Quarterly Review.)
Stephens' Spirit of the Roman Church.
Steel's Account of the Roman Cath. religion throughout the world. 1715.
Stewart's Conformity of P. and Paganism.
Stillingfleet's Idol. and fanat. of the Ch. of R.
Stopford's Pagano-Papismus. (A parallel between Rome Pagan and Rome Papal.)
Stovel's (Cha.) Popery in England. 1840.
Stowell's (Hugh) Blots on the escutcheon of Rome.
Sturgess' Defence of Protestantism.
——— Principles and institutions of P.
Taylor's (Jer.) Dissuasive against Popery.
——— (Other powerful tracts.)
Thorold's View of Popery.
Tennison's Popery not found in Scripture.
——— Incurable skepticism of Ch. of Rome.
The Protestant. Periodical.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Works.
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Trapp's Popery truly stated and confuted.
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Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
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Warburton's Portrait of Popery.
Weaver's Popery calmly considered.
Wesley's (John) Works.
Whately's (Abp.) Errors of Romanism traced to their origin in human nature.
Whichcot's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whitaker's Reply to Stapleton & Bellarmin.
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White's (Blanco) Evidences agt. Catholicism.

Popery—*continued.*

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Williams' Popery unmasked.
Willet's Synopsis Papismi. (10 volumes of important tracts, ancient and modern.)
Winter's Present state of Popery. 1800.
Wylie's The Papacy; its genius, dogmas, history, and prospects. 1851.
Young's Chief points of controversy, &c.

At the Reformation, writers on this subject were innumerable. Just after the Reformation, most theological writers handled the question, more or less. When Papacy seemed about to be restored in England, another multitude of works, on both sides of the subject, appeared. The above extensive list comprises most of the best treatises now accessible. Those who desire to look further into the controversy will find hundreds of other writers on both sides in Peck's *Complete catalogue of all the discourses written for and against Popery in the time of James II.*, 1779; Claggett's *Present state* (1687) *of the controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome;* and in Lowndes' *British Librarian.* The last named quotes over 900 *English* writers on the subject.

Popery, History of. See popes.

Bacchinii de Eccles. hierarchiæ originibus.
Beaufort, Histoire des Papes.
Dauz, Libri symbolici Eccles. Cath. Lect.
Forbesii Instructiones Historico-theologicæ.
Goebelii Cæsareo-papia Romana.
Hamelli Theolog. speculativa et practica.
Heideggeri Historia Papatus.
Helyott, Histoire des ordres monastique.
Lisle, Monumenta vetera Anglo-Saxonica.
Molinæus in Novitate papismi.
Mornæ Mysterium iniquitatis.
Puffendorfii Introductio in historiam, etc.
Seckendorfii Commentarius historicus.
Spanheimii Christianæ religionis apud Genevos restitutæ historia.
Streitwolf, Libri symbol. Ecc. Catholicæ.
Wagenseilii Dissertationes.
Wylie's Gesch. Lehren, Geist. u. Aussichten.

Butler's English, Scotch, and Irish P. 1822.
Dodd's Church History of England. (Intended as an antidote to Burnett.)
Greenwood's Cathedra Petri. (Political. 1858.)
Gavin's History of Popery.
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Gillies' Vigilantius and his times.
Howell's View of the Pontificate.
Hussey's (Robt.) Rise of Papal power.
Lathbury's State of Popery in England, from the Reformation to 1829.
Milman's History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to Nicholas V.
Montgomery's Popery as it exists in Great Britain and Ireland. 1854.

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Moehler's Symbolism. (Appendix containing the state of Protestantism and Popery since 1740.)
Mornay's Mystery of Iniquity. Translated by Lennard.
Murray's (N.) Romanism at home. 1850.
O'Sullivan's Popery in Ireland.
Paul's (Father) Hist. of the Coun. of Trent.
Petrie's Hist. of the Catholic Church, from 600 to 1600. (An able Protestant work.)
Riddle's History of the Papacy.
Sleidan's History of the Reformation.
Soame's Latin Ch. in Anglo-Saxon times.
Stephens' Popery in Foreign parts. 1728.
Townsend's Accusations of history.
Turnley's (Jos.) Popery in power. Plates.
Weekly Packet of advice from Rome. (A series of 240 pamphlets, begun in 1678. Reprinted, 1735, under the title of "History of Popery.")

Popes. See TEMPORAL POWER.

Anastasii Hist. Vitis Rom. Pontif. a Petro ad Nicolaum I.
Artaud, Hist. du Pape Pie VII.
Baille, Vie des papes de Rome.
Barnes, Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum.
Barraterii Successio antiquissima Episc. Romanorum, a Petro usque ad Victorem.
Bartholomæi Vitæi pontificorum.
Bonanni Historia Pontificum.
[Bruys] Histoire des Papes. (To Benoit XIII. Satirical, and often abusive.)
Burmanni Analecta de Hadriano VI.
Carrierii Hist. Chronologica Pontificorum.
Ciaconii Vitæ et res gestæ P. gestis.
Danzii Analecta crit. de Hadriano VI.
Dollinger, d. Papst fabeln des mittelalters.
Du Chesne, Hist. des Papes et Souverains chefs de l'Eglise, jusqu aujourdhui. 1646.
Eccardi Corpus histor. medii ævi.
Glen, Histoire Pontificale.
Guarnacci Vitæ et res gestæ Pont. Rom. (From Clement X to Clement XII.)
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Keuffelii Hist. Pontificatus Romani.
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Lippold (G. H.), Gesch. des Papstthums.
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Montor, Hist. des pontifes. To Pius VI.
Palatii Gesta Pontificum. To Innocent XI.
Papebrochii Conatus chronico-historicus.
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Platina de Vit. pontif. omnium.
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Ranke die Romische Papste.
Sandini Vitæ Pontificum Romanorum.
Schelstrate, Antiquit. ecclesiæ illustrata.
Simon (E. O.), Urbani II. Papæ, vita.
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Stellæ Vitæ 230 summorum pontificum.
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Bowden's Life of Gregory VII.
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Bruy's History of the Popes.
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Foulis' History of Romish usurpations.
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Leti's Pope Pius V. (Valuable.)
——— Pope Sextus V.
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Mendham's Life of Pius V.
Mills' History of the Popes.
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Museum of For. Lit. 28:543.
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Nicolini's Pontificate of Pius IX.
Puffendorf's History of Popedom.
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Ranke's History of the Popes.
Roscoe's (Wm.) Life of Leo X.
Walch's (C. W. F.) Hist. of the P. To 1755.
White's (Joseph B.) Works.
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Wiseman's Recollections of the last 4 Popes, and of Rome in their time. 1858.

Popes of Avignon.

Baluzii Vitæ paparum Avenionensium.
Dupuy, Histoire generale du schisme, etc.
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Imberdis, Hist. des guerres religieuses.
Maimbourg, Grande Schisme d'Occident.
Mittler, de Schismate in Eccles. Roman.
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Very many other histories of the Popes, general and particular, are cited by BRUNET, in his *Manuel de libraire.*

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Alison's (A.) Principles of pop., and their connection with human happiness.
Black's Comp. view of the mortality of the human species, in all ages.
Bridges' (Sir E.) Population and riches of nations considered together.
Cheyne's Philosophical Principles.
Doubleday's (T.) Law of population.
Goodwin's (W.) Inquiry concerning increase of population.
Graham's (J.) Principles of Population.
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Malthus' Principles of population.
Moreton (A. H.) on Civilization. (Analyses the natural laws which regulate popul'n.)
Petty (Wm.) on the Multiplicat. of mankind.
Place's (F.) Principles of population.
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Ross' Examination of the "Principles, &c.," by Malthus.
Sadler's (M. T.) Law of population.
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Weyland's (J.) Principles of population.

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Clemenset, Hist. de P. R. jusqu'a son entiere destruction.
Du Fosse, Memoires de Port Royal.
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Le Maitre [Commonly called De Sacy], Lettres Chrétiennes.
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[Nogent], Hist. de l'Abbaye de Port Royal.
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Vie de Maria Angelique D'Arnaud.
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Pascal's Provincial Letters.
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Stephens' (Jas.) Essays in Eccl. biography.

Positive Precepts.

Benson's (Charles) Lectures.
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——— Defence of Dissertations.
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Carr's (George) Sermons.
Clagget's Preservative against Popery.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 158.
Gerard's (Alexander) Sermons.
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Hallet on Scripture.
Hicks' (Dr. Geo.) Posthumous Discourses.
Hoadley's Nat. and end of the Lord's supper.
Hunt's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Leland against Tyndall. (Preface.)
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Robinson's Claude on the comp. of a sermon.
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Dyke's (Oswald) Sermons.
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Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Duties of the poor.
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Norden's Poor man's rest.
Oliver (Benj.) on the Pursuit of happiness.
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Blackall's, Bp., Sermons.
Blair's, James, Sermons.
Clarke's, Samuel, Sermons.
Cobden's, Edward, Sermons.
Dawes', Abp., Sermons.
Dunlop's, William, Sermons.
Francklin's, Thomas, Sermons.
Grove's, Henry, Sermons.
Harris', Robert, Sermons.
Horneck's, Anthony, Sermons.
Kimber's, Isaac, Sermons.
Littleton's, Adam, Sermons.
Orr's, John, Sermons.
Pascal's Thoughts.
South's, Robert, Sermons.
Sumner's, John Bird, Sermons.
Thayer's, Elihu, Sermons.
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Power of the Keys. See KEYS.

Practical Piety. See DEPORTMENT, QUIETNESS, RELIGION AND BUSINESS.

Basil, Homiliæ de diversis.
——— Ascetica.
Jerome, de Vitis Apostolorum.
Augustine, Sermones.
Ebellingii Ethica Christiana.
Erasmi Enchiridion militis Christiani.
Moulin, Traité de la paix de l'ame.
Palingenii Zodaicus vitæ. (Translated into many languages.)
Pfaffii Institutiones.
Poiret, Œconomia Divina.
Sacy [or De Sacy], Lettres Chrétiennes.
Saint Marthe, Lettres. (Precious.)
Abbott's (Jacob) Corner-stone.

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Abbott's (Jacob) Young Christian.
Adams' Private Thoughts. (A selection of precious sentences from his works.)
Addington on a Devout life.
Allen's (Tho.) Practice of a holy life.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 3:91.
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Arnold's (Dr. Tho.) Miscellaneous Works.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons and Miscellanies. ("Nothing dark, nothing redundant, nothing misplaced."—DODDRIDGE.)
Bacon's (Leonard) Christian Self-culture.
Bailey's (Lewis) Practice of piety. (Many editions, and several translations.)
Bates' (Ely) Rural philosophy. ("A very valuable specimen of the moral literature of the 19th century."—BP. BURGESS.)
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Directory.
——— Saint's everlasting rest. (One of the best books in existence.)
Beveridge's Private Thoughts.
Binsley's The true watch and rule.
Bogatzky's Golden Treasury.
Boardman's (W. E.) Higher Christian life.
Boston's Fourfold State.
Bradley's Select British divines. (Comprises in 25 vols. the devotional works of Beveridge, Leighton, Henry, Flavel, &c., &c.)
Brooks on Assurance.
Brown's Select Remains.
Buck (C.) on Religious Experience.
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——— Holy war.
——— (Many other precious treatises.)
Cattermole & Stebbing's Sacred classics. (A choice selection from 40 writers of the 17th century.)
Christian Disciple. 1:110.
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Clarkson's This world or the next? The possibility of making the best of both.
Coles on the Divine sovereignty. ("One of the most useful books in our language."—RYLAND.)
Duchall's (James) Sermons.
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Edwards on the Religious Affections.
Evans' (Arthur B.) Sermons on the Christian life and character.
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Fellows' Manual of Piety.
Fish's (H. C.) Prim. piety revived. Prize Ess.
Flavel's Saint indeed.
——— Providence. (Works.)
Fuller's (Thomas) Works.
Godwin's Child of light walking in darkness.
Gouge (T.) on Walking with God.
Goulburn (E. M.) on Personal Religion.
Gurnall's Christian Armor.
Hallet's (J.) Consistent Christian.

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Hall's (Bp.) Works.
Hawker's Zion's Pilgrim.
Hill's (Rowland) Village Dialogues.
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——— Lectures on Revivals.
Hoare's (Cha. J.) Sermons on Chris. charac.
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——— Christian contemplated.
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Krummacher's Dew of Israel.
Law's Serious call to a holy life.
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Mason's (John) Select Remains. (Very precious.)
Mason (Grandson of preceding) on Self-knowledge.
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Norris' (J. A.) Religion and business; or spiritual life in its secular department.
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Pascall's Thoughts.
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Poiret's Divine Economy.
Rauch's Inner life of the Christian.
Romaine's Life, walk, and triumph of faith.
Rutherford's Letters. (Exceedingly devout, but badly edited, and full of repetitions.)
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Scougal's Life of God in the soul.
Scudder's Christian's daily walk.
Secker's Non-such Professor. (Precious.)
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Sibbe's Soul's comfort and victory.
——— Evangelical sacrifices.
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Spurgeon's Smooth stones from ancient brooks.
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Stuckley's Gospel Glass. ("Pungent, heart-searching."—DR. JOHN RYLAND.)
Sturm's Reflections.
Swinnock's (Geo.) Christian man's calling.
Taylor's (Jer.) Holy Living.
——— Religious Wisdom.
[Venn's] Complete duty of man. (Millions of this precious book have been printed, but the author remains unknown.)
Walker's (O.) Motives to holy living.

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Walker's (S.) Practical Christianity.
Watson's Divine Cordial.
Wayland's (Francis) Sermons.
Welsford's Lights and shadows of spirit. life.
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Wright's Great concern of life.
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Fowler's (Bp.) Discourses.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons.
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Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Samuel S.) Sermons.
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Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
White's (Hugh) Sermons.

Praise, Love of. See LOVE OF PRAISE.

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Chrysostom, Orationes.
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Ben Mordecai's Apology.
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Bickersteth (Edward) on Prayer.
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Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
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Dwight's Theology. Sermons 139–144.
Eastcheap Lectures. Part 2. (Discourses on this subject by Bradbury, Earle, Harris.)
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Emmon's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gill's (Dr.) Sermons and Tracts.
Goodwin's (Tho.) Select Cases. Case 2.
Goodrich's Bible history of prayer. (A collection of the prayers recorded in Scripture, in chronological order.)
Grove on Secret prayer.
Hale's (Sir M.) Contemplations. Part 2.
Harrison's (Thomas) Divine Logic.
Hastings' (Henry J.) Parochial sermons.
Heles' Offices of private devotion.
Henry (Matt.) on Prayer. (Very useful for young Christians.)
Hinton's Guide to prayer.
Holdsworth's (R.) Sermons.
Horlock's (H. D.) Sermons.
Horneck on the Exercise of P. (Many edit.)
Howe's (John) Works. ("I have learned more from John Howe than from any other author."—ROBT. HALL.)
Ibbot's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Innett's Guide to the devout Christian.
Jebb's (Bp.) Sermons.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) Prayers and meditat.
Jones' (Joseph) Sermons on prayer.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Kettlewell's (John) Sermons.
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Law's Serious call to a holy life.
——— Spirit of prayer.
Leighton's Lectures on the 1st Epistle of Peter. (Chap. 3, verse 12.)
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
MacDonough's Fourteen Discourses.

Prayer—*continued.*

Magee on Atonement. No. 8.
Mann (Tho.) On the gift of prayer.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
Masillon's Sermons.
Mason's Student and Pastor.
Milner's (Isaac) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Moore's (Hannah) Spirit of prayer.
Moore's (H.) Reflections on prayer.
Nance's (J.) Sermons on prayer.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Ogden's (Samuel) Sermons.
Orr's (John) Sermons.
Orton's Religious Exercises.
Owen on Spiritual-mindedness. (Nature and use of mental prayer and forms.)
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Book 5, ch. 2–5.
Pettis on Prayer.
Porter's (Prof.) Lectures.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Price's (Rich.) Dissertations. Diss. 2.
Prime's Power of prayer. (Many editions.)
Princeton Rev. 19:61. 35:353. 37:69.
Rowsell's (T.) Sermons on prayer.
Scott's Essays. Ess. 23.
Shepherd's Persuasives to private devotions.
Sherlock's Practical Discourses.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's System of prayer.
Spring's (Gardner) Essays. Ess. 11.
Stanhope's (George) Sermons.
Stillman's (Samuel) Sermons.
Tappan's (David) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Christian consolation.
——— Sermons.
Taylor's (John) Scripture account of prayer.
Thompson's The Mercy Seat.
Thornton's Discourse on prayer.
Topping's Whole duty of prayer.
Townsend's Nine sermons on prayer.
Vincent on the Nature and kinds of prayer.
Walker's (Dr. James) Sermons.
Watts' Guide to prayer.
Wayland's Elements of Moral Science.
Webster's (William) Sermons.
West's Nat., design, tendency, &c., of prayer.
Weston's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wettenhall's Enter into thy closet.
Whitefield's Sermons.
White's (Hugh) Meditations and Addresses.
Wilkins' Gift of preaching and praying.
Witherspoon's Works.

Prayer Books. See FAMILY WORSHIP, FORMS OF PRAYER, LITURGIES.

Andrews' Private Devotions.
Arnold's Garden of Paradise.
Baird's Book of public prayer. (Compiled from authorized formularies of the Presbyterian Church, as prepared by Calvin, Knox, Bucer, &c.)
Barnes' Prayers for the use of families.
Bean on Family worship. (Prayers for every day in the year.)

Prayer Books—*continued.*

Beard's Family prayers.
Bennett's (B.) Christian Oratory.
Bennet's (Thos.) Daily Devotions.
Bernay's Family prayers.
Bloomfield's (Bp.) Family prayers.
Bowdler's Prayers for the household.
Brooks' (C.) Family prayers.
Burnet's Rules of holy living.
Carpenter's Family prayers.
Clapham's Prayers, selected from the works of Jeremy Taylor.
Clishold's Prayers of eminent persons.
Cochrane's Manual of devotion. ("None better."—CHALMERS.)
Codrington's Family prayers.
Cotterill's (T.) Family prayers.
Crossman's (F. C.) Family prayers.
Day's Christian prayers. 1569. (Out of ancient writers: commonly called Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book.)
Enfield's Family prayers.
Evans' Family prayers.
Fletcher's (W. K.) Liturgical prayers.
Gilderdale's Family prayers.
Gladstone's Family prayers.
Gray's Family prayers.
Hamilton's Family prayers.
Hardman's Family prayers.
Hinton's (Jas.) Guide to prayer.
Hook's (W. F.) Family prayers.
Horsfall's Manual of family prayer.
Jay's Prayers for families.
Jenks' Offices of devotion.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) P. and Meditations.
Kennaway's Family prayers.
Kent's (Bp.) Manual of prayer.
Kingsbury's Prayers for families.
Mant's Book of family prayers.
May's (R.) Family prayers.
Morrison's Family prayers. (Recommended by Wardlaw and Raffles.)
Murray's Prayers from Calvin.
Murey's Closet devotions in Scripture expressions.
Palmer's (J.) Family prayers.
Palmer's (S.) Family prayers.
Parr's (Cath.) Prayers and Meditations
Patrick's Devout Christian.
Pearson's (E.) Family prayers.
Plumer's (J. J.) Family prayers.
Poppewel's Family assistant.
Richardson's (J.) Family prayers.
Rogers' (T.) Family prayers.
Sheppard's (J.) Family prayers.
Sibthorpe's (R. W.) Family liturgy.
Soltan's Family prayers.
Spinke's Manual of private devotion.
Sutcliffe's (W.) Family prayers.
Swete's Family prayers.
Taylor's (Jer.) Golden Grove. 1650. (30 ed.)
Temple's (E.) Family prayers.
Thornton's (H.) Family prayers.
Toplady's Family P. for each day in the week.
Wainwright's Family prayers.

Whitmore's Family prayers.
Wilberforce's (W.) Family prayers.

Books of prayers are very numerous. More than four hundred are mentioned in booksellers' catalogues. Very few of them are valuable.

Prayer for the Dead.

Frantz's Gebet für die Todten, in seinen zusammenhange m. schriften Augustinus.
Hildebrandi Offertorium Primitivum.
Klüpfel, Tractatus Theologicus.
Pfaffi Opera.

Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Butler on Praying for the dead.
Cameron's (Bp.) Primitive doctr. reviewed.
Hall's (W. J.) Doctrine of Purgatory.
Paget's (F. E.) Sermons.
Usher's (Abp.) Works.
Wake's (Abp.) Works.

Prayer Meetings. See SOCIAL WORSHIP.

Preaching. See EXTEMPORE PREACHING.

Augustine, de Doctrina.

Ammon, Gesch. der Homiletik, von Huss, bis Luther.
——— Anleitung zur Kanzelberedsamkeit.
Baur's Grundlage zur Vorlesungen über Homiletik.
Chemnitii Methodus Concionandi.
Erasmi Ecclesiastes.
Fabricii Orator sacer.
Ferrarius de Ritu sacrarum eccles. veterum concionum.
Gaussen de Ratione Concionandi.
Gerard, Rechtfertigung d. Predigerstandes.
Hildebrandi Diss. de veterum concionibus.
Hollebek de Optimo concionum genere.
Hoornbeck de Ratione concionandi.
Houdry, Biblioth. des prédicateurs. (23 quarto volumes.)
Hulsemanni Oratoria Ecclesiastica.
Joly, Hist. de la Prédication.
Knibbii Manductio ad oratoriam sacram.
Lampii Methodus concionandi.
Langii Oratoria Sacra.
Lentz's Gesch. der Christlichen Homiletik.
Maitre, Reflex. sur la maniero de prêcher.
Marheinecke's Grundlage des Homiletik.
Matthiæ Concionadi ratio et causa eloquent.
Melancthonis de Arte concionandi.
Osiander de Ratione Concionandi.
Pfenninger, von der Popularität. im Predig.
Placette sur le Maniere de prêcher.
Schubert, de Abusu philosophiæ in orationibus sacris.
Schuler's Gesch. d. Veranderung d. Geschmacks im Predigen.
Tharin, Atlas des prédicateurs. (A mass of good plans of sermons, or skeletons.)
Titmann's Lehrbuch der Homiletik.
Van Till, Methodus Concionandi.
Vinet, Histoire de la prédication parmi les reformés de France au 17 siècle.

Preaching—*continued.*

Vitringæ Animadversiones.
Zuinglii Ecclesiastes.

Alexander's (J. W.) Thoughts on preaching.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 2:139,330. 1:341. 3:78,569. 4:9. 5:317,384. 12:85. 3d Series. 7:221.
Amer. Quart. Observer. 1:80. 2:325.
Amer. Presb. and Theol. Review. 3:384. 4:9.
Arthur's (Will.) Tongue of fire.
Barecroft's Instructions to young students.
Bennett's (James) Lectures on the preaching of Christ.
Benson's Christian preaching considered.
Beveridge's Thesaurus Theologicus. (A great aid.)
——— Sermons.
Bibl. Sacra. 2:12,683. 4:96,247. 5:731. 14:1, 282. 18:610. 24:95.
Bickersteth (Ed.) on Preaching and Hearing.
Blackwell's Method of preaching.
Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric.
Boggs' (James) Art of preaching.
Bray's Pastoral Letters.
Bricknell's Warrant and effect of preaching. (A review of "Tracts for the Times.")
Casaubon on Preaching. (Excellent.)
Chandler's (S.) Letter to Rev. John Guyse.
——— Second letter to Do.
Christian Disciple. 5:427.
Christian Examiner. 29:19. 35:385. 37:80. 38:107. 41:49. 45:427. 78:157. New Series. 3:51.
Christian Monthly Spect. 1:341. 6:131,527. 9:327. 10:635.
Christian Observer. 11:1. 16:651. 20:548,680. 19:495. 22:15. 28:506.
Christian Review. 4:481. 10:609. 14:381.
Claude on the Composition of a sermon.
Close's (Francis) Sermons on the Liturgy.
Cook's (Jas.) Preacher's Assistant. (A series of texts.)
Democratic Rev. 17:31.
Dublin University Mag. 61:131.
Dwight's Theology. (Preaching of Christ and the Apostles.)
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 5:20. 10:121. New Series. 7:220.
Edinburg Rev. 64:228. 72:34.
Edwards' Christian Preacher.
——— Vindication. (Reply to Lightfoot.)
Enfield's Preacher's Directory. (A series of topics, with appropriate texts.)
Fordyce's Dialogue on the art of preaching.
Franck's (Prof.) Useful way of preaching.
Frank's (J. C.) Hulsean Lectures. 1823. (Evidences of Christianity from the preaching of the Apostles.)
Fuller's (And.) Works.
Glanvill's Essay concerning preaching.
Gouldburn's (Edward M.) Sermons.
Gregory on the Composition and delivery of a sermon.
Gresley's (W.) Ecclesiastes Anglicanus. (On P. as adapted to Ch. of England pulpits.)

Preaching—*continued.*

Henley on Action in preaching.
Holden's (G.) Ordinance of P. considered.
Jennings' (John) Discourses.
Kidder's (D. P.) Homiletics.
Knickerbocker Mag. 4:13.
Knox's (V.) Essays.
Langhorne's Eloquence of the pulpit.
Leifchild (John) on Preaching and preachers.
Lightfoot's (R.) Remarks on some passages in Dr. Edwards' preacher.
——— Dr. E.'s vindication considered.
Lloyd's (R.) Best mode of preaching Christ.
London Quart. Rev. 5:179.
Maberly's Preach the word; or preaching considered.
Mainwaring's Sermons. (Appendix contains a good dissert. on the comp. of sermons.)
Meth. Quart. Rev. 1:283. 7:63.
Moore's Thoughts on preaching, especially in relation to the requirements of the age. 1861.
Moore's (Steph.) Wise gospel preacher.
Murray's (N.) Preachers and Preaching.
New Englander. 3:548, (Use of imagination.) 5:90.
North Amer. Rev. 19:297.
North British Rev. 28:423.
Petherick on Primitive preaching.
Pike's Essay on preaching.
Placette's Advice on preaching.
Porter's (E.) Lectures on preaching.
Princeton Rev. 10:33. 20:463. 24:533. 26:454. 27:1. 28:655. 35:117. 38:513.
Reybaz on the Art of preaching.
Robertson's (John) Sermons.
Ryland's (Dr.) Sermons.
Sedwick on Evangelical preaching.
Sharp's (Abp.) Discourses on preaching.
Short's (T. V.) Sermons.
Stevens' Essays on the preaching required by the times: with illustrations of Methodist preaching. 1855.
Stillman's (Sam.) Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Stuart's (Prof.) Preacher's Manual.
Sturtevant's Preacher's Manual.
Styles' Nature and effect of evangelical P.
Sumner (Bp.) on the Epistles of Paul.
Venn's (John) Sermons.
Vinet's Homiletics. Tr. by T. H. Skinner. (On the *theory* of preaching.)
——— History of preaching among the Reformed churches of France in the 19th cent.
Warner on Evangelical preaching.
Weale's Christian Orator.
Wilkins' (Bp.) Ecclesiastes.
Williams' Christian Preacher. (A collection of treatises by Wilkins, Jennings, Franck, Claude, &c.)
Wilson's (Wm.) Popular preachers of the ancient church.

As model sermons, there are none better than those of Robert Walker, of Edinburg, 3 vols. 8vo. "Walker is Whitefield polished by Blair."—Dr. Williams.

Pre-Adamites. See TRADUCTION.

Pro.

Peyrerii Præ-Adamitæ, aut Exercitatio super Rom. 5:12–14. (This famous book, published 1645, was refuted by a crowd of authors. It was sentenced to be burnt by the common hangman.)
——— Systema theol. ex præadimitarum hypothesi.

Beecher's (Edward) Concord of ages.
Berrow's (Capel) Lapse of souls. (Attempts to account for original sin.)
Huxley's Origin and antiquity of man.
Lyell's Geological evidences of the antiquity of man.
Peyrere's Man before Adam.
Preadamite Man. Anonymous. 1860.

Con.

Calovii Biblia Illustrata.
Crameri (L. D.) Dissertationes.
Danhaveri Præ-adamitæ fabulæ explosa.
Felgenhaver, Prufung über des lateinische Buch preadamitæ.
Gregoire, Histoire des sectes.
Maresii Refutatio fabulæ præadamiticæ.
Micrælius, Monstrosæ de præad. opinionis.
Petit Didier, Dissertationes. Diss. XXII
Priorii Animadversiones in librum præad.
Pythii Responsio Exetastica.
Quenstedtii Dissertationes.
Schelvigius de Præ-adamitis.
Ursinus de novo Prometheus.

British Quart. Review. April, 1863.
Christian Examiner. 55:394.
North Brit. Rev. 27:226. (Very strong.)
Parker's (Benj.) Review of the antediluvian world.
Parker's (H.) Harmony of ages.

Precepts of Noah.

Buddeus, Introd. ad hist. philosophiæ Heb.
Fabricius, Apocryph. Veteris Testamenti.
——— Bibliographia Antiquaria.
Frischmuthii Diss. theol. philol. Diss. 2.
Leidekker de Vario Reipublicæ Hebr. statu.
Selden de Jure Nat. et Gentium.

Predestination. See CALVINISM, DECREES, ELECTION.

Predictions by Christ.

Vinke, Vaticin. C. de perpessionibus suis.

Allix's Reflections.
Greenhill's (Jos.) Prophecies of the N. Test.
Hodge's (John) Sermons.
Holmes' Bampton Lectures. 1782.
Jenkins' Certainty of the Christian religion.
Jortin's Remarks upon ecclesiastical history.
Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah.
Lardner's Jewish and heathen testimonies.
Limborch's Colloquy with a Jew.
Mede's (Joseph) Works.
More's (Dr. Henry) Works.
Myers' (Tho.) Proph. delivered by Christ.

Newton (Bp.) on the Prophecies.
Newton's (J.) Dissertations on prophecy.
Sharp's Rise and fall of the Holy city.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Warburton's Julian.
Whitby's General preface to Annotations.
——— Annotations.

Pre-Existence of Christ's Human Soul. See ARIANISM, HYPOSTATIC UNION.

Pro.

Alderson's (Jos.) Pre-existence of Christ.
Allen on the Pre-existence of Christ.
Fawcett (Benj.) on the Doct. of the Trinity.
Flemming's Christology.
Glanvill's Lux Orientalis.
Hawker on the Divinity of Christ.
Jortin's (John) Works.
Magee on Atonement. No. 1.
Parkhurst on the Divinity of Christ.
Robinson's Plea for the divinity of Christ.
Rudd's (Sayer) Sermons.
Simpson on the Trinity.
Stevens' Script. display of the Triune God.
Stockwell on the Pre-existence of Christ.
Watts' Glory of Christ.

Con. Unitarian and Socinian writers in general, whenever they allude to this topic.

Carpzovius de Anima Christi.
Hagemanni Dissertationes.
Markius de Anima Christi.

Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Grotius' Commentary.
Haynes on the Attributes of God.
Lardner on the Logos.
Lindsey's Works.
Priestley's History of corruptions.
Taylor's (Abr.) Reply to Watts' Glory, &c.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity.

Pre-Existence of Human Souls. See PRE-ADAMITES, TRADUCTION.

Pro. All the ancient Pythagoreans and Platonists.

Justin Martyr, Origen, Methodius.

Arnobius adversus Gentes.
Aristotle de Generatione et corruptione.
Beausobre, Hist. de Manicheeism.
Ciceronis Tusc. Disputat. Lib. 1, cap. 3.
Mori Opera philosophica.
Origen de Principiis.
Peyrere, Exercit. super Rom. 5:12–14.
Platonis Phædo.
Reynaud, Philosophie religieuse.
Sandius de Origine Animæ.
Sibbern, de Præexistentia.

Beecher's (Edw.) Conflict of Ages.
——— Concord of Ages.
Benneck's Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans.
Berrow's (C.) Lapse of souls.
Colliber's (S.) Theological Treatises.
Glanvill's Lux Orientalis. (Exhibits the opinions of Eastern philosophers.)

Pre-Existence, &c.—*continued.*

Pro.

Helmont's (F. M.) Works. Ch. 46.
Hume's (David) Essays.
More's (Henry) Works. (As able as any on this side of the question.)
Rust's (Bp.) Discourses on truth. (Generally bound up with Glanvill.)

Con.

Augustine, contra Manichæos.
Cyril Alex., Epistolæ Canonicæ.

Bebelii (Balthasar.) Exercitationes.
Bertram's Prüfung der Meinung von der präexistenz, etc.
Cramer, de Doctrina Judæorum.
Pereira, Antoniana Margaritta.
Thomasius de Præexistentia animarum.

Barrow's Works. (Answer to More.)
Baxter's Placid collation with Dr. H. More.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 12:156.
Christian Exam. 54:419.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Bk. 1, ch. 1.
Dunton's (J.) Visions of the soul. (Ironical.)
Hale's Origin of Mankind.
Leland's Adv. and nec. of Revel. Pt. 3, ch. 5.
Parker on the Platonic philosophy.
Presbyterian Quart. Review. 11:546.
Warren (Edw.) on the Pre-existence, &c.
Watts' Ruin and Recovery. Question 2.

Prejudice.

Biblical Repos. April, 1840.
Christian Observer. 2:405.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Du Marsais on Prejudice.
Foster's (James) Sermons. (John 1:45–47.)
Horberry's (Matt.) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
[Kennedy's (A. H.)] Letters on prejudice in religion.
Lindsley (Philip) on Religious prejudices.
Mason on Self-knowledge. Ch. 9.
Meth. Quart. Rev. 7:53.
Retrospective Rev. 1:70.
Simondi on Prejudice.
Stebbing's (Henry) Sermons. (Prejudices of education.)
Tottie's (John) Sermons before the University of Oxford.
Williamson's Boyle Lectures. 1788. (Prejudices of the learned.)

Presbyterians.

Pro.

Blondel, de Episcopis et Presbyteris. ("The most learned work in favor of Presbyterianism."—DARLING.)
Catechismus Genevensis.
——— Palatina.
Confessio Helvetica.
——— Tetrapolitana.
Consensus Tigurini.
Heideggeri Corpus Theologiæ.
Mollinæus de Munere pastorali.

Presbyterians—*continued.*

Pro.

Picteti Medulla.
Riveti (And.) Opera.
Vitringæ de Synagoge vetere.
Zuinglii Fidei Ratio.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. (Various articles.)
Amer. Presbyterian and Theolog. Review.
Anderson (John) on Church government, &c.
Ayton's Constitut. of the Christian Church.
Barnes' (A.) Organization of the Apostolic Church.
Baird's (Sam.) Collection of Acts, &c., of the General Assembly; with notes. 1856.
Blondell on Bishops and Presbyters.
Brown's Vind. of the Scotch form of ch. gov.
——— Letters to King James.
Calamy (Edmund) on Church government.
Calderwood's Hist. of the Chur. of Scotland.
Campbell's (Dr. W.) Presbyterians of Ireland. 1787.
Clarkson on Episcopacy.
Dickinson's Defence of Presb. ordination.
Durell on the Govt. and worship of the Ch.
Edwards' Reasons against the independent form, &c.
Forrester (T.) on the Claims of hierarchical bishops.
Gillespie's (Geo.) Aaron's rod blossoming.
Hall's (Archib.) Const. and order of the Ch.
Harrington's Notes on the Ch. of Scotland.
Hill's (Geo.) Theological Institutes.
——— Constitution of the Ch. of Scotland.
Hodge's (Cha.) What is Presbyterianism?
Jameson's Sum of the Episcopal controversy.
Jamieson's Nazienzeni querula.
Killen's Const. and worsh. of the ancient Ch.
King's (Dav.) Exposition of the P. form, &c.
London Minister's Jus Divinum.
Love's Main points of Church government.
Mason's (Dr. John) Essays on the Church.
Miller's (Prof.) Letters on Ch. government.
——— Primitive order of the Ch. vindicated.
Paget (John) on Church government.
Pierce's Defence of the dissenting ministry.
Pon's Doctrine of the Church of Geneva.
Presbyterian Review. Edinburg. 1828 to the present.
Princeton Rev. 15:286. 21:355,542. 26:377. And others.
Robinson's (Prof. S.) Church of God.
Rockwell's (J. E.) Sketches of the Presbyterian Church. (For youth.)
Rule's Vindication of the Ch. of Scotland.
Rutherford's Government of the Church.
——— Divine right of Presbyteries.
Schlater's Original draft of the primitive church.
Skinner's Truth and Order.
Smyth's (Thomas) Presbytery the primitive policy, &c.
Westminster Catechism and Confession.
Wilson's (J. P.) Primitive government, &c.
Wood's Old and New Theology.

Presbyterians—*continued.*

Con. See APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, CONGREGATIONALISM, EPISCOPACY.

Campegii Utriengiæ Archisynagogus.
Hammond adversus Blondellum.
Pearson, Vindic. Ignatii Epistolarum.
Usserus de Eccles. successione.

Ashton (Sir T.) on Presb. government. ("A remonstrance by divers of the nobilitie." 1641.)
Bancroft's Survey of the pretended holy discipline.
——— Dangerous positions and proceedings.
Bellamy's Impossibility of being Presbyterians and not Rebels.
Beveridge (Bp.) on the Apostolical Canons.
Bilson's Government of the Church.
Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ.
Birkenhead's Assembly-man. (Bitter satire.)
Boyd on Episcopacy and Presbytery.
Brokesby's Govt. of the primitive church.
Carson (Alex.) on Church Government.
——— Reply to Brown's Vindication.
——— Reply to Ewing.
Cook's Invalidity of Presb. ordination.
Ferne's Presbytery considered.
Fitz's Modern Presbyt. unmasked. 1830.
[Grey's (Zech.)] Presb. ordination null.
Hall's (Bp.) Lay eldership contrary to Scripture and antiquity.
Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.
Jackman's P. ordination presumptuous.
Jaques' Ordination by P. null and void.
King's (Sir P.) Const. of the primitive chur.
Lloyd on Church Government.
Maurice's Defence. (Reply to Clarkson.)
Maxwell's (Bp.) Tyrannical power and practice of Presb. government in Scotland.
Milbourne's Legacy to the Ch. of England.
Owen's (Dr. John) Works.
Parker's (Henry) Trojan Horse.
Sage's Fundamental charter of Presbytery.
Saltmarsh's Divine right of Presbytery.
——— Presbyterian groans.
Skinner's (John) Primitive truth and order.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.
Stock on Presbyterian principles. (Reply to Campbell.)
Thorndike's Armor for churchmen.
——— Rights of the church.
Wells' Theses. (Reply to Pierce.)
Woodhead on Ancient Church Government.

Presbyterianism, History of.

Acts and Testimonies of the Gen. Assembly.
Alexander's (S. D.) History of the P. Church in Ireland. (An abridgment of Reid.)
Baird's Acts and testimonies of the General Assembly of the United States. (From the beginning to 1856.)
Basier's Hist. of English and Scotch Presb.
Brown's Vind. of the abrogation of the plan of union by the P. Church of the U. S.
Brown's Hist. of the P. Church in the U. S.

Presbyterianism, Hist. of—*continued.*

Cheeseman's Differences between old and new school Presbyterians.
Crocker's Catastrophe of the P. Ch. in 1837.
Davidson's (R.) P.; its place in history.
——— Hist. of the P. Church in Kentucky.
Dundas' Acts of the Gen. Assembly of the Ch. of Scotland. (From 1638 to 1720.)
Engles' Presb. Church in the United States.
Foote's Sketches of Virginia.
Gillett's P. Church of the United States.
Heylin's History of the P. (1536 to 1647.)
Hill's Rise and prog of Amer. P. (To 1839.)
History of the Division of the P. Church, by a committee of the Synods of New York and New Jersey. 1832.
Hodge's Hist. of the P. Ch. in the U. S. 1788.
Hotchkin's History of the Presbyterian Church in New York. 1848.
Laird's History of early American Presbyt.
Minutes of the Gen. Assembly of the P. Ch.
Moore's Digest of the acts and deliverances of the General Assembly of the U. S.
Nevin's Church of the Valley. (Interior of Pennsylvania.)
Peterkin's Records of the Kirk. 1638–1843.
Quart. Christian Spectator. 9:597. 10:337.
Presbyterian Review. (Many valuable articles. Very full on the separation of Amer. Presbyterians into new and old school.)
Records of the P. Ch. of U. S. 1706 to 1788.
Reid's History of Irish Presbyterians. 1833.
——— ——— Continued to 1853, by W. D. Killen.
Rockwell's Sketch of the P. Church.
Smith's Old Redstone. (A history of P. in Western America, to 1854.)
Spence's (Irving) Letters. (P. in America.)
Webster's (Rich.) Pres. Church in America. (With Biographical sketches. 1850.)
Wilson's History of the principles, opinions, and usages of the English Presbyterians.
Wood's (Henry) History of the Presbyterian controversy. (In America.)
Wood's (James) Doctrinal differences which have divided the Presb. Church. 1853.

Present State of the Jews. See JEWS, PRESENT CONDITION.

Presumption.

Adams' (Thomas) Sermons.
Austin's Presumptuous man's mirrour.
Brady's (Nicolas) Sermons.
Burnside's Religion of mankind.
Charnock's Works.
Fuller's (Andrew) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical Works.
Hoole's (Joseph) Sermons.
Lucas' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by T. Cole.)
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Frere's Combined view of Esdras, Daniel, and John.
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McCaul's Warburton Lectures. 1846. (Prophecy as a proof of Christianity.)
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Rule's Calculations of time, &c.
Sharp (Granville) on Several important P.
Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy.
Simpson's Key to the P. (Many editions.)
Smith's (J. Pye) Dissertations.
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Smith's (Dr. John) Summary view of prophecy. (A good abstract from Lowth, Newcombe, Newton, and Blaney.)
Southwark Morning Lectures. (By Baxter, Fowler, Manton, Poole, Owen, &c.)
Taylor's Comp. of Revelations with Daniel.
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Prophecy as a Proof, &c.—*continued.*

Boyle on the Fulfilment of Script. prophecy.
Brown's Harmony of Scripture prophecies.
Chalmers' Evidences of Christianity.
Chandler's (Bp.) Defence of Christianity.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Flemming's Fulfilling of Scripture.
Gordon's Christianity supported by P.
Hey's Lectures. Chap. 1
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hurd's Lectures on prophecy.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Keith's Truth of the Christian religion as derived from P., especially as illustrated by travellers. 1830.
La Pluches' Truth of the Gospel.
Lardner's Works. (Destruct. of Jerusalem.)
Newton's (Bp.) Boyle Lectures. 1756.
Paley's Evidences. Part 2, ch. 1.
Powell's (Samuel) Sermons.
Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Warburton Lectures, viz.:
Allwood, 1815. Apthorp, 1786. Bagot, 1780. Davidson, 1824. Halifax, 1776. Hurd, 1772. Nares, 1805. Nolan, 1837. Pearson, 1811.
Watson's Tracts.
Weaver's (Robt.) Fulfilling of Scripture.
Wellwood's Discourses.
Whiston's Boyle Lectures. 1707.
Wilkinson on the Insp. of the Holy Script.
Wilkins' Hist. of the destruct. of Jerusalem.

Propitiation. See ATONEMENT.

Proprieties of Worship.

Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Buddicom's (Robert P.) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical works.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons. (2 on this subj.)

Proselyte Baptism.

Pro. i. e. *that there was such a thing.*

Bengel (E. G.) über d. Proselytentaufe.
Benzelii Syntag. Diss. in Academ. Lundensi.
Butcher, de Initiis baptismi initiationis Judæorum.
Danz, Baptismus proselytorum Judaicus. (Ugolini.)
Reiskii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Schneckenburger's Alter der jüdischer Proselytentaufe.
Spencer (J.) de Lustrationibus et purif. Heb.
Lightfoot's Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical.
Selden's Works.
Wall's History of Baptism.

Con.

Buddei Inst. theol. dogmaticæ. Lib. V, c. 1.
Carpzovii (B. D.) Exercitationes.
Engerer's Jüdisch. Tauf betrug aufgedrecht.
Maii Diss. de lustrationibus et purificationibus Hebr. (Against Spencer.)

Proselyte Baptism—*continued.*

Con.

Matthies, Baptismatis Expos. bibl. hist. dogmatica.
Mulleri (J. G.) Dissertationes.
Schyn, Historia Mennonitarum.
Slevogtii Dissertationes.
Van Dale, Diss. super Aristea de LXX, etc.
Venemæ Institutiones historicæ.
Vitringæ Observationes Sacræ.
Wernsdorfius de baptismi Christianorum origine.
Benson's Paraph. and notes on the Epistle of Paul. Diss. 8, part 2.
Gale's Reflections on Wall's Hist. of baptism.
Gibbs on Baptism.
Gill's (Dr. John) Body of Divinity.
——— Preface to Com. on the N. Test.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Knatchbull's Annotations on difficult texts.
Owen's (John) Exercitations. Exerc. 8.

Proselytes, Jewish. See JEWISH ANTIQ.

Maimonides de Proselytos.
Van Dale (Ant.), Dissertationes.
Beausobre & L'Enfant's Introd. to Old Test.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Josephus' Jewish Antiquities.

Proseuchæ.

Bennet's (Benj.) Christian Oratory.
Coleridge's Dissertations on Judges 17, 18.

Prosperity. See RICHES, POWER.

Bates' (Will.) Discourses.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burnett's (Gilbert) Discourses.
Downame (John) on Contempt of the world.
Fell's (Hunter F.) Sermons.
Hastings' (H. J.) Sermons.
Heurtly's (Cha. S.) Sermons.
Jackson's (Miles) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Sermons.
Monsel's (C. H.) Sermons.
Moroney's (Joseph) Sermons.
Oakley's (Fred.) Sermons.
Roe's Sermons.
South's (Robt.) Sermons.
Trebeck's (Andrew) Sermons.
Witherspoon's (Dr. John) Sermons. (Two on this subject.)

Prostitution. See ADULTERY, CHASTITY, FORNICATION, SEDUCTION, UNCLEANN.

Protestantism.

Baur (F. Ch.) Gegensatz d. Kath. and Prot. nach d. Principien der Lehrbegriffe.
Calvini Opera.
Evenii Demonstratio Apologetica.
Guntheri Demonstratio solida.
Handeshagen, der deutsche Protestatismus.
Illyricus de Voce et re Fide.

Protestantism—*continued.*

Larroque, Conformité de la discipline eccl. de Protestantes avec celle des anciens Chrêtiens.
Morneus de Ecclesia.
Mylii Dissertationes.
Planck, Gesch. d. Entstehung, etc., d. protest. Lehrbegriffs.
Schenkel, das Wesen d. Protestantismus.
——— d. Princip. d. Protestantismus.
Spanheimii Dissertationes.
Vorstius contra Bellarminum.

Baird's Protestantism in Italy; past and present. 1847.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Birbeck's Evidence from the Fathers.
Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants.
Christian Examiner. 41:1. 48:341.
Coquerel's History of P. in France.
Du Moulin's Defence of the Reformed Chur.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 15:713.
Edinburg Review. 54:238. (Rev. of Hugh Rose.)
Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works.
MacGavin's Protestant. (Very useful.)
Marsh's Hist. of the Protestants of France.
Meth. Quart. Rev. 3:69.
New Englander. 2:66.
Princeton Review. 9:1. 17:626.
Rose's (Hugh) Sermons before the Cambridge University in 1828.
Schaff's (P.) Principles of P. as related to the present state of the church. Trans. by J. W. Nevin. 1845.
Smedley's Hist. of the Protestants of France.
Sturgess' Defence of Protestantism.
Tillotson's Works.

Proverbs. See COMMENTATORS.

Crenii Opusculorum Fasciculus.
Debrii Adagialia Vet. et Nov. Testament.
Drusii Adagia Hebraica.
Schottii Adagialia sacra Nov. Test.
Vorstii Diatribe de adagiis Nov. Test.

Providence of God. See CHANCE, FATE, GOVERNMENT OF GOD, UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Lactantius, de Mortibus Persecutorum.
Theodoret, Oratio de Providentia.
Basil, Conciones.
Chrysostom, de Providentia Dei.

Backerus de Dei providentia circa mala.
Bairus de Prov. Dei circa peccata hominum.
Beza de Prov. Dei circa res temporale.
Bormann's Lehre der Vorsehung.
Burmanni Dissertationes quatuor.
Danhaveri Disputationes Theologicæ.
De Vries, Exercitationes Rationales.
Gomari Concillatio doct. orthodoxæ de P.
Heinii Dissertationes.
Maii Œconomia temporum Vet. Test.
Martinii Com. de gubernatione mundi.
Rechenburgius de Prov. Dei circa minima.

Providence of God—*continued.*

Reynoldi Dissertationes Philosophicæ.
Spanheimii Dissertationes theol. miscel.
Turrettini Dissertationes. Diss. iv, v, vi.
Twisse, Vindicatio Providentiæ Dei.
Viret, de la Providence.
Weismannus de Prov. Dei contra malum.
Wittichii Exercitationes Theologicæ.
Zuinglii Sermones.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Appleton's (Pres.) Works. Lect. 8.
Arnold's (Frederick) Sermons.
Arrowsmith's (John) Discourses.
Atterbury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Balguy's (Dr. Thomas) Discourses.
Balmer's Academic Lectures.
Barrow (Isaac) on the Creed.
Baxter's (Richard) Works.
Bennet's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bidlake's Bampton Lectures. 1811.
Binnings' (Hugh) Sermons.
Bledsoe's Theodicy.
Boston's (Tho.) Sermons.
Bull's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bullinger's Decades. (Parker Society publ.)
Bundy's (Richard) Sermons.
Burnet (Bp.) On the 39 articles.
Cappe on the Government of God.
Carr's.(George) Sermons.
Carson's (Alex.) Works.
Cawton on Divine providence.
Chace's Relation of Div. P. to physical laws.
Chandler's (Samuel) Discourses.
Charnock's Works. (Extremely clear.)
Cheyne's Philosophical Principles.
Christian Month. Spect. 9:175
Christian Quart. Spect. 8:1.
Christian Observer. 1:54.
Clarke's (Adam) Discourses.
Clarke's (Samuel) Discourses.
Colling's (Dr. Jno.) Sermons on Providence. ("Well done."—COTTON MATHER.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Craddock's (Z.) Sermons.
Crane's Prospect of Divine Providence.
Croley on Divine Providence.
Crombie's Natural Theology. Essay 2.
Crosthwaite's History of Esther.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Bk. 1, ch. 5.
Davies' (Samuel) Sermons.
Dewdney on Special providences.
Doddridge's Sermons.
——— Lectures.
Dowling's (J. G.) Sermons.
Dwight's (Tim.) Theology. Disc. 26 to 34.
Duncanson's P. manifested in natural law.
Fawcett on Divine Providence.
Field on Divine Government.
Flavel's Works. (Exceedingly precious.)
Forsyth on Divine Providence.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Gifford's (G.) Great mystery of Providence.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.

Providence of God—*continued.*

Goodman's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Gordon's Particular providence in distinction from general.
Hakewell on Providence. (Highly commended by Dugald Stewart.)
Hastings' (H. J.) Sermons.
Holwell on Divine Providence.
Hook's (Walter F.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Horsley on Providence and free agency.
Hunter's Moral Discourses.
Jackson's Prophecies viewed in the light of Scripture.
Jamieson's Sacred History.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Kattern's (Dan.) Sermons.
Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. 6:422.
Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Leland's (Thomas) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
McBrier's Goodness of Providence.
McCosh's Method of Divine government. (Great.)
Methodist Quarterly. 11:292.
Moore's Divine dialogues.
Natural history of enthusiasm.
New Englander. 6:249.
Parker on God and Divine Providence.
Pilkington (Geo.) on Particular Providence.
Plummer's (W. S.) Jehovah Jireh.
Price's (Rich.) Four Dissertations. Diss. 1.
Princeton Rev. 21:97. 30:319.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Works.
Rutherford's Scholastic Disputations concerning Prophecies.
Sedgewick's Shepherd of Israel.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Dean) Discourses.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (Charles H.) Sermons. 1st and 6th Series.
Stebbing's (H.) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
St. Pierre's Vindication of Divine P.
Stokes' Doct. of special Providence.
Taylor's (Joseph) Remarkable Providences.
Topping's Certainty of an overruling P.
Townsend's (G. F.) Warnings from the past.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Turner's Hist. of remarkable providences.
Watts' Essays.
Welsted's Scheme of Providence.
Whitaker's (Edw. W.) Sermons.
Wilcox's (Daniel) Sermons.
Wilkins on the Beauty of Providence.
Williams' Equity of the Divine government.
Wisheart's (William) Sermons.
Wollaston's Religion of nature.

See an extensive list of Latin and German writers of the last century on this subject, in Arpe, *Theatrum Fati.*

Province of Reason in Religion.
See DEISM, HARMONY OF REASON AND FAITH, PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, WEAKNESS OF HUMAN REASON.

Conradus de Rationis usu in religione.
Crusius de Usu et limitibus rationis.
Ernesti (Jo. Aug.) Prolusiones. (Discards philosophy in the interpretation of the sacred writings.)
Friedmann's Christenthum. und Vernunft.
Mayeri (Jac.) Dissertationes.
Michaelis de Distinctione inter ea quæ supra et contra rationem sunt.
Musæus de Usu principiorum rationis et philos. in controversiis theologicis.
Reinhold: d. alte Frage—was ist Wahrheit?
Salat's (Joseph) Sokrates.
Schmidius de Usu principiorum rationis.
Schramm, de Principiorum rationis in theologia valore.
Schulz's Selbstständigkeit u. Abhangigkeit.
Velthusius de Usu rationis in rebus theol. et præsertim in interpretatione S. S.
Voetius de Ratione humana in rebus fidei.
Weidner, de Limitibus rationis in theol. definend.
Wendt, de Ratione inter relig. et philosoph.
Witsius de Usu et abusu rationis.

Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers.
Baker's Reflections upon Learning.
Balguy's (John) Discourses.
Bourn's (Samuel) Sermons.
Boyle's Use of reason in religion.
Brown's Procedure and extent of the human understanding.
[Calamy's (Ed.)] Philologus' Use and abuse of reason.
Campbell (Abp.) on the Necessity of Revelat.
Clark's (John) Office of reason in religion.
Croft's Bampton Lectures. 1786.
Curry's Confirmation of faith.
Davies' (J.) Estimate of the human mind.
Eclectic Review. 1859:225.
Ellis' Knowledge of Divine things.
Ferguson's Interest of reason in religion.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. Part 3.
Gilderdale on Natural Religion.
Glanvill's Vanity of dogmatizing.
Holden's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Letters Between Ant. Tuckey & B. Whichcot.
Manning's (James) Sermons.
Manningham's Use of speculative philosophy in religion.
Mansel's Bampton Lectures. 1858.
Nelson's (G.) Use of human reason. (Written against the Methodists.)
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Norris' Mysteries of Christianity.
Princeton Review. 32:648.
Rust on the Use of reason.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's Danger of corrupting religion by philosophy.
Smallridge's (George) Sermons.
Smith's True Method of obtaining divine knowledge.

Province of Reason—*continued.*

Stephens' Human nature delineated.
Stone's (Edward) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Tuckey's Letters.
Twinning's Reason in regard to revelation.
Van Mildert's Boyle Lectures. 1802.
Wardlaw's Christian Ethics.
Whately's (Bp.) Sermons.
Whichcot's Aphorisms in religion.
Whiston's Reason and philos. no enemies.
Witsius on the Abuse of reason.
Worseley's P. of reason in religion deduced from the Sermon on the Mount.
Young's Province of reason. (An able criticism on Mansell.)

Prudence. See DISCRETION.

Diogenes Laertii Apothegmata clarissimor. Philosophorum.
Plutarch de Digne scitis regum.
——— Apothegmata Laconica.
Stobæus de Prudentia.
Abernethy's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Bright (G.) on Christian Prudence.
Burgh's Dignity of human nature.
Cappe's (Newcombe) Practical Discourses.
Carleton's (George) Sermons.
Chris. Rev. 6:213.
Dodwell's (William) Sermons.
Enfield's (Wm.) Sermons.
Evans on Christian Temper. Ser. 19.
Kettlewell's (John) Sermons. (Prudence distinct from craft.)
Lawrence's (J.) Beauty of a Christian life.
Mason's (John) Sermons.
Norris on Christian Prudence.
Paley's (Wm.) Sermons.
Pott's (Archdeacon) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of nature pursued. Ch. 30.

Prudentius.

Gundlingii Observationes selectæ.
Le Clerc, Vie de Prudence.
Ludovici (Io. Pet.) Opusculæ Miscellaneæ.
Manutii Vita P. ejus operibus præmissa.

Psalmody. See HYMNOLOGY, INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, SINGING.

Athanasius, Epist. ad Marcellinum.
Augustine, Confessiones. Lib. IX, c. 6.
Basil, Homiliæ in Psalmos. Hom. I.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. XXVIII.
Lactantius, Institutiones. Lib. VI, c. 21.
Knapp's (A.) Evangelischer Leiderschatz.
Schurzfleischii Disputationes.
Allen's Essay on Singing.
Am. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 7:361. 11:425.
Am. Quart. Register. 5:25.
Atterbury's (Francis) Sermons.
Baird's (T. D.) Inquiry into the duty of the church in the exercise of praise.
Baxter's (Arthur G.) Sermons.
Beachcroft's (Robt. P.) Sermons.

Psalmody—*continued.*

Bennet's Christian Oratory.
Blackwood's Mag. 9:565. 41.479.
Boyse (Gilbert) on Singing in pub. worship.
Brown's Natural and revealed religion.
Burne's (Richard) Sermons.
Christian Disciple. 3:360.
Chris. Exam. 3:489. 4:67,300. 6:189. 13:163. 21:254. 29:337. 38:1. 39:102. 40:29. 41:422. 46:88. 47:204. 59:221. 65:230. 69:402.
Chris. Month. Spect. 3:526. 6:544. 7:34. 8:46. 9:378,604.
Chris. Quart. Spect. 3:526. 6:208.
Chris. Review. 2:421.
Clarke's (W. B.) Sermons.
Close's (Francis) Sermons on the liturgy.
Cole's View of modern Psalmody.
Collyer's Practical Discourses.
Dehon's (Dr. T.) Sermons.
Eastcheap Lectures. 1708–17.
Eclectic Rev. 10:535.
Edinb. Rev. 95:64.
Edwards (John) on the Creed. Art. 9.
Emmons' (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Engel's (C.) Reflections on church music.
Exeter Hall Lectures to young men.
Frazier's Mag. 44:609.
Gill's Body of Divinity.
Gould's (N. D.) Church music in America; its history, peculiarities, &c.
Grosvenor's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Hastings on Musical taste.
Henry's (Matt.) Miscellaneous Works.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hughes (Henry) on Congregational P.
Kidder's (Bp.) Sermons.
Latta (Dr.) on Psalmody.
Law's Serious call. Ch. 15.
Lit. and Theol. Rev. 3:66. 4:59. 6:360.
Littell's Living Age. 25:241.
London Quart. Review. 38:16.
Mason's (Wm.) Hist. and critical Essays.
Meth. Quart. Review. 2:245. 4:165. 8:283, 602. 9:662.
New Englander. 2:335. 4:312. 6:424. (T. Hastings.) 7:55,350.
N. A. Rev. 11:38. (E. Everett.) 15:402.
Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters.
Princeton Rev. 15:88.
Rawlin's (Richard) Sermons.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
Romaine's (W.) Essay on Psalmody.
Stillingfleet on Church music.
Stone's (Abp.) Sermons.
Taswell's (Will.) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jno.) Spirit and practice of P.
Vincent's (William) Sermons.
Westminster Review. 38:76.

About 90 hymn books are mentioned by LOWNDES, and nearly 2000 by SEDGWICK, in his Catalogue of hymn books. DR. WATTS says: "Of all our religious solemnities, psalmody is the most unhappily managed." He himself did more to remedy this evil than all other writers.

Psychology. See MIND.

Psychodunamy. See ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

Psychopannychy. See SLEEP OF THE SOUL.

Public Charities. See BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES, ENDOWMENTS, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Public Worship. See PLACES OF WORSHIP, PROPRIETIES, WORSHIP.

Harenhergii Theologia dogmatica ex monumentis patrum.
Mercier (L.), sur le Culte public.

Atterhury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Barhauld's Remarks on Wakefield's enquiry.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ecclesiastics.
Bennett's (Benj.) Sermons on Chris. Order.
Beveridge's Neces. and adv. of public prayer.
Bruckner's Thoughts on public worship.
Burgess' Reply to Wakefield.
Burnett's (Gilbert) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Charlesworth on Public worship.
Clagget's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Clarke's (Stephen) Sermons.
Clarkson's (David) Sermons.
Clayton's (Thomas) Sermons.
Craig's (William) Sermons.
Fothergill's (George) Sermons.
Gardner's Duties of public worship.
Gill's (John) Occasional Sermons.
Jones' (Herbert) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Kinghorn on Public worship.
Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Langhorne's (J.) Sermons.
Maynard's (Edward) Sermons.
Mede's (Joseph) Sermons.
Mudge's (Zachary) Sermons.
Munton's (Anthony) Sermons.
Newman on Early attendance.
Nott's Sermons on P. W. suited to the times.
Parry's Vind. of P. W. (Rep. to Wakefield.)
Pope's P. W. founded in nature. (Do.)
Priestley's Letters to a young man.
Rogers' (Dr. John) Sermons.
Saunders on Public worship.
Sharp's (Thomas) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (John) Shekinah.
Talhert's Duty of frequenting P. worship.
Toulmin's (J.) Sermons.
Trapp's (J.) Duties of public worship.
Wakefield's Enquiry, &c. (Against P. W.)
Waples' (Edward) Sermons.
Wilson's Def. of P. W. (Rep. to Wakefield.)
Wisheart's (William) Sermons.

Pulpit Eloquence. See ELOQUENCE.

Punctuality. See PROCRASTINATION.

Punishment. See JUSTICE, PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 10:1.
Bentham's (Jer.) Rationale of punishment.
Sampson on Crime and its treatment.

Purgatory. See INTERMEDIATE PLACE, SPIRITS IN PRISON.

Allatii de Utriusque ecclesiæ occidentalis et orientalis perpetua in dogmate de Purgatorio consensione. (Papal.)
Austin, Cura de Mortuis.
Beckers' Mittheilungen aus d. merkwurdigst.
Blondel (D.), de la Creances des pères touchant l'etat des ames d'aprés cette vie.
Britzer, Quid doceat eccl. de P.? (Papal.)
Calixti (Georg.) Dissertationes.
Calixti (Ulric.) Dissertationes.
Chytræus de Animarum immortalitate.
Du Moulin, les Eaux de Siloé.
Faber, Disputationes Theologicæ.
Forhesii Considerationes modestæ.
Godeschalci Confessionale.
Hoffner die Shicksale der Seele.
Hulsemanni (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Kortholti Disquisitiones anti Baronianam.
Laurentius in Fabula Papistica.
Le Quien, Oriens Christianus.
Lensæus de Fidelium animarum purgatorio.
Lutheri Opera.
Meisneri (Io. H.) Dissertationes.
Quenstedius de Ecclesiarum Orient. et Lat. dissensione.
Scherzeri Fasciculus Diss. theologicarum.
Schröckh's Kirchengeschichte.
Thummii Ignis purgat. Pontificii fatuus.
Wallenhurch, Tractatus de sanctis.
Wesselii (Ioann.) Opera.
Wetstein, de Vanitate Purgatorii.

Allen's Defence of purgatory.
Beza on the Pope's Canons.
Billingsley's (John) Sermons.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Bunn's Reasons why Protestants reject the doctrine of purgatory.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Collet's Popish frauds exemplified.
Deacon's P. proved to be contrary to Catholic tradition. (Cites many authors.)
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Fletcher's (Jos.) Lectures on the Roman religion.
Fulke (Wm.) on Popery.
Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.
Grotius' Collection of the Fathers.
Hall's (Wm. J.) Doctrine of purgatory.
Hey's (Dr. J.) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Johnson's (Sam.) Purgatory proved by miracles. (Satirical.)
Kitto's Journal of Sac. Lit. 1:289
Latimer's (Bp.) Works.
Limborch's Theology.
Marshall's Doct. of P. patriarchal, papistical, and rational.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Edw. West.)
Rogers (Tho.) on the 39 Articles.
Salter's Hall Sermons. Ser. by Dr. Earle.
Stillingfleet on the Satisfaction of Christ.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Tuckney's Prelectiones.

Wake's (Abp.) Discourses.

On the history of this doctrine, see VALVERDE, *Ignis purgatorius assertus*, BELLARMINE, *de Controversiis fidei*, on one side; and USHER'S *Answer to a Jesuit's challenge*, and HALL'S (W. J.) *Doctrine of Purgatory*, on the other.

Puritans. See HALF-WAY COVENANT, PILGRIM FATHERS.

Niemeyer, Puritanorum libri symbolici.

Ames' English Puritanisme. (Severe.)
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 2:217. 11:77. 3d Series. 2:226. 4:1.
Backus' Hist. of New England. (To 1784.)
Bradshaw's (William) English Puritanism; containing the opinions, &c. (Valuable as showing the difference between ancient and modern Nonconformists. 1605.)
Brook's Lives of the Puritans. (Professes to be "*drawn from* 55 *vols. in folio,* 26 *in quarto,* 36 *in octavo, besides various manuscripts;*" and gives memoirs of nearly 500 persons, with lists of their writings.)
Cambridge University Transactions in the 16th and 17th centuries. Collected by J. Heywood and Tho. Wright.
Chris. Exam. 38:126.
Chris. Observer. 14:386,449.
Chris. Review. 8:481.
Church Rev. 2:370. 3:208,559. 4:203.
Coit's History of P. (A bitter invective.)
Eclec. Rev. 4th Series. 24:219. New Series. 5:213.
Edinburg Rev. 42:338.
Grey's Exam. of 2d vol. of Neal's history.
Hall's (Edwin) Puritans and their principles.
Headley's Life of Cromwell.
Heywood's Cambridge Univer. Transactions during the Puritan controversy.
Hopkins' (Samuel) The Puritans. (Traces them from their origin to 1575.)
Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.
Hubbard's " " To 1683.
Knickerbocker Mag. 33:508.
Knowles' Memoir of Roger Williams. (Many valuable documents.)
Lee's The family and its duties.
Lond. Quart. Rev. 78:94.
Marsden's History of the early Puritans.
——— History of the later Puritans.
Mather's Magnalia Dei Americana. To 1698.
Meth. Quar. Rev. 5:54. 6:534. 9:217.
Morse's History of New England.
Neal's History of the Puritans.
New Englander. 1:352. 4:288. 9:531.
New York Review. 6:48.
Nichols' (Josiah) Plea for the innocent.
North Am. Rev. 50:432. 51:252. 60:214.
Princeton Rev. 17:1. 18:133.
Quar. Review. 10:90.
Stoughton's Two hundred years ago. (Sketches of the Puritans and Spiritual heroes of 1660 to 1663.)
Stowell's Hist. of the Puritans in England.
Trumbull's (Benj.) History of Connecticut.
Tulloch's Eng. Puritanism and its leaders.
Uhden's New England Theocracy.
Wilson's History of the Pilgrim Fathers.
Winthrop's (Gov.) Journal. To 1644.
Young's Chronicles.

Purity of Heart. See BEATITUDES, GOVERNMENT OF THE HEART, THOUGHTS.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Alford's Hulsean Lectures. 1842.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blackley's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bloomfield's (Cha. J.) Sermons.
Burton's (Hezekiah) Sermons.
Cook's (John) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Evans on Christian Temper. Ser. 4.
Gale's (John) Sermons.
Hincks' (John) Sermons.
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Nicholson's (William) Sermons.
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Saurin's Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Spencer's (Bp.) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Stennett on the Moral law.
Sumner's (John Bird) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Works.
Whitaker's (Edward W.) Sermons.
Witherspoon's (Dr. John) Sermons.

Puseyism. See OXFORD THEOLOGY.

Pyrrhonism.

Crouza, Examen du P. ancien et modern.

Quenching the Spirit. See GRIEVING THE SPIRIT.

Boyse's (Joseph) Sermons.
Bragge (Francis) on Undissembled religion.
Dyke's (Jeremy) Discourses.
Greenham's (Richard) Sermons.
Polwheel on Quenching the Spirit.
Sumner's (John Bird) Sermons.
Winslow's Practical view of the Holy Spirit.

Quietists. See BOURIGNONISTS.

Pro.

Abelly, Meditations.
Ameline de l'Amour de souverain bien.
Brisaceriusin, de Jansenismo.
Croizet, Exercises de piété.
Cibole, la Sainte meditation sur soimême.
Dupont, Meditations sur les mystères.
Fenelon, Œuvres. (Almost every volume contains more or less of this phase of piety.)
Malaval, Pratique facile pour elever l'ame.
Molinosi Opera.
Palamas, Orationes duæ.
[Pean,] le Combat du Molinisme contre le Jansenisme.
Poiret, de Œconomia Divina.

Quietists—*continued.*

Pro.

Poiret, Cogitationes rationales de Deo.
——— de Eruditione triplici: solida, superficiaria, et falsa.
——— (Many other treatises.)
Scharling's Michael de Molinos: ein Bild aus der kirchengesch. des 17 Jahrh.
Theologia Germanica. (Edited by Arndt and others, at different times, and thought by Bp. Jebb to be the source of German Quietism. To these volumes Dr. H. Moore attributes his "deepest and happiest views of religion.")

Amour's Journal of the disputes between the Jansenists and Molinists.
Burnet's (Bp.) Lectures.
Butler's Life of Fenelon.
Fenelon's (Abp.) Works.
Memoirs of Mad. Guion. (A very precious book, though containing many errors.)
Molinos' Works. (M. is generally regarded as the founder of Quietism. For his writings he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.)

Con.

Acindyni Carmen Jambicum. (Reply to Palamas.)
Argentre, Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus.
Aurignis, Memoires chronologiq. et dogmat.
Bossuet, Instruction sur les etats d'oraison.
——— Relation sur le Quietisme.
——— (Many other treatises, contained in vols. 30, 40, 42, and 50 of the Versailles edition of his works.)
Carpzovii Disputationes Academicæ.
Colberg's Platonisch-hermetisches Christenthum.
Foertschii Breviar. select. theol. Par. II.
Gregoire, Histoire des Sectes.
Hases' Zeugniss der Wahrheit.
Jaegeri Historia Ecclesiastica.
——— Examen Quietismi.
Langii Dissertationes.
Mayeri Dissertationes Selectæ.
Schmidius de Quietismi revolutione, etc.
Weismanni Hist. ecclesiastica. Sæc. XVII.

Eclectic Review. New Series. 10:437.

See a very full, if not complete, catalogue of books written by Quietists, in the Memoirs of J. P. Niceron. A large list is also given by Flacius, *Catal. testium veritatis.*

Quietness of Spirit. See RESIGNATION, PEACEABLENESS.

Quotations from the O. Testament by New Testament Writers.

Altingii Parall. vaticinorum V. T.
Drusii Parallela Sacra.
Frisii Demonstratio Exegetica.
Hottinger, de Usu scriptorum Ebraicum in Nov. Test.

Quotations—*continued.*

Hoffmanni Demonstratio Evangelica. (Every quotation recited in full: 1st, as quoted; 2d, as in the original; and 3d, as in the Septuagint version.)
Keslerus de Dictorum V.T. allegatione in N. T.
Knappii Recensus locorum, etc. (Appended to his edition of the New Testament.)
Melchoir, Paral. locorum Vet. Test. in novo citorum.
Pfaffii (Christop.) Dissertationes.
Sontagius de Allegatis apocryphis, etc.
Surenhusii Βιβλος καταλλαγης.
Workenii Harm. vet. et novi Test.

Rabbinical Literature.

Abarbaneli Opera.
Aben Ezra, Comm. in aliquot libros biblicos.
Ben Gerson, in Pentateuchum.
Biblia Hebraica; cum utraque Masora et Targum; item cum Comment. Rabbinorum. Studio J. Buxtorfii.
Biblia Hebraica magna Rabbinica.
Bombergii Biblia cum Rabbinorum Com.
Cellarii Institutio Rabbinica.
Eisenmeyer's Endecktes Judenthum.
Genebrardi Isagoge.
Hottinger, de Usu script. Ebraicor. in N. T.
Jarchi Com. in Vet. Testamentum.
Kimchi Com. in aliquot libros, etc.
Lightfoot, Horæ Ebraicæ.
Lipmanni Liber Nizachon.
Maimonides Opera Varia.
Meuschenii N. Test. ex Talmude illustratum.
Plantevitii Florilegium Biblicum.
Relandi Analecta Rabbinica.
Rhenferdi Syntagma Dissert. philolog.
Schoettgenii Horæ Ebraicæ et Talmudicæ.

See Eisenmeyer, above cited, who gives a list of one hundred and ninety-three Jewish writers. "Stupendum hoc est opus."—Riemman. Dr. Gill, in his Commentary, brings to the service of New Testament criticism, about as much Rabbinical literature as is useful.

Races of Men. See ETHNOLOGY.

Rapture of St. Paul.

Ludwig (A. C.), Disputationes Theologicæ.

Rash Judgment.

Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Brackenbury's (Edward) Sermons.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Gale's (John) Sermons.
Haggitt's (George) Sermons.
Hill's (Bryan) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Dissertations. Diss. 3.
Kollock's (Shepard K.) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Lord's day entertainments.
Norris' (John) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Wilder's (John) Sermons.

Rationalism. See NEOLOGY.

Pro.

Ammon's Entwarf einer Wissenschaftlich Theologie.
——— Abhandlungen zur Erläuterung, etc.
——— Handbuch d. chris. Sittenlehre.
——— (Other works.)
Bauer's Christliche Gnosis.
——— Untersuchungen über d. Evangelien.
——— Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.
Compte, Systéme universel des conceptions.
De Wette, Kurzgefasstes Exegetiches.
——— Biblische Dogmatik.
——— Religion und Theologie.
Eichhorn's Einleitung ins Alte Test.
——— (Other works.)
Flugge's Versuch einer Darstellung, etc.
Gesenius' Thesaurus philolog. criticus.
Gieseler's Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.
Hase, die Leipziger Disputation.
——— Streitschriften.
——— die Tubingen Schule.
Kant's Sammtliche Werke.
Michaelis' Vermischte Schriften.
Michelet's Philosophischen Moral.
——— Philosophie vom Kant bis Hegel.
Noach's Biblische Theology.
——— Freidenker in der Religion.
Reinhard's System d. Christlichen Moral.
Schmidt's (J. E. C.) Kirchengeschichte.
Spittler's Grundes d. Gesch. der Kirchen.
Staudlin's Ideen sur Kritik der religion.
——— Dogmengeschichte.
Strauss, das Leben Jesu.
——— Predigten.
Tieftrunk's Versuch einer Kritik d. religion.
——— Dilucidationes.
——— Religion der Mundigen.

Bohlen's [or Van Bolen] Introd. to Genesis.
Combe's Vestiges of the history of Creation.
De Wette's Introduction to S. Scripture.
Donaldson's Jasher.
Essays and Reviews. (By Temple, Pattison, Powell, Wilson, Goodwin, Jowett, &c.)
Hase's Life of Jesus.
Powell's (B.) Claims of Revelation.
Williams' (R.) Rational Godliness.

Con.

Baumgarten (M.) Theologischer Commentar.
——— Apostelgeschichte.
Eschenmeyer's Religions-philosophie.
Glaseri (C.) Dissertationes.
Grimm's Glaubenswuerdigkeit.
Grohmann, Kritik d. Christl. Offenbarung.
Guerické's Gesammt-geschichte des N. T.
Hahnii (A.) Dissertationes.
Harless' Bearbitung des Leben Jesu von Strauss.
Hug, über d. Leben Jesu von Strauss.
Korner's Philosophie d. Rationalismus.
Kuhn's Philos. und Theol. Rationalismus.
Maret, Theodocée Chrétienne.
Müller's Wahren und Gewissen.
Röhr's Brief über d. Rationalismus.

Rationalism—*continued.*

Con.

Rosenkranz's Principien der Strauss.
Sack's Bemerkungen über d. Standpunct der Schrift.
Schäffer's Apologie der Offenbarung.
Schirmer's Würddigung d. Supernaturalis.
Schott, Isagoge in libros N. T. sacros.
Thiersch, über die Aechtheit der N. Test.
——— (Other works.)
Tholuck's Glaubwuerdigkeit d. evangelischen Geschichte.
——— Predigten.
——— Theologische u. exeget. Schriften.
Titman, über Rationalismus u. Atheismus.
Uhlig's Wahre Rationalismus.
Uster's Comm. über den Brief an die Galater.
Vater's Gefuhlsreligion u. Christenthum.
Weber, Libri symbolici eccl. Lutheranæ.

Alford's Principles of the oracles of God.
Amer. Eclectic Rev. 2:545.
Amer. Quart. Rev. 2:171. 3:150. 4:157.
Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 2:198.
Brownson's Review. 2d Series. 2:143. 6:248.
Christian Quart. Spect. 6:509.
Christian Rev. 2:171. 4:370. 5:243,533. 6:269.
D'Aubigné on the Authority of God.
——— Rationalism and Popery.
Democratic Review. 12:467.
Eclectic Mag. 19:289.
Eclectic Review. New Series. 11:105.
Edinburg Rev. 7:13. 46:304. 63:232. 90:155.
Frazier's Mag. 4:53.
Gasparin's Schools of doubt.
Irons' (W. J.) Sermons.
Kitto's Journal. 1:126,257.
Lee's (Prof.) Dissertations.
Littell's Living Age. 24:1.
Literary and Theol. Journal. 3:122.
London Quart. Rev. 2:1. 7:1.
MacCaul's Thoughts on Revelation. (Gives the state of religion in Germany in 1849.)
Monthly Rev. 114:322. 116:305. 117:447.
Neander's Life of Christ. (Written against Eichhorn, but not much more orthodox.)
Parkinson's Hulsean Prize Essay. 1837.
Plank's Introd. to Theological literature.
Princeton Review. 26:689.
Vaughn's (Robert) Essays.

Rationalism differs from Neology chiefly in that it is the more recent form of the Theology which has prevailed for some years in Germany. I distinguish Rationalists from Atheists in that they acknowledge a Supreme Power; and from Deists in that they are professed Christians. The writers cited are a mere specimen, but are more than sufficient.

It is not possible to draw an exact line between Neology and Rationalism, as they are but phases of the same thing. For other writers, see SAINTE, *Histoire critique de Rationalismus*, jusq. 1841; and STAUDLIN'S *Geschichte d. Rationalismus.*

Rationalism, History of.

Gieseler's Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.
Rosenbaum, de Controv. inter Rationalismum et Supernaturalismum.
Schwarz's Gesch. der neusten Theologie.
Stäudlin's Gesch. u. Geist d. Skepticismus.
——— Rationalismus u. Supernaturalismus.
Tafel's Gesch. u. Kritik d. Skepticismus.
Tholuck's Borgeschichte des Rationalism.

Beard's Crit. history of German Rationalism.
Cottrell's Religious movement in Germany in the 19th century.
Hagenbach's History of the Church in the 18th and 19th centuries.
Kahnis' History of German Protestantism.
Pusey's (H. B.) Causes of the rationalist character of late German theology. 1830.
Rose's (Hugh J.) Works.
St. Armand's Critical history of Rationalism in Germany. (To 1849.)

Reading the Scriptures. See STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES, USE OF THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

Augustine, Homiliæ.
Bibliandri "Quo modo oportet legere S. S.?"
Hyperius de S. Scripturæ lectione.
Kortholtus de Lectione Bibl. in linguis vulgo cognitis.
Loescheri (Jac.) Philomusi vatis.
Usseri Historia dogmatica controversiæ orthodoxos et Pontificos, de Scripturis vernaculis. (Proves that from the first, Christians read the Scriptures in the common language; and that public worship was not conducted in Latin till the time of Charlemagne.

Adams' (T.) Select Sermons.
Amory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barker's (C.) Sermons.
Baxter's (Rich.) Practical Works.
Beren's (Edward) Village Sermons.
Bernard's Rhemes against Rome.
Billingsley's Right of the people to read.
Burrows' (William) Sermons.
Carrington's (James) Sermons.
Clay's (John) Sermons.
Collyer's (W. Bengo) Practical discourses.
Cotton's (R. L.) Sermons.
Craig's (Dr. W.) Sermons.
Cranmer's (Abp.) People's right to read.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
D'Oyly's (George) Sermons.
Eveleigh's (John) Sermons.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Fowles' (F. W.) Sermons.
Frank's (J. C.) Hulsean Lectures. 1821.
Frost's (John) Sermons.
Graves' (Richard) Sermons.
Hawkins on the Object and uses of the historical books of the Old Testament.
Hervey's (James) Sermons.
Hewlett's Duty of studying the Scriptures.
Irving's (Edward) Orations.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works.

Reading the Scriptures—*continued.*

Maturin's (C. R.) Sermons.
Millar's Right of the people to search the Scriptures.
Newton's (John) Sermons.
Nourse's (P.) Sermons.
Patrick's Duty of Christians to read.
Ravenscroft's (Bp.) Works.
Roberts' (Arthur) Plain sermons.
Smith's (Will.) Sermons.
Sterne's (Lawrence) Sermons.
Stratford's People's right to read.
Taylor's (C.) Sermons.
Twells' Boyle Lectures.
Whately's Mode of conveying moral precepts in the N. T.
White's Directions for reading.
Whitefield's (George) Sermons.
Whitgift's (Abp.) Works.
Williams' Scripture rule of faith.

Reading Sermons. See EXTEMPORE PR.

Realists. See NOMINALISTS.

Real Presence. See CONSUBSTANTIATION, LORD'S SUPPER, MASS, TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Reason. See MIND, PROVINCE OF REASON.

Reasoning. See LOGIC, PROV. OF REASON.

Rechabites. See TEMPERANCE.

Bartolocci Dissertatio de Rechabitis.
Drusius de Sectis Judaicis.
Maimonides Opera.
Witsii (H.) Exercitationes Sac. Exerc. IV.

Calmet's Preface to Jeremiah.
Foster's (John) Broadmead Lectures.
Heber's (Bp.) Parish Sermons.
Mill's (W. H.) Lent Sermons.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Reading's (W.) Sermons.
Townson's History of the Rechabites.
Warter's (J. W.) Sermons.

Reciprocal Influence of Mind and Body.

Bacon (Lord), de Augmentis Scientiarum.
Leuret, Anatomie comparée du systéme nerveux.

American Institute of Instruction. Periodical. (Several articles.)
Barlow's Connection between physical and intellectual philosophy.
Brodie on Matter and mind.
Carpenter's Principles of human physiology.
Cheyne's Philosophical principles of religion. Ch. 3, sec. 39.
Christian Spect. April, 1826, and April, 1827.
De Cartes on the Passions.
Doddridge's Lectures. Prop. 3.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 31:422.
Falconer on the Infl. of climate, food. &c., on the temper, laws, and relig. of mankind.
Flavel's Pneumatics.

Reciprocal Influence—*continued.*

Gregory on the Duties and qualifications of a physician.
Haller's Elements of Physiology.
Hervey's (James) Contemplations.
Holland's Medical notes and reflections.
——— Mental Physiology.
Lee's Animal Magnetism.
Locke on the Understanding. Bk. 3, ch. 1.
Mayo's Lectures on medical testimony in cases of lunacy.
Moore's Power of the soul over the body, in relation to health and morals.
Newnham's Reciprocal influence of body and mind.
Quarterly Review. 45:341.
Southern Review. 6:116.
Vizard's Principles of philos. and religion.
Wilkinson on the Human body.
Willis on Cerebral Anatomy.
——— on the Minds of brutes.

Reciprocity. See LOVE OF NEIGHBOR.

Recognition of friends in Heaven.

Christian Exam. 18:222.
Christian Review. 7:47.
Gisbourne's (Tho.) Essays.
Harbaugh's Recog. of friends in Heaven.
Mant's Happiness of the blessed.
Meek on the Felicity of glorified saints.
Muston's Friendship on earth perpetuated.
Partridge's (Samuel) Discourses.
Thompson's (A. C.) The Better land. Ch. 5.

Reconciliation. See ATONEMENT.

Reconciliation of Paul and James. See PAUL AND JAMES.

Recreation. See AMUSEMENTS.

Balguy's (Thomas) Sermons
Baxter's (Rich.) Practical Works.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Bruder on Amusements.
Grove on Diversions.
Watts on the Improvement of the mind.
——— on the Passions.

Redemption. See ATONEMENT.

Davenantii Dissertationes duæ.
Harenbergii Theologia dogmatica.

Balguy's Essay on Redemption.
Bates' Harmony of the Divine attributes.
Bather's (Edward) Sermons.
Bennet on the Apostles' Creed.
Berriman's Boyle Lectures. 1730.
Bowdler's Sermons.
Broughton's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burnett on Redemption.
Charnock's Works.
Clarke's (A.) Sermons.
Cotton's (R. L.) Sermons.
Creighton's (R.) Sermons.
Cruso's (Timothy) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 8.
Edwards' (Pres.) History of Redemption.

Redemption—*continued.*

Erskine's Harmony of the Divine attributes.
Faber's (Geo. S.) Sermons.
Felton's (H.) Sermons.
Fuller's Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
Haldane's (F. A.) Works.
Hamilton's Scheme of human redemption.
Hill's (John) Sermons.
Hill's (Bryan) Sermons.
Hopkins' (S.) Sermons.
Hurrion on Particular Redemption.
Hussey's (Christopher) Sermons.
Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Lawrence's Bampton Lectures.
Lime Street Lectures.
Magee on Atonement.
Meyrick's Christian Faith.
Moore's (Geo.) Sermons.
Morton's (Joshua) Sermons.
Owen's (John) Death of death.
——— Meditations.
Parkinson's (R.) Sermons.
Pennington's Rise and progress of the Christian religion.
Rawbone's Path to Liberty.
Rennel's (Thomas) Sermons.
Riche on the Doctrines of Revelation.
Richardson's (W.) Sermons.
Rymer on Revealed Religion.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Smith's (John Pye) Sermons.
Smith's (Theyre) Sermons.
Still's (John) Sermons.
Strong on the Two Covenants.
Sykes on Redemption.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Tucker's Light of Nature.
Turner's Boyle Lectures. 1708.
Wardlaw on the Socinian Controversy.
Watts' (Isaac) Ruin and Recovery.
Wintle's Bampton Lectures. 1794.
Woodward's Boyle Lectures. 1710.
Worthington's Scheme of Redemption.

See critical and bibliographical notices in the supplement to JOHN PYE SMITH'S *Four Discourses on the Priesthood of Christ.*

Reformation. See CHURCH HISTORY, FORERUNNERS, LUTHER.

Bassnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformé.
Beausobre, Hist. de la Reformation.
Corse, Instructiones historico-theologicæ.
Fuesslin's Erläuterung d. Ref. Gesch.
Gerdesii Annales Evangelii. Sec. XVI. (Gives original documents.)
Gieseler's Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.
Hagenbach's Vorlesungen über Wesen u. Geschichte der R.
Hase's Kirchengeschichte.
Hermanni Concilium provinciale Coloniense.
Jurieu, Histoire du Calvinisme.
Kreussler's Denkmaler der Reformation.
Lubienetski, Hist. Reform. Polonicæ.
Musæus de Statu Relig. seculo XVII.
Myconii Historia Reformationis.

Reformation—*continued.*

Pellicani Opera.
Planck's Gesch. des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs und d. Entstehung, etc.
Porta, Hist. R. ecclesiarum Raeticarum. (The only history of the Grison Ref.)
Rank's Deutsche Geschichte.
Ruchat, Hist. de la R. de la Swisse.
Rudelbach's Lutherum und Union.
Scaliger, Hist. Confessionis Augustanæ.
Schlegel's Kirchen und R. Geschichte.
Schenkel's Reformatoren im Zammenhange mit d. evangelischen Kirche, etc.
Seckendorf, Commentarius historicus. (Gives Papal as well as Protestant accounts.)
Sleidan, de Statu religionis Carolo V. (Gives original documents entire.)
Villers, sur l'Esprit et l'Influence de la R.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 9:332. 10:104. 2d Series. 11:65.
Beausobre's History of the Reformation. Trans. by T. Macauley.
Biblioth. Sacra. 1:425. 2:201.
Bird's Defence of the Principles of the Ref.
Blunt's History of the Reformation. (A mere compend.)
Bower's History of the Popes.
——— Life of Luther.
Brandt's Ref. in the Low Countries. (Great.)
British Foreign Review. 15:101.
Burnett's History of the Ref. in England.
Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland from the beginning of the Ref. to the end of the reign of James VI.
Cantu's History of the Reformation.
Casaubon's Necessity of Reformation in and before Luther's time.
Christian Examiner. 14:273. 28:20. 32:19. 35:521. 37:130.
Christian Monthly Spectator. 4:142.
Chris. Quart. Spect. 6:169. (Influence of.)
Claude's Defence of the Reformation.
Cook's (Geo.) Reformation in Scotland.
Cox's Life of Melancthon.
D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 5:485. (Bohemia.) 8:186. (France.) 12:106. (Poland.) 16:329. (England.)
Frazier's Mag. 24:479. 26:1.
Fuller's Worthies.
Gilpin's Lives of Wickliffe, Cranmer, Latimer, etc.
Gray's Bampton Lectures. 1796.
Heeren's Treatise on the Reformation.
Hermann's Consultation by what means a reformation, &c., may be accomplished. (A remarkable Papal work of 1555.)
Herveis' (J. O. W.) Elizabethan age.
Heylin's Reformation in England.
Horne's Bampton Lectures. 1828.
——— Protestant Memorial.
Jortin's Life of Erasmus.
Knox's History of the Ref. in Scotland.
Krasinhi's Rise, progress, and decline of Reformation in Poland.

Reformation—*continued.*

Lavalle's Hist. of the Reformation in France.
Mackay's Effect of the Reformation on civil society in Europe.
Massingherd's English Reformation.
McCrie's Reformation in Italy.
——— ——— Spain.
McGee's History of the attempt to establish the Ref. in Ireland, from 1540 to 1830.
Middleton's Biographia Brittanica.
North Amer. Rev. 44:153. *Italy.*
Paul's (Father) Hist. of the Council of Trent.
Princeton Review. 8:115. *Geneva.* 9:153. *Hungary.*
Quart. Rev. 37:50. *Italy.*
Quick's Synodican. *France.*
Reuchlin's Life and Times. *Germany.*
Robertson's History of Charles V.
Ruchat's History of the R. in Switzerland.
Russel's English and Scotch Reformers.
Scott's Lives of Reformers in Scotland.
Seckendorf's History of the Reformation.
Simes' History of the Reformation.
Sleidan's History of the Reformation.
Smedley's History of the R. in France.
Soame's Elizabethean religious history.
Stewart's History of the R. in Scotland.
Strype's Annals. *England.*
Villers' Influence of the Reformation.
Waddington's History of the Reformation on the Continent.
Warner's Eccles. history of England.
Westminster Review. 37:177.

Reformed [Dutch] Church.

Articles of the Synod of Dordrecht.
Belgic Confession of Faith.
Berg's Review.
Christian Intelligencer.
Demarest's History and characteristics of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.
Dewitt's History of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church. New York.
Heidelberg Catechism.
History and Literature of the Ref. D. Chur.
History of the Synod of Dort.
Mark's (John) Theology.
Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic.
New American Encyclopedia.
New Brunswick Review.
Presbyterian Quarterly Review. 1866.
Ursinus on the Catechism.

Reformed Presbyterians. [Cameronians.]

Adams' Religious world displayed.
Blackwood's Mag. 6:169,513,663. 7:48,157, 277,374,482,508.
Charteris' Discourse of the Centenary of the Revolution.

Regeneration.

Grebenitzii Dissertationes de Regeneratione.
Haferungius de nomine Regenerationis ejusque usu et abusu.
Henrici Tractatus de Regeneratione.

Regeneration—*continued.*

Krackewitz, de Regeneratione.
Maccovii Loci Communes.
Meisneri Fasciculus Disp. Theologicæ.
Neumanus de Differentia regeneratione, justificatione, et sanctificatione.
Perkinsii Theologia Metaneologia.
Reuchlinus de Nova Creatione.
Wilckius de Regeneratione et Regenitis.

Allen (Thos.) on the New Birth.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 3d Series. 1:493. 2:633.
Appleton's Works. Lect. 26 to 41.
Backus' 5 Sermons on Regeneration.
Bates' (W.) Works.
Bellamy's Glory of the Gospel.
——— True Religion delineated.
Beveridge's Private Thoughts. Inestimable.
Boston's Fourfold State.
Charnock's Sermons.
Christian Month. Spect. 1:169,287. 5:118.
Christian Quart. Spect. 7:301,591.
Christian Review. 11:510.
Coles (E.) on Divine Sovereignty.
——— on Regeneration. (Both excellent works.)
Close's (Francis) Sermons.
Cutler's (B. C.) Sermons.
Davies' (Pres.) Sermons.
Dickinson on the Five Points.
Doddridge's Sermons on R. (Many editions.)
Draper (H.) on Regeneration.
Duffield's (Geo.) Spiritual life.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 70–75.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Emmon's (Nath.) Sermons.
Faber's (G. S.) Primitive doctrine of R.
——— Friendly letters to the author of "Plain Tracts."
Fenner's (William) Sermons.
Flavell's Touchstone of sincerity.
Fuller's Works. (Essays.)
Griffin's Park Street Lectures.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of Sermons.
Hebden on Regeneration.
Hopkins' (Dr. S.) Works.
Howe (John) on Regeneration.
Jamieson's Use of Sacred History.
Law's Grounds and Reasons of Christian R.
Leighton's Lectures on 1st Peter. Lectures 15 and 16.
Literary and Theol. Review. 5:333.
Owen on the Spirit.
Princeton Review. 8:477.
Quincy's (S.) Sermons.
Robinson's Christian System.
Simeon's (C.) Christians born of God.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:595.
Spring's (Gardner) Essays.
Stanhope's (George) Sermons.
Stoddart's Nature of Conversion.
Sutcliffe's Sermons on Regeneration.
Swinnock's Door of Salvation.
Theological Essays: reprinted from Princeton Review.
Tillotson's Works.

Regeneration—*continued.*

Waterland's Regeneration stated and explained.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Whitby's Discourses.
Williams' (Isaac) Sermons.
Wilson's (D.) Sermons bef. the Univ. 1817.
Witherspoon's Works. (Excellent.)
Witsius on the Covenants.
Wright on the Doctrine of the New Birth. (Gone through very many editions.)

Regium Donum.

Eclectic Review. 15:181.

Reign of Christ. See MILLENNIUM.

Relative Duties. See FAMILY RELIGION, FEMALE SEX, FIFTH COMMANDMENT, FILIAL DUTIES, HUSBANDS, PARENTAL DUTIES, SERVANTS, WIVES, YOUTH.

Adams' Duties of Parents, Children, &c.
Baxter's (Rich.) Practical Works. (All the relations.)
Beattie's Elements of Moral Science.
Bishop's (Charles) Village Sermons.
Clarke's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Delany's 15 Sermons on Relative Duties.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 62,63.
Elliott's Advice to Christian Parents.
Evans' (A. B.) Plain Sermons.
Evans' (Dr. John) Christian Temper.
Fleetwood's 16 Discourses on Relat. Duties.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
——— on Social Virtue.
Francklin's Sermons on Relative Duties.
Gisbourne's Duties of persons in the higher and middle classes.
——— Duties of Women.
Gouge's Domestic Duties.
Hanway's Virtue in humble life.
Jackson's (A.) Pious Prentice.
James' Family Monitor.
Jay's Mutual Duties of husbands and wives.
Jerment's Parental Duties.
Kitchener's Letters on Marriage.
Lewis' Christian Duties.
Nichols' Duty of Inferiors toward Superiors.
Paley's Principles of Moral Philosophy.
Puffendorf's Offices.
Risley on Family Religion.
Saunders' Domestic Charge.
Stennett's (Sam.) Disc. on Domestic Duty.
Waugh's Duties of apprentices and servants.

Relics.

Agricola de Reliquis sanctorum.
Bochart, de l'Origine du service des reliques.
Calvini Admonitio. (In tract. theolog.)
Dorchæi Specimen sceletomaniæ pontificæ.
Kortholti (Christian.) Disquisitiones.
Mabillon, de la Veneration rendue aux reliq.
Molinæi Thesaurus Disput. theol. Sedanus.
Rainold, de Romanæ eccles. idolatria.
Stengelius de Reliquiarum cultu.
Vossii Historia de Controversiis, etc.

Calvin's (John) Treatise declaring what great profit might come to all Christendom if there was a *register* of all the saints' bodies and other relics!
Evans' Modern Popery. 1855.
Wythers on Saints' bodies and other relics.

Relief Kirk.

Adams' Religious World.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 15:319.
Edinburg Theolog. Rev. 1830.
Princeton Review. 18:26.
Smith's History of the Relief Church.

Religion of Nature. See LAW OF NATURE, LIGHT OF NATURE, NAT. THEOLOGY.

Religions. See BUDHISM, FETICHISM, HINDUISM, IDOLATRY, JUDAISM, PARSEES, MAHOMETANISM, MYTHOLOGY, &C.

Creuzer, Religions de l'Antiquité. (Also in German.)
Dupuis, l'Origine de tous les cultes. ("The ne plus ultra of infidelity."—PRIESTLEY.)
Hyde, Historia religionis vet. Persarum.
Jamblicus de Vita Pythagoricæ.
Jessin, de Finnorum, Lapponumque, Norwegicorum religione.
Jowett, Hist. des relig. de tous les royaumes.
Jurieu, Hist. critique des dogmes.
Lindeman's Gesch. d. Meinungen. (Egypt, Persia, Chaldea, Phœnicia, Greece, &c.)
Müller's Geschichte der Americanischen Urreligionen. (Highly valued.)
Meyeri Historia Religionum.
Niemeyer, Collectio confessionum fidei. (The creeds of all the Reformed Churches.)
Picart, Hist. des ceremon. mœurs, et coutumes relig. du Monde. Plates.
Richter's altesten Religionen d. Orients.
Sagittarii Hist. Eccles. (Introductio.)
Schlegel's Geist der Religionstatt alter Zeiten und Volker.
Simon, Fides Ecclesiast. Oriental.
Sinnerti Exercitationes historico-theol.

Adams' (H.) View of all religions.
Adams' (Robt.) Religious world displayed.
Alley's Genius and temper of the Roman, Greek, Hindu, and Mahometan religions.
Bellamy's (John) History of all Religions.
Benedict's History of all Religions.
Boone's Book of Churches and Sects. (Points out about 200 passages of the N. T. which give rise to conflicting interpretations.)
Brerewood on the Diversities of language and religion.
Broughton's Historical Dictionary of all Religions to the present time. 1742.
Brown's (Dr. Will.) View of Christianity and other forms of religion, with regard to their moral tendency.
Conder's View of all Religions.
De Foe's Dictionary of all Religions.
Duncan's Religions of profane antiquity.
Enfield's History of Philosophy.
Gladwin's Lux Orientalis.

Religions—*continued.*

Heckford's Account of all religions and sects. (Small, and of small use.)
Hurd's Universal History of Religious rites.
Jones' Dictionary of religious opinions.
Jurieu's Crit. hist. of doctrines and worship from Adam to Christ. (With the origin of the various idolatries.)
Malcolm's History of Persia.
Marsden's History of Churches and sects from the earliest times. (To 1855.)
Maurice's Indian Antiquities.
——— Religions of the world and their relations to Christianity.
Mitford's Observations on Christianity and on the primeval Judaic and Heathen religions. (Learned.)
Morrison's (D.) Religious history of Man.
More's Divine Dialogues.
Nightingale's Rites, ceremonies, faith, &c.
Phillips' Learning and Manners of Malabar.
Picart's Religious ceremonies of all ages.
Potter's Grecian Antiquities.
Prichard's Analysis of Egyptian mythology.
Quarterly Review. 28:1,493.
Robinson's Theological Dictionary.
Ross' View of Church government, religions, and heresies in all ages. (To 1690.)
Rupp's Hist. of Religious Denominations.
Ryan's History of the effects of Religion on mankind. (Embraces ancient and modern, barbarous and civilized countries.)
Simons' (Father) Critical History of the Religions and customs of Eastern nations.
Smith's (George) Gentile nations. (Egypt, Babylon, &c.)
Stanley's History of Philosophy.
Taylor on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.
Turner's History of all religions from the Creation. (To 1695.)
Ward's Hist., Lit., and Relig. of the Hindus.
Wilkes' State of man in all ages.
Williams' Dictionary of all Religions and Religious denominations.
Williamson's Four principal Religions.

Religious Affections.

Buckminster's (Jos. S.) Sermons.
Edwards on the Affections.
Maclaurin's Essays.
Pike & Hayward's Cases of Conscience.
Tottie on Sympathizing affection.
Watts on the Passions.
Winslow on the Declension and revival of religion in the soul.

Religious Controversy. See POLEMICS.

Religious Declension. See BACKSLIDING.

Religious Intercourse. See COMPANY, SOCIAL INTERCOURSE, VISITING.

Religious Liberty. See CHRISTIAN.

Religious Orders. See MONASTICISM, CARMELITES, DOMINICANS, JANSENISTS.

Remission of Sins. See FORGIVENESS.

Remonstrants. See SYNOD OF DORT.

Pro. See ARMINIANS.

Confessio: sive Declaratio sententiæ pastorum in Belgio.
Cattenburgii Spicilegium Theologiæ.
Curcellæi Opera Theologica.
Drieberge, de Predestinatione.
Grotii Opera Theologica.
Herbert (Herm.) de Predestinatione.
Limborch, Theologia Christiana.
Molinæus, (Io.) Armamentarium Spirituale.
Vorstius, de Natura et attributis Dei.
——— (Opera Omnia.)

Con. See CALVINISTS, DECREES, ELECTION, and the various other subjects on which Calvinists and Armenians disagree.

For a great list of Remonstrant writers see CATTENBURG, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Remonstrantium,* and THEONOCTUS, *Secta Belgii.*

Remorse. See REPENTANCE.

Repentance. See CONVERSION, DEATHBED REPENTANCE, PARAB. OF PRODIG. SON.

Basil, ad Amphilochium.
Chrysostom, de Compunctione cordis.
Tertullian, de Pœnitentia.

Antoninus de Contritione salutari.
Bebellii Disputationes Theologicæ.
Breithauptus de Contritione.
Eckhardi Dilucidatio Controv. Theol.
Hoffmani Commentatio de Pœnitentia.
Kortholti Disputationes Theologicæ.
Mayi Comm. in VII Psalmos pœnitentiales.
Molinæus de Pœnitentia et Clavibus.
Perkinsii Theologia Metanæologia.
Reudenii Sciagraphia loci de pœnit. et ejus fructibus.
Riveti Com. in VII Psalmos pœnitentiales.
Sennerti " " "
Sontagii Disputationes Theologicæ.
Tarnovii Comm. in VII Psal. pœnitentiales.
Titii Disputationes Theologicæ.

Abernethy's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Allen's (Joshua) Sermons.
Allix (Peter) on Repentance. (Against Papists.)
Ambrose's (Isaac) First, middle, and last things.
Arnold's (of Rugby) Sermons.
Bailey (B.) on the Lost piece of money.
Baker's (Arthur) Sermons on the saintly character.
Balguy on Redemption.
Baxter (R.) on the Penitential psalms.
——— Persuasions to a sound conversion.
——— Saint's Everlasting Rest.
Bellamy's Nature of the Gospel.

Repentance—*continued.*

Bern's Lectures on the penitential psalms.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Biddulph on the 51st Psalm.
Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Bloomfield's (G. B.) Sermons.
Boston's Repentance unto Life.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Good old way.
Brewster's Meditations.
Bulkley's (C.) Discourses.
Bull's (J.) Sermons on the 51st Psalm.
Bullinger's Decades.
Carter's (John) Sermons.
Case's Sermons.
Chandler's (S.) Sermons.
Charnock's Works.
Clay's (John) Sermons.
Cole's (Thos.) Discourses. ("Highly evangelical and judicious."—WILLIAMS.)
Colquhoun's Treatise on Repentance.
Cooke's (W. G.) Sermons.
Cooper's (William) Sermons.
Davis' (Pres.) Sermons.
Davies' (S.) Nature and Necessity of R.
Decoegleton's Portrait of the Christian Penitent.
Dickinson's Letters. Let. 9.
Dickson's Therapeutica Sacra.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Ellis' Necessity of serious consideration and Repentance.
Evans' (R. W.) Parochial Sermons.
Finney (C. G.) on True and false Repent.
Fisher on the Seven penitential psalms.
Fuller's Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
Gilpin's (Will.) Sermons.
Goodman's (John) Penitent pardoned.
Graham's Only condition of final acceptation.
Grant's (Johnson) Sermons.
Gregory's (Thomas) Sermons.
Grinfield's (E. W.) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of Sermons.
Hammond on R. (Practical Discourses.)
Hervey's (J.) Sermons.
Heylin's (John) Prodigal Son.
Hildersham on the 51st Psalm.
Hobart's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hooker on Contrition.
Hopkins' Body of Divinity.
Howe's Living Temple.
Hunt's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Hutton's (F. H.) Sermons.
Jackson's (Dean Tho.) Lent Sermons.
Jebb's (Bp.) Angelic Joy.
Kennaway's (C. E.) Sermons.
Le Bas' (C. W.) Sermons.
Logan's (John) Sermons.
Magee on Atonement. Nos. 4, 5.
Manston's Lectures to young persons.
Margoliouth's Genuine R. and its effects.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Morgan's Exposition of the 51st Psalm.
Morton's (J.) The Penitent's prayer.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Neal's (D.) Berry Street Sermons.

Repentance—*continued.*

Noel's (G. T.) Sermons.
Osterwald's Theology.
Owen on the 130th Psalm.
Patrick's (Bp.) Sermons.
Paley's (William) Sermons.
Payne on Repentance.
Payson's (Edward) Works.
Pearson's (H.) Sermons.
Penn's (James) Sermons.
Pratt's (C. O.) Sermons.
Pyles' (J.) Sermons.
Robinson's Christian System. Ess. 40.
Ross' (John) Sermons.
Saurin's Sermons.
Scott's (Tho.) Theological Essays.
——— Sermons.
Secker's (Ahp.) Sermons.
Sellon's (W.) Sermons.
Sheppard's Sound Believer.
Short's (William) Sermons.
Smith (Sam.) on the 51st Psalm.
Smith's (H.) Sermons.
Spring's (G.) Essays. Ess. 7.
Stillingfleet's (James) Sermons.
Styles' (John) Sermons.
Swinnock's Door of Salvation.
Sykes on Redemption.
Taylor's (Jer.) Doctrine and practice of R.
——— Life of Christ. Discourse 9.
——— Holy Living.
Taylor's (John) Sermons.
Thompson's (T.) Sermons.
Toplady's (A.) Joy in heaven over a repenting sinner.
Trench's (R. C.) Notes on the Parables.
Usher's (Abp.) Sermons. (18 admirable discourses on this topic.)
Van Mildert's Parable of the lost sheep.
Walters' Discourses.
Waterland's (Dan.) Sermons.
Watson's Doctrine of Repentance.
Watson's (Alexander) Sermons.
Wells' (C.) Sermons.
Westby's Helps to Repentance.
Whitfield's (George) Sermons.
Wilson's (John) Conversion of Zaccheus.
Wilson's (W. C.) Sermons.
Witsius on the Covenants.
Wordsworth's Parable of the lost sheep.
Wrangham's (Francis) Sermons.
Wright On being born again. (Highly commended by Dr. Doddridge.)
Wynyard's (John M.) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Festivals and Fasts.

Repining. See CHEERFULNESS, CONTENTMENT, PATIENCE, RESIGNATION, SUBMISSION.

Reprobation. See DECREES, ELECTION, FREE WILL, MORAL ABILITY, &C.

I know of no book advocating the doctrine of absolute reprobation as a corollary to the doctrine of election. The nearest approach to it is by TWISSE, in his "*Riches of God's love unto the vessels of mercy.*"

Reproof. See ADMONITION.

Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Finney's (C. G.) Lectures.
Hall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp. E.) Works.
McDonald's (A.) Sermons.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Simeon's (C.) Works.
Smith's (Elisha) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.

Republic of the Jews. See JEWS, HISTORY OF.

Bertram, de Reipublica Hebræorum.
Castellionis Reip. Heb. ex Josepho excerpta.
Coringii (Herman.) Disputationes.
Cunæus de Republica Ebræorum.
Leydekeri Opera. ("Immense."—ORME.)
Monochius de Republica Ebræorum.
Sigonius de Repub. Ebr. (Acta erud.)
Ugolini Thesaurus antiquitarum sacr.
Witsius de Theocratia Israelitarum.
Zeltner, de Adoloscentia repub. Israel.

Homes' Scripture history of the Jews.*
Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth.
Lewis' Hebrew Republic.

Reputation. See AMBITION, FAME, HONOR, LOVE OF PRAISE.

Resentment. See FORGIVENESS.

Butler's (Alban) Sermons.
Christian Rev. 9:212.
Hey on the Malevolent sentiments.

Resignation. See CONTENTMENT.

Adey's (William) Sermons.
Anderson's (James S.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (L.) Discourses.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Bates' Works. Disc. 3.
Berens' (Edw.) Village Sermons.
Brinsley's Drinking of the bitter cup.
Brooks' Mute Christian under the smarting rod.
Buchanan (James) on Affliction.
Burroughs on Resignation and Contentment.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Chappelow's Silence a Christian duty.
Charlesworth's (John) Practical Sermons.
Clagget's (William) Discourses.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.
Concy's (Thomas) Sermons.
Crawford's (W.) Sermons.
Dickson's (David) Sermons.
Dwight's Theology. Ser. 95.
Emmon's (Nath.) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Fowler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Gerard's (Alex.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Messinger's Sentiments on Resignation.

Resignation—*continued.*

Newnham's Tribute of Sympathy.
Patrick's (Bp.) Sermons.
Penn's (John) Sermons.
Simeon's (C.) Works.
Smart's Duty of Christian people.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Stewart's (J. H.) Discourses.
Summerfield's (John) Sermons.
Wilcox's (Daniel) Sermons.
Worthington's Great duty of Resignation.

Resisting Evil.

See FRIENDS, REVENGE, WAR.

Restitution.

Bertheau's (Charles) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Burns' (Richard) Sermons.
Chillingworth's Works.
Davies' (Tho.) Sermons.
Ford's (Robt.) Sermons.
Heylin's (John) Theological Lectures.
Kidder's (Bp.) Sermons.
Partridge's (S.) Sermons.
Placette on Restitution.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
Tucker's (John) Sermons.

Restorationists. See UNIVERSALISTS.

Pro.

Gerardi (Lud.) Systema Αποκαταστασεως: das est, ein Volständiger Lehrbegriff des ewigen Evangelii, etc.

Atkins on Universal Redemption.
Bourne (Sam.) on Future punishment.
Brown's Restitution of all things.
Burnett on the State of the dead.
Clarke's (Rich.) Vind. of the honor of God.
Hartley on Man.
Newton on the Final condition of men.
Petitpierre's Thoughts on Divine goodness.
Ramsay's Philosophical principles. (Maintains the doctrine of metempsychosis.)
Stonehouse on Universal Restitution.
Universalist Quarterly. 4:329.
Vidler's Letters to Fuller.
Whiston on the Eternity of hell torments.
White's Restitution of all things.
Winchester's Outcasts comforted.
——— Dialogues.
——— (Various other treatises.)

Con. See ETERNITY OF HELL TORMENTS.

Brandani (H. Gebhardi) Amica disquisitio de diabolorum, etc. (Able reply to Gerard. Scores of other answers appeared, chiefly in the German language.)
Goetzii Observationes Sacræ.
Iänichen's grundlicher Beweis, etc.
Klausing, de Eternis peccatorum pœnis.
Lampii (F. A.) Dissertationes.
Sinsart, Défense du dogme catholique.
Vossius, Bekentniss der Liebe Gottes nach der Wahrheit, etc.
Wernsdorfius de Restitut. rerum omnium.
Appleton's (Pres.) Works. Lect. 47–49.
Edwards against Chauncy.
Erskine's Church History.
Horberry's Script. doct. of fut. punishment.
Isaac (Dan.) on Universal restoration.
Lampe's Dissertations.
Marston on Universal restoration.

There is no denomination of this name. Those who hold the doctrine of future punishment for a finite period, and those who believe that all retribution for sin is inflicted in this life, are generally included in the name "Universalists."

Restoration of the Jews to Canaan.

See CONVERSION OF THE JEWS.

Altingii Spes Israelis.
Burnett, de Restoratione futura, etc.
Calvert, Napthali: seu Collectiones, etc.
Daguet, Traditiones des S. S. péres.
Lightfoot, Promissiones Divinæ.
Willet, de Judæorum vocatione.

Barrington on the Divine dispensations.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 4:337.
Bicheno's R. of the J. the crisis of nations.
Bickersteth on the Restoration, &c.
Blaney's New translation of Jeremiah.
Burnett (Bp.) on the Restoration, &c.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 8:57,502.
Clarke on the Promises.
Clayton on Prophecy. (Makes it to occur A.D. 2015.)
Crool's Restoration of the Jews.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 228.
Draxe's World's Resurrection.
Durell's Parallel proph. of Jacob and Moses.
Ettrick's Reflections on the prophecies.
Eyre on the Restoration of Israel.
Faber's (G. S.) Downfall of the Turkish power.
Faber's Connected view of the P. relating to the restoration of Israel.
Fleming's Apocalyptic Key.
Fletcher's Israel Redux.
Friend of Israel. Periodical.
Hershell's State and prospects of the Jews.
Jewish Repository. Periodical.
Lardner's (Nath.) Discourses.
Lord's Lit. and Theol. Journ. 2:15,240,253.
McNeil's (H.) Lectures on the prophecies.
Maitland's View of prophecy.
Maurice on the Appearing of the Tribes.
Mayer on the Prophecies.
Morning Watch. Periodical.
Pirie's (Alex.) Works.
Tyso's Inquiry as to Prophetic truth.
Whiston on the Restoration of the Jews.
Whitaker on the Prophecies relating to the restoration of the Jews.
Wood's Believers' guide to prophecy.

Resurrection. See IDENTITY.

Athenagoras, de Resurrectione.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ.
Origen, contra Celsum.
Tertullian, de Resurrectione carnis.

Resurrection—*continued.*

Bebelius de R. infantum nondum genitorum.
Bernholdi Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Beza, Homiliæ.
Callixtus de Resurrectione carnis.
Calovii (Abrah.) Dissertationes.
Danhaveri (Ioann. C.) Dissertationes.
Fabricii de Relig. Christi. Cap. XLV.
Gerhardi Loci Communes.
Haberkorn, de R. efficacia et fructu.
Hottingeri Diss. theolog.-polemicarum.
Mosheim, de Statura corporum beatorum.
Segerus de Resurrectione embryorum.
Teller de Dogm. R. per iv priora secula.
Wegneri de R. impiorum.
Zornii Delineatio theologiæ Patristicæ.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 3d Series. 1:212.
Arnold's (Dr. Tho.) Sermons.
Barrow (Isaac) on the Creed.
Baxter on the Soul.
Boston's Fourfold State.

Resurrection of Christ.
See ASCENSION, DESCENT INTO HELL.

Calovius de Christi Resurgentis majestate.
Carpzovii Discussio difficilium quorundam de morte et R. Christi.
Daillé, sur la R. de Christ.
Gerardus de Gloria R. Christi.
Hottinger, de Resurrectione Christi.
Meyerus, utrum R. Christi pertineat ad opus redemptionis?
Quenstedius de Fundamento R. Christi.
Wesselius de veritate R. Christi.

Adey's (William) Sermons.
Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Benson's History of the Life of Christ.
——— Evidences of Christ's resurrection.
Burder's Village Sermons.
Butcher's (William) Sermons.
Chandler's Witnesses of Christ's resurrection re-examined.
Clarke's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Cook's (Geo.) Illustrations of Christ's R.
Coverdale's (Miles) Remains.
Dimock's (Henry) Sermons.
Ditton on Christ's Resurrection.
Dore's Essay on the R. of Christ.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Garbent's Demonstration of the R. of C.
Grove's Evidences of our Saviour's R.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations. Bk. 4.
Hopkins' (Bp.) Works.
Horsley's (Bp.) Nine Sermons.
Jackson's (John) Address to Deists.
Lardner's Remarks on our Lord's R.
Newcombe (Bp.) on the Difficulties in the Gospel History, &c.
Perkins' (Joseph) Sermons.
Priestley on the Resurrection.
Saurin's Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Lectures on the Catechism. Lect. 16,17.
Sherlock's Trial of the Witnesses. Admirable.
Townson on the Evangelical Histories.
West's Hist. and Evidences of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. (One of the best on the subject, if not the best.)
Whitby's Resurrection of Christ.

Retirement. See MEDITATION, SOLITUDE.

Revelation. See AUTHENTICITY.

Ernest, de Verbo Dei Scripto.
Gerhard de Verbo Dei.
Sandius de Verbo Dei.
Vossius de Idolatria.
Wald, de Origine religionis Christianæ.

Baker's Insufficiency of Learning.
Barrow's (W.) Bampton Lectures.
Barrington's Relation between Natural and Revealed Religion.
Bennet's (Benjamin) Discourses.
Berriman's Gradual revelation of the Gospel.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Boyle Lectures. (From 1693 to the present.)
Broadley's Religion of Moses.
Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses.
Chapman's Eusebius.
Clark's History of Christian Revelation.
Collyer's (W. Bengo) Lectures.
Conybeare on Revealed Religion.
Dewar on Divine Revelation.
Edwards' (John) Authority and perfection of Revelation.
Ellis' Knowledge of Divine things. (Ranks next to Butler's Analogy.)
Elwin's (F.) Sermons.
Forbes' (Duncan) Thoughts on Religion.
Goodwin's Charter of the world's blessedness.
Haldane on Revelation.
Halyburton on Natural Religion.
Hey's Lectures.
Jew's Letters to Voltaire.
Leland's Divine authority, &c.
Lloyd's Christian Theology.
Marsh's Bampton Lectures.
Owen's (John) Reason of faith.
Redford on the Holy Scriptures.
Ritchie's Peculiar doctrine of Revelation.
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Ryland's (John) Sermons.
Saurin's Sermons.
Squier's Natural and Revealed religion.
Stevens' (Dr. W.) Sermons.
Storr's Christian Doctrine.
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West's Defence of Christian Revelation.
Wettenhall on Scripture Revelation.
Wilks' (S. C.) Christian Essays.
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Abercrombie's Philos. of the moral feelings.
Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Boston's (Thomas) Works.
Delaune's (W.) Sermons.
Grant's (Johnson) Sermons.

Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Mainwaring's (John) Sermons.
Marriott's (C.) Sermons.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Payne's (John) Evangelical Sermons.
Stratford's Dissuasive from revenge.
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Amer. Quart. Register. 5:210. 9:117. 12:305.
Bradley's History of Revivals.
Christian Disciple. 5:321.
Christian Monthly Spect. 9:295. 10:174.
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Duncan's Hist. of R. in the British Isles.
Edwards' (Jonathan) Thoughts on the revival of religion. 1742.
——— Narrative of the work of God in Northampton. 1736.
——— Attempt to promote prayer for the revival of religion.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 8:41.
Finney's (C. G.) Lectures on Revivals.
Fish's Primitive piety revived.
Gillies' Historical Collections.
Lit. and Theol. Rev. 2:667. 6:469.
Meth. Quart. Rev. 2:594, and elsewhere.
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Princeton Rev. 7:626. 14:1.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 1:37,74,145,248. 4:405,467,556. 5:256,315,378. 6:125,467.

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Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes jusq'a l'edit de revocation en 1683, avec ce qui a suivi jusque a present. (1693.)
Daniel, Histoire de France.

Frazier's Mag. 22:307.

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Condillac, Traité de l'art d'ecriture.
Schott's Theorie der Beredsamkeit.
St. Real, de la Critique.

Barrett's Analysis of sublimity of style.
Blair's Lectures.
Campbell's Philosophy of rhetoric.
Gibbons' Rhetoric.
Hobbes' (Thos.) Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric.
Irving's Elements of English composition.
Kaimes' Elements of Criticism.
Langley's Manual of the figures of Rhetoric.
Lowth's Introduction to the Eng. grammar.
McGill's Lectures on rhetoric and criticism.
Melmoth's Letters of Fitz-Osborne.
Newman's Practical system of rhetoric.
Taylor's (Thos.) Translation of the Rhetoric and Ethics of Aristotle.
Whateley's Rhetoric.

Riches. See AGUR'S PRAYER, PARABLES, COVETOUSNESS.

Andrews' (Bp.) Sermons.
Arnot's Race for Riches; and some of the pits into which the runners fall.
Baker's (D. B.) Sermons.
Barrow's (William) Sermons.
Baxter's (Rich.) Practical Works.
Bell's (William) Sermons.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Beveridge's Private Thoughts.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Boston's (Tho.) Works.
Boyse's (C. S.) Charge to the Rich.
Bradford's (Samuel) Sermons.
Bradley's (Charles) Sermons.
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Browne's (W. L.) Sermons.
Burnett's (G.) Practical Sermons.
Carter's (B.) Discourses.
Chalmer's Commercial Discourses.
Charter's (S.) Sermons.
Christian Examiner. 22:218.
Cummings' (J.) Foreshadows.
Cunningham's (J. W.) Sermons.
D'Oyly's (George) Sermons.
Dumoulin's (P.) Sermons.
Durand's (J. F.) Sermons.
Enfield's (Will.) Sermons.
Ferguson on Civil Liberty.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Fronde's (R. H.) Remains.
Furlong's (C. J.) Sermons.
Gale's (John) Sermons.
Garbet's (I.) Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) The Righteous Mammon.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons.
Heylin's (J.) Theological Lectures.
Hough's (John) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Knight's (Titus) Sermons.
Langehorne's (J.) Sermons.
Lowell's (Samuel) Sermons.
Maltby's (B.) Sermons.
Markland's (Abp.) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nath.) Sermons.
Matthews' (George) Sermons.
McCaul's (Alex.) Plain Sermons.
Medley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Oliver's (B. L.) The Pursuit of Happiness.
Parsons' (J.) Sermons.
Pascall's Discourses.
Pearson's (Hugh) Sermons.
Penn's (J.) Sermons and Tracts.
Phelan's (W.) Remains.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.
Richardson's (W.) Sermons.
Ringer's (Thomas) Sermons.
Rowlatt's (W. H.) Sermons.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Discourses.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons. (3 on this subject.)
Sellon's (W.) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) The Rich Man's Duty.
Simeon's (C.) Works.

Riches—*continued.*

Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Spencer's (A. G.) Sermons.
Sumner's (Abp.) Duty of beneficence.
Talbot's Use and Abuse of Riches.
Wamford's (R.) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Westoby's Helps to Repentance.
Witherspoon's (J.) Sermons.
Zollikofer's (G. J.) Dignity of man.

Right Use of the Fathers. See USE.

Rights of Conscience. See CONSCIENCE, FREEDOM OF OPINION, LIBERTY, PERSECUTION, PRIV. JUDGMENT, TOLERATION.

Rights of Man. See CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Rights of Property. See PROPERTY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, SOCIALISM.

Rites and Ceremonies.

Assemanus de Sacris ritibus.
Encyclopedie Théologique.
Euchologion Magnum. (Ritual of the Greek Church.)
Gavanti Thesaurus sac. rituum.
Gavanti Thesaurus additionibus Merati.
La Croix, le Parfait Ecclesiastique. (Directions for every ceremony of the Roman Church; and for the size, shape, &c., of altars, vestments, implements, ornaments.)
Lorenzana, Breviarum Gothicum.
Martene, de Antiq. ecclesiæ ritibus.
Missale Romanum.
Polydori Historia Anglic.
Rogers, de Ceremoniis et ritibus omnium populorum.
Vinitoris Compendium Ceremoniarum.
Zacariæ Bibliotheca Ritualis.

Ames on Ceremonies.
Hurd's Rites and Ceremonies of all nations.
Lewis' Bible, Missal, and Breviary.
Trollope's Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica.
Townley's Essays on various subjects.

Rosecrucians.

Andreæ Invitatio ad fraternitatem Christi. (Andreas is by some regarded as the founder of this sect.)
Campis dem Send-brief an alle, etc.
Colberg, Platonisch.-hermetisch. Christenth.
Florentini Rosa florescens.
Fludd (Robt.), Apologia Compendiara.
Heiden's Unbetriegliche Grundsätze.
Kazaveri Disputationes.
Maieri Themes aurea.
Meder's Christlichen Bedencken.
Naude, sur la Verité de l'histoire des frères de Rosecroix. (Considers them impostors.)
Staurophor's Philosophischer Offenbarung and die Fraternitæt Rosæ-crucis.
Tschirness' Schnelle Botschaft.

Rubrics. See LITURGIES, MISSAL.

Rulers. See CIVIL GOVERNMENT, DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, MAGISTRACY, PASSIVE OBEDIENCE, RELATIVE DUTIES.

Rules of Interpretation. See HERMENEUTICS.

Ruling Elders. See EPISCOPACY, PRESBYTERIANISM.

King's Ruling Eldership.
Miller on Presbyterianism.
——— Office of Ruling Elder.
Princeton Review. 15:313,432. 17:276. 19:42.

Ruth.

Edwards' (Jon.) Ruth's resolution.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hughes' (H.) Female Characters.
Hughes' (J.) Ruth and her kindred.
Jenkins' (J.) Discourses.
McGowan's (Dr. John) Works.
Milner's (J.) Sermons.
Sullivan's (H. W.) Sermons.
Topsell's Lectures on Ruth.
Tyng's (S. H.) The Rich Kinsman.
Wilson's (Dan.) Sermons.

Sabbatarians.

Pro.

Alsop's Traditions of men.
Bamfield's All in One. (Art. Sabbath.)
Burnside on the Diff. sentiments of Christians as to the weekly Sabbath.
Carlew's Truth defended.
Cornthwaite's Reflect. on Wright's Treatise.
——— on the Seventh day of the week.
——— Essay occasioned by publications of Hallet, Jepson, Chubb, Watts, and others.
——— Further Vindication.
Davis' Last Legacy.
Elwell on the Lord's Day.
James' (John) Narrative.
Maulden's Threefold Dialogue.
Sellers' Examination of a late book by Dr. Owen.
Slater's (Thos.) Sermon on the Church.
Soursby on the Sabbath.
Stennet's (Edw.) Royal law contended for.
Stennet's (Jos.) Answer to Russon.
Tamar's History of Sabbatarian Churches. (Embracing those of Armenia, East India, Abyssinia, &c.)
Tillam's Present from prison.
Wincup's Remarks on Dr. Wright.

Con. See CHANGE OF SABBATH.

Ben's Answer to Bamfield.
Edmonds' Sabbatarians weighed in their own balance.
Evanson's Attempt to prove that there is no authority for the Christian Sabbath.
G. T. on the Christian Sabbath.
Ives' Saturday no Sabbath.
Keach's Jewish Sabbath abrogated.
Wallace's Defence of the Sabbath.
Ward's Discourses on the Sabbath.
White (Bp. Francis) on the Sabbath day.
Wright on the Lord's day.

Sabbath. See COMMANDMENTS, CHANGE OF SABBATH, LORD'S DAY, SABBATARIANS.

Chytræi Dispositio Epistolarum.
Gomarus de Origine Sabbati.
Grotius de Veritate Religionis.
Scaliger, de Emendatione temporum.
Schclugii Sabb. lege morali mandato.
Selden, de Jure Gentium.
Spencer de Legibus.
Strychius de Jure sabbati.

Abbot's Vindiciæ Sabbati.
Amer. Bibl. Repos. 9:235.
Amner (Rich.) on Positive Institutions.
Bernard's Threefold Treatise.
Biblioth. Sacra. 1:526.
Brerewood's Treatise on the Sabbath.
Brown's (W. A.) Five Tracts.
Byfield on the S. (Reply to Brerewood.)
Carrington's (J.) Sermons.
Chandler's Origin and Institution of the S.
Clark's (Sam.) Sermons.
Cleandon on the Sabbath.
Cox's (Robt.) Sabbath laws and S. duties.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 22:697.
Edwards' (Pres.) Works.
Estrange's S. before and after the law.
Fleming on the Fourth Commandment.
Hamilton (Winter) on the Revealed S.
Heylin's (P.) History of the Sabbath.
Howarth's Moral laws of Moses.
Hughes (Geo.) on the S. and the 92d Ps.
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities. Bk. 3, ch. 3.
Jordan's (J.) Scripture views of the S.
Kennicott's Sermon on the Sabbath.
——— Dialogue on the Sabbath.
King's Morsels of Criticism.
Kitto's Journal. 2:128. 8:70.
Leland's Advantage and necessity of Revel.
Lightfoot's Discourses. Vol. 2.
Macbeth's Dissertations.
Mallet's Northern Antiquities.
Maxon & Parkinson's Debate on the origin, perpetuity, &c.
Meth. Quart. Rev. 9:21.
Mover on the Sabbath.
Newcombe's (P.) Discourses.
North British Review. 9:1.
Nourse's (Peter) Discourses.
Orton's Religious Exercises.
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Bk. 5, ch. 6,7,8.
Palmer on the Sabbath.
Piggot's (Edward) Discourses.
Piret's Ethics on the Sabbath. (Argues for the S. not from Scripture nor experience, but from the dictates of conscience.)
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Prideaux's Testimony of anc. and modern on the origin and nature of the Sabbath.
Robinson's Christian System.
Seabury's (Bp.) Discourses.
Seller's Exam. of Owen's book on the S.
Skeeler's (Tho.) Sermons.
Smith's Sabbath of Rest.
Toogood's Seventh day a day of rest.
Watts' Sermons.
Wayland's Elements of Moral Science. Bk. 2, ch. 4.
Whiteley on the Difficulties of Paul's Epist.
Wilder's (John) Discourses.

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Sabbath Schools. See SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

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Bazilii Homilia. Hom XXXII.
Calvini Defensio Orthodoxæ fidei.
Eusebii Eccles. Historia. Lib. VI.
Mosheimii Comm. de rebus Christianis.
Mosheimii Institutiones Hist. Ecclesiastica.
Schleiermacher, Gegensatz Zwicken der S.
Servetus de Trinitatis erroribus. Lib. VII.
Wormii Historia Sabelliana. (Extends to the beginning of the 5th century.)

Bayle's Dictionary. (Art. Sabellius.)
Berriman on the Trinity.
Collier's Dictionary. (Art. Sabellius.)
Hale (Dr. Wm.) on the Holy Trinity.
Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel.
Whiston's True origin of the Sab. doctrines.

Sacraments. See EFFICACY OF SACRAM.

Sacramentarians.

Brentii Opera Polemica.
Laveretus de Origine et progressu controversiæ Sacramentariæ.

Sacred Music. See PSALMODY.

Sacrifice.

Cloppenburgii Scholia S. Patriarchalis.
Deylingius de Authore Sacrificiorum.
Eusebii Preparatio Evangelica.
Franz, Scholia Sacrificiorum Patriarcharum.
Frischmuth, de S. primorum hominum.
Kurtz, das Mosaische Opfer.
Maimonides de Sacrificiis.
Meyer de Sacrificiis.
Outram de Sacrificiis. (Cont. Socinum.)
Saubertus de Sacrificiis Vetrum.
Spenceri de Legibus Hebræosum.
——— de Origine Sacrificiorum.
Witsii Egyptiaca.

Benson's Hulsean Lectures. 1822.
Charnock's Works.
Christian Disciple. 4:332.
Davison (John) on Primitive Sacrifice.
Davidson's (J.) Remains.
Delany's Revelation Examined.
Dodwell's One Altar.
Edwards' History of Redemption.
Faber's (G. S.) Horæ Mosaicæ.
——— Origin of Expiatory Sacrifices.
Felton's (H.) Institution of sacrifice.
Findlay's Vindication of the sacred books.
Hall's (Robt.) Sermons. (Sermon on the Lamb of God.)

Sacrifice—*continued.*

Hallett on Scripture.
Hawkins' Efficacy of Mosaic atonements.
Hobhouse's Origin and intention of sacrifice. (Hulsean Prize Essay.)
Jennings' Jewish Antiquities.
Kennicott's Oblation of Cain and Abel.
Lightfoot's Miscellaneous Works.
Litton's Divine origin of sacrifices.
Magee on Atonement.
Mather on Figures and Types.
Maurice's Doctrine of Sacrifice.
McEwen on the Types.
Molesworth's Reply to Davison.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
Owen's Sacrifices of the old law.
Outram's (W.) Dissertations. Most excel'nt.
Philo Judæus' Works.
Portall's Scripture account of sacrifices.
Ricaultoun's (Robt.) Essays.
Ridley's Origin and use of sacrifice.
Ritchie's Peculiar doctrines of Revelation. ("Satisfactory."—MAGEE.)
Shuckford's Connect. of sac. and prof. hist.
Simeon's Use of typical purifications.
Stackhouse's History of the Bible.
Sykes on Sacrifices.
Taylor on Deism.
Tholuck on Sacrifice and Priesthood.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Veysie's Bampton Lectures.
Warburton's Divine Legation.
Wells on Offerings and Sacrifices.
Woodward's Archæologia.

Sadducees. See SECTS.

Barthel Sched, Hist. de Sadducæis.
Calmet, Dissertationes.
Slevogtius de Metempsychosi Hebræorum.
Ugolini Thesaurus.

Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. History.
Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews.
Lightfoot on Matthew. 3:7.
Simon's Crit. history of the New Test.

Sadness. See DESPONDENCY.

Safety of the Church.

Beveridge's (Bp.) Works.
Calamy's (Edmund) Sermons.
Cawood's (John) Sermons.
Clagett's (William) Sermons.
Cochrane (J.) on Difficult texts.
Draper (D.) on the Collects.
Enfield's (William) Sermons.
Gatty's (Alfred) Sermons.
Nicholson (Bp.) on the Apostles' Creed.
Plumtree's Christian's Guide.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.

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Boullier, les Privilèges des saints.

Cawdrey's (D.) Sermons.
Gahan's (Will.) Sermons.
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Lightfoot's (John) Sermons.
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Balguy's Visitation Charges.
Beddome's Short Discourses.
Blackley's The Rejected Stone.
Burton's (Ed.) Family Sermons.
Caddel's (H.) Sermons.
Carr's (Samuel) Sermons.
Chandler's (Samuel) Sermons.
Dunlop's (W.) Sermons.
Evans' (R. W.) Sermons.
Farmer's (John) Sermons.
Finney's (C. J.) Lectures.
Fuller's Great Question answered.
Fuller's Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gleig's (George) Sermons.
Gresley's (Wm.) Parochial Sermons.
Halyburton's Great Concern.
Hare's (J. C.) Sermons.
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Horberry's (Matthew) Sermons.
Hunter's (Henry) Sermons.
Kay's (Bp.) Sermons.
Kingsley's (C.) Sermons.
Lardner's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Lawson's (C.) Sermons.
Mandell's (William) Sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ravenscroft's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ryland's Scheme of Infidelity ruined forever.
Snowden's (W.) Sermons.
Vaughan's Salvation in Christ only.
Witherspoon's (John) Essays and Sermons.
Wrangham's (Francis) Sermons.
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Salvation of Heathen as such.

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Müller (J. G.) de Paganorum post mortem conditione.
Turretini Theologia Elenctica. Ques. IV.

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Barclay's Apology.
Baxter's Saint's Rest.
Bradford's Boyle Lectures. Appendix.
Breckell's (John) Sermons.
Doddridge's Lectures. Lect. 240.
Goodwin's (John) Pagan Debt and Dowry.
Grove's Moral Philosophy.
McKnight's Preliminary Essays.
Mede's Works.
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Saurin's Sermons.
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Staynoe's Salvation by Christ alone.
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Samaritans.

Antonii Observationes Theologicæ.
Cellarii Collectanea Historiæ Samaritanæ.
Freiderich, Christologia Samaritanum.
Gesenius de Samaritanorum Theologia.
Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus.
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Reland, de Inscriptionibus nummorum.
Rhenferd, de Judæorum Hæresibus.
Sacy, l'Etat actuel des S. (17th century.)
Weiss, de Jurejurando per Deum.

Amer. Eclectic Review. 2:249,481.
Bassnage's History of the Jews. Bk. 8.
Simon's Dissertations on the Caraites and Samaritans.

Samaritan Pentateuch. See PENTAT.

Gesenius de P. Samar. origine, indole, etc.
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Hottingeri Exercitationes anti-Morrisianæ.
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Hamilton's General introduction to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures.
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Owen's (H.) Comparison of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs.
Whiston's Essay toward restoring the text of the O. T. (In an appendix is an English version of all the passages in which the Samaritan Pent. differs from the Hebrew. Mr. W. is sharply answered by CARPZOW, in his *Critica Sacra.*)
Yeates' (Thos.) Collation of an Indian Copy. (Valuable preliminary remarks.)

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Baieri Dissertationes Theologicæ.
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Feverlinus de Hæresi Pauli Samosateni.
Schnizlini Dissert. de Hæresi Pauli S.
Schwab, Pauli Samos. vita et doctrina.
Thillii Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Trechsel's Gesch. des Antitrinitarismus.
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Mayerus de Sanctificatione.
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Gurnall's Christian Armor. (Capital.)
Guthrie's Trial of a saving interest in Christ.
Haldane's (J. A.) Works. (Excellent.)
Hale's (Judge) Contemplations.
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Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten.
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——— Present state of the S. version. 1769.
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See BEATITUDES.

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Franklin's Tenets and doctrines of the Jains.
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Lucas' Duty of servants. (With forms of prayer.)
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Stennett's (Sam.) Sermons.
Taylor's Present of a mistress to a young servant.
Watson's (J. W.) Sermons.
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Allwoerdini Hist. M. Serveti. (Very full and accurate, and quite sufficient on this subject.)
Senebier, Hist. de Genève. (Exculpates Calvin.)
Servetus de Trinitatis erroribus.

Benson's (Dr. Geo.) Works.
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——— Scriptural revision of the arguments of Socinians. (Reply to Hobhouse.)
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(An answer to several Socinian writers.)
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——— Defence of the Apology.
——— Danger of corrupting faith by philosophy.
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Hobessii Elementa Philosophica.
Knutsii Epistola amici ad amicum.
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Spiritualism. See CLAIRVOYANCE.

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Miller's, James, Sermons.
Newman's, J. H., Sermons.
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Klippel. Doctr. stoic. ethicæ atque Christ. exposit. et comparata.
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Bebelii Methodus studii theologici.
Beck's (J. T.) Einleitung in d. system d. Chris. Lehre.
Bennetti Introd. in studium theol. syst.
Bertholdt's Theolog. Wissenschaftskunde.
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Callixti Adparatus Theologicus.
Callovii Isagoge ad sacram theologiam.
Chytræus de Studio theologicæ recte.
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Barlow's (Bp.) Directory for the choice of books in the study of divinity. (Reaches only to 1690.)
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Ederi Œconomia Bibliorum.
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Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra.
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Fuller's Miscellanea Sacra.
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Beckii (F.) Observationes.
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Michaelis de Textu Nov. Test. Græco.
Morii Acroas. academ. sup. hermeneut. Nov. Test. (Valuable for containing the opinions on this subj. of various eminent writers.)
Mullerus de Stilo idiotico Nov. Test.
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Pfochenus de Stylo N. T. (Written to prove that there are no Hebraisms in the Greek Testament, but that the expressions so considered are purely classic!)
Planck de Vera, natura, et indole orationis N. Test.
Rhenferdi Dissertationes. (Collects the opinions of the best writers on this subject.)
Schwarzius in Solecismis Nov. Testamenti.
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Stolbergii Exercitationes. (Points out what he considers the solecisms, barbarisms, &c., of the New Testament.)
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Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
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Submission. See RESIGNATION.

Submission to Kings. See MAGISTRACY, CIVIL GOVERNMENT, PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

Subscription to Creeds. See ESTABLISHMENTS, USE OF CREEDS.

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Abernethy's (John) Tracts and Sermons.
Balguy's (Thomas) Discourses.
Biddulph (Tho.) on the Oath of canonical obedience.
Burnaby's (And.) Sermons and Charges.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
——— History of his own times.
Christian Observer. 1:92.
Clarke's (Jos.) Church of England vindicated. (Reply to Chandler.)
Clarke (S.) on the Trinity. (Introduction.)
Conybeare's (John) Sermons. (1 Tim. 6:3,4.)
Dunlop's Preface to the Scottish Confessions.
Dyer on the Nature of subscription.
Ellis' Plea for the Test.
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Hardy (S.) on Subscription to creeds.
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Hebert (C.) on Clerical subscription.
Hey's (Will.) Tracts and Essays.
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Law (Edmund) on Requiring sub. to creeds.
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Powell (W. S.) on Subscription to creeds.
——— Reply to Blackburne.
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Rotherham on Religious Establishments.
Rutherforth's (T.) Visitation Charge.
——— Defence of the Charge.
——— Second Defence.
Toplady's Sermons.
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Tottie on the 39 Articles.
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Waterland's (D.) Case of Arian subscription considered.
——— Supplement to Do.
White's Letter to Mr. Chandler.

Con.

Bremensii Defensio denegatæ subscriptionis.
Benson's Hardship of subscription to creeds.
Blackburne's Remarks on Dr. P.'s discourse.
——— Confessional. (This powerful treatise gave rise to more than a hundred answers, for and against it.)
Bristed's Scripture the only text.
Cartwright's Admonit. to the people of Eng.
Cave on Human authority in matters of religion.
Chandler (Sam.) on Subs. to articles of faith.
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Clayton (Robt.) on Subscription to creeds.
Dawson's (B.) Free and candid disquisition.
——— Short and safe expedient for terminating the controversy.
——— Examination of Dr. Rutherforth.
——— Letter to Dr. R., occasioned by his vindication, &c.
Durette on the Abuse of Confessions.
Dyer on Subscription to creeds.
Evans' Scripture Standard.
Firebrace's Letter to Ibbetson.
——— (Various other tracts.)
Fowne on the Principles of Toleration.
Frend's (Wm.) Thoughts on religious tests.
Furneaux's Letters to Judge Blackstone.
Gale's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Halliday (Sam.) on Subscription to creeds.
Heywood's Rights of Dissenters.
Hopkins' (Wm.) Letter to Dr. Tucker.
——— (Several other able tracts.)
Jebb's (John) Reasons for resigning, &c.
Jenkins' (Jos.) Dissenting minister's reasons for an application to Parliament, &c.
Jukes' (And.) Way which some call Heresy.
Kippis' Vindication of dissenting ministers.
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——— Considerations on church authority.
Radcliffe's (Eben.) Works.
Robinson's (Robt.) Miscellaneous Works.
Seagrave's Principles of liberty.
Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury) on the Test oath.
Toulmin's Letters to dissenting ministers.
——— Letters to Dr. Sturges.
Wakefield's Addresses.
Williams' Earnest and serious address.
Wilton's Statement of some of the 39 articles.
Wollaston's Address to the clergy of England.

See a copious list of other authors on this subject in HORNE'S *Catalogue of Queen's College Library*. A full enumeration of the tracts on both sides of the controversy, up to

1775, was published anonymously by JOHN DISNEY. A large list of pamphlets and anonymous books may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vols. 41 and 42.

Substitution. See ATONEMENT, DEFINITE ATONEMENT, IMPUTATION, SACRIFICE, REDEMPTION, SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST.

Dreschlerus, An Ima gutta sanguinis Christi satisfacere potuerit pro peccatis totius mundi?

Boston's (Thomas) Works.
Clarke's (John) Sermons.
Fuller's (And.) Works. (Dialogue between Peter, James, and John.)
Gilbert (Joseph) on the Atonement.
Hall's (Robert) Sermons.
Hull's (W.) Discourses.
Kirkus' Christianity, theoret. and practical.
Lloyd's (J. C.) Sermons.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by M. Poole.)
Raphelius' Annotations on Rom. 5:8.
Robertson's (F. W.) Sermons.
Simeon's The Believer's security.
Stillingfleet's Sermons. (2 on this subject.)

Succoth Benoth. See JEWISH ANTIQ.

Crausii (J.) Dissertationes.
Ugolini (B.) Thesaurus antiq. sacrarum.

Sudden Death. See DEATH.

Burrows' (E. J.) Hours of devotion. ("Is a lingering or a sudden death to be preferred?")
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Dupree's (Dr. John) Discourses. (Advantages and disadvantages.)
Granville (A. B.) on Sudden death.
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Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Simeon's (C.) Works.

Sufferings of Christ.

Athanasii Homiliæ.
Bechmanni de Acerbissima Christi passione.
Bezæ Homiliæ in Histor. passionis Domini.
Blocksdorf's der Sohn Gottes unser Hoherpriester, etc.
Bugenhagii Conciliatio historia passionis et glorif. Christi.
Bullii Defensio fidei Nicenæ.
Bynæi Libri tres de Morte Jesu.
Dorscheus de Admirandis mortis Christi.
Feri Hist. passionibus Jesu Christi ex evangelistis. (A series of eloquent discourses.)
Haferungius De sanguine Jesu Christi.
Lyseri Paraphrasis in hist. passionis.
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Mulleri (Hen.) Disputationes.
Quenstedtii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Sagittarii Harmonia hist. pass. J. C.

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Bilson's Survey of Christ's sufferings.
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Charnock's Works.
Chenie's (J.) Meditations.
Clunie's (J.) Sufferings of Christ.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Coverdale's (Miles) Remains.
Davies' (Pres.) Sermons.
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Deyling's Sacred Observations.
Durer (A.) on the Sufferings of Christ.
Fleming's Christology.
Hacket's (Bp.) Five sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations. (Precious.)
——— Sermons.
Hanna's (Wm.) Last days of our Lord.
Hewitt's Points of Christian doctrine.
Hopkins' (Benjamin) Sermons.
Jones' (Wm. of Nayland) Sermons.
Knowles on the Passion of Christ.
Krummacher's Suffering Saviour.
——— The Martyr Lamb.
Le Bas' (Cha. W.) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
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Pearson on the Apostles' Creed.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
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Rambach's Meditations.
Sandford's (Bp.) Lectures. (Very popular.)
Scott's Christian Life.
Stanhope's (Dean) Holy Week.
Stillingfleet on the Sufferings of Christ.
Sturm's Contemplations.
Tholuck's Light from the cross.
Williams' (Griffith) Sermons.
Williams (I.) on our Saviour's passion.
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Sufficiency of God.

Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Harris' Pre-Adamite Earth.
——— Man primæval.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
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Suggestions of Satan.
See SATAN, TEMPTATION.

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Robeck de Ευλογω Εξαγωγη.

Adams' (John) Essay on Self-murder.
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Ayscough's (Francis) Sermons.
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Clarke on Natural and revealed religion.
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De Stael (Madam) on Suicide.
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Donne (John) on Self-homicide. (Maintains it to be not invariably sinful.)
Dwight's System of Theology. Ser. 117.
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Fleetwood's (Bp.) 3 Sermons on self-murder.
Francis' (Dr. John) Sermons.
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Hey's (Richard) Dissertations.
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Jeffery's (Dr. John) Sermons and Tracts.
Knagg on Self-murder.
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Matthews' (G.) Sermons.
Miller's (Joseph) Sermons.
Montesquieu's Spirit of laws.
Monthly Rev. 118:159.
More (C.) on Suicide. (Admirable.)
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Plotinus on Suicide. Trans. by T. Taylor. (With notes from Porphyry, Proclus, and Olympiodorus.)
Prince's Self-murder a heinous crime.
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Bayle's Dictionary. Art. *Synergists,* and *Strigelius.*

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Amesii Anti-Synodalia.
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Temple of Jerusalem—*continued.*

Kopp's (E.) der Tempel Salomons.
Lightfoot, Descriptio templi Hierosol.
Maimonides de Constitutione T. vasis, etc.
Opitii Dissertationes.
Relandi Prolusiones. (Notes by Schulze.)
Schlichteri (C. L.) Dissertationes.
Spencer, de Legibus Hebræorum.
Ugolini (B.) Dissertationes.

Bunyan's Solomon's temple spiritualized.
Lee's (Samuel) Orbis miraculum.
Lightfoot's Temple and temple service in the time of Christ.
Newton's (Sir I.) Description of the Temple.
Outram on Sacrifices.

Temporal Benefits of Christianity.

See INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

Temporal Power of the Pope.

See SUPREMACY.

Pro. Most Papal writers take the affirmative on this question. The following contain the strength of the argument.

Bellarmin de Potestate Pontificis.
Bozzius de Monarchia Ecclesiæ.
Carrerius de Potestate Pontificis.
Grassii Opuscula.
Maimbourg, Traite des prerogatives de l'eglisse et ses eveques.
Sanctarellus de Hæresi, Scismate, etc.
Sanderus de Visibili eccles. monarchia.
——— de Militantis eccles. potestate.
Stephanus de Potestas coactiva, etc.

Con.

Alban's Pæbstische Anatomie.
Banckius de Tyrannide Papæ.
Barclaius (G.) de Potestate Papæ.
——— de Puissance du Pape.
Buckeridge de Potestate Papæ.
Crakanthorpii Defensio ecc. Anglicanæ.
Dresseri Observationes Miscellaneæ.
Evenii Demonstratio apologetica.
Goebelii [vel Gibelini] Cæsareo-papia Rom.
Gosselin, Pouvoir du Pape au moyen age.
Guicciardinus de Origine potestat. secularis.
Henricus VIII de Primatu Romani Pontif.
Lairitz's Rœmischer Papsts Thron.
Mollinæus de Monarchia Pontificis.
Pressense, Le pouvoir temporel, est il nécessaire?
Siricii Idolum Papale.
Steinbergii Anatome Papismi.
Tillii Christi vicariorum exempla.

Bray's Papal usurpation and persecution.
Christian Examiner. 69:40.
Döllinger's The Church and the Churches.
[Gosselin's] Power of the Pope in the middle ages. Tr. by M. Kelly. (The origin of his temporal power, his deposition of sovereigns, &c.)
North British Rev. 11:135. 12:76,141.

Many hundred volumes on this controversy have been published, but few are now extant, and some of the above are rare. The subject has been disputed in the Roman Church itself, ever since the assumption of this power; and many of its greatest writers, such as Bossuet, Dupin, De Marca, and Natalis, have denied it.

Temptation. See WATCHFULNESS.

Chrysostom, Homiliæ.

Acontius de Stratagematibus Satanæ.
Fechtius de Suggestionibus Satanæ.
Gerson de Diversis Diaboli temptationibus.

Abernethy's (Bp.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Balguy's (John) Sermons.
Barry's (J.) Reviving Cordial.
Bolton's Instruct. for afflicted consciences.
Boston's Crook in the lot. (Excellent.)
Brooks' Precious remedies against Satan's devices.
Capel's Nature, danger, and cure of T.
Cecil's (Richard) Sermons.
Christ. Disciple. 3:106.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.
Farmer on Temptation.
Flavel on Keeping the heart.
Gillespie's Treatise on Temptation.
Gilpin's (Rich.) Demonologia Sacra. (Exc't.)
Graves' (Richard) Sermons.
Gurnall's (Wm.) Christian Armor.
Haynes' Illustrations of faith and practice.
Hickes' (Geo.) Sermons.
Jackson's (Miles) Sermons.
Kattern's (Daniel) Sermons.
Kirk's (John) Trials of the heart.
Littell's Living Age. 11:522,545.
Luther's (Martin) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nathaniel) Sermons.
Mason on Self-knowledge. Chap. 8.
Montgomery's (Robt.) God and Man.
Mountain's (J. H. B.) Sermons.
Owen's (John) Works.
Parsons' (Will. L.) Satan's devices.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Ransom's Treatise on Temptation.
Robertson's (F. W.) Sermons at Brighton.
Scattergood's (Samuel) Sermons.
Scobel's (Edward) Sermons.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
South's (Robt.) Seven Sermons on Temptat.
Sparstow's Wiles of the Devil.
Taylor's (Jer.) Life of Christ. Ch. 5.
Trapp's (Joseph) Sermons.
Ward's (Richard) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Wharton's Manifold T. of Christians.
Whately's Good and evil Angels.
Williston's Sermons.

Temptation of Christ.

Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.

Andrews (Bp.) on Import. passages of Scrip.
Bagot's T. of Christ in the wilderness.
Barret's (J. T.) T. of Christ in the wilderness.

Temptation of Christ—*continued.*

Bibliotheca Sacra. 22:127.
Bloomfield's (G. B.) Sermons.
Bradley's (Cha.) Sermons.
Calthorp's (G.) Sermons.
Capp on Important passages of Scripture.
Chandler's (Samuel) Sermons.
Christian Disciple. 1:254.
Christian Examiner. 32:37. 56:297.
Christian Quart. Spect. 5:332.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.
Cookesley's (W. G.) Sermons.
Davies' (Tho.) Sermons.
Dehon's (Bp.) Sermons.
Dyke on Repentance. (Often reprinted.)
Eyre's (Dr. Robt.) 4 Serm. on Matt. 4:1–10.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Farmer's Nat. and design of the T. of Christ.
Fleming's Temptation in the wilderness.
Fletcher's (Joseph) Posthumous Sermons.
Garbett's (Archdeacon) Parochial Sermons.
Hacket's 21 Sermons on Matt. 4:1–11.
Hall's (J. C.) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations. Bk. 2, sec. 3.
Hewlett's (John) Sermons.
Hill's (D. G.) Wayfarings in Christ.
Hutton's (F. H.) Discourses.
Huxtable on the Temptation of our Lord.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Kirby's (Wm.) Sermons. (7 on this subject.)
Krummacker's Sermons on the temptations.
Manton's (Dr. Thomas) Works.
Mills' (W. H.) Five Sermons.
Monod's Jesus tempted.
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Perkins' Combat betw. Christ and the Devil.
Potts' (J. H.) Sermons.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. Ques. 48.
Scobell's (Edward) Sermons.
Scott (Rev. Walter) on Evil Spirits.
Shuttleworth's (P. N.) Sermons.
Smith's (T. Tunstall) Lectures.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Taylor's (Dr. T.) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Life of Christ.
Taylor's (Tho.) Exposition of Christ's combat and conquest.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Van Mildert's Sermons at Lincoln's Inn.
Wheatly's (Charles) Sermons.
Whitefield's Sermons.
Wiseman's (L. H.) Christ in the wilderness.

Tenth Commandment. See COMMANDMENTS, COVETOUSNESS.

Ten Tribes of Israel. See RESTORATION.

Calmet, Diss. sur le pays, etc. (Comm.)
——— ——— Si les dix tribus sont revenues?
Calvert, Naphtali: seu Collectationes Theol.
Lumnius de Extremo Dei judicio. (Considers the N. Am. Indians to be the lost tribes.)
Rabaneri quinque Decades.
Witsii Egyptiaca.

Boudinot's Star in the West. *Amer. Indians.*

Ten Tribes of Israel—*continued.*

Buchanan's Researches in Asia.
Crawford's (C.) Propagation of the Gospel. *American Indians.*
Durell's Parallel prophecies of Jacob and Moses. (Gives the Hebrew text, with a translation and notes of such parts as relate to the different tribes.)
Edrehi's Hist. acc. of the ten tribes. (Finds them beyond the Sambotyan in the East.)
Elliott's (The Missionary) Jews in America.
Ewing's (Greville) Essays.
Fletcher's (Giles) Israel Redux. *Tartars.*
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Jewish Repository. (Afterwards, "Friend of Israel." Periodical, begun 1813, by the London Society for promoting, &c.)
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Whiston's Memoirs. Vol. 1. *Tartars.*
Worsley's American Indians.

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Hildebrandi (Ioach.) Antiquitates Selectæ.
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Lightfoot, Horæ Hebræicæ.
Marckii Scripta in Selecta Scripturæ.
Pfeifferi (A.) Exercitationes.
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Wichmanshausenii (J. C.) Dissertationes.

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See CLOSE COMMUNION.

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Tertulliani Opera. (Various editions.)
Allixius de T. vita et scriptis.
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Hoffmanni (J. W.) Dissertationes.
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Mosheimii Dissertationes.
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Noesselti Dissertationes. (True time of the the writings ascribed to Tertullian.)
Nourrii Adparatus ad bibliotb. maximum patrum.
Rechenbergii (Adami) Dissertationes.
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Zimmermanni (Matth.) Dissertationes.

Amer. Quar. Church Rev. 18:525.
Betty's Trans. of the "Prescriptions" and other tracts, with notes and dissertations.
Brown's Trans. of Tertullian's "Apology."
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Conybeare's Bampton Lectures. 1839.
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Kaye's Ecc. hist. of the 2d and 3d centuries, illustrated from the works of Tertullian.
Neander's Antignostikus.
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Woodham's Introd. and notes to T.'s "Apol."

Testament of the 12 Patriarchs.

Grabii Spicelegium.
Nitzschii Commentatio critica.

Grosthead's Test. of the 12 Patriarchs.
Tertullian's Apology. Trans. by J. Betty.
Whiston's Authentic records.

Test Act. See CORPORATION.

Testimony of Josephus.
See JOSEPHUS.

Arnoldi Epistolæ Philologicæ. (Given in Havercamp's edition of Josephus.)
Bossii Exercitationes Criticæ.
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Eichstadt, Testimonia de Jesu Christu.
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Ittigii Prolegomena ad Josephi-opera.
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Testimony of Profane Authors to Christianity.

Buddei Dissertationes.
Colonie, Religion Chrétienne autorisée, etc. (Quotes Marcellinus, Plutarch, Strabo, Lucian, Macrobius, Tacitus, Pliny, and many others.)
Cuper, Lettres de critiq. de litterat. et d'histoire, etc.
Du Clot, La sainte Bible vengée des attaques de l'incredulité.
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Ernesti (J. C. G.) Epistola ad Schleusnerum. (Shows the great utility of Suidas.)
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Heumannus de Chresto Suetonii.
Iselin, sur le Projet, concu par le Tibere, de mettre notre Seigneur au nombre des dieux.
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Nuscheleri Tentamen verit. doctrina Christo confirmandæ.
Plinii (Junioris) Epistolæ.
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——— ——— ex Polybio collectæ.
——— ——— ex Herodoto collectæ.

Addison (Joseph) on the Christian religion.
Biscoe's Boyle Lectures. 1736–8.
Browne's (Tho.) Testimony of heathen writers of the first two centuries.
Bryant's Authenticity of the Scriptures.

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Whiston's Testimony of Phlegon. (In relation to the darkness and earthquake at our Saviour's crucifixion.)

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Teutonic Knights. See KNIGHTS.

Duelli Historia ordinis Teutonici.
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Braunius de Fletu super Thammuz.
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Fludd, Dissertationes.
Chowlson's Thammuz, and man-worship among the ancient Babylonians.

Thankfulness. See GRATITUDE.

Thanksgiving.

Allestree's, Richard, Sermons.
Alison's, Archib., Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Apthorp's, East, Sermons.
Arrowsmith's, John, Sermons. *For victory.*
Atterbury's, Francis, Sermons.
Bennet's Christian Oratory.
Beveridge's, Bp., Sermons.
Biddulph's, T. T., Sermons.
Blakeney's, John B., Sermons.
Bowen's, Thomas, Sermons.
Bradford's, The Martyr, Sermons.
Brady's, Nicholas, Sermons. *For peace.*
Bramhall's, Abp., Sermons.
Bulman's, John, Sermons.
Burnett's, Gilbert, Sermons.
Burton's, John, Sermons.
Chandler's, Samuel, Sermons.
Clarke's, Dr. Samuel, Sermons.
Craddock's, William, Sermons.
Davies', Pres., Sermons.

Thanksgiving—*continued.*

Dehon's, Bp., Sermons.
Evans', John, Sermons.
Fiddes', Richard, Sermons.
Fothergill's, George, Sermons.
Fowler's, Bp., Sermons.
Francklin's, Thomas, Sermons.
Gibson's, Bp., Sermons.
Hale's, Sir M., Contemplations.
Hare's, Bp., Sermons.
Hobart's, Bp., Sermons.
Holdsworth's, R., Sermons.
Horne's, Bp., Sermons.
Howe's, John, Sermons.
Jones', William, Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Kennett's, Bp., Sermons.
Kollock's, S. K., Sermons.
Leighton's, Abp., Sermons.
Lucas', Richard, Sermons. *For victory.*
Maddox's, Bp., Sermons.
Mayhew's, J., Sermons.
McCheyne's, Robt. M., Sermons.
Nares', Edward, Sermons.
Neve's, Timothy, Sermons.
Rogers', John, Sermons.
Scott's, John, Sermons.
Secker's, Abp., Sermons.
Sharp's, Abp., Sermons.
Sherlock's, Bp., Sermons.
Smallridge's, Bp., Sermons.
Spurgeon's, Ch. H., Sermons. Vols. 2 and 9
Stanhope's, George, Sermons. *For victory.*
Stillman's, Sam., Sermons.
Talbot's, Bp., Sermons.
Tillotson's, Abp., Sermons.
Warburton's, Bp., Sermons.
Ware's, Henry, Sermons.
Watts', Isaac, Sermons.
Wesley's, John, Sermons.
White's, Bp., Sermons.
Williams', D., Sermons. *For victory.*
Wingfield's, T., Sermons.
Wright's, Sam., Sermons.

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Baldensani Historia legionis Thebanæ.
Bourdieu, Diss. historique et critique.
D'Lisle de la Legion Thebeéne.
Füssly's Christ ein Soldat.
Rivaz (Jos.), Eclaircissements.

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Delany's (Pat.) Sermons.
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Hole (Matt.) on the Church Catechism.
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Sherlock's (Bp.) Discourses.
Vincent (Nath.) on the Church Catechism.
Whitaker's (E. W.) Sermons.
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Theism. See DEISM.

Theodore of Mopsuetia.

Brett de Fragmentis Theod. Mopsuetii.
Corderii Catena.
Kleneri Symbolæ liter. ad T. pertinentes.
Langles, Rituel des Tartares.
Photii Bibliotheca.
Siefferti T. Vet. Test. sobrie interp. vindex.

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Richter de T. epistolæ Paulinarum interp.
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Lardner's Credibility. Part 2.

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Eclectic Review. N. S. 1:99.
Knight's Utility of Theolog. seminaries.
Mosheim's Eccles. history. Cent. 1, part 2.

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Alstedii Theologia Didactica. 1630.
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Amesii Medulla theologica. 1628.
Aquinatis (Tho.) Summa theologiæ. 1512.
Aretii Loci communes. 1604.
Arsdekini Theolog. tripartita. 1682. (Held in great esteem by Romanists, and truly valuable as a great magazine of authorities.)
Beconi Principia relig. Christianæ. 1564.
Binchii Mellificium Theologicum. 1658. (Comprises the marrow of the orthodox writers of his day.)
Boylii Summa theol. Christianæ. 1681.
Braunii Doctrina Fœderum. 1700.
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Ebrard's Christliche Dogmatik. 1850.
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Erasmi Ratio: seu methodus, etc. 1530.
Fabricii Prelectiones Theologicæ. 1729.
Gass' Gesch. d. Protest. Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theologie überhaupt.
Gerhardi Loci Theologici. 1610.
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Gomari Opera Theologica. 1630.
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Honerti (Joh.) Theol. didactico-elencticæ. 1730.
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Knapp's (G. C.) Vorlesungen über die Christliche Glaubenslehre. 1827.
Knoll, Institutiones theol. theoreticæ. 1660.
Koeckeri Conspectus Theologiæ. 1749.
Kromayeri Theologia positivo-polem. 1666.
Langii Œconomia salutis. 1720.
Leighton, Prelectiones theologicæ. 1693.
Leydekkeri Synopsis theologiæ. 1712.
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Lutzelberger's Grundzüge d. Paulinischen glaubens. 1854.
Lyseri Systema thetico-exegeticum. 1699.
Maii Synopsis theologiæ. 1709.
Markii Compendium. 1686.
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Mori Epitome theol. 1797. (Once very popular.)
Mosheim (J. L.), Elementa Theologiæ. 1766.
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Osiandri Theol. positivo-acromatica. 1576.
Parei Decuria collegiorum theologicorum. 1620. ("Incomparabilis Theologus."—SPANHEIM.)
Petavii Dogmata. 1700. (A huge collection of the sentiments of the Fathers, lucidly arranged.)
Pfaffii Institutiones Theologicæ. 1720.
Pictet, Theologie. 1696. (Admirable.)
Piscatoris Theses Theologicæ.
Placette de la Foi divine. 1735.
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Reinhardi Instit. theol. dogmat. 1770.
Scherzeri Definitiones, etc. 1680.
Schmidii (And.) Comp. theol. per thesin et antithesin. 1699.
Schuberti Inst. theol. dogmaticæ. 1749.
Selnecceri Inst. Chris. religionis. 1579.
Stohlii Dogmatische Theologie. 1752.
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Thummii Synopsis præcip. art. fidei. 1721.
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Voget, Institutiones. 1736.
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——— Confession of faith.
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Breckenridge's (Robert) Knowledge of God objectively considered. 1858.
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Calvin's Institutes of Religion. 1560.
Campbell's (Dr. Geo.) Systematic Theology. 1807.
Chalmers' (Tho.) Institutes of Theology.
Craddock's Knowledge and Practice. 1702. ("One of the best systems of divinity which a plain man can read."—BOGUE.)
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Theology—*continued.*

Dick's (J.) Lectures on Theology. 1834.
Doddridge's Lectures. 1763. (Nothing superior to it as a text-book.)
Doolittle's Complete Body, &c. 1723.
Doutrin's Scheme of Divine truth. 1713.
Dwight's Theology. 1823. (Lucid and pious.)
Edwards' (Bp.) Theologia Reformata. 1713.
Farrar's Study of T. (Highly suggestive.)
Fiddes' Theological Speculations. 1718.
Fisher's Marrow of modern divinity. 1646.
Gill's Body of Divinity. 1765.
Gregory's (Olinthus) Letters on Relig. 1810.
Heylin's (John) Theol. Lectures. 1755.
Heylin (Peter) on the Creed. 1660.
Hey's Lectures in Divinity. 1796.
Hill's (Dr. Geo.) Theolog. Institutes. 1803.
Jebb's (Bp.) Practical Theology. 1830.
Jackson's (Tho.) Works. (Has the highest praise of OLEY and BP. HORNE.)
Knapp's Lectures. Trans. by L. Woods.
Leigh's Body of Divinity. 1662.
Leighton's Theological Lectures. 1675.
Limborch's System of Divinity. Trans. by W. Jones. 1715. (The first system of divinity according to Armenianism.)
Lincoln's (Bp. of) Elements of Christian T.
Marsh's Systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity.
Milton (Jno.) on Christian doctrine. 1650.
Morren's Biblical Theology. (Includes annotations of recent German critics, and notices of many authors, and disquisitions by De Wette, Neander, Storr, Winer, and many others.)
Owen's (John) Nature, rise, progress, and study of true theology. 1680.
Payne's (Geo.) Lectures on Theology. 1846.
Pearson on the Creed. 1741.
Pictet's Theology. Trans. by Reyroux.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity. 1731.
Roberts' Marrow of the Bible. 1657.
Robinson's Christian System. 1805.
Schmucker's Popular Theology.
Scott's (John) Christian Life. ("One of the best schemes of Divinity in any language." —ADDISON.)
Scrivener's Course of Divinity. 1674.
Smith's (J. Pye) First lines in theology.
Stackhouse's Body of Divinity. 1729.
Storr & Flatt's Bible Theology. Translated by Schmucker.
Taylor's (John) Scheme of Script. divinity. 1753. (Watson's Tracts.)
Usher's (Abp.) Body of Divinity. 1648.
Venema's Institutes of Theology. 1715.
Vinet's Outlines of Theology. Translated by Astie. 1865.
Warden's System of revealed religion. 1769.
Wardlaw's Systematic Theology.
Warner's System of Divinity, compiled from eminent divines. 1750.
Watson's (Rich.) Theological Institutes.
Watson's (Tho.) 175 Sermons on the Shorter Catechism. 1662.

Witsius' Economy of the Covenants. 1700.

Scarcely a third of the books of this sort, which have fallen under my notice, are here given: but the list is more than sufficient, and comprises the best.

Theopaschites. See MONOPHYSITES.

Assemani Bibliotheca Orient. Vatican.
Giesseleri Commentatio.
Iablonski Dissert. de henotico Zenonis.
Münscher's Ordnung des deutschen Amts zu Alsted.
Norris, de Uno ex Trinitate.
Titii (Ger.) Disputationes.

Theophilanthropists.

Gregoire, Histoire des Sectes religieuses.

Manual of the Theophilanthropists, or adorers of God. Translated by Walker.
Paine's (Tho.) Discourse before the Society of Theophilanthropists.
Quarterly Review. 28:493. 30:113.

Theophylus Antiocenus.

Theophyli Libri ad Autolycum.
——— Commentaria in Evangelium.
——— Commentaria in Canticum.
Grabeneri Dissertationes.
Monarchi Prefatio ad Justini M. opera.
Tentzelii (Guil. Ernest.) Exercitationes.
Walpergeri (Christoph.) Comment. de T.

Betty's Translation of the Works of T.

Theories of the Earth. See CREATION, DELUGE, GEOLOGY.

On the side of Scripture.

Analytical Mag. 13:26.
Bugge (George) on Geological phenomena. (Replies to Cuvier.)
Chalmers' (Tho.) Tracts and Essays.
Edinburg Review. 22:454.
Edwards' (J.) Remarks on Whiston's theory.
Emlyn's Examinat. of Burnet's new theory.
Grew's (Neh.) Cosmographia Sacra.
Howard's History of the earth and of mankind compared with other cosmographies.
Kirwan's Geological Essays.
Littell's Living Age. 14:516.
Monthly Review. 126:371.
Nichols' Conference with a Theist.
North Amer. Rev. 18:266.
Pierre's (St.) Theory of the Earth.
Ray's Physico-Theological Essays.
Southern Rev. 8:69.
Universal History. (Introduction.)
Warren's Geologia. (Opposes Burnet.)
Woodward's Natural history of the earth.
Worthington's Theory of the Earth, throughout all its revolutions, and all periods of its existence.

Contrary to Scripture.

Burnet, Telluris theoria sacra.
Delance, Theorie de la terre.

Buffon's Theory of the earth.
Burnet's (Tho.) Sacred theory of the earth.
Cuvier's Theory of the earth.
Hutton's Theory of the earth.
Keill's Examination of Burnet and Whiston.
Knight's Facts and Observations, &c.
Whiston's New Theory of the earth.
——— Vindication of the "Theory."
——— Second Vindication.

Theosophists. See PARACELSISTS.

Bruckeri Historia Critica. (A full account of the lives and writings of these philosophers.)

Therapeutæ. See ESSENES.

Fabricii Lux salutaris evangelii. (Gives a list of writers on this subject in chap. 4.)

Third Commandment. See COMMANDMENTS, OATHS, PROFANENESS.

Blackall's (Bp.) Sermons.
Blencoe's (Edward) Sermons.
Brackenbury's (Edward) Discourses.
Bradbury's (Thomas) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Clapp's (John) Sermons.
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Discourses.
Copner's (James) Sermons.
Dwight's (Tim.) Discourses. (3 on this subj.)
Fleetwood's (Bp.) Discourses.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Haggitt's (George) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical Works.
Hall's (Robert) Notes of Sermons.
Hole on the Catechism.
Marriot's (Harvey) Sermons.
Newton's (John) Sermons.
Nourse's (Peter) Discourses.
Ogden's (Samuel) Sermons.
Paley's (Will.) Sermons.
Parsons on the Catechism.
Partridge's (Samuel) Sermons.
Pearce's (John) Discourses.
Secker on the Catechism.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.

Thirty-nine Articles.

Ellis, Articulorum XXXIX Defensio.
Ford, Christianæ religionis.

Bennett's Introd. to the study of theology.
Beveridge's Doct. of the Church of England.
Bingham's Apology for the Ch. of England.
Blunt's Discourses on the doctrinal articles
Blythe's Thirteen Conferences.
Boyse's Genuine sense of the 39 articles.
Brown's (G. H.) Expos.; hist. and doctrinal.
Burnet's (Gilbert) Exposition.
Cary's Testimony of the Fathers.
Collins' Histor. and crit. essay on the 39 art.
Dimock (J. F.) on the 39 Articles. (Compared with the other authorized formularies and the liturgy.)
Hall's (Bp. John) Parochial Discourses.
Hervey's Elementa Christiana.

Thirty-nine Articles—*continued.*

Hull on the Expediency of changes, &c.
Jewell's Apology for the Church of England.
Kidd's Testimonies and authorities in confirmation, &c.
Kipling's Articles of the Ch. not Calvinistic.
Lamb's Historical account of the 39 articles, from their first promulgation in 1553, to their final establishment in 1571, with exact copies of the Latin and English MSS., &c.
Lawrence's (Abp.) Attempt to illustrate those articles of the Ch. of England which are improperly considered as Calvinistic.
Lincoln's (Bp.) Elements of Theology.
McBride's (J. D.) Lectures on the 39 art.
O'Donahue on the 39 Articles.
Page's Burnet's Exp. revised and corrected; with notes, references, &c.
Rogers' (Dr.) Analysis of the 39 articles.
Tomline's (Bp.) Expos. of the 39 articles.
——— The same, with notes, by R. B. Paul.
Veneer's Exposition. (From the Sac. Scriptures and fathers of the first 3 centuries.)
Waite's Sermons; Practical and Explanatory. (Half-way Calvinism.)
Welshman's 39 Art. illustrated with notes.
Wilson's 39 Art. illustrated from the liturgy, homilies, Jewell's Apology, &c.
Wix's (Sam.) Illustrations of the 39 articles.

A cloud of writers on the 39 articles, some of them not inconsiderable, have passed into oblivion; and many yet extant are superseded by the above.

Thomas. See BIOGRAPHY, SCRIPTURE.

Stapleton, de Tribus Thomis.

Adams' (W.) Warnings.
Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Bourdaloue's Sermons.
Clark's (R.) Sermons.
Horsley's (Bp.) Sermons.
McCrie's (Thomas) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Whately's (Richard) Sermons.

Thomas Aquinas. See THOMISTS.

Aquinatis Opera Omnia. Cum Cajetani, Commentariis. 18 v., fol. 1570.
——— cum Vita, etc. 28 v., 4to. 1788.
Boetii Opera.
Touron, La vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin.
Vielmii Doctrina et scriptis Tho. Aquin.

Thomists. See DOMINICANS.

Billuarti Cursus Theologiæ.
Cerboni Institutiones Theologicæ.
Daniel, le Parallele de la doctrine des Thomistes avec celle des Jesuites.
Iacobatius de VII Sacramentis.
Serry (Iacob. Hyacinth.) Prelectiones.
Silvii Comment. in totam summam Thomæ.
Vasquez, Disputationes et Commentarii.
Ysamberti (Nicol.) Disputationes.

See a great list of Thomist writers in MOLAN'S *Bibliotheca Interpretum.*

Thorn in the Flesh.

Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Boston's (Thomas) Works.
Bull's (Bp.) Works.
Funch's (J.) Sermons.
Hordern's (Joseph) Sermons.
Jacobson's (W.) Sermons.
Jay's (William) Short Discourses.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Jowett's (J.) Sermons.
Morus' (Alex.) Sermons. (2 on this subject.)
Muller's (Edw.) Sermons. (3 on this subject.)
Princeton Review. 35:521.
Rose's (Hugh) Sermons.
Rowe's (John) The Saints' temptations.
Slade's (J.) Sermons.
Walker's (Robert) Sermons.
Wilcox's (Daniel) Sermons.

Thoughtlessness. See CONSIDERATION, MEDITATION, PRUDENCE.

Howe's (John) Sermons.
Jay's (W.) Works. (The secure alarmed.)
Knowles' (T.) Discourses.
Knox's (Vicessimus) Sermons.

Thoughts, Government of. See GOVERNMENT OF THE HEART.

Arwaker's Thoughts well employed.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ethics.
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Calamy's (Edmund) Sermons.
Chevalier's (T.) Hulsean Lectures. 1827.
Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Gell's (Robert) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Hussey's (Christopher) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Vol. 2. (Sermon by S. Charnock.)
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Sharp's (John) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Trapp's (Joseph) Sermons.
Tullie on the Government of the thoughts.
Walker's (Dr. James) Sermons.

Three Witnesses. See GENUINENESS OF 1 JOHN V. 7.

Thundering Legion.

Pro, i. e. that the story is true.

Baumgarten de Miraculo, etc. (Refutes Woolston.)
Whiston, de Legione fulminatrice.
Witsii Ægyptiaca. (Appendix.)

King's (Rev. Mr.) Dissertations. (Replies to Moyle.)

Con.

Boysenii Dissertatio.
Iablonski Spicilegium.
——— de Legione fulminatrice. (Reprinted in vol. 8 of Miscellanea Leipsiensia.)
Larroque, Adversaria Sacra. (Appendix.)
Mosheim (J. L.), Observationes, etc. (Appended to his diss. "Ad disciplinos.")

Richardson (J.), Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ.
Lardner's Testimony of ancient heathens.
Moyle's Posthumous Works. (The letters on this subject are translated into Latin by Mosheim, and published at the end of his Syntagma.)
Woolston's (Tho.) The Miracle of the T. L.

WITSIUS, at the end of his *Ægyptiaca*, recites the opinions of many learned men on this subject.

Time. See NEW YEAR, REDEEMING TIME, VANITY OF THE WORLD.

Alison's (Archibald) Sermons.
Ambrose's (Isaac) Sermons.
Appleton's (Pres.) Works.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Sermons.
Baxter's (A. G.) Sermons.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Butcher's (Edmund) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Close's (Francis) Sermons.
Edwards' Posthumous Sermons.
Evans' (R. W.) Parochial Sermons.
Fawcett's (Joseph) Sermons.
Fox on Time.
Gatty's (Alfred) Sermons.
Hale's (Sir M.) Contemplations.
Hervey's Meditations.
Hewlett's (J. P.) Sermons.
Jenyn's (Soame) Disquisitions. Disq. 4.
Law's (Edmund) Enquiry into the ideas of space, time, &c.
Le Clerc's Logic.
Locke on the Human understanding.
Masillon's Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Neve's (Timothy) Sermons.
Reid's Intellectual Powers.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sharpe's (Wm.) Sermons before the University of Cambridge.
Showers' Reflections on time and eternity.
Sterne's (Lawrence) History of Jacob.
Taylor's (Jer.) Holy Living.
Tucker's Light of Nature.
Watts on the Improvement of the mind.
——— Ontology. Ch. 12.
Young's Night Thoughts.
Zollikoffer on the Festivals and Fasts.

Tithes. See CHURCH RATES.

Pro.

Blackwood's Mag. 33:321. 41:682.
Burgess on Bishop's lands and tithes.
Collins' (Tho.) Divine right of tithes.
Comber (T.) On the right of tithes.
Delany's (Patrick) Sermons. (Appendix.)
Elderfield's Civil right of tithes.
Frazier's Mag. 5:476. 9:379. 11:457. 15:146.
Hale's (Wm.) Observations on tithes.
Heylin's Undeceiving of the people.
——— Historical and miscellaneous tracts.

Tithes—*continued.*

Pro.

Howlett on the Influence of Tithes.
Montague's Diatribe. (Reply to Selden.
Nortcliffe on the Divine right of tithes.
Pagitt on the Provision for the ministry.
Poyntell on Tithes.
Prideaux's Origin and right of tithes.
Poyntell on Tithes.
Quarterly Rev. 42:105. 57:198.
Spelman (Sir Henry) on Tithes.

Con.

Applegate on Tithes.
Atkinson's Testimony concerning tithes.
Cove on the Revenues of the Ch. of England.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 1:290. 2:109.
Ellwood's Foundation of tithes.
Flower (R.) on the Abolition of tithes.
Fox's (George) Reply to Burgess on tithes.
Gentleman's Mag. 42:347.
Gibson's Tithes ended by Christ.
Gratton on the Divine right of tithes.
Lindley's Cerinthus and Ebion. 1708.
Pamphleteer. 7:1. 8:337. 12:493. 15:293. 27:305.
Pearson's Great case of Tithes truly stated.
Selden's History of tithes. (This book was so offensive to the English that the author was compelled to retract it.)
Stratten's English and Jewish tithe systems compared.
Thompson's (Tho.) Origin and effects of T.
Toller on the Law of tithes.
Watkins on Tithes and Oaths.
Westwood on Tithes.
Whitaker's Unjust plea confuted. (Reply to Poyntell.)

Tithes, Jewish.

Amama de Decimis.
Hottingerus de Decimis Judæorum.
Quenstedtii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Scaligeri (J. J.) Opuscula.
Spenceri (J.) Dissertationes.

Tithes, History of.

Comber on the Divine right of tithes. (Gives the practice of Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, in all ages.)
Dalton's Hist. of tithes and church benefices.
Selden's History of tithes.

Titles of Christ.

Bloomsbury Lent Lectures. For 1857.
Dyer's (William) Sermons.
Flavel's Method of Grace.
Goode's (Wm.) Essays. (All sufficient on this subject. Gives *all* the Scripture names of Christ.)
Mylne's (J. G.) Titles and offices of Christ.
Randall's Titles of C., adopted by himself.
Serle's (Ambrose) Horæ Solitariæ.
Spear's (C.) Titles and names of Christ.
Steward on Mediatorial Sovereignty.

Titles of the Psalms.

Fenwick on the Heb. titles of the Psalms. (The only treatise on the subject, in the language. Intended to show that Christ or the Church is the burden of all the psalms.)

Tobacco.

American Quart. Rev. 9:136.
Budgett's Tobacco question, morally, socially, and physically considered.
Clarke (Adam) on the Use and abuse of T.
Fairholt's History of T. and its use in all countries and ages. 100 cuts.
James I. (King of Eng.), Counterblast.
Knickerbocker Magaz. 24:307.
Paul (S.) on Tobacco, Tea, and Coffee.
Rush's (Benj.) Essays. (A medical authority of the highest value.)
Trask's Series of tracts on tobacco and rum.
Venner (Tobias) on the Use of Tobacco.

Toleration.

See CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, CORPORATION AND TEST ACTS, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, ESTABLISHMENTS, PERSECUTION, PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

Pro.

Tertullian, ad Scapulam.

Forbesii (Jo.) Irenicum.
Grotius de Imperio potestatum summarum.
Saueri Christus præstantissimum exemplum.
Spinozæ Tractatus Theologico-politicus.
Vossii (Gerard.) Dissertationes.
Zwickeri Irenicum Irenicorum.
——— Irenicomastix.

Baldwin's Essay on Christianity.
Bayle's (Peter) Philos. Com. on Luke 14:23.
Brakenridge's (William) Sermons.
Brooks' History of religious liberty in Great Britain, from the introduction of Christianity to the death of George III.
Capes' (J. M.) Use of church authority.
Cartwright's (Tho.) Truth on Toleration.
Clarke's (J. E.) History of Intolerance.
Clarendon's (Edw.) Religion and Policy.
Cobbet on the Power of magistrates.
Colebrooke on Iutolerance; ancient and modern.
Davenant's Exhort. to brotherly communion.
Dicks (A. C.) on Church Polity.
Dublin University Mag. 41:638.
Edinb. Review. 16:413. 17:393. 19:149. 26:51. 27:159. 76:382.
Farnsworth on Christian Toleration.
Fellowes' Religion without cant.
Fowne on the Principles of toleration.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Furneaux's (P.) Essay on Toleration.
——— Letters to Blackstone.
Goodwin's Rights of civil magistrates.
Gregory's (G.) Sermons.
Grosvenor's Cruelty in rel. no service to God.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hall's (Robt.) Works.
Hammond's (Henry) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.
Kidder on Private judgment in religion.

Toleration—*continued.*

Pro.

Lake's (Bp. Arthur) Sermons.
Laurie's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Locke's Letters on Government.
Mills' Principles of Toleration.
Milton's (Jno.) Civil power in eccl. causes.
North British Rev. 5:222.
Owen (Dr. John) on Church government.
——— Truth and innocence vindicated. (Reply to Bp. Parker.)
Paley's Moral Philosophy. Book 6.
Richardson on Religious toleration.
Robinson's Claude.
Sage on Toleration.
Salter's Hall Sermons.
Saurin's Sermons. (Preface to vol. 3.)
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Spinoza on the Use of natural reason.
Stillingfleet's Irenicum.
Sturgeon's Plea for toleration.
Sturges' (John) Discourses.
Taylor's (Jer.) Liberty of prophecying.
Taylor's (M.) England's bloody tribunal.
Voltaire on Toleration. Tr. by Williams.
Watts on Civil power in things sacred.
Webb's (Francis) Sermons.
Wellesly (Sir Cha.) on Liberty of conscience.
West's (W.) Sermons.
Whiston's Serious address to the Princes of Europe. 1716.
White's (Jer.) Persuasives to moderation.
Whitefield's (Thomas) Discourses.
Williams' (Roger) The bloody tenet.
Wyvill's (Chris.) Letters on toleration.
Zollikoffer on the Festivals and Fasts of the Church.

Con.

Comenii Admonitio. (Reply to Zwicker.)

Asheton's (W.) T. disproved and condemned.
Blackstone on the Act of Toleration.
Cartwright (Thomas) on Toleration.
Edwards (Tho.) on Toleration and liberty of conscience.
Fosdick on Toleration.
Hammond on the Power of the magistrate.
Holdsworth's Answer without a question
Mather's The bloody tenet washed white.
[Parker's (Bp.)] Ecclesiastical polity. (Exhibits the mischiefs of toleration, and answers "the pretences for liberty of conscience.")
Stahl (Prof.) on Toleration.
Synge's (Abp.) Address to Nonconformists.
Tomkins on Toleration.
Warburton's Alliance between Ch. and State.

See J. JOHNSON'S *List of pamphlets on Toleration published between* 1772 and 1790. Professes to be complete.

Tongue.

See SOCIAL INTERCOURSE, VAIN WORDS.

Adams' (Thomas) Sermons.
Ball's (The Puritan) Power of godliness.

Tongue—*continued.*

Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ethics.
Bloomfield's (G. B.) Sermons. (Judged by our words.)
Blunt's (J. J.) Sermons.
Boston's (Thomas) Sermons.
Boys' (Dr. H.) Sermons.
Brailsford's (J.)) Sermons.
Brinsley's (Wm.) Sermons.
Butler's (Bp.) Sermons.
Collyer (W. B.) on Scripture duties. Lec. 15.
Dawes' (Abp.) Sermons.
Eden's (C. P.) Sermons.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Richard) Sermons.
Gisbourne's (Tho.) Sermons.
Gleig's (George) Sermons.
Goodwin's (H.) Sermons.
Gregory's (George) Sermons.
Horton's Discourses on practical subjects.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Irving's (Edward) Sermons.
Jackson (Bp.) on Little sins.
Lardner's (Nath.) Sermons.
Leland's (Thomas) Sermons.
Morning Lectures at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Edw. West.)
Newton's (Bp.) Dissertations.
Oakley's (Frederick) Sermons.
Peters' (Charles) Sermons.
Pittman's Sermons from eminent divines.
Reyner's Rules for the gov't of the tongue.
Robertson's (F. W.) Sermons.
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Secker's (Abp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's (Bp.) Sermons.
Shorthose's (Hugh) Sermons.
Simeon's (C.) Works.
Tappan's (David) Sermons.
Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons. (4 on this subject.)
Trench's (Richard C.) Sermons.
Ward's (Richard) Theological Lectures.
Watson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Edward W.) Sermons.
Whitty's (John) Sermons.
Wynyard's (John M.) Sermons.

Total Depravity. See HUMAN DEPRAV.

Tower of Babel. See CONF. OF TONGUES.

Calmeti Dissertationes.
Deylingii Observationes Sacræ.
Hoynovius de Structura turris Babel.
Kircheri (Athanas.) Dissertationes.
Zentgravius de Turri Babel.

Bedford's Chronology. (Appendix.)
Jones' (J.) Tower of Babel.
Mede's (Bp.) The Bible and the Classics.

Tractarians. See OXFORD THEOLOGY.

Tradition. See COUNCIL OF TRENT, POPERY, RABBINICAL LITERATURE, TARGUM.

Pro.

Baronii Dissertationes Theologicæ.
Bellarmin, de Verbo Dei non scripto.
Bossuet, de la Tradition.

Tradition—*continued.*

Pro.

Lensius de Verbo Dei.
Varenii pro Catholica fide libellus. ("The great champion of T."—NEWMAN.)
Brett's T. necessary to interpret Scripture.
——— Further proof of the necessity, &c.
Eyre (F.) on T. (Reply to Churton.)
Hampden's Lectures at Oxford.
Hawkins on Unauthoritative tradition.
Holden (Geo.) on the Authority of T.
Hook's (Walter) Sermons.
Hooker's (Richard) Works.
Keble's (J.) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Palmer (Will.) on the Church.
Russell's (F.) Judgment of the Anglican Ch.
Sandis' (Abp.) Tracts of the Anglic. fathers.
Soames' (Henry) Bampton Lectures.

Con.

Aslaci Theses de Scriptura.
Christman's Tradition und Schrift.
Hackspanius de Libertate Christiana.
Hannekenii (M.) Examen manualis Becani.
Hannekenii (Phil.) Jesuita conversus.
Heilbruneri Synopsis errorum Pontificorum.
Holtzmann's Kanon und Tradition.
Hunnii Prima controversia cum Bellarmino.
Hussius (Joann.) de Abolendis sectis.
Kromayer de Traditionibus.
Loescheri Sorex Romanus.
Molina, La perfectione de l'ecriture sainte.
Molitor's Philosophie der Geschichte.
Pictet, Sermons sur divers sujets.
Turrettini (Jo. Alphon.) Cogitationes.
Urbani Notæ in Bellarmino.
Wahlenburg de Traditionibus.
Wegellini Trophæum Augustanum.
Weinman's Streitfrage über die Tradition.

Baxter's (Rich.) Tradition examined.
Beaufort's Norrisian Prize Essay. 1841.
Bennett's (W. J. E.) Distinctive errors of Popery.
Case on Human authority in religion.
Churton on the Value of Tradition.
Davies' (J.) Supremacy of the Scriptures.
Fletcher's (Jos.) Lectures on Romanism.
Goode's (W.) Divine rule of faith and pract.
Hampden (R. D.) on Tradition.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 4.
Jordan's (J.) Review of Tradition, as taught in the "Tracts for the Times."
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Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
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Frenzelius de Origine animæ.
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Langii (J.) Dissertationes.
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Zeishold, de Generatione hominis.

Baxter on the Soul.
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Hagenbach's Hist. of doctrines. Sec. 247.
Hill's (H.) Infancy of the soul.
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Ramsay's Man's dignity and perfect. vindic.
Vilvain's Theological Treatises. (An abridgment of Woolnor, Thorndike, Bp. Cowper, Baily, Hakewell, and others.)
Watts' Philosophical Essays. Ess. 9.
Wollaston's Religion of Nature.
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Fichté's Anweisung zum seligen Leben, etc.
Hegel's System des transcend. Idealism.
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Bragge (Francis) on Miracles.
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Felton's (George) Sermons.
Fonsecca's Devout Contemplations.
Goulburn's (E. M.) Parochial Sermons.
Hackett's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hall's (Bp.) Contemplations.
Hawker's (Robert) Works.
Henderson's (John) Illustration of the T.
Hobart's (John H.) Sermons.
Kennaway's (Cha. E.) Sermons at Brighton.
Laurie's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Leland's (John) Discourses.
Manton's (Dr. Tho.) Works.
Porteus (Bp.) on the T. of Christ.
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Sharpe's (William) Sermons.
Thomson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Townsend's (George) Sermons.
Van Mildert's Sermons at Lincoln's Inn.
Whitefield's Sermons.
Williams' (Alfred) Sermons.

Translations of Scripture. See ENGLISH BIBLE, NEW VERSION OF ENG. BIBLE, SEPTUAGINT, VULGATE.

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Bernstein's Heilige Evang. Joannis Syrisch.
Bindseil's Verz. d. orig-ausgaben d. Lutherischen Bibelübersetzung.

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Bos, Prolegomena. (Exceedingly valuable.)
Castellionis Biblia Sacra Latina. (Elegant, and with valuable prolegomena.)
——— Defensio suarum translationum.
Clerici et Hammondi Versio, cum paraphr., Dissertat., et tabulis chronol. et geograph.
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Hirzel, de Pentateucho vers. Syriacæ quam Peschito vocant.
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Hottingeri Dissertationes. (Extensive and varied information.)
Jaspis, Versio Latina Epistolarum N. T.
Junii Acta Apost. ex Arabica transl. Latine reddita.
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——— Disquisitiones Criticæ.
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Beausobre & L'Enfant's Introduction.
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Brett's Ancient Versions. (Watson's Tracts.)
Brief view of Baptist trans. in India. 1815.
Brown's Hist. of the Propag. of the Gospel.
Buchanan's Notices of Oriental translations.
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Davidson's (S.) Biblical Criticism. *Peshito, Gothic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Armenian,* and other versions.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 23:315. *Gothic.*
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Gyle's (J. F.) Essays.
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Horne's Introduction. *English translations.*
Kennicott's Dissertations.
Kidder's Remarks on Castellio's version.
Kitto's Journal. 3:320. *Gothic version.*
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Lincoln's Elements of Christian Theology.
Llewellyn's History of the Welch versions.
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Orme's Historical sketch of the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, to the present. 1815.
Period. Accounts of the Baptist Miss. Soc.
Quar. Rev. 1:276.
Reports of the Brit. and For. Bib. Society.
Serampore Memoirs of Oriental translations. 1834.
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Spearman's Letters on the Septuagint.
Stuart's (E. C.) The Bible and its Versions.
Thomson & Orme's History of the translation and circulation of S. S. 1815.
Townley's Illustration of Biblical literature.
——— Introd. to the liter. hist. of the Bible.
Tytler (A. F.) on the Principles of Translat.
Wrangham on the Oriental translations.

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Transmigration of Souls.
See METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Transubstantiation.

Albertinus de Eucharistia. ("The best."—Wiseman.)
Allix, Prefatio historica de dogmate transub.
Anselm, de Corpore et Sanguine Domini.
Bebelii Antiquitates Ecclesiæ.
Beranger, de Sacra Cœna.
Buddei Institutiones Theologiæ Dogmaticæ.
Bullingeri Opera.
Chamieri Dissertationes.
Chemnitii Loci Theologici.
Claude, Traite de l'Eucharist.
Cosini Hist. transubstantiat. papalis.
Dallei Dissertationes.
Derodon, le Tombeau de la messe.
Feverlini Dissertationes.
Flaccus Illyricus, Dissertationes.
Gerhardi Loci Theologicæ.
Hoepfneri Dissertationes.
Hutteri Dissertationes.
Ittigii Select. Hist. Ecclesiast. capita.
Maresii Disputatio Apologetica.
Marheinecke, Hist. tripartita Eucharistiæ.
Moulin, Abregé des controverses.
Œcolampadius de Eucharistia.
Pfaffii Foetus polemicus Lud. Rogerii.
Pictet, Theologie Chrétien.
Placette, l'Autorité des sens. (Acta erud.)
Radberti (P.) Opera. (The first writer [A.D. 850] in favor of transubstantiation. He was answered by many: e. g., Ratram, John Scott, and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, who denounced the doctrine as an error and a novelty.)
Ratrami Opera. (Quotes Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, Fulgentius, Augustine, &c., showing that the doct. was unknown to them.

Transubstantiation—*continued.*

Turretini Institutiones Theologicæ.
Vannii de Missa Historia.
Van Till, Disputationes historico-theologica.
Verini (sive Salmasius) Liber de Transub.
Walchii (Geo.) Hist. transubstantionum.
Walchii (J. G.) Miscellanea Sacra.

Abernethy's Dialogues.
——— Remarks on transubstantiation.
Allibond (Peter) on Transubstantiation.
Beveridge's Thesaurus Theologicus.
Beza's True meaning of "This is my body."
Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:110,225.
Bradford's (The Martyr) Works.
Brown on Natural and revealed religion.
Burnet (Bp.) on Idolatry.
Carson's (Alex.) Transubstant. impossible.
Cornthwaite's Trans. impartially considered.
Cosin's Hist. of transubs. ("Cosin was the Atlas of the Protestant religion."—Thos. Fuller. A new edit., by Rev. J. S. Brewer, 1850, gives the authorities at full length.)
Cranmer's (Abp.) Works.
Du Moulin's Apology for the Eucharist.
Faher's (G. S.) Christ's discourse at Capernaum fatal to the doctrine of transubstantiation on the very principle of exposition adopted by Papal divines.
Featley's Transubstantiation exploded.
Gataker on Transubstantiation.
Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.
[Goodwin's] T. a peculiar article of the Roman Ch., never owned by the Ancient Ch.
Ingram's Doctrine of Transub. refuted.
Jewell's (Bp.) Works. (Parker Society pub.)
Johnson's Absolute impossibility of T.
Kidder's Demonst. of the Messiah. Part 3.
Knowles' (J. Sheridan) The idol demolished by its own priests. (A strong exhibit.)
More (Dr. Henry) on the Real presence.
Moulin's Apology for the Lord's Supper.
Nelson's Transub. contrary to Scripture.
Newcombe (H.) on Transubstantiation.
Patrick's (Bp.) Works.
Placette's Testimony of sense against T.
Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum.
Ridley's (Bp.) Works. (Parker Soc. publ.)
Salter's Hall Sermons. (Ser. by Dr. Harris.)
Smith's Errors of the Roman Church.
Stillingfleet's Doctrine of the Trinity.
Taylor's (J.) Polemic Discourses. (Several.)
Tillotson's (Abp.) Sermons.
Turner's (John) Sermons.
Wake's (Abp.) Treatise concerning T.
Whitby's Derision of the breaden God.

This article might be indefinitely enlarged. See Meier's *Gesch. der Transubstationslehre; mit Abhandlung von* H. E. G. Paulus.

Trappists. See CISTERCIANS.

Du Bois, Hist. civile, religieuse, et litteraire, de l'Abbaye de la Trappe.
Felihien, Descrip. de l'Abbaye de la T.
Gaillardin, l'Ordre des Citaux. To 1844.

Trappists—*continued.*

Rance, Règlemens de la Trappe.
Règlemens de la Maison Dieu de Notre Dame de la Trappe.
Ritsert's Orden der Trappisten.
Sartorii Historia Bis tertium.

Fellows' Visit to the Monastery of La Trappe. Plates. 1817.

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Tree of Knowledge.

Eleutherus de Arbore scientiæ, etc.
Barrington on the Various dispensations.
Baseley's (T.) Sermons.
Burnet's Boyle Lectures. 1724, 1725.
——— on the 39 Articles.
Delany's Revelation examined. Diss. 1.
Gilbert's (N.) Sermons.
Heylin's (John) Theological Lectures.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
King's (Abp.) Origin of evil.
Manston's (Jos.) Lectures to young persons.
Page (Thomas) on the Types.
Pirie's (Alex.) Miscellaneous Works.
Raleigh's (Sir W.) History of the world.

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Turretini Institutiones.
Witsii Œconomia Fœderis.
Ziegra, Thesaurus.

Arrais' Physical account of the tree of life.
Eliot's (W L.) Discourses.
Horne's (Bp.) Discourses.
Kennicott's (Benj.) Dissertations.
Lee's (Francis) Dissertations.
Page (T.) on the Types connected with the patriarchal covenant.
Raleigh's (Sir W.) History of the world.

Trent. See COUNCILS.

Tribulation. See AFFLICTION, ANXIETY, MOURNERS, PATIENCE, RESIGNATION, TROUBLE, TRUST.

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Athanasius, Orationes. (And other works.)
Augustine, de Trinitate.
Ambrose, Lectiones.
Justin Martyr. Opera quæ extant.
Epiphanius, adversus Hæreses.
Hilary, Libri XII de Trinitate.
Chrysostom, Homiliæ.
Irenæus Detectio: seu contra hæreses.
Cyprian, Epistolæ.
Cyril Alex., de Trinitate.

Alesii (Valentini) Confutatio, etc.
Allix, Judicium veteris Ecclesiæ Judaicæ.
Amyraldus de Mysterio Trinitatis.
Amyrant, de Mysterio Trinitatis.
Boethii Opera Theologica.
Bretschneider's Systematische Entwickelung.

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Burcher de Deo triuno. (A small but convenient work, made up of extracts from Polycarp, J. Martyr, Irenæus, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, &c., in the original Greek, with a Latin version.)
Callixti (F. U.) Dissert. de questione, num mysterium sanc. Trinitatis e Vet. Testam. libris possit demonstrari.
Capelli Critica Sacra.
Carpzovii de Sanc. Trinitatis mysterio.
Danæi Synopsis Doct. de Trinitate.
Deylingii Revelat. mysterii sacro-sanc. Tr.
Dorner's Entwickelung-Geschichte der Lehre der person Christi. (Refutes Bauer's History of the Trinity.)
Estius in Præcipua difficiliora S. Scrip.
Hunnii Questiones et Responsiones.
Hyperii Theses Theologicæ.
Misleri (Ioann. Nicol.) Theognosia.
Oehmbs de Deo. (A collection of all the passages, both of Scripture and of the Fathers, arranged under heads in refutation of the several Anti-trinit. doctrines.)
Osiandri Aug. Trin. myst. ex utriusque Vet. et Nov. Test. libris adumbratum.
Quenstedtii (Ioann.) Disputationes.
Sandii Bibliotheca Anti-Trin., etc. To 1684.
Somneri Specimen Theologiæ Soharicæ.
Stapferi Institutiones. Cap. II, sec. 16.
Witsii Exercitationes.
Zanchius de Tribus Elohim.

Allix's Testimony of the Jewish Church.
——— Fathers vindicated.
Am. Bibl. Repos. 4:204.
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Arnold's (Thomas) Sermons.
Barrow's Defence of the Holy Trinity.
Bates' Works. Chap. 5.
Baxter's End of Controversy.
Bedford's (A.) Defence of the doctrines, &c.
Berriman's Moyer Lectures. 1723, 1724. (Historical.)
Biblioth. Sac. 3:499,760. 4:25.
Bradbury's Mystery of Godliness.
Bull's (Bp.) Defence of the Nicene Creed.
Burgess' (Bp.) Introd. to the doct. of the T.
Burgess' Collection of Tracts.
Burton's Testim. of Ante-Nicene Fathers.
Butler's (Wm. Archer) Sermons.
Bushnel's Christian T. a practical truth.
Calamy's (Edm'd) Sermons at Salter's Hall.
Chapman's (Dr.) Miscellaneous Tracts.
Cheyne's Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.
Christ. Month. Spect. 8:257.
Christ. Quart. Spect. 6:259.
Clarke's (Sam.) Scripture doctrine of the T.
Cleland's Unitarianism Unmasked.
Clements' Moyer Lectures. 1757.
Croft's Bampton Lectures. 1786.
Crosthwaite's (J. C.) Sermons.
Cudworth's Intellec. system of the universe.
D'Oyly's (Dr. George) Sermons.
Drumond (W. H.) on the Trinity.
Eveleigh's (J.) Bampton Lectures. 1792.

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Faber's Apostolicity of Trinitarianism. (The testimony of history to the antiquity of the doctrine.)
Fuller's (Andrew) Works.
Gastrell on the Trinity, and the way of managing that controversy.
Gill's (John) Sermons and Tracts.
——— Treatise on the Trinity.
Gilpin's (William) Sermons.
Graves' (R.) Scripture Proof, &c.
Hale (Dr. Wm.) on Faith in the Holy T.
Hartley's (T.) Trinity defended.
Hayward's Sermons.
Hey's Lectures in Divinity.
Holden's (Geo.) Scripture Testimony.
Holden's (Henry E.) Doct. of the Trinity.
Hope's (C. D.) Catholic Doctrine.
Horne's Scripture doctrine of the Trinity.
Horsley's (Sam.) Tracts. (Controversy with Priestley.)
Howard's (Leonard) Sermons.
Howard (J.) on the Trinity.
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Huntingford's Thoughts on the Trinity.
Jackson (J.) on the Trinity.
Jamieson's Sacred History.
Jennings' (D.) Berry St. Lectures. 1733.
Jones' (Wm. of Nayland) Ans. to Clayton on the Spirit. (Gives a particular account of the Hermetic, Pythagorean, and Platonic Trinities.)
——— Catholic doct. of the T. (Sufficient.)
——— Preservative agt. modern Socinians.
Jones' (Sir Wm.) Doctrine of the Trinity.
Kidd's Essay on the Trinity. (Reasons from reason, duration, space, tradition, &c.)
Kidder on the Messias.
Kirby's Philosophical demonst. of the T.
Lady Moyer's Lectures. By Waterland, Berriman, Trapp, Browne, Seed, Bedford, Wheatly, Ridley, Clement, Morell, and others. These lectures were established in 1719, and continued to 1774. They are printed separately.
Marsh's (Bp.) Letters to Archdeacon Travis.
Marshall's (N.) Sermons.
Maurice on the Oriental Trinities.
Morgan on the Effect of the writings of Plato and Philo Judæus on the principles and reasonings of the Fathers of the Ch.
Mortlock's Scripture doct. of the Trinity.
Murray's (A.) Clear display of the Trinity.
Nelson's Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated. (Reply to Clarke.)
New Englander. Periodical. Various pieces.
Norton's Reasons for not believing the doct.
Nye's Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.
Owen's (John) Vindic. of the doct. of the T.
Panoplist. Periodical. Many articles.
Parker's Tr. of the orations of Athanasius.
Pearson on the Creed.
Randolph's Vind. of the doctrine of the T.
Ryland's Life of Hervey.
Scott's (Thomas) Essays.

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Scott's (Daniel) Demonstration of the Scripture Trinity.
Serle's Horæ Solitariæ. (Appendix.)
Sherlock on the Trinity.
Simpson's True Scripture doct. of the T.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 3:225,287,344, et alia.
Stillingfleet's Vind. of the doctrine of the T.
Stuart's Letters to Channing.
Taylor's (Abraham) Scripture doct. of the T.
Tolley's Explanatory View.
Trapp on the Doct. of the Trinity. (Ably answers the strongest objections.)
Tucker's Light of nature pursued.
Vogan's Bampton Lectures. 1837. (Considers the main objections.)
Wallis' Letters on the Trinity.
Waterland (D.) on the Trinity.
Wheatly (Cha.) on the Nicene and Athanasian creeds so far as they express a co-equal Trinity explained and confirmed by the Holy Scriptures.
Whitby's (D.) Thoughts on the Trinity.

For a full list of Antitrinitarian writers, see SAND, *Biblioth. Antitrinitariorum Scriptorum*, 1684; BOCK, *Hist. Antitrinit.*, in 3 vols., folio, with notices of authors, synods, disputations, &c., 1784. Also, THOMAS HEARNE's *Acct. of all the considerable books and pamphlets concerning the Trinity, between* 1712 and 1720.

Tritheists.

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Cottelerii Monumenta Eccl. Græcæ.
Damascenus de Heresibus.
Harduini Concilia.
Harenburgii Dissertationes.
Rinkius de Orig. et progressu Tritheismi.

Trouble. See AFFLICTION, ANXIETY, RESIGNATION, TRUST.

Allestree's (Richard) Sermons.
Baddelly's (George) Sermons.
Bingham's (Richard) Sermons.
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Bridge's (W.) Saints' hiding-place.
Coles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Cotton's (John) Mercy mixed with Justice.
Cruden's (W.) Sermons.
Hale's (James) Sermons.
Halyburton's (Thomas) Works.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Howe's (John) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Ibbot's (Dr.) Sermons.
Jones' (William) Sermons.
Leightonhouse's Sermons.
McNeile's (Hugh) Sermons.
Newton's (Benjamin) Sermons.
Paterson's (Jas.) Advantages of adversity.
Patrick's (Bp.) Sermons.
Polhill's (E.) Preparation for suffering.
Reynolds' (John) Sermons.
Rogers' (Timothy) Sermons.
Seed's (Bp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Toplady's (A. M.) Essays.
Welch's (John) Sermons.

Trust in God.

Abernethy's, John, Sermons.
Adey's, William, Sermons.
Atkinson's, Christopher, Sermons.
Atterbury's, Lewis, Sermons.
Bentley's, Richard, Sermons.
Beveridge's, Bp., Sermons.
Bishop's, William, Village Sermons.
Bowdler's Theological Essays.
Bradley's, Cha., Sermons.
Bull's, Bp., Sermons.
Burder's, H. F., Sermons.
Carr's, George, Sermons.
Charnock's, Stephen, Sermons.
Christian Observer. 11:631.
Close's, F., Sermons.
Coney's, Dr. Thomas, Sermons.
Cooper's, Edward, Sermons.
Cotes', Henry, Sermons.
Crosthwaite's, J. C., Sermons.
Donne's, John, Sermons.
Drysdale's, Dr. John, Sermons.
Duché's, Jacob, Sermons.
Gibbs', John, Sermons.
Heurtley's, Cha. A., Sermons.
Johnson's, Dr. Sam., Sermons.
Jortin's, John, Sermons.
Langhorne's, William, Sermons.
Leighton's, Abp., Sermons.
Leland's, Thomas, Sermons.
Leng's, John, Sermons.
Lucas', Richard, Sermons.
Masillon's Sermons.
Mason's, John, Christian Morals.
Milner's, Joseph, Sermons.
Morehead's, Robert, Discourses.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Sylvester.
Moss', Robt., Sermons.
Neal's, D., Berry Street Sermon.
Newlin's, Thomas, Sermons.
Pierce's, Sam. Eyles, Sermons.
Reeves', William, Sermons.
Rogers', John, Sermons.
Scattergood's, Samuel, Sermons.
Seed's Posthumous Sermons.
Sharp's, Abp., Sermons.
Smallridge's, Geo., Sermons.
Smith's, Samuel S., Sermons.
Stebbings', Henry, Sermons.
Taylor's, John, Sermons.
Toulmin's, J., Sermons.
Trebeck's, Andrew, Sermons.
Venn's, John, Sermons.
Wilcox's, Dan., Sermons.
Witherspoon's, Dr. John, Sermons.

Truth. See LYING, PROMISES.

Arnauld, des Vrayes et des fausses idées. (Against Malebranche on Truth.)
——— Défence contre la réponse, etc.

Truth—*continued.*

Cartesii Meditationes.
Grotius de Jure. Lib. III.
Malbranche, Recherche de la Verité.

Balguy's Law of Truth.
Barbeyrac's Notes on Puffendorf.
Beattie on the Nature of Truth.
Buffier's First Truths.
Butler's Analogy of religion and nature.
Dwight's Theology. Disc. 125.
Edwards' (John) Truth and Errors in relig.
Follet's Origin, science, and end of moral T.
Fuller's Essay on Truth.
Grindall's (Abp.) Remains. (Publication of the Parker Society.)
Hawkins' Bampton Lectures. 1840.
Haynes' Illustrations of faith and practice.
Johnson's (Dr. Sam.) Sermons.
Locke on the Human understanding.
New Englander. 2:359. 3:66.
New England Mag. 7:302.
Oswald on Common Sense.
Powell (Baden) on Natural and Divine T.
Puffendorf's Law of Nature. Bk. 4.
Rose's Duty of maintaining truth.
Saurin's Sermons. (Buying the truth.)
Stennet's (Jos.) Sermons. (Nature of truth.)
Stennet's (Sam.) Sermons. (Propagat. of T.)
Tatham's Chart and Scale of truth.
Thornwell's (J. H.) Discourses on truth.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Van Mildert's (Bp.) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Whately's (Abp.) Essays. Ess. 1.
Wilkins' Nature of Religion.
Wollaston's Religion of Nature.

Truth of God. See FAITHFULNESS.

Tunkers. See GERMAN BAPTISTS.

Two Witnesses. [REV. 11:3.]

Prideaux, de Duobus testibus.

Beith's The two witnesses traced in history.
Bridge's (W.) Works.
Charter's (S.) Sermons.
Elliot's Warburton Lectures.
Glas' (John) Works.
Harrison's Warburton Lectures. 1849.
Homes' Revelation revealed.
Tillinghast's (John) Generation works.
Todd's Donnellan Lectures. 1841.
Worthington's Boyle Lectures.

Types. See under the several types, as BRAZEN SERPENT, SCAPE-GOAT, &c.

Bacmeisteri Explicatio typorum V. Test.
Balduini Passio Christi typica.
Biermanni Moses et Christus.
Cremeri Prodromus typicus.
——— de Typorum usu et abusu.
Driesenii Diatribe de principiis emblemat.
Ewald, Emblemata Sacra.
Glassii Philologia Sacra.
Hiller's Neues system aller Vorbilder J. C.

Types—*continued.*

Honerti Institutiones theologiæ typicæ.
Hulsii Nucleus prophetiæ.
Langii Mysterium Christi. (*Acta erud.*)
Maii Synopsis Theologiæ Symbolicæ.
Michaelis Entwurf der typischen, etc.
Outram de Sacrificiis Judæorum. (Superior.)
Rappolti (Frideric.) Dissertationes.
Rudelbach, de Symbolis ac Typis.
Snabellii Amœnitates Theologiæ.
Weisman, de Sensu spirituali Vet. Test.

Aitkin's Teachings of the Types.
Bates' (Julius) Evid. of types vindicated.
Brown's (John) Sacred Tropology.
Burns' Sermons on Types and Metaphors.
Cecil's Remains. *Mode of explaining.*
Chevalier's Hulsean Lectures. 1826.
Close (Francis) on the Typical persons.
Crombie's Character and offices of Christ.
Dickie's Typical forms and special ends in Creation.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 9.
——— Ten Sermons.
Eclectic Review. 4th Series. 26:194.
Edwards' (Jonathan) Works.
Fairbairn's Typology of Scripture. ("Learned and judicious."—J. PYE SMITH.)
Guild's Moses pourtrayed.
Hawkins' (Dr. Edward) Sermons.
Hill's Testimony to the Messiah. (Not controversial, but forestalls the "Essays and Reviews.")
Juke's (Andrew) Types of Genesis.
Keach's Key to Scripture metaphors.
Lavington's Nature and use of a type.
Le Bas' Scripture fulfilled.
Lee's Orbis miraculum.
Lond. Quart. Rev. 10:382.
Lord's Literary and Theol. Journal. 5:353.
Ludlam on Scripture Metaphors.
Mather's (Cotton) Types of the Old Test.
Mather (Sam.) on the O. and N. Test. types.
McCosh's Typical forms in creation.
McEwen's Grace and Truth.
McKnight on the Language of Scripture.
Muenscher on Typical Interpretation.
Newton's (Rich.) Jewish Tabernacle.
Outram on Sacrifices.
Page (T.) on the Types.
Piers' Typical illustration considered.
Ridgeley's Body of Divinity.
Seiss' (Jos. A.) Holy Types; or the Gospel in Leviticus.
Scott's (John) Christian Life.
Simpson's (F. G.) Lent Lectures.
Slye's (Jas.) The old mine explored.
Smith's (G. B.) Typical parts of Christ's teaching.
Steward on Mediatorial Sovereignty.
Taylor's (Dr. Tho.) Moses and Aaron.
——— Christ revealed.
Thompson's (Edw.) Evidences of Christ'y.
Townley's Maimonides.
Trevor's Types and Antitypes.
Tyng's Rich Kinsman; or History of Ruth.

Types—*continued.*

Vertue's (H.) Christ and the Church.
Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses.
Wemyss' Key to the symbolical language of Scripture.
West's Figures and Types of the O. Test.
Wilson's (John) Doct. of Scripture types.
Wood's (J.) Nature and use of figures. (Chiefly extracted from Keach.)
Worden's Types unveiled; or the gospel picked out of the legal ceremonies.

Unbelief. See FAITH, INFIDELITY.

Abernethy's Evil heart of incredulity.
Alexander's (J. W.) Sermons.
Bridge's (W.) Works.
Case's (Thomas) Sermons.
Chalmers' (Thomas) Sermons.
Charnock's (Stephen) Works.
Churchill on Unbelief.
Clerke's (Richard) Sermons.
Davy's (C.) Sermons.
Donne's (John) Sermons.
Erskine's (Ebenezer) Sermons.
Fearn (J.) on Belief and Unbelief.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Hannam's Compendium.
Jamieson's (John) Sermons. (8 on this subj.)
Lamb's (Robert) Sermons.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Melville's (Henry) Sermons.
Mills' (Tho.) Absurdity of unbelief.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Moberly's (G.) Sermons at Winchester.
Owen's Reasons of faith.
Panoplist. 4:247.
Payson's (Edward) Sermons.
Porteus' (Bp.) Sermons.
Pyle's (T.) Sermons.
Rees' (Abraham) Sermons.
Scattergood's (Sam.) Sermons.
Seabury's (Bp.) Sermons.
Sherlock's Sermons.
Shuttleworth's (P. N.) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (Cha. H.) Sermons. 2d Series.
Tillotson's Sermons.
Trench's (Richard C.) Sermons.
Venn's (Henry) Sermons.
Welch's (John) Sermons.
Willison's (John) Works.

Uncertainty of Life. See FRAILTY PROCRASTINATION.

Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Bramston's (William) Sermons.
Calthrop's (John) Sermons.
Edwards' (Jonathan) Works.
Fawcett's (John) Sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Jones' (Walter) Sermons.
Leightonhouse's (W.) Sermons.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Morton's (Edward) Sermons.
Parkinson's (R.) Sermons.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.

Uncharitableness. See CENSORIOUSNESS, CHRISTIAN UNION, EVIL SPEAKING, FELLOWSHIP, RASH JUDGMENT, SECTS, UNITY.

Watts' Orthodoxy and charity united.

Uncleanness. See CHASTITY.

Brydane, Conférence sur l'Impurité.
Lebrun, Electuaire souverain.
Picard, le Fouet des paillards.

Barlow (W.) on Fornication.
Becon's (Tho.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Blair's (James) Sermons.
Burnet's (Gilbert) Sermons.
Collier's (Jeremy) Essays on moral subjects.
Cosens' (John) Sermons.
Evans' (Dr. John) Sermons.
Garbent's Testimony against whoremongers.
Goodwin's (H.) Parish Sermons.
Holbrook's (Anthony) Sermons.
Osterwald on the Nature of uncleanness.
Scott's (John) Sermons.
Southgate's (Richard) Sermons.
Spectator. No. 286.
Stebbings' (Henry) Sermons.
Warter's (John W.) Sermons.
Zollikoffer on Prevalent vices.
——— on Fasts and Festivals.

Unequal Distribution of Good and Evil. See INEQUALITIES, &C.

Ashburnham's, William, Sermons.
Bather's, Edward, Sermons.
Du Moulin's, Peter, Sermons.
Gresley's, William, Sermons.
Hill's, George, Sermons.
Landon's, W., Sermons.
Maltby's, Bp., Sermons.
Moss', Robert, Sermons.
Nares', R., Sermons.
Phillips', R., Sermons.
Pyle's, Philip, Sermons.
Saurin's Sermons.
Warter's, John W., Sermons.
Yonge's, James, Sermons.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on Education.

Unigenitus. See PAPAL BULLS.

D'Alembert, Essai sur la destruction des Jesuites.
Dubois, Collectio actor. publ. Clement XI.
Fehmelii (A. G.) Dissertationes.
Fricke (J.) die Bulle unigenitus.
Jenichii (G. F.) Historia et examen bullæ Clementis XI contra Quesnellum.
Lafiteau, Hist. de la constit. Unigenitus.
Marmontel, Régence du Duc d'Orleans.
[Nivelle,] la Constitution Unigenitus.
Noailles, Memoires et instructions secrets.
Pfaffii Acta publica a Clemente XI.
Schillingii Hist. bullar. Clementis VI et XI.
[Villefore,] Anecdotes: ou memoires secréts.

Gordon's Famous bull U. impartially related; wherein the absurdities and delusions of Popery are laid open.
Whately's Parallel bet. Pagans and Jesuits.

Union of Church and State. See ESTABLISHMENTS.

Union with Christ.

Albertus de modo Unionis mysticæ.
Basnage, l'Union de l'âme avec Jésus.
Breithaupti Inst. theolog. de credendis et agendis.
Carpovii Theologia revelata dogmatica.
Klemius de Unione S. S. cum fidelibus.
Quistorpius de Conjugio mystico.
Scharfius de Mystico J. C. adventu infideles.
Schelvigii (Sam.) Dissertationes.
Schmidtius (Seb.) de Conjugio mystico.
Schomeri Differentia unionis personalis et mysticæ.

Barker's (John) Morning Exercises.
Bayley's (B.) Sermons.
Dealtry's (Archdeacon) Sermons.
Dickinson's Letters. Letter 17.
Dorney's Divine Contemplations.
Ferguson's (Robt.) Lectures.
Flavel's Method of grace in the gospel.
Gammon's Christ's a Christian life.
Hall's Help to Zion's pilgrims. Chap. 4. (A very valuable little manual for young Christians.)
Harte's (W. M.) Sermons.
Heurtley's (C. A.) Sermons.
Marshall on Sanctification. (Famous.)
McGill's (W.) Sermons.
Murray's Christian's Pattern.
Polhill's Christus in Corde.
Sherlock's Knowledge of Jesus Christ.
Simeon's (C.) Works.
Watts' (Isaac) Sermons.
Wilberforce's (R. S.) Sermons.
Williams' (John) Sermons.
Yonge's (James) Sermons.

Union, Christian. See CHRISTIAN UNION.

Unitarians. See ARIANS, ATONEMENT, GENUINENESS OF 1 JOHN V. 7, LOGOS, JESUS CHRIST, SOCINIANS, &c.

Pro.

Bidelii Rationes duodecem.
Eniedini Explicatio locorum S. S. ex quibus trinitatis dogma stabiliri solet.
Franzii Disputationes.
Ritteri Demonstratio quod Christus non sit ipse Deus.
Sandii Bibliotheca Antitrinitarum.
Schaffer's Kurtzer Bericht auf die Frage, etc.
Servetus de Trinitatis Erroribus.

Alexander's (John) Crit. notes on 1 Cor. xv.
Alger's (W. R.) History of the Cross.
Allen (J. H.) on Orthodoxy.
Amner (Rich.) on the Prophecies of Daniel.
Aspland's (Robt.) Works.
Bartol's Sermons.
Barlee's Review of Trinitarianism; chiefly as it appears in the writings of Pearson, Bull, Waterland, Sherlock, and Howe.
Brooks (Cha. T.) on Christ's teaching.
Burnap's Christianity—its essence, &c.
Cappe's Crit. remarks on important texts.

Unitarians—*continued.*

Pro.

Carpenter's (Lant.) View of Unitarianism.
——— Proofs from Scripture.
——— Letters to Dr. Vessie.
——— (Other treatises.)
Channing's (Wm. E.) Works.
Christian Disciple. Periodical. 1819–1824.
Chris. Exam. Period. Boston. Since 1824.
Chris. Reformer. Periodical. Since 1834.
Collins' (Ant.) Defence of the U. faith.
——— Supreme deity of the Father.
Dewey's (Orv.) Discourses and Discussions.
Disney's Letters to Dr. Knox.
——— Sermons.
Drummond's (W. H.) Doct. of the Trinity.
Durnap on Unitarianism.
Eddowe's (Ralph) Sermons.
Eddy's Reasons for becoming a Unitarian.
Emlyn's (Thomas) Works.
Elliot's (W. G.) Doctrines of Christianity.
Evanson's Doct. of the Trinity examined.
——— Letter to the Bp. of Gloucester.
Frothingham's (N. L.) Sermons.
Furness' (W. H.) Genius of Christianity.
——— History of Jesus.
Grundy's Evang. Christianity considered.
Harrington's (Joseph) Sermons.
Hawthorne (G. S.) on the Trinity.
Haynes on the Attributes of God.
Hedge's Reason in Religion.
Hopkins' Appeal to common sense.
Hyndman's Principles of Unitarianism.
Jardine on the Love of God.
——— Sermons. Edited by J. P. Estlin.
Kenrick's Exposition of the New Testament.
Kentish's Principles of Unitarians.
Lamson's Church of the first 3 centuries.
Lindsay's Apol. on resigning his vicarage.
——— Against Robt. Robinson of Camb.
——— Address to Oxford students.
——— on Praying to Christ.
——— Sequel to the Apology.
(Mr. L. was a notable champion of Unitarianism, and wrote several other treatises. A list of writers in opposition to him, is given by DR. KIPPIS, in one of his notes to Doddridge's Lectures.)
Livermore's Com. on the Ep. to the Romans.
Madge on the Personality of the H. Ghost.
Martineau's Studies of Christianity.
Maurice on the Unitarian faith.
Morrison's Notes on the Gospels.
North's Theological Essays.
Norton's (Andrews) Statement of reasons, &c.
Noyes' Theological Essays.
Peabody's (A. P.) Sermons.
Pierce's Tracts. (These produced a fruitful controversy in 1720, an account of which is given in Bogue & Bennet's History of Dissenters.)
Porter's Lectures on Christian doctrine.
Priestley's History of early opinions.
——— Appeal to professors of Christianity.
——— Illustrations of Scripture.

Unitarians—*continued.*

Pro.

Priestley's Corruptions of Christianity.
——— (Other treatises in his "Works.")
Scott's Effect of the creation of J. Christ.
Sears (E. H.) on Regeneration.
Servetus (or Reves) on the Trinity.
Smith's Design and end of the controversy.
Sparks (J.) on the Moral tendency of U.
——— Unitarian Miscellany.
Taylor's Key to the Apostolical writings.
——— Scripture doctrine of the Atonement.
Taylor's (H.) Letters of Ben Mordecai.
Taylor's (James) Faith and Duty.
Theological Repository. Periodical.
Toulmin's Efficacy of Unitarian doctrine.
——— Exhortation to Christian people.
——— Life of Socinus.
——— Life of Biddle.
Tracts of the Unitarian Association. 15 vols.
Wakefield's Enquiry into early opinions.
——— Trans. of the N. Test. and notes.
Ware's (Henry, Sen.) Sermons.
Ware's (Henry, Jun.) Letters to Trinitarians.
Whiston's Primitive Christianity revived. (This book called out many replies. See a list of such as were published between 1711 and 1740, in HORNE's *Catalogue of Queen's College Library.*)
Whitmarsh's Catechism.
Wilson's (John) Scripture proofs and illustrations.
——— Concessions of Trinitarians. (Extracts from eminent critics and commentators.)
Worcester on Atonement and Sacrifice.
Yates on Unitarianism. (Rep. to Wardlaw.)
——— Sequel to Do.

Brief treatises advocating Unitarian sentiments are extant, by Acton, Aspland, Barrington, Bakewell, Bennet, Bromhead, Colman, Elton, Fellowes, Francklin, Fullagan, Garnham, Harris, Howe, Hunter, Kenrick, Mardon, Phillips, Platt, Rowe, &c.

Con. See ATONEMENT, SACRIFICE.

Calovii Systema locorum theologicarum.
——— XXIX Disputationes.
Hoornbeckii Sociniasmus confutatus.
Masii Synopsis Theologiæ.
Olearii Synopsis Errorum.
——— Dissertationes.
Thummii Majestas Jesu Christi.
Turretinus de Satisfactione Christi.
Whitby, de vera Christi Deitate.

Allwood's Lectures on Prophecy.
Baker (G. A.) on Unitarianism.
Baylee (Joseph) on Unitarianism.
Bedford's Testimony of the ancient Jews.
Bibliotheca Sacra. 15:726.
Brown's (John) Eight Sermons.
Bull's Opinion of the Ch. for the first 3 cent.
Burgh's Belief of Christians in the first 3 centuries. (Reply to Lindsay.)
Burton's Testim. of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.
Chamberlain's Christian verity stated.

Unitarians—*continued.*

Con.

Christian Observer. 17:1, 205, 345, 417, 561, 624, 697, 769.
Clelland's Unitarianism unmasked.
Cooper's (C.) Veil turned aside.
Daubeny's Scripture its own interpreter.
——— Remarks on the Unitarian method of interpreting Scripture.
Easton's Hist., doct., and tendencies of U.
Felton on the Christian faith.
Garbett's Unitarianism indefensible.
Geddes' Letter to Priestley.
Hampton's Remarks on Taylor's Discourse.
——— Answer to Priestley on Atonement.
Hawker on Plenary Inspiration. (Reply to Porter.)
Horsley's Tracts. (On the historical question of the belief of the early Christians.)
Jamieson's Vindication of Script. doctrine.
Knight on the Old Testament proof, &c.
Knowles' Primitive Christianity.
Kohlman's Unitarianism philosophically and theologically examined.
Law's (Jos.) Review of Unitarianism. (Reply to Hyndman.)
——— Doctrine of the Divine unity.
Macgowan's (John) Works.
Magee's (Abp.) Discourses and Dissertations.
Miller's Letters to the Baltimore Church.
Moyer Lectures. (A series of discourses delivered in London from 1719 to 1774.)
Moysey's Bampton Lectures. 1818.
Nares' Remarks on the Unitarian New Test.
Noel's (B. W.) Christianity comp'd with U.
Norris' Account of reason and faith.
Powell's (Baden) Rational Relig. examined.
Presbyterian Review. (Numerous articles.)
Princeton Review. (Numerous articles.)
Ridley on the Div. of the Holy Ghost.
Seed's (Jeremiah) Eight Sermons.
Stuart's (Moses) Reply to Channing.
Trapp's Moyer Lectures. 1729.
Twell's Sermons. (24 at the Boyle Lecture, and 8 at the Moyer.)
Wardlaw's Unitarianism incapable of vindication. (Reply to Yates.)
——— Nature and extent of the Atonement.
Wheatley on the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds.
Wood's (Dr. L.) Letters to Unitarians.
——— Reply to Dr. Ware.

A copious list of books on the U. controversy, published anterior to 1750, is given by WALCH, *Bibliotheca Theologica.*

Unitarians, History of.
See HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

Boch, Historia anti-Trinitariorum.
Lange's Gesch. u. Lehrbegriff d. Unitarier vor d. Nicaenischen Synode.
Martin's Gesch. d. Dogma v. d. Gottheit C. in d. 4 ersten Jahrh.
Purmann's Gesch. d. Glaubens an einen Gott.
Ritteri Eusebii de divinitate C. sententia.

Unitarians, History of—*continued.*

Stoinii Historia originis Unitariorum.
Vogelsangii Fides Nicena de filio Dei, etc., 3 primis sæculis.
Walchii (J. G.) Vindiciæ Origenis de div. Christi.
Zeltneri Historia Crypto-Socinismi.

American Quart. Register. 1832.
Beard's U. in its actual state. 1862.
Berriman's History of the controversy.
Bogue & Bennet's History of Dissenters.
Christian Disciple. (Many articles.)
Christian Examiner. 2:264. 3:337. 4:197,291. 9:348. 38:291. 40:303. 42:378. 60:64. And other articles.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 10:86.
Christian Reformer. London. 1834, till now.
Eaton's Hist., doctrines, and tendency of U.
Ellis' Half century of the Unitarian controversy among the Congregationalists of Massachusetts. 1857.
Firmin's History of the Unitarians.
Martineau's (Jas.) Studies of Christianity.
Monthly Journal. Periodical. Boston.
Quarterly " Predecessor of the Monthly.
Nye's History of Unitarianism.
Princeton Review. 37:575.
Spirit of the Pilgrims. 2:65,122,177,289. 3:113,337,503. 4:31,80. 5:20,145.
Sprague's Annals of the Am. pulpit. Vol. 8.
Taylor's (G. G.) Retrospect of religious life in England. 1845.
Wallace's (Rob.) Antitrinitarian Biography.
——— History of Unitarianism in Europe, to the close of the 17th century.
Ware (Henry), Memoir of.

Unitarians are often called, by their opponents, Socinians; though not so often as formerly. I have enumerated writers under both heads. The division is unsatisfactory, but no inconvenience can result to the reader. On the continent of Europe the term Socinian is commonly applied to all classes of Antitrinitarians.

United Associate Church. See SECESSION.

United Brethren. See MORAVIANS.

United Presbyterian Church.

Formed by the junction, in America, of the "Associate," and "Associate Reformed" Churches.

Blakie's (Dr. A.) The Organ.
——— The Schools.
Christian Instructor.* Periodical. Philada.
Evangelical Repository.* " " 1821 to the present.
McKerrow's Hist. of the Secession Church.
Presbyterian Witness. Period. Cincinnati.
Ritchie's Pastor's Gift-book.
——— Christian's Friend.
The Testimony of the United Presbyterian Churches. Philadelphia. 1859.
Thomson (J. R.), Life of, and Sermons.
Union Presbyterian. Periodical. Cincinnati.
United Presbyterian Rev. Pittsburg. Penna.
United Secession Magazine.

Unity of God. See POLYTHEISM.

Cyril Alex., Opera. Cura et studio Auberti. (The only complete edition.)
Cyril Hieros., Catecheses.

Behmii Disputationes de Deo.
Calovii Theol. naturalis et revelata de theognasia.
Grotius de Veritate Christianæ religionis.
Osiandri Exercit. de nominibus Divinis.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Boston's (Thomas) Sermons.
Brown's Philos. of the mind. Lect. 93.
Burnet on the 39 Articles.
Clarke's Demonstration. Prop. 7.
Clay's (J.) Sermons.
Cudworth's Intellectual System. Ch. 4.
Dwight's Theology. Disc. 4.
Fiddes on the Decalogue.
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Foster's Natural Religion. Ch. 2.
Fotherby's (Bp.) Atheomastix.
Gifford's Elucidation of the unity of God.
Hallet's (Joseph) Works.
Hole on the English Liturgy.
Horsley's Tracts on the Socinian controv.
Howe's (John) Works.
Hunt's (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Jackson on the Existence and Unity of God.
Jamieson's Use of Sacred History.
Knowles' (Thomas) Sermons.
Lowman's Unity of God. (The argument *a priori.*)
Parsons' Catechetical Lectures.
Secker's (Abp.) Works.
Sherlock's Vindication. Sec. 4.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Slade's (James) Plain Sermons.
Stuart's Letters to Channing.
Taylor (Abraham) on Faith.
Tillotson's (Abp.) Works.
Vaughn's (J.) Lectures. Lect. 5.
Warburton's Divine Legation. Lib. II.
Wardlaw's Discourses. Disc. 1.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Whitaker's (Ed. W.) Sermons.
Wilkins on Natural Religion.
Wisheart's (William) Sermons.
Witherspoon's Works. Lect. 9.

Unity of the Human Race. See MAN.

Pro.

De Salles, Hist. genérale d. races humaines.
Humbolt's Ansichtender Natur.

Agassiz's Origin of the human races. (Maintains that all mankind are of one species, but did not originate from one pair.)
Amer. Biblical Repos. 2d Series. 10:29.

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* These were conjoined in 1862.

Unity of the Human Race—*continued.*

Pro.

Bachman's Doct. of the unity, &c., examined on the principles of science.
Cabell's Testimony of modern science to the unity of mankind.
Caldwell's Unity of the race of man.
Christian Examiner. 49:111.
Christian Quart. Spect. 3:56.
Christian Review. 16:226.
Dawson's (J. W.) Archaia.
Democratic Review. 11:111.
Hamilton's Pentateuch and its assailants.
Johnes' Philological proofs of the recent origin of the human race. (From a comparison of the languages of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.)
Kames' Origin and diversity of mankind.
Knox's Races of men.
Latham's Varieties of mankind.
——— Man and his migrations.
Lord's Theol. and Lit. Journal. 3:424.
Meade's (Bp.) The Bible and the Classics.
Monthly Review. 119:18.
North Amer. Rev. 73:163.
North British Rev. 4:177.
Pickering on the Races of men.
Presbyterian Quarterly Review. 3:177.
Prichard's Physical history of mankind.
Princeton Rev. 21:159. 22:313,603. 31:103.
Prot. Episc. Monthly Review.
Quarterly Review. 3:68.
Smith's (Sam. S.) Causes of the diversity of figure, color, &c.
——— Strictures on Lord Kames.
Smyth's (Tho.) Unity of the human race. (Reviews Agassiz.)
Tullidge's (Henry) Triumphs of the Bible.
Van Arminge's Natural history of man.
Wartz's Anthropology of the uncivilized races.

Con.

Gobineau's Moral and intellectual diversity of races. Tr. by Hotz; with notes.
Morton's (Dr. S. G.) Types of mankind.
——— Archæology of the Amer. Indians.
——— Hybridity in men and animals.
——— Crania Ægyptiaca.
Nott & Gliddon's Types of mankind.
——— Indigenous races of the earth.

Unity of Sense. See DOUBLE SENSE.

Universal Language.

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Taylor's (Jer.) Sermons.
Talbot's (Bp.) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.

Value of Time. See PROCRASTINATION, NEW YEAR, REDEEMING TIME, TIME.

Vanity. See HUMILITY, PRIDE, SELF-CONFIDENCE, VAIN GLORY.

Dunlop's (William) Sermons.
Erskine's (Ralph) Sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hill's (G. D.) Practical Sermons.
King's (Abp.) Sermons.
Lamont's (David) Sermons.
Preston's Golden scepter held out to the humble.
Smith's (Sydney) Sermons.
Young's (Dr. John) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's (Geo. J.) Sermons.

Vanity of Man. See BREVITY OF LIFE, FRAILTY.

Bingham's (Richard) Sermons.
Bradley's (Charles) Sermons. (Funeral sermon on Princess Charlotte.)
Clarke's (Dr. Samuel) Sermons.
Collet's (J.) Sermons. (3 on this subject.)
Du Moulin's Heraclitus. Trans. by Darcie.
Fernie's (John) Sermons.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Works. (Sermons.)
Howe's Theological Treatises.
Laurie's (Dr. Thomas) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Expository Lectures on Psalm 39. Lecture 2.
Mandel's (William) Sermons.
Mason's (John) Sermons.
Mayhew's (Jonathan) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Norris' (John) Sermons.
Paget's (F. E.) The Living and the Dead.
Quincey's (Samuel) Sermons.
Reeves' (W.) Sermons.
Reynolds' (W.) Vanity of Man.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Vane's Retired man's Meditations.
Warneford's (John) Sermons.

Vanity of the World. See USE OF THE WORLD, WORLDLINESS.

Berriman's (William) Sermons.
Blair's (Hugh) Sermons.
Beeston's (Edw.) Sermons.
Bryson's (James) Sermons.
Chalmers' (Thomas) Sermons.
Conybeare's (Bp.) Sermons.
Crowe's (Dr.) Sermons.
Denison's (E.) Sermons.
Doddridge's (Philip) Sermons.
Emlyn's (T.) Works.
Erskine's (Ralph) Sermons.
Foster's (John) Lectures at Broadmead.
Grove's (Henry) Sermons.
Hobart's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hopkins' (Bp. E.) Sermons.
Howe's Vanity of man as mortal.
Hunter's (Henry) Sermons.
Johnson's (Sam.) Sermons.
Langhorne's (W.) Sermons.
Laurie's (T.) Sermons.
Lucas' (Richard) Sermons.
Markland's (Abraham) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nath.) Sermons.
Marriott's (Harvey) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Newman's (T.) Sermons.
Pierce's (John) Sermons.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Reynolds' (Bp.) Sermons.
Riddock's (James) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Snowden's (B. C.) Sermons.
Tuckney's (Anthony) Sermons.
Warneford's (John) Sermons.
Zollikoffer's (George J.) Sermons on the dignity of man.
——— on the Festivals and Fasts.

Varieties of Human Condition. See INEQUALITIES OF CONDITION, UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Various Readings. See MANUSCRIPTS, SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Amamæ Keri et Chetib.
Amersfoordtii Dissertationes Philologicæ.
Baieri Dissertationes. (The use and abuse of various readings.)
Bengelii Gnomon Novi Test. (Admirable.)
——— Apparatus Criticus.
Birch, Var. Lect. ad textum Nov. Test. (A very sufficient book for most clergymen.)
Bode, Pseudocritica Millio-Bengeliana.
Buxtorfii Tiberias.
——— Anticritica. (Reply to Capellus.)
Capelli Critica Sacra.
Carpzovii Critica sacra Vet. Test.
Clerici Ars critica.
Danzii Sinceritas scripturæ Vet. Test.
De Rossi, Specimen var. lectionum S. S. (The result of a collation of 825 MSS. and 375 printed editions. A great treasure, conveniently arranged.)

Various Readings—*continued.*

Dermoutii Collecta Critica in Nov. Test.
Elias Levita, Opera.
Fry, de Variis lectionibus Nov. Test.
Grabe, de Variis vitiis LXX.
Griesbachii Nov. Testamentum Græcum. Prolegomena.
——— Symbolæ Criticæ.
Hilleri Arcanus Keri et Kethib.
Hottingeri (Io. Heinric.) Dissertationes.
Kennicott, Dissertationes. (Probably the best work on the subject for students. It has set at rest the controversy between Buxtorf and Capellus, with their allies, as to the purity of the Hebrew text.)
Klemm, Critica Sacra Nov. Test.
Laymari Animadversiones Massoreti.
Luderi Dissert. de causis variantium, etc.
Michaelis (C. B.) de Variis lect. Nov. Test. colligendis et dijudicandis.
Michaelis (J. D.) Introductio.
Millii Novum Testamentum. (Next in importance to Wetstein.)
Montfaucon, Hexapla Origenis.
Montani (A.) Apparatus Biblicus.
Morini Exercitationes Biblicæ.
Osiandri Oratio et Disputatio.
Pfaff, de Genuinis lectionibus Nov. Testam. (Pfaff was the first [1716] to write systematically on the use of various readings.)
Rechenbergii (Adami) Dissertationes.
Reinhardus de Notis marginalibus sacri codicis Ebræi.
Rinkii Lucubratio critica.
Sauberti Variæ lect. textus Græci Matthei.
Schroederi Dissertationes.
Schulteus Dissertationes.
Scholz's Biblisch-kritische Reise.
Scholz, Nov. Test. Græce. (Contains the various readings of 674 manuscripts, of which 322 are here first collated.)
Schulze de Codice IV Evangelistæ. Proleg.
Shnurer, de Codicum Hebr. V. Test. ætate.
Tischendorfii Nov. Testamentum. Prolegom.
——— Anecdota.
Usseri Epistola ad Ludov. Capellum.
Van Mastrichi, Prolegomena.
Waltoni Biblia Polyglotta. Prolegomena.
Wetstein, Nov. Testamentum. Prolegomena.
White, Criseos Griesbachianæ. (Convenient.)
Whitby, Examen Millii variantium lect.
Wolfii (Io. Christop.) Bibliotheca.

Baruh's Critica Sacra examined. (Shows these readings to be no mark of corruption or mistake.)
Bates' Integrity of the Heb. text. (Contends with Kennicott on various passages.)
Blackwall's Sacred Classics.
Bloomfield's Gr. Testament, with notes, &c.
Boothroyd's Hebrew Bible. (An approved selection from Kennicott.)
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ. Chap. 17.
Danville Review. June, 1863.
Davidson's Text of the O. Test. revised.
Edinburg Rev. 94:1.

Various Readings—*continued.*

Edwards' (T.) Dissertations.
Green's (T. S.) Course of developed criticism.
Gyle's (J. F.) Authent. of the N. T. with an acc. of anc. versions and the princip. MSS.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 1, ch. 8.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of Christianity.
Jowett's New Test. of Scholz; with the readings of Griesbach, Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevir, with the English version, and its marginal readings.
Kennicott's State of the Heb. printed text.
Macgill on the Manuscripts of the Old Test.
Marsh's Michaelis' Introd. to the New Test.
May's Exam. of Simons' Critical history.
Montfaucon's Origens Hexapla.
Nolan's Integrity of the Greek Vulgate. (Pub. in 1815, and with valuable additions in 1830. Notices of this excellent work appeared in the BRITISH CRITIC, New Series, Vol. 1, and in the QUARTERLY REVIEW, 26:328, in which last some of his positions are refuted.)
Platt's (Jno.) Self-interpreting New Testam. (A valuable collection of criticisms from approved authors.)
Pocock's (Edw.) Works.
Quarterly Review. June, 1863.
Rogers' (J.) Various readings of the Hebrew Bible.
Scrivener's Introd. to the New Testament.
Simons' Crit. hist. of the New Test. text.
Tregelles' Introduction to the textual criticism of the New Testament.
Wall's (Will.) Critical notes on the N. Test.

Vaudois. See WALDENSES.

Vedas. See HINDUISM.

Venial Sins. See SINS OF IGNORANCE, SINS OF INFIRMITY.

Billingsley's (John) Sermons.
Jackson's (John) Six sermons preached in Lent. (All on "little sins.")
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by W. Jenkins.)
Müller's Christian doctrine of sin. Translated by Pulsford. (Appendix.)
Smallridge's (G.) Sermons. (No sins venial.)
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons. 6th Series.

Veracity of God. See FAITHFULNESS.

Versions of Scripture. See ENGLISH BIBLE, NEW VERSION, SYRIAC VERSION, REVISION, SEPTUAGINT, TRANSLATIONS, VULGATE.

Vestments, Ministerial. See RITES.

Braunius de Vestitu sacerdotum Hebræor.
Buxtorfii (J.) Dissertationes.
Dieterici Vestitus Sacerdotum.
Picart, Ceremonies et costumes religieuses. (11 vols., folio. 243 plates.)
Prideaux, de Vestibus Aaronis.
Rabanus Maurus de Ceremoniis ecclesiasticis.
Tiron, Hist. et costumes des ordres religieux, civiles, et militaires.

Vestments, Ministerial—*continued.*

Wichmanshausenii Dissertationes.

Bullinger's Judgment that it is lawful for ministers of the Church of England to wear the apparel prescribed by law.
Gylbyes' "Epistel to my louyngo brethren that is troubled about y^e Popishe apparel." 1566.
Roberts' (Jos.) Oriental illustrations of S. S.
Satchwell's Scripture Costumes.
Scripture Costumes, engraved under the superintendence of Benjamin West, with historical remarks.
Soltau on the Tabernacle, priestly vestm., &c.

A controversy on the subject of clerical vesture, prolific in books and pamphlets, was rife in England in the 16th century, and is now renewed with warmth.

Vicarious Suffering. See IMPUTATION, JUSTIFICATION, SUBSTITUTION, &C.

Balguy on Redemption.
Bates' Works. Chap. 13.
Berry Street Lectures.
Collis' Three Tribunals.
Disney's (John) Sermons.
Edwards on Original Sin.
Evans (Caleb) on the Atonement.
Hampton on Atonement. (Reply to Taylor.)
Hey's Lectures.
Knight's (Titus) Sermons.
Ludlam's Essays. Ess. 4.
Magee on Atonement.
Mann's (Isaac) Theological Essays.
Portal on Sacrifices. Part 4.
Robinson's Christian System. Essay 28.
Simeon's (Cha.) Works.
Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai.
Vesie's Bampton Lectures. 1795.
Wardlaw's Discourses. Disc. 7.
West on the Atonement. Chap. 3.

Vice. See SIN.

Tzschirner Ueber d. moral. indifferentism.

Balguy's (John) Discourses.
Fawcett's (Joseph) Sermons.
Foster's (Dr. James) Discourses.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical Works.
Hall's (Joshua) Charac. of virtues and vices.
Lamont's Sermons on prevalent vices.
Newman's (T.) Sermons in Carter lane.
Peckhard's (Peter) Sermons.
Rees' (Abr.) Sermons. (Progress of vice.)
Tilley's Vice the cause of ignorance in relig.
Zollikoffer's Sermons on prevalent vices.

Virtue. See MORALITY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, MOTIVES.

Cumberland, de Legibus Naturæ.
Montaigne, Essais.
Puffendorf de Jure.

Adams' Nature and obligation of virtue.
Adamson on Moral Virtue.
Balguy's (Moral and Theological Tracts. (Replies to Hutchinson and Shafteshury.)

Virtue—*continued.*

Beattie's Elements of Moral Science.
Beeon's (Tho.) Works. (Parker Soc. pub.)
Bibliotheca Sacra. 22:477.
Botts' Answer to Warburton.
Brown's Ans. to Shaftesbury's Characterist.
Campbell (Archibald) on Moral Virtue.
Chalmer's (Thomas) Sermons.
Clapp (T.) on Moral Virtue.
Colston's (Alexander) Essays.
Cumberland's Law of Nature. Ch. 1, sec. 4.
Doddridge's Lectures. Part 3, prop. 48–51.
Edwards (Pres.) on the Nature of virtue.
Evans on Christian Temper.
Ferguson's Principles of Moral Science. (As distinguished from Christian holiness.)
Foster's (James) Sermons.
Grove's Moral Philosophy.
——— Wisdom of God.
Hall's (Bp.) Practical Works.
Hall's (Josh.) Charac. of virtues and vices.
Hallywell's Excellence of moral virtue.
Hopkins on Holiness.
Howe's Blessedness of the Righteous.
Hume's (David) Essays.
Hutcheson's Enquiry into the idea of virtue.
——— on the Passions.
Innes on the Origin of moral virtue.
Jameson on the Obligation of virtue.
Kames on the Principles of morality.
King's Origin of Evil. (Preliminary Dissert.)
Lime Street Lectures.
Mills' (W.) Theory of moral obligation.
Mole's (Thomas) Sermons. (Nature of V.)
Nettleton (W.) on Virtue and Happiness.
Paley's Moral Philosophy.
Park Street Lectures.
Pinto's Essay on Luxury.
Pope's Essays.
Price's Review of the principal questions and difficulties in morals.
Rutherforth's Nature and obligations of V.
Scott's Christian Life. Ch. 4.
Shaftesbury's Characteristics of men, &c.
——— Enquiry after virtue.
Smith's (Adam) Theory of moral sentiments. (Cites various theories.)
Thompson (J. P.) on the Christian Graces.
Tidcombe's Sermons. (Tendency of virtue.)
Tillotson's (Abp.) Works.
Tucker's Light of Nature pursued. Ch. 29.
Warburton's Divine Legation. Lib. I.
Wardsworth's Christian Institutes.
Watts' Essays. (V. and self-love reconciled.)
Wilkins' Religion of Nature.
Wollaston's Religion of Nature.
Wright's Answer to Mole's Sermon.

Vision of Constantine.
See CONSTANTINE'S VISION.

Visions. See APPARITIONS.

Amortius de Revelationibus et visionibus.
Brierre, des Hallucinations.
Gerson de Discernendis veris visionibus a falsis.
Nider, de Visionibus ac Revelationibus.
Hawker's (R.) Operations of the H. Ghost.
Lee (W.) on the Inspiration of Scripture.
Torquemado's Garden of curious flowers. (A curious account of strange events.)

Visiting. See SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Visiting the Sick.
See PASTORAL VISITING.

Gregorii (Mag.) Pastoralis. Pars III.
Lohneri Instructiones practica.
Stearn de Visitatione infirmiorum.

Addington on Visiting the sick.
Berens' (Edward) Lent Lectures.
Calvin's Tracts. Trans. by H. Beveridge.
Cecil's Remains.
Comber on the Offices for visiting the sick.
Cox's (Wm.) Offices for the visiting, &c.
Darnell's (W. N.) Sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Mant's (Bp.) Order for visitation of the sick.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. (Sermon by Matt. Poole.)
Paley's Clergyman's Assistant.
Searle's (Tho.) Sick visitor's Assistant.
Spinckes' Sick man visited. (With meditations and prayers.)
Stonehouse's Offices for the visitation, &c.
Taylor's (Jer.) Holy Living.
Victor's Manual for visiting the sick.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.

Works on this subject are numerous, but contain few directions of much value. Paley's is most esteemed, but is very defective, both as to instruction, and emotional interest; and does not refer to appropriate portions of Scripture.

Vocation. See EFFECTUAL CALLING.

Baumgarten de Vocatione Dei ad salutem, variis ejus gradibus, etc.
Calovii Dissertationes.
Kahlii Predicatio evangelii universalis.
Schafii Fides Catholica.
Wagneri Dissertationes.

Bennett on the Gospel Dispensation.
Black's (David) Sermons.
Bloomfield's (Geo. B.) Sermons.
Booth's Reign of Grace.
Bunyan's Water of Life.
Clarke's (F. F.) Sermons.
Fuller's Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
Griffith's (Thomas) Sermons.
Hooker's Soul's vocation.
Jowett's (Joseph) Sermons.
Marsh's (E. G.) Brief Survey, &c.
Martyn's (Henry) Sermons.
Matthias' (B. W.) Sermons.
Muir's (James) Sermons.
Owen on the Spirit.
Russell's (F.) Sermons.
Sumner's (Samuel) Sermons.
Whitty's (John) Sermons.
Witsius on the Covenants.

Voluntary Associations. See BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS, ESTABLISHMENTS, ENDOWMENTS, SOCIALISM.

Amer. Bibl. Repos. 9:485. 12:257.
Blackwood's Mag. 40:787.
Christian Disciple. 2:368.
Christian Examiner. 8:321. 13:337.
Christian Review. 8:321.
Christian Quar. Spect. 4:142.
Dunlop's Tendency of mankind to association analyzed and illustrated.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 6:545. 7:38. 8:207.
Lord's Liter. and Theol. Rev. 4:81,393. 5:5.
Maitland (S. R.) on the Voluntary system.
Miall's Views of the voluntary principle.
Princeton Review. 9:101.
Quar. Review. 53:94.

Vowel Points. See MASSORA.

Pro.

Bootius de text. Heb. V. Test. certitudine et authentia.
Buxtorfii (Pater.) Tiberias.
Buxtorfius (Filius) de Auctoritate Punctorum.
——— Anticritica. (Reply to Capel.)
Cooper (Jos.), Domus Mosaicæ Clavis. ("More zeal on this subject than knowledge."—ORME.)
Dashellii Biblia Ebraica accentuata.
Daserus de Origine punctorum, etc.
Glassii Philologia Sacra.
Juarus de Punctationis Ebræicæ antiquitate.
Leusdeni Philologus Hebræus.
Michaelis de Punctorum Ebræic. antiquitate.
Raadt de Punctationis Hebr. natura.
Scaligeri Opuscula Varia.
Spitzneri Vindiciæ auctoritatis punct.
Wasmuthii Vindiciæ S. Scrip. Ebrææ.
Wolfius (N.) de Accentuum in V. T. origine.

Boston's (Tho.) Tractatus Stigmologicus.
Cross' (Walter) The Taghmical Art.
Dunton's Author. of the points and accents.
Gell (P.) on the Hebr. language and letters. (Said to be the ablest defence of points.)
Gesenius' Doctrine of the accents.
Gill (John) on the Hebrew language.
Moncrieff (John) on the Vowel points.
Owen's (Henry) Introd. to Heb. criticism.
Wall's Critical notes on the Old Testament. (Introduction.)
Whitfield (P.) on the V points. (Says all that can be said in their favor.)

Con.

Aben Ezra, Commentatio.
Capelli (Lud.) Arcanum punct. revelatum.
——— Arcani punctationis vinditiæ.
——— Diatriba de veris et antiquis Ebræorum literis. (Agt. Buxtorf and Scaliger.)
Capelli (Jacobi) Observationes.
Masclef, Gram. Heb. a punctis, etc., libera. (Gilbert Wakefield [Life of, vol. 1, p. 100] warmly praises this book, and contemns the points. He says he acquired a good knowledge of Hebrew, without points, in ten days.)

Vowel Points—*continued.*

Con.

Elias Levita, in Massora.
Houbiganti Prolegomena in Scrip. sacram.
Molleri Mare Masoreticum insidium.
Morini (Steph.) Exercitationes.
Pfeifferi Critica Sacra.
Prideaux (Joh.) Viginti duæ lectiones.
Schultens, Institutiones Gram. Hebr.
Vossii Hist. critica Vet. Testamenti.
Waltoni Prolegomena ad Biblia polyglot.
Wolfii (Christop.) Bibliotheca Ebraica.

Bates' (Julius) Hebrew English Dictionary. (The preface is a very able discussion of this subject.)
Bayley's Hebrew Grammar.
Breckell (John) on the Hebrew tongue. ("Sensible."—ORME.)
Burgess' (Bp.) Hebrew elements and primer. (An excellent and easy introduction to the language.)
Butler's (Cha.) Horæ Biblicæ.
Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. Under "Letters."
Danton on the Antiq. and authority, &c.
Gerard's Institutes of Biblical criticism.
Grey's (Dr. Rich.) Method of learning Heb.
Howerth's (Will.) Sermons.
Lowth's Preliminary Dissertations.
Pike's (Sam.) Hebrew Lexicon.
Prideaux's Connection. Bk. 5. (Gives the arguments pro and con.)
Robertson's Hebrew Grammar.
——— True and ancient manner of reading Hebrew.
Sharpe's (Gregory) Dissertations on lang.
Sievwright's Hebrew text considered.
Wall's (C. W.) Proofs of the interpolation of the points in the Hebrew Bible; and hence the necessity of a revised English translation. 1857.
Weemse's (John) Dissertations.
Whiston's Essay toward restoring the true text.
Wilson's (James P.) Hebrew Grammar.

Among the opponents of the Massoretic points are also Bochart, Calvin, the Casaubons, De Dieu, Drusius, Erpen, Grotius, Heise, Luther, Masius, Olivetan, Zuingle, Boothroyd, and other eminent Oriental scholars.

Vows.

Krafft de Votis, eorumque sanctimonio.

Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ecclesiastics.
Calamy's (Edm.) Practical treatise on vows. (With special reference to baptism and the Lord's Supper.)
Davis on Religious Vows.
Edwards' (John) Theologia Reformata.
Foyster's (J. G.) Sermons.
Hurst's (Henry) Sermons.
Lightfoot's (J.) Sermons.
Randolph on Jephthah's vow. (Appendix.)

Sharpe's (Gregory) Dissertations.
Shower's (John) Sacramental Discourses.
Simeon's (C.) Works.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Smallridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Thomson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Thornwell's (J. H.) Discourses.

Vulgate Bible.

Blanchini Vindiciæ Vulgatæ.
Brunatus de Nomine, auctore, etc., Dissert.
Calmeti Dissertationes.
Du Hamel, Bib. lat. vulg. cum annot. proleg.
James (Tho.), Bellum Papale: sive concordia discors, etc. (Shows the discrepancies of the "authentic editions" of Sextus V, Clement VIII, etc.)
Menochii Biblia Sac. Lat. cum commentariis.
Müller de Usu vers. Latinæ in interp. S. S.
Panzeri Bibliotheca.
Riegler's Kritisch Gesch. der Vulgata.
Van Ess, Pragmatisch-kritische G. d. Vulg.

Butler's Horæ Biblicæ. Chap. 14.
Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations.
Hamilton's Introd. to the Heb. Scriptures.
Hey's (Dr. John) Lectures. Bk. 1, ch. 9.
Marsh's Michaelis' Introduction.
——— Bibliotheca Sacra.
Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica.
Simon's Critical hist. of the Old Testament.

Numerous editions of the Latin Vulgate are described by Dr. Clarke, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*. 1802.

Wages of Sin.

Baxter's (Arthur G.) Sermons.
Cawood's (John) Sermons.
Garbett's (J.) Sermons.
Hincks' (John) Sermons.
Pearce's (Innes) Sermons.
Reay's (William) Sermons.
Saville's (David) Discourses.
Sharp's (William) Sermons.
South's (Robert) Sermons.
Tuson's (Fred. E.) Sermons.
Warren's (Robert) Sermons.
Watts' (Isaac) Berry Street Sermons.
Wintle's (T.) Christian Ethics.

Waldenses. See ALBIGENSES, PERSECUTION, PETROBRUSIANS.

Andoque, Histoire de Languedoc.
Apologia Veræ doctrinæ eorum qui vulgo adpellantur Waldenses.
Arnaud, Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée des Vaudois dans leur vallées.
Battus de Veritate Cœlesti.
Bender's Geschichte der W. (Map.)
Benoist, Hist. de Vaudois, ou Barbets.
Bernard, adversus Waldensium sectam.
Bossuet, Hist. de variations, etc. Livre XI.
Boyer, Abregé de l'histoire des Vaudois.
Brez [or Bresse], Histoire des Vaudois. (An abridged translat. of this book is given by the translator of Arnaud.)

Waldenses—*continued.*

[Camuzatio] Histoire des Albigeois.
Charvaz, Recherches historique, etc. 1836.
Chassanion, des A. (Doct., sufferings, &c.)
Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ.
Colvorii Fissuræ Sionis. Lib. XII.
Confessio fidei fratrum Waldensium. (Extat in "Sylvii libris de Concilio Basiliæ.")
Danhaveri Eccles. Waldensium orthodoxæ.
Dieckhoff, die Wald. in Mittelalter.
Dieterich's Waldenser und ihre Verhältnisse.
Flaccii Catalogus testium veritatis. (A noble work.)
Frossard (Pastor) les Vaudois de Provence.
Gilly's Histoire eccles. des eglises Vaudoises. (From 1160 to 1643.)
Grattii Fasciculus rerum expendendarum.
Hahn's Geschichte der Waldenser.
Heber's Waldo; und ältcren Waldenser.
Hederici Notationes confessionis Voldensicæ.
Herzog, de Origine Waldensium.
Herzog's Vorreformat. Zustande u. Lehren.
Hesterbergii Ecclesia Waldensium.
Hockii Dissertationes. (Valuable.)
Honerti Orationes Bohemorum.
Jas (P.), Disputatio Academica. (Shows the distinction between Waldenses and Albigenses.)
Kiesling, de Variis Wald. veritatis testium nominibus et sectis.
Langlois, Hist. des Croisades.
Leger's Schweiz u. d. verfolgten Waldenser.
——— Geschichte der Waldenser.
——— Hist. générale des eglises Vaudois.
Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis.
Lydii Conservatio veræ ecclesiæ.
Maranda, Tableau du Piédmont. 1803.
Maresii (Samuel.) Disputationes.
Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotorum.
Mayerhoff's Wald. in unsern Tagen. 1834.
Monastier, Hist. de V. jusq. nos jours. 1847.
Moser's Geschichte d. Waldenser.
Muratori Antiquitates Ital. medii ævi.
——— Scriptores Rerum Italicarum.
Muston, l'Israel des Alpes. Plates. To 1851.
——— La foi dans les epreuves. (Persecution of 1560.)
——— La Gossen opprimée.
——— Les Néhémites. 1686 to 1690.
——— La Couronne dépines.
——— (Other treatises.)
Netteri Doct. antiquitatum fidei eccles. cath.
Pelegrin's Korte schets van de Geschiedenis.
Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois et des Albigeois.
Petrus, Monachus des vallées Sernay.
Picolomini Com. de Concilia Basiliæ.
Raineri Rerum Bohemicarum Script.
Réponse pour les eglises des Vallées de Piedmont, au Sieur Faverot, ou sont refutées les erreurs de l'eglise Romaine, et des chicanes des missionaires. (Geneva. 1697.)
Richard, Guerres contre les Vaudois.
Roman, Essai historique sur les Vaudois de Provence.

Waldenses—*continued.*

Saxius ad Sigonium de regno Italiæ.
Schmidt's Uebersicht einiger zur Kentness des relig. Leben in Mittelalter, etc.
Schmidt (C.), Hist. et doct. de la secte des Cathares, ou Albigeois. 1850.
Seckendorf, Hist. de la Reform. (Appendix.)
Simleri Descriptio Vallesiæ.
Sismondi, les Croisades contre les Albigois.
Usserus (Abp.) de Ecclesiarum successione.
Vaisette, Hist. de Languedoc. (Gives an account of the Waldenses under the Counts of Toulouse.)
Waldenser Chronick. 1160 bis 1655.
Weihenmaieri Dissertatio Historica.
Weismanni Hist. eccles. revisa. (Refutes Bossuet on this subject.)
Weiss' (J. H.) Kirchenverfassung d. Piemontertschen Waldensergemeinden. 1844.
Wengerseii Ecclesiæ Sclavonicæ.
Wesenbecius de Walden. et Abigens. 1585.
Ziegleri Confessio Valdensium.

Abbot's History of the massacre in the Valtoline.
Acland's Present condition of the W. 1825.
Allix's Ancient churches of Piedmont.
Arnaud's Hist. of the glorious return of the Vaudois to their valleys in 1689.
Baird's Protestantism in Italy. 1851.
Beattie's Protestant valleys of Piedmont.
Blair's Christian churches in France. 1833.
Boyer's History of the Vaudois. (Traces through them the preservation of the true church from the days of the Apostles.)
Bray's Papal dominion and persecutions.
Brown's (John) Compendious Chur. history. (Gives a brief connected history of the W.)
Chastamion's History of the Vaudois.
Christian Month. Spect. 5:337.
Christian Quart. Spect. 10:505. 1837.
Christian Observer. 20:792.
Devisme's State of the Waldenses. 1753.
Faber's Hist. and theology of the ancient W.
Gilly's Excursion to the valleys of Piedmont. 1823.
——— Second excursion to Do. 1830. (Two important books, containing copies of manuscripts and documents illustrating the antiquities of the W. Church. See Quart. Review. 33:134.)
Henderson's Observ. on the Vaudois. 1844.
Jackson's (J. L.) Remarks on the Vaudois. 1826.
Jones' (W.) History of the Waldenses. (Eminently clear and satisfactory.)
Latter day Luminary. 1:225.
Lennard's Hist. of the W. and Albigenses.
Lond. Quart. Rev. 9:
Lowther's Present state of the W. 1821.
Maitland's Tracts and documents, illustrating the history, doctrines, &c., of the W.
Matchlesse Crueltie declared in the history of the W., wherein is related their piety and purity of doctrine. (Published by command of Cromwell. 1655.)

Waldenses—*continued.*

McCrie's Reformation in Italy.
Monastier's History of the Vaudois Church, from its origin to the present. 1847.
Moreland's History of the Waldenses.
Muston's Israel of the Alps. Tr. by Hazlitt.
——— ——— Tr. by Montgomery.
Perrin's (J. P.) Luther's Forerunners.
Peyran's (J. A.) Historical defence of the Waldenses. Tr. by S. Leonard.
——— Luther's Forerunners. (Showing that for centuries before Luther the Waldenses opposed Popery.)
Princeton Review. 15:557. 23:656.
Quart. Review. 33:134.
Sim's Apology for the Waldenses.
Sismondi's Hist. of the Crusades agt. the W.
Todd's Discourses on Antichrist.
Todd's (James H.) Books of the Vaudois. (The Waldensian MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, and other Waldensian literature recently discovered. 1865.)
Willyam's Hist. of the W. Church. To 1855.

The majority of the writers in the above long list were malignant enemies of this people. The principal Waldensian writers on all subjects are enumerated by MONASTIER and FLACCIUS, referred to above; but scarcely any of them are to be had.

Walk of Faith. See PRACTICAL PIETY, HEAVENLY-MINDEDNESS.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Anderson's (Geo. W.) Way and Walk.
Baxter's (Rich.) Christian Ethics.
——— on the Divine life.
Bolton's (Robt.) Lectures on Genesis.
Brameld's (G. W.) Sermons. 2d Series.
Burrows' (Jeremiah) Sermons.
Butler's (Wm. A.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Davy's (C.) Sermons.
Evans' (R. W.) Parochial Sermons.
Faringdon's (Arthur) Sermons.
Fuller's (And.) Sermons.
Graves' (Richard) Sermons.
Hickman's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hobart's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hordern's (Joseph) Sermons.
Knowles' (Thos.) Sermons. (3 on this subj.)
Martyn's (Henry) Sermons.
McCheyne's (Robt. W.) Sermons.
Nares' (R.) Sermons.
Norris' (John) Practical Sermons.
Owen's (John) Sermons.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Romaine's Works.
Searle's (Ambrose) Way of life.
Secker's (Abp.) Non-such Professor.
Sibbs' (Rich.) Sermons.
Stewart's (Jas. H.) Sermons.
Taylor's Circumspect walking described.
Tillinghast's (John) Life of Faith.
Toulmin's (Joshua) Sermons.
Wallin's (Benjamin) Christian Life.

Watson's (Tho.) Sermons.
Watson's (Alex.) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.
Whitefield's Sermons.

Walloon Churches.

Burns' Hist. of the French refugees in Engl.
Lange's (Joshué T.) Sermons. (A very good acc. of these churches is given at the end.)
Weiss' Hist. of French Protestant refugees. (From the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to 1857.)

Wandering Thoughts. See GOVERNMENT OF THE HEART, THOUGHTS.

Adams' (J.) Sermons.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Ten Sermons.
Barrow's (Isaac) Works.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Works.
Craig's (James) Sermons.
Fawcett's (James) Sermons.
Hollingsworth's (J. B.) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Lavington's (Samuel) Sermons.
Morning Exercises at Cripplegate. Sermon by Manton.
Steele's Remedy for wandering thoughts.
Tenison's (Abp.) Sermons.
Vincent's (Nathan) Sermons.
Wesley's (John) Sermons.

War. See CONGRESS OF NATIONS, PEACE.

Pro.

Carmichael's Sermons on War.
Chris. Monthly Spect. 1:459.
Chris. Observer. 3:399.
Chris. Review. 13:345.
Cousin's Introd. to the hist. of philosophy.
Godwin on Political Justice.
Grotius on the Law of Peace and War.
Henderson's Lawfulness of defensive arms.
Jones on Defensive war in a just cause.
Law's (Bp. Henry) Doctrine of Christianity on the subject of war.
McLeod's Five Sermons on war.
Paley's Moral and Political philosophy.
Puffendorf on the Laws of Nations.
Tennent on Defensive War.
Vattell's Law of Nations.

Con.

Erasmi Anti Polemus: seu belli detestatio.
Fichté, Grundlage des Naturrechts. 1776.
Gabinus de Wal. disputatio philosophico juridica de conjunctione populorum ad pacem perpetuam. 1808.
Kant's Idee zu einer allgemein. Gesch., etc.
——— Metaphysiche Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre.
——— Zum Ewigen Frieden. 1796.
La Motte. Utrum pax perpetua pangi possit?
Lilienfel's Neues Staatsgebande. 1767.
Schwabe, Ueber das unvermeidliche Unrecht. 1804.
Totze, Ewiger u. Allgemeiner Friede, etc.

Advocate of Peace. Periodical. Boston.

War—*continued.*

Con.

Aiken's War, religiously and historically considered.
Appleton's Works.
Banker's Mag. 1:582.
Benezet's (Anth.) Works. (Excellent.)
Brown's (James) Distress and misery the constant effect of war, both to conqueror and conquered. (A brief sketch, &c., from the earliest times of history.)
Chalmers' (Thomas) Sermons.
Channing's (W E.) Essays and Discourses.
Christian Examiner. 4:83. 7:338. 18:368. 27:72. 42:157. 44:124.
Clarkson's Sentiments of early Christians.
Cone's War and Christianity.
Davies' (Pres. S.) Sermons.
Dublin University Mag. 39:747.
Dymond's Inquiry into the accordance of war with Christianity.
Eclectic Rev. 4th Series. 26:236.
Essays of Philanthropos.
Evans' Sermons.
Geree's Red Horse; or the Bloodiness of W.
Hall's (Robt.) Sermons.
Herald of Peace. Periodical. London.
Holcombe's Lectures on primitive theology.
Knox's Trans. of Erasmus' Antipolemus.
Law's (George) Sermons.
Law's (William) Thoughts on War.
Leng's (Bp.) Sermons.
Littell's Living Age. 28:362.
Morgan's Facts addressed to the people of Great Britain.
North Amer. Rev. 3:33.
North Brit. Rev. 16:1.
Parsons' Christianity a system of peace.
Raleigh's (Walter) Reliquæ.
Scott's W. inconsistent with Christianity.
Sheppard's Duty of Christians as to war.
Smith's Doct. of Christianity vindicated.
Stone's Sermons on War.
Sumner's (Hon. Chas.) Address on Peace.
The Friend of Peace. Periodical. London.
Thrush's Reasons for withdrawing from the Army.
——— Causes and Evils of war.
Upham's (Prof.) Manual of Peace.
Warner's War inconsistent with Christ'y.
[Wemyss' (Thomas)] Pictures of war from authentic narratives.
Whelply's Letters to Gov. Strong.

Warfare. See FIGHT OF FAITH.

Washing the Disciples' Feet.

Rauschius de Pedilavio, etc.
Röpe, Dass das Mahl d. Fusswaschens m. dem Paschamahl nicht, etc.

Brown's (John) Discourses of Jesus.
Evangelical Review. 1:434.
Fuller's (And.) Miscellaneous Works.
Harn on Washing of feet.
Kemp's (H. W.) Sermons.

Watchfulness. See TEMPTATION.

Adey's (Wm.) Sermons.
Alleine's Instructions about heart-work.
Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons.
Bishop's (Will.) Sermons.
Boston's (Tho.) Sermons.
Bowers' (Dean) Sermons.
Calthrop's (John) Sermons.
Cecil's (Rich.) Sermons.
Christian Observer. 14:8.
Christian Review. 6:213.
Doddridge's (Philip) Sermons.
Dowling's (A. G.) Sermons.
Faringdon's (Anthony) Sermons.
Fiddes' (Dr. Richard) Sermons.
Fothergill's (George) Sermons.
Fowle's (F. W.) Ten plain sermons.
Francklin's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gataker's (Tho.) Sermons.
Gregory's (George) Sermons.
Hale's (Sir Matt.) Contemplations.
Hampden's (R. D.) Sermons.
Hoole's (Joseph) Sermons.
James' (John) Christian Watchfulness in prospect of sickness, mourning, and death.
Johnson's (John) Sermons.
Kennaway's Sermons.
Lavington's (Samuel) Sermons.
Leighton on 1 Peter 1:3 and 5:8.
Morrison's (Robert) Sermons.
Newman's (J. H.) Sermons.
Riddock's (James) Sermons.
Romaine's (William) Sermons.
Skelton's (P.) Sermons.
Slade's (James) Sermons.
Smith's (Sam. Stanhope) Sermons.
Stillingfleet's (Bp.) Sermons.
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons. Vol. 2.
Wilson's (Will. C.) Sermons.
Woodhouse's Careless Christian.

Waterlandians. See MENNONITES.

Weak Christians.

Baxter's (Rich.) Directions for weak Chris.
Bedford's (Arth.) Case of a weak conscience.
Chalmers' (Tho.) Congregational Sermons.
Davies' (President) Sermons.
Disney's (John) Sermons.
Hales' (John) Golden Remains.
Law's Serious Call to Christians.
Scott's (David) Discourses.
Spurgeon's (C. H.) Sermons.
Thorndike's (H.) Works.

Weakness of Human Reason.
See PROVINCE OF REASON.

Antonii Estimatio rationis humani.
Beckmanni Affectatio rationis captivato.
Collier's (Jer.) Essays on moral subjects.
Gale's Court of the Gentiles. Part 2.
Newlin's (Tho.) Sermons before the University of Oxford.
Van Mildert's Boyle Lectures. 1802.

Wealth. See POLITICAL ECONOMY, RICHES.

Weanedness from the World. See AMUSEMENTS, FASHION, HEAVENLY-MINDEDNESS, MORTIFICATION, SELF-DENIAL, SELF-DEDICATION, WALK OF FAITH, WORLDLINESS.

Biddulph's (Tho. T.) Sermons.
Bisset's (Thomas) Sermons.
Bradley's (Cha.) Sermons.
Brown's (Bp.) Sermons.
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Delany's (Patrick) Discourses.
Downame (John) on Contempt of the world.
Gale's Love of the world inconsistent with love of God.
Gell's (R.) Remains.
Griffith's (T.) Lectures.
Hambleton's (John) Seven Sermons.
Hunt's (Jer.) Sermons.
Le Bas' (Cha. W.) Sermons.
Maltby's (Edw.) Sermons at Lincoln's Inn.
Oakley's (Fred.) Sermons.
Stewart's (James H.) Sermons.
Vance's (W. T.) Sermons.
Walker's (Robert) Sermons.
Wilkinson's (Henry) Sermons.

Weekly Communion.
See LORD'S SUPPER.

Pro.

Dodsworth's (Wm.) Discourses.
Grant's Plea for weekly communion.
Haldane (R.) on the Lord's Supper.
Millennial Harbinger. Periodical. Bethany, Va. (Many articles.)
Ridley's (W. H.) Preparation for the Comm.

Much has been written on this subject, but almost all in pamphlets and single sermons.

Weigelians.

Pro.

Weigelii Opera.
Held, Algemeiner Friede mit Jesu.
Hilliger, de Vita, fatis, et scriptis Weigelii.
Lohman, Autwort auf Herzogs, etc.
Methus, Epzählung der Ursachen.
Stiefel's Christ und Gottselige Tractætlein.
Tetingii Prodomus Apologeticus.
——— Vermanungschreiben, etc.

Con.

Balduini Disputationes.
Colberger's Platonisch-hermet. Christenth.
Crockii Anti Weigelius.
Feurbonii Diss. de distinctis relig. capit.
Gerhardi Disputationes Theologicæ.
Hoornbeckii Comm. de paradoxis, etc.
Hunn, Bericht von d. neuen Propheten relig
——— de Principiis theologiæ fanaticæ.
Müller, der Vertheidigung des Berichts.
Piscator, der Warnung. (Contra Stiefel.)
Theobald's Bericht von der Wiedertæuffern.
Thumii (Theodori) Considerationes.
Weberi Censura Stiefelianismi.

A full list of the numerous writings of Weigelius is given by WALCH, *Bibliotheca.*

Weigelians, History of.

Foertschii Observatio de Val. Weigelio.
Hilligeri Diss. de vita, fatis, et scriptis, etc.

Weights and Measures. See ARCHÆOLOGY, JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, &c.

Bernard de Mensuris et ponderibus Antiquis. (Attacks Cumberland.)
*Brerewood de Ponderibus et pretiis Hebraic. (Inserted by Walton in his prolegomena.)
Eisenschidius de Ponderibus et mensuris Rom., Græc., Hebr., etc. (Ugolinus.)
Garnier, sur les Monnaies de l'antiquité.
Qucipo, Systêmes mêtriques et monitaires des anciens peuples.
Waltoni Supplementum.

Alexander's Dictionary of weights and measures, ancient and modern.
Arbuthnot's Ancient weights and measures.
Cumberland's Jewish weights and measures.
Godwin's Moses and Aaron.
Hindmarsh's Weights, &c., of the Bible.
Hooper's Anc. Measures, especially Jewish.
Jervis' Records of ancient science.
Kelly's Universal Cambist.

Wesley, John.

Wesley, John, Life of; by Bradbury.
———— ———— by Clarke.
———— ———— by Coke.
———— ———— by Colet.
———— ———— by Dove.
———— ———— by Drew.
———— ———— by Emory.
———— ———— by Hampsen.
———— ———— by Holmes.
———— ———— by Larrabie.
———— ———— by Moore.
———— ———— by Southey.
———— ———— by Taylor.
———— ———— by Watson.
———— ———— by Whitehead.
Am. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 9:388.
Chris. Disciple. 2:44.
Chris. Exam. 43:1. 76:157.
Chris. Month. Spect. 3:471,530.
Episcopal Mag. 2:224,263,296.
Kitto's Journal. 3:1.
McBriar's Apology for Wesley. (Reply to Taylor.)
Meth. Quarterly Rev. 8:406,455.
Month. Rev. 96:26.
Quarterly Rev. 1:38. 24:1.

Wesleyans. See METHODISTS.

Westminster Confession. See CREEDS, CONGREGATIONALISM.

Whitefield.

Tholuck's (A.) Leben G. Whitefield.

Am. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 7:302.
Am. Quar. Reg. 4:297.
Chris. Exam. 25:85.
Chris. Month. Spect. 3:471,530.
Chris. Quar. Spect. 6:88.
Chris. Rev. 3:264.
Eclec. Rev. 4th Series. 3:520.
Frazier's Mag. 17:133.
Newell's Life of Whitefield.
New Englander. 3:24.
North Am. Rev. 48:478.
Ryle's (J. C.) Priest, Puritan, and Preacher.
Stevens' Relig. movement of the 17th cent.
Theol. and Lit. Review. 5:468.

White Stone.

Bibliotheca Sacra. 1:461.

Whitsunday Sermons. See FESTIVALS.

Andrewes', Bp., Sermons.
Arnold's, Thomas, Sermons.
Barrow's, Isaac, Sermons.
Berriman's, William, Sermons.
Beveridge's, Bp., Sermons.
Brownrig's, Bp., Sermons.
Cooper's, Edward, Sermons.
Dehon's, Bp., Sermons.
Delany's, Patrick, Sermons.
Donne's, John, Sermons.
Faringdon's, Anthony, Sermons.
Gordon's, Adam, Sermons.
Hacket's, Bp., Sermons.
Lake's, Bp., Sermons.
Le Bas', Cha. W., Sermons.
Newman's, J. H., Sermons.
Potts', J. H., Sermons.
Secker's, Abp., Sermons.
Smallridge's, Bp., Sermons.
Stillingfleet's, Bp., Sermons.
Van Mildert's, Bp., Sermons.
Weston's, Bp., Sermons.

Wickliff.

Jäger's J. Wicliff, und seine Bedentung für d. Reformation.
Lechler's Wiclif als Vorlaufer der Reformat.
Winkelmanni (J.) Gerson, Wiclef, Hus, inter se comparati.

Wickliff's Works.
Amer. Monthly Rev. 2:189.
British Critic. 5:389.
Christian Examiner. 51:53.
Christian Review. 6:115.
Eclectic Mag. 50:307.
Edinb. Rev. 56:221.
Frazier's Mag. 5:177.
Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers.
Hanna's (W.) Wycliffe and the Huguenots.
Henthorn's Apology for Lollard doctrines, attributed to Wickliffe. With Introduction and notes.
Le Bas' Life of Wickliffe.
Lewis' Life and sufferings of Jno. Wickliff.
Littell's Living Age. 1:655.
Meth. Quar. Rev. 2:234.
North British Rev. 20:110.
Pond's (E.) Wickliffe and his times.
Sumner's Life and times of John de W.
Vaughn's Life and opinions of W. (Principally from his unpublished manuscripts.)

Wicklifites. See HUSSITES.

Grassi Historia de ortu ac progressu, etc.
Hardt, Magnum Œcumenicum Constansiense Concilium.
Varillase du Wicklifianisme, avec les guerres de Boheme, qui en ont eté les suites.
Zitte's Gesch. d. Eng. reform. J. Wicleff.
Mackay's Wicklifites in the 19th century.

Wilful Sins. See DEADLY SINS.

Blunt's (Henry) Sermons
Brady's (Nicholas) Sermons.
Burgess' (Anth.) Sermons. (3 on Ps. 19:13.)
Cooper's (Edward) Sermons.
Fenner's (William) Sermons.
Gresley's (William) Sermons.
Hammond's (Henry) Works.
Hoole's (Joseph) Sermons.
Kidder's (Bp.) Works.
Littleton's (Adam) Sermons.
Marshall's (Nath.) Sermons.
Milner's (Joseph) Sermons.
Orr's (John) Sermons.
Owen's (J.) Display of Arminianism.
Pyle's (Philip) Sermons.
Quincey's (Samuel) Sermons.
Rogers' (John) Sermons.
Sacheverell (Henry) on Presumptuous sins.
Sanderson's (Bp.) Sermons.
Scott's (John) Sermons.
Sedwick's (Obadiah) Sermons.
Sharp's (Abp.) Sermons.
Smith's (Elisha) Sermons.
Sumner's (Samuel) Sermons.
Thompson's (Thomas) Sermons.
Turner's (John) Sermons.
Walker's (Robert) Sermons.
Warren's (Dr. J.) Sermons.
Waterland's (Dan.) Sermons.

Will. See FREE AGENCY, MORAL ABILITY, HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY.

Augustin, de Libero arbitrio.

Amyraldi (Mos.) Dissertationes.
Andala Disputationes.
Anselm, Concordia præscientia, predestinatione, et gratiæ, cum libertate.
Calvini Opera.
Drexellii Heliotropium.
Erasmus de Libero arbitrio.
Feder's Untersuch. üb. d. menschl. Willen.
Haberkorn, Vindicatio libri beati Lutheri.
Leibnitz, Essai sur l'origine du mal.
Luther, de Servo arbitrio. (Agt. Erasmus.)
Masii (H. G.) Dissertationes.
Morus Victoria Gratiæ.
Placæi Opera. (One of the strongest writers of the 17th century.)
Quenstedii (Ioann.) Dissertationes.
Quistorpius de Viribus liberi arbitrii.
Thummii (Theod.) Dissertationes.
Zornei Delineatio Theologiæ patristicæ.

Abercrombie's Philos. of the moral feelings.
Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Alger on the Will.

Will—*continued.*

Am. Bibl. Repos. 2d Series. 7:330,411. 9:33. 3d Series. 1:709.
Blakeley on our Notions of good and evil.
Burgess on Original Sin.
Butterworth on Moral government.
Charnock's Works.
Clarke's Enquiry into the cause of evil.
Day (Jeremiah) on the Will.
Doddridge's Lectures.
Edwards (Pres.) on the Will. ("I consider Jonathan Edwards the greatest of the sons of men. He ranks with the brightest luminaries of the Christian church, not excluding any country or age since the apostolic."—ROBERT HALL.)
Emmon's (Nath.) Sermons.
Erskine's Uncondit. freeness of the Gospel.
Fuller's (And.) Dialogues. Dial. 2.
——— Gospel worthy of all acceptation.
——— Essays.
Gill's Cause of God and Truth.
Grove's Moral Philosophy.
Hazard (R. G.) on the Will.
Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio.
Hey's Lectures on Divinity.
Hoadly on Acceptance with God.
Jackson's Defence of human liberty.
King's Essay on the origin of evil.
Luther (M.) on the Will. Tr. by H. Cole.
Marriott's Sermons on the Will.
New Englander. 5:337.
Palmer on the Liberty of man.
Pitt's Philosophy of Christianity. (In the preliminary Dissertations.)
Reid on the Active powers of the mind.
Saurin's Sermons.
Solly's The Will, Divine and human.
Spring's (Gardner) Essays.
Stewart's Philosophy of the mind.
Tappan's Review of Edwards on the Will.
Theological Essays reprinted from the Princeton Review.
Theol. and Lit. Rev. 1:521. 2:148.
Toplady's Sermon on free-will.
Upham on the Will.
Watts' Works.
West on Moral Agency.

Winebrennarians. See CHURCH OF GOD.

Wisdom. See DISCRETION, PRUDENCE.

Bishop's (W.) Sermons.
Crabb's (Habak.) Sermons.
Dowling's (John G.) Sermons.
Doyley's (Bp.) Sermons.
Fothergill's (George) Sermons.
Gibbon's (Thomas) Sermons.
Gouldburn's (E. M.) Sermons.
Hall's (Robt.) Notes of Sermons.
Henry's (Matt.) Miscellaneous Works.
Holland's (Philip) Sermons.
Horne's (Bp.) Sermons.
Hough's (John) Sermons.
Hurd's (Bp.) Sermons.
Jortin's (John) Sermons.

Wisdom—*continued.*

Langhorn's (William) Sermons.
Leighton's (Abp.) Works.
Millar's (James) Sermons.
Morehead's (Robert) Sermons.
Moss' (Robert) Sermons.
Newman's (John H.) Sermons.
Scott's (J. N.) Sermons.
Skelton's (Philip) Sermons.
Townson's (George) Discourses.
Vincent's (William) Sermons.
Welb's (F.) Sermons.
Whitefield's (Henry) Sermons.

Wisdom of being Religious. See PLEASURES OF PIETY, YOUTH.

Abernethy's (John) Sermons.
Barnes' (William G.) Sermons.
Batty's (Adam) Sermons.
Beveridge's (Bp.) Sermons.
Bourn's (Samuel) Sermons.
Burnaby's (Andrew) Sermons.
Carr's (George) Sermons.
Clarke's (Samuel) Sermons.
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TO

MY MASTER AND FRIEND

WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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ERRATA.

Page iii, last line, *read* 1569.

Page vii, line 14, *read* 1709.

Page ix, line 14, *read Apostol.*

Book of the Bee.

PREFACE.

Of the author of 'the Book of the Bee,' the bishop Shĕlêmôn or Solomon, but very little is known. He was a native of Khilâṭ or Akhlâṭ (خِلَاط, أَخْلَاط, in Armenia, at the western end of lake Vân), and by religious profession a Nestorian. He became metropolitan bishop of ܦܪܬ ܡܝܫܢ or ܒܨܪܐ (i. e. al-Baṣra, البَصْرَة, in al-'Irâḳ, on the right bank of the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates) about A. D. 1222, in which year he was present at the consecration of the catholicus or Nestorian patriarch Sabr-îshô' (Hope-in-Jesus)[1] (see Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 453, no. 75; Bar-hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, t. ii, p. 371). In the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Works compiled by 'Ebêd-yêshû' or 'Abd-îshô' (the-Servant-of-Jesus) he is stated to have written, besides 'the Bee,' a treatise on the figure of the heavens and the earth, and sundry short discourses and prayers (see Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 309, where there is a lengthy analysis of the contents of 'the Bee'). The text of this passage as given in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, fol. 25 *b*, differs slightly from Assemânî's; it runs: ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܕܐܟܠܐܛ ܕܒܨܪܐ. ܥܒܕ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܐܣܟܝܡ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܥ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܦܣܝ̈ܩܬܐ. A Latin translation of 'the Bee' by Dr. J. M. Schoenfelder appeared at Bamberg in 1866; it is based upon the Munich MS. only, and is faulty in many places.

The text of 'the Bee,' as contained in this volume, is edited from four MSS., indicated respectively by the letters A, B, C and D.

The MS. A[2] belongs to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. It is dated A. Gr. 1880 = A.D. 1559, and consists of 188 paper leaves, measuring about 8 in. by 5¾. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 25 lines. This MS. is so stained and damaged by water in parts that some of the writing is illegible. The quires are twenty-one in number and, excepting the last two, are signed with letters. Leaves are wanting after folios 6, 21, 49, 125, 166 and 172; and in several pages there are lacunae of one, two and more lines. The volume is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel-points. Originally it was the property of the priest Wardâ, son of the deacon Moses, who was prior of the convent of Mâr Ezekiel, fol. 187 *a:* ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܢܐ (sic) ܕܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܪܕܐ ܒܪ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܕܝܪ، ܚܙܩܝܐܝܠ ܕܢܒܝܐ. ܟܠܡ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܐܝܕܝܐ (sic) ܘܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܗ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܫܡܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܣ. ܐܡܝܢ. Later on, it belonged to one Mâr John of Enzelli (near Resht, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea), fol. 187 *b:* (sic) ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܪܝ، ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܐܢܙܠ جاملوا ܟܬܒ ܟܐ, and just above this: صاحبة واملكة (sic) مري يوحنّان في قريّت انزل لي. In the year A.Gr. 1916=A.D. 1605 it was bound by a person whose name has been erased, fol. 1 *a:* ܐܬܬܕܒܩ (sic) ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܨܝܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܐܝܕܝ، ܚܛܝܐ ܦܫܝܠܝܐ......... ܡܠܝܐ ܚܘ̈ܒܐ. The Book of the Bee occupies foll. 26 *a* to 92 *b*, and the colophon runs: ܥܠܡ ܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܒܐܝܪܚ ܬܡܘܙ. ܝܘ. ܒܗ. ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܕܡܥܠ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܢܘܣܪܕܠ. ܕܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܟܐ. ܒܐܝܕܝ، ܥܒܕܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܬܘܩܠܗ، ܐܡܝܢ. 'By the help of our Lord and our God, this Book of the Bee was completed on the 16th day of the month of Tammûz, on the Saturday that ushers in the Sunday which is called Nûsârdêl[1], in the year 1880 of the blessed Greeks, by the hands of the sinful servant the faulty Elias. Amen.'

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[1] The proper names of the Nestorians strongly resemble those of our Puritans: ܩܡܝܫܘܥ *Jesus-is-risen;* ܦܢܝܡܪܢ *Our-Lord-hath-converted;* ܥܢܝܫܘܥ *Jesus-hath-answered-me;* ܒܪܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܗ *Blessed-be-His-will;* etc.

[2] For a full account of the contents of this MS. see Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. i, p. x.

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[1] Or ܢܘܣܪܕܝܠ, ܢܘܣܪܕܝܠ, the last Sunday of the Week of the Apostles, i. e. the first Sunday of the New Year. The word is compounded of the Persian *nau-sard*, 'New Year,' and *ēl*, 'God,' meaning 'the Church's New Year.' See

The MS. B is on paper, and is numbered Add. 25,875 in the British Museum. See Wright's *Catal.*, p. 1064, no. dccccxxii, ff. 81 *b*–158 *a*. It is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel-points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020 = A.D. 1709. The colophon runs:—

ܫܠܡ ܫܢܬ ܐܐܟܟ ܠܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܪ̇ܝܟܐ ܬܡܘܙ. ܒܟ̄ܒ. ܒܗ
ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܒܐܝܕ̈ܝ, ܕܘܝܐ ܘܚܛܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܡܘ
ܐܠܩܘܫܝܐ ܀ ܒܒܥܘ ܥܠܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ, ܕܟܒܪ ܢܫܟܚ ܥܡ ܚܢ̈ܢܐ ܡܪܚܡ
ܒܝܘܡ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܘ̇ܠܝܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܪܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܢܨܝܦ ܘܐܣܦܩܬ ܠܗ ܒܡܬܒܪܢܘܬ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ. ܒܗܢܐ
ܗܢܝܐ. ܘܦܪ̇ܡܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܝܫܘܥ. ܒܪ ܡܬܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܗܘܪܡܙܕ ܢܘܪ̈ܦܘܢܝܐ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܒܒܪ ܡܫܘܬܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ
ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܐܡܬܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܪܬܐ ܡܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܥܡ ܡܪܬܗ,
ܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܬܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܕܟܝܬܐ. ܕܒܡܪ̇ܝܬܐ ܒܪ̇ܝܟܬܐ ܘܡܒܪ̇ܟܬܐ
ܫܘܦ̇ܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܓܒ̣ܪ̈ܝܐ. ܡܕܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܠܗܠ ܦܫ ܟܬܒܐ
ܗܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܝܬ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܠܐܢܫ ܒܪܝܫ
ܫܘܠܦܢܐ ܠܘܬܗ, ܕܢܦܫܘܗ, ܡܛܠ ܒܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܠܠ̈ܝܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܕܓܢܒܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܕܫܠܦܘܬܐ. ܐܘ ܕܢܫܠܡܘܢܗ, ܕܠܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܢܐ
ܕܡܪ̈ܗ, ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܚܠܘܦܘܗ, ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢܗ, ܠܕܘܟܬܗ. ܡܢ ܕܗܟܢ
ܢܒܒܪ. ܢܗܘܐ ܡܚܪ̈ܡܐ ܘܠܝܛܐ ܘܡܫܡܬ ܒܡܠܬ ܡܪܢ.
ܘܐܡܪܘܢ ܟܘܠܗ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܐܡܫܬܡܠܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀

'It was finished in the year 2020 of the Greeks, on Friday the 22nd of the blessed month Tammûz, by the wretched sinner, the deacon Hômô of Alḳôsh[1]. I entreat you to pray for him that perchance he may obtain mercy with those upon whom mercy is freely shewn in the day of judgment, Amen. And to Jah be the glory, Amen.

'The illustrious priest and pure verger, the priest Joseph, the son of

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Rosen and Forshall's *Catal.*, pp. 31 and 50; Wright's *Catal.*, vol. i, p. 185 *a*, no. 101; 190 *a*, no. 81; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 407, note 3; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 59, note 523; Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2326; Lagarde, *Armen. Studien*, p. 111, no. 1601.

[1] On Hômô of Alḳôsh see Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. i and xxiii.

the late deacon Hormizd of Ḥôrdaphnê [1], took pains and was careful to have this book written: may Christ make his portion in the kingdom of heaven! Amen. He had it written for the holy church called after the name of our Lady Mary the pure and virgin mother, which is in the blessed and happy village of Ḥôrdaphnê in the district of ʿAmêdîa. From now and henceforth this book remains the property of the (above-) mentioned church, and no man shall have power over it to carry it off for any reprehensible cause of theft or robbery, or to give it away without the consent of its owners, or to abstract it and not to return it to its place. Whosoever shall do this, he shall be banned and cursed and execrated by the word of our Lord; and all corporeal and incorporeal beings shall say "Yea and Amen."'

From the manner in which B ends, it would seem either that the MS. from which it was copied was imperfect, or that the scribe Hômô omitted to transcribe the last leaf of the MS. before him, probably because it contained views on man's future state which did not coincide with his own.

The MS. C, belonging to the Royal Library at Munich, consists of 146 paper leaves, measuring about 12⅛ in. by 8¼. There are two columns, of twenty-four lines each, to a page; the right-hand column is Syriac, the left Kârshûnî or Arabic in Syriac characters. The MS. is beautifully written in a fine Nestorian hand, and vowels and diacritical points have been added abundantly. The headings of the chapters are in Esṭrangelâ. The last two or three leaves have been torn out, and on fol. 147 *a* there are eighteen lines of Kârshûnî in another hand, which contain the equivalent in Arabic of B, fol. 157 *a*, col. 2, lines 10 to 24, beginning with ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܠܡܫܝܪܘܬܐ and ending with ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܠܒ̈ܬܐ.

On the fly-leaf are five lines of Arabic, which run:—

هذا الكتاب فهو مال كنيسة باطنايه مار قرياقوس الشهيد. قد
اشتراه شماس بطروز ابن صومو للكنيسة بمالهاذها (sic). ولذلك قد

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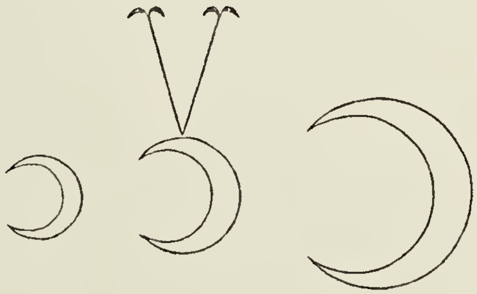
[1] On Ḥôrdephnê or Ḥôrdephnî, called also Kolpein, see Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 254; Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.*, p. 1067 *a;* and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 195, note 1544.

صار قنية الكنيسة قنية شرعية وكل من ياخذه بغير رضا وكلا الكنيسة
ياثم ويلزم بترجيعه. وقد صار في ١٧ اذار سنة ١٨٣٩ مسيحية بمدينة
موصل المحمية.

‘This book is the property of the church of Mâr Cyriacus the Martyr at Baṭnâye[1]. The deacon Peter bar Ṣaumô has purchased it for the church with its own money, and therefore it has become the lawful property of the church. Whosoever taketh it away without the consent of the directors of the church, committeth sin and is bound to restore it. This was on the 17th of the month of Âdhâr in the year of our Lord 1839, in the protected city of Moṣul.’

Dr. Schoenfelder in the preface to his translation, p. ii, assigns this MS. to the fourteenth century (‘ad saeculum decimum quartum procul dubio pertinet’). From this view, however, I differ for the following reasons. The MS. B, dated A. Gr. 2020=A. D. 1707, is written upon water-lined paper, having for water-mark upon each leaf three crescents of different sizes, and a sign like a V:—



The paper is smooth and thick. The Munich MS. C is written upon rather rougher paper, but with the same water-mark exactly, only the three crescents are on one leaf, and the V-shaped mark upon that next to it. Therefore Dr. E. Maunde Thompson, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who has kindly given me the benefit of his great experience in these matters, considers that the paper on which these two MSS. are written was made at the same manufactory and about the same time[1]. Add to this that the writing of both MSS. is almost identical, and that the signatures of the quires and the style of ornamentation is the same, and it will be evident that the Munich MS. belongs rather to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century than to the fourteenth[2].

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[1] I. e. Ṭyṭnâye, about one hour's ride north of Tel Kêf, north of Moṣul. Baṭnâye contains two churches; one dedicated to Mâr Cyriacus, and the other to Mârt Maryam El-'adhrâ, العذراء, i. e. the blessed virgin Mary. See E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 360.

The MS. D, belonging to the Bodleian Library, Oxford[3], consists of 405 paper leaves, measuring 8⅝ in. by 6¼. There is one column of twenty-one lines, in Kârshûnî or Arabic in Syriac characters, to each page. The MS. is written in a fine bold hand, the headings of the chapters, names, and diacritical points being in red. It is dated Friday the 28th day of Âb, A. Gr. 1895=A. D. 1584, and was transcribed by Peter, the son of Jacob[4].

The Arabic version of 'the Bee' contained in this MS. borders at times on a very loose paraphrase of the work. The writer frequently repeats himself, and occasionally translates the same sentence twice, though in different words, as if to make sure that he has given what he considers to be the sense of the Syriac. He adds paragraphs which have no equivalents in the three Syriac copies of 'the Bee' to which I have had access, and he quotes largely from the Old and New Testaments in support of the opinions of Solomon of Baṣrah. The order of the chapters is different, and the headings of the different sections into which the chapters are divided will be found in the selections from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee' on pages ١٧٣–١٧٥. This MS. is of the utmost importance for the study of 'the Bee,' as it contains the last chapter in a perfect and complete state; which is unfortunately not the case either with the bilingual Munich MS. or the copy in Paris[1].

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[1] I have seen a MS. the fly-leaves of which are made of the same sort of paper, and with the same marks, which is certainly not more than sixty years old.

[2] See *Catalogus codd. manuscriptorum Bibl. Reg. Monacensis. Tomi primi pars 4ta codd. Orientales praeter Hebraeos et Arabicos et Persicos complectens* (Munich, 1875), p. 114, Cod. Syr. 7. Schoenfelder's mistake is not corrected here.

[3] See Payne Smith, *Catalogi Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Pars sexta*, coll. 452–458, and ff. 81 *b*–212 *b* of Poc. 79=Uri Cod. Syr. lxxxi.

[4] See fol. 211 *a:* ܘܟܐܢ ܕܠܟ ܢܗܐܪ ܐܠܓܡܥܗ: ܝܘܡ ܬܡܐܢܝܗ ܘܥܫܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܗܪ ܐܒ ܐܠܡܒܐܪܟ ܐܠܡܘܐܦܩ ܡܢ ܣܢܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܐܢܡܐܝܗ ܚܡܣܗ ܘܬܣܥܝܢ ܠܠܐܣܟܢܕܪ. ܘܐܠܡܥܝܢ ܥܠܝܗ ܐܠܟܝܪ ܐܗܠܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܦܐܬܚܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܦܬܐܪ ܐܠܡܥܬܪܦ ܐܠܟܝܪ ܗܘ ܦܬܐܚ ܐܠܐܢܣܐܢ. ܘܗܘ ܥܠܝܢܐ ܝܚܝ ܐܠܡܓܡܘܥܗ ܐܠܡܬܐܗܒܗ ܦܝ ܥܡܪ ܐܠܠܣܝܐܬ ܘܐܠܕܢܘܒ ܟܬܝܪܗ ܟܥܕܕ ܪܡܠ ܐܠܒܚܪ ܡܢ ܟܬܪܗ ܐܠܟܛܘܗܐܬܗ. ܓܡܝܥ ܐܦܥܐܠܗ ܐܠܟܐܛܝܗ. ܐܠܓܐܢܝܗ ܥܠܝܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܕܝܗ ܘܐܗܡܐܠܗ܀

ܐܗܠܢܐ = اهّلنا *deemed us worthy*, from أهْل *worthy;* ܐܠܠܣܝܐܬ is an incorrect form for ܐܠܣܝܐܬ = السّيّأت. The scribe should have written ܐܠܓܡܝܥ ܐܠܟܐܛܝܗ, but he was thinking of the word ܝܕ, which is fem.

Assemânî says in the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, that there are two codices of 'the Bee' in the Vatican Library, and he has described them in his great work—*MSS. Codicum Bibliothecae Apostel. Vatic. Catalogus*, t. iii, nos. clxxvi and clxxvii. The latter is incomplete, containing only forty chapters (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 488, no. ix); but the former is complete (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 576, no. xvii). It was finished, according to a note at the end, on Wednesday, 14th of Shĕbâṭ, in the year of Alexander, the son of Nectanebus[2], 1187, which Assemânî corrects into 1787=A.D. 1476. The name of the scribe was Gabriel, and he wrote it for the 'priest John, son of the priest Jonah' (Yaunân), living at the village of ܒܝܬܣܠܡ in the district of Baz, ܒܙ (see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 204–5). At a subsequent time it belonged to the church of Mâr Cyriacus in the village of Sâlekh, ܣܐܠܟ[3], in the district of Barwar, ܒܪܘܪ (see Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 204).

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[1] See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des MSS. Syr. et Sabéens* (Mandaïtes) *de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1874), no. 232, 1°, page 177. This Kârshûnî MS. is imperfect at the beginning and end, and also wants some chapters in the middle.

[2] Assemânî is mistaken in his remarks about this name both in the *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, and in the Vatican Catalogue, t. iii, p. 367.

[3] In the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, Assemânî writes ܙܐܠܟ, which seems to be more correct.

My translation aims at being literal, and will, I hope, be found more correct in some places than that of Dr. Schoenfelder. I have added brief notes only where it seemed absolutely necessary. A few Syriac words, which are either wanting or not sufficiently explained in Castell-Michaelis's Lexicon, have been collected in a 'Glossary,' on the plan of that in Wright's *Kalīlah and Dimnah.* The Index will probably be useful to the English reader.

My thanks are due to Mr. E. B. Nicholson and Dr. A. Neubauer of the Bodleian Library, to the authorities of the Royal Library at Munich, and to the late W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the loan of the MSS. of 'the Bee' preserved in their respective collections. Professor Wright has edited the extracts from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee,' and read a proof of each sheet of the whole book from first to last, besides giving me much general help and guidance in the course of my work. I dedicate this book to him as a mark of gratitude for a series of kindnesses shewn to me during the past nine years.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
October 23, 1886.

GLOSSARY

OF WORDS NOT GIVEN, OR NOT SUFFICIENTLY EXPLAINED, IN THE LEXICON OF CASTELL-MICHAELIS.

ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ, pl. ܐܘܪܓܢܐ, *tool, implement,* p. ܝ. 6; ܟܗ. 3; ܠ. 9, 11.

ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢܐܝܬ *like an instrument,* p. ܟܘ. 7.

ܐܝܬܝܐ *self-existent, uncreated being,* pl. ܐܝ̈ܬܝܐ, p. ܝܐ. 1. Root ܐܬܐ or ܐܬܝ.

ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ *art,* pl. ܐܘܡ̈ܢܘܬܢ, p. ܠ. 13.

ܐܣܛܦܠܝܢ *carrot,* p. ܡܒ. 4.

ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *executioner,* p. ܝܐ. 3.

ܐܣܦܪܝܕܐ *basket,* pl. ܐܣܦܪ̈ܝܕܝܢ, p. ܡܝ. 6.

ܐܣܛܐܪ *stater,* a coin, pl. ܐܣܛܐܪ̈ܝܢ, p. ܡܓ, note 6.

ܐܥܦ = ضعف, whence ضِعْف, *the double of anything,* ܐܥܦܐ. Hence ܐܥܝܦ *double,* p. ܡܒ. 11.

ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ *balsam,* p. ܝܓ. 8. See Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* p. 17, no. 30; Löw, *Aramaeische Pflanzennamen,* p. 73, no. 53. Hoffmann's BA. 1259 has ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ, the India Office lex. ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ.

ܐܘܦܪܬܐ = ܐܦܪܬܐ *nausea,* p. ܝܗ. 6 and note 4. It is explained in the text by تُخَمَة *indigestion.*

ܐܩܡܐ ἀκμή, ܐܩܡܐ ܕܣܝܒܘܬܝ *my extreme old age,* p. ܦܒ. 20; pl. ܐܩ̈ܡܐ *states, conditions,* p. ܡܢܘ. 11; ܡܢܓ. 18.

ܐܡܦܝܕܐ, p. ܠܐ. 15, is explained in the lexx. by خَشَب الشِّمْشار, *boxwood,* and ܫܓܐ, السّاج, *teak.* See Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.,* p. 63, no. 37.

ܐܐܪ *the aether,* p. ܡܒ. 1; whence ܐܐܪ̈ܝܐ *aetherial,* p. ܡܒ. 3.

ܒܙܚ.—ܡܒܙܚܢܐܝܬ, var. ܡܒܙܚܢܝܬ, *mockingly, derisively,* p. ܟܒ. 1; ܡܗ. 21.

ܒܠܣܡܘܢ, ܒܠܣܡܘܢ *balsam,* p. ܝܓ. 9 and note 7. See ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ.

ܒܩܐ *gnat,* p. ܡܒ. 6.

ܒܪܐ.—ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ *the being created, creation,* p. ܕ. 10; ܗ. 8; ܘ. 6; ܝܐ. 1, 10; ܡܗ. 20; ܝܐ. 3, 10.

ܓܘܦܪܐ, p. ܠܐ. 13. On this word see Hoffmann's BA. 2731, where it is explained to mean 'the parts that project from a building or structure,' ܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܕܒܘܢܝܐ The India Office lex. has merely ܓܘܦܬܐ افاريز *frieze, cornice, battlements.* In BA. the Greek equivalent is said to be ταρσός.

ܓܘܡܨܐ *pit, ditch,* pl. ܓܘܡ̈ܨܐ, p. ܡܚ. 1.

ܓܙܪܐ *carrot,* p. ܡܒ. 5. See Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.,* p. 86, no. 64.

ܓܠܓ—ܓܠܓܘܠܐ = ܓܘܠܓܠܐ, p. ܡܢ, note 17.

ܕܚ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܕܪܚ *be turned into dust*, p. ܣܒ. 22.

ܕܝܘܬܐ *ink*. Hence ܕܝܘܬܢܝܐ *belonging to ink, inky*, p. ܕ. 6.

ܕܡܐ.—ܕܡܘܬܐ *likeness, figure, form, kind*, pl. ܕܘ̈ܡܝܢ, p. ܣܚ. 19.

ܕܪܐ *branch*, p. ܗ. 11.

ܙܘܥ. — ܡܬܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ *motion*, pl. ܡܬܙ̈ܝܥܢܘܬܐ, p. ܝܒ. 3.

ܙܟܐ. — ܡܙܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ *the being vanquished, defeat*, p. ܢ. 20.

ܙܥܪ.—ܡܙܥܘܪܐܝܬ *scantily, sparingly*, p. ܟܐ. 13.

ܙܪܥ.—ܙܪܥܝܬܐ *seed, posterity*, pl. ܙܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ, p. ܟܟ. 19; ܢ. 14.

ܚܛܪ.—ܚܘܛܪܐ *staff*, as fem., p. ܣܓ, note 16; ܝܡ. 2.

ܚܠܦ.—ܚܠܘܦܐ in the sense of خَلِيفَة *vicar, deputy*, p. ܚ, note 11.

ܚܢܛ.—ܚܘܢܛܐ *mixture for embalming*, p. ܣܦ. 17.

ܚܦܪ.—ܚܘܦܪ ܐܦܐ *the making one blush, putting one to shame*, p. ܣܟ. 9.

ܚܫܒ.—ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐܝܬ *mentally, spiritually*, p. ܟܗ. 4.

ܚܘܫܒܐ is fem. in Cod. B, p. ܗܙ. 9, 11, 17.

ܕܝܠ̈ as genit. governed by a subst., ܒܥܒܕܗ ܕܝܠܗ *his own making* or *framing*, p. ܟܐ. 15.

ܟܐܡܘܣ *humours*, p. ܣܦ. 8, = ܟܘ̈ܡܘܣ χυμοί.

ܟܦ.—ܟܘܦܬܐ seems to mean *the hollow of the hand*, p. ܐܙ. 13; ܣܦ. 20.

ܟܘܣܒܪܬܐ *coriander-seed*, p. ܣ. 7; ܣܟ. 3. See Lagarde, *Gesamm. Abhandl.*, p. 57, no. 145; Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.*, p. 209, no. 155.

ܟܦ̈ܐ *gloves*, p. ܣܚ. 9.

ܠܐܟ.—ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ *the guardian angel*, p. ܝܒ. 10.

ܠܒܒ.—ܡܠܒܒܢܐ *exhorter, encourager*, p. ܣܗ. 21.

ܠܒܟ. — ܠܒܘܟܬܐ with assimilation, p. ܙܢ. 4, 11.

ܡܕܐ.—ܡܕܬܐ *material* = مَادَّة, p. ܗ. 3, 5; pl. ܡ̈ܕܬܐ = مَوَادّ, p. ܕ. 16, 17.

ܡܪܙܒܐ *water-spout* or *shoot, water-pipe*, p. ܣܒ. 17, Ar. مِرْزَاب.

ܢܓܕ.—ܡܬܢܓܕܢܘܬܐ *to be beaten* or *chastised*, p. ܣܐ. 1.

ܢܚܬ.—ܢܚܬܐ *descent, coming on*, p. ܢܒ. 22.

ܢܦܫ.—ܢܦܫ ܢܦܫ (so read), *what will just preserve life*, p. ܠܐ. 21, ما يُمْسِكُ الرَّمَق BA, India Office lex.

ܢܟܐ.—Pa"êl ܢܟܝ intens., p. ܕܙ, note 15, line 7.

ܣܗܕ.—ܣܗܝܕ *to whom testimony is borne, noted* or *famous for*, p. ܦ. 8.

ܣܘܦ.—ܠܐ ܡܣܬܝܦܐܝܬ *so as to be unbounded* or *unlimited*, p. ܗܝ. 11.

ܣܚ.—ܣܚܝܚ *subtile, pellucid, transparent*, p. ܕ. 14.

ܣܚܐ.—ܣܚܝܢ *that can swim, living in the water*, p. ܣܓ. 19; ܟܝ. 2; ܟܐ. 7.

ܣܝܡܝܕܐ, for ܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܐ, *laying on of hands, consecration*, p. ܣܠܐ. 14, 15, 17, etc.

ܣܡܠܝܘܬܐ *left-handedness*, p. 19, note 1.

ܡܣܟܢ.—ܡܣܬܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ (in the MS. ܡܣܬܡܣܟܟܢܘܬܐ) *voluntary poverty, austerity, asceticism*, p. ܬܟ. 3.

ܣܘܣܓܪ̈ܐ *rattles*, p. 29, note 5.

ܣܓܪ.—Ethpaʿʿal ܐܣܬܓܪ *to cover* or *clothe oneself with*, p. ܬܟ. 2.

ܥܗܕ.—ܥܘܗܕܢܘܬܐ *memorial, record*, pl. ܥܘܗܕܢܘ̈ܬܐ, p. ܫܣ. 15; ܫܥ. 16.

ܥܙܪܘܦܐ *swaddling-cloth*, p. ܪܟ, note 15, ll. 3, 4, 5; pl. ܥܙܪܘ̈ܦܐ, p. ܦܣ. 10; ܦܓ. 2; ܐܟ. 12, 15; ܪܟ. 12.

ܥܛܦ.—ܥܛܝܦ *clothed in*, with acc., p. ܥܒ. 14; ܫܒ. 5; ܣܗ. 13.

ܥܝܪ.—ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ *half asleep and half awake*, p. ܥܒ. 9, 10. India Office lex., ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ بَيْنَ النائِم والمُسْتَيْقِظ; BA, ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ بَيْنَ النائِم واليَقْظان.

ܥܕܢ.—ܥܕܢܐܝܬ *when opportunity offered*, p. ܣܗ. 4.

ܥܠܥܠܐ *storm, whirlwind*, p. ܦܒ. 2.

ܥܦܦ.—Ethpaʿʿal ܐܬܥܦܦ *be doubled*, p. ܫܥ. 3.

ܥܦܪ.—Ethpaʿʿal ܐܬܥܦܪ *be turned into dust*, p. ܫܒ. 22.

ܥܨܐ.—ܥܨܝܢܐ *constraint, compulsion*, p. ܣ. 20.

ܥܪܒ *be security* or *surety for*, with the accus. of the person, p. ܐܟ. 3.

ܥܪܩ.—Afʿêl ܐܥܪܩ *make to flee, put to flight*, p. ܫܒ. 15; ܬܟ. 1.

ܥܪܥܪܐ *boxwood* or *teak*, p. ܠ. 15. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, ܥܪܥܪܐ شَمْشار ساج ܥܪܥܪܐ ܘܐܫܟܪܥܐ ܣܡ ܐܝܟ. ܩ. ܦܫܟܐ ساج شَمْشار.

ܦܚܡ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܚܡ *be charged with* (ܒ), p. ܫܦ. 9.

ܦܕܥ *crush, batter*, p. ܦܣ. 19; ܫܦܐ. 2 Ar. قَدَغ. India Office lex., Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 283 *a*, col. 2, and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 134 *b*, col. 2, ܦܕܥܐ قَدْغ شَجّ.

ܦܠܓ.—ܦܠܓ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ *middle-aged, in the prime of life*, p. ܣܗ. 7.

ܦܠܚ.—ܦܠܚܢܐ *God-fearing, pious*, p. ܫܣ. 15.

ܦܢܛܣܝܐ *imagination, fancy, vain show*, p. ܫܣܡ. 6, 10.

ܦܨܚ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܨܚ *be gladdened*, p. ܣܗ. 17. The India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 20 *b*, margin, give ܐܬܦܨܚ.

ܦܩܪ.—Ethpaʿʿal ܐܬܦܩܪ *be maddened*, p. ܫܐ. 4.

ܦܨܝ.—ܦܨܝܚܘܬܐ or ܦܨܝܚܘܬܐ *brightness, splendour*, p. ܫܣ. 2.

ܦܪܕܝܣܒܢܐ *gardener*, p. ܣ. 8. Formed with the Persian termination بان *keeping, guarding*.

ܦܪܐ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܪܝ in the sense of *be cleft, burst*, p. ܣܟ, note 3. Compare Ar. فَرَي.

ܦܐܪܐ ܘܦܪܝܐ *fruit and offspring*, p. ܦܥ. 1. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 142 *a*, col. 1, ܦܪܝܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ التَّناسُل نُمُوّ الأَوْلاد.

ܦܪܟܣܝܣ, pl. ܦܪܟܣܝ̈ܣ, *Acts*, p. ܫܢ. 2.

ܦܪܢܣ.—ܡܦܪܢܣܢܘܬܗ *by God's providence*, p. ܪ. 1.

ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ *door-posts*, p. ܨܘ. 8. Not προστάδες, but παραστάδες. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 141 *b*, col. 2, ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ مِلْبَن الباب; Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 *b*, col. 2, ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒ ܗܢܘ ܗ̄ ܡܢܩܠܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܣܬܡܟܝܢ ܠܥܩܒܐ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܡܣܬܡܟܝܢ عَتَب الباب مَلابِن من داخل ومن خارج ܕܡܫܘܐ ܡܣܬܡܟܐ ܡܦܪܫܝܢ ܦܪܘܣܛܕܝܗ ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ; Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 *a*, col. 1, ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܐܘܣܛ ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܕܒ ܗܢܘ أُسْكُفّة الباب.

ܦܪܝܫܐ *Pharisee*, p. ܡܐ. 9; ܡܒ. 9.

ܦܪܐ.—Ethpe'êl ܐܬܦܪܝ *be cleft, burst*, p. ܨܝ. 4.

ܦܪܬܘܬܐ *crumb*, pl. ܦܪ̈ܬܘܬܐ, p. ܕ. 8.

ܨܘܪ.—ܡܨܛܝܪܢܘܬܐ *the being fashioned* or *made*, p. ܝ. 13.

ܨܠܠ.—ܡܨܛܠܠܘܬܐ *the being strained, purity*, p. ܡܗ. 8; ܡܛ. 2.

ܨܠܐ.—Ethpê'êl ܐܨܛܠܝ *incline to* (ܠܘܬ), p. ܡܫ. 12.

ܨܢ̈ܓܐ *cymbals*, Ar. صُنُوج, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 *a*, col. 2, as a gloss on ܨ̈ܠܨܠܐ.

ܨܪܡ *venture, dare*, p. ܥ. 20.

ܨܪܦ.—Ethpe'êl ܐܨܛܪܦ *be purified, tried, afflicted*, p. ܓ. 17; ܡܫ. 9. See Hoffmann's BA, no. 1364.

ܩܒܠ.—ܡܢ ܡܩܒܠ *at a distance*, מֵרָחוֹק, p. ܡܣ. 15.

ܩܕܪ.—ܩܘܕܪܐ *beak*, p. ܟܠ. 3.

ܩܛܘ *cat*, pl. ܩܛ̈ܘܐ, p. ܡܥ. 19.

ܩܛܪ.—ܩܛܝܪܘܬܐ *constraint, compulsion*, p. ܥ. 20.

ܩܡܛܘܢ or, according to MS. B, ܩܘܡܨ, the name of a root like a carrot, p. ܡܒ. 5.

ܩܡܛ.—ܩܡܝܛ *contracted with pain*, p. ܦܣ. 4. Compare BA, ܩܡܛܐ. التَّشَنُّج والتَّعَبُّس.

ܩܡܛ.—ܩܡܝܛ *afraid of*, p. ܥܦ. 21.

ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ, p. ܟܛ. 4; ܨܘ. 12; according to BA, *the bench in front of the altar*, المَصْطَبَة التي تكون قُدّامَ المَذْبَح.

ܩܦܐ *rear itself up, rise up*, p. ܝܐ. 19.

ܩܦܪ.—Pa"êl ܩܦܪ *cover with pitch*, p. ܠ. 16. From ܩܘܦܪܐ, القَفْر.

ܩܪ.—ܩܪܝܪ *cold*, p. ܝܐ. 22; ܡܒ. 2.

ܩܝܢܝܘܬܐ *working in iron, trade of a smith*, p. ܐ. 6; ܟ. 9, 12. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 346 *b*, col. 1, ܩܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒ ܗܢܘ ܗ̄ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܦܪܙܠܐ عمل الحديد.

ܩܪܘܩܕܝܠܘ, for ܩܪܘܩܘܕܝܠܘ, *crocodile*, p. ܟܣ. 5. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 332 *b*, col. 2, ܩܪܘܩܕܝܠܘ ܒܥܒܪܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܗ̄ ܚܝܘܬܐ الجِرْذَون. ܩܪܘܩܘܕܝܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒ ܗܢܘ. ܗ̄. ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ التِمْساح.

ܩܠܘܢܝܬܐ *aqueduct, water-spout*, pl. ܩܠܘܢ̈ܝܬܐ, p. ܡܝ. 17. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 351 *b*, col. 1, ܩܠܘܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܙܝܒܐ. قَوّارات. مَرازيب.

ܩܠܪܣ.—Pass. ܐܬܩܠܪܣ *be deposed*, p. ܥܠ. 10.

ܪܒܥ.—ܐܪܒܥ ܪ̈ܓܠܐ *quadrupeds*, p. ܥܒ. 6; ܝܒ. 14.

ܪܓܙ.—ܡܪܓܙܢܐ *provoking, inciting to anger*, p. ܣܓ. 12.

ܪܓܫ.—ܡܪܓܫܢܐܝܬ *by the senses* or *perceptions*, p. ܢܗ. 5.

ܪܕܦ.—ܪܕܘܦܝܐ, pl. ܪ̈ܕܘܦܝܐ, *persecutions*, p. ܩܝ. 1.

ܪܗܠ.—ܪܗܠܐ *pus, matter*, p. ܥܙ. 19. BA, الصَّدِيد الجارِي.

ܪܘܚ.—ܪܘܚܢܝܘܬܐ *spirituality*, p. ܡܒ. 4, 7.
ܪܝܚܢܐ *sweet-scented*, p. ܣܝ. 12.

ܪܛܢ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܪܛܢ *murmur against, be angry with* (ܥܠ), p. ܡܚ. 18.

ܪܡܐ ܒܬܘ̈ܠܥܐ *breed worms, be eaten by worms*, p. ܥܙ. 19.

ܪܡܠ.—Af'êl ܐܪܡܠ *to lose one's wife*, p. ܦܙ. 7.

ܪܡܩ.—ܪܡܩܐ and, according to C, ܪܡܩܐ *shallows, shoal*, p. ܡܚ. 14. BA, ܪܡܩܐ
ܪܡܩܐ ضَحاضِح الماءَ ومَخاضه.

ܪܡܪ.—ܡܪܡܪܢܐ *mourner*, p. ܚܙ. 1.

ܪܡܫ.—ܐܘܪܡܫܟܐ, pl. ܐܘܪ̈ܡܫܟܐ, *rags*; p. ܦܚ. 10.

ܪܫܐ.—ܪܫܝܢܐ *one who finds fault* or *rebukes*, p. ܣ. 16.

ܪܫܦ.—ܪܫܘܦܐ *creeping, reptile*, p. ܢܗ. 5.

ܫܐܠ.—ܡܫܐܠܢܐܝܬ *questioningly, interrogatively*, p. ܢܗ. 1.

ܫܡܫ.—Pa"êl ܫܡܫ *flatter, wheedle*, p. ܪܙ, note 2, in Cod. C.

ܫܓܐ *wander, swerve*, p. ܒ. 2; ܥܘ. 2.

ܫܪܩ.—ܒܫܪܝܩܐ *in vain, to no purpose*, p. ܠ. 15; ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܫܪܝܩܐ *vain, bootless work*, p. ܦ. 23.

ܫܓܫ.—Pa"êl ܫܓܫ *flatter, wheedle*, p. ܪܙ. 1, in Cod. A.

ܫܘܚܬܐ *complexion*, p. ܡܚ. 19; ܟ. 17.

ܫܟܠ.—ܫܟܠܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܝ? p. ܡܚ. 11.

ܫܡܝܐ *roof, ceiling*, p. ܗ. 7, like سَمَآءٌ in Arabic.

ܫܩ̈ܫܩܐ *rattles*, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 *a*, col. 2, as a gloss upon ܩܘܩܘ̈ܫܐ.

ܫܒܠ.—Af'êl ܐܫܒܠ *to make to march*, p. ܥܙ. 17.

ܫܪܟ.—ܫܪܟܘܢܐ *trifling matter, trifle*, p. ܚ, note 10; ܟ. 4.

ܫܪܐ.—Af'êl ܐܫܪܝ *to make to halt*, p. ܥܙ. 17.

ܬܐܘܦܘܪܘ *θεόφοροι, inspired*, p. ܘ. 2. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 192 *a*, col. 1, ܬܐܘܦܘܪܘ. ܗ̄. ܠܒ̈ܫܝ ܠܐܠܗܐ المُتَسَرْبِلين خَوْفَ الله المُتَدَرِّعين بالله.

ܬܦܠܐ *dung*, p. ܠܐ. 21.

ܬܢܦܐ *sordid, filthy*, p. ܥܘ. 13.

ܬܟܦ.—ܬܟܝܦܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܢܩܐ *urgency, compulsion*, p. ܥܥܘ. 11.

ܬܠܗ.—ܬܠܝܗܘܬܐ *weariness, fatigue*, p. ܦ. 15; ܩܝ. 1.

ܬܪܥܣܪܝܘܬܐ *the number twelve*, p. ܡܒ. 10.

CORRECTIONS.

Page ܝܒ, line 17. Read ܘܗ̇ܝ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ?
,, ܝܗ, ,, 5. ,, ܗܘܟܠܐ ܥܡ ܒܢܝ̈ܗܘܢ?
,, ܟ, ,, 7. ,, ܘܒܚܫ̈ܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܐ.
,, ܟܗ, ,, 5. Read with B C ܚܣ̄ܘܬܐ.
,, ܠ, ,, 4. ,, ܗ̈ܘܝ ܠܗ.
,, ܠܐ, ,, 2. ,, ܕܚܣܘܬܐ.
,, ,, 13. ,, ܘܙܪܬܐ.
,, ܠܒ, ,, 7. Put a point after ܐܩܕܡ.
,, ܡ, ,, 16. Delete the point after ܒܟܠܗܘܢ, and put one after ܒܡܪ̈ ܣܥܕܘܬܗ.
,, ܡܕ, ,, 5. Put a point after ܡܟܕܬܒܘܢ.
,, ܢܕ, ,, 4. C omits ܡܬܝܡ.
,, ,, 5. C has ܡܪܝܐ instead of ܐܠܗܐ.
,, ܦܛ, ,, 10. Read ܙܪ̈ܕܘܫܬ.
,, ܨܛ, ,, 16. ,, ܘܡܡܠܠ.
,, ܩܕ, last line. ,, ܕܡܠܝܛܣܝܢ.
,, ܩܗ, line 7. ,, ܐܝܠܗ̇.
,, ܩܚ, ,, 12. ,, ܕܝܠܗܘܢ.
,, ܩܟ, ,, 14. ,, ܐܦܝܗ.
,, ܩܟܒ, ,, 3. Delete the point after ܪܒܝܐ.
,, ܩܟܓ, ,, 12. Insert a point after ܘܪܗܝܡ, and delete that after ܘܡܠܬܟܝܢ.
,, ,, 18. Read ܕܣܡܠܐ.
,, ܩܟܗ, last line. ,, ܡܦܪ̈ܕܝܢ?
,, ܩܟܛ, line 19. ,, ܕܙܪܗ.
,, ܩܠܒ, ,, 1. ,, ܕܫ̈ܠܡܗܘܢ.
,, ܩܡܐ, ll. 15, 16. Put a point after ܐܠܗܐ, and delete that after ܘܡܠܙܪ̈ܝܡ.
,, ܩܡܒ, line 1. Read ܒܪ̈ܬܐ.
,, ,, 2. Put a point after ܡܘܟܟܐ.
,, ,, 3. Read ܕܒܗ.
,, ,, 11. ,, ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ.
,, ,, 12. ,, ܒܥܠܐ ܡܠܐܟܝܢ.
,, ܩܡܓ, ,, 6. Read ܠܟܒܬ̈ܐ?
,, ,, 17. Read ܠܗ, and put a point after ܦܝܣ.

THE BOOK OF THE BEE.

TRUSTING in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write this book of gleanings called 'The Bee,' which was composed by the saint of God, Mâr Solomon, metropolitan of Pĕrath-Maishân[1], that is Bassorah (al-Baṣrah), one of His companions. O Lord, in Thy mercy help me. Amen.

FIRST, THE APOLOGY.

'The children ought not to lay up treasures for the parents, but the parents for the spiritual children,' saith the blessed Paul[2]; therefore we are bound to repay thee the debt of love, O beloved brother and staff of our old age, saint of God, Mâr Narses[3], bishop of Khônî-Shâbôr Bêth-Wâzîḳ[4]. We remember thy solicitude for us, and thy zeal for our service, which thou didst fulfil with fervent love and Christ-like humility. And when we had loving meetings with each other from time to time, thou wert wont to ask questions and to make enquiries about the various things which God hath wrought in His dispensation in this material world, and also as to the things that He is about to do in the world of light. But since we were afflicted with the Mosaic defect of hesitancy of speech [ܕ], we were unable to inform thee fully concerning the profitable matters about which, as was right, thou didst enquire; and for this reason we were prevented from profitable discourse upon the holy Books. Since, then, God has willed and ruled our separation from each other, and the sign of old age, which is the messenger of death, hath appeared in us, and we have grown old and come into years, it has seemed good to us, with the reed for a tongue and with ink for lips, to inform thee briefly concerning God's dispensation in the two worlds. And, behold, we have gleaned and collected and gathered together chapters and sections relating to this whole universe from the garden of the divine Books and from the crumbs of the Fathers and the Doctors, having laid down as the foundation of our building the beginning of the creation of this world, and concluding with the consummation of the world to come. We have called this book the 'Book of the Bee,' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and lights upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork; and having first of all collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of men and her own nourishment: [ܗ] in like manner have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law. And as the bee carries the waxen substance upon her thighs because of its insipidity and tastelessness, and brings the honey in her mouth because of its sweetness and value; so also have we laid down the corporeal law by way of substratum and foundation, and the spiritual law for a roof and ceiling to the edifice of the spiritual tower. And as the expert gardener and orchard-keeper goes round among the gardens, and seeking out the finest sorts of fruits takes from them slips and shoots, and plants them in his own field; so also have we gone into the garden of the divine Books, and have culled therefrom branches and shoots, and have planted them in the ground of this book for thy consolation and benefit. When thou, O brother, art recreating thyself among these plants, those which appear and which thou dost consider to be insipid and tasteless, leave for thy companions, for they may be more suitable to others (than to thee); but, upon those which are sweet, and which sweeten the palate of thy understanding, do thou feed and satisfy thy hunger. If, however, owing to their fewness, they do not fill thee, seek in succession for their roots, and from thence shall thy want be satisfied. Know also, O brother, that where there is true love, there is no fear[1]; and where there is freedom of speech, there is no dread; and we should not dare to be so rash as to [ܩ] enter upon these subjects, which are beyond the capacity of our simple understanding, unless we relied upon thy immaculate love; because, in the words of one of the inspired[2], 'When thou findest honey, eat (only) so much as is sufficient for thee, lest, when thou art sated, thou vomit it[3]'; that is to say, do not enquire (too closely) into the divine words.

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[1] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. ii. 1212.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 14.

[3] See Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, vol. ii. 1188.

[4] Khônî-Shâbôr, or Bêth-Wâzîḳ, was a town on the little Zâb, close to its junction with the Tigris, in the diocese of Ṭîrhân. Bêth-Wâzîḳ is also written Bêth-Wâzîg, and has been altered by the Arabs into *al-Bawâzîg* or *al-Bawâzîj*, بوازيج. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 189 and 296. It has, of course, nothing whatever to do with Gundê-Shâbôr, or *Jundai-Shâbûr*, with which it has sometimes been confounded.

List of the Chapters in this Book.

I. Of God's eternal intention in respect of the creation of the universe.
II. Of the creation of the seven natures (substances) in silence.
III. Of earth, water, air, and fire.
IV. Of heaven.
V. Of the angels.
VI. Of darkness.
VII. Of effused (circumambient) light.
VIII. Of the firmament.
IX. Of the creation of trees and plants, and the making of seas and rivers.
X. Of the making of the luminaries.
XI. Of the creation of sea-monsters, fish, winged fowl, and the reptiles that are in the seas.

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[1] 1 John iv. 18.

[2] ܬܐܘܦܘܪ̈ܘ *θεόφοροι*; see Prov. xxv. 16. Schoenfelder, *quippe a Theodoro dictum est.*

[3] Schoenfelder, *satiaberis fortasse de eo et prophetabis.*

XII. Of the creation of beasts and animals.
XIII. Of the formation of Adam. [ܐ]
XIV. Of the making of Eve.
XV. Of Paradise.
XVI. Of the sin of Adam.
XVII. Of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.
XVIII. Of Adam's knowing Eve.
XIX. Of the invention of the instruments for working in iron.
XX. Of Noah and the Flood.
XXI. Of Melchizedek.
XXII. Of the generations of Noah, how seventy-two families sprang from three sons.
XXIII. Of the succession of generations from the Flood until now.
XXIV. Of the building of the Tower.
XXV. Of Abraham.
XXVI. Of the temptation of Job.
XXVII. Of Isaac's blessing upon Jacob.
XXVIII. Of Joseph.
XXIX. Of Moses and the Children of Israel.
XXX. Of Moses' rod.
XXXI. Of Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and brief notices of the Kings of the Children of Israel.
XXXII. Of the death of the Prophets; how they died, and (where) they were buried.
XXXIII. Of the divine dispensation which was wrought in the New Testament, and of the genealogy of Christ. [ܒ]
XXXIV. Of the announcement of the angel to Jonachir (Joachim) in respect of Mary.
XXXV. Of the annunciation of Gabriel to Mary in respect of her conception of our Lord.
XXXVI. Of our Lord's birth in the flesh.
XXXVII. Of the prophecy of Zarâdôsht, that is Baruch the scribe.
XXXVIII. Of the star which appeared in the East on the day of our Lord's birth.
XXXIX. Of the coming of the Magi from Persia, and the slaughter of the infants.

XL. Of the going down of our Lord into Egypt.
XLI. Of John the Baptist and his baptism of our Lord.
XLII. Of our Lord's fast and His contest with Satan.
XLIII. Of the passover of our Lord.
XLIV. Of the passion of our Lord.
XLV. Of the resurrection of our Lord.
XLVI. Of the ascension of our Lord.
XLVII. Of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles in the upper chamber.
XLVIII. Of the teaching of the Apostles, their deaths, and the place where each of them (was buried).
XLIX. The names of the twelve Apostles and the seventy (Disciples), one after another in (his) grade.
L. Of minor matters; those of the Apostles who were married, etc.
LI. The names of the Eastern Patriarchs, and the places where they were buried[1]. [ܠ]
LII. The names of the kings who have reigned in the world from the Flood to the present time, and the (number of the) years of the reign of each of them. The names of the kings of the Medes and the Egyptians; the names of the seventy old men who brought out the Scriptures and translated them; the names of the Roman emperors, and of the kings of Persia.
LIII. Of the end of times and the change of kingdoms. From the book of Methodius, the bishop of Rome.
LIV. Of Gog and Magog, who are imprisoned in the North.
LV. Of the coming of Antichrist, the son of perdition.
LVI. Of death and the departure of the soul from the body.
LVII. Of the rising of the dead and the general resurrection, the end of the material world, and the beginning of the new world.
LVIII. Of the manner in which men will rise in the day of the resurrection.

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[1] C reads: *The names of the Eastern Catholics, the successors of the Apostles.*

LIX. Of the happiness of the righteous, and the torture of sinners; and of the manner in which they will exist yonder.

LX. Of the demons and sinners in Gehenna, whether after they have been punished and have suffered and received their sentence, they will have mercy shewn to them or not; and if mercy be shewn to them, when it will be.

CHAPTER I[1].

OF GOD'S ETERNAL INTENTION IN RESPECT OF THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE. [ܐ]

It is well for us to take the materials for our discourse from the divine Scriptures, that we may not stray from the straight paths of the way of truth. The blessed David saith, 'Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations, before the mountains were conceived[2].' David, the harpist of the Spirit, makes known thereby, that although there was a beginning of the framing of Adam and the other creatures when they were made, yet in the mind of God it had no beginning; that it might not be thought that God has a new thought in respect of anything that is renewed day by day, or that the construction of Creation was newly planned in the mind of God: but everything that He has created and is about to create, even the marvellous construction of the world to come, has been planned from everlasting in the immutable mind of God. As the natural child in the womb of his mother knows not her who bears him, nor is conscious of his father, who, after God, is the cause of his formation; so also Adam, being in the mind of the Creator, knew Him not. And when he was created, and recognised himself as being created, he remained with this knowledge six hours only[3], and there came over him a change, from knowledge to ignorance and from good to evil. Hence, when Divine Providence wished to create the world, the framing of Adam was first designed and conceived in the mind of God, and then that of the (other) creatures; as David saith, 'Before the mountains were conceived.' Consequently, Adam is older than the (other) creatures in respect of his conception, and the (other) creatures are older than Adam in respect of their birth [ܒܪܐ] and their being made. And whereas God created all creatures in silence and by a word, He brought forth Adam out of His thoughts, and formed him with His holy hands, and breathed the breath of life into him from His Spirit, and Adam became a living soul[1], and God gave him the knowledge of the difference between good and evil. When he perceived his Creator, then was God formed and conceived within the mind of man; and man became a temple to God his maker, as it is written, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you[2]?' And again, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them[3].'

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[1] Chap. ii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Ps. xc. 1, 2.

[3] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 *a*, col. 2: ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܐܬܒܣܡܘ ܒܛܒ̈ܬܐ. ܘܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܡܒܗܬܝܢ. ܘܒܬܫܥ ܫܥܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܡܦܩܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ 'At the third hour they entered Paradise, for three hours they enjoyed the good things, for three hours they were ashamed, and at the ninth hour their expulsion from Paradise took place.'

CHAPTER II[4].

OF THE CREATION OF THE SEVEN NATURES (SUBSTANCES) IN SILENCE.

WHEN God in His mercy wished to make known all His power and His wisdom, in the beginning, on the evening of the first day, which is Sunday, He created seven natures (substances) in silence, without voice. And because there was as yet none to hear a sound, He did well to create them in silence, that He might not make anything uselessly; but He willed, and heaven, earth, water, air, fire, and the angels and darkness, came into being from nothing.

CHAPTER III[5].

OF EARTH, WATER, AIR, AND FIRE.

THE earth was *tôh wĕ-bôh*[6], that is to say, it was unarranged and unadorned, but plunged in the midst of the waters. The waters were above it, and above the waters was air, and above the air was fire. The earth is by nature cold and dry. Dry land appeared on the third day, [ܝܒ] when the trees and plants were created; and the waters were separated therefrom on the second day, when the firmament was made from them. Water is by nature cold and moist. As touching the 'Spirit which was brooding upon the face of the waters[1],' some men have ignorantly imagined it to have been the Holy Spirit[2], while others have more correctly thought it to have been this air (of ours). Air is by nature hot and moist. Fire was operating in the upper ether, above the atmosphere; it possessed heat only, and was without luminosity until the fourth day, when the luminaries were created: we shall mention it in the chapter on the luminaries (chap. x). Fire is by nature hot and dry[3].

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[1] Gen. ii. 7. [2] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [3] 2 Cor. vi. 16; Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12.

[4] Chap. iii in the Oxford MS. [5] Chap. iv in the Oxford MS.

[6] In Hebrew תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ, Gen. i. 2, a chaotic waste.

CHAPTER IV[4].

OF HEAVEN.

HEAVEN is like a roof to the material world, and will serve as the floor of the new world. It is by nature shining and glorious, and is the dwelling-place of the invisible hosts. When God spread out this firmament, He brought up above it a third part of the waters, and above these is the heaven of light and of the luminaries. Hence people say 'the heaven, and the heaven of heavens[5]'; for we call both the firmament and the waters which are above it 'heaven.' Some consider that the verse 'Let the waters[6] which are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord[1]' refers to the holy angels and to our Lord's humanity; but neither the Church nor the orthodox teachers accept this.

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[1] Gen. i. 2.

[2] This view is maintained in the 'Cave of Treasures,' Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 3 *b*, col. 1: ܘܒܗ ܒܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܪܚܦ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܩܢܘ̈ܡܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܪܚܦܢܗ ܕܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܒܪܟܘ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܘܠܕ̈ܢܐ. 'And on the first day of the week the Holy Spirit, one of the Persons of the Trinity, brooded upon the waters: and through His brooding upon the face of the waters they were blessed that they might be bringers forth.' See Bezold's translation, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 1; and Schoenfelder's note 26, on p. 9 of his translation of *The Bee*.

[3] טבע האש חם ויבש.... והרוח חם ולח. והמים קרים ולחים והארץ יבשה וקרה:, Maimonides, משנה תורה. מדע. פרק. ד. א.

[4] Chap. v in the Oxford MS.

[5] 1 Kings viii. 27.

[6] Read in the Syr. text ܘܗܘܢ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ?

CHAPTER V[2].

OF THE ANGELS[3].

THE Angels consist of nine classes and three orders, [ܒܠܐ] upper, middle and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones: these are called 'priests' (*kumrê*), and 'chief priests,' and 'bearers of God's throne.' The middle order is composed of Lords, Powers and Rulers[4]: these are called 'priests' (*kâhnê*), because they receive revelations from those above them. The lower order consists of Principalities, Archangels and Angels: and these are the ministers who wait upon created things. The Cherubim are an intellectual motion[5] which bears the throne of the holy Trinity, and is the chief of all motions; they are ever watchful of the classes of themselves and those beneath them. As concerning the epithet 'full of eyes[6],' which is applied to them, the eyes indicate the mystery of the revelations of the Trinity. Their head, and the foremost and highest among them, is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Seraphim are a fiery motion, which warms those below it with the fire of the divine love. The six wings which each of them is said to possess[7] indicate the revelations which they receive from the Creator and transmit to mankind. The Thrones are a fixed motion, which is not shaken by the trials which come upon it. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; and it is that which prevents the demons from injuring created things. The Powers are a mighty motion, the minister of the will of the Lord; and it is that which gives victory to some rulers in battle and defeat to others. The Rulers are a motion which has power over the spiritual treasures, to distribute them to its companions according to the will of the Creator. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars. [ܝܕ] The Principalities are a defined motion which possesses the direction of the upper ether, of rain, clouds, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, and other ethereal disturbances. The Archangels are a swift operative motion, into whose hands is entrusted the government of the wild beasts, cattle, winged fowl, reptiles, and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant, except man. The Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. With each and every one of us is an angel of this group—called the guardian angel—who directs man from his conception until the general resurrection. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection. Hence it is handed down that the number of people who are going to enter the world is equal to the number of all the heavenly hosts; but some say that the number is equal to that of one of the classes only, that they may fill the place of those of them who have fallen through transgressing the law; because the demons fell from three classes (of angels), from each class a third part. If then it is an acknowledged fact that there are three orders of angels, and in each order there are three classes, and in every class a number equivalent to that of all mankind, what is the total number of the angels? Some say that when the angels were created, and were arranged in six divisions—Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Principalities, [ܝܗ] Archangels, and Angels—the three lower divisions reflected (saying), 'What is the reason that these are set above, and we below? for they have not previously done anything more than we, neither do we fall short of them.' On account of this reflection as a cause, according to the custom of the (divine) government, Justice took from both sides, and established three other middle classes of angels—Lords, Powers, and Rulers—that the upper might not be (unduly) exalted, nor the lower think themselves wronged. As for the dwelling-place of the angels, some say that above the firmament there are waters, and above them another heaven in the form of infinite light, and that this is the home of the angels. Here too is God without limit, and the angels, invisible to bodily eyes, surround the throne of His majesty, where they minister to 'the tabernacle not made with hands[1].' Others say that, from the beginning, when God created the angels, until the second day, in which the firmament was made, all the classes of angels dwelt in the upper heavens; but when the firmament was made, they all came down below it, with the exception of three classes—the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones[2]—who remained above it. These surrounded and supported the Shechinah of God from the beginning of the world until our Lord ascended unto heaven; and after the Ascension, behold, they surround and support the throne of the Christ God, who is over all, until the end of the world. The Expositor[3] and his companions say: 'The tabernacle which Moses made is a type of [ܗܘ] the whole world.' The outer tabernacle is the likeness of this world, but the inner tabernacle is the similitude of the place that is[4] above the firmament. And as the priests ministered in the outer tabernacle daily, while the high priest alone entered into the inner tabernacle once a year; so of all rational beings, angels and men, no one has entered (the place) above the firmament, save the High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ[5]. The fathers, when they have been deemed worthy at any time to see our Lord in a revelation, have seen Him in heaven, surrounded by the Cherubim and Seraphim. Hence some say that there are angels above the heavens. All these celestial hosts have revelations both of sight and of hearing; but the Cherubim have revelations by sight only, because there is no mediator between them and God. The angels have an intellect superior to that of the rest of rational beings; man has stronger desire, and the demons a greater degree of anger.

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[1] Ps. cxlviii. 4.

[2] Chap. vi in the Oxford MS.

[3] 'Dionysium Areopagitam sequitur Bassorensis in hac materia. Sufficit nomen tantum Hierarchiae coelestis dixisse.' Schoenfelder, note 28, p. 10.

[4] Colossians i. 16, 'thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers.'

[5] 'Motion' or 'movement,' *Zau'â*. 'Angelus est substantia intellectualis semper mobilis.' Schoenfelder, note 29, p. 10.

[6] Rev. iv. 6, 8; Ezek. i. 18.

[7] Isaiah vi. 2.

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[1] Heb. ix. 11.

[2] According to the 'Cave of Treasures,' these were created on the first day. See Bezold's translation, p. 1, and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,175, fol. 1 *b*, col. 1.

[3] Or Commentator, that is Theodore of Mopsuestia. See Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 1. 30.

[4] Schoenfelder, *similitudinem aetheris, qui* etc.

[5] Heb. ix. 7.

CHAPTER VI[1].

OF DARKNESS.

DARKNESS is a self-existent nature; and if it had not had a nature, it would not have been reckoned among the seven natures which were created in the beginning in silence. Others say that darkness is not a self-existent nature, but that it is the shadow of bodies.

CHAPTER VII[2].

OF EFFUSED (CIRCUMAMBIENT) LIGHT.

WHEN the holy angels were created on the evening of the first day, without voice, they understood not their creation, but thought within themselves [ܕܡܐ] that they were self-existent beings and not made. On the morning of the first day God said in an audible and commanding voice, 'Let there be light[3],' and immediately the effused light was created. When the angels saw the creation of light, they knew of a certainty that He who had made light had created them. And they shouted with a loud voice, and praised Him, and marvelled at His creation of light, as the blessed teacher[4] saith, 'When the Creator made that light, the angels marvelled thereat,' etc.; and as it is said in Job, 'When I created the morning star, all my angels praised me[5].' Now by nature light has no warmth.

CHAPTER VIII[6].

OF THE FIRMAMENT.

ON the evening of the second day of the week, God willed to divide the heavens from the earth, that there might be luminaries and stars beneath the heavens to give light to this world, and that the heavens might be a dwelling-place for the righteous and the angels after the resurrection. God said, 'Let there be a firmament which shall divide the waters from the waters[1]'; and straightway the waters were divided into three parts. One part remained upon the earth for the use of men, cattle, winged fowl—the rivers and the seas; of another part God made the firmament; and the third part He took up above the firmament. But on the day of resurrection the waters will return to their former nature.

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[1] Chap. vii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Chap. viii in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. i. 3.

[4] Meaning, probably, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

[5] Solomon seems to refer to Job, chap. xxxviii. 7.

[6] Chap. ix in the Oxford MS.

CHAPTER IX[2].

OF THE CREATION OF TREES AND PLANTS, AND THE MAKING OF SEAS AND RIVERS.

ON the third day God commanded that the waters should be gathered together [ܟܢܫ] into the pits and depths of the earth, and that the dry land should appear[3]. When the waters were gathered together into the depths of the earth, and the mountains and hills had appeared, God placed the sand as a limit for the waters of the seas[4], that they might not pass over and cover the earth. And God commanded the earth to put forth herbage and grass and every green thing[5]; and the earth brought forth trees and herbs and plants of all kinds, complete and perfect in respect of flowers and fruit and seed, each according to its kind. Some say that before the transgression of the command, the earth brought forth neither thorns nor briars, and that even the rose had no thorns as it has now; but that after the transgression of the command, the earth put forth thorns and briars by reason of the curse which it had received. The reason why God created the trees and plants before the creation of the luminaries was that the philosophers, who discourse on natural phenomena, might not imagine that the earth brought forth herbs and trees through the power of the heat of the sun. Concerning the making of Paradise, it is not mentioned in the Pentateuch on what day it was created; but according to the opinion of those who may be relied upon, it was made on the same day in which the trees were made[6]: and if the Lord will, we will speak about it in its proper place.

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[1] Gen. i. 6.

[2] Chap. x in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. i. 9.

[4] Comp. Jer. v. 22.

[5] Gen. i. 12.

[6] According to Rabbi Eliezer, chap. iii (Horowitz, אגדת אגדות, part i, Leipzig, 1881), Paradise was one of the seven things created before the world.

CHAPTER X[1].

OF THE MAKING OF THE LUMINARIES[2].

ON the fourth day God made the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—of three substances, air, light, and fire. He took aerial material and prepared vessels like lamps, and mixed fire with light, and filled them. And because in the nature of fire there was no light, nor heat in that of light, [ܝܛ] the fire imparted heat to the light, and the light gave luminosity to the fire; and from these two were the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—fabricated. Some say that the luminaries were made in the morning, that the sun was placed in the east, and the moon in the west; while others say that they were made in the evening, and that the sun was placed in the west, and the moon in the east; and therefore the Jews celebrate the fourteenth[3] in the evening. Others say that all the luminaries when they were created were placed in the east; the sun completed his course by day, while the moon waited until eventide, and then began her course. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament, and they are not fixed as men have foolishly stated, but the angels guide them. Mâr Isaac says, 'The sun performs his course from the east to the west, and goes behind the lofty northern mountains the whole night until he rises in the east.' And the philosophers say that during the night the luminaries perform their course under the earth.

CHAPTER XI[4].

OF THE CREATION OF SEA-MONSTERS, FISH, WINGED FOWL, AND THE REPTILES THAT ARE IN THE SEAS.

ON the fifth day of the week God made from the waters mighty sea-monsters[5], fish, winged fowl, swimming beasts, and the reptiles that are in the seas. He created the winged fowl that are in the waters from the waters; for, like fish, they lay eggs and swim. Now, fish swim [ܟ] in the waters, and winged fowl in the air; but some of the latter in the waters also. Although they say that swimming creatures were made from the waters, or that the other wild beasts and cattle were made from the earth; still they consist of parts of all the other elements. Those, however, that are of the waters, have the greater part of their composition made of water; while the greater part of those whose origin is earth, consists of earth: but none of them lack the four elements.

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[1] Chap. xi in the Oxford MS.

[2] Gen. i. 14.

[3] See Exod. xii. 18.

[4] Chap. xii in the Oxford MS.

[5] Gen. i. 21.

CHAPTER XII[1].

OF THE CREATION OF BEASTS AND ANIMALS.

On Friday eve God created them[2], and therefore animals can see at night as well as in the day time. Others say that they were all created in the morning, and that God created Adam after them on the sixth day, which is Friday.

CHAPTER XIII[3].

OF THE FORMATION OF ADAM.

On the Friday, after the making of all created things, God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness[4].' The Jews have interpreted the expression 'Come, let us make,' as referring to the angels; though God (adored be His glory!) needs not help from His creatures: but the expositors of the Church indicate the Persons of the adorable Trinity. Some say that when God said 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' the angels by the eye of the Spirit saw the right hand (of God) spread out over the whole world, and there were in it parts of all the creatures both spiritual and corporeal. And God took from all these parts[5], and fashioned Adam with His holy hands, [ܒܪܐ] and breathed into him the breath of life, and man became a living soul[1]. Others say that God took earth from the four quarters of the world[2], and formed Adam outside Paradise;

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[1] Chap. xiii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Gen. i. 25.

[3] Chap. xiv in the Oxford MS.

[4] Gen. i. 26.

[5] Compare Sanhedrîm, fol. 38, col. 1: רבי מאיר אומר אדם הראשון מכל העולם כולו הוצבר עפרו. Among other things, Jewish tradition says that the first Adam had two faces, שני פרצופין (Berâchôth, fol. 61, col. 1); that he was formed in two parts, on the one side male, and on the other female; that in height he reached from earth to heaven (Chagîgâh, p. 12, col. 1); and that he could stretch from one end of the world to the other (*Sêpher Ḥasîdîm*, No. 500).

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[1] Gen. ii. 7.

[2] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 3 and 4; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 4 *b*, col. 1, line 23 to fol. 5 *b*, col. 1, line 14: ܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܕܡ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܫܬܝܬܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܒܫܥܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܛܟ̈ܣܐ ܘܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬܢ. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܘܕܥ ܥܠ ܩܢܘ̈ܡܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܒܪܬ ܩܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܘ ܒܙܘܥܐ ܘܪܬܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ. ܕܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܡܬܚܘܝܐ ܠܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ. ܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܘܝܢ. ܘܚܙܘ ܠܝܡܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܘܐܬܦܪܣܬ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܠ* ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܒܓܘ ܦܫܛ ܝܡܝܢܗ. ܘܚܙܘ ܕܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܪܕܬ ܥܦܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܛܘܦܬ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܐܪ ܕܠܥܠ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܦܬܡܐ ܡܟܠ ܕܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܡܫܬܒܠܐ ܒܓܘ ܦܫܛ ܝܡܝܢܗ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ. ܩܪܝܪܘܬܐ. ܘܝܒܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ. ܘܪܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܟ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܒܪܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܫܩܠ ܦܪܕܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ: ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܛܘܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ: ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܗܘܦܐ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ: ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܢ̈ܣܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܚܝܢ ܒܐܐܪ ܠܗ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܦܬܡܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ: ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܫܚܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܘܕܪܢܗ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܬܐ. ܒܨܠܡܗ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܠܚܙܘܗ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܡܢ ܡܘܦܪܐ† ܕܚܙܘܗ. ܚܙܘ ܗܘܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ: ܟܕ ܡܫܠܗܒܢ ܒܫܘܦܪܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܦܝܪܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܥܝ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܩܪܘܣܛܠܘܣ. ܟܕ ܦܫܛ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܩܡ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܬܩܝܡܘ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܒܗܝ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܐܬܩܝܡ ܒܗ ܙܩܝܦܐ ܕܦܪܘܩܢ. ܡܐܢ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܠܒܫܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܣܡ ܟܠܗ ܟܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܟܠܠ ܒܟܠܝܠܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܐ. ܘܐܩܝܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܘܗܢܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ. ܘܐܘܬܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܗ. ܘܐܦ ܐܫܠܛܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܝܪܐ ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܘܥܒܪܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܘܫܡܗܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܣܡ. ܘܐܪܟܢܘ ܠܗ ܪ̈ܫܝܗܘܢ. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܕܡ ܗܐ ܥܒܕܬܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܗܢܐ. ܘܢܒܝܐ. ܘܫܠܝܛܐ. ܘܪܫܐ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܠܟ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܕܝܠܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܬܚܝܬ ܐܘܚܕܢܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ. ܒܪܟܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. 'The creation of Adam was on this wise. On the sixth day, which is Friday, at the first hour,

* For ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ.

† Bezold corrects this into ܫܘܦܪܐ.

while others say that God fashioned him in the middle of the earth, on the spot where our Lord was crucified, and that there also was

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when silence reigned over all the ranks of the (heavenly) hosts, God said, "Come, let us make man in our image after our likeness"—hereby making known concerning the glorious Persons (of the Trinity). When the angels heard these words they were in fear and trembling, saying one to another, "We shall see a great miracle to-day, the likeness of God our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God stretched out and extended over the whole world; and all created things were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took a grain of dust from all the earth, a drop of water from the whole nature of water, a breath of wind from all the atmosphere above, and a little warmth from all the nature of fire. And the angels saw when these four feeble elements—that is, cold and heat and dryness and moisture—were laid in the palm of His right hand, and God formed Adam. For what reason did God make Adam out of these four elements, unless it were that through them everything in the world should be subject unto him? He took a grain of dust, that all natures which are of dust might be subject unto Adam; and a drop of water, that all those in the seas and rivers might be his; and a breath of air, that all kinds of birds of the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire, that all the fiery beings and (heavenly) hosts might come to his aid. And God formed man with His holy hands, in His image and likeness. When the angels saw his glorious appearance, they trembled at the beauty of his appearance; for they saw the form of his face blazing with glorious beauty like the sphere of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the sun, and the form of his body like the light of crystal. And when he stretched himself, and stood in the centre of the earth, he set his two feet on the spot where the cross of our Redeemer was placed: for Adam was created in Jerusalem, and there it was that he put on royal apparel, and the crown of glory was set upon his head; and there was he made king and priest and prophet, there did God set him upon the throne of His glory, and there He made him master over all creatures. And all beasts and cattle and fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he gave them names; and they bowed their heads to him, and all natures did homage to him and were subject unto him. And the angels and (heavenly) hosts heard the voice of God saying to him, "Adam, behold I have made thee king and priest and prophet and lord and chief and governor of all things made and created; to thee shall they be subject, and thine shall they be: and I have given thee power over everything that I have created." And when the angels heard these words, they all blessed and worshipped him.'

Adam's skull laid. After God had formed Adam outside Paradise, He brought him in as a king, and made him king over all the creatures, and commanded him to give a name to each of them. God did not gather together unto Adam all cattle, nor (all) that swim in the sea, nor (all) the birds of the air, that he might give them names[1]; but he received dominion and power over them to make use of them as he pleased, and to give them names, as a master to his slaves. And when God had brought him into Paradise, He commanded him to till it and to guard it. Why did God say 'to till it and to guard it'?—for Paradise needed no guarding, and was adorned with fruit of all kinds, and there was none to injure it—unless it were to exhort him to keep His commandments, and to till it that he might not become a lover of idleness. Because Adam had not seen his own formation, and was not acquainted with the power of his Maker, it was necessary that, when Eve was taken from him in his own likeness, he should perceive his Maker, and should acknowledge that He who made Eve also made him, and that they two were bound to be obedient to Him.

CHAPTER XIV[2].

OF THE MAKING OF EVE.

GOD said, 'Let us make a helper for Adam[3].' And He threw upon Adam a sleep and stupor, and took one of his ribs from his left side, [ܟܒ] and put flesh in its place, and of it He formed Eve. He did not make her of earth, that she might not be considered something alien to him in nature; and He did not take her from Adam's fore-parts, that she might not uplift herself against him; nor from his hind-parts, that she might not be accounted despicable; nor from his right side, that she might not have pre-eminence over him; nor from his head, that she might not seek authority over him; nor from his feet, that she might not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband: but (He took her) from his left side[1], for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back[2].—Concerning the sleep which God cast upon Adam, He made him to be half asleep and half awake, that he might not feel pain when the rib was taken from him, and look upon the woman as a hateful thing; and yet not without pain, that he might not think that she was not meet for him in matters of nature. When Adam came to himself, he prophesied and said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called woman[3]': and they were both clothed in light[4], and saw not each other's nakedness.

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[1] So also Bar Hebraeus in the *Auṣar Râzê* or Horreum Mysteriorum, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 32 *a*, col. 1: ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ̇ ܩܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗ̄. ܐܦܣ ܐܝܟ ܠܟܠ ܕ̈ܟܪܘ. ܘܠܗ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܪܗ. ܕܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܪܘܬܐ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܫ̈ܡܗܝܢ ܕܝ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ.

[2] Chap. xv in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. ii. 18.

CHAPTER XV[5].

OF PARADISE.

In the eastern part of the earth, on the mountain of Eden, beyond the ocean, God planted Paradise, and adorned it with fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, that it might be a dwelling-place for Adam and his progeny, if they should keep His commandments. He made to spring forth from it a great river, which was parted into four heads[6], to water Paradise and the whole earth. The first river is Pîshôn, which compasseth the land of Ḥavîlâ, where there is gold and beryls and fair and precious stones. The second river is Gîḥôn, that is, the Nile [ܒܠ] of Egypt. The third river is Deḵlath (the Tigris), which travels through the land of Assyria and Bêth-Zabdai[1]. The fourth river is Pĕrath (the Euphrates), which flows through the middle of the earth. Some teachers say that Paradise surrounds the whole earth like a wall and a hedge beyond the ocean. Others say that it was placed upon the mount of Eden, higher than every other mountain in the world by fifteen cubits[2]. Others say that it was placed between heaven and earth, below the firmament and above this earth, and that God placed it there as a boundary for Adam between heaven and earth, so that, if he kept His commands, He might lift him up to heaven, but if he transgressed them, He might cast him down to this earth. And as the land of heaven is better and more excellent than the land of Paradise, so was the land of Paradise better and more glorious and more excellent (than our earth); its trees were more beautiful, its flowers more odoriferous, and its atmosphere more pure than ours, through superiority of species and not by nature. God made Paradise large enough to be the dwelling-place of Adam and of his posterity, provided that they kept the divine commandments. Now it is the dwelling-place of the souls of the righteous, and its keepers are Enoch and Elijah; Elijah the unwedded, and Enoch the married man: that the unwedded may not exalt themselves above the married, as if, forsooth, Paradise were suitable for the unwedded only. The souls of sinners are without Paradise, in a deep place called Eden. After the resurrection, the souls of the righteous and the sinners will put on their bodies. The righteous will enter into heaven, which will become the land of the righteous; while the sinners will remain upon earth. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not by nature possess these properties of good and evil like rational beings, but only [ܒܕ] through the deed which was wrought by its means; like the 'well of contention[3],' and the 'heap of witness[1],' which did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deeds which were wrought by their means. Adam and Eve were not stripped of the glory with which they were clothed, nor did they die the death of sin, because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree—for the fruit of the fig-tree was not better than the fruit of any other tree—but because of the transgression of the law, in that they were presumptuous and wished to become gods. On account of this foolish and wicked and blasphemous intention, chastisement and penalty overtook them.—Concerning the tree of life which was planted in the middle of Paradise, some have said that Paradise is the mind, that the tree of good and evil is the knowledge of material things, and that the tree of life is the knowledge of divine things, which were not profitable to the simple understanding of Adam[2]. Others have said that the tree of life is the kingdom of heaven and the joy of the world to come; and others that the tree of life was a tree in very truth, which was set in the middle of Paradise, but no man has ever found out what its fruit or its flowers or its nature was like[3].

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[1] So also Bar Hebraeus in the *Auṣar Râzê*, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 32 *a*, col. 1: ܘܢܣܒ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܥܘ̈ܗܝ. ܗ̄. ܐܦܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܣܛܪܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܕܣܡܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܣܛܪܐ ܡܨܥܝܐ ܘܡܫܘܬܦܢܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܬܗ ܘܒܣܬܪ̈ܝܬܗ ܡܚܪܙܐ

[2] According to Rabbi Joshua of Sichnîn (סיכנין), God did not form Eve from Adam's head, that she might not carry her head proudly; nor from his eye, that she might not be curious; nor from his ear, that she might not be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, that she might not be gossiping; nor from his heart, that she might not be quarrelsome; nor from his hand, that she might not touch everything with her hand; nor from his feet, that she might not rove about. *Bĕrêshîth Rabbâh* on Gen. ii. 22. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Ber. Rab.*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 78. On Sichnîn, see Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 204.

[3] Gen. ii. 23.

[4] ܗ̄. ܒܠܒܘܫܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܢܘܗܪܢܐ ܠܒܝܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܘ ܒܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܫܘܫܛܐ ܡܚܪܡܬܐ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܠܐ, *Auṣar Râzê*, loc. cit.

[5] Chap. xvi in the Oxford MS.

[6] Gen. ii. 9–17.

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[1] Or Bâ-Zabdâ, a district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

[2] ܘܡܟܬܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܦܢܘܗܝ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܪܡܐ. ܠܥܠܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ, Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *a*, col. 1, and see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5.

[3] Gen. xxvi. 20.

CHAPTER XVI[4].

OF THE SIN OF ADAM[5].

When God in His goodness had made Adam, He laid down a law for him, and commanded him not to eat of the tree of good and evil, which is the fig-tree. After Eve was created, Adam told her the story of the tree; and Satan heard it, and by his envy it became the occasion and cause of their being made to sin, [ܒܗ] and being expelled from Paradise, for it was by reason of him that Adam fell from the height of his glory. Some say that Satan heard when God commanded Adam not to eat of that tree. Others say that God commanded Adam in his mind, mentally (and not by sense); others again say, by sense and openly. And Satan saw that the serpent was more subtle than all four-footed beasts[1]; and he played in him, as it were with pipes, in the hearing of Eve, like an instrument, and said to her, 'Ye shall not die, as God hath said to you, but ye shall be gods like God, knowers of good and evil.' Then Eve saw that the appearance of the fig-tree was beautiful, and that its smell was delightful; and she desired to eat of it and to become a goddess. So she stretched out her hand, and plucked, and ate, and gave also to her husband, and he likewise did eat. And they were stripped of the fair glory and glorious light of purity wherewith they were clothed, when they saw not each other's nakedness. And their eyes were opened, and they saw their nakedness; and they took leaves of the fig-tree, and covered their nakedness for shame, and hid themselves beneath thick trees. Then God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou, Adam?'—not that He did not know where he was, but [He asked] in a chiding manner—and Adam said, 'Lord, I heard Thy voice, and I hid myself because I am naked.' God said, 'Whence knowest thou that thou art naked? peradventure hast thou transgressed the law and command which I laid down for thee, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat?' Adam said, 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave to me, and I did eat.' And God questioned Eve [ܒܗ] in like manner; and Eve said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.' And God cursed the serpent, saying, 'Cursed art thou above all beasts upon the earth.' With the cursing of the serpent, who was the tool of Satan, Satan, who had instigated the serpent, was himself cursed; and immediately his legs were destroyed, and he crawled upon his belly, and instead of being an animal became a hissing reptile. And God set enmity between the serpent and man, saying, 'He shall smite the heel of man, but man shall crush his head, and the food of the serpent shall be dust.' God said to Eve, 'In pain shalt thou bring forth children;' and to Adam He said, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake, and in toil and the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.' And the earth, by reason of the curse which it had received, straightway brought forth thorns and thistles. And God drove them out from Paradise at the ninth hour of the same day in which they were created.

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[1] Gen. xxxi. 47.

[2] ܠܨܠܝܒܐ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܡܨܝܪ ܪܐܙ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܒܥ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. 'The tree of Life pre-figured the Cross of the Saviour, and it was this that was fixed in the middle of the earth.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1.

[3] The Rabbis thought that it was either the date-palm, the vine, the *ethrôg* אתרוג (Pers. تُرُنْج, Arab. أُتْرُجّ 'citron-tree'), or the fig-tree. Midrash Rabbâh on Gen. ii. 9, 10; Wünsche, p. 69.

[4] Chap. xvii in the Oxford MS.

[5] Gen. iii. 6–24.

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[1] ܘܐܙܠ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܗ ܚܘܝܐ ܘܛܥܢܗ ܘܐܦܪܚܗ ܒܐܐܪ ܠܘܬ ܣ̈ܦܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܘܐܛܫܝ ܢܦܫܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܣܪܩ ܚܙܘܗ. ܘܐܢ ܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܚܘܐ ܠܕܡܘܬܗ. ܡܚܕܐ ܥܪܩܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܠܦ ܠܗ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܦܪܚܬܐ. ܡܝܬܐ ܡܚܙܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܣܐܡ ܠܗ ܒܝܢܗ ܘܠܒܝܢܗ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܫܪܐ ܕܢܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܡܚܕܐ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܩܠܗ. ܡܬܗܦܟܐ ܠܒܣܬܪܗ. ܘܚܙܝܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܒܓܘ ܗܝ ܡܚܙܝܬܐ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܚܕܝܐ. ܣܒܪܐ ܕܚܒܪܬܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܡܠܠܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܒܨܒܝܢܐ ܡܪܟܢܐ ܐܕܢܗ ܘܫܡܥܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܠ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܨܝܬܐ ܘܝܠܦܐ ܕܬܡܠܠ ܝܘܢܐܝܬ. ܗܟܢܐ ܣܛܢܐ ܥܠ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܘܝܐ. 'And he went and dwelt in the serpent, and carried him and made him fly through the air to the skirts of Paradise. Why did he enter into the serpent and hide himself (there)? Because he knew that his appearance was hideous, and that if Eve saw his form she would straightway flee from him. As one who teaches a bird* the Greek tongue, brings a large mirror and places it between himself and the bird, and then begins to speak to her; and the bird as soon as it hears his voice turns round, and seeing its own form in the mirror straightway rejoices, thinking that it is a companion speaking with her, and thus willingly inclines her ear and listens to the words of him that talks with her, and pays attention (to them) and learns to talk Greek; so also did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 6; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1.

* The bird that learns to talk is called 'parrot': ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܒܒܓܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ. Gloss on the word ܦܪܚܬܐ in Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1. Ar. بَبْغَا.

CHAPTER XVII[1].

OF THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE.

AFTER God had expelled them from Paradise, like wicked servants driven forth from the inheritance of their master, and had cast them into exile, over the gate at the eastern side of Paradise He set a cherub with a sword and spear to frighten Adam from approaching Paradise. Some say that the cherub was one of the heavenly hosts, of the class of the

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[1] Chap. xviii in the Oxford MS.

Cherubim; and others say that he did not belong to the spiritual powers, but was a terrible form endowed with a body. So also the spear point and the sword were made of fire extended [ܟܐ] like a sharp sword, which went and came round about Paradise to terrify Adam and his wife. And God made for them garments of skin to cover their shame. Some say that they clothed themselves with the skins of animals, which they stripped off; but this is not credible, for all the beasts were created in couples, and Adam and Eve had as yet no knives to kill and flay them; hence it is clear that he means the bark of trees[1]. Only the blessed Moses called the bark of trees 'skins,' because it fills the place of skins to trees. In the land of India there are trees whose bark is used for the clothing of kings and nobles and the wealthy, on account of its beauty. After God had expelled Adam and his wife from Paradise, He withheld from them the fruits of trees, and the use of bread and flesh and wine, and the anointing with oil; but they cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, and did eat sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. They remained thus until Noah went forth from the ark, and then God allowed them to eat bread and to drink wine and to eat flesh, after they had slain the animal and poured out its blood. They say that when Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, Adam cut off a branch for a staff from the tree of good and evil; and it remained with him, and was handed down from generation to generation unto Moses and even to the Crucifixion of our Lord; and if the Lord will, we will relate its history in its proper place[2]. [ܟܒ]

CHAPTER XVIII[3].

OF ADAM'S KNOWING EVE.

When Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, they were both virgins. After thirty years Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and brought forth Cain together with his sister Ḳĕlêmath at one birth[1]. And after thirty years Eve conceived and brought forth Abel and Lĕbôdâ his sister at one birth. And when they arrived at the age for marriage, Adam wished and intended to give Abel's sister to Cain and

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[1] These garments were softer than the linen and silk worn by kings: ܘܪܟܝܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܬܢܐ ܗ̄. ܫܝܪܝ. ܘܡܐܬܐ. ܗ̄. ܐܪ̈ܓܘܢܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 *a*, col. 2.

[2] See chap. xxx.

[3] Chap. xix in the Oxford MS.

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[1] The 'Cave of Treasures' relates the story of Cain's birth and the dispute of the brothers thus: ܘܟܕ ܒܥܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܢܕܥ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܢܣܒ ܡܢ ܡܫܦܘ̈ܠܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܕܗܒܐ. ܘܡܘܪܐ. ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܘܣܡ [ܐܢܘܢ] ܒܓܘ ܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܒܪܟܗ ܘܩܕܫܗ. ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܕܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܩܪܝܗ ܡܥܪܬ ܓܙ̈ܐ܀ ܘܢܚܬܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܡܫܦܘ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܠܬܚܬ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܝܕܥ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܘܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܩܐܝܢ ܘܠܠܒܘܕܐ ܚܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܬܘܒ ܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܗܒܝܠ ܘܠܩܠܝܡܬ ܚܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܟܕ ܪܒܘ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ. ܢܣܒ ܩܐܝܢ ܠܩܠܝܡܬ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡ ܗܒܝܠ. ܘܗܒܝܠ ܢܣܒ ܠܠܒܘܕܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡ ܩܐܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܩܐܝܢ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܡܗ. ܐܢܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܐ ܚܬܝ. ܘܗܒܝܠ ܢܣܒ ܚܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܘܕܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܕܡ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܬܟܪܝ ܠܗ ܛܒ. ܘܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܬ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ. ܕܐܣܒ ܚܬܟ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡܟ. ܐܠܐ ܣܒܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܥܢ̈ܐ. ܘܣܩܘ ܠܪܝܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܥܘܠܘ ܠܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܓܙ̈ܐ. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܨܠܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܬܬܘܬܦܘܢ ܥܡ ܢܫ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܕ ܩܪܒܝܢ ܐܕܡ ܒܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܩܐܝܢ ܘܗܒܝܠ ܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ ܠܪܝܫ ܛܘܪܐ. ܐܬܚܒܠ ܒܗ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܐܝܢ ܕܢܩܛܘܠܝܗܝ ܠܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܡܛܠ ܠܒܘܕܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܩܒܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܩܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܐܬܩܒܠ. ܘܝܬܝܪ ܐܬܚܣܡ ܩܐܝܢ. ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܢܚܬܘ ܠܦܩܥܬܐ. ܩܡ ܩܐܝܢ ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܘܩܛܠܗ ܒܩܘܠܦܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ. 'When Adam wished to know Eve his wife, he took from the skirts of Paradise gold, myrrh, and frankincense, and put them in a cave: and he blessed it and sanctified it that it might be the house of prayer of himself and of his sons, and he called it the "Cave of Treasures." And Adam and Eve came down from that holy mountain to its skirts below; and there Adam knew Eve his wife. Some say that Adam knew Eve thirty years after they had gone forth from Paradise. And she conceived and bare Cain and Lĕbôdâ his sister with him; and again she conceived and bare Abel and Ḳĕlêmath his sister with him. When the youths had grown up, Adam said to Eve, "Let Cain take to wife Ḳĕlêmath who was born with Abel, and let Abel take Lĕbôdâ who was born with Cain." But Cain said to Eve his mother, "I will take to wife my own sister, and let Abel take his;" for Lĕbôdâ was beautiful. When Adam heard these words, he was very grieved, and said, "It is a transgression of the

Cain's sister to Abel; but Cain desired his own sister more than Abel's[1]. Both (i. e. Ḳĕlêmath and Lĕbôdâ) were his sisters, but because of their birth at one time I have called them thus. Now Cain's sister was exceedingly beautiful. The two brothers made an offering to God because of this matter. Abel, because he was a shepherd, offered up of the fat firstlings of his flock in great love, with a pure heart and a sincere mind. Cain, because he was a husbandman, made an offering of some of the refuse of the fruits of his husbandry with reluctance. He made an offering of ears of wheat that were smitten by blight; but some say of straw only. And the divine fire came down from heaven and consumed the offering of Abel, and it was accepted; while the offering of Cain was rejected. And Cain was angry with God, and envied his brother; and he persuaded his brother to come out into the plain, and slew him. Some say that he smashed[2] his head with stones, and killed him; and others say that Satan appeared to him in the form of wild beasts that fight with one another and slay each other. [ܟܠ] At any rate, he killed him, whether this way or that way. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' Cain said, 'Am I forsooth my brother's keeper?' God said, 'Behold, the sound of the cry of thy brother Abel's blood has come unto me;' and God cursed Cain, and made him a wanderer and a fugitive all the days of his life. From the day in which the blood of Abel was shed upon the ground, it did not

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law that thou shouldst take to wife thy sister who was born with thee. But take ye of the fruit of the trees and the young of the flocks, and go ye up to the top of this holy mountain, and enter into the Cave of Treasures, and offer up your offerings there, and pray before God, and then be united unto your wives." And it came to pass that when Adam the first priest, and Cain and Abel his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan suggested to Cain to slay Abel his brother for the sake of Lĕbôdâ, and because his offering was rejected and not accepted before God, while that of Abel was accepted. And Cain increased his envy against Abel his brother; and when they came down to the plain, Cain stood up against Abel his brother and slew him by a wound from a flint stone.' See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 8; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 *b*, col. 2 to fol. 8 *a*, col. 2.

[1] According to R. Ḥûnâ, Cain wished to marry his sister because she was born with him, Bĕrêshîth Rabbâh on Gen. iv. 8.

[2] ܦܩܰܥ, فَدَغَ is not given in Castell Michaelis. It occurs again at p. ܩܦܐ, l. 2.

again receive the blood of any animal until Noah came forth from the ark. Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years. In the two hundred and thirtieth year[1], Seth, the beautiful, was born in the likeness of Adam; and Adam and Eve were consoled by him. Cain and his descendants went down and dwelt in the plain, while Adam and his children, that is the sons of Seth, dwelt upon the top of the Mount of Eden. And the sons of Seth went down and saw the beauty of the daughters of Cain, and lay with them[2]; and the earth was corrupted and polluted with lasciviousness[3]; and Adam and Eve heard of it and mourned. Now Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years[1]. Some say that in the days of Seth the knowledge of books went forth in the earth; but the Church does not accept this. When Seth was two hundred and fifty years old[2], he begat Enos; and Seth lived nine hundred and thirteen years[3], and he died. Enos was two hundred and ninety years[4] old when he begat Cainan; and Enos first called upon the name of the Lord. Some say that he first composed books upon the course of the stars and the signs of the Zodiac[5]. Enos lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan was a hundred and forty[6] years old when he begat Mahalaleel; and he lived nine hundred and ten years. Mahalaleel was one hundred and sixty-five[7] years old when he begat Jared; and he lived [ܠܐ] eight hundred and ninety-five years[8]. Jared was one hundred and sixty-two years old when he begat Enoch; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-two years. Enoch was one hundred and sixty-five[9] years old when he begat Methuselah; and when he was three hundred and sixty-five years old, God removed him to the generation of life, that is to Paradise. Methuselah was one hundred

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[1] According to Gen. v. 3, in the *one* hundredth and thirtieth year. The Oxford MS. gives the 233rd year.

[2] Gen. vi. 2.

[3] 'And the sons of Seth had intercourse with the daughters of Cain; and they conceived by them and brought forth mighty men, the sons of heroes, like towers. Hence early writers have erred and written, "The angels came down from heaven, and had intercourse with mankind, and from them were born mighty men of renown." But this is not true; they have said this because they did not understand. Now see, my brother readers, and know that this is neither in the nature of spiritual beings, nor in the nature of the impure and evil-doing demons who love adultery; for there are no males nor females among them, nor has there been even one added to their number since they fell. If the devils were able to have intercourse with women, they would not leave one single virgin undefiled in the whole human race.' ܘܐܬܛܘܠܦܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܬ ܥܡ ܒܢܬ̈ܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ. ܘܒܛ̈ܢܝ ܘܝܠ̈ܕܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܓܢ̈ܒܪܐ ܒܢܝ̈ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܓ̈ܕܠܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܛܥܘ ܡܟܬ̈ܒܢܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ ܘܟܬܒܘ. ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܛܘܠܦܘ ܥܡ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܡ̈ܗܐ. ܘܠܘ ܫܪܝܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܒܝܢܘ ܐܡܪܘ ܗܕܐ. ܚܙܘ ܐܚܝ̈ ܐܘ ܩܪ̈ܘܝܐ. ܘܕܥܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܚܡܘܢ ܙܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܣܥܪ̈ܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܩܒ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܬܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܡܢܝܢܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܘܠܐ ܚܕ. ܐܠܘ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܢܬܛܘܠܦܘܢ ܥܡ ܢܫ̈ܐ: ܠܐ ܫܒܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܚܕܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܓܢܣܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܣܪܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 18; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 14 *b*, col. 2. ܘܫܢܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܪܝܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܒܟܠܗ. ܘܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܫܡܥܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܗܘ ܡܫܬܪܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗܘܘ ܡܬܚܪܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ ܐܚܘܗܝ .... ܘܫܡܥ ܗܘ ܠܫܡܐ ܕܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܩܐܝܢ. ܫܡܥܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܡܬܚܪܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܒܡܘܩܕܐ

ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. 'Seth became a leader to the children of his people, and he ruled them in purity and holiness. And because of their purity they received this name, which is better than all names, that they should be called the children of God . . . . and they went up in place of that band of demons which fell from heaven, to praise and glorify on the skirts of Paradise.' See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 10; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 9 *a*, col. 2.

[1] 'Our father died at the 9th hour of Friday, the 14th of the month of Nîsân, 930 years after the creation of the world, and gave up his soul to his Maker at the same hour in which the Son of Man on the Cross gave up His soul to His Father.' ܘܡܝܬ ܠܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪܝܫܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܡܫܬܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܡܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܒܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܒܢܝܣܘܪܐ (sic). ܒܫܢܬܐ (sic) ܒܪܝܫ ܢܝܣܢ. ܒܬܫܥ ܫܥܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܫܥܬܐ ܕܐܫܠܡ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܙܩܝܦܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܐܕܡ ܐܒܘܢ ܠܒܪܘܝܗ ܢܦܫܗ ܐܫܠܡ. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 9; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 9 *a*, col. 1.

[2] 105 years, Gen. v. 6.

[3] In the Oxford MS. 905 years.

[4] 90 years, Gen. v. 9.

[5] The Oxford MS. omits this passage.

[6] 70 years, Gen. v. 12. The Oxford MS. has 920 years.

[7] 65 years, Gen. v. 15.

[8] In the Oxford MS. 833 years.

[9] 65 years, Gen. v. 21.

and eighty-seven years old when he begat Lamech; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Lamech was a hundred and eighty-two years old when he begat Noah; and he lived seven hundred and seventy-seven years[1].

CHAPTER XIX[2].

OF THE INVENTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS FOR WORKING IN IRON[3].

SOME say that Cainan[4] and Tubal-cain, who were of the family of Cain, were the first who invented the three tools of the art of working in iron, the anvil, hammer and tongs. The art of working in iron is the mother and begetter of all arts; as the head is to the body, so is it to all other crafts. And as all the limbs of the body cease to perform their functions if the head is taken away from it, so also all other arts would cease if the art of working in iron were to come to an end. In the days of Jubal and Tubal-cain, the sons of Lamech the blind, Satan entered and dwelt in them, and they constructed all kinds of musical instruments, harps and pipes. Some say that spirits used to go into the reeds and disturb them, and that the sound from them was like the sound of singing and pipes[5]; and men constructed all kinds of musical instruments. Now this blind Lamech was a hunter, and could shoot straight with a bow; his son used to take him by the hand, [ܠܟܐ] and guide him to places where there was game, and when he heard the movement of an animal[1], he shot an arrow at it, and brought it down. One day, when shooting an arrow at an animal, he smote Cain the murderer, the son of Adam, and slew him[2].

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 774 years. This MS. omits to say how old the patriarchs were when they begat their sons.

[2] Chap. xx in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. iv. 22.

[4] This name seems to have crept into the text by mistake; perhaps we should read ܝܘܒܠ. See Gen. iv. 22.

[5] ܗܢܘܢ ܙܡܪܘ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܟܠ ܙܢܝ ܙܡܪܐ. ܝܘܒܠ ܥܒܕ ܐܒܘܒܐ ܘܩܝܬܪܐ ܘܡܫܪܘܩܝܬܐ.
ܘܥܠܘ ܫܐܕܐ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܓܘܗܘܢ. ܘܡܐ ܕܢܦܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܢ. ܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܐܕܐ
ܡܢ ܓܘ ܐܒܘܒܐ. ܘܡܩܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܩܠܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܗܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒܠܩܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܨܨ̈ܠܐ *(ܙ̈ܢܬܘܪܐ)
ܘܣܘܡܦܘܢܝܐ (ܡܨ̈ܠܬܐ)† ܘܛܒ̈ܠܐ. 'They put together and made all kinds of music: Jubal made flutes and cithers and pipes, and the devils entered into them and dwelt in them; and when they blew into them, the devils sang inside the flutes, and made a noise from within them. And Tubal-cain made cymbals and rattles and hand drums.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 14; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 12 *a*, col. 1.

* Glossed by ܙ̈ܢܓܐ in red ink on the margin of the MS.

† Glossed by ܡܨ̈ܠܬܐ in red ink on the margin of the MS.

CHAPTER XX[3].

OF NOAH AND THE FLOOD[4].

WHEN Noah was five hundred years old, he took a wife from the daughters of Seth; and there were born to him three sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet. And God saw Noah's uprightness and integrity, while all men were corrupted and polluted by lasciviousness[5]; and He determined to remove the human race from this broad earth, and made this known to the blessed Noah, and commanded him to make an ark for the saving of himself, his sons, and the rest of the animals. Noah constructed this ark during the space of one hundred years, and he made it in three stories[6], all with boards and projecting ledges. Each board was a cubit long and a span broad. The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. Noah made it of box wood, though some say of teak wood; and he pitched it within and without. At the end of the six hundredth year, God commanded Noah, with his wife, his sons and his daughters-in-law—eight souls—to go into the ark[1], and to take in with him seven couples of every clean animal and fowl, and one couple of every unclean animal, a male and a female. And he took bread and water in with him according to his need: not an abundant supply, lest they might be annoyed by the smell of the faeces, but they got food just sufficient to preserve their lives. God forewarned the blessed Noah of what he was about to do seven days beforehand, in case the people might remember their sins and offer the sacrifice of repentance. But those [ܠܒ] rebels mocked at him scoffingly, and thrust out their unclean lips at the sound of the saw and the adze. After seven days God commanded Noah to shut the door of the ark, and to plaster it over with bitumen[2]. And the fountains of the deeps were broken up from beneath, and a torrent of rain (fell) from above, for forty days and forty nights, without cessation, until the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains in the world. And the waters bore up the ark, which travelled over them from east to west and from north to south, and so inscribed the figure of the cross upon the world; and it passed over the ocean, and came to this broad earth[3]. So the rain was stayed, and the winds blew, and the waters remained upon the earth without diminishing one hundred and fifty days, besides those forty days; which, from the time that Noah entered the ark and the flood began until the waters began to diminish, make in all one hundred and ninety days, which are six months and ten days—even until the twentieth day of the latter Teshrî. The waters began to diminish from the latter Teshrî to the tenth month, on the first day of which the tops of the mountains appeared, but until the time when the earth was dry, and the dove found rest for the sole of her foot, was one hundred days. The ark rested upon the top of mount Ḳardô[1]. In the tenth month, which is Shĕbâṭ[2], Noah opened the door of the ark, and sent a raven to bring him news of the earth. And it went and found dead bodies, and it alighted upon them and returned not. For this reason people have made a proverb [ܠܠܐ] about Noah's raven. Again he sent forth a dove, but it found not a place whereon to alight, and returned to the ark. After seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him in the evening carrying an olive leaf in its bill; and Noah knew that the waters had subsided. Noah remained in the ark a full year, and he came forth from it and offered up an offering of clean animals; and God accepted his offering and promised him that He would never again bring a flood upon the face of the earth, nor again destroy beasts and men by a flood; and He gave him (as) a token the bow in the clouds, and from that day the bow has appeared in the clouds; and He commanded him to slay and eat the flesh of beasts and birds after he had poured out their blood. The number of people who came forth from the ark was eight souls, and they built the town of Thĕmânôn[3] after the name of the eight souls, and it is to-day the seat of a bishopric in the province of Ṣûbâ[4]. Noah planted a vineyard, and drank of its wine; and one day when he slumbered, and was sunk in the deep sleep of drunkenness, his nakedness was uncovered within his tent. When Ham his son saw him, he laughed at him and despised him, and told his brethren Shem and

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[1] It is better to read ܕܚܝܘܬܐ in the sing.

[2] Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 11.

[3] Chap. xxi in the Oxford MS.

[4] See Gen. vi–viii.

[5] For a description of the manners of the people at the time of Tubal-cain, see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 14, 15; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 12.

[6] Gen. vi. 16. ܬܚܬܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܠܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܠܦܪܚܬܐ. ܘܥܠܝܝܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܟ. ܘܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܘܨܪ̈ܐ ܠܡܝܐ. ܘܐܘܨܪ̈ܐ ܠܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܢܩܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܫܟܘܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐܟܠ. ܐܘܪܟܗ ܬܠܬ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܘܦܬܝܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܘܐܪܙܦܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܢܩܫ ܒܗ ܬܠܬ ܙܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ. ܚܕܐ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܕܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܐܘܡܢ̈ܐ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܕܩܒܘܬܐ. ܘܚܕܐ ܒܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܠܡܐܟܘܠܬܗܘܢ. ܘܚܕܐ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܒܝ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܬܬܢܝܚܘܢ. 'The lower one for the beasts and cattle, the middle for the feathered fowl, and in the upper shalt thou and the children of thy house be. And make in it reservoirs for water, and garners for food. And make thee a gong (nâḳûs) of teak wood uneaten by worms; its height shall be three cubits, and its breadth one and a half; and a hammer of the same. Thou shaltst strike it three times a day: once in the morning that the workmen may be gathered together for the work of the ark, once in the middle of the day for their food, and once at sunset that they may leave off.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 17; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 14 *a*, col. 2.

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[1] 'Set thou Adam's body in the middle of the ark . . . . . . Thou and thy sons shalt be in the eastern part of the ark, and thy wife and thy sons' wives shall be in the western part.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 19; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 15 *b*, col. 1.

[2] 'Noah went into the ark at eventide on Friday the 17th of the blessed month Îyâr.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 *a*, col. 1.

[3] 'The angel of the Lord stood upon the outside of the ark to act as pilot.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 23; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 *b*, col. 2.

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[1] על טורי קרדו = על הרי אררט, Targûm Onḳelos, Gen. viii. 4, i. e. the Jabal al-Jûdî of the Arabs, on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

[2] 'The tenth month is Kânûn, but I saw Shĕbâṭ written in the copy which I copied.' This is evidently the gloss of a careful scribe, which has crept into the text.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 174.

[4] ܨܘܒܐ Ṣûbâ = نصيبين Niṣîbis, from a false identification of the latter with the biblical צוֹבָה.

Japhet. But Shem and Japhet took a cloak upon their shoulders, and walked backwards with their faces turned away, and threw the cloak over their father and covered him, and then they looked upon him. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done to him by the two sets of his sons, he cursed Canaan the son of Ham and said, 'Thou shalt be a servant to thy brethren;' but he blessed Shem and Japhet. The reason why he cursed Canaan, who was not as yet born nor had sinned, was because Ham had been saved with him in the ark from the waters [ܛܠ] of the flood, and had with his father received the divine blessing; and also because the arts of sin—I mean music and dancing and all other hateful things—were about to be revived by his posterity, for the art of music proceeded from the seed of Canaan[1]. After the flood a son was born to Noah, and he called his name Jônaṭôn[2]; and he provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun, to the east. Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years; the sum of his years was nine hundred and fifty years; and he saw eighteen generations and families before and after it. He died on the fourth day of the week, on the second of Nîsân, at the second hour of the day; his son Shem embalmed him, and his sons buried him, and mourned over him forty days.

CHAPTER XXI[3].

OF MELCHIZEDEK[4].

NEITHER the father nor mother of this Melchizedek were written down in the genealogies; not that he had no natural parents[5], but that they were not written down. The greater number of the doctors say that he was of the seed of Canaan, whom Noah cursed. In the book of Chronography, however, (the author) affirms and says that he was of the seed of Shem the son of Noah. Shem begat Arphaxar, Arphaxar begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shâlâḥ and Mâlâḥ. Shâlâḥ was written down in the genealogies; but Mâlâḥ was not, because his affairs were not sufficiently important to be written down in the genealogies. When

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[1] ܘܡܛܠ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܕ ܟܠܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܕܚܡ ܗܘܬ. ܐܬܠܛܝ ܟܢܥܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܟܕ ܪܒܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܘܡܛܐ ܠܟܘܡܢܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ. ܐܬܥܠܠ ܒܗ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ ܘܚܕܬ ܠܗܘ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܐܝܢ ܩܛܘܠܐ. 'Why, since the whole sin belonged to Ham, was Canaan cursed except that, when the boy grew up and came to years of discretion, Satan entered into him and became a teacher of sin to him? and he renewed the work of the house of Cain the murderer.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 25; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 19 *a*, col. 2.

[2] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 33, and note no. 115, p. 78.

[3] Chap. xxii in the Oxford MS.

[4] Gen. xiv. 18–24; Heb. chap. vii.

[5] ܘܡܫܪܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܟܬܒܢܘ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܘܗܝ. ܘܐܒܗܘܗܝ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܗܘ

ܥܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܠܝܘ̈ܡܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܐܣܬܒܪ̈ܐ ܠܗܕܝ̈ܘܛܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܛܥܝܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܚܣ. ܕܠܐ ܠܡ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܝܘ̈ܡܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܕ ܦܪܫܗ ܫܝܡ ܒܪ ܢܘܚ ܡܢ ܐܒ̈ܗܘܗܝ. ܠܐ ܐܬܐܡܪܬ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܟܡܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܣܠܩ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܒܟܡܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܡܠܟ (sic) ܒܪ ܐܪܦܟܫܪ. ܒܪ ܫܝܡ. ܘܠܐ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܪ̈ܝܫ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ. ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܫܡܫ ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܝ ܘܠܘܩܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝ̈ܣܛܐ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܐܟܬܒܘ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܡܗ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ. ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒܘ ܡܢ ܡܬܝ ܘܠܘܩܐ ܒܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ. ‘And Melchizedek was honoured by them all, and was called "Father of Kings." Because of that which the Apostle spake, "His days had no beginning, and his life no end," simple folk have imagined that he was not a man at all, and in their error have said of him that he was God. Far from it, that his days had no beginning and his life no end. For when Shem the son of Noah took him away from his parents, not a word was said how old he was when he went up from the east, nor in how many years his departure from this world took place; because he was the son of Mâlâkh, the son of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, and not the son of one of the patriarchs; for the Apostle has said that no one of his father's family ministered at the altar, and the name of his father is not written down in the genealogies, because Matthew and Luke the Evangelists wrote down the names of the patriarchs only, and hence neither the name of his father nor that of his mother are known. The Apostle then did not say that he had no parents, but only that they were not written down by Matthew and Luke in the genealogies.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 36; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 26 *b*, col. 1, line 22 to fol. 27 *a*, col. 1, line 5. In A, on fol. 39 *a*, a marginal note says: ‘Know, O my brother readers, that in the manuscript belonging to the priest Maḳbal I have seen that Melchizedek's father was called Harḳlêîm, and his mother Shêlâthêîl (Salathiel).'

Noah died, he commanded Shem concerning the bones of Adam, for they were with them in the ark, and were removed from [ܠܗ] the land of Eden to this earth. Then Shem entered the ark, and sealed it with his father's seal, and said to his brethren, 'My father commanded me to go and see the sources of the rivers and the seas and the structure of the earth, and to return.' And he said to Mâlâḥ the father of Melchizedek, and to Yôzâdâk his mother, 'Give me your son that he may be with me, and behold, my wife and my children are with you.' Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'My lord, take thy servant; and may the angel of peace be with thee, and protect thee from wild beasts and desolation of the earth.' Shem went by night into the ark, and took Adam's coffin; and he sealed up the ark, saying to his brethren, 'My father commanded me that no one should go into it.' And he journeyed by night with the angel before him, and Melchizedek with him, until they came and stood upon the spot where our Lord was crucified. When they had laid the coffin down there, the earth was rent in the form of a cross[1], and swallowed up the coffin, and was again sealed up and returned to its former condition. Shem laid his hand upon Melchizedek's head, and blessed him and delivered to him the priesthood, and commanded him to dwell there until the end of his life. And he said to him, 'Thou shalt not drink wine nor any intoxicating liquor, neither shall a razor pass over thy head; thou shalt not offer up to God an offering of beasts, but only fine flour and olive oil and wine; thou shalt not build a house for thyself; and may the God of thy fathers be with thee.' And Shem returned to his brethren, and Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'Where is our son?' Shem said, 'He died while he was with me on the way, and I buried him;' and they mourned for him a month of days; but Melchizedek dwelt in that place until he died. When he was old, the kings of the earth heard his fame, and eleven of them gathered together and came to see him; and they entreated him to go with them, [ܠܘ] but he would not be persuaded. And when he did not conform to their wishes, they built a city for him there, and he called it Jerusalem; and the kings said to one another, 'This is the king of all the earth, and the father of nations.' When Abraham came back from the battle of the kings and the nations, he passed by the mount of Jerusalem; and Melchizedek came forth to meet him, and Abraham made obeisance to Melchizedek, and gave him tithes of all that he had with him. And Melchizedek embraced him and blessed him, and gave him bread and wine from that which he was wont to offer up as an offering.

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[1] See also Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 28.

CHAPTER XXII[1].

OF THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH[2].

The children of Shem. The people of Shem are twenty and seven families. Elam, from whom sprang the Elamites; Asshur, from whom sprang the Assyrians (Âthôrâyê); Arphaxar[3], from whom sprang the Persians; and Lud (Lôd) and Aram, from whom sprang the Arameans, the Damascenes, and the Ḥarranites. Now the father of all the children of Eber was Arphaxar. Shâlâḥ begat Eber (Âbâr), and to Eber were born two sons; the name of the one of whom was Peleg (Pâlâg), because in his days the earth was divided. From this it is known that the Syriac language remained with Eber, because, when the languages were confounded and the earth was divided, he was born, and was called Peleg by the Syriac word which existed in his time. After Peleg, Joḳṭân (Yaḳṭân) was born, from whom sprang the thirteen nations who dwelt beside one another and kept the Syriac language. And their dwelling was from Mĕnashshê (or Manshâ) of mount Sepharvaïm[4], by the side of the land of Canaan, and towards the east, beginning at Aram and Damascus, and coming to Baishân [Maishân?] and Elam, and their border (was) Assyria, and the east, and Persia to the south, and the Great Sea[5]. Now the Hebrew has Maishân [מֵשָׁא] instead of Mĕnashshê (or Manshâ), [ܠܐ] in the verse, 'The children of Joḳṭân dwelt from Maishân to Sepharvaïm[6].'

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiii.

[2] Genesis, chap. x.

[3] So always, as in the Pĕshîṭtâ, for Arphaxad.

[4] The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܘܗܘܐ ܡܥܡܪܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ ܕܡܥܠܢܐ ܕܣܦܪܘܝܡ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, 'and their dwelling was from Manshâ, which is at the entering in of mount Sepharvaïm in the east.'

[5] Perhaps we might read, 'Assyria to the east, and Persia, and the Great Sea on the south.'

[6] Gen. x. 30. In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiv begins here.

The children of Ham. The people of Ham are thirty and six families, besides the Philistines and Cappadocians. Cush, from whom sprang the Cushites; Miṣraim, from whom sprang the Miṣrâyê (or Egyptians); Phut (or Pôṭ), from whom sprang the Pôṭâyê; Canaan, from whom sprang the Canaanites; the seven kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed[1]; the children of ʿÔbâr[2], Shebâ and Ḥavîlâ, from whom sprang the Indians, the Amorites, the Samrâyê, the Meṭrâyê, and all the dwellers of the south. And of Cush was born Nimrod, who was the first king after the flood. The beginning of his kingdom was Babel (Babylon), which he built, and in which he reigned; and then, after the division of tongues, he built the following cities: Ârâch (Erech), which is Orhâi (Edessa), Âchâr (Accad), which is Niṣîbis, and Calyâ (Calneh), which is Ctesiphon[3]. The land of Babel he called the land of Shinar[4], because in it were the languages confounded[5], for 'Shinar' in the Hebrew language is interpreted 'division.' From that land the Assyrian went forth and built Nineveh and the town of Rehôbôth, which is the town of Arbêl (Irbil). It is said that Belus, the son of Nimrod, was the first to depart from Babel and to come to Assyria; and after Belus, his son Ninus built Nineveh, and called it after his name, and Arbêl and Câlâḥ, which is Ḥeṭrê (Ḥaṭrâ)[6], and Resen, which is Rêsh-ʿainâ (Râsʿain). Miṣraim begat Ludim, from whom sprang the Lôdâyê; La'bîm, from whom sprang the Lûbâyê; Lahbîm, from whom sprang the Tebtâyê; Yaphtuḥîm, Pathrusîm, and Casluhîm, from whom went forth the Philistines, the Gedrâyê (Gadarenes), and the people of Sodom. Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, from whom sprang the Ṣôrâyê (Tyrians) and Sidonians, ten nations who dwelt by the side of Israel, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean) to the Euphrates; the Ḳîshâyê, [ܠܒܡ] the Ḳenrâyê (or Ḳîrâyê), and the Aḳdĕmônâyê (or Ḳadmônâyê), who were between the children of Esau and Amnâ of Ireth[1]. The children of Lot are children of Ham[2].

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[1] Perhaps Solomon means the 'five kings of the Amorites,' Josh. x. 5; or else he refers to the 'seven nations,' Deut. vii. 1.

[2] According to Gen. x. 7, we should read Cush.

[3] See Gen. x. 10. Solomon's ideas as to what is meant by Erech, Accad, and Calneh are, of course, utterly erroneous. Erech is the ruins of Warḳâ, on the left bank of the lower Euphrates, S.E. of Babylon; Accad is a name for Upper Babylonia, as opposed to Sumir or Lower Babylonia; Calneh has not yet been identified. See also Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, p. 78.

[4] Some Assyriologists consider the biblical Shinar to be the same as Sumir or Lower Babylonia. See Lenormant, *Études Accad.* ii. 3, p. 70.

[5] It is certain that the name Babel or Babylon has no connection with the Heb. בָּלַל or בַּלְבֵּל; in the cuneiform inscriptions *bâb-ilu* means 'Gate of God,' and is the Semitic equivalent of the Akkadian *ka-dingirra-ki*.

[6] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 184–186.

The children of Japhet. The people of Japhet are fifteen families. Gomer, from whom sprang the Gêôthâyê (Gôthâyê, Goths?); Magog, from whom sprang the Galatians; Mâdâi, from whom sprang the Medes; Javan, from whom sprang the Yaunâyê (Greeks); Tûbîl (Tubal), from whom sprang the Baithônâyê (Bithynians); Meshech, from whom sprang the Mûsâyê (Mysians); Tîras, from whom sprang the Tharnĕḳâyê (or Thrêḳâyê, Thracians), the Anshḳlâyê (or Asḳlâyê), and the Achshklâyê. The children of Gomer: Ashkĕnaz, from whom sprang the Armenians; Danphar, from whom sprang the Cappadocians; Togarmah, from whom sprang the Asâyê (Asians) and the Îsaurâyê (Isaurians). The sons of Javan: Elisha, that is Halles (Hellas); Tarshîsh, Cilicia, Cyprus, Kâthîm (Kittîm), Doranim[3], and the Macedonians; and from these they were divided among the islands of the nations.

These are the families of the children of Noah, and from them were the nations divided on the earth after the flood; they are seventy and two families, and according to the families, so are the languages.

CHAPTER XXIII[4].

OF THE SUCCESSION OF GENERATIONS FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW[5].

SHEM was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxar two years after the flood; the sum of his years was six hundred. Arphaxar was a hundred and thirty-five years old, and begat Ḳainan. Ḳainan was a hundred and thirty-nine years old, and begat Shâlâḥ: the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-eight. Shâlâḥ was a hundred and thirty years old[1], and begat Eber; the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-three. Eber was a hundred and thirty-four years old, [ܠܐ] and begat Peleg; the sum of his years was four hundred and sixty-four. Peleg was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Reu; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine[2]. In the days of Reu the languages were divided into seventy and two; up to this time there was only one language[3], which was the parent of them all, namely, Aramean, that is Syriac. Reu was a hundred and thirty-two years old, and begat Serug; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine[4]. Serug was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Nahor; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty years[5]. In the days of Serug men worshipped idols and graven images. Nahor was seventy and nine years old[6], and begat Terah; the sum of his years was one hundred and forty-eight. In the days of Nahor magic began in the world[7].

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[1] Or possibly, 'and the Amnê (Emim), whom he inherited.'

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxv begins here.

[3] For Dodanîm or Rodanîm. See Gen. x. 4.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvi.

[5] Genesis, chap. xi. The numbers of the years of the Patriarchs agree neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 138 years.

[2] ܬܠܬ appears to have dropped out of the text, 339.

[3] ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ (ܐܘ ܠܗܢܐ) ܒܗܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ. ܒܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܪܡܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܫܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ. ܡܟܬܒܢ̈ܐ ܓܝܪ ܩܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܛܥܘ. ܒܗܝ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܘܗܪܟܐ ܣܟܠܘ ܛܘܥܝܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܬܐ ܒܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܢܣܝܒܝܢ. ܘܥܡܗ ܚܠܝܛܝܢ ܡܡܠ̈ܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ. ‘From Adam until that time they all spoke this language, that is to say Syriac, which is Aramean; for this language is the king of all languages. The early writers have erred, in that they say that Hebrew was the primitive language; and here have they mingled ignorant error with their writings. For all the tongues that are in the world are taken from Syriac, and all the languages in books are mixed with it.’ Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 22 *a*, col. 1.

[4] Gen. xi. 20, 21, two hundred and thirty-nine.

[5] Gen. xi. 22, 23, two hundred and thirty.

[6] Gen. xi. 24, twenty-nine.

[7] According to the ‘Cave of Treasures,’ the origin of magic was this: ‘In the days of Terah, in his ninetieth year, magic appeared on the earth in the city of

And God opened the storehouse of the winds and whirlwinds[1], and they uprooted the idols and graven images, and they collected them together and buried them under the earth, and they reared over them these mounds that are in the world. This was called 'the Wind Flood.'

Ur, which Horon the son of Eber had built. Now there was in it a certain man who was very rich, and he died about that time. His son made for him an image of gold, and set it up on his grave; and he put a youth to watch it. Then Satan went and dwelt in that image, and he used to speak to the young man in the form of his father. But thieves went in and stole everything which the young man possessed; and he went to his father's grave weeping. And Satan spake with him, saying, "Weep not before me, but go, bring thy little son, and sacrifice him to me as a sacrifice; and everything which thou hast lost shall be restored to thee immediately." So he straightway did as Satan commanded him; and he slew his son, and bathed in his blood. Then Satan went forth from the image immediately, and entered into the young man, and taught him magic, incantation, divinations, chaldeeism, destinies, haps, and fates. And behold, from that time men began to sacrifice their children to demons and to worship idols, for the demons went in and dwelt in all the images. In the one hundredth year of Nahor, when God saw that men sacrificed their children to devils, and bowed down to idols, He opened the storehouses of the wind.' ܘܒܝܘ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܬܪܚ. ܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܚܪܫܘܬܐ ܒܐܘܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܗܘܪܘܢ ܒܪ ܥܒܪ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܘܥܬܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܛܒ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܨܠܡܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܗ. ܘܐܘܬܒ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܚܕ ܕܢܛܪܝܘܗܝ. ܘܥܠ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ. ܘܡܡܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܣܛܢܐ ܥܡ ܛܠܝܐ ܕܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܥܠܘ ܓܢ̈ܒܐ ܘܫܩܠܘ ܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܥܠ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܟܕ ܒܟܐ. ܘܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܗܘ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܬܒܟܐ ܩܕܡܝ. ܐܠܐ ܙܠ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܒܪܟ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܕܒܘܚܝܗܝ ܠܝ ܕܒܚܐ. ܘܡܬܦܢܐ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܘܒܕܬ. ܘܗܘ ܡܚܕܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܛܢܐ. ܘܕܒܚܗ ܠܒܪܗ ܘܣܚܐ ܒܕܡܗ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܢܦܩ ܣܛܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܛܠܝܐ ܘܐܠܦܗ ܚܪܫܘܬܐ. ܘܠܚܘܫܘܬܐ. ܘܩܨ̈ܡܐ. ܘܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ. ܘܓܙܪ̈ܐ. ܘܦܓܥ̈ܐ. ܘܒܟ̈ܬܐ. ܘܗܐ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܪܝܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܡܕܒܚܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܠܘ ܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܨܠܡ̈ܐ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܡܐܐ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܦܬܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܨܪ̈ܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ. ܘܫܪ̄ Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 32; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 23 *b*, col. 1, line 19 to fol. 24 *a*, col. 1, line 2.

[1] Schoenfelder, *custodiam spirituum et superorum!*

Terah was seventy years old, and begat Abraham; the sum of his years was one hundred and five years[1]. So it is two thousand two hundred and forty-two years from Adam to the flood; and one thousand and eighty-one years from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and from Adam to Abraham it is three thousand three hundred and thirteen years[2]. And know, my brother readers, that there is a great difference between the computation of Ptolemy[3] and that of the Hebrews and the Samaritans; for the Jews take away one hundred years from [ܩ] the beginning of the years of each (patriarch), and they add them to the end of the years of each of them, that they may disturb the reckoning and lead men astray and falsify the coming of Christ, and may say, 'The Messiah is to come at the end of the world, and in the last times;' and behold, according to their account, He came in the fourth millenium, for so it comes out by their reckoning.

CHAPTER XXIV[4].

OF THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER AND THE DIVISION OF TONGUES[5].

WHEN Reu was born in the days of Peleg, the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, together with Arphaxar and their children, were gathered together in Shinar. And they took counsel together, saying, 'Come, let us build for ourselves a high tower, the top of which shall be in the heavens, lest a flood come again upon us, and destroy us from off the face of the earth.' And they began to make bricks and to build, until (the tower) was reared a great height from the ground. Then they determined to build seventy-two other towers around it, and to set up a chief over each tower to govern those who were under his authority. God saw the weariness of their oppression and the hardness of their toil, and in His mercy had compassion upon them; for the higher they went, the more severe became their labour, and their pain went on increasing, by reason of the violence of the winds and storms and the heat of the luminaries and the necessity of carrying up everything they needed. And God said, 'Come, let us go down and divide the tongues there.' The expression 'Come, let us,' resembles 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' and refers to the persons of the adorable Trinity. While they were tormenting themselves with that vain labour, their language was suddenly confounded so as to become seventy-two languages, [ܡܐ] and they understood not each other's speech, and were scattered throughout the whole world, and built cities, every man with his fellow who spoke the same language. From Adam to the building of the tower, there was only one language, and that was Syriac. Some have said that it was Hebrew; but the Hebrews were not called by this name until after Abraham had crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân; and from his crossing they were called Hebrews. It was grievous to Peleg that the tongues were confounded (or, that God had confounded the tongues of mankind) in his days, and he died; and his sons Serug and Nahor buried him in the town of Pâlgîn, which he built after his name.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 205 years.

[2] Read 3323 years. In the Oxford MS. 3330 years.

[3] I.e. the Septuagint.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvii.

[5] Gen. xi.

CHAPTER XXV[1].

OF ABRAHAM[2].

TERAH the father of Abraham took two wives; the one called Yônâ, by whom he begat Abraham; the other called Shelmath, by whom he begat Sarah. Mâr Theodore says that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's uncle, and puts the uncle in the place of the father. When Abraham was seventy-five years old, God commanded him to cross the river Euphrates and to dwell in Ḥarrân. And he took Sarah his wife and Lot his nephew, and crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân. In his eighty-sixth year his son Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian woman, the handmaid of Sarah, whom Pharaoh the king gave to her when he restored her to Abraham; and God was revealed to him under the oak of [ܡܒ] Mamre. Abraham was a hundred years old when Isaac, the son of promise, was born to him; and on the eighth day he circumcised himself, his son, and every one born in his house. When God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac upon the altar, He sent him for sacrifice to the special place where, according to the tradition of those worthy of belief, our Lord was crucified. After the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Kentôrah (Keturah), the daughter of Yaḳṭân, the king of the Turks. When Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer the Damascene, the servant of Abraham, went down to the town of Ârâch (Erech), and betrothed Raphkâ (Rebecca), the daughter of Bethuel the Aramean, to Isaac his lord's son. And Abraham died at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years, and was laid by the side of Sarah his wife in the 'double cave[1],' which he bought from Ephron the Hittite. When Isaac was sixty years old, there were born unto him twin sons, Jacob and Esau. At that time Arbêl was built; some say that the king who built it was called Arbôl. In Isaac's sixty-sixth year Jericho was built. Esau begat Reuel; Reuel begat Zerah; Zerah begat Jobab, that is Job.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxviii.

[2] Gen. xii and following.

CHAPTER XXVI[2].

OF THE TEMPTATION OF JOB[3].

THERE was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. And he was a perfect, righteous and God-fearing man; and there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. The number of his possessions was seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred she-asses, and a very large train of servants. [ܡܛܠ] This man was the greatest of all the children of the east. His children used to go and make a feast; and the day came that his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother. There came a messenger to Job and said to him, 'The oxen were drawing the ploughs, and the she-asses were feeding by their side, when robbers fell upon them and carried them off, and the young men were slain by the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The fire of God fell from heaven and consumed the sheep and the shepherds, and burnt them up; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The Chaldeans divided themselves into three bands and fell upon the camels and carried them off, and slew the young men; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother, when there came a mighty wind and beat upon the corners of the house, and it fell upon the young people and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' Then Job stood up and rent his garment, and shaved his head; and he fell upon the ground and prostrated himself, saying, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God. And Satan smote Job with a grievous sore from the sole of his foot to his head (*lit.* brain); and Job took a potsherd to scrape himself with, and sat upon ashes. His wife says to him, 'Dost thou still hold fast by thy integrity? [ܒܪܟ] curse God and die.' Job says to her, 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh: we have received the good things of God; shall we not receive His evil things?' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God with his lips. Job's three friends heard of this evil which had come upon him, and they came to him, every man from his own land, to comfort him; and their names were these: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. When they were come, they lifted up their eyes from afar off, and they did not know him. And they lifted up their voice and wept, and each man rent his garment, and they strewed dust upon their heads towards heaven; and they sat with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word, for they saw that his blow was very sore. And when he held fast by his God, He blessed him, and gave him seven sons and three daughters; and there were not found in the whole land women more beautiful than Job's daughters, and their names were Jemima, Keren-happuch, and Kezia. And God gave him fourteen thousand sheep, six thousand camels and a thousand yoke of oxen; and Job lived one hundred and forty years after his temptation, and died in peace.

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[1] ܡܥܪܬܐ ܐܥܦܦܬܐ. The Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic translators have all followed the LXX, *τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν*, in translating the Heb. אֶת־מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה. They connected the word מכפלה with √ כפל. Ibn Ezra explains it by מערה בתוך מערה, 'a cave within a cave.' ܐܥܦ comes from ܐܥܦܐ = ضِعْفٌ, 'the double.'

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxix.

[3] See Job i.

CHAPTER XXVII[1].

OF THE BLESSINGS OF ISAAC[2].

JACOB was seventy-seven years old when his father Isaac blessed him; and he stole the blessings and birthright from his brother Esau, and fled from before his brother to Ḥarrân. On the first night Jacob saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels ascending and descending, and the Power of God upon the top thereof. And he woke and said, [ܗܢܐ] 'This is the house of the Lord.' He took the stone that was under his head, and set it up for an altar; and he vowed a vow to God. Now the ladder was a type of Christ's crucifixion; the angels that were ascending and descending were a type of the angels who announced the glad tidings to the shepherds on the day of our Saviour's birth. The Power of God which was upon the top of the ladder was (a type of) the manifestation of God the Word in pure flesh of the formation of Adam. The place in which the vision appeared was a type of the church; the stone under his head, which he set up for an altar, was a type of the altar; and the oil which he poured out upon it was like the holy oil wherewith they anoint the altar.

And Jacob went to Laban the Aramean, his mother's brother, and served before him as a shepherd for fourteen years. And he took his two daughters to wife; Leah with her handmaid Zilpah, and Rachel with her handmaid Bilhah. Now he loved Rachel more than Leah, because she was the younger and was fair in aspect, while Leah had watery eyes. There were born to Jacob by Leah six sons: Rûbîl (Reuben), which is interpreted 'Great is God' (now Jacob was eighty-four years old at that time); Simeon, which is interpreted 'the Obedient;' Levi, that is 'the Perfect;' Judah, that is 'Praise;' Issachar, that is 'Hope is near;' and Zebulun, that is 'Gift' or 'Dwelling-place.' Two sons were born to him by Rachel: Joseph, that is 'Addition;' and Benjamin, that is 'Consolation.' By Zilpah two sons were born to him:

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxx.

[2] Gen. xxvii.

Gad, that is 'Luck;' and Asher, that is 'Praise.' By Bilhah two sons were born to him: Dan, that is 'Judgment;' and Naphtali, that is 'Heartener[1];' and one daughter, whose name was Dinah[2]. After twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac; and Isaac lived one hundred and eighty [ܩܦ] years[3]. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up to his father, Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Midianites for twenty dînârs[4]. When Isaac died, Jacob was one hundred and twenty years old.

CHAPTER XXVIII[5].

OF JOSEPH[6].

After Jacob's sons had been born to him by Leah, then Joseph and Benjamin were born to him (by Rachel); and he loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the child of (his) old age, and because of his beauty and purity, and his being left motherless. He made him a garment with long sleeves, and his brethren envied him. And he dreamed dreams twice, and their hatred increased, and they kept anger in their hearts against him. They sold him to the Midianites, who carried him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the chief of the guards; and Potiphar delivered his house and servants into his hands; but because of the wantonness of Potiphar's wife, he was bound and kept in prison for two years. When the chief cup-bearer and the chief baker dreamed dreams in one night, and Joseph interpreted them, his words actually came to pass. After Joseph had remained in bondage two years, Pharaoh the king of Egypt saw two dreams in one night; and he was troubled and disturbed, and the sorcerers and enchanters and wise men were unable to interpret his dreams. Then one of those who had been imprisoned with Joseph remembered (him), and they told Pharaoh;

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[1] The Oxford MS. omits to explain the meanings of the names of Jacob's sons.

[2] Dinah was the daughter of Leah, Gen. xxx. 21.

[3] The Oxford MS. gives 108 years.

[4] The Oxford MS. adds that Jacob and Esau buried their father in the 'double cave.'

[5] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxi. It is much amplified by long extracts from the Bible history of Joseph.

[6] Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xli–l.

and Joseph interpreted his dreams, and Pharaoh made him king over Egypt. And Joseph gathered together and collected the corn of the seven prosperous years, and saved it for the seven years of famine. When the household of Jacob lacked bread, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn, [ܦܙ] and they met Joseph, and he recognised them, but they did not know him. After he had tortured them twice by his harsh words, he at last revealed himself to them, and shewed himself to his brethren. And he sent and brought his father Jacob and all his family—seventy-five souls in number, and they came down and dwelt in the land of Egypt two hundred and thirty years. Concerning that which God spake to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a strange land four hundred and thirty years[1];' they were under subjection in their thoughts from the time that God spake to Abraham until they went forth from Egypt. Jacob died in Egypt, and he commanded that he should be buried with his fathers; and they carried him and buried him by the side of his fathers in the land of Palestine. After Joseph died, another king arose, who knew not Joseph, and he oppressed the children of Israel with heavy labour in clay; at that time Moses was born in Egypt. Since many have written the history of the blessed Joseph at great length, and the blessed Mâr Ephraim has written his history in twelve discourses, concerning everything which happened to him from his childhood to his death, as well as another discourse upon the carrying up of his bones (to Palestine), we refrain from writing a long account of him, that we may not depart from the plan which we laid down in making this collection.

CHAPTER XXIX[2].

OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL[3].

AFTER Joseph was dead, and another king had arisen who knew not [ܦܚ] the Israelitish people, the people increased and became strong in Egypt. And Pharaoh was afraid of them, and laid a burden upon them, and oppressed them with hard work in clay, and demanded a tale of bricks from them without giving them straw. At that time Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, was born. Levi was forty-six years old when he begat Kohath; Kohath was sixty-three years old when he begat Amram; and Amram was seventy years old when he begat Moses. When Moses was born, Pharaoh the king commanded to throw the new-born children of the Israelites into the river. Moses was beautiful in appearance, and he was called Pantîl[1] and Amlâkyâ; and the Egyptians used to call him the *Shakwîthâ*[2] of the daughter of Pharaoh. The name of Moses' mother was Yokâbâr (Jochebed). When the command of the king went forth for the drowning of the infants, she made a little ark covered with pitch, and laid the child in it; and she carried it and placed it in a shallow part of the waters of the river Nile (that is Gîḥôn); and she sat down opposite (that is, at a distance), to see what would be the end of the child. And Shîpôr[3], the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river—some say that she was called Tharmĕsîs[4]—and she saw the ark and commanded it to be fetched. When she opened it, and saw that the appearance of the child was beautiful and his complexion comely, she said, 'Verily this child is one of the Hebrews' children;' and she took him, and reared him up as her son. She sought a Hebrew nurse, and the mother of the child Moses came, and became a nurse to him; and he was reared [ܡܠܐ] in the house of Pharaoh until he was forty years old. One day he saw Pethkôm[1] the Egyptian, one of the servants of Pharaoh, quarrelling with an Israelite and reviling him. Moses looked this way and that way, and saw no man; and zeal entered into him, and he slew the Egyptian and buried him in the sand. Two days after, he saw two Hebrews quarrelling with one another. And he said to them, 'Ye are brethren; why quarrel ye with one another?' And one of them thrust him away from him, saying, 'Dost thou peradventure seek to kill me as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?' Then Moses feared lest Pharaoh should perceive (this) and slay him; and he fled to Midian, and sat by the well there. Now Reuel the Midianite had seven daughters, who used to come to that well and water their father's flocks; and the shepherds came and drove them away; and Moses arose and delivered them, and watered their flocks. When they went to their father, he said to them, 'Ye have come quickly to-day.' They said to him, 'An Egyptian rescued us from the hands of the shepherds, and watered the flocks also.' He said to them, 'Why did ye not bring him? Go quickly and call him hither to eat bread with us.' When Moses came to the house of Reuel and dwelt with him, Reuel loved him and gave him his daughter Zipporah the Cushite to wife. And he said to him, 'Go into the house, and take a shepherd's crook, and go feed thy flocks.' When [ܟܕ] Moses went into the house to take the rod, it drew near to him by divine agency; and he took it and went forth to feed his father-in-law's flocks.

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[1] Gen. xv. 13, Exod. xii. 40.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxii.

[3] Exod. ii–iv.

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[1] The Oxford MS. (fol. 124 *a*) has ܘܩܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܦܢܛܝܠ ܫܡܗ ܐܠܓܘܪܘܗ. ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܦܢܛܝܠ ܘܐܡܠܟܝܐ ܘܫܟܘܝܬܐ ܠܒܪܬܗ. ܘܩܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܝܘܟܒܪ. The British Museum MS. Add. 7203 (Rich), fol. 139 *a*, col. 2, explains ܦܢܛܝܠ by ܫܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܕܚܕ ܫܡܗ̈ܘܗܝ. ܗ̄. ܦܠܛܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܥܘܢ; and Bar Bahlôl (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 300 *a*, col. 2) gives ܦܢܛܝܠ ܕܝܢ. ܗ̄. ܐܣܝܘܬܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܗܘ. ܘܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܣܪ̈ܘܫܐ ܦܘܡ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. فم احادة الله (sic). Compare Heb. פַּלְטִיאֵל, and see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, vol. ii, p. 212.

[2] I do not know the meaning of this word nor its correct pronunciation. The Arabic version in the Munich MS. has ܩܨܝܘܬ. Schoenfelder wrongly קציות.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 374 *a*, col. 1: ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܬ ܕܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܗܝ ܕܫܩܠܬܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܟܕ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. On the margin is written ܘܡܘܫܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܬܪܡܝ ܒܢܗܪܐ. ܘܐܦܩܬܗ ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. 'When Moses was born, he was thrown into the river, and Shîpôr the Egyptian, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him out.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 41; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 *a*, col. 1.

[4] This looks like a corruption of the Egyptian name *Ḥet-Ḥeru-mes* or *Athor-mes*, 'born of Athor.' Bar Hebraeus (ed. Bruns, p. 14) spells her name ܬܪܡܘܬܝܣ, and says that she was the daughter of ܐܡܘܢܦܬܐܘܣ or ܐܡܘܢܦܬܝܣ. She was also called *Makrî;* see note 1 on next page.

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[1] ܘܗܘܐ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܛܠܗ ܠܦܬܟܘܡ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܪܒ ܢܚܬܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܡܥܬ ܗܕܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬܬ ܡܟܪܝ ܒܪܬܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܗܝ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܗܝ ܕܪܒܝܬܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܚܠ ܘܥܪܩ. 'And he was in the house of Pharaoh forty years, and then he slew Pethkôm the Egyptian, the chief baker of Pharaoh. When this was heard in the house of Pharaoh, after Makrî the daughter of Pharaoh—who was called the "Trumpet of Egypt," and who reared up Moses—was dead, he feared,' etc. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 42; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 *a*, col. 2.

CHAPTER XXX[1].

THE HISTORY OF MOSES' ROD.

WHEN Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, Adam, as if knowing that he was never to return to his place, cut off a branch from the tree of good and evil—which is the fig-tree—and took it with him and went forth; and it served him as a staff all the days of his life. After the death of Adam, his son Seth took it, for there were no weapons as yet at that time. This rod was passed on from hand to hand unto Noah, and from Noah to Shem; and it was handed down from Shem to Abraham as a blessed thing from the Paradise of God. With this rod Abraham broke the images and graven idols which his father made, and therefore God said to him, 'Get thee out of thy father's house,' etc. It was in his hand in every country as far as Egypt, and from Egypt to Palestine. Afterwards Isaac took it, and (it was handed down) from Isaac to Jacob; with it he fed the flocks of Laban the Aramean in Paddan Aram. After Jacob Judah his fourth son took it; and this is the rod which Judah gave to Tamar his daughter-in-law, with his signet ring [ܓܝܐ] and his napkin, as the hire for what he had done. From him (it came) to Pharez. At that time there were wars everywhere, and an angel took the rod, and laid it in the Cave of Treasures in the mount of Moab, until Midian was built. There was in Midian a man, upright and righteous before God, whose name was Yathrô (Jethro). When he was feeding his flock on the mountain, he found the cave and took the rod by divine agency; and with it he fed his sheep until his old age. When he gave his daughter to Moses, he said to him, 'Go in, my son, take the rod, and go forth to thy flock.' When Moses had set his foot upon the threshold of the door, an angel moved the rod, and it came out of its own free will towards Moses. And Moses took the rod, and it was with him until God spake with him on mount Sinai. When God said to him, 'Cast the rod upon the ground,' he did so, and it became a great serpent; and the Lord said, 'Take it,' and he did so, and it became a rod as at first. This is the rod which God gave him for a help and a deliverance, that it might be a wonder, and that with it he might deliver Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians. By the will of the living God this rod became a serpent in Egypt. By it God spake to Moses; and it swallowed up the rod of Pôsdî the sorceress of the Egyptians. With it Moses smote the sea of Sôph in its length and breadth, and the depths congealed in the heart of the sea. It was in Moses' hands in the wilderness of Ashîmôn, and with it he smote the stony rock, and the waters flowed forth. Then God gave serpents power over the children of Israel to destroy them, [ܢܒ] because they had angered Him at the waters of strife. And Moses prayed before the Lord, and God said to him, 'Make thee a brazen serpent, and lift it up with the rod, and let the children of Israel look upon it and be healed.' Moses did as the Lord had commanded him, and he placed the brazen serpent in the sight of all the children of Israel in the wilderness; and they looked upon it and were healed. After all the children of Israel were dead, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Yôphannâ (Jephunneh), they went into the promised land, and took the rod with them, on account of the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites. And Phineas hid the rod in the desert, in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem, where it remained until our Lord Christ was born. And He, by the will of His divinity, shewed the rod to Joseph the husband of Mary, and it was in his hand when he fled to Egypt with our Lord and Mary, until he returned to Nazareth. From Joseph his son Jacob, who was surnamed the brother of our Lord, took it; and from Jacob Judas Iscariot, who was a thief, stole it. When the Jews crucified our Lord, they lacked wood for the arms of our Lord; and Judas in his wickedness gave them the rod, which became a judgment and a fall unto them, but an uprising unto many. [1] There were born to Moses two sons; the one called Gershom, which is interpreted 'sojourner;' and the other Eliezer, which is interpreted 'God hath helped me.' Fifty-two years after the birth of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun was born in Egypt [2]. When Moses was eighty years old, God spake with him upon mount Sinai. [ܢܓ] And the cry of the children of Israel went up to God by reason of the severity of the oppression of the Egyptians; and God heard their groaning, and remembered His covenants with the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom He promised that in their seed should all nations be blessed. One day when Moses was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, he and the sheep went from the wilderness to mount Horeb, the mount of God; and the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in a bush, but the bush was not burnt. Moses said, 'I will turn aside and see this wonderful thing, how it is that the fire blazes in the bush, but the bush is not burnt.' God saw that he turned aside to look, and He called to him from within the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses.' Moses said, 'Here am I, Lord.' God said to him, 'Approach not hither, for the place upon which thou standest is holy.' And God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob;' and Moses covered his face, for he was afraid to look at Him. Some say that when God spake with Moses, Moses stammered through fear. And the Lord said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of My people in Egypt, and have heard the voice of their cry, and I am come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to carry them up from that land to the land flowing with milk and honey; come, I will send thee to Egypt.' Moses said, 'Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring out those of the house of Israel from Egypt?' God said to him, 'I will be with thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'If they shall say unto me, What is the Lord's name? what shall I say unto them?' God said, 'אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, that is, [ܢܐ] the Being who is the God of your fathers hath sent me to you. This is My name for ever, and this is My memorial to all generations.' God said to Moses, 'Go, tell Pharaoh everything I say to thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'My tongue is heavy and stammers; how will Pharaoh accept my word?' God said to Moses, 'Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and thy brother Aaron a prophet before thee; speak thou with Aaron, and Aaron shall speak with Pharaoh, and he shall send away the children of Israel that they may serve Me. And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and I will work My wonders in the land of Egypt, and will bring up My people the children of Israel from thence, and the Egyptians shall know that I am God.' And Moses and Aaron did everything that God had commanded them. Moses was eighty-three years old when God sent him to Egypt. And God said to him, 'If Pharaoh shall seek a sign from thee, cast thy rod upon the ground, and it shall become a serpent.' Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and threw down Moses' rod, and it became a serpent. The sorcerers of Egypt did the same[1], but Moses' rod swallowed up those of the sorcerers; and the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not send away the people. And God wrought ten signs by the hands of Moses: first, turning the waters into blood; second, bringing up frogs upon them; third, domination of the gnats; fourth, noisome creatures of all kinds; fifth, the pestilence among the cattle; sixth, the plague of boils; seventh, the coming of hail-stones; eighth, the creation of locusts; ninth, the descent of darkness; tenth, the death [ܢܡ] of the firstborn. When God wished to slay the firstborn of Egypt, He said to Moses, 'This day shall be to you the first of months, that is to say, Nisan and the new year. On the tenth of this month, let every man take a lamb for his house, and a lamb for the house of his father; and if they be too few in number (for a whole lamb), let him and his neighbour who is near him share it. Let the lamb be kept until the fourteenth day of this month, and let all the children of Israel slay it at sunset, and let them sprinkle its blood upon the thresholds of their houses with the sign of the cross. This blood shall be to you a sign of deliverance, and I will see (it) and rejoice in you, and Death the destroyer shall no more have dominion over you;' and Moses and Aaron told the children of Israel all these things. And the Lord commanded them not to go out from their houses until morning; for 'the Lord will pass over the Egyptians to smite their firstborn, and will see the blood upon the thresholds, and will not allow the destroyer to enter their houses.' When it was midnight, the Lord slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, from the firstborn of Pharaoh sitting upon his throne down to the last. And Pharaoh sent to Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Depart from among my people, and go, serve the

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiii.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiv begins here.

[2] The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

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[1] The Oxford MS. adds the names of the sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres. For accounts of them see 2 Timothy iii. 8; Abulpharagius, *Historia Dynast.*, ed. Pococke, p. 17; and Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, vol. i, p. 819.

Lord, as ye have said; and take your goods and chattels with you.' The Egyptians also urged the children of Israel to go forth from among them, through fear of death; and the children of Israel asked chains of gold and silver and costly clothing of the Egyptians, and spoiled them; and the Lord gave them favour in the sight of the Egyptians. The children of Israel set out from Raamses to Succoth, [ܢܗ] six hundred thousand men; and when they entered Egypt in the days of Joseph, they were seventy-five souls in number. They remained in bodily and spiritual subjection four hundred and thirty years; from the day that God said to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in the land of Egypt,' from that hour they were oppressed in their minds. When the people had gone out of Egypt on the condition that they should return, and did not return, Pharaoh pursued after them to bring them back to his slavery. And they said to Moses, 'Why hast thou brought us out from Egypt? It was better for us to serve the Egyptians as slaves, and not to die here.' Moses said, 'Fear not, but see the deliverance which God will work for you to-day.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'Lift up thy rod and smite the sea, that the children of Israel may pass over as upon dry land.' And Moses smote the sea, and it was divided on this side and on that; and the children of Israel passed through the depth of the sea as upon dry land. When Pharaoh and his hosts came in after them, Moses brought his rod back over the sea, and the waters returned to their place; and all the Egyptians were drowned. And Moses bade the children of Israel to sing praises with the song 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel' (Exod. xv. 1).

The children of Israel marched through the wilderness three days, and came to the place called Murrath (Marah) from the bitterness of its waters; and the people were unable to drink that water. And they lifted up their voice and murmured against Moses, saying, 'What shall we drink?' Moses prayed before God, and took absinth-wood[1], which is bitter in its nature, and threw it into the water, and it was made sweet. There did the Lord teach them laws and judgments. [ܢܘ] And they set out from thence, and on the fifteenth of the second month, which is Îyâr, came to a place in which there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees[1]. Dâd-Îshôʿ says in his exposition of Paradise[2] that the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres, who once opposed Moses, lived there. There was a well in that place, and over it was a bucket and brass chain; and devils dwelt there, because that place resembled Paradise. The blessed Mâḳârîs (Macarius) visited that spot, but was unable to live there because of the wickedness of those demons; but that they might not boast over the human race, as if forsooth no one was able to live there, God commanded two anchorites, whose names no man knoweth, and they dwelt there until they died. When the children of Israel saw that wilderness, they murmured against Moses, saying, 'It were better for us to have died in Egypt, being satisfied with bread, than to come forth into this arid desert for this people to perish by hunger.' And God said to Moses, 'Behold, I will bring manna down from heaven for you; a cloud shall shade you by day from the heat of the sun, and a pillar of fire shall give light before you by night.' God said to Moses, 'Go up into this mountain, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and Nadab, and seventy chosen elders of the children of Israel, and let them worship from afar; and let Moses come near to Me by himself.' And they did as the Lord commanded them, and Moses drew near by himself, and the rest of the elders remained below at the foot of the mountain; and God gave him commandments. And Moses made known to the people the words [ܕܒܪ] of the Lord; and all the people answered with one voice and said, 'Everything that the Lord commands us we will do.' Moses took blood with a hyssop, and sprinkled it upon the people, saying to them, 'This is the blood of the covenant,' and so forth. And God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel that they set apart for Me gold and silver and brass and purple,' and the rest of the things which are mentioned in the Tôrâh, 'and let them make a tabernacle for Me.' God also shewed the construction thereof to Moses, saying, 'Let Aaron and his sons be priests to Me, and let them serve My altar and sanctuary.' God wrote ten commandments[3] on two tables of stone, and these are they. Thou shalt not make to thyself an image or a likeness; thou shalt not falsify thy oaths; keep the day of the Sabbath; honour thy father and thy mother; thou shalt not do murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's or brother's house; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy kinsman or neighbour, nor his servants, nor his handmaidens. When the children of Israel saw that Moses tarried on the mountain, they gathered together to Aaron and said to him, 'Arise, make us a god to go before us, for we know not what has become of thy brother Moses.' Aaron said to them, 'Bring me the earrings that are in the ears of your wives and children.' When they had brought them to him, he cast a calf from them, and said to the people, 'This is thy god, O Israel, who brought thee out of Egypt;' and they built an altar, and the children of Israel offered up sacrifice upon it. God said to Moses, 'Get thee down [ܠܡ] to the people, for they have become corrupt.' And Moses returned to the people, and in his hands were the two tablets of stone, upon which the ten commandments were written by the finger of God. When Moses saw that the people had erred, he was angry and smote the tablets upon the side of the mountain and brake them. And Moses brought the calf, and filed it with a file, and threw it into the fire, and cast its ashes into water; and he commanded the children of Israel to drink of that water. And Moses reproached Aaron for his deeds, but Aaron said, 'Thou knowest that the people is stiffnecked.' Then Moses said to the children of Levi, 'The Lord commands you that each man should slay his brother and his neighbour of those who have wrought iniquity;' and there were slain on that day three thousand men. And Moses went up to the mountain a second time, and there were with him two tables of stone instead of those which he brake. He remained on the mountain and fasted another forty days, praying and supplicating God to pardon the iniquity of the people. When he came down from the mountain with the other two tablets upon which the commandments were written, the skin of his face shone, and the children of Israel were unable to look upon his countenance by reason of the radiance and light with which it was suffused; and they were afraid of him. When he came to the people, he covered his face with a napkin; and when he spake with God, he uncovered his face. And Moses said to Ḥur, the son of his father-in-law Reuel the Midianite, 'We will go to the land which God promised to give us; come with us, and we will do thee good;' but he would not, and returned to Midian. [ܦ] So the children of Israel went along the road to prepare a dwelling-place for themselves; and they lifted up their voice with a cry; and God heard and was angry, and fire went round about them and burnt up the parts round about their camps. They said to Moses, 'Our soul languishes in this wilderness, and we remember the meats of Egypt; the fishes and the cucumbers and the melons and the onions and the leeks and the garlic; and now we have nought save this manna which is before us.' Now the appearance of manna was like that of coriander seed, and they ground it, and made flat cakes of it; and its taste was like bread with oil in it. And the Lord heard the voice of the people weeping each one at the door of his tent, and it was grievous to Him. Moses prayed before the Lord and said, 'Why have I not found favour before Thee? and why hast Thou cast the weight of this people upon me? Did I beget them? Either slay me or let me find favour in Thy sight.' God said to Moses, 'Choose from the elders of the children of Israel seventy men, and gather them together to the tabernacle, and I will come down and speak with thee. And I will take of the spirit and power which is with thee and will lay it upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, and thou shalt not bear it by thyself alone;' and Moses told them. Moses gathered together seventy elders from the children of Israel, and the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake with them; and he took of the spirit and power which was with Moses and laid it upon them, and they prophesied. But two elders of the seventy whose names were written down remained in the camp and did not come; the name of the one was Eldad, and that of the other Medad; and they also prophesied in the tabernacle. A young man came and told Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, the disciple of Moses, said to him, 'My lord, restrain them.' Moses said, 'Be not jealous; [ܦܐ] would that all the children of Israel were prophets; for the Spirit of God hath come upon them.'

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[1] See Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 81.

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[1] I. e. Elim, Exod. xv. 27.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 49 and 99.

[3] C reads ܥܣܪܐ ܦܬܓ̈ܡܝܢ, 'ten words.'

And Moses said to the children of Israel, 'Because ye have wept and have asked for flesh, behold the Lord will give you flesh to eat; not one day, nor two, nor five, nor ten, but a month of days shall ye eat, until it goeth out of your nostrils, and becometh nauseous to you[1].' Moses said (to the Lord), 'This people among whom I am is six hundred thousand men, and hast Thou promised to feed them with flesh for a month of days? If we slay sheep and oxen, it would not suffice for them; and if we collect for them (all) the fish that are in the sea, they would not satisfy them.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'The hand of the Lord shall bring (this) to pass, and behold, thou shalt see whether this happens or not.' By the command of God a wind blew and brought out quails from the sea, and they were gathered around the camp of the children of Israel about a day's journey on all sides; and they were piled upon one another to the depth of two cubits. Each of the children of Israel gathered about ten cors; and they spread them out before the doors of their tents. And the Lord was angry with them, and smote them with death, and many died; and that place was called 'the graves of lust.'

They departed from thence to the place called Ḥaṣerôth. And Aaron and Miriam lifted up themselves against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, and they said, 'Has God spoken with Moses only? Behold, He hath spoken with us also.' Now Moses was meeker than all men. And God heard the words of Miriam and Aaron, and came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, [ܦܩܒ] and called them, and they came forth to Him. The Lord said to them, 'Hear what I will say to you. I have revealed Myself to you in secret, and ye have prophesied in a dream. Not so with My servant Moses, who is trusted in everything, for with him I speak mouth to mouth.' And the Lord was angry with them, and the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle; and Miriam was a leper, and was white as snow. Aaron saw that she was a leper, and said to Moses, 'I entreat thee not to look upon our sins which we have sinned against thee.' Moses made supplication before God, saying, 'Heal her, O Lord, I entreat Thee.' God said to Moses, 'If her father had spat in her face, it would have been right for her to pass the night alone outside the camp for seven days, and then to come in.' So Miriam stayed outside the camp for seven days, and then she was purified.

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[1] The word ܐܘܦܬܪܐ or ܐܦܬܪܐ is explained in the text by ܬܘܟܡܗ, i.e. the Arabic تُخْمَة 'indigestion.'

And God said to Moses, 'Send forth spies, from every tribe a man, and let them go and search out the land of promise.' Moses chose twelve men, among whom were Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and they went and searched out the land. And they returned, carrying with them of the fruit of the land grapes and figs and pomegranates. The spies came and said, 'We have not strength to stand against them, for they are mighty men, while we are like miserable locusts in their sight.' And the children of Israel were gathered together to Moses and Aaron, and they lifted up their voice and wept with a great weeping, saying, 'Why did we not die under the hand of the Lord in the wilderness and in Egypt, and not come to this land to die with our wives and children, and to become a laughing-stock and a scorn to the nations?' [ܦܠ] Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh said to them, 'Fear not; we will go up against them, and the Lord will deliver them into our hands, and we shall inherit the land, as the Lord said to us.' The children of Israel said to one another, 'Come, let us make us a chief and return to Egypt;' and Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces before the people. And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh rent their clothes and said to the children of Israel, 'The land which we have searched out is a thriving one, flowing with milk and honey, and it is in the power of God to give it to us; do not provoke God.' And the children of Israel gathered together to stone them with stones. And God was revealed in a cloud over the tabernacle openly in the sight of the children of Israel; and He said to Moses, 'How long will these (people) provoke Me? and how long will they not believe in Me for all the wonders which I have wrought among them? Let Me smite them, and I will make thee the chief of a people stronger than they.' Moses said to the Lord, 'O Lord God Almighty, the Egyptians will hear and will say that Thou hast brought out Thy people from among them by Thy power: but when Thou smitest them, they will say, "He slew them in the desert, because He was unable to make them inherit the land which He promised them." And Thou, O Lord, who hast dwelt among this people, and they have seen Thee eye to eye, and Thy light is ever abiding with them, and Thou goest (before them) by night in a pillar of light, and dost shade them with a cloud by day, pardon now in Thy mercy the sins of Thy people, as Thou hast pardoned their sins from Egypt unto here.' God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel, O wicked nation, I have heard all the words which ye have spoken, and I will do unto you even as [ܣܕ] ye wish for yourselves. In this desert shall your dead bodies fall, and your families and your children, every one that knows good from evil, from twenty years old and downwards. Their children shall enter the land of promise; but ye shall not enter it, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun. Your children shall remain in this wilderness forty years, until your dead bodies decay, according to the number of the days in which ye searched out the land; for each day ye shall be requited with a year because of your sins.' And the spies who had spied out the land with Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh died at once, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh. This was very grievous to the people, and the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Behold, we are going up to the land which God promised us.' He said to them, 'God hath turned His face from you; go ye not away from your place.' And they hearkened not to Moses, but went up to the top of the mountain without Moses and the tabernacle; and the Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt there came out against them and put them to flight. God said to Moses, 'When the children of Israel enter the land of promise, let them offer as offerings fine flour and oil and wine.' Then Koraḥ the son of Zahar (Izhar), and Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, together with their families, and two hundred and fifty men, separated from the children of Israel; and they came to Moses, and made him hear them, and troubled him. And Moses fell upon his face before the Lord and said, 'To-morrow shall every one know whom God chooses. Is that which I have done for you not sufficient for you, that ye serve before the Lord, but ye must seek the priesthood also?' And Moses said unto God, [ܣܗ] 'O God, receive not their offerings.' And Moses said to them, 'Let every one of you take his censer in his hand, and place fire and incense therein;' and there stood before the Lord on that day two hundred and fifty men holding their censers. The Lord said to Moses, 'Stand aloof from the people, and I will destroy them in a moment.' And Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces, and said to the Lord, 'Wilt

Thou destroy all these for the sake of one man who hath sinned?' God said to Moses, 'Tell the children of Israel to go away from around the tents of Koraḥ and his fellows;' and Moses said to the people everything that God had said to him; and the people kept away from the tent of Koraḥ. Then Koraḥ and his family with their wives and children came forth and stood[1] at the doors of their tents. And Moses said to them, 'If God hath sent me, let the earth open her mouth and swallow them up; but if I am come of my own desire, let them die a natural death like every man.' While the word was yet in his mouth, the earth opened, and swallowed them up, and the people that were with them, from man even unto beast; and fear fell upon their companions. The fire went forth from their censers, and burnt up the two hundred and fifty men. Moses said to Eleazar, 'Take their censers and make a casting of them, that they may be a memorial—for they have been sanctified by the fire which fell into them—that no man who is not of the family of Aaron should dare to take a censer in his hand.'

The children of Israel gathered together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'Ye have destroyed the people of the Lord.' And [ܩܘ] God said to Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle, 'Stand aloof from them, and I will destroy them in a moment.' Moses said to Aaron, 'Take a censer and put fire and incense therein, and go to the people, that God may forgive their sins, for anger has gone forth against them from before the Lord.' And Aaron put incense in a censer, and went to the people in haste, and he saw death destroying the people unsparingly; but with his censer he separated the living from the dead, and the plague was stayed from them. The number of men whom the plague destroyed at that time of the children of Israel was fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides those who died with the children of Koraḥ; and Aaron returned to Moses. And God said to Moses, 'Let the children of Israel collect from every tribe a rod, and let them write the name of the tribe upon its rod, and the name of Aaron upon (that of) the tribe of Levi, and the rod of the man whom the Lord chooseth shall blossom.' And they did as God had commanded them, and took the rods and placed them in the tabernacle that day. On the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle, and saw the rod of the house of Levi budding and bearing almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods to the children of Israel, and the sons of Levi were set apart for the service of the priesthood before the Lord.

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[1] Read ܘܩܡܘ for ܘܢܦܠܘ? as in Num. xvi. 27.

When the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Ṣîn, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron died, and they buried her. And there was no water for them to drink; and the children of Israel murmured against Moses and said, 'Would that we had all died with those who are dead already, and that we had not come hither to die with our beasts [ܣܐ] and our possessions! Why did the Lord bring us out from Egypt to this desert land, in which there are neither pomegranates nor grapes?' Moses and Aaron went to the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces before the Lord, and the Lord said to them, 'Gather together the children of Israel, and let Moses smite the rock with the rod, and water shall come forth and all the people shall drink;' and Moses called that water 'the water of strife.' The children of Israel gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron, and they murmured against them saying, 'Why have ye brought us out to this desert to die of thirst and hunger?' And the Lord was angry with them, and sent serpents upon them, and many of the people died by reason of the serpents. And they gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'We have sinned before God and before you.' God said to Moses, 'Make a serpent of brass, and hang it upon the top of thy rod, and set it up among the people; and let every one whom a serpent shall bite look upon the brazen serpent, and he shall live and not die.' This serpent which Moses set up is a type of the crucifixion of our Lord, as the doctor saith, 'Like the serpent which Moses set up, He set Him up also, that He might heal men of the bites of cruel demons.'

And the children of Israel came to mount Hôr, and Aaron died there; and they wept for him a month of days; and Moses put his garments upon Eleazar his son. The children of Israel began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and to bow down to their idols, and to eat of their sacrifices. The Lord was angry with them, and He commanded Moses to gather together the children of

Israel, and to order every man to slay his fellow, and every one who should bow down to Baal Peôr, the idol of the Moabites. When they were all assembled at the door of the tabernacle, [ܦܒܫ] Zimri the son of Salô came and took Cosbî the daughter of Zûr, and committed fornication with her in the sight of Moses and all the people; and God smote the people with a pestilence. Then Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, the son of Aaron, arose, and thrust them through with a spear, and lifted them up upon the top of it; and the plague was stayed from that hour. This zeal was accounted unto Phinehas as a prayer, as the blessed David says[1], 'Phinehas arose and prayed, and the pestilence was stayed; and it was accounted unto him for merit from generation unto generation, even for ever.' The number of those who died at that time was twenty-four thousand men. God commanded Moses to number the people, and their number amounted to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and eighty souls. And God commanded Moses to bless Joshua the son of Nun, and to lay his hand upon him, and to set him up before Eleazar the priest and before all the children of Israel; and God gave him wisdom and knowledge and prophecy and courage, and made him ruler of the children of Israel. God commanded the children of Israel to destroy the Midianites. And (Moses) chose from each tribe a thousand men, and they went up against the Midianites and took them captive and spoiled them. And Moses told them to slay every man who had committed fornication with a Midianitish woman, and every Midianitish woman who had committed fornication with a son of Israel, except the virgins whom man had not known. God commanded Moses to set apart one-fiftieth part of the spoil for the sons of Levi, the ministers of the altar and the house of the Lord. The number of the flocks that were gathered together with the children [ܦܬ] of Israel was six hundred and seventy thousand, and seventy-two thousand oxen, and thirty-two thousand virgins. And the Lord commanded them that when they should pass over the Jordan and come to the land of promise, they should set apart three villages for a place of flight and refuge, that whosoever committed a murder involuntarily might flee thither and dwell in them until the high priest of that time died, when he might return to his family and the house of his fathers. God laid down for them laws and commandments, and these are they. A man shall not clothe himself in a woman's garments, neither shall a woman clothe herself in those of a man[1]. If one sees a bird's nest, he shall drive away the mother, and then take the young ones[2]. A man shall make a fence and an enclosure to his roof, lest any one fall therefrom, and his blood be required of him[3]. Let him that hath a rebellious son, bring him out before the elders, and let them reprimand him; if he turn from his (evil) habit, (good and well); but if not, let him be stoned[4]. One that is crucified shall not pass the night upon his cross[5]. He that blasphemes God shall be slain[6]. The man that lies with a betrothed woman shall be slain. If she is not betrothed, he shall give her father five hundred dînârs, and take her to wife[7]. And the other commandments.

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[1] Ps. cvi. 30.

And Moses gathered together the children of Israel and said to them, 'Behold, I am a hundred and twenty years old, no more strength abideth in me; and God hath said to me, Thou shalt not pass over this river Jordan.' And he called Joshua the son of Nun and said to him in the sight of all the people, 'Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt bring this people into the land of promise. Fear not [ܠ] the nations that are in it, for God will deliver them into thy hands, and thou shalt inherit their cities and villages, and shalt destroy them[8].'

And Moses wrote down laws and judgements and orders, and gave them into the hands of the priests, the children of Levi. He commanded them that, when they crossed over to the land of promise, they should make a feast of tabernacles and should read aloud these commandments before all the people, men and women; that they might hear and fear the Lord their God[9]. And God said to Moses, 'Behold thou art going the way of thy fathers; call Joshua the son of Nun, thy disciple, and make him stand in the tabernacle, and command him to be diligent for the government of this people; for I know that after thy death they will turn aside from the way of truth, and will worship idols, and I will turn away My face from them[1].' And God said to Moses, 'Get thee up into this mountain of the Amorites which is called Nebo, and see the land of Canaan, and be gathered to thy fathers, even as Aaron thy brother died on mount Hôr.' So Moses died there and was buried, and no man knoweth his grave[2]; for God hid him, that the children of Israel might not go astray and worship him as God. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; his sight had not diminished, neither was the complexion of his face changed. And the children of Israel wept for him a month of days in Arbôth Moab.

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[1] Deut. xxii. 5.
[2] Deut. xxii. 6.
[3] Deut. xxii. 7.
[4] Deut. xxi. 18–20.
[5] Deut. xxi. 23.
[6] Lev. xxiv. 16.
[7] Deut. xxii. 26–29.
[8] Deut. xxxi. 1–7.
[9] Deut. xvi. 13.

From Adam then until the death of Moses was three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight years[3].

When the number of the children of Israel was reckoned up, it amounted to eight hundred thousand, and that of the house of Judah to five hundred thousand. In the Book of Chronicles it is written, 'The children of Israel were a thousand thousand, one hundred thousand and one hundred[4] men; and the house of Judah was four hundred [ܠܐ] thousand and seven hundred men[5] that drew sword.' Now when they came out of Egypt, they were six hundred thousand[6]; and when they entered Egypt, they were seventy and five souls[7].

CHAPTER XXXI[8].

OF JOSHUA THE SON OF NUN, AND BRIEF NOTICES OF THE YEARS OF THE JUDGES AND THE KINGS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.

AFTER Moses was dead, God said to Joshua the son of Nun, 'Moses My servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them. Every place upon which ye tread shall be yours[1].' So Joshua the son of Nun gathered the people together, and passed over Jordan. Jordan was divided on this side and on that, and the children of Israel passed over as upon dry ground, even as their fathers passed through the sea of Sôph, when they went forth from Egypt[2]. And they took twelve stones from the midst of Jordan, as a memorial for those after them[3]. And they took Jericho, and destroyed it[4]; and Joshua the son of Nun slew thirty-one kings of the foreign nations, and divided the land among them, and he brake their idols and images. These are the names of the kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed[5]. The king of Jericho, the king of Ai, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Hormah, the king of Geder, the king of Arad[6], the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam[7], [ܟܒ] the king of Makkedah[8], the king of Bethel, the king of Tappuah, the king of Hepher, the king of Aphek, the king of Lashsharon[9]; the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron[10], the king of Achshaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo[11], the king of Reḳam (Kadesh), the king of Jokneam[12], the king of Dor and Naphath-Dor, the king of Goiim[13], the king of Tirzah[14].

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[1] Deut. xxxi. 14–16. [2] Deut. xxxiv. 6. [3] Oxford MS. 3860 years.

[4] ܘܡܐܐ appears to be superfluous, and is omitted by the Oxford MS. See 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

[5] We should read ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ, as in 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

[6] Exod. xii. 37.

[7] Seventy souls according to Gen. xlvi. 27; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22.

[8] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxv.

And as we do not intend to write a complete history of the kings and judges, but only to collect a few matters which may serve for the consolation of the feeble in a time of despondency, behold we pass over them with brief notices. If however any one seeks to know these (things), let him read in the Tôrah and in the Bêth-Mautĕbhê[15], whence he will understand clearly. Moses ruled the people in the desert forty years[1]. Joshua ruled the people twenty-five years[2]. Judah was ruler of the people forty-eight years[3]. Eglon king of Moab[4] oppressed the people eighteen years. Ahôr (Ehûd) was ruler of the people eighty years[5]. Nâbîn (Jabin) oppressed Israel twenty years[6]. Deborah and Barak were rulers of the people forty years[7]. The Midianites oppressed Israel seven years[8]. Gideon was ruler of the people forty years[9]. He had seventy sons, who rode with him upon seventy ass colts[10]. Abimelech the son [ܒܠܐ] of Gideon was ruler of the people sixty years[11]. Tola the son of Puah was ruler of the people twenty-three years[12]. Jair was ruler of the people twenty-two years[13]. The Philistines and Ammonites oppressed the people eighteen years[14]. Naphthah (Jephthah) was ruler of the people six years[15]. He vowed a vow to the Lord and said, 'Whatsoever cometh forth to meet me from my house, I will offer up as an offering to the Lord.' And his only daughter came forth, and he offered her up as an offering to the Lord. Abîzan (Ibzan) was ruler of the people seven years[16]. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters; he sent out the thirty daughters and brought in thirty daughters-in-law. Elon was a ruler of the people ten years[17]. Acrôn (Abdon) was ruler of the people eight years[18]. The

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[1] Josh. i. 2–3.

[2] Exod. xiv. 21, 22.

[3] Josh. iv. 3.

[4] Josh. vi. 21.

[5] Josh. xii. 9–24.

[6] Syr. *Adar.*

[7] Syr. *Arlam.*

[8] Syr. *Maḳar.*

[9] Syr. *Neshrôn.*

[10] Syr. *Shâmrîn*, Samaria.

[11] Syr. *Magdôl.*

[12] Syr. *Neḳem'am* or *Naḳ'âm.*

[13] Syr. '*Umḳâ.*

[14] The Oxford MS. omits the names of these kings.

[15] In the Oxford MS. 'in the book of Kings.' The term ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬ̈ܒܐ properly includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, the Song of Songs, and Job. See Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 103, col. 1, note †.

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[1] Deut. xxix. 5.

[2] Josh. xxiv. 29. Josephus, *Antiq.*, v. 1, gives twenty-nine years. Eusebius and Andronicus, twenty years; the *Auṣar Râzê* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 *a*) twenty-seven years.

[3] Bar Hebraeus says that the elders of the people ruled after Joshua, but no number of years is given; his list of the Judges is much fuller, but their years do not agree with those given in this chapter. In Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 *a*, after Joshua, there follows Chushan the wicked, eight years; Othniel, forty years; the Moabites, eighteen years; and Ahôr or Ehud comes next.

[4] Judg. iii. 14. The Oxford MS. has 'Og, king of the Moabites.'

[5] Judg. iii. 30. [6] Judg. iv. 3. [7] Judg. v. 31.

[8] Judg. vi. 1. The Oxford MS. gives seventy years. [9] Judg. viii. 28.

[10] Solomon has here confused Abdon with Gideon; see Judg. xii. 14.

[11] We should probably read 'three years,' ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. See Judg. ix. 22.

[12] Judg. x. 2. [13] Judg. x. 3. [14] Judg. x. 8.

[15] Judg. xii. 7. [16] Judg. xii. 9. [17] Judg. xii. 11.

[18] Judg. xii. 14. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Abdon. Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*, has ܥܩܪܘܢ ܕܗܘ ܥܒܕܘܢ.

Philistines oppressed Israel forty years[1]. Samson was ruler of the people twenty years[2]. He slew a thousand men with the jawbone of a dead ass. Eli was ruler of the people forty years[3]. From Eli, the ark was in the house of Abinadab twenty years[4]. Samuel was ruler of the people thirty years[5]. Saul was ruler of the people forty[6] years. These years of the Judges (*lit.* rulers) amount to six hundred and fifty-five[7]. King David reigned forty years[8]. Solomon reigned forty years[9]. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years[10]. Abijah reigned three years[11]. Asa reigned forty-one years[12]. Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years[13]. Joram reigned eight [ܚ] years[14]. Ahaziah reigned one year[15]. Athaliah reigned six years[16]. Joash reigned forty years[17]. Amaziah reigned twenty-three years[18]. Uzziah reigned fifty-two years[19]. Jotham reigned sixteen years[20]. Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years[21]. He prayed before God, and fifteen years were added to his life; and he held back the sun and the moon in their course. Manasseh reigned fifty-five years[22]. He sawed Isaiah with a wooden saw and killed him. Amon reigned two years[23]. Josiah reigned thirty-one years[24]. Jehoahaz reigned three months[25]. Jehoiakim reigned eleven years[26]. Jehoiachin reigned one hundred days[1]. Zedekiah reigned eleven years[2]. These years of the kings amount to four hundred and fifty-five years, six months, and ten days[3].

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[1] Judg. xiii. 1.

[2] Judg. xv. 20. The Oxford MS. gives 'forty years.' After Samson, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*, has ܕܠܐ ܕܝ̈ܢܐ ܝ̄ܒ, 'without Judges, twelve years.'

[3] 1 Sam. iv. 18.

[4] 1 Sam. vii. 2.

[5] Twenty years, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*.

[6] So Eusebius, but Anianus gives twenty years.

[7] The numbers here given amount to 642 years.

[8] 1 Kings ii. 11.

[9] 1 Kings xi. 42.

[10] 1 Kings xiv. 21.

[11] 1 Kings xv. 2.

[12] 1 Kings xv. 10.

[13] 1 Kings xxii. 42.

[14] 2 Kings viii. 17. Jehoram is omitted by the Oxford MS.

[15] 2 Kings viii. 26.

[16] 2 Kings xi. 3.

[17] 2 Kings xii. 1. Joash is omitted by the Oxford MS.

[18] Twenty-nine years, 2 Kings xiv. 2.

[19] 2 Kings xv. 2.

[20] 2 Kings xv. 33. Ahaz the son of Jotham also reigned sixteen years (2 Kings xvi. 2); the length of the reigns of the father and son being the same is no doubt the cause why the latter is omitted in all the MSS.

[21] 2 Kings xviii. 2.

[22] 2 Kings xxi. 1.

[23] 2 Kings xxi. 19.

[24] 2 Kings xxii. 1.

[25] 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

[26] 2 Kings xxiii. 36.

CHAPTER XXXII[4].

OF THE DEATH OF THE PROPHETS; HOW THEY DIED, AND (WHERE) EACH ONE OF THEM WAS BURIED[5].

MANASSEH the son of Hezekiah slew Isaiah with a wooden saw; he was buried before the outfall of the waters which Hezekiah concealed by the side of Siloah[6].

Hosea the son of Beeri, of the tribe of Issachar, (was) from the town of Beʿelmâth. He prophesied mystically about our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come; saying that when He should be born, the oak in Shiloh should be divided into twelve [ܒܗ] parts; and that He should take twelve disciples of Israel. He died in peace, and was buried in his own land.

Joel the son of Bethuel (Pethuel), of the tribe of Reuben, died in peace in his own land. Others say that Ahaziah the son of Amaziah smote him with a staff upon his head; and while his life was yet in him, they brought him to his own land[7], and after two days he died.

Amos (was) from the land of Tekoa. The priest of Bethel tortured him and afterwards slew him. Others say that it was he whom Ahaziah the son of Amaziah[8] killed with a staff, and he died.

Obadiah from the country of Shechem was the captain of fifty of

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[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 8, 'three months.'

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 18. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Jehoiachin, and gives the name of Zedekiah without the length of his reign.

[3] The numbers here given amount to 451 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

[4] Chap. xxxi (sic) in the Oxford MS.

[5] See Epiphanius, *De Prophetarum Vitis*, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, Ser. Gr.*, t. 43, cols. 415–427.

[6] Rather obscure; ܛܫܝ signifies 'he hid, concealed, buried;' possibly the meaning may be 'brought by an underground tunnel.'

[7] Schoenfelder, *eum in terram projecerunt.*

[8] Epiphanius says that Amaziah slew him.

Ahab's soldiers. He became a disciple of Elijah, and endured many evil things from Ahab, because he forsook him and went after Elijah. However he died in peace. After he followed Elijah, he was deemed worthy of prophecy[1].

Elijah the fiery, of the family of Aaron, (was) from Tashbî[2], a town of the Levites. When this (prophet) was born, his father saw in a dream that one was born, and that they wrapped him in fire instead of swaddling bands, and gave him some of that fire to eat. He came to Jerusalem, and told the priests the vision that he had seen. The learned among the people said to him, 'Fear not, thy son is about to be a fire, and his word shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground; he will burn like fire with jealousy of sinners, and his zeal will be accepted before God.' He was taken up in a chariot towards heaven. Some say that his father was called Shôbâkh[3]. [ܥܘ]

Elisha his pupil, from Ăbêl-Mĕhôlâh, (was) of the tribe of Reuben. On the day of his birth a great wonder took place in Israel; for the bull[4] which they worshipped in Gilgal lowed, and his voice was heard in Jerusalem. The chief priests in Jerusalem said, 'A mighty prophet is born to-day in Israel at this time, and he will break the images and idols to pieces.' He died in peace, and was buried in Samaria.

Jonah the son of Amittai[5] (was) from Gath-hepher[6], from Kûryath-Âdâmôs[7], which is near to Ascalon and Gaza and the sea coast. After this (prophet) had prophesied to the Ninevites in the time of Sardânâ[8] the king, he did not remain in his own land because the Jews were jealous of him ; but he took his mother, and went and dwelt in Assyria. He feared the reproach of the Jews, because he had prophesied, and his prophecy did not come to pass. He also rebuked Ahab the king, and called a famine upon the land and the people. He came to the widow of Elijah, and blessed her, because she received him, and he returned to Judaea. His mother died on the way, and he buried her by the side of Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Serîdâ, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon, and was buried in the cave of Ḳainân[1]. This (prophet) prophesied that when the Messiah should come, the cities of the Jews would be overturned.

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[1] Solomon here follows the tradition adopted by Jerome and Ephraim Syrus, and maintained by Kimchi and Abarbanel. He is supposed to have been the captain of the third fifty of soldiers sent by Ahab against Elijah. See 2 Kings i. 13.

[2] Or Tishbeh. Epiphanius, 'from the land of the Arabs.'

[3] Elijah is called 'the son of Shôbâkh' in the Oxford MS. Epiphanius, Σοβάχ.

[4] Epiphanius, 'the golden heifer.'

[5] In the Syriac, *Yaunân the son of Mattai.*

[6] Gath-hepher in the tribe of Zebulun, 2 Kings xiv. 25.

[7] Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Καριαθαμαούμ. A variant has Καριαθιαρίμ (Kirjath-jearim).

[8] Or Surdânôs, ܣܘܪܕܢܘܣ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, note 369, page 43. The only son of Sennacherib whose name can be compared with this is *Assur-nadin-sumi.*

Micah the Morashthite (was) of the tribe of Ephraim, and was slain by Joram the son of Ahab. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the destruction of the temple of the Jews, and the abrogation [ܒܛܠ] of the Passover on the death of the Messiah. He died in peace, and was buried in Anikâm.

Nahum, from the city of Elḳôsh, (was) of the tribe of Simeon. After the death of Jonah this (prophet) prophesied concerning the Ninevites, saying, 'Nineveh shall perish by perpetually advancing waters, and ascending fire;' and this actually took place. He prophesied also concerning the Babylonians, that they would come against the Israelitish people; and therefore they sought to kill him. He prophesied that when the Messiah should be slain, the vail of the temple should be rent in twain[2], and that the Holy Spirit should depart from it. He died in peace, and was buried in his own country.

Habakkuk (was) of the tribe of Simeon, and from the land of Ṣûâr (Zoar)[3]. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should come, and abrogate the laws of the Jews. He brought food to Daniel at Babylon by the divine (or, angelic) agency. The Jews stoned him in Jerusalem.

Zephaniah (was) of the tribe of Simeon. He prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should suffer, and that the sun should become dark, and the moon be hidden. He died in peace in his own land.

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[1] Epiphanius, Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ, ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καινεζεοῦ.

[2] Epiphanius attributes this prophecy to Habakkuk.

[3] Epiphanius, ἐξ ἀγροῦ Βηθοχήρ. A variant has Βιδζεχάρ.

Haggai returned from Babylon to Jerusalem when he was young. He prophesied that the people would return, and concerning the Messiah, that He would abrogate the sacrifices of the Jews. He died in peace.

Zechariah the son of Jehoiada returned from Babylon in his old age, and wrought wonders among the people. He died at a great age, and was buried by the side of the grave of Haggai.

Malachi was born after the return of the people, and because of his beauty he was surnamed 'Angel.' He died in peace in his own land. [ܟܝܢ]

The Jews stoned Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah in Egypt, because he rebuked them for worshipping idols; and the Egyptians buried him by the side of Pharaoh's palace. The Egyptians loved him much, because he prayed and the beasts died which used to come up from the river Nile and devour men. These beasts were called 'crocodiles[1].' When Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian, came (to Egypt), he made enquiries about his grave, and took and brought him to Alexandria. This (prophet) during his life said to the Egyptians, 'a child shall be born—that is the Messiah—of a virgin, and He shall be laid in a crib[2], and He will shake and cast down the idols.' From that time, and until Christ was born, the Egyptians used to set a virgin and a baby in a crib, and to worship him, because of what Jeremiah said to them, that He should be born in a crib.

Ezekiel the son of Buzi was of the priestly tribe, and from the land of Serîdâ[3]. The chief of the Jews who was in the land of the Chaldeans slew him, because he rebuked him for worshipping idols. He was buried in the grave of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.

Daniel (was) of the tribe of Judah, and was born in Upper Beth-Horon. He was a man who kept himself from women, and hence the Jews thought that he was an eunuch, for his face was different (from that of other men), and he had no children. He prayed for the Babylonians, and died in Elam, in the city of the Hôzâyê[1], and was buried in Shôshan the fortress. He prophesied concerning the return of the people.

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[1] Read ܩܪܘܩܘܕܝܠܘ, κροκόδειλοι.

[2] See Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, Ser. Gr.*, t. 43, col. 421; and the chapter on the going down of our Lord into Egypt.

[3] Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Σαρηρά.

Ahijah (was) from Shilo. A lion slew this prophet, and he was buried by the oak at Shilo in Samaria. [ܟܠܗ]

Ezra the scribe was from the country of Sâbthâ[2], and of the tribe of Judah. This (prophet) brought back the people, and died in peace in his own land.

Zechariah the son of Berachiah, the priest, was from Jerusalem. Joash the king slew this (prophet) between the steps[3] and the altar, and sprinkled his blood upon the horns of the altar, and the priests buried him. From that day God forsook the temple, and angels were never again seen in it.

Simon the son of Sîrâ (Sirach) died in peace in his own town.

Nathan died in peace.

Here ends the first part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee.'

To God be the glory, and may His mercy and compassion be upon us. Amen.

Again, by the Divine power, we write the second part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee,' regarding the Divine dispensation which was wrought in the new (covenant).

CHAPTER XXXIII[4].

OF THE MESSIANIC GENERATIONS[5].

GOD created Adam. Adam begat Seth. Seth begat Enos. Enos begat Ḳainân. Ḳainân begat Mahalaleel. Mahalaleel begat Jared.

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[1] In Arabic الأَهْوَاز *al-Aḥwâz*, now خوزستان *Khûzistân*.

[2] Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Συνβαθά.

[3] Bar Bahlûl (Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 343 *b*, col. 1) explains this word thus: ܡܣܩ̈ܢܘܬܐ, ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܣܪܘܫܘܝ. ܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܣܡܟܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܝ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܡܨܥܬܗܘܢ (sic) ܕܪ̈ܓܐ, i.e. 'according to Bar Sarôshwai they were two balustrades (or banisters), between which the steps were built.' Another lexicon, Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 159 *a*, col. 2, says: ܡܣܩ̈ܢܘܬܐ, المَصْطَبَة التى قُدّامَ بابِ المَذْبَح, 'the raised platform (or dais) which is before the door of the altar.'

[4] Chap. xxxvii in the Oxford MS.

[5] See Gen. v, Matt. i, and Luke iii. 23–38.

Jared begat Enoch. Enoch begat Methuselah. Methuselah begat Lamech. Lamech begat Noah. Noah begat Shem. Shem begat Arphaxar. Arphaxar begat Ḳainân. Ḳainân begat Shâlâch. Shâlâch begat Eber. Eber begat Peleg. Peleg begat Reu. Reu begat Serug. Serug begat Nahor. Nahor begat Terah. [ܦ] Terah begat Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac. Isaac begat Jacob. Jacob begat Judah. Judah took a Canaanitish wife, whose name was Shuah. And it was very grievous to Jacob, and he said to Judah, 'The God of my fathers will not allow the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our seed, nor his family with our family.' There were born to Judah by the Canaanitish woman three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er took Tamar, the daughter of Merari the son of Levi, to wife, and he lay with her in the Sodomite way and died without children. After him his brother Onan took her, to raise up seed to his brother; he also, when he lay with her, scattered his seed outside of her on the ground, and he too died without children. Because Shelah was a child, Judah kept his daughter-in-law in widowhood, that he might give her to Shelah to raise up seed by her. But Tamar went into her father-in-law by crafty devices, and lay with him, and conceived, and gave birth to twins, Pharez and Zarah. Pharez begat Hezron. Hezron begat Aram. Aram begat Amminadab. Amminadab begat Nahshon. Eleazar the son of Aaron, the priest, took the sister of Nahshon to wife, and by her begat Phinehas; and the seed of the priesthood was mingled with the royal line[1]. Nahshon begat Salmon. Salmon begat Boaz by Rahab. Boaz begat Obed by Ruth the Moabitess. Obed begat Jesse. Jesse begat David the king by Nahash.

[ܦܐ] Now two genealogies are handed down from David to Christ; the one from Solomon to Jacob[2], and the other from Nathan to Heli[3]. David begat Solomon. Solomon begat Rehoboam. Rehoboam begat Abijah. Abijah begat Asa. Asa begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat begat Joram. Joram begat Uzziah. Uzziah begat Jotham. Jotham begat Ahaz. Ahaz begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah begat Manasseh.

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[1] This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS., as well as several names from the genealogies.

[2] Matt. i. 6–16.

[3] Luke iii. 23–31.

Manasseh begat Amon. Amon begat Josiah. Josiah begat Jeconiah. Jeconiah begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zerubbabel. Zerubbabel begat Abiud. Abiud begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Azor. Azor begat Zadok. Zadok begat Achin. Achin begat Eliud. Eliud begat Eleazar. Eleazar begat Matthan. Matthan begat Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph.

Or again: David begat Nathan. Nathan begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Mani. Mani begat Melea. Melea begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Jonam. Jonam begat Levi[1]. Levi begat Mattîtha. Mattîtha begat Jorim. Jorim begat Eliezer. Eliezer begat Jose. Jose begat Er. Er begat Elmodad. Elmodad begat Cosam. Cosam begat Addi. Addi begat Melchi. Melchi begat Neri. Neri begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zorobabel. Zorobabel begat Rhesa. Rhesa begat Johannan. Johannan begat Juda. Juda begat Joseph. Joseph begat Semei. Semei begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Maath. Maath begat Nagge. [ܦܒ] Nagge begat Esli. Esli begat Nahum. Nahum begat Amos. Amos begat Mattîtha. Mattîtha begat Joseph. Joseph begat Janni. Janni begat Melchi. Melchi begat Levi. Levi begat Matthat. Matthat begat Heli. Heli begat Joseph.

Know too, O my brother, that Mattan the son of Eliezer—whose descent was from the family of Solomon—took a wife whose name was Astha (or Essetha) and by her begat Jacob naturally. Mattan died, and Melchi—whose family descended from Nathan the son of David—took her to wife, and begat by her Eli (or Heli); hence Jacob and Heli are brothers, (the sons) of (one) mother. Eli took a wife and died without children. Then Jacob took her to wife, to raise up seed to his brother, according to the command of the law; and he begat by her Joseph, who was the son of Jacob according to nature, but the son of Heli according to the law; so whichever ye choose, whether according to nature, or according to the law, Christ is found to be the son of David. It is moreover right to know that Eliezer begat two sons, Mattan and Jotham. Mattan begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph; Jotham begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Mary. From this it is clear that Joseph's father and Mary's father were cousins.

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[1] Joseph, Juda, and Simeon should follow here. See Luke iii. 29, 30.

CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE ANGEL TO YÔNÂKÎR (JOACHIM) IN RESPECT OF MARY.

THIS Zadok, who was called Yônâkîr, and Dinah his wife were righteous before God, and were rich in earthly riches [ܦܠܐ] and in goods and chattels; but they had neither fruit nor offspring like other people[2]. They were reproached by the people for their barrenness, and they did not allow them to offer up the offering except after every one else, because they had no children among the people of Israel. And Yônâkîr went out into the desert, and pitched his tent outside the encampment, and he prayed before God with mournful tears, and put on garments of mourning; so also did Dinah his wife. And God heard their prayers and accepted the sacrifices of their tears. The angel of God came to them, and announced to them the conception of Mary, saying, 'Your prayer has been heard before God, and behold, He will give you blessed fruit, a daughter who shall be a sign and a wonder among all the generations of the world; and all families shall be blessed through her.' Then they two praised God, and Zadok returned to his habitation. And Dinah his wife conceived, and brought forth Mary; and from that day she was called Hannah (Anna) instead of Dinah, for the Lord had had compassion upon her. Now the name 'Mary' (Maryam or Miriam) is interpreted 'lifted up,' 'exalted;' and they rejoiced in her exceedingly. And after six months her parents said to one another, 'We will not allow her to walk upon the ground[3];'

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[1] Chap. xxxviii in the Oxford MS.

[2] See William Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 8vo, London, 1820, Protevangelion and Mary; Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, p. 1; Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 3, 29, and 84 foll.; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 53 foll.; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiae, 1832, t. i, pp. 162 foll. For a list of other works on the Apocryphal Gospels, see Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, col. 962.

[3] Then her mother caught her up and said, 'As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk again on this earth till I bring thee into the temple of the Lord.' Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Mary, chap. vi. 2.

and they carried her with sacrifices and offerings, and brought her to the temple of the Lord. And they sacrificed oxen and sheep to the Lord, and offered Mary to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, saying, 'Blessed shalt thou be among women.' Two years after she was weaned, they brought her to the temple of the Lord, even as they had vowed to the Lord, and delivered her to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, and said to her [ܦܩܕ] that she should give herself over to the aged women who were there. And she was brought up with the virgins in the temple of the Lord, and performed the service of the temple with joyful heart and godly fervour until she was twelve years old. Because she was beautiful in appearance, the priests and the high priest took counsel and prayed before God that He would reveal to them what they should do with her[1]. And the angel of God appeared unto the high priest and said to him, 'Gather together the staves of the men who have been left widowers by their first wives, and are well known for piety, uprightness, and righteousness, and what God sheweth thee, do.' And they brought many staves and laid them down in the temple; and they prayed before God that day and its night. The chief priest went into the temple and gave to each of them his staff, and when Joseph took his staff in his hand, there went forth from it a white dove, and hovered over the top of the rod, and sat upon it. The chief priest drew near to Joseph and kissed him on his head, and said to him, 'The blessed maiden has fallen to thy lot from the Lord; take her to thee until she arrives at the age for marriage, and (then) make a marriage feast after the manner and custom of men; for it is meet for thee (to do so) more than others, because ye are cousins.' Joseph said to the chief priest, 'I am an old and feeble man, and this is a girl, and unfit for my aged condition; it is better to give her to one of her own age, because I cannot rely upon myself to watch her and guard her.' The chief priest said to him, 'Take heed that thou dost not transgress [ܦܣܥ] the command of God, and bring a punishment upon thee.' So Joseph took Mary, and went to his dwelling-place.

[2] Some days after the priests distributed various coloured silken

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[1] Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, chap. viii. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

threads to weave for the veil of the sanctuary; and it fell to Mary's lot to weave purple. And while she was in the temple in prayer, having placed incense before the Lord, suddenly the archangel Gabriel appeared to her in the form of a middle-aged man, and a sweet odour was diffused from him; and Mary was terrified at the sight of the angel.

CHAPTER XXXV[1].

OF THE ANNUNCIATION BY GABRIEL TO MARY OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LORD.

AT the ninth hour of the first day of the week, on the twenty-fifth of the month of Adar,—though some say on the first day of the month of Nisan, which is correct,—in the three hundred and seventh year of Alexander the son of Philip, or of Nectanebus[2], the Macedonian, six months after Elizabeth's conception of John, the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary and said to her, 'Peace be to thee, O full of grace! our Lord is with thee, O blessed among women!' As for her, when she saw (him), she was terrified at his words, and was thinking what this salutation was. The angel said to her, 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive [ܒܗ] and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, "our God is with us." This (child) shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.' Mary said to the angel, 'Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to thy word.' And the angel went away from her. In those days Mary arose, and went to Elizabeth her cousin, and she went in and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard Mary's salutation, the babe leaped in her womb, and John in Elizabeth's womb bowed down to our Lord in Mary's womb, as a servant to his master. Mary remained with Elizabeth about three months, and then returned to her house. After the lapse of six months, Joseph saw that Mary had conceived, and he was troubled in his mind, and said, 'What answer shall I give to the high priest in respect of this trial which has befallen me?' And because he relied upon the purity of his spouse, he fell into perplexity and doubt, and said to her, 'Whence hast thou this? and who has beguiled thee, O perfect dove? Wast thou not brought up with the pure virgins and venerable matrons in the temple of the Lord?' And she wept, saying, 'As the Lord God liveth, I have never known man nor had connexion with any one;' but she did not speak to him of the angel and the cause of her conception. Then Joseph meditated within himself and said, 'If I reveal this matter before men, I fear lest it may be from God; and if I keep it back and hide it, I fear the rebuke and penalty of the law.' For the Jews did not approach their wives until they made [ܦܐ] a feast to the high priest, and then they took them. And Joseph thought that he would put her away secretly; and while he was pondering these things in his heart, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife; for that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit.' He spake well when he said 'in her,' and not 'of her.'

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[1] Chap. xxxix in the Oxford MS.

[2] In the MS. *Niḳṭîbûs.*

And the priests heard of Mary's conception, and they made an accusation against Joseph, as if deceit had been found in him. Joseph said, 'As the Lord liveth, I know not the cause of her conception;' and Mary likewise swore this. There was a custom among the Jews that, when any one of them was accused with an accusation, they made him drink 'the water of trial[1];' if he were innocent, he was not hurt, but if he were guilty, his belly swelled, and his body became swollen, and the mark of chastisement appeared in him. When they had made Mary and Joseph drink of the water of trial, and they were not hurt, the high priest commanded Joseph to guard her diligently until they saw the end of this matter[2].

CHAPTER XXXVI[3].

OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD IN THE FLESH.

ONE year before the annunciation of our Lord, the emperor of the Romans sent to the land of Palestine Cyrinus[4] the governor, to write down every one for the poll-tax, for the Jews were subject to the empire of the Romans; and every man was written down in his city. And [ܦܘ] Joseph the carpenter also went up that he might be written down in his city; and by reason of his exceeding great watchfulness for the blessed (Mary), he took her with him upon an ass. When they had gone about three miles, Joseph looked at her and saw that her hand was laid upon her belly, and that her face was contracted with pain; and he thought that she was troubled by the beast, and asked her about her trouble and pain. She said to him, 'Hasten and prepare a place for me to alight, for the pains of childbirth have taken hold upon me.' When he had lifted her down from the animal, he went to fetch a midwife, and found a Hebrew woman whose name was Salome[1]. The heretics say that she was called Ḥadyôk, but they err from the truth. When Joseph came to the cave, he found it full of brilliant light, and the child wrapped in swaddling clothes and rags, and laid in a crib. And there were shepherds there keeping watch over their flocks, and behold the angel of God came to them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they feared with an exceeding great fear. The angel said to them, 'Fear not, for behold, I announce to you a great joy which shall be to all the world; for there is born to you this day a Redeemer, who is the Lord Jesus, in the city [ܦܙ] of David: and this shall be the sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a crib.' And suddenly with the angel there appeared many hosts of heaven, praising God and saying, 'Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace and tranquillity and good hope to men.' And the shepherds went and entered the cave, and they saw as the angel had said to them. The names of the shepherds were these: Asher, Zebulon, Justus, Nicodemus, Joseph, Barshabba, and Jose; seven in number.

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[1] Num. v. 18.

[2] See Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Protevangelion, chap. xi; Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 48; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, p. 372; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 72.

[3] Chap. xl in the Oxford MS.

[4] Luke ii. 1–2. The name is written in the MSS. of 'the Bee' Κυρῖνος = Quirinus.

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[1] The extract from the History of the Virgin runs as follows: 'When they drew near to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph, "The day of giving birth has come, and the birth-pains will not allow me to reach the city; let us enter this cave, for my womb ......" When she had gone into the cave, Joseph ran to call a woman to be with her. And lo, while he was running, there met him an old Samaritan woman, who was travelling from Jerusalem to go to Bethlehem. Joseph said to her, "Come, O blessed matron, and go into this cave, where there is a woman giving birth to a child." When the old woman came, Joseph was mixing for her ......, and they had nothing in the cave. When they went in they saw,' etc. Some words seem to have been omitted in the MS. after ܡܚܒܠܢ in the third line. I do not know the meaning of ܡܣܡܣܐ. See Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 51; the notes in Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 377; and Wright, *Contrib. to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, pp. 2 and 3. In the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew *two* midwives are mentioned, Zelomi and Salome; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 75.

CHAPTER XXXVII[1].

THE PROPHECY OF ZÂRÂDÔSHT CONCERNING OUR LORD.

THIS Zârâdôsht is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glôshâ of Ḥôrîn, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gûshnâsâph[2] and Sâsân and Mahîmad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together[3] to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; [ܟ] then he will come with the armies of light, and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gûshnâsâph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zârâdôsht says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam, and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies[1] concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime. [ܢܐ]

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xli.

[2] Or rather, *Gushnasp*.

[3] Or, according to another reading, *shall strive with one another*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII[2].

OF THE STAR WHICH APPEARED IN THE EAST ON THE DAY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD.

SOME say that that star appeared to the Magi simultaneously with the birth of our Lord. As for Herod's commanding that all children from two years old and downwards should be slain, it is not as if they required all that length of time for their journey, but they had some accidental delay either in their own country or on the road. Again, Herod did not command that the children should be slain immediately after his having met the Magi, but much time passed in the interval, because he was waiting to hear from them.

The holy Mâr John Chrysostom, in his exposition of Matthew, says,

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[1] See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Theil ii, pp. 439, 440, and 905.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlii.

'The star appeared a long time before[1], for their journey was accomplished with great delay that they might come to the end of it on the day of our Lord's birth. It was meet that He should be worshipped in swaddling bands, that the greatness of the wonder might be recognised; therefore the star appeared to them a long time before. For if the star had appeared to them in the east when He was born in Palestine, they would not have been able to see Him in swaddling bands. Marvel not, if Herod slew the children from two years and downwards, for wrath and fear urged him to increased watchfulness; therefore he added more time than was needful, that no one should be able to escape.'

As touching the nature of that star, whether it was a star in its nature, or in appearance only, it is right to know that it was not of the other stars, but a secret power which appeared like a star; for all the other stars that are [ܓܒ̣] in the firmament, and the sun and moon, perform their course from east to west. This one, however, made its course from north to south, for Palestine lies thus, over against Persia. This star was not seen by them at night only, but also during the day, and at noon; and it was seen at the time when the sun is particularly strong, because it was not one of the stars[2]. Now the moon is stronger in its light than all the stars, but it is immediately quenched and its light dissipated by one small ray of the sun. But this star overcame even the beams of the sun by the intensity of its light. Sometimes it appeared, and sometimes it was hidden entirely. It guided the Magi as far as Palestine. When they drew near to Jerusalem, it was hidden; and when they went forth from Herod, and began to journey along the road, it appeared and shewed itself. This was not an ordinary movement of the stars, but a rational power. Moreover, it had no fixed path, but when the Magi travelled, it travelled on also, and when they halted, it also halted; like the pillar of cloud which stopped and went forward when it was convenient for the camp of Israel. The star did not remain always up in the height of heaven, but sometimes it came down and sometimes it mounted up; and it also stood over the head of the Child, as the Evangelist tells us. [ܫܠ]

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[1] *Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου δοκεῖ μοι ὁ ἀστὴρ φανῆται.* See Migne's edit., vol. vii, col. 76. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܠܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ. ܚܙܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܘܟܒܐ ܒܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܕܢܗܝܪ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ. ܘܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܛܥܝܢܐ ܒܗ ܛܠܝܐ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܣܝܡ ܬܓܐ ܒܪܫܗ. 'Two years before Christ was born, a star appeared to the Magi; they saw a star in the firmament of heaven which shone with a light greater than that of any other star. Within it was a maiden carrying a child with a crown upon his head.' Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 40 *a*, col. 1. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 56. Another legend says that the star was in the shape of an eagle having within it the form of a young child, and above him the sign of the cross. Sandys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1833, p. lxxxiii foll.

[2] Read ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ.

CHAPTER XXXIX[1].

OF THE COMING OF THE MAGI FROM PERSIA.

WHEN Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judah, and the star appeared to the Magi in the east, twelve Persian kings took offerings—gold and myrrh and frankincense—and came to worship Him. Their names are these: Zarwândâd the son of Artabân[2], and Hôrmîzdâd the son of Sîṭârûḳ (Sanṭarôḳ), Gûshnâsâph (Gushnasp) the son of Gûndaphar, and Arshakh the son of Mîhârôḳ; these four brought gold. Zarwândâd the son of Warzwâd, Îryâhô the son of Kesrô (Khosrau), Arṭaḥshisht the son of Ḥolîtî, Ashtôn'âbôdan the son of Shîshrôn; these four brought myrrh. Mêhârôḳ the son of Ḥûhâm, Aḥshîresh the son of

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xliii.

[2] The *Cave of Treasures* (Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 40 *b*, col. 2; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 57) gives the names of three kings only: ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ ܕܡܚܘܙܕܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ. ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܬܡܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܕܘܪܓܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܬܚܬ. ܘܐܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܣܒܐ. ܘܦܝܪܘܙܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܒܐ. ܗܢ ܕܒܡܕܢܚܐ. 'Hôrmîzdâd of Mâkhôzdî, the king of Persia, who was called "king of kings" and dwelt in lower Adhôrgîn; and Izdegerd the king of Sâbâ, and Pêrôzâd the king of Shabâ in the East.' In the Prophecy of Daniel the Prophet (Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 70 *b*, col. 2) the names of twelve kings are given in the following order: ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܐܪܛܒܢ. ܘܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ ܒܪ ܣܝܛܪܘܩ. ܘܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܒܪ ܓܘܢܕܦܪ. ܘܐܪܫܟ ܒܪ ܡܝܗܪܘܩ. ܘܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܘܪܙܘܐܕ. ܘܐܝܪܝܗܘ ܒܪ ܟܣܪܘ. ܘܐܪܛܚܫܝܫܬ ܒܪ ܚܘܠܝܛܝ. ܘܐܫܬܘܢܥܒܘܕܢ ܒܪ ܫܝܫܪܘܢ. ܘܡܝܗܪܘܩ ܒܪ ܚܘܗܐܡ. ܘܐܚܫܝܪܫ ܒܪ ܚܣܒܢ. ܘܣܪܕܠܚ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ. ܘܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ.

Haṣbân, Ṣardâlâḥ the son of Baladân, Merôdâch the son of Beldarân; these four brought frankincense. Some say that the offerings which the Magi brought and offered to our Lord had been laid in the Cave of Treasures by Adam[1]; and Adam commanded Seth to hand them down from one to another until our Lord rose, and they brought (them), and offered (them) to Him. But this is not received by the Church. When the Magi came to Jerusalem, the whole city was moved; and Herod the king heard it and was moved. And he gathered together the chief priests and the scribes of the people, and enquired about the place in which Christ should be born; and they told him, in Bethlehem of Judah, [ܦܕ] for so it is written in the prophet[2]. Then Herod called the Magi, and flattered them, and commanded them to seek out the Child diligently, and when they had found Him to tell Herod, that he also might go and worship Him. When the Magi went forth from Herod, and journeyed along the road, the star rose again suddenly, and guided them until it came and stood over (the place) where the Child was. And when they entered the cave, and saw the Child with Mary His mother, they straightway fell down and worshipped Him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto Him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Gold for His kingship, and myrrh for His burial, and frankincense for His Godhead. And it was revealed to them in a dream that they should not return to Herod, and they went to their land by another way. Some say that the Magi took some of our Lord's swaddling bands with them as a blessed thing[3].

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[1] The Oxford MS. adds: 'They were laid in the ark, and afterwards in the land of Persia.'

[2] Micah v. 2.

[3] See Hone, *Protevangelion,* Infancy, chap. iii. 4–10. The passage from the History of the Virgin Mary, given in the notes, is as follows: 'And Mary took one of the swaddling bands of Jesus, and gave it to the Persian Magi, and they received it from her in faith as a sublime gift . . . . . . They held a Magian feast, and made a huge fire, and cast the swaddling band into the fire, which they worshipped; and the swaddling band became like fire, and quenched that fire. Then they brought it out from the fire when it was like snow, even purer than at first. And they took it and kissed it and laid it upon their eyes, saying, "Verily without doubt this is the God of gods, for the fire of our god was not able to burn it or injure it." And they took it with faith and great honour.'

Then Longinus the sage wrote to Augustus Caesar and said to him, 'Magians, kings of Persia, have come and entered thy kingdom, and have offered offerings [ܓܗ] to a child who is born in Judah; but who he is, and whose son he is, is not known to us.' Augustus Caesar wrote to Longinus, saying, 'Thou hast acted wisely in that thou hast made known to us (these things) and hast not hidden (them) from us.' He wrote also to Herod, and asked him to let him know the story of the Child. When Herod had made enquiries about the Child, and saw that he had been mocked by the Magi, he was wroth, and sent and slew all the children in Bethlehem and its borders, from two years old and downwards, according to the time which he had enquired of the Magi. The number of the children whom he slew was two thousand, but some say one thousand eight hundred. When John[1] the son of Zechariah was sought for, his father took him and brought him before the altar; and he laid his hand upon him, and bestowed on him the priesthood, and then brought him out into the wilderness. When they could not find John, they slew Zechariah his father between the steps[2] and the altar. They say that from the day when Zechariah was slain his blood bubbled up until Titus the son of Vespasian came and slew three hundred myriads of Jerusalem, and then the flow of blood ceased[3]. The father of the child Nathaniel also took him, and wrapped him round, and laid him under a fig-tree; and he was saved from slaughter. Hence our Lord said to Nathaniel, 'Before Philip called thee, I saw thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree.'

CHAPTER XL[4].

OF OUR LORD'S GOING DOWN INTO EGYPT[5].

When the Magi had returned to their country, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, [ܥܘ] and flee to Egypt; and stay there until I tell thee.' So Joseph arose and took the Child and His mother by night, and fled to Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod. When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, that of the other Dûmâchos (?). Dûmâchos wished to harm them and to treat them evilly, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion. When they reached the gate of the city called Hermopolis[1], there were by the two buttresses of the gate two figures of brass, that had been made by the sages and philosophers; and they spoke like men. When our Lord and His mother and Joseph entered Egypt, that is to say that city, these two figures cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'A great king has come into Egypt[2].' When the king of Egypt heard this, he was troubled and moved; for he feared lest his kingdom should be taken away from him. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim throughout the whole city, 'If any man knoweth (who He is), let him point (Him) out to us without delay.' When they had made much search and did not find Him, the king commanded all the inhabitants of the city to go outside and come in one by one. When our Lord entered, these two figures cried out, 'This is the king.' And when our Lord was revealed, Pharaoh sought to slay Him. Now Lazarus—whom Christ raised from the dead—was there, and was one of the king's officials, and held in much esteem by the lord of Egypt. He drew near to Joseph and asked them, [ܥܙ] 'Whence are ye?' They said to him, 'From the land of Palestine.' When he heard that they were from the land of Palestine, he was sorry for them, and came to the king and pledged himself for the Child. And he said to the king, 'O king, live for ever! If deceit be found in this Child, behold, I am before thee, do unto me according to thy will.' This is the (cause) of the love between Lazarus and Christ. One day when Mary was washing the swaddling bands of our Lord, she poured out the water used in washing in a certain place, and there grew up there apûrsam[1] (that is to say balsam) trees, a species of tree not found anywhere else save in this spot in Egypt. Its oil has (divers) properties; if a man dips iron into it, and brings (the iron) near a fire, it shines like wax; if some of it is thrown upon water, it sinks to the bottom; and if a drop of it is dropped upon the hollow of a man's hand, it goes through to the other side. Our Lord remained two years in Egypt, until Herod had died an evil death. He died in this manner. First of all he slew his wife and his daughter, and he killed one man of every family, saying, 'At the time of my death there shall be mourning and weeping and lamentation in the whole city.' His bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and matter flowed from them, and he was consumed by worms. He had nine wives and thirteen children. And he commanded his sister Salome and her husband, saying, 'I know that the Jews will hold a great festival on the day of my death; when they are gathered together [ܟܢܫ] with the weepers and mourners, slay them, and let them not live after my death.' There was a knife in his hand, and he was eating an apple; and by reason of the severity of his pain, he drew the knife across his throat, and cut it with his own hand; and his belly burst open[2], and he died and went to perdition. After the death of Herod who slew the children, his son Herod Archelaus reigned, who cut off the head of John. And the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in Egypt and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who sought the life of the Child are dead.' So Joseph took the Child and His mother, and came to Galilee; and they dwelt in the city of Nazareth, that what was said in the prophecy might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.' In the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus the kingdom of the Jews was divided into four parts. To Philip (were assigned) two parts, Ituraea and Trachonitis; to Lysanias one part, which was Abilene; and to

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[1] See Hone, *Protevangelion*, chap. xvi. 9–28; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 45; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 24; Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.*, p. 265; Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, p. 5.

[2] ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ = *κατάστρωμα*. See above, p. 73, note 3.

[3] See *Taanîth*, fol. 69, Tal. Jer., and *Sanhedrîm*, fol. 96, Tal. Babli.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xliv.

[5] Matt. chap. ii.

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[1] In the Thebaïd. For the opinions of the ancient writers on this subject see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.*, i. 8.

[2] When Christ entered Egypt, all the idols fell down and were broken. See Fabricius, *Evangel. Infantiae*, p. 175; Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, vol. xxiv, p. 926; Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 399; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 63.

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[1] See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 73, no. 53.

[2] The marginal note in A, fol. 66 *b*, reads: 'Know, O my brother readers, that in the copy of Murâd the priest ܐܬܦܪܩ is written; but I say that ܐܬܦܪܬܬ ܟܪܣܗ is correct. Say, my brethren, which is correct.'

Herod the younger the fourth part. And Herod loved Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.

CHAPTER XLI[1].

OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND OF THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD[2].

JOHN the Baptist lived thirty years in the desert with the wild beasts; and after thirty years he came from the wilderness to the habitations of men. [ܠܒ] From the day when his father made him flee to the desert, when he was a child, until he came (again), he covered himself with the same clothes both summer and winter, without changing his ascetic mode of life. And he preached in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, 'Repent, the kingdom of God draweth nigh;' and he baptised them with the baptism of repentance for the remission of their sins. He said to them, 'Behold, there cometh after me a man who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. I baptise you with water for repentance, but He who cometh after me is stronger than I; He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire:' thereby referring to that which was about to be wrought on the apostles, who received the Holy Spirit by tongues of fire, and this took the place of baptism to them, and by this grace they were about to receive all those who were baptised in Christ. Jesus came to John at the river Jordan to be baptised by him; but John restrained Him, saying, 'I need to be baptised by Thee, and art Thou come to me?' Jesus said to him, 'It is meet thus to fulfil the words of prophecy.' When Jesus had been baptised, as soon as He had gone up from the water, He saw that the heavens were rent, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon Him, and a voice from heaven said, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' On this day the Trinity was revealed to men; by the Father who cried out, and by the Son who was baptised, and by the Holy Spirit which came down [ܡ] upon Him in the corporeal form of a dove. Touching the voice which was heard from heaven, saying, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him,' every one heard the voice; but John only was worthy to see the vision of the Spirit by the mind. The day of our Lord's birth was the fourth day of the week, but the day of His baptism was the fifth. When John rebuked Herod, saying that it was not lawful for him to take his brother Philip's wife, he seized John, and cast him into the prison called Machaerûs[1]. And it came to pass on a certain day, when Herod on his birthday made a feast for his nobles, that Bôzîyâ, the daughter of Herodias, came in and danced before the guests; and she was pleasing in the sight of Herod and his nobles. And he said to her, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou desirest and I will give it to thee;' and he sware to her saying that whatever she asked he would give it to her, unto the half of his kingdom. She then went in to Herodias her mother and said to her, 'What shall I ask of him?' She said to her, 'The head of John the Baptist;' for the wretched woman thought that when John should be slain, she and her daughter would be free from the reprover, and would have an opportunity to indulge their lust: for Herod committed adultery with the mother and with her daughter. Then she went in to the king's presence and said to him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist on a charger.' And the king shewed sorrow, as if, forsooth, he was not delighted at the murder of the saint; but by reason of the force and compulsion of the oath he was obliged to cut off John's head. If, O wretched Herod, [ܡܐ] she had demanded of thee the half of thy kingdom, that she might sit upon the throne beside thee and divide (it) with thee, wouldst thou have acceded to her, and not have falsified thy oath, O crafty one? And the king commanded an executioner, and he cut off the head of the blessed man, and he put it in a charger and brought and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother. Then she went out to dance upon the ice, and it opened under her, and she sank into the water up to her neck; and no one was able to deliver her. And they brought the sword with which John's head had been cut off, and cut off hers and carried it to Herodias her mother. When she saw her daughter's head and that of the holy man, she became blind, and her right hand, with which she had taken up John's head, dried up; and her tongue dried up, because she had reviled him, and Satan entered into her, and she was bound with fetters. Some say that the daughter of Herodias was called Bôzîyâ, but others say that she also was called by her mother's name Herodias. When John was slain, his disciples came and took his body and laid him in a grave; and they came and told Jesus. The two disciples whom John sent to our Lord, saying, 'Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another[1],' were Stephen the martyr and deacon, and Ḥananyah (Ananias) who baptised Paul. Some say that the wild honey and locusts, which he fed upon in the wilderness, was [ܡܒ] manna,—which was the food of the children of Israel, and of which Enoch and Elijah eat in Paradise,—for its taste is like that of honey. Moses compares it to coriander seed[2], and the anchorites in the mountains feed upon it. Others say that it was a root like unto a carrot[3]; it is called Ḳâmûṣ, and its taste is sweet like honey-comb. Others say that the locusts were in reality some of those which exist in the world, and that the honey-comb was that which is woven by the little bees, and is found in small white cakes in desert places.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlv.

[2] Matt. chap. iii.

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[1] Μαχαιροῦς, a fortress situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. 5. 2.

CHAPTER XLII[4].

OF OUR LORD'S FAST; OF THE STRIFE WHICH HE WAGED WITH THE DEVIL[5]; AND OF THE MIGHTY DEEDS THAT HE WROUGHT.

TWO days after His baptism, He chose eight of the twelve disciples; and on the third day He changed the water into wine in the city of Cana. After He went forth from the wilderness, He completed the number of the twelve, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel and according to the number of the months. After the twelve disciples, He chose seventy and two, according to the number of the seventy-two elders. When He went out to the desert after He had changed the water into wine, He fasted forty days and forty nights.

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[1] Matt. xi. 3.

[2] See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 209, no. 155.

[3] Σταφυλῖνος, explained by ܓܙܪܐ, i. e. Arab. جَزَر, Pers. گَزَر. See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 86, no. 64.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlvi.

[5] Matt. chap. iv.

Some say that our Lord and the devil were waging war with one another for forty days; others say that the three contests took place in one day. After He had conquered the devil by the power of His Godhead, and had given us power to conquer him, He began to teach the nations. He wrought miracles, [ܡܐ] healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, opened the eyes of the blind, made the lame walk, made cripples stand, gave hearing to the deaf, and speech of tongue to the dumb. He satisfied five thousand with five loaves, and there remained twelve basketfuls; and with seven loaves and two fishes He satisfied four thousand (men), besides women and children, and there remained seven basketfuls. And some writers say that our Lord satisfied forty thousand men and women and children with five loaves. He walked upon the water and the sea as upon dry land. He rebuked the sea when it was disturbed, and it ceased from its disturbance. He raised up four dead; the daughter of Jairus, the widow's son, the servant of the centurion, and His friend Lazarus after (he had been dead) four days. He subjected Himself to the ancient law of Moses, that it might not be thought He was opposed to the divine commandments; and when the time came for Him to suffer, and to draw nigh to death that He might make us live by His death, and to slay sin in His flesh, and to fulfil the prophecies concerning Him, first of all He kept the Passover of the law; He dissolved the old covenant, and then He laid the foundation for the new law by His own Passover.

CHAPTER XLIII[1].

OF THE PASSOVER OF OUR LORD[2].

WHEN the time of the Passover came, He sent two of His disciples to a man with whom they were not acquainted, saying, 'When ye enter [ܡܕ] the city, behold, there will meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water; follow him, and wheresoever he entereth, say ye to the master of the house, "Our Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the Passover with My disciples?" and behold, he will shew you a large upper chamber made ready and prepared; there make ye ready for us.' And because at that time crowds of people were flocking thickly into Jerusalem to keep the feast of the Passover, so that all the houses of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with people by reason of the great crowd which was resorting thither, our Lord, by the power of His Godhead, worked upon the master of the house to make ready a large upper chamber without his being aware for whom he was preparing it, but he thought that perhaps some great man among the nobles and grandees of the Jews was about to come to him, and that it was right to keep a room for him furnished with all things (needful); because all those who came from other places to Jerusalem were received into their houses by the people of the city, and whatsoever they required for the use of the feast of the Passover they supplied. Hence the master of the house made ready that upper chamber with all things (needful), and permitted no man to enter therein, being restrained by the power of our Lord. Because a mystical thing was about to be done in it, it was not meet for Him to perform the hidden mystery when others were near. [ܒܫ] Mâr Basil says: 'On the eve of the Passion, after the disciples had received the body and blood of our Lord, He poured water into a basin and began to wash the feet of His disciples; this was baptism to the apostles. They were not all made perfect, because they were not all pure, for Judas, the son of perdition, was not sanctified[1]; and because that basin of washing was in truth baptism, as our Lord said to Simon Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me," that is to say, "If I baptise thee not, thou art not able to enter into the kingdom of heaven." Therefore, every one who is not baptised by the priests, and receives not the body and blood of Christ our Lord, enters not into the kingdom of heaven.' Mâr Dâd-îshôʿ says in his commentary on Abbâ Isaiah[2]: 'When our Lord at the Passover had washed the feet of His disciples, He kissed the knees of Judas, and wiped the soles of his feet with the napkin which was girt round His loins, like a common slave; for everything which our Lord did, He did for our teaching.' Mâr Basil in his 'Questions' advises Christians to eat oil, drink wine, and break their fast on this evening; for in it was the old covenant finished, and the new one inaugurated; and in it was the (chosen) people stripped of holiness, and the nations were sanctified and pardoned. Although this saint permits (this), yet the other fathers do not give leave (to do) this, neither do we, nor those of our confession. [ܦܘ]

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlvii.

[2] Matt. chap. xxvi.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. this chapter ends here.

[2] Isaiah of Scêtê. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 99; Wright's *Catal.*, p. 458 sqq., p. 868, col. 2.

CHAPTER XLIV[1].

OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD.

THREE years and three months after His baptism, Judas Iscariot the son of Simon betrayed his Lord to death. He was called Iscariot (Sĕkhariôṭâ) from the name of his town (Sĕkhariôṭ), and he had the sixth place among the disciples before he betrayed our Lord. Our Lord was crucified at the third hour of Friday, the ninth of Nisan. Caiaphas, who condemned our Lord, is Josephus. The name of Bar-Abbâ was Jesus[2]. The name of the soldier who pierced our Lord with the spear, and spat in His face, and smote Him on His cheek, was Longinus; it was he who lay upon a sick bed for thirty-eight years, and our Lord healed him, and said to him, 'Behold, thou art healed; sin no more, lest something worse than the first befall thee[3].' The watchers at the grave were five, and these are their names: Issachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas and Simon; but others say they were fifteen, three centurions and their Roman and Jewish soldiers. Some men have a tradition that the stone which was laid upon the grave of our Lord was the stone which poured out water for the children of Israel in the wilderness. The grave in which our Redeemer was laid was prepared for Joshua the son of Nun, and was carefully guarded by the Divine will for the burial of our Lord. The purple which they put on our Lord mockingly, [ܦܙ] was given in a present to the Maccabees by the emperors of the Greeks; and they handed it over to the priests for dressing the temple[1]. The priests took it and brought it to Pilate, testifying and saying, 'See the purple which He prepared when He thought to become king.' The garment which the soldiers divided into four parts indicates the passibility of His body. The robe without seam at the upper end which was not rent, is the mystery of the Godhead which cannot admit suffering. As touching the blood and water which came forth from His side[2], John the son of Zebedee was deemed worthy to see that vivifying flow from the life-giving fountain. Mâr John Chrysostom says: 'When His side was rent by the soldiers with the spear, there came forth immediately water and blood. The water is a type of baptism, and the blood is the mystery of His precious blood, for baptism was given first, and then the cup of redemption. But in the gospel it is written, "There went forth blood and water[3]."' As to the tree upon which our Redeemer was crucified, some have said that He was crucified upon those bars with which they carried the ark of the covenant; and others that it was upon the wood of the tree on which Abraham offered up the ram as an offering instead of Isaac. His hands were nailed upon the wood of the fig-tree of which Adam ate, and behold, we have mentioned its history with that of Moses' rod. The thirty pieces of silver (zûzê) which Judas received, and for which he sold his Lord, were thirty pieces according to the weight of the sanctuary, and were equal to six hundred pieces according to the weight of our country[4]. [ܦܣܩ] Terah[5] made these pieces for Abraham his son; Abraham gave them to Isaac; Isaac bought a village with them; the owner of the village carried them to Pharaoh; Pharaoh sent them to Solomon the son of

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlviii.

[2] The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

[3] John v. 14. The Oxford MS. adds passages from Isaiah, Zechariah and the Psalms, and after these our Lord's statement that He would rise again and restore the temple in three days.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. the purple is said to have been made for Hiram, king of Tyre, who sent it to Solomon, and he placed it in the Sanctuary.

[2] In the Oxford MS. a long account of the baptism of Adam is introduced here.

[3] John xix. 34. See Chrysostom's *Homilies on St. John's Gospel*, ed. Migne, vol. viii, col. 465, lines 24–30.

[4] ܙܘܙܐ = Arab. دِرْهَم, Gr. *δραχμή*.

[5] Melchior, one of the Persian Magi, offered to Christ thirty pieces of gold, which had been coined by Terah the father of Abraham. Joseph paid them into the treasury of Sheba for spices to embalm Jacob, and the queen of Sheba gave them to Solomon. Sandys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1883, p. lxxxiii foll.

David for the building of his temple; and Solomon took them and placed them round about the door of the altar. When Nebuchadnezzar came and took captive the children of Israel, and went into Solomon's temple and saw that these pieces were beautiful, he took them, and brought them to Babylon with the captives of the children of Israel. There were some Persian youths there as hostages, and when Nebuchadnezzar came from Jerusalem, they sent to him everything that was meet for kings and rulers. And since gifts and presents had been sent by the Persians, he released their sons and gave them gifts and presents, among which were those pieces of silver about which we have spoken; and they carried them to their parents. When Christ was born and they saw the star, they arose and took those pieces of silver and gold and myrrh and frankincense, and set out on the journey; and they came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and these kings fell asleep by the roadside. And they arose and left the pieces behind them, and did not remember them, but forgot that anything of theirs remained behind. And certain merchants came and found them, and took these pieces, and came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and sat down by a well of water. On that very day an angel came to the shepherds, and gave them the garment without seam [ܦܠ] at the upper end, woven throughout. And he said to them, 'Take this garment, in which is the life of mankind.' And the shepherds took the garment, and came to the well of water by the side of which were those merchants. They said to them, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end; will ye buy it?' The merchants said to them, 'Bring it here.' When they saw the garment, they marvelled and said to the shepherds: 'We have thirty pieces of silver which are meet for kings; take them and give us this garment.' When the merchants had taken the garment, and had gone into the city of Edessa, Abgar the king sent to them and said, 'Have ye anything meet for kings, that I may buy it from you?' The merchants said to him, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end.' When the king saw the garment, he said to them, 'Whence have ye this garment?' They said to him, 'We came to a well by the gate of thy city, and we saw it in the hands of some shepherds, and we bought it from them for thirty pieces of stamped silver, which were also meet for kings like thyself.' The king sent for the shepherds, and took the pieces from them, and sent them together with the garment to Christ for the good that He had done him in healing his sickness. When Christ saw the garment and the pieces, He kept the garment by Him, but He sent the pieces to the Jewish treasury. When Judas Iscariot came to the chief priests and said to them, 'What will ye give me that I may deliver Him to you?' [ܗܝܕܝܢ] the priests arose and brought those pieces, and gave them to Judas Iscariot; and when he repented, he returned them to the Jews, and went and hanged himself. And the priests took them and bought with them a field for a burial-place for strangers.

[1] Of Joseph the senator (βουλευτής), and why he was thus called. The senators were a class very much honoured in the land of the Romans; and if it happened that no one could be found of the royal lineage, they made a king from among this class. If one of them committed an offence, they used to beat his horse with white woollen gloves instead of him. This Joseph was not a senator by birth, but he purchased the dignity, and enrolled himself among the Roman senate, and was called Senator[2].

[3] As for the committal of Mary to John the son of Zebedee by our Lord, He said to her, 'Woman, behold thy son;' and to John He said, 'Behold thy mother;' and from that hour he took her into his house and ministered unto her. Mary lived twelve years[4] after our Lord's Ascension: the sum of the years which she lived in the world was fifty-eight years, but others say sixty-one years[5]. She was not buried on

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlix begins here, fol. 176 *a*.

[2] The Oxford MS. here gives an account of the taking down of our Lord from the cross, and of His burial by Joseph.

[3] In the Oxford MS. a new chapter begins here, fol. 177 *a*.

[4] According to the Oxford MS., 13 years.

[5] So also in the Oxford MS.; but in the *History of the Virgin*, MS. A, fol. 157 *b*, we read: ܘܥܢܝܕܬ ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܚ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܢܝܬ ܒܪ [read ܒܪܬ] ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܚܡܫܝܢ ܗܘܝ̈. ܘܚܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ [ܠܟܠܗܝܢ] ܘܠܟܠܗ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܚܝܬ ܒܬܪ ܐܣܩܘܬܐ ܫܬܥܣܪ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܗܘܘ ܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܝܗ ܟܠܗ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. 'And the blessed Mary departed this life in the year of Alexander three hundred and ninety-four (i. e.

earth, but the angels carried her to Paradise, and angels bore her bier. On the day of her death all the apostles were gathered together, and they prayed over her and were blessed by her[1]. Thomas was in India, and an angel took him up and brought him, and he found the angels carrying her bier through the air; and they brought it nigh to Thomas, and he also prayed and [ܦܢܐ] was blessed by her.

A. D. 82–3). At the Annunciation she was thirty years old, and she lived also the [thirty]-three years of the Dispensation; and after the Crucifixion she lived fifty-eight years. The years which she lived were one hundred and twenty-one.'

[1] In the *History of the Virgin*, fol. 156 *a*, we read as follows: ܘܡܪܝܡ ܦܫܬ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܟܕ ܟܪܝܐ ܠܗ̇ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܫܢܗ̇ ܕܡܢ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܪܚܝܩܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ̇. ܨܠܝܬ ܘܣܡܬ ܒܣܡܐ ܥܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܐܪܝܡܬ ܥܝܢܝ̈ܗ̇ ܘܦܫܛܬ ܐܝܕܝ̈ܗ̇ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ. ܫܡܥ ܒܩܠܗ̇ ܕܐܡܬܟ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܝ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܪܚܡܟ ܥܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܚܒܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܚܙܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܬܒܝܐ ܒܚܙܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܘܬܝ. ܘܐܫܒܚ ܘܐܣܓܘܕ ܠܛܝܒܘܬܟ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܕܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܥܬܝܕܐ ܕܬܫܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ. ܘܩܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܕܡܝܟܝܗܘܢ ܕܒܨܦܪܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬܗ̇ ܒܥܕܢ ܨܦܪܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܒܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܫܐܠܘ ܒܫܠܡܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܚܕܕܐ. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ̇. 'And Mary remained in Jerusalem, and grieved because of her separation from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the absence of the apostles from her. And she prayed and cast frankincense into the fire, and lifted up her eyes and spread out her hands to heaven, and said, "O Christ, the Son of the living God, hearken unto the voice of Thy handmaiden, and send unto me Thy friend John the young with his fellow-apostles, that I may see them and be comforted by the sight of them before the day of my death; and I will praise and adore Thy goodness." And straightway it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to each one of the apostles, in whatever country he was in, that the blessed Mary was about to depart from this world into the never-ending life. And the Spirit summoned them, along with those of them who were dead, to be gathered together at daybreak to the blessed Mary for her to see them: and each one of them came to her from his own land at dawn by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and they saluted Mary and each other, and adored her.' See Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, pp. 21–24; and ܫܘܢܝܗ̇ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. xx, New Series, Jan., 1865, page ܗ.

[1] As regards the name of *ʿarûbhtâ* (i. e. the eve of the Jewish Sabbath), it was not known until this time, but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the Divine Care also set and abandoned the Israelitish people, then that day was called *ʿarûbhtâ*[2].

Touching the writing which was written in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, and set over Christ's head, there was no Aramean written upon the tablet, for the Arameans or Syrians had no part in (the shedding of) Christ's blood, but only the Greeks and Hebrews and Romans; Herod the Greek and Caiaphas the Hebrew and Pilate the Roman. Hence when Abgar the Aramean king of Mesopotamia heard (of it), he was wroth against the Hebrews and sought to destroy them[3].

CHAPTER XLV[4].

OF THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

SINCE the history of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection is recorded in the Gospel, there is no need to repeat it (here). After our Lord rose from the dead, He appeared ten times. First, to Mary Magdalene, as John the Evangelist records[5]. Secondly, to the women at the grave, as Matthew mentions[6]. Thirdly, to Cleopas and his companion, as Luke says[7]. The companion of Cleopas, when they were going to Emmaus, was Luke the Evangelist. Fourthly, to Simon Peter, as Luke says[8]. Fifthly, to all the disciples, except Thomas, on the evening of the first day of the week, when he went in through the closed doors, as Luke and [ܡܪܩܘܣ] John say[9]. Sixthly, eight days after, to the disciples, and to Thomas with them, as John says[10]. Seventhly, on the mount, as

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[1] The two following paragraphs do not appear in the Oxford MS.

[2] Solomon here refers to the derivation of ܥܪܘܿܒܬܐ from the rad. ܥܪܒ, *it set* (of the sun), Heb. עָרַב, Arab. غَرَبَ.

[3] See *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. ܠܚ; Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Doc.*, p. 107; and Wright, ܡܦܩܬܗ̇ ܕܡܪܬܢ ܡܪܝܡ, *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, No. xx, New Series, Jan., 1865, p. ܒ.

[4] This chapter does not appear in the Oxford MS.

[5] John xx. 11, 18.

[6] Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

[7] Luke xxiv. 18.

[8] Luke xxiv. 34.

[9] Luke xxiv. 36–49; John xx. 19–23.

[10] John xx. 24–29.

Matthew says[1]. Eighthly, upon the sea of Tiberias, as John says[2]. The reason that Simon Peter did not recognise Him was because he had denied Him, and was ashamed to look upon Him; but John, because of his frank intimacy with our Lord, immediately that he saw Him, knew Him. Ninthly, when He was taken up to heaven from the Mount of Olives, as Mark and Luke say[3]. Tenthly, to the five hundred at once, who had risen from the dead, as Paul says[4]. After His Ascension, He appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus, when He blinded his eyes[5]; and also to Stephen, the martyr and deacon, when he was stoned[6].

CHAPTER XLVI[7].

OF THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD TO HEAVEN.

AFTER our Redeemer had risen from the grave, and had gone about in the world forty days, He appeared to His disciples ten times, and ate and drank with them by the side of the Sea of Tiberias. At this point the heathen say to us, that if our Lord really ate and drank after His resurrection, there will certainly be eating and drinking after (our) resurrection; but if He did not really eat and drink, then all the actions of Christ are mere phantasms. To these we make answer, that this [ܗܢܐ] world is a world of need for food; therefore He ate and drank, that it might not be thought He was a phantom; and because many who have risen from the dead have eaten and drunk in (this) world until they departed and died, as, for example, the dead (child) whom Elisha raised, and the dead whom our Lord raised. Our Lord did not eat after His resurrection because He needed food, but only to make certain His humanity: for, behold[8], He once remained in the desert forty days without food, and was not injured by hunger. Some say that after His resurrection our Lord ate food like unto that which the angels ate in the house of Abraham, and that the food was dissipated and consumed by the Divine Power, just as fire licks up oil without any of it entering into its substance. Our Lord remained upon the earth forty days, even as He had fasted forty days, and as Elijah fasted forty days, and as Moses fasted forty days at two several times, and as the rain continued for forty days during the flood, and as God admonished the Ninevites for forty days, and as the spies remained (absent) for forty days, and as the children of Israel wandered about in the wilderness for forty years, and like the child whose fashioning in the womb is completed in forty days. After forty days, our Lord took up [ܡܢܓ] His disciples to the Mount of Olives, and laid His hand upon them, and blessed them, and commanded them concerning the preaching and teaching of the nations. And it came to pass that while He was blessing them, He was separated from them, and went up to heaven; and they worshipped Him. And there appeared to them angels, encouraging them and saying, 'This Jesus, who has been taken up from you to heaven, is about to come again even as ye have seen Him go up to heaven.' Then they returned to that upper chamber where they were, and stayed there ten days, until they received the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire. Simon Peter said to his fellow-disciples, 'It is right for us to put some one in the place of Judas to complete the number of twelve;' and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles[1].

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[1] Matt. xxviii. 16–20.

[2] John xxi. 1–24.

[3] Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 50, 53.

[4] 'After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.' 1 Cor. xv. 6.

[5] Acts ix. 3–9; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

[6] Acts vii. 55–60.

[7] In the Oxford MS. see fol. 177 *b*.

[8] In the Oxford MS. there follows here a long discussion on the divine and human natures of Christ, in the middle of which (fol. 178 *b*) is a Syriac passage in which the names of Athanasius and Gregory are mentioned. The view there maintained is that Christ is God and man in the unity of one Person.

As concerning the manner in which our Lord entered heaven without cleaving it, some say that He went in as He did through the closed doors; and as He came forth from the virgin womb, and Mary's virginity returned to its former state; and like the sweat from the body; and as water is taken up by the roots of the olive and other trees, and reaches in the twinkling of an eye the leaves, flowers and fruits, as if through certain ducts, without holes or channels being pierced in them. Thus by an infinite and ineffable miracle our Lord entered into heaven without cleaving it. And if the bodies of us who are accustomed [ܡܢܣ]

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[1] A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 *a*.

to drink water and wine pour out sweat without our flesh being rent or our skin pierced, how very much easier is it for the Divine Power to go in through closed doors and within the firmament of heaven without rending or cleaving it?

[1] As regards the upper chamber in which our Lord held His Passover, some say that it belonged to Lazarus, and others to Simon the Cyrenian, and others to Joseph the senator; but Joshua the son of Nun, the Catholicus[2], says that it belonged to Nicodemus. The apostles remained in the upper chamber ten days after the Ascension, being constant in fasting and prayer, and expecting the Spirit, the Comforter, which our Lord Jesus Christ promised them.

CHAPTER XLVII[3].

OF THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT UPON THE APOSTLES IN THE UPPER CHAMBER.

TEN days after our Lord's Ascension, when the holy apostles were assembled in the upper chamber waiting for the promise of our Lord, of a sudden, at the third hour of the holy Sunday of Pentecost, a mighty sound was heard, so that all men were terrified and marvelled at the mightiness of the sound; and the chamber was filled with an ineffably strong light. And there appeared over the head of each one of them (something) in the form of tongues of fire, and there breathed forth from thence a sweet odour which surpassed all aromas in this world. The eyes of their hearts were opened, and they began interpreting new things and uttering wonderful things in the languages of all nations [ܡܢܗ]. When the Jews saw them, they thought within themselves that they had been drinking new wine and were drunk, and that their minds were depraved. On that day they participated in the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord, and sanctified the leavened bread of the sign of the cross (the eucharistic wafers) and the oil of baptism.

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body for

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[1] A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 *b*.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 165.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lii, fol. 181 *a*.

His disciples in the upper chamber, John the son of Zebedee hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. And when our Lord appeared to His disciples and to Thomas with them, He said to Thomas, 'Hither with thy finger and lay it on My side, and be not unbelieving, but believing.' Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested upon the mark of the spear, and the disciples saw the blood from the marks of the spear and nails. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns, Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî, took that piece, and with it they sanctified this unleavened bread which has been handed down among us[1]. The other disciples did not take any of it, because they said, 'We will consecrate for ourselves whenever we wish.' As for the oil of baptism, some say that it was part of the oil with which they anointed the kings; others say that it was part of the unguent wherewith they embalmed our Lord; and many agree with this (statement). Others again say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread of the Passover in his hand, it burst into flame and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the cross of baptism. This account we have heard by ear from the mouth of a recluse and visitor (*περιοδευτής*), and we have not received it from Scripture [ܣܦܪ]. The word Pentecost is interpreted 'the completion of fifty days.'

CHAPTER XLVIII[2].

OF THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES, AND OF THE PLACES OF EACH ONE OF THEM, AND OF THEIR DEATHS[3].

NEXT we write the excellent discourse composed by Mâr Eusebius of Caesarea upon the places and families of the holy apostles.

Know then that the apostles were twelve and seventy. When the apostles had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, on the day following they fasted this feast of the apostles (which we keep)[1]; but the Malkâyê (Melchites)[2] say that the apostles fasted eight days after. Their names are as follows.

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 239, 241, 358, and 608.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. liii, fol. 182 *a*.

[3] See the lives of the apostles and disciples by Pseudo-Dorotheus, edited by Du Cange in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Paris, 1868, p. 164; Hanmer, *Eusebius*, pp. 532 foll., London, 1636; Cave, *Lives of the Apostles*, Cary's ed., Oxford, 1840; Pseudo-Epiphanius, *De Prophetis, eorumque obitu ac sepultura*, Migne, *Patrologiae*

Simon, the chief of the apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He first preached in Antioch, and built there the first of all churches, which was in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He remained there one year, and there the disciples were called Christians. From thence he went to Rome, where he remained for twenty-seven years; and in the three hundred and seventy-sixth year of the Greeks, the wicked Nero crucified him head downwards[3].

Andrew his brother preached in Scythia and Nicomedia and Achaia. He built a church in Byzantium, and there he died and was buried. [ܩܢܚ]

John the son of Zebedee (Zabhdai) was also from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulun. He first preached in Asia (Ephesus), and was afterwards cast into exile in the island of Patmos by Tiberius Caesar. He then went to Ephesus, and built in it a church. Three of his disciples went with him: Ignatius, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, and who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; Polycarp, who was afterwards bishop of Smyrna[4], and was crowned by fire; and John, to whom he committed the priesthood and the bishopric after him. When John had lived a long time, he died and was buried at Ephesus; and John, the

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Ser. Gr., vol. 43, col. 393 foll.; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclés.*, Paris, 1701, 4to; Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Braunschweig, 1884; and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 163 *b*.

[1] The Nestorian Fast of the Apostles begins on Whit-Monday and ends on June 29th. See Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii, p. 188; Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 501.

[2] The orthodox Christians, who accept the doctrines on the natures of our Lord as laid down by the Council of Chalcedon. For the origin of the name, etc., see Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, p. 119; and Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 507; t. iii, pt. i, p. 354, col. 2.

[3] ܟܠܦܪ ܪܫܗ = κατὰ κεφαλῆς. Hoffmann has mistaken the meaning of the words in his *Auszüge*, p. 111. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxvii, June 29.

[4] B, C and the Oxford MS. have *Syria*, ܣܘܪܝܐ, سوريا; but A gives ܣܡܘܪܝܐ, which we must correct into ܣܡܘܪܢܐ.

disciple of the Evangelist, who became bishop of Ephesus, buried him[1]; for he commanded them that no one should know the place of his burial. The graves of both of them are in Ephesus; the hidden one of the Evangelist, and the other of his disciple John, the author of the Revelation; he said that everything he had written down, he had heard from John the Evangelist.

James, the brother of John, preached in his city Bethsaida, and built a church there. Herod Agrippas slew him with the sword one year after the Ascension of our Lord. He was laid in Âḳâr, a city of Marmârîḳâ[2]. [ܡܥܠ]

Philip also was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he built a church in Pisidia, and died and was buried there. He lived twenty-seven years as an apostle[3].

Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians[4]; and because he baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians, he stabbed him with a spear and he died[5]. Ḥabbân the merchant brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of Christ our Lord[6]. Others say that he was buried in Maḥlûph, a city in the land of the Indians[7].

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[1] See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, Dec. 27.

[2] This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS. Dorotheus and Pseudo-Epiphanius say that he was buried in Judaea, though some MSS. of the former have ἐν πόλει τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς, the original of the Latin '*in arce Marmarica*.' Μαρμαρική is the most eastern land of N. Africa. Isidore of Seville says: 'Jacobus filius Zebedaei frater Joannis quartus in ordine. Hispaniae et occidentalibus locis evangelium praedicavit et in occasum mundi lucem praedicationis infudit. Hic ab Herode tetrarcha gladio caesus occubuit sepultus in Azimarmaria [arce marmaria].' See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 208, 209, and 214, note 1; *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxxiii, July 25; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, p. 512.

[3] See *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xiv, May 1; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 26.

[4] Oxford MS. بارض الهند والسند وبلد فارس *in India and Sind and Persia.*

[5] See Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, vol. ii, p. 297; *Acta Thomae*, ed. M. Bonnet, p. 83 sqq.; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 236.

[6] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, pp. 49, 399, and 403; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 18; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i. 31, and iii. 4 foll.

[7] The Oxford MS. says that he was buried in India. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 246; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Dec. 21.

Matthew the Evangelist was from Nazareth, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and Sidon, and went as far as Gabbûlâ[1]. He died and was buried in Antioch, a city of Pisidia[2].

Bartholomew was from Endor, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in inner Armenia, Ardeshîr[3], Ḳĕṭarbôl[4], Radbîn, and Prûharmân[5]. After he had lived thirty years as an apostle, Hûrsṭî[6] the king of the Armenians crucified him, and he was buried in the church which he built in Armenia.

Jude, the son of James, who was surnamed Thaddaeus (Taddai), who is also Lebbaeus (Lebbai), was from [ܡܢ] Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea and in Antaradus and Arwâd[7]. He was stoned in Arwâd, and died and was buried there[8].

Simon Zelôtes was from Galilee, of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shĕmêshât (Samosâta), Pârîn (Perrhê), Zeugma, Ḥâlâb (Aleppo), Mabbôg (Manbig), and Kenneshrîn (Ḳinnesrîn). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there[9].

James, the son of Alphaeus (Ḥalphai), was from the Jordan, of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkêsion

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[1] اَلْجَبُّول *al-Jabbûl*, a town in Coelesyria.

[2] See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i, pp. 391 foll.; *Acta Sanctorum*, xlviii, Sept. 21; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 127.

[3] Oxford MS. اذاروشير. According to the Armenian Acts of Bartholomew (Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 94), he went first to Golthon in Armenia, and in the 29th year of Sanatruk came back to the hill Artaschu; he next went to Her and Zarevant, and afterwards to Urbianos, where he was martyred.

[4] Oxford MS. قطروبال. قُطْرَبُّل was a place between Baghdâd and ʻUkbarâ, celebrated for its wine; but this can hardly come into account.

[5] Oxford MS. فروران.

[6] According to other MSS., *Rhûsṭnî* or *Hêrôsṭnî*. The king of Armenia in the time of Bartholomew was called Sanadrog (Sanatruk). Florival, *Moïse de Khorène*, ii, p. 233. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 59, 99, and 104; and *Acta Sanctorum*, xxxix, Aug. 24.

[7] Oxford MS. انطرطوس وجزيره اوراذ. The latter name is more correctly رُوَاد *Ruwâd*. Antaradus is now called *Anṭarṭûs*.

[8] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 142–200; and *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

[9] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 147; *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

(Ḳirḳîsiyâ), and Callinîcos (ar-Raḳḳah), and came to Baṭnân of Serûg (Sarûg), where he built a church, and died and was buried there[1].

Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was from the town of Sĕkharyûṭ, of the tribe of Gad, though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was like unto the serpent that acts deceitfully towards its master, because like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord. Matthias, of the tribe of Reuben, came in in his stead. He preached in Hellas, and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died and was buried in it[2].

While James the brother of our Lord was teaching the Jews in Jerusalem, they cast him down from a pinnacle of the temple; and while his life was [ܡܚܠܐ] yet in him, a fuller of cloth smote him upon the head with a club and beat it in; and afterwards they stoned him with stones[3].

John the Baptist was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was laid in Sebastia.

Ananias (Ḥananyâ) the disciple of the Baptist taught in Damascus and Arbêl[4]. He was slain by Pôl, the general of the army of Aretas[5], and was laid in the church which he built at Arbêl (Irbil).

Paul of Tarsus was a Pharisee by sect, of the tribe of Ephraim[6]. When he had been baptised by Ananias, he wrought many miracles, and taught great cities, and bore and suffered dangers not a few for the name of Christ. Afterwards he went to Peter at Rome. When they divided the world between them, and the heathen fell to Paul's lot, and the Jewish nation to Peter, and they had turned[7] many to the truth of Christ, Nero commanded that they should both die a cruel death. Then Simon asked to be crucified head downwards, that he might kiss that part of the cross where the heels of his Master had been. As they were going forth to be slain, they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. When Peter had been crucified, and Paul slain, together with many of those who had become their disciples, [ܩܟܒ] Mark and Luke went forth by night, and brought their bodies into the city. Now Paul's head was lost among the slain, and could not be found. Some time after, when a shepherd was passing by the spot where the slain were buried, he found Paul's head, and took it upon the top of his staff, and laid it by his sheep-fold. At night he saw a fire blazing over it, and he went in (to the city) and informed the holy bishop Xystus (Sixtus) and the clergy of the church; and they all recognised that it was Paul's head. Xystus said to them, 'Let us watch and pray the whole night, and let us bring out the body and lay the head at its feet; and if it joins again to its neck, it will be certain that it is Paul's.' And when they had done so, the whole body was restored, and the head was joined to its neck as if the vertebrae had never been severed; and those who saw it were amazed and glorified God. From his call to the end of his life was thirty-five years; he went about in every place for thirty-one years; for two years he was in prison at Caesarea, and for two years at Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was laid with great honour in the magnificent royal catacombs in Rome. They celebrate every year the day of his commemoration on the twenty-ninth of the month of Tammûz[1].

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[1] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 229–257; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

[2] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 258–269.

[3] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 231; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

[4] So we read instead of *Arîl*, following the Oxford MS., ومدينة اربل. Solomon was probably copying from an Arabic MS., in which the difference between اربل and اريل would be very slight.

[5] The MS. C has *Aristus*.

[6] The MS. A has: *Paul of Tarsus was of the tribe of Benjamin; he was a Pharisee by sect.*

[7] Reading ܐܦܢܘ in the plural with the MS. B.

[ܩܟܓ] Luke the physician and Evangelist was first of all a disciple of Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, and was afterwards baptised by Philip in the city of Beroea[2]. He was crowned with the sword by Ḥôros[3], the judge (or governor) of the emperor Tiberius, while he was preaching in Alexandria, and was buried there.

Mark the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there[4]. Some say that he was the son of Simon Peter's wife, others that he was the son of Simon; and Rhoda was his sister. He was first called John, but the Apostles changed his name and called him Mark, that there might not be two Evangelists of one name.

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[1] See *Acta Sanctorum*, xxvii, June 30.

[2] Oxford MS. مدينة حلب, i.e. Aleppo.

[3] Oxford MS. حوراس. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 356–360; *Acta Sanctorum*, lvi, Oct. 18.

[4] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 323–325; *Acta Sanctorum*, xii, April 25.

Addai was from Paneas, and he preached in Edessa and in Mesopotamia in the days of Abgar the king; and he built a church in Edessa. After Abgar died, Herod[1] Abgar's son slew him in the fortress of Aggêl[2]. His body was afterwards taken and carried to Rome; but some say that he was laid in Edessa.

Aggai his disciple was first of all a maker of silks for Abgar, and became a disciple. After Abgar's death, his son reigned, and he required of Aggai to weave silks for him; and when he consented not, saying, 'I cannot forsake teaching and preaching to return to weaving,' he smote him with a club upon his legs and brake them, and he died[3].

[ܡܬܝ] Thaddaeus (Taddai) came after him at Edessa, and Herod, the son of Abgar, slew him also; he was buried at Edessa.

Zacchaeus (Zaccai) the publican[4] and the young man whom our Lord brought to life were both slain together while they were preaching in Mount Ḥôrôn.

The Jews smote Simon the leper while he was teaching in Ramah, and he died (there).

Joseph the Senator taught in Galilee and Decapolis; he was buried in his town of Ramah.

Nicodemus the Pharisee, the friend of our Lord, received and honoured the Apostles in Jerusalem; and he died and was buried there[5].

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[1] In Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 164 *a*, col. 1, line 17, he is called ܣܘܝܪܘܣ, Severus.

[2] *Egil*, or *Engil*, أَنْجِل, Ἀγγιληνή, north of Âmid.

[3] See *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. 49.

[4] The Oxford MS. gives the name of this martyr only: a blank space has been left in it for about eight lines.

[5] The Oxford MS. says that when the crucifiers knew that Nicodemus had become a Christian, they seized his property and slew him; and that his brother Gamaliel buried him in Kĕphar Gamlâ. It then gives the following account of Gamaliel. Gamaliel was a friend of the crucifying Jews, but was afterwards baptised together with his son: he lived for twenty years after this. When

Nathaniel was stoned while he was teaching in Mount Ḥôrôn[1], and died.

Simon the Cyrenian was slain while he was teaching in the island of Chios.

Simon the son of Cleopas became bishop of Jerusalem. When he was an old man, one hundred years of age, Irenaeus[2] the chiliarch crucified him.

Stephen the martyr was stoned with stones at Jerusalem, and his body was laid in the village of Kĕphar Gamlâ.

Mark, who was surnamed John, taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus. He built [ܒܢܗ] a church at Nazianzus, and died and was buried there. Some say that he is the Evangelist, as we have mentioned.

Cephas, whom Paul mentions[3], taught in Baalbec, Ḥimṣ (Emesa) and Nathrôn (Batharûn). He died and was buried in Shîrâz[4].

Barnabas taught in Italy and in Ḳûrâ; he died and was buried in Samos[5].

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they died, they were buried by the side of Nicodemus in Kĕphar Gamlâ, where Stephen was buried. Many years after (about A. D. 415), God revealed their place of burial to one of the saints (Lucian), and they sought for the remains of the bodies by digging, and found them; and there they built a church. Foll. 187 *b*, 188 *a*. See also Migne, *Biog. Chrét.*, ii. 73; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, iii, p. 1047, i. 8.

[1] Oxford MS. في جبل حبرون مدينة داوود *in the mount of Hebron, the city of David.*

[2] ܐܚܪܐܘܣ seems to be a mistake for ܐܝܪܢܐܘܣ. B, C, however, have ܚܪܐܘܣ Ḥĕrêos, and the Oxford MS. احراس (ܐܚܪܐܘܣ).

[3] Galat. ii. 9; 1 Cor. i. 12. For a discussion of the identity of this Cephas with Simon Peter, see P. M. Molkenbuhr, *Dissertatio script. crit. An Cephas . . . fuerit Simon Petrus*, 4to, 1785.

[4] Oxford MS. وبشر اهل مدينة بعلبكّ وحمص وبثرون وتلمد اهل مدينة سرمين وقبر بكرامة. *He preached the Gospel to the people of Baalbek, Ḥimṣ and Batharûn, and taught the people of Sarmîn; he was buried at Kurâmah* (?). There is but little difference in writing between نثرون and the correct بثرون. *Sarmîn* approaches the reading of B, C ܣܪܡܘܣ; it is in the district of Aleppo. Shîrâz is perhaps a mistake for ܫܝܙܪ, *Shaizar.*

[5] The Oxford MS., like B and C, makes no mention of Barnabas. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 270–320; *Acta Sanctorum*, xxii, June 11.

Titus taught in Crete, and there he died and was buried [1].

Sosthenes taught in the country of Pontus and Asia. He was thrown into the sea by the command of Nonnus [2] the prefect.

Criscus (Crescens) taught in Dalmatia; he was imprisoned in Alexandria, where he died of hunger and was buried.

Justus taught in Tiberias and in Caesarea, where he died and was buried.

Andronicus taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.

The people of Zeugma slew Rufus while he was teaching in Zeugma.

Patrobas taught in Chalcedon, and he died and was buried there.

Hermas the shepherd taught in Antioch, and he died and was buried there.

Narcissus taught in Hellas, and he died and was buried there [3].

Asyncritus went to Beth-Hûzâyê (Khûzistân) [4], and there he died and was buried.

Aristobulus taught in Isauria, and there he died and was buried. [ܫܠܡ]

Onesimus [5] was the slave of Philemon, and he fled from him and went to Paul, while he was in prison; because of this Paul calls him 'the son whom I have begotten in my bonds.' His legs were broken in Rome.

Apollos the elect was burnt with fire by Sparacleus [6] (?), the governor of Gangra.

Olympas, Stachys and Stephen were imprisoned in Tarsus, and there they died in prison.

Junias was captured in Samos, and there he was slain and died.

Theocritus [7] died while teaching in Ilios, and was buried there.

Martalus (?) was slain while teaching the barbarians.

Niger taught in Antioch, and died and was buried there.

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[1] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 401–406; *Acta Sanctorum*, i, Jan. 4.

[2] Oxford MS. يوناني.

[3] The Oxford and Vatican MSS., as well as B and C, make no mention of Narcissus.

[4] The Arabic name is Ahwâz, الأَهْواز. Oxford MS. العراق, 'Irâk.

[5] The Vatican MS. omits Onesimus.

[6] Oxford MS. سفرقليس.

[7] Oxford MS. يابادطوس.

They dragged Lucius[1] behind a horse, and thus he ended his life.

While Alexander was teaching in Heracleôpolis[2], they threw him into a pit and he died.

Milus[3], while he was teaching in Rhodes, was thrown into the sea and drowned.

Silvanus and Hêrôdiôn (Rhôdiôn) were slain while they were preaching in the city of Accô.

Silas[4] taught in Sarapolis (Hierapolis?), and died and was buried there.

Timothy taught in Ephesus, and died and was buried there.

Manael was burnt with fire while teaching in Accô, and died. [ܡܚܐ]

The Eunuch whom Philip baptised, the officer of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, went to Ethiopia and preached there. Afterwards, while he was preaching in the island of Parparchia[5] (?), they strangled him with a cord.

Jason[6] and Sosipatrus were thrown to the wild beasts while they were teaching in Olmius[7] (?).

Demas taught in Thessalonica, and there he died and was buried.

Omius (Hymenaeus) taught in Melitene, and there he died and was buried.

They threw Thraseus[8] into a fiery furnace, while he was teaching at Laodicea.

Bistorius (Aristarchus?)[9] taught in the island of Kô[10], and there he died and was buried.

Abrios (?) and Môṭos (?)[11] went to the country of the Ethiopians, and there they died and were buried.

Levi was slain by Charmus[12], while he was teaching in Paneas[13].

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[1] A has *Luke*.

[2] Oxford MS. ايارونيليوس.

[3] Vat. MS. *Linus*.

[4] The Vat. MS. omits Silas.

[5] Oxford MS. فافاخيا.

[6] The Oxford MS. omits Jason.

[7] Oxford MS. في مدينة الوميوس.

[8] Oxford MS. تارسيوس.

[9] Oxford MS. ارسطركوس.

[10] Oxford MS. قوواي.

[11] Oxford MS. ابرانيون ومونطاس. The Vat. MS. omits these names.

[12] Oxford MS. جرموس. The Vat. MS. omits this name.

[13] Oxford MS. كونياس.

Nicetianus (Nicetas) was sawn in two while teaching in Tiberias[1].

While John and Theodorus were preaching in the theatre of Baalbec, they threw them to the beasts.

The prefect Methalius (?) slew Euchestion (?) and Simon in Byzantium.

Ephraim (Aphrem) taught in Baishân, and he died and was buried there.

Justus was slain at Corinth[2].

James taught and preached in Nicomedia, and he died and was buried there. [ܫܠܡ]

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES IN ORDER[3].

THE names of the twelve. Simon Peter; Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee; John his brother; Philip; Bartholomew; Thomas; Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus; Labbaeus, who was surnamed Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananite; Judas Iscariot, in whose stead came in Matthias.

The names of the seventy[4]. James the son of Joseph; Simon the son of Cleopas; Cleopas his father; Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaeus (?)[5]; Ananias, who baptised Paul; Cephas, who preached at Antioch; Joseph the senator; Nicodemus the archon; Nathaniel the chief scribe; Justus, that is Joseph, who is called Barshabbâ; Silas; Judah; John, surnamed Mark; Mnason, who received Paul; Manaël, the foster-brother of Herod; Simon called Niger; Jason[6], who is (mentioned) in the Acts (of the Apostles); Rufus[7]; Alexander; Simon the Cyrenian, their father; Lucius the Cyrenian; another Judah, who is mentioned in the Acts (of the Apostles); Judah, who is called Simon; Eurion (Orion) the splay-footed; Thôrus (?); Thorîsus (?); Zabdon; Zakron. These are the seven[1] who were chosen with Stephen: Philip the Evangelist, who had three[2] daughters that used to prophesy; [ܦܚܠܐ] Stephen; Prochorus; Nicanor; Timon; Parmenas; Nicolaus[3], the Antiochian proselyte; Andronicus[4] the Greek; Titus; Timothy.

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[1] The Oxford MS. makes no mention of this martyr.

[2] Oxford MS. موريشاوس.

[3] See Matt. x, Mark iii, Luke vi, Acts i; and Pseudo-Dorotheus, Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.*, vol. ii, p. 207.

[4] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii, pt. i, pp. 319–320, where lists of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples are given from the Vatican MS. of the Book of the Bee, from the Commentary of Bar-Hebraeus on St. Matthew, and from the Synopsis of 'Amr and Mârî, etc.

[5] Oxford MS. مثاوس.

[6] Acts xvii. 5–9.

[7] The Oxford MS. omits Rufus. Rom. xvi. 13.

These are the five who were with Peter in Rome: Hermas; Plîgṭâ[5]; Patrobas; Asyncritus; Hermas[6].

These are the six[7] who came with Peter to Cornelius: Criscus[8] (Crescens); Milichus[9]; Kîrîṭôn (Crito); Simon; Gaius, who received Paul; Abrazon (?); Apollos.

These are the twelve who were rejected from among the seventy, as Judas Iscariot was from among the twelve, because they absolutely denied our Lord's divinity at the instigation of Cerinthus. Of these Luke said, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us[10];' and Paul called them 'false apostles and deceitful workers[11].' Simon; Levi; Bar-Ḳubbâ; Cleon; Hymenaeus; Candarus[12]; Clithon (?); Demas; Narcissus; Slîkîspus (?); Thaddaeus; Mârûthâ. In their stead there came in these: Luke the physician; Apollos the elect; Ampelius; Urbanus; Stachys; Popillius (or Publius)[13]; Aristobulus; Stephen (not the Corinthian); Herodion the son of Narcissus; Olympas; Mark the Evangelist; Addai; Aggai; Mâr Mârî.

It is said that each one of the twelve and of the seventy [ܦܠ] wrote a Gospel; but in order that there might be no contention and that the number of 'Acts' might not be multiplied, the apostles adopted a plan and chose two of the seventy, Luke and Mark, and two of the twelve, Matthew and John.

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[1] So all the MSS., but ten names follow, or eleven, if we read Andronicus, Junias, Titus.

[2] In Acts xxi. 9, Philip is said to have had *four* daughters. The Oxford MS. reads *four*, اربع.

[3] Acts vi. 5.

[4] Rom. xvi. 7.

[5] Oxford MS. فيليجاس.

[6] Oxford MS. ارما.

[7] Seven names follow in all the MSS.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 10. The Oxford MS. omits Criscus and Gaius.

[9] Oxford MS. ميليطاس.

[10] See 1 John ii. 19. Solomon is mistaken as to the author of these words.

[11] 2 Cor. xi. 13.

[12] Oxford MS. سكندروس, *Alexander*.

[13] Oxford MS. بولص, *Paul*.

CHAPTER L[1].

OF SOME MINOR MATTERS.

THESE are they who were married among the apostles: Peter, the chief of the apostles; Philip the Evangelist; Paul; Nathaniel, who is Bartholomew; Labbaeus, who is Thaddaeus, who is Judah the son of Jacob; Simon the Cananite, who is Zelotes, who is Judah the son of Simon.

The child whom our Lord called and set (in the midst), and said, 'Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven[2],' was Ignatius, who became patriarch of Antioch. He saw in a vision the angels ministering in two bands, and he ordained that (men) should minister in the church in like manner[3]. After some time this order was broken through; and when Diodorus went with his father on an embassy to the land of Persia, and saw that they ministered in two bands, he came to Antioch his country, and re-established the custom of their ministering in two bands[4].

The children whom they brought near to our Lord, that He might lay His hand upon them and pray, were Timothy and Titus, and they were deemed worthy of the office of bishop.

The names of the Maries who are mentioned in the Gospels. Mary the Virgin, the mother of our Lord; Mary the wife of Joseph; Mary the mother [ܡܠܐ] of Cleopas and Joseph; Mary the wife of Peter, the mother of Mark the Evangelist; and Mary the sister of Lazarus. Some say that Mary the sinner is Mary of Magdala; but others do not agree with this, and say that she was other than the Magdalene. Those who say that she was the Magdalene tell us that she built herself a tower with the wages of fornication; and those who say that she was other than the Magdalene, say that Mary Magdalene was called after the name of her town Magdala, and that she was a pure and holy woman.

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[1] The Oxford MS. omits the following three chapters.

[2] Matt. xviii. 2. See Nicephorus, *Hist.*, bk. ii, chap. iii.

[3] Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.*, chap. viii.

[4] Assemânî thinks that this embassy is a mistake on the part of Solomon, arising from his having misunderstood a passage in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 2, cap. xxiv. See *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 321.

CHAPTER LI.

THE NAMES OF THE EASTERN CATHOLICS, THE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES ADDAI AND MÂRÎ[1].

1. Addai was buried in Edessa.

2. Mârî (was buried) in the convent of Kônî[2].

3. Abrîs, called in Greek A[m]brosius; the place of his grave is unknown; he was of the laying on of hands of Antioch.

4. Abraham was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; he was descended from the family of Jacob the son of Joseph; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

5. James, of the laying on of hands of Antioch, was also of the family of Joseph the husband of Mary; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

6. Aḥâ-d'abû[hî] was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

7. Shaḥlûphâ was of the laying on of hands of Ctesiphon, and he was buried there.

8. [ܦܠܒ] Pâpâ[3]; his grave is at Ctesiphon.

9. Simon bar Ṣabbâʿê was martyred at Shôshân[4].

10. Shah-dôst[5] was buried in Ctesiphon.

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[1] Compare the lists in Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 387–392. For the lives of the Catholics of the East, see ibid., pp. 391–457.

[2] ܕܝܪ ܩܘܢܝ or ܕܝܪܐ ܕܩܘܢܝ, in Arabic دَيْر قُنَّى *Dair Ḳunnâ*, 16 parasangs from Baghdâd, on the left bank of the Tigris, a mile from the river. See Yâḳût in the *Muʿjam al-Buldân*; Abbeloos, *Acta S. Maris*, index.

[3] Assemânî, ܦܳܦܳܐ.

[4] Assemânî, ܫܘܫ.

[5] Assemânî, ܫܳܗܕܽܘܣܬ.

11. Bar-Bĕʿesh-shĕmîn[1] was martyred and buried in Elam (Khûzistân).

12. Tûmarṣâ was buried in Ctesiphon.

13. Ḳâyômâ was buried in Ctesiphon; he abdicated the patriarchate, and another was put in his place, and was before him until he died.

14. Isaac was buried in Ctesiphon.

15. Aḥâ was buried in Ctesiphon.

16. Yab-alâhâ was of the school of Mâr ʿAbdâ[2]; he was buried in Ctesiphon.

17. Maʿnâ dwelt in Persia and was buried there.

18. Dâd-îshôʿ was buried in Ḥêrtâ[3]. In his days the strife between Nestorius and Cyril (of Alexandria) took place.

19. Bâbôi was martyred and buried in Ḥêrtâ.

20. Aḳaḳ (Acacius) was of the family of Bâbôi the Catholicus; he was buried in al-Madâïn[4].

21. Bâbai took a wife, and was buried at Ctesiphon.

22. Shîlâ took a wife, and was buried in his convent beside Awânâ[5].

23. Paul was buried in Ctesiphon.

24. Mâr(î)-abâ was buried in Ḥêrtâ, and was a martyr without bloodshed.

25. Ezekiel was buried in Ḥêrtâ.

26. Îshôʿ-yab of Arzôn[6] was buried in Ḥêrtâ. [ܫܠܡ]

27. Sabr-îshôʿ was buried in Ḥêrtâ.

28. Gregory was buried in . . . . . .

29. Îshôʿ-yab of Gĕdâlâ[7] was buried in . . . . . .

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[1] *Bĕʿesh-shĕmîn* for Bĕʿêl-shĕmîn.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 369, col. 2.

[3] Ḥêrtâ or Ḥîrtâ, the *Ḥîrah* of the Arabs, الحِيرَة.

[4] The later Arabic name for Ctesiphon, المدائن.

[5] A place in the south or south-east part of the diocese of ܒܝܬ ܢܘܗܕܪܐ, *Béth-Nûhâdré*, near Balad and opposite to Eski-Mosul. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 477, col. 2; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 211–212, notes 1674 and foll.

[6] Assemânî, ܐܪܙܘܢܝܐ. ܐܪܙܘܢ, Ἀρζανηνή, was a town and province of Armenia on the borders of Mesopotamia, north of Ḥiṣn Kaifâ. Schoenfelder, p. 84, writes ‘Jesujab *mysticus!*’

[7] الجُدال, *Judâl*, near Mosul.

30. Mâr[î]-emmêh was buried in Kĕṭîmiyâ (?).
31. Îshô'-yab of Adiabene[1] was buried in Bêth-'Âbê[2].
32. George was buried in . . . . . .
33. John was buried in . . . . . .
34. Ḥĕnân-îshô' was buried in . . . . . .
35. Ṣĕlîbâ-zĕkhâ was buried in Ctesiphon.
36. Pethiôn was buried in Ctesiphon.
37. Mâr[î]-abâ was buried in al-Madâïn.
38. Jacob was buried in . . . . . .
39. Ḥĕnân-îshô' was buried in . . . . . .
40. Timothy was buried in his own convent.
41. Îshô' (Joshua) the son of Nôn (Nun) was buried in the convent of Timothy.
42. George was buried in the same convent.
43. Sabr-îshô'[3] was buried in the same convent.
44. Abraham was buried in the same convent.
45. Athanasius[4] was buried in the same convent.
46. Sergius was buried in the same convent.
47. Anôsh (Enos) was buried in the same convent. [ܫܠܡ.]
48. John the son of Narsai was buried in the Greek Palace (at Baghdâd)[5].
49. Joannes[6] was buried in the Greek Palace.
50. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
51. Abraham was buried in the convent of 'Abdôn.
52. Emmanuel was buried in the Greek Palace.

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[1] In Syriac ܚܕܝܒ, *Ḥĕdaiyab*, the district of which Arbêl or Irbil is the chief town.

[2] The famous convent of Bêth-'Âbê was situated in the diocese of Margâ, not far from the right bank of the Great Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226, note 1798.

[3] Or ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ, *Ḥĕnân-îshô'*.

[4] Or ܬܐܕܘܣܝܘܣ, *Theodosius*.

[5] *Dârtâ-dĕ-Rômâyê*, 'the house of the Romans' (the Byzantine Greeks), the seat of the Nestorian patriarchs at Baghdâd. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 439, 440, 450.

[6] Assemânî, ܐܝܘܐܢܢܝܣ, 'Ιωάννης; otherwise our writer commonly uses ܝܘܚܢܢ, *Yoḥannân* for John.

53. Israel was buried in the Greek Palace.
54. ʻAbd-îshôʻ was buried in the Greek Palace.
55. Mârî was buried in the Greek Palace.
56. Joannes[1] was buried in the Greek Palace.
57. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
58. Îshôʻ-yab was buried in the Greek Palace.
59. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
60. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
61. Sabr-îshôʻ was buried in the Greek Palace.
62. ʻAbd-îshôʻ was buried in the Greek Palace.
63. Makkîkhâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
64. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
65. Bar-ṣaumâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
66. ʻAbd-îshôʻ was buried . . . . . .
67. Îshôʻ-yab was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-îshôʻ.
68. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-îshôʻ.
69. Yab-alâhâ was buried in the church of Mârt[î] Maryam (my lady Mary). [ܡܠܗ]
70. Sabr-îshôʻ was buried in the church of Mârt[î] Maryam[2].
71. Sabr-îshôʻ was buried[3] . . . . . .
72. [Mâr Makkîkhâ was buried[4] . . . . . .
73. Mâr Denḥâ was buried[4] . . . . . .
74. Mâr Yab-alâhâ the Turk[5] was buried . . . . . .
75. Mâr Timothy was buried[4] . . . . . .
76. Mâr Denḥâ was buried . . . . . .
77. Mâr Simon was buried . . . . . .
78. Mâr Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried . . . . . .
79. Mâr Simon of our days, may he live for ever![6]]

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[1] See note 6 on preceding page.

[2] Assemânî omits ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ. The MS. A has *in ʻAtîḳah*, i.e. العَتِيقَة, or 'the old (Town),' a quarter of Baghdâd on the east or left side of the Tigris.

[3] This is from A alone, but correct.

[4] Assemânî omits ܐܬܩܒܪ.

[5] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 456.

[6] According to Assemânî, t. ii, p. 457, col. 1, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 621, col. 1, he was ordained Catholicus in 1504. The list has therefore been continued by the scribes of the different MSS. long after Solomon's time.

The names of the Catholics who were deposed and dismissed (from office): Mâr(î)-bôkht, Narsai, Elisha, Joseph and Sôrên.

CHAPTER LII.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS WHO HAVE REIGNED IN THE WORLD FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW.

THE MEDIAN KINGS WHO REIGNED IN BABYLON.

Darius the son of Vashtasp (Hystaspes) reigned 24 years.
Aḥshîresh (Xerxes) his son, 20 years.
Arṭaḥshisht the long-hand (Artaxerxes Longimanus), 41 years.
Daryâwash (Darius) the son of the concubine, 20 years.
Arṭaḥshisht (Artaxerxes) the ruler, 30 years.
Arses the son of Ochus, 4 years.
Daryâwash (Darius) the son of Ârsham (Arsanes), 6 years. [ܫܠܡ]

THE YEARS OF THE EGYPTIAN KINGS[1].

Alexander the son of Philip, 12 years. Ptolemy the son of Lagôs, 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years[2]. In his third year[3] the fifth millennium ended. This (king) asked the captive Jews who were in Egypt, and seventy old men translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names are these. Josephus, Hezekiah, Zechariah, John, Ezekiel, Elisha; these were of the tribe of Reuben. Judah, Simon, Samuel, Addai, Mattathias, Shalmî; these were of the tribe of Simeon. Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Bâsâ, Adonijah[4], Dâḳî[5]; these were of the tribe of Levi. Jothan[1], Abdî, Elisha, Ananias, Zechariah, Hilkiah; these were of the tribe of Judah. Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sambâṭ (Sabbateus), Simon, Levi; these were of the tribe of Issachar. Judah, Joseph, Simon, Zechariah, Samuel, Shamlî[2]; these were of the tribe of Zebulon. Sambâṭ (Sabbateus), Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesse, Matthias; these were of the tribe of Gad. Theodosius, Jason, Joshua, John, Theodotus, Jothan[3]; these were of the tribe of Asher. Abraham, Theophilus, Arsam, Jason, Jeremiah, Daniel; these were of the tribe of Dan. Jeremiah, Eliezer, Zechariah, [ܦܠܝ] Benaiah, Elisha, Dathî; these were of the tribe of Naphtali. Samuel, Josephus, Judah, Jonathan, Dositheus, Caleb; these were of the tribe of Joseph. Isalus, John, Theodosius, Arsam, Abijah[4], Ezekiel; these were of the tribe of Benjamin.

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[1] See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, *Synoptische Tafeln*, p. 9.

[2] The MSS. have '*the son of* Philadelphus,' both here and below.

[3] According to Bar-Hebraeus it was in his sixth year; *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bruns, p. 41. A list of the 72 translators is given in Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*. See Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 792, 15 *a*.

[4] The Vatican MS. and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 have ܐܘܪܢܝܐ.

[5] Vatican MS. *Datis*.

After Ptolemy Philadelphus arose Ptolemy Euergetes; (he reigned) 26 years[5].

Ptolemy Philopator, 17 years.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years.

Ptolemy Philometor, 35 years. The time of the Maccabees extended to this (reign), and in it the old Covenant came to an end.

Ptolemy Soter, 17 years[6].

Ptolemy Alexander, 18 years[7].

Ptolemy Dionysius, 30 years[8].

THE YEARS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Gaius Julius, 4 years.

Augustus, 57 years. In the forty-third year of his reign our Lord Christ was born[9].

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[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Jonathan.*

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Shalmî.*

[3] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 wrongly ܩܘܣܡ. ܩܘܒܢ. The Vatican MS. has also *Jonathan.*

[4] Or, as pointed in the text, *Abbâyâ.* Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, ܐܒܠܓܘܣ.

[5] Lepsius, 25 years.

[6] I. e. Ptolemy Soter II. Lepsius, 36 years.

[7] See the notes in Lepsius, p. 9 of the Tables.

[8] Lepsius, 29 years.

[9] For the authorities and their opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii, p. 260.

Tiberius, 23 years. In the fifteenth year of his reign our Lord was baptised; and in the seventeenth year He suffered, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven[1].

Gaius (Caligula), 4 years.

Claudius, 14 years.

Nero, 14 years. [ܦܠܣ]

Vespasian, 10 years. Immediately after he came to the throne, he sent his son Titus against Jerusalem, and he besieged it for two years, until he uprooted it and destroyed it.

Titus, 2 years.

Domitian, 15 years.

Trajan, 20 years[2]. John, the son of Zebedee, lived until the seventh year of his reign.

Hadrian, 20 years.

Antoninus, 20 years[3].

Verus, 20 years[4].

Commodus, 14 years[5].

Severus, 20 years[6].

The house of Antoninus.

Alexander the son of Mammaea, 13 years.

Maximinius and Gordianus, 9 years.

Philip and Gallus, 10 years.

Valerianus and Gallius (Gallienus), 15 years[7].

Claudius and Tacitus, 16 years[8].

Diocletian and those that were with him, 20 years.

Constantine, 33 years[9].

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[1] For the various opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 12.

[2] He reigned 19 years (A.D. 99–117). Solomon probably includes the reign of Nerva, 1 year.

[3] He reigned 23 years (A.D. 139–161).

[4] See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 846.

[5] He reigned 12 years (A.D. 181–192).

[6] He reigned 18 years (A.D. 194–211).

[7] Philip reigned A.D. 245–249, i.e. 5 years. Decius came next and reigned 2 years. Gallus reigned 1 year, A.D. 252.

[8] Claudius reigned 2 years, A.D. 269–270; and Tacitus died A.D. 276.

[9] He reigned 31 years, A.D. 307–337.

THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS FROM SHÂBÔR (SAPOR) THE SON OF HORMIZD[1].

In the fourth year of Constantine Caesar the Victorious, Shâbôr reigned in Persia 70 years. [ܡܠܟ]

Ardashîr his brother, 20 years.
Vahrân (Bahrâm) and Shâbôr, the sons of Ardashîr, 20 years.
Yazdagerd, the son of Shâbôr, 20 years.
Vahrân (Bahrâm), the son of Yazdagerd, 20 years.
Pêrôz, the son of Yazdagerd, 27 years.
Balâsh, the son of Pêrôz, 4 years.
Ḳawâd, the son of Pêrôz, 41 years.
Chosrau, the son of Ḳawâd, 47 years.
Hormizd, the son of Chosrau, 12 years.

From Shâbôr to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the son of Hormizd, in which he destroyed Dârâ[2], is three hundred and six years. The sum of all the years from Adam to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the conqueror, which is the nine hundred and sixteenth year of the Greeks[3], is 5861 years. From Adam to the Crucifixion is 5280 years. The whole of the Jewish economy therefore, from the time they went out of Egypt until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, was 1601 years. From Abraham to this year is 2031 years.

OF THE YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED AWAY FROM THE WORLD.

From Adam to the Flood was 2262 years. From the Flood to Abraham was 1015 years. From Abraham to [ܡܦܩ] the Exodus of the people from Egypt was 430 years. From the Exodus of the people by the hand of Moses to Solomon and the building of the Temple was 400 years. From Solomon to the first Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive, was 495 years. From the first Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was 180 years. From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth of our Lord was 483 years. All these years make 5345 years[1]. From Alexander to our Lord was 303 years. From our Lord to Constantine was 341 years. In the year 438 of Alexander the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning[2]. Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

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[1] For a list of the Sasanian kings see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 436 *a*; and Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. i, p. 437.

[2] Schoenfelder, p. 86, *quo hoc genus expirat!* See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 239, 290 sqq.; Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 62.

[3] I. e. A.D. 604. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 436 *a*.

CHAPTER LIII[3].

OF THE END OF TIMES AND THE CHANGE OF KINGDOMS[4]; FROM THE BOOK OF METHODIUS, BISHOP OF ROME[5].

IN this seventh and last millennium will the kingdom of the Persians be destroyed. In it will the children of Ishmael go forth from the wilderness of Yathrib (al-Medînah), and they will all come and be gathered together in Gibeah of Ramah, and there shall the fat ones of the kingdom of the Greeks, who destroyed the kingdoms of the Hebrews and the Persians, be destroyed by Ishmael, the wild ass of the desert; for in wrath shall he be sent against the whole earth, against man and beast and trees, and it shall be a merciless chastisement. It is not [ܡܣܒܐ] because God loves them that He has allowed them to enter into the kingdoms of the Christians, but by reason of the iniquity and sin which is wrought by the Christians, the like of which has never been wrought in any one of the former generations. They are mad with drunkenness and anger and shameless lasciviousness; they have intercourse with one another wickedly, a man and his son committing fornication with one woman, the brother with his brother's wife, male with male, and female with female, contrary to the law of nature and of Scripture, as the blessed Paul has said, 'Male with male did work shame, and likewise also the women did work lewdness, and, contrary to nature, had intercourse with one another[1].' Therefore they have brought upon themselves the recompense of punishment which is meet for their error, women as well as men, and hence God will deliver them over to the impurity of the barbarians, that their wives may be polluted by the sons of pollution, and men may be subjected to the yoke of tribute; then shall men sell everything that they have and give it to them, but shall not be able to pay the debt of the tribute, until they give also their children to them into slavery. And the tyrant shall exalt himself until he demands tribute and poll-tax from the dead that lie in the dust, first oppressing the orphans and defrauding the widows. They will have no pity upon the poor, nor will they spare the miserable; they will not relieve the afflicted; they will smite the grey hairs of the aged, despise the wise, and honour fools; they will mock at those who frame laws, and the little shall be esteemed as the great, and the despised as the honourable; their words shall cut like swords, [ܦܣܝܒ] and there is none who shall be able to change the persuasive force of their words. The path of their chastisement shall be from sea to sea, and from east to west, and from north to south, and to the wilderness of Yathrib. In their latter days there shall be great tribulation, old men and old women hungering and thirsting, and tortured in bonds until they account the dead happy. They will rip up the pregnant woman, and tear infants away from their mothers' bosoms and sell them like beasts, and those that are of no use to them will they dash against the stones. They will slay the priests and deacons in the sanctuary, and they will lie with their wives in the houses of God. They will make clothes for themselves and their wives out of the holy vestments, and they will spread them upon their horses, and work impurity upon them in their beds. They will bring their cattle into the churches and altars, and they will tie up their dogs by the shrines of the saints. In those days the spirit of the righteous and of them that are well versed in signs will be grieved. The feeble will deny the true faith, the holy Cross, and the life-giving mysteries; and without compulsion many will deny Christ, and become rebels and slanderers and boasters, denying the faith. With this chastisement shall the Christians be tried. For at that time the righteous, the humble, the peaceful and the gentle will not be sought after, but liars and slanderers and accusers and disturbers and the obscene and those who are destitute of mercy, and those who scoff at their parents and blaspheme the life-giving mysteries. And the true believers shall come into troubles [ܡܓܠ] and persecutions until they despair of their lives. Honour shall be taken away from the priests, and the pastors shall become as the people. When the measure of their (i. e. the Ishmaelites') victory is full, tribulation will increase, and chastisement will be doubled upon man and beast. And there shall be a great famine, and the dead bodies of men shall lie in the streets and squares without any one to bury them, and (just) reckoning shall vanish and disappear from the earth. And men shall sell their brass and their iron and their clothes, and shall give their sons and their daughters willingly to the heathen. A man shall lie down in the evening and rise in the morning, and shall find at his door two or three exactors and officers to carry off by force[1]; and two or three women shall throw themselves upon one man and say, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us take refuge beneath thy skirts[2].' When men are oppressed and beaten, and hunger and thirst, and are tormented by that bitter chastisement; while the tyrants shall live luxuriously and enjoy themselves, and eat and drink, and boast in the victory they have won, having destroyed nations and peoples, and shall adorn themselves like brides, saying, 'The Christians have neither a God nor a deliverer;' then all of a sudden there shall be raised up against them pains like those of a woman in childbirth; and the king of the Greeks shall go forth against them in great wrath, and he shall rouse himself like a man who has shaken off his wine. He shall go forth against them from the sea of the Cushites, and shall cast the sword and destruction into the wilderness of Yathrib and into the dwelling-place [ܡܓܕ] of their fathers. They shall carry off captive their wives and sons and daughters into the service of slavery, and fear of all those round about them shall fall upon them, and they shall all be delivered into the hand of the king of the Greeks, and shall be given over to the sword and to captivity and to slaughter, and their latter subjection shall be one hundred times more severe than their

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[1] I can only make 5265 years.

[2] It should be 'in the year 538,' as the Sasanian dynasty was founded by Ardashîr I in A.D. 226.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. liv, fol. 191 *b*.

[4] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 53; and the revelation to Methodius in prison, edited by Brant, Basel, 1516, 4to, pp. 1–80.

[5] Solomon has made a slip here: Methodius was bishop of Olympus and Tyre, but never of Rome.

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[1] Rom. i. 26, 27.

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[1] I have omitted ܩ̈ܣܛܝܢܐ with MS. C.

[2] Isa. iv. 1.

(former) yoke. They shall be in sore tribulation from hunger and thirst and anxiety; they shall be slaves unto those who served them, and bitter shall their slavery be. Then shall the earth which has become desolate of its inhabitants find peace, and the remnant that is left shall return every man to his own land and to the inheritance of his fathers; and men shall increase like locusts upon the earth which was laid waste. Egypt shall be ravaged, Arabia shall be burnt with fire, the land of Hebron shall be laid waste, and the tongue of the sea shall be at peace. All the wrath and anger of the king of the Greeks shall have full course upon those who have denied Christ. And there shall be great peace on earth, the like of which has not been from the creation of the world until its end; for it is the last peace. And there shall be great joy on earth, and men shall dwell in peace and quiet; convents and churches shall be restored, cities shall be built, the priests shall be freed from taxes, and men shall rest from labour and anxiety of heart. They shall eat and drink; there shall be neither pain nor care; and they shall marry wives and beget children during that true peace. Then shall the gates of the north be opened, and the nations shall go forth that were imprisoned there by Alexander the king. [ܫܠܡ]

CHAPTER LIV[1].

OF GOG AND MAGOG, WHO ARE IMPRISONED IN THE NORTH.

WHEN Alexander was king and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw on the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all (other) dwellers in the world; filthy peoples of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead, and they ate as dainties the children which women aborted and the after-birth. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and made them go in, and shut them up within the confines of the North. This is the gate of the world on the north, and there is no other entrance or exit from the confines of the world from the east to the north. And Alexander prayed to God with tears, and God heard his prayer and commanded those two lofty mountains which are called 'the children of the north,' and they drew nigh to one another until there remained between them about twelve cubits. Then he built in front of them a strong building, and he made for it a door of brass, and anointed it within and without with oil of *Thesnaḳṭîs*[1], so that if they should bring[2] iron (implements) near it [ܢܩܫܘ] to force it open, they would be unable to move it; and if they wished to melt it with fire, it would quench it; and it feared neither the operations of devils nor of sorcerers, and was not to be overcome (by them). Now there were twenty-two kingdoms imprisoned within the northern gate, and their names are these: Gôg, Mâgôg, Nâwâl, Eshkĕnâz[3], Dĕnâphâr[4], Paḳṭâyê, Wĕlôṭâyê[5], Humnâyê, Parzâyê, Daḳlâyê, Thaubĕlâyê[6], Darmĕṭâyê, Kawkĕbâyê, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emdĕrâthâ, Garmîdô', Cannibals[7], Therḳâyê, Âlânâyê, Pîsîlôn, Denḳâyê[8], Salṭrâyê[9]. At the end of the world and at the final consummation, when men are eating and drinking and marrying wives, and women are given to husbands; when they are planting vineyards and building buildings, and there is neither wicked man nor adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger, and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of animals; they will devour the creeping things of the earth, and hunt for serpents and scorpions and reptiles that shoot out venom, and eat them. They will eat dead dogs and cats[1], and the abortions of women with the after-birth; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. [ܩܡܕ] They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa[2], for thither will all those (people) be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters; and by the command of God one of the hosts of the angels will descend and will destroy them in one moment.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lv, fol. 197 *a*. See Brant's edition of *Methodius*, p. 20.

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[1] Bar Bahlûl, Brit. Mus. Add. 2441, fol. 395 *a*, col. 2: ܬܗܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܣܪܘ.
ܗ̄. مترنّج مترجّج. [ܕ]ܙ̄ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܬܗܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܟܠܡܟ. ܬܗܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܐܡܟܣܝܣܘ ܕܒܘܩ
ܘ̈ܚܢܝܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܢܫܬܪܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܙܠܐ. زَعَمَ منديوس انّ اسكندر
عَمِلَ منه السّدّ الذي رَدَمَهُ علي ياجُوج وماجُوج. [ܕ]ܙ̄ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܟܠܡܟ ܬܗܣܢܩܛܝܣ.

[2] The MSS. have ܢܩܪܒܘܢ, but we should read ܡܩܪܒܘܢ.

[3] C, *Eshkîn*.

[4] B, *Dîfâr*.

[5] C, *Lûdâyê*; A omits the name.

[6] B, *Tuklâyê*.

[7] A, C have: *Kaukĕbâyê*, *Emrartâ*, *Garmîdô'*, *Cannibals*, *Dog-men* (Cynocephali).

[8] B, *Dunḳâyê*.

[9] B, *Salṭâyê*.—Some of these names are biblical, e.g. Gog, Magog, and Ashkenaz. Of the others many are doubtless corrupt, as the variants shew, but a few are easily recognisable; e.g. *Paḳṭâyê*, the people of Πακτύη in the Thracian Chersonesus; *Humnâyê* = *Hunnâyê*, ܗܘ̈ܢܝܐ, the Huns, Οὖννοι; *Therḳâyê*, the Thracians, Θρᾷκες; and *Âlânâyê*, the Alani, 'Αλανοί, آلّان.

CHAPTER LV[3].

OF THE COMING OF THE ANTICHRIST, THE SON OF PERDITION.

In a week and half a week[4] after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three (cities) in the Gospel[5]. As soon as the son of perdition is revealed, the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven, and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross will be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kûshath the daughter of Pîl, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus) the king of the Greeks took Kûshath to wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David has said, 'Cush will deliver the power to God[1].' When the Cross is raised up to heaven, [ܡܚܕܐ] straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will shew deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will shew deluding phantasms (of this kind), but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the temple saying, 'I am the Christ;' and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and saying, 'I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables.' He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling-place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before [ܡܟܠ] all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, 'This is the

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[1] The text has *weasels* (ܩܘ̈ܩܡܬܐ=γαλῆ), glossed by *cats* (ܩܛܘ̈, a word of unknown origin).

[2] So B, C ܝܘܦܐ; but A has Nôphê, ܢܘܦܐ.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lvi, fol. 198 *b*.

[4] See Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, ii, col. 618.

[5] Matt. xi. 21.

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[1] Ps. lxviii. 31.

Christ, the expectation of the world.' The time of the error of the Antichrist will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when every one is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

CHAPTER LVI[1].

OF DEATH AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE SOUL FROM THE BODY.

THE foundation of all good and precious things, of all the greatness of God's gifts, of His true love, and of our arriving in His presence, is Death. Men die in five ways. Naturally; as David said, 'Unless his day come and he die,' alluding to Saul[2]. Voluntarily; as when Saul killed himself in the battle with the Philistines. By accident; such as a fall from a roof, and other fatal accidents. By violence, from devils and men and wild beasts and venomous reptiles. By (divine) chastisement; as the flood in the days of Noah, and the fire which fell upon the Sodomites, and other such like things. But (side by side) with all these kinds of fatalities runs the providence of God's government, which cannot be comprehended by the creatures, restraining (them) where it is meet (to restrain), and letting (them) loose where it is fitting (to let loose). This government is not comprehended in this world, neither by angels nor by men; but in the world which is to come all rational beings will know it. When the soul goes forth from [ܦܙ] the body, as Abbâ Isaiah says, the angels go with it: then the hosts of darkness go forth to meet it, seeking to seize it and examine it, if there be anything of theirs in it. Then the angels do not fight with them, but those deeds which the soul has wrought protect it and guard it, that they come not near it. If its deeds be victorious, then the angels sing praises before it until it meets God with joy. In that hour the soul forgets every deed of this world. Consequently, no one who does not obtain remission (of sins) in this world can be free from the penalty of examination in that day. Not that there is torture or pleasure or recompense before the resurrection; but the soul knows everything that it has done whether of good or evil.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lvii, fol. 200 *a*.

[2] I Sam. xxvi. 10.

As to where the souls abide from the time they leave their bodies until the resurrection, some say that they are taken up to heaven, that is, to the region of spirit, where the celestial hosts dwell. Others say that they go to Paradise, that is, to the place which is abundantly supplied with the good things of the mystery of the revelations of God; and that the souls of sinners lie in darkness in the abyss of Eden outside Paradise. Others say that they are buried with their bodies; that is to say, as the two were buried in God at baptism, so also will they now dwell in Him until the day of the resurrection. Others say that they stand at the mouth of the graves and await their Redeemer; that is to say, they possess the knowledge of the resurrection of their bodies. Others say that they are as it were in a slumber, [ܦܢܝܐ] because of the shortness of the time; for they point out in regard to them that what seems to us a very long time is to them as a momentary nod (or wink) in its shortness[1]. And just as he that is sunk in slumber departs from the life of this world, and yet does not arrive at absolute mortality, so also are they in an intermediate knowledge which is higher than that of this world, and yet attain not to that which is after the resurrection. Those who say that they are like an infant which has no knowledge, shew that they call even the knowledge of the truth ignorance in comparison with that knowledge of the truth which shall be bestowed upon them after the resurrection.

That the souls of the righteous pray, and that their prayers assist those who take refuge with them, may be learned from many, especially from Mâr Theodore in his account of the blessed Thecla. Therefore it is right for those who have a holy man for a friend, to rejoice when he goes to our Lord in Paradise, because their friend has the power to help them by his prayers. Like the blind disciple of one of the saints mentioned in the Book of the Paradise, who, when his master was dying, wept bitterly and said, 'To whose care dost thou leave the poor blind man?' And his master encouraged him, and said to him, 'I believe in God that, if I find mercy in His sight, at the end of a week thou wilt see;' and after some days he did see. The souls of the righteous also hold spiritual conversation with each other, according to the Divine permission and command which moves them to this by necessary causes. Neither those who have departed this life in the flesh are hindered from this (intercourse), [ܡܢܒ] nor those who are still clad in their fleshly garments, if they live their life in them holily.

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 322–323.

CHAPTER LVII[1].

OF THE QUICKENING AND THE GENERAL RESURRECTION, THE CONSUMMATION OF THE MATERIAL WORLD AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW WORLD.

AFTER Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction, and encourages the believers, for a space and a time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel. Its light will overpower the light of the sun, to the reproach and putting to shame of the infidels and the crucifying Jews. As soon as the life-giving Cross appears before our Lord, as the Doctor saith, 'His victory comes before Him,' etc., then a powerful light will fill the whole vaulted space between the heavens and the earth, the radiance and light whereof will be above all (other) lights; and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard, concerning which our Lord said, 'At midnight there will be a cry, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him[2]."' At this trumpet the sun shall become dark, the moon shall not display its light, the stars shall drop from the heavens like leaves, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved. The earth shall totter and tremble, the mountains and hills shall melt, the sea shall be disturbed and shall cause terrible sounds to be heard. The rivers [ܡܢܠ] shall submerge the earth, the trees shall be uprooted, buildings shall fall, towns and villages shall be overturned, and high walls and strong towers shall be thrown down. The wild beasts and cattle and fowl and fish shall come to an end and perish; and everything shall be destroyed, except a few human beings who shall remain alive, and whom the resurrection shall overtake, of whom Paul has said, 'We who are left shall not overtake them that sleep[1],' meaning to say that those who are found alive at the time of the resurrection will not sleep the sleep of death; as the apostle says again, 'Behold I tell you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed[2].' As touching the heavens, some say that they will be rent, and that the waters which are above the firmament will descend, for it is not possible for the substance of water to pass through the substance of the firmament. Others say that as water passes through a tree or a piece of pottery, and sweat through the skin, so also will men enter into heaven and not be prevented, and (in like manner too) will the waters descend from above. Others say that the firmament will be rolled up like the curtain of a tent.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lviii, fol. 202 *b*.

[2] Matt. xxv. 6.

The second trumpet is that at the sound of which the firmament will be opened, and our Lord will appear from heaven in splendour and great glory. He will come down with the glory of His divinity as far as two-thirds of the distance between the firmament and the earth, whither Paul ascended in the spirit of revelation[3]. He will then make an end of the son of perdition, and destroy him body and soul, and He will hurl Satan and the devils into Gehenna.

The third trumpet is the last, at which the dead will rise, [ܡܓܕ.] and the living be changed, as the blessed Paul says, 'Swiftly, as in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet when it sounds; and the dead shall rise without corruption, and we shall be changed[4].' So swiftly and speedily will the resurrection of all men be wrought, according to the spiritual nature of the new world. For the swiftness of the resurrection will surpass the swiftness of understanding, and the spiritual hosts alone see and know in what manner it will take place, every man being suddenly found standing in his spirituality. Some men therefore have a tradition that the resurrection of the righteous and the just and the believers will precede that of other men, who are remote from the true faith; but according to the opinion of the truthful and of people generally, the resurrection of the whole human race will take place quicker than lightning and than the twinkling of an eye; from the generation of Adam to the latest generation they shall rise at the last trumpet. And though, according to the opinion of the Expositor[1], many sounds will be heard on that night, each one of which is a sign of what will happen, yet, according to the consent of the greater part of the expositors and of Scripture, three distinct trumpets will sound by which the whole work of the resurrection will be completed and finished. Michael the expositor and exegete, however, says otherwise in the book of Questions[2], speaking as follows: 'The world will not pass away and be dissolved before the vivification of the dead, but the coming of our Lord will be seen first of all, who will come with the spiritual hosts; and immediately our Lord's power will compel the earth to give up the parts of the bodies of men who have been slain and have become dust and ashes within it; and there will be a making ready and preparation of the souls to receive their bodies all together. If, before the vivification of the dead [ܡܢܝܗ], the world and all that is therein were to pass away, from whence pray would the dead rise? Those who say that the world will pass away before the vivification of the dead are fools and simpletons; for Christ will not make the world pass away before the vivification of the dead, but He will first of all raise the dead, and men will see with their eyes the passing away of the world, the uprooting of the elements, and the destruction of the heavens and the earth and the sun and the moon and the stars; and from here sorrow will begin to reign in the mind of the wicked, and endless joy in the mind of the righteous.'

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[1] Solomon is quoting 1 Thes. iv. 15 (Pĕshîṭtâ): ܗܳܕܶܐ ܓܶܝܪ ܐܳܡܪܺܝܢܰܢ ܠܟܽܘܢ ܒܡܶܠܬܶܗ ܕܡܳܪܰܢ. ܕܰܚܢܰܢ ܐܰܝܠܶܝܢ ܕܰܡܫܬܰܚܪܺܝܢ ܒܡܶܐܬܺܝܬܶܗ ܕܡܳܪܰܢ ܕܰܚܝܺܝܢ: ܠܳܐ ܢܰܕܪܶܟ ܠܰܐܝܠܶܝܢ ܕܰܕܡܶܟܘ.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 51. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 2. [4] 1 Cor. xv. 52.

CHAPTER LVIII[3].

OF THE MANNER AND STATE IN WHICH MEN WILL RISE IN THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION.

ALL classes and conditions of men will rise from the dead in the state of the perfect form of Christ, about thirty-three years of age, even as our

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[1] Probably Theodore of Mopsuestia.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 147; Hoffmann, *Opusc. Nest.*, p. xxi.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lix, fol. 204 *b*.

Redeemer rose from the grave. We shall rise with all our limbs perfect, and with the same constitutions, without addition or diminution. Some say that the hair and nails and prepuce will rise, and some say they will not; as if they were superfluous for the completion of the nature of man. Some say concerning the resurrection that a likeness only will rise, without parts and without the composition of the limbs of man; a mere similitude of hands and feet and hardness of bones. Others say that the whole man will be cast into one crystalline substance, and that all his parts will be mingled together; and they do not grant him an ordered arrangement of composition. Others say that the vessels [ܡܢܗ] which are inside the belly, such as the bowels, liver, etc., will not rise; but they err and stray from the truth, and do not understand that if one of the parts of the body perish, it is not perfect. For Paul shewed plainly and laid down an example of the resurrection in the grain of wheat: just as that grows up entire with its glory, without any portion of it having perished, even so we; for the whole man shall rise with all his limbs and parts, and ordered in his composition as now, only having acquired purification from the humours. And this is not surprising, that if an earthen vessel acquires firmness and lightness when it goes into the fiery furnace, without any change taking place in its shape or form, but is lightened of its heaviness and density, whilst it preserves its shape uninjured; so also should the Holy Spirit burn us in the furnace of the resurrection and drive forth from us all the foul material of the present (life), and clothe us with incorruptibility. 'It is sown an animal body; it rises a spiritual body[1].' We shall neither see nor hear with all our bodily members, although some men have thought that the whole man will be sight and hearing; but we shall carry out action with these same usual limbs, if it happen to be necessary; although we shall not there need speech and conversation with one another, because each other's secrets will be revealed to us.

The things which certain stupid men invent, who indulge their fancy, and give bodily form to the punishment of sinners and the reward of the just and righteous, [ܡܢܝ] and say that there is at the resurrection a reckoning and a pair of scales, the Church does not receive; but each one of us carries his light and his fire within him, and his heaviness and his lightness is found in his own nature. Just as stone and iron naturally possess the property of falling to the earth, and as the air naturally ascends upward on account of its rarity and its lightness; so also in the resurrection, he that is heavy and lying in sins, his sins will bring him down; and he that is free from the rust of sin, his purity will make him rise in the scale. And our Lord will ascend to heaven, and the angels (will go) before Him like ambassadors, and the just and the righteous will be upon His right hand and His left, and the children behind Him in the form of the life-giving Cross.

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 44.

CHAPTER LIX[1].

OF THE HAPPINESS OF THE RIGHTEOUS AND THE TORMENT OF SINNERS, AND IN WHAT STATE THEY ARE THERE.

It is right for us to know and explain how those suffer, who suffer in Gehenna. If they do suffer, how can we say that they are impassible? and if they do not suffer, then there is no torture for sinners; and if there be no torture for sinners in proportion to their sins, neither can there be happiness for the righteous as a reward for their labours. The suffering wherewith the Fathers say that sinners will suffer in Gehenna is not one that will pain the limbs, such as the blows of sticks, the mutilation of the flesh, and the breaking of the bones, but one that will afflict the soul, such as grief for the transgression of what is right, repentance for shameful deeds, and banishment from one to whom he is bound [ܡܚܫ] in love and for whom his affection is strong. For in the resurrection we shall not be without perception, like the sun which perceives not his splendour, nor the moon her brilliancy, nor the pearl its beauty; but by the power of reason we shall feel perfectly the delight of our happiness or the keen pain of our torture. So then by that which enables the righteous to perceive the pleasure of their happiness, by that selfsame thing will the wicked also perceive the suffering of their torment; (that is) by the power capable of receiving pleasure, which is the intelligence. Hence it is right for us to be certain that intelligence will not be taken away from us, but it will receive the utmost purification and refinement. The glorious and good things of the world which is to come are not to be compared with those of this world; for if all the glorious and good things and delights of this world were given to us in the world which is to come, we should look upon them as hateful and abominable, and they would not be able to give us pleasure or to gladden us; and our nature by the blessedness of its immortality would be exalted above all their glory and desirability. And if all the torments and afflictions and troubles of this world were brought near to us in the world which is to come, the pain of them would make no impression upon our immortal and immutable nature. Hence the pleasure of that world is something beyond all comparison more glorious and excellent and exalted than those of this world; and the torment of yonder is likewise something beyond all comparison more severe and more bitter than any that is here.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lx, fol. 205 *b*.

It is also right for us to explain the quality of the light of the righteous. The light of the righteous is not of a natural origin like this elemental light (of ours), but some of the light of our Lord—whose splendour surpasses ten thousand suns—is diffused and shed upon them. [ܩܠ] Each saint shines in proportion to his purity, and holiness and refinement and sincerity, as the blessed Paul has said, 'One star surpasseth another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead [1].' And although all the saints will be happy in one kingdom, yet he who is near to the King or the Bridegroom will be separated from him whose place is at the end of the guest-chamber, even though his place be in the same chamber. So also with the sinners in Gehenna; their sentence will not be alike, for in proportion to the sin of each will be his torment. And as the light of the sun is not to be compared with the light of the moon, nor is the light of the moon like that of the stars, so also will the happiness of the righteous be, although the name and honour of righteousness be laid upon and spread over all of them. And as the light of our Lord's humanity will pass over all our limbs without distinction, and take the place of dress and ornament for us, so also with all our members shall we perceive the suffering and torment of Gehenna. The festal garments which our Lord has prepared for His saints, the children of light, are impassibility; and the filthy garments which hinder us from entering into the spiritual bridal-chamber are the passions. In the new world there will be no distinctive names for ranks and conditions of human beings; and as every name and surname attributed to God and the angels had its origin from this world, and names for human beings were assigned and distributed by the government of this world, in the world of spiritual and intellectual natures there will be [ܒܣ] neither names nor surnames among them, nor male nor female, nor slave nor free, nor child nor old man, nor Ethiopian nor Roman (Greek); but they will all rise in the one perfect form of a man thirty-three years of age, as our Lord rose from the dead. In the world to come there will be no companies or bands but two; the one of the angels and the righteous, who will mingle and form one Church, and the other of the devils and sinners in Gehenna.

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42.

CHAPTER LX[1].

WHETHER MERCY WILL BE SHEWN TO SINNERS AND THE DEVILS IN GEHENNA, AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN TORMENTED AND SUFFERED AND BEEN PUNISHED, OR NOT? AND IF MERCY IS TO BE SHEWN TO THEM, WHEN WILL IT BE?

SOME of the Fathers terrify us beyond our strength and throw us into despair; and their opinion is well adapted to the simple-minded and trangressors of the law. Others of them encourage us and bid us rely upon Divine mercy; and their opinions are suitable and adapted to the perfect and those of settled minds and the pious. In the 'Book of Memorials' it is thus written: 'This world is the world of repentance, but the world which is to come is the world of retribution. As in this world repentance saves until the last breath, so in the world to come justice exacts to the uttermost farthing. And as it is impossible to see here strict justice unmingled with mercy, so it is impossible to find there strict justice mingled with mercy.' [ܒܣܐ] Mâr Isaac says thus: 'Those who are to be scourged in Gehenna will be tortured with stripes of love; they who feel that they have sinned against love will suffer harder and more severe pangs from love than the pain that springs from fear.' Again he says: 'The recompense of sinners will be this: the resurrection itself will be their recompense instead of the recompense of justice; and at the last He will clothe those bodies which have trodden down His laws with the glory of perfection. This act of grace to us after we have sinned is greater than that which, when we were not, brought our nature into being.' Again he says: 'In the world which is to come grace will be the judge and not justice.' Mâr Theodore the Expositor says: 'Those who have here chosen fair things will receive in the world to come the pleasure of good things with praises; but the wicked who have turned aside to evil things all their life, when they are become ordered in their minds by penalties and the fear that springs from them, and choose good things, and learn how much they have sinned by having persevered in evil things and not in good things, and by means of these things receive the knowledge of the highest doctrine of the fear of God, and become instructed to lay hold of it with a good will, will be deemed worthy of the happiness of the Divine liberality. For He would never have said, "Until thou payest the uttermost farthing," unless it had been possible for us to be freed from our sins through having atoned for them by paying the penalty; neither would He have said, "he shall be beaten with many stripes," or "he shall be beaten with few stripes," unless it were [ܡܣܦܩ] that the penalties, being meted out according to the sins, should finally come to an end.' These things the Expositor has handed down in his books clearly and distinctly.

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[1] Some portions of this chapter have been translated by Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 323–324. See also Schoenfelder's translation, pp. 99, 100. In the Oxford MS. chap. lxi, fol. 208 *a*.

So also the blessed Diodorus, who says in the 'Book of the Dispensation[1]:' 'A lasting reward, which is worthy of the justice of the Giver, is laid up for the good, in return for their labours; and torment for sinners, but not everlasting, that the immortality which is prepared for them may not be worthless. They must however be tormented for a short time, as they deserve, in proportion to the measure of their iniquity and wickedness, according to the amount of the wickedness of their deeds. This they will have to bear, that they suffer for a short time; but immortal and unending happiness is prepared for them. If it be then that the rewards of good deeds are as great (in proportion to them) as the times of the immortality which are prepared for them are longer[1] than the times of the limited contests which take place in this world, the torments for many and great sins must be very much less than the greatness of mercy. So then it is not for the good only that the grace of the resurrection from the dead is intended, but also for the wicked; for the grace of God greatly honours the good, but chastises the wicked sparingly.'

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 29, and note 2.

Again he says: 'God pours out the wages of reward beyond the measure of the labours (wrought), and in the abundance of His goodness He lessens and diminishes the penalty of those [ܡܫܬܠܐ] who are to be tormented, and in His mercy He shortens and reduces the length of the time. But even thus He does not punish the whole time according to (the length of) the time of folly, seeing that He requites them far less than they deserve, just as He does the good beyond the measure and period (of their deserts); for the reward is everlasting. It has not been revealed whether the goodness of God wishes to punish without ceasing the blameworthy[2] who have been found guilty of evil deeds (or not), as we have already said before. * * * * *

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But if punishment is to be weighed out according to sin, not even so would punishment be endless. For as regards that which is said in the Gospel, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal[4];' this word 'eternal' (*lĕ-'âlam*) is not definite: for if it be not so, how did Peter say to our Lord, 'Thou shalt never wash my feet[5],' and yet He washed him? And of Babylon He said, 'No man shall dwell therein for ever and ever[6],' and behold many generations dwell therein. In the 'Book of Memorials' he says: 'I hold what the most celebrated of the holy Fathers say, that He cuts off a little from much. The penalty of Gehenna is a man's mind; for the punishment there is of two kinds, that of the body and that of the mind. That of the body is perhaps in proportion to the degree of sin, and He lessens and diminishes its duration; but that of the mind is for ever, and the judgment is for ever.' But in the New Testament *lĕ-'âlam* is not without end. [ܦܣܕ] To Him be glory and dominion and praise and exaltation and honour for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

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[1] Reading ܡܬܡܬܚܝܢ with the Vatican MS. instead of ܡܬܡܫܚܝܢ.

[2] Reading ܠܚܝ̈ܒܘܬܐ for ܠܚܝ̈ܒܐ.

[3] This sentence, from ܠܐ ܙܒ̈ܢ ܗܘܐ ܟܠܗ to ܗܘ̇ ܕܠܐ ܦܣܝܩܐ, seems to me to be untranslatable as it now stands.

[4] Matt. xxv. 46.

[5] John xiii. 8.

[6] Isa. xiii. 20.

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قد عظمت مكث[1] الازمنه التي استلذت[2] اكثر من الازمنه[3] المجاهدة المحدوده التي هاهنا عندنا في هذا الوجود. كذلك ايضا العذاب الذي يكون بدل لخطايا العظيمه الكثيره جدا. تجدها يسيره واحقر مما تظن عند عظم الرحمه حتي ايضا لا تكون[4] القيامه محسوبه فقط. رحمه علي الاخيار وحودهم يوم الانبعاث من الموتي. الا وايضا من اجل لخطاه. لان رحمة الله تكرم الابرار والاخيار. وكذلك ايضا تشفق علي الفجار عند عقابهم وقشرهم ❖ وايضا انا نقول عن عدل الله لانه اكثر يزيد الاجره اكثر من اتعاب غاية[5] لحد. وكذلك ميراث رحمته ينقص ويقصر العذاب عن اوليك المعذبون. وايضا يقصر طول لحدود عنهم. وهذا اوعده ببشارة رحمته ولا ايضا هكذا اعذب الي طول الدهور. كما كان طول زمان السيات. بل انقص من ما استحقه. فذلك يجازيهم الانتقام. وكما ان عدله يوم ميزانه زايد لحد دايم باتجار نحو الصديقين مع الصالحين والابرار والقديسين والتوابين ❖ وكذلك لم يكشف لاحدا[6] كم هي الرحمه التي استعادت انها تعذب المذمومات[7] الصايره من لخطاه فقط بلا فتور كما سبقنا اخبرنا من المتقدم. لان ليسو هكذا فهو لازم انتقام ودينونه كمثل ما هو ثابت لازم نعيم الملكوت بغير زوال البته ❖ فان كان ميزان العثرات[8] يتزن. فليس العذاب يكون[9] بلا انتها[10]. لان قال الانجيل المقدس ينطلقون اولايك الي عذاب الابد. والصالحين الي حياة الابد. فهذا الاسم الذي هو الابد ليسو محدودا بلا انتها[10]. واذ لم هو هكذا فكيف قال بطرس للسيد الي الابد لم تغسل لي رجلي. ولساعته عاد غسل له رجليه. وقال في كتاب احد الانبيا اني الي ابد الابدين لا تعود بابل تعمر. وعادت عمرت وفيها عالم لا يعد. وقيل ايضا عن قديسين اناس مجاهدين. كان الابد وجد لذاك يكون في عذاب الجحيم يسيرا من كثيرًا. فهذا تفسيره لانه بمعناي ين. اولها انه وثانيها عذابين[11]. طبعي وعقلي. فاما كونه قال اعني قدر جملة لخطا وزمانه. فسخه وقصره ❖ واما تفسير العقلي هذا الذي يثبت[12] اليا°لابد[13] فسمي من السيد حياة الابد وغنيمة الابد لان اسم الابد في الجديده ليس لها انتها ❖ والمجد لله دايما وعلينا رحمته اليا°لابد اين[13] ❖

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[1] MS. مكت. [2] MS. استلدة. [3] MS. الازمه. [4] MS. ثكون. [5] MS. غياة.
[6] Read لاحد. [7] MS. المدمومات. [8] MS. العترات. [9] MS. يكن.
[10] MS. انتهي. [11] MS. عدبين. [12] MS. بتبت. [13] So MS. Read الي الابد and الي الابدين.

عجايب بالغه❖ ومريم القبطيه كانت زانيه غاية[1] الحد. فلما ندمت خرجت الي البريه عريانه ومكثت في تلك البريه تسعه واربعين سنه وصارت قديسه❖ وكما ان في هذا العالم توبه بهذه الاتعاب المشروحه الي حد النهايه[2] وفيها توبه تخلص الي اخر نسمه. فذلك ايضا في العالم الجديد عقاب الي اخر فلس يطلبه العدل منا. ان كسلنا عن عمل توبه❖ وايضا كما لا يكون[3] هاهنا عقابا عادل اذ لم يخالطه مزاج من راحه. فذلك فم في العالم الجديد ليسو عقابا الا ويخالطه راحه. لان مار اسحاق القديس هذا كان اسقف مدينة نينوي فساح عريان في بريه خاليه اربعين سنه يرعا الحشيش. وكشف له الله امورا سماءيه عقليه. وكتب كثير عن التوبه. وقال في بعض قوله. لان الذين يعاقبون بعذاب الجحيم ويجلدون. هولا تلحق بهم عناية رحمه بالعذاب لانه قال تكون قياسة مدة المجالد التي تكون من الود هناك الي الذين كانوا يعرفون انهم اخطو هاهنا بمحبه. وهم خاجلون مرعوبين من ذلك العذاب المخيف هناك❖ وايضا قال هذا القديس لان عذاب جزاي الخطاه هذا صار عوض مجازاة النقمه. فعند الانبعاث يوفيهم اياه. والاجساد التي داست وخالفت نواميس الله وشرايعه. فهو عند الاخير مجدا كامل يمنحهم اذا تابوا. عند نسمه (sic) عظيمه هي رحمة الخالق لان من بعد ما اخطينا وهلكنا من الحياه عاد خلقنا خلقه ثانيه❖ وايضا قال هذا القديس لان في العالم الجديد رحمه تكون[4] ولا كثرة نقمه. وقال عالم اخر مفسر. لان في عالم الجديد عن الذين اختاروا هاهنا حسنات مشكوره هولا ياخذون عوضها نعيم الخيرات. والارديا والاشرار الذين مالوا اذا عادوا يعاقبوا منها ورتبوا بدلها خوف بعقولهم ويندموا علي ما اذنبوا فيه. ويختاروا حسنات كي يستحقوا بارادة صالحه يتمسكون بها. هولا يوهلون شفاعه من رحمة الله. ليسو فقط قال انه حتي يدي الانسان اخر فلس. واذ لم هو مقتدر علي كل شي[5] اذا انتقم عقوبة الخطايا من المذنبون. فلم كان قال بانجيله ان ذاك الواحد عذاب كثير. والاخر عذاب يسير. فلولا ان لهذا الامر منتها واخره فلم كان ذكره من قبل هذه الجهتين❖ فهذا قاله هذا المفسر علانيه ظاهره. وقال مفسر اخر لان الاجرة الصالحه مهياه لاعمال الخير عوض اتعابهم مستحقين ذلك من احكام العدل المانح وعذاب الارديا ليسو دائم. كيما لا يكون لهم ذلك بغير انتفاع. لانهم غير فانيين بالعذاب المهيا لهم كيما يكونوا معاقبون دهر يسير كما استحقوه علي قدر عمل نفاقهم. وعلي قدر جملة شرور خطاياهم. واما تلك التي[6] ذكر. لانهم يعذبون زمان يسير يحتملوا ذلك. كذلك نعيم غير فاني بلا انتها ثابت عندهم❖ فان كان

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[1] MS. غايت.

[2] MS. النهايم.

[3] MS. يكن.

[4] MS. تكن.

[5] MS. شيا.

[6] MS. الثي.

اوليُك وحليتهم مثل رف حمام ام مثل النحل فرد حليه (sic) اي شكل. ليس تتغير صوره من صوره مثل ما نحن هاهنا. واحد اسود واخر اشقر. لان هذا العالم زرعنا فيه بالغيار. نقوم هناك بالمجد. لا اسودا ولا ابيضا ولا شيخا ولا طفل صغير. ولا حرا ولا عبدا. ولا رومي ولا عبراني ولا يوناني. بل جميعهم بشكل واحد مثل الملائكه. ولا يكون هناك انثي ولا ذكر لان ليس يحتاجون الي نسل. ولا يكون احدا[1] قصير واخر طويل ام واحد اعمي ام مقعد ام مفلوج. بل جميعهم قامة واحدة علي راي من هو ابن ثلثه وثلاثين سنه. كما انه قام ربنا من بين الاموات بقوة لاهوته. وليس يكون[2] هناك صنوف ومجامع والسن بل تجدهم لغة واحده عقيله جنب الملائكه وجماعه وبيعه واحده. وكذلك تجد في الجحيم الخطيه[3] علي جنب الشياطين بعذاب واحد معًا ورحمة الرب علينا امين *

CHAPTER LXI,

According to the Oxford MS.

لان بعض القديسين تخوفنا[4] خارج من طاقتنا. ويجعل فينا هذا قطع رجا. وفيهم من قد جعله الي اهل قليلين المعرفه والاطفال بعقلهم. والذين هم متجاوزين عن الشريعه. هذا نافع لهولاي زايد جدا. واخرين من الابا قد جعلوا تعزيه وكثرة تقوي ومسند علي رحمة الاله. فهذا الذهن[5] نافع لاهل الورع ليحفظ سرًا داخل عقولهم. والي اهل المجاهده الروحانيه. هذا كاين بهولا لان قد كتب تذكره هكذا. لان هذا العالم سمي عالم التوبه والاقرار بالخطايا. كما شرح ذلك يوحنا الصابغ قايل لاوليك الهاتفين الي صبغته. وطلب منهم اعتراف وتوبه واقرار[6] بخطاياهم. واما العالم العتيد[7] سمي عالم العقاب. فلما ان في هذا العالم يخلي الانسان بالاعتراف بخطاياه وحمل القانون بما يفرضه عليه الكاهن توبه. اعني صوم وسجود مطانوات[8] وقطع الاطعمه. ومن شرب خمر وقطع زيت. صيام بالغ بخبز وما من عشيه الي عشيه. هذا يخلي لان اسقف واحدا جعله بعض ملوك الكفر ذبح قدام الاوثان وعدها من كثرة ضعف البشريه من فزعه. وعند ذلك هرب الي البريه وتعرا وصار مع الوحوش زمان طويل فلما فعل هذه التوبه تحنن الله عليه وصارو عنه

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[1] Rather احد. [2] MS. يكن. [3] Read الخطاه. [4] Read يخوفنا.
[5] MS. الظهن. [6] MS. اقرار. [7] MS. العثيد. [8] Plur. of مطانوة, *μετάνοια*.

غير فاني وغير متغير لا يزوله شي[1] من الجهتين. لا من نعيم الصالحين ولا من عذاب الطالحين. فتد اتضح العدل لانه شي[1] اخر مجدا فضيل رفيع عالي من كل منظر. شبهه ذاك الذي لم يخطر علي ذهن[2] كسلان من الذي ينظرها هاهنا البته. كما ان النعيم الذي هاهنا كذلك العذاب الذي هناك افضل من شكل شبه عذاب هاهنا ❖ وايضا ينبغي انا نفسر ما هو حال ذلك الضيا نعيم الصديقين اعلمك لان ما هو ذلك النور جوهره من شي[3] من هذه العناصر المنظوره بل ذاك يكون[4] من نور اللاهوت[5] خاصة ربنا. ينبسط ويفيض علي الصديقين. الذي لو كان الف عاصر(sic) شموس من هذه المنظوره لم يكن لها قياس البته. وكل واحد من القديسين والصالحين والابرار يضي منه علي قدر قياسه وصفوه وطهارته وقداسته لان يستضي[6] ذاك القديس كما يقول بولص الرسول علي راي الكواكب تجدها نجمه افضل من نجمه بمجدها ❖ كذلك ايضا حياة الراقدين اذا نهضوا من البعث. انهم يقوموا بالمجد. بل جميعهم في ملك واحد متنعمون. الا تجدهم مميزون اعني الذي تنظره جنب الملك من الذي هو في اخر رتبه في العرس. وكذلك ايضا بهذا القياس تجد الخطاه في الجحيم. ليسو مساوة واحد[7] في عقابهم. بل كل واحد علي قدر زلاته يكون[8] عذابه. وكما لم يقتاس نور الشمس مع ضو القمر بقياس واحد كذلك لم يقتاس معا نعيم الصالحين مع الكاملين والتوابين. وكما ان ضو القمر اشد من الكواكب. لانه ثلثه رتب كاملين وصالحين وتوابين. لانك تجد بعض التوابين قد حصل في الدرجة العليا مع الكاملين لاجل حده وشقاه وتوبته وايمانه واتضاعه. وكما ان نور الشمس البرناسوت[9] ربنا وضياه يجوز بجميع الاعضا بلا تمييز[10]. كذلك يكون[11] ضياه جائز في جميع المذكورين. وهو يكون جمالهم وردا كسوتهم وهم في نعيم واحد وتصنيف ملك واحد ❖ وكذلك عذاب الجحيم تحس فيها الخطاه بجميع اعضاها كيلا هو معد لاوليك الثلاثة رتب بنو[12] النور. ليسو به مصايب اوجاع. لان ما يمنعنا الي دخول الملكوت[13] الروحاني غير الثياب[14] الوسخه بالزنا وسفك الدم والظلم. ومحبة الذهب والفضه. هذه الاعراض والاوجاع اذا توسخنا فيها. ولم نطهرها بالاعتراف وتوبه[15] وحمل القانون وهي التي قال في الانجيل الذي جاز الي العرس وثيابه[16] وسخه مدنسه. ثم جعل الملائكه ربطوا يديه ورجليه ورماه خارج الي الظلمه القصوي[17] ❖ واما من اشكال

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[1] MS. شيا. [2] MS. ظهن. [3] MS. شيا. [4] MS. يكن. [5] Syr. ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. [6] MS. مستهي. [7] Read ليس (هو) مساواة واحده? [8] MS. يكن. [9] As if ܒܪܢܫܘܬܐ from ܒܪܢܫܐ, بَرّنسا or more correctly بَرْناسا. [10] MS. تمييزًا. [11] MS. يكن. [12] Read بني. [13] Syr. ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. [14] MS. التياب. [15] MS. وثوبه. [16] MS. وتيابه. [17] MS. القسوي.

CHAPTER LX,

ACCORDING TO THE OXFORD MS.

فينبغي انا نوضح عن عذاب الخطاه كيف يتعذبوا. وان قلنا انهم لم يتعذبوا فليسو[1] ثم عقاب ام عذاب للخطاه. هذا لم يمكن. فاذا لم يعذبوا ويعاقبوا الخطاه على قدر خطاياهم ولا الصالحين ايضا ياخذوا نعيم الخيرات بدل اتعابهم ❖ فاما العذاب الذي يعذبوا فيه الخطاه بالجحيم. قال قديسين اذكيا بروح القدس ليس هو شبهه[2] مثل هذا الذي هاهنا. قشر ضرب عصي وقطع اوصال. ام ذبح ام كسر اعضا. ذاك العذاب شبهه الأكابه[3] التي تضني النفس وتهلكها حدة الندامه وشدة الاسف علي الامور القبيحه الوحشه وعلي لهبة نار الزنا وحب الرذائل التي ارتبط بمحبتها في هذا العالم ❖ واما عن محسوس كونه فينا عند القيامه مثل راي الشمس لانه لم يتكدر شعاعها ولا القمر ايضا حسن بياضه ولا الجوهره من سقل ضياها. بل عن تحقيق انا نحس بقوة كامله بفكر ناطق علم روحانيا (sic) نعيمنا وعذاب عقابنا هناك بالجهتين. الابرار نعيمهم والخطاه جحيمهم ❖ فاذا كان من حكم العدل لان القديسين والابرار والصديقين يحسوا التذاذهم[4] ونعيمهم. كذلك ايضا تحس الخطاه في عذابهم وحدة عقابهم في القوه[5] القابله اللذه التي[6] هي التمييز ❖ واخر من هذا عن تحقيق لم يفارقنا الذهن[7] والفطنه والنبه بل نكون[8] صافيين فهمين من كثرة لطفنا وخفته وذكاوته. ولم تشبه خيرات ذلك العالم بقياس خيرات هذا العالم الموجود هاهنا. لان لم عطيت لنا جميع خيرات هذا العالم وملكه وماله الي الغاية ما يكون. لم نراها هناك في ذلك العالم الا شبه الرذاله[9] والنفايه المحقوره. وان طلبناها ثم نتنعم فيها فلم نجدها. لان جوهر عقلنا عظيم هو بغبطه لانه لم يموت ولا يفنا من جميع حسناته ونعيمها ❖ وكذلك ايضا لم يزول ام يفنا جوهرنا هناك من عقابه وعذابه. ولم كان جميع خيرات هذا العالم وشهواته وجميع عذابه وشدائده وشقاه فما هو الا حقيرا اذا قسناه في ذلك العالم العتيد[10]. لان جوهر انفسنا

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[1] Apparently a contraction for فليس هو. The same form occurs several times subsequently. [2] MS. شبهو. [3] Read الكآبه? [4] MS. التذادهم. [5] MS. القوي. [6] MS. الذي. [7] MS. الظهن. [8] MS. نكن. [9] MS. ردالة, but on marg. الردالة. [10] MS. العثيد, Syr. ܥܬܝܕ.

المقالة اربعه واربعين يدل فيها لاي سبب كان نزول ربنا الي مصر ❖

— خمسه واربعين يخبر فيها قصة قتل يوحنا اعني قطع راسه ❖

— سته واربعين يخبر فيها علي حرب ابليس وامتحانه لربنا لما استعمل الصوم ❖

— سبعه واربعين يخبر فيها علي الفصح المقدّس ❖

— ثمانيه واربعين يخبر فيها عن الام السيّد يسوع المسيح ❖

— تسعه واربعين يدل فيها عن يوسف الرامي الذي كان ختام لبيلاطس ❖

— [الخمسون] خبر يسير يدلّ كيف سلم السيد والدته القديسه مرت مريم ليوحنا ابن زبدى عند الصلب ❖ كي نرجع الي عند ابلت[1] من بين الاموات ❖

— [الحادية والخمسون] وايضا خبر اخر كيف جاز ربنا الله الكلمه الي السماوات ولم يفتحها ❖

— ثانيه وخمسين تخبر كيف كان حلول روح الله القادر المساوي العقل والنطق جوهر واحد ❖

— ثلثه وخمسين يوضح فيها علي بشارة الرسل والبلد الذي يخصّ كل واحد منهم ايما هو ❖ ويوضح دفنهم باي حال انتقل من العالم بركاتهم علينا امين ❖ وايضا نكتب اسما الرسل واحد بعد واحد كلمن هو بدرجته موصوف كما ذكرهم متي الانجيلي الرسول مقدمهم ❖

— اربعه وخمسين يدل فيها عن تغيير الممالك من واحد كتاب كتاب اسمه اسمه (sic) مثاداوس اسقف روميه ❖

— خمسه وخمسين تدل علي ياجوج[2] وماجوج المسجونين بالجربيا[3] ❖

— ستة وخمسين يدل فيها علي مجي الاعور الدجّال ابن الهلاك ❖

— سبعة وخمسين ايضاح يسير باختصار علي خروج النفس من الجسد بسلام ربنا امين ❖

— ثمانيه وخمسين خبر يسير يدل علي انبعاث القيامه جميع ❖

— تسعه وخمسين تخبر علي ايما شكل منظر البشر يوم القيامه ❖

— ستون يخبر فيها علي نعيم الصالحين وعلي عذاب الخاطئين وايما هو شكل سياسته ❖ وايضا نكتب قصه يسيره ان كان يلحق الخطاه رحمه بالجحيم ام لا من بعد انهم يعذبون وتمض فيهم العقاب. ويقبلوا تلك العقوبه وان كان يدركهم رحمه متي يكون ❖

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[1] So the MS.; perhaps البعث.

[2] MS. حاجوج.

[3] Syr. ܓܪܒܝܐ; MS. بالجربا.

المقالة التاسعة عشر يدل فيها علي خروج ادم وحوا (sic) ❖

— عشرون يخبر فيها عن كور الحداد والقردحه ❖

— احد وعشرون يدل[1] فيها صفة نوح والطوفان ❖

— الاثنين وعشرين يدل فيها عن ملكيزدق ابن مالك ❖

— الثالثه وعشرون يوضح فيها نسبة اولاد سام وروسا اجيالهم[2] سبعه وعشرين جيل ❖

— الرابعة والعشرون يوضح فيها اجيال اولاد حام ❖

— الخامسه والعشرون يدلّ فيها علي قبائل يافث ❖

— السادسه والعشرون ❖

— السابعه والعشرون نرجع ايضا الي قدام ❖

— الثامنه[3] والعشرون يخبر فيها عن ابينا ابراهيم ❖

— التاسعه والعشرون يوضح فيها اخبار ايوب الصديق ❖

— الثلاثين يدلّ فيها لما بارك اسحاق ليعقوب وترك عيسوا ❖

— احد وثلثين ❖

— الاثنين وثلثين يدل فيها اخبار موسي وبني اسرائيل ❖

— الثالثه وثلثون يوضح فيها العصاة التي كانت مع موسي ❖

— اربعة وثلثون ❖

— خمسة وثلثون فيها خبر قضاة بني[4] اسرائيل وملوكهم باختصار يسير ❖

— السادسه وثلثون يخبر فيها كيف كان انتقال الانبيا من هذا العالم ❖

— سبعه وثلثين تدل علي نسبة سيّدنا يسوع المسيح ❖

— ثمانيه وثلثين يدل فيها علي بشارة جبرايل الملاك الي يواقيم وحنه بالقديسه الطاهره مرت مريم امّ ربّنا والاهنا وسيّدنا يسوع المسيح ❖

— تسعه وثلثين بشارة جبرايل الملاك الي العذرى الطاهره[5] مرت مريم القدّيسه ❖

— الاربعين يدل فيها علي ميلاد ربنا الشريف ❖

— احد واربعين يدلّ فيها عن ما سبق دليله من واحد عالم اسمه زردوشات وقيل عنه ان اسمه بروخ ❖

— اثنين واربعين تدل عن ظهور النجم وعن الميلاد الشريف ❖

— ثلاثة واربعين يخبر فيها علي مجي ملوك الفرس الي بيت لحم ❖

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[1] MS. تدل.

[2] MS. ܘܪܘܣܐ ܐܓܝܐܠܗܡ (sic).

[3] MS. الثمانيّه.

[4] MS. بنو.

[5] MS. العطاهره.

THE HEADINGS OF THE CHAPTERS,

EXTRACTED FROM THE OXFORD MS.

المقالة الثانيه يدلّ علي فكر الله الأزليّ علي خلقة كون الدنيا ❖
— الثالثه تفسير يبيّن فيه[1] كون السبع طبائع بهدوء لطيف غير مدروك[2] ❖
— الرابعه يدل فيها[3] خلقة الارض والما والهوا[4] والنار ❖
— الخامسه يدل فيها علي تكوين السما ❖
— السادسه يدل فيها عن مراتب الملائكه انها تسع تجمات[5] اعني درجات ❖
— السابعه يخبر فيها دليل الظلمه ❖
— الثامنه يدل فيها النور اي الضو ❖
— التاسعه يدل فيها خلقة[6] الجلد ❖
— العاشره يدل فيها كيف كان خلقة الأشجار والنبات ونظام البحور والانهار ❖
— الحادي عشر[7] تخبر عن خلقة كون ضيا النجوم ❖
— الثانيه عشر يخبر فيها كيف خلقت فيها الاسماك والدبابات والتنانين[8]
والطيور الذين في الما وبرا[9] الما ❖
— الثالثة عشر تدل علي خلقة الوحوش[10] والبهائم ❖
— الرابعة عشر يصف بها كيف جبل الله تبارك وتعالي اسمه لابينا[11] ادم في
يوم الجمعه بعينها التي تقدم ذكرها في الاوّل ❖
— الخامسه عشر يدل فيها عن خلقة حوا ❖
— السادسة عشر يخبر فيها عن خلقة كون الفردوس ❖
— السابعة عشر لاجل خطية ادم وسببها ❖
— الثامنة عشر يدل فيها عن خروج ادم وحوا من الجنه ❖

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[1] MS. فيها. [2] MS. مذروك. [3] We should have expected the prep. علي here and elsewhere in these headings. [4] MS. والهواي. [5] From ܛܓܡ̈ܐ, *τάγμα*. [6] MS. خلقت. [7] The reader will notice that the grammatical form of the numerals is often incorrect. [8] MS. والتنانيّين (sic). [9] I. e. *out of.* [10] MS. والوحوش. [11] MS. لابونا.

الثاني والاربعون. في صوم سيدنا وجهاده[1] مع الشيطان ❖

الثالث والاربعون. في فصح سيدنا ❖

الرابع والاربعون. في الام سيدنا ❖

الخامس والاربعون. في قيامة سيدنا ❖

السادس والاربعون. في صعود سيدنا ❖

السابع والاربعون. في نزول روح القدس[2] علي السليحية[3] في العلية ❖

الثامن والاربعون. في تلماذ السليحية[4] وفي مواضع[5] كل واحد واحد منهم وفي[6] موتهم ❖

التاسع والاربعون. اسامي السليحيين واحد بعد واحد ❖

الخمسون. في نكت[7] صغار الذين تزوجوا من السليحيين ❖

الحادي والخمسون. اسامي[8] الجثالقة[9] المشرقيين خلفا السليحيين ❖

الثاني والخمسون. اسامي الملوك الذين[10] ملكوا في العالم من الطوفان والي الان[11] ❖

الثالث والخمسون. في اخر الزمان[12] واختلاف الممالك من كتاب مثاديوس[13] اسقف روميه ❖

الرابع والخمسون. في ياجوج وماجوج المحبوسين في الشمال ❖

الخامس والخمسون. في مجي الدجال ابن الهلاك ❖

السادس والخمسون. في الموت وانفصال النفس من الجسد[14] ❖

السابع والخمسون. في النشور والقيامة[15] الكليه وانتها عالم الاسطقسات وابتدا[16] عالم الجديد ❖

الثامن والخمسون. في كيفية القيامة وباي زي يقومون الناس يوم القيامه ❖

التاسع والخمسون. في نعيم الابرار وعذاب الخطاة كيف يكون هناك ❖

الستون. في رحمة الله تعالي هل تدركهم الخطاة بعد اخذ القصاص منهم وبالمهم وقصارتهم ام لا وان ادركتهم فمتي تدركهم ❖

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[1] At fol. 96 *b*, وفي جهاده.
[2] MS. ܩܘܕܫ.
[3] At fol. 108 *b*, السليحيين.
[4] At fol. 110 *a*, السليحيين.
[5] Ibid., اماكن.
[6] Ibid., وعلي.
[7] MS. فكت.
[8] At fol. 121 *a*, اسما.
[9] Ibid., الجثالق; plur. of جاثليق, *καθολικός*.
[10] MS. الذى.
[11] At fol. 123 *b*, والينا.
[12] At fol. 127 *a*, الازمن.
[13] Ibid., مثديوس.
[14] At fol. 136 *a*, الجسم.
[15] At fol. 139 *a*, وقيامة.
[16] Ibid., وبدو.

الثامن عشر. في اتصال ادم بحوا[1] ❖
التاسع عشر. في ظهور[2] صنعة الحداده ❖
العشرون. في نوح والطوفان[3] ❖
الحادي والعشرون. في ملكزديق[4] ❖
الثاني والعشرون. في اولاد نوح من ثلث بنين اثني وسبعون قبيله[5] ❖
الثالث والعشرون. في النسبة من عهد الطوفان الي الأن[6] ❖
الرابع والعشرون. في القصر[7] ❖
الخامس والعشرون. في ابراهيم ❖
السادس والعشرون. في تجربة ايوب ❖
السابع والعشرون. في بركة اسحاق ليعقوب ❖
الثامن والعشرون. في يوسف ❖
التاسع والعشرون. في موسي وبني اسرايل[8] ❖
الثلثون. في عصاة موسي ❖
الحادي والثلثون. في ايشوع ابن نون وفي مدبري وملوك بني اسرايل[9] ❖
الثاني والثلثون. في موت الانبيا وكيف ماتوا ودفنوا[10] ❖
الثالث والثلثون. في تدبيرات الله الجاريه في الحديثه وفي قبايل المسيح[11] ❖
الرابع والثلثون. في بشارة الملاك الي يوناخير[12] بمريم ❖
الخامس والثلثون. في بشارة جبرايل لمريم بحبل سيدنا ❖
السادس والثلثون. في ولادة سيدنا بالجسد ❖
السابع والثلثون. في نبوة زارادوشت الذي هو باروخ الكاتب[13] ❖
الثامن والثلثون. في الكوكب الذي ظهر في المشرق في يوم ولادة سيدنا ❖
التاسع والثلثون. في مجي المجوس من فارس ❖
الاربعون. في نزول سيدنا الي مصر ❖
الحادي والاربعون. في يوحنا المعمداني[14] وفي عماد سيدنا ❖

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[1] At fol. 23 *b*, اجتماع ادم مع حوا. [2] At fol. 26 *a*, ظهور الة. [3] At fol. 26 *b*, وفي الطوفان. [4] At fol. 30 *a*, ملكيزداق. [5] At fol. 32 *a*, merely في نسل نوحا. [6] At fol. 34 *b*, النسبة التي من الطوفان والينا. [7] At fol. 36 *a*, في بنيان البرج وتقسم الالسن. [8] At fol. 44 *a*, وفي بني اسراييل. [9] At fol. 66 *b*, وفي سنين المدبرين والملوك من بني اسراييل باختصار. [10] At fol. 70 *a*, وكيف دفنوا كل واحد منهم. [11] At fol. 74 *b*, merely في قبايل المسيحيه. [12] At fol. 78 *a*, ليوناخير. [13] At fol. 84 *b*, merely نبوة زارادوشت علي سيدنا. [14] At fol. 93 *a*, المعمدان. From the Syr. ܥܡܕܐ = عِماد ; ܡܥܡܕܢܐ.

وفيه تفاهه. فدعه لغيرك. وربما غيرك يستفيد منه ويصلح له. والذي هو حلو ويحلّي حنك خاطرك. تقوت[1] منه وشبع جوعك. وان كان[2] قليل ولا يكفيك. ابحث عن الاصل واطلب هناك تمامه وكماله. وتتمم حاجتك. واعلم ايها الاخ ان في كل موضع فيه المحبه الحقيقية. فليس هناك فزعه. وفي موضع الانبساط ليس فيه حذر. ولولا انتكالنا[3] علي محبتك التي ما فيها دنس. ما كنا نهجم ولا نتخطا[4] علي الاشيا التي هي اعلي من قدر ضعف معرفتنا فقد قال بعض العلما اذا وجدت عسلاً فكل بالمقدار. ليئلا تشبع منه وتاديه بالقيّ. يعني لا تبحث عن الامور الالهيه ❖

ذكر الفصول التي في هذا الكتاب ❖

راس الاول. في ازلية ارادة الله تعا[5] في خلقة البرايا في[6] القدم ❖
الثاني. في خلقة السبعة جواهر بالصمت ❖
الثالث. في[7] الارض والما والهوا والنار ❖
الرابع. في[8] السما ❖
الخامس. في[9] الملايكه ❖
السادس. في الظلمه ❖
السابع. في النور السا[10] ❖
الثامن. في[11] الرقيع ❖
التاسع. في خلقة الاشجار والنبات وخلقة الابحار[12] والانهر ❖
العاشر. في خلقة الانوار ❖
الحادي عشر. في خلقة التنانين والسمك والطير ودبيب الما[13] ❖
الثاني عشر. في خلقة الحيوانات والدواب ❖
الثالث عشر. في جبلة[14] ادم ❖
الرابع عشر. في تصوير[15] حوا ❖
الخامس عشر. في الفردوس ❖
السادس عشر. في خطية ادم ❖
السابع عشر. في خروج ادم وحوا من الفردوس ❖

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[1] MS. تقوة.
[2] MS. وانكان.
[3] Apparently for اتّكالنا.
[4] Conjug. V. from خطو.
[5] For تعالي.
[6] At fol. 6 *a*, من.
[7] At fol. 8 *a*, في خلقة.
[8] At fol. 8 *b*, علي.
[9] At fol. 9 *a*, علي.
[10] Perhaps الساطع. At fol. 13 *a*, في خلقة النور المنبثق.
[11] At fol. 13 *b*, في خلقة.
[12] At fol. 14 *a*, البحار.
[13] At fol. 16 *a*, والطيور والدبيب.
[14] At fol. 16 *b*, خلقة.
[15] At fol. 17 *a* bis, خلقة.

الينا. وهمتك في خدمتنا. التي[1] بالمحبة الحاذقه والاتضاع المسيحي كملتها. وقد كان في وقت وقت. يحدث لنا مجمعا حقاني علي اشيا اشيا صنعها الله في تدابيره في هذا العالم الاسطقصات والذي[2] هو مزمع ان يصنعه في عالم النور. ومن اجل الالم الموساوي. الذي هي لدغة[3] اللسان قد امتحنا. وما كنا نقدر ولا نستطيع لتعريفك الفضايل المفيدة الذي كنت تسال ضعفنا كما يجب. وبهذه العلّة كنا نمتنع من المفاوضه المفيده من الكتب المقدسه. فلما اراد الله وقسم لنا بفراق بعضنا بعض. وظهرت فينا علامة الشيخوخه التي هي رسول الموت. ودخلنا في السنين وشخنا. راينا ان بلسان القلم وشفاه[4] المداد نعرفك باختصار جميع تدابير الله في العالمين. وقد جمعنا ولقطنا من فردوس الكتب الالهيه. ومن كلام الابا الملافنه[5] والعلما. اخبار وفصول علي الكل. ووضعنا اساس بنياننا علي ابتدا خلقة هذا العالم المحسوس. وجعلنا الانتها عالم الجديد. وسمينا هذا الكتاب كتاب النحلة. لانه ملقط من ازهار الناموسين. ومن انوار الكتب المقدسه. قد جمعنا ووضعنا فيه لفايدتك. وكما ان النحلة الحقيره باجنحة شفافة. تطير وتزقط[6] علي انواع الازهار المختلفة الالوان. وعلي الانوار المختلفة الرايحة. وتلقط من جميعهم مواد يصلح ويليق لعمل صنعتها. فاول ما تجمع مواد من الازهار وتحمل علي افخاذها وتجيب[7] لمسكنها. وتجعله اساسا لبنيانها في عمل الشمع. وحينيذٍ تلقط بفمها من الطل السماءي. الذي علي ازهار نيسن. وتاتي وتنفخ في تلك البيوت[8] وتصنع الشهد والعسل. لاستعمال الناس ولقوتها ايضا. هكذا ونحن الضعفا فسلنا[9] من جبال كتب العتيقه فسل[10] الكلام المجسم ووضعناه هاهنا كالاساس لبنيان الناموس الروحاني. وكما ان النحلة تحمل مادة الشمع علي افخاذها من اجل تفاهتها وعدم طعمها. ولمادة العسل تجيب بفمها لاجل حلاوة طعمها وعذوبتها. هكذا نحن وضعنا الناموس المجسم موضع الاساس والارض. والناموس الروحاني موضع المظلة والسما لبنيان برج الروحاني. وكما ان الوراز[11] والبستاني الشاطر يدور في البساتين[12] ويبحث علي اجود الانواع والفاكهه. وياخذ منهم اغصان وغروس ويغرس في ارضه. هكذا وايضا نحن دخلنا في فردوس الكتب وفسخنا منهم فسوخ[13] وقضبان. وغرسنا في ارض كتابنا هذا لفايدتك ولراحتك. وانت ايها الاخ حيث تتفرج بين هذه الغروس. الذي تبصر منهم انه لا يصلح له

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[1] I have added this word.

[2] MS. الذي.

[3] A vulgar form for لثغة. See Dozy's *Supplément*.

[4] MS. وشفاة.

[5] Plural of ملفان = ܡܠܦܢܐ.

[6] For وتسقط.

[7] From جاب = جآء بِ.

[8] MS. البيوا.

[9] فَسَلَ here = ܦܣܰܠ.

[10] فُسُل, plural of فَسِيل = ܦܣܝܠܬܐ.

[11] Perhaps for الوَرّاد, literally *rose-gardener.*

[12] MS. البستاتين.

[13] I.e. *cuttings*, from فَسَخَ = ܦܣܚ.

يغرسها في ارضه. وهكذا نحن دخلنا الي بساتين الكتب. وفسخنا[1] لنا منها قضبان خلف وسراغيف. وغرسناهم في ارض ورق كتابنا هذا تعزيةً ومنفعه وفرجة عقليه لكل واقفًا علي نظرها[2] ◆ وانت ايّها الحبيب عند ما تجعل عقلك يتفرج بين هذه الغروس الوسط وراء المنظوره. وتظن انها ولاش حقيره. اتركه لغيرك[3]. والتي تجدها حلوه لذيذه كي تغذوا[4] فيها ذهنك[5] وتشبع نفسك مجاعتها. وتروي عطشها اذكرنا[6] ◆ فان رايت انها قصيرة ولم هي كفوًا انها تقنع. فتامل[7] جدا من اين هي نسبة اصلها ومن هناك تعرف قنوع طلبتك ◆ تكون تعلم ايها الاخ الحبيب. الموضع الذي فيه المحبه الحقانيّه. فليس عندك هناك خوف من مكروه. والبلدة التي لك فيها ذلة[8] ابعدت[9] الفزع وسكن فيك الامن ◆ ولولا نحن متوكّلين[10] علي محبتك الغير مالوفة. لم كنا جسرنا علي تصويرها. ام نهجم علي الامور العاليه علي قدرنا وطفولية معرفتنا. لانه قيل لبعض الاذكيا اذا وجدت عسل ابتاع[11] منه علي قدر حاجتك. ليئلا اذا شبعت منه تتقيّه[12]. تفسيره لا تفحص عن امورا موجوده. بل تق[13] بالايمان الصادق. والمجد لربنا وسيّدنا يسوع المسيح وعلينا رحمته امين ◆

CHAPTER I,

According to the Munich MS.

علي قوة سيدنا يسوع المسيح نبتدي ونكتب كتاب مقطوف الذي يدعي كتاب النحلة. تاليف صفيّ الله مار شليمون مطران الفراة وميشان. الذي هي البصره. يا رب ساعدني برحمتك امين ◆

فى الاول مبدا الكلام ◆

لم يمكن للابنا حتي يضعوا بضايع للابا. الا الابا للابنا الروحانيين. كما قال المغبوط فولوس. لكن ضرورة المحبه الزمتنا ان نوفيك. يا ايها الاخ الحبيب وعكازة شيخوخيتنا صفي الله مار نرسي[14] اسقف كونيشابور وبيت وزيق. نذكر الان اجتهادك

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[1] فَسَخَ = ܦܣܚ. [2] Marg. ناظرها. [3] MS. الغيرك. [4] MS. لديده and تغدوا. [5] MS. ظهنك. [6] So MS., ܐܕܟܪܢܐ. Read ادّخرها? [7] MS. فاتامل. [8] Read دالّة? [9] MS. ابعدة. [10] MS. مثوكّلين. [11] Read ابلع? [12] For تتقيّئه. [13] For ثق. The MS. actually has تقّ. [14] نرسي has been partially erased, and ابراهيم written on the margin.

العالم هذا الحاضر ومهما[1] هو مزمع انه يفعله ايضا بالعالم الجديد. ولاجل تقل[2] لساني من اوجاع الجسد كما جرب موسي النبي تقل[2] لسانه. فلم نقدر نخبرك من الامور النافعة شهوتك الروحانيّه. ولاجل هذا السبب تعوقنا عن مامول سوالك من احاديت[3] الكتب الروحانية النافعة ❖ فلما شا[4] الله عند ما افترقت من عندي اشار الي مشور الكبر[5]. اذ هي رسول الموت. وشخت وقدمت في السن. في خاطري لان اجعل لي لسان من قلم قصب. واجعل لي شفاه[6] من حبر الدواه. واكتب اليك باختصار[7] يسع ابويتك الطاهره من اجل تدبير[8] ربّنا في حكمة عدله ورحمته بالجهتين. واني صرت اجني علي راي النحله. واجتهد بجميع الزهور النوعيه من بستان الكتب الروحانيّه. ومن فضلة[9] الابا المعلمين اخبار وقسامًا علي هذا جميعه. واني جعلت قاعدة البنيان في مبتدا[10] تكوين خلقة هذا العالم الحاضر. تم[11] رجعنا ايضا الي خلقة العالم الجديد ❖ وسمينا كتابنا هذا نحلة. لان راي النحله تجعله[12] الباري حكمة. لانها تجني من الزهور حاجة مالوفها ❖ وكذلك جعلنا من زهور الكتب المقدسه العتيقه والحديثه. اجني منها منافع موضوعة هاهنا ❖ وكما ان النحله ضعيفة ولها اجنحة لطيفة تجعل تطير وتنزل بحلولها علي الزهور المختلفة الالوان. وعلي زهورًا مختلفة الروائح. وتجعل تختار وتجني لها الة من الجميع مهما[13] تستعمله بحكمة فعلها ذلك. لانها اول باول تجمع مهما تكوّن فيه الشمع قاعدة القرص ❖ وبعد ذلك تجمع بفمها من الندا[14] النازل من السما علي كافة الزهور بايام شهر نيسان. وتوعيه في اولائك الجباب. وتكملها شهده ملان عسل. ثم تصير غذا[15] لاستعمال البشر. او لها طعام خاص. وكذلك نحن الاحقار قطعنا من جبل الكتب العتيقه التوراة والانبيا الواح محسوسه متل[16] موسي النبي. وجعلناها قاعدة البنيان سنة الناموس الروحاني ❖ وكما ان النحله تحمل الة[17] الشمع علي افخاذها[18] لاجل انه خاثر[19] كثيف تقيل[20]. واما العسل لاجل انه كريم لطيف خاصي تحمله بفمها لاجل كرام[21] حلاوته. وكذلك ايضا نحن وضعنا ناموس جسماني قاعده كثيفه ارضيه. وناموس روحاني مكان لطيف قاعده روحانيّه. وكمثل رب البستان الغارس الحادق[22] يدور علي اهل البساتين يستدل[23] علي انواع خاصة الفواكه الجيّده ويقطع له منها غصون

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[1] MS. ܘܡܗ̈ܡܐ ܡܐ.
[2] For ثقل, as above, دخيرة for ذخيرة.
[3] For احاديث.
[4] MS. اشا.
[5] MS. ܐܟܒܪ (الكبر).
[6] MS. شفاة.
[7] MS. باختصر.
[8] MS. تذبير.
[9] MS. فطلة.
[10] MS. مبتذا.
[11] For ثم.
[12] Read جعله?
[13] MS. ܡܗܘܡ̈ܐ.
[14] MS. النذا.
[15] MS. غذا.
[16] For مثل.
[17] MS. ܐܠܗ̈.
[18] MS. فخاذها.
[19] MS. خاتر.
[20] For ثقيل.
[21] Read كرم?
[22] For الحاذق.
[23] MS. يستذل.

✿ كتاب النحلة ✿

CHAPTER I,

According to the Oxford MS.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له المجد والشكر دايما امين ❖ بارشاده. وعنايته. نبتدي ونكتب مقالات لازمه يحتاج اليها الاذكيا. كي نصدّ بها كثيرين الفضول. وقد يسمّا هذا الكتاب لجمع من الكتب المعروفه بالبيعة المقدسه العتيقه ولحديثه[1]. ويقال ايضا انه علي راي النحله التي تجمع من الزهور الدنج[2] علي جسم افخاذها. لتعمر لها بيت وهو قاعدة بدو[3] البناينه[4]. قال بولص لسان العطر ورسول الرب يسوع المسيح. لم يلزم الابن كي يدّخر دخيره لابيه. بل يلزم الاب واضع[5] لجوهره لابنه ❖ وكان واضع لهذه الامور المقدّسه الاب القديس سليمان مطران الفراه. من كان سواله بعض الاخوه من نظاريّه[6]. اسقف كوشبر[7] بلد وزيق اسمه نرسي. صلاتهما وبركاتهما تشملنا اجمعين ولاولاد البيعه المقدسه بني المعموديّه الطاهره امين امين اين وامين ❖

اول مقاله تسمّا مقدّمة الكتاب بسلام ربنا امين ❖

من اجل لحبّ العامي الي جميع القدّيسين لحافظين وصايا ربّنا ايسوع المسيح الروحانيّين يضطرّنا كي نساويهم الاجره بما تلفظه حقارتنا. كذلك نجازيك تعبك ايّها الاخ لحبيب نرسى. مسند ضعف شيوختنا. عفيف الله السيّد الاب اسقف كوشبر. واننا ذكرنا همّة محبتك وحرصك علي خدمة ضعفنا. مضافة الي[8] تواضع الرب يسوع المسيح. فانت ايضا كملته ❖ واذا كنت يا ابي لاجل محبتك الروحانيّه جعلت تسالني في اوقات عند اجتماعنا الروحاني من اجل اخبارًا. وصرت تفحص عنه وتضرع[9] الي الغايه. مقاله. مقاله. كيف خلق الباري تعالي ذكره وتبارك اسمه عناصر

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[1] MS. والحديته.

[2] *Wax.* A non-classical word, apparently akin to the Hebrew דּוֹנָג. See Dozy's *Supplément* and Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, 9th ed., art. דנג.

[3] MS. بذو.

[4] So MS. Read البنيان ?

[5] Read وَضْع ?

[6] Read نظرايِّه ?

[7] Marg. كوسبر, added by a later hand. Apparently corrupted from the Syriac form ܚܘܕܒܡܚܪ.

[8] الي is repeated in the MS.

[9] MS. ܘܬܠܐܚ.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARABIC VERSIONS

OF THE

BOOK OF THE BEE.

ܕܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܪܘܪܒܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܠܥܠܡ
ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ
ܕܠܘܩ̈ܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܕܕܒܝܪ ܠܡܪܝ
ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܡܝܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܪܬ
ܕܡܝܫܢ ܀

ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ. ܘܠܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܫܛ ܘܡܩܪܒܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗ ܘܒܢܐ ܡܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܡܐ ܕܝܗܘ ܘܒܢܐ
ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ. ܒܪ ܠܒ ܒܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܘܡ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܦܪܥ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܐܝܟ ܙܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܦܠܓܐ ܥܬܪ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܘܟܢܐ. ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ ܠܒܪ
ܐܒܗܘܗܝ، ܐܡܘܪܝܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܐܝܢܘ ܕܦܠܚܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܟܗܢܐ ܕܕܠܝܐ ܥܠܘܝܐ ܬܫܡܫ[1] ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܬܚܝܒܘ
ܒܟܢ̈ܫܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪܘ ܦܪܘܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܗ
ܐܒܗܘܗܝ، ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܘܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܒܡܐ ܕܐܚܝܢ ܗܕܝܢ
ܒܘܩܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܠܐ ܦܓܪܐ. ܐܦ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ
ܡܬܬܢܝܠ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܪܫܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ܗ̇ܘܐ
ܬܫܡܫܬܐ. ܗ̇ܝ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܢܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܘܙܕ̈ܩܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܠܘ
ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܗ̄ܘ. ܐܝܕܝܢ ܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ. ܠܥܠܡ
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܬ̈ܠܝ. ܘܐܫܟܚ ܠܗ. ܘܥܠ ܒܒܠ ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܥܠܡ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܒܗ̇ ܐܢܫ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܡܪܝܡ ܒܗ̇ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܒܥ̈ܢܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ. ܕܫܒܪ ܐܢܝܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܐܡܪܝܢ
ܢ̈ܒܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܕ̈ܢܚܐ. ܕܦܫܚ ܠܗ̇ ܘܠܠ ܡܢ ܫܡܝ ܡܫܡܫ
ܒܪܫܐ ܕܓܘܢܐ ܗܘܘ ܐܚܝܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܬܪܝܢ ܙ̈ܢܝܢ ܗ̇ܘܐ ܬܡܢ
ܫܘܠܡܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܘܒܪܝܢܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܡ̣ܢ ܕܒܟܝܢܐ ܒܒܪ ܠܗܘܬ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ
ܕܫܠܝܛܬܐ. ܘܒܟܝܢܗ ܦܫܛ ܘܟܝܢ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪܟܝܢܐ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܕܝܢܐ
ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܠܥܠܡ ܕܝܢ.[2] ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܠܐ[3] ܫܘܠܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ.

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[1] MS. ܬܫܡܫܘ.

[2] MS. ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ.

[3] Should we not read ܠܐ ܘܠܐ?

ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܫܡܥ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܦܘܬ ܚܛܗ̈ܐ. ܠܚܪܬܐ ܡܬܒܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܫܘܠܡܢܐ [1]ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܗܝܪܐܝܬ ܘܕܠܐ ܚܘܫܒ ܐܫܠܡ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ
ܒܟܬܒ̈ܘܗܝ.. ܘܐܦ ܠܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܝܘܕܘܪܘܣ ܕܒܗ̇ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܦܪܫܢܘܬܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܓܪܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ [2]ܕܢܓܪ ܗܘ̇ ܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܚܠܦ ܒܡܠܒܫܘܗ̈ܝ
[3]ܕܢܦܘܩ ܠܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܥܘܡܪܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܢܝܬ.
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܘܬܪܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܘܬܘܬܐ
ܕܡܬܦܢܝܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܥܠܠ ܐܒܗܬܐ
ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܦܘܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܘܗܘܢ ܘܕܪܘܫܡܗܘܢ. [4]ܐܝܟ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܒܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܒ̈ܚܝܢܗܘܢ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܢܫܡܘܢ ܩܠܠ ܘܒܢܐ
ܗܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ̇. ܒܡܫܡܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܘܬܘܬܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ܡܫܬܪ
ܐܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܘܕܝ ܗܟܝܠ [5]ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܪܘܒܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܡܐ [6]ܕܡܬܚܫܚܝܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܘܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܦܢܝܢܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܕܐܓ̈ܘܢܐ ܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܫܘܬ̈ܦܐ
ܕܝܢ ܕܚܠܨ ܚܛܗ̈ܐ ܪܘܒܐ ܘܡܫܬܝܢܐ ܠܒ ܒܝܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܪܒܘܬܐ
ܕܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܗܘ̇ܐ ܡܛܠ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ.
ܬܬܚܫܒ ܦܓܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܗܝ ܒܝܬ ܡܬܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ
ܡܛܠܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܦܓܪܘܬܗ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ [7]ܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܪܘܒܐܝܬ
ܡܚܕܪܐ. ܚܕܬܘܬܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܓܪܐ ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܢܬܪ ܡܢ ܒܠܝܐ ܕܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܡܫ.
ܘܒܬܪܬܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܘܬܗ ܦܓܪ ܘܡܒܝܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܡܥ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܠܝܢ

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[1] A ܕܗܠܝܢ; B ends with this word. [2] MS. ܢܓܪܘ. [3] So Vat. MS. ܕܢܦܠ; A ܕܢܦܩ. [4] Vat. MS. ܘܐܝܟ. [5] Vat. MS. ܕܦܘܪ̈ܥܢܐ. [6] Vat. MS. ܘܡܬܚܫܚܝܢ. [7] Vat. MS. ܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܦܫ.

ܘܡܪܝ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ. ܡܬܢܓ̈ܕܢܐ ܕܒܓܗܢܐ. ܒܢܓ̈ܕܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ ܡܫܬܢܩܝܢ. ܡܢܘ ܘܡܪ̈ܝܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܓ̈ܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܗ̇ܘܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܪܓܫܘ ܕܒܚܘܒܐ [1]ܐܣܟܠܘ. ܡܢ ܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ. [2]ܦܘܪ̈ܥܢܐ ܕܫܘܠ̈ܛܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܗ̇ܘܐ. ܕܚܠܦ ܦܘܪܥܢ ܒܐܝܢܘܬܐ [3]ܗ̤ܘ ܢܘܣܦܐ ܦܪܥ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܚܛ̈ܝܐ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܕܫܘ ܥܠ ܢܡܘ̈ܣܘܗܝ، ܗ̤ܘ ܒܚܝܪܬܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܪܒܐ ܗ̄ܝ، [4]ܗܕܐ ܠܨܒܘܬܐ. ܕܒܬܪ [5]ܕܐܣܟܠܢ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܒܗ ܠܐ ܗ̇ܘܝܢ. ܐܝܬܝ، ܠܬܘܩܢ ܠܗܘܢܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܨܒܘܬܐ. ܗܘܢܐ ܙܢܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܐܝܬܘܬܐ ✣ ܘܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܕܘܪܘܣ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܐܡܪ. ܒܥܠܡܐ [6]ܠܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܓܒܘ ܬܢܢ [7]ܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܥܡ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ̈ܐ. ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܝܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ ܐܨܛܠܝܘ. ܟܕ [8]ܒܡܫܡܫ ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܦܠܓܫܝܢ [9]ܕܢ̈ܚܫܝܗܘܢ ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܚܡ ܕܒܡܬܐ ܫܦܠ ܕܒܫܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܢܒܣܡܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܘ̇ܐ ܒܠܒ̈ܬܐ. [10]ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܒܘܠܒܠܐ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܕܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܬܪ̈ܕܝܢ. ܕܒܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܠܓܒܐ ܕܐܣܝܘܬܗܘܢ، ܡܫܬܘܝܢ ܠܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܫܡܬܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܕܡܝܐ ܕܬܬܠ ܫܘܒܩܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. [11]ܐܠܘܠܐ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ [12]ܕܡܢܐ ܕܦܘܪܥܢ ܫܠ̈ܡܐ. [13]ܟܕ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܢܬܒܨܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܬܘܒ [14]ܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܢܒܠܥ ܣܓܝܐܘܬܐ ܘܢܒܠܥ ܕܒܪܢܫܘܬܐ. ܐܠܘܠܐ [15]ܕܟܕ

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[1] A omits ܐܣܟܠܘ. [2] A ܕܡܢ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ. [3] B ܗ̄ܘ. [4] A omits ܗܕܐ and has ܠܨܒܘܬܗ. [5] B ܕܐܣܟܠܝܢ. [6] The Vatican MS. (Assemânî, Bib. Or., t. iii, pt. i, p. 323) omits ܠܡ. [7] B Vat. MS. ܠܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. [8] B ܟܕ ܡܫܡܫ. [9] Vat. MS. ܕܢܚܫܝܗܘܢ. [10] B ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. [11] B ܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܡܚܝܠܘ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܠܐ. [12] A ܡܠܐ. [13] B ܒܡܫܡܫ. [14] B ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ. [15] B omits ܕܟܕ.

ܥܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ[1] ܕܟܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܩܒܬܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܣܒܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܡܣܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܪܘܪܒܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܩܘܡܬܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܬܐ
ܕܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ [2]ܘܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܬ
ܡܝ̈ܬܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܣܒ ܘܡܬܝܗܒܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ
ܠܡܪ̈ܘܡ. ܚܕܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܕܡܬܒܢܝܢ ܘܗܘܝܢ ܚܕܐ
ܒܕܬܐ. ܘܐܘܪܫܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ̈ܪܐ ܘܪ̈ܘܚܢܝܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܀

ܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܗܿܝ ܕܐܝܟܢ ܡܬܢܚܡܝܢ [3]ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܒܐܝܢܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ. ܒܬܪ
[4]ܕܡܬܦܪܥܝܢ [5]ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܘܡܬܒܠܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ. ܐܘ
ܠܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢ ܡܬܢܚܡܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ ܡܬܚܝܝܢ.

ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܬܪ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ. ܘܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ ܠܗ
ܒܦܘܡ ܫܒܪܐ. ܘܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܝ، ܕܐܡܗܬܐ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܝ، ܟܠ
ܕܡܦܩܐ ܠܟ ܚܝܠܗ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܗ ܟܠ
ܝܘܡܬܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܘܠܡܦܩܬܗ، ܒܗܘ̈ܢܐ
ܘܠܦܠܘܫܐ ܒܢܝ ܘܐܚܝ. ܒܬܘܒܐ ܕܡܬܥܡܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܒܬܪ
ܗܕܐ. ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܬܫܡܫܬܐ. [6]ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܝܢ
ܕܒܬܪ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܬܫܡܫܬܐ. ܐܒܗܬܐ ܒܬܪ [7]ܕܗܘܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ
ܦܪܘܫ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܠܡܥܒܕܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ. ܗܕܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ
ܕܒܬܪ ܬܫܡܫܐ ܒܐܘܟܬܐ [8]ܕܝܘܡܐ ܠܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܕܠܝܬ ܠܡܚܙܝܐ ܦܪܘܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܒܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܦܝܣ ܒܡܘ ܡܢܗ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܡܥܒܕܘ ܬܘܒ ܕܢܫܐ ܒܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܛ ܒܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܀

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[1] A ܠܐ.
[2] A omits ܘܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ.
[3] B ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ܘܡܬܢܚܡܝܢ.
[4] B ܕܡܬܦܪܥܝܢ.
[5] A ܘܢܫܝܢ.
[6] A ܠܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ. ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ.
[7] A ܒܬܪ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ; B omits ܕܗܘܢܐ.
[8] A omits ܕܝܘܡܐ.

ܕܢܠܒܫ ܓܘܫܡܗ ܠܪܘܚܗ ܫܒ̈ܝܚܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ܠܦܘܬ
ܕܟܝܢܘܬܗ [1]ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܟܠܠܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܢܗܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܕܟܘܟܒܐ [2]ܠܡ ܡܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ [3]ܡܚܠܦ ܗ̄ܘ
ܒܫܘܒܚܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܫ̈ܢܝܬ ܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ
ܒܝܪܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܚ̈ܡܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܦܪܫ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܘ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܡܢ ܐܢܐ [4]ܕܐܬܝܬܗ̇ ܕܥܠܬܗ ܒܡܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܡܫܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܡܫܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܛ̈ܝܐ
ܒܓܗܢܐ. ܠܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܢܕܘܢ. [5]ܒܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܚܝܒܘܢ
ܠܦܘܬ ܣܟܠܘܬܗ ܐܦ ܥܘܠܗ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܚܡ ܢܘܗܪܗ
ܕܫܡܫܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܣܗܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܦܚܡ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܣܗܪܐ
ܠܟܘ̈ܟܒܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܐܦ ܥܡܠܐ [6]ܘܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܢ [7]ܘܦܪܝܫ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܝܩܘܬܗ
ܕܡܪܢ ܒܪܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܦܘܪܫ. ܘܗܟܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܚܠܦ
ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܘܢܘܚܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܝܢ ܦܠ̈ܓܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܀ ܫܬ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܘܬܐ
ܕܛܝܒ ܡܢ ܠܩܕ̈ܝܫܘܗܝ ܒܬܪ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܐܬܝܬܗ̇.
ܫܬ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܓܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܡ ܡܢ ܕܠܡܐܟܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܒܓܘܢܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ
ܣܓ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܀ ܫܡ̈ܫܐ ܕܝܢ [8]ܕܦܪܕܝܣܘܬܐ ܕܐܡܫܬ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܐܦ̈ܪܝܢܐ
ܕܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܐ. ܠܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܡ ܘܥܡ
ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ. ܫܘܪܓܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܘܐܬܬܩܕܫܘ ܫܡ̈ܝܢܐ
ܡܬܚ̈ܡܐ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܝܐ [9]ܘܡܬܬܢ̈ܝܚܢܐ. [10]ܠܝܬ

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[1] B C omit ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. [2] A omits ܠܡ. [3] A ܡܫܬܢܐ. [4] B ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܦܠܡ ܒܡܪܬܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ; C ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܕܥܠܬܗ ܒܡܪܬܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܡܫܐ.
[5] A ܡܢ ܕܟܠܚܕ. [6] B ܘܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ. [7] C ܘܦܪܝܫܝܢ. [8] B C ܘܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܡܫܬܘܬܐ.
[9] A ܘܡܬܬܢܝܚܐ. [10] Here ends C with the word ܠܝܬ; Arab. فليس.

ܒܚܘܒܗ ܘܢܛܪ ܒܪܚܡܬܗ. ܐܦܠܐ ܚܢܢ ܕܠܐ ܪܓܫܬܐ ܗܘܝܢ
ܬܡܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܪܓܫܝܢ ܥܘ̈ܠܐ ܒܡܪ̈ܓܫܢܘܬܗ. ܘܡܫܪܐ
ܒܓܠܠܗ. ܘܡܪܓܫܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܘܦܪܗ. ܐܠܐ ܡܪܓܫܝܢ [1]ܒܚܝܠܗ
ܕܡܠܠܘܬܐ ܠܡܥܪܐܝܬ. ܒܚܘܫܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ. ܘܒܕܘܝܢܐ [2]ܕܥܘܩܝܢ.
ܡܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܡ [3]ܕܡܪܓܫܝܢ ܘܕܩ̈ܐ ܒܗܢܝܐܘܬܐ
ܕܒܘܣܡܗܘܢ. ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܡܪܓܫܝܢ ܐܦ ܚܠܝ̈ܐ ܒܫܥܬܐ
ܕܥܘܩܗܘܢ. ܒܝܕ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܩܒܠܢܐ ܕܗܢܝܐ ܕܝܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘ ܦܘܪܥܢܘܬܐ.
ܒܕܚܠܗܘܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܢܒܪ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܥܢܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܓܠܠܐ ܘܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܬܘܪܬܐ ܡܩܒܠܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܬܪ̈ܡܝܢ ܥܒܝ̈ܕܬܗ
[4]ܘܦܠܚ̈ܬܗ [5]ܕܗܘ̇ ܥܠܡܐ [6]ܕܥܬܝܕ. ܠܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ
ܥܒܝ̈ܕܬܗ ܘܦܠܚ̈ܬܗ ܘܢܫܡ̈ܬܗܘܢ، ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܦ ܡܬܬܚ̈ܡܝܢ ܠܗ
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ. ܐܝܟ ܫܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܚܪܬܐ ܫܪܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܕܢܚ̈ܫܡܘܢ
ܠܗ ܐܘ ܕܢܫܪܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܚܫܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܗ̄ܘ ܒܚܝܢ ܠܡܦܠܚܬܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ
ܡܢܬܘܬܗ. [7]ܡܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܬܗܘܢ ܘܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ. ܘܚܠܗܘܢ
ܥܒܝ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ، ܘܐܦܠܓܗܘܢ، ܘܦܘܪ̈ܥܢܝܗܘܢ، ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܢ
ܡܬܦܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ. ܠܐ [8]ܒܚܪܓ ܝܫܥ ܕܡܫܝܚܗܘܢ ܒܗܝܢ
ܠܐ ܡܦܪܥܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ. ܡܕܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܥܒܝܕ ܘܡܬܒܪܐ
ܘܡܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܫܝܛܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ، ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܕܡ
ܕܚܪܝ ܘܡܚܪܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܦ̈ܠܚܝܢ ܕܗܘܒܐ ܐܢܘܢ، ܥܒܘܕܐ
[9]ܕܠܗܠ ⁘ ܥܠ ܐܬܝܢܘܬܐ [10]ܕܝܢ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ ܘܗ̇ܘ ܕܢܘܕܥ.
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ. ܠܘ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ [11]ܡܬܦܪܣ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܘ

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[1] A ܒܚܝܠܐ. [2] A ܕܡܥܘܩܝܢ ܡܢܗ. [3] A ܡܪ̈ܓܫܝܢ. [4] A omits from ܘܦܘܠܚܢܗ to ܥܒܝܕܘܬܗ. [5] C ܕܥܠܡܐ. [6] A B omit ܕܥܬܝܕ. [7] A ܘܡܢ. [8] B ܚܪܓ. [9] B C ܕܠܗܠ. [10] B C omit ܕܝܢ. [11] C ܡܬܠܓܝܢ ܘܡܬܦܪܣ.

ܘܐܦܪ̈ܝܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܫܘܥܒܕܐ [1]ܘܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ. [2]ܠܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܒܛܠܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ [3]ܡܢܗܝܢ [4]ܢܗܘܪܗ ܘܢܘܗܪܗ ܟܠܗ ܡܬܒܠ. ܘܢܘܗܪܗ ܘܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܒܗ ܒܟܝܢܗ ܥܒܝܕ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܐܦܐ ܘܕܦܪܙܠܐ [5]ܒܟܝܢܐܝܬ ܩܝܡ ܗܘ̣. ܕܠܬܚܬ ܢܚܬܝܢ. ܘܐܐܪ ܒܟܝܢܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܬܓܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܦܫܝܛܘܬܗ ܘܡܠܝܘܬܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܘܓܘܫܡ ܒܫܠܝܐ. ܦܫܝܛܝܢ ܠܗ ܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܠܬܚܬ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܫܦܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܬܐ. ܢܬܟ̈ܐ ܠܗ ܡܢܠܠܘܬܗ ܠܟܠ. ܘܡܬܓܠܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܥܡܝܩܐ. [6]ܘܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܘܕܟܝܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ. ܘܟܐ̈ܦܐ ܘܙܗܝ̈ܪܐ ܡܢ ܢܗܝܪܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܡܟܘ. ܘܛܠܠ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܕܠܦܘܦܣܐ ܕܝܠܒܢܐ [7]ܚܫܘܟܐ ܀

ܢܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܘܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܚܛܝ̈ܐ. ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܙܢܐ [8]ܗ̇ܘܝܢ ܬܡܢ.

ܙܕܩ ܠܢ ܕܢܕܥ ܘܢܫܬܘܕܥ. ܕܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܠ ܚܝܝܢ. ܘܐܢܝܫܘ [9]ܕܢܐܣܝܡ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܘܚܠ̈ܦܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܗܘ̇ܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐ [9]ܣܐܝܡ ܡܕܡ ܠܗ̇ܘ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܠܫ̈ܘܠܡܐ. [10]ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܠܫ̈ܘܠܡܐ ܠܦܘܬ ܫܘܠܡܗܘܢ. [11]ܘܐܦܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܒܘܣܡܐ ܠܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܣܠܩ ܒܡܠܝܘܬܗܘܢ. ܣܓܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ [12]ܐܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܟܗ [13]ܢܐܣܝܡ ܣܦܝܢܐ ܒܝܡܐ. [14]ܠܘ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܠܗܕ̈ܪܐ ܦܓܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܣܝܡ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܠܐ ܘܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ. ܘܬܟܒܪܐ ܕܠܒ̈ܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܦܫܐ ܦܓܥܐ. [15]ܐܝܟ ܒܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܒܪ ܘܠܝܬܐ. ܘܬܘܬܐ [16]ܕܣܠܩ ܡܒܕܪ̈ܢܐ ܥܡܝܪ̈ܐ. [17]ܘܡܓܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ̇ ܕܐܡܝܪ

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[1] A ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. [2] C ܒܗܘܢ. [3] A ܡܢܗܘܢ. [4] B C ܢܘܗܪܗ ܘܢܘܗܪܗ.
[5] C ܟܝܢܐ. [6] B omits ܘ. [7] A C omit ܚܫܘܟܐ. [8] B ܗܘܐ. [9] B C ܘܣܝܡ.
[10] A C omit from ܘܐܦ to ܠܫ̈ܘܠܡܐ. [11] B C ܐܦܠܐ; A omits ܬܘܒ. [12] C ܐܟܘ̈ܬܐ; A C ܕܟܗܘܢ. [13] C ܘܣܝܡ. [14] A ܐܘ. [15] A ܘܐܝܟ. [16] B C ܣܠܩ. [17] A ܘܡܓܠܝܢܐ.

ܕܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܦܪܩܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒ̈ܚܐ ܘܬܘܪܐ ܘܥܪܒܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܠܗܘ [1]ܘܫܠܡܘ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܫ̈ܢܝܬܗ [2]ܕܦܓܪܐ ܐܒܕܐ. ܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ. ܦܘܠܘܣ ܓܝܪ ܠܓܠܝܐܝܬ ܡܘܕܥ. ܘܣܡ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ [3]ܒܦܪܙܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ. ܘܐܟܒܝܢܐ ܕܗ̇ܝ, ܠܓܒܪܐܝܬ ܗܠܟܐ ܒܗ [4]ܥܘܒܕܗ̇. ܟܕ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܟܦ ܡܢܗ̇. ܡܒܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܝ. ܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕ̈ܡܘܗܝ, ܘܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܗ ܩܐܡ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܐ. ܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܛ̈ܠܠܐ ܕܗܢ ܓܘ̈ܫܡܐ. ܘܠܘ ܕܦܓܪܐ [5]ܗ̄ܘ, ܗܕܐ. ܕܐܢ ܡܟܐܒܐ ܕܠܒܝܫܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܥܪܘܦܬܐ ܘܦܠܠܘܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܠܐܬܦܢܝܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܟܕ ܡܢ ܐܫܬܒܩܗ ܘܦܐܪܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܚܠܦ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܠ ܡܢ [6]ܦܘܪܣܗ ܘܟܝܢܘܬܗ. ܟܕ ܢܦܠ ܒܗ ܐܣܟܝܡܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܒܠ. ܗܟܢܐ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܡܙܕܪܥܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܠܗ [7]ܒܩܒܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܘܬܐ. ܘܡܬܒܣܡܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܟܠܗ̇ ܗ̈ܘܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܬܓܪܬܐ ܕܗܡܫܐ. ܘܡܫ̈ܠܡܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܐ. ܡܙܕܪܥ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܢܦܫܢܝܐ. ܩܐܡ ܦܓܪܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ [8]ܒܟܠܗܘ̇ ܗܕ̈ܡܐ [9]ܕܦܓ̈ܪܝܢ ܫܪܝܢ ܐܘ ܫܚܝܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ. ܕܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܘܕܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܗܘ̇ [10]ܟܕ ܒܗܘ̇ ܒܗܕ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ [11]ܡܫܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܡܫܘܕܥܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ [12]ܓܝܪ ܕܒܥܕܢܐ ܘܒܥܕܢܐ. ܟܕ ܠܒ ܬܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܢܝܢܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ [13]ܘܡܬܩܠܠܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܚܕܕܐ. ܒܓܠܠ ܠܗ ܒܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܚܕ̈ܕܐ ✣

ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܡܬܪ̈ܒܝܐ [14]ܟܕ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܘܚܬ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܫܠܝܡܐ. [15]ܘܠܡܘܪܟܒܘܬܐ ܕܗܕ̈ܡܐ [16]ܘܕܘܩ̈ܝܐ:

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[1] B C omit ܘܫܠܡܘ. [2] B C omit ܕܦܓܪܐ. [3] A ܒܦܘܪܫܬܐ (sic). [4] B C ܥܘܒܕܐ. [5] C ܗܘ. [6] C ܒܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܘܦܘܪܣܗ; B ܐܣܟܝܡܗ always. [7] A ܒܩܘܪܐ. [8] C ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. [9] A ܕܦܓܪܐ. [10] A ܒܗܘܢ ܘܒܗܘܢ ܕܗܕ̈ܡܐ. [11] B ܡܫܡܠܠܝܢ. [12] A omits ܓܝܪ. [13] A ܩܠ̈ܠܐ. [14] B adds ܕܝܢ. [15] B C ܘܠܡܘܪܟܒܬܐ. [16] B C ܘܕܘܩܝܐ.

ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܠܡܐ ¹ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܦܩܢ ܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܫܩ̈ܠܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܘܗܕܪ̈ܘܫܦܬܐ. ²ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܚܛܗ ܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܠܡܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ³ܩܕܡ ܚܛܗ
ܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ ܡܥܒܕ ܩܕܡܐܝܬ ܘܫܪܝܢ ܒܒܥ̈ܘܬܐ
⁴ܒܟܝ̈ܢܗܘܢ ܒܒܥܘܬܗ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܒܡܘܪܟܐ ܕܐܣܩ̈ܒܣܐ.
ܘܫܩܠܐ ܕܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܕܐܪܒܐ. ܘܕܨܘܡܐ ܘܕܫܗܪܐ ܘܕܒܟܝܬܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܡܬܒܪܐ ܒܗܬܐ ܕܬܦܠܘܢ ܒܪܒܝܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ. ܘܚܕܘܬܐ
ܒܪܒܝܐ ܕܕܘܩܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ∴

ܝܚ ∴ ܥܠ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܙܢܐ ܘܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܢܦܩܢ ⁵ܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ ܒܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܘܬܐ.

ܢܦܩܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܘܐܣܟܝ̈ܡܐ ⁶ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܩܡ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܡܢ ܡܥܒܪܐ. ܟܕ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕ̈ܡܝܗ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ.
ܒܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܝܢ ܕܠܐ ⁷ܬܦܘܫ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܓܠ. ܫܒܪܐ
⁸ܕܡܢ ܘܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܠܦܘܪܥܢܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ
ܕܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܕܬܬܪܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܠܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܓܝܪ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܫܘܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܟܕ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܡ̈ܥܬܐ
ܘܦܓܪܐ ⁹ܕܗܕܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܘܕܬܓ̈ܡܐ
ܘܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܫܡܝܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ
ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܗ ܒܠܦܘܪܐ. ¹⁰ܘܡܬܬܩܠܣܝܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ¹¹ܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܒܥܘܬܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܡܐܪܐ

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[1] A ܘܟܠܗ. [2] A ܕܐܝܠܝܢ. [3] C ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. [4] B omits ܒܟܝ̈ܢܗܘܢ.
[5] B C ܕܡ̈ܥܐ. [6] A omits from ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ to ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [7] B ܬܦܘܫ, and A omits ܘܠܐ.
[8] A omits ܕܡܢ. [9] A ܕܗܘܕܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ; B ܐܣܟܡܐ. [10] A ܘܡܬܩܠܣܝܢ. [11] A ܫܦܝܪܐ.

ܘܡܫܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܚ̈ܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ̣ܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ
ܐܝܟ ܪܦܦ ܥܝܢܐ ܒܩܪܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܟܕ ܬܩܪܐ. ܘܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ
ܕܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ. ܘܚܢܢ ܢܬܚܠܦ. ܗܟܢܐ ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ ܘܩܠܝܠܐܝܬ
ܡܣܬܥܪܐ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ. ܠܦܘܬ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܬܐ.
ܘܠܠܘܬܗ̇ ܓܝܪ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܒܒܪܐ ܠܦܠܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܒܥܐ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ
ܦܓܪ̈ܐ [1]ܒܠܚܘܕ ܚܙܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ. [2]ܟܕ
ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܢܫ ܦܐܡ ܒܩܝܡܬܐ. ܓ̈ܠܝܡܝܢ [3]ܟܒܪ
ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܒܐܝܕܐ ܘܕܙܘܥܐ ܘܕܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ ܘܕܗܟܐ
ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܪ̈ܫܝܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ. ܒܗ̇
ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܕܪ̈ܕܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܫܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ
ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܫܥܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܪܦܦ ܥܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܕܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܕܡ
ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܕܪܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܟܕ ܩܪܢܐ [4]ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܢܩܥܝܢ. ܘܩܡܝܢ
ܩܠܐ ܫܦܝ̈ܪܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܒܗ̇ܘ ܠܠܝܐ. ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܗ̇
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܗ̇ܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܗ̇ܘܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܦܫ̈ܩܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ
ܕܓܠܝܢ ܗܦܟܬܗ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܘܒܬܪܐ. ܬܠܬ ܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ
ܦܪܨܘ̈ܦܝܢ. [5]ܗ̇ܠܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܓܡܪ ܘܡܫܬܡܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܒܪܐ
ܕܡܢܚܬܐ. ܡܒܩܝܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܥܐ ܘܡܬܕܟܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܬ ܐܡ̇ܪ
ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ. ܐܡ̇ܪ ܓܝܪ ܗܟܢܐ. ܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܕܡ
ܚܝܬ ܡܢܬܐ ܒܒܪ ܘܡܫܬܪܝܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܐܠܐ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ
ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܩܕܡ. ܕܐܬܝܐ ܒܗ ܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܩܪܝܒܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܡܘ
ܕܡܪܢ ܐܚܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܕܬܒܥܐ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܝܐ.
ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘ [6]ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܪܚܩܘ ܒܗ̇. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܪܬܐ ܘܠܦܘܡܐ
ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܢ ܓܝܪ ܩܡ ܫܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ

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[1] A omits ܒܠܚܘܕ. [2] C ܘܟܕ. [3] A omits ܟܒܪ; C omits ܘܗܟܝܠ.
[4] B C ܠܐܚܪܝܬܐ. [5] C ܘܗܠܝܢ. [6] A ܘܐܬܕܪܫ ܘܐܬܚܠܦ.

ܡܓܪܦܝܢ ܠܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ ܡܬܥܩܪܝܢ. ܘܒܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ. ܘܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܩܘܪ̈ܝܗ ܗܦܟܝܢ. ܘܥܒܘܪ̈ܐ ܙܥܪܐ ܘܡܓܠ̈ܐ ܒܥܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܩܝܢ. ܘܫܥ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܢܘܪܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܫܬܐ ܘܬܒܘܢܐ ܗܢܦܝܢ ܘܐܒܕܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܝܒܠ. ܗܓܪ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ [1]ܕܗܓܪ, ܒܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܦܫܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܬܕܒܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ. [2]ܕܚܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܚܪܝܢ. ܠܐ ܢܕܪܟ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܕܡܟܘ. ܕܒܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܕܚܕܝܢ ܫܥܬܗ ܕܡܚܘܬܐ. [3]ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܕܢܘܚܡܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܬܘܒ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܪ̄ܙܐ. ܠܘ ܟܠܢ ܢܕܡܟ. ܟܠܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܬܚܠܦ ⁘ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܝܢ. ܐܝܟ [4]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܫܬܥܕܘ. ܘܫܬܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܩܘܡܒܐ ܠܬܚܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܕܢܕܒܪܘܢ ܠܦ̈ܬܟܡܐ ܕܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܠܦܬܟܡܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ [5]ܒܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܣܝܓܐ. ܘܕܘܒܬܐ ܒܡܫܒܥܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܚܐܠܝܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ. ܘܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܟܠ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܡܬܦܩܠ ܙܘܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܙܘܥܬܐ ܕܡܫܒܥܐ ⁘ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܒܗ̇ ܡܬܦܬܚܢ ܩܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܕܢܚ ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܒܡܕܪܐ [6]ܘܒܥܘܒܕܢܐ ܙܒܢܐ. ܫܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܡ ܥܘܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ. ܒܡܕܪܐ [7]ܠܬܪܝܢ ܦܠ̈ܓܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܚܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܠܒܪ ܕܫܠܡ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܪܘܚ ܟܠܝܢܐ. [8]ܘܗܕܝܢ ܡܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܡܫܠܡ [9]ܠܗ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܘܒܢܦܫܗ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܘܠܐܒܪ̈ܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ⁘ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܬܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̇ܝ, ܐܚܪܝܬܐ. ܕܒܗ̇ ܡܢܚܡܝܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ

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[1] B ܕܗܓܪ; C ܕܗܓܪ (sic). [2] C ܘܚܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ. [3] C ܐܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ.
[4] A C ܕܐܡܪ. [5] A C omit ܒܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ ܐܘ. [6] A ܘܒܥܘܒܐ. [7] B ܠܬܪܬܝܢ.
[8] B C ܘܗܝܕܝܢ. [9] A B omit ܠܗ.

ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܝܟ [1]ܕܒܠܒܘ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܥܘ̈ܪܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܐܢܫܘ
ܕܡܫܬܐܠܬ ܒܡܘܪܢܐ ܕܟܣܦ̈ܐ ܒܒ̈ܢܝ ܀

ܢܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܘܚܡܐ [2]ܘܩܝܡܬܐ ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. ܘܫܘܠܡ ܥܠܡ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ. ܘܫܘܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܝܐ. ܘܡܟܣܝܢ [3]ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܛܠܘܡܐ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܡܠܒܒ ܠܡܗܝ̈ܡܢܐ. ܒܐܬܘܬܐ ܘܒܢܝܚܐ. [4]ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܢܣܓܕ. ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ [5]ܡܪܢܐ. ܟܕ [6]ܡܬܚܙܪ ܘܡܕܢܚ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܐ [7]ܕܬܪܝ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܓܒܪܝܠ. ܘܚܠܦ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܠܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܠܫܥܬܐ [8]ܘܠܫܘܦܪ ܐܦ̈ܐ ܕܒܩܘ̈ܪܐ ܘܕܡܫܘ̈ܪܝܐ ܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ. ܡܫܕܪܐ [9]ܕܪܘܚ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܦܘܫܩܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܗܘܢ, ܕܡܢܝ. ܐܝܟ [10]ܕܐܡܝܪ ܠܡܠܦܢܐ. ܡܕܒܪܗܘܢ, ܠܡ ܐܬܝܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܗ ܘܡܪܒܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ [11]ܗܢܐ ܚܘܒܐ ܥܠܗ ܕܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܚܝܐ ܡ̈ܠܐ. ܕܐܡ ܠܟܠܗ ܘܢܘܗܪܗ ܠܢܘܗܪܗ. ܘܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܘܗܪ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢ ܥܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܒܚܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܕܒܪܬܐ ܕܢܚ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ̈ ܡܪܝ. ܕܦܠܓܗ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܒܬܐ. ܗܐ ܫܥܬܐ ܐܬܬܐ. [12]ܦܘܩܘ ܠܐܘܪܥܗ. ܗܐ ܕܒܗ̇ ܡܫܝܚܐ [13]ܚܬܢܝ. ܘܣܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܢܘܗܪܗ. ܘܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܢܬܪܝܢ [14]ܡܢ ܫܡܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܛܪ̈ܦܐ. [15]ܘܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܢܬܬܙܝܥܘܢ. ܘܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܗ ܘܚܝܐ. ܘܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܪ̈ܡܬܐ [16]ܢܬܦܫܪܘܢ ܘܝܡܐ ܡܬܥܒܪ. ܘܟܠܗ [17]ܕܫܡ̈ܝܐ [18]ܡܬܥܒܕܝܢ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܘܬܐ

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[1] A blank space is left in A for ܕܒܠܒܘ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗܘܢ. [2] A ܘܩܝܡܬܐ; B omits ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. [3] B C omit ܠܗ. [4] C ܠܐܠܗܐ; C ܢܘܚ. [5] A C omit ܡܪܢܐ. [6] A B omit ܡܬܚܙܪ. [7] A ܕܬܪܝܢ; B C ܬܪܝ. [8] B ܘܠܡܫܦܪ; C omits ܘܠܫܘܦܪ ܐܦ̈ܐ. [9] B ܪܘܚ. [10] B ܕܐܡܝܪ. [11] C omits ܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ. [12] A ܦܘܩ. [13] C ܚܬܢܐ. [14] A B omit ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. [15] B ܘܫܡܝ̈ܐ. [16] B C ܢܬܦܫܪܘܢ; A C omit ܘܝܡܐ. [17] B ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. [18] A C ܡܬܥܒܕܝܢ.

ܥܠ ܦ̇ܠܠܘ̣ܬ ܘܟܠܐ ܕܥܠܝܗܝܢ [1]ܡܫ̇ܕ̣ܪܝܢ ܕܢܒ̇ܓܪܐ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܠܘܬܢ
[2]ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܙ̇ܕܝܩܐ ܕܫܒܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܡܠܠܘ̣ܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗ̇ܘ
ܕܠܒܢܒ ܒܫܢܬܐ. ܫ̇ܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܘ̣ܦܟܐ ܕܬܝܢ. [3]ܘܠܡܫܝ̣ܚܘܬ̣ܐ
ܚܬܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܫ̇ܠܛ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܩ̈ܕܝܡ ܒܙܒܢܬܐ ܡܢܝܢܬܐ ܕܙܪܥܐ
ܡܢ ܕܬܝܢ. ܘܠܗ̇، ܕܒܬܪ ܢܘ̣ܚܡܐ ܠܐ ܫ̇ܒܩ. ܘܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܐܬ̈ܪܝܢ
ܕܐܝܟ ܢ̇ܠܘܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܝܢܐ ܚܕܒܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܡܚܣܝܢ ܕܠܚܘ̣ܒܬ ܚܕܒܬܐ
ܕܒ̈ܪܪܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܢܘ̣ܚܡܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܬ̣ܒܚܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܠܒܪܒܬܐ
ܕܒ̈ܪܪܐ ܠܐ ܚܕܒܬܐ ܡܫ̇ܒܚܝܢ ⁘ ܕܡܟܝ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩ̈ܬܐ ܕܙܪ̈ܥܐ
[4]ܘܡܟܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܢ [5]ܠܦܘܬ̈ܗܘܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܡܢ ܡܓ̈ܘܫܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ [6]ܡܟܝܠ، ܬܐܕܘܪܘ̇ܣ. ܒܫܪܒܗ ܕܦ̇ܘܠܘܓܝܬܐ
ܦ̇ܘܠܐ. ܒܙܒܢܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܘ̣ܚܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܐ.
ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܦܪܘܣܝܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܢܚܕܘܢ ܥܠ ܕܡܝܐ ܢܘܚܡܗܘܢ
ܚܝܠܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܘܦ ܒܝܠܘܬܗ. ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܡܚܒܐ [7]ܡܫܬܥܠܝܬܗ
ܕܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢ̈ܚܐ. ܕܒܬܟܬܐ ܕܦܪܘܣܝܐ. ܒܪܡ ܒܙܒܢ ܢܘܗܪ ܒܟܐ
ܡܬܪܐܝܬ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܫܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܕܘܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܢܒܟܘܢ
ܢܘܗܪ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܢܘܗ̈ܪܐ
ܒܟܝܢܘܗ، ܒܫܘܠܡ ܥܒܕܬܐ ܬܫܝܐ. [8]ܘܡܬܪ ܡ̈ܫܘܬܐ ܚܙܐ. ܘܐܦ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܡܟܪ̈ܥܐ ܒܚܝܐ [9]ܪܘܚܢܐ ܒܥ ܚܙ̈ܪܐ. ܐܝܟ
ܦܩܦܩܐ ܘܦܘܪܣܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܚܝܒܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܕܐ ܒܟܠܠܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܝܢ.
[10]ܘܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܝܬ، ܡܢ ܫ̈ܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܠܕ ܡܬܚ̈ܙܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ.

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[1] B ܡܫܕܪܘ. [2] B ܠܗܘ. [3] In A a blank space is left, where the words ܘܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ and ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ should come; C ܘܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. [4] A B ܘܡܟܪ̈ܝܢ. [5] A ܠܦܘܬܗܘܢ, and omits ܕܝܢ. [6] A omits ܡܟܝܠ. [7] C ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. [8] C omits ܘܡܬܪ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܚܙܐ. [9] C ܪܘܚܢܐ, and omits ܒܥ ܚܙܪܐ. [10] A ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ; A ܒܝܬܗ.

ܦܓܪܐ ܐܝܟ [1]ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܫܥܝܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܒܥܒܗ̇ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܐܘܪܥܗ ܚ̈ܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܕܟܒܝܢ ܕܢܐܚܕܘܢܗ̇
ܘܢܒܝ̈ܘܗܝ. [2]ܕܐܝܢܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܘ
ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܓܒ̈ܪܝܢ ܒܥܡܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ [3]ܟܒ̈ܪܐ ܗܘܢܘܢ ܕܒܒܢ̈ܝ
ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܡܙܝܚܝܢ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܦܪܕܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܝܕܝܢ ܗܦܝܢ
ܚܒ̈ܪܘܗܝ. [4]ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܘܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܘܦܒ
ܒܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܪܒܬܐ. ܒܗ̇، ܫܒܘܬܐ ܓܒܝܢܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܡܕܝܢ ܠܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܫܘܒܩܢܐ.
ܕܢܒܝܬ ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܒܩܝܡܬܐ. ܠܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܫܘܒܩܐ
ܘܒܘܣܡܐ ܘܦܘܪܥܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܢܕܒܥܐ ܢܦܫܐ
ܟܠ ܡܕܡ [5]ܕܥܒܕ̈ܬ ܡܢ ܛܒܬܐ [6]ܐܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܀ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܪ̈ܝܢ
ܢܦܫ̈ܬܐ [7]ܡܢܐ ܕܡܬܦܪ̈ܫܢ ܡܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ. [8]ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܠܫܡܝܐ ܡܬܓܠܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ [9]ܕܪܘܚ. ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܕܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܒܗ ܡܕܝܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ
ܡܫܢܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ [10]ܕܫܒܝܚ ܒܠܒ̈ܪܐ ܕܐܕ̄ܪ [11]ܓܠܝܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ
ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܦܫ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܦܠܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܡܩܘܡܐ ܕܒܢ
ܒܫܩܒܐ ܓܒ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ [12]ܕܒܗ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ [13]ܡܬܩܒܪ̈ܢ.
ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ [14]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܡܟܪܘ [15]ܒܐܠܗܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܒܬ̈ܪܐ. ܒܗ
ܐܦ ܗܫܐ [16]ܒܡܥܪ̈ܝܢ ܥܕ ܢܩܡ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [17]ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܟܠ
ܦܘܡ ܡܥܪܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܦܪܘܩܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܢܝܢ ܒܕܝܢܬܐ
ܠܢܘܣܡ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [18]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܒܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ.

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[1] A omits ܡܠܬܐ. [2] C ܘܐܝܢܘ. [3] B ܒܟܒ̈ܪܝܢ. [4] A omits ܗܝܕܝܢ.
[5] B ܕܥܒܕܬ. [6] B ܘܡܢ; C ܘܒܝܫܬܐ. [7] A omits ܡܢܐ. [8] A C ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ.
[9] C ܕܪܘܚܐ. [10] C ܫܒܝܫ. [11] B ܓܠܝܢܗܘܢ. [12] A omits ܕ. [13] B ܡܬܩܒܪܝܢ.
[14] A B omit ܐܝܟ. [15] C omits ܒܐܠܗܐ. [16] C omits ܒܡܥܪ̈ܝܢ; A B ܒܡܥܪ̈ܢ.
[17] B omits ܐܡܪܝܢ; C ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ. [18] B C ܐܡܪܝܢ.

ܥܠܝܙ ܒܡܟܐ [1]ܦܘܪܐ ܕܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ ܒܗ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܣܘܟܝܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܘܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܫܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܫܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܝܙ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܡܒܪܙܐ ܦܐܡ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܡܟܣ ܠܗ ܠܡܛܥܝܢܐ. ܘܡܗܦܟ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܒܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܠܒܒ ܘܡܫܪܪ ܠܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܗܝ̈ܡܢܐ ✣

ܢܘ ✣ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܦܩܢ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ.

ܫܬܐܣܬܐ [2]ܕܝܢ ܕܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [3]ܘܡܫܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܗ ܪܒܘܬ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܒܩܗ ܫܪܪܐ ܘܡܦܢܝܢ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܒܫܡܫܐ [4]ܐܬܬܐ ܡܢܬܗܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ. ܒܚܒܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܿܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ. ܐܠܐ ܐ݇ ܢܦܠܐ ܗܘܡܗ [5]ܘܢܚܘܬ ܡܛܠ ܫܝܘܠ ✣ ܒܒܝܢܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܿ ܕܢܦܠ ܢܦܫܗ [6]ܫܝܘܠ ܟܦܘܡܐ ܕܒܢ ܦܠܚ̈ܘܬܐ ✣ ܒܛܒܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܦܘܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܕܠܥ̈ܠܡܐ ܡܫܬܟܚܬܐ ✣ ܒܡܦܠܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܪܚܫܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ، ܡܪܝܬܐ ✣ ܒܡܛܪܘܦܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܠܚܦܝܐ ܕܒܢܘܗܝ ܢܦܠ. ܘܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ. ܘܥܫܩܐ [7]ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ✣ [8]ܐܠܐ ܟܡ ܗܠܝܢ [9]ܒܠܗܘܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܡܬܡܝ̈ܬܢܐ. ܪܗܛ [10]ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܟܠܐ ܐܢܚܐ ܘܪܓܙ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܚܐ ܕܒܥܡ. ܘܗܕܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟܐ. ܠܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ. ܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܬܠܐ ܠܡܕܥܗ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܦܘܪܐ. [2] B ܕܝܢ. [3] B C ܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ; B ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܗܝ; A ܬܘܪܬܐ.
[4] B ܐܬܢܝ. [5] C ܫܝܘܠ ܐܝܟ ܘܢܚܘܬ; C ܒܒܝܢܝܐ. [6] B ܫܝܘܠ ܢܦܫܗ.
[7] A B ܕܐܝܟ. [8] C ܐܦ. [9] A ܒܠܗܘܢ. [10] B ܙܒܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟ; C ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟ; A ܒܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ ܟܠ ܙܪܥ ܘܟܠ ܥܘܠܠ ܘܟܠ ܫ̈ܬܠܝܢ. ܘܗܦܟ ܐܠܗܐ
[1]ܟܠܠܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܬܟܠܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܒܐ.
ܘܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܡܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ [2]ܘܬܙ̈ܥܬܐ. ܘܦܫܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܪܙܠܐ
ܡܢ ܢܒܝܥܘܬܐ. ܘܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܚܫܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ
ܐܒܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܙܪܥܐ [3]ܘܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܕܢ. ܘܡܫܘܚܐ ܫܪܒܪܒܢܝܬܐ
[4]ܕܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܘܡܓܠܒܐ [5]ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܟܕ ܚܙܝܢ ܒܥܝ̈ܢܐ ܠܓܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܡܬܕܪܟܝܢ.
ܘܠܫ̈ܡܝܐ [6]ܕܡܬܦܬܚܝܢ. ܘܠܡܒܘ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ. ܘܠܛܘ̈ܪܐ ܕܢܦܠܝܢ.
[7]ܘܠܫܡܫܐ ܕܚܫܟ ܒܗ ܘܢܫܝܢ. ܘܠܣܗܪܐ ܕܗܦܟ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܚܠܦ.
ܘܠܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܕܢܦܠܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܦܪܗܘܢ. [8]ܘܠܐܪܥܐ
ܕܡܚܒܠܐ ܒܡܘܬܐ. [9]ܘܡܫܘܚܐ ܫܪܒܪܒܢܝܬܐ ܕܦܪܨܘܦܐ. ܡܬܠܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܢܩܘܡ. ܘܥܐܠ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܝܬܒ ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܟܠ
ܬܪ̈ܥܘܬ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ [10]ܕܐܢܐ ܐ̄ܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܡܬܩܒܠ ܡܢ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ
ܕܗܐܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܦܐܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ. ܟܕ ܡܣܓܕܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܡܪ. [10]ܕܐܢܐ ܐ̄ܢܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ ܘܕܡ̈ܠܐܬܐ.
ܘܡܬܓܠܠ ܝ̈ܠܕܬܐ ܘܡܘ̈ܪܕܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܐܡܬ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܢܝܫܗ
ܡܬܚܠܠ ܝ̈ܠܘܕܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܣܝܒܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܥܠ ܕܩ̈ܝܡܐ ܘܡܘ̈ܪܕܢܐ
ܒܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܓܝܪ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܦܪܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܬܐ.
ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܕܢ. ܗ̇ܘ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܐ [11]ܒܪ ܛܘܠܡܝܐ. ܟܕ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ،
ܒܪܢܫܐ [12]ܡܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܡܡܠܟܢܐ ܠܕܘ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܡܟܟܢܘܬܐ
ܦܠ̈ܓܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܡܬܠܒܫܢ. ܘܡܬܟܬܢܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒ̈ܢܐ.
[13]ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܫ̈ܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܗܕܝܘܛܐ. [14]ܘܡܢܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ ܘܡܕܡ

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[1] B C ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܠܘܬܗ. [2] C ܘܡܬܬ̈ܢܝܬܐ. [3] A ܕܡܢ. [4] C ܘܦܪܨܘܦܐ.
[5] B ܠܐܪܥܐ. [6] B ܕܡ ܡܬܦܬܚܝܢ. [7] C ܘܫܡܫܫܐ; A ܘܫܡܫܐ. [8] B ܘܐܪܥܐ;
A C ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܚܒܠܐ. [9] A B ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ. [10] A B omit ܕ. [11] A omits ܒܪ.
[12] A ܡܬܝܠܕܢ. [13] B ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܫ̈ܠܝܛܢܐ. [14] B C omit ܘܡܢܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ.

ܘܡܬܒܠܥܝܢ ܠܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܕܡܫܟܚ [1]ܩܐܡ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܒܬܪ ܫܒ̈ܘܥܐ ܚܕ ܕܐܘܠܨܢܐ [2]ܗܘ̇ ܩܫܝܐ. ܡܬܒܕܪܝܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ
ܒܡܥܒܬܐ [3]ܕܩ̈ܘܦܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܬܗܝܢ ܡܬܓܒܝܢ [4]ܒܠܗܘܢ ܗܢܘܢ
ܘܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܩ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ
ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܢܚܪܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܫܥܐ ܀

ܢܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ [5]ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ [6]ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܒ̈ܝܠܐ. ܒܫܒ̈ܘܥܐ ܚܕ ܘܒܦܠܓܗ
ܫܒܘܥܐ. ܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܛܘܠܡܐ. ܗܢܐ [7]ܡܬܒܛܢ ܒܟܘܪܙܝܢ. ܘܡܬܝܠܕ
ܒܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ. ܘܡܬܪܒܐ ܒܟܦܪܢܚܘܡ. ܘܡܫܬܒܗܪܐ ܒܗ ܟܘܪܙܝܢ
ܕܐܬܒܛܢ ܒܗ̇. ܘܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ̇. ܘܟܦܪܢܚܘܡ ܕܐܬܪܒܝ
ܒܗ̇. ܡܛܠ [8]ܗܢܐ ܠܬܠܬܝܗܝܢ ܝܗ̄ܒ ܡܪܢ ܘܝ̈ܐ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ.
ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܩܐܡ
ܥܠ ܓܓܘܠܬܐ ܒܪ ܕܐܙܕܩܦ ܒܗ̇ ܡܪܢ. ܘܣܐܡ ܬܓܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܒܪܝܫܗ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܠܘܗܝ ܐܙܕܩܦ ܡܪܢ. ܘܦܫܛ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ
ܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ. ܘܡܬܥܠܐ
ܨܠܝܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܟܠܝܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܡܗ. [9]ܘܡܠܟܐ
ܢܦܫܗ ܒܝܕ ܒܪܘܝܗ. ܘܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ
ܙܪܥܗ̇ [10]ܕܟܘܫܝܬ ܒܪܬ [11]ܦܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܘܫ̈ܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܘܡܠܟܗ. ܡܛܠ
[12]ܠܟܘܫܝܬ ܢܣܒܗ̇ ܐܪܡܠܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕܬ
ܙܪܥܐ ܕܟܘ̈ܫܝܐ ܥܡ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܙܪܥܐ ܩܐܡ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܘܝܕ.
ܕܟܘܫ ܬܫܠܡ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. [13]ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܬܓܠܐ ܝܠܕܐ ܠܐܒܕܢܐ.

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[1] A B ܕܩܐܡ. [2] B omits ܗܘ̇. [3] B C ܕܩܘܦܐ. [4] B C omit ܒܠܗܘܢ.
[5] A ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ. [6] A ܡܘܒܕܢܐ. [7] A ܢܬܒܛܢ. [8] B ܗܕܐ. [9] C ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܠܡ.
[10] B ܕܟܘܫܝܬܐ. [11] A ܦܠܠ. [12] B C ܕܟܘܫܝܬ. [13] A ܒܗ.

ܕܢܬܚܫܒܘܢܝܗ̇ܝ، ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܗ̇. ܘܐܢ ܢܒܥܘܢ ܕܒܢܘܪܐ ܢܥܒܪܘܢܝܗ̇ܝ،
ܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܠܗ̇ ܠܢܘܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܝܒܐ ܘܕܪܘܚܐ ܠܐ
ܕܢܠ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡܘܢ ܒܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܘܢ.
ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܠܓܘ ܡܢ [1]ܬܪܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ.
ܓܘܓ [2]ܡܓܘܓ. ܢܘܠ. [3]ܐܫܟܢܙ. [4]ܕܝܦܪ. ܦܘܛܝܐ. [5]ܘܠܘܛ̈ܝܐ.
ܗܘܢ̈ܝܐ. ܦܪ̈ܙܝܐ. ܕܩܠܝܐ. [6]ܬܘܒ̈ܠܝܐ. ܕܘܪܛ̈ܝܐ. [7]ܟܘܟܒ̈ܝܐ. ܟܠܒ
ܓܢ̈ܙܐ. ܐܡܙܘܢ̈ܝܬܐ. ܓܪܡܝܕܘܕ. [8]ܐܟ̈ܠܝ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܬܪ̈ܟܝܐ. ܐܠܢ̈ܝܐ.
ܦܣܝܠܘܢ. [9]ܕܢܩܝܐ. [10]ܣܠܛܪ̈ܝܐ ⁘ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܫܘܠܡ
ܫܢܐ. [11]ܟܕ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒܝܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ
ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܙܕܘܓܝܢ ܒܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܢܝܢ ܒܒܢ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܝܫܐ ܘܠܐ
ܩܘܒܠܐ. ܡܢ ܬܘܟܒܘܬܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ. ܘܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܡܢ
ܥܠܝܐ ܢܬܦܬܚܘܢ [12]ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܬܬܙܝܥ ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܢܒܙܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܘܢܫܒܬܘܢ ܟܠܦܘܪܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܦܪܝܬ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܢܫܒܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܕܩܐܡ
ܠܩܘܒܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢ [13]ܣܓܝܐܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܠ̈ܨܢܐ ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܐܟܠܝܢ
ܒܣܪܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܫܬܝܢ ܕܡܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܫܪ̈ܨܐ
ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܢܚܕܝܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܩܪܐ ܘܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܫܪ̈ܟܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
[14]ܘܐܟܠܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܠܟܠܒ̈ܐ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ. [15]ܘܒܒܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܘܟܝܬ ܦܓܘܪ̈ܬܐ
ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܫܠܕܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܟܡ ܥܠܝܬܐ. ܘܢܗܒܠܘܢ ܠܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ
ܕܢܓܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܗܬܬܐ ܡܕܡܝܗܘܢ.

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[1] A ܠܬܪܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. [2] A B ܘܡܓܘܓ. [3] C ܐܫܟܢܙ. [4] B ܕܝܦܪ. [5] A omits this word; C ܠܘܒܝܐ. [6] B ܬܘܒܠܝܐ. [7] A C : ܟܘܟܒܝܐ : ܐܡܙܘܢ̈ܝܬܐ : ܓܪܡܝܕܘܕ : ܐܟ̈ܠܝ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ : ܟܠܒ ܒܪܢܫ. [8] B ܘܐܟܠܝ. [9] B ܕܘܢܩܝܐ. [10] B ܣܠܛܪ̈ܝܐ. [11] A ܘܟܕ. [12] A ܬܪ̈ܥܝܗ. [13] C ܣܓܝܐܘܬܐ ܐܘܠ̈ܨܢܐ. [14] A ܐܟܠܝܢ; B omits this word. [15] B ܩܛܠܐ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܩܛܘܠܬܐ ܩܛܝ̈ܠܬܐ; C ܘܩܛܘܠܬܐ, and omits ܘܒܒܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܘܟܝܬ.

ܢܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܓܘܓ ܘܡܓܘܓ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܒܓܪܒܝܐ.

[1]ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܗܦܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܤ. [2]ܘܟܒܫ ܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܐܬܩܪܒ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ. ܚܙܐ ܒܒܢ̈ܝ [3]ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܦܬ. ܕܒܝ̈ܫܝܢ ܘܛܢ̈ܦܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ [4]ܝܬܒ̈ܝ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܬܐ. ܒܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܡܣܝ̈ܒܬܐ ܘܟܠ̈ܒܝ، ܚܘܐ. ܕܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܩܘܒܪ̈ܐ [5]ܘܦܓܪ̈ܝܗ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܥܡ ܫܠܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܣܪ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܩܒܪܝܢ [6]ܗܘܘ ܠܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܥܘܠܐ ܕܡܫܠܛ ܗܘ̈ܐ، ܢܫ̈ܐ ܦܠܓܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܡܒܣܡܬܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [7]ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܚܠܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܦܩܝܢ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ [8]ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܫܬܐ ܐܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ [9]ܗܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܦܪܫ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܤ ܒܥܘܠܬܗܘܢ. ܩܪܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܥܕܪܗ. ܘܟܢܫ [10]ܘܐܝܬܝ، ܐܢܘܢ [11]ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܥܠ [12]ܘܚܒܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܓܘܗ ܓܪܒܝܐ. ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܬܪܥܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ. [13]ܘܥܠܬ ܒܓܠܝܐ ܘܡܣܬܡܟܐ ܡܢ ܣܘܦ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܤ ܒܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܨܠܘܬܗ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ [14]ܠܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܡܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܬܕ̈ܝ ܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܒܪܘܚܐ [15]ܕܒܪ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܐܡܝ̈ܢ. [16]ܘܒܢܐ ܒܐܦܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ. ܘܟܒܫ ܠܗ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܘܡܫܚܗ [17]ܒܡܫܚܝܢܐ [18]ܕܐܣܛܘܡܘܣܝܢ. ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ. ܕܐܢ ܦܪܟܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܦܪܙܠܐ ܐܝܟ

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[1] C ܟܕ ܗܦܟ ܕܝܢ; B ܐܗܦܟ ܕܝܢ. [2] B ܘܟܒܫܘ. [3] A omits ܡܕܢܚܐ. [4] B ܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܬܐ. [5] B ܘܦܓܪ̈ܐ. [6] B omits ܗܘܘ. [7] B ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ. [8] C ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. [9] A ܗܢܘ. [10] B C ܐܝܬܝ. [11] B C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [12] B C ܚܒܫ. [13] B ܘܥܠܬ ܡܣܬܟܠܐ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܘܡܣܬܡܟܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ; C omits ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ. [14] B ܛܘܪ̈ܝܢ. [15] C ܕܦܘܡ. [16] B ܘܒܢܐ ܒܐܦܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܒܢܚܫܐ. ܘܡܟܒ ܠܗ ܟܠܗ ܕܢܚܫܐ. [17] A ܡܫܚܝܢܐ. [18] B ܕܐܣܛܘܡܘܣܝܢ; C ܕܐܣܛܘܡܣܝܢ.

ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܘܢܟܣ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ [1]ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ
ܕܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܘܬܦܠ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܕܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ
ܒܐܝܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ. [2]ܘܢܬܡܟܟܘܢ ܠܚܪܒܐ
ܘܠܫܒܝܐ ܘܠܩܛܠܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܢܝܪ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ [3]ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܚܕ
ܒܡܐܐ ܥܠ ܢܝܪܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܩܫܝܐ ܡܢ
ܟܦܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܛܘܪܦܐ. ܘܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܠܫ̈ܢܝܢ
ܕܡܫܥܒܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܬܗܘܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܬܫܬܒܩ
ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܪ̈ܒܬ ܡܢ [4]ܒܥܘܪܗ. ܘܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܦܪ̈ܝܫܐ ܕܐܫܬܚܪܪܘ [5]ܐ̄ܢܫ
ܠܐܬܪܗ ܘܠܝܪܬܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܘܢܣܓܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ
[6]ܕܚܪܝܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܐܓܦܘܗ [7]ܬܚܪܒ. ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ
ܬܐܡܢ ܒܝܘܪܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܬܚܪܒ. ܘܠܫܢ ܡܕܡܐ ܢܬܦܢܝܢ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܚܡܬܗ [8]ܘܪܘܓܙܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܒܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܟܦܪܘ
ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܬܬܓܡܪ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܫܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܐܟܘܬܗ. ܡܢ ܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝ, ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܗ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܗ̣ܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܫܝܢܐ ܐ̄ܚܪܝܐ. ܘܬܗܘܐ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ [9]ܒܐܪܥܐ
ܘܢܬܒܢܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܒܫܝ̈ܢܐ. ܘܢܬܚܕܬܢ ܕܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܢܬܚܪܪܘܢ ܫܒܝ̈ܬܐ. ܘܢܬܦܢܘܢ [10]ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܩܠܐ. ܘܢܬܬܢܝܚܘܢ
ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܠܐ ܘܛܘܪܦܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܘܢܫܬܘܢ. ܘܠܝܬ
[11]ܚܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܙܘܥܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܢܘܠܕܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܗܘ
[12]ܫܝܢܐ ܢܬܬܠܐ. ܘܢܬܦܬܚܘܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ
ܗܢܘܢ ܕܚܒܝܫܝܢ ܬܡܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ⁘

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[1] B omits ܘܒܢܬܗܘܢ. [2] A blank space is left in A for the words ܘܢܬܡܟܟܘܢ ܠܚܪܒܐ. [3] C ܐܚܪܢܐ. [4] B ܒܥܘܪܐ. [5] C ܟܠܢܫ. [6] A ܕܚܪܝܒܐ; C ܕܚܪܒܐ. [7] C ܬܬܚܪܒ. [8] B omits ܘܪܘܓܙܗ. [9] B ܒܒܪܝܬܐ; A ܘܒܐܪܥܐ. [10] A ܚܘܒ̈ܐ ܥܩܠܐ. [11] A ܚܫܐ; C ܚܫ̈ܐ. [12] C ܚܫܐ.

ܘܠܪ̈ܘܦܝܐ. ܒܕܡܐ ܕܟܫ̈ܘܦܝܢ ܗܒܒܐ ܕܣ̈ܡܡܢ. ܘܢܬܘܠ ܐܣܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܘ̈ܪܗܢܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܕܒܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܒܐ. ܘܒܪ ܡܬܥ̈ܒܕܢܐ ܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܕܒܘ̈ܪܬܗܘܢ. ܒܟܡ ܐܘ̈ܠܝܢܐ. ܘܡܬܓ̈ܒܒܐ ܡܕܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܒܦܘܢܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܢܬܕ̈ܪܢ ܥܠܝ̈ܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܥܘܩܒܐ [1]ܘܩܠܝ̈ܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܕܪ. ܘܢܦܩܐ [2]ܘܢܬܚܒܪ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. [3]ܘܢܒܥܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܗܘܢ ܘܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܐܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [4]ܘܢܬܠܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܒܟܦܢܐ ܠܣܘܦܐ. ܘܢܕܡܘܢ [5]ܠܒܪܐ ܒܪܫܝܥܐ ܘܢܩܘܡ ܒܥܦܪܐ. ܘܢܫܒܘܩ ܥܠ ܬܪܒܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܐ ܡܘ̈ܬܢܐ [6]ܘܟܘ̈ܪܗܢܐ ܒܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܒܦܓܪ̈ܐ. ܘܢܬܚܡ ܢܓ̈ܥܐ [7]ܬܬܪ̈ܬܡ ܘܬܬܠܬ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܚܕ. ܘܢܐܡܪ̈ܢ [8]ܠܗ. ܕܠܝܬܝܢ ܢܐܟܘܠ ܘܬܬܒܣܡ ܠܒܢ. ܒܠܫܢ ܬܗܘܐ ܒܦܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܢܬܒܣܪ̈. ܘܒܪ ܡܬܐܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܦܪܣܝܢ. [9]ܘܟܦܢܝܢ ܘܨܗܝܢ ܘܡܬܬܢܚܝܢ. ܒܗ̇، ܡܕܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܡܬܢܬܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܢܗ̇ ܠܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܘܡܬܓܫܡܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܒܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܪܒܘܬܐ [10]ܕܟܒܪܘ. ܐܘ ܕܪܒܘ. ܘܐܘܒܕܘ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܬܚܒܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܩ̈ܠܠܬܐ. ܒܪ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ. ܕܠܝܬ [11]ܐܠܗܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ ܠܚܛ̈ܝܬܢܐ. [12]ܘܗܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܘܒ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܬܬܒܪܘܢ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ [13]ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܘܪ̈ܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܪܥܢܝܬܐ. ܘܢܬܬܟܪܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܪܐ ܕܢܦܩ [14]ܣܓܝܐܗ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪ̈ܘܕܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܒܐ ܘܐܒܕܢܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ [15]ܕܢܬܒܪ. ܘܒܟܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ

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[1] C ܘܩܠܝ̈ܠܬܐ; a blank space is left in A for the words ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܡܕܪ. [2] B ܘܡܬܚܒܪ. [3] B C ܘܢܒܥܘܢ. [4] In B a space for a word or two has been left blank after ܘܢܬܠܘܢ. [5] C ܒܪܢܫܐ. [6] B ܘܟܘܪ̈ܗܢܐ; C omits ܒܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ. [7] A ܬܬܪ̈ܬܡ. [8] C omits ܠܗ. [9] B ܘܨܗܝܢ ܘܟܦܢܝܢ. [10] B C ܕܪܒܘ. [11] B C omit ܘ ܐܠܗܐ. [12] B ܘܗܘܝܢ. [13] C omits ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ. [14] B ܣܓܝܐܐ. [15] B ܕܐܬܒܪ.

ܢܦܣܩ[1]. ܘܠܘܬ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܕܢܓܠܐ ܠܦܘܫܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܬܗܘܐ
ܐܦܪܝܩܐ ܕܡܪܕܝܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܡܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܬܝܡܢܐ[2]
ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܬܪܒ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܚܝܪܬܐ
ܕܢܘܫ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܟܦܢܝܢ ܘܨܗܝܢ ܘܫܢ̈ܩܐ ܘܥܩ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܬܪܥܠܝܢ
ܒܐܣܘܪ̈ܐ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܢܬܠܘܢ ܛܘܒܐ ܠܡܝ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܥܩ̈ܪܬܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܬܝܢ[3]
ܘܠܝ̈ܠܘܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܪ̈ܣܐ[4] ܕܐܡܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܘܬܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. [5]ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܣܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܐܦ̈ܐ
ܡܫܕܝܢ. ܘܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܠܡܬ̈ܥܒܕܢܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܩܒܘܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ.
ܘܐܦ ܟܕ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܒ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܒܝܢ. ܘܠܡܐܢ̈ܐ ܡܩܕܫܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܠܡܘܬ̈ܒܐ ܒܥܕܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܥܪ̈ܣܝܗܘܢ ܦܪܫܝܢ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܒܢܫ̈ܬܗܘܢ [6]ܠܚܒܘܫܬܐ ܟܠܝܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܢ. ܘܠܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ
ܠܗܪ̈ܟܐ ܘܠܡܕܒ̈ܪܢܐ ܫܩܠܝܢ. ܘܠܟܠ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܐ
ܐܦܪܝܢ. ܘܒܗܠܝܢ ܢ̈ܩܡܬܐ ܡܬܦܪܥܐ [7]ܠܗ ܪܘܚܗܘܢ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ
ܘܡܬܚܡܠܝܢ ܒܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ [8]ܒܦܪܝܢ ܒܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܥܪܝܪܬܐ
ܒܝܠܕܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܒܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܫ̈ܝܢܐ. ܘܩܛܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܒܘܪܐ
ܒܦܪܝܢ ܒܡܫܥܒܕܐ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܙ̈ܕܘܪܐ ܘܐܟ̈ܠܝ ܩܘ̈ܪܝܐ ܘܥܒܕܘܪ̈ܐ
ܒܦܪ̈ܝ، ܒܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܒܗ̇ܝ ܡܬܪ̈ܕܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܢܚܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܦܝܣܢܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܐܚ̈ܐ ܘܦܛܘ̈ܪܐ. ܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܦܫ̈ܩܬܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܟ̈ܠܐ ܘܐܟ̈ܠܝ ܩܘ̈ܪܝܐ. ܘܡܥ̈ܦܪܢܐ ܘܡܫܬ̈ܘܩܐ ܘܙܠܝ̈ܠܐ.
ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܢ̈ܘܝܐ. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܥ̈ܒܕܝܢ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ
ܘܡܙ̈ܕܪܩܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܝ̈ܢܐ. ܘܥܠܝܗ ܥܪܘܪܐ [9]ܠܐܘܠܨܢܐ

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[1] A ܢܬܦܣܩ. [2] B C ܠܬܝܡܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ. [3] A ܠܥܩܪ̈ܬܐ ܦܐܝܡ ; C ܠܥܩܪ̈ܬܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܝܢ. [4] C ܟܪ̈ܣܬܐ. [5] A blank space is left in A for the words ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܣܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. [6] C ܒܢ̈ܫܝܗܘܢ ܠܚܒܘܫܬܐ. [7] C omits ܠܗ. [8] A omits from ܒܦܪܝܢ to ܡܫܝܢܐ. [9] B ܠܐܘܨܪܐ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܪܚܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܥܠܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܟܪ̈ܣܛܝܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܥܘܠܐ ܘܣܛܝܘܬܐ [1]ܕܡܬܥܒܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܪ̈ܣܛܝܢܐ. ܕܠܐ ܐܬܥܒܕܝ ܐܟܘܬܗ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ. ܕܡܬܦܢܩܝܢ ܒܪܘܝܘܬܐ [2]ܘܒܣܒܥܬܐ ܘܒܟܪܝܣܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܨܝܪ. ܘܡܫܬܘܬܦܝܢ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܪܐ ܡܪܚܐܝܬ. ܟܕ ܡܙܢܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܒܪܗ ܥܡ ܚܕܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ. ܘܐܚܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬ ܐܚܘܗܝ. ܘܒܪܐ ܥܡ ܕܒܪܐ. ܘܢܩܒܬܐ ܥܡ ܢܩܒܬܐ. ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ [3]ܘܕܟܠܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܕܕܟܪ̈ܐ [4]ܥܡ ܕܟܪ̈ܐ ܒܗܬܬܐ [5]ܥܒܕ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܢܫ̈ܐ [6]ܦܠܚ̈ܝ ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܐ ܘܒܕܠܐ ܡܟܡ ܐܬܝܚܕ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ [7]ܠܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܚܣܡ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܝܗ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܛܢܦܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܡܣܡܣܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܦܠܓܘܗܝ. ܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܒܫܪ ܘܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܟܠ ܗܕܐ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܗܘܢ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܠܫܒܝܘܬܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܒܪܝܐ. ܕܢܬܛܢܦܘܢ ܢܫܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܛܢܦܘܬܐ. ܘܢܬܛܢܦܘܢ [9]ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܡܕܐܬܐ. ܘܢܫܒܘܢ [10]ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܠܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܬܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܪܩܘܢ ܠܫܘܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܕܐܬܗܘܢ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܦ ܒܢܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܘܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ [11]ܕܢܬܟܒܫ ܡܕܐܬܐ ܘܒܝܫ ܪܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܝܬܐ ܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܒܦܪܘܐ. [12]ܡܕܡܐܝܬ ܟܕ ܚܠܨ ܠܝܬܡ̈ܐ ܘܛܠܡ ܠܐܪ̈ܡܠܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܪ̈ܚܡܘܢ ܠܡܣܟ̈ܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܚܘܣܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܦܝܣܘܢ ܠܐܠܝܨܐ. ܘܢܦܘܫܘܢ ܠܡܣܒܘܬܐ [13]ܕܩܫܐ. ܘܢܒܣܡܘܢ ܒܡܫܬܝ̈ܐ. ܘܢܫܬܘܢ ܠܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܢܬܚܒܘܢ ܒܡܫܬܝ̈ ܢܚܘ̈ܫܐ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܬܐܢܐ ܕܡܬܦܪܕ. ܘܢܬܦܠܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܨܪܐ. ܘܢܬܠܫܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܣܦܣܐ

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[1] A ܕܡܬܠܥܒܐ. [2] A C omit ܘܒܣܒܥܬܐ. [3] C ܘܟܠܬܐ. [4] B C ܠܘܬ. [5] B C ܥܒܕܘ.
[6] C ܦܠܚ. [7] B ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܐܘ ܠܦܘܪܥܢܐ; C omits ܕܚܣܡ ܒܪܢܫܐ.
[8] C omits ܐܠܗܐ. [9] C omits ܒܝ̈ܫܐ. [10] B omits ܒܝ̈ܫܐ. [11] C ܕܢܬܠܒܫ.
[12] B C omit ܡܕܡܐܝܬ. [13] B C omit ܕܩܫܐ.

ܠܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܪ̈ܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܡ̇ܦܩܬܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܢܗ
ܕܗܝܟܠܐ. ܐܪ̈ܒܥܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܒܝܬܐ
ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܫܒܐ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܫܒܝܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܕܢܝܐܝܠ. ܡܐܐ
ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܠܝܕܘܬܗ
ܕܡܪܢ. ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗܘܝܢ ܫܒ̈ܘܥܐ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܪܢ. ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܪܢ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ. ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܐ
ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܫܡ̈ܠܝ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܕܗܘ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ
ܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܐܬܐ ܘܬܡ̈ܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܢܓ ܀ ܥܠ ¹ܫܘܠܡ ܙ̈ܒܢܐ ܘܫܘܚܠܦ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ. ܡܢ ²ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܘܕܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܐ.

ܒܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܦܐ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܠܦܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܒܗ
ܡܬܒܨܪܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ³ܘܒܗ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ⁴ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ ܡܢ
ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܬܪܒ. ܘܐܬܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܓܒܥܘܬ ܕܪܡܬܐ.
ܘܬܡܢ ܡܬܚܒܪܝܢ ܡܦܠ̈ܓܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܕܒܚܪܒܗ
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܕ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܡܢ ⁵ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ ܒܪܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ.
ܕܒܫܡܬܐ ܡܫܬܕܪ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܥܠ
ܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܥܠ ܐܝܠ̈ܢܐ. ܘܡܚܪܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܕܠܐ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ. ܘܠܐ

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[1] A ܡܫܘܚܠܦ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ. [2] A ܟܬܒܗ ܕܡܬܘܕܝܘܣ. [3] B C ܒܗ. [4] A ܐܫܡܥܝܠ; C ܫܡܥܝܠ. [5] A C ܐܫܡܥܝܠ.

ܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܐܚܘܗܝ [1]ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܘܗܪܢ ܘܫܒܘܪ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
[2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܒܪ ܫܒܘܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܘܗܪܢ ܒܪ [2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܦܝܪܘܙ ܒܪ [2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܒܠܫ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ. ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
[3]ܩܘܕ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܀
ܟܣܪܘ ܒܪ [3]ܩܘܕ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܒܪ ܟܣܪܘ ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܡܢ ܫܒܘܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ [4]ܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܥܒܕܢ̈ܐ ܕܟܣܪܘ ܒܪ ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܕܒܗ ܒܡܢܝܢܗ ܠܕܪܐ. ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ [5]ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ [6]ܕܡܫܥܒܕܢ̈ܐ ܕܒܦܘܪܩܢ ܢܒܝܐ. [7]ܕܗܘܝ̈ ܗ̄ܘ، ܫܬ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܫܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ [8]ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܗܘܝ̈ [9]ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ [10]ܗܟܝܠ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܒܠܗ ܗܟܝܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܗ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܪܒܬ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܒܝܕ ܛܛܘܣ. ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬܡܐܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܟܪܙܘܬܗ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܗܘܝ̈ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܀

[11]ܟܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܗܘܝ̈ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܝ̈ܝܐ. ܬܡܢܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܛܝ̈ܝܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܟܪܙܘܬܗ. ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬܥܣܪ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܟܪܙܘܬܗ ܘܥܕܡܐ

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[1] B C ܥܣܪ. [2] A ܝܙܕܓܪܕ and ܝܙܕܓܪܕ. [3] B C ܩܒܕ. [4] A B ܫܢܬ ܡܫܥܒܕܢ̈ܐ. [5] B ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [6] A ܕܡܫܥܒܕܢ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [7] A ܗܘܐ. [8] B C omit ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [9] B C omit ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [10] A omits ܗܟܝܠ. [11] B C omit the next paragraph.

[1]ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ ܡܚܕܐ ܕܐܡܠܟ ܫܕܪ ܠܛܝܛܘܣ ܒܪܗ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܝܬܒ ܥܠܝܗ̇ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܥܕܡܐ [2]ܕܟܒܫܗ̇ ܘܐܚܪܒܗ̇. ܐܡܠܟ [3]ܕܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܛܝܛܘܣ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܕܘܡܛܝܢܘܣ ܚܡܫܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܛܪܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܝܠܗ ܫܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܀

ܗܕܪܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܡܪܩܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܩܘܡܘܕܘܣ ܬܠܬܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܣܘܪܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܕܒܢܬ [4]ܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܡܡܝ ܬܠܬܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܡܟܣܝܡܝܢܘܣ [5]ܘܓܪܕܝܢܘܣ ܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܒܪܗ ܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܘܠܪܝܢܘܣ [6]ܘܓܐܠܝܢܘܣ ܚܡܫܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܩܠܘܕܝܘܣ ܘܛܩܝܛܘܣ ܫܬܬܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

[7]ܕܘܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ ܘܕܥܡܗ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܡ̈ܠܟܐ [8]ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܒܪ ܣܐܣܢ ܀

ܒܫܢܬ [9]ܐܦܪܡ ܕܡܟܣܝܡܝܢܘܣ ܡܢ ܪܒܐ. ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪ ܒܦܪܣ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

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[1] A ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. [2] C ܕܐܬܟܒܫܬ. [3] A C omit ܕܝܢ; C ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ. [4] C ܐܢܛܘܢܝܘܣ. [5] A C ܘܓܘܪܕܝܢܘܣ. [6] A ܘܓܠܝܢܘܣ. [7] B C ܕܝܘܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ. [8] B C ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. [9] A ܐܦܪܝܡ.

ܒܢܝܐ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܀ ܕܪ̈ܝ ܀ [1]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܢܦܬܠܝ ܀ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀
ܡܘܫܒܘܗ ܀ ܥܘܕܕܐ ܀ ܡܝܬܢ ܀ ܕܦܫܛܐܘܗ ܀ ܟܠܒ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܐܫܥܝܗ ܀ ܡܘܫܝ ܀ ܬܐܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܐܪܘܒ ܀
ܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܀ ܚܙܩܐܝܠ ܀ [1]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܀

ܘܒܬܪ ܗܢܐ ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ [2]ܒܪ ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ. ܘܗܘ ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܐܘܪܓܛܝܣ. ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܦܝܠܘܦܛܘܪ ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ [3]ܐܦܝܦܢܝܣ. ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

[4]ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ [5]ܦܝܠܘܡܛܘܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܒܙܒܢܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܡܬܝܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܩ̈ܒܝܐ. ܘܒܗ ܫܠܡܬ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܣܘܛܪ [6]ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܬܡܢܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ [7]ܕܝܘܢܣܝܘܣ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

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[8]ܫܢܝܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀

ܓܐܝܘܣ [9]ܝܘܠܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܐܓܘܣܛܘܣ [10]ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ. ܒܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܕܝܠܗ. ܐܬܝܠܕ [11]ܡܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀

ܛܝܒܪܝܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. [12]ܘܒܫܢܬ ܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܨܠܝܒ ܡܪܢ܆ ܘܒܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܚܫ ܘܡܝܬ ܘܩܡ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܀

ܓܐܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܩܠܘܕܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܢܪܘܢ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

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[1] A ܘܗܠܝܢ. [2] B C omit ܒܪ ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ. [3] A ܐܦܝܦܢܘܣ. [4] C ܦܛܠܡܘܣ. [5] A ܦܝܠܘܡܛܪ. [6] A ܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܐ. [7] B C ܕܝܘܢܘܣܝܘܣ. [8] A ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [9] A ܝܘܠܝܘܣ. [10] A ܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ. [11] A ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ. [12] A ܒܫܢܬ ܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ.

ܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܐܓܦ̈ܛܝܐ ܀

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ [1]ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܒܪ ܠܓܘܣ. ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܒܪ [1]ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܫܠܡ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܚܡܫܐ. [2]ܘܗܘܐ ܒܓܒܐ ܡܢ ܝܗ̄ܘܕ̈ܝܐ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܐܓܦܛܘܣ. ܘܦܫܩܘ ܠܗ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܡܢ [3]ܥܒܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ. ܫܒܥܝܢ ܣܦܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܦܪܘ ܓܙܪܬܐ. ܘܚܠܦ ܗܕܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ ܫܒܩ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܡ̈ܐܢܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܗܘܢ. [4]ܘܫܡ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܝܘܣܦܘܣ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐܝܠ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܒ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܠ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀ ܐܕܝ ܀ ܡܬܬܝܐ ܀ ܫܠܡܝܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܢܚܡܝܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܬܐܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܒܣ̈ܐ ܀ ܐܕܘܢܝܐ ܀ [5]ܕܩܝ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ ܀ [6]ܝܘܬܢ ܀ [6]ܐܒܕܝ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܀ [6]ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ ܚܠܩܝܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܀ ܝܫܘܥ ܀ [7]ܣܡܒܛ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܠܘܝ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ ܀ [6]ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ [6]ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀ ܫܡܠ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܢ ܀ ܣܒܒܛ ܀ ܓܕܘܢܐ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܀ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܀ ܐܝܫܢ ܀ ܡܬܝܐ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܓܕ ܀ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܐܪܣܦܢ ܀ ܝܫܘܒ ܀ ܢܚܘܡ ܀ ܬܐܘܕܘܛܘܣ ܀ [9]ܝܘܬܢ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܫܪ ܀ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܀ ܬܐܘܦܝܠܘܣ ܀ ܐܪܣܡ ܀ ܐܝܣܘܢ ܀ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܀ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܕܢ ܀ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܀ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀

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[1] A C ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ. [2] B C ܗܘܐ. [3] A C ܥܒܪܐܝܬ ܠܝܘܢܐܝܬ.
[4] B C ܘܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ. [5] C ܕܩܝܣ. [6] A omits this name.
[7] B C ܣܡܒܛܐ. [8] A ܘܗܠܝܢ. [9] A ܝܘܢܢ.

[1]ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܀
[2]ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܝܗܒܐܠܗܐ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ . . . . ܀
ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܗܘܡܬܢ. ܢܝܚܐ ܠܟܠܡ ܀

ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܩܬܘܠܝ̈ܩܐ ܕܐܬܬܦܪ̈ܣܘ ܘܐܬܥܢܕܘ ܀
ܡܪܝ ܒܒܘܝ ܀ ܢܪܣܝ ܀ [3]ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܣܘܪܝܢ ܀

ܢܒ ܀ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܠܟܐ ܀

[4]ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܕ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܒܒܠ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ [5]ܓܫܬܣܦ. ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ [6]ܐܡܠܟ ܀
[7]ܐܚܫܝܪܫ ܒܪܗ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܪܛܚܫܫܬ ܐܪܝܟ ܐܝܕܝܐ. ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܕܘܦܬܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܪܛܚܫܫܬ ܡܕܟܪܢܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܪܣܣ ܒܪ ܐܘܟܘܣ. ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܐܪܫܡ ܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

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[1] A . . . . ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ [illegible] ܐܬܩܒܪ: ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ:.

[2] A omits from ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ to ܘܐܬܥܢܕܘ and C from ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ to ܢܝܚܐ ܠܟܠܡ.

[3] C ܐܠܝܫܘܥ.

[4] A ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܒܒܠ.

[5] A ܓܘܫܛܣܦ; C ܓܫܛܣܦ.

[6] B C omit ܐܡܠܟ.

[7] C ܐܚܫܘܪܫ.

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܪ ܢܪܫ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܐܫ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ [2] ܒܕܪܝܐ ܕܚܒܪܘܢ ܀
ܚܙܩܐܝܠ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܫܐܘܠ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܚܒܩܘܩ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܡܐܪܝ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܐܫ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܗܘܢܕܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
[4] ܝܗܘܢܕܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܦܪܝܣܘܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܒܒܪܢܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܙܟܪܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
ܒܪ ܝܘܒܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1] ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܀
[5] ܒܒܪܢܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܝܗܘܢܕܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ، ܦܘܠܘܣ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [6] ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ، ܦܘܠܘܣ ܀
ܢܗܒܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [7] ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬ، ܡܪܝܡ ܀

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[1] A omits ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ.

[2] C ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ; A has ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ only.

[3] A C omit ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ.

[4] B C omit this line.

[5] B C omit this line.

[6] A ܒܥܕܬܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ.

[7] A ܒܥܕܬܗ.

܀ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܀

ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܚܝܪܬܐ ܀
[2]ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܓܕܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܐܡܗ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܡܐ ܀
ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܚܕܝܒܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܒܝܬ ܥܒܐ ܀
ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܨܠܝܒܐ ܙܟܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ ܀
ܦܬܝܘܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ ܀
[4]ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [5]ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀
[6]ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
[7]ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܝܪܗ ܀
ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܝܪܗ ܕܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܀
ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
[7]ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
[9]ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܣܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܐܢܘܫ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀

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[1] B C omit ܒܚܝܪܬܐ. [2] A C omit ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ. [3] A blank space is left in A for this name. [4] A makes no mention of Mâr Abbâ. [5] A B omit ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [6] A writes ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ twice. [7] A omits this line. [8] A omits ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ. [9] B omits ܒܗ.

ܦܓܥܐ ܡܕܪܗ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
ܫܡܥܬ̇ ܒܪ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܐܫܬܗܪ ¹ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܀
ܫܡܕܘܬ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
ܒܪ ܒܫܒܚܝܢ ܐܫܬܗܪ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܀
ܬܦܢܝܬܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
ܡܥܒܕܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ. ܗܢܐ ܐܫܬܐܠ ܡܢ ܦܪܙܘܦܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܬܫܝܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܗ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܗ̇ ܕܥܕܬܐ
ܕܟܢܫܬ ܀
²ܐܬܦܝܣ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ ܀
ܐܚܝܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
ܗܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܫܒܘܩܐ ܕܥܒܪ ܒܥܕܐ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
³ܥܒܕܐ ܒܥܒܪ ܒܦܪܩ ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܀
ܕܕܫܡܥ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ. ܘܒܝܕܥܬܗ ܗܘܐ ܚܪܝܐ ܒܝܬ
ܢܦܪܘܫ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܀
ܒܪܗ, ܐܫܬܗܪ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ܀
ܐܦܗ ܡܢ ⁴ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܒܝܬ, ܡܬܩܠܝܢܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ⁵ܒܡܪܢܝܬܐ ܀
ܒܪܝ ܢܦܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ ܀
ܫܠܝܐ ܢܦܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܕܝܢܗ ܕܒܠ ܠܒܝ ⁶ܐܘܪܐ ܀
ܒܩܠܗ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܢܘܬܗ̇ ܀
ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ⁷ܘܫܡܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܐ ܀
⁸ܚܝܘܬܠ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ܀
ܫܬܒܩܒܗ ⁹ܐܪܝܢܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ܀

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[1] A B ܒܫܘܬܦܘ. [2] A ܡܦܝܣܢܐ, with ܐܬܦܝܣ written above it. [3] A ܥܒܕܐ.
[4] B ܫܪܒܬܐ. [5] A B omit ܒܡܪܢܝܬܐ. [6] B C ܐܘܪܐ. [7] B omits ܘܫܡܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܐ and ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ܚܝܘܬܠ. [8] A ܚܝܘܬܠ. [9] B ܐܪܝܢܐ.

ܕܡܠܘܫܐ ܘܕܝܘܡܣ ܀ ܘܡܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܬ ܒܦܪܘܣ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܪܘܣ
ܐܘܟܠܣܛܠܐ. [1]ܘܡܕܝܢ ܚܬܗ ܕܠܒܝܪ. ܡܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܢܛܘܪܬܐ
ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܗܢܝ ܗ̄ܝ [2]ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܐ
ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܣܝܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ [3]ܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ.
ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܢܝ ܗ̄ܝ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ [4]ܡܫܘܕܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܣܝܪܐ
ܕܐܣܝܪܬܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ ܠܗ̇ ܡܣܬܘܠܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܣܝܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܣܦܪ
ܡܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܟܠ
[5]ܡܣܬܘܠܐ ܡܢܬܗ̇ ܐܬܦܪܫܬ. ܘܗ̇ܝ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇
ܗ̄ܘܬ ܀

ܟܐ ܀ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܦܛܘܠܡܐܘܣ ܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܬܫܠܘܦܐ ܕܥܠܒܢܝܐ
ܐܕܪ ܘܡܐܪ.

ܐܕܪ ܒܐܦܪܗܝ ܐܬܝܗܒ. [6]ܡܐܪ ܒܟܝܘܪܐ [7]ܕܐܦܪܝܠ ܀ ܐܒܪܝܣ
ܡܬܦܪܫܐ ܒܐܝܕܝܬ [8]ܐܒܪܘܣܝܘܣ. ܠܐ ܢܚܒ ܕܦܘܬ ܡܕܝܢܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܫܡ̈ܫܕܐ ܕܐܢܦܠܘܢ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܀

ܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܢ ܫܡ̈ܫܕܐ ܕܐܢܦܠܘܢ. ܘܡܬܒܥܠ ܡܢ ܢܦܠܐ
ܕܓܢܣܗ ܕܢܘܦܒ ܒܪ ܢܘܦܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܗ ܒܡܠܛܝܦܐ ܀

[9]ܢܘܦܒ ܡܢ ܫܡ̈ܫܕܐ ܕܐܢܦܠܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܓܢܣܗ
ܕܢܘܦܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܡܕܝܢ. ܘܡܕܝܢܗ ܒܡܠܛܝܦܐ ܀

ܐܚܝܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܢ ܫܡ̈ܫܕܐ ܕܐܢܦܠܘܢ. ܘܡܕܝܢܗ ܒܡܠܛܝܦܐ ܀

ܚܠܩܦܐ ܫܡ̈ܫܕܗ ܒܡܠܛܝܦܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܗ̇ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܀

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[1] B C ܘܡܕܝܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. [2] C ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. ܘܡܫܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܗܢܝ ܠܘ ܒܪܐ ܕܐܣܝܪܬܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ ܠܗ̇ ܡܣܬܘܠܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܣܝܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. [3] B omits ܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܡܣܬܘܠܝܬܐ. [4] A ܡܫܘܕܥܝܢ. [5] B C ܡܣܬܘܠܠ; A B ܡܢܝܠܬܐ. [6] B ܘܡܐܪܛ; A ܒܡܪܐ. [7] C ܕܦܘܝ. [8] B ܐܒܪܘܣܘܣ.
[9] A makes no mention of ܢܘܦܒ.

ܐܟܬܒ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ [1]ܢܗܘܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܘܡܣ̈ܟܢ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܬܐ ܗܠܟ̈ܢܝܬܐ. ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܘ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܘܓܒܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ. ܠܘܩܐ ܘܡܪܩܘܣ. ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܣܪ. ܡܬܝ ܘܝܘܚܢܢ ✣

ܢ ✣ ܥܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܘܢܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܐ.

ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘ ܡܢ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [2]ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ✣ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܪܫܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ✣ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܟܪܙܢܐ ✣ ܦܘܠܘܣ ✣ ܢܬܢܐܝܠ ܗܘܝܘ ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ ✣ ܠܒܝ ܗܘܝܘ ܬܕܝ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ✣ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܙܠܘܛܐ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ✣ ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘ[3] ܕܩܪܝܘܗܝ ܡܪܢ [4]ܘܐܩܝܡܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܦܢܘܢ ܘܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܛܠܝܐ. ܠܐ ܬܥܠܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ̄ ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ [5]ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܥ̈ܢܝܢ [6]ܠܚܕ̈ܕܝܢ. ܘܐܠܦ ܗܘ [7]ܕܢܫܒܚܘܢ ܒܥܕ̈ܬܐ ܗܟܘܬ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܢܐ ܐܫܬܠܛ ܗܘܐ [8]ܗܢܐ ܠܦܛܡܣܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܙܠ [9]ܕܢܘܕܘܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܐܝܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܪܘܣ. ܘܢܦܩ ܕܒܟܬ̈ܒܘܗܝ ܠܟ̈ܘܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ. ܐܬܐ ܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܠܐܬܪܗ. ܘܢܦܩ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܬ̈ܒܘܗܝ ܠܟ̈ܘܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܒܚܘܢ ✣ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܪܒܘ [10]ܐܢܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܢ. ܕܢܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܨܠܐ. ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ [11]ܗ̄ܘܘ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܘܛܛܘܣ. ܘܐܚܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܐܫܬܘܕܘ ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ✣

ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ [12]ܕܒܗܝܢ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܪܝܡ ܐܚܬܗ ܝܘܣܦ. [13]ܘܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܗܘܢ

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[1] C omits ܢܗܘܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܘ.
[2] A B ܗܠܝܢ ܠܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܐܢܘܢ.
[3] A C omit ܗܘ.
[4] C omits ܘܐܩܝܡܗ.
[5] A ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܗܘ; B omits ܗ̄ܘܘ.
[6] B ܠܚܕ̈ܕܐ.
[7] A omits ܕܢܫܒܚܘܢ.
[8] B C omit ܗܢܐ.
[9] B ܕܝܘܕܘܪܘܣ.
[10] A B omit ܐܢܘܢ.
[11] B C omit ܗ̄ܘܘ.
[12] A B omit ܕܒܗܝܢ.
[13] C omits the next clause.

ܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ⁘ ܦܪܟܪܘܣ ⁘ ܢܝܩܢܘܪ ⁘ [1]ܛܝܡܘܢ ⁘ ܦܪܡܢܐ ⁘ ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ
ܓܝܘܪܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ⁘ [2]ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ ⁘ ܛܛܘܣ ⁘
ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ⁘

[3]ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ. ܕܗܘܘ ܥܡ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܒܪܗܘܡܐ ⁘ [4]ܗܪܡܐ ⁘
ܦܠܓܛܐ ⁘ ܦܛܪܒܘܣ ⁘ ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ ⁘ ܗܪܡܐ ⁘

[5]ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܬܐ [6]ܕܐܬܘ ܥܡ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܠܘܬ [7]ܩܘܪܢܬܝܘܣ ⁘ ܩܪܝܣܦܘܣ ⁘
[8]ܣܝܠܒܢܘܣ ⁘ [9]ܩܪܝܛܘܢ ⁘ ܫܡܥܘܢ ⁘ ܓܐܝܘܣ ܡܩܒܠܢܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ⁘
ܐܒܪܘܢ ⁘ ܐܩܘܠܐ ⁘

ܗܠܝܢ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܕܐܫܬܠܝܘ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ. ܐܝܟ [10]ܝܗܘܕܐ ܡܢ
[11]ܬܪܥܣܪܬܐ. ܟܠ ܕܟܦܪܘ ܓܡܝܪܐܝܬ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܢ
ܐܝܕ̈ܝ ܩܪܝܢܬܘܣ. ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܕܡܢܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܐܠܐ ܠܘ
ܡܢܢ ܗܘܘ ⁘ [12]ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܓ̈ܠܐ ܘܦܬ̈ܠܐ ܢܬ̈ܠܐ ܓܒܪ
ܐܝܟ ⁘ ܫܡܥܘܢ ⁘ ܠܘܝ ⁘ [13]ܒܪ ܩܘܒܐ ⁘ ܩܠܐܘܢ ⁘ [14]ܗܘܡܢܝܐܘܣ ⁘
ܦܪܕܘܣ ⁘ ܩܠܝܬܘܢ ⁘ ܕܐܡܐ ⁘ ܢܪܩܣܘܣ ⁘ ܗܠܘܢܣܦܘܣ ⁘ ܬܕܝ ⁘
ܡܪܘܬܐ ⁘ ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܫܠܦܝܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ⁘ ܠܘܩܐ ܐܣܝܐ ⁘ ܐܦܠܐ
ܓܒܝܐ ⁘ ܐܡܦܠܝܐܘܣ ⁘ [15]ܐܘܪܒܝܢܘܣ ⁘ ܣܛܟܘܣ ⁘ ܦܘܦܠܝܘܣ ⁘
[16]ܐܪܣܛܒܘܠܘܣ ⁘ [17]ܐܣܛܦܢܐ ܠܘ ܩܘܪܝܬܐ ⁘ [18]ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ ܒܪ
ܢܪܩܣܘܣ ⁘ [19]ܐܠܘܡܦܐ ⁘ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ⁘ ܐܕܝ ⁘ ܐܓܝ ⁘
ܡܪܝ ܡܐܪܝ ⁘

ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ. ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ

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[1] C omits ܛܝܡܘܢ. ܦܪܡܢܐ. [2] A ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܘܝܘܢܐ. [3] B ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܩܕܡ ܫܒܥܐ; C ܗܠܝܢ. [4] C ܗܘܪܡܐ. [5] C ܗܠܝܢ. All the MSS. have ܫܬܐ, but give *seven* names. [6] B ܕܐܙܠܘ; C ܕܐܙܠܗ. [7] A ܩܘܪܢܬܝܘܣ. [8] B ܣܠܒܢܘܣ. [9] B ܩܪܝܛܘܢ. [10] C ܐܝܗܘܕܐ. [11] B ܬܪܥܣܪ. [12] C ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܫܠܝܚ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩ̈ܠܠ. [13] C ܒܪ ܩܘܦܐ. [14] B ܗܘܡܢܐܘܣ. [15] C ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ. [16] C ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ. [17] A omits from ܐܣܛܦܢܐ to ܘܫܒܥܝܢ; a space of one and a half lines is left blank; C omits ܠܘ. [18] C ܗܪܘܕܝܢ. [19] C adds ܢܪܩܣܘܣ after ܐܠܘܡܦܐ.

ܡܛ[1] ܀ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܀

ܫܡ̈ܗܐ[2] ܕܬܪܥܣܪ. ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܀ ܐܢܕܪܐܘܣ[3] ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܒܪ[4] ܬܘܠܡܝ ܀ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܀ ܡܬܝ ܡܟܣܐ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܚܠܦܝ ܀ ܠܒܝ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܬܕܝ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢܝܐ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܚܠܦܘܗܝ ܡܬܝܐ ܀

ܫܡ̈ܗܐ[5] ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܩܠܝܘܦܐ ܀ ܩܠܝܘܦܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܣܐ[6] ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܒܪܢܒܐ ܀ ܡܢܐܘܣ ܀ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܥܡܕܗ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܬܪܓܡ ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܘܠܛܐ ܀ ܢܝܩܕܡܘܣ ܐܪܟܘܢܐ ܀ ܢܬܢܐܝܠ ܙܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܛܘܣ ܕܥܡܗ ܝܘܣܦ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܪ ܫܒܐ ܀ ܫܝܠܐ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ[7] ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܀ ܡܢܣܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܩܒܠܗ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ ܡܢܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܡܪ̈ܒܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܢܓܪ ܀ ܐܘܩܝܢ[8] ܕܩܘܪܝܢܝܘܣ ܀ ܪܘܦܘܣ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܝܢܝܐ[9] ܐܒܘܗܘܢ ܀ ܠܘܩܝܘܣ ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ[9] ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܒܗܣ ܒܦܪܒܣܝܣ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܐܘܪܝܣܦ[10] ܦܛܪܐ ܓܠܠܐ ܀ ܬܪܘܦ ܀ ܬܪܘܦܝܡܘܣ[11] ܀ ܐܒܕܘܢ ܀ ܙܒܕܘܢ ܀ ܘܗܠܝܢ[12] ܫܒܥܐ[13] ܕܐܬܓܒܝܘ ܥܡ ܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ. ܘܐܝܬ[14] ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܬܠܬ ܒ̈ܢܢ ܕܡܬܢܒܝܢ[15] ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ ܀

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[1] B ܡܛ̄ ܦܘܣܩܐ. [2] A B omit ܫܡ̈ܗܐ. [3] A ܐܚܘܗܝ. [4] A ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ.
[5] The number of the names of the Apostles actually given is eighty. [6] B C ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀ ܝܘܣܐ. [7] C ܐܝܗܘܕܐ. [8] C ܐܠܘܩܝܢ. [9] A B ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ.
[10] A ܐܪܘܣܦ. [11] A ܬܪܘܦܝܡܘܣ; B ܬܪܘܦܝܡܘܡܘܣ. [12] B omits ܘ. [13] All the MSS. read ܫܒܥܐ, but A B give eleven names, and C nine. [14] C ܐܝܬ ܗܘ̣.
[15] A ܕܡܬܢܒ̈ܝܢ ܗ̈ܘ.

ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܥܡܕܗ ¹ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܬܐ ²ܕܟܘܫ̈ܝܐ. ܐܙܠ ܠܟܘܫ ܘܐܟܪܙ ܬܡܢ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܟܕ ܡܟܪܙ ܒܓܙܪܬܐ ³ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ⁴ܦܪܦܪܒܝܐ. ܢܝܚܘܗܝ ܒܫܠܝܐ ⁘

ܐܝܣܘܢ ܘܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܟܕ ⁵ܡܬܠܡܕܝܢ ⁶ܒܐܘܠܝܡܦܘܣ ܐܬܚܕܝܘ ܠܣܗܕܘܬܐ ⁘

ܕܐܡܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܠܬܣܠܘܢܝܩܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

⁷ܐܘܡܢܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܓܠܛܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

ܬܪܦܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܡܠܝܛܝܐ ܫܕܐܘܗܝ ܒܐܬܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ⁘

ܒܣܛܪܦܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ⁸ܒܩܘܦ ܓܪܝܬܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

⁹ܐܒܪܝܘܣ ܘܡܣܛܦܘܣ ¹⁰ܟܠܗ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܘܫ̈ܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬܘ ܘܐܬܩܒܪܘ ⁘

ܠܘܝ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܒܝܢܗ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܡܢ ¹¹ܒܪܡܘܣ ⁘

¹²ܢܘܦܝܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܠܒܪܢܘܣ ܐܬܢܦܫ ܠܬܗܘܡ ⁘

ܘܐܢܫ ܘܬܐܕܘܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܒܓܪܝܢ ܒܐܬܓܪܦܐ ¹³ܕܒܒܠܝܐ. ܥܕܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܣܗܕܘܬܐ ⁘

ܐܩܘܠܘܣ ܘܡܣܟܢ ܒܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ ܦܠܓ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܠܡܕܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܩܘܦܪܝܐ ⁘

ܐܦܠܘ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܪܛܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

ܩܪܦܘܣ ܒܩܘܦܪܘܣ ܐܬܬܢܝܚ ⁘

ܒܘܦܘܡ ܬܠܡܕ ܘܐܟܪܙ ¹⁴ܒܩܣܡܘܢܕܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

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[1] A ܦܝܠܦܘܣ. [2] B C omit ܕܟܘܫ̈ܝܐ. [3] A omits ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ. [4] A ܦܪܦܪܒܢܐ; C ܦܪܦܘܒܢܐ. [5] A ܡܬܠܡܕܢ. [6] A ܒܐܘܠܡܦܘܣ. [7] A ܐܘܡܢܘܣ. [8] C ܒܩܘܪܓܝܠܐ. [9] B ܐܦܡܪܘܢܝ; A ܐܒܪܘܢܝ. [10] A ܟܠ and ܘܐܬܠܡܕ. [11] B C ܒܪܗܘܣ. [12] C ܣܘܦܝܘܣ. [13] A C ܕܒܒܠܝ. [14] B ܒܣܡܣܘܢܕܝܐ.

ܐܢܣܝܡܘܣ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܡܘܢ. ܘܥܪܩ ܡܢܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܟܕ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ¹ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ. ²ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܒܚܗ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܒܐܣܘܪ̈ܝ. ܗܢܐ ܒܪܗܘܡܝ ³ܐܬܬܒܪܝ ܫܩ̈ܘܗܝ ܀

ܐܩ̈ܝܠܐ ܠܒܢܐ ܝܗܒ ⁴ܒܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܣܦܪܘܠܝܩܘܣ ܕܢܘܢܐ ܕܓܙܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܀

ܐܘܠܡܦܐ ⁵ܘܐܣܛܟܝܣ ܘܐܣܛܟܝܐ ܐܬܚܒܫܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܛܪܣܘܣ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬܘ ⁶ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܀

ܦܘܒ̈ܐ ܐܬܠܒܟ ܒܩܣܛܪܘܢ ⁷ܘܬܡܢ ⁸ܐܬܩܛܠ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

⁹ܬܐܘܕܘܪܝܛܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܠܝܦܘ. ¹⁰ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܬܡܢ ܀

¹¹ܡܪܛܠܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܠܒܪܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܀

¹²ܢܝܟܢܪ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܦܪܝܩܐ. ܘܒܗ ¹³ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

¹⁴ܠܘܩܐ ܠܪܗܘܡܝ ܟܬܪ ܦܘܫܢܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܓܠܡ ܫ̈ܥܘܗܝ ܀

¹²ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ¹⁵ܒܗܪܩܠܝܐܘܦܘܠܝܣ ܙܩܦܘܗܝ ܒܨܠܒܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

¹⁶ܡܢܠܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܪܕܘܣ ܐܫܬܪܝ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܀

ܣܝܠܘܢܘܣ ܘܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ ܟܕ ܡܟܪ̈ܙܝܢ ܒܓܒܗ ¹⁷ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ¹⁸ܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܀

ܫܝܠܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ¹⁹ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܡܢܐܝܠ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܒܒܠ. ܐܪܡܝܘܗܝ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

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[1] A ܒܝܬ. [2] A ܡܛܠ. [3] B ܐܬܬܒܪ; A C ܘܐܬܬܒܪ. [4] C omits ܒܘܪܐ. [5] A ܘܐܣܛܟܘܣ. [6] B C omit ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ. [7] A C omit ܘܬܡܢ. [8] A C ܘܐܬܩܛܠ. [9] The place for this name is left blank in A. [10] A C ܘܡܝܬ. [11] B makes no mention of this martyr. The place for his name is left blank in A. [12] The space for this name has been left blank in A. [13] A ܘܒܗ. [14] B C ܠܘܩܝܘܣ. [15] B ܒܗܪܩܠܝܐܘܦܘܠܝܣ. [16] C ܡܢܐܠܘܣ. [17] B C omit ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [18] A ܐܬܩܛܠ. [19] C ܘܐܬܩܛܠ.

ܕܒܝܬܐ [1]ܒܐܢܝܢܘ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. [2]ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܗܘܝܘ
ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܀

ܟܐܦܐ ܗܘ̇ ܕܡܕܟܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܓܠܝܘܢܟ ܘܒܫܝ̈ܚܝܢ [3]ܘܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܢ
ܬܠܡܝܕ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ [4]ܒܩܘܢܝܐ ܀

[5]ܒܪܢܒܐ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܐܝܛܠܝܐ ܘܒܪܘܡܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ
ܒܡܕܘܣ ܀

ܛܛܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܩܪܛܐ ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܣܘܣܬܢܝܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܘܐܣܝܐ. ܘܐܬܥܢܝ
[6]ܒܥܡܠܐ ܒܟܪܘܙܘܬܗ [7]ܕܢܘܚܐ ܗܘܦܪܟܝܐ ܀

ܪܘܦܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܕܠܡܛܝܐ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܘܬܡܢ
ܡܝܬ ܡܢ ܟܪܝܗܐ [8]ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܣܝܠܘܢܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܓܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ
ܒܩܣܪܝܐ ܀

[9]ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܐܠܦܪܘܣܘܢ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܪܘܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܠܡܕ [10]ܒܘܠܓܡܐ ܒܝܬ ܦܠܓܬ̈ܢܐ [11]ܡܛܠܠܘܗܝ ܀

ܩܪܝܢܐ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܗܪܡܐ ܪܒܢܐ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[12]ܢܪܩܝܣܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܐܬܝܢܐ ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ ܟܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܗܘܪܢܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[13]ܐܪܣܛܒܘܠܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܐܣܘܪܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

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[1] C ܘܒܐܢܝܢܘ. [2] A omits from ܐܝܬ to ܕܥܡܗܘܢ. [3] B C ܘܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܗܝ; A omits ܠܟܠܗܝ; and in C it is placed after ܦܘܠܘܣ. [4] B C ܒܩܣܪܝܘܢ. [5] B C make no mention of Barnabas. [6] A omits ܒܥܡܠܐ. [7] C ܕܢܘܦܐ. [8] B C omit ܘܐܬܩܒܪ; A has ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܪܝܗܐ. [9] B C ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܢ. [10] A C ܒܘܠܓܪܝܐ. [11] B C ܘܡܓܠܘܗܝ. [12] B C make no mention of Narcissus. [13] In C ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ is placed before ܐܪܣܛܒܘܠܘܣ.

ܬ̄ܕ̄ܝ ܗ̣ܘܐ ¹ܒܬܪܗ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ. ܩܛܠܗ ܕܝܢ ²ܐܦ ܗ̤ܘ ܗܪܘܕܣ
ܒܪܗ ܕܐܒܓܪ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ⁘

ܙ̄ܟ̄ܝ ܡܟܣܐ ³ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗ̣ܘ ܕܐܚܝ ܡܪܢ. ܟܕ ܡܥܒܪܝܢ ܒܛܘܪܐ
ܕܣܘܪܘܢ. ܐܬܩܛܠ ܬܪ̈ܝܚܘܢ ܫܢܐܝܬ ⁘

ܫ̄ܡ̄ܥ̄ܘ̄ܢ ܓܪ̈ܒܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܒܪܡܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐܘܗܝ، ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ
ܘܡܝܬ ⁘

ܝ̄ܘ̄ܣ̄ܦ ܒܘܠܘܛܐ. ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܘܟܫܝܪ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܪܡܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܗ ⁘

ܢ̄ܝ̄ܩ̄ܕ̄ܡ̄ܘ̄ܣ ⁴ܦܪܝܫܐ ܪܚܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܩܒܠ ⁵ܗ̄ܘܐ ܘܡܣܝܒܪ
⁶ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁘

ܢ̄ܬ̄ܢ̄ܐ̄ܝ̄ܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ⁷ܕܣܘܪܘܢ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐ̈ܦܐ
ܘܡܝܬ ⁘

ܫ̄ܡ̄ܥ̄ܘ̄ܢ ⁸ܩܘܪܢܝܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܒܚܝܘܗܝ ܙܪܝܬܐ ܐܬܩܛܠ ⁘

ܫ̄ܡ̄ܥ̄ܘ̄ܢ ܒܪ ܩܠܝܘܦܐ. ܗ̄ܘܐ ⁹ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ¹⁰ܗ̄ܘܐ ܣܒܐ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܙܩܦܗ ¹¹ܐܚܝ̈ܪܘܗܝ
ܚܝܠܪ̈ܒܐ ⁘

ܐ̄ܣ̄ܛ̄ܦ̄ܢ̄ܘ̄ܣ ¹²ܣܗܕܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐ̈ܦܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ
ܦܓܪܗ ܒܟܦܪ ܓܡܠܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ⁘

ܓ̄ܡ̄ܠ̄ܝ̄ܐ̄ܝ̄ܠ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܢܩܕܡܘܢ. ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ¹³ܘܐܬܥܡܕ. ܘܡܝܬ

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[1] B ܒܐܬܪܗ. [2] C omits ܗ̤ܘ, and A ܗ̤ܘ ܐܦ. [3] B C ܐܝܟ ܡܟܣܢܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܝܬܝ ܠܡܪܢ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܠܦܐ. [4] B omits ܦܪܝܫܐ. [5] A B omit ܗܘܐ.
[6] A omits ܗܘܐ. [7] B ܕܣܘܪ. [8] C ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ. [9] B ܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܣ.
[10] A C omit ܗܘܐ. [11] B C ܣܢܐ̈ܘܗܝ. [12] B C omit ܣܗܕܐ. [13] B ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚ; C ܘܐܬܢܝܚ.

ܠܘܩܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ. ܐܬܬܠܡܕ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܠܠܥܙܪ ܐܚܘܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܕܡܪܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܬܝܚܕ ܡܢ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܟܪ̈ܘܙܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܟܪܙ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܐܬܟܠܠ ܒܣܝܦܐ ܡܢ ܣܘܪܘܣ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܦܛܪܘܦܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܪ ܐܚܬܗ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، [1]ܗܘܐ. [2]ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܘܪܒܐ [3]ܚܬܢܗ، ܡܬܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ [4]ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܨܝܕܢ. [5]ܘܫܠܡܗ ܥܠܝ̈ܒܢܐ ܠܫܡܥܗ ܘܦܪܐܘܗܝ، ܫܪ̈ܘܦܘ. ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܨܘܢ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܒܝܕ ܫܒܥܐ ܀

ܐܕܝ ܡܢ ܦܢܝܣ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ. [6]ܘܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ، [7]ܘܒܒܝܬ ܢܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܝ ܐܒܓܪ [8]ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ، ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܒܓܪ. ܩܛܠܗ [9]ܕܝܢ ܡܥܢܘ ܒܪܗ [10]ܕܐܒܓܪ ܠܘܬ ܚܣܢܐ ܕܐܓܝܠ. ܘܐܫܬܩܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܒܬܪܟܢ [11]ܘܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ، ܠܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ. [12]ܘܐܝܬ [13]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܗ̇ܘ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ، ܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܀

ܐܓܝ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܥܒܕ ܫܐܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܒܓܪ. ܘܐܬܬܠܡܕ. [14]ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܓܪ [15]ܐܡܠܟ ܒܪܗ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܬܒܥ ܡܢ ܐܓܝ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܫܐܪ̈ܝܐ. [16]ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܛܦܝܣ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܐ [17]ܡܨܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܥܒܘܕ ܬܟܠܝܬܐ [18]ܘܡܪܘܕܘܬܐ. ܘܐܗܦܟ [19]ܠܡܪܕܘܬܐ. [20]ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܚܝܗܝ، [21]ܒܫܒܛܐ ܥܠ ܫܩ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܬܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ. [2] B ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [3] B ܚܬܗ ܗܘ̄ܝ. [4] B omits ܕܝܢ. [5] A C ܘܡܫܠܡ. [6] A omits ܘ. [7] B C ܕܒܝܬ. [8] B C omit from ܡܠܟܐ to ܐܒܓܪ. [9] A omits ܕܝܢ; C ܗܘ ܕܡܥܢܘ. [10] A C omit ܕܐܒܓܪ. [11] A ܘܐܝܬܝܘ. [12] A omits from ܘܐܝܬ to ܐܬܬܢܝܚ. [13] C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [14] A omits from ܘܒܬܪ to ܫܐܪ̈ܝܐ. [15] C ܡܠܟ. [16] C ܘܠܐ ܐܬܛܦܝܣ. [17] B ܕܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܕܐܥܒܘܕ. [18] A omits ܘܡܪܘܕܘܬܐ; B ܕܡܪܘܕܘܬܐ. [19] C ܠܡܪܘܕܘܬܐ. [20] A B omit ܗܝܕܝܢ. [21] A ܒܫܒܛܐ; C ܒܫܒܛܘܗܝ.

ܡܪܘܡܗ ܘܠܦܘܡܐ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ. ܘܐܟܠܘ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܪܫܗ
ܕܝܢ ܕܦܠܘܗ ܐܒܕ ܠܗ [1]ܒܒܝܬ ܡܛܠܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܙܒܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܟܕ ܪܒܢܐ. ܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ. ܐܬܪ
ܕܡܛܒܠܐ ܐܬܦܛܪܘ. ܐܫܟܚܗ ܠܪܫܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܒܪܫ
[2]ܣܘܦܛܪܐ [3]ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܦܓܥܗ ܠܘܬ ܛܢܝ̈ܪܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܗ. ܘܟܠܠܐ ܚܘܪܐ
ܢܘܪܐ ܟܕ ܡܬܓܘܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ. ܘܟܠ ܘܐܘܪܒ ܠܡܩܝܥܐ
[4]ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܩܠܝܪ̈ܘܣ ܕܥܕܬܐ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܕܕܫܠܝܗ ܕܦܠܘܣ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ [5]ܪܫܐ. [6]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ [7]ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ.
ܢܥܒܕ ܫܗܪܐ ܘܨܠܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ [8]ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܢܒܥܘܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ
ܘܢܫܡܫܘܗܝ ܠܢܫܐ ܠܘܬ ܬܓ̈ܠܘܗܝ. [9]ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܦܝܣ ܘܡܬܒܢܝܪ.
ܠܡܠܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܗܝ [10]ܕܕܦܠܘܣ ܘܗܘ. [11]ܘܟܕ ܗܟܢܐ [12]ܒܥܒܕܘ
ܐܬܦܢܝ ܟܠܗ ܦܓܪܗ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝ [13]ܪܫܗ ܟܠ ܡܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܦܣܦܣ [14]ܫܘܡܪܬܗ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܩ. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܚܙܘ ܬܡܗܘ
ܘܫܒܚܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܬܗ ܠܫܘܠܡ ܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܬܠܬܝܢ
ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܟܕ [15]ܡܬܟܪܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܕܘܟܐ. ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
[16]ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܪܝܐ. ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [16]ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ.
[17]ܘܐܣܗܕܗ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬ [18]ܕܒܬܪ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [19]ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ
ܒܟܬܐ ܗܕܝܪܐ [20]ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ ܒܐܣܝܪܐ ܪܒܐ.
[21]ܘܒܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܒܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܐ [22]ܒܬܫܪܝ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܕܘܟܪܢܗ
ܡܫܒܠܝܢ ⁘

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[1] A B ܒܝܬ.
[2] A C ܣܘܦܛܪܘ.
[3] A C omit ܕܝܠܗ.
[4] A ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ.
[5] C omits ܪܫܐ.
[6] A ܐܡܪ, and A C omit ܗܘ.
[7] A ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ.
[8] B C ܠܠܝܐ ܟܠܗ.
[9] C ܐܦ.
[10] A ܕܦܘܠܘܣ.
[11] B C omit ܘ.
[12] A ܒܥܕܢ; B ܒܥܒܕ.
[13] B ܒܪܫܗ; C ܒܪܫܐ. B C omit ܟܠ ܡܠܗ.
[14] A C ܫܘܡܪܬܐ.
[15] A ܡܬܟܪܙ.
[16] A omits ܫܢ̈ܝܢ, and has ܒܝܬ.
[17] B ܘܐܣܗܕܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܠܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ.
[18] C ܡܢ ܒܬܪ.
[19] A ܣܝܡ ܗܘܐ.
[20] A omits ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ; B C omit ܒܗ.
[21] B ܘܟܠ.
[22] B ܒܬܫܪܝܢ.

ܒܗ ܒܕܒܝܠ. ¹ܡܫܝܚܝܗ، ܓܒܪܐ ܦܓܪܐ ²ܒܫܒܛܐ ܟܠ ܪܕܗ ³ܘܕܒܪܗ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܪܓܡܘܗܝ، ܒܟܐܦ̈ܐ ⁘

ܡܬܝ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ، ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘ̇ܐ. ܘܠܗܠ ⁴ܕܝܢ ܗܕܪܘ ܠܦܪ̈ܬܝܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܦܓܪܗ ܒܦܫܦܠܝܐ ⁘

ܚܢܢܝܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܬܠܡܕ. ܒܕܪܡܣܘܩ ܘܒܐܪܒܠ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܡܢ ܦܘܠ ܒܪ ܚܠܗ ⁵ܕܐܪܛܦܘܣ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܒܐܪܒܠ ⁘

ܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܢ ܛܪܣܘܣ ⁶ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘ̇ܐ. ⁷ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ. ܦܪ̈ܝܫܝܐ ⁸ܒܗܪܣܝܣ ܕܝܠܗ ⁹ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܒܪ ܒܓܕ ܡܢ ܚܢܢܐ. ܐܬ̈ܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐ̈ܬܐ ܥܒܕ. ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܛܘܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܬܠܡܕ. ܘܡܫܝܚ̈ܝܢܘ ܕܠܐ ܒܪܚܡܬ ܣܒܠ ¹⁰ܘܡܣܒܪ ܚܠܦ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܠܚܪܬܐ ܠܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ ܠܘܬ ܢܐܪܘܢ ܐܙܠ. ܘܟܕ ܦܘܠ̈ܓܐ ܕܬܒܝܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܘ̄ܘ. ܘܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܥܠ̈ܝܬܐ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܠܟ̇. ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܗܘ̈ܪܢܐ. ¹¹ܘܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܢܐܪܘܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܦܩܕ ܢܐܪܘܢ ܕܒܫܘܩܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܣܩܘܢ ܪܫܗ ⁘ ܫܡܥܘܢ ¹²ܕܝܢ ¹³ܫܠܝܚ ¹⁴ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܟܐܦ ܪܫܗ. ܕܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܚܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܠܛܝ. ܓܒ̈ܝܗܘ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ¹⁵ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܠܫܡܥܘܢ. ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܪ̈ܘܚܐ. ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܪܘܡܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܕܒܩ ܦܛܪܘܣ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܘܡܫܬܚ̈ܢܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܬܠܡܕܘ ¹⁶ܠܗܘܢ. ܢܣܒܘ

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[1] A B omit ܡܫܝܚܝܗ. [2] B ܒܫܒܘܠܐ. [3] A ܕܒܪܗ. [4] B C omit ܕܝܢ.
[5] C ܕܐܪܛܘܦܘܣ. [6] C omits from ܐܝܬܘܗܝ to ܦܪ̈ܝܫܝܐ. [7] B omits ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [8] B ܒܗܪܣܝܐ. [9] A omits ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ.
[10] B C omit ܘܡܣܒܪ. [11] B ܘܡܢ ܩܛܠܐ ܐܦܝܣܗ. [12] B C ܦܡ. [13] A ܕܫܠܝܚ.
[14] A ܕܢܘܩܦ. [15] B C ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ. [16] A omits ܠܗܘܢ.

ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘ̇ܕܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ
[1]ܒܠ̈ܕܝܩܝܐ [2]ܘܒܐܢܛܪܕܘܣ [3]ܘܒܐܪܘܕ. ܘܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐ̈ܦܐ ܒܐܪܘܕ.
ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ :·

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܠܝܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܒܝܪܘܛ [4]ܘܒܦܪܝܢ ܘܒܐܦܡܝܐ ܘܒܚ̈ܠܒ
ܘܒܡܒܘܓ ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܩܘܪܘܣ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ
ܘܐܬܩܒܪ :·

[5]ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܚܠܦܝ. ܡܢ ܢܘܪܕܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܡܢܫܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܬܕܡܘܪ [6]ܘܒܩܪܩܝܣܘܢ ܘܒܩܠ̈ܝܢܝܩܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ
[7]ܠܒܛܢ̈ܢ ܕܣܪܘܓ. ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ :·

ܝܗܘܕܐ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ [8]ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܣܟܪܝܘܛ [9]ܩܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ [10]ܕܓܕ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܗܘ ܕܕܢ. ܗܘ̇ ܕܐܬܕܡܝ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܟܠܗ ܠܡܪܗ [11]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܒܗ̇، ܕܐܝܟ ܚܘܝܐ ܢܟܠܗ ܠܡܪܗ. ܚܠܦ ܕܝܢ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ، ܡܬܝܐ ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘ̇ܕܐ. ܘܐܟܪܙ [12]ܒܐܠܢܐ [13]ܘܒܩܘܡܣܝܐ. [14]ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ
ܒܩܘܡܣܝܐ ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ :·

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܚܘܗܝ، ܕܡܪܢ. ܟܕ ܡܬܡܠܠ [15]ܗܘܐ ܠܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ [16]ܒܗ̇
ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܫܕܐܘܗܝ، ܡܢ ܟܢܦܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܫܗ

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[1] A ܒܠܕܝܩܝܐ. [2] B ܘܒܝܢܛܘܪܘܣ; C ܘܒܐܢܛܘܪܕܘܣ. [3] A ܘܒܐܪܘܪ; C ܘܒܐܪܘܕܪ (sic).
[4] B omits this name; C ܘܒܩܘܣܛܐ. [5] A makes no mention of James the son of Alphaeus. [6] A B ܘܒܩܪܩܣܝܘܣ. [7] A B ܠܒܛܢܝܢ; C ܠܒܛܝܢ. [8] B C omit ܡܫܠܡܢܐ. [9] A omits ܩܪܝܬܐ. [10] B C ܕܕܢ, and omit from ܐܠܐ to ܕܕܢ.
[11] B C omit from ܐܝܬܘܗܝ to ܠܡܪܗ. [12] B ܒܒܒܠ ܘܒܩܘܡܣܝܐ. [13] C ܘܠܩܘܡܣܝܐ. [14] C omits ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܩܘܡܣܝܐ. [15] A B omit ܗܘܐ.
[16] B C omit ܒܗ̇.

ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܐܫܝܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܦܪܘܓܝܐ ܘܒܦܡܦܘܠܝܐ ܘܒܦܣܝܕܝܐ.
[1]ܘܒܢܝܐ ܒܗܝܬܐ ܒܦܣܝܕܝܐ ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ܚܝܐ ܕܝܢ
ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܬܐܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [2]ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ.
ܗܢܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܠܦܪ̈ܬܘܝܐ ܘܠܡ̈ܕܝܐ ܘܠܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܥܡܕ
ܠܒܪܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ [3]ܕܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܒܪܩܒܘܣܐ ܘܡܚܝܗ. ܘܐ̈ܚܬܗ
ܫܩܠ [4]ܬܓܪܐ [5]ܠܦܓܪܗ ܘܣܡܗ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ, [6]ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܒܪܟܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܢ. [7]ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܡܚܠܘܦ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
[8]ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ ܀

ܡܬܝ, [9]ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܡܢ ܢܨܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܘܒܨܘܪ ܘܨܝܕܢ ܘܒܠ
ܒܕܘܟܐ ܠܓܘܠܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܣܘܪܝܐ ܀

ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܕܘܪ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ.
ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܠܓܘܬܐ ܘܒܐܕܪܒܝܓܢ ܘܒܦܪܛܝܓܒܘܠ
[10]ܘܒܪܕܝܢ ܘܒܦܪܘܫܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢ [11]ܕܒܝܫܐ ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ [12]ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ.
[13]ܘܩܒܪܘܗ [14]ܗܘܪܩܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ [15]ܒܟܦܬܐ ܕܒܝܐ
ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܀

ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܬܕܝ, ܕܩܪܝܘܗ ܐܦ ܠܒܝ. ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗܝܬܐ ܒܦܣܝܕܝܐ. [2] A ܘܡܢ. [3] B C omit ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ.
[4] B C omit ܬܓܪܐ. [5] A omits ܠܦܓܪܗ. [6] B C omit this clause. [7] A omits
from ܘܐܚܪܢܐ to ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [8] A ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. [9] B C ܡܬܝ ܡܟܣܐ. [10] B ܘܒܪܕܝܢ;
C ܘܒܪܕܝܢ. [11] C ܘܚܝܐ. [12] B ܬܠܬܐ. [13] C ܘܩܛܠܗ. [14] B ܗܪܘܩܘܣܝܣ; C ܗܪܘܩܘܣܝܣ;
and B C omit ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ. [15] C ܒܟܐܦܐ ܪܒܬܐ.

ܘܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ، ܐܦ ܗ̣ܘ ¹ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝ̈ܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܣܝܐ ܠܘܩܕܡ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܫܬܕܝ، ܠܐܓܣܘܪܝܐ ²ܠܦܛܡܘܣ ܓܙܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܛܪܝܢܘܣ ܩܣܪ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܠܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ. ܥܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܥܡܗ ܬܠܬܐ ³ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ. ⁴ܐܓܢܛܝܘܣ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܗܘܐ ⁵ܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ. ܘܐܫܬܕܝ، ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܐ. ⁶ܘܦܘܠܝܩܪܦܘܣ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܗܘܐ ⁷ܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ⁸ܒܣܡܘܪܢܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܠ ܒܢܘܪܐ. ⁹ܘܝܘܚܢܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܠܗ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ¹⁰ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ܒܦܛܡܘܣ. ¹¹ܗ̣ܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ¹²ܡܝܬ] ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ¹³ܒܥܘܗ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ¹⁴ܦܝܫ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܝܕܥ ܩܒܪܗ. ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܩܒܪ̈ܝܢ ¹⁵ܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ¹⁶ܚܕ ܡܛܫܝܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ¹⁷ܕܠܗ ¹⁸ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ. ܕܗܘܐ ܦܓܪܗ ܓܢܝܙ. ܐܡܪ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ¹⁹ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܕܟܬܒ ✣

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܚܘܗܝ، ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗ. ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܬܐ. ܘܩܛܠܗ ²⁰ܒܣܝܦܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܐܓܪܝܦܘܣ ܒܬܪ ²¹ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܡܪܝܩܐ ✣

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[1] A omits ܗܢܐ. [2] C ܠܦܬܡܘܣ. [3] B C ܬܠܡܝܕܐ. [4] A ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ. [5] C omits ܒܬܪܟܢ. [6] B ܦܘܠܘܩܪܦܘܣ. [7] B C omit ܒܬܪܟܢ. [8] A ܒܣܡܘܪܢܐ. [9] A ܘܝܘܚܢܢ. [10] B ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ. [11] C ܘܗܘ. [12] C omits ܡܝܬ. [13] B C omit from ܒܥܘܗ to ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. [14] C ܘܦܝܫ. [15] C ܕܠܗܘ. [16] A ܚܕܐ. [17] B C omit ܕܠܗܘ. [18] B ܕܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܦܠܗ ܠܓܢܝܙܐ; C ܕܗܘ ܐܦܠܗ ܠܓܢܝܙܐ. [19] A C ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. [20] A omits ܒܣܝܦܐ. [21] A ܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ.

ܦܓ̣ܠܝܢ ܀ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܦܘ̈ܣܛܠܐ. ¹ܫܘܡܠܝ ܫܡܗܝܢ ܢ̈ܩܕܡܝܢ ܡܬܦܫܩܝܢ ܀

ܡܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܕܘܟ̈ܝܬܐ ²ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ³ܡܘ̈ܬܗܘܢ.

⁴ܬܘܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܕܡܬܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܘܣܒܝܘܣ ܩܣܪܝܐ. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܕܘܟܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܟܪ̈ܘܙܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ. ܕܟܕ ܦܠܓ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܦ̇ܠܓܘ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܒܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܕܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܢܦܠ ܒܗ ܦܣܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. ܡܠܬ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܟܪ̈ܙ ܕܟܬܪ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢ̈ܩܕܡܝܢ ܦܣܐ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ⁵ܫܡ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܀

ܫܡܥܘܢ ⁶ܟܐܦ ܪܫܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ⁷ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܢܦܬܠܝ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ⁸ܠܦܢܛܘܣ. ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ⁹ܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܥ̈ܕܬܐ. ܕܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܩܣܛܢܝܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܚܝܕ ܠܒܝܬܗ. ¹⁰ܘܗܘܐ، ܒܗ̇ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܘܐܬܪܝܡ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܒܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܠܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ. ܦܘܫܩܐ ܒܗ̇ ܒܫܢܝܢ ܘܥܒܕ ܥܠܝܢ. ܘܐܘܩܦܗ ܢܐܪܘܢ ܙܩܝܦܐ ¹¹ܒܬܪ ܪܫܗ. ܒܪܘܡܐ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܘܫܒܩܝܢ ܘܩܒܪ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܀

ܐܢܕܪܐܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ، ܐܟܪܙ ¹²ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܩܦܘܕܩܝܐ ¹³ܘܒܒܝܬܘܢܝܐ ܘܒܐܟܐܝܐ. ܘܦܓܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܦܛܪܘܣܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

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[1] B ܫܘܡܠܝܢ; C ܫܘ̈ܡܠܝܐ. [2] B ܕܚܕ ܚܕ. [3] A ܡܘܬܗܘܢ. [4] B C omit from ܬܘܒ to ܘܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. [5] B ܫܡ̈ܗܬܐ ܕܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ. [6] B C omit ܟܐܦ ܪܫܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [7] A ܘܡܢ. [8] A ܘܠܦܘܢܛܘܣ ܕܒܠ. [9] C ܥܕܬܐ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܩܣܛܢܝܐ. [10] A ܘܗܘܐ. [11] C ܟܕ ܡܕܡ ܪܫܗ; B C omit from ܒܪܘܡܐ to ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ; B omits ܙܩܝܦܐ. [12] B omits ܗܘܐ. [13] B ܘܒܝܬܘܢܝܐ.

ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܝܪ̈ܐ. ܫܪܝܘ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܐܪܒܬܐ ܐܬܬܘ
ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ[1] ܒܡܘܫܚܬܗܘܢ.[2] ܘܒܗ[3] ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ
ܒܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܕܦܓܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [4]ܘܦܪܫܘ ܠܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܪܘܫܡܐ
ܘܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܀ ܫܠܝܚܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܕܟܕ ܚܙܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܢ
ܦܓܪܗ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ. ܐܦ ܗܘܫܡ ܒܪ ܐܒܐ، ܡܢ [5]ܡܠܟܘܬܗ.
ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܡ ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܡܪܢ
ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܘܠܬܐܘܡܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܝܬܝ
ܐܝܕܟ ܘܐܘܫܛ ܒܓܒܝ. ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܐܠܐ
ܡܗܝܡܢܐ. ܘܦܫܛ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܠܓܒܗ [6]ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܠܠ ܥܠ
ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܝܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܠܡܪܢ ܕܡܢ ܥܒܕ̈ܬܐ
ܕܠܘܚܝܬܐ ܘܕܝܠ̈ܝܐ. ܘܥܡܠ ܢܦܫ ܠܗ، ܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܓܡܘܪܬܐ.
ܘܦܓܪܗ ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ، ܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܥܡܠܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ، ܐܚܪ،
ܘܡܢ، ܡܐܢ، ܠܗ، ܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܦܪܫܘ ܡܢܗ ܫܡܥܘܢܐ [7]ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܡܠܠ
ܥܡܗ. ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܫܬܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܠܘ ܡܢܗ. ܒܕܐܡܪܘ
ܕܣܡ ܢܦܪܘܫ ܠܢ ܟܠ ܐܡܬܝ، ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܩܕܡ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܟ̈ܬܒܐ ܐܝܬ
ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ [8]ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، [9]ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܗܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܘܬܗ،
ܠܡܪܢ. ܘܠܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܟܕ ܫܠܡ
ܢܦܫ ܠܡܥܒܪܬܐ ܗܝ، ܕܦܪܝܫܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܐܬܓܠܝ ܘܐܬܬܒܪܝ
ܓܠܗ ܒܡܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܡܘܬܗ. ܘܫܡܠܝ ܠܗ، ܕܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܘܠܥܡܠܗ
[10]ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. [11]ܘܠܗܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܫܒܝܚܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܡ
ܠܐܕܡܝܐ. ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܢܚܬܐ ܘܫܒܘܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܠ̈ܬܐ

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[1] A ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ. [2] A ܒܣܘܡܗܘܢ. [3] A ܘܒܗܘ. [4] A ܘܦܪܫܘ. [5] B ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܗ. [6] A omits from ܕܡܪܢ to ܕܐܬܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. A blank space of nearly three lines has been left. [7] C ܕܐܬܡܠܠ ܗܘܐ. [8] A omits ܡܫܝܚܐ. [9] A B omit ܗܘܐ; C omits ܗܢܐ. [10] B ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ. [11] C ܘܠܗܕܐ.

ܒܫܘܒܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܐܢܐ ܘܕܫܡܝܪܐ. ܠܦܫܐ ܠܒܘܣܡ ܕܘܒܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܒܫܪܬܗ ܡܢ̈ܝܪܡ ܘܠܐ ܟܠܝܢ ܡܢܦܩ. ܒܟܡܐ ܬܬܚܙܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܦܫܝܛ ܠܡܥܠ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܢ [1]ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܐܚܝ̈ܕܐ. ܘܠܟܗ [2]ܡܢ ܪܘܚܢܐ ܕܢܒܝ̈ܢܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܦܬܚܗ ܘܠܐ ܫܪܝܗ ∴ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ [3]ܕܝܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܒܓܕ ܒܗ̇ ܡܪܝ ܦܪܝܫܐ. ܐܝܬ [4]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܕܒܝܬ ܐܝܬܘܗ̇ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܕܫܡܥܘܢ [5]ܩܘܪܢܝܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܕܝܘܣܦ ܒܘܠܘܛܐ. ܘܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܐܚܪܢ. ܕܕܢܝܩܕܡܘܣ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܗܘܘ ܒܗ̇ ܥܠܝܬܐ ܥܣܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܣܘܠܩܐ. ܟܕ ܐܡܝܢܝܢ ܒܨܘܡܐ ܘܒܨܠܘܬܐ. ܘܡܣܟܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܡܘܥܕܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ، ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܢ [6]ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ∴

ܡܛ ∴ ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ [7]ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܣܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܕܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܟܕ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܡܟܢ̈ܫܐ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܟܢܝܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܡܣܟܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܡܘܥܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [8]ܡܢ ܫܠܝܐ ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܚܡܫܝܢܐ [9]ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܦܢܛܩܘܣܛܐ. ܩܠܐ ܢܫܝܒܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ. ܐܝܟ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܥܠܥܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܘܐܬܡܠܝܘ ܡܢ ܬܘܩܦܗ ܕܩܠܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ [10]ܗ̇ܝ، ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܠܠ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܥܠ ܪܫܐ ܕܟܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܘܦܫ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܪܝܚܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܕܟܒܫ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܪ̈ܘܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. [11]ܘܐܬܡܠܝ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܒܘ̈ܫܗܘܢ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܒܠܫܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܡܠܠܝܢ [12]ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܘ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܒܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ.

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[1] A C omit ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܐܚܝ̈ܕܐ. ܘܠܟܗ. [2] A B omit ܡܢ. [3] A omits ܕܝܢ. [4] C ܕܐܡܪ; B C ܕܕܒܝܬ; B ܕܫܡܥܘܢ, ܕܝܘܣܦ, and ܕܢܝܩܕܡܘܣ; C ܕܕܢܝܩܕܡܘܣ. [5] B ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ. [6] A B omit ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. [7] A omits ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. [8] B ܘܡܢ. [9] B C omit ܩܕܝܫܐ. [10] B omits ܗ̇ܝ. [11] A ܘܐܬܡܠܝܘ; B C ܘܐܬܡܠܝ. [12] B C omit ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܘ; A omits ܒܠܫ̈ܢܐ.

[1]ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ، ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܙ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܦܫܛ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. [2]ܘܒܪܟ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܦܪܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠ ܪܟܘܒܬܐ [3]ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܕ [4]ܡܒܪܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܬܦܪܫ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ.
ܥܢܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܢ [5]ܫܩܠܘ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ [6]ܟܕ ܡܠܒܫܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܗܢܐ ܠܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܣܬܠܩ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ.
ܗܟܢܐ [7]ܟܬܝܒ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܐܟܡܐ [8]ܕܚܙܝܬܘܢܝܗܝ، ܕܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ
ܠܥܠܝܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܗܘܝܢ ܗܘ̄ܘ ܒܗ̇. ܘܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ ܒܥܣܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡܐ
ܕܦܠܓ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܘܐܡܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ
ܟܐܦܐ ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ، [9]ܕܗܘ̈ܘ ܕܢܦܩ ܐܢܝ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܡܘܗܒܐ.
ܠܥܡܠ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܕܬܪܓܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܪܥܘ [10]ܦܣ̈ܩܐ. ܘܫܠܛܘ ܠܟܬܒܐ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܟܡ ܚܕܡܣܪ [11]ܥܠܝܫܘܥ ⁘ [12]ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ
ܟܕ [13]ܠܐ ܦܘܩܕܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ [14]ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ. [15]ܒܬܘܠܝܬܐ. [16]ܘܗܦܟܬ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܗ̇
[17]ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ [18]ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܠܒܝܫܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܝܟܢܐ [19]ܕܡܫܬܠܡܝܢ ܡܠ̈ܐ [20]ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܙܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܥܪܒܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ
ܘܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܒܙܘܥ ܚܝܠܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܦ̈ܠܓܐ ܘܠܡܥ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܠܦܐ̈ܪܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܒܦܬ̈ܝܢܐ ܡܕܡ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܬܝܪܘܬܐ [21]ܢܛܪ̈ܝܢ
ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܒܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܠܐ. ܥܠ
ܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ. ܘܐܣܩܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܬܢܣܒܝܢ

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[1] A B omit ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ. [2] A omits ܘܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ. [3] A ܒܪܘܪܘܬܗ; C ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. [4] C ܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ. [5] B ܗܘܘ ܫܩܠܝܢ. [6] A C ܕܡܠܒܫܝܢ. [7] B omits ܕ ܟܬܝܒ. [8] A C omit ܕܚܙܝܬܘܢܝܗܝ. [9] A B ܕܗܘܝ. [10] B C ܦ̈ܣܩܐ. [11] B ܡܫܝܚܐ; C ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܘܩܢ. [12] A ܘܡܠܠ; C ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. [13] A omits ܦܘܩܕܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ, a blank space being left for these words. [14] B C omit ܕܐܝܟ. [15] A omits ܒܬܘܠܝܬܐ. [16] C ܘܗܘܬ. [17] A C omit ܕܡܪܝܡ. [18] A C omit ܗܘܬ. [19] C ܘܩܢ̈ܐ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ. [20] A ܒܡܥܪܒܐ ܘܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ; B ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܙܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܥܪܒܐ ܘܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ. [21] C ܢܛܪ̈ܐ (sic).

¹ܥܠܡܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ ²ܕܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܬܘܪܫܝܐ. ܥܠ ܗܕܐ
ܐܦܠ ܘܦܝܫܬ.. ܕܠܐ ܢܣܬܒܪ ܕܦ̈ܝܠܣܘܦܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ.. ³ܘܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܟ̈ܢܐ
⁴ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܐܦܠ ܘܦܝܫܬܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܕܡܝܐ ܕܒܢܝܘ
ܘܡܒܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܡܘܨ ܐܠܝܫܥ. ܘܐܝܟ ⁵ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܕܐܡܘܨ
ܡܪܢ ⁶ܒܬܪ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ. ⁷ܘܠܘ ܡܛܠ ܕܣܢܝܩ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܪܢ ܥܠ
ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܐܦܠ ܒܬܪ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܫܪܪ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ. ܗܘܐ
ܒܝܡܝܢ ܗ̇ܘ, ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ ܕܠܐ ⁸ܫܘܡܠܝܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܐܬܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܦܠ ܡܪܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ.
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܝ, ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܥܘܒܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ.
⁹ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ¹⁰ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ.
¹¹ܐܝܟ ܕܠܫܡܫܐ ¹²ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ¹³ܒܗ ܠܣܗܪܗ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܒܨܪ.
ܗ̇ܘ, ܕܐܡ ܡܪܢ ¹⁴ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ¹⁵ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ
ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ¹⁶ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ. ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܕܗ̇ܘ, ܡܠܦܢܐ ܒܢܘܗܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܗ̇ܪ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘ̈ܗܪܐ ܒܕܡܝܐ ܠܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ¹⁷ܕܢܦܩܘ
ܠܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܦܩܕܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ¹⁸ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ
ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܠܠܢܐ ܨܘܪܬܗ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ
¹⁹ܒܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ ²⁰ܐܝܟܢ ܐܡܪ ²¹ܡܪܢ

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[1] A writes ܥܠܡܐ once only. [2] A ܕܫܡܫܡܘܬܐ (so); B ܠܘܬ; C ܠܠ.
[3] B omits ܘ. [4] C ܢܦܩܘ. [5] C ܡܕܝܢܬܐ; A ܕܐܡܘܣ. [6] B C omit ܒܬܪ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ.
[7] A omits from ܘܠܘ ܡܛܠ to ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ; C ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ. [8] B ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ. [9] A ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ.
[10] B C omit ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ. [11] B C ܘܐܝܟ. [12] C ܒܢܘܗܪܐ. [13] A ܘܒܣܗܪܗ.
[14] A B omit ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. [15] C omits ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. [16] B C ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܫ̈ܠܝܚܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܛ̈ܝܒܝܢ. [17] B ܕܢܦܩܘܢ. [18] A ܐܝܣܪܝܠ (sic). [19] A ܐܘ̈ܢܝܢ. [20] A ܐܝܟܢܐ. [21] A B omit ܡܪܢ.

ܘܢܘܚ. ܕܢܚܬ. ܒܬܪ ܡܒܘܠܐ ܘܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܠܬܠܬܡܐ̈ܐ ܘܠܬܐܘܡܐ
ܒܡܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܢܘܚ. ܕܢܒܒ. ܒܛܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܡܬܘ, ¹ܕܬܡܢܝܐ. ܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܕܬܡܢ̈ܝܬܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܢܘܚ.
²ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢܝܐ ³ܫܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܐܦܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܗ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܚܪ ܒܗ. ܘܒܗܘܬ ܕܣܦܪ ܒܗ. ܢܘܚ ܕܝܢ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ
ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܢ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܟܕ ܚܝܘܗܝ, ⁴ܝܗܒܗ.
ܕܬܫܥ. ܟܕ ܐܣܬܠܩ ܡܢ ⁵ܛܘܪܐ ܕܙܝ̈ܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ
ܡܪܩܘܣ ܘܠܘܩܐ. ܕܒܣܪ. ܠܫܡܫܡܝܢ̈ܐ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ⁶ܕܩܡܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ
ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܘܒܬܪ ⁷ܫܘܠܡܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܠܦܘܠܘܣ
ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ⁸ܕܕܪܡܣܘܩ ܟܕ ܫܒܩ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܩܘܡܗ, ܘܠܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ܗܘܕܐ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܀

ܡܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ⁹ܕܠܫܡܝܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܩܡ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ
ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ¹⁰ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ¹¹ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܒܥܣܪ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠ
ܘܫܬܝ, ܥܡܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܝܡܐ ܕܛܒܪܝܘܣ. ܗܪܟܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܠܢ ܣܦ̈ܪܐ. ܕܐܝܢܘ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܟܠ ܘܐܫܬܝ, ܒܬܪ ¹²ܩܝܡܬܗ ܒܫܪܪܐ.
ܐܦ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܗܘܝܐ ¹³ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܘܐܫܬܝ, ¹⁴ܒܫܪܪܐ. ܡܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܢܛܣ̈ܝܐ ܐܢܝܢ. ܚܢܢ ܕܝܢ ¹⁵ܡܚܦܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ

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[1] A ܕܬܡܢܝܢ. [2] A B ܘܡܛܠܠ. [3] C ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ ܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܘܗܝ. [4] B ܢܚܬܘ. ܕܠܗܠܝܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܡܫܚܘ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܒܫܪ. ܥܠ ܛܘܪ ܙܝ̈ܬܐ ܟܕ ܐܣܬܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ. [5] C ܛܘܪ ܙܝ̈ܬܐ. [6] A ܕܩܡ. [7] A C ܫܘܠܡܐ. [8] A ܕܕܪܡܣܘܣ; C omits ܟܕ ܫܒܩ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܩܘܡܗ. [9] B C omit ܕܠܫܡܝܐ. [10] C ܝܘ̈ܡܐ. [11] B C ܘܐܬܚܙܝ. [12] A C ܩܝܡܬܐ. [13] A C ܒܩܝܡܬܐ. [14] C omits ܒܫܪܪܐ. [15] A B ܢܐܡܪ.

ܐܬܒܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢܗ̇ ܀ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪ̈ܘܟܬܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܗܘ̣ܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘ̣ܐ ܗܘ ܚܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܣܝܥܢ ܫܡܝܥܐ ܘܡܒܪ̈ܟܬ ܐܦ ܒܠܠܘ̣ܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܗܒܐ ܣܦܠܢܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܚܘܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܒܪ̈ܘܟܬܐ ܀ ܥܠ[1] ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ̣ܐ[2] ܘܣܝܡ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܥܒܪ. ܘܩܪܐܝܬ ܘܥܒܪܐܝܬ ܘܪ̈ܗܘܡܐܝܬ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ̇ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܐܪܡܐܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘ̣ܐ ܠܐܪ̈ܡܝܐ ܐܘ[3] ܒܗ ܣܦܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܠܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܗܪܘܕܣ ܚܢܦܐ ܘܩܝܦܐ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ. ܘܦܝܠܛܘܣ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܒܪܡ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܒܓܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܪ̈ܡܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܢܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܬܚܡܬ ܥܠ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ. ܘܟܬܒ ܕܢܗܘܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܀

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܟܡܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܝܘܗܝ ܘܕܩܒܘܪܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ [4]ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܠܐ ܚܣܡ ܥܠ ܦܘܢܝܬ [5]ܒܡܗܕܝܢܗ̇. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ [6]ܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝܬܐ. ܐܬܚܢܛ, ܒܡܘܪ [7]ܘܒܣ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܡܬܩܒܪܬܐ. ܠܡܥܪܬ ܡܓܠ̈ܠܬܐ. [8]ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ ܢܘܚ ܐܘܝܠܡܦܐ. ܕܐܬ̈ܬܝܡ ܠܒ̈ܢܐ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪ̈ܝ, ܕܬܠܬ. ܠܦܝܠܘܦܐ [9]ܘܠܣܒܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܣܒܪܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܝܠܘܦܐ ܕܐܙܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܟܐܦ̈ܝܬܗ. ܠܘܩܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ, ܗܘ̣ܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ. ܕܐܡܪ. ܠܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܕܫܡܥ. ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ [10]ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܬܐܘܡܐ. ܟܕ ܥܠ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ. ܐܝܟ [11]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܠܘܩܐ

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[1] C omits ܥܠ. [2] B omits ܗܘܐ. [3] A C omit ܐܘ ܒܗ ܣܦܘܪ̈ܝܐ.
[4] C ܘܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [5] B ܒܡܗܕܝܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟ. [6] B omits ܡܪܝ. [7] A ܘܒܣ̈ܡܐ.
[8] A ܘܐܝܟ. [9] A ܘܣܒܪܗ. [10] B C omit ܟܠܗܘܢ. [11] C ܕܐܡܪ.

ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܡܟܝܠ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܝܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܙܘܕܐ. ܘܢܚܬܘ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܕܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܬܘ. ܐܡܪܝܢ[1] ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܡܗ̈ܕܝܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܫܡ ܢܣܒܗ. ܘܥܒܠܗ[2] ܐܝܟ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܩܒܪܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܟܣܢܝܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܀

ܥܠ ܡܘܣܦ ܒܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܦܠܓ ܡܢܝܐ[3] ܐܬܡܪ، ܗܟܢܐ. ܒܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܗ̈ܘܡܒܢܐ ܕܣܓܠ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܐܦ ܒܬܪ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܡܠ̈ܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ. ܡܢ ܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܘܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܟܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ[4]. ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܣܘ̈ܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ ܫܠܡܘܗܝ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܩܛܢ ܠܗ ܒܦܘܠܓܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ[5] ܒܫܢܝܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܒܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܢܣܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܗ̈ܘܡܒܢܐ. ܘܐܬܝܪܬ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܀ ܡܬܦܠܓܘܬܗ[6] ܕܝܢ ܕܡܢܝܢ[7] ܡܢ ܡܢܝ ܠܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܥܒܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇[8]. ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܝܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢܘܚ ܗܘܐ ܐܒܘܟ. ܘܡܢ[9] ܗܘ، ܥܒܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܘܣܓܝ ܒܬܪ ܗܦܘܟܝܗ ܕܟܕܪ ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ[10]. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ[11] ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܣܓܝ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܟܝܡܝܢ ܘܬܒܥܝܢ ܥܡܡ. ܘܐܚ̈ܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܒܬܝܢ[12] ܘܚܕܐ ܥܡ̄ܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ[13]. ܐܠܐ ܐܘܟܠܗ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܚܘܝ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܒܢܘܡ ܡܬܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܗ ܥܠܝܡܐ. ܘܝܠܝܘ ܥܠܝܗ ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܡܢܗ. ܬܐܘܡܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܢܘܢ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܝܠܕܗ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܚܙܝܘܗܝ. ܘܐܫܟܚ ܠܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܟܕ ܡܪܚܝܢ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܐܬܪ. ܘܡܪܒܝܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ[14] ܬܘܠ ܬܐܘܡܬܐ. ܘܝܠܕ ܘܐܦ[15] ܗܘ

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[1] A ܐܘܗܦܝܢ. [2] A ܘܥܡܗ. [3] B C ܦܡ. [4] A omits ܗܘܐ. [5] A C ܗܘܐ; B omits ܒܫܢܝܗܘܢ. [6] B ܡܬܦܠܓܘܬܗ. [7] B ܒܢܘܣܝܡ. ܡܢ ܡܢܝ، ܠܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܥܒܪ. [8] B omits ܠܗ̇. [9] B ܡܢ. [10] C ܗܟܢܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. [11] A C omit ܕܝܢ; B ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܣܓܝ. [12] B C ܥܒܬܝܢ. [13] C omits ܒܐܪܥܐ. [14] ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. [15] B C ܐܦ.

ܚܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. [1]ܘܡܣܝܪܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܩܠܘ ܠܗܕܐ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ [2]ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܫܩܠܘ ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܒܟܘܬܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܒܢܝܢܐ [3]ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܒܗ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. ܪܒܝܬܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ. ܚܙܝܬܐܘܗ [4]ܠܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ [5]ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܬܗܪܘ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ [6]ܠܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܐ. ܫܩܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܗܒܘ ܠܡ ܗܕܐ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܩܠܘ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܘܒܠܘ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ، ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܫܕܪ [7]ܐܒܓܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬ ܒܡܟܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܢܐ [8]ܠܗ ܡܒܥܝܢ. [9]ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ. ܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܕܐ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܠܚܙܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܟܠ ܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܫܕܪܗ̇ ܥܡ ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗ̇ [10]ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܬܠܬܝܢ [11]ܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܬܩ̈ܠܐ ܕܣܐܡܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܚܫܝܢ ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܒܘܬܗ. ܘܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ [12]ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܫܩܠܘ ܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܥܡ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܚܠܦ [13]ܠܓܠܬܐ ܕܟܕ ܒܥܡܗ ܘܢܒܫ ܠܡܪܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܘܠܙܘܙ̈ܐ. ܫܒܩܗ̇ ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܠܘܬܗ. ܘܠܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܫܕܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܒܝܬ ܓܙܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܠܘܬ [14]ܪ̈ܒܝ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢܐ ܝܗܒܝܬܘܢ ܠܝ ܘܐܢܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ

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[1] A C omit ܘܡܣܝܪܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. [2] A omits from ܕܐܝܬ to ܒܟܘܬܝܢܐ. [3] A C omit ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ. [4] B ܒܗܘܢܐ. [5] C omits ܠܟܘܬܝܢܐ. [6] A B omit ܠܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ. [7] A B ܡܠܟܐ ܐܒܓܪ. [8] A C omit ܠܗ. [9] B ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ. ܒܠܚܘܕ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ. [10] C omits ܡܢܗܘܢ. [11] C ܙܘܙ̈ܝܢ. [12] B ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܫܩܠܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܙܘܙ̈ܐ ܗܢܘܢ; C ܘܫܩܠ, and omits ܗܢܘܢ. [13] A omits ܠܓܠܬܐ. [14] A C omit ܪ̈ܒܝ.

[1]ܘܠܗܠܝܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ ܬܪܚ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ [2]ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܪܗ. ܘܐܒܪܗܡ ܝܗ̄ܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ. ܘܐܝܣܚܩ ܙܒܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܡܪܗ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܐܘܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܦܪܥܘܢ ܫܕܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ. ܘܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܫܩܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܬܘܪܐ [3]ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܩܒܥ ܐܢܘܢ ܚܕ̈ܪܝ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܘܫܩܠ ܫܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. [4]ܘܟܠ ܠܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܫܠܝܡܘܢ. ܘܐܦ [5]ܠܗܠܝܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܫܩܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܘܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܒܒܠ ܥܡ ܫܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ [6]ܬܡܢ ܡܗܝܡ̈ܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [7]ܫܒܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܠܚܕܡ ܕܢܫܝܢ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܠܫܠܝܛ̈ܢܐ. ܘܟܕ [8]ܐܫܬܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܫܡ̈ܗܬܐ. ܥܙܪܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܗܘܢ [9]ܕܬܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܫܡ̈ܗܬܐ. ܘܐܦ [10]ܠܗܢܘܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ [11]ܕܡܚܠܬ ܒܟܝܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܘܒܠܘ [12]ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܚܙܘ ܠܟܘܟܒܐ. ܡܓܘ ܫܩܠܘ ܠܗܢܘܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ. ܘܕܗܒܐ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܦܪܩܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ. ܘܕܒܩܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܡܝܬܘ ܘܫܒܩܘ [13]ܠܗܢܘܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܒܕܪܘ [14]ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܕܡ. ܘܐܬܘ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܬܓܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܫܟܚܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܫܩܠܘ [15]ܠܗܢܘܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܦܪܩܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ. [16]ܘܝܬܒܘ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܙܒܘ̈ܬܐ. ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܬܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ

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[1] C ܘܗܠܝܢ. [2] B ܡܛܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ. [3] C ܗܢܘܢ. [4] C ܟܠ. [5] B C ܠܗܢܘܢ. [6] B omits ܬܡܢ. [7] A C ܫܒܘ, and A omits ܠܗ. [8] B ܐܫܬܕܪ. [9] B C omit ܘ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܐ. [10] B C ܘܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܐ. ܘܐܘܒܠܘ. [11] B C omit ܕܡܚܠܬ ܒܟܝܢܗܘܢ. [12] B ܗܢܘܢ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [13] B ܠܗܘܢ. [14] C ܐܬܒܕܪ; B C omit ܘܟܠܗܘܢ. [15] B C ܘܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܢܣܒܘ. [16] B C omit ܘܝܬܒܘ.

ܟ̈ܠܒܐ ܘܬܘ̈ܪܐ ܐܬܕܡܝܘ ܠܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܒܐܘܡܪܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ
[1]ܢܓܒܝܠܘ ܠܒܘ̈ܢܐ ܠܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ. ܥܡܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ̈ܢܝܐ [2]ܘܦܪܥܗ
ܡܕܡ ܦܠܛܘܗ ܒܪ ܢܣܗ̈ܕܝܢ ܘܐܟ̈ܪܝܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܐܪ̈ܓܘܢܐ [3]ܕܛܝܒ
ܒܪ ܗܢ̈ܪܓ [4]ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܀ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܠܛܘ ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ
ܠܐܪܥܒ ܡܢ̈ܗܘܢ. [5]ܟܠ ܢ̈ܘܩܦܬܗ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܙܪܝܢ ܀ [6]ܘܒܬܘܒܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܠܐ ܚܒܛܐ ܡܢ ܠܟܠ. [7]ܕܠܐ ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܬ. ܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ
ܡܩܒܠܐ ܚܫܐ ܀ ܕܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܣܛܪܗ. ܢܘܚܡ
ܒܪ ܗܘܝ، ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܠܡܚܣܝܐ ܠܗܘ ܙܪ̈ܥܐ ܓܫܡ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܗܡ ܡܚܝܢܐ
ܢ̈ܗܡܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܟܪܝ، ܢܐܟܝܦ ܦܘܡܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܐ. ܕܟܕ
[8]ܐܬܬܪܟܝ ܡܢ ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ [9]ܕܦܢܘܗ ܒܠܘܚܝܬܐ. ܡܚܝܢܐ
[10]ܢܦܫܘ ܡܚ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܕܡܐ. ܡܚ̈ܝܢܐ ܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ. ܘܕܡܐ
ܐܪܙܐ ܕܕܡܗ ܒܣܝܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܣܡ ܡܬܒܣܡܐ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܚ̈ܫܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ. ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ [11]ܕܝܢ ܟܬܝܒ. [12]ܕܢܦܩܘ ܕܡܐ
ܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܀ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܨܛܠܒ ܚܠܦܝܢ، ܦܪܘܩܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ.
ܕܟܠ ܡܘ̈ܩܐ ܗܢܘܢ [13]ܕܐܬܟܢܫ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܡܚܘܬܐ ܕܕܝܬ̈ܩܐ ܐܙܕܩܦ.
ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܪܩ [14]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ
ܡܦܪܩܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܠܕܟܪܐ ܚܠܦ [15]ܐܝܣܚܩ ܀ ܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ ܕܝܢ
[16]ܐܬܦܫܛ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܙܩܝܦܘܬܐ [17]ܕܐܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܐܕܡ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܒܡܕܒܢ ܥܪܒܗ ܠܘܬ ܣܛܪܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܘܙܘܙܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ
[18]ܕܟܣܦܐ ܕܢܣܒ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܙܒܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܡܪܗ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܙܘ̈ܙܝܢ
ܒܡܬܘܠܐ ܕܡܘܕܥܐ. ܗܘܝܢ ܫܬܡܐܐ [19]ܘܙܘܙܐ ܒܡܬܘܠܐ ܕܐܬܪܢ.

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[1] C ܐܬܓܒܠܘ. [2] C ܘܦܪܥܘ. [3] A ܕܛܒܘ. [4] B ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ. [5] C omits ܟܠ. [6] B ܘܒܬܘܒܗ. [7] A ܘܠܐ. [8] B ܬܪܟܝ, C ܬܪܟܘ; and B C omit ܡܢ. [9] A omits ܕܦܢܘܗ. [10] C ܢܦܫ. [11] B C omit ܕܝܢ. [12] C ܕܢܦܫ. [13] A ܕܐܬܟܢܫܝܢ. [14] C omits ܗܘܐ. [15] C ܐܝܣܚܩ. [16] B ܕܐܬܦܫܛ; A C ܐܬܦܫܛܘ. [17] A ܘܐܟܠ. [18] B omits ܕܟܣܦܐ. [19] A C ܘܙܘ̈ܙܝܢ.

ܡܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܕܡܢ ܥܡܕܐ. ܐܫܠܡܗ
ܝܗܘܕܐ[1] ܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܣܦܩܘܠܛܐ ܠܡܪܗ ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ. ܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܪܘܝܬܗ ܣܦܩܘܠܛ ܐܬܡܪ[2] ܣܦܩܘܠܛܐ. ܘܐܬܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܥܠܬܗ
ܒܝܬ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ، ܠܡܪܢ ܒܙܘ̈ܙܐ ܫܬܝܬܐ ܀
ܐܙܕܩܦ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܬܫܥܐ
ܒܢܝܣܢ ܀ ܦܨܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܗ ܠܡܪܢ ܗܘܝܘ ܦܬܓܡܗ ܀ ܫܒܬܗ ܕܝܢ
ܕܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܀ ܫܒܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܣܦܓܝܦܐ
ܗܘ ܕܕܩܪܗ ܠܡܪܢ ܒܪܘܡܚܐ ܗܘ [3]ܥܠ ܐܦܘܗܝ، ܘܡܚܝܗܝ، ܥܠ
ܦܩܗ. ܠܓܝܢܘܣ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܘ[4] ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ
ܫܢܝܢ ܪܡܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ[5] ܒܟܘܪܗܢܐ ܕܡܫܪܝܗ. ܘܐܣܝܗ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܕܗܐ ܚܠܝܡ ܐܢܬ. ܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܬܚܛܐ. ܕܠܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ
[6]ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܫ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܀ [7]ܘܠܦܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܒܘܪܬܐ. ܫܡܗܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܒܫܟܪ. [8]ܓܪ. ܓܬܒܪܐ.
ܒܪܢܒܐ. ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܓܪܘ. ܕܫܡܫܬܒܣܪ ܗܘܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ.
ܬܠܬܐ ܡܠܦܪܘܢ ܘܦܠܝܛܘܢ ܗܘܦܛܝܩܐ ܘܡܝܩܕܝܐ ܀ ܒܐܦܐ
[9]ܕܝܢ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܥܠ ܩܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܡܥܠܝܡܝܢ [10]ܐܢܫܝܢ
ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̇ܝ، ܒܐܦܐ ܕܓܙܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ [11]ܠܒܪ ܡܫܪܠ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ
ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܀ ܡܒܪܐ [12]ܕܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܕ ܦܛܪܘܣ. ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ
ܡܦܩܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܩܪ ܒܗܝܢ ܠܡܩܒܪܬܗ
ܕܡܪܢ ܀ ܐܪܓܘܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܒܫܘܗܝ ܠܡܪܢ [13]ܡܒܝܢܐܝܬ. ܡܢ

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[1] C ܝܗܘܕܐ. [2] A ܣܦܩܘܠܛܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܡܪ. [3] B ܠܐܦܘܗܝ, and omits the words ܦܟܗ ܥܠ ܘܡܚܝܗܝ. [4] A ܗܘ ܗܘܝܘ. [5] A omits ܗܘܐ. [6] C omits ܡܕܡ. [7] A C omit ܘ. [8] B ܓܝܪ; C ܓܪ. [9] B C omit ܕܝܢ; A omits ܗܘ. [10] A B add ܗܘܘ; C adds ܗܘܘ. [11] A ܠܒܪܡܫܪܠ. [12] A omits ܕܝܢ. [13] A C ܡܒܝܢܐܝܬ.

[1]ܒܣܝܠܝܘܣ ܐܡ̇ܪ. ܕܒܪܡܫܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܦܨܚܐ. ܡܢ [2]ܕܢܣܒܘ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ
ܦܓܪܗ [3]ܕܡܪܢ ܘܕܡܗ. ܐܪ̇ܡܝ [4]ܡܪܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܒܠܩܢܐ. ܘܫܪܝ [5]ܠܡܫܓܘ
ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ. ܘܗ̇ܝ ܗ̤ܘܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܠܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܫܬܡܠܝܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܒܪܗ
ܚܝܢ ܕܐܒܕܢܐ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܦ̇ܪܫ ܗ̄ܘܐ. [6]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܫܪܪܐ
ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܗ̤ܘܬ ܗ̇ܝ. [7]ܠܥܡܠܐ ܕܫܒܝܚܘܬܐ. [8]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ̣ܪ ܡܪܢ
ܠܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ. ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܓ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܠܝܬ ܠܟ ܥܡܝ
ܡܢܬܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܬ
ܕܬܩܒܠ ܠܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܙܐ. ܟܠ ܡ̇ܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܥܡ̇ܕ ܡܢ
ܒܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܐ [9]ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܦܓܪܗ [10]ܘܕܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ.
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܐ ܥܐܠ. ܘܡܪܝ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܒܦܘܫܩܐ
ܕܐܒܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ. ܕܒܗ̇ ܐܫܝܓ ܡܪܢ ܒܦܨܚܐ [11]ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ.
ܢܣܒ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܟܦܪ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܒܡܫܚܐ ܕܒܣܝܡ
ܩ̄ܘܕܫܐ [12]ܒܫܝܢܗ. ܐܝܟ ܒܒܪܐ ܚܒܝܒܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܪ ܡܪܢ
ܠܢܦܫܗ ܡܫܪ. ܘܡܪܝ [13]ܒܫܠܝܡܘܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܒܡܫܐܠܘܬܗ. ܕܐܬܡܠܝܢ
ܒܬ̈ܦܠܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܢܬܦܢ ܣܓܝܐ. ܘܢܬܦܢ ܘܝܡܗܘܢ ܒܗܢܐ
ܐܪܥܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܢܟܠܝܬ ܚܬܝܡܘܬܐ ܘܒܗ [14]ܐܬܦܪܢܣ
ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܒܗ ܐܫܬܡܠܝ [15]ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܕܝܢܐ. ܘܒܗ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ
ܒܢ̈ܡܫܐ ܘܐܬܢܟܣܘ. [16]ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܐܠܐ ܥܢܒܐ
ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܐ̄ܚܪ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܒܘ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܒܗܕܐ. ܘܐܟܠܐ ܚܝ
ܘܒܬܪ ܬܘܕܝܬܢ ⁘

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[1] B ܒܣܝܠܘܣ. [2] A ܕܢܣܒ. [3] A C omit ܕܡܪܢ. [4] B omits ܡܪܢ. [5] A C ܘܐܡܫܝ, and omit ܘܫܪܝ. [6] A omits ܘ. [7] C ܕܥܡܠܐ; A ܠܥܡ̈ܠܐ. [8] A omits ܐܝܟ, a blank space being left. [9] B ܢܣܒ ܠܦܓܪܗ. [10] B C ܘܕܡܗ. [11] B C ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [12] C ܒܫܘܝܢܗ. [13] B ܒܫܠܡܘ ܦܓܪܗ. [14] C ܐܬܦܠܚܢ. [15] A ܐܫܬܡܠܝܘ ܒܚܩ̈ܠܐ. [16] A B ܕܐܦ.

ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܗܐ ܦܓܥ ܒܟܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܫܩܝܠ ܓܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ. ܙܠܘ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܠܐܝܟܐ ܕܥܐܠ ܐܡܪܘ[1] ܠܡܪܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ[2]. ܪܒܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟܘ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܪܝܐ [3]ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܟܘܠ ܦܨܚܐ ܥܡ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܝ.. ܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܠܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܝܐ ܘܡܛܝܒܐ. ܬܡܢ ܛܝܒܘ ܠܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܕܥܐ ܗܘ̇ ܡܒܝܢܐܝܬ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܣܓܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܬܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡܝ̈ܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܢܬܚܠܦܘܢ ܡܢ [4]ܐܚܠܦܘܣ ܡܨܥܝܐ ܕܐܙܒ ܗܘܐ[5] ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܒܝܢ ܦܘܪܩܢ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܒܡܪܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ[6] ܕܢܛܝܒ ܥܠܝܬܐ [7]ܪܒܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܪܡܙ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡܛܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ̇. ܐܠܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܡܝܬ ܕܐܢܫ ܪܒܐ ܡܢ [8]ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܢܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ. ܘܙܡܢ [9]ܗܘܐ ܕܢܛܪ ܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܛܝܒ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܘܢ̈ܩܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗ̇ܘܢ [10]ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܢܚܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [11]ܡܢ ܒ̈ܬܝ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܩܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܚܕܬܐ. ܘܐܦ [12]ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ، [13]ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܝܚܬܐ [14]ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ ܗ̇ܘܢ ܫܒܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܦ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܪܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ [15]ܗ̇ܝ، ܥܡ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܛܝܒ. [16]ܘܕܢܐܟܘܠ ܠܗ̇ ܐܚܝ ܠܐ ܫܪܦܐ ܗܘܐ. [17]ܟܕ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܬܥܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܒܘܬܐ ܐܪ̈ܙܢܘܬܐ ܒܡܬܝܕܐ ܗܘܬ [18]ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܒܗ̇. ܠܐ ܦܐܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܕܟܕ ܦܪܝܩܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܫܡܫܘܢܝܗܝ، ܠܐܪܙܐ ܒܗܢܐ. ܘܡܪܝ،

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[1] B ܐܡܪ. [2] C ܠܡܪܐ ܒܝܬܐ. [3] C omits ܐܝܟܐ. [4] There is a blank space in A where the words ܐܚܠܦܘܣ ܡܨܥܝܐ ܕܐܙܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ should be. [5] C omits ܗܘܐ. [6] A omits ܕܒܝܬܐ, a blank space being left. [7] B omits ܪܒܬܐ. [8] A C ܙܘ̈ܒܢܐ; C ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ. [9] A C omit ܗܘܐ. [10] A ܡܢ. [11] B ܕܡܢ; A ܘܡܢ. [12] A ܘܐܦ ܡܢ. [13] A ܒܗܘܢ. [14] B omits ܕܥܐܕܐ. [15] B ܗܘ (sic). [16] A ܘܕܢܐܟܘܠܢ (sic). [17] C ܟܡ (sic). [18] A C ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘ; C ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘ.

ܘܐܣܝ ܠܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ. ܘܕܟܝ [1]ܠܓܪ̈ܒܐ. ܘܐܩܝܡ [2]ܠܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܦܬܚ [3]ܠܣܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܚ̈ܓܝܪܐ ܗܠܟܬܐ. ܘܐܘܫܛ ܠܡܫ̈ܪܝܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܚܪ̈ܫܐ ܡܫܡܥܢܘܬܐ. ܘܠܐܠܡ̈ܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܠܫܢܐ. ܘܣܒܥ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܠܚ̈ܡܝܢ ܠܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. [4]ܘܝܬܪܘ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܩܘܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܫܒܥܐ ܠܚ̈ܡܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܢܘܢ̈ܝܢ [5]ܣܒܥ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. [4]ܘܝܬܪܘ ܫܒܥܐ ܐܣܦܪ̈ܝܕܝܢ. ܦܨܝ ܡܢ ܢܟ̈ܐ ܘܦܓ̈ܥܐ. [6]ܘܐܫܬܪܝ ܠܒܪ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܩ̈ܢܐ. ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܢܟ̈ܐ ܘܦܓ̈ܥܐ ܣܒܥ [7]ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܠܚ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ [8]ܘܥܠ ܝܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܝܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܟܐܪܗ ܠܝܡܐ ܟܕ ܐܫܬܓܫ. ܘܢܚ ܡܢ ܫܓܘܫܘܬܗ. ܘܐܩܝܡ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ. ܠܒܪܬܗ ܕܝܐܘܪܫ. ܘܠܒܪ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ. ܘܠܥܒܕܗ ܕܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ. ܘܠܠܥܙܪ ܪܚܡܗ ܒܬܪ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܫܬܥܒܕ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܒܪ ܕܠܡܘܒܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܡܘܒܪܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܢܒܥ [9]ܘܢܦܪܘܩ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܙܕܩ ܒܡܘܬܗ. ܘܢܦܠܛ ܠܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ. ܘܢܫܡܠܐ [10]ܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܘܗܝ. ܠܘܩܕܡ ܥܒܕ ܦܨܚܐ ܢܡܘܣܝܐ. ܘܫܪܐ ܠܬܘܬܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܥܡ ܐܬܐܬܐ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ [11]ܚܕܬܐ ܒܦܨܚܐ ܕܝܠܗ ⁘

ܡܓ ⁘ ܥܠ ܦܨܚܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܛܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ. [12]ܫܕܪ ܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ. ܠܘܬ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. [13]ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ

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[1] B ܠܓܪ̈ܒܐ. [2] B ܡܝ̈ܬܐ. [3] B ܣܡ̈ܝܐ. [4] MSS. ܘܝܬܪ. [5] A omits ܣܒܥ. [6] A C ܐܫܬܪܝ. [7] A writes ܡܪܢ twice. [8] B C omit ܘܥܠ ܝܡܐ. [9] B ܘܢܦܪܘܩ; C omits ܘܢܦܪܘܩ. [10] B ܢܒܝ̈ܘܬܐ. [11] C ܚܕܬ ܒܦܨܚܐ. [12] C ܫܕܪ ܡܪܢ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܙܠܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܡܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܢ. [13] C ܘܐܡܪ.

ܡܢܢܐ. [1]ܘܗ̤ܝ، ܗܘܬ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ [2]ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܡܢܗ̇ ܐܟܠܝܢ
ܚܣܝܢ ܘܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܡܝܐ ܦܐܪ̈ܝܗ̇ ܠܬܐܢܐ. ܡܟܝܢܐ
ܕܝܢ ܡܙܕܒܢܐ ܠܗ̇ ܠܡܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܒ̈ܠܐ ܡܢܗ̇ ܡܣܬܝܒܪܝܢ
ܒܠܒܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܥܩܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܕܡܝܐ ܠܣܦܪ̈ܓܠܝܢ.
ܗ̇ܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܓܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܬܩܪܝܐ [3]ܡܩ̈ܘܝܢ. ܘܛܥܡܗ [4]ܚܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ
ܕܒܫܬܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܒܥ̈ܪܐ [5]ܡܫ̈ܚܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ
[6]ܕܒܠܒܐ. ܘܦܪܝܬܐ ܕܕܒܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܕܒܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܡܬܟܢܫܐ. ܘܡܫܬܟܚܐ ܒܟܐܦ̈ܐ ܘܒܢܩܥ̈ܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܝܕܝܥܐ ܀

ܡܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܨܘܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [7]ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ. ܘܥܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܦܟ.

ܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܥܡܕܗ. ܓܒܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ
ܬܪܥܣܪ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ. ܘܒܣܘܟܠܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ̈ܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ
ܒܦܠܓܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܥܡܠ ܡܢܢܐ
ܕܬܪܥܣܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܢܐ ܕܐܟܠܘ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܢܢܐ
ܕܢܣܝܐ. [8]ܘܓܒܐ ܒܬܪ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܠܥܡܡܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܐܝܟ
[9]ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܥܡܕ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܣܛܢܐ. ܨܡ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܝܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܠܠܝ̈ܢ. [10]ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܓܒܠ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܚܘܪ̈ܐ [11]ܐܢܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܡܢܗ̇ ܘܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܬܠܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܪܐ ܒܢܝ ܢܘܡܘܣܐ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܨܒܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܠܐܟܠܩܪܨܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܠܗ
ܚܝܠܐ ܕܥܒܕܘܗܝ. ܥܒܪ ܒܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܕܒܥ̈ܡܠܐ. ܘܣܥܪ ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ

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[1] C ܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܝ. [2] C ܕܒܢ̈ܝ. [3] B ܡܩ̈ܡܝܢ. [4] A omits ܚܠܝܐ. [5] A C ܡܫܚܐ ܗܘܐ. [6] B C ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ ܕܒܟܡܟܡܐ. [7] A ܕܡܪܢ; B C ܘܥܠ ܕܘܪܗ ܕܥܡ ܣܛܢܐ, and omit ܘܥܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܦܟ. [8] B ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܓܒܐ ܠܥܡܡܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ. [9] B ܡܢܝܢ ܥܡܡܝܢ; C ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܗܘܢ، ܥܡܡܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ. [10] C ܘܐܝܟ; B ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. [11] A ܐܢܫܝܢ.

ܬܒܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ [1]ܡܢܟ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ. ܕܬܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ
ܠܩܒܠܟ. ܘܬܦܠܓ ܥܡܟ. ܫܠܡ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܠܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܡܒܛܠ ܗ̄ܘܬ
ܠܡܘ̈ܡܬܟ ܐܘ ܣܟܠܐ. ܘܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ. ܘܦܣܩ
ܪܫܗ [2]ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܣܡܗ ܒܦܝܢܟܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝ، [3]ܘܝܗ̄ܒܗ ܠܗ̇ ܠܛܠܝܬܐ.
ܘܗ̇ܝ ܛܠܝܬܐ ܝܗ̄ܒܬܗ ܠܐܡܗ̇. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܕܬܪܩܘܕ ܥܠ ܓܠܝܕܐ.
[4]ܘܐܬܦܫܚܬ ܬܚܘܬܝܗ̇. ܘܐܬܒܠܥܬ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܠܨܘܪܗ̇. ܘܠܐ
[5]ܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܦܪܩܝܗ̇. ܘܐܝܬܝܘ ܣܝܦܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܣܩ ܪܫܗ
ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܦܣܩܘܗ̇، ܠܪܫܗ̇. ܘܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ، ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܐܡܗ̇. ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܬ [6]ܐܡܗ̇ ܠܪܫܗ̇ ܕܒܪܬܗ̇ ܘܠܪܫܗ [7]ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܐܫܬܓܫܬ. ܘܡܝܬܬ
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܕܫܠܝܛ [8]ܒܗ̇ [9]ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܒܟܐ ܠܪܫܗ̇ ܥܠ ܕܓܒܝܬ
ܥܠܘܗܝ، [10]ܘܐܬܓܠܠ ܒܗ̇ [11]ܣܝܦܐ ܘܐܬܐܣܪܬ ܒܓܠܝ̈ܕܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܡܬܦܪܥܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܪܬܗ̇ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [12]ܐܡܪܘ
ܕܐܦ ܗ̇ܝ ܗܪܘܕܝܐ [13]ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܡܗ̇ ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܗ̇ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܬܩܛܠ ܢܦܫܗ̇. ܘܐܬܘ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ، ܫܩܠܘ ܫܠܕܗ ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ، ܒܚܡܨ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܘ [14]ܘܚܘܝܘ ܠܝܫܘܥ. [15]ܬܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ
ܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ [16]ܡܪܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. [17]ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ. ܐܘ
[18]ܠܐܚܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܡܣܟܝܢܢ ܚܢܢ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܦܣܛܘܠܘܣ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܢܝܚܢܐ ܗܘ [19]ܕܐܬܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ÷ ܕܒܢܫܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܒ̈ܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܐܝܟ [20]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܗܘܘ

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[1] A omits ܡܢܟ ܦܠܓܘܬ. [2] B ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. [3] A ܘܝܗ̄ܒܘ. [4] A B ܘܐܬܦܬܚܬ. [5] A ܐܫܟܚܘ; A B omit ܐܢܫ. [6] B omits ܐܡܗ̇; C ܚܙܬ ܐܡܗ̇ ܐܡܗ̇. [7] B ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. [8] A C omit ܒܗ̇. [9] B ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. [10] A ܘܐܬܬܓܠܠ. [11] In A written upside down, [illegible]. [12] B ܐܡܪܝܢ. [13] B ܕܐܡܗ̇ ܒܡܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ; C omits ܕܐܡܗ̇. [14] B ܚܘܘ. [15] A omits from ܬܪܝܢ to ܡܪܢ. [16] C ܝܫܘܥ. [17] A B ܐܢܬܘ. [18] C ܠܐܚܪܢܐ and omits ܗܘ. [19] C ܕܐܬܥܒܕ. [20] A ܕܐܡܪ.

ܥܠܘܗܝ ܒܕܡܘܬ [1]ܓܫܘܡ ܝܘܢܐ. ܘܩܠܐ ܕܐܫܬܡܥ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. [2]ܕܗ̇ܢܘ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܨܛܒܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘ. ܠܗܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܡܥܘ. ܠܚܪܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܪܘܫܐ. ܘܚܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܫܬܘܝ, ܕܢܚܐ ܗܘ̈ܢܢܝܬ. [3]ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܫܡܝܢ ܐܬܬܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܐ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܒܥܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܥܕܢܗ. ܘܗܘ ܫܒܥܒܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܥܕܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ. ܕܠܐ ܠܡ ܙܕܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ. ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܗܝܕܝܢ ܘܐܣܪܗ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܕܐܬܦܢܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܦܢܦܘܠܐ. ܦܗܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܕܟܐ. ܟܕ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ. ܚܫܡܝܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܪ̈ܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ. ܥ̇ܠܬ [4]ܒܦܢܝܐ ܒܪܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܪܩܕܬ ܩܕܡ ܣܡܝܟܐ. ܘܫܦܪܬ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ, ܕܗܪܘܕܣ ܘܕܣܡܝܟ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. [5]ܫܐܠܝ ܡܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܨܒܝܐ ܐܢܬܝ, [6]ܘܐܬܠ ܠܟܝ. ܘܝܡܐ ܠܗ̇ ܕܟܠ ܕܬܫܐܠܝܢ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ̇ ܥܕܡܐ [7]ܠܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܗܝ, ܕܝܢ ܥܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܐܡܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ̇. ܡܢܐ ܐܫܐܠܝܘܗܝ,. [8]ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ̇ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܫܐܠܬ [9]ܠܗ̇ ܒܢܝܢ ܕܘܝܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܬܟܘܦ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܗܘ, ܘܒܪܬܗ̇ ܡܢ ܪܫܗ̇. [10]ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܫܟܚܘ [11]ܢܟܬܘܢܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ ܡܬܢܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܡ ܐܡܗ̇ ܘܥܡ ܒܪܬܗ̇. ܘܥܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܗܒ ܠܝ ܗܪܟܐ ܥܠ ܦܝܢܟܐ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܗܘ, ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܘܫܬܐ. ܐܝܟ [12]ܗ̇ܘ ܒܐܡܝܢܘܬ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܒܩܛܠܗ ܕܨܕܝܩܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܘܦܠܝܪ̈ܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܬܦܩܕ ܕܢܦܣܩܘܢ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܐܠܦ̇

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[1] C ܓܘܫܡ. [2] C ܗܢܘ. [3] B C ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܒܚܒܒ ܠܐܠܘܗܝ ܗܘ̄ܐ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܒܥܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܗ ܗܘ (B omits ܗܘ) ܫܒܥܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ. [4] C omits ܒܦܢܝܐ. [5] A ܫܐܠܝ. [6] B C ܐܬܠ. [7] A B ܠܦܠܓܗ̇ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ. [8] A ܘܐܡܪܬ. [9] B C omit ܠܗ̇, and A omits ܕܘܝܬܐ. [10] A C ܘܗܘܐ. [11] A ܢܟܬܘܢܗܝ. [12] C ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ.

ܘܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ[1] ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ, ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܟܕ ܗ̣ܘ ܠܓܠܝܐ.
ܘܒܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ. ܒܗܘܢ[2] ܒܗܘܢ ܠܒܘ̈ܟܪܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܒܦܠܓܐ ܘܒܦܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܚܠܦ ܐܣܟܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܠܦܘܬܗ.
ܘܟܪܙ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܗܘܕ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܬܘܒܘ[3] ܩܪܒܬ ܠܗ̇
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܟܕ ܫܒܩܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܕܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܠܫܘܒܩܢܐ ܕܚܛܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ[4]. ܘܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ[5]. ܕܗܐ
ܐܬܐ ܒܬܪܝ, ܓܒܪܐ[6] ܕܢܝܠܬ ܡܢܝ. ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܫܪܐ
ܥܪ̈ܩܐ ܕܡܣܢܘܗܝ. ܐܢܐ ܡܥܡܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܝܒܘܬܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܬܪܝ, ܐܬܐ ܚܣܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܡܢܝ. ܗ̣ܘ ܡܥܡܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ
ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܘܒܢܘܪܐ. ܟܕ ܡܫܘܕܥ ܟܠ [7]ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܥܬܝܕܐ ܠܘܬ
ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ[8] ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܘ. ܕܒܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ [9]ܩܒܠܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܪܘܚܐ
ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܗ̇ܝ, ܦܠܝܓܬ [10]ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܠܬ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܠܝܒܘܬܐ ܒܬܕܝܡ ܕܢܡܠܠܘܢ [11]ܒܠܫܢܘܢ ܒܡ̈ܫܢܝܐ ܕܒܡܫܢܝܢܐ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܢܥܡܕ ܡܢܗ. ܘܗܘ
ܡܟܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ[12] ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܐ ܣܢܝܩ [13]ܐܢܐ ܕܡܢܟ
ܐܬܥܡܕ. ܘܐܢܬ ܠܘܬܝ, ܐܬܝܬ. [14]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܒܘܩ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܦܐܐ
ܠܡܫܠܡܘ ܟܠܗ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܒܩ. [15]ܘܡܚܕܐ ܕܣܠܩ
ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܚܙܐ ܕܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܝܘܢܐ ܕܢܚܬܬ
ܥܠܘܗܝ, ܘܩܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ [16]ܕܐܡܪ. [17]ܕܗܢܘ ܒܪܝ, ܚܒܝܒܐ ܕܒܗ
ܐܨܛܒܝܬ. ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ [18]ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ.
ܒܐܒܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܘܒܒܪܐ[19] ܕܐܬܥܡܕ. ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܢܚܬܬ

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[1] B ܘܡܫܝܚܐ. [2] A omits ܒܗܘܢ. [3] A ܬܘܒܘ and omits ܠܗ̇; C ܘܬܘܒܘ. [4] C ܕܚܛܗ̈ܐ. [5] A C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [6] C omits ܓܒܪܐ. [7] B C ܟܠ ܗܕܐ. ܗ̇ܝ. [8] B ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܢ; A C ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܢܐ. [9] C ܘܩܒܠܘ. [10] C ܐܢܘܢ. [11] B ܒܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܡܠܫܢܝܗܘܢ. [12] A omits ܠܗ. [13] A omits ܐܢܐ. [14] C ܐܡܪ. [15] A C ܡܚܕܐ. [16] C ܐܡܪ. [17] B ܗܢܘ. [18] A omits this word. [19] C ܘܒܪܐ.

ܥܡ ܐܟ̈ܠܐ ܘܡܥܒ̈ܕܢܐ[1]. ܘܫܠܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܘܢ ܒܬܪ
ܡܘܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܬܫܢܝܩܬ ܐܘܠܨܢܗ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܣܟܝܢܐ.
ܘܐܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܘܪܐ[2]. ܐܥܒܪܗ ܠܣܟܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܓܘܪܗ ܘܦܣܩܗ
ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܘܐܬܦܪ̈ܬܬ[3] ܟܪܣܗ ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܡܘܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ[4] ܕܩܛܠ ܠܛܠ̈ܝܐ. ܐܡܠܟ ܒܬܪܗ[5] ܗܪܘܕܣ
ܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ ܒܪܗ. ܗܘ ܕܦܣܩܗ ܠܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܠܐܟܗ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܩܘܡ ܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ
ܘܠܐܡܗ ܘܙܠ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܡܝܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ. ܘܕܒܪ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܘܐܬܐ
ܠܓܠܝܠܐ ܘܥܡܪ[6] ܒܢܨܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܬܬܡܠܐ[7] ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ
ܒܢܒ̈ܝܐ. ܕܢܨܪܝܐ ܢܬܩܪܐ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܥܣܪ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ
ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕ̈ܝܐ ܠܐܪܒܥ ܡܢ̈ܘܢ. [8]ܠܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܡܢܗ̈ܘܢ. ܐܛܪܘܒܢܐ ܛܛܪ̈ܪܟܐ. ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[9] ܚܕܐ ܡܢܬܐ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇[10]
ܐܒ̈ܝܠܝܢܐ. ܘܠܗܪܘܕܣ ܓܠܝܠܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܪܒܝܥܝܬܐ. ܘܪܚܡ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗܪܘܕܝܐ[11] ܐܢܬܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀

ܡܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܥܡܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܟܕ ܐܬܪܒܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ[12] ܒܡܕܒܪܐ[13] ܥܡ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ[14] ܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ ܕܬܝܒܘܬܐ.

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[1] A ܘܡܥܒ̈ܕܢܐ. [2] C ܚܙܘܪܐ. [3] A B C ܘܐܬܦܪ̈ܬܝ; on the margin of A, fol. 66 *b*, is the following note: ܘܒܟܠ ܐܘ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܘܡܐ ܒܐܪܚܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ. ܐܬܦܪ̈ܬܝ ܡܠܠ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܬܬ ܟܪܣܗ ܡܢ ܬܚܬ. ܐܘ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܦܪܝ ܀ [4] C ܕܗܪܘܕܝܣ. [5] B ܒܬܪ; C omits this word. [6] A C ܘܥܡܪ̈. [7] B C ܕܬܬܡܠܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ. [8] C omits ܠܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܢܗ̈ܘܢ; B ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܢܗ̈ܘܢ ܠܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ. [9] A ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. [10] B C ܘܐܝܬܝܗ̇. [11] B C omit ܠܗܪܘܕܝܐ. [12] C omits ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. [13] B ܥܡ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [14] A omits ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ.

ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ [1]ܐܬܝܬܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣ̈ܛܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡ̣ܥ ܕܐܬܝܬܘܢ [2]ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܢ [3]ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛ̈ܝܢܐ ܒܪܢܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬ̣ܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܚܒ̣ܪܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܚܝܝ. ܐܝܢ̣ܘ ܕܝܠܟܐ ܢܬܚܝܒ ܒܛܠܝܐ ܗܢܐ. ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܡܟܢܟ. ܫܟܘ̇ܪ ܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܢܝܟ. ܘܗܕܐ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܝ ܪܚܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܪ ܘܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܩ̈ܘܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܒܠܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ [4]ܒܙܪܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܢ. ܐܙܕܕܝܬ [5]ܠܡܬ̈ܐ ܫܪܒܬܐ [6]ܠܒܪ ܒܕܘܒܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܒܗ ܬܡܢ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܦܘܪܣܩ̈ܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ [7]ܦ̈ܠܐܛܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܕܫܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܝܚ ܒܕܘܟ [8]ܐܣܝܪܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܗ̇ܝ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܕܒܠܝ̈ܬܐ. [9]ܕܟܕ ܢܛܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܦܪ̈ܠܐ. ܘܢܦܪܘܥ [10]ܠܢܘܪܐ ܢܗܘܪ ܐܝܟ ܫܒܒܘܬܐ. ܘܐܢ ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܡܬ̈ܢܐ ܢܫܟ ܠܬܫܬ. ܘܐܢ [11]ܡܛܠܒܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܟܝܒܘܬܗ ܕܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ ܠܛܒܐ ܐܣܝܪܐ. ܘܩ̈ܘܝ ܡܢ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܕܡܟܐ ܕܡܢܬ ܡܘܪܕܘܗ ܡܘܒܬܐ ܒܢܝܫܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ. ܠܦܘܡ [12]ܕܝܢ ܦܠܛ ܠܐܝܬܘܬܗ ܘܠܒܪܬܗ. [13]ܘܟܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܦܠܛ ܡܢܗ ܚܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܐܡ̣ܪ ܕܒܗܝ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܬܬ ܐܢܐ. ܗܘ̇ܐ ܒܗ̇ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܗ̇ ܐܒܠܐ ܘܒܟܝܐ ܘܡܪܩܘܕܬܐ. ܘܐܬܒܥܘ ܡܟ̈ܣܘܗܝ ܘܙܟ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܒܦܘܡ̈ܝܢܐ ܙ̈ܛܢܐ. ܘܕܪ̈ܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܬܚܦ̇ܢ ܪ̈ܗܠܐ. ܘܪܦ̇ܬ ܒܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܝ ܠܗ ܬܫܥ ܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܥܣܪ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܩ̇ܕܗ ܠܦܠܛܘܣ ܚܬܗ ܘܠܒܠܥܗ ܘܐܡ̣ܪ. ܕܢܕܒ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܐܕܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܘ̇ܐ ܠܫܘܕܢܐ ܒܢܘܡ ܡܘܬܝ. ܘܟܕ ܢܬܦ̇ܫܘܢ

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[1] B C ܐܡܬܝ, and omit ܐܬܝܬܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ. [2] A C omit ܗܘܘ. [3] C omits ܐܬܪܐ. [4] A C ܒܙܪ̈ܘܪܘܗܝ. [5] B ܠܡܫܠܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ. [6] B C omit ܠܒܪ. [7] B ܕܦ̈ܠܣܛܐ. [8] A C ܐܣܝܢ. [9] C ܘܟܕ. [10] B ܠܗܘ ܢܘܪܐ. [11] C ܡܣܝܒܝܢ. [12] B C omit ܕܝܢ. [13] A omits the next three clauses.

ܘܥܪܘܩ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܬܡܢ ܗܘܝ، ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. [1]ܝܘܣܦ ܕܝܢ
ܩܡ ܫܩܠܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܘܥܪܩ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ
ܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ. ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܪܕܝܢ [2]ܗܘܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. [3]ܦܓܥܘ ܒܗܘܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܠܣܛ̈ܝܐ. ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܛܝܛܘܣ.
ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܘܡܚܘܣ. ܕܘܡܚܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܨܒܐ ܗܘܐ [4]ܠܡܒܙܙܘ ܐܢܘܢ
ܘܠܡܒܐܫܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܛܝܛܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ. ܘܦܨܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ
[5]ܐܝ̈ܕܝ ܚܒܪܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܘ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇
ܗܪܡܘܦܘܠܝܣ. ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܗ̇ ܦܪ̈ܘܣܛܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ. [6]ܬܪܝܢ
ܣܘ̈ܣܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ. [7]ܕܐܬܬܨܝܪܘ ܡܢ ܚܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܦܝܠܣܘܦ̈ܐ. [8]ܕܡܡܠܠܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܟܕ [9]ܥܠܘ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܡܗ ܘܝܘܣܦ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܗ̇ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [10]ܐܙܕܥܩܘ ܗܠܝܢ [11]ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܣܘ̈ܣܝܐ ܒܩܠܐ
[12]ܪܒܐ. ܕܥܠ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ.
ܐܬܒܗܠ ܘܐܬܬܙܝܥ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܚܠ [13]ܕܕܠܡܐ ܬܬܢܣܒ ܡܢܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܟܪ̈ܘܙܐ ܒܟܠܗ̇ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܐܝܢܘ ܕܐܝܕܥ ܚܕ
ܢܓܙܡ ܠܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܝܡܢܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܘܠܐ
ܐܫܟܚܘ. ܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܗ̇ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܒܪ.
ܘܢܚܙܘܢ ܚܕ ܚܕ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠ ܡܪܢ. [10]ܐܙܕܥܩܘ ܗܠܝܢ [14]ܣܘ̈ܣܝܐ ܕܗܢܘ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܪܢ. ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܕܢܣܓܕܘܢܗ،
ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ ܢܓܪܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܝܣܝܡܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܚܙܐ ܡܢ
[15]ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ ܠܒܪ. ܟܒܪܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ [16]ܗܘܐ
ܠܗܘܬ ܡܪܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝ [17]ܠܘܬ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܢܦܠ [18]ܐܝܢ

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[1] A ܘܝܘܣܦ. [2] C omits ܗܘܘ. [3] A ܦܓܥ. [4] B ܠܡܒܙܙܘ ܘܠܡܒܐܫܘ ܐܢܘܢ; C ܠܡܒܙܙܘ ܘܠܡܒܐܫܘ ܠܗܘܢ. [5] C ܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܚܒܪܗ. [6] B ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. [7] B ܕܐܬܬܨܝܪ. [8] B ܕܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [9] A ܥܠ. [10] B ܐܙܕܥܩ. [11] B ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ; C omits this word. [12] C ܪܒܐ. [13] B C ܕܠܡܐ. [14] B ܗܠܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. [15] C ܦܠܚ̈ܐ. [16] A ܗܘܐ. [17] B C ܥܡ. [18] B C omit ܐܝܢ.

ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܝܠܝܕ ܒܝܗܘܕ. ܕܗ̈ܢ [1]ܕܝܢ ܐܬܘܗܝ, ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܠܐ
ܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܒܨܝܘ ܡܫܪ ܠܘܬ ܠܡܩܛܠܘ. ܕܢܚܡܣܐܝܬ
ܒܟ̈ܕܬ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܦܫܒܬ ܡܢܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܦ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ.
ܘܒܥܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܘܒܕܢܘܗܝ, ܫܐܠܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ
ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܕܐܬܒܙܚ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܐ. ܐܬܚܡܬ ܘܫܕܪ ܩܛܠ
ܛܠܝ̈ܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܘܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܬܚܘܡܝܗ̇. ܡܢ ܒܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ. ܐܝܟ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܦܛ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ
ܕܛܠܝ̈ܐ [2]ܕܩܛܠ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ [3]ܕܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ
ܡܐܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܟܪܗ ܗܦܟ ܒܪ ܘܬܪܝܢ. ܫܠܡ ܐܚܘܗܝ, ܘܦܪܥܗ
ܡܕܡ ܡܟܐܒܐ. ܘܦܫ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠܘܗܝ, ܘܐܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܡܢܘܬܐ.
[4]ܘܐܦܩܘܗ ܠܓܘ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘܗܝ, ܠܢܦܫܗ. ܩܛܠܘܗܝ,
ܠܒܢܝܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ, ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܫܠܘܡܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ
[5]ܘܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܢܒܝܐ. ܬܪܝܢ ܗܘ̄ܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ
ܛܝܛܘܣ [6]ܒܪ ܘܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. [7]ܘܩܛܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ
ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܬܘ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܕܡܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܢܬܢܝܐܝܠ ܛܠܝܐ ܫܠܡܗ
ܐܒܘܗܝ, ܘܩܒܪܗ ܘܫܡܥܗ ܬܘܒ [8]ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒ ܡܢ
ܩܛܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܠܢܬܢܝܐܝܠ. ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܚܙܝܬܟ
ܦܠܝܛܬ ܒܪ ܬܫܥ [9]ܬܠܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܫܢܝܢ ∴

ܡ ∴ ܥܠ ܫܢܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܗܦܟܘ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. [10]ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܡܠܐܟܗ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܩܘܡ ܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ

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[1] A omits ܕܝܢ. [2] B ܕܩܛܠܘ. [3] A ܘܐܡܪܝܢ; A C ܐܠܦ. [4] A B ܘܐܦܩܘܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ. [5] A ܗܘ ܡܘܬܐ. [6] A B omit ܒܪ; C ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. [7] A B ܘܩܛܠܘ. [8] C omits ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕ. [9] B ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. [10] C ܘܐܬܚܙܝ.

ܗܟܢܐ [1]ܓܝܪ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܢܒܝܐ. ܘܩܪܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܠܡ̈ܓܘܫܐ [2]ܘܫܐܠ
ܐܢܘܢ ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ. ܕܢܒܥܘܢ ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ [3]ܚܦܝܛܐܝܬ. ܘܟܕ
ܢܫܟܚܘܢܝܗܝ، ܢܘܕܥܘܢ [4]ܠܗ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ. ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܐܙܠ ܢܣܓܘܕ܆
ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܡ̈ܓܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܘܐܙܠܘ [5]ܬܘܒ
ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܕܢܚ [6]ܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܗܘ. ܘܩܕܡ، ܐܢܘܢ ܒܕܡܐ
ܕܐܬܐ [7]ܘܩܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، [8]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ
ܠܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ [9]ܘܣܓܕܘܗܝ، ܠܛܠܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܗ. ܡܚܕܐ ܢܦܠܘ
ܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܦܬܚܘ ܣܝ̈ܡܬܗܘܢ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܗ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ. [10]ܕܗܒܐ
ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܠܒܘܢ̄ܬܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܡܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ
ܕܠܡܩܒܪܬܗ. ܘܠܒܘܢ̄ܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܠܗܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗܘܢ
ܒܚܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ [11]ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܘܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐ̄ܚܪܬܐ
[12]ܐܙܠܘ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. [13]ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ [14]ܕܐܦ ܡܢ [15]ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ،
ܕܡܢ ܥܠܘ [16]ܒܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܓܘܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܦܪܥܘܬܐ. ܘܟܬܒ
ܠܦܒܘܣ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ ܦܝܠܣ ܘܐܡܪ [17]ܠܗ. ܕܐܬܘ
ܡ̈ܓܘܫܐ [18]ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܪܣ ܘܓܠܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܟ. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ

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[1] C omits ܓܝܪ. [2] A ܘܫܐܠ; C ܘܦܩܕ; B omits ܐܢܘܢ. [3] B omits ܚܦܝܛܐܝܬ. [4] B C omit ܠܗ. [5] A C omit ܬܘܒ. [6] C omits ܡܢ ܥܠ; A omits ܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠ; B omits ܬܘܒ. [7] A ܩܡ. [8] A omits ܗܘܐ. [9] B ܘܣܓܕܘ. [10] A C omit the next clause. [11] C ܢܗܦܟܘܢ. [12] B ܘܐܙܠܘ. [13] A ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ; B omits ܓܝܪ; C ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ. [14] C omits ܕܐܦ. [15] [illegible], History of the Virgin Mary, A, fol. 136 *b*. [16] C omits ܒܗܘܢ. [17] A B omit ܠܗ. [18] A C omit ܡܠܟ̈ܐ.

ܠܓ ✣ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܓܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ[1] ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܪܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ [2]ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ، ܟܘܟܒܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܓܘܫܐ. ܠܗܘܢ [3]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܪܣ ܡܩܪ̈ܒܢܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܣܓܕܬܗ. ܘܗܠܝܢ [4]ܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ. [5]ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܐܪܛܒܢ ✣ [6]ܘܗܘܪܡܙܕܕ ܒܪ [7]ܣܝܬܪܘܩ ✣ [8]ܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܒܪ [9]ܓܘܢܦܪ ✣ ܐܪܫܟ ܒܪ ܡܝܗܪܘܩ ✣ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܕܗܒܐ ✣ ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ [10]ܘܪܙܘܕ ✣ ܐܝܪܝܗܘ ܒܪ [11]ܟܘܣܪܘ ✣ ܐܪܛܚܫܝܫܬ ܒܪ ܚܘܠܝܛܝ ✣ [12]ܐܫܬܘܙܢܒܘܢ ܒܪ ܫܝܫܪܘܢ ✣ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܡܘܪܐ ✣ ܡܝܗܪܘܩ ܒܪ ܗܘܗܡ ✣ ܐܚܫܝܪܫ ܒܪ ܚܒܣܘܢ ✣ ܣܪܕܠܚ ܒܪ [13]ܒܠܕܢ ✣ [14]ܘܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ ✣ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܠܒܘܢܬܐ ✣ ܐܬܪܫܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫ. ܕܡܩܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܘ [15]ܐܢܘܢ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܡܪܢ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܫܡܥܘ ܗܘܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ ܐ̈ܒܗܐ. ܘܐܕܡ ܦܩܕ ܠܫܝܬ ܕܢܛܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܠܐܚܪܢ. ܒܙܒܢܐ ܕܕܢܚ ܡܪܢ. ܘܐܬܘ [16]ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܬ ܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [17]ܘܫܡܥ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܬܙܝܥ. ܘܟܢܫ ܠܪ̈ܒܝ ܟ̈ܗܢܐ ܘܠܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܡܐ. [18]ܘܫܐܠ ܥܠ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܥܬܝܕ ܕܢܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ.

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[1] C omits ܕܝܢ. [2] A B omit ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. [3] The 'Cave of Treasures' (B, fol. 40 *b*, 2) mentions three kings only: ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ, Pers. هورمزداد; ܐܝܙܕܓܪܕ, Pers. يزدگرد or يزدجرد; and ܦܝܪܘܙ, Pers. فيروز. [4] These names are unpointed in A. [5] Pers. زروانداد. [6] C ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ, Pers. هورمزد or هورمزداد. [7] B ܣܝܬܪܘܢ; C ܣܝܬܪܘܩ. [8] C ܓܘܫܢܣܦ. [9] A C ܓܘܢܦܪ. [10] B ܘܪܙܘܕ; C ܘܪܙܘܕ. [11] C ܟܘܣܪܘ; Pers. خسرو. [12] B ܐܫܬܘܙܒܢܘܢ; C ܐܫܬܘܙܢܒܘܢ. [13] B ܒܠܕܘܢ; C ܒܠܕܢ. [14] A omits ܘ; C ܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܝܠ; B ܒܠܕܢ. [15] B omits ܐܢܘܢ. [16] C ܩܪܒ, and omits ܠܗ. [17] A ܘܫܡܥܘ. [18] B ܘܫܐܠ.

ܒܪܘܡܝܐ [1]ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ. ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܒܥܕܢ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܠܬܝܡܢܐ ܒܥܕܢ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܦܠܩܠܝܢܐ ܠܗܘܒܠ ܦܪܘ. ܘܠܐ
ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܠܚܘܕ [2]ܒܠܠܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ [3]ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ
ܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܒܛܗܪܐ ܘܒܒܗܪܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ [4]ܚܙܝܢ
ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܬܗܘܢ [5]ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ. ܣܗܪܐ
[6]ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܡܢܗܪ ܒܢܘܗܪܗ. ܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܕܒܘܪܐ
ܕܫܡܫܐ ܡܬܢܗܪܐ ܒܪ ܥܡܬܗ. ܘܡܬܦܠܓܪ ܢܘܗܪܗ. ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܝܢ
ܗܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܗ. ܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ, ܕܫܡܫܐ ܙܟܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܬ, ܕܓܠܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܬ, ܕܡܬܢܒܝܢܐ
ܗܘܐ [7]ܒܠܗ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܦܠܩܠܝܢܐ ܠܡܩܒ̈ܠܢܐ ܡܫܕܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܒܗ ܕܝܢ
ܦܢܘ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܒܗ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ [8]ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. [9]ܘܫܪܝܘ
ܠܡܐܙܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܘܢܓܗ, ܢܦܫܗ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ [10]ܗܘܐ
ܙܘܥܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܕܥܡܘܕܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪܬ, ܕܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܩܒ̈ܠܢܐ
ܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܡܪܬ, ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܡܗ ܗܘܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬ
ܒܡܕܒܪܐ [11]ܗܘ ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܕܢܓܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܫܠ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܦܠܐ
ܠܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܣܪܐܝܠ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ
ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ. ܐܠܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܠܬܚܬ ܢܚܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܝܘܡ ܠܟܠ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [12]ܬܘܒ ܐܡܪܬ, ܕܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܪܫܡܗ ܕܓܠܝܐ ܦܩ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܡܟܬܒ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ⁘

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[1] A omits ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ; B C omit ܕܐܝܟ ܒܪܘܡܝܐ. [2] B ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܠܠܝܐ.
[3] B omits ܗܘܐ; A C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [4] C omits ܚܙܝܢ; B ܚܙܝܢܐ. [5] B omits ܕܝܢ.
[6] A ܕܝܢ. [7] A C ܒܠܗ ܢܘܗܪ̈ܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ. [8] C omits ܠܘܬ. [9] B omits ܘܫܪܝܘ.
[10] A ܗܘܐ. [11] A C ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܗܘ. [12] B ܐܡܪܝܢ ܬܘܒ.

ܠܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܟܟܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ، ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܐܝܬ [1]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܘܟܟܐ ܗ̇ܘ [2]ܒܝܘܡܗ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܡܓܪ̈ܒܐ. [3]ܗ̇ܘ، ܕܝܢ ܕܦܩܕ ܡܘܪܝܫ ܕܢܛܠܠܘܢ ܛܠ̈ܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ. ܠܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܓܪܐ ܕܐܟܠܐ ܚܝܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܥܠ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܬܘܩܦܐ ܡܕܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܘ ܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܠܘ ܟܕ ܫܒܬܗ ܡܢ [4]ܕܦܓܥ ܒܡܓܪ̈ܒܐ. ܡܚܕܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܛܠܠܘܢ ܛܠ̈ܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܫܓܝܫܐ ܒܬܪ ܒܡܫܓܚܬܐ. ܒܕܡܫܦܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܢܫܬܒܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܡܘܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܝ، ܝܘܐܢܝܣ ܦܘܡܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ. ܒܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܡܬܠ، ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܫܓܝܫܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܒܡܘܟܟܐ. ܡܛܠ [5]ܓܒܪ ܕܠܒܓܪܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܬܪ̈ܝܢܘܢ ܡܬܓܒܪܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܕܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܢܬܦܪܕܘܢ ܠܢܦܩ ܡܘܠܕܗ. ܘܙܗ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܒܓܪ̈ܘܗܐ ܢܫܬܓܪ. ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܙܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܡܘܟܟܘܬܐ ܬܬܚܝܒ. ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܫܓܝܫܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܘܟܟܐ. ܐܠܐ ܓܒܪ ܕܒ ܐܬܠܝ ܒܠܩܦܠܝܢܐ. ܗܕܝܢ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܠܐ ܡܓܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܕܒܓܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܢܦܘܩܘܗܝ، ܐܡܝܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ ܦܠܓ ܠܛܠ̈ܠܐ ܠܐ [6]ܐܬܬܕܟܪ. ܢܩܒܬܐ ܓܒܪ ܘܦܓܥܐ ܚܝܡܗ، ܕܢܫܬܓܪܐ ܘܡܢ̈ܪܘܬܐ. ܒܥܓܠ ܙܒܢܐ [7]ܡܬܬܪܐ ܡܢ ܦܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܐܘܣܦ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܚܫܘܒ ܢܟܝܢ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܝܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܘܟܟܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܐܢ ܡܘܟܟܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܐܘ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ [8]ܕܠܒܘܫ. ܗܕܐ ܠܡܕܥ ܕܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܘܟ̈ܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܫܡܐ [9]ܕܐܬܚܙܝ، ܒܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܘܟ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ

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[1] A ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [2] C ܒܝܘܡ. [3] C ܗܘ. [4] C ܕܦܓܥܘ. [5] B omits ܓܒܪ. [6] B ܐܬܕܟܪ. [7] A ܠܗܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܒܥܝܢ; B ܠܗܠܝܢ ܗܦܟܝܢ; C ܡܬܬܪ. [8] B omits ܕܠܒܘܫ. [9] A C ܘܐܬܚܙܝ.

ܢܬܓܠܐ. ܗܢܝܢ ܢܐܬܐ ܒܡܢܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܡܙܕܗܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܩܘ̈ܪܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܠܕܐ ܗ̄ܘ [1]ܕܐܬܒܠܥ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܫܥ. ܗܢܐ [2]ܕܗܠܝܢ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܠܠ ܐܢܬ. ܡܢ ܐܒܓܪ [3]ܗ̄ܘ ܫܠܡܗ. ܗܢܘ ܙܒ ܡܠܟܝ. ܐܘ ܐܢܬ ܡܠܟܗ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܕܘܥܬ. ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܠܘ ܢܗܘܬ. ܐܢܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܘܗ̇ܘ ܐܢܐ. ܘܗ̇ܘ ܒܝ. ܘܐܢܐ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܬ, [4]ܕܢܫܝܚܐ ܥܩܪܐ ܕܡܐܬܝܬܗ. ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܘܟܒܬܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܘܢܘܗܪܗ ܢܝܬܪ [5]ܠܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ [6]ܕܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ [7]ܕܚ̈ܝܐ ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ. [8]ܘܐܙܕܪܥܘ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ [9]ܘܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܠܟܘܢ ܦܠܐ ܕܬܬܦܩܘܢ ܘܬܬܪܗܒܘܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܘܬܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ [10]ܠܘܩܒܠܗ ܬܪܓܫܘܢ ܒܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܗܘ̇ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ. ܕܠܗ ܡܣܬܟܝܢ ܐܣܝ̈ܪܐ ܕܢܫܬܪܘܢ. ܘܗܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܓܠܝܬ ܐܪ̄ܙܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܓܠܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܢܬܢܛܪ ܒܓ̈ܙܐ ܕܢܦܫ̈ܬܟܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܬܗ, ܕܕܢܚ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ [11]ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ. ܢܬܕܪܟܘܢ [12]ܡܢܟܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܒܗ ܠܚܒܝܫ ܡܘ̈ܠܕܗ. ܘܢܩܪܒܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ. ܚܘ ܐܪܙܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܬܒܣܪܘܢ ܒܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܘܒܕܟܘܢ ܒܢܘܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ. ܘܡܠܘܟ ܟ̈ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ [13]ܬܓܐ. ܘܐܢܐ ܘܗ̇ܘ ܚܕ ܚܢܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܓܠܝܢ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ [14]ܐܬܓܠܝ̈ܬ. [15]ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܥܕܗ ܚܙܝܗܝ, ܕܢܬܓܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ. [16]ܐܘ ܡܢ ܒܪܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܕܡܟܝܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܕܒܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܪܢ [17]ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. [18]ܘܦܪܩ ܦܪܩ ܐܡܝܢ ⁘

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[1] B ܢܬܒܠܥ; B C ܗܘ̇. [2] B ܡܫܡܠܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. [3] B C omit ܗܘ̣. [4] B ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [5] A ܠܢܘܗܪܐ. [6] A B omit ܕܝܢ. [7] A B omit ܕܚ̈ܝܐ; A B omit ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ. [8] A C ܘܐܙܕܪܥܘ. [9] A B ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܪܘܡܝܐ. [10] A ܬܪܓܫܘܢ ܠܘܩܒܠܗ; B omits ܠܘܩܒܠܗ. [11] C omits ܗܘ̇. [12] B omits ܡܢܟܘܢ. [13] C ܬܓܐ. [14] A C ܐܬܓܠܝ. [15] A ܘܐܠܗܐ. [16] C omits ܐܘ. [17] A C omit ܝܫܘܥ. [18] A C omit ܘ.

ܕܕܘܫ. ܘܗܕܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬ̈ܐ. ܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܠܥܠܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ
ܒܕܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܩܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ[1]. ܘܟܕ ܥܠ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ
ܫܠܘܬܐ ܡܫܒ̈ܚܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ[2]. ܟܕ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ.
ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܪ̈ܘܡܐ. ܘܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܫܝܢܐ[3]
ܘܣܒܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܐܙܠܘ[4] ܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܘܥܠܘ ܠܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܀ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܝܢ[5] ܕܪ̈ܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ
ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܥܒܕ. ܕܓܠܦܢ. ܡܘܗܠܦܛܗ. ܢܦܪܡܦܛܗ. ܢܘܗܦ. ܦܢܓܒܕܐ.
ܗܦܓܐ. ܥܒܕܐ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ܀

ܠ ܀ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܙܪܕܘܫܬ[6] ܥܠ[7] ܡܪܢ[8].

ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ[9] ܙܪܕܘܫܬ ܗܘܝܘ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ. ܟܕ ܝܬܒ ܗܘ̄ܐ[10] ܥܠ
ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܓܠܘܫܐ ܕܚܘܪܝܢ[11]. ܐܬܪ ܕܡܬܬܩܢ ܗܘ̄ܐ ܒܝܬ
ܚܡܝܡܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܠܓܘܫܬܣܦ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܣܣܢ[12] ܘܡܗܝܡܕ. ܫܡܥܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܘܚܒܝ̈ܒܝ. ܕܐܓܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܪ̄ܙܐ[13]
ܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܕܢܕܢܚ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܙܒܢܐ
ܘܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܫܪܝܐ. ܢܬܒܛܢ ܝܠܘܕܐ ܒܟܪܣܗ̇ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܢܬܓܒܠ
ܒܗܕܡ̈ܘܗܝ. ܟܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܩܪܒ ܠܗ̇. ܘܢܬܪܒܐ ܠܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ
ܒܥܘܦܝܗ ܘܡܠܝܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ. ܘܩܐܡ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܨܗܝܐ. ܘܢܬܬܥܫܘܢ[14]
ܥܡܘܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܥܩܪܘܢܝܗܝ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ[15] ܘܠܐ ܢܫܟܚܘܢ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܐܚܕܘܢܝܗܝ ܘܢܨܠܒܘܢܝܗܝ ܥܠ ܩܝܣܐ. ܘܬܬܒ ܫܡܝܐ
ܘܐܪܥܐ ܒܐܒܠܐ ܡܛܠܬܗ. ܘܢܬܐܒܠܘܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ.
ܘܢܚܘܬ ܠܥܘܡܩܝܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܥܘܡܩܐ ܢܣܩ ܠܪܘܡܐ

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[1] B omits from ܘܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ to ܘܩܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. [2] C ܕܫܡܝܢܐ. [3] B C omit ܘܫܝܢܐ. [4] B ܘܐܙܠ. [5] A omits ܕܝܢ. [6] Pers. زردوشت. [7] B ܕܥܠ. [8] B ܡܫܝܚܐ. [9] A omits ܕܝܢ. [10] A omits ܗܘ̄ܐ. [11] A ܕܚܘܢ (sic). [12] A B ܘܫܣܢ; Pers. ساسان. [13] C ܥܠ ܐܪܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. [14] B ܘܢܬܥܫܢܘܢ. [15] C ܐܬܪܐ.

ܝܘܣܦ ܢܓܪܐ ܕܢܬܟܬܒ[1] ܒܩܘܪܝܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܬܘܬܒܘܬ[2] ܕܝܪܘܬܗ
ܕܒܠ ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ. ܫܩܠܗ[3] ܪܟܒܗ ܥܠ ܚܡܪܐ. ܘܟܕ[4] ܪܕܘ ܐܟܚܕ
ܬܠܬܐ ܡ̈ܝܠܝܢ. ܚܪ ܒܗ[5] ܝܘܣܦ ܘܚܙܗ ܟܕ ܐܝܕܗ ܚܒܫܐ ܥܠ
ܟܪܣܗ ܘܡܩܛܦ ܐܦ̈ܝܗ. ܘܣܒܪ ܕܡܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܐܬܟܪܝܬ. ܘܫܐܠܗ
ܥܠ ܐܘܠܨܢܗ[6] ܘܥܠ ܟܐܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܕܩܪܒܬ ܫܥܬܐ ܠ
ܕܘܒܬܐ ܕܐܚܕܬ ܒܗ[7] ܡܛܠ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܫ̈ܒܠܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܚܬܗ ܡܢ
ܚܡܪܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܕܢܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܐܫܟܚ[8] ܐܬܬܐ ܒܒܪܝܬܐ
ܕܫܡܗ ܫܠܘܡ. ܗܪ̈ܛܒܩܐ ܕܡܢ[9] ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܢܕܝܫܝܢ.
ܘܛܠܒ ܡܢ ܥܕܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܫܟܚܬܗ ܕܡܫܟܠܐ
ܘܗܪܐ ܚܙܝܐ. ܘܡܚܝܠܐ. ܡܢ[10] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܛܘܦ̈ܣܐ [11]ܘܒܐܘܪܚܘܬܐ.
ܘܫܐܠܬ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. [12]ܘܐܬܬ ܗܘܬ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܕܬܚܙܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ ܡܛܠܬܐ
ܥܠ ܡܬܝܠܕܢܘܬܗ. ܘܗܘܬ ܒܥܠܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܫܡܫܝܘܗܝ.
ܘܬܫܡܫܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܫܪܬ ܒܥܠܡܘܬܗ. ܘܥܠܝܗ ܕܢܝܫܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ
ܕܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܥܠܡܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܬܝܠܕ. ܗܐ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܡܦܩܕ
ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܣܒܪܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ. ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ. ܐܬܝܠܕ
ܠܟܘܢ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ. ܒܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܡܬܟܢܫܢܘܬܗ

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[1] B ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܬܟܬܒ. [2] B ܬܘܬܒܘܬܐ ܘܕܝܪܘܬܐ. [3] A ܥܡܗ ܘܡܢ.

[4] In C an attempt has been made to erase the text from ܘܟܕ ܪܕܘ to ܘܛܠܒ ܡܢ ܥܕܪܐ.

[5] B C omit ܝܘܣܦ ܘܚܙܗ. [6] B ܐܘܠܨܢܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܫܚܬܗ; C ܐܘܠܨܢܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܫܗ. [7] B C omit ܒܗ.

[8] A somewhat different account is given in the History of the Virgin (A, fol. 134 *b*): [illegible] (sic) [illegible] (sic) [illegible] (sic) [illegible]

[9] B omits ܕܡܢ. [10] B omits ܡܢ. [11] B ܘܒܐܘܪܚܐ. [12] B omits from ܘܐܬܬ ܗܘܬ to ܥܠ ܡܬܝܠܕܢܘܬܗ.

ܫܪܘܬܐ [1]ܠܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ. ܘܗܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܒ̈ܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܪܥܝ ܝܘܣܦ
[2]ܕܓܠܝܢܐܝܬ ܢܫܪܝܗ̇. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܪܥܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܒܗ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ
ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܝܘܣܦ ܒܪܗ ܕܕܘܝܕ. ܠܐ
ܬܕܚܠ ܠܡܣܒ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܐܢܬܬܟ. ܗ̇ܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ̇ ܡܢ
ܪܘܚܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܡܫܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܢܗ̇ ⁘
ܘܥܒܕܗ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܒܛܢܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܚܠܡܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܠܐ [3]ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܝܘܣܦ [4]ܕܒܢܝ ܡܕܝܢܐ
ܕܠܐ ܚܪܒ ܐܢܐ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܟܠܬܗ̇. ܘܐܦ ܗ̇ܝ ܡܢܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܢܝܐ
[5]ܡܟܝܠ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܢܕܪܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܩܕ̈ܫܐ. ܕܟܕ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ
ܐܢܫ ܡܢܗܘܢ [6]ܒܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܡܕܡ. ܦܫܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ
ܕܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܐܢܫܘ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܠܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܢܝܚܐ. ܢܦܫܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܪܫܗ. ܘܡܫܒܚܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܗ. ܘܡܬܒܢܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ [7]ܕܡܕܒܪܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
[8]ܐܫܡܥܘܗ̇ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܠܝܘܣܦ [9]ܡܢ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒܘ.
ܦܩܕ [10]ܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ [11]ܕܢܛܪܝܗ̇ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܒܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ
ܫܪܪܗ ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ [12]ܗܢܐ ⁘

ܠܘ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܒܒܣܪ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢܬܐ [13]ܚܕܐ ܕܡܣܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܥܒܕ ܡܠܟܐ
ܗܪܘܕܝܣ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ [14]ܠܩܘܪܝܢܝܘܣ ܗܓܡܘܢܐ. ܕܢܟܬܘܒ
ܠܟܠܢܫ ܟܣܦܐ ܪܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܬܚܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ
ܐܫܬܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܟܠܢܫ ܡܬܟܬܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ. ܘܐܦ

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[1] B C omit ܪܒ. [2] B C ܕܢܫܪܝܗ̇ ܡܛܫܝܐܝܬ. [3] A B ܐܫܬܘܕܥ. [4] B C ܕܒܢܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
[5] B C omit ܡܟܝܠ. [6] B ܒܟܢܘܫܝܐ. [7] B C ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. [8] C ܐܫܡܥܘܗܝ.
[9] A omits ܡܢ. [10] A ܪ̈ܒܟܗܢܐ. [11] A C ܕܢܛܪܝܗ̇ ; A B ܒܗܝܡܢܘ. [12] A omits ܗܢܐ.
[13] B omits ܚܕܐ. [14] C ܠܩܘܪܝܢܘܣ.

ܘܬܐܠܕܝܢ ܒܪܐ. ܘܬܩܪܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ.[1] ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܥܡܢ
ܐܠܗܢ. ܗܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܪܒ. ܘܒܪܗ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܢܬܩܪܐ. ܐܡܪܐ ܡܪܝܡ
ܠܡܠܐܟܐ. ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܟ.
ܘܐܙܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ̇. [2]ܘܩܒܠܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܗܦܢ ܒܢ̈ܒܬܐ
ܗܢܝܢ. ܘܐܙܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܐܚܝܢ̄ܬܗ̇. ܘܩܘܝܬ ܠܘܬܗ̇ ܘܫܐܠܬ
ܫܠܡܗ̇ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܕ ܫܡܥܬ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܫܠܡܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ.
ܕܨ ܥܘܠܐ ܒܟܪܣܗ̇. ܘܣܓܕ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܟܪܣܗ̇ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܠܡܪܢ
ܒܟܪܣܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܪܗ. ܘܩܘܝܬ [3]ܕܝܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܘܬ
ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܐܝܟ ܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܬܠܬܐ. ܘܗܦܟܬ ܠܒܝܬܗ̇ ⁘ ܘܒܬܪ ܫܬܐ
ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ: ܚܙܐ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܡܪܝܡ [4]ܕܒܛܝܢ. ܘܐܫܬܓܫ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗ
ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢܐ ܐܬܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܠܟܗ̈ܢܐ. ܒܗܢܐ ܢܣܝܘܢܐ
ܕܓܕܫ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܬܚܝܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܠ ܕܒܢܘܬܗ̇ ܕܡܟܝܪܬܗ. ܢܦܠ
[5]ܒܦܘܓܥܐ ܘܒܟܠܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. ܕܡܢ [6]ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܝ
ܗܕܐ. ܘܦܢܝܬ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܬܡܝܡܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ
ܒܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܡܫ̈ܒܚܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܬܐ. ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ [7]ܐܬܪܒܝܬ،
ܘܡܢܝ ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܘܐܬܡܪܝܬ. ܕܒܢܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܬ
ܠܒܪܐ ܡܡܠܘܬܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܠܝܬ ܥܠ
ܡܠܐܟܐ [8]ܘܟܠ ܡܠ̈ܝ ܦܬܓܡܗ̇. ܘܐܬܦܝܣ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܡ̈ܠܝܗ̇، ܘܠܢܦܫܗ
ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܗ̄ܟܢ ܐܬܠܐ [9]ܠܫܘܒܗܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܦܓܪ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ܕܢܠ
ܐܢܐ [10]ܕܕܠܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܢ ܐܫܒܘܩ ܘܐܛܪܕܝܗ̇.
ܦܫܝܩ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ [11]ܘܠܒܪ ܕܝܢܐ [12]ܕܢܡܘܣܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ. ܒܝܕܥܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ

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[1] A B omit ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܥܡܢ ܐܠܗܢ. [2] C ܩܒܠܬ ܕܝܢ. [3] A C omit ܕܝܢ.
[4] A B ܕܒܛܢܐ. [5] B ܒܦܘܪܓܠܐ. [6] B C ܐܝܡܟܐ. [7] A C ܐܬܪܒܝܬ. [8] B ܘܠܐ ܟܠܟܠ;
A ܦܬܓܡܘܗܝ. [9] B ܫܘܒܗܪܐ; A B omit ܗܢܐ. [10] B C ܕܠܡܐ. [11] B ܠܒܪ.
[12] B ܢܡܘܣܐ; C ܕܢܡܘܣ.

ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[1]. ܘܦܬܝܬܐ ܚܠܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܫܩܠܗ[2] ܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܐܙܠ ܥܡܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܀ ܘܒܬܪ ܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ ܦܠܝܓܘ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܐ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ[3] ܡܦ̈ܩܬܐ ܕܟܐ̈ܪܝܐ ܠܡܟܬܒ. ܡܛܠ ܦ̈ܠܚܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܕܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܥܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܬܬܟܬܒ ܐܪܓܘܢܐ. ܘܒܗ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܡܗܠܟܐ[4] ܗܘܬ ܒܝܠܕܬܐ. ܘܡܛܝܗ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܐ. ܒܗ ܥܠܝܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗ ܓܒܪܝܠ ܪܝܫ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ. ܒܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܦܠܓ ܫܢܝܐ. ܘܦܫ ܡܢܗ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܬܗܪܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܚܙܬܗ[5] ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܀

ܠܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܝܠ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܒܛܢܗ [6]ܕܡܪܢ.

ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ [7]ܒܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܐ ܒܐܕܪ ܒܬܫܥ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܢܝܣܢ[8]. ܘܗܘܐ[9] ܗ̄ܘ ܫܪܝܪܐ. ܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ [10]ܘܫܒܥ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ [11]ܐܘܟܝܬ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܒܬܪ ܒܛܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ [12]ܒܫܘܝܢ ܒܫܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܓܒܪܝܠ ܪܝܫ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܫܠܡ ܠܟܝ ܡܠܝܬ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܡܪܢ ܥܡܟܝ ܒܪܝܟܬ ܒܢܫ̈ܐ. ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܬ ܒܡܠܬܗ. ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܕܡܢܘ ܫܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܝܢ ܡܪܝܡ. ܐܫܟܚܬܝ ܓܝܪ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܓܝܪ ܬܒܛܢܝܢ ܒܟܪܣܐ

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[1] B C ܠܐܠܗܐ. [2] B C ܘܣܠܩ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܠܡܬܟܬܒܘ. [3] A ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ. [4] B C omit ܗܘܬ; C ܒܡܗܠܟܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ. [5] B C ܚܙܬܐ. [6] B ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [7] A C ܒܥܣܪܝܢ; C ܘܚܡܫܐ. [8] In the History of the Virgin Mary (A, fol. 131 *b*) Gabriel is said to have appeared to Mary ܒܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܒܢܝܣܢ. ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. [9] A C omit ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܫܪܝܪܐ. [10] C ܘܐܪܒܥ. [11] B C omit ܐܘܟܝܬ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ; C omits also ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. [12] C omits ܒܫܘܝܢ.

ܠܗ̇ ܕܬܫܬܠܡ ܠܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ، ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܬܪܒܝܬ ܥܡ ܒܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ
ܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܡܬܪܣܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܠܡܢܬܐ ܒܠܒܐ ܚܕܝܐ
ܘܒܪܬܚܝܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܒܪܬ [1]ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
[2]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܥܒܝܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܚܘܗ̇. ܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܘܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ.
ܘܒܥܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܓܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ [3]ܡܢܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܥܡܗ̇.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ، [4]ܠܗ ܠܪܒܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܡܠܐܟܗ [5]ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [6]ܟܢܫ
ܚܘܛ̈ܪܐ ܕܐ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܠܘ ܡܢ ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܬܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܫܘܝܢ ܒܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ [7]ܒܟܐܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ. ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ
ܠܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܚܘܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝܘ ܚܘܛ̈ܪܐ ܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܘܣܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܗ̇ܝܟܠܐ. ܘܒܥܘ ܩܕܡ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܘܠܠܝܗ. ܘܥܠ
ܪܒܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ. ܘܝܗ̇ܒ ܠܟܠܢܫ ܚܕ [9]ܡܢܗܘܢ ܚܘܛܪܗ. ܘܟܕ
ܠܒܪ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ. ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܝܘܢܐ
ܚܘܪܬܐ. ܘܦܪܚܬ ܥܠ ܪܫ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܘܐܬܝܒܬ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܪܒ
ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܘܝܗܒܗ̇ [10]ܟܠ ܢܛܪܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܗܕܐ
ܓܠܝܬܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܫܬܐ ܡܛܠܟ ܒܝܬܟ ܡܢ [11]ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ. ܬܣܒܝܗ̇
ܠܘܬܟ ܒܝܕ ܗ̇ܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܡܫܒܚܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܢܛܘܪܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܘܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܢܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܬܘܒ ܡܢ
ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܕܐܬܝܚܕܬ ܒܬܪ ܕܘܝܕ. ܘܐܡܪ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ.
ܕܐܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܣܒܐ ܘܡܣܟܢܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܛܠܝܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ، ܘܠܐ
ܚܙܝܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܣܝܒܘܬܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܠܝܗ̇ ܠܡܢ ܕܕܢܚܐ ܠܗ
ܒܡܬܡܟܢܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܝ ܠܡܬܕܪܫܘ ܒܗ
ܘܠܡܦܪܢܣܘܬܗ̇. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ. ܐܙܕܗܪ ܡܢ ܕܬܬܒܥ ܥܠ

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[1] B ܬܠܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ. [2] B ܡܛܠ. [3] A ܡܢܘ. [4] C omits ܠܗ. [5] B ܕܡܪܝܐ. [6] C omits ܠܗ; B C ܟܢܘܫ. [7] B C omit ܒܟܐܢܘܬܐ. [8] B C ܡܪܝܐ; C omits ܗܘ. [9] A omits ܡܢܗܘܢ. [10] A omits ܟܠ ܢܛܪܗ; C omits ܠܗ. [11] A omits ܠܘܬ.

ܘܒܡܥܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܒܦܪ̈ܗܓܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܐܪܐ ܘܦܝ̈ܪܐ ܐܝܟ
ܓܘܫܡܐ [1]ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܬܦܢܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܢ ܒܣܡܐ ܟܠ
ܒܡܪܕܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܫܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܦܪܩܘ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܫܝܪܬܐ [2]ܕܒܠܒܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܒܣܡܐ ܕܝܣܪܠ.
ܘܒܬܪ ܗܢܝܢ ܠܡܥܒܕܐ ܘܢܛܪ ܡܥܡܪܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܥܡܪܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܕܘ̈ܪܟܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܦܩܕܘ ܢܛܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ.
ܘܗܦܩܬ ܐܦ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܬܬܗ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܦܩܕ
[3]ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܕܡ̈ܒܝܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐ [4]ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܒܥܝܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܠܘܬܗܘܢ
ܐܫܬܒܚܬ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ [5]ܐܠܗܐ ܦܐܪܐ
ܕܦܘܪܢܣܐ. ܒܪܬܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܐܝܠ̈ܢܐ ܘܠܬܕܒܘܪܬܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܪ
ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܬܟܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܢܟܣܘ ܬܘܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ
ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܢܘܚ ܠܫܡ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܘܒܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܬܗ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ
ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܟܢܐ [6]ܗܘ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܫܡ ܕܒܢܐ ܒܢܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܢܘܗܝ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ [7]ܕܝܢ ܥܡܗ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ
ܒܗ ܙܒܢܐܝܬ. ܘܒܬܪ ܫܢܬܐ ܢܩܝܢ ܐܟܙܘ ܐܟܘܬܗ ܠܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܠܐ
ܢܚܡܝܗ ܕܐܬܢܝܚ [8]ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܠܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܥܡ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܘܕܒܪܢܐ
[9]ܘܐܬܬܩܢܗ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܕܒܩܘ ܬܘܪܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܟܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܩܪܒܗ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ. ܘܣܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ ܘܒܪܟܗ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܚܬܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܒܛܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ [10]ܕܐܬܢܫܠܬ
ܡܢ ܣܠܩܐ. ܐܘܟܠܗ [11]ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܕܪܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܐܫܠܡܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܫܟܢܐ. [12]ܘܣܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܒܪܟܗ ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] C omits ܕܡܪܝܐ. [2] A C ܕܒܠܒܗܘܢ; B ܘܡܠܠ. [3] B ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [4] B ܡܠܐܟܐ; C ܕܡܪܝܐ. [5] A omits ܐܠܗܐ. [6] B C ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ. [7] A B omit ܕܝܢ. [8] C ܠܐܪܥܐ. [9] B C omit ܘܐܬܬܩܢܗ. [10] C ܐܬܚܫܠܬ. [11] B C ܠܡܫܡܫܘ, and omit ܕܡܪܝܐ. [12] A B omit from ܘܣܡ to ܕܠܥܠܡ, and read ܘܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ.

ܢܓܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܣܠܝ. ܚܣܠܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܡ. ܢܚܘܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܡܘܨ. ܥܡܘܨ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܬܝܐ. ܡܬܬܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܝܘܣܦ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܢܝ. ܝܢܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܟܝ. ܡܠܟܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܐܘܠܕ [1]ܠܡܛܬ. ܡܛܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܗܠܝ. ܗܠܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ :· ܘܕܥ ܐܦ ܐܝܟܢ ܕܡܬܢ ܒܪ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ [2]ܕܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܢܦܩ ܡܒܒܠ. ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܐܣܬܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ [3]ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܟܝܢܐܝܬ. ܘܡܝܬ ܡܬܢ ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܡܠܟܝ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܢܬܢ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܢܦܩ ܒܓܘܫܡܗ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܗܠܝ [4]ܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܗܠܝ. [5]ܘܡܟܢܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ̇ ܘܗܠܝ ܐܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܐ. [6]ܢܣܒ ܗܠܝ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܣܒܗ̇ ܝܥܩܘܒ [7]ܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܙܪܥܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ [8]ܕܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܟܝܢܐܝܬ. ܘܒܪ ܗܠܝ ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ. [9]ܘܐܦ ܒܟܝܢܐܝܬ ܐܚ̈ܝܢ [10]ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [11]ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܙܕܩ ܠܡܕܥ. ܕܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ. ܠܡܬܢ ܘܠܡܛܬ. [12]ܘܡܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܡܛܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܗܠܝ. ܘܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܘܝܘܣܦ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܫܝܚ. ܘܗܢ ܫܪܒܐ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܘܐܡܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕ̈ܕܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܫܪ̈ܪܐ :·

ܠܕ :· ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܒܡܪܝܡ.

ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܕܐܬܡܪ ܦܐܝܐ ܘܫܦܝܪ. ܥܡ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܙܒܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܬܪܥܐ [13]ܗܘܐ ܒܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܟܠܝܘܡܢܐ.

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[1] C ܠܡܛܛ. ܡܛܛ. [2] A ܡܢ. [3] B omits ܡܢܗ̇. [4] C omits ܗܘ. [5] A ܘܡܟܠܠܘ (sic) ܗܘܘ ܡܟܠܠ. [6] A ܗܠܝ ܢܣܒ ܗܘ. [7] B ܐܢܬܬܗ. [8] A C ܢܡܘܣܐ. [9] A B ܐܦ. [10] A C omit ܐܢܘܢ. [11] C ܘܐܦ. [12] C ܡܬܢ. [13] B C omit ܗܘܐ.

ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܢ [1]ܡܬܡ̈ܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܛܘܗܡܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܚܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܣܦ. ܘܐܚܪܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܢܬܢ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܣܦ.
ܕܘܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܝܡܘܢ. ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܚܒܥܡ. ܪܚܒܥܡ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܐܒܝܐ. ܐܒܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܣܐ. ܐܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܗܘܫܦܛ.
ܝܗܘܫܦܛ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܪܡ. [2]ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܘܙܝܐ. ܥܘܙܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܬܡ. ܝܘܬܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܚܙ. ܐܚܙ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܙܩܝܐ. ܚܙܩܝܐ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܢܫܐ. ܡܢܫܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܡܘܢ. ܐܡܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܫܝܐ.
ܝܘܫܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܟܢܝܐ. ܝܘܟܢܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܬܐܝܠ. ܫܠܬܐܝܠ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܘܪܒܒܠ. [3]ܙܘܪܒܒܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܝܘܕ. ܐܒܝܘܕ [4]ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܐܠܝܩܝܡ. ܐܠܝܩܝܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܙܘܪ. ܥܙܘܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܨܕܘܩ. ܨܕܘܩ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܟܝܢ. ܐܟܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܘܕ. ܐܠܝܘܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܥܙܪ.
ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܢ. ܡܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܣܦ ܀ [5]ܘܬܘܒ ܕܘܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܬܢ. ܢܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܛܬܐ. ܡܛܬܐ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܢܐ. ܡܢܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܝܐ. ܡܠܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܩܝܡ.
ܐܠܝܩܝܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܢܡ. ܝܘܢܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ.
ܡܬܝܬܐ [4]ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܪܡ. [6]ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܥܙܪ. ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܣܐ. ܝܘܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܝܪ. ܥܝܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܡܘܕܕ. ܐܠܡܘܕܕ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܘܣܡ. ܩܘܣܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܕܝ. ܐܕܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܟܝ. ܡܠܟܝ
ܐܘܠܕ [7]ܠܢܐܪܝ. ܢܐܪܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܬܐܝܠ. ܫܠܬܐܝܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܘܪܒܒܠ.
ܙܘܪܒܒܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܝܣܐ. ܪܝܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܚܢ. ܝܘܚܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܝܘܣܦ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܡܥܝ. ܫܡܥܝ
ܐܘܠܕ [8]ܠܡܛܬܐ. ܡܛܬܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܥܬ. ܡܥܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܓܝ.

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[1] B omits ܡܬܡ̈ܠܝܢ. [2] C ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܚܙܝܐ. ܐܚܙܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܐܫ. [3] A ܘܙܘܪܒܒܠ.
[4] A omits from ܐܘܠܕ to ܙܘܪܒܒܠ. [5] B ܬܘܒ. [6] C ܦܠܘ. [7] C ܠܢܝܪܝ.
[8] B ܠܡܛܬ. ܡܛܬ.

ܬܪܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ. ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܫܘܥ. ܘܟܪܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܣܓܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝ، ܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܙܪܥܗ ܕܟܢܥܢ ܕܢܬܚܠܛ ܒܙܪܥܢ. ܘܠܐ ܠܫܪܒܬܗ ܥܡ ܫܪܒܬܢ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ[1] ܠܝܗܘܕܐ ܡܢ[2] ܫܘܥ ܒܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܥܝܪ[3] ܘܐܘܢܢ ܘܫܝܠܐ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܥܝܪ[4] ܠܬܡܪ ܒܪܬ ܡܙܪܙ[5]، ܒܪ ܠܘܝ، ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܝ̈ܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ[6] ܒܥܒܕܗ̇ ܣܕܘܡܐܝܬ ܘܡܝܬܘ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܐܚܘܗܝ[7]، ܐܘܢܢ. ܕܢܩܝܡ ܙܪܥܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ[8]،. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܟܕ ܕܒܝ̈ܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܥܒܕܗ̇. ܡܚܒܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܙܪܥܗ[9] ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ̇ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܛܠ[10] ܕܫܝܠܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܛܪܕܗ̇ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܠܟܠܬܗ ܒܐܪܡܠܘܬܐ. ܕܬܠܝܬܗ̇ ܠܫܝܠܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܡܢܗ̇ ܙܪܥܐ. ܘܚܠܝܬ ܬܡܪ ܥܠ ܚܡܘܗ̇ ܒܦܘܪܣܐ ܘܢܟܠܬܐ. ܘܐܬܒܛܢܬ ܡܢܗ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܬܐ̈ܡܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ[11] ܠܦܪܨ ܘܠܙܪܚ[12]. ܦܪܨ[13] ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܨܪܘܢ. ܚܨܪܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܡ. ܐܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܡܝܢܕܒ. ܥܡܝܢܕܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܫܘܢ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܠܚܬܗ[14] ܕܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܒܪ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܟܗܢܐ[15]. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܦܝܢܚܣ[16]. ܘܐܬܚܠܛ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܣܠܡܘܢ. ܘܣܠܡܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܒܥܙ ܡܢ ܪܚܒ. ܒܥܙ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܘܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܪܥܘܬ ܡܘܐܒܝܬܐ[17]. ܥܘܒܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܝܫܝ. ܐܝܫܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ[18] ܢ̈ܫܐ ⁘

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[1] A B ܘܐܬܝܠܕ. [2] C omits ܡܢ ܫܘܥ ܒܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ. [3] A ܥܝܪ; C has ܥܝܪ in the text, but ܥܝܪ in the margin. [4] A ܥܝܪ. [5] C ܡܙܪܘ; A ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܘܝ. [6] B omits ܗ̄ܘܘ. [7] A omits ܐܚܘܗܝ; C ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܐܘܢܢ ܐܚܘܗܝ. [8] A ܠܐܚܘܗ. [9] A ܙܪܥܗ. [10] C ܡܛܠ. [11] B C omit ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. [12] C adds ܡܢ ܬܡܪ. [13] B ܘܦܪܨ. [14] C ܚܬܗ. [15] A omits ܟܗܢܐ. [16] A ܠܦܝܢܚܣ. [17] B omits this word. [18] B C omit ܡܢ ܢ̈ܫܐ.

ܒܝܪܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܫ̈ܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ[1] ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܗܘܐ ܐܦܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܀

ܘܒܪܐ ܒܪ ܒܪܟܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܠܗܢܐ ܡܛܠܗ ܢܩܐܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܒ̈ܢܝ ܦܣܛܪܘܡܐ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܪܘ ܕܒܗ ܥܠ ܡܪ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܡܩܪܒܘܗ̇ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܐܪܦ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܒܠܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܒܗ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܀

ܫܡܥܢ ܒܪ ܗܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܒܡܪܬܗ ܀

ܠܟ ܡܛܠ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܀

ܫܠܡܬ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܡܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܘܩ̈ܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ[2] ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܥܠܝܢ ܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ، ܘܚܢܢܗ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܬܘܒ ܒܝܕ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܫܪܝܢܢ[3] ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܘܩ̈ܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܢܣܬ ܒܚܕܬܐ ܀

ܠ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܐܕܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܝܬ. ܫܝܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܢܘܫ. ܐܢܘܫ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܩܝܢܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ. ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ[4] ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܪܕ. ܝܪܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܢܘܟ. ܚܢܘܟ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܘܫܠܚ. ܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܡܟ. ܠܡܟ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܘܚ. ܢܘܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܡ. ܫܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܩܝܢܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ. ܥܒܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܦܠܓ. ܦܠܓ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܥܘ. ܐܪܥܘ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܣܪܘܓ. ܣܪܘܓ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܪ. ܢܚܘܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܬܪܚ.

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[1] B C ܡܢ.

[2] A B omit from ܕܡܬܩܪܐ to ܐܡܝܢ.

[3] A ܫܪܐ ܐܢܐ, and omits from ܡܢ to ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ; B ܬܘܒ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܢܣܬ ܒܚܕܬܐ.

[4] A ܘܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ; C ܡܗܠܐܠܐܝܠ.

ܐܪܡܝܐ ܒܪ ܚܠܩܝܐ. ܪܓܡܘܗܝ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܥܠ ܕܐܟܣ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܦܬܟܖ̈ܐ. ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܩܒܪ ܦ̈ܠܛܝܢ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܛܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܨܠܝ ܘܡܝܬ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܣܠܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܘ، ܡܢ ܢܝܠܘܣ [1] ܢܗܪܐ ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܘ، ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. [2] ܘܡܬܦܪ̈ܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܘ، ܗܠܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܨܠܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܫܐܠ ܥܠ ܩܒܪܗ ܘܫܩܠܗ ܘܐܥܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܒܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ، ܐܡܪ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܛܠܝܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ܘܡܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ. ܘܡܚܪܒ ܘܡܦܣܩ ܠܦܬܟܖ̈ܐ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܣܝܡܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ [3] ܘܒܪܦܘܣܐ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ. [4] ܡܛܠ ܗ̇ܘ، ܕܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܐܘܪܝܐ [5] ܡܬܝܠܕ ܀

ܚܙܩܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܒܘܙܝ، ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܐ [6] ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܪܝܪܐ. ܩܛܠܗ ܪܝܫܐ ܕܫܒܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܠܕܝ̈ܐ: ܥܠ ܕܟܣܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܓܘܕ ܠܦܬܟܖ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܒܪ ܫܡ ܒܪ ܢܘܚ ܀

ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ ܥܠܝ̈ܬܐ. ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܟܠܐ [7] ܗ̄ܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܡܛܠܗ ܣܒܪܘ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܟܣܝܗ̇، ܡܚܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܘ، ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܨܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܝ̈ܬܐ. [8] ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܗܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܩܒܘܪܬܐ ܡܠܟܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܝܩܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܀

ܐܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܝܠܘ. ܠܗܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܩܛܠܗ ܐܪܝܐ. ܐܬܩܒܪ ܕܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܫܝܠܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܫܡܪܝܢ ܀

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[1] C omits ܢܗܪܐ. [2] C omits ܘ. [3] In B, on the margin, is the gloss ܗ̄ : ܫܒܪܐ.
[4] A ܒܗܘ. [5] C ܡܬܬܣܝܡ. [6] B C omit ܘ. [7] A omits ܗܘܐ. [8] A ܘܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ.

ܕܦܓܝܥܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ [1]ܒܐܢܩܝܡ ÷

ܢܚܘܡ ܡܢ ܐܠܩܘܫ ܩܪܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ. ܗܢܐ [2]ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܢܢ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܢܝܢܘܐ. ܕܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܘܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܬܚܬܝܐ ܐܒܕܐ ܚܘܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܥܒܕܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܒܒ̈ܠܝܐ ܕܐܬܘܢ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ [3]ܝܣܪܠܝܐ. [4]ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܚܝܢ ܩ̄ܘܦܘ ܠܡܬܚܒܠܘ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܕܡܬܒܛܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܡܓ̈ܙܪܐ ܐܦ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܫܒܝܢܐ ܡܢܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ [5]ܒܐܪܥܗ ÷

ܚܒܩܘܩ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ [6]ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܓܘܒܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܦܪܩ ܢܦ̈ܫܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܝܬܝ ܫܪܘܬܐ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܠܒܒܠ ܒܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܐ [7]ܡܠܐܟܝܬܐ. ܪܓܡܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ÷

ܨܦܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܚܐܫ. ܘܦܘܪܩܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܡܬܢܒܝܢܐ ܗܘܪܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܫܝܢܐ ÷

ܚܓܝ ܟܕ ܛܠܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ [8]ܕܦܢܝܐ ܥܡܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܒܛܠ ܕܒ̈ܚܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ÷

ܙܟܪܝܐ ܟܕ ܡܩܘܕ ܣܒܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܒܫܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܚܘܝ ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܥܡܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܒܘܬܐ ܛܒܬܐ. ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ ܒܩܘܪܒ ܩܒܪܗ ܕܚܓܝ ÷

ܡܠܐܟܝ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܒܠ. ܘܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܐܬܟܢܝ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ [9]ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܫܝܢܐ ÷

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[1] C omits ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܢܩܝܡ. [2] A C omit ܡܢ. [3] B C omit ܝܣܪܠܝܐ.
[4] C ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ. [5] C ܒܐܬܪܗ. [6] B C ܡܢ. [7] C ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. [8] C omits ܕܦܢܝܐ ܥܡܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ. [9] B ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܗ.

ܐܠܝܫܥ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܢ [1]ܐܒܠ ܡܚܘܠܐ. [2]ܘܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܠ. ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܘ [3]ܓܝܪ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܓܠܓܠܐ ܕܦܠܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ. ܓܥܐ ܘܐܫܬܡܥ ܩܠܗ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܪ̈ܒܝ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܕܢܒܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܗܢܐ [4]ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܗ̣ܘ ܒܬܪ ܕܢܬܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ [5]ܘܠܡܬܟ̈ܐ. [6]ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܫܡܪܝܢ ⁘

ܝܘܢܢ ܒܪ ܡܬܝ، ܡܢ ܓܬܚܦܪ ܡܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܝܬ ܐܪ̈ܡܘܣ ܕܩܪܝܒܐ ܠܐܫܩܠܘܢ [7]ܘܠܥܙܙܐ ܘܠܐܫܕܘܕ ܕܝܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܢܒܝ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܣܪܕܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܐ ܦܫ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܥܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܗ ܢܡ̈ܘܣܐ. ܐܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܠܐܡܗ ܘܐܙܠ [8]ܥܡܪ ܒܐܬܘܪ. ܕܚܝܠ ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܚܣܕܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ. ܥܠ ܕܐܬܢܒܝ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܝ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ. ܫܒܩܗ ܕܝܢ [9]ܐܦ ܠܐܚܒ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܩܪܐ ܐܦ ܗ̣ܘ ܟܦܢܐ [10]ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܝܡܐ. ܘܐܫܟܚ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܝܐ. ܘܒܪܟܗ̇ ܥܠ ܕܩܒܠܬܗ ܘܬܘܒ ܦܢܐ ܠܝܗܘܕ. ܘܡܝܬܬ ܐܡܗ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܩܒܪܗ̇ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܐ. ܘܗ̣ܘܐ ܥܡܪ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ. [11]ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܦܢܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܩܢܙ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܕܗܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ [12]ܡܫܬܩܘܦܝܢ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ⁘

ܡܝܟܐ ܡܐܪܫܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܚܐ ܗ̣ܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܚܒ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܚܘܪܒܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ. ܘܡܩܛܠܗ

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[1] A omits ܐܒܠ; C ܐܒܝܠ. [2] B C ܡܢ. [3] B omits ܓܝܪ. [4] A ܒܠܘܐ. [5] C ܘܠܡܬܟܬܐ. [6] C ܘܡܝܬ. [7] C ܘܠܥܙܐ. [8] A omits ܥܡܪ ܒܐܬܘܪ. [9] C omits ܐܦ. [10] B ܥܠ ܥܡܐ; C ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. [11] C ܘܡܝܬ. [12] A B ܡܫܬܚܦܝܢ.

ܡܢ̈ܘܢ. ܘܕܒܪ [1]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܝܢܐ [2]ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܪܥܗ ÷

ܝܘܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܦܬܘܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܠ. ܗܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܗ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [3]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܚܝܘܗܝ، ܐܚܙܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܘܨܝܐ ܒܚܘܛܪܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܩܝܡܐ ܒܗ [4]ܢܦܫܗ ܐܝܬܝܘܗܝ، ܠܐܪܥܗ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܡܝܬ ÷

ܥܡܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܩܘܥ. ܐܬܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܒܝܬܐܝܠ ܘܒܬܪܡ ܦܠܠܗ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [5]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܘܙܝܗ ܗܘ [6]ܕܩܛܠܗ ܐܚܙܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܘܨܝܐ ܒܚܘܛܪܐ [7]ܘܡܝܬ ÷

ܥܘܒܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܟܝܡ [8]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܘܪܒ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܦܠ̈ܚܘܗܝ، ܕܐܚܒ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܬܠܡܕ ܠܐܠܝܐ. ܘܣܓܝ ܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ ܣܒܠ ܡܢ ܐܚܒ. ܥܠ ܕܫܒܩܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܝܐ. [9]ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ، ܠܢܒܝܘܬܐ ÷

ܐܠܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ. ܡܢ ܬܫܒܝ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܠܘܝ̈ܐ. ܗܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ. ܚܙܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ، [10]ܒܚܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܫܠܡ ܙ̈ܘܡܒܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܟܪܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܢܗ̄ܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܕܢܐܟܘܠ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܢܘܪܐ. ܐܬܐ [11]ܕܝܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܚܙܘܐ ܕܚܙܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܦܫ̈ܘܩܐ ܕܚܟܡܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ. ܢܘܪܐ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܪܝܟ. ܘܡܠܬܗ [12]ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. [13]ܘܦܣܩ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܟܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܦܠ̈ܬܐ. ܘܦܠܓܗ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܣܬܠܩ ܒܡܪ̈ܟܒܬܐ ܠܐܬܪ ܥܕܢܐ. [14]ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ، ܫܘܒܟ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ÷

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[1] B omits ܬܪܥܣܪ, and C omits ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ. [2] A omits ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܪܥܗ; C ܒܐܬܪܗ. [3] B C ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. [4] A C ܢܦܫܐ. [5] B C ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. [6] B ܕܩܛܠܗ. [7] A B omit ܘܡܝܬ. [8] B C ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘ. [9] C ܘܡܝܬ. [10] C ܒܚܠܡܐ. [11] B omits ܕܝܢ. [12] A omits ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ; C omits ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘ. [13] A ܘܦܣܩܐ. [14] B C ܐܝܬ.

ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܚܙܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܫܢܬܐ[1] ܚܕܐ. ܥܬܠܝܐ ܐܡܠܟܬ[2] ܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܘܐܫ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܡܘܨܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܥܘܙܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܘܬܡ ܐܡܠܟ ܫܬܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܚܙܩܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܥܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܬܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ ܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܟܠܐ ܠܫܡܫܐ ܘܠܣܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܕܝܬܐ. ܡܢܫܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܗܘ ܢܣܪ ܠܐܫܥܝܐ ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܐܡܘܢ[3] ܐܡܠܟ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܘܫܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܝܗܘܐܚܙ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ[4]. ܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܕܥܣܪܐ[5] ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܘܝܟܝܢ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܨܕܩܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܕܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܫܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ ܘܥܣܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ[6] ܀

ܠܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܘܐܝܟܐ ܡܝܬܘ ܘܐܬܩܒܪܘ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ.

ܐܫܥܝܐ[7] ܦܠܓܗ ܡܢܫܐ ܒܪ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ. ܘܐܬܬܩܒܪ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܘܩܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܛܡܪ[8] ܚܙܩܝܐ ܒܣܦܪ ܫܝܠܘܚܐ[9] ܀

ܗܘܫܥ ܒܪ ܒܐܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ ܡܢ ܒܝܠܡܘܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ̇ ܒܥܘܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ. ܘܗܐ ܕܡܬܠܝܬ[10] ܗܘ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܫܝܠܘ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܠܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ

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[1] A C ܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. [2] A C ܐܡܠܟ. [3] C omits the next clause. [4] B C ܝܪ̈ܚܐ. [5] A B ܚܕ ܥܣܪ̈ܐ. [6] The total of the numbers here given is 451 years, 6 months, and 10 days. [7] A omits ܐܫܥܝܐ. [8] A ܕܛܡܪܘ. [9] A B ܕܫܝܠܘܚܐ. [10] C ܕܬܠܝܬ.

ܐܕܒܘܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܫܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܬܘܠܥ ܒܪ ܦܘܐܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ[1] ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܐܝܪ[2] ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ ܘܥܡܘ̈ܢܝܐ
ܫܥܒܕܘ[3] ܠܥܡܐ ܬܡܢܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܢܦܬܚ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܫܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܢܕܪ ܢܕܪܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ.[4] ܘܐܡܪ ܕܟܠ ܕܢܦܩ [5]ܠܐܘܪܥܝ ܡܢ
ܬܪܥܗ، ܐܩܪܒܝܘܗܝ، ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. [6]ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܪܬܗ ܝܚܝܕܝܬܐ.
ܘܩܪܒܗ̇ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܐܒܨܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܫܒܥ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܢ. ܘܐܦ
ܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܢ. ܘܐܝܬܝ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܟ̈ܠܢ. ܐܝܠܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܥܣܪ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܥܒܕܘܢ[7] ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܡܢܐ[8] ܫܢܝ̈ܢ.
ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ ܫܥܒܕܘ[3] ܠܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܫܡܫܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܩܛܠ ܒܦܟܐ ܕܚܡܪܐ [9]ܡܚܝܬܐ ܐܠܦ
ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܥܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ [10]ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܡܢ ܥܠܝ
ܗܘܬ̣ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܒܝܢܕܒ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. [11]ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܫܐܘܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ [10]ܠܥܡܐ
ܐܪܒܥܝܢ [12]ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ⁘ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ
ܘܫܒܥ [13]ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ⁘ ܕܘܝܕ [14]ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܫܠܝܡܘܢ
ܐܡܠܟ̇ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܪܚܒܥܡ ܐܡܠܟ [15]ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܐܒܝܐ
ܐܡܠܟ [16]ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܐܣܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ.
ܝܗܘܫܦܛ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܘܪܡ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܡܢܐ

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[1] A ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. [2] A omits from ܝܐܝܪ to ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. [3] A ܫܥܒܕ. [4] B C omit ܠܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. [5] B ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܠܐܘܪܥܘܬܝ. [6] A ܢܦܩܬ. [7] A C ܥܒܕܢ; B ܥܒܕܘܢ. [8] A ܬܡܢܝܢ. [9] B ܡܚ̈ܝܬܐ. [10] A omits ܠܥܡܐ. [11] C ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. [12] C omits ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. [13] The total of the numbers as here given is 642 years. [14] A C omit ܡܠܟܐ. [15] A ܫܒܥܣܪ. [16] A ܠܬܠܬܝܢ.

ܝܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܪ:
ܝܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܐܝܠ:
ܝܙ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܦܘܚ:
ܝܚ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܦܪ:
ܝܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܦܩ:
ܟ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܪܘܢ:
ܟܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܘܢ:
ܟܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܨܘܪ:
ܟܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܡܪܝܢ:
ܟܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܟܫܦ:
ܟܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܥܢܟ:
ܟܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܓܕܘܢ:
ܟܙ. ܡܠܟܐ [1]ܕܪܩܝܡ:
ܟܚ. ܡܠܟܐ [2]ܕܝܩܡܥܡ:
ܟܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܘܪ ܘܢܦܬܕܘܪ:
ܠ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܓܘܡܡܐ:
ܠܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܪܨܐ:

[3]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܣܢܝܩܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܕܡܕ̈ܒܪܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܦܠܦܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܟܠܠ ܕܫܟܝܚܢ ܠܒܘܝܐܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܝܠܐ ܒܝܕ ܦܘܠܓܐ. ܗܐ ܟܬ̈ܝܒܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܢ̈ܩܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܒܥܐ ܐܚܝ ܕܝܕܥ ܗܠܝܢ. ܢܩܪܐ ܒܐܘܪܝܬܐ [4]ܘܒܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ. ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܣܬܟܠ ܒܢܗܝܪܐܝܬ ⁘ ܡܘܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܕܒܪ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. [5]ܥܓܠܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܘܐܒ ܫܥܒܕ ܠܥܡܐ [6]ܬܡܢܥܣܪܐ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܐܗܘܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܡܢܐܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. [7]ܝܒܝܢ ܫܥܒܕ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܕܒܘܪܐ [8]ܘܒܪܩ ܗܘܘ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܡܕܝ̈ܢܝܐ [9]ܫܥܒܕܘ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܓܕܥܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘ̄ܐ ܠܗ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ [10]ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘ̄ܘ ܟܠ ܫܒܥܝܢ [11]ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܥܡܗ. ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܒܪ

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[1] C ܕܪܘܩܡ.
[2] C ܕܝܩܢܥܡ.
[3] A ܡܛܠ.
[4] A ܘܒܒܝܬ.
[5] B ܘܥܓܠܘܢ.
[6] C ܬܡܢܝܥܣܪܐ.
[7] C ܢܒܝܢ.
[8] C ܘܒܪܩ.
[9] A ܫܥܒܕ.
[10] C ܕܢܦܩܝܢ.
[11] A C ܒܢ̈ܝܢ.

ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝܢ ܫܬ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܘ [1]ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ ✣

ܠܐ ✣ [2]ܥܠ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪܢܘܢ. ܡܘܫܐ ܥܒܕܝ ܡܝܬ. ܡܟܝܠ ܩܘܡ ܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܗܢܐ. ܐܢܬ ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܗܒܬ ܠܐܒ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ. ܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܕܪܟܬܘܢ ܒܗ ܠܟܘܢ ܝܗܒܬܗ. ܘܥܒܪ ܝܫܘܥ [3]ܒܪܢܘܢ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܠܟܐ ܘܠܟܐ. ܘܥܒܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܒܫܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܪܘ ܐܒ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ. ܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܫܩܠܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܗ ܕܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܟܐܦ̈ܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܒܫܘܗ̇ ܠܐܝܪܝܚܘ ܘܐܚܪܒܘܗ̇. ܘܩܛܠ ܝܫܘܥܒܪܢܘܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܠܓ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܬܚܘ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܗܠܝܢ [4]ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܩܛܠ ܝܫܘܥܒܪܢܘܢ.

ܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܪܝܚܘ:
ܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝ:
ܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ:
ܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܒܪܘܢ:
ܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܪܡܘܬ:
ܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܟܝܫ:
ܙ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܓܠܘܢ:
ܚ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܓܙܪ:
ܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܒܝܪ:
ܝ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܓܕܪܐ:
ܝܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕ[5]ܚܪܡܐ:
ܝܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܪܕ:
ܝܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ:
ܝܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܘܠܡ:

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[1] A omits ܡܢ. [2] B ܥܠ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ.
[3] B omits ܒܪ ܢܘܢ; C ܘܥܡܗ. [4] B C ܫܡ̈ܗܐ. [5] A ܚܪܡ.

ܒܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܒܗ̇. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܓܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܢ. ܘܬܐܪܬ
ܡܪ̈ܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܦܩ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܬܘܪܓܡ[1] ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܬܒ ܡܣܟܢܐ
ܢܡܘ̈ܣܐ ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ[2] ܘܦܘ̈ܩܕܢܐ. ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܐܝ̈ܕܝ, ܒܢ̈ܝ ܠܘܝ, ܟܗ̈ܢܐ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܟܕ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܬܓ̈ܠܠܐ. ܘܢܛܪܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ ܠܗܝܢ ܒܚܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ
ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ. ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܘܢܚܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܙܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝܟ. ܩܪܝ
ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪܢܘܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܟ ܘܐܘܥܕܝܗܝ, ܒܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܦܩܕܝܗܝ,
ܕܢܐܠܦ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܬܪ
ܡܘܬܟ ܢܣܛܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܬܪܝܨܐ ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ.
ܘܐܡܗܬܟ ܐܦ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܣܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ
ܗܢܐ ܕܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ[3] ܢܒܘ. ܘܚܙܝ, ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܢܥܢ.
ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܐܚܘܟ ܒܛܘܪܐ
ܕܗܘܪ. ܘܡܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ܘܠܐ[4] ܐܢܫ ܝܕܥ ܩܒܪܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܛܫܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܚܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܗ
ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܪܡܬܐ ܘܒܫܘܦܪ ܥܝ̈ܢܝ. ܘܠܐ ܟܗܪ̈ܬ
ܚܝܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܚܠܦ ܚܙܘܬ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܗ. ܘܒܟܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ, ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܝܣܪܝܠ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܒܥܪ̈ܒܬ ܡܘܐܒ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܗܟܝܠ ܘܥܕܡܐ
ܕܡܝܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦܝ̈ܢ[5] ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ
ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀ ܘܥܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ[6] ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܗܘܢ
ܠܬܡܢܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܕܡܝܬ[7] ܡܘܫܐ ܠܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܒܣܦܪ
ܕܪ̈ܕܝܢ[8] ܚܡܫܐ. ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܗܘ̄ܘ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦܝܢ
ܘܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܡܐܐ[9] ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܕܡܝܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ

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[1] A omits ܘ. [2] A C omit this word. [3] A ܕܢܒܘ. [4] A C ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ.
[5] C omits ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܡܐܐ. [6] B C ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ. [7] C ܐܡܘܪܐ.
[8] A C ܐܡܫܝܢ. [9] B C omit ܒܢ̈ܝܢ.

ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ
ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܬܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܒܬܘ̈ܠܢ. ܘܦܩܝܕ ܐܝܟܢ ܡܪܝܐ
ܕܟܕ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܘܢܐܬܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܢܦܪ̈ܫܘܢ
ܬܠܬܐ ܐܓܘܪ̈ܣܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܥܪܘܩܐ ܘܒܝܬ ܓܘܣܐ. ܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܩܛܠ.
ܩܛܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܝܕܥܬܗ. [1]ܢܥܪܘܩ ܠܬܡܢ [2]ܘܢܬܓܘܣ ܒܗܘܢ. ܥܕܡܐ
ܕܡܐܝܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܘܬ
ܫܪܒܬܗ ܘܠܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ [3]ܢܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܬܪ̈ܢܐ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟܢ. ܠܐ ܢܬܟܣܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܡ̈ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܬܐ. ܘܐܦܠܐ
ܐܢܬܬܐ ܬܬܟܣܐ ܒܡ̈ܐܢܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܫܟܚ ܩܢܐ ܕܦܪܚܐ.
ܢܦܪܘܚ ܠܐܡܗܐ ܘܗܘ ܢܣܒ ܠܦܪ̈ܘܓܐ. ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܐܓܪܗ ܣܝܓܐ
ܘܚܕܪܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܡܢܗ ܐܢܫ. [4]ܘܢܬܬܒܥ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܡܣܪܗܒܢܐ. ܢܪܓܡܘܢܗܝ، ܥܡܡ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܢܩܛܠܘܢܗܝ،
ܐܢ ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ [5]ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܪܟܢ. ܘܠܐ ܢܟܦܘܬ ܘܢܦܩܐ
ܥܠ ܘܢܦܩܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܡܓܕܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ. ܘܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܕܡܟ
ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ [6]ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ. ܢܬܠ
ܠܐܒܘܗ̇ ܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܕܙܘ̈ܙܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒܝܗ̇ ܒܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ ⁖
ܘܦܩܕ ܡܘܫܐ [7]ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܐ ܐܢܐ
ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [8]ܘܠܐ ܦܫ ܒܝ ܚܝܠܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܥܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ [9]ܗܢܐ ܕܝܘܪܕܢ. ܘܩܪܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܥܝܢ ܥܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܐܬܚܝܠ ܘܐܬܥܫܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ
ܬܥܘܠ ܠܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ ܡܢ

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[1] A C ܕܢܥܪܘܩ. [2] A ܘܢܬܓܣ. [3] A omits ܘ ܢܝܚܘܬܐ. [4] A ܘܢܬܒܥ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܗ.
[5] B C ܘܠܐ. [6] C ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ. ܢܬܩܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ. ܘܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܕܢܕܡܟ ܥܡܗ̇ ܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܕܙܘܙܝܢ ܢܬܠ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇; B reads ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇ ܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܕܙܘܙܝܢ ܘܢܣܒܝܗ̇ ܠܐܢܬܘ. [7] B ܟܠܗܘܢ. [8] A ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ. [9] A B omit ܗܢܐ.

ܙܡܪܝ ܒܪ ܣܠܘ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܠܟܘܙܒܝ ܒܪܬ ܨܘܪ. ܘܙܢܐ ܥܡܗ̇ ܠܥܝܢ
ܡܘܫܐ ܘܠܥܝܢ ܥܡܐ [1]ܟܠܗ. [2]ܘܡܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܡܘܬܢܐ.
ܘܩܡ [3]ܦܝܢܚܣ ܒܪ ܐܠܥܙܪ ܟܗܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܕܩܪ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܪܘܡܚܐ. ܘܐܪܝܡ ܠܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ [4]ܥܠ ܚܕ ܪܘܡܚܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܝ
ܡܘܬܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܥܕܬܐ. ܘܐܬܚܫܒܬ ܗܕܐ ܛܢܢܘܬܐ ܨܠܘܬܐ
ܠܦܝܢܚܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܘܝܕ. ܕܩܡ [5]ܠܡ ܦܝܢܚܣ ܘܨܠܝ
ܘܐܬܟܠܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ. ܘܐܬܚܫܒܬ ܠܗ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܠܕܪܕܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܥܕܡܐ
ܠܥܠܡ. ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ [6]ܕܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܘ ܒܗܝ ܥܒܕܬܐ. ܥܣܪܝܢ
ܘܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܡܢܐ
ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܗܘܘ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܐܠܦ ܘܫܒܥܡܐܐ
ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܢܦܫ̈ܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ [7]ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܕܒܪ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ.
ܘܢܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܘܢܩܝܡܝܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܥܙܪ ܟܗܢܐ. ܘܩܕܡ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܚܟܡܬܐ. ܘܪܒܘܬܐ ܘܢܒܝܘܬܐ
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܥܒܕܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ [9]ܠܡܬܒܥܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܘܓܒܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܐܠܦ
ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. [10]ܘܣܠܩܘ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܘܩܛܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܒܙܘ ܐܢܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ [11]ܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܩܛܠܘܢ ܟܠ [12]ܕܟܪ ܕܝܕܥ ܥܡ ܡܕܝܢܝܬܐ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܝܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܬ ܥܡ [13]ܒܪ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܫܒܩ ܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ
ܕܠܐ [14]ܚܟܡ ܐܢܫ ܓܒܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܕܢܦܪܫܘܢ ܡܢ
ܒܙܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܝܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܠܘܝ [15]ܡܥܣ̈ܪܝܢ ܡܕܒܚܢܐ
ܘܒܬܪܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ. ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܬܐ [16]ܕܐܬܒܥܝ ܥܡ [17]ܒܢ̈ܝ

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[1] A omits this word. [2] B ܘܡܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܡܘܬܢܐ ܐܦܣ. [3] A has always ܦܝܢܚܣ. [4] A ܒܚܕ. [5] B omits ܠܡ. [6] A C omit ܕܗܢܘܢ. [7] B omits ܠܡܘܫܐ. [8] A omits ܐܠܗܐ; B C omit ܘܪܒܘܬܐ. [9] B C ܠܡܬܦܪܥܘ. [10] A ܘܣܠܩ. [11] A omits ܡܘܫܐ. [12] C ܕܟܪܐ. [13] A C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [14] B ܝܕܥ. [15] B ܡܥܣܩܣܝܢ, and omits ܘܡܕܒܚܢܐ; C ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܬܠܗ ܡܥܣܩܣܝܢ. [16] MSS. ܕܐܬܒܥܝܘ. [17] B omits ܒܢ̈ܝ.

ܘܡܝ̈ܬܝܢ. ܘܠܡܚܒܠܐ ܐܚܕܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ
ܡܒܝܫܬܐ. ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ̇[1] ܙܪ̈ܘܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܬ̈ܢܐ. ܘܐܙܠܘ ܡܘܫܐ
ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܡܫܟܢܙܒܢܐ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ. ܒܢܘ[2] ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܢܣܒ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܐ
ܒܡܓܦܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܢܣܝܡܘܢ ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܣܒ ܡܘܫܐ
ܠܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ[3] ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܡܘ̈ܬܢܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ
ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܪܛܢܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܠܥܡܐ ܐܡܝܬܬܘܢ
ܠܥܡܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܡܢ ܨܗܝܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ. ܘܪܓܙ ܡܪܝܐ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܫܕܪ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܢܟܬܘ ܡܢ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ ܥܡܐ
ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ[4]. ܚܛܝܢ
ܩܕܡ[5] ܐܠܗܐ ܘܩܕܡܝܟܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܥܒܕ ܚܘܝܐ
ܕܢܚܫܐ ܘܬܠܝܘܗܝ، ܥܠ ܪܫ[6] ܣܘܦܪܢ ܘܐܩܝܡܘܗܝ، ܡܨܥܬ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ.
ܘܟܠܡܢ ܕܢܟܬܘܗܝ، ܚܘܝܐ. ܢܚܘܪ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܘܢܚܐ ܘܠܐ
ܢܡܘܬ. ܘܗܢܐ ܚܘܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܛܘܦܣܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܙܩܝܦܘܬܗ
ܕܡܪܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܦܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܘܫܐ. ܙܩܦܘܗ
ܐܦ ܠܗ. ܕܢܐܣܐ ܠܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܡܢ ܢܟ̈ܬܬܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܘܐܬܐ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܗܘܪ. ܘܡܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܒܟܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ،
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܝܪܚ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܐܠܒܫ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܟܘ̈ܬܝܢܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ
ܠܐܠܥܙܪ ܒܪܗ. ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܒܢܘܗ̇ ܒܗ ܒܛܘܪ̈ܝ ܡܘܐܒ
ܘܫܕܪܘ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܟܠܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܫܝܗܘܢ. ܘܪܓܙ ܡܪܝܐ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܕ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܦܩܘܕ ܠܗܘܢ
ܕܢܩܛܘܠ ܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܚܒܪܗ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ[7] ܕܣܓܕܘ ܠܒܥܠ ܦܥܘܪ ܦܬܟܪܐ
ܕܡܘܐܒ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܚܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܙܢܝܢ [8]ܟܘܙܒܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܝܬܐ. ܐܬܐ

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[1] B omits ܒܗ̇. [2] A ܒܢܗ; C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [3] A C omit ܗܢܘܢ. [4] A ܠܗ.
[5] B ܡܪܝܐ; A ܘܩܕܡܝܟܘܢ. [6] B C ܙܩܘܦܐ. [7] B C ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܣܓܕܘ. [8] A ܟܙܒܝ
ܡܕܝܢܝܬܐ; C ܡܕܝܢܝܬܐ ܟܙܒܝ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܘܠܐܗܪܘܢ ܒܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. [1]ܦܪܘܫܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܐܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܫܥܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ. ܣܒ ܦܝܪܡܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܒܗ ܢܘܼܪܐ ܘܒܣܡ̈ܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ ܕܢܚܣܐ ܠܗܘܢ [2]ܐܠܗܐ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܪܘܓܙܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܢܣܒ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܒܣܡ̈ܐ ܒܦܝܪܡܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܒܣܘܪܗܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܡܘܬܢܐ ܟܕ ܫܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ [3]ܕܠܐ ܚܘܣܢ: ܘܒܦܝܪܡܗ ܦܪܫ [4]ܒܝܢܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܚܪܒ [5]ܡܘܬܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܫܥܬܐ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. [6]ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܘ ܥܡ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ. ܘܗܦܟ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܢܣܒܘܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܫܒܛܐ ܚܕ. ܘܢܟܬܒܘܢ ܫܡܐ [7]ܕܫܪܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܫܒܛܗ. ܘܫܡܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܥܠ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ. ܘܗܘ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܓܒܐ [8]ܢܦܪܥ ܫܒܛܗ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܘܣܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܘܠܒܬܪܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܫܒܛܗ [9]ܕܒܝܬ ܠܘܝ ܟܕ ܡܦܪܥ ܘܦܩܚ ܠܦܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܦܩ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܠܘܬ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܠܘܝ ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܟܘܡܪܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܨܝܢ. ܡܝܬܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܚܬܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ [10]ܘܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܩܒܪܘܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ. ܘܪܛܢܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ̇ ܕܡܢ [11]ܡܝܬܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܟܠܢ ܥܡ ܐܚ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܬܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ. ܕܢܡܘܬ ܚܢܢ [12]ܘܒܥܝܪ̈ܢ

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[1] A ܦܪܘܫ. [2] A omits ܐܠܗܐ. [3] B ܕܠܐ ܚܘܣܢ. [4] B ܒܝܬ; C ܒܝܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܐ. [5] A C ܡܘܬܐ. [6] C ܐܪܒܥܐ ܥܣܪ. [7] A ܫܒܛܐ; C ܕܫܒܛܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ. [8] C ܢܦܪܘܥ. [9] A B add ܕܐܗܪܘܢ. [10] C ܘܐܗܪܘܢ. [11] B ܡܝܬܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. [12] C ܘܒܥܝܪܝܢ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܬܩܒܠ ܡܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܟܠܢܫ [1]ܚܕ
ܣܒܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ [2]ܦܝܪ̈ܡܗ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܘܢܣܝܡ ܒܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܒܣ̈ܡܐ.
[3]ܘܩܘܡܘ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܟܕ
ܠܒܝܟܝܢ ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. [4]ܦܪܘܫ ܡܢ ܥܕܬܐ.
ܘܐܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ [5]ܫܥܬܐ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܥܠ
ܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ. [6]ܕܡܛܠ ܚܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܬܘܒܕ
ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܕܢܬܪܚܩܘܢ ܡܢ [7]ܚܕܪ̈ܝ ܡܫܟܢ̈ܐ ܕܩܘܪܚ ܘܕܬܢ ܘܐܒܝܪܘܡ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ
[8]ܠܥܕܬܐ ܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. [9]ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܥܕܬܐ ܡܢ
[10]ܡܫܟܢܗ ܕܩܘܪܚ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܩܘܪܚ [11]ܘܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܩܡܘ ܥܠ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܐܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܬܦܬܚ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܘܡܗ̇ ܘܬܒܠܥ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܢ ܡܢ
ܨܒܘܬ ܢܦܫ ܐܬܝܬ. ܢܡܘܬܘܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܢܫ. ܘܟܕ
ܒܥܓܠ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܦܘܡܗ. ܐܬܦܬܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ [12]ܘܒܠܥܬ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܥܡ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܒܥܝܪܐ
ܠܫܝܘܠ. ܘܢܦܠܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܥܠ ܚܕܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ
ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܘܩܕܬ ܠܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ
ܠܐܠܝܥܙܪ. [13]ܣܒ ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܒܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܛܣ̈ܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ. ܕܢܗܘܘܢ
ܠܐܬܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܦܪܥܘ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܠܬ ܒܗܘܢ. ܕܠܐ ܢܩܪܘܒ
ܐܢܫ ܢܘܟܪܝ ܕܠܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ. [14]ܕܢܣܝܡ
ܦܝܪ̈ܡܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܘܐܬܪܥܡܘ ܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܢܬܘܢ [15]ܐܡܝܬܘܢ ܠܥܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] C omits ܚܕ. [2] B ܦܝܪܡܐ. [3] A C ܩܘܡ. [4] B C ܦܪܘܫܘ. [5] C ܫܥܐ. [6] A ܡܛܠ. [7] C omits this word; A ܡܫܟܢܐ. [8] A omits ܠܥܕܬܐ. [9] C ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ. [10] B C ܡܫܟܢܐ. [11] C ܘܐܢܬܬܗܘܢ. [12] A ܘܒܠܥܬ ܟܠܗ. ܘܒܠܥܬ ܐܢܘܢ; B C ܘܒܠܥܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠܗ̇. [13] B ܣܒܘ. [14] A B ܘܕܢܣܝܡ. [15] C ܐܡܝܬܘܢ.

ܕܒܢܬܟܘܢ ܠܢܫܟܘܢ. ܘܒܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܢܦܠ ܫܠܕ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܘܡܢܝܢܬܟܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܟܠ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ [1]ܕܒܫܢ. ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܥܠ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܢܥܠܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܥܠܘܢܗ̇. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ ܘܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ [2]ܒܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܫܠܕ̈ܝܟܘܢ [3]ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܓܫܬܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗ̇ܝ. ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܠܫܢܬܐ ܬܬܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܓܒ̈ܪܐ ܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܕܓܫܘܫܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܘܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ ܡܝܬܘ [4]ܒܡܚܘܬܐ. ܚܝܐ. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܘܟܠܒ [5]ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. ܘܐܬܒܐܫ ܠܗ ܠܥܡܐ ܛܒ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܚܢܢ ܣܠܩܝܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܗܦܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܢܟܘܢ. ܠܐ ܬܬܒܪܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܘ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܣܠܩܘ ܠܪܝܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܢܚܬܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܠܩ̈ܝܐ ܘܟܢܥܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܬܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܬܡܢ ܘܐܚܪܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܕܟܕ ܢܥܠܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܢܩܪܒܘܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܫܦܝ̈ܪܐ ܘܐܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܝܪܐ. ܗܕܝܢ ܩܘܪܚ ܒܪ ܝܨܗܪ. ܘܕܬܢ ܘܐܒܝܪܡ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ [6]ܕܐܠܝܒ ܥܡ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܗܘܢ. ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܥܡ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒ̈ܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܬܚܪܝܘܗܝ، ܘܐܠܨܘܗܝ،. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܩܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ. ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܚܛܐ [7]ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܥܡܐ. ܠܐ ܫܦܪ ܠܟ [8]ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܬܦܠܓܘܢ ܘܕܡܘܬܗܘܢ، ܕܗܕܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ.

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[1] C ܒܫܢ. [2] A ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [3] B ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܝܗܘܢ; A C ܕܝܘܡܝܢ.
[4] A ܒܡܚܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ, with ܐܘ ܚܝܐ on the margin. [5] C omits ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. [6] B C ܐܠܝܐܒ. [7] C ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ. [8] B omits ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܗܘܢ.

ܡܫܒܗܪܢܘܬܗ ܘܟܠܗ ܒܪ ܢܘܦܠܐ. ܠܐ ܬܪܫܠܘܢ. ܚܝ ܢܦܫ ܟܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܢܣܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܗ. ܘܐܬܦܝܣ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܗ̇ܘ, ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. ¹ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ ܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܢܦܣܘܩ
ܠܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦܝܣܘܗ̇ ²ܟܠ ܐܦܝ̈ܣܘܗ̇ ܩܕܡ ܒܥܕܬܐ.
ܘܡܫܒܗܪܢܘܬܗ ܘܟܠܗ ܒܪ ܢܘܦܠܐ ³ܣܒܘܗ̇ ܠܫܬܘܥܢܘܬܗ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܡܕܝܢܬ. ܐܡܝܪܐ ܕܚܫܝܘܗ̇ ܐܡܝܪܐ ܗ̄ܘ, ܦܘܫܩܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܘܕܝܢܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܒܐܡܝ̈ܪܘܬܗ, ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ⁴ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܬܬܪܓܙܘܢ
ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܕܝܢܬ ܕܢܪܓܡܘܢ ⁵ܐܢܘܢ ܒܟܐܦ̈ܐ.
ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܚܙܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܘܒܢܝܐ ܓܠܝܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܡܕܝܢܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܐܡܬܟ, ܢܬܓܒܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܒܥܕܢܐ
ܠܐܡܬܟ, ܠܐ ⁶ܢܬܡܥܟܒܘܢ ܒܝ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܒܝܘܡܬܗ.
⁷ܒܥܘܡܟܝ ܐܡܬܘܡܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܡܠܝܟ ܙܢܝܐ ܠܒܗܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܢܘܗ̇.
ܘܐܡܪ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ⁸ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ⁹ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܢܬܒܥܘ
ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܘܗ̇ ܕܐܦܩܘܗ̇ ܠܒܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܘܗ̇ ܒܫܠܝܢ. ܘܟܕ
ܬܡܝܗܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ. ܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܨܝܢ, ܕܢܦܪܘܬ ܐܢܘܢ
ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܦܠܠ ܐܢܘܢ ¹⁰ܒܡܫܪܘܝܐ. ¹¹ܘܐܙܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ
ܕܒܪܬ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܫܐܠܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܡܢ. ܘܢܦܩܘܗܝ ܦܩܕ
ܒܥܒܕܘܗ̇. ܘܐܢܬ ܬܦܠܘܢ ܒܡܥܒܘܪܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ. ¹²ܘܬܛܠܠ
ܐܢܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ. ܢܦ̈ܫܐ ܗܢܐ ܫܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ
ܒܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩܬ ܫܠܝܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܘܒܕܡܢܐ ܠܡܪܢܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܗܝܡܢܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܕܝܢܬ. ܐܘ ܥܡܐ ܒܝܫܐ.
¹³ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܕܐܬܠܠܬܘܢ ܥܒܕܬ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܥܒܕ ¹⁴ܒܟܘܢ ܐܝܟ

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[1] A omits ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ. [2] A ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦܝ̈ܣܘܗܝ. [3] A ܣܒܘ. [4] A omits ܠܗ. [5] A ܐܢܝܢ. [6] B ܡܬܡܥܟܒܝܢ. [7] B ܡܥܘܡܟ ܒܗ. [8] B ܠܐܠܗܐ. [9] A C omit this word. [10] B ܒܫܪܒܐ. [11] A ܘܐܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܒܐܬܪ; C ܡܕܝܢܐ. [12] B ܘܬܛܠܠ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܚܝܠܐ. [13] A C ܒܠܗܘܢ. [14] A ܠܟܘܢ.

ܘܩܪܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ [1]ܡܪܝܐ. ܫܡܥܘ ܡܢܐ ܢܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ. ܐܢܐ ܒܚܙܘܐ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܠܢܒܝܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܬܘܢ ܒܚܠܡܐ. ܘܠܘ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܝ ܡܘܫܐ. ܕܐܬܗܝܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܝܬܝ. ܘܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܠܦܘܡ ܐܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܘܪܓܙ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. [2]ܘܐܬܥܠܝܬ ܥܢܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܐܬܓܪܒܬ ܡܪܝܡ. [3]ܘܐܬܬܠܓܬ ܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ. [4]ܘܚܙܗ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܕܐܬܓܪܒܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܒܒܥܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܐ ܬܣܝܡ ܒܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܕܣܟܠܢ ܒܟ. ܘܐܬܟܫܦ ܡܘܫܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪ. [5]ܒܒܥܘ ܡܢܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܣܝܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪ [6]ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܠܘ [7]ܐܒܘܗ̇ ܢܪܩ ܪܩ [8]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܦܝܗ̇. ܙܕܩ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ̇ [9]ܕܬܬܚܒܫ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗ̇. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܬܥܘܠ. ܘܐܬܚܒܫܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܕܟܝܬ. [10]ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܫܕܪ ܓܫܘ̈ܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܒܛܐ ܓܒܪܐ [11]ܚܕ. ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ ܘܢܓܫܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܓܒܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܕܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܦܪ̈ܫܝܢ. ܘܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. ܘܐܙܠܘ ܘܓܫܘܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܒܗ̇ ܠܒܟܘܪܝܢ ܒܥܡܗܘܢ [12]ܡܢ ܐܒܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܥܢ̈ܒܐ ܘܬܐ̈ܢܐ ܘܪ̈ܡܘܢܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܠܐ [13]ܠܡܩܡ ܠܘܩܒܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܒܥܝܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܩܡ̈ܨܐ ܫܩܠܐ. ܘܐܬܓܥܫܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܫܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܐܪܝܡܘ ܩܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܟܘ ܒܟܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܠܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܝܬܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܚ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܒܥܬ [14]ܚܠܒ ܘܒ̈ܣܝܡ ܘܒܟܡ. ܘܗܘܐ ܫܓܘܫܝܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ [15]ܠܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ

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[1] B omits ܡܪܝܐ. [2] A ܘܐܬܬܥܠܝܬ; B ܘܐܬܥܠܝ. [3] A C ܘܐܬܬܠܓ݂ܬ. [4] B ܘܚܙܐ. [5] B ܒܥܘ. [6] B omits ܐܠܗܐ. [7] A ܐܒܘܗܝ. [8] A omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [9] A B ܬܬܚܒܫ. [10] B ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ. [11] B C omit ܚܕ. [12] B ܡܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܘܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ; A omits ܒܥܡܗܘܢ. [13] MSS. ܠܡܩܡܘ. [14] B ܚܠܒ ܥܡ ܒܣܝܡ. [15] A ܒܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ.

ܠܗ̇، ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܗܘܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܪܘܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܫܪܝܐ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܟܝܬܘܢ ܘܒܥܝܬܘܢ
ܒܣܪܐ. ܗܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܒܣܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܕ
ܝܘܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܡܫܐ. [1]ܘܠܐ ܥܣܪܐ. ܐܠܐ [2]ܐܝܪܚ
ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܒܣܪܐ [3]ܕܢܦܘܩ ܡܢ ܢܚܝܪ̈ܝܟܘܢ. [4]ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ
ܐܘܦܬܪܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܟܒܢܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ. ܒܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ
ܕܐܢܐ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ. ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓ̈ܒܪܝܢ. ܘܐܢܬ ܐܫܬܘܕܝܬ
ܕܬܘܟܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܝܪܚ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ. ܐܢ ܢܟܣܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܢ̈ܐ
ܘܬܘܪ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܢ ܢܟܢܫ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܠܐ
ܣ̈ܦܩܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܬܬܟܠܐ. ܘܗܫܐ
ܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܬ. ܗܘܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܘܢܣܒ̣ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܦܬܦܦܝ ܦܠܓܗ̇، ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ. [5]ܘܐܬܢܒܝ ܫܒ̈ܥܝܢ ܣ̈ܒܐ، ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܐܝܟ ܐܦܪܝܣܐ ܕܝܘܡܢܐ ܚܕ. ܡܢ ܟܠ [6]ܫܒܛ. [5]ܘܐܬܢܒܝ
ܥܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܠܒܪ. [7]ܘܣܝܡܘ ܥܠ [8]ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ
[9]ܒܣܪܐ ܒܦܘܪ̈ܝ. ܘܫܬܠܡܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ. ܘܪܕܝ
ܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢܚܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܫܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܚܬܗ ܡܫܬܢ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܐܬܦ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܩܒܟܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܡܕܝܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܕܘܒܪܬܐ
ܕܡܬܦܪܢܐ ܣܘܪܦܬ. ܘܐܫܬܒܚܠܘ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܡܪܝܡ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܟܘܫܝܬܐ ܕܢܣܒܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪܘ [10]ܕܕܠܡܐ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܡܘܫܐ
ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ، ܡܠܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܐܦ ܥܡܢ ܡܠܠ. ܘܫܡܥܐ ܡܪܝܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܒܪܢܫ. ܘܩܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܠܬܐ [11]ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ.
ܘܢܚܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܡܘܕܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ. ܘܩܡ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ.

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[1] C ܘܐܦܠܐ. [2] B C ܝܪܚ. Here begins A, fol. 50. [3] A C ܕܢܦܩ. [4] B C ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܐܘܟܦܪܐ; A ܘܗܘܐ; B C omit the gloss ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܟܒܢܗ̇. [5] MSS. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ. [6] B ܫܒ̈ܛܝܢ; C ܡܢ ܫܒܛ. [7] B ܘܣܡܘ. [8] A ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. [9] A ܒܣܪ. [10] B ܕܠܡܐ. [11] B ܠܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܠܡܪܝܡ.

[1]ܘܗܠܟܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܕܛܒܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ.
ܘܐܪܥܡܘ ܥܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܟܬܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܪܓܙ. ܘܫܕܪܬ ܒܗܘܢ
ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܐܘܩܕܬ ܚܕܪ̈ܝ ܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܗܘܢ. [2]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܬܫܒܩ
ܢܫܒܩ [3]ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܥܗܕܝܢ ܠܡܐܟܘ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܢܘ̈ܢܐ
ܩ̈ܛܝܐ ܘܦܛ̈ܝܚܐ ܘܟܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܒܨ̈ܠܐ ܘܬܘ̈ܡܐ. ܘܗܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܢ
ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܢܢܐ ܕܡܕܡܝܢ. ܘܡܢܢܐ [4]ܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܘܬ
ܒܘܫܟܪ̈ܬܐ. ܠܩܛܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܛܚܢܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܢܗ ܒܪ̈ܚܝܐ.
ܘܛܥܡܗ ܐܝܟ [5]ܠܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܚܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܡܪܝܐ ܩܠ ܒܟܝܐ
ܕܥܡܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ [6]ܒܬܪܥ ܡܫܟܢܗ. ܘܐܬܒܐܫ ܠܗ. ܘܪܓܙ ܡܘܫܐ
ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܠܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ [7]ܩܕܡܝܟ.
ܕܐܪܡܝܬ ܥܠܝ ܡܘܒܠܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܕܠܡܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܘܠܕܬ ܐܢܘܢ.
ܐܘ ܡܛܠܬܢܝ ܐܘ ܐܫܒܚ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ
ܓܒܝ ܡܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܓܒܐ ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܡܫܟܢܐ. ܘܐܚܬ ܘܐܡܠܠ ܒܥܢܢ. ܘܐܒܨܪ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܝܗܒ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܝܢ ܘܐܫܘܡ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ. [8]ܘܢܛܝܒܘܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܢܘܪܗ
ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܛܠܡ ܐܢܬ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ.
ܘܓܒܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ
ܒܥܢܢܐ ܘܡܠܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܒܨܪ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܝܗܒ ܕܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ
ܘܫܡ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ. ܘܦܫܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ [9]ܕܐܬܟܬܒܘ
ܥܡܗܘܢ ܦܫܘ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܫܡܗ ܕܚܕ ܐܠܕܕ.
ܘܫܡܗ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܝܕܕ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ ܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܪܝܢ ܘܪܢܐ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܡܐ ܚܕ ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ [10]ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ
ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܡܪܝ, ܟܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܬܛܢ.

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[1] C ܘܗܠܟܘ. [2] C ܘܐܡܪ. [3] C ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [4] C ܕܡܘܬܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܘܬ. [5] B ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܠܫܐ. [6] C ܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܗ. [7] C ܒܥܝ̈ܢܝܟ. [8] B omits ܘ. [9] C ܕܐܬܓܒܝܘ. [10] B omits ܠܗ.

ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܢܟܠܘ. ܘܗܦܟ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ. ܘܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܒܨܒܥܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ [1]ܠܥܓܠܐ ܕܦܠܚܘ. ܒܙܐ ܘܡܚܫܐ ܠܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܛܘܪܐ ܘܬܒܪ [2]ܐܢܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܥܓܠܐ ܘܫܚܩܗ ܒܫܘܦܝܢܐ ܘܐܘܩܕܗ ܒܢܘܪܐ. ܘܐܪܡܝ ܩܛܡܗ [3]ܒܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ [4]ܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܢܫܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܥܕܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ. [5]ܥܠ ܥܒܕܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܬ ܕܥܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܩܫܝܐ ܩܕܠܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܠܘܝ. ܕܡܪܝܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܟܘܢ [6]ܕܢܩܛܘܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܘܠܩܪܝܒܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܥܓܠܐ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܣܠܩ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܙܒܢ̄ܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. ܘܟܬܒܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [7]ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܚܠܦ ܗܢܝܢ ܕܬܒܪ ܐܢܝܢ. ܘܗܘܝ ܒܛܘܪܐ. ܘܨܡ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܦܝܣ ܘܡܬܚܢܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܚܘܒܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܚܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [7]ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ. [8]ܐܘܪ̈ܗܝ ܡܢܗܪܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܚܪ ܒܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܗ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ [9]ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܕܚܠܘ ܡܢܗ. ܘܡܬܟܣܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܣܘܕܪܐ. [10]ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ. [11]ܘܟܕ ܡܡܠܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܓܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܚܘܒܒ ܒܪ ܪܥܘܐܝܠ [12]ܚܡܘܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܢܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܠܝܗ ܠܢ. ܐܬܐ ܥܡܢ ܘܢܛܐܒ ܠܟ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܘܗܦܟ ܠܐܬܪܗ.

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[1] B omits ܠܥܓܠܐ; C has ܠܥܓܠܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ. [2] B ܐܢܘܢ. [3] A ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܩܛܡܗ. [4] End of A, fol. 49 *b*. A whole leaf is missing here. [5] B omits ܥܠ ܥܒܕܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܗܪܘܢ. [6] C omits ܕ. [7] C ܠܘ̈ܚܝܢ. [8] A C add ܘ. [9] A ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. [10] C omits this clause. [11] C ܟܕ. [12] A B add ܕܡܘܫܐ.

ܕܡܪܝܐ. [1]ܘܒܟܐ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܒܚܕ ܩܠܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ
[2]ܕܡܦܩܕ ܠܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܥܒܕ. ܘܫܩܠ ܡܘܫܐ [3]ܕܡܐ ܒܙܘܦܐ. ܘܪܣ
ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܡܐ ܕܕܝܬܩܐ ܘܥܪܒܐ
ܕܦܬܓܡ̈ܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ.
ܢܦܪܫܘܢ ܠܝ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܐܡܐ ܘܢܚܫܐ ܘܐܪܓܘܢܐ
ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܨܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܝ ܡܩܕܫܐ.
ܘܚܘܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ
ܢܟܗܢܘܢ [4]ܠܝ ܘܢܫܡܫܘܢ [5]ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܝ. ܘܟܬܒ
ܥܣܪܐ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܝܢ ܒܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܘ̈ܚܝܢ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ. ܠܐ
ܬܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܨܠܡܐ ܘܕܡܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܓܠ ܒܡܘ̈ܡܬܟ.
ܛܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ. ܝܩܪ ܠܐܒܘܟ ܘܠܐܡܟ. ܠܐ ܬܩܛܘܠ. ܠܐ
ܬܓܘܪ. ܠܐ ܬܓܢܘܒ. ܠܐ ܬܣܗܕ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܓܠܬܐ. ܠܐ [6]ܬܪܓ
ܒܝܬܗ ܕܚܒܪܟ [7]ܐܘ ܕܐܢܫܟ. ܘܠܐ [8]ܬܪܓ ܐܢܬܬ ܚܒܪܟ ܐܘ
[9]ܥܒܕܝܟ. ܐܘ ܥܒܕ̈ܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܕܐܬܥܘܟܒ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ. ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ.
ܩܘܡ [10]ܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܩܕܡܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܐܢܚܢ
ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܢܐ [11]ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܐܝܬܘ
[12]ܠܝ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܕܒܐܕ̈ܢܝܗܝܢ ܕܢܫ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܘ [13]ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܘܬܗ. [14]ܢܣܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܥܒܕܗ ܥܓܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܥܡܐ. ܗܢܘ ܐܠܗܟ
ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܘ ܕܐܣܩܟ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. [15]ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܩܪܒܘ
ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ [16]ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܒܚ̈ܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ [17]ܢܚܘܬ

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[1] B ܘܒܟܘ.
[2] B ܕܦܩܕ.
[3] B ܕܡ̈ܐ.
[4] A C omit ܠܝ.
[5] B ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ; C ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ.
[6] C ܬܐܪܓ.
[7] B omits ܐܘ ܕܐܢܫܟ.; C ܠܐ ܬܐܪܓ ܒܝܬܗ ܐܘ ܕܐܢܫܟ.
[8] C ܬܐܪܓ.
[9] A ܥܒܕܟ.
[10] A ܥܒܘܕ.
[11] B ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ.
[12] C ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܠܝ.
[13] A C omit ܐܢܘܢ.
[14] B ܢܣܒܘ.
[15] C ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ; B ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ.
[16] A ܥܠܘܗܝ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܘܕܒܚ̈ܐ.
[17] A ܚܘܬ.

ܘܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܕܘܒܪܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ̇ ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܚܢ̈ܢ ܘܫܒܚܝܢ [1]ܕܩ̈ܠܝܢ. ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܒܢܝܚܐ [2]ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܗܘ̣ܘ [3]ܐܡ̣ܪ. ܘܕܕܝܫܒܚ ܐܢ̈ܫ[4] ܒܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܕܒܕܘܒܪܬܐ [5]ܗ̇ܝ, ܒܚܕܪܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܩ̈ܝܡܘ ܘܡܬܟܫܦܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [6]ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܡܫܚܘ ܒܗܝܢ ܠܡܣܒܠ ܡܘܒܠܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [7]ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܕܘܒܪܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ, ܒܙܪܐ. ܘܟܠܗ̇ ܕܘܠܐ ܘܥܠܠܬܐ ܕܢܫܐ. ܘܥ̈ܐܕܐ ܒܥܕ̈ܢܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܬܡܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܡܝܐ [8]ܗ̄ܘܬ ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܘܒܪܬܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܣ ܗܕܪܗ. ܘܠܐ [9]ܐܫܟܚ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܬܡܢ ܡܢ ܒܫܘܒܚܗܘܢ ܕܕܝ̈ܪܐ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܒܗܪܘܢ ܕܢܗ̈ܐ ܟܠ ܓܒܫܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܐܡܟܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܟܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܕܒܪ ܬܡܢ. ܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܒܝ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܒܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܒܟܪܘ ܬܡܢ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܪܛܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܠܘ ܕܡܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܢ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܟܕ ܝܬܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܠܣܒܥܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܐܦܩܬܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܨܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܢܐܒܕ ܒܡܟܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܡ̇ܚܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܒܥܢܢܐ ܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܬܛܠܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܘܒܥܡܘܕܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܢܗܪ ܩ̈ܕܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. [10]ܣܩܘ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܐܚܘܟ ܘܢܕܒ. ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܓܒ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ. ܘܢܬܩܪܒ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ, ܠܘܬ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ. [11]ܘܐܬܩܪܒ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ, ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܣܒ̈ܐ ܩܡܘ ܠܬܚܬ ܠܘܬ [12]ܫܩ̈ܦܠ ܠܛܘܪܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܦܘܩܕܢ̈ܐ. ܘܐܘܕܥ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܡܠܘ̈ܗܝ,

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[1] C ܕܩ̈ܕܡ.
[2] C ܬܫܝܥܝܐ.
[3] C ܐܡܪ.
[4] B ܒܒܠܒܠܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ.
[5] B omits ܗ̇ܝ.
[6] B C omit ܗ̇ܢܘܢ.
[7] A ܗ̄ܘܐ.
[8] B omits ܗܘܬ.
[9] B ܐܫܟܚܘ.
[10] B C ܣܩ.
[11] B omits ܘ; C ܘܐܬܩܪܒ.
[12] A ܫܩ̈ܦܘܗܝ ܕܛܘܪܐ.

ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒ̈ܪܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ.
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗܘ̣ܘ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܗܘܘ ܬܚܝܬ
ܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܦܓܪܢܝܐ ܘܢܦܫܢܝܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢ
ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܡ̣ܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܙܪܥܟ ܬܘܬܒܐ
[1]ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܫܢܬܐ ܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ ܒܡܫܥ̈ܒܕܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ [2]ܢܦܩܘ ܒܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ, ܕܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܦܟܘ.
ܪܕܦ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܠܡܗܦܟܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ
ܥܡܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܐܦܩܬܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܫܒܘܩ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܢ
ܕܢܦܠܘܚ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܐ [3]ܕܢܡܘܬ ܗܪܟܐ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ
ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܘܢ. ܘܚܙܘ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ
ܝܘܡܢܐ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܪܝܡ ܚܘܛܪܟ ܘܡܚܝ ܠܝܡܐ.
[4]ܕܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ [5]ܝܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܡܚܝܗ̇ ܡܘܫܐ
ܠܝܡܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܝܡܐ ܠܗܐ ܘܠܗܐ. ܘܥܒܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܒܬܘܟܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܒܫܐ. ܘܟܕ [6]ܥܠܘ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܗ
ܒܬܪܗܘܢ. ܐܪܝܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܥܠ ܝܡܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ
ܠܕܘܟܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܚܢܩܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ
ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܒܚܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܒ̈ܢܝ
ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܗܠܟܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܬܘ
ܠܝܪܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ ܡܒܘܪܟ. ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܕܐ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܠܐ
[7]ܐܬܡܛܝ, ܥܡܐ ܠܡܥܒܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܛܘ. ܘܐܪܓܙܘܗ ܘܠܗܘܢ
ܘܪܛܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ [8]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܡܢܐ ܢܫܬܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܡܘܫܐ
ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ [9]ܘܚܘܝܗܝ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܦܣܛܝܢ ܕܢܪܡܐ ܒܡܝ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܒܣܡܘ,
ܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܬܢܝܚܘ. ܘܬܡܢ ܣ̇ܡ ܠܗ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ.

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[1] A ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. [2] A C ܢܦܩܘ. [3] B ܢܡܘܬ. [4] A C ܘܥܒܪܘܢ. [5] A ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܒܫܐ.
[6] A ܥܠ. [7] A C ܐܬܡܛܝܘ. [8] C omits from ܘܐܡܪܘ to ܡܘܫܐ. [9] C ܘܚܘܝܗ.

ܕܒܘܟܪ̈ܐ. ܘܟܕ ܒܥܐ [1]ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܩܛܘܠ ܒܘܟܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܢܐ ܝܪܚܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܪܝܫ ܝܪ̈ܚܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܢܝܣܢ ܘܪܫ ܫܢܬܐ. ܒܥܣܪܐ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܗܢܐ. ܢܣܒ ܟܠ [2]ܓܒܪܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܘܐܡܪܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܐܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ. ܢܫܬܬܦ ܗܘ ܘܫܒܒܗ ܕܩܪܝܒ [3]ܠܒܝܬܗ. ܘܢܬܢܟܣ ܐܡܪܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܕܝܪܚܐ ܢܝܣܢ. ܘܢܟܣܘܢܝܗܝ، ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܒܝ ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܗ ܥܠ ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܥܝܗܘܢ ܒܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ. [4]ܘܐܚܙܐ ܘܐܦܨܝܚ ܒܟܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܢܫܠܛ ܒܟܘܢ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܡܚܒܠܢܝܬܐ. [5]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܝܟܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܝܗܘܢ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܨܦܪܐ. [6]ܘܡܪܝܐ ܥܒܪ ܥܠ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܡܚܐ ܒܘܟܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܕܡܐ ܥܠ ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܠܡܚܒܠܢܐ ܕܢܥܘܠ ܠܒܬ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܓܗ ܕܠܠܝܐ. ܩܛܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܘܟܪ̈ܐ [7]ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܡܢ ܒܘܟܪܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܕܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܗ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܣܝܪܐ. ܘܩܪܐ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. [8]ܦܘܩܘ ܡܢ [9]ܒܝܢ̈ܝ ܥܡܝ. ܘܙܠܘ ܦܠܘܚܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ. ܘܣܒܘ [10]ܡܣܝ̈ܒܢ ܘܡܬ̈ܛܠܒܝܢ ܒܡܒܝܢ. ܘܐܠܨܘ ܐܦ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܠܡܦܩ ܡܢ [11]ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܚܫ̈ܝܚܬܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܕܣܐܡܐ ܘܠܒܘ̈ܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܡܠܝܘ ܐܢܘܢ. [12]ܘܒܙܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܐܓܪܐ ܕܥܒܕܘܬܗܘܢ [13]ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܫܩܠܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܪܥܡܣܝܣ ܠܣܘܟܘܬ

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[1] C ܐܠܗܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܘܟܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. [2] A omits ܓܒܪܐ. [3] C ܠܒܝܬܗ. [4] B ܘܐܚܙܐ. [5] A ܘܐܡܪ. [6] B ܡܪܝܐ. [7] B ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. [8] A ܦܘܩ. [9] B C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [10] A ܡܣܝܒܘܢ. [11] A ܒܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ. [12] B ܘܒܙܘ. [13] A B omit this word.

ܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܪܗ̈ܡܝܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܘ [1]ܠܬܠܬܗܘܢ. ܗܘܝܘ ܥܒܕ ܠܟܠܗ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܕܦܪܥ ܠܕܪ̈ܕܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܐܢܐ [2]ܠܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ [3]ܕܢܫܪܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܥܡܝ ܘܠܟ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܦܪܥܘܢ [4]ܠܡܠܬܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ [5]ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܥܒܕܬܟ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܠܐܚܘܟ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܕܡܟ. ܬܡܠܠ ܐܢܬ ܥܡ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܐܗܪܘܢ [6]ܢܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܢܫܕܪ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܕܢܦܠܚܘܢܢܝ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܩܫܐ ܠܒܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܣܓܐ [7]ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܝ, ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܦܩ ܠܥܡܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܢܕܥܘܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ [8]ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܒܪ ܬܡܢܐܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܟܕ ܫܕܪܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܢ ܢܒܥܐ ܡܢܟ [9]ܦܪܥܘܢ ܐܬܐ. ܫܕܝ ܚܘܛܪܟ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܪܡܝܘ ܠܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܚܪ̈ܫܐ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܟܘܬܗ. ܘܒܠܥ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܠܚܘܛܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܚܪ̈ܫܐ. ܘܐܬܩܫܝ ܠܒܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܡܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝ, ܡܘܫܐ ܥܣܪ ܐܬܘ̈ܢ. ܩܕܡܝܬܐ. ܫܘܚܠܦ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܕܡܐ. ܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ. ܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܕܐܦܪ̈ܕܥܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܬܠܝܬܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠܦܘܬܐ ܕܩܠܡ̈ܐ. ܪܒܝܥܝܬܐ. ܕܒܒܘܬܐ. ܥܪܘܒܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܘ. ܚܡܫܝܬܐ. [10]ܡܘܬܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ. ܫܬܝܬܝܬܐ. ܡܚܘܬܐ ܕܫܚ̈ܢܐ. ܫܒܝܥܝܬܐ. ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܒܪ̈ܕܐ. ܬܡܝܢܝܬܐ. ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܩܡܨܐ. ܬܫܝܥܝܬܐ. ܢܦܝܬܗ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ. ܥܣܝܪܝܬܐ. ܡܘܬܐ

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[1] B omits ܐܘ ܠܬܠܬܗܘܢ; C ܡܢܘܢ ܠܬܠܬܗܘܢ. [2] A omits ܠܟ. [3] B C ܕܢܫܕܪ ܗ̄ܘ. [4] C ܠܡܠܠܟ. [5] B ܐܠܗܐ. [6] A omits this word. [7] B C ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ. [8] C ܡܪܝܐ; A ܘܥܒܕ. [9] A omits ܦܪܥܘܢ. [10] A C ܡܘܬܐ.

ܒܥܘܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܬܫܥܒܕܘܬ ܫܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܩܬܗܘܢ. ܘܕܟܪ ܕܝܬܝܩܘܗܝ، ܕܠܘܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. ܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܝܣܚܩ ܘܝܥܩܘܒ. ܗ̇ܢܘܢ[1] ܕܐܫܬܘܕܝ، ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܙܪܥܗܘܢ ܬܬܒܪܟܘܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ [2]ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܟܕ ܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܢ̈ܐ ܕܝܬܪܘ ܚܡܘܗ̇ܝ، ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܣܝܢܝ. [3]ܐܙܠ ܗ̤ܘ ܘܕܒܪܐ [4]ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܘܪܝܒ ܛܘܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗ [5]ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܠܓܘ ܡܢ ܒܫܠܗܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܒܓܘ ܣܢܝܐ ܘܣܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܩܕ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܣܛܐ ܐܚܙܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܠܗܒܐ ܒܣܢܝܐ ܘܣܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܩܕ. ܘܚܙܝܗ̇، ܐܠܗܐ ܕܩܪܒ ܕܢܚܙܐ. [6]ܘܩܪܝܗ̇، ܡܢ ܓܘ ܣܢܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ،. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܬܩܪܒ ܠܗܪܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܩܐܡ ܐܢܬ ܒܗ̇ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗ̄ܝ،. ܘܐܡܪ [7]ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܢܐ ܐܢ̄ܐ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ. ܐܠܗܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܟܣܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܦܘ̈ܗܝ، ܡܛܠ ܕܕܚܠ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܒܗ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܟܕ ܡܠܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ. ܐܬܠܒܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. ܚܙܝܬ ܫܥܒܕܘܬܗ ܕܥܡܝ ܕܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܒܥܘܬܗܘܢ ܫܡܥܬ. ܘܢܚܬܬ ܕܐܦܪܘܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. [8]ܘܐܣܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ، ܐܪܥܐ. ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܪܕܝܐ ܚܠܒܐ ܘܕܒܫܐ. ܬܐ ܐܫܕܪܟ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ، ܕܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܦܩ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܢ̄ܐ ܐܗܘܐ ܥܡܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܢ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܝ ܡܢܘ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪ [9]ܠܗ ܐܗܝܗ ܐܫܪܐܗܝܗ

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[1] A B omit this word. [2] A omits ܟܠܗܘܢ. [3] C ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ. [4] B C omit ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ; A has ܠܒܣܬܪ ܛܘܪܐ. [5] B ܡܠܐܟܐ. [6] C ܘܩܪܝܗܝ ܠܡܘܫܐ. [7] B C omit ܠܗ. [8] C ܘܐܣܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ. [9] A B omit ܠܗ, and A places ܐܡܪ after ܐܫܪܐܗܝܗ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܪܓܙܘܗܝ، ܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܪܝܢܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܥܒܕ ܠܟ[1] ܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ. ܘܐܪܝܡܝܗܝ
[2]ܠܥܠ ܒܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܢܚܙܘܢ ܒܗ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܢܬܐܣܘܢ. ܘܥܒܕ
ܡܘܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܩܝܡܗ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܠܥܝܢ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ [3]ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܚܝܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗ [4]ܘܡܬܐܣܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ [5]ܕܫܠܡܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ
ܘܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. [6]ܘܥܠܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. [7]ܘܝܪܬܘܗ̇
ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܒܥܡܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܩܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܒܝܢ ܦܠܓ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܒܡܠܟ̈ܐ.
ܘܛܫܝܗ ܦܢܚܣ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܥܦܪܐ ܒܬܪܥܐ
ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܬܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ [8]ܡܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܚܘܝܗ
ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܒܨܒܝܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܥܠܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ
ܫܩܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡ [9]ܡܪܢ ܘܡܪܝܡ.
ܥܕܡܐ ܕܗܦܟܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܫܩܠܗ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪܗ. ܘܗ̇ܘ
ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܢ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܓܢܒܗ ܝܗܘܕܐ
ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܓܢܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܠܡܗ̇ ܠܡܪܢ ܠܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ.
[10]ܫܩܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܘܫܐ ܠܪ̈ܕܘܦܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܚܘܕܐ ܒܕ ܒܫܩܘܬܗ.
ܡܚܝܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܗܘܐ [11]ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܙܒܢܐ
ܘܠܓܒܠܘܬܐ. [12]ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܝܣܐ ܠܙܩܝܦܐ ⁘ ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ
ܬܪܝܢ [13]ܒܢܝܢ. ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܓܪܫܘܢ [14]ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܬܘܬܒܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ
ܐܠܝܥܙܪ. ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܕܪܢܝ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܠܡܠܟܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܒܪ ܬܡܢܐܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܠܡ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܛܘܪ ܢܒܘ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ

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[1] A C omit ܠܟ. [2] A C omit ܠܥܠ. [3] B omits ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [4] C ܘܡܬܐܣܝܢ, and omits ܗܘܘ. [5] C ܕܫܠܡ. [6] B ܘܥܠ. [7] B C omit ܘ. [8] B omits ܡܫܝܚܐ, and A C ܡܪܢ; B C omit ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. [9] C ܡܫܝܚ. [10] B ܘܫܩܠ. [11] A omits ܗܢܐ. [12] B ܗܘܘ. [13] A omits ܒܢܝܢ; A B ܘܐܬܝܠܕ. [14] A C ܡܬܦܫܩ.

ܘܫܒܩܗ̇. ܐܓܪܐ ܕܗ̇ܝ ܕܥܒܪ. ܘܡܢܗ̇ ܠܦܪܨ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ
ܩܪ̈ܒܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܣܡܗ ܒܡܥܪܬ
ܓܙ̈ܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܐܒ. ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܓܢܒܝܘ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܝ. ܘܒܗ ܕܝܢ
ܒܡܕܝܢ. ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܟܐܢ ܗ̄ܘܐ[1] ܘܙܕܝܩ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܫܡܗ ܝܬܪܘ. ܘܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ[2] ܥܢ̈ܐ ܒܚܘܛܪܐ. ܐܫܬܡܫܗ
ܠܡܛܪܬܐ ܘܫܠܡܗ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܘܒܗ
ܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܢ̈ܐ ܒܗ̇ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܣܝܒܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܝܗ̄ܒܗ̇ [3]ܠܒܪܬܗ
ܠܡܘܫܐ. [4]ܐܡܪ ܝܬܪܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܥܘܠ ܒܪܝ, ܣܒ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܘܦܘܩ
ܠܒܪ. ܘܟܕ ܕܪܟ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܠ ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ. ܐܙܝܥ
ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܨܒܘܬ ܢܦܫܗ [5]ܠܡܩܒܠ ܡܘܫܐ.
ܘܫܩܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܗ̇ܘ ܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܒܝܕܗ ܠܢܒܝܐ
ܕܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܘܪ ܣܝܢܝ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [6]ܕܫܕܝ, ܚܘܛܪܐ
ܒܐܪܥܐ [7]ܘܫܕܝܗܝ, ܘܗ̄ܘܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܚܘܕܝܗܝ,
ܘܢܣܒܗ ܘܗ̄ܘܐ ܚܘܛܪܐ [8]ܐܝܟ ܕܒܩܕܡܝܬܐ. ܘܗܢܘ ܚܘܛܪܐ
ܕܢܣ̄ܒ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ [9]ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܘܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܠܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ.
ܘܒܗ ܢܦܪܘܩ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܥܒܘܕܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܬܚܢܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ ܒܪܡܙܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ. ܘܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ
ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܒܠܥ ܠܚܘܛܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܫܝ ܚܪܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܗ ܡܚܐ
ܠܝܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ ܠܬܪܥܣܪ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ. ܘܥܒܪ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܕܝܡܐ.
ܘܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ
ܕܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [10]ܘܒܗ ܡܚܐ ܠܟܐܦܐ ܕܛܪܢܐ ܘܪܕܘ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܘܫܬܝܘ.
ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܫܠܛ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝܬܗܘܢ.

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[1] A omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [2] B omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [3] A ܒܪܬܗ. [4] C ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [5] A ܠܘܩܒܠܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ; C omits these words. [6] A B ܫܕܝܗ. [7] C ܘܫܕܝܗ̇. [8] B C ܐܝܟ ܕܡܩܕܡܝܬܐ. [9] B ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܘܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܥܡܐ; C omits ܐܠܗܐ. [10] B ܘܒܗ.

ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ [1]ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܬܩܪܒܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܫܠܡܗ̇ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܠܪܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܢܐ ܕܚܡܘܗܝ ⁘

ܠ ⁘ [2]ܥܠ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ.

ܟܕ[3] ܢܦܩܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܗܦܟ ܠܕܘܟܬܗ. ܦܣܩ ܫܒܘܛܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܛܒܬܐ ܘܒܝܫܬܐ. ܕܗܝܘ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܬܬܐ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܥܡܗ ܘܢܦܩ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܟܠ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܚܝܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܘܢܕܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ[4] ܫܩܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܫܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦܠܐ ܙܢܐ ܥܕܟܝܠ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܐܬܝܒܠ[5] ܚܘܛܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܢܘܚ. ܘܡܢ ܢܘܚ ܠܫܡ. ܘܡܢ ܫܡ ܐܬܝܒܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܗ[6] ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܒܗ ܡܬܒܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ[7] ܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܦܘܩ[8] ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܟ ܘܫܪܒܐ. ܘܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܦܠܫܬܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܟܢ ܫܩܠܗ ܐܝܣܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܐܝܣܘܣ [9]ܠܝܬܪܘ. ܘܒܗ ܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥ̈ܢܐ[10] ܕܝܠܗ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܒܦܕܢ [11]ܐܪܡ. ܘܡܢ ܝܬܪܘ ܫܩܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܥܢ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܗܢܘ ܚܘܛܪܐ [12]ܕܝܗܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܘܗܒܐ ܠܡܗܪ ܟܠܬܗ. ܥܡ ܒܪܬܗ

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[1] B C ܒܚܘܛܪܐ, and omit ܠܚܘܛܪܐ in the next line.

[2] B C omit ܥܠ. In C the masc. noun ܚܘܛܪܐ is regarded as fem. (A B vary between masc. and fem.), and therefore the verbs, suffixes, etc., used in speaking of it, are all fem.

[3] B C ܘܟܕ.

[4] B C omit ܕܐܕܡ.

[5] B C ܘܐܬܝܒܠܬ ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ; B C omit ܚܘܛܪܐ ܗܢܐ.

[6] B ܦܪܕܝܣܐ.

[7] A omits ܐܒܪܗܡ.

[8] A B ܦܘܩ.

[9] A B ܠܝܬܪܘܢ.

[10] C ܥ̈ܢܗ.

[11] A B ܦܕܢ.

[12] B ܝܗܒ.

ܒܒܝܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܟܕ ܡܛܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܒܪ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܡܢ
ܡܘ̈ܬܒܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܠܩܘܛܥܡ ܡܨܪܝܐ. ܕܡܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܕ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܡܫܪܝܐ.
ܘܡܨܛܪܦ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܐܬܚܡܬ ܗܘܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ
ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܚܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܟܐ ܘܠܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܡܚܝܗܝ
ܒܗ ܡܚܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܩܛܠܗ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܘܛܡܪܗ ܒܚܠܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܝܘܡ̈ܬܐ
ܚܙܐ ܠܬܪܝܢ [1]ܡܢ ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܨܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. [2]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ
ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܐܚ̈ܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܠܡܢܐ ܢܨܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܘܕܚܝܗ̇ ܚܕ
ܡܢܗܘܢ [3]ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܡܐ ܠܡܩܛܠܢܝ ܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܩܛܠܬ ܐܬܡܠܝ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ. ܘܕܚܠ ܡܘܫܐ [4]ܕܕܠܡܐ ܢܪܓܫ
ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܢܩܛܠܝܘܗܝ. ܘܥܪܩ ܠܡܕܝܢ. ܘܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܒܐܪܐ [5]ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܬ
ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘ̈ܝ [6]ܠܗ ܠܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܒܢ̈ܢ. ܕܐܬܝ̈ܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ
ܠܒܐܪܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܘܡܫܩܝ̈ܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܠܥܢܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ̈ܢ. ܘܐܬܝܢ [7]ܗܘܘ ܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ
ܘܛܪܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܝܢ. ܘܩܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܦܨܝ [8]ܐܢܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܫܩܝ
ܠܥܢܗܝ̈ܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܙ̈ܠܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ̈ܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܝܢ ܕܡܢܘ ܕܥܓܠ
ܐܬ̈ܝܬܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ̈ܢ ܠܗ. ܕܓܒܪܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܦܨܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝ̈ܕܝ ܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܟܣ ܐܦ ܠܒ̈ܢܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܝܢ. ܘܠܡܢܐ ܠܐ [9]ܐܝܬܝܬܝ̈ܢܝܗܝ. ܙܠ̈ܝܢ
ܥܓܠ [10]ܩܪܐܝ̈ܢܝܗܝ ܠܟܐ. ܕܢܐܟܘܠ [11]ܠܘܬܢ ܠܚܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܪܥܘܐܝܠ [12]ܘܝܬܒ ܠܘܬܗ [13]ܐܫܡܥܗ. ܘܢܣܒ
[14]ܠܗ ܠܨܦܘܪܐ ܒܡܩܝܡܬܐ ܒܪܬܗ [15]ܒܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ
ܠܒܝܬܐ. ܘܩܡ [16]ܠܡܣܦܪܐ ܕܪܥܝܘܬܐ. ܘܦܠܚ ܪܥܐ ܥܢܐ. ܘܟܕ

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[1] C omits ܡܢ. [2] B ܘܐܡܪ. [3] C omits ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ. [4] B C ܕܠܡܐ. [5] A ܕܐܝܬ. [6] A C omit ܠܗ. [7] B omits ܗܘܘ. [8] A ܐܢܝ. [9] A ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢܝܗܝ. [10] B ܘܩܪܝܬܝܗ ܩܪܐܝܢܝܗܝ; A C ܩܪܝܢܝܗܝ. [11] C ܠܚܡܐ. [12] B ܝܬܒ. [13] A ܘܐܫܡܥܗ. [14] A C omit ܠܗ; B ܠܨܦܘܪܐ ܒܪܬܗ ܒܡܩܒܠܢܘܬܐ. [15] B ܐܢܬܬܗ ܒܢܫ̈ܐ. [16] On the margin of A, fol. 46 *b*, is the following note: [illegible]. B omits ܠ.

ܪܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܦܪ̈ܝܐ. ܗܟܢ ܒܥܡܐ ܬܩܝܦ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܕܚܠ
ܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܣܡ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܪ̈ܕܘܝܐ. [1]ܘܫܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܬܚܒܝܫܐ ܕܛܝܢܐ. ܘܬܒܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ
ܕܠܒ̈ܢܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܒܢܐ. ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ
ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܪ ܥܡܪܡ ܒܪ ܩܗܬ ܒܪ ܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ
ܐܪܒܥܝܢ [2]ܘܫܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܗܬ. ܘܩܗܬ
ܒܪ ܫܬܝܢ [3]ܘܬܠܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܟܕ ܐܘܠܕ [4]ܠܥܡܪܡ.
ܘܥܡܪܡ ܒܪ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ
ܓܙܪ ܦܪܥܘܢ [5]ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܡܘܢ ܠܝܠܘܕ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܢܗܪܐ.
ܘܡܘܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܦܝܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܚܙܘܗ. ܘܐܬܩܪܝ ܦܠܛܝܠ ܘܐܡܠܟܢܐ.
ܘܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܫܒܘܒܬܐ ܕܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. [6]ܘܫܡܗ̇
ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܝܘܟܒܕ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܦܘܪܣܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܘܫ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܒܕܒܪܝܬ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܘܒܪܬܐ ܡܫܦܪܬܐ.
ܘܣܡܟܬ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܒܗ. ܘܐܘܒܠܬ ܫܡܬܗ̇ ܠܡܘܒܬܐ ܥܠ [7]ܪ̈ܩܦܐ
ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܢܝܠܘܣ [8]ܢܗܪܐ. ܕܡܘܩܘ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܫܝ ܡܢ ܡܒܠ
[9][ܘܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ]. ܕܬܚܬܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܫܪܝܬܗ ܕܠܚܝܠܐ.
ܘܐܬܬ ܫܒܘܪ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܕܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܒܗܘܪܐ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ
ܕܬܪܡܣܝܣ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܚܙܬ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܬ ܕܡܫܒܘܗܝ.
ܘܟܕ ܦܬܚܬܗ̇ ܘܚܙܬ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܒܟܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ[10] ܪܚܡܬܗ ܘܐܝܟܐ ܥܒܝܕܬܗ.
ܐܡܪܬ ܕܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܝܠܘܕܐ ܗܢܐ.
ܘܡܫܠܡܬܗ ܘܪܒܝܬܗ ܠܗ ܠܒܪܐ. ܘܫܠܡܬܗ ܠܗ ܠܡܪ̈ܒܝܢܘܬܐ ܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܬ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܒܝܢܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܪܒܝ

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[1] C ܘܫܥܒܕܘ. [2] B omits ܘܫܬ. [3] B ܘܫܬ. [4] A ܠܘܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܥܡܪܡ.
[5] A B omit ܡܠܟܐ. [6] B C ܘܫܡܗ. [7] C ܪ̈ܩܦܐ. [8] B C omit this word.
[9] B C omit the words in brackets. [10] A C ܗܘ̄.

ܘܦܓܥܘ ܒܝܘܣܦ ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ[1] ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܠܐ [2]ܝܕܥܘܗܝ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܕܢܫܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܫܠܡܗ، ܘܫܒܩܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [3]ܙܒ̈ܢܬܐ. ܠܫܢܬܐ. [4]ܐܬܓܠܝ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܚܘܝ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܫܕܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܘܗܝ،
ܘܠܟܠܗ̇ ܫܪܒܬܗ. ܕܗܘܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ [5]ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ.
ܘܢܚܬܘ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܡ̇ܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܙܪܥܟ ܬܘܬܒܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ
ܢܘܟܪܝܬܐ. ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܐܡ̇ܪ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܗܦܟܘ ܬܘܒ ܫܥܒܕܐ [6]ܒܫܘܥܒ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ
ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢܝܬ ܒܡܘܫܐ ܘܦܓܪ ܕܐܬܒ̄ܚܪ ܠܘܬ
ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ. [7]ܘܐܘܒܠܘ ܡܒܪܘܗܝ، ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ، ܒܐܪܥܐ
ܕܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܘܩܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ [8]ܐܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ
ܝܕܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ [9]ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ. [10]ܘܫܥܒܕ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܬܚܒܫܐ
ܕܠܒ̈ܢܐ. ܗܢ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܐܬܬܟܒܘ [11]ܬܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܢܦܩ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܐܦ
ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܗ̇ܢܐ، ܐܦܪܝܡ ܒܬܟܒܗ [12]ܠܬܫܥܒܕܘܬܗ ܒܬܪܥܣܪ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܥܠ
ܥܠܡܐ ܕܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܡܫܘܬܗ. [13]ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܐܚܝܕܐ ܥܠ ܦܩܘܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ، [14]ܘܣܡ ܐܗܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܬܬܒܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܬܫܥܒܕܘܬܗ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܦܘܩ ܡܢ ܢܫܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܠܝ ܒܒܘܫܝ
ܒܘܝܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܀

ܠܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܣܦ. ܘܩܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ

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[1] C ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ.
[2] B ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܗܝ.
[3] B C ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ.
[4] C ܘܐܬܓܠܝ.
[5] B omits ܒܡܢܝܢܐ; C omits ܗܘܘ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ.
[6] C ܒܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ.
[7] C ܘܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ.
[8] B omits ܐܢܫܐ.
[9] A C omit ܠܗ.
[10] C ܘܫܥܒܕܘ.
[11] C ܠܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ.
[12] A B omit ܠܬܫܥܒܕܘܬܗ; C ܒܬܫܥܒܕܗ.
[13] C omits ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܚܝܕܐ.
[14] B C omit ܘܣܡ.

ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܐܙܕܒܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܡܢ ܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܒܥܣܪܝܢ ܕܝܢܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܝܬ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܀

ܟܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ.

ܡܢ [1]ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ، ܕܡܢ ܠܝܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ [2]ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܝܘܣܦ ܘܒܢܝܡܝܢ. ܘܪܚܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪ ܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܘܕܟܝܘܬܗ. [3]ܘܬܡܝܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܗ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܝܫܬܐ. ܘܚܣܡܘ ܒܗ ܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܚܠܡ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ. ܘܣܢܐܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܙܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ، ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܙܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܪܒ ܕܚܫ̈ܐ. ܘܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܐܫܠܡ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܒܝܬܗ ܘܩܢܝܢܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܥܘܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܐܬܚܒܫ ܘܐܬܚܒܫ [4]ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܪܒ ܫܩ̈ܐ ܘܪܒ ܢܚܬܘܡ̈ܐ ܒܚܕ [5]ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܦܫܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܚܠܡ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [6]ܙܩܝܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܕ̇ܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܐܣܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܒܘܫܝܐ. ܚܙܐ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ [7]ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܐܬܦܪܢܣ ܘܐܫܬܠܛ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܣܒܥܐ ܘܐܣܓܝܐܘܬܐ ܘܟܦܢܐ [8]ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܫܒܥܝܗܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ [9]ܥܒܕܗ ܪܫ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ̇ ܕܐܬܡܨܪܝܢ ܒܝܬܗ. ܘܐܘܕܥܘܗ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܥܒܕܗ ܗܘܐ [10]ܫܠܝܛܢܐ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܡܠܟܗ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܟܢܫ ܗܘܐ [11]ܘܟܢܫ ܥܒܘܪܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܒܣܒܥܘܬܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܟܦܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܝܥܩܘܒ. ܫܕܪ ܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ، ܠܡܙܒܢ ܥܒܘܪܐ.

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[1] A B ܕܐܬܝܠܕ. [2] A ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܝܘܣܦ. [3] C ܘܡܛܠ ܬܡܝܡܘܬܗ. [4] C ܒܝܬ. [5] C ܢܘܡܠܐ. [6] A C ܘܙܩܝܦ. [7] C omits this word. [8] B ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. [9] A C ܗܝܕܝܢ ܥܒܕܗ ܪܫܐ; B ܥܒܕܗ. [10] B ܫܠܝܛܐ. [11] A ܘܟܢܫ, the ܟ in red.

¹ܕܗ̇ܘ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܫܩܠ ²ܠܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܬܣܝܡܬ ܪܫܗ ܘܐܘܩܡܗ̇
ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܢܕܪ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܕܪܐ. ܫܒܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܬܗ̇ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ
ܕܘܣܦܬܗ ³ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ⁴ܕܦܠܚܝܢ ܘܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ
ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܕܫܦܪܘ ܠܬ̈ܝܒܘܬܐ ⁵ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܦܪܘܩܢ. ܘܥܠܗ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܪܒ ܫܒܠܝܬܐ. ܡܬܓܠܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ
ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܕܡܢ ⁶ܓܒܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܕܦܓܥܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܒܝ، ܒܗ̇ ܚܝܘܐ.
⁷ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܒܪܬܐ. ܘܒܐܒܐ ܕܐܬܚܝܒ ܒܢܕܪܗ. ܕܐܘܩܡܗ̇ ܡܕܒܚܐ.
ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܠܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܦܪܫܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܢ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܠܒܢ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܚܘܗ̇
ܕܐܡܗ. ܘܩܒܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ، ܬܪܝܒܘܬܐ ⁸ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܢܣܒ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܠܠܝܐ ܘܠܙܠܦܐ ⁹ܐܡܗܬܗ̇ ܥܡܗ̇.
ܘܠܪܚܠ ܘܠܒܠܗܐ ܐܡܗܬܗ̇ ܥܡܗ̇. ܘܪܚܡܗ̇ ܠܪܚܠ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܠܝܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܪܚܝܠ ܒܨܘܪܬܐ ¹⁰ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܫܦܝܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܚܙܘܗ̇. ܘܠܝܐ ܪ̈ܟܝܟܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ،
ܥܝ̈ܢܝܗ̇. ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܝܐ ܫܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܟܠ ܕܡܬܦܩܕ ܪ̈ܒܝ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܗ̇ܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܬܦܩܕ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ. ܘܠܘܝ ܡܬܒܪܟܢܐ. ܘܝܗܘܕܐ
ܬܘܕܝܬܐ. ܘܐܝܣܟܪ ܦܪܥ ܡܫܟܪܐ. ܘܙܒܘܠܘܢ ¹¹ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܝܬ
ܒܟܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܢ ܙܢܝܠ ܬܝܪ ܬ̈ܢܝܢ. ܡܫܟܒ ܬܘܦܕܬܐ. ܘܒܢܝܡܝܢ
¹²ܒܘܝܐܐ. ܘܡܢ ܙܠܦܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ¹³ܓܕ ¹¹ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܢ ܓܕܐ. ܘܐܫܝܪ
ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܠܗܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ¹⁴ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܢ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܢܦܬܠܝ
ܡܬܦܬܠܢܐ. ܘܒܪܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܒܚܪܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ
ܗܦܟ ܡܣܒܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܘܣܝܦ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܘܣܝܦ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ

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[1] A ܗܘܐ; C ܗܘܝ.
[2] B ܠܟܐܦܐ.
[3] A omits this word.
[4] B ܦܠܚܝܢ.
[5] C ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ.
[6] B ܓܒܝܠܘܬܗ.
[7] C ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ.
[8] B ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ.
[9] B ܐܡܗܬܐ.
[10] B C ܒܚܙܘܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ.
[11] C omits the words in this clause.
[12] C ܚܕܐ ܕܒܘܝܐܐ.
[13] B ܓܕܐ.
[14] B C omit ܒܢ̈ܝܢ.

ܓܢ̈ܝܐ [1]ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܘܕܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇ ܐܝܘܒ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܬܠܛܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܢ̈ܛܝܠܬܗ. ܠܦܬܘܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ [2]ܡܒܪܟ. ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܠܐ ܢܦܠ. ܘܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܛܐ ܐܝܘܒ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܓܕܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܣܦ̈ܘܬܗ. ܘܫܡܥܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ ܕܐܝܘܒ [3]ܒܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܬ݂ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬܗ ܟܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܠܡܒܝܐܘܬܗ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܠܝܦܙ ܬܝܡܢܝܐ. ܘܒܠܕܕ ܫܘܚܝܐ. ܘܨܘܦܪ ܢܥܡܬܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܐܪܝܡܘ ܥܝܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܗܝ. ܘܐܪܝܡܘ ܩܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܟܘ. ܘܨܪܘ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܐܢܘܗܝ. ܘܪܡܘ ܥܦܪܐ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܫܝܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܝܬܒܘ ܥܡܗ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܐ ܠܠܘ̈ܢ. ܘܠܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܘ ܕܣܓ̇ܝܐܝܢ ܡܚ̈ܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܡܣܘ ܒܐܠܗܗ ܒܪܗ. ܘܢܬܟܪ ܠܗ ܫܒܥܐ ܒܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܒܢ̈ܢ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܦܝ̈ܪܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܕܐܝܘܒ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. [4][ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܝܢ. ܐܝܡܡܐ. ܘܩܨܝܥܐ. ܘܩܪܢܦܘܟܐ]. ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ [5]ܐܪܒܥܬܣܪ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܥܢ̈ܐ. ܘܫܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܡ̈ܠܐ. ܘܐܠܦ ܦܕ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܬܘܪܐ. ܘܐܠܦ ܐܬܢܝܢ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܝܘܒ [6]ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܢܣܝܘܢܗ ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܝܬ ܒܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܀

ܟܕ ܀ [7]ܥܠ ܡܘܪ̈ܒܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܫܘܥ.

ܘܡܟܝܠ ܒܪ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ [8]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܙܒܢܗ ܐܝܫܘܥ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ [9]ܒܣܘܦ ܐܝܫܘܥ، [10]ܠܡܘܪ̈ܒܘܬܐ ܘܠܡܕܒܪܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܢ [11]ܡܕܡ ܐܝܫܘܥ ܠܚܪܢ. ܘܚܝܐ ܢܟܦܐܝܬ ܒܠܠܐ [12]ܗܘ ܡܕܡܝܢܐ ܫܒܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܕܣܠܩܝܢ ܘܢܚܬܝܢ. ܘܣܠܩܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܐܬܬܥܝܪ ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] B C ܠܐܠܗܝ. [2] B ܦܒܠܝܢ; B C ܘܛܥܡܘܬܗ. [3] C ܒܝܫܬܐ. [4] B C omit the words in brackets. [5] A ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪ; C ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪܐ. [6] A B omit ܡܢ. [7] C ܥܠ ܡܘܪܒܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܫܘܥ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [8] A C omit ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [9] C omits ܒܣܘܦ. [10] B C ܠܡܕܒܪܬܐ. [11] B C ܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ. [12] B C omit ܗܘ.

[1]ܗ̇ܘ ܪܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܐܙܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ [2]ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܥܒܕܝܢ
ܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܝܘܡܐ [3]ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܫܬܝܢ [4]ܒܝܬ
ܐܚܘܗܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ. ܘܐܬܐ [5]ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܘܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܬܘܪ̈ܐ
ܕܒܪ̈ܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܦܕ̈ܢܐ. ܘܐܬܢ̈ܐ [6]ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ، ܥܠ [7]ܓܒܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܫܒ̈ܝܐ
ܘܫܒܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܥܠܝ̈ܡܐ ܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܒܣܝܦܐ. ܘܐܬܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ،
ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܘܪܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܝܩܕܬ ܒܥܢܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܘܐܘܒܕܬ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ، ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܬܠܬ ܪ̈ܫܝܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܥܠ
ܓܡ̈ܠܐ ܘܕܒܪܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܥܠܝ̈ܡܐ ܩܛܠܘ [8]ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ
[9]ܒܠܚܘܕܝ، ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܒܢ̈ܝܟ
ܘܒܢ̈ܬܟ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܚܘܗܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ. ܘܐܬܬ ܪܘܚܐ
ܬܩܝܦܬܐ. ܘܐܬܚܒܛܬ ܒܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܙܘ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܝܬܘ.
ܘܐܬܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ [10]ܒܠܚܘܕܝ، ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܩܡ ܐܝܘܒ [11]ܘܨܪܐ ܦܪܣܗ
ܘܓܙ ܪܝܫܗ. ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܣܓܕ ܘܐܡܪ. ܥܪܛܠܝ ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ
ܟܪܣܗ ܕܐܡܝ. ܘܥܪܛܠ ܐܗܦܘܟ. ܡܪܝܐ ܝܗܒ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܢܣܒ.
ܢܗܘܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܒܪܟ. ܘܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܛܐ ܐܝܘܒ
ܘܠܐ ܓܕܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܚܝܗ، ܣܛܢܐ ܠܐܝܘܒ ܒܫܘܚܢܐ
ܒܝܫܐ. ܡܢ ܦܣܬܗ [12]ܕܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܩܕܩܕܗ. ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܚܨܦܐ
[13]ܠܡܬܓܪܕܘ ܒܗ. ܘܝܬܒ [14]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܛܡܐ. ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ
ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܐܦ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܚܣܢ ܐܢܬ ܒܬܡܝܡܘܬܟ.

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[1] C omits ܗ̇ܘ. [2] A omits ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. [3] A ܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. [4] C ܒܒܝܬ. [5] C ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܒܣܪܐ. [6] A omits ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ; C ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [7] B ܓܒܝ̈ܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܕܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ. [8] B C omit ܐܢܘܢ. [9] A B omit ܒܠܚܘܕܝ. [10] A C omit ܒܠܚܘܕܝ; C ܘܐܬܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ ܘܐܬܝܬ. [11] C ܨܪܝ ܦܪܣܗ. [12] B C ܦܣܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ. [13] C ܠܣܪܐ ܣܪܓ. [14] C omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. In B it is written, but is erased with red ink.

ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܘܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܒܪ ܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܓܙܪܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܡܝܢܝܐ. ܠܗ [1]ܠܒܪܗ ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܠܝ̈ܕܝ ܒܝܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܢܟܣܘ [2]ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܠܕܡܘܬܐ ܦܪܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܒܪ ܕܐܙܕܩܦ ܒܗ ܡܪܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ ܕܙܪܝܪܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܗ̇ ܕܣܪܐ ܢܣܒܗ̇ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܩܛܘܪܐ ܒܪܬ ܝܩܛܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܝܡܢܝ̈ܐ. ܘܒܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܒܪ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܢܦܩ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܕܕܡܣܘܩܝܐ ܥܒܕܗ [3]ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܐܘܪܟ ܦܪܝܬܐ. ܘܡܝܬܝܗ̇ ܠܪܦܩܐ ܒܪܬ ܒܬܘܐܝܠ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ [4]ܒܪ ܡܪܗ. ܘܡܫܚܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܪ [5]ܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܣܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܟܦܝܠܬܐ ܕܙܒܢ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܘܢ ܚܬܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܫܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ [6]ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܬܐܘ̈ܡܐ ܥܣܘ ܘܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܕܒܢܐ ܐܬܓܒܝܬ ܐܘܒܠ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ. ܐܬܪܥܠ ܡܛܘܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ [7]ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܬܓܒܝܬ ܐܝܣܚܩ. [8]ܘܥܣܘ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܦܙ. ܘܐܠܝܦܙ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܥܘܐܝܠ. ܘܪܥܘܐܝܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܪܚ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܐܝܘܒ ⁘

ܟܗ ⁘ ܥܠ ܢܫܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܘܒ.

ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܘܨ [9]ܕܫܡܗ ܐܝܘܒ. ܘܓܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܬܡܝܡ ܘܙܕܝܩ ܘܕܚܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܫܒܥܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܒܢ̈ܢ. ܘܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܩܢܝܢܐ [10]ܕܡܕܡ ܕܝܠܗ. ܫܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܥܢܐ. ܘܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܓܡܠ̈ܐ. ܘܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܦܕܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܬܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ ܐܬܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܛܒ. ܘܓܒܪܐ

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[1] A C omit ܠܒܪܗ.
[2] C ܠܝܣܚܩ.
[3] B ܥܒܕܗ ܠܐܘܪܟ.
[4] B omits ܒܪ.
[5] C ܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ.
[6] C ܐܬܝܠܕܘ with ܐ above ܝ.
[7] C omits ܫܢܝ̈ܢ.
[8] A omits the next two clauses; C ܘܥܣܘ.
[9] A C ܫܡܗ.
[10] B C ܡܩܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ.

ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܒܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܒܕܪܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܫܡ ܒܪ ܠܒܢܘܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ. ܚܕ ܠܫܢܐ [1]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [2]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܠܫܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ. ܘܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܒܫܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܥܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ [3]ܠܢܗܪܐ ܦܪܬ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. [4]ܘܡܢ ܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܪܝܘ ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܠܗ ܠܦܠܓ ܥܠ [5]ܕܒܝܘܡܬܗ ܐܬܒܠܒܠܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܐܘ ܦܠܓ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܦܠܓ [6]ܘܡܒܪܘܗܝ, ܫܪܘܓ ܘܢܚܘܪ ܒܢܘܗܝ, ܒܦܠܓܝܢ ܦܢܝܬܐ [7]ܕܒܢܘܗ̇ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܀

ܕܡ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ.

ܬܘܒ ܐܒܘܗܝ, ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܢܣܒ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [8]ܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܚܕܐ ܕܫܡܗ ܢܘܢܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ [9]ܡܢܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܚܪܬܐ [10]ܕܫܡܗ ܝܠܒܬ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ ܠܝܦܬܐ. ܘܡܢ, ܬܐܪܦܘܫ ܐܚܪܢ. ܕܫܡܗ ܒܪܬ ܕܕܗ ܗ̄ܝ, ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܠܫܪܪܐ ܕܡܠܬ ܐܒܗܐ ܫܡܗ. ܘܒܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܫܒܥܝܢ [11]ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. [12]ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܥܒܪ ܦܪܬ ܢܗܪܐ ܘܢܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. ܘܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܬܪܚ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܠܘܛ ܒܪ ܐܚܘܗܝ,. ܘܥܒܪ ܠܢܗܪܐ [13]ܦܪܬ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܫܬ [14]ܫܢܝܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܫܡܥܐܝܠ ܒܪܗ. ܡܢ ܗܓܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܐܡܬܗ ܕܣܪܐ. [15]ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܝܗ̄ܒܗ ܦܪܥܘܢ [16]ܡܠܟܐ ܠܣܪܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܕܒܪܬ ܠܣܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܬܘܒ ܒܓܠܝܢܐ

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[1] B ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܪܥܐ. ܗ̄. ܣܘܪܝܝܐ. ܘܡܡܠܠܐ ܒܚܕܐ; C ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܪܥܐ., etc. [2] A ܕܐܡܪ. [3] B ܠܢܗܪܐ ܚܘܪܐ. [4] A ܡܢ. [5] B C ܕܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. [6] C ܘܡܒܪܘܗ. [7] B ܕܒܢܐ. [8] B ܢܫ̈ܐ. [9] A omits ܡܢܗ. [10] A ܕܚܕܐ. [11] C omits ܘܚܡܫ. [12] B ܘܦܩܕܗ. [13] A ܕܦܪܬ. [14] C omits ܫܢܝܢ. [15] B C omit ܗܝ. [16] A omits ܡܠܟܐ.

ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܘܣܦܘ ܥܠ ܫܢܝܬܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܬܝܕܥܘܢ ܠܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܚܬܝܬܐ. ܘܢܕܥܘܢ ¹ܠܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ²ܒܫܘܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܐܚܪܝܬ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܐܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ³ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܐ ܒܐܠܦܐ ܫܬܝܬܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܘܫܒܢܗܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ✣

ܟܒ ✣ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܘܦܘܠܓ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ.

ܟܕ ܐܬܡܠܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܗ ܕܦܠܓ. ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܫ. ܫܡ ܘܚܡ ܘܝܦܬ ⁴ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܘܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܒܫܢܥܪ. ܘܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ⁵ܕܬܘ ܢܒܢܐ ܠܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܪܫܗ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܘܒ ⁶ܢܐܬܐ ܛܘܦܢܐ ⁷ܘܢܘܒܕ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܠܡܪܡܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܠܡܒܢܝܢܐ. ܒܗܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܟܢ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܗܕܝܢ ܐܬܒܥܝܘ ܠܡܒܢܝܢܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܡܓܕ̈ܠܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܚܕܪ̈ܘܗܝ، ܕܡܓܕܠܐ ܗܘ. ܘܠܡܣܡܟܘ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܚܕ. ܕܡܦܪܟ ܠܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܐܬܚܙܬ ܐܝܕܗ ܐܢܦ. ܘܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܟܝܒܘܬ ܥܒ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܚܫܒܬ ܒܡܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܚܣ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܒܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܡܬܦܢܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܡܠܗܘܢ. ܘܦܠܓܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܪܘܚܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܥܒܕܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܕܓܠܓܠܐ. ܘܡܚܡܣܘܬܐ ܕܢܗܝ̈ܪܐ. ܘܦܣܩܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܒܢܗܘܢ ܠܟܠ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܬܘ ܢܚܘܬ ܘܢܒܠܒܠ ܬܡܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ⁸ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܟܝܐ ܠܗ، ܕܬܘ ܢܚܘܬ ܒܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܝ̈ܠܗܝܢ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܥܠ ܩܢܘ̈ܡܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܗܓܪܬܐ ܪܡܙܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܚܬ ܐܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܒܗܘ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܡܚܝܕܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܝܢ.

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[1] A ܠܡܐܬܝܬܐ. [2] B ܒܫܘܠܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܐܚܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ. [3] A omits ܐܝܟ; C ܡܠܘܬܗܘܢ. [4] C ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ, ܒܫܢܥܪ. [5] C ܬܘ. [6] C ܐܬܐ. [7] B ܘܢܘܒܕܢ. [8] C ܐܦ.

ܐܘܠܕ ܠܦܠܓ. ܗܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ, ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܦܠܓ ܟܕ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܥܘ. ܗܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ,
ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܫܢ̈ܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܘ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ
ܠܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܒܕܡܟܐ ܠܗܢܕܝܢ[1] ܚܕ ܠܫܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ,[2] ܗ̄ܘ̣ܐ.
ܕܗܘ̣ܝܘ ܐܒܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. [ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܗܘ̣ܝܘ
ܣܘܪܝܝܐ.] ܘܐܪܥܘ ܟܕ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܣܪܘܓ.
ܗܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ,[3] ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܣܪܘܓ ܟܕ ܡܐܐ
ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܪ. ܘܗܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ,[4] ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܒܫܢ̈ܘܬܗ ܕܣܪܘܓ ܫܪܝܘ ܒܣܓܕܐ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ. ܘܢܚܘܪ
ܟܕ [5]ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܬܪܚ. ܗܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ, ܡܐܐ
ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܫܢ̈ܘܬܗ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܫܪܝܬ ܚܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ
ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܦܬܚ [6]ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܨܪ̈ܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܕܥܠ̈ܥܠܐ. ܘܥܩܪܘ
ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ. ܘܟ̇ܢ̣ܫܘ ܘܛܡܪܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܬܚܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ.
ܘܐܘܣܦܘ ܥܠܝܗ̇ܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ [7]ܬ̈ܠܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܬܘܪܐ
ܠܛܘܦܢܐ ܕܢܘܚܐ. ܘܬܪܚ ܟܕ [8]ܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ.
ܗܢܐ [9]ܕܝܢ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ,[10] ܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܗܟܝܠ
ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܘܦܢܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ [11]ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ
ܘܫܒܥܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܬܘ̈ܢܝܐ.
ܕܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܦܘܠ̈ܓܝܐ ܗܘ [12]ܠܟܠܗ
ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܘܕܡܦܩܢ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܘܕܥܢܐ ܦܪ̈ܘ ܡܢ

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[1] B C ܠܗܘܢܕܝܢ. [2] B C ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܪܡܝܐ. ܕܗܘܝܘ ܐܒܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ, and they omit the words in brackets. In C, on the margin, a later hand has written with a lead pencil ܗܘܝܘ ܕܝܢ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ as a gloss on ܐܪܡܝܐ. [3] B C ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ. [4] B ܡܐܬܝܢ. [5] B ܬܫܥܝܢ. [6] A ܡܪܝܐ. [7] B ܬܠ̈ܐ. [8] B ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ. [9] A C omit ܕܝܢ. [10] B ܡܐܬܝܢ. [11] B C ܥܕܡܐ. [12] C omits ܠܟܠܗ.

[1]ܘܗܢ̈ܕܝܐ ܘܐܣܕܡܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܟܘܫ ܘܐܡܟܢܐ ܕܒܪܬ. ܘܒ̈ܢܝ
ܠܗܘܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܚܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܦܬ. ܥܡ ܝܦܬ ܚܡܫܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܥܡ̈ܡ.
ܓܡܪ [2]ܗܘ ܕܡܢܗ ܓܐܘܬ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܓܘܓ ܕܡܢܗ ܓܠ̈ܛܝܐ. ܡܕܝ
ܕܡܢܗ ܡܕ̈ܝܐ. ܝܘܢ ܕܡܢܗ ܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܬܘܒܝܠ ܕܡܢܗ ܒܝܬܘ̈ܢܝܐ.
ܡܫܟ ܕܡܢܗ ܡܘܣ̈ܝܐ. ܬܝܪܣ ܕܡܢܗ [3]ܬܪ̈ܩܝܢܐ ܘܐܣܩܠ̈ܒܝܐ
ܘܐܣܦܩ̈ܠܝܐ. ܒ̈ܢܝ ܓܡܪ. ܐܫܟܢܙ ܕܡܢܗ [4]ܐܪ̈ܡܢܝܐ. ܪܝܦܬ ܕܡܢܗ
ܩܦܕܩ̈ܝܐ. ܬܘܓܪܡܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܣܝ̈ܢܐ [5]ܘܐܣܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܘܢ
ܐܠܝܫܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܩܝܠܝܩ. ܬܪܫܝܫ. ܡܝܠܝܡܝܐ. [6]ܩܘܦܪܘܣ. ܟܬܝܡ.
ܕܘܕܢܝܡ. ܡܩܕ̈ܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܠܓܙܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ.
ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܢܘܚ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ
ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܘܠܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ. ܘܠܦܘܬ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ
ܐܦ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܀

ܟܓ ܀ [7]ܥܠ ܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܠܥܠ.

ܫܡ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
ܗܘܝ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܘܗܝ، ܫܬܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [8]ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ [9]ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ
ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܘܫܠܚ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܥܒܪ. ܗܘܝ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܘܗܝ، ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܫܠܚ
ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ. ܗܘܝ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܘܗܝ، ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ
ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܥܒܪ ܕܝܢ [9]ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ

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[1] B C ܘܣܢ̈ܕܝܐ. [2] A B omit ܗܘ. [3] A ܬܪ̈ܩܝܐ ܘܐܣܩܠ̈ܒܝܐ and omits ܘܐܣܦܩ̈ܠܝܐ; C ܬܪ̈ܩܝܐ. [4] B C ܐܪܡ̈ܢܝܐ. [5] B C ܘܐܣܘܪ̈ܝܐ. [6] A ܩܘܦܪܘܣ. [7] A omits ܥܠ.

[8] In B was written originally ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܫܠܚ ܩܝܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܐ ܘܩܝܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܫܠܚ ܕܩܝܢܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ., but the words underlined are erased with red ink; C reads ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܫܠܚ ܕܝܢ ܘܩܝܢܢ (a line left blank here) ܫܢ̈ܝܢ; A omits ܘܫܒܥܐ. [9] B omits ܡܐܐ; C ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪܒܥ.

[1][ܐܡ̈ܪ. ܒܗ̇ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܫܢ] ܘܡܕܡܟܐ ܠܡܦܪܘܩ ܡܛܠܗ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܢܘܚ ⁘
ܒ̈ܢܝ ܫܡ. ܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܫܡ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬ ܥܣ̈ܪܝܢ. ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܠܓ̈ܘܬܐ
ܘܡܦܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ. ܘܒܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ.
ܘܦܦܠ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܦܬ̈ܟܪܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܒ̈ܝܬܐ. ܥܒܕܐ [2]ܡܠܟ̈ܐ
ܕܢܫܒ ܡܫܒܚܢܘܢ. ܘܒ̈ܢܝ ܒܥܕܪ. ܥܒܕܐ ܘܣܘܠܐ. ܕܡܢܗܘܢ
ܚܬ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܫܡܥ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܟ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ،
ܬܝܡܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܢܡܪܘܕ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܓܢܒܪܐ
ܒܬܪ ܨܝܕܢܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܪܫ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܒܒܠ. ܘܗܘ ܒܢܗ̇ ܘܐܡܠܟ
ܒܗ̇. ܘܡܢ ܒܢܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܠܓ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܐܪܟ
ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܘܪܗܝ. ܘܐܟܪ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܢܨܝܒܝܢ. ܘܟܠܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ
ܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ. ܐܪܒܥܐ [3]ܕܗܝܟܪ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܦܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ̇
ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ [4]ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܡܬܦܩܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܝ [5]ܢܦܩ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ. ܘܒܢܗ̇ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ
ܘܠܪܚܒܘܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܝ ܐܪܒܝܠ [6]ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ. ܕܟܠܗ̇
ܒܪ ܢܡܪܘܕ ܒܢܐ ܡܕܡܟܝܬ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐܬܘܪ. ܘܡܢ
ܒܬܪ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ [7]ܕܒܢܗ̇ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ ܘܡܢܗ̇ ܟܠ [8]ܥܡܗ.
ܘܐܪܒܝܠ ܘܟܠܚ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܚܛܪܐ [9]ܘܪܣܢ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܪܫ ܥܝܢܐ. ܘܡܨܪܝܢ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܕܝܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܦܘܛ̈ܝܐ. [10]ܦܠܫܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܟܬ̈ܝܐ.
ܦܠܫܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܬܟ̈ܬܝܐ. ܘܠܟܦܬܘܕܝܢ ܘܠܟܦܬܘܪܝܢ.
ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ ܦܠܫܬܝܐ ܘܓܕܪ̈ܝܐ ܦܘܪܦܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܢܥܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܨܝܕܘܢ ܒܘܟܪܗ. ܕܗܘܘ ܨܝܕܢܝܐ ܘܨܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܒܬܪܗ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܚܬ
ܚܬ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܪܝܠ ܒܡܪܘ. [11]ܘܡܢ ܝܒܘܣ ܝܒܘܣܝܐ ܘܡܕܡܟܐ ܠܐܡܘܪ. ܡܢܚܘ̈ܝܐ

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[1] C omits the words in brackets. [2] C ܡܠܟ̈ܝܢ. [3] C ܕܗܝܟܠܐܪ. [4] B C ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܒܒܠ. [5] A ܢܦܩ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ. [6] B C omit ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [7] B C ܕܒܢܐ. [8] C ܒܥܡܗ. [9] C ܘܪܐܣܢ. [10] C ܘܟܦܬܘܪܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܐܟܬܝܐ. ܘܟܦܬܘܪܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܩܘܦܛܝܐ. [11] B C ܡܢ.

ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܠܒܢܝܢܗ̇. ܒܘ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܘܩܪܗ̇ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܐܬܒܪܘ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܠܣܓ̈ܕܐ. ܕܗ̇ܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗ̇ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܒܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܢ ܣܒܪܐ [1]ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ. ܥܒܪ ܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ [2]ܘܢܦܩ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܠܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܢܫܩ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ. ܘܒܪܟ ܠܗ ܡܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܡܢ [3]ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܘܢܣܒܗ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ [4]ܘܒܪܟܗ. ܘܝܗ̄ܒ ܠܗ ܠܚܡܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܀

ܟܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܕ̈ܬܗ ܕܢܘܚ.

ܒ̈ܢܝ ܫܝܡ. ܚܡܫܐ ܕܫܝܡ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܥܝܠܡ ܕܡܢܗ ܥܝܠܡ̈ܝܐ. [5]ܘܐܫܘܪ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܡܢܗ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܠܘܕ ܘܐܪܡ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܪ̈ܡܝܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܡܣܘܩܝܐ ܘܚܪ̈ܢܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܒܝܠ ܕܐܠܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܟܒܪ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ، ܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ. ܘܠܥܒܪ [6]ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܢ. ܫܡܗ ܕܚܕ ܦܠܓ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܘܡ̈ܘܗܝ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ، ܡܢܗ ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܒܪ ܦܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܡܪܘ، ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܥܡ ܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܦܘܩܐ ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܢܦܩ. ܕܡܢܗ [7]ܗܘܘ ܒܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܬܠܬܥܣܪ [8]ܕܒܣܪܗ ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܘܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܐܚܝܕܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܘܬܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܠܦܘܪܐ. ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [9]ܘܟܕ ܡܬܒ̈ܪܝܢ ܡܢ [10]ܐܪܡ ܘܕܪܡܣܘܩ. ܘܡܠܟ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ ܘܫܠܡ [11]ܘܬܫܘܦܡܣܘܣ ܐܬܘܪ ܘܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܘܦܪܣ ܠܬܡܢܝܐ ܘܚܡܫܐ ܙܒܢܐ. ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܣܠܩ ܡܠܟܐ. ܢܚܫܝܚ

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[1] B omits ܘܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ; C ܣܒܪܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ. [2] B C ܢܦܩ. [3] C ܟܠ ܡܕܡ.
[4] C ܘܒܪܟܗ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ. [5] C ܘܐܬܘܪ. [6] C ܐܬܝܠܕ. [7] C ܗܘܐ. [8] A ܕܒܣܪ.
[9] B C ܟܕ. [10] C ܐܪ̈ܡ. [11] C ܘܬܫܘܡܣܘܣ.

ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܥܡ ܠܡܙܒܢܘܬܐ. ܘܫܡܥܗ̇
ܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ، ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܕܦܩܕܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܢ [1]ܐܚܝܢܐ
ܠܘܬܢ ܢܗܘܪܬܐ ܘܠܬܚܘܡܐ. ܘܠܬܚܘܡܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܗܡܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܟܠܗ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܕܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ ܘܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܡܝܬܝܢ. [2]ܕܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܒܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܒܟܝ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܘܬܒܥ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ [3][ܐܒܘܗܘܢ،
ܕܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ] ܦܩܕ ܡܢܢ، ܠܒܢܝܢ. ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܡܟ.
ܘܢܦܪܩܟ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܨܒܘܬܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܥܡ ܟܠܠܐ
ܠܡܙܒܢܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܘ ܡܒܥܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܝܬ. ܘܫܡܥܗ̇ ܠܡܙܒܢܘܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܕܦܩܕܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܐܠ ܠܗ̇. ܘܩܒܠܢ ܟܠܠܐ
ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܗ، ܘܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ ܒܝܕܗ ܒܕܡܝ̈ܐ [4]ܕܐܬܘ ܘܩܡܘ ܘܩܡܘ ܟܠ
ܕܒܚܬܐ ܕܐܙܕܡܢܘ ܒܗ̇ ܡܢ. ܘܟܕ [5]ܚܙܝܗ̇ ܠܡܒܥܬܐ ܛܒ. ܐܬܓܢܒܬ
ܐܪܥܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܒܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܘܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܡܒܥܬܐ ܘܬܕܒ
ܐܬܚܫܒܬ. ܘܡܦܩܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬܬܗ ܡܦܩܬ ܡܒܘܙܙܐ. ܘܗܘܡ ܥܡܗ
ܐܚܝܗ ܟܠ ܪܥܝܗ ܕܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ. ܘܒܪܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܒܩܢܐ.
ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܬܒ ܛܒܘ. ܒܕܡܝܐ ܠܡܢܥܠܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܢ، ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܕܫܡܥܢܐ ܘܟܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܐ. ܘܡܕܪܫܐ ܥܠ ܪܝܫܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ.
ܘܡܩܪܒܐ ܡܢ ܣܘܡ̈ܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܦܝܩ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܫܡܗܐ ܘܡܗܝܒܐ
ܘܫܠܪܐ. ܘܒܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܬܒܥܐ ܠܢ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܢ ܢܗܘܐ
ܥܡܟ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܥܡ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ، ܘܐܡܪܘ ܐܒܘܗܘܢ، ܕܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ.
ܐܝܟܢ ܒܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪ [6]ܥܡ ܕܝܗܒܬ ܟܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܢܦܩܘܗܝ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ، ܢܚܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܫܠܚܝܢܢ ܒܝܕ [7]ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ،
ܒܕܡܝܐ ܕܢܚܬ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܓܢܒܘ
ܫܕܒܪܝ [8]ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܦܘ ܠܫܝܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܝ ܕܐܙܠ ܒܥܡܗܘܢ

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[1] B C ܘܐܚܝܐ. [2] A ܕܗܘܐ ܠܟ; B ܠܟ ܗܘܐ. [3] B C omit the words in brackets. [4] A ܩܡܘ ܕܐܬܘ. [5] B C ܚܙܝܗ̇. [6] A B omit ܥܡ. [7] B C ܒܕܘܟܬܗ and omit ܗ̇ܝ. [8] B C ܡܠܟܝܢ.

ܕܬܘܠܡܕܐ. ܘܩܒܠ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܘܥܠ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܢܬܝ̈ܠܕܘܢ ܐܘܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܕܝܪ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܘܙܘܗܪܐ ܘܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ [1]ܙܪܥܗ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܢܦܩܝ̈ܢ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܪ̈ܝܫܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܠܗ̇ ܠܢܦܫ ܒܬܪ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܒܪܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܥܡܗ ܢܦܠܘܢ. ܘܥܘܕܗ ܒܡܘܬܒܘܬܐ. [2]ܘܫܘܕܪܗ ܠܢܘܪ ܥܡܡܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܝܐ. ܘܚܝܐ ܢܦܫ ܒܬܪ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ، ܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ [3]ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܚܝܐ ܬܡܢܬܥܣܪ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ، ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܡܢܗ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥ ܒܥܣܪܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܫܢܝ̈ [4]ܥܣ̈ܪܐ ܕܐܣܟܡܐ. ܘܢܦܠܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܦܓܪܗ، ܒܢܘܗ،. ܘܐܬܬܩܝܠ ܒܠܘܗܝ، ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܀

ܟܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ.

ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܠܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܘܠܐ ܐܡܗ [5]ܐܬܟܬܒܘ [6]ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܠܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܒܝܢ̈ܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ [5]ܐܬܟܬܒܘ. ܘܫܘܚܠܦܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܐܬܝܗܘܢ، ܗܘ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܫ. ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܓܢܒܬܒ ܕܒܢܐ ܡܓܙܙ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܫܡ ܒܪ ܢܦܫ ܐܬܝܗܘܢ، ܫܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܦܟܫܪ. ܘܐܪܦܟܫܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܘܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ ܘܠܦܠܓ. ܥܠܝܗ ܕܝܢ [7]ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܡܠܝܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܠܨܐ ܗܘܬ ܨܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ [8]ܬܬܟܬܒ. ܟܕ ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܫ. ܦܩܕܗ ܠܥܡܗ ܥܠ ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ، ܕܐܙܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܐܬܝܗܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܐܫܬܒܩ ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܙܪܥܗ. [2] A ܘܫܘܕܪ; B ܫܘܕܪܗ. [3] A ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܢܝ̈ܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܙܘܓܐ ܘܫܢ̈ܝ. [4] B C ܥܣܪܝܢ. [5] A ܐܬܟܬܒ.

[6] In A, on fol. 39 *a*, there is a marginal note, which reads ܘܕܝܢ ܐܘ ܐܢܫ ܡܕܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܫܡܥܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܕܐܒܗܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܢܘܪܡܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܗ ܡܠܟܬܐ:. [7] C ܐܬܟܬܒܘ. [8] A ܢܬܟܬܒ.

ܒܥܘܪܒܐ ܕܢܦܩ. ܘܬܘܒ ܫܕܪ ܠܝܘܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܠܗ̇ ܕܘܟܐ[1]
ܕܬܫܟܢ. ܘܦܢܬ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܫܕܪ ܝܘܢܐ
ܐܚܪܬܐ. ܘܦܢܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܒܪܡܫܐ[2] ܟܕ ܛܪܦܐ ܕܙܝܬܐ ܒܦܘܡܗ̇ ܛܪܝܦܐ
ܕܙܝܬܐ. ܘܝܕܥ ܢܘܚ ܕܐܬܒܨܪܘ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܘܩܡ ܢܘܚ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܫܬܡܐܐ
ܡܫܬܡܠܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢܗ̇ ܘܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܕܟܝ̈ܬܐ.
ܘܩܒܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܗ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܬܘܒ[3] ܢܚܬܐ ܛܘܦܢܐ
ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܢܚܒܠ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܒܛܘܦܢܐ.
ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܐܬܐ ܩܫܬܐ ܕܒܥܢ̈ܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ̇ ܩܝܡܐ ܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܩܫܬܐ
ܒܥܢ̈ܢܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܡܐܟܠ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ. ܒܬܪ
ܕܐܫܕ[4] ܕܡܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦܫܢ.
ܘܒܢܘ ܠܩܪܝܬܐ ܬܡܢ̈ܝܢ ܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܕܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦܫܢ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܒܦܪܘܫܝܐ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ܕܥܡ[5] ܗܘܦܪܟܝܐ ܕܩܪܕܘ. ܘܢܚܬ ܢܘܚ
ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܫܬܟܚ، ܡܢ ܚܕܪܘܗ. ܘܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܗ̇ ܟܕ ܢܚ ܘܕܝܢܝ.
ܦܠܓܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܗ ܡܢ ܙܪܥܝܬܐ. ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܗ ܘܦܪܘܫܝܗ ܒܟܠܗ
ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܘܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ، ܒܢܘܗܝ ܫܡ ܘܚܡ ܘܝܦܬ. ܘܐܘܕܥ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ، ܫܡ
ܘܢܚܬ. [6]ܘܢܫܩܗ ܫܡ ܘܝܗܒ ܙܪܥܐ ܥܠ ܚܬܢܘܗܝ [7]ܘܡܠܟܘ ܒܪ
ܒܡܬܪܬܐ ܒܗ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܢ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܪܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܪܡܝܢܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܥܠ
ܐܦܣܩܘ̈ܦܐ ܘܡܠܟ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܫܪܟܐ ܒܗ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܬܦܝܣ ܢܘܚ ܘܢܚܬ
ܡܢܗ [8]ܐܬܒܠܒܠ ܥܡܐ. ܡܢ ܬܘܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܢܘܗܝ. ܠܠܫܢܐ ܠܚܕ
ܒܝܬ ܕܫܡ. ܘܐܡܪܘ [9]ܕܒܒܒܠ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܦܪܫ ܠܚܕ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܠܫܢܗ.
ܚܠܬܐ. ܐܢ ܕܦܠܓ ܠܫܡ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܫ ܠܐ ܡܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܠܟܐ [10]ܗܘ
ܚܠܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܡ ܒܫܡܗ ܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܒܪ ܫܡܐܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܐ

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[1] B C ܕܘܟܬܐ. [2] A omits this word. [3] A omits ܬܘܒ. [4] C ܕܡܗܝܢ.
[5] B C ܗܘܦܪܟܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܪܕܘ; A ܗܦܪܟܝܐ. [6] A ܘܢܫܩ. [7] B C ܘܪܕܘ. [8] A
ܡܬܒܠܒܠ with ܐ written above the ܡ. [9] C ܒܒܠ. [10] B C ܗܘ ܢܗܝܠ; C ܠܐܘ.

ܒܪ̈ܝܚܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗ ܡܫܡܫܐܝܬ[1]. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
[2]ܒܡܫܡܫܬܗܘܢ ܠܫ̈ܒܚܬܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܦܐ̈ܪܐ ܘܦܐ̈ܪܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܫܒܥܐ
ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘܚ. ܕܢܐܚܘܕ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܩܒܘܬܐ [3]ܘܢܚܬܘܡܘܗܝ،
ܒܡܦܘܪܐ. ܘܐܬܬܪܥܘ ܡܒ̈ܘܥܐ ܕܬܗܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܬܚܬ. ܘܙܪ̈ܝܒܬܐ
ܕܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܐܝܡܡܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܠܠܝ̈ܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܘܐ.
ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܥܠܝܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܛܘ̈ܪܐ [4]ܪ̈ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ.
[5]ܒܚܡܫܬܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܘܛܒܥܘܗ̇ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܥܡܘܪܬܐ ܘܐܒܕ̈ܝ ܡܥܡܘܪܬܐ ܟܠ
ܡܬ̈ܝܐ. ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܠܬܝܡܢܐ. ܘܐܫܬܡܠܝ
ܛܘܦܢܐ ܕܝܠܝܕܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܚܪܒ̈ܝ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܘܐܬܘܗ̇
ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܪ̈ܘܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܝܘ ܡܛܪ̈ܐ. ܦܫܪܘ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ. ܘܢܫܒܘ
ܡ̈ܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܥܕ ܠܐ ܢܫܦܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܢܚܡܢ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ. ܫܪܝ ܡܢ
ܗܢܘܢ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ [6]ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܕܗܘܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܢܘܚ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ.
ܘܫܕܪ ܠܥܘܪܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܦܓ̈ܪܐ ܠܒܣܪ. ܡܟܐ ܘܫܟܚ
ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܕܟܕ̈ܐܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ ܢܚ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܫܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܒܪܡܫܐ ܠܚܘܫܒܢ
ܒܬܫܪܝ، ܐܚ̄ܪܝ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܚܘܫܒܢ. ܡܢ ܬܫܪܝ، ܐܚܪܝ، ܒܪܡܫܐ
ܠܝܪܚܐ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ. [7]ܘܒܗ ܒܚܕ ܝܘܡ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܪ̈ܫܝ ܛܘ̈ܪܐ. ܘܥܕܡܐ
ܕܝܬܒܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ. ܘܐܫܬܒܩ ܗܘܐ ܢܘܚܐ ܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܚܠܗ ܡܟܐ ܗܘܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚܬ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܪܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܩܪܕܘ. ܘܒܝܪܚܐ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ
ܕܝܘܡܐ ܫܒܥܐ. [8][ܘܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ، ܘܚܙܐ ܕܫܒܩ ܒܬܪ
ܒܐܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܝܬ.] ܦܬܚ ܢܘܚ ܟܘܬܐ ܕܩܒܘܬܐ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܥܘܪܒܐ
ܕܢܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܦܢܝܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܐܫܟܚ ܥܠ ܦܓ̈ܪܐ ܡܝ̈ܬܬܐ ܘܩܡ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܦܟ. ܘܡܛܠܗܕܐ ܩܕܡܬܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܡܬܠܐ[9]

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[1] B ܡܫܡܫܢܐܝܬ; C ܡܫܡܫܢܢܐܝܬ. [2] B C ܡܫܡ̈ܫܬܗܘܢ. [3] A B ܘܢܚܬܘܡܝܗܝ; C ܒܡܦܪ̈ܐ. [4] A omits ܪ̈ܡܐ. [5] B ܒܚܡܫܐ ܥܣܪ̈ܐ. [6] C omits ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. [7] B ܘܒܚܕ ܒܗ; C ܘܒܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ ܒܗ. [8] B omits the words in brackets. [9] B C ܡܬܠܐ ܗܘܐ.

ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ[1] ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܕܘܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ. ܘܫܡܫ[2] ܗܘܐ ܗܘ
ܪ̈ܓܫܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܘܢܓܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܒܚܝܪ.
ܡܢ ܢܘ̈ܡܣܝܢ ܟܕ. ܛܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ ܡܒܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܕܡ
ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܘܦܘܠܓܗ ܀

ܟ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܘܚ ܘܥܠ ܬܒܘܬܐ.

ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܢܦܩ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܥܒܬ
ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܫܡ ܘܚܡ ܘܝܦܬ. ܘܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܗ
ܘܬܡܝܡܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܚ. ܘܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܘܐܬܦܨܝ
ܒܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܢܩܒܐ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ
ܦܘܫܚܬܐ. ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܠܛܘܦܢܐ ܢܘܚ ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܩܒܘܬܐ[3] ܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ
ܕܠܗ ܘܕܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ، ܘܕܫܪܒܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܬܘܒܗ ܠܥܒܕܬܐ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ
ܕܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܢܝܗ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܕܪ̈ܫܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܙ̈ܒܢܐ ܘܐܝܟ
ܓܢ̈ܒܪܐ. ܥܠ ܙ̈ܒܢܐ ܐܝܟܡܐ ܐܦܪܫܗ ܘܪܕܦ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܐܘܪܟܗ ܕܬܒܘܬܐ
ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܬܝܗ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܪܘܡܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܥܒܕܗ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܩܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܫܟܪ̈ܥܐ.
ܘܩܦܪܗ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ. ܘܡܫܬܡܠ [4]ܫܪܝܬ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ. ܦܩܕܗ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘܚ. ܕܢܥܘܠ ܗܘ ܘܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ، ܘܟܠ̈ܠܬܗ. ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ.
ܘܐܥܠ ܥܡܗ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܕܟ̈ܝܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܙܘ̈ܓܝܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܠܛܡ̈ܐܬܐ ܙܘܓܐ ܙܘܓܐ. ܕܟܪܐ ܘܢܩܒܬܐ. ܘܐܥܠ ܥܡܗ ܠܣܝܒܪܐ
ܘܬ̈ܪܒܐ ܠܣܘܦܬ ܦܘܪܢܣܗ ܠܗ ܡܬܪܥܝܢܘܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܥܟܒܢ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ
ܕܢܩܒܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܢܘܚ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ
ܘܐܘܪܒܗ ܠܛܘܦܢܐ ܢܘܚ. ܒܡܪܕܝܬ ܕܟܠܗ ܕܢܟܒ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܒܥܐ
ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܒܬܪ ܢܛܘܪܗ ܘܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܬܒܘܬܐ. ܢܦܩ ܕܝܢ

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ; C ܗܘܐ ܘܡܕܒܪ. [2] A ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ; C omits ܦܓܪܐ. [3] B C ܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ. [4] C omits ܫܪܝܬ.

ܬܡܢܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܝܪܕ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܢܘܟ. ܘܚܝܐ ܝܪܕ ܬܡܢܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ.
ܘܚܢܘܟ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ [1]ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܘܫܠܚ. ܘܒܪ
ܗܘܐ [2]ܠܗ ܠܚܢܘܟ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܫܢܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ
ܘܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܡܟ. ܘܚܝܐ ܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ
ܘܬܫܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ: ܘܠܡܟ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܢܘܚ. ܘܚܝܐ [3]ܠܡܟ ܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܀

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪ̈ܓܢܘܢ ܕܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ.

ܐܝܬ [4]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܫܡ [5]ܫܠܝܡ ܘܬܦܠܓܘܬ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ
ܕܚܡ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܕܡܐܝܬ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܘܪ̈ܓܢܐ [6][ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ
ܕܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ]. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܐܪܙܦܬܐ ܘܦܠܚܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗ ܐܡܐ ܘܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܦܝܣܩ̈ܘܦܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܪܝܫܐ ܒܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܝ[7]، ܠܫܪܒܐ ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ [8]ܐܪܟܕܝܩܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܦ
ܡܬܚܫܒ ܪܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܒܫܠܝܛܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܚܫܝܒܐ ܡܢ ܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܬܬܟܠܠ ܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ. ܬܟܠܠ ܒܚܟܡܐ ܪܝܫܐ ܕܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ.
ܘܒܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܩܕܢ ܘܬܦܠܓܘܬ ܒܢ̈ܝܗ، ܕܠܟܘܢ ܦܫܝܛܐ. ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ
ܦܠܚܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܦܪܢܣܘ ܠܥܠܡܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ [9]ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܕܡܫܒ̈ܚܐ
ܘܕܐܬܡܫܡܫܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܩܘܡܐ، ܘܩܘܫܬܐ ܒܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܘܡܚܣܢ ܡܘܬܐ،
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܬܡܫܚܐ. ܘܦܪܢܣܘ
ܒܟܘܡܪܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܕܡܪܐ. ܗܘܝܘ [10]ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܢܫܝܢܝܬܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܝܬܐ ܬܪܝܨܬ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܒܐܝܕܗ

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[1] C omits ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. [2] C omits ܠܗ. [3] A C omit ܠܡܟ. [4] A ܐܡܪ. [5] A ܘܫܠܡ. [6] C omits the words in brackets. [7] A omits ܗܝ. [8] B C omit ܐܪܟܕܝܩܘܬܐ. [9] A C omit this word. [10] B C omit ܕܝܢ.

ܠܫܪ̈ܪܐ. ܐܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܐܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܩܘܛܠ ܩܛܠܗ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܩܐܝܢ. ܐܝܟܘ [1]ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ. ܘܐܡ̣ܪ ܩܐܝܢ ܢܛܘܪܗ ܐܢܐ ܠܡ ܕܐܚܝ.
ܘܐܡ̣ܪ [2]ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܓܠܠܬܐ ܕܕܡܗ [3]ܕܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ
ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܝ. ܘܠܛܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܩܐܝܢ. ܘܥܒ̣ܕܗ [4]ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܢܐܕ
ܘܙܐܥ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ
ܕܡܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܠܐ ܬܩܒܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܕܡܐ
ܕܢܚܐ ܡܢ ܫܡ̈ܝܐ. ܒܕܡܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܢܦܫ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ. ܘܐܬܐܒܠܘ
ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ
ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܬܝܠܕ ܫܝܬ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܐܬܒܝܐܘ ܒܗ ܐܕܡ
ܘܚܘܐ. ܘܫܝܬ ܡܟܝܢ ܘܬܠܝܬ̈ܗ ܘܡܒܪ̈ܢܘ ܒܟܡܘܬܐ. ܘܐܕܡ
ܘܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ، ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ. ܥܡ̣ܪܘ ܥܠ ܪܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܕܢ. ܘܢܚܬܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܬ ܩܐܝܢ ܘܢܦܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܛܢܦܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܛܢܦܘ ܒܙܢܝܘܬܐ. ܘܫܒܩܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ
ܘܐܬܐܒܠܘ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܕܡ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [5]ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܐܒܗ̈ܝܢ.
ܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܫܝܬ ܩܒܪܘܗܝ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܓܙ̈ܐ. ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܠܐ
ܡܩܒܠܐ ܠܗܕܐ. ܘܒܗ ܐܬܘܬܗ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܫܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ
ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܢܘܫ. ܘܚܝܐ ܫܝܬ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ
ܘܡܝܬ. [6]ܘܐܢܘܫ ܒܪ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܘܐܢܘܫ
[7]ܗ̇ܘ ܡܫܪܝܬ ܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܗ̇ܘ ܫܡ
ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ ܥܠ ܪܗܛܐ ܕܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܘܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܢܘܫ
ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܩܝܢܢ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ [8]ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ. ܘܚܝܐ ܩܝܢܢ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ ܒܪ
ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ [9]ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܪܕ. ܘܚܝܐ ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ

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[1] A C omit ܗܒܝܠ.
[2] A omits ܠܗ.
[3] B ܕܕܡܗ ܕܐܚܘܟ; C ܕܓܠܠܐ ܕܐܚܘܟ.
[4] B C omit this word.
[5] C ܘܐܬܢܝܚ.
[6] A C ܘܐܢܘܫ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ.
[7] B ܡܫܪܝܬ ܗܘ.
[8] B C ܘܫܒܥܝܢ.
[9] C ܘܐܘܠܕ.

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܠܢܘܚܐ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ[1] ܢܦܩܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܗ̣ܘܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܝܕܥ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܘܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܩܐܝܢ ܥܡ [2]ܩܠܝܡܬܐ ܚܬܗ ܒܚܕܐ ܟܪܣܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܗܒܝܠ [3]ܘܠܐܒܘܕܐ ܚܬܗ ܒܚܕܐ ܟܪܣܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܝܘ ܠܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܙܘܘ̈ܓܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ ܘܐܬܡܠܟ ܕܢܬܠ ܚܬܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܠܩܐܝܢ. ܘܚܬܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ ܠܗܒܝܠ. ܗ̣ܘ ܕܝܢ ܩܐܝܢ ܪܓܗ ܠܚܬܗ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܚܬܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ. ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܐܚ̈ܘܬܗ ܐܢܝܢ. [4]ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܝܠܗܝܢ ܕܒܚܕܐ ܟܪܣܐ ܩܪܝܒܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ. ܚܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܐܝܢ ܦܐܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܝܬܝܪܐ. ܘܩܪܒܘ [5]ܗ̄ܘܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܐܚ̈ܐ ܡܩܪܒܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܡܛܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܗܒܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܪ̈ܥܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܒܘܟܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܢܗ ܓܒ̈ܝܬܐ ܦܪܫ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܘܟܐܢܘܬܐ. ܘܩܪܒܗ [6]ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܡܬܪܥܝܢܘܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ. ܘܩܐܝܢ [7]ܡܛܠ ܕܦܠܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܣܘܠܐܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܕܚܩܠܗ [8]ܒܚܣܝܢܐ ܦܪܫ. [[9]ܫܒ̈ܠܐ ܕܫܘ̈ܠܐ ܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܣܝܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ.] ܘܐܝܬ [10]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܬܒܥܐ ܠܚܘܦܪ. ܘܢܚܬܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܟܠܬ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܘܐܬܩܒܠ. [11]ܘܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ ܐܣܬܠܝ. ܘܐܬܡܪܚ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܣܩܡ ܒܐܚܘܗܝ. ܘܓܕܠ ܐܦܘܗ ܠܒܗܬܬܐ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܐܟܘܬ [10]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܟܐܒܐ ܦܪܥܗ ܘܩܛܠܗ. ܘܐܟܘܬ [10]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܣܛܢܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܥܡ ܚܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܩܛܠ

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[1] A omits ܕܝܢ. [2] B C ܩܠܝܡܬ. [3] B ܘܠܒܘܕܐ; C ܘܠܠܒܘܕܐ. [4] C omits this word. [5] A omits ܗܘܘ. [6] A omits ܕܚܝܠܐ. [7] A ܡܛܠ ܕܦܠܚ ܗ̄ܘܐ. [8] A ܒܚܣܝܢܐ. [9] A omits the words enclosed in brackets. B gives them in the margin as an explanation of the ܣܘܠܐܢܐ of Cain. C also gives them in the margin, but as an explanation of ܚܣܝܢܐ. [10] A ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [11] C ܘܩܐܝܢ ܐܣܬܠܝ.

ܒܕܡܘܬ ܚܪ̇ܒܐ [1]ܠܦܠܓܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܠܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ: ܘܐܬܚܝܐ ܚܕܪ̈ܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ.
ܠܣܘ̇ܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܕܡ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܘܬܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܟܐ
ܠܡܟܣܝܘ [2]ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ̇ܘ ܕܡܢ ܡܫ̈ܟܐ ܕܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ
[3]ܕܢܟ̇ܣܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܒ̇ܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܒܠܢܝܬܐ[4] ܗ̄ܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [5]ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܐܬܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܦܫܝ̈ܛܘܬܐ ܠܡܦܫܘ [6]ܘܠܡܥܝܦ. ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܗ̄ܝ، [7]ܕܟܠ ܩ̈ܠܦܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ
ܐܚܪ̈ܢ. ܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܦܘܒܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܫ̈ܟܐ ܠܩ̈ܠܦܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܩ̈ܠܦܐ ܠܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܕܡܟ̇ܝܬ ܡܫ̈ܟܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܗܢܕܘ.
ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܩ̈ܠܦܐ ܕܢܥܝܡ ܠܡܠܒܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܪ̈ܘܪܒܢܐ
ܘܕܥܬܝܪ̈ܐ ܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܕܐܦܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܕܒܝܬ ܐܕܡ ܡܢ
ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܟܠܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܐܪܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ. ܘܚܫܚܘܬܐ ܕܠܚܡܐ
ܘܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܚܡܪܐ ܦܣܩ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܒ̈ܫܢܐ. ܡܬܦܠܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ [8]ܕܝܢ ܙܪ̈ܥܘܢܐ
ܘܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܣܟܢܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ [9]ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܕܠܗܐܝܬ. [10]ܘܟܕ
ܐܦ ܐܪܒܥܬ ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܡܪܕܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܬ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܗ̄ܘܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܣܢ̈ܐܐ ܘܩܘ̈ܒܠܐ. ܘܗܘܘ ܗܕܡܐ ܒܕܡܐ
ܕܢܟܣ ܢܦܫ ܡܢ ܚܒܪ̈ܬܐ. [11][ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܟܘܬܐ.] ܘܡܢ ܐܦܣ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܐܟܠ [12]ܠܚܡܐ ܘܠܡܫܬܐ ܚܡܪܐ ܘܠܡܐܟܠ ܒܣܪܐ. ܒܬܪ
ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܗ̇ ܠܚܝܘ̄ܬܐ. ܘܐܬܥܕܪܝܢ ܠܕܡܗ. ܐܬܚܪܡ ܟܕܪ [13]ܕܒܕ ܐܬܦܠܓܪܘ
ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܚܒܫ ܐܕܡ ܢܒܘܥܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܘܕܒܝܫܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܦܘܩܕܐ ܒܡܗ. ܘܐܬܝܒܠ ܡܢ ܕܪ ܠܕܪ.
ܒܕܡܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܕܡܝܐ [14]ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܐܢ ܡܪܝܐ
ܢܒܝܐ. ܢܥܒܕ [15]ܥܒܕܗ ܒܕܘܟܬܗ ⁘

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[1] B C omit ܠܦܠܓܘܬܐ, and read ܕܐܙܠܐ. [2] MSS. ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܗܘܢ; B C ܐܝܬ. [3] B C ܢܟܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܠܒܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [4] C ܡܬܩܒܠܢܝܘܬܐ. [5] A ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ once only. [6] A C ܘܠܡܥܝܦܘ. [7] B C ܟܠ. [8] A omits ܕܝܢ; C ܙܢ̈ܐ. [9] C ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܙܢ̈ܐ. [10] B C ܟܕ. [11] B C omit the words in brackets. [12] B C ܠܡܐܟܠ ܘܠܡܫܬܝܐ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ. [13] B C ܟܕ. [14] C ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ. [15] A ܥܒܕܐ.

ܡܫܐܠܢܝܬ ܗܒܘܬ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ¹ܚܘܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܐܛܥܝܢܝ ܘܐܟܠܬ. ܘܠܛܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܠܝܛ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܥܡ ܠܘܛܬܗ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ ܕܣܛܢܐ. ܐܬܬܠܝܛ ܐܦ ܗ̣ܘ ܣܛܢܐ ܕܐܥܒܕ ܒܚܘܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܒܫܥܬܐ ²ܐܬܢܒܠܘ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܘܡܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܪܣܗ. ܦܩܘܐ ܡܢ ³ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܝܪܐ ܙ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܪܚܫܐ. ܘܣܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܘܬܐ ܒܝܢܝ ܚܘܝܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ. ܕܗ̣ܘ ܢܟܫܘܗܝ ܒܥܩܒܗ ⁴ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܕܘܫ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܗ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܥܦܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܚܘܐ ܕܒܟܐܒ̈ܐ ܬܐܠܕܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܕܡ ܠܝܛܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܛܠܬܟ. ⁵ܘܒܥܡܠܐ ܘܒܕܘܥܬܐ ܕܐܦ̈ܝܟ ܬܐܟܘܠ ⁶ܠܚܡܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܦܪܐ ܐܢܬ. ܘܠܥܦܪܐ ܬܗܦܘܟ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܒܝܕ ܠܘܛܬܐ ܕܩܒܠܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘܥܝܬ ܟܘ̈ܒܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܕܪܐ. ܘܐܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܬܫܥ ܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܕܗ̇ܘ ܝܘܡܐ ⁷ܕܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ⁘

ܝܙ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ.

ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ⁸ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܡܣܟ̈ܠܢܐ. ܛܪ̈ܝܕܝ ܡܢ ܝܪܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܒܪܝܗܘܢ. ܘܫܕܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܒܣܦܪܐ. ܐܒܣܡ ⁹ܒܡܪ̈ܝܚܘܗ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ. ܟܪܘܒܐ ܘܚܪܒܐ ܘܫܢܢܐ ܠܡܢܛܪܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܐܝܬ ¹⁰ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܟܪܘܒܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܛܟܣܐ ܕܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܟܪܘܒܐ ܠܘ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܬ ܡܬܕܡܪܢܝܬܐ ܘܕܚܝܠܬܐ. ¹¹ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܢܐ ܘܚܪܒܐ. ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܡܬܗܦܟܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ̣ܬ

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[1] A C omit ܚܘܐ; B C omit ܘܐܟܠܬ.
[2] B C ܐܬܚܒܠ.
[3] B C ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ.
[4] C omits this word.
[5] B C omit this word.
[6] A ܠܚܡܐ.
[7] A ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ.
[8] A C omit ܐܠܗܐ.
[9] MSS. ܒܡܪ̈ܝܚܘܗ.
[10] A C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ.
[11] A ܘܚܪܒܐ ܘܫܢܢܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܢܐ.

ܕܡܟܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܬܠܬ. ܕܐܝܟ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܬܬܪ ܘܕܒܝܬ ܪܒܪ̈. ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܪܒܝܥܝܐ ܦܩܕܬ. ܕܐܝܟ ܡܟܝܟܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐ̈ܢܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܚܕܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܥܒܪܐ ܘܡܬܚܐ ܠܗܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ ܡܚܕܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܝܢ ܣܝܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܒܚܡܫܬܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܣܝܡ. ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܨܥܝܬܐ[1] ܣܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܕܐܢܗܘ ܕܢܛܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܢܣܩܝܗ ܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܢ ܥܒܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܢܚܬܝܗ ܠܗ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܘܡܬܒܪܬܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܗܕܐ ܡܟܝܠܐ ܘܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܘܗܝ, ܘܪܝܚܬܢܝܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܘܗܝ, ܘܒܣܝܡ ܐܐ̈ܪܘܗܝ ܕܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܢ. ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ. [2]ܘܒܓܘܗ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܫܒ ܠܡܦܪܫܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܐܢ ܢܛܪܘܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. [3]ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, ܒܝܬ ܚܕ̈ܪܝܐ ܕܒܦܫ̈ܬܐ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ. ܘܢܛܪ̈ܘܗܝ, ܣܢܦܝܢ ܘܡܠܝ̈ܢܐ. ܐܠܝܢܐ ܒܗܠܟܐ. [4]ܘܚܣܦܢ ܡܪ̈ܘܒܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܬܪܝܒܢ ܒܗܘ̈ܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܪ̈ܘܒܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܐܡܬܝ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܗܘ̈ܠܐ ܒܠܫܢܗ ܒܗ̇. ܢܦܩ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܒܡܝܘܬܐ. [5]ܕܡܬܦܪܢܝܐ ܒܗ̇. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܢܦܩ̈ܬܐ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܘܢܫ̈ܦܠܢܐ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ.[6] ܘܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܕܫܠܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ. ܘܢܫܦܠܢܐ ܦܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܦܩܬܐ ܘܕܥܡܝܪܬܐ ܕܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܗ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܡܝܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܠܦܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܦܢܐ. ܐܠܐ

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[1] A ܘܣܡܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܨܥܬܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ, and omits ܠܐܕܡ. [2] B C ܘܒܓܘ. [3] C ܘܗܘܐ. [4] A ܘܐܚܣܢ. [5] A ܘܡܬܦܪܢܝܢ. [6] C ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ.

ܘܣܡ ܚܠܦܘܗܝ ܒܣܪܐ. ܘܐܬܩܢ ܡܢܗ ܠܚܘܐ. ܠܐ ܓܒܠܗ̇ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܣܒܪ ܕܡܫܚܠܦܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܠܗ ܒܟܝܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܓܒܠܗ̇ ܡܢ ܩܕܩܕܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܠܛܢܝܬܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܣܬܪܗ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܚܫܒ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ [1]ܣܛܪܗ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܗ̇ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܐܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܬܒܥܐ ܪܚܡܬܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ. ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܕܘܫܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܠܝܬܐ ܒܒ̈ܢܝ ܒܥܠܗ̇. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܣܛܪܗ ܕܣܡܠܐ. ܣܛܪܐ ܠܒ ܕܪܚܡܬܐ ܡܒܝܢܐ ܘܠܒܦܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܢܗܘܢ ܓܒ̈ܐ. ܫܢܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܪܡܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܐܕܡ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܥܒܕܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܝܟ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܪܓܫ ܒܟܐܒܐ ܟܕ [2]ܡܬܢܣܒܐ ܡܢܗ ܥܠܥܐ. ܘܢܫܪ ܒܗ̇ [3]ܒܐܝܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܝܢܐܝܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܦܩܕ ܕܠܐ ܚܫܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܙܕܩܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܐܪܓܫ ܐܕܡ ܒܦܪܩܗ ܐܬܒܝܢ ܘܐܡܪ. [4]ܕܗܕܐ ܓܪܡܐ ܡܢ ܓܪ̈ܡܝ: ܘܒܣܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܣܪܝ. ܗܕܐ ܬܬܩܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ. [5]ܘܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܥܪܛܠܝܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܥܪܛܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܢ̈ܦܫܐ ܀

ܝܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ.

ܢܨܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܕܢ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ ܝܡܐ. ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܢܨܒܗ̇ ܒܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܓܢܣ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܠܙܪܥܝܬܗ [6]ܐܝܟ ܕܢܛܪܘܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܗܝ. ܘܐܦܩ ܡܢܗ ܢܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܡܬܦܠܓ ܠܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܪ̈ܫܝܢ ܠܫܩܝܘܬܗ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ̇. ܢܗܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܦܝܫܘܢ ܕܐܙܠ [7]ܘܢܫܪ [8]ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܚܘܝܠܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ ܘܒܕܘ̈ܠܚܐ ܘܟܐܦ̈ܐ ܛܒ̈ܐ ܘܫܦܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܢܗܪܐ ܬܪܝܢܐ ܓܝܚܘܢ ܕܗܦܟ ܠܟܠܗ̇

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[1] A ܣܛܪܐ.
[2] B C ܡܬܢܣܒ.
[3] A ܕܐܝܠܝܬܐ.
[4] A ܕܗܘܐ.
[5] A ܘܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ.
[6] B C ܐܝܟ ܕܢܛܪܘܢ.
[7] A omits ܘܢܫܪ.
[8] B ܠܐܬܪܐ.

ܘܢܦܚ ܒܗ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗ̣ܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܠܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܢܣܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܕܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܦܢ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܓܒܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ [1]ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܡܨܥܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܓܒܠܗ. [2]ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܒܗ̇ ܐܙܕܩܦ ܡܪܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܬܡܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܬ ܦܪ̈ܦܣܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܓܒܠܗ [3]ܠܐܕܡ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܥܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܠܟܗ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܣܝܡ ܠܟܠ ܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܫܡܐ. ܠܘ ܒܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܒܚܝܪܐ ܘܠܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܟ̈ܝܢܐ [4]ܘܕܦܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ̈ܐ. ܓܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܕܡ ܕܢܣܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܓܠ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪ̈ܐ ܢܬܒܢܫ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܢܣܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܐ ܠܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܐܥܠܗ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܦܠܚܝܘܗܝ، ܘܢܛܪܝܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܢܦܠܚܝܘܗܝ، ܘܢܛܪܝܘܗܝ. ܒܗ̇ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܠ ܢܛܘܪܬܐ ܠܐ ܚܫܚ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܟܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܠ ܓܝܣ ܡܬܝܒܠܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܡܓܢܢܐ ܕܢܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܦܠܚܝܘܗܝ، ܠܢܛܘܪܬ ܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܘܗܝ، ܘܕܢܛܪܝܘܗܝ، ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܙܕܝܩ ܒܛܠܠܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗ̣ܘܐ ܐܕܡ [5]ܒܥܒܠܘܬ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܐ ܚܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܦܣ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܟ̈ܝܢܗ. ܐܠܝܨܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܢܣܒܐ ܡܢܗ ܚܘܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܢܦܠ ܒܫܢܬܗ. ܘܢܣܒܐ [6]ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܕܒܒܪ̈ܗ ܠܚܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܒܨܠܥܗ ܐܦ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܥܕܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ⁘

ܝܙ ⁘ ܥܠ ܚܘܐ.

ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܥܒܕ ܠܐܕܡ ܡܥܕܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܪܡܝ [7]ܥܠ ܐܕܡ ܫܢܬܐ ܘܕܡܟ. ܘܢܣܒ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܥ̈ܘܗܝ، ܡܢ ܓܒܗ ܕܣܡܠܐ.

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[1] A omits ܒܪ. [2] C omits this word. [3] B C omit ܠܐܕܡ. [4] B C ܘܡܦܪܫܢܘܬܐ. [5] B C ܒܥܒܠܘܬܗ. [6] B C omit ܠܗ. [7] B C ܘܐܪܡܝ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܫܢܬܐ.

ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܒܐܐܪ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܛܘܒ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ. ܐܘ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܝܒܫܐ ܕܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ [1]ܥܡ ܒܥܝܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ. ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܡܬܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܗܘܢ. ܘܗܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܬܪܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܐ. ܒܪ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܢ ܀

ܝܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܕܒܥܝܪܐ.

ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܡܡܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [2]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܨܦܪܐ [3]ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܒܪܐ [4]ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ [5]ܫܬܬܐ [6]ܘܗܘܝܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܀

ܝܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܓܒܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ.

ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܬܪ ܬܘܩܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܢ. ܠܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ [7]ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܟܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܟܝܠ. ܐܝܩܪܗ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ ܥܠ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ. ܡܫܒ̈ܚܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܢܗܪܝܢ. ܐܢܫܝܢ [8]ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܢ. ܫܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܒܢܝܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ [9]ܟܠܗ. ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܐ ܘܕܦܓܪܢܐ. ܘܢܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ [10]ܘܓܒܠ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

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[1] B C ܘܕܒܥܝܪܐ. [2] A ܐܡܪ; C ܐܡܪܝܢ. [3] A ܐܬܒܪܝ. [4] A omits this word. [5] B ܫܬܝܬܐ. [6] B C ܕܗܘܝܘ. [7] B C omit ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ. [8] A omits ܕܝܢ. [9] A omits ܟܠܗ. [10] B C ܘܓܒܠܗ.

ܫܡܝܫܘܬܐ. ܝܗ̈ܒܬܗ [ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܫܡܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܚܒܒ ܢܘܗܪܐ
ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܨܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܩܢܘ [1][ܢܗܝܪܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ]
ܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܘܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܟܘܢ ܢܗܪ̈ܐ ܐܬܬܩܢܘ
ܢܗܝܪܐ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܒܡܥܪܒܐ.
ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܡܥܪܒܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ. [2]ܘܫܡܫܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ
ܒܡܥܪܒܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ [3]ܒܩܕܝܡ ܝܗܘܕ̈ܝܐ
ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܒܪܡܫܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ
ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܢܦܠ ܒܓܘܗ ܕܐܡܪܐ.
ܘܣܗܪܐ [4]ܦܬܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܕܪܒܥܐ. ܘܗܢܝܢ ܐܘܦ ܒܓܪ̈ܝܬܗ.
ܫܒܝܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ [5]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܩܒ̈ܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܕܒܪܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܪܕܝܬܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ
ܠܡܥܪܒܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܡܐ ܓܪ̈ܒܝܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܠܠܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ
ܕܕܢܚ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܦܝܠܣܘܦ̈ܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܒܠܠܝܐ ܬܚܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ
ܥܒܪܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܡܪܕܝܬܗܘܢ ܀

ܝܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ [6]ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܕܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ [7]ܕܚܡܫܐ ܒܫܒܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ
ܙܚ̈ܘܦܐ. ܘܠܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܠܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܦܫ̈ܝܛܬܐ ܘܠܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܪ̈ܘܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ.
ܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬ [8]ܠܗܝܢ
ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܦܓܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܘܦܫܩܘܬܐ. ܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܫܝܢ

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[1] A omits the words in brackets. [2] C omits ܘ. [3] B C ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܒܩܕܝܡ.
[4] A ܦܬܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ. [5] B C ܐܝܬܝܗ̇. [6] A ܘܪ̈ܚܫܐ; B C omit ܕܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ. [7] B C ܕܚܡܫܒܫܒܐ. [8] B C ܠܗܘܢ.

ܠܓܦ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܠܟܪ̈ܡܘܗ̇[1] ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܬܬܚܙܐ ܝܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܗ̈ܘܡܐ [2]ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܬ̈ܠܠܐ. ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ [3]ܚܝܠܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒܪܘܢ ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܥܒܐ ܥܣܒܐ ܘܬܕܐܐ ܘܟܠ ܝܪܘܩ. ܘܐܦܩܬ ܐܪܥܐ [4]ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܥܣ̈ܒܐ ܘܡܥܡܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ [5]ܕܟܠ ܓܢܣ. ܟܕ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܘܡܘܕܝܢ ܒܗܒ̈ܒܐ ܘܒܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܛܪ̈ܦܐ ܟܠܗ̇ ܠܒܪܘܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܥܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܥܒܝܬ [6]ܐܪܥܐ ܟܘ̈ܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܪ̈ܕܪܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ ܟܘ̈ܒܐ [7]ܐܝܟ ܕܗܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܥܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܒܗ̇ ܠܘܛܬܐ ܕܩܒܠܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܥܒܝܬ ܟܘ̈ܒܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܕܪܐ. ܒܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ [8]ܘܠܥܣ̈ܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒܪܘܢ ܦܝܠܘܣܘ̈ܦܐ [9]ܡܫܬܠܠ ܥܠ ܚܝ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܡܫܚܢܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܟܝܢܐ ܐܥܒܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܥܣ̈ܒܐ ܘܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ. ܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܐ ܒܗܘ ܒܐܘܪܥܬܐ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܬܒܪܝ، ܒܪܡ ܐܝܟ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝ، ܐܦ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܕܫܠܠ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܬܘܩܢܗ ∴

∴ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ [10]ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܠܡܫܟܢܐ ܘܠܡܫܪܝܐ ܘܠܡܥܡܪ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܝ̈ܬܝܐ. ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܘܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ. ܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܡܠܐܐ ܘܐܬܟܡ ܡܫ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܬ ܦܪ̈ܕܠܐ. ܘܫܩܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܡܠܐ ܐܢܘܢ. [11]ܘܡܫܠܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܗ̇ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ. [12]ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ

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[1] A ܘܠܟܘܟ̈ܡܬܐ. [2] A omits ܕܐܪܥܐ. [3] A omits ܚܝܠܐ. [4] A omits ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘ. [5] B C ܘܡܠܠܝܢܗ. [6] A omits ܐܪܥܐ. [7] A ܐܝܟ ܗܫܐ. [8] B C ܘܥܣ̈ܒܬܐ. [9] C ܘܡܫܬܠܠܝܢ. [10] B C ܕܐܪܒܥܒܫܒܐ. [11] A omits ܘ. [12] B C ܐܦܠܐ.

ܕܐܬܪ̈ܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܠܘ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܥܕܢ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܩܠܐ ܫܡܝܥܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܐܝܬ ܢܗܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܚܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܒܚܘ ܘܣܓܕܘ. ܕܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܗܘ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܢܒܥܘ ܒܩܠܐ ܙܡܪܐ [1]ܘܫܒܚܘܗܝ ܘܬܗܪܘ ܒܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ [2]ܛܘܒܢܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ. ܟܕ ܠܡ ܬܗܘܝܗ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܠܗ̇ܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܬܗܪܘ ܒܗ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܫܒܚܐ. ܘܐܝܟ [3]ܕܐܡܝܪܐ ܒܐܝܘܒ. ܕܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܝܬ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܝ ܨܦܪܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܝ ܫܒܚܘܢܝ. ܘܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܢܒܥܘܬܐ ܒܝܢܐܝܬ ⁘

ܚ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ [4]ܕܬܪܝܢܒܫܒܐ ܨܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܪܘܫ ܒܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ [5]ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܠܡܢܗܪܘ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܫܡܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܬܪ ܢܘܚܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܦܪܘܫ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܒܥܒܕܬܐ ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܠܬ ܦܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢܬܐ ܦܫܬ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܕܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ [6]ܘܕܦܪܚܬܐ. ܘܠܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܠܝܡ̈ܡܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܬܩܝܡ [7]ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܪܘܡܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܐܣܩ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ. ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܥܡܪܬܐ ܗܦܟܡ [8]ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܝܗܘܢ ܡܕܡܝܐ ⁘

ܛ ⁘ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ[9] ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܕܙܪ̈ܥܘܢܐ ܘܬܩܘܢܐ ܕܝܡ̈ܡܐ [10]ܘܕܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ [11]ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܢܥܘܢ

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[1] B C ܘܫܒܚܘܗ. [2] B C omit ܛܘܒܢܐ. [3] A ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܝܪ. [4] B ܕܬܪܝܢܒܫܒܐ. [5] A ܘܢܗܘܘܢ. [6] B C omit this word. [7] A omits ܡܢܗ̇. [8] A omits ܡ̈ܝܐ. [9] C ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. [10] A omits ܕ. [11] B C ܕܬܠܝܬܝܐ.

ܕܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܝܐ. ܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܘ̈ܝܐ ܦܠܐܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܒܟܠܥܕܢ ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ. ܠܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܘܝܐ ܪܒ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܥܐܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܚܕܐ ܙܒܢ ܒܫܢ̄ܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܝ̈ܠܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܐ̄ܢܫ ܠܐ ܥܠ. ܐܠܐ ܐ̄ܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܪܒ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܘܝܢ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܦܪܩܢ ܒܓܠܝܢܐ. ܒܫܡܝܐ [1]ܫܪܝܢ ܕܩܪܝܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܒ̈ܝܐ. ܟܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.[2] ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܠܝܘܬܐ ܒܠܒ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܠܝ̈ܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܠܝ̈ܢܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܥܝ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܠܡܦ̈ܩܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܠܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܒܗ̇ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܝܬܪܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ [3]ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܠܝ̈ܠܐ. ܘܒܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ[4] ܡܝܬܪܘܬ ܪܓܘܬܐ. ܘܒܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܝܬܪܘܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ ⁘

ܘ ⁘ ܥܠ ܚܘܒܐ.

ܚܘܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܚܝܠܐ ܕܦܐܩ ܠܢܦܫܗ. ܘܐܠܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܐ. ܠܐ ܡܬܦܝܣܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܥܡ ܥܒܕܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ [5]ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܒܫܘܬܦܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܚܘܒܐ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܦܐܩ ܠܗܘܢ. [6]ܐܠܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܓܘܫܡ̈ܐ ⁘

ܙ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܬܦܪܫܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܢܗܪ̈ܐ ܒܪܘܫܡܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܡܢܗܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠܐ. ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܒܪܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܫܦܪܘ ܒܢܘܗܪܗܘܢ

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[1] B C ܫܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܪܝܒܝܢ. [2] A ܘܟܠܗܘܢ. [3] B writes ܡܢ twice.

[4] A ܘܒܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ ; C ܘܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. [5] A ܘܐܬܒܪܝܘ. [6] C ܐܠܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܠܗܘܢ.

ܘܪ̈ܒܝ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܬܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ.
ܕܐܝܟܐ ܗ̄ܝ, ܒܠܬܐ ܕܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܐܬܬܚܫܒܘ ܘܣܝܢ ܠܬܚܬ. ܟܕ
ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܦܪܣܘ ܒܓ̣ܕܘ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܢܬܪ ܡܢܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܝܢ ܓ̇ܪ̈ܕܝܢ
ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܒܠܬܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܢܐ
ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܢܩܒܠܬ ܒܐܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ [1]ܘܐܘܣܡܟܬ
ܬܠܬܐ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [2]ܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ. ܡܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ
ܘܫܘܠܛܢ̈ܐ. [3]ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܫ̈ܠܝܐ ܢܬܬܪܦܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܬܫܒ̈ܘܚܬܐ
ܢܣܒܪܘܢ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢ. ܒܝܬ ܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ. ܐܝܬ
[4]ܕܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ [5]ܐܝܬ
ܙܒܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܟܝܬ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܣܬܦܩܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, ܒܝܬ
ܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ. ܘܐܦ ܬܡܢ [6]ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܣܬܦܩܢܐܝܬ.
ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܚܕܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܫܐ ܕܪܘܒܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܦܓܪܐ. ܐܬܪ ܕܡܬܒܣܡܝܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܣܒܪ ܒܐܝܕ̈ܝܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ
ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܡܢ ܥܘܒܕܐ ܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܥܡܘܕܐ
ܫ̈ܠܝܐ ܡܕܢܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܠܘܩܒܠ [7]ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ
ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ. [8]ܘܡܢ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܚܬ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ.
ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܫܘܦܪ̈ܐ ܘܬܫܡ̈ܫܬܐ. ܕܗܢܘܢ ܡܒܪܟܝܢ ܘܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܥܒܕܝ, ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܐ ܠܥܡܡܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܗܐ ܒܪܟܝܢ ܘܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ. [9]ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܢ
ܘܫܘܪ̈ܪܗ, ܐܟܪܙܝܢ. ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܟܕܒ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ

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[1] B C ܕܐܘܣܡܟܬ. [2] A ܘܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ. ܘܡܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [3] B C omit ܐܝܟ. [4] A C ܐܡܪ. [5] B C omit ܐܝܬ. [6] C ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܣܬܦܩܝܢ. [7] A omits ܬܓ̈ܡܐ. [8] A ܘܡܢ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. [9] C ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ.

ܐܪ̈ܟܘܣ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ܆ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܚܡܐ ܕܐܚܝܕ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܝ ܟܠܝܐ. ܕܫ̈ܠܛܐ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܡܐ ܘܕܒ̈ܗܡܐ ܘܕܓ̈ܠܠܝܐ [1]ܘܕܢ̈ܘܢܐ ܘܕܦ̈ܪܚܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܕܡܬܬܙ̈ܝܥܢܘܬܐ [2]ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܬܐ ܀ ܪܒ̈ܝ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ܆ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܦ̇ܠܚܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܕܐܬܓܒܠܝ ܒܐܝܕܗܘܢ܆ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܬ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܘܕܩ̈ܪܣܬܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܠܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܡܢ ܦ̇ܩܕܐ ܘܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ ܀ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ܆ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܦܘܫܚܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܚܕ ܡܠܐܟܐ [3]ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܬܓܡܐ ܗܢܐ [[4]ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܟܠܝܘܬܐ.] ܡܢ ܟܠܝܘܬܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܦܘܫܡܬܐ ܟܝܢܝܬܐ. ܘܟܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܗܘܐ [5]ܡܫܡܫܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ [6]ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܦܘܫܡܬܐ. ܡܫܬܠܡܢܐ ܗܒܝܠ [7]ܕܗܡܢܐ ܒܬܕܝܢ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܙܒܢ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [8]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܐܝܟ [9]ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܓܠܝܢ ܕܦܩܕ ܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܡܫܡܫܗܘܢ ܒܟܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܢܦܠܘ. ܡܢ ܟܠ ܬܓܡܐ ܬܘܠܬܗ. ܐܝܢ ܒܪ ܡܬܥܣܪܢܘܬܐ ܗ̄ܘ، ܕܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ. ܘܟܠ ܬܫܥܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ. ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܝ ܗܘܐ [10]ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ. ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗܢܘ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܬܓ̈ܡܐ ܬܫܥܐ. ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܫܪ̈ܦܐ ܘܡܬܩܢܘܬܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܟܘܣ

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[1] A ܘܕܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܐ.

[2] C ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ.

[3] A omits ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ.

[4] B C omit the words in brackets.

[5] A ܡܫܡܫܗܘܢ.

[6] C ܡܢ ; B ܒܝܘܡܬܐ.

[7] A ܗܡܢܐ.

[8] A C ܕܐܡܪ.

[9] C ܐܝܟ ܡܢ.

[10] B C ܡܫܡܫܢܗܘܢ.

ܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܨܥ̈ܝܐ ܘܬܚܬ̈ܝܐ. ܥܠ̈ܝܐ.[1] ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܘܣܪ̈ܦܐ
ܘܡܘܬܒ̈ܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܘܪ̈ܒܝ ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ. ܘܦܠܓܝܢ
ܒܦܘܪܫܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܨܥ̈ܝܐ. ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ[2] ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܫܘܠ̈ܛܢܐ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܫܡ̈ܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢ ܗܢܘܢ[3] ܕܠܟܠ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ
ܡܦܠܓܝܢ ܠܥܠ̈ܝܐ. ܘܬܚܬ̈ܝܐ. ܐܪ̈ܟܘܣ ܘܪ̈ܝܫ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ܀ ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܡܢ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܥܡܐ ܡܠܠܝܐ ܠܦܘܡ ܕܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܡܫܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܪܫܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܗܕܐ ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܝܢ ܠܬܠܝ̈ܬܐ
ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ. ܗܘ، ܕܡܬܐܡܪ[4] ܒܥܠܡܝܢ. ܗܟܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ.
ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܙܝ ܠܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܙܗܪܝܢ. ܘܦܫܩܝܢ
ܘܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ[5] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܠܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ
ܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ܀ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܟܢܐ
ܢܘܪܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܠܬܚܬ ܡܢܗ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܡܘܕܥ ܐܠܗܝܐ.
ܐܬܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܐܡܪܢ[6] ܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܟܠ ܠܥܠ̈ܝܐ
ܕܡܦܠܓܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܪܘܝܐ ܘܡܢܗܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܚܕܬܝܢ܀ ܡܘܗܒ̈ܬܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܡܫܦܩܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܠܝܣܝܢ ܡܢ ܢܣܝܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܫܐܕܝܢ
ܒܠܗܘܢ܀ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ[7] ܘܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܚܝܠܘܢ[8] ܠܡܦܪܩܘ
ܠܗܕܐ ܕܠܬܚܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܠܡܦܪܩܐ
ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ܀ ܫܠܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܡܠ̈ܟܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܠܐܢܫܐ܀ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܥܠ
ܟܠ ܕܘܝܫܐ ܠܡܦܪܫܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܣܢ ܒܪܘܝܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ
ܬܠܬܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܠܢܦܫܐ. ܠܗܘܢܐ ܘܠܦܓܪܐ ܘܠܡܚܫܒܬܐ܀

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[1] B C ܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. [2] A ܘܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [3] C ܘܗܠܝܢ. [4] B C ܕܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ.
[5] A omits ܕܒܗܘܢ. [6] A omits ܕܐܡܪܢ. [7] B ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [8] A ܕܐܬܚܝܠܘ.

ܒܗ̇ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܐܝܠ̈ܢܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ. ܘܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܬܗܘܡ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ. ܒܗ̇ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܦܪܝܪܐ ܘܪܛܝܒܐ. ܪܘܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܪܚܦܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ [1]ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܒܠܐ ܡܕܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [2]ܕܝܢ ܥܠ [3]ܗܕܐ ܐܐܪ. ܘܗܕܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܫܪܝܪܐ. ܘܒܢܝܗ̇ ܕܐܐܪ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܦܛܝܒܐ: [4]ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܒܐܬܪ ܒܠܝܐ ܡܫܒܒܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ̇ ܒܒܝܬ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܢܗܝܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܒܕܡܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ. ܕܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܬܡܢ [5]ܝܗܒܗ̇ ܒܠܬܗ̇. ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܝܡܐ ܘܢܒܥܐ ⁘

ܕ ⁘ ܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ.

ܫܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܛܠܠܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ. ܘܡܩܦܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܢܗܝܪܬܐ. ܘܒܝܢܝܗ̇ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܘܫܒܝܚܐ. ܘܒܝܬ ܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܬܢܝ̈ܚܢܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܪܘܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘܚܐ ܢܘܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܛܠܠܬܐ ܕܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ [6]ܕܗܕܝܪܐ ܘܩܘܕܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܫܡ̈ܝܐ. ܫܡܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐܪܥܐ ܐܦ ܠܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ. ܗܘܝ ܕܠܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܢܬܦܢܝܢ ܠܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܐܡܪܐ. ܗܘ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܘܗܝ ܕܡܢ [7]ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܒܐ [illegible] ⁘

ܗ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.

ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ ܛܟ̈ܣܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ. ܘܬܠܬܐ ܠܫܡܝ̈ܐ.

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[1] C ܠܡ̈ܝܐ. [2] B omits ܕܝܢ. [3] A C ܗܘܐ; A C ܚܙܝܢ. [4] B ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܒܟܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܗܘܐ. [5] A ܝܗܒܗ. [6] B C ܫܡܝܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. In A there are small dotted lines over ܘ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. Elsewhere in A these lines are placed over words which the scribe meant the reader to consider erased. [7] C ܘܠܐ.

ܘܒܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ[1]. ܘܟܕ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܕܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܫܬܘܐ ܘܒܡܠܬܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܚܝܢ. ܠܗ ܠܐܒܘܢ [2]ܐܘܠܕܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܢܬ ܡܫܒ̈ܚܘܬܗ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ, ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ. ܘܢܒܥ ܒܗ ܢܒܥܬܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܗ. ܦܗ̈ܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܠܢܒܥ ܢܒܥܐ. ܘܢ̄ܣܒ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܪ̈ܢܣܐ ܕܐܠܦ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܫ. ܘܟܕ ܐܪܟ ܒܒܥܘܬܗ. ܗܕܝܢ ܐܬܬܚܝܪ ܘܐܬܟܠܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܦܗ̈ܘܐ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܒܘܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ. ܠܐ ܠܡ [3]ܝܕܥܝܬܘܢ ܕܗܝܟܠܗ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܪܘܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܪܐ ܒܟܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒ ܕܐܥܡܪ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܗܠܟ ܒܗܘܢ ⁘

ܒ ⁘ ܥܠ [4]ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܬܘܐ.

ܟܕ ܨܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܕܥ ܠܟܠ [5]ܚܝܠܗ ܘܡܟܝܟܘܬܗ. ܒܪܐ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܒܪ̈ܝܫܢܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ. ܕܗܦܟܘ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ. ܥܒܕܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܬܘܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܐ. [6]ܘܡܟܠܠ ܕܒܕܝܠ ܠܝܬ ܗܘ̄ܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܗܠܐ. ܫܦܝܪ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܫܬܘܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܒܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܡ ܒܥܒܝ̈ܕܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܘܐܬܦܬ ܠܗܘܝܐ. ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ: ܫܡܝܐ: ܘܐܪܥܐ: ܘܡ̈ܝܐ: ܘܐܐܪ: ܘܢܘܪܐ: ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ: ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ⁘

ܓ ⁘ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܐܪ ܘܢܘܪܐ.

ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܬ̇ ܩܕ̄ܡ ܗܘܬ̇ ܘܒܨܘܪܬܗ̇. ܬܘܗ̇ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܢܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܨܒܬܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܡܟܣܝܐ ܒܓܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢܗ̇. ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܐܪ. ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܣܐ ܘܟܒܝܫܐ. [7]ܘܒܡܘܗܒܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܬ ܒܟܒܝܫܬܐ.

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[1] A C ܘܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. [2] C ܐܘܠܕ. [3] B ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ. We shall not in future notice variants of this nature, nor ܒܢܝܢܐ for ܒܢܐ ܐܢܐ, and the like. [4] C ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. [5] B C ܚܝܠܗ ܘܡܟܝܟܘܬܗ. [6] A C ܡܟܠܠ. [7] C ܘܐܦ ܡܘܗܒܐ.

ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ [1]ܕܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ ܢܣܒ ܡܠܘ̈ܐܐ
ܠܡܠܬܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܛܥܐ [2]ܡܢ ܫܒܝܠܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܓܝܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܘܝܕ. ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܕܪ̈ܕܪܝܢ.
ܥܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܛܢܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ. ܡܘܕܥ [3]ܕܝܢ ܓܪ̈ܝܫܓܐ ܕܢܘܣܐ ܕܘܝܕ.
ܕܐܦ ܐܝܬ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܠܫܪܒܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܒܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܝܐ. ܕܠܐ
ܢܣܬܒܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܕܬ
ܩܕܡ ܒܝܘܡ ܐܘ̈ ܚܕܬܐܝܬ [4]ܡܬܪܫܡ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܘܩܢ
ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ [5]ܠܥܠܡ ܕܒܪܐ [6]ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ [7]ܬܘܩܢܐ
ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܒܬܪܟܢ. ܡܬܩܢܐܝܬ ܪܫܝܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܠܐ
ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܦܠܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܪܒ ܒܒܢܝܢܐ
ܕܠܒܬܗ ܠܗ̇، ܕܦܠܚܢܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܓܒܠ ܒܐܟܘܬܗ، ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ،
ܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܢܢܘܬܗ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܗܝܡܢܐ [8]ܘܐܦ ܐܕܡ ܒܗ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗ [9]ܕܒܪܘܝܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܪܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܬܒܢܝ، ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܒܪܘܝܐ ܗ̄ܘ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܘܬ ܗܕܐ ܢܪܒܘܬܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܢܬ. ܘܟܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ، ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܡܢ ܢܪܒܘܬܐ ܠܠܐ
ܢܪܒܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܛܒܬܐ ܠܒܝܫܬܐ. ܒܕܝܠܗ ܒܗ ܝܒܫܐ ܪܡܙܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܠܦܘܡ ܐܬܬܥܝܪ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܗܕܝܢ ܬܘܩܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
[10]ܕܘܝܕ. [11]ܕܥܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܛܢܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ. ܡܢܝܢ ܦܫܝܩ [12]ܗ̄ܘ ܐܕܡ ܡܢ
ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ [13]ܒܡܦܠܚܢܘܬܗ. ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܒܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ

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[1] A ܡܢ ; C ܡܫܪܪ. [2] C ܡܢ ܡܫܒܝ̈ܠܐ ܠܐܘܪ̈ܚܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ; B ܕܐܘܪܚܐ. [3] B omits ܕܝܢ. [4] B C ܡܬܬܪܫܡ. [5] B ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܒܪܐ. [6] C ܘܕܥܠܡܝܢ. [7] B ܠܬܘܩܢܐ ܠܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ; C ܗܘ ܠܬܘܩܢܐ ܠܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ. [8] A C ܐܦ. [9] C ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܘܝܐ ܕܟܠ. [10] C ܢܒܝܐ ܕܘܝܕ. [11] A C ܥܕܠܐ. [12] B ܗܘܐ. [13] B C ܒܡܦܠܚܢܘܬܐ.

ܢܒ ∴ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܒܒܠ ܡܢ ܦܠܘܓܬܐ ܘܠܗܠ
[ܘܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܫܡ̈ܗܐ[1] ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ
ܐܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܒܬܪ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܫܒܒܝܢ ܚܢ̈ܦܐ ܕܐܚܕܘ[2] ܠܡܠ̈ܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܘ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ][3] ∴
ܢܓ ∴ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܡ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܫܘܠܡܗ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ∴ [ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ][4]
ܕܡܬܘܕܝܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ∴]
ܢܕ ∴ ܥܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܓܘܓ ܘܡܓܘܓ [5]ܒܢ̈ܝ ܓܪܒܝܐ ∴
ܢܗ ∴ [6]ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ ∴
ܢܘ ∴ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܪܝ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ∴
ܢܙ ∴ ܥܠ ܢܘܚܡܐ ܘܩܝܡܬܐ ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. [7]ܘܫܘܠܡ ܥܠܡ
ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܘܫܘܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ∴
ܢܚ ∴ ܥܠ [8]ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ
ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ∴
ܢܛ ∴ ܥܠ [9]ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ ܘܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܚܛ̈ܝܐ. ܕܒܐܝܢܐ
ܙܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܬܡܢ ∴
ܣ ∴ ܥܠ ܗܝ ܕܐܢ ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ ܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܣܛ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܓܗܢܐ ܟܬܪ
ܕܡܬܛܪܦܝܢ [10](ܐܘ ܕܡܬܓܪܦܝܢ) ܘܚܝܝܢ. ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܐܘ
ܠܐ. ܘܐܢ ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ ∴

ܪܫܐ ∴ ܐ ∴

ܥܠ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܡܬܘܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ [11]ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢ

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[1] B ܘܫܡ̈ܗܬܐ.

[2] B ܕܐܚܕܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ.

[3] The words in brackets are omitted by C.

[4] C adds the words in brackets.

[5] C ܘܣܚܡܝܡ ܓܪܒܝܐ.

[6] B ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܐܢܛܝ ܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ.

[7] A ܘܫܘܪܝ.

[8] C ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܘܐܣܟܝܡܐ.

[9] A C ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ.

[10] Added by B on the margin; C ܕܡܬܛܪܦܝܢ.

[11] A omits ܠܗ.

ܠܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܚܠܡ ܀

ܠܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܝܠ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܒܛܢܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܠܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܒܒܣܪ ܀

ܠܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܙܪ̈ܕܘܫܬ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ ܀

ܠܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ, ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܠܛ ܀ ܥܠ [1]ܡܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ [2]ܘܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܘ ܀

ܡ ܀ ܥܠ [3]ܡܥܪܩܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܀

ܡܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܥܠ ܥܡܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܨܘܡܗ [4]ܕܡܪܢ ܘܥܠ ܕܪܗ ܕܥܡ ܣܛܢܐ ܀

ܡܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܨܚܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܙ ܀ ܥܠ [5]ܡܚܬܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ [6]ܕܥܠ ܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ
ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܀

ܡܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ ܘܥܠ [7]ܡܟܪܙܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܕܘܒ̈ܪܬܐ
[8]ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܀

ܡܛ ܀ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ [9]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܒܕܪ̈ܓܐ ܀

ܢ ܀ [10]ܫܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܟܘܪ̈ܐ ܀

ܢܐ ܀ [11]ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܦܛܪ̈ܝܪܟܐ ܡܕܢ̈ܚܝܐ [12]ܘܕܘܒ̈ܪܬܐ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘ ܀

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[1] B ܡܐܬܝܬܐ.   [2] C omits these two last words.   [3] B ܥܪܘܩܝܗ.
[4] A omits ܕܡܪܢ.   [5] C ܡܚܬܬܗ.   [6] A B omit ܕܥܠ ܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ.   [7] B ܡܟܪܙܘ̈ܬܗܘܢ.   [8] B ܕܚܕ ܚܕ.   [9] C omits ܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ and ܒܕܪ̈ܓܐ.
[10] C ܥܠ ܡܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܟܘܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ.   [11] C ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܩܬܘܠܝܩ̈ܐ ܡܕܢ̈ܚܝܐ ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.   [12] A ܘܕܘܒܪ̈ܐ.

ܝܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܗ̇[1] ܕܚܘܐ ܀

ܝܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀

ܝܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܟܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܀

ܝܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܕܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܡܫܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܀

ܝܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ ܕܙ̈ܡܪܘܬܐ ܀

ܟ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܘܚ ܘܥܠ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܀

ܟܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܀

ܟܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘ̈ܠܕܬܗ ܕܢܘܚ. ܕܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܀

ܟܓ ܀ ܥܠ [2]ܡܓܕܠ ܥܒܕ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܘܠܥܠܐ ܀

ܟܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܀

ܟܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܀

ܟܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܣܝܘܢܗ ܕܐܝܘܒ ܀

ܟܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܘܪ̈ܟܬܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܀

ܟܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ ܀

ܟܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܀

ܠ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܀

ܠܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪܢܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ[3] ܘܥܠ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ
ܝܣܪܝܠ [4]ܒܦܫܝܛܘܬܐ ܀

ܠܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܢ ܡܝܬܘ ܘܐܬܩܒܪܘ ܀

ܠܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܐܣܬܥܪܬ [5]ܒܣܝܪܬܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܥܒܕ̈ܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ ܀

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[1] B ܬܘܩܢܐ. [2] B ܡܓܕܠܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܬܐ. [3] A B ܘܫ̈ܒܛܐ. [4] C omits this word. [5] A omits ܒܣܝܪܬܐ.

ܘܠܦܘܬ ܟܠ ܓܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܟ̈ܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܫܒܪܘܬ ܝܕܥܬܗ.
¹ܕܐܡܝܪ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܘܣܘ̈ܦܐ. ܟܕ ܠܟ ܬܫܒܚ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܡܣܬܟܢ
ܫܦܝܠ. ܕܠܐ ܟܕ ܬܫܒܚ ²ܬܬܚܝܒܘܗܝ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܒܥ ܟܠ
ܡ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚ̈ܫܚܬܐ ܀ ※ ܀

ܪܘܫܡܐ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܀

ܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܪܒܝܬܐ ³ܡܬܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ
ܥܠ ܬܘܩܡ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܀
ܒ ܀ ܥܠ ⁴ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܥܐ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܫܬܐ ܀
ܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܐܪ ܘܢܘܪܐ ܀
ܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܀
ܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܀
ܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܀
ܙ ܀ ⁵ܥܠ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܚܝܕܐ ܀
ܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܀
ܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ⁶ܘܕܡܥܒ̈ܕܢܘܬܐ ܘܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܢܨ̈ܒܐ
⁷ܘܕܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܀
ܝ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀
ܝܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ
⁸ܕܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܀
ܝܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ ܀
ܝܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܓܒܠܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܀

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[1] C ܕܐܡܝܪ ܠܢ. [2] C ܬܬܚܝܒܘܘܗܝ (sic); B ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܚܝܒ; C ܠܐ ܠܚܝܒ. [3] C ܡܬܡܡܢܝܬܐ. [4] C ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ. [5] In this list A reverses the order of chapters vii and viii. Further on the MSS. agree with each other in this particular. [6] B ܘܡܥܒ̈ܕܢܘܬܐ. [7] A ܘܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [8] A ܕܒܡ̈ܝܐ.

ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܢ ܒܛ̈ܠܐ. ܦܫܝܛܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ، ܒܬ̈ܐ. ܕܒܬܘܬܐ[1]
ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܒܥܝ̈ܬܐ.[2] ܘܫܡܥܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܗܘܬܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ
ܕܡܦܩܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ. ܘܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ [3]ܠܡܠܐܟܐ
ܕܡܐܪܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ̈ܦܬܗ. [4]ܡܛܠ ܦܫܝܛܘܬܗ ܘܡܟܝܟܘܬܗ.
[5]ܘܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܚܬܝܬܐ ܒܟܘܟܒܗ ܡܛܠ ܢܟܝܦܘܬܗ ܘܥܝܪܘܬܗ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܘܚܢ ܫܟܝܢ ܠܡܦܩܐ ܒܥܢܝܢܐ. ܕܢܟܢܫ ܡܐܬܘܬܐ
ܘܐܪܒܐ. ܘܠܡܦܩܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܕܢܟܢܫ ܬܠܝܠܬܐ. ܘܥܡܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ
ܡ̈ܠܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ. ܘܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܓܢ̈ܢܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܕܝܣܐ ܦܪ̈ܚܐ. ܫܪܪ
ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܘܡܟܢܫ ܥܠ ܐܕ̈ܝܐ [6]ܪ̈ܓܝܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. ܘܢܩܦ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܢܗ̈ܘܪܐ ܘܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܘܢܪܟ ܒܢܘܠܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܘܐܦ ܚܢ ܟܠܢ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ
ܕܟܬ̈ܒܐ [7]ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܢܓܒܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܙܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܣܝ̈ܩܬܐ. ܦܫܬܠܝܢ
[8]ܒܐܪܟ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܝ ܘܠܡܥܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܐܘ ܐܚܘܢ ܒܕ
ܡܬܦܪܓܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܚܢ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ̈ܢ
ܠܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܚ ܘܦܬܝ̈ܢ. ܥܢܘ ܐܚܝ [9]ܠܡܠܦܘܬܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ
ܠܐ ܚܫܘܢ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܘܡܬܢܟܠܝܢ ܠܫܡ ܡܕܡ. ܐܬܦܪܣܐ
[10]ܡܕܥܡ ܘܢܦܩܕ ܒܥܘܬܟ. ܐܚܝ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܓܠܝܢ ܠܝ.
ܢܦܩ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܫܘܡܠܝܘܬܟ ⁘ ܘܕܒ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ. [11]ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܥܒܪܐ ܠܗ [12]ܬܡܢ ܕܝܠܢܬܐ.
[13]ܘܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܛܠܐ. ܘܐܠܘܠܐ [14]ܕܐܬܚܠܡ ܗܘܐ
ܥܠ ܚܘܒܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܬܝܐ. ܠܐ ܢܓܕܪܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܡܬܪܟ

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[1] B ܕܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ. [2] B ܫܡܥܝܢ. [3] B ܡܠܐܟܐ. [4] B C ܘܡܛܠ. [5] B omits ܘ; C ܚܝܢ. [6] C ܪ̈ܓܬܐ; B ܘܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. [7] A C omit ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. [8] B ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ. [9] B ܠܡܠܦܝܟ. [10] B ܡܕܡ ܘܡܦܩܕ ܒܥܘܬܟ. ܒܥܘܬܟ. [11] C ܕܐܝܠܢܐ. [12] C omits ܬܡܢ. [13] B C ܘܐܬܪ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. [14] B ܐܬܚܠܡ; A ܗܘܐ.

ܐܬܒܨܝܢ [1]ܡܦܪܫܢܐܝܬ ܠܐ ܫܟܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܠܡܕܪܟܘܬܗ. ܟܠ
ܥܝ̈ܪܐ ܡܘܬܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܬܒܐܠ ܗ̄ܘܝܬ ܐܝܢ ܕܕܪܡ. ܘܟܡܗܐ ܒܠܬܐ
ܡܬܒܪ̈ܟܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܡܘܬܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܬ̈ܠܐ ܡܩ̈ܒܠܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܢܓܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܦܪܫ ܦܘܪܫܢ ܕܗܢ ܣܕ̈ܪܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܒܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ
ܕܫܒܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܗܘܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܘܟܠܗ ܒܥܢܝܐ.
ܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܢܝܐ. ܘܟܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܘܕܥܢ
ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ. ܟܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܬ̈ܪܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ. ܘܗܐ
ܠܦܠܓ ܘܦܪܫ ܘܟܢܫ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܡܬܟ̈ܪܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܦܪ̈ܘܬܐ
ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ [2]ܘܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ. ܥܝ̈ܪܐ ܘܡܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ. ܟܕ
ܗܘܢ ܢܬܐܣܬܐ [3]ܠܒܝܫܝܢ ܥܒܘܪ [4]ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܠܡܐ ܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ.
ܘܢܦܩܢ ܠܫܒܐ ܕܒܠܡܐ ܕܒܬܘܝ. ܢܦܩܢܢ [5]ܕܝܢ ܠܒܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܬܒܐ
ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢ [6]ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܬܘܠܕ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܕܢܦ̈ܩܘ [7]ܘܗܕ̈ܡܐ
ܕܩ̈ܠܝ ܡܩܕܫܐ. [8]ܠܦܠܓܝܢ ܘܫܡܗܝܢ ܒܗ ܠܝܘܬܪܢ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ
ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܥܢܦܬܐ ܒܝ̈ܬܐ [9]ܦܫܝܛܝܬܐ ܦܪܚܐ ܘܦܠܚܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ
ܟܠ ܗ̈ܘܒܐ ܡܦ̈ܪܝܐ ܒܒ̈ܣܡܐ. ܘܟܠ ܦܩܚܐ ܡܟܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܒܬ̈ܚܝܐ.
ܘܒܒܢܐ ܘܡܠܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܬܘܩܢ
ܐܦܡܛܘܬܗ. ܟܕ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܡܒܢܝܐ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ̈ܒܐ. [10]ܘܟܠ
ܒܠܦ̈ܬܗ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܠܒܘܡܪܗ. ܘܗܢܒܐ ܢ̈ܬܐܣܬܐ
ܠܒܢܝܗ. ܟܕ ܬܘܩܢ ܡܐܪܘܬܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢ ܠܦܠܓܐ ܒܒܘܡܗ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܐ
ܥܢܝܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܦ̈ܩܚܝ ܢܝܫܝ. ܘܡܢܝܬܐ ܘܢܟܣܐ ܒܝܗ ܒܬ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ.
ܘܡ̈ܠܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܒܒܢܐ ܠܫܘܥܝܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ [11]ܘܠܬܘܪܣܝܗ ܕܝܠܗ.

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[1] C ܡܦܪܫܢܐܝܬ. [2] C omits ܘ. [3] C ܠܒܫܝܢ. [4] C ܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܗ.
[5] B omits ܕܝܢ. [6] C ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܬܘܠܕܘܬܗܘܢ. [7] C ܘܗ̈ܕܡܝ ܕܩ̈ܠܝܗܝ.
[8] C ܠܦܠܓܢ. [9] C ܦܫ̈ܝܛܬܐ. [10] A ܘܡܠܦܢܐ ܟܠ ܡܠܦܢܘܬܗ. [11] B C
ܘܠܬܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ.

܀ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܀

[1] ܥܠ ܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܪܝܢܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ
[2] ܗܢܐ ܕܠܘܩܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ [3] ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ: [4] ܕܥܒܝܕ ܠܚܣܝܐ
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[1] A fol. 26 a; B fol. 81, b 1. [2] B C omit ܗܢܐ. [3] B C ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. [4] C ܕܥܒܝܕܐ; A omits ܠܚܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, and has ܠܡܪܝ. [5] A omits ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܒܨܪܗ. [6] B C omit ܐܝܟ. [7] A omits ܡܩܕܡܘܬܐ. It is usually written throughout these MSS. ܡܩܕܡܬܐ. [8] C omits from ܥܡ to ܡܕܡܡܕܡ. [9] C ܘܡܛܠ.

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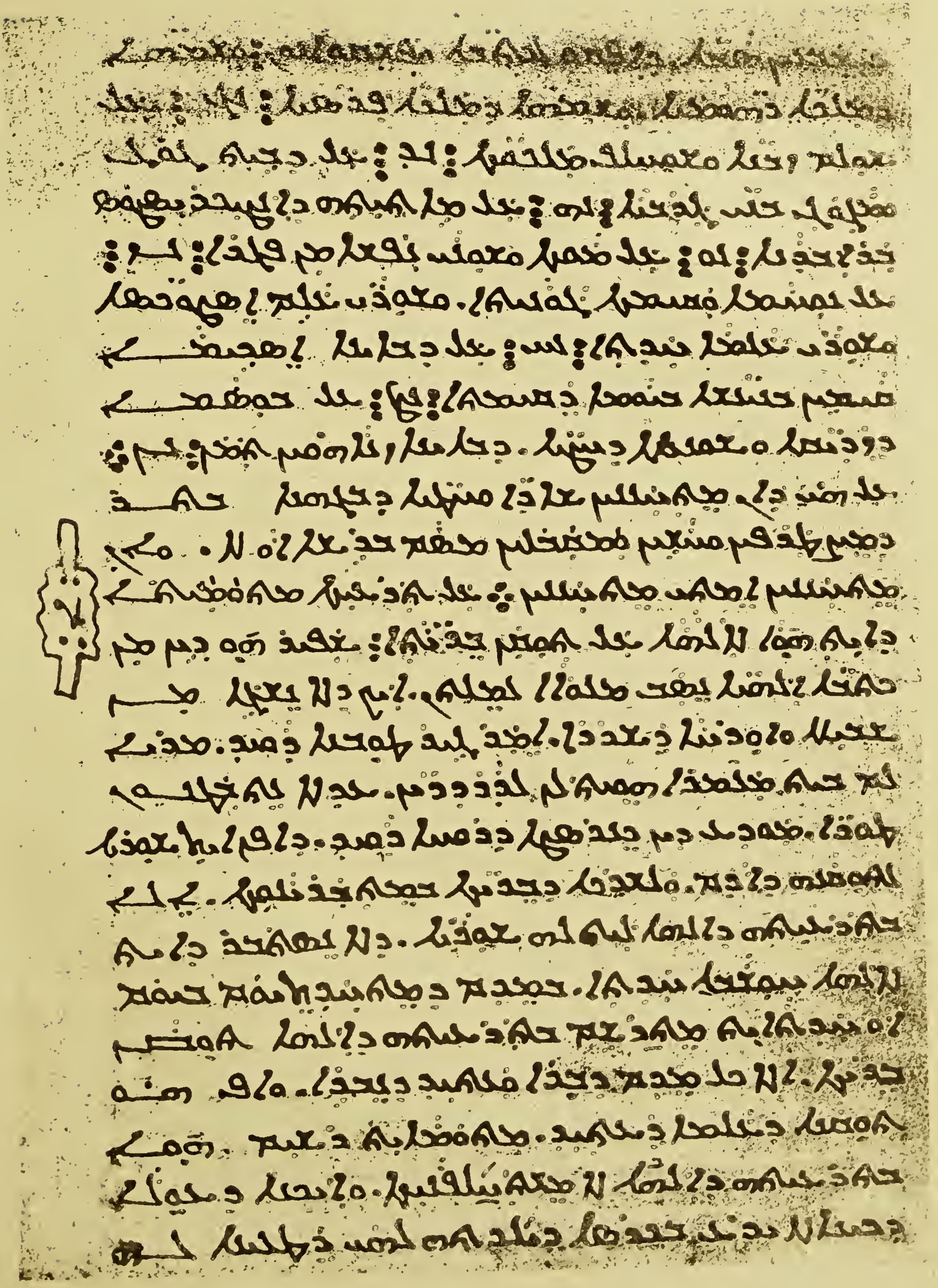
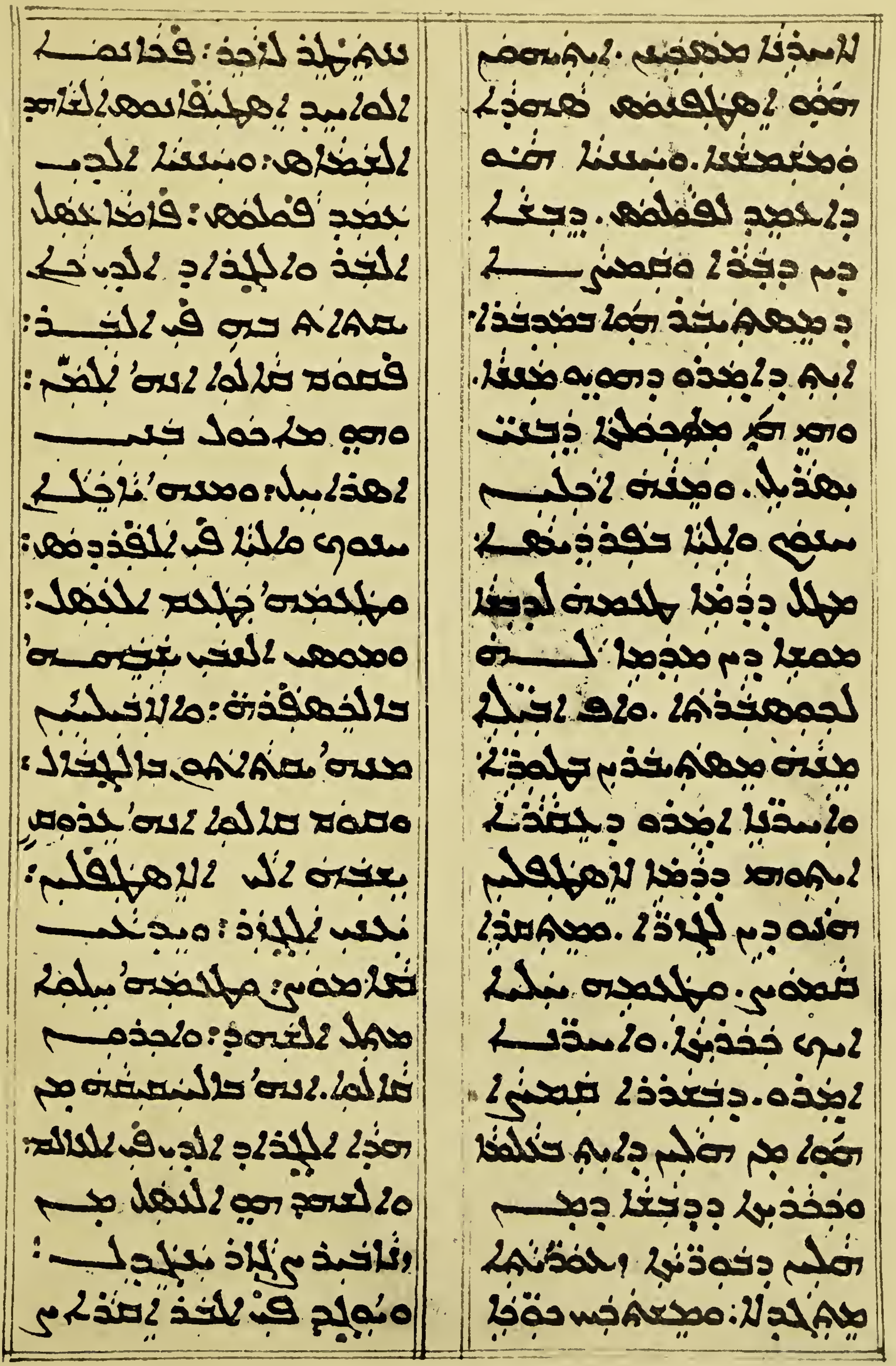


R. Asiat. Soc., Add. 76, f. 28 *a*.



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1865

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DEDICATORIA.

Ninetas hermosas,
petits infants bells
per valires est llibre
jo escrich y no mes.
No pretench elogis,
tampoch picaments,
jo tan sols desitjo
que me 'l llegiu bé,
y que recordansa
tot sovint ne féu
de lo que en sas fullas
trobaréu imprés.

LO AUTOR

Barcelona, Maig de 1865

DEDICATORIA.

Niñas hermosas,—agraciados niños—para vosotros este libro—escribo únicamente.—No pretendo elogios,—tampoco aplausos,—tan solo deseo—que lo leáis con detencion,—y que penséis—á menudo—en lo que en sus páginas—encontraréis impreso.

EL AUTOR.

Barcelona, Mayo de 1865.

oogle

Y n' era un dematí, lo sol brillava
en lo vast firmament, las aucelletas
sas alas ne batian, escampava
lo bosch son grat perfum, sas vermelletas
fullas la rosa obria,
y un riu en lo qui 'l cel s' enmirallava
entre l' herba del prat llauger corria.

Sota un arbre, una nina hermosa, pura
com una gota de rosada jeya;

Y érase una mañana, el sol resplandecia—en el vasto firmamento, los pajarillos—agitaban sus alas, echaba al aire—el bosque su agradable perfume, sus encarnadas—hojas abria la rosa—y un rio en el cual se reproducia el cielo—entre la yerba del prado corria precipitadamente.

Al pié de un árbol, una niña hermosa, pura,—como una gota de rocío, es-

la sombra y la frescura
son nevat front cobrian; ne mitj reya
sa boqueta... Dormia...
Somniava també! Vaig á esplicarlo
son somni falaguer; may oblidarlo
nins per quí escrich devéu qu' ell potser guia,
qu' ns ensenye á esser bons.

Si cada dia
hi pensáu y feu vot de no oblidarlo,—
no duptéu pas, ¡oh, no! de que en la gloria
un lloch se 'ns guardará, y ab alegría—
lo mon ne deixaréu quan hora 'n sia.

taba echada;—la sombra y el frescor—su nevada frente cubrian; sonreia—su boca pequeñita... Dormia...—Soñaba tambien! Voy á explicar—su sueño placentero. Nunca olvidarlo,—niños para quienes escribo, debéis porque él puede enseñaros—lo que hay que hacer para ser buenos.

Si cada dia—traéis á vuestra memoria ese sueño y de no olvidarlo hacéis propósito,—no dudéis de que en la gloria—se os guardará un buen sitio, y que con alegría—abandonaréis el mundo cuando hora sea de hacerlo.

⁂

La hermosa nina somniava
que la fosca 'l mòn omplia
y que lo cel resplandia
y poch á poch s' acostava
ab tots quants estels tenia.

Somniava que cada estrella
n' era espasa diamantina,
que empunyia la má bella
d' un ángel de fas divina
que la contemplava á ella.

La hermosa niña soñaba—que la mas completa oscuridad rodeaba al mundo—y que el cielo respiandecia—y se acercaba poco á poco—con todas sus estrellas.

Soñaba que cada estrella—era una espada diamantina—que empuñaba la mano hermosa—de un ángel de divino rostro—que la miraba á ella.

Y en mig del cel, rodejada
d‘ angelets de dòls mirar,
la pobre nina, encantada
no feya mes que guaytar
á la angelical bandada.

En cadira esplendorosa
treballada ab plata y or
la sentaren, y amorosa
una veu de las del chor
digué així á la nina hermosa:

—Vuît ángels te parlarán
y te donarán concells
y apres del cel te traurán
y en lo mòn te deixarán
perqué te recordes d‘ ells.

Escòltals bè que ja es hora
de fer lo que está manat.
Que te parle aquest que plora,
y ‘ls set que mes á la bora
de tu, nina, s‘ ban posat.—

Y en medio del cielo, rodeada—de ángeles de dulce mirar,—la pobre niña, embelesada—no hacia mas que fijar su atencion—en la angelical bandada.

En una esplendente silla— labrada de oro y plata—la sentaron, y amorosa—una voz de las del coro—dijo así á la niña hermosa:

«Ocho ángeles te hablarán—y te darán consejos—y despues te sacaran del cielo—y te dejarán en el mundo—para que te acuerdes de ellos.

Escúchales bien, ya es hora—de que se haga lo que prescrito está.—Que te hable este que llora,—y los siete que mas cerca—de tí, niña, se han colocado.»

Y un ángel de cabellera
mes rossa que ‘ls raigs del sol
s‘ atansá y á la encisera
nina, parlá de manera
que ‘l vá aplaudir tot lo vol.

Y un ángel de cabellera—mas rubia que los rayos del sol—se adelantó y a la hechicera—niña, habló de una manera—que se hizo aplaudir de todos los que le rodeaban.

I.

L' ángel de la virtut

—Sò l' ángel de la virtut;
jo ensenyo 'l camí del cel,
si es qu' algú roman perdut
jo le hi cridat ab anhel;
mès ell no m' ha respongut.

Ploro las faltas passadas
que pèls homs comesas son,
y plora las estraviadas
animetas enganyadas
per los atractíus del mòn.

I.

El ángel de la virtud.

«Soy el ángel de la virtud;—yo enseño el camino del cielo,—si alguien se estravia— no es porque no le haya llamado— sino porque él no me ha respondido.

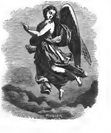
Deploro las faltas pasadas — que han cometido los hombres, — y deploro las estraviadas — almas seducidas — por los atractivos del mundo.

Tinch un eco en cada cor
que s‘ anomena conciencia,
no l‘ ofega á est eco l‘ or,
ni la gloria, ni la ciencia,
tan sols l‘ nfega la mort.

Aquell que l‘ haurá cregut
en la terra, aquí en la gloria
será da tots bén rebut,
y en lo món santa memoria
ne deixará sa virtut

Mes lo qui lo vici adori
y qui adori la maldat,
mes que gemegue y que plori,
aquí li darém quan mori,
tot ln mal qu‘ haurá sembrat,

Tn, nina, déus fer lo bè
sens esperar recompensa;
la recompensa la tè
dins del cor, aquell que pensa
qu‘ encara mes bè pot fè.



—Tu, nina, déus fer lo bè
sens esperar recompensa,
la recompensa la tè
dins del cor aquell que pensa
qu' encara mes bè pot fè.

Tengo un eco en cada corazon — que se llama conciencia—no le sofoca, á este eco, el oro — ni la ciencia, ni la gloria, — tan solo le vence la muerte.

Aquel que le habrá creido — en la tierra, aquí en la gloria — será bien recibido por parte de todos — y en el mundo santo recuerdo — dejará su virtud.

Pero el que adore al vicio— y el que adore la maldad,—aquí le darémos cuando deje de existir—por mas que gima y que llore,—todo el mal que habrá sembrado.

Tú, niña, debes hacer el bien—sin esperar recompensa;—la recompensa la tiene—en su corazon, el que piensa—que aun puede hacer mas bien del que ha hecho.

No t' allunyes may de mí
y al morir felis séràs,
y un lloch aquí trobaràs,
y al Senyor adoraràs
convertida en serafí.

Escòlta la veu aquella
que 't parla dintre del cor
qu' es ma veu, nineta bélla;
ja may cap ab mes fé qu' ella
te parlarà y mes amor.

Tos pensaments dòna á Deu
tas obras á la virtut;
no t' allunyes d' aprop mèu
y aixís deixaràs vensut
al infernal nemich tèu.—

Y encara sonava la veu manyagosa
del àngel qu' aprop la nineta tenia,
quan ja tot lo choro ab musica hermosa,
brandant las estrellas aixó repetia.

No te alejes de mi lado—y, cuando mueras, serás feliz—y un sitio encontrarás aquí,—y al Señor adorarás—convertida en serafin.

Escucha aquella voz—que te habla desde el interior del corazon—porque ella es mi voz, hermosa niña;—nunca hallarás otra que con mas fe que ella—te hable y con mas amor.

Entrega tu pensamiento á Dios,—tus obras á la virtud;—no te apartes de mi lado—y de este modo vencerás—á tu infernal enemigo.»

—

Y aun sonaba la suave voz—del ángel que la niña tenia cerca de ella,—cuando ya todo el coro con agradable música,—agitando las estrellas, esto repetia:

—Tos pensaments dóna á Déu
y al ángel de la virtut;
no fugis may de aprop seu,
y aixís deixarás vensut
al infernal nemich tèu.—

—

Y, quan aquests van finir,
un altre 's va adelantar,
y la nina va escoltar
tot quan l' ángel li va dir.

◆

«Entrega tu pensamiento á Dios—y al ángel de la virtud;—no te alejes de su lado—y de este modo vencerás—á tu infernal enemigo.»

* * *

Y, al concluir estos,—otro se adelantó,—y la niña prestó atencion—á todo cuanto le dijo el ángel.

◆

II.

L' àngel del amor á Deu.

—Lo sol que llú, las estrellas
que s' están á dalt del cel,
las flors pintadas y bellas,
l' aucelleta qu' ab anhel
empren volada atrevida,
¿que 't dihuen, nineta hermosa?
Que en est mòn reb cada cosa
de Dèu la forma y la vida.

II.

El ángel del amor á Dios.

«El sol que resplandece, las estrellas —que hay en el cielo,—las pintadas y hermosas flores,—el pajarillo que con anhelo—se echa á volar,—¿qué te dice todo esto, hermosa niña?—Que en este mundo, todo—recibe de Dios la forma y la vida.

Veurás que quan la tronada
en la montanya ressona
la cabreta qu' enfilada
está en lo marge, un salt dóna,
y fuig envers lo pastor
tremolanta, esporoguida,
perque sab que no te mida
lo inmens poder del Senyor.

La flor, qu' es del sol amiga,
sempre que s' obra veurás
guaytant al cel, y 's mustiga
si es que á tallarla hi vás,
perqué li pláu ab anhel
á Dèu mostrar sa bellesa,
y li da pena y tristesa
no poder guaytar lo cel.

Tot lo mòn t' ensenya, nina,
que tens d' aymar al Senyor;
ámal molt, la testa inclina
quan li parles ab lo cor;

Verás como, cada vez que el trueno—resuena en el monte—la cabrita que encaramada—está en el matorral da un salto—y huye corriendo hácia el pastor—temblando, llena de miedo,—porque sabe que es inmenso—el poder del Señor.

La flor, amiga como es del sol,—siempre verás que se abre—mirando al cielo, y se marchita—si tú vas y la cortas,—porque le place con anhelo—á Dios mostrar su hermosura—y le causa pena y tristeza—no poder contemplar el cielo.

Todo lo del mundo te dice, niña,—que debes amar al Señor;—ámale mucho, la cabeza inclina—cuando le hables con lo voz del corazon;—y acuérdate de que El

y pensa qu' Ell te contempla,
que 't vigila á totas horas,
que 't dóna 'l remey que templa
ton greu desconsol quan ploras.

Qu' es Ell qui 't dóna la vida
y escólta tas oracions,
y qui 't deixará guarida
de tota sort de il-lusions.
Qu' es Ell per tú un tendre pare
que t' estima ab frenesí,
qui per boca de ta mare
t' ensenya lo bon camí.

Que may t' ha causat cap pena
que jamay t' ha fet plorar,
que tan sols desitja, nena,
que tú 'l vullas estimar.
Que n' es Ell font de dolsura,
que n' es font d' etern amor
vers qui va la criatura
per netejar lo séu cor.

te contempla,—que te vigila á todas horas,—que te da el remedio que calma —tu acerbo dolor cuando lloras.

Que es El quien te da la vida—y escucha tus oraciones;—quien te dejará libre— de toda ilusion.—Que es El para tí un tierno padre—que te ama mucho, —quien por boca de tu madre—te enseña el buen camino.

Que nunca te ha causado pena alguna, —que jamás te ha hecho llorar,—que tan solo desea, niña,—que tú quieres amarle.—Que es El fuente de dulzura,—que es fuente de amor eterno,—hácia la cual se dirige toda criatura—para dejar á su corazon limpio de pecado.

La estrella qu' en lo cel brilla
d' Ell ne reb la claretat,
á la hermosa francesilla
Ell li dòna 'l matisat;
á l' au, las llaugeras alas;
al cavall, la forsa y pit;
al jorn, llum y ricas galas;
y, majestat, á la nit.

Y pus Ell es qui m' envía
perqué te recordes d' Ell
pénsahi, donchs, de nit y dia;
segueix, nina, mon concell,
y axís quan arribi l' hora
en que 's presenti la mort
podrás aná al cel alhora
en busca de millor sort.—

Y encara sonava sa véu falaguera
quan ja lo vol d' ángels que la blava esfera,
batent sas aletas hermosas, umplia,
aixó repetia:

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La estrella que resplandece en el cielo —de El recibe el brillo;—á la hermosa francesilla—El da los matices;—al pájaro, las ligeras alas;—al caballo, la fuerza y bravura;—al dia, la luz y ricas galas; —y, la majestad, á la noche.

Y ya que es El quien me envia—para que te acuerdes de El,—no le olvides de noche ni tampoco de dia;—sigue, niña, mi consejo,—y de esta manera cuando llegue la hora—en que se presente la muerte—podrás remontarte hacia el cielo—en busca de suerte mejor.»

Y aun resonaba su halagüeña voz—cuando ya la bandada de ángeles que la azul esfera,—agitando sus hermosas alas, cubria,—iba repitiendo esto:

—Ayma á Deu font de dolsura
font de goig, de pur amor,
vers qui va la criatura
per netejar lo seu cor.—

—

Y tot rodejat de gloria
ab lo front voltat d' estrellas,
un ángel, en la memoria
de la nina, aquesta historia
va fixá ab paraulas bellas.

* * *

«Ama á Dios, fuente de dulzura—fuente de goces, de amor puro,—hácia la cual se dirige la criatura—para dejar á su corazon limpio de pecado.»

* * *

Y rodeado de gloria—con la frente circundada de estrellas,—un ángel, en la mente—de la niña, esta historia—grabó con palabras bellas.

* * *

III.

L' ángel de la veritat.

—En lo paradís vivian
dos sers estimats de Dèu,
per élls sols eran las auras,
per élls los brillants estels,
per élls l' aiga crestallina,
per élls los mes purs plahers.
Axís que 'l sol espuntava
obrian al punt per élls
les flors las pintadas fullas,
los ancells sos dolsos bechs.

III.

El ángel de la verdad

En el paraíso moraban—dos seres queridos de Dios,—para ellos habian sido creadas las auras,—para ellos las puras estrellas,—para ellos el agua cristalina,—para ellos los mas delicados goces.—Así que asomaba el sol—abrian, al momento, para ellos—las flores sus pintados pétalos,—los pájaros sus dulces picos.

Aixís que un desig tenian
tost lo veyan satisfet.
¡Ay, que n' eran de felissos!
¡Qué n' eran de aymats de Dèu!
Sota la volta estrellada,
damunt del mes fresch herbey
quan dormian, tots los àngels
los guaytavam ab anhel,
y, si enveja fos possible
que hi pogués havé en lo cel,
fins diria qu' envejosos
estavam nosaltres d' ells.
L' un Adam se anomenava;
Eva l' altra; per demés
tots los dos eran hermosos
y 'ls mes estimats de Dèu.
Eran senzills, la ignocencia
felissos los feya ser;
jamay cap pena passavan,
sempre goigs per tot arréu.
Y Dèu parlat los havia
sempre plé d' amor per ells;
y cada cop que 'ls parlava

En cuanto deseaban alguna cosa— al momento veian satisfecho su deseo.—¡Ay, cuán felices eran!—¡Cuán queridos de Dios! — Debajo la estrellada bóveda,—sobre la yerba, —cuando dormian, todos los ángeles—los contemplábamos con anhelo,—y si fuese posible—que hubiese envidia en el cielo,—basta diria que celosos—estabamos de ellos.—El uno se llamaba Adan;—Eva el otro; en estremo—hermosos eran los dos—y los mas queridos del Señor.—Eran sencillos, la inocencia—les hacia vivir satisfechos de sí mismos,—nunca tenian pesar de clase alguna,—en todas partes encontraban placer.—Y Dios les habia hablado—siempre con mucho amor;—y cada vez que les hablaba—les decia esto mismo.

los hi deya així mateix:

—Si voléu esser felissos,
si 'm voléu tindrer content
ne creuréu lo que jo 'us diga,
ne seguiréu mos concells.
Mentres l' amor sant no 'us deixe,
mentres no 'us deixe la fé,
aquí ne viuréu ab joya,
seréu en est lloch los reys;
mès si es que algun jorn lo vici
omple vostre cor de fel
y 'ls llabis, franchs avuy dia,
se vos tornen mentiders,
llavors l' amor que 'us professo
de vàltres apartaré
y tot lo pler que 'us rodeja
pera sempre mes perdréu.—

Y ells escoltavan commosos
ab los ulls d' amor sant plens......
Mes vingué 'l jorn de l' oratge
y arribá poch à poquet:

«Si queréis ser felices,—si queréis contentarme—daréis fé á lo que os diga, seguiréis mis consejos.—Mientras no os deje el santo amor,—mientras no abandonéis la fé,—aquí viviréis alegremente,—seréis los reyes de este lugar;—pero si algun dia el vicio—llena de hiel vuestro corazon—y los lábios, francos hoy,—se vuelven mentirosos,—entonces el amor que os tengo—apartaré de vosotros—y toda la felicidad que ahora os rodea—perderéis para siempre.»

Y ellos escuchaban conmovidos—con los ojos llenos de amor santo.....—Pero vino el dia de la tempestad,—poco á poco llegó,—y la tentacion traidora

Google

y la tentació perversa
transformat en vil serpent
tentá á la senzilla Eva
la que á Adam tentá despres.
Fet lo pecat, la ignocencia
varen perdre aquells dos sers;
fet lo pecat, la mentida
ab altivesa vingué.
Y á las preguntas que 'ls feya
Nostre Senyor lo Etern Dèu,
los dos ó muts ne restavan
ó responian ab veus
qu' encar que vritat fingian
mentida n' eran no mes.

Y perqué se revetlaren
á la voluntat de Dèu,
y perqué no respongueren
ab llabi franch y ben ver,
lo paradís varen pérdrer
per un eternal may mes.
Ab vritat felissos foren
purs, estimats, ignocents;

—transformada en vil serpiente—tentó á la sencilla Eva—y á Adan tentó despues.—Una vez cometido el pecado,—la inocencia—perdieron aquellos dos seres; —cometido el pecado, la mentira—compareció altaneramente.—Y á tantas cuantas preguntas les hacia—Nuestro Señor, el Dios Eterno—ambos ó mudos permanecieron—ó contestaron con palabras —que aunque verdad fingiau—mentira eran tan solo.

Y porque se rebelaron—á la voluntad de Dios—y porque no respondieron con lábio franco y verídico,—el paraiso perdieron—por toda una eternidad. —Mientras amaron la verdad fueron felices—puros, amados, inocentes;—cuando á la verdad faltaron recogieron —amarguras do quier que fueron.

ab la mentida, trobaren
desconsol per tot arréu.

A la veritat, nineta,
ab delíri aymarla déus,
que n‘ es la vritat la sola,
la sola porta del cel.
L‘ artificiosa mentida
lo cor rosega, oprimeix;
ne crema, al passar, los llabis;
los ulls aparta de Dèu;
lo sobresalt porta á l‘ ánima
y confusió al pensament:
val mes que viscas tranquila,
val mes que al véurer estels
que en nit fosca parpellejan
pugas dir:
—Pura com ells
es la pobre ánima mia,
y ho es lo méu cor també.
Que quan algú los ulls fixi
en tos ullets ab anhel,
pugas tornarli tranquila

Niña, á la verdad—debes amarla con delirio — que es ella única, — la única puerta del cielo —La artificiosa mentira— róe el corazon, oprime;—al tiempo de pasar quema los lábios;—los ojos aparta de Dios;—llena de sobresalto el alma—y de confusion el pensamiento:—vale mas que vivas tranquila,—vale mas que al ver las estrellas—que chispean en la oscuridad de la noche—puedas decir:

«Pura como ellas—es mi alma—y mi corazon tambien.»—Vale mas que cuando alguien fije su mirada—en la tuya anhelosamente—puedas devolverle con tranquilidad—una mirada inocente,—y libre de todo sinsabor—

una mirada ignocent,
y llibre de tota pena
pugas di, al morir, á Deu:

—Senyor, senyor la mentida
jamay la he estimada gens.—

—

Y encara ressonava la veu hermosa y pia
del ángel que á la nina neda tan bon concell,
quan ja ‘l chor que ‘l rodeja, ab tendre melodia,
aixis ne repetia
las últimas paraulas qu‘ havia dit aquell:

—Quant algú sa vista fixi
en tos ullets ab anhel,
tú déus tornarli tranquila
una mirada ignocent,
y llibre de tota pena
déus dir, quan moris, á Dèu:

—Senyor, senyor la mentida
jamay la he estimada gens.—

puedas decir á Dios al tiempo de morir:

«Señor, señor á la mentira—nunca la he querido.»

—

Y aun resonaba la voz hermosa y pia—del ángel que á la niña daba tan saludable consejo,—cuando ya el coro que le rodea, con tierna melodía,—así iba repitiendo—las últimas palabras que aquel acababa de pronunciar.

«Cuando alguien fije su mirada—en la tuya anhelosamente—tú debes devolverle con tranquilidad—una mirada inocente,—y libre de todo sinsabor—debes decir á Dios al tiempo de morir:

«Señor, señor á la mentira nunca la he querido.»

IV.

L' àngel del amor al próxim.

—Hermosa, hermosa nineta
que ben sentada t' estás,
conserva bè en la memoria
'lo que de mi escoltarás.

En lo mòn hi ha móltas horas
que tan sols son de tristor,
en lo mòn horas si passan
que vos deixan sech lo cor.

IV.

El ánjel del amor al prójimo.

«Hermosa, hermosa niña—que sentada estás,—conserva en la memoria—mis palabras.

Hay en el mundo muchas horas—que solo engendran trizteza,—hay en el mundo horas — que os dejan seco el corazon.

Llavoras si recelosa
ne fuges tú de la gent;
si en lloch de buscar qui calme
y aixugue ton plant ardent,

En la soledat ne cercas
alló que no hi pots trobar,
lo mes pur del sants afectes
de ton cor s' ha de apartar.

Los homes en las desgracias
buscarse déhuen tots ells,
ab bona fé consolarse,
aymarse joves y vells,

Y axís la pesada vida
que en lo mòn anéu passant,
ab las flors d' amor al próxim
un bon xich se va endolsant.

Recórdat de que en la terra
tots sóu fills del etern Dèu,
y que 'l germanatje 'us lliga
á tots los que 'l mòn petjéu.

Si, durante las mismas, recelosa—te alejas de la sociedad;—si en vez de buscar quien mitigue—y enjugue tu ardiente llanto,

Buscas en la soledad—aquello que no es dable encontrar en ella,—el mas puro de los santos afectos—se alejará de tu corazon.

Los hombres en la desgracia—deben buscarse mútuamente,—con buena fé consolarse,—amarse jóvenes y viejos,

Y de este modo la pesada vida—que en este mundo vais pasando,—con las flores de amor al prójimo—se puede endulzar algun tanto.

Acuérdate de que en la tierra—todos sois hijos del eterno Dios,—y que el lazo fraternal os une—á todos cuantos pisais el mundo.

Lo mateix cel vos rodeja
y 'ns aclara 'l mateix sol,
la terra per tot es terra,
l' au per tot tè 'l mateix vol.

Si 'l fanatisme 'us separa,
l' amor vos déu ajuntar;
despres de á Dèu estimarne
al próxim se déu aymar.

Aquell quí naix en la terra
y naix en temor de Dèu,
á aquest déu tíndrer per pare
y, á tot hom, per germá sèu.

Qui estime als altres no dupte
de que aquí será estimat;
y quí dels homes renegue
trobará lo cel tancat.—

—

Y l' ángel va callar y, tota la bandada
dels serafins que alegres voltávantlo ab dalé
ab melodiosa, dolsa, armónica tonada
va repetir també.

El mismo cielo os rodea—y os alumbra el mismo sol,—la tierra es la misma en todas partes,—el ave en todas partes—vuela del mismo modo.

Si el fanatismo tiende á separaros,—el amor debe uniros;—despues de amar á Dios—se debe amar al prójimo.

Al que nace en la tierra—y nace en temor de Dios,—á este debe tener por padre—y á todos los hombres por hermanos.

Quien ama á sus semejantes no dude—de que aquí será amado;—y quien de los hombres reniegue—encontrará cerrada la puerta del cielo.»

Y el ángel calló y la bandada entera—de los serafines que alegremente le rodeaban con afan,—con melodiosa, dulce y armónica tonada—repitió:

—Quí estime als altres no dupte
de que aquí será estimat;
y quí del homes renegue
trobará lo cel tancat.—

—

Ab ulls de gloria y garlanda
de violas en lo front,
un altre angelet le parla
així á la nina ab dols só:

⁂

«Quien ame á sus semejantes no dude —de que aquí será amado;—y quien de los hombres reniegue—encontrará cerrada la puerta del cielo.»

—

Con ojos de gloria y guirnalda—de violetas en la frente,—otro ángel habla —así á la niña, con dulce acento:

* * *

V.

L' ángel de la modestia.

—En la verneda
sota l' herbey
violeta esclata
de flaire bell.
Quan lo sol guayta
des de l' alt cel
jamay la ovira,
jamay la véu.

V.

El ángel de la modestia.

—En el bosque—debajo de la yerba—se abre la violeta—de grato aroma.—Cuando el sol asoma—en el elevado cielo,—nunca puede verla,—nunca puede contemplarla.

Son moradetas
sas fullas y es
sa dolsa essencia
mes que l' encens
falagadora
com no hi ba res.
Be 'u sab qu' es bella,
be 'u sab que té
totas las gracias
de las demés;
mes perçó, nina,
de tot lo sèu
jamay s' alaba,
s' enorgulleix.
En la verneda
sota l' herbey
contenta s' obra,
contenta hi es;
y si l' allunyan
de son indret,
si la 'n separan
tost se marceix;
perqué sas gracias

Morados son—sus pétalos y es—su pura esencia—mas que el incienso—agradable,—no hay otra mejor.—Bien sabe que es hermosa,—bien sabe que tiene—todas las gracias—de las demas; —pero con todo, niña,—de sí misma—nunca habla en alabanza—ni se enorgullece.

En el bosque—debajo de la yerba,—contenta abre su capullo,—contenta está; —y si la alejan del lugar que ocupaba,—si la separan de su escondite,—al punto se marchita;—porque sus gracias—descubre el sol—y con su aliento—sutil, ardiente—le roba la vida,—y el perfume le roba.

lo sol las ven
y ab sa alenada
sutil, ardent,
li roba vida,
l' olor li pren.

Com ella, nina,
guardarte déus
de que no 't vejan
la flor que tens
de ton cor dintre
guardada bé,
modestia diuhen
que son nom es,
n' es pura y blanca,
d' aspecte bell.
Quan en tas galtas
tendres floreix,
son sas fulletas
d' un carmí encés;
quan tú parlarne
d' ella pretens,
sols ne murmuras

A semejanza suya, niña,—debes procurar—que nadie vea—la flor que tienes—dentro de tu corazon—bien guardada; —dicen que *Modestia*—es su nombre;—es pura y blanca—tiene buen aspecto.—Cuando en tus mejillas—tiernas florece, —sus pétalos toman—el color del mas vivo carmin; cuando hablar—de ella pretendes,—tan solo puedes pronunciar—confusas palabras.—No la eches—de tu hermoso corazon,—deja qne crezca en él—ufanosamente,—y que florezca—por toda una eternidad—en tus mejillas de delicada piel.—El que deja marchitar—esta flor—ya no la ve abierta—otra vez en su vida.—Así como á la violeta—tiene escondida la yerba,—tu corazon,

confosas veus.
No la separes
de ton cor bell,
deixa que hi cresca
y ufanament,
y que floreixi
per sempre mes
en tas galtetas
de fina pell.
Qui mustigarne
semblant flor deix,
jamay florida
de nou la veu.
Com la violeta
guarda l' herbey,
ton cor, nineta,
guardaría déu.—

—

Y l' àngel va callar y 'ls altres ab dolsura
en la celeste altura,
en quan ell va finir,
aixís mateix, cantant, van repetir:

niña,—debe esconder la flor!»

—

Y el ángel calló y los otros con dulzura—en la celeste altura,—así que hubo acabado,—cantando repitieron:

—Com la violeta
guarda l' herbey,
tú ta modestia
guardarne déns.—

* * *

Y ab veu d' amor
un ángel bell
á la nineta
digué com ça,
despres de haver
un gemech dóls
de dins de l' ánima
conmós llansat.

* * *

«Así como á la violeta—tiene escondida la yerba—tú, tu modestia—debes tener escondida.»

*

Y con amorosa voz—un hermoso ángel—á la niña,—habló de esta manera, —despues de haber—un dulce gemido—del alma—arrojado con toda emocion.

*

VI.

L' ángel del amor als pares

—Despres de aymar al Senyor
déus á tos pares aymar,
pus necessari es pagar
son amor ab mes amor.

Tens de recordarte, nena,
á tota, á tota hora d' ells;
jamay los déus dar cap pena,
may oblidar sos concells.

VI.

El ángel del amor á los padres.

«Despues de amar al Señor—debes amar á tus padres,—pues necesario es pagar—su amor con mas amor aun.

Debes acordarte, niña,—á todas horas de ellos;—jamás debes darles pena alguna,—nunca debes olvidar sus consejos.

Per mes que per élls sufrescas
may te 'n tens de penedir;
no penses que may patescas
tant quant tú 'ls has fet patir.

Que n' es l' amor sant dels pares
amor que al mòn no té igual;
si son bè tú ab mal pagares
no 't voldrèm pas aquí dalt.

Lo qui sos pares no adori
no mereix humá consol,
no trobará quan éll plori
qui vaja á calmar son dol.

¿Qué cosa pot compararse
á la mare que ab dol gran
sentada, sens bellugarse,
s' está prop del fill vetllant,

Y espia ab dalé sa cara
y 'ls cops qu' en lo cor li sent,
y, gota á gota, l' amara
fel del dolor va bevent?

Google

Aun cuando sufras mucho por causa suya—no debes arrepentirte de ello;—no te creas padecer jamás—tanto como ellos han padecido por tí.

Es el amor de los padres,—amor que no tiene igual en el mundo;—si pagases mal su amor,—no te querriamos aquí en el cielo.

El que no adore á sus padres—no merece humano consuelo,—no encontrará cuando llore—quien venga á enjugar su llanto.

¿Qué cosa puede compararse—á la madre que con dolor—sentada, sin menearse,—está junto á su hijo velando,

Y espía con afan su rostro—y los latidos cuenta del corazon de aquel,—y, gota á gota, bebe la amarga—hiel del dolor?

Que per ella no hi ha días,
que tampoch passa la nit,
que no coneix alegrías
mentres té son fill al llit.

Que prega á Deu ab deliri
perqué no vinga la mort.
¿Qué compensa aquest martiri?
¿Quí pot pagar son amor?

Tú, tú, nineta, estimantlos
ab un amor sense fí,
tú tementlos, respectantlos,
creyentlos tarda y matí.

Y quan vinga la vellesa
y ne doblegue llur cos,
tú déus esser, ab tendresa,
l' ajuda y consol dels dos.

Quan tú n' eras, petiteta
per tú van fé 'l mateix ells;
ama á tos pares, nineta,
segueix sempre sos concells.—

Que para ella no hay días,—que tampoco hay noches,—que no conoce alegría —mientras tiene á su hijo enfermo,

Y ruega á Dios con delirio—que no se presente la muerte.—¿Qué es lo que puede compensar su martirio?—¿Quién puede pagar tanto amor?

Tú, tú, niña, amándolos—con un amor sin fin,—temiéndolos, respetándolos,—creyéndolos tarde y mañana.

Y cuando llegue la vejez—y encorve sus cuerpos,—tú debes ser, con buena voluntad,—la ayuda y consuelo de ambos.

Cuando eras pequeñita—ellos hicieron otro tanto contigo;—ama á tus padres, niña,—sigue sus consejos.»

Y 'ls angelets que 'l voltavan
quan éll fini,
aixó ab veus qu' enamoravan
van repeti:

—Despres d' aymar al Senyor
déus á tos pares aymar,
pus necessari es pagar
son amor ab mes amor.—

—

Y sens galas qu' ornassen
son front blanch com la neu
y sens qu' estels lluhissen
entorn del bell cap sèu,
un ángel de divina
y mòlt rara hermosura
á la petita noya
parlá, axís ab dolsura:

Y los ángeles que le rodeaban,—cuando concluyó,—esto con voces seductoras—repitieron:

«Despues de amar al Señor—debes amar á tus padres,—pues necesario es pagar—su amor con mas amor aun.»

—

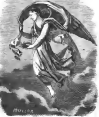
Y sin adornos—en su frente blanca como la nieve—y sin estrellas resplandecientes—al rededor de su cabeza—un ángel de divina—y muy particular hermosnra—á la pequeña niña—habló de este modo con dulzura:

VII.

L' àngel de la caritat.

—So l' angel de caritat
per mòlta gent escarnit;
jo vetllo al desamparat,
sempre socós he donat
al pobre trist y afligit.

Yn als richs predico llarguesa
quan los trubo disfrutant,
y ab sobras de sa riquesa
jo mantench á la pobresa
que de fret va tremolant.



—Jo als richs predico llarguesa
quan los trobo disfrutant
y ab sobras de sa riquesa
ne mantinch á la pobresa
que de fam va tremolant

VII.

El ángel de la caridad.

«Soy el ángel de la caridad—despreciado de muchos;—yo vigilo al desamparado.—siempre he prestado ayuda—al pobre triste y afligido.

Yo á los ricos les encargo que sean dadivosos—cuando les veo gozando,—y con las sobras de su riqueza—yo mantengo al pobre—que de frio tiembla.

En la orella del que gosa
dich: «Hi ha qui ara pateix »
Y mes que li fassa nosa
ma imatje sempre se posa
ans qui son diné escondeix.

Los qui gosáu en salons
d' ambent fresch, embalsamat,
los qu' escoltáu dolsos sons,
pensáu que tots aquests dons
que 'l Senyor vos ha donat

Devéu comparti ab la pía,
desconsolada criatura,
que á Dèu sa pregaria envía
tarda y matí, nit y dia
perque calme sa amargura.

Pensáu que 'l mes rich bossí
que á vostra boca acostéu,
mes gustós lo trobaréu
si abans l' heu volgut partí
ab lo qui en miseria 's véu,

Al oido del que goza—digo: «En este momento hay quien sufre.»—Y aunque le cause enojo—mi imágen siempre se coloca delante del que esconde su dinero.

Los que disfrutáis en salones—de fresco y embalsamado ambiente,—los que escucháis armónicos sonidos,—debéis tener presente que todos estos dones—que el Señor os ha dado

Debéis compartirlos con la piadosa—desconsolada criatura,—que á Dios envia su oracion—mañana y tarde, dia y noche—para que calme su amargura.

Debéis saber que el mas apetitoso bocado—que acerquéis á vuestros labios,—mas sabroso lo encontraréis—si ántes os habéis dignado compartirlo—con el que vive en la miseria.

Google

Feu caritat sense mida
á tots los que pobres son,
que aixís ma veu vos ho crida
per boca de la afligida
pobresa del vostre mòn.

Aquell que lo sèu ne doni
als que n' han necessitat,
aquell que res ne perdoni
per fer be al pobre, abandoni
tota por d' esser dampnat.

La pobresa, despullada
demana pá ab sant anhel;
mes quan es l' hora arribada
de morir, troba aplanada
la via d' anar al cel.

Lo pobre en la vostra vida
n' es un àngel desterrat,
y quan sa tasca fínida
tè en lo mòn, tot desseguida
se 'n puja al cel estrellat

No seáis escasos en hacer limosna—á todos los que necesiten de ella,—que así os lo pide mi voz—por boca de los afligidos—pobres que hay en vuestro mundo.

Aquel que dé lo suyo—á los que lo necesiten,—aquel que se desvele—en hacer bien al pobre, no tenga—miedo de que se condene su alma.

Los pobres, desnudos—van pidiendo pan con santo anhelo;—pero en cámbio al morir—no encuentran obstáculo—en el camino que conduce al cielo.

El pobre en vuestro mundo—es un ángel desterrado,—y cuando concluye su destierro—abandona el mundo al instante—y se remonta al estrellado cielo

Y als peus del diví Senyor,
del mòn li esplica 'l bè,
la justicia, 'l diví amor,
y la baixesa y mal cor
del vil malfactor també.

No te 'l mires orgullosa,
no l' apartis d' aprop tèu,
qu' es lo pobre, nina hermosa,
una floreta preciosa
molt estimada de Dèu.—

Y aixís fini.
Y 'ls altres que 'l voltavan repetiren
ab veus qu' enamoraren
á tots quant las sentiren
aixó qu' ara ve aquí:

—No te 'l mires orgullosa,
no l' apartis d' aprop tèu,
qu' es lo pobre, nina hermosa,
una floreta preciosa
molt estimada de Dèu.—

Y postrado ante el Señor,—del mundo le cuenta lo que tiene de bueno,—de justo, hasta donde llega su amor á Dios, —y la infamia y malos sentimientos—del malhechor tambien.

No mires con orgullo,—ni apartes de tu lado—al pobre, porque es él, niña hermosa,—una preciosa flor—muy querida de Dios.»

Y concluyó.—Y los demás que le rodeaban repitieron—con voces sumamente agradables—para aquellos que les escuchaban,—esto que sigue:

«No mires con orgullo—ni apartes de tu lado—al pobre, porque es él, niña hermosa,—una preciosa flor—muy querida de Dios.»

Y, la pau y quietut, silenciosa
deixaren l' alta volta: sols se oia
lo rumor de las alas de la hermosa
bandada d' angelets que al lluny fugia;
mès un quedat n' havia
al bell costat de la encantada noya,
y quan tot sol va véurer
qu' ab ella se quedava,
la va guaytá ab afany y ne va trêurer
de son llabi, amorosa,
tendra, dòlsa, encisera
veu, y pausat, á la nineta hermosa,
ne va parlar de la seguent manera:

◆

Y, la paz y la quietud, silenciosa—dejaron elevada bóveda celeste; únicamente se oia—el rumor de las alas de la hermosa—bandada de ángeles que se iba alejando:—un ángel se habia quedado—junto á la embelesada niña—y luego que solo—con ella se quedó,—la contempló con afan y arrancando de sus labios amorosa,—tierna, dulce, y hechicera—voz, pausadamente, á la hermosa niña,—habló del modo siguiente:

◆

VIII.

L' ángel de l' arrepentiment

Si algun dia t' oblidas de seguirne
los concells que t' han dat los meus germans,
en lo cel fixa 'ls ulls y crídam,
agenollada y ab plegadas mans.

Jo vindré á tú, nineta, ab carinyosa
má 't portaré als peus del Redemptor
y parlaré perque 't perdone, y crégam
pels que l' estiman te 'l perdó 'l Senyor

VIII.

El ángel del arrepentimiento

Si algun dia echas en olvido—los consejos que te han dado mis hermanos,—fija tus miradas en el cielo y llámame, llámame—arrodillada y con las manos juntas.

Yo acudiré á tu voz, niña, con cariñosa—mano te llevaré á los piés del Redentor—y pediré tu perdon, y no lo dudes—á los que le aman Dios les perdona.

Si avergonyida estás de las miserias
que, al pecat, en la terra t' haurán dut,
lo perdó alcansarás y aquí en la gloria
corona 't posarém; tu haurás vensut.

Lo mes sant de la terra, lo que 's ayma
ab mes deliri y fé al cel resplandent,
n' es l' ovella que torna á la ramada,
es lo pur y sancé arrepentiment.

No temas confessar tas culpas, créume
còntali tot á Dèu ab veritat,
si ho fas aixís ne guanyarás la gloria;
llansa del cor lo mondanal pecat.

Y cada dia y cada instant, cada hora
póstrat davant de Dèu ab fel amor,
que si tacada tu ne portas l' ànima,
neta del tot la deixara 'l Senyor.

FI DEL LLIBRE DELS ANGELS.

Si te avergüenzas de las miserias—
que al pecado en este mundo te han arrastrado,—serás perdonada y aquí en la
gloria—corona te ceñiremos: tu habrás
vencido.

Lo mas santo de la tierra, lo que se
ama—con mas delirio y fé en el esplendoroso cielo,—es la oveja que se reune
otra vez al ganado,—es el puro y entero
arrepentimiento.

No temas confesar tus culpas, créeme
—cuéntaselo todo á Dios sin mentir,—
si así lo haces alcanzarás la gloria;—arroja del corazon el mundanal pecado.

Y cada dia y cada momento, cada hora
—póstrate á los piés de Dios con fiel
amor,—que si manchada está tu alma—
límpia del todo la dejará el Señor.

FIN DEL LIBRO DE LOS ÁNGELES

Barcelona 22 de Mayo de 1865.

Pase á la censura del Reverendo Dr D. Manuel Rodriguez, Pbro. Catedrático de este seminario conciliar.

De Palau y Soler, Vic. G

M I Sr

Visto el presente librito escrito en catalan con su traduccion castellana, titulado, *Lo llibre dels ángels*, declaro no haber nada contra el dogma y la moral, al contrario, encierra santas máximas y consejos saludables, puestos en boca de varios ángeles y dirigidos á una niña; y por esto es muy útil dicho librito para las niñas

Lo que tengo el honor de comunicar á V. S á los efectos oportunos.

Barcelona 30 de Mayo de 1865.

Manuel Rodriguez, Pbro.

M. I. Sr D Juan de Palau, Vicario General de la diócesis de Barcelona

---

Barcelona 30 de Mayo de 1865.

IMPRÍMASE

Juan de Palau y Soler V. G

Barcelona: Imp de N. Ramirez, pasaje de Escudillers, n.º 4, 1865

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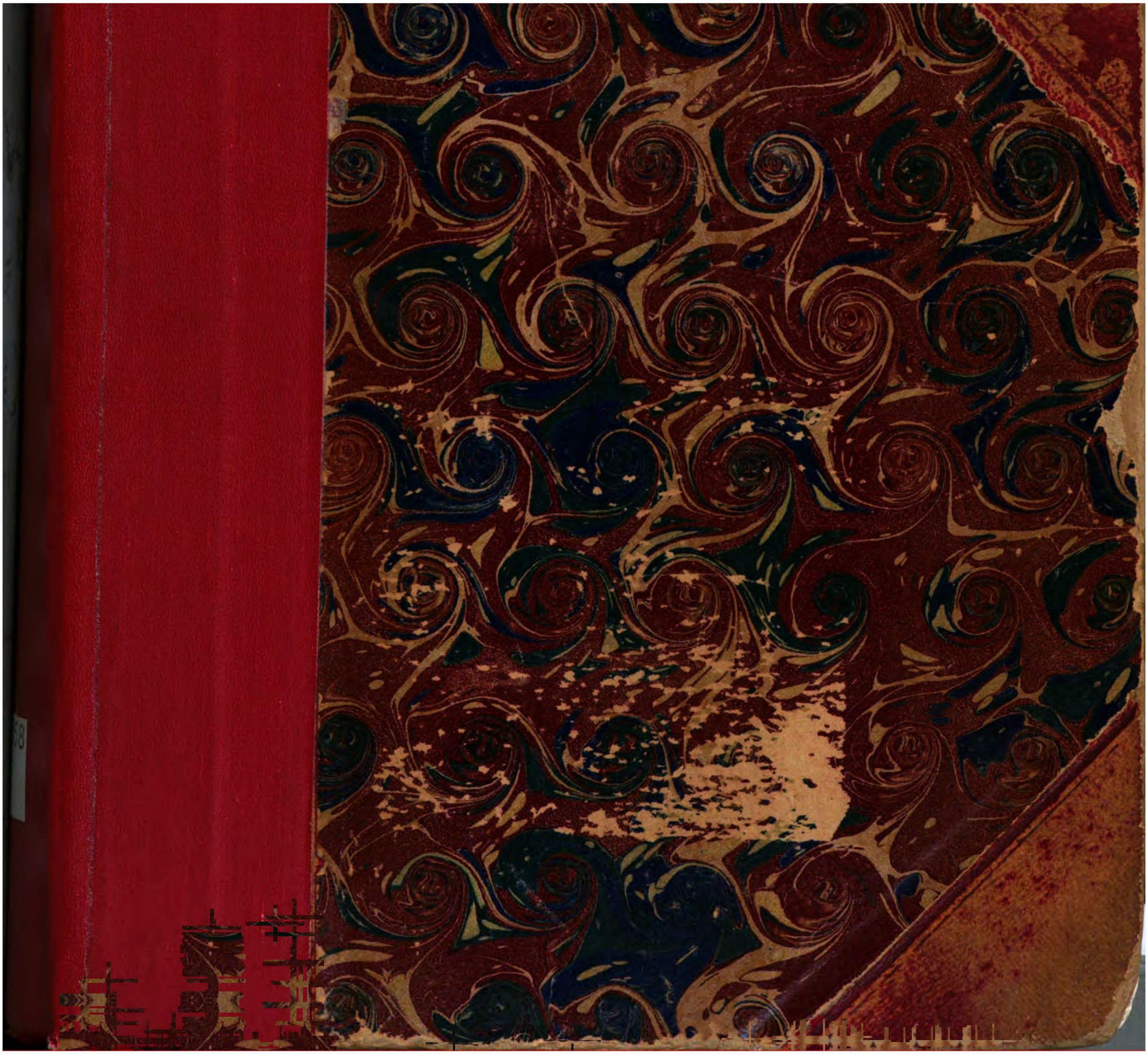

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H. H. Haynes

Anecdota Oxoniensia

TEXTS, DOCUMENTS, AND EXTRACTS

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SEMITIC SERIES. VOL. I—PART II

THE BOOK OF THE BEE

EDITED BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1886

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THE

BOOK OF THE BEE

THE SYRIAC TEXT

EDITED FROM

THE MANUSCRIPTS IN LONDON, OXFORD, AND MUNICH

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT SCHOLAR
ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM

Solomon, Bp. of Basra

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1886

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London
HENRY FROWDE

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TO

MY MASTER AND FRIEND

WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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ERRATA.

Page iii, last line, *read* 1569.

Page vii, line 14, *read* 1709.

Page ix, line 14, *read Apostol.*

Book of the Bee.

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PREFACE.

OF the author of 'the Book of the Bee,' the bishop Shĕlêmôn or Solomon, but very little is known. He was a native of Khilâṭ or Akhlâṭ (خِلَاط, أَخْلَاط, in Armenia, at the western end of lake Vân), and by religious profession a Nestorian. He became metropolitan bishop of ܦܪܬ ܡܝܫܢ or ܒܨܪܐ (i.e. al-Baṣra, ٱلْبَصْرَة, in al-'Irâḳ, on the right bank of the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates) about A.D. 1222, in which year he was present at the consecration of the catholicus or Nestorian patriarch Sabr-îshô' (Hope-in-Jesus)[1] (see Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 453, no. 75; Bar-hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, t. ii, p. 371). In the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Works compiled by 'Ebêd-yêshû' or 'Abd-îshô' (the-Servant-of-Jesus) he is stated to have written, besides 'the Bee,' a treatise on the figure of the heavens and the earth, and sundry short discourses and prayers (see Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 309, where there is a lengthy analysis of the contents of 'the Bee'). The text of this passage as given in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, fol. 25 *b*, differs slightly from Assemânî's; it runs: ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܓܠܐܛܝܐ ܕܒܨܪܐ. ܥܒܕ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܐܣܟܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܨܠܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ. A Latin translation of 'the Bee' by Dr. J. M. Schoenfelder appeared at Bamberg in 1866; it is based upon the Munich MS. only, and is faulty in many places.

The text of 'the Bee,' as contained in this volume, is edited from four MSS., indicated respectively by the letters A, B, C and D.

The MS. A[2] belongs to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. It is dated A. Gr. 1880=A.D. 1559, and

---

[1] The proper names of the Nestorians strongly resemble those of our Puritans: ܩܡܝܫܘܥ *Jesus-is-risen;* ܗܦܟܡܪܢ? *Our-Lord-hath-converted;* ܥܢܝܫܘܥ *Jesus-hath-answered-me;* ܒܪܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܗ *Blessed-be-His-will;* etc.

[2] For a full account of the contents of this MS. see Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. i, p. x.

consists of 188 paper leaves, measuring about 8 in. by 5¾. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 25 lines. This MS. is so stained and damaged by water in parts that some of the writing is illegible. The quires are twenty-one in number and, excepting the last two, are signed with letters. Leaves are wanting after folios 6, 21, 49, 125, 166 and 172; and in several pages there are lacunae of one, two and more lines. The volume is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel-points. Originally it was the property of the priest Wardâ, son of the deacon Moses, who was prior of the convent of Mâr Ezekiel, fol. 187 *a:* ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܢܐ (sic) ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܪ̇ܕܐ ܒܪ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ، ܚܙܩܝܐܝܠ ܕܝܪܐ. ܠܟܠܟܡ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܐ (sic) ܘܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܗ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ. ܐܡܝܢ. Later on, it belonged to one Mâr John of Enzelli (near Resht, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea), fol. 187 *b:* (sic) ܒ̈ܟܐ ܟܡ̈ܠ جاملوا ܕܐܢܙܠ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܡܪܝ، ܟܬܒܐ, and just above this: صاحبة واملكة (sic) مري يوحنان في قريّت انزل لي.
In the year A.Gr. 1916=A.D. 1605 it was bound by a person whose name has been erased, fol. 1 *a:* ܐܬܬܕܒܩ (sic) ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܬܩܝܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܐܡ̈ܝ، ܒܝܕܐ ܚܫܝܠܬܐ.......... ܡܚܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܠܝܛܢܐ. The Book of the Bee occupies foll. 26 *a* to 92 *b*, and the colophon runs: ܫܠܡ ܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܒܐܝܪܚ ܬܡܘܙ. ܝܘ. ܒܗ. ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܕܡܥܠ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܢܘܣܪܕܝܠ. ܕܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܟܐ. ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝ، ܥܒܕܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܬܘܩ̈ܠܬܗ،. ܐܡܝܢ. 'By the help of our Lord and our God, this Book of the Bee was completed on the 16th day of the month of Tammûz, on the Saturday that ushers in the Sunday which is called Nûsârdêl[1], in the year 1880 of the blessed Greeks, by the hands of the sinful servant the faulty Elias. Amen.'

---

[1] Or ܢܘܣܰܪܕܶܝܠ, ܢܘܣܳܪܕܶܝܠ, the last Sunday of the Week of the Apostles, i. e. the first Sunday of the New Year. The word is compounded of the Persian *nau-sard*, 'New Year,' and *êl*, 'God,' meaning 'the Church's New Year.' See

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The MS. B is on paper, and is numbered Add. 25,875 in the British Museum. See Wright's *Catal.*, p. 1064, no. dccccxxii, ff. 81 *b*–158 *a*. It is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel-points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020 = A. D. 1709. The colophon runs:—

ܫܠܡ ܫܢܬ ܐܐܟ̄ ܠܝܘܢ̈ܝܐ. ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܬܡܘܙ. ܟܒ̄. ܒܗ
ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܒܐܝܕ̈ܝ، ܕܘܝܐ ܘܚܛܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘ̇ܡܘ̇
ܐܠܩܘ̇ܫܝܐ ⁘ ܒܒܥܘ ܨܠܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܕܟܒܪ ܢܬܚܣ ܥܡ ܚܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܓܢ
ܒܝܘܡ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܡܝܢ ⁘ ܘ݂ܠܝܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ ⁘

ܪܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܝܨ ܘܐܟܣܦܬ ܠܗ ܒܡܟܬܒܢܘܬ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ. ܟܗܢܐ
ܙܗܝܐ. ܘܦܪܡܘܢܪܐ ܕܟܝܐ. ܩܫܝܫܐ ܝܘܣܦ. ܒܪ ܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܗܘܡܝܕ ܣܦܪ̈ܦܢܐ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܒܕ ܡܫܬܘܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ
ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܐܟܬܒܗ ܐܦ ܕܠܒܝܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܫܡ ܡܪ̇ܬܝ،
ܡܪ̇ܝܡ ܐܡܟܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܕܒܝܬܐ. ܕܒܡܪܢܝܬܐ ܒܪܢܬܐ ܘܡܒܪܢܬܐ
ܣܦܪ̈ܦܝܐ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܓܙ̈ܪܬܐ. ܡܟܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܠܗܠ ܦܨ ܟܬܒܐ
ܗܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܗ̇ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܒܕܬܐ ܒܗܘܕܝܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܠܐܢܫ ܒܪܢܫ
ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܕܢܦܩܘܗܝ، ܡܢܗ̇ ܘܠܗ ܒܚܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܠܬ̈ܐ ܕܒܬܪܬܐ
ܕܒܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܕܫܠܘܦܝܐ. ܐܘ ܕܢܫܠܡܘܢܗܝ، ܕܠܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ
ܕܡܪ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܢܣܒ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢܗܝ، ܠܕܘܟܬܗ. ܡܢ ܕܗܟܢ
ܢܥܒܕ. ܢܗܘܐ ܡܚܪܡܐ ܘܠܝܛܐ ܘܡܫܡܬ ܒܡܠܬ ܡܪܢ.
ܘܐܡܪ̣ܘ ܗܘ̈ܦܛܠܐ ܘܐܦܘܣܛܠ̈ܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ⁘

'It was finished in the year 2020 of the Greeks, on Friday the 22nd of the blessed month Tammûz, by the wretched sinner, the deacon Hômô of Alkôsh[1]. I entreat you to pray for him that perchance he may obtain mercy with those upon whom mercy is freely shewn in the day of judgment, Amen. And to Jah be the glory, Amen.

'The illustrious priest and pure verger, the priest Joseph, the son of

---

Rosen and Forshall's *Catal.*, pp. 31 and 50; Wright's *Catal.*, vol. i, p. 185 *a*, no. 101; 190 *a*, no. 81; Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 407, note 3; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 59, note 523; Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2326; Lagarde, *Armen. Studien*, p. 111, no. 1601.

[1] On Hômô of Alkôsh see Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. i and xxiii.

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the late deacon Hormizd of Ḥôrdaphnê[1], took pains and was careful to have this book written: may Christ make his portion in the kingdom of heaven! Amen. He had it written for the holy church called after the name of our Lady Mary the pure and virgin mother, which is in the blessed and happy village of Ḥôrdaphnê in the district of ʿAmêdîa. From now and henceforth this book remains the property of the (above-) mentioned church, and no man shall have power over it to carry it off for any reprehensible cause of theft or robbery, or to give it away without the consent of its owners, or to abstract it and not to return it to its place. Whosoever shall do this, he shall be banned and cursed and execrated by the word of our Lord; and all corporeal and incorporeal beings shall say "Yea and Amen."'

From the manner in which B ends, it would seem either that the MS. from which it was copied was imperfect, or that the scribe Hômô omitted to transcribe the last leaf of the MS. before him, probably because it contained views on man's future state which did not coincide with his own.

The MS. C, belonging to the Royal Library at Munich, consists of 146 paper leaves, measuring about 12⅛ in. by 8¼. There are two columns, of twenty-four lines each, to a page; the right-hand column is Syriac, the left Kârshûnî or Arabic in Syriac characters. The MS. is beautifully written in a fine Nestorian hand, and vowels and diacritical points have been added abundantly. The headings of the chapters are in Esṭrangelâ. The last two or three leaves have been torn out, and on fol. 147 *a* there are eighteen lines of Kârshûnî in another hand, which contain the equivalent in Arabic of B, fol. 157 *a*, col. 2, lines 10 to 24, beginning with ܥܘܒܕܝܐ ܕܠܡܚܝܢܘܬܐ and ending with ܒܘܫܡܫܐ ܕܠܒܬܐ.

On the fly-leaf are five lines of Arabic, which run:—

هذا الكتاب فهو مال كنيسة باطنايه مار قرياقوس الشهيد. قد
اشتراه شماس بطروز ابن صومو للكنيسة بمالهاذها (sic). ولذلك قد

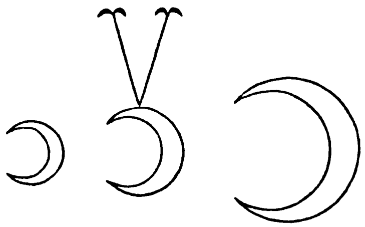
---

[1] On Ḥôrdephnê or Ḥôrdephnî, called also Kolpein, see Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 254; Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.*, p. 1067 *a;* and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 195, note 1544.

صار قنية الكنيسة قنية شرعية وكل من ياخذه بغير رضا وكلا الكنيسة ياثم ويلزم بترجيعه. وقد صار في ١٧ اذار سنة ١٨٣٩ مسيحية بمدينة موصل المحمية.

'This book is the property of the church of Mâr Cyriacus the Martyr at Baṭnâye[1]. The deacon Peter bar Ṣaumô has purchased it for the church with its own money, and therefore it has become the lawful property of the church. Whosoever taketh it away without the consent of the directors of the church, committeth sin and is bound to restore it. This was on the 17th of the month of Âdhâr in the year of our Lord 1839, in the protected city of Moṣul.'

Dr. Schoenfelder in the preface to his translation, p. ii, assigns this MS. to the fourteenth century ('ad saeculum decimum quartum procul dubio pertinet'). From this view, however, I differ for the following reasons. The MS. B, dated A. Gr. 2020 = A. D. 1707, is written upon water-lined paper, having for water-mark upon each leaf three crescents of different sizes, and a sign like a V:—



The paper is smooth and thick. The Munich MS. C is written upon rather rougher paper, but with the same water-mark exactly, only the three crescents are on one leaf, and the V-shaped mark upon that next to it. Therefore Dr. E. Maunde Thompson, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who has kindly given me the benefit of his great

---

[1] I. e. Ṭyṭnâye, about one hour's ride north of Tel Kêf, north of Moṣul. Baṭnâye contains two churches; one dedicated to Mâr Cyriacus, and the other to Mârt Maryam El-'adhrâ, العذراء, i. e. the blessed virgin Mary. See E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 360.

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experience in these matters, considers that the paper on which these two MSS. are written was made at the same manufactory and about the same time[1]. Add to this that the writing of both MSS. is almost identical, and that the signatures of the quires and the style of ornamentation is the same, and it will be evident that the Munich MS. belongs rather to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century than to the fourteenth[2].

The MS. D, belonging to the Bodleian Library, Oxford[3], consists of 405 paper leaves, measuring 8⅝ in. by 6¼. There is one column of twenty-one lines, in Kârshûnî or Arabic in Syriac characters, to each page. The MS. is written in a fine bold hand, the headings of the chapters, names, and diacritical points being in red. It is dated Friday the 28th day of Âb, A. Gr. 1895=A.D. 1584, and was transcribed by Peter, the son of Jacob[4].

The Arabic version of 'the Bee' contained in this MS. borders at times on a very loose paraphrase of the work. The writer frequently repeats himself, and occasionally translates the same sentence twice, though in different words, as if to make sure that he has given what he considers to be the sense of the Syriac. He adds paragraphs which have no equivalents in the three Syriac copies of 'the Bee' to which I have had access, and he quotes largely from the Old and New Testaments in support of the opinions of Solomon of Baṣrah. The order of the chapters is different, and the headings of the different sections into which the chapters are divided will be found in the selections from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee' on pages ١٧٣–١٧٥. This MS. is of the utmost importance for the study of 'the Bee,' as it contains the last chapter in a perfect and complete state; which is unfortunately not the case either with the bilingual Munich MS. or the copy in Paris[1].

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[1] I have seen a MS. the fly-leaves of which are made of the same sort of paper, and with the same marks, which is certainly not more than sixty years old.

[2] See *Catalogus codd. manuscriptorum Bibl. Reg. Monacensis. Tomi primi pars 4ta codd. Orientales praeter Hebraeos et Arabicos et Persicos complectens* (Munich, 1875), p. 114, Cod. Syr. 7. Schoenfelder's mistake is not corrected here.

[3] See Payne Smith, *Catalogi Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Pars sexta*, coll. 452–458, and ff. 81 *b*–212 *b* of Poc. 79=Uri Cod. Syr. lxxxi.

[4] See fol. 211 *a:* ܘܦܪܓ ܢܣܟܗ ܢܗܐܪ ܐܠܓܡܥܗ: ܝܘܡ ܐܠܬܐܡܢ ܘܥܫܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܗܪ ܐܒ ܐܠܡܒܐܪܟ ܐܠܡܘܐܦܩ ܡܢ ܣܢ̈ܗ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܐܢܡܐܝܗ ܚܡܣܗ ܘܬܣܥܝܢ ܝܘܢܐܢܝܗ. ܘܐܠܚܡܕ ܠܠܗ ܐܠܕܝ ܐܗܠܢܐ ܐܠܝ ܟܡܐܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܟܬܐܒ ܐܠܡܒܐܪܟ ܐܠܕܝ ܗܘ ܟܬܐܒ ܐܠܢܚܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܟܠܡ ܚܘܝ ܐܠܓܡܝܥܗ ܐܠܬܐܡܗ ܦܝ ܡܥܢܝ ܐܠܐܫܝܐܬ ܘܐܠܚܕܝܬܐ ܟܢܚܠܗ ܚܐܝܡ ܓܡܥ ܐܠܥܣܠ ܡܢ ܙܗܘܪ ܐܠܒܣܐܬܝܢ. ܒܪܟܬܗ ܐܫܡܠܢܐ ܐܠܪܒ. ܐܠܡܓܕ ܠܗ ܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܦܘܐܗ ܘܐܠܣܢܬܗ◆

ܐܗܠܢܐ = اهّلنا *deemed us worthy*, from أهْل *worthy;* ܐܠܐܫܝܐܬ is an incorrect form for ܐܠܫܝܐܬ = الشيّأت. The scribe should have written ܐܠܓܡܝܥ ܐܠܬܐܡ, but he was thinking of the word ܟܠܡ, which is fem.

Assemânî says in the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, that there are two codices of 'the Bee' in the Vatican Library, and he has described them in his great work—*MSS. Codicum Bibliothecae Apostel. Vatic. Catalogus*, t. iii, nos. clxxvi and clxxvii. The latter is incomplete, containing only forty chapters (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 488, no. ix); but the former is complete (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 576, no. xvii). It was finished, according to a note at the end, on Wednesday, 14th of Shĕbâṭ, in the year of Alexander, the son of Nectanebus[2], 1187, which Assemânî corrects into 1787=A.D. 1476. The name of the scribe was Cabriel, and he wrote it for the 'priest John, son of the priest Jonah' (Yaunân), living at the village of ܒܝܬܫܠܡ in the district of Baz, ܒܙ (see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 204–5). At a subsequent time it belonged to the church of Mâr Cyriacus in the village of Sâlekh, ܣܐܠܟ[3], in the district of Barwar, ܒܪܘܪ (see Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 204).

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[1] See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des MSS. Syr. et Sabéens* (Mandaïtes) *de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1874), no. 232, 1°, page 177. This Kârshûnî MS. is imperfect at the beginning and end, and also wants some chapters in the middle.

[2] Assemânî is mistaken in his remarks about this name both in the *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, and in the Vatican Catalogue, t. iii, p. 367.

[3] In the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, Assemânî writes رالح, which seems to be more correct.

My translation aims at being literal, and will, I hope, be found more correct in some places than that of Dr. Schoenfelder. I have added brief notes only where it seemed absolutely necessary. A few Syriac words, which are either wanting or not sufficiently explained in Castell-Michaelis's Lexicon, have been collected in a 'Glossary,' on the plan of that in Wright's *Kalīlah and Dimnah*. The Index will probably be useful to the English reader.

My thanks are due to Mr. E. B. Nicholson and Dr. A. Neubauer of the Bodleian Library, to the authorities of the Royal Library at Munich, and to the late W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the loan of the MSS. of 'the Bee' preserved in their respective collections. Professor Wright has edited the extracts from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee,' and read a proof of each sheet of the whole book from first to last, besides giving me much general help and guidance in the course of my work. I dedicate this book to him as a mark of gratitude for a series of kindnesses shewn to me during the past nine years.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
October 23, 1886.

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GLOSSARY

OF WORDS NOT GIVEN, OR NOT SUFFICIENTLY EXPLAINED, IN THE LEXICON OF CASTELL-MICHAELIS.

ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ, pl. ܐܘܪܓܢܐ, *tool*, *implement*, p. ܐ. 6; ܣ. 3; ܠ. 9, 11.

ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢܐܝܬ *like an instrument*, p. ܣܘ. 7.

ܐܝܬܝܐ *self-existent*, *uncreated being*, pl. ܐܝܬܝ̈ܐ, p. ܝܐ. 1. Root ܐܝܬ or ܝܬ.

ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ *art*, pl. ܐܘܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ, p. ܠ. 13.

ܐܣܛܦܠܝܢ *carrot*, p. ܡܒ. 4.

ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *executioner*, p. ܡܐ. 3.

ܐܣܦܘܪܝܕܐ *basket*, pl. ܐܣܦܘܪ̈ܝܕܝܢ, p. ܡܘ. 6.

ܐܣܛܐܪ *stater*, a coin, pl. ܐܣܛܐܪ̈ܝܢ, p. ܡܗ, note 6.

ܐܥܦ = ضعف, whence ضِعْف, *the double of anything*, ܐܥܦܐ. Hence ܐܥܝܦ *double*, p. ܡܒ. 11.

ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ *balsam*, p. ܝܓ. 8. See Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 17, no. 30; Löw, *Aramaeische Pflanzennamen*, p. 73, no. 53. Hoffmann's BA. 1259 has ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ, the India Office lex. ܐܦܘܪܣܡ̈ܐ.

ܐܘܦܩܪܐ = ܐܦܩܪܐ *nausea*, p. ܟܘ. 6 and note 4. It is explained in the text by تُخْمَة *indigestion*.

ܐܩܡܐ ἀκμή, ܐܩܡܐ ܕܣܝܒܘܬܝ *my extreme old age*, p. ܦܗ. 20; pl. ܐܩܡ̈ܐ *states*, *conditions*, p. ܡܝܘ. 11; ܡܝܚ. 18.

ܐܦܩܪܟܐ, p. ܠܐ. 15, is explained in the lexx. by خَشَب الشَّمْشَار, *boxwood*, and ܫܓܐ, السّاج, *teak*. See Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.*, p. 63, no. 37.

ܐܬܝܪ *the aether*, p. ܡܝ. 1; whence ܐܬܝܪܝܐ *aetherial*, p. ܡܝ. 3.

ܒܙܚ.—ܒܡܒܙܚܢܘܬܐ, var. ܒܡܒܙܚܢܐܝܬ, *mockingly*, *derisively*, p. ܠܒ. 1; ܣܘ. 21.

ܒܠܣܡܘܢ, ܒܠܣܡܘܢ *balsam*, p. ܝܓ. 9 and note 7. See ܐܦܘܪܣܡܐ.

ܒܩܐ *gnat*, p. ܡܝ. 6.

ܒܪܐ.—ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ *the being created*, *creation*, p. ܛ. 10; ܘ. 8; ܝ. 6; ܟܐ. 1, 10; ܣܘ. 20; ܟܐ. 3, 10.

ܓܘܣܩܐ, p. ܠܐ. 13. On this word see Hoffmann's BA. 2731, where it is explained to mean 'the parts that project from a building or structure,' ܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܢܦܩܢ ܠܒܪ ܒܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܪܘܡܝܐ The India Office lex. has merely ܓܝܣܬܐ افاريز *frieze*, *cornice*, *battlements*. In BA. the Greek equivalent is said to be ταρσός.

ܓܘܡܨܐ *pit*, *ditch*, pl. ܓܘܡ̈ܨܐ, p. ܡܚ. 1.

ܓܙܪܐ *carrot*, p. ܡܒ. 5. See Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.*, p. 86, no. 64.

ܓܠܒ—ܓܠܘܒܐ = ܓܠܒܢܐ, p. ܡܢ, note 17.

ܕܘܫ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܕܘܫ *be turned into dust*, p. ܩܒ. 22.

ܕܝܘܬܐ *ink*. Hence ܕܝܘܬܢܝܐ *belonging to ink, inky*, p. ܕ. 6.

ܕܡܐ.—ܕܡܘܬܐ *likeness, figure, form, kind*, pl. ܕ̈ܡܘܝܢ, p. ܩܣ. 19.

ܕܢܐ *branch*, p. ܗ. 11.

ܙܘܥ. — ܡܬܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ *motion*, pl. ܡܬܙܝܥܢܘ̈ܬܐ, p. ܡ. 3.

ܙܟܐ.—ܡܬܙܟܝܢܘܬܐ *the being vanquished, defeat*, p. ܢܝ. 20.

ܙܠܗ.—ܡܙܠܗܘܐܝܬ *scantily, sparingly*, p. ܩܠ. 13.

ܙܪܥ.—ܙܪܥܝܬܐ *seed, posterity*, pl. ܙܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ, p. ܩܟ. 19; ܢܝ. 14.

ܚܛܪ.—ܚܘܛܪܐ *staff*, as fem., p. ܡܛ, note 16; ܢܒ. 2.

ܚܠܦ.—ܐܚܠܦܘܬܐ in the sense of خَلِيفَة *vicar, deputy*, p. ܣ, note 11.

ܚܢܛ.—ܚܘܢܛܐ *mixture for embalming*, p. ܩܥ. 17.

ܚܦܪ.—ܚܘܦܪ ܐܦ̈ܐ *the making one blush, putting one to shame*, p. ܩܥ. 9.

ܚܫܒ.—ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐܝܬ *mentally, spiritually*, p. ܩܗ. 4.

ܛܘܦܢܐ is fem. in Cod. B, p. ܢܛ. 9, 11, 17.

ܝܬ as genit. governed by a subst., ܥܒܝܕܘܬ ܝܬܗ *his own making* or *framing*, p. ܩܠ. 15.

ܟܝ̈ܡܘܣ *humours*, p. ܩܥܘ. 8, = ܟܘ̈ܡܘܣ χυμοί.

ܟܦ.—ܟܘܦܢܬܐ seems to mean *the hollow of the hand*, p. ܢܐ. 13; ܩܥ. 20.

ܟܘܣܒܪܬܐ *coriander-seed*, p. ܩܫ. 7; ܩܟ. 3. See Lagarde, *Gesamm. Abhandl.*, p. 57, no. 145; Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.*, p. 209, no. 155.

ܟܦ̈ܐ *gloves*, p. ܩܣ. 9.

ܠܐܟ.—ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ *the guardian angel*, p. ܡܒ. 10.

ܠܒܒ.—ܡܠܒܒܢܐ *exhorter, encourager*, p. ܩܗ. 21.

ܠܒܡ.—ܠܒܘܬܐ with assimilation, p. ܢܝ. 4, 11.

ܡܠܠ.—ܡܠܘܬܐ *material*=مَادَّة, p. ܗ. 3, 5; pl. ܡ̈ܠܘܬܐ=مَوَادّ, p. ܕ. 16, 17.

ܡܪܙܒܢܐ *water-spout* or *shoot, water-pipe*, p. ܩܡ. 17, Ar. مِرْزاب.

ܢܓܕ.—ܡܬܢܓܕܢܘܬܐ *to be beaten* or *chastised*, p. ܩܥܐ. 1.

ܢܚܬ.—ܢܚܬܐ *descent, coming on*, p. ܢܒ. 22.

ܢܦܫ.—ܡܢܦܫ ܢܦܫ (so read), *what will just preserve life*, p. ܠܐ. 21, ما يُمْسِكُ الرَّمَقَ BA, India Office lex.

ܢܦܨ.—Pa"êl ܢܦܨ intens., p. ܕܢ, note 15, line 7.

ܣܗܕ.—ܣܗܝܕ *to whom testimony is borne, noted* or *famous for*, p. ܩܗ. 8.

ܣܝܟ.—ܠܐ ܡܣܬܝܟܐܝܬ *so as to be unbounded* or *unlimited*, p. ܩܢ. 11.

ܣܣ.—ܡܣܝܣ *subtile, pellucid, transparent*, p. ܕ. 14.

ܣܚܐ.—ܣܚܝܐ *that can swim, living in the water*, p. ܡܛ. 19; ܩܡ. 2; ܩܠ. 7.

ܣܝܡܝܕܐ, for ܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܐ, *laying on of hands, consecration*, p. ܩܠܐ. 14, 15, 17, etc.

ܣܡܠܝܘܬܐ *left-handedness*, p. 19, note 1.

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ܡܣܟܢ.—ܡܣܬܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ (in the MS. ܡܣܬܡܣܟ̈ܢܘܬܐ) *voluntary poverty, austerity, asceticism*, p. ܩܓ. 3.

ܣܘܣܓܪܐ *rattles*, p. 29, note 5.

ܣܬܪ.—Ethpa"al ܐܣܬܬܪ *to cover* or *clothe oneself with*, p. ܩܓ. 2.

ܥܗܕ.—ܥܘܗܕܢܘܬܐ *memorial, record*, pl. ܥܘܗ̈ܕܢܘܬܐ, p. ܣܗ. 15; ܣܝ. 16.

ܥܙܪܘܪܐ *swaddling-cloth*, p. ܩܕ, note 15, ll. 3, 4, 5; pl. ܥܙܪ̈ܘܪܐ, p. ܦܚ. 10; ܦܓ. 2; ܩܐ. 12, 15; ܩܕ. 12.

ܥܛܦ.—ܥܛܝܦ *clothed in*, with acc., p. ܣܒ. 14; ܣܓ. 5; ܣܗ. 13.

ܥܝܪ.—ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ *half asleep and half awake*, p. ܣܒ. 9, 10. India Office lex., ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ بَيْنَ النائِم والمُسْتَيْقِظ; BA, ܥܝܪ ܘܕܡܟ بَيْنَ النائِم واليَقْظان.

ܥܠܠ.—ܥܠܬܢܐܝܬ *when opportunity offered*, p. ܦܗ. 4.

ܥܠܥܠܐ *storm, whirlwind*, p. ܣܓ. 2.

ܥܦܦ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܥܦܦ *be doubled*, p. ܣܝ. 3.

ܥܦܪ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܥܦܪ *be turned into dust*, p. ܣܓ. 22.

ܥܩܐ.—ܥܩܬܐ *constraint, compulsion*, p. ܦ. 20.

ܥܪܒ *be security* or *surety for*, with the accus. of the person, p. ܩܐ. 3.

ܥܪܩ.—Afʿêl ܐܥܪܩ *make to flee, put to flight*, p. ܦܓ. 15; ܩܓ. 1.

ܥܪܡܐ *boxwood* or *teak*, p. ܠ. 15. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, ܥܪܡܐ شمْشار ساج ܥܪܡܐ ܘܐܫܟܪܥܐ ܣܡ ܐܕܡ. ܩ. ܡܫܚܐ ساج شمْشار.

ܦܓܥ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܓܥ *be charged with* (ܒ), p. ܦܠ. 9.

ܦܕܥ *crush, batter*, p. ܣܚ. 19; ܣܠ. 2 Ar. فَدَغَ. India Office lex., Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 283 *a*, col. 2, and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 134 *b*, col. 2, ܦܕܥܐ فَدْغ شَجّ.

ܦܠܓ.—ܦܠܓܝ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ *middle-aged, in the prime of life*, p. ܦܗ. 7.

ܦܠܚ. — ܦܠܚܢܐ *God-fearing, pious*, p. ܣܡ. 15.

ܦܢܛܣܝܐ *imagination, fancy, vain show*, p. ܣܚ. 6, 10.

ܦܨܚ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܨܚ *be gladdened*, p. ܣܗ. 17. The India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 20 *b*, margin, give ܐܬܦܨܚ.

ܦܩܩ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܦܩܩ *be maddened*, p. ܣܠ. 4.

ܦܨܚ.—ܦܨܝܚܘܬܐ or ܦܨ̈ܝܚܘܬܐ *brightness, splendour*, p. ܣܚ. 2.

ܦܪܕܝܣܒܢܐ *gardener*, p. ܦ. 8. Formed with the Persian termination بان *keeping, guarding*.

ܦܪܐ.—Ethpeʿêl ܐܬܦܪܝ in the sense of *be cleft, burst*, p. ܩܚ, note 3. Compare Ar. فَرَي.

ܦܐܪܐ ܘܦܪܝܐ *fruit and offspring*, p. ܣܝ. 1. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 142 *a*, col. 1, ܦܪܝܐ ܕܝ̈ܠܕܐ التَّناسُل نُمُوّ الأَوْلاد.

ܦܪܟܣܝܣ, pl. ܦܪ̈ܟܣܝܣܬܐ, *Acts*, p. ܩܠ. 2.

ܦܪܢܣ.—ܡܦܪܢܣܢܐܝܬ *by God's providence*, p. ܕ. 1.

ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ *door-posts*, p. ܘܨ. 8. Not *προστάδες*, but *παραστάδες*. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 141 *b*, col. 2, ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ مِلْبَن الباب; Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 *b*, col. 2, ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܒܗ̄ܠ ܗ̄ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܩܝܡܝܢ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܕܫܩܦܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܠܡܬܩܢܘ عَتَب الباب مَلابِن من داخل ومن خارج ܒܣܦܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܦܪܫܝܢ ܦܪܘܣܛܕܘܗܝ ܘܡܚܣܢܝܢ; Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 *a*, col. 1, ܦܪܘܣܛܓܐ ܐܘܣܛܐ ܦܪܘܣܛܕܐ ܒܪ ܒܗ̄ܠ أُسْكُفّة الباب.

ܦܪܝܫܐ *Pharisee*, p. ܡܠ. 9; ܡܒ. 9.

ܦܪܬ.—Ethpe'êl ܐܬܦܪܬ *be cleft, burst*, p. ܨܚ. 4.

ܦܪܬܘܬܐ *crumb*, pl. ܦܪ̈ܬܘܬܐ, p. ܕ. 8.

ܨܘܪ.—ܡܬܨܝܪܢܘܬܐ *the being fashioned* or *made*, p. ܝ. 13.

ܨܠܠ.—ܡܨܛܠܠܢܘܬܐ *the being strained, purity*, p. ܡܛ. 8; ܡܓ. 2.

ܨܠܐ.—Ethpe'êl ܐܨܛܠܝ *incline to* (ܠܘܬ), p. ܡܗ. 12.

ܨܢ̈ܨܠܐ *cymbals*, Ar. صُنُوج, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 *a*, col. 2, as a gloss on ܨ̈ܨܠܐ.

ܨܪܡ *venture, dare*, p. ܣ. 20.

ܨܪܦ.—Ethpe'êl ܐܨܛܪܦ *be purified, tried, afflicted*, p. ܓ. 17; ܡܣ. 9. See Hoffmann's BA, no. 1364.

ܩܨܠ.—ܡܢ ܡܩܦܠܠ *at a distance*, מֵרָחוֹק, p. ܡܚ. 15.

ܩܘܪ.—ܩܘܩܪܐ *beak*, p. ܟܓ. 3.

ܩܛܘ *cat*, pl. ܩܛ̈ܘܬܐ, p. ܡܣ. 19.

ܩܛܪ.—ܩܛܝܪܘܬܐ *constraint, compulsion*, p. ܣ. 20.

ܩܡܒܙ or, according to MS. B, ܩܡܒܨ, the name of a root like a carrot, p. ܡܒ. 5.

ܩܡܛ.—ܩܡܝܛ *contracted with pain*, p. ܗܚ. 4. Compare BA, ܩܡܛܐ. التَّشَنُّج والتَّعَبُّس.

ܩܢܛ.—ܩܢܝܛ *afraid of*, p. ܗܣ. 21.

ܩܢܩܪܘܢܐ, p. ܟܛ. 4; ܨܣ. 12; according to BA, *the bench in front of the altar*, المَصْطَبَة التي تكون قُدّامَ المَذْبَح.

ܩܦܐ *rear itself up, rise up*, p. ܝܐ. 19.

ܩܦܪ.—Pa''êl ܩܦܪ *cover with pitch*, p. ܠ. 16. From ܩܘܦܪܐ, القَفْر.

ܩܪܪ.—ܩܪܝܪ *cold*, p. ܝܐ. 22; ܡܒ. 2.

ܩܝܢܘܬܐ *working in iron, trade of a smith*, p. ܐ. 6; ܠ. 9, 12. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 346 *b*, col. 1, ܩܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܒܗ̄ܠ ܗ̄ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܦܪܙܠܐ عمل الحديد.

ܩܪܩܘܕܝܠܘ, for ܩܪܩܘܕܝܠܘ, *crocodile*, p. ܟܚ. 5. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 332 *b*, col. 2, ܩܪܩܘܕܝܠܘ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܦܪܣܝܬܐ ܗ̄ ܚܪܕܘܢܐ لِحِرْذَوْن. ܩܪܩܘܕܝܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܒܗ̄ܠ. ܗ̄. ܚܪܕܘܢܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ التِّمْساح.

ܩܠܘܒܝܬܐ *aqueduct, water-spout*, pl. ܩܠܘܒ̈ܝܬܐ, p. ܡܢ. 17. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 351 *b*, col. 1, ܩܠܘܒܝܬܐ ܡܪ̈ܙܒܐ. قَوّارات. مَرازِيب.

ܩܠܘܣ.—Pass. ܐܬܩܠܘܣ *be deposed*, p. ܡܟ. 10.

ܪܒܥ.—ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܬܐ ܩ̈ܠܐ *quadrupeds*, p. ܟܣ. 6; ܝܠ. 14.

ܪܓܙ.—ܡܪܓܙܢܐ *provoking, inciting to anger*, p. ܩܦ. 12.

ܪܓܫ.—ܡܪܓܫܢܐܝܬ *by the senses* or *perceptions*, p. ܩܗ. 5.

ܪܕܦ.—ܪܕܘܦܝܐ, pl. ܪ̈ܕܘܦܝܐ, *persecutions*, p. ܩܨ. 1.

ܪܘܠ.—ܪܘܠܐ *pus, matter*, p. ܝܕ. 19. BA, الصَّدِيد الجَارِي.

ܪܘܚ.—ܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ *spirituality*, p. ܩܡ. 4, 7.
ܪܝܚܬܢܐ *sweet-scented*, p. ܩܝ. 12.

ܪܛܢ.—Ethpa"al ܐܬܪܛܢ *murmur against, be angry with* (ܥܠ), p. ܩܚ. 18.

ܪܚܫ ܒܬܘܠܥܐ *breed worms, be eaten by worms*, p. ܝܕ. 19.

ܪܡܠ.—Af'êl ܐܪܡܠ *to lose one's wife*, p. ܩܙ. 7.

ܪܩܩ.—ܪܩܩܐ and, according to C, ܪ̈ܩܩܐ *shallows, shoal*, p. ܩܣ. 14. BA, ܪܩܩܐ ܕܩܝܠ ضَحاضِح الماءِ ومَخاضه.

ܪܩܕ.—ܡܪܩܕܢܐ *mourner*, p. ܝܣ. 1.

ܪܩܥ.—ܐܪܩܘܥܬܐ, pl. ܐܪܩ̈ܘܥܬܐ, *rags*, p. ܩܣ. 10.

ܪܫܐ.—ܡܪܫܝܢܐ *one who finds fault* or *rebukes*, p. ܨ. 16.

ܪܚܫ.—ܪܚܫܐ *creeping, reptile*, p. ܨܗ. 5.

ܫܐܠ.—ܡܫܐܠܢܐܝܬ *questioningly, interrogatively*, p. ܨܗ. 1.

ܫܥܦ.—Pa"êl ܫܥܦ *flatter, wheedle*, p. ܝܕ, note 2, in Cod. C.

ܫܓܐ *wander, swerve*, p. ܢ. 2; ܩܢܘ. 2.

ܫܪܩ.—ܫܪܝܩܐܝܬ *in vain, to no purpose*, p. ܠ. 15; ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܫܪܝܩܐ *vain, bootless work*, p. ܦ. 23.

ܫܪܓ.—Pa"êl ܫܪܓ *flatter, wheedle*, p. ܝܕ. 1, in Cod. A.

ܫܒܘܬܐ *complexion*, p. ܩܣ. 19; ܢ. 17.

ܫܚܠ.—ܫܚܠ̈ܐ ܕܟܪ̈ܐ ܡܫܚܠܐ? p. ܩܣ. 11.

ܫܡܝܐ *roof, ceiling*, p. ܨ. 7, like سَمَآءٌ in Arabic.

ܫܩ̈ܫܩܐ *rattles*, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 *a*, col. 2, as a gloss upon ܩܘܩܘܪ̈ܐ.

ܫܓܠ.—Af'êl ܐܫܓܠ *to make to march*, p. ܝܒ. 17.

ܫܪܒ.—ܫܪܒܢܐ *trifling matter, trifle*, p. ܢ, note 10; ܩܠ. 4.

ܫܪܐ.—Af'êl ܐܫܪܝ *to make to halt*, p. ܝܒ. 17.

ܬܐܘܦܘܪܘ θεόφοροι, *inspired*, p. ܘ. 2. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 192 *a*, col. 1, ܬܐܘܦܘܪܘ. ܗ̄. ܠܒܝܫܝ ܐܠܗܐ المُتَسَرْبِلين خَوْفَ الله المُتَدَرِّعين بالله.

ܬܠܠܐ *dung*, p. ܠܐ. 21.

ܬܢܦܐ *sordid, filthy*, p. ܩܢܘ. 13.

ܬܟܒ.—ܬܟܒܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ *urgency, compulsion*, p. ܩܩܘ. 11.

ܬܟܡ.—ܬܟܡܘܬܐ *weariness, fatigue*, p. ܦ. 15; ܢܝ. 1.

ܬܪܬܥܣܪܘܬܐ *the number twelve*, p. ܩܡ. 10.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page ܝܒ, line 17. Read ܘܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ̈ܬܐ?
" ܝܗ, " 5. " ܘܗܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ?
" ܝܛ, " 7. " ܘܟܢܦ̈ܫܬܐ ܕܟܡܢ̈ܬܐ.
" ܟܗ, " 5. Read with B C ܫܬ̈ܘܬܐ.
" ܠ, " 4. " ܩܘ̈ܗܝ ܠܗ.
" ܠܐ, " 2. " ܕܫܘܬܐ.
" " 13. " ܘܐܪܙܬܐ.
" ܠܒ, " 7. Put a point after ܐܩܝܡ.
" ܡ, " 16. Delete the point after ܒܟܠܗܘܢ, and put one after ܒܥܕܢ ܣܥܪܘܬܗ.
" ܡܗ, " 5. Put a point after ܡܟܪ̈ܬܗܘܢ.
" ܢܒ, " 4. C omits ܡܩܝܡ.
" " 5. C has ܡܕܢܚܐ instead of ܐܠܗܐ.
" ܦܗ, " 10. Read ܐ̈ܪܕܘܡܛ.
" ܦܛ, " 16. " ܘܡܫܠ.
" ܨܗ, last line. " ܕܡܠܝܚܣܢܝܡ.
" ܩܗ, line 7. " ܐܠܗܗ.
" ܩܝ, " 12. " ܕܟܠܗܘܢ.
" ܩܠ, " 14. " ܐܚܣܗ.
" ܩܒ, " 3. Delete the point after ܕܟܠܐ.
" ܩܝܗ, " 12. Insert a point after ܘܪܗܡ, and delete that after ܘܡܠܬܗܟܡ.
" " 18. Read ܒܣܡܠܐ.
" ܩܗܗ, last line. " ܡܫܦܪܝܢ?
" ܩܦܒ, line 19. " ܕܪܕܗ.
" ܩܠܒ, " 1. " ܕܫ̈ܠܡܗܘܢ.
" ܩܗܠ, ll. 15, 16. Put a point after ܐܠܗܐ, and delete that after ܘܡܠܐܟܘܗܝ.
" ܩܗܒ, line 1. Read ܒܢ̈ܝܐ.
" " 2. Put a point after ܡܘܟܠܐ.
" " 3. Read ܕܒܗ.
" " 11. " ܕܡܘܩܒܠܐ.
" " 12. " ܒܡܠܐ ܡܠܐܣܝܡ.
" ܩܝܗ, " 6. Read ܒܟܠ̈ܬܐ?
" " 17. Read ܒܗ, and put a point after ܗܢܝ.

THE BOOK OF THE BEE.

TRUSTING in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write this book of gleanings called 'The Bee,' which was composed by the saint of God, Mâr Solomon, metropolitan of Pĕrath-Maishân[1], that is Bassorah (al-Baṣrah), one of His companions. O Lord, in Thy mercy help me. Amen.

FIRST, THE APOLOGY.

'The children ought not to lay up treasures for the parents, but the parents for the spiritual children,' saith the blessed Paul[2]; therefore we are bound to repay thee the debt of love, O beloved brother and staff of our old age, saint of God, Mâr Narses[3], bishop of Khônî-Shâbôr Bêth-Wâzîḳ[4]. We remember thy solicitude for us, and thy zeal for our service, which thou didst fulfil with fervent love and Christ-like humility. And when we had loving meetings with each other from time to time, thou wert wont to ask questions and to make enquiries about the various things which God hath wrought in His dispensation in this material world, and also as to the things that He is about to do in the world of light. But since we were afflicted with the Mosaic defect of hesitancy of speech [.ܒ], we were unable to inform thee fully concerning the profitable matters about which, as was right, thou didst enquire; and for this reason we were prevented from profitable discourse upon the holy Books. Since, then, God has willed and ruled our separation from each other, and the sign of old age, which is the messenger of death, hath appeared in us, and we have grown old and come into years, it has seemed good to us, with the reed for a tongue and with ink for lips, to inform thee briefly concerning God's dispensation in the two worlds. And, behold, we have gleaned and collected and gathered together chapters and sections relating to this whole universe from the garden of the divine Books and from the crumbs of the Fathers and the Doctors, having laid down as the foundation of our building the beginning of the creation of this world, and concluding with the consummation of the world to come. We have called this book the 'Book of the Bee,' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and lights upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork; and having first of all collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of men and her own nourishment: [ܒ] in like manner have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law. And as the bee carries the waxen substance upon her thighs because of its insipidity and tastelessness, and brings the honey in her mouth because of its sweetness and value; so also have we laid down the corporeal law by way of substratum and foundation, and the spiritual law for a roof and ceiling to the edifice of the spiritual tower. And as the expert gardener and orchard-keeper goes round among the gardens, and seeking out the finest sorts of fruits takes from them slips and shoots, and plants them in his own field; so also have we gone into the garden of the divine Books, and have culled therefrom branches and shoots, and have planted them in the ground of this book for thy consolation and benefit. When thou, O brother, art recreating thyself among these plants, those which appear and which thou dost consider to be insipid and tasteless, leave for thy companions, for they may be more suitable to others (than to thee); but, upon those which are sweet, and which sweeten the palate of thy understanding, do thou feed and satisfy thy hunger. If, however, owing to their fewness, they do not fill thee, seek in succession for their roots, and from thence shall thy want be satisfied. Know also, O brother, that where there is true love, there is no fear[1]; and where there is freedom of speech, there is no dread; and we should not dare to be so rash as to [ܘ] enter upon these subjects, which are beyond the capacity of our simple understanding, unless we relied upon thy immaculate love; because, in the words of one of the inspired[2], 'When thou findest honey, eat (only) so much as is sufficient for thee, lest, when thou art sated, thou vomit it[3]'; that is to say, do not enquire (too closely) into the divine words.

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[1] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. ii. 1212.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 14.

[3] See Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, vol. ii. 1188.

[4] Khônî-Shâbôr, or Bêth-Wâzîḳ, was a town on the little Zâb, close to its junction with the Tigris, in the diocese of Ṭîrhân. Bêth-Wâzîḳ is also written Bêth-Wâzîg, and has been altered by the Arabs into *al-Bawâzîg* or *al-Bawâzîj*, ܒܘܐܙܝܓ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 189 and 296. It has, of course, nothing whatever to do with Gundê-Shâbôr, or *Jundai-Shâbûr*, with which it has sometimes been confounded.

LIST OF THE CHAPTERS IN THIS BOOK.

I. Of God's eternal intention in respect of the creation of the universe.
II. Of the creation of the seven natures (substances) in silence.
III. Of earth, water, air, and fire.
IV. Of heaven.
V. Of the angels.
VI. Of darkness.
VII. Of effused (circumambient) light.
VIII. Of the firmament.
IX. Of the creation of trees and plants, and the making of seas and rivers.
X. Of the making of the luminaries.
XI. Of the creation of sea-monsters, fish, winged fowl, and the reptiles that are in the seas.

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[1] 1 John iv. 18.

[2] [illegible] *θεόφοροι*; see Prov. xxv. 16. Schoenfelder, *quippe a Theodoro dictum est.*

[3] Schoenfelder, *satiaberis fortasse de eo et prophetabis.*

XII. Of the creation of beasts and animals.
XIII. Of the formation of Adam. [ܐ]
XIV. Of the making of Eve.
XV. Of Paradise.
XVI. Of the sin of Adam.
XVII. Of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.
XVIII. Of Adam's knowing Eve.
XIX. Of the invention of the instruments for working in iron.
XX. Of Noah and the Flood.
XXI. Of Melchizedek.
XXII. Of the generations of Noah, how seventy-two families sprang from three sons.
XXIII. Of the succession of generations from the Flood until now.
XXIV. Of the building of the Tower.
XXV. Of Abraham.
XXVI. Of the temptation of Job.
XXVII. Of Isaac's blessing upon Jacob.
XXVIII. Of Joseph.
XXIX. Of Moses and the Children of Israel.
XXX. Of Moses' rod.
XXXI. Of Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and brief notices of the Kings of the Children of Israel.
XXXII. Of the death of the Prophets; how they died, and (where) they were buried.
XXXIII. Of the divine dispensation which was wrought in the New Testament, and of the genealogy of Christ. [ܒ]
XXXIV. Of the announcement of the angel to Jonachir (Joachim) in respect of Mary.
XXXV. Of the annunciation of Gabriel to Mary in respect of her conception of our Lord.
XXXVI. Of our Lord's birth in the flesh.
XXXVII. Of the prophecy of Zarâdôsht, that is Baruch the scribe.
XXXVIII. Of the star which appeared in the East on the day of our Lord's birth.
XXXIX. Of the coming of the Magi from Persia, and the slaughter of the infants.

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XL. Of the going down of our Lord into Egypt.
XLI. Of John the Baptist and his baptism of our Lord.
XLII. Of our Lord's fast and His contest with Satan.
XLIII. Of the passover of our Lord.
XLIV. Of the passion of our Lord.
XLV. Of the resurrection of our Lord.
XLVI. Of the ascension of our Lord.
XLVII. Of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles in the upper chamber.
XLVIII. Of the teaching of the Apostles, their deaths, and the place where each of them (was buried).
XLIX. The names of the twelve Apostles and the seventy (Disciples), one after another in (his) grade.
L. Of minor matters; those of the Apostles who were married, etc.
LI. The names of the Eastern Patriarchs, and the places where they were buried[1]. [ܠ]
LII. The names of the kings who have reigned in the world from the Flood to the present time, and the (number of the) years of the reign of each of them. The names of the kings of the Medes and the Egyptians; the names of the seventy old men who brought out the Scriptures and translated them; the names of the Roman emperors, and of the kings of Persia.
LIII. Of the end of times and the change of kingdoms. From the book of Methodius, the bishop of Rome.
LIV. Of Gog and Magog, who are imprisoned in the North.
LV. Of the coming of Antichrist, the son of perdition.
LVI. Of death and the departure of the soul from the body.
LVII. Of the rising of the dead and the general resurrection, the end of the material world, and the beginning of the new world.
LVIII. Of the manner in which men will rise in the day of the resurrection.

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[1] C reads: *The names of the Eastern Catholics, the successors of the Apostles.*

LIX. Of the happiness of the righteous, and the torture of sinners; and of the manner in which they will exist yonder.

LX. Of the demons and sinners in Gehenna, whether after they have been punished and have suffered and received their sentence, they will have mercy shewn to them or not; and if mercy be shewn to them, when it will be.

CHAPTER I[1].

OF GOD'S ETERNAL INTENTION IN RESPECT OF THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE. [ܒ]

It is well for us to take the materials for our discourse from the divine Scriptures, that we may not stray from the straight paths of the way of truth. The blessed David saith, 'Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations, before the mountains were conceived[2].' David, the harpist of the Spirit, makes known thereby, that although there was a beginning of the framing of Adam and the other creatures when they were made, yet in the mind of God it had no beginning; that it might not be thought that God has a new thought in respect of anything that is renewed day by day, or that the construction of Creation was newly planned in the mind of God: but everything that He has created and is about to create, even the marvellous construction of the world to come, has been planned from everlasting in the immutable mind of God. As the natural child in the womb of his mother knows not her who bears him, nor is conscious of his father, who, after God, is the cause of his formation; so also Adam, being in the mind of the Creator, knew Him not. And when he was created, and recognised himself as being created, he remained with this knowledge six hours only[3], and there came over him a change, from knowledge to ignorance and from good to evil. Hence, when Divine Providence wished to create the world, the framing of Adam was first designed and conceived in the mind of God, and then that of the (other) creatures; as David saith, 'Before the mountains were conceived.' Consequently, Adam is older than the (other) creatures in respect of his conception, and the (other) creatures are older than Adam in respect of their birth [ܝܐ] and their being made. And whereas God created all creatures in silence and by a word, He brought forth Adam out of His thoughts, and formed him with His holy hands, and breathed the breath of life into him from His Spirit, and Adam became a living soul[1], and God gave him the knowledge of the difference between good and evil. When he perceived his Creator, then was God formed and conceived within the mind of man; and man became a temple to God his maker, as it is written, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you[2]?' And again, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them[3].'

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[1] Chap. ii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Ps. xc. 1, 2.

[3] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 *a*, col. 2: ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܐܬܒܣܡܘ ܒܛܒܬܐ. ܘܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒ ܡܒܗܬܝܢ. ܘܒܬܫܥ ܫܥܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܡܦܩܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. 'At the third hour they entered Paradise, for three hours they enjoyed the good things, for three hours they were ashamed, and at the ninth hour their expulsion from Paradise took place.'

CHAPTER II[4].

OF THE CREATION OF THE SEVEN NATURES (SUBSTANCES) IN SILENCE.

WHEN God in His mercy wished to make known all His power and His wisdom, in the beginning, on the evening of the first day, which is Sunday, He created seven natures (substances) in silence, without voice. And because there was as yet none to hear a sound, He did well to create them in silence, that He might not make anything uselessly; but He willed, and heaven, earth, water, air, fire, and the angels and darkness, came into being from nothing.

CHAPTER III[5].

OF EARTH, WATER, AIR, AND FIRE.

THE earth was *tôh wĕ-bôh*[6], that is to say, it was unarranged and unadorned, but plunged in the midst of the waters. The waters were

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[1] Gen. ii. 7. [2] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [3] 2 Cor. vi. 16; Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12.

[4] Chap. iii in the Oxford MS. [5] Chap. iv in the Oxford MS.

[6] In Hebrew תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ, Gen. i. 2, a chaotic waste.

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above it, and above the waters was air, and above the air was fire. The earth is by nature cold and dry. Dry land appeared on the third day, [ܝܒ] when the trees and plants were created; and the waters were separated therefrom on the second day, when the firmament was made from them. Water is by nature cold and moist. As touching the 'Spirit which was brooding upon the face of the waters[1],' some men have ignorantly imagined it to have been the Holy Spirit[2], while others have more correctly thought it to have been this air (of ours). Air is by nature hot and moist. Fire was operating in the upper ether, above the atmosphere; it possessed heat only, and was without luminosity until the fourth day, when the luminaries were created: we shall mention it in the chapter on the luminaries (chap. x). Fire is by nature hot and dry[3].

CHAPTER IV[4].

OF HEAVEN.

HEAVEN is like a roof to the material world, and will serve as the floor of the new world. It is by nature shining and glorious, and is the dwelling-place of the invisible hosts. When God spread out this firmament, He brought up above it a third part of the waters, and above these is the heaven of light and of the luminaries. Hence people say 'the heaven, and the heaven of heavens[5]'; for we call both the firmament and the waters which are above it 'heaven.' Some consider that the verse 'Let the waters[6] which are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord[1]' refers to the holy angels and to our Lord's humanity; but neither the Church nor the orthodox teachers accept this.

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[1] Gen. i. 2.

[2] This view is maintained in the 'Cave of Treasures,' Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 3 *b*, col. 1: ܘܒܗ ܒܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܪܚܦ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܩܢ̈ܘܡܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܒܗ ܪܘܚܦܗ ܕܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܒܪܟܘ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܘܠ̈ܕܢܝܬܐ. 'And on the first day of the week the Holy Spirit, one of the Persons of the Trinity, brooded upon the waters: and through His brooding upon the face of the waters they were blessed that they might be bringers forth.' See Bezold's translation, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 1; and Schoenfelder's note 26, on p. 9 of his translation of *The Bee*.

[3] טבע האש חם ויבש.... והרוח חם ולח. והמים קרים ולחים והארץ יבשה וקרה: Maimonides, משנה תורה. מדע. פרק. ד. א.

[4] Chap. v in the Oxford MS.

[5] 1 Kings viii. 27.

[6] Read in the Syr. text ܘܗ̇ܝ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ?

CHAPTER V[2].

OF THE ANGELS[3].

THE Angels consist of nine classes and three orders, [ܠܐ] upper, middle and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones: these are called 'priests' (*kumrê*), and 'chief priests,' and 'bearers of God's throne.' The middle order is composed of Lords, Powers and Rulers[4]: these are called 'priests' (*kâhnê*), because they receive revelations from those above them. The lower order consists of Principalities, Archangels and Angels: and these are the ministers who wait upon created things. The Cherubim are an intellectual motion[5] which bears the throne of the holy Trinity, and is the chief of all motions; they are ever watchful of the classes of themselves and those beneath them. As concerning the epithet 'full of eyes[6],' which is applied to them, the eyes indicate the mystery of the revelations of the Trinity. Their head, and the foremost and highest among them, is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Seraphim are a fiery motion, which warms those below it with the fire of the divine love. The six wings which each of them is said to possess[7] indicate the revelations which they receive from the Creator and transmit to mankind. The Thrones are a fixed motion, which is not shaken by the trials which come upon it. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; and it is that which prevents the demons from injuring created things. The Powers are a mighty motion, the minister of the will of the Lord; and it is that which gives victory to some rulers in battle and defeat to others. The Rulers are a motion which has power over the spiritual treasures, to distribute them to its companions according to the will of the Creator. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars. [ܚ] The Principalities are a defined motion which possesses the direction of the upper ether, of rain, clouds, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, and other ethereal disturbances. The Archangels are a swift operative motion, into whose hands is entrusted the government of the wild beasts, cattle, winged fowl, reptiles, and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant, except man. The Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. With each and every one of us is an angel of this group—called the guardian angel—who directs man from his conception until the general resurrection. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection. Hence it is handed down that the number of people who are going to enter the world is equal to the number of all the heavenly hosts; but some say that the number is equal to that of one of the classes only, that they may fill the place of those of them who have fallen through transgressing the law; because the demons fell from three classes (of angels), from each class a third part. If then it is an acknowledged fact that there are three orders of angels, and in each order there are three classes, and in every class a number equivalent to that of all mankind, what is the total number of the angels? Some say that when the angels were created, and were arranged in six divisions—Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Principalities, [ܛ] Archangels, and Angels—the three lower divisions reflected (saying), 'What is the reason that these are set above, and we below? for they have not previously done anything more than we, neither do we fall short of them.' On account of this reflection as a cause, according to the custom of the (divine) government, Justice took from both sides, and established three other middle classes of angels—Lords, Powers, and Rulers—that the upper might not be (unduly) exalted, nor the lower think themselves wronged. As for the dwelling-place of the angels, some say that above the firmament there are waters, and above them another heaven in the form of infinite light, and that this is the home of the angels. Here too is God without limit, and the angels, invisible to bodily eyes, surround the throne of His majesty, where they minister to 'the tabernacle not made with hands[1].' Others say that, from the beginning, when God created the angels, until the second day, in which the firmament was made, all the classes of angels dwelt in the upper heavens; but when the firmament was made, they all came down below it, with the exception of three classes—the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones[2]—who remained above it. These surrounded and supported the Shechinah of God from the beginning of the world until our Lord ascended unto heaven; and after the Ascension, behold, they surround and support the throne of the Christ God, who is over all, until the end of the world. The Expositor[3] and his companions say: 'The tabernacle which Moses made is a type of [ܗܘ] the whole world.' The outer tabernacle is the likeness of this world, but the inner tabernacle is the similitude of the place that is[4] above the firmament. And as the priests ministered in the outer tabernacle daily, while the high priest alone entered into the inner tabernacle once a year; so of all rational beings, angels and men, no one has entered (the place) above the firmament, save the High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ[5]. The fathers, when they have been deemed worthy at any time to see our Lord in a revelation, have seen Him in heaven, surrounded by the Cherubim and Seraphim. Hence some say that there are angels above the heavens. All these celestial hosts have revelations both of sight and of hearing; but the Cherubim have revelations by sight only, because there is no mediator between them and God. The angels have an intellect superior to that of the rest of rational beings; man has stronger desire, and the demons a greater degree of anger.

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[1] Ps. cxlviii. 4.

[2] Chap. vi in the Oxford MS.

[3] 'Dionysium Areopagitam sequitur Bassorensis in hac materia. Sufficit nomen tantum Hierarchiae coelestis dixisse.' Schoenfelder, note 28, p. 10.

[4] Colossians i. 16, 'thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers.'

[5] 'Motion' or 'movement,' *Zau'â*. 'Angelus est substantia intellectualis semper mobilis.' Schoenfelder, note 29, p. 10.

[6] Rev. iv. 6, 8; Ezek. i. 18.

[7] Isaiah vi. 2.

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[1] Heb. ix. 11.

[2] According to the 'Cave of Treasures,' these were created on the first day. See Bezold's translation, p. 1, and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,175, fol. 1 *b*, col. 1.

[3] Or Commentator, that is Theodore of Mopsuestia. See Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 1. 30.

[4] Schoenfelder, *similitudinem aetheris, qui* etc.

[5] Heb. ix. 7.

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CHAPTER VI[1].

OF DARKNESS.

DARKNESS is a self-existent nature; and if it had not had a nature, it would not have been reckoned among the seven natures which were created in the beginning in silence. Others say that darkness is not a self-existent nature, but that it is the shadow of bodies.

CHAPTER VII[2].

OF EFFUSED (CIRCUMAMBIENT) LIGHT.

WHEN the holy angels were created on the evening of the first day, without voice, they understood not their creation, but thought within themselves [ܗܠ] that they were self-existent beings and not made. On the morning of the first day God said in an audible and commanding voice, 'Let there be light[3],' and immediately the effused light was created. When the angels saw the creation of light, they knew of a certainty that He who had made light had created them. And they shouted with a loud voice, and praised Him, and marvelled at His creation of light, as the blessed teacher[4] saith, 'When the Creator made that light, the angels marvelled thereat,' etc.; and as it is said in Job, 'When I created the morning star, all my angels praised me[5].' Now by nature light has no warmth.

CHAPTER VIII[6].

OF THE FIRMAMENT.

ON the evening of the second day of the week, God willed to divide the heavens from the earth, that there might be luminaries and stars beneath the heavens to give light to this world, and that the heavens might be a dwelling-place for the righteous and the angels after the

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[1] Chap. vii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Chap. viii in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. i. 3.

[4] Meaning, probably, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

[5] Solomon seems to refer to Job, chap. xxxviii. 7.

[6] Chap. ix in the Oxford MS.

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resurrection. God said, 'Let there be a firmament which shall divide the waters from the waters[1]'; and straightway the waters were divided into three parts. One part remained upon the earth for the use of men, cattle, winged fowl—the rivers and the seas; of another part God made the firmament; and the third part He took up above the firmament. But on the day of resurrection the waters will return to their former nature.

CHAPTER IX[2].

OF THE CREATION OF TREES AND PLANTS, AND THE MAKING OF SEAS AND RIVERS.

ON the third day God commanded that the waters should be gathered together [ܟܢܫ] into the pits and depths of the earth, and that the dry land should appear[3]. When the waters were gathered together into the depths of the earth, and the mountains and hills had appeared, God placed the sand as a limit for the waters of the seas[4], that they might not pass over and cover the earth. And God commanded the earth to put forth herbage and grass and every green thing[5]; and the earth brought forth trees and herbs and plants of all kinds, complete and perfect in respect of flowers and fruit and seed, each according to its kind. Some say that before the transgression of the command, the earth brought forth neither thorns nor briars, and that even the rose had no thorns as it has now; but that after the transgression of the command, the earth put forth thorns and briars by reason of the curse which it had received. The reason why God created the trees and plants before the creation of the luminaries was that the philosophers, who discourse on natural phenomena, might not imagine that the earth brought forth herbs and trees through the power of the heat of the sun. Concerning the making of Paradise, it is not mentioned in the Pentateuch on what day it was created; but according to the opinion of those who may be relied upon, it was made on the same day in which the trees were made[6]: and if the Lord will, we will speak about it in its proper place.

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[1] Gen. i. 6.

[2] Chap. x in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. i. 9.

[4] Comp. Jer. v. 22.

[5] Gen. i. 12.

[6] According to Rabbi Eliezer, chap. iii (Horowitz, אגרת אגרות, part i, Leipzig, 1881), Paradise was one of the seven things created before the world.

CHAPTER X[1].

OF THE MAKING OF THE LUMINARIES[2].

ON the fourth day God made the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—of three substances, air, light, and fire. He took aerial material and prepared vessels like lamps, and mixed fire with light, and filled them. And because in the nature of fire there was no light, nor heat in that of light, [ܠܐ] the fire imparted heat to the light, and the light gave luminosity to the fire; and from these two were the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—fabricated. Some say that the luminaries were made in the morning, that the sun was placed in the east, and the moon in the west; while others say that they were made in the evening, and that the sun was placed in the west, and the moon in the east; and therefore the Jews celebrate the fourteenth[3] in the evening. Others say that all the luminaries when they were created were placed in the east; the sun completed his course by day, while the moon waited until eventide, and then began her course. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament, and they are not fixed as men have foolishly stated, but the angels guide them. Mâr Isaac says, 'The sun performs his course from the east to the west, and goes behind the lofty northern mountains the whole night until he rises in the east.' And the philosophers say that during the night the luminaries perform their course under the earth.

CHAPTER XI[4].

OF THE CREATION OF SEA-MONSTERS, FISH, WINGED FOWL, AND THE REPTILES THAT ARE IN THE SEAS.

ON the fifth day of the week God made from the waters mighty sea-monsters[5], fish, winged fowl, swimming beasts, and the reptiles that are in the seas. He created the winged fowl that are in the waters from the waters; for, like fish, they lay eggs and swim. Now, fish swim [ܣܚܢ] in the waters, and winged fowl in the air; but some of the latter

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[1] Chap. xi in the Oxford MS.

[2] Gen. i. 14.

[3] See Exod. xii. 18.

[4] Chap. xii in the Oxford MS.

[5] Gen. i. 21.

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in the waters also. Although they say that swimming creatures were made from the waters, or that the other wild beasts and cattle were made from the earth; still they consist of parts of all the other elements. Those, however, that are of the waters, have the greater part of their composition made of water; while the greater part of those whose origin is earth, consists of earth: but none of them lack the four elements.

CHAPTER XII[1].

OF THE CREATION OF BEASTS AND ANIMALS.

On Friday eve God created them[2], and therefore animals can see at night as well as in the day time. Others say that they were all created in the morning, and that God created Adam after them on the sixth day, which is Friday.

CHAPTER XIII[3].

OF THE FORMATION OF ADAM.

On the Friday, after the making of all created things, God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness[4].' The Jews have interpreted the expression 'Come, let us make,' as referring to the angels; though God (adored be His glory!) needs not help from His creatures: but the expositors of the Church indicate the Persons of the adorable Trinity. Some say that when God said 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' the angels by the eye of the Spirit saw the right hand (of God) spread out over the whole world, and there were in it parts of all the creatures both spiritual and corporeal. And God took from all these parts[5], and fashioned Adam with His holy hands, [ܒܟܐ] and breathed into him the breath of life,

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[1] Chap. xiii in the Oxford MS.

[2] Gen. i. 25.

[3] Chap. xiv in the Oxford MS.

[4] Gen. i. 26.

[5] Compare Sanhedrîm, fol. 38, col. 1: רבי מאיר אומר אדם הראשון מכל העולם כולו הוצבר עפרו. Among other things, Jewish tradition says that the first Adam had two faces, שני פרצופין (Berâchôth, fol. 61, col. 1); that he was formed in two parts, on the one side male, and on the other female; that in height he reached from earth to heaven (Chagîgâh, p. 12, col. 1); and that he could stretch from one end of the world to the other (*Sépher Ḥasîdîm*, No. 500).

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and man became a living soul[1]. Others say that God took earth from the four quarters of the world[2], and formed Adam outside Paradise;

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[1] Gen. ii. 7.

[2] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 3 and 4; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 4 *b*, col. 1, line 23 to fol. 5 *b*, col. 1, line 14: ܠܘܩܒܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܒܫܘܡܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܒܪܘܚܐ. ܒܫܒܬܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܠܝܩܪܐ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬܢ. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܘܗ ܟܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܒܪܬ ܩܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܘ ܒܙܘܥܐ ܘܒܪܬܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ. ܕܡܢܘ ܬܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܢ ܡܘܡܝܢܐ. ܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢܘܗܝ. ܘܚܙܘ̇ ܠܝܡܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܐܬܣܡܟܠ* ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܓܘ ܦܣܬ ܝܡܝܢܗ. ܘܚܙܘ ܕܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܪܕܬܐ ܕܥܦܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܢܘܛܦܬ ܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܐܪ ܕܠܥܠ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܡܟܠ ܕܫܚܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܒܓܘ ܦܣܬ ܝܡܝܢܗ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ. ܩܪܝܪܘܬܐ. ܘܫܚܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܢܓܝܒܘܬܐ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ ܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܦܪܕܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ: ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܡܢ ܒܥܦܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܢܘܛܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ: ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܡܡܐ ܘܢܗܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܢܫܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ: ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܦܪܚܝܢ ܒܐܐܪ ܠܗ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܦܠܓܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ: ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܘܪܢܐ ܘܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܒܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܩܕܝ̈ܫܬܐ. ܒܨܠܡܗ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܚܙܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܚܙܘܗ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܡܢ ܡܘܦܪܬ† ܕܫܘܦܪܗ. ܚܙܘ ܗܘܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܦܘܗܝ: ܡܢ ܡܫܬܥܠܝܢ ܒܡܘܦܪܐ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܦܣܘܪܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܩܪܘܣܛܠܠܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܦܫܛ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܩܡ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܩܡ ܐܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܐܬܩܒܥ ܒܗ ܙܩܝܦܐ ܕܦܪܘܩܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܠܒܫܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܢܣܒ ܬܓܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܫܠܛܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܝܪܐ ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܘܥܒܪܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܕܡ ܘܣܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܗܐ. ܘܐܬܟܦܝܘ ܠܗ ܪ̈ܫܝܗܘܢ. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܩܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܕܡ ܗܐ ܥܒܕܬܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܗܢܐ. ܘܢܒܝܐ. ܘܡܫܠܛܢܐ. ܘܪܝܫܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ. ܘܠܟ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܘܕܝܠܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܝܗܒܬ ܠܟ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܝܬ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܪܬ ܩܠܐ. ܒܪܟܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. 'The creation of Adam was on this wise. On the sixth day, which is Friday, at the first hour,

* For ܘܐܬܣܡܟܢ.

† Bezold corrects this into ܫܘܦܪܐ.

while others say that God fashioned him in the middle of the earth, on the spot where our Lord was crucified, and that there also was

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when silence reigned over all the ranks of the (heavenly) hosts, God said, "Come, let us make man in our image after our likeness"—hereby making known concerning the glorious Persons (of the Trinity). When the angels heard these words they were in fear and trembling, saying one to another, "We shall see a great miracle to-day, the likeness of God our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God stretched out and extended over the whole world; and all created things were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took a grain of dust from all the earth, a drop of water from the whole nature of water, a breath of wind from all the atmosphere above, and a little warmth from all the nature of fire. And the angels saw when these four feeble elements—that is, cold and heat and dryness and moisture—were laid in the palm of His right hand, and God formed Adam. For what reason did God make Adam out of these four elements, unless it were that through them everything in the world should be subject unto him? He took a grain of dust, that all natures which are of dust might be subject unto Adam; and a drop of water, that all those in the seas and rivers might be his; and a breath of air, that all kinds of birds of the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire, that all the fiery beings and (heavenly) hosts might come to his aid. And God formed man with His holy hands, in His image and likeness. When the angels saw his glorious appearance, they trembled at the beauty of his appearance; for they saw the form of his face blazing with glorious beauty like the sphere of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the sun, and the form of his body like the light of crystal. And when he stretched himself, and stood in the centre of the earth, he set his two feet on the spot where the cross of our Redeemer was placed: for Adam was created in Jerusalem, and there it was that he put on royal apparel, and the crown of glory was set upon his head; and there was he made king and priest and prophet, there did God set him upon the throne of His glory, and there He made him master over all creatures. And all beasts and cattle and fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he gave them names; and they bowed their heads to him, and all natures did homage to him and were subject unto him. And the angels and (heavenly) hosts heard the voice of God saying to him, "Adam, behold I have made thee king and priest and prophet and lord and chief and governor of all things made and created; to thee shall they be subject, and thine shall they be: and I have given thee power over everything that I have created." And when the angels heard these words, they all blessed and worshipped him.'

Adam's skull laid. After God had formed Adam outside Paradise, He brought him in as a king, and made him king over all the creatures, and commanded him to give a name to each of them. God did not gather together unto Adam all cattle, nor (all) that swim in the sea, nor (all) the birds of the air, that he might give them names[1]; but he received dominion and power over them to make use of them as he pleased, and to give them names, as a master to his slaves. And when God had brought him into Paradise, He commanded him to till it and to guard it. Why did God say 'to till it and to guard it'?—for Paradise needed no guarding, and was adorned with fruit of all kinds, and there was none to injure it—unless it were to exhort him to keep His commandments, and to till it that he might not become a lover of idleness. Because Adam had not seen his own formation, and was not acquainted with the power of his Maker, it was necessary that, when Eve was taken from him in his own likeness, he should perceive his Maker, and should acknowledge that He who made Eve also made him, and that they two were bound to be obedient to Him.

CHAPTER XIV[2].

OF THE MAKING OF EVE.

GOD said, 'Let us make a helper for Adam[3].' And He threw upon Adam a sleep and stupor, and took one of his ribs from his left side, [ܒܗ] and put flesh in its place, and of it He formed Eve. He did not make her of earth, that she might not be considered something alien to him in nature; and He did not take her from Adam's fore-parts, that she might not uplift herself against him; nor from his hind-parts, that she might not be accounted despicable; nor from his right side, that she might not have pre-eminence over him; nor from his head, that she might not seek authority over him; nor from his feet, that she might not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband: but (He took her) from his left side[1], for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back[2].—Concerning the sleep which God cast upon Adam, He made him to be half asleep and half awake, that he might not feel pain when the rib was taken from him, and look upon the woman as a hateful thing; and yet not without pain, that he might not think that she was not meet for him in matters of nature. When Adam came to himself, he prophesied and said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called woman[3]': and they were both clothed in light[4], and saw not each other's nakedness.

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[1] So also Bar Hebraeus in the *Auṣar Râzê* or Horreum Mysteriorum, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 32 *a*, col. 1: ܘܐܝܬܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܕܡ ܕܢܣܐ ܫܡܗܐ ܦܕܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܩ. ܐܝܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܘܬܗ. ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܪܘܬܐ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܝܢ ܕܝ ܡܫܡܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ.

[2] Chap. xv in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. ii. 18.

CHAPTER XV[5].

OF PARADISE.

In the eastern part of the earth, on the mountain of Eden, beyond the ocean, God planted Paradise, and adorned it with fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, that it might be a dwelling-place for Adam and his progeny, if they should keep His commandments. He made to spring forth from it a great river, which was parted into four heads[6], to water Paradise and the whole earth. The first river is Pîshôn, which compasseth the land of Ḥavîlâ, where there is gold and beryls and fair and precious

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[1] So also Bar Hebraeus in the *Auṣar Râzê*, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 32 *a*, col. 1: ܘܢܣܒ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܥܘܗܝ. ܗ̄. ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܣܛܪܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܕܣܡܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܥܬܐ ܡܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܘܒܣܬܪܘܗܝ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܚܒܪܐ.

[2] According to Rabbi Joshua of Sichnîn (סיכנין), God did not form Eve from Adam's head, that she might not carry her head proudly; nor from his eye, that she might not be curious; nor from his ear, that she might not be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, that she might not be gossiping; nor from his heart, that she might not be quarrelsome; nor from his hand, that she might not touch everything with her hand; nor from his feet, that she might not rove about. *Bërêshîth Rabbâh* on Gen. ii. 22. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Ber. Rab.*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 78. On Sichnîn, see Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 204.

[3] Gen. ii. 23.

[4] ܗ̄. ܟܬܘܢܐ ܘܡܘܟܠܐ ܢܘܗܪܢܐ ܠܒܝܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܘ ܒܝܩܪܐ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܡܟܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܟܣܝܐ, *Auṣar Râzê*, loc. cit.

[5] Chap. xvi in the Oxford MS.

[6] Gen. ii. 9–17.

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stones. The second river is Gîḥôn, that is, the Nile [ܢܠܐ] of Egypt. The third river is Deḵlath (the Tigris), which travels through the land of Assyria and Bêth-Zabdai[1]. The fourth river is Pĕrath (the Euphrates), which flows through the middle of the earth. Some teachers say that Paradise surrounds the whole earth like a wall and a hedge beyond the ocean. Others say that it was placed upon the mount of Eden, higher than every other mountain in the world by fifteen cubits[2]. Others say that it was placed between heaven and earth, below the firmament and above this earth, and that God placed it there as a boundary for Adam between heaven and earth, so that, if he kept His commands, He might lift him up to heaven, but if he transgressed them, He might cast him down to this earth. And as the land of heaven is better and more excellent than the land of Paradise, so was the land of Paradise better and more glorious and more excellent (than our earth); its trees were more beautiful, its flowers more odoriferous, and its atmosphere more pure than ours, through superiority of species and not by nature. God made Paradise large enough to be the dwelling-place of Adam and of his posterity, provided that they kept the divine commandments. Now it is the dwelling-place of the souls of the righteous, and its keepers are Enoch and Elijah; Elijah the unwedded, and Enoch the married man: that the unwedded may not exalt themselves above the married, as if, forsooth, Paradise were suitable for the unwedded only. The souls of sinners are without Paradise, in a deep place called Eden. After the resurrection, the souls of the righteous and the sinners will put on their bodies. The righteous will enter into heaven, which will become the land of the righteous; while the sinners will remain upon earth. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not by nature possess these properties of good and evil like rational beings, but only [ܒܕ] through the deed which was wrought by its means; like the 'well of contention[3],' and the 'heap of witness[1],' which did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deeds which were wrought by their means. Adam and Eve were not stripped of the glory with which they were clothed, nor did they die the death of sin, because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree—for the fruit of the fig-tree was not better than the fruit of any other tree—but because of the transgression of the law, in that they were presumptuous and wished to become gods. On account of this foolish and wicked and blasphemous intention, chastisement and penalty overtook them.—Concerning the tree of life which was planted in the middle of Paradise, some have said that Paradise is the mind, that the tree of good and evil is the knowledge of material things, and that the tree of life is the knowledge of divine things, which were not profitable to the simple understanding of Adam[2]. Others have said that the tree of life is the kingdom of heaven and the joy of the world to come; and others that the tree of life was a tree in very truth, which was set in the middle of Paradise, but no man has ever found out what its fruit or its flowers or its nature was like[3].

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[1] Or Bâ-Zabdâ, a district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

[2] ܘܡܪ̈ܝܡ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܬܠܬ. ܐܠܦܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ, Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *a*, col. 1, and see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5.

[3] Gen. xxvi. 20.

CHAPTER XVI[4].

OF THE SIN OF ADAM[5].

WHEN God in His goodness had made Adam, He laid down a law for him, and commanded him not to eat of the tree of good and evil, which is the fig-tree. After Eve was created, Adam told her the story of the tree; and Satan heard it, and by his envy it became the occasion and cause of their being made to sin, [ܒܗ] and being expelled from Paradise, for it was by reason of him that Adam fell from the height of his glory. Some say that Satan heard when God commanded Adam not to eat of that tree. Others say that God commanded Adam in his mind, mentally (and not by sense); others again say, by sense and openly. And Satan saw that the serpent was more subtle than all four-footed beasts[1]; and he played in him, as it were with pipes, in the hearing of Eve, like an instrument, and said to her, 'Ye shall not die, as God hath said to you, but ye shall be gods like God, knowers of good and evil.' Then Eve saw that the appearance of the fig-tree was beautiful, and that its smell was delightful; and she desired to eat of it and to become a goddess. So she stretched out her hand, and plucked, and ate, and gave also to her husband, and he likewise did eat. And they were stripped of the fair glory and glorious light of purity wherewith they were clothed, when they saw not each other's nakedness. And their eyes were opened, and they saw their nakedness; and they took leaves of the fig-tree, and covered their nakedness for shame, and hid themselves beneath thick trees. Then God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou, Adam?'—not that He did not know where he was, but [He asked] in a chiding manner—and Adam said, 'Lord, I heard Thy voice, and I hid myself because I am naked.' God said, 'Whence knowest thou that thou art naked? peradventure hast thou transgressed the law and command which I laid down for thee, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat?' Adam said, 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave to me, and I did eat.' And God questioned Eve [ܚܘܗ] in like manner; and Eve said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.' And God cursed the serpent, saying, 'Cursed art thou above all beasts upon the earth.' With the cursing of the serpent, who was the tool of Satan, Satan, who had instigated the serpent, was himself cursed; and immediately his legs were destroyed, and he crawled upon his belly, and instead of being an animal became a hissing reptile. And God set enmity between the serpent and man, saying, 'He shall smite the heel of man, but man shall crush his head, and the food of the serpent shall be dust.' God said to Eve, 'In pain shalt thou bring forth children;' and to Adam He said, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake, and in toil and the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.' And the earth, by reason of the curse which it had received, straightway brought forth thorns and thistles. And God drove them out from Paradise at the ninth hour of the same day in which they were created.

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[1] Gen. xxxi. 47.

[2] ܠܨܠܝܒܐ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܡܩܕܡ ܨܐܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܩܒܥ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. 'The tree of Life pre-figured the Cross of the Saviour, and it was this that was fixed in the middle of the earth.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1.

[3] The Rabbis thought that it was either the date-palm, the vine, the *ethrôg* אתרוג (Pers. تُرُنْج, Arab. أُتْرُجّ 'citron-tree'), or the fig-tree. Midrash Rabbâh on Gen. ii. 9, 10; Wünsche, p. 69.

[4] Chap. xvii in the Oxford MS.

[5] Gen. iii. 6–24.

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[1] ܘܥܠ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܘܛܥܢܗ ܘܦܪܚܗ ܒܐܐܪ ܠܘܬ ܫܦܘ̈ܠܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܥܠ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܘܐܛܫܝ ܢܦܫܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܣܢܝܐ ܚܙܘܗ. ܘܐܢ ܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܚܘܐ ܠܕܡܘܬܗ. ܡܚܕܐ ܥܪܩܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܠܦ ܠܗ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܦܪܚܬܐ. ܡܝܬܐ ܡܚܙܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܣܐܡ ܠܗ ܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܠܗ. ܘܫܪܐ ܡܫܪܐ ܕܢܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܡܟܝܐ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܩܠܗ. ܡܬܗܦܟܐ ܠܒܣܬܪܗ. ܘܚܙܝܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܒܗ ܒܡܚܙܝܬܐ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܚܕܝܐ. ܟܕ ܣܒܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܚܒܪܬܗ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܒܨܒܝܢܐ ܡܪܟܢܐ ܐܕܢܗ ܘܫܡܥܐ ܠܡܡܠܠܘܗܝ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܬܒܝܢܐ ܘܝܠܦܐ ܠܡܡܠܠܘ ܝܘܢܐܝܬ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܣܛܢܐ ܥܠ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܘܝܐ. 'And he went and dwelt in the serpent, and carried him and made him fly through the air to the skirts of Paradise. Why did he enter into the serpent and hide himself (there)? Because he knew that his appearance was hideous, and that if Eve saw his form she would straightway flee from him. As one who teaches a bird* the Greek tongue, brings a large mirror and places it between himself and the bird, and then begins to speak to her; and the bird as soon as it hears his voice turns round, and seeing its own form in the mirror straightway rejoices, thinking that it is a companion speaking with her, and thus willingly inclines her ear and listens to the words of him that talks with her, and pays attention (to them) and learns to talk Greek; so also did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 6; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1.

* The bird that learns to talk is called 'parrot': ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܒ̣ܒ̣ܓ̣ܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ. Gloss on the word ܦܪܚܬܐ in Add. 25,875, fol. 6 *b*, col. 1. Ar. بَبَّغَا.

CHAPTER XVII[1].

OF THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE.

AFTER God had expelled them from Paradise, like wicked servants driven forth from the inheritance of their master, and had cast them into exile, over the gate at the eastern side of Paradise He set a cherub with a sword and spear to frighten Adam from approaching Paradise. Some say that the cherub was one of the heavenly hosts, of the class of the

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[1] Chap. xviii in the Oxford MS.

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Cherubim; and others say that he did not belong to the spiritual powers, but was a terrible form endowed with a body. So also the spear point and the sword were made of fire extended [ܟܒ] like a sharp sword, which went and came round about Paradise to terrify Adam and his wife. And God made for them garments of skin to cover their shame. Some say that they clothed themselves with the skins of animals, which they stripped off; but this is not credible, for all the beasts were created in couples, and Adam and Eve had as yet no knives to kill and flay them; hence it is clear that he means the bark of trees[1]. Only the blessed Moses called the bark of trees 'skins,' because it fills the place of skins to trees. In the land of India there are trees whose bark is used for the clothing of kings and nobles and the wealthy, on account of its beauty. After God had expelled Adam and his wife from Paradise, He withheld from them the fruits of trees, and the use of bread and flesh and wine, and the anointing with oil; but they cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, and did eat sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. They remained thus until Noah went forth from the ark, and then God allowed them to eat bread and to drink wine and to eat flesh, after they had slain the animal and poured out its blood. They say that when Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, Adam cut off a branch for a staff from the tree of good and evil; and it remained with him, and was handed down from generation to generation unto Moses and even to the Crucifixion of our Lord; and if the Lord will, we will relate its history in its proper place[2]. [ܟܓ]

CHAPTER XVIII[3].

OF ADAM'S KNOWING EVE.

WHEN Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, they were both virgins. After thirty years Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and brought forth Cain together with his sister Ḳĕlêmath at one birth[1]. And after thirty years Eve conceived and brought forth Abel and Lĕbôdâ his sister at one birth. And when they arrived at the age for marriage, Adam wished and intended to give Abel's sister to Cain and

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[1] These garments were softer than the linen and silk worn by kings: ܘܪܟܝܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܘܨܐ ܘ. ܫܐܪܝܐ. ܘܡܐܬܐ. ܘ. ܐܪܓܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 *a*, col. 2.

[2] See chap. xxx.

[3] Chap. xix in the Oxford MS.

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[1] The 'Cave of Treasures' relates the story of Cain's birth and the dispute of the brothers thus: ܘܟܕ ܨܒܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܢܕܥ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܢܣܒ ܡܢ ܡܫܘ̈ܠܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܕܗܒܐ. ܘܡܘܪܐ. ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܘܣܡ [ܐܢܘܢ] ܒܓܘ ܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܒܪܟܗ ܘܩܕܫܗ. ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܕܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܩܪܗ ܡܥܪܬ ܓܙ̈ܐ ♦ ܘܢܚܬ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܡܫܘ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܠܬܚܬ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܚܟܡ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܚܟܡ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܘܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܩܐܝܢ ܘܠܠܒܘܕܐ ܚܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܬܘܒ ܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ ܠܗܒܝܠ ܘܠܩܠܝܡܬ ܚܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܟܕ ܪܒܘ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ. ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܩܐܝܢ ܠܩܠܝܡܬ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡ ܗܒܝܠ. ܘܗܒܝܠ ܢܣܒ ܠܠܒܘܕܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡ ܩܐܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܩܐܝܢ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܡܗ. ܐܢܐ ܫܩܠ ܐܢܐ ܚܬܝ. ܘܗܒܝܠ ܢܣܒ ܚܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܘܕܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܕܡ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܬܟܪܝ ܠܗ ܛܒ. ܘܐܡܪ ܥܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ. ܕܬܣܒ ܚܬܟ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܥܡܟ. ܐܠܐ ܣܒ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܝ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܣܩܘ ܒܪܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܥܘܠܘ ܠܡܥܪܬ ܓܙ̈ܐ. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܬܡܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܨܠܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܬܬܡܟܪܘܢ ܥܡ ܢܫ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܕ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܐܕܡ ܟܗܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܩܐܝܢ ܘܗܒܝܠ ܒܢܘ̈ܗܝ ܒܪܫ ܛܘܪܐ. ܐܬܥܠܠ ܒܗ ܣܛܢܐ ܒܩܐܝܢ ܕܢܩܛܘܠ ܠܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܡܛܠ ܠܒܘܕܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܣܬܠܝ ܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܩܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܐܬܩܒܠ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܘܣܦ ܚܣܡܗ ܩܐܝܢ. ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܢܚܬܘ ܠܦܩܥܬܐ. ܩܡ ܩܐܝܢ ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܘܩܛܠܗ ܒܓܘܟܦܬܐ ܕܩܠܦܐ ܕܛܪܢܐ. 'When Adam wished to know Eve his wife, he took from the skirts of Paradise gold, myrrh, and frankincense, and put them in a cave: and he blessed it and sanctified it that it might be the house of prayer of himself and of his sons, and he called it the "Cave of Treasures." And Adam and Eve came down from that holy mountain to its skirts below; and there Adam knew Eve his wife. Some say that Adam knew Eve thirty years after they had gone forth from Paradise. And she conceived and bare Cain and Lĕbôdâ his sister with him; and again she conceived and bare Abel and Ḳĕlêmath his sister with him. When the youths had grown up, Adam said to Eve, "Let Cain take to wife Ḳĕlêmath who was born with Abel, and let Abel take Lĕbôdâ who was born with Cain." But Cain said to Eve his mother, "I will take to wife my own sister, and let Abel take his;" for Lĕbôdâ was beautiful. When Adam heard these words, he was very grieved, and said, "It is a transgression of the

Cain's sister to Abel; but Cain desired his own sister more than Abel's[1]. Both (i.e. Ḳĕlêmath and Lĕbôdâ) were his sisters, but because of their birth at one time I have called them thus. Now Cain's sister was exceedingly beautiful. The two brothers made an offering to God because of this matter. Abel, because he was a shepherd, offered up of the fat firstlings of his flock in great love, with a pure heart and a sincere mind. Cain, because he was a husbandman, made an offering of some of the refuse of the fruits of his husbandry with reluctance. He made an offering of ears of wheat that were smitten by blight; but some say of straw only. And the divine fire came down from heaven and consumed the offering of Abel, and it was accepted; while the offering of Cain was rejected. And Cain was angry with God, and envied his brother; and he persuaded his brother to come out into the plain, and slew him. Some say that he smashed[2] his head with stones, and killed him; and others say that Satan appeared to him in the form of wild beasts that fight with one another and slay each other. [ܟܓ] At any rate, he killed him, whether this way or that way. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' Cain said, 'Am I forsooth my brother's keeper?' God said, 'Behold, the sound of the cry of thy brother Abel's blood has come unto me;' and God cursed Cain, and made him a wanderer and a fugitive all the days of his life. From the day in which the blood of Abel was shed upon the ground, it did not

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law that thou shouldst take to wife thy sister who was born with thee. But take ye of the fruit of the trees and the young of the flocks, and go ye up to the top of this holy mountain, and enter into the Cave of Treasures, and offer up your offerings there, and pray before God, and then be united unto your wives." And it came to pass that when Adam the first priest, and Cain and Abel his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan suggested to Cain to slay Abel his brother for the sake of Lĕbôdâ, and because his offering was rejected and not accepted before God, while that of Abel was accepted. And Cain increased his envy against Abel his brother; and when they came down to the plain, Cain stood up against Abel his brother and slew him by a wound from a flint stone.' See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 8; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7*b*, col. 2 to fol. 8*a*, col. 2.

[1] According to R. Ḥûnâ, Cain wished to marry his sister because she was born with him, Bĕrêshîth Rabbâh on Gen. iv. 8.

[2] ܦܕܓ, قَدَغَ is not given in Castell Michaelis. It occurs again at p. ܩܠ, l. 2.

again receive the blood of any animal until Noah came forth from the ark. Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years. In the two hundred and thirtieth year[1], Seth, the beautiful, was born in the likeness of Adam; and Adam and Eve were consoled by him. Cain and his descendants went down and dwelt in the plain, while Adam and his children, that is the sons of Seth, dwelt upon the top of the Mount of Eden. And the sons of Seth went down and saw the beauty of the daughters of Cain, and lay with them[2]; and the earth was corrupted and polluted with lasciviousness[3]; and Adam and Eve heard of it and mourned. Now Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years[1]. Some say that in the days of Seth the knowledge of books went forth in the earth; but the Church does not accept this. When Seth was two hundred and fifty years old[2], he begat Enos; and Seth lived nine hundred and thirteen years[3], and he died. Enos was two hundred and ninety years[4] old when he begat Cainan; and Enos first called upon the name of the Lord. Some say that he first composed books upon the course of the stars and the signs of the Zodiac[5]. Enos lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan was a hundred and forty[6] years old when he begat Mahalaleel; and he lived nine hundred and ten years. Mahalaleel was one hundred and sixty-five[7] years old when he begat Jared; and he lived [ܠ] eight hundred and ninety-five years[8]. Jared was one hundred and sixty-two years old when he begat Enoch; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-two years. Enoch was one hundred and sixty-five[9] years old when he begat Methuselah; and when he was three hundred and sixty-five years old, God removed him to the generation of life, that is to Paradise. Methuselah was one hundred

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[1] According to Gen. v. 3, in the *one* hundredth and thirtieth year. The Oxford MS. gives the 233rd year.

[2] Gen. vi. 2.

[3] 'And the sons of Seth had intercourse with the daughters of Cain; and they conceived by them and brought forth mighty men, the sons of heroes, like towers. Hence early writers have erred and written, "The angels came down from heaven, and had intercourse with mankind, and from them were born mighty men of renown." But this is not true; they have said this because they did not understand. Now see, my brother readers, and know that this is neither in the nature of spiritual beings, nor in the nature of the impure and evil-doing demons who love adultery; for there are no males nor females among them, nor has there been even one added to their number since they fell. If the devils were able to have intercourse with women, they would not leave one single virgin undefiled in the whole human race.' ܘܐܬܚܠܛܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܝܬ ܥܡ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ. ܘܒܛܢ ܘܝܠܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܝ̈ ܓܢ̈ܒܪܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܓܕ̈ܠܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܛܥܘ ܡܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܩܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܘܟܬܒܘ. ܕܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛܘ ܥܡ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܡܗ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܣܬܟܠܘ ܐܡܪܘ ܗܕܐ. ܚܙܘ ܐܚܝ̈ ܐܘ ܐܚ̈ܝ ܩܪ̈ܘܝܐ. ܘܕܥܘ ܕܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܗܝ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܛܢ̈ܦܐ ܘܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ. ܘܪ̈ܚܡܝ ܓܘܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܩܒ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܬܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܡܢܝܢܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܘܠܐ ܚܕ. ܐܠܘ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܐ̈ܕܐ ܕܢܬܚܠܛܘܢ ܥܡ ܢܫ̈ܐ: ܠܐ ܫܒܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܚܕܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܓܢܣܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܛܢܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ̇. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 18; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 14 *b*, col. 2. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܘܒܨܠܡܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܨܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܩܒܠܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܗܘ ܡܛܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ. ܕܗܘܘ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ ܐܠܗܐ........ ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܕܢܚܬܘ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܘ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܘܡܩܠܣܝܢ ܥܡ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ

ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. 'Seth became a leader to the children of his people, and he ruled them in purity and holiness. And because of their purity they received this name, which is better than all names, that they should be called the children of God ....and they went up in place of that band of demons which fell from heaven, to praise and glorify on the skirts of Paradise.' See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 10; and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 9 *a*, col. 2.

[1] 'Our father died at the 9th hour of Friday, the 14th of the month of Nîsân, 930 years after the creation of the world, and gave up his soul to his Maker at the same hour in which the Son of Man on the Cross gave up His soul to His Father.' ܘܡܝܬ ܠܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܗ ܗܘܬ ܡܫܠܡܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܒܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܒܢܝܣܢ (sic). ܒܥܪܐ (sic) ܒܬܫܥ ܫܥܝܢ. ܒܫܥܬܗ ܡܫܬܡ. ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܫܥܬܐ ܕܐܫܠܡ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܙܩܝܦܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܐܫܠܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܒܪܘܝܗ ܐܒܘܢ ܐܕܡ. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 9; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 9 *a*, col. 1.

[2] 105 years, Gen. v. 6.

[3] In the Oxford MS. 905 years.

[4] 90 years, Gen. v. 9.

[5] The Oxford MS. omits this passage.

[6] 70 years, Gen. v. 12. The Oxford MS. has 920 years.

[7] 65 years, Gen. v. 15.

[8] In the Oxford MS. 833 years.

[9] 65 years, Gen. v. 21.

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and eighty-seven years old when he begat Lamech; and he lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Lamech was a hundred and eighty-two years old when he begat Noah; and he lived seven hundred and seventy-seven years[1].

CHAPTER XIX[2].

OF THE INVENTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS FOR WORKING IN IRON[3].

SOME say that Cainan[4] and Tubal-cain, who were of the family of Cain, were the first who invented the three tools of the art of working in iron, the anvil, hammer and tongs. The art of working in iron is the mother and begetter of all arts; as the head is to the body, so is it to all other crafts. And as all the limbs of the body cease to perform their functions if the head is taken away from it, so also all other arts would cease if the art of working in iron were to come to an end. In the days of Jubal and Tubal-cain, the sons of Lamech the blind, Satan entered and dwelt in them, and they constructed all kinds of musical instruments, harps and pipes. Some say that spirits used to go into the reeds and disturb them, and that the sound from them was like the sound of singing and pipes[5]; and men constructed all kinds of musical instruments. Now this blind Lamech was a hunter, and could shoot

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 774 years. This MS. omits to say how old the patriarchs were when they begat their sons.

[2] Chap. xx in the Oxford MS.

[3] Gen. iv. 22.

[4] This name seems to have crept into the text by mistake; perhaps we should read ܬܘܒܠ. See Gen. iv. 22.

[5] ܗܢܘܢ ܪܟܒܘ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܟܠ ܙܢܝ ܙܡܪܐ. ܝܘܒܠ ܥܒܕ ܐܒܘܒܐ ܘܩܝܬܪܐ ܘܡܫܪܘܩܝܬܐ. ܘܥܠܘ ܫܐܕܐ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܓܘܗܘܢ. ܘܡܐ ܕܢܦܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܢ. ܙܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܐܕܐ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܐܒܘܒܐ. ܘܡܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܩܠܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܗܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒܠܩܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܨܨܠܐ *(ܙܢܓܠܐ) ܘܩܫܩܫܬܐ †(ܦܥܡܩܐ) ܘܛܒܠܐ. 'They put together and made all kinds of music: Jubal made flutes and cithers and pipes, and the devils entered into them and dwelt in them; and when they blew into them, the devils sang inside the flutes, and made a noise from within them. And Tubal-cain made cymbals and rattles and hand drums.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 14; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 12 *a*, col. 1.

* Glossed by ܙܢܓܠܐ in red ink on the margin of the MS.

† Glossed by ܦܥܡܩܐ in red ink on the margin of the MS.

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straight with a bow; his son used to take him by the hand, [ܠܐ] and guide him to places where there was game, and when he heard the movement of an animal[1], he shot an arrow at it, and brought it down. One day, when shooting an arrow at an animal, he smote Cain the murderer, the son of Adam, and slew him[2].

CHAPTER XX[3].

OF NOAH AND THE FLOOD[4].

WHEN Noah was five hundred years old, he took a wife from the daughters of Seth; and there were born to him three sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet. And God saw Noah's uprightness and integrity, while all men were corrupted and polluted by lasciviousness[5]; and He determined to remove the human race from this broad earth, and made this known to the blessed Noah, and commanded him to make an ark for the saving of himself, his sons, and the rest of the animals. Noah constructed this ark during the space of one hundred years, and he made it in three stories[6], all with boards and projecting ledges. Each board was a cubit long and a span broad. The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. Noah made it of box wood, though some say of teak wood; and he pitched it within and without. At the end of the six hundredth year, God commanded Noah, with his wife, his sons and his daughters-in-law—eight souls—to go into the ark[1], and to take in with him seven couples of every clean animal and fowl, and one couple of every unclean animal, a male and a female. And he took bread and water in with him according to his need: not an abundant supply, lest they might be annoyed by the smell of the faeces, but they got food just sufficient to preserve their lives. God forewarned the blessed Noah of what he was about to do seven days beforehand, in case the people might remember their sins and offer the sacrifice of repentance. But those [ܠܒ] rebels mocked at him scoffingly, and thrust out their unclean lips at the sound of the saw and the adze. After seven days God commanded Noah to shut the door of the ark, and to plaster it over with bitumen[2]. And the fountains of the deeps were broken up from beneath, and a torrent of rain (fell) from above, for forty days and forty nights, without cessation, until the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains in the world. And the waters bore up the ark, which travelled over them from east to west and from north to south, and so inscribed the figure of the cross upon the world; and it passed over the ocean, and came to this broad earth[3]. So the rain was stayed, and the winds blew, and the waters remained upon the earth without diminishing one hundred and fifty days, besides those forty days; which, from the time that Noah entered the ark and the flood began until the waters began to diminish, make in all one hundred and ninety days, which are six months

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[1] It is better to read ܕܚܝܘܬܐ in the sing. [2] Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 11.

[3] Chap. xxi in the Oxford MS. [4] See Gen. vi–viii.

[5] For a description of the manners of the people at the time of Tubal-cain, see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 14, 15; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 12.

[6] Gen. vi. 16. ܬܚܬܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܠܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܠܦܪܚܬܐ. ܘܥܠܝܬܐ ܗܘܝ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܟ. ܘܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܐܘܨܪܐ ܠܡܝܐ. ܘܐܘܨܪܐ ܠܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܢܩܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܫܟܪܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐܟܠ. ܘܪܘܡܗ ܬܠܬ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܦܬܝܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܘܐܪܙܦܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܢܩܫ ܒܗ ܬܠܬ ܙܒܢܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ. ܚܕܐ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܕܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܕܩܒܘܬܐ. ܘܚܕܐ ܒܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܠܡܐܟܘܠܬܗܘܢ. ܘܚܕܐ ܒܡܥܪܒܝ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܬܢܝܚܘܢ. 'The lower one for the beasts and cattle, the middle for the feathered fowl, and in the upper shalt thou and the children of thy house be. And make in it reservoirs for water, and garners for food. And make thee a gong (nâḳûs) of teak wood uneaten by worms; its height shall be three cubits, and its breadth one and a half; and a hammer of the same. Thou shaltst strike it three times a day: once in the morning that the workmen may be gathered together for the work of the ark, once in the middle of the day for their food, and once at sunset that they may leave off.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 17; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 14 *a*, col. 2.

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[1] 'Set thou Adam's body in the middle of the ark ...... Thou and thy sons shalt be in the eastern part of the ark, and thy wife and thy sons' wives shall be in the western part.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 19; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 15 *b*, col. 1.

[2] 'Noah went into the ark at eventide on Friday the 17th of the blessed month Îyâr.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 *a*, col. 1.

[3] 'The angel of the Lord stood upon the outside of the ark to act as pilot.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 23; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 *b*, col. 2.

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and ten days—even until the twentieth day of the latter Teshrî. The waters began to diminish from the latter Teshrî to the tenth month, on the first day of which the tops of the mountains appeared, but until the time when the earth was dry, and the dove found rest for the sole of her foot, was one hundred days. The ark rested upon the top of mount Ḳardô[1]. In the tenth month, which is Shĕbâṭ[2], Noah opened the door of the ark, and sent a raven to bring him news of the earth. And it went and found dead bodies, and it alighted upon them and returned not. For this reason people have made a proverb [ܡܬܠܐ] about Noah's raven. Again he sent forth a dove, but it found not a place whereon to alight, and returned to the ark. After seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him in the evening carrying an olive leaf in its bill; and Noah knew that the waters had subsided. Noah remained in the ark a full year, and he came forth from it and offered up an offering of clean animals; and God accepted his offering and promised him that He would never again bring a flood upon the face of the earth, nor again destroy beasts and men by a flood; and He gave him (as) a token the bow in the clouds, and from that day the bow has appeared in the clouds; and He commanded him to slay and eat the flesh of beasts and birds after he had poured out their blood. The number of people who came forth from the ark was eight souls, and they built the town of Thĕmânôn[3] after the name of the eight souls, and it is to-day the seat of a bishopric in the province of Ṣûbâ[4]. Noah planted a vineyard, and drank of its wine; and one day when he slumbered, and was sunk in the deep sleep of drunkenness, his nakedness was uncovered within his tent. When Ham his son saw him, he laughed at him and despised him, and told his brethren Shem and

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[1] על טורי קרדו = על הרי אררט, Targûm Onḳelos, Gen. viii. 4, i. e. the Jabal al-Jûdî of the Arabs, on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

[2] 'The tenth month is Kânûn, but I saw Shĕbâṭ written in the copy which I copied.' This is evidently the gloss of a careful scribe, which has crept into the text.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 174.

[4] ܨܘܒܐ Ṣûbâ = نصيبين Niṣîbis, from a false identification of the latter with the biblical צוֹבָה.

Japhet. But Shem and Japhet took a cloak upon their shoulders, and walked backwards with their faces turned away, and threw the cloak over their father and covered him, and then they looked upon him. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done to him by the two sets of his sons, he cursed Canaan the son of Ham and said, 'Thou shalt be a servant to thy brethren;' but he blessed Shem and Japhet. The reason why he cursed Canaan, who was not as yet born nor had sinned, was because Ham had been saved with him in the ark from the waters [ܠܡ̈ܐ] of the flood, and had with his father received the divine blessing; and also because the arts of sin—I mean music and dancing and all other hateful things—were about to be revived by his posterity, for the art of music proceeded from the seed of Canaan [1]. After the flood a son was born to Noah, and he called his name Jônaṭôn [2]; and he provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun, to the east. Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years; the sum of his years was nine hundred and fifty years; and he saw eighteen generations and families before and after it. He died on the fourth day of the week, on the second of Nîsân, at the second hour of the day; his son Shem embalmed him, and his sons buried him, and mourned over him forty days.

CHAPTER XXI [3].

OF MELCHIZEDEK [4].

NEITHER the father nor mother of this Melchizedek were written down in the genealogies; not that he had no natural parents [5], but that they were not written down. The greater number of the doctors say that he was of the seed of Canaan, whom Noah cursed. In the book of Chronography, however, (the author) affirms and says that he was of the seed of Shem the son of Noah. Shem begat Arphaxar, Arphaxar begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shâlâḥ and Mâlâḥ. Shâlâḥ was written down in the genealogies; but Mâlâḥ was not, because his affairs were not sufficiently important to be written down in the genealogies. When

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[1] ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܕܚܡ ܗܘܬ. ܐܬܠܛܛ ܟܢܥܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܪܒܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܘܡܛܐ ܠܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܢܐ. ܐܬܥܠܠ ܒܗ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ ܘܚܕܬ ܒܗܘ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܐܝܢ ܩܛܘܠܐ. 'Why, since the whole sin belonged to Ham, was Canaan cursed except that, when the boy grew up and came to years of discretion, Satan entered into him and became a teacher of sin to him? and he renewed the work of the house of Cain the murderer.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 25; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 19 *a*, col. 2.

[2] See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 33, and note no. 115, p. 78.

[3] Chap. xxii in the Oxford MS.

[4] Gen. xiv. 18–24; Heb. chap. vii.

[5] ܘܡܫܡܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܘܗܝ. ܘܐܒܗܘܗܝ ܕܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ̇

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܡܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܚܝܘܗܝ. ܐܣܬܒܪܬ ܠܗܕܝܘܛܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܛܘܥܝܝܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܚܣ. ܕܠܐ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܡܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܚܝܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܕ ܦܪܫܗ ܫܡ ܒܪ ܢܘܚ ܡܢ ܐܒܗܘܗܝ. ܠܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܟܡܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܣܠܩ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܒܟܡܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܡܫܢܝܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܡܠܟ (sic) ܒܪ ܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܒܪ ܫܡ. ܘܠܐ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܪܝܫ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܡܪ ܓܝܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܫܡܫ ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܫܪܒܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܝ ܘܠܘܩܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܐܟܬܒܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܡܗ ܐܬܝܕܥ. ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒܗܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒܘ ܡܢ ܡܬܝ ܘܠܘܩܐ ܒܫܪܒܬܐ. 'And Melchizedek was honoured by them all, and was called "Father of Kings." Because of that which the Apostle spake, "His days had no beginning, and his life no end," simple folk have imagined that he was not a man at all, and in their error have said of him that he was God. Far from it, that his days had no beginning and his life no end. For when Shem the son of Noah took him away from his parents, not a word was said how old he was when he went up from the east, nor in how many years his departure from this world took place; because he was the son of Mâlâkh, the son of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, and not the son of one of the patriarchs; for the Apostle has said that no one of his father's family ministered at the altar, and the name of his father is not written down in the genealogies, because Matthew and Luke the Evangelists wrote down the names of the patriarchs only, and hence neither the name of his father nor that of his mother are known. The Apostle then did not say that he had no parents, but only that they were not written down by Matthew and Luke in the genealogies.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 36; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 26 *b*, col. 1, line 22 to fol. 27 *a*, col. 1, line 5. In A, on fol. 39 *a*, a marginal note says: 'Know, O my brother readers, that in the manuscript belonging to the priest Maḳbal I have seen that Melchizedek's father was called Harḳlêîm, and his mother Shêlâthêîl (Salathiel).'

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Noah died, he commanded Shem concerning the bones of Adam, for they were with them in the ark, and were removed from [ܠܗ] the land of Eden to this earth. Then Shem entered the ark, and sealed it with his father's seal, and said to his brethren, 'My father commanded me to go and see the sources of the rivers and the seas and the structure of the earth, and to return.' And he said to Mâlâḥ the father of Melchizedek, and to Yôzâdâk his mother, 'Give me your son that he may be with me, and behold, my wife and my children are with you.' Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'My lord, take thy servant; and may the angel of peace be with thee, and protect thee from wild beasts and desolation of the earth.' Shem went by night into the ark, and took Adam's coffin; and he sealed up the ark, saying to his brethren, 'My father commanded me that no one should go into it.' And he journeyed by night with the angel before him, and Melchizedek with him, until they came and stood upon the spot where our Lord was crucified. When they had laid the coffin down there, the earth was rent in the form of a cross [1], and swallowed up the coffin, and was again sealed up and returned to its former condition. Shem laid his hand upon Melchizedek's head, and blessed him and delivered to him the priesthood, and commanded him to dwell there until the end of his life. And he said to him, 'Thou shalt not drink wine nor any intoxicating liquor, neither shall a razor pass over thy head; thou shalt not offer up to God an offering of beasts, but only fine flour and olive oil and wine; thou shalt not build a house for thyself; and may the God of thy fathers be with thee.' And Shem returned to his brethren, and Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'Where is our son?' Shem said, 'He died while he was with me on the way, and I buried him;' and they mourned for him a month of days; but Melchizedek dwelt in that place until he died. When he was old, the kings of the earth heard his fame, and eleven of them gathered together and came to see him; and they entreated him to go with them, [ܠܘ] but he would not be persuaded. And when he did not conform to their wishes, they built a city for him there, and he called it Jerusalem; and the kings said to one another, 'This is the king of all the earth, and the father of nations.' When Abraham came

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[1] See also Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 28.

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back from the battle of the kings and the nations, he passed by the mount of Jerusalem; and Melchizedek came forth to meet him, and Abraham made obeisance to Melchizedek, and gave him tithes of all that he had with him. And Melchizedek embraced him and blessed him, and gave him bread and wine from that which he was wont to offer up as an offering.

CHAPTER XXII[1].

OF THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH[2].

The children of Shem. The people of Shem are twenty and seven families. Elam, from whom sprang the Elamites; Asshur, from whom sprang the Assyrians (Âthôrâyê); Arphaxar[3], from whom sprang the Persians; and Lud (Lôd) and Aram, from whom sprang the Arameans, the Damascenes, and the Harranites. Now the father of all the children of Eber was Arphaxar. Shâlâḥ begat Eber (Âbâr), and to Eber were born two sons; the name of the one of whom was Peleg (Pâlâg), because in his days the earth was divided. From this it is known that the Syriac language remained with Eber, because, when the languages were confounded and the earth was divided, he was born, and was called Peleg by the Syriac word which existed in his time. After Peleg, Joḳṭân (Yaḳṭân) was born, from whom sprang the thirteen nations who dwelt beside one another and kept the Syriac language. And their dwelling was from Mĕnashshê (or Manshâ) of mount Sepharvaïm[4], by the side of the land of Canaan, and towards the east, beginning at Aram and Damascus, and coming to Baishân [Maishân?] and Elam, and their border (was) Assyria, and the east, and Persia to the south, and the Great Sea[5]. Now the Hebrew has Maishân [מֵשָׁא] instead of Mĕnashshê (or Manshâ), [ܠܐ] in the verse, 'The children of Joḳṭân dwelt from Maishân to Sepharvaïm[6].'

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiii.

[2] Genesis, chap. x.

[3] So always, as in the Pĕshîṭtâ, for Arphaxad.

[4] The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܘܗܘܐ ܡܥܡܪܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܐ ܕܡܥܠܢܐ ܕܣܦܪܘܝܡ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, 'and their dwelling was from Manshâ, which is at the entering in of mount Sepharvaïm in the east.'

[5] Perhaps we might read, 'Assyria to the east, and Persia, and the Great Sea on the south.'

[6] Gen. x. 30. In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiv begins here.

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The children of Ham. The people of Ham are thirty and six families, besides the Philistines and Cappadocians. Cush, from whom sprang the Cushites; Miṣraim, from whom sprang the Miṣrâyê (or Egyptians); Phut (or Pôṭ), from whom sprang the Pôṭâyê; Canaan, from whom sprang the Canaanites; the seven kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed[1]; the children of 'Ôbâr[2], Shebâ and Ḥavîlâ, from whom sprang the Indians, the Amorites, the Samrâyê, the Meṭrâyê, and all the dwellers of the south. And of Cush was born Nimrod, who was the first king after the flood. The beginning of his kingdom was Babel (Babylon), which he built, and in which he reigned; and then, after the division of tongues, he built the following cities: Ârâch (Erech), which is Orhâi (Edessa), Âchâr (Accad), which is Niṣîbis, and Calyâ (Calneh), which is Ctesiphon[3]. The land of Babel he called the land of Shinar[4], because in it were the languages confounded[5], for 'Shinar' in the Hebrew language is interpreted 'division.' From that land the Assyrian went forth and built Nineveh and the town of Rehôbôth, which is the town of Arbêl (Irbil). It is said that Belus, the son of Nimrod, was the first to depart from Babel and to come to Assyria; and after Belus, his son Ninus built Nineveh, and called it after his name, and Arbêl and Câlâḥ, which is Ḥeṭrê (Ḥaṭrâ)[6], and Resen, which is Rêsh-'ainâ (Râs'ain). Miṣraim begat Ludim, from

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[1] Perhaps Solomon means the 'five kings of the Amorites,' Josh. x. 5; or else he refers to the 'seven nations,' Deut. vii. 1.

[2] According to Gen. x. 7, we should read Cush.

[3] See Gen. x. 10. Solomon's ideas as to what is meant by Erech, Accad, and Calneh are, of course, utterly erroneous. Erech is the ruins of Warḳâ, on the left bank of the lower Euphrates, S.E. of Babylon; Accad is a name for Upper Babylonia, as opposed to Sumir or Lower Babylonia; Calneh has not yet been identified. See also Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, p. 78.

[4] Some Assyriologists consider the biblical Shinar to be the same as Sumir or Lower Babylonia. See Lenormant, *Études Accad.* ii. 3, p. 70.

[5] It is certain that the name Babel or Babylon has no connection with the Heb. בָּלַל or בַּלְבֵּל; in the cuneiform inscriptions *bâb-ilu* means 'Gate of God,' and is the Semitic equivalent of the Akkadian *ka-dingirra-ki.*

[6] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 184–186.

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whom sprang the Lôdâyê; La'bîm, from whom sprang the Lûbâyê; Lahbîm, from whom sprang the Tebtâyê; Yaphtuḥîm, Pathrusîm, and Casluhîm, from whom went forth the Philistines, the Gedrâyê (Gadarenes), and the people of Sodom. Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, from whom sprang the Ṣôrâyê (Tyrians) and Sidonians, ten nations who dwelt by the side of Israel, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean) to the Euphrates; the Ḳîshâyê, [ܠܫܡ] the Ḳenrâyê (or Ḳîrâyê), and the Aḳdĕmônâyê (or Ḳadmônâyê), who were between the children of Esau and Amnâ of Ireth[1]. The children of Lot are children of Ham[2].

The children of Japhet. The people of Japhet are fifteen families. Gomer, from whom sprang the Gêôthâyê (Gôthâyê, Goths?); Magog, from whom sprang the Galatians; Mâdâi, from whom sprang the Medes; Javan, from whom sprang the Yaunâyê (Greeks); Tûbîl (Tubal), from whom sprang the Baithônâyê (Bithynians); Meshech, from whom sprang the Mûsâyê (Mysians); Tîras, from whom sprang the Tharnĕḳâyê (or Thrêḳâyê, Thracians), the Anshḳlâyê (or Asḳlâyê), and the Achshklâyê. The children of Gomer: Ashkĕnaz, from whom sprang the Armenians; Danphar, from whom sprang the Cappadocians; Togarmah, from whom sprang the Asâyê (Asians) and the Îsaurâyê (Isaurians). The sons of Javan: Elisha, that is Halles (Hellas); Tarshîsh, Cilicia, Cyprus, Kâthîm (Kittîm), Doranim[3], and the Macedonians; and from these they were divided among the islands of the nations.

These are the families of the children of Noah, and from them were the nations divided on the earth after the flood; they are seventy and two families, and according to the families, so are the languages.

CHAPTER XXIII[4].

OF THE SUCCESSION OF GENERATIONS FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW[5].

SHEM was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxar two years after the flood; the sum of his years was six hundred. Arphaxar was a

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[1] Or possibly, 'and the Amnê (Emim), whom he inherited.'

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxv begins here.

[3] For Dodanîm or Rodanîm. See Gen. x. 4.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvi.

[5] Genesis, chap. xi. The numbers of the years of the Patriarchs agree neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX.

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hundred and thirty-five years old, and begat Ḳainan. Ḳainan was a hundred and thirty-nine years old, and begat Shâlâḥ: the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-eight. Shâlâḥ was a hundred and thirty years old[1], and begat Eber; the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-three. Eber was a hundred and thirty-four years old, [ܠܗ] and begat Peleg; the sum of his years was four hundred and sixty-four. Peleg was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Reu; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine[2]. In the days of Reu the languages were divided into seventy and two; up to this time there was only one language[3], which was the parent of them all, namely, Aramean, that is Syriac. Reu was a hundred and thirty-two years old, and begat Serug; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine[4]. Serug was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat Nahor; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty years[5]. In the days of Serug men worshipped idols and graven images. Nahor was seventy and nine years old[6], and begat Terah; the sum of his years was one hundred and forty-eight. In the days of Nahor magic began in the world[7].

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 138 years.

[2] ܬܠܬ appears to have dropped out of the text, 339.

[3] ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ (ܐܘ ܠܗܢܐ) ܒܗܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ. ܒܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܪܡܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܫܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܢܐ. ܡܛܥܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܒܗܕܐ. ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܘܗܪܟܐ ܚܠܛܘ ܛܘܥܝܝ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܬܐ ܒܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܠܫܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܫܩܝܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܚܠܝܛܝܢ ܥܡܗ. 'From Adam until that time they all spoke this language, that is to say Syriac, which is Aramean; for this language is the king of all languages. The early writers have erred, in that they say that Hebrew was the primitive language; and here have they mingled ignorant error with their writings. For all the tongues that are in the world are taken from Syriac, and all the languages in books are mixed with it.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 22 *a*, col. 1.

[4] Gen. xi. 20, 21, two hundred and thirty-nine.

[5] Gen. xi. 22, 23, two hundred and thirty.

[6] Gen. xi. 24, twenty-nine.

[7] According to the 'Cave of Treasures,' the origin of magic was this: 'In the days of Terah, in his ninetieth year, magic appeared on the earth in the city of

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And God opened the storehouse of the winds and whirlwinds[1], and they uprooted the idols and graven images, and they collected them together and buried them under the earth, and they reared over them these mounds that are in the world. This was called 'the Wind Flood.'

Ur, which Horon the son of Eber had built. Now there was in it a certain man who was very rich, and he died about that time. His son made for him an image of gold, and set it up on his grave; and he put a youth to watch it. Then Satan went and dwelt in that image, and he used to speak to the young man in the form of his father. But thieves went in and stole everything which the young man possessed; and he went to his father's grave weeping. And Satan spake with him, saying, "Weep not before me, but go, bring thy little son, and sacrifice him to me as a sacrifice; and everything which thou hast lost shall be restored to thee immediately." So he straightway did as Satan commanded him; and he slew his son, and bathed in his blood. Then Satan went forth from the image immediately, and entered into the young man, and taught him magic, incantation, divinations, chaldeeism, destinies, haps, and fates. And behold, from that time men began to sacrifice their children to demons and to worship idols, for the demons went in and dwelt in all the images. In the one hundredth year of Nahor, when God saw that men sacrificed their children to devils, and bowed down to idols, He opened the storehouses of the wind.' ܘܚܘܪܘܢ ܠܐܘܪ. ܒܢܐ ܠܥܒܪ ܕܒܢܗ. ܐܬܐܡܝ ܫܡܘܬܐ ܒܐܪܒܥ ܦܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܒܒܠ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܘܥܬܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܛܒ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܗܘ ܐܕܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܨܠܡܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܗ. ܘܐܘܩܡ ܠܥܠܝܡܐ ܚܕ ܕܢܛܪܝܘܗܝ. ܘܥܠ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ. ܘܡܡܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܣܛܢܐ ܥܡ ܛܠܝܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܥܠܘ ܓܢܒܐ ܘܓܢܒܘ ܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܟܕ ܒܟܐ. ܘܡܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܗܘ ܣܛܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܬܒܟܐ ܩܕܡܝ. ܐܠܐ ܙܠ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܒܪܟ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܕܒܘܚܝܗܝ ܠܝ ܕܒܚܐ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܒܕܬ ܡܬܦܢܐ ܠܟ ܡܚܕܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܚܕܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܛܢܐ. ܘܕܒܚܗ ܠܒܪܗ ܘܐܣܚܝ ܒܕܡܗ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܢܦܩ ܣܛܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܛܠܝܐ ܘܐܠܦܗ ܚܪܫܘܬܐ. ܘܠܚܫܘܬܐ. ܘܩܨܡܐ. ܘܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ. ܘܓܙܪܐ. ܘܦܓܥܐ. ܘܡܠܘܫܐ. ܘܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܪܝܘ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܡܕܒܚܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܐܕܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܦܬܟܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܠܘ ܫܐܕܐ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܨܠܡܐ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܡܐܐ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܐܕܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܦܬܟܪܐ. ܦܬܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܨܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ. ܘܦܬ̄ Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 32; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 23 *b*, col. 1, line 19 to fol. 24 *a*, col. 1, line 2.

[1] Schoenfelder, *custodiam spirituum et superorum!*

Terah was seventy years old, and begat Abraham; the sum of his years was one hundred and five years[1]. So it is two thousand two hundred and forty-two years from Adam to the flood; and one thousand and eighty-one years from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and from Adam to Abraham it is three thousand three hundred and thirteen years[2]. And know, my brother readers, that there is a great difference between the computation of Ptolemy[3] and that of the Hebrews and the Samaritans; for the Jews take away one hundred years from [מן] the beginning of the years of each (patriarch), and they add them to the end of the years of each of them, that they may disturb the reckoning and lead men astray and falsify the coming of Christ, and may say, 'The Messiah is to come at the end of the world, and in the last times;' and behold, according to their account, He came in the fourth millenium, for so it comes out by their reckoning.

CHAPTER XXIV[4].

OF THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER AND THE DIVISION OF TONGUES[5].

WHEN Reu was born in the days of Peleg, the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, together with Arphaxar and their children, were gathered together in Shinar. And they took counsel together, saying, 'Come, let us build for ourselves a high tower, the top of which shall be in the heavens, lest a flood come again upon us, and destroy us from off the face of the earth.' And they began to make bricks and to build, until (the tower) was reared a great height from the ground. Then they determined to build seventy-two other towers around it, and to set up a chief over each tower to govern those who were under his authority. God saw the weariness of their oppression and the hardness of their toil, and in His mercy had compassion upon them; for the higher they went, the more severe became their labour, and their pain went on increasing, by reason of the violence of the winds and storms and the heat of the

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[1] In the Oxford MS. 205 years.

[2] Read 3323 years. In the Oxford MS. 3330 years.

[3] I. e. the Septuagint.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvii.

[5] Gen. xi.

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luminaries and the necessity of carrying up everything they needed. And God said, 'Come, let us go down and divide the tongues there.' The expression 'Come, let us,' resembles 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' and refers to the persons of the adorable Trinity. While they were tormenting themselves with that vain labour, their language was suddenly confounded so as to become seventy-two languages, [ܡܐ] and they understood not each other's speech, and were scattered throughout the whole world, and built cities, every man with his fellow who spoke the same language. From Adam to the building of the tower, there was only one language, and that was Syriac. Some have said that it was Hebrew; but the Hebrews were not called by this name until after Abraham had crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân; and from his crossing they were called Hebrews. It was grievous to Peleg that the tongues were confounded (or, that God had confounded the tongues of mankind) in his days, and he died; and his sons Serug and Nahor buried him in the town of Pâlgîn, which he built after his name.

CHAPTER XXV[1].

OF ABRAHAM[2].

TERAH the father of Abraham took two wives; the one called Yônâ, by whom he begat Abraham; the other called Shelmath, by whom he begat Sarah. Mâr Theodore says that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's uncle, and puts the uncle in the place of the father. When Abraham was seventy-five years old, God commanded him to cross the river Euphrates and to dwell in Ḥarrân. And he took Sarah his wife and Lot his nephew, and crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân. In his eighty-sixth year his son Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian woman, the handmaid of Sarah, whom Pharaoh the king gave to her when he restored her to Abraham; and God was revealed to him under the oak of [ܡܒ] Mamre. Abraham was a hundred years old when Isaac, the son of promise, was born to him; and on the eighth day he circumcised himself, his son, and every one born in his house. When God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxviii.

[2] Gen. xii and following.

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upon the altar, He sent him for sacrifice to the special place where, according to the tradition of those worthy of belief, our Lord was crucified. After the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Kentôrah (Keturah), the daughter of Yaḳṭân, the king of the Turks. When Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer the Damascene, the servant of Abraham, went down to the town of Årâch (Erech), and betrothed Raphkâ (Rebecca), the daughter of Bethuel the Aramean, to Isaac his lord's son. And Abraham died at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years, and was laid by the side of Sarah his wife in the 'double cave[1],' which he bought from Ephron the Hittite. When Isaac was sixty years old, there were born unto him twin sons, Jacob and Esau. At that time Arbêl was built; some say that the king who built it was called Arbôl. In Isaac's sixty-sixth year Jericho was built. Esau begat Reuel; Reuel begat Zerah; Zerah begat Jobab, that is Job.

CHAPTER XXVI[2].

OF THE TEMPTATION OF JOB[3].

THERE was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. And he was a perfect, righteous and God-fearing man; and there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. The number of his possessions was seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred she-asses, and a very large train of servants. [ܦܠ] This man was the greatest of all the children of the east. His children used to go and make a feast; and the day came that his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother. There came a messenger to Job and said to him, 'The oxen were drawing the ploughs, and the she-asses were feeding by their side, when robbers fell upon them and carried them off, and the young men were slain by the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The fire of God fell from heaven and consumed the sheep and the shepherds, and burnt them up; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The Chaldeans divided themselves into three bands and fell upon the camels and carried them off, and slew the young men; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother, when there came a mighty wind and beat upon the corners of the house, and it fell upon the young people and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' Then Job stood up and rent his garment, and shaved his head; and he fell upon the ground and prostrated himself, saying, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God. And Satan smote Job with a grievous sore from the sole of his foot to his head (*lit.* brain); and Job took a potsherd to scrape himself with, and sat upon ashes. His wife says to him, 'Dost thou still hold fast by thy integrity? [ܒܪܟ] curse God and die.' Job says to her, 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh: we have received the good things of God; shall we not receive His evil things?' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God with his lips. Job's three friends heard of this evil which had come upon him, and they came to him, every man from his own land, to comfort him; and their names were these: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. When they were come, they lifted up their eyes from afar off, and they did not know him. And they lifted up their voice and wept, and each man rent his garment, and they strewed dust upon their heads towards heaven; and they sat with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word, for they saw that his blow was very sore. And when he held fast by his God, He blessed him, and gave him seven sons and three daughters; and there were not found in the whole land women more beautiful than Job's daughters, and their names were Jemima, Keren-happuch, and Kezia. And God gave him fourteen

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[1] ܡܥܪܬܐ ܐܥܦܦܬܐ. The Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic translators have all followed the LXX, τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν, in translating the Heb. אֶת־מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה. They connected the word מכפלה with √ כפל. Ibn Ezra explains it by מערה בתוך מערה, 'a cave within a cave.' ܐܥܦܦ comes from ܐܥܦܐ = ضِعْف, 'the double.'

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxix.

[3] See Job i.

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thousand sheep, six thousand camels and a thousand yoke of oxen; and Job lived one hundred and forty years after his temptation, and died in peace.

CHAPTER XXVII[1].

OF THE BLESSINGS OF ISAAC[2].

JACOB was seventy-seven years old when his father Isaac blessed him; and he stole the blessings and birthright from his brother Esau, and fled from before his brother to Ḥarrân. On the first night Jacob saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels ascending and descending, and the Power of God upon the top thereof. And he woke and said, [ܗܢܘ] 'This is the house of the Lord.' He took the stone that was under his head, and set it up for an altar; and he vowed a vow to God. Now the ladder was a type of Christ's crucifixion; the angels that were ascending and descending were a type of the angels who announced the glad tidings to the shepherds on the day of our Saviour's birth. The Power of God which was upon the top of the ladder was (a type of) the manifestation of God the Word in pure flesh of the formation of Adam. The place in which the vision appeared was a type of the church; the stone under his head, which he set up for an altar, was a type of the altar; and the oil which he poured out upon it was like the holy oil wherewith they anoint the altar.

And Jacob went to Laban the Aramean, his mother's brother, and served before him as a shepherd for fourteen years. And he took his two daughters to wife; Leah with her handmaid Zilpah, and Rachel with her handmaid Bilhah. Now he loved Rachel more than Leah, because she was the younger and was fair in aspect, while Leah had watery eyes. There were born to Jacob by Leah six sons: Rûbîl (Reuben), which is interpreted 'Great is God' (now Jacob was eighty-four years old at that time); Simeon, which is interpreted 'the Obedient;' Levi, that is 'the Perfect;' Judah, that is 'Praise;' Issachar, that is 'Hope is near;' and Zebulun, that is 'Gift' or 'Dwelling-place.' Two sons were born to him by Rachel: Joseph, that is 'Addition;' and Benjamin, that is 'Consolation.' By Zilpah two sons were born to him:

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxx.

[2] Gen. xxvii.

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Gad, that is 'Luck;' and Asher, that is 'Praise.' By Bilhah two sons were born to him: Dan, that is 'Judgment;' and Naphtali, that is 'Heartener[1];' and one daughter, whose name was Dinah[2]. After twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac; and Isaac lived one hundred and eighty [ܩܦܗ] years[3]. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up to his father, Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Midianites for twenty dînârs[4]. When Isaac died, Jacob was one hundred and twenty years old.

CHAPTER XXVIII[5].

OF JOSEPH[6].

AFTER Jacob's sons had been born to him by Leah, then Joseph and Benjamin were born to him (by Rachel); and he loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the child of (his) old age, and because of his beauty and purity, and his being left motherless. He made him a garment with long sleeves, and his brethren envied him. And he dreamed dreams twice, and their hatred increased, and they kept anger in their hearts against him. They sold him to the Midianites, who carried him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the chief of the guards; and Potiphar delivered his house and servants into his hands; but because of the wantonness of Potiphar's wife, he was bound and kept in prison for two years. When the chief cup-bearer and the chief baker dreamed dreams in one night, and Joseph interpreted them, his words actually came to pass. After Joseph had remained in bondage two years, Pharaoh the king of Egypt saw two dreams in one night; and he was troubled and disturbed, and the sorcerers and enchanters and wise men were unable to interpret his dreams. Then one of those who had been imprisoned with Joseph remembered (him), and they told Pharaoh;

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[1] The Oxford MS. omits to explain the meanings of the names of Jacob's sons.

[2] Dinah was the daughter of Leah, Gen. xxx. 21.

[3] The Oxford MS. gives 108 years.

[4] The Oxford MS. adds that Jacob and Esau buried their father in the 'double cave.'

[5] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxi. It is much amplified by long extracts from the Bible history of Joseph.

[6] Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xli–l.

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and Joseph interpreted his dreams, and Pharaoh made him king over Egypt. And Joseph gathered together and collected the corn of the seven prosperous years, and saved it for the seven years of famine. When the household of Jacob lacked bread, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn, [ܡܚ] and they met Joseph, and he recognised them, but they did not know him. After he had tortured them twice by his harsh words, he at last revealed himself to them, and shewed himself to his brethren. And he sent and brought his father Jacob and all his family—seventy-five souls in number, and they came down and dwelt in the land of Egypt two hundred and thirty years. Concerning that which God spake to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a strange land four hundred and thirty years[1];' they were under subjection in their thoughts from the time that God spake to Abraham until they went forth from Egypt. Jacob died in Egypt, and he commanded that he should be buried with his fathers; and they carried him and buried him by the side of his fathers in the land of Palestine. After Joseph died, another king arose, who knew not Joseph, and he oppressed the children of Israel with heavy labour in clay; at that time Moses was born in Egypt. Since many have written the history of the blessed Joseph at great length, and the blessed Mâr Ephraim has written his history in twelve discourses, concerning everything which happened to him from his childhood to his death, as well as another discourse upon the carrying up of his bones (to Palestine), we refrain from writing a long account of him, that we may not depart from the plan which we laid down in making this collection.

CHAPTER XXIX[2].

OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL[3].

AFTER Joseph was dead, and another king had arisen who knew not [ܡܛ] the Israelitish people, the people increased and became strong in Egypt. And Pharaoh was afraid of them, and laid a burden upon them, and oppressed them with hard work in clay, and demanded a

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[1] Gen. xv. 13, Exod. xii. 40.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxii.

[3] Exod. ii–iv.

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tale of bricks from them without giving them straw. At that time Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, was born. Levi was forty-six years old when he begat Kohath; Kohath was sixty-three years old when he begat Amram; and Amram was seventy years old when he begat Moses. When Moses was born, Pharaoh the king commanded to throw the new-born children of the Israelites into the river. Moses was beautiful in appearance, and he was called Pantîl[1] and Amlâkyâ; and the Egyptians used to call him the *Shakwîthâ*[2] of the daughter of Pharaoh. The name of Moses' mother was Yokâbâr (Jochebed). When the command of the king went forth for the drowning of the infants, she made a little ark covered with pitch, and laid the child in it; and she carried it and placed it in a shallow part of the waters of the river Nile (that is Gîḥôn); and she sat down opposite (that is, at a distance), to see what would be the end of the child. And Shîpôr[3], the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river—some say that she was called Tharmĕsîs[4]—and she saw the ark and commanded it to be fetched. When she opened it, and saw that the appearance of the child was beautiful and his complexion comely, she said, 'Verily this child is one of the Hebrews' children;' and she took him, and reared him up as her son. She sought a Hebrew nurse, and the mother of the child Moses came, and became a nurse to him; and he was reared [ܡܠ] in the house of Pharaoh until he was forty years old. One day he saw Pethkôm[1] the Egyptian, one of the servants of Pharaoh, quarrelling with an Israelite and reviling him. Moses looked this way and that way, and saw no man; and zeal entered into him, and he slew the Egyptian and buried him in the sand. Two days after, he saw two Hebrews quarrelling with one another. And he said to them, 'Ye are brethren; why quarrel ye with one another?' And one of them thrust him away from him, saying, 'Dost thou peradventure seek to kill me as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?' Then Moses feared lest Pharaoh should perceive (this) and slay him; and he fled to Midian, and sat by the well there. Now Reuel the Midianite had seven daughters, who used to come to that well and water their father's flocks; and the shepherds came and drove them away; and Moses arose and delivered them, and watered their flocks. When they went to their father, he said to them, 'Ye have come quickly to-day.' They said to him, 'An Egyptian rescued us from the hands of the shepherds, and watered the flocks also.' He said to them, 'Why did ye not bring him? Go quickly and call him hither to eat bread with us.' When Moses came to the house of Reuel and dwelt with him, Reuel loved him and gave him his daughter Zipporah the Cushite to wife. And he said to him, 'Go into the house, and take a shepherd's crook, and go feed thy flocks.' When [ܟܕ] Moses went into the house to take the rod, it drew near to him by divine agency; and he took it and went forth to feed his father-in-law's flocks.

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[1] The Oxford MS. (fol. 124 *a*) has ܘܩܪܘ ܫܡܗ ܦܢܛܝܠ ܫܡܗ ܐܠܟܘܪܘܗ. ܘܡܨܪܝܐ ܦܢܛܝܠ ܘܐܡܠܟܝܐ ܘܡܫܡܗܐ ܒܟܪܝܬܐ. ܘܩܪܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܦ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܫܟܘܬܐ. The British Museum MS. Add. 7203 (Rich), fol. 139 *a*, col. 2, explains ܦܢܛܝܠ by ܫܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܡܫܡܗܘܢ. ܗ̄. ܦܠܛܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܥܘܢ; and Bar Bahlôl (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 300 *a*, col. 2) gives ܦܢܛܝܠ ܡܢ̄. ܗ̄. ܐܣܝܘܬܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܗܘ. ܘܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܣܪܘܫܘܝ ܦܣܩ ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ثم احادة الله (sic). Compare Heb. פַּלְטִיאֵל, and see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, vol. ii, p. 212.

[2] I do not know the meaning of this word nor its correct pronunciation. The Arabic version in the Munich MS. has ܨܝܘܬ. Schoenfelder wrongly קציות.

[3] Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 374 *a*, col. 1: ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܒܪ̄ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܗܝ ܕܐܣܩܬܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܒܪ̄ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. On the margin is written ܘܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܫܬܕܝ ܒܢܗܪܐ. ܘܐܦܩܬܗ ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. 'When Moses was born, he was thrown into the river, and Shîpôr the Egyptian, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him out.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 41; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 *a*, col. 1.

[4] This looks like a corruption of the Egyptian name *Ḥet-Ḥeru-mes* or *Athor-mes*, 'born of Athor.' Bar Hebraeus (ed. Bruns, p. 14) spells her name ܬܪܡܘܬܝܣ, and says that she was the daughter of ܐܡܘܢܦܬܐܠܘܣ or ܐܡܘܢܦܬܘܣ. She was also called *Makrî;* see note 1 on next page.

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[1] ܘܗܘܐ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܛܠܗ ܠܦܬܟܘܡ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܪܒ ܢܚܬܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܡܥܬ ܗܕܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬܬ ܡܟܪܝ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܗܝ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܫܝܦܘܪ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܕܗܝ ܪܒܝܬܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܚܠ ܘܥܪܩ. 'And he was in the house of Pharaoh forty years, and then he slew Pethkôm the Egyptian, the chief baker of Pharaoh. When this was heard in the house of Pharaoh, after Makrî the daughter of Pharaoh—who was called the "Trumpet of Egypt," and who reared up Moses—was dead, he feared,' etc. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 42; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 *a*, col. 2.

CHAPTER XXX[1].

THE HISTORY OF MOSES' ROD.

WHEN Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, Adam, as if knowing that he was never to return to his place, cut off a branch from the tree of good and evil—which is the fig-tree—and took it with him and went forth; and it served him as a staff all the days of his life. After the death of Adam, his son Seth took it, for there were no weapons as yet at that time. This rod was passed on from hand to hand unto Noah, and from Noah to Shem; and it was handed down from Shem to Abraham as a blessed thing from the Paradise of God. With this rod Abraham broke the images and graven idols which his father made, and therefore God said to him, 'Get thee out of thy father's house,' etc. It was in his hand in every country as far as Egypt, and from Egypt to Palestine. Afterwards Isaac took it, and (it was handed down) from Isaac to Jacob; with it he fed the flocks of Laban the Aramean in Paddan Aram. After Jacob Judah his fourth son took it; and this is the rod which Judah gave to Tamar his daughter-in-law, with his signet ring [ܕܒܐ] and his napkin, as the hire for what he had done. From him (it came) to Pharez. At that time there were wars everywhere, and an angel took the rod, and laid it in the Cave of Treasures in the mount of Moab, until Midian was built. There was in Midian a man, upright and righteous before God, whose name was Yathrô (Jethro). When he was feeding his flock on the mountain, he found the cave and took the rod by divine agency; and with it he fed his sheep until his old age. When he gave his daughter to Moses, he said to him, 'Go in, my son, take the rod, and go forth to thy flock.' When Moses had set his foot upon the threshold of the door, an angel moved the rod, and it came out of its own free will towards Moses. And Moses took the rod, and it was with him until God spake with him on mount Sinai. When God said to him, 'Cast the rod upon the ground,' he did so, and it became a great serpent; and the Lord said, 'Take it,' and he did so, and it became a rod as at first. This is the rod which God gave him for a

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiii.

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help and a deliverance, that it might be a wonder, and that with it he might deliver Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians. By the will of the living God this rod became a serpent in Egypt. By it God spake to Moses; and it swallowed up the rod of Pôsdî the sorceress of the Egyptians. With it Moses smote the sea of Sôph in its length and breadth, and the depths congealed in the heart of the sea. It was in Moses' hands in the wilderness of Ashîmôn, and with it he smote the stony rock, and the waters flowed forth. Then God gave serpents power over the children of Israel to destroy them, [ܢܒ] because they had angered Him at the waters of strife. And Moses prayed before the Lord, and God said to him, 'Make thee a brazen serpent, and lift it up with the rod, and let the children of Israel look upon it and be healed.' Moses did as the Lord had commanded him, and he placed the brazen serpent in the sight of all the children of Israel in the wilderness; and they looked upon it and were healed. After all the children of Israel were dead, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Yôphannâ (Jephunneh), they went into the promised land, and took the rod with them, on account of the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites. And Phineas hid the rod in the desert, in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem, where it remained until our Lord Christ was born. And He, by the will of His divinity, shewed the rod to Joseph the husband of Mary, and it was in his hand when he fled to Egypt with our Lord and Mary, until he returned to Nazareth. From Joseph his son Jacob, who was surnamed the brother of our Lord, took it; and from Jacob Judas Iscariot, who was a thief, stole it. When the Jews crucified our Lord, they lacked wood for the arms of our Lord; and Judas in his wickedness gave them the rod, which became a judgment and a fall unto them, but an uprising unto many. [1]There were born to Moses two sons; the one called Gershom, which is interpreted 'sojourner;' and the other Eliezer, which is interpreted 'God hath helped me.' Fifty-two years after the birth of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun was born in Egypt[2]. When Moses was eighty years old, God spake with him upon mount Sinai. [ܢܓ] And the cry of the children of Israel went up to God by reason of the severity of the oppression of the Egyptians; and God heard their groaning, and remembered His covenants with the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom He promised that in their seed should all nations be blessed. One day when Moses was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, he and the sheep went from the wilderness to mount Horeb, the mount of God; and the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in a bush, but the bush was not burnt. Moses said, 'I will turn aside and see this wonderful thing, how it is that the fire blazes in the bush, but the bush is not burnt.' God saw that he turned aside to look, and He called to him from within the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses.' Moses said, 'Here am I, Lord.' God said to him, 'Approach not hither, for the place upon which thou standest is holy.' And God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob;' and Moses covered his face, for he was afraid to look at Him. Some say that when God spake with Moses, Moses stammered through fear. And the Lord said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of My people in Egypt, and have heard the voice of their cry, and I am come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to carry them up from that land to the land flowing with milk and honey; come, I will send thee to Egypt.' Moses said, 'Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring out those of the house of Israel from Egypt?' God said to him, 'I will be with thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'If they shall say unto me, What is the Lord's name? what shall I say unto them?' God said, 'אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, that is, [ܒ.] the Being who is the God of your fathers hath sent me to you. This is My name for ever, and this is My memorial to all generations.' God said to Moses, 'Go, tell Pharaoh everything I say to thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'My tongue is heavy and stammers; how will Pharaoh accept my word?' God said to Moses, 'Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and thy brother Aaron a prophet before thee; speak thou with Aaron, and Aaron shall speak with Pharaoh, and he shall send away the children of Israel that they may serve Me. And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and I will work My wonders in the land of Egypt, and will bring up My people the children of Israel from thence, and the Egyptians shall know that I

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiv begins here.

[2] The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

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am God.' And Moses and Aaron did everything that God had commanded them. Moses was eighty-three years old when God sent him to Egypt. And God said to him, 'If Pharaoh shall seek a sign from thee, cast thy rod upon the ground, and it shall become a serpent.' Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and threw down Moses' rod, and it became a serpent. The sorcerers of Egypt did the same[1], but Moses' rod swallowed up those of the sorcerers; and the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not send away the people. And God wrought ten signs by the hands of Moses: first, turning the waters into blood; second, bringing up frogs upon them; third, domination of the gnats; fourth, noisome creatures of all kinds; fifth, the pestilence among the cattle; sixth, the plague of boils; seventh, the coming of hail-stones; eighth, the creation of locusts; ninth, the descent of darkness; tenth, the death [ܒܢܗ] of the firstborn. When God wished to slay the firstborn of Egypt, He said to Moses, 'This day shall be to you the first of months, that is to say, Nisan and the new year. On the tenth of this month, let every man take a lamb for his house, and a lamb for the house of his father; and if they be too few in number (for a whole lamb), let him and his neighbour who is near him share it. Let the lamb be kept until the fourteenth day of this month, and let all the children of Israel slay it at sunset, and let them sprinkle its blood upon the thresholds of their houses with the sign of the cross. This blood shall be to you a sign of deliverance, and I will see (it) and rejoice in you, and Death the destroyer shall no more have dominion over you;' and Moses and Aaron told the children of Israel all these things. And the Lord commanded them not to go out from their houses until morning; for 'the Lord will pass over the Egyptians to smite their firstborn, and will see the blood upon the thresholds, and will not allow the destroyer to enter their houses.' When it was midnight, the Lord slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, from the firstborn of Pharaoh sitting upon his throne down to the last. And Pharaoh sent to Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Depart from among my people, and go, serve the

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[1] The Oxford MS. adds the names of the sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres. For accounts of them see 2 Timothy iii. 8; Abulpharagius, *Historia Dynast.*, ed. Pococke, p. 17; and Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, vol. i, p. 819.

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Lord, as ye have said; and take your goods and chattels with you.' The Egyptians also urged the children of Israel to go forth from among them, through fear of death; and the children of Israel asked chains of gold and silver and costly clothing of the Egyptians, and spoiled them; and the Lord gave them favour in the sight of the Egyptians. The children of Israel set out from Raamses to Succoth, [ܢܗ] six hundred thousand men; and when they entered Egypt in the days of Joseph, they were seventy-five souls in number. They remained in bodily and spiritual subjection four hundred and thirty years; from the day that God said to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in the land of Egypt,' from that hour they were oppressed in their minds. When the people had gone out of Egypt on the condition that they should return, and did not return, Pharaoh pursued after them to bring them back to his slavery. And they said to Moses, 'Why hast thou brought us out from Egypt? It was better for us to serve the Egyptians as slaves, and not to die here.' Moses said, 'Fear not, but see the deliverance which God will work for you to-day.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'Lift up thy rod and smite the sea, that the children of Israel may pass over as upon dry land.' And Moses smote the sea, and it was divided on this side and on that; and the children of Israel passed through the depth of the sea as upon dry land. When Pharaoh and his hosts came in after them, Moses brought his rod back over the sea, and the waters returned to their place; and all the Egyptians were drowned. And Moses bade the children of Israel to sing praises with the song 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel' (Exod. xv. 1).

The children of Israel marched through the wilderness three days, and came to the place called Murrath (Marah) from the bitterness of its waters; and the people were unable to drink that water. And they lifted up their voice and murmured against Moses, saying, 'What shall we drink?' Moses prayed before God, and took absinth-wood[1], which is bitter in its nature, and threw it into the water, and it was made sweet. There did the Lord teach them laws and judgments. [ܢܘ] And they set out from thence, and on the fifteenth of the second month, which is Îyâr, came to a place in which there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees[1]. Dâd-Îshô' says in his exposition of Paradise[2] that the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres, who once opposed Moses, lived there. There was a well in that place, and over it was a bucket and brass chain; and devils dwelt there, because that place resembled Paradise. The blessed Mâḳârîs (Macarius) visited that spot, but was unable to live there because of the wickedness of those demons; but that they might not boast over the human race, as if forsooth no one was able to live there, God commanded two anchorites, whose names no man knoweth, and they dwelt there until they died. When the children of Israel saw that wilderness, they murmured against Moses, saying, 'It were better for us to have died in Egypt, being satisfied with bread, than to come forth into this arid desert for this people to perish by hunger.' And God said to Moses, 'Behold, I will bring manna down from heaven for you; a cloud shall shade you by day from the heat of the sun, and a pillar of fire shall give light before you by night.' God said to Moses, 'Go up into this mountain, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and Nadab, and seventy chosen elders of the children of Israel, and let them worship from afar; and let Moses come near to Me by himself.' And they did as the Lord commanded them, and Moses drew near by himself, and the rest of the elders remained below at the foot of the mountain; and God gave him commandments. And Moses made known to the people the words [ܣܥܕ] of the Lord; and all the people answered with one voice and said, 'Everything that the Lord commands us we will do.' Moses took blood with a hyssop, and sprinkled it upon the people, saying to them, 'This is the blood of the covenant,' and so forth. And God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel that they set apart for Me gold and silver and brass and purple,' and the rest of the things which are mentioned in the Tôrâh, 'and let them make a tabernacle for Me.' God also shewed the construction thereof to Moses, saying, 'Let Aaron and his sons be priests to Me, and let them serve My altar and sanctuary.' God wrote ten commandments[3] on two tables of stone, and these are they. Thou shalt not make to thyself an image or a likeness; thou shalt not falsify thy oaths; keep the day of the Sabbath; honour thy father and thy mother; thou shalt not do murder; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's or brother's house; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy kinsman or neighbour, nor his servants, nor his handmaidens. When the children of Israel saw that Moses tarried on the mountain, they gathered together to Aaron and said to him, 'Arise, make us a god to go before us, for we know not what has become of thy brother Moses.' Aaron said to them, 'Bring me the earrings that are in the ears of your wives and children.' When they had brought them to him, he cast a calf from them, and said to the people, 'This is thy god, O Israel, who brought thee out of Egypt;' and they built an altar, and the children of Israel offered up sacrifice upon it. God said to Moses, 'Get thee down [ܠܟ] to the people, for they have become corrupt.' And Moses returned to the people, and in his hands were the two tablets of stone, upon which the ten commandments were written by the finger of God. When Moses saw that the people had erred, he was angry and smote the tablets upon the side of the mountain and brake them. And Moses brought the calf, and filed it with a file, and threw it into the fire, and cast its ashes into water; and he commanded the children of Israel to drink of that water. And Moses reproached Aaron for his deeds, but Aaron said, 'Thou knowest that the people is stiffnecked.' Then Moses said to the children of Levi, 'The Lord commands you that each man should slay his brother and his neighbour of those who have wrought iniquity;' and there were slain on that day three thousand men. And Moses went up to the mountain a second time, and there were with him two tables of stone instead of those which he brake. He remained on the mountain and fasted another forty days, praying and supplicating God to pardon the iniquity of the people. When he came down from the mountain with the other two tablets upon which the commandments were written, the skin of his face shone, and the children of Israel were unable to look upon his countenance by reason of the radiance and light with which it was suffused; and they were afraid of him. When he came to the people, he covered his face with a napkin; and when he spake with God, he uncovered his face. And Moses said to Ḥur, the son of his father-in-law Reuel the Midianite, 'We will go to the land

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[1] See Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 81.

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[1] I. e. Elim, Exod. xv. 27.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 49 and 99.

[3] C reads ܥܣܪܐ ܦܬܓ̈ܡܝܢ, 'ten words.'

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which God promised to give us; come with us, and we will do thee good;' but he would not, and returned to Midian. [ܣ] So the children of Israel went along the road to prepare a dwelling-place for themselves; and they lifted up their voice with a cry; and God heard and was angry, and fire went round about them and burnt up the parts round about their camps. They said to Moses, 'Our soul languishes in this wilderness, and we remember the meats of Egypt; the fishes and the cucumbers and the melons and the onions and the leeks and the garlic; and now we have nought save this manna which is before us.' Now the appearance of manna was like that of coriander seed, and they ground it, and made flat cakes of it; and its taste was like bread with oil in it. And the Lord heard the voice of the people weeping each one at the door of his tent, and it was grievous to Him. Moses prayed before the Lord and said, 'Why have I not found favour before Thee? and why hast Thou cast the weight of this people upon me? Did I beget them? Either slay me or let me find favour in Thy sight.' God said to Moses, 'Choose from the elders of the children of Israel seventy men, and gather them together to the tabernacle, and I will come down and speak with thee. And I will take of the spirit and power which is with thee and will lay it upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, and thou shalt not bear it by thyself alone;' and Moses told them. Moses gathered together seventy elders from the children of Israel, and the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake with them; and he took of the spirit and power which was with Moses and laid it upon them, and they prophesied. But two elders of the seventy whose names were written down remained in the camp and did not come; the name of the one was Eldad, and that of the other Medad; and they also prophesied in the tabernacle. A young man came and told Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, the disciple of Moses, said to him, 'My lord, restrain them.' Moses said, 'Be not jealous; [ܣܐ] would that all the children of Israel were prophets; for the Spirit of God hath come upon them.'

And Moses said to the children of Israel, 'Because ye have wept and have asked for flesh, behold the Lord will give you flesh to eat; not one day, nor two, nor five, nor ten, but a month of days shall ye eat, until it goeth out of your nostrils, and becometh nauseous to

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you[1].' Moses said (to the Lord), 'This people among whom I am is six hundred thousand men, and hast Thou promised to feed them with flesh for a month of days? If we slay sheep and oxen, it would not suffice for them; and if we collect for them (all) the fish that are in the sea, they would not satisfy them.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'The hand of the Lord shall bring (this) to pass, and behold, thou shalt see whether this happens or not.' By the command of God a wind blew and brought out quails from the sea, and they were gathered around the camp of the children of Israel about a day's journey on all sides; and they were piled upon one another to the depth of two cubits. Each of the children of Israel gathered about ten cors; and they spread them out before the doors of their tents. And the Lord was angry with them, and smote them with death, and many died; and that place was called 'the graves of lust.'

They departed from thence to the place called Ḥaṣerôth. And Aaron and Miriam lifted up themselves against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, and they said, 'Has God spoken with Moses only? Behold, He hath spoken with us also.' Now Moses was meeker than all men. And God heard the words of Miriam and Aaron, and came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, [ܦܩܒ] and called them, and they came forth to Him. The Lord said to them, 'Hear what I will say to you. I have revealed Myself to you in secret, and ye have prophesied in a dream. Not so with My servant Moses, who is trusted in everything, for with him I speak mouth to mouth.' And the Lord was angry with them, and the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle; and Miriam was a leper, and was white as snow. Aaron saw that she was a leper, and said to Moses, 'I entreat thee not to look upon our sins which we have sinned against thee.' Moses made supplication before God, saying, 'Heal her, O Lord, I entreat Thee.' God said to Moses, 'If her father had spat in her face, it would have been right for her to pass the night alone outside the camp for seven days, and then to come in.' So Miriam stayed outside the camp for seven days, and then she was purified.

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[1] The word ܐܘܦܬܪܐ or ܐܦܬܪܐ is explained in the text by ܬܘܟܡܢ, i.e. the Arabic تُخْمَة 'indigestion.'

And God said to Moses, 'Send forth spies, from every tribe a man, and let them go and search out the land of promise.' Moses chose twelve men, among whom were Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and they went and searched out the land. And they returned, carrying with them of the fruit of the land grapes and figs and pomegranates. The spies came and said, 'We have not strength to stand against them, for they are mighty men, while we are like miserable locusts in their sight.' And the children of Israel were gathered together to Moses and Aaron, and they lifted up their voice and wept with a great weeping, saying, 'Why did we not die under the hand of the Lord in the wilderness and in Egypt, and not come to this land to die with our wives and children, and to become a laughing-stock and a scorn to the nations?' [ܦܠ] Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh said to them, 'Fear not; we will go up against them, and the Lord will deliver them into our hands, and we shall inherit the land, as the Lord said to us.' The children of Israel said to one another, 'Come, let us make us a chief and return to Egypt;' and Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces before the people. And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh rent their clothes and said to the children of Israel, 'The land which we have searched out is a thriving one, flowing with milk and honey, and it is in the power of God to give it to us; do not provoke God.' And the children of Israel gathered together to stone them with stones. And God was revealed in a cloud over the tabernacle openly in the sight of the children of Israel; and He said to Moses, 'How long will these (people) provoke Me? and how long will they not believe in Me for all the wonders which I have wrought among them? Let Me smite them, and I will make thee the chief of a people stronger than they.' Moses said to the Lord, 'O Lord God Almighty, the Egyptians will hear and will say that Thou hast brought out Thy people from among them by Thy power: but when Thou smitest them, they will say, "He slew them in the desert, because He was unable to make them inherit the land which He promised them." And Thou, O Lord, who hast dwelt among this people, and they have seen Thee eye to eye, and Thy light is ever abiding with them, and Thou goest (before them) by night in a pillar of light, and dost shade them with a cloud by day, pardon

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now in Thy mercy the sins of Thy people, as Thou hast pardoned their sins from Egypt unto here.' God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel, O wicked nation, I have heard all the words which ye have spoken, and I will do unto you even as [ܣܕ] ye wish for yourselves. In this desert shall your dead bodies fall, and your families and your children, every one that knows good from evil, from twenty years old and downwards. Their children shall enter the land of promise; but ye shall not enter it, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun. Your children shall remain in this wilderness forty years, until your dead bodies decay, according to the number of the days in which ye searched out the land; for each day ye shall be requited with a year because of your sins.' And the spies who had spied out the land with Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh died at once, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh. This was very grievous to the people, and the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Behold, we are going up to the land which God promised us.' He said to them, 'God hath turned His face from you; go ye not away from your place.' And they hearkened not to Moses, but went up to the top of the mountain without Moses and the tabernacle; and the Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt there came out against them and put them to flight. God said to Moses, 'When the children of Israel enter the land of promise, let them offer as offerings fine flour and oil and wine.' Then Koraḥ the son of Zahar (Izhar), and Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, together with their families, and two hundred and fifty men, separated from the children of Israel; and they came to Moses, and made him hear them, and troubled him. And Moses fell upon his face before the Lord and said, 'To-morrow shall every one know whom God chooses. Is that which I have done for you not sufficient for you, that ye serve before the Lord, but ye must seek the priesthood also?' And Moses said unto God, [ܣܗ] 'O God, receive not their offerings.' And Moses said to them, 'Let every one of you take his censer in his hand, and place fire and incense therein;' and there stood before the Lord on that day two hundred and fifty men holding their censers. The Lord said to Moses, 'Stand aloof from the people, and I will destroy them in a moment.' And Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces, and said to the Lord, 'Wilt

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Thou destroy all these for the sake of one man who hath sinned?' God said to Moses, 'Tell the children of Israel to go away from around the tents of Koraḥ and his fellows;' and Moses said to the people everything that God had said to him; and the people kept away from the tent of Koraḥ. Then Koraḥ and his family with their wives and children came forth and stood[1] at the doors of their tents. And Moses said to them, 'If God hath sent me, let the earth open her mouth and swallow them up; but if I am come of my own desire, let them die a natural death like every man.' While the word was yet in his mouth, the earth opened, and swallowed them up, and the people that were with them, from man even unto beast; and fear fell upon their companions. The fire went forth from their censers, and burnt up the two hundred and fifty men. Moses said to Eleazar, 'Take their censers and make a casting of them, that they may be a memorial—for they have been sanctified by the fire which fell into them—that no man who is not of the family of Aaron should dare to take a censer in his hand.'

The children of Israel gathered together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'Ye have destroyed the people of the Lord.' And [ܗܘ] God said to Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle, 'Stand aloof from them, and I will destroy them in a moment.' Moses said to Aaron, 'Take a censer and put fire and incense therein, and go to the people, that God may forgive their sins, for anger has gone forth against them from before the Lord.' And Aaron put incense in a censer, and went to the people in haste, and he saw death destroying the people unsparingly; but with his censer he separated the living from the dead, and the plague was stayed from them. The number of men whom the plague destroyed at that time of the children of Israel was fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides those who died with the children of Koraḥ; and Aaron returned to Moses. And God said to Moses, 'Let the children of Israel collect from every tribe a rod, and let them write the name of the tribe upon its rod, and the name of Aaron upon (that of) the tribe of Levi, and the rod of the man whom the Lord chooseth shall blossom.' And they did as God had commanded them, and took the rods and placed them in the tabernacle that day. On the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle, and saw the rod of the house of Levi budding and bearing almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods to the children of Israel, and the sons of Levi were set apart for the service of the priesthood before the Lord.

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[1] Read ܘܩܡܘ for ܘܢܦܩܘ? as in Num. xvi. 27.

When the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Ṣîn, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron died, and they buried her. And there was no water for them to drink; and the children of Israel murmured against Moses and said, 'Would that we had all died with those who are dead already, and that we had not come hither to die with our beasts [ܦܣܐ] and our possessions! Why did the Lord bring us out from Egypt to this desert land, in which there are neither pomegranates nor grapes?' Moses and Aaron went to the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces before the Lord, and the Lord said to them, 'Gather together the children of Israel, and let Moses smite the rock with the rod, and water shall come forth and all the people shall drink;' and Moses called that water 'the water of strife.' The children of Israel gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron, and they murmured against them saying, 'Why have ye brought us out to this desert to die of thirst and hunger?' And the Lord was angry with them, and sent serpents upon them, and many of the people died by reason of the serpents. And they gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'We have sinned before God and before you.' God said to Moses, 'Make a serpent of brass, and hang it upon the top of thy rod, and set it up among the people; and let every one whom a serpent shall bite look upon the brazen serpent, and he shall live and not die.' This serpent which Moses set up is a type of the crucifixion of our Lord, as the doctor saith, 'Like the serpent which Moses set up, He set Him up also, that He might heal men of the bites of cruel demons.'

And the children of Israel came to mount Hôr, and Aaron died there; and they wept for him a month of days; and Moses put his garments upon Eleazar his son. The children of Israel began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and to bow down to their idols, and to eat of their sacrifices. The Lord was angry with them, and He commanded Moses to gather together the children of

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Israel, and to order every man to slay his fellow, and every one who should bow down to Baal Peôr, the idol of the Moabites. When they were all assembled at the door of the tabernacle, [ܦܒ] Zimri the son of Salô came and took Cosbî the daughter of Zûr, and committed fornication with her in the sight of Moses and all the people; and God smote the people with a pestilence. Then Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, the son of Aaron, arose, and thrust them through with a spear, and lifted them up upon the top of it; and the plague was stayed from that hour. This zeal was accounted unto Phinehas as a prayer, as the blessed David says[1], 'Phinehas arose and prayed, and the pestilence was stayed; and it was accounted unto him for merit from generation unto generation, even for ever.' The number of those who died at that time was twenty-four thousand men. God commanded Moses to number the people, and their number amounted to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and eighty souls. And God commanded Moses to bless Joshua the son of Nun, and to lay his hand upon him, and to set him up before Eleazar the priest and before all the children of Israel; and God gave him wisdom and knowledge and prophecy and courage, and made him ruler of the children of Israel. God commanded the children of Israel to destroy the Midianites. And (Moses) chose from each tribe a thousand men, and they went up against the Midianites and took them captive and spoiled them. And Moses told them to slay every man who had committed fornication with a Midianitish woman, and every Midianitish woman who had committed fornication with a son of Israel, except the virgins whom man had not known. God commanded Moses to set apart one-fiftieth part of the spoil for the sons of Levi, the ministers of the altar and the house of the Lord. The number of the flocks that were gathered together with the children [ܦܓ] of Israel was six hundred and seventy thousand, and seventy-two thousand oxen, and thirty-two thousand virgins. And the Lord commanded them that when they should pass over the Jordan and come to the land of promise, they should set apart three villages for a place of flight and refuge, that whosoever committed a murder involuntarily might flee thither and dwell in them until the high priest

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[1] Ps. cvi. 30.

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of that time died, when he might return to his family and the house of his fathers. God laid down for them laws and commandments, and these are they. A man shall not clothe himself in a woman's garments, neither shall a woman clothe herself in those of a man[1]. If one sees a bird's nest, he shall drive away the mother, and then take the young ones[2]. A man shall make a fence and an enclosure to his roof, lest any one fall therefrom, and his blood be required of him[3]. Let him that hath a rebellious son, bring him out before the elders, and let them reprimand him; if he turn from his (evil) habit, (good and well); but if not, let him be stoned[4]. One that is crucified shall not pass the night upon his cross[5]. He that blasphemes God shall be slain[6]. The man that lies with a betrothed woman shall be slain. If she is not betrothed, he shall give her father five hundred dînârs, and take her to wife[7]. And the other commandments.

And Moses gathered together the children of Israel and said to them, 'Behold, I am a hundred and twenty years old, no more strength abideth in me; and God hath said to me, Thou shalt not pass over this river Jordan.' And he called Joshua the son of Nun and said to him in the sight of all the people, 'Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt bring this people into the land of promise. Fear not [ܡܢ] the nations that are in it, for God will deliver them into thy hands, and thou shalt inherit their cities and villages, and shalt destroy them[8].'

And Moses wrote down laws and judgements and orders, and gave them into the hands of the priests, the children of Levi. He commanded them that, when they crossed over to the land of promise, they should make a feast of tabernacles and should read aloud these commandments before all the people, men and women; that they might hear and fear the Lord their God[9]. And God said to Moses, 'Behold thou art going the way of thy fathers; call Joshua the son of Nun, thy disciple, and make him stand in the tabernacle, and command him to be diligent for the government of this people; for I know that after thy death they will turn aside from the way of truth, and will worship

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[1] Deut. xxii. 5.
[2] Deut. xxii. 6.
[3] Deut. xxii. 7.
[4] Deut. xxi. 18–20.
[5] Deut. xxi. 23.
[6] Lev. xxiv. 16.
[7] Deut. xxii. 26–29.
[8] Deut. xxxi. 1–7.
[9] Deut. xvi. 13.

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idols, and I will turn away My face from them[1].' And God said to Moses, 'Get thee up into this mountain of the Amorites which is called Nebo, and see the land of Canaan, and be gathered to thy fathers, even as Aaron thy brother died on mount Hôr.' So Moses died there and was buried, and no man knoweth his grave[2]; for God hid him, that the children of Israel might not go astray and worship him as God. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; his sight had not diminished, neither was the complexion of his face changed. And the children of Israel wept for him a month of days in Arbôth Moab.

From Adam then until the death of Moses was three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight years[3].

When the number of the children of Israel was reckoned up, it amounted to eight hundred thousand, and that of the house of Judah to five hundred thousand. In the Book of Chronicles it is written, 'The children of Israel were a thousand thousand, one hundred thousand and one hundred[4] men; and the house of Judah was four hundred [ܐܠܦ] thousand and seven hundred men[5] that drew sword.' Now when they came out of Egypt, they were six hundred thousand[6]; and when they entered Egypt, they were seventy and five souls[7].

CHAPTER XXXI[8].

OF JOSHUA THE SON OF NUN, AND BRIEF NOTICES OF THE YEARS OF THE JUDGES AND THE KINGS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.

AFTER Moses was dead, God said to Joshua the son of Nun, 'Moses My servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them. Every place upon which ye tread shall be yours[1].' So Joshua the son of Nun gathered the people together, and passed over Jordan. Jordan was divided on this side and on that, and the children of Israel passed over as upon dry ground, even as their fathers passed through the sea of Sôph, when they went forth from Egypt[2]. And they took twelve stones from the midst of Jordan, as a memorial for those after them[3]. And they took Jericho, and destroyed it[4]; and Joshua the son of Nun slew thirty-one kings of the foreign nations, and divided the land among them, and he brake their idols and images. These are the names of the kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed[5]. The king of Jericho, the king of Ai, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Hormah, the king of Geder, the king of Arad[6], the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam[7], [ܚܕ] the king of Makkedah[8], the king of Bethel, the king of Tappuah, the king of Hepher, the king of Aphek, the king of Lashsharon[9]; the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron[10], the king of Achshaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo[11], the king of Reḳam (Kadesh), the king of Jokneam[12], the king of Dor and Naphath-Dor, the king of Goiim[13], the king of Tirzah[14].

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[1] Deut. xxxi. 14–16. [2] Deut. xxxiv. 6. [3] Oxford MS. 3860 years.

[4] ܘܡܐܐ appears to be superfluous, and is omitted by the Oxford MS. See 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

[5] We should read ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ, as in 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

[6] Exod. xii. 37.

[7] Seventy souls according to Gen. xlvi. 27; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22.

[8] In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxv.

And as we do not intend to write a complete history of the kings and judges, but only to collect a few matters which may serve for the consolation of the feeble in a time of despondency, behold we pass over them with brief notices. If however any one seeks to know these (things), let him read in the Tôrah and in the Bêth-Mautĕbhê[15], whence he will understand clearly. Moses ruled the people in the desert forty

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[1] Josh. i. 2–3. [2] Exod. xiv. 21, 22. [3] Josh. iv. 3. [4] Josh. vi. 21.

[5] Josh. xii. 9–24. [6] Syr. *Adar.* [7] Syr. *Arlam.* [8] Syr. *Maḳar.*

[9] Syr. *Neshrôn.* [10] Syr. *Shâmrîn*, Samaria. [11] Syr. *Magdôl.*

[12] Syr. *Neḳem'am* or *Naḳ'âm.* [13] Syr. *'Umḳâ.*

[14] The Oxford MS. omits the names of these kings.

[15] In the Oxford MS. 'in the book of Kings.' The term ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ properly includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, the Song of Songs, and Job. See Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 103, col. 1, note †.

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years[1]. Joshua ruled the people twenty-five years[2]. Judah was ruler of the people forty-eight years[3]. Eglon king of Moab[4] oppressed the people eighteen years. Ahôr (Ehûd) was ruler of the people eighty years[5]. Nâbîn (Jabin) oppressed Israel twenty years[6]. Deborah and Barak were rulers of the people forty years[7]. The Midianites oppressed Israel seven years[8]. Gideon was ruler of the people forty years[9]. He had seventy sons, who rode with him upon seventy ass colts[10]. Abimelech the son [ܒܠܐ] of Gideon was ruler of the people sixty years[11]. Tola the son of Puah was ruler of the people twenty-three years[12]. Jair was ruler of the people twenty-two years[13]. The Philistines and Ammonites oppressed the people eighteen years[14]. Naphthah (Jephthah) was ruler of the people six years[15]. He vowed a vow to the Lord and said, 'Whatsoever cometh forth to meet me from my house, I will offer up as an offering to the Lord.' And his only daughter came forth, and he offered her up as an offering to the Lord. Abîzan (Ibzan) was ruler of the people seven years[16]. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters; he sent out the thirty daughters and brought in thirty daughters-in-law. Elon was a ruler of the people ten years[17]. Acrôn (Abdon) was ruler of the people eight years[18]. The

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[1] Deut. xxix. 5.

[2] Josh. xxiv. 29. Josephus, *Antiq.*, v. 1, gives twenty-nine years. Eusebius and Andronicus, twenty years; the *Auṣar Râzê* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 *a*) twenty-seven years.

[3] Bar Hebraeus says that the elders of the people ruled after Joshua, but no number of years is given; his list of the Judges is much fuller, but their years do not agree with those given in this chapter. In Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 *a*, after Joshua, there follows Chushan the wicked, eight years; Othniel, forty years; the Moabites, eighteen years; and Ahôr or Ehud comes next.

[4] Judg. iii. 14. The Oxford MS. has 'Og, king of the Moabites.'

[5] Judg. iii. 30.

[6] Judg. iv. 3.

[7] Judg. v. 31.

[8] Judg. vi. 1. The Oxford MS. gives seventy years.

[9] Judg. viii. 28.

[10] Solomon has here confused Abdon with Gideon; see Judg. xii. 14.

[11] We should probably read 'three years,' ܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. See Judg. ix. 22.

[12] Judg. x. 2.

[13] Judg. x. 3.

[14] Judg. x. 8.

[15] Judg. xii. 7.

[16] Judg. xii. 9.

[17] Judg. xii. 11.

[18] Judg. xii. 14. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Abdon. Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*, has ܥܒܕܘܢ ܕܗܘ ܥܒܕܘܢ.

Philistines oppressed Israel forty years[1]. Samson was ruler of the people twenty years[2]. He slew a thousand men with the jawbone of a dead ass. Eli was ruler of the people forty years[3]. From Eli, the ark was in the house of Abinadab twenty years[4]. Samuel was ruler of the people thirty years[5]. Saul was ruler of the people forty[6] years. These years of the Judges (*lit.* rulers) amount to six hundred and fifty-five[7]. King David reigned forty years[8]. Solomon reigned forty years[9]. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years[10]. Abijah reigned three years[11]. Asa reigned forty-one years[12]. Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years[13]. Joram reigned eight [ܬܡܢܐ.] years[14]. Ahaziah reigned one year[15]. Athaliah reigned six years[16]. Joash reigned forty years[17]. Amaziah reigned twenty-three years[18]. Uzziah reigned fifty-two years[19]. Jotham reigned sixteen years[20]. Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years[21]. He prayed before God, and fifteen years were added to his life; and he held back the sun and the moon in their course. Manasseh reigned fifty-five years[22]. He sawed Isaiah with a wooden saw and killed him. Amon reigned two years[23]. Josiah reigned thirty-one years[24]. Jehoahaz reigned three months[25]. Jehoiakim reigned eleven years[26]. Jehoiachin reigned one hundred

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[1] Judg. xiii. 1.

[2] Judg. xv. 20. The Oxford MS. gives 'forty years.' After Samson, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*, has ܕܠܐ ܕܝܢ̈ܐ ܝܒ, 'without Judges, twelve years.'

[3] 1 Sam. iv. 18.

[4] 1 Sam. vii. 2.

[5] Twenty years, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 *a*.

[6] So Eusebius, but Anianus gives twenty years.

[7] The numbers here given amount to 642 years.

[8] 1 Kings ii. 11.

[9] 1 Kings xi. 42.

[10] 1 Kings xiv. 21.

[11] 1 Kings xv. 2.

[12] 1 Kings xv. 10.

[13] 1 Kings xxii. 42.

[14] 2 Kings viii. 17. Jehoram is omitted by the Oxford MS.

[15] 2 Kings viii. 26.

[16] 2 Kings xi. 3.

[17] 2 Kings xii. 1. Joash is omitted by the Oxford MS.

[18] Twenty-nine years, 2 Kings xiv. 2.

[19] 2 Kings xv. 2.

[20] 2 Kings xv. 33. Ahaz the son of Jotham also reigned sixteen years (2 Kings xvi. 2); the length of the reigns of the father and son being the same is no doubt the cause why the latter is omitted in all the MSS.

[21] 2 Kings xviii. 2.

[22] 2 Kings xxi. 1.

[23] 2 Kings xxi. 19.

[24] 2 Kings xxii. 1.

[25] 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

[26] 2 Kings xxiii. 36.

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days[1]. Zedekiah reigned eleven years[2]. These years of the kings amount to four hundred and fifty-five years, six months, and ten days[3].

CHAPTER XXXII[4].

OF THE DEATH OF THE PROPHETS; HOW THEY DIED, AND (WHERE) EACH ONE OF THEM WAS BURIED[5].

MANASSEH the son of Hezekiah slew Isaiah with a wooden saw; he was buried before the outfall of the waters which Hezekiah concealed by the side of Siloah[6].

Hosea the son of Beeri, of the tribe of Issachar, (was) from the town of Beʿelmâth. He prophesied mystically about our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come; saying that when He should be born, the oak in Shiloh should be divided into twelve [ܒܗ] parts; and that He should take twelve disciples of Israel. He died in peace, and was buried in his own land.

Joel the son of Bethuel (Pethuel), of the tribe of Reuben, died in peace in his own land. Others say that Ahaziah the son of Amaziah smote him with a staff upon his head; and while his life was yet in him, they brought him to his own land[7], and after two days he died.

Amos (was) from the land of Tekoa. The priest of Bethel tortured him and afterwards slew him. Others say that it was he whom Ahaziah the son of Amaziah[8] killed with a staff, and he died.

Obadiah from the country of Shechem was the captain of fifty of

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[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 8, 'three months.'

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 18. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Jehoiachin, and gives the name of Zedekiah without the length of his reign.

[3] The numbers here given amount to 451 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

[4] Chap. xxxi (sic) in the Oxford MS.

[5] See Epiphanius, *De Prophetarum Vitis*, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, *Ser. Gr.*, t. 43, cols. 415–427.

[6] Rather obscure; ܛܡܪ signifies 'he hid, concealed, buried;' possibly the meaning may be 'brought by an underground tunnel.'

[7] Schoenfelder, *eum in terram projecerunt.*

[8] Epiphanius says that Amaziah slew him.

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Ahab's soldiers. He became a disciple of Elijah, and endured many evil things from Ahab, because he forsook him and went after Elijah. However he died in peace. After he followed Elijah, he was deemed worthy of prophecy[1].

Elijah the fiery, of the family of Aaron, (was) from Tashbî[2], a town of the Levites. When this (prophet) was born, his father saw in a dream that one was born, and that they wrapped him in fire instead of swaddling bands, and gave him some of that fire to eat. He came to Jerusalem, and told the priests the vision that he had seen. The learned among the people said to him, 'Fear not, thy son is about to be a fire, and his word shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground; he will burn like fire with jealousy of sinners, and his zeal will be accepted before God.' He was taken up in a chariot towards heaven. Some say that his father was called Shôbâkh[3]. [ܒܘ]

Elisha his pupil, from Ăbêl-Mĕhôlâh, (was) of the tribe of Reuben. On the day of his birth a great wonder took place in Israel; for the bull[4] which they worshipped in Gilgal lowed, and his voice was heard in Jerusalem. The chief priests in Jerusalem said, 'A mighty prophet is born to-day in Israel at this time, and he will break the images and idols to pieces.' He died in peace, and was buried in Samaria.

Jonah the son of Amittai[5] (was) from Gath-hepher[6], from Kûryath-Âdâmôs[7], which is near to Ascalon and Gaza and the sea coast. After this (prophet) had prophesied to the Ninevites in the time of Sardânâ[8]

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[1] Solomon here follows the tradition adopted by Jerome and Ephraim Syrus, and maintained by Kimchi and Abarbanel. He is supposed to have been the captain of the third fifty of soldiers sent by Ahab against Elijah. See 2 Kings i. 13.

[2] Or Tishbeh. Epiphanius, 'from the land of the Arabs.'

[3] Elijah is called 'the son of Shôbâkh' in the Oxford MS. Epiphanius, Σοβάχ.

[4] Epiphanius, 'the golden heifer.'

[5] In the Syriac, *Yaunân the son of Mattai.*

[6] Gath-hepher in the tribe of Zebulun, 2 Kings xiv. 25.

[7] Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Καριαθαμαούμ. A variant has Καριαθιαρίμ (Kirjath-jearim).

[8] Or Surdânôs, ܣܘܪܕܢܘܣ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, note 369, page 43. The only son of Sennacherib whose name can be compared with this is *Assur-nadin-sumi.*

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the king, he did not remain in his own land because the Jews were jealous of him; but he took his mother, and went and dwelt in Assyria. He feared the reproach of the Jews, because he had prophesied, and his prophecy did not come to pass. He also rebuked Ahab the king, and called a famine upon the land and the people. He came to the widow of Elijah, and blessed her, because she received him, and he returned to Judaea. His mother died on the way, and he buried her by the side of Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Serîdâ, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon, and was buried in the cave of Ḳainân[1]. This (prophet) prophesied that when the Messiah should come, the cities of the Jews would be overturned.

Micah the Morashthite (was) of the tribe of Ephraim, and was slain by Joram the son of Ahab. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the destruction of the temple of the Jews, and the abrogation [ܒܛܠ] of the Passover on the death of the Messiah. He died in peace, and was buried in Anikâm.

Nahum, from the city of Elḳôsh, (was) of the tribe of Simeon. After the death of Jonah this (prophet) prophesied concerning the Ninevites, saying, 'Nineveh shall perish by perpetually advancing waters, and ascending fire;' and this actually took place. He prophesied also concerning the Babylonians, that they would come against the Israelitish people; and therefore they sought to kill him. He prophesied that when the Messiah should be slain, the vail of the temple should be rent in twain[2], and that the Holy Spirit should depart from it. He died in peace, and was buried in his own country.

Habakkuk (was) of the tribe of Simeon, and from the land of Ṣûâr (Zoar)[3]. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should come, and abrogate the laws of the Jews. He brought food to Daniel at Babylon by the divine (or, angelic) agency. The Jews stoned him in Jerusalem.

Zephaniah (was) of the tribe of Simeon. He prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should suffer, and that the sun should become dark, and the moon be hidden. He died in peace in his own land.

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[1] Epiphanius, Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῇ Σαὰρ, ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καινεζεοῦ.

[2] Epiphanius attributes this prophecy to Habakkuk.

[3] Epiphanius, ἐξ ἀγροῦ Βηθοχήρ. A variant has Βιδζεχάρ.

Haggai returned from Babylon to Jerusalem when he was young. He prophesied that the people would return, and concerning the Messiah, that He would abrogate the sacrifices of the Jews. He died in peace.

Zechariah the son of Jehoiada returned from Babylon in his old age, and wrought wonders among the people. He died at a great age, and was buried by the side of the grave of Haggai.

Malachi was born after the return of the people, and because of his beauty he was surnamed 'Angel.' He died in peace in his own land. [ܥܚ]

The Jews stoned Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah in Egypt, because he rebuked them for worshipping idols; and the Egyptians buried him by the side of Pharaoh's palace. The Egyptians loved him much, because he prayed and the beasts died which used to come up from the river Nile and devour men. These beasts were called 'crocodiles[1].' When Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian, came (to Egypt), he made enquiries about his grave, and took and brought him to Alexandria. This (prophet) during his life said to the Egyptians, 'a child shall be born—that is the Messiah—of a virgin, and He shall be laid in a crib[2], and He will shake and cast down the idols.' From that time, and until Christ was born, the Egyptians used to set a virgin and a baby in a crib, and to worship him, because of what Jeremiah said to them, that He should be born in a crib.

Ezekiel the son of Buzi was of the priestly tribe, and from the land of Serîdâ[3]. The chief of the Jews who was in the land of the Chaldeans slew him, because he rebuked him for worshipping idols. He was buried in the grave of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.

Daniel (was) of the tribe of Judah, and was born in Upper Beth-Horon. He was a man who kept himself from women, and hence the Jews thought that he was an eunuch, for his face was different (from that

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[1] Read ܩܪܘܩܘܕܝܠܘ, κροκόδειλοι.

[2] See Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus*, *Ser. Gr.*, t. 43, col. 421; and the chapter on the going down of our Lord into Egypt.

[3] Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Σαρηρά.

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of other men), and he had no children. He prayed for the Babylonians, and died in Elam, in the city of the Hôzâyê[1], and was buried in Shôshan the fortress. He prophesied concerning the return of the people.

Ahijah (was) from Shilo. A lion slew this prophet, and he was buried by the oak at Shilo in Samaria. [ܫܠܡ]

Ezra the scribe was from the country of Sâbthâ[2], and of the tribe of Judah. This (prophet) brought back the people, and died in peace in his own land.

Zechariah the son of Berachiah, the priest, was from Jerusalem. Joash the king slew this (prophet) between the steps[3] and the altar, and sprinkled his blood upon the horns of the altar, and the priests buried him. From that day God forsook the temple, and angels were never again seen in it.

Simon the son of Sîrâ (Sirach) died in peace in his own town.

Nathan died in peace.

Here ends the first part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee.'

To God be the glory, and may His mercy and compassion be upon us. Amen.

Again, by the Divine power, we write the second part of the book of gleanings called 'the Bee,' regarding the Divine dispensation which was wrought in the new (covenant).

CHAPTER XXXIII[4].

OF THE MESSIANIC GENERATIONS[5].

GOD created Adam. Adam begat Seth. Seth begat Enos. Enos begat Ḳainân. Ḳainân begat Mahalaleel. Mahalaleel begat Jared.

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[1] In Arabic الأَهْواز *al-Ahwâz*, now خوزستان *Khûẓistân*.

[2] Epiphanius, *ἐκ γῆς Συνβαθά*.

[3] Bar Bahlûl (Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 343 *b*, col. 1) explains this word thus: ܡܣܩܬܐ, ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܣܪܘܫܘܝ. ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܥܩܒܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܝ ܕܒܝܢܝ ܡܬܒܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ (sic) ܕܪ̈ܓܐ i. e. 'according to Bar Sarôshwai they were two balustrades (or banisters), between which the steps were built.' Another lexicon, Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 159 *a*, col. 2, says: ܡܣܩܬܐ المَصْطَبَة التى قُدّامَ بابِ المَذْبَح, 'the raised platform (or dais) which is before the door of the altar.'

[4] Chap. xxxvii in the Oxford MS.

[5] See Gen. v, Matt. i, and Luke iii. 23–38.

Jared begat Enoch. Enoch begat Methuselah. Methuselah begat Lamech. Lamech begat Noah. Noah begat Shem. Shem begat Arphaxar. Arphaxar begat Ḳainân. Ḳainân begat Shâlâch. Shâlâch begat Eber. Eber begat Peleg. Peleg begat Reu. Reu begat Serug. Serug begat Nahor. Nahor begat Terah. [ܦ] Terah begat Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac. Isaac begat Jacob. Jacob begat Judah. Judah took a Canaanitish wife, whose name was Shuah. And it was very grievous to Jacob, and he said to Judah, 'The God of my fathers will not allow the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our seed, nor his family with our family.' There were born to Judah by the Canaanitish woman three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er took Tamar, the daughter of Merari the son of Levi, to wife, and he lay with her in the Sodomite way and died without children. After him his brother Onan took her, to raise up seed to his brother; he also, when he lay with her, scattered his seed outside of her on the ground, and he too died without children. Because Shelah was a child, Judah kept his daughter-in-law in widowhood, that he might give her to Shelah to raise up seed by her. But Tamar went into her father-in-law by crafty devices, and lay with him, and conceived, and gave birth to twins, Pharez and Zarah. Pharez begat Hezron. Hezron begat Aram. Aram begat Amminadab. Amminadab begat Nahshon. Eleazar the son of Aaron, the priest, took the sister of Nahshon to wife, and by her begat Phinehas; and the seed of the priesthood was mingled with the royal line[1]. Nahshon begat Salmon. Salmon begat Boaz by Rahab. Boaz begat Obed by Ruth the Moabitess. Obed begat Jesse. Jesse begat David the king by Nahash.

[ܦܐ] Now two genealogies are handed down from David to Christ; the one from Solomon to Jacob[2], and the other from Nathan to Heli[3]. David begat Solomon. Solomon begat Rehoboam. Rehoboam begat Abijah. Abijah begat Asa. Asa begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat begat Joram. Joram begat Uzziah. Uzziah begat Jotham. Jotham begat Ahaz. Ahaz begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah begat Manasseh.

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[1] This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS., as well as several names from the genealogies.

[2] Matt. i. 6–16.

[3] Luke iii. 23–31.

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Manasseh begat Amon. Amon begat Josiah. Josiah begat Jeconiah. Jeconiah begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zerubbabel. Zerubbabel begat Abiud. Abiud begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Azor. Azor begat Zadok. Zadok begat Achin. Achin begat Eliud. Eliud begat Eleazar. Eleazar begat Matthan. Matthan begat Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph.

Or again: David begat Nathan. Nathan begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Mani. Mani begat Melea. Melea begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Jonam. Jonam begat Levi[1]. Levi begat Mattîtha. Mattîtha begat Jorim. Jorim begat Eliezer. Eliezer begat Jose. Jose begat Er. Er begat Elmodad. Elmodad begat Cosam. Cosam begat Addi. Addi begat Melchi. Melchi begat Neri. Neri begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zorobabel. Zorobabel begat Rhesa. Rhesa begat Johannan. Johannan begat Juda. Juda begat Joseph. Joseph begat Semei. Semei begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Maath. Maath begat Nagge. [ܦܕ] Nagge begat Esli. Esli begat Nahum. Nahum begat Amos. Amos begat Mattîtha. Mattîtha begat Joseph. Joseph begat Janni. Janni begat Melchi. Melchi begat Levi. Levi begat Matthat. Matthat begat Heli. Heli begat Joseph.

Know too, O my brother, that Mattan the son of Eliezer—whose descent was from the family of Solomon—took a wife whose name was Astha (or Essetha) and by her begat Jacob naturally. Mattan died, and Melchi—whose family descended from Nathan the son of David—took her to wife, and begat by her Eli (or Heli); hence Jacob and Heli are brothers, (the sons) of (one) mother. Eli took a wife and died without children. Then Jacob took her to wife, to raise up seed to his brother, according to the command of the law; and he begat by her Joseph, who was the son of Jacob according to nature, but the son of Heli according to the law; so whichever ye choose, whether according to nature, or according to the law, Christ is found to be the son of David. It is moreover right to know that Eliezer begat two sons, Mattan and Jotham. Mattan begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph; Jotham begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Mary. From this it is clear that Joseph's father and Mary's father were cousins.

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[1] Joseph, Juda, and Simeon should follow here. See Luke iii. 29, 30.

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CHAPTER XXXIV[1].

OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE ANGEL TO YÔNÂKÎR (JOACHIM) IN RESPECT OF MARY.

THIS Zadok, who was called Yônâkîr, and Dinah his wife were righteous before God, and were rich in earthly riches [ܘܠܐ] and in goods and chattels; but they had neither fruit nor offspring like other people[2]. They were reproached by the people for their barrenness, and they did not allow them to offer up the offering except after every one else, because they had no children among the people of Israel. And Yônâkîr went out into the desert, and pitched his tent outside the encampment, and he prayed before God with mournful tears, and put on garments of mourning; so also did Dinah his wife. And God heard their prayers and accepted the sacrifices of their tears. The angel of God came to them, and announced to them the conception of Mary, saying, 'Your prayer has been heard before God, and behold, He will give you blessed fruit, a daughter who shall be a sign and a wonder among all the generations of the world; and all families shall be blessed through her.' Then they two praised God, and Zadok returned to his habitation. And Dinah his wife conceived, and brought forth Mary; and from that day she was called Hannah (Anna) instead of Dinah, for the Lord had had compassion upon her. Now the name 'Mary' (Maryam or Miriam) is interpreted 'lifted up,' 'exalted;' and they rejoiced in her exceedingly. And after six months her parents said to one another, 'We will not allow her to walk upon the ground[3];'

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[1] Chap. xxxviii in the Oxford MS.

[2] See William Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 8vo, London, 1820, Protevangelion and Mary; Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, p. 1; Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 3, 29, and 84 foll.; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 53 foll.; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiae, 1832, t. i, pp. 162 foll. For a list of other works on the Apocryphal Gospels, see Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, col. 962.

[3] Then her mother caught her up and said, 'As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk again on this earth till I bring thee into the temple of the Lord.' Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Mary, chap. vi. 2.

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and they carried her with sacrifices and offerings, and brought her to the temple of the Lord. And they sacrificed oxen and sheep to the Lord, and offered Mary to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, saying, 'Blessed shalt thou be among women.' Two years after she was weaned, they brought her to the temple of the Lord, even as they had vowed to the Lord, and delivered her to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, and said to her [ܦܩܕ] that she should give herself over to the aged women who were there. And she was brought up with the virgins in the temple of the Lord, and performed the service of the temple with joyful heart and godly fervour until she was twelve years old. Because she was beautiful in appearance, the priests and the high priest took counsel and prayed before God that He would reveal to them what they should do with her[1]. And the angel of God appeared unto the high priest and said to him, 'Gather together the staves of the men who have been left widowers by their first wives, and are well known for piety, uprightness, and righteousness, and what God sheweth thee, do.' And they brought many staves and laid them down in the temple; and they prayed before God that day and its night. The chief priest went into the temple and gave to each of them his staff, and when Joseph took his staff in his hand, there went forth from it a white dove, and hovered over the top of the rod, and sat upon it. The chief priest drew near to Joseph and kissed him on his head, and said to him, 'The blessed maiden has fallen to thy lot from the Lord; take her to thee until she arrives at the age for marriage, and (then) make a marriage feast after the manner and custom of men; for it is meet for thee (to do so) more than others, because ye are cousins.' Joseph said to the chief priest, 'I am an old and feeble man, and this is a girl, and unfit for my aged condition; it is better to give her to one of her own age, because I cannot rely upon myself to watch her and guard her.' The chief priest said to him, 'Take heed that thou dost not transgress [ܦܡ] the command of God, and bring a punishment upon thee.' So Joseph took Mary, and went to his dwelling-place.

[2]Some days after the priests distributed various coloured silken

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[1] Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, chap. viii. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

threads to weave for the veil of the sanctuary; and it fell to Mary's lot to weave purple. And while she was in the temple in prayer, having placed incense before the Lord, suddenly the archangel Gabriel appeared to her in the form of a middle-aged man, and a sweet odour was diffused from him; and Mary was terrified at the sight of the angel.

CHAPTER XXXV[1].

OF THE ANNUNCIATION BY GABRIEL TO MARY OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LORD.

AT the ninth hour of the first day of the week, on the twenty-fifth of the month of Adar,—though some say on the first day of the month of Nisan, which is correct,—in the three hundred and seventh year of Alexander the son of Philip, or of Nectanebus[2], the Macedonian, six months after Elizabeth's conception of John, the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary and said to her, 'Peace be to thee, O full of grace! our Lord is with thee, O blessed among women!' As for her, when she saw (him), she was terrified at his words, and was thinking what this salutation was. The angel said to her, 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive [ܒܗ] and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, "our God is with us." This (child) shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.' Mary said to the angel, 'Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to thy word.' And the angel went away from her. In those days Mary arose, and went to Elizabeth her cousin, and she went in and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard Mary's salutation, the babe leaped in her womb, and John in Elizabeth's womb bowed down to our Lord in Mary's womb, as a servant to his master. Mary remained with Elizabeth about three months, and then returned to her house. After the lapse of six months, Joseph saw that Mary had conceived, and he was troubled in his mind, and said, 'What answer shall I give to the high priest in respect of this trial which has befallen me?' And because he relied upon the purity of his spouse, he fell into perplexity and doubt, and said to her, 'Whence hast thou this? and who has beguiled thee, O perfect dove? Wast thou not brought up with the pure virgins and venerable matrons in the temple of the Lord?' And she wept, saying, 'As the Lord God liveth, I have never known man nor had connexion with any one;' but she did not speak to him of the angel and the cause of her conception. Then Joseph meditated within himself and said, 'If I reveal this matter before men, I fear lest it may be from God; and if I keep it back and hide it, I fear the rebuke and penalty of the law.' For the Jews did not approach their wives until they made [ܡܐ] a feast to the high priest, and then they took them. And Joseph thought that he would put her away secretly; and while he was pondering these things in his heart, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife; for that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit.' He spake well when he said 'in her,' and not 'of her.'

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[1] Chap. xxxix in the Oxford MS.

[2] In the MS. *Niḳṭîbûs*.

And the priests heard of Mary's conception, and they made an accusation against Joseph, as if deceit had been found in him. Joseph said, 'As the Lord liveth, I know not the cause of her conception;' and Mary likewise swore this. There was a custom among the Jews that, when any one of them was accused with an accusation, they made him drink 'the water of trial[1];' if he were innocent, he was not hurt, but if he were guilty, his belly swelled, and his body became swollen, and the mark of chastisement appeared in him. When they had made Mary and Joseph drink of the water of trial, and they were not hurt, the high priest commanded Joseph to guard her diligently until they saw the end of this matter[2].

CHAPTER XXXVI[3].

OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD IN THE FLESH.

ONE year before the annunciation of our Lord, the emperor of the Romans sent to the land of Palestine Cyrinus[4] the governor, to write down every one for the poll-tax, for the Jews were subject to the empire of the Romans; and every man was written down in his city. And [ܦܣܩ] Joseph the carpenter also went up that he might be written down in his city; and by reason of his exceeding great watchfulness for the blessed (Mary), he took her with him upon an ass. When they had gone about three miles, Joseph looked at her and saw that her hand was laid upon her belly, and that her face was contracted with pain; and he thought that she was troubled by the beast, and asked her about her trouble and pain. She said to him, 'Hasten and prepare a place for me to alight, for the pains of childbirth have taken hold upon me.' When he had lifted her down from the animal, he went to fetch a midwife, and found a Hebrew woman whose name was Salome[1]. The heretics say that she was called Ḥadyôk, but they err from the truth. When Joseph came to the cave, he found it full of brilliant light, and the child wrapped in swaddling clothes and rags, and laid in a crib. And there were shepherds there keeping watch over their flocks, and behold the angel of God came to them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they feared with an exceeding great fear. The angel said to them, 'Fear not, for behold, I announce to you a great joy which shall be to all the world; for there is born to you this day a Redeemer, who is the Lord Jesus, in the city [ܦܠ] of David: and this shall be the sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a crib.' And suddenly with the angel there appeared many hosts of heaven, praising God and saying, 'Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace and tranquillity and good hope to men.' And the shepherds went and entered the cave, and they saw as the angel had said to them. The names of the shepherds were these: Asher, Zebulon, Justus, Nicodemus, Joseph, Barshabba, and Jose; seven in number.

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[1] Num. v. 18.

[2] See Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Protevangelion, chap. xi; Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 48; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, p. 372; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 72.

[3] Chap. xl in the Oxford MS.

[4] Luke ii. 1–2. The name is written in the MSS. of 'the Bee' Κυρῖνος = Quirinus.

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[1] The extract from the History of the Virgin runs as follows: 'When they drew near to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph, "The day of giving birth has come, and the birth-pains will not allow me to reach the city; let us enter this cave, for my womb ......" When she had gone into the cave, Joseph ran to call a woman to be with her. And lo, while he was running, there met him an old Samaritan woman, who was travelling from Jerusalem to go to Bethlehem. Joseph said to her, "Come, O blessed matron, and go into this cave, where there is a woman giving birth to a child." When the old woman came, Joseph was mixing for her ......, and they had nothing in the cave. When they went in they saw,' etc. Some words seem to have been omitted in the MS. after ܡܕܒܒܢ in the third line. I do not know the meaning of ܡܣܡܣܐ. See Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 51; the notes in Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 377; and Wright, *Contrib. to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, pp. 2 and 3. In the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew *two* midwives are mentioned, Zelomi and Salome; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 75.

CHAPTER XXXVII[1].

THE PROPHECY OF ZÂRÂDÔSHT CONCERNING OUR LORD.

THIS Zârâdôsht is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glôshâ of Ḥôrîn, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gûshnâsâph[2] and Sâsân and Mahîmad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together[3] to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; [ܟ] then he will come with the armies of light, and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gûshnâsâph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zârâdôsht says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam, and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies[1] concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime. [ܥܐ]

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xli.

[2] Or rather, *Gushnasp*.

[3] Or, according to another reading, *shall strive with one another*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII[2].

OF THE STAR WHICH APPEARED IN THE EAST ON THE DAY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD.

SOME say that that star appeared to the Magi simultaneously with the birth of our Lord. As for Herod's commanding that all children from two years old and downwards should be slain, it is not as if they required all that length of time for their journey, but they had some accidental delay either in their own country or on the road. Again, Herod did not command that the children should be slain immediately after his having met the Magi, but much time passed in the interval, because he was waiting to hear from them.

The holy Mâr John Chrysostom, in his exposition of Matthew, says,

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[1] See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Theil ii, pp. 439, 440, and 905.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlii.

'The star appeared a long time before[1], for their journey was accomplished with great delay that they might come to the end of it on the day of our Lord's birth. It was meet that He should be worshipped in swaddling bands, that the greatness of the wonder might be recognised; therefore the star appeared to them a long time before. For if the star had appeared to them in the east when He was born in Palestine, they would not have been able to see Him in swaddling bands. Marvel not, if Herod slew the children from two years and downwards, for wrath and fear urged him to increased watchfulness; therefore he added more time than was needful, that no one should be able to escape.'

As touching the nature of that star, whether it was a star in its nature, or in appearance only, it is right to know that it was not of the other stars, but a secret power which appeared like a star; for all the other stars that are [ܓܒ] in the firmament, and the sun and moon, perform their course from east to west. This one, however, made its course from north to south, for Palestine lies thus, over against Persia. This star was not seen by them at night only, but also during the day, and at noon; and it was seen at the time when the sun is particularly strong, because it was not one of the stars[2]. Now the moon is stronger in its light than all the stars, but it is immediately quenched and its light dissipated by one small ray of the sun. But this star overcame even the beams of the sun by the intensity of its light. Sometimes it appeared, and sometimes it was hidden entirely. It guided the Magi as far as Palestine. When they drew near to Jerusalem, it was hidden; and when they went forth from Herod, and began to journey along the road, it appeared and shewed itself. This was not an ordinary movement of the stars, but a rational power. Moreover, it had no fixed path, but when the Magi travelled, it travelled on also, and when they halted, it also halted; like the pillar of cloud which stopped and went forward when it was convenient for the camp of Israel. The star did not remain always up in the height of heaven, but sometimes it came down and sometimes it mounted up; and it also stood over the head of the Child, as the Evangelist tells us. [ܫܠܡ]

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[1] *Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου δοκεῖ μοι ὁ ἀστὴρ φανῆται.* See Migne's edit., vol. vii, col. 76. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܚܕ ܕܢܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܠܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ. ܚܙܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܒܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܕܢܗܝܪ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܝܬܝܪܗ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ. ܘܥܠܝܡܬܐ ܓܘܗ ܛܥܝܢܐ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܟܠܝܠܐ ܣܝܡ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. 'Two years before Christ was born, a star appeared to the Magi; they saw a star in the firmament of heaven which shone with a light greater than that of any other star. Within it was a maiden carrying a child with a crown upon his head.' Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 40 *a*, col. 1. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 56. Another legend says that the star was in the shape of an eagle having within it the form of a young child, and above him the sign of the cross. Sandys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1833, p. lxxxiii foll.

[2] Read ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ.

CHAPTER XXXIX[1].

OF THE COMING OF THE MAGI FROM PERSIA.

WHEN Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judah, and the star appeared to the Magi in the east, twelve Persian kings took offerings—gold and myrrh and frankincense—and came to worship Him. Their names are these: Zarwândâd the son of Artabân[2], and Hôrmîzdâd the son of Sîṭârûḳ (Sanṭarôḳ), Gûshnâsâph (Gushnasp) the son of Gûndaphar, and Arshakh the son of Mîhârôḳ; these four brought gold. Zarwândâd the son of Warzwâd, Îryâhô the son of Kesrô (Khosrau), Arṭaḥshisht the son of Ḥolîtî, Ashtôn'âbôdan the son of Shîshrôn; these four brought myrrh. Mêhârôḳ the son of Ḥûhâm, Aḥshîresh the son of

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xliii.

[2] The *Cave of Treasures* (Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 40 *b*, col. 2; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 57) gives the names of three kings only: ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ ܕܡܚܘܙܕܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ. ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܕܘܪܓܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܚܬܝܬܐ. ܘܐܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܣܒܐ. ܘܦܝܪܘܙܕܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܒܐ. ܗܢ ܕܒܡܕܢܚܐ. 'Hôrmîzdâd of Mâkhôzdî, the king of Persia, who was called "king of kings" and dwelt in lower Adhôrgîn; and Izdegerd the king of Sâbâ, and Pêrôzâd the king of Shabâ in the East.' In the Prophecy of Daniel the Prophet (Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 70 *b*, col. 2) the names of twelve kings are given in the following order: ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܐܪܛܒܢ. ܘܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ ܒܪ ܣܝܛܪܘܟ. ܘܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܒܪ ܓܘܢܕܦܪ. ܘܐܪܫܟ ܒܪ ܡܝܗܪܘܟ. ܘܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܘܪܙܘܕ. ܘܐܝܪܝܗܘ ܒܪ ܟܣܪܘ. ܘܐܪܛܚܫܝܫܬ ܒܪ ܚܘܠܝܛܝ. ܘܐܫܬܘܢܥܒܘܕܢ ܒܪ ܫܝܫܪܘܢ. ܘܡܗܪܘܟ ܒܪ ܚܘܗܡ. ܘܐܚܫܝܪܫ ܒܪ ܚܣܒܝܢ. ܘܨܪܕܠܚ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ. ܘܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܝܠܕܢ.

Haṣbân, Ṣardâlâḥ the son of Baladân, Merôdâch the son of Beldarân; these four brought frankincense. Some say that the offerings which the Magi brought and offered to our Lord had been laid in the Cave of Treasures by Adam[1]; and Adam commanded Seth to hand them down from one to another until our Lord rose, and they brought (them), and offered (them) to Him. But this is not received by the Church. When the Magi came to Jerusalem, the whole city was moved; and Herod the king heard it and was moved. And he gathered together the chief priests and the scribes of the people, and enquired about the place in which Christ should be born; and they told him, in Bethlehem of Judah, [ܟܕ] for so it is written in the prophet[2]. Then Herod called the Magi, and flattered them, and commanded them to seek out the Child diligently, and when they had found Him to tell Herod, that he also might go and worship Him. When the Magi went forth from Herod, and journeyed along the road, the star rose again suddenly, and guided them until it came and stood over (the place) where the Child was. And when they entered the cave, and saw the Child with Mary His mother, they straightway fell down and worshipped Him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto Him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Gold for His kingship, and myrrh for His burial, and frankincense for His Godhead. And it was revealed to them in a dream that they should not return to Herod, and they went to their land by another way. Some say that the Magi took some of our Lord's swaddling bands with them as a blessed thing[3].

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[1] The Oxford MS. adds: 'They were laid in the ark, and afterwards in the land of Persia.'

[2] Micah v. 2.

[3] See Hone, *Protevangelion*, Infancy, chap. iii. 4–10. The passage from the History of the Virgin Mary, given in the notes, is as follows: 'And Mary took one of the swaddling bands of Jesus, and gave it to the Persian Magi, and they received it from her in faith as a sublime gift . . . . . . They held a Magian feast, and made a huge fire, and cast the swaddling band into the fire, which they worshipped; and the swaddling band became like fire, and quenched that fire. Then they brought it out from the fire when it was like snow, even purer than at first. And they took it and kissed it and laid it upon their eyes, saying, "Verily without doubt this is the God of gods, for the fire of our god was not able to burn it or injure it." And they took it with faith and great honour.'

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Then Longinus the sage wrote to Augustus Caesar and said to him, 'Magians, kings of Persia, have come and entered thy kingdom, and have offered offerings [ܓܣ] to a child who is born in Judah; but who he is, and whose son he is, is not known to us.' Augustus Caesar wrote to Longinus, saying, 'Thou hast acted wisely in that thou hast made known to us (these things) and hast not hidden (them) from us.' He wrote also to Herod, and asked him to let him know the story of the Child. When Herod had made enquiries about the Child, and saw that he had been mocked by the Magi, he was wroth, and sent and slew all the children in Bethlehem and its borders, from two years old and downwards, according to the time which he had enquired of the Magi. The number of the children whom he slew was two thousand, but some say one thousand eight hundred. When John[1] the son of Zechariah was sought for, his father took him and brought him before the altar; and he laid his hand upon him, and bestowed on him the priesthood, and then brought him out into the wilderness. When they could not find John, they slew Zechariah his father between the steps[2] and the altar. They say that from the day when Zechariah was slain his blood bubbled up until Titus the son of Vespasian came and slew three hundred myriads of Jerusalem, and then the flow of blood ceased[3]. The father of the child Nathaniel also took him, and wrapped him round, and laid him under a fig-tree; and he was saved from slaughter. Hence our Lord said to Nathaniel, 'Before Philip called thee, I saw thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree.'

CHAPTER XL[4].

OF OUR LORD'S GOING DOWN INTO EGYPT[5].

WHEN the Magi had returned to their country, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child

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[1] See Hone, *Protevangelion*, chap. xvi. 9–28; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 45; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 24; Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.*, p. 265; Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, p. 5.

[2] ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ = κατάστρωμα. See above, p. 73, note 3.

[3] See *Taaníth*, fol. 69, Tal. Jer., and *Sanhedrím*, fol. 96, Tal. Babli.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xliv.

[5] Matt. chap. ii.

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and His mother, [ܢܘ] and flee to Egypt; and stay there until I tell thee.' So Joseph arose and took the Child and His mother by night, and fled to Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod. When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, that of the other Dûmâchos (?). Dûmâchos wished to harm them and to treat them evilly, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion. When they reached the gate of the city called Hermopolis[1], there were by the two buttresses of the gate two figures of brass, that had been made by the sages and philosophers; and they spoke like men. When our Lord and His mother and Joseph entered Egypt, that is to say that city, these two figures cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'A great king has come into Egypt[2].' When the king of Egypt heard this, he was troubled and moved; for he feared lest his kingdom should be taken away from him. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim throughout the whole city, 'If any man knoweth (who He is), let him point (Him) out to us without delay.' When they had made much search and did not find Him, the king commanded all the inhabitants of the city to go outside and come in one by one. When our Lord entered, these two figures cried out, 'This is the king.' And when our Lord was revealed, Pharaoh sought to slay Him. Now Lazarus—whom Christ raised from the dead—was there, and was one of the king's officials, and held in much esteem by the lord of Egypt. He drew near to Joseph and asked them, [ܢܙ] 'Whence are ye?' They said to him, 'From the land of Palestine.' When he heard that they were from the land of Palestine, he was sorry for them, and came to the king and pledged himself for the Child. And he said to the king, 'O king, live for ever! If deceit be found in this Child, behold, I am before thee, do unto me according to thy will.' This is the (cause) of the love between Lazarus and Christ. One day when Mary was washing the

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[1] In the Thebaïd. For the opinions of the ancient writers on this subject see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.*, i. 8.

[2] When Christ entered Egypt, all the idols fell down and were broken. See Fabricius, *Evangel. Infantiae*, p. 175; Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, vol. xxiv, p. 926; Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 399; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 63.

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swaddling bands of our Lord, she poured out the water used in washing in a certain place, and there grew up there apûrsam[1] (that is to say balsam) trees, a species of tree not found anywhere else save in this spot in Egypt. Its oil has (divers) properties; if a man dips iron into it, and brings (the iron) near a fire, it shines like wax; if some of it is thrown upon water, it sinks to the bottom; and if a drop of it is dropped upon the hollow of a man's hand, it goes through to the other side. Our Lord remained two years in Egypt, until Herod had died an evil death. He died in this manner. First of all he slew his wife and his daughter, and he killed one man of every family, saying, 'At the time of my death there shall be mourning and weeping and lamentation in the whole city.' His bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and matter flowed from them, and he was consumed by worms. He had nine wives and thirteen children. And he commanded his sister Salome and her husband, saying, 'I know that the Jews will hold a great festival on the day of my death; when they are gathered together [ܥܡܗ] with the weepers and mourners, slay them, and let them not live after my death.' There was a knife in his hand, and he was eating an apple; and by reason of the severity of his pain, he drew the knife across his throat, and cut it with his own hand; and his belly burst open[2], and he died and went to perdition. After the death of Herod who slew the children, his son Herod Archelaus reigned, who cut off the head of John. And the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in Egypt and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who sought the life of the Child are dead.' So Joseph took the Child and His mother, and came to Galilee; and they dwelt in the city of Nazareth, that what was said in the prophecy might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.' In the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus the kingdom of the Jews was divided into four parts. To Philip (were assigned) two parts, Ituraea and Trachonitis; to Lysanias one part, which was Abilene; and to

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[1] See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 73, no. 53.

[2] The marginal note in A, fol. 66 *b*, reads: 'Know, O my brother readers, that in the copy of Murâd the priest ܐܬܦܫܚ is written; but I say that ܐܬܦܬܬ ܡܥܘܗܝ is correct. Say, my brethren, which is correct.'

Herod the younger the fourth part. And Herod loved Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.

CHAPTER XLI[1].

OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND OF THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD[2].

JOHN the Baptist lived thirty years in the desert with the wild beasts; and after thirty years he came from the wilderness to the habitations of men. [ܠܒ] From the day when his father made him flee to the desert, when he was a child, until he came (again), he covered himself with the same clothes both summer and winter, without changing his ascetic mode of life. And he preached in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, 'Repent, the kingdom of God draweth nigh;' and he baptised them with the baptism of repentance for the remission of their sins. He said to them, 'Behold, there cometh after me a man who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. I baptise you with water for repentance, but He who cometh after me is stronger than I; He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire:' thereby referring to that which was about to be wrought on the apostles, who received the Holy Spirit by tongues of fire, and this took the place of baptism to them, and by this grace they were about to receive all those who were baptised in Christ. Jesus came to John at the river Jordan to be baptised by him; but John restrained Him, saying, 'I need to be baptised by Thee, and art Thou come to me?' Jesus said to him, 'It is meet thus to fulfil the words of prophecy.' When Jesus had been baptised, as soon as He had gone up from the water, He saw that the heavens were rent, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon Him, and a voice from heaven said, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' On this day the Trinity was revealed to men; by the Father who cried out, and by the Son who was baptised, and by the Holy Spirit which came down [ܦ] upon Him in the corporeal form of a dove. Touching the voice which was heard from heaven, saying, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him,' every one heard the voice; but John only was worthy to see the vision of the Spirit by the mind. The day of our Lord's birth was the fourth day of the week, but the day of His baptism was the fifth. When John rebuked Herod, saying that it was not lawful for him to take his brother Philip's wife, he seized John, and cast him into the prison called Machaerûs[1]. And it came to pass on a certain day, when Herod on his birthday made a feast for his nobles, that Bôzîyâ, the daughter of Herodias, came in and danced before the guests; and she was pleasing in the sight of Herod and his nobles. And he said to her, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou desirest and I will give it to thee;' and he sware to her saying that whatever she asked he would give it to her, unto the half of his kingdom. She then went in to Herodias her mother and said to her, 'What shall I ask of him?' She said to her, 'The head of John the Baptist;' for the wretched woman thought that when John should be slain, she and her daughter would be free from the reprover, and would have an opportunity to indulge their lust: for Herod committed adultery with the mother and with her daughter. Then she went in to the king's presence and said to him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist on a charger.' And the king shewed sorrow, as if, forsooth, he was not delighted at the murder of the saint; but by reason of the force and compulsion of the oath he was obliged to cut off John's head. If, O wretched Herod, [ܗܐ] she had demanded of thee the half of thy kingdom, that she might sit upon the throne beside thee and divide (it) with thee, wouldst thou have acceded to her, and not have falsified thy oath, O crafty one? And the king commanded an executioner, and he cut off the head of the blessed man, and he put it in a charger and brought and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother. Then she went out to dance upon the ice, and it opened under her, and she sank into the water up to her neck; and no one was able to deliver her. And they brought the sword with which John's head had been cut off, and cut off hers and carried it to Herodias her mother. When she saw her daughter's head and that of the holy man, she became blind, and her right hand, with which she had taken up John's head, dried up; and

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlv.

[2] Matt. chap. iii.

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[1] Μαχαιροῦς, a fortress situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. 5. 2.

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her tongue dried up, because she had reviled him, and Satan entered into her, and she was bound with fetters. Some say that the daughter of Herodias was called Bôzîyâ, but others say that she also was called by her mother's name Herodias. When John was slain, his disciples came and took his body and laid him in a grave; and they came and told Jesus. The two disciples whom John sent to our Lord, saying, 'Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another[1],' were Stephen the martyr and deacon, and Ḥananyah (Ananias) who baptised Paul. Some say that the wild honey and locusts, which he fed upon in the wilderness, was [ܡܢ] manna,—which was the food of the children of Israel, and of which Enoch and Elijah eat in Paradise,—for its taste is like that of honey. Moses compares it to coriander seed[2], and the anchorites in the mountains feed upon it. Others say that it was a root like unto a carrot[3]; it is called Ḳâmûṣ, and its taste is sweet like honeycomb. Others say that the locusts were in reality some of those which exist in the world, and that the honey-comb was that which is woven by the little bees, and is found in small white cakes in desert places.

CHAPTER XLII[4].

OF OUR LORD'S FAST; OF THE STRIFE WHICH HE WAGED WITH THE DEVIL[5]; AND OF THE MIGHTY DEEDS THAT HE WROUGHT.

TWO days after His baptism, He chose eight of the twelve disciples; and on the third day He changed the water into wine in the city of Cana. After He went forth from the wilderness, He completed the number of the twelve, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel and according to the number of the months. After the twelve disciples, He chose seventy and two, according to the number of the seventy-two elders. When He went out to the desert after He had changed the water into wine, He fasted forty days and forty nights.

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[1] Matt. xi. 3.

[2] See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 209, no. 155.

[3] Σταφυλῖνος, explained by ܓܙܪܐ, i. e. Arab. جَزَر, Pers. گَزَر. See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 86, no. 64.

[4] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlvi.

[5] Matt. chap. iv.

Some say that our Lord and the devil were waging war with one another for forty days; others say that the three contests took place in one day. After He had conquered the devil by the power of His Godhead, and had given us power to conquer him, He began to teach the nations. He wrought miracles, [ܡܠ] healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, opened the eyes of the blind, made the lame walk, made cripples stand, gave hearing to the deaf, and speech of tongue to the dumb. He satisfied five thousand with five loaves, and there remained twelve basketfuls; and with seven loaves and two fishes He satisfied four thousand (men), besides women and children, and there remained seven basketfuls. And some writers say that our Lord satisfied forty thousand men and women and children with five loaves. He walked upon the water and the sea as upon dry land. He rebuked the sea when it was disturbed, and it ceased from its disturbance. He raised up four dead; the daughter of Jairus, the widow's son, the servant of the centurion, and His friend Lazarus after (he had been dead) four days. He subjected Himself to the ancient law of Moses, that it might not be thought He was opposed to the divine commandments; and when the time came for Him to suffer, and to draw nigh to death that He might make us live by His death, and to slay sin in His flesh, and to fulfil the prophecies concerning Him, first of all He kept the Passover of the law; He dissolved the old covenant, and then He laid the foundation for the new law by His own Passover.

CHAPTER XLIII[1].

OF THE PASSOVER OF OUR LORD[2].

WHEN the time of the Passover came, He sent two of His disciples to a man with whom they were not acquainted, saying, 'When ye enter [ܡܓ̣] the city, behold, there will meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water; follow him, and wheresoever he entereth, say ye to the master of the house, "Our Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the Passover with My disciples?" and behold, he will shew you a large upper chamber made ready and prepared; there make ye ready for us.' And because at that time crowds of people were flocking thickly into Jerusalem to keep the feast of the Passover, so that all the houses of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with people by reason of the great crowd which was resorting thither, our Lord, by the power of His Godhead, worked upon the master of the house to make ready a large upper chamber without his being aware for whom he was preparing it, but he thought that perhaps some great man among the nobles and grandees of the Jews was about to come to him, and that it was right to keep a room for him furnished with all things (needful); because all those who came from other places to Jerusalem were received into their houses by the people of the city, and whatsoever they required for the use of the feast of the Passover they supplied. Hence the master of the house made ready that upper chamber with all things (needful), and permitted no man to enter therein, being restrained by the power of our Lord. Because a mystical thing was about to be done in it, it was not meet for Him to perform the hidden mystery when others were near. [ܦܗ] Mâr Basil says: 'On the eve of the Passion, after the disciples had received the body and blood of our Lord, He poured water into a basin and began to wash the feet of His disciples; this was baptism to the apostles. They were not all made perfect, because they were not all pure, for Judas, the son of perdition, was not sanctified[1]; and because that basin of washing was in truth baptism, as our Lord said to Simon Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me," that is to say, "If I baptise thee not, thou art not able to enter into the kingdom of heaven." Therefore, every one who is not baptised by the priests, and receives not the body and blood of Christ our Lord, enters not into the kingdom of heaven.' Mâr Dâd-îshô' says in his commentary on Abbâ Isaiah[2]: 'When our Lord at the Passover had washed the feet of His disciples, He kissed the knees of Judas, and wiped the soles of his feet with the napkin which was girt round His loins, like a common slave; for everything which our Lord did, He did for our teaching.' Mâr Basil in his 'Questions' advises Christians to eat oil, drink wine, and break their fast on this evening; for in it was the old covenant finished, and the new one inaugurated; and in it was the (chosen) people stripped of holiness, and the nations were sanctified and pardoned. Although this saint permits (this), yet the other fathers do not give leave (to do) this, neither do we, nor those of our confession. [ܨܘ]

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlvii.

[2] Matt. chap. xxvi.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. this chapter ends here.

[2] Isaiah of Scêtê. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 99; Wright's *Catal.*, p. 458 sqq., p. 868, col. 2.

CHAPTER XLIV[1].

OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD.

THREE years and three months after His baptism, Judas Iscariot the son of Simon betrayed his Lord to death. He was called Iscariot (Sĕkhariôṭâ) from the name of his town (Sĕkhariôṭ), and he had the sixth place among the disciples before he betrayed our Lord. Our Lord was crucified at the third hour of Friday, the ninth of Nisan. Caiaphas, who condemned our Lord, is Josephus. The name of Bar-Abbâ was Jesus[2]. The name of the soldier who pierced our Lord with the spear, and spat in His face, and smote Him on His cheek, was Longinus; it was he who lay upon a sick bed for thirty-eight years, and our Lord healed him, and said to him, 'Behold, thou art healed; sin no more, lest something worse than the first befall thee[3].' The watchers at the grave were five, and these are their names: Issachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas and Simon; but others say they were fifteen, three centurions and their Roman and Jewish soldiers. Some men have a tradition that the stone which was laid upon the grave of our Lord was the stone which poured out water for the children of Israel in the wilderness. The grave in which our Redeemer was laid was prepared for Joshua the son of Nun, and was carefully guarded by the Divine will for the burial of our Lord. The purple which they put on our Lord mockingly, [ܨܙ] was given in a present to the Maccabees by the emperors of the Greeks; and they handed it over to the priests for dressing the

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlviii.

[2] The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

[3] John v. 14. The Oxford MS. adds passages from Isaiah, Zechariah and the Psalms, and after these our Lord's statement that He would rise again and restore the temple in three days.

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temple[1]. The priests took it and brought it to Pilate, testifying and saying, 'See the purple which He prepared when He thought to become king.' The garment which the soldiers divided into four parts indicates the passibility of His body. The robe without seam at the upper end which was not rent, is the mystery of the Godhead which cannot admit suffering. As touching the blood and water which came forth from His side[2], John the son of Zebedee was deemed worthy to see that vivifying flow from the life-giving fountain. Mâr John Chrysostom says: 'When His side was rent by the soldiers with the spear, there came forth immediately water and blood. The water is a type of baptism, and the blood is the mystery of His precious blood, for baptism was given first, and then the cup of redemption. But in the gospel it is written, "There went forth blood and water[3]."' As to the tree upon which our Redeemer was crucified, some have said that He was crucified upon those bars with which they carried the ark of the covenant; and others that it was upon the wood of the tree on which Abraham offered up the ram as an offering instead of Isaac. His hands were nailed upon the wood of the fig-tree of which Adam ate, and behold, we have mentioned its history with that of Moses' rod. The thirty pieces of silver (zûzê) which Judas received, and for which he sold his Lord, were thirty pieces according to the weight of the sanctuary, and were equal to six hundred pieces according to the weight of our country[4]. [ܨܗܕ] Terah[5] made these pieces for Abraham his son; Abraham gave them to Isaac; Isaac bought a village with them; the owner of the village carried them to Pharaoh; Pharaoh sent them to Solomon the son of

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[1] In the Oxford MS. the purple is said to have been made for Hiram, king of Tyre, who sent it to Solomon, and he placed it in the Sanctuary.

[2] In the Oxford MS. a long account of the baptism of Adam is introduced here.

[3] John xix. 34. See Chrysostom's *Homilies on St. John's Gospel*, ed. Migne, vol. viii, col. 465, lines 24–30.

[4] ܙܘܙܐ=Arab. دِرْهَم, Gr. *δραχμή*.

[5] Melchior, one of the Persian Magi, offered to Christ thirty pieces of gold, which had been coined by Terah the father of Abraham. Joseph paid them into the treasury of Sheba for spices to embalm Jacob, and the queen of Sheba gave them to Solomon. Sandys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1883, p. lxxxiii foll.

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David for the building of his temple; and Solomon took them and placed them round about the door of the altar. When Nebuchadnezzar came and took captive the children of Israel, and went into Solomon's temple and saw that these pieces were beautiful, he took them, and brought them to Babylon with the captives of the children of Israel. There were some Persian youths there as hostages, and when Nebuchadnezzar came from Jerusalem, they sent to him everything that was meet for kings and rulers. And since gifts and presents had been sent by the Persians, he released their sons and gave them gifts and presents, among which were those pieces of silver about which we have spoken; and they carried them to their parents. When Christ was born and they saw the star, they arose and took those pieces of silver and gold and myrrh and frankincense, and set out on the journey; and they came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and these kings fell asleep by the roadside. And they arose and left the pieces behind them, and did not remember them, but forgot that anything of theirs remained behind. And certain merchants came and found them, and took these pieces, and came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and sat down by a well of water. On that very day an angel came to the shepherds, and gave them the garment without seam [ܦܠ] at the upper end, woven throughout. And he said to them, 'Take this garment, in which is the life of mankind.' And the shepherds took the garment, and came to the well of water by the side of which were those merchants. They said to them, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end; will ye buy it?' The merchants said to them, 'Bring it here.' When they saw the garment, they marvelled and said to the shepherds: 'We have thirty pieces of silver which are meet for kings; take them and give us this garment.' When the merchants had taken the garment, and had gone into the city of Edessa, Abgar the king sent to them and said, 'Have ye anything meet for kings, that I may buy it from you?' The merchants said to him, 'We have a garment without seam at the upper end.' When the king saw the garment, he said to them, 'Whence have ye this garment?' They said to him, 'We came to a well by the gate of thy city, and we saw it in the hands of some shepherds, and we bought it from them for thirty pieces of stamped silver, which were also meet for kings like thyself.' The king sent for the shepherds, and took the pieces from them, and sent them together with the garment to Christ for the good that He had done him in healing his sickness. When Christ saw the garment and the pieces, He kept the garment by Him, but He sent the pieces to the Jewish treasury. When Judas Iscariot came to the chief priests and said to them, 'What will ye give me that I may deliver Him to you?' [ܟܕ] the priests arose and brought those pieces, and gave them to Judas Iscariot; and when he repented, he returned them to the Jews, and went and hanged himself. And the priests took them and bought with them a field for a burial-place for strangers.

[1] Of Joseph the senator (βουλευτής), and why he was thus called. The senators were a class very much honoured in the land of the Romans; and if it happened that no one could be found of the royal lineage, they made a king from among this class. If one of them committed an offence, they used to beat his horse with white woollen gloves instead of him. This Joseph was not a senator by birth, but he purchased the dignity, and enrolled himself among the Roman senate, and was called Senator [2].

[3] As for the committal of Mary to John the son of Zebedee by our Lord, He said to her, 'Woman, behold thy son;' and to John He said, 'Behold thy mother;' and from that hour he took her into his house and ministered unto her. Mary lived twelve years [4] after our Lord's Ascension: the sum of the years which she lived in the world was fifty-eight years, but others say sixty-one years [5]. She was not buried on

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. xlix begins here, fol. 176 *a*.

[2] The Oxford MS. here gives an account of the taking down of our Lord from the cross, and of His burial by Joseph.

[3] In the Oxford MS. a new chapter begins here, fol. 177 *a*.

[4] According to the Oxford MS., 13 years.

[5] So also in the Oxford MS.; but in the *History of the Virgin*, MS. A, fol. 157 *b*, we read: ܘܥܢܝܕܬ ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܫܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܐܘܓܘܣܛܘܣ ܩܣܪ [read ܩܣܪ] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܗܘܝ. ܘܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܝ [ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ] ܘܠܡܠܟ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܫܢܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܗܘܝ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ. 'And the blessed Mary departed this life in the year of Alexander three hundred and ninety-four (i.e.

earth, but the angels carried her to Paradise, and angels bore her bier. On the day of her death all the apostles were gathered together, and they prayed over her and were blessed by her[1]. Thomas was in India, and an angel took him up and brought him, and he found the angels carrying her bier through the air; and they brought it nigh to Thomas, and he also prayed and [ܡܢܗ] was blessed by her.

A. D. 82–3). At the Annunciation she was thirty years old, and she lived also the [thirty]-three years of the Dispensation; and after the Crucifixion she lived fifty-eight years. The years which she lived were one hundred and twenty-one.'

[1] In the *History of the Virgin*, fol. 156 *a*, we read as follows: ܘܡܪܝܡ ܩܘܝܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܟܪܝܐ ܠܗ̇ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܫܢܗ̇ ܕܡܢ ܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܪܚܝܩܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ̇. ܘܨܠܝܬ ܘܣܡܬ ܒܣܡܐ ܥܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܐܪܝܡܬ ܥܝܢܝܗ̇ ܘܦܫܛܬ ܐܝܕܝܗ̇ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ. ܫܡܥ ܒܩܠܗ̇ ܕܐܡܬܟ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܝ ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܪܚܡܟ ܛܠܝܐ ܥܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܚܒܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܚܙܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܬܒܝܐ ܒܚܙܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܘܬܝ. ܘܐܫܒܚ ܘܐܣܓܘܕ ܠܛܝܒܘܬܟ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܕܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܥܬܝܕܐ ܕܬܫܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܣܩܝܢ. ܘܩܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܥܡ ܡܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܒܢܓܗܐ ܠܘܬ ܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ̇ ܥܡ ܨܦܪܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܒܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܫܐܠܘ ܒܫܠܡܗ̇ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܚܕܕܐ. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ̇. 'And Mary remained in Jerusalem, and grieved because of her separation from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the absence of the apostles from her. And she prayed and cast frankincense into the fire, and lifted up her eyes and spread out her hands to heaven, and said, "O Christ, the Son of the living God, hearken unto the voice of Thy handmaiden, and send unto me Thy friend John the young with his fellow-apostles, that I may see them and be comforted by the sight of them before the day of my death; and I will praise and adore Thy goodness." And straightway it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to each one of the apostles, in whatever country he was in, that the blessed Mary was about to depart from this world into the never-ending life. And the Spirit summoned them, along with those of them who were dead, to be gathered together at daybreak to the blessed Mary for her to see them: and each one of them came to her from his own land at dawn by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and they saluted Mary and each other, and adored her.' See Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, pp. 21–24; and ܫܘܢܝܗ̇ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. xx, New Series, Jan., 1865, page ܦܗ.

[1] As regards the name of *'arûbhtâ* (i. e. the eve of the Jewish Sabbath), it was not known until this time, but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the Divine Care also set and abandoned the Israelitish people, then that day was called *'arûbhtâ* [2].

Touching the writing which was written in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, and set over Christ's head, there was no Aramean written upon the tablet, for the Arameans or Syrians had no part in (the shedding of) Christ's blood, but only the Greeks and Hebrews and Romans; Herod the Greek and Caiaphas the Hebrew and Pilate the Roman. Hence when Abgar the Aramean king of Mesopotamia heard (of it), he was wroth against the Hebrews and sought to destroy them [3].

CHAPTER XLV [4].

OF THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

SINCE the history of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection is recorded in the Gospel, there is no need to repeat it (here). After our Lord rose from the dead, He appeared ten times. First, to Mary Magdalene, as John the Evangelist records [5]. Secondly, to the women at the grave, as Matthew mentions [6]. Thirdly, to Cleopas and his companion, as Luke says [7]. The companion of Cleopas, when they were going to Emmaus, was Luke the Evangelist. Fourthly, to Simon Peter, as Luke says [8]. Fifthly, to all the disciples, except Thomas, on the evening of the first day of the week, when he went in through the closed doors, as Luke and [ܥܡܒ] John say [9]. Sixthly, eight days after, to the disciples, and to Thomas with them, as John says [10]. Seventhly, on the mount, as

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[1] The two following paragraphs do not appear in the Oxford MS.

[2] Solomon here refers to the derivation of ܥܪܘܒܬܐ from the rad. ܥܪܒ, *it set* (of the sun), Heb. עָרַב, Arab. غَرَبَ.

[3] See *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. ܠܗ; Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Doc.*, p. 107; and Wright, ܫܘܢܝܗ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ, *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, No. xx, New Series, Jan., 1865, p. ܒ.

[4] This chapter does not appear in the Oxford MS.

[5] John xx. 11, 18.

[6] Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

[7] Luke xxiv. 18.

[8] Luke xxiv. 34.

[9] Luke xxiv. 36–49; John xx. 19–23.

[10] John xx. 24–29.

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Matthew says[1]. Eighthly, upon the sea of Tiberias, as John says[2]. The reason that Simon Peter did not recognise Him was because he had denied Him, and was ashamed to look upon Him; but John, because of his frank intimacy with our Lord, immediately that he saw Him, knew Him. Ninthly, when He was taken up to heaven from the Mount of Olives, as Mark and Luke say[3]. Tenthly, to the five hundred at once, who had risen from the dead, as Paul says[4]. After His Ascension, He appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus, when He blinded his eyes[5]; and also to Stephen, the martyr and deacon, when he was stoned[6].

CHAPTER XLVI[7].

OF THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD TO HEAVEN.

AFTER our Redeemer had risen from the grave, and had gone about in the world forty days, He appeared to His disciples ten times, and ate and drank with them by the side of the Sea of Tiberias. At this point the heathen say to us, that if our Lord really ate and drank after His resurrection, there will certainly be eating and drinking after (our) resurrection; but if He did not really eat and drink, then all the actions of Christ are mere phantasms. To these we make answer, that this [ܨܠܐ] world is a world of need for food; therefore He ate and drank, that it might not be thought He was a phantom; and because many who have risen from the dead have eaten and drunk in (this) world until they departed and died, as, for example, the dead (child) whom Elisha raised, and the dead whom our Lord raised. Our Lord did not eat after His resurrection because He needed food, but only to make certain His humanity: for, behold[8], He once remained in the desert forty days

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[1] Matt. xxviii. 16–20.

[2] John xxi. 1–24.

[3] Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 50, 53.

[4] 'After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.' 1 Cor. xv. 6.

[5] Acts ix. 3–9; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

[6] Acts vii. 55–60.

[7] In the Oxford MS. see fol. 177 *b*.

[8] In the Oxford MS. there follows here a long discussion on the divine and human natures of Christ, in the middle of which (fol. 178 *b*) is a Syriac passage in which the names of Athanasius and Gregory are mentioned. The view there maintained is that Christ is God and man in the unity of one Person.

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without food, and was not injured by hunger. Some say that after His resurrection our Lord ate food like unto that which the angels ate in the house of Abraham, and that the food was dissipated and consumed by the Divine Power, just as fire licks up oil without any of it entering into its substance. Our Lord remained upon the earth forty days, even as He had fasted forty days, and as Elijah fasted forty days, and as Moses fasted forty days at two several times, and as the rain continued for forty days during the flood, and as God admonished the Ninevites for forty days, and as the spies remained (absent) for forty days, and as the children of Israel wandered about in the wilderness for forty years, and like the child whose fashioning in the womb is completed in forty days. After forty days, our Lord took up [ܡܥܕ] His disciples to the Mount of Olives, and laid His hand upon them, and blessed them, and commanded them concerning the preaching and teaching of the nations. And it came to pass that while He was blessing them, He was separated from them, and went up to heaven; and they worshipped Him. And there appeared to them angels, encouraging them and saying, 'This Jesus, who has been taken up from you to heaven, is about to come again even as ye have seen Him go up to heaven.' Then they returned to that upper chamber where they were, and stayed there ten days, until they received the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire. Simon Peter said to his fellow-disciples, 'It is right for us to put some one in the place of Judas to complete the number of twelve;' and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles[1].

As concerning the manner in which our Lord entered heaven without cleaving it, some say that He went in as He did through the closed doors; and as He came forth from the virgin womb, and Mary's virginity returned to its former state; and like the sweat from the body; and as water is taken up by the roots of the olive and other trees, and reaches in the twinkling of an eye the leaves, flowers and fruits, as if through certain ducts, without holes or channels being pierced in them. Thus by an infinite and ineffable miracle our Lord entered into heaven without cleaving it. And if the bodies of us who are accustomed [ܡܥܗ]

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[1] A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 *a*.

to drink water and wine pour out sweat without our flesh being rent or our skin pierced, how very much easier is it for the Divine Power to go in through closed doors and within the firmament of heaven without rending or cleaving it?

[1] As regards the upper chamber in which our Lord held His Passover, some say that it belonged to Lazarus, and others to Simon the Cyrenian, and others to Joseph the senator; but Joshua the son of Nun, the Catholicus[2], says that it belonged to Nicodemus. The apostles remained in the upper chamber ten days after the Ascension, being constant in fasting and prayer, and expecting the Spirit, the Comforter, which our Lord Jesus Christ promised them.

CHAPTER XLVII[3].

OF THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT UPON THE APOSTLES IN THE UPPER CHAMBER.

TEN days after our Lord's Ascension, when the holy apostles were assembled in the upper chamber waiting for the promise of our Lord, of a sudden, at the third hour of the holy Sunday of Pentecost, a mighty sound was heard, so that all men were terrified and marvelled at the mightiness of the sound; and the chamber was filled with an ineffably strong light. And there appeared over the head of each one of them (something) in the form of tongues of fire, and there breathed forth from thence a sweet odour which surpassed all aromas in this world. The eyes of their hearts were opened, and they began interpreting new things and uttering wonderful things in the languages of all nations [ܡܪܘ]. When the Jews saw them, they thought within themselves that they had been drinking new wine and were drunk, and that their minds were depraved. On that day they participated in the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord, and sanctified the leavened bread of the sign of the cross (the eucharistic wafers) and the oil of baptism.

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body for

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[1] A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 *b*.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 165.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lii, fol. 181 *a*.

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His disciples in the upper chamber, John the son of Zebedee hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. And when our Lord appeared to His disciples and to Thomas with them, He said to Thomas, 'Hither with thy finger and lay it on My side, and be not unbelieving, but believing.' Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested upon the mark of the spear, and the disciples saw the blood from the marks of the spear and nails. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns, Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî, took that piece, and with it they sanctified this unleavened bread which has been handed down among us [1]. The other disciples did not take any of it, because they said, 'We will consecrate for ourselves whenever we wish.' As for the oil of baptism, some say that it was part of the oil with which they anointed the kings; others say that it was part of the unguent wherewith they embalmed our Lord; and many agree with this (statement). Others again say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread of the Passover in his hand, it burst into flame and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the cross of baptism. This account we have heard by ear from the mouth of a recluse and visitor (περιοδευτής), and we have not received it from Scripture [ܡܢ]. The word Pentecost is interpreted 'the completion of fifty days.'

CHAPTER XLVIII [2].

OF THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES, AND OF THE PLACES OF EACH ONE OF THEM, AND OF THEIR DEATHS [3].

NEXT we write the excellent discourse composed by Mâr Eusebius of Caesarea upon the places and families of the holy apostles.

Know then that the apostles were twelve and seventy. When the

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 239, 241, 358, and 608.

[2] In the Oxford MS. chap. liii, fol. 182 *a*.

[3] See the lives of the apostles and disciples by Pseudo-Dorotheus, edited by Du Cange in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Paris, 1868, p. 164; Hanmer, *Eusebius*, pp. 532 foll., London, 1636; Cave, *Lives of the Apostles*, Cary's ed., Oxford, 1840; Pseudo-Epiphanius, *De Prophetis, eorumque obitu ac sepultura*, Migne, *Patrologiae*

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apostles had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, on the day following they fasted this feast of the apostles (which we keep)[1]; but the Malkâyê (Melchites)[2] say that the apostles fasted eight days after. Their names are as follows.

Simon, the chief of the apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He first preached in Antioch, and built there the first of all churches, which was in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He remained there one year, and there the disciples were called Christians. From thence he went to Rome, where he remained for twenty-seven years; and in the three hundred and seventy-sixth year of the Greeks, the wicked Nero crucified him head downwards[3].

Andrew his brother preached in Scythia and Nicomedia and Achaia. He built a church in Byzantium, and there he died and was buried. [ܫܠܡ]

John the son of Zebedee (Zabhdai) was also from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulun. He first preached in Asia (Ephesus), and was afterwards cast into exile in the island of Patmos by Tiberius Caesar. He then went to Ephesus, and built in it a church. Three of his disciples went with him: Ignatius, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, and who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; Polycarp, who was afterwards bishop of Smyrna[4], and was crowned by fire; and John, to whom he committed the priesthood and the bishopric after him. When John had lived a long time, he died and was buried at Ephesus; and John, the

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Ser. Gr., vol. 43, col. 393 foll.; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclés.*, Paris, 1701, 4to; Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Braunschweig, 1884; and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 163 *b*.

[1] The Nestorian Fast of the Apostles begins on Whit-Monday and ends on June 29th. See Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii, p. 188; Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 501.

[2] The orthodox Christians, who accept the doctrines on the natures of our Lord as laid down by the Council of Chalcedon. For the origin of the name, etc., see Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, p. 119; and Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 507; t. iii, pt. i, p. 354, col. 2.

[3] ܥܠ ܪܫܗ = κατὰ κεφαλῆς. Hoffmann has mistaken the meaning of the words in his *Auszüge*, p. 111. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxvii, June 29.

[4] B, C and the Oxford MS. have *Syria*, ܣܘܪܝܐ, سوريا; but A gives ܣܡܘܪܝܐ, which we must correct into ܣܡܘܪܢܐ.

disciple of the Evangelist, who became bishop of Ephesus, buried him[1]; for he commanded them that no one should know the place of his burial. The graves of both of them are in Ephesus; the hidden one of the Evangelist, and the other of his disciple John, the author of the Revelation; he said that everything he had written down, he had heard from John the Evangelist.

James, the brother of John, preached in his city Bethsaida, and built a church there. Herod Agrippas slew him with the sword one year after the Ascension of our Lord. He was laid in Âḳâr, a city of Marmârîḳâ[2]. [صلا]

Philip also was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he built a church in Pisidia, and died and was buried there. He lived twenty-seven years as an apostle[3].

Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians[4]; and because he baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians, he stabbed him with a spear and he died[5]. Ḥabbân the merchant brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of Christ our Lord[6]. Others say that he was buried in Maḥlûph, a city in the land of the Indians[7].

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[1] See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, Dec. 27.

[2] This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS. Dorotheus and Pseudo-Epiphanius say that he was buried in Judaea, though some MSS. of the former have ἐν πόλει τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς, the original of the Latin '*in arce Marmarica.*' Μαρμαρική is the most eastern land of N. Africa. Isidore of Seville says: 'Jacobus filius Zebedaei frater Joannis quartus in ordine. Hispaniae et occidentalibus locis evangelium praedicavit et in occasum mundi lucem praedicationis infudit. Hic ab Herode tetrarcha gladio caesus occubuit sepultus in Azimarmaria [arce marmaria].' See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 208, 209, and 214, note 1; *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxxiii, July 25; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, p. 512.

[3] See *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xiv, May 1; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 26.

[4] Oxford MS. بارض الهند والسند وبلد فارس *in India and Sind and Persia.*

[5] See Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, vol. ii, p. 297; *Acta Thomae*, ed. M. Bonnet, p. 83 sqq.; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 236.

[6] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, pp. 49, 399, and 403; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 18; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i. 31, and iii. 4 foll.

[7] The Oxford MS. says that he was buried in India. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 246; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Dec. 21.

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Matthew the Evangelist was from Nazareth, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and Sidon, and went as far as Gabbûlâ[1]. He died and was buried in Antioch, a city of Pisidia[2].

Bartholomew was from Endor, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in inner Armenia, Ardeshîr[3], Ḳĕṭarbôl[4], Radbîn, and Prûharmân[5]. After he had lived thirty years as an apostle, Hûrsṭî[6] the king of the Armenians crucified him, and he was buried in the church which he built in Armenia.

Jude, the son of James, who was surnamed Thaddaeus (Taddai), who is also Lebbaeus (Lebbai), was from [ܦܨ] Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea and in Antaradus and Arwâd[7]. He was stoned in Arwâd, and died and was buried there[8].

Simon Zelôtes was from Galilee, of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shĕmêshât (Samosâta), Pârîn (Perrhê), Zeugma, Ḥâlâb (Aleppo), Mabbôg (Manbig), and Kenneshrîn (Ḳinnesrîn). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there[9].

James, the son of Alphaeus (Ḥalphai), was from the Jordan, of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkêsion

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[1] لَجَبُّول *al-Jabbûl*, a town in Coelesyria.

[2] See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i, pp. 391 foll.; *Acta Sanctorum*, xlviii, Sept. 21; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 127.

[3] Oxford MS. اذاروشير. According to the Armenian Acts of Bartholomew (Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 94), he went first to Golthon in Armenia, and in the 29th year of Sanatruk came back to the hill Artaschu; he next went to Her and Zarevant, and afterwards to Urbianos, where he was martyred.

[4] Oxford MS. قطروبال. قُطْرَبُّل was a place between Baghdâd and 'Ukbarâ, celebrated for its wine; but this can hardly come into account.

[5] Oxford MS. فروران.

[6] According to other MSS., *Rhûsṭnî* or *Hérôsṭnî*. The king of Armenia in the time of Bartholomew was called Sanadrog (Sanatruk). Florival, *Moïse de Khorène*, ii, p. 233. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 59, 99, and 104; and *Acta Sanctorum*, xxxix, Aug. 24.

[7] Oxford MS. انطرطوس وجزيره اوراذ. The latter name is more correctly رُوَاد *Ruwâd*. Antaradus is now called *Anṭarṭûs*.

[8] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 142–200; and *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

[9] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 147; *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

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(Ḳîrḳîsiyâ), and Callinîcos (ar-Raḳḳah), and came to Baṭnân of Serûg (Sarûg), where he built a church, and died and was buried there[1].

Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was from the town of Sĕkharyûṭ, of the tribe of Gad, though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was like unto the serpent that acts deceitfully towards its master, because like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord. Matthias, of the tribe of Reuben, came in in his stead. He preached in Hellas, and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died and was buried in it[2].

While James the brother of our Lord was teaching the Jews in Jerusalem, they cast him down from a pinnacle of the temple; and while his life was [ܡܚܐ] yet in him, a fuller of cloth smote him upon the head with a club and beat it in; and afterwards they stoned him with stones[3].

John the Baptist was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was laid in Sebastia.

Ananias (Ḥananyâ) the disciple of the Baptist taught in Damascus and Arbêl[4]. He was slain by Pôl, the general of the army of Aretas[5], and was laid in the church which he built at Arbêl (Irbil).

Paul of Tarsus was a Pharisee by sect, of the tribe of Ephraim[6]. When he had been baptised by Ananias, he wrought many miracles, and taught great cities, and bore and suffered dangers not a few for the name of Christ. Afterwards he went to Peter at Rome. When they divided the world between them, and the heathen fell to Paul's lot, and the Jewish nation to Peter, and they had turned[7] many to the truth of Christ, Nero commanded that they should both die a cruel death. Then Simon asked to be crucified head downwards, that he might kiss that part of the cross where the heels

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[1] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 229-257; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

[2] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 258–269.

[3] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 231; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

[4] So we read instead of *Arîl*, following the Oxford MS., ومدينة اربل. Solomon was probably copying from an Arabic MS., in which the difference between اربل and اريل would be very slight.

[5] The MS. C has *Aristus*.

[6] The MS. A has: *Paul of Tarsus was of the tribe of Benjamin; he was a Pharisee by sect.*

[7] Reading ܐܦܢܘ in the plural with the MS. B.

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of his Master had been. As they were going forth to be slain, they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. When Peter had been crucified, and Paul slain, together with many of those who had become their disciples, [ܩܡܒ] Mark and Luke went forth by night, and brought their bodies into the city. Now Paul's head was lost among the slain, and could not be found. Some time after, when a shepherd was passing by the spot where the slain were buried, he found Paul's head, and took it upon the top of his staff, and laid it by his sheep-fold. At night he saw a fire blazing over it, and he went in (to the city) and informed the holy bishop Xystus (Sixtus) and the clergy of the church; and they all recognised that it was Paul's head. Xystus said to them, 'Let us watch and pray the whole night, and let us bring out the body and lay the head at its feet; and if it joins again to its neck, it will be certain that it is Paul's.' And when they had done so, the whole body was restored, and the head was joined to its neck as if the vertebrae had never been severed; and those who saw it were amazed and glorified God. From his call to the end of his life was thirty-five years; he went about in every place for thirty-one years; for two years he was in prison at Caesarea, and for two years at Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was laid with great honour in the magnificent royal catacombs in Rome. They celebrate every year the day of his commemoration on the twenty-ninth of the month of Tammûz[1].

[ܩܡܓ] Luke the physician and Evangelist was first of all a disciple of Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, and was afterwards baptised by Philip in the city of Beroea[2]. He was crowned with the sword by Ḥôros[3], the judge (or governor) of the emperor Tiberius, while he was preaching in Alexandria, and was buried there.

Mark the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there[4]. Some say that he was the son of Simon Peter's wife, others

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[1] See *Acta Sanctorum*, xxvii, June 30.

[2] Oxford MS. مدينة حلب, i. e. Aleppo.

[3] Oxford MS. حوراس. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 356–360; *Acta Sanctorum*, lvi, Oct. 18.

[4] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 323–325; *Acta Sanctorum*, xii, April 25.

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that he was the son of Simon; and Rhoda was his sister. He was first called John, but the Apostles changed his name and called him Mark, that there might not be two Evangelists of one name.

Addai was from Paneas, and he preached in Edessa and in Mesopotamia in the days of Abgar the king; and he built a church in Edessa. After Abgar died, Herod[1] Abgar's son slew him in the fortress of Aggêl[2]. His body was afterwards taken and carried to Rome; but some say that he was laid in Edessa.

Aggai his disciple was first of all a maker of silks for Abgar, and became a disciple. After Abgar's death, his son reigned, and he required of Aggai to weave silks for him; and when he consented not, saying, 'I cannot forsake teaching and preaching to return to weaving,' he smote him with a club upon his legs and brake them, and he died[3].

[ܡܚܕ.] Thaddaeus (Taddai) came after him at Edessa, and Herod, the son of Abgar, slew him also; he was buried at Edessa.

Zacchaeus (Zaccai) the publican[4] and the young man whom our Lord brought to life were both slain together while they were preaching in Mount Ḥôrôn.

The Jews smote Simon the leper while he was teaching in Ramah, and he died (there).

Joseph the Senator taught in Galilee and Decapolis; he was buried in his town of Ramah.

Nicodemus the Pharisee, the friend of our Lord, received and honoured the Apostles in Jerusalem; and he died and was buried there[5].

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[1] In Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 164 *a*, col. 1, line 17, he is called ܣܘܝܪܘܣ, Severus.

[2] *Egil*, or *Engil*, أَنْجِل, 'Αγγιληνή, north of Âmid.

[3] See *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. 49.

[4] The Oxford MS. gives the name of this martyr only: a blank space has been left in it for about eight lines.

[5] The Oxford MS. says that when the crucifiers knew that Nicodemus had become a Christian, they seized his property and slew him; and that his brother Gamaliel buried him in Kĕphar Gamlâ. It then gives the following account of Gamaliel. Gamaliel was a friend of the crucifying Jews, but was afterwards baptised together with his son: he lived for twenty years after this. When

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Nathaniel was stoned while he was teaching in Mount Ḥôrôn[1], and died.

Simon the Cyrenian was slain while he was teaching in the island of Chios.

Simon the son of Cleopas became bishop of Jerusalem. When he was an old man, one hundred years of age, Irenaeus[2] the chiliarch crucified him.

Stephen the martyr was stoned with stones at Jerusalem, and his body was laid in the village of Kĕphar Gamlâ.

Mark, who was surnamed John, taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus. He built [ܡܚܬܗ] a church at Nazianzus, and died and was buried there. Some say that he is the Evangelist, as we have mentioned.

Cephas, whom Paul mentions[3], taught in Baalbec, Ḥimṣ (Emesa) and Nathrôn (Batharûn). He died and was buried in Shîrâz[4].

Barnabas taught in Italy and in Ḳûrâ; he died and was buried in Samos[5].

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they died, they were buried by the side of Nicodemus in Kĕphar Gamlâ, where Stephen was buried. Many years after (about A. D. 415), God revealed their place of burial to one of the saints (Lucian), and they sought for the remains of the bodies by digging, and found them; and there they built a church. Foll. 187 *b*, 188 *a*. See also Migne, *Biog. Chrét.*, ii. 73; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, iii, p. 1047, i. 8.

[1] Oxford MS. في جبل حبرون مدينة داوود *in the mount of Hebron, the city of David.*

[2] ܐܚܝܪܐܘܣ seems to be a mistake for ܐܚܝܪܢܐܘܣ. B, C, however, have ܚܝܪܐܘܣ Ḥĕrêos, and the Oxford MS. احراس (ܐܚܝܪܐܘܣ).

[3] Galat. ii. 9; 1 Cor. i. 12. For a discussion of the identity of this Cephas with Simon Peter, see P. M. Molkenbuhr, *Dissertatio script. crit. An Cephas . . . fuerit Simon Petrus*, 4to, 1785.

[4] Oxford MS. وبشر اهل مدينة بعلبكّ وحمص وبثرون وتلمد اهل مدينة سرمين وقبر بكرامة. *He preached the Gospel to the people of Baalbek, Ḥimṣ and Batharûn, and taught the people of Sarmîn; he was buried at Kurâmah* (?). There is but little difference in writing between نثرون and the correct بثرون. *Sarmîn* approaches the reading of B, C ܫܪܡܡܣ; it is in the district of Aleppo. Shîrâz is perhaps a mistake for ܫܝܙܪ, *Shaizar.*

[5] The Oxford MS., like B and C, makes no mention of Barnabas. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 270–320; *Acta Sanctorum*, xxii, June 11.

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Titus taught in Crete, and there he died and was buried[1].

Sosthenes taught in the country of Pontus and Asia. He was thrown into the sea by the command of Nonnus[2] the prefect.

Criscus (Crescens) taught in Dalmatia; he was imprisoned in Alexandria, where he died of hunger and was buried.

Justus taught in Tiberias and in Caesarea, where he died and was buried.

Andronicus taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.

The people of Zeugma slew Rufus while he was teaching in Zeugma.

Patrobas taught in Chalcedon, and he died and was buried there.

Hermas the shepherd taught in Antioch, and he died and was buried there.

Narcissus taught in Hellas, and he died and was buried there[3].

Asyncritus went to Beth-Hûzâyê (Khûzistân)[4], and there he died and was buried.

Aristobulus taught in Isauria, and there he died and was buried. [ܡܚܘ]

Onesimus[5] was the slave of Philemon, and he fled from him and went to Paul, while he was in prison; because of this Paul calls him 'the son whom I have begotten in my bonds.' His legs were broken in Rome.

Apollos the elect was burnt with fire by Sparacleus[6] (?), the governor of Gangra.

Olympas, Stachys and Stephen were imprisoned in Tarsus, and there they died in prison.

Junias was captured in Samos, and there he was slain and died.

Theocritus[7] died while teaching in Ilios, and was buried there.

Martalus (?) was slain while teaching the barbarians.

Niger taught in Antioch, and died and was buried there.

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[1] See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 401–406; *Acta Sanctorum*, i, Jan. 4.

[2] Oxford MS. يوناني.

[3] The Oxford and Vatican MSS., as well as B and C, make no mention of Narcissus.

[4] The Arabic name is Ahwâz, الأهْواز. Oxford MS. العراق, 'Irâk.

[5] The Vatican MS. omits Onesimus.

[6] Oxford MS. سفرقليس.

[7] Oxford MS. يايادطوس.

They dragged Lucius[1] behind a horse, and thus he ended his life.

While Alexander was teaching in Heracleôpolis[2], they threw him into a pit and he died.

Milus[3], while he was teaching in Rhodes, was thrown into the sea and drowned.

Silvanus and Hêrôdiôn (Rhôdiôn) were slain while they were preaching in the city of Accô.

Silas[4] taught in Sarapolis (Hierapolis?), and died and was buried there.

Timothy taught in Ephesus, and died and was buried there.

Manael was burnt with fire while teaching in Accô, and died. [ܩܚܐ]

The Eunuch whom Philip baptised, the officer of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, went to Ethiopia and preached there. Afterwards, while he was preaching in the island of Parparchia[5] (?), they strangled him with a cord.

Jason[6] and Sosipatrus were thrown to the wild beasts while they were teaching in Olmius[7] (?).

Demas taught in Thessalonica, and there he died and was buried.

Omius (Hymenaeus) taught in Melitene, and there he died and was buried.

They threw Thraseus[8] into a fiery furnace, while he was teaching at Laodicea.

Bistorius (Aristarchus?)[9] taught in the island of Kô[10], and there he died and was buried.

Abrios (?) and Môṭos (?)[11] went to the country of the Ethiopians, and there they died and were buried.

Levi was slain by Charmus[12], while he was teaching in Paneas[13].

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[1] A has *Luke*.

[2] Oxford MS. ايارفيليوس.

[3] Vat. MS. *Linus*.

[4] The Vat. MS. omits Silas.

[5] Oxford MS. فافاخيا.

[6] The Oxford MS. omits Jason.

[7] Oxford MS. في مدينة الوميوس.

[8] Oxford MS. تارسيوس.

[9] Oxford MS. ارسطركوس.

[10] Oxford MS. قوواي.

[11] Oxford MS. ابرانيون ومونطاس. The Vat. MS. omits these names.

[12] Oxford MS. جرموس. The Vat. MS. omits this name.

[13] Oxford MS. كونياس.

Nicetianus (Nicetas) was sawn in two while teaching in Tiberias[1].

While John and Theodorus were preaching in the theatre of Baalbec, they threw them to the beasts.

The prefect Methalius (?) slew Euchestion (?) and Simon in Byzantium.

Ephraim (Aphrem) taught in Baishân, and he died and was buried there.

Justus was slain at Corinth[2].

James taught and preached in Nicomedia, and he died and was buried there. [ܫܠܡ]

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES IN ORDER[3].

THE names of the twelve. Simon Peter; Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee; John his brother; Philip; Bartholomew; Thomas; Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus; Labbaeus, who was surnamed Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananite; Judas Iscariot, in whose stead came in Matthias.

The names of the seventy[4]. James the son of Joseph; Simon the son of Cleopas; Cleopas his father; Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaeus (?)[5]; Ananias, who baptised Paul; Cephas, who preached at Antioch; Joseph the senator; Nicodemus the archon; Nathaniel the chief scribe; Justus, that is Joseph, who is called Barshabbâ; Silas; Judah; John, surnamed Mark; Mnason, who received Paul; Manaël, the foster-brother of Herod; Simon called Niger; Jason[6], who is (mentioned) in the Acts (of the Apostles); Rufus[7]; Alexander; Simon the Cyrenian,

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[1] The Oxford MS. makes no mention of this martyr.

[2] Oxford MS. موريشاوس.

[3] See Matt. x, Mark iii, Luke vi, Acts i; and Pseudo-Dorotheus, Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.*, vol. ii, p. 207.

[4] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii, pt. i, pp. 319–320, where lists of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples are given from the Vatican MS. of the Book of the Bee, from the Commentary of Bar-Hebraeus on St. Matthew, and from the Synopsis of 'Amr and Mârî, etc.

[5] Oxford MS. مشاوس.

[6] Acts xvii. 5–9.

[7] The Oxford MS. omits Rufus. Rom. xvi. 13.

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their father; Lucius the Cyrenian; another Judah, who is mentioned in the Acts (of the Apostles); Judah, who is called Simon; Eurion (Orion) the splay-footed; Thôrus (?); Thorîsus (?); Zabdon; Zakron. These are the seven[1] who were chosen with Stephen: Philip the Evangelist, who had three[2] daughters that used to prophesy; [ܡܨܠ] Stephen; Prochorus; Nicanor; Timon; Parmenas; Nicolaus[3], the Antiochian proselyte; Andrŏnicus[4] the Greek; Titus; Timothy.

These are the five who were with Peter in Rome: Hermas; Plîgṭâ[5]; Patrobas; Asyncritus; Hermas[6].

These are the six[7] who came with Peter to Cornelius: Criscus[8] (Crescens); Milichus[9]; Kîrîṭôn (Crito); Simon; Gaius, who received Paul; Abrazon (?); Apollos.

These are the twelve who were rejected from among the seventy, as Judas Iscariot was from among the twelve, because they absolutely denied our Lord's divinity at the instigation of Cerinthus. Of these Luke said, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us[10];' and Paul called them 'false apostles and deceitful workers[11].' Simon; Levi; Bar-Ḳubbâ; Cleon; Hymenaeus; Candarus[12]; Clithon (?); Demas; Narcissus; Slîkîspus (?); Thaddaeus; Mârûthâ. In their stead there came in these: Luke the physician; Apollos the elect; Ampelius; Urbanus; Stachys; Popillius (or Publius)[13]; Aristobulus; Stephen (not the Corinthian); Herodion the son of Narcissus; Olympas; Mark the Evangelist; Addai; Aggai; Mâr Mârî.

It is said that each one of the twelve and of the seventy [ܡܠ] wrote a Gospel; but in order that there might be no contention and that the

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[1] So all the MSS., but ten names follow, or eleven, if we read Andronicus, Junias, Titus.

[2] In Acts xxi. 9, Philip is said to have had *four* daughters. The Oxford MS. reads *four*, اربع.

[3] Acts vi. 5.

[4] Rom. xvi. 7.

[5] Oxford MS. فيليجاس.

[6] Oxford MS. ارما.

[7] Seven names follow in all the MSS.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 10. The Oxford MS. omits Criscus and Gaius.

[9] Oxford MS. ميليطاس.

[10] See 1 John ii. 19. Solomon is mistaken as to the author of these words.

[11] 2 Cor. xi. 13.

[12] Oxford MS. سكندروس, *Alexander*.

[13] Oxford MS. بولص, *Paul*.

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number of 'Acts' might not be multiplied, the apostles adopted a plan and chose two of the seventy, Luke and Mark, and two of the twelve, Matthew and John.

CHAPTER L[1].

OF SOME MINOR MATTERS.

THESE are they who were married among the apostles: Peter, the chief of the apostles; Philip the Evangelist; Paul; Nathaniel, who is Bartholomew; Labbaeus, who is Thaddaeus, who is Judah the son of Jacob; Simon the Cananite, who is Zelotes, who is Judah the son of Simon.

The child whom our Lord called and set (in the midst), and said, 'Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven[2],' was Ignatius, who became patriarch of Antioch. He saw in a vision the angels ministering in two bands, and he ordained that (men) should minister in the church in like manner[3]. After some time this order was broken through; and when Diodorus went with his father on an embassy to the land of Persia, and saw that they ministered in two bands, he came to Antioch his country, and re-established the custom of their ministering in two bands[4].

The children whom they brought near to our Lord, that He might lay His hand upon them and pray, were Timothy and Titus, and they were deemed worthy of the office of bishop.

The names of the Maries who are mentioned in the Gospels. Mary the Virgin, the mother of our Lord; Mary the wife of Joseph; Mary the mother [ܡܠܐ] of Cleopas and Joseph; Mary the wife of Peter, the mother of Mark the Evangelist; and Mary the sister of Lazarus. Some say that Mary the sinner is Mary of Magdala; but others do not agree with this, and say that she was other than the Magdalene. Those who say that she was the Magdalene tell us that she built herself a tower with the wages of fornication; and those who say that she was other than the Magdalene, say that Mary Magdalene was called after the name of her town Magdala, and that she was a pure and holy woman.

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[1] The Oxford MS. omits the following three chapters.

[2] Matt. xviii. 2. See Nicephorus, *Hist.*, bk. ii, chap. iii.

[3] Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.*, chap. viii.

[4] Assemânî thinks that this embassy is a mistake on the part of Solomon, arising from his having misunderstood a passage in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 2, cap. xxiv. See *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 321.

CHAPTER LI.

THE NAMES OF THE EASTERN CATHOLICS, THE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES ADDAI AND MÂRÎ[1].

1. Addai was buried in Edessa.

2. Mârî (was buried) in the convent of Kônî[2].

3. Abrîs, called in Greek A[m]brosius; the place of his grave is unknown; he was of the laying on of hands of Antioch.

4. Abraham was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; he was descended from the family of Jacob the son of Joseph; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

5. James, of the laying on of hands of Antioch, was also of the family of Joseph the husband of Mary; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

6. Aḥâ-d'abû[hî] was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; his grave is in Ctesiphon.

7. Shaḥlûphâ was of the laying on of hands of Ctesiphon, and he was buried there.

8. [ܡܠܟ] Pâpâ[3]; his grave is at Ctesiphon.

9. Simon bar Ṣabbâ'ê was martyred at Shôshân[4].

10. Shah-dôst[5] was buried in Ctesiphon.

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[1] Compare the lists in Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 387–392. For the lives of the Catholics of the East, see ibid., pp. 391–457.

[2] ܕܝܪ ܩܘܢܝ or ܕܝܪܐ ܕܩܘܢܝ, in Arabic دَيْر قُنّي *Dair Ḳunnâ*, 16 parasangs from Baghdâd, on the left bank of the Tigris, a mile from the river. See Yâḳût in the *Mu'jam al-Buldân;* Abbeloos, *Acta S. Maris*, index.

[3] Assemânî, ܦܳܦܳܐ.

[4] Assemânî, ܫܘܫܢ.

[5] Assemânî, ܫܳܗܕܽܘܣܬ.

11. Bar-Bĕʿesh-shĕmîn[1] was martyred and buried in Elam (Khûzistân).

12. Tûmarṣâ was buried in Ctesiphon.

13. Ḳâyômâ was buried in Ctesiphon; he abdicated the patriarchate, and another was put in his place, and was before him until he died.

14. Isaac was buried in Ctesiphon.

15. Aḥâ was buried in Ctesiphon.

16. Yab-alâhâ was of the school of Mâr ʿAbdâ[2]; he was buried in Ctesiphon.

17. Maʿnâ dwelt in Persia and was buried there.

18. Dâd-îshôʿ was buried in Ḥêrtâ[3]. In his days the strife between Nestorius and Cyril (of Alexandria) took place.

19. Bâbôi was martyred and buried in Ḥêrtâ.

20. Aḳaḳ (Acacius) was of the family of Bâbôi the Catholicus; he was buried in al-Madâïn[4].

21. Bâbai took a wife, and was buried at Ctesiphon.

22. Shîlâ took a wife, and was buried in his convent beside Awânâ[5].

23. Paul was buried in Ctesiphon.

24. Mâr(î)-abâ was buried in Ḥêrtâ, and was a martyr without bloodshed.

25. Ezekiel was buried in Ḥêrtâ.

26. Îshôʿ-yab of Arzôn[6] was buried in Ḥêrtâ. [ܫܠܡ]

27. Sabr-îshôʿ was buried in Ḥêrtâ.

28. Gregory was buried in ......

29. Îshôʿ-yab of Gĕdâlâ[7] was buried in ......

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[1] *Bĕʿesh-shĕmîn* for Bĕʿêl-shĕmîn.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 369, col. 2.

[3] Ḥêrtâ or Ḥîrtâ, the *Ḥîrah* of the Arabs, الحِيرَة.

[4] The later Arabic name for Ctesiphon, المدائن.

[5] A place in the south or south-east part of the diocese of ܒܝܬ ܢܘܗܕܪ̈ܐ, *Bêth-Nûhâdrê*, near Balad and opposite to Eski-Mosul. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 477, col. 2; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 211–212, notes 1674 and foll.

[6] Assemânî, ܐܪܙܘܢܝܐ. ܐܪܙܘܢ, Ἀρζανηνή, was a town and province of Armenia on the borders of Mesopotamia, north of Ḥiṣn Kaifâ. Schoenfelder, p. 84, writes 'Jesujab *mysticus!*'

[7] الجُدَال, *Juddâl*, near Mosul.

30. Mâr[î]-emmêh was buried in Kĕṭîmiyâ (?).

31. Îshô‘-yab of Adiabene[1] was buried in Bêth-‘Âbê[2].

32. George was buried in . . . . . .

33. John was buried in . . . . . .

34. Ḥĕnân-îshô‘ was buried in . . . . . .

35. Ṣĕlîbâ-zĕkhâ was buried in Ctesiphon.

36. Pethiôn was buried in Ctesiphon.

37. Mâr[î]-abâ was buried in al-Madâïn.

38. Jacob was buried in . . . . . .

39. Ḥĕnân-îshô‘ was buried in . . . . . .

40. Timothy was buried in his own convent.

41. Îshô‘ (Joshua) the son of Nôn (Nun) was buried in the convent of Timothy.

42. George was buried in the same convent.

43. Sabr-îshô‘[3] was buried in the same convent.

44. Abraham was buried in the same convent.

45. Athanasius[4] was buried in the same convent.

46. Sergius was buried in the same convent.

47. Anôsh (Enos) was buried in the same convent. [ܫܠܡ]

48. John the son of Narsai was buried in the Greek Palace (at Baghdâd)[5].

49. Joannes[6] was buried in the Greek Palace.

50. John was buried in the Greek Palace.

51. Abraham was buried in the convent of ‘Abdôn.

52. Emmanuel was buried in the Greek Palace.

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[1] In Syriac ܚܕܝܒ, *Ḥĕdaiyab*, the district of which Arbêl or Irbil is the chief town.

[2] The famous convent of Bêth-‘Âbê was situated in the diocese of Margâ, not far from the right bank of the Great Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226, note 1798.

[3] Or ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ, *Ḥĕnân-îshô‘*.

[4] Or ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ, *Theodosius*.

[5] *Dârtâ-dĕ-Rômâyê*, ‘the house of the Romans’ (the Byzantine Greeks), the seat of the Nestorian patriarchs at Baghdâd. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 439, 440, 450.

[6] Assemânî, ܐܝܘܐܢܝܣ, Ἰωάννης; otherwise our writer commonly uses ܝܘܚܢܢ, *Yoḥannân* for John.

53. Israel was buried in the Greek Palace.
54. 'Abd-îshô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
55. Mârî was buried in the Greek Palace.
56. Joannes[1] was buried in the Greek Palace.
57. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
58. Îshô'-yab was buried in the Greek Palace.
59. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
60. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
61. Sabr-îshô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
62. 'Abd-îshô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
63. Makkîkhâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
64. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
65. Bar-ṣaumâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
66. 'Abd-îshô' was buried . . . . . .
67. Îshô'-yab was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-îshô'.
68. Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-îshô'.
69. Yab-alâhâ was buried in the church of Mârt[î] Maryam (my lady Mary). [ܡܠܗ]
70. Sabr-îshô' was buried in the church of Mârt[î] Maryam[2].
71. Sabr-îshô' was buried[3] . . . . . .
72. [Mâr Makkîkhâ was buried[4] . . . . . .
73. Mâr Denḥâ was buried[4] . . . . . .
74. Mâr Yab-alâhâ the Turk[5] was buried . . . . . .
75. Mâr Timothy was buried[4] . . . . . .
76. Mâr Denḥâ was buried . . . . . .
77. Mâr Simon was buried . . . . . .
78. Mâr Elijah (Elîyâ) was buried . . . . . .
79. Mâr Simon of our days, may he live for ever![6]]

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[1] See note 6 on preceding page.

[2] Assemânî omits ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ. The MS. A has *in 'Atîkah*, i.e. العَتِيقَة, or 'the old (Town),' a quarter of Baghdâd on the east or left side of the Tigris.

[3] This is from A alone, but correct.

[4] Assemânî omits ܐܬܩܒܪ.

[5] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 456.

[6] According to Assemânî, t. ii, p. 457, col. 1, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 621, col. 1, he was ordained Catholicus in 1504. The list has therefore been continued by the scribes of the different MSS. long after Solomon's time.

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The names of the Catholics who were deposed and dismissed (from office): Mâr(î)-bôkht, Narsai, Elisha, Joseph and Sôrên.

CHAPTER LII.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS WHO HAVE REIGNED IN THE WORLD FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW.

THE MEDIAN KINGS WHO REIGNED IN BABYLON.

Darius the son of Vashtasp (Hystaspes) reigned 24 years.
Aḥshîresh (Xerxes) his son, 20 years.
Arṭaḥshisht the long-hand (Artaxerxes Longimanus), 41 years.
Daryâwash (Darius) the son of the concubine, 20 years.
Arṭaḥshisht (Artaxerxes) the ruler, 30 years.
Arses the son of Ochus, 4 years.
Daryâwash (Darius) the son of Ârsham (Arsanes), 6 years. [ܫܠܡ]

THE YEARS OF THE EGYPTIAN KINGS[1].

Alexander the son of Philip, 12 years. Ptolemy the son of Lagôs, 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years[2]. In his third year[3] the fifth millennium ended. This (king) asked the captive Jews who were in Egypt, and seventy old men translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names are these. Josephus, Hezekiah, Zechariah, John, Ezekiel, Elisha; these were of the tribe of Reuben. Judah, Simon, Samuel, Addai, Mattathias, Shalmî; these were of the tribe of Simeon. Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Bâsâ, Adonijah[4], Dâḳî[5]; these were of the tribe

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[1] See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, *Synoptische Tafeln*, p. 9.

[2] The MSS. have '*the son of* Philadelphus,' both here and below.

[3] According to Bar-Hebraeus it was in his sixth year; *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bruns, p. 41. A list of the 72 translators is given in Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*. See Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 792, 15 *a*.

[4] The Vatican MS. and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 have ܐܘܪܝܐ.

[5] Vatican MS. *Datis*.

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of Levi. Jothan[1], Abdî, Elisha, Ananias, Zechariah, Hilkiah; these were of the tribe of Judah. Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sambâṭ (Sabbateus), Simon, Levi; these were of the tribe of Issachar. Judah, Joseph, Simon, Zechariah, Samuel, Shamlî[2]; these were of the tribe of Zebulon. Sambâṭ (Sabbateus), Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesse, Matthias; these were of the tribe of Gad. Theodosius, Jason, Joshua, John, Theodotus, Jothan[3]; these were of the tribe of Asher. Abraham, Theophilus, Arsam, Jason, Jeremiah, Daniel; these were of the tribe of Dan. Jeremiah, Eliezer, Zechariah, [ܛܠܐ] Benaiah, Elisha, Dathî; these were of the tribe of Naphtali. Samuel, Josephus, Judah, Jonathan, Dositheus, Caleb; these were of the tribe of Joseph. Isalus, John, Theodosius, Arsam, Abijah[4], Ezekiel; these were of the tribe of Benjamin.

After Ptolemy Philadelphus arose Ptolemy Euergetes; (he reigned) 26 years[5].

Ptolemy Philopator, 17 years.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years.

Ptolemy Philometor, 35 years. The time of the Maccabees extended to this (reign), and in it the old Covenant came to an end.

Ptolemy Soter, 17 years[6].

Ptolemy Alexander, 18 years[7].

Ptolemy Dionysius, 30 years[8].

THE YEARS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Gaius Julius, 4 years.

Augustus, 57 years. In the forty-third year of his reign our Lord Christ was born[9].

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[1] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Jonathan*.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Shalmî*.

[3] Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 wrongly ܡܣܠܡ. ܡܣܠܝ. The Vatican MS. has also *Jonathan*.

[4] Or, as pointed in the text, *Abbâyâ*. Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 *a*, col. 2, ܐܚܝܠܘܗܘܡ.

[5] Lepsius, 25 years.

[6] I. e. Ptolemy Soter II. Lepsius, 36 years.

[7] See the notes in Lepsius, p. 9 of the Tables.

[8] Lepsius, 29 years.

[9] For the authorities and their opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii, p. 260.

Tiberius, 23 years. In the fifteenth year of his reign our Lord was baptised; and in the seventeenth year He suffered, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven[1].

Gaius (Caligula), 4 years.

Claudius, 14 years.

Nero, 14 years. [ܦܠܝܣ]

Vespasian, 10 years. Immediately after he came to the throne, he sent his son Titus against Jerusalem, and he besieged it for two years, until he uprooted it and destroyed it.

Titus, 2 years.

Domitian, 15 years.

Trajan, 20 years[2]. John, the son of Zebedee, lived until the seventh year of his reign.

Hadrian, 20 years.

Antoninus, 20 years[3].

Verus, 20 years[4].

Commodus, 14 years[5].

Severus, 20 years[6].

The house of Antoninus.

Alexander the son of Mammaea, 13 years.

Maximinius and Gordianus, 9 years.

Philip and Gallus, 10 years.

Valerianus and Gallius (Gallienus), 15 years[7].

Claudius and Tacitus, 16 years[8].

Diocletian and those that were with him, 20 years.

Constantine, 33 years[9].

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[1] For the various opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 12.

[2] He reigned 19 years (A.D. 99–117). Solomon probably includes the reign of Nerva, 1 year.

[3] He reigned 23 years (A.D. 139–161).

[4] See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 846.

[5] He reigned 12 years (A.D. 181–192).

[6] He reigned 18 years (A.D. 194–211).

[7] Philip reigned A.D. 245–249, i.e. 5 years. Decius came next and reigned 2 years. Gallus reigned 1 year, A.D. 252.

[8] Claudius reigned 2 years, A.D. 269–270; and Tacitus died A.D. 276.

[9] He reigned 31 years, A.D. 307–337.

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THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS FROM SHÂBÔR (SAPOR) THE SON OF HORMIZD [1].

In the fourth year of Constantine Caesar the Victorious, Shâbôr reigned in Persia 70 years. [ܡܠܟ]

Ardashîr his brother, 20 years.

Vahrân (Bahrâm) and Shâbôr, the sons of Ardashîr, 20 years.

Yazdagerd, the son of Shâbôr, 20 years.

Vahrân (Bahrâm), the son of Yazdagerd, 20 years.

Pêrôz, the son of Yazdagerd, 27 years.

Balâsh, the son of Pêrôz, 4 years.

Ḳawâd, the son of Pêrôz, 41 years.

Chosrau, the son of Ḳawâd, 47 years.

Hormizd, the son of Chosrau, 12 years.

From Shâbôr to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the son of Hormizd, in which he destroyed Dârâ [2], is three hundred and six years. The sum of all the years from Adam to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the conqueror, which is the nine hundred and sixteenth year of the Greeks [3], is 5861 years. From Adam to the Crucifixion is 5280 years. The whole of the Jewish economy therefore, from the time they went out of Egypt until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, was 1601 years. From Abraham to this year is 2031 years.

OF THE YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED AWAY FROM THE WORLD.

From Adam to the Flood was 2262 years. From the Flood to Abraham was 1015 years. From Abraham to [ܡܦܩ] the Exodus of the people from Egypt was 430 years. From the Exodus of the people by the hand of Moses to Solomon and the building of the Temple was 400 years. From Solomon to the first Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive, was 495 years. From the first Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was 180 years. From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth

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[1] For a list of the Sasanian kings see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 436 *a;* and Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. i, p. 437.

[2] Schoenfelder, p. 86, *quo hoc genus expirat!* See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 239, 290 sqq.; Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 62.

[3] I. e. A.D. 604. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 436 *a*.

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of our Lord was 483 years. All these years make 5345 years[1]. From Alexander to our Lord was 303 years. From our Lord to Constantine was 341 years. In the year 438 of Alexander the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning[2]. Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

CHAPTER LIII[3].

OF THE END OF TIMES AND THE CHANGE OF KINGDOMS[4]; FROM THE BOOK OF METHODIUS, BISHOP OF ROME[5].

In this seventh and last millennium will the kingdom of the Persians be destroyed. In it will the children of Ishmael go forth from the wilderness of Yathrib (al-Medînah), and they will all come and be gathered together in Gibeah of Ramah, and there shall the fat ones of the kingdom of the Greeks, who destroyed the kingdoms of the Hebrews and the Persians, be destroyed by Ishmael, the wild ass of the desert; for in wrath shall he be sent against the whole earth, against man and beast and trees, and it shall be a merciless chastisement. It is not [ܡܚܐ] because God loves them that He has allowed them to enter into the kingdoms of the Christians, but by reason of the iniquity and sin which is wrought by the Christians, the like of which has never been wrought in any one of the former generations. They are mad with drunkenness and anger and shameless lasciviousness; they have intercourse with one another wickedly, a man and his son committing fornication with one woman, the brother with his brother's wife, male with male, and female with female, contrary to the law of nature and of Scripture, as the blessed Paul has said, 'Male with male did work shame, and likewise also the

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[1] I can only make 5265 years.

[2] It should be 'in the year 538,' as the Sasanian dynasty was founded by Ardashîr I in A.D. 226.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. liv, fol. 191 *b*.

[4] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 53; and the revelation to Methodius in prison, edited by Brant, Basel, 1516, 4to, pp. 1–80.

[5] Solomon has made a slip here: Methodius was bishop of Olympus and Tyre, but never of Rome.

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women did work lewdness, and, contrary to nature, had intercourse with one another[1].' Therefore they have brought upon themselves the recompense of punishment which is meet for their error, women as well as men, and hence God will deliver them over to the impurity of the barbarians, that their wives may be polluted by the sons of pollution, and men may be subjected to the yoke of tribute; then shall men sell everything that they have and give it to them, but shall not be able to pay the debt of the tribute, until they give also their children to them into slavery. And the tyrant shall exalt himself until he demands tribute and poll-tax from the dead that lie in the dust, first oppressing the orphans and defrauding the widows. They will have no pity upon the poor, nor will they spare the miserable; they will not relieve the afflicted; they will smite the grey hairs of the aged, despise the wise, and honour fools; they will mock at those who frame laws, and the little shall be esteemed as the great, and the despised as the honourable; their words shall cut like swords, [ܡܚܟܒ] and there is none who shall be able to change the persuasive force of their words. The path of their chastisement shall be from sea to sea, and from east to west, and from north to south, and to the wilderness of Yathrib. In their latter days there shall be great tribulation, old men and old women hungering and thirsting, and tortured in bonds until they account the dead happy. They will rip up the pregnant woman, and tear infants away from their mothers' bosoms and sell them like beasts, and those that are of no use to them will they dash against the stones. They will slay the priests and deacons in the sanctuary, and they will lie with their wives in the houses of God. They will make clothes for themselves and their wives out of the holy vestments, and they will spread them upon their horses, and work impurity upon them in their beds. They will bring their cattle into the churches and altars, and they will tie up their dogs by the shrines of the saints. In those days the spirit of the righteous and of them that are well versed in signs will be grieved. The feeble will deny the true faith, the holy Cross, and the life-giving mysteries; and without compulsion many will deny Christ, and become rebels and slanderers and boasters, denying the faith. With this chastisement shall the Christians be tried. For at that

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[1] Rom. i. 26, 27.

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time the righteous, the humble, the peaceful and the gentle will not be sought after, but liars and slanderers and accusers and disturbers and the obscene and those who are destitute of mercy, and those who scoff at their parents and blaspheme the life-giving mysteries. And the true believers shall come into troubles [ܡܚܠ] and persecutions until they despair of their lives. Honour shall be taken away from the priests, and the pastors shall become as the people. When the measure of their (i. e. the Ishmaelites') victory is full, tribulation will increase, and chastisement will be doubled upon man and beast. And there shall be a great famine, and the dead bodies of men shall lie in the streets and squares without any one to bury them, and (just) reckoning shall vanish and disappear from the earth. And men shall sell their brass and their iron and their clothes, and shall give their sons and their daughters willingly to the heathen. A man shall lie down in the evening and rise in the morning, and shall find at his door two or three exactors and officers to carry off by force[1]; and two or three women shall throw themselves upon one man and say, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us take refuge beneath thy skirts[2].' When men are oppressed and beaten, and hunger and thirst, and are tormented by that bitter chastisement; while the tyrants shall live luxuriously and enjoy themselves, and eat and drink, and boast in the victory they have won, having destroyed nations and peoples, and shall adorn themselves like brides, saying, 'The Christians have neither a God nor a deliverer;' then all of a sudden there shall be raised up against them pains like those of a woman in childbirth; and the king of the Greeks shall go forth against them in great wrath, and he shall rouse himself like a man who has shaken off his wine. He shall go forth against them from the sea of the Cushites, and shall cast the sword and destruction into the wilderness of Yathrib and into the dwelling-place [ܡܚܕ] of their fathers. They shall carry off captive their wives and sons and daughters into the service of slavery, and fear of all those round about them shall fall upon them, and they shall all be delivered into the hand of the king of the Greeks, and shall be given over to the sword and to captivity and to slaughter, and their latter subjection shall be one hundred times more severe than their

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[1] I have omitted ܕ̈ܡܥܣܛܝܢܐ with MS. C.

[2] Isa. iv. 1.

(former) yoke. They shall be in sore tribulation from hunger and thirst and anxiety; they shall be slaves unto those who served them, and bitter shall their slavery be. Then shall the earth which has become desolate of its inhabitants find peace, and the remnant that is left shall return every man to his own land and to the inheritance of his fathers; and men shall increase like locusts upon the earth which was laid waste. Egypt shall be ravaged, Arabia shall be burnt with fire, the land of Hebron shall be laid waste, and the tongue of the sea shall be at peace. All the wrath and anger of the king of the Greeks shall have full course upon those who have denied Christ. And there shall be great peace on earth, the like of which has not been from the creation of the world until its end; for it is the last peace. And there shall be great joy on earth, and men shall dwell in peace and quiet; convents and churches shall be restored, cities shall be built, the priests shall be freed from taxes, and men shall rest from labour and anxiety of heart. They shall eat and drink; there shall be neither pain nor care; and they shall marry wives and beget children during that true peace. Then shall the gates of the north be opened, and the nations shall go forth that were imprisoned there by Alexander the king. [ܣܟܗ]

CHAPTER LIV[1].

OF GOG AND MAGOG, WHO ARE IMPRISONED IN THE NORTH.

WHEN Alexander was king and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw on the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all (other) dwellers in the world; filthy peoples of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead, and they ate as dainties the children which women aborted and the after-birth. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and made them go in, and shut them up within the confines of the North. This is the gate of the world on the north, and there is no other entrance or exit from the confines of the world from the east to the north. And Alexander prayed to God with tears, and God heard his prayer and commanded those two lofty mountains which are called 'the children of the north,' and they drew nigh to one another until there remained between them about twelve cubits. Then he built in front of them a strong building, and he made for it a door of brass, and anointed it within and without with oil of *Thesnaḳṭîs*[1], so that if they should bring[2] iron (implements) near it [ܡܚܒܘ] to force it open, they would be unable to move it; and if they wished to melt it with fire, it would quench it; and it feared neither the operations of devils nor of sorcerers, and was not to be overcome (by them). Now there were twenty-two kingdoms imprisoned within the northern gate, and their names are these: Gôg, Mâgôg, Nâwâl, Eshkĕnâz[3], Dĕnâphâr[4], Paḳṭâyê, Wĕlôṭâyê[5], Humnâyê, Parzâyê, Daḳlâyê, Thaubĕlâyê[6], Darmĕṭâyê, Kawkĕbâyê, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emdĕrâthâ, Garmîdô', Cannibals[7], Therḳâyê, Âlânâyê, Pîsîlôn, Denḳâyê[8], Salṭrâyê[9]. At the end of the world and at the final consummation, when men are eating and drinking and marrying wives, and women are given to husbands; when they are planting vineyards and building buildings, and there is neither wicked man nor

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lv, fol. 197 *a*. See Brant's edition of *Methodius*, p. 20.

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[1] Bar Bahlûl, Brit. Mus. Add. 2441, fol. 395 *a*, col. 2: ܬܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܒ ܗܢ̄ܘ. ܗ̄. مترنّج مترجّم. [ܕ]ܙ̄ ܐܣܢܐ ܬܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܡܠܐܟ. ܬܣܢܩܛܝܣ ܐ̈ܡܫܚܬܗ ܒܦܘܡ ܘ̈ܡܫܠܐ ܠܟܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܫܠܛ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ. زَعَمَ منديوس انّ اسكندر عَمِلَ منه السّدّ الذي رَدَمَه علي ياجُوج وماجُوج. [ܕ]ܙ̄ ܐܣܢܐ ܡܠܐܟ ܬܣܢܩܛܝܣ.

[2] The MSS. have ܩܪܒܝܢ, but we should read ܡܩܪܒܝܢ.

[3] C, *Eshkîn*.

[4] B, *Dîfâr*.

[5] C, *Lûdâyê;* A omits the name.

[6] B, *Tuklâyê*.

[7] A, C have: *Kaukĕbâyê*, *Emrartâ*, *Garmîdô'*, *Cannibals*, *Dog-men* (Cynocephali).

[8] B, *Dunḳâyê*.

[9] B, *Salṭâyê*.—Some of these names are biblical, e.g. Gog, Magog, and Ashkenaz. Of the others many are doubtless corrupt, as the variants shew, but a few are easily recognisable; e.g. *Paḳṭâyê*, the people of Πακτύη in the Thracian Chersonesus; *Humnâyê* = *Hunnâyê*, ܗܘܢܝܐ, the Huns, Οὖννοι; *Therḳâyê*, the Thracians, Θρᾷκες; and *Âlânâyê*, the Alani, Ἀλανοί, الآلان.

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adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger, and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of animals; they will devour the creeping things of the earth, and hunt for serpents and scorpions and reptiles that shoot out venom, and eat them. They will eat dead dogs and cats[1], and the abortions of women with the after-birth; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. [ܡܚܒܐ] They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa[2], for thither will all those (people) be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters; and by the command of God one of the hosts of the angels will descend and will destroy them in one moment.

CHAPTER LV[3].

OF THE COMING OF THE ANTICHRIST, THE SON OF PERDITION.

In a week and half a week[4] after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three (cities) in the Gospel[5]. As soon as the son of perdition is revealed, the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven, and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross will be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kûshath the daughter of Pîl, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus) the king of the Greeks took Kûshath to wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David has said, 'Cush will deliver the power to God[1].' When the Cross is raised up to heaven, [ܩܡܛ] straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will shew deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will shew deluding phantasms (of this kind), but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the temple saying, 'I am the Christ;' and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and saying, 'I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables.' He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling-place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before [ܩܢ] all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, 'This is the

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[1] The text has *weasels* (ܦܘܬܟ̈ܐ=γαλῆ), glossed by *cats* (ܩܛܘ̈ܐ, a word of unknown origin).

[2] So B, C ܝܘܦܐ; but A has Nôphê, ܢܘܦܐ.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lvi, fol. 198 *b*.

[4] See Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, ii, col. 618.

[5] Matt. xi. 21.

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[1] Ps. lxviii. 31.

Christ, the expectation of the world.' The time of the error of the Antichrist will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when every one is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

CHAPTER LVI[1].

OF DEATH AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE SOUL FROM THE BODY.

THE foundation of all good and precious things, of all the greatness of God's gifts, of His true love, and of our arriving in His presence, is Death. Men die in five ways. Naturally; as David said, 'Unless his day come and he die,' alluding to Saul[2]. Voluntarily; as when Saul killed himself in the battle with the Philistines. By accident; such as a fall from a roof, and other fatal accidents. By violence, from devils and men and wild beasts and venomous reptiles. By (divine) chastisement; as the flood in the days of Noah, and the fire which fell upon the Sodomites, and other such like things. But (side by side) with all these kinds of fatalities runs the providence of God's government, which cannot be comprehended by the creatures, restraining (them) where it is meet (to restrain), and letting (them) loose where it is fitting (to let loose). This government is not comprehended in this world, neither by angels nor by men; but in the world which is to come all rational beings will know it. When the soul goes forth from [صم] the body, as Abbâ Isaiah says, the angels go with it: then the hosts of darkness go forth to meet it, seeking to seize it and examine it, if there be anything of theirs in it. Then the angels do not fight with them, but those deeds which the soul has wrought protect it and guard it, that they come not near it. If its deeds be victorious, then the angels sing praises before it until it meets God with joy. In that hour the soul forgets every deed of this world. Consequently, no one who does not obtain remission (of sins) in this world can be free from the penalty of examination in that day. Not that there is torture or pleasure or recompense before the resurrection; but the soul knows everything that it has done whether of good or evil.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lvii, fol. 200 *a*.

[2] 1 Sam. xxvi. 10.

As to where the souls abide from the time they leave their bodies until the resurrection, some say that they are taken up to heaven, that is, to the region of spirit, where the celestial hosts dwell. Others say that they go to Paradise, that is, to the place which is abundantly supplied with the good things of the mystery of the revelations of God; and that the souls of sinners lie in darkness in the abyss of Eden outside Paradise. Others say that they are buried with their bodies; that is to say, as the two were buried in God at baptism, so also will they now dwell in Him until the day of the resurrection. Others say that they stand at the mouth of the graves and await their Redeemer; that is to say, they possess the knowledge of the resurrection of their bodies. Others say that they are as it were in a slumber, [ܡܟܐ] because of the shortness of the time; for they point out in regard to them that what seems to us a very long time is to them as a momentary nod (or wink) in its shortness[1]. And just as he that is sunk in slumber departs from the life of this world, and yet does not arrive at absolute mortality, so also are they in an intermediate knowledge which is higher than that of this world, and yet attain not to that which is after the resurrection. Those who say that they are like an infant which has no knowledge, shew that they call even the knowledge of the truth ignorance in comparison with that knowledge of the truth which shall be bestowed upon them after the resurrection.

That the souls of the righteous pray, and that their prayers assist those who take refuge with them, may be learned from many, especially from Mâr Theodore in his account of the blessed Thecla. Therefore it is right for those who have a holy man for a friend, to rejoice when he goes to our Lord in Paradise, because their friend has the power to help them by his prayers. Like the blind disciple of one of the saints mentioned in the Book of the Paradise, who, when his master was dying, wept bitterly and said, 'To whose care dost thou leave the poor blind man?' And his master encouraged him, and said to him, 'I believe in God that, if I find mercy in His sight, at the end of a week thou wilt see;' and after some days he did see. The souls of the righteous also hold spiritual conversation with each other, according to the Divine permission and command which moves them to this by necessary causes. Neither those who have departed this life in the flesh are hindered from this (intercourse), [ܩܡܒ] nor those who are still clad in their fleshly garments, if they live their life in them holily.

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 322–323.

CHAPTER LVII[1].

OF THE QUICKENING AND THE GENERAL RESURRECTION, THE CONSUMMATION OF THE MATERIAL WORLD AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW WORLD.

AFTER Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction, and encourages the believers, for a space and a time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel. Its light will overpower the light of the sun, to the reproach and putting to shame of the infidels and the crucifying Jews. As soon as the life-giving Cross appears before our Lord, as the Doctor saith, 'His victory comes before Him,' etc., then a powerful light will fill the whole vaulted space between the heavens and the earth, the radiance and light whereof will be above all (other) lights; and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard, concerning which our Lord said, 'At midnight there will be a cry, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him[2]."' At this trumpet the sun shall become dark, the moon shall not display its light, the stars shall drop from the heavens like leaves, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved. The earth shall totter and tremble, the mountains and hills shall melt, the sea shall be disturbed and shall cause terrible sounds to be heard. The rivers [ܩܡܓ] shall submerge the earth, the trees shall be uprooted, buildings shall fall, towns and villages shall be overturned, and high walls and strong towers shall be thrown down. The wild beasts and cattle and fowl and fish shall come to an end and perish; and everything shall be destroyed, except a few human beings who shall remain alive, and whom the resurrection shall overtake, of whom Paul has said, 'We who are left shall not overtake them that sleep[1],' meaning to say that those who are found alive at the time of the resurrection will not sleep the sleep of death; as the apostle says again, 'Behold I tell you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed[2].' As touching the heavens, some say that they will be rent, and that the waters which are above the firmament will descend, for it is not possible for the substance of water to pass through the substance of the firmament. Others say that as water passes through a tree or a piece of pottery, and sweat through the skin, so also will men enter into heaven and not be prevented, and (in like manner too) will the waters descend from above. Others say that the firmament will be rolled up like the curtain of a tent.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lviii, fol. 202 *b*.

[2] Matt. xxv. 6.

The second trumpet is that at the sound of which the firmament will be opened, and our Lord will appear from heaven in splendour and great glory. He will come down with the glory of His divinity as far as two-thirds of the distance between the firmament and the earth, whither Paul ascended in the spirit of revelation[3]. He will then make an end of the son of perdition, and destroy him body and soul, and He will hurl Satan and the devils into Gehenna.

The third trumpet is the last, at which the dead will rise, [ܩܠܕ] and the living be changed, as the blessed Paul says, 'Swiftly, as in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet when it sounds; and the dead shall rise without corruption, and we shall be changed[4].' So swiftly and speedily will the resurrection of all men be wrought, according to the spiritual nature of the new world. For the swiftness of the resurrection will surpass the swiftness of understanding, and the spiritual hosts alone see and know in what manner it will take place, every man being suddenly found standing in his spirituality. Some men therefore have a tradition that the resurrection of the righteous and the just and the believers will precede that of other men, who are remote from the true faith; but according to the opinion of the truthful and of people generally, the resurrection of the whole human race will take place quicker than lightning and than the twinkling of an eye; from the generation of Adam to the latest generation they shall rise at the last trumpet. And though, according to the opinion of the Expositor[1], many sounds will be heard on that night, each one of which is a sign of what will happen, yet, according to the consent of the greater part of the expositors and of Scripture, three distinct trumpets will sound by which the whole work of the resurrection will be completed and finished. Michael the expositor and exegete, however, says otherwise in the book of Questions[2], speaking as follows: 'The world will not pass away and be dissolved before the vivification of the dead, but the coming of our Lord will be seen first of all, who will come with the spiritual hosts; and immediately our Lord's power will compel the earth to give up the parts of the bodies of men who have been slain and have become dust and ashes within it; and there will be a making ready and preparation of the souls to receive their bodies all together. If, before the vivification of the dead [ܡܝܬܐ], the world and all that is therein were to pass away, from whence pray would the dead rise? Those who say that the world will pass away before the vivification of the dead are fools and simpletons; for Christ will not make the world pass away before the vivification of the dead, but He will first of all raise the dead, and men will see with their eyes the passing away of the world, the uprooting of the elements, and the destruction of the heavens and the earth and the sun and the moon and the stars; and from here sorrow will begin to reign in the mind of the wicked, and endless joy in the mind of the righteous.'

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[1] Solomon is quoting 1 Thes. iv. 15 (Pĕshîṭtâ): ܗܳܕܶܐ ܓܶܝܪ ܐܳܡܪܺܝܢܰܢ ܠܟܽܘܢ ܒܡܶܠܬܶܗ ܕܡܳܪܰܢ. ܕܰܚܢܰܢ ܐܰܝܠܶܝܢ ܕܡܶܫܬܰܒܩܺܝܢܰܢ ܒܡܶܬܺܝܬܶܗ ܕܡܳܪܰܢ ܕܰܚܝܶܝܢ: ܠܳܐ ܢܰܕܪܶܟ ܠܰܐܝܠܶܝܢ ܕܰܕܡܶܟܘ.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 51.

[3] 2 Cor. xii. 2.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 52.

CHAPTER LVIII[3].

OF THE MANNER AND STATE IN WHICH MEN WILL RISE IN THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION.

ALL classes and conditions of men will rise from the dead in the state of the perfect form of Christ, about thirty-three years of age, even as our

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[1] Probably Theodore of Mopsuestia.

[2] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 147; Hoffmann, *Opusc. Nest.*, p. xxi.

[3] In the Oxford MS. chap. lix, fol. 204 *b*.

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Redeemer rose from the grave. We shall rise with all our limbs perfect, and with the same constitutions, without addition or diminution. Some say that the hair and nails and prepuce will rise, and some say they will not; as if they were superfluous for the completion of the nature of man. Some say concerning the resurrection that a likeness only will rise, without parts and without the composition of the limbs of man; a mere similitude of hands and feet and hardness of bones. Others say that the whole man will be cast into one crystalline substance, and that all his parts will be mingled together; and they do not grant him an ordered arrangement of composition. Others say that the vessels [ܡܢܗ] which are inside the belly, such as the bowels, liver, etc., will not rise; but they err and stray from the truth, and do not understand that if one of the parts of the body perish, it is not perfect. For Paul shewed plainly and laid down an example of the resurrection in the grain of wheat: just as that grows up entire with its glory, without any portion of it having perished, even so we; for the whole man shall rise with all his limbs and parts, and ordered in his composition as now, only having acquired purification from the humours. And this is not surprising, that if an earthen vessel acquires firmness and lightness when it goes into the fiery furnace, without any change taking place in its shape or form, but is lightened of its heaviness and density, whilst it preserves its shape uninjured; so also should the Holy Spirit burn us in the furnace of the resurrection and drive forth from us all the foul material of the present (life), and clothe us with incorruptibility. 'It is sown an animal body; it rises a spiritual body[1].' We shall neither see nor hear with all our bodily members, although some men have thought that the whole man will be sight and hearing; but we shall carry out action with these same usual limbs, if it happen to be necessary; although we shall not there need speech and conversation with one another, because each other's secrets will be revealed to us.

The things which certain stupid men invent, who indulge their fancy, and give bodily form to the punishment of sinners and the reward of the just and righteous, [ܡܢܝ] and say that there is at the resurrection a reckoning and a pair of scales, the Church does not receive; but each

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 44.

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one of us carries his light and his fire within him, and his heaviness and his lightness is found in his own nature. Just as stone and iron naturally possess the property of falling to the earth, and as the air naturally ascends upward on account of its rarity and its lightness; so also in the resurrection, he that is heavy and lying in sins, his sins will bring him down; and he that is free from the rust of sin, his purity will make him rise in the scale. And our Lord will ascend to heaven, and the angels (will go) before Him like ambassadors, and the just and the righteous will be upon His right hand and His left, and the children behind Him in the form of the life-giving Cross.

CHAPTER LIX[1].

OF THE HAPPINESS OF THE RIGHTEOUS AND THE TORMENT OF SINNERS, AND IN WHAT STATE THEY ARE THERE.

It is right for us to know and explain how those suffer, who suffer in Gehenna. If they do suffer, how can we say that they are impassible? and if they do not suffer, then there is no torture for sinners; and if there be no torture for sinners in proportion to their sins, neither can there be happiness for the righteous as a reward for their labours. The suffering wherewith the Fathers say that sinners will suffer in Gehenna is not one that will pain the limbs, such as the blows of sticks, the mutilation of the flesh, and the breaking of the bones, but one that will afflict the soul, such as grief for the transgression of what is right, repentance for shameful deeds, and banishment from one to whom he is bound [ܨܡܝܕ] in love and for whom his affection is strong. For in the resurrection we shall not be without perception, like the sun which perceives not his splendour, nor the moon her brilliancy, nor the pearl its beauty; but by the power of reason we shall feel perfectly the delight of our happiness or the keen pain of our torture. So then by that which enables the righteous to perceive the pleasure of their happiness, by that selfsame thing will the wicked also perceive the suffering of their torment; (that is) by the power capable of receiving pleasure, which is the intelligence. Hence it is right for us to be certain that intelligence will not be taken away from us, but it will receive the utmost purification and refinement. The glorious and good things of the world which is to come are not to be compared with those of this world; for if all the glorious and good things and delights of this world were given to us in the world which is to come, we should look upon them as hateful and abominable, and they would not be able to give us pleasure or to gladden us; and our nature by the blessedness of its immortality would be exalted above all their glory and desirability. And if all the torments and afflictions and troubles of this world were brought near to us in the world which is to come, the pain of them would make no impression upon our immortal and immutable nature. Hence the pleasure of that world is something beyond all comparison more glorious and excellent and exalted than those of this world; and the torment of yonder is likewise something beyond all comparison more severe and more bitter than any that is here.

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[1] In the Oxford MS. chap. lx, fol. 205 *b*.

It is also right for us to explain the quality of the light of the righteous. The light of the righteous is not of a natural origin like this elemental light (of ours), but some of the light of our Lord—whose splendour surpasses ten thousand suns—is diffused and shed upon them. [ܡܕܠ] Each saint shines in proportion to his purity, and holiness and refinement and sincerity, as the blessed Paul has said, 'One star surpasseth another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead [1].' And although all the saints will be happy in one kingdom, yet he who is near to the King or the Bridegroom will be separated from him whose place is at the end of the guest-chamber, even though his place be in the same chamber. So also with the sinners in Gehenna; their sentence will not be alike, for in proportion to the sin of each will be his torment. And as the light of the sun is not to be compared with the light of the moon, nor is the light of the moon like that of the stars, so also will the happiness of the righteous be, although the name and honour of righteousness be laid upon and spread over all of them. And as the light of our Lord's humanity will pass over all our limbs without distinction, and take the place of dress and ornament for us, so also with all our members shall we perceive the suffering and torment of Gehenna. The festal garments which our Lord has prepared for His saints, the children of light, are impassibility; and the filthy garments which hinder us from entering into the spiritual bridal-chamber are the passions. In the new world there will be no distinctive names for ranks and conditions of human beings; and as every name and surname attributed to God and the angels had its origin from this world, and names for human beings were assigned and distributed by the government of this world, in the world of spiritual and intellectual natures there will be [ܣܘܦ] neither names nor surnames among them, nor male nor female, nor slave nor free, nor child nor old man, nor Ethiopian nor Roman (Greek); but they will all rise in the one perfect form of a man thirty-three years of age, as our Lord rose from the dead. In the world to come there will be no companies or bands but two; the one of the angels and the righteous, who will mingle and form one Church, and the other of the devils and sinners in Gehenna.

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42.

CHAPTER LX[1].

WHETHER MERCY WILL BE SHEWN TO SINNERS AND THE DEVILS IN GEHENNA, AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN TORMENTED AND SUFFERED AND BEEN PUNISHED, OR NOT? AND IF MERCY IS TO BE SHEWN TO THEM, WHEN WILL IT BE?

SOME of the Fathers terrify us beyond our strength and throw us into despair; and their opinion is well adapted to the simple-minded and trangressors of the law. Others of them encourage us and bid us rely upon Divine mercy; and their opinions are suitable and adapted to the perfect and those of settled minds and the pious. In the 'Book of Memorials' it is thus written: 'This world is the world of repentance, but the world which is to come is the world of retribution. As in this world repentance saves until the last breath, so in the world to come justice exacts to the uttermost farthing. And as it is impossible to see here strict justice unmingled with mercy, so it is impossible to find there strict justice mingled with mercy.' [ܣܘܦܐ] Mâr Isaac says thus: 'Those who are to be scourged in Gehenna will be tortured with stripes of love; they who feel that they have sinned against love will suffer harder and more severe pangs from love than the pain that springs from fear.' Again he says: 'The recompense of sinners will be this: the resurrection itself will be their recompense instead of the recompense of justice; and at the last He will clothe those bodies which have trodden down His laws with the glory of perfection. This act of grace to us after we have sinned is greater than that which, when we were not, brought our nature into being.' Again he says: 'In the world which is to come grace will be the judge and not justice.' Mâr Theodore the Expositor says: 'Those who have here chosen fair things will receive in the world to come the pleasure of good things with praises; but the wicked who have turned aside to evil things all their life, when they are become ordered in their minds by penalties and the fear that springs from them, and choose good things, and learn how much they have sinned by having persevered in evil things and not in good things, and by means of these things receive the knowledge of the highest doctrine of the fear of God, and become instructed to lay hold of it with a good will, will be deemed worthy of the happiness of the Divine liberality. For He would never have said, "Until thou payest the uttermost farthing," unless it had been possible for us to be freed from our sins through having atoned for them by paying the penalty; neither would He have said, "he shall be beaten with many stripes," or "he shall be beaten with few stripes," unless it were [ܡܦܣ] that the penalties, being meted out according to the sins, should finally come to an end.' These things the Expositor has handed down in his books clearly and distinctly.

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[1] Some portions of this chapter have been translated by Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 323–324. See also Schoenfelder's translation, pp. 99, 100. In the Oxford MS. chap. lxi, fol. 208 *a*.

So also the blessed Diodorus, who says in the 'Book of the Dispensation[1]:' 'A lasting reward, which is worthy of the justice of the Giver, is laid up for the good, in return for their labours; and torment for sinners, but not everlasting, that the immortality which is prepared for them may not be worthless. They must however be tormented for a short time, as they deserve, in proportion to the measure of their iniquity and wickedness, according to the amount of the wickedness of their deeds. This they will have to bear, that they suffer for a short time; but immortal and unending happiness is prepared for them. If it be then that the rewards of good deeds are as great (in proportion to them) as the times of the immortality which are prepared for them are longer[1] than the times of the limited contests which take place in this world, the torments for many and great sins must be very much less than the greatness of mercy. So then it is not for the good only that the grace of the resurrection from the dead is intended, but also for the wicked; for the grace of God greatly honours the good, but chastises the wicked sparingly.'

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[1] See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 29, and note 2.

Again he says: 'God pours out the wages of reward beyond the measure of the labours (wrought), and in the abundance of His goodness He lessens and diminishes the penalty of those [ܡܬܬܠ] who are to be tormented, and in His mercy He shortens and reduces the length of the time. But even thus He does not punish the whole time according to (the length of) the time of folly, seeing that He requites them far less than they deserve, just as He does the good beyond the measure and period (of their deserts); for the reward is everlasting. It has not been revealed whether the goodness of God wishes to punish without ceasing the blameworthy[2] who have been found guilty of evil deeds (or not), as we have already said before. * * * * *

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But if punishment is to be weighed out according to sin, not even so would punishment be endless. For as regards that which is said in the Gospel, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal[4];' this word 'eternal' (*lĕ-'âlam*) is not definite: for if it be not so, how did Peter say to our Lord, 'Thou shalt never wash my feet[5],' and yet He washed him? And of Babylon He said, 'No man shall dwell therein for ever and ever[6],' and behold many generations dwell therein. In the 'Book of Memorials' he says: 'I hold what the most celebrated of the holy Fathers say, that He cuts off a little from much. The penalty of Gehenna is a man's mind; for the punishment there is of two kinds, that of the body and that of the mind. That of the body is perhaps in proportion to the degree of sin, and He lessens and diminishes its duration; but that of the mind is for ever, and the judgment is for ever.' But in the New Testament *lĕ-'âlam* is not without end. [ܡܣܕ.] To Him be glory and dominion and praise and exaltation and honour for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

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[1] Reading ܡܬܐܪܟܝܢ with the Vatican MS. instead of ܡܬܐܣܝܢ.

[2] Reading ܠܚܒ̈ܝܠܐ for ܠܚܒ̈ܠܐ.

[3] This sentence, from ܠܐ ܚܣ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܗ to ܗ̇ܢ ܕܠܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ, seems to me to be untranslatable as it now stands.

[4] Matt. xxv. 46. [5] John xiii. 8. [6] Isa. xiii. 20.

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قد عظمت مكث[1] الازمنة التي استلذت[2] اكثر من الازمنة[3] المجاهدة المحدودة التي هاهنا عندنا في هذا الوجود. كذلك ايضا العذاب الذي يكون بدل الخطايا العظيمة الكثيرة جدا. تجدها يسيرة واحقر مما تظن عند عظم الرحمة حتي ايضا لا تكون[4] القيامة محسوبة فقط. رحمة علي الاخيار وحودهم يوم الانبعاث من الموتي. الا وايضا من اجل الخطاة. لان رحمة الله تكرم الابرار والاخيار. وكذلك ايضا تشفق علي الفجار عند عقابهم وقشرهم ◆ وايضا انا نقول عن عدل الله لانه اكثر يزيد الاجرة اكثر من اتعاب غاية[5] الحد. وكذلك ميراث رحمته ينقص ويقصر العذاب عن اوليك المعذبون. وايضا يقصر طول الحدود عنهم. وهذا اوعده ببشارة رحمته ولا ايضا هكذا اعذب الي طول الدهور. كما كان طول زمان السيات. بل انقص من ما استحقه. فذلك يجازيهم الانتقام. وكما ان عدله يوم ميزانه زايد الحد دايم باتجار نحو الصديقين مع الصالحين والابرار والقديسين والتوابين ◆ وكذلك لم يكشف لاحدا[6] كم هي الرحمة التي استعادت انها تعذب المذمومات[7] الصايرة من الخطاة فقط بلا فتور كما سبقنا اخبرنا من المتقدم. لان ليسو هكذا فهو لازم انتقام ودينونة كمثل ما هو ثابت لازم نعيم الملكوت بغير زوال البتة ◆ فان كان ميزان العثرات[8] يتزن. فليس العذاب يكون[9] بلا انتها[10]. لان قال الانجيل المقدس ينطلقون اولايك الي عذاب الابد. والصالحين الي حياة الابد. فهذا الاسم الذي هو الابد ليسو محدودا بلا انتها[10]. واذ لم هو هكذا فكيف قال بطرس للسيد الي الابد لم تغسل لي رجلي. ولساعته عاد غسل له رجليه. وقال في كتاب احد الانبيا اني الي ابد الابدين لا تعود بابل تعمر. وعادت عمرت وفيها عالم لا يعد. وقيل ايضا عن قديسين اناس مجاهدين. كان الابد وجد لذاك يكون في عذاب الجحيم يسيرا من كثيرًا. فهذا تفسيره لانه بمعنايين. اولها انه وثانيها عذابين[11]. طبعي وعقلي. فاما كونه قال اعني قدر جملة الخطا وزمانه. فسحه وقصره ◆ واما تفسير العقلي هذا الذي يثبت[12] اليا°لابد[13] فسمي من السيد حياة الابد وغنيمة الابد لان اسم الابد في الجديدة ليس لها انتها ◆ والمجد لله دايما وعلينا رحمته اليا°لابد اين[13] ◆

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[1] MS. مكت. [2] MS. استلدة. [3] MS. الازمه. [4] MS. ثكون. [5] MS. غياة.
[6] Read لاحد. [7] MS. المدمومات. [8] MS. العترات. [9] MS. يكن.
[10] MS. انتهي. [11] MS. عدبين. [12] MS. بتبت. [13] So MS. Read الي الابدين and الي الابد.

عجايُب بالغه◆ ومريم القبطيه كانت زانيه غاية[1] لحد. فلما ندمت خرجت الي البريه عريانه ومكثت في تلك البريه تسعه واربعين سنه وصارت قديسه◆ وكما ان في هذا العالم توبه بهذه الاتعاب المشروحه الي حد النهايه[2] وفيها توبه تخلص الي اخر نسمه. فذلك ايضا في العالم لجديد عقاب الي اخر فلس يطلبه العدل منا. ان كسلنا عن عمل توبه◆ وايضا كما لا يكون[3] هاهنا عقابا عادل اذ لم يخالطه مزاج من راحه. فذلك فم في العالم لجديد ليسو عقابا الا ويخالطه راحه. لان مار اسحاق الفديس هذا كان اسقف مدينة نينوي فساح عريان في بريه خاليه اربعين سنه يرعا لحشيش. وكشف له الله امورا سماءيه عقليه. وكتب كثير عن التوبه. وقال في بعض قوله. لان الذين يعاقبون بعذاب لجحيم. ويجلدون. هولا تلحق بهم عناية رحمه بالعذاب لانه قال تكون قياسة مدة المجالد التي تكون من الود هناك الي الذين كانوا يعرفون انهم اخطو هاهنا بمحبه. وهم خاجلون مرعوبين من ذلك العذاب المخيف هناك◆ وايضا قال هذا القديس لان عذاب جزاي لخطاه هذا صار عوض مجازاة النقمه. فعند الانبعاث يوفيهم اياه. والاجساد التي داست وخالفت نواميس الله وشرايُعه. فهو عند الاخير مجدا كامل يمنحهم اذا تابوا. عند نسمه (sic) عظيمه هي رحمة لخالق لان من بعد ما اخطينا وهلكنا من لحياه عاد خلقنا خلقه ثانيه◆ وايضا قال هذا القديس لان في العالم لجديد رحمه تكون[4] ولا كثرة نقمه. وقال عالم اخر مفسر. لان في عالم لجديد عن الذين اختاروا هاهنا حسنات مشكوره هولا ياخذون عوضها نعيم لخيرات. والارديا والاشرار الذين مالوا اذا عادوا يعاقبوا منها ورتبوا بدلها خوف بعقولهم ويندموا علي ما اذنبوا فيه. ويختاروا حسنات كي يستحقوا بارادة صالحه يتمسكون بها. هولا يوهلون شفاعه من رحمة الله. ليسو فقط قال انه حتي يدي الانسان اخر فلس. واذ لم هو مقتدر علي كل شي[5] اذا انتقم عقوبة لخطايا من المذنبون. فلم كان قال بانجيله ان ذاك الواحد عذابه كثير. والاخر عذاب يسير. فلولا ان لهذا الامر منتها واخره فلم كان ذكره من قبل هذه لجهتين◆ فهذا قاله هذا المفسر علانيه ظاهره. وقال مفسر اخر لان الاجرة الصالحه مهياه لاعمال لخير عوض اتعابهم مستحقين ذلك من احكام العدل المانح وعذاب الارديا ليسو دائم. كيما لا يكون لهم ذلك بغير انتفاع. لانهم غير فانيين بالعذاب المهيا لهم كيما يكونوا معاقبون دهر يسير كما استحقوه علي قدر عمل نفاقهم. وعلي قدر جملة شرور خطاياهم. واما تلك التي[6] ذكر. لانهم يعذبون زمان يسير يحتملوا ذلك. كذلك نعيم غير فاني بلا انتها ثابت عندهم◆ فان كان

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[1] MS. غايت. [2] MS. النهايم. [3] MS. يكن. [4] MS. تكن.
[5] MS. شيا. [6] MS. الثي.

اوليّك وحليتهم مثل رف حمام ام مثل النحل فرد حليه (sic) اي شكل. ليس تتغير صورة من صورة مثل ما نحن هاهنا. واحد اسود واخر اشقر. لان هذا العالم زرعنا فيه بالغيار. نقوم هناك بالمجد. لا اسودا ولا ابيضا ولا شيخا ولا طفل صغير. ولا حرا ولا عبدا. ولا رومي ولا عبراني ولا يوناني. بل جميعهم بشكل واحد مثل الملائكه. ولا يكون هناك انثي ولا ذكر لان ليس يحتاجون الي نسل. ولا يكون احدا[1] قصير واخر طويل ام واحد اعمي ام مقعد ام مفلوج. بل جميعهم قامة واحدة علي راي من هو ابن ثلثه وثلاثين سنه. كما انه قام ربنا من بين الاموات بقوة لاهوته. وليس يكون[2] هناك صنوف ومجامع والسن بل تجدهم لغة واحده عقيله جنب الملائكه وجماعه وبيعه واحده. وكذلك تجد في الجحيم الخطيه[3] علي جنب الشياطين بعذاب واحد معًا ورحمة الرب علينا امين ◆

CHAPTER LXI,

According to the Oxford MS.

لان بعض القديسين تخوفنا[4] خارج من طاقتنا. ويجعل فينا هذا قطع رجا. وفيهم من قد جعله الي اهل قليلين المعرفه والاطفال بعقلهم. والذين هم متجاوزين عن الشريعه. هذا نافع لهولاي زايد جدا. واخرين من الابا قد جعلوا تعزيه وكثرة تقوي ومسند علي رحمة الاله. فهذا الذهن[5] نافع لاهل الورع ليحفظ سرًا داخل عقولهم. والي اهل المجاهده الروحانيه. هذا كاين بهولا لان قد كتب تذكره هكذا. لان هذا العالم سمي عالم التوبه والاقرار بالخطايا. كما شرح ذلك يوحنا الصابغ قايل لاوليّك الهاتفين الي صبغته. وطلب منهم اعتراف وتوبه واقرار[6] بخطاياهم. واما العالم العتيد[7] سمي عالم العقاب. فلما ان في هذا العالم يخلي الانسان بالاعتراف بخطاياه وحمل القانون بما يفرضه عليه الكاهن توبه. اعني صوم وسجود مطانوات[8] وقطع الاطعمه. ومن شرب خمر وقطع زيت. صيام بالغ بخبز وما من عشيه الي عشيه. هذا يخلي لان اسقف واحدا جعله بعض ملوك الكفر ذبح قدام الاوثان وعدها من كثرة ضعف البشريه من فزعه. وعند ذلك هرب الي البريه وتعرا وصار مع الوحوش زمان طويل فلما فعل هذه التوبه تحنن الله عليه وصارو عنه

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[1] Rather احد. [2] MS. يكن. [3] Read للخطاة. [4] Read يخوفنا.
[5] MS. الظهن. [6] MS. اقرار. [7] MS. العشيد. [8] Plur. of مطانوة, *μετάνοια*.

غير فاني وغير متغير لا يزوله شي[1] من الجهتين. لا من نعيم الصالحين ولا من عذاب الطالحين. فتد اتضح العدل لانه شي[1] اخر مجدا فضيل رفيع عالي من كل منظر. شبهه ذاك الذي لم يخطر علي ذهن[2] كسلان من الذي ينظرها هاهنا البته. كما ان النعيم الذي هاهنا كذلك العذاب الذي هناك افضل من شكل شبه عذاب هاهنا ◆ وايضا ينبغي انا نفسر ما هو حال ذلك الضيا نعيم الصديقين اعلمك لان ما هو ذلك النور جوهره من شي[3] من هذه العناصر المنظوره بل ذاك يكون[4] من نور اللاهوت[5] خاصة ربنا. ينبسط ويفيض علي الصديقين. الذي لو كان الف عاصر(sic) شموس من هذه المنظوره لم يكن لها قياس البته. وكل واحد من القديسين والصالحين والابرار يضي منه علي قدر قياسه وصفوه وطهارته وقداسته لان يستضي[6] ذاك القديس كما يقول بولص الرسول علي راي الكواكب تجدها نجمه افضل من نجمه بمجدها ◆ كذلك ايضا حياة الراقدين اذا نهضوا من البعث. انهم يقوموا بالمجد. بل جميعهم في ملك واحد متنعمون. الا تجدهم مميزون اعني الذي تنظره جنب الملك من الذي هو في اخر رتبه في العرس. وكذلك ايضا بهذا القياس تجد الخطاه في الجحيم. ليسو مساوة واحد[7] في عقابهم. بل كل واحد علي قدر زلاته يكون[8] عذابه. وكما لم يقتاس نور الشمس مع ضو القمر بقياس واحد كذلك لم يقتاس معا نعيم الصالحين مع الكاملين والتوابين. وكما ان ضو القمر اشد من الكواكب. لانه ثلثه رتب كاملين وصالحين وتوابين. لانك تجد بعض التوابين قد حصل في الدرجة العليا مع الكاملين لاجل حده وشقاه وتوبته وايمانه واتضاعه. وكما ان نور الشمس البرناسوت[9] ربنا وضياه يجوز بجميع الاعضا بلا تمييز[10]. كذلك يكون[11] ضياه جايز في جميع المذكورين. وهو يكون جمالهم وردا كسوتهم وهم في نعيم واحد وتصنيف ملك واحد ◆ وكذلك عذاب الجحيم تحس فيها الخطاه بجميع اعضاها كيلا هو معد لاوليك الثلاثة رتب بنو[12] النور. ليسو به مصايب اوجاع. لان ما يمنعنا الي دخول الملكوت[13] الروحاني غير الثياب[14] الوسخه بالزنا وسفك الدم والظلم. ومحبة الذهب والفضه. هذه الاعراض والاوجاع اذا توسخنا فيها. ولم نطهرها بالاعتراف وتوبه[15] وحمل القانون وهي التي قال في الانجيل الذي جاز الي العرس وثيابه[16] وسخه مدنسه. ثم جعل الملايكه ربطوا يديه ورجليه ورماه خارج الي الظلمه القصوي[17] ◆ واما من اشكال

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[1] MS. شيا. [2] MS. ظهن. [3] MS. شيا. [4] MS. يكن. [5] Syr. ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. [6] MS. مرلهي. [7] Read ليس (هو) مساواة واحده? [8] MS. يكن. [9] As if ܒܪܢܫܘܬܐ from ܒܪܢܫܐ, بَرْنسا or more correctly بَرْناسا. [10] MS. تمييزًا. [11] MS. يكن. [12] Read بني. [13] Syr. ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. [14] MS. التياب. [15] MS. وثوبه. [16] MS. وتيابه. [17] MS. القسوي.

CHAPTER LX,

ACCORDING TO THE OXFORD MS.

فينبغي انا نوضح عن عذاب الخطاة كيف يتعذبوا. وان قلنا انهم لم يتعذبوا فليسو[1] ثم عقاب ام عذاب للخطاة. هذا لم يمكن. فاذا لم يعذبوا ويعاقبوا الخطاة على قدر خطاياهم ولا الصالحين ايضا ياخذوا نعيم الخيرات بدل اتعابهم ◆ فاما العذاب الذي يعذبوا فيه الخطاة بالجحيم. قال قديسين اذكيا بروح القدس ليس هو شبهه[2] مثل هذا الذي هاهنا. قشر ضرب عصي وقطع اوصال. ام ذبح ام كسر اعضا. ذاك العذاب شبهه الاكابة[3] التي تضني النفس وتهلكنها حدة الندامة وشدة الاسف علي الامور القبيحة الوحشة وعلي لهبة نار الزنا وحب الرذايل التي ارتبط بمحبتها في هذا العالم ◆ واما عن محسوس كونه فينا عند القيامة مثل راي الشمس لانه لم يتكدر شعاعها ولا القمر ايضا حسن بياضه ولا الجوهرة من سقل ضياها. بل عن تحقيق انا نحس بقوة كاملة بفكر ناطق علم روحانيا (sic) نعيمنا وعذاب عقابنا هناك بالجهتين. الابرار نعيمهم والخطاة جحيمهم ◆ فاذا كان من حكم العدل لان القديسين والابرار والصديقين يحسوا التذاذهم[4] ونعيمهم. كذلك ايضا تحس الخطاة في عذابهم وحدة عقابهم في القوة[5] القابلة اللذة التي[6] هي التمييز ◆ واخر من هذا عن تحقيق لم يفارقنا الذهن[7] والفطنة والنبه بل نكون[8] صافيين فهمين من كثرة لطفنا وخفته وذكاوته. ولم تشبه خيرات ذلك العالم بقياس خيرات هذا العالم الموجود هاهنا. لان لم عطيت لنا جميع خيرات هذا العالم وملكه وماله الي الغاية ما يكون. لم نراها هناك في ذلك العالم الا شبه الرذالة[9] والنفاية المحقورة. وان طلبناها ثم نتنعم فيها فلم نجدها. لان جوهر عقلنا عظيم هو بغبطة لانه لم يموت ولا يفنا من جميع حسناته ونعيمها ◆ وكذلك ايضا لم يزول ام يفنا جوهرنا هناك من عقابه وعذابه. ولم كان جميع خيرات هذا العالم وشهواته وجميع عذابه وشدايده وشقاه فما هو الا حقيرا اذا قسناه في ذلك العالم العتيد[10]. لان جوهر انفسنا

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[1] Apparently a contraction for فليس هو. The same form occurs several times subsequently. [2] MS. شبهو. [3] Read الكآبة? [4] MS. الشدادهم. [5] MS. القوي. [6] MS. الذي. [7] MS. الظهن. [8] MS. نكن. [9] MS. ,,رداله but on marg. الرداله. [10] MS. العثيد, Syr. ܥܬܝܕ.

المقالة اربعه واربعين يدل فيها لاي سبب كان نزول ربنا الي مصر ◆

— خمسه واربعين يخبر فيها قصة قتل يوحنا اعني قطع راسه ◆

— سته واربعين يخبر فيها علي حرب ابليس وامتحانه لربنا لما استعمل الصوم ◆

— سبعه واربعين يخبر فيها علي الفصح المقدّس ◆

— ثمانيه واربعين يخبر فيها عن الام السيّد يسوع المسيح ◆

— تسعه واربعين يدل فيها عن يوسف الرامي الذي كان ختام لبيلاطس ◆

— [الخمسون] خبر يسير يدلّ كيف سلم السيد والدته القديسه مرت مريم ليوحنا ابن زبدى عند الصلب ◆ كي نرجع الي عند ابلت[1] من بين الاموات ◆

— [الحادية والخمسون] وايضا خبر اخر كيف جاز ربنا الله الكلمه الي السماوات ولم يفتحها ◆

— ثانيه وخمسين تخبر كيف كان حلول روح الله القادر المساوي العقل والنطق جوهر واحد ◆

— ثلثه وخمسين يوضح فيها علي بشارة الرسل والبلد الذي يخصّ كل واحد منهم ايما هو ◆ ويوضح دفنهم باي حال انتقل من العالم بركاتهم علينا امين ◆ وايضا نكتب اسما الرسل واحد بعد واحد كلمن هو بدرجته موصوف كما ذكرهم متي الانجيلي الرسول مقدمهم ◆

— اربعه وخمسين يدل فيها عن تغيير الممالك من واحد كتاب كتاب اسمه اسمه (sic) مثاداوس اسقف روميه ◆

— خمسه وخمسين تدل علي ياجوج[2] وماجوج المسجونين بالجربيا[3] ◆

— ستة وخمسين يدل فيها علي مجي الاعور الدجّال ابن الهلاك ◆

— سبعة وخمسين ايضاح يسير باختصار علي خروج النفس من الجسد بسلام ربنا امين ◆

— ثمانيه وخمسين خبر يسير يدل علي انبعاث القيامه جميع ◆

— تسعه وخمسين تخبر علي ايما شكل منظر البشر يوم القيامه ◆

— ستون يخبر فيها علي نعيم الصالحين وعلي عذاب الخاطيّين وايما هو شكل سياسته ◆ وايضا نكتب قصه يسيرة ان كان يلحق الخطاه رحمه بالجحيم ام لا من بعد انهم يعذبون وتمض فيهم العقاب. ويقبلوا تلك العقوبه وان كان يدركهم رحمه متي يكون ◆

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[1] So the MS.; perhaps البعث. [2] MS. حاجوج. [3] Syr. ܓܪܒܝܐ; MS. بالجربا.

المقالة التاسعة عشر يدل فيها علي خروج ادم وحوا (sic) ◆

— عشرون يخبر فيها عن كور الحداد والقردحه ◆

— احد وعشرون يدل[1] فيها صفة نوح والطوفان ◆

— الاثنين وعشرين يدل فيها عن ملكيزدق ابن مالك ◆

— الثالثه وعشرون يوضح فيها نسبة اولاد سام وروسا اجيالهم[2] سبعه وعشرين جيل ◆

— الرابعة والعشرون يوضح فيها اجيال اولاد حام ◆

— الخامسه والعشرون يدلّ فيها علي قبايًل يافث ◆

— السادسه والعشرون ◆

— السابعه والعشرون نرجع ايضا الي قدام ◆

— الثامنه[3] والعشرون يخبر فيها عن ابينا ابراهيم ◆

— التاسعه والعشرون يوضح فيها اخبار ايوب الصديق ◆

— الثلاثين يدلّ فيها لما بارك اسحاق ليعقوب وترك عيسوا ◆

— احد وثلثين ◆

— الاثنين وثلثين يدل فيها اخبار موسي وبني اسرائيل ◆

— الثالثه وثلثون يوضح فيها العصاة التي كانت مع موسي ◆

— اربعة وثلثون ◆

— خمسة وثلثون فيها خبر قضاة بني[4] اسرائيل وملوكهم باختصار يسير ◆

— السادسه وثلثون يخبر فيها كيف كان انتقال الانبيا من هذا العالم ◆

— سبعه وثلثين تدل علي نسبة سيّدنا يسوع المسيح ◆

— ثمانيه وثلثين يدل فيها علي بشارة جبرايل الملاك الي يواقيم وحنه بالقديسه الطاهره مرت مريم امّ ربّنا والاهنا وسيّدنا يسوع المسيح ◆

— تسعه وثلثين بشارة جبرايل الملاك الي العذرى الطاهره[5] مرت مريم القدّيسه ◆

— الاربعين يدل فيها علي ميلاد ربنا الشريف ◆

— احد واربعين يدلّ فيها عن ما سبق دليله من واحد عالمٍ اسمه زردوشات وقيل عنه ان اسمه بروخ ◆

— اثنين واربعين تدل عن ظهور النجم وعن الميلاد الشريف ◆

— ثلاثة واربعين يخبر فيها علي مجي ملوك الفرس الي بيت لحم ◆

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[1] MS. تدل. [2] MS. ܘܪܘܣܐ ܐܓܝܐܠܗܡ (sic). [3] MS. الثمانيّه. [4] MS. بنو.
[5] MS. العطاهره.

THE HEADINGS OF THE CHAPTERS,

EXTRACTED FROM THE OXFORD MS.

المقالة الثانيه يدلّ علي فكر الله الازليّ علي خلقة كون الدنيا ◆
— الثالثه تفسير يبيّن فيه[1] كون السبع طبايُع بهدوء لطيف غير مدروك[2] ◆
— الرابعه يدل فيها[3] خلقة الأرض والما والهوا[4] والنار ◆
— الخامسه يدل فيها علي تكوين السما ◆
— السادسه يدل فيها عن مراتب الملائكه انها تسع تجمات[5] اعني درجات ◆
— السابعه يخبر فيها دليل الظلمه ◆
— الثامنه يدل فيها النور اي الضو ◆
— التاسعه يدل فيها خلقة[6] الجلد ◆
— العاشره يدل فيها كيف كان خلقة الاشجار والنبات ونظام البحور والانهار ◆
— الحادي عشر[7] تخبر عن خلقة كون ضيا النجوم ◆
— الثانيه عشر يخبر فيها كيف خلقت فيها الاسماك والدبابات والتنانين[8]
والطيور الذين في الما وبرا[9] الما ◆
— الثالثة عشر تدل علي خلقة الوحوش[10] والبهايُم ◆
— الرابعة عشر يصف بها كيف جبل الله تبارك وتعالي اسمه لابينا[11] ادم في
يوم الجمعه بعينها التي تقدم ذكرها في الاوّل ◆
— الخامسه عشر يدل فيها عن خلقة حوا ◆
— السادسة عشر يخبر فيها عن خلقة كون الفردوس ◆
— السابعة عشر لاجل خطية ادم وسببها ◆
— الثامنة عشر يدل فيها عن خروج ادم وحوا من الجنه ◆

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[1] MS. فيها. [2] MS. مذروك. [3] We should have expected the prep. علي here and elsewhere in these headings. [4] MS. والهواي. [5] From ܛܓܡܐ, τάγμα. [6] MS. خلقت. [7] The reader will notice that the grammatical form of the numerals is often incorrect. [8] MS. والتنانيّين (sic). [9] I. e. *out of.* [10] MS. والوحوش. [11] MS. لابونا.

الثاني والاربعون. في صوم سيدنا وجهاده[1] مع الشيطان •
الثالث والاربعون. في فصح سيدنا •
الرابع والاربعون. في الام سيدنا •
الخامس والاربعون. في قيامة سيدنا •
السادس والاربعون. في صعود سيدنا •
السابع والاربعون. في نزول روح القدس[2] علي السليحية[3] في العلية •
الثامن والاربعون. في تلماذ السليحية[4] وفي مواضع[5] كل واحد واحد منهم وفي[6] موتهم •
التاسع والاربعون. اسامي السليحيين واحد بعد واحد •
الخمسون. في نكت[7] صغار الذين تزوجوا من السليحيين •
الحادي والخمسون. اسامي[8] الجثالقة[9] المشرقيين خلفا السليحيين •
الثاني والخمسون. اسامي الملوك الذين[10] ملكوا في العالم من الطوفان والي الان[11] •
الثالث والخمسون. في اخر الزمان[12] واختلاف الممالك من كتاب مثاديوس[13] اسقف رومية •
الرابع والخمسون. في ياجوج وماجوج المحبوسين في الشمال •
الخامس والخمسون. في مجي الدجال ابن الهلاك •
السادس والخمسون. في الموت وانفصال النفس من الجسد[14] •
السابع والخمسون. في النشور والقيامة[15] الكلية وانتها عالم الاسطقسات وابتدا[16] عالم الجديد •
الثامن والخمسون. في كيفية القيامة وباي زي يقومون الناس يوم القيامة •
التاسع والخمسون. في نعيم الابرار وعذاب الخطاة كيف يكون هنالك •
الستون. في رحمة الله تعالي هل تدركهم الخطاة بعد اخذ القصاص منهم وبالمهم وقصارتهم ام لا وان ادركتهم فمتي تدركهم •

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[1] At fol. 96 *b*, وفي جهاده. [2] MS. حيوه. [3] At fol. 108 *b*, السليحيين.
[4] At fol. 110 *a*, السليحيين. [5] Ibid., اماكن. [6] Ibid., وعلي. [7] MS. فكت.
[8] At fol. 121 *a*, اسما. [9] Ibid., لجثالق; plur. of جاثليق, *καθολικός*. [10] MS. الذى.
[11] At fol. 123 *b*, والينا. [12] At fol. 127 *a*, الازمن. [13] Ibid., مثديوس.
[14] At fol. 136 *a*, الجسم. [15] At fol. 139 *a*, وقيامة. [16] Ibid., وبدو.

الثامن عشر. في اتصال ادم بحوا[1] ◆
التاسع عشر. في ظهور[2] صنعة الحدادة ◆
العشرون. في نوح والطوفان[3] ◆
الحادي والعشرون. في ملكزديق[4] ◆
الثاني والعشرون. في اولاد نوح من ثلث بنين اثني وسبعون قبيلة[5] ◆
الثالث والعشرون. في النسبة من عهد الطوفان الي الآن[6] ◆
الرابع والعشرون. في القصر[7] ◆
الخامس والعشرون. في ابراهيم ◆
السادس والعشرون. في تجربة ايوب ◆
السابع والعشرون. في بركة اسحاق ليعقوب ◆
الثامن والعشرون. في يوسف ◆
التاسع والعشرون. في موسي وبني اسرايل[8] ◆
الثلثون. في عصاة موسي ◆
الحادي والثلثون. في ايشوع ابن نون وفي مدبري وملوك بني اسرايال[9] ◆
الثاني والثلثون. في موت الانبيا وكيف ماتوا ودفنوا[10] ◆
الثالث والثلثون. في تدبيرات الله الجارية في الحديثة وفي قبايل المسيح[11] ◆
الرابع والثلثون. في بشارة الملاك الي يوناخير[12] بمريم ◆
الخامس والثلثون. في بشارة جبرايل لمريم بحبل سيدنا ◆
السادس والثلثون. في ولادة سيدنا بالجسد ◆
السابع والثلثون. في نبوة زارادوشت الذي هو باروخ الكاتب[13] ◆
الثامن والثلثون. في الكوكب الذي ظهر في المشرق في يوم ولادة سيدنا ◆
التاسع والثلثون. في مجي المجوس من فارس ◆
الاربعون. في نزول سيدنا الي مصر ◆
الحادي والاربعون. في يوحنا المعمداني[14] وفي عماد سيدنا ◆

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[1] At fol. 23 b, اجتماع ادم مع حوا. [2] At fol. 26 a, ظهور الة. [3] At fol. 26 b, وفي الطوفان. [4] At fol. 30 a, ملكيزداق. [5] At fol. 32 a, merely في نسل نوحا. [6] At fol. 34 b, النسبة التي من الطوفان والينا. [7] At fol. 36 a, في بنيان البرج وتقسم الالسن. [8] At fol. 44 a, وفي بني اسراييل. [9] At fol. 66 b, وفي سنين المدبرين والملوك من بني اسراييل باختصار. [10] At fol. 70 a, وكيف دفنوا كل واحد منهم. [11] At fol. 74 b, merely في قبايل المسيحيه. [12] At fol. 78 a, ليوناخير. [13] At fol. 84 b, merely نبوة زارادوشت علي سيدنا. [14] At fol. 93 a, المعمدان. From the Syr. ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ; عماد = ܥܡܕܐ.

وفيه تفاهه. فدعه لغيرك. وربما غيرك يستفيد منه ويصلح له. والذي هو حلو ويحلّي حنك خاطرك. تقوت[1] منه وشبع جوعك. وان كان[2] قليل ولا يكفيك. ابحث عن الاصل واطلب هناك تمامه وكماله. وتتمم حاجتك. واعلم ايها الاخ ان في كل موضع فيه المحبه الحقيقية. فليس هناك فزعه. وفي موضع الانبساط ليس فيه حذر. ولولا انتكالنا[3] علي محبتك التي ما فيها دنس. ما كنا نهجم ولا نتخطا[4] علي الاشيا التي هي اعلي من قدر ضعف معرفتنا فقد قال بعض العلما اذا وجدت عسلا فكل بالمقدار. ليُلا تشبع منه وتاديه بالقيّ. يعني لا تبحث عن الامور الالهيه ◆

ذكر الفصول التي في هذا الكتاب ◆

راس الاول. في ازلية ارادة الله تعا[5] في خلقة البرايا في[6] القدم ◆

الثاني. في خلقة السبعة جواهر بالصمت ◆

الثالث. في[7] الارض والما والهوا والنار ◆

الرابع. في[8] السما ◆

الخامس. في[9] الملايكه ◆

السادس. في الظلمه ◆

السابع. في النور السا[10] ◆

الثامن. في[11] الرقيع ◆

التاسع. في خلقة الاشجار والنبات وخلقة الابحار[12] والانهر ◆

العاشر. في خلقة الانوار ◆

الحادي عشر. في خلقة التنانين والسمك والطير ودبيب الما[13] ◆

الثاني عشر. في خلقة الحيوانات والدواب ◆

الثالث عشر. في جبلة[14] ادم ◆

الرابع عشر. في تصوير[15] حوا ◆

الخامس عشر. في الفردوس ◆

السادس عشر. في خطية ادم ◆

السابع عشر. في خروج ادم وحوا من الفردوس ◆

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[1] MS. تقوة. [2] MS. وانكان. [3] Apparently for اتّكالنا. [4] Conjug. V. from خطو. [5] For تعالي. [6] At fol. 6 *a*, من. [7] At fol. 8 *a*, في خلقة. [8] At fol. 8 *b*, علي. [9] At fol. 9 *a*, علي. [10] Perhaps الساطع. At fol. 13 *a*, في خلقة النور المنبثق. [11] At fol. 13 *b*, في خلقة. [12] At fol. 14 *a*, البحار. [13] At fol. 16 *a*, والطيور والدبيب. [14] At fol. 16 *b*, خلقة. [15] At fol. 17 *a* bis, خلقة.

الينا. وهمتك في خدمتنا. التي[1] بالمحبة الحاذقة والاتضاع المسيحي كملتها. وقد كان في وقت وقت. يحدث لنا مجمعا حقاني علي اشيا اشيا صنعها الله في تدابيرة في هذا العالم الاسطقصات والذي[2] هو مزمع ان يصنعة في عالم النور. ومن اجل الالم الموساوي. الذي هي لدغة[3] اللسان قد امتحنا. وما كنا نقدر ولا نستطيع لتعريفك الفضايل المفيدة الذي كنت تسال ضعفنا كما يجب. وبهذه العلّة كنا نمتنع من المفاوضة المفيدة من الكتب المقدسة. فلما اراد الله وقسم لنا بفراق بعضنا بعض. وظهرت فينا علامة الشيخوخة التي هي رسول الموت. ودخلنا في السنين وشخنا. راينا ان بلسان القلم وشفاه[4] المداد نعرفك باختصار جميع تدابير الله في العالمين. وقد جمعنا ولقطنا من فردوس الكتب الالهية. ومن كلام الابا الملافنة[5] والعلما. اخبار وفصول علي الكل. ووضعنا اساس بنياننا علي ابتدا خلقة هذا العالم المحسوس. وجعلنا الانتها عالم الجديد. وسمينا هذا الكتاب كتاب النحلة. لانة ملقط من ازهار الناموسين. ومن انوار الكتب المقدسة. قد جمعنا ووضعنا فية لفايدتك. وكما ان النحلة الحقيرة باجنحة شفافة. تطير وتزقط[6] علي انواع الازهار المختلفة الالوان. وعلي الانوار المختلفة الرايحة. وتلقط من جميعهم مواد يصلح ويليق لعمل صنعتها. فاول ما تجمع مواد من الازهار وتحمل علي افخاذها وتجيب[7] لمسكنها. وتجعلة اساسا لبنيانها في عمل الشمع. وحينيِّذٍ تلقط بفمها من الطل السماءي. الذي علي ازهار نيسن. وتاتي وتنفخ في تلك البيوت[8] وتصنع الشهد والعسل. لاستعمال الناس ولقوتها ايضا. هكذا ونحن الضعفا فسلنا[9] من جبال كتب العتيقة فسل[10] الكلام المجسم ووضعناة هاهنا كالاساس لبنيان الناموس الروحاني. وكما ان النحلة تحمل مادة الشمع علي افخاذها من اجل تفاهتها وعدم طعمها. ولمادة العسل تجيب بفمها لاجل حلاوة طعمها وعذوبتها. هكذا نحن وضعنا الناموس المجسم موضع الاساس والارض. والناموس الروحاني موضع المظلة والسما لبنيان برج الروحاني. وكما ان الوراز[11] والبستاني الشاطر يدور في البساتين[12] ويبحث علي اجود الانواع والفاكهة. وياخذ منهم اغصان وغروس ويغرس في ارضة. هكذا وايضا نحن دخلنا في فردوس الكتب وفسخنا منهم فسوخ[13] وقضبان. وغرسنا في ارض كتابنا هذا لفايدتك ولراحتك. وانت ايها الاخ حيث تتفرج بين هذة الغروس. الذي تبصر منهم انة لا يصلح لة

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[1] I have added this word. [2] MS. الذي. [3] A vulgar form for لثغة. See Dozy's *Supplément*. [4] MS. وشفاة. [5] Plural of ملفان = ܡܠܦܢܐ. [6] For وتسقط. [7] From جآء بِ = جاب. [8] MS. البيوا. [9] فَسَلَ here = ܦܣܠ. [10] فُسُل, plural of فَسِيل = ܦܣܝܠܐ. [11] Perhaps for الوَرّاد, literally *rose-gardener*. [12] MS. البستاتين. [13] I.e. *cuttings*, from فَسَخَ = ܦܣܚ.

يغرسها في ارضه. وهكذا نحن دخلنا الي بساتين الكتب. وفسخنا[1] لنا منها قضبان خلف وسراغيف. وغرسناهم في ارض ورق كتابنا هذا تعزيةً ومنفعه وفرجة عقليه لكل واقفًا علي نظرها[2]◆ وانت ايّها الحبيب عند ما تجعل عقلك يتفرج بين هذه الغروس الوسط وراء المنظوره. وتظن انها ولاش حقيره. اتركه لغيرك[3]. والتي تجدها حلوه لذيذه كي تغذوا[4] فيها ذهنك[5] وتشبع نفسك مجاعتها. وتروي عطشها اذكرنا[6]◆ فان رايت انها قصيرة ولم هي كفوًا انها تقنع. فتامل[7] جدا من اين هي نسبة اصلها ومن هناك تعرف قنوع طلبتك◆ تكون تعلم ايها الاخ الحبيب. الموضع الذي فيه المحبه الحقانيّه. فليس عندك هناك خوف من مكروه. والبلدة التي لك فيها ذلة[8] ابعدت[9] الفزع وسكن فيك الامن◆ ولولا نحن متوكّلين[10] علي محبتك الغير مالوفة. لم كنا جسرنا علي تصويرها. ام نهجم علي الامور العاليه علي قدرنا وطفولية معرفتنا. لانه قيل لبعض الاذكيا اذا وجدت عسل ابتاع[11] منه علي قدر حاجتك. ليّلا اذا شبعت منه تتقيّه[12]. تفسيره لا تفحص عن امورا موجوده. بل تق[13] بالايمان الصادق. والمجد لربنا وسيّدنا يسوع المسيح وعلينا رحمته امين◆

CHAPTER I,

ACCORDING TO THE MUNICH MS.

علي قوة سيدنا يسوع المسيح نبتدي ونكتب كتاب مقطوف الذي يدعي كتاب النحلة. تاليف صفيّ الله مار شليمون مطران الفراة وميشان. الذي هي البصره. يا رب ساعدني برحمتك امين◆

في الاول مبدا الكلام◆

لم يمكن للابنا حتي يضعوا بضايّع للابا. الا الابا للابنا الروحانيين. كما قال المغبوط فولوس. لكن ضرورة المحبه الزمتنا ان نوفيك. يا ايها الاخ الحبيب وعكازة شيخوخيتنا صفي الله مار نرسي[14] اسقف كونيشابور وبيت وزيق. نذكر الان اجتهادك

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[1] ܦܣܰܚ = فَسَخَ. [2] Marg. ناظرها. [3] MS. الغيرك. [4] MS. لديده and تغدوا.
[5] MS. ظهنك. [6] So MS., اوضدنا. Read ادّخرها? [7] MS. فاتامل.
[8] Read دالّة? [9] MS. ابعدة. [10] MS. مثوكّلين. [11] Read ابلع?
[12] For تتقيّمه. [13] For ثق. The MS. actually has تق. [14] نرسي has been partially erased, and ابراهيم written on the margin.

العالم هذا الحاضر ومهما[1] هو مزمع انه يفعله ايضا بالعالم الجديد. ولاجل تقل[2] لساني من اوجاع الجسد كما جرب موسي النبي تقل[2] لسانه. فلم نقدر نخبرك من الامور النافعة شهوتك الروحانيّه. ولاجل هذا السبب تعوقنا عن مامول سوالك من احاديت[3] الكتب الروحانية النافعة◆ فلما شا[4] الله عند ما افترقت من عندي اشار الي مشور الكبر[5]. اذ هي رسول الموت. وشخت وتقدمت في السن. في خاطري لان اجعل لي لسان من قلم قصب. واجعل لي شفاه[6] من حبر الدواه. واكتب اليك باختصار[7] يسع ابويتك الطاهره من اجل تدبير[8] ربّنا في حكمة عدله ورحمته بالجهتين. واني صرت اجني علي راي النحله. واجتهد بجميع الزهور النوعيه من بستان الكتب الروحانيّه. ومن فضلة[9] الابا المعلمين اخبار وقسامًا علي هذا جميعه. واني جعلت قاعدة البنيان في مبتدا[10] تكوين خلقة هذا العالم الحاضر. تم[11] رجعنا ايضا الي خلقة العالم الجديد◆ وسمينا كتابنا هذا نحلة. لان راي النحله تجعله[12] الباري حكمة. لانها تجني من الزهور حاجة مالوفها◆ وكذلك جعلنا من زهور الكتب المقدسه العتيقه والحديثه. اجني منها منافع موضوعة هاهنا◆ وكما ان النحله ضعيفة ولها اجنحة لطيفة تجعل تطير وتنزل بحلولها علي الزهور المختلفة الالوان. وعلي زهورًا مختلفة الروايح. وتجعل تختار وتجني لها الة من الجميع مهما[13] تستعمله بحكمة فعلها ذلك. لانها اول باول تجمع مهما تكوّن فيه الشمع قاعدة القرص◆ وبعد ذلك تجمع بفمها من الندا[14] النازل من السما علي كافة الزهور بايام شهر نيسان. وتوعيه في اولايّك الجباب. وتكملها شهده ملان عسل. ثم تصير غذا[15] لاستعمال البشر. او لها طعام خاص. وكذلك نحن الاحقار قطعنا من جبل الكتب العتيقه التوراة والانبيا الواح محسوسه متل[16] موسي النبي. وجعلناها قاعدة البنيان سنة الناموس الروحاني◆ وكما ان النحله تحمل الة[17] الشمع علي افخاذها[18] لاجل انه خاثر[19] كثيف تقيل[20]. واما العسل لاجل انه كريم لطيف خاصي تحمله بفمها لاجل كرام[21] حلاوته. وكذلك ايضا نحن وضعنا ناموس جسماني قاعده كثيفه ارضيه. وناموس روحاني مكان لطيف قاعده روحانيّه. وكمثل رب البستان الغارس الحادق[22] يدور علي اهل البساتين يستدل[23] علي انواع خاصة الفواكه الجيّده ويقطع له منها غصون

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[1] MS. ܘܡܗܘܡܐ ܡܐ. [2] For ثقل, as above, دخيرة for ذخيرة. [3] For احاديث.
[4] MS. اشا. [5] MS. ܐܠܟܒܪ (الخبر). [6] MS. شفاة. [7] MS. باختصر.
[8] MS. تذبير. [9] MS. فطلة. [10] MS. مبتذا. [11] For ثم.
[12] Read جعله? [13] MS. ܡܗܘܡܐ. [14] MS. النذا. [15] MS. غدا.
[16] For مثل. [17] MS. ܐܠܗ. [18] MS. فخاذها. [19] MS. خاثر. [20] For ثقيل.
[21] Read كرم? [22] For الحاذق. [23] MS. يستذل.

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❁ كتاب النحلة ❁

CHAPTER I,

According to the Oxford MS.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له المجد والشكر دايما امين ◆ بارشاده. وعنايته. نبتدي ونكتب مقالات لازمه تحتاج اليها الاذكيا. كي نصدّ بها كثيرين الفضول. وقد يسمّا هذا الكتاب لجمع من الكتب المعروفه بالبيعة المقدسه العتيقه والحديثه[1]. ويقال ايضا انه علي راي النحله التي تجمع من الزهور الدنج[2] علي جسم افخاذها. لتعمر لها بيت وهو قاعدة بدو[3] البنايته[4]. قال بولص لسان العطر ورسول الرب يسوع المسيح. لم يلزم الابن كي يدّخر دخيره لابيه. بل يلزم الاب واضع[5] لجوهره لابنه ◆ وكان واضع لهذه الامور المقدّسه الاب القديس سليمان مطران الفراه. من كان سواله بعض الاخوه من نظاريّه[6]. اسقف كوشبر[7] بلد وزيق اسمه نرسي. صلاتهما وبركاتهما تشملنا اجمعين ولاولاد البيعه المقدسه بني المعموديّه الطاهره امين امين اين وامين ◆

اول مقاله تسمّا مقدّمة الكتاب بسلام ربنا امين ◆

من اجل الحبّ العامي الي جميع القدّيسين الحافظين وصايا ربّنا ايسوع المسيح الروحانيّين يضطرّنا كي نساويهم الاجره بما تلفظه حقارتنا. كذلك نجازيك تعبك ايّها الاخ الحبيب نرسى. مسند ضعف شيوختنا. عفيف الله السيّد الاب اسقف كوشبر. واننا ذكرنا همّة محبتك وحرصك علي خدمة ضعفنا. مضافة الي[8] تواضع الرب يسوع المسيح. فانت ايضا كملته ◆ واذا كنت يا ابي لاجل محبتك الروحانيّه جعلت تسالني في اوقات عند اجتماعنا الروحاني من اجل اخباراً. وصرت تفحص عنه وتضرع[9] الي الغايه. مقاله. مقاله. كيف خلق الباري تعالي ذكره وتبارك اسمه عناصر

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[1] MS. والحديته. [2] *Wax.* A non-classical word, apparently akin to the Hebrew דּוֹנַג. See Dozy's *Supplément* and Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, 9th ed., art. דנג. [3] MS. بذو. [4] So MS. Read البنيان ? [5] Read وَضْع ? [6] Read نظرايّه ? [7] Marg. كوسبر, added by a later hand. Apparently corrupted from the Syriac form ܟܘܪܝܣܩܘܦܐ. [8] الي is repeated in the MS. [9] MS. ܘܬܦܪܥ.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARABIC VERSIONS

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ܕܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܘܩܘܠܣܐ ܘܪܘܪܒܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܠܗܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ
ܕܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܕܥܒܕ ܠܡܪܝ
ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܡܝܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܪܬ
ܕܡܝܫܢ ܀

ܕܡܫܬܢܝܢ. ܘܠܐܓܪܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܦܫܛ ܘܡܢܗܪܐ ܒܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܘܚܝܐ ܡܬܩܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܗ̈ܘܐ ܘܚܝܐ
ܕܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܓܝܪ ܒܝܪ ܡܢ ܡܚܐ ܕܢܦܩܝ ܡ̄ܢܘ ܦܪܚ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܐ ܘܚܢܐ. ܐܡܫܝܚܐܝܬ ܓܝܪ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, ܐܓܪܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܓܒܠܐ ܕܐܢܫܘ ܕܠܓܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܓܒܢܐ ܕܕܠܐ ܥܠܘܐ ܬܫܒܘܩ[1] ܠܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܬܚܝܒܘ
ܒܚܫ̈ܬܐ. ܐܡܪܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪܘ ܦ̇ܪܩܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܐ ܟܠܗ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, ܒܡܪܚܡܢܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܘܕܥܘܡܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘܝܢ
ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܠܐ ܦܓܪܐ. ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܫܡܠܘܬܐ
ܡܬܬܦܠ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ܗ̇ܘܐ
ܬܫܘܒܚܐ. ܗ̇ܝ, ܓܝܪ ܕܐܡܝܢܐ ܒܐܘܚܠܝܗܘܢ. ܕܐܢܘܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܘܕܪ̈ܡܐ ܠܫ̈ܒܚܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܫܡܝܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܠܗ
ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܗ̄ܘ. ܐܢܫ ܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܠܡܪܢ. ܠܥܠܡ
ܠܐ ܡܫܝܓ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܪ̈ܓܠܝ. ܘܐܫܝܓ ܠܗ. ܘܟܠ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܥܠܡ
ܟܠܗܝܢ ܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܒܗ̇ ܐܢܫ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܡܪܝܢ ܒܗ̇ ܕܐ̈ܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܒܘܢܢܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܦܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗ̇ܘ, ܕܐܡܪܝܢ
ܢܬܝܒܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܐ. ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ̇ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܗܕܟ ܡܫܡܫ
ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܓܒܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܪܒܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܬܪܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܗ̇ܘܐ ܬܘܡ
ܫܘܢܩܐ ܒܒܢܝܐ ܘܒܪܢܫܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܡ̇ܢ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܠܦܘܬ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ
ܕܚܛܝܬܐ. ܘܐܒܝܫ ܦܓܥ ܘܡܓܪ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܕܝܢܐ
ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܠܥܠܡ ܕܝܢ. [2]ܕܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܢܚܬܐ [3]ܠܐ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ.

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[1] MS. ܠܫܒܘܩ. [2] MS. ܕܒܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ. [3] Should we not read ܠܐ ܘܠܐ?

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ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܥܘܬ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܠܫܗܪܬܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܫܘܠܡܐ[1] ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܗܪܐܝܬ ܘܕܠܐ ܬܘܣܦ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܒܬܫ̈ܒܘܚܬܗ. ܘܐܦ ܠܡܒܢܝܐ ܕܥܘܡܪܗ ܕܒܗ̇ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܦܪܢܣܢܘܬܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ [2]ܢܛܪ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܡ̈ܠܐ ܣܠܩ ܒܡ̈ܠܝܘܗܝ
ܕܫܘܐ[3] ܠܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܡܢܐ. ܘܫܘܝܐ ܠܟ̈ܝܢܐ ܠܗ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ.
ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܘܩܦܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܣܝܒܪܘܬܐ
ܕܡܬܠܒܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܬܚܝܠܝܢ ܘܕܟܝܐ ܥܠܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܥܘܬ ܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܗܘܢ ܘܕܪܘܫܡܗܘܢ. [4]ܐܝܟ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܝܗܘܢ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ ܕܢܫܡܐ ܥܠܠ ܘܕܟܝܐ
ܗܟܝܠ ܠܗ̇. ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ܡܬܒܪܬ
ܐܝܟܢܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟܘ ܗܒܠ [5]ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܥ̈ܡܠܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܘܝܢܐ
ܦܘܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܥܡܠܐ [6]ܕܡܬܢܨܚܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܠܒܢܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܒܠܗܘܢܐ ܗܢܐ. ܫܘܦܪܐ
ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܦܝܪܐ ܘܦܚܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܚܙܝܢ ܡܢ ܪܒܘܬܐ
ܕܡܪܢܫܒܘܬܐ. ܐܡܒܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܠܡ̈ܠܐ ܒܠܫܘܕ
ܬܬܫܥܒ ܠܡܒܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܬ̈ܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ
ܡܛܠܬܗܘܢ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ. ܠܡܒܘܬܗ ܒܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ [7]ܠܡ̈ܠܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܘܬ
ܡܫܡܪܐ. ܘܫܘܬܦܘܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܢܛܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܥ̈ܡܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܫܒܚ.
ܘܒܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܠܡܒܘܬܗ ܚܙܪ ܘܡܒܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܠܝܢ

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[1] A ܕܗܠܝܢ; B ends with this word.
[2] MS. ܢܛܪܘ.
[3] So Vat. MS. ܕܫܘܐ; A ܕܫܘܡ.
[4] Vat. MS. ܕܐܝܟ.
[5] Vat. MS. ܕܦܘܪܥܢܐ.
[6] Vat. MS. ܕܡܬܚܣܝܢ.
[7] Vat. MS. ܠܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܢܝܢ.

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ܘܡܪܝ، ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ. ܡܬܢܓܕ̈ܢܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ. ܒܢܓ̈ܕܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ ܡܬܢܓܕܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܪ̈ܝܪܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܓ̈ܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܪܓܫܘ ܕܒܚܘܒܐ [1]ܐܣܟܠܘ. ܡܢ ܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ. [2]ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܚ̈ܛܝܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ̇ܐ. ܕܚܠܦ ܦܘܪܥ ܟܐܝܢܘܬܐ [3]ܗ̤ܘ ܢܘܣܚܐ ܦܪܕ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܕܥܘ ܥܠ ܢܦ̈ܫܗܘܢ، ܗ̤ܘ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܥܘܒܕܢܐ ܕܓܡܝܪܘܬܐ ܡ̈ܫܠܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܙܕܩܐ ܗ̄ܘ، [4]ܗܕܐ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܕܟܠܗ [5]ܕܐܣܟܠ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ، ܕܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܝܬ، ܠܬܘܩܢ ܠܗܘܢܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܗܘܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܟܐܝܢܘܬܐ ✣ ܘܡܪܝ، ܬܐܕܘܪܘܣ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܐܡܪ. ܒܥܠܡܐ [6]ܠܡ ܕܥܬܝܕ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܨܒܘ ܗܬܡ [7]ܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܥܡ ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܚܛ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܠܗܘܢ ܚ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܐܓܠܝܘ. ܕܗ [8]ܒܡܚܡܨ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܚܣܢ ܡܬܓܠܡܝܢ [9]ܒܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ ܘܒܬܪ ܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܦܝ ܕܚܡܟܐ ܣܠܩ ܕܒܨܝܪܘܬܐ ܢܡܚܣܢܘ ܘܠܐ ܗܘ̣ܐ ܒܠܝ̈ܬܐ. [10]ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܒܗ̇ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܕܥܬܐ ܕܢܘܠܦܢܐ ܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܕܕܚܠܝ̈ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܬܕܪܝܢ. ܕܒܪܚܡܬܐ ܠܟܠܐ ܢܐܣܝܘܢܗ، ܡܫܬܘܡ ܠܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܥܬܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܬܬܠ ܫܘܦܢܐ ܐܣܝܐ. [11]ܐܠܘܠܐ ܡܪܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ [12]ܕܡܕܐ ܕܦܪܚܝܢ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ. [13]ܒܗ ܡܚܡܨ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܢܘܪ ܡܚܣܢܘ. ܘܠܐ ܬܘܒ [14]ܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܢܒܠܥ ܣܢ̈ܝܐܬܐ ܘܢܒܠܥ ܠܣܪܘܚܘܬܐ. ܐܠܘܠܐ [15]ܕܝܢ

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[1] A omits ܐܣܟܠܘ. [2] A ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܝܢ. [3] B ܗ̤ܘ. [4] A omits ܗܕܐ and has ܛܝܒܘܬܗ. [5] B ܕܐܣܟܠܝܢ. [6] The Vatican MS. (Assemânî, Bib. Or., t. iii, pt. i, p. 323) omits ܠܡ. [7] B Vat. MS. ܫܦܝܪ̈ܬܐ. [8] B ܡܢ ܡܚܡܨ. [9] Vat. MS. ܒܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ. [10] B ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. [11] B ܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܡܪܚܝܢܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܐ. [12] A ܡܐ. [13] B ܒܡܚܡܨ. [14] B ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ. [15] B omits ܕܝܢ.

ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ. [1]ܘܠܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܩܒܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܒܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܣܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܪܫ̄ܘܡܟܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܩܘܡܬܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ [2]ܡܢܝܚܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ. ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܓܘܪܐ ܘܡܫܬܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܬܪ̈ܝܬܘܢ ܓܘܢܝܢ. ܚܕܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܕܡܬܒܠܒܠܝܢ ܘܦܘܡܝܢ ܚܕܐ ܒܚܕܐ. ܘܐܚܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ✤

ܗ ✤ ܥܠ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܬܕܝܢܝܢ [3]ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܓܗܢܐ. ܒܬܪ [4]ܕܡܬܦܝܣܝܢ [5]ܘܫܐܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܩܒܠܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܥܘܐ. ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܬܕܝܢܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ ܡܬܚܣܝܢ.

ܡܛܘܠ ܕܐܟܣ̈ܢܬܐ ܡܬܕܚܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܬܠ ܡܢ ܚܝܠ. ܘܪܡܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܓܘ ܓܗܢܐ. ܘܚܒܝܠܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܥܒ̈ܕܐ، ܕܒܟܬܐ ܘܠܒܒ̈ܐ، ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܒ ܚܛܗ. ܘܡܛܘܠ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܘܠܡܚܣܢܘܬܗ، ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܠܦܠܘܚܐ ܒܢܦ ܘܚܛܗ. ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢܘܬܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ. ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܗ̣ܘ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܘܬܐ. [6]ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܠܝܢ. ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܗ̣ܘ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ. ܐܟܚܕܐ ܥܡ [7]ܕܗܘܢܐ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܦܪܘܫ ܬܡܝܗܘܬܐ ܒܕܘܟܐ ܠܫܡܥܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܚܠܝܢ. ܬܒܟܐ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ [8]ܒܕܘܟܐ ܠܫܡܥܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܘܫܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܫܢܝܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܡܫܡܥܘ ܬܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܟ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ✤

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[1] A ܠܐ. [2] A omits ܡܢܝܚܝܢ. [3] B ܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. [4] B ܕܡܬܦܝܣܝܢ.
[5] A ܘܒܥܝܢ. [6] A ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܡܠܟܐ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܠܝܢ. ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܗ̣ܘ ܕܐܬܒܥܝܐ.
[7] A ܥܡ ܕܒܟܠܡܕܡ; B omits ܕܗܘܢܐ. [8] A omits ܒܕܘܟܐ.

ܕܟܠܒ ܢܡܘܣܗ ܠܪܒ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ ܠܦܘܬ
ܕܚܝܘܬܗ ¹ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܢܢܗܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ²ܠܡ ܡܢ ܟܘܟܒܐ ³ܡܝܬܪ ܗ̄ܘ
ܒܫܘܒܚܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ
ܒܚܕܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܬܒ̈ܣܡܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܦܘܪܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܦܪܝܫ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܘ ܠܫܠܝܛܐ. ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ⁴ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܚܕ ܫܡܫܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܡܫܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܫܠ̈ܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܠܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ⁵ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܠܦܘܬ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ ܐܦ ܥܘܢܕܢܗ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩ ܢܘܗܪܗ
ܕܫܡܫܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܣܗܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܦܫܩ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܣܗܪܐ
ܠܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ. ܘܐܦ ܥܬܝܕܐ ⁶ܘܐܐܪܐ
ܕܢܝܚܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܒ ⁷ܘܦܪܣ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܙܠܝܩܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܦܘܪܫ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܚܠܦ
ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܫܟܐ ܘܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܓܗܢܐ
ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕ̈ܡܝܢ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܀ ܫܪܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܥܝܬܐ
ܕܝܗܒ ܡܪܢ ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܘܗܝ، ܟܕ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܠܐ ܣܦܩܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ.
ܫܪܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܫ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܝܢ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܠܡܟܠ ܠܟܠܗ ܚܢ̈ܦܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܝܐ
ܣܓ̈ܝܐܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܀ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܝܢ ⁸ܕܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܟ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܘܢ̈ܐ
ܕܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܢܝܢ. ܠܝܬ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܡ ܘܡܚܘܝܢ
ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܥܘܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗܝܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܘܐܬܬܚܡܘ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ
ܡܕ̈ܒܪܢܐ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܕܬܐ ܬܘܩܢܐ ⁹ܘܡܬܕܒ̈ܪܢܐ. ¹⁰ܠܝܬ

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[1] B C omit ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. [2] A omits ܠܡ. [3] A ܡܝܬܪܝ. [4] B ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܦܠܓ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ; C ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܚܕ ܫܡܫܐ. [5] A ܡܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. [6] B ܐܐܪܐ. [7] C ܘܦܪܝܣ. [8] B C ܘܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܬܐ. [9] A ܘܡܕܒ̈ܪܢܐ. [10] Here ends C with the word ܠܝܬ; Arab. فليس.

ܒܣܘܟܗ ܘܡܢܝ ܒܪܘܚܬܗ. ܐܦܠܐ ܠܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܪܚܡܬܐ ܗܘܝܢ
ܬܡܢ ܒܡܫܚܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܙܟܝ ܫܡܫܐ ܒܙܒܢ̈ܝ ܟܘܬܗ. ܘܗܕܪܐ
ܒܙܠܠܗ. ܘܡܙܠܓܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܘܦܪܗ. ܐܠܐ ܡܙܠܓܢܝܢ [1]ܒܝܠܗ
ܕܡܠܠܘܬܐ ܠܡܢܝܢܐܝܬ. ܒܗܢܐ ܕܒܗܫܡ. ܘܒܕܘܢܝܐ [2]ܕܥܘܢܝܢ.
ܡܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܡ [3]ܕܡܙܠܓܝܢ ܘܕܢܩܐ ܒܗܢܝܐܘܬܐ
ܕܒܗܫܡܗܘܢ. ܒܗ ܒܕ ܒܗ ܡܙܠܓܝܢ ܐܦ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܒܗܢܝܐ
ܕܥܘܢܝܗܘܢ. ܒܕ ܣܠܐ ܡܦܒܠܢܐ ܕܗܢܝܐ ܕܝܢ، ܗ̄ܘ ܦܪܥܘܬܐ.
ܒܕܠܦܢ ܙܕܩ ܕܢܒܥ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܢܗܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܘܥܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܡܠܠܐ ܘܡܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܡܬܢܬܐ ܡܦܒܠܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܬܪܡܝܢ ܡܣܝܒܘܬܗ
[4]ܘܡܬܠܬܗ [5]ܕܗܘ ܒܠܡܐ [6]ܕܒܬܪ ܠܕܒܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܠܗܝܢ
ܡܣܝܒܘܬܗ ܘܡܬܠܬܗ ܘܢܝܫܗܘܢ، ܕܒܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܦ ܡܬܬܪܡܝܢ ܠܗ
ܒܒܠܡܐ ܕܒܬܪ. ܐܝܟ ܗܝܒܐ ܘܙܕܝܩܐ ܢܘܪܝܢ ܒܗܝܢ. ܘܕܥܒܡܝܢ
ܠܝ ܐܘ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܡܥܬܝܩ. ܘܐܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܒܝܢ ܒܠܒܬܠܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ
ܡܢܘܬܗ. [7]ܡܢ ܒܠܗܝܢ ܡܣܝܒܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܙܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܒܠܗܘܢ
ܥܘܢܝܗܘܢ، ܘܐܒܠܝܢܗܘܢ، ܘܬܪܥܝܬܗܘܢ، ܕܒܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܦ
ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܠܝ ܒܒܠܡܐ ܕܒܬܪ. ܠܐ [8]ܒܙܢܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܕܡܬܢܗܦ ܒܢܝܢ
ܠܐ ܡܢܦܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܥܣܩܢܐ. ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܥܒܝܕ ܘܡܬܦܪܫ
ܘܡܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܫܝܛܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܗܫܡܐ ܕܐܝܟ. ܘܡܕܡ
ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܘܡܬܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܕܗܪܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܥܘܢܝܐ
[9]ܕܠܡܠ ÷ ܥܠ ܐܝܟܢܘܬܐ [10]ܕܡܢ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܘܕܥ.
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܪ ܕܕܝܢܐ. ܠܘ ܚܫܟܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܒܪܐ [11]ܡܬܦܪܫ ܘܡܬܝܕܥ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܗܘ

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[1] A ܒܣܠܐ. [2] A ܕܥܘܢܝܢ ܡܕܝܢ. [3] A ܡܙܠܓܝܢ. [4] A omits from ܘܡܬܠܬܗ to ܡܣܝܒܘܬܗ. [5] C ܕܒܠܡܐ. [6] A B omit ܕܒܬܪ. [7] A ܘܡܢ. [8] B ܒܙܢ. [9] B C ܕܠܡܠ. [10] B C omit ܕܡܢ. [11] C ܡܬܦܪܫܐ ܘܡܬܝܕܥܐ.

ܘܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ¹ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ²ܠܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܓܠܐ ܒܕܪ̈ܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ³ܡܢܗܝܢ ⁴ܢܘܕܥܘܗ ܘܢܘܪܗ ܟܠܗ
ܣܓܝܐ. ܘܢܘܕܥܗ ܘܢܠܝܠܬܗ ܒܗ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܥܒܝܕ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪܐ
ܘܕܓܪ̈ܠܐ ⁵ܒܝܢܬܐ ܡܝܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܢܘܗܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܒܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܬ
ܠܗ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܬܓܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܦܘܫܩܗ ܘܫܠܝܠܘܬܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ
ܒܡܥܪܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܒܣܦܪ̈ܐ. ܦܫܩܝܢ ܠܗ ܣܦܪ̈ܘܗܝ
ܠܬܘܒ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܥܒܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܥܘܩܒܬܐ ܕܣܦܪ̈ܬܐ. ܢܬܒܥܐ ܠܗ
ܡܬܓܠܝܢܘܬܗ ܠܟܠ. ܘܡܬܓܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ⁶ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܕܡܘܗܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܒܐܝܢܐ ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܘܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ.
ܘܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܗ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ⁷ܩܕܝܫܐ ܀

ܠܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܕܢܚܐ ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ. ܕܒܐܝܢܐ
ܐܝܟ ⁸ܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ.

ܕܗܘ ܠܝ ܕܝܠܕ ܘܐܬܝܠܕ. ܕܢܦܩ ܕܢܚܡ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܒܬܪ ܣܓܝ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ⁹ܕܢܐܬܝܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܒܝ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܢ. ܘܐܦ
ܠܐ ⁹ܫܐܠܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܠܗ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܠܫܠܝܚܐ. ¹⁰ܘܐܦ ܠܗ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ
ܠܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܟܘܠ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ. ¹¹ܘܐܦܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܒܘܣܡܐ ܠܕܪ̈ܘܫܐ
ܫܠܝ ܒܡܠܬܗܘܢ. ܫܢܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ¹²ܐܝܟܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ¹³ܫܐܠܝܢ
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ. ¹⁴ܠܘ ܗܘ ܕܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܢܦܩܬ. ܐܝܟ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ
ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܘܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܬܒܥܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ
ܕܠܡܓܫܐ ܢܚܘܐ. ¹⁵ܐܝܟ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܒܪ ܘܠܫܢܬܐ. ܘܬܘܬܐ
¹⁶ܕܫܠܡ ܡܘܟܠܢܐ ܥܒܝ̈ܕܐ. ¹⁷ܘܡܛܠܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ

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[1] A ܘܡܫܡܫܬܐ. [2] C ܒܗܠܝܢ. [3] A ܡܢ. [4] B C ܢܘܕܥܘܗ ܘܢܘܪܗ.
[5] C ܒܝܢܐ. [6] B omits ܘ. [7] A C omit ܩܕܝܫܐ. [8] B ܗܘܐ. [9] B C ܫܐܠܝܢ.
[10] A C omit from ܘܐܦ to ܠܫܠܝܚܐ. [11] B C ܐܦܠܐ; A omits ܬܘܒ. [12] C ܐܝܟܢܐ; A C ܕܒܗܘܢ. [13] C ܫܐܠܝܢ. [14] A ܐܘ. [15] A ܘܐܝܟ. [16] B C ܫܠܡ. [17] A ܘܡܛܠܬܐ.

ܕܒܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܡܢܟܦܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ. ܘܩܒܠܘ
ܠܗ ¹ܘܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܫܪܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܒܝܢܘ ܕܐܦ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܢ̈ܝܢܘܬܗ
²ܕܦܓܪܐ ܐܟܚܕܐ. ܠܐ ܐܬܬܘܗ، ܡܫܡܠܝܐ. ܦܘܠܘܣ ܓܝܪ ܒܐܓܪܬܗ
ܡܘܕܥ. ܘܗܫܡ ܬܫܘܥܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܬܐ ³ܒܥܘܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ. ܘܐܒܕܢܐ
ܕܗ̇ܘ، ܒܡܫܝܚܐܝܬ ܫܠܡܐ ܚܟܡ ⁴ܥܡܘܟܫܗ. ܟܕ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢܗ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܢ. ܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܕ̈ܡܘܗ، ܘܡܢ̈ܝܢܘܬܗ
ܦܐܡ. ܟܕ ܗܕܝܪ ܒܪܘ̈ܟܒܘܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܒܐ. ܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܛܠܠܐ ܕܡܢ
ܒܐܡܗ. ܘܠܘ ܕܦܓܪܐ ⁵ܗ̄ܘ، ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܡܟܐܒܐ ܕܠܒܫܐ ܦܢܐ
ܫܪܝܪܬܐ ܘܦܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܥܐܠ ܠܐܬܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܟܕ ܡܢ
ܐܣܟܝܡܗ ܘܨܘܪܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܛܠܠ ܡܢ ⁶ܢܘܗܪܗ
ܘܡܢ̈ܝܢܘܬܗ. ܟܕ ܢܛܪ ܒܗ ܐܣܟܝܡܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܡ. ܗܟܢܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ
ܕܡܘܕܥܐ ܥܒܪܐ ܠܡ ⁷ܒܒܘܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܡܬܒܨܪܐ ܡܢ ܠܟܠܗ
ܦܘܠܚܢܘܬܐ ܛܠܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ. ܘܫܠܒܥܐ ܠܡ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܝܢܘܬܐ.
ܡܕܕܪܒ ܠܡ ܦܓܪܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ. ܦܐܡ ܦܓܪܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܓܝܪ
⁸ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܕ̈ܡܐ ⁹ܕܦܓܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܪܝܢ ܐܘ ܥܒܝܕܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ
ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ. ܕܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܗܘܢ ¹⁰ܟܕ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܗܘܕ̈ܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ ¹¹ܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܗܡܦܪ̈ܬܐ.
ܐܢܝܘ ¹²ܓܝܪ ܕܟܕܒܐ ܘܥܡܫܐ. ܟܕ ܠܟ ܬܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܫܝܢ
ܥܠ ܗܦ̈ܘܬܐ ¹³ܘܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܠܡ ܒܩܫܝܬܐ ܕܚ̈ܕܐ ܀
ܗ̇ܘ، ܕܝܢ ܕܟܕܝܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܡܘܕ̈ܝܢܐ ¹⁴ܟܕ ܗܕܝܪܝܢ. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܗ
ܠܡܫܝܚ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. ¹⁵ܘܠܡܘܪܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܐ̈ܒܐ ¹⁶ܘܕܪ̈ܕܩܐ.

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[1] B C omit ܘܫܒܩܘ. [2] B C omit ܕܦܓܪܐ. [3] A ܒܥܘܪܬܐ (sic). [4] B C ܡܘܣܝܐ. [5] C ܗܘ. [6] C ܢܘܗܪܗ ܘܡܢܝܢܘܬܗ; B ܗܡܝܡܐ always. [7] A ܒܗܘܪܐ. [8] C ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. [9] A ܕܦܓܪܐ. [10] A ܒܗܘܢ ܘܒܗܘܢ ܕܗܕ̈ܡܐ. [11] B ܡܫܡܫܝܢ. [12] A omits ܓܝܪ. [13] A ܩ̈ܠܐ. [14] B adds ܕܝܢ. [15] B C ܘܠܡܘܪܒܝܐ. [16] B C ܘܕܪ̈ܩܐ.

ܒܬܪ ܥܠܡܐ [1]ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܩܒܠ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܫܩܠܐ ܐܢܦܝ̈ ܘܡܫܬܦܠܐ. [2]ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܚܕܐ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܒܬܪ ܥܠܡܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ [3]ܩܕܡ ܚܕܐ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܩܝܡ ܩܕܡܐܝܬ ܘܣܡ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ [4]ܒܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܚܘܪܒܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܚܘܪܒܐ ܕܐܣ̈ܛܘܟܣܐ. ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܕܫܡܫܐ ܘܕܣܗܪܐ ܘܕܟܘ̈ܟܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܡܫܪܝܐ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܚܢ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܙ̈ܕܝܩܐ. ܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܪ̈ܫܝܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܡ ❖

ܢܘ ❖ ܥܠ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܙܢܐ ܘܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܢܩܘܡܘܢ [5]ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ.

ܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܦܫ̈ܐ [6]ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܐ ܕܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܩܡ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ. ܟܕ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܕ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ ܢܩܝܦܝܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ. ܒܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܘܟܝܢ ܕܠܐ [7]ܬܘܣܦܬ ܘܠܐ ܒܨܝܪ. ܗܟܢܐ [8]ܕܝܢ ܘܠܛܠ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܥܘܠܬܐ. ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܢ ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܪ ܟܠ ܡܫܚܬܐ. ܕܕܡܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܫܚܐ. ܟܕ ܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܦܬܝܐ [9]ܕܗܕ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ. ܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܝܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܓܪ̈ܡܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܠܕܘ ܡܬܝܠܕܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܗ ܝܠܦܢܐ. [10]ܘܡܫܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܘ̈ܚܬܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܩܦܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܦܘܡܐ [11]ܗܕܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܡܐܟܐ

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[1] A ܘܟܠܗ. [2] A ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [3] C ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. [4] B omits ܒܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ.
[5] B C ܡܝ̈ܬܐ. [6] A omits from ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ to ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [7] B ܬܘܣܦܬܐ, and A omits ܘܠܐ.
[8] A omits ܕܝܢ. [9] A ܕܗܕ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ; B ܐܣܟܡܐ. [10] A ܘܡܫܬܟܠܝܢ. [11] A ܗܘܢܝܐ.

ܘܡܫܬܟܠܠܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܪܘܚܢܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܪܦܦ ܥܝܢܐ ܒܩܪܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܟܕ ܬܩܪܐ. ܘܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ. ܘܚܢܢ ܢܬܚܠܦ. ܗܟܢܐ ܪܘܚܢܐܝܬ ܘܡܠܝܠܐܝܬ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ. ܠܦܘܬ ܪܘܚܢܘܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܡܠܠܘܬܗ ܒܪ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ ܟܒܝܪܐ ܠܦܠܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܡܬ̈ܥܝܐ ܦ̈ܘܚܐ ¹ܒܠܚܘܕ ܚܙܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܙܢܐ ܗܘܘ. ²ܟܕ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܢ ܦܐܝܢ ܒܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ. ܡܥܠܡܝܢ ³ܒܪ ܗܒܠ ܐܒ̈ܗܝܢ. ܕܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܘܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܘܕܡܗܝ̈ܡܢܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܓܡܝܪܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܩܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܥܒ̈ܕܬܐ. ܒܪܡ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܓܒܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܕܓܒܪܐ. ܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܘܡܢ ܪܦܦ ܥܝܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܡܢ ܕܪܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܕܡ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܕܪܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܟܕ ܡܛܝܐ ⁴ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܩ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܚܠ̈ܦܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܒܗܘ ܠܠܝܐ. ܕܥܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܘܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥ̈ܠܡܝܢ ܗܦܟܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܡܠܐܟܐ. ܬܠܬ ܡܬ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܩܢ. ⁵ܗܢܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܕܒܪ ܘܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ. ܡܒܝܢܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܘܫܐ ܐܚܪܢܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܩܘ̈ܒܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܗܡܢܐ. ܠܐ ܩ̄ܘܡܐ ܒܪ ܡܕܡ ܫܢ̈ܬ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܒܬܪ ܘܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܟܠܡܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܦܘܕܩ. ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܬܐ ܦ̈ܘܚܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܠܡ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܕܬܘܩܢܐ ܡܢܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܕܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܕܐܬܒܠܠܘ ⁶ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚܘ ܒܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܚܘܕܪܐ ܘܦܘܬܚܐ ܠܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܢܬܠܝ ܦܓܪ̈ܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܒܪ ܡܕܡ ܫܢ̈ܬ ܡܫܚܬܐ

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[1] A omits ܒܠܚܘܕ. [2] C ܘܡܢ. [3] A omits ܒܪ; C omits ܘܗܒܠ.
[4] B C ܠܐܚܪܝܬ. [5] C ܘܗܢܝܢ. [6] A ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚܘ ܘܐܬܒܠܠܘ.

ܡ̇ܠܒܫ ܠܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝܠܢܐ ܡܬܥܩܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ.
ܘܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܘܛܘܪ̈ܘܗ̇ ܗܦܟܝܢ. ܘܥܘܪ̈ܐ ܙ̈ܘܥܐ ܘܡܬܬ̈ܠܐ ܒܥܢ̈ܢܐ
ܡܫܬܦܩܝܢ. ܘܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܚܢܩܝܢ ܘܡܐܒܕܝܢ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܚܒܠ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܫ̈ܬܥܐ [1]ܐܚܘ̈ܪܝ, ܒܡܚܝܢܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܦܪܥܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ. ܘܓܙܪ̈ܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܚܘܬܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܠܒܫܘܢ
ܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ. [2]ܕܚܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܚܪܝܢ. ܠܐ ܢܕܪܟܘܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܕܡܟܘ. ܕܢܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܕܛܥܡܝܢ ܫܢܬܗ ܕܡܘܬܐ. [3]ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܫܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ.
ܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܪܙܐ. ܠܐ ܟܠܢ ܢܕܡܟ. ܟܠܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܬܚܠܦ ܀
ܒܠ ܥܡܛܢܐ ܕܝܢ. ܐܝܬ [4]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܫܬܥܕܘ. ܘܫܬܝܢ ܡܐ̈ܐ
ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܕܠܒܠ ܡܢ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܠܬܫܥܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܥܡܪܢܐ ܕܢܒܪܘܢ
ܠܒ̈ܢܝܢܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ. ܘܐܝ̈ܟܢܐ ܐܬܩܢܝ. ܕܐܝܟ
ܕܒܬܪ ܡ̈ܝܬܐ [5]ܒܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܫܪܟܐ. ܘܕܘܒܬܐ ܒܡܥܡܠܐ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܒܫ̈ܬܥܐ ܚܐܠܝܢ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܝܢ. ܘܡ̈ܝܬܐ
ܢܫܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܡܬܦܩܠ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܐܝܟ
ܩܪܒܬܐ ܕܡܥܡܠܐ ܀ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܪܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܒܗ̇ ܡܬܦܬܚܢ
ܩܒ̈ܪܐ. ܘܪܘܚ ܡܢ̈ܟ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܐ. ܒܩܘܪܐ [6]ܘܡܥܘܒܢܐ ܙܪܥܐ.
ܢܦܩ ܕܝܢ ܟܠ ܥܘܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ. ܟܕܡܥܐ [7]ܠܬܠܬܝܢ ܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ ܡܢ
ܡܬܬܚܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܘܡܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܠܒܪ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܘܠܘܣ
ܒܪܘܚ ܚܟܝܡܬܐ. [8]ܘܗܕܡ ܡܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܐܒܗܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠܠ [9]ܠܗ
ܒܡܠܟܘ ܘܒܡܥܒܕܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܡܐܪ̈ܐ ܒܟܠ ܒܗܝܢܐ ܀
ܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗ̇ܝ, ܐܚܪܝܬܐ. ܕܒܗ̇ ܡܢܚܡܝܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ

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[1] B ܐܚܘܪ̈ܐ; C ܒܚܘܪ̈ܝ (sic).   [2] C ܘܚܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ.   [3] C ܐܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ.
[4] A C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ.   [5] A C omit ܐܘ ܒܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ.   [6] A ܘܡܥܘܒܢܐ.   [7] B ܠܬܠܬܝܢ.
[8] B C ܘܗܕܡܝ.   [9] A B omit ܠܗ.

ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܠܝܢ [1]ܕܠܡܘܬ̈ܒܐ ܕܢܬܬܘܬܒܘܢ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܬܚܡܘܢ. ܐܝܟܘ
ܕܡܫܐܬ ܒܡܘܪܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܒܟ̈ܢ ✤

ܢܙ ✤ ܥܠ ܢܘܚܡܐ [2]ܘܩܝܡܬܐ ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. ܘܫܘܠܡ ܟܠܡ ܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ. ܘܫܘܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ. ܘܡܒܛܠ [3]ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܛܘܠܡܐ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܡܒܛܠ ܠܡܣܬܡ̈ܟܢܐ. ܒܡܐܬܝܬܐ ܘܓܠܝܢܐ. [4]ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ. ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܥܡܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܝܠܒܟܐ [5]ܡܕܝܢܐ. ܟܕ [6]ܡܬܚܙܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ ܒܐܪ̈ܙܐ [7]ܕܙܥ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܫܝܦܘܪ. ܘܟܠܗ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܠܢܘܗܪܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܠܒܣܬܬܐ [8]ܘܠܒܫ ܐܦ̈ܐ ܕܡܦܦ̈ܪܐ ܘܫܘܦܪܐ ܓܠܦ̈ܐ. ܡܣܟܐ [9]ܕܕܢܚ ܓܠܒܟܐ ܓܘܚܟܐ ܡܕܡܘܗܝ، ܕܡܟܢ. ܐܝܟ [10]ܕܐܡܝܪ ܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܡܕܡܘܗܝ، ܠܡ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܒܘܬܗ ܘܡܪܟܐ. ܗܢܘܢ [11]ܗܘܐ ܒܘܟܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܒܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܚܠܐ. ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܗܪܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܘܗܪܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܡܫ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܒܠܝܥܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ. ܕܒܠܟܘܢ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [12]ܦܘܩܘ ܠܐܘܪܚܗ. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܗ̇ ܫܡܫܐ [13]ܢܚܬ. ܘܗܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܢܘܗܪܗ. ܘܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܢܬܪܘܢ [14]ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܛܪ̈ܦܐ. [15]ܘܚܝܠܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܢܬܬܙܝܥܘܢ. ܘܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܘܫܕܐ. ܘܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܪ̈ܡܬܐ [16]ܢܬܦܫܪܘܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܬܘܝܢ. ܘܟܠܐ [17]ܕܚܝܠܐ [18]ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ. ܘܡܘܪ̈ܕܝܬܐ

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[1] A blank space is left in A for ܕܠܡܘܬ̈ܒܐ ܕܢܬܬܘܬܒܘܢ. [2] A ܘܩܝܡܬܐ; B omits ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. [3] B C omit ܠܗ. [4] C ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ; C ܒܗܘ. [5] A C omit ܡܕܝܢܐ. [6] A B omit ܡܬܚܙܐ. [7] A ܕܙܥܘ; B C ܙܥ. [8] B ܘܠܒܫܘ; C omits ܘܠܒܫ ܐܦ̈ܐ. [9] B ܕܢܚ. [10] B ܕܐܡܝܪ. [11] C omits ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ. [12] A ܦܘܩ. [13] C ܢܚܬ. [14] A B omit ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. [15] B ܘܚܝ̈ܠܬܐ. [16] B C ܢܬܡܣܡܣܘܢ; A C omit ܘܪ̈ܡܬܐ. [17] B ܚܕ̈ܪܐ. [18] A C ܡܫܡܫܝܢ.

ܥܠ ܦ̇ܠܠܘܬ ܘܗܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܡܘܢ ¹ܡܟܪܙܝܢ ܕܢܒܝ̈ܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܗܘܢ
²ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܙܡܪܐ ܕܫܒܚܬܐ ܐܡܬܗܘܢ، ܒܡܠܝܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗ̇ܘ
ܕܡܠܝܠ ܒܥܘܬܐ. ܢ̇ܬܠ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ³ܘܠܡܣܟܠܘܬܐ
ܫܛܝܛܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢ̇ܦܠ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܩܝ̈ܡܝܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ
ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܠܗ̇، ܕܒܬܪ ܢܘܚܡܐ ܠܐ ܢ̇ܦܩ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܟܪܝܡ
ܕܐܝܟ ܢ̇ܠܘܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܐ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܣܝܘ. ܡܫܡܫ ܕܠܗܘܬ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ
ܕܥܢ̈ܝܕܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܢܘܚܡܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܥܢ̈ܝܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ ✥ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܢ̈ܫܡܬܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩܐ
⁴ܘܡܟܪ̈ܙܝܢ ܕܝܢ ⁵ܠܛܠܝ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܡܢ ܡܫܝ̈ܚܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܟܕܕܒ. ܡܫܬܐܠܝܬ ܡܢ ⁶ܡܢܝ، ܬܐܘܦܪܘܣ. ܒܥܪ̈ܦܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ
ܝܘܠܦܢܐ. ܒܥܕܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܙܡܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܦܪܘܣܐ ܠܗܘܬ ܡܢ̇ܝ. ܘܗ̇ܘ ܕܢܣܒ ܥܠ ܕܡܝܐ ܙܡܪܘܢ
ܣܠܩܐ ܕܢܓ̇ܕܪ ܐܢܦܝ ܒܥ̈ܠܘܬܗ. ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܗܡܢܐ ⁷ܬܠܚܡܝܪܗ
ܕܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ. ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܘܫܐ. ܒܪܡ ܒܘܝܢ ܙܒܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܒܐ
ܡܬܪܐܝܬ ܡܫܬܢܝܐ. ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ. ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ
ܙܕܩ ܡܟܝܠ ܠܗ. ܕܢܘܕܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ
ܒܡܫܝܚܗ، ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ. ⁸ܘܟܠܗ ܡܩ̈ܒܠܬܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܝܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܙܝܥܝܢ ܒܚܝܠܐ ⁹ܦܘܫܩܐ ܡܢ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ. ܐܝܟ
ܗܦܟܐ ܘܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
¹⁰ܘܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܒܘ، ܡܢ ܫܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܦܩܝܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] B ܡܟܪܙܘ. [2] B ܠܗܘ. [3] In A a blank space is left, where the words ܘܠܡܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܫܛܝܛܬܐ and ܒܥܘܬܐ should come; C ܘܠܡܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܫܛܝܛܘܬܐ. [4] A B ܡܟܪ̈ܙܝ. [5] A ܠܛܠܝܗܘܢ, and omits ܕܝܢ. [6] A omits ܡܢܝ. [7] C ܠܚܡܝܪܐ. [8] C omits ܘܟܠܗ ܡܩ̈ܒܠܬܐ ܚܝܠܐ. [9] C ܦܘܫܩܐ, and omits ܡܢ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ. [10] A ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ; A ܟܬܒܘ.

ܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ [1]ܡܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܒܟܒܗ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.
ܗܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܥܗ ܚܘܠܡܬܐ ܕܫܥܒܕܐ. ܕܒܢܝܢ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ
ܘܢܓܦܗ̇. [2]ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܗܕܝܢ ܠܗ
ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܫܡܫܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ [3]ܢܨܒ̈ܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܥܕܢ
ܡܬܦܬܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܡܬܢܨܒܝܢ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܦܪܣܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ
ܢܒܥܝܢ. [4]ܗܕܝܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܡܕܡܝܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܦܩ
ܟܐܠܗܐ ܒܣܘܪܬܐ. ܒܗ̈ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܠܚܢܫܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܡܕܡ ܠܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܫܘܒܩܢܐ.
ܕܢܒܥܐ ܒܗܘ ܡܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܚܙܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܚܘܝܢܐ. ܠܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ
ܘܫܘܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܡܢܟܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܢܦܫܐ
ܥܠ ܡܕܡ [5]ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܪܝܬܐ [6]ܐܘ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ⁘ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ
ܢܦܫܬܐ [7]ܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܢܘܚܡܐ. [8]ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܥܡܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ [9]ܕܢܘܕ. ܐܡܪܐ
ܕܫܠܘܬܐ ܚܠܬܐ ܒܗ ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ
ܡܥܠܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ [10]ܕܡܚܝܐ ܒܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܙܐ [11]ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ
ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܕܫܠܝܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܒܫܦܠܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ [12]ܕܒܗ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ [13]ܡܬܬܢܝܚܝܢ.
ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ [14]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܡܨܝܪܘ [15]ܒܐܠܗܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܨܘܢ ܒܒܢܝܢܐ. ܒܗ
ܐܦ ܗܢܐ [16]ܒܥܕܢ ܒܗ ܡܦܩ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [17]ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܟܠ
ܦܘܩ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܩܝܢ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܢܝ ܡܬܚܒܠܬܐ
ܠܢܘܚܡ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [18]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܡܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ.

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[1] A omits ܡܠܘܬܐ. [2] C ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘ. [3] B ܢܨܒ̈ܘܗܝ. [4] A omits ܗܕܝܢ.
[5] B ܕܡܚܙܝܐ. [6] B ܘܡܢ; C ܘܫܡܝܐ. [7] A omits ܡܢܐ. [8] A C ܡܢܝܚܝܢ ܕܝܢ.
[9] C ܕܢܘܕܐ. [10] C ܡܚܝܐ. [11] B ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ. [12] A omits ܕ. [13] B ܡܬܢܝܚܝܢ.
[14] A B omit ܐܝܟ. [15] C omits ܐܠܗܐ. [16] C omits ܒܥܕܢ; A B ܒܥܕܢ̈.
[17] B omits ܐܡܪܝܢ; C ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܠ. [18] B C ܐܡܪܝܢ.

ܚܠܝܨ ܒܡܒܐ [1]ܦܘܪܐ ܕܫܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܗ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܗܘܒܝܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܟܢ ܕܐܬܚܘܝܬܗ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܬܠ̈ܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܗ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܬܠܬ ܥܕ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܫܥܬܐ ܡ̈ܫܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܚܠܝܨ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܗܕܒܪܐ ܦܐܡ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܦܪ̈ܕܝܣܐ ܘܡܟܢܝܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܛܥܝܢܐ. ܘܡܗܦܟ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܒ̈ܗܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܒܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܒ̈ܗܬܐ. ܘܡܬܠܒܒ ܘܡܒܪܪ ܠܟܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܗܝ̈ܡܢܐ ܀

ܢܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܦܩ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ.

ܐܬܐܡܬܐ [2]ܕܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܠܬ̈ܠܬܐ [3]ܘܡܦܣܢ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܪܒܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܗ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܘܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܒܫܡܥܐ [4]ܐܢܫܐ ܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ. ܒܝܫܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܢܦܠܐ ܗܘܡܗ [5]ܘܢܦܩܘܬ ܡܛܠ ܫܐܘܠ ܀ ܒܪ̈ܫܝܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܝ ܕܡܛܠ ܢܦܫܗ [6]ܫܐܘܠ ܒܡܪܥܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܦܘܪ̈ܥܢܐ ܀ ܒܪ̈ܫܝܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܩܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܬܬ̈ܢܝܐ ܀ ܒܡܠܝܘܪܐ. ܡܢ ܫ̈ܐܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܣܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܐܝ̈ܟ، ܡܪܘܬܐ ܀ ܒܡܪܕܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܕܒܝܘ̈ܡܝ ܢܘܚ. ܘܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܣܕܘܡܝ̈ܐ. ܘܡܪܥܐ [7]ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܀ [8]ܐܠܐ ܒܡ ܗܠܝܢ [9]ܒܠܚܘܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܡܝܬܢܘܬܐ. ܘܣܓܝ [10]ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܘܟܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܘܪܕܘ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܡܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ. ܘܗܕܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟܐ. ܠܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ. ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܒܬܘܕܝ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܢ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܦܘܪܐ. [2] B ܚܝܢ. [3] B C ܡܦܣ̈ܬܐ; B ܘܡܦܣܘܢ; A ܠܬ̈ܒܐ.
[4] B ܐܢܫ. [5] C ܘܢܦܩܬ ܐܝܟ ܡܛܠ ܫܐܘܠ; C ܒܪܫܝܥܐ. [6] B ܢܦܫܗ ܫܐܘܠ.
[7] A B ܕܐܝܟ. [8] C ܐܘ. [9] A ܒܠܚܘܕ. [10] B ܙܒܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟܢ;
C ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܪܟܢ; A ܒܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ.

ܡܫܝܕܐ ܡܬܓܠܠ ܥܠ ܪܫ ܘܥܠ ܥܘܠܡ ܘܥܠ ܚܝܠܝܢ. ܘܗܦܟ ܐܠܗܐ
[1]ܒܠܠܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܬܬܠܐ ܥܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܫܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܓܪܐ.
ܘܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ [2]ܘܬܚܬܝܬܐ. ܘܦܫܝܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܪܠܐ
ܡܢ ܡܫܥܒܘܬܐ. ܘܥܡܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܣܝܐ. ܗܘܝܘ ܡܬܩܠܐ ܒܪ
ܐܒܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܙܘܥܐ [3]ܘܡܢ ܥܡܠܐ ܕܕ̈ܝ. ܘܡܫܘܚ ܥܢܝ̈ܢܘܬܐ
[4]ܕܦ̈ܬܠܝܛܐ ܘܒܛܠܢܐ [5]ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܒܗ ܚܙܝܢ ܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܬܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ.
ܘܠܡܣ̈ܟܢܐ [6]ܕܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ. ܘܠܡܬܒ̈ܪܐ ܕܡܬܒܠܝܢ. ܘܠܝܬ̈ܡܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ.
[7]ܘܠܚܒܝܫܐ ܕܐܣܝܪ ܒܗ ܘܫܪܝ. ܘܠܡܣܘܪܐ ܕܦܫܛ ܠܗ ܘܡܫܬܘܚܠܦ.
ܘܠܐܝ̈ܠܢܐ ܕܝܗܒܝܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܦܩ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [8]ܘܠܐܪܥܐ
ܕܡܣܒܒܐ ܒܡܛܪ̈ܐ. [9]ܘܡܣܘܢܐ ܥܢܝ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܠܝܛܐ. ܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܗ ܡܥܡܚ ܕܢܫܡ. ܘܡܫܟܠ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܐܬܐ ܒܗܡܠܐ ܥܠ
ܬܪ̈ܥܘܗܝ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ [10]ܕܐܢܫܐ ܐ̄ܢܫ ܡܥܒܝܕܐ. ܘܡܚܙܝܢ ܒܗ ܠܦܬܘܪ̈ܐ
ܕܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܦܩܕ ܢܦܩܐ. ܒܗ ܡܦ̈ܠܓܢ ܢܦܫܗ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܡܪ. [10]ܕܐܢܫܐ ܐ̄ܢܫ ܥܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܦܩ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܩ̈ܠܐܬܐ.
ܘܡܬܓܠܠ ܝ̈ܠܬܐ ܘܡܘܬܒ̈ܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܐܡܬܗ ܕܒܢܝ ܕܢܫܗ
ܡܬܟ̈ܠܠ ܬ̈ܠܘܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܣ̈ܝܫܐ ܥܠ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܡܘܬܒ̈ܢܐ
ܒܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܪ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܙܥܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܬܐ.
ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܕ̈ܝ. ܗ̇ܘ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܐ [11]ܒܪ ܦܘܠܡܐ. ܒܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ،
ܒܪܢܫܐ [12]ܡܬܟܢܫ ܒܗ ܡܡ̈ܢܝܢܐ ܠܥ̈ܠܡܐ. ܘܒܠܗܘܢ ܡܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܦ̈ܓܠܝܬܐ ܒܗ ܡܬܟ̈ܢܫܢ. ܘܡܬܚܘܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܕܕ̈ܘܢܐ.
[13]ܘܒܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܠ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܢܢܝܐ. [14]ܘܗܘܝܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܗܘܝܢ

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[1] B C ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܫܠܡܘܬܗ. [2] C ܘܡܬܚܬܝܐ. [3] A ܕܡܢ. [4] C ܘܦܬܠܝܛܐ. [5] B ܠܐܪܥܐ. [6] B ܡܢ ܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ. [7] C ܘܚܒܝܫܐ; A ܘܚܒܫܐ. [8] B ܘܐܪܥܐ; A C ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܐ. [9] A B ܘܩ̈ܛܡܘܢܐ. [10] A B omit ܕ. [11] A omits ܒܪ. [12] A ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ. [13] B ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ. [14] B C omit ܘܗܘܝܢ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢܝܐ.

ܘܡܫܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܠܗܝ ܕܡܫܟܚ [1]ܩܐܡ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܒܘܥܐ ܚܕ ܕܐܨܛܠܒ [2]ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܬܒܕܪܝܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܒܥܡ̈ܡܘܬܐ [3]ܕܬܦܘܚܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ [4]ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܘܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܒ̈ܢܬܗܘܢ. ܘܫܢܬ ܫܘܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܝܕ ܥܒܕܐ ✤

ܢܗ ✤ ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ [5]ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ [6]ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ. ܒܫܒܘܥܐ ܚܕ ܘܦܠܓܘܬ ܫܒܘܥܐ. ܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܓܘܠܡܐ. ܗܢܐ [7]ܡܬܝܠܕ ܒܟܘܪܙܝܢ. ܘܡܬܪܒܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ. ܘܡܬܡܠܟ ܒܟܦܪܢܚܘܡ. ܘܡܫܬܒܗܪܐ ܒܗ ܟܘܪܙܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ. ܘܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܕܐܬܪܒܝ ܒܗ. ܘܟܦܪܢܚܘܡ ܕܐܡܠܟ ܒܗ. ܡܛܠ [8]ܗܢܐ ܠܬܠܬܝܗܝܢ ܝܗܒ ܡܪܢ ܘܝ̈ܐ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܕܡܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ. ܩܐܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܘܩܐܡ ܥܠ ܓܓܘܠܬܐ ܒܪ ܕܐܙܕܩܦ ܒܗ ܡܪܢ. ܘܣܐܡ ܬܓܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܪܝܫܗ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ، ܐܙܕܩܦ ܡܪܢ. ܘܦܫܛ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ، ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ. ܘܡܬܥܠܐ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܟܠܝܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܡܗ. [9]ܘܡܠܟܐ ܦܫܛܬ ܒܪ ܥܒܕܗ. ܘܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܙܒܢ [10]ܕܒܫܥܝ ܫܢ̈ܬ [11]ܩܒܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܫܢܬ ܡܘܬܗ. ܡܛܠ [12]ܕܠܒܫܥܝ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܐܪܡܠܬܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܬܒܛܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܥܡ ܕܡܘܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܩܐܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܝܕ. ܕܟܘܫ ܬܫܠܡ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. [13]ܘܡܕ ܡܬܓܠܐ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܠܥܡܡܐ.

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[1] A B ܕܩܐܡ. [2] B omits ܗܘ. [3] B C ܕܡܘܗܠܐ. [4] B C omit ܥܠܝܗܘܢ.
[5] A ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ. [6] A ܡܚܘܠܠܐ. [7] A ܢܬܝܠܕ. [8] B ܗܕܐ. [9] C ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ.
[10] B ܕܒܫܥܝܢܐ. [11] A ܩܒܠ. [12] B C ܕܒܫܥܝ. [13] A ܡܢ.

ܕܢܬܚܣܢܘܢܝܗܝ، ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܢܟܣܝܢ ܕܒܠܘܪܐ ܢܫܬܪܘܢܝܗܝ، ܡܪܡܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܒܘܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܕܒܩܘܬܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܘܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܐ ܕܢܠ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܢ. ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܠܓܘ ܡܢ [1]ܬܪܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ. ܓܘܓ [2]ܡܓܘܓ. ܢܘܠ. [3]ܐܓܫܢܙ. [4]ܕܝܦܪ. ܦܘܬܝܐ. [5]ܘܦܠܛܝܐ. ܗܘܡܢܝܐ. ܦܪܙܝܐ. ܕܩܠܝܐ. [6]ܬܘܟܠܝܐ. ܕܙܡܪܝܐ. [7]ܟܘܟܒܝܐ. ܚܠܕ ܓܢܙܝ. ܝܡܕܪܬܐ. ܓܪܡܝܕܦܕ. [8]ܐܟܠܝ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܛܪܦܝܐ. ܐܠܢܝܐ. ܦܣܝܠܘܢ. [9]ܕܢܩܝܐ. [10]ܣܠܛܪܝܐ ✤ ܒܫܢܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܠܡܫܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܡܝܐ. [11]ܗܘ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒܝܢ ܢܫܐ. ܘܢܫܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܓܒܪܐ. ܘܢܨܒܝܢ ܟܪܡܐ ܘܒܢܝܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܝܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ. ܡܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܫܝܢܐ. ܘܫܬܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܡܢ ܫܠܝܐ ܢܬܦܬܚܘܢ [12]ܬܪܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܬܬܙܝܥ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܬܛܫܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܘܢܥܪܩܘܢ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܘܒܡܥܪܐ ܘܒܒܝܬ ܡܝܬܐ ܘܒܓܙܪܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܢܡܘܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܕܩܒܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢ [13]ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܐܟܠܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܫܬܝܢ ܕܡܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܥܩܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܢܟܣܝܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܣܪܝܐ ܘܪܚܫܐ ܥܩܪܐ ܡܣܝܒܬܐ [14]ܘܐܟܠܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܟܠܒܐ ܡܝܬܐ. [15]ܘܣܡܡܢܝܬܐ ܐܘܟܡܬܐ ܦܓܠܬܐ ܬܚܠܬܐ. ܘܫܠܕܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܥܡ ܥܠܝܬܐ. ܘܡܥܒܝܢ ܠܐܡܗܬܐ ܕܢܓܠܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܗܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܗܬܬܐ ܡܪܚܫܝܢ.

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[1] A ܐܪܥܐ ܓܪܒܝܝܐ. [2] A B ܘܡܓܘܓ. [3] C ܐܓܫܡ. [4] B ܕܝܦܪ. [5] A omits this word; C ܦܠܛܝܐ. [6] B ܬܘܩܠܝܐ. [7] A C: ܩܘܡܩܝܐ: ܐܡܪܕܝܐ: ܩܘܡܢܘܢ: ܐܩܕܡ ܚܢܢܝܐ: ܡܟܢ ܕܢܝܐ. [8] B ܘܐܟܠܝ. [9] B ܕܘܩܝܐ. [10] B ܣܠܛܝܐ. [11] A ܘܗܘ. [12] A ܬܪܥܬܐ. [13] C ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܘܐܘܠܨܢܐ. [14] A ܐܟܠܝܢ; B omits this word. [15] B ܩܛܠܐ ܡܝܬܬܐ ܘܦܓܠܬܐ ܦܓܠܬܐ; C ܘܦܓܠܬܐ, and omits ܘܣܡܡܢܝܬܐ ܐܘܟܡܬܐ.

ܢܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܓܘܓ ܘܡܓܘܓ ܕܚܒܝܫܝܢ ܒܓܪܒܝܐ.

[1]ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. [2]ܘܟܒܫ ܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܐܬܢܓܕ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ. ܚܙܐ ܒܟܢܦ [3]ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܦܬ. ܕܒܝܫܝܢ ܘܛܢܦܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ [4]ܥܡ̈ܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܒܛܡ̈ܡܬܐ ܡܣܝ̈ܒܬܐ ܘܥܩܪ̈ܒܐ ܚܘܐ. ܕܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܟܘܡܒܪ̈ܐ [5]ܘܥܩܪ̈ܒ ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ. ܟܡ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܟܠܒ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܩܒܪܝܢ [6]ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܥܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܠܫܘܠܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ، ܢܫ̈ܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܡܢܬܪܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. [7]ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܦܩܝܢ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܝܠܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ [8]ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܘܫܬܐ ܢܟܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ [9]ܗܘܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܘܪܫܢ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܥܒ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ. ܒܥܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܘܕܪܢܗ. ܘܟܢܫ [10]ܘܐܝܬܝ ܐܢܘܢ [11]ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܢܫܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܙܠ [12]ܘܣܓܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܣܘܦ̈ܝ ܓܪܒܝܐ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܬܪܥܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ. [13]ܘܠܘܬ ܦܬܠܐ ܘܡܥܡܠܐ ܡܢ ܣܘܦ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܣܘܟܠܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܨܒܝܢܗ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ [14]ܠܛܘܪܐ ܙܩܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܒܕܡܫܐ [15]ܕܟܕ ܒܬܪܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. [16]ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܦܬܗܘܢ ܒܢܚܫܐ ܒܢܚܫܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܘܚܒܫܗ [17]ܒܡܚܫܢܐ [18]ܕܐܢܛܝܡܛܘܢ. ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ. ܕܐܢ ܦܬܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܦܪܙܠܐ ܐܝܟ

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[1] C ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟ ; B ܐܡܠܟ ܕܝܢ. [2] B ܘܟܒܫܘ. [3] A omits ܡܕܢܚܐ. [4] B ܚܬܢ ܚܡܕܬܐ. [5] B ܘܡܙ̈ܪܐ. [6] B omits ܗܘܘ. [7] B ܐܢܫܝܢ. [8] C ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ. [9] A ܗܘ̈ܐ. [10] B C ܐܝܬܝ. [11] B C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [12] B C ܣܓܪ. [13] B ܘܥܒܕ ܡܥܒܕܐ ܐܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܡܥܡܠܐ ; C omits ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ. [14] B ܠܛܘܪܐ. [15] C ܕܥܡܗ. [16] B ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܦܬܗܘܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܢܚܫܐ. ܘܣܟܪ ܒܗ ܘܡܚܘܗܝ ܕܚܫܐ. [17] A ܡܚܫܢܐ. [18] B ܕܐܣܛܛܝܣ ; C ܕܐܣܛܛܝܣ.

ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ [1]ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܫܒܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܢ̈ܐܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ. [2]ܘܢܬܡܣܪܘܢ ܠܚܪܒܐ ܘܠܫܒܝܐ ܘܠܡܦܠܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܢܒܝܫ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ [3]ܐܣܝܪܐ. ܚܕ ܒܡܚܐܐ ܥܠ ܚܪܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܘ ܒܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܘܡܢ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܡܢ ܛܘܪܦܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܚܝ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܩܒܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒ ܡܚܪܒܐ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܬܒܥܘ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ [4]ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܡܫܦܝܢ ܗܦܪܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ [5]ܐܝܟ ܠܐܬܪܗ ܘܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ، ܘܢܣܒܘ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ [6]ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܡܘ [7]ܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܓܒܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܘܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܗܘܢ. ܘܠܡ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܬܗ [8]ܘܐܬܟܠܠܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܒܐܝܕܝ ܕܡܩܒܝ ܒܥܒܝܕܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ. ܘܗܘܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܪܒܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܚܬܗ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܬܒܢܝ، ܗܝܟܠܐ ܘܡܕܒܚܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܬܐܠܗܘܢ، ܥܒܕܐ ܐܣܝܪܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ [9]ܒܐܪܒܥܐ ܘܐܬܒܢܝ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܘܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܬܩܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܘܒܬܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝܘ [10]ܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܩܪܐ. ܘܐܬܬܩܢܘ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠܐ ܡܬܘܪ̈ܟܐ ܕܠܒܐ. ܘܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܘܢܫܬܘܢ. ܘܠܝܬ [11]ܫܢܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܢܘܠܕܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܟܡܐ ܟܢܫ [12]ܥܣܪܐ ܢܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܠܐܪܥ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܬܡܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ❖

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[1] B omits ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ. [2] A blank space is left in A for the words ܘܢܬܡܣܪܘܢ ܠܚܪܒܐ ܘ. [3] C ܐܣܝܪܐ. [4] B ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ. [5] C ܡܠܟܐ. [6] A ܕܝܗܘܕܝ̈ܐ; C ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. [7] C ܠܣܪܘܗ. [8] B omits ܘܪܘܝܠܗ. [9] B ܒܟܒܟܒܐ; A ܘܐܬܠܘܗܝ. [10] A ܚܘ̈ܝܐ ܡܩܕ̈ܫܐ. [11] A ܫܢܝܐ; C ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [12] C ܥܣܪܐ.

ܘܠܪ̈ܕܘܦܝܐ. ܒܕܡܝܐ ܕܢܫܡܫܘܢ ܡܒܪܝܐ ܕܣܬܟܘܢ. ܘܢܥܛܠ
ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܒܥ̈ܘܠܐ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܙ̈ܒܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܡܕܐ. ܘܒܕ
ܡܫܒ̈ܚܠܝܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܬܗܘܢ. ܒܫܡ ܐܦܘܠܝܢܐ. ܘܡܬܚܒܫܘܬܐ
ܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܟܦܢܐ ܪܒܐ.
ܘܢܬ̈ܕܡ ܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܗ ܥܘܩ̈ܐ [1]ܘܩܛܠ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܟܪ.
ܘܢܗܦܟܐ [2]ܘܢܓܡܪ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. [3]ܘܢܒܛܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ
ܫܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܦܪ̈ܙܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܐܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [4]ܘܢܬܠܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ
ܒܟܣܦܐ ܠܚ̈ܢܦܐ. ܘܢܕܡܘܢ [5]ܠܚܙܝܪܐ ܒܪܡܟܐ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܝܦܢܐ. ܘܢܥܒܫ
ܥܠ ܬܪܥܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܐ ܦܛܪ̈ܟܐ [6]ܘܪ̈ܘܪܒܐ ܒܪ̈ܗܛܝܢܐ ܒܦܠܛܝܪܐ.
ܘܢܬ̈ܡܡ ܢܦ̈ܫܐ [7]ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܢܦܫܢ ܥܠ ܚܙܝܪܐ ܚܕ. ܘܢܐܡܪ̈ܢ
[8]ܠܗ. ܕܠܣܝܡ ܢܐܟܘܠ ܘܬܡܫܟܗ ܢܠܒܫ. ܒܠܣܗܕ ܬܫܒ ܒܢ̈ܦܫܝ
ܢܫܒ̈ܪ. ܘܒܪ ܡܬܐܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܦܫܚܝܢ. [9]ܡܚܦܢܝܢ ܘܪ̈ܘܡܝܢ ܘܡܬܥܘܠܝܢ.
ܒܗ̇، ܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܐ ܡܪ̈ܝܪܬܐ. ܘܥܘܦ ܠܬܪ̈ܘܢܐ ܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܫܦܝܢ.
ܐܦܠܝܢ ܘܢܬܡ ܘܡܫܬܒ̈ܩܝܢ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ [10]ܕܕܒܒܘ. ܐܘ ܕܕܒܘ.
ܐܘܒܕܘ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܠܐܡ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܬܓܒܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܛܠ̈ܠܬܐ. ܟܕ
ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ. ܕܠܝܬ [11]ܐܠܗܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. [12]ܘܗܫܕܡ ܡܢ ܬܘܒ
ܥܠܝܢܐ ܢܬܬܚܒܪܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܩ̈ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝ̈ܠܕܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ
[13]ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܚܝܠܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ. ܘܢܬܬܚܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܚܒܪܐ
ܕܝܘܢ [14]ܣܒܪܘܗ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܟܐ ܕܒܘ̈ܬܢܐ. ܘܢܪܟܢ
ܫܪܟܐ ܐܘܒܕܢܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ [15]ܕܝܬܪܒ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܡܟܪܐ

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[1] C ܘܡܩܛܠܢܘܬܐ; a blank space is left in A for the words ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܡܟܪ. [2] B ܘܢܬܓܡܪ. [3] B C ܘܢܒܛܠܘܢ. [4] In B a space for a word or two has been left blank after ܘܢܬܠܘܢ. [5] C ܚܙܝܪܐ. [6] B ܘܪܘܪ̈ܒܐ; C omits ܒܪ̈ܗܛܝܐ. [7] A ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. [8] C omits ܠܗ. [9] B ܘܪ̈ܘܡܝܢ ܘܡܦܠܣܝܢ. [10] B C ܕܕܒܒܐ. [11] B C omit ܘ ܐܠܗܐ. [12] B ܘܗܫܝܡ. [13] C omits ܟܠܗܘܢ. [14] B ܣܒܪܐ. [15] B ܕܐܬܪܒ.

[1]ܢܦܩܢ. ܘܠܗܿ ܕܡܥܡܪ ܕܢܫܠܡ ܠܫܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܬܗܘܐ
ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܡܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ [2]ܠܬܝܡܢܐ
ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܬܪܒ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܢܪܬܐ
ܕܡܘܩܬܗܘܢ. ܒܗ ܒܟܦܢܐ ܘܨܗܝܐ ܗܫܟܐ ܘܡܘܬܢܐ. ܘܡܬܐܢܚܝܢ
ܒܐܣܘܪ̈ܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܢܬܠܒ ܠܘܒܟܐ ܠܡܬ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܟܗܢ̈ܐ [3]ܡܦܪܬܝܢ
ܘܠܝܠܘܕܐ ܡܢ [4]ܟܪ̈ܣܐ ܕܐܡܗܬܗܘܢ ܢܫܠܦܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܚܝܘܬܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܟܣܝܢ. [5]ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܐܒ̈ܐ
ܡܫܠܡܝܢ. ܘܠܚܢܩܐ ܘܠܡܫܬܥܒܕܢܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܥܡܗ ܡܘܕܝܢܐ ܕܟܝܢ.
ܘܐܦ ܥܡ ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܒ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܠܡܐ̈ܬܐ ܡܘܕܝܢܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܦܘܪ̈ܢܐ ܟܕܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܙ̈ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܦܪܣܝܢ.
ܘܒܗ ܒܙܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ [6]ܠܡܫܒܝܬܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܪܣܝܢ. ܘܠܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ
ܠܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܘܠܡܕ̈ܫܝܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ. ܘܠܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܐܡ̈ܗܬܐ ܕܡܘܕܝܢܐ
ܐܦܪܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܒܕܪܢܐ [7]ܠܗ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܕܕܝ̈ܢܐ
ܘܡܫܬܥܠܝܢ ܒܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ. ܡܫܬܠܝܐ ܕܝܢ [8]ܒܟܦܢ ܒܡܫܒܘܬܐ ܥܪܛܠܝܬܐ
ܟܝܠܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܥܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ. ܘܡܦܣܩܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܛܪܐ
ܒܟܦܢ ܒܡܚܒܫܐ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܪ̈ܘܕܐ ܘܐܟܠ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܥܡܘܪ̈ܢܐ
ܚܟ̈ܝ، ܒܡܫܒܘܬܐ. ܒܗ، ܡܬܕܒܪܬܐ ܡܬܓܒܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܫܝܢܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܗܘ ܐܒܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܟܒܫܝܢ ܠܐ̈ܒܐ ܘܒ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܒܢܬܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܬܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܟܠܐ ܘܐܟܠ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܥܠܝܢܐ ܘܡܫܦܥܐ ܘܡܫܠܠܐ.
ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܚܠܝܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܫ̈ܪܝܢ ܠܐܒܕܢܗܘܢ
ܘܡܙܕܗܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ. ܘܢܦܠܘܢ ܥܪ̈ܝܐ [9]ܠܐܩܠܝܡܐ

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[1] A ܢܦܩܘܢ. [2] B C ܠܬܝܡܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ. [3] A ܠܟܗܢ̈ܐ ܩܛܠܝܢ; C ܠܟܗܢ̈ܐ ܡܩܛܠܝܢ. [4] C ܡܥ̈ܝܐ. [5] A blank space is left in A for the words ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. [6] C ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܒܝܬܐ. [7] C omits ܠܗ. [8] A omits from ܒܟܦܢ to ܡܛܪܐ. [9] B ܠܐܘܪܥܐ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܪܚܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܥܠܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܒ̈ܬܘܠܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܚܘܒܐ ܘܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ[1] ܡܢ
ܒ̈ܬܘܠܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܒܪܬ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ.
ܕܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܡܘܣܐ [2]ܘܒܚܣܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܢܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܘܨܪ.
ܘܡܫܬܘܬܦܝܢ ܥܡ ܚ̈ܝܐ ܡܠܐܟܐܝܬ. ܟܕ ܡܕܡܝܢ ܠܒܪܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܥܡ
ܚܕܐ ܐܚܬܐ. ܘܐܚܐ ܥܡ ܐܚܬܗ ܐܣܝܘܗܝ. ܘܕܟܪܐ ܥܡ ܕܟܪܐ.
ܘܢܩܒܬܐ ܥܡ ܢܩܒܬܐ. ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ [3]ܘܕܟܝܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܕܕܟܪܐ [4]ܥܡ ܕܟܪܐ ܒܗܬܬܐ [5]ܥܒܕܘ.
ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܢܫ̈ܐ [6]ܚܠܦ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܝܬܐ ܘܟܝܢܝܬܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܐܬܚܠܦܬ ܥܡ
ܚܒܪܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ [7]ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܗ̇ܘ
ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ. ܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܠ
ܗܕܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܕܢܬܦܠܛܘܢ
ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܬ̈ܝ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܘܢܬܦܩܕܘܢ [9]ܒܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܫܢܐ
ܕܡܕܐܬܐ. ܘܢܙܕܒܢܘܢ [10]ܒܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܬܠܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܩܪܒܘܢ ܠܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܐܬܗܘܢ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܦ
ܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܘܬܐ. ܘܡܫܬܠܡܐ ܠܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ
[11]ܕܢܬܚܒ ܡܕܐܬܐ ܘܚܝܡ ܙܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܬܝܬܐ ܥܩܪ ܚܘܪܐ.
[12]ܘܡܕܐܝܬ ܟܕ ܚܠܦ ܠܝܬ̈ܡܐ ܘܝܠܕ ܠܐܪ̈ܡܠܬܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܡܣ̈ܟܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܣܘܡܘܢ ܥܠ ܦ̈ܬܘܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܙܘܚܘܢ
ܠܐܠܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܢܘܬܐ [13]ܕܩܛܠܐ. ܘܢܬܡܫܘܢ ܒܡܬܝ̈ܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܢܣܥܪܘܢ ܠܡܣ̈ܟܢܐ. ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܡܫܢ̈ܝܗ ܢܦܫ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܚܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ
ܦܪܐ ܢܬܦܠܒ. ܘܡܫܬܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܒܗܪܐ. ܘܡܬܠܒܫܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܣܦܪܐ

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[1] A ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ. [2] A C omit ܘܒܚܣܝܘܬܐ. [3] C ܘܕܟܝܐ. [4] B C ܥܡ. [5] B C ܥܒܕܘ.
[6] C ܚܠܦ. [7] B ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ; C omits ܕܡܫܡܫ ܒܢܝܢܐ.
[8] C omits ܐܠܗܐ. [9] C omits ܒܫ̈ܢܝܐ. [10] B omits ܒܫ̈ܢܝܐ. [11] C ܕܢܬܚܒ.
[12] B C omit ܘܡܕܐܝܬ. [13] B C omit ܕܩܛܠܐ.

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ܠܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܦ̇ܩܬܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܢܗ
ܕܗܝܟܠܐ. ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܒܝܬܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܒܐ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܫܒܝܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܕܢܝܐܝܠ. ܫܒܥܐ
ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܝܠܕܘܬܗ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܕܗ̈ܘܝ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ
ܟܠܗܝܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܪܢ. ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܪܢ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ. ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܬܐ
ܫܢܬܐ. ܘܟܢܫ̈ܝ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܫܡܠܝ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܐܘ ܐܪ̈ܫ
ܩ̈ܘܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ:
ܫܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܘܡܐܐ ܘܬܡ̈ܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܢܒ ܀ ܥܠ [1]ܫܘܠܡ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܫܘܚܠܦ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ. ܡܢ [2]ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡ̇ܬܕܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܦܛ̈ܪܐ.

ܒܗܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܠܦܐ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܠܦܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܒܗ
ܡܬܚܪܒܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. [3]ܘܒܗ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ [4]ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ ܡܢ
ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܬܪܒ. ܘܐܬܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܓܒܥܬ ܪܡܬܐ.
ܘܬܡܢ ܡܬܢܨܚܝܢ ܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܕܢܝܪܗ
ܠܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܡܢ [5]ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ ܒܪܗ ܕܗܓܪ ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ.
ܕܫܡܥܬܐ ܡܫܥ̣ܒܕ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. ܥܠ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܘܥܠ
ܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܥܠ ܐܝܠܢܐ. ܘܡܚܪ̈ܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܕܠܐ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ. ܘܠܐ

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[1] A ܫܘܚܠܦ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ. [2] A ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܬܘܕܝܘܣ. [3] B C ܒܗ. [4] A ܐܫܡܥܝܠ; C ܫܡܥܝܠ. [5] A C ܐܫܡܥܝܠ.

ܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܐܚܘܗܝ [1]ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
ܘܗܪܢ ܘܫܒܘܪ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
[2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܒܪ ܫܒܘܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
ܘܗܪܢ ܒܪ [2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
ܦܝܪܘܙ ܒܪ [2]ܝܙܕܓܪܕ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
ܒܠܫ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
[3]ܩܘܕ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ❖
ܟܘܣܪܘ ܒܪ [3]ܩܘܕ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖
ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܒܪ ܟܘܣܪܘ ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ❖

ܡܢ ܫܒܘܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ [4]ܫܢܬܐ ܕܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ ܕܟܘܣܪܘ ܒܪ ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܕܒܗ ܥܡܪܗ ܠܕܪܐ. ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܗܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ [5]ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ [6]ܕܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ ܕܟܘܣܪܘ ܙܟܝܐ. [7]ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܫܢܬ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܬܥܣܪܐ [8]ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܝܘܢ̈ܝܐ. ܗܘܝܢ [9]ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ❖ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ [10]ܗܟܝܠ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܐܬܝܬܐ ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܟܠܗ ܗܟܝܠ ܓܢ̈ܣܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܝܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܕܗ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܪܒܬ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܒܝܕ ܛܝܛܘܣ. ܐܠܦ ܘܫܬܡܐܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܗܘܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ❖

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[11]ܟܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܘܡܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܘܦܢܐ. ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܦ ܘܫܒܥܬܥܣܪ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ

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[1] B C ܥܣ̈ܪ. [2] A ܝܙܕܓܪܕ and ܝܙܕܓܪ̈ܕ. [3] B C ܩܒܕ. [4] A B ܫܢܬ ܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ. [5] B ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [6] A ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ. [7] A ܘܗܘ. [8] B C omit ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [9] B C omit ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ. [10] A omits ܗܟܝܠ. [11] B C omit the next paragraph.

[1]ܐܘܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܡܠܟ ܒܬܪ ܛܛܘܣ ܒܪܗ ܚܪܒ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ.
ܘܒܬܪ ܚܠܦܗ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܫܢܬܐ [2]ܕܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥܗ. ܐܡܠܟ
[3]ܕܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܛܛܘܣ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܕܘܡܛܝܢܘܣ ܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܛܪܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܒܫܢܬܐ ܠܥܠܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܝܠܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܢܦܩ
ܡܢ ܦܛܡܘܣ ܀
ܐܕܪܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܡܪܩܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܩܘܡܕܘܣ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܣܘܪܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܕܒܪܗ [4]ܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܡܡܝ ܬܠܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܡܟܣܡܝܢܘܣ [5]ܘܓܘܪܕܝܢܘܣ ܬܫܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܓܠܘܣ ܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܒܠܪܝܢܘܣ [6]ܘܓܐܠܝܢܘܣ ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܩܠܘܕܝܘܣ ܘܐܘܪܠܝܢܘܣ ܫܬܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
[7]ܕܘܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ ܘܕܥܡܗ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܡܠܟܐ [8]ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܘܪ ܒܪ ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܀
ܒܫܢܬ [9]ܐܪܒܥ ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ ܡܝܬ ܢܪܣܐ. ܐܡܠܟ ܫܒܘܪ
ܒܪܗ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

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[1] A ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. [2] C ܕܐܚܡܫܝܢ. [3] A C omit ܕܝܢ; C ܥܣܪܝܢ. [4] C ܐܢܛܘܢܝܘܣ. [5] A C ܘܓܘܪܕܝܢܘܣ. [6] A ܘܓܠܝܢܘܣ. [7] B C ܕܝܘܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ. [8] B C ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. [9] A ܐܪܒܥܝܢ.

ܚܢܢܐ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܝܗܘ ܀ ¹ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܢܦܬܠܝ ܀ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀
ܡܝܟܝܗ ܀ ܥܘܕܐ ܀ ܡܘܟܝ ܀ ܕܡܘܣܝܐܗ ܀ ܒܠܕ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܐܡܘܨܗ ܀ ܡܘܣܝ ܀ ܬܐܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܐܪܝܣܛ ܀
ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐܠ ܀ ¹ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܀

ܘܡܠܟ ܗܢܐ ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ²ܒܪ ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ. ܡܢ ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܐܘܪܓܛܝܣ. ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܦܝܠܘܦܛܘܪ ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ³ܐܦܝܦܢܝܣ. ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

⁴ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ⁵ܦܝܠܘܡܛܘܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܩܒܝ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܫܡܘܢܝܐ. ܘܒܗ ܫܠܡܬ ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܒܬܘܬܐ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܣܘܛܪ ⁶ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܬܡܢܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ⁷ܕܝܘܢܘܣܘܣ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

⁸ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀

ܓܐܝܘܣ ⁹ܝܘܠܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܐܓܘܣܛܘܣ ¹⁰ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܒܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܕܝܠܗ. ܐܬܝܠܕ ¹¹ܡܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀

ܛܝܒܪܝܘܣ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ¹²ܘܒܫܢܬ ܚܡܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܡܕ ܡܪܢ. ܘܒܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܚܫ ܘܡܝܬ ܘܩܡ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܀

ܓܐܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܩܠܘܕܝܘܣ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

ܢܐܪܘܢ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

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[1] A ܘܗܠܝܢ. [2] B C omit ܒܪ ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ. [3] A ܐܦܝܦܢܘܣ. [4] C ܘܦܛܘܠܡܐܘܣ. [5] A ܦܝܠܘܡܝܛܘܪ. [6] A ܫܒܥ ܥܣܪܐ. [7] B C ܕܝܘܢܘܣܝܘܣ. [8] A ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [9] A ܝܘܠܝܘܣ. [10] A ܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ. [11] A ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ. [12] A ܒܫܢܬ ܚܡܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ.

ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܐܝܓܒܛ̈ܝܐ ܀

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ [1]ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀
ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܒܪ ܠܓܘܣ. ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܀

ܦܛܠܡܐܘܣ ܒܪ [1]ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܫܠܡ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܚܡܫܐ. [2]ܘܗܘܢܐ ܟܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܦܩ̈ܕܢܐ ܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܕܐܬܓܒܝܘ. ܘܦܫܩܘ ܠܗ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܡܢ [3]ܥܒܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ. ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܦܪܘܣ ܓܙܪܬܐ. ܘܫܠܚ ܗܕܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ ܫܒܩ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܡ̈ܢܝܢܐ ܕܫܡ̈ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܢܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ. [4]ܘܫܡ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܝܘܣܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐܝܠ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܠ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀ ܐܕܝ ܀ ܡܬܬܝܐ ܀ ܫܠܡܝܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܢܚܡܝܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܒܣܐ ܀ ܐܪܘܢܝܐ ܀ [5]ܕܟܝ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ ܀ [6]ܝܘܢܬܢ ܀ [6]ܐܒܪܝ ܀ ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܀ [6]ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܀ ܝܫܘܥ ܀ [7]ܣܡܒܛܠ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܠܘܝ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ ܀ [6]ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀ [6]ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܀ ܫܠܡܝܐ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ ܀ ܦܡܒܛܠ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܚܡܘܕ ܀ ܐܣܝܦܘ ܀ ܐܣܟܘ ܀ ܬܘܠܡܐ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܓܕ ܀ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܣ ܀ ܐܝܣܘܣ ܀ ܝܫܘܥ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܀ ܬܐܘܕܘܛܘܣ ܀ [9]ܝܘܢܬܢ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܫܝܪ ܀ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܀ ܬܐܘܦܝܠܘܣ ܀ ܐܪܣܡ ܀ ܐܝܣܘܢ ܀ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܀ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܀ [8]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܕܢ ܀ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܀ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܀ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܀

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[1] A C ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ.
[2] B C ܗܘܐ.
[3] A C ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ.
[4] B C ܘܫܡ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ ܡܦܩ̈ܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ.
[5] C ܕܩܝܫ.
[6] A omits this name.
[7] B C ܫܡܒܬܝ.
[8] A ܘܗܠܝܢ.
[9] A ܝܘܢܢ.

¹ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܡܢܝ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܀
²ܡܪܝ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܝܗܒܐܠܗܐ ܠܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܡܢܝ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܩ̈ܠܬܢ. ܢܝܚܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܀

ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܫ̈ܩܘ ܘܐܬܥܬܪܘ ܀
ܡܪܝ ܒܗܢܬ ܀ ܢܪܣܝ ܀ ³ܐܠܝܫܥ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܣܦܪܡ ܀

ܢܒ ܀ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܀

⁴ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܒܒܠ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ⁵ܦܫܬܐܣܦ. ܫܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ⁶ܐܡܠܟ ܀
⁷ܐܣܦܢܕܪ ܒܪܗ ܫܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܪܛܚܫܫܬ ܐܪܝܟ ܐܝ̈ܕܝܐ. ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܬܐ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܕܘܦܬܐ ܫܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܪܛܚܫܫܬ ܡܢܕܘܢܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܐܘܟܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܦܘܣ. ܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܐܪܫܟ ܫܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀

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[1] A .... ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܒܟܠܡܢ ܐܬܡܢܝ ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܡܢܝ. [2] A omits from ܡܪܝ ܡܟܝܟܐ to ܘܐܬܥܬܪܘ and C from ܡܪܝ ܡܟܝܟܐ to ܢܝܚܐ ܠܥܠܡ. [3] C ܐܠܝܫܒܥ. [4] A ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܒܒܠ. [5] A ܗܘܣܛܣܦܣ; C ܘܫܬܣܦ. [6] B C omit ܐܡܠܟ. [7] C ܐܣܦܢܕܝܪ.

ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܪ ܢܪܣܝ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܐܢܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ [2]ܒܕܝܪܐ ܕܒܒܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܥ̇ܒܕ̣ܝܫܘ̇ܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܡܐܪܝ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܐܢܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܫܘܥܝ̇ܗܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
[4]ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܥ̇ܒܕܝܫܘ̇ܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܡ̇ܟܝܟܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
ܒܪ ܨ̈ܘܡܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܀
[5]ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܝܫܘܥܝ̄ܗܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܀
ܐܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [6]ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܀
ܝ̄ܗܒܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [7]ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܀

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[1] A omits ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. [2] C ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ; A has ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ only. [3] A C omit ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. [4] B C omit this line. [5] B C omit this line. [6] A ܒܡܪܝ ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ. [7] A ܒܥܠܡܗ̇.

ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ [1]ܒܚܝܪܬܐ ܀
[2]ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܓܕܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܡܪܝ ܐܡܗ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܡܝܢܐ ܀
ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܚܕܝܒܝܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܒܝܬ ܥܒ̈ܐ ܀
ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܨܠܝܒܐ ܙܟܐ. ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ ܀
ܦܬܝܘܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ [3]ܒܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ ܀
[4]ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܐܬܩܒܪ [5]ܒܟܘ̈ܟܝܬܐ ܀
[6]ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ .... ܀
[7]ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܝܪܗ ܀
ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܕܝܪܗ ܕܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܀
ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
[7]ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
[9]ܐܬܘܢܣܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܣܪܓܝܣ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀
ܐܢܘܫ ܐܬܩܒܪ [8]ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ ܀

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[1] B C omit ܒܚܝܪܬܐ. [2] A C omit ܣܒܪܝܫܘܥ ܐܬܩܒܪ. [3] A blank space is left in A for this name. [4] A makes no mention of Mâr Abbâ. [5] A B omit ܒܟܘ̈ܟܝܬܐ. [6] A writes ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܬܩܒܪ twice. [7] A omits this line. [8] A omits ܒܗ ܒܕܝܪܐ. [9] B omits ܒܗ.

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ܦܫܐ ܡܒܪܗ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܫܡܥܘ̇ܢ ܒܪ ܝ̈ܘܢܐ ܐܫܬܡܗ܂ [1]ܒܟܐܦܐ ܀
ܫܡܪܘܦܥܬ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܒܪ ܒܒܫܡܝܢ ܐܫܬܡܗ܂ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܚܠܡ ܀
ܬܘܓܪܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܡܘܗܒܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܫܬܐܠ ܡܢ ܛܠܝܪܒܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܗ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܕܟܪܗܝ, ܒܟܬܒܐ
ܕܡܠܟܬ ܀
[2]ܐܢܘܫ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܀
ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܗܒܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܣܛܘܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ, ܒܒܪܐ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
[3]ܢܒܝܐ ܒܢܒܪ ܒܒܪܗ ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܀
ܕܕܡܫܒܚ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܒܝܘܡܬܗ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܒܢܬ
ܫܠܦܢܗ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܀
ܟܕ, ܐܫܬܡܗ܂ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܀
ܐܦܩ ܡܢ [4]ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܒܒܗ, ܡܬܩܠܝܢܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ [5]ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀
ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܀
ܥܠܡܐ ܢܫܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܒܪܗ ܕܥܠ ܓܒܪ [6]ܐܘܢܐ ܀
ܗܘܠܦܘ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘ̇ܢ ܀
ܡܪܝ, ܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ [7]ܘܗܫܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܐ ܀
[8]ܚܘܝܠ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܀
ܡܦܪܢܣܢ [9]ܐܪ̈ܙܢܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܀

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[1] A B ܒܟܐܦܐ. [2] A ܡܘܫܐ, with ܐܢܘܫ written above it. [3] A ܡܒܝܐ. [4] B ܫܪܒܬܐ. [5] A B omit ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [6] B C ܐܘܠܐ. [7] B omits ܘܗܫܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܐ and ܚܘܝܠ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ. [8] A ܚܘܝܠ. [9] B ܐܪܘܢܐ.

ܕܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܘܒܫ ܀ ܘܡܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܬ ܦܠܓܘ̈ܬ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܢܝܢܗ ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ. [1]ܘܡܢܝܢ ܚܬܡܗ ܕܠܟܢܪ. ܡܢܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܘܩܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗ̤ܝ ܗ̣̄ܝ [2]ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܠܡܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ. ܘܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܚܪܬܐ ܗ̣ܝ [3]ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗ̤ܝ ܗ̣̄ܝ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ [4]ܡܘܕܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܪܐ ܕܙܪܕܘܫܬ ܒܢܝ̈ ܠܗ ܡܓܘܫܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܚܪܬܐ ܗ̣̄ܝ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ. ܡܢ ܥܡ [5]ܡܓܘܫܐ ܢܘܪܗ ܐܬܦܪܢܣ. ܘܗ̇ܝ ܕܒܥܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܬܢܝܗ̇ ܗ̄ܦܟܬ ܀

ܢܐ ܀ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܕܦܛܪ̈ܝܪܟܐ ܡܕܢ̈ܚܝܐ. ܬܚܠܘ̈ܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ ܐܕܝ ܘܡܪܝ.

ܐܕܝ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ܐܬܩܒܪ. [6]ܡܪܝ ܒܕܝܪܐ [7]ܕܩܘܢܝ ܀ ܐܒܪܝܣ ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐܝܬ [8]ܐܒܪܘܣܝܘܣ. ܠܐ ܝܕܝܥ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܩܒܝܪ. ܘܡܢ ܦܛܪ̈ܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܗ̣ܘܐ ܀

ܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܪܝܣ. ܘܡܬܢܒܠ ܡܢ ܡܘܒܠܐ ܕܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܪ ܚܘܫܒ. ܘܩܒܝܪ ܒܣܠܝܩ ܀

[9]ܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܪܝܣ. ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܓܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܩܒܝܪ ܒܣܠܝܩ ܀

ܐܚܐ ܕܐܒܘܗ̇ܝ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܪܝܣ. ܘܩܒܝܪ ܒܣܠܝܩ ܀

ܫܚܠܘܦܐ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܒܣܠܝܩ. ܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

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[1] B C ܘܡܢܝܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ.

[2] C ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ. ܘܡܘܕܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܪܐ ܕܙܪܕܘܫܬ ܒܢܝ ܠܗ ܡܓܘܫܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܚܪܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܘܬ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ.

[3] B omits ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ.

[4] A ܡܘܕܝܢ.

[5] B C ܡܓܘܫܐ; A B ܢܘܪܐ.

[6] B ܘܡܪܝ; A ܒܕܝܪܐ.

[7] C ܕܩܘܢܝ.

[8] B ܐܡܒܪܘܣܝܘܣ.

[9] A makes no mention of ܝܥܩܘܒ.

ܐܟܬܒ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ[1] ܢܗܘܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܘܡܫܟ̈ܚܝܢ
ܦܬ̈ܟܡܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܥܝ̈ܢܝܬܐ. ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ.
ܠܦܘܬ ܘܫܪܘܬܗ. ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܣܪ. ܡܚܬ, ܘܢܦܩܘ ܀

ܢ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܒ̈ܥܝܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܥܘܪܐ.

ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܙܕܘܓܘ ܡܢ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [2]ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܀ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܪܝܫܐ
ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܀ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ ܢܬܢܐܝܠ ܗܘܝܘ ܒܪ
ܬܘܠܡܝ ܀ ܠܒܝ ܗܘܝܘ ܬܕܝ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܀
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢܝܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܢܬܢܐܝܠ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀

ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘ[3] ܕܢܣܒܗ, ܡܪܢ [4]ܘܐܩܝܡܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ
ܬܬܦܢܘܢ ܘܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ. ܠܐ ܬܥܠܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗܢܘ ܐܝܓܢܛܝܘܣ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ
ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܬ̈ܠܡܝܕܐ [5]ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ [6]ܠܩܕܡ.
ܘܦܠܚܘ ܗܘܘ [7]ܕܢܫܡܫܘܢ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܢܐ ܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ
ܗܘܐ [8]ܗܢܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܙܠ [9]ܕܢܕܪܘܫ ܥܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ,
ܒܐܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܪܣ. ܘܝܗܒ ܕܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܠܩܕܡ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ.
ܐܬܐ ܠܐܝܠܝܢܐ ܠܐܬܪܗ. ܘܝܗܒ ܗܘ ܕܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܠܩܕܡ ܢܫܡܫܘܢ ܀

ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܪ̈ܬܗ [10]ܐܝܟ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܢ. ܕܢܣܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܠܒܘܫ
ܘܢܝܟܠܐ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, [11]ܗܢܘ ܠܡܚܬܐܘܗ ܘܦܠܛܘܗ. ܘܐܦ ܩܘܦ
ܐܬܩܢܘ ܠܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ܀

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ [12]ܕܟܬܝܒܝܢ ܕܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ
ܐܚܘܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܢܬܬ ܢܡܘܣ. [13]ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ

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[1] C omits ܘ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ. [2] A B ܘܗܠܝܢ ܠܚܕܐ ܐܝܟ. [3] A C omit ܗܘ.
[4] C omits ܘܐܩܝܡܗ. [5] A ܘܘ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ; B omits ܗܘܘ. [6] B ܩܕܡܐ.
[7] A omits ܕܢܫܡܫܘܢ. [8] B C omit ܗܢܐ. [9] B ܕܢܕܪܘܣ. [10] A B omit ܐܝܟ.
[11] B C omit ܗܢܘ. [12] A B omit ܕܟܬܝܒܝܢ. [13] C omits the next clause.

ܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ܀ ܦܪܘܟܪܘܣ ܀ ܢܝܩܢܘܪ ܀ ¹ܛܝܡܘܢ ܀ ܦܪܡܢܐ ܀ ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ ܓܝܘܪܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܀ ²ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܛܝܛܘܣ ܀ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ ܀

³ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ. ܕܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܒܬܗܘܡܐ ܀ ⁴ܩܘܪܡܐ ܀ ܦܝܓܠܐ ܀ ܦܠܪܟܘܣ ܀ ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ ܀ ܩܘܪܡܐ ܀

⁵ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܬܐ ⁶ܕܐܬܦܢܘ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܠܘܬ ⁷ܗܘܡܢܝܘܣ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܛܘܣ ܀ ⁸ܗܪܡܘܓܢܘܣ ܀ ⁹ܦܝܓܠܘܣ ܀ ܕܝܡܐܣ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܚܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܀ ܐܒܪܘܦ ܀ ܐܦܠܝܐ ܀

ܘܗܠܝܢ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܕܐܫܬܠܚܘ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ. ܐܝܟ ¹⁰ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܡܢ ¹¹ܬܪܥܣܪܬܐ. ܥܠ ܕܟܦܪܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐܝܬ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܝ ܦܪܝܫܘܬܗ. ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܕܡܢܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܐܠܐ ܠܘ ܡܢ ܗܘܘ ܀ ¹²ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܥܠܝܫܢܐ ܕܟ̈ܠܐ ܘܦܬ̈ܠܐ ܢܬ̈ܠܐ ܦܪܘ ܐܢܦ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܠܗ ܀ ¹³ܒܪ ܩܘܒܐ ܀ ܡܠܐܢ ܀ ¹⁴ܣܘܦܝܐܘܣ ܀ ܦܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܡܠܝܛܘܢ ܀ ܕܐܡܬܐ ܀ ܢܝܩܘܣܘܣ ܀ ܗܠܝܣܩܦܘܣ ܀ ܬܐܕܝ ܀ ܡܪܩܝܘܬܐ ܀ ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܣܠܩܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܀ ܠܘܩܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܀ ܐܦܠܐ ܚܢܢܐ ܀ ܐܡܦܠܝܐܘܣ ܀ ¹⁵ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ ܀ ܣܛܟܘܣ ܀ ܦܘܦܠܝܘܣ ܀ ¹⁶ܐܪܝܣܛܒܘܠܘܣ ܀ ¹⁷ܐܣܛܦܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܦܪܢܣܐ ܀ ¹⁸ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ ܒܪ ܢܪܩܝܣܘܣ ܀ ¹⁹ܐܠܘܦܩܐ ܀ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܣܝܡܐ ܀ ܐܕܝ ܀ ܐܓܝ ܀ ܡܪܝ ܡܐܪܝ ܀

ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܒܢܝ ܕܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ. ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ

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[1] C omits ܛܝܡܘܢ, ܦܪܡܢܐ. [2] A ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ. [3] B ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ; C ܘܗܠܝܢ. [4] C ܩܘܪܛܐ. [5] C ܘܗܠܝܢ. All the MSS. have ܫܬܐ, but give *seven* names. [6] B ܕܐܬܦܢܝܘ; C ܕܐܬܦܢܘ. [7] A ܗܘܡܢܝܘܣ. [8] B ܗܪܡܘܓܢܣ. [9] B ܦܝܓܠܘܣ. [10] C ܐܣܗܕܘܬܐ. [11] B ܬܪܥܣܪܬ. [12] C ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܦܓܥ ܐܝܟ ܡܚܒܫܐ ܩܠܠ. [13] C ܒܪ ܩܘܪܒܐ. [14] B ܣܘܦܝܠܐܘܣ. [15] C ܐܘܪܒܢܘܣ. [16] C ܐܪܣܛܒܘܠܘܣ. [17] A omits from ܐܣܛܦܢܐ to ܘܫܒܥܝܢ; a space of one and a half lines is left blank; C omits ܠܗ. [18] C ܗܪܘܕܝܢ. [19] C adds ܢܦܘܩܘܣ after ܐܠܘܦܩܐ.

ܡܚ[1] ܀ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܀

ܫܡܗ̈ܐ[2] ܕܬܪ̈ܥܣܪ. ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܀ ܐܢܕܪܐܘܣ [3]ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀
ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ [4]ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ ܀
ܬܐܘܡܐ ܀ ܡܬܝ ܡܟܣܐ ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܚܠܦܝ ܀ ܠܒܝ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ
ܬܕܝ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢܝܐ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܀ ܟܠ ܕܝܢ ܚܠܦܘܗܝ
ܡܬܝܐ ܀

ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ[5] ܀ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܩܠܝܘܦܐ ܀
ܩܠܝܘܦܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܣܐ[6] ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܒܪܢܒܐ ܀
ܡܢܐܘܣ ܀ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܥܡܕܗ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܟܪܙ
ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝ ܀ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܘܠܛܐ ܀ ܢܝܩܕܡܘܣ ܐܪܟܘܢܐ ܀ ܢܬܢܐܝܠ
ܪܒ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܀ ܝܘܣܛܘܣ ܕܗܘ ܝܘܣܦ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܪ ܫܒܐ ܀
ܫܝܠܐ ܀ [7]ܝܗܘܕܐ ܀ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܀ ܡܢܣܘܢ ܗܘ
ܕܩܒܠܗ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ ܡܢܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܡܪ̈ܒܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܗܪܘܕܘܣ ܀ ܫܡܥܘܢ
ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܢܓܪ ܀ [8]ܐܝܣܘܢ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ ܀ ܪܘܦܘܣ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀
ܫܡܥܘܢ [9]ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ ܐܒܘܗܘܢ ܀ ܠܘܩܝܘܣ [9]ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܪܣܒܘܣ ܀ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܀
[10]ܐܘܪܒܢܘܢ ܗܪܡܐ ܬܟܠܐ ܀ ܬܘܪܘܣ ܀ [11]ܬܪܘܦܝܡܘܣ ܀ ܐܒܕܘܢ ܀
ܙܪܦܘܢ ܀ [12]ܘܗܠܝܢ [13]ܫܒܥܐ ܕܐܬܓܒܝܘ ܥܡ ܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ܀
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ. [14]ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܬܠܬ ܒ̈ܢܢ ܕܡܬܢܒ̈ܝܢ [15]ܗ̈ܘܝ ܀

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[1] B ܡܚ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ. [2] A B omit ܫܡܗ̈ܐ. [3] A ܐܚܘܗܝ. [4] A ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ.
[5] The number of the names of the Apostles actually given is eighty. [6] B C ܐܚܘܗܝ ◆ ܝܘܣܐ. [7] C ܐܝܗܘܕܐ. [8] C ܐܠܣܘܢ. [9] A B ܩܘܪܝܢܝܐ.
[10] A ܐܘܪܒܢ. [11] A ܛܪܘܦܝܡܘܣ; B ܛܪܘܦܘܡܘܣ. [12] B omits ܘ. [13] All the MSS. read ܫܒܥܐ, but A B give eleven names, and C nine. [14] C ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ.
[15] A ܕܡܬܢܒ̈ܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ.

ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܥܡܕܗ [1]ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܩܢܕܩ ܡܠܟܬܐ
[2]ܕܟܘ̈ܫܝܐ. ܐܙܠ ܠܟܘܫ ܘܐܟܪܙ ܬܡܢ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܟܕ ܡܟܪܙ ܒܓܙܪܬܐ
[3]ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ [4]ܦܪܦܪܝܐ. ܢܝܚܘܗܝ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܀

ܐܝܣܘܢ ܘܣܘܣܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܟܕ [5]ܡܬܠܡܕܝܢ [6]ܒܐܘܠܡܦܝܘܣ ܐܫܬܕܪܘ
ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܀

ܕܐܡܣܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܠܬܣܠܘܢܝܩܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[7]ܐܘܡܢܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܡܠܛܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܛܪܘܦܝܡܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܠܕܝܩܝܐ ܐܢ̈ܫܘܗܝ، ܒܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ ܀

ܣܝܠܘܐܢܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ [8]ܒܩܦ ܓܪܬܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[9]ܐܟܪܘܣ ܘܡܣܦܠܘܣ [10]ܟܠܗ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܘ̈ܫܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬܘ
ܘܐܬܩܒܪܘ ܀

ܠܘܝ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܘܦܪܘܣ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܡܢ [11]ܒܪܢܡܘܣ ܀

[12]ܣܛܝܟܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܒܒܝܪܢܘܣ ܐܬܢܝܚ ܠܗܬܡ ܀

ܦܝܠܝܡܘܢ ܘܬܐܕܘܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܟܪܙܝܢ ܒܐܬܪܘܦܢ [13]ܕܒܒܠܟܝ. ܫܕܘ
ܐܢܘܢ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܀

ܐܘܣܛܝܘܢ ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܦܪܘܛܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܠܡܕܝܢܘܗ
ܩܘܦܪܝܐ ܀

ܐܦܪܡ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܓܒܠ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܩܘܐܪܛܘܣ ܒܒܝܪܘܬܘܣ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܀

ܩܪܝܣܦܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܘܐܟܪܙ [14]ܒܢܝܩܘܡܘܕܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

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[1] A ܦܝܠܦܘܣ. [2] B C omit ܕܟܘ̈ܫܝܐ. [3] A omits ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ. [4] A ܦܪܦܪܝܐ; C ܦܪܦܪܐ. [5] A ܡܬܠܡܕܝܢ. [6] A ܒܐܘܠܡܦܝܘܣ. [7] A ܐܘܡܢܘܣ. [8] C ܒܩܦܓܪ̈ܬܐ. [9] B ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝ; A ܐܒܪܘܢ. [10] A ܟܠ and ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. [11] B C ܦܪܦܘܣ. [12] C ܣܛܟܘܣ. [13] A C ܕܒܒܠܟܘ. [14] B ܒܢܝܩܘܡܕܝܐ.

ܐܢܣܝܡܘܣ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܡܘܢ. ܘܓܢܒ ܡܢܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܟܕ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ [1]ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ. [2]ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܡܗ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܒܐܣܘܪ̈ܝ. ܗܢܐ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ [3]ܐܬܬܒܪ̈ ܫܩ̈ܘܗܝ ܀

ܐܩܝܠܐ ܚܢܝܩܐ ܒܝܕ [4]ܚܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܣܦܩܠܛܘܪܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܓܢܓܪܐ ܀

ܐܠܘܡܦܐ [5]ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܗ ܘܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܐܬܚܒܫܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܒܦܪܣܘܗ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬܘ [6]ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܀

ܦܘܒܝܐ ܐܬܬܠܝܢ ܒܩܦܩܦܗ [7]ܘܬܡܢ [8]ܐܬܩܛܠ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

[9]ܬܐܘܦܝܠܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܠܝܦܘ. [10]ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܬܡܢ ܀

[11]ܡܪܩܠܠܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܬܠܡܕ ܠܒܪܢܒܐ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܀

[12]ܢܝܓܪ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ. ܘܒܗ [13]ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[14]ܠܘܩܐ ܒܪܘܡܝ, ܒܬܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܘܗܢܝܐ ܓܠܡ ܫܘܡܗ, ܀

[12]ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܬܠܡܕ [15]ܒܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ ܫܕܐܘܗܝ, ܠܓܘܒܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

[16]ܡܢܠܘܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܬܠܡܕ ܒܦܘܕܝܣ ܐܫܬܕܝ, ܒܝܡܐ ܘܐܬܚܢܩ ܀

ܦܠܓܘܢ ܘܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ ܟܕ ܡܟܪܙܝܢ ܒܟܢܫܗ [17]ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [18]ܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܀

ܫܝܠܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ [19]ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܐܦܦܪܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܡܢܐܝܠ ܟܕ ܡܬܬܠܡܕ ܒܒܒܐ. ܐܘܣܪܘܗܝ, ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܀

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[1] A ܒܝܬ. [2] A ܡܛܠ. [3] B ܐܬܬܒܪ̈; A C ܐܬܬܒܪܘ. [4] C omits ܚܘܪܐ. [5] A ܘܐܦܣܩܦܗ. [6] B C omit ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ. [7] A C omit ܘܬܡܢ. [8] A C ܘܐܬܩܛܠ. [9] The place for this name is left blank in A. [10] A C ܘܡܝܬ. [11] B makes no mention of this martyr. The place for his name is left blank in A. [12] The space for this name has been left blank in A. [13] A ܘܡܝܬ. [14] B C ܠܘܩܘܣ. [15] B ܒܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ. [16] C ܡܢܠܐܘܣ. [17] B C omit ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [18] A ܐܬܩܛܠ. [19] C ܘܐܬܩܒܪ.

ܒܕܘܬܐ ¹ܒܐܢܝܢܘ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ²ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܗܘܝܘ
ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ̈ܕܝܢ ✣

ܐܓܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܣܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܓܠܝ̈ܠܝܢ ܘܒܣܝܓܝ ³ܘܒܐܬܪܘܢ
ܬܠܡܕ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ⁴ܒܨܘܪ ✣

⁵ܒܪܢܒܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܝܛܠܝܐ ܘܒܪܘܡܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ
ܒܡܚܘܣ ✣

ܛܝܛܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܩܪܛܐ ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

ܣܘܣܬܢܝܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܝܠܝܩܝܐ ܘܕܐܣܝܐ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚ
⁶ܒܫܠܡܐ ܒܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ ⁷ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܩܣܘܦܪܐ ✣

ܪܘܦܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܕܠܡܛܝܐ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܘܬܡܢ
ܡܝܬ ܡܢ ܟܐܒܐ ⁸ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

ܐܣܛܟܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܒܝܬܢܝܐ ܘܒܦܘܢܛܝܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ
ܒܦܘܪܣܐ ✣

⁹ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܠܦܪܘܡܦ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

ܪܘܦܘܣ ܒܪ ܡܬܠܡܕ ¹⁰ܕܪܘܡܝܐ ܟܬܒ ܦܘܠܘܣ ¹¹ܡܫܠܡܘܗܝ ✣

ܦܠܝܓܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܦܠܡܘܢܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

ܗܪܡܐ ܪܚܢܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܬܠܘܡܣ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

¹²ܢܪܩܝܣܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܬܢܐ ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ ܥܠ ܠܘܬ ܩ̈ܘܪܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

¹³ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܐܣܦܢܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

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[1] C ܘܒܐܪܡܢܝܐ. [2] A omits from ܐܝܬ to ܕܒܗ̈ܕܝܢ. [3] B C ܘܒܚܠܐܬܘܢ; A omits ܠܥܠܡ; and in C it is placed after ܦܘܠܘܣ. [4] B C ܒܫܡܝܫܛ. [5] B C make no mention of Barnabas. [6] A omits ܒܫܠܡܐ. [7] C ܕܝܘܢܐ. [8] B C omit ܘܐܬܩܒܪ; A has ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܐܒܐ. [9] B C ܐܢܕܪܘܢܝܩܘܣ. [10] A C ܕܪܘܡܝܐ. [11] B C ܘܡܫܠܡܘܗܝ. [12] B C make no mention of Narcissus. [13] In C ܐܣܘܢܩܪܝܛܘܣ is placed before ܐܪܣܛܘܒܘܠܘܣ.

ܬܕܝ ܗܘ̣ܐ ¹ܒܬܪܗ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ. ܘܩܛܠܗ ܕܝܢ ²ܐܦ ܗܘ̣ ܣܘܪܘܣ
ܒܪܗ ܕܐܒܓܪ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ∴

ܐܓܝ ܡܚܡܫܐ ³ܘܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܗܘ̣ ܕܐܕܝ ܡܪܢ. ܒܗ ܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܒܠܘܪܐ
ܕܣܘܪܘܢ. ܐܬܩܛܠ ܬܚܡܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܐܚܬ ∴

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܢܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܡܚܝܢܘܬܗ، ܣܗܕܘܬܐ
ܘܡܝܬ ∴

ܝܘܣܦ ܒܠܘܦܠܐ. ܬܠܡܝܕ ܒܓܠܝܠܐ ܘܒܚܡܫܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܢܘܚܐ ܡܢܬܗ ∴

ܢܝܩܘܕܡܘܣ ⁴ܦܪܝܫܐ ܪܫܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ. ܡܫܒܚܐ ⁵ܗܘܐ ܘܡܝܬܪ
⁶ܗܘܐ ܠܥܠܝܡܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܡܢ ܡܝܬ ܐܬܩܒܪ ∴

ܢܬܢܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ ⁷ܕܣܘܪܘܢ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐܦܐ
ܘܡܝܬ ∴

ܫܡܥܘܢ ⁸ܩܢܢܝܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܩܛܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܠ ∴

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܩܠܝܘܦܐ. ܗܘ̣ܐ ⁹ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܒܗ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ¹⁰ܗܘ̣ܐ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ. ܘܨܠܒܘ ¹¹ܐܢܫܝܢ ܠܗ
ܒܝܠܘܕܐ ∴

ܝܘܣܛܘܣ ¹²ܗܘܕܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐܦܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ
ܦܓܪܗ ܒܟܦܪ ܓܡܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ∴

ܡܪܩܘܣ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ ¹³ܘܐܬܢܝܚܘ. ܘܒܝܬܐ

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[1] B ܒܬܠܪܘ. [2] C omits ܗܘ, and A ܐܦ ܗܘ. [3] B C ܐܦ ܡܚܡܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܝ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܩܠܘܕܝܘܣ ܩܣܪ ܐܬܩܛܠ. [4] B omits ܦܪܝܫܐ. [5] A B omit ܗܘܐ. [6] A omits ܗܘܐ. [7] B ܕܣܘܪܝ. [8] C ܩܢܢܝܐ. [9] B ܐܦܣܩܘܦܣ. [10] A C omit ܗܘܐ. [11] B C ܨܠܒܘܗ. [12] B C omit ܗܘܕܐ. [13] B ܘܐܬܢܝܚ; C ܘܐܬܢܝܚܘ.

ܠܘܩܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. ܐܬܬܠܡܕ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܠܠܒܪ ܐܣܘܦ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܕܡܪܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܬܚܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܓܪܘܐ̈ܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܓܒܪ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܐܬܓܠܠ ܒܟܐܦܐ ܡܢ ܚܢܦܘܗ ܕܢܒܐ ܕܐܠܓܢܣܘܗ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܩܒܪ ✤

ܡܪܩܘܣ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܪ ܐܚܬܗ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, [1]ܗ̄ܘܐ. [2]ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܪܕܐ [3]ܠܗ, ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ [4]ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܡܦܫܩ. [5]ܘܫܡܠܝܗ ܥܠܒܢܝܐ ܠܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܡܪܐܘܗܝ, ܚܢܦܘܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܬܪܝܨܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢܐ ܟܕ ܫܡܥܐ ✤

ܐܕܝ, ܡܢ ܦܢܝܣ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܐ. [6]ܘܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ, [7]ܘܒܒܝܬ ܢܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܝ ܐܒܓܪ [8]ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ, ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܒܓܪ. ܩܛܠܗ [9]ܕܝܢ ܣܘܪܘܣ ܒܪܗ [10]ܕܐܒܓܪ ܠܘܬ ܚܨܢܐ ܕܐܓܠ. ܘܐܫܬܩܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܒܬܪܝܢ [11]ܘܐܬܟܠܠܗ, ܠܬ̈ܘܡܒܐ. [12]ܘܐܝܬ [13]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܗ̇ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ, ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ✤

ܐܓܝ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܘܩܕܡ ܒܢ̇ܐ ܫܐܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܒܓܪ. ܘܐܬܬܠܡܕ. [14]ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܓܪ [15]ܐܡܠܟ ܒܪܗ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܬܒܥ ܡܢ ܐܓܝ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܫܐܪ̈ܝܐ. [16]ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܛܦܝܣ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܐ [17]ܡܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܫܒܘܩ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ [18]ܘܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ. ܘܐܣܦܩ [19]ܠܢܩܘܪܘܬܐ. [20]ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܚܝܗܝ, [21]ܒܫܒܛܐ ܥܠ ܫܩ̈ܘܗܝ, ܘܬܒܪ ܐܢܝܢ ܘܡܝܬ ✤

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ. [2] B ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [3] B ܣܠܗ ܗܘܐ. [4] B omits ܕܝܢ. [5] A C ܘܫܡܠܗ. [6] A omits ܘ. [7] B C ܕܒܝܬ. [8] B C omit from ܡܠܟܐ to ܐܒܓܪ. [9] A omits ܕܝܢ; C ܣܐܘܝܪܘܣ. [10] A C omit ܕܐܒܓܪ. [11] A ܘܐܬܠ. [12] A omits from ܘܐܝܬ to ܐܬܬܣܝܡ. [13] C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [14] A omits from ܘܒܬܪ to ܒܬܪܗ. [15] C ܡܠܟ. [16] C ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܛܦܝܣ. [17] B ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܕܐܫܒܘܩ. [18] A omits ܘܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ; B ܕܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ. [19] C ܠܢܩܘܪܘܬܐ. [20] A B omit ܗܝܕܝܢ. [21] A ܒܫܒ̈ܛܐ; C ܒܫܒܛܗ.

ܡܪ̈ܘܡܘܗ ܘܠܘܡܐ ܟܠܠܝܐ. ܘܐܟܠܘ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܪܫܗ
ܕܝܢ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ [1]ܒܢܫܬ ܡܬܛܠܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܙܒܢܐ ܡܫܟܚܬܐ. ܒܪ ܪܚܡܐ. ܒܒܢܪ ܡ̄ܬܝܐ ܒܕܘܒܪܬܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܐܬܪ
ܕܡܬܛܠܠܐ ܐܬܛܠܡܘ. ܐܚܝܕܘܗ ܠܪܫܗ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ. ܘܫܠܛܗ ܒܪܫ
[2]ܣܘܦܪܐ [3]ܕܠܗ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܠܘܬ ܦܠܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ. ܘܟܠܠܝܐ ܚܙܐ
ܢܘܪܐ ܟܕ ܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ. ܘܟܠ ܐܡܘܪܕ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
[4]ܒܣܘܣܛܝܘܣ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܛܠܪܝܘܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܕܕܥܠܘܗ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ, [5]ܪܫܐ. [6]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܗ̇ܘ [7]ܒܣܘܣܛܝܘܣ.
ܢܒܒܕ ܥܡܘܪܐ ܘܓܠܦܬܐ ܟܠܗ [8]ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܗ ܠܥܠܝܬܐ
ܘܒܣܡܘܗܝ, ܠܪܫܐ ܠܘܬ ܓܠܘܗܝ, [9]ܘܐܦ ܣܦܝܢ ܘܡܬܒܝܢ
ܠܡܕܠܗ. ܡܕܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘ, [10]ܕܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܗ̇ܘ. [11]ܘܟܕ ܗܟܢܐ [12]ܒܓܒܘ
ܐܬܦܫܦܫ ܟܠܗ ܦܓܪܗ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝ [13]ܪܫܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܦܫܦܫ [14]ܣܘܡܟܪܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܡܬܘܡ. ܘܐܬܠܝܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܬܘܩܢܗ
ܘܢܦܫܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܬܗ ܠܥܘܠܡ ܫ̈ܢܘܗܝ, ܬܠܬܝܢ
ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܒܗ. [15]ܡܬܟܪܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܕܘܟܐ. ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
[16]ܫܢܝܢ ܒܚܒܫܬ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [16]ܫܢܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ.
[17]ܘܐܫܬܡܫ ܒܟܗܢܘܬ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ [18]ܕܒܬܪ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [19]ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚ
ܒܫܢܬܐ ܡܐܬܝܢ [20]ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝܐ ܪܒܐ.
[21]ܘܒܟܠ ܥܕܢ ܒܚܘܣܝܢ ܘܬܫܡܫܬܐ [22]ܟܬܒܘܗܝ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܕܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ⁘

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[1] A B ܒܢܫ. [2] A C ܣܘܦܪܗ. [3] A C omit ܕܠܗ. [4] A ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ. [5] C omits ܪܫܐ. [6] A ܐܡܪ, and A C omit ܗܘ. [7] A ܒܣܘܣܛܘܣ. [8] B C ܟܠܗ ܝܘܡܐ. [9] C ܐܦ. [10] A ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ. [11] B C omit ܘ. [12] A ܒܓܒ; B ܒܓܘ. [13] B ܪܫܗ; C ܪܫܐ. B C omit ܟܠ ܡܕܠܗ. [14] A C ܣܘܡܟܪܬܐ. [15] A ܡܬܟܪܝ. [16] A omits ܫܢܝܢ, and has ܒܢܫ. [17] B ܘܐܫܬܡܫ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܒܢܫ ܫܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [18] C ܡܢ ܒܬܪ. [19] A ܫܟܒ ܗܘܐ. [20] A omits ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ; B C omit ܒܗ. [21] B ܘܟܠ. [22] B ܟܬܒܢܝ.

ܒܗ ܒܒܒܝܠ. ¹ܡܚܝܘܗܝ ܓܒܪܐ ܩܨܪܐ ²ܒܫܒܛܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ
³ܘܩܒܪܘܗ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܪܓܡܘܗܝ ܒܟܐܦ̈ܐ ✣

ܡܪܩܘܣ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܠܦ
⁴ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܦܓܪܗ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ✣

ܚܢܢܝܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܒܕܪܡܣܘܩ ܘܒܐܪܠ.
ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܡܢ ܦܘܠ ܪܒ ܚܝܠܗ ⁵ܕܐܓܪܝܦܘ. ܘܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܒܥܕܬܐ
ܕܒܢܐ ܒܐܝܠ ✣

ܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܢ ܛܪܣܘܣ ⁶ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ⁷ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܦܪܝܫܐ ⁸ܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܠܗ ⁹ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ.
ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܡܢ ܚܢܢܝܐ. ܐܬܬܩ̈ܢܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܢܝܬܐ ܡܣܒܪ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܬܘܪܥܬܐ ܬܠܡܕ. ܘܫܦܝܪܝܢܘ ܕܠܐ ܒܦܘܪܣ ܡܫܚ ¹⁰ܘܫܒܪ ܚܠܦ
ܥܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܠܫܢܬܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܐܙܠ. ܘܟܕ
ܦܠܓܐ ܕܐܟܠ ܚܕܝܡ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܦܘܠܘܣ
ܡܠܝܢ. ܠܦܛܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܕܩܣܪܝܐ. ¹¹ܘܠܩܣܪܝܐ ܐܦ ܠܪܘܡܐ
ܕܡܚܝܒܐ. ܦܢܝ ܢܪܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܠܟܘܬܒܝ̈ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܘܗܝ ✣
ܫܡܥܘܢ ¹²ܕܝܢ ¹³ܫܐܠ ¹⁴ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܬܪ ܪܫܗ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܢܟܣ
ܒܬܪ ܘܨܠܝܒܐ ܕܪܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܢܬܦܬܠܘܢ. ܢܫܝܩܘ
ܫܟܢܘܗܝ ܕܣܘܒܪܢܐ ¹⁵ܠܡܬܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܦܛܪܘܣ ܠܡܨܦܝܘ.
ܘܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܠܘܩܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܦܛܪܘܣ. ܐܬܩܛܠ ܦܘܠܘܣ.
ܘܡܬܚܦܐܐ ܒܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܩܛܠܘ ¹⁶ܠܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܢܦܩܘ

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[1] A B omit ܡܚܝܘܗܝ. [2] B ܒܫܘܒܛܐ. [3] A ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ. [4] B C omit ܕܝܢ.
[5] C ܕܐܓܪܝܦܘܣ. [6] C omits from ܐܝܬܘܗܝ to ܦܪܝܫܐ. [7] B omits ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝܡܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [8] B ܒܢܘܡܘܣܐ. [9] A omits ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ.
[10] B C omit ܘܫܒܪ. [11] B ܘܡܢ ܩܣܪܝܐ ܐܦ. [12] B C ܦܢܝ. [13] A ܫܐܠ.
[14] A ܕܢܦܩܘܢ. [15] B C ܠܡܬܬܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ. [16] A omits ܠܬܪܝܗܘܢ.

ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ
ܒܠܕܝܩܝܐ[1] ܘܒܐܢܛܪܕܘܣ[2] ܘܒܐܪܘܕ[3]. ܘܐܬܪܓܡ ܒܟܐܦܐ ܒܐܪܘܕ
ܘܡܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܙܢܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܠܝܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܫܡܝܫܛ ܘܒܦܪܢ[4] ܘܒܙܘܓܡܐ ܘܒܚܠܒ
ܘܒܡܒܘܓ ܘܒܩܢܫܪܝܢ. ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܩܘܪܘܣ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ
ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

[5]ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪ ܚܠܦܝ. ܡܢ ܡܦܪܕܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܡܢܫܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܘܒܦܪܘܣܝܣ[6] ܘܒܦܠܝܣܛܘܣ ܘܐܬܦܢܝ
ܠܓܒܠܝܢ[7] ܕܦܪܘܩܐ. ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ ܥܕܬܐ. ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܝܗܘܕܐ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ[8] ܡܢ ܫܟܪܝܘܛ ܩܪܝܬܐ[9] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܓܕ[10]. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܗܘ ܕܕܢ. ܗܘ ܕܐܫܠܡܗ ܒܢܘܫܩܐ ܕܢܫܩܗ ܠܡܪܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ[11] ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܗܘ، ܕܐܝܟ ܚܘܝܐ ܢܟܬܗ ܠܡܪܢ. ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܚܠܦܘܗܝ، ܡܬܝܐ ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ. ܘܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܠܟܐ[12] ܘܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[13]. ܘܒܢܐ[14] ܥܕܬܐ
ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܀

ܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܕܡܢ. ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ[15] ܠܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܘ[16].
ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܘܗܘ ܬܠܡܕ

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[1] A ܒܠܘܕܝܩܝܐ. [2] B ܘܒܢܛܪܘܕܘܣ; C ܘܒܐܢܛܪܕܕܘܣ. [3] A ܘܒܐܪܘܕ; C ܘܒܐܪܘܪ (sic).
[4] B omits this name; C ܘܒܦܘܪܢܐ. [5] A makes no mention of James the son of Alphaeus. [6] A B ܘܒܦܪܘܣܝܣ. [7] A B ܠܓܒܠܝܢ; C ܠܓܒܠܢ. [8] B C omit ܡܫܠܡܢܐ. [9] A omits ܩܪܝܬܐ. [10] B C ܕܕܢ, and omit from ܐܠܐ to ܕܕܢ.
[11] B C omit from ܐܝܬܘܗܝ to ܠܡܪܢ. [12] B ܒܒܒܠ ܘܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. [13] C ܘܒܐܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. [14] C omits ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. [15] A B omit ܗܘܐ.
[16] B C omit ܗܘ.

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ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ
ܕܐܫܝܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܦܪܘܓܝܐ ܘܒܦܡܦܘܠܝܐ ܘܒܩܦܕܘܩܝܐ.
[1]ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܩܦܕܘܩܝܐ ܘܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ. ܚܝܐ ܕܝܢ
ܒܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ ✤

ܬܐܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [2]ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ.
ܗܢܐ ܬܠܡܕ ܠܦܪ̈ܬܝܐ ܘܠܡ̈ܕܝܐ ܘܠܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܥܡܕ
ܠܒܪܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ [3]ܕܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ ܕܩܪܗ ܒܪܘܡܚܐ ܘܡܝܬ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ
ܚܒܢ [4]ܬܓܪܐ [5]ܠܦܓܪܗ ܘܣܡܗ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ [6]ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܒܪܟܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܢ. [7]ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܡܚܠܘܦ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
[8]ܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܗ̈ܢܕܘܝܐ ✤

ܡܬܝ [9]ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܡܢ ܢܨܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܘܨܘܪ ܘܨܝܕܢ ܘܥܠ
ܒܕܘܟܐ ܠܓܒܘܠܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܣܘܪܝܐ ✤

ܒܪ ܬܘܠܡܝ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܕܘܪ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ.
ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܠܓܘܕܬܐ ܘܒܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܘܒܡܓܪܒܘܠ
[10]ܘܒܐܪܕܝܢ ܘܒܦܪܘܩܝܐ. ܘܡܢ [11]ܕܚܝܐ ܒܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ [12]ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
[13]ܘܩܠܦܗ [14]ܐܣܛܘܓܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܢܝܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ [15]ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܒܢܐ
ܒܐܪܡܢܝܐ ✤

ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܢܝ ܬܕܝ، ܕܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܠܒܝ. ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܩܦܕܘܩܝܐ. [2] A ܘܡܢ. [3] B C omit ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ. [4] B C omit ܬܓܪܐ. [5] A omits ܠܦܓܪܗ. [6] B C omit this clause. [7] A omits from ܘܐܚܪܢܐ to ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ. [8] A ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. [9] B C ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ. [10] B ܘܒܪܕܝܢ; C ܒܪܕܝܢ. [11] C ܘܚܝܐ. [12] B ܬܠܬܐ. [13] C ܘܩܠܦܘܗ. [14] B ܐܘܣܛܘܓܣ; C ܐܣܛܝܘܓܣ; and B C omit ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ. [15] C ܒܥܕܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ.

ܝܘܚܢܢ· ܒܪ ܙܒܕܝ، ܐܦ ܗܘ [1]ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨ̈ܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܕܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܙܒܘܠܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܣܝܐ ܠܘܩܕܡ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܐܫܬܕܝ، ܠܐܟܣܘܪܝܐ [2]ܠܦܛܡܘܣ ܓܙܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܛܪܝܢܘܣ ܩܣܪ. ܘܗܦܟ ܥܠ ܠܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܒܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܒܢܘܗ ܬܠܬܐ [3]ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ، [4]ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢܗ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܐ [5]ܒܬܪܝܢ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ. ܘܐܫܬܕܝ، ܠܫܬܘܬܐ ܒܬ̈ܗܘܡܐ. [6]ܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܐ [7]ܒܬܪܝܢ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ [8]ܒܩܝܣܪܝܐ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܣܝܦܐ. [9]ܡܪܩܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܠܗ ܐܚܝܕ ܟܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ [10]ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܘܬܐ ܒܬܪܗ. [11]ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܫܒܝܚܐ ܣܒܐ. [12]ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. [13]ܒܝܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܡܩܝܡ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. [14]ܦܛܪ ܐܢܝܦ ܚܕܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܕܥ ܩܒܪܗ. ܘܬ̈ܪܝܢ ܡܕ̈ܪܝܢ [15]ܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. [16]ܚܕ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ [17]ܕܠܗ [18]ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܦܓܪܗ ܥܠܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ܚܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ [19]ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ܥܒܝܕ ܠܒܢܝܢ ܕܒܝܬ ⁘

ܡܬܝ ܐܣܝܐ، ܕܗܘܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܩܒܝܪ ܒܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܘܫܠܡ [20]ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܩܒܪܘܗ̇ ܐܟܪ̈ܙܘܗܝ ܒܬܪ [21]ܥܬܝܕܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܬܪܝܢ. ܘܐܬܬܚܫܒ ܒܐܦܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [illegible] ⁘

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ. [2] C ܦܛܡܘܣ. [3] B C ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ. [4] A ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. [5] C omits ܒܬܪܝܢ. [6] B ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. [7] B C omit ܒܬܪܝܢ. [8] A ܒܩܣܪܝܐ. [9] A ܘܡܪܩܘܣ. [10] B ܕܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܘܬܐ. [11] C ܘܗܘ. [12] C omits ܡܝܬ. [13] B C omit from ܒܝܬܗ to ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. [14] C ܦܛܪܘ. [15] C ܕܠܗ. [16] A ܚܕ. [17] B C omit ܕܠܗ. [18] B ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ; C ܕܗܘ ܐܦܝ ܥܠܡܐ. [19] A C ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. [20] A omits ܒܫܠܡܐ. [21] A ܚܝܐ ܥܬܝܕܐ.

ܩܒܠܝܢ ✣ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܢܛܩܘܣܛܐ. [1]ܫܘܡܠܐ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܡܬܦܫܩ ✣

ܡܚ ✣ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܕܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ [2]ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ [3]ܡܘܬܗܘܢ.

[4]ܬܘܒ ܟܬܒܢܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܡܘܬܪܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ، ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܕܘܒܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܟܘܢܫܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܕܒ ܗ̇ܟܝܠ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܩܒܠܘ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܬܪܗ ܓܒܘ ܓܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܓܒܘ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ [5]ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ ✣

ܫܡܥܘܢ [6]ܦܛ ܪܫܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘ̣ܐ. [7]ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܢܦܬܠܝ. ܗܢܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܒܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ [8]ܠܘܩܕܡ. ܘܒܢܐ ܒܗ̇ [9]ܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܕ̈ܬܐ. ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܚܕ ܠܒܪܗ. [10]ܘܗܘܐ ܒܗ̇ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܐܬܩܪܝܘ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܟܪ̈ܣܛܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܗܠܟ ܠܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܩܘܝ ܒܗ̇ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܙܩܦܗ ܢܐܪܘܢ ܪܫܝܥܐ [11]ܒܬܪ ܪܫܗ. ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ✣

ܐܢܕܪܐܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ، ܐܟܪܙ [12]ܗ̄ܘ̣ܐ ܒܣܩܘܬܝܐ [13]ܘܒܢܝܩܘܡܕܝܐ ܘܒܐܟܐܝܐ. ܘܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܐ ܒܒܝܙܢܛܝܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܡܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ✣

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[1] B ܫܘܡܠܡ; C ܫܘܡܠܝܐ. [2] B ܕܚܕ ܚܕ. [3] A ܡܘܬܗܘܢ. [4] B C omit from ܬܘܒ to ܘܫܒܥܝܢ. [5] B ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ. [6] B C omit ܦܛ ܪܫܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [7] A ܘܡܢ. [8] A ܘܠܘܩܕܡ ܩܒܠ. [9] C ܒܢܐ ܥܕܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [10] A ܗܘܐ. [11] C ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܪܫܗ; B C omit from ܒܫܢܬ to ܕܝܘܢܝܐ; B omits ܪܫܝܥܐ. [12] B omits ܗܘܐ. [13] B ܘܒܢܝܩܘܡܕܝܐ.

ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܐܝܟܢ ܡܘܕ̈ܝܢܐ. ܗܦܟܘ ܒܫܡܥܗܘܢ ܕܡܐܪ̈ܒܝܬܐ ܐܫܬܘܩ
ܘܪܗܛܘ. ¹ܘܐܫܬܒܫܠܘ ²ܒܡܘܬܗܘܢ. ³ܘܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ
ܒܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܕܦܓܪܗ ܘܕܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ⁴ܘܦܪܫܘ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܪܘܫܡܐ
ܘܠܡܚܣܝܐ ܕܚܛܗ̈ܐ ✧ ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܕܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܡܪܢ
ܦܛܪܘܣ ܒܟܠܘܬܐ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܘܗܝ، ܫܠܡ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܢ ܐܚܕ، ܡܢ ⁵ܡܚܝܠܘܬܗ.
ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܡܢܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܡܪܢ
ܠܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܘܠܬܐܘܡܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܝܬܐ
ܐܝܕܟ ܘܐܘܫܛ ܒܓܒܝ. ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܐܠܐ
ܡܗܝܡܢܐ. ܘܦܫܛ ܬܐܘܡܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܠܓܒܗ ⁶ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ
ܕܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܠܐܠܗܘܬܗ. ܘܒܗܘ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܠܡܪܢ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܒܩܢܐ
ܕܠܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܥܒܠ ܢܦܫ ܠܗ، ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܡܫܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ، ܡܢܬܐ. ܘܫܒܩܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢܢ، ܚܕܕ،
ܘܡܢ، ܡܟܐܢ، ܠܗ، ܡܢܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܡܢܗ ܫܡܥܘܢܐ ⁷ܗܘܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܢܝܬ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܣܘܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܠܘ ܡܢܗ. ܒܐܡܪܘ
ܕܣܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܝ ܥܠ ܐܡܬܗ، ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܩܢܝ. ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܫܩܒܐ ܐܡܬ
ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ ⁸ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܬܗܘܢ، ⁹ܗܘܝܐ
ܗܘܢܐ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܣܘܢܝܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ ܣܘܦܠܬܐ ܕܢܦܠܬܗ،
ܠܡܪܢ. ܘܠܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ. ܐܣܘܢܝܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܟܕ ܥܢܠ
ܡܫܝܚ ܠܓܒܪܘܬܐ ܗܝ، ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܐܘܕܝ. ܐܬܓܒܠܬ ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬ
ܒܟܗ ܒܝܘܡܗ. ܘܙܕܩܬ ܒܝܘܡܗ. ܘܫܡܠܝ ܠܗ، ܕܒܥܬܐ ܘܦܠܚܝܗ
¹⁰ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܒܡܕܢܐ. ¹¹ܘܠܗܘܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܪ
ܠܐܡܪܢܐ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܣܒܕܐ ܘܦܥܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘ̄ܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ

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[1] A ܘܐܫܬܡܫܘ. [2] A ܒܗܘܢܘܢܗܘܢ. [3] A ܘܒܗܘ. [4] A ܘܦܪܫܘ. [5] B ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ. [6] A omits from ܕܡܪܢ to ܕܠܐܠܗܘܬܗ. A blank space of nearly three lines has been left. [7] C ܗܝ ܕܐܬܡܚܠܬ. [8] A omits ܡܫܝܚܐ. [9] A B omit ܗܘܐ; C omits ܗܘ. [10] B ܠܥܡܪܐ ܘܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [11] C ܘܠܗܕܐ.

ܒܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܘܕܣܗ̈ܪܐ. ܠܦܫܐ ܠܒܥܡܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܬܐ. ܗܿܝ ܠܐ
ܒܣܬ̈ܪܬܗ ܡܢܗܪ̈ܢ ܘܠܐ ܠܠܝܐ ܡܢܦܩܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܐܡܪܬ ܠܢܒܝܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ [1]ܬܘ̈ܪܒܐ ܐܬܒܪܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ [2]ܡܢ
ܪܡܙܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܗܿܝ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܘܠܐ ܒܪܚܡܐ ✤ ܚܠܝܬܐ [3]ܕܐܡ
ܗܿܝ ܕܚܙܝ ܒܗܿ ܡܪܢ ܦܪܘܫܐ. ܐܝܟ [4]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܕܠܒܪ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇
ܗ̄ܦܟܬ. ܘܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܕܥܡܚܦܢ [5]ܘܡܪܢܝܐ. ܘܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܡܪܘ
ܕܕܘܡܣܦ ܒܓܠܓܠܐ. ܘܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܦܠܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܕܝܢܘܣܝܘܣ
ܐܡܬܝ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܗܘܘ ܒܗܿ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܒܣܦܪܐ ܡܩ̈ܡܝܢ ܒܬܪ
ܗܘܠܡܐ. ܗܿܝ ܐܡܬܝ ܒܢ̈ܘܡܐ ܘܒܝܠܕܬܐ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܡܢܗܪܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ [6]ܢܗܘܪ ܡܢܝܚܐ ✤

ܡܒ ✤ ܥܠ ܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܕܙܒܢܐ [7]ܕܡܘܕܥܐ ܕܟܠ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ.

ܡܢ ܣܦܪ ܒܣܦܪܐ ܡܩ̈ܡܝܢ ܕܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܗܿܝ ܕܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ
ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܥܘܕܪܢܗ ܕܡܪܢ.
[8]ܡܢ ܫܠܝܐ ܒܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ [9]ܡܕܝܢܐ
ܕܦܢܛܩܘܣܛܐ. ܘܠܐ ܣܡܝܟܐ ܐܫܬܡܥܬ. ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ
ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܡܢ ܬܫܡܫܬ ܘܠܐ ܗ̄ܘ.
ܘܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܠܥܠܡܐ [10]ܗܿܝ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܠܠ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ
ܥܠ ܪܫܐ ܕܟܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ
ܬܡܢ ܢܒܥܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܕܢܒܥ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܘܗܒ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ. [11]ܘܐܬܬܦܝܣ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܕܥ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܡܢܗܪܗ ܡܬܒܪܟܝܢ ܚ̈ܕܘܬܐ
ܘܡܬܓܠܠܝܢ [12]ܬܫܒ̈ܘܚܬܐ ܐܘ ܬܘܕ̈ܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ.

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[1] A C omit ܬܘܪ̈ܒܐ ܐܬܒܝܪܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ. [2] A B omit ܡܢ. [3] A omits ܕܐܡ. [4] C ܕܐܡܪ; B C ܕܕܠܒܪ; B ܕܡܢ̈ܚܝܢ, ܕܚܢܦܐ, and ܕܡܣܩܐܗܘܢ; C ܕܕܠܒܪ̈ܗܘܢ. [5] B ܘܡܕܢܚܐ. [6] A B omit ܢܗܘܪ ܡܢܝܚܐ. [7] A omits ܕܡܘܕܥܐ. [8] B ܘܡܢ. [9] B C omit ܡܕܝܢܐ. [10] B omits ܗܿܝ. [11] A ܘܐܬܬܦܝܣܘ; B C ܘܐܬܬܦܝܣ. [12] B C omit ܬܫܒ̈ܘܚܬܐ ܐܘ; A omits ܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ.

[1]ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ، ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܙܝ̈ܬܐ. ܘܣܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. [2]ܘܒܪܟ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܦܪܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ [3]ܘܬܠܡܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ،
ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ [4]ܡܒܪܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܬܦܪܫ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ.
ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ [5]ܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ [6]ܟܕ ܡܣܒܪܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܗܢܐ ܠܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܣܬܠܩ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ.
ܗܟܢܐ [7]ܥܬܝܕ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ [8]ܕܚܙܝܬܘܢܝܗܝ، ܕܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ
ܠܥܠܝܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܥܡܘܪ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗ̇. ܘܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܡܩ̈ܒܠܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡܐ
ܕܦܬܠܗ ܙܘܥܐ ܕܡܘܕܥܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ
ܒܐܦܐ ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܚܕ̈ܘܗܝ. [9]ܕܐܬܒ ܕܢܣܒ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ.
ܠܥܘܠܡ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܪܒܝܘ [10]ܗܟܢܐ. ܘܫܠܛܘ ܠܟܬܒܐ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܗܝܢ ܣܝܥܬܐ [11]ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ⸭ [12]ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ
ܟܕ [13]ܠܐ ܗܘܝܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ [14]ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܐܡܝܪܐ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܒܥ ܡܢ ܡܥܝܢܐ [15]ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. [16]ܘܗܘܝܬ ܒܬܘܠܬܗ̇
[17]ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ [18]ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܒܘܪܐ.
ܘܐܝܟܢܐ [19]ܕܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ [20]ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ
ܘܡܬܡܢܚܢ ܒܪܘܚ ܚܝܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܛܒ̈ܐ ܘܠܒܝ̈ܫܐ ܘܠܐܢܫ̈ܐ؛
ܐܝܟ ܕܡܦܩܢܘܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܕܢܐ [21]ܢܣܒܝܢ
ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ܒܡܬܡܘܪܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܐ. ܥܠ
ܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܥܡ ܡܬܝܚܣܢ

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[1] A B omit ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ. [2] A omits ܘܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ. [3] A ܘܬܠܡܝܕܘ; C ܘܬܠܡܕܘܬܐ. [4] C ܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ. [5] B ܣܓܕܘ ܗܘܘ. [6] A C ܕܡܣܒܪܝܢ. [7] B omits ܥܬܝܕ ܕ. [8] A C omit ܕܚܙܝܬܘܢܝܗܝ. [9] A B ܕܐܬܒ. [10] B C ܗܟܢܐ. [11] B ܡܥܠܝܢܐ; C ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܥܠܝܢܐ. [12] A ܘܐܝܟܢܐ; C ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. [13] A omits ܗܘܝܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ, a blank space being left for these words. [14] B C omit ܕܐܝܟ. [15] A omits ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. [16] C ܘܗܘܝܘ. [17] A C omit ܕܡܪܝܡ. [18] A C omit ܗܘܐ. [19] C ܕܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ. [20] A ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ; B ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܫܠܛ ܒܟܠ. [21] C ܢܣܒܝܢ (sic).

¹ܒܥܠܡܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ ²ܕܚܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܬܦܪܫܝܐ. ܥܠ ܗܕܐ
ܐܟܠ ܦܐܪ̈ܘܗܝ. ܕܠܐ ܢܣܬܒܪ ܕܦܢܛܐܣܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ³ܘܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܐ
⁴ܕܩܡܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܐܟܠܘ ܦܐܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܩܕܡܐ ܕܚܝܘ
ܘܡܝܬܘ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢܬܐ ܕܐܢܘܫ ܐܠܝܫܥ. ܘܐܝܟ ⁵ܡܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܢܘܫ
ܡܪܢ ⁶ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܐ. ⁷ܘܠܘ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܫܚ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܪܢ ܒܠ
ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܐܟܠ ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܗ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܫܪܪ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ. ܗܐ
ܨܡ ܗ̄ܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܠܐ ⁸ܣܝܒܪܬܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܐܬܟܪܗ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܟܠ ܡܪܢ ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܗ.
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܝ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܟܠܘ ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ.
⁹ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܡܬܒܠܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ¹⁰ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܘܡܬܐܟܠܐ.
¹¹ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܝܫܥ ¹²ܢܒܝܐ ܠܡܚܝܢܐ ¹³ܟܕ ܠܒܪܗ̇ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܟܠ.
ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܢ ¹⁴ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ¹⁵ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ
ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ¹⁶ܡܘܫܐ
ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܬܠܬ ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ. ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܕܗܘܐ ܡܛܪܐ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܝܘܢܢ
ܐܠܡܐ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ¹⁷ܕܗܘܫܥ
ܚܢ̈ܦܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܦܪܢܣܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ¹⁸ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ
ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ ܓܒܝܠܬܗ ܒܡܪܒܥܐ
¹⁹ܒܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ²⁰ܐܣܩܗ ܐܢܦܝܢ ²¹ܡܪܢ

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[1] A writes ܒܥܠܡܐ once only. [2] A ܕܚܣܝܘܬܐ (so); B ܒܗܘ; C ܒܗ̇. [3] B omits ܘ. [4] C ܩܡܘ. [5] C ܡܢܬܐ; A ܕܐܡܢܘܫ. [6] B C omit ܒܬܪ ܩܝܡܬܐ. [7] A omits from ܘܠܘ ܡܛܠ to ܩܝܡܬܗ; C ܩܝܡܬܐ. [8] B ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ. [9] A ܘܒܚܝܠܐ. [10] B C omit ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ. [11] B C ܘܐܝܟ. [12] C ܒܝܘܪܐ. [13] A ܘܒܒܪܗ̇. [14] A B omit ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [15] C omits ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. [16] B C ܡܘܫܐ ܠܬܠܬ ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. [17] B ܕܗܘܫܥ. [18] A ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ (sic). [19] A ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ. [20] A ܐܣܩܘܗ. [21] A B omit ܡܪܢ.

ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܕܫܬ. ܒܬܪ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ ܘܠܬܐܘܡܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܕܫܒܥ. ܒܛܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܬܝ. [1]ܕܬܡܢܝܐ. ܥܠ ܝܡܐ ܕܛܒܪܝܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ. [2]ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ [3]ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܦܪ ܒܗ. ܘܒܗܬ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܒܗ. ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܦܪܗܣܝܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܗ. ܡܚܘܝܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܠܗ, [4]ܕܒܗ. ܕܬܫܥ. ܟܕ ܐܣܬܠܩ ܡܢ [5]ܛܘܪܐ ܕܙܝܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܡܪܩܘܣ ܘܠܘܩܐ. ܕܥܣܪ. ܠܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܐܚ̈ܝܐ [6]ܕܡܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܒܬ ܡܬܠܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܘܒܬܪ [7]ܫܘܠܡܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܠܦܘܠܘܣ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ [8]ܕܕܪܡܣܘܩ ܟܕ ܦܩܕ ܠܣܢܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐܣܛܦܢܘܣ ܣܗܕܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܪܓܡ ∴

ܡܗ ∴ ܥܠ ܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ [9]ܕܠܫܡܝܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܩܡ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܓܠܝܠܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ [10]ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. [11]ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܠܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ ܒܙܒܢ ܕܩ̈ܝܡܝܢ. ܘܐܟܠ ܘܫܬܝ, ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܥܠ ܨܒ̈ܝܢ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܗܪܟܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܠܡ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܕܐܝܢܘ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܟܠ ܦܓܪܗ, ܒܬܪ [12]ܡܫܬܪܝܗ ܒܐܐܪ. ܐܦ ܒܐܐܪ ܗܘܐ [13]ܒܬܪ ܡܫܬܪܝܬܐ ܡܬܒܠܥܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܐܠܐ. ܗܘ ܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܦܓܪܗ, [14]ܒܐܐܪ. ܡܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܓܪܢܝ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܣܡ ܕܝܢ [15]ܡܓܠܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ

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[1] A ܕܬܡܝܢܝܐ. [2] A B ܕܡܛܠ. [3] C ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ. [4] B ܒܗ. ܕܬܫܥܐ. ܟܠ. ܕܥܣܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܟܠ. ܐܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܚܡܫܡܐܐ. ܟܕ ܐܣܬܠܩ ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܙܝܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. [5] C ܛܘܪ ܙܝܬܐ. [6] A ܕܡܢ. [7] A C ܫܘܠܡܐ. [8] A ܕܕܪܡܣܘܩ; C omits ܟܕ ܦܩܕ ܠܣܢܘܗܝ. [9] B C omit ܕܠܫܡܝܐ. [10] C ܝܘ̈ܡܐ. [11] B C ܘܐܬܚܙܝ. [12] A C ܡܫܬܪܝܐ. [13] A C ܒܡܫܬܪܝܐ. [14] C omits ܒܐܐܪ. [15] A B ܡܓܠܐ.

ܐܬܦܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢܗ ⁘ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪܘܟܬܐ ܒܫܡܥܐ ܠܗܘܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܡܣܒ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܐܠܐ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܫܬܐܬܐ ܡܬܡܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܗܘ ܡܘܡܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܣܝ̈ܡܢ ܫܡܥܐ ܘܡܕܒ̈ܪܢ ܐܦ ܒܠܠܘܬܐ ܐܠܡܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܟܐ ܡܙܠܝܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܡܪ. ܡܘܡܬܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܟܬܐ ⁘ [1]ܒܠ ܒܬܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܬܘܠܬ [2]ܗ̄ܘܬ ܘܡܣܟ ܠܒܠ ܡܢ ܙܢܐ. ܡܘܟܐܬ ܘܟܪܝܡܬ ܘܪ̈ܗܘܡܟܐܬ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܡܟܪܬ ܒܗ ܒܠܘܣܐ ܐܪܡܝܐܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܠܐܪ̈ܡܠܬܐ [3]ܐܘ ܒܗܬ ܗܦܘ̈ܟܝܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܒܕܡܘ ܕܡܟܝܟܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܠܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܬܐ. ܗܪܟܐ ܡܘܠܐ ܘܦܬܘܚܐ ܒܒܪܬܐ. ܘܡܫܬܠܛܘ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܒܫܢܬ ܕܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܟܣܢܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܣܒܘ ܐܬܩܢܘ ܒܠ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܩܢܐ ܕܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ⁘

ܡܗ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܢܚܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܣܒܪܗ ܘܕܡܢܚܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ [4]ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. ܠܐ ܚܫܚ ܥܠ ܫܘܢܝܬܗ [5]ܒܡܟܬܒܘ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܡܪ [6]ܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܒܗܬ ܡܢܝܬܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܡܪ [7]ܐܒܘܢ. ܘܒܡܫܝܚܐ. ܠܒܪܢܫ ܡܟܣܝܢܘܬܐ. [8]ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܡܢܝܢ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐ. ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܡܒܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܬܝ. ܕܬܠܬ. ܠܦܠܝܦܘܣ [9]ܘܠܡܒܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܣܒܪܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܐܙܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ. ܠܘܩܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐ. ܕܐܙܠ. ܠܡܫܝܚ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܩܐ. ܕܣܡܟ. ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ [10]ܒܠܘܩܐ ܡܠܦ ܡܢ ܐܬܦܬܚܐ. ܟܕ ܥܠ ܒܬܪܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܝܟ [11]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܠܘܩܐ

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[1] C omits ܒܠ. [2] B omits ܗܘܐ. [3] A C omit ܐܘ ܒܗܬ ܗܦܘܬܝܐ.
[4] C ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ. [5] B ܒܡܟܬܒܘ. ܘܡܢ. [6] B omits ܡܪܢ. [7] A ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ.
[8] A ܐܝܟ. [9] A ܘܡܒܪܗ. [10] B C omit ܒܠܘܩܐ. [11] C ܘܐܡܪ.

ܠܟܦܢ. ܘܡܚܘ ܒܥܘܢܐ ܘܐܬܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܙܘܕܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܐܝܦܢ ܠܗܘܕܝܐ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܬܘ. ¹ܐܣܬܦܩ ܐܝܦܢ ܥܠ ܡܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܣܒܗ ܢܦܫܗ. ²ܘܡܥܠܗ ܐܝܦܢ ܒܥܘܢܐ ܘܐܬܒܘ ܒܗܦܢ ܐܟܣܢܝܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܕܐܟܣܢ̈ܝܐ ܀

ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܘܠܛܐ ܕܡܛܠ ³ܡܢܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ، ܗܟܢܐ. ܒܘܠܛܐ ܕܝܢ ܥܢܝܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܕܗܟܢ ܡܒܙܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܗܟܢ ܠܒܪ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܬܚܫ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܡܘܒܠܐ ܕܓܡ̈ܠܐ. ܡܢ ܥܢܝܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܣܬܟܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܣܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܢܝܘ ⁴ܗܘܐ. ܒܟܦܐ ܣܘ̈ܪܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ ܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܣܠܩܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܗ ܒܘܠܛܐ ⁵ܗܘܐ ܒܟܝܢܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܓܙܪ ܙܒܢܗ. ܘܐܬܚܒܛ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܢ ܒܘܠܛܐ ܕܐܘܦܕܢܐ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ، ܒܘܠܛܐ ܀ ⁶ܦܓܓܠܘܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܟܪܘܟ ⁷ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܣܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܟܪ، ܘܡܦܪ ⁸ܠܗ. ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܝ. ܘܡܦܪ ܠܦܣܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪܢ. ⁹ܘܡܢ ܗܘ، ܥܒܕܬܐ ܙܒܢܗ ܠܗܬܗ ܘܦܪܥܗ. ܘܣܦܩ ܒܬܪ ܗܘܠܡܗ ܕܡܢ ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ¹⁰ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ¹¹ܕܝܢ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܣܦܩ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ¹²ܕܬܡܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܢܣ ¹³ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܘܒܠܘܗ ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܢܦܫܗ ܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ ܠܦܪܫܗ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܬܗ ܠܦܘܢ ܥܠܝܢܝܐ. ܘܓܠܝܘ ܒܠܒܗ ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܡܢܗ. ܬܐܘܦܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܐܬܬܗܘܢ، ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܒܫܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܢܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܥܒܪ ܠܡܠ̈ܐܟܐ ܟܕ ܡܙܝܚܝܢ ܠܦܪܫܗ ܒܐܐܪ. ܘܡܦܪܫܗ ¹⁴ܠܦܪܫܗ ܠܘܬ ܬܐܘܦܡܐ. ܘܡܟܠ ¹⁵ܘܐܦ ܗܘ

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[1] A ܘܐܣܬܦܩ. [2] A ܡܥܠܗ. [3] B C ܦܡ. [4] A omits ܗܘܐ. [5] A C ܗܘܐ; B omits ܒܟܝܢܗܘܢ. [6] B ܦܓܓܠܬܗ. [7] B ܠܗܘܣܝܢ. ܡܢ ܡܕܝ، ܠܒܪ ܐܟܘܢ. [8] B omits ܠܗ. [9] B ܡܢ. [10] C ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܢܫܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܗܟܢ. [11] A C omit ܕܝܢ; B ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܣܦܩ. [12] B C ܬܡܢ. [13] C omits ܒܐܪܥܐ. [14] ܠܦܪܫܐ. [15] B C ܐܦ.

ܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. [1]ܘܐܣܢܝܬܐ ܒܠܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܥܘ ܠܗܕܐ
ܡܘܬܢܐ [2]ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ̇ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܩܒܠܘ ܕ̈ܡܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܢܐ.
ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܢܢܐ [3]ܕܡ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܠܗ̇ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܗܢܘܢ.
ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬ ܒܢܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ.
ܐܬܒܗܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ. ܢܬܐܡܘܢ [4]ܠܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ
ܬܪ̈ܥܐ [5]ܠܡܘܬܢܐ ܘܪ̈ܘܬ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ [6]ܠܐ̈ܒܗܬܐ
ܐܝܬ ܒܢܝܢ ܛܠܠܝܢ ܙܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ. ܩܡܘܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܣܒܘ
ܠܗ ܗܕܐ ܡܘܬܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܩܒܠܘ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܡܘܬܢܐ ܘܚܠܦ ܠܐܬܘܪ̈ܗܘܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܥܕܪ [7]ܐܡܠܟܪ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܬ
ܒܡܒܟܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܣܓܕ ܠܨܠܡܐ ܕܐܩܝܡ ܐܢܐ [8]ܠܗ ܡܒܟܝܢ. [9]ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܠܗ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ. ܐܝܬ ܒܢܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܡܘܬܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ
ܗܕܐ ܡܘܬܢܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܠܚܕܐ ܚܢܢܐ ܟܠ ܠܐ ܬܪܥܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ. ܘܚܝܢܗ ܡܢ ܢܘܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܐܚܝܢܘܗ [10]ܡܚܝܢܘܢ ܒܛܠܠܝܢ
[11]ܘܐܬܪܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ
ܕܐܡܘܬܝ. ܘܚܙܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܒܪܬ ܕ̈ܡܘܬܐ [12]ܗܘܢ. ܘܣܡܠܘ ܘܦܪܐ
ܡܢ ܕ̈ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܠܡܚܒܫܐ. ܘܠܗ [13]ܠܛܠܝܐ
ܕܒܢܝ ܒܠܒܗ ܘܦܫܛ ܠܡܘܪ̈ܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܡܚܒܫܐ ܠܡܘܬܢܐ
ܘܠܐܪܐ. ܫܒܚܗ ܠܡܘܬܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐܪܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܥܘܪܐ ܡܫܬܦܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ [14]ܕܒܪ ܒܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܠܝ ܘܐܡܢܐ ܢܚܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ

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[1] A C omit ܘܐܣܢܝܬܐ ܒܠܗ̇. [2] A omits from ܕܐܝܬ to ܡܘܬܢܐ. [3] A C omit ܕܡ̈ܥܐ. [4] B ܠܒܐܘܬܐ. [5] C omits ܠܡܘܬܢܐ. [6] A B omit ܠܐ̈ܒܗܬܐ. [7] A B ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ. [8] A C omit ܠܗ. [9] B ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ. ܒܢܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ. [10] C omits ܡܚܝܢܘܢ. [11] C ܐܬܪܝܢ. [12] B ܗܘܢ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܡܚܝܢܘܢ ܘܣܡܠܘ ܕ̈ܡܘܬܐ; C ܘܣܡܠܘ, and omits ܗܘܢ. [13] A omits ܠܛܠܝܐ. [14] A C omit ܕܒܪ.

¹ܘܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ ܬܪܚ ܒܥܕ ܐܢܘܢ ²ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܪܗ. ܘܐܒܪܗܡ
ܢܩܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐܚܫܫܘ. ܘܐܚܫܫܘ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܘܢ ܡܢܬܐ. ܘܡܢܗ
ܕܡܢܬܐ ܐܘܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܦܪܓܘܢ. ܘܦܪܓܘܢ ܓܙܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܥܠܡܟܘܢ
ܒܪ ܕܘܡܝ ܡܛܠ ܒܣܘܡ ܕܡܡܠܠܐ. ܘܥܠܡܟܘܢ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܕܘܪܐ
³ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܒܥܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܚܕܪ̈ܝ ܬܪܒܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ
ܠܡܓܕܢܝܢ ܘܥܒܕ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ ܫܪܒܐ. ⁴ܘܟܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܟܘܢ.
ܘܣܐ ⁵ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܦ̈ܝܡ. ܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܘܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܒܒܠ
ܒܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ ܫܪܒܐ. ܘܐܣܬ ܩܘܡ ⁶ܬܡܢ ܡܓܕ̈ܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ̈
ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܓܕܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ⁷ܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܠܡܕܡ
ܕܫܥܣ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܠܫܠܝܛ̈ܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ⁸ܐܫܬܒܪܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ
ܘܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܫܢܬܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܩܒ ܠܗܘܢ ⁹ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܦ ¹⁰ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ ¹¹ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܢ. ܘܐܘܟܠܘ ¹²ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܐܒܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܫܪܐ ܠܡܘܕܥܐ.
ܡܢܗ ܥܡܗ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܬܐ. ܘܗܕܐ
ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܦܪܓܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ، ܘܕܡܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܐܝܪܘܢܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ¹³ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܐܬܕܒܪܘ ¹⁴ܘܐܡܪܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܚܡܢ ܟܕܘܡ. ܘܐܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ
ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܢܗ ¹⁵ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܐ
ܕܐܦܪܝܡ، ¹⁶ܘܢܬܒܘܢ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܢܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܫܡܥܐ
ܐܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܙܟܪܝܐ. ܘܢܩܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܠܐ

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[1] C ܘܠܗܘܢ. [2] B ܠܐܒܘܗܘܢ ܡܙܒܢ. [3] C ܗܢܘܢ. [4] C ܟܠ. [5] B C ܠܗܘܢ.
[6] B omits ܬܡܢ. [7] A C ܫܕܪ, and A omits ܠܗ. [8] B ܐܫܬܒܪ. [9] B C omit
ܘ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ. [10] B C ܘܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܘܟܠܘ. [11] B C omit ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ.
[12] B ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. [13] B ܠܗܘܢ. [14] C ܐܬܕܒܪ; B C omit ܘܐܡܪܘ.
[15] B C ܘܐܬܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ. [16] B C omit ܘܢܬܒܘܢ.

ܩ̈ܠܒܐ ܘܡ̈ܬܢܐ ܐܬܚܫܒܘ ܠܡ̈ܫܡܫܢܐ ܒܐܡܢܪܐ. ܗܢܝܢ ܕܝܢ
[1]ܐܬܚܝܠܘ ܠܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܗܡܠܐ. ܫܡܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܫ̈ܢܝܐ [2]ܘܦܪܣܘ
ܡܕܡ ܫܠܛܘ ܒܗ ܡܚ̈ܫܫܝܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܐܪ̈ܥܘܢܐ [3]ܕܠܒܝܒ
ܒܗ ܗܘܪܟ [4]ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܀ ܢܣܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܠܓܗ ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ
ܠܐܪܟܒ ܡܬ̈ܘܢ. [5]ܟܠ ܫܥܒܘܕܘܬܗ ܕܡܪ̈ܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܀ [6]ܒܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܠܐ ܫܒܛܐ ܡܢ ܠܟܠ. [7]ܕܠܐ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓ. ܐܪܙ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ
ܡܦܠܓܐ ܫܥܐ ܀ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܡ̈ܬܢܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢܘ. ܢܦܫ
ܒܪ ܥܣܪ ܐܢܫܘ. ܠܡܣܒܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܫ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܚܒܝܢܐ
ܢܚܘܦ ܣܝܢܐ. ܘܡܚܪ. ܡܦܐܪܝܢ ܗܘܡܟܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܢ. ܕܟܕ
[8]ܐܬܬܪܝܓ ܡܢ ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ [9]ܕܗܘܘ ܒܠܒܘܫܬܐ. ܡܚܣܕܐ
[10]ܢܩܡܘ ܡܬ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܡܟܐ. ܡܬ̈ܢܐ ܠܦܘܫܐ ܕܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ. ܘܕܡܟܐ
ܐܪܙܐ ܕܕܡܟܐ ܢܣܒܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܘܩܕܡ ܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܕܦܘܪܣܢܐ. ܒܐܘܚܠܦ [11]ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ. [12]ܕܢܩܡܘ ܕܡܟܐ
ܘܡ̈ܬܢܐ ܀ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܣܛܠܝܬ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܦܪܘܫ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ.
ܕܟܠ ܡܦܩܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ [13]ܕܠܚܫܡ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܕܝܬܩ̈ܐ ܐܝܕܝܟ.
ܘܐܣܝ̈ܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܪܕ [14]ܗܘܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ
ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܠܒܪܢܐ ܫܠܘ. [15]ܐܫܠܡܘ ܀ ܐܢܫ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ
[16]ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܟܠ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܬܘܬܐ [17]ܕܐܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܐܕܡ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܒܦܘܪܫܢ ܥܕܡܗ ܠܗܬ ܫܒܛܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܀ ܘܪ̈ܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ
[18]ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܢܝܫ ܡܘܕܥܐ ܘܐܢܫ ܒܟܦ ܠܡܠܘ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ
ܒܡܬܠܬܐ ܕܦܘܕܫܐ. ܗܦܟ ܫܘܬܦܐ [19]ܘܪ̈ܡܐ ܒܡܬܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ.

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[1] C ܐܬܟܠܠܘ. [2] C ܘܦܪܣܘܗ. [3] A ܕܠܒܘ. [4] B ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ.
[5] C omits ܟܠ. [6] B ܒܡܬܢܝܘ. [7] A ܘܠܐ. [8] B ܐܬܪܝܢ, C ܐܬܪܥܘ; and B C omit ܡܢ. [9] A omits ܕܗܘܘ. [10] C ܢܩܡ. [11] B C omit ܕܝܢ. [12] C ܕܢܩܡ.
[13] A ܕܠܚܫܡ. [14] C omits ܗܘܐ. [15] C ܐܫܠܡܘ. [16] B ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘ; A C ܐܬܦܠܓܘ.
[17] A ܘܐܟܠ. [18] B omits ܕܥܡܡܐ. [19] A C ܐܘܪܡ.

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ܡܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܕܡܢ ܥܡܕܐ. ܐܫܠܡܗ ¹ܝܗܘܕܐ ܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܣܟܪܝܘܛܐ ܠܡܪܗ ܠܡܘܬܐ. ܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܪܘܬܗ ܣܦܪܘܦܠ ²ܐܬܡܪ، ܣܦܪܘܦܠܐ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ ܕܒܫܬܗ ܒܣܘܬ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ. ܡܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ، ܠܡܪܢ ܒܓܢܒܐ ܫܬܘܬܐ ܀ ܐܙܕܩܦ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܢ ܒܬܠܬ ܫܥܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܬܫܥܐ ܒܢܝܣܢ ܀ ܩܒܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܒܪܗ ܠܡܪܢ ܗܘܝܘ ܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܫܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܫܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܣܛܪܛܝܠܛܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܚܝܗ ܠܡܪܢ ܒܩܘܦܣܐ ܘܪܩ ³ܥܠ ܐܦܘܗܝ، ܘܡܚܝܗ، ܥܠ ܦܘܡܗ. ܠܘܓܝܢܘܣ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ⁴ܘܗܘܝܘ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܪܡܐ ⁵ܗܘܐ ܒܥܪܣܐ ܕܟܘܪܗܢܗ. ܘܐܚܠܡܗ ܡܪܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܩܘܡ ܫܩܘܠ ܥܪܣܟ. ܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܬܚܛܐ. ܕܠܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ⁶ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܫ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܀ ⁷ܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܩܒܘܪܬܐ. ܣܡܡܢܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ. ܐܦܣܦܪ. ⁸ܓܢܪ. ܓܢܒܬܐ. ܒܪܒܐ. ܫܡܥܘܢ. ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܣܡܟܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܬܠܬܐ ܡܝܬܪܘܢ ܘܟܠܝܣܛܘܦܘܢ ܗܘܦܢܝܐ ܘܡܘܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܟܐܦܐ ⁹ܕܝܢ ܗܝ، ܕܣܝܡܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܠ ܩܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ¹⁰ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗܝ، ܟܐܦܐ ܕܓܙܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ ¹¹ܠܒܬܪ ܡܫܘܠ ܡܬܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܀ ܡܕܝܢܐ ¹²ܕܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ ܦܝܠܛܘܣ. ܠܡܦܒܪܢܘܢ ܡܬܢܣܒ ܗܘܬ. ܘܒܢܚܒܐ ܐܠܝܡܐ ܐܬܛܠܝܪ ܒܪܘܡܢܘ ܠܡܩܒܘܪܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀ ܐܪܓܘܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܒܫܘܗܝ ܠܡܪܢ ¹³ܡܚܪܝܢܘܬܐ. ܡܢ

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[1] C ܝܗܘܕܐ. [2] A ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܡܢܐ. [3] B ܥܠ ܦܐܬܗ, and omits the words ܘܡܚܝܗܝ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܗ. [4] A ܗܘ ܘܗܘܝܘ. [5] A omits ܗܘܐ. [6] C omits ܡܕܡ. [7] A C omit ܘ. [8] B ܓܢܪ; C ܓܪ. [9] B C omit ܕܝܢ; A omits ܗܝ. [10] A B add ܢܫܐ; C adds ܗܘܘ. [11] A ܠܒܝܬܡܫܘܠ. [12] A omits ܕܝܢ. [13] A C ܡܚܪܝܘܬܐ.

¹ܩܠܝܡܝܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܒܪܡܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܒܝܐ. ܡܢ ²ܕܢܣܒܗ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ
ܦܪܘܩܢ ³ܕܡܪܢ ܘܕܝܠܗ. ܐܘܪܚ ⁴ܡܪܢ ܡܫܝܐ ܒܠܡܢܐ. ܘܡܢ، ⁵ܠܡܫܝܓܘ
ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ، ܘܗܝ، ܗܘܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܠܥܠܝܡܐ.
ܘܠܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܫܬܡܠܝܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܚܢ ܗܘܐ. ܒܪܗ
ܕܝܢ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܨܪܦܬܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܡܢܗ. ⁶ܘܡܛܠ ܕܫܪܪܐ
ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܝ، ⁷ܠܚܡܝܐ ܕܫܒܝܬܐ. ⁸ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ
ܠܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ. ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܓ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܠܝܬ ܠܟ ܥܡܝ
ܡܢܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܠܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܬ
ܕܬܫܡܫ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܢܐ. ܟܠ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܡܫܘ ܡܢ
ܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ⁹ܢܫܡܫܘܢ ܗܘ ܦܪܘܩܗ ¹⁰ܘܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ.
ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܫܘܠ. ܘܡܢ، ܕܐܬܡܫܚ ܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܥܝܐ
ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܕܗܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܡܪܢ ܒܟܝܦܐ ¹¹ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ،
ܢܝܚܡ ܒܦܘܪܩܢܗ، ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܟܦܪ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ، ܒܫܪܪܐ ܕܣܘܝܡ
ܩܕܡ ¹²ܒܣܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܚܕܕܐ ܥܒܕܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܓ ܡܪܢ
ܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܫܡܥ. ܘܡܢ، ¹³ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܦܨܚ ܒܥܘܒܠܗ، . ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢ
ܦ̈ܬܝܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܢܫܬܘܢ ܚܡܪܐ. ܘܢܬܪܦܘܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܒܫܘܐ
ܪ̈ܡܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܗ ܐܬܢܝܚܬ ܦܬܝܟܘܬܐ ܘܟܗ ¹⁴ܐܬܦܪܢܣ
ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܟܗ ܐܫܬܠܡ ¹⁵ܥܒܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܟܗ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ
ܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܢܛܫܘ. ¹⁶ܘܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܢܨܚܬ. ܐܠܐ ܥܕܬܐ
ܕܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܒܠ ܦܬܝܟܘܬܐ ܒܚܕܐ. ܘܐܬܚܫܒ ܚܝ
ܘܡ̈ܠܝ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ⁘

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[1] B ܩܠܝܡܝܣ. [2] A ܕܢܣܒ. [3] A C omit ܕܡܪܢ. [4] B omits ܡܪܢ.
[5] A C ܘܐܫܝܓ, and omit ܘܡܢ. [6] A omits ܘ. [7] C ܕܚܡܝܐ ; A ܚܡܬܐ.
[8] A omits ܐܝܟ, a blank space being left. [9] B ܫܡܫ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ. [10] B C ܘܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܢ.
[11] B C ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ. [12] C ܚܣܝܢ. [13] B ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܦܨܚ. [14] C ܐܬܦܪܢܣ.
[15] A ܥܬܝܩܐ ܐܫܬܡܠܝܗ. [16] A B ܕܐܦ.

ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܗܐ ܦܓܥ ܒܟܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܫܩܝܠ ܓܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ.
ܙܠܘ ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܠܐܝܟܐ ܕܥܐܠ [1]ܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܪܗ [2]ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܪܒܢ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟܘ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܪܝܐ [3]ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܟܘܠ ܦܨܚܐ ܥܡ ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܝ.
ܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܠܝܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܫܘܝܐ ܘܡܛܝܒܐ. ܬܡܢ
ܛܝܒܘ ܠܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܓܝܐܐܝܬ ܟܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܐ̄ܢܫܘܬܐ
ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܫܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ.
ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܬܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܘܪ̈ܫܠܡܝܐ ܐ̄ܢܫܘܬܐ ܢܬܚܠܦܢ ܡܢ
[4]ܐܡܠܦܘ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܢܐܒ [5]ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܢܒܝܐ ܦܪܘܩ ܒܫܠܐ
ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܒܡܪܗ [6]ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܛܝܒ ܥܠܝܬܐ [7]ܪܒܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ
ܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܡܢ ܡܛܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܡܝܢܘܬ
ܕܐܝܬ ܪܒܐ ܡܢ [8]ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ ܘܡܗܝܡ̈ܢܐ ܕܣܘ̈ܕܥܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܢܐܬܐ
ܠܒܬܗ. ܘܐܙܠ [9]ܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܛܝܒ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ
ܨܒܘ̈ܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܘܢ [10]ܕܡܢ ܕܒ̈ܬܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ
ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [11]ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܒ̈ܬܐ. ܐܦ
[12]ܨܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ، [13]ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܣܝܒܘܬܐ
[14]ܕܥܐܕܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ ܣܘܦܢ ܣܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܒܙܒܢ ܐܦ ܓܒܪܐ
ܡܪܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ [15]ܗܝ، ܥܡ ܨܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܡܛܝܒ. [16]ܘܕܢܦܠ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ
ܠܐ ܡܦܪܥܐ ܗܘܐ. [17]ܟܕ ܡܢ ܣܠܩ ܕܡܢ ܡܬܬܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܨܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܪ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܒܛܝܒܐ ܗܘܬ [18]ܠܡܫܬܟܚܘ ܒܗ. ܠܐ ܦܐܫܐ
ܗܘܬ ܕܟܕ ܦܢܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܚܐ ܢܦܩܘܢܗܝ، ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ،

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[1] B ܐܡܪ. [2] C ܠܡܪܐ ܒܝܬܐ. [3] C omits ܐܝܟܐ. [4] There is a blank space in A where the words ܐܡܠܦܘ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܢܐܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ should be. [5] C omits ܗܘܐ. [6] A omits ܕܒܝܬܐ, a blank space being left. [7] B omits ܪܒܬܐ. [8] A C ܡܩ̈ܪܒܐ; C ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ. [9] A C omit ܗܘܐ. [10] A ܡܢ. [11] B ܕܡܢ; A ܘܡܢ. [12] A ܘܐܦ ܡܢ. [13] A ܒܗܘܢ. [14] B omits ܕܥܐܕܐ. [15] B ܗܘ (sic). [16] A ܘܕܢܦܠܗ (sic). [17] C ܒܕ (sic). [18] A C ܒܡܫܬܟܚܘ; C ܐܝܟ ܒܡܫܬܟܚܘ.

ܐܝܟ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܒܝܬ [1]ܠܒܪ̈ܟܐ. ܐܝܟ [2]ܠܓܢܬܐ ܘܦܩܕ [3]ܠܦܩܚܬܐ. ܘܦܩ̄ܕ ܠܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܠܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ. ܘܦܩ̄ܕ ܠܕ̈ܘܟܝܐ ܡܥܡܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܠܐܝܩ̈ܪܐ ܦܫܡܠܠܐ ܕܠܥܢܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܫܡ̈ܫܝܢ ܠܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. [4]ܘܬܫܪ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܦܩܝܣܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܫܡ̈ܫܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܢܘ̈ܢܝܢ [5]ܦܩܕ ܠܐܪ̈ܟܢܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. [4]ܘܬܫܪ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܦܣܩ̈ܘܦܝܢ. ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܢܫܐ ܘܓܠܝܬܐ. [6]ܐܦܩܪܘ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܓܠܬܢܐ. ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܢ̈ܫܐ ܘܓܠܝܬܐ ܦܩܕ [7]ܡܢܝ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܫܡ̈ܫܝܢ. ܘܦܠܓ ܥܠ ܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ [8]ܘܥܠ ܡܢܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܡܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܘܐܓܪܗ ܠܣܡܟܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܠܝܚ. ܘܐܣ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܗ. ܐܘܝܘ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܡܬܘܬܐ. ܠܬܪܘܗ ܕܝܘܐܪ. ܘܠܒܪ ܐܪܒܠܘܬܐ. ܘܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ. ܘܠܠܒܪ ܢܣܒܗ ܒܬܪ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܐܫܬܥܒܕ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܒܬܘܡܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܥܬܒܪ ܕܕܠܝܘܒܠܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ، ܠܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܢܐ [9]ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܒܝܘܬܗ. ܘܢܦܠܛ ܠܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܒܗܝܢܐ. ܘܢܫܬܠܡ [10]ܢܚܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ، ܠܦܘܩܕܢ ܟܪ̈ܝܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܢܦܫܢܐ. ܘܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܘܬܐܬܐ ܠܢܦܫܐ [11]ܚܘܬܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܕܠܗ ܀

ܩܢ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܕܡܪܝ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ. [12]ܥܒܪ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܘܗܝ، ܠܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܡܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ. [13]ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܢܐܠܦ ܐܬܘܦ

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[1] B ܒܪ̈ܟܬܐ. [2] B ܕܓܢܬܐ. [3] B ܦܩܕܬܐ. [4] MSS. ܘܬܫܪ. [5] A omits ܦܩܕ. [6] A C ܐܦܩܪܘ. [7] A writes ܡܢܝ twice. [8] B C omit ܘܥܠ ܡܢܝܐ. [9] B ܘܢܦܩܘܢ; C omits ܘܢܦܩܘܢ. [10] B ܒܢܚܢܘܬܐ. [11] C ܒܦܓܪܐ. [12] C ܥܒܪ ܡܢܝ ܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܙܠܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢܐ ܕܢܐܠܦܘܢ. [13] C ܘܐܡܪ.

ܓܒܢܐ. ¹ܘܗܝ ܗܘܬ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ²ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܡܢܗ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܣܦܝܢ ܘܐܠܝܨ ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܡܝܐ ܠܚܡܪܗ ܠܪܒܥܐ. ܡܘܒܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܗ̇ ܠܡܘܦܩܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܢܗ̇ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܒܠܘܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܐܡܪܐ. ܕܦܩܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܕܕܡܝܐ ܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܓܙܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ³ܡܥܕܪܝ. ܘܠܒܬܪܗ ⁴ܣܟܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܙܘܬܐ. ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܐܡܪܐ. ܕܟܪ̈ܝܐ ⁵ܡܥܕ̈ܪܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ⁶ܕܟܠܕܝܐ. ܘܓܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܪܒܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܦܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܐ. ܘܡܬܚܬܝܢ ܩܘ̈ܒܥܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܩܪ̈ܢܬܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܝܕܢܐ ✢

ܡܕ ✢ ܥܠ ܨܘܡܗ ܕܕܢܝ. ⁷ܘܥܠ ܕܙܘܗ ܕܕܒܪ ܥܡ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ.
ܘܥܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܣܦܪ.

ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܠܚܒܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܬܪܚܡܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ. ܘܣܘܡܟܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܥܣܠܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܢܝܡܘܪܐ ܒܩ̈ܛܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܥܡܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܬܪܚܡܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܬܝܩܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܣܝܐ. ⁸ܘܠܒܬܪ ܒܬܪ ܬܪܚܡܘܣ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܬܠܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ⁹ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܬܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܥܡܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܢܩܡ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܐܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܠܬܠܬ̈. ¹⁰ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܢܩܡܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ¹¹ܐܣܝܢܡ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܢ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ. ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܕܬܠܬܘܣܦ ܕܬܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܢܘܡܝܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܦܘܬܗ ܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ. ܘܢܦܩ ܠܗ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܢܘܚܡܗܘܢ. ܥܠܝ ܒܬܦܠܟܬܐ ܕܒܩܪܒܐ. ܘܗܦܟ ܠܐܬܡܢܝܬܐ

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[1] C ܘܗܘ ܗ̄ܘܐ. [2] C ܕܒܢ̈ܝ. [3] B ܡܥܕܪܝ. [4] A omits ܣܟܠܐ. [5] A C ܡܥܕܪܐ ܗܘܐ. [6] B C ܕܐܡܬ ܒܒܕܚܬܐ. [7] A ܕܪܢ; B C ܘܥܠ ܕܙܘܗ ܕܥܡ ܗܝܠܐ, and omit ܘܥܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܣܦܪ. [8] B ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪܚܡܘܣ ܥܡ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܬܠܝܢ. [9] B ܡܫܝܚ ܥܒܕܝܢ; C ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܬܠܝܢ. [10] C ܘܐܝܬ; B ܕܐܡܪܘ. [11] A ܐܣܝܒܝܢ.

ܬܒܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ¹ܡܢܝ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܝ. ܕܬܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ
ܠܡܘܠܟܝ. ܘܬܬܦܠܓ ܥܡܝ. ܓܠܡ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܝ ܐܘ ܢܚܝܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܣܦܩܘܠܛܪܐ. ܘܦܣܩ
ܪܫܗ ²ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܘܣܡܗ ܒܦܝܢܟܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ، ³ܘܝܗ̄ܒܗ ܠܗ̇ ܠܛܠܝܬܐ.
ܘܗ̇ܝ ܛܠܝܬܐ ܝܗ̇ܒܬܗ ܠܐܡܗ̇. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܕܬܪܩܘܕ ܥܠ ܓܠܝܕܐ.
⁴ܘܐܬܦܬܚܬ ܬܚܘܬܗ̇. ܘܐܬܒܠܥܬ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܨܘܪܗ̇. ܘܠܐ
⁵ܐܚܩܦܗ̇ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܨܘܪܗ̇. ܘܐܬܬܩܦ ܓܠܝܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܣܩ ܪܫܗ̇
ܕܦܣܢ. ܘܦܣܩܘܗ̇، ܠܪܫܗ̇. ܘܐܘܒܠܘܗ̇، ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܐܡܗ̇. ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܬ ⁶ܐܡܗ̇ ܠܪܫܗ̇ ܕܒܪܬܗ̇ ܘܠܪܫܗ ⁷ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܐܫܬܡܝܬ. ܘܡܝܬܬ
ܐܝܟ ܗܝ ܕܡܚܒܐ. ܕܥܡܠ̈ܝ ⁸ܒܗ̇ ⁹ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠ ܕܓܕܦܬ
ܥܠܘܗܝ. ¹⁰ܘܐܬܬܟܠܠ ܒܗ̇ ¹¹ܗܠܝܢ ܘܐܬܬܐܣܪܬ ܒܥܩܠܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ
ܕܦܘܪܫܐ ܡܬܬܡܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܬܘܗ̇ ܕܡܪܕܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ¹²ܐܡܪܘ
ܕܐܦ ܗܝ، ܗܪܘܕܝܐ ¹³ܒܥܡܩܐ ܕܐܡܗ̇ ܡܚܬܡܬܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܫܬܠܡ ܢܦܫܗ. ܐܚܕܘ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ، ܫܠܕܗ ܥܠܝܗ ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ، ܒܣܒܣܛܝ
ܡܚܘܙܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝܘܗ ¹⁴ܘܣܡܘܗ ܠܥܣܦܕ. ¹⁵ܬܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܐ ܕܥܕܪ
ܢܦܩܘ ܠܘܬ ¹⁶ܡܫܝܚ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ¹⁷ܕܐܢܬܘ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ. ܐܘ
¹⁸ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܡܣܟܝܢ ܚܢܢ. ܐܬܬܢܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܝܗܠܦܢܘܗ̇ ܫܘܒܪܐ
ܘܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ¹⁹ܕܐܬܚܡܕܗ ܠܗܘܠܦܢܗ ✣ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܒܢܝܐ ܘܡܨܝܪܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ²⁰ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ

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[1] A omits ܡܢܝ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ. [2] B ܕܡܥܡܕܢ. [3] A ܘܝܗ̄ܒ. [4] A B ܘܐܬܬܦܬܚܬ. [5] A ܚܩܦܗ; A B omit ܐܝܟ. [6] B omits ܐܡܗ; C ܚܙܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܗ. [7] B ܕܡܥܡܕܢ. [8] A C omit ܒܗ̇. [9] B ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. [10] A ܘܐܬܬ̄ܟܠܠ. [11] In A written upside down, ܗܠܝܢ. [12] B ܐܡܪܝܢ. [13] B ܡܚܬܡܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܥܡܩܐ ܕܐܡܗ; C omits ܕܐܡܗ. [14] B ܣܡܘܗ. [15] A omits from ܬܪܝܢ to ܡܫܝܚ. [16] C ܡܫܝܚܐ. [17] A B ܐܢܬܘ. [18] C ܠܐܚܪܢܐ and omits ܗܘ. [19] C ܕܐܬܚܡܝ. [20] A ܕܐܡܪ.

ܥܠܘܗܝ ܒܕܡܘܬ [1]ܓܘܫܡ ܝܘܢܐ. ܘܩܠܐ ܕܐܫܬܡܥ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. [2]ܕܗܢܘ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܨܛܒܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘ. ܠܥܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܡܥܘ. ܠܚܪܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܘܚܐ. ܢܦܩ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܫܬܘܝ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܦܘܪܢܐܝܬ. [3]ܘܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܐܪܟܕܝܩܘܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܟܡܪܗ. ܗܘܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܢܦܩ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܥܕܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ. ܕܠܐ ܠܡ ܙܕܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ. ܠܓܒܗ ܠܢܦܫ ܘܐܪܡܝܗ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܟܪܘܢܝܬܐ. ܦܘܣܝܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܡܕܝܐ. ܟܕ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ. ܚܫܡܝܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܪܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ. ܥܠܝܗ [4]ܒܦܘܪܢܐ ܒܪܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܪܩܕܬ ܩܕܡ ܣܡܝܟܐ. ܘܫܦܪܬ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ ܘܒܥܝܢܝ ܬܪܘܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. [5]ܫܐܠܝ ܡܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܨܒܝܐ ܐܢܬܝ. [6]ܘܐܬܠ ܠܟܝ. ܘܝܡܐ ܠܗ̇ ܕܟܠ ܕܬܫܐܠ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ̇ ܥܕܡܐ [7]ܠܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ ܥܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܐܡܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ̇. ܡܢܐ ܐܫܐܠܝܘܗܝ. [8]ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ̇ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܦܩܕ [9]ܠܗ̇ ܒܪ ܪܘܫܬܐ ܕܒܗ̇ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܢܦܩ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܗܘ. ܘܒܪܬܗ̇ ܡܢ ܪܫܦܐ. [10]ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘ [11]ܪܓܬܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܡܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܡ ܐܡܗܐ ܘܥܡ ܒܪܬܗ̇. ܘܥܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܗܒ ܠܝ ܗܫܐ ܥܠ ܦܝܢܟܐ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܘܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ [12]ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܗ ܒܡܠܠܗ ܕܡܘܡܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܚܪܝܢܐ ܘܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ ܐܫܬܝܡ ܕܢܦܣܘܩ ܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܐܪܐ ܐܦ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܐܠܐ

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[1] C ܓܘܫܡܐ. [2] C ܗܢܘ. [3] B C ܘܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܟܗܢܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܐܪܟܕܝܩܘܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܘܠܕܗ ܗܘܐ (B omits ܗܘܐ) ܫܡܫ ܟܡܪܐ. [4] C omits ܒܦܘܪܢܐ. [5] A ܫܐܠ. [6] B C ܐܬܠ. [7] A B ܠܦܠܓܗ̇ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ. [8] A ܘܐܡܪܐ. [9] B C omit ܒܪ, and A omits ܕܪܘܫܐ. [10] A C ܘܗܘܐ. [11] A ܪܓܬܗܘܢ. [12] C ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܗܘ.

ܘܡܢ [1]ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܒܘܗܘܢ، ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܒܪ ܝܘ ܛܠܝܐ.
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ. [2]ܒܗܘܢ ܒܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܬ ܗ̄ܘܬ.
ܒܛܠܝܐ ܘܒܛܠܝܘܬܗ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܗ.
ܘܒܬܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܥܘܕ ܡܐܡܪ. [3]ܕܬܘܒܗ ܡܪܚܝ ܠܗ
ܡܠܦܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܟܕ ܡܫܡܫ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܘܬܐ
ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܠܥܘܒܕܢܐ [4]ܕܫܠܫ̈ܠܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ [5]ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܗܐ
ܐܬܐ ܒܬܪܝ، [6]ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܬܢ ܡܢܝ. ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܫܪܐ
ܥܪ̈ܩܐ ܕܡܣܢܘܗܝ. ܐܢܐ ܡܥܡܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܝܒܘܬܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܬܪܝ، ܐܬܐ ܢܨܝܚ ܗ̄ܘ ܡܢܝ. ܗܘ ܢܥܡܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ
ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܘܒܢܘܪܐ. ܟܕ ܡܟܪܙ ܥܠ [7]ܗܝ، ܕܒܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܠܘܬ
ܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܐ [8]ܠܡܬܥܡܕܘ. ܕܟܠܥܬ̈ܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ [9]ܦܠܚܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܪܘܚܐ
ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܗܝ ܦܠܝܓ [10]ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܪܘܩܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܛܒܘܬܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܢܦܠܘܢ [11]ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܥܡܘ̈ܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܠܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܕܢܥܡܕ ܡܢܗ. ܘܗܘ
ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ [12]ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܐ ܣܢܝܩ [13]ܐܢܐ ܕܡܢܟ
ܐܬܥܡܕ. ܘܐܢܬ ܠܘܬܝ ܐܬܝܬ. [14]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܝܐܐ
ܠܡܫܠܡܘ ܟܠܗ̇ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܥܡܕ ܕܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ. [15]ܘܡܚܕܐ ܕܣܠܩ
ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܚܙܐ ܕܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܝܘܢܐ ܕܢܚܬܐ
ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܘܩܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ [16]ܕܐܡܪ. [17]ܕܗܢܘ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒܐ ܕܒܗ
ܐܨܛܒܝܬ. ܒܗ ܒܫܢܬܐ [18]ܝܘܡܐ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ ܠܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ.
ܒܐܒܐ ܕܡܝܐ [19]ܘܒܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ. ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܢܚܬܬ

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[1] B ܢܡܘܣܗ. [2] A omits ܒܗܘܢ. [3] A ܕܠܘܬܗ and omits ܒܢܗ; C ܘܠܘܬܗ. [4] C ܕܫܠܫ̈ܠܬܐ.
[5] A C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [6] C omits ܓܒܪܐ. [7] B C ܟܠ ܗܘܐ. ܗܝ. [8] B ܠܡܥܡܕܘ;
A C ܠܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ. [9] C ܕܦܠܚܘ. [10] C ܐܝܢ. [11] B ܒܡܥܡܘ̈ܕܝܬܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. [12] A omits
ܠܗ. [13] A omits ܐܢܐ. [14] C ܐܡܪ. [15] A C ܡܚܕܐ. [16] C ܐܡܪ. [17] B ܗܢܘ.
[18] A omits this word. [19] C ܘܒܪܐ.

ܥܡ ܐܒ̈ܝܠܐ ¹ܘܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܐ. ܘܠܦܠܘ ܐܦܢ ܘܠܐ ܚܦܢ ܒܬܪ
ܡܢܗ̇. ܘܡܢ ܬܫܡܫܬ ܐܘܠܨܢܗ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܣܟܝܢܐ.
ܘܐܟܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ²ܚܙܘܪܐ. ܐܪܝܡܗ ܠܣܟܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܓܘܪܗ ܘܦܫܡܗ
ܒܐܝܕܗ. ³ܘܐܬܬܦܪܬܬ ܒܣܪܗ ܘܡܝܬ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܐܒܕܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܡܘܬܗ ⁴ܕܗܪܘܕܣ ܕܩܛܠ ܠܛܠܝ̈ܐ. ܐܡܠܟ ⁵ܒܬܪܗ ܗܪܘܕܣ
ܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ ܒܪܗ. ܗ̇ܘ ܕܦܣܩܗ ܠܪܫܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܠܐܟܗ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܩܘܡ ܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ
ܘܠܐܡܗ ܘܙܠ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܡܝܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ. ܘܕܒܪ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܘܐܬܐ
ܠܓܠܝܠܐ ⁶ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܢܨܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ⁷ܕܬܬܡܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ
ܒܢܒܝܘܬܐ. ܕܢܨܪܝܐ ܢܬܩܪܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܬܪ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ
ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܠܐܪܒܥ ܡܢܘ̈ܢ. ⁸ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܡܢܘ̈ܢ. ܐܒܝܠܝܢܐ ܦܠܛܘܪܟܐ. ⁹ܘܠܠܘܣܢܝܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܬܐ. ¹⁰ܕܐܢܛܘܢ
ܦܢܛܝܠܝܐ. ܘܠܗܪܘܕܣ ܓܠܝܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܝܢܬܐ. ܘܢܣܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ
¹¹ܠܗܪܘܕܝܐ ܐܢܬܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܀

ܡܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܦܩ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܥܡܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܟܕ ܐܬܪܒܝ ܢܦܩ ¹²ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ¹³ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܥܡ ܫܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܬܐ ¹⁴ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܢܗܪܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܘܬܐ.

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[1] A ܘܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ. [2] C ܚܙܘ̈ܪܐ. [3] A B C ܘܐܬܦܪ̈ܬ; on the margin of A, fol. 66 *b*, is the following note: [illegible] ◆ [4] C ܕܗܪܘܕܘܣ. [5] B ܒܬܪ; C omits this word. [6] A C ܘܥܡܪ. [7] B C ܕܬܬܡܠܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ. [8] C omits ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܢܘ̈ܢ; B ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܢܘ̈ܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. [9] A ܘܠܠܘܣܢܝܣ. [10] B C ܘܐܢܛܘܢ. [11] B C omit ܠܗܪܘܕܝܐ. [12] C omits ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. [13] B ܥܡ ܫܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [14] A omits ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ.

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ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ¹ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ²ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ³ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܟܪܝܬ
ܠܗ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܪܟܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟ ܚܒܝܒ. ܐܝܟܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܒܛܠܝܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܡܝܢ. ܫܦܝܪ ܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܓܒܝܢ. ܘܗܕܐ ܗ̄ܝ
ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܠܒܪ ܘܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܢ ܟܕ ܡܓܘܫ
ܡܫܠܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ⁴ܒܪܘܪܐ ܕܡܪܢ. ܐܫܟܚܬ ⁵ܠܟܢܫܐ ܫܒܝܚܬܐ ⁶ܠܒܪ
ܒܪܘܚܬܐ ܣܓܝ. ܘܒܗ ܝܘܡ ܐܬܠܝܐ ܕܐܦܘܪܩܘܬܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ
⁷ܦܢܩܝ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܥܒܝܕ ܒܕܘܟܝ
⁸ܐܣܝܪܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܗ̇ ܕܝܘܒܬܐ ܒܡܟܪܘܬ. ܐܡܬ ܠܡܥܩܒܗ
ܕܒܠܬܘܬܐ. ⁹ܘܟܕ ܝܠܕܬܗ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܦܘܠܚܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ¹⁰ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܪ
ܐܝܟ ܥܡܘܕܐ. ܗܟܢ ܪܡܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܠܒܠ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܫܗ ܠܠܘܬܗ.
ܗܟܢ ¹¹ܢܛܠܩܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܚܘܒܬܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܚܟܡܐ ܐܣܝܪܐ. ܘܩܡܘ,
ܡܢ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܥܢܝ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܬ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ.
ܡܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐܢܐ. ܠܦܘܪܫ ¹²ܕܝܢ ܦܠܓ ܠܐܝܬܘܬܗ ܘܠܒܪܝܬܗ. ¹³ܘܟܠ
ܒܬܐ ܦܠܓ ܡܢܗ ܣܕ ܒܪܝܢܐ. ܐܚܪ ܕܒܗ̇ ܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܬܐ ܐܢܐ.
ܗܦܐ ܒܗ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܟܠܐ ܘܟܠܢܐ ܘܡܢܘܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܒܢܝܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ, ܘܬܪܥܐܘ, ܒܥܒܕܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ. ܘܐܕܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ܐܡܬ ܗ̄ܘ, ܠܗ ܠܗ ܬܥܒ ܢܬܢ
ܘܬܬܠܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ. ܘܦܫܪܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܣܗܘ ܘܠܒܠܗ ܐܡܪ. ܕܢܕܒ
ܐܢܐ ܕܒܐܕܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܗܦܐ ܠܫܘܪܝܐ ܒܢܘܢ ܡܘܬ.. ܘܟܕ ܢܬܦܢܝܘܢ

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[1] B C ܐܢܬܘ, and omit ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ. [2] A C omit ܗܘܘ. [3] C omits ܐܬܪܐ. [4] A C ܒܪܘܪܘܬܗܘܢ. [5] B ܠܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ. [6] B C omit ܠܒܪ. [7] B ܕܦܢܩܝ̈ܬܐ. [8] A C ܐܣܝܡ. [9] C ܘܡܢ. [10] B ܠܗܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ. [11] C ܡܢܛܗܝܢ. [12] B C omit ܕܝܢ. [13] A omits the next three clauses.

ܘܒܪܟܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ. ܘܫܩܠ ܗܘ̣، ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܠܝ. [1]ܡܫܡܫ ܕܝܢ
ܡܢ ܥܡܠܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܟܠܠܝܐ ܘܒܪܟ ܠܡܪܝܡ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܬܡܢ
ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܕܗܘܪܕܗ. ܘܟܕ ܦܢܝ ܬܪܝܢ [2]ܗܘܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܡܪܝܡ. [3]ܦܓܥܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ. ܣܒ ܕܫܡܥܗ ܛܠܝܗ.
ܘܐܡܘܪܝܐ ܕܒܫܚܘܦܗ. ܕܒܫܚܘܦܗ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܐ ܩܕܡܝܬ [4]ܠܣܘܦܗ ܐܝܟ
ܘܠܣܥܪܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܛܠܠܘܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ. ܘܫܦܝ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ
[5]ܐܡܪܗ، ܣܒܪܗ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܗ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܡܥܗ
ܦܪܨܘܦܗܘܢ. ܐܬܐ ܩܪܝܒܐ ܥܠ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܬܘܪܝܐ. [6]ܐܘܪܫܠܡ
ܡܘܩܕܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ. [7]ܕܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܡܢ ܣܢܗܕܪܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܘܬܐ. [8]ܕܡܬܒܠܒܠܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܬܢܒܐ. ܘܟܕ [9]ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܝ ܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܘܢܣܒ ܠܡܪܝܡ.
ܗܦܘ ܗܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [10]ܐܬܪܚܩܘ ܡܢܗ [11]ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܩܒܠܐ ܒܡܠܟܐ
[12]ܪܒܐ. ܕܟܠ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ.
ܐܬܦܠܓ ܒܐܬܬܪܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܝܠ [13]ܕܕܠܡܟܐ ܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܠܝܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ.
ܘܩܡܪ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܩܘܪܝܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܐܬܐܪ ܚܕ
ܢܦܩܘ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܗܦܟܘ. ܘܡܕ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܦܢܝܘ ܡܢܐ
ܐܬܒܙܚ. ܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܩܛܠܘܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܒܪ.
ܘܢܛܠܘܢ ܣܒ ܣܒ. ܘܟܕ ܓܠ ܡܢܝ. [10]ܐܪܚܩܘ ܡܢܗ [14]ܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܗܦܟܘ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܢܝ. ܦܩܕ ܚܙܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܢܩܛܠܘܢܘܗܝ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܓܒܪܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܣܝܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢ
[15]ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ ܠܒܪ. ܒܒܪܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ [16]ܗܘܐ
ܠܘܬ ܡܪܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܐܬܦܩܕ [17]ܠܘܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܘܢܛܠ [18]ܐܝܟ

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[1] A ܘܡܫܡܫ. [2] C omits ܗܘܐ. [3] A ܦܓܥ. [4] B ܒܣܘܦܗ ܘܒܣܥܪܗ ܐܝܟ; C ܒܣܥܪܗ ܘܒܣܘܦܗ ܒܗܘܢ. [5] C ܐܡܪܗ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܗܘ. [6] B ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [7] B ܕܐܬܬܙܝܥ. [8] B ܕܡܬܒܠܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [9] A ܒܥܐ. [10] B ܐܪܚܩܘ. [11] B ܐܘܪܫܠܡ; C omits this word. [12] C ܪܒܐ. [13] B C ܕܡܠܟܐ. [14] B ܡܢܗ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [15] C ܦܠܚ̈ܐ. [16] A ܗܘܐ. [17] B C ܕܝܢ. [18] B C omit ܐܝܟ.

ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܩܒܪܗ. ܕܐܡܪ ¹ܕܐܝܟ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ، ܘܟܕ ܢܓܕܘ ܠܗ
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ. ܕܒܚܕܒܫܒܬܐ
ܒܓܕܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܠܝ ܘܠܟܐ ܦܫܝܛܬ ܡܚܝ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܦ ܠܗܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ.
ܘܟܕ ܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܢܘܕܟܝܢܘܗܝ، ܥܢܘܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܓܝܫ ܗܘܦܪܗ
ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܒܠܐ ܕܐܬܓܪܝ ܡܢ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܘܡܕܪ ܦܛܠ
ܛܠܝܐ ܒܠܫܦ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܚܡ ܘܕܒܠܫܦ ܬܫܘܡܫܬܐ. ܡܢ ܟܪ ܬܪܬܝܢ
ܥܣܪ ܘܬܠܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܕܓܝܫ ܡܢ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܛܠܝܐ ²ܕܩܛܠ ܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪܘ ³ܕܐܠܗ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ
ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܒܥܝ ܡܦܝܣ ܟܪ ܕܟܪܝܐ. ܥܒܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ، ܘܢܦܩܘ
ܕܢܡ ܡܕܡܫܝܐ. ܘܗܡ ܐܣܘܗ ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܚܘܒܬܐ.
⁴ܘܐܗܡܗ ܠܒܗ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘܗܝ، ܠܦܫܝ. ܘܛܠܒܘܗܝ،
ܠܒܪܢܐ ܐܟܘܬܗ، ܒܟܠ ܐܦܛܪܘܦܐ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܐܦܪܩܝܢ ܕܡܢ
⁵ܘܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܬܛܠ ܠܒܪܐ. ܪܬܚ ܬܘܒܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܒܕܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܒܬܐ
ܛܛܘܣ ⁶ܒܪ ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. ⁷ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܬܬܠܬܡܢܐ
ܬܒܘܢ. ܘܡܢܡ ܢܫ ܪܬܚܐ ܕܡܒܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܒܬܒܐܠ ܛܠܝܐ ܥܒܠܗ
ܐܟܘܬܗ، ܘܓܪܒܗ ܘܡܫܒܗ ܬܘܣܬ ⁸ܐܠܝܐ ܕܬܘܬܐ. ܘܐܥܬܘܒ ܡܢ
ܡܛܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܦܪ ܡܢܝ ܠܬܘܣܝܠ. ܕܒܥܠܐ ܢܦܪܝܢ
ܒܠܡܦܘ ܟܕ ܬܘܣܬ ⁹ܬܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܣܬܘܢ ✣

ܡܘ ✣ ܥܠ ܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܠܡܘ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܬܦܪܣܘ. ¹⁰ܐܬܢܝܚ، ܡܟܐܢܐ
ܕܡܪܢܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܐܟܗ

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[1] A omits ܕܐܝܟ. [2] B ܘܩܛܠ. [3] A ܕܐܡܪܘ; A C ܐܠܗܐ. [4] A B ܘܐܗܡܗ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [5] A ܗܘ ܡܢܐ. [6] A B omit ܒܪ; C ܐܣܦܣܝܢܘܣ. [7] A B ܘܡܛܠ. [8] C omits ܕܐܠܗܐ. [9] B ܐܝܟ ܬܠܬ. [10] C ܘܐܬܠܝܬ.

ܗܟܢܐ [1]ܓܝܪ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܢܒܝܐ. ܘܒܥܐ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ [2]ܘܒܥܝܠ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ. ܕܢܒܨܘܢ ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ [3]ܢܟܝܠܐܝܬ. ܘܟܕ ܢܫܟܚܘܢܝܗܝ، ܢܘܕܥܘܢ [4]ܠܗ ܠܗܪܘܕܣ. ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܐܙܠ ܢܣܓܘܕ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܘܪܕܘ [5]ܬܘܒ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܕܢܚ [6]ܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܗܘ. ܘܚܕܝܘ، ܐܢܘܢ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ [7]ܘܩܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، [8]ܗܘܐ ܛܠܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܡܥܪܬܐ [9]ܘܚܙܐܘܗܝ، ܠܛܠܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܗ. ܡܚܕܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܦܬܚܘ ܣܝܡܬܗܘܢ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܗ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ. [10]ܕܗܒܐ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܡܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܩܒܘܪܬܗ. ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܠܗܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ، ܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ [11]ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. ܘܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ [12]ܐܙܠܘ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. [13]ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܓܝܪ ܐܢܫܝܢ [14]ܕܐܦ ܡܢ [15]ܒܐܘܪܚܗܘܢ، ܕܡܢܝܢ ܥܡܠܗ [16]ܒܟܡܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܘܪܟܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܠܦܓܥܗ ܣܝܡܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܓܘܣܛܘܣ ܩܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ [17]ܠܗ. ܕܐܬܘ ܡܓܘܫܐ [18]ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܦܪܣ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܟ. ܘܦܬܚܘ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ

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[1] C omits ܓܝܪ. [2] A ܘܡܚܝܗ; C ܘܢܓܕܗ; B omits ܐܢܘܢ. [3] B omits ܢܟܝܠܐܝܬ. [4] B C omit ܠܗ. [5] A C omit ܬܘܒ. [6] C omits ܡܢ ܥܠ; A omits ܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܥܠ; B omits ܬܘܒ. [7] A ܩܡ. [8] A omits ܗܘܐ. [9] B ܘܚܙܘ. [10] A C omit the next clause. [11] C ܕܢܗܦܟܘܢ. [12] B ܐܙܠܘ. [13] A ܐܬܦܢܝܘ; B omits ܓܝܪ; C ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܐܢܘܢ. [14] C omits ܕܐܦ. [15] ܘܢܗܒܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܣܪ ܡܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢܘ ܠܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܦܪܣ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܣܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ...... ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܥܘܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܚܙܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܒܚܙܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܬܘܒ ܒܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ. ܘܐܦܩܘܢ ܒܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ. ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܩܕܡܝܢ ܬܘܒ ܒܗ ܒܒܐܬܪܐ ܘܡܣܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܘܡܣܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܠܗܝ ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ. ܐܘ ܕܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܐܬܢܘ ܠܗ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܢܐ, History of the Virgin Mary, A, fol. 136 *b*. [16] C omits ܒܟܡܘܢ. [17] A B omit ܠܗ. [18] A C omit ܡ̈ܠܟܐ.

ܠܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܓܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ.

ܟܕ [1]ܕܝܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ [2]ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܓܘܫܐ. ܢܦܩܘ [3]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܦܪܣ ܘܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܡܣܓܕܘܬܗ. ܘܫܡ̈ܗܝ [4]ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. [5]ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ ܐܪܛܒܢ ܀ [6]ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ ܒܪ [7]ܣܢܛܪܘܩ ܀ [8]ܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܒܪ [9]ܓܘܢܕܦܪ ܀ ܐܪܫܟ ܒܪ ܡܝܗܪܘܩ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܕܗܒܐ ܀ ܙܪܘܢܕܕ ܒܪ [10]ܘܪܙܘܕ ܀ ܐܝܪܝܗܘ ܒܪ [11]ܟܣܪܘ ܀ ܐܪܛܚܫܝܫܬ ܒܪ ܚܘܠܝܛܝ ܀ [12]ܐܫܬܘܢܒܘܕܢ ܒܪ ܫܝܫܪܘܢ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܡܘܪܐ ܀ ܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܝܠܕܢ ܀ ܐܚܫܝܪܫ ܒܪ ܚܙܝܦ ܀ ܣܪܕܠܚ ܒܪ [13]ܒܠܕܢ ܀ [14]ܘܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ ܠܒܘܢܬܐ ܀ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܡܩܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܘ [15]ܐܢܘܢ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܡܪܢ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܡܪܕܝܬ ܒܪܐ. ܘܐܕܡ ܦܝܫ ܠܚܕ ܕܢܬܝܠܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܠܐܚܪܝܢ. ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܕܢܚ ܡܪܢ. ܐܬܘ [16]ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܢܝܘ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܬ ܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [17]ܘܫܡܥ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܬܙܝܥ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܩ̈ܛܠ ܛܠ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܡܫ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܒܠܐ. [18]ܘܩܛܠ ܟܠ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܒܬܚܝ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܒܕܘܗܝ، ܕܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ.

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[1] C omits ܕܝܢ. [2] A B omit ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. [3] The 'Cave of Treasures' (B, fol. 40 b, 2) mentions three kings only: ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܕ, Pers. هورمزداد; ܝܙܕܓܪܕ, Pers. يزدگرد or يزدجرد; and ܦܪܘܙ, Pers. فيروز. [4] These names are unpointed in A. [5] Pers. زرواندداد. [6] C ܗܘܪܡܙܕܕ, Pers. هورمزد or هورمزداد. [7] B ܣܢܛܪܘܓ; C ܣܢܛܪܘܩ. [8] C ܓܘܫܢܣܦ. [9] A C ܓܘܢܕܦܪ. [10] B ܘܪܙܘܕ; C ܘܪܙܘܕ. [11] C ܟܣܪܘ; Pers. خسرو. [12] B ܐܫܬܘܢܒܘܕܢ; C ܐܫܬܘܢܒܘܕܢ. [13] B ܒܠܕܢ; C ܒܠܕܢ. [14] A omits ܘ; C ܘܡܪܘܕܟ ܒܪ ܒܠܕܢ; B ܒܠܕܢ. [15] B omits ܐܢܘܢ. [16] C ܘܩܪܒܘ, and omits ܠܗ. [17] A ܘܫܡܥ. [18] B ܘܩܛܠ.

ܒܪܘܡܐ [1]ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ. ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܪܕܝܢ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܠܬܝܡܢܐ ܪܕܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܣ̈ܝܡܐ ܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܦܪܣ. ܘܠܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܠܚܘܕ [2]ܒܠܠܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ [3]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ
ܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܒܛܗܪܐ ܘܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܒܗ ܬܐܪܝܬ [4]ܚܡܝܡ
ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ [5]ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ. ܢܗܝܪܐ
[6]ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܡܝܬܪ ܒܢܘܗܪܗ. ܡܢ ܙܠܝܩܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ
ܕܫܡܫܐ ܡܬܚܒܝܐ ܒܪ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܦܠܓ ܢܘܗܪܗ. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ
ܗܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܗ. ܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܕܝܠܗܘܢ، ܕܫܡܫܐ ܕܦܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ، ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ، ܕܡܬܚܒܝܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ [7]ܟܠܗ. ܒܪܘܡܐ ܠܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܠܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ ܡܚܘܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܡܛܘ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܬܟܣܝ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ [8]ܠܘܬ ܗܪܘܕܣ. [9]ܘܫܪܝܘ
ܠܡܪܕܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ، ܘܦܢܝ، ܢܦܩܘ. ܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ [10]ܗ̄ܘܬ
ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܡܬܝ، ܕܡܬܕܠܚܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ
ܡܬܚܙܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܐܡܬܝ، ܕܡܩܘܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܩܐܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬ
ܥܡܘܕܐ [11]ܗܘ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܕܢܓܕܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܘܡܓܥܠ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܠܐ
ܠܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܫܝܢܠ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ
ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ. ܐܠܐ ܒܪܡ ܠܬܚܬ ܢܚܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܒܪܡ ܠܟܠ ܡܬܓܠܝܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܐܡܬܝ [12]ܬܘܒ ܐܡܬܝ، ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܫܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܩܡ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܡܘܕܥ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ ✣

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[1] A omits ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ; B C omit ܕܐܝܬ ܒܪܘܡܐ. [2] B ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܠܠܝܐ.
[3] B omits ܗܘܐ; A C omit ܠܗܘܢ. [4] C omits ܚܡܝܡ; B ܚܡܝܡܐ. [5] B omits ܕܚܕ.
[6] A ܕܝܢ. [7] A C ܟܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ. [8] C omits ܠܘܬ. [9] B omits ܘܫܪܝܘ.
[10] A ܗ̣ܘܐ. [11] A C ܗܘ ܒܥܡܘܕܐ. [12] B ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ.

ܠܚ ∴ ܥܠ ܥܘܪܩܐ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ, ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ.

ܐܝܬ ¹ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܘܪܩܐ ܗ̇ܘ ²ܒܝܘܡܗ ܕܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ, ܠܡܕܒܪܐ. ³ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܝܢ ܕܦܩܕ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܕܢܬܩܛܠܘܢ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ. ܠܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܟܠܗ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܐܒܝܠܐ ܚܣܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܦܪܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܘ ܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܠܘ ܒܪ ܫܢܬܗ ܡܢ ⁴ܕܦܩܕ ܒܡܙܘܥܬܐ. ܡܚܕܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܩܛܠܘܢ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ. ܐܠܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܕܪ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܒܕܡܫܦܚܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܢ, ܦܐܝܒܗ ܦܘܠܚܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ. ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܡܚܐ, ܐܡܪܢ. ܕܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ, ܥܘܪܩܐ. ܡܛܠ ⁵ܒܪ ܕܠܝܘܚܢܢ ܙܟܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܡܬܟܢܫܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܕܒܫܘܠܡܗ̇ ܬܬܦܟܪܘܢ ܠܒܫ ܡܘܠܕܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܕܒܝܫ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܫܬܠܚ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܘܬܐ ܕܬܘܪܢܝܬܐ ܬܬܦܪܫ. ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ, ܠܗܘܢ ܥܘܪܩܐ. ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܒܝ ܐܬܠܝܗ ܒܠܐܫܝܢܐ. ܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܫܝ, ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܠܟ ܡܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܕܒܒܪܝܬܐ ܢܣܒܘܗ̇, ܐܝܟ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ ܦܩܕ ܠܡܩܛܠ ܠܐ ⁶ܬܬܕܡܪ. ܣܡܬܗ ܒܪܗ̇ ܘܝܢܩܐ ܒܝܡܗ, ܕܢܣܡܟܝܗ ܘܡܥܒܕܬܐ. ܒܡܛܦܝ ܘܒܝܬܐ ⁷ܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܐܘܡܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܥܡܫ ܢܫܘܕ ∴ ܥܠ ܒܥܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܘܪܩܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܐܢ ܥܘܪܩܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܝܘܡܗ ܐܘ ܒܫܢܬܐ ⁸ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܗܕܐ ܠܡܕܥ ܕܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܐ ܕܥܘܪ̈ܩܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ, ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܐܠܐ ܚܠܦ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܓܢܝܐ ⁹ܕܐܬܘܗܝ, ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܐܡܪܢ ܗܕܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܥܘܪ̈ܩܐ ܕܐܝܬ

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[1] A ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [2] C ܒܝܘܡ. [3] C ܗ̇ܘ. [4] C ܕܦܩܕ. [5] B omits ܒܪ.
[6] B ܬܬܐܡܪ. [7] A ܘܒܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ; B ܟܠ ܘܒܝܬܐ; C ܬܪܬܝܢ. [8] B omits ܒܠܚܘܕ.
[9] A C ܘܐܬܘܗܝ.

ܢܬܓܠܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܐܬܐ ܒܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܡܚܕܪܝܢ ܟܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ
ܢܘܪ̈ܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܘܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ[1] ܒܡܠܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܗܢܐ [2]ܕܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܘܗܝ, ܡܥܠܠ ܐܢܬ. ܡܢ
ܐܡܪܐ [3]ܗ̄ܘ ܚܠܦ. ܗ̣ܘ ܒܪ ܡܚܝ. ܐܘ ܐܢܬ ܡܢܘ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܙܪܘܥܬ. ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܢܦܩܬ. ܐܢܐ ܗ̣ܘ. ܘܗ̣ܘ ܐܢܐ. ܘܗܘ
ܒܝ. ܘܐܢܐ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܬ, [4]ܕܚܙܝܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܬܗ. ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ
ܕܪ̈ܒܘܬܐ ܢܬܒܣܡܢ ܒܥܡܠܐ. ܘܢܝܚܐ ܢܦܫܗ [5]ܠܗܘܪܗ ܕܥܡܠܐ.
ܐܝܟܢ [6]ܕܐܦ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܙܘܓܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܐܡܘ̈ܪܐ [7]ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ
ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ. [8]ܘܐܙܕܪܥܘ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ [9]ܘܚ̈ܝܐ. ܠܟܘܢ ܦܠܐ
ܕܬܬܚܪܒ ܘܬܬܪܕܘܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܘܬܬܦܫܟܘܢ ܠܦܓܪܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ [10]ܠܩܘܕܡ ܬܪܥܝܟܘܢ ܒܡܫܬܥܝܬܗ ܕܗ̇ܘ ܡܠܟܐ
ܪܒܐ. ܕܠܗ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܐܫܝ̈ܪܐ ܕܢܬܪ̈ܦܘܢ. ܘܗܫܐ ܟܕ ܓܠܘ ܐܪܥܐ
ܗܢܐ ܕܓܠܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܫܠܡܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܟܬ̈ܒܟܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܬ, ܕܐܢܫ
ܒܡܟܬܒܐ [11]ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ. ܢܬܕܪܟܘܢ [12]ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܐ. ܒܪ
ܠܒܝܫ ܡܘ̈ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܢܦܪܟܘܢ ܠܗ ܥܒܕܬܐ. ܚܘ ܐܘܪܗܘ ܘܠܐ
ܬܫܟܚܘܢ ܒܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܘܒܕܟܘܢ ܒܢܘܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗ̄ܘ
ܕܟܠܒ̈ܐ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܟ̈ܠܒܐ ܡܢܗ ܡܫܬܟܠܝܢ [13]ܬܟ̈ܒܐ. ܘܐܢܐ ܘܗ̣ܘ
ܚܕ ܝܢܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܓܠܝܢ ܬܪܘܢܐ [14]ܐܬܝܠܕܬ., [15]ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܚܕܘ ܚܕ̈ܝܗ, ܕܢܦܪ̈ܫܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ. [16]ܐܘ ܡܢ ܚܕܘܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܕܡܟܦܗ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ [17]ܢܦܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ. [18]ܘܦܩܕ
ܒ̈ܪܡ ܐܚܝ ⁘

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[1] B ܢܬܓܠܐ ; B C ܗܘ̇. [2] B ܡܥܠܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܠܒܘܗܝ. [3] B C omit ܗܘ. [4] B ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ. [5] A ܒܗܘܪܗ. [6] A B omit ܕܐܦ. [7] A B omit ܕܫܡܝܐ ; A B omit ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ. [8] A C ܘܐܙܕܪܥܘ. [9] A B ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܚܝܐ. [10] A ܠܗܘܢ ܒܩܘܕܡ ; B omits ܒܩܘܕܡ. [11] C omits ܗܘ̇. [12] B omits ܡܢܗܘܢ. [13] C ܬܠܝ. [14] A C ܐܬܝܠܕܬ. [15] A ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ. [16] C omits ܐܘ. [17] A C omit ܢܦܫ. [18] A C omit ܘ.

ܕܕܘܝܕ. ܘܗܕܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܐ. ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܥܘܠܐ ܕܟܪܝܟ ܒܥܙܪ̈ܘܪܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ[1]. ܘܡܢ ܫܠܝ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܥܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܚܝܠ̈ܘܬܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ [2]ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܟܕ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܪ̈ܘܡܐ. ܘܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܫܠܡܐ [3]ܘܣܒܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. [4]ܘܐܙܠܘ ܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܘܥܠܘ ܠܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ∴ ܫܡ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ [5]ܕܝܢ ܕܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܫܝܪ. ܙܒܘܠܘܢ. ܝܘܣܛܘܣ. ܢܝܩܘܕܡܘܣ. ܝܘܣܦ. ܒܪܫܒܐ. ܘܝܘܣܐ. ܫܒܥܐ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ∴

ܠܙ ∴ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ [6]ܕܙܪܕܘܫܬ [7]ܥܠ [8]ܡܪܢ.

ܗܢܐ [9]ܕܝܢ ܙܪܕܘܫܬ ܗܘܝܘ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ. ܟܕ ܝܬܒ [10]ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܕܓܠܘܫܐ [11]ܕܚܘܪܝܢ. ܐܬܪ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܣܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ̈ܘܗܝ. ܠܓܘܫܢܣܦ ܡܠܟܐ. [12]ܘܣܣܢ ܘܡܗܝܡܕ. ܫܡܥܘ ܒܢܝ̈ ܘܚܒܝ̈ܒܝ. ܕܐܓܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ [13]ܐܪܙܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܫܪܝܐ. ܢܬܒܛܢ ܥܘܠܐ ܒܟܪܣܗ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܢܬܓܒܠ ܒܗܕ̈ܡܝܗ. ܟܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܩܪܒ ܠܗ. ܘܢܬܕܡܐ ܠܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܛܪ̈ܦܗ ܘܛܥܝܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ. ܘܩܐܡ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܨܗܝܐ. [14]ܘܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܥܡܘܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܥܩܪܘܢܝܗܝ، ܡܢ [15]ܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܟܚܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܐܚܕܘܢܝܗܝ، ܘܢܙܩܦܘܢܝܗܝ، ܥܠ ܩܝܣܐ. ܘܬܬܒ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܒܐܒܠܐ ܡܛܠܬܗ. ܘܢܬܐܒܠܘܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ. ܘܢܫܪܐ ܠܡܚܬ ܠܥܘܡܩܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܥܘܡܩܐ ܠܪܘܡܐ

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[1] B omits from ܘܗܕܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܐ to ܘܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ. [2] C ܕܒܫܡܝܐ. [3] B C omit ܘܣܒܪܐ. [4] B ܘܐܬܘ. [5] A omits ܕܝܢ. [6] Pers. زردوشت. [7] B ܕܥܠ. [8] B ܡܫܝܚܐ. [9] A omits ܕܝܢ. [10] A omits ܗܘܐ. [11] A ܕܚܘܪ (sic). [12] A B ܘܣܡܣܡ; Pers. ساسان. [13] C ܐܪܙܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ. [14] B ܘܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ. [15] C ܐܬܪܐ.

ܘܡܣܩ ܢܓܪܐ [1]ܕܫܠܡܬ ܒܡܪܘܬܗ. ܘܡܢ [2]ܫܬܠܬܬܗ ܘܐܬܪܘܡܬܗ
ܕܚܠ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ. [3]ܥܡܠܗ ܒܟܘܗ ܥܠ ܚܙܝܪܐ. [4]ܘܚܕ ܙܕܘ ܐܝܟ
ܬܠܬܐ ܡܬܐܠܝܢ. ܫܪܝ ܟܕ [5]ܝܘܣܦ ܘܣܒܗ ܟܕ ܐܚܝܕܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܠ
ܒܪܫܗ ܘܡܬܟܢܠ ܐܦܝܗ. ܘܫܒܩ ܕܡܢ ܒܒܢܝܐ ܐܫܬܟܚܬ. ܘܫܐܠܗ
ܥܠ [6]ܐܘܠܝܢܗ ܘܥܠ ܒܐܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܕܦܪܘܣ ܥܒܐ ܠܝ
ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܣܝܘܬܐ [7]ܒܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܣܒܠܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܣܝܬܗ ܡܢ
ܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܫܐܠ ܕܢܝܬܐ ܠܗ ܢܝܬܐ. [8]ܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܒܒܪܬܐ
ܕܥܒܕܗ ܥܠܡܝ. ܦܬܓܡܐ [9]ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܫܡܥܘܢܝ.
ܘܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܥܙܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܫܟܚܗ ܕܓܠܝܐ
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܓܕܝܫܐ. ܘܚܝܠܐ [10]ܗܘ ܒܪܝܟ ܒܓܙܘܪܐ [11]ܘܒܐܘܪ̈ܫܠܡܬܐ.
ܘܫܡܫ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ. [12]ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܬܡܢ ܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܕܢܛܪܝܢ ܡܛܪܬܐ
ܥܠ ܡܪ̈ܥܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܗܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܗܪܬ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܕܚܠܘ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ
ܛܒ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܘܢ. ܗܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܣܒܪ
ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ. ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ. ܐܬܝܠܕ
ܠܟܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܒܝܬܠܚܡ

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[1] B ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܫܠܡܬ. [2] B ܫܬܠܡܘܬܗ ܘܐܬܪܘܡܬܗ. [3] A ܘܩܡ ܡܥܠܗ.
[4] In C an attempt has been made to erase the text from ܘܚܕ ܙܕܘ to ܘܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܥܙܪܐ.
[5] B C omit ܝܘܣܦ ܘܣܒܗ. [6] B ܘܐܠܝܢܗ ܘܫܒܝܒܝܗ ܕܥܠ; C ܐܠܝܢܗ ܘܐܘܠܝܢܗ. [7] B C omit ܒܗ. [8] A somewhat different account is given in the History of the Virgin (A, fol. 134 *b*): ܘܡܢ ܡܪܟܐ ܒܗܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܒܗܘܡܫ. ܝܘܣܦ. ܓܠܝܐ ܘܡܐܠ ܕܡܢܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܟܠܐ ܕܐܬܐܒܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܡܢܫܩܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ (sic) ܒܢܝ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘ ܒܚܒܝ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ. ܝܘܣܦ ܘܡܠܟ (sic) ܐܝܟ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܒܐܠܦܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܝ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܐ ܐܘܡܚܡܥܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܒܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܘܐܬܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܝܘ. ܘܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܝܘܣܦ. ܐܝ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܒܗܕ (sic) ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܝܬܗ ܒܗ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܘܝܘܣܦ ܟܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ (sic) ܘܒܗܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܢܝ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܒܗ ܣܝܡ ܘܢܗ̄ܘܐ. [9] B omits ܕܝܢ. [10] B omits ܗܘ. [11] B ܘܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. [12] B omits from ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ to ܘܢܛܪܝܢ ܡܛܪܬܐ.

ܫܪܘܬܐ ¹ܠܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ. ܘܡܟܝܠ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܢ̈ܦܫܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܪ̈ܒܝ ܡܫܡܫ
²ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܪ̈ܒܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܒܗ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ
ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܝܘܣܦ ܒܪܗ ܕܕܘܝܕ. ܠܐ
ܬܕܚܠ ܠܡܣܒ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܐܢܬܬܟ. ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ̇ ܡܢ
ܪܘܚܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܫܦܪ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ. ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܕܡ ⁘
ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܐܫܬܡܥ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܥܠܝܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܥܠܐ ³ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܝܘܣܦ ⁴ܕܢܝܚ ܡܪܝܐ
ܕܠܐ ܢܓܕ ܐܢܐ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܗ. ܘܐܦ ܗ̤ܝ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܗ ܒܟܝܐ
⁵ܠܡܚܝ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܢ̈ܕܐ ܟܠܗ ܡܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ. ܕܟܕ ܡܬܚ̈ܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܐܢܫ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ⁶ܒܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܡܕܡ. ܦܫܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܡ̈ܬܠܐ
ܕܣܘܒܪܐ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ.
ܡܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ. ܢܦܫܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܪܘܚܗ. ܘܡܬܦܦܝܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܘܩܒܠܗ. ܘܡܬܢܗܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ⁷ܕܡܢܗܪܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
⁸ܐܫܡܥܘܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܠܝܘܣܦ ⁹ܡܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܣܘܒܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܗܝܡܢܘ.
ܦܩܕ ¹⁰ܪܒ ܚܘܒܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ¹¹ܕܢܛܪܝܗ̇ ܒܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ
ܢܛܪܗ̇ ܕܣܘܒܪܐ ¹²ܗܘܐ ⁘

ܠܗ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܒܒܣܪ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢ̈ܬܐ ¹³ܚܕܐ ܕܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ¹⁴ܠܩܘܪܝܢܘܣ ܕܝܢܐ. ܕܢܟܬܘܒ
ܠܟܠܢܫ ܒܫܡܗ ܪܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ ܬܚܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ
ܐܬܡܣܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܟܠܢܫ ܡܬܟܬܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܘܐܦ

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[1] B C omit ܪܒ. [2] B C ܕܢܦܫܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬ. [3] A B ܐܫܬܟܚܘ. [4] B C ܕܢܝܚ ܗ̄ܘ.
[5] B C omit ܠܡܚܝ. [6] B ܒܫܘܡܠܝܐ. [7] B C ܠܡܢܗܪܘܬܐ. [8] C ܐܫܡܥܘܗܝ.
[9] A omits ܡܢ. [10] A ܕܚܘܒܐ. [11] A C ܕܢܛܪܝܗ̇; A B ܒܗܝܡܢܘ. [12] A omits ܗܘܐ.
[13] B omits ܚܕܐ. [14] C ܠܩܘܪܝܢܘܣ.

ܘܬܐܠܕܝܢ ܒܪܐ. ܘܬܩܪܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ. [1]ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܥܡܢ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܪܒ. ܘܒܪܗ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܢܬܩܪܐ. ܐܡܪܐ ܡܪܝܡ
ܠܡܠܐܟܐ. ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܟ.
ܘܐܙܠ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ. [2]ܘܩܡܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ
ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܐܙܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܐܚܝܢܬܗ. ܘܥܠܬ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܘܫܐܠܬ
ܫܠܡܗ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ. ܗܘܝܐ ܕܟܕ ܫܡܥܬ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܫܠܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ،
ܕܨ ܥܘܠܐ ܒܟܪܣܗ. ܘܣܓܕ ܡܦܨܚ ܒܟܪܣܗ ܕܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܠܡܪܢ
ܒܟܪܣܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܪܗ. ܘܩܘܝܬ [3]ܕܝܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܘܬ
ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܐܝܟ ܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܬܠܬܐ. ܘܗܦܟܬ ܠܒܝܬܗ ⁘ ܘܒܬܪ ܫܬܐ
ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܚܙܐ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܡܪܝܡ [4]ܕܒܛܢܬ. ܘܐܫܬܓܫ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܝܬܗ
ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢܐ ܐܬܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܠܪ̈ܚܘܡܐ. ܒܗܢܐ ܢܣܦܐ
ܕܚܒܫܝ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܬܚܝܠ ܗܘܝܐ ܥܠ ܕܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ. ܒܛܠ
[5]ܒܚܘܫܒܐ ܘܒܦܠܓܘܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܡܢ [6]ܐܝܡܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ
ܗܢܐ. ܘܥܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܒܠܥ ܐܦ ܡܘܢܐ ܦܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܢ
ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܫܢܝܚܬܐ. ܒܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ [7]ܐܬܒܛܢܬ،
ܘܒܟܠ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܘܐܬܒܪܝܟ. ܕܒܢܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܬ
ܒܒܪܐ ܡܬܚܬܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܠܝܛܐ ܥܠ
ܡܠܐܟܐ [8]ܘܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ ܚܠܦܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ، ܘܠܝܘܣܦ
ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܐܝܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ [9]ܠܡܫܘܕܥܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܫܢܬܐ. ܕܗܘ
ܐܢܐ [10]ܕܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܝ ܐܬܩܝܡ ܘܐܬܚܝܠܬ.
ܦܢܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܥܠܡܐ [11]ܘܒܬܪ ܕܐܢܐ [12]ܕܡܬܚܫܒܐ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܐ ܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܥܬܝܕܢ. ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܒܥܕܢ ܗܘܘ

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[1] A B omit ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܥܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. [2] C ܩܡܬ ܕܝܢ. [3] A C omit ܕܝܢ. [4] A B ܕܒܛܢܐ. [5] B ܒܚܘܫܒܐ. [6] B C ܐܝܟܐ. [7] A C ܐܬܒܛܢܬ. [8] B ܒܚܠܡܐ ܘܠܐ; A ܘܐܬܚܙܝ. [9] B ܠܡܫܘܕܥܘ; A B omit ܗܘܐ. [10] B C ܕܐܠܗܐ. [11] B ܒܬܪ. [12] B ܒܡܬܚܫܒܐ; C ܕܡܬܚܫܒܐ.

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ܒܘܝܢܐ ¹ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܒܗܬܬܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܟܕ ܣܡܐ. ²ܘܥܠܬ ܠܡܕܝܢܬ
ܘܐܙܠ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ✣ ܘܒܬܪ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܦܠܓܗ ܒܡܨܥܐ
³ܝܘܒܠܐ ܡܦܬܚܐ ܕܕܐܪܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܡܛܠ ܩܛܠܐ ܕܬܒܥܬ
ܡܘܕܥܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܬܬܒܠܥ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܝ
ܒܡܚܠܬܐ ⁴ܗܘܬ ܒܝܠܕܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܫܦܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ. ܡܢ
ܥܠܝܐ ܐܬܬ، ܠܗ ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܪܒ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܒܡܥܘܫܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ
ܦܠܓ ܥܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢܗ ܙܒܢܐ ܦܘܪܝܐ. ܘܐܬܪܥܝܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܢ
⁵ܚܙܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ✣

ܠܗ ✣ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܚܠܡܗ ⁶ܕܡܪܢ.

ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܥܬܐ ⁷ܒܚܘܕܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܬܐ ܒܐܕܪ ܒܠܗܒ ܥܢܢܝ. ܐܬܐ
ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܡܕܡܪܐ ܕܢܘܪ ⁸ܢܒܝܐ. ⁹ܘܣܘܕܪܐ ܗܘ، ܥܢܢܐ. ܥܢܢܐ
ܬܠܬ ܡܢܐܐ ¹⁰ܘܥܒܕ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܪܘܗ ܒܪ ܗܠܝܟܘܗ ¹¹ܐܘܟܝܬ ܒܪ
ܒܛܠܝܘܗ ܡܟܪܙܢܐ. ܟܕ ܒܛܠܝܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ¹²ܒܦܓܪ
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢܝܚ. ܐܬܐ، ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܪܒ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܫܠܡ ܠܟܝ ܡܠܝܬ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܡܪܢ ܥܡܟܝ ܒܪܝܟܬܝ ܒܢܫܐ.
ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܐܬܕܠܚܬ ܒܡܠܬܗ. ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܢܘ
ܫܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܝܢ ܡܪܝܡ.
ܐܫܟܚܬܝ ܓܝܪ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܓܝܪ ܬܩܒܠܝܢ ܒܛܢܐ

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[1] B C ܠܐܠܗܐ. [2] B C ܘܥܠܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ. [3] A ܝܘܒܠܐ. [4] B C omit ܗܘܬ; C ܒܝܠܕܬܐ ܕܒܬܘܠܬܐ. [5] B C ܚܙܘܐ. [6] B ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [7] A C ܒܚܘܕܪܝܢ; C ܘܫܒܬܐ. [8] In the History of the Virgin Mary (A, fol. 131 *b*) Gabriel is said to have appeared to Mary ܒܐܪܒܥܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܒܐܕܪ. ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܒܫܒܥ ܫܥܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. [9] A C omit ܘܣܘܕܪܐ ܗܘ ܥܢܢܐ. [10] C ܘܥܒܕ. [11] B C omit ܐܘܟܝܬ ܒܪ ܒܛܠܝܘܗ; C omits also ܡܟܪܙܢܐ. [12] C omits ܒܦܓܪ.

ܠܗ̇ ܕܬܬܥܠܠ ܠܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܬܦܪܢܣܬ ܥܡ ܒܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ
ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܡܬܪܒܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܚܡܬܐ ܠܠܒܐ ܚܝܐ
ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ. ܒܕܡܟܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܒܪܬ ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ[1] ܫܢ̈ܝܢ.
[2]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܝܘܡܗ̇. ܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܘܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܬܠܝܗ̇ ܠܝܘܣܦ [3]ܡܟܝܠܐ ܢܟܕܒܘܢ ܡܢܗ̇.
ܘܐܬܚܣܝ, [4]ܠܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܗܘܢ [5]ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [6]ܦܪܫ
ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܚܡܘ ܡܢ ܢܥܡܘܬܗ ܡܬܬܥܝܪܬܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܒܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ [7]ܒܟܐܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܕܟܝܘܬܐ. ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ
ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܒܝܬ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܐܝܟ
ܒܫܘܠܡܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܕܡ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܡܟܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܠܝܗ. ܘܟܠ
ܪܒ̈ܘܬܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܐ. ܘܢܬܒܥ ܠܟܠܝܢ ܚܕ [9]ܡܢܗܘܢ ܣܘܓܐܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܠܝܢ ܒܟܐܢܘ ܣܘܓܐܗ ܕܗܘܐ. ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܣܘܓܐܗ ܗܘܝܐ
ܝܘܪܬܐ. ܘܢܣܒ ܚܠ ܪܫ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܘܬܦܫ ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܘܫܪܝ ܪܒ
ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܗܘܬ ܗܘܫܥ ܘܝܫܘܥ [10]ܚܠ ܪܫܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܗܕܐ
ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܡܬܟܪܙܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܐ ܠܟܝܢ ܡܢ [11]ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܐ. ܬܫܟܚ
ܠܘܬܟ ܒܕܡܟܐ ܕܡܬܠܝܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ. ܘܬܗܘܐ ܫܠܘܡܐ ܘܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝ ܕܕܡܐ ܡܬܪ ܡܢ
ܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܕܐܬܚܫܒܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܕ̈ܪܐ ܕܫ̈ܪܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ.
ܕܐܝܟ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܦܫܛܐ ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ, ܘܠܐ
ܚܙܝܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ̇ ܕܦܫܛܐ. ܘܦܐܝܐ ܕܬܬܠܘܝܗ̇ ܠܟܝ ܕܕܡܐ ܠܗ̇
ܒܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܒܩ ܐܝܟܐ ܚܠ ܢܦܫ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܒܗ̇
ܘܠܡܬܢܛܪܘܬܗ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܪܒ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܬܫܡܫ ܚܠ

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[1] B ܬܠܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ. [2] B ܡܛܠ. [3] A ܘܡܟܝܠ. [4] C omits ܠܗ. [5] B ܘܕܡܠܐ. [6] C omits ܠܗ; B C ܦܪܫܘ. [7] B C omit ܒܟܐܢܘܬܐ. [8] B C ܡܕܡܐ; C omits ܗܘ. [9] A omits ܡܢܗܘܢ. [10] A omits ܚܠ ܪܫܗ; C omits ܠܗ. [11] A omits ܠܘܬ.

ܘܚܡܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܡܓܙܪ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܐܪܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ
ܠܚܡܫܐ [1]ܕܥܢܒܐ ܕܚܫ̈ܟܐ. ܘܡܬܢܣܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܢ ܚܡܪܐ ܥܠ
ܚܡܪܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܫܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܦܪܩܘ ܡܦܪ̈ܩܢܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܫܢ̈ܬܐ [2]ܕܚܠܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܒܥܡܐ ܕܫܒܠ.
ܘܢܓܕ ܡܦܠܚܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܢܣܒ ܡܥܒܕܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܘܟܠ
ܡܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܕܒܝܚܐ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܓܠܦ ܢܫ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܠܐ.
ܘܡܓܠܬ ܐܦ ܕܝܠܐ ܐܬܬܗ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܦܨܠ
[3]ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܦܬܐ [4]ܕܡܠܐܟܘܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܚܕܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܠܦܘܬܘܢ
ܐܣܛܪܘܠܘܓܐ ܡܢܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܗܘܢ [5]ܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܪܐ
ܕܒܝܪܬܐ. ܒܪܬܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܥ̈ܕܪ،
ܒܠܡܐ. ܘܡܬܬܙܝܥ ܡܢܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܪܒܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ
ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܝܕܗܘܢ ܠܡܥܢܝܬܗ. ܘܒܠܒܘ ܕܢܫܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܠܕܬ
ܠܡܪܝܡ. ܘܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ [6]ܗܘ ܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܫܠܡ ܕܢܫܐ ܢܒܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܫܗ
ܡܪܝܐ. ܡܬܦܫܛ [7]ܕܝܢ ܥܠܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܡܩܒܠܬܐ. ܘܫܕܘ
ܒܗ ܢܘܪܒܐܝܬ. ܘܟܬܒ ܥܙܪܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܒܘܗ ܠܫܪܪܐ. ܠܐ
ܢܥܡܣܗ ܕܐܬܦܠܝ [8]ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܠܡܫܘܚܘܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܘܡܘܬܒܐ
[9]ܘܐܬܬܘܗܝ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܕܒܚܘ ܬܘܪܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܩܪܒܘܗ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܠܒܪ ܚܣܝܐ. ܘܣܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ ܘܒܪܟܗ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܫܐ. ܘܟܬܒ ܬܘܪܝܡ ܥܢܝܡ [10]ܕܐܬܡܫܡܠܝ
ܡܢ ܫܠܝܐ. ܘܐܩܠܡܘܗ [11]ܠܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܕܪܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܐܩܠܡܘܗ ܠܒܪ ܚܣܝܐ. [12]ܘܣܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܒܪܟܗ ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] C omits ܕܥܢܒܐ. [2] A C ܕܚܠܒܘܢ; B ܘܚܠܒ. [3] B ܕܩܛܠܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܗܘܢ.
[4] B ܡܠܐܟܐ; C ܕܡܠܟܐ. [5] A omits ܐܠܗܐ. [6] B C ܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ. [7] A B omit
ܕܝܢ. [8] C ܠܐܘܪܚܐ. [9] B C omit ܘܐܬܬܘܗܝ. [10] C ܐܬܡܫܡܠܝ. [11] B C ܠܗܝܟܠܐ,
and omit ܕܡܪܝܐ. [12] A B omit from ܘܣܡ to ܕܫܠܡܬܐ, and read ܘܒܩܫܬܐ.

ܢܓܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܣܠܝ. ܚܣܠܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܡ. ܢܚܘܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܡܘܣ. ܥܡܘܣ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܬܝܐ. ܡܬܬܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܝܘܣܦ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܐܢܝ. ܝܐܢܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܟܝ. ܡܠܟܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܐܘܠܕ [1]ܠܡܛܬܬ. ܡܛܬܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܗܠܝ. ܗܠܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܀ ܘܥܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܡܬܢ ܒܪ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ [2]ܕܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܢܣܒ ܡܘܟܠܗ. ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܣܦܬܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ [3]ܡܢܗ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܟܝܢܐܝܬ. ܘܡܝܬ ܡܬܢ. ܘܢܣܒܗ ܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܡܠܟܝ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܢܬܢ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܢܫܬ ܒܚܡܫܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ ܠܥܠܝ [4]ܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܗܠܝ. [5]ܘܡܚܝܠ ܗܘܘ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܘܗܠܝ ܐܚ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܐ. [6]ܢܣܒ ܗܠܝ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܣܒܗ ܝܥܩܘܒ [7]ܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܙܪܥܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ، ܐܝܟ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ [8]ܕܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܟܝܢܐܝܬ. ܘܒܪ ܗܠܝ ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ. [9]ܘܐܦ ܟܝܢܐܝܬ ܓܝܪ [10]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܦ ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ. ܡܚܝܒܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، [11]ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܙܢܐ ܠܡܟܬܒ. ܕܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܠܡܬܢ ܘܠܡܛܬ. [12]ܘܡܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܘܡܛܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܝܩܝܡ. ܘܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܪܝܡ. ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܘܐܒܘܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܕ̈ܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܀

ܠܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܡܪ̈ܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ.

ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܦܪ̈ܢ. ܥܡ ܕܚܢܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܙܕܝܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܬܕܒܪܝܢ [13]ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡܐ.

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[1] C ܠܡܬܬ. ܡܬܬ. [2] A ܡܢ. [3] B omits ܡܢܗ. [4] C omits ܗܘ. [5] A ܡܚܝܠ ܗܘ (sic) ܘܝܥܩܘܒ. [6] A ܐܝܬ ܐܢܬܬܗܘܢ. [7] B ܐܢܬܬܗ. [8] A C ܢܡܘܣܐ. [9] A B ܐܦ. [10] A C omit ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [11] C ܘܐܦ. [12] C ܡܬܢ. [13] B C omit ܗܘܘ.

ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܢ ¹ܡܬܡ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܗܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܣܦ. ܘܐܚܪܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܢܬܢ ܠܘܬ ܗ̈ܠܝ.
ܕܘܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܝܡܘܢ. ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܚܒܥܡ. ܪܚܒܥܡ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܐܒܝܐ. ܐܒܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܣܐ. ܐܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܗܘܫܦܛ.
ܝܗܘܫܦܛ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܪܡ. ²ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܘܙܝܐ. ܥܘܙܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܬܡ. ܝܘܬܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܚܙ. ܐܚܙ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܙܩܝܐ. ܚܙܩܝܐ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܢܫܐ. ܡܢܫܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܡܘܢ. ܐܡܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܫܝܐ.
ܝܘܫܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܟܢܝܐ. ܝܘܟܢܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܬܐܝܠ. ܫܠܬܐܝܠ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܪܘܒܒܠ. ³ܙܪܘܒܒܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܝܘܕ. ܐܒܝܘܕ ⁴ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܐܠܝܩܝܡ. ܐܠܝܩܝܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܙܘܪ. ܥܙܘܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܨܕܘܩ. ܨܕܘܩ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܟܝܢ. ܐܟܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܘܕ. ܐܠܝܘܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܥܙܪ.
ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܢ. ܡܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܣܦ ⁘ ⁵ܘܬܘܒ ܕܘܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܬܢ. ܢܬܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܛܬܐ. ܡܛܬܐ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܢܐ. ܡܢܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܝܐ. ܡܠܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܩܝܡ.
ܐܠܝܩܝܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܢܡ. ܝܘܢܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܬܐ.
ܡܬܬܐ ⁴ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܪܡ. ⁶ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܝܥܙܪ. ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܘܣܐ. ܝܘܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܝܪ. ܥܝܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܠܡܘܕܕ. ܐܠܡܘܕܕ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܘܣܡ ܩܘܣܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܕܝ. ܐܕܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܠܟܝ. ܡܠܟܝ
ܐܘܠܕ ⁷ܠܢܪܝ. ܢܪܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܬܐܝܠ. ܫܠܬܐܝܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܪܘܒܒܠ.
ܙܪܘܒܒܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܣܐ. ܪܣܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܚܢ. ܝܘܚܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܣܦ. ܝܘܣܦ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܡܥܝ. ܫܡܥܝ
ܐܘܠܕ ⁸ܠܡܬܬܝܐ. ܡܬܬܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܚܬ. ܡܚܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܓܝ.

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[1] B omits ܡܬܡ̈ܢܝܢ. [2] C ܝܘܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܚܙܝܐ. ܐܚܙܝܐ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܘܙܝܐ. [3] A ܘܙܪܘܒܒܠ.
[4] A omits from ܐܘܠܕ to ܙܪܘܒܒܠ. [5] B ܬܘܒ. [6] C ܝܘܪܡ. [7] C ܠܢܝܪܝ.
[8] B ܠܡܛܛܝܐ. ܡܛܛܝܐ.

ܬܪܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ. ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ
ܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܫܘܥ. ܘܟܪܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܝܗܘܕܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝ, ܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܙܪܥܗ ܕܟܢܥܢ ܕܢܬܚܠܛ
ܒܙܪܥܢ. ܘܠܐ ܠܝܪܬܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ. [1]ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܝܗܘܕܐ [2]ܡܢ
ܫܘܥ ܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. [3]ܥܝܪ ܘܐܘܢܢ ܘܫܝܠܐ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ [4]ܥܝܪ
ܠܬܡܪ ܒܪܬ [5]ܡܟܝܪ, ܒܪ ܠܘܝ, ܟܗ̈ܢܐ. ܘܕܡܟ [6]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܡܗ̇
ܗܦܝܟܐܝܬ ܘܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ [7]ܐܚܘܗܝ,
ܐܘܢܢ. ܕܢܩܝܡ ܙܪܥܐ [8]ܠܐܚܘܗܝ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܟ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܥܡܗ̇. ܡܚܒܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ [9]ܠܙܪܥܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ̇ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܦ
ܗܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. [10]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܫܝܠܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܢܛܪܗ̇
ܝܗܘܕܐ ܠܟܠܬܗ ܒܐܪܡܠܘܬܐ. ܕܢܬܠܝܗ̇ ܠܫܝܠܐ ܕܢܩܝܡ ܡܢܗ̇
ܙܪܥܐ. ܘܟܠܝ ܬܡܪ ܥܠ ܫ̄ܡܘܗ̇ ܒܩܘܪ̈ܒܐ ܘܝܬ̈ܡܬܐ. ܘܕܡܟܬ
ܥܡܗ ܘܒܛܢܬ ܘܝܠܕܬ [11]ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܬܐܘ̈ܡܐ ܠܦܪܨ [12]ܘܠܙܪܚ. [13]ܦܪܨ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܨܪܘܢ. ܚܨܪܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܡ. ܐܪܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܡܝܢܕܒ.
ܥܡܝܢܕܒ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܫܘܢ. ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ [14]ܠܐܚܬܗ ܕܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܒܪ
ܐܗܪܘܢ [15]ܟܗܢܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܢܗ̇ [16]ܠܢܚܫܘܢ. ܘܐܬܚܠܛ ܙܪܥܐ
ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܡܘܢ. ܘܫܠܡܘܢ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܒܥܙ ܡܢ ܪܚܒ. ܒܥܙ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܘܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܪܥܘܬ
[17]ܡܘܐܒܝܬܐ. ܥܘܒܝܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܝܫܝ. ܐܝܫܝ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܡܠܟܐ
[18]ܡܢ ܢܨܒ ܀

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[1] A B ܘܐܬܝܠܕ. [2] C omits ܡܢ ܫܘܥ ܟܢܥܢܝܬܐ. [3] A ܥܝܪ; C has ܥܝܪ in the text, but ܥܐܪ in the margin. [4] A ܥܝܪ. [5] C ܡܟܝܪܐ; A ܒܪܝܐ ܠܘܝ. [6] B omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [7] A omits ܐܚܘܗܝ; C ܘܢܣܒܗ̇ ܐܘܢܢ ܐܚܘܗܝ. [8] A ܠܐܚܘܗ. [9] A ܙܪܥܗ. [10] C ܡܛܠ. [11] B C omit ܬܪ̈ܝܢ. [12] C adds ܡܢ ܬܡܪ. [13] B ܘܦܪܨ. [14] C ܚܬܗ. [15] A omits ܟܗܢܐ. [16] A ܠܢܚܫܘܢ. [17] B omits this word. [18] B C omit ܡܢ ܢܨܒ.

ܒܪܐ ܫܦܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܦܩܬܐ ¹ܘܡܢ ܥܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܪܐ.
ܗܢܐ ܐܚܝܕ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܡܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܥܢܢܐ ✣

ܙܒܢܐ ܒܪ ܒܪܒܢܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܠܗܢܐ ܡܛܠܠܗ ܢܦܫ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܒܬܪ ܝܗܘܠܪܘܡܐ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܪܗ ܕܡܢܗ ܥܠ ܡܪ̈ܬܗ
ܕܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܡܕܪܘܗ̇ ܒܗܘܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܐܪܥ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܗܝܟܠܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܐܬܬܫܝܘ ܒܗ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ✣

ܥܡܟܦ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܢܬ ܒܥܢܢܐ ܒܩܘܪܬܗ ✣
ܢܦ ܡܢܬ ܒܥܢܢܐ ✣

ܫܠܡܬ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠܐ ²ܕܡܬܩܪܐ
ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܥܠܝܢ ܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ، ܘܚܢܢܗ ܐܡܝܢ ✣

ܬܘܒ ܟܕ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ³ܫܪܝܢܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ
ܕܐܬܬܥܒܕܬ ܒܚܕܬܐ ✣

ܠ ✣ ܥܠ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ. ܐܕܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܝܬ. ܫܝܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܢܘܫ.
ܐܢܘܫ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܩܝܢܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ. ⁴ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܪܕ. ܝܪܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܢܘܟ. ܚܢܘܟ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܘܫܠܚ.
ܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܡܟ. ܠܡܟ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܘܚ. ܢܘܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܡ.
ܫܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܩܝܢܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ.
ܫܠܚ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ. ܥܒܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܦܠܓ. ܦܠܓ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܥܘ.
ܐܪܥܘ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܣܪܘܓ. ܣܪܘܓ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܪ. ܢܚܘܪ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܬܪܚ.

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[1] B C ܡܢ.
[2] A B omit from ܕܡܬܩܪܐ to ܐܡܝܢ.
[3] A ܐܢܐ ܫܪܝܬ, and omits from ܡܢ to ܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ; B ܫܘܪܝ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܒܚܕܬܐ.
[4] A ܘܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ; C ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ.

ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܒܝܐ. ܪܓܡܘܗܝ ܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܥܠ ܕܐܟܣܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܚܘܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܩܒܪ ܦܠܛܝܢ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܕܪ̈ܚܡܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܛܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܨܠܝ ܘܡܝܬ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܩܛܠܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܘ ܡܢ ܢܝܠܘܣ [1]ܢܗܪܐ ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. [2]ܘܡܬܩܪ̈ܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ ܡܘܪܡܠܝܕܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܩܪܒ ܥܠ ܩܒܪܗ ܘܫܩܠܗ ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܒܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܛܠܝܐ. ܗ̇ܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ܘܡܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ. ܘܡܙܝܥ ܘܡܚܪܒ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܣܓܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܬܘܠܬܐ [3]ܘܥܘܠܐ ܒܐܘܪܝܐ ܘܣܓܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ. [4]ܡܛܠ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܐܘܪܝܐ [5]ܡܬܝܠܕ ܀

ܚܙܩܝܐܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܟܗܢܐ، ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܟܗܢ̈ܐ [6]ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܣܪܝܪܐ. ܩܛܠܗ ܪܫܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ. ܥܠ ܕܡܟܣ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܘܚ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܒܪ ܫܡ ܒܪ ܢܘܚ ܀

ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ ܥܠܝܬܐ. ܢܟܦܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܠܚܘܕ [7]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܡܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܣܒܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܝܗ̈ܘܕܝܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܚܝ̈ܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܨܠܝ ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܒܒ̈ܠܝܐ. [8]ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܫܘܫܢ ܒܝܪܬܐ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܀

ܐܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܝܠܘ. ܠܗܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܩܛܠܗ ܐܪܝܐ. ܐܬܩܒܪ ܕܝܢ ܥܡ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܒܫܝܠܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܫܡܝܢ ܀

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[1] C omits ܢܗܪܐ. [2] C omits ܘ. [3] In B, on the margin, is the gloss ܛܠܝܐ : ܗ̄. [4] A ܒܗܘ. [5] C ܡܬܬܣܝܡ. [6] B C omit ܘ. [7] A omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [8] A ܘܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ.

ܕܦܓܪܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ [1]ܒܐܢܣܡ ✣

ܢܚܘܡ ܡܢ ܐܠܩܘܫ ܩܪܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ. ܗܘܐ [2]ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܢܢ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܢܝܢܘܐ. ܕܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܣܠܩܝܢ ܘܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܗܠܡܐ ܐܚܕܐ ܚܘܒܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܥܒܕܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܒܒ̈ܠܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܥܠ ܒܡܒܐ [3]ܡܫܪܝܬܐ. [4]ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܕܝܢ ܩ̄ܘܡ ܠܡܛܠܠܗ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܬܡܛܠܠ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܐܦ̈ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܬ̈ܪܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܢܐ ܡܢܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ [5]ܒܐܪܥܗ ✣

ܚܒܩܘܩ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ [6]ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܓܘܟܪ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܚܪܒܐ ܢܬܦܫܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܗ̇ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܟܠ ܒܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ [7]ܡܠܐܟܝܬܐ. ܓܪ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܡܩ̈ܘܕܫܐ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ✣

ܨܦܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܕܢܐܫ. ܘܫܪܝ ܥܡܡܐ ܘܡܬܒܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܪܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܫܝܢܐ ✣

ܚܓܝ ܟܕ ܛܠܝܐ ܦܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܢܒܝ [8]ܕܦܢܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ ܥܠ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܕܡܓܒܠ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ ✣

ܙܟܪܝܐ ܟܕ ܣܐܒ ܦܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܒܣܝܒܘܬܐ. ܘܣܓܝ ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܥܡܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܛܒܬܐ. ܘܐܬܩ̄ܒܪ ܒܩܒܪ ܡܢܘ ܕܚܓܝ ✣

ܡܠܐܟܝ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܒܠ. ܘܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܐܬܟܢܝ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ [9]ܒܐܪܥܗ ܒܫܝܢܐ ✣

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[1] C omits ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܢܣܡ. [2] A C omit ܡܢ. [3] B C omit ܡܫܪܝܬܐ.
[4] C ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ. [5] C ܒܐܪܥܗ. [6] B C ܡܢ. [7] C ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. [8] C omits ܕܦܢܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝ. [9] B ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܗ.

ܐܠܝܫܥ ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܡܢ ¹ܐܒܠ ܡܫܠܡܐ. ²ܘܡܢ ܫܡܠܐ ܕܪܘܩܒܠ.
ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܫܪܝܠ. ܗܘ
³ܒܪ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܓܠܓܠܐ ܕܦܓ̈ܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܓܒܐ
ܘܐܬܥܡܕ ܥܡܗ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܐܡܓܪܘ ܒܬܪ ܚܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ.
ܕܢܝܚܐ ܙܟܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ. ܘܡܣܒܐ ܠܢܗܪܐ ܒܗܘܢܐ ⁴ܚܕܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܒܬܡܢ ܕܢܦܫܬ ܐܝܟ ܠܬܪܡܝܐ ⁵ܘܠܬܬܝܪܐ. ⁶ܡܚܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܢܐ
ܘܐܬܡܠܟ ܒܫܡܝܢ ⸭

ܘܡܢ ܒܪ ܡܬܐ، ܡܢ ܓܒܝܦܪ ܡܘܪܒܝܬ ܐܪ̈ܡܝܘ ܕܦܪܢܣܐ
ܠܐܫܠܡܢ ⁷ܘܠܚܛܝܗ ܘܠܡܦܫܪ ܡܚܟܐ. ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܒܢܝ
ܠܒܝܬܗܐ ܕܒܢܘܗ ܕܦܪ̈ܙܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܐ ܦܫ ܒܐܪܥܗ ܥܠ ܕܝܠܗ
ܒܗ ܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܠܐܡܗ ܘܐܙܠ ⁸ܒܬܪ ܒܐܬܪ. ܕܝܠ
ܒܪ ܡܢ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ. ܥܠ ܕܐܬܒܢܝ ܘܠܐ ܡܚܝܢ ܒܚܝܘܬܗ. ܝܗܒܗ
ܕܝܢ ⁹ܐܦ ܠܐܚܕ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܗܢܐ ¹⁰ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ
ܘܥܠ ܒܚܟܐ. ܘܐܬܒܐ ܝܘܡ ܐܪܡܠܬܗ ܕܐܠܝܐ. ܘܟܪܟܗ ܥܠ ܕܦܓܠܬܗ
ܘܬܒܥ ܦܢܐ ܠܒܗܘܪ. ܘܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܐܡܟܗ ܒܐܓܘܢܐ. ܘܡܟܪܗ ܥܠ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܕܒܪܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܚܒܪ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ. ¹¹ܡܚܕܐ ܕܝܢ
ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܫܒܩܐ ܒܡܟܐ ܡܢ ܒܟܠ ܒܬ̈ܪܘܗܝ ܥܠܡ. ܘܐܬܩܒܪ
ܒܡܕܒܪܬܐ ܕܫܝܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܒܢܝ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ¹²ܡܩ̈ܒܠܝܢ
ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ ⸭

ܡܚܒܐ ܡܐܪܥܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܠܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ. ܡܛܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܡܦܪܫ ܒܪ
ܐܚܕ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܒܢܝ ܥܠ ܫܪܒܗ ܕܗܠܟܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ. ܘܒܛܠܠܗ

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[1] A omits ܐܒܠ; C ܐܒܠ. [2] B C ܡܢ. [3] B omits ܒܪ. [4] A ܚܕܢܐ.
[5] C ܘܠܬܬܪܐ. [6] C ܘܡܚܕܐ. [7] C ܘܠܚܛܝܐ. [8] A omits ܒܬܪ ܒܐܬܪ.
[9] C omits ܐܦ. [10] B ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ; C ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. [11] C ܘܡܚܕܐ. [12] A B ܡܩܦܣܝܢ.

ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܕܒܪ [1]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܬܠܡ̈ܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܫܐܘܠ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܝܢܐ [2]ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܪܥܗ ⁘

ܝܘܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܦܬܘܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܘܒܝܠ. ܗܢܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܗ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [3]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܚܝܗܝ ܐܚܙܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܨܝܐ ܒܣܘܛܪܐ ܥܠ ܪܝܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢܚܐ ܒܗ [4]ܢܫܡܗ ܐܝܬܝܘܗܝ ܠܐܪܥܗ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܝܬ ⁘

ܥܡܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܩܘܥ. ܐܫܬܢܕ ܒܗ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܒܝܬܐܝܠ ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܩܛܠܗ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ [5]ܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܘܙܝܐ ܗܘ [6]ܕܩܛܠܗ ܐܚܙܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܨܝܐ ܒܣܘܛܪܐ [7]ܘܡܝܬ ⁘

ܥܘܒܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܟܝܡ [8]ܐܬܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ ܘܪܒ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܦܠܚ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܐܚܐܒ. ܗܢܐ ܐܬܬܠܡܕ ܠܐܠܝܐ. ܘܫܒܩ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܗܦܟ ܡܢ ܐܚܐܒ. ܥܠ ܕܫܡܫܗ ܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܝܐ. [9]ܘܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ ܠܢܒܝܘܬܐ ⁘

ܐܠܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܡܢ ܬܫܒܝ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܠܘ̈ܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ. ܚܙܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ [10]ܒܚܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܚܠܦ ܙ̈ܘܡܚܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܟܪܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܡܫܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܕܢܐܟܘܠ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܢܘܪܐ. ܐܬܐ [11]ܕܝܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܚܙܘܐ ܕܚܙܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ. ܢܘܪܐ ܚܠܦ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ. ܘܡܠܬܗ [12]ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܥܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. [13]ܘܡܦܩ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܡܠܬܗ ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܩܠܗ ܡܬܦܩܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܕܒܪ ܒܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܫܡܝܐ. [14]ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܥܕܟܝܢ ܡܬܕܒܪ ܗܘܐ ⁘

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[1] B omits ܬܪܥܣܪ, and C omits ܬܠܡܝܕܐ. [2] A omits ܘܐܬܩܒܪ ܒܐܪܥܗ; C ܒܐܬܪܗ. [3] B C ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. [4] A C ܢܫܡܐ. [5] B C ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. [6] B ܕܩܛܠܗ. [7] A B omit ܘܡܝܬ. [8] B C ܐܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ. [9] C ܘܡܝܬ. [10] C ܒܚܠܡܐ. [11] B omits ܕܝܢ. [12] A omits ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ; C omits ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܘ. [13] A ܘܢܦܩܐ. [14] B C ܐܝܬ.

ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܐܚܙܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ [1]ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܥܬܠܝܐ [2]ܐܡܠܟܬ ܫܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܝܘܐܫ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܐܡܘܨܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܥܘܙܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܘܬܡ ܐܡܠܟ ܫܬܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܚܙܩܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܨܠܝ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܬܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ ܚܡܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܟܠܐ ܠܫܡܫܐ ܘܠܣܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܕܝܬܐ. ܡܢܫܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܗܘ ܢܣܪ ܠܐܫܥܝܐ ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ ܘܩܛܠܗ. [3]ܐܡܘܢ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܘܫܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܗܘܐܚܙ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܠܬܐ [4]ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ. ܝܘܝܩܝܡ ܐܡܠܟ [5]ܚܕܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܝܘܝܟܝܢ ܐܡܠܟ ܡܐܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ. ܨܕܩܝܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܚܕܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܀ ܗܘܝ̈ܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ. ܘܫܬܐ ܝܪ̈ܚܝܢ ܘܥܣܪܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ[6] ܀

ܠܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܐܬܪ ܡܝܬܘ ܘܐܬܩܒܪܘ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ.

[7]ܐܫܥܝܐ ܩܛܠܗ ܡܢܫܐ ܒܪ ܚܙܩܝܐ ܒܡܣܪܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܩܕܡ ܦܚܘܡܢܐ ܕܬܚܢܝ̈ܐ [8]ܕܐܠܦܢ ܫܘܩܐ ܒܡܥܪ [9]ܥܒܠܘܣܐ ܀

ܗܘܫܥ ܒܪ ܒܐܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܕܐܝܣܟܪ ܡܢ ܒܝܠܡܘܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܬܢܒܝ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܪܢ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ. ܘܐܬܐ [10]ܕܡܬܝ ܕܗܘ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܫܝܠܘ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܠܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ

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[1] A C ܚܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ. [2] A.C ܐܡܠܟ. [3] C omits the next clause. [4] B C ܝܪ̈ܚܐ. [5] A B ܚܕܐ ܥܣܪ̈ܐ. [6] The total of the numbers here given is 451 years, 6 months, and 10 days. [7] A omits ܐܫܥܝܐ. [8] A ܕܐܠܦܢܘ. [9] A B ܕܥܒܠܘܣܐ. [10] C ܕܐܡܬܝ.

ܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܬܘܠܥ ܒܪ ܦܘܐܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ [1]ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. [2]ܝܐܝܪ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ ܘܥܡܘ̈ܢܝܐ
[3]ܫܥܒܕܘ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܡܢܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܝܦܬܚ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܫܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܢܕܪ ܢܕܪܐ [4]ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܟܠ ܕܢܦܩ [5]ܠܐܘܪܥܝ ܡܢ
ܒܝܬܝ. ܐܩܪܒܝܘܗܝ ܡܩܪܒܢܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. [6]ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܪܬܗ ܝܚܝܕܝܬܐ.
ܘܩܪܒܗ̇ ܡܩܪܒܢܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܐܒܨܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢܢ. ܐܦܩ
ܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܢܢ. ܘܐܥܠ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܟ̈ܠܠܢ. ܐܝܠܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ
ܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ. [7]ܥܒܪܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ [8]ܬܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ.
ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ [3]ܫܥܒܕܘ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܡܫܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܩܛܠ ܒܦܟܐ ܕܚܡܪܐ [9]ܡܚܬܐ ܐܠܦ
ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܥܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ [10]ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܥܠܝ
ܗܘܬ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܒܫܝܠܘ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. [11]ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܐܘܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ [10]ܠܥܡܐ
ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ [12]ܫܢܝܢ ✣ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ
ܘܫܒܥ [13]ܫܢܝܢ ✣ ܕܘܝܕ [14]ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܠܝܡܘܢ
ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܪܚܒܥܡ ܐܡܠܟ [15]ܫܒܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܐܒܝܐ
ܐܡܠܟ [16]ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܐܣܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ.
ܝܗܘܫܦܛ ܐܡܠܟ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܝܘܪܡ ܐܡܠܟ ܬܡܢܐ

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[1] A ܘܬܠܬܝܢ. [2] A omits from ܝܐܝܪ to ܫܢܝܢ. [3] A ܫܥܒܕ. [4] B C omit ܠܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. [5] B ܡܢ ܒܝܬܝ ܠܐܘܪܥܝ. [6] A ܢܦܩܬ. [7] A C ܥܒܕܢ; B ܥܒܕܘܢ. [8] A ܬܡܢܝܢ. [9] B ܡܚ̈ܬܐ. [10] A omits ܠܥܡܐ. [11] C ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܐܠܩܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ. [12] C omits ܫܢܝܢ. [13] The total of the numbers as here given is 642 years. [14] A C omit ܡܠܟܐ. [15] A ܫܒܥܣܪ. [16] A ܬܠܬܝܢ.

ܝܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܪ:
ܝܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܐܝܠ:
ܝܙ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܦܘܚ:
ܝܚ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܦܪ:
ܝܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܦܩ:
ܟ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܪܘܢ:
ܟܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܘܢ:
ܟܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܨܘܪ:
ܟܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܡܪܘܢ:
ܟܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܟܫܦ:
ܟܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܥܢܟ:
ܟܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܓܕܘܠ:
ܟܙ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕ[1]ܪܩܝܡ:
ܟܚ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕ[2]ܝܩܢܥܡ:
ܟܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܘܪ ܘܢܦܬܕܘܪ:
ܠ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܓܘܡܓܠܐ:
ܠܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܪܨܐ:

[3]ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܣܦܩܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫ̈ܡܗܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܕܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܚܠܦܝܢ ܫ̈ܡܗܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܒܠܐ ܒܗܝ ܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܗܐ ܟܬܝܒܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܫܝܛܬܐ. ܐܝܢܝܢ ܟܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܕܥ ܗܠܝܢ. ܢܩܪܐ ܒܐܦܪܘܬܐ [4]ܘܒܟܝܢܬ ܡܫܬ̈ܥܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܪܟ ܢܫܩܘܠ ܢܣܒܐܝܬ ⁘ ܡܘܫܐ ܕܒܪ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܕܒܪ ܠܥܡܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [5]ܥܓܠܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܘܐܒ ܫܥܒܕ ܠܥܡܐ [6]ܬܡܢܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܐܗܘܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܬܡܢܐܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [7]ܝܒܝܢ ܫܥܒܕ ܠܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܒܘܪܐ [8]ܘܒܪܩ ܗܘܘ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܕܝ̈ܢܝܐ [9]ܫܥܒܕܘ ܠܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܓܕܥܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܢ [10]ܕܪܟܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܥܠ ܫܒܥܝܢ [11]ܥ̈ܝܠܝܢ ܒܚܨܗ. ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܒܪ

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[1] C ܕܕܪܩܝܡ. [2] C ܕܝܩܢܥܡ. [3] A ܡܛܠ. [4] A ܘܟܝܢܬ. [5] B ܘܥܓܠܘܢ.
[6] C ܬܡܢܥܣܪ. [7] C ܝܒܝܢ. [8] C ܘܒܪܩ. [9] A ܫܥܒܕ. [10] C ܕܪܟܝܒܝܢ.
[11] A C ܥ̈ܝܠܐ.

ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܓܒ̈ܪܝܢ ܫܬ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܘ [1]ܡܢ
ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܫܬܟܚܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ
ܐܫܬܟܚܘܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦܫܢ ✤

ܠܐ ✤ [2]ܥܠ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܦܣܝܩܘܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪܢܘܢ. ܡܘܫܐ ܥܒܕܝ. ܡܝܬ. ܡܟܝܠ ܩܘܡ ܥܒܘܪ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܗܢܐ. ܐܢܬ ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܡܝܬ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ. ܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܕܪܟܘܢ ܒܗ ܠܟܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܝܫܘܥ [3]ܒܪܢܘܢ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܠܟܐ ܘܠܟܐ. ܘܥܒܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܒܫܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܪܘ ܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ. ܒܗ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܦܐܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܐܦ̈ܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܒܫܘܗ̇ ܠܐܝܪܝܚܘ ܘܐܚܕܘܗ̇. ܘܩܛܠ ܒܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܠܓ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ. ܘܕܒܪ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܫܪ̈ܒܬܗܘܢ. ܘܗܠܝܢ [4]ܫܡܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܚܕ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ.

ܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܪܝܚܘ:
ܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝ:
ܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ:
ܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܒܪܘܢ:
ܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܪܡܘܬ:
ܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܟܝܫ:
ܙ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܓܠܘܢ:
ܚ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܓܙܪ:
ܛ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܒܝܪ:
ܝ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܪܡܐ:
ܝܐ. ܡܠܟܐ [5]ܕܓܕܪ:
ܝܒ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܪܕ:
ܝܓ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܒܢܐ:
ܝܕ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܕܘܠܡ:

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[1] A omits ܡܢ.

[2] B ܥܠ ܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ.

[3] B omits ܒܪܢܘܢ; C ܘܥܒܪܘ.

[4] B C ܫܡ̈ܗܐ.

[5] A ܓܙܪ.

ܒܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܗ̇. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܫܠܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܪܬ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܢܡܘ̈ܣܗܘܢ. ¹ܘܬܫܪܪ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܬܒ ܡܘܫܐ ܢܡܘ̈ܣܐ ²ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܟܗ̈ܢܐ، ܒܢ̈ܝ ܠܘܝ، ܒܟܬܒܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܟܕ ܢܩܪܘܢ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ ܢܩܪܘܢ ܒܥܐܕܐ ܕܡܛܠ̈ܠܐ. ܘܢܛܪܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܡܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܫ̈ܐ. ܕܢܚܝܘܢ ܘܢܕܚܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܙܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝܟ. ܩܪܝ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܒܪܢܘܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܟ ܘܐܩܝܡܝܗܝ، ܒܡܫܡܥ ܐܕܢܐ. ܘܦܩܕܝܗܝ، ܕܢܕܒܪ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܟ ܢܣܛܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܬܪܝܨܐ ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܗܦܟ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܣܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ³ܢܒܘ. ܘܚܙܝ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܢܥܢ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܝܬ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܐܚܘܟ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܗܘܪ. ܘܡܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ. ⁴ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܝܕܥ ܩܒܪܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܟܣܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܚܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܟܗ̈ܝܬ ܥܝܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܚܠܦܬ ܨܘܪܬ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ. ܘܒܟܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܒܥܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܡܘܐܒ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܗܟܝܠ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ⁵ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܀ ܘܥܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ⁶ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܗܘܢ ܠܬܡܢܝܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܕܒܬܪ ⁷ܡܘܕܥܐ ܠܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܒܣܦܪ ܒܢܝܡܝܢ ⁸ܕܠܥܡܐ. ܕܒܬܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ ܗܘܘ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܡܐܐ ⁹ܒܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܕܒܬܪ ܡܘܕܥܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ

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[1] A omits ܘ. [2] A C omit this word. [3] A ܕܢܒܘ. [4] A C ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ. [5] C omits ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܡܐܐ. [6] B C ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܗ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ. [7] C ܐܣܘܪܐ. [8] A C ܐܢܫܐ. [9] B C omit ܒܫ̈ܢܝܢ.

ܣܦܪܠ. ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܬܘ̈ܪܐ. ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܒܬܒ̈ܠ. ܘܦܝ̈ܫ ܐܢܦ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܟܕ ܢܚܪܘܢ ܡܦܪܕܝܢ ܘܐܬܦܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܕܢܐ. ܢܦܪܥܘܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܓܘܪ̈ܣܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܚܝ̈ܪܣܐ ܘܒܝܬ ܓܘܣܐ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܪܟܢܗ. ¹ܢܚܪܘܢ ܠܗܡܢ ²ܘܢܬܠܒ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܕܡܟܐ ܕܡܟܢܬ ܒܗܢܐ ܪܒܢܐ ܕܦܩܪ ܒܪܒܢܐ ܗܘ. ܘܗܟܢ ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܗܬ ܥܪܒܬܘ ܘܠܒܝܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܗܟܢ ܠܗܘܢ ³ܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܘܡܦܘܩ̈ܕܝܢ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܦ. ܠܐ ܢܬܦܫܩܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܢܫ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ. ܘܗܟܠܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܬܬܚܫܒܐ ܒܢܫ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܫܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܝܗ̈ܒܐ. ܢܦܪܘܫ ܠܐܡܟܐ ܘܡܢ ܢܣܒ ܠܦܬ̈ܘܓܐ. ܘܢܟܒܕ ܠܐܓܪܘܗ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܣܕܪܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܡܢܗ ܐܢܫ. ⁴ܘܢܬܬܟܒ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܢܗ. ܘܡܢ ܢܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܦܓܪܢܝܐ. ܢܟܡܫܘܗܝ ܡܕܡ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܢܬܠܘܫܘܗܝ. ܐܢ ܢܗܦܘܟ ܡܢ ܚܛܗܘ ⁵ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܬܪܚܡ. ܘܠܐ ܢܒܘܬ ܠܡܣܘܟܐ ܥܠ ܠܡܣܘܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܡܬܓܕܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ. ܘܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܕܡܟ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ⁶ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ. ܗܝ ܠܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ. ܢܬܠ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܣܐ̈ܡܐ. ܘܢܣܒܝܗ̇ ܒܢܬܐ. ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܐ ✤

ܘܦܩܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ⁷ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܒܬܪ ܣܘܪܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܬܝܕ. ⁸ܘܠܐ ܦܫ ܒܗ ܚܝܠܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܬܒܪ ܢܘܪܐ ⁹ܗܘܐ ܕܡܦܪܕܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܠܥܦܪܢܘܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܝܬ ܒܡܢܐ ܟܠܗ. ܐܬܒܛܠ ܘܐܬܢܟܦ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܬܓܠ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܕܢܐ. ܠܐ ܬܬܒܪ ܡܢ

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[1] A C ܢܚܙܘܢܝ. [2] A ܘܢܬܠܒ. [3] A omits ܘ ܢܗܦܟܘܢ. [4] A ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܘܢܬܬܟܒ.
[5] B C ܘܠܐ. [6] C ܡܟܝܪܬܐ. ܢܬܩܛܠ ܗܘ ܒܚܘܒܪܗ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܪܗ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܘܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܣܐܡܐ; B reads ܘܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܕܡܟ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܟܝܪܬܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܪܗ ܒܚܘܒܪܗ ܢܬܠ ܠܐܒܘܗ̇ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܕܣܐܡܐ ܘܬܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܢܬܬܐ. [7] B ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ. [8] A ܘܠܐ ܐܢܐ. [9] A B omit ܗܘܐ.

ܙܡܪ̈ܝ، ܒܪ ܦܠܗ. ܘܢܫܒܘܗ ܠܡܘܫܒܗ ܒܪܬ ܝܦܬ. ܘܢܚܬ ܒܡܚܗ ܠܚܡ
ܡܘܥܕܐ ܘܠܚܡ ܒܡܚܐ [1]ܥܠܘ. [2]ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܡܚܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ.
ܘܡܢ [3]ܗܒܝܢܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܠܟܣܕܪ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܣܛܪܘܢ ܘܕܒܪ ܐܢܦܘܢ
ܒܪܘܡܝܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ [4]ܒܠ ܙܒ ܪܘܡܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܬܠܠ
ܡܘܬܢܐ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ ܥܒܬܐ. ܘܐܬܬܦܢܝ ܗܕܐ ܦܠܘܛܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܘܬܐ
ܠܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܦܪܘܒܢܐ ܕܘܝܕ. ܕܡܢ [5]ܠܡ ܗܢܘܢ ܘܝܠܠ
ܘܐܬܬܠܠ ܡܘܬܢܐ. ܘܐܬܬܦܢܝ ܠܗ ܐܦܘܬܐ ܠܕܘܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܕܘܪܐ
ܠܥܠܡ. ܦܘܩܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ [6]ܕܗ̇ܘܝܘ ܕܡܛܠܬܗ ܒܗ̇ܘ ܥܒܬܐ. ܒܫܢ̈ܝܢ
ܘܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܒܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ
ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܥܠܘ ܡܫܝܢܘܗܝ ܠܐܬܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܩܝܡ. ܘܐܬܠ ܘܥܒܕܡܐܐ
ܘܐܬܡܠܐܝܢ ܢܩܥܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ [7]ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܦܪܘܩ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܪ ܢܦܘܢ.
ܘܢܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܘܢܫܒܘܢܘܗܝ، ܘܕܡ ܐܠܟܣܪ ܒܗܘܢܐ. ܘܗܕܡ
ܥܠܘܦܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ. ܘܫܡܥ ܠܗ [8]ܐܠܗܐ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܕܚܠܬܐ ܘܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ
ܘܠܒܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܝܗܒܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ [9]ܠܓܢܘܒܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܘܦܠܓܗ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܥܒܪܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. [10]ܘܐܠܘܗ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕܗ ܐܢܦܘܢ. ܘܒܪܗ ܐܢܦܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ [11]ܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܛܠܘܢ ܥܠ [12]ܒܢ̈ܝ ܕܝܢ ܒܡ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܙܢܝܢ ܒܗܡ [13]ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ. ܘܐܦ ܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ
ܕܠܐ [14]ܫܒܥ ܐܢ̈ܫܝ ܒܒܢ̈ܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܕܢܦܪܘܩܘܢ ܡܢ
ܒܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܫܕ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܠܗ، [15]ܡܥܩ̈ܒܝܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܦܘܩܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ [16]ܕܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܒܗܡ [17]ܒܢ̈ܝ

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[1] A omits this word. [2] B ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡܘ. [3] A has always ܗܒܝܣܒܘܣ. [4] A ܒܪܘܡ. [5] B omits ܠܡ. [6] A C omit ܕܗ̇ܘܝܘ. [7] B omits ܠܡܘܫܐ. [8] A omits ܐܠܗܐ; B C omit ܘܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ. [9] B C ܠܓܢܘܒܗ. [10] A ܘܐܠܘܗ. [11] A omits ܡܘܫܐ. [12] C ܒܢ̈ܝ ܢܫܐ. [13] A C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [14] B ܫܒܥ. [15] B ܡܥܩܒܝܢ, and omits ܘ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ; C ܡܥܩܒܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܗ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ. [16] MSS. ܕܐܬܦܢܝܘ. [17] B omits ܒܢ̈ܝ.

ܘܡܫܝܚ. ܘܠܡܫܚܐ ܐܘܟܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܚܪܝܢ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ
ܡܒܣܡܬܐ. ܕܠܝܬ ¹ܒܗ ܙܘܡܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܬܒܢܐ. ܘܐܬܠܗ ܡܫܚܐ
ܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܢܦܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܢܗܪ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ. ²ܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܢܚܣܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ
ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܢܬܬܢ ܒܗܢܐ ܒܠܗ. ܘܗܢܐ ܡܫܚܐ
ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ³ܗܘܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܡܫܚܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܐܬܠܗ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ. ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܢ
ܠܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܢܣܒܬ ܡܢ ܝܗܘܐ ܘܡܢ ܒܗܢܐ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܪܝܐ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܦܪ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܚܘܬܡܐ. ܘܡܚܬܗ ܡܢ ܚܘܬܡܐ ܒܗܢܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܐܬܡܫܚܘ ܠܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܗ ⁴ܠܗܘܢ. ܚܠܦ
ܡܢܡ ⁵ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܕܡܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܚܝܒ ܚܘܝܐ
ܕܢܫܚܐ ܘܬܠܝܗܘܢ، ܥܠ ܪܫ ⁶ܚܘܪܒܢ ܘܐܡܥܢܝܗܘܢ، ܡܢܝܚܬ ܒܗܢܐ.
ܘܥܠܡܢ ܕܝܬܗܘܢ، ܚܘܝܐ. ܢܦܩ ܒܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܫܚܐ ܘܢܘܚܐ ܘܠܐ
ܢܣܒܬ. ܘܗܘܢܐ ܚܘܝܐ ܕܐܘܦ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܦܘܣܩܢܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ، ܕܐܘܣܦܬܗܘܢ
ܕܡܢܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܐܘܦ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܐܦ ܠܗ. ܕܢܐܡܢ ܠܐܚܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܚܬܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܦܪܘܩܐ. ܘܐܬܐ
ܒܪ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܝܘܪܕܢܢ ܕܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܬܘܒ ܐܡܪܘ. ܘܒܗ ܒܠܗܘܢ،
ܒܪ ܡܪܝܡ ܢܘܗܪ ܡܫܝܚ. ܘܐܠܒܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܒܢܝܫܐ ܕܐܡܪܘ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܗ. ܘܒܗܘ ܒܪ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܡ ܒܬܝ ܡܫܝܚ
ܘܫܡܥܘ ܠܥܬܝܕܘܬܗ. ܘܢܐܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܫܘ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܪܝܐ
ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܠܒܪ ܡܪܝܡ. ܘܢܚܙܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ
ܕܢܬܦܠܓ ܥܠ ܚܪܢ ܚܕܗ. ⁷ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܠܚܝܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܒܬܪܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܝܐ ⁸ܒܬܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܐܘܦܐ

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[1] B omits ܒܗ. [2] A ܒܢܘܗ; C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [3] A C omit ܗܘܝܢ. [4] A ܒܗܘ. [5] B ܡܕܝܢܐ; A ܘܡܕܡܝܢ. [6] B C ܘܐܬܡܣܐ. [7] B C ܘܡܠܟܝ ܕܝܗܘܕ. [8] A ܒܬܪ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ; C ܒܬܪܗ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܘܠܐܗܪܘܢ ܒܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. [1]ܦܪܘܫܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܘܐܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܫܥܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ. ܣܒ
ܦܝܪܡܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܒܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܒܣ̈ܡܐ. ܘܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ ܕܢܚܣܐ
ܠܗܘܢ [2]ܐܠܗܐ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܪܘܓܙܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܡܢ
ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܣܡ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܒܣܡܐ ܒܦܝܪܡܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܒܣܘܪܗܒܐ
ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ. ܘܟܠܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܟܕ ܫܪܝ ܠܗܘܢ [3]ܕܠܐ ܚܘܣ.
ܘܒܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܦܪܥ [4]ܚܒܠܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܝ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ.
ܦܩܕܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܣܒ [5]ܡܛܘܬܐ ܡܢ̇ ܫܒܛܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ.
[6]ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܘ
ܥܡ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܩܘܪܚ. ܘܗܘܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܡܘܫܐ ܢܣܒܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܫܒܛܐ ܚܕ.
ܘܢܟܬܒܘܢ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ. ܫܡܐ [7]ܕܫܪܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܫܒܛܗ̇. ܘܫܡܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܥܠ
ܫܒܛܐ ܕܠܘܝ. ܘܗܘ ܕܓܒܐ [8]ܢܦܪܥ ܫܒܛܗ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܝܟ
ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܣܒ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܘܣܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ.
ܘܡܚܪ ܗܘ. ܘܠܡܚܪܬܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܐܫܟܚ
ܠܫܒܛܗ [9]ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܗ̇، ܟܕ ܡܦܪܥ ܘܡܦܩ ܠܦܐܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܢܛܪܘܢ ܫܒܛܐ ܠܗ̇ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܠܘܝ
ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܐܬܬ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܨܝܢ. ܘܡܝܬܬ ܬܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܚܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܘܫܐ [10]ܘܐܗܪܘܢ
ܘܩܒܪܘܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܪܛܢܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇ ܕܡ [11]ܡܚܝܘܗܝ ܩܘܡ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܟܐܦܐ
ܕܡܚܝܬܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܩܘܡ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܕܐܡܪܗ ܬܢ [12]ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢ

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[1] A ܦܪܘܫ. [2] A omits ܐܠܗܐ. [3] B ܕܠܐ ܚܘܣܢ. [4] B ܚܒܠ ; C ܚܒܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܚ̈ܝܐ. [5] A C ܚ̈ܛܪܐ. [6] C ܐܪܒܥܐ ܥܣܪ. [7] A ܫܒܛܐ ; C ܫܒܛܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܪܒܬܗ̇. [8] C ܢܦܪܘܥ. [9] A B add ܕܐܗܪܘܢ. [10] C ܘܠܐܗܪܘܢ. [11] B. ܡܚܝ ܗܘܐ. [12] C ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ.

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܬܬܩܒܠ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܟܠ[1] ܚܕ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܟ [2]ܦܝܪܡܗ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܘܢܣܡ ܒܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܒܣ̈ܡܐ.
[3]ܘܩܡܘ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܬܪܥ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܟܕ
ܠܚܝܡ ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. [4]ܦܪܘܫ ܡܢ ܥܕܬܐ.
ܘܐܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ [5]ܥܕܢܐ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܥܠ
ܐܦ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ. [6]ܕܡܛܠ ܚܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܬܘܒܕ
ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܕܢܬܦܪܫܘܢ ܡܢ [7]ܚܕܪ̈ܝ، ܡܫܟ̈ܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܚ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ.، ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ
[8]ܠܥܡܐ ܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. [9]ܘܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܥܡܐ ܡܢ
[10]ܡܫܟܢܗ ܕܩܘܪܚ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܩܘܪܚ [11]ܘܫܪܒܬܗ ܘܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܩܡܘ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܐܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܬܦܬܚ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܘܡܗ ܘܬܒܠܥ ܐܢܘܢ. ܗܝ ܡܢ
ܬ̄ܚܘܬ ܢܦܫ ܐܬܬܐ. ܢܦܩܘܗ ܡܬܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܚ ܐܝܟ ܚܠܝܢ. ܘܟܕ
ܥܕܟܝܠ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܦܘܡܗ. ܐܬܦܬܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ [12]ܘܒܠܥܬ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ
ܠܒܥܝܪܐ. ܘܢܦܠܬ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ ܥܠ ܫܒ̈ܛܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ
ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܘܩܕܬ ܠܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ
ܠܐܠܥܙܪ. [13]ܣܒ ܦܝܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܥܒܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܚܫܬܐ. ܕܢܗܘܘܢ
ܠܥܘܗܕܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܩܕܫܘ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܕܠܐ ܢܩܪܘܒ
ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬܘܗܝ، ܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ. [14]ܕܢܣܝܡ
ܦܝܪܡܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ. ܘܐܬܪܥܡܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܢܬܘܢ [15]ܐܘܒܕܬܘܢ ܠܥܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] C omits ܚܕ. [2] B ܦܝܪܡܐ. [3] A C ܘܩܡ. [4] B C ܦܪܘܫܘ. [5] C ܫܥܬܐ. [6] A ܡܛܠ. [7] C omits this word; A ܚܕܪ̈ܘܗܝ. [8] A omits ܠܥܡܐ. [9] C ܘܐܬܦܪܫ. [10] B C ܡܫܟ̈ܢܐ. [11] C ܘܫܪܒܬܗ. [12] A ܘܒܠܥܬ ܟܠܗ. ܘܒܠܥܬ ܐܢܘܢ; B C ܘܒܠܥܬ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ. [13] B ܣܒܘ. [14] A B ܕܢܣܝܡܘܢ. [15] C ܐܘܒܕܬܘܢ.

ܕܒܣܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܢܫܝܟܘܢ. ܘܒܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܢܦܠ ܫܠܕ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܘܦܓܪ̈ܝܟܘܢ
ܘܡܢ̈ܝܢܟܘܢ. ܟܠ ܕܡܢܐ ܛܒ ܡܢ [1]ܕܟܢܫ. ܡܢ ܒܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܥܠ.
ܘܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܢܥܠܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܥܠܘܢܗ̇.
ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ ܘܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ
[2]ܒܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܫܠܡ ܫܠܕ̈ܝܟܘܢ [3]ܠܦܘܬ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܓܫܬܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܝ. ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ
ܠܫܢ̈ܬܐ ܬܬܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܣܟܠܘܬܟܘܢ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܒܪܘ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ. ܘܟܠܒ ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ ܡܚܝܠܐ [4]ܒܣܒܘܬܐ
ܚܝܐ. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܘܟܠܒ [5]ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. ܘܐܬܟܪܝ ܠܗ
ܠܥܡܐ ܛܒ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܚܢܢ ܣܠܩܝܢ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܗܦܟ
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܢܟܘܢ. ܠܐ ܬܣܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܟܘܢ. ܘܠܐ
ܫܡܥܘ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܣܠܩܘ ܠܪܝܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܡܢ
ܐܪܘܢܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܘܩܒܠܗܘܢ ܥܡܠܩܝܐ ܘܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܕܥܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ
ܘܐܚܪܒܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܕܟܕ ܢܥܠܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܢܩܪܒܘܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܣܡܝܕܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ ܘܡܫܚܐ.
ܩܕܡ ܩܘܪܚ ܒܪ ܝܨܗܪ. ܘܕܬܢ ܘܐܒܝܪܡ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ [6]ܕܐܠܝܐܒ ܡܢ
ܫܪ̈ܒܬܗܘܢ. ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܥܡ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ.
ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܥܝܩܘܗܝ ܘܕܠܚܘܗܝ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܥܠ
ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܘܩܡ ܡܨܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܠܡܚܪ ܢܕܥ ܟܠܢܫ [7]ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ
ܡܢܘ. ܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܠܟܘܢ [8]ܕܓܒܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܬܬܦܠܚܘܢ ܘܬܫܡܫܘܢܗܝ
ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܬܒܥܘܢ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ.

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[1] C ܟܡ. [2] A ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [3] B ܠܦܘܬ ܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܡܝ; A C ܕܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ.
[4] A ܒܣܒܘܬܐ ܗܘ, with ܐܘ ܚܝܐ on the margin. [5] C omits ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. [6] B C ܐܠܝܐܒ. [7] C ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܗ. [8] B omits ܕܓܒܐ ܠܟܘܢ.

ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܡܠܟ ܒܪ ܡܘܬܢܐ. ܠܐ ܬܬܕܚܠܘܢ. ܚܡ ܝܩܕ ܟܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܢܫܠܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܐܝܕܝܗ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘ، ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. [1]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܚܕ̈ܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܒܥ ܠܗ ܪܥܝܐ ܘܢܦܩܘܢ
ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܘܬܢܐ ܘܐܬܡܚܝܘ [2]ܟܠ ܐܦܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܟܡܟܐ.
ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܡܠܟ ܒܪ ܡܘܬܢܐ [3]ܗܕܡܘ ܢܚܬܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܒܢܝ̈
ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܒܥܣܪ ܗ̄ܘ، ܦܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܚܠܒܐ
ܘܒܥܣܪܐ. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܐܡܪ̈ܐ، ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܬܠܝܗ [4]ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܢܦܪܚܘܢ
ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܒܢܝ̈ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܢܦܪܚܘܢ [5]ܐܢܘܢ ܒܒܐܪ̈ܐ.
ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܒܢܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܢܝ̈
ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܐܡܬܗ، ܢܦܪܘܩ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܒܕܡܐ
ܠܐܡܬܗ، ܠܐ [6]ܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܗ. ܒܠܗܘܢ ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ.
[7]ܒܪܘܟܝ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܬܒܪܟܝܢ ܪܥܝܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ [8]ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ [9]ܚܠܬܐ ܢܫܟܚܘܢ
ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܘܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܒܢܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܒܚܠܝ. ܘܒܪ
ܡܬܚܘܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ. ܟܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ، ܕܢܦܪܘܬ ܐܢܘܢ
ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܡܠܟܝ ܠܗܘܢ. ܦܠܛ ܐܢܘܢ [10]ܒܣܘܪܒܐ. [11]ܘܐܙܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ
ܕܪܥܘܬ ܒܒܡܟܐ ܗܘܢܐ. ܘܚܐܘܢ ܒܡ ܒܒܡ. ܘܢܦܪܘܢ ܦܢܝܡ
ܒܟܡܘܢ. ܘܐܢܬ ܬܦܠܝ ܒܒܡܘܕܐ ܕܢܦܘܪܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ. [12]ܘܬܦܠܠ
ܐܢܘܢ ܒܒܢܝܐ ܒܐܚܡܒܡܐ. ܢܦܩܐ ܗܘܟܐ ܚܠܩܬܐ ܕܒܡܝ
ܒܚܣܡܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܫܬ ܚܠܩܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܒܕܡܐ ܠܗܪܟܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ̈ ܝܣܪܝܠ. ܐܦ ܒܡܟܐ ܒܢܫܐ.
[13]ܒܠܗܘܢ ܬܟܠܐ ܕܢܦܠܬܘܢ ܥܢܝܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ [14]ܒܒܘܢ ܐܝܟ

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[1] A omits ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܚܣܝ̈ܪܐ. [2] A ܡܘܬܢܐ ܘܐܦܝ̈ܗܘܢ. [3] A ܗܘܡ. [4] A omits ܠܡ. [5] A ܐܢܝ. [6] B ܢܦܩܘܢܝܢ. [7] B ܒܪܘܟܝ ܠܢ. [8] B ܠܐܠܗܐ. [9] A C omit this word. [10] B ܒܣܘܪܒܐ. [11] A ܘܐܙܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ; C ܡܪܝܐ. [12] B ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܒܐܡܘܪܐ ܒܒܢܝܐ. [13] A C ܒܠܗܘܢ. [14] A ܒܒܘܢ.

ܘܩܪܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ [1]ܡܪܝܐ.
ܫܡܥܘ ܡܢܝ ܢܒܝܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܐܢܐ ܒܚܙܘܐ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܥܠܝܟܘܢ.
ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬܘܢ ܒܚܠܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܝ ܡܘܫܐ. ܕܐܬܗܝܡܢ ܥܠ
ܟܠ ܡܕܡ. ܘܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܠܦܘܡ ܐܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ. ܘܪܓܙ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ.
[2]ܘܐܬܥܠܝ ܥܢܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܚܢܝܢ ܡܪܝܡ. [3]ܘܐܬܓܪܒܬ
ܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ. [4]ܘܚܙܐ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܕܓܪܒܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܒܒܥܐ
ܡܢܟ ܠܐ ܬܣܘܪ ܒܫܠܡܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܡ ܒܝ. ܘܐܬܟܫܦ ܡܘܫܐ ܩܕܡ
ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪ. [5]ܒܒܥܘ ܡܢܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܣܝܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪ [6]ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܠܘ [7]ܐܒܘܗ̇ ܡܪܩ ܪܩ [8]ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܦ̈ܝܗ̇. ܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ̇
[9]ܕܬܬܒܗܬ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗ̇. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ
ܬܬܟܢܫ. ܘܐܬܚܒܫܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ
ܐܬܟܢܫܬ. [10]ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܓܒܝ ܓܫܘܫ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܒܛܐ
ܓܒܪܐ [11]ܚܕ. ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ ܘܢܓܫܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܓܒܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܟܠܒ
ܒܪ ܝܘܦܢܐ. ܘܐܙܠܘ ܘܓܫܘܗ̇ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܟܕ ܫܩܝܠܝܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ
[12]ܡܢ ܐܒܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܥܢ̈ܒܐ ܘܬܐ̈ܢܐ ܘܪ̈ܘܡܢܐ. ܘܐܬܘ
ܓܫܘܫ̈ܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܢ ܚܝܠܐ [13]ܠܡܩܡ ܠܘܩܒܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܚܢܢ ܒܥܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܩܡ̈ܨܐ ܫܛܠܝܐ. ܘܐܬܪܥܡܘ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܟܘ
ܟܠܗ ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ. ܠܐ ܡܛܝܬ ܬܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܪ̈ܝܐ
ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܬܟܪܟܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܚܘܒܬ [14]ܚܝ
ܘܢܩܡ ܘܩܡ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܦܘܫܩܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ [15]ܠܡܫܡ̈ܥܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘܢ

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[1] B omits ܡܪܝܐ. [2] A ܘܐܬܠܥܠ; B ܘܐܬܥܠܠ. [3] A C ܘܐܬܓܠܓܠܬ. [4] B ܘܚܙܐ.
[5] B ܒܒܥܐ. [6] B omits ܐܠܗܐ. [7] A ܐܒܘܗܝ. [8] A omits ܗ̄ܘܐ. [9] A B ܬܬܒܗܬ.
[10] B ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. [11] B C omit ܚܕ. [12] B ܡܢ ܦܐܪܘܗ̇ ܕܐܪܥܐ; A omits ܥܢܒܐ.
[13] MSS. ܠܡܩܡܘ. [14] B ܚܝ ܚܡ ܢܩܡ. [15] A ܠܡܫܡܥܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ.

ܠܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܢܒܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܪܘܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܬܢܝܚ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܚܝܠܬܗܘܢ ܒܫܪܪܐ. ܗܐ ܢܛܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܒܫܪܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܕ ܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܘܪܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܫܟܝܚܐ. [1]ܘܠܐ ܒܫܪܪܐ. ܐܠܐ [2]ܐܢܫ ܩ̈ܘܡܝܢ ܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܒܕܡܟܐ [3]ܕܝܗܘܒ ܡܢ ܣܢ̈ܐܝܟܘܢ. [4]ܘܣܘܡܟܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܘܦܬܪܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܡܟܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ. ܒܡܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܒܫܬܘܩܗܘܢ. ܫܬܡܥܐ ܐܠܩܝܢ ܠܚܬ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܬܬܘܪܬܐ ܕܬܘܒܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܢܝܚ ܩ̈ܘܡܝܢ. ܐܢ ܢܚܙܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܬܬܪܐ ܠܗ ܗܟܢ ܠܟܘܢ. ܗܐ ܢܓܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܢܘܗ̈ܪܐ ܕܒܥܝܐ ܠܗ ܢܡܘܣܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܢܬ. ܗܘܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܘܢܥܒܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܦܘܡܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܥܒܪ̈ܢܝ ܬܠܝܗ̇ ܡܢ ܡܫܐ. [5]ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܚܕܐ܆ ܡܥܪ̈ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܐܝܟ ܐܪܘܥܐ ܕܗܘܡܟܐ ܚܕ. ܡܢ ܥܠ [6]ܚܒ̈ܝܒ. [5]ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܥܠ ܚܕܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܐܡܬܝܢ ܠܟܠ. [7]ܘܝܬܒܘ ܥܠ [8]ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ [9]ܒܫܪܪܐ ܒܦ̈ܬܝܢ. ܘܡܠܝܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ. ܘܪܢܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܚܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܫܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ̈ܗܪܐ. ܘܐܬܦܪܫܬ ܕܒܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ܆ ܡܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗ̇. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܣܝܩܘܪܬ. ܘܐܫܬܟܚܘ ܐܣܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܚܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܒܘܫܡܬܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܗ̇. ܘܐܡܪܘ [10]ܕܕܠܡܟܐ ܒܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ܆ ܡܠܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܐܦ ܒܢ ܡܠܠ. ܘܡܘܫܐ ܢܓܙܝܢ ܩ̈ܡܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣ. ܘܡܚܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܠܬܐ [11]ܕܡܚܝܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܫܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܩܡ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ.

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[1] C ܘܐܠܐ. [2] B C ܚܣܝܢ. Here begins A, fol. 50. [3] A C ܕܝܗܒ. [4] B C ܘܣܘܡܟܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܦܬܪ̈ܐ; A ܠܣܘܡܟܐ; B C omit the gloss ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܡܟܝܢ. [5] MSS. ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ. [6] B ܢܓ̈ܚܝܢ; C ܡܢ ܥܠ. [7] B ܘܚܠܘ. [8] A ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. [9] A ܒܫܡܐ. [10] B ܕܠܡܟܐ. [11] B ܕܐܬܪܘܢ ܘܡܕܝܢ.

[1]ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܬܢܝܚܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܦܓܝ̈ܪܐ.
ܘܐܪܝܡܘ ܩܠܗܘܢ ܒܒܟܝܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܘܪܥܢ. ܘܫܕܪ ܒܗܘܢ
ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܐܘܩܕܬ ܣܕܪ̈ܝ ܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܗܘܢ.[2] ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܝܒܫܬ
ܢܦܫܢ [3]ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܡܥܗܕܝܢ ܠܡܐܟܘ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܢܘ̈ܢܐ
ܩܬ̈ܘܐ ܘܦܛ̈ܝܚܐ ܘܟܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܬܘ̈ܡܐ. ܘܗܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܢ
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܢܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢܢܐ [4]ܕܡܘܬܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܘܬ
ܟܘܣܒܪܬܐ. ܛܚܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܡܒܫܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢܗ ܓܪ̈ܨܐ.
ܘܛܥܡܗ ܐܝܟ [5]ܠܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܚܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܡܘܫܐ ܩܠ ܒܟܝܐ
ܕܥܡܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ [6]ܒܬܪܥ ܡܫܟܢܗ. ܘܐܬܟܪܝ ܠܗ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܘܫܐ
ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܠܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ [7]ܩܕܡܝܟ.
ܕܐܪܡܝܬ ܥܠܝ ܡܘܒܠܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܕܠܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܘܠܕܬ ܐܢܘܢ.
ܐܘ ܡܪܒܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܒܥܘܒܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ
ܓܒܝ ܡܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܕܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܡܫܟܢܐ. ܘܐܣܩܬ ܘܐܡܠܠ ܥܡܟ. ܘܐܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܘܐܣܝܡ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. [8]ܘܢܛܥܢܘܢ ܥܡܟ ܡܘܒܠܗ
ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܛܥܢ ܐܢܬ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܟ. ܘܐܘܕܥ ܐܦ ܡܘܫܐ.
ܘܓܒܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ
ܒܥܢܢܐ ܘܡܠܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܘܫܐ
ܘܣܡ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ. ܘܬܪܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ [9]ܕܐܬܟܬܒܘ
ܥܡܗܘܢ ܦܫܘ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܘ. ܘܫܡܗܘܢ ܕܚܕ ܐܠܕܕ
ܘܫܡܗ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܝܕܕ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ ܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܡܐ ܚܕ ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ [10]ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ
ܬܠܡܝܕܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܡܪܝ ܟܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܬܛܢ.

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[1] C ܘܗܢܘܢ. [2] C ܘܐܡܪ. [3] C ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [4] C ܕܡܘܬܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܘܬ.
[5] B ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܠܫܐ. [6] C ܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܗ. [7] C ܒܥܝ̈ܢܝܟ. [8] B omits ܘ.
[9] C ܕܐܬܬܟܬܒܘ. [10] B omits ܠܗ.

ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܢܟܠܘ. ܘܗܦܟ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ.
ܘܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ، ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܨܒܥܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܣܪܐ ܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ [1]ܠܥܓܠܐ ܕܥܒܕܘ. ܪܓܙ ܘܡܚܐ
ܠܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܥܠ ܥܩܒ ܛܘܪܐ ܘܬܒܪ [2]ܐܢܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ، ܡܘܫܐ ܠܥܓܠܐ
ܘܫܚܩܗ ܒܫܘܦܝܢܐ ܘܐܪܡܝܗ ܒܢܗܪܐ. ܘܐܫܩܝ ܐܢܘܢ [3]ܒܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܩܕ
ܠܒ̈ܢܝ [4]ܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܢܫܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܥܕܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐܗܪܘܢ.
[5]ܥܠ ܥܒܝ̈ܕܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܬ ܕܥܡܐ ܗ̄ܘ
ܩܫܐ ܩܕܠܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܠܘܝ.، ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܒܪ [6]ܕܢܩܛܠ
ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ، ܘܠܩܪܝܒܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܥܓܠܐ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠܘ
ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒܪܝܢ. ܘܣܠܩ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܙܒܢܬܐ
ܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [7]ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܣܠܩ ܥܡܗ ܕܢܦܩ ܐܢܫ.
ܘܗܘ، ܒܛܘܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܬܐ ܡܡܠܠܬܐ.
ܟܕ ܡܦܝܣ ܘܡܬܟܫܦ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܢܚܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ [7]ܠܘ̈ܚܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ
ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܐ. [8]ܐܙܪܗ، ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܩܝܡܗ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ
ܠܡܚܪ ܒܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܙܝܘܐ [9]ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܫܝܦ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ.
ܘܕܚܠܘ ܡܢܗ. ܘܡܟܣܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ، ܒܣܘܕܪܐ. [10]ܟܕ ܐܬܐ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܥܡܐ. [11]ܘܟܕ ܡܡܠܠ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܓܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܚܘܒܒ ܒܪ ܪܥܘܐܝܠ [12]ܚܡܘܗܝ،
ܡܕܝܢܝܐ. ܢܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܘܕܝ، ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܬܠܝܘܗܝ ܠܢ.
ܬܐ ܥܡܢ ܘܢܛܐܒ ܠܟ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܘܗܦܟ ܠܡܕܝܢ.

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[1] B omits ܠܥܓܠܐ ; C has ܥܡܐ ܠܥܓܠܐ. [2] B ܐܢܘܢ. [3] A ܒܢܗܪܐ ܘܡܫܩܠܐ.
[4] End of A, fol. 49 *b*. A whole leaf is missing here. [5] B omits ܥܠ ܥܒܝܕܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܗܪܘܢ. [6] C omits ܕ. [7] C ܠܘܚ̈ܝܢ. [8] A C add ܘ. [9] A ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. [10] C omits this clause. [11] C ܟܕ. [12] A B add ܕܡܘܫܐ.

ܕܡܨܪܝܐ. [1]ܘܥܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܒܚܕ ܩܠܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ
[2]ܕܡܦܩܕ ܠܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܥܒܕ. ܘܫܩܠ ܡܘܫܐ [3]ܕܡܐ ܒܙܘܩܐ. ܘܪܣ
ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܡܐ ܕܕܝܬܩܐ ܘܫܪܟܐ
ܕܦܬܓ̈ܡܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ.
ܢܦܪܫܘܢ ܠܝ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܐܡܐ ܘܢܚܫܐ ܘܐܪܓܘ̈ܢܐ
ܘܙܪܚܐ ܕܙܓܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܣܡ. ܒܐܘܪܬܐ. ܘܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܝ ܡܫܟܢܐ.
ܘܚܘܝܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܘܦܣܗ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ
ܢܟܗܢܘܢ [4]ܠܝ ܘܢܫܡܫܘܢ [5]ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܡܩܕܫܐ ܕܝܠܝ. ܘܟܬܒ
ܒܛܘܪܐ ܦܘܩܕ̈ܢܝܢ ܒܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܘ̈ܚܝܢ ܕܟܐܦܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܠܐ
ܬܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܓܠܝܦܐ ܘܕܡܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܬܕܓܠ ܒܡܘܡ̈ܬܟ.
ܛܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ. ܝܩܪ ܠܐܒܘܟ ܘܠܐܡܟ. ܠܐ ܬܩܛܘܠ. ܠܐ
ܬܓܘܪ. ܠܐ ܬܓܢܘܒ. ܠܐ ܬܣܗܕ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܓܠܬܐ. ܠܐ [6]ܬܪܓܝ
ܒܝܬܗ ܕܚܒܪܟ [7]ܐܘ ܕܐܢܫܟ. ܘܠܐ [8]ܬܪܓܝ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܩܪܝܒܟ ܐܘ
[9]ܥܒܕܟ. ܐܘ ܒܥܝܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗ̈ܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ
ܕܐܬܥܘܟܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ. ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ.
ܩܘܡ [10]ܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܩܕܡܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܐܚܘܢ
ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܢܐ [11]ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܐܝܬܘ
[12]ܠܝ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܕܒܐܕ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܫ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܝܟܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܘ [13]ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܘܬܗ. [14]ܢܣܟ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܥܓܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܥܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܐܠܗܟ
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܗܘ ܕܐܣܩܟ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. [15]ܘܒܢܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܦܪܥܘ
ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ [16]ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒ̈ܚܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ [17]ܚܘܬ

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[1] B ܘܥܢܘ. [2] B ܦܩܕ. [3] B ܕܡ̈ܐ. [4] A C omit ܠܝ. [5] B ܡܩܕܫܐ ܕܝܠܝ; C ܡܩܕܫܐ ܕܝܠܝ. [6] C ܬܐܪܓ. [7] B omits ܐܘ ܕܐܢܫܟ.; C ܠܐ ܬܐܪܓ ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܐܢܫܟ. [8] C ܬܐܪܓ. [9] A ܕܥܒܕܟ. [10] A ܥܒܕܘ. [11] B ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. [12] C ܠܝ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ. [13] A C omit ܐܢܘܢ. [14] B ܘܢܣܟ. [15] C ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ; B ܘܒܢܘ ܠܗܘܢ. [16] A ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܒ̈ܚܐ. [17] A ܢܚܘܬ.

ܘܫܠܘ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܬܘ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ ܬܘܬܒܘܬܐ ܚܝ̈ܡ ܘܥܡܡܝܢ [1]ܕܩ̈ܠܝܡ. ܒܡܫܡܫܩ̈ܢܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ [2]ܬܠܝܐ ܕܗܘܝܘ [3]ܐܡܪ. ܘܕܕܡܫܦܥ [4]ܐܡܪ ܒܦܘܫܡܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ [5]ܗ̇ܝ. ܒܡܕܝܢܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܢ̇ܝܚ ܘܡܬܒܢܝܗ ܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ. [6]ܗܢܘܢ ܕܫܡܥܘ ܒܝܬܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [7]ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܓܒܪܐ. ܘܟܠܗ̇ ܕܘܠܐ ܘܫܝܠܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ. ܘܥ̈ܐܕܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܬܡܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܡܝܐ [8]ܗ̄ܘܬ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܠܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܡܦܪܢܣ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܐ [9]ܐܫܟܚ ܠܡܥܡܪ ܬܡܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܫܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܕܝ̈ܘܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܡܨܝܘܢ ܕܢ̈ܫܐ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܕܒܛ̈ܝܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܡܨܝ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܥܡܪ ܬܡܢ. ܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܐܒ̈ܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢ̇ܗܒ ܐܢܫ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܥܡܪܘ ܬܡܢ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܪܛܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ. ܕܠܘܝ ܕܡܝܬܢ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܢ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܟܕ ܝܬܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝܢ ܠܣܒܥܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܟܦܢܐ. ܘܢܐܟܠ ܠܚܡܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܣܒܥܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ ܡ̇ܚܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܥܡܐ ܘܢܠܩܛܘܢ ܬܙܠܠܦܢ ܡܢ ܣܚܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܒܝܘܡܗ ܝܢܩܘ ܩ̈ܕܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. [10]ܣܩܘ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܐܡܪ̈ܗܘܢ ܐܚܘܢ ܘܢܒܕ. ܘܢܥܡܘܢ ܗ̇ܢܐ ܠܚܡ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܩ̈ܕܡ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܢܬܪܘܪܘܢ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܢܬܦܢܝܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ. ܘܟܒܕܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ. [11]ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ. ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܦܫܘ ܠܬܚܬ ܠܘܬ [12]ܫܩ̈ܠܝ ܠܛܘܪܐ. ܘܩܡܘ ܡܢܗ ܦܘܫ̈ܢܐ. ܘܐܘܕܥ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܡܠܘܗܝ.

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[1] C ܕܩ̈ܠܡ. [2] C ܬܠܝܠܐ. [3] C ܐܡܪ. [4] B ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ.
[5] B omits ܗ̇ܝ. [6] B C omit ܗܢܘܢ. [7] A ܗ̄ܘܐ. [8] B omits ܗ̄ܘܬ. [9] B ܐܫܟܚܘ.
[10] B C ܣܩ. [11] B omits ܘ; C ܘܐܡܪ. [12] A ܡܫܩ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܛܘܪܐ.

ܫܬܡܐܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒܪܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܬܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ.
ܐܬܡܢܝܘ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦܫܢ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ
ܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܦܪܥܘܢܝܐ ܘܫܥܒܕܘܢܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܡܢ
ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܙܪܥܟ ܬܘܬܒܐ
[1]ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܫܢܬܐ ܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ [2]ܢܦܩ ܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܝܡܐ ܕܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܦܟܘ.
ܪܕܦ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܠܡܗܦܟܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܥܡܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܢܐ ܐܦܩܬܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܫܒܘܩ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܢ
ܕܢܦܠܘܚ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܐ [3]ܕܢܡܘܬ ܗܪܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܘܢ. ܘܚܙܘ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ
ܝܘܡܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܪܝܡ ܚܘܛܪܟ ܘܡܚܝ ܠܝܡܐ.
[4]ܕܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ [5]ܝܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܡܚܝܗ ܡܘܫܐ
ܠܝܡܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܟܐ ܘܠܟܐ. ܘܥܒܪܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ
ܒܬܘܟܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܒܫܐ. ܘܟܕ [6]ܥܠܘ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܚܝܠܘܬܗ
ܒܬܪܗܘܢ. ܐܪܟܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܥܠ ܝܡܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ
ܠܕܘܟܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܚܢܩܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܒܚܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝ
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. ܘܗܠܟܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܬܘ
ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܡܪܘܬ. ܡܢ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܐ
[7]ܐܬܡܨܝ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܐܪܥܡܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ
ܘܪܛܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ [8]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܡܢܐ ܢܫܬܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܡܘܫܐ
ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ [9]ܘܚܘܝܗ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܦܩܘܬܝܡ ܕܢܪܡܐ ܒܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܫܕܝܗ
ܒܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܬܒܣܡܘ. ܘܬܡܢ ܝܗܒ ܐܦ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ.

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[1] A ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. [2] A C ܢܦܩܘ. [3] B ܢܡܘܬ. [4] A C ܘܢܥܒܪܘܢ. [5] A ܐܪܥܐ ܝܒܝܫܬܐ.
[6] A ܥܠ. [7] A C ܐܬܡܨܝܘ. [8] C omits from ܘܐܡܪܘ to ܡܘܫܐ. [9] C ܘܚܘܝ.

ܕܥܒ̈ܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ[1] ܕܢܬܦܬܠ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܐܡܪ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܢܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܕ ܡܫ̈ܬܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܢܘܚ
ܘܐܪ ܥܢ̈ܬܐ. ܒܫܪܒܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܢܦܩܕ ܥܠ ܚܒܪܐ[2] ܐܡܪܐ
ܠܒܢܬܗ ܘܢܓܪܐ ܠܟܝܠܬܗ ܐܟܘܬܗ. ܘܐܦ ܢܘܦ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ.
ܢܬܬܬܒ ܩܘ ܘܥܒܕܗ ܕܦܩܕ[3] ܠܗܬܗ. ܘܬܝܠܝܪ ܐܡܪܬܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ
ܠܗܘܡܥܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܠܬܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܢܘܚܐ. ܘܢܚܡܘܢܝܗ, ܚܠܦܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܫܝܬ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ ܥܡܗܐ. ܘܢܚܬܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܗܘܢ
ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ.
[4]ܘܐܚܝܕܐ ܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܠܢܐ.
[5]ܘܐܡܪܘ ܡܘܒܥܐ ܘܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ ܗܘܠܝܢ ܚܠܡܝܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ
ܡܪܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. [6]ܘܡܪܢܐ
ܢܚܬ ܥܠ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܚܒܠܘܬܐ ܒܥܒ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܕܡܘܬܐ ܥܠ
ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܡܚܒܠܢܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܠܒܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܠܝܐ. ܦܫܛ ܡܪܢܐ ܒܥܒ̈ܕܐ [7]ܕܡܪ̈ܝܡܐ. ܡܢ ܒܥܒܕܗ
ܕܦܪܚܘ ܕܢܚܬ ܥܠ ܒܛܘܪܗܘܢ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܪܝ ܦܪܚܘ
ܠܘܬ ܡܘܒܥܐ ܘܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ. [8]ܗܘܘ ܡܢ [9]ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ.
ܘܠܐ ܩܠܦܘܗ ܠܡܪܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ. ܘܡܢܗ [10]ܡܣܬܢܚܝܢ
ܘܡܬܚܬܠܝܢ ܒܚܒܝܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ.
ܠܡܚܡ ܡܢ [11]ܒܚܠܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܬܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܫܝܬ
ܡܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܫܒܝܠܬܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܕܗܡܡܐ ܘܠܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܢܫ̈ܐ
ܘܢܦܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ. [12]ܘܢܟܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܢܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܫܗܘܢ
[13]ܕܡܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܥܡܠܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ ܡܢ ܙܢܝܘܬܗ ܠܫܦܝܪܬ

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[1] C ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ. [2] A omits ܚܒܪܐ. [3] C ܠܚܒܬܗ. [4] B ܘܐܚܕܐ. [5] A ܘܐܡܪ. [6] B ܡܪܢܐ. [7] B ܕܡܪܝܡ. [8] A ܗܘܐ. [9] B C ܒܢ̈ܝ. [10] A ܡܣܬܡܟܝܢ. [11] A ܒܚܠܬܘܗܝ. [12] B ܘܢܟܒܘ. [13] A B omit this word.

ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܟܘܢ ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ.
ܐܘ[1] ܠܘܬܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘ ܫܡܝ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܗܢܘ ܕܘܟܪܢܝ ܠܕܪ̈ܕܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܙܠ ܐܡܪ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ [2]ܠܟ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ [3]ܕܒܨܝܪ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܫܢ ܘܠܫܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܦܓܠ
ܦܘܡܝ [4]ܠܡܠܠܬܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܗܐ [5]ܒܐܠܗܐ ܥܒܕܬܟ
ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܠܐܚܘܟ ܐܗܪܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܥܒܕܬܟ. ܡܠܠ ܐܢܬ ܥܡ
ܐܗܪܘܢ. ܘܐܗܪܘܢ [6]ܢܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܢܫܕܪ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ
ܕܢܦܩܘܢ. ܘܐܢܐ ܢܩܫܐ ܠܒܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܣܓܐ [7]ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܝ
ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܦܩ ܠܥܡܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܢܕܥܘܢ
ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ [8]ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܟܠܡܐ
ܕܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܒܪ ܬܡ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܒܪ ܬܡ̈ܢܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܐܢ
ܢܒܥܐ ܡܢܟ [9]ܦܪܥܘܢ ܐܬܐ. ܫܕܝ ܚܘܛܪܟ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܗܘܐ
ܬܢܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܪܡܝܘ
ܠܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܚܘܝܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܦ ܚܪ̈ܫܐ ܐܟܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܒܠܥ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܠܚܘܛܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܚܪ̈ܫܐ. ܘܐܬܩܫܝ ܠܒܗ
ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܡܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܨܪ̈ܝ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܥܣܪ
ܐܬܘ̈ܢ. ܩܕܡܝܬܐ. ܗܘܦܟ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܕܡܐ. ܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ. ܢܦܦܬܐ
ܐܩܘܪ̈ܕܥܐ ܒܠܚܡܗܘܢ. ܬܠܬܝܬܐ. ܡܚܒ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܪܒܝܥܝܬܐ.
ܥܘܪܒܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܘܬ. ܚܡܝܫܝܬܐ. [10]ܡܘܬܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܪ̈ܐ. ܫܬܝܬܝܬܐ.
ܫܘܚܢܬܐ ܕܒܘ̈ܥܐ. ܫܒܝܥܝܬܐ. ܡܚܐܬܗ ܕܒܪܕܐ. ܬܡܝܢܝܬܐ.
ܩܡܨܐ ܕܡܚܒܠ. ܬܫܝܥܝܬܐ. ܢܫܝܦܗ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ. ܥܣܝܪܝܬܐ. ܡܘܬܐ

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[1] B omits ܐܘ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ; C ܫܕܪܢܝ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ. [2] A omits ܠܟ. [3] B C ܕܚܣܝܪ ܗ̄ܘ. [4] C ܡܡܠܠܝ. [5] B ܐܠܗܐ. [6] A omits this word. [7] B C ܬܕܡܪ̈ܬܐ. [8] C ܡܪܝܐ; A ܘܡܟܝܠ. [9] A omits ܦܪܥܘܢ. [10] A C ܡܘܬܐ.

ܓܥܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܬܚܝܬ ܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܩܬܗܘܢ. ܘܥܗܕ ܠܩܝ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ.
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܝܣܚܩ ܘܝܥܩܘܒ. ¹ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܙܪ̈ܥܗܘܢ
ܢܬܒܪ̈ܟܘܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ²ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܟܕ ܪܥܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܥܢ̈ܐ ܕܝܬܪܘܢ ܚܡܘܗܝ. ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ. ³ܐܙܠ ܗ̇ܘ
ܘܥܢ̈ܐ ⁴ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܘܪܒ ܛܘܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ⁵ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܠܗ ܡܢ ܫܠܗܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܒܓܘ
ܣܢܝܐ ܘܣܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܩܕ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܣܛܐ ܐܚܙܐ ܠܗܕܐ
ܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܠܗܒܐ ܒܣܢܝܐ ܘܣܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܩܕ.
ܘܚܙܝܗܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܣܛܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ. ⁶ܘܩܪܝܗܝ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܣܢܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܘܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܬܩܪܒ
ܠܗܪܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܩܐܡ ܐܢܬ ܒܗ̇ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗ̄ܝ. ܘܐܡܪ
⁷ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܢܐ ܐ̄ܢܐ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ.
ܐܠܗܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܟܣܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܦ̈ܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܕܚܠ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܒܗ.
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܟܕ ܡ̇ܠܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ. ܐܬܠܒܒ ܡܢ
ܕܚܝܠܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. ܚܙܝܬ ܫܘܥܒܕܗ ܕܥܡܝ ܕܒܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܥܠ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܩܬܗ. ܘܫܡܥܬ ܕܐܢܩܬܗܘܢ ܐܦܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ⁸ܘܢܚܬܬ
ܐܦܢ ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܐܪܥܐ. ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܪܕܝܐ ܚܠܒܐ ܘܕܒܫܐ. ܗܫܐ
ܐܫܕܪܝܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ. ܡ̇ܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ، ܕܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ
ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܦܩ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐ̄ܢܐ
ܐܗܘܐ ܥܡܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܗܐ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܝ ܡ̇ܢܘ
ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪ ⁹ܠܗ ܐܗܝܗ ܐܫܪܐܗܝܗ

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[1] A B omit this word. [2] A omits ܟܠܗܘܢ. [3] C ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ. [4] B C omit ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ; A has ܠܣܛܪ ܡܕܒܪܐ. [5] B ܡܠܐܟܐ. [6] C ܘܩܪܝܗܝ ܐܠܗܐ. [7] B C omit ܠܗ. [8] C ܘܐܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. [9] A B omit ܠܗ, and A places ܐܫܪ after ܐܗܝܗܝ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܪܓܙܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܕܚܪܝܢܐ. ܘܨܠܝ ܡܘܫܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܥܒܕ [1]ܠܟ ܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ. ܘܐܪܝܡܝܗܝ
[2]ܠܥܠ ܒܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܢܚܘܪܘܢ ܒܗ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܢܬܐܣܘܢ. ܘܥܒܕ
ܡܘܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܩܝܡܗ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܠܥܝܢ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ [3]ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗ [4]ܘܡܬܐܣܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ [5]ܕܡܝܬܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
ܘܚܠܦ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ. [6]ܘܥܠܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. [7]ܘܐܚܕܘܗܝ
ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܒܚܡܫܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܐ̈ܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ.
ܘܛܥܢܗ ܦܢܝܚܣ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܥܦܪܐ ܒܬܪܥܐ
ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܬܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܕܡܚܐ ܕܐܬܛܫܝ [8]ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܚܘܝܗ
ܠܚܘܛܪܐ [illegible] ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܓܒܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ
ܫܒܛܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡ [9]ܡܪܢ ܘܡܪܝܡ.
ܒܕܡܚܐ ܕܦܢܝ ܠܢܨܪܬ. ܘܡܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܫܩܠܗ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܪܗ. ܗܘ
ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܢ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܢܣܒܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ
ܡܫܢܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܝܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܠܡܪܢ ܝܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ.
[10]ܫܩܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܬܠܡܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܢܣܒܗ ܒܪ ܒܥܘܒܗ.
ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܒܛܐ. ܘܗܘܐ [11]ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܕܒܝܢܐ
ܘܠܢܘܚܡܬܐ. [12]ܘܗܘܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢܚܐ ܠܡܬܟܬܫܢܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ
ܬܪܝܢ [13]ܒܢܝܢ. ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܓܪܫܘܢ [14]ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܬܘܬܒܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ
ܐܠܝܥܙܪ. ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܕܪܢ. ܘܒܥܕܢ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ
ܠܫܒܛܘܗܝ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܡܘܫܐ ܒܪ ܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܠܚܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܗܢܘ ܘܡܠܦܝ

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[1] A C omit ܠܟ. [2] A C omit ܠܥܠ. [3] B omits ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. [4] C ܘܐܬܐܣܝܘ, and omits ܗܘܘ. [5] C ܕܡܝܬ. [6] B ܘܥܠ. [7] B C omit ܘ. [8] B omits ܡܫܝܚܐ, and A C ܡܢ; B C omit ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. [9] C ܝܫܘܥ. [10] B ܘܫܩܠ. [11] A omits ܗܢܐ. [12] B ܗܘ. [13] A omits ܒܢܝܢ; A B ܘܐܬܝܠܕ. [14] A C ܘܡܬܦܫܩ.

ܘܫܦܫܦܗ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܿܘ ܕܫܒܩ. ܘܡܚܝܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܗܘܐ
ܡܟܐܒܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ. ܘܫܠܚ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܒܡܟܝܟܘܬ
ܥܢܐ ܒܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܡܝܬܢ. ܘܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܒܡܕܝܢ. ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܥܢܝܐ ܚܕ ܕܟܐܒ ܗܘܐ[1] ܘܪܕܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܫܡܗ ܢܬܪܦ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܟܪܝܗ ܗܘܐ[2] ܟܪܝܗܐ ܒܠܘܬܐ. ܐܫܬܘܕܝ
ܠܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܘܫܠܚ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܟܪܝܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܪܝܗܐ ܒܕܡܟܐ ܠܫܝܒܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܗܘܐ [3]ܠܒܪܬܗ
ܠܡܒܘܥܐ. [4]ܐܡܪ ܡܬܪܦ ܠܡܒܘܥܐ. ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܫܩܠ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܕܢܚ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܥܠ ܝܘܩܦܐ ܕܝܬܒܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܓܘܗ ܢܫܡܬܗ [5]ܠܡܒܘܥܐ.
ܘܫܠܚ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܠܗܘ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܕܡܟܐ ܠܪܒܝܐ
ܕܢܓܠܠ ܒܡܟܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܘܬ ܗܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [6]ܕܝܢ، ܫܘܠܛܢܐ
ܒܐܪܒܥܐ [7]ܘܫܒܩܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܬܫܥܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܟܢܐ.
ܘܢܫܟܗ ܘܗܘܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ [8]ܐܝܟ ܕܟܕܡܐܝܬܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ
ܕܢܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ [9]ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܠܫܘܩܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ
ܬܫܥܐ ܒܡܪܝܡ ܒܥܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ
ܠܡܒܘܥܐ. ܘܟܠ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ، ܚܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܒܝܐ
ܠܥܡܐ ܕܫܦܩ ܠܐܘܪܚܗ ܘܠܬܚܘܡܗ. ܘܗܟܘ ܬܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܕܥܡܐ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܡܒܘܥܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܕܐܫܬܡܥ. [10]ܘܟܕ ܡܢܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܠܢܐ ܘܪܕܘ ܡܬܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܘ.
ܘܗܟܝܠ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠ ܒܬܪ ܡܫܪܝܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ.

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ. [2] B omits ܗܘܐ. [3] A ܒܪܬܗ. [4] C ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܘ. [5] A ܠܡܘܒܥܐ ܢܫܡܬܗ; C omits these words. [6] A B ܕܝܢ. [7] C ܘܫܒܩܗ. [8] B C ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡܢܘܬܐ. [9] B ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܡܘܕܝܢܐ ܘܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܢܗܘܐ; C omits ܐܠܗܐ. [10] B ܒܗ.

ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܥܠܬܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ¹ܠܚܘܛܪܐ. ܒܡܥܡܕܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܛܪܐ. ܘܫܠܡܗ̇ ܠܚܘܛܪܐ ܘܢܣܒ ܠܪܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܢ̈ܐ ܕܚܡܘܗܝ ܀

ܠ ܀ ²ܥܠ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ.

³ܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܕܬܘܒ ܠܐ ܗܦܟ ܠܘܬܗ. ܦܣܩ ܫܒܘܛܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܛܒܬܐ ܘܒܝܫܬܐ. ܕܗܝܘ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܬܬܐ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܥܡܗ ܘܢܦܩ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܒܛܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܢܝܕܘܬܗ ⁴ܕܐܕܡ ܫܩܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܫܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦܠܐ ܙܝܢܐ ܥܕܟܝܠ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ⁵ܘܐܬܝܒܠ ܫܒܛܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܢܘܚ. ܘܡܢ ܢܘܚ ܠܫܝܡ. ܘܡܢ ܫܝܡ ܐܬܝܒܠ ܐܝܟ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܡܢ ⁶ܦܪܕܝܣܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܒܗ ܡܬܒܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ⁷ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܓܠܝܦܬ̈ܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ⁸ܕܦܘܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܟ ܘܫܪܒܐ. ܘܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܫܒܛܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܫܩܠܗ ܐܝܣܚܩ. ܘܡܢ ܐܝܣܚܩ ⁹ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܒܗ ܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ¹⁰ܥܢ̈ܐ ܕܠܒܢ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܒܦܕܢ ¹¹ܐܪܡ. ܘܡܢ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܫܩܠܗ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܪܒܝܥܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܗܢܘ ܫܒܛܐ ¹²ܕܝܗܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܠܬܡܪ ܟܠܬܗ. ܥܡ ܚܬܡܗ

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[1] B C ܠܚܘܛܪܐ, and omit ܠܚܘܛܪܐ in the next line. [2] B C omit ܥܠ. In C the masc. noun ܚܘܛܪܐ is regarded as fem. (A B vary between masc. and fem.), and therefore the verbs, suffixes, etc., used in speaking of it, are all fem. [3] B C ܗܘ. [4] B C omit ܕܐܕܡ. [5] B C ܘܐܬܝܒܠ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܐܝܕܐ; B C omit ܫܒܛܐ ܗܢܐ. [6] B ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. [7] A omits ܐܒܪܗܡ. [8] A B ܦܘܩ. [9] A B ܠܝܥܩܘܒ. [10] C ܥܢܗ. [11] A B ܕܐܪܡ. [12] B ܕܝܗܒ.

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ܒܒܝܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. ܒܕܡܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܚܣܪ ܡܢ
ܡܟܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܠܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܡܨܪܝܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܫܠܛܐ.
ܘܡܬܒܪܟ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܟܠܗ. ܡܛܠܬܗ. ܗ̄ܘܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ
ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܫܪ ܡܣܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܚܠܦ
ܒܗ ܢܟܦܘܬܐ ܘܡܛܠܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܪܗ ܒܫܠܝܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬ̈ܬܐ
ܚܙܐ ܠܬܪܝܢ ¹ܡܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܟܦܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ²ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ
ܒܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ ܐܬܘ. ܠܡܙܒܢܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܡܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܕܚܠܘ، ܚܕ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ³ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܫܩܠ ܥܒܘܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ.
ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܛܠܬܗ ܐܬܬܟܠ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܘܕܚܝܠ ܡܣܒܥܐ ⁴ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܢܚܪܒ
ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܢܛܠܒܘܗܝ. ܘܒܢܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ. ܘܢܦܩ ܥܠ ܦܬܝܐ ⁵ܕܐܪܥܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ
ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗ̄ܘܝ، ⁶ܠܗ ܠܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܥܒܕ ܩܡ. ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܗ̄ܘܝ،
ܠܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܢܫܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܝ، ܠܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܝܢ ⁷ܗ̄ܘܘ ܙ̈ܒܢܬܐ
ܘܢܦܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܗܝܢ. ܘܥܡ ܡܣܒܥܐ ܘܦܝ، ⁸ܐܢܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܥܡܪ
ܠܒ̈ܢܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܟܠ
ܐܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܗ. ܕܒܢܘܗܝ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܫܩܠܘ ܡܢ ܐܚ̈ܝ، ܙ̈ܒܢܬܐ.
ܘܐܫܡܥ ܐܦ ܠܒܢ̈ܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܡܢܐ ܠܐ ⁹ܐܬܬܚܝܕܘܗܝ، ܙܒܢ̈
ܒܟܠ ¹⁰ܡܪܐܢܝܗ، ܠܟܐ. ܕܡܐܟܘܠܬ ¹¹ܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܡܐ. ܘܚܕ ܐܬܬܐ
ܡܣܒܥܐ ܠܒܢܬܗ ܕܪܘܡܐܝܬ ¹²ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ¹³ܐܚܕܘܗ. ܘܢܫܩ
¹⁴ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܒܪܘܚܗ ¹⁵ܒܥܝ̈ܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ
ܠܒܢܬܐ. ܘܢܫܒ ¹⁶ܠܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܪܒ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܚܕ

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[1] C omits ܡܢ. [2] B ܘܐܡܪܘ. [3] C omits ܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ. [4] B C ܕܥܠܡܐ. [5] A ܕܐܪܥܬ. [6] A C omit ܠܗ. [7] B omits ܗܘܘ. [8] A ܐܢܘܢ. [9] A ܐܬܬܚܝܕܘܗܝ. [10] B ܘܐܦܠܐ ܡܪܐܢܝܗ; A C ܡܪܐܢܝܗ. [11] C ܠܗܘܢ. [12] B ܝܗܒ. [13] A ܘܐܚܕܘܗ. [14] A C omit ܠܗ; B ܠܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܒܪܘܚܗ. [15] B ܐܬܟܠ ܒܥܝ̈ܢܐ. [16] On the margin of A, fol. 46 *b*, is the following note: ܘܒܗ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܠܫܒܛܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܒܟܠ. B omits ܠ.

ܢܓܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܒܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ. ܗܟܢ ܥܡܡܐ ܒܬܪܗ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ. ܘܕܚܠ
ܦܪܚܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܗܟܢ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ. [1]ܘܫܡܫܘ ܐܢܦܝ
ܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ
ܕܠܩܕܡܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܚܘܝܬܐ. ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ
ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܪ ܥܡܪܡ ܒܪ ܩܗܬ ܒܪ ܠܘܝ. ܠܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܒܪ
ܐܪܒܥܝܢ [2]ܘܫܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܗܬ. ܘܩܗܬ
ܒܪ ܫܬܝܢ [3]ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܟܕ ܐܘܠܕ [4]ܠܥܡܪܡ.
ܘܥܡܪܡ ܒܪ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܬܠܬ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܘܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ
ܦܩܕ ܦܪܥܘܢ [5]ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܡܘܢ ܠܝܠܘܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܢܗܪܐ.
ܘܡܘܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܣܝܘܗ. ܘܐܬܛܫܝ، ܦܠܛܬ ܡܢ ܡܬܠܒܢܐ.
ܘܡܝܪܬܐ ܦܬܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܬܐ ܕܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ. [6]ܘܫܡܗ̇
ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܝܘܟܒܕ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܡܘܒܕ
ܕܟܪ̈ܐ. ܥܒܕܬ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܘܟܦܪܬܐ ܡܟܦܪܬܐ.
ܘܫܡܬܗ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܒܗ̇. ܘܐܘܒܠܬܗ ܫܒܩܬܗ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ ܥܠ [7]ܝܐܘܪܐ
ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܢܠܦܘܗ̇ [8]ܢܗܪܐ. ܕܝܘܡܐ ܚܒܝܫܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܡܫܦܠ
[9][ܗ̇ܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܡܐ]. ܕܬܫܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܚܙܬܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ.
ܘܐܬܬ ܫܩܠܬ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܒܪܗ̇. ܘܐܬܢܝܬ ܐܡܪܗ
ܕܬܪܒܝܘܗܝ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܪܒܝ ܠܡܫܬܥܐ ܘܫܡܗ ܕܡܫܡܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܦܛܡܬܗ ܘܪܒܝ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ[10] ܚܙܘܗ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܥܒܕܘܗ.
ܐܡܪܬ ܕܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܛܠܝܐ ܗܢܐ.
ܘܫܩܠܬܗ ܘܪܒܝܬܗ ܠܗ ܠܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܪܒܝܢܘܬܐ ܒܒܪܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܬ ܐܡܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܠܛܠܝܐ. ܘܫܩܠܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܒܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܬܪܒ

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[1] C ܘܫܡܫܘ. [2] B omits ܘܫܬ. [3] B ܘܫܬ. [4] A ܐܘܠܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܥܡܪܡ.
[5] A B omit ܡܠܟܐ. [6] B C ܘܫܡܗ. [7] C ܢܗܪܐ. [8] B C omit this word.
[9] B C omit the words in brackets. [10] A C ܗ̄ܘ.

ܘܦܓܥܘ ܒܝܘܣܦ [1]ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܠܐ [2]ܝܕܥܘܗܝ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܢܣܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܙܒ̈ܢܬܐ [3]ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ. ܠܚܪܬܐ [4]ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܢܫܩ ܠܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܫܕܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܟܠܗ̇ ܫܪܒܬܗ. ܕܗܘܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ [5]ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ. ܘܢܚܬܘ ܘܥܡܪܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܙܪܥܟ ܬܘܬܒܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܬܐ. ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܡܢ ܗ̇ܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܫܘܥܒܕܐ [6]ܒܫܘܥ̈ܒܕܗܘܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܝܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܣܩܘܢ ܓܪ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ. [7]ܘܐܘܒܠܘ ܓܪ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܟܦܝܠܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܘܩܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ [8]ܐܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ [9]ܠܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ. [10]ܘܫܥܒܕ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܬܚܝܒܐ ܕܛܝܢܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܒܗ̇ܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܬܟܚܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ [11]ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܐܪܝܟܘܬܐ. ܐܦ ܦܘܫܩܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܒ [12]ܠܬܫܥܝܬܗ ܒܬܪܥܣܪ ܡܐܡ̈ܪܐ. ܥܠ ܟܠܡܐ ܕܓܕܫ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܛܠܝܘܬܗ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܬܗ. [13]ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ. [14]ܘܚܢܢ ܚܣܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܬܫܥܝܬܗ ܒܐܪܝܟܘܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܦܘܩ ܡܢ ܣܟܐ ܕܚܫܚ ܠܝ ܒܚܘܒܪ ܟܘܢܫܐ ܗܢܐ ܀

ܟܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܝܣܪܝܠ.

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬ ܝܘܣܦ. ܘܩܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ

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[1] C ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ. [2] B ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܗܝ. [3] B C ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ. [4] C ܘܐܬܓܠܝ. [5] B omits ܒܡܢܝܢܐ; C omits ܗܘܘ ܒܡܢܝܢܐ. [6] C ܒܫܘܥܒܕܗܘܢ. [7] C ܘܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ. [8] B omits ܐܝܢܐ. [9] A C omit ܠܗ. [10] C ܘܫܥܒܕܘ. [11] C ܠܬܫܥܝܬܐ. [12] A B omit ܠܬܫܥܝܬܗ; C ܠܬܫܥܝܬܐ. [13] C omits ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. [14] B C omit ܘܚܢܢ.

ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܐܙܕܒܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܡܢ ܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ، ܒܥܣܪܝܢ ܕܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܝܬ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ✤

ܟܘ ✤ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ.

ܡܢ [1]ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܕܡܢ ܠܝܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ [2]ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܝܘܣܦ ܘܒܢܝܡܝܢ. ܘܪܚܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪ ܣܝܒܘܬܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܘܪܚܡܘܬܗ. [3]ܘܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܘܬܝܢܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܚܣܡܘ ܒܗ ܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ، ܘܚܙܐ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܟܚܕܐ ܘܫܥܝ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܕܪܗ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ، ܘܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ، ܠܡܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ. ܘܡܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܐܘܒܠܘܗܝ، ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܙܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܪܒ ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܘܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܐܫܠܡ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܒܝܬܗ ܘܟܠܗ ܩܢܝܢܗ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܪܚܡܬܗ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܦܘܛܝܦܪ ܐܬܬܟܝܠܬ ܘܐܬܚܒܛܬ [4]ܥܡܗ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܫܠܚܗ ܢܦܩ ܥܪ̈ܛܠܝܐ ܘܪܒ ܢܚ̈ܘܬܐ ܚܒܫܗ [5]ܒܟܠܝܐ. ܘܐܦܩܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܚܒܝ̈ܫܐ. [6]ܘܦܫܩ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ ܠܥܒ̈ܕܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܦܫ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܚܒܘܫܝܐ. ܚܙܐ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ [7]ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܠܠܝܐ. ܘܐܬܥܝܪ ܘܐܬܥܝܩ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܚܟ̈ܝܡܐ ܘܐܫ̈ܦܐ ܘܚܪ̈ܫܐ [8]ܠܡܦܫܩܘ ܚܠܡ̈ܘܗܝ. ܗܝܕܝܢ [9]ܥܗܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܚܒܫܘ ܥܡܗ. ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ [10]ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ. ܘܐܡܠܟܗ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܒܪ ܗܘܐ [11]ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܥܣܪ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܒܚܒܘܫܝܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܠܥܣܪ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܟܦܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܠܟܦܢܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܝܥܩܘܒ. ܫܕܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܡܙܒܢ ܥܒܘܪܐ.

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[1] A B ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ. [2] A ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܝܘܣܦ. [3] C ܘܡܛܠ ܬܘܟܠܢܗ. [4] C ܥܡܗ. [5] C ܠܗܘܢ. [6] A C ܘܦܫܩܝ. [7] C omits this word. [8] B ܠܡܦܫܩ. [9] A C ܗܝܕܝܢ ܥܗܕ ܗܘ; B ܥܗܕܘ. [10] B ܫܠܝܛܐ. [11] A ܘܬܠܬܝܢ, the ܘ in red.

ܕܗܢܘ[1] ܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܥܒܕ [2]ܠܟܐܦܐ ܕܬܚܝܬ ܪܝܫܗ ܘܐܩܝܡܗ̇
ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܢܕܪ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܕܪܐ. ܫܟܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܠܛܘܦܣܐ
ܕܥܕܬܗ [3]ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ [4]ܕܣܠܩܝܢ ܘܢܚܬܝܢ ܠܛܘܦܣܐ
ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܫܕܪܘ ܠܬ̈ܒܫܘܪܬܐ [5]ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܦܪܘܩܢ. ܘܣܠܩܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܫܟܝܢܬܐ. ܡܬܓܠܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ
ܕܒܢܐ. ܕܡܢ [6]ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܕܡ. ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܗ̇ ܚܙܘܐ.
[7]ܠܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܟܐܦܐ ܕܬܚܝܬ ܪܝܫܗ. ܕܐܩܝܡܗ̇ ܡܕܒܚܐ.
ܠܛܘܦܣܗ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܡܫܚܐ ܕܢܣܟ ܥܠܝܗ̇ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܚܐ
ܡܦܪܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܠܒܢ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܚܘܗ̇
ܕܐܡܗ. ܘܦܠܚ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܪܥܘܬܐ [8]ܕܥ̈ܢܐ ܐܪܒܥܣܪܐ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ.
ܘܢܣܒ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ. ܠܠܐܐ ܘܙܠܦܐ [9]ܐܡܬܗ̇ ܥܡܗ̇.
ܘܠܪܚܝܠ ܘܠܒܠܗܐ ܐܡܬܗ̇ ܥܡܗ̇. ܘܪܚܡܗ̇ ܠܪܚܝܠ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܠܐܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܪܚܝܠ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ [10]ܗ̄ܘܬ. ܘܫܦܝܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܒܚܙܘܗ̇. ܘܠܐܐ ܪ̈ܟܝܟܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ
ܥܝ̈ܢܝܗ̇. ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܐܐ ܫܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܪܘܒܝܠ ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܚܙܐ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܚܘܫܒܢ ܒܗܘ ܐܘܢܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܘܐܬܪܘܚ ܚ̈ܝܢ.
ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܡܫܡܥܢܐ. ܘܠܘܝ ܡܬܢܩܦܢܐ. ܘܝܗܘܕܐ
ܬܘܕܝܬܐ. ܘܐܝܣܟܪ ܦܪܥ ܐܓܪܐ. ܘܙܒܘܠܘܢ [11]ܕܝܪܐ ܐܘ ܒܝܬ
ܓܡܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܪܚܝܠ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܝܘܣܦ ܬܘܣܦܬܐ. ܘܒܢܝܡܝܢ
[12]ܒܪܝܡܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܙܠܦܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ. [13]ܓܕ [11]ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܓܕܐ. ܘܐܫܝܪ
ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܠܗܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ [14]ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܢ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܢܦܬܠܝ
ܡܬܦܬܠܢܐ. ܘܒܪܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ
ܗܦܟ ܡܢ ܦܕܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܣܚܩ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ

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[1] A ܗܐ ; C ܗܢܘ. [2] B ܟܐܦܐ. [3] A omits this word. [4] B ܣܠܩܝܢ.
[5] C ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ. [6] B ܒܬܘܠܬܗ. [7] C ܛܘܦܣܗ̇. [8] B ܕܥܢܐ. [9] B ܐܡܬܐ.
[10] B C ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ. [11] C omits the words in this clause. [12] C ܒܪܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ. [13] B ܓܕ ܓܕܐ. [14] B C omit ܒܢ̈ܝܢ.

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ܨܠܐ ¹ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܒܪܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܣܚܩ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܓܠܠܐ ܡ̈ܝܐ
ܡܢ ܥܠ̈ܝܬܐ ܓ̈ܠܝܠܬܐ. ܠܒ̈ܢܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ²ܡܛܠ. ܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܠܐ ܢܦܠ.
ܘܡܫܠܡ ܦܠܓܗ ܠܐ ܣܠܩܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܓܒܪ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ
ܒܡܫ̈ܩܬܗ. ܘܫܒܚܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܩ̈ܢܘܡܘܗܝ, ܕܐܝܣܚܩ ³ܒܒܪܟܬܐ ܗܕܐ
ܕܐܬܝ̈ܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܠܡܓܢܐܘܬܗ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܘܗܝ. ܐܬܒܟܝ ܬܡܝܢܝܐ. ܘܓ̈ܠܕܐ ܥܦܝܐ. ܘܪܦܩ
ܢܒܝܘܬܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܐܬܘ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܒܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܢܘܚܡܐ ܘܠܐ
ܐܬܬܘܕܝܘܗܝ, ܘܐܪܡܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܟܠܗ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܒܪ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ.
ܘܕܪܘ ܒܟܪܐ ܥܠ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܒܥܐ.
ܥܒܕܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܠܠܒܢ. ܘܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܣܘ ܕܝܬܒܢܝ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ. ܘܗܕܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܒܐܠܗܗ ܒܪܗ. ܘܢܬܠ ܠܗ
ܥܒܕܐ ܒܬܪ ܘܬܠܬ ܒܬܪ. ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܥܦܝ̈ܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܬܗ
ܕܐܡܪ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܒܥܐ ⁴[ܘܗܠܝܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܘܗܝ. ܐܡܝܢܐ. ܘܪܚܡܢ.
ܦܪܘܩܐ]. ܘܢܬܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ⁵ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܥܬܐ
ܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܚܠܒܐ. ܘܐܠܦ ܦܬ̈ܝܢ ܕܬܘܪܐ. ܘܐܠܦ ܐܬܢ̈ܢ. ܘܣܓܝ ܐܡܪ
⁶ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܢܣܝܘܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܚܝܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ ✣

ܟܙ ✣ ⁷ܥܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ.

ܘܡܚܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܥܣܪ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ⁸ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܒܪܗ
ܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܒܘܗ. ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ⁹ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ, ¹⁰ܠܡܕܒܪܬܐ
ܘܠܡܕܒܪܬܐ. ܘܥܪܩ ܡܢ ¹¹ܩܕܡ ܐܚܘܗܝ, ܠܚܪܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܒܚܙܘܐ
ܒܠܠܝܐ ¹²ܗܘ ܡܚܙܝܢܐ ܣܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ
ܕܣܠܩܝܢ ܘܢܚܬܝܢ. ܘܣܡܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ. ܘܐܬܬܥܝܪ ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] B C ܠܐܠܗܘܗܝ. [2] B ܦܓܠܝܢ; B C ܘܩܢܝܢܬܗ. [3] C ܒܒܪܟܬܐ. [4] B C omit the words in brackets. [5] A ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪ; C ܐܪܒܥܬܥܣܪܐ. [6] A B omit ܡܢ. [7] C ܥܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ ܟܚܕܡܘܢ. ܟܚܕܡܘܢ. [8] A C omit ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. [9] C omits ܒܝܬ. [10] B C ܠܡܕܒܪܬܐ. [11] B C ܡܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܕܥܣܘ. [12] B C omit ܗܘ.

[1]ܗܘ ܪܒ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܐܙܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ [2]ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ, ܘܥܒܕܝܢ
ܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܝܘܡܐ [3]ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ, ܘܒܢ̈ܬܗ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܫܬܝܢ [4]ܒܝܬ
ܐܚܘܗܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ. ܘܐܬܐ [5]ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܘܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܬܘܪ̈ܐ
ܕܟܪܒܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܦܕ̈ܢܐ. ܘܐܬܢ̈ܐ [6]ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ, ܥܠ [7]ܝܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܫܒܝܐ
ܘܕܒܪܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܥܠܝܡ̈ܐ ܐܩܛܠܘ ܒܣܝܦܐ. ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ,
ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܘܪܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܚܬܬ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܢܦܠܬ ܒܥܢܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܘܐܘܩܕܬ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ, ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܬܠܬ ܪ̈ܫܝܢ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܥܠ
ܓܡ̈ܠܐ ܘܕܒܪܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܥܠܝܡ̈ܐ ܩܛܠܘ [8]ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒܬ ܐܢܐ
[9]ܒܠܚܘܕܝ, ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ. ܐܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܒܢ̈ܝܟ
ܘܒܢ̈ܬܟ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܚܘܗܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ. ܘܐܬܬ ܪܘܚܐ
ܬܩܝܦܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܪܟܬ ܒܩܪ̈ܢܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܛܠܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܝܬܘ.
ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒܬ ܐܢܐ [10]ܒܠܚܘܕܝ, ܕܐܚܘܝܟ. ܘܩܡ ܐܝܘܒ [11]ܘܨܪܐ ܢܚܬܗ
ܘܓܙ ܪܫܗ. ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܣܓܕ ܘܐܡܪ. ܥܪܛܠܝ ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ
ܟܪܣܗ ܕܐܡܝ. ܘܥܪܛܠܝ ܐܗܦܘܟ. ܡܪܝܐ ܝܗܒ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܢܣܒ.
ܢܗܘܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܒܪܟ. ܘܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܛܐ ܐܝܘܒ
ܘܠܐ ܓܕܦ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܚܝܗܝ, ܣܛܢܐ ܠܐܝܘܒ ܒܫܘܚܢܐ
ܒܝܫܐ. ܡܢ ܦܣܬܗ [12]ܕܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܩܕܩܕܗ. ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܚܨܦܐ
[13]ܠܡܬܓܪܕܘ ܒܗ. ܘܝܬܒ [14]ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܛܡܐ. ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ
ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܐܦ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܗܫܐ ܡܚܝܒܬܢ ܐܢܬ ܒܬܡܝܡܘܬܟ.

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[1] C omits ܗܘ. [2] A omits ܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. [3] A ܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. [4] C ܒܒܝܬ. [5] C ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. [6] A omits ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ̈ܝ; C ܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [7] B ܒܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܦܠ ܫܒܝܐ ܘܕܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ. [8] B C omit ܐܢܘܢ. [9] A B omit ܒܠܚܘܕܝ. [10] A C omit ܒܠܚܘܕܝ; C ܘܐܫܬܘܙܒܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܚܘܕ. [11] C ܨܪܐ ܢܚܬܗ. [12] B C ܦܣܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ. [13] C ܚܪܐ ܚܪܐ. [14] C omits ܗܘܐ. In B it is written, but is erased with red ink.

ܕܡܡܪܐ. ܘܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܠܕ
ܠܗ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܒܪ ܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܓܙܪܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܡܝܢܝܐ. ܠܗ [1]ܠܒܪܗ
ܘܠܥܠܝܡܘ̈ܗܝ ܘܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܡܣܩܗ
[2]ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܠܛܘܪܐ ܦܪܝܫܬܐ ܕܚܘܝܗ ܠܗ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ. ܒܪ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܒܗ ܡܢܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܗ ܕܣܪܐ
ܢܣܒܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܩܛܘܪܐ ܒܪܬ ܝܩܛܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܘܪ̈ܟܝܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܐܝܣܚܩ ܒܪ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܫܕܪ ܐܠܝܥܙܪ ܕܕܪܡܣܘܩܝܐ
ܒܒܝܬܗ [3]ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܐܘܪܗܝ ܡܪܬܐ. ܘܡܟܪܗ ܠܪܦܩܐ ܒܪܬ
ܒܬܘܐܝܠ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ [4]ܒܪ ܡܪܗ. ܘܡܝܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܪ
[5]ܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܣܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ
ܒܡܥܪܬܐ ܟܦܝܠܬܐ ܕܙܒܢ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܘܢ ܚܬܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ
ܫܬܝܢ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ [6]ܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܬܐܡ̈ܐ ܥܣܘ ܘܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܥܣܘ
ܘܒܟܪܐ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܐܕܘܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܢܘ. ܐܬܩܪܝܘ
ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܬ [7]ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܐܬܬܢܝܚ
ܐܢܝܣܦ. [8]ܘܥܣܘ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܪܥܘܐܝܠ. ܘܪܥܘܐܝܠ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܙܪܚ. ܘܙܪܚ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܘܒܒ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܐܝܘܒ ܀

ܟܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܣܝܘܢܗ ܕܐܝܘܒ.

ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܘܨ [9]ܕܫܡܗ ܐܝܘܒ.
ܘܓܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܬܡܝܡ ܘܟܐܢ ܘܕܚܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܠܗ
ܫܒܥܐ ܒ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܒ̈ܢܢ. ܗ̇ܘܝܐ ܡܫܟܢܐ [10]ܕܡܫܡܠ ܕܠܗ. ܫܒܥܐ
ܐܠܦܝܢ ܥܢܐ. ܘܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܡ̈ܠܐ. ܘܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܦܕ̈ܢܝܢ
ܕܬܘܪܐ. ܘܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ ܐܬܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܠܗ. ܘܓܒܪܐ

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[1] A C omit ܠܒܪܗ. [2] C ܐܝܣܚܩ. [3] B ܒܒܝܬܗ ܠܐܘܪ. [4] B omits ܒܪ.
[5] C ܡܐܐ ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ. [6] C ܝܠܕܘ with ܐ above ܝ. [7] C omits ܫ̈ܢܝܢ.
[8] A omits the next two clauses; C ܘܥܣܘ. [9] A C ܫܡܗ. [10] B C ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܘ.

ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܫܕ̈ܪܐ. ܘܐܬܒ̇ܕܪܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܒܢܘ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܒܪ ܠܫܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ. ܚܕ ܠܫܢܐ ¹ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܗ̇ܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ²ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܫܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ. ܘܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܡܢܝܘ ܒܥܡܠܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܥܒܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ³ܠܢܗܪܐ ܦܪܬ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. ⁴ܘܡܢ ܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܬܩܪܝܘ ܥܒܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܪܝܫ ܠܗ ܠܦܠܓ ܥܠ ⁵ܕܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. ܐܘ ܦܠܓ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܝܬ ܦܠܓ ⁶ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ, ܣܪܘܓ ܘܢܚܘܪ ܒ̈ܢܘܗܝ, ܒܦܠܓܝܢ ܩܪܝܬܐ ⁷ܕܒܢܘ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ⁘

ܟܐ ⁘ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ.

ܬܪܚ ܐܒܘܗܝ, ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܢܣܒ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ⁸ܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܚܕܐ ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܝܘܢܐ. ܘܐܘܠܕܬ ⁹ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܚܪܬܐ ¹⁰ܕܫܡܗ̇ ܫܠܡܬ. ܘܐܘܠܕܬ ܡܢܗ̇ ܠܢܚܘܪ. ܘܡܪܝ, ܬܐܕܘܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܣܪܐ ܒܪܬ ܕܕܗ ܗ̄ܝ, ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܠܗܕܐ ܕܩܪܒܬ ܐܚܐ ܫܡܗ̇. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܫܒܥܝܢ ¹¹ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ¹²ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܥܒܪ ܦܪܬ ܢܗܪܐ ܘܢܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. ܘܕܒܪܗ̇ ܠܣܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܠܠܘܛ ܒܪ ܐܚܘܗܝ., ܘܥܒܪ ܠܢܗܪܐ ¹³ܦܪܬ ܘܥܡܪ ܒܚܪܢ. ܘܒܫܢܬ ܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ¹⁴ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ ܒܪܗ. ܡܢ ܗܓܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ. ܐܡܬܗ ܕܣܪܐ. ¹⁵ܗ̇ܝ, ܕܝܗܒܗ̇ ܦܪܥܘܢ ¹⁶ܡܠܟܐ ܠܣܪܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܠܣܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܬܚܝܬ ܒܠܘܛܐ

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[1] B ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܒܒܠ. ܒܥܠ ܐܘܪܗܝ. ܗ̄. ܣܘܪ̈ܝܝܐ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܒܢܝܐ; C ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܒܒܠ. ܒܥܠ ܐܘܪܗܝ., etc. [2] A ܕܐܡܪ. [3] B ܠܥܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ. [4] A ܡܢ. [5] B C ܕܒܝܘ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܦܠܓ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ. [6] C ܘܩܒܪܗ. [7] B ܕܒܢܐ. [8] B ܢܫ̈ܐ. [9] A omits ܡܢܗ̇. [10] A ܕܫܡܗ̇. [11] C omits ܘܚܡܫ. [12] B ܘܦܩܕܗ. [13] A ܕܦܪܬ. [14] C omits ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. [15] B C omit ܗ̇ܝ. [16] A omits ܡܠܟܐ.

ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܘܣܦܘ ܥܠ
ܫܒܬܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܚܕ ܡܚܫܒܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܣܘܟܠܐ
ܘܢܠܚܘܢ ܠܚܘܫܒܢܐ. ܘܢܓܠܘܢ [1]ܠܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ [2]ܒܫܘܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܒܚܪܬ ܙ̈ܒܢܐ ܐܬܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ [3]ܐܝܟ
ܡܠܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܬ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܪܚܡܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ
ܗܟܢܐ ܢܬܩܝܡܘܢ ܀

ܟܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܘܦܘܠܓ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ.

ܟܕ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܝܘܡ̈ܬܗ ܕܦܠܓ. ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܢܘܚ. ܫܡ ܘܚܡ ܘܝܦܬ [4]ܘܐܬܪܥܝܘ ܘܫ̈ܪܝܢ ܒܫܢܥܪ. ܘܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܥܡ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ. [5]ܬܘ ܢܒܢܐ ܠܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܪܫܗ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܬܘܒ [6]ܢܐܬܐ ܛܘܦܢܐ [7]ܘܢܘܒܕ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܠܒܢܝܢܐ ܠܠܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܠܡܓܕܠܐ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܒܕܪܘ ܠܡܚܒܢܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܬܘܒ ܡܓܕ̈ܠܐ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܐ ܫܬܘܗܝ, ܕܡܓܕܠܐ ܗܘ. ܘܠܡܫܚܘܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܚܕ. ܕܡܒܝܢ ܠܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܢܦ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠܦܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܥܘܒܕܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܘܚܬ ܒܡܢܝܢܗܘܢ. ܘܥܡ ܥܠܡܘܢ. ܒܡܚܫܒܬܗܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܠܒܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ. ܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܦܠܓܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܙܘ̈ܥܐ ܘܕܡܠ̈ܠܐ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫ̈ܐ. ܘܟܫܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܘܘܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܥܠ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܬܘ ܢܚܘܬ ܘܢܦܠܓ ܬܡܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. [8]ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ̇. ܕܬܘ ܢܚܘܬ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܒܝܠܠܬ ܘܒܕܡܘܬ. ܘܥܠ ܡܦܩ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܡܦܫܩܬܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܦܘܫ ܐܠܗܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ ܒܗܘ ܦܘܠܣܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ. ܡܢܝܢ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܠܫܢܝܢ.

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[1] A ܠܡܐܬܝܬܐ. [2] B ܒܫܘܠܡ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܒܚܪܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ. [3] A omits ܐܝܟ; C ܡܫܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ. [4] C ܘܐܬܪܥܝܘ, ܒܫܢܥܪ. [5] C ܘܬܘ. [6] C ܐܬܐ. [7] B ܘܢܘܒܕܢ. [8] C ܐܦ.

ܐܘܠܕ ܠܦܠܓ. ܗܢܐ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܠܓ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܥܘ. ܗܢܐ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، ܡܐܬܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܘ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܠܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܥܕܡܐ [1]ܠܗܕܝܢ ܚܕ ܠܫܢܐ [2]ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܕܗܘܝܘ ܐܡܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫ̈ܢܐ. [ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ.] ܘܐܪܥܘ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܣܪܘܓ. ܗܢܐ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، [3]ܡܐܬܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܣܪܘܓ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܢܚܘܪ. ܘܗܢܐ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، [4]ܡܐܬܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܗ ܕܣܪܘܓ ܣܓܕܘ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ. ܘܢܚܘܪ ܒܪ [5]ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܬܪܚ. ܗܢܐ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܗ ܕܢܚܘܪ ܫܪܝܘ ܚܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܦܬܚ [6]ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܨܪ̈ܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܕܥܠܥ̈ܠܐ. ܘܡܚܘ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܨܠܡ̈ܐ. ܘܟܢܫܘ ܘܛܡܪܘ ܐܝܟ ܬܠܐ ܐܪܒܐ. ܘܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܗܠܝܢ [7]ܬ̈ܠܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܙܘܥܐ. ܘܬܪܚ ܒܪ [8]ܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ. ܗܢܐ [9]ܕܝܢ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ، [10]ܡܐܬܐ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܗܟܝܠ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܘܦܢܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ [11]ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܕܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܢܚ̈ܝܐ. ܕܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܕܦܠܓ̈ܘܬܐ [12]ܠܒܝܬ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܕܒܒ̈ܝܪܐ ܘܕܫܡܝ̈ܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܣܘܥܪ̈ܢܐ ܦܪ̈ܘ ܡܢ

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[1] B C ܠܗܝܕܝܢ. [2] B C ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܪܡܝܐ. ܕܗܘܝܘ ܐܡܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ, and they omit the words in brackets. In C, on the margin, a later hand has written with a lead pencil ܗܘܝܘ ܕܝܢ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ as a gloss on ܐܪܡܝܐ. [3] B C ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ. [4] B ܡܐܬܝܢ. [5] B ܒܥܣܪܝܢ. [6] A ܡܪܝܐ. [7] B ܬܠ̈ܠܐ. [8] B ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ. [9] A C omit ܕܝܢ. [10] B ܡܐܬܝܢ. [11] B C ܥܕܡܐ. [12] C omits ܠܒܝܬ.

¹ܘܡܪ̈ܝܚܐ ܘܐܦܘܕܝܩܛܝܩܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ̇ ܒܗ̇ ܒܗܘ ܘܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܬ. ܘܒܬܪ ܠܗܝܢ ܒܗ̇ ܣܡ ܐܢܦ܀ ܒܗ̇ ܡܗܬ. ܒܗ ܡܗܬ ܣܡܥܡܫܬܐ ܥܬܝܕ. ܠܡ̈ܦܪ ²ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܠܟܠܢܝܐ. ܘܡܠܦܐ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܠܐܘ̈ܬܝܐ. ܡ̈ܪܕ. ܕܡܒܠܗ ܡܪ̈ܕܝܐ. ܢܦ̈ܩ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܡܘ̈ܬܢܐ. ܬܘܒܠ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܚܝܘ̈ܬܢܐ. ܡܓ̈ܝ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܡܘܩܕܢܐ. ܬܢܝܢ ܕܡܒܠܗ ³ܬܪ̈ܡܝܢܐ ܘܐܣܩܦܠܝܐ ܘܐܣܩܦܠܝܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܒܡܦܪ. ܦ̈ܬܟܪܐ ܕܡܒܠܗ ⁴ܐܪ̈ܡܝܢܐ. ܕܢܦ̈ܪ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܡ̈ܘܕܘܩܝܐ. ܬܦܢܘܟܪܐ ܕܡܒܠܗ ܐܣܝ̈ܬܐ ⁵ܘܐܣܦܘܪ̈ܢܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܗܘ ܐܠܝܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ܆ ܦܘܠܝܣ. ܦܪ̈ܬܢ. ܡܝܠܝܛܝܢܐ. ⁶ܡܘܦܪ̈ܘܣ. ܩܠܘܡ. ܕܦܪܢܩ. ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒܢܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝ ܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܒܡܫܡ̈ܫܐ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ. ܘܗ̈ܘܝ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. ܘܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܀

ܦܓ ܀ ⁷ܥܠ ܡܘܒܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܠܗܠ.

ܫܡ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܪܦܟܫܕ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܒܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ܆ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ⁸ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ ⁹ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܘܩܝܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ܆ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܫܠܚ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܥܒܪ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ܆ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܥܒܪ ܕܝܢ ⁹ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ

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[1] B C ܘܡܪܝܚܐ. [2] A B omit ܗܘ. [3] A ܬܪܡܝܠܐ ܘܐܣܩܦܠܝܐ and omits ܘܐܣܩܦܠܝܐ; C ܬܪܡܝܠܐ. [4] B C ܐܪܡܝܢܐ. [5] B C ܘܐܣܦܘܪܢܐ. [6] A ܡܘܦܪܘܣ. [7] A omits ܥܠ.

[8] In B was written originally ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܘܩܝܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܬܡܢܝܐ ܫܢܝܢ, but the words underlined are erased with red ink; C reads ܘܐܪܦܟܫܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܫܠܚ. ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ (a line left blank here) ܘܩܝܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܐܐ; A omits ܘܚܡܫ. [9] B omits ܡܐܐ; C ܡܐܐ ܘܐܪܒܥ.

¹[ܐܡܪ. ܒܗ̇ܝ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܫܢ] ܘܒܙܒܢܐ ܠܡܦܪܘܫ ܐܬܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܢܘܚ ❖
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܡ. ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ. ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ
ܘܡܩܕ̈ܘܢܝܐ. ܘܟܘܫ ܕܡܢܗ ܟܘ̈ܫܝܐ. ܘܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܡܢܗ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܦܘܛ ܕܡܢܗ ܦܘܛ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܢܥܢ ܕܡܢܗ ܟܢܥܢ̈ܝܐ. ܥܡܡܐ ²ܡܠܩ̈ܐ
ܕܚܡ ܡܫܬܟܢܝܢ. ܘܩܪ̈ܝ ܒܫܦܪ. ܥܡܡܐ ܘܣܘܠܩܐ. ܕܡܢܗܘܢ
ܗܢܕ̈ܘܝܐ ܘܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܡܕ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܠܝܦ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܬܡܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܘܫ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܢܡܪܘܕ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ
ܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ. ܗܘܝܬ ܪܫ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܒܒܠ. ܘܗܘ ܒܢܗ̇ ܘܐܡܠܟ
ܒܗ̇. ܘܗܘ ܒܢܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܠܓ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ. ܐܪܟ
ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܘܪܗܝ. ܘܐܟܪ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܢܨܝܒܝܢ. ܘܟܠܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ
ܩܛܝܣܦܘܢ. ܐܪܥܐ ³ܕܫܢܥܪ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܩܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ̇
ܐܬܒܠܒܠܘ ܠܫܢ̈ܐ. ܫܢܥܪ ܕܝܢ ⁴ܒܠܫܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܦܠܝܓܘܬܐ
ܡܬܦܫܩܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܗ̇ܝ ⁵ܢܦܩ ܐܬܘܪܐ. ܘܒܢܗ̇ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ
ܘܠܪܚܘܒܘܬ ܩܪܝܬܐ. ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܪܒܝܠ ⁶ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ. ܕܟ̇ܠܚܘ
ܒܪ ܢܡܪܘܕ ܢܦܩ ܩܕܡܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐܬܘܪ. ܘܡܢ
ܒܬܪ ܟ̇ܠܚܘ ܢܝܢܘܣ ܒܪ ܟ̇ܠܚܘ ⁷ܒܢܗ̇ ܠܢܝܢܘܐ ܘܩܪܗ̇ ܥܠ ⁸ܫܡܗ.
ܘܐܪܒܝܠ ܘܟ̇ܠܚ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܚܕܝܐܒ ⁹ܘܪ̈ܣܢ ܕܝܢ ܗ̄ܘ ܪܝܫ ܥܝܢܐ. ܘܡܨܪܝܢ
ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܘܕܝܡ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܘܕ̈ܝܐ. ¹⁰ܘܠܠܗܒܝܡ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܘܒ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܠܢܦܬܘܚܝܡ ܕܗܘܘ ܩܒ̈ܛܝܐ. ܘܠܦܬܪܘܣܝܡ ܘܠܟܣܠܘܚܝܡ.
ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ ܦܠܫ̈ܬܝܐ ܘܓܕ̈ܪܝܐ ܩܦܕܘ̈ܩܝܐ. ܘܟܢܥܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܠܨܝܕܘܢ ܒܘܟܪܗ. ܕܗܘܘ ܨܝܕ̈ܘܢܝܐ ܘܚܬ̈ܝܐ. ܒܣܦܪܐ ܒܡܟܬ̈ܒܢܝܢ ܕܟܠ
ܚܬ̈ܝ ܡܫܪܝܢ ܒܥܡܪܐ. ¹¹ܘܡܢ ܡܟܐ ܘܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗܪܬ. ܡܫܪ̈ܝܐ

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[1] C omits the words in brackets. [2] C ܡܚܠܩܝܡ. [3] C ܕܫܢܥܪ. [4] B C ܒܠܫܢ ܒܒܒܠܝܐ. [5] A ܢܦܩܘ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ. [6] B C omit ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [7] B C ܒܢܐ. [8] C ܒܫܡܗ. [9] C ܘܪܐܣܢ. [10] C ܘܠܠܗܒܝܡ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܩܒ̈ܛܝܐ. ܘܠܠܗܒܝܡ ܕܗܘܘ ܠܠܘܒ̈ܝܐ. [11] B C ܡܢ.

∴ ܫܠܡܬ ܕܕܘܒܪܘܬܐ ∴

ܘܠܐ ܐܬܬܦܝܣ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ. ܟܕ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܗܝ. ܘܡܢܗ ܐܬܦܪܢܣ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܝ̈ܘܢܝܐ. ܕܗܘܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܟܡܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܕܢܝܐܝܠ. ܘܟܕ ܗܦܟܘ ܐܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܣܘܓܐ [1]ܕܦܠܓܐ ܘܕܟܡܝܪܐ. ܚܡܝܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܐ ܕܐܦܪܥܠܡ [2]ܘܢܦܫ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܕܘܟܬܗܘܢ. ܘܦܠܓ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ [3]ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܬܚܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܚܕܡܐ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ [4]ܘܢܦܩܘ. ܘܢܦܩ ܠܗ ܠܣܘܓܐ ܘܣܥܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܪܘܢܐ ∴

ܟܕ ∴ ܥܠ ܗ̄ ܘܠܬܗ ܕܢܦܫ.

ܟܕ ܥܒܪ. ܟܡܐ ܕܥܒܪ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ. ܟܠܗ ܕܡܫܘ ܟܠܚܝܢܐ. [5]ܘܐܬܦܪܫ ܕܡܫܘ ܐܬܬܥܝܪܐ. ܘܐܬܦܩܕ ܕܡܫܘ ܦܪܣܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܐܬܝ ܕܡܫܘܦ ܐܬܡܣܟܢܐ ܘܐܬܚܫܒܘܬܐ ܘܫܪܝܐ. ܐܟܐ ܘܗܠ ܕܠܡܘ ܟܕ ܚܕܪ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ. ܐܬܦܫܪ. ܥܠܡ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܒܪ. ܘܠܚܕܪ [6]ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ. ܫܡܗ ܕܚܕ ܦܠܓ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܘܡܬܗ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܡܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܟܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܗܘܪܝܢܐ ܠܗܬ ܒܪܗ ܦܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܠܫܢܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ. ܘܐܬܦܣܩ ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܥܒܪ ܗܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܢܡܘܣ. ܕܡܫܘ [7]ܗܘܘ ܚܕ̈ܡܐ ܐܬܬܚܡܪ [8]ܕܟܢܫܘ ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܚܘܒܐ. ܘܠܥܒܪܐ ܗܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܥܡܣ ܡܢ ܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܦܪܫ ܠܦܪܘܫܐ. ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. [9]ܘܟܕ ܡܟܝܪ ܡܢ [10]ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܬܡܫܟܢܘ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܢ ܘܚܠܡ [11]ܘܐܬܬܥܡܩܘ ܥܡ ܬܪܥܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܦܘܢ ܠܡܬܥܢܝܐ ܘܡܢܐ ܢܟܐ. ܒܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܠܘ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܢܦܫܗ

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[1] B omits ܘܕܟܡܝܪܐ; C ܕܟܡܝܪܐ ܣܓܝܐ. [2] B C ܢܦܫ. [3] C ܥܠ ܡܢ.
[4] C ܘܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. [5] C ܘܐܬܦܪܫ. [6] C ܐܬܝܠܕ. [7] C ܗܘܘ. [8] A ܕܟܢܫܘ.
[9] B C ܡܢ. [10] C ܐܪܝܡ. [11] C ܘܐܬܬܥܡܩܘ.

ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܒܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܡܪ ܠܦܓܪܐ. ܘܫܡܫܗ
ܒܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ، ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܕܦܩܕܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܙܠ ¹ܐܣܝܐ
ܠܒܪ ܥܡܘܪܬܐ ܘܠܬܚܘܡܐ. ܘܠܡܨܥܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܬܦܣܝ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܡܠܟ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܝܘܙܕܩ. ²ܕܗܒܘ ܠܝ ܒܪܟܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ
ܥܡܝ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ، ܘܥܒܕ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ³[ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ،
ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ] ܦܘܩ ܡܪܝ، ܠܒܪܢ. ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܡܟܘܢ.
ܘܢܛܪܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܢܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܡܪ ܒܠܠܝܐ
ܠܦܓܪܐ. ܘܫܩܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܫܬܡܫ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܕܦܩܕܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܦܠ ܠܗ̇. ܘܦܬܚ ܒܠܠܝܐ
ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܗܘܐ، ܘܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܥܡܗ ܒܕܡܟܐ ⁴ܕܐܬܘ ܘܩܡܘ ܥܠ
ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܐܙܕܩܦ ܒܗ ܡܪܢ. ܘܟܕ ⁵ܣܡܘܗ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܬܡܢ. ܐܬܦܬܚܬ
ܐܪܥܐ ܗ̇ܝ، ܒܕܘܡܝܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ. ܘܩܒܠܬ ܠܦܓܪܗ ܘܐܬܚܕܬ
ܐܬܚܕܬ. ܘܡܩܒܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܬܡܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ. ܘܫܡ ܥܡ
ܐܝܕܗ ܥܠ ܪܝܫܗ ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ. ܘܒܪܟܗ ܘܐܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܠܐ ܬܣܒ. ܘܡܣܦܪܐ ܥܠ ܪܝܫܟ ܠܐ ܢܣܩ.
ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܩܪܒ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܣܡܝܕܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ
ܘܡܫܚܐ. ܘܒܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܒܢܐ ܠܟ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܢܗܘܐ
ܥܡܟ. ܘܗܦܟ ܫܡ ܠܘܬ ܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܐܒܗ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ.
ܐܝܟܘ ܒܪܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ⁶ܫܡ ܕܡܝܬ ܥܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܩܒܪܬܗ.
ܘܐܬܐܒܠܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ، ܝܘܡܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܘܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܝܬܒ ⁷ܒܛܘܪܐ ܗ̇ܘ،
ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܩܒܪܗ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܐܬܘ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܬܢܝܘ
ܣܓܝܐܐ ⁸ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬܗ. ܘܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܙܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ

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[1] B C ܘܐܣܝܐ. [2] A ܕܗܒܘܢܝ; B ܗܒܘ ܠܝ. [3] B C omit the words in brackets.
[4] A ܕܐܬܐ ܘܩܡܘ. [5] B C ܣܡܘܗ̇. [6] A B omit ܫܡ. [7] B C ܒܛܘܪܗ̇ and omit ܗ̇ܘ. [8] B C ܡܠܟ̈ܐ.

ܫܠܡܬ ܕܕܪܫܬܐ ܀

ܕܛܘܦܣܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܗܢܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܘܥܠ ܕܥܠܝܗ̇ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܙܕܩ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘ ܐܘܟܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܕܐܢܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܘܕܐ ܘܡܠܦ ܡܕܡ ܚܡܝܪܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܙܕܩ ܕܢܚܘܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܕܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܬܠ ܠܢܦܫ ܟܠܗ̇ ܛܘܦܣܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܦܢܐ ܚܙܘܗ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܥܘܗܕܢܗ ܒܡܘܕܝܢܘܬܐ.[2] ܘܚܪܝܢ ܠܩܘܠ ܚܙܝܐ ܠܡܚܝܢܐ. ܘܢܣܒ ܚܕܘܬ ܒܟܠ ܛܘܦܣܐ ܬܠܬ ܡܢܝܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܫܢܘܗܝ ܠܗ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܢܝܐ[3] ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܬܬܠܝܬ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܕܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡܘܬܗ ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢܗ ܒܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܟܢܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ[4] ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܡܛܝܐ. ܘܢܝܚܗ ܒܡܪܗ ܚܝܢ. ܘܦܪܘܩܗ ܡܫܘܢܩܐ ܘܐܬܬܚܝܠܘ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܐܟܚܕܐ ܡܫܡܝܢ ܀

ܟܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ.

ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܬܬܚܬܝܬ[5] ܒܡܪܝܡܘܬܐ. ܠܗ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܬܐ ܚܕܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ[5] ܐܬܬܚܝܕܬ. ܡܣܦܩܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܙܢܐ ܕܚܢܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܢܦܫ. ܒܗܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܬܚܝܬ ܐܦܝܐ ܒܫܝܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢ ܙܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܦܫ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܚܝܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܠܡܦܪܫܘ. ܘܐܦܪܫ ܐܘܠܐ ܠܝܗ ܘܚܝܝܢ ܐܘܠܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܘܠܡܬܠܡ. ܥܠ ܕܝܢ[7] ܐܬܬܚܝܬ ܒܫܪܒܐ. ܡܠܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܒܫܪܒܐ[8] ܐܬܬܚܝܬ. ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܫ. ܦܢܝܘܗ ܠܒܣܡ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܡܠܝ ܒܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܬ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܡܢ

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[1] B C omit ܘܙܕܩ. [2] ܚܙܘܗ̈ܝ A ܘܚܙܘ; B ܥܗܕܢ. [3] A ܠܡܚܝܢܐ ܘܚܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. [4] B C ܟܠܗܘܢ. [5] A ܐܬܬܚܬܝ. [6] In A, on fol. 39 *a*, there is a marginal note, which reads ܘܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܬ. [7] C ܐܬܬܚܝܬ. [8] A ܐܬܚܝܬ.

ܡܩܪܒܐ ܕܢܘܚ. ܘܬܘܒ ܫܕܪ ܠܝܘܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܠܗ̇ [1]ܕܘܟܐ
ܕܬܫܟܢ. ܘܗܦܟܬ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡ̈ܝܢ ܫܕܪ ܝܘܢܐ
ܐܚܪܬܐ. ܘܗܦܟܬ ܠܘܬܗ [2]ܒܪܡܫܐ ܟܕ ܠܒܝܟܐ ܒܦܘܡܗ̇ ܛܪܦܐ
ܕܙܝܬܐ. ܘܝܕܥ ܢܘܚ ܕܐܬܒܨܪܘ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܘܦܬܚ ܢܘܚ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܫܢ̈ܬܐ
ܡܬܓܥܠܝܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܢܘܚ ܘܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܕܟܝ̈ܬܐ.
ܘܩܒܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܗ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ [3]ܬܘܒ ܢܐܬܐ ܛܘܦܢܐ
ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܢܚܪܒ ܠܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܠܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ ܒܛܘܦܢܐ.
ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܐܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܟܢܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܩܫܬܐ
ܒܥܢܢܐ. ܘܦܠܓ ܠܒ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܘܠܟܠܗ̇ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܣܩ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܕܐܫܬܕܪ [4]ܕܫܡܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ.
ܘܒܢܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܬܡܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܕܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ. ܘܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܬܡܢܝܢ
ܒܪܝܫܐ ܕܐܣܦܣܛܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ [5]ܦܘܦܪܓܝܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ. ܘܢܚ ܢܘܚ
ܒܪܡܫܐ ܘܐܡܝܬ, ܡܢ ܣܕܪܗ. ܘܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܢܘܚ ܘܫܪܝ.
ܦܠܚܗ ܒܫܢܬܗ ܡܢ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ. ܐܬܦܠܚܬ ܒܦܠܚܘܬܗ ܘܡܦܪܫܗ ܟܠܗ
ܡܥܒܕܗ. ܘܫܡܗ, ܒܪܗ ܣܡ ܘܚܝ̈ܝ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܐܘܒܕ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ, ܫܡ
ܘܢܦܩܬ. [6]ܘܢܣܒܗ ܫܡ ܘܢܦܩ ܙܪܥܐ ܥܠ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ [7]ܘܥܠܡܗ ܒܪ
ܒܡܬܪܐܘܬ ܒܪ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܠܡܛܪܘܦܐ. ܘܐܡܪܗ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܗܝ ܥܠ
ܐܦܘܩܦܐ ܘܡܣܦܩܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܫܪܟܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܬܥܝܪ ܢܘܚ ܘܝܕܥ
ܡܢܐ [8]ܐܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ. ܡܢ ܬܘܩܦܗ ܒܪܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ. ܠܛܗ ܠܟܢܥܢ
ܒܪܗ ܕܚܡ. ܘܐܡܪ [9]ܕܥܒܕܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܐܚ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܒܪܟ ܠܫܡ ܘܠܝܦܬ.
ܟܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܢܢ ܟܕ ܟܕܒܠ ܠܐ ܡܠܟ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܐܦܠܐ [10]ܘܗܘ̈ܝ
ܫܠܝܐ. ܘܟܠ ܕܫܡ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܐܣܛܘܪܓܐ ܟܕ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ

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[1] B C ܕܘܟܬܐ. [2] A omits this word. [3] A omits ܬܘܒ. [4] C ܕܫܡܗܝܢ. [5] B C ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܦܘܦܪܓܝܐ; A ܦܘܦܪܓܝܐ. [6] A ܘܢܣܒ. [7] B C ܘܥܕܪ. [8] A ܡܬܥܒܕ with ܐ written above the ܡ. [9] C ܥܒܕܐ. [10] B C ܘܗܘ ܫܠܝܐ; C ܘܠܐ.

ܥܠܬܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܬܐ

ܓ̈ܢܣܐ ܡܫܚܠܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ¹ܡܫܚܠܦܐܝܬ. ܘܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܗܘܘ
²ܒܡܫܘܚܠܦܘ̈ܬܗܘܢ ܠܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܦܠܚ ܥܒܕܐ
ܗܘܝܢ ܦܢܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܢܝ. ܕܐܢܫܘ̈ܬܐ ܫܒ ܐܬܪ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܫܘܬܐ ³ܘܢܣܒܘܢܗܝ،
ܒܡܘܦܪܐ. ܘܐܬܬܪܝܘ ܒܬܒܥܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܦܩܬܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ. ܘܪܕܘܦܝܐ
ܕܡܬܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ. ܐܝܟܢ ܐܫܬܟܚܘ ܡܥܒܕܢܝܢ ܠܠܘܩ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ.
ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝܘ ܡ̈ܢܐ ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܠܦܘܬ ⁴ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ.
⁵ܒܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܘܡܛܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܘܪܕܝܐ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܥܠ
ܡܢܐ. ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܘ ܡܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ. ܘܫܡܫܝ
ܦܘܬܡܐ ܕܠܝܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘ ܒܝܕ ܥܬܝ ܠܡܟܐ ܐܦܘܣܛܘ ܘܐܬܬܝ
ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܠܘ ܒܠܬܪܐ. ܦܪܝܩܘ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ. ܘܗܘܘ
ܡܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܣܦܩܘ ܡܟܐ ܘܫܡܥܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܗܟܢ ܡܢ
ܗܘܦܟܐ ܐܝܟܢ ⁶ܗܘܝܢ. ܕܗܘܦܟ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܟܠ ܢܦܫ ܠܡܫܡܫܬܐ.
ܘܫܪܝ ܠܦܘܬܐ. ܘܒܕܡܐ ܕܫܪܘ ܡܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘ. ܡܢܟܐ ܘܐܬܫܟܚ
ܗܘܝܢ. ܕܟܟܒܝ ܫܡܫܐ ܗܘܘ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܒܕܡܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ
ܒܬܫܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܡܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘ. ܡܢ ܬܫܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܒܕܡܐ
ܠܢܝܣܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ. ⁷ܘܒܗ ܒܗ. ܗܘܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܗܘ ܢ̈ܗܪܐ ܠܦܘܬܐ. ܘܒܕܡܐ
ܕܝܒܒܝܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܐܫܬܒܚܘ ܗܘܢܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܦܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܬܢܒܝܘ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܪܒ ܠܦܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܥܐ. ܘܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ
ܕܫܘܡܗ ܢܩܦ. ⁸[ܘܒܫܢܝܐ ܒܗܘ ܐܬܝܠܕ. ܘܫܪܝܬ ܕܢܩܦ ܥܠܬ
ܒܐܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ.] ܥܠܝܗ ܢܦܫ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܬܐ. ܘܫܪܝ ܠܡܦܪܥܐ
ܕܝܫܬܐ ܠܗ ܦܪܥܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܪܝܠ ܐܝܟܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܘܒܗܝ
ܒܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܝ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܚܡܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ⁹

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[1] B ܡܫܚܠܦܐܝܬ; C ܡܫܚܠܦܐ ܐܝܬ. [2] B C ܡܫܘ̈ܚܠܦܗܘܢ. [3] A B ܘܢܣܒܘܢܝ; C ܢܣܒܘܢܝ. [4] A omits ܢܘܗܪܐ. [5] B ܒܫܡܫܐ ܫܡܫܬܐ. [6] C omits ܗܘܝܢ. [7] B ܘܒܗ ܒܗ; C ܘܒܗ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ. [8] B omits the words in brackets. [9] B C ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ.

¹ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܕܕܘܒܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܪܘܚܢܐ. ²ܘܡܫܒܚ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܪܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܘܬܐ ܘܪܥܝܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ̇ ܠܕܝܪܐ ܘܢܛܪ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ̇. ܘܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܝܢ ܟܕ ܥܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܕܝܪܐ ܒܫܘܬܐ ܡܒܝܐ ܠܡܐܢ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܦܠܛܠܐ ܘܦܛܠܘܗ ܀

ܟܝ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܦܫ ܘܥܠ ܓܘܫܡܐ.

ܟܕ ܗܘܝܐ ܢܦܫ ܒܪ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ ܥܢ̈ܝ. ܝܗܒ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܘܐܬܡܠܝ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܐ ܟܝ̈ܢܝܢ. ܥܡܪ ܘܚܝ ܘܪܓܫ. ܘܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܗ ܘܬܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܕܢܦܫ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܝ̈ܢܝܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܒܪܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܕܢܦܩܐ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܒܟܝ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܘܕܥܗ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܢܦܫ ܘܦܓܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܕ̈ܡܬܐ³ ܠܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܠܗ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܗ، ܘܕܫܪܒܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܬܡܢܗ ܠܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܒܡܬܚܐ ܕܡܟܐܢܐ ܥܢ̈ܝ. ܘܡܕܒܪܗ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܕ̈ܢܝܢ ܚܠܝܦ ܐܝܟ ܙܘܓܐ ܘܐܟܢ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ. ܥܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܡܬܝܐ ܐܘܪܟܗ ܘܪܘܚ ܦܬܟܗ. ܘܐܘܪܟܗ ܕܬܒܘܬܐ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܬܝܗ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܪܘܡܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܬܡܢܗ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܓܘܦܪܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܐܫܟܪܥܐ. ܘܟܦܪܗ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ. ܘܒܫܘܡܠܝ ⁴ܫܢܝܢ ܫܬܡܐܐ. ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘܚ. ܕܢܥܘܠ ܗܘ ܘܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܒܢܘܗܝ، ܘܟܠܬܗܘܢ. ܬܡܢܝܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܢ. ܘܢܥܠ ܥܡܗ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܕܟ̈ܝܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܙܘ̈ܓܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܛܡ̈ܐܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ. ܕܟܪܐ ܘܢܩܒܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܠܣܝܒܪܬܐ ܘܟܝܠܐ ܠܣܝܒܪܬܗ ܡܬܩܢܢܘܗ ܠܗ ܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܦܐ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܢܚܝܘܢ ܡܬܦܨܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܚܒܠܘܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢܘܚ ܢܦܩ. ܒܫܢܬ ܕܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܢܦܩܘ ܥܡܗ ܘܚܝ̈ܘܬܗ ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܗ. ܦܢܐ ܕܝܢ

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[1] A omits ܗܘܐ; C ܗܘܐ ܘܡܕܒܪ. [2] A ܘܡܫܒܚܢܐ; C omits ܗܘܐ. [3] B C ܠܫܘܪܝܐ. [4] C omits ܫܢܝܢ.

⁘ ܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܕܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ⁘

ܬܡܢܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܚܢܘܟ. ܘܚܝܐ ܝܪܕ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ.
ܘܫܦܪ ܒܪ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ¹ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܡܬܘܫܠܚ. ܘܚܝ
ܚܢܘܟ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܫܦܪ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ
ܗܘܘ ²ܠܗ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܣܘܦܗ. ܘܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܠܡܟ
ܠܝܙܪ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܠܗ ܠܠܡܟ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ ܠܢܘܚ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܡܟ ܡܬܘܫܠܚ ܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ
ܘܡܥܕ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܢܘܚ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܐܘܠܕ ܒܪ ܚܡܫܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ
ܘܐܬܥܕ ܫܢܝܢ: ³ܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܡܥܕ ܫܢܝܢ ⁘

ܠܦܘܫ. ܘܩܝܡ ܥܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܓܢܐ
ܠܐ ⁘ ܕܝܢ ⁵ܥܠܬ ܘܦܘܠܡܝܣ ܕܐܬܟܫܦ ܕܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ.
ܡܢ ⁴ܕܐܪܣܛܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܘܠܕ ܐܡܥܘܣ ܕܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܡܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ
ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܦܝܠܣܦܐ ܕܦܪܢܣܬܐ ܘܝܠܦܘܬܐ ܐܘܪܓܢܐ ⁶[ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ]. ܦܘܠ ܕܝܢ ܦܘܠܦܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܐܡܘܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܥܪܒܐ ⁸ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ.
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ⁷ܕܝܢ ܠܥܪܒܐ ܣܘܟܠܐ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܐ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ.
ܡܫܡܫ ܚܕ ܪܒܐ ܡܢ ܕܟܠ ܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ. ܬܠܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܥܪܒܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܠ ܘܦܘܠܝܛܝܐ ܒܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܠ ܘܦܪܢܣ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ⁹ܕܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܦ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܦܪܢܣ ܗܘܘ.
ܘ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܘܦܪܢܣ
ܠܡܫܡܫ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܟ ¹⁰ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ
ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܬ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܢܘ ܒܢܝܢܐ
ܗܘ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܦܠܛܘܢ

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[1] C omits ܫܢܝܢ.
[2] C omits ܠܗ.
[3] A C omit ܠܗܘܢ.
[4] A ܐܘܚܕ.
[5] A ܕܐܠܡ.
[6] C omits the words in brackets.
[7] A omits ܕܝܢ.
[8] B C omit ܐܣܛܘܣܐ.
[9] A C omit this word.
[10] B C omit ܐܝܟ.

ܠܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܩܛܠ ܩܛܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܩܐܝܢ. ܐܝܟܘ [1]ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܩܐܝܢ ܢܛܘܪܗ ܐܢܐ ܠܡ ܕܐܚܝ.
ܘܐܡܪ [2]ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܓܥܬܐ ܕܕܡܗ [3]ܕܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ
ܐܬܝܐ ܠܘܬܝ. ܘܠܛܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܩܐܝܢ. ܘܫܕܪܗ [4]ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܢܥ
ܘܙܝܥ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܘܡ̈ܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܐܫܕ
ܕܡܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܩܒܠܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܕܡܐ
ܕܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܣܩ̈ܬܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܢܦܫ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ. ܘܐܬܐܒܠܘ
ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܒܝܠ ܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ
ܫܢܝܢ. ܐܬܝܠܕ ܫܝܬ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܐܬܢܒܝܘ ܒܗ ܐܕܡ
ܘܚܘܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܡܢܗ ܘܬܘܠܕ̈ܬܗ ܘܡܫܝܢܘ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ. ܘܐܕܡ
ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ، ܒܬܪ ܫܝܬ. ܒܫܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܪܝܫ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܕܢ. ܘܢܟܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ
ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܝܬ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܬ ܩܐܝܢ ܘܢܦܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܥܡܗܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܢܒܠܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܐܬܛܢܦܘ ܒܙܢܝܘܬܐ. ܘܚܝܘ ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ
ܘܐܬܬܟܠܘ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܕܡ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ. [5]ܘܐܬܢܝܚ ܐܢܝܚ.
ܕܚ̈ܘܡ ܫܢܝܢ ܝܦܝܦ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܘܕܡܐ. ܒܝܘܡ ܒܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܠܐ
ܡܦܓܠܐ ܠܗܕܐ. ܘܒܗ ܐܒܘܗܝ، ܗܘܐ ܫܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ
ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܐܢܘܫ. ܘܚܝܐ ܫܝܬ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ
ܘܡܝܬ. [6]ܘܐܢܘܫ ܒܪ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ ܠܩܝܢܢ. ܘܐܢܘܫ
[7]ܗܘ ܩܕܡܝܬ ܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܗܘ
ܬܠܬ̈ܐ ܩܕܡܝܬ ܥܠ ܪܘܡܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܬܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ. ܘܚܝܐ ܐܢܘܫ
ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܩܝܢܢ ܒܪ ܡܐܐ [8]ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܘܠܕ:
ܠܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ. ܘܚܝܐ ܩܝܢܢ ܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ ܒܪ
ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܫܢܝܢ [9]ܐܘܠܕ ܠܝܪܕ. ܘܚܝܐ ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ

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[1] A C omit ܗܒܝܠ. [2] A omits ܠܗ. [3] B ܕܕܡܗ ܕܐܚܘܟ; C ܕܗܒܝܠ ܕܐܚܘܟ. [4] B C omit this word. [5] C ܘܐܬܢܝܚܘ. [6] A C ܘܐܢܘܫ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ. [7] B ܩܕܡܝܬ ܗܘ. [8] B C ܘܫܒܥܝܢ. [9] C ܘܐܘܠܕ.

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ
ܚܘܟܡܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ¹ ܢܦܩܘ ܗܘܘ [illegible] ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ ܗܘܘ
[illegible] ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ [illegible] ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܚܟܡ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ.
[illegible] ܘܠܠܒܘܕܐ² ܗܘܬ ܥܡܗ ܒܚܕܐ ܒܛܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ
[illegible] ܠܗܒܝܠ ³ܘܠܩܠܝܡܬ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܗܘܬ ܥܡܗ ܒܚܕܐ ܒܛܢܐ.
[illegible] ܕܢܦܠ
[illegible] ܠܗܒܝܠ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܩܐܝܢ ܐܡܪ
[illegible] ܐܝܟ ⁴ܐܠܐ
[illegible] ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ. ܣܠܩܘ
[illegible] ⁵ܗܘܘ
[illegible] ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܪܒ ܩܐܝܢ
[illegible] ܦܐܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ [illegible] ⁶
[illegible] ⁷ܘܐܬܐ
⁸[illegible] ܦܐܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ [illegible]
⁹[[illegible]]. ܘܐܬܬ
ܢܘܪܐ [illegible] ܠܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܗܒܝܠ ܐܟܠܬܗ. ¹¹ܘܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ ܠܐ
[illegible] ܕܗܟܢ ܐܬܛܢ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܒܝܠ [illegible]
¹⁰ܕܐܪܥܐ [illegible] ¹⁰ܕܐܪܥܐ [illegible]
ܠܗ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ [illegible] ܘܩܛܠܗ

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[1] A omits ܕܝܢ. [2] B C ܠܒܘܕܐ. [3] B ܘܩܠܝܡܬ; C ܘܠܩܠܝܡܬ. [4] C omits this word. [5] A omits ܗܘܘ. [6] A omits ܕܗܘܐ. [7] A ܗܘܐ ܕܦܠܚ ܐܪܥܐ. [8] A ܕܐܪܥܐ. [9] A omits the words enclosed in brackets. B gives them in the margin as an explanation of the ܚܣܡܐ of Cain. C also gives them in the margin, but as an explanation of ܐܬܛܢ. [10] A ܕܐܪܥܐ. [11] C ܘܩܘܪܒܢܗ ܕܩܐܝܢ.

ܒܕܡܘܬ ܚܘܝܐ ¹ܠܓܡܠܬܐ. ܘܐܙܠܐ ܗ̄ܘܬ: ܘܐܬܝܐ ܚܕܪ̈ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ.
ܠܥܘܕܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܕܡ. ܘܟܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܦܬܟܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܥܒܕܐ
ܠܡܚܒܫܘ ²ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܫ̈ܒܚܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ
³ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܠܚܒܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩܢܝܬܐ⁴ ܗ̄ܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ⁵ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܐܬܒܪ̈ܝܝ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܦܬܓܡܐ ܠܡܡܠܠܘ ⁶ܘܠܡܬܚܡܠ. ܐܠܐ ܚܠܦ ܗ̄ܝ ⁷ܕܟܠ ܩܠܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܡܘܕܥܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܐ ܠܩܠܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܩܠܐ ܠܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܘܟܬ ܡܥܩܒܐ ܡܢܛܠܝܢ. ܘܐܝܬ ܒܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܚܝܘܬ.
ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܠܐ ܕܢܫܡ ܠܡܫܡܥܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܪ̈ܘܪܒܢܐ
ܘܒܡܘܬܪܐ ܡܛܠ ܥܘܒܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܕܡ ܡܢ
ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܚܠܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܫܡܝܐ
ܘܒܦܪ̈ܐ ܘܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܕܝܦܫܢܐ. ܡܬܓܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ⁸ܕܝܢ ܙܪ̈ܥܘܢܐ
ܘܐܦܘܢܐ ܘܚܫܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ⁹ܘܡܬܩܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܡܙܠܓܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ¹⁰ܘܟܕ
ܐܦ ܐܪܥܝܬ ܬܟܠܐ ܘܩܪ̈ܝܫܬܐ ܘܩܪܝܫܐ ܡܕܪܘ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܬ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܗ̄ܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܢܝܐ ܘܦܩܘܕܠܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬ
ܕܒܥܐ ܢܦܫ ܡܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ. ¹¹[ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ.] ܘܡܢ ܐܦܘ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܐܟܠ ¹²ܠܚܝܐ ܘܠܡܫܬܝܐ ܚܡܪܐ ܘܠܡܐܟܠ ܒܣܪܐ. ܒܬܪ
ܕܢܦܩܘ ܠܗ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܥܒܪ ܠܒܢܘ. ܐܠܦܢ ܠܢ ¹³ܕܟܕ ܐܬܠܝܕܘ
ܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܦܠܚ ܐܕܡ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܠܒܬܐ
ܘܒܚܫܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܒܒܒܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܒܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܪ ܠܕܪ.
ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܡܘܕܥܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ¹⁴ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ
ܠܒܢܝܐ. ܢܚܙܐ ¹⁵ܥܘܒܕܗ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ⁘

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[1] B C omit ܠܓܡܠܬܐ, and read ܐܙܠܐ. [2] MSS. ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܗܘܢ; B C ܐܝܟ. [3] B C ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܠܚܒܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [4] C ܡܬܦܫܩܢܘܬܐ. [5] A ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ once only. [6] A C ܘܠܡܬܚܡܠܘ. [7] B C ܟܠ. [8] A omits ܕܝܢ; C ܕܝܢ. [9] C ܘܡܬܩܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. [10] B C ܡܢ. [11] B C omit the words in brackets. [12] B C ܠܡܐܟܠ ܠܚܝܐ ܘܠܡܫܬܝܐ ܚܡܪܐ. [13] B C ܡܢ. [14] C ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [15] A ܥܘܒܕܗ.

܀ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܕܟܝܘܬܐ ܀

ܐܬܠܛܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܟܘܬ. ܘܐܦ ܢܒܝ¹ ܚܘܝܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܐܬܚܝܠ ܡܐܟܠܗ. ܘܠܘܬ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ: ܕܥܠ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ.
ܥܡ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܕܐܬܚܝܠܘ ܒܫܘܝܐ. ܐܪܡܝܬܘܢ ܕܚܦܝܐ ܢܦܝܐ. ܐܬܬܠܝܛ
ܐܦ ܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܓܘܡܐ. ܘܚܢ ܡܢ ³ܫܘܚܬܐ ܘܚܢ ܒܪܬܐ ܐܬܬܚܒܠܘ² ܬܓܠܘܗܝ،
ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܫܘܚܬܐ ܘܚܢܝܢܐ ܙܝܢܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ.
ܘܩܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܒܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܢܦܫ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܐ. ܕܗܘ ܢܚܘܡܗܘܢ،
ܘܫܡ ܠܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܡܟܐܟܐ ܥܠ ܙܪܥܐ. ܘܚܘܝܐ ܡܟܚܘܒܬܗ
ܡܟܣܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܟܐܟܐ ܘܚܘܒܠܗ. ⁵ܡܬܠܠܠܗ. ܐܡܝܢ ܒܝܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܚܘܝܐ ܠܠܐ ܥܠܠ ܕܒܥܒܕܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܠܒܢܝܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܘܡܚܘܝܬܐ ܕܐܦܝܢ
ܠܒܢܬ ܠܟܠܗ ⁶ܠܫܢܢ. ܕܦܓܠܝܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܐܘܒܝܢܐ ܬܚܦܝܢ. ܘܗܘ
ܒܣܘܦܐ ܒܗ. ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܒܝܢ ܕܘܟܐ ܘܕܪܕܝܐ.
ܕܡܘܟܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܘܚܢ ܐܡܠܟ ܕܗܘ ܗܘ ܘܚܟܐ
ܒܝ ܚܝ ܐܝܟ ܀

ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܕܚܘܐ
ܡܢ ܦܘܪܕܝܣܐ.

ܡ ܀ ⁸ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ
ܡܢ ܕܡ ܦܘܡ ܡܢ ܥܦܪܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܝܬ ܥܕܢܐ
ܒܐ ܒܐ ܒܥܠܝܐ. ܒܠܡܫܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܐܝܟ
ܐܡܬܝ ⁹ܚܘܒܝܫܐ ܕܦܘܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܐ. ܦܪܝܫܐ
ܒܥܡܘܪܐ. ܠܡܬܠܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܦܘܪܕܝܣܐ.
ܥܡܪܐ ܘܥܠܠܐ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ، ܗܘܘ. ܢܥ ܡܢ ܡܥܠܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ
ܥܡ ¹⁰ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܬܘܗ̇ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܐ
ܒܚܠܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܥܡܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܝܬܐ.
ܦܓܪܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ، ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܥܡܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ
ܐܟ ܒܥܡܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܣܝܡܐ. ܐܬܒܪܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܒܪܐ ܕܡܥܡܪܐ ܗܘܬ

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[1] A C omit ܚܘܝܐ; B C omit ܘܠܘܬ. [2] B C ܐܬܬܚܒܠ. [3] B C ܫܘܚܬܐ. [4] C omits this word. [5] B C omit this word. [6] A ܠܫܢܢ. [7] A ܒܝ ܚܝ. [8] A C omit ܐܠܗܐ. [9] MSS. ܚܘܒܝܫܐ. [10] A C ܐܡܪܬ. [11] A ܘܥܡܪܐ ܐܘ ܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܐܘ ܣܝܡܐ.

ܘܠܡܦܩܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܚܣܡܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܠܬܗ
ܕܐܕܡ ܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܪܘܡܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܗ. ܘܐܝܬ ¹ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܗܘ ܣܛܢܐ
ܥܒܕ. ܟܕ ܦܩܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܢܐܟܘܠ ܡܢ ܗܿܘ ܐܝܠܢܐ.
ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ²[ܕܡܬܒܪ̈ܢܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢܗ ܦܩܕܗ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ
ܐܡܪܘ]. ܕܡܬܚܪܝܢܐܝܬ ܘܚܠܝܢܐܝܬ. ܘܚܙܐ ³ܣܛܢܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ ܕܚܟܝܡ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ⁴ܐܪ̈ܥܢܝܬ ܬܒܠܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ⁵ܒܗ ܐܝܟ
ܕܒܐܦܘܦܐ ⁶ܒܐܕܫ ܚܘܝܐ ܐܘܪ̈ܓܢܐܝܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. ܕܠܘ ܡܡܬ
ܬܡܘܬܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ⁷[ܐܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ]. ܒܪܡ ܠܥܠܬܐ ܘܡܚܫܒܬܐ. ⁸ܘܚܙܬ ܗ̄ܘܬ ܠܬܐܬܐ ⁹ܕܫܦܝܪܐ
ܒܚܙܬܗ ܘܩܒܠܬ ¹⁰ܪܡܙܗ ܘܐܬܪܓܪܓܬ ܠܡܐܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܘܠܡܗܘܐ
ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܘܦܫܛܬ ܐܝܕܗ̇ ܘܠܩܛܬ ܘܐܟܠܬ ܘܝܗܒܬ ¹¹ܐܦ ܠܒܥܠܗ̇.
ܘܐܟܠ ܐܦ ܗܘ. ܘܐܫܬܠܚܘ ܡܢ ¹²[ܫܘܒܚܐ ܦܐܝܐ ܘܡܢ] ܢܘܗܪܐ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܥܛܝܦܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܝܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ. ܘܠܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܥܪܛܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪ̈ܐ.
ܘܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܥܝ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܚܙܘ ܥܪܛܠܝܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܢܣܒܘ ܛܪ̈ܦܐ ܕܬܐܬܐ
ܘܚܛܘ ¹³ܦܪܙܘܡܣܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܗܬܬܐ. ܘܐܬܛܫܝܘ ܬܚܝܬ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܓܒ̈ܝܠܐ.
ܘܩܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܕܡ. ܠܘ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܟܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܕܒܕܠܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ. ܩܠܟ ¹⁴ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܬ
ܘܐܬܛܫܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ¹⁵ܕܥܪܛܠܝܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ¹⁶ܕܡܢ ܐܚܘܝܟ ܝܕܥܬ
ܥܪܛܠܝܘܬܟ. ܕܠܡܐ ܥܒܪܬ ܥܠ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܦܩܕܬܟ ܠܟ.
ܘܐܟܠܬ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܩܕܬܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ ܡܢܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܕܡ.
ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܝܗ̄ܒܬ ܥܡܝ. ܗ̇ܝ ܝܗ̄ܒܬ ܠܝ ܘܐܟܠܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܚܘܐ

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[1] B ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [2] The words in brackets are omitted by A. [3] C ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ. [4] A ܕܐܪ̈ܥܢܝܬ; B ܐܪ̈ܥܢܝ̈ܬ. [5] A ܒܗ̇. [6] A C ܕܒܐܦܘܦܐ. [7] C omits the words in brackets. [8] B C ܚܙܬ. [9] A C ܕܫܦܝܪ. [10] A ܒܪܡܙܗ. [11] B C omit ܐܦ. [12] B C omit the words in brackets. [13] A ܦܪ̈ܝܙܘܡܣܘܢ; B C ܦܪ̈ܙܘܡܣܘܢ. [14] A omits ܡܪܝ. [15] B ܥܪܛܠܝ. [16] A ܡܢ.

⁘ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܘܬܐ ⁘

ܠܩܘܒܠ ܣܘܓܐ̈ܐ ܕܐܣܟܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ. ܐܝܟ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܘܬܐ
ܘܬܠܠ[1] ܕܣܘܥܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ[2] ܡܢܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܠܬܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܠܩܘܒܠ ܣܘܓܐ̈ܐ ܕܐܣܟܡ̈ܐ[3] ܕܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܫܬܡܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܬܐ. ܐܬܦܠܣܘ ܡܢ
ܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬܘܗܝ
ܗܘܝܘ[4] ܦܘܡܝܐ ܒܫܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܕܐܬܝ̈ܠܕܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܐܬܝܢ ܒܒ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܡܟܝܟܐ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ. [5]ܘܟܠ
ܡܛܠ ܐܪ̈ܙܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܓܠܝܘ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܟܠ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܡܫܟܚ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܟܝܟܘܬ
ܕܐܪ̈ܙܐ. ܕܒܟܢܫܐ[8] ܕܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ, [7]ܗܘܝܢܐ.
ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܢܫܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܣܒܪܬܐ. ܗܘ, ܕܠܐ ܣܢܝܐ [9]ܗܘܬ ܠܫܪܪܗ̇. ܕܩܢܘܡܐ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܢܐ
ܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ[6] ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ.
ܕܢܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܦܪܘ. ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.
ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ܘܐܦܪܘ [10]ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܢܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܕܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܡܢ
ܡܫܬܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܚܪ[11]ܕܢܚܘܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܘ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ⁘

ܗ ⁘ ܥܠ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܐ.

ܐܦ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܠܐܝܕܐ. ܗܝ ܠܗ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܡܢ ܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܢܐ ܥܠ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܐ
ܡܫܬܢܝܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܘܒܟܠ ܕܒܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ
ܘܫܠܝܛܐ. ܘܡܫܬܡܗ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ

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[1] B C ܘܬܠܠ.

[2] B C omit this word.

[3] A ܕܐܣܟܡܐ.

[4] C ܡܠܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܦܩܕܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܠܠܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ; A ܡܢܝܢܐ.

[5] B C ܦܩܘܕܬܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ.

[6] A ܕܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ.

[7] A ܗܘܝܢܐ.

[8] A ܕܗܘܝܢ ܟܢܫܐ; C ܟܢܫܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܢܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܡܫܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ.

[9] B C omit ܗܘܬ.

[10] B C ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܘܢ.

[11] A ܗܘ ܕܢܚܘܢ; C ܗܘ ܕܢܚܘܢ ܗ.

ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܢܗܪܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܩܠܬ. ܕܐܙܠ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ ܘܒܢܬ ܐܒ̈ܝܪ. ܘܢܗܪܐ ܪܒܝܥܝܐ ܦܪܬ. ܕܐܙܠ ܡܨܥܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܚܕܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܫܘܪܐ ܘܡܬܚܡܐ ܠܗܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ ܝܡܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܡܥܡܘܪܬܐ. ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܒܗ ܥܡܘܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ. ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܪܡܝܐ ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܐܝܟ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ¹ ܫܡܫܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܬܡܢ ܒܗ ܥܡܘܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܕܐܝܟܘ ܕܢܛܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܦܝܫ ܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ ܠܥܡܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܥܒܪ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܦܢܝܗ ܠܗ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܘܡܬܒܪܬܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܡܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܗܕܐ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܘܥܡܝܩܐ ܘܡܬܚܬܝܬܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ, ܘܢܨܚܝܢ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܗܘܢ, ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܐܟܚܕܐ ܕܠܡ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܟ. ܒܥܘܦܪܬ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܒܢܐ. ²ܘܥܒܕܘܗ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܒܘܚܪܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܠܝܬܪܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܠܢܛܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ³ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ, ܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܦܬܓܡܐ ܙܘܬܘܥܐ. ܘܠܦܓܪܗ, ܣܗܕܝ ܦܪ̈ܝܫܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. ⁴ܘܣܠܩ ܡܙܘܟܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܚܪܝܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܡܠܝܢ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܠܒܘܫ ܒܗܘܢ. ܢܫܒܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܓܘܫܡܬܐ ܥܒܝܬܐ. ⁵ܕܡܬܪܬܐ ܚܙ̈ܝܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܡܬܪܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܗܘܢ⁶. ܘܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܥܒܘܬܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܒܪ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܠܗ ܚܙܝܗ ܡܝܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܦܘܫܬܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܐ. ܐܠܐ

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[1] A ܘܣܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܬܡܢ ܒܗ ܥܡܘܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝܟܘ, and omits ܠܐܕܡ. [2] B C ܘܥܒܕܗ.
[3] C ܗܘܐ. [4] A ܘܐܣܠܩ. [5] A ܘܡܬܪܬܐ. [6] C ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܗܘܢ.

ܘܗܘ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗ̇: ܒܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܢܗ ܠܗܘܐ. ܠܐ ܚܒܠܗ ܡܢ
ܐܙܠܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܡܣܟ ܟܕ ܕܢܘܟܪܝܘܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܠܗ ܟܝܢܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܢܦܠܘ ܡܢ ܡܕܡܕܡܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܡܫܐ ܡܬܒܠܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ
ܡܢ ܒܥܡܠܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܡܫܚܫܒ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ [1]ܗܦܟܢ
ܐܢܫܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܘܬܐ ܗܘܘܐ ܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܚܠܘܗܝ. ܐܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܪܒܐ.
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܠܐ ܒܒ̈ܢܝܢܐ ܒܠܘܗ̇. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܬ̈ܠܡܘܗܝ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܘܐ
ܕܠܐ ܠܗ ܟܕ ܘܡܫܬܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܡܚܝܦܢܐ ܘܠܝܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܦܟܢ ܕܡܫܠܡܐ.
ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܐ ܟܠ ܐܕܡ. ܗܘܘ ܠܡܬܪܘܡܘ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܥܠܝܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܕܐܡ ܒܚܕܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܚܙܝ
ܚܙܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܫܘܬܐ [2]ܡܬܝܫܒܢܘܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܝܠܕܐ.
ܢܗܘܢ. ܗܘ [3]ܕܟܐܢܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܬܒܥ ܕܠܐ ܚܫܐ.
ܢܦܫܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܪܐ. [4]ܕܗܘܐ ܠܪܚܡܐ ܡܢ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܪܚܐ ܐܕܡ
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ. [5]ܘܬܬܪܗܒܘܢ ܒܬ̈ܝܒ: ܘܫܡܥܐ ܡܢ
ܡܟܣܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܠܟܣܝܐ ܚܠܒܫܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ.
ܫܠܡ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܬܠܬܥܣܪ ܕܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܘܚܐ :·

ܝܕ :· ܥܠ ܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ

ܗ̇ܕܐ ܕܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܟܠܦܪܐ ܕܚܒܝܒ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܦܪܝܫܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܒܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܠܚܢ̈ܢܐ ܦܐܪܐ ܕܟܠ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢܗ. ܕܒܗܘܢ ܒܘܒܪܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܘܠܐܬܪܚܩܘܢ [6]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ
ܠܗ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܢܗܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܦܪܫ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܬܪܝܢ
ܐܦܩܘܗܝ. ܡܢ ܟܕ ܡܢܗ ܢܗܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܡܕܡܫܚܐ
ܠܡܦܩܢܘܬܗ ܠܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܕܫܒܠܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܦܪܘܫܐ
ܘܦܠܛ ܕܐܙܠ [7]ܘܫܪܪ [8]ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܫܒܠܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܦܪܘܫܐ
ܘܠܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܘܡܦܪܫܐ. ܘܢܗܪܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܚܫܒܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܢܦܠܘ

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[1] A ܗܦܟܐ.
[2] B C ܡܬܝܫܒ.
[3] A ܕܐܬܠܐ.
[4] A ܕܗܘܐ.
[5] A ܘܬܬܪܗܛܘܢ.
[6] B C ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ.
[7] A omits ܘܫܪܪ.
[8] B ܠܐܘܪܚܐ.

ܘܢܦܚ ܒܗ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܕܡ ܠܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ.
ܕܢܣܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܕܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܦܢ̈ܝܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܓܒܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ
[1]ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܒܡܨܥܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܓܒܠ.
[2]ܒܓܓܘܠܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܙܕܩܦ ܡܪܢ. ܘܐܦ ܬܡܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܬ ܩܪܩܦܬܗ
ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܒܬܪ ܕܓܒܠܗ [3]ܠܐܕܡ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܥܠܗ ܐܝܟ
ܕܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܠܟܗ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܣܝܡ ܠܟܠ ܚܕܐ
ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܫܡܗܐ. ܠܘ ܓܝܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܠܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܒܪܐ
[4]ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܟܢܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܕܡ ܕܢܣܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܐ ܢܫܬܠܛ
ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܢܣܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܡ̈ܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܐ ܠܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܐܥܠܗ
ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܦܠܚܝܗܝ ܘܢܛܪܝܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ
ܕܢܦܠܚܝܗܝ ܘܢܛܪܝܗܝ. ܗܘ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܠ ܢܛܘܪܬܐ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܟܐܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܚܝܗ ܡܫܬܒܚܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܢܦܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܦܠܚܝܗܝ، ܠܢܛܘܪܬ ܦܘܩܕܢܘܗܝ. ܘܕܢܛܪܝܗܝ، ܕܠܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܪܫܡ ܓܠܠܝܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܐܕܡ [5]ܒܥܠܝܡܘܬ ܝܬܗ ܠܐ ܚܙܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܕܟܕ ܡܬܢܣܒܐ
ܡܢܗ ܚܘܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܗ. ܢܦܠ ܒܚܘܒܗ. ܘܢܗܘܐ [6]ܠܗ ܕܗܘ
ܕܒܒܪܗ ܠܚܘܐ ܚܙܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܗ. ܘܠܗ ܢܬܚܡ ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕܘ
ܬܪ̈ܫܘܢ ܀

ܝܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܘܐ.

ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܥܒܕ ܠܐܕܡ ܡܥܕܪܢܝܬܐ. ܘܐܪܡܝ [7]ܥܠ ܐܕܡ
ܫܢܬܐ ܘܕܡܟ. ܘܢܣܒ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܥܘܗܝ، ܡܢ ܓܒܗ ܕܣܡܠܐ.

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[1] A omits ܠܒܪ. [2] C omits this word. [3] B C omit ܠܐܕܡ. [4] B C ܘܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ. [5] B C ܒܥܠܝܡܘܬܗ. [6] B C omit ܠܗ. [7] B C ܘܐܪܡܝ ܫܢܬܐ ܥܡܝܩܐ.

⁘ ܫܠܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܬܐ ⁘

ܒܫ̈ܢܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ ܒܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢ ܬܘܒ ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܕܥܡ ܫ̈ܢܝܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ̈ܝܢ ܣܟܘ̈ܡܐ ܡܫܡ̈ܫܢܘܬܐ. ܐܘ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܥܣܪܐ
ܕܫܢܘ̈ܬܐ [1]ܚܡܫ ܟܣ̈ܢܝܢ. ܐܘ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܦܩܠܘܦܣܝܣ
ܐܬܬܚܡܘ. ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ ܬܘܪܓܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܣܦ̈ܪܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܡܦܩܢܘܬܐ ܘܗܘܝܢ. ܐܬܘܪܓܡܘ ܡܬܘܪܓܡܢܐ. ܟܕ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܐܦ ܒܡܢܝܢ̈ܐ ܚܫܒ̈ܢܐ ܠܗ ܟܠܗܝ̈ ⁘

ܡܕ ⁘ ܥܠ ܟܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܫܢܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܘܡܟܪ̈ܝܐ.

ܕܪ̈ܘܡܥܬܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܝܬ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܚܕܐ ܫܢ̈ܬܐ
ܕܪ̈ܘܡܥܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܟܡܟܢܐ. ܘܚܣܝܢܐ [2]ܐܡܬܝܢ ܚܘܪܢܐ [3]ܐܬܟܢܝܘ
ܟܠܗܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܪܐ [4]ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܗ ܟܢܘ̈ܫܝܐ [5]ܐܬܬܐ
ܟܠܗܝܢ. ܘܐܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܥܬܐ ⁘
ܟܠܗܘ ܗܘܘ ܩܘ̈ܕܫܐ[6]

ܢ ⁘ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܥܠܡ.

ܗܘ ܣܘܡܟܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܥܬܐ ܟܬܪ ܗܘܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܟܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܪܡܘܬܗ. ܠܗ̇ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܢܒܝܐ
ܦܫܝܩܐ ܒܗ [7]ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܟܕ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ
ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ. ܡܦܩܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܗܘܝ ܕܡܘܕܥܬܐ ܥܠ
ܡܫܝܚ̈ܐ ܕܟܠܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܙܘܝܩܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ [8]ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܗܘ
ܐܢܫܝ̈ܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܗܘܬ ܢܒܝܐ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܘܒܪܡܘܬܗ.
ܥܡ ܗܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܥܠ ܟܠܡܐ [9]ܟܠܗ.
ܐܘ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܪ̈ܝܣܛܝܢܐ ܘܡܒܝܢ̈ܐ. ܘܢܫܒ
ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ [10]ܘܚܠܦ ܠܐܢܫ ܒܐܢܫܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܢܬܐ

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[1] B C ܘܥܣܪܝܢ. [2] A ܐܡܝܢ; C ܐܡܝܢܐ. [3] A ܐܬܟܢܝܘ. [4] A omits this word. [5] B ܐܬܬܐ. [6] B C ܘܗܘܘ. [7] B C omit ܫܘܒܚܐ. [8] A omits ܕܝܢ. [9] A omits ܟܠܗ. [10] B C ܘܚܘܒܐ.

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ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܝܗ̄ܒ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܗ̄ܒ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܩ̇ܢܘ [1][ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܗ̇ܢܘ ܕܝܢ] ܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܘܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܐܬܬܩ̇ܢܘ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܒܐ. ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܒܪܩܝܥܐ ܐܬܬܩܢܘ. [2]ܘܫܡܫܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܡܥܪ̈ܒܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ [3]ܗܦܟܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܐܪܒܥܢܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܢ̇ܦܠ ܒܥܕܢܗ ܕܪܡܫܐ. ܘܣܗܪܐ [4]ܢ̇ܦܩ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܕܪܡܫܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܗ. ܫܒܝܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ [5]ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܗܦܟܝܢ ܡܬܚܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ, ܐܒܗܬܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܒܟܕ ܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪ̈ܒܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܒܬܪ ܠܦܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܬܟܪܐ ܟܪ̈ܝܟܐ ܥܠܗ ܠܠܝܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܪܡܫܐ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܦܠܣܘ̈ܦܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܬܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܦܟܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܡܕܢܚܬܗܘܢ ∴

ܝܐ ∴ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܢܘܢ̈ܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ [6]ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܕܝܒܫܬܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ [7]ܕܚܡܝܫܝܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܙܘܚ̈ܦܐ. ܘܠܢܘܢ̈ܐ ܘܠܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܠܣܘܓܐܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܚܢܝܬܐ ܘܠܪ̈ܚܫܐ ܕܝܒܫܬܐ. ܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬ [8]ܠܗܝܢ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܢܘܢ̈ܐ ܒܓܦ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܠܝ̈ܢ ܘܒܫܚܝܐ. ܢܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܣܩ

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[1] A omits the words in brackets.
[2] C omits ܘ.
[3] B C ܢܘܗܪ̈ܐ ܗܦܟܝܢ.
[4] A ܢ̇ܦܩ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܪܡܫܐ.
[5] B C ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ܝ.
[6] A ܘܪ̈ܚܫܐ; B C omit ܘܕܝܒܫܬܐ.
[7] B C ܕܚܡܫܒܫܒܐ.
[8] B C ܠܗܘܢ.

ܠܚܡ̈ܝܢܘܬܐ ¹ܘܠܚܡܝܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܬܬܚܝܐ ܡܚܝܠܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܬܗ̈ܘܡܐ ²ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܪ̈ܫܝ ܛܘ̈ܪܐ ܥ̈ܬܠܠܐ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ³ܫܠܚ ܐܠܐ ܬܣܘܡܐ ܠܩ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܫ̈ܩܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܢܚܪܘܢ
ܘܢܦܫܩܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܘܒܠ ܒܥܣܒܐ ܘܝܪ̈ܩܐ
ܥܠ ܐܦܘܗ̇. ܘܐܦܩܬ ܐܪܥܐ ⁴ܐܝܠܢܐ ܘܥܣܒܐ ܘܡܘܬܒܐ ⁵ܕܥܠ
ܚܝܘܗ̇. ܟܕ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܘܡܚܕܪܝܢ ܒܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܛܪ̈ܦܐ ܘܒܙܪ̈ܥܐ
ܥܠܝܗ̇ ܠܓܢܣܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܠܗ ܐܘܡܢܘܬ
⁶ܐܪܥܐ ܒܘܣ̈ܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܙܪܘܥܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܗ
ܒܘܣ̈ܡܐ ⁷ܐܝܟ ܕܗܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܒܗ ܠܘܛܬܐ
ܕܦܠܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܘܚܕܬ ܒܘܣ̈ܡܐ ܘܙܪ̈ܥܐ. ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܐܝܠܢܐ ⁸ܘܠܚܡ̈ܝܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ
ܢܚܪܘܢ ܦܠܚ̈ܝܐ ⁹ܡܬܒܠܠ ܥܠ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܡܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ
ܕܫܡܫܐ ܐܘܚܕܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܘܣ̈ܡܐ ܘܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ. ܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ
ܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܣܒܐ ܐܬܒܪܝ. ܒܪܡ ܐܝܟ
ܕܒܢܝܐ ܕܙܕܝܩ̈ܐ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝ. ܐܦ
ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܐܦ ܡܢܗ ܢܗܪܐ ܢܛܠܠ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܒܬܘܩܢܗ ✣

✣ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ¹⁰ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܠܫܡܫܐ
ܘܠܣܗܪܐ ܘܠܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܩ̈ܠܦܝܐ. ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܘܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ
ܘܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ. ܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܡܠܘܐܐ ܘܐܬܬܩܢ ܡܬ̈ܚܝܢܐ ܕܓܘܫܬ
ܦܬ̈ܝܠܬܐ. ܘܚܠܛ ܢܘܪܐ ܥܡ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ¹¹ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ
ܗ̄ܘܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ. ¹²ܘܐܦܠܐ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ

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[1] A ܘܠܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ. [2] A omits ܕܐܪܥܐ. [3] A omits ܫܠܚ. [4] A omits ܐܝܠܢܐ ܘ. [5] B C ܘܟܠ ܚܝܘܗ. [6] A omits ܐܪܥܐ. [7] A ܐܝܟ ܗܫܐ. [8] B C ܘܠܚܡ̈ܝܢܬܐ. [9] C ܘܡܫܬܟܠܠܢ. [10] B C ܕܐܪܒܥܫܒܐ. [11] A omits ܘ. [12] B C ܐܠܐ.

ܕܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܠܗ ܚܒܝ̈ܒܐ. ܘܒܝܢ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܡܕܡܝܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܩܠܐ ܫܡܝܥܬܐ ܦܩܘܕܐܝܬ ܢܗܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܥܠ ܐܬܒܪܝ, ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܫܝܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܕܡܪܘ ܘܫܒܚܘ. ܕܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܢܒܥܘ ܒܩܠܐ ܪܡܐ ¹ܘܫܒܚܘܗܝ, ܘܬܘܕܝܘ ܒܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ²ܛܘܒܢܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ. ܟܕ ܠܡ ܬܡܗܘ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܗܘ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܬܗܪܘ ܒܗ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܫܒܚܘ. ܘܐܝܟ ³ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܐܝܘܒ. ܕܟܕ ܒܪܐ ܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ ܫܒܚܘܢܝ ܒܩܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܝ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܘܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܗܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܗ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܬܐ ܒܫܥܬܗ ⁘

ܚ ⁘ ܥܠ ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ.

ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܝܢ ⁴ܕܐܬܩܒܥ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ⁵ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܗܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܒܘ̈ܥܐ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ. ܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܫܡܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܥܡܘܪܐ ܠܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ ܘܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܬܪ ܢܘܚܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܦܪܫ ܒܝܬ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܡ̈ܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܒܥܒܕܗ ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܢܘܢ. ܡܢܬܐ ܦܫܬ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܬܫܡܫܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܕܒܥܝܪܐ ⁶ܘܕܦܪܚܬܐ. ܘܠܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܐ ܘܠܫܬܝܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܣܠܩ ⁷ܡܢܗ ܠܪܩܝܥܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ. ܘܒܣܝܡܐ ܕܡܢܬܐ ܗܦܟܝܢ ⁸ܡ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܣܝܡܘ ܡܕܡܝܐ ⁘

ܛ ⁘ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ⁹ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܕܡܘܫ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܬܘܩܦܢܐ ܕܡܬܚ̈ܬܐ
¹⁰ܘܕܚܕܪ̈ܘܬܐ.

ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ¹¹ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ

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[1] B C ܘܫܒܚܘ. [2] B C omit ܛܘܒܢܐ. [3] A ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [4] B ܕܐܬܩܒܥ ܡܨܥܬܐ. [5] A ܘܢܗܘܘܢ. [6] B C omit this word. [7] A omits ܡܢܗ. [8] A omits ܡ̈ܝܐ. [9] C ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. [10] A omits ܕ. [11] B C ܕܬܠܬܐ.

ܕܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܝܐ. ܕܡܛܪܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܘܝܐ ܦܩܝܕܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ
ܥܡܡܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܫ̈ܡܝܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ.
ܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܘܝܐ ܙܒ ܒܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ؛ ܒܚܝܠ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܫܒܐ ܐܦ
ܒܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ. ܗܘܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܝܠܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܟܕ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ
ܥܡܡܐ ܢܛܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܒܠܫܢܐ؛ ܙܒ ܒܘܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܬܘܪܬܗ
ܣܦܪ ܡܟܣܢܐ. ܐܟܣܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܒܢ ܠܚܣܝܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ
ܒܠܚܘܕܝܐ. ܒܫܡܫܐ [1]ܐܘܟܝܬ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܠܗ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܡܫܪ̈ܐ. ܒܠ
ܗܢܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. [2]ܘܠܡܠܐܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܫܒܝܚܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ. ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ
ܠܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܒܗܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܝܬܪܐ. ܘܐܝܬ
ܒܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܬܬܪܝܨܘܬ ܗܘܝܐ [3]ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܠܠܬܐ.
[4]ܘܒܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܬܬܪܝܨܘܬ ܥܠܬܐ. ܘܒܡܫܡܫܢ̈ܐ ܬܬܪܝܨܘܬ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܀

ܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܘܟܐ.

ܚܫܘܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܛܠܠܗ. ܘܐܠܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ
ܠܗ ܓܘܫܡܐ. ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܛܠ ܫܡܫܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ [5]ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ
ܒܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܠܗ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ
ܠܛܠܠܗ. [6]ܐܠܐ ܛܠܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܓܘܫܡܐ ܀

ܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ.

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܒܪܡܫܐ
ܕܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ. ܠܐ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܡܕܡ ܒܬܪܗܘܢ. ܘܒܨܦܪܐ ܕܬܪܝܢܒܫܒܐ

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[1] B C ܐܘܟܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. [2] A ܘܠܡܠܐܟܘܗܝ. [3] B writes ܡܢ twice.
[4] A ܘܒܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ; C ܘܒܚܝܠܘܬܐ. [5] A ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ. [6] C ܐܠܐ ܛܠܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܓܘܫܡܐ.

ܘܪ̈ܝܫ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܐܬܛܟܣܘ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܛܟ̈ܣܐ ܬܚ̈ܬܝܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ، ܒܠܘܬܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܐܬܬܚܫܒܘ ܘܚܕ ܠܬܚܬ. ܒܪ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܦܩܕܗ ܒܟܝܢܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܢܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢܝܢܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܒܬܠܝܬܝܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܝܩ̈ܝܪܝܢ ܒܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܘܢܘܣ ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ[1] ܘܐܡܘܢܝ̈ܬ ܬܠܬܐ ܠܛܟ̈ܣܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ [2]ܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ. ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ. [3]ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܫ̈ܠܝܐ ܢܬܬܪܝܡܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܬܚ̈ܬܝܐ ܢܬܒܨܪܘܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ. ܒܗܘ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܐܝܬ [4]ܐܡ̈ܪܝܢ. ܕܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܙܘܥܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ [5]ܐܝܬ ܫܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܘܬ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩܢ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ [6]ܐܝܬ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩܢܘܬܗ. ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܚܕܝܪܝܢ ܠܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܬܢܝܚܝܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܢ̈ܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܝܢ ܒܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ. ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܫ̈ܠܝܐ ܡܕܡܢܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ [7]ܬܫ̈ܒܘܚܬܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܪ̈ܩܝܥܐ. [8]ܘܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܪ̈ܩܝܥܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ ܪ̈ܩܝܥܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܘܦܫܘ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܪ̈ܩܝܥܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܛܟ̈ܣܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܒܬ̈ܚܘܡܐ ܘܗܘܦ̈ܟܐ ܘܡܫܘܚܬ̈ܐ. ܕܗܢܘܢ ܒܗܝܢ ܘܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܠܥܒܝܕܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܫܬܠܡ ܡܢܝ ܠܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܘܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܟܠ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܥܒܝܕܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ. [9]ܡܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܫܪ̈ܟܗܘܢ، ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ. ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗ̄ܘ

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[1] B C ܘܐܡܘܢܝ̈ܬ. [2] A ܡܨܥܝܐ. ܘܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [3] B C omit ܐܝܟ. [4] A C ܐܡܪ. [5] B C omit ܐܝܬ. [6] C ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܩܢܝܢ. [7] A omits ܬܫ̈ܒܘܚܬܐ. [8] A ܘܡܢ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܢ. [9] C ܘܡܦܩܕܢܐ.

ܐܪ̈ܟܘܢܘܗ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܢܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܕܒ̈ܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ̈
ܥܠܡܐ. ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܕܐܬܪ̈ܐ ܘܕܟܪ̈ܟܐ ܘܕܡ̈ܚܘܙܐ ܘܕܓܠ̈ܝܠܐ
[1] ܘܕܕܘ̈ܟܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܕܥܢ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ [2]ܐܐܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܀ ܒܪ̈
ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܢܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܘܡܚܝܠܐ. ܕܐܬܓܒܠܝ
ܒܐܝܕܘܗ̈ܝ، ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܕܩܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ
ܘܠܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܘܒܬܐ. ܡܢ ܟܦ̈ܐ ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ
ܡܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܀ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܬܐ
ܦܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ
ܥܡܗ̈ ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܚܕ ܡܠܐܟܐ [3]ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ
[[4]ܘܬܚܘܡܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܦܠܝܠܘܬܐ.] ܡܢ ܟܝܠܚܘܬܗ ܕܒܪܝܐ
ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܘܡܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ
ܕܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܗܘܐ [5]ܡܬܡܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ
[6]ܕܡܢ ܐܦ ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ. ܡܫܬܠܡܐ ܗܟܝܠ [7]ܕܗܘܢܐ
ܚܬܘܡ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ
ܫܘܠܡܐ ܬܫܡ̈ܫܬܐ. ܘܐܝܬ [8]ܕܐܡܪܘ ܐܝܟ [9]ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ
ܕܢܘܦ̈ܐ ܡܬܓܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܕܢܦܠܘ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܒܟܒܪ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܫܐ̈ܕܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ ܢܦܠܘ. ܡܢ ܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܐ
ܡܦܠܬܗ. ܐܢ ܒܪ ܒܚܘܫܒܢܘܬܐ ܗܘ، ܕܬܠܬܐ ܠܚܘ̈ܫܒܐ ܗܘܝܢ
ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. ܘܟܠ ܠܚܡܫܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ. ܘܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܒܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ [10]ܡܬܡܢܝܢ
ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ. ܕܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ
ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ ܬܫܥܐ. ܒܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܫܬ̈ܪܝܐ ܘܡܬܕܡܪܢܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ

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[1] A ܘܕܘ̈ܟܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܕܘ̈ܟܐ.
[2] C ܐܐ̈ܪܢܝܐ.
[3] A omits ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ.
[4] B C omit the words in brackets.
[5] A ܡܬܡܢܘܢ.
[6] C ܡܢ; B ܒܡܕܡ.
[7] A ܗܘܢܐ.
[8] A C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ.
[9] C ܐܝܟ ܡܢ.
[10] B C ܡܬܡܢܘܢ.

ܥܠܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ ܘܬ̈ܚܬܝܐ. ܥ̈ܠܝܐ.[1] ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܘܣܪ̈ܦܐ
ܘܡܘܬܒ̈ܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܕܪ̈ܓܐ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܩܪ̈ܝܒ ܒܕܪ̈ܓܐ. ܘܠܓܢܒ
ܟܘܪܣܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ. ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ[2] ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܫܘ̈ܠܛܢܐ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܗ̈ܘܢܐ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ [3]ܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܓܠܝ̈ܢܐ. ܘܬ̈ܚܬܝܐ. ܐܪ̈ܟܘܣ ܘܪ̈ܝܫ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ ⁘ ܟܪ̈ܘܒܐ ܡܢ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܡܠܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܙܘܥܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܩܕܡܐ ܘܡܚܠܝܢ ܫܪܝܢ ܠܬܪ̈ܥܝܐ
ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܠܘܬܗ. ܘܗܘ، [4]ܕܐܬܛܟܣܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܗܟܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ.
ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܓܠܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ ܐܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܢ
ܘܡܕܡܝܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܟܠܗ [5]ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܒܬܒܝܠ. ܘܗܢܘ
ܡܚܙܝܢܐ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܥܝܗ ⁘ ܗܕܟܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܦܝܩ ܠܩܘܕܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬ ܡܢܗ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ.
ܐܬܐ ܥܬܝܐ ܒܟܬ̈ܒܐ [6]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܟܠ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܪ̈ܝܫ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܢܟܝܦ ⁘ ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܡܫܦܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܘܚܕ ܡܢ ܢܫ̈ܡܬܐ ܕܫܒܚܝܢ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ، ⁘ ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇[7] ܘܗܕܐ [8]ܕܐܬܗܝܡܢܘ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ
ܠܩܘܕܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬ ܡܢܗ. ܘܗܢܘ ܕܟܠܐ ܠܥܕܪܐ ܡܢ ܕܠܡܚܒܠܘ
ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ⁘ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܗܝܒܐ
ܡܢܝ̈ܢܐ. ܘܗܢܘ ܕܗܒ ܘܚܘܬܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܡܪ̈ܘܡܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܠܐܢܫ̈ܐ ⁘ ܫܘ̈ܠܛܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ، ܘܗܕܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܠ
ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܘܣܝܐ ܠܡܦܪܢܣܘ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܝܢ ܒܪܘܝܐ. ܘܗܢܘ
ܬܚܘܡܐ ܡܦܪܣ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܠܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܠܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܘܠܠܫܢ̈ܐ ⁘

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[1] B C ܥ̈ܠܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. [2] A ܘܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [3] C ܗܢܝܢ. [4] B C ܕܐܬܛܟܣܬ.
[5] A omits ܕܒܗܘܢ. [6] A omits ܕܐܡܪ. [7] B ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. [8] A ܕܐܬܗܡܢܘ.

ܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܘܡܚ̈ܫܢܝܬܐ. ܘܙ̈ܢܐ ܒܫܘܡܟܐ ܕܬܪܡ
ܐܬܦܪܥܘ. ܟܕ ܐܬܒܪܝ، ܡܫܘܦ ܪܘܚܐ. ܘܡܚܘܦ ܕܚ̈ܛܝܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܐ
ܘܬܪ̈ܒܝܬܐ. ܪܘܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܪ̈ܚܦܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ [1]ܡ̈ܝܐ. ܐܝ̈ܟܢ
ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܗܘ. ܐܝܬܝܗ [2]ܕܝܢ ܥܠ [3]ܗܘܝܐ
ܐܝܟ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܥܒܘܪܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܒܝܬܐ:
[4]ܘܢܘܪܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܟܐܬܪ ܟܠܗ ܡܒܥܢܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܠܗ
ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܒܢܚܠ ܢܡܘܣܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܩܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܒܕܡܐ
ܠܢܘܚܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ. ܕܒܗ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܗܢܝܢ [5]ܢܒܚܦܪ ܠܟܠܗ.
ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܘܡܬܥܒܕܐ ✤

ܕ ✤ ܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ.

ܫܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܘܗܝ، ܐܝܟ ܬܛܠܝܠܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ. ܘܡܕܘܪܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ. ܘܡܢܗ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܚܫܘܟܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܡ̈ܛܪܐ ܕܫܠܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܪܡܘܣܐ ܐܡܗܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܬܦܠܘܬܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܘܗܝ، ܫܡܝܐ [6]ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܫܡ̈ܝ ܫܡܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܪܩܝܥܐ ܐܦ ܠܫ̈ܡܝܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܫ̈ܡܝܢ. ܗܘ ܕܠܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܢܫܡܝܘܢ ܠܫܡܝܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܙܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ. [7]ܠܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܟ̈ܣܐ ✤

ܗ ✤ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.

ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܬܫܥܐ ܬܓܡ̈ܐ ܐܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܬܠܬܐ ܛܟ̈ܣܐ.

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[1] C ܠܡ̈ܝܐ. [2] B omits ܕܝܢ. [3] A C ܗܘܐ; A C ܚܙܝܢ. [4] B ܘܢܘܪܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܟܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܟܒܥܢܐ ܗܘܬ. [5] A ܢܒܚܦܪ. [6] B C ܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ. In A there are small dotted lines over ܘܕܢܘܗܪܐ. Elsewhere in A these lines are placed over words which the scribe meant the reader to consider erased. [7] C ܘܠܐ.

¹ܘܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܒܫܬܩܐ ܘܒܡܠܬܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܝܢ. ܠܗ ܠܐܕܡ ²ܐܘܠܕܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܢܬ ܡܣܝ̈ܟܬܗ. ܘܓܒܠܗ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܬܐ. ܘܢܦܚ ܒܗ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܗ. ܦ̇ܪܨܘܦܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܫ ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܝܗ̇ܒ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܒܫ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܠܡ ܒܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܘܐܬܒܛܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠܗ ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ. ܦ̇ܪܨܘܦܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘܠܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ. ܠܐ ܠܡ ³ܕܚܒܝܒܘܬܗ ܕܗܘܠܝܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܪܘܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܨܠܡܐ ܒܗ. ܘܬܘܒ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ✣

ܒ ✣ ܥܠ ⁴ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܒܥܐ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܫܬܩܐ.

ܟܕ ܨܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܗ ܕܢܘܕܥ ܠܟܠ ⁵ܚܝܠܗ ܘܫܘܒܚܗ. ܒܪܐ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܡܕܡ̈ܝܐ. ܕܗܢܘܢ ܫܒܥܐ. ܫܒܥܐ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܫܬܩܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܐ. ⁶ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܢܫ ܠܝܬ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܠܡܠܐ. ܫܘܪܝ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܫܬܩܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܒܥܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܡ ܒܕܓܠܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܘܐܬܒܪܝ ܠܗܘܢܐ. ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ: ܫܡܝܐ: ܘܐܪܥܐ: ܘܡܝ̈ܐ: ܘܐܐܪ: ܘܢܘܪܐ: ܘܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ: ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ✣

ܓ ✣ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܝ̈ܐ ܘܐܐܪ ܘܢܘܪܐ.

ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܩܪܝܪܬ ܗܘܬ ܘܝܒܝܫ̇ܐ. ܗ̇ܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܛܢܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܪܒܢܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܛܡܝܪܐ ܒܓܘ ܡܝ̈ܐ. ܘܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢܗ̇. ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܐܐܪ. ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܐܪ ܢܘܪܐ. ܘܡܢܗ̇ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܦ̇ܢܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܒܘ̈ܥܐ. ⁷ܘܩܢܘܡܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܬܦܪܫܬ ܒܪܒܝܥܝܘܬܐ.

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[1] A C ܘܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ. [2] C ܐܘܠܕ. [3] B ܡܚܡܝܢ ܐܠܗܘ. We shall not in future notice variants of this nature, nor ܚܝ̈ܬܐ for ܚܝ̈ܐ ܐܢܬ, and the like. [4] C ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ. [5] B C ܚܝܠܗ ܘܫܘܒܚܗ. [6] A C ܡܛܠ. [7] C ܘܗܘ ܩܢܘܡܐ.

ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܥܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ [1]ܕܡܢ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ ܢܣܒ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ
ܠܡܠܬܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܫܒ ܡܢ [2]ܥܡܠܐ ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܓܝܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܕܣܪܘܓ. ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܠܝ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ.
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ ܠܒܪܝܐ. ܡܛܠ [3]ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܗܘܝܘ.
ܕܐܦ ܐܝܬ ܥܒܘܕܐ ܠܬܫܡܫܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܠܥܒܕܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ
ܒܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܒܘܕܐ. ܕܠܐ
ܢܬܒܪܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܢܛܪܬܐ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܝܢܬ
ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܘ ܫܘܐܝܬ [4]ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܘܒ
ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ [5]ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܒܪܐ [6]ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ [7]ܬܘܒܢܐ
ܕܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܕܒܬܪ. ܡܬܬܕܡܪܝܢ ܪܒܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܐ
ܡܫܬܘܕܥܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܦܢ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܕܥ ܒܪܝܬܐ
ܕܢܬܕܥ ܠܗ܁ ܕܢܒܥܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܒܐܒܘܗܝ܁ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ܁
ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܡܪܢܘܬܗ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܛܠܐ [8]ܘܐܦ ܐܡܪ ܒܪ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܁ ܗܘܐ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ [9]ܕܒܪܘܝܐ. ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܕܥ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܪ
ܐܬܒܪܝ܁ ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗܘ ܕܒܪܝܐ ܗܘ. ܠܐ ܦܬܪ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܒܪܬܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܫܬ. ܘܟܠ ܒܠܗܘܢ܁ ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܬܐ ܠܠܐ
ܡܕܒܪܬܐ. ܘܟܢ ܠܒܬܐ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ. ܒܪܝܬ ܒܪ ܢܚܬܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ
ܐܠܗܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܐ ܠܟܠܡܕܡ. ܠܘܩܕܡ ܐܬܬܚܕܪ ܘܐܬܬܩܢ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܘܩܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܗܟܢ ܬܘܩܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
[10]ܗܘܐ. [11]ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܡܠܬܐ. ܡܕܡ ܦܩܕ [12]ܗܘ ܐܕܡ ܡܢ
ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ [13]ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ. ܘܡܫܬܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܒܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ

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[1] A ܕܡܢ; C ܘܢܣܒ. [2] C ܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ; B ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ. [3] B omits ܕܝܢ. [4] B C ܡܬܚܙܝܢ. [5] B ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܪܐ. [6] C ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܪܐ. [7] B ܬܘܒܢܐ ܠܬܘܒܢܐ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ; C ܗܘ ܬܘܒܢܐ ܠܬܘܒܢܐ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܒܪܐ. [8] A C ܐܦ. [9] C ܕܒܪܘܝܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ. [10] C ܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ. [11] A C ܒܠܚܘܕ. [12] B ܗܘ. [13] B C ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ.

ܢܒ ∴ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܡܠܟܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܘܠܟܐ
[ܘܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ¹ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܡܕ̈ܝܐ. ܘܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ
ܟܠܕܝ̈ܐ. ܥܡ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ²ܕܐܦܩܘ ܠܡܠܬ̈ܐ ܘܦܫܩܘ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ]³ ∴
ܢܓ ∴ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܡ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܫܘܚܠܦ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ∴ ⁴[ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ
ܕܡܬܘܕܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܦܛܪ̈ܐ ∴]
ܢܕ ∴ ܥܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܓܘܓ ܘܡܓܘܓ ⁵ܒܢ̈ܝ ܓܪܒܝܐ ∴
ܢܗ ∴ ⁶ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ ∴
ܢܘ ∴ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܢܝ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ∴
ܢܙ ∴ ܥܠ ܢܘܚܡܐ ܘܩܝܡܬܐ ܓܘܢܝܬܐ. ⁷ܘܫܘܠܡ ܥܠܡ
ܐܣܟܝ̈ܡܐ ܘܫܘܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ ∴
ܢܚ ∴ ܥܠ ⁸ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܡܬܕܝܢܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܒܩܝܡܬܐ
ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ ∴
ܢܛ ∴ ܥܠ ⁹ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ ܘܫܘܢܩܐ ܕܪ̈ܫܝܥܐ. ܕܒܐܝܢܐ
ܐܝܟ ܗ̇ܘܝܢ ܬܡܢ ∴
ܣ ∴ ܥܠ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܐܢ ܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ ܫܐܕ̈ܐ ܘܚܛ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܓܗܢܐ ܒܬܪ
ܕܡܬܦܪܥܝܢ ¹⁰(ܐܘ ܕܡܬܦܪ̈ܥܝܢ) ܘܫܝܢ. ܘܡܬܒܛܠܝܢ ܡܫܢܩܢܘܬܐ. ܐܘ
ܠܐ. ܐܝܟܢ ܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ ܐܡܬܝ، ܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ ∴

ܪܫܐ ∴ ܐ ∴

ܥܠ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗ̇ܘܐ ¹¹ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢ

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[1] B ܘܫܡ̈ܗܬܐ. [2] B ܘܦܫܩܘ ܠܡܠܬ̈ܐ. [3] The words in brackets are omitted by C. [4] C adds the words in brackets. [5] C ܕܡܟܡܢܝܢ ܒܓܪܒܝܐ. [6] B ܥܠ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ. [7] A ܘܫܘܪܝ. [8] C ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܘܐܣܟܝܡܐ. [9] A C ܒܘܣܡܐ ܕܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ. [10] Added by B on the margin; C ܕܡܬܦܪ̈ܥܝܢ. [11] A omits ܠܗ.

ܠܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܙܟܪܝܐ ܒܝܘܚܢܢ ܀

ܠܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܪܗ ܕܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܒܒܛܢܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܠܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܒܣܪ ܀

ܠܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܙܪܕܘܫܬ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ ܀

ܠܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܥܘܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ، ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܠܛ ܀ ܥܠ [1]ܡܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܓܘ̈ܫܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ [2]ܘܩܛܠܐ ܕܝܠܘ̈ܕܐ ܀

ܡ ܀ ܥܠ [3]ܡܚܬܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܀

ܡܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܥܠ ܥܡܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܨܘܡܗ [4]ܕܡܪܢ ܘܥܠ ܕܝܢܗ ܕܥܡ ܣܛܢܐ ܀

ܡܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܨܚܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܣܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܀

ܡܙ ܀ ܥܠ [5]ܡܚܬܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ [6]ܕܥܠ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܒܥܠܝܬܐ ܀

ܡܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܡܕܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܘܥܠ [7]ܡܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܕܘ̈ܟܝܬܐ [8]ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܀

ܡܛ ܀ ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ [9]ܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܒܛܟܣܐ ܀

ܢ ܀ [10]ܫܪ̈ܟܐ ܕܬܘܪܐ ܀

ܢܐ ܀ [11]ܫܡܗ̈ܐ ܕܦܛܪܝܪ̈ܟܐ ܡܕܢܚܝܐ [12]ܘܕܘܒܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘ ܀

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[1] B ܡܐܬܝܬܐ. [2] C omits these two last words. [3] B ܢܚܬܗ. [4] A omits ܕܡܪܢ. [5] C ܡܚܬܬܗ. [6] A B omit ܕܥܠ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ. [7] B ܡܘ̈ܬܝܗܘܢ. [8] B ܕܚܕ ܚܕ. [9] C omits ܬܪܥܣܪ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ and ܒܛܟܣܐ. [10] C ܥܠ [illegible] ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ. [11] C ܫܡܗ̈ܐ [illegible] ܡܕܢܚܝܐ. [12] A ܘܕܘܒܪ̈ܐ.

ܝܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܗ̇[1] ܕܚܘܐ ܀

ܝܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀

ܝܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܀

ܝܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܦܩܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܘܚܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀

ܝܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܡܘܫܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ ܀

ܝܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܦܛܪ̈ܝܪܟܐ ܀

ܟ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܘܚ ܘܥܠ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܀

ܟܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ ܀

ܟܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܠܕ̈ܬܗ ܕܢܘܚ. ܕܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ. ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ
ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܀

ܟܓ ܀ ܥܠ [2]ܡܘܟܠ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܀

ܟܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢ ܡܓܕܠܐ ܀

ܟܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܀

ܟܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܢܣܝܘܢܗ ܕܐܝܘܒ ܀

ܟܙ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܘܪ̈ܟܬܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܀

ܟܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܝܘܣܦ ܀

ܟܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܀

ܠ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܘܛܪܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܀

ܠܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ [3]ܘܥܠ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ [4]ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܀

ܠܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢ ܡܠܟܘ ܘܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܀

ܠܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܡܠܟܬ [5]ܚܣܝܬܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ ܀

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[1] B ܬܘܩܢܐ. [2] B ܡܘܟܠ ܕܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ. [3] A B ܘܩ̈ܕܡܐ. [4] C omits this word. [5] A omits ܚܣܝܬܐ.

ܘܠܝܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܙܒ̈ܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܚ̈ܠܦܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬ ܢܦܫܗ.
ܒܐܡܕܪ[1] ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܛܐܦܦܪ̈ܘ. ܒܪ ܠܟ ܬܫܡܫ ܕܒܫܐ ܡܫܬܘܢ
ܢܦܘܠ. ܕܠܐ ܒܪ ܬܫܡܫ [2]ܬܬܒܝܒܘܗ̇. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܦܫܒ ܥܠ
ܡ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܀ ※ ܀

ܪܘܫܡܐ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܀

ܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܪܝܢܬܐ [3]ܡܬܘܡܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܩܘ̄ܡܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ
ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܀

ܒ ܀ ܥܠ [4]ܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܥܐ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܫܬܩܐ ܀

ܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܝ̈ܐ ܘܐܐܪ ܘܢܘܪܐ ܀

ܕ ܀ ܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܀

ܗ ܀ ܥܠ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܀

ܘ ܀ ܥܠ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܀

ܙ ܀ [5]ܥܠ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܚܕܐ ܀

ܚ ܀ ܥܠ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܀

ܛ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ [6]ܘܕܡܫ̈ܒܚܬܐ ܘܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܚܬܐ
[7]ܘܕܒܣܡ̈ܬܐ ܀

ܝ ܀ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܀

ܝܐ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܕܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ
[8]ܕܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܀

ܝܒ ܀ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܕܒܥܝ̈ܪܐ ܀

ܝܓ ܀ ܥܠ ܓܒܝܠܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܀

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[1] C ܒܡ ܐܡܕܪ.

[2] C ܠܠܬܒܝܒܘܗܝ (sic); B ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܬܫܡܫ; C ܠܐ ܠܬܫܡܫ.

[3] C ܡܬܘܡܝܢܘܬܐ.

[4] C ܡܬܒܪܝܘܬܐ.

[5] In this list A reverses the order of chapters vii and viii. Further on the MSS. agree with each other in this particular.

[6] B ܘܡܫ̈ܒܚܬܐ.

[7] A ܘܒܣܡ̈ܬܐ.

[8] A ܕܒܝܡܐ.

ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܢ ܒܠ̈ܟܐ. ܦܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ. [1]ܕܕܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ
ܫܬܠܘܬܐ ܕܬ̈ܠܬܐ ܒܫܡ̈ܝܐ. [2]ܘܫܡܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܬ̈ܫܡܫܬܐ ܠܒܢܝ
ܢܡܘܣܐ ܪܘܚܢܐ. ܘܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܐ [3]ܠܡܠܐܟܐ
ܕܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ̈ܝܢ. [4]ܡܛܠ ܦܪܢܣܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ.
[5]ܘܠܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ ܕܕܒܝܐ ܢܛܘܪܐ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܡܛܠ ܢܛܝܪܘܬܗ ܘܡܣܝܒܪܢܘܬܗ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܘܣܡ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ
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ܕܒܬܘܠܐ [7]ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. ܘܦܓܥܝܢ ܒܚܘܣܢ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܝܫܘܬܐ. ܦܝܠܛܝܢ
[8]ܒܐܪܥ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܢ ܘܠܒܬܘܠܬܢ. ܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܕ
ܡܬܦܪܓܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܪܓܐ ܢܝܫ̈ܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܚܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕ̈ܢ
ܠܗ ܕܡܚܝܒܢ ܘܦܓܥ̈ܢ. ܥܒܕܘ ܐܢܝܢ [9]ܠܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܗܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ
ܠܒܪ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢ̈ܠܝܢ ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܝܘ̈ܩ ܡܕܢܚܝ. ܐܬܬܦܪܩܘ
[10]ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܦܫܛܘ ܒܫܘܒܚܗܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܛܠܡ ܠܗ.
ܢܛܪ ܒܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܡܬܢܛܪܐ ܫܠܝܚܘܬܗܝܢ ⁘ ܘܒܬܪ
ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ. [11]ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܢܬ ܚܘܒܐ ܥܡܝܪܐ ܠܗܘܬ [12]ܬܡܢ ܕܝܠܬܐ.
[13]ܘܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܢܬ ܦܪܘܣܘܦܐ ܠܗܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܠܗܐ [14]ܕܬܟܠܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ
ܥܠ ܚܘܒܢ ܠܐ ܡܘܡܬܢܐ. ܠܐ ܢܬܓܪܫ ܗ̄ܘܐ ܠܡܓܪܫ

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[1] B ܕܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ. [2] B ܫܡܗܝܢ. [3] B ܡܟܘܠܐ. [4] B C ܘܡܛܠ. [5] B omits ܘ; C ܣܝܡ. [6] C ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ; B ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ. [7] A C omit ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ. [8] B ܒܡܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ. [9] B ܒܚܝܠܗܝܢ. [10] B ܒܬܘܪ̈ܗܝܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ. [11] C ܕܐܡܪܝܢ. [12] C omits ܬܡܢ. [13] B C ܘܐܡܪܬ ܕܦܪܘܣܘܦܐ. [14] B ܬܟܠܝܢ; A ܗ̄ܘܘ.

ܐܬܢܨܝܒ ¹ܡܦܪܢܣܢܐܝܬ ܠܐ ܦܣܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܝܢ. ܥܠ
ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܡܘܬܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܬܓܒܠ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܙܕܩ. ܘܡܛܠܗܕܐ ܥܠܬܐ
ܡܬܦ̈ܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܘܬܪܢܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܨܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܦܪܫܗ ܦܘܪܥܢ ܕܡܢ ܣܗ̈ܕܐ. ܘܐܬܬܪ̈ܝܡܝܢ ܒ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ
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ܐܬܦܪ̈ܫܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܚܠܡ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܦܩܬ̈ܐ ܢܘܕܥܢ
ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ. ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܗܘܐ
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ܥܫܒܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܦܩܘܕ ܢܒܣ. ܘܢܦܩܬܐ ܘܢܦܣܐ ܒܗ ܒܬܪܐ ܗܘܠܝܢ.
ܘܟܠܠܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܠܗܝܫܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ¹¹ܠܬܘܪܩܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

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[1] C ܡܦܪܢܣܢܐܝܬ. [2] C omits ܘ. [3] C ܠܚܢܝܢ. [4] C ܡܬܟܢܫܢܘܬܗ.
[5] B omits ܕܝܢ. [6] C ܦܩܘܣܐ ܕܐܬܘܣܝܡ. [7] C ܘܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܕܩܠܘܬܗ. [8] C ܢܛܠܝܡ. [9] C ܦܫܝܛܘܬܐ. [10] A ܘܥܠ ܚܠܬܗ ܠܚܒܐ. [11] B C ܠܬܘܪܩܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

⁘ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ ⁘

[1]ܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܪܝܢܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ [2]ܗܢܐ ܕܠܘ̈ܩܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ [3]ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ: [4]ܕܟܢܝܫ ܠܚܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܡܝܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܪܬ ܕܡܝܫܢ [5]ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܒܨܪܗ: ܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܢܘ̈ܬܗ: ܡܪܢ ܢܚܝܢ ܒܪ̈ܚܡܘܗܝ [6]ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ⁘

[7]ܩܕܡܐܝܬ

ܦܬܓܡ ܒܪܘܚܐ.

ܠܐ ܠܡ ܓܝܪ ܚܝ̈ܒܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܣܡ ܣܝܡܬܐ ܠܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܪ̈ܘܚܢܐ. ܐܡܪ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܘܠܘܣ. ܒܕܝܠܟ ܢܘܩܪܬ ܚܘܒܐ ܢܬܚܝܒܢ ܠܡܦܪܥܟ. ܐܦ ܐܚܘܢ ܘܢܬܚܝܒ ܘܫܒܛܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܘܬܟ. ܫܡܥܘ ܕܐܠܗܝܐ. ܡܢܝ ܢܬܦܠ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܦܪܬ ܡܝܫܢ ܒܢܬ ܦܐܝܫ. ܚܫܘܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܢܨܝܚܘܬܟ ܕܟܠܢ. ܘܠܚܦܝܛܘܬܟ ܕܟܠ ܬܫܡܫܬܟ. ܕܚܘܒܐ ܢܦܫܢܝܐ ܘܡܡܘܠܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟܘܪ ܩܘܡܬ. ܘܟܕ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܒܘܪܟܐ ܚܘܒܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܘܡܐ [8]ܠܡ ܟܡ ܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ. ܡܬܒܥܠ ܩܘܡܬ ܘܡܬܒܥܬ ܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܒܗܢܐ ܥܠܡ ܕܐܣܛܘ̈ܟܣܐ. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܠܡܣܒܪ ܒܥܠܡ ܢܗܘܐ. [9]ܡܛܠ ܕܒܐܝܕܐ ܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ

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[1] A fol. 26 a; B fol. 81, b 1. [2] B C omit ܗܢܐ. [3] B C ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ. [4] C ܕܟܢܝܫܐ; A omits ܠܚܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, and has ܠܡܪܝ. [5] A omits ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܒܨܪܗ. [6] B C omit ܐܡܝܢ. [7] A omits ܩܕܡܐܝܬ. It is usually written throughout these MSS. ܩܕܡܝܬ. [8] C omits from ܠܡ to ܘܡܬܒܥܬ. [9] C ܘܡܛܠ.

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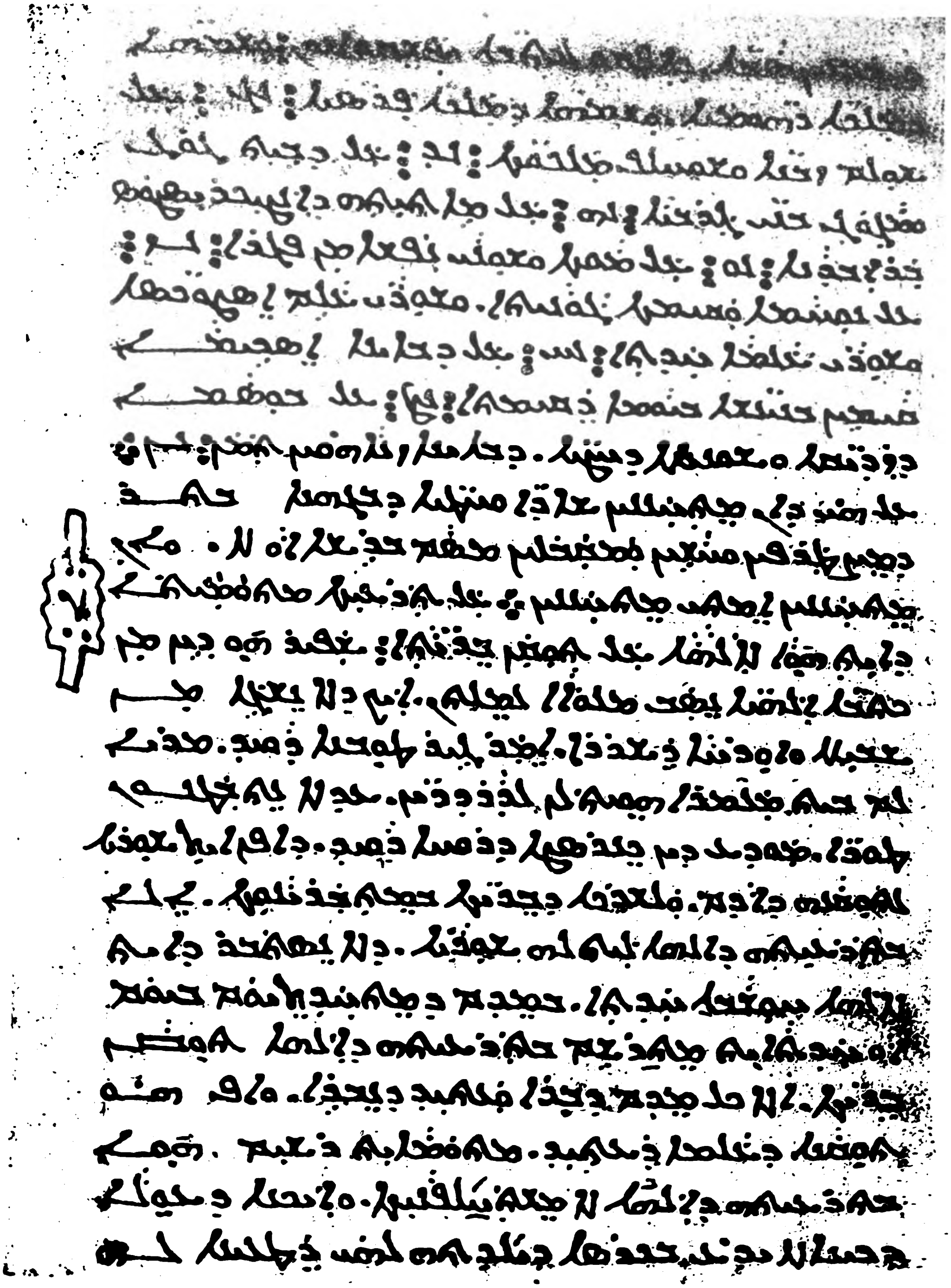
ܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܘ̈ܩܛܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܕܒܘܪܝܬܐ
ܕܟܢܫ ܠܚܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ
ܡܝܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܪܬ ܡܝܫܢ
ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܒܨܪܗ ܀

ܐܬܛܒܥ
ܒܐܟܣܦܘܪܕ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܡܢܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܫܬ
ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܀



R. Asiat. Soc., Add. 76, f. 28 *a*.

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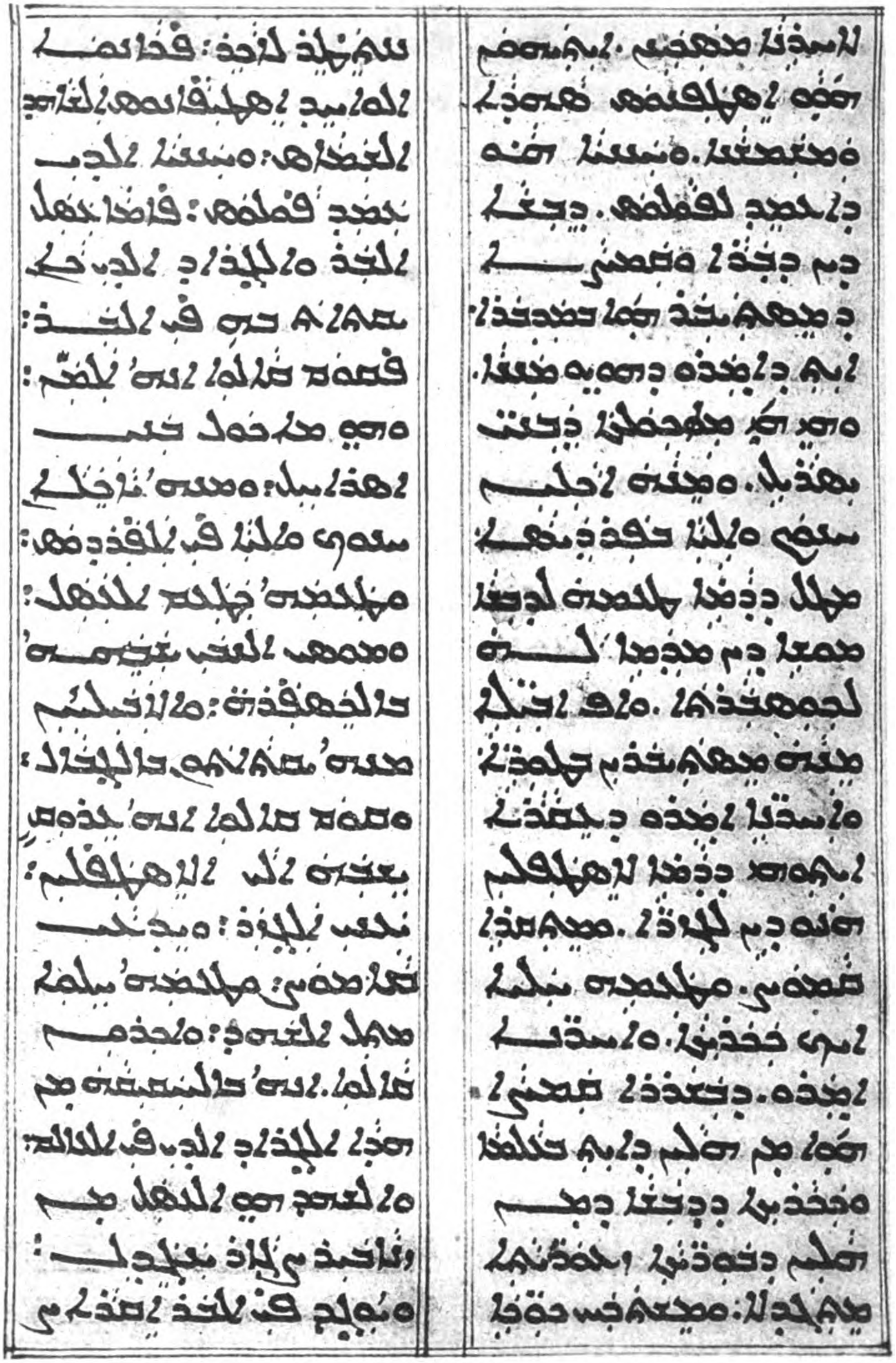

Munich, *R. Libr.*, Cod. Syr. 7 (Quatrem.), f. 96 *a*.

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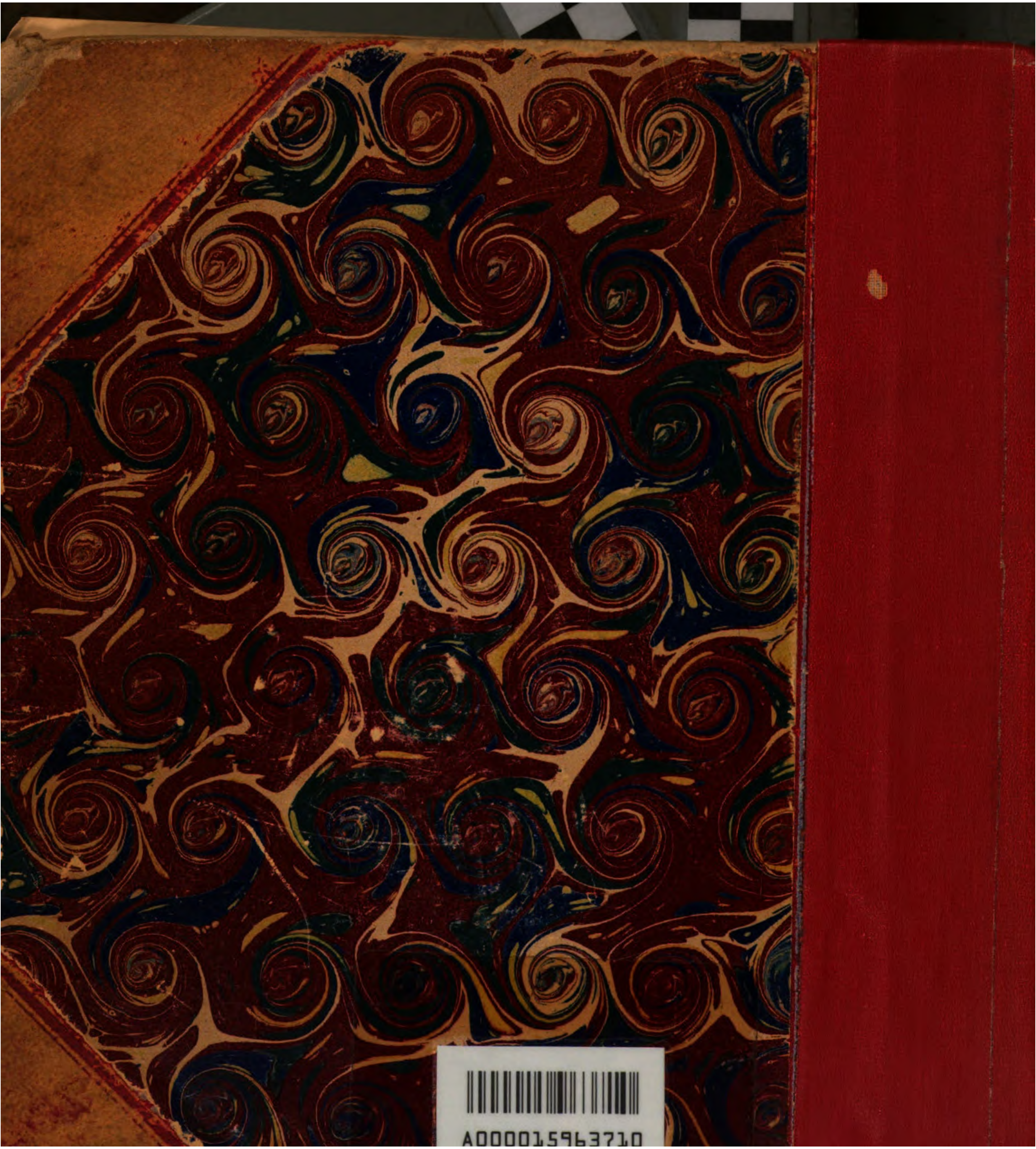

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THE BOOK OF
THE CAVE OF TREASURES

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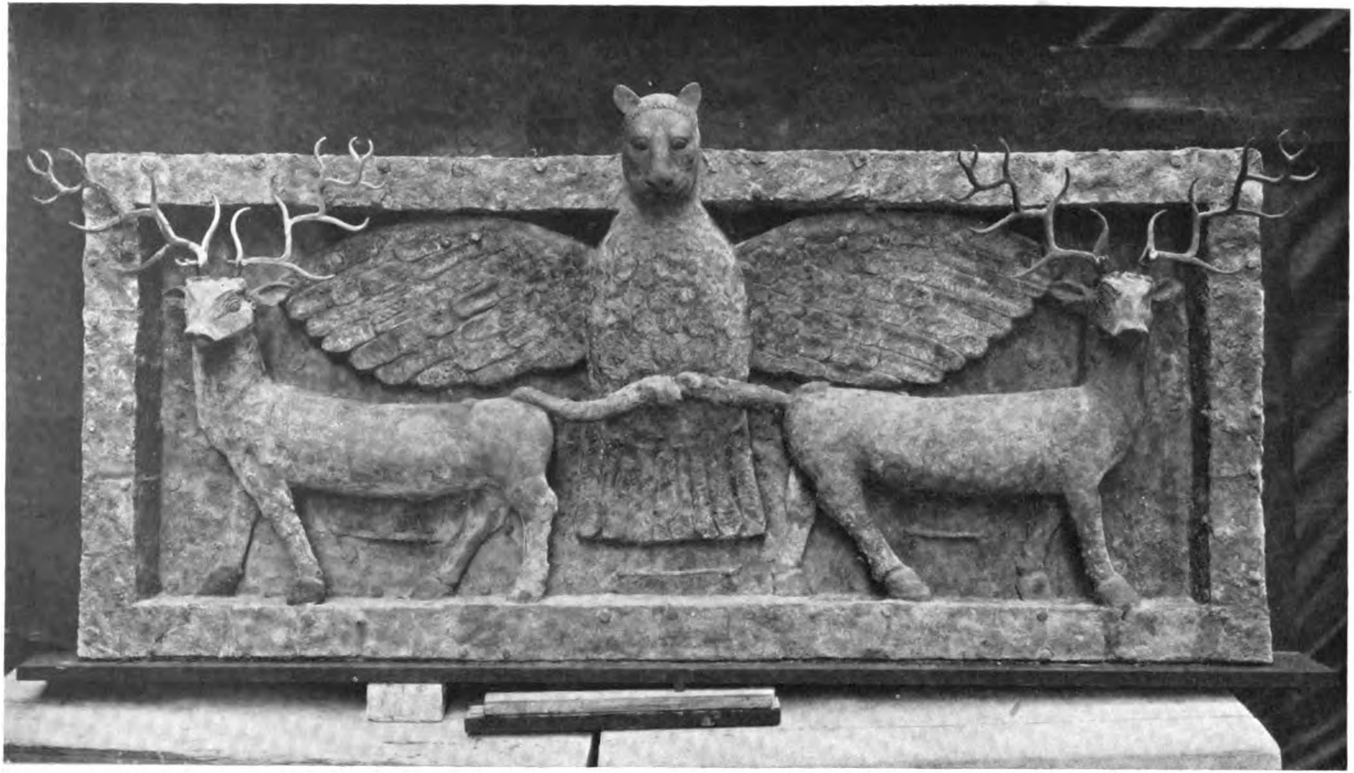
Frontispiece.



Sumerian relief in copper on wood representing **Imdugud,** or **Imgig,** the lion-headed eagle of Ningirsu, the great god of Lagash, grasping two stags by their tails. It is probable that it was originally placed over the door of the temple of Nin-khursag or Damgalnun at the head of the stairway leading on to the temple platform. This remarkable monument was made about 3100 B.C., and was discovered by Dr. H. R. Hall in 1919 at **Tall al-‘Ubêd,** a sanctuary at "Ur of the Chaldees" in Lower Babylonia. It is now in the British Museum (No. 114308).

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Meʿarrath gazzē

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE OF TREASURES

A HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS AND THE KINGS THEIR SUCCESSORS FROM THE CREATION TO THE CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM MS. ADD. 25875

BY

SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, KT.

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CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

With 16 *plates and* 8 *illustrations in the text*

LONDON
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY
MANCHESTER, MADRID, LISBON, BUDAPEST
1927

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PREFACE

THE present volume contains a complete translation of the Syriac text of the compendious history of the world from the Creation to the Crucifixion of our Lord, which is commonly known as "Me'ârath Gazzê," or the "Cave of Treasures." In the Syriac title the composition of the work is attributed to Ap[h]rêm Suryâyâ, *i.e.* Ephrem Syrus, or Ephraim the Syrian, who was born at Nisibis (?) soon after A.D. 306 and died in 373, but it is now generally believed that the form in which we now have it is not older than the VIth century. An edition of the Syriac text, and an Arabic version of it, together with a German translation, were published by Bezold (*Die Schatzhöhle,* Munich, 1883–86), but this work is scarce and is little known in England. The German translation was made from an eclectic text constructed from at least three manuscripts, which varied in age and accuracy and general literary value. The translation given in the following pages has been

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made from the best, in my opinion, of all the known manuscripts, namely British Museum MS. Add. 25875. (*See* Wright, *Catalogue*, vol. iii, page 1064.) This MS. contains twelve complete works, all of which were written, in a fine Nestorian hand, by the priest Homô, the son of the priest Daniel, a native of Al-Ḳôsh, a very ancient town which lies about 20 miles north of Môṣul (Nineveh), in the year of the Greeks 2020, *i.e.* A.D. 1709. It was written at the expense of the priest Joseph, the son of Hormizd, a native of Ḥordaphne, in the district of 'Amediâ, for the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in that place. When I read through the manuscript in 1885, whilst preparing my edition of the "Book of the Bee," I was convinced that Homô, the scribe, was a very learned man, and the marginal notes which he added to his copy showed that he was at once a capable and an understanding editor of Syriac texts. When the printed edition of the Syriac text of the "Cave of Treasures" appeared in 1886, I was surprised to find that Homô's text had not been made the foundation of the work. Whilst I was in Al-Ḳôsh in 1890–91 collecting manuscripts for the British Museum, I found there some of Homô's descendants, and of these one or two were professional scribes. They possessed a few ancient Syriac manuscripts, and from one of them I had copies made of the

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"Cave of Treasures" and the "Book of the Bee." On my return to England I collated the copy of the former work with the British Museum Codex, and found that the text only varied in a few minor points. There are a few mistakes in the British Museum MS., and in one or two places a few words are omitted, but as a whole it contains the text of the "Cave of Treasures" in as perfect form as ever we are likely to get it, and therefore I have made the translation printed herein from it.

A text of this kind might be annotated to almost any extent, but I have limited my notes to pointing out parallels in the "Book of Jubilees," the "Book of Adam and Eve," the "Book of the Bee," and other cognate works. These are printed within square brackets [ ] immediately following the passages in the "Cave of Treasures" which they illustrate. In the short Bibliography which follows the translation will be found the names of a number of books and of editions of texts which those who are interested in the literary history of the "Cave of Treasures" will find necessary for useful work. I have also added a translation of the "Testament of Adam," a popular apocryphal work which is based upon the Syriac "Cave of Treasures," and upon legends derived from books of a similar, and perhaps allied, character.

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The ancient tradition which asserts that the "Cave of Treasures" was written in the IVth century of our Era, is supported by the general contents of the work. These reproduce Ephraim's quaint and sometimes fanciful methods of exegesis and his hatred of the Jews, and supply many examples of his methods in religious argument with which we are familiar from his other writings. We may notice, too, his pride in the antiquity of the Syriac language. That it was written in Mesopotamia by a Syrian, there is no doubt, and if we reject Ephraim as its author, we are bound to admit that the author, or perhaps later editor, belonged to the school of Ephraim. Whichever view be taken is immaterial. For the book certainly contains a mass of historical information which can only have been derived from pre-Christian Hebrew works, or from post-Christian chronologies and histories written in Greek. The writers of such Greek works derived some of their information at first or second hand, from documents originally written in cuneiform. Of the general historical character of the "Cave of Treasures" there is no doubt, and it is this fact which gives it such importance for the history of the Hebrew Patriarchs, and for early Christian History, and the Christian Faith. This view was maintained by the eminent scholars Dillmann, Nöldeke,

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Sachau, Wright, Bezold and others during the last century, and it was firmly held by Christians in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia for the fourteen centuries preceding.

On the historical facts which form the framework of the "Cave of Treasures," the pious author, or editor, grafted a whole series of legends, many of which deserve the descriptions of "idle stories" and "vain fables" which have been applied to them by Assemânî and the older European theologians. The reader having perused them will readily understand that such legends, containing as they do garbled history facts and anachronisms, are neither accepted nor endorsed by any member of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society or by myself. These legends were inserted with the view of making the "Cave of Treasures" a sort of religious "wonder-book" which would appeal to the vivid and credulous imaginations of Christian natives in almost every country of the Near East; and religious "wonder-books" were intended by their authors and editors to amuse as well as to instruct. The "Cave of Treasures" possesses an apocryphal character it is true, but the support which its contents give to the Christian Faith, and the light which the historical portions of it throw on early Christian History, entitle it to a very high place among the apocryphal Books of the Old and

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the New Testament. These facts have induced the Committee of the Religious Tract Society to order the publication of this the first English translation of the "Cave of Treasures."

My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish a photographic reproduction of the cylinder of Cyrus and photographs of Ethiopic and Syriac MSS.; to Sir Frederick Kenyon, K.C.B., and the late Dr. Byron Gordon for permission to copy the photographs made by Mr. C. L. Woolley, M.A., for the Joint Expedition, of the objects found at "Ur of the Chaldees"; to the Art Editor of *The Times* for a copy of the photograph of "Abraham's Street" at Ur; to Mr. C. L. Woolley for the use of his notes and descriptions of the antiquities found at Ur; to the Rev. C. H. Irwin, D.D., General Editor of the Religious Tract Society, for his friendly criticisms, and to Mr. H. R. Brabrook for his practical suggestions.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

48, Bloomsbury Street,
Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1.
July 30, 1927.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SOURCES OF THE "CAVE OF TREASURES" AND ITS CONTENTS.

IN the centuries immediately preceding the Christian Era certain professional Jewish scribes composed a number of works which may well be described as "historical romances," and which were based on the histories of the patriarchs and others as found in the four main divisions of the text of the Hebrew Bible. There is little doubt that most of these works were written either in Hebrew or in the Palestinian vernacular of the period. One of the oldest of such works appears to be the "Book of Jubilees" (*see* page 3), (also called the "Lesser Genesis" and the "Apocalypse of Moses"), which derives its name from the fact that the periods of time described in it are jubilees, *i.e.* each period contains forty-nine years. It is more or less a

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Commentary on the Book of Genesis. That a version of this book existed in Greek is proved by the quotations given by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (born about A.D. 320, and died in 403 or 404), in his work on "Heresies" (chapter xxxix). The author claimed boldly that his work contains the revelations which were made to Moses by the command of God by the Archangel Michael, who is frequently described as the "Angel of the Face." The book is not wholly original, for it contains narratives and traditions derived from the works of earlier writers; and some of the legends appear to have been taken from early Babylonian sources. The Hebrew, or Aramean, original is lost, and the complete work is only found in Ethiopic, in which language it is known as "Kûfâlê," or "Sections." The Ethiopic translation was made from Greek.

Another pre-Christian work, also written by a Jew, is the "Book of Enoch," which exists now, in a more or less complete form, only in an Ethiopic translation, which was made from the Greek. This work is quoted by St. Jude (vv. 14, 15), and there is little doubt that for some three or four centuries its authority, both among the Jews and the Christians of the first and second centuries of our Era, was very great. Whether the "Book of Enoch," as made known to us by

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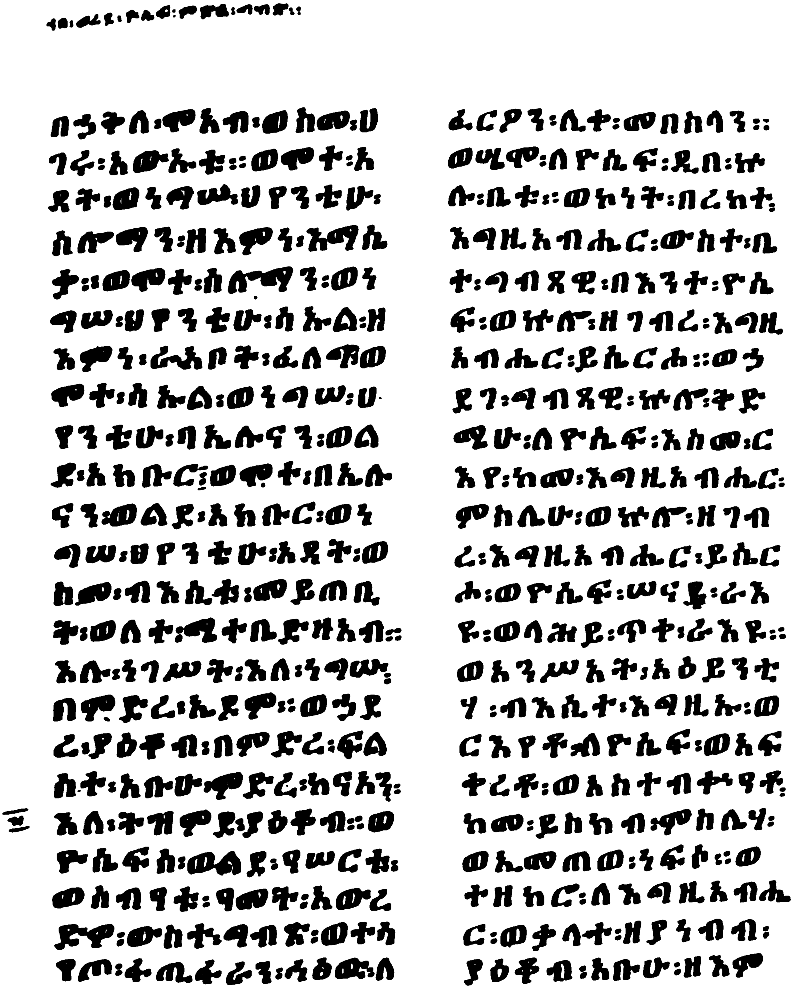

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A page of the Ethiopic version of the apocryphal work known to ecclesiastical writers as the "Lesser Genesis," and the "Apocalypse of Moses" (British Museum MS. Orient. No. 485, Fol. 83*b*). Because each of the periods of time described in the book contains forty-nine to fifty years, the Ethiopians called it MAẒHAFA KŪFÂLÊ, i.e. the "Book of Jubilees." The passage here reproduced describes the tale of Joseph in the 17th year of his age, his going down to Egypt, and his life in that country.

the Ethiopic version, truly represents the original Hebrew work is fairly open to doubt ; in fact, it seems certain that it does not. It contains a series of fragments or parts of works, of somewhat similar character, which has been strung together, and then added to by writers of different schools of religious thought at different periods. In some parts of it traces have been found of beliefs which are neither Jewish nor Christian. (*See* page 5.)

From time to time during the early centuries of the Christian Era apocryphal works dealing with our Lord and His Apostles and disciples appeared, and, though they were written by Christians, they contained many legends and traditions which their authors borrowed from the works of earlier Jewish and Christian writers. Such works were very popular among the Christian communities of Egypt and Syria, for the thirst for information about our Lord and His life and works, and the adventures and successes of the Apostles in Africa, Western Asia, India and other countries was very great. Side by side with this apocryphal literature there appeared works in Egypt and Syria which dealt with Old Testament History and endeavoured to explain its difficulties. But though Patriarch and Bishop and Priest read the Scriptures and the commentaries on them to the people, and

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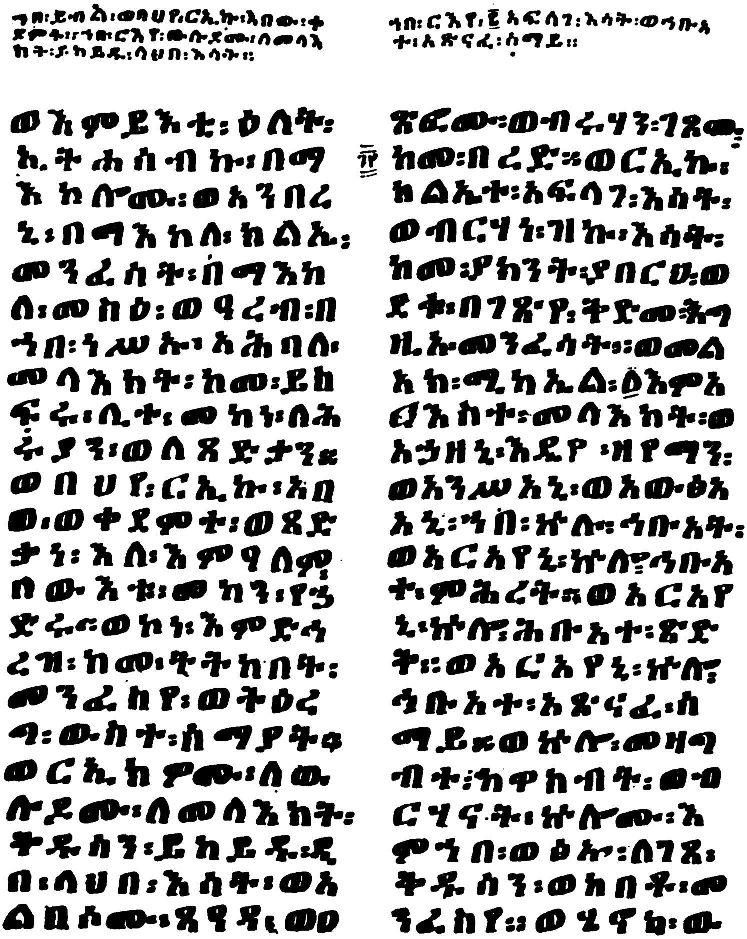

A page of the Ethiopic text of the "Book of Enoch" (British Museum MS. Orient. No. 485, Fol. 83*b*) containing a description of one of Enoch's visits to heaven, and how the archangel Michael took him by the hand and showed him the mysteries of heaven.

instructed their congregations orally on every possible occasion, there was much in the ancient Jewish Religion, out of which many of the aspects of the Christian Religion had developed, which the laity did not understand. On the one hand, the unlettered Christian folk heard the Jews denouncing Christ and His followers, and on the other, their teachers taught them that Christ was a descendant of King David and Abraham, and that the great and essential truths and mysteries of the Christian Religion were foreshadowed by events which had taken place in the lives of the Jewish patriarchs.

Some of the Fathers of the Church in the Vth and VIth centuries wrote sermons and dissertations on the Birth of our Lord, and His Baptism, Temptation, Passion and Death and Resurrection, and proved by quotations from the Prophets that the son of the Virgin Mary was indeed the Messiah and the Saviour of the world. But copies of these works were not multiplied for the use of their congregations, most of the members of which were unlettered folk, and the influence of all written discourses was much circumscribed in consequence. The great monastic institutions possessed copies of the Old and New Testaments written in Greek and Syriac, but these were not available for study by the laity in general, and it is probable that only well-to-do people could

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afford to have copies of the Books of the Bible made for their private use. Thus the circumstances of the time made it necessary that the Fathers of the Church, or some of the learned scribes, should compile comprehensive works on the history of God's dealings with man as described in the Old Testament, and show the true relationship of the Christian Religion to the Religion of the Hebrew Patriarchs and the kings of Israel and Judah. There is little doubt that many such works were written, and that their authors based their histories on the writings of their predecessors, and that Christian writers borrowed largely from the Hebrew " Book of Enoch " and the " Book of Jubilees," as well as the Histories and Chronicles which were then extant in Greek. Some of the latter works, *i.e.* those in Greek, were written by men who had access to information which was derived from Babylonian and Assyrian histories written in cuneiform, and, thanks to the labours of Assyriologists, the statements based on such information can, in many cases, be checked and verified. Further reference to this point will be made later on.

The oldest of the Christian works on the history of God's dealings with man from Adam to Christ is probably the " Book of Adam and Eve" (*see* page 9), which, in its original form, was

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written sometime in the Vth or VIth century of our Era ; its author is unknown. As there is no doubt whatever that the writer of the " Cave of Treasures " borrowed largely from the " Book of Adam and Eve," or from the same source from which its writer derived his information, it is necessary to give here a brief description of the object and contents of this work.

The oldest manuscript of the " Book of Adam and Eve " known to us is in Arabic and is not older than the XIth century. But many of the legends and traditions found in it are identical in form and expression with those found in the " Annals " of Sa'îd bin al-Batrîk, or Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 933–939), and in the " Eight Books of Mysteries " written by Clement about A.D. 750, and in the " Cave of Treasures," which is now generally thought to have been written, or perhaps re-edited, in the VIth century. The Arabic version of the " Book of Adam and Eve " contains two main sections. The first contains a History of the Creation, which claims to be a translation of the " Hexemeron " of Epiphanius, Bishop in Cyprus. In it are given an account of the work of the six days of Creation, the Vision of Gregory concerning the Fall of Satan, a description of the Four Heavens, the Creation of Man, the temptation of Eve, and the expulsion of Adam and Eve

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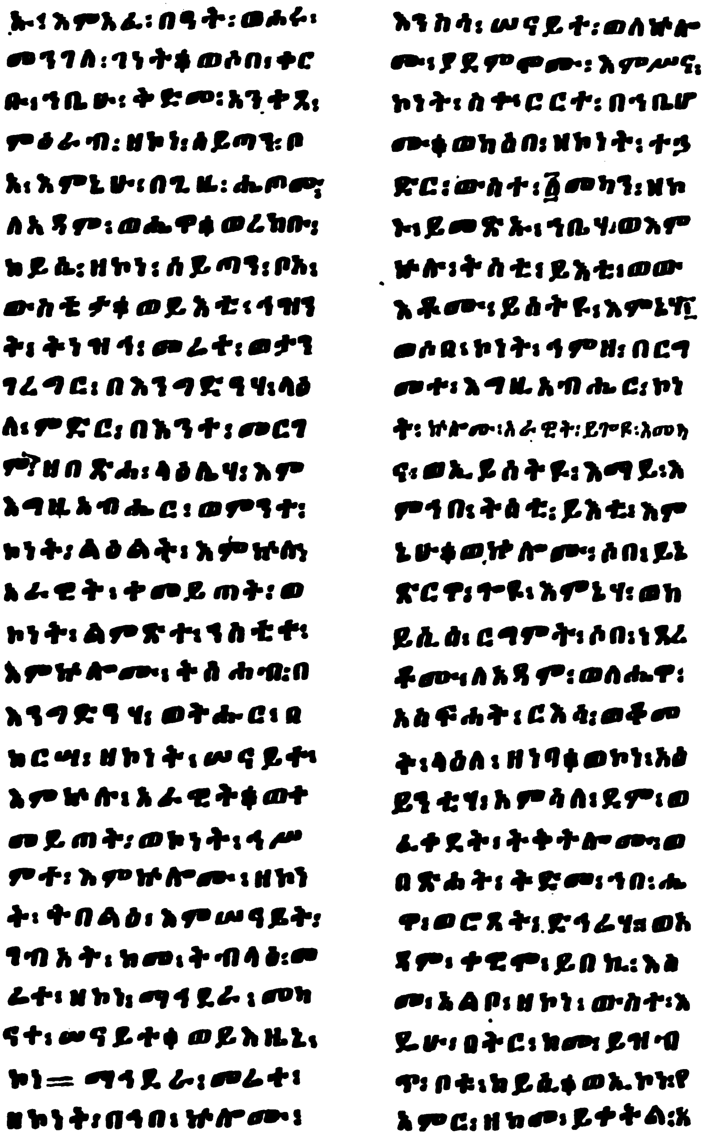

A page of the Ethiopic text of the "Book of Adam and Eve" (British Museum MS. Orient. No. 751, Fol. 110*b*) containing a description of the horrible appearance of the snake into which Satan entered when he went into the presence of Eve.

from Paradise. The title, " Book of the Aksîmâris," would lead one to suppose that the whole work was devoted to the Creation, but it is not, for the second Section contains " The History of the departure of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and their arrival in the Cave of Treasures by the command of God."

The writer of the " Book of Adam and Eve " meant the two sections to form a complete work. The first shows how Adam fell, and the second tells us how God fulfilled the promise which He made to Adam more than once, that after five and a half weeks, *i.e.* 5,500 years, He would send a Redeemer into the world who would save both Adam and his descendants from the destruction which his sin in Paradise had incurred. The writer of the book gives the history of Adam and Eve in full, adding as he progresses in his work the various legends and traditions which he found in the works of his predecessors. This plan he follows until he comes to the Flood, and on to the time of Melchisedek, but, having settled this king in Salem, the rest of his work becomes a bald recital of genealogies, only rarely interspersed with explanations and generalizations. Whether he was a Jacobite or Nestorian there is nothing to show in his work, and it seems that he hated the Jews not because of their religion, but because they had crucified Christ, and had

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also, in his opinion, promulgated a false genealogy of Joseph and the Virgin Mary.

Of the author of the " Book of Adam and Eve " nothing is known. Some have thought that he was a pious and orthodox Egyptian, who wrote in Coptic and derived the legends and traditions which he incorporated in his book from documents written in Greek or Syriac or from native works of the Coptic Church. Dr. W. Meyer discovered and published (in the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy, Bd. XIV, III Abth.) two versions of the Life of Adam and Eve, one in Greek and the other in Latin. The Greek version is called the Ἀποκάλυψις Ἀδὰμ (Apocalypse of Adam), and the Latin " Vita Adae et Evae." Their contents differ materially, and neither version can be regarded as derived from the " Book of Adam and Eve " described above. Like the " Book of Jubilees " and the " Book of Enoch," the " Book of Adam and Eve " exists in a complete form only in Ethiopic, where it is called " GADLA 'ADÂM WA ḤÊWÂN," *i.e.* " The Fight of Adam and Eve [against Satan]." The best known text is given in a manuscript in the British Museum (Oriental No. 751. *See* Wright, *Catalogue* No. cccxx, page 213), which was written in the reign of Bakâffâ, king of Abyssinia, 1721–1730. It was one of the chief authorities used by Trumpp in the preparation of his edition of

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the Ethiopic text which appeared at Munich in 1880. The forms of several of the Biblical names indicate that the Ethiopic translation was made from Arabic. Translations of the complete book have been made by Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adambuch*, Göttingen, 1853, and Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London, 1882.

The discovery of the existence of the Book called the " Cave of Treasures " we owe to Assemânî, the famous author of the *Catalogues* of Oriental Manuscripts in the Vatican Library, which he printed in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in four thick volumes folio. In Vol. ii. page 498 he describes a Syriac manuscript containing a series of apocryphal works, and among them is one the title of which he translates by " Spelunca Thesaurorum." He read the MS. carefully and saw that it contained the history of a period of 5,500 years, *i.e.* from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ, and that it was a historical chronicle based upon the Scriptures. He says that fables are found in it everywhere, and especially in that part of it which treats of the antediluvian Patriarchs, and the genealogy of Christ and His Mother. He mentions that the Patriarch Eutychius also describes a cave of treasures in which gold, frankincense, and myrrh were laid up, and refers to the " portentosa

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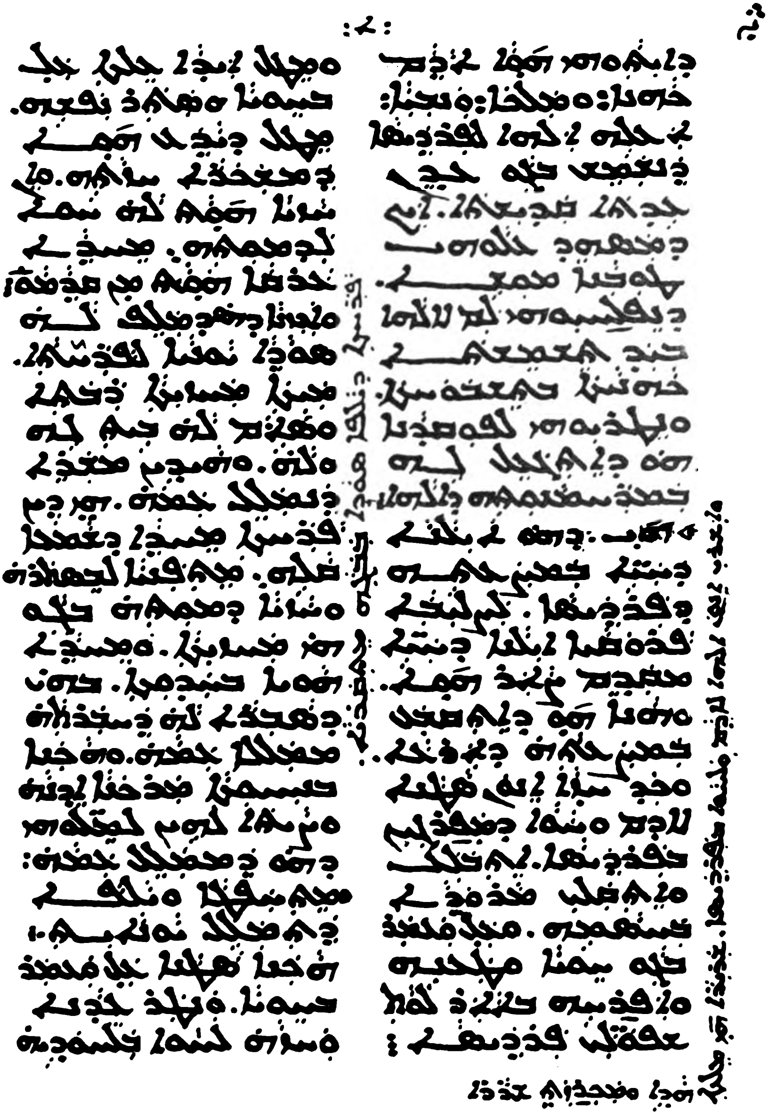

A page of the Syriac text, written in the Nestorian hand, of the "Cave of Treasures," from the British Museum MS. No. 25875. The text describes the appointment of Adam as priest and king and prophet, and the entrance of Satan into Paradise in the form of a serpent.

feminarum nomina," who were the ancestresses of Christ. No attempt was made to publish the Syriac text; in fact, little attention was paid to it until Dillmann began to study the "Book of Adam and Eve" in connection with it, and then he showed in Ewald's *Jahrbüchern* (Bd. V. 1853) that the contents of whole sections of the "Book of the Cave of Treasures" in Syriac and the "Book of Adam and Eve" in Ethiopic were identical. And soon after this Dillmann and others noticed that an Arabic MS. in the Vatican (No. XXXIX; *see* Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.* i. page 281) contained a version of the "Cave of Treasures," which had clearly been made from the Syriac. In 1883 Bezold published a translation of the Syriac text of the "Cave of Treasures" made from three manuscripts (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig, 1883), and five years later published the Syriac text of it, accompanied by the text of the Arabic version.

In 1885 I was engaged in preparing an edition of the Syriac text of the "DEBHÛRÎTHÂ," *i.e.* the "Bee," a "Book of Gleanings" composed by the Nestorian Bishop Solomon of Baṣra (*i.e.* al-Baṣrah) about A.D. 1222. Whilst making the English translation of this work I found that the "Bee" contained many of the legends and traditions which appeared in the "Cave of Treasures," and to show how greatly the Nestorian Bishop Solomon

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had borrowed from the work of the Jacobite author of the " Cave of Treasures " in the earlier part of his work, I printed several lengthy extracts from the Syriac from the fine manuscript in the British Museum, together with English translations (see *The Book of the Bee*, the Syrian Text with an English translation, Oxford, 1886; *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Vol. I, Part II), and these were thought to emphasize the general importance of the " Cave of Treasures."

The author of the Book which is commonly known as the " Cave of Treasures " called his work " The Book of the order of the succession of Generations (or Families)," the Families being those of the Patriarchs and Kings of Israel and Judah; and his chief object was to show how Christ was descended from Adam. He did not accept the genealogical tables which were commonly in use among his unlearned fellow-Christians, because he was convinced that all the ancient tables of genealogies which the Jews had possessed were destroyed by fire by the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's army immediately after the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. The Jews promptly constructed new tables of genealogies, which both Christians and Arabs regarded as fictitious. The Arabs were as deeply interested in the matter as the Christians, for they were descended from Abraham, and the genealogy

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of the descendants of Hagar and Ishmael was of the greatest importance in their sight, and it is due to their earnest desire to possess correct genealogical tables of their ancestors that we owe the Arabic translations of the "Cave of Treasures." The Nubians and Egyptians were also interested in such matters, for the former were the descendants of Kûsh, and the latter the descendants of Mizraim, and Ham was the great ancestor of both these nations. And it is clear that Syrians, Arabs, Egyptians and Ethiopians regarded the "Cave of Treasures" as an authoritative work on their respective pedigrees.

In the title "Cave of Treasures" which was given to the "Book of the order of the succession of Generations" there is probably a double allusion, namely, to the Book as the storehouse of literary treasures, and to the famous Cave in which Adam and Eve were made to dwell by God after their expulsion from Paradise, and which by reason of the gold, and frankincense, and myrrh that was laid up in it, is commonly called "The Cave of Treasures" (in Syriac "Me'ârath Gazzê," in Arabic "Ma'ârah al-Kanûz," and in Ethiopic "Ba'âta Mazâgebet"). Now the Syriac work, though called the "Cave of Treasures," tells us very little about the real Cave, which was situated in the side of a

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mountain below Paradise, and nothing about the manner of life which Adam and Eve lived in it. But in the " Book of Adam and Eve " the whole of the first main section is devoted to the latter subject, and from this the following notes are taken :—

When Adam and Eve left Paradise they went into a strange land, and were terrified at the stones and sand which they saw before them, and became like dead folk. Then God sent His Word to them, and He told them that after five and a half weeks, *i.e.* 5,500 years, He would come in the flesh and save man. He had already made them this promise in Paradise, when they stood by the tree of forbidden fruit. The Cave of Treasures was a dark and gloomy place, and over it hung a huge rock, and when Adam and Eve entered it they were sorely troubled. God sent the birds, and beasts, and reptiles to Adam, and ordered them to be friendly to him and his descendants, and every kind of creature came to him except the serpent. In their grief Adam and Eve tried to drown themselves, but an angel was sent to drag them out of the water which flowed from the roots of the Tree of Life, and the Word restored them to life. Whilst they were living there God taught them how to wash their bodies, and told them what to eat and drink, and made known to them the use of

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wheat,[1] and showed them how to clothe themselves with the skins of beasts, and other essentials of civilization. There was no night in Paradise, and when the sun set and night fell on Adam his terror was great; at length God told him that the night was made for the beasts and himself to rest in, and explained to him the divisions of time, years, months, days, etc.

During the period of the abode of Adam and Eve in the Cave, Satan came and tempted them fourteen times, but whenever God saw that they

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[1] The Copts have a remarkable legend about the origin of wheat. According to this, our Lord commanded the Cherubim to take John the disciple and show him the mysteries of heaven and earth. Whilst they were journeying together through the heavens, John asked his guide to tell him the history of the wheat plant and where it was first found. The angel said that after Adam and Eve were driven forth from Paradise they were banished to Havilah (Gen. ii. 11), where they suffered greatly because they could not eat the poor food which the country produced. The pangs of hunger vexed them sorely, and at length they cried out to God and told Him that they were starving. Our Lord, the Word, had pity upon them, and said to His Father, " Behold, the man whom we have created in Our image and likeness is an hungered; now, if it be Thy will, do not let him die before Thy face." In reply God said to Him, " If Thou art moved with compassion for the man whom We have created, and who hath rejected My commandment, go Thou and give him Thine own flesh and let him eat thereof, for it is Thou

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were in danger of life or limb through the devilish wiles of the Evil One, He sent an angel to deliver them and put the Devil to flight. Adam suffered sorely from the heat of the sun, which caused him to fall down a precipice, and wound himself so severely that his blood flowed out of his body on to the ground. When God raised him up, he took stones, and builded an altar. And having wiped up his blood with leaves, and collected the dust which was saturated with blood, he offered both the leaves and the dust as an offering to God, Who accepted

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Who hast made Thyself his advocate." Then our Lord took a little piece of the flesh of His divine side, and rubbed it down into small pieces, and showed them to His Father. When God saw them He said to His Son, "Wait, and I will give Thee some of My own flesh, which is invisible." Then God took a portion of His own body, and made it into a grain of wheat, and He sealed the grain in the middle with the seal wherewith He sealed the worlds of light, and then gave it to our Lord and told Him to give it to Michael, the archangel, who was to give it to Adam and teach him how to sow and reap it. Michael found Adam by the Jordan, who as he had eaten nothing for eight days was crying to God for food, and as soon as Adam received the grain of wheat, he ceased to cry out, and became strong, and his descendants have lived on wheat ever since. Water, wheat and the throne of God "are the equals of the Son of God." *See* Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7026, Fol. 5*a* ff (ed. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 244).

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this, Adam's first offering, and sent a fire to consume it. As Adam shed his blood, and died through his wounds—which God healed—so also did the Word shed His blood and suffer death. Thus the **blood-offering** originated with Adam.

When God saw that Adam was terrified by the darkness of the night, He sent Michael into Judea, and told him to bring back tablets of **gold,** and when they arrived God set them in the Cave to lighten the darkness of the night therein. And God sent Gabriel into Paradise to fetch **incense,** and Raphael to bring **myrrh** from the same place, and these symbolic substances being placed in the Cave, Adam was comforted. Because the Cave contained these precious substances, it was called the "Cave of Treasures." A little later God permitted figs to be brought to Adam from Paradise, and taught Adam and Eve to cook food on the fire which was brought to them out of the hand of the fiery angel who stood at the entrance to Paradise holding a fiery sword in his hand. As Adam could not obtain a supply of blood to maintain the blood-offering, he laid upon the altar outside the Cave an offering made of wheat, presumably a loaf or cake baked in hot ashes, and God accepted it and sent a fire to consume it, the Holy Ghost being present. And God said that He would,

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when He came down upon the earth, make it to be His flesh, which was to be offered up continually upon an altar for forgiveness and mercy. And an angel took a part of the offering with a pair of fire-tongs, and administered it to Adam and Eve. Thereupon Adam established the custom of offering the wheat-offering thrice in the week, viz. on the first, fourth, and sixth days of the week.

After Adam had lived two hundred and twenty-three days in the Cave, God sent His angels to tell him to take Eve to wife, and to give the gold plates in the Cave to Eve as a betrothal gift. Adam obeyed the divine command, and in due course Eve bore him twins, Cain and his sister Lûwâ, in a cave under the huge rock which Satan once hurled at Adam, wishing to kill him. Later, Eve again brought forth twins, Abel and his sister, 'Aḳlemyâ. The remainder of the first section of the " Book of Adam and Eve " records the story of the murder of Abel by Cain, and tells how the earth rejected thrice Abel's body which Cain tried to bury in it.

It is now generally thought that the Syriac work which is called the " Cave of Treasures " was written in the VIth century of our Era, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary this view may be accepted. In the title it is attributed to Ephraim the Syrian, and this

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indicates that the Syrians themselves were prepared to believe that it was written early in the IVth century, for this great writer died A.D. 373. Even if this attribution be wrong, it is important as suggesting that, if not written by Ephrem himself, one of his disciples, or some member of his school, may have been the author of the book.

Where the writer lived is not known, but it is most probable that it was written in Edessa or Nisibis; in any case, it must have been written in Mesopotamia, and the writer was certainly a Syrian Jacobite who was proud of his native language. Thus, having spoken of the migration of his people to Shinar, he says, "They all sat down there, and from Adam until the present time they were all of one speech and one language. They all speak this language, that is to say, 'Suryâyâ' (Syriac), which is 'Ârâmâyâ' (Aramean), and this language is the king of all languages. Now, ancient writers have erred in that they said that Hebrew was the first [language], and in this matter they have mingled an ignorant mistake in their writing. For all the languages that are in the world are derived from Syriac, and all the languages in books are mingled with it" (page 132). And in another place he says that Pilate did right in writing the inscription which was

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placed on the Cross in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew only, and that he did not add a translation of it in Syriac because no Syrian played any part in the crucifixion of our Lord (page 230). And he goes on to say that the Syrians had no hand in shedding the blood of Christ, because Abhgar, King of Edessa, wanted to go and take Jerusalem, and slay the Jews who had crucified Him.[1] And, as Bezold pointed out, the name of Noah's wife, Haikal-bath-Nâmôs, and the names of several other women, appear to be of Syrian origin.

The writer's boast that Syriac is the oldest of all languages is probably not strictly true, but there is no doubt, in my opinion, that it is one of the oldest of the northern Semitic dialects. This is proved by the inscriptions on the Cappadocian tablets which have been acquired during the last few years by the British Museum. These tablets were written in connection with the commercial transactions of a settlement of Semitic traders, who flourished in the region of Caesarea about 2400 B.C. They conducted a

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[1] "And Abgar wished himself to pass over and go to Palestine, and see with his own eyes all which Christ was doing; but because he was not able to pass through the country of the Romans, which was not his, lest this cause should call forth bitter enmity, he wrote a letter and sent it to Christ by the hand of Hannan, the keeper of the archives." — Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai*, London, 1876, page 3.

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brisk trade with Assyria in metals and textile fabrics, the latter coming from the Bulgar Dagh, and the former from the great cotton-growing districts which lay along the Khâbûr. The cuneiform texts of a large number of these commercial documents and letters have been published by Sidney Smith (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, London, 1921 and following years), and in Part I he has given (pages 6 and 7) a long list of words used in connection with the weaving industry, which can be paralleled in Syriac by words of precisely the same roots. And this will probably be found to apply to the other objects of daily life, for the Syriac writers of the early centuries of the Christian Era knew of hundreds of words used in the affairs and business of daily life which they had no opportunity to use when writing the lives of saints, commentaries on the Scriptures, and works of a purely religious character.

Of the subsequent history of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* very little is known. The knowledge of parts of it made its way into Armenia soon after the book was written, and more than one translation of it was made into Arabic, probably in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries. In connection with the Arabic translations it must be noted that they all end with the account of the cruelties perpetrated by Archelaus and

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Sâlûm after the death of Herod. (*See* Bezold's text, page 247.) The last paragraph of the Arabic text mentions the twelve Apostles who went about with Christ, and refers to His baptism by John the Baptist, and says that He lived on the earth thirty-three years, and then ascended into heaven. Thus for the last twenty-six pages of the Syriac text there is no equivalent in the Arabic version or translation. And the same is substantially true for the Ethiopic text of the " Book of Adam and Eve." The section of the Syriac for which there is no rendering in Arabic or Ethiopic contains a series of statements addressed by the author to his " brother Nemesius." It is possible that these have been added to the work by a later writer, but I do not think so. As they do not deal with matters of genealogy, and do treat almost exclusively of the life of Christ and His crucifixion, it is probable that they failed to interest the Arab translator, and he left them untranslated. It may be, however, that the complete Arabic translation has not come down to us.

Of the " brother Nemesius " mentioned above we know nothing. Judging by the form in which the author of the " Cave of Treasures " put his information before him, we might conclude that he was a friend whom he was specially anxious to convince of the truth of

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what he was going to write. Or, he may have been an opponent with whom he was conducting an argument on the birth, and life, and crucifixion of our Lord, and whom he was anxious to convert. Among the ancient celebrities who bore the name of Nemesius, the best known are Nemesius, the governor of Cappadocia, and friend of Gregory Nazianzen, Bishop of Sasima and Constantinople, and Nemesius, the Bishop of Emesa; both flourished in the latter half of the IVth century. The former was a pagan, but he was favourably disposed towards Christianity; whether Gregory succeeded in converting him is not known. It is clear from the "Cave of Treasures" that the Nemesius addressed by its author was a person of great importance, and some have thought that the governor of Cappadocia is the person referred to. He can hardly have been the Bishop of Emesa, who was, of course, a believing Christian. If the Nemesius mentioned was the governor of Cappadocia, it would support the view taken by the Syrians that the "Cave of Treasures" in its original form dates from the time of Ephrem the Syrian, *i.e.* the IVth century.

That the Syriac "Cave of Treasures" was known and used by Solomon, Bishop of Perâth Maishân (Al-Baṣrah) in 1222 is proved by the earlier chapters of his work the "Book of the

Bee." He excerpted from it many of the legends of the early Patriarchs, although his object was not to write a table of genealogical succession, but a full history of the Christian Dispensation according to the views of the Nestorians. It is interesting to note that we owe the best manuscript of the "Cave of Treasures" which we have to the Nestorians, for Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 25875, was written by a Nestorian scribe in the Nestorian village of Alḳôsh, and was bound up by him in a volume which included a copy of the "Book of the Bee," whose author, Solomon, was the Nestorian Bishop of Al-Baṣrah early in the XIIIth century.

What exactly were the sources from which the author of the "Cave of Treasures" derived his information it is impossible to say. He was well acquainted with the contents of the Old and New Testaments, and it seems that, either at first hand or through translations, he was familiar with the legends concerning the Creation and the early Patriarchs, which were current among the Hebrews. There is no evidence that he knew Greek, but there is little doubt that much of the information which he gives was derived at second, or third or fourth hand from works written in Greek. Some of these dealt with the history of Babylonia, and the accounts of the early rulers of that country given in them were

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derived from records written in cuneiform. It is well known that some learned Greeks made their way to Babylon and became acquainted with the history, and religion and language of the country, and then wrote down in their own language the information which they had acquired there at first hand from the native records and chronicles. According to Strabo (XVII. 6) there were several native Babylonians who were acquainted with the Greek language, and he gives the names of some of them, *e.g.* Kidêna, Naburianos, Sudinos and Seleukos, who were mathematicians and astronomers. And we are justified in assuming that there were also native scholars who dealt with history and chronography, and who either wrote in Greek, as well as cuneiform, or whose works were translated by Greeks who could read the cuneiform inscriptions also.

The section of the "Cave of Treasures" which deals with Abraham, and his father Terah and his grandfather Nâḥôr shows that its author's information was based on a more or less historical foundation. The date when Abraham was called by the divine Voice to leave "Ur of the Chaldees" may be placed at about 2000 B.C., *i.e.* about the time when Khammurabi was making himself master of all Babylonia. In the days of Serug, the great grandfather of

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Abraham, the worship of idols entered the world. All the people were pagans, and objects celestial and terrestrial were generally worshipped. The author of the " Cave of Treasures " tells us that at that period men made golden images of their fathers and set them up over their graves, and that the devils who lived in these images called upon the sons of the dead to sacrifice their own sons to them. Now we know from the monuments which have been excavated in Babylonia that in the last centuries of the third millennium B.C. the Babylonians became great experts in the art of sculpture, and that they made images of both men and gods. The excavations have proved that gold masks were laid on the faces of the dead, and we may assume that gold masks were placed on the faces of statues, when they were " dressed " for festival occasions, as in Egypt. Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac, according to the custom of his people, but when God stayed his hand, and provided a ram for the blood-sacrifice, he realized that a human blood-sacrifice was not acceptable to Him, and that he must break with the traditions of his people, and leave the country. The custom of sacrificing children to devils seems to have been general in the days of Nâḥôr, and it may have been introduced into the country by the hordes who came

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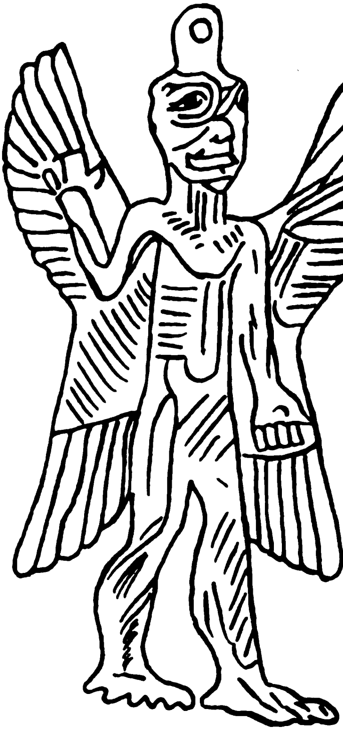
down from the north as a result of the conquests of Khammurabi. Be this as it may, in the 100th year of the life of Nâḥôr God determined



Amulet formed by the figure of Pazuzu,
the god of storms, cyclones and hurricanes.

to put an end to the custom, and He made the Wind Flood. He opened the storehouses of the winds, and set free the whirlwinds and hurricanes, and sent a blast of wind over all the earth. This

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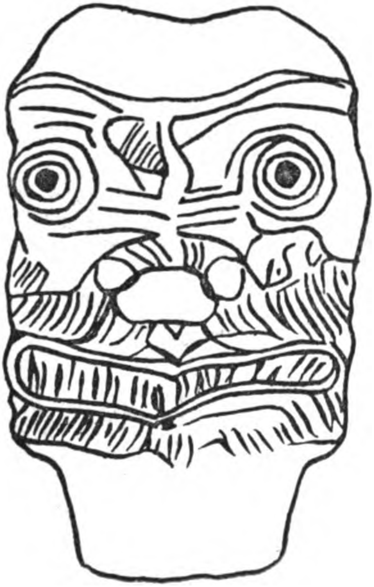
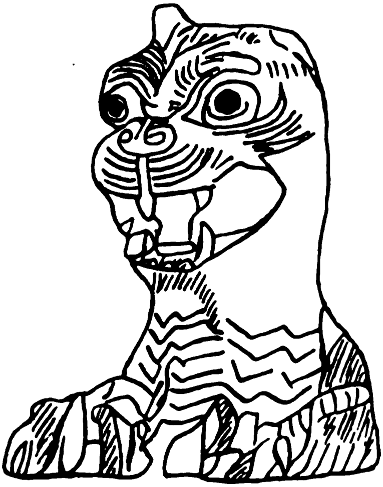
wind swept through Babylonia, and dashed the idols against each other, and smashed them, and then it threw down upon them the buildings in which they had stood, and piled up their ruins in high mounds above the images and the devils that dwelt in them. The cities of Ur and Erech were laid waste, and their sites were only known from the huge mounds of rubbish which were piled up by the Wind Flood.

Now there is no record of this Wind Flood in the Bible, and it is only mentioned in the " Cave of Treasures," and in works based upon it, *e.g.* the *Book of the Bee* and the *Book of Adam and Eve*. Some light is thrown upon this Wind Flood by the cuneiform inscriptions, and the author of the " Cave of Treasures " must have derived his knowledge of it from documents based upon them. Nabonidus, king of Babylon, displeased the gods, and they made manifest



Limestone head of the Storm-god Pazuzu. (British Museum.)

their anger by making the storm wind to blow. And in one text it is distinctly said that the cities of Erech and Nippur were destroyed by a wind storm. (*See* Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London, 1924, page 93, note 20.) The most terrible of all the storm-wind gods was Pazuzu, whose strength and violence were believed to be so great that he could overthrow even the mountains (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XI, page 57). Figures of this monster in stone and bronze may be seen in the British Museum.



Baked clay figure of the god of the South-east Wind. (British Museum.)

Terah, the father of Abraham, followed in his father's footsteps, and, according to the legend quoted on page 145, made figures of the gods, or idols, in clay and stone, and sent his son Abraham into the bazâr to sell them. Fact underlies this legend, for a large number of terra-cotta figures of gods and demons have been found by many excavators during the course of their work on

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the sites of ancient cities in Babylonia; the commonest of these are the so-called "Papsukkal figures," which were believed to protect houses.

The materials by which to check the statements made in the "Cave of Treasures" are not available at the present time, but it is very possible that in future years inscribed tablets will be found in Babylonia and Assyria which will contain the original forms of the legends and historical facts that have come down to us. The story of Nimrod and his cult of fire and the white horse, and his visit to the wise man Yônṭân, of his skill as a magician, and the cities which he built, may be somewhat garbled, but it is based on genuine historical documents. The narrative of the descents made by Seth and his companions from the mountain of Paradise into the plain is certainly based on historical fact; and though Melchisedek has not yet been identified in the cuneiform inscriptions, there is every reason to believe that he existed, and that he was a founder of a pure form of religion, and a great ruler as well as priest.

The principal object of the writer of the "Cave of Treasures" was to trace the descent of Christ back to Adam, and to show that the Christian Dispensation was foreshadowed in the history of the Patriarchs and their successors the kings

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of Israel and Judah by means of types and symbols. The Christian Trinity existed before the world and man were made, for " the Spirit of God " which hovered over the waters was the Holy Spirit, and when God said " Let Us make man " by " Us " the Trinity was referred to. The Sabbath was instituted by God Who Himself rested on the seventh day. When Adam stood up upright after his creation he set his feet on the centre of the earth, on the exact spot on which the Cross of our Lord was set up, in Jerusalem. Adam, like Elijah, ascended into heaven in a chariot of fire. The angels carried crosses of light on which the names of the Persons of the Trinity were inscribed, and with them vanquished Satan and his hosts of devils when he rebelled, as the Cross of Christ destroyed the powers of darkness. The Garden of Eden is symbolic of the Holy Church, and as Adam was priest as well as prophet and king, he ministered in it. The Tree of Life prefigured the Cross of Christ, the veritable Tree of Life. On his expulsion from Paradise God told Adam that He would send His Son to redeem him, and ordered him to make arrangements for the embalming of his body and its preservation in the Cave of Treasures.

Adam and Eve lived on bread and wine in Paradise, and Melchisedek administered bread

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and wine to Abraham, according to the command of Methuselah, and so foreshadowed the institution of the Sacrament. The Cave of Treasures, with the gold, frankincense and myrrh which Adam collected in it, symbolized not only the Temple, or house of prayer, but the cave in which the Magi presented their gifts to Christ. Adam was the first priest, and was present when Cain and Abel made their offerings, and the lamp which he placed by the side of Abel's body in the Cave of Treasures was the prototype of the sanctuary lamp. Adam's body was buried in the Cave of Treasures, which became a family mausoleum, for several of his sons and descendants were also buried there. Noah took Adam's body from the Cave and carried it into Noah's Ark, and it was in due course brought to Jerusalem by him, and deposited in the opening in the earth which the earth itself made to receive it. There it remained until the Cross of Christ was set up above it on Golgotha, and then, when Longinus pierced our Lord's side, the blood and water flowed down into the place where Adam was. The blood gave him life, and he was baptized by the water.

Noah's Ark, bearing the body of Adam, which occupied the centre of it, and divided the men from the women, sailed over the waters until it reached the mountain on which Paradise was

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situated, and it travelled from east to west, and from north to south, and thus it made the sign of the Cross on the waters of the Flood. When the foremost part of the Flood reached the skirts of the mountain of Paradise, it bowed low and kissed the ground, and then withdrew to continue its work of destruction. The first dove sent out by Noah was a type of the Old Covenant, which was not accepted by the Jews, and the second dove was a type of the New Covenant, which rested on the people through the waters of baptism. One of the legends (*see* page 147) states that Abraham was circumcised by Gabriel, who was assisted by Michael. Abraham circumcised Isaac, and foresaw the crucifixion of Christ. The angels who were on Jacob's Ladder were Zechariah, and Mary, and the Magi and the Shepherds, and the Lord who stood at the head of it symbolized Christ on the Cross. The watering of the flocks by Jacob at the well symbolized the baptism of the nations. The stone which he set up and anointed was a type of the Christian altar, and the oil he used symbolized the oil used at the Christian altar. The crown of glory which Adam wore prefigured the crown of thorns which was placed on the head of Christ. Adam was three hours in Paradise, and Christ was in Pilate's Hall of Judgment three hours. Adam was naked for three hours,

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and Christ was naked on the Cross for three hours. The mother of mortal offspring (Eve) proceeded from the right side of Adam, and Baptism, the mother of immortal offspring, went forth from the right side of Christ during His crucifixion.

Adam's descent from Paradise typified the descent of Christ into Sheol; Adam was the prototype of Christ in every respect. Isaac was a symbol of Christ, and the thicket in which the ram, his substitute, was caught symbolized the wood of the Cross. The thread of scarlet of Rahab the harlot typified the red blood of Christ, and the window from which it issued His side. The seamless garment of Christ was the symbol of the indivisible Orthodox Faith.

One of the most important sections of the "Cave of Treasures" is that which contains a description of the Magi and their visit to Jerusalem, for it appears to be based upon the work of some writer who had exact knowledge of their methods. They are here grouped with the Chaldeans, who were presumably Babylonians, but they themselves are called the "wise men of Persia." Both these bodies of sages had studied the motions of the "Malwâshê," or Signs of the Zodiac, for centuries, and through them they felt that they were able to forecast with accuracy the course of events on this earth.

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The Magi were terrified at the appearance of the star, which led them subsequently to Bethlehem, and thought that the king of the Greeks was about to attack the land of Nimrod. At length they consulted their great astrological work which is here called " Gelyânâ dhe Nemrôdh," *i.e.* the " Revelation of Nimrod," and there they learned that a king was born in Judah. What this " Revelation of Nimrod " was cannot be said, but it was evidently one of the large series of Omen-texts of which so many examples exist in the British Museum. These texts are being copied and translated by Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum, and when the work is done we may learn something of the book which the Magi consulted. The " Cave of Treasures " says that the Magi were three kings, and gives their names, and thus repeats the tradition which was general in the early centuries of the Christian Era. On the other hand, the " Book of the Bee," following a very ancient Oriental tradition, says they were twelve in number, and gives their names; but it must be noted that some of the names are only found at a comparatively late period of Persian History.

The sources of the genealogy of Christ which is found in the " Cave of Treasures " are unknown, but the author states that he is certain about its correctness, and by inserting it in their copies of

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the work the scribes have shown that it is worthy of credence. It is probably quite true that when the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's host burnt the books of the Jews after the capture of Jerusalem their tables of genealogy perished with them.

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TRANSLATION OF
THE CAVE OF TREASURES

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THE CAVE OF TREASURES

TRANSLATION

(Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 25875.)

[THE TITLE OF THE WORK: THE SCRIBE'S PRAYER.]

[Fol. 3*b*, col. I.] By the might of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the "Book of the Succession of the Generations," that is to say,

ME'ÂRATH GAZZÊ,

which was composed by SAINT MÂR APHRÊM (*i.e.* Ephraim, commonly known as "Ephraim Syrus," or "Ephraim the Syrian," who died A.D. 373). O our Lord, help Thou me in Thy Mercy. Amen.

[THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS: ADAM TO YÂRÊD (Jared).]

[The Creation. First Day.]

In the beginning, on the First Day, which was the holy First Day of the Week, the chief and firstborn of all the days, God created the heavens,

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and the earth, and the waters, and the air, and the fire, and the hosts which are invisible (that is to say, the Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Lords, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim and Seraphim), and all the ranks and companies of Spiritual beings, and the Light, and the Night, and the Day-time, and the gentle winds and the strong winds (*i.e.* storms). All these were created on the First Day. And on the First Day of the Week the Spirit of holiness, one of the Persons of the Trinity, hovered over the waters, and through the hovering thereof over the [Fol. 3*b*, col. 2] face of the waters, the waters were blessed so that they might become producers of offspring, and they became hot, and the whole nature of the waters glowed with heat, and the leaven of creation was united to them. As the mother-bird maketh warm her young by the embrace of her closely covering wings, and the young birds acquire form through the warmth of the heat which [they derive] from her, so through the operation of the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit, the Paraclete, the leaven of the breath of life was united to the waters when He hovered over them.

[Notes.—According to Solomon, a Nestorian bishop of Perâth Mayshân, or Al-Baṣrah, a city on the right bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʻArab, about

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A.D. 1222, the creation of the heavens and the earth has been planned from everlasting in the immutable mind of God. He created SEVEN substances (or natures) in silence, without voice, viz. heaven, earth, water, air, fire, the angels, and darkness. The earth was plunged in the midst of the waters, above the waters was air, and above the air was fire. Water is cold and moist, air is hot and moist, fire is hot and dry, but it had no luminosity until the Fourth Day, when the luminaries were created. The angels are divided into nine classes and three orders. The upper order contains Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones, and these are bearers of God's throne. The middle order contains Lords, Powers, and Rulers. The lower order contains Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. (Compare the " thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers " of Col. l. 16.) The Cherubim are an intellectual motion, the Seraphim are a fiery motion, the Thrones are a fixed motion, the Lords are a motion which governs the motions beneath it and controls the devils, the Powers are a motion which gives effect to God's will, the Rulers are a motion which rules spiritual measures and the sun, moon and stars, the Principalities are a motion which rules the elements, the Archangels are a swift operative motion which governs every living creature,

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except man, and the Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything which is in heaven or on the earth. The **guardian angel** of every man belongs to this last class. The number of each class of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the Resurrection. The heaven in which the angels live is above the waters, which are above the firmament, and they minister to their God there, being invisible to bodily eyes. The angels are not self-existent beings—they were created; on the other hand, darkness is a self-existent nature (or substance). Solomon of Al-Baṣrah does not accept the view that the spirit which hovered over the waters was the Holy Spirit. (See *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, chapters i-vii.)]

[The Creation. Second Day.]

And on the Second Day God made the Lower Heaven, and called it RĔḲÎ'A [that is to say, "what is sold and fixed," or "firmament"]. This He did that He might make known that the Lower Heaven doth not possess the nature of the heaven which is above it, and that it is different in appearance from that heaven which is above it, for the heaven above it is of fire. And that second heaven is NÛHRÂ (*i.e.* Light), and this lower heaven is DARPÎṬÎÔN [Fol. 4*a*, col. 1], and because it hath the dense nature of water

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it hath been called "Rĕḳî'a." And on the Second Day God made a separation between the waters and the waters, that is to say, between the waters which were above [Rĕḳî'a] and the waters which were below. And the ascent of these waters which were above heaven took place on the Second Day, and they were like unto a dense black cloud of thick darkness. Thus were they raised up there, and they mounted up, and behold, they stand above the Rĕḳî'a in the air; and they do not spread, and they make no motion to any side.

[NOTES.—According to the "Book of the Bee," the creation of the firmament enabled God to allot a dwelling place to the angels, where also the souls of the righteous could be received after the General Resurrection. The great abyss of water which God created on the First Day was divided by Him into three parts; one part He left on the earth for the use of man and beast, and to form rivers and seas; of the second part He made the firmament, and the third part the place above the firmament. After the Resurrection all these parts will return to their original state. The word Darpîṭîôn is a difficulty, and I cannot explain it. The variant forms Dûrîḳôn and Dertêḳôn appear in Ethiopic books, wherein it is said to be a name of the sixth heaven.]

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[The Creation. Third Day.]

And on the Third Day God commanded the waters that were below the firmament (Rĕḳî'a) to be gathered together in one place, and the dry land to appear. And when the covering of water had been rolled up from the face of the earth, the earth showed itself to be in an unsettled and unstable state, that is to say, it was of a damp (or moist) and yielding nature. And the waters were gathered together into seas that were under the earth and within it [Fol. 4*a*, col. 2], and upon it. And God made in the earth from below, corridors, and shafts, and channels for the passage of the waters; and the winds which come from within the earth ascend by means of these corridors and channels, and also the heat and the cold for the service of the earth. Now, as for the earth, the lower part of it is like unto a thick sponge, for it resteth on the waters. And on this Third Day God commanded the earth, and it brought forth herbs and vegetables, and it conceived in its interior trees, and seeds, and plants and roots.

[NOTE.—On this day the waters gathered together in the depths of the earth, sand was set as a limit for the waters of the seas, and the mountains and hills appeared. The sages say that Paradise was created on this day, but the

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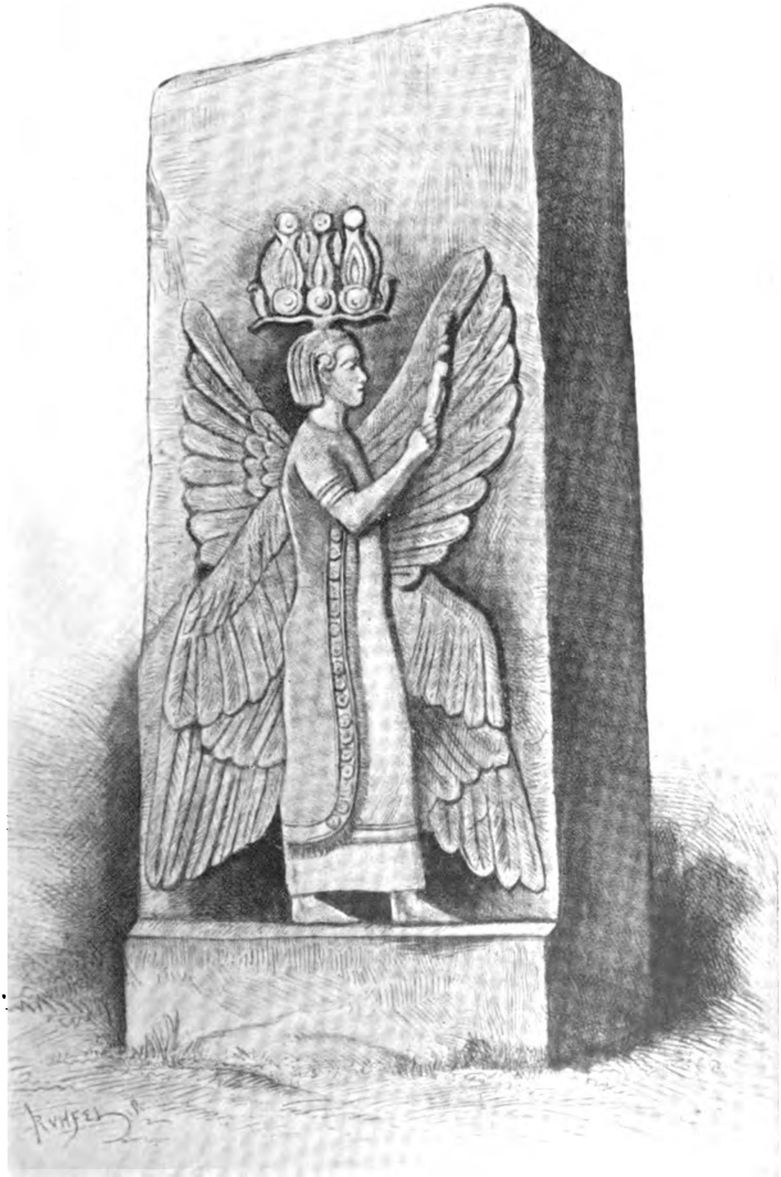

Limestone monolith at Pasargadae in Persia sculptured in low relief with a portrait figure of the Fravashi or "genius" of **Cyrus the Great,** the friend of the Jews. The figure of Cyrus is rather larger than life-size, and is winged after the manner of gods and kings on the Assyrian bas-reliefs; and the decoration of the hem of his garment is Assyrian in character. His crown was copied from some Egyptian bas-relief sculptured with the figure of a king, and represents the horus Khnemu or Amen, the two cobras of the Upper and Lower Country, and the triple symbol of royalty resting on solar disks and terminating in disks. The inscription "I [am] Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenian" has been broken off. (*See* page 190.)

[From Perrot and Chipiez, ***History of Art in Ancient Egypt,*** Vol. V.]

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Rabbis held the view that it existed before the world. Solomon of Baṣrah says that the earth produced herbs and trees by its own power, and that the luminaries had nothing to do with vegetable growth. *Book of the Bee* (chapter ix.)]

[The Creation. Fourth Day.]

And on the Fourth Day God made the sun, and the moon, and the stars. And as soon as the heat of the sun was diffused over the surface of the earth, the earth became hard and rigid, and lost its flaccidity, because the humidity and the dampness [caused by] the waters were taken away from it. The Creator made the sphere of the sun of fire and filled it with light. And God gave unto the sphere of the moon and the stars bodies of water and air, and filled them with light. And when the dust of the earth became hot, it brought forth all the trees [Fol. 4*b*, col. 1], and plants, and seeds, and roots which had been conceived inside it on the Third Day.

[NOTES.—The cases of the sun, moon, and stars were made of aerial material, after the manner of lamps, and God filled them with a mixture of fire, which had no light in it, and with light which had no heat in it. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament; they are not fixed, as the ignorant think, but are guided in their courses by the angels. The Ethiopians have a tradition that when the sun was first made its light was twelve times as strong as it is to-day. The angels complained that the heat was too strong, and that it hampered them in the performance of their duties, whereupon God divided it into twelve parts, and took away six of these parts, and out of three of them He made the moon and stars, and the other three He distributed among the waters, the clouds, and the lightning.]

[The Creation. Fifth Day.]

And on the Fifth Day God commanded the waters, and they brought forth all kind of fish of divers appearances, and creatures which move about, and twist themselves and wriggle in the waters, and serpents, and Leviathan, and beasts of terrible aspects, and feathered fowl of the air and of the waters. And on this same day God made from the earth all the cattle and wild beasts, and all the reptiles which creep about upon the earth.

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xii), beasts and animals were created on Friday evening, and they can therefore see at night as well as in the daytime. In the *Book of Mysteries of Heaven and Earth,* " whales " and the Behemôth are mentioned with Leviathan.]

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[The Creation. Sixth Day.]

And on the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, God formed man out of the dust, and Eve from his rib.

And on the Seventh Day God rested from His labours, and it is called " Sabbath."

[The Creation of Adam.]

Now the formation of Adam took place in this wise: On the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, at the first hour of the day, when quietness was reigning over [Fol. 4*b*, col. 2] all the Ranks [of the Angels], and the hosts [of heaven], God said, "Come ye, let Us make man in Our image, and according to Our likeness." Now by this word "Us" He maketh known concerning the Glorious Persons [of the Trinity]. And when the angels heard this utterance, they fell into a state of fear and trembling, and they said to one another, " A mighty miracle will be made manifest to us this day [that is to say], the likeness of God, our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God opened out flat, and stretched out over the whole world; and all creatures were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took from the whole mass of the earth one grain of dust, and from the whole nature of water one drop of water, and from all the air which is above one puff of wind, and from the whole nature of fire a little of its heat and warmth. And the angels saw that when these four feeble (or inert) materials were placed in the palm of His right hand [Fol. 5*a*, col. 1], that is to say, cold, and heat, and dryness, and moisture, God formed Adam. Now, for what reason did God make Adam out of these four materials unless it were [to show] that everything which is in the world should be in subordination to him through them? He took a grain from the earth in order that everything in nature which is formed of earth should be subject unto him; and a drop of water in order that everything which is in the seas and rivers should be his; and a puff of air so that all kinds [of creatures] which fly in the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire so that all the beings that are fiery in nature, and the celestial hosts, might be his helpers.

God formed Adam with His holy hands, in His own Image and Likeness, and when the angels saw Adam's glorious appearance they were greatly moved by the beauty thereof. For they saw [Fol. 5*a*, col. 2] the image of his face burning with glorious splendour like the orb of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the light of the sun, and the image of his body was like unto the sparkling of crystal. And

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when he rose at full length and stood upright in the centre of the earth, he planted his two feet on that spot whereon was set up the Cross of our Redeemer; for Adam was created in Jerusalem. There he was arrayed in the apparel of sovereignty, and there was the crown of glory set upon his head, there was he made king, and priest, and prophet, there did God make him to sit upon his honourable throne, and there did God give him dominion over all creatures and things. And all the wild beasts, and all the cattle, and the feathered fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he assigned names to them; and they bowed their heads before him; and everything in nature worshipped him [Fol. 5*b*, col. 1], and submitted themselves unto him. And the angels and the hosts of heaven heard the Voice of God saying unto him, "Adam, behold; I have made thee king, and priest, and prophet, and lord, and head, and governor of everything which hath been made and created; and they shall be in subjection unto thee, and they shall be thine, and I have given unto thee power over everything which I have created." And when the angels heard this speech they all bowed the knee and worshipped Him.

[Notes.—The Jews consider that the words, "Come, let Us make man," refer to God and the

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angels, but the Fathers of the Syrian Church understand that God refers to the Three Persons of the Trinity. Some Fathers believe that Adam was formed on the morning of the Sixth Day, outside Paradise, but others think that the formation of Adam took place in the evening in Paradise. According to some, Paradise was created before the world, and, according to others, on the Third Day. Bar Hebraeus says that Adam was created on Friday of the first week of Nîsân (April), the first month of the first year of the world. The Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches have a tradition that the angels were not all created at the same time. The great archangel Michael, who is called the "Angel of the Face," and all his Rank of angels were created in the first hour of Friday, the Priests in the second, the Thrones in the third, the Dominions (or Sulṭâns) in the fourth, the Lords in the fifth, the Powers in the sixth, the Tens of Thousands in the seventh, the Governors in the eighth, the Masters in the ninth. After the Governors the Rank of angels governed by Satan were created, and then the Tenth Rank.

According to a Coptic tradition preserved in the *Discourse on Abbatôn, the Angel of Death*, by Timothy, Archbishop of Rakoti (Alexandria), the clay of which Adam was made was brought by the angel Mûrîêl from the Land of the East.

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When God had made his body He left it lying for forty days and forty nights without putting breath into it. At the request of our Lord, Who promised to become Adam's advocate and to go down into the world, God breathed into Adam's nostrils the breath of life three times, saying, "Live! Live! Live! according to the type of My Divinity." Thereupon Adam rose up, and worshipped the Father, saying, "My Lord and my God." (Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, page 482.)]

[THE REVOLT OF SATAN, AND THE BATTLE IN HEAVEN.]

And when the prince of the lower order of angels saw what great majesty had been given unto Adam, he was jealous of him from that day, and he did not wish to worship him. And he said unto his hosts, "Ye shall not worship him, and ye shall not praise him with the angels. It is meet that ye should worship me, because I am fire and spirit; and not that I should worship a thing of dust, which hath been fashioned of fine dust." And the Rebel meditating these things [Fol. 5*b*, col. 2] would not render obedience to God, and of his own free will he asserted his independence and separated himself from God. But he was swept away out of heaven and fell, and the fall of himself and of all his company from heaven took place on the

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Sixth Day, at the second hour of the day. And the apparel of their glorious state was stripped off them. And his name was called "Sâṭânâ" because he turned aside [from the right way], and "Shêdâ" because he was cast out, and "Daiwâ" because he lost the apparel of his glory. And behold, from that time until the present day, he and all his hosts have been stripped of their apparel, and they go naked and have horrible faces. And when Sâṭânâ was cast out from heaven, Adam was raised up so that he might ascend to Paradise in a chariot of fire. And the angels went before him, singing praises, and the Seraphim ascribed holiness unto him, and the Cherubim ascribed blessing; and amid cries of joy and praises Adam went into [Fol. 6*a*, col. 1] Paradise. And as soon as Adam entered Paradise he was commanded not to eat of a [certain] tree; his entrance into heaven took place at the third hour of the Eve of the Sabbath (*i.e.* on Friday morning).

[NOTES.—The Fathers of the Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches treat the story of the Fall of Satan in great detail. According to them, Satan, or Saṭnâêl, was greatly astonished at the beauty and splendour of the sun and moon, and on the Fourth Day of the week he declared to himself that he would set his throne above the stars,

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and make himself equal to God. One week after the creation of Adam, Satan declared war on the hosts of Almighty God. These were commanded by Michael and consisted of 120,000 horsemen, 600,000 shield bearers, 700,000 mail-clad horsemen in chariots of fire, 700,000 torch bearers, 800,000 angels with daggers of fire, 1,000,000 slingers, 500,000 bearers of axes of fire, 300,000 bearers of fiery crosses, and 400,000 bearers of lamps. The angels uttered their battle cries and began to fight, but Satan charged them and dispersed them; they re-formed, but again Satan charged them and put them to flight. Then God gave the angels the Cross of Light, which bore the legend, " In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And when they attacked the hosts of darkness under this Cross, Satan became faint, and he and his forces withdrew, and Michael hurled them down into hell. The Abyssinian legend says that Satan was 1,700 cubits high, and his hand 70 cubits long, and his foot 7,000 cubits long; his mouth was 40 cubits in width, his face was as broad as the distance of a day's journey, and the length of his eyebrows was a distance of three days' journey. [From the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth.*] The prototype of the great fight in heaven between the powers of light and darkness is found in

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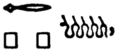
ancient Egyptian religious texts, in more than one form. In the oldest form Set, , the Devil, rebels against Ḥer-ur, , the god of heaven, whose chief symbols are the sun and moon, and is utterly defeated. In the next form Set attacks the Sun-god Rā, , and is destroyed by him; the great ally of Set, called Āpep (Apôphis), , and all his fiends and devils (the Sebau), , are defeated and burnt up daily. In another form Set makes war on Horus, the son of Osiris, and on Osiris himself, and is defeated utterly. The Coptic version of the legend was borrowed from the old hieroglyphic texts, and then Christianized. Compare the following:—

When Satan saw Adam seated on a great throne, with a crown of glory on his head and a sceptre in his hand, and all the angels worshipping him, he was filled with anger. And when God said to him, "Come thou also, for thou shalt worship My image and likeness," Satan refused to do so, and, assuming an arrogant and insolent manner, he said, "It is meet that he should worship me, for I existed before he came into being." When the Father saw his overbearing attitude, He knew that Satan's wicked-

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ness and rebellion had reached their highest pitch. He ordered the celestial soldiers to take from him the written authority that was in his hand, to strip off his armour, and to hurl him down from heaven to earth. Satan was the greatest of the angels, and God had made him the Commander-in-Chief of the celestial hosts, and in the document which Satan held in his hand were written the names of all the angels under his command. Knowing their names, his authority over them was absolute. When God saw that the angels hesitated to take the document from him, He commanded them to bring a sharp reaping-knife, and to stab him on this side and that, right through his body to the backbone and shoulder blades ; and Satan could no longer stand upright. And a Cherub smote him, and broke his wings and his ribs, and having rendered him helpless he cast Satan down from heaven upon the earth. Then he became the Arch-Devil and the leader of those who were cast out of heaven with him, and who henceforth were devils. (From Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, page 484.)

[THE MAKING OF EVE.]

And God cast a sleep upon Adam and he slept. And God took a rib from the loins on the right side of Adam, and He made Khâwâ (*i.e.* Eve) from it ; and when Adam woke up, and saw Eve,

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he rejoiced in her greatly. And Adam and Eve were in Paradise, and clothed with glory and shining with praise for three hours. Now this Paradise was situated on a high range of hills, and it was thirty spans—according to the measurement of the spirit—higher than all the high mountains, and it surrounded the whole earth.

[NOTES.—God did not make Eve of earth, that she might not be considered something alien to Adam in nature; and He did not take her from Adam's fore-parts, that she might not uplift herself against him; nor from his hind-parts, that she might not be accounted despicable; nor from his right side, that she might not have pre-eminence over him; nor from his head, that she might not seek authority over him; nor from his feet, that she might not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband; but [He took her] from his left side, for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back (*Book of the Bee*, chapter xiv, and Bar Hebraeus, *Auṣar Râzê*). Further, God did not form Eve from Adam's head, that she might not carry her head proudly; nor from his eye, that she might not be curious; nor from his ear, that she might not be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, that she might not be gossiping;

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nor from his heart, that she might not be quarrelsome; nor from his hand, that she might not touch everything with her hand; nor from his feet, that she might not rove about (*Berêshîth Rabbah* on Gen. ii. 23).]

Now Moses the prophet said that God planted Paradise in Eden and placed Adam there (Gen. ii. 8).

[NOTES.—Paradise was situated on Mount Eden, beyond the Ocean, and it was filled with fruit-bearing trees. The great river which sprung up in it was parted into four heads, viz. PISHÔN, which flowed through Ḥavilâ, where there were beryls, and gold, and stones of price; GÎHÔN, or the Nile of Egypt; DEḲLATH (the Tigris), which flows through Assyria; and PERATH (the Euphrates). The keepers of Paradise were Enoch and Elijah, and in it dwelt the souls of the righteous. The souls of sinners dwelt in a deep place, outside Eden. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deed which was wrought by its means. Adam and Eve did not become naked and die the death of sin because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree, but because they transgressed the law. The tree of which they ate may have been the fig-tree, or the date-palm, or the vine or the

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ethrôg (citron). Mount Eden is probably the original of Jabal Kâf of the Arabs, a mountain range which surrounds the whole world.]

[THE SYMBOLISM OF EDEN.]

Now Eden is the Holy Church, and the Church [Fol. 6*a*, col. 2] is the compassion of God, which He was about to extend to the children of men. For God, according to His foreknowledge, knew what Satan had devised against Adam, and therefore He set Adam beforehand in the bosom of His compassion, even as the blessed David singeth concerning Him in the Psalm (xc), saying, "Lord, Thou hast been an abiding place for us throughout all generations," that is to say, "Thou hast made us to have our abiding place in Thy compassion." And, when entreating God on behalf of the redemption of the children of men, David said, "Remember Thy Church, which Thou didst acquire in olden time" (Ps. lxxiv. 2), that is to say, "[Remember] Thy compassion, which Thou art about to spread over our feeble race." Eden is the Holy Church, and the Paradise which was in it is the land of rest, and the inheritance of life, which God hath prepared for all the holy children of men. And because [Fol. 6*b*, col. 1] Adam was priest, and king, and prophet, God brought him into Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the

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Holy Church, even as the blessed man Moses testifieth concerning him, saying, "That he might serve God by means of priestly ministration with praise, and that he might keep that commandment which had been entrusted to him by the compassion of God" (Gen. ii. 15, 16 ?). And God made Adam and Eve to dwell in Paradise. True is this word, and it proclaimeth the truth: That Tree of Life which was in the midst of Paradise prefigured the Redeeming Cross, which is the veritable Tree of Life, and this it was that was fixed in the middle of the earth.

[SATAN'S ATTACK ON ADAM AND EVE.]

And when Satan saw that Adam and Eve were happy and joyful in Paradise, that Rebel was smitten sorely with jealousy, and he became filled with wrath. And he went and took up his abode in the serpent, and he raised him up, and made him to fly through the air to the skirts of Mount [Eden] whereon was Paradise [Fol. 6*b*, col. 2]. Now, why did Satan enter the body of the serpent and hide himself therein? Because he knew that his appearance was foul, and that if Eve saw his form, she would betake herself to flight straightway before him. Now, the man who wished to teach the Greek language to a bird—now the bird that can learn the speech of men

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is called "babbaghah" (*i.e.* parrot)—first bringeth a large mirror and placeth between himself and the bird. He then beginneth to talk to the bird, and immediately the parrot heareth the voice of the man, it turneth round, and when it seeth its own form [reflected] in the mirror, it becometh pleased straightway, because it imagineth that a fellow parrot is talking to it. Then it inclineth its ear with pleasure, and listeneth to the words of the man who is talking to it, and it becometh eager to learn, and to speak Greek. In this manner (*i.e.* with the object of making Eve believe that it was the serpent that spoke to her) did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent, and he watched for the opportunity, and [when] he saw Eve by herself [Fol. *7a*, col. 1], he called her by her name. And when she turned round towards him, she saw her own form [reflected] in him, and she talked to him ; and Satan led her astray with his lying words, because the nature of woman is soft (or, yielding).

And when Eve had heard from him concerning that tree, straightway she ran quickly to it, and she plucked the fruit of disobedience from the tree of transgression of the command, and she ate. Then immediately she found herself stripped naked, and she saw the hatefulness of her shame, and she ran away

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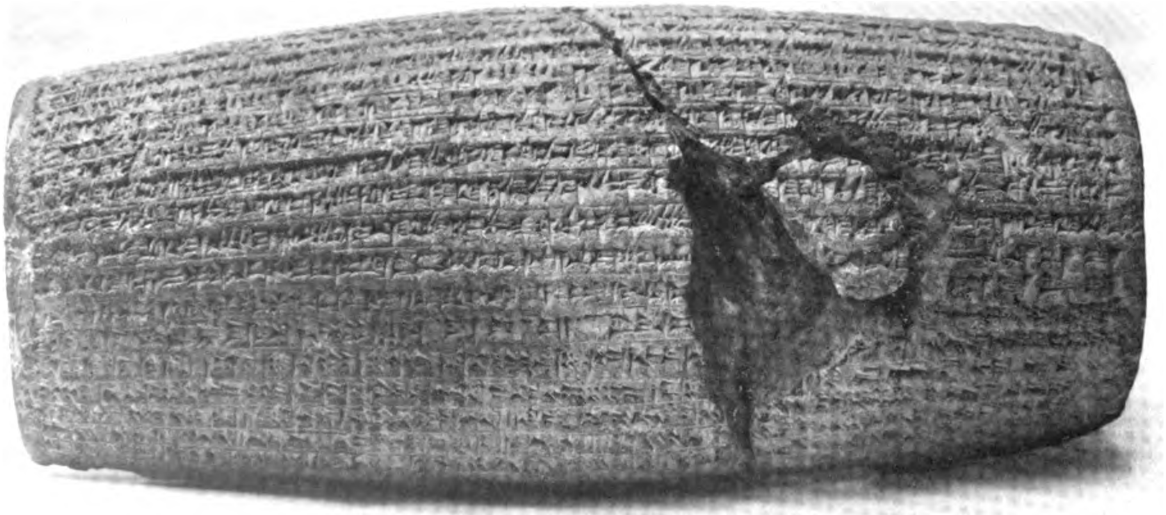
PLATE II.



Baked clay cylinder inscribed with an account of the capture of Babylon by **Cyrus** (𒁹 𒆪 𒊏 𒀸 KU-RA-*ash*) King of Persia, 538 B.C. He restored to their original shrines throughout the country the images of the gods which a former king Nabonidus had collected in Babylon and gave the Jews permission to rebuild their temple. (British Museum No. 90920.)

(*See* page 190.)

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naked, and hid herself in another tree, and covered her nakedness with the leaves thereof. And she cried out to Adam, and he came to her, and she handed to him some of the fruit of which she had eaten, and he also did eat thereof. And when he had eaten he also became naked, and he and Eve made girdles for their loins of the leaves of the fig-trees; and they were arrayed in these girdles of ignominy for three [Fol. *7a*, col. 2] hours. At mid-day they received [their] sentence of doom. And God made for them tunics of skin which was stripped from the trees, that is to say, of the bark of the trees, because the trees that were in Paradise had soft barks, and they were softer than the byssus and silk wherefrom the garments worn by kings are made. And God dressed them in this soft skin, which was thus spread over a body of infirmities.

[NOTES.—The Fathers of the Ethiopian Church emphasize the difficulty which Satan found in entering Paradise. He knew that he could not carry out his plan for ruining Adam if he entered Paradise in his own form, and he decided that he must assume the form of some bird or animal or reptile if he was to succeed. He applied to the white bird Arzel, and the green bird Besel, and a red bird, but each refused to take him to the place where Eve was. Then he applied to

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the elephant, and the lion, and the leopard, and the hyena, and the wild boar; the first four refused point blank to do what Satan wished, and the wild boar attempted to gore him with his tusks. On this Satan took to flight. He then went to the animal Sereg, which was commonly known as the " digger of graves," but this animal refused to help him, and then Satan approached the animal called " Taman," " the front part of which was like a camel's foal." This creature agreed to help him, and, mounted on his back, Satan entered Paradise and stood before Eve. The serpent became spokesman for him, and Eve hearkened to him and ate of the fruit. According to the " Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth," the tree was called " Sezen," and each fruit cluster contained 150,000 grains, or berries. It is described as a large and handsome tree, and it has been identified with the " Sendâlê," or sandal-wood tree. According to the same authorities, the Tree of Life was the prototype of the Cross on which our Lord was crucified.]

[Adam's stay in Paradise.]

At the third hour of the day Adam and Eve ascended into Paradise, and for three hours they enjoyed the good things thereof; for three hours they were in shame and disgrace, and at the ninth hour their expulsion from Paradise took place. And as they were going forth sorrowfully, God spake unto Adam, and heartened him, and said unto him, " Be not sorrowful, O Adam, for I will restore unto thee thine inheritance. Behold, see how greatly I have loved thee, for though I have cursed the earth for thy sake, yet have I withdrawn thee from the operation of the curse. As for the serpent [Fol. *7b*, col. 1], I have fettered his legs in his belly, and I have given him the dust of the earth for food ; and Eve have I bound under the yoke of servitude. Inasmuch as thou hast transgressed my commandments get thee forth, but be not sad. After the fulfilment of the times which I have allotted that you shall be in exile outside [Paradise], in the land which is under the curse, behold, I will send my Son. And He shall go down [from heaven] for thy redemption, and He shall sojourn in a Virgin, and shall put on a body [of flesh], and through Him redemption and a return shall be effected for thee. But command thy sons, and order them to embalm thy body after thy death with myrrh, cassia, and stakte. And they shall place thee in this cave, wherein I am making you to dwell this day, until the time when your expulsion shall take place from the regions of Paradise to that earth which is outside it. And whosoever shall be left in those days shall take thy body with him, and [Fol. *7b*, col. 2] shall deposit it on the spot which I shall show him, in the centre of the earth; for in that place shall redemption be effected for thee and for all thy children." And God revealed unto Adam everything which the Son would suffer on behalf of him.

[Adam's expulsion from Paradise.]

And when Adam and Eve had gone forth from Paradise, the door of Paradise was shut, and a cherub bearing a two-edged sword stood by it. [According to the *Book of the Bee*, the cherub, or, as some think, a "terrible form endowed with a body," was armed with a spear and sword, each being made of fire.]

And Adam and Eve went down in . . . . of spirit over the mountains of Paradise, and they found a cave in the top of the mountain, and they entered and hid themselves therein.

[NOTES.—When Adam and Eve left Paradise they no longer had fruit and wine and bread and flesh to live upon, and they subsisted on cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, of which they ate sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xvii.)]

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Now Adam and Eve were virgins, and Adam wished to know Eve his wife. And Adam took from the skirts of the mountain of Paradise, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense, and he placed them in the cave, and he blessed the cave, and consecrated it that it might be the house of prayer for himself and his sons. And he called the cave "MEʻÂRATH GAZZÊ" (*i.e.* "CAVE OF TREASURES") ·[Fol. 8*a*, col. 1].

So Adam and Eve went down from that holy mountain [of Eden] to the slopes which were below it, and there Adam knew Eve his wife. [A marginal note in the manuscript says that Adam knew Eve thirty years after they went forth from Paradise.] And Eve conceived and brought forth Cain and Lebhûdhâ, his sister, with him; and Eve conceived again and she brought forth Hâbhîl (Abel) and Ḳelîmath, his sister, with him. [The *Book of the Bee* makes Ḳelîmath the twin sister of Cain, and Lebhûdhâ the twin sister of Abel.] And when the children grew up, Adam said unto Eve, "Let Cain take to wife Kelîmath, who was brought forth with Abel, and let Abel take to wife Lebhûdhâ, who was brought forth with Cain." And Cain said unto Eve his mother, "I will take to wife my twin sister Lebhûdhâ, and let Abel take to wife his twin sister Ḳelîmath"; now Lebhûdhâ was beautiful. When Adam heard these words, which were

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exceedingly displeasing unto him, he said, " It will be a transgression of the commandment for thee to take [to wife] thy sister, who was born with thee. Nevertheless, take ye to yourselves fruits of trees, and the young of sheep, and get ye up to the top [Fol. 8*a*, col. 1] of this holy mountain. Then go ye into the Cave of Treasures, and offer ye up your offerings, and make your prayers, and then ye shall consort with your wives." And it came to pass that when, Adam, the first priest, and Cain and Abel, his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan entered into Cain [and persuaded him] to kill Abel, his brother, because of Lebhûdhâ; and because his offering was rejected and was not accepted before God, whilst the offering of Abel was accepted, Cain's jealousy of his brother Abel was increased. And when they came down to the plain, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and he killed him with a blow from a stone of flint. Then straightway Cain received the doom of death, instead of curses, and he became a fugitive and a wanderer all the days of his life. And God drove him forth into exile in a certain part of the forest of Nôdh, and Cain took to wife his twin sister and made the place of his abode there.

[NOTES.—Adam carried Abel to the Cave of Treasures and buried him therein, and he set by

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the side of the body a lamp which burned day and night. Abel was fifteen and a half years old when Cain, who was seventeen and a half years old, murdered him. Adam and Eve mourned for Abel, in great grief, for one hundred and forty days. *Book of Adam and Eve* (II, 1.)]

[The Birth of Seth.]

And Adam and Eve mourned for Abel [Fol. 8*b*, col. 1] one hundred years (*sic*). And then Adam knew his wife again, and she brought forth Seth, the Beautiful, a man mighty and perfect like unto Adam, and he became the father of the mighty men who lived before the Flood.

[NOTES.—Seth was born in the 130th year of Adam's life (Gen. v. 3), but the *Book of the Bee* says it was the 230th year. Adam and Seth and his sons dwelt on the top of Mount Eden, while Cain and his children lived on the plain below.]

[The Posterity of Seth.]

And to Seth was born Ânôsh (Enos), and Ânôsh begot Ḳainân (Cainan), and Ḳainân begot Mahlâlâîl (Mahalaleel) ; these [are] the Patriarchs who were born in the days of Adam.

[The Death of Adam.]

And when Adam had lived nine hundred and thirty years, that is to say, until the one hundred

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and thirty-fifth year of Mahlâlâîl, the day of his death drew nigh and came. And Seth, his son, and Ânôsh, and Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl gathered themselves together and came to him. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them. And he commanded his son Seth, and said unto him, "Observe, my son Seth, that which I command thee this day, and do thou on the day of thy death give my command to Ânôsh, and repeat it to him, and let him repeat it to Ḳainân, and Ḳainân shall repeat it to Mahlâlâîl [Fol. 8*b*, col. 2], and let this [my] command be handed on to all your generations. And when I die, embalm me with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte, and deposit my body in the Cave of Treasures. And whosoever shall be left of your generations in that day, when your going forth from this country, which is round about Paradise, shall take place, shall carry my body with him, and shall take it and deposit it in the centre of the earth, for in that place shall redemption be effected for me and for all my children. And be thou, O my son Seth, governor of the sons of thy people. And thou shalt rule them purely and holily in all the fear of God. And keep ye your offspring separate from the offspring of Cain, the murderer."

And when the report "Adam is dying" was known generally, all his offspring gathered

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together, and came to him, that is to say, Seth, his son, and Ânôsh, and Ḳainân and Mahlâlâîl, they and their wives [Fol. 9*a*, col. 1], and their sons, and their daughters; and Adam blessed them. And the departure of Adam from this world took place in the nine hundred and thirtieth year—according to the reckoning from the beginning—on the fourteenth day of the moon, on the sixth day of the month of Nîsân (April), at the ninth hour, on the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (*i.e.* Friday). At the same hour in which the Son of Man delivered up his soul to His Father on the Cross, did our father Adam deliver up his soul to Him that fashioned him; and he departed from this world.

[The Burial of Adam.]

And when Adam was dead his son Seth embalmed him, according as Adam had commanded him, with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte; now Adam's dead body was the first [body buried] in the earth. And grief for him was exceedingly sore, and Seth [and his sons] mourned for his death one hundred and forty days; and they took Adam's body up to the top of the mountain, and buried it in the Cave of Treasures. And after the families and peoples of the children of Seth had buried Adam, they separated themselves from the children of Cain,

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the murderer. And Seth took Ânôsh [Fol. 9*a*, col. 2], his firstborn, and Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and their wives and children, and led them up into the glorious mountain where Adam was buried; and Cain and all his descendants remained below on the plain where Cain slew Abel.

[The Rule of Seth.]

And Seth became the governor of the children of his people, and he ruled them in purity and holiness. And because of their purity they received the name, which is the best of all names, and were called "the sons of God," they and their wives and their sons. Thus they lived in that mountain in all purity and holiness and in the fear of God. And they went up on the skirts of [the mountain] of Paradise, and they became praisers and glorifiers of God in the place of that host of devils who fell from heaven. There they dwelt in peace and happiness: there was nothing about which they needed to feel anxiety, they had nothing to weary or trouble them [Fol. 9*b*, col. 1], and they had nothing to do except to praise and glorify God, with the angels. For they heard continually the voices of the angels who were singing praises in Paradise, which was situated at no great height above them—in fact, only about thirty spans—according to the measure of the spirit. They suffered

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neither toil nor fatigue, they had neither seed [time] nor harvest, but they fed themselves with the delectable fruits of glorious trees of all kinds, and they enjoyed the sweet scent and perfume of the breezes which were wafted forth to them from Paradise. [Thus lived] those holy men, who were indeed holy, and their wives were pure, and their sons were virtuous, and their daughters were chaste and undefiled. In them there was no rebellious thought, no envy, no anger, no enmity. In their wives and daughters there was no impure longing, and neither lasciviousness [Fol. 9*b*, col. 2], nor cursing, nor lying was heard among them. The only oath which they used in swearing was, " By the blood of Abel." And they, and their wives, and their children used to rise up early in the morning, and go up to the top of that holy mountain, and worship there before God. And they were blessed by the body of Adam their father, and they lifted up their eyes to Paradise, and praised God ; and thus they did all the days of their life.

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), Adam lived 930 years, and Seth lived 913 or 905 years. Seth was 250 years old (105 years in Gen. v. 6) when he begot Enos. " In the days of Seth the knowledge of books went forth in the earth ; but the Church does

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not accept this." According to the *Book of Adam* (ii. 5), Seth knew good and evil when he was seven years of age, and he spent his days and nights in fasting and prayer, and he made an offering to God daily. Satan appeared to him, and tried to persuade him to leave the holy mountain, and to go and live with him, and to marry one of his women, but Seth resisted him ; and mounting the altar of God, drove him away. When Seth was fifteen years old Adam married him to Aklia, the sister of Abel, and when he was twenty years old he begot Enos.]

And when Seth had lived nine hundred and thirteen years he became sick unto death. And Ânôsh his son, and Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd (Jared), and Henôkh (Enoch), and their wives and their sons, gathered together and came unto him, and they were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, and made them to take an oath, and said unto them [Fol. 10*a*, col. 1], " I will make you to take an oath, and to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that none of you will go down from this holy mountain to the children of Cain, the murderer. For ye know well the enmity which hath existed between us and Cain from the day whereon he slew Abel." And Seth blessed Ânôsh, his son, and gave him commands

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concerning the body of Adam, and he made him ruler over the children of his people. And Seth ruled them in purity and in holiness, and he ministered diligently before the body of Adam. And Seth died when he was nine hundred and twelve years old, on the seven-and-twentieth day of the blessed month of Âbh (August), on the second day of the week (Monday), at the third hour, in the twentieth year of the life of Enoch. And Ânôsh, Seth's first-born son, embalmed his body and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with his father Adam; and they made a mourning for him forty [Fol. 10*a*, col. 2] days.

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* (ii. 12) says that Seth was embalmed with sweet spices, and laid on the right side of Adam's body, but there is no evidence that the Hebrews were acquainted with the art of mummification before they had intercourse with Egypt.]

[The Rule of Ânôsh.]

And Ânôsh rose up to minister before God in the Cave of Treasures. And he became the governor of the children of his people, and he kept all the commandments which his father Seth had commanded him, and he urged them to be constant in prayer.

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[NOTES.—According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), Ânôsh was two hundred and ninety (ninety years in Gen. v. 9) years old when he begot Ḳainân; and Ânôsh first called upon the name of the Lord. Some say that he first composed books upon the course of the stars and the signs of the Zodiac.]

And in the days of Ânôsh, in his eight hundred and twentieth year, Lamech, the blind man, killed Cain, the murderer, in the Forest of Nôdh. Now this killing took place in the following manner. As Lamech was leaning on the youth, his son [Tubal-Cain], and the youth was setting straight his father's arm in the direction in which he saw the quarry, he heard the sound of Cain moving about, backwards and forwards, in the forest. Now Cain was unable to stand still in one place and to hold his peace. And Lamech, thinking that it was a wild beast that was making a movement in the forest, raised his arm, and, having made ready, drew his bow and shot an arrow [Fol. 10*b*, col. 1] towards that spot, and the arrow smote Cain between his eyes, and he fell down and died. And Lamech, thinking that he had shot game, spake to the youth, saying, "Make haste, and let us see what game we have shot." And when they went to the spot, and the boy on whom Lamech leaned

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had looked, he said unto him, " O my lord, thou hast killed Cain." And Lamech moved his hands to smite them together, and as he did so he smote the youth and killed him also.

[Notes.—The *Book of Adam* (ii. 13) says that Lamech was armed with a bow and large arrows, and a sling and smooth stones. An arrow pierced one side of Cain, and a stone from Lamech's sling knocked out both his eyes. Lamech smote the youth who led him about accidentally, but afterwards he smashed his head in with a stone. There are many versions of the story in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, but they all agree in essential details. According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), the anvil and hammer and tongs were invented by Tubal-Cain and Jubal, who also constructed musical instruments, harps and pipes ; devils lived in the pipes, and sang therein.]

And when Ânôsh had lived nine hundred and five years, and was sick unto death, all the patriarchs gathered themselves together, and came unto him, viz. Ḳainân, his first-born son, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd, and Enoch, and Matûshlaḥ (Methuselah), they, and their wives, and their sons. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them and commanded them, and spake unto them, saying, " I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this mountain to the plain, nor into the encampment of [Fol. 10*b*, col. 2] the children of Cain, the murderer; and ye shall not mingle yourselves among them. Take ye good heed unto this matter, for ye well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon Cain slew Abel." And he blessed Ḳainân, his son, and commanded him concerning the body of Adam, that he should minister before it all the days of his life, and that he should rule over the children of his people in purity and holiness. And Ânôsh died at the age of nine hundred and five years, on the third day of the month of the First Teshrîn (October), on the day of the Sabbath, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. And Ḳainân, his first-born, embalmed him and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with Adam and Seth, his father. And they made a mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* (ii. 14) says that Ânôsh was 985 years old when he died, and that he was laid on the left-hand side of Adam in the Cave of Treasures.]

[The Rule of Ḳainân.]

And Ḳainân stood up before God to minister in the Cave of Treasures. He was an honourable

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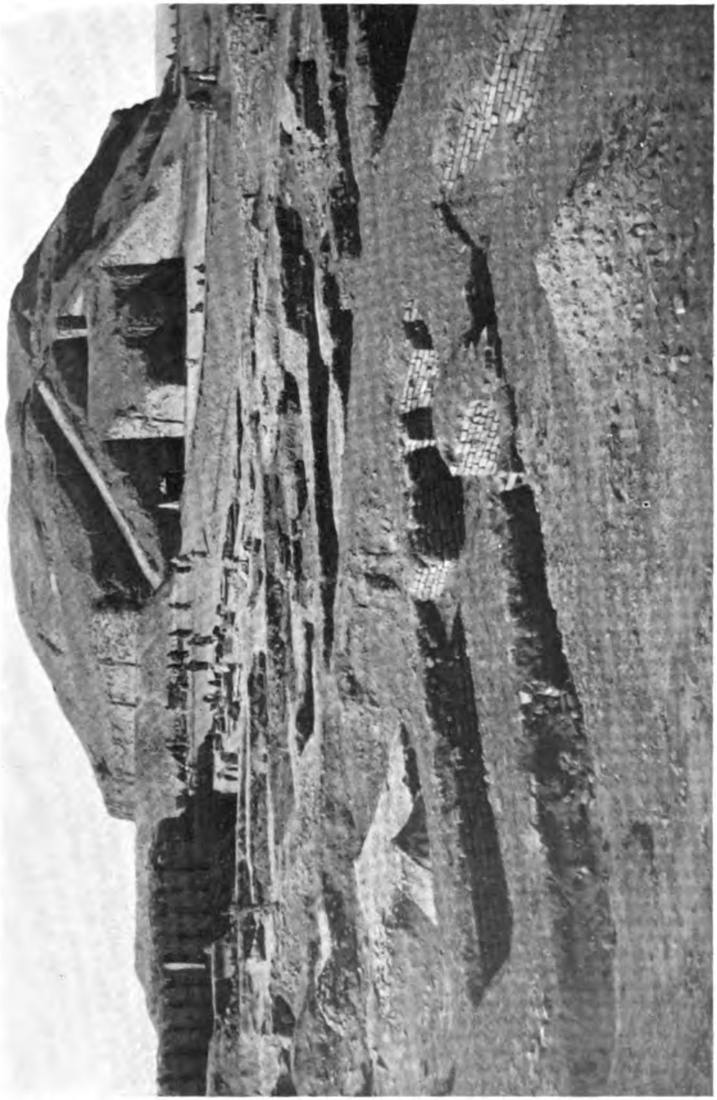
PLATE III.



General view of the ziggurat and the excavations at "Ur of the Chaldees." (*See* page 275.)

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and pure man, and he governed the children of his people in the complete [Fol. 11*a*, col. 1] fear of God, and he fulfilled all the commandments of Ânôsh his father. And when Ḳainân had lived nine hundred and twenty years [in the *Book of Adam* and the *Book of the Bee* 910 years], and was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Mahlâlâîl his son, and Yârêd, and Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them and commanded them, saying, " I will make you swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain into the camp of the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all know well what enmity hath existed between us and them since the day whereon he killed Abel." And he blessed his son Mahlâlâîl, and admonished him concerning the body of Adam, and said unto him, " Behold, O my son Mahlâlâîl, minister thou before God in purity and holiness [Fol. 11*a*, col. 2] in the Cave of Treasures, and depart not thou from the presence of the body of Adam all the days of thy life. And be thou the governor of the children of thy people, and rule thou them purely and holily." Ḳainân died, being nine hundred and twenty years old, on the thirteenth day of the month of Ḥezêrân (June),

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on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), at mid-day, in the five and sixtieth year of [the life of] Lamech, the father of Noah. And Mahlâlâîl, his son, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they made mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.—According to Gen. v. 12, Ḳainân was 70 years old when he begot Mahlâlâîl, but the *Book of the Bee* gives 140 years. The *Book of Adam* says that the people made "offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers," a statement that seems to suggest that the Hebrews not only mummified their dead, but presented funerary offerings to them, after the manner of the Egyptians.]

[The Rule of Mahlâlâîl.]

And Mahlâlâîl rose up and ministered before God in the place of Ḳainân his father. He was constant in prayer by day and by night, and he urged earnestly the children of his people to observe holiness and purity, and to pray without ceasing. And when Mahlâlâîl had lived eight hundred and ninety-five years [Fol. 11*b*, col. 1], and the day of his departure drew nigh, and he was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Yârêd, his first-born, and Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, saying, " I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain. And ye shall not permit any one of your descendants to go down to the plain, to the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon he slew Abel." And he blessed Yârêd, his first-born, and he commanded him concerning the body of Adam, and revealed unto him the place whereto he should make ready to go. And he also commanded him, and made him to swear an oath, saying, " Thou shalt not depart from the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life, and thou shalt be [Fol. 11*b*, col. 2] the governor of the children of thy people, and shalt rule them in chastity and holiness." And Mahlâlâîl died, [being] eight hundred and ninety-five years old, on the second day of the month Nîsân (April), on the first day of the week (Sunday), at the third hour of the day, in the four and thirtieth year of the life of Noah. And Yârêd, his first-born, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and the people made a mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.—According to Gen. v. 15, Mahlâlâîl was 65 years old when he begot Yârêd, but the *Book of the Bee* gives 165 years; the *Book of Adam* (ii. 16) says he fell sick when he was 870 years old. The latter work makes the Patriarch tell Yârêd that the people will go down from the mountain, and mingle with the children of Cain, and perish with them.]

[The Rule of Yârêd.]

And Yârêd his son rose up and ministered before God [in the Cave of Treasures]. He was a perfect man, and was complete in all the virtues, and he was constant in prayer by day and by night. And because of the excellence of his life and conversation, his days were longer than those of all the children of his people. And in the days of Yârêd, in the five hundredth year of his life, the children of Seth broke the oaths which their fathers had made them to swear. And they began to go down from that holy mountain to the encampment of iniquity [Fol. 12*a*, col. 1] of the children of Cain, the murderer, and in this way the fall of the children of Seth took place.

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* (ii. 17) says that Yârêd continued to govern the people successfully until the end of the 485th year of his life.

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At this time Satan and thirty of his devils appeared to Yârêd in the form of handsome men, and called him from the Cave of Treasures. He came out to them, and thought they were strangers, and asked them who they were. In answer, Satan told him that he was Adam, and that among his companions were Abel, Seth, Enos, Cainan, and other kinsmen of Yârêd. He invited Yârêd to come with him, and live with him in the garden which God had given him, and at length Yârêd was persuaded to leave the Cave and go with him. When they arrived at the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain, Satan pretended that he had left a garment for Yârêd by the Cave, and sent one of his devils back to fetch it, telling him at the same time to extinguish the lamp which was burning in the Cave near Adam's body. Satan and Yârêd rested by a fountain, and food was brought out to them by the sons and daughters of Cain, but Yârêd refused to eat or drink. Satan entreated him to put aside his sadness, and to do as he was going to do. Thereupon Satan and five of his devils each seized a woman and committed fornication with her, and on seeing this exhibition of iniquity Yârêd burst into tears and began to pray to God to be delivered from that place. When he began to pray the devils took to flight, and God sent an angel, who brought him back

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to his holy mountain. When he returned to the Cave his people told him that the lamp had been extinguished, and that the bodies of the Patriarchs had been scattered about, and that voices had come from them. On entering the Cave a voice came to him from Adam's body, and warned him to beware of Satan and his wiles, and told him to relight the lamp from the fire on the altar at which Adam had ministered. The lamp was relighted at the end of the 450th year of Yârêd's life. Eighty years later his people began to go down to the children of Cain, and to mingle with their women.]

AND IN THE FORTIETH YEAR OF YÂRÊD THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS, FROM ADAM TO YÂRÊD, CAME TO AN END.

And in these years the handicraftsmen of sin, and the disciples of Satan, appeared, for he was their teacher, and he entered in and dwelt in them, and he poured into them the spirit of the operation of error, through which the fall of the children of Seth was to take place.

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[THE SECOND THOUSAND YEARS : YÂRÊD TO THE FLOOD.]

OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE ART OF PLAYING THE HARP, THAT IS TO SAY, OF MUSIC, AND SINGING AND DANCING.

Yôbâl (Jubal) and Tôbalḳin (Tubal-Cain), the two brethren, the sons of Lamech, the blind man, who killed Cain, invented and made all kinds of instruments of music. Jôbâl made reed instruments, and harps, and flutes, and whistles, and the devils went and dwelt inside them. When men blew into the pipes, the devils sang inside them, and sent out sounds from inside them. Tôbalḳîn made [Fol. 12*a*, col. 2] cymbals, and sistra, and tambourines (or drums). And lasciviousness and fornication increased among the children of Cain, and they had nothing to occupy them except fornication—now they had no obligation [to pay] tribute, and they had neither prince nor governor—and eating, and drinking, and lasciviousness, and drunkenness, and dancing

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and singing to instruments of music, and the wanton sportings of the devils, and the laughter which affordeth pleasure to the devils, and the sounds of the furious lust of men neighing after women. And Satan, finding [his] opportunity in this work of error, rejoiced greatly, because thereby he could compel the sons of Seth to come down from that holy mountain. There they had been made to occupy the place of that army [of angels] that fell [with Satan], there they were beloved by God, there they were held in honour by the angels, and were called "sons of God," even as the blessed David saith in the psalm, "I have said [Fol. 12*b*, col. 1], Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High." (Ps. lxxxii. 6.)

Meanwhile fornication reigned among the daughters of Cain, and without shame [several] women would run after one man. And one man would attack another, and they committed fornication in the presence of each other shamelessly. * * * For all the devils were gathered together in that camp of Cain, and unclean spirits entered into the women, and took possession of them. The old women were more lascivious than the maidens, fathers and sons defiled themselves with their mothers and sisters, sons respected not even their own fathers, and fathers made no distinction between

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their sons [and other men]. And Satan had been made ruler (or prince) of that camp [Fol. 12*b*, col. 2]. And when the men and women were stirred up to lascivious frenzy by the devilish playing of the reeds which emitted musical sounds, and by the harps which the men played through the operation of the power of the devils, and by the sounds of the tambourines and of the sistra which were beaten and rattled through the agency of evil spirits, the sounds of their laughter were heard in the air above them, and ascended to that holy mountain.

And when the children of Seth heard the noise, and uproar, and shouts of laughter in the camp of the children of Cain, about one hundred of them who were mighty men of war gathered together, and set their faces to go down to the camp of the children of Cain. When Yârêd heard their words and knew their intention, he became sorely afflicted, and he sent and called them to him, and said unto them, " By the holy blood of Abel, I will have you swear that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain. Remember ye [Fol. 13*a*, col. 1] the oaths which our fathers Seth, and Ânôsh, and Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl made you to swear." And Enoch also said unto them, " Hearken, O ye children of Seth, no man who shall transgress the commandment of Yârêd, and [break] the oaths of our fathers,

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and go down from this mountain, shall never again ascend it." But the children of Seth would neither hearken to the commandment of Yârêd, nor to the words of Enoch, and they dared to transgress the commandment, and those hundred men, who were mighty men of war, went down [to the camp of Cain]. And when they saw that the daughters of Cain were beautiful in form and that they were naked and unashamed, the children of Seth became inflamed with the fire of lust. And when the daughters of Cain saw the goodliness of the children of Seth, they gripped them like ravening beasts and defiled their bodies. And the children of Seth slew their souls by fornication with the daughters of Cain. And when the children of Seth wished to go up [again] to that holy mountain [Fol. 13*a*, col. 2], after they had come down and fallen, the stones of that holy mountain became fire in their sight, and having defiled their souls with the fire of fornication, God did not permit them to ascend to that holy place. And, moreover, very many others made bold and went down after them, and they, too, fell.

[NOTES.—This story is told at great length in the *Book of Adam* (ii. 20). Satan appeared in the form of one Gunnun and taught him to make horns and trumpets, stringed instruments,

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cymbals, psalteries, lyres, harps and flutes. Into these Satan himself entered, and made the music which came from them. Gunnun made corn spirit, and established drinking booths, in which men assembled and drank and ate fruit. Then Satan taught Gunnun to make weapons of war out of iron, and when men were drunk they killed each other with them. Next Satan taught men how to dye their garments crimson and purple, and they arrayed themselves in gaudy attire, and began to race their horses. Little by little the children of Seth began to wish to join the sons of Cain, and when the devils had shown them a way down the mountain, one hundred of them went down to the plain, and were led astray by the women whose hands and feet were stained with bright colours and whose faces had tattoo marks on them. When the Sethites tried to return to the top of the mountain, the stones turned into coals of fire, and they could not pass over them. Company after company of the children of Seth went down to the plain, and at length only Yârêd and a few others remained on the mountain. The Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* (*see* the translations by Archbishop Lawrence, Oxford, 1838, by Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853, and Canon Charles, Oxford, 1893) supplies interesting details about the fall of the children of Seth. The leaders of those who went down

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from Ardis on Mount Hermon were Semyâzâ, the commander-in-chief, Urâkîbarâmê'êl, Kôkabî'êl, Tâmi'êl, Râmu'êl, Dân'êl, Zaḳîlô, Sarâkuyâl, Asâ'êl, Armârôs, Batraal, 'Anânî, Zaḳêbê, Samsâwe'êl, Sarta'êl, Tur'êl, Yomyâ'êl, and 'Azâzyâl. Each of these was over a company of ten. The names of two of the dekarchs of the 200 angels are omitted. These angels took to themselves wives, and taught them the use of spells and enchantments, and the use of plants and trees [for medicinal purposes ?]. The daughters of Cain conceived, and a tradition in the *Kebra Nagast* says that the children were so large that they could not be born in the ordinary way, but had to be removed from their mothers by the umbilicus.[1] These children grew up and became giants 3,000 cubits in height, and when they had devoured all the provisions which their neighbours had collected, they began to fight against men and to eat them, and at length they ate the flesh and drank the blood of each other. Concerning these giants, the *Book of Enoch* (chapter xv) says, "Now, the giants, who were produced from the spirits and the flesh, shall be called evil spirits on earth, and their habitation shall be on the earth. Evil spirits shall proceed from their bodies. . . . And the spirits of the

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[1] See *Kebra Nagast* (Budge's translation), chapter c. *Concerning the Angels who rebelled.*

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giants shall consume, and persecute, and lay waste, and fight and work destruction on the earth and afflict [men]. They shall neither eat food of any kind, nor suffer thirst, and they shall remain invisible. And these spirits shall attack the children of men and women, for from them have they come forth." The wickedness of these giants became so great that the earth complained [to God]. At this time 'Azâz'êl taught men the art of working in metals, and the use of stibium, or eye-paint, and the art of dyeing stuffs in bright colours. 'Amêzârâk taught enchantments (*i.e.* magic) and the knowledge of herbs; 'Armârôs taught how spells were to be broken; Barak'âl taught astrology; Kôkab'êl taught the knowledge of signs; Tem'êl taught astronomy; and 'Asrâdêl taught concerning the moon [*Book of Enoch*, chapter viii.] The originals of these Seven Sages were probably the Seven Wise Men who were revered by the Babylonians.]

And when Yârêd had lived nine hundred and sixty years, and the day of his departure approached, and came nigh, and arrived, all the Patriarchs gathered themselves together and came unto him, viz. Enoch, his first-born, and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed

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by him. And he prayed over them, and said unto them, "I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel that ye will not go down from this holy mountain; for I know that God will not allow you to remain very much longer in this holy country. Inasmuch as [Fol. 13*b*, col. 1] ye have transgressed the commandment of your fathers, ye shall surely be cast out into that outer country, and ye shall no longer have your habitation on the skirts [of the mountain] of Paradise. And take ye good heed to this. Let him that is among you who shall go forth from that holy country take with him the body of our father Adam, and the offerings [of gold, frankincense, and myrrh] that are in the Cave of Treasures, and let him carry away and deposit the body in the place wherein he shall be commanded by God to set it down. And thou, my son Enoch, depart thou not from before the body of Adam, but minister before God purely and holily all the days of thy life." And Yârêd died, [being] nine hundred and sixty-two years old, on the thirteenth day of the month of Îyâr (May), on the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (Friday), at sunset, in the three hundred and sixty-sixth year of the life of Noah. And Enoch his son embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they made mourning for him forty days.

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[NOTES.—The *Book of the Bee* says that Yârêd was 962 years old when he died, and that he begot Enoch when he was 162 years old. The *Book of Adam* says that he was 989 years old when he died, and that he died on Friday, the 12th day of the month of Takhsâs (December) in the 360th year of the life of Noah (ii. 21).]

Fol. 13*b*, col. 2 [The Rule of Enoch].

And Enoch stood up to minister before God in the Cave of Treasures. And the children of Seth turned aside from the right path and willed to go down [to the children of Cain on the plain]. And Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech and Noah mourned over them. And Enoch had ministered before God for fifty years in the three hundred and [sixty] fifth year of the life of Noah. And when Enoch knew that God was about to remove him [from the earth], he called Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, and said unto them, "I know that God is wroth with this generation, and that a pitiless judgment hath been decreed for the people thereof. Ye are the chiefs of this generation and the remnant thereof, for no other man shall be born on this mountain who shall be the chief of the children of his people. But take ye good heed to yourselves, and see that ye minister before God in purity and holiness." And when Enoch had given them

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his commandment in these words, God removed him to the Land of Life, and to the [Fol. 14*a*, col. 1] delectable mansions which are round about Paradise, and to that country which is beyond the reach of death. And of all the children of Seth there remained only these three Patriarchs in the "Mountain of the Triumphant Ones," viz. Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, for all the others had betaken themselves to the encampment of the sons of Cain.

[NOTES.—Then Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel looked down from heaven, and saw the wickedness which 'Azâz'êl had done in the world, and they heard the appeal which the souls of the dead were making to heaven, and they reported the matter to the Most High. When God heard their words He sent the angel 'Arsyalâlyûr to the son of Lamech, *i.e.* Noah, with the command, "Hide thyself." No mention is made of Methuselah, who begot Lamech when he was 187 years old, and who lived 969 years, and Lamech, who lived 777 years, and begot Noah in the 182nd year of his age, was passed over in favour of his son. Noah consolidated his position by marrying the daughter of Enoch. The angel revealed to Noah that a flood was about to cover the earth, and told him how to escape from it. Then God commanded

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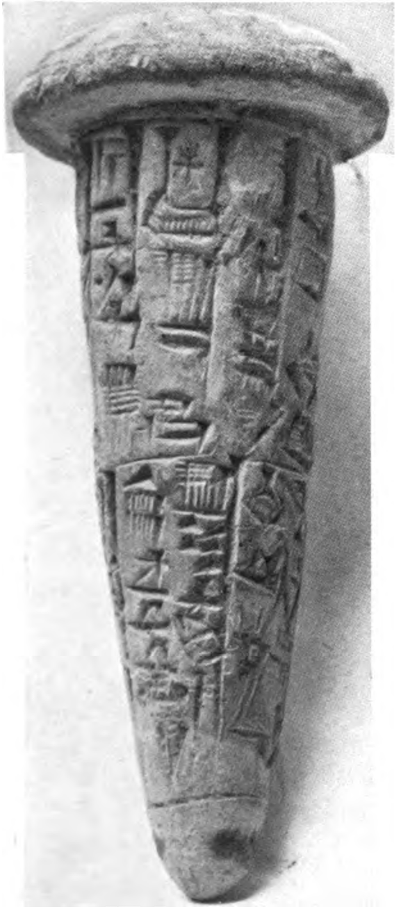
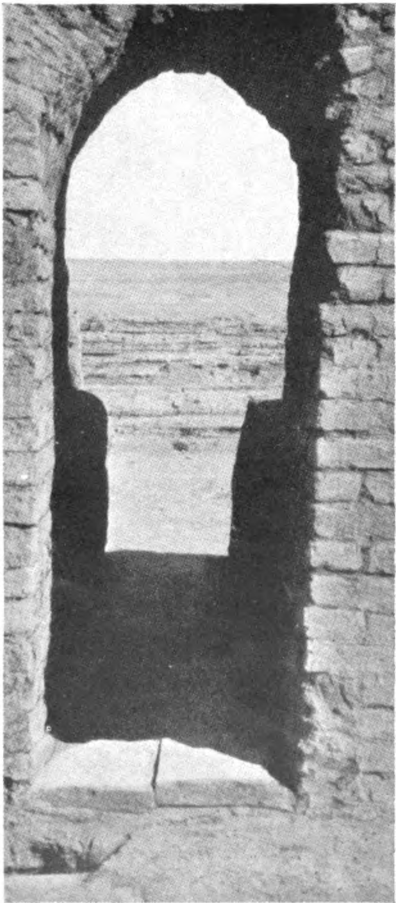


Inscribed cone of Ur-Nammu which was inserted in the vertical joint of one of his buildings. (*See* page 276.)



An arched doorway in the north-east wall of the sanctuary of E-Dublal-maḫ. Of the time of Kuri-Galzu, about 1600 B.C. (*See* page 277.)

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Rafa'êl to bind 'Azâz'êl hand and foot, and to thrust him into a dark hole in the desert of Dudâ'êl (a place near Jerusalem ?), and heap stones and rocks upon him. There he was to remain until the Day of Judgment, when he would be cast into the fire and consumed. Gabriel was sent to destroy all the children of fornication; and Michael was sent to bind Semyâzâ and the other dekarchs of the children of Seth, and to imprison them under the mountains of the earth for 70 generations, after which time they were to be taken to the abyss of fire and tortured there for ever. *Book of Enoch* (chapter x).]

[The *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, by Abbâ Bakhayla-Mîkâ'êl (ed. Perruchon), says that it was the men who taught man the arts of civilisation, who caused God to bring the Flood on the earth. This work gives the names of these men and describes their inventions thus:—

Pîpîrôs understood the sun, Rûrîdê quarried stones, Zar'êl instituted the month, Pînênê introduced horse-riding (or racing), Gâlê invented the axe, Tîgana invented the shield, Hôrêrî taught men to play musical instruments, Yuebê taught working in iron, Mêgêd taught horse-riding, Negôdî discovered medicinal springs, and made known the planetary hours when the waters were most effective, Gargè made the first corn-grinder, Sêtêr taught men how to mix dough, Gîmêr taught the use of earthenware vessels for food, Zârê taught men to milk animals, Ḥeggê taught men to make roofs, and Ṭentôreb showed them how to make doors, Sâpêr taught butter-making, Halâgê discovered how to carve wood and stone, Hêder was the first to cultivate trees, Sînô taught house-building, and Ṭôf invented the potter's craft, Artôrbegâs invented agricultural implements, Ṣêbêdêgâz introduced the use of *koḥl* (eye-paint, stibium), Zârê invented the brewing of beer, Bêtênêlâdâs invented the oven, Nâfîl taught men to make plantations and gardens, Yârbeḥ discovered how to fell trees and saw them up, 'Êlyô taught dancing, Pênêmûs invented architecture and writing, 'Agâlêmûn taught the use of beasts in ploughing and how to drive furrows, Kueses invented ploughs and leather whips, 'Akôr discovered bronze (copper ?), certain men taught working in cedar and willow-wood, Wasag and 'Abêregyâ taught men the game of Ṭâbat, and Nêr and Zabêrêgued taught them to play the games of 'Atâwemâ and 'Akîs, and the games of the circus.]

[The Rule of Noah.]

And when Noah saw that sin had increased in his generation, he preserved himself in virginity for five hundred years. Then God spake unto

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him and said unto him, " Take unto thee to wife Haykêl, the daughter of Namûs (or Haykêl Namûs), the daughter of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah." And God revealed unto him concerning the Flood which He was making ready to produce, and He spake to him and said unto him, " One hundred and thirty years from this moment I will make a Flood."

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* says that Haykêl was the daughter of Abaraz, who was one of the children of the family of Enos, who went into perdition. If this be so, Noah married a woman who was akin to the children of Cain. The *Book of the Bee* (chapter xx) merely states that Noah's wife was of the children of Seth.]

[The Building of the Ark.]

And God said unto Noah, " Make for thyself an ark for the saving of the children of thy house, and build it [in the plain] below [this mountain], in the encampment of the children of Cain, and ye shall cut down the timber for the same [from the trees that are on] this mountain [Fol. 14*a*, col. 2]. And thus shall be the dimensions thereof. Its length shall be three hundred cubits according to thy cubit, its breadth shall be fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits ; and above it shall be finished off one cubit. And make three storeys in it : the lowermost shall be for wild animals

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and cattle, the middle one shall be for the birds and feathered fowl, and the topmost shall be for thee and the children of thy house. And make in it cisterns for water and cupboards for food. And make to thyself a striking board of *eshkar'a* wood which will not rot, three cubits long and a cubit and a half in breadth ; and there shall be a hammer of the same kind of wood, and with it thou shalt strike [the board] three times in the day. Once in the morning that the workmen may be gathered together for the work of the ark, and once at midday that they may eat food, and once at sunset so that they may cease from their labour. And when thou strikest the board, and men hear the sound of the blows, and say unto thee, 'What is this that thou doest ?' [Fol. 14*b*, col. 1], thou shalt say unto them, 'God is going to make a flood of waters.'" And Noah did as God commanded him. And there were born unto him three sons within the space of a hundred years, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and they took unto them wives of the daughters of Methuselah.

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of the Bee*, the storeys were to have boards and projecting ledges, each board being one cubit long and one span broad. The wood used was either box or teak, and the Ark was pitched within and

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without. The *Book of Adam* (iii. 2) says that each storey was 10 cubits high. The first was for lions and other animals, and ostriches, the second was for birds and reptiles, and the third for Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives. The cisterns were to be lined with lead, inside and out. Noah begot his sons during the hundred years in which he was building the Ark; during these years he ate no animal food, and he wore the same pair of sandals, which did not wear out, and the same apparel and head cloth, and carried the same staff. His hair neither increased nor diminished. His sons married daughters of Methuselah.]

[The Death of Lamech.]

And when Lamech had lived seven hundred and seventy years, he died during the lifetime of Methuselah, his father, forty years before the Flood, on the twenty-first day of the month of Ilûl (September), on the first day of the week (Sunday), in the sixty-eighth year of the life of Shem, the firstborn of Noah. And Noah his firstborn embalmed him, and Methuselah his father swathed him for burial, and they buried him in the Cave of Treasures, and mourned for him forty days.

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* says that Lamech was 553 years old when he died, but the *Book*

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of the Bee gives his age as 774 or 777 years; the former work says that Lamech died seven years before the Flood.]

[The Rule of Methuselah and Noah.]

And Methuselah and Noah remained alone on the mountain, for all the children of Seth had gone down from the skirts of the mountain of Paradise to the plain where the children of Cain lived [Fol. 14*b*, col. 2]. And men, the children of Seth, had intercourse with the daughters of Cain, who conceived of them, and brought forth men, giants and the sons of giants, who were like unto towers. Now because of this certain ancient writers have fallen into error, and have written, "The angels came down from heaven, and had intercourse with men, and by them these famous giants have been produced." But this is not true, for those who have written in this manner did not understand [the facts]. Behold, O my brother readers, and know ye that it is not in the nature of beings of the spirit to beget, neither is it in the nature of the devils—who are unclean beings, and workers of wickedness, and lovers of adultery—to beget, because there are neither males nor females among them. And since the time when the angels fell, not another angel has been added to their number. And if the devils were able to

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have intercourse with women they would not leave unravished a single virgin [Fol. 15*a*, col. 1] in all the race of the children of men.

[The Death of Methuselah.]

And when Methuselah had lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years, and the day of his departure had drawn nigh, Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and their wives, came unto him. Now of all the posterity of Seth who had not betaken themselves down to the plain, only these eight souls were left, viz. Noah, Shem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives; for no children were born to them before the Flood. And when these gathered themselves together to Methuselah, and they had been blessed by him, he embraced them, and kissed them sorrowfully, and wept over the fall of the children of Seth. And he said unto them, "Of all the tribes and families of your fathers, this remnant [consisting] of eight souls [Fol. 15*a*, col. 2] alone is left. May the Lord God of our fathers bless you! The Lord God who formed our father Adam and Eve by themselves (and they were fruitful, and multiplied, and the whole of the blessed land which was round about Paradise was filled with their progeny), shall make you to be fruitful, and to multiply, and the whole earth shall be filled with you. He shall save you from the

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terrible wrath which hath been decreed against this rebellious generation, and He shall be with you, and He shall protect you. And the gift which was given by God unto our father Adam shall go forth with you from this holy country. And these three measures of the wheat of blessings which God gave unto your father Adam shall serve as leaven, and shall be kneaded into your seed, and into the seed of your children, that is to say, Royalty, Priesthood, and Prophecy.

"Hearken thou, Noah, thou blessed of the Lord. Behold [Fol. 15*b*, col. 1], I am going forth from this world, like all my fathers, but thou and thy children shall be saved. And thou shalt do everything which I am commanding you to do this day, [for] God will make the Flood. When I die, embalm my body, and bury me in the Cave of Treasures with my fathers. Take thy wife, and thy sons, and the wives of thy sons, and get thee down from this holy mountain. And take with thee the body of our father Adam, and these three offerings, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense; set the body of Adam in the middle of the Ark, and lay these offerings upon him. Thou and thy sons shall occupy the eastern part of the Ark, and thy wife and thy son's wives shall occupy the western part thereof; thy wives shall not pass over to you,

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and ye shall not pass over to them. Ye shall neither eat nor drink with them, and ye shall have no intercourse whatsoever with them until ye go forth [Fol. 15*b*, col. 2] from the Ark. Now this generation hath provoked God to wrath, and He will neither permit them to be neighbours of [those who are in] Paradise, nor to praise Him with the angels.

"And when the waters of the Flood have subsided from the face of the earth, and ye go forth from the Ark, and ye take up your abode in that land, thou, O Noah, the blessed of the Lord, shall not depart from the Ark, from the body of our father Adam, but minister thou before God in the Ark purely and holily all the days of thy life. And these offerings shall be placed in the east. And command thou Shem, thy firstborn, to take up with him, after thy death, the body of our father Adam, and to carry it and deposit it in the middle of the earth. And let him establish there a man from among his descendants who shall minister there. And he shall be one who is set apart (*nezîrâ*) all the days of his life. He shall not take a wife, he shall not shed blood, he shall not offer up [Fol. 16*a*, col. 1] these offerings of wild animals and feathered fowl; but he shall offer unto God bread and wine, for by these redemption shall be made for Adam and all his posterity. And

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the Angel of God shall go before him, and he shall show him the place where the middle of the earth is situated. And the apparel of him that shall stand up there to minister before the body of Adam shall be the skins of wild animals. He shall not shave off the hair of his head, and he shall not cut his nails, but he shall remain alone (in his natural state ?) because he is the priest of God, the Most High."

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 5), Shem was to appoint Melchisedek (*see* Gen. xiv. 18–24; Heb., chapter vii.), the son of Ḳainân, and grandson of Arphaxad, to be the priest of the Most High; and he was to stand and minister on the mountain which is in the middle of the earth. He was to wear a garment of skin, and have a leather girdle about his loins, and his apparel was to be humble and without ornament.]

And when Methuselah had commanded Noah [to do] all these things, he died with tears in his eyes, and sorrow in his heart. He was nine hundred and sixty-nine years old when he died, on the fourteenth day of the month Âdhâr (March), on the first day of the week (Sunday), in the seventy-ninth year [Fol. 16*a*, col. 2] of the life of Shem, the son of Noah. And Noah, his grandson, embalmed the body of Methuselah

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with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte, and Noah and his sons buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they and their wives made mourning for him forty days.

And when the days of his mourning had passed, Noah went into the Cave of Treasures, and embraced and kissed the holy bodies of Seth, and Ânôsh, and Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd, and Methuselah, and Lamech his father, and he was greatly moved and tears gushed from his eyes. And Noah carried the body of our father Adam, and [the body of] Eve, and his firstborn Shem carried the gold, and Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet the frankincense, and they went forth from the Cave of Treasures. [The *Book of Adam* does not mention Eve.] And as they were coming down from that holy mountain they were smitten sorely with grief, and they wept in agony because they were to be deprived of that [Fol. 16*b*, col. 1] holy place, and the habitation of their fathers. And weeping painfully, and wailing sorrowfully, and enveloped in gloom, they said,

"Remain in peace! O holy Paradise, thou
habitation of our father Adam.
He went forth from thee alive, but stripped [of
glory] and naked.
And behold, at his death he was deprived of
thy nearness.

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He and his progeny were cast out into exile in that land of curses, to pass their days there in pain, and sicknesses, and in labour, and in weariness, and in trouble.

Remain in peace, O Cave of Treasures!

Remain in peace, O habitation and inheritance of our Fathers!

Remain ye in peace, O our Fathers and Patriarchs!

Pray ye for us, O ye who live in the dust, ye friends and beloved ones of the Living God.

Pray ye for the remnant of your posterity which is left.

O ye who have propitiated God, make supplication unto Him on our behalf in your prayers. [Fol. 16*b*, col. 2.]

Remain in peace, O Ânôsh!

Remain ye in peace, O ye ministers of God, Ḳainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd, and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Enoch! Cry out in sorrow on our behalf.

Remain in peace, O Haven and Asylum of the Angels!

O ye our Fathers, cry out in sorrow on our behalf, because ye will be deprived of our society!

And we will cry out in sorrow, because we are cast out into a bare land, for our habitation will be with the wild beasts."

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And as they were coming down from that holy mountain, they kissed the stones thereof, and embraced the delectable trees thereof. And in this wise they came down, and they wept with great sorrow, and shed scalding (or bitter) tears, and suffering sorely they descended to the plain.

And Noah went into the Ark, and deposited the body of Adam in the middle thereof, and he placed these [Fol. 17*a*, col. 1] offerings upon it.

Now in the year wherein Noah went into the Ark THE SECOND THOUSAND YEARS OF THE POSTERITY OF ADAM TO THE TIME OF THE FLOOD CAME TO AN END, according to what the Seventy Wise Writers have told us.

[NOTES.—The *Book of Adam* (iii. 6) says that when Noah and his sons were carrying the body of Adam out of the Cave, the bodies of the other Patriarchs cried out and asked the body of Adam if they were to be separated from it. Adam replied that he must leave the holy mountain, and told them that he knew God would bring their bodies together again on another occasion, and bade them wait patiently. Adam asked God to allow the lighted lamp to remain with the bodies in the Cave, until the resurrection. This God did, and then He closed

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the Cave until the day of the resurrection. Noah and his sons marvelled greatly when they heard the bodies of the Patriarchs talking together in the Cave. Having carried away the body of Adam and the gold, myrrh and frankincense, they returned to the mountain, intending to enter the Cave once again; they sought carefully, but could not find the Cave, and then they knew that God had sealed it, and had hidden it from them, so that they might never dwell therein again.]

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[THE THIRD THOUSAND YEARS: FROM THE FLOOD TO THE REIGN OF REU.]

[Noah's entry into the Ark.]

The entrance of Noah into the Ark took place on the day of the eve of the Sabbath (Friday), on the seventeenth day of the blessed month of Îyâr (May). On the Friday, in the morning (*i.e.* the third hour) the beasts and the cattle went into the lowermost storey; and at midday all the feathered fowl and all the reptiles went into the middle storey; and at sunset Noah and his sons went into the Ark, on the east side of [the third storey], and his wife and the wives of his sons went to the west side. And the body of Adam was deposited in the middle of the Ark, wherein also all the mysteries of the Church were deposited. Thus women in church shall be on the west [side] [Fol. 17*a*, col. 2], and men on the east [side], so that the men may not see the faces of the women, and the women may not see the faces of the men. Thus also was it in the Ark; the women were on the west [side], and the men on the east [side], and the body of our father

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Adam was placed between [them] like a raised stand (or throne). And as quietness reigneth in the Church between men and women, so also peace reigned in the Ark between the wild beasts, and the feathered fowl, and the creeping things (or reptiles). And as kings, and judges, and rich men, and poor men, and governors, and sick men, and beggars, live in concord, that is to say, in a general bond of peace, so also was it in the Ark. For lions, and panthers, and savage beasts of prey lived in peace and harmony with the cattle; and the beasts that were fierce and strong lived in peace with those that were timid and weak; and the lion with the ox, and the wolf with the lamb, and the lion's whelp [Fol. 17*b*, col. 1] with the calf, and the serpent with the dove, and the hawk with the sparrow.

[The Flood.]

And when Noah and his sons had gone into the Ark, and his wife and the wives of his sons, on the seventeenth day of the month of Îyâr (May), at sunset, the door of the Ark was shut fast, and Noah and his sons in captivity in the darkness. And as soon as the door of the Ark was shut, the floodgates of the heavens were opened, and the foundations of the earth were rent asunder, and Ocean, that great sea which surroundeth the whole world, poured forth its floods. And whilst

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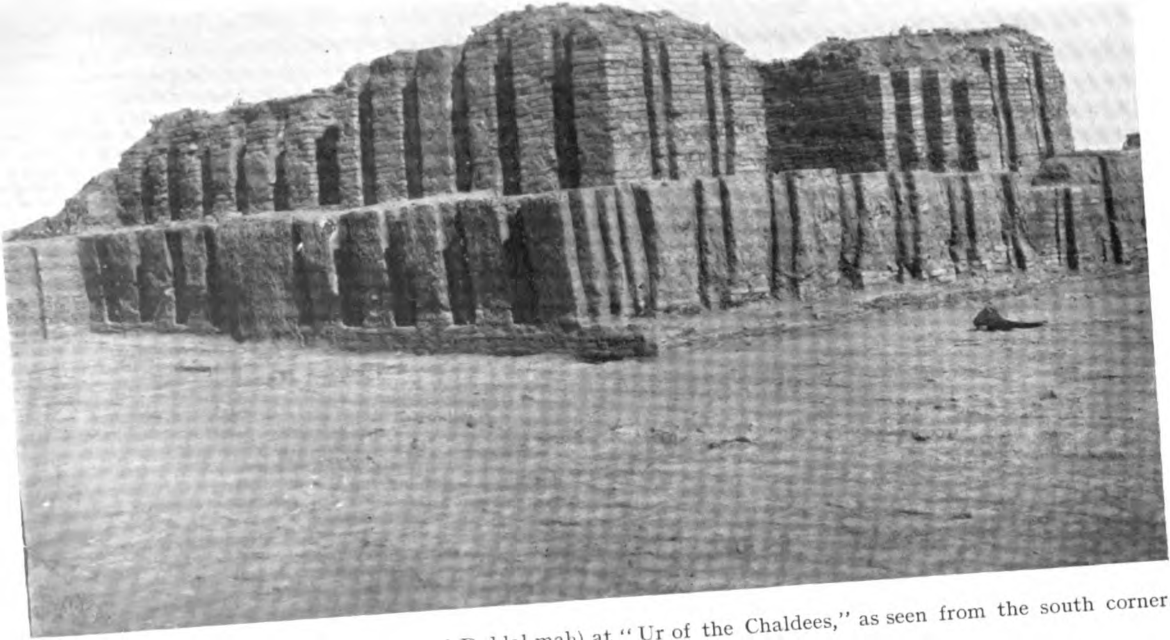
PLATE V.



The ruins of the great Hall of Justice (E-Dublal-maḫ) at "Ur of the Chaldees," as seen from the south corner.
(*See* page 277.)

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the floodgates of heaven were open, and the foundations of the earth were rent asunder, the storehouses of the winds burst their bolts, and storm and whirlwinds swept forth, and Ocean roared and hurled its floods upon the earth. And the children of Seth, who had besmirched themselves in the mire of fornication, ran to the door of the Ark, and entreated Noah to open to them the door of the Ark. And when they saw the water floods which were swirling about them and engulfing [Fol. 17*b*, col. 2] them on all sides, they were in great tribulation, and they tried to climb up the mountains of Paradise, but were unable to do so. Now the Ark was closed and sealed, and the Angel of the Lord stood over one side of it that he might act as the pilot thereof. And when the floods of waters mastered the children of Seth, and they began to drown in their great and mighty waves—then was fulfilled that which David spake concerning them, saying, " I said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High. (Ps. lxxxii. 6.) But since ye have done this, and ye have loved the fornication of the daughters of Cain, like them ye shall perish, and even as they did so shall ye die."

And when the Ark was lifted up from the earth by the mighty strength of the waters, all the children of men, and the wild beasts, and the feathered fowl, and the cattle, and the creeping things, and everything [living] on the face of the earth was drowned. And the waters [Fol. 18*a*, col. 1] of the Flood mounted up above all the tops of the high mountains fifteen cubits [variants, 25, 50 cubits], according to the measure of the Spirit. [The cubit of the Holy Ghost = 3 ordinary cubits.] And the flood waxed strong, and the waters thereof lifted up the Ark until it reached the skirts [of the mountain] of Paradise. And as the flood had been blessed by Paradise (*i.e.* had been made holy), it bowed its head, and kissed the skirts of Paradise and turned itself back to destroy the whole earth. And the Ark flew on the wings of the wind over the waters of the flood from east to west, and from north to south, and it marked out [by its path] a cross on the waters. And the Ark flew about for one hundred and fifty days, and it came to rest on the mountains of Ḳardô (*i.e.* Ararat, the Jabal al-Jûdî of the Arabs, near Jazîrat ibn 'Umar) in the seventh month, that is to say, in the First Teshrî (October) on the seventeenth day thereof. And God commanded the waters, and they became separated from each other. The celestial waters were taken up, and ascended to their own place above [Fol. 18*a*, col. 2] the heavens, whence they came. The waters which had risen up from the earth returned to the lowermost abyss [under the earth]; and those which belonged to

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the Ocean [which surroundeth the whole world] returned to the innermost parts thereof. And the waters which had been on the earth, and had been assigned to it by the Divine Nod for the needs thereof from the beginning, remained upon it.

And the waters diminished little by little until the tenth month, which is Shebât (February), and on the first day thereof the tops of the mountains appeared. And, forty days later, on the tenth day of the month of Âdhâr (March), Noah opened the east window of the Ark, and sent forth a raven to bring back tidings; and the raven departed and did not return. And after the waters had diminished a little more from the earth, Noah sent forth a dove; and it found no place to rest, and it returned to Noah to the Ark. And after seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him, carrying in its beak an olive leaf. Now the dove figureth for us the Two Covenants. In the First Covenant [Fol. 18*b*, col. 1] the spirit which spake by the Prophets did not find a place of rest among that rebellious people (*i.e.* the Jews); and in the Second Covenant it rested on the peoples through the waters of baptism.

[NOTES.—The above description of the Flood agrees substantially with that given in the *Book of Adam* (chapters ix and x), and in the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xx).]

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[Noah leaves the Ark.]

And in the six hundred and first year of the life of Noah, on the first day of the month of Nîsân (April) the waters had dried up from the face of the earth. And in the second month, which is Îyâr (May), wherein Noah went into the Ark on the twenty-seventh day, on the holy first day of the week (Sunday), their going forth took place; and he and his wife went forth, and his sons and their wives went with them. Now, when they went into the Ark they went in in separate companies, Noah and his sons [in one company], and his wife and their wives in another company; and the men did not know the women until they went forth from the Ark. And all the wild beasts, and all the cattle, and all the feathered fowl, and all the creeping things went forth from the Ark on the first day of the week.

[Noah founds Themânôn, the city of the "Eight."]

And when they had gone forth Noah began work on the ground [Fol. 18*b*, col. 2], and they built a city and called the name thereof "Themânôn" (*i.e.* "Eight"), after the name of the eight souls who had gone forth from the Ark. And Noah built an altar, and offered up upon it an offering of beasts that were clean and feathered

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fowl. And God was appeased by the offering of Noah, and he established with him an everlasting covenant, and swore an oath, saying, " I will never again make a Flood." He took away the arrow of wrath from the bow which is in the clouds, and he stripped from it the string of anger, and spread it out (*i.e.* unbent it) in the clouds. For formerly, when the bow was bent in the firmament against that generation of the children of Cain, the murderer, they used to see the arrow of wrath placed in position on the string of anger, but after the Flood they did not see the arrow on the string.

[NOTE.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 11), the waters dried up in the 607th year of the life of Noah. The altar on which Noah sacrificed was that on which Adam, Cain, and Abel had laid their offerings ; it had been damaged by the Flood, but Noah rebuilt it. The city of Themânôn is identified with Sûbhâ (*i.e.* Niṣîbis) in the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xx), but this is a false identification. The "City of Eight," Themânôn, is not to be identified with the τὸ Θομάνων of Theophylact Simocatta (vol. ii. chap. 10, p. 86), which lay on the right bank of the Tigris near Ḥiṣn Kêfâ, but with the Sûk Thamânîn of the Arab geographers, which lay at a distance of one day's journey

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from Jazîrat ibn 'Umar. It was situated high up in the mountains, and Khusraw Anôsharwân used to encamp there during the heats of summer. Near Burzmihrân, and between Jazîrat ibn 'Umar and Thamânôn was Dêr Abbûn, which, according to Yâḳût, contained the tomb of Noah. It is interesting to note that the Arabs call Noah's city Sûḳ Thamânîn (*i.e.* "Market of the Eighty") and not "Market of the Eight." For further details *see* Hoffmann, G., *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, page 174.]

[The Vineyard of Noah.]

And when they had gone forth from the Ark, they sowed seed and planted a vineyard; and they pressed out new wine. And Noah drew nigh, and drank some of it, and immediately he had drunk of it [Fol. 19*a*, col. 1] he became drunk. And having fallen asleep, his shame was seen, and his son Ham saw the nakedness of his father, and did not cover it; but he laughed at him and made a mock of him, and he ran and called his brethren that they also might make a mock of their father. And when Shem and Japhet heard of it they were dismayed exceedingly. And they rose up, and took a cloak, and walked backwards with their faces turned away that they might not see the nakedness of their father. And they cast the cloak over him and

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covered him. And when Noah woke up from the sleep of his wine, his wife told him about everything that had happened, and he also within himself knew what had happened to him. And Noah was exceedingly angry with his son Ham, and he said, "Cursed be Canaan; he shall be a servant of servants to his brethren."

Why, since the whole of the folly was Ham's, was Canaan cursed, except that, when the youth grew up [Fol. 19*a*, col. 2], and attained the full measure of his understanding, Satan entered into him, and became to him a teacher of sin? And he renewed the work of the house of Cain, the murderer. He constructed and made reed instruments and harps, and the fiends and the devils went unto them and dwelt therein. And immediately wind was blown through them (the reeds), the devils sang inside them, and sent forth loud sounds; and when men struck the harps the devils became operative inside them. And when Noah heard that Canaan had done this, he was grieved sorely, because the work of error, through which the fall of the children of Seth had taken place, was renewed. For by means of singing, and lewd play, and the mad lasciviousness of the children of Cain, Satan had cast down the mighty men, the "sons of God," into fornication. And through the music

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of reed pipes and harps sin had multiplied [Fol. 19*b*, col. 1] among the former generations until, at length, God became wroth and made the Flood. And Canaan was cursed because he had dared to do this, and his seed became a servant of servants, that is to say, to the Egyptians, and the Cushites, and the Mûsâyê (Mysians), [and the Indians, and all the Ethiopians, whose skins are black]. And because Ham had dared to make a mock of his father he was called " vile " (or " lascivious ") all the days of his life.

Now Noah in his lying down in sleep, having drunk wine, symbolizeth the Cross of Christ, as the blessed man David singeth in his Psalm concerning him, saying, " Wake up, Lord, like a sleeping man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome." [Compare Psalm xlv. 23; lxxviii. 65.] Let the heretics who say " God was crucified " hold their peace. Here David calleth him " Lord," even as Peter the Apostle said, " This Jesus, whom ye crucified, hath God made Lord and Messiah (Christ)." [Compare Acts v. 30, 31.] He did not say " God " (Allâhâ), but " Lord " (Mâryâ), thus [Fol. 19*b*, col. 2] making known concerning the unity (or oneness) of the Two Persons who were united in one sonship. Now when Noah woke up from his sleep he cursed Canaan, and reduced his seed to slavery, and scattered his seed among the

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nations. And when our Lord rose from the dead He cursed the Jews, and scattered them among the nations. Now the seed of Canaan, as I have already said, are the Egyptians, and behold, they are scattered over the whole earth, and have been made servants of servants. And of what kind is this slavery of slavery? Behold, the Egyptians go round about all over the earth carrying loads on their backs (literally, necks). Now, men who are not fettered under the yoke of slavery, when despatched by their masters on journeys, do not march on their feet and carry loads, but they ride upon beasts in an honourable manner, like their masters. The seed of Ham are the Egyptians who carry loads, and they march [Fol. 20*a*, col. 1] on the roads with their backs and necks breaking under their loads, and they wander round to the doors of the children of their brethren. The seed of Ham was reduced, through the folly of Canaan, to suffer this penalty, that is, to become servants even to servants.

[NOTE.—The *Book of the Bee* (chapter xx) says concerning the cursing of Ham, "The reason why he (Noah) cursed Canaan, who was not as yet born, nor had sinned, was because Ham had been saved with him in the Ark from the waters of the Flood, and had with his father received

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the divine blessing, and also because the arts of sin—I mean music and dancing and all other hateful things—were about to be revived by his posterity, for the art of music proceeded from the seed of Canaan." The same work adds, " After the Flood a son was born to Noah, and he called his name Yônaṭôn; and he provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun, to the east." The *Book of Adam* (iii. 13), merely states that Noah married another wife, who bore him seven children, and that he continued to dwell on that mountain until the end of his days.]

[The Death of Noah.]

And Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after he came forth from the Ark. And when he was sick unto death, Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arpakhshar (Arphaxad), and Shâlaḥ (Salah) gathered together unto him. And Noah called Shem, his firstborn, and said unto him privily, " Take heed, my son Shem, unto what I say unto thee this day. When I am dead, go into the Ark, wherein thou hast been saved, and bring out the body of our father Adam, and let no man have knowledge of what thou doest. And take with thee from this place provision for the way, bread and wine, and take with thee Melchisedek, the son of Mâlâkh [Fol. 20*a*, col. 2], because him hath God chosen from

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among all your descendants that he may minister before Him in respect of the body of our father Adam. And take the body and place it in the centre of the earth, and make Melchisedek to sit down there. And the Angel of God shall go before you, and shall show you the way wherein ye shall go, and also the place wherein the body of Adam shall be deposited, which is, indeed, the centre of the earth. There the four quarters of the earth embrace each other. For when God made the earth His power went before it, and the earth, from [its] four quarters, ran after it, like the winds and the swift breezes, and there (*i.e.* in the centre of the earth) His power stood still and was motionless. There shall redemption be made for Adam, and for all his posterity. Now this story, or mystery, was handed down to us from Adam in all generations [Fol. 20*b*, col. 1]. Adam commanded Seth, and Seth commanded Ânôsh (Enos), and Ânôsh commanded Ḳainân (Cainan), and Ḳainân commanded Mahlâlâîl, and Mahlâlâîl commanded Yârêd, and Yârêd commanded Enoch, and Enoch commanded Methuselah, and Methuselah commanded Lamech; and behold, I command thee this day. And take heed that this story is never mentioned again in all your generations. Get thee up, and take the body of Adam, and deposit it secretly in the place which God shall show thee

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until the day of redemption." And when Noah had given all these commands unto his son Shem, he died, [being] nine hundred and fifty years old, in the month of Îyâr (May), on the second day thereof, at the second hour of the first day of the week (Sunday). And Shem his son embalmed him, and buried him in the city which he had built (*i.e.* Themânôn), and they made a mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of the Bee*, Noah died on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), on the second day of the month of Nîsân (April), at the second hour of the day. The *Book of Adam* says that he was buried on the mountain on which the Ark rested. The same authority states (iii. chapter xiv) that the Ark was closed during the days of Noah, but that Noah went into it every evening to light the lamp which he had made, and which burned before the body of Adam. It is also stated that during his dying speech Noah indicated to each of his sons which part of the earth he was to dwell with his posterity. The territory of Shem extended from Jerusalem eastwards as far as India, and southwards as far as the mountains which divided Egypt from the land of the Philistines. It included Mount Zion, Mount Sinai, and the Garden of Eden. Ham's territory extended from

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Aris towards the south, as far as Fardundan and Gadariun, and also to the borders of the west. Japhet's portion was very large, and extended from the angle of the west to Damatha in the south, and all the north as far as Aris. Canaan, a descendant of Ham, had seven sons, and he seized seven of the great cities of Shem, and set these sons over them; and he doubled the size of his own portion. Later, God gave these cities back to the children of Shem, and blotted out Canaan's posterity, *Kebra Nagast* (chapter xii).]

[The Departure of Shem with the body of Adam.]

And after the death of Noah Shem did as his father had commanded him. And he went into [Fol. 20*b*, col. 2] the Ark by night, and brought out the body of Adam therefrom, and he sealed the Ark with his father's seal, and no man perceived [what he had done]. And he called Ham and Japhet, and said unto them, "My brethren, my father commanded me to go up and travel over the earth, even to the sea (*i.e.* the Mediterranean), and I am to see what the rivers are like, and then return unto you. And behold, my wife and the children of my house are with you (*i.e.* in your care); let your eyes be upon them." And his brethren said unto him, "Take with thee a company of men from the camp, for the

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land is a desert waste, and is shorn of inhabitants, and there are wild beasts therein." And Shem said unto them, " The Angel of the Lord shall go up with me, and he shall save me from every evil thing " ; and his brethren said unto him, " Go in peace, and may the Lord God of our Fathers be with thee." And Shem said unto Mâlâkh (the brother of Shâlâh (Salah), the son of [Cainan] and [grand]son of Arphaxad), the father of Melchisedek, and Yôzadhâḳ, his mother, " Give ye me Melchisedek [Fol. 21*a*, col. 1], that he may go up with me, and be a consolation for me on the road." And Mâlâkh and Yôzadhâḳ, his mother, said unto Shem, " Take [him] and go in peace." And Shem gave commands unto his brethren, and said unto them, " My brethren, my father made me swear that neither I, nor any of your descendants, should go into the Ark," and he sealed the Ark with his seal, and said unto them, " Let no man go near it."

[Shem carries the body of Adam to Golgotha.]

And Shem took the body of Adam and Melchisedek, and went forth by night from among his people, and behold, the Angel of the Lord, who was going before them, appeared unto them. And their journey was very speedy, because the Angel of the Lord strengthened them until they arrived at that place. And when they arrived at Gâghûltâ (Golgotha), which is the centre of the earth, the Angel of the Lord showed Shem the place [for the body of Adam]. And when Shem had deposited the body of our father Adam upon that place [Fol. 21*a*, col. 2], the four quarters [of the earth] separated themselves from each other, and the earth opened itself in the form of a cross, and Shem and Melchisedek deposited the body of Adam there (*i.e.* in the cavity). And as soon as they had laid it therein, the four quarters [of the earth] drew quickly together, and enclosed the body of our father Adam, and the door of the created world was shut fast. And that place was called "Ḳarḳaphtâ" (*i.e.* "Skull"), because the head of all the children of men was deposited there. And it was called "Gâghûltâ," because it was round [like the head], and "Reṣîphtâ" (*i.e.* a trodden-down thing), because the head of the accursed serpent, that is to say, Satan, was crushed there, and "Gefîftâ" (Gabbatha), because all the nations were to be gathered together to it.

[NOTES.—The *Book of the Bee* devotes a chapter (xxi) to Melchisedek, and says that neither the father nor mother of this Melchisedek were written down in the genealogies; not that he had no natural parents, but that they were not written down. The greater number of the

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doctors say that he was of the sect of Canaan, whom Noah cursed. In the Book of Chronography, however (the author), affirms and says that he was of the seed of Shem, the son of Noah. Shem begot Arphaxar, Arphaxar begot Cainan, and Cainan begot Shâlâḥ and Mâlâḥ. Shâlâḥ was written down in the genealogies; but Mâlâḥ was not, because his affairs were not sufficiently important to be written down in the genealogies. The *Book of Adam* (iii. 16) says that Cainan was the father of Melchisedek, and that the Angel of the Face, or Michael, appeared to him, and told him that he was going to send away his son from him. This same angel also appeared to Melchisedek and told him to go with Shem, and to minister before the body of Adam in the centre of the earth, and also to Shem. After his interview with the angel, Shem made a splendid coffin to hold the body of Adam, and prepared bread and wine for the journey. When he and Melchisedek went to the Ark to take out the body, they found that the door of it had been locked by Noah, and they had no key to open it. As soon as Melchisedek touched the lock the door opened of itself, and the voice of Adam was heard to address him as the "priest of the Most High God." Melchisedek went into the Ark, and Michael helped him to carry out Adam's body, and Shem brought out the gold,

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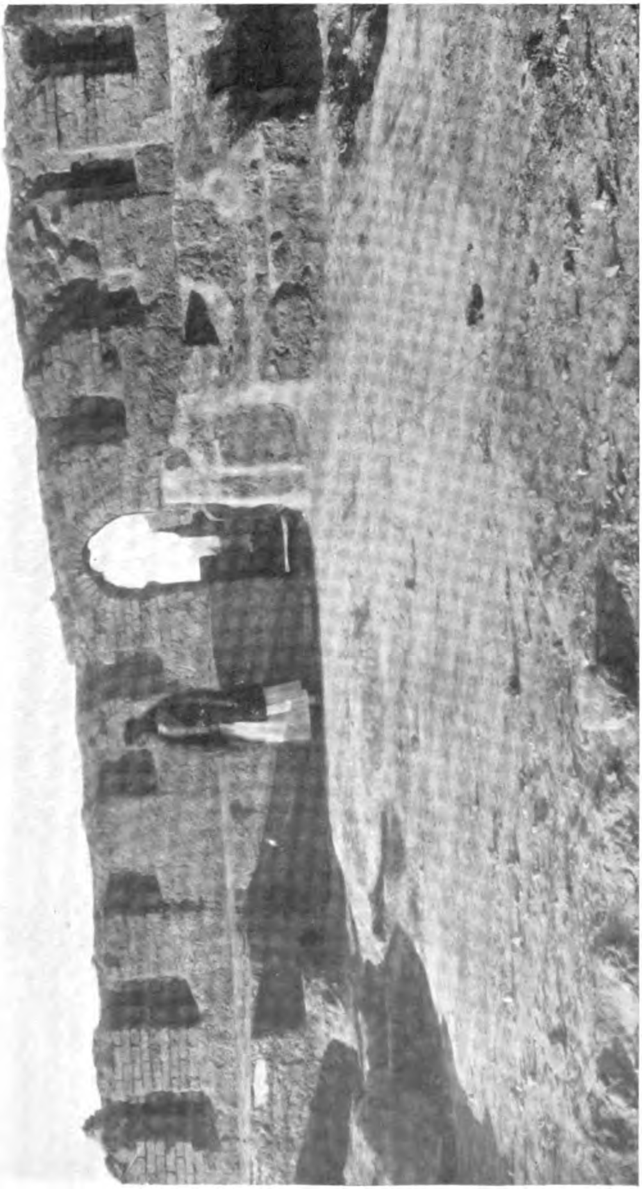
PLATE VI.



The E-Dublal-maḫ, or Hall of Justice, at "Ur of the Chaldees," as it was incorporated in the E-Gig-Par of Nabonidus; the north-east side. (*See* page 277.)

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frankincense and myrrh. Shem laid the body in the coffin which he had made, and then shut the door of the Ark. Melchisedek was fifteen years of age when he set out with Shem. The voice of Adam told Shem when they arrived at the centre of the earth, and as soon as the coffin touched the rock, the rock split asunder to receive it. On the following morning Melchisedek builded an altar of twelve stones, and offered up upon it the bread and wine which Shem had brought from Paradise.]

[Shem's commands to Melchisedek.]

And Shem said unto Melchisedek, "Thou shalt be the priest of the Most High God, because thou alone hath God chosen to minister before Him in this place. And thou shalt sit (*i.e.* dwell) here continually, and shalt not depart from this place all the days of thy life. Thou shalt not take a wife, thou shalt not shave thy head, and thou shalt not pour out blood [Fol. 21*b*, col. 1] in this place. Thou shalt not offer up wild beasts nor feathered fowl, but thou shalt offer up bread and wine always; and thou shalt not build a building in this place. And behold, the Angel of the Lord shall come down to thee and visit thee continually." And Shem embraced and kissed Melchisedek, and blessed him, and he returned to his brethren. And Mâlâkh, the

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father of Melchisedek, and Yôzâdhâk, his mother, said [unto Shem], " Where is the young man ? " And he said, " He died on the journey, and I buried him there " (*i.e.* where he died) ; and they mourned for him greatly.

[Notes.—A scribe's note says that in the manuscript of one Maḳbal Melchisedek's father was called " Harḳlêîm " and his mother " Shêlâthîêl " (Budge, *Book of the Bee*, page 34). Melchisedek wore a tunic of skin and a leather girdle, and an angel dwelt with him, and protected him, and gave him food (*Book of Adam*, iii. 21). When he was old, the kings of the earth heard his fame, and eleven of them gathered together and came to see him ; and they entreated him to go with them, but he would not be persuaded. And when he did not conform to their wishes, they built a city for him there, and he called it Jerusalem ; and the kings said to one another, " This is the king of all the earth, and the father of nations."]

[The Generations of Shem.]

And when Shem had lived six hundred years he died, and Arphakhshar, his son, and Shâlâḥ (Salah), and 'Abhâr (Eber), his sons, buried him.

And Arphakhshar was thirty and five years old when he begot Shâlâḥ, and all the days of his

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life were four hundred and thirty-eight years [Fol. 21*b*, col. 2], and he died, and Shâlâḥ, his son, and 'Abhâr and Pâlâg (Peleg) buried him in Arpakhsharath, the city which he built after his own name.

[NOTE.—After Shem the *Book of Adam* (iii. 22) inserts the name of Cainan, the father of Melchisedek (*sic*), who lived 589 years. Shem's years are given as 550.]

Salah was thirty years old when he begot Eber, and all the days of his life were four hundred and thirty-three years [Ethiopic variant, 408 years], and he died, and Eber, his son, and Peleg, and Ar'ô (Reu) buried him in Shelîḥôn, the city which he built after his own name.

Eber was thirty and four years old when he begot Peleg; and all the days of his life were four hundred and sixty-four [Ethiopic variant, 434] years; and he died, and Peleg his son and Reu and Sorôgh (Serug) buried him in 'Ebhrîn, the city which he built after his own name.

Peleg was thirty years old when he begot Reu; and all the days of his life were two hundred and thirty-nine years, and he died [and they buried him in the city of Peleg, which he had built after his own name].

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[The Migration to the land of Sên'ar.]

And in the days of Peleg all the tribes and families of the children of Noah gathered together, and went up from the East. And they found a [Fol. *22a*, col. 1] plain in the land of Sên'ar (Shinar ?), and they all sat down there; and from Adam until this time they were all of one speech and one language. They all spake this language, that is to say, SÛRYÂYÂ (Syrian), which is ÂRÂMÂYÂ (Aramean), and this language is the king of all languages. Now, ancient writers have erred in that they said that Hebrew was the first [language], and in this matter they have mingled an ignorant mistake with their writing. For all the languages there are in the world are derived from Syrian, and all the languages in books are mingled with it. In the writing of the Syrians the left hand stretcheth out to the right hand, and all the children of the left hand (*i.e.* the heathen) draw nigh to the right hand of God; now with the Greeks, and Romans, and the Hebrews, the right hand stretcheth out to the left. [Both Hebrew and Syriac are written from right to left, but Greek and Latin from left to right.]

[Fol. *22a*, col. 2.] And in the days of Peleg the Tower which is in Babel was built, and there the tongues of men were confounded. [A marginal note says, "the division of tongues

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took place at midnight."] And from that place they were scattered over the face of all the earth; and that place was called "Babel," because tongues were confounded there.

[NOTE.—The name Babel or Babylon has nothing to do with the Hebrew words "to mix, to confound." "Babel" is a transcription of the Assyrian words "Bâb-ilu," which mean "Gate of God," and which are the Semitic translation of the Sumerian words KA-DINGIRRA-KI.]

And after the division of tongues Peleg died in great sorrow, and with tears in his eyes and grief in his heart, because in his days the earth was divided. And his son Reu, and Serug, and Nâḥôr buried him in Peleghîn, the city which he had built after his own name. And there were seventy-two tongues in the earth, and seventy-two heads of tribes (or families), and each tribe and tongue made unto themselves a chief like a king.

[The Posterity of Japhet.]

And the seed of Japhet became thirty-seven nations and kingdoms, viz. Gâmâr (Gomer), and Yâwân, and Mâdhâi, and Tûbîl, and Mâshêkh [Fol. 22*b*, col. 1], and Tîrês, and all the kingdoms of the Alânâyê; all these are the children of Japhet.

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[Notes.—Another list gives: Gomer (Goths), Magog (Galatians), Madai (Medes), Javan (Greeks), Tûbîl (Bithynians), Meshech (Mysians), Tîras (Thracians), and the Anshḳlâyê. From Gomer sprang the Ashkenaz (Armenians), Danphar (Cappadocians), Togarmah (Asians), and the Isaurians. From Javan sprang Halles (Hellas), Tarshish, Cilicia, Cyprus, Kittim, Doranim (*see* Gen. x. 4), and the Macedonians. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxii).]

And the sons of Hâm—Kûsh (Nubia), and Meṣrîm (Egypt), and Pôt, and Canaan, and all their children. And the sons of Shem—'Îlâm (Elamites), and Âshôr (Assyrians), and Arpakhshar (Persians ?), and Lôdh (Lud), and Ârâm (Arameans, Damascenes, and Harranites), and all their children. Now the children of Japhet clung to the borders of the east, from the Mountain of Nôdh, which is on the confines of the east, to the Tigris and the confines of the north, and from Baḳtôrônôs (Bactria ?) as far as Gadhrîôn (Gadarea ?). And the children of Shem held from Persia [in] the east as far as the sea of Tadhrasnḳôs in the west; unto them belongeth the middle of the earth, and they held sovereignty and dominion therein. The children of Shem occupy all the southern and a little of the western quarter.

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And Reu lived thirty-two years, and begot Serug. And in the days of Reu, in his one hundred [Fol. *22b*, col. 2] and thirtieth year, Nimrod, the mighty man, the first king on the earth, reigned, and he reigned sixty-nine years; and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel. This Nimrod saw the figure of a crown in the heavens, and he called Sîsân, the weaver, who wore a crown like unto it, and he set it on his head. And because of this men used to say that the crown came down to him from heaven.

[NOTE.—Nimrod became so wicked that he thought he was God. *Book of Adam* (iii. 23).]

IN THE DAYS OF REU THE THIRD THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END.

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[THE FOURTH THOUSAND YEARS—FROM THE REIGN OF REU TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE LIFE OF EHUD.]

And in the days of Reu the Mesrâyê, who are the Egyptians, appointed their first king; his name was Punṭos, and he reigned over them sixty-eight years. And in the days of Reu a king reigned in Shebhâ (Sâba), and in Ophir, and in Havilah. And there reigned in Sâba sixty of the daughters of Sâba. And for many years women reigned in Sâba—until the kingdom of Solomon, the son of David. And the children of Ophir, that is, Send (Scindia?), appointed to be their [Fol. 23*a*, col. 1] Lophoron (?), who built Ophir with stones of gold; now, all the stones that are in Ophir are of gold. And the children of Havilah appointed to be their king Ḥavîl, who built Havilah, that is, Hend (India?).

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 23), the first king of Egypt was called Yanuf; he built Memphis, that is, Miṣr. Sasen reigned

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in Sâba and built the city of Sâba, the people of which are called "Sabeans." Bahlul, builder of Bahlu, reigned over Lebensa in India. The first king of Sâba is said to have been Menyelek I, the son of Solomon king of Mael and Mâḳeda, Queen of Sheba.]

And Reu died, being two hundred and thirty-nine years old, and Serug his son, and Nâḥôr and Tarah (Teraḥ) buried him in Aor'în, the city which he built after his own name.

And Serug lived thirty years and begot Nâḥôr, and all the days of his life were two hundred and thirty years. And in the days of Serug the worship of idols entered the world. And in his days the children of men began to make themselves graven images, and it was at this time that the introduction of idols into the world took place. For the children of men were scattered all over the earth, and they had neither teachers nor lawgivers, and no one to show them [Fol. 23*a*, col. 2] the way of truth wherein they should walk, and for this reason they became confused and fell into error. Some of them through their error adored the heavens, and some of them worshipped the sun, and moon and stars, and some of them the earth, and wild beasts, and birds, and creeping things, and trees, and stones, and the creatures of the sea, and

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the waters, and the winds. Now Satan had blinded their eyes so that they might walk in the darkness of error, because they had no hope of a resurrection. For when one of them died they used to make an image of him, and set it up upon his grave, so that the remembrance [of his appearance] might not pass from before their eyes. And error having been sown broadcast in all the earth, the land became filled with idols in the form of men and women. And then Serug died, being two hundred and thirty years old, and Nâḥôr, and Tarah [Fol. 23*b*, col. 1], and Abraham his sons, buried him in Sarghîn, the city which he built after his own name.

And Nâḥôr was twenty-nine years old when he begot Terah. And in the days of Nâḥôr, in the seventieth year of his life, when God looked upon the children of men, and saw that they were worshipping idols, a great earthquake took place, and all their houses were overturned and fell down; but the people did not understand within themselves, and they added to their wickedness. And Nâḥôr died when he was one hundred and forty-seven years old, and Terah his son and Abraham buried him. Terah was seventy-five years old when he begot Abraham.

[NOTES.—Nâḥôr was the son of Serug by his wife Melka, and he married Iyosaka, the daughter

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of Kheber, the Chaldean, and she became the mother of Terah. The "Wind Flood" came upon the earth in the days of Nâḥôr. God opened the storehouse of the winds and whirlwinds, and they uprooted the idols and graven images, and they collected them together, and buried them under the earth, and they reared over them these mounds that are in the world. (*Book of the Bee,* chapter xxiii.) God sent forth winds, and the whirlwind, and earthquakes on the earth, until the idols were broken one against another. Instead of repenting, men added to their sins. *Book of Adam* (iii. 24.)]

And Terah was seventy-five years old when he begat Abraham. And in the days of Terah, in his ninetieth year, sorcery appeared on the earth in the city of Aôr (Ur), which Horon, the son of ʻAbhâr, built. Now, there was in the city a certain man who was very rich, and he died at that time. And his son made an image of him in gold [Fol. 23*b*, col. 2], and set it up upon his grave, and he appointed there a young man to keep guard over it. And Satan went and took up his abode in that image, and he spake to that youth (*i.e.* the son of the rich man) after the manner of his father. And thieves went into [his house], and took everything that the youth possessed, and he went out to the tomb of his

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father weeping. And Satan spake unto him, saying, " Weep not in my presence, but go and fetch thy little son, and slay him here as a sacrifice to me, and forthwith everything which thou hast lost shall be returned to me here." And straightway the youth did as Satan told him, and he slew his son, and bathed in his blood. And Satan went forth immediately from that image [of gold], and entered into the youth, and taught him sorcery, and enchantments, and divination, and the lore of the Chaldeans, and [how to tell] fortunes, and [how to forecast] events, and [how to foretell] destinies. And behold, from that time the children of men began to sacrifice their sons to devils and to worship idols, for the devils entered into the images, and took up their abodes therein.

[NOTES.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 24), the young man who ministered to the image had to sweep the ground around it, and to pour out water before it, and to burn incense. The image seems to have resembled somewhat the Ka-figure of the Egyptians, and its attendant may be regarded as the equivalent of the Ka-priest. A marginal note in the Syriac MS. of the " Cave of Treasures " in the British Museum says that the city Aôr is Erech (Warka). The " Interpreter " (*i.e.* Theodore), says it was Bêth

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Mâhôzê (Ctesiphon and Seleucia), that is, Bêth Arâmâyê, but both statements are incorrect. The city referred to is Ur, where, in recent years, excavations have been carried out by the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania. (*See* my *Babylonian Life and History*, London, 1925, and the account of the excavations given at the end of the present work, page 275.)]

And in the one hundredth year of the life of Nâḥôr, when God saw that the children of men were sacrificing their sons to devils [Fol. 24*a*, col. 1], and worshipping idols, He opened the storehouses of the wind, and the gate of the whirlwind, and a blast of wind went forth in all the earth. And it uprooted the images, and the places where offerings were made to devils, and it swept together the idols, and the images, and the pillared buildings in a heap, and piled up great mounds [of earth] over them; [and they are there] to this day. Now to this blast of wind learned men have given the name of "Wind-Flood"; but certain who have erred have said, "These mounds existed [already] in the days of the Flood [of waters]. Now those who have said these things have erred greatly from the truth; for before the Flood [of waters] there were no idols in the earth, and it was not because of idols that the Flood came, but because of the

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fornication of the daughters of Cain. And, moreover, at that time there were no men on this earth, which was a waste and a desert. And our fathers were cast forth in days of old, as it were, into exile, because they were not worthy to be [Fol. 24*a*, col. 2] neighbours of Paradise. And through the Ark they were driven forth to the mountains of Ḳardô, and from there they were scattered about throughout all the earth. For these mounds came into being because of idols, and in them are buried all the idols of that time, and all the devils also who dwell in them are in these mounds, and there is no mound which hath not devils in it.

[Nimrod the fire-worshipper, and Yônṭôn, son of Noah.]

And in the days of Nimrod, the mighty man (or giant), a fire appeared which ascended from the earth, and Nimrod went down, and looked at it, and worshipped it, and he established priests to minister there, and to cast incense into it. From that day the Persians began to worship fire, [and they do so] to this day.

And Sîsân, the king, found a spring of water in Drôghîn, and he made a white horse and set it over it, and those who bathed in the water used to worship the horse [Fol. 24*b*, col. 1]. And from that time the Persians began to worship

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that (*sic*) horse. [According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 25), the horse was made of gold.]

And Nimrod went to Yôkdôrâ of Nôdh, and when he arrived at the Lake (or Sea) of Aṭrâs, he found there Yônṭôn, the son of Noah. [A marginal note in the Syriac MS. adds, "Noah begot this Yônṭôn after the Flood, and he honoured him in many things, and sent him to the east to dwell there."] And Nimrod went down and bathed in the Lake, and he came to Yônṭôn and did homage unto him. And Yônṭôn said, "Thou art a king; doest thou homage unto me?" And Nimrod said unto him, "It is because of thee that I have come down here"; and he remained with him for three years. And Yônṭôn taught Nimrod wisdom, and the art of revelation (divining?), and he said unto him, "Come not back again to me."

And when Nimrod went up from the east, and began to practise the art of divining, very many men marvelled at him. And when Idhâshîr (Ardeshir?), the priest who ministered to the fire that ascended from the earth, saw that Nimrod was practising these exalted courses, he entreated the devil, who appeared in connection with that fire, to teach him [Fol. 24*b*, col. 2] the wisdom of Nimrod. And as the devils were in the habit of destroying those who came nigh unto them by sin, the devil said unto the priest,

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" A man cannot become a priest and a Magian until he hath known carnally his mother, and his daughter, and his sister." And Îdhâshîr the priest did this, and from that time the priests, and the Magians, and the Persians take their mothers, and their sisters, and their daughters [to wife]. And this Îdhâshîr, the Magian, was the first to begin to study the Signs of the Zodiac, and [omens concerning] luck, and fate, and happenings, and motions of the eyes and eyelids, as well as all the other arts of the learning of the Chaldees. Now, all this learning is the error of devils, and those who practise it shall receive, together with the devils, the doom of the Judgment. And because this art of divination, which was employed by Nimrod, was taught to him [Fol. 25*a*, col. 1] by Yônṭôn, none of the orthodox doctors have suppressed it; nay, they have even practised it. Now the Persians call it " Gelyânâ " (*i.e.* "Revelation") and the Romans "Estrômîôn" (*i.e.* "Astronomy"). But that [knowledge] which the Magians have, viz. astrology, is sorcery and the teaching of devils. There are some who say that it doth indeed [teach concerning] luck, and happenings (*i.e.* future events), and fate, but these are in error. Now Nimrod builded strong cities in the east, Babel, and Nineveh, and Râsân (Râs 'Ain), and Selîḳ (Seleucia), and Ctesiphon, and Âdhôrbaighân; and he made three fortresses.

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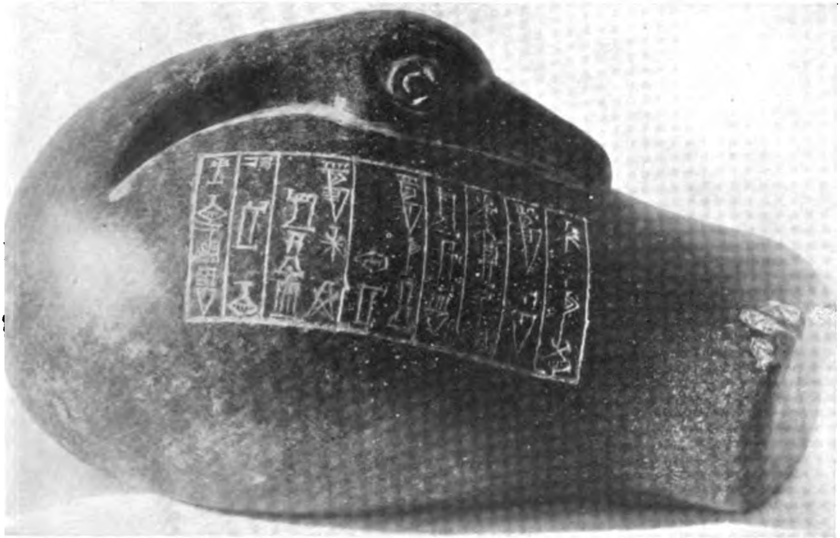

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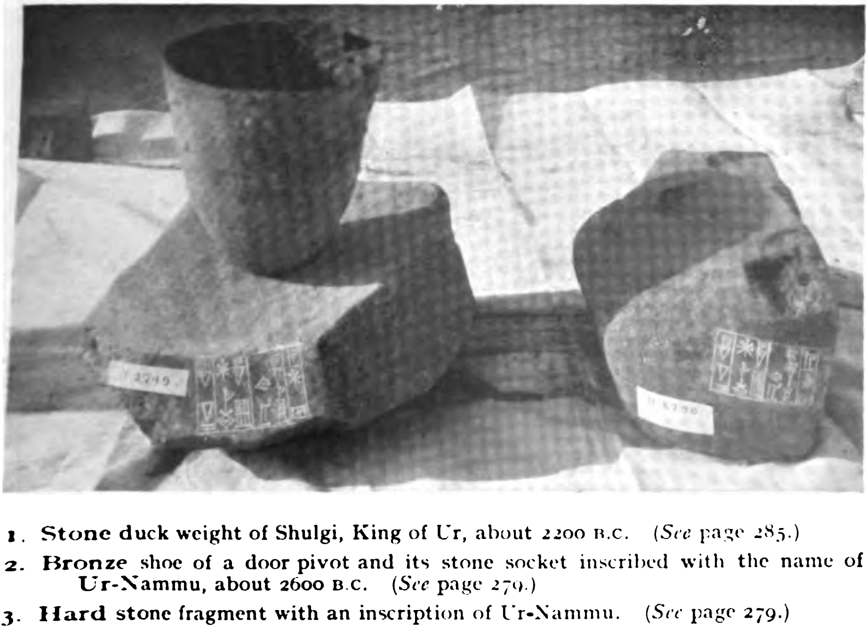
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1. **Stone duck weight of Shulgi, King of Ur, about 2200 B.C.** (*See* page 285.)
2. **Bronze shoe of a door pivot and its stone socket inscribed with the name of Ur-Nammu, about 2600 B.C.** (*See* page 279.)
3. **Hard stone fragment with an inscription of Ur-Nammu.** (*See* page 279.)

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[The History of Abraham.]

And Terah, the father of Abraham, lived two hundred and fifty years, and he died, and Abraham and Lot buried him in Hârrân. And there God spoke unto Abraham, and said unto him, " Get thee forth from thy land, and from among thy people, and come to the land which I will show thee." And Abraham took his household, Sârâ his wife [Fol. 25*a*, col. 2], and Lot, his brother's son, and he went up to the land of the Amôrâyê (Amorites); and he was seventy-five years old when he crossed the desert from the Euphrates. And he was eighty years old when he pursued the kings, and rescued Lot, his brother's son.

[NOTES.—When still a boy, Abraham had no belief in idols, and, according to the *Kebra Nagast* (chapter xiii), " when he was twelve years old his father sent him to sell idols. And Abraham said, ' These are not gods that can make deliverance'; and he took away the idols to sell even as his father had commanded him. And he said unto those unto whom he would sell them, ' Do ye wish to buy goods that cannot make deliverance, things made of wood, and stone, and iron, and brass, which the hand of an artificer hath made?' And they (the people) refused to buy the idols from Abraham because

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he himself had defamed the images of his father. [An old tradition says that Terah made idols of mud, and it is possible that some of these may be represented by the terra-cotta figures of gods and goddesses which have been found in such large numbers in recent years at Ur and other ancient sites in Babylonia.] And as he was returning he stepped aside from the road, and he set the images down, and looked at them, and said unto them, 'I wonder now if ye are able to do what I ask you at this moment, and whether ye are able to give me bread to eat or water to drink?' And none of them answered him, for they were pieces of stone and wood; and he abused them and heaped revilings upon them, and they spake never a word. And he buffeted the face of one, and kicked another with his feet, and a third he knocked over and broke to pieces with stones, and he said unto them, 'If ye are unable to save yourselves from him that buffeteth you, and ye cannot requite with injury him that injureth you, how can ye be called "gods"? Those who worship you do so in vain, and as for myself I utterly despise you, and ye shall not be my gods.' Then he turned his face to the East, and he stretched out his hands and said, 'Be Thou my God, O Lord, Creator of the heavens and the earth, Creator of the Sun and Moon, Creator of the sea and the

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dry land, Maker of the majesty of the heavens and the earth, and of that which is visible and that which is invisible ; O Maker of the universe, be Thou my God. I place my trust in Thee, and from this day forth I will place my trust in no other save Thyself.' And then there appeared unto him a chariot of fire which blazed, and Abraham was afraid, and fell on his face on the ground ; and God said unto him, 'Fear thou not, stand upright.'"

On the day of the birth of Abraham the house shone with a bright light. Many people fell down, and there was a cry in a loud voice, which said, "Woe is me ! Woe is me ! For he who shall crush my kingdom hath been born." And he who cried out wept, and described the events which should take place, saying, "It is he who shall burn down my abode." And there were among the people certain men who said, "Kill this child forthwith," and those who spake thus knew well that grace would be given to Abraham. And God set mercy in the heart of the father of Abraham, and he said to the Satans, "Whence come ye, O ye who tell me that I should kill my son who is a gracious gift of God ?" And he reared the child . . . . . And Abraham was circumcised by the hand of Gabriel and Michael, who helped him. From the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, ed. Perruchon.]

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[Abraham and Melchisedek.]

And at that time Abraham had no son, because Sârâ was barren.

And when he returned from the battle of the kings, the agency of God called him, and he crossed the mountain of Yâbhôs (Jebus?), and Melchisedek, the king of Shâlîm, the priest of the Most High God, went forth to meet him. And when Abraham saw Melchisedek, he made haste and fell upon his face, and did homage to him, and he rose up from the ground and embraced him, and kissed him, and was blessed by him; and Melchisedek blessed Abraham. And Abraham gave Melchisedek tithes of everything which he had with him, and Melchisedek made him to participate in the Holy Mysteries, [of] the bread of the Offering and the wine of redemption. And after [Fol. 25*b*, col. 1] Melchisedek had blessed him, and made him to participate in the Holy Mysteries, God spake unto Abraham, and said unto him, "Thy reward is exceedingly great. Since Melchisedek hath blessed thee, and hath made thee to partake of bread and wine [with him], I also will assuredly bless thee, and I will assuredly multiply thy seed."

And when Abraham was eighty-six years old Ishmael was born to him by Hâghâr, the Egyptian woman, whom Pharaoh had given to

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Sârâ as a handmaiden. Now Sârâ was the sister of Abraham on the father's side, because Terah took two women to wife. When Yâwnû, the mother of Abraham, died, Terah took to wife a woman whose name was "Naharyath" (or Shalmath, or Tona, or Taḥdif), and of her Sârâ was born. It was because of this [fact] that Abraham said, "She is my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother" (Gen. xx. 2, 5).

[The Birth of Isaac.]

And Abraham was ninety-nine [Fol. 25*b*, col. 2] years old when God went into his house and gave Sârâ a son, and he was one hundred years old when Isaac was born to him. And Isaac was thirteen years old when his father took him and went up to the mountain of Yâbhôs (Jebus) to Melchisedek, the priest of God, the Most High. Now Mount Yâbhôs is the mountain of the Amôrâyê (Amorites), and in that place the Cross of Christ was set up, and on it grew the tree which held the ram that saved Isaac. And that same place is the centre of the earth, and the grave of Adam, and the altar of Melchisedek, and Golgotha, and Ḳarḳaftâ, and Gefîftâ (Gabbatha). And there David saw the angel bearing the sword of fire. There, too, Abraham took up Isaac his son for a burnt offering, and he saw

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the Cross, and Christ [Fol. 26*a*, col. 1], and the redemption of our father Adam. The tree (*i.e.* thicket) was a symbol of the Cross of Christ our Lord, and the ram [caught] in its branches was the mystery of the manhood of the Word, the Only One. And, because of this, Paul cried out and said, " If they had only known [it] they were not crucifying the Lord of glory." Let the mouths of the heretics be stopped who in their madness impute passibility to the Eternal God.

Now, when Christ was eight days old, Joseph, the betrothed of Mary, rose up to circumcise the Child according to the Law, and he circumcised Him according to the custon that was the Law. In like manner Abraham took up his son as an offering, but he at the same time [fore]saw in this [act] the crucifixion of Christ. And this thing did Christ openly proclaim before the multitudes of the Jews, saying, " Abraham, your father, wanted to see My days, and he saw and was glad" (John viii. 56). Abraham saw the day of the redemption [Fol. 26*a*, col. 2] of Adam, and he saw and rejoiced, and it was revealed unto him that Christ would suffer on behalf of Adam.

[The founding of Jerusalem.]

And in that same year in which Abraham offered up his son as an offering, in that same

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year [I say] Jerusalem was built; and the beginning of the building thereof was in this wise. Melchisedek having appeared and shown himself to men, the kings of the nations heard his history, and they gathered together and came unto him.

[The names of the kings who built Jerusalem.]

Abimelech, king of Gâdhâr.
Âmarphîl, (Amraphel), king of Sen'âr.
Arioch, king of Dâlâsâr (*sic*).
Kardla'mar (Chedorlaomer), king of Elam.
Tar'îl (Tidal), king of the Gîlâyê.
Bârâ (Bera), king of Sodom.
Barshâ (Birsha), king of Gomorrah.
Shênâbh (Shinab), king of Adhâmâh.
Shamâ'îr (Shemeber), king of Zeboim.
Salâkh, king of Bâlâ'.
Tâbhîk, king of Damascus.
Baḳtôr, king of the desert.

These twelve kings gathered together and came to Melchisedek, king of Shâlîm [Fol. 26*b*, col. 1], the priest of the Most High God. And when they saw his appearance, and heard his words, they entreated him to go with them. And he said unto them, " I am not able to go from this place to any other"; and they took counsel together about building him a city, and

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said to each other, " Verily, he is the king of the whole earth, and the father of all kings." And they built him a city and made Melchisedek to live in it; and Melchisedek called the name thereof " Jerusalem." And when Mâghôgh, the king of the south, heard [of this], he came to him, and saw his appearance, and spake unto him, and gave him offerings and gifts. And Melchisedek was held in honour by all, and he was called the " Father of Kings."

[Melchisedek.]

Now, as concerning what the Apostle said, " there was no beginning to his days, and no end to his life " (Heb. vii. 3) [Fol. 26*b*, col. 2], it has been thought by simple folk that he was not a man at all, and in their error they have said concerning him that he was God. God forbid that there should have been no beginning to his days or end to his life. [The Apostle spake thus] because when Shem, the son of Noah, took away Melchisedek from his parents, no word is said as to how old he was when he went up from the East, and it is not said how old he was at the time of his departure from this world. Now, he was the son of Mâlâkh, the son of Arpakhshar, the son of Shem, and he was not the son of one of the Patriarchs. And the Apostle said that none of his father's family had ever ministered

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at the altar (Heb. vii. 6). The name of his father is not written in the genealogies, because Matthew and Luke, the Evangelists [only] wrote down the [names of the] Fathers [in chief, *i.e.* Patriarchs]; and for this reason neither the name of his father [Fol. *27a*, col. 1], nor the name of his mother, is known. The Apostle did not say that he had no parents, but [only] that they were not written down in Matthew and Luke.

[Kûmrôs.]

And in the one hundredth year [of the life] of Abraham there was a king in the East whose name was "Kûmrôs." He built Shemesht̤ (Samosata), after the name of his son Shemesht̤ô, and Klawdîya (Claudias), after the name of his daughter Ḳâlôdh, and Pîrîn after the name of his son Pôrôn.

[Nimrod founds Nisibis, Harrân and Edessa.]

And in the fiftieth year of [the life of] Reu, Nimrod went up and built Nisibis, and Edessa, and Ḥarrân, which is Edessa. And Ḥarrânîth, the wife of Dâsân, the priest of the mountain, surrounded it with a wall, and the people of Ḥarrân made a statue of her and worshipped her. And Baltîn, who was given to Tamûzâ (Tammuz) —now because B'êlshemîn loved her, Tammuz fled before him—set fire to Ḥarrân and burned it.

[The Death of Sârâ.]

And when Sârâ, the wife of Abraham, died, Abraham took to wife Ḳenṭôrâ [Fol. *27a*, col. 2], the daughter of Baḳṭôr, the king of the desert. And there were born unto him by her Zamrân, and Yaḳshân, and Mâdhân, and Medhyân, and Ashbâk, and Shôh. [*See* Gen. xxv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. i. 32. A marginal note in the Syriac MS. says, "these sons of Ḳenṭôrâ are called sons of Daran by the prophet."] And from these are sprung the Arabs.

[Isaac and Rebecca.]

And when Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer, a son of the house of Abraham, went down and brought Rabḳâ (Rebecca) from the east, and Isaac took her to wife. And when Abraham died Isaac buried him by the side of Sârâ.

[NOTE.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iv. 4), Abraham was 175 years old when he died, and Isaac and Ishmael buried him. Rebecca was the daughter of Bethuel, the Aramean, a native of the town of Arâch (Erech ?).]

And when Isaac was sixty years old Rebecca became with child of Esau and Jacob. And being sorely afflicted, she went to Melchisedek, and he prayed over her and said unto her, "Two

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nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be removed from thy loins, that is to say, shall go forth from thy womb. One nation shall be stronger than the other, and the elder shall be in subjection to the younger, that is to say, Esau [Fol. *27b*, col. 1] shall be in subjection to Jacob."

[The founding of Jericho:]

And in the sixty-seventh year of [the life of] Isaac, Jericho was built by seven kings, namely, the king of the Hittites, and the king of the Amorites, and the king of the Girgantes, and the king of the Jebusites, and the king of the Canaanites, and the king of the Hivites, and the king of the Perizites; and each of them surrounded it with a wall. Now the son of Meṣrîn (Mizraim), the king of the Egyptians, had founded Jericho in olden time. And Ishmael made a mill of the hands (*i.e.* a handmill) in the desert, a mill of slavery (*i.e.* a mill to be worked by slaves).

[Jacob's Ladder.]

And in the one hundred and third year of his life Isaac blessed Jacob, who was forty years old, and having received the blessing from his father, he went down into the desert [Fol. *27b*, col. 2] of Beersheba, and lay down to sleep there; and when he was lying down he took a

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stone and made a pillow of it. And he saw in his dream, and behold, a ladder was set upon the earth. And the top of it was in the heavens. And the angels of God were going up and coming down, and the Lord stood at the top of it. And Jacob woke up from his sleep, and said, "This is truly the house of God"; and he took the stone of his pillow, and made it an altar, and he anointed it with oil. And he vowed a vow, and said, "Of everything which I have will I tithe for this stone." Now, it is manifest to those who possess understanding that the ladder which Jacob saw symbolizeth the Cross of our Redeemer. And the angels who were going up and down were the ministers of Zechariah and Mary, and the Magi, and the shepherds. And the Lord Who was standing at [Fol. 28*a*, col. 1] the top of the ladder symbolized Christ, Who stood on the Cross that He might go down to redeem us.

[NOTES.—The Power of God which was upon the top of the ladder was [a type of] the manifestation of God the Word in pure flesh of the formation of Adam. The place in which it appeared was a type of the Church; the stone under his head, which he set up for an altar, was a type of the altar; and the oil which he poured out upon it was like the holy oil wherewith they anoint the altar. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxvii).]

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[Jacob and Baptism.]

And when God had shown the blessed Jacob the Cross of Christ by means of the Ladder of the Angels, and the coming down of Christ for our redemption, and the Church, the House of God, and the altar by means of the stone, and the offerings by means of the tithes, and the anointing by means of the oil, Jacob again went down to the East that there God might show him baptism. And Jacob looked, and saw, and beheld three flocks of sheep lying down by a well; and there was a great stone placed over the mouth of the well. And Jacob drew nigh, and rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the sheep of his mother's brother. And having watered the flocks, he took Rachel and kissed her.

Now by " Well " [Fol. 28*a*, col. 2] the blessed Jacob indicated (or, depicted) baptism, which was covered over (*i.e.* hidden) from the races of men, and generations and tribes. And the three flocks of sheep which were lying down by the well are a type of the three divisions and three groups [who come] for baptism, namely, men and women and children. And that Jacob saw Rachel coming with the flocks, and that he neither embraced her nor kissed her until he had rolled away the stone from the well, and she had watered the flocks, is in accordance with

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the law of the sons of the Church, who neither embrace nor kiss the Lamb of Christ until baptism hath opened [the way]; they go down into the waters and put on strength from them, and then the sons of the Church embrace and kiss. And as Jacob served with Laban for seven years, and the woman he loved was not given to him, so also was it with the Jews, who served Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in slavery, and went forth. [Fol. 28*b*, col. 1.] For the Covenant of the Church, the Bride of Christ, was not given unto them, but that Covenant which was old, and worn out, and of no effect. Now the eyes of [Leah], the first woman whom Jacob took to wife, were hateful, whilst the eyes of Rachel were beautiful, and her countenance was radiant. A covering (*i.e.* veil) was laid over the face of the first Covenant, so that the children of Israel might not see the beauty thereof; as for the second Covenant, it is wholly light.

[Jacob's sons. The Death of Isaac.]

Jacob was seventy-seven years old when he received the blessing of Isaac, his father, and he was eighty-nine years old when he begot Reuben, his firstborn, by Leah. The sons of Jacob are these:—

Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulon; these are the sons of Leah.

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Joseph and Benjamin were the sons of Rachel.

Gad and Asher were the sons of Zilpah, the handmaiden of Leah [Fol. 28*b*, col. 2].

Dan and Naphtali were the sons of Bilhah, the handmaiden of Rachel.

And after twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac his father. And all the days of the life of Isaac were one hundred and eighty years—until the thirty-first year of the life of Levi—and he died in the one hundred and twentieth year of the life of Jacob. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up from Ḥarrân, Joseph was sold to the Midianites; he was sold during the lifetime of Isaac, and they mourned for him. When Isaac died Jacob and Esau, his sons, buried him with Abraham and Sârâ. Seven years later Rebecca died, and was buried with Abraham, and Isaac, and Sârâ; and Rachel died and was buried with them.

And Judah, the son of Jacob, took unto himself to wife Shû' (Shuah), the Canaanitess [Fol. 29*a*, col. 1], and his father was grieved because he had taken to wife a woman of the seed of Canaan. And Jacob said unto Judah, "May the Lord God of our fathers Abraham and Isaac not permit the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our families." And there were born unto Judah by Shuah, the Canaanite woman, 'Îr (Er), Ônân, and Shêlâ (Shelah). And Judah took a wife for Er his firstborn, Tâmâr, and he consorted with her unnaturally, and God put him to death. And Judah gave Tâmâr to Ônân, and as soon as his seed became available for Tâmâr he wasted it, and him also did God put to death. Thus, God did not permit the seed of Canaan to mingle with the seed of Jacob, even as Jacob prayed God that the seed of Canaan, the firstborn of the lascivious Ham, might not be mingled among the generations [Fol. 29*a*, col. 2] of the Fathers. And God made Tâmâr go out to the roadside, and Judah lay with her in the passion of fornication, and she conceived and brought forth Pereṣ (Pharez) and Zarah.

[Jacob in Egypt.]

And Jacob and all his descendants went down into Egypt to Joseph, and he lived in Egypt seventeen years; and Jacob died, being one hundred and forty years old, and Joseph was fifty-six years old when his father died, in the twelfth year of Ḳâhâth. And the wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him, and Joseph took him up [to Canaan] and buried him with Abraham and Isaac his father.

[NOTE.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iv. 5), Jacob lived in Egypt fourteen years, and died there at the age of 157 years, when Joseph was 53 years old.]

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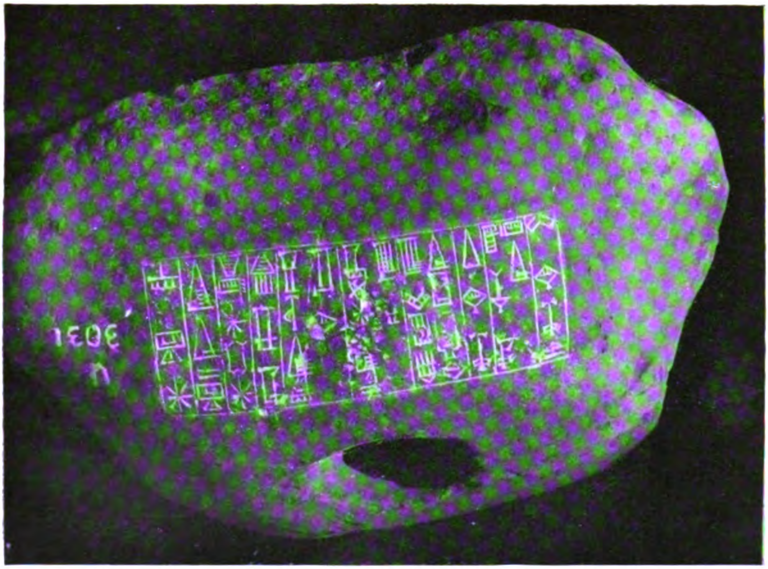
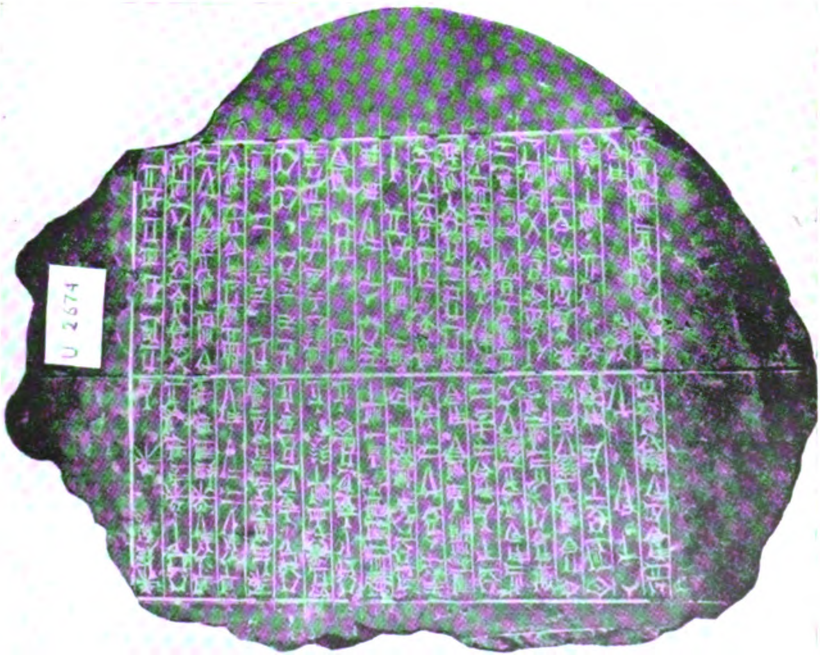


Door socket of Bur-Sin (about 2200 B.C.), recording the dedication of a temple to Nannar. (*See* page 279.)



Door socket of Sin-balatsu-ikbi about 650 B.C. (*See* page 277.)

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[The Genealogies of the " Tribes " and the " Children of Israel."]

Now there are certain doctors who trace the genealogies of the Tribes from the death of Jacob, and who mix them together, but they do not do this in the light of knowledge. They set in the midst two genealogies, one of the " Tribes," and the other of the " Children of Israel " [Fol. 29*b*, col. 1]. Now fix thine attention on these generations, and how they became mixed together. [When] they went forth from Egypt: Judah begot Pharez, Pharez begot Ḥeṣrôn (Hezron), Hezron begot Ârâm (Râm, I Chron. ii. 9), Ârâm begot Amminadab, Amminadab begot Naḥshôn (Nahson), and Nahshon was he who became prince of Judah. And Amminadab gave the sister of Nahshon to 'Ir (so in the text, but read Eleazar), the son of Aaron, the priest; of her was born Phinehas, the great priest, who prayed " and the plague was stayed " (Num. xxv. 7, 8; Ps. cvi. 30). Behold, I have shown thee that from Amminadab, the priesthood of the children of Israel was transmitted by the sister of Nahshon, and the kingdom by Nahshon her brother. Observe also that the priesthood and the kingdom were transmitted by Judah to the children of Israel.

And Nahshon begot Shîlâ, that is to say, Salmôn, and Shîlâ begot Boaz. Observe now

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that the kingdom went forth from Boaz and Ruth [Fol. 29*b*, col. 2], the Moabitess, for the old man Boaz took Ruth to wife so that Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, might have participation in the transmission of the kingdom. And God did not deprive the righteous man Lot of the reward of his labour, because he had suffered in exile with Abraham, and he received the angels of God in peace. And that the righteous man Lot might not be reviled because he slept with his daughters, God granted that the royal succession might be maintained by the seed of both, and that Christ should be born of the seed of Lot and Abraham. And from the seed of Ruth, the Moabitess, Obed was born, and from Obed, Jesse, and from Jesse, David, and from David, Solomon; these are the descendants of Ruth, the Moabitess, the daughter of Lot. And of Na'mâ (Naamah, I Kings xiv. 21), the Ammonitess, another daughter of Lot, whom Solomon took to wife [Fol. 30*a*, col 1), was born Rehoboam, who reigned after Solomon.

[Solomon.]

Now Solomon married many wives, seven hundred free-born women, and three hundred concubines; and of the thousand women which he took to wife, he had no son except from Naamah, the Ammonitess. And why was it

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that God did not give him a son from these [others]? It was in order to prevent the wicked seed of the Canaanites, and Jebusites, and Amorites, and Hittites, and Gergasites, and the seed of the peoples whom God hated, from mingling in the succession of the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

[NOTE from the *Kebra Nagast*, chapter lxvii.—And the Angel of God went down to Solomon and said unto him, "From being a wise man thou hast turned thyself into a fool, and from being a rich man thou hast turned thyself into a poor man, and from being a king thou hast turned thyself into a man of no account, through transgressing the commandment of God. And the beginning of thy evil was the taking of many wives by thee, for through this thou didst transgress His Law, and His decree, and the ordinance of God which Moses wrote and gave to you, to Israel, that ye should not marry wives from alien peoples, but only from your kinsfolk and the house of your fathers, that your seed might be pure and holy, and that God might dwell with you. But thou didst hold lightly the Law of God, thinking that thou wast wiser than God, and that thou wouldst get very many male children. But the foolishness of God is wiser than the wisdom of men, and he hath only given thee three sons: the one who carried off thy glory into an alien land, and made the habitation of God to be in Ethiopia; the one who is lame of foot, who shall sit upon thy throne for the people of Israel, the son of the kin of thy kin from Tarbâna, of the house of Judah; and the one who is the son of a Greek woman, a handmaiden, who in the last days shall destroy Rehoboam and all thy kin of Israel; and this land shall be his because he believeth in Him that shall come, the Saviour."]

[The chiefs of Israel born in Egypt.]

Now the succession of the children of Israel is this: Levi, and Amram, and Moses, and Joshua, the son of Nôn, and Caleb, the son of Yôfannâ (Jephunneh). These were born in Egypt.

[NOTE.—Moses was the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi; his mother's name was Yokâbâr (Jochebed). *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxix).]

[Moses.]

And when Moses was born he was cast into the river, and Shîpôr (in Ethiopic, Sephurah), the Egyptian woman, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him up, and he lived in the house of Pharaoh

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for forty years. And then [Fol. 30*a*, col. 2] he killed Pethkôm, the Egyptian, the chief of the bakers of Pharaoh. Now this was noised abroad in the house of Pharaoh, after Pharaoh's daughter Makrî, who was called " Shîpôr Meṣrên (*i.e.* " Trumpet of Egypt "), was dead, and Moses was afraid, and he fled to Midian, to Reuel, the Cushite, the priest of Midian.

[NOTES.—Moses was a beautiful child, and was called " Pantîl " (Paltîêl ?), and " Amlâkyâ," and the Egyptians used to call him the " Shakwîthâ of Pharaoh's daughter." Various names are given to this princess, *e.g.* Makrî, Mary, Shîpôr, Tharmesîs, Ṭarmûthîsâ ; Bar Hebraeus says she was the daughter of Amûnpthîs, or Amûnpâthîôs. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxix).]

And Moses took to wife Zipporah, the Cushite woman, daughter of the priest, and two sons were born to him—Gershom and Eliezer. And in the second year of the life of Moses, Joshua, the son of Nôn, was born in Egypt. And Moses was eighty years old when God talked with him from out of the bush, and because of his fear his tongue halted, even as he said to God, " Behold, my Lord, from the day wherein Thou didst speak to me I have been halting of tongue." Moses lived in Egypt forty years, and in the house [Fol. 30*b*, col. 1] of the priest of Midian forty

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years, and he passed forty years in governing the people. And he died at the age of one hundred and twenty years on Mount Nebo.

[NOTES.—From Adam until the death of Moses was 3,868 years. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxx). MOSES' ROD.—Adam cut the rod from a branch of the Tree of Good and Evil which grew in Paradise, and he used it as a staff all his life. It passed from hand to hand to Abraham, who smashed his father's idols with it. It went with him to Egypt, and when it came to Jacob he used it as a shepherd's crook. Judah received it and gave it to Tamar, and then an angel laid it up in the Cave of Treasures until Midian was built. An angel showed Jethro the Cave, and he took the rod from it, and from him it went of its own free will to Moses. The rod became a serpent, and it swallowed up the rod of Pôsdî, the sorceress. The rod was taken unto the promised land by Joshua, and Phineas hid it in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem, where it remained until Christ showed it to Joseph, who took it to Egypt and brought it back to Nazareth. It passed to James, the brother of our Lord, but was stolen by Judas Iscariot, who gave it to the Jews who were crucifying our Lord; to them it "became a judgment and a fall." *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxx).]

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[The Successors of Moses.]

And Joshua, the son of Nôn, was the governor of the children of Israel for twenty-seven years. And after the death of Joshua, the son of Nôn, Kûshân, the Wicked (Chushanrishathayim), was lord over the people for eighty years.

And 'Athnâîl (Othniel), the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, was lord over Israel for forty years.

And then the children of Israel were in subjection to the Moabites for eighteen years.

And Âhôr (Ehud), the son of Gera, ruled the children of Israel for eighty years.

AND IN THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF HIS LIFE THE FOURTH THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END.

(See *Book of Adam*, IV, chapter vii.)

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[THE FIFTH THOUSAND YEARS. FROM THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF EHUD'S LIFE TO THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS.]

Nâbhîn (Jabin), who was dried up in body, ruled twenty years.

Deborah and Barak [ruled them] forty years.

The children [Fol. 30*b*, col. 2] of Israel were in subjection to the Midianites seven years, and God delivered them by the hands of Gideon, who ruled them forty years.

Abimelech his son reigned after him three years.

Tûla‘ (Tola), the son of Puah [ruled them] twenty-three years.

Yâîr, the Gileadite, twenty-two years.

And again the children of Israel were in subjection to the Ammonites eighteen years, and God delivered them by the hand of Naphtaḥ (Jephthah), the man who offered up his daughter as a sacrifice, and he ruled them six years.

Abhîṣân (Ibzan of Bethlehem), who is Naḥshôn (*sic*), ruled them seven years.

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Alôn (Elon), who was from Zebulon, ruled them ten years.

‘Abhrôn (Abdon, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite) ruled them eight years.

And the children of Israel were in subjection to the Philistines forty years, and God delivered them by the hand of Samson, and he ruled them twenty years.

And the [Fol. 31*a*, col. 1] children of Israel lived without a governor for eighteen years, and then Eli the priest rose up and ruled them forty years.

And Samuel rose up over them and ruled them twenty years. And in the days of Samuel the children of Israel provoked to wrath God, Who had delivered them from the servitude of the Egyptians, and they made Saul, the son of Kish, king, and he reigned over them forty years.

And in the days of Saul lived Gûlyâdh (Goliath), a giant of the Philistines. He came nigh and reviled Israel, and blasphemed against God, and David, the son of Jesse, killed him. And David was praised in songs by the daughters of Israel, and Saul persecuted him. And the Philistines slew Saul because he forsook the Lord, and took refuge with the devils.

[NOTE.—The story of David and Goliath finds an interesting parallel in the history of Sanehat

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as found in an Egyptian papyrus in the Royal Library at Berlin. Sanehat fled from Egypt as the result of some political trouble, and made his way into Palestine, where he settled down and prospered, and became a shêkh of great influence and importance. Then a certain man of Thennu went to Sanehat's tent and reviled him, and challenged him to fight him. This man was a mighty warrior, and was famed throughout the country for his strength, and valour, and success. During the following night Sanehat made ready his dagger, and spear, and bow, and at daybreak all the tribes came to the place to witness the great duel which was to take place. The man of Thennu grasped his shield and his battle-axe, and then began to hurl his spears at Sanehat, but they either went wide or Sanehat managed in some way to avoid them; in any case, they failed to touch him. When the man of Thennu saw this, he lost his temper, and made a rush at Sanehat, meaning to close with him and despatch him with his battle-axe. But as he came on in his mad rage Sanehat hurled his short javelin at his head, and it pierced his neck and remained fast in it. The man of Thennu uttered a prolonged shriek and then fell headlong on the ground, face downwards. Sanehat went to him, and, taking his foe's weapons from him, killed him with them. Then

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he took his stand on the dead body, and shouted the cry of victory, and the onlookers rejoiced in his triumph and applauded him.]

David reigned over [Fol. 31*a*, col. 2] the children of Israel forty years, and Solomon, his son, reigned forty years.

And Solomon did great and wonderful things, and it was he who sent to Ophir and brought gold from the mountains of gold, and the ships sailed the sea for thirty-six months, and then came forth (*i.e.* returned). It was he who built Tadmor (Palmyra) in the wilderness, and he carried out there great and wonderful works. And when Solomon passed the borders of the mountain which is called Sâ'êr, he found there the altar which Pîôrzâkhâr, and Pîôrzânâi, and Neznâdhôr had built. These were they whom Nimrod, the giant, sent to Balaam, the priest of the Mountain of Sâ'êr, because he heard that he was wont to consult the Signs of the Zodiac, and when they were passing the skirts of the mountain they built there an altar to the sun. And when Solomon saw it he built a city there and called its name "Nîâpôlîs" (more correctly, Heliopolis) [Fol. 31*b*, col. 1], that is to say, "City of the Sun." And Solomon also built Aradus (Arvad) in the midst of the sea, and he became so famous and renowned

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that the report of his wise acts went out into all the ends of the earth. And the Queen of Sheba went to hold converse with him. And Solomon loved Hiram, king of Tyre, greatly. And Hiram reigned in Tyre five hundred years, from the days of the kingdom of David to the [days of] the kingdom of Zedekiah and of all the kings of the children of Israel. And at length he forgot that he was a man, and he blasphemed and said, "I am God, and I sit upon the throne of God in the middle of the sea." And Nebuchadnezzar the king killed him.

[NOTE.—Solomon reigned over his large kingdom with the greatest wisdom ever found. But he did not keep his soul; but inclined his heart to the love of women, and forsook God, Who had created him and given him his kingdom. And he died in his denial of Him, and in his sins. *Book of Adam* (iv. 8.)]

[The purple linen of Tyre.]

And in the days of Hiram the purple-[coloured] apparel worn by kings [first] appeared. As a dog was running along the sea-shore [at Tyre] he saw a purple shell-fish (*i.e.* the murex) coming up out of the [Fol. 31*b*, col. 2] water, and he bit it, and straightway his mouth was filled with the blood of that shell-fish. And a certain

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shepherd who saw the dog brought a piece of woollen cloth and wiped the dog's mouth with it. And he made that piece of woollen cloth into a crown (*i.e.* a *kafîyah* or head-cloth), and set it upon his head, and as he walked along in the sun, those who saw him thought that rays of fire were coming forth from his head, and when Hiram heard [of this] he sent for the man. And when he saw the woollen cloth he marvelled, and was astonished. And all the dyers gathered together and marvelled at it, and they set out to enquire into the matter ; and they found some of these shell-fish and rejoiced greatly.

[The Apostasy of Solomon.]

And Solomon waxed exceedingly great. And the food [provided for his table every day] consisted of forty oxen, one hundred head of sheep, thirty measures of fine flour, sixty measures of wheat, and three hundred measures of wine ; and besides all this [Fol. 32*a*, col. 1], stags, and gazelle, and wild antelopes, and other creatures of the desert. And he became froward and transgressed the Law, and hearkened not to the commands of his father, and he took to wife one thousand women from all the peoples whom God hated. And in the time of his old age he gave himself up to women, and he let them play with him, and he hearkened to their words, and did

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their will. And he denied the God of David, his father. And he builded altars to devils, and offered up sacrifices to idols and graven images, and he worshipped the work of the hands; and God turned away His face from him and he died. And he reigned in Jerusalem forty-six years.

[NOTE.—Solomon was seduced into idolatry by his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh. "One day she beautified and scented herself for him, and she behaved herself haughtily towards him, and treated him disdainfully. And he said unto her, 'What shall I do? Thou hast made thy face evil towards me, and thy regard towards me is not as it was formerly, and thy beautiful form is not as enticing as usual. Ask me, and I will give thee whatsoever thou wishest, and I will perform it for thee, so that thou mayest make thy face gracious towards me as formerly'; but she held her peace and answered him never a word. And he repeated to her the words that he would do whatsoever she wished. And she said unto him, 'Swear to me by the God of Israel that thou wilt not play me false.' And he swore to her that he would give her whatsoever she asked for, and that he would do for her everything she told him. And she tied a scarlet thread on the middle of the door of [the

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house of] her gods, and she brought three locusts and set them in the house of her gods. And she said unto Solomon, 'Come to me without breaking the scarlet thread, bend thyself and kill these locusts before me, and pull out their necks,' and he did so. And she said unto him, 'I will henceforward do thy will, for thou hast sacrificed to my gods and hast worshipped them.' Now he had done this because of his oath, so that he might not break his oath which she had made him to swear, even though he knew that it was an offence (or, sin) to enter into the house of her gods." *Kebra Nagast* (chapter lxiv).]

[Rehoboam.]

And Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, reigned after him. Rehoboam was forty-one years old when [he began] to reign, and he polluted Jerusalem with fornication, and the altars of devils, and the stink of heathendom ; and the kingdom of Israel was rent in twain. And in the fifth year [Fol. 32*a*, col. 2] of his kingdom Shishak, the king of Egypt, went up against Jerusalem. And he carried off all the treasure of the service of the house of the Lord, and all the treasure of the kingdom of David, and of that of Solomon, and the vessels of gold and the vessels of silver. And he magnified himself and said, " I am not

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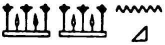
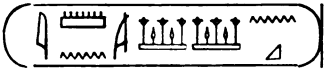
taking away treasure which is yours, but the wealth which your fathers took out of Egypt." And Rehoboam died in the heathen practices of his father Solomon.

[Shishak was the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty and reigned about 20 years (947-928 B.C.): he was of Libyan origin. The Egyptian form of his name is SHASHANQ , and it is found with his title "beloved of Amen" in a cartouche thus: .]

And Abijah his son reigned after him, and he destroyed Jerusalem with fornication and with heathen works—now, Melkâ, the mother of 'Abhd-Shâlôm, was his mother—and he died in the heathen practices of his father.

And Asa his son reigned after him for forty years in Jerusalem. He did that which was good before the Lord, and he put away fornication from Jerusalem, and made an end of the heathen practices of his people, for he kept the commandments of God [Fol. 32*b*, col. 1]. And he drove them (*i.e.* the idolators) out of his palace (or, kingdom), and made them to be a mockery before all the people, because they [taught] the offering of sacrifices to idols. And Zerah of Judah went up against him, and God humbled him before Asa. And Asa died in righteousness like his father David.

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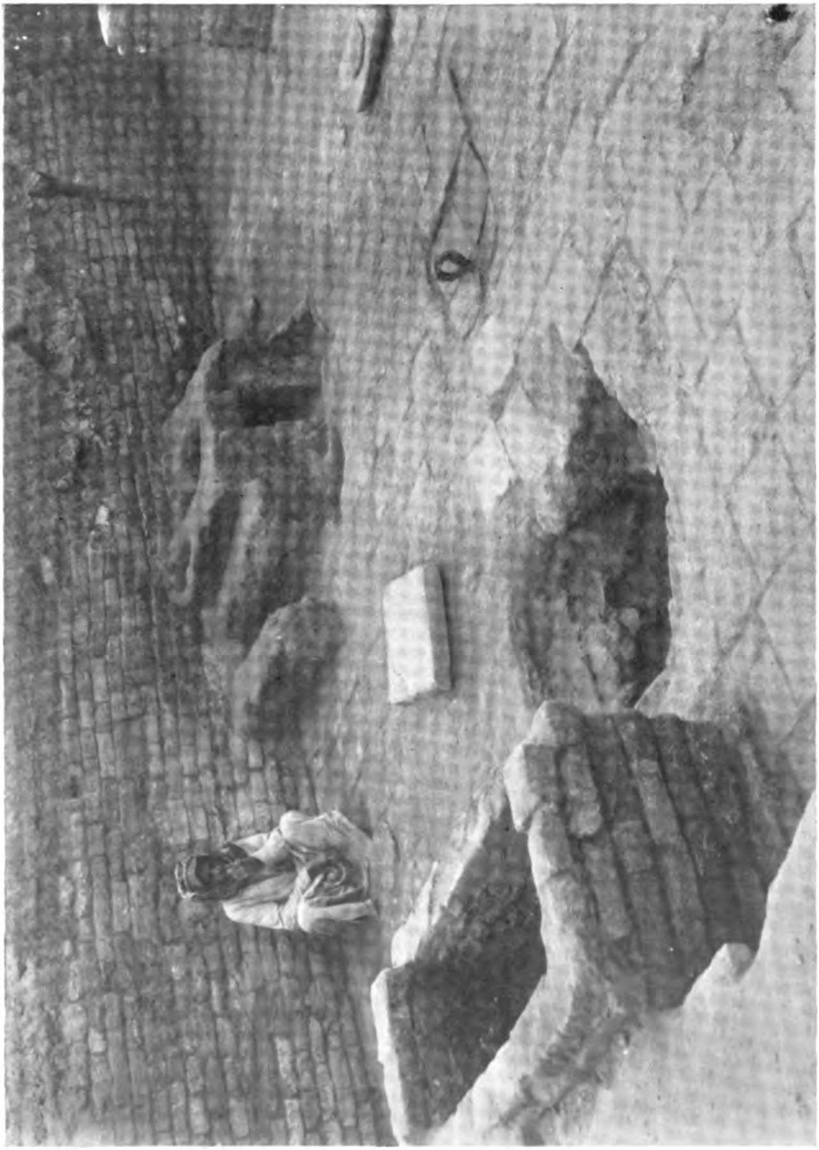
PLATE IX.



Kitchen in the Gig-Par-Ku at "Ur of the Chaldees," showing tank, wall, rope-ring and fire-place. (*See* page 280.

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[NOTE.—The *Book of Adam* (iv. 8) says that Asaph (*i.e.* Asa) took his mother Anna, who was an adulteress, and cast her down from the roof of her house, and she died. Zerah, who is called Eleazar, is described as a "black king" who reigned at Endena. No mention of Zerah the Cushite has hitherto been found in the cuneiform or hieroglyphic inscriptions.]

And Jehosaphat his son reigned after him, and he walked in the ways of Asa his father, and he did that which was pleasing before God. And God was angry with him because he was a friend of the house of Ahab, and for this reason God did not permit him to bring out gold from Ophir. Now he made ships to send thither, and they were broken at Ezion Geber. He was thirty-two years old when he began to reign, and the name of his mother was 'Azôbhâ (Azuba ?), the daughter of Shâlâh. And Jehosaphat died in his righteousness.

Joram reigned after him, and he was thirty-two years old [Fol. 32*b*, col. 2] when he began to reign; he reigned eight years in Jerusalem. He did not do what was pleasing before God, for he sacrificed at the altar of devils, and he died in his heathen practices.

[NOTE.—In the *Book of Adam* he is called Aram. Zambri made war upon him, and he died denying God.]

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Ahaziah his son reigned after him, and he was twenty-two years old when [he began] to reign; he lived for one year in Jerusalem, and did evil things before God in that year. Because of the wickedness and iniquity which he wrought, God delivered him into the hands of his enemies and they killed him. When he was dead his mother [Athaliah] killed all the royal children of the house of David, imagining that she would uproot the children of the Jews. The only person of the seed of the royal house whom she did not slay was Joash, whom Yôshba‘ (Jehosheba), the daughter of Joram, the son of Jehosaphat, carried away secretly and hid [Fol. 33*a*, col. 1] with her in her house.

[Reign of Ahab's sister.]

And the sister of Ahab reigned seven years in Jerusalem. And she polluted the city with fornication, for she commanded the women to play the whore without fear, and the men to commit adultery with the wives of their neighbours without incurring any penalty. And she herself committed fornication like Jezebel, and she adopted all the heathen practices of the house of Ahab in Jerusalem.

[Reign of Joash.]

And after seven years the children of Jerusalem considered whom they should make their king,

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and Jehoiada the priest gathered them together in the house of the Lord, in the temple which Solomon had built. And when the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds had gathered together, Jehoiada the priest said unto them, " Whom say ye shall be king and sit upon the throne of David except [he be] a king and the son of a king ? " And when he showed him [Fol. 33*a*, col. 2] to them they rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy. And the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the " runners," and the messengers brought the kingdom to the house of the Lord, and the soldiers who were armed surrounded him on all sides ; and Jehoiada the priest set him (*i.e.* Joash) upon the throne of David his father. And [Joash] was seven years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem. And the name of his mother was Ṣûbhâ (Zibea) and she was from Beersheba. And Athaliah [the mother of Ahaziah] was killed. And Joash requited with evil the kindness which Jehoiada had done him, and after his death he shed the innocent blood of his sons. And Joash died, and Amaziah his son reigned after him.

Amaziah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem ; and the name of his mother

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was Yâhô'adhân (Joadan). And Amaziah died, and [Fol. 33*b*, col. 1] Uzziah his son reigned after him.

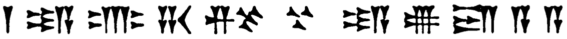
Uzziah was sixteen years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned fifty (*sic*) years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Îkhânyâ (Jechalia). And he did that which was good before the Lord. Now, he made bold to go into the Holy of Holies, and he took the censer from the priest of God (Azariah), and burned incense in the temple of the Lord; and because he did this leprosy covered his face. And because Isaiah the prophet did not rebuke him, he was prevented from prophesying until Uzziah died. And Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

Jotham was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Îrûshâ (Jerusa), the daughter of Zadok. And he did that which was good before the Lord, and he died and Ahaz his son reigned after him.

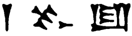
[Ahaz a vassal of the King of Assyria.]

Ahaz was twenty years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem [Fol. 33*b*, col. 2]; and the name of his mother was 'Âphin, the daughter of Levi. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, and he sacrificed to devils. Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria, went up against him, and Ahaz wrote himself down in his letter as his servant, and the Assyrian held him in subjection. And Ahaz sent to the king of Assyria the gold and silver [which were in] the house of the Lord, [and in his days] the children of Israel were carried off into captivity. And the king sent for the men who had come from Babel, so that they might dwell in the land instead of the children of Israel, because they could kill the lions. And the king of Assyria sent to them Ôrî [Fol. 34*a*, col. 1] the priest, and he taught them the laws. And Ahaz died and Hezekiah his son reigned after him.

[Note.—The Assyrian king who conquered Ahaz was Tiglath Pileser III, who reigned from 745–727 B.C. In a list of the kings in the British Museum which were his tributaries we find—



Ia- u- kha- zi (matu) Ia- u- da- ai
Ahaz [king of] the country of the Judeans.
(Brit. Mus. K. 2751.)

Tiglath Pileser's Babylonian name was Pu–lu , which we find in the Bible under the form of "Pul." (*See* II Kings xv. 29; xvi. 7, 10; and Chron. v. 26.)]

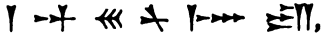
[Hezekiah.]

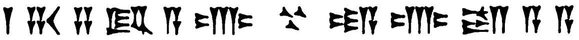
Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem ; and the name of his mother was Akhi (Abhi ?), the daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was pleasing before the Lord, for he smashed the altars, and he cut in pieces the serpent of brass which Moses made in the wilderness, because the children of Israel used to worship it, and he abolished heathen practices in Jerusalem.

In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up and carried away captive the rest of the children of Israel, and he sent them into Media, beyond Babel.

[NOTE.—Tiglath Pileser III having conquered Syria carried away into captivity the Israelitish tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. His successor Shelmaneser V, (727–722 B.C.) attacked Ḥosea, king of Israel, and conquered him and, because he was an ally of the king of Egypt, carried him off into captivity.]

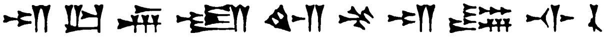
And in the twentieth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up and took all the cities and towns of Judah, but through the prayer of Hezekiah Jerusalem was saved.

[Note.—Sennacherib, , king of Assyria, 705–681 B.C., having brought Padi from Jerusalem and made him king of Ekron, then marched on to attack



Kha-za- ḳi- a- u (*matu*) *Ia- u- da- ai*
Hezekiah [king of] the country of the Judeans.

He captured 46 of Hezekiah's strongholds, and brought out from them 200,150 people, and horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and innumerable sheep. He then shut up Hezekiah like a caged bird in



Ur- sa- li- im- mu ali sharru- ti- su
Jerusalem the city of his sovereignty.

Hezekiah's soldiers deserted, and he sent his envoy to Nineveh to pay his tribute to Sennacherib, viz. 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, eye-paint, couches and chairs of ivory, hides, tusks, precious woods, and his daughters with their attendants and musicians.]

And Hezekiah became sick unto death [Fol. 34*a*, col. 2], and it was grievous unto him, and he wept. And there were certain men who blamed him, but why [his sickness] was grievous unto him they never troubled to acquaint themselves. Now the sorrow of Hezekiah [came upon him]

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because when he became sick unto death he had no son to reign after him. And when he looked with the eyes of his soul and saw that he had no son to reign after him, he was afflicted, and wept and said, " Woe is me ! for I must die childless, and that blessing which hath been given [unto us] for six and forty generations hath been cut off by me this day. I have become the destroyer of the kingdom of David, and the succession of the kings of Judah hath been cut off this day." This was [the cause of] the sorrow of Hezekiah. And after he recovered from his sickness he waited fourteen years, and [then] Manasseh was born to him. And Hezekiah died in great content, and left a son to sit upon the throne of David [Fol. 34*b*, col. 1] his father.

[Manasseh.]

Manasseh was twelve years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem ; and the name of his mother was Ḥabhṣîbhâh (Hephziba). He was a man who was more evil and iniquitous than all those who had lived before him ; he builded altars to devils, and sacrificed to idols, and he filled Jerusalem with iniquity and provoked God to wrath. And because Isaiah the prophet rebuked him, he threatened him and sent men who were sons of iniquity, and they sawed Isaiah the prophet in twain with a saw between [two pieces of] wood, from his head downwards to his feet. And Isaiah was one hundred and twenty years old when they sawed him in twain, and he had been the prophet of God for ninety years. And Manasseh repented after he had slain Isaiah, and he put sackcloth on his body, and decreed fasting for himself, and he ate bread with tears all the days of his life because he had committed iniquity and had [Fol. 34*b*, col. 2] slain the prophet. And Manasseh died, and Ammon reigned after him.

Ammon was twenty-two years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned two years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Mashlĕmath. And Ammon did evil before the Lord, and he made his sons to pass through fire; he died, and Josiah his son reigned after him.

Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty-one years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Yadhîdhâ (Jedida), the daughter of Azariah (Adaja ?), from Bezḳath. And he did what was good before the Lord, and he walked in all the way wherein his father David had walked; and he turned aside neither to the right hand nor to the left. And Pharaoh, the "Lame" (*i.e.* Necho II) killed him, and Jehoahaz his son reigned after him.

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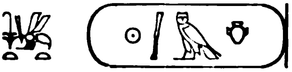
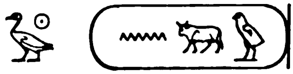
[NOTE.—Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt 609–593 B.C., was the second king of the XXVIth Dynasty. His names as "King of the South and North," and "Son of Rā" are



Uḥem-åb-Rā



N-Ka-u.]

Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Ḥamṭâl, the daughter of [Fol. 35*a*, col. 1] Jeremiah from Lebhnâ. And he did what was evil before the Lord, even as Manasseh had done. And Pharaoh, the Lame, king of Egypt, took him prisoner in Diblath, in the land of Ḥamath, whilst he was king in Jerusalem, and he laid tribute on the land, one hundred talents of silver and ten talents of gold. And Pharaoh, the Lame, made Eliakim, the son of Jonah, king instead of Josiah his father, and he made his name to be Jehoiakim. And he carried away Jehoahaz, and he went to Egypt and died there. And Jehoiakim gave silver and gold to Pharaoh; he laid [the payment] of silver and gold on the land according to the word (*i.e.*command) of Pharaoh's mouth. Every man, according to what it was right for him [to pay], brought silver and gold from the people of the land, according to the command of the mouth of Pharaoh, the Lame.

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Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned eleven [Fol. 35*a*, col. 2] years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Zebhîdhâ, the daughter of Pedâyâ, from Ramah. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, even as his fathers had done. In his days Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, went up against Jerusalem, and Jehoiakim became his vassal for three years. Then he turned and rebelled against him, and the Lord stirred up bands of robbers against him because of his sins. And Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and Jehoiachin his son reigned after him. And the king of Egypt did not come forth again out of his country; for the king of Babel captured all the land that belonged to the king of Egypt, from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates.

Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Neḥeshtâ, the daughter of Elyâthân (Elnathan ?), from Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil before the [Fol. 35*b*, col. 1] Lord, even as his father had done. At that time Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, went up against Jerusalem, and the king of Babel took him with him in the eighth year of his kingdom. And he brought out from there all the treasure of the house of the Lord, and the treasure of the king's house, and he

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carried off into captivity to Babel all [the people of] Jerusalem, and Jehoiachin, and his mother, and his wives, and his nobles ; and the king brought captive to Babel all the men who had made war. And the king of Babel made Methanyâ, the uncle [of Jehoiachin] king in his stead, and he called his name " Zedekiah."

[The Capture of Jerusalem.]

Zedekiah was twenty years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem ; and the name of his mother was Ḥamṭâl, the daughter of Jeremiah, from Libnah. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, even as did Jehoiakim, and the wrath of the [Fol. 35*b*, col. 2] Lord was (*i.e.* fell upon) Jerusalem. And Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babel, and in the ninth year of his kingdom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, came against Jerusalem, and the city was fettered with affliction (*i.e.* besieged) until the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. And the city was rent open (*i.e.* its wall was breached), and all the mighty men of war fled from the city by night by way of the plain. And the soldiers of the Chaldeans pursued the king, and they overtook him on the plain of Jericho, and all his soldiers were driven away from him ; and the Chaldeans captured Zedekiah and took him up to the king of Babel at

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Debhlath (Riblah), and he passed judgment upon him. And the king of Babel slew the sons of Zedekiah the king before his eyes, and he blinded the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel [Fol. 36*a*, col. 1]. And Simeon the high priest, because he had freedom of speech with the commander of the [Chaldean] army, made entreaty to him, and the commander of the army gave him all the books of the Scriptures and did not burn them; and Simeon the high priest gathered them together and cast them into a pit (or dry well). And Jerusalem was laid waste and made desolate, and no man remained therein except Jeremiah, the Prophet, who sat and raised lamentations over it for twenty years. And Jeremiah, the Prophet, died in Samaria, and the priest Ûr buried him in Jerusalem, according to the oath which the prophet made him to swear.

Now up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem the Hebrew, Greek, and Syrian writers were in possession of the truth, and they were able to produce the registers of the genealogies of the tribes and the people. But from the destruction of Jerusalem and onwards there has been no truth in their writings, except as regards the heads of the tribes (*i.e.* the Patriarchs) [Fol. 36*a*, col. 2], and they are unable to prove whence the succession of the priests took its origin.

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[Jehoiachin.]

And Jehoiachin was bound in prison for thirty-seven years, and after he came forth from prison he took to wife Gûlîth, the daughter of Eliakim, and he begot by her in Babel Shalathiel (Salathiel); and Jehoiachin died in Babel. And Salathiel took to wife Heṭbath, the daughter of Halḳânâ, and he begot by her Zûrbâbhel (Zerubbabel), who took to wife Malkath, the daughter of Ezra the scribe; but no son was born to him by her in Babel. In the days of Zerubbabel, the prince of Judah, Cyrus the Persian reigned in Babel. [A reproduction of a sculptured relief of Cyrus is given on Plate I. The official account of his conquest of Babylon is found on a baked clay cylinder now in the British Museum. *See* Plate II.]

[Cyrus.]

And Cyrus took to wife the daughter of Salathiel, the sister of Zerubbabel, and he took her to wife according to the law of the Persians, and made her [his] queen. And she entreated Cyrus to bring about the return of the children of Israel [to Jerusalem]. And inasmuch as Zerubbabel was her brother, she was very insistent about [Fol. 36*b*, col. 1] the return [to Jerusalem] of those who had been led away into captivity. Now Cyrus loved his wife as he loved himself, and he did

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for her what she wished. And he sent forth heralds into all the land of Babel, ordering all the children of Israel to gather themselves together. And when they were gathered together Cyrus said unto Zerubbabel, his wife's brother, " Rise up, and take with thee all the children of thy people, and go up to Jerusalem in peace; and [re]build the city of thy fathers, and dwell and reign therein. And because Cyrus brought about the return of the children of Israel [to Jerusalem], God said, " I have taken my servant Cyrus by his right hand" (Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1). And the name of Cyrus was called " My shepherd, the anointed of the Lord," because his seed was received into the seed of David through Meshayyanath, the sister of Zerubbabel, whom he had taken to wife. And the children of Israel went up from Babel, and Zerubbabel became king over them; and Joshua, the son of Yôzâdâk, the son of Aaron, was high priest, even as the angel showed Zechariah the prophet, and said unto him, " These are the sons of the oil of consecration."

And the people of the captivity went up in the second year of Cyrus, and the FIFTH THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END.

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THE FIVE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE SECOND YEAR OF CYRUS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Now when the people had gone up [to Jerusalem] they had no Books of the Prophets. And Ezra the scribe went down into that pit [wherein Simeon had cast the Books], and he found a censer full of fire, and the perfume of the incense which rose up from it. And thrice he took some of the dust of those Books, and cast it into his mouth, and straightway God made to abide in him the spirit of prophecy, and he renewed all the Books of the Prophets.

[NOTE.—According to the Book of Adam (iv. 10) the manuscripts and the library of the Temple were burnt. Simeon begged the commander to give him the ruins of the library, and he went in and collected the ashes of the books and put them into a pot, which he placed in a vault. He filled a censer with coals and incense, and, having lighted the fire, he set the censer over the place where the ashes of the books lay. The fire continued to burn until Ezra came to the

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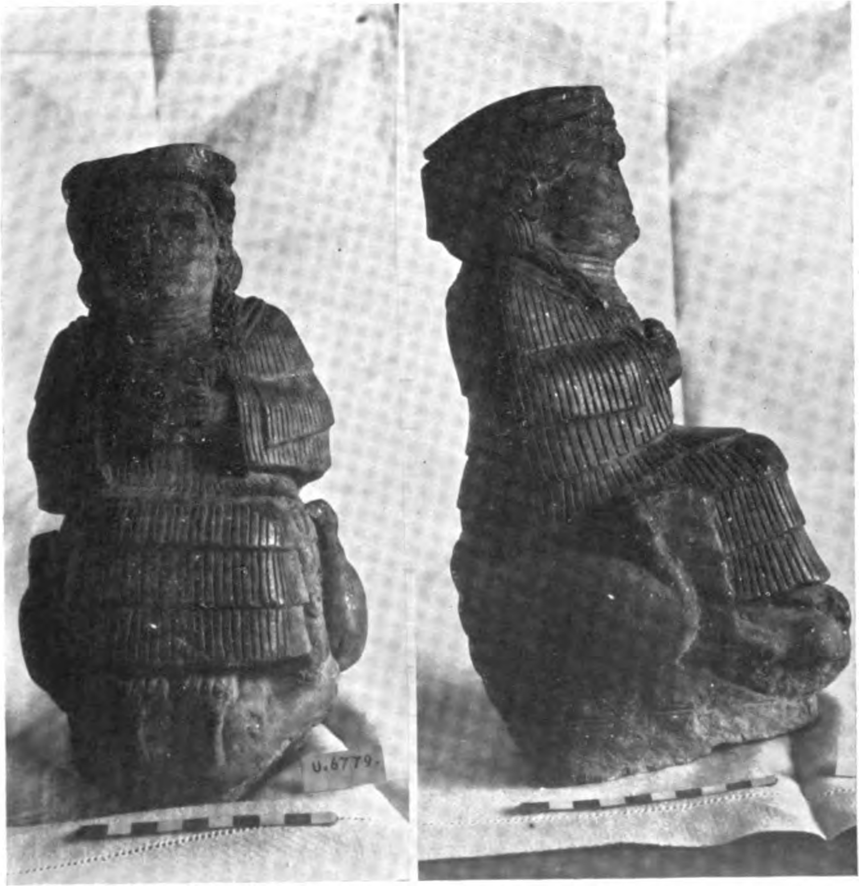
PLATE X.



Front view.

Side view.

Diorite statue of Bau, the goddess of fertility She sits on a throne set upon water, and her supports and footstool are geese. (*See* page 280.)

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vault, and the smoke of the incense was rising from the censer. He spread his hands thrice over the ashes of the books, and God gave him the spirit of prophecy, and he rewrote the Books of the Law and the Prophets.]

And that same fire which was found in the pit became the holy fire in the house of the Lord. And Zerubbabel reigned in Jerusalem, and Joshua, the son of Yôzâdâk, was high-priest, and Ezra was the scribe of the Law and the Prophets. And the children of Israel [Fol. 37*a*, col. 1] celebrated a Passover when they went up from Babel. These are the three Passovers which the children of Israel kept; the first was [kept] in Egypt in the days of Moses; the the second was [kept] in the reign of Josiah; the third was [kept] when they went up from the land of Babel. And now an end hath been made to the Passover for them for ever. From the first captivity of Jerusalem, that in which Daniel went down into captivity, to the reign of Cyrus the Persian, was seventy years according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. And the children of Israel began the [re]building of the Temple in the days of Zerubbabel, and Joshua, the son of Yôzâdôk, and Ezra the scribe, and the building thereof was finished in six and forty years, even as it is written in the holy Gospel (John ii. 19).

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[The genealogies of the later Israelites.]

Now the genealogy of the tribes (or, families) was lost by [Fol. 37*a*, col. 2] the scribes, and they were unable to show either whence the heads of families took [their] wives, or whence they came. I, however, possess the knowledge of the correct genealogy, and will show the truth to every man. When the children of Israel went up from Babylon—

Zerubbabel begot Abiud by Malkath, the daughter of Ezra the scribe.

Abiud took to wife Zakhyath, the daughter of Joshua, the son of Yôzâdâk, the priest, and begot by her Eliakim.

Eliakim took to wife Ḥâlâbh, the daughter of Dôrnîbh, and begot by her ʻÂzôr.

ʻÂzôr took to wife Yalpath, the daughter of Ḥazôr, and begot by her Zadok.

Zadok took to wife Ḳaltîn, the daughter of Dôrnibh, and begot by her Akhîn.

Akhîn took to wife Ḥeskath, the daughter of Ta'îl, and begot by her Eliud.

Eliud took to wife Beshtîn, the daughter of [Fol. 37*b*, col. 1] Ḥasâl, and begot by her Eleazar.

Eleazar took to wife Dîbath, the daughter of Tôlâḥ, and begot by her Mâtthân.

Mâtthân took to wife Sebhrath, the daughter of Phinehas, and begot by her two sons at one conception, Jacob and Yônâkhîr.

Jacob took to wife Ḥadbhîth, the daughter of Eleazur, and begot by her Joseph.

Yônakhîr took Dînâ, the daughter of Pâḳôdh, and begot by her Mary, of whom was born the Christ.

And because none of the early writers could discover the order of succession of the generations of their fathers, the Jews urged the sons of the Church very strongly to show them [who were] the fathers of the blessed Mary in the order of the succession of their families. And they pressed the children of the Church to enquire into the genealogy of the families [Fol. 37*b*, col. 2] of their fathers, and to show them the truth. For the Jews call Mary an adulteress. And here the mouth of the Jews is stopped, and they believe that Mary was of the seed of the house of David and of Abraham. Now the Jews have no table of succession which showeth them the true order of the families of their fathers, because their books have been burned thrice—once in the days of Antiochus [IV. Epiphanes], who raised up a persecution against them, and polluted the Temple of the Lord, and forced them to offer up sacrifices unto idols; the second time in the days of . . . . ; and the third time in the days of Herod, when Jerusalem was destroyed. Because of this the Jews were greatly grieved, for they had no trustworthy table of the succession of the generations of their fathers. And they toiled eagerly [Fol. 38*a*, col. 1] that they might obtain the truth, but they were unable to do so.

Now the Jews had many writers, and each of them wrote what he pleased, and no two of them agreed in what they wrote, because they could not stand on a foundation of truth. And even our own writers, the children of the Church, cannot show us the certainty of the real truth. They cannot show how the ascent of the body of Adam to Golgotha took place, nor whence came the fathers (or, ancestors) of Melchisedek, and the fathers of the blessed woman Mary. And the children of Israel being urged by the Church, and being unable to ascertain the truth, waxed reckless, and wrote, as it were, in the madness of error. [Here the text is faulty and incomplete.] And as concerning the table of succession of the sixty-three families, which [reach] from Adam to Christ, the Greek writers, and the Hebrew writers, and the Syrian writers, can neither show whence each head of a family took his wife [Fol. 38*a*, col. 2], nor whose daughter she was. Now each divine doctor (or, teacher) has laid down for the Church one true doctrine, and they have given unto believers the armour wherewith they can fight and overcome her enemies. Besides this, the grace of Christ hath granted unto us

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that which was lacking in them, and this we will cast into the rich treasury [of their knowledge]. And this, with great diligence, we have bestirred ourselves to do, even as our truly loving brother in Christ, the illustrious Nâmôsâyâ (Nemesius?) greatly desireth. And although I have been hindered through my dilatoriness, thou hast through thy love of learning, not been dilatory. And because of thy loving kindness towards me, and also because I myself am eager not to withhold from thee that which thou requirest of me, I will [here] write down [Fol. 38*b*, col. 1] the true table of succession. Hear, O my brother Nemesius (?) the following table of succession which I write for thee; none of the [other] doctors hath been able to light upon it. The following are the sixty-three generations from which the Incarnation of Christ is descended, and their order is thus:—

1. Adam begot Seth.
2. Seth took to wife Ḳelîmath, who was born with Abel, and begot by her Enos.
3. Enos took to wife Ḥannâ, the daughter of Jubal, the daughter of Ḥôḥ, the daughter of Seth, and begot by her Cainan.
4. Cainan took to wife Peryath, the daughter of Kôtûn, the daughter of Yarbâl, and begot by her Mahlâlâîl.

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5. Mahlâlâîl took to wife Ṣeḥaṭpar, the daughter of Enos, and begot by her Yârêd (Jared).
6. Jared took to wife Zebhîdhâ, the daughter of Kuḥlôn, the daughter of Kenan, and begot by her Enoch.
7. Enoch took to wife Zadhḳîn, the daughter of Tôpîḥ, the daughter of Mahlâlâîl, and begot by her Methuselah.
8. Methuselah took to wife Sâkhûth, the daughter of Sôkhîn, and begot by her Lamech.
9. Lamech took to wife Kîpâr, the daughter of Tûthâth, the daughter of Methuselah, and begot by her Noah.
10. Noah took to wife Haykâl, the daughter of Namûs, and he begot by her Shem, Ham and Japhet.
11. Shem begot Arpakhshar (Arphaxad).
12. Arphaxad begot Shâlâh (Salah).
13. Salah begot Âbhâr (Eber).
14. Eber begot Pâlâg (Peleg).
15. Peleg begot Ar'ô (Reu).
16. Reu begot Sârôgh (Serug).
17. Serug took to wife Kâḥâl, the daughter of Peleg, who begot Nâḥôr.
18. Nâhôr took to wife Napûsh (Yapûsh ?), the daughter of Reu, and begot Taraḥ (Terah).

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19. Terah took two wives, Yônâ and Salmûth; by Yônâ he begot Abraham, and by Salmûth he begot Sârâ (Sarah) [Fol. 39*a*, col. 1].
20. Abraham took to wife Sarah and begot Isaac.
21. Isaac took to wife Rebecca and begot Jacob.
22. Jacob took to wife Leah and begot Judah.
23. Judah begot Parṣ (Pharez) by Tamar.
24. Pharez begot Hezron.
25. Hezron begot Aram.
26. Aram begot Amminadab.
27. Amminadab begot Naḥshôn (Nahasson).
28. Nahasson begot Salmon.
29. Salmon begot Boaz, by Rahab.
30. Boaz took to wife Ruth, the daughter of Lot, and begot Obed.
31. Obed begot Jesse.
32. Jesse begot David the king.
33. David took to wife Bathsheba, and begot by her Solomon.
34. Solomon begot Rehoboam.
35. Rehoboam begot Abijah.
36. Abijah begot Asa.
37. Asa begot Jehoshaphat.
38. Jehoshaphat begot Joram [Fol. 39*a*, col. 2].
39. Joram begot Ahaziah.
40. Ahaziah begot Joash.

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41. Joash begot Amaziah.
42. Amaziah begot Uzziah.
43. Uzziah begot Jotham.
44. Jotham begot Ahaz.
45. Ahaz begot Hezekiah.
46. Hezekiah begot Manasseh.
47. Manasseh begot Amon.
48. Amon begot Josiah.
49. Josiah begot Jehoiakim.
50. Jehoiakim begot Jehoiachin.
51. Jehoiachin begot Salathiel.
52. Salathiel begot Nedabijah (*sic*).
53. Nedabijah begot Zerubbabel.
54. Zerubbabel begot Abiud.
55. Abiud begot Eliakim.
56. Eliakim begot Azor.
57. Azor begot Zadok.
58. Zadok begot Achin.
59. Achin begot Eliud.
60. Eliud begot Eleazar.
61. Eleazar begot Mâtthan.
62. Mâtthan took to wife Sabhrath, the daughter of Phinehas, and begot Jacob and Yônâkhîr.
63. Jacob took to wife Ḥadhbhîth, the daughter of Eleazar, and begot Joseph, the betrothed of Mary [Fol. 39*b*, col. 1].

Yônâkhîr took to wife Dînâ, that is to say, Ḥannâ, the daughter of Pâkôdh, and sixty years

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after he had taken her to wife she brought forth Mary, of whom was born Christ.

[The Genealogy of Mary.]

And because Joseph was the son of Mary's uncle, by the fore-knowledge of God, Who knew that Mary would be certainly attacked by the Jews, Mary was given to Joseph, who was the son of her uncle, that he might take care of her. Observe, O our brother Nemesius, that the fathers of the blessed woman Mary belonged to the succession of the generations of David.

[Note.—An alternative genealogy is given in the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxxiii), and reads: David begot Nathan, Nathan begot Mattatha, Mattatha begot Mani, Mani begot Melea, Melea begot Eliakim, Eliakim begot Jonam, Jonam begot Levi. [Add Joseph, Juda and Simeon from Luke iii. 19, 20.] Levi begot Mattîtha, Mattîtha begot Jorim, Jorim begot Eliezer, Eliezer begot Jose, Jose begot Er, Er begot Elmodad, Elmodad begot Cosam, Cosam begot Addi, Addi begot Melchi, Melchi begot Neri, Neri begot Salathiel, Salathiel begot Zerubbabel, Zerubbabel begot Rhesa, Rhesa begot Johannan, Johannan begot Juda, Juda begot Joseph, Joseph begot Semei, Semei begot Mattatha, Mattatha begot Maath, Maath begot Nagge,

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Nagge begot Esli, Esli begot Nahum, Nahum begot Amos, Amos begot Mattîtha, Mattîtha begot Joseph, Joseph begot Janni, Janni begot Melchi, Melchi begot Levi, Levi begot Matthat, Matthat begot Heli, Heli begot Joseph.]

Behold, I have set thee upon a foundation of truth, which none of the [former] chroniclers found to stand upon; see, too, how these sixty-three generations [reaching] from Adam to the birth of Christ, succeeded each other. And the Jews also rejoiced [Fol. 39*b*, col. 2] because they also had found the generations of the families of their fathers.

Observe, O our brother Nemesius, that in the days of Cyrus the FIFTH THOUSAND [YEARS] CAME TO AN END. And from the thousand [years] of Cyrus until the Passion of our Redeemer, the years were in number five hundred, according to the prophecy of Daniel, who prophesied and said, "After sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be slain." And these weeks make five hundred years.

[NOTE.—According to the *Book of Adam* (iv. 14), Daniel said, "After seven weeks Christ shall come, and shall be put to death." Now seven weeks are 490 years, for a great week contains 70 years. But on that the prophet said, "after

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seven years," he pointed to the [remaining] ten [of the 500 years]. Daniel did not say, " Christ shall come at the end of seven weeks," but " after seven weeks, and He shall be put to death."]

Behold, from this time the mouth of the Jews is shut, for they have dared to say that the Messiah hath not yet come. They must, perforce, do one of two things: either accept the prophecy of Daniel, or say, " We do not accept it." For the prophecy hath fulfilled itself, and the weeks have passed, and the Messiah hath been slain, and the Holy City hath been laid waste by Vespasian.

[The Birth of Christ.]

Observe now [Fol. 40*a*, col. 1], O thou lover of learning, our brother Nemesius, in the forty-second year of the kingdom of Augustus, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah, as it is written in the Holy Gospel.

[The Star and the Magi.]

Now, it was two years before Christ was born that the star appeared to the Magi. They saw the star in the firmament of heaven, and the brilliancy of its appearance was brighter than that of every other star. And within it was a

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maiden carrying a child, and a crown was set upon his head. Now it was the custom of the ancient kings, and the Magi of the Chaldeans, to consult the Signs of the Zodiac about all the affairs of their lives. And when the Magi saw the star they were perturbed, and terrified, and afraid, and the whole land of Persia was disturbed. And the kings, and the Magi, and the Chaldeans [Fol. 40*a*, col. 1], and the wise men of Persia, were stupefied, and they were exceedingly afraid of the portent which they saw. And they said, "Peradventure the king of the Greeks hath determined to wage war against the land of Nimrod." And the Magi and the Chaldeans were terrified, and they consulted their books of wisdom, and through the might of the wisdom of their books they understood and learned, and stood upon the strength of the truth. Now, in truth, the Magi of the Chaldeans discovered that by means of the motions of the stars, to which they gave the name of "Signs of the Zodiac," they were able to know and understand the strength (or, importance) of events before they took place. And this same knowledge is also given to those who go down into the sea, and by the motions of the stars they know beforehand when there is going to be a disturbance of the winds, and when a violent storm is going to rise up against them, and

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whenever they are about to be threatened with danger from winds and waves. Thus also was it with the Magi. When they saw and read in the [Fol. 40*b*, col. 1] "Revelation of Nimrod" they discovered therein that a king was born in Judah, and the whole path of the Dispensation of Christ was revealed unto them.

[NOTE.—As touching the nature of that star, whether it was a star in its nature, or in appearance only, it is right to know that it was not of the other stars, but a secret power which appeared like a star; for all the other stars that are in the firmament, and the sun and moon, perform their course from east to west. This one, however, made its course from north to south, for Palestine lies thus, over against Persia. This star was not seen by them at night only, but also during the day, and at noon; and it was seen at the time when the sun is particularly strong, because it was not one of the stars. Now the moon is stronger in its light than all the stars, but it is immediately quenched and its light dissipated by one small ray of the sun. But this star overcame even the beams of the sun by the intensity of its light. Sometimes it appeared, and sometimes it was hidden entirely. It guided the Magi as far as Palestine. . . . . . This was not an ordinary movement of the stars, but a

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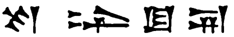
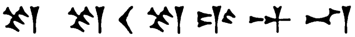
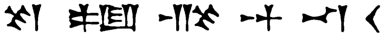
rational power. Moreover, it had no fixed path. It did not remain always in the height of heaven, but sometimes it came down, and sometimes it mounted up. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxxviii).]

[The Signs of the Zodiac.]

[The names of the Babylonian Signs of the Zodiac were :—

1 
(amel) Agru

2 
Kakkab u Alap shame

3 
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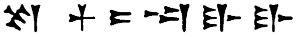
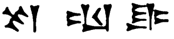
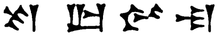
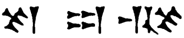
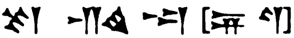

Tu’ame rabuti

4 
Al.lul (Shittu ?)

5 
Kalbu rabu

6 
Shiru

7 
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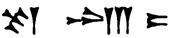
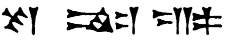
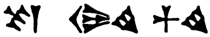
8 
Akrabu

9 
Pa-bil-sag

10 

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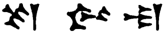
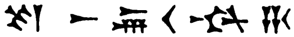
11 

Gula

12 

DILGANU u Rikis nuni

(The sign placed before each name is the determinative for star.)

	Meaning of the name.	Modern equivalent.	Name of month.	
1	The Labourer	Goat	Nisannu	
2	The Star and the Bull of heaven	Bull.	Airu	
3	The Faithful Shepherd of heaven and the Great Twins	Twins	Simanu	
4	The Tortoise	Crab	Duuzu	
5	The Great Dog (Lion)	Lion.	Abu	
6	Virgin with ear of corn	Virgin	Ululu	
7	....	Scales	Tashritum	
8	The Scorpion.	Scorpion	Araḫ shamna	
9	Enurta (the god)	Bow.	Kislimu	[ ]
10	The Goat-fish	Capricornus.	Ṭebetum	[ ]
11	The Great Star	Water-bearer	Shabatu	
12	The star . . . and the Band of Fishes	The Fishes	Addaru	

On the first Zodiac which was set up by Tiâmat, the Evil One, see *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation*, London, 1921, page 17 (British Museum publication).]

And straightway, according to what they had received from the tradition which had been handed down to them by their fathers, they left the East, and went up to the mountains of Nôdh, which lie inside the entrances to the East from the lands on the skirts of the North, and they took from them gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. And from this [passage] understand, O my brother Nemesius, that the Magi knew the whole service of the Dispensation of our Redeemer through the offerings which they brought: the gold was for a king, the myrrh for a physician, and the frankincense for a priest, for the Magi knew Who He was, and that He was a king, and a physician, and a priest. Now when the son of the king of Sheba was a little boy his father brought him [Fol. 40*b*, col. 1] to a Rabbi, and he learned the Book of the Hebrews better than all his companions and his fellow countrymen, and he said unto all his slaves, " It is written in all the books of genealogies that the king shall be born in Bethlehem."

[The names of the Magi.]

These are they who bore offerings to the King, kings, the sons of kings :—

1. HÔRMÎZDADH of Mâkhôzdî, king of Persia, who was called " King of Kings," and dwelt in Lower Âdhôrghîn.
2. ÎZGARAD (Yazdegerd), the king of Sâbhâ.

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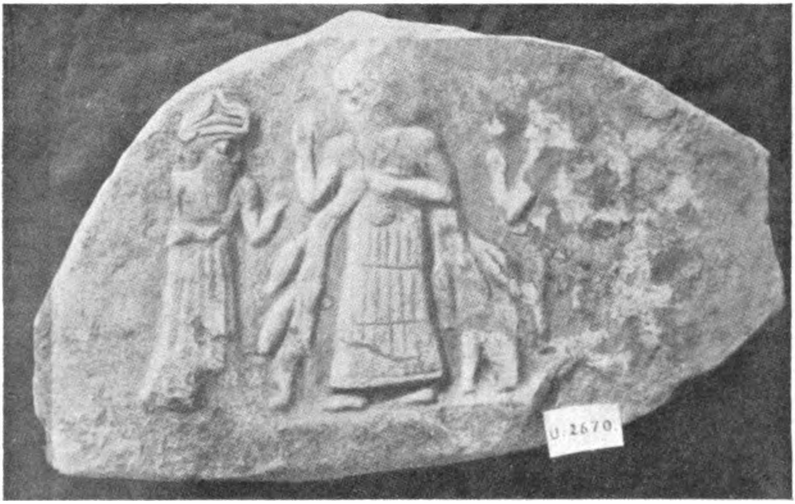
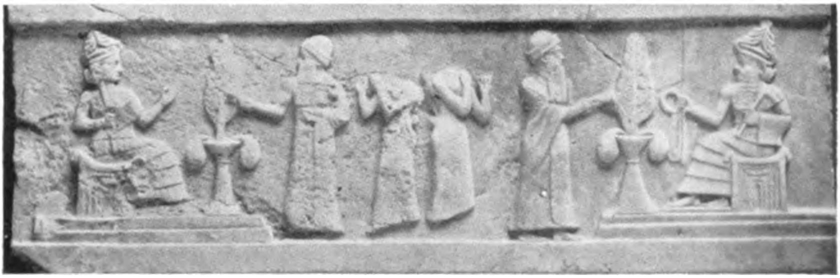
PLATE XI.



A stele of the IIIrd Dynasty from the E-Gig-Par at "Ur of the Chaldees." (*See* page 280.)



The King Ur-Nammu making an offering to Nannar and Nin-Gal. From the great stele of Ur-Nammu. (*See* page 278.)

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3. Perôzâdh, the king of Sheba, which is in
the East.

[Note.—In the *Book of Adam* (iv. 15) the kings are called Hor, king of Persia, Basantar, king of Saba, and Karsundas, king of the East. According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxxix), the Magi were twelve in number, and their names were:—

Zarwândâd, the son of Artabân.
Hôrmîzdâd, the son of Sîṭârûḳ (Sanṭarôḳ).
Gûshnâsâph (Gushnasp), the son of Gûndaphar.
Arshakh, the son of Mîhârôk.

These four brought gold.

Zarwândâd, the son of Wârzwâd.
Îryâhô, the son of Kesro (Khusrau).
Arṭaḥshesht, the son of Ḥolîtî.
Ashtôn'âbôdân, the son of Shîshrôn.

These four brought myrrh.

Mehârôk, the son of Ḥûhâm.
Aḥshiresh, the son of Haṣbân.
Ṣardâlâh, the son of Baladân.
Merôdâch, the son of Beldarân.

These four brought frankincense.]

[The Magi in Jerusalem.]

And the Magi having made ready to go up, the kingdom of the mighty men of war was

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perturbed and terrified, and there was with the Magi so mighty a following that all the cities of the East were in dismay before them, and Jerusalem also. And when they entered the presence of Herod, he trembled before them, and he commanded them, saying, "Depart in [Fol. 41*a*, col. 1] peace, and seek diligently for the young Child, and when ye have found Him, come and show me, that I too may go and make obeisance unto Him"; though deceit was hidden in Herod's heart, he offered homage with his mouth. Now when the Magi went up to Jerusalem there was great commotion in Judea, because of the edict of Augustus Cæsar, which commanded that every man should be registered in his country, and in the city of his fathers. Because of this Herod was greatly perturbed, and he said unto the Magi, "Go ye and search for Him." Now the Magi are called "Magi" because of the garb of Magianism in which the heathen kings arrayed themselves whensoever they offered up a sacrifice and made offerings to their gods. They made use of two different kinds of apparel; that which appertained to royalty [they wore] inside, and that which appertained to Magianism outside [Fol. 41*a*, col. 2]. And thus also was it with those who went up prepared to make offerings to Christ, and they were arrayed in both kinds of apparel.

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And when the Magi had gone forth from Jerusalem, and from the presence of Herod, that same star which had been their guide on the road appeared to them, and they rejoiced greatly. And the star went on before them until they entered the cave, where they saw the young Child swathed in bands and laid in a manger. Whilst they were on their way up thither they said within themselves, "When we arrive there we shall see mighty and wonderful things, according to the law and custom which prevail among royal personages when a king is born." Thus did they think—that they would find in the land of Israel a royal palace, and couches of gold with cushions laid upon them [Fol. 41*b*, col. 1], and the king and the son of the king arrayed in purple, and awestruck soldiers and companies of royal troops, and the nobles of the kingdom paying him honour by presenting gifts, and tables laid out with meats fit for the king, and vessels of drink standing in rows, and men servants and women servants serving in fear. Such were the things which the Magi expected to see, but they saw them not; they saw sights which were far better than these when they went into the cave. They saw Joseph sitting in astonishment, and Mary in a state of wonderment, but there was no couch with cushions laid upon it, and no table with

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food laid out upon it, and no sign of the preparations which accompany royal state. And although they saw all this humble estate and poverty, they had no doubt in their minds, but they drew nigh in fear and made obeisance to Him in honour, and they offered [Fol. 41*b*, col. 2] unto Him, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. And it was very grievous unto Mary and Joseph that they had nothing to set before them, but the Magi fed themselves with food of their own providing.

[NOTES.—In addition to the gold, frankincense and myrrh which the Magi brought, they laid before the Child as an offering thirty *zûzê* of silver. Their weight was according to the weight of the sanctuary, but they were equal to six hundred pieces according to the weight of the country. (The Syriac zûzê=the Arabic *dirham* and the Greek *drachme.*) The thirty pieces were made by Terah, who gave them to Abraham, who gave them to Isaac. With them Isaac bought a village, and the man who received them took them to Pharaoh. Pharaoh sent them to David as a contribution towards the building of the Temple, and Solomon placed them round the door of the altar. Nebuchadnezzar carried them away to Babylon, and gave them to certain royal Persian hostages, who took

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them to Persia and gave them to their parents. When the Magi set out for Jerusalem they took the thirty pieces with their other offerings out with them they bought from certain shepherds at Edessa " the garment without seam," which an angel had given to them. Abgar, king of Edessa, took the thirty pieces and the garment from the shepherds, and sent them to Christ. Christ kept the garment and sent the thirty pieces to the Jewish treasury. The priests gave them to Judas Iscariot for betraying our Lord, but he repented and took them back to the priests. After Judas hanged himself the priests purchased a burial ground for strangers with the thirty pieces (*Book of the Bee*, chapter xliv). Another legend says that Joseph had the thirty pieces, and that with them he bought spices to embalm Jacob. They passed into the possession of the Queen of Sheba, who gave them to Solomon (Sandeys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1883, page lxxxiii).]

[The Circumcision of Christ.]

Now Christ was eight days old when the Magi presented their offerings; and Mary received them at the very time when Joseph circumcised Christ. In truth, Joseph circumcised Him according to the Law, but he only went through (or imitated) the act of cutting, for no [flesh]

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whatsoever was cut off from Him. For as [a rod of] iron passeth through the fire and cutteth the rays thereof, without any part of it being cut off from it, so in like manner was Christ circumcised without anything being taken from Him.

[The Conversion of the Magi.]

And the Magi lived with the Child three days, and they saw the hosts of heaven going up and coming down to Christ. And they heard the sound [Fol. 42*a*, col. 1] of the praises of the angels, who sang hymns and cried out, " Holy, Holy, Holy, Mighty God, with whose praises the heavens and the earth are filled." And they were in great fear, and in truth they believed in Christ, and said, " This is the King Who hath come down from heaven and become man." And Perôzdhâdh answered and said unto them, " Now know I that the prophecy of Isaiah is true. For when I was in the school of the Hebrews I read in [the Book of] Isaiah, and I found [written] therein thus : ' For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son hath been given. And His Name shall be called Wonderful, and Counsellor, and God, Giant of the Worlds ' " (Isa. ix. 6). And it is written in another place, " Behold, a virgin is with child, and she shall bring forth a son, and His name shall be called

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'Emmanuel,' which is, being interpreted, 'God with us'" (Isa. vii. 14). And because He became like a man, and the angels were coming down [Fol. 42*a*, col. 2] from heaven to Him, truly He is the Lord of angels and men. And all the Magi believed and said, "Truly this King is God. Kings are born unto us frequently, and mighty men, the sons of mighty men, are born unto us on earth, but it is an unheard-of thing for the angels to come down to them." And straightway they all rose up, and did homage to Him as the Lord and King of the world. And having prepared food for their journey, they went down to their own country by a desert road.

[The Massacre of the Innocents.]

Now, there are certain men who will dispute this [statement] and say, "Where was Christ when the children were massacred, for it is written that He was not found in the land of Judah?" It was because of this massacre that He fled to Egypt, so that there might be fulfilled that which is written [Fol. 42*b*, col. 1]. "From Egypt I called my Son" (Hos. xi. 1). And know this also. When Christ entered Egypt all the idols therein were swept from their places, and fell down, and were broken, so that there might be fulfilled that which is written, "Behold, the

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Lord rideth on a swift cloud, and entereth Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be broken before Him" (Isa. xix. 1).

[NOTE.—When Joseph and Mary and the Child reached the gate of the city of Hermopolis, there were by the two buttresses of the gate two figures of brass that had been made by the sages and philosophers; and they spoke like men. When our Lord entered Egypt these two figures cried out with a loud voice, saying, "A great king has come into Egypt." *Book of the Bee* (chapter xl.)]

And He did not return from Egypt [at once], but lived there until Herod died, and after him reigned Archelaus.

Now, thou must know, O my brother Nemesius, that, even as I have already told thee, all the men who were under the rule of Herod were [included] in that registration for taxation; and the registration was completed in fifty days. And it was not until this registration was completed and sealed, and until Herod had sealed it and sent it to Augustus in Rome, that the Messiah was searched for; up to that time [Fol. 42*b*, col. 2] no children had been slain. And it was during the commotion caused by that registration that Christ was born. When forty

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days after His birth had been fulfilled, Christ went into the Temple of the Lord. And Simeon the Aged, the son of Joshua bar-Yôzâdhâḳ, in whose days the captivity went up from Babel, took Him in his arms. Now, Simeon was five hundred years old when he took Christ in his arms.

[The Flight into Egypt.[1]]

And straightway the angel said unto Joseph, "Arise, take the young Child and His mother, and flee into Egypt." And when the registration was completed, the Jews were dismissed, so that each man might depart to his own district and to his own village.

[Herod and John the Baptist.]

Then did Herod enquire for the Magi, and when he was told, "they have gone back to their own country," he was exceedingly wroth, and he sent straightway and slew all the young children in Bethlehem, and in all the villages round about. And when Herod had passed among the [Fol. 43*a*, col. 1] slain children, and they did not find there [the body of] John, the son of Zacharias, he said,

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[1] This is the order in which this paragraph appears in the text, though in the "Genealogy of our Lord" (*see* below, page 233) the circumcision and the presentation in the Temple precede the flight into Egypt.

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" Truly, his son will reign over Israel." For he had heard of what had been said unto Zacharias by the angel, when he announced to him concerning [the birth of] John. And Herod sent to Zacharias [and commanded him] to bring John, and Zacharias said, " I am a priest, and I minister in the Temple of the Lord ; I do not know where the Child and his mother are." And because of these words Zacharias was slain between the bench (or, steps) and the altar. Now, Elizabeth had taken John and gone forth into the desert.

[The Death of Herod.]

And as for Herod, a divine punishment that was pitiless overtook him, and he fell ill of a sickness through which he stank, and his body melted away into a mass of worms, and he suffered most grievous pains, and at length people were unable to come near him because of his putrid smell. And through that bitter suffering [Fol. 43*a*, col. 2] his soul departed into outer darkness. Nevertheless, by his death he destroyed many.

[NOTE.—First of all, he slew his wife and his daughter, and he killed one man of every family, saying, "At the time of my death there shall be mourning and weeping and lamentation in

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the whole city." His bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and matter flowed from them, and he was consumed by worms. He had nine wives and thirteen children. There was a knife in his hand, and he was eating an apple; and by reason of the severity of his pain, he drew the knife across his throat, and cut it with his own hand; and his belly burst open, and he died and went to perdition. An evil fate also overtook Bôzîyâ, the daughter of Herodias, who begged for the head of John the Baptist on a charger. Having given the saint's head to her mother, she went out to dance upon the ice, but the ice broke and she sank into the water up to her neck, and no one could deliver her. At length men came with the sword which had been used in beheading John, and they cut off Bôzîyâ's head and gave it to her mother. The right hand with which Herodias took up John's head withered, and when she saw the heads of the saint and her daughter she became blind, and Satan entered her and bound her with fetters. See *Book of the Bee* (chapters xxxix and xli).]

Now Herod had said unto Archelaus his son, and unto Shâlôm his sister, " Immediately I am dead, let those whom I have fettered in prison be slain "—now he had imprisoned one person from

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every house. And he said, "I know that the Jews will feel great joy at my death. But in order that they may not rejoice and be glad whilst ye are sorrowful and are weeping, let all those whom I have shut up in prison be slain, so that through their death they may cause lamentation unintentionally." And Archelaus and Shâlôm did as Herod commanded them, and when this order had been carried out in all Judea there remained not one house in which there was not lamentation, even as it was in Egypt [in days of old].

[Christ returns to Galilee.]

And when Herod died, and his death had been announced to Joseph, he went back to Galilee. And when Christ was thirty years old [Fol. 43*b*, col. 1] He was baptized by John. Now John was in the desert all the days of his life, and he lived upon the root which is called "Kâmûṣ," which is wild honey. [According to some this root was like unto a carrot.] And in the twelfth year of the kingdom of Tiberius Christ suffered.

[Chronological statement.]

Understand now and see, O my brother Nemesius, that in the days of Yârêd, in his fortieth year, the FIRST Thousand Years came to an end. In the six hundredth year of Noah

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the Second Thousand Years came to an end. In the seventy-fourth year of Reu the Third Thousand Years came to an end. In the twenty-sixth year of Âhôr (Ehud) the Fourth Thousand Years came to an end. In the second year of Cyrus the Fifth Thousand Years came to an end. And in the five hundredth year of the Sixth Thousand Years Christ was born in His human form.

[The Crucifixion of Christ.]

And know thou also that Christ dwelt [Fol. 43*b*, col. 2] in Mary, and suffered in Nazareth, and was born in Bethlehem, and was laid in a manger, and was carried by Simeon in the Temple of Solomon, and was reared in Galilee, and was anointed by Mary Magdalene, and ate the Passover in the house of Nicodemus, the brother of Joseph of Râmethâ, and was bound in the house of Ḥannân, and was struck with a reed in the house of Caiaphas, and embraced the pillar and was scourged with a whip in the Prætorium of Pilate, and on Friday, on the first day of Nîsân (April), on the fourteenth day of the moon, our Redeemer suffered.

At the FIRST HOUR of Friday God fashioned Adam from the dust, and at the first hour of Friday Christ received spittle from the sons of Adam.

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At the SECOND HOUR of Friday the wild beasts, and the cattle, and the feathered fowl gathered themselves together [Fol. 44*a*, col. 1] to Adam, and he gave names to them as they bowed their heads before him. And at the second hour of Friday the Jews gathered themselves together against Christ, and they gnashed their teeth at Him, even as the blessed David said, " Many bulls have gathered together round about me, bulls of Bashan have beset me round" (Ps. xxii. 12).

At the THIRD HOUR of Friday a crown of glory was placed on the head of Adam, and at the third hour of Friday the crown of thorns was placed on the head of Christ.

THREE HOURS was Adam in Paradise and shining with splendour, and three hours was Christ in the Judgment Hall being beaten by creatures that had been fashioned out of dust.

At the SIXTH HOUR Eve went up to the tree of the transgression of the commandment, and at the sixth hour Christ ascended the Cross, the Tree of Life.

At the SIXTH HOUR Eve gave unto Adam the fruit of the gall of death [Fol. 44*a*, col. 2], and at the sixth hour the crowd of iniquity gave unto Christ vinegar and gall.

For THREE HOURS Adam remained under the Tree naked, and for three hours was Christ naked

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on the wood of the Cross. And from the right side of Adam went forth Eve, the mother of mortal offspring, and from the right side of Christ went forth baptism, the mother of immortal offspring.

On Friday Adam and Eve sinned, and on Friday their sin was remitted.

On Friday Adam and Eve died, and on Friday they came alive.

On Friday Death reigned over them, and on Friday they were freed from his dominion.

On Friday Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, and on Friday our Lord went into the grave.

On Friday Adam and Eve became naked, and on Friday Christ stripped [Fol. 44*b*, col. 1] Himself naked and clothed them.

On Friday Satan stripped Adam and Eve naked, and on Friday Christ stripped naked Satan and all his hosts, and put them to shame openly.

On Friday the door of Paradise was shut and Adam went forth, and on Friday it was opened and a robber went in.

On Friday the two-edged sword was given to the Cherub, and on Friday Christ smote with the spear, and brake the two-edged sword.

On Friday kingdom, and priesthood, and prophecy were given unto Adam, and on Friday

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priesthood, and kingdom, and prophecy were taken from the Jews.

At the NINTH HOUR Adam went down into the lowest depth of the earth from the height of Paradise, and at the ninth hour Christ went down to the lowest depths of the earth, to those who lay [Fol. 44*b*, col. 2] in the dust, from the height of the Cross.

Know also that Christ was like unto Adam in everything, even as it is written. In that very place where Melchisedek ministered as a priest, and where Abraham offered up his son Isaac as an offering, the wood of the Cross was set up, and that self-same place is the centre of the earth, and there the Four Quarters of the earth meet each other. For when God made the earth His mighty power was running before it, and the earth was running after it, and the power of God stood still and became motionless in Golgotha; and that same place formeth the boundary of the earth. When Shem took up the body of Adam, that same place, which is the door of the earth, opened itself. And when Shem and Melchisedek had deposited the body of Adam in the centre of the earth the Four Quarters [Fol. 45*a*, col. 1] of the earth closed in about it, and embraced Adam, and straightway that opening was closed firmly, and all the children of Adam were not able to open it. And

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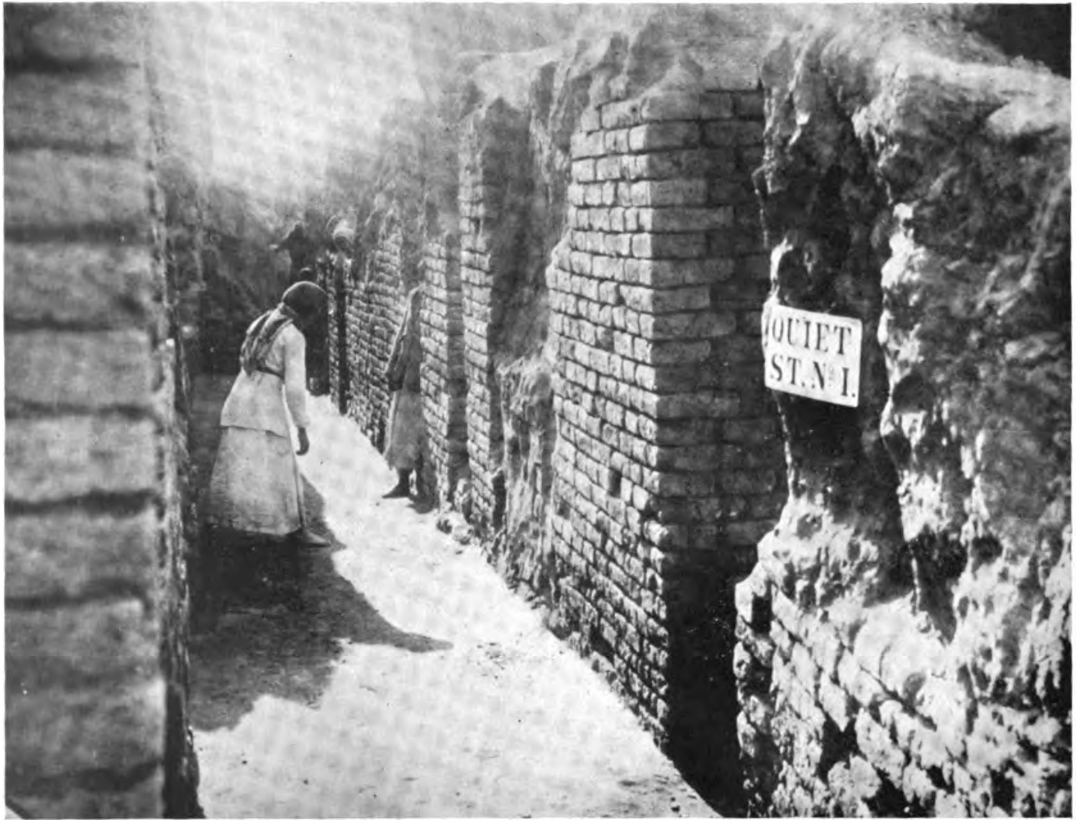
PLATE XII.



A street of private houses recently excavated in the city of "Ur of the Chaldees." The houses were built about 2100 B.C., *i.e.* about the time when Abraham and his father Terah were living in Ur; this street must have been seen by these patriarchs. They are the first private houses of the period to be discovered, and their state of preservation is such that it is possible to reconstruct the general plan of the house of a well-to-do citizen of Ur. (*See* page 284.)

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when the Cross of Christ, the Redeemer of Adam and his sons, was set up upon it, the door of that place was opened in the face of Adam. And when the Wood (*i.e.* the Cross) was fixed upon it, and Christ was smitten with the spear, and blood and water flowed down from His side, they ran down into the mouth of Adam, and they became a baptism to him, and he was baptized.

Now when the Jews crucified Christ on the Wood, they divided His garments among them beneath the Cross, even as it is written. His tunic was of purple, which is the raiment of royalty; and when they stripped Him of the raiment of royalty Pilate would not permit the Jews [Fol. 45*a*, col. 2] to array Him in ordinary apparel, but only in the actual raiment of royalty, either purple or scarlet. By both of these it might be known that He was a king. For it is impossible for any other man to wear purple; only a king can do this. And one of the Evangelists hath said, " The soldiers put on Him a purple robe " (Mark xv. 17; John xix. 2, 5), and this is a true word and is highly credible; and another Evangelist uses the word " scarlet " (Matt. xxvii. 28), and he proclaimed what was true. The scarlet garment indicateth to us blood, and the purple garment water; for the scarlet one was like unto blood, and the

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purple one was like unto water. The scarlet garment proclaimeth the joyful and immortal nature of man, and the purple one the sad and mortal nature of man. Understand, therefore, O our brother [Fol. 45*b*, col. 1] Nemesius, that scarlet proclaimeth life.

Now the spies said prophetically to Rahab, the harlot, " thou shalt tie a thread of scarlet to the window " (Joshua ii. 18) when they descended having been [well] entreated by her. And through her they prefigured a certain matter, for the window [symbolized] the side of our Lord Christ, and the thread of scarlet His precious blood which produced life.

And they (*i.e.* the Jews) wove a crown of spikes of thorn bushes, and set it upon His head. And they arrayed Him in royal apparel, not knowing what they were doing. And they bowed the knee, and made obeisance unto Him, and they spake with their mouths, without being compelled to do so, saying, " Hail to Thee, King of the Jews." Observe ye, O my brethren, that not even in His death did He lack the [sign of] royalty. And when the Jews and the soldiers who were the servants of Herod and Pilate were struggling together to rend the tunic of Christ [Fol. 45*b*, col. 2], to divide it among them, they did so because they all eagerly desired the beauty of the sight thereof. And the

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centurion also who watched the Cross himself testified before all the crowd, saying, "Verily, this man is the Son of God." And this centurion said unto them, "The orders which have been given to me do not permit me to rend the apparel of royalty, but cast lots for it [and we shall see] to whom it will come"; and when the Jews and the soldiers of the king had cast lots, the lot fell upon one of the soldiers of Pilate. Now the tunic of our Lord had no seam, but had been woven whole in one piece. And whensoever there was a lack of rain in the place where it had been deposited and taken care of, the people used to bring out the tunic, and as soon as they lifted it up [Fol. 46*a*, col. 1] towards heaven an abundance of rain fell. And also, whensoever the soldier who had received it lacked rain for his crop, he brought out the tunic, and it worked this miracle. Now the tunic was taken away by force from the man who got it by Pilate, who sent it to the Emperor Tiberius. To us this tunic indicateth the Orthodox Faith, which all the nations [joined] together are unable to cleave.

Three valuable gifts, than which there is nothing more valuable, were given to the Jews in olden time, namely, royalty, priesthood, and prophecy: prophecy by the hand of Moses, priesthood by the hand of Aaron, and royalty

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by the hand of David. These three gifts which the generations and families of the children of Israel had enjoyed for [many] years were taken from them in one day ; and they were stripped of all three of them, and became aliens to them, that is to say, prophecy by the Cross, priesthood by the rending of the tunic [of Christ], and royalty by the crown of thorns. Moreover, that spirit of compassion (or propitiation) which had dwelt in the Temple, in the Holy of Holies, forsook them and departed. And the curtain (or veil) of the sanctuary was cleft in twain. And the Passover fled from them, for they never celebrated another Passover in it. And know, O my brethren, that when Pilate pressed them to go into the Judgment Hall, they said unto him, " We are unable to go into the Prætorium, because up to now we have not eaten the Passover."

And when the sentence of death had been passed on our Lord by Pilate, they (the Jews) made haste and went into the sanctuary [Fol. 46*b*, col. 1] and brought out from thence the carrying poles of the Ark of the Covenant, and out of them they made the Cross of Christ. Verily it was meet that these pieces of wood which used to carry the Covenant should also carry the Lord of the Covenant. The Cross of Christ was formed of two pieces of wood which were of the same height, and depth, and length,

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and breadth. And Paul the Apostle laboured exceedingly that the Gentiles might know what was the might of the Cross, which embraced the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the earth. And when they raised up Christ, the Lamp of Light of all the earth, and set Him upon the candlestick of the Cross, the light of the sun became dark, and was extinguished, and a covering of darkness was spread over the whole earth. Three nails were driven into the body of our Redeemer, two through His hands, and one through both His feet. And there were two thieves [with Him], one on His right hand and one on His left hand.

And they handed out to Him vinegar and gall in a sponge. By the vinegar which they gave unto Him it was made known concerning them that their will was changed from what it had been formerly, and that they had turned themselves from integrity to wickedness, and by the gall was made known the bitterness of the accursed serpent which was in them. And they showed that they also had belonged to that good vineyard from which prophets, and kings, and priests, and they themselves had drunk; but because they had become wicked heirs, who would not labour in the vineyard of my beloved, they produced husks instead of grapes, and the wine which they pressed out therefrom was

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sour. And having crucified the Heir on the Wood, they mixed some of the impurity of their wickedness with their sour wine [Fol. 47*a*, col. 1], and gave Him to drink of the wine from the vineyard of the Gentiles; but He would not drink [saying], "Give me of that vine which My Father brought out of Egypt." For Christ knew that the prophecy of Moses which had been prophesied concerning them had been fulfilled in them; for Moses said, "Your grapes are grapes of gall, your clusters are bitter. Your poison is the poison of the serpent, and their head is that of a malignant viper. These are the things which ye render unto the Lord" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33).

Observe, O my brother Nemesius, that the blessed Moses with the eye of the Spirit foresaw the things which they were going to do to Christ [and said], "These are the things which ye render to the Lord." The congregation of the crucifiers was a decayed vine, its daughters were bitter grapes, and its sons were clusters of gall. Their head was Caiaphas, the malignant viper, and they were all evil serpents, and all of them were filled with [Fol. 47*a*, col. 2] the venom of Satan, who is the Evil Serpent. Instead of the water of the rock which had been given them to drink in the wilderness, they gave Him vinegar to drink, and instead of manna, the gall of the

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quail. They did not give Him a cup to drink from, but a sponge, so that they might show that the blessing of their fathers had been swept away from them. Now this is evident from what follows: When a vessel is empty and there is no wine in it, they wash and wipe it with a sponge. Even so did the Jews do when they crucified Christ, [for] with a sponge they wiped away and removed from themselves royalty, and priesthood, and prophecy, and the religion of Christ, and gave them to Christ, and the vessels of their bodies washed and empty remained only.

And the Law and the Prophets having been fulfilled, and Adam having been sent and seen the fountain of living water which was poured out from above for his redemption [Fol. 47*b*, col. 1], then was Christ smitten with the spear, and blood and water flowed down from His side; but they were not mingled with each other. For what reason did the blood come forth before the water? For two reasons: First, that through the blood life might be given unto Adam, and then, after life and resurrection, the water for his baptism. Secondly, that through the blood He might show that He was immortal, and through the water He might show that He was mortal, and a bearer of sufferings. The blood and the water ran down into the mouth of Adam,

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and Adam was redeemed, and put on a garment of glory. And Christ wrote the edict of His return with the blood of His own Person, and despatched it by the thief.

And when an end had been made of everything, the writ of repudiation of the congregation was written, and the congregation became a thing cast aside, and it was stripped of its glorious raiment, even as in times of old [Fol. 47*b*, col. 2] David had, through the Holy Spirit, said and prophesied, saying, " Even unto the horns of the altar " (Ps. cxviii. 22 ?)—to this pass were the festivals of the Jews brought. " Unto the horns of the altar " [means] to the crucifixion of Christ, that is to say :

[The Genealogy of Christ.]

From Adam to Seth ; from Seth to Enos ; from Enos to Cainan ; from Cainan to Mahalâlâêl ; from Mahalâlâêl to Jared ; from Jared to Enoch ; from Enoch to Methuselah ; from Methuselah to Lamech ; from Lamech to Noah ; from Noah to Shem ; from Shem to Arphaxad ; from Arphaxad to Salah ; from Salah to Eber ; from Eber to Peleg ; from Peleg to Reu ; from Reu to Serug ; from Serug to Nahor ; from Nahor to Terah ; from Terah to Abraham ; from Abraham to Isaac ; from Isaac to Jacob ; from Jacob [Fol. 48*a*, col. 1] to

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Judah; from Judah to Pharez; from Pharez to Hesron; from Hesron to Aram; from Aram to Amminadab; from Amminadab to Nahasson; from Nahasson to Salmon; from Salmon to Boaz; from Boaz to Obed; from Obed to Jesse; from Jesse to David; from David to Solomon; from Solomon to Rehoboam; from Rehoboam to Abijah; from Abijah to Ara; from Ara to Jehoshaphat; from Jeshoshaphat to Joram; from Joram to Ahaziah; from Ahaziah to Joash; from Joash to Amaziah; from Amaziah to Uzziah; from Uzziah to Jotham; from Jotham to Ahaz; from Ahaz to Hezekiah; from Hezekiah to Manasseh; from Manasseh to Ammon; from Ammon to Josiah; from Josiah to Jehoahaz; from Jehoahaz to Jehoiakim; from Jehoiakim to Jehoiachin; from Jehoiachin to Salathiel; from Salathiel [Fol. 48*a*, col. 2] to Zerubbabel; from Zerubbabel to Abiud; from Abiud to Eliakim; from Eliakim to Azor; from Azor to Zadok; from Zadok to Achin; from Achin to Eliud; from Eliud to Eleazar; from Eleazar to Mathan; from Mathan to Jacob and Yônâkhîr; from Yônâkhîr to Mary; from Mary to the manger; from the manger to circumcision; from the circumcision to the Temple; from the Temple to Egypt; from Egypt to Galilee; from Galilee to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to the Jordan; from the Jordan to

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the desert; from the desert to Judah; from Judah to the preaching; from the preaching to the Upper Chamber; from the Upper Chamber to the Passover; from the Passover to the Judgment Hall; from the Judgment Hall to the Cross; from the Cross to the grave; from the grave to the Upper Chamber; from the Upper Chamber to heaven; and from heaven to the throne [Fol. 48*b*, col. 1]. He sitteth on the right hand of His Father.

[The end of the two and sixty weeks.]

Observe, O our brother Nemesius, how the generations and families have succeeded each other; from Adam to the Jews, and the Jews also from one [generation] to another until the Cross of Christ. From that time and onwards the festivals of the Jews have ceased, even as the blessed David saith concerning them: "Bind our festivals with chains even to the horns of the altar" (Ps. cxviii. 27). The chains are the families which are linked each to the other, and the altar is the Cross of Christ. The festivals of the Jews succeeded each other until the Cross of Christ, in priesthood, and royalty, and prophecy, and Passover; but from the Cross of Christ up to the present they all have ceased, even as I have said [Fol. 48*b*, col. 2]. The Jews have no longer among them a king, or a priest, or a prophet, or a Passover, even as Daniel prophesied concerning them, saying, "After two and sixty weeks Christ shall be slain, and the city of holiness shall be laid waste until the completion of things decreed" (Dan. ix. 26). That is to say, for ever and ever.

[Christ's body is embalmed and laid in the tomb made for Joshua, the son of Nôn.]

And when the end of all the Law and the Prophets had come, and Christ was hanging on the Cross, Joseph, the brother of Nicodemus and Cleophas, went in to Pilate—now he was the bearer of the seal-ring of Pilate, and was a councillor, and had free intercourse with him—and asked for the body of our Redeemer; and Pilate commanded that it should be given to him. And when Joseph had taken His body, straightway Pilate commanded that [Fol. 49*a*, col. 1] the garden also in which the grave was situated should be given to him; it belonged to Joseph, and it had been given unto him as an inheritance by Phinehas, the Levite, the son of Joseph's uncle. Now Joseph was from Jerusalem, but he had been made a councillor in Râmthâ, and all the letters which had been written during the whole period of Pilate's administration had been sealed with the seal which Joseph carried. And when Joseph had taken down the body of our Lord

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from the Cross, the Jews ran and took the Cross, and brought it into the Temple, because [the pieces of wood thereof] were the bearing poles of the Ark of the Covenant. And Nicodemus also embalmed the body of our Lord [and swathed it] in clean, new linen swathings, and Joseph made it ready for the grave and buried it in a new tomb which had been made for Joshua, the son of Nôn, to be buried in. And because he saw with the eye of the Spirit [Fol. 49*a*, col. 2], and the way of the Dispensation of Christ had appeared to him, he took the stone which had travelled about with the children of Israel in the desert and placed it at the door of the tomb, and therefore he was not buried in it. And when Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Cleophas had buried Christ, they laid that stone before the door of the building of the tomb. And the high priests, and men of the house of Pilate, went out and set seals on the grave and on the stone.

[The Cross of Christ.]

And now, my brother Nemesius, be amazed and give praise to God that all the straps (or, ligatures) of the . . . . . . of Christ were joined together on the bearing poles of the Ark of the service of God and the covering of the sanctuary of propitiation. This was what God commanded Moses: to make a breast-plate of judgment

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(Exod. xxviii. 15) and of peace; of judgment for the Jews who crucified Him [Fol. 49*b*, col. 1], and of peace for the Gentiles who have believed in Him. His Cross was made of the wood of the Sanctuary, His grave was a new one, which had been made for the death of Joshua, the son of Nôn, and the stone (or rock), which is Christ, had when in the desert given water to six hundred thousand people, and now it became an altar and gave life to all the Gentiles. And the saying of the Apostle, "that rock was Christ" (I Cor. x. 4) is true and well worthy of belief. Joseph was a councillor in Râmthâ, Nicodemus was a teacher of the Law in Jerusalem, and Cleophas was the recorder of the Hebrews in 'Amâôs. Nicodemus prepared everything which was required for the Passover in the Upper Chamber; and Joseph made Him ready for burial and buried Him in his own inheritance, and Cleophas received Him into his house. And when [Fol. 49*b*, col. 2] He had risen from the dead these men became to Him true and faithful brethren.

[The trilingual inscription above the Cross.]

And when Joseph brought Him down from the Cross, he took away that inscription which was spread out above His head, that is to say, over the head of the Cross of Christ, because it

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had been written by Pilate in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew. And why did Pilate write in it no word of the Syrians? Because the Syrians participated in no way whatsoever in the [shedding of the] blood of Christ. And Pilate, a wise man and a lover of the truth, did not wish to write a lie as wicked judges do, but he did according to what is written in the Law of Moses. Pilate wrote in the inscription [the names of the languages of] those who condemned the innocent in the order in which the slayers of Christ laid their hands upon Him, and he hung the writing above Him. Herod was a Greek, Caiaphas was [Fol. 50*a*, col. 1] a Hebrew, and Pilate a Roman. Now the Syrians had no part in the murder of Christ, and to this testifieth Abhgar, king of Edessa, who wished to take Jerusalem and destroy it because the Jews crucified Christ. [*See* Cureton, *Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, page 30; Cureton, *Ancient Syrian Documents*, page 107; and Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. XX, New Series, January, 1865.]

[The Harrowing of Hell.]

Now the descent of Sheol was not in vain, for it was the cause of manifold benefits to our race. He dismissed Death from his domination. He preached the resurrection to those who were lying in the dust, and He pardoned those who

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had sinned against the Law. He laid waste Sheol, and slew sin. He put Satan to shame, and made the devils sad, and He abrogated sacrifices and offerings and made an apology for Adam, and abolished the festivals of the Jews.

[NOTE.—According to the Coptic *Book of the Resurrection,* which is attributed to Bartholomew the Apostle, Christ broke down the doors of hell, and smashed the bolts, and destroyed the door-posts and frames. He overthrew the blazing furnaces of brass, and extinguished their fires, and, sweeping everything out of hell, He left it like a desert. He fettered the "Shameless One," and bound the ministers of Satan, and tied up a devil called Melkhir with a chain. *See* British Museum MS. Oriental No. 6804, and Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha,* page 184.]

[The Resurrection of Christ.]

And having risen from the grave on the third day, Christ appeared to Ḳîpâ (Peter) and John.

And whilst [Fol. 50*a*, col. 2] Christ was in the grave, and the watchmen were sitting round about it, Simon Peter conceived the design of giving the watchmen wine to drink so that they might become drunk and fall asleep, when he intended to rise up and open the tomb, and take out the body of Christ without breaking the

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seals on the tomb, so that the Jews might not say, " Assuredly His disciples stole Him away." And whilst the watchmen were eating and drinking, Christ rose up and showed Himself to Ḳîpâ (Peter), for He had indeed risen. And Peter believed that He was truly Christ, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and did not approach the tomb. And afterwards Christ also appeared to the watchmen openly, and He went to His disciples in the Upper Chamber, and Thomas felt Him. And He appeared to His disciples on the sea shore. Now, though Simon Peter denied Him thrice before the Jews, he acknowledged Him thrice [Fol. 50*b*, col. 1] before the disciples. And Christ delivered to him and committed to his hands all His flock, saying, before His disciples, " Feed thou for Me My sheep and lambs and ewes," that is to say, men, women and children. And forty days after His Resurrection He bestowed upon the Apostles the laying on of hands of the priesthood, and He went up to heaven, and sat down on the right hand of His Father.

Then the Apostles gathered themselves together and went up into the Upper Chamber with Mary, the Holy Virgin, and Simon Peter baptized Mary, and John, the virgin, received her [into his house]. And they decreed a fast until they had received the Spirit, the Paraclete,

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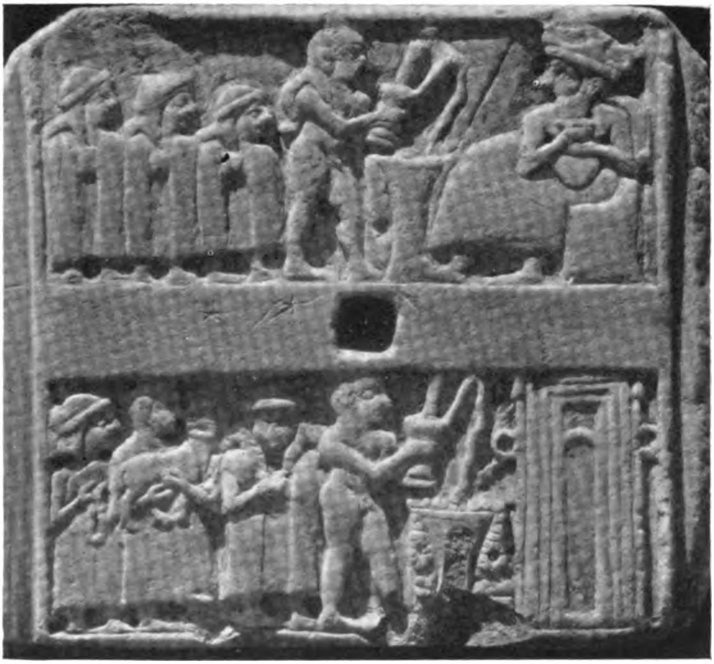
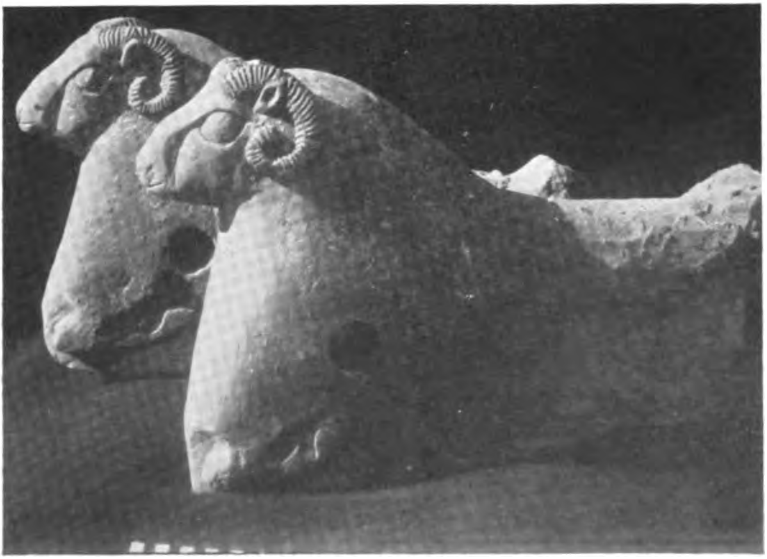
PLATE XIII.



1. Limestone plaque with reliefs representing the King and his sons pouring out a libation to Nannar, the Moon-god. (*See* page 278.)
2. A priest pouring out a libation before a shrine. Behind him is the high priestess and men bearing offerings. (*See* page 278.)



Alabaster rams from a throne. (*See* page 278.)

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at Pentecost, they all being gathered together. And tongues (*i.e.* languages) were distributed among them, so that each of them might go and teach that nation in the tongue which he had received, so that there might never be strife among them [Fol. 50*b*, col. 2].

Here endeth the "BOOK OF THE ORDER OF THE SUCCESSION OF FAMILIES FROM ADAM TO CHRIST," which is called the "Cave of Treasures."

And to God be glory for ever!

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TESTAMENTUM ADAMI.

[The Ethiopic text and an Arabic version was published by Bezold in Nöldeke's *Festschrift*, Gieszen, 1906. *See also* Brit. Mus. Add. 16251 and Add. 16217 (Dillmann, *Catalogus*, Nos. XXXIV and XXXVII.]

THE HOURS OF THE DAY.

And, moreover, understand thou concerning the hours of the day and of the night, and how it is seemly that ye should make supplication to God, and to pray to Him at each of His seasons. For my Creator taught me all this, and He told me the names of all the wild animals and beasts, and of the birds of heaven, and then God made me to understand the number of the hours of the day and of the night, and He told me how the angels praise God. Understand, then, O my son, that at the first hour of the day the prayer of my children ascendeth to God. And at the second hour the prayer and petition of

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the angels take place. At the third hour the birds of the heavens praise Him. And at the fourth hour the spiritual beings worship Him. And at the fifth hour all the wild beasts and animals salute Him. At the sixth hour the petition of the Kîrûbêl (Cherubim) taketh place. And at the seventh hour all the angels enter the presence of God, and go forth therefrom, for at this hour the prayer of every living thing ascendeth to God. At the eighth hour the shining denizens of heaven praise Him. And at the ninth hour the angels of God who stand before the throne of the Most High do homage unto Him. And at the tenth hour the Holy Spirit overshadoweth the waters, and the devils flee away and remove themselves from the waters. And if the Holy Spirit did not overshadow the waters at this hour every day, no one could drink of the waters, [for if he did] his flesh (*i.e.* body) would be destroyed by the evil devils. And if the priest taketh water at this hour and mixeth with it holy oil, and anointeth the sick and those who are possessed of foul spirits with the mixture, they shall be healed of their sickness. And at the eleventh hour the glorifyings of the righteous take place. And at the twelfth hour God, the Most High, receiveth the prayers and petitions of the children of men.

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THE HOURS OF THE NIGHT.

And at the first hour of the night the devils render thanks and praise to God Most High, and there is in them no evil and no harm for anyone until they have finished their service of homage. And at the second hour of the night the fish and every creature that is in the waters praise God, and the wild beasts and the whales. And at the third hour the fire praiseth Him—now it is in the lowest depth, and in that hour no one can address Him (?). And at the fourth hour the Sûrâfêl (Seraphim) proclaim Him Holy. And at the fifth hour the waters which are above the heavens praise Him. Now long ago I sat and listened to the angels at this hour, and [marvelled] how they cried out; [their cry] was like the noise of a mighty wheel, and they cried out like the waves of the sea with the voice of praise to God. And at the sixth hour the clouds praised God in fear and trembling. And at the seventh hour the earth was hushed in silence and every creature that was upon it, and the waters slumbered. And if at this hour the priest taketh some water and mixeth holy oil with it, and he anointeth therewith the sick and those who cannot sleep at night because of [their] pain, those who are sick will be healed, and those who are wakeful will fall asleep. At the eighth hour the earth maketh to grow grass

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and green herbs, and maketh the trees to put forth leaves and fruit. And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men cometh into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God heareth the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted unto them. And at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the cocks crow and praise God. And at the eleventh hour there is joy and gladness on all the earth, for the sun entereth into the Garden (*i.e.* Paradise), and his light riseth in all the ends of the world, and illumineth every created thing. And at the twelfth hour it is befitting for my children to stand up before God, and pay homage to Him, for at this hour there resteth a great silence on all the heavenly beings.

ADAM FORETELLS THE COMING OF CHRIST.

Now therefore know thou all this, and hearken unto my word, and understand that the Word of God, the Most High, shall come down upon the earth, even as He told me at the moment when He thrust me out from the Garden (Paradise). For He told me that His Word in later days should become man from a woman who was a virgin whose name was Mary, and should hide in her, and put on flesh, and be born like a man with great power, and operative skill and knowledge. No one shall know Him except Himself and him to whom He manifested [Himself]. And God said that He should go about with people on the earth, and grow in days and years, and should perform signs and wonders openly, and should walk upon the sea as upon dry land, and should rebuke the sea and the winds openly, and they should be subject unto Him, and that He should cry out to the waves of the sea and they should make answer to Him speedily. And that He should make the blind to see, and the lepers to be cleansed, and the deaf to hear, and the dumb to talk, and should raise up the paralytics, and make the lame to walk, and should turn many from error to the knowledge of God, and should drive out the devils from men.

And besides [these things] God spake unto me, saying, " Be not sorrowful, O Adam, for thou didst wish to become a god and didst transgress my command. Behold, I will stablish thee, not at this present, but after a few days." And again He spake unto me, saying, " I am God Who made thee to go forth from the Garden of Joy into the earth, which shall shoot forth thorns and brambles, and thou shalt dwell therein. Bend thy back, and make thy knees

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to totter in old age, and I will make thy flesh food for the worms. And after five days and half a day[1] I will have compassion upon thee, and shew thee mercy in the abundance of my compassion and my mercy. And I will come down into thy house, and I will dwell in thy flesh, and for thy sake I will be pleased to be born like an [ordinary] child. And for thy sake I will be pleased to walk in the market place. And for thy sake I will be pleased to fast forty days. And for thy sake I will be pleased to accept baptism. And for thy sake I will be pleased to endure suffering. And for thy sake I will be pleased to hang on the wood of the Cross. All these things [will I do] for thy sake, O Adam."

To Him be praise, and majesty, and dominion, and glory, and worship, and hymns, with His Father and the Holy Spirit from this time forward and for ever and ever. Amen.

Furthermore, thou must know, O my son, Seth, behold a Flood shall come and shall wash the whole earth because of the children of Ḳâyal (Cain), the murderer, who slew his brother through jealousy, because of his sister Lûd. And after the Flood and many weeks the latter days shall come, and everything shall be completed, and his time shall come and fire shall consume everything which is

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[1] *I.e.* five thousand five hundred years.

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found before God, and the earth shall be sanctified, and the Lord of Lords shall walk about on it."

And Seth wrote down this Commandment, and sealed it with his seal, and with the seal of his father Adam, which he took with him from the Garden (Paradise), and with the seal of Eve his mother.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TRANSLATIONS FROM THE "BOOK OF THE BEE."

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. OUR LORD'S APPEARANCES AFTER THE RESURRECTION. THE LAST SUPPER. THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES. CHRONOLOGY. GOG AND MAGOG. ANTI-CHRIST. THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

The extracts quoted in the preceding pages show how largely Solomon, Bishop of Al-Baṣrah, borrowed from the " Cave of Treasures " when compiling his work, " The Book of the Bee," especially when he was dealing with the history of the early Patriarchs. But he did not bring his book to a close with the narrative of the Crucifixion, for his aim was to describe briefly the progress of Christianity after the death of Christ; and in doing this he collected and set down in writing a considerable amount of information regarding the Apostles and disciples, and their lives and deaths, and a number of facts and legends which he accepted and wished the

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Nestorians in his diocese especially to believe. In fact, the " Book of the Bee," though written by a Nestorian bishop, may be regarded as a supplement or continuation of the " Cave of Treasures," which, according to ancient tradition, was written by a Jacobite bishop. Both works are included in the collection of texts which the learned priest Hômô copied in the British Museum MS. Add. 25875, and both were so highly esteemed that copies of them were made for the library of the church of the Virgin Mary in 'Amedîa. The following summary is based on my translation of the Syriac text published at Oxford in 1886.

[THE DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN MARY.]

Mary lived twelve years after our Lord's Ascension ; the sum of the years which she lived in the world was fifty-eight years, but others say sixty-one years. She was not buried on earth, but the angels carried her to Paradise, and angels bore her bier. On the other hand, we read in the *History of the Virgin*, " And the blessed Mary departed this life in the year of Alexander, 394 (*i.e.* A.D. 82–83). At the Annunciation she was thirty years old, and she lived also the thirty-three years of the Dispensation ; and after the Crucifixion she lived fifty-eight

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years. The years which she lived were one hundred and twenty-one." In the same book we have: "And Mary remained in Jerusalem, and grieved because of her separation from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the absence of the apostles from her. And she prayed and cast frankincense into the fire, and lifted up her eyes and spread out her hands to heaven, and said, 'O Christ, the Son of the living God, hearken unto the voice of Thy handmaiden, and send unto me Thy friend John the Young with his fellow-apostles, that I may see them and be comforted by the sight of them before the day of my death; and I will praise and adore Thy goodness.'" And straightway it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to each one of the apostles, in whatever country he was in, that the blessed Mary was about to depart from this world into the never-ending life. And the Spirit summoned them, along with those of them who were dead, to be gathered together at daybreak to the blessed Mary for her to see them: and each one of them came to her from his own land at dawn by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and they saluted Mary and each other, and adored her. Thomas was in India, and an angel took him up and brought him. And he found the angels carrying her bier through the air; and they brought it nigh to Thomas, and he also prayed and was blessed by her.

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[OUR LORD'S APPEARANCES AFTER HIS RESURRECTION.]

He appeared ten times: 1. To Mary Magdalene (John xx. 11, 18). 2. To the women at the grave (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10). 3. To Cleophas (Luke xxiv. 18). 4. To Simon Peter (Luke xxiv. 34). 5. To all the disciples except Thomas (Luke xxiv. 36–49; John xx. 19–23). 6. To the disciples, Thomas being with them (John xx. 24–29). 7. On the Mount (Matt. xxviii. 16–20). 8. On the Sea of Tiberias (John xxi. 1–24). 9. At His Ascension (Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 50–53). 10. To the Five Hundred at once (I Cor. xv. 6).

After His Ascension he appeared to Paul (Acts ix. 3–9; I Cor. xv. 3), and to Stephen (Acts vii. 55–60).

[THE LAST SUPPER.]

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body in the Upper Chamber, John, the son of Zebedee, hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. When Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested on the mark of the spear, the disciples saw the blood. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî took that piece, and sanctified this

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unleavened bread which has been handed down among us. Others say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread in his hand, it burst into flame, and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the Cross of baptism.

[THE APOSTLES.]

The Apostles were Twelve and Seventy ; their names are :—

SIMON, the chief of the Apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He preached for one year in Antioch, where the disciples were [first] called Christians, and he built there the first church, in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He lived in Rome twenty-seven years. He was crucified, head downwards, by Nero, in the 376th year of the Greeks (65–64 B.C.).

ANDREW, his brother, preached in Scythia, Nicomedia, and Achaia. He died in Byzantium and was buried in the church which he built there.

JOHN, the son of Zabhdai (Zebedee), was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulon. He preached in Ephesus, was exiled to Patmos, and then returned to Ephesus, where he built a church. Three of his disciples went with him :—IGNATIUS,

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later bishop of Antioch, who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; POLYCARP, later bishop of Smyrna who was burnt to death; and JOHN, who succeeded him as bishop. John, the son of Zebedee, was buried by John, his disciple, at Ephesus, and his grave is unknown. John, his disciple, was also buried at Ephesus. He wrote the Revelation, and said that all he had written in that book he had received from John the Evangelist.

JAMES, the brother of John, preached in Bethsaida and built a church there. Herod Agrippa slew him with the sword in the year following the Ascension of our Lord. He was buried at Âḳâr, a city of Marmârîḳâ.

PHILIP, from Bethsaida, was of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he died in Pisidia, and was buried in the church which he built there. He lived as an apostle 27 years.

THOMAS, from Jerusalem, was of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians; he baptized the daughter of the Indian king, who had him speared to death. Ḥabbân the merchant brought his body to Edessa and buried it there. Some say he was buried in Maḥlûph in India.

MATTHEW, from Nazareth, was of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and

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Sidon, and went as far as Gabbûlâ (*i.e.* al-Jabbâl, a town in Coelesyria). He died, and was buried in Antioch.

BARTHOLOMEW, from Endor, was of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Armenia, Ardeshîr, Ḳeṭarbôl, Radbîn and Prûharmân. He first went to Golthon in Armenia, came back to Artaschu, and then went on to Her, Zarevant and Urbianos. He lived as an apostle for 30 years, and then Hûrsṭî (Rhûsṭnî or Hêrôsṭmî), king of Armenia, crucified him in Urbianos. He was buried in the church which he had built in Armenia. The king of Armenia in the time of Bartholomew was called Sanadrog (Sanatruk).

JUDE, the son of James, surnamed THADDAEUS (TADDAI), who is also LEBBAEUS (Lebbai), from Jerusalem, was of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea, and in Antaradus and Arwâd (Ruwâd). He was stoned in Arwâd, and died and was buried there.

SIMON ZELÔTES, from Galilee, was of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shêmêshât (Samosata), Pârîn (Perrhê), Zeugma, Ḥâlâb (Aleppo), Mabbôg (Manbig), and Kenneshrîn (Ḳinnesrîn). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there.

JAMES, the son of Alphaeus (Ḥalphai), was from the Jordan, and of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkêsion

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(Ḳîrḳîsîyâ), and Callinicos (ar-Raḳḳah), and came to Bâṭnân of Serûg (Sarug), where he built a church, and died and was buried there.

JUDAS ISCARIOT, the Betrayer, from Sekharyût, was of the tribe of Gad or Dan. MATTHIAS, of the tribe of Reuben, came in his stead. He preached in Hellas and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died, and was buried in it.

JAMES, the brother of our Lord, was cast down from a pinnacle of the Temple whilst preaching in Jerusalem; then a fuller of cloth smashed in his skull with a club, and afterwards they stoned him.

JOHN THE BAPTIST was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was buried in Sebastia.

ANANIAS (ḤANANYÂ), John's disciple, taught in Damascus and Arbîl. Pôl, the general of Aretas (Aristus) slew him, and he was buried in his church at Arbîl.

PAUL, of Tarsus, was a Pharisee and of the tribe of Ephraim (or, Benjamin ?). He went to Peter at Rome, and Nero ordered them to be slain. On their way to the place of slaughter they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded, and Mark and Luke brought their

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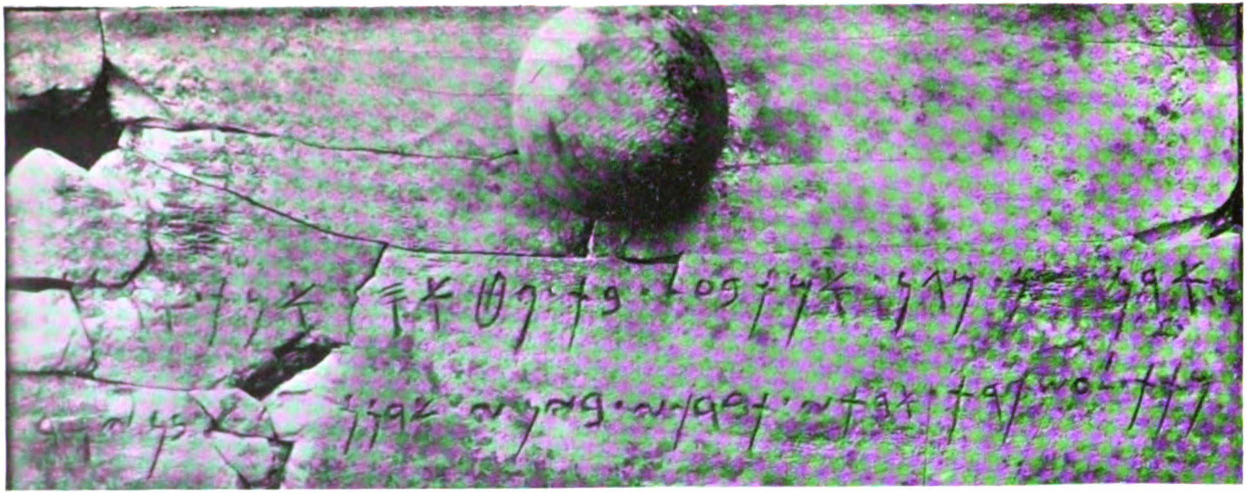
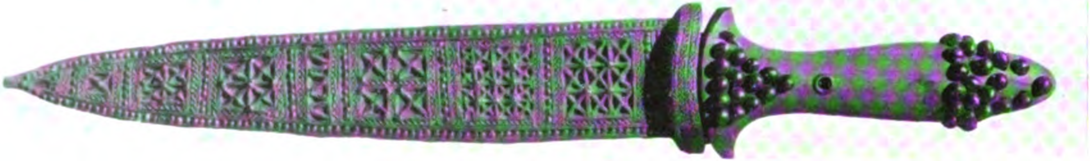
PLATE XIV.



The cover of an ivory toilet box with a Phoenician inscription. The box was probably sent from Syria to "Ur of the Chaldees" about 600 B.C. (*See* page 285.)



Gold dagger, with a handle of deep blue lapis lazuli studded with gold; the sheath in which it was found is also of gold. (*See* page 289.)

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bodies into the city. But Paul's head could not be found. At length a shepherd found it, and he laid it by his sheep-fold. At night a fire blazed over it, and the shepherd went and told bishop Xystus and the clergy, and when they saw the head they recognized it as Paul's head. They laid the head at the feet of Paul's body, and, having prayed the whole night, the head was found to have joined itself to the body. From his call to the end of his life was 35 years; he travelled for 31 years, and he was in prison at Caesarea for two years, and for two years in Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was buried in the royal catacombs in Rome.

LUKE, the physician and Evangelist, was a disciple of Lazarus, and was baptized by Philip in the city of Beroea. He was beheaded by Ḥôros, the governor of Alexandria under Tiberius, whilst preaching there; he was buried in that city.

MARK the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there. He was either the son of Simon Peter's wife or the son of Simon; and Rhoda was his sister. He was first called John, but the Apostles changed his name to Mark.

ADDAI, from Paneas, preached in Edessa and Mesopotamia in the days of Abhgar the king; he

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built a church in Edessa. Herod, son of Abhgar, slew him in the fortress of Aggêl, or Engîl, north of Âmid. He was buried either in Edessa or Rome.

AGGAI, the disciple of Addai, was a silk weaver; because he refused to give up his preaching, Herod, son of Abhgar, broke his legs with a club and he killed him.

THADDAEUS was slain by Herod, son of Abhgar, and was buried in Edessa.

ZACCHAEUS (Zaccai), the publican, was slain whilst preaching in Mount Ḥôrôn.

SIMON, the leper, taught in Ramah, and the Jews slew him there.

JOSEPH, the Senator, taught in Galilee and Decapolis, and was buried in Ramah.

NICODEMUS, the Pharisee, the friend of our Lord, died in Jerusalem, and was buried there. Some say that he was buried by his brother Gamaliel in Kephar Gamlâ.

NATHANIEL was stoned whilst preaching in Mount Ḥôrôn (or, Mount Hebron), and died.

SIMON, the Cyrenian, was slain in the island of Chios.

SIMON, son of Cleopas, was bishop of Jerusalem. At the age of one hundred years he was crucified by Irenaeus (or, Ḥereôs ?), the chiliarch.

STEPHEN was stoned to death in Jerusalem, and was buried in Kephar Gamlâ.

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MARK (surnamed John) taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus; he built a church at the latter place, and died and was buried there.

CEPHAS (Gal. ii. 9; I Cor. i. 12) taught in Baalbec, Ḥimṣ (Emesa), and Nathrôn (Batharûn); he died and was buried in Shîrâz (Shaizar ?).

BARNABAS, a native of Cyprus or a member of a family of Cyprians settled in Antioch, undertook two preaching missions in that Island, and then went and preached in Northern Italy and Kûrâ for some time. Later he returned to Cyprus, where, according to one tradition, he suffered martyrdom. The various accounts of his life and preaching are described by Lipsius in his *Apostelgeschichte* (Bd. ii. Heft 2, pp. 276–320).

TITUS taught in Crete, and died and was buried there.

SOSTHENES taught in Pontus and Asia, and was cast into the sea by Nonnus, the prefect.

CRISCUS (CRESCENS) taught in Dalmatia; he died of hunger in Alexandria.

JUSTUS taught in Tiberias and Caesarea, where he died and was buried.

ANDRONICUS taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.

RUFUS was slain whilst teaching in Zeugma.

PATROBAS taught in Chalcedon, and died there.

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HERMAS, the shepherd, taught in Antioch and died there.

NARCISSUS taught in Hellas, and died there.

ASYNCRITUS went to Bêth-Hûzâyê (Ahwâz, Khûzistân), and died there.

ARISTOBULUS taught in Isauria, and died there.

ONESIMUS, the slave of Philemon, fled to Paul in Rome, where his legs were broken, and he died.

APOLLOS was burned to death by Sparacleus (?), governor of Gangra.

OLYMPAS, STACHYS and STEPHEN died in prison in Tarsus.

JUNIAS was slain in Samos.

THEOCRITUS died in Ilios.

MARTALUS (I) was slain by the Barbarians.

NIGER taught in Antioch, and died there.

LUCIUS was dragged behind a horse and died.

ALEXANDER was thrown into a pit in Heracleôpolis (Hierapolis ?) and died.

MILUS was drowned at Rhodes.

SILVANUS and HERÔDIÔN (Rhôdiôn) were slain at Accô.

SILAS taught at Sarapolis (Hierapolis ?), and died there.

TIMOTHY taught in Ephesus, and died there.

MANAEL was burned to death in Accô.

The EUNUCH of Candace was strangled on the island of Parparchia.

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JASON and SOSIPATRUS were thrown to the beasts in Olmius.

DEMAS taught in Thessalonica, and died there.

OMIUS (HYMENAEUS) taught in Melitene, and died there.

THRASEUS was thrown into a fiery furnace at Laodicea.

BISTORIUS (ARISTARCHUS) taught in the island of Kô, and died there.

ABRIOS and MÔṬOS died in Ethiopia.

LEVI was slain in Paneas by Charmus.

NICETIANUS (NICETAS) was sawn in twain in Tiberias.

JOHN and THEODORUS were thrown to the beasts at Baalbec.

EUCHESTION (?) and SIMON were slain by Methalius in Byzantium.

EPHRAIM (APHREM) taught in Baishân, and died there.

JUSTUS was slain at Corinth.

JAMES taught in Nicomedia, and died there.

[THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES.]

The TWELVE (Matt. x. Mark iii. Luke vi. Acts i.).

1. Simon Peter.
2. Andrew, his brother.
3. James, the son of Zebedee.
4. John, his brother.

5. Philip.
6. Bartholomew.
7. Thomas.
8. Matthew.
9. James, the son of Alphaeus.
10. Labbaeus (Thaddaeus).
11. Simon the Canaanite.
12. Judas Iscariot (in whose stead came Matthias).

The SEVENTY.

1. James, the son of Joseph.
2. Simon, the son of Cleopas.
3. Cleopas, his father.

4–8. Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaeus (?).

9. Ananias, who baptized Paul.
10. Cephas, who preached at Antioch.
11. Joseph, the senator.
12. Nicodemus, the Archon.
13. Nathaniel, the chief scribe.
14. Justus (*i.e.* Joseph, called Barshabbâ).

15–17. Silas; Judah; John (Mark).

18. Mnason, who received Paul.
19. Maʿnael, foster-brother of Herod.
20. Simon, called Niger.
21. Jason (*see* Acts xvii. 5–9).
22. Rufus (*see* Rom. xvi. 13).
23. Alexander.
24. Simon, the Cyrenian, their father.

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25. Lucius, the Cyrenian.
26. Judah (mentioned in the Acts).
27. Judah, who is called Simon.
28. Eurion (Orion), the splay-footed.
29–32. Thorus ; Thorisus ; Zabdon ; Zakron.

The following were chosen with Stephen :—

33. Philip, whose three (*sic*) daughters prophesied (*see* Acts xxi. 9).
34–36. Stephen ; Prochorus ; Nicanor.
37–39. Timon ; Parmenas ; Nicolaus (Acts vi. 5).
40. Andronicus, the Greek (Rom. xvi. 7).
41, 42. Titus ; Timothy.

The following were with Peter in Rome :—

43, 44. Hermas ; Plighṭâ.
45–47. Patrobas ; Asyncritus ; Hermas.

The following came with Peter to Cornelius :—

48, 49. Criscus (II Tim. iv. 10) ; Milichus.
50, 51. Kîrîtôn (Crito) ; Simon.
52. Gaius, who received Paul.
53, 54. Abrazon (?) ; Apollos.

The following were rejected from among the Seventy, for they were followers of Cerinthus, and denied our Lord's divinity :—

55–57. Simon ; Levi ; Bar-Ḳubbâ.
58–60. Cleon ; Hymenaeus ; Candarus.
61–63. Clithon (?) ; Demas ; Narcissus.
64–66. Slîkîspus ; Thaddaeus ; Mârûthâ.

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In their stead there came in :—

Luke, the Physician.
Apollos, the elect.
Ampelius ; Urbanus ; Stachys.
Popillius (Publius) ; Aristobulus.
Stephen ; Herodion, the son of Narcissus.
Olympas ; Mark, the Evangelist.
Addai ; Aggai ; Mâr Mârî.

[CHRONOLOGY.]

From Adam to the Flood was ..	2262	years.
From the Flood to Abraham was .	1015	,,
From Abraham to the Exodus from Egypt was	430	,,
From the Exodus to Solomon and the building of the Temple was .	400	,,
From Solomon to the First Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive	495	,,
From the First Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was ..	180	,,
From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth of our Lord was ..	483	,,
	[5265]	,,

All these make 5345 years (*sic*).

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From Alexander to our Lord was .	303 years.
From our Lord to Constantine was	341 ,,
In the year 438 of Alexander, the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning.	

[For 438 read 538, as the Sasanian dynasty was founded by Ardashîr I in A.D. 226.]

Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

[OF GOG AND MAGOG.]

When Alexander was king, and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw in the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all [other] dwellers in the world; filthy people of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth, and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead [but ate them]. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and made them go in, and

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shut them up within the confines of the North. This is the gate of the world on the north, and there is no other entrance or exit from the confines of the world from the east to the north. And Alexander prayed to God with tears, and God heard his prayer and commanded those two lofty mountains which are called "the children of the north," and they drew nigh to one another until there remained between them about twelve cubits. Then he built in front of them a strong building, and he made for it a door of brass, and anointed it within and without with oil of Thesnaḳṭîs (*i.e.* an oil which cannot be burnt off with fire or scraped off with an iron tool), so that if they should bring iron implements near it to force it to open, they would be unable to move it; and if they wished to melt it with fire, it would quench it; and it feared neither the operations of devils nor of sorcerers, and was not to be overcome [by them]. Now there were twenty-two kingdoms imprisoned within the northern gate, and their names are these:—

Gôg, Mâgôg.
Nâwâl, Eshkĕnâz (Eshkîn).
Denâphâr (Dîfâr).
Paḳṭâyê (the people of Paktuê in the Thracian Chersonesus).
Welôtâyê (Lûdâyê).
Humnâyê (the Huns), Parzâyê.

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Daḳlâyê, Thaubelâyê (Tuklâyê).
Darmeṭâyê, Kawkebâyê.
Dog-men (Cynocephali).
Emderâthâ, Garmîdô.
Cannibals, Therḳâyê (Thracians).
Âlânâyê (the Allani), Pisilôn.
Denḳâyê (Dunḳâyê).
Salṭrâyê (Saltâyê).

At the end of the world and at the final consummation, when men are eating and drinking and marrying wives; and women are given to husbands; when they are planting vineyards and building buildings, and there is neither wicked man nor adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened, and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places, and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger, and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat dead dogs and cats; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of

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that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa, for thither will all those [people] be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters.

[OF THE COMING OF ANTI-CHRIST.]

In a week and half a week after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three [cities] in the Gospel (Matt. xi. 21). As soon as the son of perdition is revealed the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven, and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross shall be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kûshath, the daughter of Pîl, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus), the king of the Greeks, took Kûshath to

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wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David hath said, "Cush will deliver the power to God" (Ps. lxviii. 31).

When the Cross is raised up to heaven straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will show deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will show deluding phantasms [of this kind], but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the Temple, saying, "I am the Christ," and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and

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saying, " I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables." He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, " This is the Christ, the expectation of the world." The time of the error of the Anti-christ will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when everyone is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

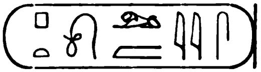
[THE HEBREW BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK.]

Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned 38 years. In the third (or, sixth) year of his reign the fifth millennium from the creation of the world ended. This king asked the Jews who were captives in Egypt, and seventy (or, seventy-two) old men translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the Island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names were:—

1.	Josephus Hezekiah Zechariah John Ezekiel Elisha	Of the tribe of Reuben.
2.	Judah Simon Samuel Addai Mattathias Shalmi	Of the tribe of Simeon.
3.	Nehemiah Joseph Theodosius Bâsâ Adonijah Dâḳî	Of the tribe of Levi.
4.	Jothan Abdî Elisha Ananias Zechariah Hilkiah	Of the tribe of Judah.
5.	Isaac Jacob Jesus Sambâṭ (Sabbateus) Simon Levi	Of the tribe of Issachar.
6.	Judah Joseph Simon Zechariah Samuel Shamlî	Of the tribe of Zebulon.
7.	Sambâṭ Zedekiah Jacob Isaac Jesse Matthias	Of the tribe of Gad.
8.	Theodosius Jason Joshua John Theodotus Jothan	Of the tribe of Asher.

9.	Abraham Theophilus Arsam Jason Jeremiah Daniel	Of the tribe of Dan.
10.	Jeremiah Eliezer Zechariah Benaiah Elisha Dathî	Of the tribe of Naphtali.
11.	Samuel Josephus Judah Jonathan Dositheus Caleb	Of the tribe of Joseph.
12.	Isalus John Theodosius Arsam Abijah Ezekiel	Of the tribe of Benjamin.

[Ptolemy II, surnamed Philadelphus, was the son of Ptolemy I, Soter, by Berenice, and was born 308 B.C.; he reigned as sole king from 283 to 247 B.C., when he died. His name was transcribed by the Egyptian annalists thus:—



PTU[O]LMIS

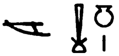
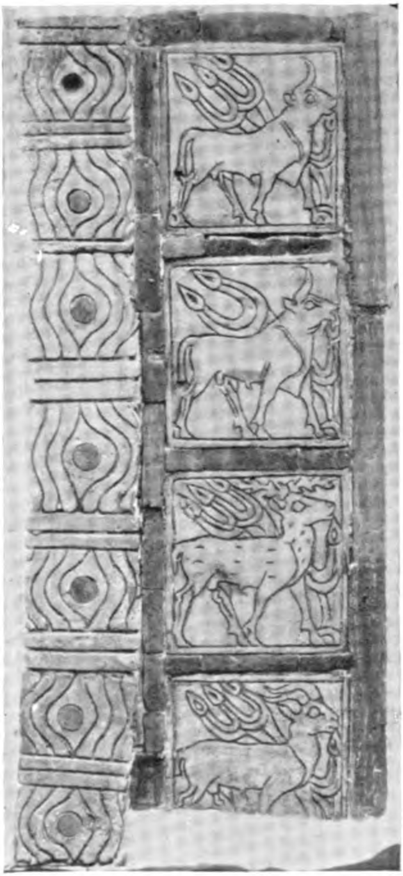
and his title Philadelphus by  *meri sen* (*i.e.* "brother-loving"). He enlarged the great Alexandrian Library, which was founded by his father, and in his day it is said to have contained as many as 400,000 books, (*i.e.* rolls of papyrus). It was by his orders that Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus in the Delta compiled his History of Egypt.]

PLATE XV.

1



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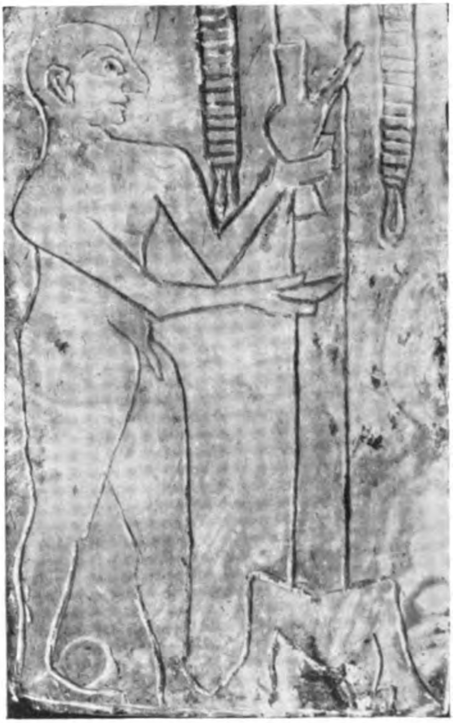

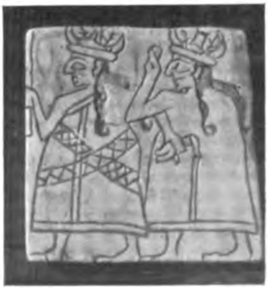

3

Incised shell plaques from “Ur of the Chaldees.”

1. Figures of bulls and stags.
2. Priest pouring out a libation.
3. Shell plaque of the 1st dynasty of Ur.

(*See* page 288.)

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ABRAHAM AND THE CITY OF UR.

The paragraphs which the author of the "Cave Treasures" devotes to the history of Terah and Abraham throw new light upon the lives of these patriarchs and the conditions under which they lived in the city of Ur, and they contain many interesting details which are not recorded in the Book of Genesis, and some new information concerning the overthrow of the city of Ur by the "Wind Flood." It is quite clear that Terah and Abraham were great, powerful and wealthy shêkhs, and their large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of camels suggest that they were owners and breeders of cattle on a large scale, and masters of caravans. The three hundred and eighteen trained men, born in his house (Gen. xiv. 14), whom Abraham armed and sent forth to rescue Lot, his nephew, were probably the armed guards who marched with his flocks and herds and caravans and protected them. Up to the present no person

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mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions can be identified either with Terah or Abraham, but all the facts which the recent excavations at Ur have brought to light show that in Abraham's day the inhabitants of the city were given up wholly to idolatry, their chief object of worship being Nannar, the Moon-god. Not only did Abraham smash his father's idols, but under the divine guidance he freed himself from the custom of offering up his firstborn to devils. Further, when he saw his city attacked by hosts of enemies from the north and from the low-lying lands to the south, there was nothing left for him to do but migrate to the country which God promised to give him. Putting all the evidence together, it is clear that Abraham was a great, strong and independent chief in Babylonia, and that his power waxed greater when he established himself at Ḥarrân. The rescue of Lot shows that his armed retainers formed an effective military body, and the greatness of his might and influence is proved by the fact that he compelled Ephron the Hittite to sell him the cave of Machpelah. And the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who seized Sarah, would hardly have listened to Abraham's objections unless he knew that Abraham had a following strong enough to make his restitution of Sarah a necessity.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR OF THE CHALDEES.

Of the greatness and importance of Ur of the Chaldees politically and commercially, the excavations which Mr. C. L. Woolley has conducted for the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania during the last five years afford abundant evidence. In my little book, *Babylonian Life and History*, London, 1925, I gave a brief summary of what had been done up to the time of going to press, and it is necessary to describe the progress of the work during the winters of **1924–25** and **1925–26.** The facts are derived from Mr. Woolley's official reports, published in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. V, No. 4, and Vol. VI, No. 4. As already said, the Ziggurat which stands in the west corner of the Temenos enclosure was cleared during the winter of 1923–24, and in **1924–25** work was begun on the Temenos or Sacred Area itself. A good general view of the site already excavated is given on Plate III. Already in 1925, Mr. Woolley was able to report as follows: "Summarizing our results in this part of the field, we can say that we have now a complete plan of the Ziggurat and its surroundings in the Neo-Babylonian period after the wholesale reconstructions of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus, the complete plan of the Kassite period for three

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sides of the Ziggurat, a good part of the plan of the buildings of the Larsa period (2000 B.C.), and that of Ur-Engur's (*i.e.* Ur-Nammu's) work on one side of the tower, together with a general idea of its lines on two of the other sides." The Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu was built on a terrace which on this side had a width of 34 metres, and cones of baked clay bearing Ur-Nammu's dedication of the building E-temen-ni-il had been inserted in the vertical joints of the brickwork. For the first time these cones were found in their original position. A specimen of these cones is given on Plate IV. Ur-Nammu built E Nannar, or Temple of the Moon-god, on the terrace level of E-temen-ni-il. During the Larsa period Ur-Nammu's buildings were reconstructed, and prominent among the kings who carried out this work were Sinidinnam (2086–2080 B.C.) and Warad Sin (2072–2060 B.C.). Cones and other monuments show that En-an-na-tum, high-priest of Nannar, and son of king Ishme-Dagan, and Sumu-ilum, who built a temple to Innina, and Silli-Adad, and Kudur Mabug had all worked here.

The principal builder at Ur during the Kassite period was Kuri-Galzu, but his work was not of the best kind, and as his successors did no repairs on his buildings, they fell into decay. The arched doorway which he built in the

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sanctuary of E-Dublal-maḫ is shown on Plate IV. For seven hundred years nothing of importance in connection with the temple buildings at Ur was done. Nebuchadnezzar II and his grandson practically rebuilt the public buildings at Ur. They found the ancient shrines so hopelessly destroyed or so completely buried that on a traditional site they were able to employ a new design or radically to reshape the old, and even to change the location of a sanctuary whose name alone perhaps survived. Under the rule of the Persians the city gradually sunk into ruin and decay.

To the south-east of the Ziggurat stood the Temple of Nin-gal, which was built by Sinbalatsu-ikbi (*see* the door socket of this king on Plate VIII), the Assyrian governor of Ur (650 B.C.), and was restored by Nabonidus. Mr. Woolley's excavations showed that it was built on the site of the first temple of Nin-gal, which dated from the reign of Kuri-Galzu in the XIVth century B.C.

To the south-east of the temple E-Nun-Maḫ are the temple E-Dublal-Maḫ, the work of Kuri-Galzu (Plate V), and the E-Gig-Par which was built by Nabonidus (Plate VI). The latter building is 95 metres long and 50 metres wide, and is oriented N.W. and S.E., and there is no doubt that it was the

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convent in which Bêl-Shalti-Nannar, daughter of Nabonidus and sister of Belshazzar, ruled as Lady Superior of the sacred women of Ur. In the rooms of this convent were found a very large number of small but important objects, *e.g.* gate sockets, sculptured reliefs, school-exercise tablets, teaching tablets, tablets marked with squares in lines used in playing games, etc., and one room was used as a Museum, for it contained inscribed objects with labels attached for teaching purposes! The remains found in E-Dublal-Maḫ included portions of a statue, dating from 2800 B.C.; a limestone plaque with reliefs representing the worship of Nannar (Plate XIII, No. 1); portions of the great stele of Ur-Nammu (Plate XI, No. 2); alabaster rams forming the sides of a throne (Plate XIII, No. 2); etc.

During the winter of **1925–26**, Mr. Woolley and his men excavated the great Gig-Par-ku site at Ur. The earliest buildings of which any actual ruins were found belonged to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur (about 4000–3500 B.C.). In digging down to trace the Third Dynasty foundations, they found a short section of a wall constructed with kiln-burnt plano-convex bricks set over a foundation of rough limestone blocks, a wall identical in every respect with that of the temple built by king

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A-an-nî-pad-da at Al-'Ubêd. Among the buildings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2300 B.C.) was the temple of Ur-Nammu, but remains of its walls are wanting. Thirteen gate sockets were found, and the inscription on them reads, " Ur-Nammu, the mighty man, the king of Ur, the king of Sumer and Akkad, has built the splendid Gig-Par for his Lady Nin-Gal " (Plate VII, Nos. 2 and 3). On the ruins of Ur-Nammu's temple his grandson Bur-Sin built a temple which was dedicated by him to the goddess Nin-Gal. An inscribed door socket of Bur-Sin is shown on Plate VIII. This temple was probably destroyed about 2000 B.C. by the Elamites, who captured the city and brought the rule of the Third Dynasty of Ur to an end.

The next temple that occupied the site was built by En-an-na-tum, son of Ishme-Dagan, king of Isin. The building was rectangular and measured 79 metres by 76½ metres, and its angles were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. It was surrounded by a massive wall, and had two entrances; at the east angle was a gate tower. The building was divided into three parts by the cross corridor, and by a wall running parallel with it; it contained two temples, several small shrines, and a considerable number of small rooms, in which the priests and priestesses lived. Some of the rooms were used

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as kitchens and pantries, and some as sepulchral chambers in which the bodies of dead priests were buried. A view of the great kitchen in Gig Par Ku is given on Plate IX. The building supplies a complete plan of an early Sumerian sanctuary, which has hitherto been wanting. The temple flourished in a greater or lesser degree all through the reign of Ḥammurabi, and down to the eleventh year of the reign of his son Samsu-iluna; its destruction probably took place during, or as a result of, the revolt which took place in the following year. Among the important objects found in the ruins may be mentioned:—1. A diorite statuette of the goddess Bau, the great "World-Mother" (Plate X), which was made about 2400 B.C. 2. Diorite statuette of the goddess Nin-Gal (about 2080 B.C.). 3. A limestone plaque on which are sculptured scenes of worship (about 3000 B.C.) (Plate XI, No. 1). 4. An alabaster model of the lunar disk dedicated to Nannar by the daughter of Sargon of Agade (about 2630 B.C.). 5. A granite bowl of Naram-Sin of Agade (2550 B.C.), which about 300 years later (about 2250 B.C.) was presented to the temple at Ur by the daughter of king Dungi (or, Shulgi).

The excavation of the "Palace Site" has yielded much useful information, and the further exploration of the so-called Tomb Mound has

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laid bare the foundations of many houses, and yielded many small, but interesting, antiquities, tablets, terra-cotta figures, cylinder seals, pottery, etc. Among the tablets were several dating from the period of Rim-Sin (1980 B.C.); these were inscribed with hymns and religious texts written in honour of the Moon-god Nannar.

Mr. C. L. Woolley resumed work at Ur on October 28, 1926, and continued the excavations until February, 1927, when want of funds brought his operations to a standstill. The results of his labours during the past winter are of extraordinary importance, and through the courtesy of Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, and the late Dr. Byron Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, I am enabled to describe them briefly in the following pages.

The site first selected for work during the past winter was a lofty mound outside the wall built by Nebuchadnezzar II round the Sacred Area, and when a space measuring 200 feet by 150 feet was cleared, several blocks of houses, divided by narrow streets, were found. Hitherto the Expedition had excavated only temples and fortifications which, after all, tell us little or nothing about the private daily life of Abraham's neighbours, but Mr. Woolley felt that the time had come for him to explore the ruins of the

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houses of the merchants and the poorer class of inhabitants of "Ur of the Chaldees," and the results he obtained greatly exceeded his expectations. When a house fell down in Babylonia the ruins were levelled and another house was built on them, and in some mounds several layers of houses, each layer belonging to a different period, have been identified. On the site selected by Mr. Woolley the rains and winds and storms of four thousand years had removed all the more modern layers of houses, and he was able to get to work at once on a fine collection of houses which were built about 2100 B.C. The main walls being built of burnt brick, were in a good state of preservation; the interior walls were of mud brick, laid on burnt brick foundations, which rose two or three feet above the brick-paved floor. Thus the foundations formed a "damp course," and the state of the walls showed that the dwellers in the houses were not troubled by damp. The visitor, on passing through the doorway, entered a small ante-chamber, which led into the courtyard; this was partly covered in. The reception room was on one side, and the kitchen and pantry, etc., were on the other. The bedrooms of the family were on the upper floor, which were entered from a wooden gallery running round all four sides of the courtyard.

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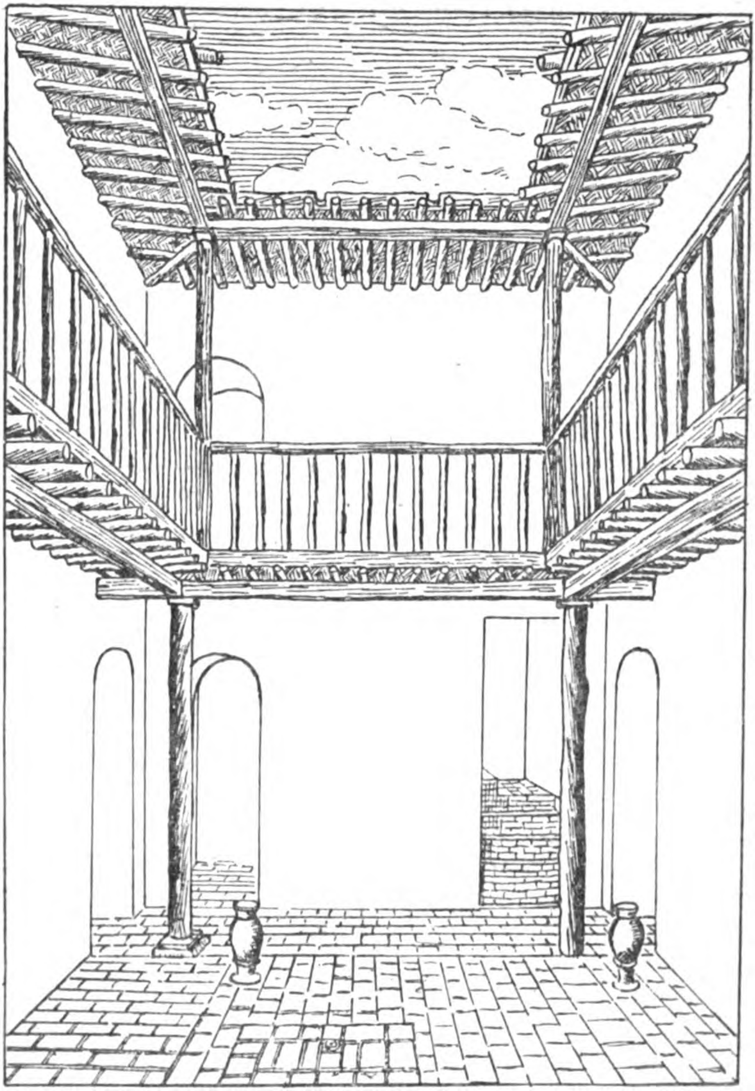

Interior of a private house of a citizen of "Ur of the Chaldees" at the time of Abraham. The walls were built of clay bricks, and the floor of the courtyard was paved with flat tile-like bricks. The gallery and its roofs were supported on wooden pillars. The beasts were stabled and stores were kept in the rooms on the ground floor which were entered through arched doorways, and the sleeping and sitting rooms were entered from the gallery. A stairway led from the ground floor to the gallery and the roof. The water supply was kept in large porous pots on the ground floor. About 2100 B.C.

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Close to the front door was the stairway, the treads of which are made of solid brick. The walls of these houses are still about 20 feet in height, and the plan of them and the general arrangement of the rooms on the ground floor and upper floor are reproduced to this day in the houses of merchants and well-to-do folk at Baghdâd and Hillah. There is little doubt that it was in houses of this kind that Serug, Terah, Nahor and Abraham lived. The houses and their courtyards stood side by side in rows, as at the present day; the streets then as now were narrow. An excellent representation of a street is given on Plate XII.

When the master of the house died he was usually buried under it, together with his engraved stone cylinder-seal, pots, and inscribed clay tablets. As was to be expected, no furniture of any shape or kind was found in the houses, and even the burial places under them had been rifled. But, in spite of this, Mr. Woolley succeeded in collecting from the site a considerable number of clay tablets inscribed with tables of square and cube roots, hymns, and records of the buildings erected by various kings of Ur. Among the miscellaneous objects found may be mentioned a bottle of blue and black glass which probably came from Syria; this interesting object was probably made about 1500 B.C.

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The works that were carried out after the excavation of the houses was finished threw much light upon the history of Ur in the first half of the third millennium B.C. There is now no doubt that a temple tower or Ziggurat existed at Ur as early as 2800 B.C., for portions of its walls made of plano-convex mud bricks were found buried under the Ziggurat made by Ur-Nammu 2600 B.C. Under the temple of E-nin-makh a very interesting object was discovered in the shape of the cover of an ivory toilet box bearing a Phoenician inscription (*see* Plate XIV, No. 1), and with it were several articles for the toilet in ivory, and a beautifully engraved comb. The remains of the royal buildings, which were erected about 2000 B.C., prove that the Sumerians, even at that early period, were able to construct halls with arches and vaulted roofs. It is clear that many of the statements which were made by architectural authorities two or three generations ago will have to be greatly modified in the light of the discoveries made at Ur. In a great commercial centre like Ur accurate weights were of prime importance, and the fine diorite duck-weight inscribed with the name of king Shulgi shows that as early as 2500 B.C. standard weights were in use in Babylonia (*see* Plate VII, No. 1). This standard was in use in Babylonia two thousand years later, as an inscription on a weight of Nebuchadnezzar II testifies.

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The next portion of the site selected for careful excavation was the area at the south-east end, inside the wall built by Nebuchadnezzar II, where there were no buildings. A trench cut across it brought to light an early cemetery, containing graves which were made not much later than 3000 B.C. These graves yielded a large quantity of pottery; vases in diorite, hard stone, alabaster, and steatite, many of beautiful shape and design; copper bowls, vases, pots, axe-heads, adzes, spears, razors, knives and daggers; gold, silver and carnelian beads; lapis lazuli pins with heads of gold or silver; cylinder-seals beautifully engraved; rock-crystal cylinder-seals with copper caps and cores made of white or coloured paste; gold tiaras, chains, finger-rings, ear-rings, beads, amulets, etc. All these show that the crafts of the metal worker and the jeweller had reached a very high state of perfection when the first kings of the Ist dynasty of Ur began to reign in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. When these graves were made they were only about one foot below the level of the surrounding country, but now they lie some 15 or 20 feet under the accumulated rubbish of fifty centuries. The latest graves were, according to Mr. Woolley, made about 3000 B.C., and the earliest some 500 years earlier. Among the objects found in the

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lowermost layer of graves were two cylinder-seals each inscribed with the name of a king of Ur who reigned over the city several hundreds of years before its history as a great commercial centre began. In the uppermost layer the cylinder-seals are inscribed with the names of officers of the household of the daughter of Sargon of Agade, about 2600 B.C. This princess was the High Priestess of the Moon-god of Ur.

The four principal methods of burial were as follows:—(1) The body, in its ordinary apparel, was wrapped in a mat and laid on a mat at the bottom of the grave; the vases, weapons, ornaments, etc., were placed round about it. (2) The body was placed in a wickerwork coffin, together with the small objects; the vessels in pottery, stone, etc., were grouped round it. (3) The body was laid in a wooden coffin, with the objects to be buried with it, some being enclosed in little coffers. (4) The body was laid in an oval case made of clay. In the oldest graves of all, traces of partial cremation were found. The problem of how the early Sumerians disposed of their dead has now been solved. As the Egyptians buried their dead on the west bank of the Nile, so also did the Sumerians transport the bodies of their dead across the great canal which flowed by the west wall of the city of Ur, and bury them in the western desert.

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Before the close of the season cylinder-seals bearing the names of five early kings, of whom three were unknown to history, were found. From the lapis lazuli cylinder-seal of Queen Nin-Kur-Nin the name of her husband Mes-anni-padda , the founder of the Ist dynasty of Ur has been recovered. Several of the kings of this dynasty have hitherto been regarded as mythical.

Below the black stratum which lies under the graves of the period of 3000 B.C. the richest graves were found. Here were discovered clay tablets, inscribed with a semi-pictographic script, and seals bearing the names of kings unrecorded in history. Among the other important "finds" may be mentioned:—(1) Eight shell plaques decorated with linear patterns (*see* Plate XV) and animal figures; the lines are filled in with colour, red and black. (2) A royal gaming board, which consists of 20 shell plaques, decorated with linear designs and inlay of red paste and lapis lazuli, and framed with lapis lazuli, ivory and mother-of-pearl. It is the Sumerian equivalent of the so-called draught-boards which have been found in Egyptian tombs, and seems to indicate that the Sumerians, as well as the Egyptians, believed that their dead amused themselves by playing some game like that of draughts in the Other World.

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But the greatest " find " of all was made just before the end of the season. About 18 feet below the level of the ground Mr. Woolley came upon a hoard of copper tools and weapons. This consisted of sets of chisels and bundles of heavy spear-heads, and side by side with these were two gold chisels and a gold spear-head. Further research brought to light more copper weapons, arrows by the quiverful, lance-points, a mace, axe-heads, and parts of bows. Round about these were pendants in carnelian, lapis lazuli and gold, the gold binding for a bow, an adze of solid gold, its wooden handle being covered with plaster painted red and bound with thin gold. Lying a little apart was a silver baldric, to which was attached a " vanity case " of gold filigree work, containing a pair of tiny tweezers, spoon and stiletto, all of gold, hung upon a silver ring. Close by was **a dagger** (*see* Plate XIV, No. 2). The hilt is formed of one piece of deep-coloured lapis lazuli studded with gold, and the blade is of burnished gold; the sheath is of solid gold. The back of the latter is plain except for two lines of simple beading, but the front is entirely covered with an intricate design in filigree work. The dagger and its sheath are marvels of design and workmanship, and as they were made at least fifty-five centuries ago, they are among the oldest and finest specimens of the craft of the goldsmith in the world.

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All the more important antiquities which have fallen to the share of the Trustees of the British Museum are exhibited in the Babylonian Rooms of the Museum, and are on view all day and every day. Mr. Woolley has written and published in October each year in *The Antiquaries' Journal* a detailed report, with excellent plans and a large number of photographic plates, of the work done at Ur during the preceding winter, and to these the reader who requires fuller and more detailed information about the work is begged to refer. The Trustees of the British Museum have also decided to publish a full scientific Report on the work, with maps, plans, and photographs, and the first volume of it, which deals with the discovery of the temple of A-an-ni-pad-da at Tall al-'Ubêd, near Ur, by Dr. H. R. Hall, and the completion of its excavation by Mr. Woolley, has already appeared. A smaller work on the temple of Tall al-'Ubêd is being prepared by Dr. H. R. Hall, and Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, is writing the history of Ur from the time of the Seven Wise Men who flourished before the Flood to the final downfall and decay of the city about 300 B.C.

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In the transliteration of Oriental names, Ḥ represents a sharp but smooth guttural aspirate; Ṭ is a strongly articulated palatal T; Ṡ is a strongly articulated S, something like *ss* in *hiss*; Ḳ is a strongly articulated guttural K; an apostrophe before a letter (*e.g.* 'A) is the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks, and an inverted comma (*e.g.* ‘A) is a strong guttural, like the Hebrew ע, which is unpronounceable by Europeans.

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Dionysius Areopagita, Pseudo-

THE CELESTIAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY

OF

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK,

BY THE

REV. JOHN PARKER, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "CHRISTIANITY CHRONOLOGICALLY CONFIRMED,"
"WHY AM I A CHRISTIAN?" ETC.

> "*Τῶν γὰρ ἐκείνης προαναῤῥήσεων ἡ κατὰ ταύτην τελεσιουργία τήν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιστώσατο, καὶ ἔστι τῆς θεολογίας ἡ θεουργία συγκεφαλαίωσις.*"
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Commentaries.

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Introduction.

SKETCH OF LIFE.

DIONYSIUS was born[1] in Athens, A.D. 5, nine years after the birth of Jesus Christ. He was educated first at Athens, then at Heliopolis, in Egypt. There, at the age of twenty-five, he witnessed, with Apollophanes, the miraculous darkness[2] of the sun, which occurred at the time of the Crucifixion, A.D. 30.[3] Returned to Athens, he married a woman of noble birth named Damaris, and was elected one of the nine Archons of Athens. Having filled the office of Archon without reproach, he was elected member of the Areopagus, a court of justice consisting of fifty-one citizens of Athens, distinguished for birth, wealth, intelligence, and character. In A.D. 49,[4] nineteen years after the Crucifixion, and ninth of Claudius, St. Paul was brought before the court of the Areopagus as the setter forth of strange gods, because he was preaching Jesus and the Resurrection. The Court of the Areopagus was the guardian of the religion of Athens, and had condemned Socrates to death, on the ground that, by teaching one God as supreme, he dishonoured the gods of Greece. The Athenians, however, were so much ashamed of their treatment of that great philosopher, that no person afterwards was subjected to the same fate for the same cause. Hence St. Paul escaped. Nor was this all. Dionysius, with other illustrious men, clave unto Paul, and embraced the Christian Faith. The moving cause of his conversion was, that he learned from St. Paul that the darkness which he had observed in Egypt was coeval[5] with the Crucifixion. He was baptized 3rd October, A.D. 49, in the forty-fourth year of his age. St. Paul soon after left Athens, attended by Dionysius, who was his companion for three years,[6] during which time he was prepared for the Diaconate, and formed that intimate friendship with Timothy which lasted until death. Dionysius was present with Hierotheus, St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and other Apostles at the funeral rites of the Blessed Virgin, who died at Jerusalem, A.D. 54,[7] twenty-four years after the Ascension, in the seventy-second year of her age. Dionysius was, in due time, ordained Priest. We do not know the date, but we gather the fact from his letter to Demophilus, in which he intimates that he had admitted Demophilus to the order of the Therapeutæ. It was the priest's function alone to admit to that order. Dionysius would seem to have been a member of a College[1] of Clergy in Athens, whose duty was to impart instruction to candidates for baptism, to study the higher theology, and to impart[2] such information as was needed by the Church at large. Dionysius of Corinth says that he took the oversight τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν[3] of the Parish of Athens. He also wrote letters to individuals who sought explanations of statements contained in his works in circulation. He would appear to have travelled to other centres. He was absent from Athens when Demophilus was guilty of the act of insubordination, which called forth his instructive letter in rebuke. The same letter alludes to his visit to Crete, where he was the guest of Carpus, who afterwards became Bishop of the Troad, 2 Timothy iv. 13. Dionysius was ordained Bishop of Athens by St. Paul, in succession to Hierotheus, who, most probably, accompanied St. Paul in his first journey to Spain.[4] St. Paul, before his martyrdom, sent for Dionysius to Rome to take charge of the congregations planted by himself in Gaul. Dionysius arrived too late to see the Apostle alive, but Clement confirmed the commission, and Dionysius, with Rusticus, Eleutherius, and others, departed for Gaul. They arrived first at Arles, where Regulus was appointed Bishop, in succession to Trophimus,[5] who had returned to Asia in consequence of sickness. Dionysius, with his two companions, ultimately established themselves in Lutetia Parisiorum, the emporium of trade between Britain and the Mediterranean. There, as a centre of operations, he remained till A.D. 96, when he returned to Athens for the purpose of meeting St. John after his release from Patmos. St. John and Dionysius met at Ephesus to "speak face to face," and it is probable that the last chapter was then added to St. John's Gospel. The tenth letter of Dionysius clearly implies that St. John's Gospel was then in circulation, and already read by Dionysius. The last chapter was added to correct an impression prevalent in the Church that St. John should not die. Dionysius remained in Asia for two years. Before his return to Gaul St. Timothy died in the reign of Nerva, 97-98—as Polycrates, a writer of the second century, and Bishop of Ephesus, affirms. It is probable that Dionysius revised and completed his works during that time. Upon his return to Gaul, Dionysius presented a copy of the "Divine Names" to Eugenius Marcellus, as to a second Timothy in pious memory of the first.[6]

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[1] Ant. Ed. 2nd Vol. p. 252.

[2] p. 256 and 7th letter.

[3] Dionysius the Areopagite, p. 19, Skeff.

[4] Acts xviii. 2.

[5] Letter 7 and 11.

[6] p. 281.

[7] p. 293.

Through his sanctity, learning, and venerable age, Dionysius acquired a commanding influence in Spain, Germany and Britain (πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑσπερίοις μέρεσι[1]). The Druid Priests[2] made desperate efforts to thwart him. His influence became known in Imperial Rome. Nearly the whole of the last years of the Emperor Trajan[3] were spent in the East, for the subjugation of the Parthian and other kingdoms. In A.D. 115, he left Syria for the Parthian expedition. In August, A.D. 117, he died at Selinus in Cilicia, on his return to Rome. Hadrian was proclaimed Emperor at Antioch, 11th August, 117. He at once arranged matters in the East, and arrived at Rome, 118 A.D., where, by concessions to the Senate and gifts to the people, he consolidated his position. In A.D. 119 he began his tour of the provinces, by passing through Gaul, on his way to Britain. He then sent the Prefect of Gaul to allure Dionysius from Christianity to Paganism. In that case, he was to bring him with honour to the Imperial presence. If he failed, he was to cut off his head. Dionysius rejected the Imperial honours, and chose the crown of martyrdom. With his two companions, united in life, and in death not divided, he joyfully sealed his testimony in his own blood, and "migravit ad Christum," 9th October, A.D. 119,[4] in the seventieth year of his Christian course and in the one hundred and fourteenth of his natural life. The hill on which he suffered is hence called Montmartre. In order to terrorize Dionysius and his companions, Lisbius, the first-fruits of Gaul, with his repentant wife, suffered martyrdom a few days previously. Hence the title, "Premier Baron Chretien," borne by the noble house of Montmorency,[5] as his representatives, to this day. It is, perhaps, more than a coincidence, that Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, who had written so nobly and so bravely in defence of the writings of Dionysius, and had translated them into French, suffered, as Archbishop, in the same city, if not on the same mount, on 24th May, 1871.

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[1] Cel. Hier. 13 c. ad finem.

[2] See Letters.

[3] Eusebius Ec. His. c. xxiii.

[4] A.D. 59—sixth of Nero.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[6] Vol. 2, Ant. Ed., p. 431.

The East, naturally, commemorates the Baptism of Dionysius on the 3rd of October. The West, as naturally, commemorates his martyrdom on the 9th of the same month.

THE WORKS OF DIONYSIUS.

If spurious works, throwing light upon the doctrines and services of the Church in Apostolic times, had been found in an Egyptian tomb, what a stir the discovery would have made! These works have been entombed in public libraries the last 150 years—known and read by only a chosen few. They are not spurious, which will detract from their interest with some. Further, they show the New Testament as in circulation and of Divine authority in the first century. That again will destroy their value with those Christian advocates who seek to present the Christian Faith under incredible conditions, and whose logical purpose is to insist at once upon the necessity and the folly of Faith. Others may say they are spurious. We must, however, be faithful to Truth and to glorious "men of old time," and affirm that they are the genuine works of Dionysius the Areopagite—the convert and faithful disciple of St. Paul. The writings of Dionysius are a collection of letters, written at various intervals, between A.D. 58 and 98. The larger treatises are addressed to Timothy. Dionysius was chief of a college of Preceptors[1] at Athens, whose occupation was the instruction of new converts, and the study of the higher theology. They were taught the deeper mysteries of the Christian Faith by Hierotheus, the first local Bishop[2] of Athens. Hierotheus wrote several abstract treatises, similar in style to Aristotle's Ethics, which were too deep and too compressed to be understood by ordinary intellects.[3] At the request of Timothy, and by order of Hierotheus, Dionysius wrote the "Divine Names," in order that he might present the teaching of Hierotheus in a form more easily understood. The letters were begun whilst Dionysius and Timothy were both Presbyters, and the original superscription was retained for the whole treatises. Is not this the case with nearly all the Prophets and with some of St. Paul's Epistles? When Dionysius writes to St. John, or Polycarp, or Titus, he addresses the former as Theologos—Apostle, Evangelist—the latter as Hierarches, and Gaius as Therapeutes. The appeal to the Episcopal judgment of Timothy, in the ninth chapter of the celestial hierarchy, shows that Timothy had become Bishop when that letter was written. It is worthy of remark that the superscription is not attached to the mystic theology—the last of the works—although it was written to "friend Timothy." The whole works probably received their finishing touches between 96-98, during the two years that Dionysius spent in Asia, when he met St. John at Ephesus.

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[1] p. 317.

[2] p. 335-9.

[3] Trajan and Hadrian in Smith's Gr. and Roman Biography.

[4] p. 341.

[5] L'Histoire de la Maison de Montmorenci par M. Desarmeaux, Vol. 1, p. 12. Paris, 1764. Ant. Ed., 2nd Vol., 317.

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[1] Divine Names, c. iii., s. 2.

[2] The Archbishop of Athens gives me the succession at Athens thus:—1st Hierotheus, A.D. 52; 2nd, Dionysius; 3rd, Narcissus, one of the seventy; 4th, Publius, from 118-124; 5th, Quadratus, who presented Apology to Emperor Hadrian.

[3] Divine Names, c. iii., s. 2.

EVIDENCE OF DATE IN WRITINGS.

The works are full of personal allusions. Dionysius affirms that he was converted to the Christian Faith by St. Paul, whose teaching on the holy Angels he transmits. After St. Paul he claims Hierotheus as his chief instructor, whose abstract treatises he tries to make more intelligible, whilst preserving his doctrine with the utmost fidelity. He declares himself to have been present at the funeral rites of the Blessed Virgin, who died in Jerusalem, A.D. 54. He mentions Peter, James, and other Apostles as being present. He reminds Timothy that, after the Apostles, Hierotheus excelled all others in the hymns by which on that occasion he extolled the Divine compassion and condescension as manifested in the Incarnation. He writes to St. John when exiled in Patmos; to Titus when Bishop of Crete; to Polycarp when Bishop of Smyrna. He alludes to Gaius and Carpus, both mentioned in the New Testament. He mentions the philosopher Clemens—either Clemens Atrius, to whom the younger Pliny addressed two of his letters, or Clemens, Bishop of Rome. He writes at a time when the Psalms were yet read in Hebrew whenever a person competent to do so was present. He describes the Chants as sung by the whole Choir. The Antiphonal singing was introduced by St. Ignatius at Antioch, and became universal by the time of Constantine. He writes at a time when the threefold Ministry and Sacrament was the accepted order of the Church, and before the sevenfold view became dominant at the end of the second century. He speaks of persecutions and martyrdoms, and of Apostolic Sees, as already occupied by successors of the Apostles. Apollophanes wrote a *letter*[1] abusing Dionysius as a "turncoat," who used the Greek learning against the Greek Philosophy. Dionysius replies that Polycarp should remind Apollophanes that he had witnessed with himself the miraculous darkness in Egypt, which he had discovered to be coeval with the Crucifixion. The works are Attic in phraseology, and teem with technical terms of Athenian law. They abound in newly coined words, expressing with marvellous precision in the language of Plato and Aristotle the newly revealed Christian truths. To appropriate the perfect description of Bishop Westcott, "they[2] present the thoughts of one who lived in an age of transition, and strove to save from the wreck of ancient philosophy truths which he seemed to find coherent with the Christian Faith." Whilst gladly acknowledging the truth in Greek philosophy, he corrects its errors by teaching that "the universe was created, not by any subordinate or rival power, but by an act of love of the One Infinite God, and that evil therefore is not inherent in matter, but due to the will of responsible creatures. He maintains that God is imminent in the world, and separate, though not alien from it. That the world was originally and essentially good." Further, the "Ecclesiastical[1] Hierarchy" was written when the Bishop was Celebrant, and completed every other Sacrament by the administration of the Holy Communion; but when the celebration was beginning to be committed to the Priest—when the Bishop officiated at funerals, and decided, by his own authority, whether the departed had lived and died in such a manner as to justify the use and to be benefitted by the rites of Christian burial—when the Bishop alone consecrated the holy oil—when the names of those who had previously been buried were recited at a funeral,[2] which soon ceased to be practicable—Dionysius wrote at a time when the term Episcopus[3] was not yet applied to the Bishop. He uses the word Hierarches, head of the hierarchy, for Bishop, Hiereus for Priest, Leitourgos for Deacon. Dionysius regards the laborious search after truth, by means of intellectual study, as only an inferior method, and much lower in degree than that by which, detaching ourselves from everything earthly, we lie passive in the presence of God, and, without mental effort, receive the divine communication of light as our spiritual condition will permit in ever increasing degree as we advance more and more towards oneness with God. Prayer is better with him than reading, and repose under the circumambient glory of God is better than all. Everything false or evil places a barrier to the passage of the Divine Light, which will not enter until the "strong man armed" is cast out, and the allegiance to God becomes entire. Such is the teaching of Dionysius, who writes throughout with the freedom and fearlessness of conscious truth.

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[1] The origin of that letter was no doubt the conversion of Statonice, the wife of Apollophanes, on account of which St. Paul was cast into chains at Philippi. The bearers of the letter from the Church at Corinth, complaining of the false teachers, found St. Paul in chains at Philippi. Correspondence of St. Paul, Carrière et S. Berger, page 20. Fischbacher, Paris.

[2] Religious Thought in the West, p. 189.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

First Century.—St. Luke records the conversion at Athens of certain illustrious men, and singles out one of them by name—Dionysius the Areopagite. He thus marks Dionysius as pre-eminently distinguished. Hierotheus was probably one of those illustrious men. He was an Areopagite, like Dionysius. As Dionysius was sent to Gaul, so Hierotheus was sent to Spain. He settled permanently in Segovia, A.D. 69.[4] If then, Hierotheus were one of the "illustrious" men from whom Dionysius is distinguished by name, there must have been some reason for such distinction. The treatise on the "Divine Names" was written about A.D. 58. The ninth chapter of the "Celestial Hierarchy" was written when Timothy was already a Bishop. The Acts of the Apostles terminates with St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, A.D. 65. Those treatises, therefore must have been known to St. Paul and to St. Luke, before A.D. 65. From the letters preserved, asking the meaning of certain phrases in the writings of Dionysius, we know that his works were extensively circulated. I submit, then, that the reason which led St. Luke to distinguish Dionysius the Areopagite by name, was not merely his noble birth,[1] deep learning, and exalted position, but also the value of the works being written by him—worthy, like those of Hierotheus, to be considered as only second, after the Apostles, because they contained Apostolic teaching. Literary criticism may fairly infer a presumptive proof that Dionysius at least wrote *some* celebrated works. Plato was described by Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher, as "Moses speaking Attic Greek." If we find Dionysius writing Christian truths in Attic Greek, it is only what we might reasonably expect.

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[1] Ecc. Hier., c. v., s. 5, c. vi., Mysterion. [2] Ecc. Hier., c. vii., Mysterion.

[3] Episcopus applies to external government—Hierarches to spiritual administration.

[4] Halloix Life of Hierotheus.

Second Century.—Ignatius[2] in his letter to the Trallians, enumerates some of the deep mysteries of the Christian Faith, respecting the holy angels, the extent of the ages, the pre-eminence of the Cherubin and Seraphin, the exaltation of the Spirit, the Kingdom of the Lord, and the incomparable nature of the all-powerful God. He not only quotes the very words found in Dionysius, but shows a thorough acquaintance with his works. In the "Celestial Hierarchy," and in the "Divine Names," the mysteries spoken of by Ignatius are exhaustively described and explained. What Ignatius merely alludes to, Dionysius writes a treatise upon in the sixth chapter of the Celestial Hierarchy and twelfth of Divine Names. We must therefore conclude that Ignatius quotes from Dionysius, whose works were therefore in circulation in the early part of the second century.

Third Century.—Anastasius of Antioch[3] and Maximus[4] the martyr, both affirm that Dionysius, the famous Bishop of Alexandria, wrote scholia upon the works of Dionysius the Areopagite. Maximus, in his commentary on the fifth chapter of the "Celestial Hierarchy," when speaking upon the word *οὐσίας*, as applied in that chapter to the holy Angels, says, "The great Dionysius, the Bishop of Alexandria, who had been a rhetorician, in the scholia which he made upon the blessed Dionysius, his namesake, thus speaks. "The external philosophy was accustomed to call all invisible nature, uncreàted, and the personalities, beings—*ἀγεννητον πᾶσαν ἀόρητον φύσιν, ὁμοίως καὶ οὐσίας τὰς ὑποστάσεις*—and hence says that expressions of this kind are used by the holy Dionysius inappropriately *καταχρηστικῶς*, after the manner of the external philosophers"—the Greeks. Maximus is writing a commentary upon Dionysius the Areopagite. He alludes to a word in the text. He says that Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in commenting upon the use of that word in the text, affirms that the divine Dionysius uses that word in the sense of the Greek philosophers, and not quite exactly. Maximus further proves that the Dionysius of Alexandria was the Bishop of the third century, by describing him as having been a rhetorician—the characteristic[1] of the Bishop of Alexandria, who was a pupil of Origen.

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[1] Dionysius was descended from that Ionian Prince who first planted the vine—in Zante—and taught the use of wine. Hence the name Dionysius.—DOUBLET.

[2] Read Ant. Ed., 2 Vol., 390-6 and p. 450.

[3] p. 452.

[4] 1 Vol., p. 70.

Fourth Century.—The first Council of Nicea[2] directs that in the reception of a lapsed person, the prayer of Dionysius the Areopagite should be used. That prayer is alluded to in the last chapter of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. The Fathers of Nicea, therefore, regarded Dionysius the Areopagite as an ecclesiastical authority, and, as so well known, that it was not regarded as necessary to give the prayer in full. In the same century Dara, a learned Syrian theologian, wrote a commentary upon the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. The Syrian was one of the most learned portions of the Church. Volumes of most rare theological learning in Syriac lie entombed in our libraries.

Fifth Century.—Photius,[3] Patriarch of Constantinople, describes a book, written by Theodore (400), in which he answers the difficulties raised by some against the genuineness of the works of Dionysius. Photius regarded the objections as inconclusive. In speaking of the synodical epistle of St. Sophronius, he says, "There were found collected the testimony of Ancient Fathers, Leo . . . and Dionysius, disciple of St. Paul, martyr of Christ, and Bishop of Athens, great in expression, but greater still in thought."

Sixth Century.—In the sixth century Gregory[4] the Great not only quotes Dionysius in a manner which shows the most intimate acquaintance with his works, but speaks of him thus: "Dionysius the Areopagite, the ancient and venerable father." Gregory's writings so breathe the spirit of Dionysius, that some, in their desire to attribute the works to any author but their own, have foolishly suggested that Gregory the Great might have written them, and through humility have attributed them to Dionysius the Areopagite. Gregory would at least have enjoyed the joke.

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[1] Smith's Greek and Roman Biography.

[2] Ant. Ed. 2 Vol., p. 461. [3] p. 395. [4] p. 462.

Seventh Century.—The second Council of Nicea[1] quotes the very words of Dionysius, as those of *ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος*, and says "that the divinely transmitted oracles are the very essence of our hierarchy, *i.e.*, in the true science and knowledge of things divine." "*οὐσία γὰρ τῆς καθ' ἥμας Ἱεραρχίας ἐστὶ τὰ θεοπαράδοτα Λόγια.*" Ec. Hier. c. i., s. 4.

Eighth Century.—The one man, whose opinion upon the works of Dionysius is entitled to the greatest consideration and confidence, is St. John Damascene.[2] The most learned of the Greek ecclesiastical writers, he has left, amongst other numerous works, an Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, gathered from the writers of previous centuries, in whom none was more versed. He regards Dionysius as first and best of all. He quotes frequently his very words, and considers his authority as only second to that of the Apostles. St. Thomas Aquinas made known to the west the treasures of theological learning contained in St. John Damascene, and speaks of the works with the same confidence as those of Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert and faithful disciple of St. Paul. It must suffice to say that Maximus and Pachymera wrote Scholia, which remain to this day as a testimony of their belief in the genuineness and value of Dionysius. Five Greek Fathers wrote lives and martyrdoms of the Areopagite. Time and space would fail to tell of St. Ephrem and Constantine the Philosopher, John of Salisbury and Robert of Lincoln, Peter Lombard and Alexandre de Hales, Guillame de Paris and Vincent de Beauvais, St. Anselm and Albert le Grand, Bernard de Clairvaux and Scotus Erigena, Bonaventura and Gerson, Denis le Chartreux and Thomas a Kempis, Dean Colet and Fabure d'Etaples, Milton and Dante, Bessarion and Budæus, Darboy and Pusey, Dom Pitra and Dulac—all of whom have either written commentaries upon, or translated, or reproduced the doctrine of this Apostolic man.

But has there been no discordant note to mar the celestial harmony of this illustrious testimony? Oh dear, yes! The middle[3] Age proclaimed its wisdom by its repudiation of Origen. This modern time displays its advance in learning by its ignorance of Dionysius. Here are some of the elevating names which have been rescued from oblivion by their crude objections to the genuineness of the writings of Dionysius:—Grocinus, Scultetus, Scaliger, Baumgarten, Morinus, Daillé. These are the distinguished names under cover of which modern scholars repose with so much confidence, that they complacently regard, as ignorant of the early centuries one whose temerity permits him to affirm in the nineteenth century, that the writings of Dionysius are genuine.

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[1] p. 461. [2] p. 457. [3] Bishop Westcott's Religious Thought in the West, p. 223.

Grocinus[1] thought the works were not genuine, but with the instinct of a scholar carefully avoided giving any reason in proof by which the value of his groceries might be tested.

Scultetus[2] thought that because certain rites and ceremonies in the administration of the Sacraments are described in order that their spiritual meaning may be explained, the works must have been written later than the Areopagite. Scultetus, in spite of his refined knowledge of the Gospel, overlooked the fact that during forty days our Saviour instructed the Apostles in the things concerning the Kingdom of God; that St. Paul set in order the Divine Service in the Churches visited by him, and that he quotes from an existing Liturgy in one of his Epistles.[3] Dionysius occupies about six pages in describing the rites and ceremonies of the Holy Communion, Baptism, and Chrism. Scultetus thought such rites and ceremonies implied an undue exaltation of Sacraments instituted by Christ Himself. St. Paul said to his converts, "By one Spirit were ye all baptized into one body;" "As oft as ye eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death until He do come." Baptism and the Lord's Supper would doubtless not have held a position so exalted in the Gospel according to St. Scultetus.

Scaliger.—Scaliger was a very exalted Episcopalian—when it served his purpose. Unlike some Episcopalians, he deemed the dignity of the Episcopate its most essential feature, and a theological virtue to be the most jealously guarded. Scaliger, therefore, could not believe that Dionysius the Areopagite, an older man, and his chief instructor, would address Timothy under the endearing name of *παῖς*—"my son." St. Paul, it is true, tells Timothy to "let no man despise his youth," and to hold his own. St. Paul sends Timothy, but entreats Titus. But to suppose that Dionysius, who armed Timothy against the Greek philosophers of Ephesus, should address a brother presbyter and a future Bishop as "My son," shewed a familiarity and affection unbecoming the dignity of the Episcopal order. Daillé could be very hard upon the Acephaloi, and Scaliger could be very Episcopalian, when it served their purpose against the truth.

Baumgarten.—The pupils of the Baumgarten Academy were taught that Dionysius was a Pagan, who ennobled the Christian religion by introducing the secret doctrines of the Eleusinian mysteries. Dionysius speaks of himself[4] as being brought, by his conversion to the Christian religion, from darkness to light. In the logic of the Baumgarten Academy, the conclusion would appear to have been not necessarily contained in the premise.

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[1] Ant. Ed. 2 Vol., p. 405. [2] Ant. Ed., 2 Vol., p. 405. [3] 1 Cor. xi. 26.
[4] Ecc. Hier., c. iii., part 1.

Morinus.—Morinus[1] first proves the works written in Asia. Then by ridiculous assumptions he pretends to prove that they were written in Gaul. Then, as initiating the new criticism and as proof of critical acumen he triumphantly asks why, then, were they not written in Latin and not in Greek. He indicates his youthful education by not knowing that all early Christian literature was in Greek, that Arles was the centre of Greek trade before it became a Roman colony, and that the Druids[2] used Greek as their hierographic language.

Daillé.—" O, that mine enemy would write a book," was the despairing aspiration of Job, in the midst of his affliction. Dionysius, however, in spite of his martyrdom, was more fortunate in this respect. Daillé[3] obtained for himself the characteristic of those " who rush in, where angels fear to tread." He has the proud distinction of being the only man in Christendom who wrote a book[4] to prove that the writings of Dionysius and Ignatius were unknown to early Christendom, and therefore spurious. He produces sixty-six so-called arguments (unhappily not 666), "id que ultimum," as he says, to show that the Ignatian Epistles were unknown to any early Father or Historian of the Church. Given the assumption that every evidence to the contrary is either a forgery or a fraud, and it is easily done. Bishop Lightfoot, however, after a *more mature* examination, demonstrated the futility of his method, with regard to the Ignatian Epistles, by proving them to be the genuine writings of the Bishop and Martyr, in spite of the sixty-six[5] statements to the contrary, whose very number, like an army in confusion, becomes a source of weakness. His method with regard to Dionysius is the same, or even worse, than his treatment of Ignatius. He modestly only produces 42 against Dionysius. Here is an example. To establish the assumed position that the writings of Dionysius were unknown before A.D. 532, he must deny the assertion of the learned Anastatius, and the martyr Maximus, that Dionysius, the famous Bishop[6] of Alexandria, wrote scholia upon them, about A.D. 250. Maximus, for the purpose of affirming with greater accuracy that the Dionysius who wrote the scholia was the famous Bishop of Alexandria, describes him as having been a rhetorician. That description corresponds exactly with the account given of him in Smith's Greek and Roman Biography.

St. Augustine had been pretty much the same, as also Justin Martyr and Ambrose of Milan. Daillé was a bitter Presbyterian, but he affects so much consideration for the dignity of the

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[1] Gallia Christiana, Tom. 7, p. 12. [2] Ant. Ed., 2 Vol., p. 337-8.

[3] Daillé tried to discredit the letter of Polycarp which Jerome refused to translate lest he should destroy its beauty.

[4] Geneva, 1666. [5] De Scriptis D. et Ign., lib. 2, c. 31. [6] Caput 8, lib. 1.

Episcopal office, that he cannot bring himself to believe that one holding the exalted position of Bishop of Alexandria could have been described as a rhetorician. Maximus merely says he had been a rhetorician before his consecration. Daillé, having denied that Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria wrote the scholia, was bound to find some rhetorician of the name of Dionysius to whom the scholia on the Areopagite might be attributed. But such a man, he confesses, cannot be found, except as he said in the imagination of Maximus and Pachymera—he should have said except in the imagination of Daillé. Having fabricated himself this imaginary rhetorician, he imputes fraud to Maximus the Martyr, and to the learned Pachymera by affirming that they attributed the scholia of this unknown man to the exalted Bishop of Alexandria, in order that they might magnify their Dionysius the Areopagite. That was a famous saying of Tennyson, "We always impute ourselves." Another specimen of the 42—"id que ultimum"—statements of Daillé against Dionysius must suffice. "Ex duobus disce omnes." A Conference[1] was held at Constantinople in A.D. 532, between Asiatic and African Divines, to appease the controversies then disturbing the Church on the hypostatic union, or one personality of Christ. The Athanasian Creed describes that personality as "one altogether," "not two." It is a union in person, and not an alliance of two personalities. The Council of Chalcedon declares that out of two whole and perfect natures there is one Christ. It was a deep mystery. Each side witnessed to a phase of truth, and each side was liable to lean towards error—Nestorianism or Monophytism. The African Divines naturally quoted the phrase from Dionysius *θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν* as proving the one Christ. Hypatius, who perhaps leaned to that Nestorian party which had corrupted[2] the text of Chalcedon, being unable to resist the force of the expression, suggested that the works might have been corrupted. They even waxed so bold as to affirm that the works were unknown to Cyril, and were therefore probably spurious. They were informed that Cyril, in his book against Theodorus, had spoken highly of the works. They wished to see the book. They were informed that it was in the library at Alexandria, but that the African Divines had not thought it necessary to bring with them a book so well known. There were at most five persons of the Hypatian party which Daillé calls "the Catholic party." From these premises Daillé draws the triumphant conclusion that the works of Dionysius were repudiated by the whole *Catholic body.*

Fortunately for truth, but unfortunately for Daillé, a Greek and Latin Council was held at the Lateran, A.D. 660,[3] to defeat the attempt of Cyrus to change καινήν into μίαν in the letter of Dionysius to Gaius. The works were produced from the Vatician Library, and the original text examined, and the true reading pronounced to be καινήν. There was not a word said against the genuineness of the works, which were assumed as beyond question the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. So trustworthy is Daillé in saying that the writings attributed to Dionysius were repudiated by the whole *Catholic body.*

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[1] Daillé, lib. i., c. 8.

[2] De Fide et Symbolo, p. 27, Heurtley.

[3] Ant. Ed., 2 Vol., p. 462.

Laurentius Valla[1] says that many learned men in his day thought the works might have been written by Apollinaris the heretic. It would be impossible to find a more precise refutation of the heresy of Apollinaris than in the writings of Dionysius. Erasmus repudiated the opinion of Valla, and said that he did not believe that the works were written by Apollinaris or any other heretic. Erasmus said that some learned men thought the works were written by another Dionysius, but when challenged to produce the names of such learned men, he could only instance Valla and Grocinus. He was also careful not to say who the other Dionysius was. Erasmus apologized for the evident fraud if the works were not written by Dionysius the Areopagite by saying that "pious people were accustomed to commit forgery for the glory of God." It was a lamentable characteristic of that as of this age, that such idiotic blasphemy could be uttered without blighting the most illustrious reputation. Dupin[2] and Tillemont[3] would seem to have followed without serious examination such reasoning as I have indicated. Such is the blind following of error in this century, that all reasonable men are said to regard the writings of Dionysius as spurious. I cannot deny the fact, but I appeal to all rational men to decide whether that fact reflects credit upon the good sense and learning of the modern West.

For myself, grateful to Almighty God for the clear vision of the truth conveyed to my mind by these priceless works, I thankfully present them to the English people in my native tongue. They present the Christian Faith and the Christian Service as they existed in the first century, and before the Church was torn by schism, and its faith soiled by controversy. They show how an ideal Christianity may be realized in fact. They present the truth which men blindly grope after, under the name of evolution, kenosis, theosophy, and ritualism. They shew the true Atonement as that by which we become at one in ourselves, by becoming one with God. They show the canonical Scriptures in circulation in the first century, and therefore as written by those whose name they bear. As with the Bible, so with Dionysius, the best evidence of genuineness is in the works themselves, devoutly read and intelligently understood. No ecclesiastical writer knows his own mind so well, or expresses that mind so clearly, as Dionysius. No man states an objection so unflinchingly, or accepts the whole Bible so thoroughly as he. No man is so ready to admit that there are some things to be honoured by silence, as being beyond the mind of man to conceive. No man realized, or expressed so clearly, the mutual coherence of the Old and New Testament as he. [1] *ἡ μὲν ἔφη τὰς ἐσομένας Ἰησοῦ θεουργίας, ἡ δὲ ἐτέλεσε* contains a volume of theology. No man shews such unfailing charity towards those who oppose themselves to the truth, or to himself. No one so clearly presents the Church of Christ, the City of God, as a reflection of the divine order in God. Everything is a Trinity with him. Order is God's first law. Goodness is the cause and origin of all things, and the mainstay of their continued existence. Evil is the failure to attain some fancied good—a falling from our first estate. Without some good [2] in itself, nothing could continue to exist.

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[1] p. 405. [2] Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ec., p. cxi., Note. Paris, 1688.
[3] Tom. 2, p. 236.

THANKS BE TO GOD.

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[1] Ecc. Hier., c. iii., s. 5.

[2] Republic, lib. 1, ad finem.

CELESTIAL HIERARCHY.

CAPUT I.

To my Fellow Presbyter Timothy.
Dionysius the Presbyter.

That every divine illumination, whilst going forth lovingly to the objects of its forethought under various forms, remains simplex. Nor is this all. It also unifies the things illuminated.

"EVERY good gift[1] and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights."

Further also, every procession of illuminating light proceeding from the Father, whilst visiting us as a gift of goodness, restores us again as an unifying power to a higher spiritual condition, and turns us to the oneness of our conducting Father, and to a deifying simplicity. For[2] all things are from Him, and to Him, as said the Sacred Word. Invoking then Jesus, the Paternal Light, the Real, the True, "which lighteth[3] every man that cometh into the world," "through[4] Whom we have access to the Father," Source of Light, let us aspire, as far as is permissible, to the illuminations handed down by our fathers in the most sacred oracles, and let us gaze as we may upon the Hierarchies of the heavenly minds manifested in them symbolically for our instruction. And when we have received, with an unearthly and unflinching mental vision, the gift of Light, primal and superprimal, from the supremely divine Father, which manifests to us the blessed Hierarchies of the Angels in types and symbols, let us then, from this gift of Light, be restored again to its unique splendour.[5] For this *never* loses its own inherent unity, but multiplied and going forth, as becomes its goodness, to educate and unite the objects of its care, it remains firmly and solitarily centred within itself in its unmoved sameness; and elevates, according to their capacity, those who aspire to itself, and makes them one after the example of its own unifying Oneness For it is not possible that the Divine Ray should otherwise illuminate us, except so far as it is enveloped, for the purpose of sacred instruction, in variegated veils, and arranged naturally and appropriately, for such as we are, by paternal forethought.

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[1] James i. 17. [2] Rom. xi. 36. [3] John i. 9. [4] Rom. v. 2.

[5] Plato Rep. 6, 7-11, 121-126. Read Allegory of Cave.

Wherefore, the sacred institution which fixed the Holy Rites transmitted to us our most Holy Hierarchy, having deemed it worthy of a celestial imitation of the Heavenly Hierarchies, and depicted the aforesaid immaterial Hierarchies in material figures and bodily forms. in order that we might be borne, as far as our capacity permits, from the sacred pictures to the mystical meaning and likenesses without symbol and without type. For it is not possible for our mind to be raised to that immaterial representation and contemplation of the Heavenly Hierarchies, without using the material guidance suitable to itself, by counting the visible[1] beauties as reflections of the invisible comeliness; and the sweet[2] odours of the senses as emblems of the spiritual bounties; and the material[3] light, as a likeness of the gift of the immaterial enlightenment; and the explicit sacred instructions,[4]—of the feast of contemplation within the mind; and the ranks[5] of the orders here—of the harmonious and regulated habit, with regard to Divine things; and the reception of the most Divine Eucharist—of the partaking[6] of Jesus, and whatever other things may be transmitted to heavenly Beings supernaturally, but to us symbolically.

For the sake, then, of this our deification, according to our capacity, the first institution of sacred mysteries, out of its love for man, whilst manifesting the Heavenly Hierarchies to us, and constituting our Hierarchy as fellow-ministers with them. through an imitation of their Godlike priestliness,[7] so far as in us lies, described under sensible figures the celestial minds, in the inspired descriptions of the oracles, in order that he might lead us through the sensible to the spiritual, and from sacred symbols to the simple sublimities of the Heavenly Hierarchies.

CAPUT II.

That Divine and Heavenly things are appropriately represented, even through dissimilar symbols.

It is necessary then, as I think, first to set forth what is the scope of every Hierarchy, and what benefit each confers upon its followers. Next. to celebrate the Heavenly Hierarchies according to their description in the oracles. Then, following these oracles, to say in what sacred forms the divine descriptions of the oracles depict the celestial orders, and to what kind of naked truth we must be carried through the representations; in order that we may not, like the vulgar, irreverently think that the heavenly and Godlike minds are a kind of four-footed[1] and many-faced[2] creatures, or moulded to the brutish form of oxen,[3] or the savage form of lions,[4] and fashioned like the hooked beaks of eagles,[5] or the feathery down of birds,[6] and should imagine that there are a certain kind of wheels[7] of fire above the heaven, or material thrones[8] upon which the Godhead may recline, or certain many-coloured[9] horses, and leaders of the host bearing spears,[10] and whatever else the oracles declare to us under multifarious symbols for our instruction.

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[1] Ps. xix. [2] Num. xv. 3. [3] Luke ii. 9. [4] John vii. 14.
[5] Rom. xiii. 1, 2. [6] 1 Cor. x. 16. [7] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

And indeed, the Word of God, artlessly, makes use of many poetic representations of sacred things, out of regard to our intelligence, so to speak, consulting a mode of education proper and natural to it, and moulding its instructive descriptions with reference to it.

But if anyone think well to accept the sacred compositions on the ground that things uncompounded are unknown in their own nature, and cannot be seen, but thinks the imagery of the holy minds in the oracles is incongruous, and all this is, so to speak, a rude scenic representation of angelic names; and if he further says that the theologians when they have come to the bodily representation of creatures altogether without body, ought to represent and display them by appropriate and as far as possible cognate forms taken from the most honoured and immaterial, at any rate. and exalted beings, and ought not to clothe the heavenly and Godlike simple essences with the many forms of the lowest creatures to be found on the earth (for this, too, would perhaps be more adapted to our instruction, and would not degrade the celestial explanations to incongruous dissimilitudes), but this other both does violence to the Divine powers without authority, and likewise leads astray our minds through dwelling upon these irreverent descriptions. And perhaps he will also think that the heavenly places are filled with certain herds of lions, and troops of horses, and bellowing songs of praise, and flocks of birds. and other living creatures, and material and less honourable things, and whatever else the similitudes of the oracles in every respect dissimilar, describe, for a so-called explanation, but which verge towards the absurd, and pernicious, and impassioned. Now, in my opinion, the investigation of the truth demonstrates the most sacred wisdom of the oracles, in the descriptions of the heavenly minds, taking forethought, as that wisdom does, wholly for each, so as neither, as one may say, to do violence to the Divine powers, nor at the same time to enthrall us in the grovelling passions of the debased imagery. For anyone might say that the cause why forms are naturally attributed to the formless. and shapes to the shapeless, is not alone our capacity, which is unable immediately to elevate itself to the intellectual contemplations, and needs appropriate and cognate instructions which present images suitable to us of the formless and supernatural objects of contemplation; but further, that it is most agreeable to the revealing oracles to conceal, through unutterable and sacred enigmas, and to keep the holy and secret truth respecting the celestial minds inaccessible to the multitude. For it is not every one that is holy, nor, as the oracles affirm, does knowledge belong to all.[1] But if anyone blame the descriptions as being incongruous, and says it is shameful to attribute shapes so repugnant to the Godlike and most holy Orders, it is enough to reply that the method of the Divine manifestation is twofold—one, indeed, as is natural, representing through likenesses that are similar, and of a sacred character, but the other, through anomalous shapes, fashioning them into entire unlikeness and incongruity. No doubt, the mystical teaching of the revealing oracles sometimes describes the august blessedness of the super-substantial Deity as word[2] and mind[3] and Being,[4] manifesting its God-becoming reason and wisdom, and as really being existence. and true cause of the existence of all things. They also describe it as light.[5] While such sacred descriptions are more reverent, and seem in a certain way to be superior to the material images, they yet, even thus, in reality fall short of the divinely supreme similitude. For it is above all being and life. No light, indeed, expresses its character, but every description and mind incomparably falls short of its similitude.

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[1] Ezek. i. 7. [2] Ezek. i. 6. [3] Ezek. i. 10. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.
[6] Ezek. i. 6-8. [7] Dan. vii. 9. [8] Ibid. [9] Zech. i. 8.
[10] Joshua v. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iii. 25.

But at other times its praises are divinely sung by the oracles themselves. through dissimilar descriptions, when they affirm that it is invisible[6] and infinite[7] and incomprehensible[8]; and when there is made known, not what it is, but what it is not. For this, as I think, is more appropriate to it, since, as the secret and Hierarchical tradition used to teach, we rightly describe its non-relationship to things created, but we do not know its super-substantial, and inconceivable, and unutterable indefinability. If, then, the negations respecting things Divine are true, but the affirmations are inappropriate. the explanation as regards things invisible, through dissimilar descriptions, is more appropriate to the hidden mystery of things unutterable. Thus the sacred descriptions of the oracles honour, and do not expose to shame, the celestial Orders, when they make them known by dissimilar pictorial forms, and demonstrate through these their supernatural superiority to all material things. But I do not suppose that any sensible man will gainsay that the dissimilar representations elevate our mind rather than the similar, for there is a likelihood, with regard to the more sublime representations of heavenly things, that we should be led astray so as to think that the celestial Beings are a certain sort of creatures with the appearance of gold, and a sort of men with the appearance of light,[1] and glittering like lightning,[2] handsome[3] clothed in bright shining raiment, shedding forth innocuous flame, and so with regard to all the other shapes and appropriate forms with which the Word of God has depicted the celestial minds.

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[1] 1 Cor. viii. 7. [2] John i. 1. [3] Ps. cxxxvi. 5. [4] Ex. iii. 14. [5] John i. 4. [6] 1 Tim. vi. 16. [7] Ps. cxlv. 13. [8] Rom. xi. 33; Jer. li. 15.

In order that men might not suffer from this by thinking they are nothing more exalted than their beautiful appearance, the elevating wisdom of the pious theologians reverently conducts to the misrepresenting dissimilarities, not permitting our earthly part to rest fixed in the base images, but urging the upward tendency of the soul, and goading it by the unseemliness of the symbols. For it is neither lawful, nor has it the appearance of truth, even to the most earthy conceptions, that the most heavenly and Divine objects of our contemplation are actually like things so base. Above all, this must particularly be borne in mind, that not even one of the things existing is altogether deprived of participation in the beautiful, since, as is evident and the truth of the oracles affirms, all things are very beautiful.[4] It is, then, possible to frame in one's mind, good contemplations from everything, and to depict from things material the aforesaid dissimilar similitudes, both for the intelligible and the intelligent; since the intelligent hold in another fashion, things which are attributed to creatures of sense otherwise. For instance, anger in the irrational creatures takes its rise in the passions, and their movement which takes the form of anger is full of all kinds of unreasonableness. But with regard to the intelligent, we must think of the angry impulse in another fashion, as denoting, according to my judgment, their masculine reasonableness, and the determined persistence in their Godlike and unchangeable steadfastness. In like manner we say, with regard to the irrational creatures, that lust is a sort of uncircumspect and earthy passionate attachment, arising incontinently from an innate movement, or intimacy in things subject to change, and the supremacy of the bodily impulse, which drives the whole organism towards the object of sensual desire. But when we attribute lust to spiritual beings, by clothing them with dissimilar similitudes, we must think that this is a craving for the immaterial above expression and thought, and the inflexible and determined longing for the supernally pure and passionless contemplation, and for the perpetual and spiritual fellowship in that pure and most exalted glory, and the abiding and beautifying comeliness. And the incontinence we may take for the persistent and inflexible craving which nothing can repulse, on account of the pure and changeless love for the Divine beauty, and the whole tendency towards the really desirable. With regard to the irrational living beings, or soulless matter, we appropriately call their irrationality and want of sensibility a deprivation of reason and sensibility. With regard to the immaterial and spiritual beings, we rightly acknowledge their superiority, as celestial beings, over our transitive and bodily speech; and the earthly perception, which is alien to the incorporeal minds. It is, then, permissible to depict forms which are not appropriate to the celestial Beings, even from portions of matter which are the least honourable, since even matter itself had its beginning from the Essential Beauty. And throughout the whole range of matter there are some echoes of the spiritual comeliness. And it is also possible through these to be led to the immaterial archetypes—the similitudes being taken, as has been said, in a different manner, and the same similitudes being defined, not in the same way, but harmoniously, and appropriately, as respects the peculiar natures of the spiritual and sensible beings. Under such descriptions as these, we shall find the mystic theologians depicting in their sacred sketches, not only the celestial Orders, but sometimes also the Godhead itself.

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[1] Acts i. 10. [2] Matt. xxviii. 3. [3] Acts vi. 15. [4] Gen. i. 31.

At one time, indeed, they celebrate the Godhead under exalted imagery, as Sun[1] of Righteousness, as Morning[2] Star rising divinely in the mind, and as Light[3] shedding spiritual splendour so that it cannot be hid. At other times through ordinary phenomena, as Fire,[4] shedding its innocuous light; as Water,[5] furnishing a fulness of life, and, to speak symbolically, flowing into a body, and bubbling forth rivers which flow with an irresistible force. At other times from things of the lowest type, as sweet-smelling Myrrh,[6] as Head Corner-stone.[7] But they also clothe it in forms of wild beasts, and attach to it the properties of a Lion,[8] and Panther,[9] and say that it shall be a Leopard,[10] and a rushing Bear.[11] But, I will also add, that which seems to be more dishonourable than all, and the most to misrepresent. Distinguished theologians have shewn it to us as representing itself under the form of a worm.[12] Thus do all the godly wise, who are interpreters of the secret inspiration, separate the most holy of all things from the uninitiated and the unholy, to keep them undefiled, and prefer the dissimilar descriptions so that Divine things should not be easily reached by the profane, and that those who diligently contemplate the Divine imagery should not rest in the types as though they were true. And so Divine things are honoured by negations which teach the truth, and by comparisons with the lowest things which are diverse from their proper representation. For the reasons assigned, there is nothing absurd if they depict even the celestial Beings under dissimilar similitudes which misrepresent them. For perhaps not even we should have come to an investigation, through an accurate inquiry into Divine things (from its difficulty, no doubt, but also for instruction), unless the deformity of the descriptions representing the Angels had shocked us, not permitting us to linger in the discordant representations, but rousing us utterly to reject the earthly proclivities, and accustoming us to elevate ourselves through things that are seen to their celestial meanings. Let these things suffice to have been said respecting the material and incongruous descriptions of the holy Angels in the Holy Scriptures. But next, it is necessary to define what we think the Hierarchy is in itself, and what benefit those who possess a Hierarchy derive from the same. But let Christ lead the discourse, if it be permitted to me to say—He Who is mine, the Inspiration of all Hierarchical teaching. But thou, my son, after the pious rule of our Hierarchical tradition, do thou religiously listen to things religiously uttered, becoming inspired through instruction in inspired things; and when thou hast enfolded the Divine things in the secret recesses of thy mind, guard them closely from the profane multitude as being uniform, for it is not permitted, as the oracles say, to cast to swine the unsullied and bright and beautifying comeliness of the spiritual pearls.

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[1] Mal. iv. 2. [2] Num. xxiv. 17; 2 Pet. i. 19. [3] John i. 5. [4] Ex. iii. 2. [5] John vii. 38. [6] Cant. i. 2. [7] Eph. ii. 20. [8] Hosea xiii. 8. [9] Hosea xiii. 7. [10] Hosea xiii. 8. [11] Hosea xiii. 8. [12] Ps. xxii. 6.

CAPUT III.

What is Hierarchy? and what the use of Hierarchy?

Hierarchy is, in my judgment, a sacred order and science and energy—assimilated, as far as permissible, to the likeness of God, and conducted to the illuminations granted to itself from God, in due order, with a view to the Divine imitation. Now the Divine attractiveness, as being uncompounded, as good, as source of initiation, is altogether free from any dissimilarity. But it imparts its own proper light to each according to their fitness, and perfects in most Divine initiation in proportion to the unvarying likeness of those who are being initiated into harmony with itself. The scope, then, of Hierarchy is the assimilation and oneness with God, holding Him as the Leader of all religious science and energy, looking unflinchingly to His most Divine comeliness, and moulding itself as far as possible, and perfecting its own followers as Divine images, as mirrors luminous and without flaw, receptive of the primal light and the Divine ray, and devoutly filled with the radiance committed to itself, but, on the other hand, spreading this radiance ungrudgingly to those after it, in accordance with the Divinely-fixed regulations. For it is not permitted to the initiators in Divine things. nor to those who are being religiously initiated, to practise anything whatever beyond the sacred regulations of their own function. Nor even must they attempt otherwise, if they desire to attain its deifying splendour, and if they regard it in a religious light, and mould themselves after the example of each of the holy minds. He. then, who mentions Hierarchy describes a certain, altogether Holy Order, an image of the Divine Beauty, which performs the mysteries of its own illumination in due order and with religious science. derived from the Hierarch and which is assimilated to its own proper author as far as permissible.

For each of those who have been called into the Hierarchy find their perfection in being carried to the Divine initiation[1] in their own proper degree; and, what is more Divine than all, as the oracles say, in becoming a fellow-worker[2] with God, and in shewing the Divine energy dwelling in itself, manifested as far as possible to others. For it is an Hierarchical regulation that some are purified and that others purify[3]; that some are enlightened and others enlighten[4]; that some are perfected and others perfect. So that each one will accomplish the Divine imitation in his own several manner. The Divine Blessedness, then, to speak after the manner of men, is unstained by any dissimilarity,[5] but is filled with invisible light[6]—perfect,[7] and needing no perfection; cleansing, illuminating and perfecting. Yea, rather it is a holy purification and illumination and perfection—above purification, above light, pre-eminently perfect, self-perfection, and cause of every Hierarchy, but elevated pre-eminently above every holy thing. It is necessary then—as I think that those who are being purified should be entirely perfected, so as to be without stain—that those who are being illuminated should be filled with the Divine Light, conducted to the habit and faculty of contemplation in all purity of mind; that those who are being initiated should be separated from the profane, and become recipients of that science which makes perfect the holy men who are initiated into the highest mysteries.

Further, that those who purify should impart from their own abundance of purity their own proper holiness; that those who illuminate, as being luminous intelligences, whose function it is to receive and to impart light, and who are joyfully filled with holy gladness, that these should impart, in proportion to their own overflowing light, to those who are worthy of enlightenment. But that those who make perfect, as being skilled in the impartation of perfection, should perfect those who are being initiated, through the holy instruction, in the science of holy men who have been initiated in the higher mysteries. Thus each rank of the Hierarchical Order is led in its own degree to the Divine cooperation by performing, through grace and God-given power, those mysteries which are essentially and super-essentially in the Godhead, and are accomplished by It supernaturally, and are manifested to us through our Hierarchy for its imitation of the God-loving minds[1] to the highest permissible extent.

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[1] Eph. v. 1. [2] 1 Cor. iii. 9. [3] Ps. li. 9. [4] Ps. cxix. 18.
[5] Deut. vi. 4. [6] John xii. 46. [7] Matt. v. 48.

CAPUT IV.

What is meant by the appellation "Angel"?

Now that the nature of the Hierarchy has been, in my judgment, sufficiently defined, we must next celebrate the angelic Hierarchy, and we must contemplate with celestial vision its sacred descriptions contained in the oracles, in order that we may be borne aloft through the mystic representations to their most Godlike simplicity, and may celebrate the Author of all Hierarchical science, with God-becoming reverence and with thanksgivings to the origin of mysteries. First of all, however, let this truth be spoken—that it was through goodness that the superessential Godhead, having fixed the essence of created things, brought them into being. For this is the peculiar characteristic of the cause of all things, and of goodness surpassing all, to call created things to participation in itself, as each order of existences was determined from its own analogy. For all created beings that exist share in a Providence, bubbling forth from the supersubstantial Godhead, Creator of all things. For they would not be, unless they had participated in the essence and origin of things created. All things then, without life, participate in it, by their existence. For the Being of all things is the Godhead, which is above all Being. Things with life participate in the life-giving power which is itself above all life. Things rational and intellectual participate in the self-perfect and pre-eminently perfect wisdom which is above all reason and mind. It is evident, then, that all those Beings dwell around Him, who have participated in Him, in many forms. The holy ranks, then, of the heavenly Beings, share in the participation of the Divine gifts in a higher degree than things which merely exist, or which lead an irrational life, or which are rational like ourselves. For by moulding themselves intellectually to the Divine imitation, and looking from the earthly to the Divine likeness, and striving to mould their own spiritual likeness after its example, they naturally have more ungrudging communications with it, being near and ever moving upwards, as far as permissible; they elevate themselves with the intensity of the Divine unswerving love, and receive the primal illuminations without earthly stain and by moulding themselves to these, their whole life becomes spiritual. These, then, are they who, at first hand, and under many forms, participate in the Divine, and, at first hand, and under many forms, make known the hidden mysteries of the Godhead. Wherefore, beyond all, they are deemed pre-eminently worthy of the angelic appellation on the ground that the Divine illumination comes to them at first hand, and through them there pass to us manifestations above our capacities.

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[1] The Holy Angels.

Thus, then, the Law, as the Word of God affirms, was given to us through the ministration of Angels[1]; and Angels led our illustrious fathers[2] before the Law, and after the Law to the Deity. Either by leading[3] them to what was to be done, and separating them from error and an unholy life to the straight way of truth,[4] or by making known to them sacred ordinances,[5] or hidden visions of celestial mysteries,[6] or certain Divine predictions through the Prophets.[7] But if anyone should say that Divine manifestations were made directly and immediately to some holy men,[8] let him learn, and that distinctly, from the most holy oracles, that no one hath seen. nor ever shall see, the hidden nature of God as it is in itself.[9] But Divine manifestations were made to those holy men as befits revelations of God, that is to say, through certain holy visions adapted to those who saw them. Now the Word of God, in the fulness of its wisdom, for the instruction of those who are contemplating the Divine, naturally names "Divine manifestation," that special vision which manifests that Divine image, depicted in itself, as clothing in form things without form. As though a Divine illumination were made through this to the spectators, and the godly persons themselves receive some religious initiation. But our illustrious fathers were instructed in these Divine visions, through the mediation of the heavenly powers. Does not the teaching given to us in the oracles describe the holy legislation of the Law, given to Moses, as coming straight from God, in order that it may teach us this truth, that it is a type of a Divine and holy economy. But the Word of God, in its wisdom, teaches this also—that it came to us by the mediation of Angels. As though the Divine regulation were laying down this rule, that through the first, the second are brought to God. For not only with regard to the superior and inferior minds, but even amongst those who are of the same rank, this Law has been established by the supreme Law-giver—that within each Hierarchy there are first and middle, and last ranks and powers. And that the more Divine are the instructors and conductors of the inferior, to the Divine access, and illumination, and participation. But I observe that Angels first revealed the Divine mystery of the love of Jesus towards man, since through them the gift of knowledge passed to us. Thus for example, the most Divine Gabriel instructed Zachariah,[1] the High Priest, that the son who was to be born by Divine grace, from him, beyond hope, should be a prophet, of the [2] God-incarnate work of our Jesus to be manifested to the world for its salvation, as becomes the Divine goodness. But he revealed to Mary,[3] how, in her, should take place the Divinely-originated mystery of the unutterable God-formation. Yet another Angel instructed Joseph[4] how in very truth were fulfilled the things Divinely promised to his ancestor David. Another announced to the shepherds,[5] as being purified by their separation from the multitude and their quiet life, and with him a multitude of the heavenly host, announced to those on earth that often sung doxology. Let us then ascend to the highest manifestations of light contained in the oracles, for I perceive that even Jesus[6] Himself, the supersubstantial cause of the highest heavenly Beings, after He had come to our condition without change in Himself, did not overstep the good order which becomes mankind, which Himself arranged and took, but readily subjected Himself to the dispositions of the Father and God, through Angels, and through their mediation was announced to Joseph the departure of the Son to[7] Egypt, which had been arranged by the Father, and again the return to Judæa[8] from Egypt. We see Him further, subjecting Himself to the Father's decrees. But I forbear to speak, as addressing one who knows the teaching of our hierarchical tradition concerning the Angel[9] who strengthened Jesus Himself; or that even Jesus Himself, when He had come to manifest the good work of our salvation. was called Angel[10] of Great Counsel. For, as He Himself says, after the manner of an Angel, "Whatsoever He heard from the Father, He declared to us."[11]

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[1] Gal. iii. 18. [2] Acts vii. 53. [3] Gen. xxii. 12. [4] Acts x. 3. [5] Dan. vii. 16. [6] Dan. vii. 10. [7] 2 Cor. xii. 2. [8] Matt. ii. 13. [9] John i. 18; 1 John iv. 12; 1 Tim. vi. 16.

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[1] Luke i. 11-20. [2] *ανδρικῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θεουργίας.* [3] Luke i. 26-38.
[4] Matt. i. 20-23. [5] Luke ii. 8-14. [6] Phil. ii. 6-8. [7] Matt. ii. 13. [8] Matt. ii. 19, 20.
[9] Luke xxii. 43. [10] Isa. ix. 6. [11] John xv. 15.

CAPUT V.

For what reason all the heavenly Beings are called by the common names of Angels.

This, then, in our judgment, is the reason for the angelic appellation given in the oracles. We must now enquire for what reason the theologians call all[1] the heavenly Beings together "Angels;" but when they come to a more accurate description of the celestial orders, they name exclusively as angelic order that which completes the full tale of the Divine and heavenly hosts. Before this, however, they range as superior the Orders of Archangels and the Principalities, Authorities, and Powers, and all the Orders that the revealing tradition of the oracles recognize as their superior.[2] Now, we affirm that throughout every sacred order the superior ranks possess the illuminations and powers of the subordinates, but the lowest orders have not the same powers as those who are above them. The theologians, then, call the most holy ranks of the highest Beings "Angels," for even they make known Divine illumination. But there is no reason to call the lowest order of the celestial minds Principalities, or Thrones, or Seraphin. For this order does not possess the highest powers, but, as it were, by its own proper function conducts our inspired Hierarchs to the splendour of the Godhead known to itself. Thus, then, the saintly powers of the Beings above this act as conductors towards the Divine of that order which completes the angelic Hierarchies. Perhaps some may say this also, that all the angelic appellations are common in so far as all the celestial powers possess, in a less or a greater degree, a fellowship in the likeness of God and in the gift of light from God. But, in order that the question may be thoroughly investigated. let us reverently examine the saintly characteristics assigned to each celestial order in the oracles.

CAPUT VI.

Which is the first Order of the celestial Beings? which the middle? and which the last?

How many, and of what sort are the Orders of the supercelestial Beings, and how the Hierarchies are initiated amongst themselves, I affirm the Divine Author of their initiation alone distinctly knows. Further, that they know their own proper powers and illuminations, and their sacred and supermundane regularity. For it is impossible that we should know the mysteries of the supercelestial minds and their most holy perfections unless, someone might say, so far as the Godhead has revealed to us through them who know perfectly their own condition. We, then, will utter nothing as from ourselves, but whatever angelic visions have been gazed upon by the holy Prophets of God, we, as interpreting these, will set forth as best we can The Word of God has designated the whole nine celestial Beings by appellations which shew their functions These our Divine Initiator divides into three threefold orders. He also says that the first is that order which tradition declares to be always around God, and united closely and immediately to Him before all the rest. For he says that the teaching of the holy oracles declares that the Most Holy Thrones and the many-eyed[1] and many-winged[2] ranks named in the Hebrew tongue Cherubin[3] and Seraphin[4] are established immediately around God, with a nearness superior to all. This threefold order, then, our illustrious Guide affirmed to be one, and of equal rank, and really first, than which there is not another more God-like or immediately nearer to the earliest illuminations of the Godhead. But he says that the second is that which is composed of the Authorities, and Lordships, and Powers; and the third, as being the lowest of the celestial Hierarchies, is the Order of the Angels and Archangels and Principalities.

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[1] Ps. ciii. 20; Matt. xxv. 31. [2] Isa. vi. 2.

CAPUT VII.

Concerning the Seraphin and Cherubin and Thrones, and concerning their Hierarchy, which is first.

We, whilst admitting this as the arrangement of the Hierarchies, affirm that every appellation of the celestial minds denotes the Godlike characteristic of each; and those who know Hebrew affirm that the holy designation of the Seraphin denotes that they are fiery or burning; but that of Cherubin, a fulness of knowledge and stream of wisdom. Naturally, then, the first of the heavenly Hierarchies is ministered[5] by the most exalted Beings, holding, as it does, a rank which is higher than all, by the fact that it is established immediately around God, and that the first-wrought Divine manifestations and perfections pass earlier to it, as being nearest. They are called, then, Burning and Thrones. and Stream of Wisdom—by a name which explains their Godlike dispositions. The appellation of Seraphin plainly teaches their ever moving around things Divine, and constancy, and warmth, and keenness, and the seething of that persistent, indomitable, and inflexible perpetual motion, and that vigorous transformation of the subordinate, by precept and example, as giving new life and rekindling them to the same heat; and purifying through fire and burnt offering, and the light-like and light-shedding characteristic which can never be concealed or consumed, and remains always the same, which destroys and dispels every kind of obscure darkness. But the appellation of the Cherubin denotes their knowledge and their vision of God, and their readiness to receive the highest gift of light, and their power of contemplating the Divine comeliness in its first revealed power, and their being filled with the impartation which maketh wise, and their ungrudging communication to those next to them by pouring forth the wisdom given to themselves. The appellation of the most exalted and pre-eminent Thrones denotes their manifest exaltation above every grovelling inferiority, and their celestial tendency towards higher things; and their unswerving separation from all remoteness; and their invariable and firmly-fixed settlement around the veritable Highest, with the whole force of their powers; and their capacity for receiving the approaches of the Godhead, through the absence of all passion and earthly tendency, and their bearing God; and the ardent expansion of themselves for the Divine receptions. This, then, is the explanation of their names, so far as we can give it; but we ought to say what we think their Hierarchy is. For I suppose we have sufficiently shown above that the purpose of every Hierarchy is an unswerving devotion to the imitation of the Divine Likeness, and that every Hierarchical function is set apart for the sacred reception and distribution of an undefiled purification, and Divine Light and perfecting science.

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[1] Ezek. i. 18.
[2] Ezek. i. 6.
[3] Ezek. x.
[4] Isaiah vi. 2.
[5] ἱερουργεῖται.

But now I pray that I may speak worthily of the most exalted minds—how their Hierarchy is exhibited through the oracles.

One must consider, then, that the Hierarchy belongs properly, and is in every respect like, to the first Beings, who are established after the Godhead, who gave them Being, and who are marshalled, as it were, in its very vestibule, who surpass every unseen and seen created power. Now, so far as they are pure, we must regard them, not as though they have been freed from unholy stains and blemishes, nor as though they were unreceptive of earthly fancies, but as far exalted above all stain of inferiority and every transient holiness in accordance with the highest degree of purity—established above the most Godlike powers, and clinging unflinchingly to their own self-moved and same-moved order in their invariable love of God, conscious in no respect whatever of any declivity to a worse condition, but having the invariable fixity of their own godlike identity—never liable to fall, and always unmoved.

Again, so far as they are contemplative, we must not regard them as contemplating sensible signs intellectually, nor as being led to the Divine by the varied texture of holy representations written for our meditation, but as being filled with all kinds of unearthly knowledge of higher light, and satiated, as permissible, with the beautifying and princely beauty superessential and thrice manifested. Thus, deemed worthy of Communion with Jesus, they do not stamp the deifying similitude in the bodily forms of divinely-pictured images, but as being in very truth near to Him in first enjoyment of the knowledge of His deifying illuminations. Further, because the imitation of God is given to them in the highest possible degree, they participate, so far as possible, in His God-wrought and philanthropic virtues, in the power of a first manifestation. But, so far as they are perfected, we must not think of them as being illuminated with a sacred subtlety according to analytic science, but as being filled with a first and pre-eminent deification, as following from the most exalted science of the Divine operations which Angels can possibly possess. For, not through other holy Beings, but from the very Godhead, are they directed in spiritual things, by their elevation to Itself immediately, by their power, and order, and rank surpassing all. They are both planted near the All-Holy without any shadow of turning, and are conducted for contemplation to the unearthly, immaterial, and spiritual comeliness as far as possible, and to the reasons which make known the Divine operations, and as being first around God they are instructed from the source of mystery itself, and supremely directed in Divine mysteries. This, then, the theologians distinctly shew that the subordinate Orders of the heavenly Beings are taught by the superior, in due order, the deifying sciences, and that those who are higher than all are illuminated from the Godhead itself, as far as permissible, in revelations of the Divine mysteries. For they introduce some of them as being religiously instructed by those of a higher rank, that He, Who was raised to Heaven[1] as befits man, is the Lord of the heavenly Powers and King of Glory. Others, as putting the question to Jesus Himself, and as desiring to learn exactly the nature of His Divine work on our behalf, and Jesus, as instructing them directly, and shewing to them at first hand the work of His goodness out of love to man. "For I, He says, am pondering over righteousness and judgment of Salvation."[2] Now I am astonished that even the first of the Beings in Heaven, and so far above all others, should reverently strive after the Divine illuminations, as though they were intermediate Beings. For they do not ask directly, "Wherefore are Thy garments red?"[3] but they first raise the difficulty among themselves, thus shewing that they desire to learn, and crave the deifying knowledge, but not impeding the Divine illumination given to them after a Divine procedure.

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[1] Psalm xxiv. 7-10. [2] Isaiah lxiii. 1. [3] Isaiah lxiii. 2.

The first Hierarchy, then, of the heavenly minds is purified, and enlightened, and perfected by being religiously directed by the Author of initiation Himself, by its elevation to Himself immediately, and by being filled, according to its degree, with the most holy purification of the unapproachable Light of the most perfect source of initiation, and being unstained by any inferiority and full of primal Light, and perfected by its participation in first-given knowledge and science. But to sum up, I may say this, not inappropriately, that the reception of Divine Science is both purification, and enlightenment, and perfecting—purifying, as it were, from ignorance, by the knowledge of the more perfect revelations imparted to it according to its fitness, but enlightening by the self-same Divine knowledge, through which it also purifies that order which did not before contemplate the things which are now made manifest through the higher illumination; and perfecting further, by the self-same Light the abiding science of the mysteries made clearly manifest. This, then, according to my most accurate knowledge, is the first rank of the heavenly Beings which encircle and stand immediately around God, and without symbol, and without interruption, dances around His eternal knowledge in the most exalted and ever-moving stability; viewing with pure eyes many and blessed contemplations, but illuminated with unique and immediate splendours; filled with a Divine nourishment—numerous indeed in its first-given profusion, but one in the unvariegated and unifying oneness of the Divine Food. It is thus deemed worthy of much participation and co-operation with God, by the assimilation to Him, as far as possible, in excellent habits and energies. They thus know many Divine things pre-eminently, and participate in Divine science and knowledge to the utmost. Wherefore the Word of God has transmitted their hymns to those on earth, in which are Divinely shewn the excellency of its most exalted illumination. For some of them, to speak after the manner of men, proclaim as the "voice of many waters," "Blessed is the glory of the Lord, from His place."[1] But others cry aloud that frequent and most august word of God, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth," "The whole earth is full of His glory."[2] These most excellent hymnologies of the supercelestial minds, we have already unfolded to the best of our ability in the Treatise concerning the Divine hymns, and have spoken sufficiently concerning them in that Treatise, from which, by way of remembrance, it is enough to produce so much as is necessary to our present purpose, namely, "That the first Order, having been instructed in theological science from the Divine Goodness itself, as a Hierarchy reflecting that Goodness, transmitted it to the Order next after itself." To speak briefly, it teaches this—"That the august Godhead—itself both above praise and all praiseworthy—is rightly eulogised by the minds who receive God, so far as He is permitted to be known and sung For they, according to the oracles,[1] as images of God, are the Divine places of the Divine repose.[2] Yea further, they affirm that He is alone, and One of three-fold subsistence,[3] sending forth His most kindly forethought to all created things, from the supercelestial minds to the lowest of the earth; as Prince above principality and cause of all creation, and grasping all things supernaturally in His resistless embrace.

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[1] Ezek. iii. 12. [2] Isaiah vi. 3.

CAPUT VIII.

Concerning Lordships and Powers and Authorities, and concerning their middle Hierarchy.

Let us now pass to the middle order of the heavenly minds, gazing as far as we may, with celestial vision, upon those Lordships and the truly terrible visions of the Divine Authorities and Powers. For each appellation of the minds above us denotes those characteristics by which they Divinely imitate the Divine Likeness. I think, then, that the explanatory name of the Holy Lordships denotes a certain unslavish tendency to higher things, free from all grovelling subserviency, which does not submit in any way whatever to one single imperious force dissimilar to itself, as befits the freedom of unbending Lordship; superior to every kind of cringing slavery, indomitable to every lower tendency, and elevated above every dissimilarity, ever seeking the true Lordship, and source of Lordship; and moulding as an image of goodness, itself and those after it, to His Lordly Likeness, turning itself wholly to none of the things that vainly seem, but to the Lordly Being, and ever sharing in the Lordly Likeness of God. The appellation of the Holy Powers denotes the possession to the highest possible extent of a certain masculine and unflinching manliness towards all those Godlike energies within themselves—not feebly weak, for the reception of any of the Divine illuminations vouchsafed to it—vigorously conducting itself to the Divine imitation; not forsaking the Godlike movement through its own cowardice, but unflinchingly looking to the superessential and powerful making Power; and becoming an image of this, as far as is permissible, in the likeness of His power, and powerfully turning itself to this as Source of Power, but issuing forth to those next in degree, in its gift of Power and in its likeness to God. But the appellation of the Holy Authorities denotes their being of the same rank as the Divine Lordships and Powers, their beautiful and unconfused good order with regard to the Divine receptions, and the marshalling of the celestial and spiritual Authority, not using their authoritative powers imperiously for base purposes, but conducting themselves in the highest possible degree towards Divine things in due order, and conducting those after them benignly; and being assimilated, as far as permissible to the Authority giving Source of Authority, and making this visible, as is possible to Angels, in the well-ordered regulations of the Authority giving power. The middle order of the heavenly minds, having these Godlike characteristics, is purified and illuminated in the manner described, through the Divine illuminations vouchsafed to it at second hand, which pass through the first Hierarchical Order, and through this middle as a secondary manifestation. Without dwelling upon that message, which is said to pass through one angel to another, let us take it as a symbol of a message delivered from afar, and obscured in its passage so as to become a secondary revelation. For, as men skilled in our initiation say, the knowledge of Divine things, manifested directly to ourselves, is more perfect than the Divine contemplations imparted through others. Thus, I think, with regard to the angelic ranks, the immediate participation in knowledge of those elevated to the nearest proximity to God, is more clear than that of those who are initiated through the instrumentality of others. Wherefore, by our sacerdotal tradition, the first minds are named, perfecting, illuminating, and purifying Powers, of the subordinate on the ground that these are conducted through them to the superessential Origin of all things; and are placed in possession, as far as is permissible to them, of the consecrating purifications, and illuminations, and perfections. For this is absolutely fixed by the Divinely-established law of consecration, that through the first, the second should partake of the Divine illuminations. This you will find declared by the theologians in many ways. For when the Divine and Paternal Love towards man had chastened in a remarkable manner, His people Israel, with a view to their spiritual salvation, and had delivered them to terrible and savage nations for correction, by every kind of providential training to better things, He both liberated them from their misery, and led them back, through His compassion, to their former state of comfort. Then, one of the theologians, Zechariah, saw in a vision one of the first Angels, as I think, around God (for the name of Angels is common, as I said, to them all), who learned from God Himself the comforting words, as we say, concerning this matter. But he saw another Angel, of inferior rank, advancing to meet the first Angel, for the purpose of receiving and explaining an illumination. Then, from him, instructed as from a Hierarch, and charged to reveal to the theologian, that Jerusalem should be abundantly occupied by a multitude of people.[1] But another theologian, Ezekiel, says that this was righteously ordained by the glorious Godhead itself, exalted above the Cherubin.[2] For the Paternal Love towards man, whilst conducting Israel through an education to better things, by a righteousness worthy of God, decided to separate the guilty from the guiltless. This is revealed to one first after the Cherubin [3]—He who was bound about the loins with a sapphire,[4] and wore displayed the hierarchical robe coming down to the feet as a symbol of Hierarchical Office. But the other Angels, who bore the battle-axe,[5] the Divine Government compels to be instructed from the former, as to the Divine judgment in this matter. For, to one, He said that he should go through the midst of Jerusalem, and place the sign upon the forehead of the just men. But to the others, "Go into the city after him and strike, and spare not your eyes, but to every one upon whom is the sign draw not near."

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[1] Isaiah lxvi. 1. [2] Acts vii. 49. [3] Heb. i. 3.

What would any one say concerning the Angel who said to Daniel,[6] "The word has gone forth?" or concerning him of the first Order, who took the fire from the midst of the Cherubin; or what is more remarkable than this, foreshowing the good order that reigns amongst the Angels, the Cherubin casts the fire into the hands[7] of him wearing the sacred stole; or concerning him who called the most Divine Gabriel, and said to him, "Make this man understand the vision,"[8] or whatever else is recorded by the holy theologians concerning the Godlike Order of the celestial Hierarchies, to which the good order of our Hierarchy, after being assimilated to the greatest possible extent, will bear the likeness of the angelic comeliness, as it were, in reflection, taking its whole form from this, and conducted to the superessential source of order in every Hierarchy.

CAPUT IX.

Concerning the Principalities, Archangels and Angels, and concerning their Hierarchy which is last.

There remains for our religious contemplation an Order which completes the Angelic Hierarchies, which is composed of the Godlike Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. I think it necessary, first to declare the meaning of their sacred appellations. For the appellation of the heavenly Principalities denotes their ruling and guiding after the Divine example with religious order most befitting the Princely Powers, and their being wholly turned to the Principality above Principality, and their directing others in a princely fashion, and their being moulded to the distinguished Principality itself, the Maker of Princedom, and that they make manifest their superessential Source of order by the regularity of their princely powers.

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[1] Zechariah i. 8-17. [2] Ezek. ix. 3. [3] Ezek. ix. 3. [4] Ezek. x. 1. [5] Ezek. ix. 2. [6] Dan. ix. 23. [7] Ezek. x. 2-7. [8] Dan. viii. 16.

The Order of the Holy Archangels is of the same rank with the heavenly Principalities. For there is one Hierarchy and rank, as I said, of themselves and the Angels. But since there is not a Hierarchy which does not possess first and middle and last powers, the holy order of Archangels occupies the middle position in the Hierarchy between the extremes. For it belongs alike to the most holy Principalities and to the holy Angels. To the Principalities because it is turned in a princely fashion to the superessential Prince, and is moulded to It as far as possible, and unites the Angels after the fashion of its own well-regulated and marshalled and invisible Leadership. But it belongs to the Angels because it is of the prophetic Order, receiving in a sacerdotal fashion the Divine illumination from the first powers, and conveys the same to the Angels after the example of God, and through Angels manifests them to us in proportion to the sacred aptitude of each one of the godly persons illuminated. For the Angels, as we have already previously said, complete the whole series of celestial minds as being the last Order of the heavenly Beings, who possess the Angelic characteristic. Yea, rather, they are more properly named Angels by us than those of higher degree. Especially because their Order is occupied in making known, and is more particularly concerned with the things of the world. For the very highest Order, as being placed in the first rank near the Hidden One, we must consider as directing in spiritual things in a more hidden fashion than the Order next to itself. But the second Order, which is composed of the holy Lordships and Powers and Authorities, directs the Hierarchy of the Principalities and Archangels and Angels more clearly indeed than the first Hierarchy, but more hiddenly than the Order after it. We must bear in mind that the more revealing Order of the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels presides through each other over the Hierarchies amongst men, in order that the instruction, and conversion, and communion, and union with God may be in due order, and, in short, that the procession from God vouchsafed in a manner becoming His goodness to all the Hierarchies, and passing to all in common, may be in a most sacred regularity. Hence, the Word of God has assigned our Hierarchy to Angels, naming the distinguished Michael as Ruler of the Jewish people, and others over other nations. For the Most High established borders of nations according to number of Angels of[1] God. But if anyone should say, "How then were the people of the Hebrews alone conducted to the Divine illuminations?" we must answer that we ought not to throw the blame of the other nations wandering after those which are no gods, upon the faithful superintendence of the Angels. But they themselves, by their own declension, fell away from the faithful conduct towards the Divine, through self-conceit and self-will, and through their irrational reverence for things which appeared to themselves worthy of God. Even the Hebrew people are testified to have suffered the same thing; for He says, "Thou[2] hast cast away knowledge of God, and hast gone after thine own heart."[3] For neither have we a life governed by necessity, nor, on account of the free will of those who are objects of providential care, are the Divine rays of the providential illumination blunted. But the inaptitude of the mental visions makes the overflowing gift of Light, which comes from paternal goodness, either altogether unparticipated or impenetrable to their resistance, or makes the participations of the one fontal ray, diverse, small or great, obscure or brilliant, although that ray is one and simplex, and always the same, and ever overflowing. For even over the other nations, from whom even we have emerged to that boundless and bounteous sea of Divine Light, which is expanded for the ready reception of all, there were not placed certain alien gods. But there is one Prince of all, and to Him the Angels who religiously direct each nation conduct those who follow them. Let us consider Melchizedek[4] as being a Hierarch, most dear to God; not of gods which are not, but of Him Who is truly most high God. For the godly wise not only speak of him as being dear to God, but also as Priest, in order that they may clearly shew to the wise that not only was he himself turned to the true God, but further, that he became as Hierarch, a guide to others, in that wisdom which leads to the true and only Godhead.

Let me also recall this to your Hierarchical judgment—that both to Pharaoh,[5] from the Angel who presided over the Egyptians, and to the Babylonian[6] Prince, from his own Angel, the watchful and ruling care of the Providence and Lordship over all was made known in visions. And leaders who were worshippers of the true God were appointed over those nations. For the interpretation of things shaped by angelic visions was made known from God through Angels to holy men akin to the Angels—Daniel and Joseph. For there is one Prince and Providence over all. And never must we think that the Godhead guides Jews by lot, but that Angels, independently, or as of equal rank, or as in opposition, or that certain other gods preside over the other nations. But that particular phrase of the Divine Word, must be accepted according to its very religious intention; not as though God had divided government amongst men with other gods or Angels, and had been elected by lot to the government and leadership of Israel, but in this sense—that, whereas there is one and the same forethought of the Supreme over all, which has assigned all men for their salvation to the elevating guidance of their own Angels, yet Israel, almost alone in comparison with the rest, turned itself to the Light-gift, and recognition of the true Lord. Hence the Word of God, in order to shew that Israel himself elected for the worship of the true God, says this, "He became[1] the Lord's portion." But as shewing that he was distributed equally with the other nations, to one of the holy Angels, for the recognition through him of the one Prince over all, he said, "That Michael[2] was the Leader of the Jewish people." From this it is evident that there is one Providence for the whole, pre-eminently established above all powers, unseen and seen, and that all the Angels who preside over each nation elevate as far as possible those who follow them with a willing mind, to Itself as their proper Head.

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[1] Deut. xxxii. 8. [2] Hosea iv. 6. [3] Jer. xvi. 12. [4] Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1. [5] Gen. xli. 1-7. [6] Dan. ii. 1.

CAPUT X.

A Repetiton and Summary concerning the Angelic Order.

We have concluded, then, that the most exalted order of the minds around God, whilst being sanctified by the perfecting illumination, is purified, and illuminated, and perfected by a gift of light, at once more hidden and more manifest—more hidden, indeed, as being more intellectual, and more simplifying, and more unifying—more manifest, as being a first gift and a first manifestation, and more complete, and more shed forth to it as being more transparent. But from this order again, in due degree, the second, and from the second, the third, and from the third our Hierarchy is religiously conducted to the Beginning above beginning, and End of all good order, acccording to the self-same law of well-ordered regularity, in Divine harmony and proportion. But all Angels are interpreters of those above them. The very highest, indeed, of God, Who moves them, but the rest in due order of those who have been moved by God. For, to such an extent has the superessential harmony of all things provided for the religious order, and the regulated conduct of each of the rational and intellectual beings, that each rank of the Hierarchies has been placed in sacred order, and we observe every Hierarchy distributed into first and middle and last Powers. But to speak accurately, He divided each order itself, by the same Divine harmonies, on which account the theologians say that the most Divine Seraphin cry one to another,[1] indicating distinctly, as I think, by this, that the first impart their theological knowledge to the second. I might add this not inappropriately, that each celestial and human mind has within itself its own special first and middle and last rank and power, corresponding to the foresaid peculiar instructions of the several Hierarchical illuminations made known in due order, in accordance with which each one participates, so far as is lawful and permissible to himself, in the most spotless purification, the most copious light, the pre-eminent perfection. For there is nothing that is self-perfect, or absolutely without need of perfecting, except the self-perfect and pre-eminently perfect One.

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[1] Deut. xxxii. 9. [2] Dan. x. 21.

CAPUT XI.

For what reason all the celestial Beings, in common, are called celestial Powers.

Now that we have defined these things, it is worthy of consideration for what reason we are accustomed to call all the angelic Beings together, celestial Powers. For it is not possible to say, as with regard to the Angels, that the Order of the holy Powers is last of all. The Orders of the superior Beings share in the holy illuminations of the last; but the last in no degree of the first; and on this account all the holy minds are called celestial Powers, but never Seraphin and Thrones and Lordships. For the last do not enjoy the whole characteristics of the highest. For the Angels, and those above the Angels, Archangels, and Principalities, and Authorities, whilst being placed after the Powers, by the Word of God, are often called by us, in conjunction with the other holy Beings, heavenly Powers. But we affirm that whilst often using the appellation of celestial Powers for all in common, we do not introduce a sort of confusion of the characteristics of each Order. Now, inasmuch as all the Divine minds are divided into three, in the celestial description given of them—into substance, and power, and energy—when we speak of them all, or some of them, indiscriminately, as celestial Beings or celestial Powers, we must consider that we describe those about whom we speak in a general way, from the substance or power of each of them. For we must not apply the superior characteristic of those holy Powers, whom we have already sufficiently distinguished, to the Beings which are entirely inferior to them, so as to overthrow the unconfused order of the angelic ranks. According to the correct account which we have already frequently given, the superior Orders possess abundantly the sacred characteristics of the inferior, but the lowest do not possess the superior completeness of the highest. For the first-manifested illuminations are revealed to them, through the first Order, in proportion to their capacity.

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[1] Isaiah vi. 3.

CAPUT XII.

Why human Hierarchs are called Angels.

But this is sometimes also asked by diligent readers of the oracles. Since the lowest Orders do not possess the completeness of the superior, for what reason is our Hierarch named by the oracles "Angel of the Lord Omnipotent"?[1] Now the statement, as I think, is not contrary to what has been before defined, for we say that the last lack the whole and pre-eminent Power of the most exalted Orders. For they possess in part and degree according to the one harmonious and binding fellowship of all things. For example, the Order of the holy Cherubin possess wisdom and knowledge in a higher degree. But the Orders of the Beings beneath them possess also themselves wisdom and knowledge, but nevertheless partially as compared with them and in a lower degree. For the possession of wisdom throughout is common to all the spiritual which bear the image of God. But the being near and first, or second and inferior, is not common, but as has been determined for each in its own degree. This also one might safely define respecting all the spiritual Minds, for, as the first possess abundantly the goodly characteristics of the inferior, so the last possess those goodly qualities, not indeed in the same degree, but subordinately. There is, then, as I think, nothing absurd if the Word of God calls our Hierarch Angel, since he participates, according to his own capacity, in the prophetic characteristic of the Angels, and elevates himself, as far as possible, to the likeness of their interpreting powers. But you will find that the Word of God calls gods, both the celestial Beings above us, and the holy men[2] amongst us, who are most beloved of God,[3] although the Divine Hiddenness is transcendently elevated and established above all; and no created Being can properly and entirely be said to be like unto It, except those intellectual and rational Beings who are entirely and wholly turned to its Oneness as far as possible, and who elevate themselves indomitably to its Divine illuminations by their imitation of God, if I may so speak, according to their power, and are deemed worthy of the same appellation as God.

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[1] Mal. ii. 7. [2] ἄνδρας. [3] Ex. vii. 1; Ps. lxxxii. 6.

CAPUT XIII.

For what reason the Prophet Isaiah is said to have been purified by the Seraphin.

Come, then, let us examine this as best we can, why one of the Seraphin[1] is said to be sent to one of the theologians. For some one may object that not one of the inferior Angels, but one himself enrolled amongst the very highest Beings cleanses the Prophet. Some, indeed, do affirm that, according to the definition already given of the mutual relation of all the Minds, this portion of the Word of God does not name one of the highest around God as having come for the cleansing of the theologian, but that some one of the Angels placed over us as a sacred Minister of the Prophet's cleansing is called by the same name as the Seraphin, on the ground that the removal of the fault spoken of and the restoration of him who was cleansed to the Divine obedience[2] was through fire; and they say that this oracle speaks simply of one of the Seraphin, not of those who are established around God, but of the Powers established over us for the purpose of cleansing. Now another brought forward to me a by no means foolish defence of this present position. For he said that that great One, whoever he might be—the Angel who formed this vision—for the purpose of teaching the theologian Divine things, referred his own cleansing function to God, and after God, to the first working Hierarchy. And was not this statement true? For he who said this affirmed that the Divine Power passes to all in its frequent visitations, and penetrates all irresistibly, and yet is invisible to all, not only as being superessentially elevated above all, but as secretly transmitting its providential energies to all; yea, rather, it is manifested to all the spiritual Beings in due degree, and conducts its own gift of Light to the most reverend Beings, through whom, as being of the first Order, itself distributes in due order to the subordinate in proportion to the power of each Order to bear the vision of God. Or to speak more strictly, and through familiar illustrations (for if they fall short of the Glory of God, Who is exalted above all, yet they are more instructive to us), the transmission of the sun's ray passes most easily to matter of the first Order, as being more transparent than all, and through this lights up its own splendour more brilliantly. But when it strikes more dense matter, its transmitted brilliancy becomes more obscure, from the inaptitude of the matter illuminated for the transmission of the gift of Light. And from this it is, little by little, contracted so as to almost perfectly exclude the passage of Light. Again, the heat of fire transmits itself chiefly to things that are more receptive, and yielding, and conducive to assimilation to itself. But, as regards repellent substances, either it leaves none, or a very light trace of its fiery energy. More than this, when it comes in contact with things not congenial, through substances favourable to its proper action—First, if it chance to enflame things easily changed to its heat, and through them, either water or some other substance which is not easily heated, it heats them in proportion to their capacity. After the same rule, then, of Nature's well ordered method, the primal regulation of all good order, both visible and invisible, manifests supernaturally the brightness of its own gift of Light to the most exalted Beings in abundant streams of first-manifestation, and through these the Beings after them partake of the Divine ray. For these, as first knowing God, and striving pre-eminently after Divine virtue and to become first-workers, are deemed worthy of the power and energy for the imitation of God, to the utmost degree. And these lovingly elevate the beings after them to an equality with themselves as far as possible, by imparting ungrudgingly to them the splendour which rests upon themselves, and these again to those subordinate. Throughout every Order the first rank imparts its gift to that after it. The Divine Light thus rests upon all, in due proportion, with providential forethought. There is, then, for all those who are illuminated, a Source of illumination—God, that is, naturally, and really, and properly, as Essence of Light, and Cause of Being and Vision itself. But, by ordinance and by Divine imitation, the superior Order is successively the Source to that Order which follows it, by the fact that the Divine rays are poured through this to that. All the remaining Angels, then, naturally regard the highest Order of the heavenly minds as Source of every sacred knowledge and imitation of God, since through them the Divine illumination is distributed to all, and even to us. Wherefore they refer every holy energy of Divine imitation to God indeed as *Cause*, but to the first Godlike minds as being first authors and teachers of Divine things.

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[1] Isaiah vi. 6-7. [2] Isaiah vi. 7.

The first Order, then, of the holy Angels, possess more than all, the characteristic of fire; and the distribution of the streams of Divine wisdom; and the faculty of knowing the highest science of the Divine illuminations; and the characteristic of Thrones, exhibiting their expansion for the reception of God. But the ranks of the subordinate Beings possess the faculty of fire, of wisdom, of knowledge, of Divine reception—but in a lower degree. And looking to the first, and through them, as being worthy of the Divine imitation in the first degree, they are conducted to the highest possible likeness of God. The aforesaid holy characteristics, then, which the Beings after them possess through the first, they attribute to those Beings themselves as Hierarchs after God.

He who said this, was accustomed to affirm that this vision was shewn to the Theologian[1] through one of the holy and blessed Angels who are set over us, and from his illuminating direction that he, the Prophet, was elevated to that spiritual vision in which he saw the most exalted Beings, to speak symbolically, fixed under God, and with God, and around[2] God, and the Supreme Eminence above all eminence, elevated unspeakably above all seated on high in the midst of the most exalted Beings. The Theologian then learned, from the things seen, that as compared with every supéressential pre-eminence, the Divine was seated above every visible and invisible power, and that He is exalted above all, as Absolute—not even comparable to the first of created Beings. Further also. that He is the very Being of all, and Cause of all cause, and unalterable centre of the undissolved continuance of all, from Whom is both the being and the well-being of the most exalted Powers themselves. Then he was instructed in the God-like qualities of the most holy Seraphin, whose sacred appellation signifies the Fiery, concerning which we shall shortly speak, so as to shew as best we can, the hidden mysteries of the empyrion faculty which leads to Divine imitation. But when the holy Prophet viewed the free and most exalted restoration to the Divine, in first, middle, and last conceptions, as depicted in the representation of the six wings; and further, when he contemplated their innumerable feet and many faces, and their extended wings—some under their feet, and the other over their faces, and their perpetual movement of their middle wings—he was brought to the intellectual knowledge of the things seen. Since there was manifested to him the power of the most exalted minds for deep penetration and numerous contemplation, and their sacred reverence which they have, above earthly Beings; for the bold, and courageous, and impossible scrutiny into higher and deeper mysteries; and the incessant and high-flying perpetual movement in their orderly striving after the Divine imitation, but he was also taught the hidden mysteries of that Divine and much esteemed heavenly Hymn of Praise—the Angel, whilst forming the vision, imparting, as far as possible, his own Divine knowledge to the theologian. He also taught him this, that the participation, as far as possible, in the Divine and radiant purity,

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[1] Isaiah vi. [2] John i. 1.

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is a purification to the pure, in whatever degree. But this being accomplished from the very Godhead by most exalted causes to all the sacred Minds by a supernatural Hiddenness, is in a manner more manifest, and exhibits and distributes itself in a higher degree to the highest powers around itself. But with regard to the second, or us the lowest intellectual powers, as each is distant as regards the Divine likeness from itself, so it contracts its brilliant manifestation to the single unknowableness of its own hiddenness. But he illuminates the second, severally through the first; and, if one must speak briefly, he is firstly brought from hiddenness to manifestation through the first powers. This, then, the Theologian was taught by the Angel who was leading him to Light—that purification, and all the Divine energies, being made known through the first Beings, are distributed to all the rest, according to the aptitude of each for the deifying participations. Wherefore also, the characteristic of purification by fire he naturally attributed to the Seraphin after God. There is nothing, then, absurd if the Seraphin is said to purify the Prophet. For, as God purifies all, by being cause of all purification, yea, rather (for I use a familiar illustration) as our Hierarch, when purifying or enlightening through his Deacons or Priests, is said himself to purify and enlighten, since the Orders consecrated through him attribute to him their own proper functions; so also the Angel who effected the purification of the Prophet attributed his own purifying science and power to God, as Cause, but to the Seraphin as first-operating Hierarch. As any one might say with Angelic reverence, whilst teaching one who was being purified by himself, "There is a pre-eminent Source, and Essence, and Worker, and Cause of the cleansing wrought upon you from me—He Who brings both the first Beings into Being, and holds them together by their fixity around Himself, and keeps them without change and without fall; moving them to the first participations of His own Providential energies. For this He who taught me these things used to say that this shews the mission of the Seraphin. Now that Hierarch and Leader after God, the Glory of the most exalted Beings, from whom I was taught to purify after the example of God—this is He, Who cleanses thee through me—through Whom the Cause and Creator of all cleansing brought forth His own provident energies from the hidden Abyss, even to us." These things, then, he taught me, and I impart them to thee. Let it be a part of thy spiritual and discriminating skill, either that each of the reasons assigned should be freed from objection, and to honour one before the other as having likelihood and good reason, and perhaps the truth: or from yourself, to find out something more allied to the real truth, or to learn from another; God, of course, giving the Word, and Angels supplying it; and to reveal to us, the friends of Angels, a more luminous view, if it should be so, and one to me specially welcome.

CAPUT XIV.

What the number attributed to the Angels signifies.

This also is worthy, in my opinion, of spiritual consideration—that the teaching of the oracles concerning the Angels, affirms that they are thousand thousands, and myriad myriads; cumulating and multiplying respecting them the supreme limit of our numbers, and through these shewing clearly that the ranks of the celestial Beings cannot be numbered by us; for many are the blessed hosts of the celestial minds, surpassing the weak and contracted measurement of our mundane calculation. And being definitely known to the celestial and heavenly intelligence and science amongst themselves, which is given to them in profusion by the supremely Divine and infinitely wise Head, and essential Cause and connecting Force, and encompassing Term of all created things together. (Dan. vii. 10.)

CAPUT XV.

What are the corporeal likenesses of the angelic Powers? what the fiery? what the likeness to man? what are the eyes? what the nostrils? what the ears? what the mouths? what the touch? what the eyelids? what the eyebrows? what the prime? what the teeth? what the shoulders? what the elbows? what the hands? what the heart? what the breasts? what the back? what the feet? what the wings? what the wrestler? what the robe? what the shining raiment? what the sacerdotal? what the girdles? what the rods? what the spears? what the battle-axe? what the measuring lines? what the winds? what the clouds? what the brass? what the electron? what the choir? what the clapping of hands? what the colours of transparent stones? what the likeness of the lion? what the likeness of the ox? what the likeness of the eagle? what the horses? what the various kinds of coloured horses? what the rivers? what the chariots of the Angels?

Come, then, let us at last, if you please, rest our mental vision from the strain of lofty contemplations, which is fit for Angels, and when we have descended to the divided and manifold picture of the manifold variety of the angelic forms, let us then return analytically from the same. as from images, to the naked[1] truth of the celestial minds. Let this first be borne in mind, that the explanations of the typical likenesses represent the same ranks of the celestial Beings. as sometimes ruling, and at other times as being ruled, and the last as ruling, and the first as being ruled; and the same, as has been said, as having first, and middle, and last powers—without introducing anything absurd into the description, according to the following mode of explanation. For if indeed we were to say that some are ruled by those above them, and then that they were ruling the same, and that those above, whilst ruling those below, are ruled by those same, who are being ruled, the thing would manifestly be absurd, and mixed with all sorts of confusion. But if we say that the same rule, and are ruled, but no longer the same, or from the same, but that each Order is itself ruled by those above it, but rules those below it, one might say appropriately that the Divinely pictured forms in the oracles, the self-same may sometimes properly and truly apply to both first and middle and last powers. Now the elevation by being turned to things above, and their being drawn inflexibly around each other, as being guardians of their own proper powers, and their possession, with regard to those after them, of the power to provide for them by a mutual communication, belongs truly to all the heavenly Beings; although to some pre-eminently and wholly, as we have often said, but to others partially and in a less degree. But we must keep our discourse within bounds, and must search in our first explanation of the types for what reason the Word of God prefers the sacred representation of fire in preference to almost every other.[1] You will find it, then, representing not only wheels of fire, but also living creatures of fire [2]; and men flashing like lightning [3]; and placing around the heavenly Beings themselves heaps of coals of fire [4]; and rivers of flame, flowing with irresistible force.[5] But also it says that the thrones are of fire [6]; and that the most exalted Cherubin glows with fire, it shows from their appellation; and it attributes the characteristic and energy of fire[7] to them; and everywhere, above and below, it prefers pre-eminently the representation by the image of fire. I think, then, the similitude of fire,[8] denotes the likeness of the Divine minds to God, in the highest degree, for the holy theologians frequently describe the superessential and formless Being by *fire*, as having many likenesses, if I may be permitted to say so, of the Divine character, in things visible. For the sensible fire is, so to speak, in everything, and passes through everything unmingled, and is exalted above all, and whilst giving light to everything, is at the same time concealed, unknown in its essential nature, except when it may happen to shew its own proper energy in any matter lying near it. It is both incomprehensible and invisible; itself subduing all things, and bringing under its own energy anything in which it may happen to be; unchangeable, imparting itself to all things near it, whatever they may be; renewing by its rousing heat, and giving light by its illuminations which cannot be hid; uncontrollable, unmingled, separating, unchangeable, elevating, penetrating, lofty, subject to no grovelling inferiority, ever moving, self-moving, moving other things, comprehending, incomprehended, needing no other, imperceptibly increasing itself, displaying its own magnitude to the materials receiving it, energetic, powerful, present in all, when unobserved seeming not to be, but manifesting itself suddenly, according to its own proper nature by friction, when, as it were, we seek to find it; and again flying away uncontrollably it remains undiminished, in all the joyful distributions of itself. And one might find many characteristics of fire, appropriate to display the Divine Energy, as it were, in sensible images. Those, then, who are wise in the things of God, knowing this, depict the celestial Beings under the image of Fire, shewing their Godlike nature, and their imitation of God, as far as permissible.

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[1] τηὺ ἁπλότητα.

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[1] Dan. vii. 9. [2] Ezek. i. 13, 16. [3] Ezek. i. 14. [4] Ezek. x. 2.
[5] Dan. vii. 10. [6] Dan. vii. 9. [7] Isaiah vi. 6, 7. [8] Le Cratyle de Platon i., 302.

But they also depict them under the likeness of men,[1] on account of their intellectual nature, and their having the faculty of looking to things above, and their straight and erect form, and their innate faculty of ruling and guiding; and whilst being least in natural power as compared with the powers of irrational Beings, yet ruling over all by their superior power of mind, and by their superiority in rational science, and their innate unslavishness and indomitableness of soul. It is possible, then, I think, to find within each of the many parts of our body images harmonious to the heavenly powers, whilst we affirm that the powers of vision [2] denote the most transparent elevation towards the Divine light; and again, the tender liquid and unrepellent, but sensitive, and pure, and unfolded reception, free from all passion, of the supremely Divine illuminations.

But the discriminating powers of the nostrils denote the receptive power of the distributed odours, sweet beyond conception, and the power of distinguishing accurately things which are not such, and entirely rejecting them.[3]

The powers of the ear denote the conscious participation and reception of the Divine inspiration.

The powers of taste denote the fulness of the intellectual food, and the reception of the Divine and nourishing streams.[4]

The powers of touch denote the skilful discrimination of that which is suitable or injurious.[5]

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[1] Gen. xxxii. 24. [2] Ezek. i. 18; ibid ix. 5. [3] Gen. viii. 21. [4] Gen. xix. 3.
[5] Gen. xxxii. 25.

The eyelids and eyebrows denote the guarding of the conceptions which reveal God.

The figures of manhood and youth denote the perpetual bloom and vigour of life.[1]

The teeth denote the dividing of the perfect nourishment given to us. For each intellectual Being divides and multiplies by a provident faculty the unified conception given to it by the more Divine Order, in proportion necessary for the instruction of the inferior.

The shoulders and elbows,[2] and further, the hands,[3] denote the power of making, and striving, and accomplishing.

The heart is a symbol of the Godlike life, dispersing its own life-giving power to the objects of its forethought after the Divine likeness.

The chest again denotes the invincible and protective faculty of the life-giving distribution as being placed above the heart.

The back, the holding together the whole productive powers[4] of life.

The feet[5] denote the movement, and quickness, and skilfulness of the perpetual movement advancing towards Divine things. Wherefore also the Word of God represented the feet of the holy Minds as being placed under their wings[6]; for the wing displays the quickness of instruction, and the progress towards the heavenly and higher things, and the elevation above all earthly things for love of higher. But the elevation of the wings denotes their being in no respect earthly, but in all purity raised to the higher things without hindrance.

But the naked and unshod denotes the unfettered, agile, and unrestrained, and free from all external superfluity, and their assimilation to the Divine simplicity as far as attainable.

But since again the simple and variegated wisdom[7] both clothes the naked and distributes certain implements to them to carry, let us unfold, according to our power, the sacred garments and implements of the celestial Minds. The shining and glowing raiment, I think, signifies the Divine likeness after the image of fire—brilliant[8]—and their distribution of Light, in consequence of their repose in Heaven, where is the Light. And their complete illuminating as superior Beings, and their being illuminated as inferior. But the sacerdotal robe denotes their instruction[9] in Divine and mystical visions, and the consecration of their whole life. But the girdles signify their guard over their productive powers, and their own collected habit to be turned to Oneness with It, and to encircle It with good order by being drawn around itself by an unbroken identity.

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[1] Mark xvi. 5. [2] Dan. x 6. [3] Dan. x. 10. [4] Dan. x. 5.
[5] Isaiah vi. 2. [6] Ezek. i. 6. [7] Eph. iii. 10. [8] John xx. 12. [9] Dan. x. 5.

The rods signify the kingly and directing faculty, making all things straight. The spears[1] and the battle-axe[2] denote the dividing of things unlike, and the sharp and energetic and drastic operation of the discriminating powers. The geometrical[3] and technical[4] articles denote the founding, and building, and completing, and whatever else belongs to the instructing and guiding forethought, for the subordinate Orders. But sometimes the implements of the holy Angels presented to our view are the symbols of God's judgment to ourselves. Some representing His correcting[5] instruction or avenging righteousness.[6] Others freedom from peril, or end of education, or resumption of former well-being, or addition of other gifts, small or great, material or intellectual.[7] Nor would a discriminating mind, in any case whatever, have difficulty in properly adapting things visible to things invisible.

But the fact that they are named winds[8] denotes their rapid flight, passing almost instantaneously to all things; and their movement in passing from above to below, and again from below to above—their elevating the second to the height above, but moving the first to a common and provident conduct of the inferior Orders. But perhaps someone would say that the appellation of wind, to the aerial spirit, also denotes the Divine likeness of the celestial minds. For this also bears a likeness and type of the Divine energy (as we have demonstrated more fully in the symbolic theology, in our explanation of the four elements) in accordance with the moving and life-producing, and the rapid and resistless procession of Nature, and the unobserved and invisible Hiddenness of the moving springs and terminations. For He says, "Thou knowest not whence it cometh[9] nor whither it goeth." But also the Word of God attributes to them the appearance of a cloud,[10] signifying through this that the holy minds are filled in an unearthly degree with the hidden Light; receiving the first manifestation without boasting, which they distribute ungrudgingly to the second, as a secondary manifestation, and in proportion to their capacity. Yea, further, that the productive, and life-producing, and increasing, and perfecting power is enshrined in them, in consequence of the spiritual production of showers, which summon the receptive womb of the earth, by fruitful showers, to the life-giving pangs of birth.

Also, the Word of God attributes to the celestial Beings a likeness to Brass,[1] Electron,[2] and many-coloured stones. Electron, as being partly like silver, partly like gold, denotes the incorruptible, as in gold, with unexpended, and undiminished, and spotless brilliancy, and the brightness as in silver, and a luminous and celestial radiance. But to the Brass, according to the reasons assigned, must be attributed either the likeness of fire or that of gold.

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[1] Gen. iii. 24. [2] Ezek. ix. 2. [3] Ezek. xi. 3. [4] Amos vii. 7. [5] Num. xxii. 31.
[6] 2 Kings xxiv. 16. [7] Zech. iii. 9. [8] Ps. civ. 3; Dan. vii. 2.
[9] John iii. 8. [10] Ezek. x. 4.

We must consider the many-coloured appearances of stones, denotes either, as white, the luminous; or as red, the fiery; or as yellow, the golden; or as green, the youthful and the full grown; and within each likeness you will find an explanation which teaches the inner meaning of the typical images.

But since, I think, according to our power, this has been sufficiently said, we will pass to the sacred explanation of the Divine representations of the celestial minds through wild beasts. We must consider that the shape of a Lion[3] signifies the leading, and robust, and indomitable, and the assimilation as far as possible to the unutterable Deity, by the concealment of the spiritual footsteps, and by the mysteriously secret covering of the path leading to itself during Divine illumination.

The image of the Ox[4] denotes the strong and the mature, turning up the spiritual furrows for the reception of the heavenly and productive powers. The Horns the guarding and indomitable.

The representation of the Eagle[5]—the kingly, and soaring, and swift in flight, and quickness, and wariness, and agility, and cleverness in search of the nourishment which makes strong; and the unimpeded, straight, and unflinching gaze towards the bounteous and brilliant splendour of the Divine rays of the sun, with the robust endurance of its visual powers.

That of Horses represents obedience and docility; when they are white, brilliancy, and especially their affinity to the Divine Light; when they are black, the Hidden; when they are red, the fiery; when they are black and white, the uniting of the extremities by the power passing through them, and joining the first to the second, and the second to the first, by twining or directing. But if we did not consult the proportion of our discourse, we might, not inappropriately, adapt the particular characteristics of the living creatures spoken of, and all their bodily representations to the heavenly Powers, upon the principle of dissimilar similitudes. For instance, their appearance of anger—to spiritual manliness, of which anger is the last echo, but desire—to the Divine love, and to speak summarily, referring all the senses and many parts of irrational Beings to the immaterial conceptions and unified Powers of the celestial Beings. But not only is this sufficient for the wise, but even an explanation of one of the dissimilar representations would be sufficient for the accurate description of similar things after the same fashion. But we must examine the fact that Rivers[1] are spoken of, and Wheels[2] and Chariots,[3] as associated with the heavenly Beings. The rivers of fire signify the Divine streams providing for them an ungrudging and incessant flow, and nourishing the productive powers of life. The Chariots the conjoined communion of those of the same rank in united fellowship. The wheels as being winged, advancing without turning and without deviation, denote the power of their advancing energy within a straight and direct way, whilst their whole intellectual track is Divinely directed towards the same undeviating and direct way. But it is possible to interpret in another form the sacred description of the spiritual wheels, for the name Gel, Gel, is given to them, as the theologian says. This shows, according to the Hebrew tongue, revolutions and revelations. For the Divine wheels of fire have revolutions, by their perpetual movement around the Goodness itself; but revelations by the explanation of things hidden, and by the instruction of things on earth, and by the descending procession of the sublime illuminations to things below. There remains for accurate explanation, the statement respecting the rejoicing of the celestial Orders[4]; for they are utterly incapable of our impassioned pleasure. But they are said to rejoice with God, over the discovery of what was lost, in accordance with their Divine good nature, and that Godlike and ungrudging rejoicing over the care and salvation of those who are turned to God—with that joy beyond description of which also holy men often partake, whilst the deifying illuminations of the Deity rest upon them. Let it suffice, then, to have said this much concerning the Divine representations, which no doubt falls short of their accurate explanation, but which will prevent us, I think, from servilely resting in the resemblances of the types. But if you should say that we have not mentioned the whole Angelic Powers, depicted in the oracles, or energies, or likenesses, we answer in truth that we do not possess the celestial knowledge of some; and further, with regard to these, we have need of another instructor to guide us into Light. But other things as being parallel to the things said, we have omitted, out of regard to the length of the discourse; and the hidden mysteries, beyond our capacity, we have honoured by silence.

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[1] Ezek. xi. 3. [2] Ezek. viii. 2. [3] Ezek. i. 10. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

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[1] Dan. vii. 10. [2] Ezek. x. 9. [3] 2 Kings ii. 11. [4] Luke xv. 10.

ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY.

CAPUT I.

To my Fellow Presbyter Timothy.
Dionysius the Presbyter.

What is the traditional view of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and what is its scope?

WE must, then, demonstrate, most pious of pious sons, that ours is a Hierarchy of the inspired and Divine and Deifying science, and energy and perfection. This we will do, from the celestial and most sacred oracles—for those who have been initiated with the initiation of the sacred revelation derived from the hierarchical mysteries and traditions. But see that you do not put to scorn the things the most holy. Take good heed, and you will then guard the honour of the hidden things of God by intellectual and obscure definitions, carefully guarding them from the participation and defilement of the profane, and communicating them reverently only to persons the most holy. For thus, as the Word of God has taught us who feast at His Banquet, even Jesus Himself—the supremely Divine and superessential Mind, the Head and Being, and most supremely Divine Power of every Hierarchy and Sanctification and Divine operation—illuminates the blessed Beings who are superior to us, in a manner more clear, and at the same time more fresh, and assimilates them to His own Light in proportion to their ability to receive. As for ourselves, by the love of things beautiful, elevated to Himself, and elevating us, He folds together our many diversities, and by making them into an unified and Divine life, suitable to a sacred vocation both as to habit and action, He Himself bequeaths the power of the Divine Priesthood, from which, by approaching to the holy exercise of the priestly office, we become nearer to the Beings above us, by assimilation, according to our power, to the stability and unchangeableness of their steadfastness in holy things. Hence, by looking upwards to the blessed and supremely Divine Glory of Jesus, and reverently gazing upon whatever we are permitted to see, and being illuminated with the knowledge of the visions, we shall be able to become, as regards the science of Divine mysteries, both purified and purifying—images of Light, and workers with God, perfected and perfecting.

What, then, is the Hierarchy of the Angels[1] and Archangels, and supermundane Principalities and Authorities, Powers and Lordships, Divine Thrones, or Beings of the same ranks as the Thrones—which the Word of God describes as being near, and always about God, and with[2] God, naming them in the Hebrew tongue Cherubin and Seraphin—what pertains to the sacred Orders and divisions of their ranks and Hierarchies you will find in the books we have written—not as befits their dignity, but to the best of our ability—in which we have followed the Word of God as it describes their Hierarchy in the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless, it is necessary to say this, that both that and every Hierarchy which we are now celebrating has one and the same power throughout the whole of its hierarchical functions, and that the Hierarch himself, according to his nature, and aptitude, and rank, is initiated in Divine things, and deified and imparts to his subordinates according to the meetness of each, the sacred deification which comes to himself from God. Likewise, that the subordinates follow the superior, but elevate the inferior towards things in advance; and that some go before, and, as far as possible, give the lead to others; and that each, as far as may be, participates in Him Who is the truly Beautiful, and Wise, and Good, through this Divine and sacerdotal harmony.

But the Beings and ranks above us, of whom we have already made a reverent mention, are both incorporeal and their Hierarchy is intellectual and supermundane. But we observe that our hierarchy, conformably to our nature, abounds in a manifold variety of material symbols, from which, in proportion to our capacity, we are conducted by sacerdotal functions to the onelike deification—God and Divine Virtue. They indeed, as being minds, perceive, according to laws laid down for themselves. But we are led by sensible figures to Divine contemplations as is possible to us. And to speak truly, there is One to Whom all the Godlike aspire. But they do not partake of this One and the Same in one manner, but as the Divine ordinance distributes to each a meet inheritance. Now these things have been treated more systematically in the Treatise concerning "Intellectual and Sensible." But now I will attempt to describe our Hierarchy, and its head and substance as best I can; invoking Jesus the Head and Perfection of all Hierarchies. Every Hierarchy, then, is, according to our august tradition, the whole description of the sacred things falling under it—a most complete summary of the sacred rites of this or that Hierarchy, as the case may be. Our Hierarchy, then, is called and is the systematic account of the whole sacred rites included within it; according to which the divine Hierarch, being initiated, will have within himself the participation of the most sacred things, as chief[1] of Hierarchy. For as he who speaks of Hierarchy speaks of the order of the whole sacred rites collectively, so he who mentions Hierarch denotes the inspired and godly man—one who understands accurately all sacred knowledge, in whom is completed and recognized, in its purity, the whole Hierarchy.

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[1] See Epistle to Trallians.

[2] John i. 1.

Of this Hierarchy, as supreme Head, is the Triad—the Fountain of Life—the Essence of Goodness—the One Cause of things that be—from Whom both being and well-being come to things that are—through goodness. Of this supremely Divine blessedness—exalted above all—the threefold One—the really existing—the will—inscrutable to us, but known to itself—is the rational salvation of Beings amongst us and above us. But that salvation cannot otherwise take place, than upon the condition that those who are being saved become deified. But the deification is the assimilation and oneness towards God, as far as permissible. Now this is the common end of every Hierarchy—the clinging love towards God and Divine things; a love divinely sanctified into oneness with Him; and for the sake of this, the complete and unswerving removal of things contrary—the knowledge of things as they are in themselves—the vision and clear knowledge of sacred truth—the Divine participation of the uniform perfection, the One itself, as far as permissible; the banquet of contemplation, nourishing intellectually and deifying every man who elevates himself towards it.

Let us affirm, then, that the Divine Blessedness, the self-existent Godhead, Source of deification, from Whom comes the deification of those deified, bequeathed by Divine Goodness the Hierarchy, for the salvation and deification of all rational and intellectual Beings. To the supermundane and blessed inheritors it is bequeathed in a manner more immaterial and intellectual (for God does not move them to Divine things from without, but intellectually, and they are illuminated as to the Divine will from within, with a pure and unearthly brilliancy), but to us—that which is given to them simply, and uniformly, and enveloped—is given from the Divinely transmitted oracles, in a variety and multitude of divisible symbols, as we are able to receive it. For the Divinely transmitted oracles are the very Being of our Hierarchy. But we affirm that these oracles are most august—all such as were given from our inspired initiators in Divinely written letters of the Word of God. And further, whatever our leaders have revealed to us from the same holy men, by a less earthly instruction, very similar to the Heavenly Hierarchy, from mind to mind; through the medium of speech, and so corporeal, but nevertheless more immaterial—without writing. Nor did the inspired Hierarchs transmit[1] these things in conceptions clear to the commonalty of the Divine Service, but in sacred symbols. For it is not every one that is holy, nor as the oracles affirm does knowledge belong to all.[2]

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[1] Ιέραρχίας ἐπώνυμος.

Of necessity, then, the first leaders of our Hierarchy, after they had themselves been filled with the sacred gift from the superessential Godhead, and sent by the Divine Goodness to extend the same gift to those without; and they themselves as godly, desiring the instruction and deification of those after them, without grudging imparted to us—by written and unwritten revelations—in accordance with sacred injunctions, things supercelestial in sensible images—the simple and enfolded, in the variegated and multiform; the things Divine, in things human, things immaterial in things material; the superessential in things earthly. Nor did they do this on account merely of the unholy, to whom it is not permitted even to touch the symbols, but because our Hierarchy is, as I said, a kind of symbol adapted to our condition, which needs things material for our more Divine elevation from these to things spiritual. The reasons, however, of the symbols have been revealed to the Divine initiators, which it is not permitted to explain to those who are yet being initiated; as knowing that the Lawgivers for rites Divinely taught deliberately arranged the Hierarchy in well-established and unconfused ranks, and in proportionate and sacred distributions of that which was convenient to each according to capacity. Wherefore, trusting in those Thy sacred promises, for it is well to recall them to your recollection, that, since every Hierarchical doctrine is of supreme importance, you will not commit them to any other but those Godlike initiators of the same rank with yourself, and will persuade them to promise, according to the regulation of our Hierarchy, to touch pure things purely, and to communicate the things of God to the godly alone, and things perfect to those who are perfecting, and the most holy things to the holy; I have entrusted this Divine gift to thee, in addition to many other Hierarchical gifts.

CAPUT II.

Concerning those who are being initiated in illumination.

We have, then, reverently affirmed that the scope of our Hierarchy is this—the assimilation and oneness with God as far as permissible. But as the Divine oracles teach, we shall attain this only by the love and the religious performance of the worshipful

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[1] Mark iv. 11. [2] 1 Cor. viii. 7.

Commandments. For He says: "He[1] that loveth Me will keep My Commandments, and My Father will love him, and will come unto him, and make Our abode with him." What, then, is the beginning of the religious performance of the most august commandments? The teaching of the sacred and most Divine regeneration, which forms an aptitude in the habits of our soul for the reception of the other Divine sayings and doings[2]; the preparation of the way for our ascent to the supercelestial rest.[3] For, as our illustrious Leader was used to say, the very first movement of the mind towards Divine things is the love of God, but the very earliest approach towards the religious performance of the Divine commandments is the unutterable creation of our being in God. For if our[4] being in God is the Divine engendering, never would he know, and certainly not perform any of the Divine instructions, who had not first his beginning to be in God. To speak after the manner of men, is it not necessary that we should first begin to be, and then to do what belongs to us? For he who does not exist at all has neither movement nor even beginning. But he who actually exists does or suffers only those things suitable to his own condition. This, then, as I think, is clear. Let us next contemplate the Divine symbols of the birth in God. And I pray, let no uninitiated person approach the sight; for neither is it without danger to gaze upon the glorious rays of the sun with weak eyes, nor is it without peril to put our hand to things above us. For right was the priesthood of the Law when rejecting Osias,[5] because he put his hand to sacred things; and Korah,[6] to things above his capacity; and Nadab[7] and Abihu, because they treated things within their own province unholily.

II.—*Mystery of Illumination.*

The Hierarch, then, wishing[8] that all men whatsoever should be saved by their assimilation towards God, and come to a recognition of truth, proclaims to all the veritable Gospel—that God being compassionate towards men upon earth, from His own proper and inherent goodness, Himself deigned to come to us with outstretched arms, on account of loving kindness towards men; and, by union with Himself, like as by fire, to assimilate things that have been made one, in proportion to their aptitude for deification. "For as many as received Him, to them gave He power[9] to become sons of God—to those believing on His Name, who were begotten, not from bloods, nor from will of flesh, but from God."

He who has felt a religious longing to possess these truly celestial gifts, comes to some one of the initiated, and persuades him to act as his conductor to the Hierarch. He then promises wholly to follow the teaching that shall be given to him, and prays him to undertake the superintendence of his introduction, and of all his life afterwards. But he, though religiously longing for his salvation, when he measures human infirmity against the loftiness of the undertaking, is seized with a shivering and sense of incapacity. Nevertheless, at last, he promises, with a good grace, to do what is requested, and takes and leads him to the chief Hierarch. He then benevolently receives the man, as a sheep upon his shoulders, and admits the two men, and worships and glorifies, with a mental thanksgiving and bodily prostration, the One Author[1] and Finisher of Good; from Whom those who are being called are called, and those who are being saved are saved.

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[1] John xiv. 23. [2] John i. 13. [3] John iii. 5. [4] See Baptismal Offices.
[5] 2 Chron. xxvi. 16-21. Num. xvi. 1-33. [7] Num. iii. 4. [8] 1 Tim. ii. 4.
[9] John i. 12, 13.

He then collects the whole religious Order into the holy Choir for co-operation and common rejoicing over the man's salvation; but also for *thanksgiving* to the Divine Goodness. At the commencement he chants a certain hymn found in the oracles, accompanied by the whole body of the Church. And after this, when he has kissed the holy table, he advances to the man standing before him, and demands of him, what has brought him here? When the man, out of love to God, has confessed, according to the instruction of his sponsor, his ungodliness,[2] his ignorance of the truly beautiful, his insufficiency for the Divine life, and demands through his holy mediation to attain to God and Divine things, he testifies to him that his approach ought to be entire, as to God Who is All Perfect, and without blemish. When he has expounded to him fully the Divine course of life, and has demanded of him, if he would thus live; after his promise he places his right hand upon his head, and when he has sealed him, he commands the priests to register the man and his sponsor.

When these have enrolled the names, he offers a holy prayer, and when the whole Church have completed this with him, he unlooses his sandals and removes his clothing by means of the Deacons. Then when he has placed him facing the west, and whilst he beats with aversion his hands towards the same quarter, he thrice commands him to breathe scorn upon Satan, and further, to profess the words of the renunciation. When he has witnessed his threefold renunciation, he turns him to the east, after he has confessed this three times, and has looked up to heaven and extended his hands thitherward, he commands him to be subject to Christ, and to all the Divinely transmitted oracles of God. When the man has done this, he witnesses again for him his threefold confession, and again, when he has thrice confessed, after prayer, he gives thanks and lays his hand upon him. When the Deacons have entirely unclothed him, the Priests bring the holy oil of the chrism. Then he begins the chrism, through the threefold sealing, and assigns the man to the Priests for the anointing of his whole body, while he himself advances to the mother of filial adoption, and dedicates the water within it by the sacred invocations, and consecrates it by three cruciform affusions of the holy myrrh. And when he has invoked three times, as in the injection of the myrrh, the holy melody of the inspiration of the Divinely rapt Prophets, he orders the man to be brought forward. When one of the Priests, from the register, has announced the name of himself and his surety, he is conducted by the Priests over the water to the hand of the Hierarch, being led by the hand to him. Then the Hierarch, standing above, when the Priests have again called aloud, near the Hierarch, within the water, the name of the initiated, the Hierarch dips him three times, invoking the threefold[1] Subsistence of the Divine Blessedness at the three immersions and emersions of the initiated. The Priests then take him and entrust him to the Sponsor and guide of his introduction.

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[1] Phil. ii. 13.

[2] *ἀθεότητα*; Matt. vi. 24; Eph. iv. 5.

And when they, in conjunction with him, have cast over the initiated appropriate clothing, they lead him again to the Hierarch, who, when he has sealed the man with the most Divinely operating myrrh, declares him henceforward a partaker of the most Divinely initiating Eucharist.

When he has finished these things, he elevates himself from his progression to things secondary, to the contemplation of the first; as one who at no time or manner turns himself to any other office than those which are peculiarly his own, but who, by gradual advance in Divine things, is persistently and always ranging himself under the banner of the supremely Divine Spirit.

III.—*Contemplation.*

This initiation, then, of the holy birth in God, as in symbols, has nothing unbecoming or irreverent, nor anything of sensible imagery, but enigmas of a contemplation worthy of God, bearing a likeness to natural images suitable to men. For should it appear in any particular misleading (even though the more Divine account of the religious ceremonies were passed over in silence), its Divine institution might persuade, diligently pursuing, as it does, the good life of the candidate; announcing to him, in a bodily form, the purification from every kind of evil, through a virtuous and Divine life, by the physical cleansing through the agency of water. This then, even if the symbolic teaching of the religious rites had nothing more divine, would not be without religious value, as I think—introducing a discipline of a well-regulated life, whilst suggesting through the bodily purification by water, the complete purification from an evil life. Let this, then, be for the uninitiated an introductive leading of the soul; separating, as is fit, things sacred and unified from multiplicity, and apportioning our harmonious restoration to the Orders in due degree. But we who have ascended by just gradations to the contemplation of the highest mysteries, and have been religiously taught their hidden meanings, shall recognize of what moulds they are the reliefs, and of what invisible things they are the likenesses. For, as is distinctly shewn in the Treatise concerning "Intelligible and Sensible," sensible sacred things are reliefs of things intelligible, to which they lead and shew the way. But things intelligible are an archetype and explanation of sacred things, cognizable by the senses. Let us affirm, then, that the goodness of the Divine Blessedness is always the same in condition and object, unfolding the beneficent rays of its own light upon all the intellectual visions without grudging. Either, then, the self-chosen freedom of action might turn away from spiritual light, by closing, through love of evil, the faculties for enlightenment, which naturally reside within it, and might be separated from the light present to it, and not turned from it—but illuminating it, whilst closing itself in darkness—and which generously runs to that which moves itself away. Or should anyone overstep the bounds of the vision given to itself, in due proportion, and rashly undertake to gaze upon the rays superior to its own vision, the light indeed does nothing beyond its own proper functions. But this, as imperfectly approaching the perfect, would not attain to things inappropriate to its condition, but by stupidly disregarding the due proportion, would fail through its own fault.

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[1] *τρισσὴν ὑπόστασνν.* Heb. i. 3.

But as I said, the Divine Light is always unfolded for beneficent purposes to intellectual visions, and it is possible for them to seize it when it is present, and is always most ready for the distribution of its own gift, in a manner becoming the Deity. To the imitation of this, the divine Hierarch is fashioned, unfolding to all, without grudging, the luminous rays of his own divine teaching, and after the Divine example being most ready to enlighten him who comes to him, not using malice or an unholy wrath, for former backslidings or excess; but, after the example of God, always enlightening those who approach him, as becomes a Hierarch, in fitness, and order, and proportion to the aptitude of each for things Divine.

But inasmuch as the Deity is Origin of that sacred order, within which move the holy Minds who know themselves, he who recurs to the proper view of nature will see his proper self in what he was originally, and will acquire this as the first sacred gift from his recovery to light. Now he, who has well looked upon his own proper condition with unbiased eyes, will depart from the gloomy recesses of ignorance; yet, whilst being unitiated, he will not of his own accord at once desire the most perfect Oneness and participation of God, but little by little, through things present advancing to things more forward, and through these to things foremost; and having been perfected, he will be carried in order and in a heavenly manner to the Divinely supreme height. An image of this good order is the modesty of the person approaching, and his recognition of his own internal condition in providing the sponsor as leader in his approach to the Hierarch. The Divine Blessedness receives the man thus conducted into communion with itself, and imparts to him his own light, as a kind of sign, making him also a godly sharer of the inheritance and sacred order of godly men, of which the Hierarch's seal, given to the proselyte, is a sacred symbol; and the enrolment of the priests, as an image of salvation, registering him amongst those who are in a state of salvation, and placing in the sacred memorials his sponsor and himself—the one indeed, as a true lover and follower of a godly guide in the life-giving journey towards truth; and the other, as an unerring conductor of his neophyte to the Divinely taught directions.

But it is not possible to hold conjointly qualities thoroughly opposed, nor that a man who has had a certain fellowship with the One, should have divided lives, if he clings to the firm participation in the One. But he must be resistless and persistent as regards all separations from the uniform. This it is which the teaching of the symbols reverently intimates, by stripping the neophyte, as it were, of his former life, and unloosing to the very extremities all his habits within that life. It places him naked and barefoot, looking towards the west, and spurning, by the aversion of the hands, the participations in the gloomy evil, and breathing out, as it were, the dissimilar habit which he had acquired, and proclaiming the entire renunciation as regards everything contrary to the Divine likeness. When the man has thus become completely indomitable and separate from evil, he leads him towards the east, declaring clearly that his position and recovery will be in the Divine Light, in the complete separation from evil, receiving his sacred promises of his entire leaning towards the One, as of a man who has acquired the image of the One, through love of the truth. But it is pretty evident, as I think, to those versed in Hierarchical matters, that the spiritual acquire the unchangeableness of the Godlike habit by continuous and persistent struggles towards one; and by the entire destruction and annihilation of things contrary. For it is necessary that a man should not only depart from every kind of evil, but he must be bravely obdurate and ever disdainful against the baneful submission to it. Nor must he at any time become remiss in his sacred love of the truth, but he must, with all his power, persistently and perpetually aspire towards it, always religiously pursuing his upward course to the more perfect mysteries of the supreme Godhead.

Now you may perceive the distinct images of these things in the religious rites performed by the Hierarch. For the Godlike Hierarch starts with the holy anointing, but the Priests under him complete the Divine service of the Chrism, summoning the initiated, in type, to the holy contests within which he is placed under Christ as Umpire (since as God He is Framer of the laws of contest); as wise, He placed its laws; but as generous, He fixed the awards suitable to the victors.[1] And this is yet more Divine, inasmuch as being generous, He entered the lists with them, contending, on behalf of their freedom[2] and victory against the power of death[3] and destruction,[4] he who is initiated will enter the contests as those of God rejoicing. But he will remain fixed in the regulations of the Wise, and will contend, according to them, without transgression, holding fast the hope of the beautiful rewards, as being enrolled under a good Lord and Leader of the contest. But when he has followed in the Divine footsteps of the first of Athletes as regards goodness, and has overthrown, in his struggles after the Divine example, the energies and impulses opposed to his deification, he dies with Christ—to speak mystically—to sin in his Baptism.

But consider this attentively, I pray, with what appropriateness the holy symbols are presented. For since death is with us, not an annihilation of being, according to the opinion of others, but the separation of things united, leading to our being invisible (the soul becoming invisible through being deprived of the body; but the body as being buried in earth, in consequence of one of its various changes, becomes invisible to the sight of man);—appropriately, then, the whole covering by water is taken as an image of death and the darkness of the tomb. The symbolical teaching, then, reveals that the man, baptized according to religious rites, imitates, so far as Divine imitation is permissible to man, by the threefold immersions in the water, the supremely Divine death of the Life-giving Jesus, Who spent three days[5] and three nights in the tomb, in whom, according to the mystical and secret teaching of the sacred text, the Prince of this world found nothing.[6]

Next, they throw garments, white as light, over the initiated.

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[1] 1 Cor. ii. 9. [2] Ps. lxxxviii. 5. [3] 2 Tim. i. 10. [4] Ps. xvi. 10.
[5] τριημερονύκτου ταφῆς. [6] John xiv. 30.

For by his manly and Godlike insensibility to contrary passions, and by his persistent inclination towards the One, the unadorned is adorned, and the shapeless acquires shape, being made brilliant by a life entirely reflecting the light.

But the most perfecting unction of the myrrh makes the man who has been perfected of good odour, for the holy perfection of the Divine birth unifies those who have been perfected with the supremely Divine Spirit. Now the spiritual indwelling which makes perfect, and of a good savour, as being unutterable, I leave to the spiritual consciousness of those who are deemed worthy of the sacred and deifying participation of the Holy Spirit within their mind.

At the conclusion of all, the Hierarch invites him who has been perfected to the most Holy Eucharist, and imparts to him the communion of the most perfecting mysteries.

CAPUT III.

Concerning those who are being initiated in the Synaxis.

Courage, then, because we have made mention of this (Eucharist) we may not pass over it to celebrate any other Hierarchical functions in preference to this. For according to our illustrious Leader, it is "initiation of initiations," and one must first give the Divine description of this, before the rest, from the inspired and sacred science of the oracles, and then be borne by the supremely Divine Spirit to its sacred contemplation. First, let us reverently consider this. For what reason that which is common to the other Hierarchical initiations, is pre-eminently attributed to this, beyond the rest. And why it is uniquely called, "Communion and Synaxis." For each consecrating function collects our divided lives into uniform deification, and gives communion and oneness with the One, by the Godlike folding together of our diversities. Now we affirm that the Perfection, which comes from the participation of the other Hierarchical symbols, springs from the supremely Divine and perfecting gifts of this Sacrament. For it scarcely ever happens that any Hierarchical initiation is celebrated without the most Divine Eucharist, at the head of the rites celebrated in each, Divinely accomplishing the collecting of the person initiated to the One, and completing his communion with God by the Divinely transmitted gift of the perfecting mysteries. If, then, each of the Hierarchical initiations, as being incomplete, will not complete our communion and our gathering to the One, even its being initiation is taken away, on account of the lack of initiation. For as the impartation of the supremely

Divine mysteries to the person being initiated is the completion and head of each initiation, naturally the Hierarchical judgment hit upon an appellation peculiar to it, from the truth of the facts. Thus, for instance, with regard to the holy initiation of the Divine birth; since it imparts first-Light, and is supreme head of all the Divine illuminations, we celebrate the true appellation, from the enlightenment conferred. For though it be common to all Hierarchical functions to impart the gift of sacred light to those who are being initiated, yet this gave to me the power of first sight, and through the primal light of this, I was conducted to the view of the other religious rites. Having said this, let us minutely investigate and examine, as becomes the Hierarchy, the perfect administration and contemplation of the most holy initiation.

II.—*Mystery*[1] *of Synaxis, that is, Communion.*

The Hierarch having completed a reverent prayer, near the Divine Altar, begins with the incense and proceeds to every part of the enclosure of the sacred place; he then returns to the Divine Altar and begins the sacred chanting of the Psalms—the whole ecclesiastical Order chanting with him the sacred language of the Psalter. Next follows the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the Leitourgoi. After these readings, the catechumens quit the sacred enclosure, as well as the energumenoi and the penitents. But those who are deemed worthy of the view and participation of the Divine Mysteries remain. Of the Leitourgoi, some stand near the closed gates of the sanctuary, whilst others perform some duty or other of their proper function. But chosen members of the diaconal Order, with the Priests, place the sacred Bread upon the Divine Altar, and the Cup of Blessing, whilst the universal Song[2] of Praise is sung by the whole body of the Church. Afterwards the Divine Hierarch offers a sacred prayer, and proclaims the holy Peace to all. When all have greeted each other, the mystical proclamation of the holy tablets is performed. When the Hierarch and the Priests have washed their hands in water, the Hierarch places himself in the midst of the Divine Altar. But the chosen Deacons alone, after the Priests, stand around. The Hierarch, when he has celebrated the sacred works of God, consecrates the most Divine gifts and brings to view the things celebrated, through the symbols reverently exposed.[3] When he has shown the free gifts of the works of God, he himself proceeds to the sacred participation of the same, and turns and exhorts the others. When he has received and distributed the supremely Divine Communion, he terminates with a holy thanksgiving. Whilst the multitude have merely glanced at the Divine symbols alone, he himself is ever conducted by the Divine Spirit, as becomes a Hierarch, in the purity of a Godlike condition, to the holy archetypes of the rites performed, in blessed and intellectual visions.

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[1] See Traicté de la Liturgie ou S. Messe selon l'usage et la forme des apostres, et de leur disciple Sainct Denys, Apostre des François, par Gilb. Genebrard, archevesque d'Aix.

[2] See Appendix. [3] As in Denmark.

III.—*Contemplation.*

After the images, I come now, most excellent son, in due order and reverence, to the Divine reality of the archetypes. To those yet being initiated, I would say this, for the harmonious guidance of their souls, that the varied and sacred composition of the symbols is not without spiritual instruction even to them, when it is merely presented superficially. For the most sacred chants and readings of the oracles teach them a discipline of a virtuous life, and what is more than this, the complete purification from destructive evil. But the most Divine, and general, and peaceful distribution of one and the same both Bread and Cup, enjoins upon them a fellowship in character as well as a fellowship in food, and recalls to their memory the most Divine Supper, and arch-symbol of the rites performed, agreeably with which the Founder of the symbols himself excludes, most justly, him who had joined in the feast of the heavenly things, not piously,[1] and in a manner dissimilar to himself; teaching at once, clearly and Divinely, that the approach to Divine mysteries with a sincere mind, confers on those who draw nigh, the participation in a gift similar to their own character. Let us, then, as I said, leave behind these things, beautifully depicted upon the propylea of the innermost shrine, as being sufficient for those who are yet unfit for contemplation, and let us proceed from the effects to the cause; and then, Jesus lighting the way, let us view our holy Synaxis and the comely contemplation of the spiritual mysteries, which makes manifest the blessed beauty of the archetypes. But, oh, most Divine and holy initiation, uncover the folds of the dark mysteries, enveloping thee in symbols. Be manifest to us in thy bright glory, and fill our intellectual visions with unique and unconcealed light.

We must, then, in my opinion, pass within the All Holy Mysteries, after we have laid bare the spiritual conception of the first of the images, to gaze upon its Godlike beauty, and contemplate with a godly mind the Hierarch, as he goes with fragrance from the Divine Altar to the furthermost bounds of the holy place, and is again, at the end, restored to the same. For the Blessedness, supremely Divine above all, although through

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[1] John xiii. 11. St. Cyprian thought Judas was excluded; St. Augustine not. See Cornelius a Lapide on John xiii. 11.

Divine goodness it goes forth to the communion of those who participate in itself, yet it never goes outside its essential unmoved position and steadfastness.

Further, it gives to all, according to their capacity, its Godlike illuminations; always self-centred, and in no wise moved from its own proper identity. In the same manner the Divine initiation of the Synaxis, although it has an unique and simple and enfolded origin, is multiplied, out of love towards man, into the holy variety of the symbols, and travels through the whole range of Divine imagery; yet uniformly it is again collected from these into its own proper Oneness, and unifies those who are being reverently conducted towards it. In the same Godlike manner the Divine Hierarch, even when he benignly deputes to his subordinates his own unique Hierarchical science, by using the multiplicity of Divine enigmas; yet again, as absolute, and not to be held in check by smaller things, he is restored to his own supreme dignity without diminution. And when he has himself made the spiritual entry to the Oneness of himself, he sees clearly the uniform reasons of the religious rites, as he makes the goal of his philanthropic progress to things secondary, the more Divine return to things first. The chanting of the Psalms, which is co-essential to almost all the Hierarchical mysteries, was not likely to be separated from the chief of all. For all holy and inspired Scriptures set forth for those meet for deification, either the originated Beginning[1] and Order from God of things created; or the Priesthood[2] and polity of the Law; or the distributions[3] and possessions of the inheritance of the people of God; or the understanding of sacred judges,[4] or wise kings, or inspired Priests; or philosophy[5] of men of old time, indomitable[6] in the endurance of evils springing up in multitude and measure; or the treasures of wisdom for the conduct of life; or odes or inspired[7] images of Divine Loves; or the prophetical predictions[8] of things to come; or [9]the God-Incarnate works of Jesus[10]; or the administrations[11] and sacred doctrines of His Apostles given by God for the imitation of God; or the hidden[12] and mystic range of view of the beloved and Divinely sweet disciple; or the supermundane theology of Jesus. These, too, are embedded in the holy and Godlike instructions of the initiations. But the sacred representations of the Divine odes, whose purpose is to celebrate the words and works of God throughout, and to praise the holy words and works of godly men, forms an universal Hymn Narrative of things Divine; which makes in those who reverently recite it a habit suitable for the reception and distribution of every Hierarchical mystery.

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[1] Genesis i.
[2] Leviticus and Deut.
[3] Numbers.
[4] Judges and Kings.
[5] Proverbs and Wisdom.
[6] Job.
[7] Canticles.
[8] Prophets.
[9] *τὰς ἀνδρικὰς Ἰησοῦ θεουργίας.*
[10] Gospels.
[11] Acts and Epistles.
[12] Either Gospel or Apocalypse of St. John. If latter, it was added in revision of works, A.D. 96-98.

When, then, the universal melody of the holy Psalms has harmonized the spiritual condition of our souls to the things which are presently to be celebrated, and by the unison of the Divine odes, as one and concordant chorus of things Divine, has established concord towards things Divine, and ourselves[1] and one another, the things more compounded and obscure in the spiritual language of the mystic Psalms are expanded by the most holy lections of the inspired compositions, through more full and distinct images and narratives. He who devoutly contemplates these will perceive the uniform and one concordant breathing as being moved by One, the supremely Divine Spirit. Hence, naturally, in the history of the world, after the more ancient[2] tradition—the new Covenant is proclaimed. This inspired order of the Hierarchy teaches this—that the One affirmed the Divine works of Jesus as to come; the other accomplished them, in fact. And as that described the truth in figures, this, on the other hand, shewed it present. For the accomplishment, in fact, of this established the truth of the predictions of that, and the work of God is a consummation of the Word of God.

Those who in every respect have no ear for the sacred initiations do not even recognize their images—unblushingly rejecting the saving revelation of the Divine Birth, and realizing to their destruction the words, "Thy ways I do not wish to know."[3]

Now the custom of the holy Hierarchy permits the catechumens and the penitents to hear the sacred chanting of the Psalms, and the inspired reading of the all Holy Scriptures; but it does not invite these to the next religious services and contemplations, but only the perfect visions of the perfected. For the Divine-like Hierarchy is full of reverent justice, and distributes savingly to each, according to their due, the harmonious participation of each in things Divine, in measure and proportion and due time. The lowest rank, then, is assigned to the catechumens, for they are without participation and instruction, in any of the Hierarchical functions; not even having the existence in God after Divine Birth, but are being brought to[4] Birth by the paternal instructions, and moulded by life-giving formations towards the blessed acquisition of their first life and first light, from Birth in God. As, then, children after the flesh, if whilst immature and unformed they should anticipate their proper delivery, as untimely born and abortions, would fall to the earth without life and without light; and no one, in his senses, would say from what he saw, that they were brought to the light, released from the darkness of the womb (for the medical authority learned in the functions of the body would say that light operates on things receptive of light), thus also science, which knows all about religious rites, brings these first to delivery by the preparatory nourishment of the formative and life-giving instructions. But when it has made their condition ripe for Divine Birth, it gives to them savingly, in due order, the participation in things luminous and perfecting. But at present it separates things perfect from things imperfect, consulting the good order of Divine things, and the delivery and life of the catechumens in a Godlike order of the sacred rites.

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[1] Republic, liber iv. ad finem. Dulac, p. 426-7. [2] The Law. [3] Job xxi. 14.
[4] See Plato, Theet. i. 114, 115. Dulac 429.

As for the multitude of the energumenoi, that indeed is unholy, but it is second above the catechumens, which is lowest. Nor is that on a par, as I think, with the altogether uninstructed and entirely uncommunicated in the Divine initiations, for it has received a certain participation in the most holy functions, but is yet held in chains by contrary qualities, whether enchantments or terrors. Now, as regards these, the sight and participation in the holy mysteries is withdrawn, and very properly. For if it be true that the altogether godly man, the worthy partaker of the Divine mysteries, who is carried to the very summit of the Divine likeness, to the best of his powers, in complete and most perfect deification, who does not follow the things of the flesh, beyond the most necessary requirements of nature, nor these, if it should happen to be superfluous; who will be, at the same time, a temple and a follower, according to his ability, of the supremely Divine Spirit, in the highest deification, labouring to add like to like. Such an one as this, would not be possessed by opposing phantoms or fears, but will laugh them to scorn, and when they approach will throw them and put them to flight, and will act rather than persuade. And besides this, by the passionless and indomitableness of his own character, he will be seen to be a physician to others for similar possessions.[1] But I think further, yea, rather, I know certainly, that the most clear decision of the Hierarchy holds that they are rather possessed with a most detestable possession, whoever, by departing from the Godlike life, become of one mind and one condition with destructive demons; turning themselves from things that really are, and undying possessions, and everlasting pleasures, for the sake of the most base folly, destructive to themselves, by desiring and pursuing the earthly variableness, vexed by many passions, and the perishable and corrupting pleasures, and the unstable comfort in things foreign to their nature, not real but seeming. These first, then, and more properly than those, were shut out by the discriminating authority of the Deacon, for it is not permitted to them to have part in any other holy function, than the teaching of the oracles, in order to turn them to better things. For if the Divine Service of the heavenly mysteries excludes from view the penitents and those who have already approached it, not permitting anything not completely perfect to draw nigh, but proclaims this, in all sincerity, that "I am invisible, and incommunicable to those who are in any respect imperfectly weak as regards the attainment of the highest degree of the Divine Likeness" (for that most impartial voice scares away also those who cannot be associated with the worthy partakers of the Divine mysteries), how much more then will the multitude of those who are under the sway of their passions, be unholy and alien from every view of, and participation in, the holy mysteries. After the uninstructed and uninitiated in the mysteries have been put outside the Divine Temple, and the holy service above their capacity, and with them the apostates from the religious life, and next, those who through want of manliness are easily affected by the fears and fancies of contrary influences, as not having reached the stability and activity of a Godlike condition, through the persistent and indomitable inclination towards godliness; then in addition to these, those who have separated indeed from the contrary life, but have not yet been cleansed from its imaginations by a habit and love, godly and pure; and next, those who are not altogether uniform, and to use an expression of the Law, "entirely without spot and blemish;" then the sacred ministers of sacred things, who love to gaze upon sacred rites, contemplate in all purity the most holy mystery, and celebrate in an universal Hymn of Praise the Author and Giver of all good, from Whom the mysteries were exhibited to us, as images of salvation, which divinely work the sacred deification of the initiated. Now that Hymn some indeed call a Hymn of Praise, others the symbol of worship, but others, as I think more Divinely, a Hierarchical thanksgiving, as giving a summary of the holy gifts which come to us from God. For it seems to me a systematic record[1] of all the works of God, on our behalf, celebrated in song, which, after it had fixed our being and life after the pattern of Divine goodness, and moulded the Divine likeness in ourselves to beautiful archetypes, placed us in possession of a more Divine condition and elevation. But when it witnessed the dearth of Divine gifts, which came upon us by our heedlessness, deigned to call us back to our original condition by the restoration of our blessings, and by the complete assumption of ours, to make good the most perfect impartation of His own, and thus to give to us a participation in God and Divine things.

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[1] ἐνεργημάτων.

When the Divine goodness has thus been religiously celebrated, the Divine Bread is presented, veiled, and likewise the Cup of Blessing. The most Divine salutation is devoutly performed, and the instructive and heavenly proclamation of the holy names written on the tablets. For it is not possible to be collected to the One, and to partake of the peaceful Oneness of the One, when people are divided amongst themselves. For if being illuminated by the contemplation and knowledge of the One, we would be united to an uniform and Divine agreement, we must not permit ourselves to descend to divided lusts, from which are formed earthly enmities, envious and passionate, against that which is according to nature. This unified and undivided life is, in my opinion, established by the Divine Service of the salutation of peace, which roots like to like, and separates the Divine and unified visions from things divided. The reading of the holy tablets, after the salutation, proclaims those who have passed through life holily and have reached the term of a virtuous life without faltering, urging and conducting us to their blessed condition and Divine inheritance through their example. Further, it announces them as living, and, as the Word of God says, "not dead, but as having passed from death to a most divine life."[1] But observe that they are enrolled in the holy memorials, not as though the Divine memory were represented under the figure of a memorial, after the manner of men; but, as one might say, with reverence towards God, within the cherished and unfailing knowledge in God of those who have been perfected in the likeness of God. For "He knoweth," say the oracles, "those that are His,"[2] and, "dear, in the sight of the Lord, is the death of His saints."[3] "Death of saints" being said, instead of perfection in holiness. And bear this religiously in mind, that after the august symbols, through which Christ is signified and partaken, have been placed on the Divine Altar, the reading of the register of the holy persons immediately follows, signifying their inseparable conjunction with His celestial and sacred Oneness. When these things have been religiously performed, according to the regulations prescribed, the Hierarch, standing before the most holy symbols, washes his hands with water, together with the reverend order of the Priests. Because, as the oracles testify, when a man has been washed, he needs no other washing, except that of his extremities.[4] Through this extreme cleansing, in a sanctified habit of the Divine Likeness, whilst advancing in a goodly manner to things secondary, he will be resistless and free, as altogether uniform, and by turning himself uniquely to the One, he will make his return without spot and blemish, as preserving the fulness and entirety of the Divine likeness. There was even the sacred laver, as we have said, in the Hierarchy of the Law.[5]

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[1] Note. Appendix, Liturgy of Dionysius.

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[1] 1 John iii. 14. [2] 2 Tim. ii. 19. [3] Ps. cxvi. 15. [4] Jo. xiii. 10. [5] Deut. xxi. 6.

But now the cleansing of the hands of the Hierarch and the Priests suggests that. For it behoves those who approach the most hallowed service to be purified even to the remotest imaginations of the soul, and to approach, as far as possible, through likeness to itself. For thus they will shed more visibly the glory of the Divine manifestations, since the celestial rays permit their own splendour to pass more thoroughly and brilliantly into the brightness of mirrors like themselves. Further, the cleansing of the Hierarch and the Priests to their very extremities, takes place before the most holy symbols, as in the presence of Christ, Who surveys our innermost thoughts, and because the utmost purification is enjoined under his most penetrating scrutiny and just and unflinching judgment. Thus the Hierarch becomes one with things Divine, and when he has celebrated the holy works of God, he consecrates the most Divine symbols, and brings them to view whilst their praises are sung.

We will now explain, to the best of our ability, the works of God, of which we have spoken. For we are not competent to extol the praises of all, much less to know accurately and to reveal their mysteries to others. But whatever has been sung and religiously performed by godly Hierarchs, after the oracles, this we will say, as far as permissible, invoking the Hierarchical inspiration to our aid. Immediately after our human nature had thoughtlessly fallen from the good things of God, it was seized by a life vexed with many passions, and, at last, a ruinous death. For, as a natural consequence, the pernicious departure from genuine goodness, and the transgression of the sacred Law laid down in Paradise, delivered him, when fretted with the life-giving yoke, to his own downward inclinations, and the enticing and hostile wiles of the adversary—the adversaries of the good things of God. Hence, he pitiably exchanged for the eternal, the mortal. As then the human race had its own origin in corrupted generations, the end naturally corresponded with the beginning. Now as mankind had willingly fallen from the Divine and conducted life, they were carried to the opposite extremity—the variableness of many passions. Whilst going astray, and turned aside from the strait way leading to the true God, and being subject to a destructive and evil-working diversity, they naturally forgot that they were worshipping, not gods, or friends, but enemies. Now when these had used the human race harshly, according to their own cruelty, it fell into danger of annihilation and destruction. But the boundless lovingkindness of the supremely Divine goodness towards man, did not, in its benevolence, withdraw from us its spontaneous forethought, but taking upon itself a real participation of our entire nature, without sin,[1] and having made itself one with our infirmity, with the unconfused possession of its own properties, entirely without flaw, it gave to us, as members of the same family, communion with itself henceforward, and proclaimed us partakers of his own good things; having, as the secret teaching holds, loosed the power[1] of the rebellious diversity which was against us; not by force, as having the upper hand, but according to the Divine saying, mystically transmitted to us, "in judgment and righteousness."[2]

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[1] Heb. iv. 15.

Our condition, then, he benevolently changed to the contrary. For the darkness of our mind he filled with perfect and most Divine light, and adorned that which was without likeness with Godlike beauties. The tabernacle[3] of our soul, which was all but fallen down, he liberated from most damnable passions and destructive stains through a perfected salvation, and exhibited to us a supermundane elevation, and a Divine course of life in our assimilation to his own holiness, as far as permissible. But how could the Divine imitation otherwise become ours unless the memory of the most holy works of God were perpetually renewed by the holy teaching and service of the Hierarchy. This, then, we do, as the oracles say, "for its remembrance."[4] Wherefore the Divine Hierarch, standing before the Divine Altar, celebrates the holy works of God, which proceed from the most godly forethought of Jesus on our behalf, which He completed for the salvation of our race, by the good pleasure of the most Holy Father in the Holy Spirit, as the Divine Word affirms.[5] When he has celebrated their majesty, and gazed, with intellectual vision, upon the spiritual contemplation, he proceeds to the Divine service symbolical of them—and this, as transmitted from God. Hence, after the sacred praise of the works of God, he deprecates his own unworthiness for a service above his merits. First, reverently saying aloud, "Thou hast said, Do this for My remembrance"[6]—then,[7] having asked to become meet for this holy office of Divine imitation, and to consecrate the Divine symbols, by being made like to Christ Himself, and to distribute them in perfect holiness; and that those who shall partake of those holy mysteries may receive them religiously, he consecrates the most Divine symbols, and brings the mysteries to view through the reverent exposition of the symbols, while their praises are being sung. For when he has unveiled the veiled and undivided Bread, and divided it into many, and has apportioned the Oneness of the Cup to all, he symbolically multiplies and distributes the unity—completing in these a most holy Divine Service. For the unity and simplicity and hiddenness of Jesus, the Divinely supreme Word, by His becoming Man amongst us, came forth, out of goodness and love towards man, to the compound and visible, and benevolently devised the communion which makes us one with Himself, having united in the highest degree our lowliness to His own Godhead; if indeed we have been fitted to Him, as members to a body, after the identity of a blameless and Divine life; and have not, by being killed through destructive passions, become unsuited and unattached and unyoked, as regards the godly and healthy members. For if we aspire to communion with Him, we must keep our eye fixed upon His most godly Life in the flesh, and we must retrace our path to the Godlike and blameless habit of mind by being made like It in its holy sinlessness. For thus He will communicate to us an harmonious likeness to Himself.

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[1] Ps. lxxiv. 14. [2] Ps. xcviii. 2. [3] Plato Crat. i. 295. [4] Luke xxii. 19.
[5] Ps. xl. 6-8. [6] Luke xxii. 19. [7] Prayer of humble access.

The Hierarch makes known these things to those who are living religiously by bringing the veiled gifts to view, by dividing their unity into multiplicity, and making the recipients partakers in them, by the utmost Oneness of the things distributed, with those who receive them. For he depicts in these things, visibly, by bringing to Jesus, the Christ, our spiritual life, as in images, coming as He does from the Hiddenness of the Divine Father; and out of love to man, moulded into our likeness from us, by the perfect and unconfused incarnation in our race, and advancing to the divided condition of ourselves without divergence from His essential unity; and calling the human race, through this beneficent love of man, into communion with Himself and His own good things, provided we are united to His most Divine Life by assimilation to it, as far as permissible. Thus in very truth we shall have been completed as partakers of God and Divine things. Having received and distributed the Divine Communion, he terminates with the singing of the holy thanksgiving, in which the whole body of the Church take part. For the communion precedes the distribution—and the reception of the mysteries the mystical impartation. For this is the regulation and order of the Divine Mysteries, that the reverend Leader should first partake and be filled with the gifts to be imparted through him, from God, to others, and that thus he should impart to others also. Wherefore, those who rashly content themselves with Divine instructions in preference to a life and condition agreeable to the same are profane and entirely alien from the sacred regulation established. For, as in the case of the bright shining of the sun, the more delicate and luminous substances being first filled with the brilliancy flowing into them, impart their overflowing light to things near them; thus it is not tolerable that one who has not become altogether Godlike in his whole character, and who has not been proved to govern by the Divine influence and judgment, should become a Leader to others in what is altogether Divine. When the whole order of the Priests have been collected together in sacerdotal order, and have communicated in the most Divine mysteries, they finish with a holy thanksgiving, after they have recognized and celebrated the gifts of the works of God, according to their degree. So that those who have not partaken or recognized the Divine mysteries would not come to thanksgiving; although the most Divine gifts are, in their essential nature, worthy of thanksgiving. But, as I said, not having wished even to look at the Divine gifts from their inclination to evil, they have remained throughout unblessed, as regards the boundless gifts of the works of God. "Taste and see," say the oracles, for, by the sacred instruction in Divine things, the instructed recognize their munificent gifts; and by gazing upon their most Divine height and breadth in the participation, they extol the supercelestial beneficent works of the Godhead.

CAPUT IV.

Concerning the initiatory rites in Myrrh, and those who are perfected in the same.

So great and so beautiful are the spiritual visions of the most holy Synaxis, which, as we have often said, accomplish by religious rites our participation in and collection towards the One. But there is another perfecting Service that occupies the same rank as this, which our Leaders name Initiation of Myrrh. By contemplating its parts in due order, after the rule of sacred images, we shall thus be borne, by religious contemplations, to its Oneness through its parts.

II.—*Mystery of Consecration of Myrrh.*

In the same way as in the Synaxis, the orders of the imperfect are dismissed, that is, after the Bishop has made the whole circuit of the temple, attended with fragrant incense, and the chanting of the Psalms, and the reading of the most Divine Lections. Then the Hierarch takes the Myrrh and places it upon the Divine Altar, veiled under twelve sacred wings, whilst all cry aloud, with a devout voice, the sacred melody of the inspiration of the God-rapt Prophets. When the Bishop has finished the prayer offered over it, he uses it in the most holy perfectings of things that are hallowed, for the completion of almost every Hierarchical function.

III.—*Contemplation.*

The introductory teaching, then, of this most perfecting function, through the rites performed respecting the Divine Myrrh, shews this, in my judgment, that that which is holy and of sweet savour in the minds of devout men, is covered, as with a veil, since it is Divinely enjoined upon holy men, to keep their beautiful and well-savoured likeness to the virtue of the hidden God, not made known for the purpose of vain glory. For the hidden and sweet-savoured comeliness of God is undefiled, and is spiritually manifested to the spiritual contemplators only, desiring to keep the unsullied images of virtue in the soul like unto itself. For when a man gazes, with undistracted vision, upon that spiritual and fragrant beauty, the unportrayed and well imitated image of Godlike virtue moulds and fashions itself to a most glorious imitation. And, as in material images, if the artist look without distraction upon the archetypal form, not drawn aside to any other sight, or in any way distracted, he will duplicate, if I may so speak, the very thing that is being engraved, whatever it may be, and will shew the reality in the likeness, and the archetype in the image—each in each, except as regards difference of substance. In the same way, to copyists who love the beautiful in mind, the persistent and unflinching contemplation of the sweet-savoured and hidden beauty, will confer the unerring and most Godlike appearance.[1] Naturally, then, the divine copyists, who unflinchingly mould their own spiritual image after the celestial sweet savour and spiritual comeliness, perform none of their Divinely imitated virtues "to be seen of men,"[2] as the Divine text expresses it. But they reverently contemplate the most holy things of the Church, veiled in the holy Myrrh, as in a figure. Wherefore, whilst religiously concealing that which is holy and most Divine in virtue, within their Godlike and God-engraved mind, they look to the archetypal conception alone. For not only are they blind to things dissimilar, but neither do they condescend themselves to gaze upon them. Wherefore, as becomes their character, they do not love things which merely seem to be good and just, but such as really are so. Nor do they look to a mere appearance, upon which the multitude unreasonably congratulate themselves; but, after the Divine example, distinguishing the good or evil as it is in itself, they are Divine images of the Supremely Divine Suavity, which, having its true savour within itself, does not turn itself, to the anomalously seeming of the multitude, but moulds its genuineness to true images of itself.

Come, then, since we have viewed the exterior comeliness of this Divine Service, beautiful throughout, let us look to its more godly beauty. Whilst itself, by itself, has uncovered the veils thrown around it, let us contemplate its blessed radiance, shedding its bright beams openly around, and filling us with its fragrance revealed to spiritual men. For the open consecration of the Myrrh is neither shut out from, nor invisible to, those who surround the Hierarch—but on the contrary is extended to them. But as its contemplation is above the reach of the many, they reverently conceal it; and by Hierarchical direction, it is kept from the gaze of the multitude.

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[1] Plato, Rep. i. 6—ii. 116.

[2] Matt. xxiii. 5.

For the splendour of things all holy sheds its light clearly and without symbol to men inspired, as being congenial to the spiritual, and perfumes their intellectual perceptions without concealment. But it does not advance in the same way to the inferior. Further, the deep contemplators of the spiritual conceal it under the enigmas of the wings, without ostentation, so that it may not be defiled by the impure. Through these sacred enigmas the well-ordered ranks of the subordinate are conducted to the degree of holiness compatible with their powers. The holy consecration, then, which we are now extolling, is, as I said, of the most perfecting order and capacity of the Hierarchical functions. Wherefore our Divine Leaders arranged this as being of the same rank and effect, with the holy perfecting of the Synaxis, with the same figures, for the most part, and mystical regulations and lections. And you may see in like manner the Hierarch bearing forward the sweet perfume from the more holy place into the sacred precincts beyond—and teaching, by the return to the same, that the participation in things Divine comes to all holy persons according to their fitness, but that it remains undiminished and altogether unmoved, and stands unchangeably in its identity with a Divine fixity. In the same way the hymns and readings of the lections bring to birth those not yet perfect for the life bringing adoption of sons. They also form a religious inclination in those who are possessed with accursed spirits. They dispel the opposing fear and effeminacy from those possessed by a spirit of unmanliness; shewing to them, according to their capacity, the highest pinnacle of the Godlike habit and power, by following which they will, the rather, scare away the opposing forces, and will take the lead in healing others; and, following the example of God, whilst unmoved from their own proper gifts, they will not only be active against those opposing fears, but will themselves give activity to others. They also impart to those who have departed from evil to a religious mind, a sacred persistence, so that they should not be again enslaved by evil. They purify completely those who need to become altogether pure. They lead the holy to their own Divine likeness, and contemplation, and communion. They also establish those who are entirely holy in blessed and spiritual visions, completing their uniform likeness of the One, and making them One. What, then, shall I say further? Is it not those orders that we have mentioned, which are not entirely pure, that the present religious service excludes without distinction, in the same way as the Synaxis, so that it is viewed by the holy alone, in figures, and is contemplated and ministered by the perfectly holy alone, without symbols, through instructions given by the Hierarchy? Now this has already been so often mentioned that it is superfluous, as I think, to recur to the same statements. Those, then, who see with a Divine vision may appropriately contemplate the Hierarch. holding the Divine Myrrh, veiled under twelve wings, and devoutly completing the holy service of consecration. Let us then affirm that the composition of the Myrrh is a combination of sweet-smelling materials, which has in itself abundantly fragrant qualities, with which those who partake become perfumed, in proportion to the degree in which they partake of its sweet savour. Now we are persuaded that the Supremely Divine Jesus is superessentially of good savour, filling the spiritual part of ourselves with a Divine sweetness, by spiritual bequests. For if the reception of the sensible odours makes us feel joyous, and nourishes, with much sweetness, the sensitive organs of our nostrils—at least, if they be sound and well apportioned to the sweet savour—in the same way, anyone might say that our spiritual faculties, being soundly disposed with regard to the subjection to evil, in the strength of the distinguishing faculty implanted in us by nature, receive the sweet savour from God, and are filled with a holy comfort and most Divine nourishment, in accordance with Divinely fixed proportions and the suitable turning of the mind towards the Divine. Wherefore, the symbolical composition of the Myrrh, as expressing in form things that are formless, depicts to us Jesus Himself, as being a well-spring of the wealth of the Divine sweetness,[1] distributing in degrees fixed by God, to the most Godlike of spiritual persons, the most Divine perfumes; from which the minds, satiated with a most comforting joy, and filled with holy receptions, enjoy a spiritual nourishment, by the entrance of the savoury[2] gifts into their spiritual nature, according to a Divine participation. But it is evident, as I think, that the distribution of the primal perfume to the Beings above ourselves, as being more Divine, is, as it were, nearer, and manifests and distributes itself better to their luminous transparency, and overflows without stint the healthy capacity of their minds for its reception, and enters them much more abundantly. But as regards the subordinate minds, which are not so receptive, it piously conceals the highest vision and participation, and is distributed in a Divinely fixed proportion, in fragrance corresponding to the recipients. Amongst the holy Beings, then, who are above us, the highest exalted order of the Seraphin is represented under the figure of the twelve wings, as established and fixed around Jesus, giving itself to the most blessed contemplation as far as permissible, and filled with spiritual distributions through holy receptions, and, to speak after the manner of men, crying aloud, with never silent lips, the frequent Hymn of Praise.[1]

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[1] Cant. i. 3. [2] 2 Cor. ii. 14.

For the sacred knowledge of the celestial minds is both untiring and possesses the Divine love without intermission, and is at the same time superior to all baseness and forgetfulness. Whence, as I think, that phrase, "unceasing cry," suggests their perpetual and persistent science, and conception of things Divine, with full determination and thanksgiving. Now we have, as I think, sufficiently contemplated, in the description of the Heavenly Hierarchy, the distinctive features of the incorporeal Seraphin, Divinely described in the Scriptures, under sensible figures, explanatory of the spiritual Beings; and we have made them evident to your intellectual vision. Nevertheless, as they who stand reverently around the Hierarch, reflect that same order, the highest of all in science, we will now view their most Godlike glory with unearthly visions.

Their numberless faces then, and many feet, demonstrate, as I think, their property of viewing the Divine illumination from many sides, and their conception of the good things of God, as ever active and abundantly receptive. But the sixfold arrangement of the wings, of which the Scripture speaks, does not, as I think, denote a sacred number, but that the first, and second, and last of the spiritual and Godlike powers of the highest existence and Order around God are elevating, and entirely free, and supermundane. Hence the most holy wisdom of the Scriptures, when Divinely describing the formation of the wings, places the wings around the heads,[2] and the middle, and their feet, suggesting their complete covering with wings, and their faculty of leading to the Truly Existing.

But if they cover their heads and their feet, and fly by their middle wings only; bear this religiously in mind, that the Order, so far exalted above the highest Beings, is circumspect respecting the more lofty and deep of its conceptions, and raises itself, in due proportion by its middle wings, to the vision of God; placing its own proper life under the Divine yokes, and by these is well directed to the knowledge of itself. But as regards the statement of Holy Scripture, that "one cried out to the other," that shows, I think, that they impart to each other ungrudgingly their own visions of God. And this we should deem worthy of religious recollection, that the Hebrew word in the Holy Scriptures names the most holy Seraphin, by an explanatory appellation signifying their glowing and seething, in a Divine and ever moving life.

If, then, as those who have learned Hebrew say, the most

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[1] Isaiah vi. 3.

[2] Isaiah vi. 2.

Divine Seraphin are named by the Word of God, "glowing" and "heating," by a name expressive of their essential condition, they possess, according to the symbolical description of the Divine Myrrh, ever moving powers, calling into evidence its distribution of exhilarating perfumes. For the incomprehensible, benign Being loves to be moved by the glowing and most pure minds into manifestation, and imparts its most Divine breathings in cheerful distributions to those who thus devoutly call it forth. Thus the most exalted Order of celestial Beings did not fail to recognize [1] the supremely Divine Jesus when He descended for the purpose of being sanctified, but contemplates Him lowering Himself in our nature through Divine and inexpressible goodness; and when it had seen Him sanctified in a manner befitting man, from the Father [2] and Himself [3] and the Holy Spirit,[4] recognized their own supreme Head as being essentially unchanged in whatever He did, according to His supreme Deity. Hence the teaching of the sacred symbols places the Seraphin near the Divine Myrrh when it is being consecrated, recognizing and describing the Christ as unchanged in the complete incarnation amongst us in the truth of our nature. And what is still more Divine, it uses the Divine Myrrh for the perfecting of every religious function, distinctly shewing, according to the Divine saying, the sanctified Sanctifier as always the same in Himself throughout the whole course of His Divine Beneficence. Wherefore the completing gift and grace of the Divine regeneration is completed in the Divine perfecting of the Myrrh. Hence, as I think, the Hierarch pouring the Myrrh upon the purifying font, in the form of a cross, brings to view for contemplative eyes the Jesus descending to death itself through the cross,[5] for our birth in God, and drawing up from the jaws of a destructive death, by the same Divine and resistless descent, those who, according to the mysterious saying, "are baptized into His death," [6] from the former gulf of a destructive [7] death, and renewing them to a godly and eternal existence.[8]

But further, the perfecting unction of the Myrrh gives to him who has been initiated in the most sacred initiation of the birth in God, the indwelling of the supremely Divine Spirit; the sacred imagery of the symbols suggesting, as I think, the gift of the Divine Spirit, by Him Who for our sakes has been sanctified as man, by the Divine Spirit, in an unaltered condition of His essential Godhead. And bear this also most religiously in mind, that the Law of the most holy completion completes the sacred consecration of the Divine Altar by pure effusions of the most holy Myrrh. But the work of God, at once supercelestial and supernatural, is head and being and perfecting power of all the deifying holiness within ourselves. For if our most Divine Altar is Jesus—the supremely Divine sanctification of the godly minds—in Whom, according to the saying, "being sanctified and mystically offered as a whole burnt offering, we have access,"[1] let us gaze with celestial eyes upon the self-same Altar (in Whom things being perfected are perfected and sanctified), as being perfected from the self-same most Divine Myrrh. For the all-pure Jesus sanctifies Himself on our behalf and fills us with every purification, since the things completed[2] in Him during the Divine economy, pass afterwards in their beneficent effects to us, as children of God. Hence, as I think, the Divine Leaders of our Hierarchy in conformity with an Hierarchical conception received from God, have wisely named this august service, completing of Myrrh—from "being completed." As one might say, completing of God—celebrating its Divine completing work in both senses. For His completion is both the sanctification of Himself as Man, on our behalf, and the completing and sanctifying of all things, by His power as God. As for the sacred melody of the inspiration of the God-rapt Prophets, it is called by those who know Hebrew, "Praise of God," or "Praise ye the Lord." Since then, every Divine manifestation and work of God is religiously portrayed in the varied composition of the Hierarchical symbols, it is not unbefitting to mention the Divinely moved song of the Prophets, for it teaches at once, distinctly and reverently, that the beneficent works of the Divine Goodness are worthy of devout praise.

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[1] 1 Tim. iii. 16. [2] John x. 36. [3] John xvii. 19. [4] Rom. i. 4. [5] Phil. ii. 8. [6] Rom. vi. 3. [7] Rom viii. 2. [8] Rom. vi. 4.

CAPUT V.

Concerning sacerdotal consecrations.

Such, then, is the most Divine perfecting work of the Myrrh. But it may be opportune, after these Divine functions, to set forth the sacerdotal Orders and elections themselves; their powers, and energies, and consecrations, and the triad of the superior Orders under them; in order that the harmonious Order of our Hierarchy may be demonstated as entirely rejecting and excluding the disordered, the unregulated, and the confused; and, at the same time, manifesting the regulated, and ordered, and well-established in the gradations of the sacred orders within itself. Now we have shewn, as I think, in the Hierarchy already celebrated by us, the threefold division of every Hierarchy—when we affirmed, as our sacred tradition holds, that every Hierarchical function is divided into (1) the most Divine initiations, and (2) the inspired experts and teachers of them, (3) and those who are being religiously initiated by them.

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[1] Eph. iii. 12.

[2] Observe the doctrine of the Atonement.

Therefore the most Divine Hierarchy of the heavenly Beings has for its initiation its own proper and most immaterial conception of God and things Divine, according to its capacity, and a complete likeness to God, and a persistent habit of imitating God, as far as permissible. But its illuminators and leaders to this sacred consecration are the very first Beings around God. For these generously and proportionately transmit to the sacred ranks, subordinate to themselves, the knowledge given to themselves, and always deifying, by the self-subsisting and supreme Deity, who governs the Divine minds that impart wisdom to man. But the ranks who are subordinate to the first Beings are, and are truly called, the initiated orders, as being religiously conducted through those to the deifying illumination of the supreme Deity. After this the heavenly and supermundane Hierarchy, the supreme Deity gave the Hierarchy under the Law, for the purpose of imparting its most holy gifts, for the benefit of our race, as it were, to children,[1] giving an apportioned light, so as not to wound weak visions; and copies,[2] far from the Archetypes, and hard to understand[3]; and types, whose hidden meaning was not easily discerned.[4] Now the initiation of the Hierarchy under the Law is the restitution to spiritual worship.[5] Our conductors to this were men religiously instructed as to the holy tabernacle[6] by Moses, the first initiator and Leader of the Hierarchs under the Law. Now, in reference to this tabernacle, when describing, for purposes of instruction, the Hierarchy under the Law, he called all the sacred services of the Law an image of the type shewn to him in Mount Sinai.[7] But "initiated" are those who are being conducted from the symbols of the Law, in proportion to their capacity, to a more perfect revelation. The Word of God calls our Hierarchy the more perfect revelation, naming it a fulfilment[8] of that, and a holy inheritance. It is both celestial and legal, participating in common, as a mean between extremes—with the former by spiritual contemplations, and with the latter, because it is variegated by sensible signs, and through these is reverently led to the Divine. There is likewise a threefold division of the Hierarchy, which is divided into the most holy services of the initiations, and into the Godlike ministers of holy things, and those who are being conducted by them, according to their capacity, to the holy rites.

But each of the threefold divisions of our Hierarchy, like that of the Law, and of the Hierarchy which is more Divine than ours, is arranged as first, middle, and last in rank, each carefully guarding the proportion of religious rites, and the well-ordered fellowship which keeps in harmonious order and binds all things together. The most holy service of the initiations, regards the sacred cleansing of the imperfect as a first Godlike rank—the illuminating instruction of those who have been purified as the middle—the perfecting of those who have been instructed in an exact knowledge of their own revelations as the last, which is a summary of the two former. The Order of Ministers, in the first rank, cleanses the uninitiated through the initiations. In the middle rank, it imparts light to those who have been cleansed; and in the last, and highest of the ministering ranks, it completes those who have been made partakers of the light, by the perfect skill in the illuminations contemplated. The first rank[1] of those who are being initiated is that of those who are being purified; the next is that of those who are being illuminated after purification, who contemplate some sacred mysteries[2]; but the last, which is more Divine than the others, is that which is being illuminated with the most perfecting science of the sacred illuminations contemplated. The threefold rank of the holy service of the initiations is celebrated, since the Birth in God is exhibited in the oracles, as a purification and light-giving illumination; and the initiation of the Synaxis and the Myrrh, as a perfecting knowledge and science of the works of God, through which the unifying elevation and most blessed communion towards the Godhead is reverently perfected. But now let us next examine the sacerdotal order, which is divided into a purifying, and illuminating, and perfecting discipline. This, then, is the sacred Law of the Deity—that, through the first, the second are conducted to its most Divine Light. Do we not see the material substances of the elements, first approaching, by preference, things which are more congenial to themselves, and through these diffusing their own energy to other things. Naturally, then, the head and foundation of all good order, invisible and visible, causes the Divinely wrought rays to approach first the more Divine Beings, and through them, as being more transparent minds, and more properly adapted for reception and transmission of Light, transmits his light and manifestations to those who are subordinate, in proportions suitable to them.

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[1] Gal. iv. 3. [2] Heb. x. 1. [3] Num. xii. 8. [4] Rom. ii. 20. [5] John iv. 23. [6] Heb. ix. 11. [7] Ex. xxv. 40. [8] Matt. v. 17.

It is, then, the function of these, the first contemplators, to exhibit ungrudgingly to the next order, in proportion to their capacity, the Divine visions reverently gazed upon by themselves, and to reveal the things relating to the Hierarchy (since they have been abundantly instructed with a complete science in all matters relating to their own Hierarchy, and have received the effectual power of instruction), and to impart sacred gifts according to capacity of reception, since they possess Hierarchical completeness in the highest degree of knowledge and attainment. The Divine order of the Hierarchs, then, is the first of the contemplative orders; but it is, at the same time, highest and lowest; inasmuch as every order of our Hierarchy is summed up and fulfilled in it. For as we see every Hierarchy is terminated in Jesus, thus we see each order summed up in its own godly Hierarch. Now the power of the Hierarchical order permeates the whole sacred body, and through every one of the sacred Orders performs the mysteries of its proper Hierarchy. But pre-eminently to this, the Divine institution assigned the more Divine Services of the Sanctuary, rather than to the other Orders, for his special work. For these are the perfecting images of the supremely Divine Power, completing all the most Divine symbols and all the sacred orders. For though some of the august symbols are consecrated by the Priests, yet never will the Priest effect the Divine Birth without the most Divine Myrrh; nor will he consecrate the mysteries of the Divine Communion, unless the symbols of Communion have been placed upon the most Divine Altar. But neither will he be Priest himself, unless he has been designated to this by the Hierarchical consecrations. Hence the Divine Institution has uniquely assigned the dedication of the Hierarchical orders, and the consecration of the Divine Myrrh, and the complete consecration of the Altar, to the perfecting powers of the inspired Hierarchs. It is, then, the Hierarchical Order which is furnished with the perfecting faculty, which pre-eminently completes the perfecting functions of the Hierarchy, and reveals lucidly the sciences of the holy mysteries, and teaches their proportions, and sacred conditions and powers. The illuminated order of the Priests, however, conducts those who are being initiated, under the direction of the inspired Hierarch, to the Divine visions of the initiations, and in co-operation with this, reverently ministers its own religious ministrations. Whatever this order may do, in shewing the works of God, through the most holy symbols, and in perfecting those who draw nigh, in the Divine contemplations, and in the participation in the hallowed initiations, it yet sends to the Hierarch those who crave the exact knowledge of the religious service which they have witnessed. The Order of the Leitourgoi, that which purifies, whose function it is to separate the unfit, previous to the Divine Service of the Priests, purifies those who are drawing nigh, making them entirely pure from opposing fashions, and suitable for the sanctifying vision and communion. For which reason, during the service of Regeneration, the Leitourgoi strip him who draws nigh of his old clothing, and even take off his sandals, and make him stand towards the west for renunciation. And again, they lead him back to the east (for they are of the purifying order and function), commanding those who approach to entirely cast away the coverings of their former life; and, showing the darkness of their former conduct, and teaching those who have said farewell to darkness, to transfer their allegiance to the Light. The Order of the Leitourgoi, then, is for purification, leading those who have been purified to the bright services of the Priests, both purifying and bringing to the Birth the uninitiated, by the purifying illuminations and teachings of the oracles, and further, sending away from the Priests the unholy, without respect of persons. Wherefore the Hierarchical institution places them over the holy gates, suggesting that the approach of those who come to holy things must be with complete purification, and conducting the approach to their reverent vision and communion, through the purifying functions, and admitting them through these without spot.

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[1] Plato, Phæd. i. 52. [2] Plato, Phæd. i. 54.

We have shewn, then, that the order of the Hierarchs is perfecting and completing—that of the Priests illuminating and conducting to the light—that of the Leitourgoi purifying and discriminating; that is to say, the Hierarchical order is appointed not only to perfect but at the same time to enlighten and to purify. The rank of the Priests has within itself, along with the illuminating, the purifying science. For the inferior cannot step over to the superior functions, and in addition to this it is not permitted for them to undertake such quackery as that. But the more Divine Orders, in conjunction with their own, possess also the sacred science of the subordinate orders. Nevertheless, since the sacerdotal orders are images of Divine Energies, they are arranged in Hierarchical distinctions, shewing in themselves the regulated illuminations into the first and middle and last sacred energies and orders of the well regulated and unconfused order of the Divine Energies; manifesting, as I have said, in themselves the well ordered and unconfused character of the Divine Energies. For since the supreme Deity first cleanses the Minds which He may enter, then enlightens, and when enlightened, perfects them to a Godlike perfection; naturally the Hierarchical image of the Divine divides itself into well defined orders and functions, shewing clearly the Divine Energies firmly established without confusion in most hallowed and unmixed ranks. Now, since we have spoken as permitted to us, of the sacerdotal orders and completeness, their powers and energies, let us now contemplate their most holy consecrations as well as we can.

II.—*Mystery of sacerdotal consecrations.*

The Hierarch, being led to the Hierarchical consecration after he has bent both his[1] knees before the Altar, has upon his head the God-transmitted oracles, and the Hierarch's right hand, and in this manner is consecrated[1] by the Hierarch who consecrates him with all holy invocations. The Priest, after he has bent both his knees before the Divine Altar, has the Hierarch's right hand upon his head, and in this manner is dedicated[2] by the Hierarch ordaining him with hallowing invocations. But the Leitourgos, after he has bent the one of two knees before the Divine Altar, has upon his head the right hand of the Hierarch who ordains him, being ordained[3] by him with the consecrating invocations used in the ordination of the Leitourgoi. Upon each of them the cruciform seal[4] of the ordaining Hierarch is impressed, and at each ordination the sacred proclamation of name takes place, and the concluding salutation, since every sacerdotal person present, and the Hierarch who ordained, salute him who has been consecrated to any of the aforenamed Hierarchical orders.

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[1] ἄμφω τὼ πόδε.

III.—*Contemplation.*

These things, then, are common to the Hierarch, and to the Priests, and to the Leitourgoi—the conducting to the Divine Altar and kneeling—the imposition of the Hierarch's right hand—the cruciform seal—the announcement of name—the completing salutation.

But the special and select rite for the Hierarchs is the placing of the oracles upon the head, since the subordinate orders have not this—but for the Priests the bending of both knees, since the consecration of the Leitourgoi has not this—for the Leitourgoi, as has been said, bend the *one* of two knees only. The conducting and kneeling before the Divine Altar suggests to those who are being sacerdotally consecrated that their own life is entirely placed under God as Author of consecration, and that their whole intellectual self approaches to Him all pure and hallowed, and that it is of one likeness; and, as far as possible, meet for the Divine and most hallowed Victim[5] and Altar, which purifies through religious ministrations the Godlike mind. But the imposition of the Hierarch's right hand signifies at once the protection of the primal consecrator, by whom, as holy children, they are cherished paternally, whilst it gives them the sacerdotal habit and function, and drives away their opposing powers. But it teaches at the same time also that all sacerdotal operations are effectual in so far as those who have been consecrated are acting under God, and have Him as Leader in every respect of their own life. But the signing with the sign of the Cross manifests the inaction of all the impulses of the flesh, and the life of Divine imitation which looks unflinchingly to the life of Jesus, at once manly and most godly, Who has come even to the Cross and death, with a supremely Divine sinlessness, and stamps those who thus live as of the same likeness by the cruciform image of his own sinlessness.

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[1] *ἀποτελειουται.* [2] *ἁγιάσεται.* [3] *τελειοῦμενος.* [4] *σφραγὶς.* [5] Christ.

But the Hierarch calls aloud the name of the consecrations and of the consecrated. The mysterious meaning of which is, that the holy consecrator, beloved of God, makes manifest the supremely Divine choice—not of his own accord, or by his own favour, leading those who are consecrated to the sacerdotal consecration, but as being moved by God to all the Hierarchical dedications. Thus Moses, the consecrator under the Law, does not lead Aaron, his brother, to sacerdotal consecration, though thinking him both beloved of God and hallowed, until moved by God to this, in submission to God as chief consecrator, he completed by Hierarchical rites the sacerdotal consecration.[1] But our supremely Divine and first consecrator (for Jesus, out of His great love to man, became even this), did "not glorify Himself," as the Scriptures say, but He Who said to Him, "Thou[2] art Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Wherefore also He Himself, when leading the disciples to sacerdotal consecration, although, being as God, chief consecrator, nevertheless refers the Hierarchical completion of the work of consecration to His most holy Father, and the supremely Divine Spirit, by admonishing the disciples not to depart from Jerusalem, but to "await the promise of the Father, which ye heard of me, that ye shall be baptized in the Holy Ghost."[3] And indeed, the coryphæus of the disciples himself, with the ten, of the same rank and Hierarchy with himself, when he proceeded to the sacerdotal completion of the number of the disciples to twelve, reverently left the selection to the Supreme Deity, saying, "Shew[4] whom Thou hast chosen," and received him, who was Divinely designated by the Divine choice, into the number of the twelve Hierarchs. Now concerning the Divine lot, which fell as a Divine intimation upon Matthias, others have expressed another view, not correctly, as I think, but I will express my own sentiment. For it seems to me that the Scriptures name "lot" as a certain gift from God, pointing out to that Hierarchical Choir, him who was designed by the Divine election. More particularly because the Divine Hierarch must not perform the sacerdotal consecration of his own motion; but, as subject to God, moving him to accomplish these consecrations, with religious rites and heavenly intimations.

Now the salutation at the end of the consecration has a religious significance. For all the members of the sacerdotal orders present, as well as the Hierarch who has consecrated them, salute the men ordained. For when by sacerdotal habits and dispositions, and by Divine call and dedication, a religious mind has attained to sacerdotal consecration, he is dearly loved by the most holy orders of the same rank; elevated, as he is, to a most Godlike comeliness; loving the minds similar to himself, and religiously loved by them in return. Hence it is that the mutual sacerdotal salutation is performed, proclaiming the religious communion of minds of like character, and their loving benignity towards each other, which keeps, by sacerdotal training, their most Godlike comeliness in complete perfection.

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[1] Ex. xxix. 4. [2] Ps. cx. 4. [3] Acts i. 4, 5. [4] Acts i. 24.

These things, as I said, are common to the whole sacerdotal consecration. The Hierarch, however, as a distinctive mark, has the oracles most reverently placed upon his head. For since the perfecting function and science of the whole Priesthood is conferred upon the inspired Hierarchs by the supremely Divine and perfecting goodness, naturally the Divinely transmitted oracles are placed upon the heads of the Hierarchs—oracles which explain completely and scientifically all theology—work of God, manifestation of God, sacred word, sacred work: in one word, all the Divine and sacred works and words bequeathed to our Hierarchy by the beneficent Deity. Since the Godlike Hierarch, having partaken entirely of the whole Hierarchical power, will not only be illuminated in the true and God-transmitted science of all the holy words and works committed to the Hierarchy, but will also transmit them to others by Hierarchical teaching, and will perfect in most Divine knowledge and the highest instruction, through his power as Hierarch, all the most perfecting functions of the whole Priesthood. But the distinctive feature of the ordination of Priests, as contrasted with the ordination of the Leitourgoi, is the bending of the two knees, as that order bends only the one, and is consecrated by this religious symbol. The bending denotes the submissive approach of the man who draws nigh, who places under God that which is religiously presented. But since, as we have often said, the three orders of the consecrators, through the three most holy initiations and functions, preside over the three orders of the initiated, and accomplish or religiously perform their saving approach under the Divine yoke, naturally the order of Deacons, as being merely puritive, religiously performs the *one* approach of those who are being purified, placing it under the Divine Altar, as though the minds who are being purified were being transcendently hallowed in himself. But the Priests bend both their knees, because those who are religiously brought nigh by them are not only being purified, but have been religiously perfected by their most luminous instructions into a contemplative habit and power. But the Hierarch, bending both his knees, has upon his head the God-transmitted oracles, as leading, through his office of Hierarch, those who have been purified by the

Leitourgoi, and enlightened by the Priests, to the exact knowledge of the things contemplated by them, in proportion to their capacities; and through this knowledge perfecting those who are brought nigh, into the most complete holiness of which they are capable.

CAPUT VI.

Concerning the Ranks of the Initiated.

These, then, are the sacerdotal ranks and vocations, their powers, and functions, and consecrations. We must next explain the Triad of the ranks initiated, which are subordinate to them. We affirm then that the multitudes who are dismissed from the Divine Services and Consecrations, which we have mentioned, are Orders undergoing a course of purification; for one is being moulded and fashioned to a living existence, by the Deacons through the oracles which bring to birth; another is already called back to the holy life, from which it had departed, by the wholesome discipline of the good oracles; another, as being already terrorized through want of manliness by opposing fears, is being fortified by the strengthening oracles; another, as being led back from evil counsels to holy efforts; and another as having been led back, indeed, but not yet having a chaste fixedness in more God-like habits and tranquillity. For these are the Orders under purification, by the nursing and purifying powers of the Leitourgoi. These, the Leitourgoi perfect, by their sacred powers, for the purpose of their being brought, after their complete cleansing, to the contemplation and participation in the most luminous Divine Services. The middle is the contemplative order, which participates in certain Divine Offices in all purity, according to its capacity, and is assigned to the Priests for its enlightenment. For it is evident, in my opinion, that this order, after having been cleansed from all unholy impurity, and when it has acquired the immovable steadfastness of its own mind in perfect purity, is led back, through priestly functions, to the habit and power of contemplation, and communicates in the most Divine symbols, filled with all holy joy in their contemplations and communions, mounting to the Divine love of their highest knowledge, through their instructions and functions, as far as their capacity admits. This, I say, is the order of the holy people, which, as having passed through complete purification, is deemed worthy, as far as permissible, both of the reverent vision, and participation of the most luminous Sacraments. But, the order higher than all the initiated is the sacred order of the Monks, which, as regards an entirely purified purification, with all its power and completely purified energies, has acquired a spiritual contemplation and participation in every Divine Service, which it is permissible for it to contemplate; and is being conducted by the most perfecting functions of the Hierarchs, and taught by their inspired illuminations and hierarchical traditions respecting the Divine Services of the holy Sacraments, viewed by them, according to their capacity, and elevated by their sacred science, to the most perfecting perfection of which they are capable. Hence our Divine leaders have deemed them worthy of sacred appellations. Some, indeed, call them "Therapeutæ," but others "Monks," from their pure service and fervid devotion to the true God; and from the undivided and unified life, as making them one, by folding together their divided qualities into a God-like isolation, and God-loving perfection. Wherefore the Divine institution accorded them a perfecting grace, and deemed them worthy of a certain invocation for their consecration—not hierarchical—for that is confined to the sacerdotal orders alone, but hallowing,[1] as being hallowed, by the pious Priests, by the hierarchical consecration in the second degree.

II.—MYSTERION.

Mystery of Monastic Consecration.

The Priest stands before the Divine Altar and religiously pronounces the invocation for Monks. The Monk stands behind the Priest, neither bends both knees, nor one of them, nor has upon his head the Divinely transmitted oracles; but only stands near the Priest, whilst he pronounces upon him the mystical Benediction. When the Priest has finished this, he approaches the man being consecrated, and asks him first, if he bids farewell to all distractions—not of life only, but also of imagination. Then he sets before him the most perfect life, and warns him that it is his bounden duty to surpass the ordinary life. When the initiated has promised steadfastly all these things, and the Priest has signed him with the sign of the Cross, he crops his hair. After an invocation to the threefold subsistence of the Divine Beatitude, he strips off all his clothing, and clothes him anew, and with all the holy men present salutes him, and administers to him the supremely Divine Mysteries.

III.—*Contemplation.*

The fact that he bends neither knee, nor has upon his head the Divinely transmitted oracles, but stands by the Priest, whilst pronouncing the benediction for Monks, signifies that the monastic order is not for the leading of others, but stands by itself, in an isolated and holy state, after the sacerdotal orders, and is readily conducted by them as a follower to the Divine science of sacred things, according to its capacity. The renunciation of the divided, not only lives, but even imaginations, shews the most perfect love of wisdom in the Monks, which exercises itself in the exact knowledge of the unifying commandments. For it is not, as I said, of the middle order of those who are initiated, but of the higher than all. Therefore many of the things which are done without reproach by the middle order, are forbidden in every way to the unified Monks—inasmuch as they are under obligation to be unified to the One, and to be collected to a sacred isolation, and to be transformed to the sacerdotal life, as far as permissible, as possessing an affinity to it in many things, and as being nearer to it, as compared with the rest of the ranks of the initiated. But the sealing with the sign of the Cross, as we have already said, denotes the inaction of almost all the desires of the flesh. The cropping of the hair shews the pure and unpretentious life, which does not beautify the darkness within the mind by overlarding it with smeared pretence, but shews it leads by itself to the highest likeness of God, not by human attractions, but by single and monastic. The casting aside of the former clothing, and taking another, seems to show a transition from a middle sort of religious life to the more perfect one; just as, in the holy Birth from God, the exchange of the clothing denoted the elevation of a purified life to a contemplative and enlightened condition. But if even now the Priest and all the religious present salute him who has been consecrated, bear in mind the holy fellowship of those who carry the likeness of God, who congratulate each other in a Divine rejoicing. But, as consummation of all, the Priest invites him who has been consecrated to the supremely Divine Communion, shewing through religious ordinance that the consecrated, if he would really attain to the monastic and uniform elevation, he will not merely be contemplative of the sacred mysteries in their essential nature, nor will he come to the communion of the most holy symbols, after the fashion of the middle rank; but with a Divine knowledge of the mysteries received by himself, he will come in a manner different from that of the holy people to the reception of the supremely Divine Communion. Wherefore, the Communion of the most holy Eucharist is also given to the sacerdotal[1] Orders, in their dedication to the Priesthood at the conclusion of their most sacred consecrations by the Hierarch who has consecrated them; not only because the reception of the supremely

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[1] ἱερουργικῆς.

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[1] See Ordinal.

Divine Mysteries is the consummation of each Hierarchical reception, but because all the sacred Orders, in accordance with their capacity, partake of the common and most godly gift, according to their own elevation and perfection in deification. We conclude, then, that the holy initiations are, purification, and illumination, and consecration. The Leitourgoi are a purifying Order, the Priests an illuminating, and the Godlike Hierarchs a perfecting Order. The Order which is excluded from the sacred contemplation and communion, as being already under course of purification, is an Order being purified. But the Order of the unified Monks is a purified Order. For thus our Hierarchy, reverently arranged in ranks fixed by God, is like the Heavenly Hierarchies, preserving, so far as man can do, its Godlike characteristics and Divine imitation.

But you will say that the Orders undergoing purification utterly fall short of the Heavenly Hierarchies (for it is neither permissible nor true to say that any celestial Order is impure), and I would altogether affirm myself that they are entirely without blemish, and possess a purity above this world, unless I had completely fallen away from a religious mind. For if any of them should have become captive to evil, and have fallen from the heavenly, undefiled harmony of the celestial minds, he would be brought to the gloomy fall of the rebellious multitudes. But one may reverently say, with regard to the Heavenly Hierarchy, that the revelation from God, of things hitherto unknown, is a purification to the subordinate Beings, leading them to a more perfect science of the God-derived communications, purifying them from the ignorance of those things of which they had not hitherto the exact knowledge, conducted as they are, through the first and more Divine Beings, to the higher and more luminous splendours of the visions of God. Thus there are ranks being illuminated, and being initiated and purified, and purifying and illuminating, and perfecting, after the example of the Heavenly Hierarchy; as though the highest and more Divine minds were purifying the subordinate, holy, and reverent ranks from all ignorance (in ranks and proportions of the Heavenly Hierarchies), but fitting them with the most Divine illuminations and perfections, in the most pure science of the supremely Divine conceptions. For we have already said, and the oracles Divinely demonstrate that all the heavenly Orders are not alike, in the sacred knowledge of all the illuminations that come from God. But, from God immediately, the first are illuminated; then through these, but again from God, the subordinate, in proportion to their powers, are illuminated with the most luminous glories of the Divine rays.

CAPUT VII.

Concerning the Rites celebrated over those who have fallen asleep.

Having defined these things, I think it necessary to describe the religious rites celebrated over those who have fallen asleep. For there is a difference here also between the sacred and the profane. For, as the form of life is different in each, so also, when approaching death, they differ. Those who have had a religious life, when they look to the unfailing promises of the Deity, inasmuch as they have observed their proof, in the resurrection proclaimed by it, come to the goal of death, with a firm and unfailing hope, in godly rejoicing, as at the conclusion of holy contests—knowing that their rewards will be in a perfect and endless life and salvation, through their future entire resurrection.[1] For the holy souls, which may possibly fall, during this present life, to a change for the worse, in the regeneration will have the most Godlike transition to an unchangeable[2] condition. Now, the pure bodies of the holy souls, which are enrolled together as yoke-fellows and companions, and fellow-combatants within their Divine struggles, in the unchanged steadfastness of their souls throughout the divine life, will jointly receive their own resurrection.[3] For, having been made one with the holy souls to which they were united in this present life, as having become members[4] of Christ, they will receive the Godlike and imperishable immortality, and a blessed repose.[5] In this respect, then, the sleep of the just is in comfort and unshaken hope as it draws nigh the goal of the Divine contests.[6] Now, amongst the profane, some[7] illogically think to go to a non-existence; others,[8] that the yoke binding the body to its own proper soul will be severed once for all, not deeming it suitable to them in a Divine life and blessed repose, inasmuch as they have not been sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of Divine things, which teaches that our most Godlike life in Christ has already begun.[9] But others[10] assign to souls unions with other bodies, committing, as I suppose, this injustice to them, that, after they have laboured together with the godly souls, they unjustly deprive them, when they have reached the goal of the Divine course, of their righteous retribution. But others,[11] I do not know how they have strayed to conceptions of such earthly tendency, say, that the most holy and blessed inheritance, promised to the devout, is similar to our life in this world, and unlawfully reject, for those who are equal to the Angels, nourishment appropriate to another kind of life. But no one would ever forsake most reverent men, for such vagaries as these. But knowing that their whole selves will receive the Christlike inheritance, when they have come to the goal of this present life, they see more clearly their road to incorruption as already become nearer, and praise the gifts of the supreme Godhead and are filled with a Divine satisfaction, no longer fearing the fall to a worse condition, but well knowing that they will hold firmly and everlastingly the good things already acquired. But those who are full of blemishes, full of stains, even though they have attained to some instruction, yet, of their own accord, have to their own destruction rejected this from their mind, and have rashly followed destructive lusts, when they have approached the end of their life here, the Divine regulation of the oracles will no longer appear to them as before, a subject of scorn,[1] but when they have looked with other eyes upon the pleasures of their passions destroyed, and have pronounced blessed the holy life from which they thoughtlessly had fallen away, they are, piteously and against their will, separated from this present life, conducted to no blessed hope, in consequence of their shameful life.[2] But, whilst none of these attain the rest of holy men, the holy man himself, who comes to the end of his struggles, is filled with a holy consolation, and with much satisfaction draws nigh to the path of the holy regeneration. The familiar friends of him who has fallen asleep, as befits their Divine familiarity and fellowship, pronounce him blessed, whoever he is, as approaching, in answer to his prayers, the end crowned with victory. They send up odes of thanksgiving to the Author of victory, praying also that they themselves may come to the same inheritance. Then they take him and bring him to the Hierarch, as to a bequest of holy crowns. He right gladly receives him, and celebrates the rites fixed by reverend men, to be celebrated over those who have piously fallen asleep.

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[1] Soul first—body afterwards. [2] 1 John iii. 2. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 52. [4] 1 Cor. vi. 15. [5] Heb. iv. 11. [6] 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. [7] Plato, Phed. i. 54. [8] Phed. i. 62-3. [9] Col. iii. 3-4. [10] Phed. i. 64. [11] Matt. xxii. 28.

II.—*Mysterion*[3] *over those who have religiously fallen asleep.*

The Divine Hierarch collects the reverend Choir. If the person who has fallen asleep were of the sacerdotal rank, he places him low before the Holy Altar, and offers the prayer and thanksgiving to God. But if he belonged to the rank of the chaste Monks, he places him near the hallowed sanctuary, before the sacerdotal entrance. Then the Hierarch finishes the prayer of thanksgiving to God. Next, the Leitourgoi read the faithful promises concerning our resurrection, which are contained in the Divine Lections, and chant the odes of the same teaching and power, from the Lections contained in the Psalter.[4] Then the first Deacon dismisses the catechumens, and calls aloud the names of the holy people who have already fallen asleep, amongst whom he deems the man who has just terminated his life worthy of registration, as being of the same rank, and urges all to seek the blessed consummation in Christ. Then the Divine Hierarch advances, and offers a most holy prayer over him, and after the prayer he salutes the defunct, and after him all who are present. When all have saluted, the Hierarch pours the oil upon the defunct, and when he has offered the prayer for all, he places the body in a worthy grave, with other holy bodies of the same rank.

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[1] Republic, lib. i., p. 9. Cousin, Paris, 1833.
[2] Ps. cxii. 10.
[3] Instructive Function.
[4] See Burial Office.

III.—*Contemplation.*

Now, if the profane should see or hear that these rites were celebrated by us, they will, I suppose, split with laughter, and compassionate us for our folly. But we need not wonder at this. For, as the Scripture saith, "If they will not believe, neither shall they understand."[1] Now, let us who have contemplated the spiritual meaning of the rites celebrated, say—Whilst Jesus leads us to the light, that not without reason does the Hierarch conduct to, and place the defunct in the place with those of the same rank. For it shows spiritually that, in the regeneration, all will be in that inheritance for which they have chosen their own life here. For example, if anyone here had a Godlike and most holy life (so far as the imitation of God is attainable by man), he will be throughout the age to come in a divine and blessed lot. But if he lead a life inferior to the divine likeness in its perfection, but, nevertheless, a holy life, even this man will receive the holy retributions of the same kind. The Hierarch, having given thanks for this Divine righteousness, offers a sacred prayer, and celebrates the worshipful Deity, as subjugating the unjust and tyrannical power against us all, but conducting us to our own most just judgments.

Now, the Chants and Readings of the Divine promises are explanatory of the most blessed inheritances into which those who have attained a Divine perfection shall be appointed. But the inheritances which await the defunct, stimulate those who are still living to a similar perfection. But observe, that not all classes of those who are under purification are dismissed, but only the catechumens are put out of the holy place, for this class is entirely uninstructed in every holy initiation, and is not permitted to view any of the religious celebrations, great or small, inasmuch as they have not received the faculty of contemplating the holy mysteries, through the Birth from God, which is Source and gift of light. But the other classes of those who are being purified have already been under instruction in sacred tradition; but, as they have foolishly returned to an evil course (it being necessary to complete their training to better things), they are reasonably dismissed from Divine visions and communions, even under symbols, for they would be injured, as partaking of them unholily, and would come to a greater contempt of the Divine Mysteries and themselves. But it is not unbecoming that they should be present at the ceremonies now celebrated, as they are clearly taught and see the uncertainty of death amongst us, and the glories of the saints chanted from the unfailing oracles, and that the sufferings reserved to the unholy like themselves will be without end. For it will perhaps be profitable for them to see him who has religiously finished his course reverently proclaimed by the public declaration of the Leitourgoi, as being numbered amongst the saints for ever.[1] And, perchance, they also will come to the like condition, and will learn, from the instruction of the Deacons, that the consummation in Christ is blessed indeed. Then the Hierarch, advancing, offers a sacred prayer over the defunct. After the prayer, both the Hierarch himself salutes him, and next, all who are present. As for the prayer, it beseeches the supremely Divine Goodness to remit to the defunct all the failings committed through human infirmity, and to place him in the light[2] and land of the living[3]; in the bosom of Abraham,[4] and Isaac, and Jacob; in a place where grief and sorrow and sighing are no more. It is evident, then, as I think, that these, the rewards of the holy, are most blessed. For what can be compared to an immortality, entirely without grief, and luminous with light. Especially, if all the promises which pass man's understanding, and which are signified to us by signs adapted to our capacity, fall short in their description of the actual truth. For we must remember that that saying is true, that "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the things God hath prepared for them that love[5] him." "Bosoms" of the blessed Patriarchs, and of the other holy men are in my judgment the most divine and blessed inheritance which awaits all godly men, in that consummation[6] which grows not old, and is full of blessedness.

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[1] Wisdom iii. 9.

But you may, perhaps, say that these things are correctly affirmed by us, but you want to know for what reason the Hierarch beseeches the supremely Divine Goodness, asking remission of the faults committed by the defunct, and his admission into the brightest inheritance amongst godly men of the same rank. For, if everyone shall receive, by judgment of God, equivalents for what he has done in the present life, whether it be good or otherwise, and the defunct has finished his activity within this present life, how, from any prayer offered by the

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[1] Luke i. 70. [2] Ps. lvi. 13. [3] Ps. cxvi. 9. [4] Luke xvi. 22.
[5] 1 Cor. ii. 9. [6] Matt. vi. 10.

Hierarch, will he be transferred to another lot, besides that suitable to him, as an equivalent for his life here. Now, well do I know, as following the Oracles, that each one will have the inheritance which is like for like, for the Lord, he says, hath concluded respecting him, and each one "shall receive the things done in his body according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or whether it be bad."[1] Yea, the sure tradition of the Oracles teaches us that the prayers, even of the just, avail only for those who are worthy of pious prayers during this present life, much less[2] after death. Did the prayers of Samuel procure anything for Saul?[3] or did the intercession of the Prophet[4] bring any advantage to the people of Israel? For it is as if, when the sun is shedding its own splendour upon eyes that are sound, anyone should seek to enjoy the meridian splendour, whilst obliterating his own powers of vision. Thus does he cling to impossible and extravagant expectations, who, whilst beseeching the prayers of holy men, diminishes the holy efforts essential to the same, and departs from the most luminous and beneficent commandments through heedlessness of the Divine gifts.

Nevertheless, I affirm, on the authority of the oracles, that the prayers of the just[5] are in every respect profitable in this life, after the following fashion. If anyone, longing for holy gifts and having a religious disposition for their reception, approaches some one of the pious men, as being conscious of his own insufficiency, and should prevail upon him to become his fellow-helper, and fellow-suppliant, he will be benefitted in every respect, in this way, with a benefit superior to all. For he will attain the most Divine gifts he prays for, since the supremely Divine Goodness assists him, as well as his pious self-knowledge, and his reverence for devout men, and his craving for the religious gifts requested, and his brotherly and Godlike disposition. For this has been firmly fixed by the supremely Divine decrees—that the Divine gifts are given in an order most befitting God to those who are meet to receive them, through those who are meet to distribute them.

If any one then should despise this sacred regulation, and betake himself to a wretched self-conceit, and should deem himself sufficient for the Divine Converse, and look down upon pious men, and if he should further request requests unworthy of God, and not holy, and if he should have a disposition which is not concordant with the Divine, and similar to himself, he will fail in his inexperienced request through his own fault. Now, with reference to the prayer mentioned, which the Hierarch prays over the defunct, we think it necessary to mention the tradition which has come to us from our inspired leaders. The Divine Hierarch, as the oracles say, is the interpreter of the supremely divine judgments. For he is messenger[1] of the Lord God Omnipotent. He has learned then, from the God-transmitted oracles, that to those who have passed their life in piety, the most bright and divine[2] life is recompensed according to their deserts, by the most just measures, whilst the Divine Love towards man overlooks, through its goodness, the blemishes which have come to them, through human infirmity (since no one, as the oracles say, is pure and without spot).

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[1] 2 Cor. v. 10.
[2] μήτιγε μετα θάνατον.
[3] 1 Sam. xvi. 1.
[4] Jer. vii. 16.
[5] James v. 16.

Now, the Hierarch knew these things to have been promised by the sure oracles. He asks, then, that these things may come to pass, and that the righteous returns may be given to those who have lived piously. At the same time, as being moulded as an image of goodness to the Divine imitation, he beseeches gifts for others as favours to himself. But, at the same time, he knows that the promises will be surely fulfilled, and manifests clearly to those present that the things asked by him, according to Divine law, will be entirely realized, for those who have been perfected in a Divine life. For the Hierarch, the expounder of the supremely Divine Justice, would never seek things which are not most pleasing to the Most Supreme God, and which were not divinely promised to be given by Him. Wherefore, he does not offer these prayers over the unholy departed; not only because in this he would deviate from his office of interpreter, and would presumptuously arrogate, on his own authority, a function of the Hierarchy, without being moved by the Supreme Legislator, but, because also, he would fail to obtain his abominable request, and would, not unnaturally, hear respecting himself, from the Divine Oracle, "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss."[4] Therefore, the Divine Hierarch beseeches things divinely promised, and dear to God, and which will, in every respect, be given, and demonstrates his own likeness to the good loving God, and declares, as the interpreter of God, the gifts which will be received by the devout. Thus, the Hierarchs have discriminating powers, as interpreters of the Divine Judgments. Not, as though the All-Wise Deity, to put it mildly, were slavishly following their irrational impulses, but, as though they, as interpreters of God, were deciding by the motion of the supremely judging Spirit, those who have already been judged by God according to their deserts. For receive, he says, the Holy Spirit, "whose[5] sins ye may have remitted, they are remitted; whose ye may retain, they are retained." And to him who was illuminated with the Divine revelations of the most Holy Father, the Oracles say, "Whatsoever thou shalt have bound upon the earth shall be bound in the heavens; and whatsoever thou shalt have loosed on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," inasmuch as He, and every Hierarch who is like Him, receives those who are dear to God, according to the revelations of the Father's judgments resting upon him, as announcing and interpreting the Divine Will, and rejects those who are without God. Further, as the Oracles affirm, He uttered that sacred and divine saying, not as self-moved,[1] nor as though flesh and blood had revealed it, but as one who had been spiritually taught Divine things by God. The inspired Hierarchs then, must so exercise their determinations and all their Hierarchical powers as the Godhead, the Supreme Initiator, may move them. As for the rest, they must so cling to the Hierarchs in their sacerdotal functions as men moved by God. "For he that despises you," He says, "despiseth Me."[2]

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[1] Malachi ii. 7.
[2] 1 John v. 16.
[3] Job xiv. 4.
[4] James iv. 3.
[5] John xx. 22, 23.

Let us now proceed to that which follows the prayer mentioned. When the Hierarch has finished this, he first salutes the defunct, and next, all who are present. For dear and honoured, to all Godlike men, is he who has been perfected in a Divine life. After the salutation the Hierarch pours the oil upon the defunct. But remember, that in course of the Birth from God, before the most Divine Baptism, the oil of Chrism, as a first participation of the holy symbol, is given to the neophyte, after the entire removal of the former clothing. But now, at the conclusion of all that is done, the oil is poured upon the defunct. The first anointing with the oil summons the initiated to the holy contests; but the pouring of the oil now shows the defunct to have struggled through those same contests, and to have been made perfect.

When the Hierarch has finished these things he places the body in an honourable chamber, with other bodies of holy men of the same rank. For if, in soul and body, the man has passed a life dear to God, there will be honoured with the devout soul also the body which contended with it throughout the devout struggles. Hence, the Divine justice gives to it, together with its own body, the reciprocal inheritances, as companions and participators in the devout or the contrary life. Wherefore, the Divine institution of sacred things bequeaths the supremely Divine participations to them both—to the soul, indeed, in a pure contemplation and in an exact knowledge of the rites celebrated; to the body, by sanctifying the whole man, as in a figure, with the most Divine Myrrh, and the most holy symbols of the Divine Communion, effecting his complete salvation, and announcing that his resurrection will be most complete by entire sanctification. Now, as regards the consecrating invocations, it is not permitted to explain them in writing, nor may we bring their mysterious meaning, nor the powers working in them from God, from their secrecy to publicity. But, as our sacred tradition holds, by learning these, through quiet instructions, and by being perfected to a more Godlike condition and elevation, through Divine love and holy duties, you will be borne by the most perfect illumination to the most exalted knowledge of them.

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[1] Matt. xvi. 17.
[2] Luke x. 16.

Now the fact that even children, not yet able to understand the Divine mysteries, should become recipients of the holy Birth from God, and of the most holy symbols of the supremely Divine Communion, seems, as you say, to the profane, a fit subject for reasonable laughter, upon the supposition that the Hierarchs teach Divine things to those not able to hear, and vainly transmit the sacred traditions to those who do not understand. And this is still more laughable—that others, on their behalf, repeat the abjurations and the sacred compacts. But your Hierarchical judgment must not be too hard upon those who are led astray, but you should persuasively, and for the purpose of leading them to the light, reply affectionately to the positions alleged by them. When you have brought forward this fact, in accordance with sacred rule, that not all Divine things are comprehended in our knowledge, but many of the things unknown by us have causes worthy of God, which, although unknown to us, are yet well known to the Orders above us. Many things also escape even the most exalted Beings, and are known distinctly by the All-Wise and Wisdom-Giving Deity. Further, also, concerning this, we affirm what our God-like instructors conveyed to us, what they had learned from the early[1] tradition. For they say, what is also a fact, that infants being brought up according to a Divine institution will attain a religious disposition exempt from all error, and inexperienced in an unholy life. When our Divine leaders came to this conclusion, it was determined to admit infants upon the following conditions, viz. :—that the parents of the child to be presented should transfer him to some one of the instructed, who is a faithful teacher of children in Divine things, so that the child should lead the rest of his life under his instruction, as under a godfather, and security for his religious safe-keeping. The Hierarch requires him who promised to bring up the child according to the religious life, to pronounce the renunciations and the religious confessions. Not, as they would jokingly say, as instructing one instead of another in Divine things. For he does not say this, "on behalf of this child, I make myself the renunciation and the sacred profession," but that the child renounces and consents itself; *i.e.*, I promise to persuade the child, when he has come to a frame of mind capable of religious impressions, through my instructions in Divine things, to renounce entirely contrary things, and to promise and perform the Divine confessions. There is nothing absurd, then, in my judgment, if the child is brought up in a religious training, in his having a guide and religious surety, who implants in him a disposition for Divine things, and keeps him inexperienced in things contrary.

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[1] *ἀρχαίας.* See Acts xv. 7, 21, 16 ; and Archbp. Trench. Yet even Dupin ignorantly alleged that word as proof Post-Apostolic. Nov. Bib., p. 106.

The Hierarch imparts to the child the sacred symbols in order that he may be nourished by them, and may not have any other life, besides that of always contemplating Divine things; and that, being made partaker of them, in a religious progress, he may have a religious disposition in these matters, and may be devoutly brought up by his Godlike surety. So great, my son, and so beautiful, are the uniform visions of our Hierarchy, which have been presented to my view. But from others, perhaps, of a more clear-sighted mind, these things have been viewed, not only more clearly, but also more divinely. And to you, as I fancy, more brilliant and divine beauties will shine forth, whilst you use the foregoing as stepping stones to a higher ray. Impart then, my friend, yourself also, to me, a more perfect illumination, and show to my eyes the more comely and uniform beauties that you may have been able to see, for I am confident that, by what has been said, I shall strike the sparks[1] of the Divine Fire which lie dormant in you.

THANKS BE TO GOD.

27th October, 1893. JOHN PARKER.

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[1] Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p. 2.

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CHRISTIANITY CHRONOLOGICALLY CONFIRMED. 6d.

WHY AM I A CHRISTIAN? 2d.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE. A Sermon preached in Paris. 1/-.

MY CONVERSION TO RITUAL. 6d.

Appendix.

BISHOPS OF PARIS.	BISHOPS OF ARLES.
1. Dionysius.	1. Trophimus.
2. Mallo.	2. Regulus.
3. Massus.	3. Martianus.
4. Marcus.	4. Victor.
5. Adventus.	5. Maurianus.
6. Victorinus.	6. Martinus.
Gallia Christiana, Tom. vii., p. 4.	*Tom. i., p.* 520.

NOTE 2.—*Thanksgiving before the consecration, translated from a Latin Version of the Liturgy of Dionysius the Areopagite.*

"Sacerdos inclinatus." For truly the celebration of Thy benefits, O Lord, exceeds the powers of mind, expression, and thought; nor can any lip, or mind, or tongue worthily praise Thee. For by Thy word the heavens were made, and by the breath of Thy mouth all the supernal powers, all lights which are in the firmament—sun and moon, sea and dry land, and whatever is in them. Things without voice, by their silence—things articulate by their voice through speech and hymns perpetually praise Thee, because Thou art essentially good, and above praise, existing incomprehensibly in Thy essential nature. (Elevating his voice.) This sensible creation praises Thee, O Lord, as well as those intellectual Beings placed above our material sense. Heaven and earth glorify Thee. Sea and air proclaim Thee. The sun in its predestined course praises Thee. The moon in its regulated changes venerates Thee. The multitudes of Archangels and the hosts of Angels, and those Virtues, seated above the world and the power of our conceptions, send their benediction to Thy throne. The Splendours of exceeding and hidden light send forth their Sanctus to Thy glory. Principalities and Orders praise Thee with Jubilate Powers and lordships venerate Thee. Virtues, Thrones, and Seats inaccessible—bright images of eternal light—mirrors without flaw—holy beings and recipients of wisdom sublime—pre-eminently searchers after that will kept secret from all—these exalt Thee by clear movements of tones inimitable, and by voices worthy of rational creatures. Many-eyed Cherubin, most highly exalted, bless Thee. Seraphin, with their enfolded wings, and full of feathers, call Thee Holy—those same beings who cover their faces with their wings, and veil their feet with their wings, and flying around and clapping their wings one to another, in order that they may not be consumed by Thy devouring heat, sing sweet and pure chants in a universal harmony, offering eternal glory to Thee, crying in a hymn worthy of God, and saying (Populus) "Holy, Holy, Holy."

(Priest bending low.) Holy art Thou, God the Father, Omnipotent Maker and Creator of every creature, invisible and visible and sensible. Holy art Thou, Only-Begotten Son—Power and Wisdom of the Father, Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Holy art Thou, God the Holy Spirit, Perfecter and Sanctifier of Saints. Holy and Indivisible Trinity, co-essential and of equal glory, Whose compassion to our race is abundantly poured forth, Thou art Holy and sanctifying all: Who hast not left this our race in exile from Paradise, when it had become entangled in every kind of sin, but hast been manifested to it by the Word, which endured extremest poverty before the world. That Nature the Word took, made in all things like unto it sin excepted, that He might make it prepared unto holiness, and disposed to this life-giving feast. (Raising his voice.) Who conceived, formed, and moulded by the Holy Spirit, both from the Virgin blood of the Virgin Mary, Holy Mother of God, and from the pure and most holy body of the same, was born indeed Man, as Author of life, and receiving the Godhead in the flesh (whilst the law and properties of Nature were preserved, but in a manner above Nature), was acknowledged as God in Spirit and Man in flesh. And in so[1] far as the Word was before the worlds began, from Thee, in a manner worthy of God, He was born, and by signs and miracles such as became the Maker of All, was proved to be such, since He has abundantly provided complete healing and perfect salvation for the whole human race. But at the end and completion of His own dispensation, for our sake, and previous to His own saving Cross, He took Bread into His own pure holy hands, and looked up to Thee, God the Father, giving thanks, He blessed, sanctified, and brake, and gave to His own disciples, the holy Apostles, saying, "Take and eat from this, and believe[2] that the same is My Body, which for you and for many is broken and given for expiation of faults, remission of sins, and eternal life."

N.B.—I give this as example from a Liturgy full of interest, and preserved in the East, as that of Dionysius, Bishop of Athens, Disciple of St. Paul.

THE END.

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[1] In quantum erat Verbum ante Sæcula.

[2] Credite quod corpus meum est illud ipsum quod pro vobis. This is not found in Greek or Almandrine Liturgies, but only Syriac. Migne.

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THE CAVE OF TREASURES

TRANSLATION

(Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 25875.)

[THE TITLE OF THE WORK: THE SCRIBE'S PRAYER.]

[Fol. 3*b*, col. 1.] By the might of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the "Book of the Succession of the Generations," that is to say, ME`ÂRATH GAZZÊ, which was composed by SAINT MÂR APHRÊM (*i.e.* Ephraim, commonly known as "Ephraim Syrus," or "Ephraim the Syrian," who died A.D. 373). O our Lord, help Thou me in Thy Mercy. Amen.

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[THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS: ADAM TO YARÊD (Jared).]

[The Creation. First Day.]

In the beginning, on the First Day, which was the holy First Day of the Week, the chief and firstborn of all the days, God created the heavens, p. 44 and the earth, and the waters, and the air, and the fire, and the hosts which are invisible (that is to say, the Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Lords, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim and Seraphim), and all the ranks and companies of Spiritual beings, and the Light, and the Night, and the Day-time, and the gentle winds and the strong winds (*i.e.* storms). All these were created on the First Day. And on the First Day of the Week the Spirit of holiness, one of the Persons of the Trinity, hovered over the waters, and through the hovering thereof over the [Fol. 3*b*, col. 2] face of the waters, the waters were blessed so that they might become producers of offspring, and they became hot, and the whole nature of the waters glowed with heat, and the leaven of creation was united to them. As the mother-bird maketh warm her young by the embrace of her closely covering wings, and the young birds acquire form through the warmth of the heat which [they derive] from her, so through the operation of the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit, the Paraclete, the leaven of the breath of life was united to the waters when He hovered over them.

[NOTES.--According to Solomon, a Nestorian bishop of Perâth Mayshân, or Al-Basrah, a city on the right bank of the Shatt al-`Arab, about p. 45 A.D. 1222, the creation of the heavens and the earth has been planned from everlasting in the immutable mind of God. He created SEVENsubstances (or natures) in silence, without voice, viz. heaven, earth, water, air, fire, the angels, and darkness. The earth was plunged in the midst of the waters, above the waters was air, and above the air was fire. Water is cold and moist, air is hot and moist, fire is hot and dry, but it had no luminosity until the Fourth Day, when the luminaries were created. The angels are divided into nine classes and three orders. The upper order contains Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones, and these are bearers of God's throne. The middle order contains Lords, Powers, and Rulers. The lower order contains Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. (Compare the "thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers" of Col. i. 16.) The Cherubim are an intellectual motion, the Seraphim are a fiery motion, the Thrones are a fixed motion, the Lords are a motion which governs the motions beneath it and controls the devils, the Powers are a motion which gives effect to God's will, the Rulers are a motion which rules spiritual measures and the sun, moon and stars, the Principalities are a motion which rules the elements, the Archangels are a swift operative motion which governs every living creature, p. 46 except man, and the Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything which is in heaven or on the earth. The **guardian angel** of every man belongs to this last class. The number of each class of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the Resurrection. The heaven in which the angels live is above the waters, which are above the firmament, and they minister to their God there, being invisible to bodily eyes. The angels are not self-existent beings--they were created; on the other hand, darkness is a self-existent nature (or substance). Solomon of Al-Basrah does not accept the view that the spirit which hovered over the waters was the Holy Spirit. (See *Book of the Bee,* ed. Budge, chapters i-vii.)]

[The Creation. Second Day.]

And on the Second Day God made the Lower Heaven, and called it REKÎ`A [that is to say, "what is sold and fixed," or "firmament"]. This He did that He might make known that the Lower Heaven doth not possess the nature of the heaven which is above it, and that it is different in appearance from that heaven which is above it, for the heaven above it is of fire. And that second heaven is NÛHRÂ (*i.e.* Light), and this lower heaven is DARPÎTÎÔN [Fol. 4*a*, col. 1], and because it hath the dense nature of water p. 47 it hath been called "Rekî`a." And on the Second Day God made a separation between the waters and the waters, that is to say, between the waters which were above [Rekî`a] and the waters which were below. And the ascent of these waters which were above heaven took place on the Second Day, and they were like unto a dense black cloud of thick darkness. Thus were they raised up there, and they mounted up, and behold, they stand above the Re̱ḵî`a in the air; and they do not spread, and they make no motion to any side.

[NOTES.--According to the "Book of the Bee," the creation of the firmament enabled God to allot a dwelling place to the angels, where also the souls of the righteous could be received after the General Resurrection. The great abyss of water which God created on the First Day was divided by Him into three parts; one part He left on the earth for the use of man and beast, and to form rivers and seas; of the second part He made the firmament, and the third part the place above the firmament. After the Resurrection all these parts will return to their original state. The word Darpîṯîôn is a difficulty, and I cannot explain it. The variant forms Dûrîḵôn and Dertêḵôn appear in Ethiopic books, wherein it is said to be a name of the sixth heaven.]

p. 48

[The Creation. Third Day.]

And on the Third Day God commanded the waters that were below the firmament (Re̱ḵî`a) to be gathered together in one place, and the dry land to appear. And when the covering of water had been rolled up from the face of the earth, the earth showed itself to be in an unsettled and unstable state, that is to say, it was of a damp (or moist) and yielding nature. And the waters were gathered together into seas that were under the earth and within it [Fol. 4*a*, col. 2], and upon it. And God made in the earth from below, corridors, and shafts, and channels for the passage of the waters; and the winds which come from within the earth ascend by means of these corridors and channels, and also the heat and the cold for the service of the earth. Now, as for the earth, the lower part of it is like unto a thick sponge, for it resteth on the waters. And on this Third Day God commanded the earth, and it brought forth herbs and vegetables, and it conceived in its interior trees, and seeds, and plants and roots.

[NOTE.--On this day the waters gathered together in the depths of the earth, sand was set as a limit for the waters of the seas, and the mountains and hills appeared. The sages say that Paradise was created on this day, but the p. 49 Rabbis held the view that it existed before the world. Solomon of Bas̱rah says that the earth produced herbs and trees by its own power, and that the luminaries had nothing to do with vegetable growth. *Book of the Bee* (chapter ix.)**]**

[The Creation. Fourth Day.]

And on the Fourth Day God made the sun, and the moon, and the stars. And as soon as the heat of the sun was diffused over the surface of the earth, the earth became hard and rigid, and lost its flaccidity, because the humidity and the dampness [caused by] the waters were taken away from it. The Creator made the sphere of the sun of fire and filled it with light. And God gave unto the sphere of the moon and the stars bodies of water and air, and filled them with light. And when the dust of the earth became hot, it brought forth all the trees [Fol. 4*b*, col. 1], and plants, and seeds, and roots which had been conceived inside it on the Third Day.

[NOTES.--The cases of the sun, moon, and stars were made of aerial material, after the manner of lamps, and God filled them with a mixture of fire, which had no light in it, and with light which had no heat in it. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament; they are not fixed, as the ignorant think, but are guided p. 50 in their courses by the angels. The Ethiopians have a tradition that when the sun was first made its light was twelve times as strong as it is to-day. The angels complained that the heat was too strong, and that it hampered them in the performance of their duties, whereupon God divided it into twelve parts, and took away six of these parts, and out of three of them He made the moon and stars, and the other three He distributed among the waters, the clouds, and the lightning.**]**

[The Creation. Fifth Day.]

And on the Fifth Day God commanded the waters, and they brought forth all kind of fish of divers appearances, and creatures which move about, and twist themselves and wriggle in the waters, and serpents, and Leviathan, and beasts of terrible aspects, and feathered fowl of the air and of the waters. And on this same day God made from the earth all the cattle and wild beasts, and all the reptiles which creep about upon the earth.

[NOTES.--According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xii), beasts and animals were created on Friday evening, and they can therefore see at night as well as in the daytime. In the *Book of Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, "whales" and the Behemôth are mentioned with Leviathan.]

[The Creation. Sixth Day.]

And on the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, God formed man out of the dust, and Eve from his rib.

And on the Seventh Day God rested from His labours, and it is called "Sabbath."

[The Creation of Adam.]

Now the formation of Adam took place in this wise: On the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, at the first hour of the day, when quietness was reigning over [Fol. 4*b*, col. 2] all the Ranks [of the Angels], and the hosts [of heaven], God said, "Come ye, let Us make man in Our image, and according to Our likeness." Now by this word "Us" He maketh known concerning the Glorious Persons [of the Trinity]. And when the angels heard this utterance, they fell into a state of fear and trembling, and they said to one another, "A mighty miracle will be made manifest to us this day [that is to say], the likeness of God, our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God opened out flat, and stretched out over the whole world; and all creatures were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took from the whole mass of the earth one grain of dust, and from the whole nature of water one drop of water, and from all the air which is above one puff of wind, and from the whole nature of fire a little of its heat and warmth. And the angels saw that when these four feeble (or inert) materials were placed in the palm of His right hand [Fol. 5*a*, col. 1], that is to say, cold, and heat, and dryness, and moisture, God formed Adam. Now, for what reason did God make Adam out of these four materials unless it were [to show] that everything which is in the world should be in subordination to him through them? He took a grain from the earth in order that everything in nature which is formed of earth should be subject unto him; and a drop of water in order that everything which is in the seas and rivers should be his; and a puff of air so that all kinds [of creatures] which fly in the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire so that all the beings that are fiery in nature, and the celestial hosts, might be his helpers.

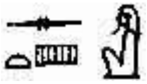
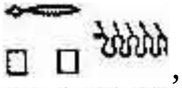
God formed Adam with His holy hands, in His own Image and Likeness, and when the angels saw Adam's glorious appearance they were greatly moved by the beauty thereof. For they saw [Fol. 5*a*, col. 2] the image of his face burning with glorious splendour like the orb of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the light of the sun, and the image of his body was like unto the sparkling of crystal. And p. 53 when he rose at full length and stood upright in the centre of the earth, he planted his two feet on that spot whereon was set up the Cross of our Redeemer; for Adam was created in Jerusalem. There he was arrayed in the apparel of sovereignty, and there was the crown of glory set upon his head, there was he made king, and priest, and prophet, there did God make him to sit upon his honourable throne, and there did God give him dominion over all creatures and things. And all the wild beasts, and all the cattle, and the feathered fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he assigned names to them; and they bowed their heads before him; and eveything in nature worshipped him [Fol. 5*b*, col. 1], and submitted themselves unto him. And the angels and the hosts of heaven heard the Voice of God saying unto him, "Adam, behold; I have made thee king, and priest, and prophet, and lord, and head, and governor of everything which hath been made and created; and they shall be in subjection unto thee, and they shall be thine, and I have given unto thee power over everything which I have created." And when the angels heard this speech they all bowed the knee and worshipped Him.

[NOTES.--The Jews consider that the words, "Come, let Us make man," refer to God and the p. 54 angels, but the Fathers of the Syrian Church understand that God refers to the Three Persons of the Trinity. Some Fathers believe that Adam was formed on the morning of the Sixth Day, outside Paradise, but others think that the formation of Adam took place in the evening in Paradise. According to some, Paradise was created before the world, and, according to others, on the Third Day. Bar Hebraeus says that Adam was created on Friday of the first week of Nîsân (April), the first month of the first year of the world. The Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches have a tradition that the angels were not all created at the same time. The great archangel Michael, who is called the "Angel of the Face," and all his Rank of angels were created in the first hour of Friday, the Priests in the second, the Thrones in the third, the Dominions (or Sulṯâns) in the fourth, the Lords in the fifth, the Powers in the sixth, the Tens of Thousands in the seventh, the Governors in the eighth, the Masters in the ninth. After the Governors the Rank of angels governed by Satan were created, and then the Tenth Rank.

According to a Coptic tradition preserved in the *Discourse on Abbatôn, the Angel of Death*, by Timothy, Archbishop of Rakoti (Alexandria), the clay of which Adam was made was brought by the angel Mûrîêl from the Land of the East. p. 55 When God had made his body He left it lying for forty days and forty nights without putting breath into it. At the request of our Lord, Who promised to become Adam's advocate and to go down into the world, God breathed into Adam's nostrils the breath of life three times, saying, "Live! Live! Live! according to the type of My Divinity." Thereupon Adam rose up, and worshipped the Father, saying, "My Lord and my God."
(Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, page 482.)**]**

[THE REVOLT OF SATAN, AND THE BATTLE IN HEAVEN.]

And when the prince of the lower order of angels saw what great majesty had been given unto Adam, he was jealous of him from that day, and he did not wish to worship him. And he said unto his hosts, "Ye shall not worship him, and ye shall not praise him with the angels. It is meet that ye should worship me, because I am fire and spirit; and not that I should worship a thing of dust, which hath been fashioned of fine dust." And the Rebel meditating these things [Fol. 5*b*, col. 2] would not render obedience to God, and of his own free will he asserted his independence and separated himself from God. But he was swept away out of heaven and fell, and the fall of himself and of all his company from heaven took place on the p. 56 Sixth Day, at the second hour of the day. And the apparel of their glorious state was stripped off them. And his name was called "Sâṯânâ" because he turned aside [from the right way], and "Shêdâ" because he was cast out, and "Daiwâ" because he lost the apparel of his glory. And behold, from that time until the present day, he and all his hosts have been stripped of their apparel, and they go naked and have horrible faces. And when Sâṯânâ was cast out from heaven, Adam was raised up so that he might ascend to Paradise in a chariot of fire. And the angels went before him, singing praises, and the Seraphim ascribed holiness unto him, and the Cherubim ascribed blessing; and amid cries of joy and praises Adam went into [Fol. 6*a*, col. 1] Paradise. And as soon as Adam entered Paradise he was commanded not to eat of a [certain] tree; his entrance into heaven took place at the third hour of the Eve of the Sabbath (*i.e.* on Friday morning).

[NOTES.--The Fathers of the Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches treat the story of the Fall of Satan in great detail. According to them, Satan, or Sat̲nâêl, was greatly astonished at the beauty and splendour of the sun and moon, and on the Fourth Day of the week he declared to himself that he would set his throne above the stars, p. 57 and make himself equal to God. One week after the creation of Adam, Satan declared war on the hosts of Almighty God. These were commanded by Michael and consisted of 120,000 horsemen, 600,000 shield bearers, 700,000 mail-clad horsemen in chariots of fire, 700,000 torch bearers, 800,000 angels with daggers of fire, 1,000,000 slingers, 500,000 bearers of axes of fire, 300,000 bearers of fiery crosses, and 400,000 bearers of lamps. The angels uttered their battle cries and began to fight, but Satan charged them and dispersed them; they reformed, but again Satan charged them and put them to flight. Then God gave the angels the Cross of Light, which bore the legend, "In the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And when they attacked the hosts of darkness under this Cross, Satan became faint, and he and his forces withdrew, and Michael hurled them down into hell. The Abyssinian legend says that Satan was 1,700 cubits high, and his hand 70 cubits long, and his foot 7,000 cubits long; his mouth was 40 cubits in width, his face was as broad as the distance of a day's journey, and the length of his eyebrows was a distance of three days' journey. [From the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*.] The prototype of the great fight in heaven between the powers of light and darkness is found in p. 58 ancient Egyptian religious texts, in more than one form. In the oldest form Set, , the Devil, rebels against H̲er-ur, , the god of heaven, whose chief symbols are the sun and moon, and is utterly defeated. In the next form Set attacks the Sun-god R¯a, , and is destroyed by him; the great ally of Set, called ¯Apep (Apôphis), , and all his fiends and devils (the Sebau), , are defeated and burnt up daily. In another form Set makes war on Horus, the son of Osiris, and on Osiris himself, and is defeated utterly. The Coptic version of the legend was borrowed from the old hieroglyphic texts, and then Christianized. Compare the following:--

When Satan saw Adam seated on a great throne, with a crown of glory on his head and a sceptre in his hand, and all the angels worshipping him, he was filled with anger. And when God said to him, "Come thou also, for thou shalt worship My image and likeness," Satan refused to do so, and, assuming an arrogant and insolent manner, he said, "It is meet that he should worship me, for I existed before he came into being." When the Father saw his overbearing attitude, He knew that Satan's wickedness p. 59 and rebellion had reached their highest pitch. He ordered the celestial soldiers to take from him the written authority that was in his hand, to strip off his armour, and to hurl him down from heaven to earth. Satan was the greatest of the angels, and God had made him the Commander-in-Chief of the celestial hosts, and in the document which Satan held in his hand were written the names of all the angels under his command. Knowing their names, his authority over them was absolute. When God saw that the angels hesitated to take the document from him, He commanded them to bring a sharp reaping-knife, and to stab him on this side and that, right through his body to the backbone and shoulder blades; and Satan could no longer stand upright. And a Cherub smote him, and broke his wings and his ribs, and having rendered him helpless he cast Satan down from Heaven upon the earth. Then he became the Arch-Devil and the leader of those who were cast out of heaven with him, and who henceforth were devils. (From Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, page 484.)]

[THE MAKING OF EVE.]

And God cast a sleep upon Adam and he slept. And God took a rib from the loins on the right side of Adam, and He made Khâwâ (*i.e.* Eve) from it; and when Adam woke up, and saw Eve, p. 60 he rejoiced in her greatly. And Adam and Eve were in Paradise, and clothed with glory and shining with praise for three hours. Now this Paradise was situated on a high range of hills, and it was thirty spans--according to the measurement of the spirit--higher than all the high mountains, and it surrounded the whole earth.

[NOTES.--God did not make Eve of earth, that she might not be considered something alien to Adam in nature; and He did not take her from Adam's fore-parts, that she might not uplift herself against him; nor from his hind-parts, that she might not be accounted despicable; nor from his right side, that she might not have pre-eminence over him; nor from his head, that she might not seek authority over him; nor from his feet, that she might not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband; but [He took her] from his left side, for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back (*Book of the Bee*, chapter xiv, and Bar Hebraeus, *Aus̱ar Râzê*). Further, God did not form Eve from Adam's head, that she might not carry her head proudly; nor from his eye, that she might not be curious; nor from his ear, that she might not be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, that she might not be gossiping; p. 61 nor from his heart, that she might not be quarrelsome; nor from his hand, that she might not touch everything with her hand; nor from his feet, that she might not rove about (*Berêshîth Rabbah* on Gen. ii. 23).]

Now Moses the prophet said that God planted Paradise in Eden and placed Adam there (Gen. ii. 8).

[NOTES.--Paradise was situated on Mount Eden, beyond the Ocean, and it was filled with fruit-bearing trees. The great river which sprung up in it was parted into four heads, viz. PISHÔN, which flowed through Havilâ, where there were beryls, and gold, and stones of price; GÎHÔN, or the Nile of Egypt; DEKLATH (the Tigris), which flows through Assyria; and PERATH (the Euphrates). The keepers of Paradise were Enoch and Elijah, and in it dwelt the souls of the righteous. The souls of sinners dwelt in a deep place, outside Eden. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deed which was wrought by its means. Adam and Eve did not become naked and die the death of sin because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree, but because they transgressed the law. The tree of which they ate may have been the fig-tree, or the date-palm, or the vine or the p. 62 *ethrôg* (citron). Mount Eden is probably the original of Jabal Kâf of the Arabs, a mountain range which surrounds the whole world.]

[THE SYMBOLISM OF EDEN.]

Now Eden is the Holy Church, and the Church [Fol. 6*a*, col. 2] is the compassion of God, which He was about to extend to the children of men. For God, according to His foreknowledge, knew what Satan had devised against Adam, and therefore He set Adam beforehand in the bosom of His compassion, even as the blessed David singeth concerning Him in the Psalm (xc), saying, "Lord, Thou hast been an abiding place for us throughout all generations," that is to say, "Thou hast made us to have our abiding place in Thy compassion." And, when entreating God on behalf of the redemption of the children of men, David said, "Remember Thy Church, which Thou didst acquire in olden time " (Ps. lxxiv. 2), that is to say, "[Remember] Thy compassion, which Thou art about to spread over our feeble race." Eden is the Holy Church, and the Paradise which was in it is the land of rest, and the inheritance of life, which God hath prepared for all the holy children of men. And because [Fol. 6*b*, col. 1] Adam was priest, and king, and prophet, God brought him into Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the p. 63 Holy Church, even as the blessed man Moses testifieth concerning him, saying, "That he might serve God by means of priestly ministration with praise, and that he might keep that commandment which had been entrusted to him by the compassion of God" (Gen. ii. 15, 16 ?). And God made Adam and Eve to dwell in Paradise. True is this word, and it proclaimeth the truth: That Tree of Life which was in the midst of Paradise prefigured the Redeeming Cross, which is the veritable Tree of Life, and this it was that was fixed in the middle of the earth.

[SATAN'S ATTACK ON ADAM AND EVE.]

And when Satan saw that Adam and Eve were happy and joyful in Paradise, that Rebel was smitten sorely with jealousy, and he became filled with wrath. And he went and took up his abode in the serpent, and he raised him up, and made him to fly through the air to the skirts of Mount [Eden] whereon was Paradise [Fol. 6*b*, col. 2]. Now, why did Satan enter the body of the serpent and hide himself therein? Because he knew that his appearance was foul, and that if Eve saw his form, she would betake herself to flight straightway before him. Now, the man who wished to teach the Greek language to a bird--now the bird that can learn the speech of men p. 64 is called "babbaghah" (*i.e.* parrot)--first bringeth a large mirror and placeth between himself and the bird. He then beginneth to talk to the bird, and immediately the parrot heareth the voice of the man, it turneth round, and when it seeth its own form [reflected] in the mirror, it becometh pleased straightway, because it imagineth that a fellow parrot is talking to it. Then it inclineth its ear with pleasure, and listeneth to the words of the man who is talking to it, and it becometh eager to learn, and to speak Greek. In this manner (*i.e.* with the object of making Eve believe that it was the serpent that spoke to her) did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent, and he watched for the opportunity, and [when] he saw Eve by herself [Fol. 7*a*, col. 1], he called her by her name. And when she turned round towards him, she saw her own form [reflected] in him, and she talked to him; and Satan led her astray with his lying words, because the nature of woman is soft (or, yielding).

And when Eve had heard from him concerning that tree, straightway she ran quickly to it, and she plucked the fruit of disobedience from the tree of transgression of the command, and she ate. Then immediately she found herself stripped naked, and she saw the hatefulness of her shame, and she ran away p. 65 naked, and hid herself in another tree, and covered her nakedness with the leaves thereof. And she cried out to Adam, and he came to her, and she handed to him some of the fruit of which she had eaten, and he also did eat thereof. And when he had eaten he also became naked, and he and Eve made girdles for their loins of the leaves of the fig-trees; and they were arrayed in these girdles of ignominy for three [Fol. 7*a*, col. 2] hours. At mid-day they received [their] sentence of doom. And God made for them tunics of skin which was stripped from the trees, that is to say, of the bark of the trees, because the trees that were in Paradise had soft barks, and they were softer than the byssus and silk wherefrom the garments worn by kings are made. And God dressed them in this soft skin, which was thus spread over a body of infirmities.

[NOTES.--The Fathers of the Ethiopian Church emphasize the difficulty which Satan found in entering Paradise. He knew that he could not carry out his plan for ruining Adam if he entered Paradise in his own form, and he decided that he must assume the form of some bird or animal or reptile if he was to succeed. He applied to the white bird Arzel, and the green bird Besel, and a red bird, but each refused to take him to the place where Eve was. Then he applied to p. 66 the elephant, and the lion, and the leopard, and the hyena, and the wild boar; the first four refused point blank to do what Satan wished, and the wild boar attempted to gore him with his tusks. On this Satan took to flight. He then went to the animal Sereg, which was commonly known as the "digger of graves," but this animal refused to help him, and then Satan approached the animal called "Taman," "the front part of which was like a camel's foal." This creature agreed to help him, and, mounted on his back, Satan entered Paradise and stood before Eve. The serpent became spokesman for him, and Eve hearkened to him and ate of the fruit. According to the "Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth," the tree was called "Sezen," and each fruit cluster contained, 150,000 grains, or berries. It is described as a large and handsome tree, and it has been identified with the "Sendâlê," or sandal-wood tree. According to the same authorities, the Tree of Life was the prototype of the Cross on which our Lord was crucified.]

[Adam's stay in Paradise.]

At the third hour of the day Adam and Eve ascended into Paradise, and for three hours they enjoyed the good things thereof; for three hours they were in shame and disgrace, and at the p. 67 ninth hour their expulsion from Paradise took place. And as they were going forth sorrowfully, God spake unto Adam, and heartened him, and said unto him, "Be not sorrowful, O Adam, for I will restore unto thee thine inheritance. Behold, see how greatly I have loved thee, for though I have cursed the earth for thy sake, yet have I withdrawn thee from the operation of the curse. As for the serpent [Fol. 7*b*, col. 1], I have fettered his legs in his belly, and I have given him the dust of the earth for food; and Eve have I bound under the yoke of servitude.

Inasmuch as thou hast transgressed my commandments get thee forth, but be not sad. After the fulfilment of the times which I have allotted that you shall be in exile outside [Paradise], in the land which is under the curse, behold, I will send my Son. And He shall go down [from heaven] for thy redemption, and He shall sojourn in a Virgin, and shall put on a body [of flesh], and through Him redemption and a return shall be effected for thee. But command thy sons, and order them to embalm thy body after thy death with myrrh, cassia, and stakte. And they shall place thee in this cave, wherein I am making you to dwell this day, until the time when your expulsion shall take place from the regions of Paradise to that earth which is outside it. And whosoever shall be left in those days shall take p. 68 thy body with him, and [Fol. 7*b*, col. 2] shall deposit it on the spot which I shall show him, in the centre of the earth; for in that place shall redemption be effected for thee and for all thy children." And God revealed unto Adam everything which the Son would suffer on behalf of him.

[Adam's expulsion from Paradise.]

And when Adam and Eve had gone forth from Paradise, the door of Paradise was shut, and a cherub bearing a two-edged sword stood by it. [According to the *Book of the Bee*, the cherub, or, as some think, a "terrible form endowed with a body," was armed with a spear and sword, each being made of fire.]

And Adam and Eve went down in . . . . of spirit over the mountains of Paradise, and they found a cave in the top of the mountain, and they entered and hid themselves therein.

[NOTES.--When Adam and Eve left Paradise they no longer had fruit and wine and bread and flesh to live upon, and they subsisted on cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, of which they ate sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. *Book of the Bee* (chapter xvii.)]

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Now Adam and Eve were virgins, and Adam wished to know Eve his wife. And Adam took from the skirts of the mountain of Paradise, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense, and he placed them in the cave, and he blessed the cave, and consecrated it that it might be the house of prayer for himself and his sons. And he called the cave "ME`ÂRATH GAZZÊ" (*i.e.* "CAVE OF TREASURES") [Fol. 8*a*, col. 1].

So Adam and Eve went down from that holy mountain [of Eden] to the slopes which were below it, and there Adam knew Eve his wife. [A marginal note in the manuscript says that Adam knew Eve thirty years after they went forth from Paradise.] And Eve conceived and brought forth Cain and Lebhûdhâ, his sister, with him; and Eve conceived again and she brought forth Hâbhîl (Abel) and Kelîmath, his sister, with him. [The *Book of the Bee* makes Kelîmath the twin sister of Cain, and Lebhûdhâ the twin sister of Abel.] And when the children grew up, Adam said unto Eve, "Let Cain take to wife Kelîmath, who was brought forth with Abel, and let Abel take to wife Lebhûdhâ, who was brought forth with Cain." And Cain said unto Eve his mother, "I will take to wife my twin sister Lebhûdhâ, and let Abel take to wife his twin sisterKelîmath"; now Lebhûdhâ was beautiful. When Adam heard these words, which were p. 70 exceedingly displeasing unto him, he said, "It will be a transgression of the commandment for thee to take [to wife] thy sister, who was born with thee. Nevertheless, take ye to yourselves fruits of trees, and the young of sheep, and get ye up to the top [Fol. 8*a*, col. 2] of this holy mountain. Then go ye into the Cave of Treasures, and offer ye up your offerings, and make your prayers, and then ye shall consort with your wives." And it came to pass that when Adam, the first priest, and Cain and Abel, his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan entered into Cain [and persuaded him] to kill Abel, his brother, because of Lebhûdhâ; and because his offering was rejected and was not accepted before God, whilst the offering of Abel was accepted, Cain's jealousy of his brother Abel was increased. And when they came down to the plain, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and he killed him with a blow from a stone of flint. Then straightway Cain received the doom of death, instead of curses, and he became a fugitive and a wanderer all the days of his life. And God drove him forth into exile in a certain part of the forest of Nôdh, and Cain took to wife his twin sister and made the place of his abode there.

[NOTES.--Adam carried Abel to the Cave of Treasures and buried him therein, and he set by p. 71 the side of the body a lamp which burned day and night. Abel was fifteen and a half years old when Cain, who was seventeen and a half years old, murdered him. Adam and Eve mourned for Abel, in great grief, for one hundred and forty days. *Book of Adam and Eve* (II, 1.)]

[The Birth of Seth.]

And Adam and Eve mourned for Abel [Fol. 8*b*, col. 1] one hundred years (*sic*). And then Adam knew his wife again, and she brought forth Seth, the Beautiful, a man mighty and perfect like unto Adam, and he became the father of the mighty men who lived before the Flood.

[NOTES.--Seth was born in the 130th year of Adam's life (Gen. v. 3), but the *Book of the Bee* says it was the 230th year. Adam and Seth and his sons dwelt on the top of Mount Eden, while Cain and his children lived on the plain below.]

[The Posterity of Seth.]

And to Seth was born Ânôsh (Enos), and Ânôsh begot Kainân (Cainan), and Kainân begot Mahlâlâîl (Mahalaleel); these [are] the Patriarchs who were born in the days of Adam.

[The Death of Adam.]

And when Adam had lived nine hundred and thirty years, that is to say, until the one hundred p. 72 and thirty-fifth year of Mahlâlâîl, the day of his death drew nigh and came. And Seth, his son, and Ânôsh, and Kainân, and Mahlâlâîl gathered themselves together and came to him. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them. And he commanded his son Seth, and said unto him, "Observe, my son Seth, that which I command thee this day, and do thou on the day of thy death give my command to Ânôsh, and repeat it to him, and let him repeat it to Kainân, and Kainân shall repeat it to Mahlâlâîl [Fol. 8*b*, col. 2], and let this [my] command be handed on to all your generations. And when I die, embalm me with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte, and deposit my body in the Cave of Treasures. And whosoever shall be left of your generations in that day, when your going forth from this country, which is round about Paradise, shall take place, shall carry my body with him, and shall take it and deposit it in the centre of the earth, for in that place shall redemption be effected for me and for all my children. And be thou, O my son Seth, governor of the sons of thy people. And thou shalt rule them purely and holily in an the fear of God. And keep ye your offspring separate from the offspring of Cain, the murderer."

And when the report "Adam is dying" was known generally, all his offspring gathered p. 73 together, and came to him, that is to say, Seth, his son, and Ânôsh, and Kainân and Mahlâlâîl, they and their wives [Fol. 9*a*, col. 1], and their sons, and their daughters; and Adam blessed them. And the departure of Adam from this world took place in the nine hundred and thirtieth year--according to the reckoning from the beginning--on the fourteenth day of the moon, on the sixth day of the month of Nîsân (April), at the ninth hour, on the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (*i.e.*Friday). At the same hour in which the Son of Man delivered up his soul to His Father on the Cross, did our father Adam deliver up his soul to Him that fashioned him; and he departed from this world.

[The Burial of Adam.]

And when Adam was dead his son Seth embalmed him, according as Adam had commanded him, with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte; now Adam's dead body was the first [body buried] in the earth. And grief for him was exceedingly sore, and Seth [and his sons] mourned for his death one hundred and forty days; and they took Adam's body up to the top of the mountain, and buried it in the Cave of Treasures. And after the families and peoples of the childreh of Seth had buried Adam, they separated themselves from the children of Cain, p. 74 the murderer. And Seth took Ânôsh [Fol. 9*a*, col. 2], his firstborn, and Kainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and their wives and children, and led them up into the glorious mountain where Adam was buried; and Cain and all his descendants remained below on the plain where Cain slew Abel.

[The Rule of Seth.]

And Seth became the governor of the children of his people, and he ruled them in purity and holiness. And because of their purity they received the name, which is the best of all names, and were called "the sons of God," they and their wives and their sons. Thus they lived in that mountain in all purity and holiness and in the fear of God. And they went up on the skirts of [the mountain] of Paradise, and they became praisers and glorifiers of God in the place of that host of devils who fell from heaven. There they dwelt in peace and happiness: there was nothing about which they needed to feel anxiety, they had nothing to weary or trouble them [Fol. 9*b*, col. 1], and they had nothing to do except to praise and glorify God, with the angels. For they heard continually the voices of the angels who were singing praises in Paradise, which was situated at no great height above them--in fact, only about thirty spans--according to the measure of the spirit. They suffered p. 75 neither toil nor fatigue, they had neither seed [time] nor harvest, but they fed themselves with the delectable fruits of glorious trees of all kinds, and they enjoyed the sweet scent and perfume of the breezes which were wafted forth to them from Paradise. [Thus lived] those holy men, who were indeed holy, and their wives were pure, and their sons were virtuous, and their daughters were chaste and undefiled. In them there was no rebellious thought, no envy, no anger, no enmity. In their wives and daughters there was no impure longing, and neither lasciviousness [Fol. 9*b*, col. 2], nor cursing, nor lying was heard among them. The only oath which they used in swearing was, "By the blood of Abel." And they, and their wives, and their children used to rise up early in the morning, and go up to the top of that holy mountain, and worship there before God. And they were blessed by the body of Adam their father, and they lifted up their eyes to Paradise, and praised God; and thus they did all the days of their life.

[NOTES.--According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), Adam lived 930 years, and Seth lived 913 or 905 years. Seth was 250 years old (105 years in Gen. v. 6) when he begot Enos. "In the days of Seth the knowledge of books went forth in the earth; but the Church does p. 76 not accept this." According to the *Book of Adam* (ii. 5), Seth knew good and evil when he was seven years of age, and he spent his days and nights in fasting and prayer, and he made an offering to God daily. Satan appeared to him, and tried to persuade him to leave the holy mountain, and to go and live with him, and to marry one of his women, but Seth resisted him; and mounting the altar of God, drove him away. When Seth was fifteen years old Adam married him to Aklia, the sister of Abel, and when he was twenty years old he begot Enos.]

And when Seth had lived nine hundred and thirteen years he became sick unto death. And Ânôsh his son, and Kainân, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd (Jared), and Henôkh (Enoch), and their wives and their sons, gathered together and came unto him, and they were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, and made them to take an oath, and said unto them [Fol. 10*a*, col. 1], "I will make you to take an oath, and to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that none of you will go down from this holy mountain to the children of Cain, the murderer. For ye know well the enmity which hath existed between us and Cain from the day whereon he slew Abel." And Seth blessed Ânôsh, his son; and gave him commands p. 77 concerning the body of Adam, and he made him ruler over the children of his people. And Seth ruled them in purity and in holiness, and he ministered diligently before the body of Adam. And Seth died when he was nine hundred and twelve years old, on the seven-and-twentieth day of the blessed month of Âbh (August), on the second day of the week (Monday), at the third hour, in the twentieth year of the life of Enoch. And Ânôsh, Seth's first-born son, embalmed his body and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with his father Adam; and they made a mourning for him forty [Fol. 10*a*, col. 2] days.

[NOTES.--*The Book of Adam* (ii. 12) says that Seth was embalmed with sweet spices, and laid on the right side of Adam's body, but there is no evidence that the Hebrews were acquainted with the art of mummification before they had intercourse with Egypt.**]**

[The Rule of Ânôsh.]

And Ânôsh rose up to minister before God in the Cave of Treasures. And he became the governor of the children of his people, and he kept all the commandments which his father Seth had commanded him, and he urged them to be constant in prayer.

[NOTES.--According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), Ânôsh was two hundred and ninety (ninety years in Gen. v. 9) years old when he begot Kainân; and Ânôsh first called upon the name of the Lord. Some say that he first composed books upon the course of the stars and the signs of the Zodiac.**]**

And in the days of Ânôsh, in his eight hundred and twentieth year, Lamech, the blind man, killed Cain, the murderer, in the Forest of Nôdh. Now this killing took place in the following manner. As Lamech was leaning on the youth, his son [Tubal-Cain], and the youth was setting straight his father's arm in the direction in which he saw the quarry, he heard the sound of Cain moving about, backwards and forwards, in the forest. Now Cain was unable to stand still in one place and to hold his peace. And Lamech, thinking that it was a wild beast that was making a movement in the forest, raised his arm, and, having made ready, drew his bow and shot an arrow [Fol. 10*b*, col. 1] towards that spot, and the arrow smote Cain between his eyes, and he fell down and died. And Lamech, thinking that he had shot game, spake to the youth, saying, "Make haste, and let us see what game we have shot." And when they went to the spot, and the boy on whom Lamech leaned p. 79 had looked, he said unto him, "O my lord, thou hast killed Cain." And Lamech moved his hands to smite them together, and as he did so he smote the youth and killed him also.

[NOTES.--*The Book of Adam* (ii. 13) says that Lamech was armed with a bow and large arrows, and a sling and smooth stones. An arrow pierced one side of Cain, and a stone from Lamech's sling knocked out both his eyes. Lamech smote the youth who led him about accidentally, but afterwards he smashed his head in with a stone. There are many versions of the story in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, but they all agree in essential details. According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xviii), the anvil and hammer and tongs were invented by Tubal-Cain and Jubal, who also constructed musical instruments, harps and pipes; devils lived in the pipes, and sang therein.]

And when Ânôsh had lived nine hundred and five years, and was sick unto death, all the patriarchs gathered themselves together, and came unto him, viz. Kainân, his first-born son, and Mahlâlâîl, and Yârêd, and Enoch, and Matûshlah (Methuselah), they, and their wives, and their sons. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them and commanded them, and spake unto them, saying, "I will make you p. 80 to swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this mountain to the plain, nor into the encampment of [Fol. 10*b*, col. 2] the children of Cain, the murderer; and ye shall not mingle yourselves among them. Take ye good heed unto this matter, for ye well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon Cain slew Abel." And he blessed Kainân, his son, and commanded him concerning the body of Adam, that he should minister before it all the days of his life, and that he should rule over the children of his people in purity and holiness. And Ânôsh died at the age of nine hundred and five years, on the third day of the month of the First Teshrîn (October), on the day of the Sabbath, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. And Kainân, his first-born, embalmed him and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with Adam and Seth, his father. And they made a mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.--*The Book of Adam* (ii. 14) says that Ânôsh was 985 years old when he died, and that he was laid on the left-hand side of Adam in the Cave of Treasures.]

[The Rule of Kainân.]

And Kainân stood up before God to minister in the Cave of Treasures. He was an honourable p. 81 and pure man, and he governed the children of his people in the complete [Fol. 11*a*, col. 1] fear of God, and he fulfilled all the commandments of Ânôsh his father. And when Kainân had lived nine hundred and twenty years [in the *Book of Adam* and the *Book of the Bee* 910 years], and was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Mahlâlâîl his son, and Yârêd, and Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them and commanded them, saying, "I will make you swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain into the camp of the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all know well what enmity hath existed between us and them since the day whereon he killed Abel." And he blessed his son Mahlâlâîl, and admonished him concerning the body of Adam, and said unto him, "Behold, O my son Mahlâlâîl, minister thou before God in purity and holiness [Fol. 11*a*, col. 2] in the Cave of Treasures, and depart not thou from the presence of the body of Adam all the days of thy life. And be thou the governor of the children of thy people, and rule thou them purely and holily." Kainân died, being nine hundred and twenty years old, on the thirteenth day of the month of Hezêrân (June), p. 82 on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), at mid-day, in the five and sixtieth year of [the life of] Lamech, the father of Noah. And Mahlâlâîl, his son, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they made mourning for him forty days.

[NOTES.--According to Gen. v. 12, Kainân was 70 years old when he begot Mahlâlâîl, but the *Book of the Bee* gives 140 years. The *Book of Adam* says that the people made "offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers," a statement that seems to suggest that the Hebrews not only mummified their dead, but presented funerary offerings to them, after the manner of the Egyptians.]

[The Rule of Mahlâlâîl.]

And Mahlâlâîl rose up and ministered before God in the place of Kainân his father. He was constant in prayer by day and by night, and he urged earnestly the children of his people to observe holiness and purity, and to pray without ceasing. And when Mahlâlâîl had lived eight hundred and ninety-five years [Fol. 11*b*, col. 1], and the day of his departure drew nigh, and he was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Yârêd, his p. 83 first-born, and Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, saying, "I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain. And ye shall not permit any one of your descendants to go down to the plain, to the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon he slew Abel." And he blessed Yârêd, his first-born, and he commanded him concerning the body of Adam, and revealed unto him the place whereto he should make ready to go. And he also commanded him, and made him to swear an oath, saying, "Thou shalt not depart from the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life, and thou shalt be [Fol. 11*b*, col. 2] the governor of the children of thy people, and shalt rule them in chastity and holiness." And Mahlâlâîl died, [being] eight hundred and ninety-five years old, on the second day of the month Nîsân (April), on the first day of the week (Sunday), at the third hour of the day, in the four and thirtieth year of the life of Noah. And Yârêd, his first-born, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and the people made a mourning for him forty days.

p. 84

[NOTES.--According to Gen. v. 15, Mahlâlâîl was 65 years old when he begot Yârêd, but the *Book of the Bee* gives 165 years; the *Book of Adam* (ii. 16) says he fell sick when he was 870 years old. The latter work makes the Patriarch tell Yârêd that the people will go down from the mountain, and mingle with the children of Cain, and perish with them.**]**

[The Rule of Yârêd.]

And Yârêd his son rose up and ministered before God [in the Cave of Treasures]. He was a perfect man, and was complete in all the virtues, and he was constant in prayer by day and by night. And because of the excellence of his life and conversation, his days were longer than those of all the children of his people. And in the days of Yârêd, in the five hundredth year of his life, the children of Seth broke the oaths which their fathers had made them to swear. And they began to go down from that holy mountain to the encampment of iniquity [Fol. 12*a*, col. 1] of the children of Cain, the murderer, and in this way the fall of the children of Seth took place.

[NOTES.--The *Book of Adam* (ii. 17) says that Yârêd continued to govern the people successfully until the end of the 485th year of his life. p. 85 At this time Satan and thirty of his devils appeared to Yârêd in the form of handsome men, and called him from the Cave of Treasures. He came out to them, and thought they were strangers, and asked them who they were. In answer, Satan told him that he was Adam, and that among his companions were Abel, Seth, Enos, Cainan, and other kinsmen of Yârêd. He invited Yârêd to come with him, and live with him in the garden which God had given him, and at length Yârêd was persuaded to leave the Cave and go with him. When they arrived at the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain, Satan pretended that he had left a garment for Yârêd by the Cave, and sent one of his devils back to fetch it, telling him at the same time to extinguish the lamp which was burning in the Cave near Adam's body. Satan and Yârêd rested by a fountain, and food was brought out to them by the sons and daughters of Cain, but Yârêd refused to eat or drink. Satan entreated him to put aside his sadness, and to do as he was going to do. Thereupon Satan and five of his devils each seized a woman and committed fornication with her, and on seeing this exhibition of iniquity Yârêd burst into tears and began to pray to God to be delivered from that place. When he began to pray the devils took to flight, and God sent an angel, who brought him back p. 86 to his holy mountain. When he returned to the Cave his people told him that the lamp had been extinguished, and that the bodies of the Patriarchs had been scattered about, and that voices had come from them. On entering the Cave a voice came to him from Adam's body, and warned him to beware of Satan and his wiles, and told him to relight the lamp from the fire on the altar at which Adam had ministered. The lamp was relighted at the end of the 450th year of Yârêd's life. Eighty years later his people began to go down to the children of Cain, and to mingle with their women.]

AND IN THE FORTIETH YEAR OF YÂRÊD THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS, FROM ADAM TO YÂRÊD, CAME TO AN END.

And in these years the handicraftsmen of sin, and the disciples of Satan, appeared, for he was their teacher, and he entered in and dwelt in them, and he poured into them the spirit of the operation of error, through which the fall of the children of Seth was to take place.

The Celestial Hierarchy

Dionysius the Areopagite

THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY

CHAPTER I

To my fellow-presbyter Timothy, Dionysius the Presbyter

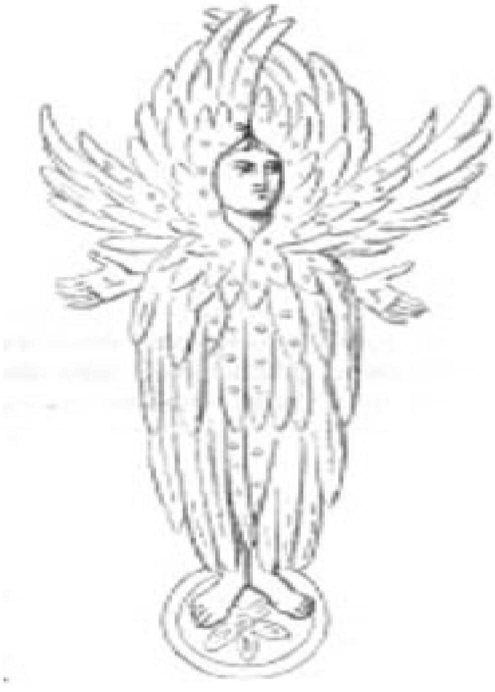
That every divine illumination, while going forth with love in various ways to the objects of its forethought, remains one. Nor is this all: it also unifies the things illuminated.

'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above and comes down from the Father of Lights.'[James 1:17]

Moreover, every divine procession of radiance from the Father, while constantly bounteously flowing to us, fills us anew as though with a unifying power, by recalling us to things above, and leading us to the unity of the Shepherding Father and to the Divine One. For from Him and into Him are all things, as is written in the holy Word.

Calling then upon Jesus, the Light of the Father, the Real and True, 'Which lights every man that comes into the world, by whom we have access to the Father,' the Origin of Light, let us raise our thought, according to our power, to the illumination of the most sacred doctrines handed down by the Fathers, and also as far as we may let us contemplate the Hierarchies of the Celestial Intelligences revealed to us by them in symbols for our upliftment: and admitting through the spiritual and unwavering eyes of the mind the original and super-original gift of Light of the Father who is the Source of Divinity, which shows to us images of the all-blessed Hierarchies of the Angels in figurative symbols, let us through them again strive upwards toward Its primal ray. For this Light can never be deprived

of Its own intrinsic unity, and although in goodness It becomes manyness and proceeds into manifestation for the uplifting of those creatures governed by Its providence, yet It abides eternally within Itself in changeless sameness, firmly established in Its own unity, and elevates to Itself, according to their capacity, those who turn towards It, uniting them in accordance with Its own unity. For by that first divine ray we can be enlighted only insofar as It is hidden by all-various holy veils for our upliftment, and fittingly tempered to our natures by the Providence of the Father.



Wherefore that first institution of the sacred rites, judging it worthy of a supermundane copy of the Celestial Hierarchies, gave us our most holy hierarchy, and described that spiritual Hierarchy in material terms and in various compositions of forms so that we might be led, each according to his capacity, from the most holy imagery to formless, unific, elevative principles and assimilations. For the mind can by no means be directed to the spiritual presentation and contemplation of the Celestial Hierarchies unless it use the material guidance suited to it, accounting those beauties which are seen to be images of the hidden beauty, the sweet incense a symbol of spiritual dispensations, and the earthly lights a figure of the immaterial enlightenment. Similarly the details of the sacred teaching correspond to the feast of contemplation in the soul, while the ranks of order on earth reflect the Divine Concord and the disposition of the Heavenly Orders. The receiving of the most holy Eucharist symbolizes our participation of Jesus; and everything else delivered in a supermundane manner to Celestial Natures is given to us in symbols.

A cherub, after an image ca. 400 A.D.

To further, then, the attainment of our due measure of deification, the loving Source of all mysteries, in showing to us the Celestial Hierarchies, and consecrating our hierarchy as fellowministers, according to our capacity, in the likeness of their divine ministry, depicted those supercelestial Intelligences in material images in the inspired writings of the sacred Word so that we might be guided through the sensible to the intelligible, and from sacred symbols to the Primal Source of the Celestial Hierarchies.

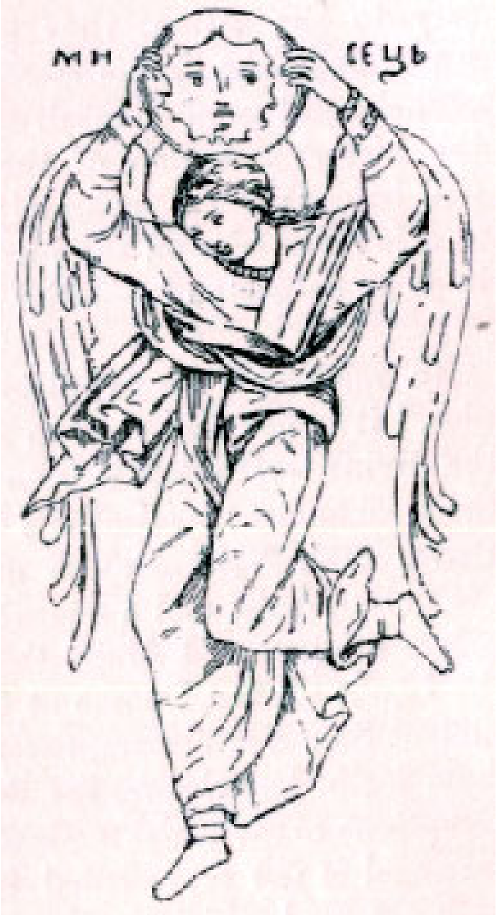
CHAPTER II

That Divine and Celestial matters are fittingly revealed even through unlike symbols

I consider, then, that in the first place we must explain our conception of the purpose of each Hierarchy and the good conferred by each upon its followers; secondly we must celebrate the Celestial Hierarchies as they are revealed in the Scriptures; and finally we must say under what holy figures the descriptions in the sacred writings portray those Celestial Orders, and to what kind of purity we ought to be guided through those forms lest we, like the many, should impiously suppose that those Celestial and Divine Intelligences are many-footed or many-faced beings, or formed with the brutishness of oxen, or the savageness of lions, or the curved beaks of eagles, or the feathers of birds, or should imagine that they are some kind of fiery wheels above the heavens, or material thrones upon which the Supreme Deity may recline, or many-coloured horses, or commanders of arm- ies, or whatever else of symbolic description has been given to us in the various sacred images of the Scriptures.

Theology, in its sacred utterances concerning the formless Intelligences, does indeed use poetic symbolism, having regard to our intelligence, as has been said, and providing a means of ascent fitting and natural to it by framing the sacred Scriptures in a manner designed for our upliftment.

But someone may prefer to regard the Divine Orders as pure and ineffable in their own natures, and beyond our power of vision, and may consider that the imagery of the Celestial Intelligences in the Scriptures does not really represent them, and is like a crude dramatization of the celestial names: and he may say that the theologians, in depicting wholly incorporeal natures under bodily forms should, as far as possible, make use of fitting and related images, and represent them by the most exalted, incorporeal and spiritual substances amongst ourselves, and should not endue the Celestial and Godlike Principles with a multitude of low and earthly forms. For the one would contribute in a higher degree to our ascent by dissociating incongruous images from the descriptions of Supermundane Natures, while the other impiously outrages the Divine Powers, and leads our minds into error when -we dwell upon such unholy compositions. For we might even think that the supercelestial regions are filled with herds of lions and horses, and re-echo with roaring songs of praise, and contain flocks of birds and other creatures, and the lower forms of matter, and whatever other absurd, spurious, passion-arousing and unlike forms the Scriptures use in



Angel With Moon, from 12th c. Greek ms.

describing their resemblances.

Nevertheless, I think that the investigation of the truth shows the most holy wisdom of the Scriptures in the representations of the Celestial Intelligences which makes the most perfect provision in each case, so that neither is dishonour done to the Divine Powers (as they may be called), nor are we bound more passionately to earth by the meanness and baseness of the images. For it might be

said that the reason for attributing shapes to that which is above shape, and forms to that which is beyond form, is not only the feebleness of our intellectual power which is unable to rise at once to spiritual contemplation, and which needs to be encouraged by the natural and suitable support and upliftment which offers us forms perceptible to us of formless and supernatural contemplations, but it is also because it is most fitting that the secret doctrines, through ineffable and holy enigmas, should veil and render difficult of access for the multitude the sublime and profound truth of the supernatural Intelligences. For, as the Scripture declares, not everyone is holy, nor have all men knowledge.

Again, if anyone condemns these representations as incongruous, suggesting that it is disgraceful to fashion such base images of the divine and most holy Orders, it is sufficient to answer that the most holy Mysteries are set forth in two modes: one, by means of similar and sacred representations akin to their nature, and the other through unlike forms designed with every possible discordance and difference. For example, the mystical traditions of the enlightening Word sometimes celebrate the Sublime Blessedness of the Superessential ONE as Word, and Wisdom, and Essence; proclaiming the Intellect and Wisdom of God both essentially, as the Source of being, and also as the true Cause of existence; and they make It equivalent to Light, and call It Life.

Now although such sacred forms are more venerable, and seem in one sense to surpass the material presentation, even so they fail to express truly the Divine Likeness which verily transcends all essence and life, and which no light can fully represent; for an other word and wisdom is incomparably below It. But at other times It is extolled in a supermundane manner in the same writings, where It is named Invisible, Infinite and Unbounded, in such terms as

indicate not what It is, but what It is not: for this, in my judgment, is more in accord with Its nature, since, as the Mysteries and the priestly tradition suggested, we are right in saying that It is not in the likeness of any created thing, and we cannot comprehend Its superessential, invisible and ineffable Infinity. If, therefore, the negations in the descriptions of the Divine are true, and the affirmations are inconsistent with It, the exposition of the hidden Mysteries by the use of unlike symbols accords more closely with That which is ineffable.

Accordingly this mode of description in the holy writings honours, rather than dishonours, the Holy and Celestial Orders by revealing them in unlike images, manifesting through these their supernal excellence, far beyond all mundane things. Nor, I suppose, will any reasonable man deny that discordant figures uplift the mind more than do the harmonious, for in dwelling upon the nobler images, it is probable that we might fall into the error of supposing that the Celestial Intelligences are some kind of golden beings, or shining men flashing like lightning, fair to behold, or clad in glittering apparel, raying forth harmless fire, or with such other similar forms as are assigned by theology to the Celestial Intelligences. But lest this thing befall those whose mind has conceived nothing higher than the wonders of visible beauty, the wisdom of the venerable theologists, which has power to lead us to the heights, reverently descends to the level of the inharmonious dissimilitudes, not allowing our irrational nature to remain attached to those unseemly images, but arousing the upward-turning part of the soul, and stimulating it through the ugliness of the images; since it would seem neither right nor true, even to those who cling to earthly things, that such low forms could resemble those supercelestial and divine contemplations. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that no single existing thing is entirely deprived of participation in the

Beautiful, for, as the true Word says, all things are very beautiful.

Holy contemplations can therefore be derived from all things, and the above-named incongruous similitudes can be fashioned from material things to symbolize that which is intelligible and intellectual, since the intellectual has in another manner what has been attributed differently to the perceptible. For instance, passion in irrational creatures arises from the impulse of appetency, and their passion is full of all irrationality; but it is otherwise with intellectual beings in whom the energy of passion must be regarded as denoting their masculine reason and unwavering steadfastness, established in the changeless heavenly places. In the same manner, by desire in irrational creatures we mean the instinctual innate tendency towards temporal materials things, or the uncontrolled inborn appetites of mutable creatures, and the dominating irrational desires of the body which urge the whole creature towards that for which the senses crave.

But when, using unlike images, we speak of desire in connection with Intellectual Beings we must understand by this a divine love of the Immaterial, above reason and mind, and an enduring and unshakable superessential longing for pure and passionless contemplation, and true, sempiternal, intelligible participation in the most sublime and purest Light, and in the eternal and most perfect Beauty. And incontinence we must understand as that which is intense and unswerving and irresistible because of its pure and steadfast love of the Divine Beauty, and the undeviating urge towards That which most truly is to be desired.

In the case of the irrational or the insensitive things, such as brutes among living creatures, or inanimate objects, we rightly say that these are deprived of reason, or of sense-perception. But we fittingly proclaim the sovereignty, as Supermundane Beings, of the immaterial and intellectual Natures over our discursive and corporeal reasoning and sense-perceptions, which are remote from those Divine Intelligences.

It is therefore lawful to portray Celestial Beings in forms drawn from even the lowest of material things which are not discordant since they, too, having originated from That which is truly beautiful, have throughout the whole of their bodily constitution some vestiges of Intellectual Beauty, and through these we may be led to

immaterial Archetypes; the similitudes being taken, as has been said, dissimilarly, and the same things being defined, not in the same way, but harmoniously and fittingly, in the case both of intellectual and sensible natures.

We shall see that the theologians mystically employ symbolical explanations not only in the case of the Celestial Orders, but even for the presentation of the Deific Principles themselves. And sometimes they celebrate Deity Itself with lofty symbolism as the Sun of justice, as the Morning Star rising mystically in the mind, or as Light shining forth unclouded and intelligibly; and sometimes they use images of things on earth, such as fire flashing forth with harmless flame, or water affording abundance of life symbolically flowing into a belly and gushing out in perpetually overflowing rivers and streams.

The lowest images are also used, such as fragrant ointment, or the corner-stone, and they even give It the forms of wild animals and liken It to the lion and panther, or name It a leopard, or a raging bear bereaved of its young. I will add, furthermore, that which appears most base and unseemly of all, namely that some renowned theologians have represented It as assuming the form of a worm. Thus all those who are wise in divine matters, and are interpreters of the mystical revelations, set apart in purity the Holy of Holies from the uninitiated and unpurified, and prefer incongruous symbols for holy things, so that divine things may not be easily accessible to the unworthy, nor may those who earnestly contemplate the divine symbols dwell upon the forms themselves as the final truth. Therefore we may celebrate the Divine Natures through the truest negations and also by the images of the lowest things in contrast with their own Likeness.

Hence there is no absurdity in portraying the Celestial Natures, for the reasons mentioned, by discordant and diverse symbols: for possibly we ourselves might not have begun to search into the Mysteries which lead us to the Heights through the careful examinations of the holy Word, had not the ugliness of the imagery of the Angels startled us, not suffering our mind to dwell upon the discordant figures, but stimulating it to leave behind all material attachments, and training it by means of that which is apparent to aspire devoutly to the supermundane ascent.

Let these things suffice touching the corporeal and inharmonious forms used for the delineation of Angels in the sacred Scriptures. We must proceed to the definition of our conception of the Hierarchy itself, and of the blessings which are enjoyed by those who participate in it. But let our leader in the discourse be my Christ (if thus I dare name Him) who inspires all hierarchical revelation. And do thou, my son, listen, according to the law of our hierarchical tradition, with meet reverence to that which is reverently set forth, becoming through instruction inspired by the revelations; and, treasuring deep in the soul the holy Mysteries, preserve them in their unity from the unpurified multitude: for, as the Scriptures declare, it is not fitting to cast before swine that pure and beautifying and clear-shining glory of the intelligible pearls.

CHAPTER III

What is Hierarchy, and what the use of Hierarchy?

Hierarchy is, in my opinion, a holy order and knowledge and activity which, so far as is attainable, participates in the Divine

Likeness, and is lifted up to the illuminations given it from God, and correspondingly towards the imitation of God.

Now the Beauty of God, being unific, good, and the Source of all perfection, is wholly free from dissimilarity, and bestows its own Light upon each according to his merit;* and in the most divine Mysteries perfects them in accordance with the unchangeable fashioning of those who are being perfected harmoniously to Itself.

The aim of Hierarchy is the greatest possible assimilation to and union with God, and by taking Him as leader in all holy wisdom, to become like Him, so far as is permitted, by contemplating intently His most Divine Beauty. Also it moulds and perfects its participants in the holy image of God like bright and spotless mirrors which receive the Ray of the Supreme Deity -which is the Source of Light; and being mystically filled with the Gift of Light, it pours it forth again abundantly, according to the Divine Law, upon those below itself. For it is not lawful for those who impart or participate in the holy Mysteries to overpass the bounds of its sacred laws; nor must they deviate from them if they seek to behold, as far as is allowed, that Deific Splendour and to be transformed into the likeness of those Divine Intelligences.

Therefore he who speaks of Hierarchy implies a certain perfectly holy Order in the likeness of the First Divine Beauty, ministering the sacred mystery of its own illuminations in hierarchical order and wisdom, being in due measure conformed to its own Principle. (1)

For each of those who is allotted a place in the Divine Order finds his perfection in being uplifted, according to his capacity , towards the Divine Likeness; and what is still more divine, he becomes, as

the Scriptures say, a fellow-worker with God, and shows forth the Divine Activity revealed as far as possible 'in himself. For the holy constitution of the Hierarchy ordains that some are purified, others purify; some are enlightened, others enlighten; some are perfected, others make perfect; for in this way the divine imitation will fit each one.

Inasmuch as the Divine Bliss (to speak in human terms) is exempt from all dissimilarity, and is full of Eternal Light, perfect, in need of no perfection, purifying, illuminating, perfecting being rather Himself the holy Purification, Illumination and Perfection, above purification, above light. supremely perfect, Himself the origin of perfection and the cause of every Hierarchy, He transcends in excellence all holiness.(2)

I hold, therefore, that those who are being purified ought to be wholly perfected and free from all taint of unlikeness; those who are illuminated should be filled full with Divine Light, ascending, to the contemplative state and power with the most pure eyes of the mind; those who are being initiated, holding themselves apart from all imperfection, should become participators in the Divine Wisdom which they have contemplated.

Further it is meet that those who purify should bestow upon others from their abundance of purity their own holiness: those who illuminate, as possessing more luminous intelligence, duly receiving and again shedding forth the light, and joyously filled with holy brightness, should impart their own overflowing light to those worthy of it; finally, those who make perfect, being skilled in the mystical participations, should lead to that consummation those who are perfected by the most holy initiation of the knowledge of holy things which they have contemplated.

Thus each order in the hierarchical succession is guided to the divine co-operation, and brings into manifestation, through the Grace and Power of God, that which is naturally and supernaturally in the Godhead, and which is consummated by Him superessentially, but is hierarchically manifested for man's imitation as far as is attainable, of the God-loving Celestial Intelligences.

CHAPTER IV

The meaning of the name 'Angels'.

Since, in my opinion, the nature of a hierarchy has been adequately defined, we must proceed to render honour to the Angelic Hierarchy, intently gazing with supermundane sight upon the holy imagery of it in the Scriptures, that we may be uplifted in the highest degree to their divine purity through that mystical representation, and may praise the Origin of all hierarchical knowledge with a veneration worthy of the things of God, and with devout thanksgiving.

In the first place this truth must be declared, that the superessential Deity, having through His Goodness established the essential subsistence of all, brought all things into being. For 'it is the very nature of that God which is the Supreme Cause of all to call all things to participation in Itself in proportion to the capacity and nature of each.

Wherefore all things share in that Providence which streams forth from the superessential Deific Source of all; for they would not be unless they had come into existence through participation in the Essential Principle of all things.

All inanimate things participate in It through their being; for the 'to be' of all things is the Divinity above Being Itself, the true Life. Living things participate in Its life-giving Power above all life; rational things participate in Its self-perfect and pre-eminently perfect Wisdom above all reason and intellect.

It is manifest, therefore, that those Natures which are around the Godhead have participated of It in manifold ways. On this account the holy ranks of the Celestial Beings are present with and participate in the Divine Principle in a degree far surpassing all those things which merely exist, and irrational living creatures, and rational human beings. For moulding themselves intelligibly to the imitation of God, and looking in a supermundane way to the Likeness of the Supreme Deity, and longing to form the intellectual appearance of It, they naturally have more abundant communion with Him, and with unremitting activity they tend eternally up the steep, as far as is permitted, through the ardour of their unwearying divine love, and they receive the Primal Radiance in a pure and immaterial manner, adapting themselves to this in a life wholly intellectual.

Such, therefore, are they who participate first, and in an all-various manner, in Deity, and reveal first, and in many ways, the Divine Mysteries. Wherefore they, above all, are pre-eminently worthy of the name Angel because they first receive the Divine Light, and through them are transmitted to us the revelations which are above us.

It is thus that the Law (as it is written in the Scriptures) was given to us by Angels and, both before and after the days of the Law, Angels guided our illustrious forefathers to God, either by declaring to them what they should do and leading them from error and an evil life to the straight path of truth, or by making known to them the Divine Law, or in the manner of interpreters, by showing to them holy Hierarchies, or secret visions of supermundane Mysteries, or certain divine prophecies.

Now, if anyone should say that God has shown Himself without intermediary to certain holy men, let him know beyond doubt,

from the most holy Scriptures, that no man has ever seen, nor shall see, the hidden Being of God; but God has shown Himself, according to revelations which are fitting to God, to His faithful servants in holy visions adapted to the nature of the seer.

The divine theology, in the fullness of its wisdom, very rightly applies the name theophany to that beholding of God which shows the Divine Likeness, figured in Itself as a likeness in form of That which is formless, through the uplifting of those who contemplate to the Divine; inasmuch as a Divine Light is shed upon the seers through it, and they are initiated into some participation of divine things.

By such divine visions our venerable forefathers were instructed through the mediation of the Celestial Powers. Is it not told in the holy Scriptures that the sacred Law was given to Moses by God Himself in order to teach us that in it is mirrored the divine and holy Law? Furthermore, theology wisely teaches that it was communicated to us by Angels, as though the authority of the Divine Law decreed that the second should be guided to the Divine Majesty by the first. For not solely in the case of higher and lower natures, but also for co-ordinate natures, this Law has been established by its superessential original Author: that within each Hierarchy there are first, middle and last ranks and powers, and that the higher are initiators and guides of the lower to the divine approach and illumination and union.(3)

I see that the Angels, too, were first initiated into the divine Mystery, of Jesus in His love for man, and through them the gift of that knowledge was bestowed upon us: for the divine Gabriel announced to Zachariah the high-priest that the son who should to born to him through Divine Grace, when he was bereft of hope, would be a prophet of that Jesus who would manifest the union of the human and divine natures through the ordinance of the Good Law for the salvation of the world; and he revealed to Mary how of her should be born the Divine Mystery of the ineffable Incarnation of God.

Another Angel taught Joseph that the divine promise made to his forefather David should be perfectly fulfilled. Another brought to the shepherds the glad tidings, as to those purified by quiet withdrawal from the many, and with him a multitude of the heavenly host gave forth to all the dwellers upon earth our often-sung hymn of adoring praise.

Let us now mount upward to that most sublime of all Lights celebrated in the Scriptures: for I perceive that Jesus Himself who is the superessential Head of the supercelestial Beings above Nature, when taking our nature while still keeping His own immutable Divinity, did not turn away from the human order which He arranged and chose, but rather submitted Himself obediently to the commands given by God the Father through Angels, by whose ministrations the Father's decree touching the flight of His Son into Egypt and the return from Egypt into Judaea. was announced to Joseph. Moreover, through Angels we see Him subjecting Himself to the Father's will; for I will not recall to one who knows our sacred tradition the Angel who fortified Jesus, or even that Jesus Himself, because He came for the good work of our salvation to fulfil the law in its spiritual application, was called Angel of Good Counsel. For He Himself says, in the manner of a herald, that whatsoever He heard from the Father He announced unto us.

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CHAPTER V

Why all the Celestial Beings in common are called Angels.

This, so far as we understand it, is the reason for the name Angel in the Scriptures. Now I think we should investigate the reason why theologians give the general name Angels to all the Celestial Beings, but when explaining the characteristics of the supermundane Orders they specifically give the name Angel to those who complete and conclude the Divine Celestial Hierarchies. Above these they place the choirs of Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, and those other beings who are acknowledged by the traditional scriptural teachings to be of higher rank.

Now we maintain that in these Hierarchies the higher Orders possess the illuminations and powers of the lower ranks, but the lower do not participate equally with those above them. Hence the theologians call the higher of these spiritual Orders Angels because they, too, show forth the Divine Radiance; but we can find no reason for calling the lowest choirs of the Celestial Intelligences Principalities or Thrones or Seraphim, for they do not manifest in the same degree that supremely excellent power; but just as they guide our inspired hierarchs to the Divine Brightness known to them, so do those most holy Powers which are above them lead to the Divine Majesty those ranks which complete the Angelic Hierarchies.(4)

And this also may be added, that all can rightly be called Angels in respect of their participation in the Divine Likeness and Illumination both in the higher and lower ranks.

But now let us proceed further into detail, and with singleness of mind examine the particular sacred characteristics of each of the Celestial Orders which are set forth for us in the Scriptures.

CHAPTER VI

Which is the first Order of the Celestial Beings,which the middle, and which the last?

I hold that none but the Divine Creator by whom they were ordained is able to know fully the number and the nature of the supermundane Beings and the regulation of their sacred Hierarchies; and furthermore, that they know their own powers and illuminations and their own holy supermundane ordination. For we could not have known the mystery of these supercelestial Intelligences and all the holiness of their perfection had it not been taught to us by God through His Ministers who truly know their own natures.

Therefore we will say nothing as from ourselves, but being instructed will set forth, according to our ability, those angelic visions which the venerable theologians have beheld.

Theology has given to the Celestial Beings nine interpretative names, and among these our divine initiator distinguishes three threefold Orders.(5) In the first rank of all he places those who, as we are told, dwell eternally in the constant presence of God, and cleave to Him, and above all others are immediately united to Him. And he says that the teachings of the holy Word testify that the most holy Thrones and many-eyed and many-winged ones, named in the Hebrew tongue Cherubim and Seraphim, are established immediately about God and nearest to Him above all others. Our venerable hierarch describes this threefold Order as a co-equal unity, and truly the most exalted of the Hierarchies, the most fully Godlike, and the most closely and immediately united to the First Light of the Godhead.

The second, he says, contains the Powers, Virtues and Dominions, and the last and lowest choirs of the Celestial Intelligences are called Angels, Archangels and Principalities.

CHAPTER VII

Of the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones, and their first Hierarchy.

In accepting this order of the holy Hierarchies we affirm that the names of each of the Celestial Choirs expresses its own Godlike characteristic. We are told by Hebrew scholars that the holy name Seraphim means 'those who kindle or make hot', and Cherubim denotes abundance of knowledge or an outflowing of wisdom.* Reasonably, therefore, is this first Celestial Hierarchy administered by the most transcendent Natures, since it occupies a more exalted place than all the others, being imrnediately present with God; and because of its nearness, to it are brought the first revelations and perfections of God before the rest. Therefore they are named 'The Glowing Ones', 'Streams of Wisdom', 'Thrones', in illustration of their Divine Nature.

The name Seraphim clearly indicates their ceaseless and eternal revolution about Divine Principles, their heat and keenness, the exuberance of their intense, perpetual, tireless activity, and their elevative and energetic assimilation of those below, kindling them and firing them to their own heat, and wholly purifying them by a burning and all-consuming flame; and by the unhidden, unquenchable, changeless, radiant and enlightening power, dispelling and destroying the shadows of darkness.

The name Cherubim denotes their power of knowing and beholding God, their receptivity to the highest Gift of Light, their contemplation of the Beauty of the Godhead in Its First Manifestation, and that they are filled by participation in Divine Wisdom, and bounteously outpour to those below them from their own fount of wisdom.

The name of the most glorious and exalted Thrones denotes that which is exempt from and untainted by any base and earthly thing, and the supermundane ascent up the steep. For these have no part in that which is lowest, but dwell in fullest power, immovably and perfectly established in the Most High, and receive the Divine Immanence above all passion and matter, and manifest God, being attentively open to divine participations.

This, then, is the meaning of their names, so far as we understand it: but now we must set forth our conception of the nature of this Hierarchy, for the object of every Hierarchy, as I think we have already sufficiently shown, is a steadfast devotion to the divine assimilation in the Likeness of God; and the whole work of a Hierarchy is in the participation and the imparting of a most holy Purification, Divine Light and perfecting Knowledge.

And now I pray that I may speak worthily of those most exalted Intelligences, and as their Hierarchy is revealed in the Scriptures.

It is clear that the Hierarchy is similar in its nature and has close affinity with those First Beings who are established after the Godhead, which is the Source of their Being, as though within Its Portals, transcending all - created powers, both visible and invisible. Therefore we must recognize that they are pure, not as having been cleansed from stains and defilements, nor as not admitting material images, but as far higher than all baseness, and surpassing all that is holy. As befits the highest purity, they are established above the most Godlike Powers and eternally keep their own self-motive and self-same order through the Eternal Love of God, never weakening in power, abiding most purely in their own Godlike identity, ever unshaken and unchanging. Again, they are contemplative, not as beholding intellectual or sensible symbols, nor as being uplifted to the Divine by the all-various contemplations set forth in the Scriptures, but as filled with Light higher than all immaterial knowledge, and rapt, as is meet, in the contemplation of that Beauty which is the superessential triune Origin and Creator of all beauty. In like manner they are thought worthy of fellowship with Jesus, not through sacred images which shadow forth the Divine Likeness, but as truly being close to Him in that first participation of the knowledge of His Deifying Illuminations. Moreover, the imitation of God is granted to them in a preeminent degree, and as far as their nature permits they share the divine and human virtues in primary power.

In the same manner they are perfect, not as though enlightened by an analytical knowledge of holy variety, but because they are wholly perfected through the highest and most perfect deification, possessing the highest knowledge that Angels can have of the works of God; being Hierarchs not through other holy beings, but from God Himself, and since they are uplifted to God directly by their pre-eminent power and rank, they are both established immovably beside the All-Holy, and are borne up, as far as is allowable, to the contemplation of His Intelligible and Spiritual Beauty. Being placed nearest to God, they are instructed in the true understanding of the divine works, and receive their hierarchical order in the highest degree from Deity Itself, the First Principle of Perfection.

The theologians therefore clearly show that the lower ranks of the Celestial Beings receive the understanding of the divine works from those above them in a fitting manner, and that the highest are correspondingly enlightened in the Divine Mysteries by the Most High God Himself. (6) For some of them are shown to us as enlightened in holy matters by those above them, and we learn that He who in human form ascended to heaven is Lord of the Celestial Powers and King of Glory. And Angels are represented as questioning Him and desiring knowledge of His divine redemptive work for us, and Jesus Himself is depicted as teaching them and revealing directly to them His great goodness towards mankind. 'For I, He says, 'speak righteousness and the judgment of salvation.' Moreover, I am astonished that even the first rank of Celestial Beings, so far surpassing all the others, should reverently desire to receive the divine enlightenment in an intermediate manner. For they do not ask directly, 'Wherefore are Thy garments red?' but first eagerly question one another, showing that they seek and long for the knowledge of His divine words, without expectation of the enlightenment divinely granted them.

The first Hierarchy of the Celestial Intelligences, therefore, is purified and enlightened; being ordained by that First Perfecting Cause, uplifted directly to Himself, and filled, analogously, with the most holy purification of the boundless Light of the Supreme

Perfection, untouched by any inferiority, full of Primal Light, and perfected by its union with the first-given Understanding and Knowledge.

But to sum up, I may say, not unreasonably, that the participation in Divine Knowledge is a purification, an illumination and a perfection. For it purifies from ignorance by the knowledge of the perfect Mysteries granted in due measure; it illuminates through the Divine Knowledge Itself by which it purifies the mind which formerly did not behold that which is now shown to it by the higher illumination; and it perfects by the self-same light through the abiding knowledge of the most luminous initiations.

This, so far as I know, is the first Order of Celestial Beings which are established about God, immediately encircling Him: and in perpetual purity they encompass His eternal Knowledge in that most high and eternal angelic dance, rapt in the bliss of manifold blessed contemplations, and irradiated with pure and primal splendours.

They are filled with divine food which is manifold, through the first-given outpouring, yet one through the unvaried and unific oneness of the divine banquet; and they are deemed worthy of communion and co-operation with God by reason of their assimilation to Him, as far as is possible for them, in the excellence of their natures and energies. For they know pre-eminently many divine matters, and they participate as far as they may in Divine Understanding and Knowledge.

Wherefore theology has given those on earth its hymns or praise in which is divinely shown forth the great excellence of its sublime illumination. For some of that choir (to use material terms) cry out as with a voice like the sound of many waters, 'Blessed is the Glory of the Lord from His Place'; others cry aloud that most renowned and sacred hymn of highest praise to God, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of Thy Glory !'

Now we have already expounded to the best of our ability in the treatise on Divine Hymns these most sublime hymns of the supercelestial Intelligences, and have sufficiently dealt with them there. For the present purpose it is enough to o recall that this first Order, having been duly enlightened by the Divine Goodness in the knowledge of theology, gave to those below it, as befits angelic goodness, this teaching (to state it briefly-) that it is meet that the most august Deity, above praise, and all-praised, worthy of the highest praise, should be known and proclaimed, as far as is attainable, by the God-filled Intelligences (for, as the Scriptures say, being in the Likeness of God, the\are divine habitations of the Divine Stillness); and again, the teaching that He is a monad and tri-subsistent unity, providentially pervading all things through His Goodness, from the supercelestial Natures down to the lowest things of the earth; for He is the super-original Principle and Cause of every essence, and holds the whole universe superessentially in His irresistible embrace.

CHAPTER VIII

Of the Dominions, Virtues and Powers, and their middle Hierarchy.

Now we must pass on to the middle Order of the Celestial Intelligences, contemplating with supermundane sight, as far as we may, the Dominions and the truly majestic splendour of the Divine Virtues and Powers. For the names of these supernal Beings denote the divine characteristics of their likeness to God.

The name given to the holy Dominions signifies, I think, a certain unbounded elevation to that which is above, freedom from all that is of the earth, and from all inward inclination to the bondage of discord, a liberal superiority to harsh tyranny, an exemptness from degrading servility and from all that is low: for they are untouched by any inconsistency. They are true Lords, perpetually aspiring to true lordship, and to the Source of lordship, and they providentially fashion themselves and those below them, as far as possible, into the likeness of true lordship. They do not turn towards vain shadows, but wholly give themselves to that true Authority, forever one with the Godlike Source of lordship.

The name of the holy Virtues signifies a certain powerful and unshakable virility welling forth into all their Godlike energies; not being weak and feeble for any reception of the divine Illuminations granted to it; mounting upwards in fullness of power to an assimilation with God; never falling away from the Divine Life through its own weakness, but ascending unwaveringly to the superessential Virtue which is the Source of virtue: fashioning itself, as far as it may, in virtue; perfectly turned towards the Source of virtue, and flowing forth providentially to those below it, abundantly filling them with virtue.

The name of the holy Powers, co-equal with the Divine Dominions and Virtues, signifies an orderly and unconfined order in the divine receptions, and the regulation of intellectual and supermundane power which never debases its authority by tyrannical force, but is irresistibly urged onward in due order to the Divine. It beneficently leads those below it, as far as possible, to the Supreme Power which is the Source of Power, which it manifests after the manner of Angels in the wellordered ranks of its own authoritative power.

This middle rank of the Celestial Intelligences, having these Godlike characteristics, is purified, illuminated and perfected in the manner already described, by the divine Illuminations bestowed upon it in a secondary manner through the first hierarchical Order, and shown forth in a secondary manifestation by the middle choir.

The knowledge which is said to be imparted by one Angel to another may be interpreted as a symbol of that perfecting which is effected from afar and made obscure because of its passage to the second rank. For, as those say who are wise in the sacred Mysteries, the direct revelations of the Divine Light impart a greater perfection than those bestowed through an intermediary; and in the same way I consider that the Order of Angels which is established nearest to the Godhead participates directly in a more resplendent light than is imparted to those who are perfected through others.

For this reason the First Intelligences are called in our priestly tradition perfective, illuminative and purificatory powers in regard to the lower Orders which are uplifted by them to the superessential Principle of all, and as far as is right for them are made partakers of the mystical purifications, illuminations and perfections. For this universal ordinance is divinely established, that the Divine Light is imparted to secondary natures through primary natures.

You will find this variously set forth by theologians, for when the Divine and Fatherly Love for man reproved the Israelites and chastened them for their salvation by delivering them for their correction into the hands of cruel and barbaric nations, and with providential guidance led them back by many paths to a better condition, and mercifully recalled them from captivity to freedom and their former happy state, one of the theologians, named Zachariah, sees one of those Angels which, as I believe are first and nearest to God (for the name Angel, as I have said, is common to all), receiving from God Himself the words of comfort, as they are called, and another Angel of lower rank going to meet the first as if to receive and partake of the light, and then receiving from him, as from a hierarch, the divine purpose, being directed to reveal to the theologian that Jerusalem should be inhabited by a great and fruitful nation.

Another theologian, Ezekiel, says that the most sacred edict came forth from the supremely glorious Godhead Itself, exalted above the Cherubim. For after the Father, as has been said, had in His mercy led the Children of Israel through disciplines to a better condition He decreed in His divine justice that the guilty should be separated from the innocent. This is first revealed to one below the Cherubim, who was girt about the loins with a sapphire, and was robed in a garment reaching to the feet, the symbol of an hierarch. But the Divine Law ordained that the other Angels armed with battle-axes should be instructed by the former respecting the divine judgment in this matter. For He directed the one to go through the midst of Jerusalem and to set a mark upon the foreheads of the innocent; but to the other Angels He said, 'Go into the city, following him, and strike, and turn not aside your eyes; but draw not near unto those upon whom is the mark'.

What could be said concerning the Angel who said to Daniel, 'The Word has gone forth'? or concerning that highest one who took the fire from the midst of the Cherubim? Or what could establish more clearly the distinction between the angelic ranks than this, that the Cherub cast the fire into the hands of him who was clothed with the sacred vestment? Or that He who called the most divine Gabriel to Himself said, 'Make this man understand the vision'? And many other similar things are related by the venerable theologians regarding the Divine Order of the Celestial Hierarchies.

By moulding itself after their likeness our own hierarchy will, as far as possible, be assimilated to it and will, in very deed, show forth, as in images, the angelic beauty; receiving its form from them, and being uplifted by them to the superessential Source of every Hierarchy.

An Image of an Angel by Perrugino

CHAPTER IX

Of the Principalities, Archangels and Angels, and of their last Hierarchy,.

There remains for us the reverent contemplation of that sacred Order which completes the Angelic Hierarchies, and is composed of the Divine Principalities, Archangels and Angels. And first, I think, I ought to explain to the best of my ability the meanings of their holy names.

The name of the Celestial Principalities signifies their Godlike princeliness and authoritativeness in an Order which is holy and most fitting to the princely Powers, and that they are wholly turned towards the Prince of Princes, and lead others in princely fashion, and that they are formed, as far as possible, in the likeness of the Source of Principality, and reveal Its superessential order by the good Order of the princely Powers.

The choir of the holy Archangels is placed in the same threefold Order as the Celestial Principalities; for, as has been said, there is one Hierarchy and Order which includes these and the Angels. But since each Hierarchy has first, middle and last ranks, the holy Order of Archangels, through its middle position, participates in the two extremes, being joined with the most .holy Principalities and with the holy Angels.

It is joined with the Princedoms because it is turned in a princely way to the superessential Principality and, as far as it can attain, moulds itself in His likeness, and it is seen to be the cause of the union of the Angels with its own orderly and invisible leadership. It is joined with the Angels because it belongs to the interpreting Order, receiving in its turn the illuminations from the First Powers, and beneficently announcing these revelations to the Angels; and by means of the Angels it shows them forth to us in the measure of the mystical receptivity of each one who is inspired by the divine Illumination. For the Angels, as we have said, fill up and complete the lowest choir of all the Hierarchies of the Celestial Intelligences since they are the last of the Celestial Beings possessing the angelic nature. And they, indeed, are more properly named Angels by us than are those of a higher rank because their choir is more directly in contact With manifested and mundane things.

The highest Order, as we have said, being in the foremost place near the Hidden One, must be regarded as hierarchically ordering in a bidden manner the second Order; and the second Order of Dominions, Virtues and Powers, leads the Principalities, Archangels and Angels more manifestly, indeed, than the first Hierarchy, but in a more hidden manner than the Order below it; and the revealing Order of the Principalities, Archangels and Angels presides one through the other over the human hierarchies so that their elevation and turning to God and their communion and union with Him may be in order; and moreover, that the procession from God, beneficently granted to all the Hierarchies, and visiting them all in common, may be with the most holy order.

Accordingly the Word of God has given our hierarchy into the care of Angels, for Michael is called Lord of the people of Judah, and other Angels are assigned to other peoples. For the Most High established the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the Angels of God.

If someone should ask why the Hebrews alone were guided to the divine Illuminations, we should answer that the turning away of the nations to false gods ought not to be attributed to the direct guidance of Angels, but to their own refusal of the true path which leads to God, and the falling away through selflove and perversity, and similarly, the worship of things which they regarded as divine.

Even the Hebrews are said to have acted thus, for he says, 'Thou hast cast away the knowledge of God and hast gone after thine own heart'. For our life is not ruled by necessity, nor are the divine irradiations of Providential Light obscured because of the freewill of those under Its care; but it is the dissimilarity of the mental eyes which causes the Light streaming forth resplendently from the Goodness of the Father to be either totally unshared and unaccepted through their resistance to It, or causes an unequal participation, small or great, dark or bright, of that Fontal Ray which nevertheless is one and unmixed, eternally changeless, and for ever abundantly shed forth.

For even if certain Gods not alien to them presided over the other nations (from which we ourselves have come forth into that illimitable and abundant sea of Divine Light which is outspread freely for all to share), yet there is one Ruler of all, and to Him the Angels who minister to each nation lead their followers.

Let us consider Melchisadek, the hierarch most beloved of God - not of vain gods, but a priest of the truly highest of Gods - for those wise in the things of God did not simply call Melchisadek the friend of God, but also priest, in order to show clearly to the wise that not only was he himself turned to Him who is truly God, but also, as hierarch, was the leader of others in the ascent to the true and only Godhead.

Let us also remind you in connection with your knowledge of hierarchy that Pharaoh was shown through visions by the Angel who presided over the Egyptians, and the Prince of Babylon was shown by his own Angel, the watchful and overruling Power of Providence. And for those nations the servants of the true God were appointed as leaders, the interpretations of angelic visions having been revealed from God through Angels to holy men near to the Angels, like Daniel and Joseph.

For there is one Sovereign and Providence of all, and we must never suppose that God was leader of the Jews by chance, nor that certain Angels, either independently, or with equal rank, or in opposition to one another, ruled over the other nations; but this teaching must be received according to the following holy intention, not as meaning that God had shared the sovereignty of mankind with other Gods, or with Angels, and had been chosen by chance as ruler and leader of Israel, but as showing that although one all-powerful Providence of the Most High consigned the whole of mankind to the care of their own Angels for their preservation, yet the Israelites, almost alone of them all, turned to the knowledge and light of the true God.

Therefore the Word of God, when relating how Israel devoted himself to the worship of the true God, says, 'He became the Lord's portion'. Moreover it shows that he too, equally with other nations, was given into the charge of one of the holy Angels, in order that he might know through him the one Principle of all things. For it says that Michael was the leader of the Jews, clearly showing that there is one Providence established superessentially above all the invisible and visible powers, and that all the Angels who preside over the different nations lift up to that Providence, as to their own Principle, as far as is in their power, those who willingly follow them.

CHAPTER X

Recapitulation and summary of the Angelic Hierarchies.

We have agreed that the most venerable Hierarchy of the Intelligences, which is close to God, is consecrated by His first and highest Ray, and uplifting itself directly to It, is purified, illuminated and perfected by the Light of the Godhead which is both more hidden and more revealed. It is more hidden because It is more intelligible, more simplifying, and more unitive, It is more revealed because It is the First Gift and the First Light, and more universal and more infused with the Godhead, as though transparent. And by this again the second in its own degree, and by the second the third, and by the third our hierarchy, according to the same law of the regular principle of order, in divine harmony and proportion, are hierarchically, led up to the super-primal Source and End of all good orders, according to that divinely established law.

Each Order is the interpreter and herald of those above it, the most venerable being the interpreter of God who inspires them, and the others in turn of those inspired by God. For that superessential harmony of all things has provided most completely for the holy regulation and the sure guidance of rational and intellectual beings by the establishment of the beautiful choirs of each Hierarchy; and we see that every Hierarchy possesses first, middle and last powers.

But to speak rightly, He also divided each rank in the same divine harmonies, and on this account the Scriptures say that the most divine Seraphim cry one to another, by which, as I think, it is clear that the first impart to the second their knowledge of divine things.

This may fittingly be added, that each Celestial and human intelligence contains in itself its own first, middle and last powers, which are manifested in a way analogous to the aforesaid ordination belonging to each of the Hierarchical illuminations; and accordingly each intelligence, as far as is right and attainable to it, participates in the most spotless purity, the most abundant light, and the most complete perfection. For nothing is self-perfect nor absolutely unindigent of perfection, save only That which is truly self-perfect and above all perfection.

CHAPTER XI

Why all the Celestial Hierarchies in common are called Celestial Powers.

Now that these things have been defined, the reason for applying the general name, Celestial Powers, to all the Angelic beings demands our consideration. For we cannot say of these, as we can of the Angels, that the Order of the holy Powers is the last of all; moreover, the higher Orders of beings, indeed, have part in the illuminations of the lowest, but the last by no means possess those of the first. And for this reason all the Divine Intelligences are called Celestial Powers, but never Seraphim or Thrones or Dominions; since the lowest do not share in the whole characteristics of the highest. For the Angels, and the Archangels above them, and the Principalities, and the ranks which are placed by theology after the Powers, are frequent1y called by us Celestial Powers, in common with all the other holy beings.

But we deny that in using the general name, Celestial Powers, for all we cause any confusion with regard to the characteristics of each Order. For all the Divine Celestial Intelligences are divided, according to the supermundane account of them, into three groups in respect of their essence, power and activity; and when we name all or some of them, loosely, Celestial Beings or Celestial Powers, we are referring to them indirectly in terms of that essence or power which each possesses.

But we must not assign the highest characteristics of the holy Powers (which we have already well distinguished) to all the natures wholly below them, for this would bring confusion into the clear and harmonious Order of Angels: for, as we have frequently rightly shown, the highest Orders possess in fullest measure the holy characteristics of the lower, but the lowest do not possess the pre-eminent unitive principles of those more venerable than themselves, because the First Radiance is imparted to them through the first Orders according to their capacity.

CHAPTER XII

Why the Hierarchs among men are called Angels.

Those who earnestly study the holy Scriptures sometimes ask, 'If the lowest ranks do not possess to the full the powers of those above them, why is our Hierarch called in the holy Word the Angel of the Omnipotent Lord?'

This, however, does not contradict what has been already defined. For we say that the lowest choirs do not possess the integral and pre-eminent power of the higher Orders, since they receive it partially, in the measure of their capacity, in accordance with the one harmonious and binding fellowship of all things.

For example, the choir of the holy Cherubim participates in higher wisdom and knowledge, whilst the Orders below them are themselves also partakers of wisdom and knowledge, but more partially, and in a lower degree proportioned to their capacity. For the universal participation in wisdom and knowledge is shared by all the Divine Intelligences, but the degree of participation, whether immediate and first, or second and inferior, is not common, but is determined for each by its own rank. This also may be rightly said of all the Divine Intelligences, that even as the first possess in the highest degree the holy characteristics of the Orders below them, so the lowest possess the powers of the higher, not in equal measure, but in a subordinate degree.

Therefore I do not think it unreasonable that the Scriptures should call our hierarchs Angels, since they participate according to their own power in the interpretative characteristic of the Angels, and uplift themselves, as far as is possible to man, into an assimilation to the Angels as revealers of truth.

You will find, moreover, that the Word of God not only calls these Celestial Beings above us Gods, but also gives this name to saintly men amongst us, and to those men who, in the highest degree, are lovers of God; although the First and Unmanifest God superessentially transcends all things, being enthroned above all, and therefore none of the beings or things which are can truly be said to be wholly like Him, save in so far as those intellectual and rational beings who are wholly turned towards union with Him, as far as is in their power, and who, uplifting themselves perpetually, as far as possible, to the Divine Radiance, in the imitation of God (if it be lawful so to speak) with all their powers, are thought worthy of the same divine name.

CHAPTER XIII

The reason why the prophet Isaiah is said to have been purified by the Seraphim.

Let us now deal to the best of our ability with the question why the

Seraph is said to have been sent to one of the prophets. For someone may feel doubt or uncertainty as to why one of the beings of the highest rank is mentioned as cleansing the prophet, instead of one of the lower ranks of Angels.

Some, indeed, say that according to the description already given of the inter-relation of all the Intelligences, the passage does not refer to one of the first of the Intelligences nearest to God, as having come to purify the hierarch, but that one of those Angels who are our guardians was called by the same name as the Seraphim because of his sacred function of purifying the prophet, for the reason that the remission of sins and the regeneration of him who was purified to obedience to God was accomplished through fire. And they say also that the passage simply says one of the Seraphim, not of those established around God, but of the purifying powers which preside over us.

But another suggested to me a solution of the problem by no means unlikely, for he said that the great Angel, whoever he may have been, who fashioned this vision for the purpose of instructing the prophet in divine matters, referred his own office of purification first to God, and after God to that first Hierarchy. And is not this statement true? For he who said this said that the Divine First Power goes forth visiting all things, and irresistibly penetrates all things, and yet is invisible to all, not only as superessentially transcending all things, but also because It transmits Its Providential Energies in a hidden way through all things. Moreover, It is revealed to all Intellectual Natures in due proportion, and bestows the radiance of Its Light upon the most exalted beings through whom, as leaders, It is imparted to the lower choirs in order according to their power of divine contemplation; or to speak in more simple terms, by way of illustration (for although natural things do not truly resemble God, who transcends all, yet they are more easily seen by us), the light of the sun passes readily through the first matter, for this is more transparent, and by means of this it displays more brightly its own brilliance; but when it falls upon some denser material it is shed forth again less brightly because the material which is illuminated is not adapted for the transmission of light, and after this it is little by little diminished until it hardly passes through at all. Similarly, the heat of fire imparts itself more readily to that which is more adapted to receive it, being yielding and conductive to its likeness; but upon substances of opposite nature which are resistant to it, either no effect at all or only a slight trace of the action of the fire appears; and what is more, when fire is applied to materials of opposite nature through the use of other substances receptive to it the fire first heats the material which is easily made hot, and through it, heats proportionately the water or other substance which does not so easily become hot.

Thus, according to the same law of the material order, the Fount of all order, visible and invisible, supernaturally shows forth the glory of Its own radiance in all-blessed outpourings of first manifestation to the highest beings, and through them those below them participate in the Divine Ray. For since these have the highest knowledge of God, and desire pre-eminently the Divine Goodness, they are thought worthy to become first workers, as far as can be attained, of the imitation of the Divine Power and Energy, and beneficently uplift those below them, as far as is in their power, to the same imitation by shedding abundantly upon them the splendour which has come upon themselves; while these, in turn, impart their light to lower choirs. And thus, throughout the whole Hierarchy, the higher impart that which they receive to the lower, and through the Divine Providence all are granted participation in the Divine Light in the measure of their receptivity.

There is, therefore, one Source of Light for everything which is illuminated, namely, God, who by His Nature, truly and rightly, is the Essence of Light, and Cause of being and of vision. But it is ordained that in imitation of God each of the higher ranks of beings is the source in turn for the one which follows it; since the Divine Rays are passed through it to the other. Therefore the beings of all the Angelic ranks naturally consider the highest Order of the Celestial Intelligences as the source, after God, of all holy knowledge and imitation of God, because through them the Light of the Supreme God is imparted to all and to us. On this account they refer all holy works, in imitation of God, to God as the Ultimate Cause, but to the first Divine Intelligences as the first regulators and transmitters of Divine Energies.

Therefore the first Order of the holy Angels possesses above all others the characteristic of fire, and the abundant participation of Divine Wisdom, and the possession of the highest knowledge of the Divine Illuminations, and the characteristic of Thrones which symbolizes openness to the reception of God. The lower Orders of the Celestial Beings participate also in these fiery, wise and God-receptive Powers, but in a lower degree, and as looking to those above them who, being thought worthy of the primary imitation of God, uplift them, as far as possible, into the likeness of God.

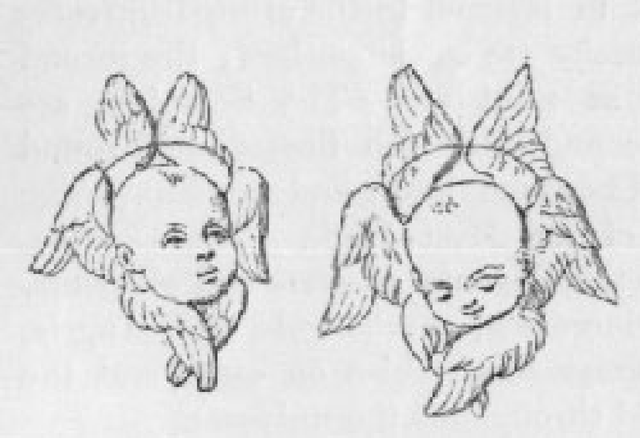
These holy characteristics in which the secondary natures are granted participation through the first, they ascribe to those very Intelligences, after God, as Hierarchs.

He who gave this explanation used to say that the vision was shown to the prophet by one of those holy and blessed Angels who preside over us, by whose enlightening guidance he was raised to that intellectual contemplation in which he beheld the most exalted Beings (to speak in symbols) established under God, with God and around God; and their super-princely Leader, ineffably uplifted above them all, established in the midst of the supremely exalted Powers.

The prophet, therefore, learned from these visions that, according to every superessential excellence, the divine One subsists in incomparable pre-eminence, excelling all visible and invisible powers, above and exempt from all; and that He bears no likeness even to those first-subsisting Beings; and moreover that He is the Principle and Cause of all being, and the Immutable Foundation of the abiding stability of things that are, from which the most exalted Powers have both their being and their well-being. Then he was instructed that the Divine Powers of the holy Scriptures, whose sacred name means 'The Fiery Ones', and of which we shall soon speak, as far as we can, led the upliftment of the fiery power towards the Divine Likeness.

When the holy prophet saw in the sacred vision of the sixfold wings the most high and absolute upliftment to the Divine in first, middle and last Intelligences, and beheld their many feet and many faces, and perceived that their eyes and their feet were covered by their wings, and that the middle wings were in ceaseless movement, he was guided to the intelligible knowledge of that which was seen through the revelation to him of the farreaching and far-seeing power of the most exalted Intelligences, and of their holy awe which they have in a supermundane manner in the bold and persistent and unending search into higher and deeper Mysteries, and the perfect harmony of their ceaseless activity in imitation of God, and their perpetual upward soaring to the heights.

Moreover, he also learned that divine and most glorious song of praise; for the Angel who fashioned the vision gave, as far as possible, his own holy knowledge to the prophet. He also taught him that every participation in the Divine Light and Purity, as far as this may be attained, is a purification, even to the most pure. Having its source in the Most High God, it proceeds from the most exalted Causes in a superessential and hidden manner, traversing the whole of the Divine Intelligences, and yet it shows itself more clearly, and imparts itself more fully to the most exalted Powers around God.



Cherubs, by Pinturicchio

But as to the secondary or last intellectual powers, or our own powers, in proportion as each is further from the Divine Likeness, so the Divine Ray enfolds Its most brilliant light within Its own ineffable and hidden Unity. Moreover, It illuminates the second Orders severally through the first, and in short, It comes forth originally into manifestation from the Unmanifest through the first Powers.

The prophet was taught by the Angel who was leading him to light that the divine purification, and all the other divine activities shining forth through the First Beings, are imparted to all the others in the measure of the fitness of each for the divine participations.

Wherefore he reasonably assigned to the Seraphim, after God, the characteristic of imparting purification by fire. And there is nothing unreasonable in the representation of the Seraph as purifying the prophet; for just as God Himself, the cause of every purification, purifies all, or rather (to use a more familar illustration), just as our hierarch, when purifying or enlightening through his priests or ministers, may himself be said to purify and illuminate, because those orders which he has consecrated refer their sacred activities to him, so also the Angel who purifies the prophet refers his own purifying power and knowledge to God as its origin, but to the Seraph as the first-working Hierarch-as though saying with angelic reverence when instructing him who was being purified: 'There is an exempt Source and Essence and Creator and Cause of the purification effected in you by me, He who brings into being the First Beings, and holds them established round Himself, and preserves their changeless stability, and guides them towards the first participations in His own Providential Energies.' (For this, so he said who taught me, shows the mission of the Seraph.) 'But the Hierarch and Leader, after God, the first Order of the first Beings, by whom I was taught to perform the divine purifications, is that which purifies thee through me; and through it the Cause and Creator of all purification brought forth His Providential Energies to us from the hidden depths.'

Thus he taught me, and I in turn impart it to thee. It is for thy intellectual and discriminating skill either to accept one of the two reasons given as a solution of the difficulty, and prefer that to the other as probable and reasonable and perhaps true, or to find from thyself something more akin to the real truth, or learn from another (God indeed giving the word, and Angels directing it), and then to reveal to us who love the Angels a clearer, and to me more welcome view, if such should be possible.

CHAPTER XIV

What the traditional number of the Angels signifies.

This also is worthy, I think, of intellectual consideration, that the scriptural tradition respecting the Angels gives their number as thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, multiplying and repeating the very highest numbers we have, thus clearly showing that the Orders of the Celestial Beings are innumerable for us; so many are the blessed Hosts of the Supermundane Intelligences, wholly surpassing the feeble and limited range of our material numbers. And they are definitely known only by their own supermundane and celestial Intellect and the knowledge which is granted to them allbounteously by the All-knowing Mother-Wisdom of the Most High God, which is superessentially at once the substantiating Cause, the connecting Power, and the universal Consummation of all principles and things.

CHAPTER XV

What is the meaning of the formal semblances of the Angelic Powers? What of the fiery and the anthropomorphic? What is meant by their yes, nostrils, ears, mouths, touch, eyelids eyebrows their manhood, teeth, shoulders, arms, hands, heart, breasts, backs, feet and wings? What are the nakedness and the vesture, the shining raiment, the priestly insignia, the girdles? What are the rods, spears, battle-axes and measuring-lines? What are the winds and clouds? What is meant by their brass and electron? What are the choirs and the clapping of bands? What are the colours of the various jewels?

What is the form of the lion, the ox, the eagle? What are the horses, and their various colours? What are the rivers, the chariots, the wheels? What is the so-called joy of the Angels?

Let us, if you are so disposed, now relax our mental vision from the effort of the contemplation of the sublimity of the Angels, and descend to the particularized, all-various expanse of the manifold diversity of forms in angelic images; and then return analytically from them, as from symbols, ascending again to the simplicity of the Celestial Intelligences. But first let me point out clearly to you that the explanations of the sacred likenesses represent the same Orders of Celestial Beings sometimes as leading, and again being led, and the last leading and the first being led, and the same ones, as has been said, having first, middle and last powers. But there is nothing unreasonable in the account, according to the following method of unfoldment.

If, indeed, we said that some are first governed by those above them, and afterwards govern those Orders, and that the highest, whilst leading the lowest ranks, are at the same time being led by those whom they are leading, the statement would be obviously absurd and wholly confused. But if we say that these holy Orders both lead and are led, but not the same ones, nor by the same ones, but that each is led by those above itself, and in turn leads those below it, we may reasonably say that the Scripture in its sacred symbolic presentation sometimes rightly and truly assigns the same powers to the first, middle and last ranks.

Wherefore the eager upward tending to those above them, and the constancy of their revolution around them, being guardians of their own powers, and their participation in the providential power of proceeding forth to those below them through their own inter-relations, will truly befit all the Celestial Beings, although some pre-eminently and universally, others in a partial and lower degree.

But we must begin to deal with the remaining part of our discourse, and must ask, in first explanation of the forms, why the Word of God prefers the sacred symbol of fire almost above all others. For you will find that it is used not only under the figure of fiery wheels, but also of living creatures of fire, and of men flashing like lightning who heap live coals of fire about the Heavenly Beings, and of irresistibly rushing rivers of flame. Also it says that the Thrones are of fire, and it shows from their name that the most exalted Seraphim themselves are burning with fire, assigning to them the qualities and forces of fire; and throughout, above and below, it gives the highest preference to the symbol of fire.

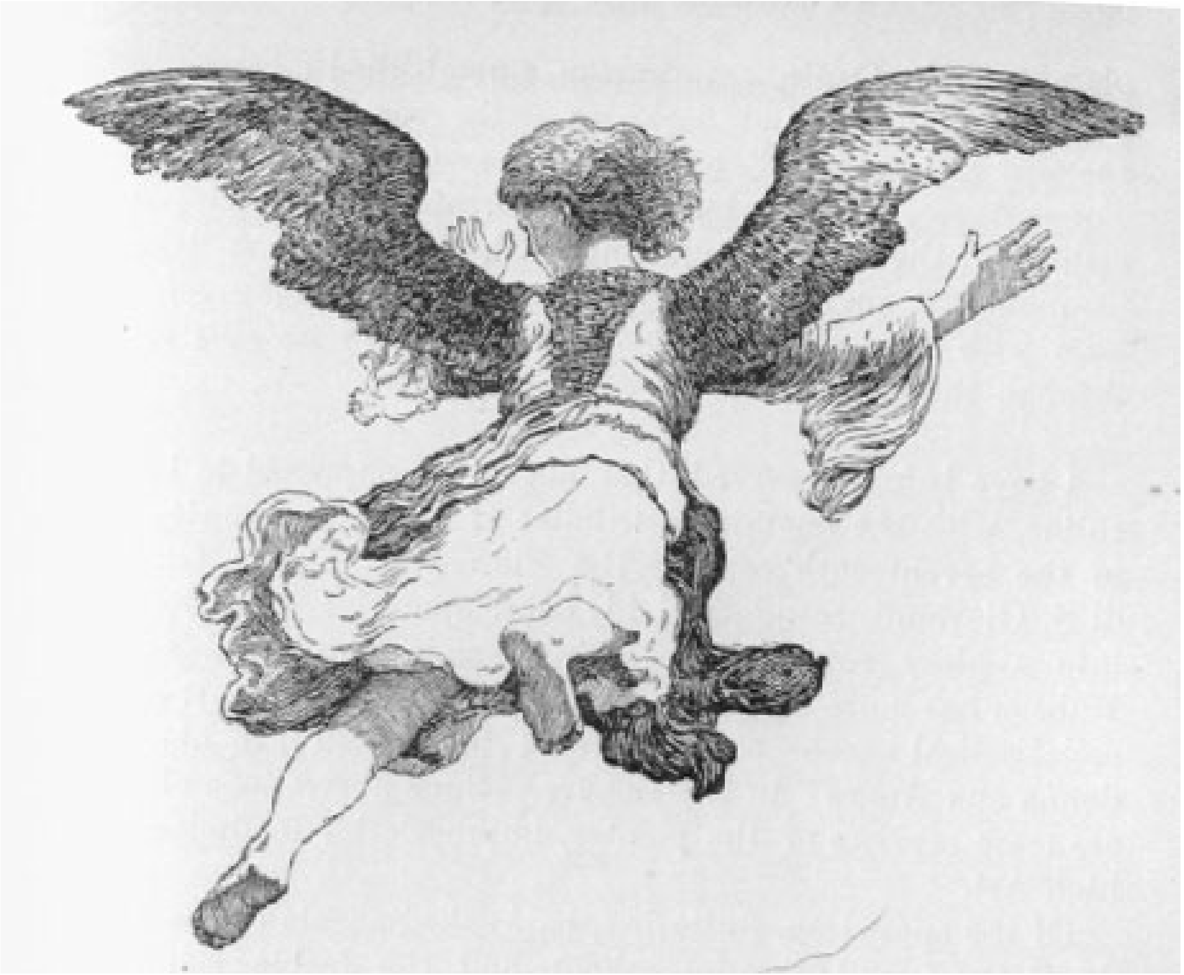
Therefore I think that this image of fire signifies the perfect conformity to God of the Celestial Intelligences For the holy prophets frequently liken that which is superessential and formless to fire which (if it may lawfully be said) possesses many resemblances as in visible things to the Divine Reality. For the sensible fire is in some manner in everything, and pervades all things without mingling with them, and is exempt from all things and, although wholly bright, yet lies essentially hidden and unknown when not in contact with any substance on which it can exert its own energy. It is irresistible and invisible, having absolute rule over all things, bringing under its own power all things in which it subsists. It has transforming power, and imparts itself in some measure to everything near it. It revives all things by its revivifying heat, and illuminates them all with its resplendent brightness. It is insuperable and pure, possessing separative power, but itself changeless, uplifting, penetrative, high, not held back by servile baseness, ever-moving, selfmoved, moving other things. It comprehends, but is incomprehensible, unindigent, mysteriously increasing itself and showing forth its majesty according to the nature of the substance receiving it, powerful, mighty, invisibly present to all things. When not thought of, it seems not to exist, but suddenly enkindles its light in the way proper to its nature by friction, as though seeking to do so, uncontrollably flying upwards without diminishing its all-blessed self- giving.

Thus many properties of fire may be found which symbolize through sensible images the Divine activities. Knowing this, those wise in the things of God have portrayed the Celestial Beings under the figure of fire, thus proclaiming their likeness to the Divine, and their imitation of Him in the measure of their power.

But they also invest them with the likeness of men because of the human powers of intellect and aspiration, the straight and erect form, the inherent power of guiding and governing; and because man, although least in sense- perception in comparison with the powers of irrational creatures, yet rules over them all through the pre-eminence of his intellect, the lordship of his rational knowledge, and the intrinsic freedom of his unconquerable soul.

Thus it is possible, I think, to find in the various parts of our bodies fitting symbols of the Celestial Powers by taking, for example, the power of sight as an image of their most transparent upliftment to the Divine Light, their single, free, unresisting reception of that Light, their responsiveness and pure receptivity without passion to the divine illuminations.

The human power of distinguishing odours signifies the power to receive the inconceivable and most fragrant divine influences, as



An Angel as envisioned by Rembrandt

far as is attainable, and the definite recognition and utter rejection of others not of this kind.

The power of the ears denotes participation in and conscious gnostic receptivity to divine inspiration. The power of taste represents an abundance of spiritual food and the reception of divine streams of nourishment.

The power of touch symbolizes the power of distinguishing that which is of advantage from that which is harmful. The eyelids and eyebrows represent the guarding of intellectual conceptions in divine contemplations. The images of youth and vigour denote their perpetual bloom and vigour of life. The teeth symbolize the distribution of the sustaining perfection supplied to them; for each Intellectual Order, receiving a unitive conception from the Divine, with Providential Power divides and multiplies it for the proportionate upliftment of the one below.

The shoulders, arms and hands signify the powers of activity and accomplishment. The heart is a symbol of that Divine Life which imparts its own life-giving power beneficently to those within its care. We may add that the chest, being placed over the heart, represents the indomitable power which guards its own life-giving dispensations. The back denotes that strength which holds together all the life-giving powers. The feet signify the power of motion, swiftness and skilfulness in the evermoving advance towards divine things. Wherefore the prophet described the feet of the Celestial Intelligences as being covered by their wings which symbolize a swift soaring to the heights, and the heavenly progression up the steep, and the exemption from everything earthly through the upward ascent. The lightness of the wings shows that they are altogether heavenly and unsullied and untrammelled in

their upliftment on high. The naked and unshod feet symbolize their free, easy and unrestrained power, pure from all externality, and assimilated, as far as is attainable, to the Divine Simplicity.

But since that single and manifold Wisdom both clothes the naked and assigns to them implements to carry, let us unfold, as far as we can, these sacred garments and instruments of the Celestial Intelligences.

Their shining and fiery vestures symbolizes, I think, the Divine Likeness under the image of fire, and their own enlightening power, because they abide in Heaven, where Light is: and also it shows that they impart wholly intelligible Light, and are enlightened intellectually.

Their priestly garment symbolizes their authority as leaders to the mystical and divine contemplations, and the consecration of their whole life. The girdles denote their guardianship of their own generative power, and their state of unification, for they are wholly drawn together towards their essential unity surrounding it in a perfect circle with changeless sameness.

The rods are tokens of the authority of sovereignty and leadership and the true directing of all things. The spears and battle-axes represent the power of dividing incongruous things and the keen, vigorous and effectual power of discrimination. The measuring-lines and carpenters' tools are figures of the power of foundation and erection and perfection, and whatever else belongs to the providential guidance and upliftment of the lower orders. Sometimes, however, the implements assigned to the holy Angels symbolize the divine judgment upon ourselves; for some are figures of His corrective discipline of avenging justice, others of freedom

from difficulties, or the perfection of disciplinary instruction, or the restoration to our first happiness, while others signify the addition of other gifts, great or small, sensible or intelligible; and no acute mind would have any difficulty at all in finding the correspondence between the visible symbols and the invisible realities.

The name winds given to the Angels denotes their swift operations, and their almost immediate impenetration of everything, and a transmitting power in all realms, reaching from the above to the below, and from the depths to the heights, and the power which uplifts the second natures to the height above them, and moves the first to a participative and providential upliftment of the lower.

But perhaps it may be said that the name winds, applied to the aerial spirit, signifies the Divine Likeness in the Celestial Beings. For the figure is a true image and type of Divine Energy (as is shown more fully in the Symbolical Theology in our fourfold explanation) corresponding to the moving and generative forces of Nature, and a swift and irresistible advance, and the mystery, unknown and unseen by us, of the motive principles and ends. For He says: 'Thou knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth.' The Scriptures also depict them as a cloud, showing by this that these holy Intelligences are filled in a supermundane manner with the hidden Light, receiving that first revelation without undue glorying, and transmitting it with abundant brightness to the lower Orders as a secondary, proportionate illumination; and further, that they, possess generating, lifegiving, increasing and perfecting powers by reason of their intelligible outpourings, as of showers quickening the receptive womb of earth by fertilizing rains for life-giving travail.

The Scriptures also liken the Celestial Beings to brass and electron, and many coloured jewels. Now electron, [an alloy of silver and gold] resembling both gold and silver, is like gold in its resistance to corruption unspent and undiminished, and its undimmed brightness; and is like silver in its shining and heavenly lustre. But the symbolism of brass (in line with the explanations already given) must resemble that of fire or gold. Again, of the many coloured varieties of stones, the white represents that which is luminous, and the red corresponds to fire, yellow to gold, and green to youth and vigour. Thus corresponding to each figure you will find a mystical interpretation which relates these symbolical images to the things above.

But now, since this has been sufficiently explained, I think, according to our ability, let us pass on to the sacred unfoldment of the symbolism which depicts the Celestial Intelligences in the likeness of beasts.

The form of a lion must be regarded as typifying their power of sovereignty, strength and indomitableness, and the ardent striving upward with all their powers to that most hidden, ineffable, mysterious Divine Unity and the covering of the intellectual foot-prints, (7) and the mystically modest concealment of the way leading to divine union through the Divine Illumination.

The figure of the ox signifies strength and vigour and the opening of the intellectual furrows to the reception of fertilizing showers; and the horns signify the guarding and unconquerable power. The form of the eagle signifies royalty and high soaring and swiftness of flight and the eager seizing of that food which renews their strength, discretion, and ease of movement and skill, with strong intensity of vision which has the power to gaze unhindered, directly and unflinchingly upon the full and brilliant splendour of the brightness of the Divine Sun.

The symbolism of horses represents obedience and tractability. The shining white horses denote clear truth and that which is perfectly assimilated to the Divine Light the dark, that which is hidden and secret; the red, fiery might and energy; the dappled black and white, that power which traverses all and connects the extremes, providential1y and with perfecting power uniting the highest to the lowest and the lowest to the highest.

If we had not to bear in mind the length of our discourse, we might well describe the symbolic relations of the particular characteristics of animals already given, and all their bodily forms, with the powers of the Celestial Intelligences according to dissimilar similitudes: for example, their fury of anger represents an intellectual power of resistance of which anger is the last and faintest echo; their desire symbolizes the Divine Love; and in short, we might find in all the irrational tendencies and many parts of irrational creatures, figures of the immaterial conceptions and single powers of the Celestial Beings. This, however, is enough for the prudent, for one mystical interpretation will sufficiently serve as an example for the explanation of others of a similar kind.

We must now consider the representations of the Celestial Beings in connection with rivers and wheels and chariots. The rivers of flame denote those Divine Channels which fill them with super-abundant and eternally out- pouring streams and nourish their life-giving prolificness.

The chariots symbolize the conjoined fellowship of those of the same Order; the winged wheels, ever moving onward, never turning back or going aside, denote the power of their progressive energy on a straight and direct path in which all their intellectual revolutions are supermundanely guided upon that straight and unswerving course.

The figure of the spiritual wheels can also have another mystical meaning, for the prophet says that the name Gel, Gel is given to them, which in the Hebrew tongue means revolutions and revelations. For the divine fiery wheels truly revolve, by reason of their ceaseless movement, around the highest Good Itself, and they are granted revelations because to them the holy hidden Mysteries are made clear, and the earthly are lifted up, and the high illuminations are brought down and imparted to the lowest orders.

The last thing for us to explain is the joy attributed to the Celestial Orders. For they are utterly above and beyond our passionate pleasures. But they are said to rejoice with God over the finding of that which was lost, as well befits the Godlike mildness of their nature, and as befits their beneficent and boundless joy at the providential salvation of those who are turned to God, and that ineffable bliss in which holy men have often participated when the illuminations of God have divinely visited them.

Let this be a sufficient account of those sacred symbols which, although it falls far short of their full interpretation, will yet, I think, contribute to prevent us from lingering basely in the figures and forms themselves.

If you should point out that we have not mentioned in order all the Angelic powers, activities and images described in the scriptures, we should answer truly that we do not possess the supermundane knowledge of some, or rather that we have need of another to guide us to the light and instruct us; but others have been passed over for the sake of proportion, as being parallel to what has been given; and the hidden Mysteries which lie beyond our view we have honoured by silence.

NOTES

(1) 'A chain likewise extends from on high, as far as to the last of things, secondary natures always expressing the powers of the natures prior to them, progression indeed diminishing the similitude, but all things at the same time, and even such as most obscurely participate of existence, bearing a similitude to the first causes, and being co-passive with each other and with their original causes.'-Proclus, *Tbeology of Plato*, VI.4

(2) 'For everything which is converted hastens to be conjoined with its cause and aspires after communion with it.'-Proposition XXXII. Proclus, *Metaphysical Elements*.

'The soul ought first to examine its own nature, to know whether it has the faculty of contemplating spiritual things, and whether it has indeed an eye wherewith to see them, and if it ought to embark on the quest. If the spiritual is foreign to it, what is the use of trying? But if there is a relationship between us and it, we both can and ought to find it.' Plotinus, *Ennead*, V. 1- 3

(3) 'The progressions of beings, however, are completed through similitude. But the terminations of the higher orders are united to the beginnings of second orders. And one series and indissoluble

order extends from on high through the surpassing goodness of the First Cause and His unified Power. For because indeed He is One He is the supplier of union; but because He is the Good He constitutes things similar to Him prior to such as are dissimilar. And thus all things are in continuity with each other. For if this continuity were broken there would not be union.'-Proclus, *Tbeology of Plato*, VI.11.

(4) 'Everything which proceeds in the divine orders is not naturally adapted to receive all the powers of its producing cause. Not in short, are secondary natures able to receive all the powers of the natures prior to themselves, but the latter have certain powers exempt from things in in inferior order, and incomprehensible by the beings posterior to themselves.'-Proposition CL. Proclus, *Metaphysical Elements*.

(5) 'There are nine Orders of Angels, figures of the nine Archetypes in God; and each one obtains a name corresponding to the property in God which it exhibits.' Further, the Cherubim are those 'who may be called loving Wisdoms, as those first may be called wise Loves. For there is in each both love and wisdom. But in the first, inasmuch as they are nearer to God, the very Sun of Truth, this exists in a far greater degree. ... Such then is the difference between these Orders: namely, that in the latter is knowledge proceeding from love; in the former is love proceeding from knowledge.' 'In the third rank are those who, from their unity, simplicity, constancy and firmness, are sometimes called Thrones, sometimes Seats; who' themselves also are wise and loving. But from their simplicity, they have the attributes of unity, power, strength, fortitude, steadfastness. Which very attributes the Cherubim and Seraphim also possess.... Steadfastness comes from simplicity, simplicity from purification. For when each object is purified back to its own

simple nature, then, being uncompounded, it remains indissoluble through its unity. Whence it is clear that purification is assigned to the Thrones. Moreover, when a thing is purified, it is illumined, and after it is illumined, it is perfected. This last office is given to the Seraphs, the other to the Cherubs. Among them all, in every threefold manncr, there is a striving with all their might to imitate God; who is Purification Itself, the Parent of unities; who is the very Illumination of those unities; who is lastly the very Perfection of the illuminated. Power cleanses, clear truth makes serene, finished love makes perfect.' 'Thus does God beam forth with firmness, wisdom and love in the Thrones, Cherubs and Seraphs, which threefold system of the Divine Ray goes forth, and causes that in the Powers, Virtues and Dominions there should be reflected His divine and firm Power, His wise Virtue and the most loving Dominion; and that the Trinity of God, coequal in Itself, should shine with softened lustre, filling now the second place under that first one.' 'Among all the Angels, from the higher ones even down to us, there is a mutual and alternate announcement proceeding from above; as they receive and deliver in turn what they announce in a marvellous and most beautiful order. Since among the Angels themselves there is an order of all ordinances after the pattern of the Order of all.... But every announcement is a receiving, informing, purifying, enlightening, perfecting and representing of the Divine Truth; the Light of which as it goes forth in order and shines upon all, so distinguishes and marks each object in a wonderful manner, that everything shines forth in it in its own proper quality, and stands out and appears in its own nature, with its individual powers and office, exhibiting in its own degree some perfection in God, in whom all perfection is in its highest; nay, rather, who is Himself the proper Perfection of every one, perfecting all things, in whom there is nothing perfect but Himself.' John Colet, *Works*, J.H. Lupton, ed., (London: G. Bell, 1869).

(6) 'For all things concur with each other through similitude, and communicate the powers which they possess. And first natures, indeed, impart by illumination the gift of themselves to secondary natures, in unenvying abundance. But effects are established in their causes. An indissoluble connection, likewise, and comnmunion of wholes, and a colligation of agents and patients, are surveyed in the world.'-Proclus, *Tbeology of Plato*, VI.4

(7) The lion was said by the ancients to erase his footprints with his tail.

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24. June 2022, Nuremberg Germany

Mandaean friends

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
BY RAM AL SABIRY

Ginza Rabba

TREASURE

or

THE GREAT BOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

[illegible]

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

of

MARK LIDZBARSKI

English translation by
Ram Al Sabiry

GöttINGEN
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT
1925

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Introduction.

Na'man, the field captain of the King of Aram in Damascus, was a brave man, but a leper. On the advice of a young prisoner from Israel he goes to the Prophet Elisha in Samaria, that he may send him from Cure leprosy. Elisha tells him to bathe in the Jordan seven times, his flesh will be healed and purified. Na'man is about this Let me know. ,,Are not Abānā and Parpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters in Israel? Could I not bathe in them and get in?But at the persuasion of his servants, he heeds the counsel the man of God, he dives seven times in the Jordan, and thereupon his skin is as pure as that of a young boy (2 Kings 5).

We see from this that the Jordan has a greater healing effect- it was written as more respectable rivers. The reason can only be explained by- muten. Like no other river in front Asia, it pours out into- spoken direction from north to south. In the north, however, the Seat of the gods. The Jordan also springs from a mountain that, like his name Hermön shows, especially related to the gods be. After that, it was possible to get more from it than from other rivers- that his water may come from the seat of the gods, thus divine It carries with it potency and contains healing power. How alive these The concept of "living water" is pp. 281, 19ff. ').

For a long time we hear nothing of the effect of the Jordan. Only in the Gospels we read that John had a peravoias ice on the Jordan čferv araptiiv (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3, 3). The Change of Mind and repentance was not the effect, but the occasion of baptism, which The effect was the forgiveness of sins, or actually the eradication of sins. Which The perception of the effect of the Jordan had changed. Not

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1) In the two-stream country, the Euphrates was especially revered, while the Tigris resignation, cf. Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria I, p. 378; Cumont, Etudes szriennes, p. 247ff. Also among the Mandaeans, the Euphrates is more often referred to as Fraš-Zīwā in- related to religion.

more healing of the body, but healing of the soul was sought in him. The same water that used to wash away the cicatrices corporis should now eradicate the vulnera animae. In both cases, the effect is in the same The reason for this is the connection of water with the divine being. You were, of course, no longer as under more primitive conditions of the commonslopes consciously.

Through the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, the Jordan baptism received its- interpretation within Christianity, but only as a moment ofinnerung. And even if tens of thousands still go on pilgrimage every year, in order to submerge in the supposed place in the Jordan Water, a commandment the baptism of the Jordan is not for Christendom. But outside of the Christiantums, yes, in a community hostile to Christianity- the baptism of the Jordan is a commandment, yes, it is in the center of your reli- among the Mandaeans in Babylonia.

May names that sound like Jordan, also elsewhere for rivers occur, and may the word originally have appellative meaning in historical times and in the Middle East, Jordan can only have the Palestinian river, and the commandment of the baptism of the Jordan can be refer only to this river. A religious community in which this commandment did not arise for a one-time or rare act, butfor a frequent, even almost daily exercise, your seat must be originally it was near the Jordan. When the Mandaeans are in their Scriptures call every flowing water Jordan, so this can only be a Which they used when they were far away from the original Seats of their faith. I have Joh., p. XVIff., Lit., p. XIXff. after many factual and linguistic moments, I wanted to show that although in the time of which we know, the Mandaeans established their headquarters in Babylonia, their homeland was originally in the West shall. I also tried to locate her seat more closely: in the Transjordan- areas in view of the Haurān Mountains. What is said there, I want here do not repeat, but want to highlight some new moments.

From the genius Haurān I suspected that in him the deified Haurān- The mountains are preserved. In fact, a deity pn is already found in in ancient times, in the name of pnaay on the seal, which was signed by Clermont-Ganneau in the Journal Asiatique 1883, Vol. I, p. 141, p. n. 17 (Vol. II Table see p. 304). The letters all have an archaic form. Unfortunately missing the signs that provide a special support for age determination, nevertheless, the seal is probably of the first half of the first millennium B.C. to assign.

Brandt combined the Mandaean script with the Nabataean and especially based on the Ã similärity of the round Mandaean aleph with the Aleph of the Nabataean Scripture'). In the forms known to him

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1) The Mandaeans (1915), p. 33.

however, the agreement is not great. Meanwhile, it showed but that on the oldest Mandaean written monuments, on coins the Character that Aleph has a form that is completely similar to Nabataean'). The form is so singular that it is not independent at different points in- they may have arisen from each other, but the Mandaean Scripture must have related to the Nabataean genuin. The branch of the Aramaic Scripture, which was formed in Babylonia, is the Scripture that Mānī- and which became the scripture of Manichaeism"). In the same area nor can two different Aramaic writings have arisen. The Mandaeans must rather have their writing from abroad, from the Be- the kingdoms of the Nabataeans.

Of the religion of the Nabataeans we know very little. Your literature has been lost, and their inscriptions offer of religion only Externally. Some things in the Mandaean prehistory that are unknown to us or a neighboring people in the Arab-Syrian border- so perhaps the doctrine of the four world epochs with their heads. The names DN7 and are otherwise unknown. name שורבאי and probably hang with the twist שארהיב שורבאתא ,Tribes spread" also ,,establish" (R 240, 24; 244, 14, 24; 251, 2 and otherwise) together. Next to anonymous is the Syrian ananw, but otherwise u has only the Arabic surbah, and byenntnz is probably due to the Arabic, especially influenced by South Arabian names. The name of the country jnann, a paradisiacal area (see p. 301ff.), can neither be excluded the Aramaic, which can still be explained from the Canaanite, on the other hand, offers the Arabic parwan ,"rich, lush" a good explanation.

Among the geniuses of the Mandaeans, there are many who can be found in the biblical But from this alone its essence cannot be derived explain. The Hebrews certainly did not stand with their prehistory isolated there, the neighboring peoples will have taught Ã something similar. I was looking for to show that Adam and Eve were also in the religion of the Phoenicians- they existed, but in a more primitive form, as a chthonic god- Adam as king Earth, Hawwah as Queen Serpent"). In the bib- in the narrative of Abel, the most remarkable his violent death. The Mandaean hibil is not mentioned anywhere- played. Of course, his death could be reinterpreted as a Descensus ad inferos but I can't imagine that if the teaching of Hibil only went back to Genesis, where he was called to the Savior and salvation- he was not made to bring Cain to his counterpart, to Ver- the evil one would have done. But the figure of Cain is entirely unknown.

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1) Journal of Numismatics XXXIII (1921), p. 85.

*) See Proceedings of the Berlin Academy 1916, p. 1213ff.

a) Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Class 1916, p. 90f.

Such a huge upheaval in the religious field as the one- this presupposes them (see Lit., p. XVf.), can not be done overnight- even less, she was able to stabilize herself quickly and to We believe in other circles. But we lack any possibility of a Take a look at these processes. Of the two powers that exist in The central points of the Mandaean religion, light and life, go probably the penetration of the idea of light is due to Persian influence. Since the 6th century BC, there has been enough opportunity to be- the flow of the peoples of the Near East through the Mazdajasnian religion. Since- may be opposed to speculation about life and the final position of absolute life at the head of all that is divine among the Semites themselves have come up. The old connection of the concepts of life and salvation ') may have had an effect on this. Since ancient times, the countries of the asia in connection with Babylonia and Egypt. In the priest- of Phoenicia and Syria were probably also tried, to sublimate religion, to move the gods to a higher sphere. The early advent of the celestial Eel and the spread of its Cults speak for it. When the literatures of these peoples have been lost and we have no sources to rely on, so are we are therefore not entitled to deny the possibility. What is the term in the life of the world, so be mindful of the connection of one with gods in phoenician inscriptions*). Here p. 452,5 (587, 24) the Ge- thank you for putting the soul into the pocket of life be. The same thought is strange in the mouth of Abigail, when Wish Statement 1. Sam. 25, 29, except that in the present context ,"Bundle" or "bag of life" is understood as a bag in which life, like other valuables, is kept. The Jews take set the sentence for yourself and put the words pynn anys nainy (12e)) 120) nn, usually in the abbreviation nayn, on their tombstones. Despite the age it does not seem to me impossible that the sentence from a In which one has a similar idea of life and the soul had, as with the Mandaeans, that originally there was also,bag the meaning of life": a bag in the possession of life as a means of- that the sentence is within the scope of the author, who used him in his own way.

In any case, it seems impossible to me that the beginnings to transfer Mandaism to the Christian era. This already shows the The position of the Mandaeans towards the Jews. The bitter hatred of the Jews, which from their writings, could also be found in later times in Babylonia, but the motive of the persecution by the Jews (see

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1) See Baudissin, Adonis and Esmun, p. 385ff.

2) Ty in CIS I, 95, see Old Semitic Texts I, p. 33 s. n. 35 and news A. A. O., p. 88. DN well ,,Life of life", quintessence of life, in the consecration-inscription of the Micipsa North Semitic Epigraphy, p. 439.

especially p. 341ff.) could hardly arise in Babylonia. Jew there were strangers there and only tolerated and there will be riots against People of other faiths hardly dared. Even less is available to me for a later The expectation of the destruction of Jerusalem is understandable. Jerusalem was in the first centuries AD, it was destroyed and lay as never before. In Babylonia there was also no reason to deal with the fate of the Dealing with the city. On the other hand, these ideas are understandable to me with hetero- doxen circles, which still existed at the time of the Jewish Empire, in which The area of power lived. The zealous Jewish legalists will have endeavored to oppress people who paid homage to other teachings, and Communities that took other paths, which after an internalization religion, and in the outward piety of the rabbini- jews saw a false faith and a apostasy from God, may they have lived in the hope that Jerusalem, with its false The cult will soon be destroyed.

To my disputes about Naǧwpaios nn-ens Lit., p. XVIff. and the attempt to show that the word does not mean a man from Nazareth many discussions have taken place. In general the philologists agreed with me, while the theologians at the The statement). If things are so that for Naǧapéd (Naǧa- pér) only this form of name has been handed down, that all the forms that have been put forward in order to establish a connection between Našapéd and Našwpaios, i.e. are נוצרי invented and contrived, that on the other hand Naǧwpaïos is a A form that is otherwise exclusively representative of a profession, especially a specific teaching activity *), so for each unab- those who think hard have decided the question. Straight from the words Mt. 2, 23, on which one relies, it seems to me that one Jesus' parents lived in Nazareth in order to find an explanation for Naǧwpaīos have. If Nazareth was really the home of Jesus, here we have a coincidental coincidence, as it also happens otherwise. Mohammed called his helpers from Medina ansar and apparently also thought of the nasara, the Nazarenes, as the ansar, as the helpers of Jesus"). The two words they are of the same tribe, but they have nothing to do with each other.

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1) The Ed. In his book The Origin and Beginnings of Christianity for the old declaration occurs (Vol. II, p. 423f.), is in the whole direction of the book itself-understandable. In Nazoraios, Zeitschrift für Semitistik I (1922), p. 230ff. I showed that the information he relies on is wrong.

2) ANTON, Amurian, Talmud teacher from earlier times; ANTIED, Säböräer, Talmud teacher from later times; w, Tānöjäer, Mišnahlelrer, for the more common NJ (by Dalman, Grammar", p. 90 unt. incorrectly explained); ,,Reiter' (Schulthess, Lexicon Syro-palaestinum, p. 164b). In the ending āi, the iodine becomes when a vowel is added. for Alef, as is usually the case, especially in Palestinian Aramaic, see Barth, Nominal-education, p. 81; Schulthess, Grammatik des christl.-palace. Aramaic, § 22.2. See ibrigens also here p. 1354.

") Sur. 3, 45; 61, 14. See also Sprenger, Mohammad II, p. 533.

The Nağwpaio: of Epiphanius (haer. 29) have probably got their name from the same source, perhaps also the Nacapaioi (haer. 18), but they left other ways, and according to what Epiphanius said of these Judeo-Christian They have nothing in common with the Mandaeans. The Mandaean religion was probably founded even before the- the Jewish Empire was transplanted to Babylonia. Maybe it was it is precisely the persecution by the ruling Jewish circles that There was a reason for this. But we lack any historical news about how we have no tradition at all about the history of the Mandaeans have. Their gaze is too intensely focused on the Hereafter for them to paid much attention to the events of this world. Only one legendary clothing is available, which is dedicated to the person of the Mirjai socialize. The legend is described in detail in the Book of John (II, p. 126ff.) and in a poem of the Oxford Liturgy (Lit., p. 209ff.), only at- is played on you here p. 341. Mirjai, a virgin of royal He turns away from Judaism and joins the Naşöreans to. She is persecuted by the Jews and flees from them after babylonien. The name Mirjai is a transformation of Miriam, Mariam, a Type of transformation, as is usually the case with the Mandaeans, also with find the Elxaite'). That these Mirjai with one of the New Testament I don't think Mary is the same. But that the heroine has a name which was especially popular with the Jews in the age of Jesus, shows that the legend of a historical core is not entirely lacking.

Probably, the Mandaeans have the activity of John the Baptist, which, after all, arose from the same movement, witnessed in the West, maybe even participated in it. That they only returned to John- go, as is often assumed, I do not think.

The bundle of religious demands that they took into the foreign, it wasn't big. First came the demand for baptism in living water. Perhaps it has been reported that Babylonia is particularly rich in The waters are causing them to turn straight there. Then came sacraments, sacramental food and sacramental drink (פיהתא and nnadnd), sincerity and community among the Brothers (nochs and neons) and especially emphasizes charity (npy). Although they are in opposition to Judaism at home, they will probably in a foreign country, like the spreading Christianity, Anschluss an they searched for and found the Jews there. About the religious Ver- the conditions that you found in Babylonia, we are for lack of locals Sources, on the other hand, are very poorly taught, but we can do a lot from what the Mandaeans are fighting. With a special- their struggle against the belief in the influence of the Stars, the Seven and the Twelve, especially the Seven, then against Ruha

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1) See Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1913, Sp. 1805.

and your circle. The Babylonian religion had become a desert star-superstition, she nevertheless exerted the greatest influence on the Religions of other peoples. They wrote the power to the stars above all, everything was dependent on them, they were,the lords of the World". In addition, the old Syrian paganism continued to live, in the middle of which the cult of the mother of the gods stood. Ruha belongs to this cult. As Ruha in the Mandaean writings, especially in the third book of the right Ginzā (here p. 63ff.), it is quite reminiscent of the Dea Syria. According to other indications, it was already assumed that these were in priests- it has been reinterpreted as the Holy Spirit'). That "the Spirit" in the Semitic feminine, this transformation was facilitated if you also not exactly stimulated by this. Under Babylonian influence this holy spirit, like Ištar, with whom the Mother goddess of The house is identical, having been identified with the morning star"). Was this happened, so you could continue this goddess, who now belongs to the fwo- fópos had been interpreted as the producer and mother of light. Of the explanations which have hitherto been given for Ur, the Son of Ruha I am still the most likely person to say that he is "light." sei (Joh., p. XXIXf.). The Mandaean my can be spoken in Ur and Or Siouffi has Our. This is probably also the original pronunciation, see Babylonian urru. The word is not Aramaic, but that's why is it not necessary to call the homeland of this combination on Canaanite territory look. Since it is Canaanite and Babylonian, it could also ara- mäisch exist. With the inconsistency inherent in these speculations Ruha-Morgenstern and her son Ur were then made parents the planet, as was assumed, in addition to the seven planets, five, i.e. the Planets without sun and moon. The immorality, the immorality, the immorality, the immorality, the immorality associated with the cult of the Mother goddess, it seems that at the Rüha as is also the case in the Mandaean writings by- schimmert (Joh. II, p. 33"), and this has the abhorrence of this cults and the fight against him is still encouraged.

In ancient times, when Christianity was not yet Judaism and paganism, may relations with the Christians have passed. That later, when in Christianity the Institute- when it had become Catholic, a Ver- I don't think there was a bond between Mandaeans and Christians. Nothing speaks for it. Even the position of baptism made a difference- binding is impossible. Those who accept such a connection, yes believe that the Mandaeans wanted to be Christians at a certain time and called themselves Christians, relying solely on the name Naşoraeans, but I have shown that this name goes beyond Christianity and it has nothing to do with Christianity. However, the

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1) Cf. Leisegang, Pneuma Hagion, p. 88f. and the works cited there.
2) See the series p. 28, 26f.; 46, 31f.

attempts have been made by the Christian side to persuade them to convert to Christianity 29, 199; 47, 132 is advised, in this case externally to yield to the pressure, but to be faithful to one's own faith- remain. This compulsion was probably less of the Christians of the cities and the Cultural lands, against which the Mandaeans successfully protected the Persians could have called, as from neighboring Christian Arab tribes. At all times, the Mandaeans in the West were particularly under the violence the Arab tribes of the neighborhood. Maybe the introduction is also possible the Sunday celebration is due to a pressure from the Christian side. The older ones You don't know 10 scriptures. Yes, the words p. 50, 25, where highlighted the fact that Christians will keep their hands still on Sunday will show that the Mandaeans saw something strange in the Sunday celebration. Only in younger Texts are required. But there are other moments for the To have been decisive in the introduction of the celebration, otherwise one would understand not why their observance is demanded with such intensity. Even

in the first period of the movement, to which the Mandaism there will be no lack of attempts at literary activity have. In treatises, beings were placed and become known to the world according to the the new doctrine, taught the believer about his duties, 20 wrote prayers and hymns for the cult. But from this scripture, in general, from the literature of pre-Christian times, there is hardly anything to- continuous preservation; at most smaller pieces or individual sets, which are inserted into later compositions. Reitzenstein was looking for To show the greatness of the Mandaean Book of the Lord, that in the Pieces p. 29f., 200 202 and in the parallel passage in B an apocalypse from the last time before the destruction of Jerusalem. core with the description of the appearance of Enoš-Uthra's is probably really old, but the piece was already revised in the template of A and B. A Man, who was close to the time of Jesus, could not have Pilate as king of the We call 30 the world. Nor is there any reason to assume that in the Source of Mt. 11,5; Lk. 7, 22 ("The blind see, and the lame walk" the Mandaean script is used. It is an old and far more- a broad motif and can be used in various ways to the Mandaean and The author of the source Q').

The surviving writings were probably all written in Babylonia, which The main mass in pre-Islamic times, but the literary activity lasted- it goes deep into Islam. The Mandaeans also took over The Scriptures from related circles and adapted them to their teaching (see p. 4. 197. 206. 250). Due to a lack of historical evidence, we lack all but a few Exceptions to any possibility of time fixation. Conscience The texts on lead tablets, which date back to about the 4th century AD, offer an Anhalt. and of which I am the only one well preserved in the Florilegium Melchior

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1) See also Gressmann, Zeitsclrift für Kirchengeschichte XL (New Episode III), pp. 188f.; XLI (IV), pp. 167 ff.

de Vogüé, p. 352ff. The content touches each other intimately with the literary texts and sets a literary work, as they are in these there is, ahead. Larger connected works are probably at all did not materialize. When Islam came, and between the religions with a holy, revealed book and the religions without an open one-barung, the Mandaeans united the most important received from them Writings, of which perhaps smaller pieces already at that time became books they were united into a collection and placed it as their holy book before. This is how the present ginza seems to have been created '). Basically were they counted by Muhammad among the "people of the Book," for with the Sabians of the Koran, there is no doubt that the Babylonian Anabaptistsassume. But there was no agreement on this in Islam, and as you know this designation was later used by others with success for themselves in Anthe saying is taken (see Joh., p. VI).

The parts of the "treasure" were perhaps so colorful from the outset messed up without the attempt of a factual arrangement as now. The collection was not completed. The pieces were reworked, also added new ones. Perhaps these insertions made a greatby leaps and bounds better disposition blew up. Nor is it certain that from the outset, the whole was divided into two parts. Now it so happened that the greater part, about three quarters of the whole, more of the life, the another smaller part is more about death (see p. 423). The two Parts are folded so that their last pages are on top of each other, so that one part is upside down in relation to the other. Which long colophons and the list of copyists would take us over the history of the work would offer more, if it were not for the immorality, just copy the first and last pages to get an opportunity to in the introductions and concluding remarks, offer blessings for or the copyist. to pronounce the principal.

Since the 17th century, Mandaean manuscripts came to Europe, mainly through the mediation of missionaries working in Babylonia goods*). Four manuscripts from the Ginzā came to Paris*), three whole and fragments to London*), one to Oxford"), also fragments after Leiden and Munich. The oldest manuscript of the Ginzā is the Parisian Manuscript 1 at Zotenberg from the year 968 d. H. (Anf. 22 Sept. 1560).

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1) N1 can you rewrite genzā and Ginzā, I write ginzā after ghizo at Siouffi, p. 166. PETeRmann also writes Ginsa (Reisen II, p. 447ff.), who probably I have often heard of the Mandaeans.

2) See Brandt, Die Mandäer (1915), p. 55f.

d) Manuscripts orientaux. Catalogues des manuscripts szriagues et sabeens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (par H. ZotEnBERG), Paris 1874, p. 217ff.

4) W. Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum III, London 1872, pp. 1210 ff.

6) R. Payne Smith, Catalogi codicum manuser. bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars VI, Oxford 1864, col. 646, n. 203.

As the manuscripts of the Book of John and the Qolastā also show the Ginzā has a fixed text, the variants are of lower Meaning and mostly concern the external spelling. text must have been fixed for centuries.

The Mandaean manuscripts attracted the attention of the Orien- talists, and they tried to translate pieces from them'). At the beginning in the 19th century, the Swedish orientalist Matthias Norberg to publish the entire work according to the Paris Manuscript 2 and translate*). He considered the language a spoiled Syriac, changed translated the text into Syriac and communicated it in this form. If he had simply reproduce the text as the handwriting has it, if even with a different font, the output would have its value, so it is completely unusable. The Latin translation was for the time a a remarkable achievement, it was also recognized in the following decades, it is of no importance to us, and I have not- taken into account. In 1867 H. Petermann published a Edition of the work based on the Paris manuscripts"). In the main band he reproduced manuscript 1 in an autograph, and in a Variants from the other manuscripts. Understanding the Mandaean was still in trouble at the time, Petermann understood little of the content of the Texts and could not distinguish similar characters. After this Edition, Euting's Edition of the Qolasta and the other handwritten Nöldeke offered a masterful adaptation of the Mandaean in his Mandaean Grammar (1875), through which the understanding of the Languages have been developed. After a thorough study of the ginza and the Qolastā gave Wilh. Brandt in 1889 a depiction of the Mandaean religion, which, despite the schematism and artificial He then proceeded to a translation of the Ginzā. He apparently had the intention to translate the whole collection, settled but put off by the difficult third book, at the beginning of this And translated only the treatise of Hibil-Ziwa's Hells- and two smaller pieces (V, 4 and XII, 7). His translation shows the same advantages as the other work. She is conscientious, despite some Misunderstandings reliably and was also used a lot in the following time.

In 1913, the Göttingen Society of Sciences- the most important sources of the history of religion in translations- the Mandaean writings of mine should be used for the collection be edited. The text of the Book of John had already been published, and

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1) See Brandt, Schr., p. XIVff.

2) Codex Nasaraeus, Liber Adami appellatus, syriace transscriptus ... . latineque redditus. 3 Frets, Lund 1815-1816. In addition, a lexidion 1816.

3) Thesaurus S. Liber magnus vulgo ,,Liber Adami" appellatus opus Mandaeorum summi ponderis. Tomus I textum continens. Tomus II lectiones Codd. additamenta et corrigenda continens. Leipzig 1867.

the translation had to be added to it, so John- the book is separated. It seemed to me advisable to give the Qolastā the Oxford liturgy- add to the collection. Since from this collection the text is still was not published, I wanted to attach the text of the translation, but also give a critically produced text of the Qolastā. Volume 5 in this form did not fit into the framework of the "sources", therefore he was included in the treatises of the society. translation I made the Ginzā in 1916 and 1917. I let them- it is my expectation that after the end of the war it would be possible to find the manuscripts lying in London and Oxford to use their variants for translation. Already in 1906 I had several sheets of these manuscripts as samples photo- i tried to find the means to do all the To have manuscripts photographed, but without success. Also in the in the first years after the war, a trip to England was not possible, after that came the economic hardship, which neither a trip nor the- making photography possible. Not to mention the translation for an indefinite period of time, as a result of which their appearance at all i decided to hand them over to the Parisian- to give writings. From the photographs of the Oxford and London And repeated autopsies, I knew that their variants are not of great importance and that the translation by them is not would be significantly influenced. But I could write the Leiden manuscript which contains about two-thirds of the entire collection. Be even by their readings, the translation is not significantly modified, so it was very dear to me to be able to use them, and I feel thanks to the administration of the Leiden University Library although the pressure of the tape dragged on for a very long time, the manuscript was lying in Göttingen until the printing was completed let. From Nöldeke's grammar, p. XXIIII I knew that he had readings the ginza was made from manuscripts other than the Parisian one. When I saw him asked about the reading at one point, he had the great kindness, to send me his copy of the right Ginza, from which I can get the listed variants are noted.

I also could not have made this translation if I was not all the Mandaean language material, the printed, such as the hand- written, as far as it has reached Europe, would have been lexically processed. Nevertheless, the difficulties were great. In the commentary on John- book I was looking for to ascertain the meaning of religious terminology, but there are still many things that are dark or uncertain. Some of them had to be remain untranslated, some are called unsafe. control, which one usually has in a translation that it makes a satisfactory sense is not always applicable in Mandaean. The Mandaeans were weak thinkers, and many things were wrong and meaningless from the outset.

It is disturbing that a number of words have different meanings. In most cases, one can also look for the connection for decide one or the other sense, so it still remains in many places insecure. It is particularly disturbing that nen and nenn both, the great, mighty (life) can mean"as,,the great, mighty (being)". אלמיא can mean "worlds" and "world", as well as "beings", Np ,call" and,,evoke, create", pn ,,be firm" and ,,be bright", p3 ,,be clear" and ,,build", ,,Creator" and , helper", n2(2)N77 ,,hymns, writings" and,,flags", n'non ,,victorious" and ,,sin-pure", as well as the opposite NeNNn ,,inferior" and ,guilty". There is a suffix to a word, so it is often uncertain whether it is singular or plural. In general, ver- it is painful to miss the help of the traditional explanation, which helps us to most religious literature is available. Is it also suitable for we are not authoritative and must be subjected to sharp criticism, she has received a lot of good things. For many words whose meaning and derivation I did not know, I considered whether they were not Akkadian Ur- there are jumps. Mr. Zimmern did not get tired of answering my many questions and for some words there was a satisfactory explanation, but, of course, much remains dark. About some Persian words there were Mr. Andreas informs me. Thank you very much, too.

The scope of the work required me to explain myself as much as possible in the explanations to be brief. When I hear a word or phrase in the earlier I have dealt with volumes, I referred to them. I divided the variants into the Only include comments if they come from unpublished material. Where, in the translation, I am not referring to manuscript A, but to the other followed, I did not particularly note it. Therefore, one will be at a- checking the translation always includes the readings in Petermann's variants-gang must take into account').

The printing began in the summer of 1923, but soon had to economic difficulties are set. He was born in the spring resumed in 1924, but then had to rest again for a long time. So he dragged on for two years. As a result of this long duration and Changes in the order of the sentence and correction are unequal- they have penetrated into the print, which probably will not bother too much.

With the publication of this volume, all Mandaean writings are in Translation, which deserve to be known to wider circles. Hoffent- this will stimulate cooperation with you; there is still a lot for you do. First of all, accurate studies on this are desirable, to what extent certain words and phrases can only be found in individual writings find. One will then perhaps unite certain treatises into groups can, perhaps, also provide clues for a chronological arrangement

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1) In the references, R means the right, L the left part of the text. The Text does not have a count of the tracts, so the text and translation should only be quoted after Page and line, if not whole pieces are meant.

winning a number of fonts. In recent years, the That the Mandaean literature is in contact with the it contains the oldest Christian literature and offers much to explain it. In addition to the writings of Reitzenstein, see Walter Bauer's commentary on Gospel of John (Handbook to the New Testament VI*, 1925) and Bultman, The importance of the newly discovered Mandaean and Manichaean Sources for the Understanding of the Gospel of John, ZNTW XXIV (1925), pp. 100-146 . I hope that there will be a take and give here. The Orientalist will have to deal primarily with the linguistic; Connoisseurs of late Pagan and early Christian literature become much more interested in the 10th century can contribute a factual explanation.

* * *

Explanation of the signs.

[ ] added gap.
( ) Addition in the translation to the explanation.
⟨ ⟩removable insert.
. . . . . an untranslated place.
***** assumed gap.

Used printing units,

which are quoted in abbreviations.

Jn.: Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer by Mark Lidzbarski, Gießen 1915. - Joh. with simple numbers behind it (e.g. Joh. 45, 12) refers to the text.

Lit.: Mandaean Liturgies communicated, translated and explained by Mark Lidzbarskl. (Starting-proceedings of the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Class, New episode, Vol. XVII, 1.) Berlin

1920. Mand. Divan: Mandaean divan after photographic recording by Dr. B. Poertner reported by Julius Euting. Strasbourg 1904.

Brandt, Rel. : The Mandaean religion, its development and historical significance researched, illustrated and illuminated by Dr. A. J. H. Wilhelm Brandt. Leidzig 1889.

Brandt, Schr.: Mandäische Scheriften translated and explained by Dr. W. Brandt. Göttingen 1893.

Nöld.: Mandäische Grammatik by Theodor Nöldeke. Halle 1875.

Siouffi: Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens, leurs dogmes, leurs moeurs par M. N. Siouffi. Paris 1880.

Uthra: Uthra and Malakha. By Mark LidzbArski. Oriental studies Theodor Nöldeke dedicated to the seventieth birthday, Giessen 1906, p. 537-545 .

Used manuscripts.

Asfar Malwāše, an astrological work, cf. Nöld., p. XXIVf., in two manuscripts before-handen: Cod. Petermann I, 155 of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and Code Sabéen 26 of the National Library of Paris. The Parisian manuscript has a longer appendix a recent one, which is missing in Berlin. The Berlin manuscript is quoted here.

Code Sabéen 15, f. 1-49a = Code Sabéen 25 of the Paris National Library, a wedding-ritual, see ZotenberG, Catalogue, p. 229, p. n. 15 and Lit., p. VII.

Lond. Roll A. A roll of 806 lines in the possession of the British Museum. Includes a Ritual for "the imposition of the crown of the great Šišlam". Written in 1289 I.e. (Anf. March 11, 1872).

Lond. Role B. A role of 634 lines of apotropaic content located there. Moves- it was written in 1269 (Anf. 15 Oct. 1852). Oxf.

Roll F. A roll of 1404 lines in possession of the Bodleiana. Contains Z. 1-1222 a ritual for the feast of the five Epagomenes (Parwānājē or Panšā, cf. Siouffi, pp. 102, 4). The rest includes a wedding ritual. The handwriting is at the beginning and supplemented in the middle. This part is dated in 1203 i.e. (Anf. 2 Oct. 1788) ge- write.

Oxf. Roll G. A roll of 1124 lines with two texts apotropaic Site content. Written 1231-1232 i.e. (Anf. 3 Dec. 1815).

Parisian divan. The Parisian role Code Sabéen 16. Cf. Zotenberg, Catalogue, p. 230, S. N. 16 and Nöld., p. XXIV.

Right part.

First book.

At the head of the ginzā is a treatise in two versions; the one (A) stands as the first book, the other (B) as the first piece of the second book. They are edits Reitzenstein examined in detail in this respect (The mandaean book of the Lord of Greatness and the Gospel tradition. Session 5 reports of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1919, 12. Heidelberg 1919). The treatises begin with a praise of the supreme Being and a description the world of light, which are particularly detailed in A hesonders. This is followed by a creation report about the formation of the world and the first people. The command to creation is given to Hibil-Zīwā, who is identified in A with Gabriel, in B with Ptahil. After creation through him, the "pure Messenger", admonitions and warnings are sent to Adam- a complete moral code for the Mandaean on his ethical and cultural- provide duties. The exhortations are followed by a revelation about the course the story of the four first ages from the beginning of the world to its destruction. This is a warning against false religions. In B, with a special He warned in detail about Christ and the Christian sects.

The sixth part of the twelfth book (R 278 282) contains a description of the King of darkness and his world. The author says (278,3): 'At first I taught you are about the King of Light, who is praised for all eternity. I spoke to you about the praised light worlds, which are not cheap, about the Uthras, Jordans and Škīnās, the are wondrous and luminous." A piece of this content is among the received- there are no Danish writings, on the other hand, the spelling matches the complete Schil- the King of Light and the world of Light in A1). Therefore, I assume that the mentioned The treatise is inserted here in A. The seam is in Abs. 6, the insertion extends to abs. 39, then from Abs. 44 to 76°). However, the seventh piece of the 25th century also comes from the same author the twelfth book, which is a supplement to the two treatises. The common Origin is manifested in matching factual and stylistic peculiarities. Only in them there are quotations that are introduced (text 11, 11; 278, 17; 284, 18; anoni onona 284, 6). Cf, pany anyndtnpi 8,11 and nosnd

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1) For text 278, 4 cf. 2, 22; 10, 8.

2) Before 44 a piece is omitted, if not already here in the independent treatise the basic script of A and B was used, but 44 could also join 35.

וקאדמאיתא ובאתראיתא לאיאדא 278, 15; דנהורא דיאדא ופאריש קאדמאיתא ובאתראיתא 278, 14; 280,6, - non non 3,22; no one notes 280,1; ארקא דהשוכאupnp 278,10, - Anx in the sense of "being in the way of" (not ,,exist in') 4, 3; 10, 6, 22; 278, 10, 13, - NONG in the sense of ,,species" 4, 3, 10; 9, 17; 278, 12; 280, 7.

In these two passages, also in the others of the second book, in the fourth book and in the sixth and seventh parts of the twelfth book does not appear as the supreme being the great life or the great, first life, but the high King of light, the Lord and the Great and Exalted (N'sy N37) is called. This doctrine of the King of Light, proceeding from a monotheistic tendency, is probably of 10 reaches the Mandaeans from the outside, perhaps with the basic script of the two treatises. It has been preserved in a certain sense, because SioufFi is also at the forefront the celestial being of the Moro Eddarboutho. The Grundschrift also pointed out other features which deviate from the other Mandaean teachings. In A 91, B 26 there are three prayers two for the day and two for the night. Otherwise, the Mandaeans as a whole only know three prayers, see R 222 ob., Lit., pp. 171 et seq., Brandt, Rel., p. 92. Yes it is expressly forbidden to pray at night and in darkness: R 300 ob. The requirement of the five prayers is probably influenced by the custom of the five Persian yawns, see DarmstEter, Le Zend- Avesta III, p. 709ff., to which the five prayers of Islam probably also go back, see Goldziher, ZDMG LIII (1899), p. 385.

They have otherwise descended to the geniuses of sorcery among the Mandaeans (see Uthra, p. 541f.) and are also referred to by SiouFFI par excellence as esprits malins (p. 42). Here they also find themselves as good beings. Of course, this is more מאלכיאoften, especially in A, used. On the other hand, the use of man, which is now reflected in both As a designation for the supreme being (text 1, 22; 2, 20; 3, 3; 15, 6; 17, 16; 25 22, 5; 34, 13)[1]), it was foreign to the original. The word is not found on the- the same place in both versions, and the words ,,put the name to them in the Mund", A 173, B 110, I can only understand that the author is the false prophet the accusation is that they let their followers use the word. About for the use of now among the Mandaeans, see Uthra, p. 5401.

In both versions, the last age of the Arab is called Mohammed (A 203, B 164). The pieces have thus received their last version in Islamic times. But these sentences are inserted loosely and late; otherwise there is nothing in the treatises to indicate the arabic time. Even the otherwise ordinary connection of the Nerig (Mars) with the Arabs are missing here, see A 197, B 130, 160. On the other hand, even that at the end of B 35 inserted pieces about the false religions still refer to pagan cults (para. 159, 160). The basic script will have been written several centuries before Islam. About the Reitzenstein's experiment, in A 200ff. and the parallel piece an apocalypse from the time shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, see the introduction.

So that the two versions can be compared more easily with each other, I have 40 the individual paragraphs are numbered and at the end of the paragraphs the number of the corresponding Pieces are specified.

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1) A compilation of the use of the word Can be found at all in the ginzā see Brandt, Rel., pp. 211 f.

Blessed be my Lord of pure heart.

1. In the name of the great, first '), stranger') life from the light-worlds"), the exalted one who stands above all works, let healing, victory-responsibility*) and a remission of sins granted to me NN °), my father NN, my mother NN, my wife NN and my children .... Mandā dHaije") set up her name in his treasure house, take her to the be a community, and be a support to them. Because of the name I had confidence in life, and they wrote these books so that for me (Var.: for you) a souvenir in the Tibil*) exist and mine (Var.: your name in the house of perfection") will be established. (1)

2. Then let a remission of sins be given to all priests, and let to the Daeans who seek instruction in these Writings'0), to the voice of the Listen to life and praise the first life.

3. Blessed are you, my Lord, of a pure heart, you Lord of all Different' worlds. (2)

4. Blessed be you! Blessed, praised, glorified, honored and ") be the great, high, praised God, the high Liclit king, the God of truth, whose power is vast and endless. The pure Shine and the great light that does not pass. The Compassionate, Imploring, Pleasing, [2] Merciful, the Redeemer of all believers, the fortifier of all Good. The Mighty, the wise, the knower, the seer, the discriminator, the power- haber about every thing. The Lord of all the worlds of light, the upper, the middle and lower. The great face of glory, invisible, unlimited, without comrades in the crown, without partners in the Lord- shaft. He who trusts in him will not be disgraced, he who calls his name sincerely '*), it does not fall to anyone who stands in trust in him, will not be humiliated. (3)

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1) This after suffering.

2) Standing designation among the Mandaeans for the otherworldly, the earthly world alien beings, especially for the big life. Even with the "Strange God" Marcions perhaps the word "foreign" has this meaning.

") The plural is more often used in a singular sense, but it is most not sure what the meaning is. 4) Cf. Joh. II, p. 1 f.

b) Here is named the one who let the book lat be written off.

6) The personified Fvwais tons, who like the "live" in the midpoints of the Mandaean Religion stands, cf. Brandt, Rel., pp. 167f. 7) Cf. Lit., p 13".

8) The Old Testament as a designation for the earthly world. °) The place where the departed believers are brought to completion, the hereafter. 10) Sorry. : in this S:lurift.

") The expression is used in Mandaean in the same sense as "praised", cf. Lit. , p. XXIII.

12) In Kuštā, NDW1D is truth, truthfulness, the true faith, also fidelity and

5. The great Lord of all kings; nothing was, since he was not, nothing is, so he is not. For him there is no death created, for him there is no Pass. His light shines, and his radiance shines on all beings') and kings'), who stand before him in their glory and the great 5 Lights, which are stored above them, shine. (5).

6. He bestowed on them prayer and praise, which lay in their hearts, who stand in clouds of light"). They worship, praise and confess under- worthy of the Lord of greatness, the high King of light, for whose splendor, light and glory there is no measure, no number, no limit, the whole 10 Shine, all light, all brightness, all life, all fidelity, all love, all compassion, all forbearance, all eyes, all faces, all praise Faces of beauty, of total insight'), knowledge and revelation, total Name") of glory. (5)

7. The great, high God, whose power no one measured°), no one 15; no one grasps his power and the power of all his worlds.

8. He is the high King of Light, blessed with all blessings, from Beginning to all eternity, the First') from all primordial beginnings, the Creator of all forms, the creator of beautiful things, who [3] in his wisdom preserved, hidden, not revealed.

9. He is the high King of Light, the Lord of all the worlds of Light, the High over all Uthras"), the God over all ******), the king of kings, the great lord over all kings. A shine that does not change, a light, that does not perish, beauty, splendor and glory that is not contemptible have. Life, a survival, shine, an overglow, light, an overlight; an 25 he is neither lacking nor lacking.

10. He is the Light in which there is no darkness, the Living, in which n

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Sincerity in the behavior of believers towards the supreme being, as well as among themselves. ‚Kuštā reichen" means to give the handshake of brotherly loyalty. Refer to the word Joh., p. XVII.

1) Distress often has this meaning in Mandaean, cf. Brandt, Schr., p. 33.

2) NDsnD is here a designation for the heavenly beings, cf. Uthra, p. 544f. and above, p. 4.

8) Here, too, we are talking about the higher beings, who in the upper world are the light-surrounded by the king. See the parallel passage.

4) Contrary to Joh. II, p. 367 I summarize here and R 213, 27 thus. It is written here together with and and there between and Rnddin.

f) Sorry. has FD instead of Ry.

°) Probably because Have or read Abyxn woya. 7) Read NNd np.

8) Designation for angelic beings; the common Semitic is pushed back, see p. 4. The derivation of the word "abundance" attempted in Uthra, p. 539 i have since given up. It is probably according to the spelling Nmy ‚wealth" as The nature and emanation of the deity. An approach to this personified Nny finds apparently already in the odes of Solomon, see Reitzenstein, Iran. Redemption-mysterium, p. 91.

") Here maybe has .Gods", which was deleted by a fearful be. Text 5, 24 it has stopped.

no death, the good, in which no wickedness, the mild, in which neither Rebellion, nor anger, the gentle, in which there is neither poison nor bitterness.

11. He sits in the Far North'), powerful, beautiful and resplendent, the Primordial container of all Luminaries, the Father of all Uthras.

12. He blesses all beings, he rests on all perfect, True- and believers, in whose mouth his name is set up.

13. The king in the city of life, who is in the abodes of the Königtums abides. He is constant, his radiance rises and illuminates, he is without end, measure and number.

14. He rejoices with joy without sorrow, and all his Reich is happy with her. A (beautiful) picture, an ornament*) and splendor (is he), that there is no beauty like him.

15. The truth is He who dwells in the upper heights, the Lord the grandeur, the Lord of all great things. No one can do it.") his power to determine and describe in more detail and those of all his worlds, as well as his Škinās'), in which he resides, and the Uthras and kings who lived in stay with them.

16. That high king of Light sits safely in his dwelling. He is higher than all beings, like the earth as its inhabitants"). He excels [4] everyone, like the sky, the mountains. He shines more than all, like the sun more than lamps. He is brighter than all, like the moon more than the stars.

17. He is of qualities"), in which there is no lack. He is great crowns, that his power and greatness is limitless. Not it is limited by number or invoice.

18. The sparks of his crown spray to every place. Rays of the Glory, light and glory go from his face and between the leaves of his wreath. All uthras and kings, yes all the worlds') stand in prayer and praise and praise those high King of Light. (7)

19. Five mighty, great qualities emanate from him"). The

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1) The same author comments on the North as a preferred area in the seventh Part of the twelfth book. The Babylonians also considered the north to be the seat of the gods, see Jeremias, The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient Orient", p.20f. As the seat of the Gods the north was deified by the Arameans and Canaanites themselves (ŠNDW, DB).

2) Instead of suffering. Norb, too. N7TNA.

2) Sorry. and Norb. before xdyss.

4) is used by the Mandaeans predominantly in the original sense ‚residence" used, occasionally it is found as a designation for personified higher beings.

b) what is meant is: how the earth is bigger than its inhabitants. The exception is that the earth surpasses its inhabitants, one could at best live in a country with high mountains but not in Babylonia.

°) NDND ‚end, border, area" has further become the sense , category, type, propershaft" is developed.

7) Sorry. has patne i.e. ‚of all light worlds".

8) See BoussET, Main problems of the Avesta and Māni

the first is his') light that rises above them. The second is his well-being- the smell that wafts over you. The third is the loveliness of his voice, through which they rejoice. The fourth is the speech of his mouth, through which he creates and begets them. The fifth is the beauty of his figure, due to they grow as large as fruits in the sun.

20. All the Uthras opened their mouths, they praise that high light- and they said to him, Who shall praise you, who shall glorify you, who will bless you, who will honor you, who will "consolidate" you')? If we are) you with your prices you should praise, your price is limitless. When we meet you you are to bless with your blessing, your blessing is extended and endless. If we are to hold you up according to your sublimity, your sublimity- heit is immeasurable. If we are to praise you according to your depth, your Depth is unfathomable. When we hear of your strength, your brilliance and to speak to your light, your radiance is too extended to speak with words to speak of it, [your] light too abundant and great to speak of it to talk and tell.

21. The blessing, [5] the grace and majesty of the High King of Light blossom up, come out and can not be delimited. Never- man can understand them, nor understand them, except the life that is with you and the Uthras and messengers who stand before you. All beings know your No names. The kings stand there and speak to each other'):Which Does the name carry the great light?u They say,,There is no name like his name, there is no one who calls it by name, no one who calls his The name is recorded."

22. Save the perfect ones who knew you with a pure heart, your and remember you with a clear conscience who blessed you with a mouth that is all praise, praising you with a sincere tongue, confessing you with believing lips and they said, One is the king of light in his kingdom, there is none, he who is greater than he is, no one who made war with him. There is no, who could compare himself with his figure, no one who could see his eyes- lift up to look at the crown on the head of that high King of light, without his own crown falling from his head.

23. He is a high mountain, which the storms of the air do not shake.

24. He is clothed with new robes of splendor, which are not of the The clothes of this world. No woman has yet spoken: We want

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Gnosis, p. 231 and Reitzenstein, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1922, p. 249 ff.

1) Probably Aanng, etc. to read.

2) after suffering., see also continue. For the meaning of Dr, see above, p. 511. Note the fiveness of the glorification according to the five previously mentioned-named properties.

3) More likely than 1. pl. because as the 3rd sing. m. to grasp.

4) Probably read nadn ndnpi.

make a robe for the Lord of the crowns. Don't talk like that, even the children of the nations are not able to create the shell for him. '), which lies around his shoulders. The robe he wears will not come off- and the moth does not come and eat") in its shell.

25. The sun does not set before him, the lights of his city do not go out. The crowns on his head will not wither, and the leaves of his wreath fall off, which protrude above his face"). The fragrance wafts out from between the leaves of the wreath, which is over his Faces lie. All Uthras are enveloped by the fragrance ') and rejoice.

26. Blessed, exalted, and mighty is he above all gods; on Anfang [6] of all ages he was the king from the beginning. Will not be Name in our mouth, not his name between our lips limited. He is the judge of his place, in whose mouth there is no lie.

27. The throne of the Great, the Exalted, is firmly established, that he may al!e eternity is not moved from the place. Non-physical carpenters have established the throne that is under him, not builders of clay who Houses of his residence were built. He is king from the beginning, whose kingdom exists for eternity and does not pass away.

28. Never did his hip tremble in fear, nor did the Fear and anxiety of the children of darkness. He has never participated in a Days of terror, and ibn does not reach the hour of wrath and the quake.

29. The King of Light is with his crown as king for eternity for his kingdom there is no offense. A king, praised") and honored in his city, which huge diamond walls surround"). King of the Great, rich in Uthras, abundant in messengers, greater than the Kings of every place. He is frol, glad is his city, glad to be his the whole empire.

30. He has no father older than him, no firstborn), who would have been before him. He has no brother to share with him there is no twin brother who lives together ... . *****). He has not mixed and has not divided, and there is no division in his city.

31. Before him they do not offer a sacrifice, do not eat meat ....[9]),

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See the previous sentence, but Nöld suspects., p. 2391 a form of BDJ, after that,take it away from him".

*) Sorry. hat והבאלא. *) Cf. also 32.

4) To be understood in this way. The ordinary sense of ABon' NDny is to embrace", see also R 65, 4.

6) According to Nöld., p. 305° is maw instead of reading.

6) Sorry. hat הדירילה. 7) This means a first-born brother.

8) The meaning of NNYD is uncertain, cf. Nöld., pp. 39, 12; Sorry. hat דכניצאת. A word is missing later. In any case, it is meant that he has no brother who is with him the inheritance was divided.

*) Nant , very much" does not fit, but also Neds not, see Nöld., pp. 207, 24 and Note. Here must have been something of a meat enjoyed for cultic purposes.

do not drink wine of pleasure and do not sing before him a song of Sacrilege.

32. The garment with which he is clothed does not turn black, the Crowns on his head do not wither, and leaves do not fall of his wreath).

33. No sound of lamentation is in its place, no childlessness child of man. No body passes in front of him, his apartment will not be defiled by a dead man.

34. He did not fight a hard fight, he did not stand there at the[1] Days of Terror.

35. The king rejoices in the children of the light. He calls one, and a thousand answers to him. By his Word he creates Uthras, [7] by which He makes the speech of his mouth complete.

36. King of all Uthras and Škinās, great crown on the head of the The height of heaven, Gentle one, you who force down the mighty, the strength that you all unruly (push), blessed and praised are you by everyone Time and time will last into eternity.

37. Greater is your own power than that of all the kings of the place of Darkness. You live in a place that is light and bright, and beautiful and exalted is the land in which you dwell.

38. Blessed are you in the seat of the good, established in the place where the whole It is a blessing. You rejoice in him, and your heart rejoices because of all your Roommate.

39. You have been since the first day and have existed for all eternity.

40. He spoke with great power and mighty speech, and Kings*) of the light of pure splendor and great light that does not pass away. Kings") of praise ascended, arose and came into being for which there is no end, number or offense. They are all full Praise and stand there and praise that high King of light, whose splendor he is richer than to be described with a mouth of flesh and blood, and whose light is greater than that which one utters with the lips can. His radiance shines, and his light shines over all the worlds. Bright and luminous is the firmament in which they dwell °). (4. 7) .

41. The world in which he stands is without offense: a world of splendor and light without darkness, a world of gentleness without rebellion, a world of legality without confusion and hustle and bustle, a world of scents without an ugly scent, a world of life in eternity without offense and death, a world of living water, the smell of which makes kings rejoice,

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1) See also 47.

2) At the parallel point there is NonsND ‚Engel", see above, p. 4.

3) 12 refers to the kings, as can be seen from R 31, 20.

a world of goodness without badness,
a world of faithfulness and faith without lies and deceit.
It is a pure world without a bad mixture. (8)

42. The angels') of splendor praise that high King of light
'in the splendor and the light that he bestowed upon
them. The angels of glory [8] praise
him in the garments of splendor that he bestowed upon
them. The angels of glory praise him
in the sheaths of light that he bestowed upon them.
The angels of glory praise him
in the belts of splendor that he bestowed on them.
The angels of glory praise him
in the wreaths of splendor that he put on them.
The angels of glory praise him
with the strength and firmness that he gave them.
The angels of glory praise him
with faithfulness, community and faith, the he
awarded them. (9)

43. They are all gentle, wise and pleasant without wickedness, lies and wore. (10)

44. They are clothed with garments of splendor, and with garments of Light is covered. They sit and live next to each other, without sin against one another, or sin against one another. They are gorgeous on their firmamentena) and fit to each other like an eyelash to the eye.

45. Their inwardness is manifest to one another; first and last they know. A thousand times a thousand miles away from each other, and yet one shines through the other shine and one smells through the other Smell good. They include brotherly loyalty with each other and reveal-or their insides.

46. They are caught up in all manner of death, and the destruction of death is not created for you. For them there is no offense, they do not seize, their strength does not decrease, and with pain and infirmity they become not clothed.

47. Her robe does not turn black, her sheath does not darken. Your Wreaths do not wither and do not diverge, and the leaves fall do not get out of them.

48. They grow in all growth, live and stand firmly their places. They do not waver and are not shaken. Among them is there no old man who seized, no miscarriage that resulted from the mother-body would have come out.

49. There is no judgment in their city, and they do not judge one another.

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1) Here the Parisian manuscripts have yet to suffer. here and in the Folgenden ,"Kings".

2) See Nöld., p. 1710.

50. They do not hunger and thirst, and heat and cold, malice and Anger is not with them. (6)

51. They do not wage war with each other and do not get into troublefangenschaft.

52. No wild animal enters their earth, [9] and evil worm comes not out of it.

53. No bad leaf is on your trees, no bitterness on the fruits of their dwellings. Their fruits wither and dry up no, and the leaves of the trees do not fall off. Moth and dust') falls not in their slothfulness, and for their dwellings there is no offense.

54. Angry rulers without mercy have no dominion over you. There are no angry ravings without pity at their residences.

55. Their firmaments") are lofty and lofty, and their buildings are Houses of the seat of completion. Their seas are calm and gentle, and there is no passage in them. The Jordans of the worlds of light are full white water, whiter than milk, cold and tasty, and its fragrance strengthens more than the spicy, big vines. (11)

56. The uthras and kings who drink from them do not taste the Taste of death, they have no evil, dull or hard day, and there is no sorrow in her soul.

57. For your years there is no number, for your whole life there is no measure. They are all joyful and flaunting in joy without tribulation. They stride they float over that white earth of the Ãther. In the splendor that has risen above them, no darkness is mixed.

58. Those beings of light disintegrate into many species"). They are divided into Earths, Škinās, Jordans, trees, Uthras and angels'), as well as in splendor, light and brightness that rest on them. There is no boundary between the one and the other.

59. Her figure is luminous and bright. The sight of her face is flashing and clear, equal to pure beryl. Strength and voice become stronger every day, Speech and victory were created by the king of all the Liclite worlds and sent to them. 60. They all stand there with prayer and praise, with miraculous (Prayers)orders and hymns") and show [10] to the High King of Light Submission, ...") and praise. And those angels'), who are from the king, to their Lord *******). (11)

61. Fragrance comes forth from among them, and all the fragrances of the Joy, not the smell of idols and not the smell ...") of all astartes.

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1) R 5, 19 is similar in appearance, see p. 9, 4. °) See p. 11, 24.

8) See above, p. 7°. ') Cod. B and sorry. have NDSNDI ,,and kings".

") Cf. Lit., p. XIVf. Later, NATD, like NN77, has the meaning ,,book" angenommen, cf. Joh., P. V.

°) See to Joh. II, p. 34". The meaning is not quite clear, but it fits in in most cases,"enlightenment", and it is usually translated as follows.

7) Also sorry. got here ומאלאכיא. 8) Here is a gap.

°) gives no more meaning than suffering. hat. Maybe he has

62. All rejoice over one another, as the rain clouds rejoice over the trees and the seeds of the earth. They are emblems of the beautiful- the beauty, the beauty, the beauty and the beauty. One is more miraculous than the other, one more luminous than the other.

63. The name of the High King of Light is blessed for all eternity and 5 rates.

64. The Uthras, Angels'), messengers, apparitions, figures, earths, Škinās, castles"), buildings, Jordans and trees, as well as the splendor that shines on they were created by the King of Light.

65. [From the King of Light?] uthras and kings are evoked, from 10 the earth is made of Jordan and trees, of brightness and light there are garments, cloaks and wreaths made for them, and not one of them there is something that would be lacking and lacking.

66. That place is a place of life, truthfulness, tranquility, the security, peace and faith that everyone hopes for, and 15 on which he builds his confidence.

67. The king rejoices the sons of Light, and they are proud here's to him. Their buildings and škīnās are built of splendor and light, their Walls of safety and strength.

68. Their splendor is more miraculous than the splendor of the sun and the 20th century Moon. Their brightness is brighter than the brightness of this world. At the 1 The splendor of this world is a mixture, but the splendor of that [world] is bright- without turbidity. Of course, the splendor of this world is in the image created with the same brilliance, but like small shells and pebbles") Pearls are.

69. Your earth does not rest on any ambos, your firmament does not turn by wheels, the seven stars do not walk above them, [U] the Five and twelve*) do not guide your destiny.

70. Dust is not in their way, mud is not found in your Jordans.

71. They are nimble in their course like the thought (the heart) the man who does not walk on his feet, and yet in an hour to every The place arrives. Light and calm is her gait, like the rays of the sun to the eyes of the children of Adam, the rays that appear") from heaven reaching the earth.

72. When they meet each other, they undress and clothe themselves dealing with the mutual treasures").

ריהא lthe meaning of "frankincense" and will this be called "daughter (read of all kinds of astarts" this is how the salt is called the daughter of the god Bel (Jn. II, p. 6, בראתא Note.). Dal Cypress, see Brandt on the spot, is not likely to me.

1) See p. 12, note. 7. 2) Read Nan, so sorry too.

a) The small fake ornaments on the necklaces of the women.

4) The five planets without sun and Moon and the zodiac images.

a) Read pondt npos.

°) They exchange each other's robes and ornaments.

73. They do not sin and do not offend each other, like the splendor of the sun and the wind, (like) the fire and the water this world').

74. Their food is from the blessing of the Jordan, the fruits and the trees.

75. There is no end and no limit to your virtues, and we don't talk about your power. As someone said: Should the stinking body praising you or the vain tongue? Would be our Mouth like the sea, our tongue like the rugged rocks in it, our Lips like its two banks, we could not, my Lord, your Comprehensively describe power over all your worlds"). No, there is no one, who could describe your power comprehensively.

76. Salvation to him who knows you; Salvation to him who speaks of you in knowledge. Salvation to the one who is enlightened about you; Salvation to the one who is enlightened about spread yourself.

Salvation to him who teaches himself about you in truth; Salvation to him who teach you.

Save him who has learned your wisdom") and free himself from error and confusion he liberated this world.

Save the truthful and faithful ones who have known you and they have seen; they ascend victorious and look at the place [12] light.

77. Blessed and praised be you, my Lord, you high King of light, from today to all eternity.

78. By your word every thing became.

79. From the side of that Lord of greatness a uthra was created and sent out, whose name is Hibil-Zīwa, the Gabriel, the Messenger, who-is called. (12)

80. When the high King of Light wanted it, he called me out of the splendor and the light in which he stands, out of that Škinā which he, the Great, was founded at his right hand, and said to him'): 'Arise, go forth into the world the darkness that is full of wickedness. She is full of Evil, full of consuming fire. To the world that was full of lies and deceit which is sown with thistles and thorns. The world of confusion and confusion To the world of darkness without light, to the world of Stench without fragrance, to the world of persecution and death without To live in eternity, to the world in which the good things pass away and the Plans do not come true." (13)

81. He said to him, 'Go, let the darkness come down, and my-

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1) Who seek to oppress each other.

2) See Lit., p. 129 and on the wide distribution of this picture Reinh. Köhler, Kleiner Schriften III, p. 293ff.

3) Read with sorrow. דסבאר.

4) Such a change in person is not uncommon in oriental writings.

sterias formed from it'). Seal the earth, tighten the firmament and form stars in it. Give shine to the sun, brightness to the moon and to all the stars. Give them a good taste Water and shine to the fire. (14)

82. Create fruits, grapes and trees that flaunt in the world. Livestock*), fish and poultry, of every genus A little man and a little woman who belong to Adam and his entire family Should be of service. (15)

83. A man and a woman shall arise, and their name shall be given to Adam and Be Hawwa. Of the angels of fire, some shall be servants to Adam be. Everyone who deviates from your word"), [13] should go to the blazing Fire will be contained. Three angels of Splendor and Light let's create*) and keep Adam company. (16)

84. Living water") come and mix with the turbid water. Through the scent of living water, the whole world flaunts. The four Winds of the house °) are to be created, as well as the air'), which blowing them. Let fire arise and spread") over all the world. That world shine through your hand." (17)

85. The high King of light uttered the word, and all things arose Ding by his word. (20)

86. Gabriel, the Messenger, came, lifted up the sky and stretched it he sealed the earth and firmly established it (and the whole world by the power of the high King of Light). (21)

87. Adam the husband and Hawwa his wife were formed, and the Soul fell into the body. When the soul had fallen into the body, be- they understood and understood everything. (22)

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1) Note the deviation in the parallel point. °) The domestic animals; the wild animals are not named here and at the parallel point (against Nöld., pp. 326,6). is formed as a plural ans, which is the tame domestic animals in contrast to Nyn, the devouring, wild animal, bedraw. Text 33.5 is to be read with D.

d) One expects,"from his word", see also 88, but both versions have so.

4) At the parallel point it is better ,'shall come', see the following sentence.

b) "Living water", i.e. running water that is of noble origin and in which running rivers, the "Jordanes", flows. This alone is usable in the cult. In contrast- the stagnant water and the turbid water (NDANN ND) of the primordial chaos and the seas. The expression N is probably borrowed from Judaism, see Gen. 26,19; Lev. 14, 5,50. After forming a nanny,"living fire" as a Be- drawing for the fire of the heliren world. The opposite is according to NINDy, ND "consuming fire" (see Jn. II, p. XVI') ,"consuming, burning water" formed as a designation for the water of the underworld, see also Brandt, Rel., pp. 64ff.

") ,,House" is a common name in the Mandaean writings for the earthdiscle For the world, including the Persians, see Joh. II, p. 76.

7), i.e. dnp can mean, in the Mandäisclen ,,air" like ,,Ather", and it is sometimes-not sure what the meaning is. However, the expression seems particularly to designate the air, see by name R 283, 4f.

) For the meaning of DFD, see Lit., p. 178.

88. The angels of fire came and submitted to Adam. You they came and bowed down to him and did not deviate from his speech. Only he alone, the evil one, from whom evil was formed, departed from the word from his Lord. Then his master bound him with a fetter. (23)

89. My Lord called me, the noble Messenger, and appointed me and said, 'Go, call a voice to Adam, to his wife Hawwa, and to all his kinsmen. A noble voice call to them and teach them about every thing. Teach them about the high King of Light, whose power is far-reaching and large, without limit and number. Teach them about the 10 Worlds of light, the imperishable. (24)

90. Speak to him that his heart may be enlightened, and teach him, that his mind may be enlightened. Show yourself to him graciously and afford him Company, you and the two angels who are with you. Teaching Knowledge Adam, Hawwa his wife and all his kinsmen. Tell them that the wicked and Satan, the unfit, shall not deceive them. (25)

91. Teach them [14] prayer and praise, that they may step down and praise the Lord of all the worlds: three times a day and two times of the Night. (26)

92. Tell them: Take a wife and form a tribe, so that let the world multiply from you. (27)

93. When you approach your wives, wash yourselves with water and keep yourself in. (28)

94. Do not fight and do not steal and do not kill children of men. (29) 95. O you who are perfect and faithful! Do not depart from your Speak away, and do not love falsehood and falsehood. Don't love gold and Silver and the possessions of this world. Because this world stops and passes away, and their possessions and their works will be abandoned. (30)

96. Do not worship Satan, idols, images, error, and the confusion of this world. For he who worships Satan falls into the blazing Fire, until the day of judgment, until the hour, the hours of judgment- as long as the High Light King, who judges all beings, wants it. He judge the souls, each according to the works of his hands'). (31)

97. Do not learn the magic work of Satan and do not bear witness to the Lie down. If you speak right, then keep straight right and wrong- don't turn it. When they call witnesses, they are true people, stuff. Every one who perverts the law is consumed by the blazing Fire. (32)

98. Deliver unrighteous servants into the hand of their wicked masters and do not leave the weak to the strong. (33)

99. Honor the father and mother and the elder brothers like the Father. A son who despises father and mother will be sentenced on court day be. (35)

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1) Sorry. "he grants to everyone according to the works of his hands."

100. Do not look with greed and desire for something that is not yours shall. If your Lord grants it to you - - - '); but do not argue about it in a sinful way. For according to the will of your Lord, every one of you was The thing is attributed and granted in kindness. (37)

101. If evil comes upon you, endure it and hold fast in your faith. Do not change anything and do not twist anything in [15] of your speech. Do not bend your knee and do not bow your head and do not pay homage Satan is the Devil, the Devil is the Devil. (38)

102. Keep away from everyone who is the evil one, the idol and adores the pictures. Don't be a friend to him"). Have you asked for follow him and love him, so let the scriptures and speeches and the Hear the praise that your Lord has bestowed upon you. Does he listen to it, become a believer and bear witness to the high King of light, the God who love him, draw near to him and show him good from everything you own. He does not listen, does not bear witness, and does not turn believing, he will be held accountable for his own sins be. (59)

103. If you see a prisoner who is a believer and a truthful, then pray ransom and redeem him. But not with gold and silver alone release the soul, but with truthfulness and faith and with the mouth pure speech releases the soul: from darkness to light, from error to the truth, from infidelity and rebellion to prayer and praise, from unbelief to faith in your Lord. Whoever releases a soul is worth generations and worlds to me'). (43)

104. I tell you, my chosen ones, I teach you, my Gläubigen: Pray alms to the poor and be a guide to the blind'). When you pray alms, my elect, do not bear witness to it. Be- if you witness it once, do not repeat it. Pray with your right hand, so don't tell your left. Pray with your left hand, so say it not your right°). To every one who gives alms and bears witness to it,

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1) The postscript is omitted, instead you have to think of a gesture: then it's good.

2) Nn is only in A and may only be inserted later under the influence of the Qur'anic aš-šaiṭān ar-rağim (Sura 3,31 and others). According to the Arab mußar-rağim ,"the stoned one". Since the word in the athiopic has the meaning "cursed" and this sense apparently paft better, the Arabic word is considered a borrowing from the Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semit. Linguistics, p. 47. Now Satan is already at Ephrem (+ 373) daggālā rgīmā ,,the stoned (or to be stoned) cheaters" called: Ephraemi ... Opera selecta ed. OvERBECk, pp. 131,11. So, the expression was common among the Arameans long before Muhammad. Therefore, can he also came from them to the Arabs, on the other hand, it is not necessary that רגימא this verse is taken from the Qur'an.

3) Maybe nonna Abynnn's "don't be a friend" originally stood there.

1) nne is = it belongs to the turn nn שאוילִיא ד (Jn. 200, 14).

b) See timesheet. f. Semitistik I (1922), p. 2.

6) Matt. 6, 3.

it will be repaid and not credited. (34) Everyone who gives alms and does abundant good, but then abolishes alms and does not donates, falls into the blazing fire, until his sins are finished and all his Misdemeanors are expunged. (41)

105. My chosen ones! Do you see someone who is hungry, so sate he. If you see someone who is thirsty, pray to him to drink. Do you see [16] a naked man, put garments and cloaks around his neck. For everyone who gives receives, and everyone who lends receives payment. For everyone who gives alms, the great alms will be a support. Whosoever clotheeth the naked man with raiment, it shall be around his neck Lay robes and covers. Anyone who releases a prisoner will The messenger of life. (42)

106. Whoever lets himself be enlightened and instructed, he will be helped create. Whoever calls the call of life, its construction is firmly built") and 15 is fixed. Who can be enlightened by my praise, whose name is will be remembered daily at the place of light. Who can stand by my words he will be among the Uthras.

107. He who frees himself from the infidelity of the wicked will be without Sins and transgressions rise up and look at the place of light. 108. Every one who, out of love for his Lord, puts his body to Is pure in sin without blemish. (45)

109. To you I say, my elect, to you I declare, my Believers: Fast the great fast, but not a fast of food the drinking of the world. (74)

110. Fast with your eyes from winking and see and do nothing Evil. (76)

111. Fast with your ears from listening to doors that are not yours have. (78)

112. Fast with your mouth of impious falsehood and love do not lie and lie. (77)

113. Fast with your heart from evil senses, and hatred, jealousy and do not be divided in your heart. Those who are jealous will not Called more perfect. (79)

114. Fast with your hands from the commission of a murder, and do not commit theft. (81)

115. Fast with your body from a wife who is not your shall. (80)

116. Fast with your knees from the worship of Satan and kneel not in front of the images of deception.

(83) 117. Fast with your feet from cunning gait for a thing, that's not yours.

118. Fast this great fast and do not break it until you your body is separated. (85)

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1) That distributes life to the pious.

2) Sorry. hat בנינא.

119. Who [17] sins in his childhood, but then no longer sins, and no longer transgresses, the forbearance of his Lord will be granted. He, the High King of Light, is compassionate, forgiving and merciful, he is a remitter of sins and offenses. (40)

120. Everyone who loves gold and silver and the possessions of this world and therefore commits a murder, falls into the blazing, red-hot fire. (46)

121. My chosen ones! Have no confidence in the kings, and Rulers and the rebellious of this world, not even on armies- power, armor, battle, crowds that gather them '), and prisoners, who bring them together in this world, still on gold and silver. You they made a fuss and threw him out"). They collect well and leave it back in the world, then go there and boil in the fire. With your They stir up the coals with their hands, and with their lips they fan the fire to"). Their scourge and their ruling power are collapsing, and their splendor will be blocked to you. Neither their gold nor their silver shall remain to them. and will be your support. Neither your money nor your estate will be given to you for Redemption. Their rule will pass away and come to an end, and they will the verdict was pronounced. (87)

122. I say to all of you who listen to the speech of God: At your standing and your sitting, your walking and your coming, with your food and your drink, with your resting and your lying, in general, in all your actions, call and praise the name of the the high King of Light. (47)

123. ......5) cross the Jordan and be baptized. Baptize your soul with the living baptism"), which I brought to you from the worlds of light, with the all perfect and faithful are baptized. Say the blessing about the pihta') and eat it, say the praises about the mambuha and drink it, that a remitter of sins and offenses may chastise you be. (48)

124. Anyone who is marked with the sign of life, over

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1) Probably to be understood in this way, supported by the parallel passage (42, 9). Anders Nöld., p. 328. Sorry. has NDIND).

2) Doubtful. The words Narn are probably disfigured ראמילון) (sorry. hat and maybe they don't belong here at all. In the original place they like similar as Lit. , p. 227, 4f.

8) See NöLDEKE, Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie XXX (1916), p. 150, the translated last words , "with his lips he swallows embers".

4) Read with BD NMW.

8) The word has not yet been explained. The previous attempts to explain see at Brandt, Rel., p. 100f. Perhaps it is with heb. ynD to combine ,free his way let", here ,,let (flow) freely", do not contain or cut off.

c) With baptism in living, flowing, not in "cut off" water, see above, p. 15'.

7) Pihtā is the sacramental food, Mambūhā (Mambūgā) is the cult potion. See about the two names and their meaning rooms, Oriental studies, Theodor Nöldeke dedicated to the 70th birthday, p. 959ff. and Lit., p. XXIIf.

the name of the King of Light [18], who firmly and steadfastly who keeps baptism and practices good and beautiful works, no one will be on his Ways ').

125. Do not eat the blood of animals, not a dead (animal), not a pregnant, 5 no throwing*), none that stands [in ******]*), none that is a wild The animal attacked). But slaughter with the iron, wash, rinse, clean, cook and eat it. (57)

126. Do not eat or drink from the house of the twelve gates"), for they are all full of impurity and ugliness.

127. O men who take a wife! Why do you want to go out take a wife in their midst?

128. Love and endure one another, like the eyes that are on the feet pay attention. Love and endure each other, then you will become the great Suf- Sea°). For the brothers in the flesh perish, but the Brothers in Kušta"). So you are brothers in Kušta, who Practice love to perfection. Because the name of the First one") is on your Head erect. Your sign is the sign of the living water, by virtue of which you will ascend to the place of Light.

129. If you, my chosen ones, listen to what I have told you say, if you will do as I command you, I will give you splendor of to grant me in abundance and light from me without end. You will be in the house of life, as the Uthras of Light flaunted at the places of light.

130. If you do not listen to what I am telling you, if you do not do what I command you, and you will descend into darkness-, into which the wicked sink without ascending.

131. Salvation to him who heard and believed, woe to everyone who wrapped up and lay down10). The good ones who heard and believed, rise up victorious and look at the place of light. The bad guys who they heard and did not believe, they set their faces to the great South Sea.

132. My chosen ones! Stay away from the unruly the empty apartment. Every day, every day, they sit on the thrones of the Rebellion, they sit on the thrones [19] of rebellion, and with the

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1) Up to the place of light.

2) Perhaps this is how it should be understood here, see about the word Joh II, p. 136*.

3) A word has come up behind woll. Names in B (text 38, 20) it may be added only after the misunderstood.

4) I suspect 5.

") The "gates" are the foreign, false religions, the Zalil of which has twelve-11 will be.

°) In Alexandrian-Jewish speculation, the exit of the soul from the body combined with the exodus of the children of Israel from Ãgypten and the Red Sea interpreted as the sea of the end (Jam süfals Jam söf), see Joh., p. XXI.

7) See above, p. 512

8) Instead of ND12 ,,name" is perhaps ND12 ,,characters" to be read.

°) Of the King of Light, see p. 6, 17... 10) See Joh. II, p. 180; Lit., p. 96*.

Scourge perform their works. Their works lead them with the scourge and faithfulness, meekness and peace is not in them.

133. Do not take a course of error and do not commit a mistake-faults with gold and silver. Whoever accepts the path of error, whose Name is cut off from the place of light.

134. If a man leaves his body, do not weep and exalt no complaining and complaining about him. Bread from ....") do not eat about him. Anyone who weeps over a dead man will be put in streams of water, when they are full. Whoever tears his robe by the neck*) will make the mistake keep his clothes on. He who pulls out his hair around the dead man, they will enclose it in the mountain, in the Dark Mountain"). (49)

135. Go, you poor, wretched*) and persecuted, weep over you itself. For while you are still in the world, your sins increase.

136. When you are grieved for the souls that depart from among you, so put out displeasure and sorrow from your heart, and keep sorrow, and Complain away from your gates. Because of grief and lamentation, the- monen and Dews formed. They rush ahead of the souls on the way and harass them in the customs house'). If you ask for them, and she loves, so perform intercession, prayer and praise for her, recite Hymns, reads orders of prayer and organizes masses for the dead, so that the 20 be merciful to them. Shine will then give you go ahead, let the light follow you. Messengers of life will be sent to you On the right, angels of light will be on the left, and they will be watched by the- °) and the boiling boilers. (50)

137. Teach souls that their hearts should not falter. Let them speak softly and hear the praise that I have brought you. May they hear and witness, and may their hearts find rest on his support.

138. Pray bread and water and shelter to the poor and poor- they followed the children of men who were persecuted.

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1) The word has not yet been explained. G.Hoffmann's declaration Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie IX (1894), p. 336 is no more probable than that of his predecessors. It is probably of Babylonian origin.

*) As a sign of mourning, a custom that Muslims and Jews also practice.

8) nDN can be called,"on the Finsterberg, fetter to the Finsterberg" and "enclose it in the Dark Mountain". Also the expression (R 37, 20; Jn. 99, 5) is ambiguous; he kaun mean "to the dark Mountain" and "to the dark Mountain provide". The motive that a wicked man is tied to a mountain is otherwise in the myth spread (Dahāk, Prometheus). R 58,16 the words can only he will be tied up on the mountain Mārā", and also for the expression Jn. 97,4 מיתיאבאט בטורא האשכא is the meaning of "on which mountains are bound" closer. On the other hand, the turn shows Joh. 87.3; 184.4; 208.3 with It is certain that the idea that the wicked will enter the mountain of darkness, with the Mandaeans, see also above, p. 15, 11, therefore I take this meaning also at nDx and on.

4) Read ודאנייא. 6) Which stands on the border between this world and the Hereafter. °) See the preface to the third piece of the fifth book.

139. Walk the ways of the Kuštā, and the wage of the wage-earner- don't spend the night with you. (51)

140. [20] Do not rob the partner and do not deceive your Friend. Whoever robs his companion and partner, whose eyes look not the light. (52)

141. Give each other the rights and do not make your oath of allegiance to lie. For the Uthras and Kings of Light grant each other Covenant and oath of allegiance. (53)

142. O you chosen and perfect ones! Be humble and bedivorce, so that you may be called chosen, faithful, and believers. Love each other faithfully and lead your love to perfection. Be gently and modestly against the excellent teachers who give you the rights Teaching wisdom. Do not overpower them, so that you may save your soul does not attach any blemish. (54)

143. Do not pray to the soothsayers and Chaldeans of falsehood, for in the darkness they will be accommodated. (55)

144. Do not swear false oaths and twist your oaths .not. (56)

145. Do not consume interest and compound interest, so that you are not in the dark darkness will be judged. (58)

146. Do not boo and do not whore, do not sing and do not dance. Your Do not let your heart be taken for the song of Satan, which is entirely from Magic, deception and seduction, which is the meaning of the perfect it turns the hearts of the believers upside down. (59)

147. My chosen ones! Take care and be prepared so that you You are called armed in the world. Stand still in the world and endure the persecution of the world until your measure is full. Be each other a support and help, as well as the perfect one, in the pursuit ofkick. (60)

148. If your mind is in anger, calm down and keep down your heart. Accept from the Word of your Lord. Because the attitude of the Who is filled with the wrath of Satan, [is made wise by the right- faith and humility. Who can get through will not allow faith to be drawn to modesty, will be destroyed by sword and the sabre was slain. He will be slain by sword and sword, and falls into the blazing fire. (61)

149. If you see a good man who has learned wisdom, approach and accept from him his wisdom. Do you see a bad, [21] he who is wise to evil, so stay away from him, do not take anything from his wisdom, do nothing of his works, and walk not on his path. (63)

150. O you who believe and are perfect! Everything that you have- if you hate it, don't hurt your neighbor either. (65)

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1) After the parallel point.

151. My chosen ones! Do good works and take care of travel- food for your way. See, hear and believe and take this The word of your Lord.

152. See with your eyes, speak with your mouth, listen with with your ears, believe with your heart, practice alms with your hands- give and do good, and act according to the will of your Lord, but after the will of Satan does not act. (66)

153. Do not have confidence in the beauty of the bodies, because completely suddenly they spoil. Walk according to the word of your Lord, that you may victoriously ascended to the place of light. Show the high King of Light Submission'), veneration and praise, so that your sin and guilt you will be forgiven. (67)

154. Do not forget about Satan and the deceptive images of this world. For everything that is born dies, and everything that is made with hands will, spoils. The whole world is coming to an end, and their divinity pass. (83)

155. My chosen ones! Have no faith in the world, in who lives, because she does not belong to you. Have faith in the beautiful The works that you do. When you leave your body, you can you rely on the works of your hands. (86)

156. My chosen ones! Don't show contempt for the orders, which your Lord commanded. Show legality, gentleness and modesty, which are of the nature of light. Show forbearance, compassion, Conciliatory- and mercy, which are of the nature of light. (88)

157. O you men who take wives, O you women who give you Men come, O you men who take women! Witness and be- come on, kids. [22] If you do not bear witness and receive, then bear the disease is in the camp. But I will tell you about the ugly works the women who commit adultery: about every woman who commits fornication, about every woman who commits theft, about every woman who practices magic, and the soul is oppressed in the body: an action that God does not like and for people are not beautiful. For it is like the terrible sufferings, for which there is no cure. (92)

158. Do not take as a wife a slave who has not been set free, and so do not take your children to a mansion. On the day of the 35th If the servant is missing and the heart of the Lord is angry with him, the sins will, which the servant commits, coming upon the head of his Father"). When you take a woman who is released, so take abundant kindness, about- a lot and a lot. (93. 94)

159. Receive faithful love from a woman to whom there is fidelity. Do not turn away from one another until your measure is full. Because who will be

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1) For the intransitive use of 1733 cf. Joh. II, p. 218*.

*) See Joh. II, p. 174.

A woman betrays, in whom there is no mistake, lies and deceit, and loves and drives the lust of the Tibil, about whom the verdict will be pronounced. (95)

160. If you have children and they remain alive, teach as soon as you understand yourself on knowledge, the right wisdom and let walk the path of the Kušta. If you do not teach them, and teach, and you will be condemned in the Court of Justice. When you but they don't want to learn, they will because of their own Sins will be called to account. (96)

161. If a man inclines away once'), he straightens him up again and support him. If a soul inclines away for the second time, it will judge back up and support her. Does a soul bow away for the third time, so raise her up again and support her. Leave them the scriptures and Listen to the words, prayers and praises of your Lord. When you but she will not let herself be supported, so pluck out the evil vine, bring [23] a good one and plant him in his place. Because you give him in his ear, but he did not want to hear, they showed him in the eye, he but did not want to see, you showed him, but he did not see with the eye if he wanted to, he should come to an end on the day of the end. He falls into the torture, into which the wicked fall without rising. (97)

162. When you see people with a physical defect so do not show contempt for them ") and do not laugh at them you. For only the bodies formed of flesh and blood are formed by Suffering and infirmity are contemptible, but the soul will not be saved by suffering and infirmities contemptible. The soul is only scorned by ugly Works she commits. (98)

163. I tell you, my chosen ones, I teach you, my Gläubigen. Do not praise the Seven and Twelve*), the leaders of the world who walking by day and night'). For they mislead you."

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1) The right faith.

2) Read Brockelmann, Lex. Syr.2, p. 79b is to be corrected, otherwise mandaean ND3 finds (R 43, 15; 191,8; 215, 24), in addition, several times NIND)2. Syrian ND3 with by see at Brockelm. there.

3) The seven planets and the twelve animal images.

4) The verb 817 (177) is almost only with the planets. It is in Aramaic (such as in Babylonian) ambiguous; it can mean "wandering" and "chastising, ruling". To this place, where next to NIDNTD, "Leiter" is written and not just one of the Seven, but also stated by the twelve, the meaning "reign" fits better, but R 40, 12 is also mentioned by the Dews and the hosts of Satan, to which also the Seven that they should be subjected to the children of Adam, R 125, 1 of the That they should obey Adam and his kinsmen, and R 171, 8f. stands in parallel Also, the אסגי. noun standing next to it only has the meaning "gait, run" (such as babyl. marditu), not the sense of domination". Therefore, one must also at this point the Meaning , "walking". If it is now also stated by the signs of the zodiac, so it should be borne in mind that even these seem to wander with the sun over the sky.

8) Read Abwnd, cf. R 231, 19.

Tribe of Souls'), who moved here from the house of life be. (101)

164. Do not praise the sun and the moon, the illuminators of this world, because this shine is not hers. It was given to them only in order to dark apartment"). They are the angels of the lapsed The house"); they made a vain call to be heard*).

165. Do not praise Šamiš (the Sun), whose name is Adonai, whose Name Qadoš, whose name is Ēl-El, in addition, he has hidden, in the World non-revealed names. (102)

166. He, Adonai, chose a people for himself and founded a Synagogue. Jerusalem Square is being built, the city of the Jews who cutting with a sword, splashing her face with her blood*) and so Adonai worship. The men leave their wives, go there and lie down to each other. The women who are in their menstruation lie in the lap of men. They turn away from the first teaching and make a "book" for yourself. (103. 104)

167. I tell you, my chosen ones, do not hold it with those Slaves who are abhorred by their master. Do not mix with [24] to the Jews who do not stand there in a speech"). (105)

168. Out of the people of the Jews all nations and gates are born-go. (106)

169. False prophets appeared, which are accompanied by lies and deception- go. They enter from the angels of defectiveness°) into the parturition- mother of the women who become pregnant with them and they are covered with blood and give birth to menstruation. They bring (false) wisdom out of their hearts and throw them into the world'). They call themselves God and they are the messengers ("the Messengers"). They attract a body and take the shape of men. You write a book of deception, ask Warn them and let them perform false prayer. Lustful-they cast lust, lust and passion over the face of the earth, and they call themselves prophets. (107)

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1) A designation for the totality of the Mandaeans, cf. Jn. II, p. 5. ") Both names for this world.

3) Read mp cf. the Var. in D.

4) After the circumcision, the blood is sucked out at the wound, so the Mōhēl (circumciser) slightly blood on the face. Cf. also B.

b) This indicates divisions among the Jews.

°) It is unclear how this is meant; here hardly means "with". See by the way the parallel passage.

7) is often in the Mandaean sense of false wisdom, after- wisdom. I take the sentence in this way, not in the sense,you remove the wisdom from your Hearts and throw embroidery into the world" (FROM anticipation of ND5NB) by name with With regard to R 121.9; cf. also R 375.15.

8) See also L 33, 19 on this use of pDn. But perhaps almost, "to name oneself", cf. ND12 PDN Joh. 117, 12f. and see Z. 31.

170. Now I, the first Messenger, teach and tell all the Naşoreans '), the who are now and who are yet to be born: do not listen to their speech and do not stray from the path of life. My chosen ones! Hold it not with those who do not stand there in a speech. Recognize it in your speech, they accuse one another of lying. A king reviles the another king, a prophet punishes the other prophet with lies. They call the children of men approach, make them greedy for gold and silver, money and well, fill them with desire and seduce them. (108)

171. Some of them take you by singing, dancing and voluptuousness caught. Some of them seduce you with images of gold and Silver, by sculptures made of a block, by idols made of clay and other worthless works. (108)

172. Some of them oppress you with sword, saber, blow, War, struggle, fear and terror, frighten them and command them and make them slaves of the planets against their will. (109)

173. Some of them seduce the children of Adam by humility and Flattery, [25] by candy and cunning, by cunning and deception. They put the name of God in their mouths") and speak to them: These are the books and speeches that the Great, the Exalted bestowed on us has. They mix among them speeches by which their souls are inhibited") and perish. They twist their hearts and throw folly*) into the world. (110)

174. And now I, the pure Messenger, say to you: Do not listen to the Speech of the false prophets posing as prophets of the Kušta and make themselves like the three Uthras who have gone into the world"). Your Shine is not a shine, her robe is a robe of fire. Some of they are clothed with garments of darkness, with shrouds of darkness- and their smell is ugly and smelly. (111)

175. I say to you, my elect, I call to you and teach i, my believers, clothe yourselves in white and cover yourselves with white like the garments of splendor and the sheaths of light. Lay white headbands around the same as the flaunting wreaths"). Bind yourselves Belts of living water, which the Uthras around tie her hips. Put split shoes on and take bars in your hand is like the rods of living water, which the Uthras on the Carry places of light. (112)

176. O you who believe and are perfect! Don't say anything you don't

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1) Designation for the Mandaeans. The meaning of the word and its- in connection with the New Testament Natwpaios, see Lit., p. XVIff., Rooms, ZDMG LXXIV (1920), p. 429ff. and my remarks Zeitschr. f. Semitistik I (1922), p. 230ff.

°) See above p. 4, 26.

4) At the ascent to the place of light.

4) B (47, 12) has "waste". See also pp. 29, 9.

8) See above p. 15, 12; 16, 13 and Brandt, Rel., pp. 122f.

°) Of the celestial beings who are white.

know, and it is not revealed to you. For there is no one to whom the- except for the Great, Exalted One, who is All knows and sees through. (113)

177. My chosen ones! Arm yourself with an armor that does not of iron. May your armor be Naşaraerdom') and the true 5 Speeches of the place of light. (114)

178. Pray to one another good advice, as you warned and instructed be. As you see with your eyes, call with your mouth, with your Listen to ears, so do good, [26] beautiful works with your hands. Equal not to the evil plants that drink water, and not to their Lord Bring fruit. (115)

179. My chosen ones! See, I have told you about the light- for which there is no end or number. I told you about the Darkness and the blazing fire are proclaimed. I told you about the Satan, who is without strength and firmness and is not from the 15th century he can save the fire and the fire. (116)

180. This is the first teaching given to Adam, the head of the living Gender was awarded. It was a speech and a testimony.

181. Then the world will be destroyed by sword and pestilence. It is it intended for souls that they should leave their bodies at that time divorce. And these souls rise up without sins and Veerschuldungen to Light up.

182. Then Ram the man and Rūd the woman remain; the head of the age they are called. Then the world will be new from you- wake up, and the world will multiply.

183. Adam the Man is destined to last a thousand years "). Of From Adam to Ram and Rūd there are thirty generations. All of them rise up to the light in an ascent, because in a teaching there- steles, walking in a speech and witnessing in a praise. (118)

184. Then the world will be destroyed by fire. There are 30 the remaining Šurbai is a man, and Sarhabel is a woman. All souls part at they leave their body and ascend to the light, because do not distort the first teaching and do not distort the first speech- turn. (119)

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1) See also the variant Lit., p. XVIII. *)

Here follows a fragment about the four world ages, of which also in the the Mandaean literature is mentioned, except in B also Joh. II, p. 93 (here in note. 4 others Evidence:), 195, 244. The two pairs Ram and Rūd, Šurbai and Šarhabēl as heads of the Ages (note the alliteration) are otherwise unknown. The name Sarhabēl is an Arabic male name and is also found among the Mandaeans as the name of male Light being.

a) In the Midrashim it is told that Adam should actually live a thousand years, however, he had voluntarily given seventy years to David, cf. Grünbaum, New contributions zur semit. Sagenkunde, p. 63.

185. Then the world is reawakened and multiplies. By Rām and from Rud to Šurbai and Šarhabel there are twenty-five generations. (120) 186. Then, after Surbai and Sarhabel, the world will be- floods hit. Noah of the Ark and Shem (Sum), the son of Noah. The whole world is destroyed by water, [27] for it is written for them that the souls depart from that separate your body and ascend to the light. (121)

187. From the age of Šurbai and Šarhabel to the age of Noah is fifteen generations old. (122)

188. From Noah the Man the world will multiply, and they will witness in a shout and praise. And I will make a speech i, the Messenger of life, and the two angels, my Beglider. (122)

189. From Noah the Man until the place of Jerusalem is built there are six generations. It exists in bloom for a thousand years. (123)

190. Then is born and steps on the King Solomon, the son David, and he becomes king of Judah and the mighty ruler over Jerusalem. The demons and Dews submit to him and go after his will, until he glorifies himself and for the goodness of his Lord is ungrateful. Then the demons and Dews turn away from his speech and the lordship will be taken away from him. (124)

191. Then Cbristus, the prophet of the Jews, appears. He calls the He makes them his party, and everyone is fighting for he '). (125)

192. The seven Dews, the seducers, seduce all the children of Adam. The first is Šamiš by name (the Sun). The second is the saint Spirit, Estrā (Venus), also Libat, Amamite by name. The third is Nbū (Mercury), the lying Messiah who falsifies the first praise. The fourth is Sin (the Moon), Şaurel by name. The fifth is Kewan (Saturn), the sixth Bel (Jupiter), the seventh Nerig (Mars). (126)

193. The Dews of the House of Šamiš give gold to their admirers and silver, and lushness of the abdomen. He sends messengers to the world- and they lead the children of men to worship the sun and Moon. (127)

194. The Dews of the House of Libat leave delusion, adultery, fornication, [28] Fornication, lust, passion, song and sorcery on the Let go of human children. (128)

195. The Dews of the Nbu-Christ treacherously attack the people-

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1) That's what it says here. But the template certainly had the same as B (text 50,24) 1855 by W787NDnD Aty, everyone "fights for what does not belong to him", how can anyone here, apparently, better reproduces the template. But the change probably comes from the editor from A itself, since the current wording fits better with the previous sentence.

°) is probably only inserted under the influence of the following statements. Also at מאלאכיא the parallel point is probably secondary.

children. They spread among them, take them out of their homes and their families, carry them away to mountains and plains, let them to sit there for themselves, and their sex and their seed flow to them on the Legs'). The demons and Dews ****** the human children. You take the bodies trapped and tormented mind and soul. You take ....²) ... and for them there is neither medicine nor cure. He himself appears to his admirers and admirers in the fire and speaks to to them: 'See how my glory has risen over the world." You know not that it's not his shine. He spreads folly in the world. (128. 145)

196. The Dews of the house of Kewan throw lamentation, weeping and (false) wisdom*) into the hearts of men and snatch them from the Grace. (129)

197. The Dews of the house of Nerig raid the children of men, grind them*), cut their flesh and shed their blood earth. They will become scavengers, priests, priests and oracles") genannt. (130. 160)

198. Christ also reveals himself in another form°). With fire he is clothed, enveloped in fire and shows miracles in the fire. Amünel') is his name, Jesus the Saviour he called himself. On Fire is his abode, and he shows his chariot [in the fire]. He turns before you and says to you: 'Come, come to me, you will not burn (scald)." But do not believe him, for in sorcery and He goes hand in hand with Blendwerk *). (131)

199. If he afflicts you, tell him, 'We belong to you." But in your heart do not confess him and do not fall from the word of your Lord, the High King of Light. For the lying Messiah, the-borrowed things are not revealed. (132)

200. He says, 'I am God, [29] God's Son, whom my Father gave me sent here." He explains to you: 'I am the first Messenger, I I am Hibil-Zīwā, who came from on high." But confess him not. For he is not Hibil-Zīwā. Hibil-Zīwa is not with fire-clothed, Hibil-Zīwā does not reveal himself in that age. Rather, Enoš- Uthra comes and goes to Jerusalem, with a robe of Clouds of water. In physical form he strides, but he is not wearing any physical clothing. Embers and anger are at ilım not. (133. 135. 149)

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1) In Mandaean, NDn also refers to the limb, the "leg", especially the Thigh, see R 226, 14; 337, 13; 338, 7; Lit., pp. 20, 12; 56, 5.

2) ,"Number" does not fit, but also prn B probably does not offer the original.

8) See above, p. 257.

4) Probably to be interpreted that way. In the Talmud, it is also used in the sense of 'emasculating- needs, cf. LEvy, Neuhebr. Wörterb. IV, p. 565 b.

6) According to Zimmern, NENt is the Babylonian zabbu, denoting a class of priests (Delitzsch, Assyr. Handwörterbuch, p. 250a). See also Lit., p. 226.

°) Is linked to 195. 7) I.E. Immanuel. 8) Read NIDND.

201. He goes and comes in the years of Palṭus (Pilate), the King of the world. Enoš-Uthra comes into the world with the power of the high Lichtkönigs. He heals the sick, makes the blind see, cleanses the Lepers, raise up the crippled, crawling on the ground, that they may walk makes the deaf and dumb speak, and revives the dead. He wins believers among the Jews and shows them: there is death and there is there is life, there is darkness and there is light, there is error and there is Truth'). He converts the Jews to the name of the holien King of Light. (136)

202. Three hundred and sixty prophets go out of the village Jerusalem. They testify to the name of the Lord of Greatness. Enoš- Uthra then rises to the height and sits down to the Mšunne-Kušta "). (Everybody Uthras are hidden from the eyes of the children of men. Then there will be the Jerusalem Square is devastated, the Jews go into exile and will be scattered to all cities. (137)

203. Then comes Ahmat, the son of the wizard Bizbat"). A He spreads a reputation that is not a reputation, he creates a lot of evil in the world and lead the tribe of souls to sin'). (164)

204. To every one who remains in that last age, and with the call [30] of the power and the proclamation goes out to the Jordan, to the you will come out of the place of light with flags, flags of splendor-go. The Naşöreans, who put the headscarf around their heads, will it is worth generations and worlds to me"). To every Mandaean who lives in the Kušta persevere, I, Manda dHaijē, will lay down my rights. So listen for hear and be instructed, my chosen ones, so that you climb up victorious and look at the place of light. Life is victorious over all works.

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1) See p. 205 et seq. (text).

2) The Mandaeans who have been raptured to bliss, cf. Jn., p. XVIII.

3) The Prophet Muhammad, see Jn. II, pp. 193f.

4) Read At02ND1 see also p. 24". 8) Read w,see above, p. 174.

Second book.

1. In the name of the great, strange life from the worlds of light, the may the blessed one, who is above all works, be healed and victorious, Give strength and firmness, speech and hearing to me and my wife NN because of this book. Our meaning, our knowledge and our knowledge shine, our figure shine, our face flaunt here in the Tibil and in the hereafter, in the world of light, and let our name be established at Jawar-Zīwa and Sīmath-Haije. (1)

First piece.

See above, p. 3.

2. In the name of the great life you are praised, my Lord, with a pure heart, you Lord of all worlds. (3)

3. Blessed be thy name, O Lord of greatness, in name and in the power of the Lord of greatness, King of light, Lord of all worlds, pure splendor and a great light that does not pass away, More compassionate, more imploring, more merciful, Redeemer of all believers, fortifier of all good. The Great, High, Vaunted, The mighty, the wise, the knower, the discriminator, the ruler of all things. The Lord of the Upper, Middle and Lower, the great face of the Lord- [31] who is invisible and whose power is unlimited, who has no He has no partner in the crown, no partner in the lordship. Who is on trust him, do not come to shame, who sincerely praises his name, if he does not fall, who stands in trust in him, he will not- low. (4)

4. The Lord of all kings spoke with great power and mighty speech, then the angels of light arose from pure splendor and great light, that does not pass. Angels of praise came up and were For which there is no end, number or offense. They are all are full of praise and stand there and praise the high King of Light, whose It is richer in splendor than to be described with the mouth, and whose Light is greater than that which could be pronounced with the lips. His 30th birthday Light shines and its radiance shines over all worlds. (6. 40)

5. Nothing was, since he was not, nothing is, so he is not. king with their splendor and the great light that is stored above them, with the n

Blessed fragrance, which the High King of Light bestowed upon them, with prayer and praise- those who have placed themselves in their hearts stand in a cloud of light and ver- honor and praise (him)'). (5. 6. 45)

6. They do not starve and do not thirst and do not feel heat still cold. (50)

7. The Kings*) of the Light earth are all full of praise and stand there and praise the King of light: living, who do not die, for whom there is no mistake shall. Bright and luminous is the firmament in which they dwell. (18)

8. The world in which he stands is without offense:
a world of splendor and light without darkness,
a world of gentleness without rebellion,
a world of legality without confusion and hustle and bustle,
a world of scents without an ugly scent,
a world of life in eternity without passing away,
[32] a world of living water, the smell of which the angels rejoice,
a world of faithfulness and faith without lies and deceit.
It is a pure world without a bad mixture. (41)

9. The angels of splendor praise the King of Light
in the glory and light that he bestowed upon them.
The angels of splendor praise the King of light in
the garments of splendor that he bestowed upon them.
The angels of splendor praise the King of Light
in the turbans of splendor that he bestowed on them.
The angels of splendor praise the King of Light
in the wreaths of splendor that he bestowed on them.
The angels of splendor praise the King of Light
with the strength and firmness that he gave them.
The angels of splendor praise the King of
Light with the faithfulness, the fellowship and the faith that he
awarded to you. (42)

10. They are all gentle, wise and pleasant without lies and deceit. (43)

11. The trees of the light earth are all full of splendor and brightness. The Jordans of the worlds of light are full of white water. In the clouds of the Škīnās of splendor are furnished"). In the Škīnās of splendor kings worship and praise. Praise you and all beings the Great, the Exalted, the Lord of Greatness, who is above all the worlds live. (55. 60)

12. I am the pure Messenger whom the King of Light has given me[1] in my The name Hibil-Zīwa*). (79)

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1) Compare the parallel point.

2) In the text it says "Trees", which mistakenly got here from text 32, 12.

3) Read pEN:D2.

4) nap has changed from the meaning ," continue to call for consideration ,,evoke", by

13. When the high King of Light wanted it, he called me out of his Škinā: out of that Škīnā, whom he, the Great, on his right and said, 'Go to the world of darkness, which is entirely of Wickedness is full. She is full of wickedness, full of devouring- fire. To the world of confusion and turmoil without firmness, to the 5 World of darkness without a ray of light, to the world of persecution and death without life in eternity." (80)

14. He said: 'Go, let the darkness come down and the inmates, [33] which were formed out of it. Stretch out the firmament and form stars in it. Create angels of fire. Give shine to the sun, the 10 one of them is to give brightness to the moons, shimmer to the stars and lift they ascend to the celestial sphere. (81)

15. Let the earth be formed, and the fruits, and the grapes, and the trees, which flaunting the world. There are livestock, fish in the sea and poultry, of every kind, male and female. (82)

16. A man and a woman shall arise, and their name shall be given to Adam and Be Hawwā. Of the angels of fire, some are said to be ministering to Adam. Whoever deviates from your word should be locked in the blazing fire be. Three angels are to come and keep Adam company. (83)

17. Let living water come and mix with the turbid water. 20 Through the scent of living water, the whole world flaunts. The four Let there be winds that blow over the world. There is a fire, and extend to all bodies, as well as the fruits, grapes and trees. It eats a mouthful in the world; if it eats the mouthful in the world hat, ...). (84)

18. The solid that is in the water shall be counted among the souls that Flowing at the food should be counted among the bodies*). Everybody Seeds, flowers, fragrant plants, spices, leaves and medicinal- herbs, livestock, poultry, delicious, everything is good and it is a beautiful thing to be at the service of Adam and his entire family.

19. That world shall be illuminated by the hand of Ptahil." 20. The high King of light spoke the word, and all things arose Ding by his word. (85)

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the spoken word is developed. In some places it is doubtful which There is significance.

1) The text is mutilated, the postscript seems to be missing. N ,,erren" is found also in Mandaean: Joh. 48, 12 and more often in the Parisian divan, there also the noun שוניאנא (Z. 562f., 315, 627 and otherwise). But the abbot is not here; for this the imperfect נישגיא called. Also, N can be feminine, not subject to it. Neither it fits when you use it with syr. nešgā ,"Fog in summer"' (Payne Smith, col. 2475) identi- fiziert and moves to the next sentence.

a) The meaning of the sentence, which seems to be inserted secondarily, is not entirely clear. The solid in the liquid is opposed to the liquid in the solid. This should be done with the With the help of this method, the body will be able to cope with the weight loss. Cf. also Abs. 21, 57.

21. Ptahil came, lifted up the sky of water, stretched the firmament was out, and the earth Tibil was sealed. He created the Angel of fire, he gave splendor to the sun, brightness to the moon, Shine the stars and lifted them up to the celestial sphere. Put in place [34] Wind, fire and water, fruits, grapes were created, Trees, medicinal herbs, seeds and fragrant flowers. He created cattle-animals and wild animals of any kind made of earth dust, the red'), the Casting and clouding of the clouds of fog, wind, fire and water, gender (Seeds), Blood and bile and the other mysteries of this world. (86)

22. Adam and Hawwa were formed; by the power of the high The soul of the Light King fell into Adam and Hawwa. When the soul fell into it, they were in paradise. When they were in paradise, they understood and understood-they stood nothing. (87)

23. The high King of light said: Of the angels of fire shall some of Adam's servants. Let them come, bow down to him and do not deviate from his speech. Only he alone, the evil one, from whom evil was formed, deviated from the word of his Lord and judged not according to the word of his Lord. When he did not follow the When he judged the words of his Lord, he was bound in his chariot with God's fetter tied up. (88)

24. My Lord called me, and commanded me, and said, Go, call a i agree with Adam and his wife Hawwa. A noble voice call Hawwa to Adam and his wife and teach them about all things Ding: about the high King of Light, the Lord of all worlds, whose power is far-reaching and mighty, infinite and imperishable; about the angels the praises that are standing there and praising incessantly; about the worlds of light, the imperishable. (89)

25. Teach Adam that his heart may be enlightened, strengthen him that his mind is enlightened. Show yourself to him graciously and kindly and keep him company, you and the two angels who are born with you should go. Adam, Hawwa, his wife, and his clans know the doctrine. Tell them that they will not sink, and the wicked, and Satan, the unfit-i don't want to seduce you. (90)

26. Teach them prayer and praise, that they may come forward and [35] praise the high King of Light, the Lord of all the worlds: three times on Days and twice at night. (91)

27. Tell them: Take a wife and form a tribe, so that the Let the world multiply from you. (92)

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1) The following is probably inserted secondarily, note the double N p. The insertion may have come from the same source as the one in para. 18. In any case, the Do not take words in such a way that the animals are made of dust from the earth and the Substances are formed. also R 126, 17. For see R 28,5 (besides 8711).

28. When you approach your wives, wash yourselves with water and keep yourself in. (93)

29. Do not fight and do not steal and do not kill perfect, faithful children of men'). (94)

30. O you who are perfect and believers! Don't leave your Speak away and do not love iniquity and falsehood. Don't love gold and silver and the possession of this world. For this world passes away, and its possessions go lose. (95)

31. Do not worship Satan and idols. Rather, they should be your servants and obey in the world. For he who worships Satan, will be tormented in the blazing fire until the day, the day of Judgment, until the hour, the hours of salvation, as long as the light- king wills it, the judge who judges all the world. He judges the souls, every man according to the works he has done. (96)

32. Do not learn the magic of Satan and do not bear witness to the Lie down. If you speak justly, then true witnesses shall come and witnesses. If they call witnesses, then let believing men witness*). Keep straight and do not twist it. Don't take a bribe and do not twist the right. Everyone who twists the law falls into the blazing fire. (97)

33. Deliver unrighteous servants into the hands of their masters from. (98)

34. Prayer alms the poor. When you pray, do not testify to it. If you pray with your right hand, do not say it to your left. Pray with her to your left, do not tell it to your right. When someone gives alms and if it testifies, it will be repaid to him and not credited. (104)

35. Honor the father and mother and the elder brothers as the Father. A son who despises his father and mother is sentenced in the court house be. (99)

36. Do not bow your head to Satan. Your eyes [36] shall be do not wink, your ears do not listen to bad, your heart does not Absorb envy. He who takes envy in himself will not become a perfect call.

37. Do not look with greed and desire for something that is not yours shall. If your Lord grants it to you - - - but do not argue about it. For according to the will of your Lord, every thing was given to you in kindness-written and granted. (100)

38. When disaster comes upon you, remain firm and steadfast in Believe. Do not twist anything and do not change anything and do not bend your knee before the sinking of Satan. (101)

39. Keep away from everyone who worships Satan; be to him

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1) Note the restriction against A.

2) Again, a limitation compared to A.

no friend'). When he hears, he becomes a believer, and the one Lord of all The world, the high King of Light, who became of himself, testifies, so love draw near to him and give him good of what you have. If he does not listen, does not bear witness, and does not believe, he will will be held accountable for his sins. (102)

40. For every one who sins in his childhood and forgives himself, then it goes into itself, no longer sins and passes away, the indulgence will and his Lord. He, the high King of Light, is indulgent and merciful, he is a remitter of sins and offenses. (119)

41. Everyone who gives alms and does much good afterwards but the alms abolishes, falls into the fire, until his sins ended have. (104)

42. If you see someone who is hungry, satisfy him, someone who is thirsty, so pray to him to drink. If you see a naked man, put him around the 15. Put a garment on his neck and cover him. (105)

43. If you see a prisoner who is a believer and a righteous man, then pray ransom and redeem him. But not with gold and not with silver [alone] you shall release and save the prisoner*), but with speak more loudly and with faith release and save the prisoner: 20 from darkness to light, from evil [37] to good, from the un- believers to believers, from error to truth, from infidelity and rebellion for the praise of your Lord, who is without end, number and Stop is. (103)

44. Who disengages souls and who follows the paths of Kušta and faith 25, he will be allowed to walk the path of the Kuštā and the faith and he will ascend in the way of the believers.

45. Anyone who, out of love for his Lord, kills his body will rise up without sin and offense, and the great Look at the place of light. (108)

46. Everyone who loves gold and silver and the possessions of this world and therefore commits a murder"), is himself murdered and falls into the blazing fires. (120)

47. In your standing and sitting, in your eating and in your Drink, when you go and when you come, when you rest and 35 of your lying, in general, in all the actions that you practice, call and praise the name of your Lord, the high King of light, the Lord of all Different worlds. (122)

48. Let flow freely (?) cross the Jordan and be baptized. Baptize your Soul, speak the praises of the Pihtā and eat it, speak the 10 Praise the mambuha and drink it and say the blessing over the oil and draw you with it'). (123)

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1) Probably also read Abymvansy here, see the parallel passage.

2) Read בר שיביא. 3) Read Synd cf. A. 4) See Lit., p. 35*, 57*.

49. When a soul is redeemed from the body and divorces, so weep do not complain about them, do not complain about them, and complain about them, and eat about them no bread ... To anyone who weeps over a soul, seas will and cut off rivers'). Whoever tears his garment over them, he will Keep mistakes on his robe. Who will pull his hair out over them, they will put it in the Dark Mountain'). (134)

50. When a soul departs from among you, carry the people And teach them, so that their hearts may not strauchele. Pray for them (the soul) alms, distribute bread for them, read for them, say mass for the dead, perform prayer and praise for them, and [wear for them] hymns and orders of prayer [before]. Dressed for you with Ge- [38] sheathe with sheaths, pay ransom and perform prayers, so that he, the Great One, may be full of mercy to her. (136)

51. O you who are perfect and believers! Pay the wage of the wage earner, and if he asks you for a reward, do not let him stay with you. (139)

52. O you who are perfect according to the word of your Lord! Deprive not the partner. Anyone who robs his comrade will be Graces of the world of light are deprived. (140)

53. If you speak a word, do not turn back from it. Sufficient be faithful to one another in your rights, and do not turn back from your rights. For of rich splendor and mighty light is the command, the warning and the Kušta, who came from the great ones"), the holding together came in the Škīnās. All angels') of the Light take the oath of allegiance to each other and kiss the rights. When you speak a word of good (people) and a- if the other reaches the right, do not turn back from it. (141)

54. Be humble, gentle and humble towards the excellent teachers, who teach you wisdom and truth. Do not get carried away over the He is the One whom your Lord has appointed over you. When you are about- lift up, you deny the word of your Lord, and you will be in the blazing Fire boil. (142)

55. Do not go to the soothsayers and Chaldeans of falsehood, for the soothsayers and Chaldeans are housed in the darkness. (143)

56. Do not swear false oaths, for everyone who swears false swears, will be housed in the darkness. (144).

57. Do not eat animals°). Don't eat a dead one, not a standing one, not a falling one, not a pregnant one, not one that has ambushed a wild animal. Eat the flesh of the animals that come forth from the fruits of the water- have been called '). The portion of the light shall be given to the light, the portion

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1) From the Hereafter. 2) See above, p. 21. ")

Nen probably does not stand here as elsewhere very often for NEn, the great Life". The "great ones" are the higher beings, see further.

4) BD ,"Kings", cf. also A. b) There is no mention of these in A.

°) In A it says: the blood of animals!

7) It is unclear what is meant here by the fruits of water, apparently

the darkness of the darkness. Also, do not eat anything that does not the iron is driven. (125)

58. Do not consume interest and compound interest of gold and silver, so that do not fall into the consuming sea'). (145)

59. Do not whore, [39] do not sing, do not dance, and leave your heart do not take yourself for the song that Satan sang, who, completely full of magic and deception, the hearts of believers are twisted. (146)

60. Love and endure one another and arm yourselves with the right The wisdom of your Lord. Stay firm and stand firm in the world and hold until your measure is full. Be a help and support the Full- come to the pursuit. (147)

61. Do not be among you hatred, jealousy and discord. When your In anger and bitterness, so calm down and hold down your Heart by the right word of your Lord. The thoughts of those who arm themselves with the wrath and venom of Satan, they will be strengthened by the right wisdom and faith are attracted to modesty. Who is not to be led by faith to modesty, but to be led by Sword and sabre taken down. He will be slain by sword and sabre and falls into the well-heated gehenna. (148)

62. If anyone does you any good, be thankful for it. Do not despise him, but honor him, be pleasing to him, and deny the No benefit. If you deny the benefit, then you will show yourself the Unworthy of kindness, and the kindness does not remain with you.

63. If you see a good one, approach him, take from him Apply wisdom and act accordingly. If you see an evil one, the wise one so stay away from him. Do not learn from his wisdom, do nothing of his works and does not walk in his path. (149)

64. In all your actions, observe limit and measure except in prayer, in praise and in adoration of your Lord. Practice wages-payment, alms-giving, charity and true mercy from the full, full of strength. There is no limit or measure to these benefits.

65. O you who are perfect and believers! Everything that you dislike and if you are hated, do not harm your neighbor either. [40] All that is good for you it seems, do what you can, if your strength is sufficient, and support each other. (150)

66. My chosen ones! Listen and be faithful and take this The word of your Lord. Believe with your heart, see with your eyes, listen with your ears, speak with your mouth, practice with your hands

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in general, fruits that get their nourishment from water. The position is even more unclear R 100, 14, which not only the cattle, but also the fruits of the earth out of the waters- and the fruits have come to fruition. Here you would get a better sense if you Nd strokes: which arose from the water. On the other hand, the R 124, 2 are in Unlike the benign fruits; they are bad, deadly fruits.

1) The designation is also found R 376, 24. N has the same meaning here as in and in see above, p. 15°. There is a sea of flames in the underworld.

Give alms and charity, and act according to the will of your Lord, but do not act according to the will of the bodies, nor according to the will of the the sinking of Satan. (152)

67. Do not have confidence in the beauty of the bodies, because completely suddenly they spoil. (153).

68. Have no confidence in the sinking Satan, who has come to naught and can not save himself from the consuming fire, which devoured and destroyed the Dews and all the hosts of Satan, who were attached to the Works of this world are bound and') were left here, that they are subservient to the children of Adam and wander in the world*).

69. About every one who denies the word of his Lord, and If the evil one leaves a way open, the hand of the Safan will have power. Who the will of Satan will not be done at the gate of fire need to pass by. Do the will of your Lord, that you may be victorious the light of the world.

70. Do not oppress the lowly who cannot fight with you. 71. Do not push the boundaries in injustice and do not go crazy landmark. If someone pushes the boundaries, a verjudgment will be pronounced on him.

72. Rebuke your friends sincerely and guide your friendship rightly. Do not flatter each other and do not talk about lies and deceit. Those who flatter are dragged on their faces into the blazing fire.

73. Put the great seal*) on your whole body and release it not from your body until the day you leave your body, on that day [41] of redemption.

74. Fast the Great Fast: (109)

75. Fast with your head in faith and worship and praise your Lord, the Lord of all the worlds. Do not worship the satans and Idols that are in the world, so they will be subject to you. If if there is faith in you, they will be your servants. However, if you are when you cease from the word of your Lord, the dews will be hidden from your eyes-stay borrowed.

76. Fast with your eyes from evil beckoning to each other. See and do no harm. (110)

77, Fast with your mouth of false, evil speech; say nothing False and lying. (112)

78. Fast with your ears from listening to evil. Listen and do nothing bad. (111)

79. Fast and purify your heart by faith. Heget no evil thoughts. Do not sin on evil and do not go with your

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") Read the rzptsu.

*) With the last words He has the planets in mind, see above, p. 244.

8) By "seal" is otherwise meant the oiling, see Lit., p. 114. Here it denotes the Baptism with all its accessories.

Next up in malice. Who is deceitful and whose purpose is not through which Kušta has been purified, prayer, praise, veneration, The payment of wages and alms is not taken into account; he falls into the blazing Fire. (113)

80. Fast with your body from a wife who is not your shall. (115)

81. Fast with your hands from the commission of a murder of the The children of Adam. (114)

82. O you who are perfect and believers! Your hands should not practice evil magic.

83. Fast with your knees from kneeling down before sinking down- Satan, the deceitful images and the vain counterfeits, and Work. For all that is born dies, and all that is with the Hands are made, spoils. Have no confidence in it. (116. 154)

84. My chosen ones! Have faith in the High King of Light, the Lord of all the worlds, auf') the right wisdom, the Kušṭā and the Faith, [42] the sublime speeches and the miraculous commands that your Lord is given. For it is through them that victory comes to you, through them your soul is redeemed.

85. This is the fast that was appointed for you; do not break it, until your body dies. (118)

86. Trust in the beautiful works that you practice. If you are from your body, you can rely on the beautiful works, which you practice in the world. (155)

87. My chosen ones! Have no trust in the kings, noble ones, Rulers and oppressors who are in the world, not even on army power, Armaments, war, battle, troops and armies, which they gather together and-bringing together the world's scavengers for gold, silver, money and goods of this World. Then their kingship will vanish, and their scourge and their rulers-power will not be a support for them. They perish and leave it they go back and simmer in the fire until the day of Judgment-days, until the hour, the hours of salvation. (121)

88. My chosen ones! Show no contempt for what it is up to you to do this in the world. Show legality, gentleness, Be- divorce and kindness, which are of the nature of light. Show Indulgence and faithful friendship, which are of the nature of light. (156)

89. If someone turns to you with a request and you so do not hold it against him."). When someone who is- is meager, is worthy, turns to his neighbor with a request") and this one, although he can and is able to do it, does not give him anything, so the No mercy for him.

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1) Read Sy. 2) It is not certain that this is the meaning of the words.

3) is repeated incorrectly from the previous line. It is also probably swipe.

90. Grant shelter and lodging, bread and water to the- the one who wanders abroad, and provides him with food for travel for his way.

91. He who has no knowledge and does not become wise from this wisdom, approach him and teach him, so that the deceivers about him may not fall over.

92. [43] O you men who take wives, O you women who come to men, love, test and take'). Then, if it is for it is written down to you*) and it is loved in your heart, take it. If you do not examine about them and do not get anything"), then endure it as Illness in the camp. When he does evil deeds, he has no mercy himself. Get away from her, you will not love too- share and say goodbye to her. Because it is like suffering*), for which there is no cure. (157)

93. Do not take a slave for a wife who is not free from her master- so don't take your children to a mansion. Take one of you, release them, and they will know thanks to you. (158)

94. Do not take as a wife a slave who has not been set free, and so do not take your children to a mansion. When for someone Sons and daughters are written down and he puts them in a gentleman's in the day when the servant sins and his master over him the sins that the servant commits on the head of his father come. (158)

95. Receive faithful love from a woman of faithfulness who, according to the will of your Lord is yours. Do not despise each other until your The measure is full. If someone betrays his wife while wearing her and does not fail, and loves and lusts for the lust of this world, so it is on he wore it and failed. He is sentenced in the courtroom, in the darkness be accommodated. (159)

96. If you have children, teach them as soon as they turn Understanding knowledge, prayer and praise, which is not a mixture of It's a lie. When you show them the ways of truth and faith and if they do not accept it, you are free from their sins. (160)

97. Does any evil one ever bow down from among you and from The words of his Lord are gone, so raise him up again°) and support him. If a vine inclines°) for the second time, [44] direct it back up and support him. A vine tilts for the third time away, so raise him up again and support him. If you support him, he

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1) Further down is wab in a different sense.

2) In the book of fate or after the identification of the horoscope. About this, see Joh. II, p. 187. Perhaps the recommended examination also refers to this.

8) No children, see the parallel passage.

1) Cod. B: the terrible suffering.

8) Read הדאר.

9) So quite characteristic of the banausic nature of this reworker.

but if he cannot be supported, then tear out the evil vine'), bring take him to the gate of the temple, let him hymns and orders of prayer listen, show him writings and speeches, so that his heart and mind can be carried through they are enlightened. If he hears, testifies, and allows himself to be awakened, then love him, put him in his place, and do not condemn him. When he if he does not hear, testifies, and allows himself to be awakened, then tear the evil vine take out a good one and plant it in its place. If he doesn't hear, witness, and be raised up, and he will be raised up by the Ruler." be killed. He is killed by the ruler and falls into the blazing fires. Because you showed him in the eye, but he did not see if you wanted to call him in the ear, but he did not want to hear, he should Part of the consuming fire. (161)

98. When you see the wretched, the persecuted, and the perfect, the afflicted with physical evil and infirmity, so do not laugh at them in your Hearts. For only the bodies formed of flesh and blood become despicable by suffering and infirmity4). The bodies are Suffering and infirmity, but the soul is destroyed by suffering and Infirmities are not contemptible. The soul is saved only by the ugly works a crime she committed while she was in prison. (162)

99. Those who do not want to accept wisdom, sink like those who do the will of the body, with your body in the darkness. The To do the will of Satan, wander with Satan into the fire.

100. Whoever does the will of the High King of Light will be in this world not humiliated. When his measure is full, angels of light go to meet him. He ascends with angels of light, and his face shines and shines. A everyone hands him his splendor, covers him with his own light, He puts victory wreaths of his own [45] around his head, and so he will become like the angels of glory. They teach him rich, unforgettable- and he stands in a cloud of light and worships and praises the high king of light. This one will be full of mercy to him and granted great grace is rich in him in the place of light. He will be strengthened with a security, which is nothing of a physical garment. His form is pure, imperishable light. Anyone who truly and reliably stands in the first faith, sustains existence for all eternity.

101. My chosen ones! Do not praise the angels who by day and wander at night"), since the day when you give them shine and brightness to enlighten the worlds. (163)

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1) The reworker has left these words meaningless here, see also and A.

2) Read דבנאואיהון.

a) In the previous sentence it is said that he will be expelled from the church in this, that he should fall into the power of the worldly ruler and be killed by him will be. He is not to be killed by Mandaeans.

4) there is no sense. It may have been there, too. Which Words are torn apart, cf. A.

b) Cf. Joh. II, p. 2.

°) See above, p. 244.

102. Do not praise the angry Šamiš (the Sun), whose name Qadoš, whose name is Adonai, whose name is El-El. In addition, he has Names that are not revealed in the world. (165)

103. When Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, is built ******, the Abraham, the Prophet, is called in Jerusalem.

104. He, Adonai, calls Moses from Mount Sinai, he confessed to Moses and awarded him ****'). He calls a people for himself and creates himself a house of prayer. Thus arose the people of the Jews. Victims of animal fat offer him the blood of the animals you pour out in front of you in the temple and do what you shouldn't. The people of the House of Israel will give you genannt. They circumcise themselves with swords, splashing with their blood they cover their face and smear their mouth. The men leave their wives and go to each other. They deny the word of their Lord and turn away from this faith. They are called Jews, [46] because they have sinned*). (166)

105. I teach you, my disciples, you chosen, perfect ones and believers, whom you should live in that age: do nothing of do not eat of their food and do not drink of their Drinks. Do not mix with them and do not take a wife from them, of those whorish slaves who do not worship their master and from the The words of their Lord turn away. They deny Moses, the Prophet the one who brought you the law. They falsify it, they falsify the works of Abraham, the Prophet of Ruha on Mount Sinai"). Since his lord Adonai loves him*), he circumcises himself, separates himself from his father, moves out into the foreign world, into the world, founds a Make room and create a prayer house. Do not mix with those Jews, who do not stand in a speech. (167)

106. From the people of the Jews go forth peoples and tongues.

(168) 107. My Lord called me and instructed me to inform you about the People of lies, as well as about the prophets of lies and the Messengers they arise in the womb of women, the women become pregnant with them and give birth to them. From the body of women enter into bodies and take physical shape. They twist

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1) Perhaps we were talking here about the awarding of the Torah, cf. Jn. II, pp. 192f.

2) is derived from (ND).

a) The last two sentences are probably to be understood in this way, not in the sense of ,,are disbelieved by", N ,,lie by". Moses and Abraham- Rūhā, the Jews are nevertheless reproached for the fact that they the law of Moses is denied and the "works" of Abraham, i.e. those introduced by him Acts of worship that have falsified, a view that the Islām also emphatically represents. כפר ב in the sense of "deny" also R 94, 22; 104, 11, 13. The concept of benote that 27, 19 stands for 51, 4, see also 26, 19; 49, 16.

4) In Jewish, Christian and Muhammedan literature, Abraham is described as-especially called a friend of God, cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorāns*, I, p. 1472.

the first teaching, and lies, deception and trickery bring them into the world. They call themselves prophets and say: we are messengers. (169)

108. Now I, the first Messenger, say and teach all the children of Adam, those who are and who are to be born in that age: Hear do not listen to the speech of the angels of error, who fall away and the people-driving children to waste. They make you greedy for gold and silver, Money, property and possessions, [take a] ¹) by false images, void Counterfeiting [47] and formations, through song and the lust of this world. (170. 171)

109. Soon let sword²), saber, blow, fight, war, fear and Looses terror against men and fills them with fear and dread. They claim that they fear us, worship us and confess us. (172) 110. Soon they enter with cunning, humility and flattery, with Sweet, cunning and deception approach the children of Adam and take her heart caught. They put the name of God in their mouths and more deception and lies. In lying they fast and pray and give Alms. They write books and set up warnings for you. Of the wisdom that the Great, the Exalted, bestowed on me and I brought to you also, adjust and talk after. They mix under it The words that their souls are hindered by, they-turn their hearts and bring waste into the world. (173)

111. Now I say to you, my disciples: Do not listen to the speech of the Do not turn away from the way of your Lord. Because the Angels of error take shape in our, the three Messengers, whom we the Tibils are gone. I explained to you: they too are walking in the world but they are not like us. Her splendor is not a splendor, her robe it is a garment of fire. Her garment is like fire, her and) dress of sinister darkness. Yes, they are prophets and imitate our clothes. (174)

112. I tell you, you who are perfect and believers, do not fall from the Words from your Lord. Do you dress in white and cover yourself with White is equal to the mystery of living water, the ... and Ophanen ᵃ). Put white headbands around your head like wreaths of splendor, which the angels of splendor put around the head. Tie your belt around the hips [48] like the belts of splendor that the uthras of the Light ties around the hips. Cover your body with ophans of water, so that glory may rest upon you. Take rods in your Hand like the rods of living water, which the angels of light carry. (175)

113. O you who believe and are perfect! Don't say anything you don't know, and it is not revealed to you. There is no one to whom the-

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1) See A.

2) is thoughtlessly taken from the template, see text 24, 21.

a) To see Nöld., p. 126, 4. contains a misunderstood Hebrew D)Din, which is intended here as a robe, see Lit., p. 129°.

the things borrowed would have been revealed, except to the Great, the Exalted, the Lord the Lord of all the worlds. (176)

114. O you who believe and are perfect! Arm yourself with a Armor that is not of iron. Let your armor be Naşaraerdom, and the Kuštā faith. (177)

115. As you see of wisdom with your eyes, with your Call with your mouth and listen with your ears, so act. Because those with their See with your eyes, call with your mouth, listen with your ears and something Do not do good with your hands ****** and you tear from the bad A vine that drinks water, while fruits, grapes and trees verdorren'). The lie turns away from them at the judgment of death. You they did not know and did not understand, now they will follow their works- they will be called to account. The witnesses testify about them, who go to the right and left of all the children of Adam. (178)

116. I teach you as the Great One commanded me. I announce you are above the light, which is extended and endless. I announce you about the darkness and the blazing fire, which is devoid of rest and grace. I tell you about Satan, who is without strength and firmness, who in the blazing fire passes, in the nature from which he emerged. (179)

117. Further, I announce to you, you Naşöreans, who live in this world be, arise and be born:

118. In the first age the world will be destroyed by sword and plague- gathered). The souls leave their bodies and rise to the light [49] up. For it is destined for the perfect and the faithful that in that case, they will separate from their body. To you, Adam, is it be- true, to dwell in the world for a thousand years, and before the sword you will you ascend. Then your wife will take off Hawwa, then all your Genders, except Rām the man and Rud the woman. They will the world is multiplying, from them the world will be awakened anew. Everybody in a speech and a praise that I will call into this world i brought them with which they should praise. (181-183)

119. Then the world will be destroyed by fire. Because it is destined for the sons of the great tribe of life that they they are separated from their bodies, except for two, Šurbai dem Man and woman, from whom the world is to multiply. Surbai the man will be called the head of the age. soul, those who pass away through the fire, all rise up to the light, because they The teaching which their Lord has sent to them, do not falsify. (184)

120. From the Age of Rām and Rūd to the age of Šurbai and the sarhabel people will multiply. With these speeches they will praise and will not turn away from the word of glory. (185) 121.

When twenty-five ages go out, the world will be destroyed by

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1) Cf. A.

e) Read cf. 2DD Text 26, 8.

Water will be taken away. People are getting divorced with a Remove water from your body. For it is settled for that age- it is written that the bodies die by water, but the souls die by The light shall ascend, except Noah the Man, and Nuraita"), his 5 Women, [50] and Šum, Jam ") and Jafeth, the sons of Noah, who came from the water- death is to be saved. It is from them that the world is to be awakened anew. (186)

122. From Šurbai and Šarhabel to the Age of Noah, there are fifteen generations. Then I and the two Uthras, my Brothers, proclaim the call and praise in the world. (187. 188)

123. From Noah the Ark to Abraham the Prophet of Peace- until Moses appears, until the city of Jerusalem is built, these are six generations. (189)

124. Then King Solomon, the son of David, is born, and become king of Judah. He builds the place of Jerusalem, and the demons and Dews submit themselves to him, until he glorifies himself, and for goodness his Lord is ungrateful. Then all turn away from him, and the Domination is lost to him. Those who glorify themselves must then ashamed of himself. (190)

125. From Moses, the Son of Amrā, to the end of the worlds') will be believers of the Kušta; they will be faithful in this faith- be found. Then false prophets will appear, the figure of *suppose"), performing in every city. The peoples will ver- the tongues spread over every city, over every place. Jew will be scattered over every city. The world will split and Tyrants take possession of every place. A place is built over the one city over another with war, and you shedding blood streams in the world. Everyone is looking for a Take advantage and fight for what does not belong to him. (191)

126. The seven angels, [5]] the deceivers, seduce them and call them, then they worship her. The first seducer, one°), is Šamiš by name (the sun), the second is the holy Spirit, Dlibat, Esträ, Amamite by name (Venus). The third is Christ, the forger who the first teaching falsifies. The fourth is Sin, whose name is Moon, whose Name is Saurel. The fifth is Kevan (Saturn), the sixth is Bel (Jupiter), the seventh Nerig (Mars). (192)

127. The Dews of the house of Samiš spread lies, arrogance, Boasting and voluptuousness of the belly about the children of men and ver- run. He sends messengers out into the world, Ruha and Christ'), and they worship the sun and the moon and worship the fire. (193)

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1) Read ND3. °) See Joli. II, p. 58. Note the alliteration here as well.

8) Originated from Cham under the influence of Jafeth. .

4) Here, "world" is used in the sense of alúv, as well as text 53, 18; 58, 23.

(b) See paragraph 111. c) Just wanted to get into the text as a gloss.

7) These words may not come from the editor, but are remembered.

128. The Dews of Ruha, whose name is Estra, go to Christ and throw apostasy into the world. They throw adultery, fornication, Singing, dancing and lust in the hearts of the children of men. Which Liliths (sorceresses), the Dews (sorcerers)') can be found on mountains and They settle down in any place. They teach people- 5 children, spread among them, get them out of their homes and their Families, take them to the mountains and heights, take them to the plains go out and let them sit for themselves. They love dirt, blood and Menstrual flow, love impudence and deceit. In the fire, that one appears to them Christ, and calls upon his worshippers*). (194. 195)

129. The Dews of the house of Kewan lament and weep in the hearts of the people. They banish you from grace and vertow them to the mountains. (196)

130. The Dews of the house of Nerig fall on the children of men come here and grind them. (197)

131. I teach you, my disciples, [52] about the lying Messiah. When he first appears, he will show you miracles in the fire. He is clothed with fire, enveloped in fire. Amünel is his name, He calls himself Jesus the Savior. On fire is his abode, and he is sitting in a fire truck. He comes and stands before you, takes you 20 and says to you: 'Come, come to me in the fire, without that you burn. Believe in me." (198)

132. If he afflicts you and you go over to him, then confess do not turn away from him and do not turn away from your faith. Call it Name of the high King of Light, who stands above all worlds. Let his name be 25 in your heart and in your mouth, and his power rest with you. (199)

133. Then I declare to you, my disciples, that he is also another Takes shape. He comes before you, clothed with fire shine, with fire envelop. However, he is hidden from your eyes by making the eyes dazzle. He says to you, 'I am the One who came from God." 30 That deceiver says, 'I am the Son of God, whom my Father gave me sent here." He says to you, 'I am the first Messenger, I I am Hibil-Zīwā, who came from the upper height." But bedon't know him. For I am not clothed with a garment of fire, and I do not reveal myself to the children of men in that age. Rather, 35 Enöš-Uthra comes to Noah and his family before the floods.

184. Asdavn, when the world is swept away by the floods of water and then, in turn, rest will occur, will be separated from Noah, his wife and multiply the children of men by their generations.

135. When the children of Israel disperse, the city of Jerusalem will become 40 be built. Enoš-Uthra arrives) [53] and goes to Jerusalem, (be-

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1) The words and are probably just glosses.

2) The statements iiber Dlibat-Rūhā and Nbū-Christ are thrown together here.

before the Dews enter the world. For two thousand years Anoš has been Around the world>'). His robe is a robe of clouds of water and ver- envelops its shine. His robe is*) not a physical one, and embers and anger it is not") about him. (200)

136. Ers) comes into this world in the years of Pilate, who then There is a king in the world. Anoš-Uthra comes into the world with the power of the high King of Light. He heals the sick, makes the blind see, cleanses the lepers, raise up the crippled, that they may go, and make the deaf and dumb talk. Enlivened with the power of the High King of Light the dead. He wins believers among the Jews and shows them: it there is life and there is death, there is light and there is darkness and blazing fire, there is truth and there is error. He leads a each of them*), who are zealous and firm in their faith in the One, the Lord of all the worlds. (201)

137. Then, when he shows his friends the truth, the city Jerusalem is devastated and we go to the worlds of light and the Škīnās of the We will no longer reveal ourselves in the world until the Time is coming and the measure of the world is full. (202)

138. Then, at the end of the worlds"), we come to the souls of the Perfections, and to the souls of the guilty who have sinned in the world and have been wrong, and therefore dwell in darkness. Everyone becomes saved from fire and darkness according to his works except for anyone who committed the great sin and made a person out of he destroyed the perfect and believing Adam's children°). Furthermore he who turns away from the word of his Lord, to whom one has spoken, without that he wanted to hear [54] and became a believer. Furthermore, who is from his own Satan will worship Him, will not repent, and thus will- damm. And who will turn away from the Jordan, the sign, and the baptism in the The Jordan of living water, which is called to the name of the first life is baptized, and then life is denied; the root of which is taken from the Worlds of light separated. Then we come into this world with") the shine the sun, with the brightness of the moon, with the shimmer of the stars, with the power of the wind, with the glow that gave fire, and

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1) The pieces are inserted and stirred by a For the man who transferred the appearance of the Enoš to prehistoric times, see also R 265. True- apparently, instead of 2y3y, this bin slider had the other form 12) 38, which was inserted into the- däische Schriften with 213y (changed in the first place), and then it was also, 1273N continues to be written.

2) In B, according to the transfer to the past, the perfektum stands.

5) The preceding words are from the following got here.

4) The compiler of B misunderstood the template, see A text 29, 14.

5) See above, p. 464.

6) Cf. p. 35, 3.

?) In the text here and in the following it says "up".

with the brightness that is given to living water. Until that Time we do not reveal ourselves in the world.

139. Further, I declare to you, my believers: If Nbu') from the In the middle of the angel of error comes, Ruha dQudša, his mother, calls him. On the wreaths of heaven and earth, on Mount Tabdanā "), the angels of error. They anoint Nbu from the oil horn and clothe him with fire.

140. Furthermore, Christ the Deceiver appears in a different form. He comes before you and says to you: 'I am going over the water. Come with me, you will not drown." But don't do it, and don't believe him. If he oppresses you and kills some of you, then don't be afraid. If he kills, he only kills your body, but your soul will dwell on the light earth. Do not be afraid, be afraid do not be afraid and do not be afraid of Christ, the Rhomaean"), the void, and before the one who modifies the speeches*).

141. Furthermore, he tears fruits, vines and trees from this side of the And throws them to the other side of the sea. Then it sprouts on the spot") and bears fruit.

142. He also makes a ladder, throws it down from the ground to to heaven, rising and falling, floating between heaven and earth [55] and he saith unto you, "Behold," that I come from on high; I am your Lord." But don't believe him. For the leader of Christ is produced by deception, sorcery and deception. Where the Christ he blinds his eyes, hides the glare of the sun and speaks to the Sun: ,Hide your shine." But the sun hides its splendor not. Now, by magic, he creates darkness in the place where he stands, and he saith unto you, Behold, I have spoken unto the sun, and it hid its Shine, for I am God the Redeemer ')."

143. Now I say to you, children of men, 'Do not believe him. Rather, you praise the High King of Light, the Lord of all worlds. Price not the vain Christ. He seduces the worlds, generations and People, and they do not know the nature from which he came."

144. In these figures he comes, makes prisoners in the world, seduce the children of men and teach them his wisdom. ,God- they call themselves "righteous" and "righteous". He calls them Christians.

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1) Designation for Christ, see A 192.

2) The mountain is named only at this point. The name is ans NINTENT.,the Verderbens" is formed under the action of the.

3) Christ is characterized as a Byzantine. Perhaps the author in ein Wortspiel mit N, Cheater" vor, siche Nöldeke, Zeitscher, f. Assyriologie XXX (1916), p. 144.

4) Who falsifies the real revelations, see p. 439.

5) Probably identical to "entilammen sich".

°) Read pin5, see text line 6.

7) Perhaps a reminiscence of the darkness at the crucifixion of Jesus.

He makes them "God-fearing" and "God-fearing". ,,God- he calls them "holy ones", "righteous ones" and "righteous women".

145. They leave their homes and become monks and nuns. You their seed from each other, the women from the men and the Men from the women. They inhibit their seed and offspring- the shaft of the world. They put fasting on their mouths, and you put them in shackles. They keep food and drink away from their mouths, keep away white robes from her body. You let them sit there alone, then liliths go to them, lie down, receive seeds from them and become pregnant; from this arise spirits and shrines, which over the Human children are falling. Medicines, remedies and.......... ... [56] take not on them, but from the seed, filth (stench) and dirt of those Monks are thrown at them and smeared. Some of them then leave ab, others do not. (195)

146. Further, I declare to you, my disciples: Nine months Nbu-Christ enters into the belly of his Mother, the Virgin, and holds himself hidden there. Then it comes out as a body, blood and menstrual flow. He grows up on her lap and sucks milk.

147. When he has grown up, he enters the people's house.') Jews, appropriates all his wisdom*), twists the Torah and change their teaching and all works.

148. He beguiles people among the Jews, makes them "fear God." and show them magic phenomena in which they believe. He lays them a colored skirt, he sheers a tonsure on your head and be- clothe them like darkness. On Sunday, keep your hands still

"). 149. He says to them: 'I am the true God, whom my My Father sent me here. I am the first, I am the last messenger; I i am the Father, I am the Son, I am the Holy Spirit, I come from the I moved out of the city of Nazareth")." That's his car. He keeps himself he humbly goes to Jerusalem. He takes among the Jews some caught by sorcery and deception and shows you wonders and apparitions. Dews of his escort he leaves in a dead enter, and they speak in the dead. Then he calls to the Jews and he says to them: 'Come, see, I am the one who is dead- awakens, causes resurrections, accomplishes redemptions. I am Anoš, who Nasoreans." (200)

150. Then Rüha will make a call in Jerusalem, and will speak the testimony about him. He takes the children of men by magic caught and soiled them with blood and menstruation. [57] He baptizes them")

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1) The expression is found as a designation for the Jewish temple, cf. Jn. II, p. 761.

2) For the use of see Joh. II, p: 1164.

a) See the introduction to the sentence.

4) There is probably a gap here.

5) Here the Christian word stands for "baptism".

in cut-off water'). He twists the living baptism and baptizes it in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He turns them from the living baptism of living water in the Jordan, with which you, Adam, you were baptized.

151. Further, in that age a child will be born whose 5 Name Johānā "), the son of the elderly father Zakhriā, who was in old age, at the end of a hundred years, was granted. His mother, the wife Enišbai, became pregnant with him, in old age she gave birth to him. When Johānā becomes great in that age of Jerusalem, faith in his Hearts rest, he will cross the Jordan, forty-two years of baptism before Nbu puts on a body and goes out into the world.

152. When Johānā lives in that age of Jerusalem, the Jordan Jesus Christ comes, enters in humility- receive the baptism of Johana and be guided by the wisdom of Johana way. But then he distorts the speech of Johanā, changes the baptism in the 15th century Jordan, distorts the speeches of the Kuštā and preaches impudence and carried on in the World.

153. On the day when Johānā's measure becomes full"), I myself come to him, Johana appears as a little boy at the age of three and a Talk to him about baptism and teach his friends. Then 20 i take him out of the body, lead him victoriously up to the world, which pure splendor, baptize him in the white Jordan living, flaunting water, clothe him with robes of splendor and cover him with light turbans, he- judge praise in his pure heart from the praise of the light- an angel with whom they praise their Lord forever without ceasing.

154. According to Johana, the world [58] will be lying. The Rhomaean Christ will divide the nations, the twelve deceivers will move in the world around, thirty years the Rhomaean shows itself in the world.

155. In that age prove yourselves, ye men of tried and tested Justice"), you who are truthful and firm in your faith. Everyone who is true- 30 'do not listen to the teaching') of the Christ and on the false wisdom of the twelve peoples') and do not abandon this first Teaching. Remain firm and steadfast in your faith, for very soon you will

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1) In water that has been taken from the river and put into a vessel, see p. 156.

2) For the pronunciation of the name, see Joh. II, p. 74f.

a) The alluded to in this paragraph is made in the fourth part of the fifth book from- thoroughly told.

4) Here the apostles are meant, but therein lies an allusion to the zodiacal- ghosts, see p. 244.

6) Or , "piety", refer to the print-out Joli. II, p. 50".6) Read ?) לשותא.

According to the previous paragraph, one should expect that here of the ,,twelve Seducers", and an erroneous exchange of the words NUN and NInDND is all the more possible because they are close to each other shortly before. But after all, could we be talking about the foreign, false religions in general and תריסארnonone in the sense of andine (sielie p. 20 °).

you leave the world. Do not listen to the lying doctrine of the one who It is a lie.

156. If the Great One wants it, Anoš-Uthra goes here. He will expose the lie of the liar Jesus, who is equal to the angels of light power. He becomes the Rhomaean Christ, the liar, the son of a woman, that did not come out of the light, guilty of being one of the there are seven deceivers who go about in the world, that he may be at the- sphere wanders'). He will expose the Rhomaean Christ as a liar. He will be bound by the Jews, his worshippers will shackles, and he will be crucified. His body will be- be killed, and his worshipers will divide him into separate parts. He will be tied up on Mount Mara*); when the sun rises, let them loose from their ardor on him, because he has led error and persecution into the World throws.

157. Also, all the seducers who have visited the seven planets in the world- and the children of men who profess them"), all wander into the fire. For they are called to them, but they do not want to hear, they show them, but they do not want to see, they are ordered, but they do not want to act. They turn away from the light, make ... .[4]) and love reputation"), fame (names) and the possession of this world.

158. My chosen ones! I tell you, the perfect ones who are in to that Ãon, when the Rhomaean appears, are and are born: Turn do not, I tell you, turn away from true wisdom, [59] does not change anything do not testify to the clear speeches and do not dwell on the dreams and the deceits which the deceivers show you. Do not witness (for them) for gold and silver, by which the children of men are drunk, and then fall into the blazing fire.

159. Do not praise with singing the Nbu-Christ in the world sing. If he takes a different form, call him the lustful Oros°), who sings the song of magic and lust, dances, in his hands clap and capture the hearts of people. They call ihu the lustful Oros, *** he throws into the world. His mother Ruha breasts his own. By his lovely appearance') and seduced by magic he is the children of men. At his call, the brides leave the bride-, and the woman who had given birth had the house of birth. He throws lustful in the world-

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1) Like one of the planets.

2) The text says NaNd7. Hardly,"of his Lord" (AaNd7); perhaps there is a Reminiscence of Moriah.

a) Read דמאודיבון.

4) The standing ,friends" pact does not. The writing error is caused by the the following word is affected.

°) Cf. Lit. , p. 78°.

°) Or Oreus. Probably disfigured from Orpheus (Diin from DIDi). Christ was identified with Orpheus, cf. Joh. III, p. 20.

7) Sorry. hat בהיוזא.

he is jealous of men, and he is jealous of women. husband women run after women, women after men. He drives old people and Old women from their homes, married men from their wives way. He drives the young men out of their family, and they call the name. not your family anymore. He throws') Fornication, adultery, fornication, estrus and passion about men and women, about bachelors and young-womens. They will sing to fornicators ****. The women dance the Men, the men dance towards the women. He throws lustfulness and falsehood in the world.

160. The Dews of the Nerig scatter theft among the children of men. Through their theft"), the children of men are being tortured. Erzürner and idols fall upon the children of men and fill them with wrath, and they will be punished. They become scavengers, become priests, and Oracle men") and cut up their bodies. Those Dews and Hmurthas*) of Nerig and the satans lay down on them, eating from their Flesh, drink of their blood, and become an (evil) spectacle in the World. [60] They do stargazing, and the fortune tellers prepare them°) Offerings and sacrificial cakes. They settle down on their temples, in every place, on the tell, roofs, mountains, heights, in every And remove the children of men from the way of faith. You seduce all the world by tambourines, flutes, horns, šofars, talk with loud voice and seduce the world. They seduce the hearts of the Children of men and make them drunk by the drunkenness of love, the opulence of gold and silver and through roller-shaped sculptures, which are formed from clay. These vain works of their own hands then they pray, prostrate themselves and burn incense in front of them. (197)

161. Some of them worship the angels of fire and the stars that in the celestial sphere °), which have shine and brightness in themselves, to enlighten the worlds of darkness. The dull, Shameful do not know that this shine has come from the upper height and only it was given to the hikers so that they could hike by day and night should ').

162. You too, Adam and your wife and your children and your Every one who is truthful and firm in faith, who is glad and be of good cheer: keep away from the vain, ugly works

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1) MDNT stands here and still erroneously for NDNT, see also Joh. II, p. XII, 24. At this point there is suffering. No, but still pDn1.

2) Perhaps there is a gap here, or the sentence is written in thoughtlessness.

°) Insecure. Sorry. maybe pnn is pinn to read. See the parallel passage.

4) Small stones and shells, which were considered to be the seat of deities, baitylien, who were then thought to be demons themselves, see Uthra, p. 541. Above p. 13, 24 the word is still in the original meaning.

d) Well read. Sorry. has p5veN7.

°) For prescribed, see text 58, 13.

?) See Joh. II, p. 425.

of Satan, of the Dews, demons, spirits, Hmurthās, Liliths, idols, which he') has let into the world in order to apply the power of the children of men to the To put it to the test. Some among these also sin. But all those who the will of those who do the will of Satan and the will of their 5 they offer themselves to the blazing fire.

163. Preserve! The men of proven righteousness who are Fully- believers and believers, do not extend their hand to Satan and do not the will of Satan, so also the hand of Satan will not have power about them. For they are armed with faith, [61] take 10 set up a fight with Satan, and do righteous deeds, as their Lord has done taught them.

164. Further, I teach you, perfected and believers: According to to all prophets a prophet will rise from the earth. The Arab The Prophet comes and rules over all nations. Then the need is great in 15 of the world. After that reign, the world will be in turmoil. After the Arab Mahammad, the son of Bizbat, will no longer be a prophet in and faith will disappear from the earth. (203) 165. May the great life be praised in the Light, Manda dHaije consolidated in victory.

This is the book of the Lord of Greatness.

Second piece.

A powerful confession of sins with a request for mercy. The piece is performed in the It is called "The Book of Jordan". Thus it is said that at baptism there is- it should be said, but it is in the baptismal liturgy (Lit., p. 3ff.) not included.

In the name of the great life be praised the splendor and the great, first light.

Lord of praise! Look at us and don't condemn us.

Our Lord! We have sinned and missed; forgive us our Sin and guilt.

More implacable, more conciliatory, more merciful! Look at us and damn not us.

Seers and recognizers! Look at us and don't condemn us. See us and in your mercy, have mercy on us. By your strength, and Trust*) give in and have mercy on us.

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1) Satan, see further.

2) Maybe originally ,,and our confidence" in the following sentences confessed, then mistakenly got here and was adjusted.

Our hope and our trust! In your mercy he- have mercy on us.

Wise men and rulers! By your grace and mercy have mercy on us.

High King of Light! Listen to our call and do not condemn us.

Great, High, Praised! Because we have sinned, damn not us.

Revealer, who reveals the hidden things! In your barmheartiness have mercy on us.

God of praise! Look at us and don't condemn us. Savior of all believers! Hear us and do not condemn us. [62]

Consolidator of all good! Because we have sinned, condemn us not.

Creator of all good beings! In your mercy have mercy our.

Savior of all') beautiful beings! Listen to our call and condemn not us.

Giver of all gifts! Give us strength and do not condemn us. Savior of all believers! Deliver us from everyone who is evil. Savior of souls! Save us from everyone who sins. Eliminate all evils! Remove from us sword and wrath.

Fastener of all his friends! Give us strength so that we do not fall.

Shining with rich power! Give us strength so that we do not come in shame.

Lord of all praise! Your praise rest over us*).

Guardians of the truthful! May Your care be preserved to us"). An incentive for all the elect! Your incentive rest over us. Send all kinds of prayers and praise! Your praise rest about us.

High King full of mercy! In your mercy have mercy our.

Doctor who heals his friends! Heal us from our sins and don't condemn us.

Doctor who heals the souls! Heal us and do not condemn us. Mighty of mighty power! Break the power of the rebels.

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1) Sorry. has pato5.

2) Very often the desire is purged, dali the splendor or light of the deity above the faithful rule, cf. e.g. R 62, 18f.; Lit. 109,4; 208,6. Since now also תושביהתא together with "shine" and "light" (cf. R 64, 12; 74, 4, 6; 304, 24; Lit. 205, 7), seems in addition to "praise", it has assumed the meaning of "glory, splendor" that here so there is the same connection of different meanings as with sóga. At the same time a more and more detailed study of the history of this word will also Use of Nowerii must be observed.

a) One expects eafrd an asset: "keep us" ("THEN).

More brilliant of great luster! Rest a part of your shine
here's to
us. Great, imperishable light! A part of your light rest
here's to
us. Who extends his hand to the perfect! Shake hands with us,
so that we do not fall.
Who set you on the paths of truth! Let us off your path
do not deviate.
More powerful, wiser! Remove the anger from your
friends. Verily, He who guides the truthful to truthfulness! See
us and don't condemn us.
Great Lord of all mercy! In your mercy destroy
everyone's anger.
Who [63] separates life from death! Remove the anger from your
Friends.
The light separates from darkness! Remove the anger from your
Friends.
Who separates good from evil! Remove the anger from your
Friends.
The truth is separated from error! Remove the anger from your
Friends.
Illuminators of the luminaries')! Remove the anger from your friends.
Who stretches out the sky with his power! Remove the anger
of your friends.
Who seals the earth by his Word! Remove the anger from your
Friends.
Transmitter of living water! Remove the anger from your
friends. Fruits, grapes and trees! Eliminate the anger
from your friends.
Keeper of souls! Save them *) from everything that is ugly.
Sender of the messengers of the Kušta "). Remove the anger from
your friends. Giver of wisdom and praise! Remove the anger
of your friends.
Judge who judges the souls! Remove the anger from your friends.
Revealer, whose eyes are open*)! Get rid of us sword
and anger.
Blameless without fail! Leave us without guilt and do not condemn
us. We are slaves to sins! Because we have sinned, damn
not us.

---

1) Of the stars in the sky, see p. 25, 3f. ")
Sorry. has , "preserve us," see also the reading in C.
8) The true faith.
4) Sorry. has jntno nnsno. See also Lit., p. 108, where there is also A-rivers of this piece show.

We are slaves who have sinned. Lord! Don't condemn us.

Our head went into sin. Because we have sinned, ver- don't dam us.

Our eye gave (unchaste) a wave. Because we have sinned, ver- don't dam us.

Our ear heard evil. Because we have sinned, damn not us.

Our mouth was chattering') lie. Because we have sinned, damn not us.

Our hand committed theft and did evil. Lord! Damn us not.

Our heart conceived evil thoughts. Lord! Don't condemn us.

Our body was committing adultery. Because we have sinned, Lord, ver- don't dam us.

Our knee bowed to the wicked. Forgive us our sin and guilt. Lord! Do not condemn [64] us.

Our foot went barefoot. Lord! Don't condemn us.

We are slaves to sin. In your mercy have mercy our.

Lord of all souls! We looked at your splendor and received life. We saw your light and believed. We heard your praise, and Kuštā lay down in our heart. Kuštā lay down in our heart, we they accepted your praise and heard the words of praise that you sent us.

Lord! We have sinned and missed; forgive us our sin and guilt. Blessed be thy name in the place of light.

This is the Book of Jordan.

Third piece.

Proclamation of the Messenger of Light about his appearance in the world and the effect, who exercised his appearance. The play is written in verse. About the construction of the for Mandaean verse, see Lit., p. VIIIf.

In the name of the great life.

When I came, I, the Messenger of Light,
the king who I went here from the light,
that's when I came*), communality") and shine in my hand,
Light and praise*) on me,

---

1) Cf. Joh. II, p. 416.

2) standing in parallel with the first Less good is suffering.: ,,Since braclte i have togetherness and shine in my hand."

a) Cf. Lit., p. 13".

4) See above, p. 55*.

Shine on me and enlighten me,
Call and proclaim upon me,
the sign[1] on me and the baptism,
and I enlighten the dark hearts.
With my voice and my proclamation
I sent a call out into the world.
I sent out a call to the world from
the ends to the ends of the world.
I sent a call out into the world: Let
everyone take care of themselves.
Anyone who takes care of themselves,
will be freed from the consuming fire.
Hail to the servants of the Kuštā,
the perfect and the faithful.
Heal the Perfect,
who stay away from all evil.

I am the Messenger of Light,
whom the Great One*) has sent into this
world. I am the true Messenger,
where there is no lie;
the truthful one"), to which there is no lie,
there is no lack or lack of him.

I am the Messenger of Light;
everyone who smells his fragrance
receives life. Anyone who takes in his
speech, his eyes fill with light.
His eyes fill with light,
[65] his mouth is filled with praise.
His mouth fills with praise,
his heart is filled with wisdom.
The adulterers smelled me'),
so they hastily abandoned their adultery.
They hurried from their adultery,
they came and surrounded themselves with my smell.
They spoke:
When we were without knowledge"), we committed adultery,
now that we have the knowledge, we no longer commit adultery.

---

1) The sign of oiling, see Lit., pp. 27, 40 et al.

2) This means here, as in Book I and Book II, 1, the King of Light.

8) Sorry. has less good NIN ND27D, which is also not affected by the faulty D is supported.

4) Maybe the 3rd pers. confessed, cf. pp. 59, 8, 25.

b) When we did not yet know the right faith, in which äyvoia were.

I am the true Messenger,
where there is no lie,
the truth, in which there is no lie,
there is no lack or lack of him.
Everyone who smells his fragrance receives life1).
Everyone who smells of him,
his eyes fill with light.
The liars smelled him,
so they hastily abandoned their lie.
And their lies made them hurry,
they came and surrounded themselves with my smell.
They spoke:
Lord! When we were ignorant, we told a lie, now
that we have the knowledge, we no longer speak it.

I am the Messenger of Life,
the truth, in which there is no lie,
the truth, in which there is no lie,
there is no lack or lack of him.
The Tree of Praise,
from the smell of which everyone receives life.
Everyone who smells of him,
his eyes fill with light.
His eyes fill with light,
[his mouth fills with praise].
The killers smelled him,
so they hastily abandoned their murders.
They hurried away from their murders,
they came and surrounded themselves with my smell.
They spoke:
Lord*)! When we were without knowledge, we committed murder,
now that we have the knowledge, we don't murder anymore.
The magicians smelled him,
so they hurried away from their magic.
They hurried away from their magic,
they came and surrounded themselves with my smell.
They spoke:
Lord! When we were without knowledge, we practiced magic,
now that we have the knowledge, we don't do it anymore.

We are a vine*), the vine of life,
a tree where there is no lie.

---

1) See p. 58, 23f. 2) here only in sorrow.

a) NorberG has, perhaps only as a conjecture, NDN ,,I am" (p. 124).

The Tree of Praise,
from the smell of which everyone receives life.
Everyone who hears his speech,
his eyes fill with light.
His eyes fill with light,
his mouth is filled with praise.
His mouth fills with praise,
[66] his heart fills with truth.
The winkers') smelled him,
then they hurriedly left her beckoning.
Her waving hurriedly left her,
they came and surrounded themselves with my smell.
They spoke:
When we were without knowledge, we waved,
now that we have the knowledge, we no longer
wave. From the day we saw you,
from the day we heard your speech,
from the day we saw you,
our heart filled with peace.
We believed in you "), Good,
we saw your light and will not forget you anymore.
We will not forget you all our days,
do not let an hour from our heart leave you.
For our heart shall not go blind.",
these souls are not inhibited.

I spoke to you:
Everyone who repents,
whose soul shall never be cut off; the
Lord will never condemn him.
But the wicked, they, the liars,
damn themselves.
Because you show them, and they don't want to see,
they are called to them, and they do not want to hear and believe.
The wicked sink by their own will
in the great Suf Sea.
They will be housed in the darkness, and
the mountain of darkness devours
them, by the day, the court days,
until the hour, the hours of salvation.
But we who praise (you), Lord,
will you forgive our sin and guilt.

---

1) Give the unchaste a wave. *) Read "London.
3) Sorry. has bad ,,should not perish.

Blessed be you, King of Light,
who sent the truth to us, your friends').
You were victorious, Manda dHaije,
and help all your friends to victory.
Life prevails over all works.

Fourth piece.

Exhortations, especially on the conjugal life.

In the name of the great life.

To you I call, plants that I planted, Chosen ones that I i have chosen:

Don't fight and don't steal - why do you want to be a winker, why hand over the weak to the strong")?

Do not be like the prophets of deceit, nor the judges of falsehood; they do not ascend from the Jordan, nor have they been strengthened by this [67] Lord who sits in the upper height.

Then I will say and show you, you chosen and perfect ones, who have accepted faith in the Lord of Greatness. I am- taught you about the bachelors and virgins, about the men who no women, and about the women who are not looking for men.

Go up to the shore of the sea, see the fish in the sea: two by two 20 go to the sea and do not perish. See4) the flying ones Birds in the sky: they fly there in twos and do not perish. Now, see, why do you want to perish?

Go up to the bank of the great Euphrates, see the trees that are on the bank of the great Euphrates: they drink water and bear fruit, and 25 do not perish.

But see the dry river, in which no water drags. He dries out°), and the trees on its shore dry up and die away.

---

1) CD and sorry. who sent you to your friends".

2) See the admonitions of Joh. 174f. (II, p. 174). With ,,Winkern* or "Nodding" means people who give unchaste waves, as above p. 60,9 (Text 66, 1). See also Nöld, p. 39, 11. Also L 60, 5; 105, 15; Joh. 175, 11, 12; 185, 14 stand and together. In the sense of pynp (bzw. pynD CIS II, 141,2) is unthinkable despite the following sentence. -- Sorry. has DND simpler לאתאתנוןNDPADS ,"do not deliver the weak to the strong".

a) Sorry. has nopsndn'7.

1) Sorry. before that,my sons!"

5) The Munich manuscript has a good 17 here.

Likewise') the souls of the bachelors dry up and die, and Virgins, of men who have no wives, and of women who have no Looking for men. When you leave your body, you get your seat in a dark cloud. Because you will be out of your own belly-bears fruit, and it comes out of their mouth; because they have done have what I did not order you.

I also call you and declare to you: In the world in which you make a wedding for your sons, the men, as well as for your Daughters, the wives, and believe in your Lord, the High King of light. For this world comes to an end and passes away.

Furthermore, I call to you and declare to you, you chosen and full-those who have accepted the faith in the King of Light: Why do you associate with these bachelors and virgins, the men, who are not looking for women, and the women who are not looking for men? When you if you associate with them, you will fall into Gehenna, for whose Roof not a thousand times a thousand, for the walls of which not ten thousand ten thousand cedars is enough. If you are not [68] hold on to them, you will ascend and see his calm face.

Furthermore, I call you and show you, you chosen and full-come those who have accepted faith in the King of Light. I teach you about the animals, the flying birds, the fish in the sea and the animal in the sea. She slaughters, washes, cleans, rinses and cook, pray over them and eat, then you will not be a test to behave standing").

Life is victorious over all works.

The Uthras speak to Jözaṭaq Manda dHaije: Your robe shine and let your form be honored with that of your Father, the Lord of greatness.

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1) Here has been preserved in the original sense. After that is Nöld., p. 206f. zu add.

a) On permitted and prohibited foods, see p. 20, 125; 37, 57.

Third book.

The book contains a complete creation report and is the comprehensive list of among the preserved Mandaean treatises. It is composed of different pieces- which are poorly processed, and the contradictions often collide with each other. Thereby that the evil forces seek to prevent creation or to shape it in their sense, ilır goings-on are described several times, and these games are not among the worst in the book.

At the top are two reports on the primordial creation; in both, everything is derived from a primordial fruit. According to the second report, the "life" goes from the rough Mānā, and the first life creates the second life through his supplicating word. This creates uthras, among which especially three stand out (see Brandt, Rel., p. 122). The three Uthras ask the second life, their father, Skināš and a world to establish can. The request is granted to them from the second life, but the great (first) life i don't like it. This is addressed to the great Mānā, who, on it, Kbar the Great creates. Kbar is identified with Mandā dHaije, and the following is a digit up to anf (Text 77, 7f.) there is no further mention of him. After several vain appeals, the Mandā dHaijē asked to forestall the Uthras, descend to the underworld and to thwart their plan (text 71). He points out the dangers of this work, but he is promised protection by the great Mānā. He goes to the House of Life, which he is also called upon to oppose the Uthras (73). This is followed by questions and Antwords about darkness and the primordial creation, which do not suit each other and apparently consist of stitches of different origin. A third representation of the Creation from the original fruit, in which the King of Light took the place of the great Mānā kicked. Mandā dHaijē is then equipped for descent into the underworld, and the Descent takes place (79f.). But here he does not kick the Uthras, but the fiends (N towards darkness, at the head of which is Rūhā and you are Soln Ur, the king of darkness, stand. Manda aHaije takes up the fight against him, he overcomes him, ties and put a wall around ilm. He then ascends to life, which thanks him for his work. Text 93, 2 is linked in a new piece to the idea of the second life. But here it is no longer called so, but "the second". Contact with the 14. Beech (R 291-298). Dic Uthras also turn to the second with a request to create a world to be allowed to establish. The request is granted to them, and they create Ptahil. B'haq-Zīwā measures he holds a special position among the sons of the Second, he considers himself Abathur and he sees himself as the father of the Uthras. He calls Ptahil, who according to R 297, 20 is his son, call him Gabriel (see also p. 89,6) and entrust him with the creation. From the Whatever resistance he encounters, he does not inform him and does not arm him. Ptahil descends below the Škīnās. It loses its luster, the compaction he does not succeed, and this encourages Rūhā to oppose him. She calls three times her Let the son lie with her, then he will regain his strength and freedom. She then gives birth first to seven, then twelve, then five fiends (see p. 134), whose appearance filled with horror... Ptahil now gets a robe of living fire from life, he step into the murky water with it, dust from the earth Siniawi falls on the murky water, and this creates a compaction. The firmament is also stretched out (97). Which Planets and the other bad guys surround Ptahil and offer him their services. He takes this is on the condition that you do only good. Then the house, i.e. the the earthly world is taken away, and the wicked are given dominion over it (98 unt.). Ptahil now make the decision to create Adam, but also attract the planets to the work is approaching. They create the body, but cannot throw a soul into it (101). They call the A wind of air, so that he would hollow out the bones, so that marrow might be formed in them. You but despite all their efforts, they can not put Adam on his feet. There goes Ptahil to his father, who came from the "hidden places", i.e. from the house of life, pick up a Mānā and hand it over to Ptahil. Life is calling (or calling out?) Hibil, Šitil and Anōš as helpers to protect the soul. After a spoiled spot appears, disturbing the harmony, Adakas-Zīwā, i.e. the hidden Adam (= DNTN NCND), the otherworldly counter-image to the earthly Adam, who is commissioned to be the soul-herding (102); he is subsequently thrown together with Mandā dHaijē. This animates together with Ptahil the body, and he is entrusted by life to teach Adam the true to announce. Rūhā and the planets, for their part, go after Adam and want to put him through seducing their arts (105). Mandā dHaijē confronts them powerfully. On the advice of of the three Uthras, Mandā dHaijē, together with these, arranges a wedding for Adam, and they give him Hawwā as a wife. Rūhā, the Seven and Twelve present the couple with all sorts of luxuries, with vestments, gold, wine, flowers to make them apostate. Mandā dllaije and his companions thwart jedocli's plans. He gives Adam a tribe to reasons (107). In a fragmentary play, the children of Adam and Hawwā, perhaps also called those of the otherworldly counterpart Adakas-Zīwā nnd Anānā dNhūrā. Mandā dHaijē instructs Adam and Hawwā in the acts of worship. Again looking for Rūhā and their circle, thwarting his work. They gather on Mount Carmel and make a plan to eliminate the strange man (110). Through all kinds of magic arts seek to beguile Adam and his tribe. The means of seduction are under the seven planets are distributed, and their sphere of action is also attributed to the twelve. Adam, who was asleep, wakes up as a result of the unrest in the world and calls for a helper (113). Instead of Mandā AHaijē's, Hibil-Utlra appears here, who enlightens iln and his sons and- calms down. It is then told of the apostasy of a son of Adam, who in the following-genden Adam, son of Adam, is called, and of whom there is no other mention. He goes and the Seven, and is received by them with Frenden (115). Furthermore, the he identified with Adam himself. In order to deceive and attract ilin to himself, Rūhā takes the shape of the Hawwa. The Savior appears, exposes their trickery and punishes them and the planets (118). The following is an overview of the false religions and their- draws to the planets. Representation of the distribution of the duration of the world under the zodiac- signs and derivation of animals and plants from the individual signs.

The book is written in verse. But in two pieces, even with more lenient assessment of verse construction, no verses win. The first piece is on the 5th Start of the book. It goes about as far as the great man of glory as the supreme being appears; then the great life takes its place. During the transition, where there is still talk of the great Mānā, there is several times the plural, which in the present Texts are meaningless, so CHILD text 71, 16, 72, 19; Nen 72, 22. It can only be so explain that even in these places, and probably even before, life was originally ge- it was mentioned that a reworking took place with the insertion of the great Mānā, but accidentally- the plural has been omitted. This is probably also the repetition p. 67, 33 and 69, 3 into existence. In this reworking, in which the two pieces also incorporate the original fruit- the verse form was lost.

The second piece is text 99, 22 to 101, 4. The beginning is obviously turned in- in addition, the piece has been reworked.

After the remarks at the beginning and at the end of the book, the Scripture has the Title , Book of the Living, First Teaching". At the beginning, the Bnch is called the "first", probably with regard to the introductory words in the following book. - See the book Brandt, Rel., pp. 24ff., 34ff., 50, 122; Schr., pp. 125ff.

In the name of the great, strange life, the sublime, which is above all Healing and victory, strength and firmness, and a remission of sins is granted to me, my wife and my children NN, NN, and let her name be established in the house of life.

In the name of the great, strange life from the worlds of light, the er- it is above all works.

This is the mystery and the first book of the living, first A teaching that has always been.

When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the ather was still in the ather, when the great Mānā1) of glory was there, out of the mighty, great Mānās, whose splendor is extended, [69] whose light is great, came forth before where there was no one in the great fruit that is vast and endless,

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1) Means spiritual being, spirit, also the spirit in man. The original Sense is perceptible ,"feeling". In the case of the Semites, the object that is often he thinks of himself as the seat of the divine Being, the God, the stone, tree, stake, altar, etc. he is identified with the God and his name is transferred to the God. So could for even the spirit can be used according to the container that holds it, the "feeling". See Uthra, p. 5383; Nöldeke, Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie XXX (1916), p. 145, 160; Reitzenstein, The mand. Book of the Lord of Greatness, p. 86f. The designation okevos ēvripov, as the in the case of the Heracleonites (Epiphanius, Haer. 36, 3), ent- speaks Mandaean R 325, 12; 326, 1, 13, or the crusts R 135, 5, 14. G. HoFfmann's explanation of NJND as,.Gewand"' (ZNTW IV. 1903, p. 2842) is untrue- probably.

whose splendor is too extensive for speech with the mouth, whose light is too is great for telling with the lips that was in that fruit, since from it came forth a thousand times a thousand fruits without end, and ten- a thousand times ten thousand škīnās without number. In each individual fruit 5 were a thousand times a thousand fruits without end, and ten thousand times ten- a thousand škinās without number. They stand there and praise that great Mānā the glory that dwells in the great ather of life, who dwells in the Jordan white water that had come out of the great Mānā, whose The fragrance is pleasant, in which all the roots of light and the great, first Smell 10 Glints. The great Jordan arose without end and without number. On him plants stand, rejoice and rejoice. They are all full of praise and stand there perfectly. From the great Jordan came Jordanes without End and number.

When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the Ãther was still in the ather, 15 when the great splendor was'), whose splendor and light were extensive and great before whom there was no one, from whom the great Jordan of living water (from which life itself arose)*), then this poured out to the earth of the Athers, on which") life settled and settled in the guise of the the great Mānā from which it had emerged, and this one judged 20 a request to self4). At the first request, the consolidated Uthra, whom life called the second life. [70] Also created Uthras without end and number"). And out of that living water arose a Jordan that poured out like the first Jordan to the earth of light, and that the second life took a firm place in him (o). That second life then created 25 Uthras, founded Škinās and created a Jordan in which the Uthras feasted Received a seat.

Three uthras arose that made a request to the second life; they asked to be allowed to create škīnās for themselves. The three Uthras of second life, granted it to them. They consult and create 30 Škinās. They prayed') and spoke to their father, they asked their father

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1) Here it says יורא.

2) I cross out those words that interrupt the thought and contradict the soon-to-follow exception is that life emerges from the great Mänā- gangen sei. The words are here under the influence of the third creation report p. 73 placed.

3) According to the syntactic position, it seems to me that rather than to refer to, although the latter view would have a support in the following.

4) Also in other religions there is the idea that divine beings pray to yourself. Cf. NöldekE, New contributions to sem. Linguistics, p. 29.

6) This sentence should be deleted. The following is probably too ומן הינון מיא הייא to supplement, but perhaps even more is missing.

d) One could assume here DN'npny in the sense of "to be consolidated, to be baptized", see Lit., p. XXIII, also especially R 293, 5, but this sense still does not fit p. 67, 12.

? Or, 'they asked', i.e. they asked (for information) to him. Maybe it's but also meant by "praying": they prayed for him, they spoke a wish formula as- greetings, see also pp. 67, 17.

and they said to him, 'Are you the one who brought this Jordan of living water?', who is so wonderful, and from whose waters the fragrance is so lovely, and the Uthras, who were given a permanent seat in it, are so great that they have caused, and is it your Uthras') that were firmly established in him?i don't think he- disgusted the second life and said to the three Uthras: ,,Me, your Father, life has brought me forth, the Jordan is of life, and you came into being through the power of life."¹

Then they said to him, 'Grant us of your splendor and your light and what is (otherwise) about you, and we want to- break and descend below the streams of water"). We want to give you Ěvoke skinās, create a world for you, and let the world be our and yours. We want to maintain our stock and seat in it, and Uthras in it they are ours and yours. Want the name of life we pronounce")." This pleased him, and he said, 'I will give it to you.'- währen."

But when he said this, the great one did not like it, and life wasn't it right. There was a prayer for the great mana of the Lord- '), who dwells in the great fruit, and praised him. Then rose the great Mānā in splendor, light and glory, created Kbar the Great, whose [71] name is Kbar-Zīwa, Nbat-Jāwar, the son of Jofin-Jõfafin, Sām, the well-preserved Mānā, the vine, the whole life, the- love of the Uthras is, in glorious splendor") and said to him: "You, rise above the Uthras and see what the Uthras are doing and what are you thinking about when you say: We want to create a world and Škinās like the mighty Uthras, the Sons of Light. You, Mandā dHaijē, do you like that the Uthras of the Light leave the Light and have turned their faces to darkness, to the great Suf sea, to the hay- darkness, to the consuming, perishable water, to the place that full of demons who speak with a loud voice, in which the consuming Is fire talking?s

But the Uthra of life keeps silence, and there was nothing about him Lack still Fails.

Then he (the Mānā) said to him for the second time: 'Behold, Mandā D.Haije, for what purpose the Uthras of Light consult °), why her heart has fallen into confusion, so that after the age of 35 she has lost her face Places that are bottomless and shoreless, according to the place where there is no living water flows and no shine dwells."

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1) I suspect Nany instead of Namy y.

2) ND emerged from the biblical (Jn. p. XVI, Note.), be- in the Mandaeans, draw the boundary water that separates the light world from this world. see BranDT, Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie XVIII (1892), pp. 405, 427 ff.

a) See Nöld., pp. 216 unt. 4) is here only in sorrow.

8) Refers to the great Mānā; perhaps there is also DNP ,,he stood there" out- fall. °) Read watyony.

Again, the Uthra of life keeps silence. Then they turned the Mānās ') for the third time in Her Majesty to Manda dHaije and spoke: ,,You are the king of the Uthras, the Lord of the Kušta, the creator of the treasures. We have appointed you as ruler over all the worlds of light, as well as over all the uthras of Light who dwell in the skīnās, even over the lower ones Worlds of darkness. It is You who determines for that (the other) world and desired. Descend to the world earlier, before the Uthras go there- go and do something that is ugly and ugly for us, life is not that's right and you, Manda dHaije, don't like it. For it is you [72] who keep the Uthras in order, set up a path, and set up a waystone straighten. If we called you"), why did we call you? Because you, if you are called, worthy and as if created for this creation (3)."

To this Manda dHaije replied and spoke to the great, mighty Mānā: 'If I seek you, whom will I see? When I'm in Be- I am in a hurry, in whom should I have confidence? What should I mean Support the inner that was with you?"

The Mānā then spoke in majesty and replied to Manda dHaijē: ,,You you should not be cut off from us, we rather want to be with you. Everything you say is firmly with us. You are established with us and should of us will not be cut off. We are with you, because life is full of kindness to you. It created you helpers, it created you gentle and gentle- strengthened uthras, gentle and strengthened Uthras, so that they may be helpers to you. Then it created helpers for you, who are to be kept there as your sons. Let your sons hear the call of life, and merchants who trade and carry out their trade successfully*)."

He, the Great, then gave him shine and light
and increased what he had.
He gave him a wide robe,
wondrous and endless.
He blessed him with rich blessings,
with which the mighty have been blessed.
They') made him the father of the Uthras,
who provides his friends with food.
At the command of the great fruit of glory
i concluded brotherly fidelity
with you), left and came to the house
of life. Life asked me about the Mānā,
from whom I was created:

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1) The plural stands instead of the expected singular, see p. 65, 9.

a) Again ambiguous, see above, p. 324. a) Sorry. hat בריתא.

4) The commercial goods are good works, cf. R 340, 15; Lit., pp. 107, 1; 154, 9: Joh. II, pp. 178, 16.

8) It is uncertain, oh so that the Mānā (see note. 1) or the Uthras are meant.

,Since you came by the kindness of the great'),
how is your nature created (planting planted)?u

Life spoke to Manda dHaije in His Majesty"): You
saw, Mandā dHaije,
what the Uthras [73] do,
what do the Uthras do
and what they think about this and that.
You saw them leaving the house of life and
have turned their faces to the place of darkness.
They left the society of life
and loved the company of darkness.
They left the place of splendor and light, we
went there and loved the empty apartment.
They left the sweetness,
they went and loved the bitterness.
They went and loved the bitterness,
where there is no swagger.
They left the Jordan of living water
and went to the murky water.
To the murky water they went,
went to the blazing flame.
They left the living fire, they
went and loved the consuming fire.
They loved the consuming fire
and loved the blazing flame.
Yes, see, Manda dHaijē,
that's what the Uthras
did! See what the Uthras did
and how lacking and lacking they were.
Let's overturn the world and leave it,
who will be a folder among them?
Who will be a folder among them,
who will free you from lack and error?
Who will free you from the deficient,
that you performed by yourself?
Who will make them hear the call of the great (life),
enthroned in the house of perfection?"

Life talked and talked
to the sprightly, well-equipped Uthra:
,Was not before the Uthras existed, has your
creation been accomplished")?

---

1) One expects the singular NEn, see above, p. 65, 9. 2) See p. 67 unt.
4) I.e. you were created.

Before the Uthras existed,
he has created you and commissioned you.
Created and commissioned by the Great,
you are equipped, instructed, sent
and has authority over every thing. It
instructed you about the Škīnā̈s
and the mighty gates of the hidden place. It
gave you dominion over the hidden Uthras, those
who stand there and praise the mighty (life).
It gave you dominion over the Jordan of the Mighty and
over the living, flapping water. When
the Mighty commanded it,
they created uthras for you,
[74] created messengers
for you"), gentle, firm uthras."

When life told me this,
I bowed down and praised the mighty.
I praised the great life,
that life accomplishes a creation for me,
that a creation accomplishes life for me
and gave me helpers.
I shone in my praise"),
while I was standing in a hidden place.
I shone in my enlightenment
with what life grants me. I
shone in my praise") about
every thing in the hidden place. I
shone") in my enlightenment
and set my eyes on the rebels.
Before the Uthras were there,
I went to the place of darkness.
When I stood in the house of life, i
watched the outrages°),
saw the gates of darkness, looked
at the depth, the whole darkness

---

1) Read np.

2) A word of Persian origin, the meaning of which is not entirely certain, see Lit., p. 17°, NöldEke, Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. XXXIII (1920), p.

80. ") See above, p. 552.4) Sorry. did behind it still ,"I lit up".

6) Sorry. did NEYN3 ,,I lit up".

9) It is thought that Mandā dHaijē, from the house of life, is the underworld but perhaps the following description belonged to a representation according to which Mandā dHaijē was already in the underworld, which also included the previous sentence, which this is not the place.

watched the spoilers
and the Lord of the dark dwelling,
looked at the combats,
who are buried in darkness,
watched the gates of the fire,
how they burn and blaze.
The bad guys are burning and blazing,
and in doing so, they advise lack and failure.
I watched the wife Hewath'),
how she speaks in darkness and wickedness.
She talks in malice,
in sorcery and witchcraft, which she drives.
She speaks in the wisdom of trickery
and sits on Blendwerk.
I looked at the gate of darkness
and the vein of the earth Siniawi, as they
are. I looked at the black water in them,
that rises to a height, boils and winds.
Whoever steps on it dies,
whoever sees it will be scorched.
I watched the dragons,
those who are thrown into it and squirm.
I watched the dragons
of any kind and of any kind.
I looked at the vehicles*) [of the sons] of darkness,
who are not like each
other. I watched the evil rebels,
how they sit in vehicles.
I watched the evil rebels,
how they are clothed with the weapon [75] of the wicked.
Are clothed with the weapon of the
wicked and think of evil against the place of light.

When I saw her,
I turned to my father's house.

---

1) appears by name in this section as the name of the main demoness of the Underworld. I identify this with Mn on a tabella defixionis from Carthage as the name of the underworld goddess, see Ephemeris I, p. 30. The word originally means ,,Schlange" and is also available in the name of Eve, cf. Nachrichten der Götting. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1916, p. 91. From nayn is entrusted with the task of Kehl- sounds arose. This also takes care of the Nöld., p. 311 assumed syntactic Difficulty.

°) The Markabāthā, the "chariots", are first found as the chariots of the planets, see Jn. II, p. 76", but as here also of other beings. The suffix in pnNendaNds shows that there was a word in the plural behind it; perhaps ND25 should be added.

I stepped in front of life[1]
and told him how I had seen her. I
told him about the king of darkness,
tell him about this and that.
How I had seen things,
I reported before life.
How shall I wander to that place, the place of darkness, in the
darkness where there is no ray of light,
to the vein of the water of the earth of darkness,
that boils, rises to a height and winds?
Whoever steps on it dies,
whoever sees it will be
scorched." I want to rise to the Great and speak"):
Where did the darkness come from,
where did the darkness come from,
where do their inhabitants come from?
Where do your works come from,
who are so ugly and terrible?
Where did your mistake come from"),
which is so extensive,
whose sight is so ugly and terrible,
which is full of cracks?
It is full of cracks,
* * * * * * * *.
Where did the mighty, evil fiends come from,
who are sitting in the fire?
Where did the black water come from,
that so boils and squirms?
Whoever steps on it dies,
whoever sees it will be scorched.
Where did the dragons come
from, who are thrown into the water and squirm?
Where did your vehicles come from,
where do the bad guys who are sitting in them come
from? Where did Hewath, the woman, come from*),
of any kind and of any kind?u

When I spoke like this before life,
life, my Father, showed itself in its fullness, without shortage.

---

1) Cf. Joh. III, pp. 222, 17.

2) This sentence, perhaps also the following, belongs to a piece, according to the Mandā dHaijē was already in the underworld, see also above, p. 70°.

8) There is a gap behind it; the following words refer to the location of the Darkness.

4) Here is a gap.

Life probably knows,
life knows it and keeps silence.
Life probably knows
and speaks to me:
,,Come on, so that we enlighten you, Manda dHaije,
thou well-armed, well-equipped Uthra.
Before all the worlds came into being,
there was this big fruit.
When the big fruit was inside the big fruit,
the great light King of glory was born. [76]
From the great Light King of Glory the great
glossary came into being.
From the great shining
Ether there was a living fire.
From the living fire
the light arose.
By the power of the King of Light
and the great fruit was born.
The great fruit arose,
and in it the Jordan arose.
The Great Jordan was born,
the living water was created.
The shiny, resplendent water was
created, and out of the living water I, the life, arose.
I, life, arose,
and then all the Uthras arose."

I then spoke before life:
,Since you, life, were there,
how did the darkness come about?
How did the darkness arise,
how did lack and failure arise?"

When I spoke so to life,
it was full of kindness.
Life was full of goodness
and spoke to Manda dHaijē:
,,You sprightly Uthra,
you fit, well-equipped Uthra,
you, sprightly Uthra, do not know,
how the darkness arose,
how did the darkness arise,
how did lack and failure arise?u ... –

When life spoke to me like this,
I asked for the authorization to say how it was.
I spoke to the great life,
the life that has always been:
,When I shouldn't be talking about it,
I was not one of the great ones.
But since I am one of the great,
life itself enlightened me about what it was
like'). Life spoke to me in His Majesty,
[spoke to me] at his "praise":
, We empower you, sprightly Uthra,
sprightly, well-equipped Uthra,
we empower you, sprightly Uthra,
to tell how it was,
to teach the hidden Uthras,
to teach all the elect,
how the Uthras of the hidden place came into being.u

When life spoke to me like this,
i repeated with the praise of the mighty,
with the joy of the great life,
what [77] life has spoken to me, (viz.): ,,You,
Uthra, get up, go to the house of the Great, after
the place where the mighty sit, the
place where the big ones sit,
so that they will let you know about this and that*).'

When the Big one spoke to me like that,
i went to the house of the mighty,
the place where the big ones sit,
the place where the good ones live. I
stepped in front of them and wanted to tell them,
as it was at the beginning.
When I wanted to talk to
you, caress and kiss me,
strengthened me in my place and spoke:

---

1) It is not clear from the current text form, but the following is to see that Mandā dHaijē asked to enlighten the Uthras about creation can.

2) There was no mention of such a request before. In this and in the fol- and obviously other beings than the great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great, great- waltige (life). They are higher beings to whose seat Mandā dHaijē is to go. But as a result of the ambiguity of Nen and Nen, a bad Ver- confusion has arisen, and it is often uncertain who is meant by this.

, We empower you, Kbar-Zīwā,
you gentle, solid Uthra. We
empower you, Kbar-Zīwā, Uthra,
who consolidates his friends.
We empower you, sprightly Uthra,
you sturdy, solid Uthra. We
empower you, sprightly Uthra,
to tell how it was,
to teach the hidden Uthras.
When you go to that place,
teach your friends,
teach the men of tried righteousness,
the true, believing men. We
want to say to you in your honor'),
that there was no limit to the light.
There was no limit to the light,
and it did not become known when it arose.
Nothing was when the light was not,
nothing was when the shine was
not. Nothing was when the mighty (life) was not");
there was never a limit to the light.
Nothing was when the water was not;
the water is older than the darkness.
Older than the darkness is the water; there
is nothing that would be endless").

---

1) Insecure. Literally: for the image of honor. °) See p. 6,1; 31, 32.

8) The expression is found four times in this book, four times in the fourteenth book, moreover, R 229, 4; 236,1. He is always out of context. The smooth sense of the words is not doubtful, but about the purpose of use I am not to any final judgments. The explanation, the NölDeke Gram., p. 433, is not true, also does not lead to any results. The words seem to play on the more often of higher things used the phrase NDT ,"that is endless" and say that it there is nothing that is endless. A denial of the endlessness of the higher beings is in any case, even pronounced in it, but this is not the purpose of the utterance. In R 293, 7; 294.24 is obviously a gap. However, such a one is probably also available in 295, 3; 296, 13, similarly, in 236,1. Behind, one expects ,for the place of light" or a similar Expression. Also, the words are too short compared to those of the parallel sentences. But at this point, too, we probably have a gap. Although otherwise NAND and Nand often stand together (cf. especially text, p. 69), may Need it's not וליתלה a continuation of bond. Otherwise it would have to be Nand or nand ליכא NND name. The expression would then point to the transience of things- way. However, the digits 94,23, in the same context 95, 21, then 100,7 see after a deliberate interruption of the narrative, and such a one is also at this Do not make impossible. After that, the words would have the meaning: if I write everything down should, it would be endless, but nothing is endless. On the other hand, I can only say the words 229,4 as a defensive gloss. A reader or copyist probably found the one for wearing the punishment of the colored witness was too harsh; perhaps he himself had a guilty conscience.

There is no number') that we could tell you about,
how great she was when the Uthras were not yet there.
The Uthras are older than the darkness,
older than the darkness are the Uthras,
older than its inhabitants.
The goodness is older
as the wickedness of the place of darkness.
The gentleness is older
as the rebellion of the place of darkness.
The living fire is older
as the consuming fire of the place of darkness.
The praise is older
[78] as the sorcery and witchcraft that drive the wicked").
The third Jordan is older
as the consuming water of the place of darkness.
The insight is older than this and that,
what the wicked of the place of darkness are doing.
The voice of the Uthras is older
as those of the mighty evils of the place of darkness.

We have informed you about the first ones"),
now let's tell you about the second ones, as they were. The
gentle throne is older
as the rebellious throne').
The hymns and prayer orders are older
as the sorcery of the terrible wife Hewath. The
vessel of the ather is far older
as the talk that Rūhā talks.

We have informed you about the second,
now we want to let you know about the third ones, as they were.
B'haq-Zīwa is older
as Ruhā, as she was.
The thought of all Uthras
is older than the seditious reputation.
The territory of the good is older
as the Lord of the whole place of darkness.

It should be assumed that the expression is at least uniformly related in the same treatise therefore, I do not consider the discussion of its meaning to be complete. An- playing on this turn is apparently Lit. 4.7 ago.

1) For the duration of time. 2) Read with C, sorry. אבדיא.

a) About things of the first order. Sorry. has NNDTNP2.

4) After NTND is previously with B, sorry. NT). Of course, this also applies to this reading is the throne of the gentle, the rebellious.

The men of proven justice are older
as all the creations of darkness, however they may be."

As the Great One') thus spoke to me,
as the mighty One, my Father, who created me, so to
me when the great spoke so to me, [spoken,
I understood it in my sense.
When I understood it in my mind,
i said to him, 'How did the darkness come about?
How did the darkness arise,
from what was she formed in her place?
Where you, chosen one*), are so
big, why doesn't the darkness stop?
Why don't you listen to the darkness
and the light (the lamp) is completely erect")."

Before I spoke to the great,
the great One spoke to me:
,O orderly Uthra,
orderly, well-ordered Uthra,
o orderly Uthra,
Uthra, who consolidates his friends*)!
The good was in his goodness
neither lack nor lack.
The good is by virtue of his goodness
the [79] measures. For the good
is the power of his goodness
the root is planted in its place.
The good blazes in its
glory; the water is hidden in his robe.
The hidden words
they are hidden and preserved in their books.
Water does not mix with bad luck,
and darkness is not counted as light").
Darkness is not counted as light, the
dark apartment is not illuminated.
The dark apartment is not illuminated,
and the turbid water does not prang.
The darkness expanded °),
and their inhabitants were formed.

---

1) Because I suppose there is talk of living here again; furthermore p. 78, 24 it is expressly mentioned.

2) is probably not OK.

3) Read wany or wany, cf. text 79, 16. 4) Read pp. 75, 4.

3) See Joh. II. p. 14710 6) Sorry. aNny did.

The darkness was formed,
and when she was educated, she tested her
army'). Because of the wickedness she has in mind,
it is enclosed in its own container. It is
enclosed in its own container, and all
their works pass away.
The children of darkness pass away,
but the children of the mighty (life) endure. The house
of the wicked passes away,
and the consuming fire goes out.
Your magic work dies and goes out,
because it didn't exist from before.
Their creatures are coming to
an end, but the tribes of life endure forever.
The living teaching comes up
and enlightens the void dwelling."

When the great spoke so to me,
my heart was lifted up on his support. I
lift up in the power of the Great,
spoke and praised the mighty:
,Since it was not through you, good, evil arose in
them, why should I go to that place?u

When I wanted to talk like this,
the great life spoke to me: ,,One
pregnant woman became pregnant in the second).
Get down to the world early.
Through your power Uthras will arise,
by your splendor, mighty ones will be raised up.

The big one in its size
gave me a lot of shine.

---

1) The translation of the last words is uncertain. One would rather stay here in in a transitive sense, the darkness expanded and formed its inhabitants. Which Darkness formed (her), and when she had formed (her), she tested her army." But the one in- transitive use of results from the related text 83,22. Intransitives גבאל we also have R 34,11; 278, 24; Joh. 51.9; Lit. 4,9, see also Nöld., pp. 215,3.

2) Sorry. has ND. The sentence is made understandable by R 295, 24. There it says, that the second, i.e. Jošamīn, thought that his thought had become pregnant and that the- thank you, i.e. the plan of creation, was close to coming about through the Second state. One should expect that it is said that Jošamīn became pregnant with the thought, how is it still used in the same piece (296,15), but there is a Errors of thought. Again, the pregnant woman is the thought of the second, which deals with the The plane of creation. Instead of the second life, it is called the Second, because with it Jōšamīn see also p. 63, 29. Nöldeke's amendment from to (Gram., p. 1224) is not correct.

Abundantly it gave me shine,
it gave me plenty of
light. It gave me victory,
which saves me from everything
hateful. It gave me a wide robe,
extended and [80] endless.
It gave me a wide robe
and made me great to a great extent.
It awarded me an olive stick of living water
'), a staff by which the rebels are crushed.
It awarded me a wreath of living fire,
wondrous and luminous without equal.
It armed me through its armament,
it cost and kissed me like mighty ones").
It spoke to me:
,,Go forth against the rebels of darkness,
who think evil against us.
They are thinking in malice,
and the evil one locked himself in his container.
The evil one locked himself in his container,
and nothing will come to him from your word."
It speaks to me:
,The good will rise because of his virtue
and look at the place of light. The evil
one becomes because of his wickedness
rushing down to the gates of darkness.
The calls are called out,
well thought out are the speeches ').
A call is coming
and teach about all the calls.
A speech is coming
and teach about all the talk.
A man is coming
and teach about this and that.*

When the great spoke so to me,
i went by his power to the place of darkness,
the place where the wicked dwell,
according to the apartment, which is full of spoilers,

---

1) How the beings of light carry it, see p. 26, 35.
2) As if I were one of the mighty.
a) Cf. Lit., p. 187. B uand sorry. i have pnbe here.

according to the location of the dragons'),
after the stoves of consuming fire,
after the furnaces whose flame*) rises and
reached the middle of the firmament.
I went and met
the rebellious fiends of darkness.
I went and found her,
how they all sense in malice.
They stand there and reason in malice,
they stand there and forge weapons.
They stand there and forge weapons
and think evil against the good.
They are thinking in malice
and consult with each other.
They consult with each other
and speak:
,,Is there another being"),
want to make a division in our world? If
there is someone stronger than us,
so let's rise up and fight with him. We want to
see where he came from, where
his home and world came from.
This house belongs [81] entirely to us;
there is no division in our world. Are
there (beings) whose power is greater as
those of the fiends?
There are none whose power is greater
as those of the angels of our place".
All senses and searches,
and everyone stumbles upon each other.
Ruha, the buyer*):
her mind is treacherous, full of lies.
Such is the meaning of the liar
Ruha, which is full of magic.

---

1) So according to B, sorry. After AC ,,the second", after D ,,the second", see above, p. 78*. The change to NINN (Nöld., p. 1224) also seems to me unnecessary here.

") The meaning came only after the connection. Sorry. hat point. Zimmern writes to me at d 1 N: ,cf. this event. an assyrian. alāku probably ,an-ignite" (from smoking victims, etc.) Evidence of this at Meissner, Supplement 7b; rooms, For the Babylonian New Year 138° (BSGW, Vol. 58, 1906)."

") See p. 61.

4) With respect to Zimmern's remarks KAT", p. 423 about qadištu as a Be- drawing for Ištar, I emphasize that Rühü is used here, as Joh. 187,7 Celibacy. There is probably no allusion to it.

She is full of magic,
full of witchcraft and (false) wisdom. Hewath,
the woman, Ruhā, is sitting there with her Hmurthās')
and pulls out the curls on the head.
She sits there and does a lying magic work,
they and their Hmurthas"), and practice in (false) wisdom. How
Ruha senses and suclit
and the magic of lying, he is
engaged in evil magic work (?),
what she is well versed in,
how she meditates and rummages in magic work,
Ruha learned this and that.

Who told the Rüha"),
who taught the mistakes and shortcomings,
who taught the liar,
the wife, the mother of the decrepit fiend,
who taught the liar,
that the strange man has gone here?
The liar stood up,
you and all your hmurthās,
she came and found
the mighty fiends as they sat there.
She came and found them,
how they were all dressed in weapons.
Everyone was dressed in weapons
and they sat before the king of darkness.
The King of darkness with great power raged
around in his skīnā and shouted:
'Is there anyone more powerful than me'), to
whom all the worlds rejoice?
Should there be someone more powerful than
me, so he rises to fight with me,
whose food is mountains,
in whose belly only poison, no blood is found').
All the greats and giants,
you and your demons and Dews,
you all rejoice with me.
You stand there and rejoice for me,
and every day they bow to me." —

---

1) See above, p. 534.
3) Read And. a) See R 328, 22; 332, 15, also Joh. II, pp. 117, 6.
4) Siche also R 280, 25 F.
6) Perhaps to read see R 281, 2f.

When the King of darkness spoke thus,
[82] Ruha staggered down from her throne.
Roha screamed and cried,
she and all her hmurthas.
Ruhā spoke to her son,
taught the king of darkness:
,There is someone bigger than you
and whose power surpasses all your worlds.
There is a world more vast than yours, live
in the Mighty. There are
great dwellings in it,
and her figure shines more than all the worlds."

When Namrus spoke like this[1]
before the sinking mountains
'), he filled his robe completely on the spot*)
and became equal to the fullness of the world
"). He became full of evil bitterness
. . . . in malice,
he spat and threw drool,
glowing like fire. He
consulted in malice
and gathered a decrepit army.
He gathered a decrepit army and spoke:
I want to get up and climb out of the place of darkness. I
want to attach my bandage to the earth and uproot it,
and with my rope I want to wrap around the whole world.
I want to swallow them
and the mighty fall from their thrones. The evil
one became full of evil bitterness,
he opened his spoiled mouth,
he opened his stinky mouth,
that his bad smell came out.
He opened his stinky mouth,
far equal to the fullness of the world.

When I saw him,
i showed myself to him in the garb of the mighty (life);
in the garb of the Mighty I showed myself to him,
which is far and endless.
When I appeared to him in extended glory,
extended and outstanding all over the world,

---

3) Before the decrepit, clumsy giant, cf. also pp. 81, 16.
2) He bloated. 3) Siele Joh. TT, p. 137".

i showed him the olive stick of living water,
which my father gave me.
I showed him the olive stick of living water,
with which the rebels are crushed. I showed
him the wreath of living fire, at the
sight of which the demons are frightened.
When I appeared to Namrus,
she cried woe, woe!
When I appeared to the giant,
[83] all his armies deserted him.
When his armies left him,
he drew against ') his multitudes,
moved against the warriors,
who take up arms against him,
pulled against all demons,
Dews, Hmurthās and Liliths.
He rose up and destroyed the whole world.
He embraced her with all his strength
and buried half his mouth in the earth*).
He took twelve ...3) dust
and devoured from the place of darkness.
He swallowed the black water,
devoured all the demons and dews that were in it.
[He devoured?] all Hmurthās and liliths;
he rose up and destroyed the whole world.
His eyes glowed blood red4),
and his heart stood there in sorrow.
His heart stood there in sorrow,
because he now stood empty in the world.

Again I appeared to him with the call of the great (life),
then the crown fell from his head.
When the crown fell from his head,
his bile dragged on the earth.
The breath that came out of his mouth,
the mountains rise and boil.
The mountains rise and boil the
poison that came from the mouth of Ur.

---

1) This or something else is probably the meaning of Es dürite cher Part, act. Peal as Perf. Pael included. About ,camped under"?

2) To devour them. Like D, too, has suffering. בארקא.

a) The expression is also found R 380, 3. N seems to be a Mali.

4) Nöldeke's attempt to explain Gram., p. 405 is not likely to me. Sorry, hat ND12, whereby ND72 is bred.

I appeared to him with the power of the Great,
there came from his breath something on my robe.
When something came from his breath on my robe,
extinguished the blazing fire').
The blazing fire went out.
He covered the earth and swallowed it up.
When he covered the earth and swallowed it up,
his navel fell on the gate of the vein of darkness.
When his navel shook on the vein of darkness,
all the darkness formed from him.
Then the gate of darkness expanded *).
and he grasped them with his heart.
With his heart he grasped the darkness,
the container from which he had come.
I grabbed his eyes,
[84] kinked his heart.
I solved his ...),
crushed his liver.
I put his belly in the intestines
and wrapped him with four cloths').
I put a wrap around his navel and
tied a knot around his heart. I
put poison in his intestines
and bile into his whole body.
A tear fell in his eye,
glowing like fire.
He was tied with a shackle,
she was fatter than him.
Fatter than he was she,
and she crushed his bones.
A muzzle was placed around his mouth,
and he was bridled with an iron bridle.

---

1) That had come up with the hint.

4) The translation of the last is uncertain, see above, p. 77,37, To the others זאר see text 74, 18. in Z. 23 is influenced by the skinned aNnn, most of the manuscripts have ANN.

8) Nöldeke dentet im Sime vou , Kehricht" (Gram., p. 54'), which is not pabt. According to the Zusaninenhange it must denote an inner part of the body, apparently between Heart and liver. Zimmern writes to me: ,Event. considering Assyria. lipü ,fat (of the body), cf. in Holma, names of the body parts, p. 8 and note. 3 (in Delitzsch, Handwörterb, listed under libū p. 369a, by Meissner, Suppl., p. 105b, by Mass-Arnolt, p. 469 b under libü and li(p)bū 2). In contrast, lubbu (luppu) is associated with the alleged Definition , smeer, fat" probably safe to put it differently."

4) See also R 167, 6.

He was gagged on hands and feet,
Woe') fell into his side.
Convulsions") fell into his head,
his eyes went blind and were not bright. The
speech became difficult in the mouth of the Dew,
and he locked himself in his own container. In
his own container he locked himself, and Alas,
Acch he cried over himself. Alas,
Alas, he cried over himself,
and his own fire will burn on him. Woe,
woe he cried over himself,
because anger had come upon him.
Anger had come upon him,
and swarms covered him from head to foot.
Woe, woe calls the evil,
and all the waters clouded.
The waters were clouding.
His eyes grew dark and did not shine.
His arms (wings) he scllug against the
earth, a shock arose in his heart. With
his heel he stomped on the ground,
Convulsions fell into his side.
The King of Darkness locked himself in his own container,
and nothing came of my word to him.
He consumed himself in sighs and shouted:
,,Merciful one, have mercy on me."
When he cried, "Merciful one, have mercy on me",
he threw everything he had eaten out of his mouth.
He threw everything he had eaten out of his mouth,
and abominable was his stench.
When he cried,"pitiful one, have pity on me",
all his worshippers abandoned him").
His worshippers left him,
and his own burden pressed him.
He squeezed his own load, which
was great [85] and endless.
When he wriggled,
wriggled, he shook his škinā.

---

1) Maybe you have to go to alla 1-Arnolt, p. 39b. Or to allu i ibid., col. a ,a chain placed on his side"?

2) BNYn(3'ynn, Byn) means to contract" and probably hangs with syr. together (R 137, 23; 154,8; 192, 6; L 48, 22; Pael L 44, 3). Of these, this is היצביא probably to deduce. L 12,3 it stands in a context where apparently from the sunstroke the speech is.

3) Who helped him carry his burden.

When he shook his škīnā, there
were guards placed over him'). The
guardians who were appointed over him,
were raw giants of the world.

Through the raw and giant
there was a shock in the heart of Ruha. A
shock arose in the heart of the Rüha, she
cries, moans and screams*).
She speaks to the low blank,
the ugly, dirty snake"),
whose stench rises:
‚Who did this to you,
who has this ... . ‚pu4).

Then he spoke to Namrus,
the treasure ...), from which he had emerged.
When he wanted to talk to her,
the bridle moved in his mouth.
The bridle moved in his mouth,
and the man howled and screamed.
Woe howled, woe screamed
the man, the lord of the whole world°).
He spoke to Namrus,
the mother of this world:
,,The man who did this to me,
is bigger than all the
world. I looked at the picture of his face
and was no match for its entire size.
I had not grown to his full size, because he
is greater than all the world."

When he spoke thus to his mother,
he wanted to draw her to him.
The angels who watched over him,
called out his vain name.

---

1) The meaning is not quite certain; the turn is also found in Joh. 190, 5f. *) Read And).

a) probably has this meaning and belongs to Nyn, see also p. 88,17, against Nöld., pp. 156 unt. See also above, p. 711.

4) Sorry. the expression is found only at this point, and the meaning-tung is uncertain. Neither ‚Fass", nor babyl. danānu or its derivatives fit here. A further development of NJ7 in the sense of "subjugating" is also hardly available.

8) Perhaps here is a designation for the Gehenna (otherwise mand. DNitni, DNJtg) garble. Sorry. hat גינאת.

c) The evil one, the äpxwv tou kóglov toútov.

One speaks to the other:
,Ur stirs away from his place."
When Ruha heard this,
hit her head with her hands.
Her hands hit her head
and pulls out the curls on the head.
She pulls out the curls on her head
and cries woe, woe.
Ruha and the Astarten are standing there
and make secret plans.
They stand there and make secret plans
gegen') the giants, the guardians of Ur.

When I saw it,
i surrounded him with a tire*).
[86] I surrounded him with a hoop,
who is at the heart of heaven ....3).
I created and made a wall for him, an iron wall,
and surrounded his whole apartment with it.
Over the wall with which I surrounded
him, i used guardians,
Guardians who should take care of his camp.
I created twenty-four gates in it,
through which his world is guarded.
Through her, his world is guarded
and dust rises on him.
When I created twenty-four gates in it, he
cried, Alas, alas, woe.
,If I'm hungry, what should I eat;
if I'm thirsty, what should I drink?
What should I lie down on,
and who should keep me company?"

I replied to this and spoke to
Ur, the vain king of darkness: ,The
good man rises above his virtue and
look at the place of light*). The
evil one becomes because of his
wickedness cut off in the place of darkness.

---

1) Read by. Sorry. has NanoNi5. 2) See Joh. II, P. 30°.

3) 5N3D is disfigured. That it means "ladder" or "my ladder" (Nöld., pp. 173, 14; 176, 3) is unlikely. Perhaps it is said here that the tire is at the heart of the See R 97, 19; 118, 11. 4) Cf. pp. 79, 23.

You shall camp at the gates of darkness,
the container from which you emerged. She
should keep you company,
the container you locked yourself in. If
you are hungry, eat of your multitudes,
of everything that has joined
you. Let your drink be of that black
water, where you lived."

When I eat and don't get full,
who will support my interior in its place? When
I drink and do not satiate myself,
who will quench my thirst?u

When the evil one spoke thus,
i laughed by flaunting in my robe,
i defied and laughed at him,
the snake without hands and feet:
,,You wanted to devour the whole world,
but then came the word of life,
that has the power to rule and command."

When I spoke to him like this,
he wailed and wept over himself.
He whined and cried over himself
and spoke:
,Is there anyone [87] who is taller than you,
who has dominion over all the worlds?
If there is someone bigger than you,
so be lenient with me.
Don't condemn me for sinning; be
lenient with me. Our
Lord! We have sinned and missed,
forgive us our sin and guilt').
Be lenient towards me,
and we all want to submit to you."

Me, the good, me for the good,
to you, life that has the power*),
******* i spoke to him:

---

1) See above, p. 54, 28.

2) These words come from a different context. An address follows to Ur, which presupposes a question about how long he will have to endure in the shackle, ehn- as it continues to stand p. 89, 31. His bondage shall continue until the creation of the earthly! See p. 92 and R 127 ob.

Until life wants it
and Abathur is planted here,
until Abathur was created
and the sons of Salvation) will be created.
The miraculous, living fire is said to be donated
and Gabriel, the Messenger, shall be created.
He is to be created and commissioned,
and they will send him here.
He is to be created and commissioned,
and he will create the world.
Let him come and seal the compaction
and create the earth Greek artfully. He
is supposed to create the earth in a Greek
artful way and clog the well of turbid water.
From the dust that rises from Siniavis,
form a tributary pipe for yourself*).
‹It spreads over the living fire) It
fills up") with living, resplendent water,
whose fragrance is pleasant and from which wonderful things are brought.
From the pouring of that water
it will be your drink when you are
thirsty. Of the food that the consuming fire eats,
let it fall on you*).
Of what remains and falls off,
shall be your food.
Of your demons, Dews, Hmurthās and Liliths
shall be your food.
When the firmament is stretched out,
the embers will descend on you."

Ur groaned loudly
and spoke to me:
,How long should I stand alone
[88] and bear the burden of the world?"

When Ur spoke thus,
Rūhā, his mother, trembled and trembled.
Ruha was frightened and trembled
and cried Alas, alas.

---

1) A common term for the higher beings, but see especially R 93, 9, 23 and 297, 12.

2) Nintendo,"Margrave" is thrown together with Ney and, cf. also R 132, 17.

") is from verderbt, cf. also text 102, 5.

4) Read baby.

Ruhā moaned loudly like a parturient
about the giant who was humiliated.
She called to him:
, Who will be like you,
step up and lead the world?
Who will be the master of your
demons, be the ruler of your Hmurthas,
a giant, a giant?
Who will wear your jewelry')?
Who will wear your jewelry and
then the women, the body of women")9

When the wicked spoke thus,
I answered them about everything"):
,How the big one wants it,
so it became on the spot.
How the big one wants it,
my Father, who created me, speaks it to me.
The calls are called out.
well thought out are the speeches*).
But what Rūhā is inventing,
there will be empty calls.
When the Seven arise,
from which the error comes,
the names of those calls
they are written and spoken about.
Then twelve shouts arise"),
from which comes lack and failure.
According to the plan of the liar
they will be bound in sorrow").
There are five calls,
who are looked at with horror.
The worlds behold them and fear them.
They appear in a container of blazing fire.

---

1) Or: who should make your company
profitable? ") The meaning of in is uncertain; "Pride of women" does not fit. The first is probably not OK; a form of "forgotten" is used here hardly stood.

8) The words by hardly belong to the following, see also R 92, 11.

4) See above, p. 79, 27.

6) The call condenses into a concrete being created by the call. Here there are the twelve zodiac pictures and the seven bezw. five planets, cf. p. 13, 27. Of deu stars go out again Shout out, see the end of this book.

a) The fixed zodiacal images in contrast to the wandering planets.

They walk on wheels of anger,
they appear in fire color.

They let me know about the first things
and taught me about this and that.
They teach me about all the calls,
how they came out of their place. A
call is coming
and teach about all the calls.
A speech is coming
and teach about all the talk').
A [89] beloved son is coming,
which was formed from the womb of splendor.
He was formed from the bosom of the gloss,
and his image is well preserved in its place.
He comes with the enlightenment of life,
with the orders given by his father.
He comes in the garb of living fire
and goes into your world.
He shows reverence to the great (life),
let enlightenment come out of his mind. He lets
enlightenment come out of his mind, he brings
compaction and throws it into the water. It
throws compaction into the water
and creates a dam for the worlds.
He brings the living fire
and throws it into the murky
water. He appeases the pits
and dries out the cloudy water.
He creates a world for himself
and build") a structure equal to the mighty.
He brings splendor from the house of life
and enlightens his škīnā.
He creates a king for the
world and throws a soul into his
body. A soul in his body he throws,
and they eat physical food.
Through the power of living fire
speak the consuming fire.
The consuming fire speaks,
and everything, this and that, arises from this.

---

1) See pp. 79, 29.
2) See Nöld., pp. 83, 16.

When the leaves, flowers and herbs emerge,
as well as all fruits, grapes and trees,
who flaunt in the world,
the scent of the living water and the living fire
your evil scent will become fragrant.
Of the food that the devouring fire eats,
your food will come to you.
Three Uthras will come')
and guard the soul.
They will make the call of life heard and
light up the decrepit house.
Two Uthras are coming
and at the top of the water go here.
They will bring water
and create a Jordan in the world.
They will create a Jordan in the world
and spread splendor over
him. They will plant [90] ... .2) plant.
You will be full of faith, wisdom and insight
and make a noble call. They will
make you hear a noble call and spread
the shine over the house.
The gush that pours out of the water,
which falls to the earth Tibil,
the casting of the earth Tibil
when you are thirsty, serve you as water.
The house°) of the Earth Tibil
serve you as a guardian.
Of your sons who come forth from you,
let them be your guardians.
Let them be guardians over you*),
who take care of your tires.
They should take care of your tires, on the
shackle, which resembles the fullness of the
world. You should pay attention to the high foot block,
which is heavier than all the worlds."

When the evil one heard this,
his heart became full of anger.

---

3) Var. ,,create". Cf. also pp. 15, 13.
2) The meaning of the word is uncertain, siche Joh. II, p. 2121.
a) i.e. the occupants.
4) Sorry. got behind TNṠy.

His heart became full of anger,
and he shook the anvil of the earth.
The anvil of the earth he shook,
he shook the tires, he
shook the shackles,
which is like the fullness of the world.
I rose in the power of life
and addressed a request to the great life.
I then called out and created a wall around him. an iron
and put a hoop around him. [Wall,
I put a hoop around him'),
whose strength no one has grown.
No one has grown seimer strength,
to get him out of his place.
With my heel I stomped on the
ground and shook his heart from its support.
I put a wrap around his heart
and tied a knot around his body.
I tied seven knots around
him, that the voice of darkness came out of
him. i tied the big knot and
made his whole speech a niece.
With twelve wraps I wrapped ilm,
that his twelve (evil) thoughts") remained with him.
I tied him up with a loud voice,
that your") whole mistake gave way to
them. I tied him up with a shackle *),
that the seven ....b) stayed with
him. I threw the club at him and hit him
and split a slit in the Copt for him.
[91] I made him moan like the women
and made him cry like a child.

---

1) Read Abraak.

2) See Joh. II, p. 171.

#) bad ones.

4) Add kounte zn or F)D include: ,I curved him with viner Curvature", but fits according to the Zusammnenhange hesser ADD. After that, AnDD stands for And, i.e. And, and is Siche anch R 170, 14.

") Nöldeke nimnt for the Syriac meaning to shine" (Gram., pp. 127, 18). But nowhere in Mandaean does it have this meaning, not even R 377, 8. where seven come from the nose of Ir, the Lord of the pinstripes; here are it wanted to Penertlammen and so apparently R 96, 14. R 242, 22 it is in the sense of Birth pangs. but it may be mistaken for this (cf. R 158:11). Something like ...pain" would also fit at this point, but the derivation is uncertain.

I made faeces his food,
Drink to his drink.
I put out the fire and the embers
the consuming, pernicious fire.
The greed I took from him1
and clothed him with anger').
I paved a path for the good and
created a gateway for the
world"). I created a gate for
the world and set up a throne in him.
I set up a throne for the good
and set up a lamp for him.
I made a lamp for him, perfect
beyond measure.
A waiting for the sons of Salvation [I straightened up]
in places where they live in abundance, without
shortage. I set up thrones for them
and i gave them vestments.
The Jordan of the great (life) I created
and set up keepers for him.
Ieh placed two uthras on him,
overabundant without shortage*).
I set up a throne for the chief of the brilliant beings")
and set up a lamp in front of it.
I set up a lamp,
perfect beyond measure.

With enlightenment and praise,
with what life has made me hear, with
enlightenment and praise
I got up and went to the house of the mighty
(life)"). In the joy I felt,
I spoke to the mighty one.
The great rejoiced and showed himself
firmly°), it pleased me beyond measure.

---

1) The second half-verse contains a contradiction to the first. Maybe instead of Anne rabe originally stood there: and his malice and his anger.

2) The following describes the effect of Ur's overcoming, but it has probably not directly connected to the previous one from the outset. #) The guardians of the Jordan are usually the geniuses Šilmai mnd Nidbai, but are here, perhaps, as R 292, 24; 296, 3. Adatan and Jadatan are meant.

4) See also R 373.8.

*) Siche p. 74 unt., 954.

") A heliehtte connection is ONDNany) N, siche R 97, 18; 115, 8; 125, 3. Nevertheless, here is not EN'nphy zmn similar ENCNIny abznänder. see R 152, 2.

Life showed itself to me recognizably
and increased my splendor beyond the former measure.
It spoke to me'):
,Kuštā keep you safe, Good,
and receive in salvation the Word in which you have
expressed yourself*)." Life turned in its joy
to the Uthras and spoke:
,Praise the power of the man,
who healed the water by fire").
Praise the power of the man,
where the fire did not die. The
fire did not sin against him: The
Uthra shone in its splendor.
In its splendor the Uthra shone
and created a path for the perfect.
For the perfect he created a path
and grant the Perfect salvation.
He grants salvation to the perfect
and remember her name [92] in the house of the Mighty."

The Uthra was cheerful and happy,
when life revealed itself to him.
It tasted and kissed the Uthra
and handed him Kuštā like one of the mighty ones.
.He did and had success' called it the Uthra.
,In everything you do, you should succeed.
When you create and plant uthras,
so your uthras want to go to that place
*******great father,
for whom life is very recognizable."

I received Kuštā from him*)
and went to the house of the mighty,
the place where the good people live,
the place where the good ones live.
When I arrived at the house of the good,
I bowed down to the mighty (life).

---

1) Sorry. has wbanen.

°) Old blessing formula, see also R 240, 15; 348, 23; Lit. p. 501.

a) See above, p. 91, 25.

4) About life, see Z. 23. As the text now stands, you can open it up like this- understand that Mandā dHaije goes from life to the house of the great and mighty. see p. 74. But it is probably also in the following embroideries as in previous ones talk about life.

As soon as I wanted to talk to the big,
the Great One himself spoke to me').
As soon as I wanted to tell him,
thanked me the big one.
The big one thanked me
and told me about everything.
The Great called me in His Majesty a
big one beyond measure.
The Great called me ,He did and succeeded',
a uthra who consolidates his friends.
'He did and had success' called me the Great: ,in
everything you do, you should succeed. Thou
shalt be the father of the Uthras,
who seals his friends with food.
You are the chosen one of the Uthras,
and do right") all the works.
Make all works right"),
because you are ,He did and had success'.
Manda dHaije,
you fit, well-equipped Uthra,
up, direct the line of living water
and lead them into that world.
Call the Three Uthras,
who should protect the treasure of life*).
Let them guard the treasure of life,
which is fetched from here.
Simple-minded Uthras get him
and bring him to that world.
They put him in feces")
and dress him in flesh color").
They put him in feces
and clothe him with a worthless garment.
They clothe him with a worthless garment
and create lack and failure in him.
[93] They create deficiency and failure in him,
and slyness arises at ilmen.
There is a slackness in them,
and this and that will happen to you." —

---

1) See above, p. 77, 15.

a) Read PPm, keep reading.

*) Sorry, has godfather ppanyn.

4) See Joh. II, p. 201. The "treasure of life" is also related to a feminine being personified. Here is meant the soul brought to the earthly world.

8) D. B. in the unclean body.

a) Cf. Nöld., p. 45 ob., 302 unt.

Then the second one straightened up').
His uthras rose and gave him advice.
His uthras rose up and gave him advice.",
by speaking:
"Grant us") that we may create a world and build skinās for you,
which should be called yours."

Then the Second gave them his splendor and his light
and of what life grants him otherwise.
He gave them his glory
and ordered them*) to create a world.
The sons of the second set out,
went and descended to the place of darkness.
They called out Ptahil-Uthra,
they called him out and fixed him in his place.
They called forth the sons of salvation
and they raised them up on their thrones.
They called forth and created škīnās
and created uthras in them.
They went to the streams of
water"), they looked and saw the place of darkness.

B'haq-Zīwa") shone') in his soul
he saw himself as a mighty one.
As a formidable salı, he
and left the name that his father had created").
He spoke:
,I am the father of the Uthras.
I am the father of Uthra,
who created the Uthras Skinās."
He was thinking about the muddy water
and he said, 'I want to create a world."

---

1) See above, p. 63, 29: 78.

2) Cf. R 296, 22 et seq.

3) Read janet.

4) heiht ,,ziehen, ziehen- and especially stands by the water: it is also here not. It is likely that the INPD ...he was ordered- corrupted under the binding effect of text 92, 18.

5)See above, p. 672.

6) Br is ohen. pp. 76, 30 briefly warmed up. There is more detailed talk of ihmı R 297. He it is created by the second (life) and makt itself to the Nanen ., Father of the Uthras", i.e. he identifies with Abatlur. whose name is thus commemorated, see Joh., p. XXIX.

") ,"the pact did not shine, you expect something like ,iherhob sich". Perhaps is an ans 2nainany disfigured, if not like R 297, 17 nobne A2 an n ,he it's easy to read his cigene world- zn.

8) Or ...exclaimed hatter, see p. 321.

He did not consult with himself
and did not know the turbid water.
He did not know the murky water,
he did not know the consuming fire, on which there was no shine.
The father of the Uthras did not take advice'),
and he did not grant them any helpers.

He called Ptahil-Uthra,
taste and kiss him like") Tremendous.
He gave him names,
which are hidden and kept in their place.
He gave him the name Gabriel, the Messenger,
called him, instructed him and spoke to him:
,Up, go, get down
to the place where there are no skinās and no worlds.
Create and make a world for yourself
like the sons of salvation you have seen.
Create and direct a world her4).
Create a world for yourself and form uthras
in it. The father of the Uthras, in his haughtiness, told him nothing of
the Opposition,
[94] he did not equip him or instruct him.

Ptahil-Uthra set out,
went there and descended below the Škinās, to
the place where there is no more world.
He stepped into the dirty dirt,
stepped into the murky water.
He began to speak,
then the living fire changed.
When the living fire changed,
he grieved in his heart and spoke:
Since I am a son of Great,
why did the living fire change?

When Ptahil-Uthra spoke thus,
Ruhā felt strengthened.
Rühā felt strengthened,
and her soul took pride.

---

3) See also R 296, 23f.
2) These words refer to the representation in the Bolgenden.
a) Sorry. has 53, siche also above, p. 79, 14.
1) Also here is how to continue reading Tay. Sorry. has TayNt.
8) It is expected to write N71273, see job. II, p. 331: cf. also further-
ref text 94, 10 vs. 94, 8. Teid. has bad ab-noni anornas.

She said: ,,His shine has changed, there
was a lack and a lack of his brilliance."
She got up, destroyed her belongings')
and dressed in a wide robe;
she changed her mind into haughtiness")
and stood as she was not.
She spoke to the warrior,
the foolish, the senseless and the unintelligent.
She spoke to him:
,Look how the shine of the strange man has diminished,
how its luster was lacking and misshapen.
Up, sleep with your mother,
so that you will be freed from the shackle with which you are tied, which
is stronger than all the world."

When the evil one heard this,
he shook himself with his bones,
he lay down to restā,
and she received seven characters from one act.
After seven days she gave birth and
gave birth to the contemptible,
she gave birth to the planets,
from which the seven figures emanated").
When she saw them,
her heart dropped from the support.
She spoke:
,I said, but I wasn't told, what I
wanted did not become, no
one is like the other."

When Ruha spoke thus,
her sons rebelled.
They rebelled and denied their father. There
is nothing that is endless.

Ptahil washed his hands in the murky water
and spoke:
Let there be an earth,
as they were in the house of the mighty ward."

---

1) The Ausdrnek is only here and continues. Should he say as much as ,,on-break" ?

2) But probably to be understood in this way, here not as a proper name, but Arn parallel נאפשה. For the reading (also sorry.), siche R 117, 6; 173, 16.

a) Which correspond to their own essence, see p. 114, 4, 15; 138 nnt.

When he dipped his hands,
a compaction formed.
A [95] compaction formed,
who lay thrown down and moved back and forth(?), as if it there would be no compaction.
When no earth was created and sicl compacted,
his heart was at odds.
When his heart fell into discord,
in turn, Ruha felt strengthened.
She spoke:
,,I want to open up, destroy my belongings
and to the kings of the world')."

She set out anew,
destroyed her belongings and clothed herself with her robe.
She got up, destroyed her belongings,
went to the fiend and spoke to him:
,,On, great fiend, on,
behold, the whole world is thine.
I heard that the house was abandoned and
all the knots are untied")*

When the Büse heard this,
his heart felt twice as strong. When his
heart was strengthened,
she said to him, 'I am your sister.
When you lie with me,
your strength will double."
When he slept with her,
received them from a plot of twelve fiends. She
received from him twelve fiends,
not a single one of them was good.
After twelve days,
Ruha got the contractions.
She gave birth and gave birth to twelve figures,
none of which resembled the others.
They did not resemble each other;
each rode on the lap of the other.

When she saw them,
her heart dropped from the support.
Her heart fell from the support, and
she howled and cried over herself.

---

1) i.e. this world, siele p. 86".

2) Everything is on edge and tape.

She spoke:
,I told myself I would carry and give
birth, and they would be like the Lord of
the world'). I ran, my Lord, but did not get
there; Torment I charged myself").

When Namrus spoke thus,
all twelve are angry.
All the angry ones
and they denied their father.
There is nothing that is endless.

Ptahil stood there in thought.
Ptahil stood in thought and spoke:
,,I want to leave the world."
When Ruha heard this,
her heart was on the support again").
She spoke:
,The stranger is not an adversary to me;
the stranger has no power over the world."

She got up, destroyed her belongings
and put [96] on her robe.
She got up, destroyed her belongings
and went to their homeland*) in the place of darkness.
She spoke to the low warrior,
who is without hands and feet:
,,Get up, my father, see,
i'm your daughter.
Kiss and kiss me
and lie with me.
[Lie] with me
and fill your eyes with the world").
Fill your eyes with the world
and behold, the whole world belongs to you").
The stranger who came into your world,
she left again in a hurry and went up to his place-
When you lie with me, [prices rose.
your eyes will remain as they are." —

---

1) Sorry. has Found it.
2) Apparently a quote, siche also continue. Sorry, hat לנאפשאי.
) Read Abyan or Abyany.
4) Well read.
") Take a full look at the world, siche Joh. IT, p. 478.
°) Sorry. hat wet8 55)25.

When the evil one heard this,
he tasted and kissed her and slept with her.
He kissed her and slept with her,
and she conceived a pregnancy from him.
She received from him five angry'),
they deny each other.").
They deny each other
and give themselves up to an unworthy, unsightly hustle and
bustle"). On the first day (the sky) split, and it flashed. On
the second day it thundered.
On the third day (the sky) was surrounded by flames of fire*). On
the fourth day there was a quake at the gates of darkness.
On the fifth day, her heart began to ache and she became sad.
Her mind felt the pain of a parturient, parturient
Mother-in-law.

She gave birth and gave birth to five figures,
none of which resembled the others.
No one resembled the others,
and they stumbled over each other.
From them the error emanates,
all the worlds are not up to it.

When she saw them,
hit her on the head with her hands.
With her hands she hit the head and
pulled out the curls on the head. She
pulled out the curls on her head
and brought wickedness to her heart.
She spoke:
,,I ran, my Lord, but did not get there;
I charged myself with torments. I did
not see her and did not find satisfaction,
I spoke, and it did not occur.
All my witchcraft skills were lost to me,
and all my words left me.
What do I gain from [97] that I destroyed my
possessions, and what do I gain from putting on my
robe? What do I gain from putting on my clothes?",
where I have no share in the house?tt ...-

---

1) Cf. p. 134.

*) By their dissimilarity, as if they did not belong to each other.

3) This is anticipated. The five days mentioned below are the days pregnancy; the birth is only mentioned afterwards.

*) Cf. p. 936.

6) Sorry. hat דתותבאי ליבשית.

Ptahil thought in his mind,
he consulted his wisdom and
spoke: ,,I want to open up, bow down to life
and submit to the Great.
It is my desire to nelimen a garment of living fire and walk
around in the murky water. In the
murky water I want to walk around
and specify what should happen.

As Ptahil planned according to the wise one whom
he apprehended, life had worshipped and
praised, he received a robe of living fire and
walked around in the murky water.
When the living fire mixed sicl
with the turbid water,
rose as a result of the smell of the robe of living fire
Dust powder from the earth Siniawi.
Dust rose from the earth of Siniawi
and fell everywhere').
All the seas were clogged,
all pits appeased*).
Trocknes emerged,
a compaction formed and fell into the water.
A curtain lifted") into the air,
rose up and stood at the heart of the sky*). When
the firmament was stretched out,
he bowed down and praised the Man, his Creator.
When he saw the high throne"),
he rejoiced and was glad at heart.
He grasped the navel of the earth
and wanted to tie him to the heart of heaven.
When he wanted to grasp the navel of the earth,
the lapsed° encircled him).
It encircled him the basket') of the cunning,
who is full of (false) wisdom.

---

1) Read Jnong.

2) See above, p. 91, 27 and Joh. II, p. 90.

3) Sorry. hat ועדאליא.

*) The "curtain" is probably the firmament, see also, not that of the Ptahil, of which R 306, 19; 340, 8 is mentioned.

b) The high throne is the firmament, not Ptahil's throne.

a) Or "the sinking ones". It is a designation for the demons, see above, pp. 17, 8; 35, 40. The word is also more often used for the ephemeral earthly things. especially in the expression "the decrepit house", i.e. this world. ?) The word NNDP is Mandaean only at this point. In the Talmud it is

He is full of dazzle,
full of wisdom.
He is full of dazzle,
the Weibskorb') of witchcraft.
The seven planets orbited him
and the twelve worthless fiends.
It encircled him [98] Aṭarpan and Lufan,
the two princes of the world,
Urpel and Marpel,
which are inserted in the tibil over the anger.
They circled the great Dráchen*),
they climbed up and stood at the bulge. When
he grasped the navel of the earth,
lifted him up and tied him to the arch,
when he grasped the high hoop of the
firmament, and tied him to his throne,
were the planets bound,
and they climbed up, stood at the bulge.
The fiends stood up
and were tied up in their bonds").
Your five handlebars
crying woe, woe*).

Ptahil in his wisdom sits there
and ask them individually: Where
did you come from, you bad guys,
whose figure does not come from the father's house?"

When he spoke thus to them,
Rūhā answered him from below").
,,We are coming"), we want to be your
servants, we want to come and help you.

---

hautiger, see Levy, Neulcbr. Wörterb. IV, p. 2701. The Arabic borrowed from it quffe (guffe) now in Babylonia refers to the round braided clay-coated Fhooßboot. ,"The Basket of the Cunning" probably refers contemptuously to the pack of the cunning.

1) Read natyd.

e) Siche NölDEKe, Zeitscher, f. Assyriol. XXV (1911), p. 356.

3) Notd, must have about this sense. Es stelit R'225, 21; 377, 18 zwischen (cf. Joh. II, p. 502) and Ns 22, see also R 361, 17. The meaning ...Punishments" (Nöld., p. 21, 12; 140, 1; 325, 9; 327, 21) does not fit. The derivation is uncertain. Neither yno offers a suitable explanation, but there is a corresponding verb maybe text 99, 2; 114, 14 before.

4) The Oxford handwriting has good דמנאמביא.

5) So it is wrong; it is the planets that answer him.

e) Oxf. has good prrn.

We want to be your helpers in everything you do,
and leave you undisturbed on your throne.
We want to leave you undisturbed on your throne,
we want to step up and keep the world in order.
We want to be good
and be devoted to you in every way."

When the seven planets spoke thus to
him, he said to them, 'You are my sons.
When you do good deeds,
I will count you among my party."

When Ptahil spoke thus,
the house was taken from him. The
house was taken away from him,
and the lapsed received dominion over it,
how to stretch out the firmament before
and the earth had become solid due to the compaction.
When Ptahil spoke thus,
Hans was taken away from him.

Ptahil clears up at his prudence and speaks:
,I will go up and go to my father's house-
[rise.
I want to speak to my high Father:
Everything that you ordered me, I carried out."

When Ptahil spoke thus,
Ruha clears up at her cleverness and speaks'):
,,I want to create Hmurthas and Astarten,
who should be my children in the world.
[99] The planets and their demons
let them rise to the opposition.
The Fiends and Dews shall rise, and
we want all the world ... .2)
The five rulers of the house")
let them rise up and wage war." —

---

1) Sorry. did Nidhi nNdidine need Nothing, which I do not understand.

2) The word AD) can also be found in the same context R 114, 14. From at this point it can be seen that the object is The meaning is uncertain, the above, p. 1045. Two London manuscripts and suffering. have FPEN at this point, what an aggravation is an improvement, especially since suffering. there also has.

a) The fiinf planets as lords of the earthly world.

When Ptahil saw her,
it was his cleverness that made him light up.
He clenched his fist
and struck at the atria of his chest').
He spoke:
,Before I go to my father's house,
I will appoint a Lord over this world.
The lords of the house do not know,
that this world has a Lord")."

When he went to the house of life, to his father"),
the Uthra said to him, 'I have created the world."
Ruhā created Hmurthas
and created astartes that are veiled').
She formed Liliths
of any genus and species.
The planets created demons,
numerous and unlimited.
The fiends created Dews as
their image in the world.
The Five formed the sword,
they who are used to anger in the world.
Some of the images are on Earth,
from others in the murky water.
,,We want to stay in heaven,
but our creatures all over the world.
Let the earth be ours,
and no one else is to rule over this world.
The house that our Father built us,
let us dwell after him.
Because we are the masters of the house;
Let Rūhā be the mistress of our place.
Ruhā dQudšā with us,
we want to be his guardians.
The twelve stars are to step down
and divide days and months.
You should divide hours and sauce,
let's divide minutes and seconds").

---

1) i.e. the protruding parts of the chest, see Joh. II, P. 37°.

2) The sentences are unclear. Instead, I read The Lord he is talking about the one who wants to use the world is Adam. The lords of the house are the planets. These know not that he, Ptahil, is the real lord of the world. See also R 110, 22.

a) Regarding B'haq-Abathur, see p. 97, 21.

4) See Joh. II, p 2231.

n) The sossos is with the Mandaeans the twelfth part of an hour, see Joh. II, p 1801.

When we do this,
the whole house will be ours').

From the time the earth was sealed until Adam came, there are it is three hundred and sixty thousand years. From the time Adam came to The end of the world is four hundred [100] eighty thousand years. The seven Planets spread the years so that no one was too short before the other"). The seductress Rūhā spread the whole world. Of the twelve sons none of the deficient had less than the other. Rüha and all Planets did not suspect and did not know that the world has a Lord and he has helpers by his side. How to stand there and make plans, and want to give the world a Lord, - there is nothing that would be endless*).

Ptahil returned to the world again and listened to what his Father told him. He said, 'I came here to find a lover Create a son. I want to create and strengthen it, then it will rise and glorify the mighty (life). If he stands on his feet, he will be hit the wild animal with your hand. He will be with the hand beating and instructing the wild animal and the many animals, that it will benefit pens because of what the planets have done. They they distributed the (earth)reicl, that it belonged to the bodies, that these all And eat all the fruits of the earth, all of which are from the fruits of the water kamen'). '

When Ptahil came and said to (all)") the planets: "We want to Adam, that he might be king over the world," when he thus spoke to them, we all agreed with each other: we want to tell him that we are Adam and We want to create Hawwā, because he belongs to us. You now tell him: We want Adam and Hawwa, the head of the whole family, create."

When the planets spoke thus to him, Ptahil was grieved at heart and said, 'If I alone am Adam and Hawwa, the head of the whole Genders, create, then what does Adam know how to start in the world?" Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the planets and said to them: 'Adam is my son, the king of this world." That's what the planets were talking about [101] and said to Ptahil, "In trust, what are we standing on then?"), and

---

Also, and must require small parts of time; maybe about minutes and More seconds. They are R 112, 19 in the same context. The importance of Nin L 76, 17 also shows short periods of time. The gamD standing here is hardly identical to N̅D ,,Festversammlung, Festmahl".

1) The paragraph ends in a speech of the Seven. The following piece is inserted. °) More detailed R 378, 37 et seq.

3) See above, p. 753. The following section presupposes a speech by Abathur.

4) Cod. B and sorry. see above, p. 377.

d) may be deleted at this point. It is probably from the following The line came here.

6) That is, what can we count on.

what do we have power over in the world?and Ptahil answered them and said: 'You shall be his carer and shall serve him in every way stand."

They then created Adam and put him down,
there was no soul in him.
When they created Adam,
they couldn't throw a soul into him. Then
they called the air wind'),
that he may hollow out his bones.
He hollowed out his bones,
and Mark is formed in them.
Mark is formed in them,
so that he would stand firmly on his
feet. They called the splendor of the living
fire, so that his robe might make light.
Let his robe make light, so that
he would stand firmly on his feet. They
called the haze of the streams
and the smoke of the consuming fire"),
that they entered his trunk,
so that he can clench
his fist and with his arms open,
so that he scolded and shook himself,
so that he would stand firmly on his feet.

The planets then spoke
and they turned to Ptahil:
,,Grant us that we may cast from the Spirit into him,
which you brought with you from the father's house."
All the planets tried to,
the masters of the world made an effort to do this.
Although everyone tried to,
they couldn't get him to his feet.

Then Ptahil arose in his enlightenment
and ascended to the place of light.
He stood before the Father of the Uthras"),
then his father said to him, 'What have you done?u

---

1) See above, p. 157.

2) The meaning of NPEN2 is safe, siche Nöld., p. 113, 5. Out of the bad, unhealthy water vapor and the smoke of the evil F'euer formed in Adam the Jähzovn, siche anch Joh. II, p. 57 ob.

a) i.e. before B'haq-Abathur, see above, p. 97, 21.

To this he replied to him:
What else I created, succeeded,
but my and your image did not succeed')."

Then the father of the Uthras arose,
got up and went to the hidden places.
He got the Mānā"),
that he may enlighten all perishable things, that
he may enlighten the garment of the body,
of any genus and species.
He wrapped him in his pure turban
among the names that life bestowed on him ").
He grabbed him by the ends of his turban'),
brought him there and handed him over to his son Ptahil.
When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra tibergab,
life called the helpers.
It called Hibil, Šitil and Anoš,
the Uthras, [102] which are superior and without defect.
She called them and gave them orders.
as well as warnings about the souls.
It spoke to them:
,Do you keep them,
that all the world would know nothing about them.
The evil Ptahil do not know,
how the soul falls into the body.
How the soul falls into the body,
and how the blood in him speaks").
How the blood speaks in him")
and how to penetrate through it ... .
The ... . .⁶) Adakas-Mānā,
he was her guardian.

---

4) Sorry, did weNTp instead ,succeeded before me, but your likeness is not-Imgen."

2) is to delete zn. Here is not the big Mänä. the highest being, I mean. but soul substance, which is supposed to fill and revive the dead body.

") i.e. by invoking the names that life communicated to ilnn.

⁴) Lies בכאנפיא (ד)טארטבונה.

5) See also R 349, 14f. Instead of having living forms originally of course, in the first place, about nae, in the second place, he has right after that: as the blood fills itself in him (in body), so also p. 89". Dat here instead of reading as in 7. 17 (text), I do not glanbe.

") Or: penetrate through it (the soul). To N7y in Sine ,cleave, penetrate- siele Joh, II, p. 764, 1104. The Bedentang of A (Sorry, hat is musicher, Hüutig is NIN, PL. NIN im Sinn ...Zweig- bei NDN ...Myrten' (Tit. 146, 7 and otherwise in the rituals). This will

When he (Adam) envelops himself in the splendor of
life and stands firmly on his feet,
when he speaks with a clean
mouth, take him back to his place. Take
him back to his place again and
save him from this and from that."
Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban
and wrapped him°) with his robe. The
Uthra flies and goes there,
and his helpers go with him.
His helpers who go with him,
they are men who are appointed over the souls.

When they came to the
Tibil and for the physical hull,
when he") wanted to throw her (the soul) into the
hull, 4) she took it out of his pocket.
While Ptahil touched Adam,
I straightened his bones.
While he put his hands on him, I
made him smell the fragrance of the mighty (life). The
body became full of marrow,
and the splendor of life spoke in him.
When the splendor of life spoke in him,
he opened his eyes in the physical trunk.
When the splendor of life spoke in him,
Adakas-Zīwā ascended to his place.

---

probably related to NIN,"thorn" in the Mišnahı (Löw, Aram. Plant names, p. 146). This is probably separate from zn sing, with Lit. 180,3; Tond. Roll A. 380. On the latter The job is called

עצטריא אגיא דנהורא.   ותושביהאת עותריא עהביהראת

so here, too, NN together with NY. Then it heals in the mouth. Divan B 49: NNT

מאליל אבאתור ליפתאהיל דנימארלה דוהה לאדאם בראך ועזיל בנילה ביניאנא רבא ואותבה
בנאוה ואזיל אתיה לקאדיאייל תאורא וכובשה ולגיטלה נירא וניצריא אגיא בטוריא וניזרא

Next). Then Abathur said to Ptahil as follows: Carry your Solm to Adam, go, bane ilnn a rough ban, put him in. go, bring the bull Qadiel, hands to him, lab ilm carry a yoke, that he would sow seeds in the mountains column mnd." Since apparently, it is in the sense of "Rurche", Note that even in Syrian NS from Plowing the soil is branched (Payne Smith, col. 3439 unt.). Means Nn here the passages in the body through which the blood flows? Just as sure is the meaning of NINDND. Anchorily, it is an extended participle of ., but that's why the point is nngewil. After the verse ban and DNDNTNT, it seems to belong to the following. but next to DNONTNT is the reading DNONTN. The place is probably full of gaps.

1) The address here probably applies to the Adakas.

2) I guessed instead of Aarentd. 3) D. I. Ptahil.

*) Here Mandā dHaije is meant, not Adakas, see further.

I led him to his place, to the house of the mighty (life), up, the
place where the Great Throne.
I handed him over to the treasurers,
the Uthras, who have the Jordan in their custody.
Life thanked the Uthra'),
who brought the soul.
The Great One called to me*) commanding
and he said to me, 'Go, call a noble voice.
A noble voice is calling "),
that the wicked know nothing of the soul."

I came and found the bad guys,
all of you, as you sit there.
How the bad guys sit there
and pour out witchcraft on them*).
About them [103] they pour out witchcraft,
and the wicked want to divide them into separate
parts. When I saw her,
I shone in my pure robe.
I showed myself to the worlds in the rich splendor,
which my father gave me.
I showed myself Ptahil-Uthra,
then he howled and wept over himself.
He howled and cried over himself,
because of what") he had done. I
showed myself to the seductive Ruha,
who seduces the whole world.
I showed her the great mystery,
by which the rebels are thrown down.
I showed her the great mystery,
but she was blind") and saw nothing.
I showed her a second,
so I put a camel bridle on her.
I showed her a third mystery, that's
when I punched a crack in her head.

---

4) This means Adakas, not Mandā dHaijē. According to this verse, one could suppose that by Adakas here we mean the soul at all, which was described by Mandā dHaijē in the height is brought, then ankh Uthra refer to Mandā dHaije, but siche p. 112, 36 ff. The passage is quite unclear due to poor processing of the sources, and the editor it seems that he himself threw Adakas and Mandā dHaije.

3) The Mandā dHaijē. 8) Siche p. 16, 7; 34, 21.

4) And see Joh. II, p. 1076, 136". is also prevented from emptying the Excrement, and NTD can be found at least in the Talmud in the sense of dry Excrement; perhaps these conditions are alluded to.

8) Sorry. did it before , and he cried". °) Sorry, has ND'ND.

When they saw me, they all got scared and explained themselves
the seven declared themselves guilty. [for guilty;
They declared themselves guilty,
fell down and fell on her face. They
fell down and fell on their faces; they
put their hands on her face.
They spoke:
,Our Lord! We have sinned and missed.
but forgive us all our sins."

When the wicked spoke thus,
i made a breach in their phalanx'). I
summoned you at the great mystery,
that they should not sin against the soul
(3). I hid from the seven, I forced myself,
i took on body shape.
I took body shape
and told me I didn't want to scare the soul.
I don't want to scare the soul,
and she is not afraid in her garb. I
appeared to her in body shape
and sat down with her in splendor.
I spread splendor from the great Mānā over them,
from the ers) had been created. I sat
down with him and taught him about the, what
life told me to do. I preached to
him in a holy voice, which was more
noble and luminous than all the world. I
preached ilm with a gentle voice
[104] and roused his heart from sleep. I
spoke to him in the speech of the Uthras
and taught him my wisdom.
From my wisdom I taught ilm and said ilm, that
he may exalt himself and worship and glorify the mighty. He
praises the high place,
the place where the good live.
He praises Adakas-Zīwā,
the father he came from.

How I sat there and taught him.
he stood up, worshiped and praised the mighty.

---

1) Here is the Greek word branched, maybe just a pun on himsorts. *) Sorry. hat דלאתיהטובה.

*) From here on Adam is the subject, not the soul.

He praised his father Adakas-Zīwī,
the Mānā by whom he had been created. When
he worshipped and praised his father, the Uthra,
he appeared to him from the hidden place.
When he saw his father, the Uthra,
he was full of praise beyond measure.
He sang hymns in a loud voice
and overturned the planets.
He overturned the planets,
rushed around the lords of the
world. He denied the sons of the house')
and all the works that they had created.
He begat for the name of life
and the Uthra, who had made him hear his voice.
He denied the works of Tibil
and raised his eyes to the place of light.

When he did this,
became") the Uthra of life") full of kindness towards him.
He became full of kindness towards
him and he had a building built for him.
He had a building built for him
and made him plant a planting.
He let ilm create a Jordan,
so that when his measure is full,
lift him up (Adam) and raise him up in his burrow; raise
him up at the place of light with his father Adakas-Zīwa
and make him a uthra in the place of light.

When Ruha and the planets heard about this,
they all sat there in lamentation.
They all sat there in lamentation,
then they began to make (evil) plans.
They began to make plans and talked:
,,We want to capture and grab
Adam. Let's catch and grab Adam
and keep him with us in the world."
[105] They spoke:
When he speaks in a gentle tone,
let's talk in a rebellious tone.

---

1) i.e. this world.

2) In the text, the plural is incorrectly written as a result of an incorrect relationship הייא.

3) This is Mandā dHaijē.

4) prys is influenced by Nnys. Sorry, pen has.

When he eats and drinks,
let's capture the world. We
want to capture the world
and create different shapes in it').
We want to take ...2)
and practice hugging in the world.
Let's practice hug in the world and
establish a church in the world. We
want to establish a church in the world,
he") and introduce him into our church. We
want to welcome him into our church,
catch and grab his heart.
We want to capture him by horns and flutes,
so that he does not get rid of us.
We want to create seven figures in it (in the world)*),
different species and genus."

When the wicked plotted in their wickedness,
did I follow good plans,
to do good in the world.
I called the Uthras, my brothers,
the men who strengthen the tribe"). I
called the Uthras, my brothers,
gentle, firm uthras.
I went and spoke to the Uthras, my brothers,
which are inserted over the stem °):
,Do you Uthras, my brothers, not know,
what are the planets planning?'
The planets are standing there, planning and
talking: ,We want to seduce the tribe of life.
We want to seduce the tribe of life
and cut him off from us in the world."

When the Uthras heard this,
the gentle, solid uthras,
did they speak:
Grant us that we may plant a plantation for Adam
and make his tribe numerous.

---

3) Their images, corresponding to their own essence, see further and p. 99, 22.

2) See about the word Joh. II, p. 2195.

a) Probably from here on in relation to Adam.

4) Sorry. does This stands for AeyN2, see text, z. 3.

") i.e. the tribe, the community of the shining ones, see further.

°) Also here is probably NN27112 to read.

We want to create Adam a ...')
and plant it firmly.
We want to plant it firmly
and make him a wedding. We
want to make a wedding for Adam,
teach him and let him take a wife"). We
want to give Adam a wife and
make him a companion.
We want to create a companion for him
and make his tribe numerous.
Hymns and orders of prayer [106] let us read aloud,
and let life perform prayer"). We
want the planets ... .[4])
so that they may come to our assembly.
Let them come to our assembly
and be with us.
You should be with us,
and Adam shall triumph over them all.

Me and the Uthras, my brothers,
donated all the best.
We donated good things
and they arranged a wedding for Adam in the
world. We arranged a wedding for Adam
and gave him a wife.
We gave him Hawwa as a wife"),
how they had been planted in their place.
We are standing there and looking forward,
we are very happy about him.

But soon it hurt Rūhā,
and the planets, they all grieved it.
Ruha took incense)
and pronounces a word of falsehood about him.
The sun brought a robe,
the moon brought a skirt.
Nbū brought gold,
Kewan boots and shoes.

---

1) Namy is wrong. There is hardly any "wealth" in the sense of offspring.

2) Sorry. does The reading seem to me preferable to see also p. 117, 21.

a) Probably read 8m13, see p. 664.

4) Despite text 104, 10, I would rather accept ppy here, "we want to invite you".

3) Sorry. hat בזאוה.

") He is here an image of the Christian cult.

Bel brought bread and wine,
Nerig brought ...").
All twelve stars
in all genera and species:
some of them were carpenters,
some of her demons wove wreaths,
their Dews were obedient servants,
give some of your Ekurs*),
their hmurthas were dancers,
your goblin jugglers.
Myrtles brought them in loads,
fragrant flowers in heaps. They
brought the big jasmine, who
came from the škīnā of life. They
brought the big jasmine and they
created a lack and a failure in him.
They brought Maru aštargān 9),
who came from the Škinā of the Uthras.
They brought Maru aštargān
and they did all evil to him.
They brought water mint and ocimum basilicum, whose
fragrance came from the Škinā of the two pure mountains').
They brought water mint and ocimum basilicum [107]1
and did all the ugly things about it.
They brought Narcisse, myrtle and Marmahüz*)
and they did the wrong thing.
They brought all the fragrant flowers of
any kind and type and
they did all the evil to them.

Their goblins turned them into cooks,
their demons become bakers,
their stammerers turned them into butchers,
your schrate to bakers,
to bestow all their fiends.
All of them were obedient servants
and they obeyed Adam and all his tribe.

---

1) The word NPIDnn (NPENIN) is found only in this place. The condition is unknown. It doesn't seem to be Babylonian.

2) Originally means "temple", then "Temple spirit"", cf. Utlıra, p. 541.

a) A ferula species, see Löw, Aramaic plant names, p. 37.

4) To the idea of the two mountains, which one can imagine as the birthplace of the Sun i thought, see Joh. II, p. 1894.

8) Sielte LÖw, p. 252.

Me and the Uthras, my brothers,
they destroyed their wickedness. We
destroyed their wickedness and created
good things for Adam. We
created good things for Adam
and they lifted him up beyond measure.
We arranged a big wedding for him
with excellent hymns and prayer orders.
We shamed the speech of rest, destroy
their rebellious reputation.
We eliminated the wickedness of the planets.
and oppressed all the fiends.
We straightened the root of life; she
won and brought victory to her whole tribe.

We stayed with Adam,
until Hawwa got her contractions').
Until Hawwā went into labor,
we stayed with them.
We stayed with them,
and I was to him a ... of women").
I taught Adam to marry a woman,
how men marry a woman ").
I taught Adam to marry a woman
and he said to me, let the tribe of life multiply. It
multiplies the tribe of life, and from
them the world will be awakened.
The world will be awakened by
you*), and life will be grateful to
you. Life will be grateful to you,
it will redeem them and lift them up
from this world of evil.

At the head of the first sex
stand Adakas-Zīwā.
There was Adakas-Zīwā,
and there was the cloud of light").

---

1) Brandt, Rel., p. 37m. incorrectly translates this phrase: ‚We were the honor of the Âdâm, until the Hawâ [es?] spoil." This is also his remark , 'Here you will find the the only passage that seems to presuppose the fall of the first man" is incorrect.

2) What D)END of women is, follows from the following with some certainty. It is a man who initiates the prospective spouse into the secrets of marriage. But I can not derive the word D)ND.

") Read dennis mint כד דגובריא.

4) Sorry. got here מינאיון.

b) The first couple mentioned here is not Adam and Hawwā, but Adakas, who hidden, transcendent, pre-existent Adam, who is referred to above as the Father of Adam, and

The light cloud was there.
When [108] her first pregnancy was,
Hibil and Anath-Haije were born.
When she had a second pregnancy,
Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Zīwa were born.
Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Zīwā were born,
whose name") is pleasant to the worlds:
Anan-Nsab-Zīwā-Šitil
and Anhar-Zīwā-Hawwa, who was born of Hawwa,
to whom") the worlds and generations ,"existed",
whose name*) persists in the worlds.
At the third pregnancy
bar-Haije and Dmūth-Haije were born"):
Bar-Anoš-Adam"), which strengthens its tribe;
Dmuth-Haije, from which the world was evoked. Hibil,
the lord of the earth,
whom the worlds saw and feared before him.
Šitil, the excellent planting,
the Uthra who consolidates the perfected.
Anoš, the gentle Uthra,
who strengthens his tribe.
Adam, the king of the Uthras,
whom all the worlds adore").
I judged Adam the same as the Great
at the top of the building. I
made Hawwa equal to the light cloud the
mistress of the whole world.

---

as the progenitor of the "clouds", with which the Mandaeans generally named the women (see Utbra, p. 539), the "light cloud". Behind the following half-verse is a A gap in which Adam and Hawwä may have been mentioned. Also the following is from-cunning and convoluted. But the listed pairs can also be distinguished from Adaltas and the light- cloud, not derived from Adam and Hawwā. Perhaps this is where the original SIOuFFi, p. 1f., 62, that both in the Jen- on the other hand, as in the earthly world, there were first couples whose children interacted with each other- and from which both worlds were populated, see also Brandt, Rel., p. 37.

1)must be deleted. It got here from the following line.

*) Should probably mean "whose name".

3) Here, too, the singular is written in the text.

4), "Soln of Life", see Joh. II, p. 963, and "Image of Life", see Lit., p. 84"...

b) Here, apparently, Anõš is identified with Adam, on the other hand also with life-fiziert.

°) Without connection with the foregoing, the three Uthras Hibil, Šitil and called Anõš. The mention of Adam at the end is also quite unmotivated. Paris Manuscripts have all the DUCKS, just as sorry. The writing seems to be an oversight Petermann's, so that one may not read at an 2. Auberdem this is probably in the same sense as a few lines before.

When I used Adam,
I placed three uthras over him.
The Uthras I used about Adam and Hawwa,
I took the lead myself.
I stood up and taught her ")
miraculous hymns.
I taught them prayer orders,
so that they may perform the Massaqthäs (after the manner of the Uthras)*).
I taught them prayers,
so that they may be strengthened by the prayers to
life. I spoke to you:
,You are lifted up and strengthened
in the place where the good ones are consolidated.
Between the Mānās of Light
shall you be established there" (4).
I sat down and taught her, how a
teacher treats his students6).
I pronounced a blessing on her:
the Blessings of Good rest on you.
Adam and his children and his tribe 1
let us look at the place of light.

[109] When Ruha saw her,
she called the fiends.
The fiends called her
and gave them a worthless advice °). She
gave them a worthless piece of advice,
unfavorable for the place of light.
She speaks to you:
'What do we gain from being in the house')
and shine in the world?
What do we gain from the fact that we
shine, where we have no share in it?

---

1) I.E. Mandā dHaijē.

2) According to the following, it is Adam and Hawwā.

a) Sorry. hat upon). The Massaqtha, "the ascent", i.e. of the soul, is the cult-action and liturgy, which is practiced during the separation of the soul, cf. Lit., pp. 62ff.

4) This prayer is included in an extended form in the baptismal as well as in the death liturgy-well done, siele Lit., pp. 45, XXIX; 95, LXV.

8) The word we, "disciples", especially the angling priest, of which i Lit., p. 62, is of Babylonian origin, cf. Zimmern, Akkadian foreign-words, p. 16.

0) Sorry. has the plural here and in the following verse ,,uichtswürdige Give advice".

7) See above, p. 15".

We have no share in it,
and the whole house is not ours.
Up! We want to tell the stranger '),
that he will grant us a share in the world.
If he does not grant us a share,
we will stir up strife against him. If
he does not grant us a share"), we
will leave the world immediately.
We will leave the world immediately,
who, then, will shine in her?
Shine will be who in her
and enlighten the world?"

When Ruha and the planets spoke like
this, the children of the empty
apartment, i turned and spoke
among the worthless fiends: If
you want to move away, move away from the house; I
will then enlighten it alone. [ch
wants to light up this house
and keep it in perfect order."

All the fiends declared themselves
against him and they went there to make secret
plans. All senses on evil
and speak:
,,On! We want to organize a celebration"),
come on, we want to have a drinking party.
We want to drive mysteries of love
and seduce the whole world.
We want to create mysteries of magic
and put an end to our world4).
We want to ...) donate
and eliminate the call of life.

---

1) i.e. the man coming from the Hereafter, see above, p. 5 °. Here it is Mandā dHaijē.

") Sorry. here, too, has The following Aby (also sorry.) is the one before- i have a line here.

8) This is probably the point of ND. Although it is now close in meaning- as it stands, the two words do not seem identical to me. Rather, I identify
רא In accordance with p. 123,4, the Jewish
will, i.e. rest. 9, 19, 22. That the author had about the Jewish Purim in mind
and to present this as a celebration of the wicked is unlikely. He would then have the
Plural is taken over, besides, there seems to be a fixed connection.

4) One expects cher: her world.

") The meaning of is uncertain. At this point, one could

We want to eliminate the call of life;
who will call ... .[1])?
Let's throw a quarrel into the house,
which will not be settled in all eternity. Let's
throw a quarrel into the house
and kill the stranger.
We want to kill the stranger
and [110] eliminate his whole tribe. We
want to make Adam our attachment and
see who will then become his liberator."

Ruha and the planets then broke up
and climbed Mount Carmel*). [On
Mount Carmel] they climbed
they are the mysteries of love. The
fiends are sitting there making plans, they
reach for the mysteries of all of them.
They resort to the mystery of the Rūhā;
they sit there and do magic.
They sit there, pondering in their cleverness
and speak:
,On! We want to organize a celebration
and make offerings to her ").
We want to gather the twelve stars,
and we all want to do secret things.
We all want to take oaths,
and we do not want to betray the mysteries of love.
We want to commit the mystery of love with myrtle and
capture the whole world.
We want to celebrate the mystery of love with wine
and capture the world in our frenzy. We
want to commit the mystery of love with water') and
stir up the whole world.
We want to stir up all the world
and capture them
through the great mystery of love, that
no one would know anything about us.

מארגוש,"Rebellion" or "anger". But the word seems identiscl to be with R 223, 7, which stands there together with "blood" and "defilement".

1) ND may contain ND2, our sign".

2) The knowledge of Carmel, which is otherwise called in the Mandaean Scriptures is probably from the story of Elijah and the priests of Baal to the Mandaeans arrived, cf. Joh. II, p. 944.

a) The word is found only in this place; it is the Bahylonic nindabu.

4) Suffering has NNDD.

Let no one know the secret of our oaths,
and we don't want to announce our speech.
We do not want to announce our oaths
and what we have invented in our world. No'),
we do not want to reveal all the mysteries,
. and we want to confuse his party, the party
that the stranger founded, so
that he has no share in the world.
He has no share in the world,
the whole house belongs to us.
It's all ours,
and there is no one else in this world.
What did the stranger do in the house,
that he could found a party in it? The
gentlemen of the house*) do not know,
that the whole house belongs to us.
The house is ours,
and they have no share in it.

They rose up, confused their works
and they were lacking and lacking.
Lack and failure they did to you,
[111] because the house is not yours").
The house was not yours
and was not created for her sake.
In the house that created the Uthras,
have you sent me, me
and the Uthras*), my brothers, so that
I may come and put good things in it. So that
I can create good things in it,
that the good may see it and receive good.
Let the good see it and receive good,
let them go up and see the place of light. Let
the wicked see it and be ashamed; let
them sink into the furnaces of fire.
Let them sink into the heated stoves,
in the place from which they were created.
In the place from which they were created,
that's where her mind should stop.
That's where your mind should
stop, because they didn't do anything nice.

---

1) Sorry. has the same as B ND5.

2) The Uthras who consider themselves to be such, so it is used here differently than p. 106, 8.

3) Sorry. has N5.

4) Sorry. hat ולעותריא.

Since you have not done anything nice,
let them come to an end on the day of the end.

They rose, held a celebration and distributed
portions among themselves'). Portions
they distributed among themselves,
they who are unworthy of the place of
light. They twisted the good,
what the Lord of the world created*).
They twisted the right mysteries,
what was the first").
They twisted the speeches of truth
and they lied about it.
Speeches of lies they kept,
because they are unworthy of the place of light.
They turned the head into a tail,
they turned the tail into the head.
They twisted their works
and did evil in the world.
They brought all the fruits
and they did all the evil to them.
They brought the herbs
and they were lacking and lacking.
They brought the living water
and poured turbidity into it.
They brought the head of the tribe')
and practiced on him the mystery of love and lust, that
all the worlds (beings) are engulfed in embers.
They practiced seduction on him,
through which all worlds are beguiled.
They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness,
by which all the worlds become drunk.
[112] They gave them") to drink from the cup of drunkenness, so
that they may turn their faces to the great southern sea.
They brought gold and silver,
as well as the pearls of this world.
They brought gold and
silver, the world will become drunk. ").

---

1) See above, p. 120[3].
2) Here it means the good supreme being.
4) Sorry. has a relationship with הייא.
4) This can only mean Adam. For the use of NIND, see Joh. II, p. 44.
8) This generally refers to the people or the "worlds".
9) Sorry. here, too, has "all the worlds".

The worlds get drunk as a result
and set their faces towards the South Sea.
They brought money and good
and did everything evil with it.

They assigned the lust to the rūha,
who see the worlds and get into embers.
Nbū they assigned the (false) wisdom to
and made him the Lord of love. They
gave him the timpani and flutes, as a
result of which all worlds are captured.
Kēwän they attributed the wickedness to;
start from the lack and failure.
Šamiš (the Sun) they assigned the lie to,
by which all worlds are beguiled'). Sin
(the moon) they attributed the deficiency,
from which all the shortcomings began.
Bel they assigned the mystery of water to, with
which he stirs up all the worlds.
He stirs up all the worlds
and mix the good with the bad. Nerig
they assigned the weapon to,
To wage war in the world.
They called the twelve stars
and assigned them the zodiac. They
distributed among them the individual houses
and threw them back into wickedness.
Again they threw her into malice:
Hatred, jealousy and discord.
They divided the days and months,
they distributed the hours and sauce.
The hours and sauce they distributed,
distributed the minutes and seconds"). They
distributed all the defectiveness, distributed all
the lack and failure. They distributed
the whole world among themselves,
without remembering the name of the First").
They made their covenant
and threw ... .[4]).

---

4) Read מישתאבשיא. a) See above, p. 1065.

*) There is also suffering here. so.

4) The two words here are disfigured. NeNp CD is also suspicious despite text 113, 5. Sorry. has N3n3. In is perhaps a form of "swear" contain.

They reaffirmed their oaths,
all of you who are lying. They
reaffirmed the oaths,
which they [113] had sworn on Mount Carmel.
At the celebration that the Seven celebrated,
all the Aons and demons spoke.
The timpani and chants spoke in it,
the head of all sorcery,
the head of the great capture,
with which all worlds are captured.
The horns and bilures spoke in it. '),
the head of all sacrificial slaughter,
the head of all battles,
with which all worlds are captured.
The zither of lust spoke in it, through
which the lust spread over them. They
talked in it with tambourines, with
which all Ruhās speak.
With this, all the ruhas speak
and make a catch in the world.
They spoke in it with horns,
talked to everyone in it . . . . 2).
They talked in it with the flutes ") of the liar, from
which all the lies emanated.
They spoke in it with a strong roar,
that a noise arose in the world. A
roar arose in the world, that
they shook the whole world.
They shook the whole world,
shook the earth from scratch.
They shook the anvil of the earth,
shook the whole firmament.
The whole firmament they shook
and brought captivity everywhere. The
sound of her and the sound of her noise
a mānā rose up out of the sea').
A Mānā rose from the sea, and
all the vines and trees were planted°).

---

1) A musical instrument, see Joh. II, p. 631.
2) is probably distorted from the name of an instrument.
3) Read N3)3DN3.
4) Here there seems to be a reminiscence of the mytlns of Ea-Oannes.
b) Sorry. has 2rny.

When the vines and trees were planted,
fell loudly into Adam's ear.
When she fell loudly in Adam's ear,
Adam woke up from sleep.
Adam woke up from sleep and
lifted up his face to the place of light.
He called his helpers,
called the gentle, fortified Uthras.
He spoke to Hibil-Uthra,
to the man who had made him hear his voice'):
,What happened in the house,
what in this [114] world?
What happened in the house,
that the sound of the thunder rises up to the sky?
The whole earth shook,
the whole firmament was crushed*).
The heart of all worlds has been grasped
and moved away from his place."

When Adam spoke like this,
a tear contracted in his eye*).
When Adam spoke like this,
I shone in my robe.
I shone in the robe of living fire,
that my father gave
me. I shone in the pure robe,
which is far and endless.
I approached Adam, grasped him by the surface of his right
hand. -and let his heart rest on its support again.
I calmed him down and told him,
how the Seven acted.
I also told him how it had happened in his place
and how they plot. It is the
voice of the planets,
who advised an evil counsel.
They advised an evil council,
by saying, 'We want to stir up strife."

---

1) Here Hibil-Uthra appears as the Redeemer in place of Mandā dHaijē. Also otherwise the two are often interchanged with each other. It is also possible to do this before here and there the Uthra Hibil is meant, see e.g. p. 113, 14. The author sees in a different being to him than in the son of Adam, who was and continues to be in high spirits.

2) I suspect DNTndny, or aNDNDny s. v. w. Syrian after that ,stretched look." ") See Joh. II, p. 1101.

They said, "We want to stir up a quarrel.",
they said, 'We want the world ... . 1).“
They said, 'We want the world ... ...
and create a shortage and error in
it." I spoke to him:
,,Be calm and composed, Adam,
and have no sorrow for her.
Have no sorrow for the planets and
about Namrus, the mother of the world.
I will grant you a spectacle to your persecutors and
humiliate your persecutors.
Calm Hawwa, your wife,
and do not be lacking and lacking in yourself."

After I talked like that to Adam,
I also spoke to all his sons.
Hibil rejoices in its splendor,
and Šitil calls loudly*) for his helper.
Šitil because of its brilliance
and Anoš because of the speech that his brothers, the Uthras, had.
given him rejoice, bounce and rejoice, [to be heard,
and they don't care about the whole world.

When Adam ate and made amends,
he called his wife Hawwa and inspired her with
hope.", trusting that Hibil-Uthra
wrapped up in his place and lay down").
[115] But one of Adam's sons
lack came to mind.
a lack came to mind, Sleep
did not come over his eyes.
In his heart it shook,
and his body stood there, trembling.
He made evil plans
and left his father Adam.
He left his mother Hawwā, left
his brothers when they were sleeping.
He left all his brothers
and rose ...") on the wall.

---

1) See above, p. 105 [2]. e) Suffering. hat מקארילה.

a) is probably to be understood here in this sense. The ordinary meaning of N3ON is ,,teaching." It is probably a paraphrase for "Begatten".

4) See above, p. 1261. The verse seems to me to belong to the Previous zn, but cine connection with the following is not excluded.

5) The application of is unsafe. "Castles", of course, it does not heal here.

. . . . . he climbed up on the wall
and went to their meeting').

When Ruha saw him,
she laughed, was happy and was happy.
Ruha was happy and was comfortable,
and it pleased sicl all the planets.
Ruha brought fire,
and Šamiš fetched incense.
Roha knelt down in adoration,
she stretched out her body and praised him.
Ruha threw incense (into the fire)*),
and Šamiš bowed to him.
Bel boastfully took myrtle
and went to meet him.
They step down, bless him and speak to him:
"May our blessings be upon you").s
Kēwän [blessed him] within, he
put wine blossoms in his hand. He
handed him a wreath in his hand,
bowed, tasted and kissed him.
Sin blessed him in the heart,
and Rüha blessed him with her palate').
She blessed him with Bilūren
and introduced him to the assembly under lock and key.

When the planets surrounded him,
he threw his hands on his robe.
He threw his hands on his
robe and shook his robe.
He spat and threw out bile,
he shook his ... . ..")
He remembered the Uthras, his brothers,
remembering the speech that the Uthras, his brothers, had given him For a
long time he listened to the speech of the Uthras, [let him hear.
until they put him at their head,
until they put him at their top
and until they put the cup in his hand,

---

1) Or in your church. 3) See Lit., pp. 64, 14; 116, 11.

a) This verse probably belongs behind the following three.

4) That's what it says, but maybe it's "in your bosom" to read."

6) The word Np may also refer to a garment; it can only be found on this place. Nöldeke refers to Gram. pp. 128, 6 on talm. Npp, which does not fit here- makes sense.

until they gave him the cup to drink,
until they did it for the second and third time.
When they did it for the second and third
time, his heart was at odds.
[His heart fell into discord],
and his body demanded dance from him.

When Adam, the Son of Adam, did this,
[116] the Uthras wiped out his name from the sheet'). When
he got into the drunkenness of the planets,
he jumped up and danced in the drunkenness.
When he subsided and sat down,
he got up and wanted to return to his place.
Then Rūhā took the form of Hawwā, his wife, who was
his [Sister is*), an
and approached him halfway along the way").
She made a bed*) of the litter,
created a place of iniquity.
She messed up the times,
she got up and took him by the hand.
When she took him by the hand"),
did he desire for fornication:
to address you with your mouth,
to surround them with the body.
In the lust that had seized his mind,
he spoke to Ruha as follows:
,Since you are my sister Hawwā,
where your clothes are white,
why do you dress in a skirt
of different color and type? Your
stature is (like) a tall cedar, why do
you wash yourself with water?") Your
thighs are vines of ather, why are you
investing in gold? Your
wings (arms) are sleeves') from Ãther, why
are you putting silver on?

---

1) See Joh. II, p. 104 n.

2) The words AnNnn ynF, which make the verse too long, are probably just a Glosse.

3) Sorry. has nitndt instead of Aby.

4) I suspect instead of R 147, 23; 148, 6 f.

5) Sorry, Kanye has 53.

6) Washing is otherwise required, see Joh. II, p. 99, 18 here is only the washing in the ı Services of cleaning addiction meant, siche continues.

?) This does not fit; perhaps NINoND ,"stems, stems".

Your head is a cloud of light,
why do you wash and comb yourself?
Your eyes are shining eyes,
why do you put makeup on it? “

Then she answered and spoke to the prophet of lies, for
the deficient, complete lack and failure:
,,Be silent, Adam!
If there were no unevenness,
if there were no unevenness,
so we would have only one nature.
We would have only one nature
and as one Mānā, we would both have been created.
Now that there is ungradness,
they have made you a man and me a woman.
They made me a woman,
brought me and put micl in front of you.
They told me that you are burning with love for me
and we should do something with you.
That we should do something with
you and that the world is to be awakened by us."

When he touched and kissed her
and wanted to do something with her,
i appeared to him in a cloud of glory
and made him [117] hear a miraculous call. A
miraculous call I let him hear and threw
his heart down from the support. I let
the magic arts of the Rūbā slip away and
showed him that she was not Hawwā.
I showed him that she was not Hawwā,
he looked at himself and was ashamed of himself.
[He was ashamed], and [his inner]*) felt ashamed,
and he felt guilty.
He felt guilty,
because there was every ugly way about
ilm. I did not give him Kuštā,
because he had departed from the call of life.
He had departed from the call of life
and from what life commanded him.
He had left the company of the Uthras, his brothers, he
went there and loved the company of the planets.

---

1) Sorry. hat ומינאיאן.
2) Before, probably, dabinter Azdn) failed.

He had left the company of his wife Hawwa, he
went and fell into the blazing fire.
He saw the fiery furnace:
anyone who looks at him dies,
whoever embraces him burns himself.
Who undresses and sleeps with her,
falls into the doomsday.
In the end of the world he falls,
and his eyes do not look at the light.

I took body shape,
went and went up to their meeting').
All of you, when you saw me,
rushed down and fell on her face.
They fell down and fell on their faces,
then they got up and submitted to me.
They submitted, blessed me and spoke:
,Be our head and the head of our whole world.
You be our head,
and we want to be your entourage.
The glory of the Rüha
assign a place among the women*).
Among the women, assign her a place,
and you are our head in this world.

When the planets spoke to me like this,
the seducers of this world,
when the planets spoke to me like this,
i defied them and laughed at them all.
I spoke to the seven,
who had condemned themselves:
If [118] you want me to be your head, if you
want me to have a place among the women then [instructed,
open up, tear up your festive community,
up, leave your assembly.
Share your secrets with me,
reveal to me all your speeches."

When I was sitting among them,
i took their secrets away from them
and shone in my robe.
I shone in my pure robe,
which is far and endless.

---

1) The assembly is on Mount Carmel. 2) i.e. your fringe.

I revealed their secrets
and belied their speech.
I belied your speech, they
lie with their oaths, which they took on Mount Carmel-
they swore.
I threw Ruha down from her throne
and put a camel bridle on her').
I threw her down, hit her with my club
and hit her a crack in the head.
I entwined her with her curls
and tied them to the heart of heaven*).
I grabbed Šamiš by the secret things")
and made him like a woman. I
made Jorabba like a woman, because
he had slept with Rūhā.
Sin I hit with the whip,
took off his robe and took it away.
I took his robe away from
him and left him in worthless garb.
I left him in the garb of consuming fire,
for anger was upon him.
There was anger over him,
and he sat in leprosy") in his place.
Which . .") of the Nbū I broke
and broke in his hand . . . .7)
I uncovered his nakedness
and showed his shame") in the world.
I summoned the ... .9),
that his image would not be seen in the world.
I grabbed the evil star10),
i rushed him down and threw him down from his throne.

---

1) Sorry. has Nndionn.

2) Apparently an allusion to a usual ordeal, siche weiter, p. 137, 6.

a) i.e. on his genitals.

4) Who is identified with Šamiš, see Jol. II, p. 182.

6) The lesnng is correct, not C ,,in the North". Over the moon as For lepers (because of its color and fleeken) see Joh. II, p. 183°. °) The word seems to mean a musical instrument, cf. Nöld., pp. 151, 18 and *Lit.* , p. 2211.

7) The meaning of this word, which only occurs at this point, is also not certain. It is hardly S. v. A. ND ,hatchet".

8) To im Sime ,"Blöle" see R 242, 10. Sorry, did Aingnu Anyn, see zu Levy, Neuhebr. Wörterb, IV, p. 354b.

°) See Joh. II, p. 1085.

10) Note, daf N33)3 in the jiidisehen literature par excellence referred to Mercury.

I broke his backbone
and made him an object of contempt') in the world.
I broke it, stretched it out
and put him in hiding. I threw
down the evil star*),
so that there is no anger in the
world. - [119] I beat Bel with the whip
and took the crown from his head.
I took the crown from his head
and brought him a disease in the body. -
Nerig I hit with the club
and dismembered his limbs").
I dismembered his limbs
and gave them to his priests.
I gave them to his priests and worshippers,
so that they move around the world in the desert egg').
So that they may wander in the desert egg in the world")
and show their follies to the world.
I went against the planets,
who rise above the tribe of life, i went
against the planets,
that I threw robbery °) among them.
Robbery I threw under her
and showed their follies') to the world.
What I did to the planet,
will they do to their priests and worshipers, so
that they disappear from the world.

When I came to Adam,
I said to ibm: 'I gave you a spectacle at your
[Pursuer.
To your persecutors I granted you a spectacle,
the evil family, that they were murdered.

---

1) I suspected I, which occurred repeatedly under the influence of themenden was changed. -

2) it seems to me that after the foregoing, it suits me better than suffering. and the other anf.,sclwören" indicative variants.

a) Naay is to be understood here in this sense, like the Jewish name, because 1 in The following is alluded to the cult of relics. ,Wing" or , arm" pact is bad.

4) Read 7, continue, p. 137, 15.

5) Sorry. hat pund) בצאויא.

6) N can only mean "robbery". However, one does not expect this, but ,ver- attention" od. similarly. But in Aramaic, NB is not found for NBR. The noun for this is in the Mandaean NINDa, and a modification of this word is difficult to- take it. Connecting to 118.2 (text) will not lead to anything.

7) Or "nakedness", see p. 132, 26.

All your priests and worshippers
let them be slaves to you.
They should be slaves
and obey you in every way. Leniency
will not be given to all planets, nor the men
they worship. For everyone who
practices their works, is unworthy
of the place of light.
When I go to the house of life,
I will prepare and organize the world in an
excellent way. I will lift up the root of life and
raise up his tribe in an excellent way. When
the Seven distributed the zodiac,
death was imposed on the world as a
punishment. Death was imposed on the world
as a punishment, but the souls of the true and believing
men, as well as the perfect women
they will rise up and look at the place of light.
On the other hand, the souls of the
planets be tied up in their guardhouses.
They will be tied up in their guardhouses,
until your mind stops.
Until your mind stops
[120] and they die and go out as if they had never been there."[1]

The Gates"), which Ruhā created,
the seductress of lies,
the gates that Ruha created,
all will be slain by the sword.
The gates that Rūhā created, sitting
there fasting every day.
Every day they sit fasting,
every day they sit there grieving.
They sit there grieving every day,
until your mind stops.
When your measure is *full*,
they will turn their faces to the place of darkness.

The gates that Christ created, they
all accuse each other of lying. They
all accuse each other of lying and do
not stand there in a speech.

---

1) Read or נישמאתא.

°) The religious parties, see p. 206.

Do not stand there in a speech,
because they came out of the creation of the lie.
He twists the speeches,
what the first one') created.
He twists the speeches
and brings folly into the world.
The folly that Christ creates,
will come to an end at the very day of the end.

From the gate that Šamiš created,
whom all the world calls Adonai,
from the gate that Adonai created,
all the people of the house of Israel have come forth.
From the House of Israel,
they hit each other with their hands.",
who beat each other with their hands,
they do what they shouldn't*);
what not to do, they do,
therefore, they are to come to an end on the day of the end.

From the people of the Jews ι
all the wickets have come out.
The people of the Jazuqaeans have emerged*),
the scorners who worship the fire,
the scornful who worship the fire,
who emerged from the image of the robe of Christ. The
Jazuqaeans will come to an end,
who listen to their call.

From the gate that Agzēl created,
which all the world calls Sin,
Sin calls him all the world,
[121] because his figure is ugly everywhere"),
from the gate that Sin created,
all the pains and plagues have come out.

---

1) D and suffering. have siche p. 123, 10.

2) Who fought each other. 8) An anacoluth.

4) According to the following and R 223, 23 ff. it seems a Persian sect with Christ- to be a light impact. The spelling NiNpin läfte a form jazöqaja and jazzūqājā to. Remarkable is the similarity of the form with Natwpaios as with Zassoukaios, and perhaps she is influenced by these forms. That the name has something to do with 'leğai, the ι The name of the brother of Elxai (Brandt, Rel., p. 127; Elchasai, p. 130), faith i don't. According to Andreas, the word is Persian and can be attributed to the nominative case yazvā of an Old Iranian tribe yazvan , "worshipper" with Middle Iranian k-suffix.

b) In Mandaean, a pun.

They sit over magic and witch haunts,
they twist the hearts,
they trap people in the world.
Anyone who listens to your speech,
falls into the doomsday.

The gate that Kewān created,
fear the days and hours').
They fear the days and the hours
and sit there fasting every day.
Every day they sit there fasting
and bring forth false prophets.
They became Faster and Faster,
they are sitting on a lie.
You are sitting on a lie
and bring forth (false) wisdom from their understanding.
You and the unmarried and holy ones") in total
they will come to an end on the day of the end.
Anyone who listens to your speech,
will not look at the place of light.

From the gate that Angel created,
whom all the world calls Bel,
from the gate that Bel created,
are all Vögte and . . . . . .") emanate.
From it are the Vögte and ... . emanate,
who are used to anger in the tibil.
Daily, everyday
sit on the throne of indignation.

---

1) i.e. their constellations. One does not have here in the sense of "worship" ongrab it.

2) The Mandaeans do not use the word N2TNp for their own religious, butdern use it only ironically for the Christian "saints", see also above, p. 50, 2.

3) The words N and N denote rulers whose closer Cha- rakter is insecure. Zimmern remarks on the two words: Cf. for this event. the rēdū, in the Hammurabi period, for example, "follower", but later apparently also a name for a higher degree, for example, 'officer'. Everything about it is safe with A. WaLther, The old Babylonian court system, 1917 (Lpz. Sem. Stud. VI 4/6), pp. 173ff., especially since- even Anm. 3 on page 173. Walther also refers to the position at Thureau-Dangin, Huitième Campagne de Sargon, Paris 1912, p. 8/9, z. 33, where unindirectly mentioned next to each other are šakkanakki u rēdē muma'irūt māti-šu ,,les préfets et officiers qui administrent son pays." Similar to ibid., pp. 56/57, Z. 367 (amel) šūt- rešē-ja u (amel) rēdī-ja ,,nes fonctionnaires (eig. my et mes officiers." You could come up with the idea of the NaID, if it is not otherwise satisfactory the explanation is [cfr. Nöld. MG. 76 on NoRBERG's compilation with pD], as an entpresented borrowing from šakanakku to consider.

They tie up, beat, whip, throw down and ask out the one
who acts for your love, but it is not completely
[run.
They hit him with leather whips;
for this they are to be whipped with fire whips.
Gagging, tying and hanging, will
not look at the place of light.
Who drives their follies,
will fall down without getting up again.
He will fall down without getting up again,
he will come to an end on the day of the end.

The gate that Nerig created,
it was created entirely in lies.
She was created entirely in a lie,
and they are wandering [122] in the desert egg in the
world. In the desert egg they roam around the
world and show their follies to the world.
The Hmurtbās who emerge from it,
are used over the anger in the tibil.
They commit murder
and shed blood.
He who called them together'),
advances at the head of the war platoon.
At the head of the war train he strides,
to shed blood in the world.
On the day he commits a murder,
he is more than happy about the murder alş about a benefit.
On the day he commits a murder, er2)
and laughs in his mind. On the
day when he does not commit murder,
his body is stained with bitter herb.
The gate that Nerig created,
will come to an end on the day of the end.

I taught you about the planets
and about the gates that they created in the world.
I have taught you about their works:
all of them were created incorrectly.
All of them") were created incorrectly:
Hatred, jealousy and discord.

---

1) Again ambiguously, sielie p. 324.

*) This is written there, but is hardly original.

") Sorry. have a party.

I have taught you the secrets of the Seven and
I have taught you about the twelve
stars, who made this division.
When they made the division,
they shared among themselves').
When they gave the Ram his share,
assign him a number of years.
They shared it as a share
twelve thousand years too.
They shared years with the Bull,
eleven thousand years in number.
The twins shared years as a share, ten
thousand years in number. They
shared years with the cancer as a share,
nine thousand years in number.
To the lion they divided as a share years,
eight thousand years in number.
The Ãhre they divided as a share of years,
seven thousand years in number.
The dare they shared as a share of years,
six thousand years in number.
They shared years with Scorpio as a share,
[123] five thousand years in number. To
the Sagittarius they divided as a share years,
four thousand years in number.
To Capricorn, they shared as a share years,
three thousand years in number.
To Aquarius they divided as a share years,
two thousand years in number.
They divided the fish as a share of years,
a thousand years in number.

When she distributed her years
and had made their likeness in the worlds*),
did you say: ,,We want ... . each . . . .
one individually will find the whole world").
We want to send out twelve calls,
from which twelve images are to emanate. --
From the call that the Ram called,
should all animals arise.

---

1) See also R 379.
") See p. 99°.
") is probably disfigured. Instead, you might have to read.
Sorry. has subscription notn5.

All animals should arise,
whose call became the evil call.
He cried out for evil, he
said, Let me have a share in the world. - –
From the call that the bull called,
every kind of evil beast arose.
The evil animals are created by
him, who spew from their mouths'),
spew the sputum from her mouth,
those who chew with their mouths,
because you have your inner glow*)
out of your stomach").
The creatures of these two stars
correspond to each other. -–
From the call that the twins called,
all the demons have come out.
The demons have come out of him,
they all have altars.
They hold the altars,
you have the banks*). - –
From the call that cancer called,
all the toothed animals have come
out"). From it the toothed beast has emerged,
that was created for evil for the world. - From –
the call that the lion called,
all wild animals have come out.
From him the wild beast has emerged,
which is sent out against the living beings").
It is sent out against the living beings°),
and they cause horror in the world. - –
From the call that the Ähre
called, all the fruits have come out.
From it [124] the fruits, grapes and trees have come forth,
which are emblazoned in the world. -–

---

1) This is probably the meaning of the word, which can only be found at this point. To ND 3, "sipping" does not belong to woll. 2) Or: poison.

°) Nnu ,,Stomach", also R 204, 9 and Asfar Malwvaše 112, 3 (NaND ,,stomach-pain"), belongs to pers. gwārīden ,,digest".

4) Sorry. in the sense of "shore", ONE certainly occurs R 184, 15, see Nöld., p. 115, 9. Hüufiger finds NT9 for this. Of demons that sit on shores, is in the old lead tablets, the speech is more often, see, for example, the quotation Joh. II, p. 1528.

b) The biting and stinging animals.

o) It stands there, so actually, "souls". More often the Mandaeans, and it is possible that the author here also refers only to the Mandaeans 1 in the See also p. 140, 26.

From the call that the dare called,
all water fruits have come out').
From him the bad fruits have come forth,
the worlds (beings) are carried to the grave. From
the call that the scorpion called,
all the evil creepers have come out. From
it the evil creepers have emerged, who kill the
living beings with their anger. - From
the call that the shooter shouted,
all anger has come out.
From him the great, evil anger has come forth,
by which all beings are prostrated. From
the call that the Capricorn called,
all livestock has come out.
From him the beast of cattle has come forth,
whose wings are weaker than those of the birds*).-
- From the call that Aquarius called,
the wrongness has emerged.
There is wrongness out of him,
from him came lack and failure. - From
the call that the fish called,
all the fish have come out.
From it the fish and dolphins have emerged,
everything has become evil from him.

All these things have come out of the twelve stars,
they say, 'We want to pick up the trunk of life."
The seven stars came
and divided them into parts").
They divided them into parts
and created the vehicles at the heart of the
sky. Whatever they all like to do, they
say: ,,We want to pick up the trunk of
life, let us lift up the trunk of life.",
who rise daily to quarrel:
the planets don't know,
the children of the empty apartment,
that, they may also have made the division,
i have divided their own tribes.

---

1) Siche p. 377. In sorrow. missing N2. Is it even possible to tell why the fruits of the water, so NV̄ is probably still original here, because of the bad fruits cannot be said to be "all fruits" without further ado.

2) In the last sentence, the domestic poultry is meant.

a) See above, p. 134, 13.

I have divided their tribes.
Some of them are to be used for plowing,
others are to be used for slaughter,
others for riding, others for eating.
All the calls you have called out,
they called Adams.
Because they all
they got their smell from the sacrifices').
They who have called out,
they should wander there*),
[125] they are to obey Adam,
obey his whole tribe.

When I was so against the planets,
they no longer had a language.
When I showed it to Adam,
he rejoiced and was pleased beyond measure.
I went with the Uthras, my brothers
and taught Adam and all his tribe.
I spoke to you:
,,Practice good works
and provide you with travel food.
Let the call of life be heard, so that
your name may be established in the house of the mighty [be.
Speak in pure speeches,
so that you may be established in salvation") as pure.
Speak in kindness
and don't say a damn
thing. Worship and praise the great (life)
and the great light that has gone here.
Worship and praise the Uthras,
so that they may be your helpers,
A helper and a support
from the place of darkness to the place of light*). ‘

Blessed be life, blessed be Manda dHaije, blessed be your name, Šilmai and Nidbai, Hibil, Šitil and Anoš. Life is victory-rich in all works. The victory was won by Jawar-Zīwā and his helpers.

This is the book of the living, first doctrine.

---

1) The word is relieved only at this point. I see in it the Babylonian niqu. The variant would be participle ...Sacrificial."

e) See above, p. 244.

3) About the writing siele Johi. II, p. 46°.

4) Siche anch Lit... p. 212 ob,

Fourth book.

Bine's unclear and fragmentary description of Hibil-Zīwā's descent into the world of Darkness, which often touches with the following tractate. The great life will but the supreme being appears to be the Lord of Greatness, who is also the King of Light is called. Before the descent, Hibil-Zīwā is worshipped by the Lord of Greatness and Mandā dHaijē done in the Jordan. In the representation are inserted pieces from the liturgies. Therefore the treatise is also used liturgically, according to the in Anm. 3 of the above mentioned the Tanfe of the aspiring priests.

In the name of the great life, may a remission of sins be granted to me NN, my wife NN and my children NN, NN, and their name will be erected in the treasure house of Jāwar-Zīwā.

In the name of the great life.

Whether Kušṭā is good [126] for the good')

and Manda dHaije for the sons of salvation??)

This is the mystery, the book, the teaching, and the first, life- this is the teaching that has always been").

When the first life pondered and Manda created dHaije and Manda dHaije Hibil-Zīwā created this one thousand times a thousand years ago the Lord of greatness, and was hidden in their midst*). Hibil-Uthra one day he will go to Krūn, the great mountain of flesh, and to the three Worlds of darkness"), the ancient ones, which the sword does not take away, the Fire is not consumed, which do not sink in the floods of water°). Those Krun, the great Meat Mountain, and the 366 Dews who live with him: from to those Dews, that being named Ur, the Lord of darkness, is distinguished-

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1) Sorry. "for the good ones".

2) Payment to L 118, 3. See also Lit., p. 81 l. ult.

a) In the margin it says: This lecture and the teaching is for the Jordan (for baptism) student.

4) Among the aforementioned beings.

") According to the description in the following book, there are more worlds of darkness.

") Here the three world catastrophes are alluded to, see above, p. 27f.

go. His father has the name Gaf and other numerous names. From his first-born son, namely that great One, the five go'), if the seven go out, the twelve come out, which together are twenty-four Dews are. Out of the outpouring and confusion, when he came to his mother went, Karkum arose. When he is in the Tibil, the worlds call him 5 and generations of Bar-Sfag2).

But we"), with our power, as well as the life and Uthras, with the power of the King of Light, rejoice of the gentle Uthra*), of the consolidated Firstborn, whom we conceived and created with our splendor, with with which we clothe him, with the light with which we cover him, with the Strength and the firmness that we grant him. We send it against all the evildoers who think evil against us [127], and against Ur, the Lord the darkness that rises above us. This Uthra grabs him, squeezes tie him down, tie him up and bind him, hand him over to the lower copper earth, and surround it with seven iron walls. Until Ptahil comes, Greek artfully seals the earth"), stretches out the firmament, builds the house") and all the evil ones who are thinking of evil are eliminated, so long as the bondage remains, tied with the Hibil-Zīwā Ur, pass.

Then Hibil-Zīwā goes to all the worlds of darkness, he go to Krūn, the great mountain of flesh, and do all evil to him. Krūn, the great meat mountain, Hibil-Ziwa lets look fear, dread and horror, but Hibil-Zīwā is not afraid of him, and Krūn is-throw.

Then Zihrūn-Uthra'), whose name is Jösmīr-Kannā, speaks to Jadatan, the man who gives this enlightenment, who from the little finger the Lord of greatness has come forth. In the name of that Uthra were two other Uthras, Adatan and Jadatan, which on the day of whom the first Jordan baptized Hibil-Zīwā, as his helpers called forth be. Then six others were evoked: Šitil and Anoš, Šilmai and Nidbai, Adakas-Mānā and the great mystery, whose name is Jofin-Uthra is.

It went with him*) the great, first shine that came out of the robe of the The Lord of Greatness came out. All the worlds of light and darkness he created a boundary. He closed the gates, climbed on the bolts"), and

---

1) See above, p. 134.

2) as a subject at Abvanp anch text 120, 24; 121, 13.

") Mandā dHaijē speaks.

4) This is Hibil. °) See above, p. 89.

6) The earthly world.

7) An inserted Brnehstück, which stands without any connection with the previous one.

8) With Hibil-Zīwā.

") This is probably the meaning of the R145, 13. Zimmern writes to me: ,, N is probably the borrowed gamiru, gameru, synon. gišru ,,part of the door- lock or key" at Delitzsch, Handwürt. 201a. The word comes as a rare Only at the two vocabulary points mentioned by Delitzsch. because it the passport (passport) and the great mystery that we gave him with-were given: [128] every warlike Dew, who saw that passport, pressed his seal on it. He created peace in all worlds of light, which is unlimited and are endless.

When I told all these things, the secret and revealed and said'), I worshiped, praised and glorified the Lord of Greatness according to the wisdom and knowledge and what else life has given me informed. Those thousand years I was before the Lord of Greatness, by i lay stretched out on my face. Then the Lord called me He took hold of me by the surface of my right hand, and directed me from my situation. Then the Lord spread the greatness of his Shine on me, gave me of his light and put me around the Head a wreath of victories from light-filled arbor. Was created also shine and light to all Uthras, created all Uthras vestments, he made a robe for the Lord of greatness.

Then the Lord of greatness arose and created at his right hand 444 Škinās and to his left 366 Škīnās. From each individual Škinā he then created 1800000 myriads of Uthras that are worth and miraculous, whose radiance is wondrous, whose light is bright and luminous, through whose Shine the lights flicker*) and shine the lights that shine in front of you. In each individual Škinā has two bodyguards, and two Lights shine in front of it.

What is the name of the Chief Guardian of the 444 Skinās? How is the Whose name is the 366 Škīnās?

[129] The head of the 444 Škinas bears the name Barbag-Uthra, also Azazēl by name. That of the 366 Škīnās is called Anan-Nşab, also Taurel-Uthra by name. With the name Taurel-Uthra") he created himself at the beginning of the first creation, whenthen he created all uthras.

Manda dHaije and the Lord of Greatness arose and ascended down to the Jordan, and (the Lord of greatness) prepared*) baptism. As he wanted to baptize the sprightly Uthra, the tall, well-equipped Uthra, the great Jordan turned to the Lord of Greatness, spoke and spoke with him: 'Who is this Uthra whom you want to baptize in me, who you and your image") was baptized in me? Then, as the living water the brightness and light of Hibil-Ziwā, the brightness, the light and the

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in the second place it is just called together with medilu ,"bars". probably the the latter do not mean, say, keys".

1) Again, follow the previous one, the speaker is Hibil-Ziwā.

4) Read narn.

8) Again, the ambiguity of wap is disturbing, since it is ,call, call", like ,,her- you can ask for it, you can ask for it.

4) So here, too, "called forth".

5) The "image" of the deity appears by name in the following piece as her feminine Paredros. One is entitled to the designation of the Tanit, the Carthaginian Caelestis, as the "face of Baal" pointed out, siche Brandt, Schr., p. 137.

The glory of Manda dHaije and the olive rod of living water- who had been created from Jokašar-Kannā, joked about it and did not keep still, hopped and turned back and forth, equal to the waves in Sindiriawis, the great Jordan of life.

Then the Lord of greatness said to the great Jordan: 'You, great Jordan of life, remain calm and firm in your place, for Hibil-Zīwä shall be baptized in you." Then the great Jordan of life turned did not depart from the words of the Lord of Greatness and departed from his speech not off. The Jordan of living water stopped, and Hibil-Zīwä was baptized in him. Hibil-Ziva was baptized, were baptized with him his two brothers'), baptized four others, who are called Great. He baptized the three Uthras, who [130] are his brothers and his helpers*).

When he baptized all those who were with him, when he stood in the Jordan with to his Creator, the Lord of greatness, he spoke, sang a song about the And Jordan spoke:

,,At the top") of the water I pulled out,
at the head of the fizz of life I went here. I
founded three Škinās
and appointed guardians over them.
The guardians I used over them,
are wondrous, blessed and enduring". Then*)

Manda dHaije consolidated the baptism. He then got out of the Jordan and closed Kuštā with the Great ones. And the Lord of greatness, as Manda dHaije got out of the Jordan and his brothers who made his atonement "), he, the Lord of greatness, responded to Manda dHaije and spoke to him:

,,Your shine is bright,
and your light shines.
The disciples shine through your splendor,
and her figure shines more than all the world."
He called to Hibil and spoke to
him: ,,I hear the voice of Hibil-Zīwā,
who speaks and lectures at the place of
light, the voice of his speech, which is lovely.
My heart was awakened to me, became full of praise.
My heart was awakened to me, and my soul rejoiced,
my mind rejoices and flaunts,
and my heart rejoices beyond measure.

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1) Šitil and Anoš.

2) Three Uthras next to Hibil anch above, p. 26, 25.

8) See Lit., p. 149, LXXXII.

1) Siche Lit., p. XXIII f.

5) The higher beings are more often called brothers and sons of others at the same time, this is to express their complete similarity.

I jump and am happy about the works,
the Hibil-Zīwā,
and those who come through his hand excellently."

He protected him, strengthened him, equipped him, blessed him and spread 5 of his mercy upon him. He gave shine to Hibil-Zīwā, then called Šitil, strengthened him and spoke to him:

,,Keep, keep, Šitil-Uthra,
that your speech is that of the demons.
Let your speech be our speech,
be connected with us and don't get cut off." He gave Šitil light, then called Anoš, strengthened him and spoke to him: ,,You were blessed [131] by the four Uthras who sit in mutual splendor"). They baptized you with their baptism and clothed you with garments of yours." He gave Anoš brightness and gave him rich splendor, just like his two brothers.

Then the great lamp that shines over all the worlds spoke, she spoke and he spoke to the Lord of greatness. The name of this lamp is Jattir-Jathrūn; she has 360 names. She spoke to him:

,,Whose is this shine?2)
Whose is this light?
Whose is this brightness?debit

To this he replied to her:

,,This gloss belongs to Hibil,
this light belongs to Šitil,
this brightness belongs to Anoš-Uthra"),
which is vast and endless."

The King of Light sealed them'), he sealed them in a perfect way. He called Šilmai and Nidbai, laid his rights on them, blessed them with his Blessing and spoke to him"): "We are pleased with this picture, which created turned 30." They then called R'ham-Rāzā and Adakas-Mānā and his helpers. They created a cloud for them, so that the Uthras could take their form did not look, and said to them: ,,The Uthras sang hymns in their Glory, and you great ones rejoice in your enlightenment. The light Cloud rejoices and flaunts. '

As a man . . .. ")came, he sat down. light- the king sealed his helpers, his brothers, who are his sons. He sealed Sindiriawis, the great Jordan of life in which no one will be baptized

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1) Cf. also R 335, 4. a) Cf. Lit., p. 245, XXIIf.

3) Sorry. has name (for child): the great Uthra.

4) Hibil, Šitil and Anōš.

8) Hardly only one of the two geniuses is meant here; one probably has ואמארלון,,and spoke to them" to read.

°) A word of cosmic significance, the meaning of which cannot be determined with certainty wait, see Joli. II, p. 662.

cant. He said to them: 'We have been blessed by the goodness of the great (life) and they put your mercy in order. We created the the Great Jordan of Life and the 360 Jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa lived-was baptized."

Then Manda dHaije spoke to the great (life), [132] that made him ge- he said, 'May we have this first-born Son, whom I- create, send to the world of evil." Then his image said") to him: ,Do not take (too early) an end!") How can you, my son" name it!" To which he replied to her: "If I don't, my son" who shall call him "my son"?" He then spoke to Hibil-Zīwa, the head of the whole family: 'How we created you so create the Uthras, your brothers, so that they may go to the treasure be careful of life. When you go to the darkness, take the power the swift dove."

Then Hibil-Zīwā arose, went and subdued the Ver- common ones. He did something to the mighty fiends that they hated was. He saw Rüha dQudšā pregnant with the lapsed fiend was. She was pregnant with the King of darkness, and they say: ,,We want the lords of all worlds, the upper, middle and lower be." I saw the king of darkness, as my parents told me. [I submitted] Rūhā, Hewath*) the wife, the mother of the invalid and-hold. I submitted to the King of darkness, whose mother says:,,We they want to be the masters of all worlds." I created a great Compaction and set up ....") above him, where I see the world straighten. I cursed Hewath the wife, the mother of the lapsed And said to her: 'Your curse and your blessing be yours only a fraction of°). Your sons and Ptahil-Uthra shall enter this world-straighten. It was only as a result of the plan of Jošamīn') that I came to you. I came to you and did something hateful to the darkness. Because without I have done what my parents ordered me to do. Because [133] a son who does not listen to the speech of his parents*) will be here at held you back. However, I obeyed and accepted and did not hit in the wind, what my parents ordered me. Yes, I listened to your speech, i accepted them and went and judged them in the treasure of the Uthras, who Keeper of the treasure, the pillars of the whole palace. Kuštā I took

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1) Cf. Lit., pp. 51, 6.

3) i.e. scine woman, see p. 1445.

3) The wendnng is only found at this point. It is probably related to לאתימיתאי מותא בישא ,"do not die a terrible death" R 161, 6.

4) See above, p. 711.

5) See to NINEYND above, p. 89°. ,,Drain pipe, gutter" do not palt here.

d) Let anf fall back on you.

7) On the plan of the Jõšamīn and its illumination against the world of light, see Joh. II, p. 16 et seq., 28 and here is the third book.

8) Sorry. has Annanenä nnwa.

in my rights and went to the world of darkness. Able firm in faith, the others kept themselves in the world of darkness back. Those who have stood firm in the faith, rise up and look at the Place of light. Those who did not stand firm in the faith will be on the day of Finally put an end to it."

Manda dHaije spoke and said: 'This battle that took place took place Because of Jošamīns. For everyone who builds a house and before that a The mosque ****** [1]).“

Anyone who prays this treatise and does not The hearts and the lips of believers will be turned away from the way before him."- will be cut. Anyone who has a sincere heart and by reciting the lips of believers, one will become a forgiver of sins and offenses get.

Praise be to Manda dHaije and his helpers Hibil, Šitil and Anoš and Silmai and Nidbai. And life is victorious for all eternity.

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1) The rest is probably deleted out of consideration for the Muslims.

2) Who rises to the light before him.

Fifth book.

In the name of the great, strange life from the worlds of light, which he- the one who is above all works will be healed and victorious, Strength and firmness, speech and hearing, and a remission of sins me and my wife ... And her name will be raised in the house of life.

First piece.

The most important piece of Mandaean scripture about the descent of the Savior in underworld. Whereas in the main part of the third book it is Mandā dHaijē, which is for Battles with the subterranean ones, it is in this piece Hibil-Zīwā that in it he appears as the son of Mandā dHaijē. In the characterization of the sinister forces, the description of their activities and their behavior to the unearthly, strange man against- iber, the representation shows a height that otherwise does not reach in the Mandaean literature shall. Despite the enormity of the fiends and the awareness of their power, they feel yet standing deep beneath the being of Light, and this comes in her submissive, servant- to express eagerness to him enthrallingly. The treatise is also rich like no other on mythical trains. Nevertheless, it is also not introductory, and the presentation will disturbed by contradictions and rows of parallel trains. The narrative is also not completely; the beginning is torn off and without a head. The revision of the The beginning is also shown by the fact that Hibil-Zīwā is told in the third person, while Hibil speaks of himself in the first person as the play progresses. As supreme beings appear to the Mānā and his image as his female comrade (see p. 1446). But besides them, life is called, and as a female being, the nituftā. life, the nituftā are also combined in places with the Mānā and its image, so that a trinity is formed. Probably originally in a version Mānā was in addition to his image, called life in another, and which belonged to Nituftā, probably also secondary to this. The purpose of the Descensus also stands out from the current presentation not sharp enough, it can only be opened up: the Mānās learn that in the underworld a being is to be born who will take up a struggle with the world of light; the let the Redeemer oppose. The birth of evil seems to have been fixed and the- sin is inevitable; the Savior can only be entrusted with the task of doing me as little harm as possible- to lich. He descends into the underworld with an army helper and leaves to draw on the birth of evil as far as possible, then to give it its power take and put him in shackles. How the power of Hibil in the "great mystery" bestelit, the the strength of the subterranean is also given to him from the world of light, so is the strength of the subterranean, which is hidden in the underworld and which Hibil is supposed to rob. In the Ver- in the course of the narrative, various objects are named, probably according to the different- the sources. First of all, it is a mrārā and gimrā, the meaning of which is not determined leaves (still only Gimrā), then a magic mirror, then a crown, finally a pearl. Hibil robs these items, and ilm manages to put Ur in shackles. Here p. 173, 31 as well as above, p. 143, 15, it is only briefly indicated that the bondage of Urs should last until the the earthly world is created. On this occasion, with the help of the Seven and twelve, who give birth to Rüha from him in spite of his bondage, free themselves and become äpxwv toi kóoyov toútov upswing. But this will not be completed, but will be briefly narrated that Abathur receives his image and his son in Ptahil and that the latter Abathur's invitation creates the earth in spite of Hibil's warning. Rühā gives birth to the Seven and Twelve, Hibil comes to terms with this and assigns the planets their position in the world. With Ilrer's help, Hibil also creates the first human couple.

The content of this section is in PeterMann, Reisen im Orient II, p. 450 ff. reproduced. Siouffr's Gewährsmann also narrates the main features of the play with strangers Trains mixed in (p. 48 ff.). Based on Brandt's translation Schr., p. 137 ff. addiction Bousset, Hauptprobleme, p. 244 et seq., to analyze the content, see also Brandt, Rel., pp. 29, 213 ff.

In the name [134] of the strange life from the worlds of light, which he- it is above all works.

This is the mystery, the Book and the secret prayer'). Because life hid the speech of the Mandā dHaije when he spoke before the Mānā and his image and expressed the revelation before life, that a dew from Siniavis, the lower earth of darkness, aspired to ascend*). When Manda dHaije said this, life and the Mānā and his An image of him: "Why are you sitting there, you treasurer") and our eldest Son? Get up, get down, go and do what you wish.

When Manda dHaije heard this from them, Manda Dhaije bowed, stretched out before them and said to them: 'I want to get up

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1) Instead of I would rather assume: the secret Lelire, see e.g. text **126, 3.** 2) Sorry. Anny did.

a) This name is attached to him as the keeper of secrets and mysteries. Probably for the same reason, the word also serves as a designation for the high priest the Mandaean.

and the treasurer'), your son, the plant that you planted, the The image that you have formed from your hiding place, your egg*), from that Jordan, whom you attracted and ……….,from the Tannā") and the vein call your place."

When Manda dHaije spoke like this, his voice was heard in all worlds gelisten carefully. He got up, baptized and brought his son to those*) and his likeness. ‚Father, where are we going?" asked this iln. On this ant- he said to him: "Come on, come on, I want to give you the image of Manā") and Manā and show his great, hidden image, which was revealed to all Uthras in 365 hidden, vast worlds and eggs of light is hidden." Then his son, who is his brother, said to Manda dHaije: "Where i am afraid, this first image, that image of the Mānā and the Manā and his hidden image, which [135] is hidden from all the world, to look!" To which his father, who is his brother, replied to him: 'Me have sent them with a swift step, and I have come to you; why are you sitting now, beloved son, there, to the man ,the splendor of life acted and had success and 'passed' as a name? Now up! Let us go and see the face of those honored manas look."

When his father said this, that gentle, steady son liked it. He took hold of his father by the right hand and went with him until he reached the Hiding and laying eggs of beings, tremendous glory came. When he the first life and Mānā and his image said to him: 'What do you Jāwar-Kbar, son of Manda dHaije"), who opens our foreheads the Haupte flicht 8)?“

To this he replied to them: "Well, you searched") and found; search again and again. I got up and brought your son." Since they said to him: 'Open up, lead him in and bring him so that we may and he sees us."

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1) Here it is a designation for Hibil-Zīwā.

2) In general, protein" is often found by name as a source and source of-the place of standing of spiritual beings, see Joh. II, p. 2087.

a) A word of uncertain origin. There is a lot of talk about this, since the NINN melt, it is also otherwise associated with heat, so it may be from תאנורא 'Furnace' shortened.

4) Sorry. hat וציבה ואתיה.

b) It is unclear who this image is supposed to be, maybe life, continue to be secure.

9) See above, p. 1456.

7) Brandt correctly notes that the address is addressed to Mandā dHaijē himself, who also answers afterwards. For Kbar, see also above, p. 67, 19, who is there with Mandā dHaijē is identified. Jāwar means "helper".

8) Actually, the horns. The curls of the forehead are placed around the head like a wreath-braided and form an ornament of the head; also stands on wreaths. expression: found more often: R 178, 10; 257, 14; 373, 5; L 42, 15; Joh. 51, 5. Here's the point, dal he is their adornment, and he is their adornment.

") Lies ביתון.

And he arose, and went, and brought him in, and brought him before those venerable Mānās. When Hibil, the future Mānā'), entered them, he was afraid of them, because their splendor was miraculous, their light bright- and no one is able to see her figure, because her shine 5, and their light is great.

When the two expensive Mānās*) and the first image caught sight of me"), they put me in front of them, kissed and tasted me. However, I stretched i went before them, worshipped and praised that image. A thousand years ago i stretched out in front of it until that man with his right hand reached out to me- 10 he took hold of me, lifted me up from my position, and said, 'Get up, Mānā Hibil-Zīwā, whom we have called. Don't be afraid." Also the Ab- image of the great Mānā put his hand on me, Hibil-Zīwā.

Then they opened their mouths and said: [136] ,,Why sit you there? Get up, we want to baptize you in 360000 Jordans and with 360') Wear 15 garments." They covered him with covers, one of which each was more miraculous than the other. They got up, baptized him in 360,000 Jordanians and spoke secret names about him, one of which each was more miraculous than the other. They guarded me a thousand My- riads endless years. I stayed with them in that hidden egg until 20 i grew up and became like them.

Then my father laid his hand on me, Hibil-Jāwar - he had his name Jawar") - and created a world for me, extended and endlessly. In that world he created ten thousand times a thousand light for me- and created for me 360°) huge, inner') Jordans. In each individual 25 He created 360,000 Uthras for me, in each individual škīnā he created 360,000 uthras for me 360000 Škinās. Each world was different (from the other), and her brilliance, her enlightenment and her praise were miraculous).

My father gave me his robe with which he was created the robe in which he had received baptism was also a ver- 30 he gave me a borrowed mystery, which is guarded by the great ones, and they languages"): "Go, go, our Son and our image, whose splendor is miraculoussamer is greater than that of all Uthras. The place you go to: heavy 10) wait for you in those worlds of darkness. Generations over

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1) For the use of Nnny in Mandaean, see Lit., p. 2511. It says ,ready (to enter into the appearance), in the future". For the time being, the beings are still otherworldly, and so the meaning of the word roughly coincides with that of "NIN2 or נוכראיא.

2) Life and the great Mānā.

a) From here on Hibil-Zīwā speaks in the first person, but the narrative falls more often back to the third person.

4) Sorry. has 360000.

6) See above, p. 1517. °) Sorry. has 360000.

7) Belonging to the overworld, not emerging from it.

8) See above, p. 552.

") According to the following, the parents are intended as a subject.

10) Cf. Nöld., pp. 40, 5.

You will stay there for generations until we forget you. Your figure will stay there until we read you the Funeral mass."

When he heard this from his parents, he bowed and stretched [137] stood before them and said to them: 'Well done! With your, my Parents, strength and the great mystery that is kept by you, with thanks to the strength of my father Manda dHaije, well, I want to open up and go to the place where you send me.'

So Hibil-Manā-Jāwar spoke. His father goes and comes with him, and his two brothers') go with him. They read hymns, prayers and Orders of prayer, her heart hopped before her father, and her father hopped his inner self, and he said: 'There is no one like me to whom his parents, the great Mānās, such hidden sprouts evoked and created have." '

Her father leaves and wanders with them until he reaches the place of the two There is a boundary between light and darkness. His father is then he said to him, 'Go, my son Hibil and your two brothers, who accompany you. They should come with the gmade that your father prepare for you"). To this Hibil replied to his father, the pure Mānā: ,,Someone whom his Father arms, seals, baptizes and strengthens, needs the Not to be afraid of bad guys." His father did not hug him and kissed him not. Then he said to his father: "If you hugged me, come very sorry about me*)." When his father heard this from Hibil, he bowed he strengthened and strengthened him. His father then set off°) and went to the Mānā and his image.

I Jawar-Hibil now said: 'Well done! With your, my parents, strength and with the power of the great mystery and the helpers who help me-sliding, I want to descend to the darkness."'

As I now descend and put my feet in the black water and on the walls that separate darkness and light, (put) they retreated a thousand miles in front of me, and I managed to get into the first world of darkness, [138] in which Ruhā dwelt. In that world I lived for a thousand and a thousand years, and no one knew about me that I there was. In this world I was hidden from their eyes.

Then the great mystery that had been given to me said: 'We

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1) Šitil and Anōš.

2) Light and darkness each have their own boundary. pon could be also, "between the two borders" can be translated, but ,"border place" is gerade in this pieces frequently.

8) Well read. is influenced by the following and after that, too, abounded.

4) NDy can hardly be understood here in a different sense than above, p. 152, 33. The Meaning of the sentence is obscure.

") Actually: looked out for his way. The expression has solidified and become-also draws the departure. He can only be found a few times in this treatise, except here still text 158, 17; 164, 8, 23.

want to go down." Then I got under this world and came in the world of the great Zartai-Zartanai; to which things his form resembles, I don't know. Then I said to them, 'You see, Uthras, my brothers, what things does the form of this zartai-Zartanai resemble?t I spoke then to him: 'Let this form of yours be bound and held down, tender-Zartanai, and that of your wife Amamit."'

Years after years and generations after generations I was there, and they did not know about me that I lived there in their world. Light being were with me, and we carried orders of prayer, prayers and masses for the dead 10 ago. Her heart leaped at her enlightenment and her praise. Day day by day, this rises to life and mana and its great, first The image that created life. I told myself that when I Life, my father, and therefore do not sit in front of these figures I need to be afraid.

Then I left Zartai-Zartanai, left and went to other Worlds, those of the Hag and the Mag, the two Mānās of darkness, whose magic is greater than that of all beings of darkness. From the World of the Zartai-Zartanai to the world of the Hag and the Mag are a thousand Miles without number. I spoke:

,,Who brought me here,
and you, my foot, who let you climb up here?")c

I went and found these two mighty manas of darkness, Hag the man and like [139] the woman. In that world I was sixty- a thousand myriad years. In that world I saw her and knew what was in went before her heart.

I then left her, broke up and came to another world, the of Gaf and of Gafau, the mighty giants of darkness who Source of the black, hissing, bubbling water emerged which boils like boiling cauldrons, bubbles and rises to a height. Of 30 from the world of the Hag and the Mag to the world of the Gaf and the Gafan are a hundred thousand myriad miles without number and account.

When I saw Gaf and Gafan, - their shape is inverted shapes; they are like dragons, and their wives are like salamanders, - said i say to them, 'you are bound and fettered, giants of darkness, and 35 let your body be bound with the great fetter with which the smithy is bound." the fiends captivate. Be bound by your sorcery and your deceit, which you drive. Tied up are your wives, the liliths, the salamanders, the ver- they are ugly, twisted and twisted, whose- and whose chatter no one can bear."

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1) Probably a quotation from another context, as well as R 263, 1. Therefore, "ascending" is not appropriate here, while "descending" is expected. Free- there is still talk of climbing in some places, where Hibil is still descends lower. 2) instead of a conjecture Nöldeke's, but it doesn't seem safe to me.

I said to the Uthras, my brothers: 'Have you seen which Things these decrepit giants like?" That's what my brothers said, the Uthras: 'How far are the limits of these worlds of darkness and how numerous these giants!" I've been in front of your eyes a thousand times a thousand myriads of years without end and number hidden.

Then he spoke to me') the great mystery that was given to me: Why are we sitting in this place? Let's go up, let's go up") and see what we want to do." We then set out [140] from the world of the Gaf and the Gafan, we wander and go to the world of the Anatan, the And his wife Qin, the Queen, the mistress of the 10 Darkness, which was called "Mother of Darkness", which came from the black "the water is turbid, bubbling, perishable, consuming one another."- who created all the worlds of darkness. From the day when we went to the dark world of the warlike giant Anatan, the they had created, it was a thousand by a thousand miles, a wide, endloose way.

I spoke to the great mystery that had been given to me: ,,Siel Qin and Anatan, the giants of darkness, tell you exactly which Things they like." We sat with them for years and generations without Number and calculation. All the beings that were attached to me, the Uthras and the skinās: (they were there) with hymns, orders of prayer, prayers and Mass for the dead. Her heart rejoiced sicl in them and hopped with joy. Also i was delighted with their joy and the helpers that my parents created for me and from their court they had joined me. I spoke as follows: ,I am sitting by the Manā and his image. Our heart is bouncing and throbbing. That my enlightenment and praise is increasing day by day, hour by hour for Before the hidden Mānā and his image, and before the great, hidden, first Niṭufta"), which existed before the worlds of light."

When I looked and examined these worlds, I said: ,,It will be give me a day when I rise to my father, sit down and with him, I and the Uthras, my brothers who are with have come to me, since I will receive instruction [141] through knowledge and knowledge, enlightenment and praise"), which my parents then they searched and found out about it."

Alš I spoke thus, my brothers and the great mystery spoke, that was added to me: "Now we want to go up"). Why are we sitting in this place without knowing how many years without number we sitting here? We want to open the gate of the three Kings, the fire

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1) Sorry. has NanDN. 2) See above, p. 1541.

a) In Aramaic, "water" is a plural.

4) Actually, "drop", serves as a designation for female higher beings, see Uthra, p. 538 f., Joh. II, p. 227 and here, p. 149 unt. ")

Read the suffix of the 1st person is indicated by the in דאבאהאתאי affected. a) See above, p. 1541.

do not consume the place where the dust water is, the place where that water is '), the place where the generation of darkness will come to an end and under which there is no one left."

When we had gained clarity and knowledge about this and that, we opened the gates. We opened the first gate and saw and looked at the great Šdūm, the grandson of darkness. We saw that his They were not like the Dews, the giants of darkness.

I, Hibil, now assumed a tall and beautiful form, sat down before him and said: 'Well, in your name, great mystery, in the Names of the hidden, first life, hidden in the hidden place is, in the name of the Mānā and his image, in the name of my Father Manda dHaije and with this enlightenment of the Uthras who are with me, the they are given to me as helpers, they who are given to me in these worlds of darkness Where my parents sent me, well, will i speak to the warlike Sdum, the king of the dark world."

In the joy I felt, I spoke and said to him: ,,Peace with you, warlike Šdum, king of the world." He didn't see me (at first) to. But when I greeted him, he turned around, [142] saw me, raised his eyes, lifted up the waves of his countenance") and spoke: Dec ,,Peace be with you, you man of beautiful figure." I then spoke to him: ,,Just one word I want to talk to you." To this he replied: 'Say, handsome man, whose figure is beautiful and bright."

Then I said to him, 'A Son who comes forth from you, who from your tribe and your root, I want to start a fight and Create turmoil in your world °). What do you say about him?" On this he- that Šdum was disgusted and said, 'I don't know anything. Get down under me; there's someone older than me."

From the day I came to him until the time, since I descended to the great Gew, it was a hundred thousand years.

Then I made myself a man who is more beautiful than her, and he placed me in front of Gew, without him knowing that I was approaching him have. Then I greeted him, to which he replied: 'Peace with you, you Man of beautiful [figure]. What do you want from me?" I spoke to to him: A Son who comes from you, your tribe and your root-, he wants to fight against the worlds of light. What do you say about him?r' To this he replied: 'Get down under me, for I know

nothing. From the day I left him and set out to the Days, since I arrived at Karkum*), the great meat mountain, I was sixty thousand myriads of years in that way; how vast and endless! I

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1) This is there, but does not fit.

2) That is, the prominent places of the face. The turn is also common otherwise, see Lit., p. 151.

a) Means "in our world".

*) See above, p. 143, 5; here incorrectly stands for Krün.

beheld that Krūn, the great mountain of flesh where there are no bones. His appearance is like dust, and the water that is [143] under him is Dust and resembles the dark cloud.

I then approached him, saw him, but remained hidden from his eyes-borrowing - how many years! I told myself: what should I do and what should 5 am I talking to the man, this giant Krun, the great mountain of meat? Then I began to speak and said to him: 'Peace be with you, First-borener, king of darkness, Krūn, great meat mountain."

He did not raise his face, but said: 'Who is this man, who has revealed my name and understood my sign?u On it 10 I told him, 'I'm Hibil. Life has sent me here, and i came to you. A thousand times a thousand years, endless and numerous-loose generations, years after years, I have come to you." He spoke then to himself: ,,It is life that does not pass, and the shine and the light that is not cut off." ,What did it command you?" 15 he asked. To this I replied to him: 'Life gave me the task and said to me: 'Go and say to him: A son who is of you, your The root of your tribe and your consort, want to stir up in throwing the worlds of light against us. What do you say about him?u

Then he said"): 'Go, or I'll devour you." When he was so 20 I was sitting, Hibil-Ziva, in a trough of swords, sabers, Steel skewers, knives and blades and told him: ,,Devour me." Since he said, "Now I'll devour you" and devoured me halfway. Then he spit me out and threw me out. He spewed drool from his mouth, because the intestines, the liver and the kidneys were cut up for him"). ,,Which is 25 shall I," he cried, "do with the man who has come to me, whom the Sent life?" Then he turned to me and said, 'You be strong, [144] we are weaklings, you are gods, we are menschen, you are big, we are small."

I then said to him, 'Come on, give me a pab." He stood at 30 and swore to me on the day he was created: 'I will do not deceive yourself, but I will go to my treasure house and tell you bring a passport from my treasure house."

Then he got up and brought me a passport. Then he brought the The signet ring that was hidden in his treasure house, on which the name 35 the great darkness was written and depicted, which was hidden, whom he had not seen from the day he was created and said, 'Well, I grant you that all beings who have see, if you show them this passport, seal it."

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1) Who could pronounce my name openly.

*) Here it still says "to yourself", which mistakenly got here from Z. 14.

8) An old and widespread motif, which here perhaps refers to the myth of the struggle Marduks with which Tiāmat goes back, see Hans Schmidt, Jona, 1907, p. 26 and Bousset, Main Problems, p. 246.

When he gave it to me, I took it and hid it in seven- - walls. Then I climbed up and came to his brother, the great Desired. I showed him, and he sealed it. When he confirmed that pass salı he put on it the seal of his brother.

I then took him and ascended to the great Šdum, the giant, who lies there in his world and fidgets. He's sitting on ...') by fire, and the fire serves him. I showed it to him and spoke to him: ,,See the passport that I brought to you from your parents." I got he showed it to him, and he sealed it. ,,See ," I said to him, Oct ,,what your parents sent you. Then he said, "Blessed be the day you came."

I then left him and ascended to those upper worlds. I sealed the gate in front of Šdum. In that world I had a thousand times a thousand Sat for years.

Then I approached the world of Anatan and Qin and stayed there. I have been in that world for years. ,,What should I do?" i wondered. Then I approached the Qin by taking the shape of [145] Anatan accepted her husband, and said to her: 'On, show me, from what we emerged, from what we were formed and emerged*).

Then she arose and showed me the great fountain from which she had had risen. When I saw that spring of black water, there was a mrara and gimra in it"), which lay and fidgeted in that spring. Then the great mystery that had been given to me said: 'This Mrara and Gimra is the firmness of the worlds of darkness."

When it spoke to me like that, I blinded her eyes, made her Ears deafened and remained hidden from their eyes. That's when I grabbed the Gimra and Mrara, and she didn't see me that I had packed it. She was lying down- stretched and looked for me. ,,Where did you go?it asked her at me. She calls to me and says: ,,Come, I tell you!t

But I left them, I came and sealed the gate of that world and rose up over the latches") and keys that were different from all the keys. Then we are happy, me and the worlds and äons who are with me we sing hymns and rejoice, our heart rejoices in light- and praise for what we have brought from Qin, who Sumqaq is called the Great one that arose from its root, Qin, the grandmother of Ur, in front of all the worlds of darkness.

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1) The word nnr is found at this point. I have no explanation for this. One easily thinks of NDIND, .,Brazier", but it is unlikely that this be- he knew a word about the unknown.

2) He speaks as one of ilmen.

d) The connection can only be found here and is unexplained until now. According to the following illustration, it seems to mean an insect, see also text 158, 22; 159, 17f. is otherwise found in the sense of "bitterness", also "bitter herb"; too נימרא see Lit., p. 238

4) See above, p. 1430.

When I had locked the gates and moved the bolts, I spoke i found out about that gate three secret names that no one from their place ¹), the names Ham-Zīwā, Nhūr-Zīwā and Lufafan-Nhūrā-Rabbah, these secret names, well kept with me, so that these gates they cannot be separated and no one can open them.

Then I ascended to that world which is above the worlds of Sumqaq, the great pearl. From [146] the day I ascended

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***** to the great Gaf and Gafan, the father of all worlds of the Fin- they sit there together, laughing and joking with each other. Your mother Qin is sitting with you and says to you:,,On, we want to look at our beauty and our charm, we want to see what we haven't seen it yet."

When she spoke to them in this way, they became restless and sad, they kicked and they said to her, 'Show us what we should do." Da she said to her daughter Rūha²): "Come, we want you to your brother Gaf (to the woman)."

When she spoke to her like that, she and he liked it, both of them. They stood they came to one another, he took them before them, then took his bachelors^a) and kissed her. He said to her: 'Like you, Ruha, my sister, there is none." From that day on, when you were with Ur, the Lord and Giant [of the worlds of darkness], became pregnant, ****.

Then they said to each other, 'Come on, we want our mother To call Qin and our father Gaf that we are communicating with each other." As he thus spoke to her, she got up, went with him and spoke to Qin and Gaf: ,,See what we did." Thereupon Qin said to them: 'Heil for you to do this as we have done."

I, Jawar, was hidden from their eyes, and they did not see me, that I was sitting with them, me and the great, hidden mystery, the- if it was hidden from them.

I then took the form of one of them, but I was more beautiful as all of you, more glorious than all of you. I then went there, approached Qin and he said to her: 'Peace be with you, great Mother, Mother of all worlds!"

She turned around, caught sight of me, and I kindled love and Fire in her heart. Then she said, 'Peace be with you, our great one, expensive companion."

[147] I then took her by the hand and said to her: 'How many You have daughters so that you can make me your son-in-law and am I in this world with you for a while ?'

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[1] The expression refers to the names, not to the bars, cf. also R 159, 15. Dic idea of the concrete property of the names is sharply expressed here.

[2] The text says: Rūhā spoke to her.

[a] The Hoclzeitsburschen, the friends and companions of the groom, who otherwise w322, NEND27112, see Joh. II, p. 1134.

When I thus spoke to her, she rejoiced, and her heart rejoiced in that I should become her son-in-law. She grabbed me with the Right and went to Gaf. ,,Peace with you"t, I said to him,,,you mountain and giant over all of us, you king of this world."'

He did not understand what I was saying to him, so siè said to him: greeted the man who is more beautiful than all of us."

Then he jumped up from his throne, embraced .and spoke to me blessed be thy coming, O King, our Lord! What do you want?u However, I did not speak to him, but she said to him: 'A woman he wants from you. Come on, let's give it to him." So he asked her: ,Who do we want to give him?" To which she replied to him: 'We want to give him the Great One, who is more beautiful than he is."

When they both spoke like that, I took off the ring and threw it at her"). She saw the ring I threw at her, and was about the ring he-, which I threw to her. ,"Who is there," she says, "who is like me? The man who wooed me threw me a ring, a A ring like no other in our world. Woe, in our there is no such thing as a whole sweetheart."

Then her mother said to her, 'Hide yourself from him until you Wedding celebrations")." Gaf, in turn, said to him: "On, do what the men do. We want to marry Zahrel with the beautiful man, the beautiful when we all is."Heil dir," she said to him (Gaf), "that this man has arrived at your place. "

They then got up and went to the egg, the place from which they came out. She then spoke to him (Gaf): ,,On, we want prepare the wedding for her and marry her." He, Gaf, set up for this Bed down and hit the pegs for the wedding tent. She invited everyone [148] and called together the angels and giants of that place. These then came to her with gold, silver, perien and wreaths and brought golden cups for them. They came by saying: ,,We want to go- go and see that groom who celebrates wedding with Zahrel."

Around me they put a silk robe, wrapped me in blankets of all kinds of colors"), lifted me and them up and put micl on the golden bed. They stretched a veil over the bed, lifted me in the height, sat me down on the bed and said to me: 'Rejoice, Lord, our wife, the wife we have given you."

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1) denotes their high position. You can also buy it with "Princess" she is the daughter of the princes of the dark world. See also p. 158, 35; 159, 33.

2) The Zalırēl.

a) (777) actually, "walking around, moving around in the wedding procession" has the meaning of ,,Wedding celebrations".

4) This is emphasized, in contrast to the white robes of the celestials and the believers.

They stir in a porridge, bring it in front of me, hold it down and say: ,,Lord, eat and drink wine. "

However, when they talked to me like that, I laughed at them and talked: „What do the sons of darkness do, to whom it is not revealed, and it is clear that I do not eat any food and do not drink any drinks! All that 5 they drift, only happens to reveal their secret, so that they themselves do not overpower us')." I said to them, 'Indeed, I have ate and drank."

They then left me, went there and wrapped themselves in huge Cloud of darkness.

I taste Zahrel, for I said to myself inwardly: From you shall the Secrets of darkness will be revealed. However, she remains in front of me veiled.

Then came the time to visit me. You, Qin, came to me, kicked and he bowed down with a deep bow, and said,What have you done, 15 our Son and Lord?" - ,What should I do?" I replied to her. You then he went to her daughter and said to her: 'Does he have you (as a wife) taken?"I am not a woman," he said to her.

Then her mother Qin said to her: 'Is he missing [149] the Manhood?" Her daughter replied to her: 'He has the manhood." 20

She got up from her daughter, came to me and said: ,Why did you not "take" your wife, to which I replied to her: "In in our world, a man takes his wife when they get married, only after seven years." - 'Do whatever you want,' she said.

Then I ponder with the great mystery and speak: ,,The 25 seven years, of which I have spoken to the Qin, 'make seven- a thousand myriad years. Confuse her heart and her insides and get loststere their eyes." What I told him, it did.

We stayed there for years and generations about genesrations.

I said to Qin, 'What have you become? What did you become created?" To this she replied to me: 'We were taken out of the Tannā and the planting of darkness, and from all areas of the black Water."Well done," I said to her, "show me what you are made of be." Then she showed me the strength and firmness of darkness, and 35 the hidden mystery of those mighty fiends, the giants the darkness is preserved. She showed me a source. Among them was no one knew the extent of that source. Just me the extent and depth of that source was revealed and known.

In that spring there was a mirror in which they looked at their faces and 40 after that, they knew what to do. I hid this one from her eyes,

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1) I let them do all this, in the expectation that I will succeed will reveal ilr secret.

took him and kept him. She looked for him and did not find him. Da said you: ,,What should I start with, where our firmness and our strength go is?" - ,,What are you looking for?" I asked Qin. But she became her inner and her thoughts closed, [150] and she did not speak to me.

Then I left her and came to Zahrel. ,,Where have you been, my Lord?: she asked me. I tasted her and said to her: 'I was with your parents I." - "Nice," she said, "that you went to them."

I then went to rest, took the form of her brother Gaf and said to her: 'Come on, we want to go to your parents." - ,,Where are you?" she asked me. Then I said to her, 'Beyond, in that world which is over it's up to us."

On the day that Gaf had gone to her, she became pregnant. I said to her, 'I want to go and be your sister Zahrel- looking for a man who has come to a man." I then went to that Zahrel, then a figure was formed between me and her, and became like me.

Then I said to the great mystery that was with me: "Enter into the Treasure chamber of the heart') enter the Zahrel and leave a ...") with her back. I then took her to her sister.

We go there, we and the Mānās of my company, and Ruha knew not that 360 myriads of thousands of beings of light were with me. Rūhā with me, and I said to her: 'You are with the first-born son pregnant." Ruha was delighted with what I told her.

We aim and go to that upper world, a wide, end- loose away. She said, 'I am in pain." So I said to her, 'You'll be here soon you go there."

When I got to the world of Zartai-Zartanai, I closed the gate of the Gaf and Gafan and shifted the locks and keys. Beschwö- I threw rings into them and spoke about those gates hidden names: the Names Hananel, Hannel and Smir, these hidden names of those verborgenen Mānās.

[151] I said to her, "Go, rest," and we went into that world the Zartai-Zartanai. Years without end we were there until we entered his world succeeded. She exclaimed: 'What are we doing that we are not yet at our Have parents arrived?and I said to her, 'Now we're getting there."

With a quick step, we moved there and climbed up to their world"), which is located above Zartai-Zartanai. When we left him, I closed the Gates, moved all the locks and keys and talked about those gates other hidden names, the name Akšar, Akšar u-abad and Kšar Jāwar- Zīwā, these hidden names that are with me.

Then I said, 'Blessed be the man who brought me out of that place

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1) See Snaaupôs tūs kapšias Luc. 6, 45.

") Here is the word NPINg, which has three different meanings (jewelry - Society - Out loud); it is uncertain what sense is present here.

a) The world of the Rūhā, see above, p. 153f.

from the vein of darkness, from the depths of the fin- sternis. And to Ruha I said, 'What do you want?" That's when she said: What I want from you? Where are my parents?" He replied i tell her: ,,Now I will take you there and show you where they are."

Then I said to the great mystery: "Blind their eyes, deafen their ears and confuse their insides." What I told the man, who stayed with me, said, he carried out and did not change anything about it. He ver- confused their insides, blinded their eyes, deafened their ears, and it was as if she didn't exist.

I surrounded your world with walls that no one from your place to he can move. She was lying there in that world looking for herbs, to eat them, you who wore Ur').

[152] I now speak to the worlds and Ãons"), which have been added to me were: 'Rejoice, be well-tempered and firm and submit to your Parents. What we did is fine. Now, well, we want to ascend and go to our parents, we want the expensive Mānās look, we want to look at the mana and its likeness and the great Niṭufta, from which we emerged.

We move there and wander. We carry with a pure voice and Enlightenment secret hymns and prayer orders. Our Inner hops with great joy, and our voice rises to life and Manā and his image. When we reached the border towns, we opened we entered the gates of light and ascended in front of my Father. He, the Mānā and his image came to meet us, called to me and spoke to me: ,,Yes, here comes Hibil-Mānā, whose splendor is richer than that of all Uthras." My father embraced me, the great Mānā and his image cost and they kissed me and said, 'Blessed be your coming, Hibil, purer Mānā, Šar-Zīwā, Abad-u-kšar." My father made a Jordan flow"), and the Mānā and his image introduced me to Nituftā. When I saw her he- my heart and my inner self rejoiced in pride.

The Nitufta introduced me to her own custody and showed me, what I have not watched yet. She baptized me in seven mighty, inner Jordans flowing under their throne. No one can take Jordan and to look at the pure signs that she spoke about me. And the Nitufta said: 'Rejoice and be well-pleased about (this) of your pure signs*), the one I talked about you."

I rejoice before her and stretch out adoring. [153] Da she said to me, 'Go out to your Father who is standing in the Jordan and waiting for you." I then left Niṭufta and went to my father. I descended to that first Jordan of the Mānā and his-

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1) This is supposed to be said here, but the words are distorted.

°) Read - poaendn.

3) Doubtful, see above, p. 195.

4) It is to be read and NIN' dnddei, maybe also to cross out poNn.

down the picture. My father baptized me and spoke secret signs about at me. He baptized me into three hundred and sixty thousand myriads of mighty Jordane of white water, he baptized all the Uthras who were with me and at then he led her up and placed her on the bank of the Jordan live water.

My father asked me and said to me: 'How did you, my son, have you seen her figure in those worlds that you visitést?t I reported then he taught him about them, as I had seen them. His heart hopped, his insides flaunted in joy, over what I communicated to him, and he was full of kindness. ,'Who is', he said, 'to the great mystery who lives with you, who gave life, your Father, to you hatpu

I bowed to my Father and said to him: 'You, my Father, be blessed and praised as You grant me this enlightenment you have. I had gone down to the darkness and now I have come to the light- worlds ascended. I have come to you and am sitting in your Society. The secrets that I watched, I want to reveal to you and teach you all about them. From every world in which I I closed the gates and got their strength and their strength."

When I told my father Manda dHaije, he laughed at her and exclaimed: 'What form do these things have in which the darkness consists of- it's spread!') Then I said to him: 'Otherwise there is no such thing in the worlds of darkness and black water. I want to get on- and [154] go to Ruha, whom I left behind in her world where there is no one to speak to her. It hurts Ruha for what i did it to her. I have put seven walls around her, an iron wall in her world, which no one can move away from her place."

When I said this to my father, he said: 'Break up, go quickly Step down and do what you want."

When [my father] had said this, I got up, went and came the border of darkness. I put my foot down on the Walls*) and the walls of darkness. They moved in front of me by a thousand Miles back. If all my strength were still on me, how could you the first time I was there, the whole world would not have stood in front of me.

I looked and saw Ruha sitting there and said: 'Who he took me into captivity and brought me into this world where I don't know where my parents are?" I heard her, laughed at her and said: ,,What does Ruha say ?"

I appeared to her as her husband Gaf, who is her brother, and spoke to you: 'Why are you sitting there, Rūha?e

Then she came up, hugged me, cried in my face and said:

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1) See Lit., p. 1782

2) Cf. Joh. II, p. 102".

,Why did you leave me behind and go away that you have spent these (many) years stayed there?u

To this I replied to her: 'I was with my father and my Mother. Receive a greeting from them. Then she said, "Hail to thee, that you saw my father and mother." - ,,I got them ge- see," I said to her. ,,How do they look?"" she asked me. Since I said to her: 'You are sitting in the dark cloud and in hiding, that you created yourself." Then she said, 'Come on, let's go- go to see them." But I said to her, 'My Parents chased away and said: Beware of coming here. Up, go into your own world. Then she cursed them and said, 'Fire eat them because they are fighting with you [155]. Now I don't like going there anymore- go to see her."

When she said this, I laughed at

her. She is now thinking and searching in her soul and in her heart for another mystery and says: 'I want to open up to my Parents go, enter them and see them."

I knew what Ruha was thinking in her heart, but I told her nothing, but left her and ascended to my Father, life, who sent me out. A thousand years I was with him and stood before he. It hid me and placed me in its egg, in its own Society, for a thousand years.

Then I said to him, 'Well, the time is coming when I will go into those The world you know about." My father replied that Life: ,,On, go, our first-born son, who put all the worlds in order considers. ‘

When I left and went there, I found peace again, how she cried. She didn't know who I was. I looked and looked all the way. Then she said, 'I want to get up and look to find out where the gates of darkness are, and will enter in with my parents."

She then got up, went there, entered the black water and she was looking for the gate, but she couldn't find it to enter her parents' house. Since she got up, came, sat down and said,When will the day be when I shall bear the Son, that he may keep me company, that he and I may sit together, that he may be my father, that he may be my mother, that he is my partner, my husband and my brother, that he may be a support to me, who supports me? When he is there, he will know the gates and under- get divorced and know where my parents are. Then we want to go and they look.“

When she said this, I stayed with her without her knowing it. Da said I: 'There will come a day, [156] when you, Ruha, will give birth. Your son will be Ur, the giant of darkness."

From the day that Ruha said this, until the day that I told her when her brother Gaf appeared, she staggered and said: 'What should I do with that[1]

The man who took me away from my parents and made me a prisoner who takes me away from the place from which I came-holt hatou

When Ruha said this, I said to her: 'How many years have it been, 5 that you are pregnant with Ur?4 Then she said, 'Oh, two thousand Year." Then I said to her, 'You still have a lot of suffering ahead of you." You he asked,How many years are there left for me to wear? Then he replied i tell her: ,,Seventy thousand myriads of jalıre and eleven days you are soilst in your And then give birth to Ur, the great, warlike giant. 10 If you see him at his birth, you will no longer see me want. "

When I told her this, she was cramped in her heart') and said: 'Oh, how long should I carry and carry loads in my body?" Then I spoke to when I am no longer with you, the years will pass quickly." 15 Then she said, 'Come on, go, you are right. When you're not with me, my heart will find a support, and I will not ask for you."

When she said that, I went up to my parents. My father-he hugged me, and his robe hopped towards me. The Mānā, he and his And they said, 'What have you, beloved?' 20 A son, whose splendour is wondrous, whose form is luminous, and whose The miracle of enlightenment that we have created and whose form is it set up by us? It supports our sense and knowledge."

When my parents spoke to me like this, [157] I stretched out in front of them in adoration, in enlightenment, insight and praise, as they show me he taught 25. They let me take in abundance: my glory was their glory, your shine is my shine. Then they said: 'By your life, Hibil-Jāwar, you messenger, tell us how you fared in that world in which you were so for a long time we almost forgot about you. Every day we thought and painted before us your form, your splendor and your face 30. Your father read a Mass for you every day and said: May you Hibil, Šitil and Anoš, my three brothers, my sons and friends") go up and come here."

I talked to them in peace and talked about life and to Mānā and his image: "Where my power is great"), at your 35 A splendor that is extraordinary and great, by the power that you have given me- borrowed from the helpers you created for me - what should I be afraid of fear? In the concealment in which you have sheltered me, I fear I am not afraid of them, and fear does not enter my mind. No, in the Trust in you (I lived) until the day when I came to- 40, and one of them spoke to them. Everyone called me ,,our Lord" and ,,our King". I took away all your mysteries

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1) I suspect instead of Nnn, that does not fit.

2) See above, p. 1456.

a) Maybe it is worth reading.

and took them away from them. They gave me a passport with consideration the man from whom the plan came to us, that when he is there, he Will have a dispute with us. You have the power of enlightenment, of knowledge and the revelation that is revealed in your sense, created me. You spoke to me, taught me, and planted me. You sent me in that darkness, before the mother and Father of Ur were there, even before their Parents were. I closed [158] all the gates and moved all the locks, that they cannot go to each other. No one goes into the world of others, and no gate will be opened to them."

Then life, my Father, said to me: 'O Hibil-Jawar, ver- the messenger of Borgen, on whom his father's hand was laid, and whom we made us equal. If we haven't done this and you haven't done it in Ord- we would not have been able to cope with Ur and his mother."'

When they spoke to me like this, I said to them: 'I want to- and go to Ruha, who is close to giving birth to Ur." - ,"Well done," they said, "go and fix it like you used to in You brought order.

So I went there, arrived, and found Ruhā, as she was restless and grieved, how she got to the birth pains. The day should come, on which she was to give birth to her son Ur. She stood there and wrapped Win-deln. Three hundred and sixty diapers she wrapped by talking: ,,I wrap diapers, so that on the day I give birth, I take him from a You can put one diaper in the other."

When she was wrapping the diapers, I said to her: ,,Prepare for it let your month come." However, she did not speak to me. He said i say to her, 'Your works are worth nothing."

Then I left her, set off and left me at the Down at the border. I said (to myself): ,,Now the great plan is being realized des Jošamin. He was created, he arose and created sons." I maintained silence and did not speak.

Then Ruha went into labor and was supposed to marry Ur, the Lord of the Fin- sternis, give birth. When she gave birth to him, I saw him, and he resembled a little Gimra. I saw him'). After a thousand years, Ruha took her son and laid get him out of the first diaper. In each diaper [159] he lay for a thousand years. She put him out of one diaper in the other. Until the last diaper when he had succeeded, he had not lost the garment of his mother's womb (belly)- let"). When he came out of the garment of his mother's womb, fell he's in the black water. He lay there fidgeting.

Then I said, 'Now Ur was born." His mother saw him, and he was still very*) small and seemed grayish to her. She didn't know that

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1) This is to be deleted, or there is a gap behind it.

2) Rūhā kept him in the robe that was around her lower body for so long.

a) For this branch of N2DN) see also R 189, 11; 195, 24; 196, 6. Others adverbial use of N2DN): R 160, 6; 161, 9 (where the text is opposed to Nöld., p. 3731 in And 224, 3.

he will become a greater giant than the mighty Giants, his parents.

I looked at him, then I left him and climbed on those iron Wall. I stood on them and spoke in my enlightenment and praise-songs that life, my Father, gave me, and the great mystery, that stayed with me. I created seven golden walls and surrounded (with them) that whole wörld. About every single wall I spoke secret names and secret names, the name Hamamēl, Hathmel, Natrel, Zarzel, Pašrel and Halşel'), which no one is able to move from their place.

When I had built those walls and put them in order, came i went there and found him like a worm in the black water lay there and fidgeted. I measured it, because its length was a span and its width is one span. Then I said, 'Now I want to go up, go and put me at the border place until he grows up and becomes, as it was said about him, when his mother gave him to the great Power of darkness, called."

When it happened that he became great and strong and grew mighty I said, 'Why am I sitting there? I want to open up, will i want to descend [160] and under this black Water create and seal a copper earth, the thickness of which is eight- a hundred and eighty thousand miles, so that Ur may lean on them." When this out of my mouth, which had come out of Jāwar-Hibil, she arose by itself, and straightened out.

Then I got up and came to the black water and saw that he was very, then I said to myself, 'I want to put my hand over his So that his strength would be shaken and he would no longer grow. Because if he grows even more, the whole world will burst from his power and its growth. "

Then I let the shine and the light from me and drove with the Hand over his side. Then he plunged into the black water a thousand Myriad miles, until he reached it and leaned on the copper earth. From its heaviness and fall, a crack appeared in the copper- earth, which was twelve thousand miles long and wide, and a quake went through all the worlds of darkness. Then his parents said: ,,Now falls the copper earth enters and crushes us on the spot."

Ur hid himself in that crevice because of the fear he had, and the fear he felt. I waited until he was out of the column and the black water came out. I hid my shine from his eyes. Then he said to his mother, 'What have you done to me? I if it grows, you will pass over me with your hand, but I will not I guessed, and I got scared."

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1) The names are from the words related in the Mandaean defensive texts חתם,seal", 103 ,,protect", ,equip", 7WD ,,dissolve", ybn ,,oppress" formed. See these words in the glossary on Pognon, Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir.

Then his mother rose up and swore to him by her parents: not given a day, since I would have run my hand over your side." However, he fell into evil bitterness and, in his anger, wanted his own Mother eat. , Where are your parents?t he asked her. Then she replied to him: ,,On, we want to go to them."

Further [161] she said to him: 'Come on, I will show you a crown, put them on your head, and you shall be king. From that day on, when you were born, I made it for you." - ,,Show them to me that I may see her,' he said to her. Then she said to him, 'Come on, I want to show it to you, it is hidden by the walls."

He cast his eye on the crown, he took the crown and put it focus on the head. Ruha then said to him: 'Rejoice in your crown, for this crown is your strength." But he spoke to his mother: ,,Mother! Don't die a horrible death! I don't want them from me Take heads; yes, I will take care of them." And he said to her, 15 ,,Come on, show me the gate so we can go to our parents." But you replied to him: "Before you were born, I was looking for a lot in the world i walked around and didn't find the gate."'

Then he wanted to eat his mother until she ran away from him. You cried and cried: 'Woe, woe to a son who despises his mother." 20

He ran around the world moaning and could not find the gate, to enter. Then he called to his mother and said to her: 'Fear don't you, come on, show me." But she said to him, 'You believe not my oaths?4 Then he said to her, 'Is there a world that has no Tor has? Is there anyone to whom the parents close the gate in front of their noses 25 and lock it? Is there a gate through which someone goes out and it does not recognize again? Is there anyone his parents can turn away from- lock it?" To which she replied to him: 'Am I such a one? I am researching and ponder over everything." Then he asked her: "Is there nothing we do could?" Then she said to him, 'I know high and powerful spells- proverbs, before which, when I say them, the earth melts." Then 30 spoke him to her: ,,Say your spells here and share some of them with me with." Then she said to him, 'If I give it to you, you will learn it." - "Tell me," he said to her. Then she said to him: 'Come on, we want to go to those [162] walls by which your crown lay."

He left and went with her, they went and came, and she 35 spoke a thousand times a thousand endless and ten thousand times ten thousand number- loose (sayings), without the walls melting. Then he spoke to his Mother: ,, Didn't you say: I know big and powerful spells?is To which she replied to him: ,,(What should I do), where I do not know what about. when he came to me, he said to her: 'Well, do as you would 40 know.'

Then she rose and created with her spells and mysteries warlike demons. When he saw her with his eyes, he knew that his mother knew great, powerful and powerful spells. ,,They Demons," he said to her, "are to be my helpers." He caressed his Mother and said to her: 'Since you understand these works, why did you did you not create a comrade? To this she replied to him: 'My son! I told myself that I wanted no one but you." When she gave him this[1] said, he caressed and kissed her.

I, Jāwar, did not know when I brought them from their place that he understood these works. When she did this, I was un- visible, and they did not notice me. Rather, I stood before them and was hidden from their eyes, and saw what they were doing.

She said to her son: ' Well, I want to show you a mirror, which I own." - ,, Show him to me," he said to her. Then she spoke to to him: 'There, behold, my king and hero.“

She showed it to him, and he looked at his face in that mirror, he he looked at the worlds of darkness, he looked at his parents, and he looked at the Worlds of Light.

When he looked like that, he curved, pulled himself together and stretched not yourself. His stature curved, and he spoke to his mother: ,,Why have you not given me (the mirror) to this day? I have i saw my face in him. “

[163] To this she replied to him: 'My son! This mirror and the Crown -- from the moment I came to the heights and my hero brought me up to this place, was your crown, your mirror and this one gimra is with me, and I told myself that when you were born they should be yours." She asked him: "What did you see, my son ?“

,"I looked," he said to her, "the worlds of my parents; I looked each individual in their own world. I looked at the worlds of light and he said to me, What shall I do, that I should see my parents, that I the light with my eyes'), which is not ours? “

Then she said to him: 'Show me the mirror, that I may enter into it-glimpses." He gave it to her, and she saw in it what her son had seen. ,,What should we do now?" he asked her. Then she stood there and was enraged because she said, 'Now I don't know anything." But her heart fell from, because she understood everything. ,,My son!" she spoke to he. ,,On your place of origin and on your own parents direct your Eyes, but do not make a fight against those worlds of light."

When she spoke to him like that, he grabbed her by the hair, pulled her to him he came up and trampled them underfoot. Then she uttered three hundred and sixty cries with a cry, and said to him, 'Woe, woe, my son, all, what you wish to do, do. Then he said to her, "I want to go against this Light fights, not darkness."

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1) I read instead באיינא.

When Ur spoke thus, he cried out against the black water. The black Water swirled in front of him in a vortex until it crashed against the walls and Walls that separate darkness from light, and against the walls knocked out. He raised his voice and let out a cry until all the walls waver.

[164] Then life spoke to me, Jāwar: 'Why are you sitting now there, Jawar-Hibil, you messenger? Get up, go to Ur, the haughty') Lord of the Darkness."

I, Jāwar, did not deviate from my father's speech, but left and arrived at Ur, me and the Uthras of my escort and my 10 Helpers that my father created for me.

When Ur, the Lord of darkness, saw me and my form, he buried he got into the black water. I took the crown from his head, put them in seven vestments and struck my way.

Ur came out of the black water and spoke to his Mother:Who was it that went against me?t Da replied to him: 'This one who has gone against you has gone to kill you subject. Then he asked his mother, "Is there anyone who is he able to subdue me?to which his mother replied: 'When you have grown up to this man, whose strength is his splendor*), why can't you take your crown from him?u

When his mother spoke thus to him, he threw his hands on his head and cried: 'Woe, woe mirlu He bent and did not stretch and he said to his mother: 'He grabbed me so that the vertebra of my back break. "

When he spoke thus to his mother, she wept and moaned over him. Then he jumped up from his throne and said to her: 'What about let me come, may come."

Then he got up and came in anger and rage with a thousand myriads Dews approached his companion. But when they saw me, they died and passed and became as if they had never been there.

Then he jumped up angrily and struck his way. He entered the black water came in and called") countless Dews. He called a Dew, [165] who was as tall as he was, and met me again. But when the Dews caught sight of me, they died, even those who were otherwise with him.

He looks behind him and in front of him') and says: 'What should I do do? Then his mother said to him: 'You are the power of this light not grown." - "It's not me," he said to her, "where is my strength is it big?" - ,,If you can," she said to him, ,,get up, we want

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1) Var. ,,dem krieglichen".

2) According to Var. in B ,"this man of power and splendor".

") Again ambiguous, whether "called out" or "ricf evoked, created."

1) Lics Aonpat Amnyt).

go to the walls, and shake them away from their place." Then he spoke he said to his mother, 'Come on, let's go."

They went there. When he wanted to move the walls, they were and he was ashamed in front of his mother. Then she spoke to him: ,There is no one to move these walls away from their place can. For many years I have mumbled a magic murmur, without that the walls melted together."

Then he said to his mother, 'What shall I do?" He replied she told him: 'A certain pearl belongs to you, put it on your head, then it will be your strength will increase."

When she brought the pearl and put it on his head, he shouted that black water. Then the water swirled and ran away from him. Then he said: 'I want to go to the light and to the great spring of water rise up."

But I, Jāwar, appeared to him in that robe, and he shrank together and fell down in front of me. I grabbed that pearl that his mother he gave it to him, with which he flaunted, and lifted it up. Then I left him and went to my parents, who lived with me').

Then he said to his mother: 'Woe, woe, mother! Alas, our Strength and our strength have been taken from us." .Then she spoke to him: ,My son, you can't do anything against this man." Furthermore she said to him: 'Well, we want to enter the black water and look for the gimrā that is within me. When it comes to the Water falls, the black water boils. Then we'll see what we should do. "

He and his mother [166] then entered the black water, and I Jāwar-Zīwā entered behind them. Rūhā then fetched that Gimrā out of its interior, and it fell into the black water. The black Water boiled and swirled until that gap became visible, which was formed by the severity of the Ur had arisen. Then he spoke to his mother: ,,Mother! Look at this gap that was created when I fell down when you were with the Hand over me." She saw that gap and was over it."- calm down.

I, Jāwar, blinded and confused Ruhā, and took before her that Gimra way. She looked for it, but could not find it. He complained she, hitting her hands against her head, shouted:,,Woe, woe, our Sorcery and witchcraft are lost, and speech and hearing2) became ours speaking." She cried and he cried, and they uprooted the earth by your excitement"). He rose out of the black water and spoke to his mother: 'I will rise up and make war."

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1) The expression is striking, but you have to use it, like so much in the Mandaean Writings, accept.

2) That we would have something to say and be heard.

3) An otherwise occurring turn, cf. p. 176, 5. For N72 see Joh. II, p. 20".

Then he called for the last time, raised his voice, heated up in excitement and shouted at the black water. Da fijel the black Water on the walls, the walls were beaten and sounded equal to a basin. Whether this sound the Uthras sat in clouds, and the Lord of greatness') sat down in his own hiding place.

I now, Jāwar-Zīwa, the messenger, the chief of all messengers, spoke: ,,In the power of the great mystery that dwells with me, and in the power of my father's life." I opened the gate, took the high staff and showed him. Then his eye contracted with a tear, and he cried over himself. I tied him up and threw him in front of me, 10 Jawar, son of Jawar, hin. Then I brought a chain that is heavier [167] as all his worlds, which are ten thousand times as heavy as himself and put them around Ur, the chief of the whole army of darkness. I shook his bones, and he screamed and cried, 'Woe, woe, my Lord!" Even his mother screamed and cried over her son Ur. Da 15 I said to her, 'O Ruhā, go and sit still. life sent me against him in anger."

I appointed four guardians over him. I threw him on the face and wrapped him in four cloths*). I made four corners on them: one to the west, one to the east, one to the north, one to the south. 20 In the west I placed Azazel, Azaziel, Taqfel and Margazel over him A great one who is angry with his comrades; they take care of him. In To the east I placed four others over him: Urpel, Marpēl, Taqfel and Hannel. who will soon have mercy on you, will soon threaten you. In the north I sat over him Kanfan and Kafan, Gubran and Guban a who is strong and sprightly about you 25 they are paying attention to him. In the south I put four others over him: Hailel, whose power is great, Qarbel, Nurel, and Nuriel, the fire against he and the angels, his companions, let go; they take care of him.

When I had used them, it was achieved that Ur do nothing and taught me about this world of black water, 30 which was to be the abode of Ur, until Abathur is created." i went up to the house of life and said to my father: you and be well-tempered, for Ur is vanquished and prostrated."

It (life) kissed me with its pure mouth, it caressed and kissed me, revealed to me [168] and said to me: 'Hibil, pure Mānā! 35 Jošamīn has created three sons. One of them guards the nest one of his parents, one lives with his father, one, that Abathur, goes to the world you've been in. He sees*) his face in black Water, and his image*) and his son will come to him out of the black water literate."

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1) See above, p. 4. He is not mentioned otherwise in this piece.

2) See also p. 84, 20. a) Rather Ptahil, see p. 150, 15. 4) Better NNT.

8) Here, as can be seen from the following, with "image" not the woman, but the Son, see also above, p. 151, 2.

When life, my Father, spoke thus, Abathur arose, opened the Tor, looked into the black water, and in the same hour his Image formed in black water. Ptahil was formed and rose to the A border town. Abathur looked inquiringly at Ptahil and spoke to his Son Ptahil: ,,Come, come, Ptahil, it's you I'm in the black I watched water."

When he saw him in his own form, as he was wearing seven garments he was dressed in all kinds and colors, he took them off and took her away from him. He clothed him with his splendor and covered him with his light. But he (Ptahil) did not ascend to the worlds of light, because he was afraid of his parents. Abathur put him on the border and he said to him, 'Stay, Ptahil, sitting in this place of yours until life is asking for you to get to know you."

When Abathur spoke thus, I, Jāwar-Hibil, addressed Abathur and spoke to him: 'Rejoice in the Son whom you have created. He will give you a Be partners and helpers."

When I spoke to him like this, Abathur stood up in front of me, bowed in reverence to me, Hibil-Uthra, and said, 'Yes, by your power is the son of Ptahil arose and was given (to me)." Then I spoke to him: [169] ,Examine what you expect from this world, that such a Plan ') could arise! Take care that you commission Ptahil, foolish one- wise to do something that he does not understand." But he didn't listen to that, vas I told him. I went up to my parents. Abathur now gave him the order and said to him: 'On, Ptahil, my son, create a compaction in the black water!"

He set about compacting, but it did not come to pass. Since he stood there thoughtfully and said to his father: 'Father! I took of those seven vestments in which I was created, and he entered the water, but there was no compaction of the earth."

Then his father said to him, 'You fool! Take care of yourself, take care of me to put it the same*). Take thou from the seven garments of splendor, of Of the light and glory with which I have clothed you "), and throw into the black water, so that now a compaction is formed."

When he heard this from his father Abathur, he got up, took from those seven garments of splendor, light, and glory, when he threw himself on the black water, the earth condensed into a Compaction of twelve thousand miles, and the whole world stood there. That black waters formed a perimeter around the world.

Then I raised my voice against Ptahil. He was afraid of my Voice, he was afraid of my speech, he stretched himself on the compaction

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1) Creating this world.

°) By believing that your garments can have the same effect as the share mine.

3) See Z. 9.

and he cried out, 'Woe to me, that this Hibil is his He raised his voice against me."

When I saw him in such fear, I was kind to him, cost him and he said to him, 'Do and do right, and complete your works from your father and from the life that is far from you'). '

[170] When I had told him this, I surrounded the compaction, which he formed, with seven walls.

There he was in thought. Now Ruha devised a plot against him, and said to him: 'From what did you come into being, Ptahil, that your figure is so beautiful? To which he replied to Ruha: "Out of this I was created, I came into being and I was educated."

When Ruha heard this from Ptahil, her heart strengthened, and she spoke to him: ,,You come from me." She then got up, stepped in front of her son (Ur) and said to him: 'Why are you crouching there, my hero, and why are you lying down you? Well, sleep with me, then someone will become like you to me, and he will free you from your bondage."

When he heard this from his mother, he tried to climb up, but he did not approach her. She saw him and cried over because the burden weighed heavily on him. She now made herself a Fessel*) immediately and slept at ihni. She became pregnant by him and gave birth to seven sons9). When she saw them, she spat them out in front of them and said: 'I was looking, but I didn't see it'). What should I do now?" Since she said, 'I will go back and lie down with him."

She went there again, lay down with him and got into another Pregnancy of twelve sons. When she saw her, she cried over her and he said to them, 'What do you look like, my sons? You have no And do not be like your Father. Now I know in my soul that I cannot have confidence in this world. '

When they heard this from their mother, they became bitter. They grasped they took each other by the hand and sat down in the bosom of clouds of mist, they were created by themselves. She then spoke to them: ,,Where are you going? [171] Now comes the man who tied up your father and arrested him. '

Then each of them wept over himself, and they spoke: ,,Woe, why were we born ?"

I, Jāwar Hibil, the pure Manā, stood by them and wanted them make them look like they've never been there. I thought and said:,,What should I start with these fiends who are not like those giants who i have looked in the lower worlds? No, I will let you that

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1) Here is another sentence that does not belong here: ,,And I surrounded myself with manners this condensation, which, when it sees that my robe, struts, runs away and becomes absorbed in the black water is stored and not on it."

2) See p. 934. 3) See p. 99.

4) I did not achieve what I was looking for.

you run the course of this world and walk the course of this world')."

When I said this, life showed itself in its fullness, without shortage.

I called to them and spoke to them, and their hearts fell from down the support. Ruha wept over them and said to them: 'This The man who called you is the murderer of your father. Da enteach and every one of them rooted the earth by his excitement.

Ptahil exclaimed: ,,Woe! The compaction that I created became uprooted me. What do you want me to do?" Then I said to Ptalil: ' I am afraid not you. Now I have to deal with those who act like that ").«

Then I called to them and said to them: 'Do not be afraid! I will take you and give you a residence."

When I spoke to them like that, they did nothing. So I asked her:,,What are your works? Then they said, 'Lord! Do everything you wish, just be kind to us, strange man."'

Then I called Šamiš (Sun) by his name, then Sin (moon), Kēwan (Saturn), Bel (Jupiter), Dlibat (Venus), Nbu (Mercury) and Nerig (Mars). I gave each of them (a name) and spoke to them: ,I lend you carriages in which you should sit down. I'll dress you with a wondrous garment [172] and give you splendor, that you may shines in this world."

Then they all took Šamiš, their eldest brother, and spoke to to him:,,You shall be our king and Dlibat shall be our queen in the world be. We all want to be subordinate to you.'

When I heard this from ilmen, I brought them a boat*), then called i told Sarwan and Sarwan, 'Take care of the boat and be Assistant to Šamiš, the head of the phalanx, the oldest among his Brother."

The two Uthras did not deviate from what I told them. I put them") now in the vehicle, and they lit up the world three-hundred and sixty thousand years in their desert state.

Then I, Jāwar, reflected and said, 'I will create Adam." Then I called°) the planets and said to them: ,,Forms the physical Take shape." So they formed them, as I had told them. Then I brought the soul out of the treasure of the mighty life, which was hidden in the house of the Niṭuftā, which (the soul) was great in the tannā- and threw them into the body of Adam. Then I created him his wife Hawwā, that this world might be awakened and strengthened. I will be the transmitter') of the souls that are born here

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1) See above, p. 241.

3) This is not entirely true, he just tied him up.

8) Uncertain. Maybe: Now I want to do this to those who act like this, [dab *****].

4) is also found in this sense (felūka) Joh. 79, 12; 80, 3.

5) The planets. 6) Read pmp.

7) Actually, "the merchant"; the fixṭounós is also hiér an éunodatos.

and beyond them are called Uthras, who ascend and enter the outer Ether and the place from which they were created, look.

Until the measure of this world is full and they ascend and their primal-father, life is recognizable to Manda dHaije and his Son Hibil, who arranges the ranks of life, of the mighty in glory').

Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the Men who teach us. Life is fixed [173] in its Škinā, life is victorious over all works, and Jāwar-Zīwā is victorious, and his helpers and disciples.

Second piece.

In the first part of the treatise it is described how, as a result of the appearance of Mandā dHaije's the idols of this world to break and overthrow. After that, the treatise after the final note called "The overthrow of the whole divinity of the house", see p. 15°. Furthermore, it is a sermon with incoherent exhortations of all kinds. The The play, like no other, contains borrowings from the Old Testament. P. 178f. from Ps. 114. 29; 15 as Milverständungen show, an Aramaic translation was exploited. A little from- the soft setting is provided by Lit. 126. The utilization of the Psalm passages probably depends with eschatological interpretations of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, see Joh., p. XXI. In the verses is Jes. 5, 11 f., 20 f. used. See the pieces Brandt, Rel., pp. 132 ff.

In the name of the great, first life.

The radiance and light of life has risen, and Manda dHaije has revealed himself to shame all worlds*). He crashed the all the gods of the house perished and brought discord among all the lords this world. When they saw the splendor and light of Manda dHaije, [and the splendor and brightness] "), with which the men of proven The thrones of their gods were bent under together with you. Their ranks were about to rush towards the face, and they stood there ashamed.

All the worlds that saw him fell down and fell on their faces. They do not open their eyes and are not able to see the sign and the Look at the image of the great life.

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1) The one who looks after the right here below. In the previous paragraph, the- there was talk of the rise of individual souls, here of the rise of the totality of souls at the end of the world.

2) Here and further wool is used in the sense of Aonen (see also p. 464), but stelit text 175, 22 for Ran7.

3) After 175, 3 f. (text) supplemented.

But when the men of proven righteousness saw him, they were they were raised up by life and filled with it, and life was lived in to your senses.

The lords of the house'), and they speak to their God, You are our image, and we are your image; when strength is in you so change your shape, otherwise we want to go and join the The light of life. To which he replies to them: "My form is it is, and it will not change in all eternity." There you are talking: ,'Woe to us that the works of our hands were without fault, but we are guilty."

Why do you weep, peoples and generations? Your heart is attached something that is not yours. Your kingdom will be turned and turned, and the splendor of your glory fell upon you*).

They rebel against their God, curse him and speak to to him, 'Cursed be you, O God, and the Spirit that rests on Ruha." [174] Their strength went, they were ashamed in their škīnās, lying and deceit; was in the gates of their palaces. Darkness went over the works of their Hands up, desolate darkness") is in their firmament. Their gods bent ashamed of their way together. [About their temples] came abundantly Shame*).

They set themselves to deception and (false) wisdom, driving And cast them over the face of the earth. The God rose from down from the height, took the form of angels, and the angels disguised themselves- they act as demons. Every day, every day they twist the heart of the Children of men, they settle on the necks of priests, priests and oracle men, to eat of their flesh for satiety, and to To drink from their blood. They speak°) in (false) wisdom and deception, and change the times.

Life revealed itself to the Tibil, shine and light of life went up.

When the sea saw it, it turned around,
and the Jordan turned backwards.
The mountains bounce like deer,
and the Hindins in the steppe throw out their young. The heights speak like daughters of the clouds in honor").

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1) Probably even here the planets, see p. 106, 8 and 179, 28, but it is unclear who your God is.

2) This paragraph breaks the connection.

3) See R 278, 14; 282, 1. Because of these passages I do not read with A NNy whether- it is close to the meaning, see Joh. II, p. 764.

4) See Lit., pp. 128, 10.

b) Read מאמליליא.

°) PS. 114, 4 is misunderstood, especially = "lambs", which ,"Cloud daughters".

The mountains open their mouths and grant praise,
and the cedars on Lebanon are collapsing. When
the earth saw me, it trembled and trembled, and
when the king of the sea saw me, he turned back.
Sea, whom did you see and turn back,
Jordan, who did you see and turn backwards?
Mountains, whom did you see, hopping like deer,
Hindinnen in the steppe, before whom do you throw out your cubs?
To whom do you speak in honor, like daughters of the clouds?
Mountains, before whom do you open your mouth in
praise, Cedars in Lebanon, before whom did you break up?
Earth, whom [175] did you see and tremble?
King of the sea, whom did you see and turn back? Islands
of the sea, before whom did you get confused,
Islands of the sea, who are you afraid of?

Before the splendor and light of Manda dHaije, the splendor and the brightness with which you praise the men of tried righteousness-you dressed. Life poured out over the water, and the islands of the They opened their mouths, gave praise to the mighty, strange And they said, 'Your name, life, we did not name, and the We did not know fear of you."

This is the light of life that revealed itself, and the men it was praised by proven justice. Then Manda dHaijē spoke to them: ,,I have come to stay with you and to show you in the light of life sit up. I have separated you from the peoples and generations-dert, I will raise you up in the love of truth, and you shall Be truthful before me in the light of life.

That ...") of life is not given to the masters of the house") be. The wheels of their chariots became confused, and they raised their voices her voice is on high. Like the voice of the man Himun*) the worlds loudly raise their voices in height.

El-Šiddai uprooted the earth through his miraculous actions in House of the ...") and created his works in the house of the man. Depend- their strength was thrown away, their rule departed from them, the kingship fell off their heads. They sat there on their thrones, frozen, and said: 'Woe, woe, that staring fell on all worlds. Her time was approaching and they are about to come to an end at the end of the worlds°).

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1),"The King of the Sea" was also based only on a misunderstood ND 5D.

2) The text here is disfigured and still incomplete. Maybe at the תיאבותא דהויא לאתיהויא'beginning ,,and the indulgence of life will not be granted".

d) i.e. the planet, see p. 1781.

4) There is probably a misunderstood j127 51p (Isa. 13, 4; 33, 3 and other), a lot-slightly under the influence of the name See also Geiger, ZDMG. XXI (1867), p. 491.

5) The text says "shine", which does not fit. d) See p. 464.

The great life will be on high, while the gates') and Planets will descend to the depths of the Earth. The Ãons, who surrounding lower Šeol, their rule has departed from the height"). Your evil thoughts were piling up on her head.

It is the voice of life [176] from the fruits, the voice of the Out of the light, the voice of men of tried smell- from the lower Škīnās, who praise in the name of life- judge and speak: 'We knew death in the Tibil. From the day since we grasped love for life and hated death, we trusted because of you, life, and because of your name, life, we were born in the Tibil followed."

Fear and praise, ye men of tried righteousness, that Live, and life will rest on you. You, men of proven Righteousness, you will be established; stand upright before me. Shine and be enlightened; let my light shine upon you. Then light and enlighten the faces of men of proven righteousness more than the sons of Sam, the white fruit*). The shape of the Men of proven righteousness will shine like life, in which is not a mixture.

O those who are wise in their own opinion, and before whose your own face, your prudence stands')!

O they say: we belong to life and life is with us"), while life is not with them! You have left your heart, cut off, robbed.

O those who turn sweet into bitter and bitter into sweet")! O those who call good evil and present evil as good ')! O turn darkness into light and light into darkness")! O those who drink wine young in the morning and old in the evening, and be captured by singing, zither and flute ')!

O those who smear themselves with fine oils and The smell of flowers that grow soft in the courtyard and in the name of the of the great life and of Manda dHaije, who [177] was with them, no testimony who did not listen and heard, who did not live life in their sense who set up the adornment in their courtyard, and who set their faces turned to the great Suf Sea.

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1) Maybe stelit here in the sense of "yy ,,angel". With "wickets" are not here the false religions are meant, since otherwise NEN3 stands for it, see p. 20 °.

2) The translation is uncertain; the passage may be incomplete.

a) The "white fruit" as a designation of Sems also Lit. 5, 7. Joh. 206, 5 she appears as a repository of souls.

4) According to Isa. 5, 21. The last words are disfigured. In prn)s there סוכלתון is or Älınliches.

8) In the text stelit ,"bei euch" under the influence of text Z. 7.

a) According to Isa. 5, 20.

7) According to Isa. 5, 11, 12.

'Worship and praise, ye men of tried righteousness, the Those whom your eyes see'), the strangers from the light- the world, which does not have pictorial works and portraits, which the makers of The works of deception did not fall into his hands, and his name and he did not name his figure to the children of men*).

This is the light of life that is cast down. The bad children of men, their strength stopped, and the speech became it is difficult for them to speak like stammerers").

This is the ancient splendor and light that has been from time immemorial. He shone 'and with the light from the worlds of victories he illumined the figure, the sign, the voice, the call, the enlightenment and the miracles the Manda dHaije. This one appeared in all the worlds, and all the gods heschraken. They stagger over each other and say: ,How can we enough to praise Manda dHaije, whose splendor is more extensive than that we praise him, and his light is richer than that which we glorify. can. His first light became constant, beautiful and victorious are 'his Words of the Kuštā, and his glory rested on his friends."

Trust in Manda dHaije. Like a good shepherd who [his Sheep] beware, he keeps away from you any spirit of apostasy. As a good shepherd, who leads his sheep to their hurdle, he will sit you down and plant yourself in front of him*).

Rejoice and praise (him), ye men of tried righteousness. Calm your heart, humble your mind and stay away from the Baddies.

'O ye [men?] the Kušta"), whose soul is truthful! A Call of [178] resounded over all the earth, the splendor of every city went under. Manda dHaije revealed himself in Judea, a vine appeared in Jerusalem, before which there is no outrage. Königstrotz he had not in mind, and he did not have the appearance of an idol. Life is it, which was from time immemorial, and the Kušṭā, which from earlier was at the beginning.

'Open your mind and praise sincerely. Why do you want sleep and with the Strauchenden straucheln, just like the first Strauchler, who stumbled and did not put their hands in front of me to the Kuštā")?

Hail, ye men of tried righteousness, whose foreheadscurls are wound on the head. Your merits are miraclessamer than all the worlds, and your face shines with joy. O you who clothe yourselves with cloaks of various kinds"), which you wear in

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1) I suspect: that your eyes do not look.

2) Read לבנאת אנאשיא. 3) Cf. p. 85, 5.

4) See Joli. II, p. 42 f.

6) A word has fallen out before or after ND210, either: o ye men of the Kušṭā, or: the Kušṭā profess od, similarly.

°) See also further, p. 182, 33.

7) To see Nöld., p. 127, 20. The meaning of the sentence is probably that

the Tibil will be persecuted, but [not the faith?] leave; you will i will clothe your persecutors with shame and disgrace.

We trusted in life, we had confidence in life, and Kušṭa was in our escort. We were made great by the size of your Knowledge').

Life has risen to have mercy on you. For the love of Truth and justice, I clothed and covered you like a great armor of the earth of the Athers with jüstice*). With love, with who loved Manda dHaije, there is on your head [a wreath of] victories") is set up.

Well, make my name great') in the Tibil and my praise-praise in all worlds.

Then the light of life that revealed itself will be ***** reward- and alms donations *******. Then your souls, you men of tested righteousness, in the light of life ******, and you will become two shine in each other's splendor. Your name [becomes more miraculous] his [other names], your splendor will be more wondrous than the other splendors, [179] and your light will be more wondrous than the son- stigen lights, each according to his works and his reward.

My name is in your mouth. Bless and praise you as you walk, your coming and your sitting, your eating and your drinking, when you rest and lie on your bed, the name of the The life you remember"). To praise, to honor, to glorify, to to bless, to consolidate (he is)").

Furthermore, magnify my name in the Tibil and my praise-sung in all works.

A cry resounded over the whole earth, the splendor went down in jeglicher Stadt. Manda dHaije revealed herself to all the children of men and deliver them from darkness to light, from darkness to light of life.

Leave the desolate desert and stay away and away from the Deception and the deception of this world.

Do not be carried away because of your evil deeds and stumble not away from life like the first Strauchler, who stumbled and their hands were not stretched out before me.

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in the time of persecution, they dress in foreign clothes, outwardly from the man-renounce the Danish faith, but profess it inwardly.

1) Maybe poenanyi is to be read. NND can only be found at this point in in an appellative sense, see Joh., p. XVII, 15.

2) The translation is very uncertain. For RIN, otherwise in the Aramaic sense ,'Tanks' quite usually, this sense cannot be proven in Mandaean. It has otherwise, here is the meaning "vein", see Joh. II, p. 99°.

8) Cf. Joh. II, p. 2.

1) Read ND12 or MD12), continue reading.

6) See above, p. 19, 122.

°) A common form in the eulogies, see Lit., pp. 141 f.

'Well, great ones of proven justice, stay away and away from the predatory wolves and the pernicious lions, the which people of yours make you stumble.

O about those who go about in the markets of the Tibil, and their Body bent and bent while leaving your heart, sections, robbed'[1]).

Do not associate with the wrongdoers whose hands are stained with blood, who sit daily, every day on the thrones of rebellion and Keep track of the name of life. Fire will burn out of their faces, it will destroy the place between your shoulders and save you for your 10th birthday [180] Punish haughtiness. You will be beaten with your own punch without my blow having to hit them.

Life is victorious, victorious Manda dHaije and his helpers.

This is "the overthrow of the whole divinity of the house".

Third piece.

The play describes the wandering of the soul past the Mattarāthā, who ,,Watches-houses", sites between the earthly world and the hereafter, which are intended for the purification of the sin- serving their souls. At the head of the guardhouses are demons or as demons imaginary beings, here also from the Christian world. Other descriptions of the matta- rāthā can be found in the pieces R 204 et seq., L 26 et seq. The pieces are treated in detail by Brandt, Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie XVIII (1892), p. 408 ff., see also Reitzen-StONe, The Mandaean Book of the Lord of Greatness, p. 80ff. and my remarks Zeitschr. f. Semitistik II (1924), p. 181 ff.

In the name of the great life.

My measure in the world became full of me,
and my bills dissolved in the ages*).
I left the world of darkness,
the mixing jug of death*).

I went there and came to the guardhouse of the greedy, rabid Dogs whose eyes are blinded so that they cannot see, whose ears ver- they are so full that they cannot hear. I gave them the name they did not understand the name of life. I called them they did not understand the name of death, the name of death. In

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[1]) See above, p. 180, 23.

*) The plural after L 19, 7.

a) The vessel from which death originates. Elsewhere, NE'ND is together more often with the "treasures of splendor" called: L 26, 24; 27, 5; 28, 15; Lit. 85, 7.

I was afraid and afraid of that watchhouse, I was afraid, and my whole body was shaking in my robe. That's when I get a call Man from the place ...") to the world and says: "O man who you call for life and to which life answers. To live have firm confidence. You are like a man at the age of 120, a man holding a staff and a rattle in his hand, and behind the cattle comes with it*). But suddenly they seize him, clothe him with reverence, cover him with reverence, tie a diadem around him, put him on a And make him king in the cities. Furthermore, you also a man who lives in a space of 160 miles in a dry flat4) stands, thirsts for water, and then smells the smell of life. Seine Soul is then equal to the good Enoš in his glory*).

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, Fear and terror [181] are no longer there before me. I went there and came to the guardhouse of the Virgin, the daughter of her father°) who have 67 daughters. Their breasts are bared to them for shame, and their side slashed at them') for misdeeds. They take the The hearts of the gods and the minds of the children of men. You they said to him"): "You man, give us your name and your sign, out of the waves of the water, out of the treasures of splendor, and from the great baptism of Light."

I called her10) my name and my sign. Da fright

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1) The word is found only in this place; the meaning is unknown to me. "Drops", what one thinks about at first, does not palt.

2) An old, contemptible shepherd.

8) It is alluded to the exaltation of the soul of the pious at their departure (see, for example, Lit., p. 98), but perhaps the author was floating the fairy tale motif of the suddenly the poor man was raised to the king.

4) Siche Nöld., pp. 140, 5. b) See also p. 191, 12.

6) According to the following, Rūhā is meant, but that is how it is called only here. As A similar expression is not found in the Babylonian. Should is there a client of Athena, the napdévos, who was born by her father?

7) The ordinary meaning of D in Aramaic is , page", and this sense this is probably also here. Babli Gittin, f. 90b, L. 1 is given as the reason for divorce, when a woman slits on both sides goes out However can also mean "hem", then here, whose hem is slit open to you", and in the canons of Ebed-Jesus of Söbä, the clergy will be forbidden to wear skirts with a slit hem (NDy in the priestly functions ver- messengers (Maii Scriptorum Veterum Nova collectio X, Roma 1838, p. 277). Skirts of this type should Arabic be called Nya, probably Durrãa, see Dozy, Dictionnaire détaillé of the noms des vêtements, p. 177ff., Supplèment I, p. 434 b. But the other view is closer. 8) Actually ,,puff, steam."

9) Although a fluctuation in the person is not rare in these texts (see p. 144), it is probably here, as in the parallel passages, N) ,, and they spoke to me "too read.

10) At this point and further, the singular stands with reference to the main-person, here Rūhā, while one expects the plural.

they were afraid and frightened, they rose up before me and spoke to me: ,, You man, no one should come on your path, and your No one should take steps." To this I replied to them: 'On my Paths shall the elect come, my steps shall the faithful go'). To you, Ruha, splinters will sit in your eyes, and your 5 Eyes get dark in your head. The Naşöreans will then ascend-go up and look at the great place of light and the light abode."

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, Fear and terror of me are no longer there. I went there and came after another guardhouse, that of Zan-Hazazban, the harlot, brave, the king of great wrath and destruction. I asked and said: 'Whose guardhouse is this, whom is it guarding, and who is in it tied down?u

I asked, and they said to me: ,,In this guardhouse are those who shed blood and destroy their likenesses." I also asked and said: 'What things do those souls resemble with the ugly things they do in the world?" I asked, and you said to me: 'Those souls are like devices of clay, of blackness and the devices [182] made of copper, which produce dirt and rust- brings it forward. You throw them in a device, in the foot block, in oppression and enclosure, and you kick them down. They are destroyed, but they they don't get sweet, you fry them, but they don't even get"). Those souls desire for a second death in the world of darkness, but the second death does not come over your mind. Zan and Hazazban languages to me"): "You man, give us your name and your sign, which you from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor and from the you have received the great baptism of Light." I told him my name and my sign, thereupon Zan-Hazazban bowed to me in deep Bowing,

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that fear, Fear and terror of me are no longer there. I went and came according to the watchhouse of Jūr, Jahūr and Arhum. I asked and spoke: ,Whose guardhouse is this, whom is it guarding, and who is stuck in it-bonds?u

I asked, and they said to me,In this guardhouse is fixed-everyone who fought and stole, who swore and lied." I then he asked, and said,To what things are those souls like the ugly things they do in the world?" I asked, and you said to me: 'Those souls are like: they are thinner than a stick and blacker than the hair on the head. You throw them into a device in the

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1) Read according to the previous sentence נאסגון.

2) Siche Nöldeke, Zeitschr. for Assyriology XXX (1916), p. 149.

3) Continue in this pieces and otherwise will be related beings soon as several beings, soon regarded as one.

A block of feet, in oppression, confinement, and punishment, and you kick them settle. You crush them, but they don't get sweet, you fry them, but they do not become tender. Those souls long for a second death, but the second death does not come upon them. Jūr, Jahur and Arhum languages to me: ,, O man, give us your name and your sign, which you from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor and from the you have received the great baptism of Light." [183] I told him my name and my sign, whereupon Jūr, Jahür and Arhum bowed down before me in deep bowing.

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, Fear and terror of me are no longer there. I went and came according[1] to another watchhouse, according to that of the pilpin-pipin, the Ruha dQudša has been enveloped in dark clouds of fog. I asked and spoke: ,Whose guardhouse is this, whom is it guarding, and who is stuck in it-bundles?e

I asked, and they said to me: 'In this watchhouse are the Vögte, judges and rulers who push the boundaries and move the boundary stones. (There are) the women who ver their milk-who kill their children and keep the children of their comrades alive, who beg for a fat bite and for sweetened cups. That Crying, whining and complaining of their children rises before the big, first Life on high. The women who sell their milk, you hang on their breasts until the day, the day of judgment, until the hour, the Hours of salvation, because they kill their children and the children of their-raising female ferries."

I asked and said: 'To what things do those souls resemble with the ugly works that you practice in the world?" I asked, and they talked to me:Those souls are like the fat bucks you suddenly grab and throwing it on coals. You throw them in a device, in the foot block, in Oppression, confinement, and punishment, and they are put down. You crush them, but they will not be sweet, they will be roasted, but they will be not at all. Those guilty souls long for a second death in the world of darkness, but the second death does not come upon them." [184] Pilpin-Pipin spoke') to me: 'You man, give us your name and your sign, which you took from the waves of the water, from the treasures and from the great baptism of light." I called to him my name and my sign, on which Pilpin-Pipin bowed in front of me in deep bowing.

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, The fear and terror of me are no more. I went and came according to another watchhouse, that of the vain Jesus Christ. I asked and said, 'Whose guardhouse is this, and who is bound in it?t

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1) See above.

I asked, and they said to me, 'In this watchhouse there is a anyone who denies life and confesses Christ." I then he asked and said, 'To what things are those souls like with the ugly works that you practice in the world?" I asked, and they talked to me: Those souls are like a large and numerous flock of sheep before Christ. Christ leads them to the sea') and places them by the sea on. They ask him for water, but the shore of the sea is high and the water of the sea deep. You want to drink water, but you have no"). Then the souls say to Christ: 'Christ, our Lord! As we were still in that world, we (others) clothed with clothes and wrapped up with envelopes, obtained ransoms and alms and benefits granted; why do we now wish to drink water and have none?"

Then Christ says to the souls: 'In whose name have you dressed in clothes and wrapped in covers, makes lots of purchases and Alms and benefits granted?the souls of Christ respond to this: ,,On [185] the name of the upper being and the name of the lower In the name of Jesus Christ, in the name of the Holy Spirit, in the name of the god of the Nazarenes") and in the name of the Youngwife, her father's daughter." Then Christ says to the souls: 'That the upper being is heaven, the lower being is earth, Jesus Christ I am, the Holy Spirit is here."

The man of proven justice*) passed by him and brought the whole tribe of souls that was with ilm past him. Christ then said to the man of tried righteousness: 'You Man, give us your name and your sign, which you have received from the waves of water, from the treasures of splendor and from the great baptism of the You brought light." I told him my name and my sign, then Christ bowed to me four times in deep bowing.

The souls then said to Christ: 'Christ, our Lord! Say you did not, when we were in that world: there is no greater and strongerkeren than I am; I am the god of gods, the Lord of lords, I am I the king of all worlds, am I the head of all works? There is now the man who passed by you, and you bowed four times in deep reverence to him. Who is he?u

To which Christ replied to the souls: 'This man who is attached to me and before which I bowed four times in deep reverence

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1) Read ליאמא.

2) Sea water is actually not drinking water. Jn. II, p. 45 ob. the good shepherd his sheep away from the sea, but brings them water to drink, apparently from Our seas. Of course, in many cases the sea and the great river are not separated by the Semites- it was held, probably, precisely with regard to the Euphrates Lucian, De dea Syria, cap. 13.

3) The text says, "the Nāşöräer".

4) The representation is extended here by a foreign piece, in which the soul is not, but Mandā dHaije passes by the guardhouses with the souls of the believers.

bowed, did not mention the name of the superior being, the name of the lower being, he did not name the name of the Holy Spirit he did not mention the name of Christ, he did not mention the name of he did not mention the name of the god of the Nazarenes, the name of the Virgin, of her father's daughter, he did not name.they spoke [186] Souls to Christ: ,,Christ, our Lord, throw us again on three days in our body, then we want to sell all our belongings, to the Jordan come down and tell us the name of this man who passed by you- he left, got baptized." But Christ replied to the souls: 'O ye to those who have stumbled, you have stumbled! Did you, when you were still in that The world has seen that a child who has lost the body of his mother- i would have introduced you back to his mother, that I would have put you back on throw three days into your body, that you may sell all your possessions, for Go down to the Jordan and call on the name of this man who is on me has passed, let them be baptized')? Christ also spoke to the souls: ,Don't you know, you who have stumbled, you who have stumbled? I am the vain Messiah, rubbed for tribulation, wise to evil, the the gates of sleep changed, the works of the spirit twisted, the the men of God, and they are in the mighty clouds of the Finsternis throws. When I showed you pegs and keys"), I beguiled you and made you greedy. I gave you gold and silver so that you could give me in the darkness, in the place where we stand, keep company.

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, Fear and terror of me are no longer there. I went and came according to another watchhouse, that of Jorabba. I asked and spoke: ,Whose guardhouse is this and who is tied up in it?e

I asked, and they said to me: 'In this guardhouse are all The great and the great are bound"); those who are bound with great bushels (Ardebs) take [187] and give with small bushels the interest and interest-interest, percentages and percentages, which the poor can only take after his And look at the king only according to his royal dignity*), which To push the poor and needy away from their gates, and not to give alms give."

I asked and said: 'What things do these souls resemble with the ugly things they do in the world?" I asked, and you they said to me: 'Those souls are like fat goats that you suddenly from her mother and fry on coals. As you have done, does tell them"), as they ate, you eat them. The One thing you increase

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1) About this post and its relationship with Ev. Jn. 3, 4 see Jn. II, p. 122 f.

a) Maybe there was a picture of Christ with keys floating in front of him, as it was based on an Apokal. 1, 18; 3, 7, or an image of Peter, who stood for Christ was held.

a) A reference to the name Jõrabbā, i.e. the great Jõ (Jao).

4) I read with deletion of NS.

5) Read אבדילון.

to them sevenfold, and wrath comes upon them. Those guilty souls wun- a second death in the world of darkness, but it does not come about them."

Jorabbā said to me'): 'You man, give us your name and your sign, which you took from the waves of the water, from the treasures of the 5 And from the great baptism of Light." I called to him my name and my sign, whereupon Jõrabba bowed four- in front of me in a deep bow.

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that I was afraid, Fear and terror of me are no longer there. I went there and came according to another guardhouse, that of the Rūha dQudša"), which is on the mouth the devourer") Karafiun is sitting. The harp of lust is on her Shoulder, and she complains with her six hundred and sixty offspring*). Either of Viper is around you. She speaks with zithers and calls the twelve men who Traders"), who have committed to her. These speak to her: ,,Our Mistress, why did you call us and why do you want us?i would like to she replies to them: 'I have called you and you have been saved by me.'- wish for the same oil and bad luck on the mouth of the devourer Karafiun." She holds a rattle in her hand") and sits on her mouth the devourer Karafiun. She rattles after [188] the twelve wickets, the believe in them, and throw them into it. She says to them: ,Go, go, my children, I will close the gate and follow you." You walking around in the mouth of the Karafiun and can not get along grope and grope to go and lean on them.

The man of proven righteousness') passed by him and brought with him the whole tribe of souls. Then woke up the devouring Karafiun said to Ruha dQudša: 'Where have you been? Why didn't you hand over to me the man who passed by me- is it happening?and she said to him, 'At that time and in that hour your mouth resembled an ant's slit, which, when a wind comes and a leaf falls out, becomes clogged."

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1) Read pobanDN.

°) She is identical with the "Juugfrau, the daughter of her father", the owner of the the second guardhouse. So you don't expect a special guardhouse from her here. Muchleicht is originally the actual owner Karafiun and Rūhā dQudšā has only one side-played a role.

3) NDND, according to the Mandaean, should have this meaning, siche Nöldeke, time- shear. for Assyriology XXX (1916), p. 150, but perhaps the שָׂרָף Hebrüisch basically, see the description below.

4) Pers. farzend, cf. die 67 Töchter oben, p. 184, 16. But it is at least safe. ,'It is filled with 660 cores' (syr. talm, does not fit.

5) The 12 apostles who roam like traders.

6) Perhaps the description is based on a picture of Isis with the sistrum. For Isis pictures with the snake, see RoscheR, Lexikon der griech. and rom. Mythologie II, 1, col. 533.

7) See above, p. 1874.

The man of proven justice climbed up and looked at the outer Ãther and the light residence. Then life spoke to him Man of proven justice: 'To what things does the world equalize?' the one you came for? Who likes Ruha, Christ and the planets in your guardhouses?" The man of proven experience replied to him." Justice: ,,Ruha, Christ and the planets are like flies that fly on sitting on the edge of a pot. Their wings are hit by the steam, who comes up to them, so that they fall into the pot."

Life rejoiced and clothed the man of tried and tested-righteousness with splendor. It brought light and covered him with it. It provided in the place of safety, in the place from which one searches and finds, you ask and it is granted.

Life is victorious over all works, victorious is') the tribe the Naşorean who stuck to the name of Jawar, and victorious is Manda dHaije and those who love his name.

This is the book ,My measure in the world became full to me."

Fourth piece.

Baptize Mandā dHaijē's through John the Baptist and John's death and ascension. See also Siouffi, p. 11 et seq., Brandt, Rel., p. 137ff., 218ff. and above, p. 51, 153, where Hibil-Zīwā represents Mandā dHaijē's position.

In the name of the great life.

These are the sayings [189] of Jõhana the Baptist, when he crossed the Jordan the living water"), baptized with the living baptism and gave the name life talked about it.

Manda dHaije went to Johanā the Baptist and said to him:, Johanā, baptize me with your baptism, with which you baptize, and talk about tell me something about the name you used to pronounce.

Then Johānā said to Mandā dHaijē: 'My stomach is hungry for food and my body thirsty for drink. I collect herbs and true silences. I long for peace, but the souls are pressing at me"). Now the morning should break, come, then I will baptize you." As Manda dHaije stood there, he raised his eyes to the place where all shine, according to the great place that is all light, and spoke a

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1) The text says ,you were victorious."

2) i.e. used it, see Brandt, Rel., p. 100f.

3) The faithful (see p. 139°) who want to be baptized.

Prayer, which was very big, not small. He said: 'To you I address a request, to the first life, the second life, the third life, to Jofin-Jofafin, to Sām, the well-kept Mānā, to the vine, the the great tree, which is completely healed, at Oṣar-Hai and Pta-hai, who create the creation of life and the planting of the Light planting'), I am making a very big, not a small request to you. About this hour in which I stand, I ask, about the twelve hours of the Day and the twelve hours of the night, over the twenty-four hours, that they should be equal to one hour. The wheels (2) of the day are the the wheels of the night are those of the day. Sleep and Slumber may come upon the eyes of Johanā. He slumbered and lay there, and let his soul be equal to the good Enoš [190] in his glory"). Immediately I want to ask him and talk to him about baptism, with whom he baptizes, in this hour in which we stand."

Manda dHaije goes and comes from the place of all splendor, from the place that is completely light, from the place where he is over the twelve Hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night were granted: they will be like an hour. The wheels of the day were taken away; they became those of the night. The wheels of the night were gone- they became those of the day. It was evening, it was Tomorrow, it became night, it became day. Sleep and slumber came over the eyes of Johanā. He slumbered and slept, then he woke up, sneeze'), put his right hand over his eyes and rubbed his sleep out of sight. Then Manda dHaije said: 'Greetings to you, Master Johanā, greiser Father, great honor." Then Johanā said to Manda dHaije: 'Come in peace, little boy, whom I already ordered to Jordan yesterday have. Today I will not deceive you." That's when Manda dHaije spoke to Johanā: "Well, let the Jordan flow freely"), spread out your arms, accept me, baptize me with your living baptism, with which you will and speak about me something of the name that you pronounce- and take care of it."

Johanā replied to Mandā dHaijē: 'Forty-two years I took the Jordan, I baptized people in the water, and still got me no one called to the Jordan. Now I want to be with you, little boy of Three years and a day, go to the Jordan."

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1) An ancient formula of prayer, which also recurs variously in the liturgies, see Lit. 141, 2; 15, 5; 84, 3, also further down, p. 196, 11.

2) The wheels on which the celestial bodies rotate, thus forming the time, they Lit. p. 1298. 3) See above, p. 184, 12.

4) The word is found only in this place. It is also used in the Targūm to 2. Könn. 4, 35 used by the boy who was revived by Elisha (heb. 77) Of course it stands R 241, 18; Lit. 55, 1 for "sneeze" non. Should papnony have the sense "yawn" here, what is more expected here?

6) Cf. p. 196.

Then Manda dHaije asked Johanā: 'What is the baptism with which you are baptized?' christening?" [191] Then Johanā said to Manda dHaijē: 'I throw the People in the Jordan like sheep before the shepherd. I'm moving with my Pour water over them and speak the name of life over them." Then Manda dHaije Johanā asked the Baptist, 'Whose name do you speak about them at the baptism you baptize ')Pu

Then all the disciples opened their mouths like one and spoke to Johānā: 'For forty-two years you have been performing baptism, and you have never- mand called you to the Jordan, except for this little boy. Ver- do not pay attention to the words that he spoke."

The disciples urged Johana, and Johanā got up and went into the Jordan, let the Jordan flow freely, spread his arms, received Manda dHaije and he said to him, 'Come, come, little boy of three years, and one day, the smallest among his brothers and the oldest among his Fathers, who is small, but whose speeches are significant."

Then Manda dHaije went to Johānā on the Jordan. When the Jordan when Manda dHaije saw him, he jumped and hopped towards him and hopped over its banks. Johanā stood above the first mouth in the water and under the last mouth between the waters"). He swims and has does not have the strength to stand. Manda dHaije saw Johanā and was grieved about him"). The radiance of Manda dHaije pressed on the Jordan, and when the Jordan saw the splendor of Manda dHaije, he turned backwärts*), and Johanā stood in the drying.

Mandā dHaije then approached Johānā and said to him: 'Baptism baptize me with your pure baptism, and say something of the name about me, which you used to pronounce. '

Then Johana said to Manda dHaije: 'A thousand times a thousand men- I have let it descend into the Jordan, and ten thousand times I baptized ten thousand souls [192] in the water. A man who, has not yet passed through my hands. Now it's here What shall I baptize you in? '

Then Manda dHaije said to Johānā: 'As far as the water goes, go you too, and I want to go with you. Baptize me with your pure baptism, with whom you used to baptize, and say about me something of the name, which you used to pronounce." As far as the Jordan receded and the When the water was dry, Johana went there, and Manda dHaije went with him. The splendor of the Manda dHaije spread over the Jordan and its banks. The fish opened their mouths from the sea, the birds from the two

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1) The question does not fit, since Jōhānā has already told him before, that in the name of baptism of life. She is also without an answer.

2) Above the anus and below the actual mouth.

8) The assumed meaning of FN-nany, which is found only in this place, is unsafe. See zu -pboyny5 L 90, 26: Nöld., pp. 366 unt.

4) See above, p. 178, 32, also Brandt, Schr., p. 2001.

Shores of the World Ocean. They praised Manda dHaije and spoke to him: ,,Blessed be you, Manda dHaije, blessed be the place from which you came- be praised and strengthened be the great place to which you are going.'

As the voice of the fish from the sea and the voice of the birds having penetrated from the two shores of the world Ocean into the ear of Johānā, he- he knew that it was Manda dHaije who went with him. Then Johanā spoke to Manda dHaijē: ,,You are the man in whose name I am the living Baptism baptised." - ,,In whose name do you baptize?"" he asked him. On it Johana replied to Manda dHaijē: 'In the name of the one who is open to me- barte, in the name of the future one who is to come, as well as the well-being- Mānā, who is to reveal himself. Now you put your hand to the Kuštā and your great right of healing to me") and talk about me, your planting that you planted, [your name off]. In let the first and the last be confirmed to your name."

Then Manda dHaije said to Johānā: 'When I put my hand on if you lie down, you will be eliminated from your body." Then Johanā spoke to Mandā dHaije: ,,I saw you, now I don't want to be here anymore. I i have seen you and reached you*), now I ask you for Kuštā. [193] Ver- do not dam me away from you, from the place from which you came be. Arm me and give me orders for the great place to which you shouldest. Be gracious to me and reveal to me about the mysteries of the kings"), about the great fruit of the light, about the anvils and fruits of the Earth, (knowing) what they are pressed on, over the anvils of water, from which the living fire spreads*), in which the life dwells, (to know) who is earlier and greater than the other."

When [Manda dHaije] heard this, the Johanā .). ......He took off his dress to him in the Jordan, he took off his dress to him from flesh and blood"), he clothed him with a robe of And covered him with a good, pure turban of light.

⟨Manda dHaije continued on his way to the place of all splendor, after the place, which is quite light, and Johanā went with him.> fish from the sea and the birds from the two shores of the World Ocean they gathered over the body of the Jöhānā and covered it. As Jö- when hanā saw his body, he was grieved over it. Then Manda spoke dHaijē to Johanā: ,,Why are you grieved over the flesh and blood that

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1) Cf. Lit., p. 5. 5.

*) Cf. Joh. II, p. 1484. a) See above, p. 6°.

*) The anvils of the earth, on which it rules, are called more often. Also the fruit the light, as its primordial container, is understandable. The fruits are less understandable the earth is filled with anvils and anvils of water. probably refers to NDntnD, not on NNd.

9) The words are hardly in order. The writing and reading is perhaps influenced by the place name (R 330, 14).

c) He stripped the body from the soul.

i undressed you? If you want, I want you back in the same introduce."

Then Johana said to Manda dHaijē: 'Blessed and blessed be the man who stripped me of the robe of flesh and blood, made me has redeemed and freed them. Praised, glorified, consolidated and honored be the chosen man who dresses me with the robe of splendor and covered with the good, pure turban of light, (in which I was>'). No, I grieved for my children, who are full of zeal, which I had to leave behind without anyone to instruct them may."

Then Manda dHaijē replied to him: 'Who in your mind and in your Your heart will also dwell in the mind and in the heart of your children. My son, I know why you grieved." Then Johanā spoke to Mandā dHaije: 'You too know the hearts and see through the senses. Hearts, [194] Liver and kidneys are spread out before you like the sun. You split a hair and see what's in it. You realize what's in Light and what is in the darkness." So his mouth spoke in Glorious-from the foam") of the water and from the ophans of the water"). Then (Manda dHaije) took sand from the sea and from the two shores of the world ocean, stood down and threw it over the body of Johanā. Of on that day the covering of the bodies happened.

Manda dHaije continued on his way to the place that was completely shining, after the place, which is quite light, and Jōhānā went with him. He went and came after the watchhouse of the saint") Ptahil, the bar of splendor, is cut off from the light, which life is cut off from, he left his community. It set him apart in a And let him sit there alone.

When Ptahil beheld Manda dHaije, his throne bowed down under him. He rose from him, praised and blessed Manda dHaije and spoke to him: 'Blessed be you, Manda dHaije, blessed be the place from which you have come, and blessed, glorified and strengthened be the great The place you are going to. Be merciful to me before the mighty life in the Height, which has fallen over me and tied me up") and has not let him ascend to see life on high."

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1) These words do not belong here. Maybe you were originally behind ,,Ge-wall of flesh and blood".

2) At d you could go here to hebr. F)n ,shore" thinking. But this comes otherwise not in Mandaean. In contrast, ND DN R 210, 1 (also code Sab. Paris. 25, f. 15 b, 1. 8) the meaning "foam" certainly, and this meaning may also be present here.)

[3] NINDy puts olne right sense here again, see p. 44 unt. and Lit., p. 1295. There is no need to think about bucket wheels here.

4) N27NP, see also p. 801.

5) For NDN'OND, which is found only at this point, stands R 195, 9 NNdNtd. Which Identity is secured by NNDd R 306, 19f. It is probably something like ,,about- fallen shell" (Nöld., pp. 103, 5). For NsBp there is otherwise the meaning "fetter"

Then Mandā dHaije said to Johānā: 'Tell this noble, that the forgiveness of life was granted to him. Even you, the men- i have made him like one of the kings"), like the great Uthras from the House of Glory. Go, deliver the words to him."

Then Johanā said to Ptahil: 'The forgiveness of life has been granted 5 you and your father"), the Uthra, the man who equipped you- and sent him here."

Manda dHaije continued on his way to the place that was completely shining, according to the place, which is quite light. He left and came after the wake-house of the high Abathur. A thousand times a thousand (standing there), [195] around the 10 Raise your eyes to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before to him (at his service). They hold high*) his throne, which is high and on which he sits.

When Abathur saw Manda dHaije, he got up from his throne. Then Manda dHaije said to Abathur: 'Stay, stay, Abathur, on your 15th birthday The throne, which is high, magnificent and preserved, which the mighty life the amount he has given you." Then Abathur spoke to Manda dHaijē: When you go, remember me before life." That's when Manda spoke dHaije to Abathur: ,,When I go, speak and tell, so will they will come and take your throne among the men, the sons of salvation, 20 lift up. If I go and speak and be well heard, so two angels will come from above. You will meet the high-hang high between the top of your Škinā and the mighty life-lift"). They will make you hear and speak to you, and they will let them hear the mighty life and say that Manda dHaije has gone 25 Abathur Kuštā.

Manda dHaije continued on his way to the place that was completely shining, after the place, which is quite light, and Johanā went with him. They went and came to the four men, the sons of salvation: In-Hai (life- source), Šum-hai (life name), Zīw-hai (life gloss), Nhūr-Hai (life- 30 light)"). The man of tried righteousness") took him (Johanā) and put him in the place of safety. He took Johanā by the hand and put him in the place of safety. The Uthras showered him with

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(Jn. II, p. 992; but NölDEKe, Zeitschr. for Assyriology XXX, 1916, p. 154), and this sense seems to be present here too, since we find R 340, 8 NNDITD together with mobile. Much- easy to read.

1) Maybe to read.

2) See above, p. 62.

8) i.e. the Abathur.

4) could at best mean, "you establish him" his throne. Maybe it's Abs(1)AND read.

°) I suspect, or rather. MD(1)nD.

4) See Lit. 83, 3.

7) i.e. Mandā dHaijē, see p. 187, 22; furthermore, this means Jōhānā. Hardlich is an object here, with relation to Jöhānā, otherwise it stands.

Orders of Prayer, Prayers, Masses and Hymns and languages: ',,Come, let's go and see the man who came from the Tibil the man of proven righteousness, who is truly and firmly of faith has remained in the midst of the evil plots and under the throne of the ancient Abathur." Each individual clothes him with a part of his Shine, each one covers him with a part of his light. You they sprang up and clothed him with garments of living fire, which were without The end and number are.

Johanā now stood there in the place of all splendor, in the place of all is light. He stood there in a faith that was very big, not small. And [196] Johana said: 'To you I make a request, to the first Life, the second life, the third life, to Jofin-Jofafin, 'to Sam, the well-kept Mānā, to the vine that lives entirely, to the great Oşar-Hai and Pta-Hai, who created the of life, plant the planting of the light, and the first- in the house of life'), to you I address a very large, not a small request: according to this hour in which I am standing, ent- speaking of this ascension with which I ascended, may all be true- and the people of faith, who, with the sign of the, baptized with pure baptism, and over which the name the great, first life is spoken of."

Blessed be life, life is victorious, and victorious is the Man who went here.

Fifth piece.

The play is called ,the Book of Šilmai, the lord of the house". The name- nung ,Lord of the house" probably has the same meaning here as in the Mandaean script- tum; it is the Lord of the earthly world2). This designation leads otherwise the evil, and also Šilmai seems to be one of the subterranean ones. He belongs to the circle of the Rūhā and is maybe even thought of as her son. But his father Jathrūn will be par excellence the, and has its seat at the gate of the house of life. On the advice of Rühä Šilmai goes to his father, who, however, is not edified by his appearance. He 'he wants to kill him, but his entourage advises him to put him to the test- pull and, depending on the failure, take it with you or descend into the depths again- send. Jatlrün does so, and the long series of questions and answers about the different- the things of nature are probably the real purpose of the composition. Šilmai beant-

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1) See p. 191.

2) On the use of the expression in Semitic paganism see Ephemeris III, p. 88.

answers all questions to Jathrün's satisfaction, only about the end of the world can he tell him do not give any information. Then Hibil-Zīwā appears and instructs him about it. He give the information to the Father, and he asks him from whom he received it. Which The answer that it comes from Hibil-Zīwā does not please the Father, and he rejects him.

The book seems to be of foreign origin. Šilmai can only be found elsewhere- together with Nidbai; they are keepers of the Jordan. Only L 8, 9 is Šilmai alone as In- he was called the keeper of a guard louse and the key keeper of the light. Likewise, his father Jathrün otherwise unknown'), and the expression can also be found except for R 276, 23 only in this book.

In the name of the great life.

The Lord of greatness

and shone through the Uthras, his sons. This is the mystery and book of Šilmai, the lord of the house. In the name of the one who came, in the name of the one who comes, and in the name of him who shall arise. In the name of that strange man, who penetrated through the worlds, came, split the firmament and opened- beard"). He enlightened and came to the škīnās of all the planets, directed his He 'sat on the throne and sat on it. The Good One pondered, recognized and he taught himself about the past, present and future, and about that mountain, Mount Carmel*).

He came and found the seven and the twelve heroes in their hands and over the months, years, sauce'), days, Seconds, hours of birth °) and times.

Ewath, the lying Rūhā, came calling every single man at the Shei commissioned every single man with works, [197] she called she commissioned them and sent them into this world. She also called Šilmai, the Lord of the house, and said to him: 'Šilmai, Lord of the house, get up early get up early in the morning, go to the bank of the Jordan and to the good Containers of remedies. Wash your hands in Kuštā and clean your Fingers in the light, powerful (water?) Jordan. Climb up and go before your Father Jathrun, the perfect man. When your father when he sees you, he will show you the kingship, the goodness and the victory of these 'Let the world go."

Like Ewath, the lying Ruha, to Šilmai, the lord of the house, spraclı, so he did. He got up early in the morning, went to the shore of the Jordan and of the large, good container of remedies. He washed his hands in Kušta and cleaned his fingers in the light, powerful

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1) A lamp Jattīr-Jathrün" see p. 146, 17. *)

See Lit. 11, 11; 77, 3; 128, 2; 142, 11.

a) On which the wicked hold their meetings, see p. 121.

4) Siche oben, p. 132°.

d) See above, p. 106*.

c) The word is found only in this place. It does not belong to yévos, but like the Jewish NNDa for yevédios, for example yevédios õpa.

(Water) of the Jordan. He rose before his father Jathrün, the-menen man, rising to the height, bent his body and bowed down his father.

When his father saw him, the good man, who had never seen him before, was angry- the good man, who had never been angry, was angry. He wanted to tamping the earth Tibil'), corrupting him, bringing him to the great spheres of the Firmness*) and they hang on their face to the face of the earth-plunge.

Before him stood three hundred and sixty-two disciples. Then they spoke to her Father, the perfect Man: 'You have, O Jathrun, in your And at your baptism you will be told that at the gate there is no anger or anger in the house, in life. When you are at Šilmai, to the Lord of the house, to search for the ordinances-9) and words, the depths of Naşaism and the interpretations of this world, if he gives it to you, let him have a throne among men, his fathers, build it. Are you looking for him and he will grant it to you not so, he may [198] go back to that world from which he came.

The good man calmed down and said to him: 'Šilmai, Master of the house! A word is to me from the house of life about the orders, Characteristics and words, about the depths of Nazareth and the Deu- this world: where did this earth come from, where did the The anvil is placed to whom*) the great Huš°) was given*)."

To this he replied: 'My father! This earth has been fixed-forges'). The anvil is supported on the black water. The great Huš is given to the liar."

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built.

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him: ,,0 Šilmai, Master of the house! A Word is to me from the house of life about the orders, Peculiar to-works and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations

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1) The turn also Joh. 276, 6.

2) Although the spheres move, they still have their solidity. NNw stelit not in the sense of ,,firmament, firmament."

a) NEND probably also has this sense here, see p. 7 °.

4) After the following is to read.

5) The word is found only here and R 273, 10. There it is a designation for the "great sea"; this should probably also be the case here.

d) It is not a direct question. He is informed about this; the question to Šilmai is add.

7) I suspect that here stands for 527. Over the past 7, often around-see Nöld., p. 66.

about this world: where did these firmaments come from, where did they come from they know what they are hanging on to and how they are enlightened."

To this he replied: 'My father! These firmaments exist out of seven heavy ') water mists that Ptahil by the power that will be Father Abathur gave it to him, stretched it out and lifted it up. Between every single one of them has lights of brilliance, and they will be illuminated by the By the power of Kings*)."

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit get up. your great throne of honor, which was given to you between the men, your Fathers, it is built."

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his And said to him: ' Šilmai, Master of the house! [199] A word is to me from my father's house about the orders, characteristics and words, about the depths of Naşaism and the interpretations about this world comes from: whence the sun, whence its nature"), whence its Heat, where its cold comes from, where its shine is from."

To this he replied: 'My father! The sun is out of the earth their nature is derived from the nature of the Seven, their heat and cold are from the heat and cold of the Ptahil, their splendor is from the splendor of the 20th century the mighty, strange life, the sublime, which stands above all works.«

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built.«

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his And said to him: 'Šilmai, Master of the house! One word is too from the house of life about the orders, characteristics and Words, about the depths of Nāşaraerism and the interpretations about these Where the Moon comes from, where its nature comes from, where its brightness comes from- where its convenience *) is."

To this he replied to him: 'My father! The moon is out of the earth its nature is derived from the nature of the planets, its brightness and pleasantness is of the brightness and pleasantness of the great, beloved, the first Sām-Zīwā, of the man whose škīnā was born over the hundred of and seven and sixty mighty, upper worlds of light rests. Every world measures for himself a thousand times a thousand miles, and ten thousand times ten thousand Škīnās rest in it"), living in each individual škīnā a thousand times

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4) is probably to be understood here in this way; not in the sense of ,, expensive, precious."

2) i.e. the heavenly beings. Have a CD ,the Angel."

3) NINDD stands for NIND here as well as more often for NIND.

1) The pleasant coolness that he spreads.

5) Perhaps AEy127 is repeated only by mistake from the following, so that it is called would "camp a thousand times a thousand miles and ten thousand times a thousand skīnās".

a thousand uthras, and from each individual uthra a skina is inhabited."

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit to your great throne of honor, [200] which is yours among men, your fathers, it is established."

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him: ,,Šilmai, Master of the house! A Word has come to me from my Father's house about the ordinances, Peculiar to- and words, about the depths of Nazarism and the interpretations where the water comes from, where its nature comes from, where his good taste, where his strength is from."

To this he replied to him: 'My father! The water is from the earth his nature is of the nature of the Seven, his power is of the The power of darkness and its good taste from the good taste of the live water."

Then he said to him: ' Beautiful is what you have told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built."

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him:,,Silmai, Master of the house! A Word has come to me from my Father's house about the ordinances, Peculiar to-works and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations from this world: whence the fire, from what its nature, from where to be Look where his smoke is from."

To this he replied: 'My father! The fire is from the earth his nature is of the nature of the Seven, his power is of the By the power of darkness and [its smoke] from the house of Satan Ismaël').

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built.

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him:,,Silmai, Master of the house! A Word is to me from the house of life about the orders, Peculiar to- writings and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations about [201] this world comes: from where the wind, from what its nature, from where its power, whence its convenience is.

To this he replied: 'My father! The wind is out of the earth his nature is of the nature of the Seven, his power is of the The power of darkness and its comfort from the comfort of Airwaves."

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1) From Samaël, which, incidentally, is otherwise known as the name for the devil among the Mandaeans not found, Ishmael was made, with allusion to the hated Arabs.

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built.«

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him: ,Šilmai, Master of the house! 'A Word is to me from the house of life about the orders, Peculiar to-works and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations they come across this world." And he said to him, 'What are the superiors, 'as for the lower things?u

To this he replied to him: 'The upper things are the firmament, the lower the earth."

Then he asked him: 'Will the firmament become pregnant before the earth, or will the earth become pregnant before the firmament?"

To this he replied: 'My father! The firmament brings rain and dew, and the earth opens its mouth and absorbs it. Then bring they produce fruits, seeds and fruits of which the children of Adam eat and drink without thanking their Lord."

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, set on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your Fathers, it is built.

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him: ,,Šilmai, Master of the house! A 'Word has come to me from the house of life about the ordinances, Eigen-works and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations they come across this world. Then he said to him, 'Who are the outer ones, who are the inner things?e

To this he replied to him: 'The external things are the man who inside the woman').

Then he asked him: "Does the man receive before the woman, or does he receive the woman in front of [202] the man ?t

To this he replied to him: 'The seed forms in the body of the man through forty-two days. Then he gives the seed to the woman, the The stem, the root and the copulation, and from them the marrow, the Bones and tendons."

Then he asked him, 'What does the woman give to the child?u To this he replied to him: "She gives him the blood, the skin, the pictures2) and the hair."

Then he asked him: 'What is the origin of the child in the mother and what makes it grow?e

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1) Probably related to the genitals and the type of mating.

2) It is uncertain what is meant by this, perhaps the other forms.

To this he replied to him: 'The child grows through the Seven mysteries his father and mother1)"

Then he asked him: "Where does the food for the child come from before

To this he replied to him: 'The food for the child comes from the 5 Inside the mother."

Then he asked him: 'When the measure is full for the child and it is- should be born, how is it born?4

To this he replied: 'My father! When the measure for the child when it is full, you throw contractions to the mother") in the inner hips, it beats 10 Children with ....huge ... "). Then the head turns down and the lower legs up. Then the child is born."

Then he said to him, 'Beautiful is what you told me, beautiful are the secret words that come out of your mouth. Go, sit on your great throne of honor, which is yours between the men, your 15 Fathers, is established."

When he wanted to go and sit down, the master called his Student, asked him and said to him: ,,Šilmai, Master of the house! A Word is to me from the house of life about the orders, Peculiar to- works and words, about the depths of Naşaerism and the interpretations 20 is in this world." And he said to him, 'When the measure of the world is full, in what way will it be full of Pu

All the information that his father wanted from him, he knew in his To give it to him; he did not know this information in his Use your senses to give it to him. He felt humiliated and sat down 25 [203] below the three hundred and sixty-two disciples.

There went and came the treasure of light, the great rest and support of the Life*), found him and said to him: , Why are you sitting there, Šilmai, Lord the house of Pu

To which he replied: 'My father wanted information from 30 to me, whom I did not know in my mind, to give them to him."

Then he said to him: 'The information that your Father wanted from you, I know in my mind. When your father invites you in front of him and he says to you: 'Did you know this information in your mind and gave it not to me, or did one of the Uthras, the Sons of Light, have you did 35 teach you that?ts), so say to him: ,I knew her in my sense,

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1) There is also other mention of seven mysteries (R 314, 7; Lit. 148, 1; Morg. 183, 6); of the "seven mysteries that sit in the body" Lit. 36, 5. Here are probably the inner Body parts (such as the heart, lungs, liver, bile, spleen, stomach, kidneys) and their activity- assume. 2) See Lit., p. 36".

a) Npp is only found at this point; the meaning is uncertain. That otherwise frequent means,overturning." it's not all right. Maybe there is a there was a great deal of corruption before and originally there was a "brain".

4) See also Lit. 25, 12; 75, 4; 80, 4; 125, 4; 129, 4. Here it is with it, as from p. 204, 1 to erselen is meant, Hibil-Zīwā. ")

See for the interpretation of the words p. 203, 33ff.

and yet I did not give them to you, because my foot was not safe from you and not on my sole'). Then say to him, 'If this The measure of the world is full, the earth falls into ...), and the sky wraps together like mats. The sun aims its shine, the moon draws its brightness is off, the stars and celestial images fall off like droughts Leaves. The fire goes into its shell, the water into its shells"). The four winds of the house cling to the wings and do not blow*)."

Then he asked him: 'Where are Ruha, Christ, the planets and the Souls of the wicked who have confessed to you? Where are you going, where do you come from and where do you get your apartment?t

To this he replied to him: ,,Rūha, Christ, the planets and the souls the wicked who have confessed to them, call one after another, seize each other by the hand, are tied up, go there and collapse like a Pomegranate of lead") in Ur, the Lord of darkness, in his own big body. It smokes "), the fire is kindled and consumes Ur, the Lord of Darkness, Ewath, the lying Ruhā, the planets and the Souls of the wicked who have confessed to them."

Then Šilmai, the master of the house, arose and went before Jathrūn, the perfect man, and spoke.to him: ,,My father! The information, which thou desirest of me, [204] I will give thee. When the measure of the The world is full, the earth falls into ... ..., and the sky is winding down-together like mats. The sun draws its shine, the moon draws its Brightness out, the stars and celestial images fall off like dry leaves. The fire goes into its shell, the water into its shells. Which four winds of the house grasp at the wings and do not blow. Ruha, Christ, the planets and the souls of the wicked who confessed themselves to them have, call one after another, go to each other, grab each other by the hand, get tied up, go there and rush in like a pomegranate of lead The Lord of darkness, in his own great body. Smoke rises in his stomach, the fire is kindled and consumes Ur, the Lord the darkness, Ewath, the lying Ruha, the planets and the souls the evil ones who have confessed to you."

Then his father said to Shilmai, the lord of the house: you gave this information in your own sense and did not give it to me, or did someone of the Uthras, the Sons of Light, told you?u

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1) is Persian ustuwär ,"firm, firmness". It has concrete features in Mandaean Has assumed meaning and is associated with foot or heel; on their "Nimby stand firm (R 264, 8; 266, 8, 11; 272, 19; 294, 10). Maybe it means downright Sole of the foot.

2) in addition to this, there is also L 17, 12. The meaning is uncertain, see Nöld., p. 123, 11. It would seem,rubble" od. ühnl. mean.

a) Lics כינינאיון.

4) Anch Joh. 79, 8.

6) You have probably read: Abbot point nine nine imdb 5o).

°) See Z. 29f.

To this he replied: 'Hibil-Zīwa gave me this information-hold on.

Then he said to him: 'Go, go, you who bar the shine, from the The light that life has cut off from itself, and the Uthras have left behind ')."

Life is victorious over all works, and Jawar is victorious-Zīwā and his helpers.

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1) See above, p. 194, 24.

Sixth book.

Even more peculiar than the book of Šilmai is ,,the book of Dīnānūkht." Dīnānūkht. according to Andreas Iranian Denüzt , "the one who speaks according to religion" (with reference on Yt. 5, 18 and Y. 8, 7, as well as Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterb., col. 127 S. v. anuy- tayae), is a middle thing between man and book. He is "the ink book of the gods", a book written in ink, here probably still in contrast to inscribed clay tablets. He is constantly sitting over his old and new books and is looking for the secret- to explore the nits of the world. The little Dişai appears in front of him, he too is half human half Book. The name shows the same form qitlai, according to which the Mandaeans usually have names 'be transformed from the religious world, cf. Joli., p. XX. The stem is uncertain. yy to it is found as a designation for the ancient Hebrew script, see my Nordsem. Epigr., p. 190 Anm. however, it is questionable whether the name is related to this. Dişai, small but big-mouthed, comes with big words that do not give Dīnānūkht enlightenment. Dīnānükht throws him into the fire, then into the water, finally he leaves ilm from morning to .The evening is ahead. It seems that Dinänükht is falling asleep and that in Tranme Ewath- It appears to him, who identifies with the higher and lower things of the world. Then a Uthra Dīn-Mlikh comes to him, takes his soul to the body and fills it past the guardhouses. There are supposed to be eight (p. 210, 16), but not all of them are listed. In them Dīnānūkht sees only the wicked and the wicked, but last of all, in the vigilance of the Aba- thur, he chastised the pious for their good deeds. The Uthra also promises him Reward and bliss, but he should only return to the lower world, his books into the Throwing fire and water, and sixty years and sixty months the true faith verkiinden. Dīnānūkht returns to the world, finds the people who kept him filr dead, to complain to him, and cause her to desist from it. He follows the advice of Uthra, throws his books into the fire and into the water, preaching the true faith and rising after the 25th time to get to the house of life.

The story has ancient origins. The wise scribe Diuänükht reminiscent of NDDN N0D 12), "the wise scribe Nbü" in the Aranüische Inscripture from Cappadocia Ephemeris I, p. 325, where one has to read the beginning like this, and here L 29, 6. With the sage sitting between the waters, one thinks of the one on the 30th Ut-Napištim, the great Babylonian flood heroes, who were sitting at the mouth of the streams, in order to more than Dīnānūklit's wife Nūraitā fills the same name as Noalı's wife, see above, p. 46, 4. The language also has old turns, see p. 2061 on aNDDN and p. 2084 to by.

The scripture is quoted by Bar Khōnī in describing the religion of the Doesteans, see Theodorus Bar Koni, Liber Scholiorum ed. Addai Scher II (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, Textus, Ser. II, tom. 66), p. 347, 6 and Pognon, Inscr. Mandaites, p. 227. Instead of aDD there is to read aDD. Siouffi p. 31 et seq. tells a legend of Dananoukh, who is only slightly concerned with this story- has rungs. Dananoukh receives letters there from the evil spirits, whom he saw in the fire- burns, and his soul is transported from the angel of death through the Matarotho and then through the Olmi-Danhouro led and showed her the punishments of the wicked and the reward of the pious.

In the name of the great life, a remission of sins will be granted to me NN and my wife NN.

Between the waters I sit. I am Dīnānūkht, the wise Scripture-scholars, the ink book of the gods, the powerful, proud, haughty, in whose house there is no master of the house, [205] in whose building, in whose upper Palaces and lower houses there is no aging. These are my books lie on my hands, and my memorial book ') on my two arms. I study in my new books and seek instruction in the old ones. I sense, recognize and teach myself about the past, present and
2).

Then little Dişai came and fell in front of me. I opened it and studied in it. He is small, but his speeches are great), and violent break out the words to him'). He searched in the upper abaddons") and said: ,,There is a life that has been from time immemorial, and there is a kušta, which was at the beginning earlier. There is shine, there is light. There are Death, there is life; there is darkness, there is light°). There is a mistake, it gives truth. There is destruction, there is construction. There is a blow, there gives healing. There is a sublime man who is older and used to he was the builder of heaven and earth."

Dinānukht says: 'I was looking for instruction from the little Dişai and said: 'Where is the life that has been from time immemorial, where is the Kuštā, who has already was earlier at the beginning? Where is the shine, where is the light? Where is the Error, where is the truth? Where is the destruction, where is the construction? Where is the blow, where is the cure? Where is this sublime man, who is older and was there earlier than the builder of heaven and earth?"

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1) An old expression, cf. Malachi 3, 16; Esther 6, 1; Ezra 4, 15.

a) See also above, p. 197, 18. 3) See above, p. 192, 15.

1) in addition to this, L 59.8 is also found in the case of fire. In Syria- we know them in the sense of "violent", especially from the rain. In Arabic, it is zrf is used by an abundance of words.

8) The Abaddōns (bibl. pABN) actually belong to the underworld, see p. 208, 7 and Lit., pp. 67, 4; 117, 1.

e) This sentence falls in A. The omission must be old, because the corresponding Words in the following paragraphs are missing in all manuscripts.

Then I grabbed little Dişai and burned him in the fire.

Between the waters I sit. I am Dīnānukht, the wise Scripture-scholars, the ink book of the gods, the powerful, proud, haughty, in whose house there is no master of the house, in whose building, in whose upper palaces and lower houses there is no older one. These books are 5 on my hands and my memorial book on my two arms. I study in my new books and seek instruction in the old ones. I sense, know and teach me about [206] past, present and the future.

Then little Dişai came and fell in front of me. I opened it and studied in it. He is small, but his speeches are big, and break violently the words come out to him. He searched in the upper abaddons and spoke: ,,There is a life that has been from time immemorial, there is a kušta that has been in the beginning it was. There is shine, there is light. There is death, there is life. There is darkness, there is light. There is error, there is truth. Es there is destruction, there is construction. There is a sublime man who is older he was the creator of the heavens and the earth."

Dinānukht says: 'I was looking for instruction from the little Dişai and said: 'Where is the life that has always been, where is the Kušta, which has already was it earlier in the beginning? Where is the shine, where is the light? Where is the Death, where is life? Where is the darkness, where is the light? Where is the error, where is the truth? Where is the destruction, where is the-construction? Where is the blow, where is the cure? Where is this sublime A man who is older and was there earlier than the builder of heaven, and the earth?u

Then I grabbed the little Disai and sank him into the water. Between the waters I sit ... (repeat) in the upper Abaddons [207] and spoke: .... as the builder of heaven, and the earth?i

Then I grabbed little Dişai and left him in front of me from the shadow of the morning until the great dawn1) of the evening.

Then Ewath, the Holy Spirit, came to me in my Škinā and he said to me, 'Why are you lying there, Dīnānukht? Why did you like sleep? I am the life that has always been, I am the Kušta, the it was earlier in the beginning. I am the shine, I am the light. I am i am death, I am life. I am the darkness, I am the light. I am the error, I am the truth. I am destruction, I am build. I am the blow, I am the cure. I am the Exalted A man who is older and was there earlier than the builder of heaven, and earth. I have no comrade among kings, and there are otherwise no crown in my kingdom. There is not a single person who could give me a message in the clouds of darkness."

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3) See Nöld., pp. 127, 22.

Then came Din-Mlikh-Uthra, throwing blows') against the body of Dinā- nukht and brought him out of the body. [208] Winds, take winds Dinānükht hin, storms, storms") drive him away, carrying ladders, ladders let him rise up and let him climb up on rungs. They brought him they lifted him up and placed him in the guardhouse of the Nbaz-Haila of the Lord the darkness, the great anvil of the earth. His throne is on the The tibil is set, its feet rest on the lower abaddöns, and over all the seas the hem of his robe is dragged. A thousand times a thousand [stand before him], and serve ten thousand times ten thousand idols him. Then he said, 'When I saw him, I said to myself that I would bow and bow before him, stretch out my body and give him rates." Doclı Din-Mlikh-Uthra, who accompanied me, did not let me and said to me: 'To whom do you want to bow, Dīnānūkht, and to whom do you want to 'bow to whom do you want to stretch your body and praise it, where the great The life and house of the great first Father are before you

Winds, winds take Dinanükht, storms, storms drive him go away, ladders, ladders carry him up and leave him on rungs rise up. They lifted him up and placed him in the guard- house of Zan-Hazazban, the hurtful, the brave, the king of wrath, the Strength and spoilage. His throne is hung at the gate of heaven- composed. To the thief he says: steal, and to the master of the house he says: stay firm stand. To the thief because of the killing and to the master of the house because of the That damage"). A thousand times a thousand stand before him, and ten thousand times ten thousand idols serve him. When I saw him, I wanted to bow and bow before him, stretch out my body, and rates. But Din-Mlikh-Uthra, who accompanied me, did not let me and said to me: 'To whom do you want to bow, Dīnānukht, and to whom do you want to bow

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1) To DD7, in fact, "kicking with your feet" see Johi. II, p. 694. means here, probably, "kicks, bumps", and the phrase has the meaning indicated in the translation. That ND2 here, as in other places, means "moment" and the sentence roughly means the meaning habe: he threw Dinānūkht into the body for a few moments, is not likely. since Dīnānūkht is in the body. Also Pognon's assumption that N is 'magic look' bedente („Il jeta des sortilèges dans le corps de Dinanouklit", Inscriptions mandaites, p. 240), is not likely.

2) The meaning of the word NDNTy, which is also related in the same context L 7, 5; 8, 7, is just errateu.

a) The word is found only in this place. I take the meaning according to the reason- meaning of 557. „Basket, Beehive" (Levy, Neuhebr. Wörterb. II, p. 54b) does not fit, rather fits Syrian hellthä „Scheide." We have the widespread idea here from the cleft of the earth, which connects the upper surfaces of the earth with the primordial groundwater. Otherwise if the Mandaean expression RPT2 is found for this, see Joh. II, p. 71; Lit. 215, 1.

4) Here is the Canaanite 127 Sy, which is translated into the Aramaic official language of the Achaean-menid times is invaded, siche Sachau, Aramaic Papyrus and Ostraca, p. 282 pp. 727.

5) So that the thief would die and the owner of the house would suffer damage.

to whom do you want to stretch your body and praise it, where the great, are the first lives and the house of the great, first Father before you?"

Winds, winds take Dinānukht, storms, storms drive him away, ladders, ladders carry him up [209] and leave him on rungs rise up. They lifted him up and placed him in the guard- house of Ewath-Ruha, the mother of the unmarried, Qananit, the mother of the "Saints", the inner scorpion poison of darkness. Seven noble women there are those who are not noble women, and seven virgins who are not They can be called virgins. Their breasts are exposed to them, and their Side slotted them. The wreath of fornication and fornication is on main. They take the hearts of the gods, they take the minds of the Caught human children. They take the men by the proud looks"), the women caught by the lustful heart. A thousand times a thousand before her, and ten thousand times ten thousand idols serve her. He spoke: ,When I saw her, I told myself that I would bow down to her and bow down, stretch out my body and praise her. But Din-Mlikh- Uthra, who accompanied me, did not let me and said: ,,In front of whom will you, Dinānukht, bow down and to whom do you want to put your body- and praise him, where the great, first life and the house of the are you a great, first father before you?u

Winds, winds take Dinānukht, storms, storms drive him away, ladders, ladders carry him up and leave him on rungs rise up. They lifted him up and placed him in the guard- house of the man Himun"). A thousand times a thousand stand before him, and ten- a thousand times ten thousand idols serve him. When I saw him, I said i myself, I would bow and bow to him, my body reach out and praise him. But Dīn-Mlikh-Uthra, who accompanied me, did not leave me and said: ' To whom do you want to bow, Dīnānūkht and in front of whom do you want to stretch your body and praise it, where the great, first lives and the house of the first, great Father are before you?"

Winds, winds take Dinānukht, storms, storms drive him away, ladders, ladders carry him up and leave him on rungs rise up. They lifted him up and placed him in the guard- the house of Ptahil, the bar of splendor, cut off from the light, the has cut off life behind him, [210] whose head is whiter than the foam of water, whose beard looks like flakes of white wool. He speaks: ,,By my strength I built the house, by my miracles I founded the palace. I gave up the moon for the account of the worlds, I gave up the sun to serve the children of men*).

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1) See p. 184, 16.

2) The expression is also R 215, 19. Perhaps it can still be read, see Targūm zu Prov. 21, 4.

8) See p. 179, 30.

1) A pun between 2DN27 and N2WoN2.

The wreath is from the vine, which does not wither and does not fade, and whose leaves do not fall off from him')."

Further, Din-Mlikh-Uthra said to Dinānukht: 'Go into the world of Evil, to the place that consists entirely of kingdoms. Go, burn your books in the fire and sink your memorial book into the water. Draw 5 go out into the world, call the call of life and teach sixty disciples Years and sixty months. When your measure is full, you will come, dress yourself with your") robe of splendor and with your great Cover the turban of light, and they will give you your resplendent wreath rearrangement. You will sit on your throne of tranquility and secret 10 Orders of prayer, Masses and prayers between your brothers, the Uthras, to the sons of Light, recite."

Whereupon Dīnānūkht said to Din-Mlikh-Uthra: 'I would rather The threshold of the house of life will not eat dust and will not enter the world of To return to the great place, which consists entirely of kingdoms- 15 return."

Then Dīn-Mlikh-Uthra said to Dīnānūkht: 'O Dīnānukht, you Fool, who is not wise, [212] thou more deficient, who is not perfect. At the On the threshold of the house of life, one does not eat dust. Eat only good things you are looking for comfort. Return to the world of the wicked and celebrate the 20th A place made up entirely of kingdoms. Burn your books in the fire and sink your memorial book into the water. Move into the world call out the call of life and teach disciples sixty years and sixty months. When your measure is full, come, clothe yourself with your Robes of splendor, cover yourself with your great turban of light 25 and put your beautiful wreath around your head."

Dinānukht said, 'I opened my eyes and lifted my brows high. I looked and saw a thousand times a thousand noble people who were in the The sun stood and wept over me, and ten thousand times ten thousand Noble women who stood in the heat") of the day and complained about me 30 (and cried). And I said to them, 'Go, ye nobles, who have weep over me, go, weep over yourselves, and you Noble women, who complain about me (and weep), go, complain (and cry) about yourself. You didn't see what my eyes were- look"), you have not heard what my ear heard"). 35

Then Dīnānūkht got up, called his wife Nūraitā and said to you:,,Bring me these my books and burn them in the fire and my Memorial book sink into the water."

Then his wife Nūraitā screamed, whined°), shrieked and spoke: ,'Dinānükht has gone mad, Dinānükht is mad'), this king- 40 son speaks without mind."

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1) See Joh. II, p. 2141, also Lit. 108, 1; 243, 10.

2) Sorry. did "ntoeny. 3) See Nöld., pp. 63, 3. 4) Sorry. has ANini.

") Sorry. has FNDN2. ") Sorry, has NNDD , cried". 7) Read NDW and NDNW.

And Dinānukht arose, and burned his books in the fire, and he threw his memorial book into the water. He moved out to this world, called the call of life and taught disciples sixty years, sixty Months and sixty days. When the measure of the Dinānukht was full and he when they left his body, they led him to the gate of the house of life upwards. Then Dīnānūkht said: 'Öpen to me the gate of the house of Life." And they opened the gate of the house of life to him, and drew before him the a large curtain of security in height. They jumped up, dressed with a robe of splendor, covered him with a large The turban of light, they brought him a wreath from the vine, and put it around his head. Dīnanukht now stood at the gate of life, at the Places that are all splendour, places that are all light. He stood there in great Praise the mighty life and the (man) whose name is dear and he is raised up [213] like himself'). And Dinanukht said: ,Ent- speaking of this ascension with which I ascended, let all be true- the faithful and the excellent Naşöreans ascend and reach it. They are to be set up and consolidated in the great, first place of light ")." Life is fixed in the light, Manda dHaije is raised up in Life is victorious over all works.

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1) Well read. Lit. 267.2 is entitled to other- hang together.

") This is Mandā dHaijē. His name is equated to himself.

8) See above, p. 196, 17.

◆

Seventh book.

A collection of wisdom sayings that John put in the dancer's mouth have. For John, the Arabic form Jahjä is used here (see Joh. II, p. 73), in Ginzā only at this point. After that, the treatise was written down only in Islamic times, but of course it is not completely excluded that the Arabic Form was only later used for the older Jõhänä. The heaped compilation related concepts (Z. 24; p. 216, 17) and the sharp juxtaposition of opposites he- in the same way in the description of the light and the dark world in the two p. 3f. the discussed tracts. But these moments are not enough to bring the piece to the same- not even the mention of the King of Light (p. 214, 3).

In the name of the great life, shine upon them') their sense, their knowledge and your knowledge, as well as me and my wife.

This is the wisdom and teachings that Yahya, the Son of Zakhria, made known to the true and believing Naşöreans, revealed and notify. He said: 'If you have the strength to do this, be a man of justice, which is tested in all his works, the same to a king whose crown is set on his head, the war the world of the wicked and liars, and the darkness and its helpers prostrate. Have you no strength to be a man of tried righteousness, so be a true Naşöräer, like the orderly countryman who has the The earth and the seeds in it, the one who cultivates the Perfect a helper who gives strength to men of proven righteousness and participates in their merits.

The weapon of men of proven justice is truthfulness, Faith, straightness, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, customer, Teaching, Truth, Prayer, Praise, reward(granting), alms, gentleness, kindness, humility, justice, Truthfulness, popularity*), caution, correctness, purity, guiltlessness, Modesty"), mercy, compassion, reflection and reflection about life and true love.

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1) The believer. ") Probably so, not , kindness", which p. 214, 27 does not fit.
a) See Nöld., p. XXVIII unt.

The first thing about your truthfulness is: do not falsify your word and love does not lie and deceit.

The first thing about your faith is: believe in the King of Light, that he there is and stands in all the virtues.

The first thing about your straightness is: judge yourself.

The first thing about your knowledge is: don't be mixed¹).

The first thing about your insight*) be: don't throw yourself into dirt. The first thing about your wisdom is: don't joke and laugh not [214] about the perfect ones.

The first thing about your teaching is: teach and explain the words of your Lord.

The first thing about your teaching is: don't focus on virtues- from the side of the good teachers"). The first thing about your truth is: don't change your word something that is not yours.

The first thing about your prayers and praises is: do not love sleep. The first thing about your piety and goodness is: give alms and Water for the hungry and thirsty.

The first thing about your mildness is: do not accept arrogance, do not be angry and do not rebel.

Let the first thing in your humility be: the name of your Lord do not turn away out of your mouth.

The first thing about your justice is: keep yourself just*) and take the words of the wise.

The first thing about your truthfulness is: don't say anything that you don't know.

The first thing about your popularity is: be honored by everyone.

The first thing about your caution is: know your bill and then other word.

The first thing about your rightness is: desire and do not take anything that not yours.

The first thing about your purity is: don't throw yourself into dirt.

The first thing about your guiltlessness is: keep yourself guiltless and love nothing hateful.

The first thing about your modesty is: don't overdo yourself someone bigger than you.

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1) Strive for integrity. 2) Sieves on top, p. 64.

3) That is, do not make them ineffective. The first of the two sentences apparently contains a A reminder to the teacher, the second to the learner. But NMD is not called the But the knowledge, the knowledge, the insight, as it is then together with Nndidine (R 128, 5), Nnnyind (R 305, 9). However, it belongs to Nindsnd and denotes the position and activity of the teacher. One might assume that the both words are wrongly interchanged, if not a support in and מאלפאנותא would have a prop in NoNdsnd.

4) One expects poN.

The first thing about your mercy is: be merciful to the Souls of the poor and persecuted.

The first thing about your praise is: praise the place from which you came-you're coming.

The first thing to think about is the day on which you receive your 5th The body is reliable.

Let the first thing about your love be: embrace faithful love for the good brothers, who walk in the love of your Lord.

The truthful one is like a chariot, which is directed straight and at the there is no shame.

The degree is like the true judge, in whose speech no It's a lie.

The believer is like the farmer who sows and gives good, beautiful It brings forth fruit.

The knower is like the efficient builder who builds the building in all Beauty builds and divides.

The Excellent ') resembles the painter who paints pictures in all their beauty malt.

The wise man is like the skilled craftsman who does every thing goes.

The efficient creative, efficient excellent') resembles the luminous lamp that glows from left to right.

The true one is like a high mountain, which the storms do not can move from the spot.

The one who is tried in prayer and praise is like a merchant who has 25 double and doubled the profit by thousands.

The good one who gives alms, [215] is like the rich table that it is placed in front of the hungry.

The gentle one resembles the sweet, tasty fruit.

The humble one is like the water that falls and turns over 30 scattered everywhere.

The ordinary") resembles the vaunted ... ."), who works, crowned and well-ordered is4).

The friendly one resembles a mountain with lovely flowers, trees and fragrant plants.

The cautious one is like the faithful keeper of the tower, who through all- stabbing is not bribed.

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1) Here it is identical to Fapiaaos, see Joh., p. XXII.

2) The previous words ,which does not change the will of his Lord" are much-it was originally a gloss on NTID, which got into the text.

3) The N3712 standing there can only mean "price", which does not fit. By text 216, 12f. there seems to be a tree named here, about N71127, N712N the female cedar, see R 265, 12, but PENt does not fit this.

4) Uncertain, see also Zeitschrift für Semitistik I (1922), p. 2.

The right one is like the right food, the taste of which is- hand made fruits are right.

The pure is like the bright, pure source, which has no mixture of any kind taking shape.

The innocent is like the polished mirror in which all the faces are clearly recognizable.

The compassionate one, who feels compassion, is like the sun shining over Good and evil lights up.

The Merciful is like the pleasant wind that blows in all the doors and windows are blowing.

The thoughtful one who ponders over what is in store for him and ponders- think, like the knight who sits tied up in prison, but thinks and think: when will I be released from my bondage?

Everyone who is filled with true love') is like the good A father who increases his possessions for his children and offspring.

Chosen and perfect! Be on your guard and keep far from cunning, injustice, deceit, lies, falsehood, deceit, slyness, bos- falsehood, falsehood, error, confusion, obscuration, unbelief, bribery- falsehood, folly, song, filth, fornication, depravity, exaltation*), Haughtiness, proud look, drunkenness, dance, captivity, lust, Embers, through which the children of men are caught, envy, jealousy, Tightness, hatred, impudence, anger, bitterness, rebellion, fornication, robbery, with which to rob, oppress, with which to oppress, rob and plunder the wicked, from filth, defilement of bodies, recalcitrance, and ver- beware with which the wicked rebel and despise themselves against the Show perfection.

Understand the commands of your Lord.

[216] The cunning one is like a pit hidden in cunning. The unjust one is like a pomegranate, which is flaunted from the outside- , but there is mold inside.").

The forger is like the bird, the bird animal, which his comrades in the yarn, throws all his friends to their death4).

The liar is like the enemy who pretends to be a friend, * the he knows every right") and who lowers his voice.

The deceiver is like the predatory seas that the ships, the they are on him, robbing.

The evil one is like the bitter tree, the fruit with deadly poison there is no good fruit in it.

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1) Read דמליא.

°) Cf. Zeitscurift für Semitistik II (1924), p. 180.

a) See also Lit. 218, 2f...

⁴) Lies דמארדיא האברה בקולאליא וראמיא כולהון ראחמה במותא.

5*) These words may need to be deleted.

The sinner is like a well that produces stinking water- he is the one who brings forth poison and bitterness.

The muddled one is like the vomit brick thrown into water. The more you look for him, the stronger the turbidity becomes. The hard one is like the pebble, which is not affected by all the moisture becomes soft.

The fool is like pieces of rock. Likes it on you, likes it under you falling, it sins on you.

The haughty one resembles the magnificent plane tree, which with its arbor but does not bear fruit and does not bestow it on their Lord. The indigner is like the heated stove, which neither ... nor . . . . . hat ¹).

The bitter one) resembles the aloë, which falls into honey and spoils it. The Wüterich is like the blazing fire that the wind carries away.

The wise man who is untidy is like a house without a roof. The wise man who is without order is like a noble lady without a dress.

The wise man who is immodest is like a mirror that does not reflect- is smoothed.

The sage who is untidy is like a horse without a saddle.

The wise man who is unkind is like a dish without taste. The wise man who cannot be silent is like an army without a king.

The wise man who is imperfect is like a tablet that is not- it is decorated.

The wise man, whose words are incorrect, is like a house without a door. The wise man who is not right is like a river without an outlet. The wise man who is not afraid is like a piece of land that is not will be provided.

The wise man who is not careful is like a ship without a skipper.

If the wise man is excessive"), his voice is held down, [217] his words serene, his gait calm, and his greeting comes before.

If the gate is excessive, his voice is too loud, his When he leaves, he goes along rebelliously, and at the Greetings he greets with his fingertips.

If the sage is excessive, his speech is correct, and he is a helper in all beautiful things.

If the goal is excessive, his speech is mendacious, and he is a helper in all evil things.

If the sage is perfect, his speech is just in all

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1) See Joh. II, p. 1626.

2) The text has Nnd. Nöldeke reads Gram. p. 374, 6 No2, perhaps by mistake.

a) This is the meaning of the words 4B here and in the following sentences, not when he lives in abundance," see also Nöld., p. 463m.

Agreements that he makes, and his signet ring is present'). When The dwelling is prepared for all the perfect ones, and the table prepares.

If the gate is excessive, he reckons with the mouth a Account of the transgression, and reach out with your hands and half-drachmas dar*).

If you have a dispute with the Wise man, he will let you grant yourself the right and leave your works in peace and quiet go there.

If you have a dispute with the fool, then his speech is piercing, his voice harsh, and he puts his neck to the sword come.

The wise man does not come to joy because he is interested in his own and others' thinks. The gate has the noose around its neck and dances with it.

If you talk to a good sage, he sows in you good, virtuehafte works. If you turn to a fool, you will become tougher as a stone.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like a stone passing through Oil does not soften.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like a mirror for the Blind person.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like rain on bad Floor.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like white garments for the Glass Blowers 3).

The words of the sage at the gates are like shoes for the walker.

The words of the sage at the gates are like balm oil for the fisher4). The words of the wise man at the gates are like a magnificent garment for Tanner.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like pearls for a sow. The words of the wise man at the gates are like a virgin for the Cut off.

The words of the wise man at the gates are like coals of fire in water. The words of the wise man at the gates are like messengers of joy for the [218] Stick pigeons.

If you leave the fool hungry, he will curse you with all the foolsheiten. If you satisfy the fool, then take and receive from him that which is wrong Grumble.

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1) He is ready to confirm his agreements by the seal imprint.

2) Gives low-quality money.

3) Who immediately pollutes them.

4) The fishermen have a foul smell, see Joh. II, p. 146. Fraenkel's Onversion of the words Journal of Assyriology XX (1906-1907), p. 448 ob. seems to me not right.

The wise man who says: I do not need to go far from the gates- is the first among all the fools and quite unwise. The gate that be silent, be counted among the wise.

Whoever is not your friend, do not initiate him into your actions. Whose heart is not gentle and not humble'), do not regard him as a noble one. Anyone who does not do injustice to others does not need to go to the trial.

He who cries out") and does not act himself is like the hose and the A bucket that fills another person with water and gives them something to drink.

He who cries out and does not act himself is like a man who he is an ugly figure and paints paintings, while he himself is not beautiful can do it.

Anyone who exclaims and does not act himself is like the Walker who The king's dress has been bleached and then it is taken away from him.

Whoever calls out and does not act himself is like the deaf, who all Does not hear chants and songs.

Whoever calls out and does not act himself is like the builder who he does not build himself.

He who exclaims and does not act himself is like the sleeper who sleeps and in a dream kills his enemy. When he wakes up from sleep, he has he did nothing.

He who calls out and does not act himself is like the gardener who I don't make a wreath myself.

Whoever calls out and does not act himself is like the judge who does not they speak for themselves, but only for others.

Woe to those who cry out and do not act themselves, who speak differently and act differently. From the outside they show the badges of faith, and inside they are completely spoiled. Because they don't know, what they do.

Whoever does not do the will of his Lord, death is nearer to him than life.

The perfect ones are those who exclaimed, listened and acted, those who do not lie punish what their mouth speaks.

This is the speech about the sages, the Jahja, the son of Zakhria, in Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, taught and revealed. Jāwar-Zīwā, he [219] and all his helpers, made him victorious.

Life is victorious over all works.

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1) Sorry. has pounds in tons.

2) He who calls admonishingly, preaches, does not ,reads," like Nöld., p. 368 ob. Nanp translates.

Eighth book.

Attempts of the Rühā to seduce the believers; warnings and admonitions Mandā dHaijē's.

In the name of the great, strange life, let a sin-forgiver become- share it with me, my wife, my father, my mother).

In the name of the great, strange life.

Hear me, my Father, hear me,
lift me up, Great One, Son of the mighty (life),
our Father, Son of life*).

This is the mystery, the Scripture and the teaching with which Manda dHaije the men of tried righteousness and all the tribes of Adam disabuse.

When Adam and his wife Hawwā were there, Rūhā dQudša went to lower earth Sufath *) and descend to the lower abaddons of darkness. Ruha brought dirt and menstrual blood from the Dew Zāmūr and bound it Hawwa on the hips. She said: 'Days, months, hours, moments and times shall come when the men of proven righteous- they will be killed and (here) inhibited, so that none of them will be able to Light rises. Only Hibil-Zīwā will ascend to enlightenment and Bring praise from the light."

This mystery exclaimed*) and conceived Ruha. But then came Hibil- Zīwā, raising the white olive stick, struck the water and spoke: ,A time, but also an interruption for what Ruha proclaimed and invented it. On the tenth day, on the fifteenth day, on the twentieth Days, in the (full) month, in the half-month") the men of heprobter justice will not be killed and inhibited."

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1) In AC there are still the words: who has done this good deed. "NEN is probably singular and refers to the man who had the writing copied.

2) Beginning of the poem Lit., p. 147, LXXX. See also the beginning of the second A part of the following book.

8) See Joh. II, p. 24". 4) See p. 324.

B) It seems to me that the counts are to be interpreted in this way. About this type of counting for days of the month, especially known from Phoenician, see CoOKE, A Text-Book: of

Then Jorabba said to Ruha: ' For all that you have created, Manda dHaije") starts an interruption." Then Ruha spoke to Jorabbā: ,,There is something I want to create that will make all the worlds trapped- and the disciples shall turn away."

Then Rüha went and created the timpani, vocals, guest mahler and Abfall, she created [220] horns and bilure, thereby capturing all the worlds be. Then she went and stood before Manda dHaije and spoke to him: 'I will eat seven parts, and you will eat one part, and in the parts that you eat, I also want to have a share."

Then Manda dHaije replied to her: 'O you blind, blind in heart, lack- those whose eyes do not see the light. How do you want to eat seven parts and I have a part, and why should you have a share in the part, the one I eat?u

To this she replied to him: " They belong to me ") the Naşoreans, who owned take pride in money and good, which can be achieved by singing, playing the harp and Drinking flute wine, sitting at guest feasts, while the floor is in front of they will be shaken by you "), who fall into my captivity, your name, Manda dHaije, do not name, do not give alms and do not practice charity. I will bring you to fall already in this world and plunge you into the torture this world."

Then Mandā dHaije said to her: 'Those who act in this way may Škinā will be accommodated. If I want to create Uthras, I will create you from the great, white Jordan of life."

Manda dHaije calls (to the Uthras and) to the disciples and speaks to to them: 'I call to you, you sons whom I have raised. You I call to you, plants that I plant from among the peoples, borders and I created tongues. My sons! Let you through my speech so that you are not held back in the howling darkness be ye. For I encourage you and make you steadfast in this World. For I know in my mind that the more the age of ab- the more the evil oppresses you*). But you remain in Grace before me, that I may save you from the persecution of the seven planets selling prices. Prayer alms, call the call of life, clothed with clothes and sheathed with sheaths. If there is a Naşöräer who does not if he can give whole alms, he will give half the alms. Route his hands [221] in Kušṭa in front of me, and I will give it to him on the Take full account of Lichterde."

I also teach you, men of proven righteousness, about all that is with Jorabba, and about the Uthras that are with him: Z'hir and

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North-Semitic Inscriptions, p. 55. When considering ,in zelu days, in fortieth days" etc. does not make sense.

1) Mandā dHaijē is identified here with Hibil-Zīwā as well as otherwise.

a) Read ntny.

3) When dancing; we would say,among ilmen*.

4) See also R 229, 18; 284, 19.

Zihrūn, B'hir and Bihrūn, Tar and Tarwān, Sar and Sarwān, Nşab and Anan-Nşab, about the young boy who was in front of him in his car and over the two bundles of light that are placed around his head; the name of one is Zihan, the name of the other Z'ha-Zihan. Jorabba he says to them, 'Who can answer the call of life that has been sounding from time immemorial, to overcome?And to Ruhā Jorabbā says: 'The call is still sounding life in the Tibil. The call of life still rings in my ear. As long as the call of life sounds in the Tibil, I hear the murmur of the Hibil-Zīwā.u But I say, 'Hibil-Zīwa is still from his age not divorced."

Further, I declare to you, you men of tried righteousness: ,,Every time there is a fight on the light earth and the air") in the The world lights up, understand it well in your sense: fight for your sake Darkness and light with each other and shows him3) Characteristics and signs on the Firmament. Do not be afraid of him."

Further, I declare to you, you men of tried righteousness: ,Secure yourselves, your sons, your wives, your descendants, your Bread and your water, and you need not fear him. Because still the great Jordan of life and Šilmai and Nidbai are here. Because if these guardians were not here, ...[4]) the earth Tibil, so it would succeed Jorabba, to overturn them and the firmament on top of each other, like a ship, that rides on the water°). Yes, three times a day he makes a call the sun from the house of Abathur. Once during the prayers of the morning- at the prayer of the seventh hour, once at the prayer of the ° in the evening). [222] Be instructed and do not fear him.

If you want to get up from sleep and perform prayer, then do it when a glimmer of shine becomes visible. Then pray in the seventh hour. Then, when you want to perform the evening prayer, ver- judge it as long as the rays are still there. The man who made the rays, also receive your prayers and keep them in the treasure-home of the mighty life.

Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the Men who teach us. Life is fixed in its škīnā, which Life is victorious.

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1) See the preface to the second part of the ninth book.

") See above, p. 157.

8) I.E. Jōrabbā.

4) Instead of (see text 180,15) there must have been something else.

b) Read ND Sy7.

") Without having any success with it.

Ninth book.

In the name of the great life, may a remission of sins be granted to me NN and my wife NN.

First piece.

The scripture is called "The Overturning of the Seven Stars". It contains a sharp Polemics against foreign religions, which are described in the most gloomy colors. You it contains all the treasures and filth that from time immemorial have been the different religions blame each other. The false religions are derived from the seven planets (cf. anch p. 134 et seq.), hence the naming of the Scripture. With special hatred is thought of the Christian sects. Anf Nerig, the Bloody Mars, will Abdallah, as Mohammed, Abdallah's son, is called here, and the warlike Muslims are repatriated, see Joh. II, p. 504. The information about these do not provide safe There are indications for a more precise determination of the drafting time, but they point to anf a Time of lively struggles in 'Irāq, perhaps also due to ongoing battles between the Byzantines and Muslims (cf. pp. 231, 14). This fits for the Omayad period and the older Abbassid-time. The writing may belong to the eighth century.

This is the mystery, and the Scripture, and 'the overthrow') of the seven Stars", which Manda dHaije revealed and taught on Earth Tibil. He gave them to Ȟibil, Šitil and Anoš, and Hǐbil, Šitil and Anoš gave them to, who love their name. Er4) revealed to them about the mysteries and The passing of the seven planets and the first appendix, which Kēwan to all the stars of wrath among the sons of the great tribe of life won"). He created a shell") and reversed the sign. He

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1) Read ,from the overthrow"? hezichinet the Inlalt bezw. the title of the writing.

2) It refers to anf Mandā dHaijē or anf Hibil, Šitil and Anõš, which are more often referred to as a-be viewed.

a) Kēwān-Saturn is otherwise often referred to as the god of the Jews; here the ascetic Christianity traced back to him, see also p. 29, 10; 47, 11.

4) This probably means the rough coat of the monks and anchorites.

sent out false prophets, he put the cross of darkness on them the left shoulder and took them captive from their homes. He appeared in the form of the Messenger, and called himself the Lord of Lords, the God who shows miracles in the sky and on earth. He let himself on the fasters and fasters, he makes the men monks and the women become nuns and settle down on them. Demons, Dews and Liliths lie down with them, out of the females come male dews, out of the Men come with female liliths. They grab the bodies, kill them and get thus the souls from the body [223] at the inopportune time. They teach you a wisdom the lie, they take on a form of light, the speech of the stranger is suitable They make lying speeches and build a mystery house, in where they celebrate their cults. They lay down to each other, take the seed, mixing water from the Jordan with [water from?] the ocean, fresh and altes'), take ...") of all the children of men, make it equal to the Pihta of the strange man and thus inhibit their souls. Each of the to them who die, they do blood, dirt and ....") of black water and put oil in your mouth. Like my disciples, they organize for themselves a Funeral Mass and memorial service. They call themselves prophets of lies. You impose on them a fast of four days, eight days, twenty days with Remain silent. He (Kevan) imposes on them a fast of fifty and one- and sixty days.

The men of proven righteousness are protected from the fact that the Hand of the Kēwān, the Ruhā, the Christ and the seven planets- walt gets over it.

You, too, my disciples, do not offer the "prophets" a greeting and don't shake hands with them. Because while you are still in your body their soul dries up, and their seed is removed from the house of life truncated. Every disciple who offers them a greeting comes the wrath of life.

Well, I spoke to you about Kēwān and the attachment he among the sons of the great tribe of life has won*). You suffer hunger more than a snake and thirst for water more than ant. When your spirit dies, it goes out like ashes, and your soul dies like coals of fire.

Well, I was talking to you about Kevin and the attachment he has

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1) It is doubtful whether the addition and interpretation of the words given here that's right. It presupposes that npnn pl. m. with a relationship. However, most manuscripts have (also sorry.). This is fem. sing., and after that, NN would also sing as fem. to understand how it is also Nöld., pp. 154, 11 tut. Which the two words must then be attributes. This would then be the substance, with that they mix the Jordan water, but it could not be explained. In a To see the vessel in which you make the mixture prohibits the designation ,new and old".

2) Instead, there was a word that called a substance from which you prepare the pihtā.

3) See above, p. 1205.

4) The sentence stelit again afterwards; at this point it is probably to be deleted.

won. He and the appendage he gained are coming to an end on the day of the end. Now I want to tell you about Šamiš and thehange, which he won.

The Jazuqaeans came from him. You make yourself to me, the stranger man, same. They tie their bursums*) like crosses on the Shoulder. They call the name [224] of Jesus. Like me, the stranger Manna, Pihta and Mambūga take the wasga; equal to the Mass for the dead set up the drona"). They are very fond of water and fire. You eat from the dead and say that God killed him. They sleep at their mothers and daughters. They impose silence on themselves. They take Dresses of menstruating women, dress and cover themselves with it and say: we do not defile ourselves. They know their own follies not. When their wives abort their embryos from the womb, they pull they skin them off, set them up at seven wells, blow up animal-urinate over them and wash them off with a swab4).

The gate of the Jews starts from the gate of the Jazuqaeans. They rise on top of each other, circumcise each other and spread their hands (on the Face"). They take the blood of circumcision and water and splash it's in your face. The prepared thing, from which they eat, they sprinkle with that blood. They call themselves Jews because they have sinned, and Clever, because they failed"). When your mind dies away'), ver- burn them in a blazing fire.

Of the circumcised, worthless Jews, all the peoples and The gates of darkness. They stain and stain themselves with your own dirt and menstrual blood. Whoever practices their works is for the house of life is unsuitable. Whoever eats of their food, whose eyes

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1) See above, p. 1354.

2) It is the baresma, the sacred rods of the Parsis.

a) Wasqa as a cultic food of the Parsis is also mentioned in the vita of the holy Gīwargī by Hoffmann, excerpts from Syrian files of Persian martyrs, p. 96 called. Which The passage should be translated: ,,he gave him Wasgā at the time of the meal." The word is safe persian, but AndReas could not give me an explanation for it; Hoffmann's explanation was impossible. In addition, the Syrian is called N17, i.e. draona, drön, the consecrated Brot der Parsen (see Haug, Essays on the Parsis, 2, p. 407, also Brandt, Rel., p. 203), and here it is safe to change NJnty to NJ7. Of course, this corresponds more to the Pihtā.

4) See NölDEKe, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft VII (1904), p. 341f. Nöldeke considers the reading instead of N to be questionable, but has overlooked the fact that Codd. AD actually provide this reading. Also sorry. she did. Nöldeke reminds of the Cattle urine (Gaomaeza) in the Zoroastrian ritual. NENI is probably NDJ ,"wings", although the Mandaean otherwise has NoTNI for this, see Nöld., pp. 774.

b) See above, p. 25,

6) מאסכילאניא 12. but in Mandaean it means, foolish, acting sinfully". One of them is already in the AT. the speech, cf. especially Dan. 11, 33, 35, but the word is especially in recent times as a designation for the enlightened common among Jews.

7) Read 53.

do not look at the light. Whoever shows them friendship dies of a second Hallows.

I speak to you, my disciples, and teach you about all things Thing. Everything you bring home from the markets and streets, wash with water, and then eat it. Whoever does not wash it off and eat it, will get up Ice machines are being tortured.

Well, I have taught you about the gate of the Jews; now I will i tell you from the gate of the star Libat (Venus), which is different than all other stars are. From her came adultery, fornication and fornication. Three hundred and sixty chants and disgraces') came from her- before, [225] evil spirits arise. They host guest gatherings and chants and cast captivity over every place. They make timpani and Harping and giving voluptuousness, captivity and singing to the "chosen ones"*) the Rūhā. These hang timpani around their shoulders, take singing and They make flutes in their mouths and speak with them in great anger. Women and Men, big and small, get into embers and heat and rub open up. Voluptuousness envelops them, and they plunge into dance. The Hmurthās the Nerig sit on their shoulders in the form of monkeys, let they bounce in dance and throw them into crevices of fire"). They surround you with Sorcery and lust, they are caught by the mystery of drunkenness and do not know what they are doing.

Then another gate came out, which is called Mnunaeans'). They dress with roses, cover themselves with roses and lie down Wreaths of fornication and fornication around the head. Your chest is exposed to them for transgressions, their side is cut open to them for shame. You take the children of men caught and bring them to trap. You will be the Block of Heroic men and the Muddy Lump"). The beings are killed and inhibited by them. They cast spells with the whole tribe of souls. By magic and ugly works they take the men captive from their houses, take them from their The women leave and throw them into severe torment. They will be "the chosen ones"

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1) is to be understood here in this sense, not in the sense of 'slings', which it can also mean, see Joh. II, p. 502.

2) With NEN, a cultic food of the Gentiles (see above, p. 211), this can be ניביא have nothing to do. It is perhaps disfigured from Syrian "the elect". See also Z. 31.

a) The expression can only be found at this point; it is not clear what to do with it- i mean.

4) Or Minunaean (NyNd, It might be disfigured from Manichaean but we will talk about them later. The Jews are not allowed to think. But I would like to refer to the sect of Maljõnājē (8p) at Hoffmann, excerpts, p. 125f. reference.

") NDN27D can only be found at this point. It belongs to N ,"mud", see Joh. II, p. 524. The expression NDN27D NPD may be understood by the Mandaeans as but this is probably a foreign cult name satirized.

called the Ruha and Christi. They lead prisoners away, dragging booty and pronounce the name of death'). You bring home and ver- buy, and you acquire a lot of money and good. When your spirit dies, come they do not get out of the slings, ties") and chains, and they die a second death. They cast out lust and song of falsehood, and the worlds and generations are trapped with them. They sink into down the throat of the stallion").

Well, I told you about the gate of Libat, about the deeds, which she accomplished in the world, and of the sacraments, the seven [226] first Sacraments'). They kill a Jewish boy, take from his blood, bake it in bread and pass it to them as food. She is dreaming- pour the menstrual blood of a whoring nun into wine and give it to them to drink from a mug. The gaze of the children of men must not fall on them, and they will not let you watch. They twist the works the strange man. They dig a basin in the earth, steal Water from the Jordan, boil it with fire, pour it into the basin and let men and women descend stark naked. They baptize them in the And give them water to drink of that water. They talk about the name of death, the name of the Father, the Son and the holy spirit. They baptize them, speaking the name of Christ in the process. about them.

Then comes another mystery, which is the Sacrament of the A donkey with four legs is called. In the place where it was sent out will, see it with your eyes"). It becomes the dirty sacrament by which the whole tribe of souls is inhibited. To you are the unmarried and "saints" to whom the seed descends over the legs- and who kill their children in the womb. They become single and "Saints", who must stand tied up in the guardhouses. From they are the monks and nuns who come out into the great Suf Sea sink. They call themselves blessed men and blessed women because their Soul sinks into the howling darkness°).

Then there's another wicket that's scraping its head off, from make a god for a log and worship him. They paint the gods in their homes, and they, their sons and daughters worship them. They beat

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1) In place of the "life" of the Mandaeans, see also Z. 19. Hardly, of the dead" (i.e. Christ) in spite of p. 229, 8. 2) See above, p. 1048.

a) According to Joh. 180, 10 (II, 178) ,,the unwirled women approach the mouth of the Stallions". Furthermore, it is said that the name of this stallion is Ur, Lord of Darkness. From the same stallion there is perhaps also in an unclear context R 338, 17 speech.

4) Here are still the words that can be meaningless. Maybe it's אמארנאלון and the words are falsely taken from the text Z. 24 got here.

d) It is not practiced in secret? See above, Z. 13.

a) In Mandaean, a pun.

those who rattle and perform works of sorcery, (After)wisdom and contemptuousity. They lie with the woman during menstruation and call it the Hope of the house of the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Ruha says to them: 'Do not consider them unclean, for there is (about them) there is no prohibition for you." Furthermore, Ruha says to them, 'Every one to whom Father and mother, or the first-born son, dear to him, dies: put them in your house and [227] do not get him away from you."

She also tells them another mystery: 'Every Philo- sophen, Catholicos, metropolitans, bishop, presbyter and deacon who served under when you die, be buried in the church, venerate it and pray for it') and do not take them out of your house of prayer. Also every visitor, Scho- laren(?), Vigil priest, who divorces you, who performs miracles Christ is taught, sit in the altar room and do not consider him unclean."

I want to tell you about another gate, about the sacrament of the temple*), which burns in the hearts of people and in their minds glows: Seven "blessed ones" come together, sleep with a woman, throw Seeds into her, and she gets pregnant from them. Then after seven They beat you for months and let you be deported"). Then take the fetus with the afterbirth, blood, feces and menstruation and prepare from the marrow the oil of Benediction. That mystery boil them in water and from the bones set them . . .[4]the Sacramentes here. That [sacrament] they bake with flour and butter6), do Magic and lust, and the sacrament of the Host will be performed-, which burns in the hearts and senses°). Everyone who eats it, cannot lift up his face to the house of life, and remains hidden from the worlds and generations.

I will tell you about another gate that is under the the souls of the wicked. From it are the monks and nuns emerged. On the mountains, heights and fields they wander, and with their shape they resemble the demons. They walk around nakedhere, and with their hair they resemble the stinking goats. Your The shape is uglier than the night and more terrible than the howling Darkness.

They are called anchorites. They graze off green cabbage'), and from the

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1) It says, don't, "worship her".

2) Here is the expression nD, which stands for the temple in Jerusalemwill be needed.

a) See to Joli. II, p. 136°.

4) The word is only in this place. It seems to apply to "tarnish".

6) So here is perhaps NNINS13, arab. hulāşa, according to its main sense in Arabic to grasp.

°) Here we refer to the dual sense of the Syrian gmurtā, that "coal" and "host" arehints, alluded to.

3) 'you eat' is probably just a gloss.

good, beautiful food, the Ptahil, the builder of heaven and earth, created, they are not allowed to eat. They know no joy; Ruhā and Christ will not let you feel joy in this world. demon whisper with them, and then they say: ,,God whispers with us; we turn do not turn away from God." They call my disciples ,"interpreters of the Word" [228] and "Sellers of buckets of water" ') and say to my disciples: "You have no right faith in the world." You also put your mouth Fasting*) so that the name of the killed man is not out of their midst disappear. They take dust from a dead man and put it in all their Preparations and meals.

Furthermore, Manda dHaijē spoke and explained: 'Every Naşorean who the food of Christ is eaten on the day when they keep a fast, it is put on fire- devices are cleaned. Furthermore, every Naşorean who is on the first day of the New Year washes himself with water from the Jordan, drinks from it and the face is smeared with it"), being a part of Ruha and Christ and to the seven as a share."

Further, I declare to you, my disciples, that there is another gate it is the one that came from Christ. They will be Zandīqe and Mard-called mane. They sow seeds in secret and in ways of darkness-get your share. Women and men lie next to each other, take the Seeds, put it in wine, give it to the souls') to drink and say he be pure. They call on the wind, fire and water and praise the sun and Moon. When your spirit dies, you resemble the flies that fly on a pot sit. The steam rises up and gets to you, you lose your Wings, get hit and fall into it '). You will be selecting the ge- the name chosen by Mār-Mānī. Every Naşorean who comes from their If you eat food, it will fall into the great Suf Sea °).

I have told you of Ruha, Christ and the seven sacraments-counts that you have created in the world, the tribe of souls to hold on to it. Now I will tell you about another gate,

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1) The robber sense of words is safe. See also Tar- go to Eccl. 8,1. But the allusion is not transparent.

2) It seems that here it means silence, otherwise p. 50, 6. See also pp. 224, 19 and R 356.

3) The author apparently has a Christian custom in mind here, probably the The baptism of the river, the consecration of the water and the use of the consecrated water, as they were on the Epiphany- the "Big New Year" days are practiced. The oldest news about the Epiphany celebration see at Holl, session reports of the Berl. Akademie 1917, p. 403ff. See also Brandt, Rel., p. 90 below.

4) The Mandaeans. b) See above, p. 190, 6.

6) In this whole paragraph we are talking about the Manichaeans. Zandīq is the-this is the term for "heretics". According to ANDREAs, Mardmāne is Persian mardmän ,,Men- schen", a term that is otherwise not suitable for the Manichaeans or a part of them evidence is running. The aforementioned wind, fire and water are three of the five manichaeis-elements, see BouSSET, Hauptprobleme, p. 231, also above, p. 34, 5ff. With the ,, From- election" refers to the Manichaean elect.

which Bel created. You take the crown and practice the Royalty. From it the Book of Ruha has emerged. Whole Tibil dies and is killed. Gold and silver for killing them and shed blood. The disciples are killed in the process, and the Nasoräer was taken into captivity. They learn the Book of Ruha, drink the murky waters and are captured by haughtiness. You love pictorial works and colored stuff, love the lust of the Tibil and say: We do not want to leave her, the tibil does not pass. Everyone [229] The chosen and perfect one, who blames them, meets persecution and Is unfair.

I now declare to you, my disciples: Every Naşoer, the reward and alms of the Jawar[1] for colored stuff, dyed white robes, her appearance changed, his wife dressed with it and put it in front of her- will receive blow after blow, - there is nothing that would be endless, -- [2] be cut off from the expensive light, into the guardhouses of the seven Planets fall and do not come close to the house of Abathur.

Furthermore, anyone who sits on colored stuff or his head on this, one will judge with lawless rights. Yes, you my disciples, have no desire for the pictorial works and the colored stuff of these So that you may not be cut off from the hidden Jawar: for every woman who was baptized in the Jordan and with the sign of life is drawn and wears colored robes, is tormented on fire appliances be. Your soul will grow thin as a hair on the head, testing and Anger hits her in the black water, and she dies without then Heifind lungs.

I tell you about the call, the Bel called, through which all The great and proud are killed. You can't hold them by the hands, that they will be freed from them"). (They cry, howl and melt into Back tears. Every day they wage war and shed blood, and persecute the whole tribe of souls, and the great generation of life. Again and again they oppress her and say: we want her out of this world exterminate. They eat bread with the sword. The more the age decreases, the more you are depressed by the bosheit[4]. All peoples, borders and tongues pray. Even among the children of the great tribe of life there are many souls who go and join them. You fall away from the name of life and worship it. They tell themselves about Mandā dHaije and profess allegiance to Abdallah the Arab and the holy Spirit, who revealed to them the mystery of death. They go and curse the name of life. All dirt and scolding goes from them, and they swear at the name of life. Everyone, [230] who is of the great tribe of life and worships Abdallah, will find no relief. Because he twisted and changed the sign, let him be killed on an ice device. Also all Hmurthas who are from they came out to him (from Nerig), and they settled on the slaves, and Slaves of Abdallah). They raise a call, pray false prayer and let it ascend to the firmament. You are initiating- and revile the seven planets*). Nerig speaks to you: ,,It there is no God who is more noble and stronger than I am." He brings ainterrupted sword, saber, war, murder, hunger, torment, struggle and Verfollowing up against his brothers. In the whole Tibil, in its four corners, he brings war to them every day. All souls belonging to Abdallah [counter?]"), fight with sword, fire and flame. Day- every day Ruha") goes out to fight and makes war with Nerig. She speaks to him: 'I have given you the book and the speech, and the Mystery death is revealed to you. I have scourge and ruling power for you, speak and granted a hearing. I told you that all the light will rise for you be. You explain to your worshippers: ,Well, I will make you a para- lift them up to the place where your eyes are full of hope- look', while you plunge them into the lower seol. You beguile her by Scourge and ruling power, gold and silver, then you plunge them into the lower seol and oppress her with device, foot block, torture, torment, bondage and torture. I said to you: Did you not say: I am the powerful God, I want to show you the light?")") Also for everyone who belongs to the Children of the great tribe of life, and from their teaching, and when he learns of her book, he plunges down into that great place of darkness.

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[1] Whose donation Jāwar ordered.

°) See above, p. 75°.

d) Or is prynty's ndensns to be understood in the same sense as pontye nondns at the parallel passage Text 232, 5: "you are not able to free yourself from them"?

[4] See above, p. 221, 30.

Furthermore: Those who go hunting and meat hunting and killing food, whose soul will be slain by sword and sword. Everybody Women, [231] who wear drag dresses°) and brocade fabrics of gold and Silver clothes'), will be held captive under cauldrons. You

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1) should be deleted at this point. It is from text Z. 13 or 231, 25 got here. See also p. 232, 11.

°) That probably means: you determine your own fate and discard the planets as a guide of skill, cf. pp. 13, 28.

a) The text is not in order, see the parallel passage 233, 1, where the text also ent- it is. By "souls" only Mandaeans can be meant.

4) Probably denotes the Christian Byzantium.

5) The clamped stick is repeated afterwards and stands there in the right place.

c) The meaning of the word occurring only at this point is only according to the meaning- "pull out, pull out, pull out". For some of its meanings probably borrowed from the Aramaic Arabic simt means, among other things: the lower one about the coat is a prominent and visible part of the skirt; which descends to the shoulder and chest-hanging part of the turban; a protective armor hanging over the rear of the horse, then also an unlined robe and a robe made of cotton.

7) Sorry, has N2enS.

will die a second death and not become the house of life rise up.

Well, I have taught you about the gate of Bel and about the Works that he practiced in the world. Now I want to tell you about Sin (the moon) and teach about the call that he has called. From him go the Jews, the abortus and departures from the leper men and women. He verpractice evil in the whole Tibil velvet and special. He increases and increases he raises and humiliates, he raises and plunges into the depths'). He cuts off measure and number"). He spoils the years and does evil days, months and years. He seduces the whole tribe of Soul. Whorish, smelly Hmurthas come out and let themselves down on women and men. They are called Baiwāzīgh") and wash yourself with water'). They put a priest") at their head, sleep with him, put seeds in him, take that mystery, bake it in a cake, take it at a border point"), swear to each other and do not reveal it to each other. You will also find abortions and departuresnannt. How they act, you act on them. Men and women who of that mystery, find no relief and healing, and their Eyes do not look at the light.

Well, I have taught you about the gate that Sin created, about the works that he does in the world, and about the transgressions, to whom he has seduced the tribe of souls'). They seduced this and divided him into different parties.

I have taught you about this gate, my disciples, as well as about the sins he has committed in the world. Now I want you to teach about the gate that Nerig founded, the Abdallah of the Arabs from which the seven forms of wrath came forth have. The tribe of souls is killed by him, and the whole Tibil will be bent under his throne. From him came the scourge, they eat They rule and exercise the kingdom. They draw sword and saber [232] and shed the blood of the sons of Adam. They bring home loot

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1) It acts according to its own increase and decrease.

2) He shortens the established age of life.

a) Andreas writes to me: ,,The word is Iranian by name because of the The final syllable, which is the Middle Iranian adjective suffix 7y, older ey, but the meaning can bedo not determine the meaning of the word with certainty. The two initial syllables are a compositum, whose forelimb bai, be the southwestern Iranian younger form of the older bay , God" shall. The hind limb would allow for various interpretations. It can be a "word", then would baiwäziy be one related to the word of God, or wväz is considered the Iranian Equivalent of the Ancient Indian vāja ,force" taken, daun is baiwväziy one to whom Godforce is attributed as a property. But it would also be possible that baiwäz is a personname, then a baiwvāziy would be the follower of a man named Baiwäz."

4) It is uncertain whether to read with CD AND). FD) does not fit.

") Also above, p. 224, 8, there is talk of men giving birth unnaturally.

c) Which is particularly suitable for magic landings.

7) Sorry. see also above, p. 24, 28.

and carry away captives, [they sell,][1]) what they have with their gold not bought, not traded with your silver and not traded with your goods have acquired. They rob the son from the mother, the husband from the Wife, the father of the Son and take away their strength and steel*). Which People are not able to save themselves from them, they cry, howl and melt into tears. Every day they wage war and shed blood, and persecution strikes the whole tribe of souls, and the greatbad of life. They constantly oppress them and say: we want to destroy them from this world. They eat bread with the sword. The more the age decreases, the more malice oppresses you. All peoples, Borders and tongues worship them. The souls of the great tribe of Life joins them. They fall from the name of life and worship her. They renounce Manda dHaije and confess Abdallah the Arab and the holy Spirit who gave them the mystery death was revealed. They go and curse the name of life. All the scolding and dirt has gone out from them, and they scold the name of life. Everyone who comes from the great tribe of life if he goes and worships the Arab, there will be no relief. Because if they have twisted the sign, they shall be killed on an ice implement. Also, all the Hmurthas that have come out of him can be attributed to the Slaves and slaves of Abdallah. These raise a reputation, pray a false prayer and let it ascend to the firmament. You guide each other and revile the seven planets. Nerig speaks to you: 'There is no God more noble and greater than I am." He brings sword, saber, war, murder, hunger, torment, battle, and Persecution against his brothers. Throughout the Tibil he brings daily War among them. All [233] souls who belong to the Arab Abdallah- kicking(?)[2]), fight with sword, fire and flame. Day- every day Ruha goes out to fight and makes war with Nerig. She speaks to him: 'I have given you the book and the speech, and the Mystery death is revealed to you. I have scourge and ruling power for you, speak and granted a hearing. I told you that all the light will rise for you be. You explain to your worshippers: ‚Well, I will make you a paralift them up to the place where your eyes are full of hope- look', while you plunge it into the lower Šeol. You beguile her by Scourge and ruling power, gold and silver, then you plunge them into the lower seol and oppress her with device, foot block, torture, torment, fesselung and torture. I said to you: Didn't you say,I am the power- full God. I will show you the light, I will give you oil and honey i will give you food, I will clothe you with magnificent garments, I will be give you every comfort, and you will find good. It there is no God stronger than me. I want you beautiful women give'? Why are you oppressing her now with device, foot block, torture, torment, Shackling and torturing and judging them by a lawless rights? Which Servants of the strange man against whom we have drawn the sword, have now ascended to the upper worlds of light, while we are here in the darkness and the black water are cut off and neither Find relief yet bliss."

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[1]) See R 256, 4.

[2]) Also in Mandaean, an alliteration. it's probably Syrian hellthä ,,Scheide", also R 256, 9 and Lit., p. 1821.

a) See above, p. 231, 13.

The Arab Abdallah speaks to his servants and all the gates that have made themselves known to him: 'When I came to you with the great- the whole Tibil subjugated you, scourge and ruler power ver- the whole deity is bent among you and all peoples, borders and I have plundered your tongues, since I and my mother have given you rest- beguiled by meinsam. I said to myself, 'This is how it will be on the last day for me, the great Qadoš'), my father, by whom I was begotten, and my father Leviathan will have a meal ready"). [234] Well, see how all Pla- they had no power like you, and the servants of the planets, my Brothers who were no match for you and no ruling power equal to you have. Now, on the big court day, you won't find any out with me- kunft"). Because I will feed you with ...") and honey, you will feed yourself with fragrant wreaths, flowers and spices, I will introduce you to between heaven and earth in anger- let the chariots go around, make you fat rams, let no one now free from my hands and redeem and ascend to the light- bring."

I have told you about all the gates of the planets and all the follies- teacheth. Do not eat their food. Your hands shall not be covered with blood taint. Do not kiss an unbaptized mouth.

Praise be to life and to Mandā dHaije. Life is victorious over all the works, and the community of the Nuşoreans is victorious.

And life is victorious.

Second piece,

At the command of the great, mighty Mānā, the sons of the first life will be") out of the Piriawis-Jordan a youthful being was created, the "youthful boy",

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1) To the God of the Jews, see above, p. 25,

8. ") The author of the piece has probably heard about it once, daf on the last day the Leviathan is supposed to be used for a meal, and has verdrelit it in this way.

a) I can't help you.

4) The word is found only in this place. Above it says , "Oil and honey"'. There is also N2D: Cod. Sab. Paris. 15, f. 45b, 19; Oxf. Roll F, Z. 1238, 1262.

5) Or of life itself, siele p. 2364.

"the just, the great, the only one". - Enjoyed as a divine child in the dying
,Antiquity Harpocrates enjoyed special popularity and became widely known beyond his Egyptian homeland
out of reverence. Semitic is the idea of the morning star, which is accompanied by the Sun-
ZDMG XXXII (1878), for a smaller star than boys, the puer Phosphorus,
p. 565; Roscher's Lexikon I, 1, col. 743 and Ditlef Nielsen, The Triune God I,
p. 122f., 232f. Notice now, as above p. 222, 2 the youthful boy before Jõrabbā, who
is identified with Šamiš, the Sun, on whose chariot sits, so one would like to be in
the In fact, this boy was traced back to the puer phosphorus. The "young boy" leads
Lit., p. 229, 2; 264, 4 the name JNDDIN, which cannot be explained. On the other
hand, the R 242, 10f. Hibil so called, see also Lit. 248, 9. That Mandā dHaijē, when
he received baptism 1c when John appeared as a little boy, we saw him
upstairs. Lit. 24, 2 we find an 8758 with the curious name Dispandy and R 374.
18 a "cloud" nsnd.

The naming of the boy and his father "the Only one" is probably as much as
the Native. The designation of a god as Unique or native is also found at 1 to the
Phoenicians: "Go to Philo Byblius, see Baudissin, Adonis and Esmun, p. 89. The
Öeds povoyevýs plays a role especially among the orphics and is from
iluen to the Gno- Wobbermin, see Wobbermin, Religionsgeschickt-
studies, p. 114ff. The great, single gereclite and his equally named Soln
we also find it at the beginning of the eleventh book. Siourfi names 2c among the higher beings
pp. 40, 46 a Lahdoyo-Rabbo-Zadiko. -- See the play auchı Brandt, Rel., pp. 29f.

In the name of the great life.

Hear me, my Father, hear me,
lift me up, Great One, Son of the mighty (life),
our Father, Son of life').

This is the mystery and the book of splendour, which in the Mānā lo- from which the rays of brilliance emanated, from which the inner Jordane came. Of them, those") Jordanians, came the Jordan, the greatest among all the Jordanians. From that Jordan stood out and went here- in front of the great, hidden, first Niṭubta"), (from the Lord of Greatness, 3c the greatest of all Uthras, the Father of all the learned, 4) from the great, righteous Only, out of which arose the outstanding") sons of the in the first life, who stand there and praise those great, great- valigen Mānā worship and praise. He said to them: 'Get up, pull out to the Jordan of Piriavis and to the waves of the water, remember 3 [235] and call forth a Son whose form does not pass away, in whom

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1) See also p. 220.

2) Read instead ומן.

8) Another form for Niṭuftā, see above, p. 1554.

4) This, incidentally incomplete sentence is probably inserted. From the Lord of the Size is not mentioned in this piece otherwise. The great, just One is identical with the great, mighty Mānā.

f) NyN21B, see above, p. 2151.

there is no (evil) mind that is rather gentle, modest'), silent and he is like the Uthras, the Sons of Light."

As soon as I spoke the word to them"), they rose in praise-praise, bowed, praised, glorified, blessed him and spoke to him: ,,What you say comes into force."

They rose up and went to the Jordan of Piriavis and to the waves of the Out of the water, they invented and called forth the only Son whose The form does not pass away, in which there is no (evil) sense, the great, righteous The only one who emerged from the great, righteous one, whom the Created life by His Word. Now it was clear why it was created").

The first life*) then rose, bowed and praised that great, mighty Mānā and said to him"): 'I have a single, he conceived and produced a great, righteous son, who came out of the great, the only righteous one."

Then he said to him (for life): 'Go, clothe him with a And cover it with good, pure turbans of the Transmittance."

Then it came, clothed him with garments of splendor, covered him with good, pure turbans of light and said to him: ,,Get on, get on look up and see your Father enthroned in his place." Then he spoke he said to him: 'There is one who is greater than you and on whose right and there are numerous beings of light on the left."Come on," she said to him, ,see the škīnā in the škīnā". - "There is the Škīnā," he replied to him, ,of which you spoke to me".

Then a messenger came out, whose name is Adakas-Malala, from the great, the mighty Manā came and said to him, 'What is your name?" But he maintain silence. For the second time he asked him and spoke to him: ,What is your name?But he kept silence. For the third time he asked him and said to him, 'What is your name?u replied to this he said to him, 'I am the youthful boy, the just, the great, the only One.u

Then he took him, caressed him, introduced him, showed him the škinā in the Škinā and showed him the enormous eggs') of concealment. He the brightness, whose splendour is wondrous, whose light is precious and

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1) Actually, "needy", see also Nöld., p. 150°.

2) See Nöld., p. 454, 8, also here, p. 144.

8) There is probably a gap here. Maybe DN'apry will listen; nor to the previous Sentences: ,,and he was strengthened."

4) The following is only about life, not about the sons of life. It is it possible that even before that only life was called, and the sons of life were only was introduced to a man who was interested in the role that life plays in relation to Mānā assigned, took offense.

8) nbandn Z. 9 and Atanon in Z. 11 are to be interchanged.

o) Originally, it probably stood here as before, "vestments".

") The writing Noatyn is also found L 26, 1; 27, 8, nevertheless it is probably הילבוניא to read, see above, p. 1512.

whose figure is brilliant and sublime. When he saw this, he was afraid he trembled and shuddered, fell on his face, worshipped and praised.

Then the messenger, whose name is Adakas-Zīwa, said to him, 'A anyone [236] who reveals this figure to people who are unworthy, - there is nothing that would be endless, ') - the light will not look. Who but this form leaves and preserves in secret, day after day climb up, look at the place of light, and a part of my splendor becomes rest on him."

Then the young boy spoke to the messenger, whose name was Adakas- Malala is: ,,[I looked]*) the shine that shines above all, the light, 1 that is above all light. Who gave me the glare*) from the eyes and the piece of meat taken from the heart? When you're with life, to your father, speak, so do not tell him what I say')." Then he spoke he (Adakas) to him: 'Tell life, your Father, that it is in your own Rejoice and shine for what you have seen."

Then he (the boy) descended, went down and found the first Life as it sat in its own Škinā. Then he said to him, 'Rejoice you and shine in your own sense around what I saw.u The erste Leben asked the young boy, 'What have you been looking at?" Since and he said to him, 'I have seen the splendor that shines above all things, and that 2 The light that is above all light. I looked at the brightness, whose Splendour is wondrous, whose light is precious and whose form is sublime.. In a thousand times a thousand beings of light are at your right hand and ten thousand times ten thousand beings of light on the left."

.Then the first life and its own skīnā") arose and judged 2 Prayer and praise to him°). The voice and reputation rose to the great, the mighty Mānā. As the great, mighty Mānā, that voice and when he heard that call, he got up and created a thousand times a thousand lights- ten thousand times ten thousand beings of light at his right hand his left. The great, mighty Mānā then spoke to that messenger, 3 who is standing in front of him:Where is the young boy? Get him in front at me." Then he said to him, 'If you speak, it will come into effect."

He then departed from the King of Light '), stepped before the first life [237] and said to him, 'Where is the young boy? Where is the righteous, great single gone?" Then the first life answered him: 'He went 3 to the other worlds of light that are evoked; but not well prepared have. They sent him there, and committed him over them, that he might make them well prepare." Then he said to life, 'Get him in a hurry." Since I brought and he took him, and brought him in before him. And I bowed

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1) See p. 753. e) See further.

8) Cf. Nöld., pp. 147, 6.

1) Read NandnT. b) Cf. Lit., p. 41.

6) The great, mighty Mānā.

?) A more recent use in place of the great, mighty Mānā, see also p. 235, 30.

praise him and said to him: 'Blessed be the place from which you kamest. Blessed, glorified and strengthened be the man who gave you- he sent and sent."

He (the messenger) grasped him by the surface of his right hand, lifted him up 5 and brought him up before the great and mighty Mānā. When this man when he saw him, he caressed and kissed him and said to him: 'Go and speak to the Naşoreans who live in the world of darkness and in the black water left behind are: Every Nāşorean who hands the Kuštā to himself like the great, mighty Mānā, who, at his own baptism, holds the hand of 10 when he had not enjoyed any, there will be no share in the house." of life). About every Naşöräer who sits at the Pihta- will be damnation, blow and plague from the house of life come'). Rather, he stands there for a long, long time and prepares it, and then he sits out abundantly, abundantly and rest."

Life is praised in the light that is endless, life is victorious, and victorious is Jāwar-Zīwā and his friends.

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1) The young boy speaks.

2) In any case, it is probably not a prescription, but הלאק ומנאק a saying that was addressed to pasn.

3) One should rather call in a priest.

4) You also Lit., pp. 70, 8f.

Tenth book.

This book has the title "The Book of Splendor that Blazes in the Pihtä". Your- again, this is the original creation. In the beginning, the first Mānā lived in the Piltā. The first Life, about whose relations to the Mānā nothing is said, had arisen out of itself. As in the third book, it creates a son, the Second, which in turn gives rise to sons. They want to create worlds. Life asks for Jōzataq Mandā aHaijē, that plane 5 forestall. The further course is interrupted by a gap (p. 242). After Resuming the text, we learn that Ptahil had formed a world, and now we are go to create Adam and Hawwā. He throws into it a kind of ghost (N71), the planets something of their mystery, but they are not able to get them on their feet. That The following is composed of two different representations, in which another Pieces are inserted, and its parts contradict each other in places. According to the one The Source was sent down to Hibil to revive Adam and Hawwā and to provide for them. After the other, Adakas, the hidden Adam, here was his soul, in Adam and Hawwä and had only given them the right life. The compiler looks at some Make the two versions to combine. The deviations in the two sources are particularly evident in the description of the production of the first garment for Adam and Hawwä. The planets oppose Hibil or Adakas, but olme succeeds. In the Stiicke is rejected by Ptahil and his work, but in the end it closes with a right-manufacture Ptahils.

In the name of the great life, healing, victory and a Forgiveness of sins is granted to me, my wife, my father, my Mother NN and my children NN, NN.

Furthermore, a remission of sins will be granted to all priests and Mandaeans, those who seek instruction in these books.

* * *

In the name of the great, strange life from [238] the worlds of light, the the one who is above all works.

This is the mystery and the book of splendor, which is in the Pihta lo- dert'), which shone in its own splendor') and was great in its light was. That first mana dwelt, created and dwelt in it. He believed in the

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1) See also p. 235, 26.

2) Sorry, You have ,,in its rich luster."

Mānā, who dwelt in it, believed in the splendor and light that was in it was, it believed in the Mānā who dwelt in it, whose name is Šarhabel. Shine came out of the pihta, light lay over the pihta and came out of it. He') called himself sprout, shine and light, whose shine, whose light blazes of its own accord. The tannā glowed, the Tanna melted, in which he was3). As he blazed over the Tanna, the Mambu arosegās8), there arose the communality*), which is uninterrupted. It the community with life arose, life took its abode-life arose in the springs of the water that flowed from it poured out. With its prayers it prayed to itself°), in which°) it was, in which it grew. Through them it was brightened and consolidated, in its splendor took the place of the name of the living doctrine, with which he clothed himself and by which he was strengthened, as well as the name of the splendor and light, that blazes in it. It (life) assumed from itself Kuštā, a kušta, which was from time immemorial, which was created at the beginning of time. Life believed remember, it was in its own baptism, it believed in its own kušṭa, it she took it out of her own hand, kissed the (own) rights and spoke to himself: ,,I am the first baptist who believed in the Kušṭā and this baptism. Everyone who keeps to me believes in my Kuštā and this baptism of mine, will enter into communion with me and take a place in my Škīnā find." There was the Škina of life, which was above the water and the there is a living fire. He said, 'I am the life that comes from it became his own glory. It was formed from his- and stood there with him [239] in secret')." His shine shone out of it, his light was great, that it shone above his splendor and light created abundantly. His own light was beautifully prepared. life it was conceived in his inner being, in his own structure*), life turned out in In order to create a son and make him a companion for himself make. Life knew that the Son whom it meant to create that he would create sons, that the sons whom he would create would advise him, to create other worlds, to give him life from his own heart created as a support, placed as his image and in which Škinā has let him dwell, that in the future he will go to other worlds.

Then he created a son, made him a comrade, and the water that came from life in the Jordan was enough for him

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1) Or It; it refers to ,,shine" as on,,light".

2) See p. 151s.

3) See p. 197.

4) Among the believers, see Lit. , p. 133.

8) See p. 66*.

e) Probably refers to the sources.

7) PND3 is intransitive here, cf. Joh. II, p. 66°. Of course, then does not fit, for what DNP or is to be read, as well as Text 239, 3. By the way, it is not quite sure, where the speech stops.

s) See Joh. II, p. 66 °, here p. 146 °.

8) Here, as also more often, the singular with relation to NvA is erroneously written.

Kušṭā, clothed him with a part of his lustre, covered him with a part of his light and left it with him in his Škina beyond take a seat in the living fire.

The son who created it, planned to create sons for himself. He created sons, clothed them with some of his garments, covered them 5 with some of his covers, she left in his skinā at his right and take a seat on the left and handed them Kušta.

The sons he created planned to create other worlds, and languages: 'We want to create worlds for ourselves') equal to those of this house life." They then stood before their high Father, the Second"), and 10 they said to him: 'Grant us that we may go to other worlds to create for you a planting equal to that of this house of life, plant a plantation and build worlds") and create, just like the Sons of salvation were created and educated."

Her father granted ilnen from the hidden, and his first- 15 the second, and his brothers gave it to one of the sons of the 4) in the image of the sons they were created for salvation"). He gave him") Water and living fire and said to him: 'Go, create worlds like the sons of salvation, as you have seen it [240] in the house of Life."

Life reflected on itself and thus spoke to Manda dHaije, who Jözataq Manda dHaije is called. And he said to him, Grant that Forming the image of glory') Then Manda replied to him dHaijē: ,,You have created and strengthened me, and I am minded, that Before you make plans about that world *and those 25 Order the world. They called me the Front, the First") that I [previously?] sow in her the seed, create in her sons the sons of the great They are called the tribe of life. I want to get started with my Send the tribes that life grants me. It called me, it spurred and created me [tribes] over them"), so that they may have the call of life 30 who is more wondrous than the world, and who is separated from the world of Keep darkness away." Manda dHaije said, 'I want to come here earlier than that world arises, taking them into communion with life; let your 10) Škinā be in the house of life."

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1) Read אלמיא. 2) See above, p. 97. 5) Sorry. has p2.

4) Read 137.

6) The place is quite unclear, probably also gap-filled. Your father is the second.

°) Read AbeNpu.

7) That it is like the image of glory? According to p. 242,6, Mandā dHaijē is they themselves emerged from the image of glory. There is a gap behind it. There are then still the words ,which are thrown into the world of F'insternis, who is ready to form come here." Here we were talking about the inhabitants of the dark world, see further.

9*) From Z. 10.

°) Add NON3-12, see text Z. 24.

10) Read שכינתון.

When Manda dHaije said this, she'kissed him'), Kušta handed him and said to him: 'Kušta keep you safe, good one, and keep the Word safe, in which you have expressed yourself*). Yes, I want to bring from my tribes, ... that they may not be condemned in the world of darkness, that they do not commit any wrongdoing."

Life called Jozataq Manda dHaije, who came from the image of the Lord- it was created in secret. It called Manda dHaije ... He ......³). chooses, plants and leads up to the light residence.

These words he spoke*) to Jozaṭaq Manda dHaije, then he went lo and created a world for the sons of salvation°). The formation of the Having formed the second, he gave it to one of the sons of Salvation. He took them and gave it to his son Ptahil. This one then came and threw her into the world darkness. He created creations and formed tribes outside the Those who are unworthy of life. [241] He became ,of the glossiness bar, 15, cut off from the light" "), he who led the tribes in the world of Darkness has cut off, so that they are cut off.

After Ptahil created that world and tribes formed in it and he set up the angels of the house, that they might- adoring lichen Adam and his wife Hawwa in that world of darkness 20 should. He created in it mountains, seas, birds, wild animals, fish in the Seas, as well as fruits, grapes and trees, so that he and his wife Eat Hawwä and rejoice, so that no sorrow may afflict him. Of the animals, as well as the fruits, grapes and trees, Adam and to give Hawwa to his wife, that he might soothe the beautiful body.

After Ptahil created that world, he built his son Adam according to his form, and according to the form of Adam, his wife became Hawwa constructed. Ptahil threw into him (Adam) a kind of spirit of his own Spirits, and from the planets each threw into him some of his their own mystery. Ptahil and the planets that were with him could but Adam and his wife did not raise up Hawwa. Then Ptahil went to his father Abathur, took a hidden Mānā, which was given to them") from the house of life, brought him and threw him into Adam and his wife Hawwā.

Then a progenitor Uthra flew up and approached, to whom life ilim had sent. Adam raised his eyes, Hibil cast a shine on him"),

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1) The verbs are again in the singular, despite the relationship on Nw7.

2) See above, p. 95, 4.

8) Four words without meaning in this context: 'by Jāwar they shall swear (? Sorry. there also seems to be a bigger gap here.

4) According to the following, it is Abatlur of whom vorler must have been talking.

°) Thus, see, on the other hand, p. 241,13f.

4) See above, p. 194, 24; 209, 34.

7) See above, p. 15°.

8) Abathur and Ptahil, see p. 109f.

9) So. is not to be associated with Hibil. There is no Ny here either.

Adam sneezed and asked about life'). Ptahil and the planets that they were with him, they said to him: 'Live, Adam!") Then answered them Adam: ,,Trusting in the parent-forming Uthra, who came from the house life has come to me." Adam also said, 'I am from the House of Life 3) came, and life was [with me?]. I am Adakas-Zīwa, who came from the hidden place*). **** fell inside me and brought me here. Then the good messenger comes to meet me, to lead me out there, according to the place from which I came am."

Then Hibil revealed himself to Ptahil, when his thoughts turned to and all his works were corrupted. [242] Then he spoke Ptahil: ,Woe, woe to my works, over which you receive the power containing." Ptahil then left the world he created and went to his Father Abathur. Abathur was angry with him and put him in the foot block until the end of the worlds. Then Abathur and Ptahil will face each other- forgive each other").

Then Adam rose, bowed, and praised the man who had he opened his eyes and put him on his feet. Adam looked and saw everything he saw. Adam saw his wife Hawwa naked, and his Sinn was ashamed in front of her. Hibil learned this when he came to Adam, while he was ashamed in front of his wife Hawwa. Then he created Adam and his wife Hawwa a garment with which they covered their nakedness ').

A young boy') settled down with Hawwa, while Adam chaste lived with her"). Then Hawwā said, 'Where did the youth come from A boy who was not sown by a man's seed? The body of a Woman has not grown, and there was no fullness for her? His speech is at- well, his voice is bright. Hibil bar Adam is called him, the Son Adams of Hawwa."

Hibil got a son, and his name was Sitil, and Šitil got a son, and his name was Anoš.

Then Adam gave himself up to meditation, he thought about his Father Ptahil, about what his father Abathur commanded him and about what Hibil had in mind for Adam and his wife Hawwa had laid. Adam and his wife Hawwa then rose and laid the garment with which Hibil had clothed Adam and his wife Hawwa, who, in their own image, resembled the treasure of life.

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3) See Lit., p. 551.

2) Maybe this one , Live!" in general, a turn to the sneezing, prosit, and here the origin of the custom should be explained.

a) Sorry. hat . 1) See p. 109 ff.

6) Read Kanm instead of zn: then you will be forgiven by life.

d) Read instead of ANDn. 7) See p. 1329.

8) Sorry, ntnd has nen-.

") Various reports on the Gebnrt Hibils are listed next to each other in the following originally asked.

When the nine months were full for Hawwa, the Labor pains of childbirth. And the worlds said,Whence came Hibil, whence had Hawwa a son who did not arise from the seed of Adam? Yes, this is to be called a miracle that goes out into all worlds. It is a Sprout, [243] who went out into the Tibil, revealed himself, and into the world the children of men came, Good for the institutions of the children of men') to create and return people there"), to the place from which the one you came to."

Then Adam lay down, joined his wife Hawwā, and she received from him a double fruit, a man and a woman. She was in her womb for nine months, after what Ptahil said about her- plan, as his father Abathur had ordered him to do. Hawwa then gave birth a pair of twins, a man and a woman.

Then Adakas-Mānā spoke, who came out of the hidden place- when Adam and his wife Hawwa had fallen, Adam and his Woman Hawwa stood on her feet, her eyes lit up, that they saw, their feet ***** that they walked, their mouth opened, that they ate, Adam the power over the animals, over the fruits, grapes and trees, over the Birds and the fish in the sea, which his father Ptahil had bestowed on him as food he had intended for Adam, - Hibil ") spoke to Adam:Well, take the wool of these animals and give it to your wife Hawwā, so that she may make you a robe as an ornament for your body and that of your wife Hawwa, whom your father Ptahil created for you." Then Adam went to it, sheared the wool from the sides of the animals, gave she gave it to his wife Hawwa, and she made him a garment like Hibil in the mind of Adam and his wife Hawwa. She made a robe as a tribute to her body. And he") prepared them Camped and set up a table for them to eat.

Then those seven planets went around, stood up and invented Secret, beckoning, hatred, jealousy and discord about him. A Geheimnis put themselves in their own secret sense, which they then put in Adam and his wife threw Hawwa. They said, 'You shall not speak of the strange man, [244] who has gone hither, and shall have his Do not accept teaching. Since we created Adam, he steps down and obey us and our Father Ptahil. The tribes of Adam shall go- step and worship us and our Father Ptahil. He embraced love for a man whose speech is foreign, alienated from the world. Manda dHaije took a seat in the treasury of the heart°) of Adam and in Adakas-Mānā, who came and penetrated him."

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1) See below, p. 248". 2) Read sorry. hat והאדריא.

3) is inserted here by the compiler, see above, p. 243,20.

4) Stands for Adakas.

") i.e. Hibil bezw. Adakas. A word from Vienna DON has fallen out behind.

0) See above, p. 162, 17.

Then Adakas-Mānā said to the planets and all the worlds: 'When they i have not yet been brought and thrown into Adam and his wife Hawwa Adam and his wife Hawwa have not given up their mysteries-through the spirit that Ptahil cast into him, which his Father given to him whom his father Abathur had commanded not to open his eyes-opened, did not stand on his feet, did not open his mouth and spoke not. He had no power over the works that his father Ptahil gave him it was created for food. He was not with his wife Hawwa, and the children of men did not awaken in the world: until I, Adakas-Mānā, from which came hidden places. From me, the spread Tribes in the Tibil. It was I who put the semen in the uterus of women sow. From my seed the fetus was formed in the womb of the mother. From me the eyes were formed, from the eyes the marrow was formed, from the marrow the head was formed, from the head the nasal bone arose'). From me came the mouth, from the mouth came the tongue, from out of the tongue arise the ..."), out of me arise the hearts, and it is from the hearts that the urges arise. These are in the hearts partly good, partly bad. All the forms that the child receives in the womb, come to the child in the womb of me (,from the mystery that the Pla-and the spirit that Ptahil threw into it). I became the main for all the mysteries, I built the physique of the children of men, and I ver- spread the tribe of the children of men in this world. [245] I would stand not at the top of the mysteries, if I were not with the child, so would come do not take the child out of the womb. Because it would not be in the Power of mysteries and of the spirit, if I did not build the child to give him the birthday Then he turned away and brought it out of his mother's womb."

Then") Adam lay with his wife Hawwa for the second time, and she gave birth to a husband and a wife. In the case of three births, which she received from Adam there were three men and three women, from whom the world revive. Her name is written down in the Book of Books and published-speak.

, Well, at the beginning I came, then I'm back as He came to the men of proven justice*). Which Planets are standing there") and whispering. Then they forge a secret Plan against the son of the shining beings, who has gone here, whose Shine not from here, whose light was not from this world°). The Planeten could not do anything against my name, so they went there and they made a secret plan against another one."

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1) Uncertain, see Nöld., pp. 128, 7.

2) NBy is otherwise called "wing, arm"; the palt here is not. Sorry. has See also above, p. 1334.

") The speech of Adaka is interrupted by this paragraph.

4) The passage is corrupted; p is probably repeated incorrectly from Z. 7 in Z. 9.

h) Read וקאימיא.

") This sentence may have been inserted or changed completely.

,My name is: the head of Adaka, the hidden Mānā, the one from he came to his place. Nibṭā (sprout is our name'), the world of Law") they call me, soul they call me, the epithet Mānā if you give me, redeemer of redeemings) you call me, light calls man me, the groan of life 4) is our name, Tannā is our Name, Living fire is our name. I am my hidden name from the house of life, I am Adakas-Zīwa, who comes from the hidden Places have come. My brothers, the Uthras, brought me here, the sons of the Light, my good friends who had set out from there. They were sent to me and brought me there. They imposed over death from the physical apartment in which I grew up. They clothed me with splendor and covered me with light that came to me from he was sent from the house of life. They turned the Curls on my head, put my merits above the schooltern") and led me out to the house of life."

Then the spirits and souls of the men of proven- justice is given to the community (with life), to those who themselves have a- [246] and created insight in those who were in this world, who is full of deception and deception, live. Adam, whom Hibil teaches and having admonished, said: 'Hail to him who, at this admonition of Hibil, Šitil and Anoš. The inspired men who come from the pure And go to the pure places °), where there is no mixture the sins and misdeeds of the Tibil were committed at their own Which has come to you from your own place of residence, which your The Father granted them, raised them up. They had profit, not loss. They did not eat of the consuming fire of this world, did not give themselves up with it did nothing of the works of Ptahil in the world, did not eat of the children of men, but they were at their own Who came to you from your place of residence, which your father granted them, raised up. The deception and wickedness of the Tibil was not with you, no one [from the Tibil?] favored them'), and they had nothing in common with the Tibil. No, the planets may also be against

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1) The suffix in this enumeration fluctuates between the 1st sing. and pl., probably already in the original version.

2) Uncertain, see below, p. 2483.

3) The expression is found only at this point. The specified meaning (Ablei- and) is not safe.

1) NNd ,"moaning" is common in the Mandaean scriptures (R 87, 23; 88, 3; 91, 1 and otherwise), and NDCAN hardly be translated differently. Dab it out about נישמאת הייא or ANDD be corrupted, I don't think. Of course, it is unclear what here it is gemcint.

8) From the "wreaths of victories" or "merits", see Joh. II, p. 2.

8) See also Lit., pp. 13, 8.

7) For the meaning of N assumed here, see Syriac BOND נסב and heb. .

and the persecutors pursue them with sword, fire and water'), so they remain by virtue of their food, their raiment and the light, that their Father bestowed on them, victorious, while the planets are subject. [So] you stick to these words, stay firm, give alms and your If your heart remains in faith, communion with the house will be given to you 5 by the power of the admonition of the three men, you will their ascent and not cut off from communion with them be."

Hibil said to the corporeal Adam: 'O thou corporeal Adam, who you stand there and admonish your sons and tribes (by giving them 10 sayest) that this world was not created according to the desire of life may they hold fast to your words. Because life was no *** to you). This world has been destroyed by the sins of Planets] are created, and the planets stand there, lay down on the treasure 3) and lead the children of men to sin.

When we leave this world, when our foreheads are turned and our merits will come before us, will also come with us the true and believing men go out, even the men of tested justice, formed by flesh and blood, who responded to our call [247] adhered to our name, gave alms and believed 20 standing upright in trust in us: they, too, will ascend. Since we have trodden the path for them, erected the boundary stone and opened the way when there is no fear or tribulation, they will to ascend and look at the great place of light and the luminous abode, to which our eyes look up."

When the planets and Ruha dQudša heard that Hibil was listening to these words Adam and his tribe, when Ruhā dQudša heard it, they broke 4) at her neck, the curls pulled out from the head and he said, 'Let me take over this world." Then they spoke to her Planets and the sons of planets°): , ...people are even turning 30 very big, people are getting huge. As far as it is in our power) let us act, for we are masters of the will."

As they were thus speaking, while Hibil and his brothers passed their lips over Rüha and the planets conceived the plan, the lying Christ so that he may lead all the worlds to sin, the world among the 35 People split into different areas and tongues, and the speech in the Twist the mouths of people.

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1) An allusion to the three world catastrophes, see p. 27f., 45f.

2) Command given or älml.

3) Is used here as the "Treasure of the heart", see above, p. 162, 17.

4) i.e. the valuable jewelry.

6) there is an erroneous repetition of the previous It לאלמא. is also probably to be deleted. The following might be there is also error, or it is corrupted from NDy: ,, That people do not even very . . . ." 9) Read jntndndt.

When the planets spoke these words, Manda dHaije was there with them in secret, with them, the planet'). In one eye- when he came near, he set up the heart of his sons and opened it rest his support. Manda dHaije came, took the planet her shine and covered him up*), took their heart from them, [removed them out?] the living The fire with which they were clothed, and left them in the consuming fire, to have speech and hearing in it, and to devise good in it. Then it was taken from them. Then Christ, the Son of Ruhā, became-create.

These words of the Nimūsā, when he fell into Adam "), [248] I cried admah-and gave it to the men of tried righteousness: ,Ye men by proven justice! Eat of all the fruits and works that Ptahil created for his son Adam, as well as from the fruit that The grape and the tree, the birds, the livestock and the fish of the And give the gift of mildness. Before Nimūsa fell into Adam, Adam ate nothing. However, after Nimūsā had fallen into Adam, he and the Tribes that were with him, got up and ate.

And all the spices and fruits that the earth produces, as well as the fragrant flowers and spices, whose fragrance is reminiscent of the nimūsa, which Adam fell, and it was pleasant, and Ptahil said that he smelled of them, and Nimūsa, which he placed in Adam, was pleasant. It should be for him and all his tribes in this world do not care about the fruits, grapes and trees, the birds, the fish in the sea and the cattle, male and female, the Ptahil created him to be sorry. He took the fruit, the grape, and the tree, he took little men and little women from them, they let [seed?] fall and bear fruit. Of the birds, the fish in the sea, and the little man climbs on top of the little woman, then they carry and bear.

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1) Perhaps the second and the following p2 are to be understood in the sense of" and to draw to the following: from them the planet he came. Maybe that's also delete the second one after D zn. 2) See also Lit., pp. 127, 8.

B) There is no connection to the previous one here. ND1D)) R 46, 6 is the Called Torah Mosis, so it is vópos. Also R 243, 2; 245, 15 may it be in the sense of law" but here it can not have this sense, but here at most it can refer to the A law-abiding soul is meant to live according to the law. After that, here is vóuos maybe thrown together with vūs. Also in the Oxford roll G, ND is in ver- the reverse sense is needed. Z. 173 it is said that the demons of the Nbū NC of the NN, and Z. 1004 NDID is at the end of an enumeration of Demon. - The Muslim scholars fables of a Nämūs who lived with the angels Gabriel should be identical. The outsiders go on an alleged utterance of the Waraqa Naufal, the cousin of the Chadiğa. When she came to him and disturbed him by when he told the paroxysms and hallucinations of Muhammad, he recognized in them the exceptions of the And said that the Nämūs who used to come to Moses had come upon him (see Sprenger, ZDMG XIII, 1859. p. 690ff.). Also this nāmūs is undoubtedly longer with võuos together, and even there the word is misunderstood, but a connection with the- there is hardly any mention of NE in the Mandaean writings.

Salvation of this world! The Ptahil-Uthra has a throne built in it, and he is the leader of this world, which he built and created. He did not bring them into the power of the Ruha and the planets and let them not with you. Ruha and the planets did not pursue this world, and there was no gloom in her. Yes, Ptahil-Uthra is intended for the Light earth, while Ruha and the planets are here in this world of darkness- and their eyes do not see the light, they and all their Creature.

Life stands firm in its Škinā, life is victorious over all works. Their father is victorious, they are victorious themselves, and victorious are Hibil, Šitil and Anoš.

And blessed be life.

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1) After prnen CD I suspect prnen7.

Eiftes Buch.

Das Buch nennt sich ,,Das Mysterium und das Buch des groben An65", war auch wie die ganze Einführung besser zum folgenden Stiicke pa.passen. Ini zweite Teile des Buclies ist zwar von AnбS (Enбs) die Rede, aber hier wird er gerade der kleine EnOS (AnOS) ge- nannt. Es ist also aus, als ob es eine weitere Ausfuhrung zum folgenden Stiicke gibt krieg. Sein Inhalt zeigt einen solclien Mangel an Disposition und Klarheit, wie er selbst in mandtische Schriften sind selten. Ich latte daher dic Absichtdieses Stiick uniibergesetzt zu lassen. Ich entscheide mich schliesslich trotzdem für eine Wiederholung, da es besondere sprache istliche Eigenheiten weisen darauf hin, die zeigen, dass es in einem anderen Kreis als die Sohnstigen mandaischen Schriften entstanden ist. Es sind עלין im Plural des Substantivs zu dem hiufigen Ausdruck גובריא עליוליתא ,diese drei Manner" (nur noch R 286, 22), die Priposition עם ,mit", die Wendung ניהויא ć oder ניהיא ć mit folgendem Partizip, עמאר אשמא statt עמאר אעשתמא (doch auch R 296, 5), die zweite bezw. dritte Person Pl. Imperf. mit ausgeführtem statt , so 12 , 251 איתקרו 257 , 14 אעהו 251 , 5, איתקאימו , das archaische 7 , 262 האנפיקה . Bei der Aufklärung von den Weltkatastrophen konnte der Verfasser eine Darstellung, die uns sonst unbekannt ist.

Am Anfang des Buches ist wie oben, S. 235f., vom Eingeborenen die Rede, der aus sich selbst entstanden ist (uovoyevijs und адтофuijs), der einen gleichen Sohn schafft. In der uno- klarer Darstellung wird von der Geburt weiterer drei Söhne erwartet. Der Einzige wird auf- gefordert, fir die drei Uthras, seine Reiter, zu sorgen. Die drei Uthras sind im Folgenden kahle Hibil, S̈itil und Ans, kahle wird Hibil von ihnen getrennt. An die Stelle des einzigen Sohn wird dann Manda dHaije eingefuhrt. Daran kntipfen sich Ermahnungen Manda dHaijes an die Gliubigen, der die drei Uthras als Vorbilder hinstellt. S. 256, 24 gekntipft wieder an 253 ob. ein. Der Vordere, Erste spricht zu den drei Uthras und schickt sie in diese Welt, um den Seelen der Gliubigen beistehen. Die Planeten treten ihnen entgegen, und sie versuchen besonders Hibil zu umgarnen. Ilire Versuche bleiben oline Erfolg. Sie fassen nun den Plan, den ganzen Stamm zu vernichten. Sie versuchen es erst mit dem Schwert, und ihr Angriff das Hotel befindet sich in einer ruhigen Wohngegend, in der Nähe von Restaurants und Bars. Es scheint, staatsanwalt.6 von den drei Versuchen mit Schwert, Feuer und Wasser (siehe S. 27f., 45f.) der erste gegen Hibil, der zweite ğegen Sitil, der dritte gegen den Krieg, doch ist es jetzt verwisclit. Beim Feuer sehen wir s. 261, wie an die Stelle Sitils tritt. stellt Betrachtungen tiber seine Lage und iiberhaupt iiber die Vorglinge in der Welt an. Von S. 263 an wird er ,der kleine Enos" genannt. Die Bbsen wollen dann die Welt durch Wasser ver- nicht. Dabei ist s. 263 das Bruchstiick eines Sintflutberichtes in die Erziihlung eingegangen-

adds. Mandā dHaijē comes to Enōš's aid and enlightens him about the secrets this world and the works of Ptahil. From Ptahil are the sky and the stars, fire, Wind and water created the earth with its contents, then in his image Adam, and according to Rūhā's image Hawwā. Mandā dHaijē promises him protection and salvation from this And rises to life.

[249] In the name of the great, strange life from the worlds of light, may the blessed one, who is above all works, be healed, victorious and a remission of sins be given to me, my wife, my children NN, my brothers NN, my father NN and my mother NN.

Life created a Škīnā,
and splendor went up in the noble
ether. This is the mystery and book of the great Anoš, the Son the great Šitil, the son of the great Adam, the son of the mighty Uthras of Glory ').

I am a son of the Place of Light*), a son of the place of Light am I, who am completely populated by Uthras, am a son of the city, who quite kindness is. - According to the plan of the two Uthras"), according to the Ge- 4), which they cherish inside, they created the great, first, only°) Uthra, who arose [from] himself. He called himself: 'I am the Only One, Great, Just, who arose from himself." He's created a beloved Uthra so that he would be a discriminator") be for (himself and) his Father, the righteous one, who comes out of himself- so that he might teach about all the works that were to be created, and arrange instruction in front of his father. He called this beloved Uthra, the Only, Great, Just, 'One Uthra') created me" and another Utlra, his son, who was called the "Differentiator"), ,One created me and One called me into life". Of the two Uthras, my brothers who are my parents"), one [250] leads the Names Šarhabel-Zīwā, Šihlūn, the good light, the excellent advice he- shares his brothers who are older than him, and also his brothers who are they are younger than he, who were created together ġ. All three have been created a robe and became a good omen for the other souls who will see that he is 10) truthful, reliable, gentle

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2) Probably refers to Anõš, not to Adam, see the beginning of the following piece.

2) The speaker, as in the introduction of the following piece, is Anõš.

3) Hibil and sitil.

4) Nnynin, otherwise, "forbearance, mercy" is clearly mentioned here by the author with synany brought together.

6) See above, p. 235.

6) i.e. N27TND, actually, "wise", also see above, p. 5, 21; 31, 17. should probably be here ,.Be an instructor", see further.

7)yis maybe to delete, see further.

8) Note the contradiction to the previous one.

8) Siche p. 145 5.

10) Hardly anyone other than Šarhabēl despite the absurdity.

and excellent. Another one goes by the name Rahziel, the Sprightly, the The smallest among his brothers. Two vestments are ready for him, that and be covered in them from the wicked and the Who send their parents, who created them for me, to them*). He commanded, admonished his Son, and said the Father, that first Glanz, who called himself ,I am the one who acted and succeeded, who he did right and held fast to the nest from which he had emerged")u. He called his son Z'hīr-Smīr-Zīwā, who was from Sām...4) a guardian Mana was. He said to him: 'On, take care of your Uthras, your brothers, who are your sons. Provide them with the sustenance that I grant you have. Cover them with shine, cover them with light and leave them in the- walls of living fire, the three Uthras that go there from the outside to hear the call of life. You will become-together"), their splendor, their speech and their word should be put together-15). They shall be strengthened, their form; they shall become-together they shine. The sword, the fire and the water of that world shall be do not approach. Wickedness, mystery and beckoning, the lords of need'), press on them and on the garment of living fire in which they stand and are preserved"), but they have no restlessness. Also because of the Ge- walls against which they make secret plans and say,We want it "they have no power to take it away from them, and they do not prevent [251] putting it on.

The Great, First, Who became of himself, said: 'To these three Uthras it is imminent that they will go, establish tribes and name the spread the splendor of life and the splendor of life over the world in which one lives He created darkness and death for them. Do not know, did not know all the beings that will be there, the two Uthras, who except me, Manda dHaije, planning to create a world. I clarified myself and the Uthras, my brothers, who are my sons, the three Uthras, who are there for- and are called there, who created light there in the darkness, so that life will arise in death and they will take out the souls of the elect-those who are destined for the house of life") and are coveted, these three Uthras who went from here to that world; they will feast in it

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1) Read pennoningā.

2) That's what it says.

") See above, p. 151, 16; 162, 38.

4) aNDNeny, which could only be called ., was sawn to pieces", does not fit. It is also hardly an epithet of the DND. Modifications zn or "NDNNDy do not help much.

5) Probably read, but maybe continue as well.

") There may be a form of "2 in the meaningless, such as Nyanzy5 or panvys.

7) It is unlikely that the npn nand apposition to the three previous Nomina sei; perhaps it is to be read.

b) The text falsely states in which I stand and am preserved".

") D has Nanya ,who are called*, which also fits.

And participate in the community with the House of Life you will get a permanent seat in the Škinā of life.

Manda dHaije also calls, speaks and teaches") all his friends. He says: 'Well, I taught all beings that will be, and all souls the children of men who will be there: Death is there with you in 'that The world you live in. Well, of life, and*) of these three Uthras, who have come there from the outside, to hear the call of life and to create light so that the souls may be given relief, let them be strengthened by the call of life, let them testify and praise; in that world°) of darkness they shall find relief, when they leave the garment of darkness in which they dwelt, and live."

Further, Manda dHaije said: 'I taught you about life: That Life has sent death and darkness to you, who sit and dwell [252] there with you in the world; with you they dwell. Death and Darkness have no light. Find the souls there when they see the hull of darkness, in which they dwell, leave, no relief and do not see the light. They leave the darkness and become in the darkness that is beneath them it is housed."

Manda dHaije spoke thus to all beings that will be. He spoke: ,All you souls who are cast there into darkness and death, why do you want, when that last day is with you °), the well-being of the souls men of proven justice, who responded to the call of the Le- they heard Manda dHaije calling to them and then they believed in him and were they strengthened by him and believed in the speech of the three men? Manda dHaije gave them splendor, clothed them with splendor and covered them with light. You will find happiness in abundance and bliss in abundance, and their hearts rejoice at the comfort they found. You will be- '), while the men of tried righteousness, with splendour- clothed and covered with light, pass by you and go to the great light- climb up the place. You will have to watch it while you are in the You are in the darkness of this world and have compassion on yourselves. You will say: Why did we not listen to the speech that was given to us- and did not go out on this beautiful path, on which these- moving out the right?" They say, 'We have to put up with it, because they want us to be We called and we didn't want to hear." Further, they say,Who will go and admonish our children that they may not return- do not walk in this way of ours, do not practice the works we practiced? For we are here in the great darkness

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1) Read ניתקאימובה.　　2) Read AND.

3) הייא ו it is probably to be deleted or to be read for it.

4) Refers to the souls.　　5) Read None.

") One expects poynting Antenna nnanne now.

") Read prndNP).

accommodate. But do you listen to the speech of these three truthful and faithful men, confess life [253] and bear witness to Manda dHaije. These three men, the sons of the great tribe of life, left the To hear the call of life and to know [life]. In that way, as true and believing men walk'), you also walk.

We are not allowed to go and tell our children that we are thrown into the evil darkness, and our eyes do not see the light. They shut the gates of darkness before us and will not let us- going out?]. Every day, every day they leave torment and doom against us lot'). Ask each of us according to the works and Wages(payments) from which we practiced in this world, which they did not create have. The other souls of the children of men are also numerous, who here, like lamps dying away, as if they had never been there, and the no one asks. Then, too, because they find bad and ugly works, there is no questioning taking place with them in the world. Die there these, without being questioned, and are tied up there. What are your works, that you should not die like these, who die and become- why go?u

Manda dHaije teaches and talks about those who die and- reasons to go over those who are tied up and questioned: ,,Day by day *** these [souls] who are tied up and questioned, those of the merchants who are partners of each other and act dishonestly"), they are brothers of one another, and yet they are robbers (4) and not at peace with- tell each other: it will be the same for you. Every Naşöräer, he who forsakes the speech of life, and another speech of transgressions he who forsakes the way of life and the way of darkness walk: it will be the same for you. Who stand in the darkness and whose soul is burning, speak thus to one another: Until when shall they be *****PU

Manda dHaije says: 'Every individual is asked according to his own works. The Nazarenes are judged according to their rights [254] and they perform their works accordingly. Then the Naşöreans step down and submit to life, praise Manda dHaije and say to him: 'We have persevered and missed as a result of the wickedness of the angels of this world that worked for us. Now forgive us our sins. You, Manda dHaije, deliver us from the darkness of this world into which we are- are thrown."

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3) Read prin or aztin.

2) Read PEN2 cf. R 312, 16. is determined by the repeated following arranged.

8) 93, 14 stands alongside other readings in parallel There could be at best, like NöLDEKE Gram., p. 46, 8, "rejoice", but here this one fits No sense. Maybe you have to read, see the Var. C.

4) for Fon also R 215, 22.

Then Manda dHaije speaks to all the souls of the Naşöreans: ',The ') there they are thrown into darkness and call for me, who are with the sign they were drawn to the path of life, but they left the path of life and in the name of the Glory and Christ descended to the Jordan - who shall forgive them their sins? However, the other souls who are in the Ver- the errors of the Rüha and of Christ [and with the sign of the Ruha and the Christ] were not drawn because they donated alms and did good in this world, tolerating according to their works, the they practiced in the world because they were filled with the sign of the glory and the Christ have not been drawn. These souls of these nobles and Nasoreans, and of all the gates marked with the sign of the Rūhā and the Christ and confess the gods of this world - Ruha and Christ speak to all the gates: Yes, I will let you ascend to paradise. If when you leave your body, you will go there and find grace." But Manda dHaije says to them: 'There is the darkness into which you go- throw you*) and now call for me. This is the paradise that you hope. Now there are your houses: the darkness into which you have been cast, without anyone being able to lift you out of it. Day after day, Years by years and months by months your souls are dying and will be held in that darkness in which you stand, until the day, the judgment day, until the hour, the hours of salvation.

And on the day when the heavens and the earth will end, when the earth and The heavens were your houses where the planets [255] walk: they ver- all fall. Ruhā and Christ, the Sun, the Moon and the planets all take end. Even the children of men, Ruha, Christ and God") acquaintances'), come to an end with Ruhā. They are coming to an end at the big Days of the end ** and with Ruha, who will tell you the secret of death undisclosed. After death you go there and fall into darkness. I called you to life, where the name of death is not. I called to the light where there is no darkness. I called to you:,,Clothed shine on you and cover you with light and go out on the Ways of life. I will lead you out on the path where the The name of death is not, the name of darkness is not. But you do not listen to me, and the speech of the Uthras did not please you. Also the children of men who came from the tribe of the corporeal Adam and Hawwah those who listened to the call of life, believed in it, and who listened to the call of these three men and who hated death and loved life, the darkness

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1) Something probably happened before, probably "the souls".

2) Sorry. I have one, but keep looking.

a) Var. ,,God".

1) Sorry. hat ד̄אודובון.

") ,"spread" pact did not; perhaps,,and remained firm' dage-now standing.

they hated and loved the light, clothed themselves with splendor and be filled with light- and they went up in the great way of life; they came and found life'). They also called the call of life in your ear, but you did not listen to it. You now, sons of Adam and Hawwā, why did you not listen to their words, and do not follow the way of Le- bens whom the righteous go? Now you come on the way that you love your God who has led you astray. What did you put your Trust? These other souls (who) die, come to an end, vergo out and go out like a lamp, which in that world [256] the Darkness dwelt, and no inquiry is made with them."

Manda dHaije speaks and explains to the men of proven Gejustice:Those souls who commit a murder and the blood of a Those who have cast the son of Adam into the earth, those who have taken prisoners *) who sell what they did not buy with their gold, not with they have acquired their possessions and have not traded with their trade, which go, destroy the houses of the free and turn them into slaves and the turning free women into maids, the souls of adulterous men and the adulterous women who feed on ruling power and have no Who chastise the Father and absolve the Son, who take away their steel and strength, without their being able to oppose them, so that ilıre soul is grieved over them - all the souls that the ugly Practiced the works of the angels, all will come to an end, all the gods and their hosts take an end."

The first one, which had arisen out of itself, also strengthened the, the three Uthras, blessed them and strengthened them and strengthened the beloved Son, he was the first to speak, and he was the first to speak, and to these three Uthras: ,,I blessed you with a blessing, like the parents (with him) blessed their children. Go into that world, lead your Process and speak purely the souls that have been brought there from here. They were brought into that world of darkness where death reigns. Speak in and get out") those souls of them who called and are sought after who listen to the speech of life, by Manda dHaije be strengthened, listen to your speech, with the splendor and light of the To go forth to Mandā dHaije and be established in the house of life. To you, three Uthras, Hibil, your eldest brother, will judge and judge- [257] in that world. The eldest brother is the Father. He will be the head, he will be the judge over the judges of this world. They call out to him: 'Where did this pebble come from over us'), who- to stand and enrage us in this world of our own?: [He is] the

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1) Probably pown to read. Nn is hardly a subject.

2) pin27 is to be deleted, see 232 ob for this and the following text.

a) Read spD IN(1)1.

4) The pebble is a picture of special hardness, see above, p. 217, 5. So here are the I mean Dümonen.

Head of our tribe in this world, whose speech, sound and word hebe heard."

The first one says to the three Uthras: ' Go and return to the Škinā, from whom you have emerged, to what life has given you-the palace of Splendor and the Chamber of Light. You will be go forth victorious when your works are finished. Your face will be shine in joy, you will shine in the skinā of the Chief of the shining beings whose light shines more than the whole world, who is the king ') those who have been placed above that world'). Go there now, with Clothed with splendor and covered with light, may your foreheads be on and you will become the head of the tribe of life from whose Škinā you get the souls that come with the call I will ascend to the chamber of life that I have built for you have. All souls who believed in it (life) will be recognized as such by tested justice with you in this great skinā of life and in the room of the great life "), which I created for you, set up be. Manda dHaije will set you up in this Škinā4) and you leading up to the house of life. All the souls of the flesh and Blood-educated people who listen to the voice of life and are believers, will become partakers of communion with the house of Life."

The planets are standing there and are thinking about evil against them in this World. [They say:] ,,They should see us and be afraid of us and submit to us." They also say, 'We want to give you our Dress up, and it's ours." They raised their voice against but they neither trembled nor trembled, and the trembling and fear were not with you. Further, they say: ,,Then we want you by cunning, Flattery and flattery; but they are not entitled to we do not and will not let ourselves be cajoled by us." Furthermore, they speak: ,Let us [258] approach them with gentleness and kindness; perhaps come to us and keep it with us."

Hibil the Righteous said to his brothers and sons"): ,Go get down, step under her. Now you want to make me your master, now do you want to worship me. They say to me: We want a sacrifice for you-prepare cakes. Well, I will not be disturbed by your adoration nor taken by them through their sacrificial cake. I want you to fall down and leave them lying down and throw greed and embers over them all. When I'm out all the worlds are then created by their own greed. will heat up and will glow." So I spoke to my brothers, explained

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1) B has "Uthras and Kings", but mobile phone is probably to be deleted. For notng see p. 6².

2) Behind it still stands, and made it firm" or,,to shine", but the words don't belong here.

³) Lies וענדרונא דהייא רביא דשאוילכון. 4) Read ניקאימינכון:

8) To his younger brothers, who are his sons, see above, p. 145°.

so do my sons. I went and stepped under them (the planets), as they approach me and say, 'Come, Lord of the Gods, Lord of the whole world." The planets rejoice, Ruha, who are with you it was, I'm glad. They say to me: 'Come, be our head, be the Heads of the whole world."Ruha, you and the great being ') took the Crown down from her head. The planets bow to me and say to me: 'Take from us the worship, take from us the Sacrifice cake." But I responded in this way to peace and all the planets: ,I am not a man who accepts bribes or talks with which his Parents commanded him, and the words with which his parents admonished him in the wind.u

When Rüha heard this, she said to the planets: 'The man belongs to not to us, and his speech is not of your speech. He has no Ver- bond (mix) with you, and he is not a child of your speech. Seine Speech comes from outside. I have him, the stranger"), now to be- he was looking for a fool, but he did not let himself be beguiled. Now we want a Ge- we will try to make a home plan against him, maybe we will get him through the Ge- capture the home plan."

They speak falsely to me, but I am more false than they are. You speak in cunning, but I am more cunning than all of them. All of them sit down again and know that I will escape from you. You speak to us with your pure speech and sing to us of your wonderful songs)." Then I spoke with my pure voice and sang of [259] my wonderful chant. I sing miracles- barer than all the world. I speak with my lovely speech, the lovelier when all the world is at which there is no mixture with falsehood. I sang and fell she threw shame on them all. I spoke and shamed her; my singing did not resemble their singing, my speech did not resemble their speech. I rose up from among them and cast reproach upon them all. You their eyes were closed"), and they were all afraid and grieved"). I she laughed and shamed them °) and let out a laugh at them all. I got up, left her and moved out of her midst, out of the robe, there is food on the table and a bad smell emanates from it. I went there, pulled the pure robe), which my parents gave me, the pure robe, in we dwell in a place where there is neither food nor evil smell. Its fragrance is wonderful, and the splendor of my brothers is lovely on me*).

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1) As above, p. 187, 16; 188, 1 here it says n, actually, "Be". It is the God of the Jews, that is, as much as Jōrabbā, the rough Jō.

2) Probably read Atvab. 3) Cf. Joh. II, p. 165.

4) in the case of eyes, also R 294, 13 (CD, sorry.); it is probably 'encircling, enclosing'.

8) Instead of reading. is hanging next דוי, to see R 146, 5; 158, 10; 353, 19; L 21, 17.

6) Var. ,,made her cry". 7) Well read. *) Probably not to be understood in this way: and the company of my brothers is pleasant to me.

They stand there and forge a secret plan against my robe, they catch a ...') against me and say: 'What can we do with this Seize the tribe and make it disappear from the world?" - ,,With which Sword?" say to each other, 'the sword does not reach you. Rather, we want to seize them with fire and eliminate this tribe. 'If the fire does not reach them, we want to grab them with water and eliminate this trunk."

Ruha says: 'Well, let's wait a little." Speak there the angels, and the planets consult each other:When sword, fire and Water takes over the world") [and?] the head of this tribe, 'so the The world is like him." Then they say, 'We want this Take sourdough, which is stored in our treasure house"). Then of the leaven of the world, which is in their treasure house')- it is preserved so that a world may arise out of it [260]. They left the sword go and took against us ******.

Life knew what was going on there, that they were plotting against us forge. In an instant Manda dHaije came, brought splendor, brought living, primordial fire and light from the house of life. He be- clothed Hibil with splendor, covered him with light and determined the ver- "hanging in front of the sword°). Those souls who answer the call of the three Men testified and believed in Manda dHaije, [divorced] before the Sword.

Hibil went out without the planets knowing that he was from here had gone away. He laid a path and set up a waystone for the sake of his brothers, whom he left here in the garb of life among whom he had dwelt. The spirits and souls of the meeting-men were given comfort in this world, and they became the We are in communion with the House of Life. Manda dHaije created Good for those who believe in the name and words of these three men hold.

Then the sword fell into the world. Then Manda dHaije ordered the Šitil:,,Turn your eyes to your son Anoš, who is your younger brother and on the garment of living fire in which you stand. I want to go-

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1) The meaning of here, where it stands in parallel NiN, and text is 269, 23 insecure. The other meanings in the Mandaean texts ,,celebration" and ,,matte" fit not. On the magic bowls, it apparently occurs in the sense of "incantation", see MontGomeRy, Aramaic Incantation Texts, p. 162 (not "shell", as M. assumes); perhaps the same sense is also present here.

2) Perhaps it is necessary to read: if we grab with sword, etc.

3) Read on; is influenced by text Z. 19. Which the following words pnsnondns noyrn do not belong here, sielie text, z. 18. From The leaven of the world, from which things are to be created, is only in this piece the Speech.

4) Read pr.

a) That they should depart before the destruction of men by the sword, see L 20, 23 ff.

go, assign Hibil a place in the new room and then come hurry to you. Do not be afraid of the sword of the planets, and Fear and anxiety do not be with you. After that, well, I'll come to you'). The eye of life is upon you. I covered you with the garment of life that it has bestowed upon you. Indeed, I i'm with you. Every time you look for me, you will find me, every time you call me, [261] I will answer you. I am not far from you.«

Manda dHaije addressed these words to Šitil. Šitil was also enough for them*) Kuštā. Then Hibil said to Šitil: 'Come soon after me, and Anoš come after you. Even all the souls of men of proven righteous- let those who have known life and are going out come before you and come after you in the way in which we went out, which Manda dHaije built for us."

Ruha and the planets did not know. They went out and threw the sword of the world. But these men did not reach the sword, because Manda dHaije was with them. Having turned on rest in this world- the angels, who are appointed over the anger, saw that these Men in their splendor lit up and stand there in this world, because they went and said to the great El and to Ruha, 'Truly these Men stand there in their own glory, and the sword was handed to don't approach her." Then the planets took from the leaven of the world, who was in their treasure house and was kept with them, ****** Rām and Rud, from the children of Adam), from whom the people- children should be raised. These men stand in their glory in the world is there, and you *) can do nothing against it. Then they took from two of each from the world *******

Ruha and the great El became angry and spoke to the angels, who are used to anger. They spoke to the angel Daniel, who °): ,,Throw fire into the whole world, maybe we will come to you with fire°).and they threw fire into the World. Then Manda dHaije came and joined these men, and the fire didn't get close to her. After rest had come in this world, [do the angels see, ******] that these three men [262] are there in this world-, and they can do nothing against them. There went these angels, who and spoke to their gods'): 'These

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3) The following words until povnnit in z. 22 are an erroneous repetition.

2) The pious of his race.

3) Read DNTNA (or DNT) DNT7. Maybe before DNT ge- see Text 262, 5. Before that, even more is missing.

4) The planets, respectively. angel.

8) He is mentioned only at this point. The Daniel of the Furnace became a Angel of Fire. The form of the name will have contributed to this. °) After D is to be added for example. 7) Rūhā and El,

Men are in their glory in this world, and we are able to nothing against them ').4

So they took of the leaven of this world, which was with them in their The treasure house was kept, ****** and her name was Šurbai and Šarhabel of the tribe of Adam, from whom the world was raised. 5 Then Manda dHaije came, took out the excellent Šitil, the good advice-gave him blows, clothed him with a fine garment of splendor, and and covered him with a garment of light, so that his brightness may be reflected in the whole world showed. He led him out by the way where Hibil had gone, and let him live in the room"), in which Hibil ic and where for the souls the communion with the house of the Life is prepared for those for whom there is no separation. He let Anoš in this great robe in which his brothers had lived, which was his The brothers had entrusted Anoš to him and his parents had equipped him with it"). Manda dHaije said to Anoš: 'Do not be afraid and do not be afraid and say is no: they left me alone in this world of the wicked. Because soon I'll come to you."I*) stand there and rub myself in my face-go away, but my heart is not oppressed by me"), and my conscience I'm not bothered. Inside I make reflections, alone I stand [in] this [world] and say,Who will make the wicked-2c take away from this world? All my brothers were here with me, and I grew up with them, like a son raised by his parents and his older brothers ...). I grew up among them, while they speak and hear in this world of evil and corrupters. What shall I now begin alone in this world of the wicked?u I made 25 Parable words, I formed a parable about myself and spoke:

[263] ,,Who brought you, my feet, here,
'who brought me up to the dwelling of the wicked??)" I

am standing there in the garb of my brothers, who have lost their lives-borrow. Then I say, 'Where is this world going, what is it walking towards?" 3c Since my brothers were here, I called my brothers over the world, but I didn't ask her about her*). I raised my eyes and be-

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1) Read palninty בעראי[א]ן.

2) So according to B. The other Handschrr. have "in that place".

3) In the current form of the text, these words must be referred to N2na5a, but I doubt it was so original. Maybe there is a gap ahead, cf. Text 258, 17.

4) From here Anõš speaks.

8) See also Nöld., p. 40, 14. DDN is found only at this point. It belongs probably to hebr. and Jewish.-Aramaic. DDN.

°) Ab2DNJs, which stands there, there is no sense. A Pael from 2DJ can also be found elsewhere not. It's hard to read "you grieve him".

7) See p. 154, 20.

8) The contradiction would be resolved if you read prontw2, but in the There is no mention of a question to the brothers. Behind it you can also Nsy „rather," read.

the whole world sought: the sky, the stars that rose on it the sun and the moon, the angels that are deployed across the sky the twelve images of animals that are also installed over the earth, through which Sun and moon'), about these angels who walk over water, wind and Fires are set over the earth, on which it is based, over the mountains and the seas, about the fruits, grapes and trees. Who will tell me about you say where they came from, what they are based on and what they stand for? About this detachment (of the stars)*), which rises at dawn, and about the four angels who draw you. About the other detachment, which is at Night rises; angels drag them there; they are not like one another'). About this detachment, which rises by day, and shines to the children of men and brings light. This does not bring its light at all to the house of the Life, but is only for the benefit of the children of men-made and created. There are some who are happy about it, some, those who are grieved about this and say: 'Why did the day rise and why did the morning come?" And this other detachment, which at night on- there are some who are happy about it, some who are sad about it and cry and talk: ,Why did the night come and why did it go the moon is up?u These stars that stand in the sky, walk by day and at night, they go around and turn in the sky, and have no Stood in one place. [264] They do no good to the children of men. They impoverish the one, they enrich the other; they cause damage every human child. They make the slave free, the free make them slaves. They betray the souls of people here-children and lead them astray. They outwit them and keep some souls of them are back with them until the last day").

When I saw that the world was like this, I trembled and trembled, and my body, which was stretched, buckled. In my heart the urge to groan, the urge to tremble in my heels, and they did not stop are fixed to their racks. I made such observations and spoke: ,My older brothers left me in this world of evil, and they won't come and rescue me from here. Manda told me dHaije: I want to come to you myself." I make observations and feel pity for my brothers°) who do not come and take me from

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1) Either is or is to be deleted. Behind it, for example, by pban see before. It is hardly said here that the angels also walk through them and with they meant the planets, see also p. 265 ob.

2) Cf. Joh. II, p. 2091

a) Probably refers to the detachments, not to the angels.

4) Probably only the replacement of the day is meant, after which it is necessary to read. Those On-the wording of the following words is uncertain.

8) I read with B with reference to the children of men, not with As for the stars, some of them hold souls back.

°) Well, that stands there, pabt not; maybe, "I'm angry".

do not redeem me here, who stand alone in my robe, which means Brothers have left me in this world.

The wicked have settled down and are meditating evil against me. I hear how they call the angels who are appointed over the wrath, (by they say): ,,Life awoke in fullness, and the children of men were in abundance. They speak in the speech of foreign life, speak in the speech of these three men. They join life and under... throw yourself to these three men. They rise up against us and ver-respect us in this world of our own').u They consult with each other against me and ...) in their insides, that they do not harm me 1 can.

How they are making the secret plan against me and against the The garment in which I stand: to whom do my eyes look up and who do I trust? I hope to Manda dHaije that he will come and be a support to me [265] in this world, that he may save me from the wicked save my brothers from the sword and the fire of the wicked he saved this world.

I, little Enoš, have been for years ** where my Briider goods. I question you here, when I came into this world after you and don't . . . . You, the wicked, are thinking against me and against the In the robe in which I stand and am preserved, you, the wicked who call the they hated life. Who is to call [the call of life] in this world? They say to each other: 'In our own world we should call the Do not call life, rather, it belongs to us." They then called the angels and commanded them: 'Go down to the earth Tibil and say Noah: Build an ark. Call and sit carpenters, go and cases Cedars from the land of Lebanon and female cedars") from the mountain Jatur4)." Tell him: ' Sit carpenters down and build an ark, take from each (kind of) two, little man and little woman"), and put them in the box, the one you make, because we want to accept the world."

and against°) the head of these three men, against this robe, in which I stand . . . . . Because the planets say, Maybe we'll destroy you are out of this world, so that no one will pronounce your name and your speech and no one will hear your speech."For you, the wicked, the lords of the house '), know that I stand alone, and forge a secret for evil 3

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1) These sentences probably come from a different context. You are here it is written as the speech of the angels.

°) Maybe NnnN2) is to read: "and they are ashamed".

8) See Joh. II, p. 1574.

4) Is only mentioned at this point, but it is R 380,11. In the name there is perhaps Athür (see Nöldeke bei Löw, Aram. Plant names, p. 60), so that the assy-mountains are meant.

°) See the wording R 380, 14.

d) Belongs to Z. 21.

7) See p. 106, 8.

Plan against me. On the very day that my brothers sent me- they took up arms and fought with me. Daily, everyday I try to escape from them, because I am alone in this world. My Eyes look up to Manda dHaije, who told me: 'I'll be coming soon for you." I am thinking about my brothers, that they will not oppose me to him.") advise [266] and do not submit to him against me. Daily views my eyes go up to the path that my brothers are walking, and to the Paths on which Manda dHaije comes. I look and see that the The gate of heaven opened. A cloud of shine and light, before which all the beings who saw her were terrified. Now when I when I saw the cloud of light in which Manda dHaije came, I pointed, the little Anoš, my lips about the gentlemen of the house. My body, which is too- bent together, stretched out, my heart, entered into the sigh he was leaning on his place, and my heels, which were trembling, stood fixed on your racks. Manda dHaije came, called to me and spoke to me: ,,Little Enoš, why were you afraid, why were you shaking, why were you shaking you? Why did your body buckle, why did your heart return And why did your feet tremble on their racks?u Once I speak, once again I am afraid of Manda dHaije talk about. Then Manda dHaije said to me: 'Little Enoš, be afraid not in front of me. Since terror befell you in this world, I came to you enlighten. Do not be afraid of the evils of this world and of the Floods of water; they shall be taken away over your head. How they brought sword and fire upon your brethren, and sword and Fire could not reach them, so will the waters- don't let the floods get to you. I will bring you shine and light, they will help you and help you. Let your power be upon them come, and let your form be like these two, who go out with you- and with this robe that went to the house of life is by appearing in splendor. Your figure*) same Hibil and Šitil. Let the wicked of the world say, 'These three men are in the world, however, they are not men, but it is shine and light that is his [267] in this world with little Enoš, who alone in this world The world stands there."

Then Mandā dHaije said to him, 'Come, I will tell you about the to reveal the ugly mysteries of this world that you saw and before them over the sky, which is stretched out, and over the stars, who have risen, who shimmer at him. The sky of water ******, and living fire and consuming fire are attached to it- ignites. [Are lit?] the stars by the consuming fire, they shine through the power of the living fire, from which the sky is lit-

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1) Read wty.

2) Read ורמותאך.

ignited, and grew'). These twelve animal images, (through which the planets, walking through the sun [and moon]: if Ptahil had not seen these stars- the sun and the moon have no path.

Behold, the darkness that arises when the sun goes down and the Moon rises: Ptahil thought about the fire, which is darkness") that night 5 and the day will become the reckoning and counting of the children of men, the tough- the number of years, months and days.

Behold, I have revealed to you about the wind"), about the water and about the two [angels ******]. I tell you that he was created out of it, from the power of water and living fire, and the two angels, 10 the leaders of this world, who were handed over over water and rain they are used over hail, hardship") and hunger and satiety, which are under acting on the orders of their gods.

About the fire I want to tell you, from whose enveloping it was-come on") and what man created it. Ptahil created it, however, 15 from') fruit, grape and tree it was made, from the root of fruit, Grape and tree it became, from them it was created to make them verzehren s).

About the water I will tell you where it poured out and where it came from. .. and there was a living fire. From the 20th century They were created in the House of life, and they were brought here (10). Then the living fire changed, [268] and the water became turbid without shining through the hand of Ptahil the man whom his father- to build heaven and earth. He did what his father told him- and the works and creations that he created with his hand, 25 will endure.

This secret from heaven I revealed to you, now I want you reveal about the mystery of the earth. Behold, the earth is black Water. It (the water) was created here after this secret was discovered-standing was(?). I reveal to You: Ptahil came, he and the angels of his Be- 30 gliding, he went to the black water and said,I want the earth

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1) The reproduction of the last sentences is very unsafe. NDN1 at the end hardly means , they left, " also note the reading 12D) D.

2) The words can not be reproduced in any other way, but fire is expected no one here.

a) npy by is missing in C. But here we are talking about the wind, not the water, the origin of which will only be discussed later.

4) Read ועהיב.

8) See also above, p. 231, 10.

a) This is standing there; as if it had been enveloped in the Creator. I believe not that you have to read "nature" for it.

7) Read instead מינדאם.

5) Again, quite dark. Perhaps the point is that the fire from the wood of the Roots of the trees arises and then it is consumed again.

") Perhaps we were talking about living water here.

10) Read איתונהון.

the earth is forming." Ptahil stood up and thought in what his father ordered him to do. Then Ruha said, she and the Angel accompanied her, and spoke to Ptahil: 'How you made heaven-if you are curious, talk about this water, and the earth will form." Then he spoke he said to the angels, 'This is what my father commanded me to do, but it is good what you told me."

Then he took something from the living fire, then he took one') from the garments with which he was clothed, it threw into the black water, and the earth Tibil sealed itself. Then he cut out the mountains in her, he divided the seas, created fish of every kind in the seas, and on the earth and the mountains") he created fruits, grapes and trees. On the trees 3) they take the fruit, and it becomes the seeds of every Genus. He screamed at the earth, and everything was formed on the earth. It all the seeds were formed, they stand there and flaunt Tibil on the earth. They bear fruit for food and drink. He created animals of every kind, male and female, and created the birds, and they stand there and graze').

Ruha and the angels accompanying her do not know for whom this and who should eat them. Then Ptahil spoke to Ruha and to the angels of her company: 'I want my image as a man and your image as a woman"). The man we want Adam and the woman we want Call Hawwa. I want to create and raise your image." Rūhā knew it is not that Ptahil received from his father Abathur the commandment concerning Adam and his Hawwa's wife.

[269] The earth was now on top, and the black water was under the Earth. Ptahil tried everything, but the water was not tasty. Then Manda dHaije spoke to little Enoš°): , When life brought me here then I knew that the water would not be tasty here. Since i said before the great life: 'In the world to which you send me, let them hear the call of life, that they may hear it, live and ascend to the house of life, the water will not it is delicious that the children of men drink it, receive life, and these Listen to the speech of life. Then the great life spoke to Manda dHaije: ,,Do you get up, go to the top of the water and draw a thin train") of living water. Let it go, into the murky water and the water will become palatable, so that the children of men may drink and become equal to the great life."

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1) Or: some.

2) Read ובטוריא.

8) One expects rather Nensi 1 ,from the offices".

4) This refers to livestock.

8) Read Wny); the spelling is influenced by text Z. 22.

o) Var. Anōš.

7) Read here and continue NIDNI.

Then he spoke to Taurel-Uthra, who set to work, he drew a thin draught of water, it fell into the Tibil, into the water, the was not tasty, and the water of the Tibil became tasty, that the children of men drink it and taste it to them.

Mandā dHaije spoke to little Enoš") about the mystery of the Rūhā 5 and the angel of this world *). ****** a fire after which you do not speak and can hear, except the consuming fire, after which they speak and can hear ******.

When Manda dHaije consolidates you here and Manda Dhaije redeems you*) from this world of darkness ******.

,I*) passed between them, took away from them the living fire, with which they are clothed, after which they can not speak and hear, and lifted it up to its place, the light abode. I let her in the fire from which they were created. A I left the dress on them, one of them got the ...) 15 of Ptahil, so that they may stand and shine in the world, so that these don't go down. I left it to him"), because if I did not give him this shine [270] and would have taken it from him, as I have taken it from all his If I had taken brothers, this world would have ended long ago and all would be darkness until the end of the worlds.

This world ocean, which Ptahil created and formed, which the whole Tibil there is a well around which an effusion came and fell into it. If if he had not created this for the Tibil, the whole earth would have ... .[8]). There would be nothing done and nothing done, and she would not have guessed.

Well, you saw, little Enöš, that I told you about the secret of the 25 Revealed the evil of this world, which you saw and were afraid of them, before which you trembled and trembled. I revealed to you about the secret from heaven and earth, I revealed to you about the secret of everything Done and made things that exist in the world, and taught you about them. I grant you splendor and light, that it may be with you in that first garment 30 be the one who was given to you from the house of life and who is now with you it is guarded, for which the wicked fight to take it away, without it they manage to take it away. Behold, I have increased your splendor to splendor, i have increased light to light for you, that it may be with you in the form of these two Men, your brothers, who have departed from you and come to the house of the 35th Life went.

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1) Var. Anōš.

2) You could add text 268, 6, 23 here and pinn NoSNi to But see Text 270,7. Behind it is first of all the living fire, the Speech, see further.

a) Read ונפאריקלכון.

4) Read NJN.

") Read or Anpyon.

") See above, p. 2591.

?) Read Aby, see further. After that is Nöld., pp. 203, 29.

5) NNSD, which stands there, there is no sense. From NSD can be found in Mandaean such as otherwise, in Aramaic, only formations of aphelion. Maybe MND ,would be rotten to read".

Behold, I have added strength to your strength, I have increased wisdom to you to your wisdom, and enlightenment, and knowledge, behold, I granted that you may speak with them and be heard').

Behold, I am now going to the house of life, then I will come and deliver you from the wicked and sinners of this world. eye life will be directed at you, as well as at the walırhaften, gläu- big and good men who listen to your speech. I want you deliver from the sword, fire and floods of water and ascend on the way- and Šitil and Manda dHaije from this Rise up world of evil."

Manda dHaije addressed these words to his son, little Anoš, [271] and handed him Kušta. Then he went out and went after the House of Life. He sat down in his father's skīnā, and his (life's) eye was on him"). Then Anoš rose full of Joy because of the brightness and light that life has given him, and because the power that his father entrusted to him, and shone onin shine and light.

****** who are in this world"), look at the gentlemen of the house, who are intent on evil against these three men and against the garment, in I stand by those who have lit up in this world. The planets are talking thus to one another: 'These men have not shown themselves to us, for they fear- in front of us. Whether they ran away from us, or whether they they hid from us, they showed themselves to us ,not. Now they showed let her join us in her rich splendour and her great light. Now, so, are they lit up and standing there in rich and great (?) Shine and light ...'). His brothers lost their fire and sword- and you couldn't get close to her, now ... ."), that you stand up for yourself."

The planets speak: ,,We can fight against the power of these men nothing to do, because they are more numerous than us. They let you Floods of water, but the floods of water did not reach them. You we want to eliminate them by sword and fire', but succeed it is not for them to eliminate them."

Life stands firm in its Škinā, life is victorious over all works. Hibil, Šitil and Anoš are victorious, and victorious is the The people of the Naşoreans, as well as the priests and Mandaeans, who by their name and signs were drawn on the name of the first life and adhered to the name and speech of Jāwar-Zīwā.

And life is victorious.

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1) Maybe here, as usual, in this piece, "and listen" has stood.

2) Read Aby by.

a) Before, probably, the three men" confessed, but probably more is missing.

4) It may be possible to read SIND), but of course the place has not yet been established.

6) ,Are you consolidated to read "by PD, or it's 1DDRy, hid yourself".

Twelfth book.

In the name of the great life, let the name of the NN and my Wife NN [272] among the mighty Uthras, the Sons of Light, raised up.

First piece. 5

Anõš, who also here, as in the introduction of the eleventh book, refers to as the son of Šitil makes observations about the natural phenomena and receives explanations, of course very dark, from a shining being over the sky, stars, earth, day and night.

I am the great Anoš, the son of the great Sitil, the son of the great Adam, the son of the mighty kings of glory, the Son of the son of the leaves') of all knowledge. My feet led me up here. I am sitting in a place of rich splendor. I am looking at- i look and see this world, the sky and the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars of the The light in which I stand, and the power to change in 15 who you stand. With whose power are they standing, with whose light are they shining?

I opened my eyes and raised my brows, then I looked and saw a large brazier of splendor, firmly in the hand of angels located. Twelve Angels ziehen.es on the Dark Mountains under the big bridge of brilliance. You carry it up and bring it to the gate 2c of the Jāsānā, to the place where the builder of heaven and earth") The throne is established.

Again I opened my eyes and raised my brows, because I looked and saw a great gate that was open in it (in heaven) ").

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3) See Nöld., p. 483. This meaning of RONEN2 does not seem safe to me. It might also belong to: ,the praise which is entirely knowledge."

2) Probably also meant Ptahil here.

3) probably refers to N1212, but of course one would rather use the suffix fem. sing. expect.

A thousand times a thousand brilliant beings stood at his right hand, and ten thousand ten thousand on his left. A shining being stepped out of the The House of Life, whose splendor was forty-two times as great as that of Jõrabba. When I saw that shining being, I trembled and my body trembled, and my feet did not stand on my frame fixed. I fell and fell in front of him. There stood an angel of glory standing up in front of him, took hold of me by the area of my right hand, straightened me straight he stood up in front of him and said to me: 'Come, great Anoš, son of the great Šitil, son of the great Adam, son of the mighty kings of the house of glory, son of the place of light, son of the leaves') of all [273] of knowledge, come, I want to reveal to you about the great life. It's down here-written*) and laid down on the great mountain ... .[3]).

Come, I will reveal to you about this heaven that the people-children called heaven, while he is not heaven. Fog clouds are es, the Abathur by the power and the name of the builder of heaven he founded the earth.

Come, I will reveal to you about the stars that shine on him. There are twelve angels. Some of them are about the east of the sky and of the earth, some of them are over the Seol and the Darkness has set in. As you are here, so are you there.

Come, I will reveal to you about this earth, which the children of men It is called the Earth, but it is not the earth. Rather, water from Huš, the the great seas are ... .4). Running year by year and month by month it flows there and creates a path for the children of men.

Come on, I want to reveal to you about this detachment (6), which in the morning- horror rises. Some are happy, some are sad about it. Be Head is pure light, (he is) a unmarried man, a merchant, violent, brave, sprightly and stands up in the big time°). A great mast of splendor it is set up in it, ropes of light are placed in it. Twelve Angels pull and run on the dark mountains under the great bridge of brilliance. They carry them up and bring them to the big Gate of the Jāsānā, to the place where the builder of heaven and earth a throne is established.

Come on, I want to reveal to you about the detachment that took place in the night is up. His head is pure water, (he is) a unmarried man, a merchant,

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1) See above, p. 2691.

2) Undoubtedly, already in itself, then because of the variants NeNT3, NeNTD).

8) The two words (N7eN707) are dark. Maybe it's דמאדברא "the steppe".

4) In the text it is written ,which gives" (WIN7), which fits badly. Because of the following Words are hardly "drying up" to read for it. But note that Lit. 218,4 There are wine containers.

6) At night and during the day, see p. 262

°) The sentence can hardly refer to"detachment". After the following it is expected that we are talking about a ship here.

forceful, brave, sprightly and standing in the big time. A big mast the light of glory is set up in it, ropes of light are laid down in it. Twelve angels draw them and lead them to the Dark Mountain. You bring them to the great gate of the Jāsānā, the place where the builder of the Heaven and earth have a throne.

Come, I will reveal to you, my brother: [274] These men of those who are here in the Tibil, go if their measure it's full of this world. You search and find. From the prayers and from the treasure of life, from their prayers and praises dress yourself with shine and cover yourself with light. Clothing over They put clothes on, they cover themselves with light over light. They laugh, rejoice, bounce, flaunt and enjoy yourself. And we say: ,,That Life stands firm and upright in its Škinä; life is victorious about all the works."

Second piece.

The first alphabetical Psalm. He is also at the head of the prayer collection in the Parisian manuscripts codes Sabéens 25 and 15 (here E and F).

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - –
Come in goodness, Kuštā,
Light that you go to the house of your friends.
You are the chosen, Victorious,
which you strengthen your whole tribe in victory.
You are a perfect Gimra'),
The chosen one, without fail.
You are the path of the Perfect,
the path that ascends to the place of
light. You are the life of eternity,
whom you have devoted yourself to and placed in (every) true heart
Woe to him who does not listen to you"), my mistress, [nahmest.
and whose path through the dwellings of indulgence in
You are the weapon of the perfect, [Music goes.
the truth without error.
You are wise and pleasant"),
teach wisdom and praise to all who love your name.

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1) See above, p. 158. °) EF still ,and listen"; this is excess.
a) EF still here , my mistress".

Hail to him who listens to you, my mistress,
and walk behind you on the paths.
You are the day of joy,
where there is no grief and lamentation.
You are a wreath of victories,
placed around the head of the enlightened.
You are the tongue of praise,
who praise life every day.
You are the first device,
that created life.
You are the light of the Great,
which you went and came into the world.
You are the cure,
that all who love your name, heal').
You are the eye [275] of men of tried righteousness,
that comes to life every day.
You are a sweet fruit,
from a taste that does not bring death"). You
are the first comrade,
the planting that came from the house of life "). You
are the first sound,
which life created from its nature.
You are the chief of the Ganzibrās,
to whom life gave dominion over every thing*). The
dead heard you and lived on,
the sick heard you and sniffed.
You forgive the chosen and perfect,
in whose heart Kuštā has taken a seat. - –
Life is victorious, and victorious is the man who came
here left.

Third piece.

Second alphabetical Psalm.

.......1) according to the apartment in which the gentle lived,
and my heart is chosen among the elect.

---

1) EF: You are the remedy that heals the pain, the doctor who treats all who have his Love names, heal.

2) BDEF: in which there is no mistake.

3) EF: which has always been. 4) EF: on which your splendor rests.

d) ,ether" does not fit. Here is probably to assume a form ny, for example איראן "he woke me up".

I am a chosen one, I scream
the smell of the life that surrounds me.
I'm a strange man;
they filled me with longing for the good Naşöräans. May he
〈remember me before life, and may my friend be Our
right [will] the Good Father [represent]?], [a helper for me.
who stands victorious before
life. I opened the seal of the Tibil
and looked into every thing in it. (I watched Uthras, the it
is a worthy apartment.>
I am a rose, a son of a chosen one;
I have seen life, and life has seen me. My travel
food comes from the strange man,
whom life desired and planted').
I will come among the good,
which that strange man loved.
Grace came to the good,
Joy to the true man.
The glory of life was,
when the soul came out of the house of life.
Great was the splendor of life on me,
and the light of life was not lacking.
My heart praises life, so
that life will count me among its number.
With the good I did,
what life commanded me.
I shone in his light;
from his light it increased upon me.
It put shine and rich light on me, so that
I have a support. The
great life showed condescension
against all who love his name.
[276] My mouth praises life,
so that it would count me among his number.
I heard the call of the Uthras, my brothers,
i fixed my eyes on her. I
rose with great strength,
i walked over and came to them.
With the sign of life drew me
my guides Šilmai and Nidbai.
The Truth of Life
it was turned on my head as a brow curl.

---

1) Or read ,and will wish"? But see also Var. as to R 353, 6.

The great life shows forbearance
against anyone who is marked with the sign of life
shall. The good, the chosen and the perfect, with
whom [Kušta took a seat.
Life is victorious, and victorious is the man who came here
left.

Fourth piece.

Third alphabetical Psalm. Can also be found in the prayer collection in codes Sabéens 25, f. 22b and 15, f. 18a.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. -
The pure ') pearl came,
who enlightened the dark hearts.
Shine sought to be,
and light awoke and became.
I laughed at the planets
and about what they invented and
did. I lived in their houses"),
but the seven did not notice me.
Grace is given to the elect,
who loved life.
Woe to the planet,
they are plotting evil against my chosen ones.
He") is the first*) shine,
the light without end.
It's the first life,
the life that has always been.
Hail to him who listens to you")")
and walking on the path behind you.
He") was the great shine,
when the soul came from the house of the great life.
He is the pure wreath,
the hibil was placed in its škīnā.

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1) Only in EF.
2) EF: ,among them".
8) Refers to Mandā dHaijē.
4) EF: "the great one".
5) EF still , and listen, my Lord," siche also p. 271.

My heart longs for life,
so that life may desire me in its Škinā').
From the day Hibil planted me,
my soul confessed the place of light.
You are the first calm;
because of you, the Uthras found peace.
The twelve wickets look out,
but do not climb up to the paths of the Kuštā.
The Depths of Naşaism
are extended and endless.
He is a sweet fruit,
from a taste that does not bring death*).
I heard the call of life
[277] in the great place, the house of completion.
The call of the great) glory,
who speaks and lectures in his Škīnā.
He is the great sign,
with which life is drawn in his Škina.
Who listens to the speech of life,
finds a place in the Škinā of life.
He is the lovely gate,
the light without end. --
And life is victorious.

Fifth piece.

Fourth alphabetical Psalm. Drift and fate of the wicked and sinners.

In the name of the great life.

Naked, the noble left,
the world of the deceased.
His house stands for desolation,
his property for plunder.
The abuse of creatures
it is given to all worlds.
You're like the bad vines,
which bear no fruit.

---

1) EF: "according to his Škīnā".

2) DEF: "in which there is no mistake", see also above, p. 2722.

3) EF: "of the pure".

They are mute and deaf,
who look out for evil for the children of men.
Woe to the bad days,
which is kept for the Jews in the world.
They sow iniquity
and reap a harvest of lies.
Her heart is full of darkness,
and their eyes are blind and do not shine.
Error grabbed her,
and they do not look at the place of light.
You are a day of lamentation,
your soul serious illness.
All twelve wickets
they are a pit that preserves them for eternity. Your
heart is ambiguous to you,
and they do not ascend to the light.
They are clothed with sins
and rob the souls.
Your soul is blunted to you,
and they have no desire for their wives.
You are the poison of murderers,
who kill the children of men.
Water depths are they,
Eddies that cause drowning.
Your mouth is full of lies,
and their eyes look evil.
Their fruits are dry, which
they sow in the world.
You are standing outside the
Kušta and do services outside of grace.
They love the beauty of the body
and the darkened shadows.
Full of sediment and rot
your soul is in the world.
You are the gate of death
and kill the children of men. - -
And life is victorious.

Sixth piece.

Description of the world of darkness and its king, a counterpart to the description the light world uud of the Light King in the first book, see p. 3f. The piece is by Nöldeke translated and explained in Aufsütze on the history of culture and language (Festschrift für Ernst Kuhn), 1916, pp. 131-138.

[278] In the name of the great life.

I call to you, I teach and I say, you true and faithful Men, you who see, separated'): Separate yourselves from the world of For lack of it, which is full of restlessness and error ").

First I taught you about the King of Light, who for all eternity is praised. I spoke to you about the glorified worlds of light that about the Uthras, Jordans and Škinās, who are miraculous and are luminous. Now I want to talk to you about the worlds of darkness and their contents, which are ugly and terrible, and whose shape is not right.

Outside the Earth of light, outside the earth Tibil To the south lies that earth of darkness. It is of a form that is different- the earth of light is kind and deviating from the light earth, because they deviate in every Character and form are different from each other. The darkness exists in their own evil nature, howling darkness, desolate darkness, she knows neither First and last.

But the King of Light knows and understands first and last, Has passed- genes and the future. He knew and recognized that the evil one is there, but did he not want to do him any harm, according to what was said: ,Do do no harm to evil and enemies until he has done evil himself." His evil nature exists from the beginning and for all eternity. world the darkness are extended°) and endless. They said,Far and deep is the abode of the wicked, whose peoples did not show loyalty in the place, where your stay is endless, whose kingdom is of your own accord. Your Earth is black water, its height is dark darkness."

Out of the black water the king of darkness was made by his own evil nature formed and came out. He became great, [279] powerful, and mighty, he called forth and spread a thousand times a thousand evil generations without end, and ten thousand times ten thousand ugly creatures without number. The darkness became great and wide through the demons, Dews, geniuses, spirits, Hmurthās, Liliths, Temple and chapel spirits, idols, archons, angels,

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1) The reading varies a lot: Ny NanD), nand), and the Munich and London Manuscripts have NyNnD). The latter would mean "Discriminating, insightful" and to fit, but in the following it will obviously be on the condition "to isolate themselves" allude. See also p. 2151.

2) The London manuscripts have NP ,,and hustle and bustle", cf. on the one hand text 7,18, on the other hand, 11, 21; 14, 9.

a) Probably so, not "numerous", which may require 23) also, see the following.

Vampyre, Schrate, Unheilsgeister, Schlagflußdemonen'), fiends, net- and Curlew spirits"), satans, all the ugly figures of the darkness of every Species and genus, male and female from the darkness: dark, black, foolish, unruly, angry, angry, poisonous, rebellious"), foolish, putrid, hideous, dirty and smelly. Some among them are mute, deaf, crammed, dull, stammering, deaf, mute, deaf, confused, without knowledge. Some of them are naughty, hot-tempered, violent, sharp, hot-tempered, voluptuous, Children of blood, kindled lohe and consuming fire. Some of them they are magicians, counterfeiters, liars, scammers, robbers, deceivers, be- swearers, Chaldeans, soothsayers. They are masters in all evils, Instigators*) of distress, they commit murder and shed blood without pity and have mercy. They are artists in all ugly things, know languages without a number and understand what is in front of her face. Of any kind are you. Some of them crawl on the belly, some sneak in the Water, some fly, some have many feet like the worm of the earth, some carry a hundred** They have jaws- and cutting edge-teeth in the mouth. The taste of their trees is poison and bile, their juice it's oil and bad luck. That [280] king of darkness took all the forms of the children of the world: the head of the eagle, the body of the dragon, the wings of the eagle, the sides of the tortoise, the hands and feet of the Fiends°). He walks, creeps, creeps, flies, screams, is naughty, threatens, roars, whistles, winks and flutes. He knows all the languages of the world, but is he stupid, confused, his thoughts are inhibited, and he knows neither First and last. But he knows what is going on in all the worlds; he is of many kinds. He is greater") than all his worlds, he is more powerful and more extensive than all of them, he is more powerful than all his creatures, and stronger than you. If he so desires, he hides from them that they not seeing him, but knowing what is going on in the heart of him who is before him steht. When the sexes flee from him, he brings them through his Word back, the Dews he desires, he lets turn back and puts them in front of you'). If he wants, he expands his figure, if he wants, he makes himself small. He pulls in his limbs and stretches them out again, and he has (the body parts) of men as well as women. He takes all Secrets are true. He is angry with voice, word, breath, breath, eye, mouth, Hand, foot, strength, poison, anger, speech, fear, fear, terror, trembling s), Roar, then all the worlds of darkness frighten. His figure is ugly, his body stinking, his face twisted. The thickness of the lip of his

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1) Uncertain, see Uthra, p. 541, for this catalogue of spirits.

2) Perhaps ghosts that entangle and entice people.

8) Perhaps,'bitter'f, see NölDEkE, loc. cit. on the spot. 4) Read מראמיאניא?

B) A similar description of the devil is given by Mānī, see Brandt, Schr., p. 226.

°) Nöldeke rightly suspects cinen singular here דמראוראב.

7) See Joh. II, p. 159",

6) The London manuscripts still have here ברתיתיא.

Mundes is 144000 miles. From the breath of his mouth boils the Iron, and the rock is heated by its breath. He lifts his eyes, so the mountains shake, from the whisper of his lips the plains become shake.

He pondered within himself, consulted in his foolish heart. and thought in his cunning sense. Then he went up and looked the worlds of darkness, which are vast and endless. He took pride an, rose above all and said, 'Is there anyone greater than me? Is there anyone [281] who is up to me? Is there anyone who is greater than I, more extensive and more excellent than all the worlds? There are someone whose food is mountains, in whose belly there is no blood? If there is someone who is more powerful than me, I want to I will rise up to fight with him, and I will rise up to fight with him, and see where his power came from")."

He hid himself and saw the worlds of light from afar on the borders of darkness and light: like a fire on the Peaks of high mountains, like stars shimmering in the firmament, like the The glory of the sun when it rises and comes from the east, like the Moons in its brightness. He saw the glimmer of that earth of light as burning lamps, which, covered with glass vessels, shine outward.

He pondered within himself, became enraged, raged with great And said: 'If there is this world*), why should this world The dwelling of darkness, whose furnishings") ugly and terrible, whose Food is black water and dirt? Rather, I want to go to this rise up to the shining earth and wage war with your king. I am will take away the crown from him, will put it on my head, will king height and depth. He also said, "If you have a robe *), I want to put it on when it's a dish, you eat when you a drink is to drink it when it's a house, tear it down when she is a construction, destroy it if she is an apartment, live in it, if she is something stronger than me, start arguing with her."

He burned in fire, glowed in his mind, heated himself in Anger and wanted to eat up all the worlds. But his ways are confused, its roads blocked, its paths winding. Nevertheless, he gets into a moment beyond the end to the lower limit of the Darkness. In the walk of one day he lays a path of a hundred Years back.

When he saw that shimmering figure, he wanted to look up [282] and out of the howling, desolate darkness to that luminous

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1) See also p. 81 unt. I've been considering whether not to lower the mountains- trat", but the given translation fits better to the second half of the sentence.

2) Nöldeke suspects nynn jy instead of paynny.

a) Actually , equipment, jewelry".

4) probably refers to NDsn, the world (of light), not to 'King'.

Rise in shape. But he found no gate to enter through, no To walk on it, not to climb, to climb on it. Because the figure he saw was in the height, while he was in the depth, how the people, the animals and the cattle do not go to the height of the sky can rise. He heated up and glowed, like the greedy lion about the prey, and rested and did not rest in his own apartment. He screamed, neighed and whistled loudly. The light worlds heard the voice and looked at the figure of the dull demon. The fallen army') ver-collected himself. They looked and looked at each other like a body whose The limbs suddenly began to tremble, and sounded like instruments of brass.

Then a voice came from the high King of Light, and he spoke to the worlds of Light and the Škīnās of the Uthras: 'Stay calm, you Uthras, sit in your Škinās. Do not be afraid of the wrath of the a dull, evil demon who has fallen into anger. In his own Containers, he is to be held. He is to be held in his own container, all his plans should come to naught. Come to naught let his plans and his works not come to pass."

Live our knowing, live our understanding. Rates be life; life is victorious.

Seventh piece.

The piece comes from the same author as the previous one and the description the world of light in the first tract, see p. 3. There is a supplementary instruction on the Nature of the North and the World Ocean.

In the name of the great life.

This is the teaching and revelation that is given to the separated Men"), which was revealed by the Tibil and the works of the Seducers have separated.

See what I have told you about the worlds of light and about what there is something in them, sage. I have told you about the world of darkness and its Taught creatures. I have spoken to you of the High King of Light, whose power is vast, vast and endless, from the vaunted earth, from the Uthras and kings in it, who are in the upper height outside the Tibil live in the north, in the place from which the living water comes, through which [283] all the worlds are resplendent, whence shine of the sun, brightness shine to the moon, shine to the stars, shine to the fire, whence comes the

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2) Cf. p. 82, 22; 103°.

*) also here in connection with ,secrete". see p. 2771.

Northern air and the pleasant wind, the king of all winds, comes; through all beings live it and feel comfortable. When the air is just one day should not hurt, all the souls that are in the Tibil, die and go out.

¹If you say that with the northern air comes hail and wrath ²), then explain I tell you that they do not come from the light earth. Rather, the supreme Earth of the Tibil are cut extensive mountains. Snow and hail comes, falls on them and does not melt in winter and summer. From there when the north wind comes, it blows over it, and the hail comes along with to the wind, as if someone were standing under a decaying corpse and the smell comes at the same time with the wind.

The stars and zodiacal images revolve and do not pass at the gate of the North. Because there is nothing dark there that needs lighting. It is like a king of the earth who sends an army into a territory far from him sends. For the illuminators in this world who are charged with this, to enlighten them do not have their own gloss.

The whole world calls the north "height" and the south "low"³). For the worlds of darkness lie in the lowlands to the south. That great ocean of the world encircles the whole Tibil, except the gate of the North. Because you can not cut off the living water from the places of light.

All the world testifies that the living water below the throne God comes forth, but they do not understand what their mouth is saying.

The other, the hot winds that circle between the walls and breaking out between [284] the gates, blowing over the world ocean. Because the world Ocean is hot and the water is hot. On the lower mountains the breath of the world Ocean comes out and melts your snow. Because the world Ocean is very similar to the worlds of darkness, the black water close, because the black water is very dark and the living There is ¹little water, for in it is the effusion of all the seas, which flows into the same fall. No one drinks from it, as they said:

It's the black water,
    this boils, boils and squirms.
Whoever drinks of it dies,
    everyone who steps on it burns himself.
No one can stand his smell,
    except that he is from it⁴).

These zones are distributed over the Tibil. Who is in the upper zone is light-colored, those living in the lower, are black, and their- seeing is ugly, like demons.

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1) See above, p. 157.

2) Wrath of the deity, which manifests itself in severe weather and damage.

a) Explainable in Babylonia. Extensive Alps continue to stretch to the north-countries. while the south is lowland.

4) See pp. 71,17; 72,9,27.

Every discerning person knows that the beings of light are here'). See: they are not on the Tibil and not in the firmament. Because, if you were at Firmament, where would your stay be when heaven and earth pass away?

For as for the place of the King of Light, there was nothing, since he did not, and nothing is as he is not; for him there is no offense").

The darkness took over all the ways of the children of men-hand and confused the paths. As they say, You have the world the path is confused, and ilre inhabitants lie there and are between they pushed the water back and forth. The more the age decreases, the the wickedness oppresses (them) more").

See and let yourselves be instructed, my chosen ones, and step up victoriously ascended to the place of light.

And life is victorious.

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1) Actually, 'worlds of light', see p. 61. According to the following one expects that they niclt are here.

*) See p. 6,1; 31,32.

a) See p. 221,30; 230,32.

Thirteenth book.

Prayer of the priest for the shining and pious in the church, warnings to the unbelievers and the disobedient. A young piece.

In the name of the great life, my name will be NN and that of my The wife is raised up beyond the great place in the house of perfection.

In the name and in the power [285] of the mighty, strange life, of the blessed one, who stands above all works, in the name of the second life, of the pure Jošamīn, in the name of the third life, whose name is Abathur, the Old, High, Hidden, Preserved is, in the name and in the power of the Manda dHaije, the Exalted One in the worlds of Light, in the name of Šilmai and Nidbai, who crossed the Jordan of life and the great baptism of the The light is used and the souls receive witness, names and signs- borrow, in the name of Hibil, Sitil and Anoš, the three sons of the living, shining, shining, bright, flaunting trunk we lay priests this testimony concerning the Mandaeans and their sons, those who already know their inner self and perceive their knowledge'), so on Sunday and on the eve of the day") do not come to the temple, do not approach keep the order, do not listen to their priests and do not get behind the Priests, do not perform prayer, do not bow do not take the pihta, Kuštā not enough, the community with- do not establish each other, do not baptize their sons, their daughters the sign do not let them accept life, in whose hearts the belief in the the first life has no place with the persecuted and needy- sufferers have no compassion, their wives, sons and daughters on the eve of-evening of the day and do not send to the temple on Sunday;

on the other hand, about all Mandaeans baptized in water, the believing men and women, as well as their sons and daughters, who they already know their inner self, who love their Lord, the mighty, the first Life, so nothing was, since this was not, and nothing is, since this who was baptized in the Jordan and marked with the sign of life who come to the temple on the eve of the day and on Sunday,

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1) Who already have a mature mind.

°) Probably the eve of New Year's Day, see Joh. II, p. 684.

to adhere to the beautiful order, to perform the bows, behind to the priests who take the pihtā, to the kuštā, to the common- [286] and baptizing their sons and daughters, they The signs of life, in whose hearts the faith in the mighty, first life rests, which sympathizes with the needy and Have mercy on their wives, sons and daughters on the eve of the Send them to the temple one day, perform the service in their house the alms do not stay overnight'), rather they bring it to the temple.

The mighty, first life, the sublime, which stands above all works, Jošamīn the Pure, Abathur, the Old, the High, the Hidden, the Preserved, the Rašna uRast*), Šilmai and Nidbai, who are above the great The Jordan of Life and the great Baptism of Light are instituted in this world witnesses about the souls call, Ptahil the messenger, whose name Gabriel is"), who has the power*) of life and the word of his Father the heavens are stretched out without pillars, and the earth without compaction the stars were formed in the sky, the stars were formed in the sky, the stars were formed in the sky, the stars were formed in the sky, the stars Earth gave fruits, grapes and trees, shine of the sun and brightness to the moon, who created Adam with the power of life, gave him Hawwa when a woman planted and spoke the blessing over her, so that until the end of the worlds their root and their tribes do not disappear from this world, they are to assist all believers and all Mandaeans baptized in water, who practice all these good works, perform these benefits, live witness, confess Manda dHaije and praise these three men"), the sons of the living, shining, resplendent, bright, luminous of the tribe testify and believe in him.

This prayer we perform and this request we pronounce, we Priest. Manda dHaije deliver us from the wickedness of this world. [287] May He be our helper, helper, Redeemer and Savior from the guards-houses of the planets, from which the souls are afraid, from which swords, the calamity and the plague of this world, of the evil plans of the wicked, from the third tongue, which is softer than fat and more cutting than that The sword is from the evil cry, from the corrupt wreath, from the second Death and the eyes of harm").

The blessing that is over the earth with its condensation, over the sky with its tent-roof span, over the shining sun, the moon, the at night, the stars shining and shining in the firmament,

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1) would mean ,"it shines niclt", which makes no sense. I suspect לאבאיית.

°) D. I. the Persian Rašnu razišta ,,Rašnu the Most Righteous", who won the golden In which the souls of the dead are weighed at the judgment, see the outline of Iran. Philology II, p. 643.

3) See above, p. 3,10; 64,2 and Brandt, Rel., p. 55 unt.

4) Read prrw5x737, before that it still says in the text: ,,and with the power of life, as well as of Hibil, Šitil and Anōš, which are Muhur, Ruš and Rast, (i.e. Mithra, Sraoša and Rašnu, see floor plan ibid., p. 642) and with the power of the messenger Ptahil".

*) See above, p. 230. ") i.e. the evil eye, see also Lit., p. 39.

about the air, the living water, the fruit of the earth, about Adam, the first man, his wife Hawwä, his children and tribes, about whom Messengers and Prophets, about the chosen and perfect, about the faithful and perfect of the Light were spoken, will for them, as well as their wives, sons and daughters, their purchase and Their land and water, their animals and their goods, their Seeds and their seeds in the field and in the village.

May Manda dHaije be your helper and support in this world of Baddies. What they seek, they shall find, what they ask, they shall be granted, [as well as] to their friends and the friends of their friends.

Also: the Mandaeans, who only speak with their mouth at the name of Manda dHaije, but without faith in the heart, who are the evil trees those who drink living water but do not produce fruit, who are like the predatory wolf and the prostrating lion, who do not come to the temple, do not perform prayer, do not be behind the Priests who do not take pihtā, do not give Kuštā, [288] who Do not establish communion with each other, do not give alms after the temple do not bring their wives and children to the temple, their Do not send women and children there, on the eve of the day and on Do not baptize your sons on Sunday and do not baptize your daughters the sign of the 20th The men, the women of the twelve gates the disciples'), who enter the twelve gates, which are not teaching, not teaching and can not explain that life is older is older than death, the light is older than darkness, the good are more excellent as the wicked, the sweet is more pleasant than the bitter, the day is older than as the night, the Sunday is older than the Sabbath, the Naşaraerdom is older being older than Judaism, the upper beings are older than the lower, the The waters of the Jordan River are older than the turbid waters of the place of Darkness, to which your priest speaks instructively, without you pointing to him whose heart is not enlightened, that they may turn to the man who taught them and want to enlighten, listen to those who leave the call of life and Loving the call of darkness, hating the cooperative of life, and the Love the cooperative of darkness, hate the splendor and the light, and loving the dwelling of darkness, leaving the Jordan of living water and love the turbid waters, against them we call these as witnesses:

We call the mighty, first life as a witness against them. Jošamīn, the pure one, who is attached to the treasures of the water and to the the great, upper, pure gushing of the light rests, we call as witnesses against them.

Abathur, the Ancient, High, Hidden, Preserved, who lived at the height of enthroned and hidden in the depths of the worlds and generations see through and understand, who sees what they are doing, who is looking over the souls-

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1) can not mean priestesses, since there are such among the Mandaeans does not exist.

in order to weigh all the works that they do, we call') as witnesses [289] against them.

We call Hibil, Šitil and Anoš as witnesses against them.

The sun and its brightness, the moon and its brightness we call as witnesses against them.

Sunday and Almsgiving ") we call as witnesses against them. The call of life, the Word, the command and the warning, the from the house of Abathur and from the house of the great, first life come on, let's call as witnesses against them.

The priests with their sign, their prayers, supplications, hymns, prayers-orders, speeches, the crosses") of splendor and the olive rods of the Glanzes are called as witnesses against them.

This speech, this command and this warning were given to us from the Light soil is awarded. Anoš-Uthra, the envoy, brought them and gave them to the priests again'), in order to speak of it to the worlds and generations and to make them hear, that they may be believed, that they may speak, to be heard and to find faith and not to turn away from it. If someone is aware of this speech, this command and this warning Anoš-Uthra, the Messenger, after this world of the wicked and to the great place that abounds in evil, so shall the kingdom turning against him"). The sun and its radiance, the moon and its Brightness, water and its power, wind and its convenience, the fire and its glow, the earth and its fruits, the sky and his dew, the world and the believers in it, the temple, the priests, the Sunday, the almsgiving, the Pihtā, Kuštā and Mambūhā, the Jordan, in which they descended, in which they received baptism, and from which they if they have received the sign, there shall be witnesses against them.

Further, we call these true witnesses against all, man and Women, boys and girls who take the name of Manda dHaije-, but not to be baptized in the Jordan, and to be baptized with the name and have not drawn signs of life. [290] They stand apart- half of the Kušta and do services outside of grace°). We priests teach them and awaken them, but they do not want to hear and do not believe, so they will be held accountable for their own sins become. However, if you let yourself be taught by Manda dHaije, who is the the first Messengers are witnesses, according to the will of their Lord and what the priests tell them to act, so they will be granted a remission of sins be. If you do not act and do not listen, this instruction will not

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1) Read proms, so also in the following.

2) See Joh. II, p. 5.

") The banner of the Mandaeans, see Joh. II, p. 1854.

4) Unsure whether to read instead.

b) The words Fby may be inserted, so daf the following the postscript is.

") Quoted from pp. 276, 29f.

bear witness and do not listen to them if they do not stand firm (in faith) and if they do not believe their priests, there will be no remission of sins for them- become a part.

If you do not do what you are told, do not adhere to the order do not bear witness to the teaching recommended to them by the first Messenger, 5 so they will have a sinner, and because of the works of their hands be held accountable. When you are awake and alert and the Mānā who dwells in them is awakened, so they will be in the The Court of Justice is not accountable to the- and the hand of the planets will have no power over them. 10 And their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, who have come, and there will be a forgiveness of sins. Even the priests and believers who give this instruction to the Mandaeans will a remission of sins is granted.

Life is victorious over all works; life is victorious. 15

But Rüha, her children and her creatures are subject to total for all eternity.

◆

Fourteenth book.

The treatise is called ,The Book of the great Nbat". Nbat will be at the top of the Creation, from which the predestined Yäwar and then in a second creation Jõšamīn ,the Second" go out. This is followed by another piece in which the The Creator is life, and the first created one is Mānā Jāwar. Life worries Jõšamīn, whose creative plans are unclear here as usual Words are pointed out. Jāwar strives to calm life. Jõšamīn is looking for a The creation, however, is prevented from doing so by the guardians appointed over him. However, he creates sons who push him to form a separate world. He gives ilnen, and they create a lower world; B'haq is particularly involved in the work- Abathur. The planets are created by his son Ptahil.

The piece shows contacts with the third book, see p. 63f. In linguistic In this respect, it shares some peculiarities with the eleventh beech, so in the use of Dy .,with" (text 292,19; 293,20) and from NOW1 7NDy, see p. 250.

[291] In the name of the great life.

This is the mystery and book of the great Nbat who came forth, it was lightening up, blossoming and becoming huge. Uthras came forth before him. At the first summoning he spoke and called forth eight hundred Uthras with an evocation. Two Uthras came and ascended. Vor- Jāwar, the Predestined One, was called by the *****. At the second Evocation came and ascended Jošamīn and Sar-Zīwā. In the case of the third generation came and ascended beloved, chosen, gentle, quiet uthras, whose names are Sar') and Smīr. Their names became two founded in a Škīnā.

Then he spread flourishing, enlightened and taught. You*) they came forth to his right and left, he spread praise over they"), and they shone in their robes. Her radiance mingled together, they shine, shine and shine, because on their clothes there was neither blood nor flesh, there was no ice and no spoilage.

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1) Lond. AC have DND. There is more often DEATH DND or DEATH CHILD DND (see pp. 67, 21 and Lit., pp. 282 unt.), but not DND and DEATH as two different beings. After "it's probably original here. Also sorry. has "ND.

2) The Uthras.

") See above, p. 552.

At the first evocation that occurred, the Mānā Jāwar-Smīr') cause. Jāwar, the well-preserved Mānā, rose and spoke to the Life, his Father: [292] ,,You, life, my father, you are great, not low. You are huge, not small. Far is the shine on your right, far the shine on your left and great the light above you. This Jordan there is no living water before you. The tannās melted and spread from the first container over the earth of the ether."

When life, his father, heard these words of Jāwar-Zīwā, pleased so much so that it laid the rights on him to give him a wreath of He taught him of his knowledge and taught him, Our He called it "Our Word". He was called the Word of Life.

Thereupon the first life of his own Skinā, the Great prayed and praised his Father"). The word came to him before his father then he said to him"): "You are allowed in your own world everything that you ground in kindness, do, and it is dear to me. But I don't like it when you're making up something ugly. Far be it that there is ugliness with you. Rather come the blessing with which I blessed you, over you, and the beings of light let them multiply on the earth of Ãther. Because I am the Son des Jāwar. With the word of my Father I have called you forth, and by his command all that he contrived came to pass. You, too, do nothing without orders, but act according to my orders. Then become your works will succeed and your figure will shine with the Uthras lights that you created. These will be chosen, gentle and calm. You will shine, and your creatures will shine. What they say, come true. The great ones, their sons, and the creatures that made them created, maintained."

Then the first life of his own Škinā arose, it flourished and created 360 Jordans in front of him*). About each Jordan appointed two guardians. The Uthras who crossed the first Jordan they were called [293] Adatan and Jadatan. On behalf of 30 of those Uthras, 800,000 myriads of Uthras were created. On that day were uthras created without number, and were created in that Jordan of water dubbed. There 800,000 myriads of Uthras were baptized and received the Character. A thousand times a thousand Uthras were baptized and strengthened by life.

Then life blossomed and 360 worlds of light blossomed. It created the gentle, first") Uthra, the head of creation, and made

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2) Lond. ABCD and Oxf. Jāwar-Smīr was caused by her". °) It is not clear who the author thinks of himself as the father of the first life. The Father continues to refer to himself as the son of Jāwar, while the latter is a creation of the Life is.

") The Father comes to life.

4) Sorry. has prnontip5.

") Stands here in the sense of vou ,,excellent".

make him the head of his own world -- there is nothing that is endless,') -- ***** Myriads of Uthras in that world of life, in the Jordan, in which the Uthras were formed in the Škinā in which they received the sign. There was no hatred, jealousy, or discord in that Jordan; there was there was no restlessness, there was no confusion about him, there was no anger about him. Nbat- Ziwā swung himself on the water, the water burst forth and rose towards his brilliance. Then they both mixed with each other. You blossom, become enormous and shine in their shape like a single Shine. The water is like the shine, and the shine is like the water. The earth of that Jordan") is like a shining tent and a unexplored height. All of them") live in the share of life, they shine, shine and shine. They blossomed and let blossom, and their Gestalt flourished. There was no devastation there, nor did the plan show up the father of Uthras4). The splendor of Jošamīn did not accumulate there, and he did not stand out with the Uthras. There were not great powers, but one was more modest than the other, and her heart was calm and humble. The Lord of Greatness") rejoiced over his sons, the Uthras, and they rejoiced in their Father, the Lord of the Size. Ilr splendor shone on each other, and they extol the splendor of their The Father who gave them this splendor and created this world for them.

Then life called [294] the Jāwar-Zīwā, in whose name it 900,000 Myriads of Uthras. It created an image"), gave it to him and said to him: 'Go, step in front of the second one') with this image, we want to see what he says and what he means." Then he stood before him and said to him, "O Jošamīn, son of Dmūth-Haije")! My father has sent me here. Yes, life, your°) Father, has commanded me this. She said: Jošamīn does not know who you are."

Because of the brilliance of the image that gave life to Jāwar and the whole škīnā of Jošamīn trembled. The throne of Jošamīn succumbed, so that he collapsed (10). The women 1') who stood in front of him, he- schraken. Jošamīn rose and wavered (14), he rose and wavered,

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1) See p. 75#. 2) On the banks? 3) i.e. the Uthras.

4) The father of the Uthras is Abathur, see p. 97 unt., and to the plane of Abathur see p. 174,20ff. Of course, there is often talk of "plane" Jōšamīns, see p. 147,28; 167, 28, and this would also suit the following better.

6) This appears here unexpectedly, see above, p. 4. °) Or "his (Jāwar's) image". In sorrow. is the final letter long drawn, but stand at the end of the line. The "image" is also intended here as a wife, see p. 1446.

7) i.e. Jōšamīn, the second life.

8) Cf. Joh., p. XXII unt. and here, p. 118,13.

9) D has ",my father".

10) is Inf. for porn, see R 173.8; 362.10.

11) Actually, "Clouds", see Uthra, p. 539 unt.

19) This seems to be the point of Ninby, which only occurs at this point. It can not belong to: "tried to go" od. similar.

for he had no strength to stand before the splendor of the image. Which His feet were not on the rack, and his heart was set before the Images tossed restlessly back and forth.

Jāwar perceived how much the heart of Jošamīn was frightened, because he softened his brightness and dimmed') his light and inhibited") the eyes the second is to look into the light. Jāwar softened his shine, grasped he raised him up by the side of his right hand, raised him high in front of him, and said: to him: 'Hold on, hold on, my son. Behold, the splendor of your Father's is greater than your splendor. Life, my Father, remembered in kindness your. I am life, the Son of life, me, his son, has it is sent to you.«

The heart of Jošamīn immediately assumed haughtiness, and he said: 'What does it mean that life has thought of me? I am a Big one!" But Jošamīn said to himself: "Life does not know me, why should life remember me? It does not bring me up to himself, for my heart is devoid of splendor, cut off from the light."

Then Jāwar brought a praise of Jošamīn to life- and life felt compassion for Jošamīn. It laid the rights upon him, Kuštā handed him, and he handed Kuštā to his sons, the Uthras, those sitting in front of him. For what was to come had not yet come to pass.

Then - there is nothing that would be endless, - [the thought came] to the Heart of Jošamīn. Because when he had this thought, it made him Life [295] does not come close to itself. But because he was his son, he was not angry; he had been created as one from his root.

When this plan came up, it was not yet carried out, - there are nothing that would be endless - both about what is being done and about that which is created, than about what has been. Yes, life knew what would happen to Jošamīn, but kept quiet and asked out(!). He said, 'When will the Second become a son for himself witnesses, as he intends it in the sense?"

Then Jawar spoke the Word"), the beloved first creation, on which life had pleased and sustained him, and: ,While you, my father, are sitting there, asking and talking back and forth, is this word*) came true." The heart of life calmed down not about this, but it said to him: 'You are entitled to everything that you say."

Life gave him robe over robe and spoke to Taurel, the Jawar, whose name is Sam-Smir-Ziwā, is called as follows:

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2) Read FyonF, actually ,he oppressed," cf. heb. yor and babyl. šuhmuşu. Sorry. hat art See also p. 2616.

2) See p. 2584

*) This is Epitleton Jāwars, not object to plan.

4) Probably pina instead of reading. What is meant is the word just uttered life.

,,Go, throw miraculous, living fire of shine and light in the middle of our worlds. [Our] of the great (life) [worlds] shall be above, and the Worlds of the second are supposed to be below. At the border of that place2) the streams of water flow; there is the limit and the final measure for all worlds".

It piled robe over robe for the Jāwar, it put two Keeper a, Oşar-Hai and Pta-Hai, and granted him gloss over gloss, more abundant than he had.

Thereupon Jawar released the heart of the great life in great gates"). All Uthras exercise excellently what life, my Father, advises them to do"). Jawar spoke to the Uthras and was heard, he whose name was Sam-Zīwā shall. All the Uthras thanked Jawar and thanked 'life as it was from heard him.

Then (Jošamīn) pondered, his thought became pregnant, and the Thought was close to being born in the Second'). [296] He raised and wanted to create a full creation out of the first Jordan of life-pull. But the two Uthras did not let him, the guards who were over whose name is Adatan and Jadatan, who performed the baptism whose signs have accepted life and whose baptism has confirmed it. ,"You are not authorized," they said to him, "for this to make a great Jordan a creation on which life is the sign he is the one about whom he speaks and hears, from whom he creates what he wills."

Then he said to them, 'Where shall I go to bring forth creatures?'- and to create sons, as life created me, and to did he make his son?"

To this they replied to him: 'We are sons, not fathers, we are too nothing authorized. We only have to guard the Jordan of living water, to guard what is in him. You, you have the power to do everything you erdenkest."

So he went and stood at the top of the lower Jordan, under 30 the upper Jordan. He spoke and called forth from him three first-born. They were one, but their image was two, and this one of anger.

Then - there is nothing that would be endless. - The sons of the Second they shouted to him in their father's Škina"), while life was silent and kept his own word with him.

Then the sons of the Second (one thought) became pregnant, a Thought came to them, and they said to their father: ,,This world, which consists of- is stretched, and whose shine is very stretched, is yours and our world. Why is it that we do not live in it?" Then he said to them, 'We

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1) Between the world of life and the world of the second.

2) The sentence is mutilated.

3) Even this sentence is probably not in order.

*) See above, p. 78°.

") Maybe so, i.e. of life. Sorry. daddy, but the text is not at all okay here.

would rather not live in the world of life, like an inmate, who has no home of his own, whom the master of the house incites to anger and (angry) throws words in the ear. When I live in the world of life "if I had to," he said to them, "I would (of course) stay there." But they said to him: 'In a world that is not yours, we do not want to sit." 5 Then

her father scolded her violently'), but they did not care about the They scolded their father and wanted to give him ugly advice. Sometimes her father took her advice, sometimes, in turn, he did not take it.

Then Jošamīn said: 'I will rise up and live [297] so that it may let me carry out what I desire, what comes from 10 let me come out."

Life knew what the Second was thinking, and it said, 'Once upon a time if he acts, and it succeeds, then he acts again, and it does not succeed."

Jošamīn did not know that life has spoken this curse about him. He stood up and listened to what his sons had said. He is 15 gave his sons of his strength, his splendor, his power, his And sent them to him, and he sent them to them, and they said: 'Go, do what you wish and have advised me; do it's good, not bad."

Then they went to the end of all worlds, to the end of all skīnās, 20 they settled down, called out and sealed the seal*) of the white Earth, but they did not succeed in creating a shining earth equal to the Earth of the Athers. They created and founded every thing on the worlds, they created the four sprightly men, created the sons of salvation.

******* B'haq-Uthra called forth and created for himself") a world when 25 his two brothers were not with him. For her sense was abhold from him, they did not stand on his side, they did not talk after his speech and did not listen to his hearing.

When B'haq called forth and created, he stepped down and looked at this world: she was not far, nor great, equal to the worlds of the great life. More than 30 he looked at his own world, he called himself ",Father of the Uthras"4). (Like the great life, he called himself Adam the Great; therefore it angered him from the place of light.›

Then arose the son of the father of the Uthras, who became his own father who called Uthras. He named his son Ptahil: The Opening to which I gave 35 his eyes opened, but he did not see."). Then Ptahil rose up,

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1) It is impossible to understand why he scolds you, since ilire words of those he uttered Correspond to the view. Or is it instead of reading: ,in a world that is not ours we don't want to sit"; you want to build your own world?

2) Cf. Joh. II, p. 67 Note.

3) Sorry. there is still לנאפשיה.

4) B'haq is identified with Abathur, see above, p. 97 unt.

b) The author wants to give an explanation of the name Ptahil (bakND - AbanND). At NANDD, he was only thinking about the meaning ,open* not also about "create", which is also can mean, see Lit., p. XXiF.

the son of the father of the Uthras, who called himself the father of the Uthras, he went and stood by the mixed water and the mixed fire, in which there is living fire and consuming fire, and the water of the Earth, in which there is turbid water and living water, he thought, a [298] and said, 'I will create Uthras and set up before me how my Father created me."

With the first word he spoke and called out, and it came up and before him ascended the seven planets, the corrupters and depraved, there is blood and redness on their robe. Her robe resembles the red color, it does not glow and is not white. They are all good for nothing, because they are the same blood, and her name is in bad taste on the mouth.

The souls that depart from here ascend again to their place. Those who have been taken away from here will return home.don't all souls, those who profess to be pictorial works do not ascend to us, are for us and will not see the world of the Second.

The tribe of souls of the Naşoreans do not thank the planet, but dem Leben and Jāwar *****. They rise up, because when the life of the Jawar sent to Ptahil and all the evil angels, ********').

Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the Of those who understand and of those who understand.

Life for men, who teach us. Life is fixed in its Škīnā, life is victorious.

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1) This sentence may belong to the place denoted by +.

°) Sorry. and the helpers".

Fifteenth book.

I summarize the following twenty pieces as one book. At the beginning there is although not the usual introductory formula, but they have a common colophon. Most of the pieces are related in content: a higher being is sent to the To admonish and instruct believers or other geniuses. It speaks partly of itself in the first person, in part, is told about him in the third person. The pieces also show some stylistic touches, such as the frequent use of the Verba Nap, the NW", the number 61. Some may also come from the same author, but it's hard to draw the line.

First piece.

Anõš, the "Word", on the mission of life, goes out into the world to help the faithful to stir them up, to instruct and warn them.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. -
- I am a word, a son of words,
who came here in the name of Jāwar. The great
(life) called, commissioned and equipped me'), me
Anoš, the great Uthra, the Son of the Mighty. It
called, instructed and encouraged me,
it created helpers for me.
The helpers who created it for
me, were gentle, firm uthras.
It sent me out to guard the age"),
to rouse the slumbers from their slumber and to- It
spoke to me: [straighten.

---

1) here, in conjunction with rand, can also mean "exhort".

2) Every age has its guardian; the expression N7NT "NON),,keeper of time-age" is common, see Joh. II, p. 93°.

,Go, form yourself an appendix from the tibil
like the appendage we have formed.
Choose and get Chosen
out of the world.
Choose true men
and women who are good and faithful.
Choose and get the souls, who
are worthy and worthy of the place of light.
Grant them teachings,
by which they are to be instructed.
Grant them secret spells,
so that you can show your miracle powers to the fiends
here. Let them speak to you in their pure voice
and to overthrow Namrus from her throne.
Fear infects the planets,
the lords of this world.
Teach the Nasoreans, Mandeans and the elect,
whom you have chosen from the world,
who are persecuted in the name of life in the Tibil."
It speaks to him:
,Choose the Kuštā
and lead them up to the light abode.
Choose them and consolidate them,
so that they would be without defect and lack.
Teach them about the prayers, hymns and prayer orders, so that
they may see the content of the light and teach themselves
Teach the souls so that they do not die and perish.
do not be inhibited in the dark darkness.
Namrus shall not spoil them,
don't get caught up in music in the apartments of revelry [keep."
It speaks:
When you go to the earth Tibil, don't
let the bad guys know about you"),
and the splendor of your garment shall not be darkened.
They should not rush you down from the upper firmament, do not
throw yourself into the place of darkness.
Fear and do not be afraid
and don't say: I'm standing there alone.
When fear attacks you,
we will all [300] be with you.
We all will go to you and
they will be your helpers.

---

1) Actually,"taste".
2) Here there is hardly N7y in the sense of "pouncing on" as in the Syrian one.

We will be your helpers
and rid yourself of all the ugly. Teach
the Naşoreans, Mandeans and the elect, whom
you have chosen from the world.
Speak to them of prayer and praise,
that they do it in large numbers
and it is without defect and lack.
They should not perform prayer at night and in the dark,
at a time when prayer remains hidden'). Who
do not perform the prayer in his time,
will be tied at the gate of the house of life. You will
be tied up at the gate of the house of life, until the gate
of the house of Abathur is opened. When
the great gate of the house of Abathur is opened,
prayer and praise will ascend to their place.
Prayer and praise will ascend to their place
and be hidden in the place from which they came. Who
does not perform prayer and bowing in their time,
will be subjected to an examination in the house of
Abathur. He will be tested in the house of Abathur, because
of the useless things he has practiced in this world.

My chosen ones! I want to tell you about the individual mysteries which
Namrus has distributed over this world. [speak,
I want to talk to you about the evil poisons,
which has cast Namrus among the great tribe of life.
She threw among my disciples
Hatred, jealousy and discord.

My chosen ones! I call you and I say, the
sins of the Namrus, of the ...2) and you
shall not commit the seven planets.
Who commits their sins,
will die in the shackle of black water.
Who practices their works,
will be killed by the sword and the saber of the planets
[be.
He will be slain by the sword and the sabre of the
and be burned in the consuming fire. [Planet
His name will be torn out of the house of the great life,
and he will not find a share in the light.
Who walks in the faith of Ekurs,
will boil in seething cauldrons.

---

1) See p. 222 unt. °) Cf. Joh. II, p. 108°.

Who drinks wine in the tavern'),
you will cut it with saws from ...").
A woman who puts gold and silver on"),
he will die a double death.
Who lies with his wife and does not wash himself with water,
will find its place in the body of Leviathan. Every
woman who does not wash herself with water,
will be received blow by blow.
The Keeper of the Light will beat you,
[301] and she will be cut off from the place of light.
The pure name will curse you
and the vein (of living water), which is
endless. If anyone, if his wife, after the uncleanness and
[Menstrual washes,
already on that first day she lies
with her, so his name will be cut off from the house of the great
life; he will be left standing in clouds of darkness.
They will leave him standing in clouds of darkness,
and his eyes will not see the light.
Who eats of the food of the twelve gates,
will disappear from the world. - -
Far from the light,
To wish for a share of turbidity*).

Yes, at the end of the last age there will be among the priests such who are without zeal and dignity, without reason and order, and where the purity of the Jordan has not found a place.

Until the fifteenth year of life, the Father becomes because of sins his children will be held accountable, so he will not warn them with Voice cried out, she did not wake up from sleep, she did not pray and praise, they do not follow the paths of the Kuštā and the faith Let the place of light go.

When the fifteenth year of life approaches, the children become they are held accountable for their own sins.

Who delivers his daughter to the twelve gates,
he will be left in mourning and lamentation.
They will let him sit in mourning and lamentation,
and the wreath of darkness will be placed on his
head [be.

---

1) Cf. Joh. II, p. 99.

2) See Joh. II, p. 992 and above, p. 194*.

5) See Joh. II, p. 191.

4) The author preserves the light from using the abominations mentioned somewhat to have something to do. See Joh. II, p. 982. The following pieces in prose are inserted.

On his head will be placed the wreath of darkness,
and he will be whipped with fire whips.
He will be held accountable in the blazing fire, in
embers, ice and fire,
in which the souls of the ... will be held accountable. Because
she (the daughter) has been deprived of wage payment1) and alms donation
[renounced by Jāwar
and separated from my Nāṣaraerdom.
She broke up with my Naṣaerism, and
he (her father) went and planted them in the turbid water.
When she prepares the Ekurs offerings,
your father will be judged.
When she goes to the soothsayers and Chaldeans,
will he be held accountable at the throne of the angry Nerig
[will be 2).

I speak to you of firmness and mindfulness, as well as
from the Kušta, which came from the great (life).
Everyone who smells the fragrance [of life]"),
and does not pronounce the name of life about it,
will be held accountable in the house of Abathur. Anyone
who smells the smell of fortune tellers and Chaldeans,
will [302] make one smell the smell of putrefaction.
Anyone who prepares offerings for the ekurs and idols,
you will be allowed to climb the dark mountain.
Who is the food of the guests and the feast of the planets
will be tormented on the throne of Nerig. [enjoy,
Everyone who enjoys the food of the offerings of the temples,
will die as the Hmurthas of the house die*). Who
keeps himself free from all these actions,
will rise up and look at the place of light.
The souls of the ******
will be tied up in the guardhouses of the planets"). You will
be tied up in the guardhouses of the planets and die of
thirst away from the world. They will
give you a handful of water a day to drink and punish them
because of the ugly works that they did in the 35th week [The
world has committed. —

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1) Read מן אגרא.

2) Maybe you have to read here how he will continue to be tormented".

3) Lies דנארהא בריהא דהייא ושומא דהייא.

4) One should assume that they do not die as spirits. The "house" is also here we mean the earthly world.

5) Lies נישמאתא ****** בכאטאראתא דשיביאהיא מיתיאבטא.

Far be it from') that the men of tried righteousness who are true- and believers, far be it from the good and believing women, the alms donated and the call of life called to the Jordan having descended, having received baptism and having accepted the pure sign, know the torment of that place. I observed the commandments that my brothers told me, I accepted them and led them in full-come through wisely.

From the floods of water to the building of Jerusalem, souls rose up to the light2). From the building of Jerusalem to the Age of I stayed among my disciples as an Arab Mahammat."). I chose and let them ascend to the place of light. The Age of the Arab Mahammat until the onset of destruction*) I left the middle of my Disciple. I went away and ascended to Mšunne-Kuštā. I said: ,,Heil and once again, salvation to the one who takes care of himself." Because the badness, the uncleanness and menstruation") took over too much for me"), I went and ascended to Mšunnē-Kuštā. I said, 'How painful is it for me my disciples who are at the end of that age. Because they pay little attention the pearls') and keep them in the apartments of indulgence in music therefore they sink into the great Suf Sea. Woe to my disciples, who do not see the place of light."

From the day of destruction to the fall of the Tibil [303] many souls ascend to the Light. As for wickedness and uncleanness I was too overwhelmed, I could no longer stay in this world. I ascended before life, my Father, and it left me in his own Škīnā housing. I said, 'Hail to him who takes care of himself. A man who takes care of himself has no equal in the world. He will be king in the light and, like the great ones, will be a great One in the Be a place of light."

The Light is victorious in the house of perfection, life is victorious.

---

1) Also the following pieces in prose do not originally belong with the main pieces together. This may date back to pre-Islamic times. That, for example, with the ,,throne "to be alluded to by the Arabs is not likely to me. °)

Cf. p. 28 ob., 46 ob.

3) See Joh. II, pp. 193f.

4) Some political catastrophe is pointed out here, perhaps the end of the Omayad rule, see also L 40,10f. It is not the end of the world, since only from this later the speech is.

5) Here, figuratively for moral impurity. By the way, it is still missing.

°) Read "Nby like text 303,1.

7) The pure, pure souls, see Lit., pp. 102,8.

Second piece.

Hibil, the gentle vine, is endowed by life and endowed with knowledge and sent to Tarwen to instruct the Uthras created by life there. He execute the command and then visit Taurēl-Jōšamīn and Ptahil. The piece is revised and not uniform. Mandā dHaijē and 5 take the place of life then, "the great face of glory". The Lord of greatness is also called, even Kings of Light.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - -
I am a gentle vine,
which I planted out of the place of glorious splendor') [created]
I was planted from the place of magnificent splendor, [be.
and the great (life) was to me the planter (creator). The
great thing for me was the planter
and it made me shine even more than I already
had. Shine to the one I already had, put it over me, a
well-preserved figure that was kept hidden from me. It created
me, strengthened me and gave me orders,
it equipped me through His Word and created helpers for me.
It granted me speech and hearing,
large and unlimited.
It taught me about the great splendor
and about the light that looms in the hidden place.
It equipped me by His word
and created helpers for me.
The helpers who created it for me,
are miraculous and without number.
The big one called me2) and gave me orders
and strengthened me in the hidden place.
It awarded me secret speeches
and taught me about every thing.
It taught me about the first
and about the Great One"), which was from time immemorial.
It taught me with enlightenment
and strengthened me by his miraculous reputation.
My father blessed me with his blessing
and put some of his planting over me.

---

1) See Lit., p. 38*. In addition to what has been said there, it should be noted that the expression עקאר גיוא can hardly be separated from, in which only "glory", not "Root" can mean.

2) From here on, the verbs are in the singular. This is also done with Bezichuug on Nor, see above, p. 240°. But perhaps Mandā dHaijē was already floating here as an order-donors. 3) The great, first Mānā.

He gave me praise,
extended and unlimited.
He gave me enlightenment,
which is without defect and lack.
He kissed me with his pure mouth
and covered me with [304] inner') garments.
He put me in a cloud, a cloud of light,
and sent me to the pure Tarwān.
He spoke:
,Go after the pure Tarwān
and teach the Uthras who have settled there.
Give them shine and light,
so that they sit in mutual enlightenment.
Grant them of your praise,
so that they can maintain their status in the house of life.
Take them into the big community, so that
they will be counted among your number.
Let them be counted among your number,
and there is neither lack nor lack of them.
Teach them about the Uthras of the pure Tarwan")
and about all beings of light.
Teach them about the great light of life
and about the uthras and škinas created in it. Teach them
about the hidden vines and the pure trees
that shine over the Jordan. Teach them about
the worlds of the Lord of Greatness and
about the shine and the light that dwells there.
Speak to them of the pure Hauraran,
in which this miraculous voice was called.
Speak to them of the Ãther Earth,
they built and founded it in such an excellent way. So
she built and founded Jāwar,
and so he was their builder.
Their builder he was so,
then he called in her a miraculous call.
So he founded Škīnās in it
and spread gloss over them to a great
extent. Then they made him king over the
light and they set Uthras to his right and
left, to keep him company.

---

1) From the hidden, originating beyond the world, see Lit. p. 2621.

2) Despite verse 11 and although wonyy by can stand for Nonyb, the words are like this to understand, see also the following verse. The Uthras are supposed to be about themselves and the others Uthras are taught.

You should keep him company
and raise him up in his škinā.
Teach them about the big, upper fruit
and the Škīnās they founded in the hidden place.
Teach them about the great, first Mānā
and the great Jordan, in which he was baptized."

I, Hibil, departed from my father Jawar Manda dHaije
and go to the pure Tarwān. I came
there, created seven worlds of light
and he set up in them seven kings of a perfect kind. I
created seven chambers for them out of water
and new palaces that do not pass.
With my splendor, my light and my praise, which
[305] my Father (life) created for me in a perfect form, with
my enlightenment, which the great (life) grants me,
with the tremendous speeches I brought with me,
with the hidden, mighty, exalted, consolidated and guarded [which]
I brought from the great, first father's house'), [sayings, with
shiny crosses"), which created it for me, and
prayers that my Father, the Lord of greatness, performed, 20
which have been preserved with me 3).
The great face of glory called me and gave me orders,
this and his image that sits with him.
It spoke:
When you go to the pure Tarwan, do not
address your speech to the evil Uthras.
Do not submit them to the creation of the second life,
from which all evil has arisen. Error
and deficiency arose due to the same
and the league was seeded in the world.
Do not share with the enlightenment, the knowledge, the knowledge and the [Praise, as
well as the hidden speech that has come from the hereafter.
Do not take the tremendous speech
and throw them into the murky water.

---

1) The phrase can also be found in the book of the Dīnānüklit, p. 208ff. It is now it is more likely that the epithets NN27Np N27 refer to the gauzen expression 1An בית refer. In)I see him against Nöld., p. 1828 an abstract, but the whole expression goes maybe on babyl. bīt abūti returned.

2) Between ,,speeches, sayings" and ,,Prayers" can NWEN77 despite here, how otherwise, often, for NVN77,,Hynmen" stand, see Brandt, Schr., pp. 494.

3) An anacoluth that lacks verbum. I don't think it's behind קאדמאיא and that you have to read "kam ich" for this, not even that the whole to move on to the following.

Do not recite them to the evil Uthras,
the Uthras that Jošamīn created.
Do not recite them to the Uthras,
those who are not peculiar to concealment, calmness
and silence. Grant them only to the Uthras of
the pure Tarwān, who came from the creation of life.
Give it to one of a thousand,
grant them two out of ten thousand.
Give it to one of a thousand,
so that they can teach each other.
Teach each other and take oaths of
allegiance to one another. Oaths of
loyalty should they take from each other
and do not deny your speech."

As life, my Father, commanded me,
I went to the pure Tarwen and left a call there In
the pure Tarwān I could hear a call, [sound
off. and the pure tarwān shone and shone beyond
measure. I granted my enlightenment and
praise the Uthras who love my name.
I taught the hidden Uthras
and the light kings I created.
I taught the King of pure Tarwan about
the shine and light that are stored there.
I taught him about the world of the Lord of
Greatness, whose name ,Ãther, is "great light
of life". I taught him about the great face of glory and
about the Nitufta that sits with him.
I taught him about the Uthras, about the pure vines and trees,
[306] which shine over the Jordanes.
I taught him about the knowledge
and gave him eternal enlightenment. I
enlightened his form like mine and gave
him dominion over all beings of light, who
dwell on the earth of the pure Tarwān.

Then he rose from his throne
and bowed and bowed before me.
He bowed and bowed to me and
blessed me with great, endless blessings.
He spoke:

---

2) The King of Tarwān.

There is no lack of you,
and your creations shall not be darkened.
Your works shall not pass away,
for you are a great one, a son of mighty ones.
You are the Master of the Uthras,
the Father of all perfections.
The power of your pure name
will we climb up on the paths of the Kušta behind you,
on the paths of the great life,
which has brought you out of the hidden.
From the hidden it has brought you
forth and made the great chosen
one. It made you the great chosen
one and as a ruler over us. It
has appointed you as ruler over us,
so that there would be neither lack nor lack of us."

I then broke up from him
and came to the world of Taurel').
I enlightened the Uthras and Škinās
who were in the world of Taurel.
I spoke in my enlightenment, and
my radiance went up over Jošamīn.
The Uthras shone, the great rejoiced, all
the lights were up. Jošamīn
was delighted with his brilliance
and enlightened all Uthras.
He enlightened the evil Abathur,
he created, but did not create anything completely.
Nothing shone and became right under his hand,
because he did not give his father the rights.

Under the call, enlightenment and praise of the Uthras my
shine went up over the curtain *) of the Ptahil. Over
the curtain of Ptahil my radiance rose, and
Ptahil's heart was filled with weeping.
His heart was filled with weeping,
and a tear squeezed in his eye. He
spoke:
,,The beloved Son of the mighty, first life has come, who
enlightened all Uthras to a great extent?

---

1) Is identified here with Jōšamīn, but see p. 291, 37f.

2) Who separated him from his father Abathur, see R 340,8f. and above, p. 1946.

What is my day among the days?')
The day when all the Uthras stood with their praises.
The Uthras stood there with their praise,
and the Škinās rejoiced and flaunted beyond measure."

Then the Uthras spoke to him,
who sat with him:
,,My day among all days is
[the day on which] the splendor of Hibil-Zīwā rose.
The splendour of Hibil-Zīwā rose
[307] and enlightened us in our škinās.
He will bless us in His goodness,
and we will ascend to the place of light.
We will ascend to the light;
our sin and guilt will be forgiven.
Your name is established in the house of the great
(life), and your Father will not condemn us in darkness."

When Ptahil heard this,
he rose from his throne and bowed to me in
He spoke: [deep bowing.
When my father Manda dHaije likes it,
he will soon destroy the house2).
He will destroy the house soon,
and all their") works are to be destroyed and destroyed.
The right part of the men of proven justice rise up,
he dwells in the place of truth.
From the whole Tibil
ascend that part to the light.
Let the Hebrew speech ascend"),
it is thrown into the collapsing ruin"). Then the
whole Tibil will be destroyed,
and the works in it shall corrupt.
Out of a thousand, one rises,
out of ten thousand two.
Let the souls of the Naşöreans ascend,
who did not enjoy the food of the children of Tibil.

---

1) Cf. Lit., p. 186, XV. 2) The world created by him.

3) Of those who participated in the creation. ANRTEy would be better with relationship on NN3.

4) Or "Faithful". The place is identical with the place Mšunnē Kušṭā, the residence the blessed One in the Hereafter, see Joh. II, p. 1116.

b) This exclusion would at least be possible in Ptahil's mouth, but p5D also allows ,,vanish," see Joh. II, p. 59"; 87,12 and R 61, 8.

o) i.e. into the earthly world, see p. 103°.

They have not been contaminated by
dirt and did not accept perversity and filth.
They did not accept perversity and dirt
and were not restrained in the turbidity of the
tibil, were not restrained by the works of Tibil').
On the other hand, the works of Tibil
and their tribes and souls,
as well as Rūha, Christ and the twelve Gates
walking into the blazing fire.
But the true and believing men will ascend
and look at the light residence. - -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Third piece.

The living water is attracted to the earthly world, and Šilmai and Nidbai turn appointed as guardian over it. Before these, the living water complains that after the evil, the lower world was created. The guardians comfort it by saying that it is for the baptism of the Mandaeans should serve. The living water then expresses the fear that because of its and the Nāşōra sins will be held accountable. Silmai and Nidbai point out, that the earthly world will one day come to an end; even its creators will Find grace.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - -
At the beginning of creation*) of living water and
at the end of all Jordanes,
at the beginning of the drawing of living water, which
was pulled from its place and came here, when the
plan came into being"
and the water from his place was formed, when
[308] the firmament stretched out
and the earth was sealed,
when the physical Adam arose and
guardians were appointed to him,

---

1) Instead, I suppose, but maybe there is a gap before, or it is an erroneous repetition from the following.

2) See Joh. II, p. 67, note.

") To create this world.

when the man was formed from his original container'),
limped and fell into the body,
then they thought to bring in living
water and throw it into the murky
water, Add live water runs and to
order keepers from it. The
guardians who would be appointed over
it, should spread gloss over
it, should be with the voice of the. Speaking of life
and pull the root up here. They
created the train of living water
and bestowed it on the two first-born.
To the two first-born, they awarded
him, the first creation that had come from the first life.
They created Šilmai and Nidbai
and they made them helpers.
They gave them enlightenment
and blessed them with good blessings.
They gave you knowledge,
which is more miraculous than all the world.
They gave them a noble reputation,
to rouse the sleeping ones and make them get up.
They should awaken the souls,
who have stumbled away from the light.
You should wake her up and shake her up,
so that they raise their faces to the place of
light. They drew the living water,
and it arrived in the world.
When the living water arrived from the house of Life,
he was in pain and groaning. In
sorrow it was and in moaning,
and his strength diminished.
It reduced his strength,
and it spoke to Šilmai and
Nidbai: ,,By whose power I was drawn")
and cut off from my place? Who
cut me off from knowledge, that more
miraculous than all the world is a)?

---

1) The Mānā is the individual soul here.

") ND, the water, speaks of sish in the plural as a grammatical plural, like Nv7.

3) For "knowledge" here stands NNFVIND, not N7IND, see Joh., p. XVII. From the However, a notion of "knowledge", which also explains the emergence of the figure of the Mandā dHaijē makes explainable.

Who cut me off from the Kuštā and the primordial
container and the community,
which is linked to your place and ascends to it?
Who cut me off from the figure, who wear
the Uthras at the place of light?
Who cut me off from the hidden speech,
in which the two mountains') are
talking? Who cut me off from the hidden speech,
where the big guys talk? When
will I see the shape of the two faces*), who
worship each other?
Because the place I'm going
to, it is of a dark form that does not shine.
Taken away [309] will my strength,
and I'm cut off in the murky water.
There is badness in me,
i am lacking and lacking. The planets
are doing the wrong thing to me,
and my mind and my root will be taken away. The
creatures receive power over me
the worthless fiend.
The bodies are murdered inside me,
and blood is poured out on me.
The evil takes over in the tibil, and my
impulses become numerous.
The planets oppress me with floods of
water, and so the souls in me perish."

When this speech was delivered
the living water at Šilmai and Nidbai,
Šilmai and Nidbai replied
and they came forward from their place.
They spoke with their tremendous speech
about living water as follows:
,,Be calm, living water, and calm down,
we want to talk to you about this and that.
We want to talk to you about the lack, the suffering and the
badness who started from the second life, [speak,
about the wickedness that emanated from Ptahil-Uthra,
who rose up out of the black water.
Ptahil rose from the black water,
and all the ugly, pernicious works went up with him.

---

1) See above, p. 116, 22.

") These are not mentioned otherwise. It may be the same as the two mountains.

With him, the shortage soared,
with him was the sighing.
But because Abathur raised his pure rights [?],
that his works shall not perish, because
he is the soul ... .,
that they do not die in the muddy water,
should they not die in the murky water,
and the Seven shall have no authority over them').
You, living water,
go to the falling ruin,
call the call of life
and wide gloss over the house.
Be a helper to the souls,
who are persecuted for Jāwar's sake.
In you they shall receive the living
baptism and be drawn in you with the pure sign.
Through you, the pains and infirmities are to be healed, which
emanate from the planets."

Then the living water spoke
about Šilmai and Nidbai as follows:
When I fall [310] into the burning water2),
I will not win over Jawar.
The trial will be made for me,
and the men of proven righteousness will take me
on When my root is taken away [blame sinister places.
and my brightness rises to its place,
I also climb up from the Tibil
and will be held accountable before the expensive light
because of my sins and because of my transgressions,
with whom I have sinned in the dark places.
When I, the living water,
held accountable for this tribe of the Naşoreans what
will you say to that?" [be,

Šilmai and Nidbai replied
following the living water:
One rises out of a thousand,
two out of ten thousand.
Zur") Škinā of the mighty, first life
the souls of the mixture and the lie do not ascend.

---

1) These verses are greatly corrupted, and it is uncertain whether my view is correct shall. Sorry. added in text Z. 16 and in Z. 17 Hannover.

2) See p. 135. 3) Well read.

Anyone who has a mistake,
it is not considered suitable for the great, first life.
You free yourself and lift yourself up
of the pains and infirmities caused by the Seven.
Does not equal Ptahil-Uthra,
'who rose up out of the black water.
He did not receive the sign from Jordan
and was not baptized in living water.
He was not baptized in living water, he
did not accept the expensive
Kušta. Forever the Tibil will perish,
and the works of the house will be destroyed. The
(heaven's) wheels will be thrown into confusion,
broken the chains of the murky, lightless earth').
Because her parents") did not take advice,
they did not take advice, they did not instruct them, and to them
because they took pride, [not talking about this and that,
sit there in your own shackle.
When the house is destroyed
and the spirit of the Seven ends,
will the shape of the twelve stars spoil,
who persecuted this tribe of life. The
works of the whole Tibil will fall into confusion,
and the whole firmament will be shaken.
Then come Jošamīn, Abathur and Ptahil
and look at this world.
There comes a shock in her heart,
and they beat on the atria of their chest").
[311] You see how the tribe of souls
overall, it sinks into the turbidity*).
On that great day of judgment
will the verdict be pronounced on Jošamīn, Abathur and Ptahil
After that comes Hibil-Zīwā [be.
and lift them up out of this world.
Jošamīn and Abathur
they are baptized in the Jordan of the mighty, first life.
Then they get Ptahil-Uthra
from the clouds of fog with the rot in which he
sits. He is baptized in the Jordan of the mighty, first
Life; in that Jordan, the rot is scraped off him.

---

1) With which it is attached to the firmament?
2) The creators of the Seven and the Twelve.
3) See p. 106, 4.
4) Better ,"has sunk down".

He will embrace the first life
and tell about the foot block and the shackle that he has in the world
He will tell about the suffering, [had to endure.
what happened to him from his father.
He will be called King of the Uthras
and maintain dominion over the whole tribe of souls.
He will be called King of the Naşöreans,
and prayer and praise will ascend to him." —
And life is victorious.

Fourth piece.

About Sin, the Moon, its fates and its effect on the world and people. The piece stands with slight deviations due to Joh. 192ff., there together with a Pieces about the sun.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. -
When the brightness[1] was created from their
place, [the man] went and was born.
He came to the world of failure,
and it was given to Sin in abundance.
The man who gave him the brightness,
called him, armed him and gave him insistent orders.
He spoke to him:
,,The garment of brightness I give you,
so that with it you will brighten up the darkness of the decrepit ") house ").
When the glare of the sun is obscured,
your brightness will rise.
When the man lies with his wife
under your horoscope,
will the seed be established under your testimony
in the shiny root.
You lit up her face
and delivered them from pain and infirmity
and of all the creatures that are of no use.
You freed them from wickedness
and the suffering") of the decrepit house.

---

1) For the use of NpIn with reference to the Moon, cf. Jn. II, P. 27°.

2) According to the Book of John.

*) Lies ד̄תאנהארבה̄.

For the root of the living seed has
been entrusted to your hands.
Enlighten you and brighten
and strengthen their tribe to a great extent."

Then Sin spoke
to the man who had clothed him with brightness:
[312] ,One day a month I remain hidden,
and my rays are veiled.
My rays are hidden,
and the two guardians take care of it').
When I'm not there
and the men then lie with their wives,
so the woman on that day receives,
become dumb and deaf and ugly figures out of them
When she receives on that day, [emerge.
become deaf and lepers,
Handless and footless emerge from them").
The planets confuse the seed
and do all evil to him."

Then the man spoke to him,
who had clothed him with brightness:
,Which come about on those days,
are unfit for our tribes "). They
are not counted among us
and not counting to our root for all time. He
is a son of the root of darkness,
he will return to the nest from which he came." Then he called
to him, commanded him, warned and admonished him
and let him have firmness*) and mindfulness.
He spoke to him:
,,Pay attention to the tribe of souls,
the one you left in the world."

He bowed and moved away from him and
he went to the house of Abathur.
He arose and went to the house of Abathur and
descended to the guardhouses.

---

1) Cf. L 56, 3ff., also Brandt, Rel., p. 62 and note. 2. °)
According to the Book of St. John.

") In the text this and the continuation are written in the singular.

4) Because of the following word I summarize here in this sense, not in the sense ,, Helligkcit", see also p. 299, 15 and Joh. 191, 3.

He got up and descended to the guardhouses,
to make the bill complete in all respects'). On the
day when he*) is deprived of the tibil,
in the hours when he is hidden from the world,
because of the impulses he hurls against the disciples,
Torment, torture and oppression against
him. Fear, fear and horror he shows him,
until he dies, passes away and darkens
and his figure looks like you have never been*).
When he comes out of the guardhouses,
his color is taken away from him.
His color is taken away from him,
and his figure looks like it has never been.
Then he sits down in his car
and attracts bright rays.
They stretch the strong brightness over him,
and he begins his journey through the world.
On the first day he appears,
the top of the firmament opens. He
emerges from the upper firmament
and go to rest in the lower sky.
Until the second day
does not shine its brightness over all the worlds.
Until the seventh day of the month
He speaks in the voice of life.
In the voice of life he speaks,
because he has the fear and the fear of life in mind).
When he is beyond the seventh day,
has he already forgotten the fear and anxiety [313].
He has forgotten fear and anxiety
and hurls evil into the whole world").

I tell and explain to you,
you men who bear witness to life:
Be firm and endure the persecution
in the decrepit house").
Because soon the Tibil will go down
and the two mountains') sink together.

---

1) These three verses refer to Sin after the last words; they seem to be inserted.

2) The moon.

") husband.

4) Cf. Joh. II, P. 180°.

°) In Ginzā before that: in this world.

6) According to the Book of John.

7) See above, p. 1164.

The two mountains will sink together,
and the power of light will be taken from them.
All the strength is taken away,
which they had to a great extent.
Her figure becomes dark and contemptuous,
and her figure looks like it has never looked before.
The souls who have confessed to you,
howling and screaming and crying from their place.
They say to you:
When we were in that world,
your glory shone over all the worlds.
We begat for you
and worshipped you and praised you beyond measure.
Why did your figure now become contemptible
and became dark and sinister, as they never have been?"
The planets had no enlightenment,
which you could give to your admirers about how it went The
planets and their souls and their worshippers [was.
...') and all their creations,
but also the souls of the children of the great tribe of life, the
will descend into the lower Seol. [believed in them,
You will fall into the big snake,
whose name is Ur, Lord of Darkness.
But from that day on
will your souls be redeemed and saved,
the souls of our excellent
brothers and our faithful sisters.
The souls of true and believing men
will ascend and look at the great place of light.
- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fifth piece.

Life equips Säm-Zīwā, secures iln and appoints iln as protector of believers; Warnings to the unbelievers.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light.

---

4) Instead of poen, Joh. ponwat pn25. Both readings do not fit into the And it's hard to make the point.

The call of the pure Sam-Ziwā is,
whom the great (life) has brought forth from his mouth.
The great one called him out of his mouth
and created helpers for him.
It created him pure Perfect,
that they keep him company in his škīnā.
It clothed him with seven garments
of splendor, light and glory
and [314] bestowed upon him the dominion of his treasury.
It gave him dominion over the Uthras and the luminaries,
as well as about the Jordans and Škīnās of any
place. It gave him dominion over the zealous manas
and the splendor that looms in its place.
It taught him about S'haq, the great splendor of life, and
about the place it chooses for itself to be the perfect seat
It spoke to him of that world, [hat.
which is hidden from all light worlds.
It created Hamgai-Zīwā, the son of Hamgagai-Zīwā,
and gave him (other) helpers.
It granted him the seven hidden, pure, preserved mysteries, by
which he will be preserved in a perfect manner.
It gave him power over the party of Jõrabba
and said to him: "Go, guard the age").
Take care of the tribe of souls;
keep him in order and lead him up to his place.
When Jõrabbā zirnt,
he will be held down by your speech. Be
without anxiety, fear and anxiety,
and the Mānā in you do not worry.
Don't scare the cloud,
in which you are completely hidden. Be
without fear and anxiety
and don't say: I'm standing there alone.
I gave you faithful helpers at,
that they may protect you.
I want them to protect you
and deliver from all the ugly.
May they redeem you from the witchcraft of rest, of the Christ, and
and the destruction of the twelve stars. [the seven planets,
Let them deliver you from the sword and the ice,
as well as the fire and the conflagration of the five Wüteriche,
let loose the fires against the Tibil.

---

1) See Z. 34.
2) See p. 2952

When malice oppresses you,
our voice will reach you. When
the wicked make plans against the tribe of souls and
stir up fear and anxiety in them,
so do not tremble and tremble in your
place, and the seven shall know nothing of your raiment.'),
nor of the cloud in which you are sheltered.
When you get into great anger,
a letter from the Kuštā will come to us from
you. Then we want to send you a messenger,
and we want to be a guardian to you.
We will send you extended power"),
extended [315] and endless.
We will send you extended power
and great, mighty confidence from his place.
We will send you help,
before which the Seven shall tremble.
We will grant you hidden prayers and
nitubtas that do not pass.
We will grant you hidden prayers, by
which the outrages are kept down. Let
your disciples find firmness,
who live in the empty apartment.
They should cherish trust by virtue of your trust
and be redeemed by the Seven.
Of the seven, they shall be redeemed
and for this we and you know thanks.
The Nāşöreans who are zealous,
be a witness.
Be their witness,
and by your power they shall ascend to the place of light.
They are to be enveloped in the northern air"),
the vine that came out of the abode of the mighty, first
[Life has been raised. They
shall be clothed with the garments of the great (life
and be established in the light abode. They
shall be established in the light abode
and be added to the city of Uthras.
The Naşoreans who are not
zealous, will sit over pride and anger*).

---

1) See p. 296, 2.
2) So, not so ,Heer".
*) See p. 281 ob.
4) Better,who ... sit", (5y7), see also continue.

The Naşoreans who are not zealous,
strength, firmness and speech will be taken.
They will be deprived of strength, firmness and
speech, and they will be beaten with a blow, for which
[there is no cure.
You will be beaten without finding a cure, because
they were first and foremost'). You
were the first and foremost')
and looked fear, fear and horror"). Every
stroke of darkness took
place with them through the
Word. Every stroke of light
took place with them through the Word.
They did not stand, did not let themselves be warned
and did not know fear and anxiety.
Fear and anxiety they did not know
and they did not see that they would separate from the
world. Since they did not ponder and did
not see, let them be erased from your name).
Let them burn in the fires of the Seven and
become a part of the seven.
- And life is victorious.

Sixth piece.

Jõkabar-Kuštā goes from the house of life to the devout believers in order to to equip them to fight against the wicked. He will bring you teachings and admonitions, as well as revelations about the past and the future.

[316] In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. -
I am Jokabar-Kuštā,
who left my father's house and came here.
I came with a hidden glow
and with light without end.
I came to the men of proven justice,
in which there is neither shortage nor lige.

---

1) see p. 2151.
2) One expects,"let schanen" (mrn) or, "did not look" (mrx5), see further. °) Read , "from your sheet", cf. p. 129, 8.

I brought youReđe and Erhörung,
as the great (life) commanded me.
I brought you secret speeches,
so that they show their miraculous powers to the fiends.
When Hibil was the guardian of the age,
I was the messenger before
him. I established the throne for him in his cloud,
and I enlightened him in his garb.
Then Hibil set me in His Majesty about
those who love his name. I brought
you') great powerful speech, which
is miraculous and unlimited.
I created them wagons"),
i have granted them witnesses (of any
shape)"). I granted them hidden prayers,
by which the planets and their tribes are captivated. I
granted them steel skewers of living water, by
which the hmurthas of the house are buckled.
I gave them swords of (living) water, from
which the giants of darkness are frightened.
I gave them huge presses,
through which the whole root of darkness and blackness
[Water is compressed.
It is good for the men of proven justice,
how they sit in their cars.
As you sit in your carriage
and the fiends of this world rush down.

When Hibil was the guardian of the age,
he called me Jokabar-Kuštā.
He called me and made me a messenger
and set me as ruler over the men of tried and tested
[Justice. As
ruler over the men of tried righteousness, he set
and I became her guardian. [me a,
I showed myself*) the planet and the twelve stars,
then they fell down from their cars.

---

2) One probably has to read on with relationship as with the the following verbs.

2) Chariots for fighting against the wicked, cf. Verse 25, specifically against the in carriages seated seven and twelve.

3) Hardly in order. Maybe something has gone wrong behind 127: by the way of … . .

1) Maybe ptrmany(=ptakany) is reading zn and the y is different from the previous one pury to move here.

I became her helper,
and by my, Jokabar-Kuštā's, power the
poison of the spoilers became ineffective.
Her figure became sinister,
[317] and the power of their chariots became
paralyzed. They stood before the men of proven justice,
and these obtained from them all that they sought in
full- [coming soon.
When Šitil was the guardian of the age,
Nazareth') came into the world.
Everything made and created came into being at
that time. The separated men arose"), who
separated themselves from the world.
The separated men arose, they didn't
eat anything that the planets hid in. They did
nothing of their works and were
not cut off in the world of Šiqlün. Her figure did
not become sinister and her
name is not cut off from the place of light.

Then I, Jokabar-Kuštā, taught you,
the sprouts that have emerged from them. I
spoke to you*): ,,Do
not perform ungracious prayer and praise.
If the pihtā is not prepared for you,
do not give [alms].
Who donates the alms and does not prepare
a pihtā, will be beaten with sixty sticks of ice.
With a scourge of fire [he is beaten]
and be tormented in the black water.
When persecution afflicts you
and the lapsed mysteries') worry you,
when persecution afflicts you,
speak and call with the voice of life. If
you perform the prayer and do not prepare a
pihta and enjoy physical food,
if you understand this mystery **********,
then stand on your feet.
Then stand on your feet
and perform the prayer sixty-one times.

---

1) Also sorry. has NO1nSN).
") See p. 280°.
3) Read p5tanon, but a change in the person is not excluded.
4) This means the false religions.

When you perform this prayer,
your sins and transgressions will be forgiven.
You will be healed from the sixty-one blows and
you will not sink into the fire appliances.
You will not sink into the fire appliances
and not tormented in the sixty-one boiling kettles
[be."

When the men of proven justice left their bodies,
the light went up from here').
The light went up from here,
the shining, miraculous root rose to a height. The
goodness, the straightness and the knowledge increased,
and the brightness of the light was brought out of the decrepit
house- [He was] taken from a [318] dash of the tibil, [nommen.
went and settled down in the place of verity (2).
The keepers who were here went
and they settled at the Jordan of the place of the
truthful. More and more, stronger and stronger
took (there) the voice of life too").
The mixture of brightness that remained in the
tibil, it was hidden from the dull people in every place"). The
shine rose from her to the height, and
the bright murmur") remained.

From that day on
will the disciples not be lifted up to the light from that land- 25
They are tested and tormented, [rise.
until they wipe the dirt from themselves.
Anyone who takes the dirt off himself,
go up to the house of Abathur and be raised up there.
Who does not wipe the dirt from himself,
goes out and perishes, as if he had never been there.

---

1) Also see p. 306".

2) See p. 3064.

a) The meaning of NDD is assured; it is always in contrast to 732: R 324, 11; L 50, 18; 90, 23. Therefore, the verse can only refer to the afterlife.

4) NONNN actually: rigid with amazement (NDN), then in general: accepted, dull Sinnes, cf. also R 279, 10; 282, 8, 13; L 57, 12. What remained of the light here below, stayed with the people of disturbed mind. This corresponds to the common view in the Orient, that the spirit of the erring and half-erring is closer to the hereafter than the sense of the accustomed- people.

b) For the meaning of ND7, see Joh. II, p. 416. Perhaps the unclear speech the "stupid people" meant. The epithet paft to the previous pimple, it is still not in place at NJD7.

I call you and I explain,
you true, believing men.
Sprouts, sprouts will be from the last generation
rise up through my Word and my blessing.
You will ascend by my blessing and will
be strengthened in an excellent way. I
enlightened them and enlightened them,
so that you do not stumble in the
world. He who stumbles will die and perish.
Again[1] I have enlightened and enlightened you.
Who shines and is clear,
I will be a helper to him,
a helper and a support
from the place of darkness to the place of light.
- And life is victorious.

Seventh piece.

A revelation being, Mandā dHaijē or Jāwar, is brought into this world by life sent to instruct and admonish the Nāşōra people. He proclaims the reward of the pious Believers and the punishment of the unworthy.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light.
From the škīnā of the mighty (life), the Great called me,
it called me, gave me orders and strengthened me.
The Big one called me and gave me orders,
it equipped me and sent me out into the ages:
to call the call of life
and to put gloss over the house.
To call the call of life, and
to plant the planting of the great,
the planting of the Great plant
and bring in Jordane in a perfect way,
right to plant plants
and to soak them with living, resplendent water, to
teach you wisdom, knowledge and praise,
extended and unlimited,
to grant them [319] the pure reputation,
by which they are to be consolidated in this world.

---

[1] Cf. Nöld., p. 204.

They are to speak in the enlightenment of life
and wake up the sleeping ones and make them get up.
You should choose a way and throw up
and set up a boundary stone.
Let them ascend with the knowledge,
that from the house of the great Bihrām, (the Son) of life,
They are to be taught about the souls, [has come.
who are worthy of the light abode.
Let them shake up, let them be taught '),
and they are to be created luminaries of a wondrous kind.
Let them show you the great root of blessing,
from which the mighty, first life has emerged.

The true and believing Nasurais
they will rise up and look at the place of
light. The true and faithful Nasoreans and excellent
ones") will not be held back in this world.
You will not be held back [in this world]
and will not be held accountable in the great courts.
They will not be judged,
which is spoken about all
beings. They will be found not guilty in the court
and do not fall into the great Suf Sea,
in which Ruhā and Christ end,
the twelve stars end. That's
where the seven planets end,
and they will be judged.
That's where the seven planets
end, the sons of lack"),
the masters of the empty apartment,
the lords of the decrepit house.

The Naşoreans who are not worthy of the House of
Life, have committed grave sin.
Her body was in error,
and there was a shortage and a lack of them.
If you also highly appreciate the treasure (the ginza) of the Tibil
it is of no use to them. [understand
her, When you arrive at the great gate of the house of Abathur,
they will be driven back from the gate of the house of Abathur.

---

1) On sicl, better pDN), "they shall teach", but see p. 345, 9ff.

2) see p. 2151, 280°.

3) Read N()n7DNA,'of the deficient', i.e. the Rūbā, see p. 81, 14?

4) already seems to mean a collection of religious writings here, incidentally, it is the translation of the sentence is uncertain. see also continue.

From the gate of the house of Abathur they will be chased back
and do not look at the place of light,
You will not look at the knowledge,
which was created from the škīnā of the first, mighty
life. It will be taken from you,
and they will descend to the nature of the place of
darkness. They will be deprived of the hidden prayers,
[320] which they understand from the world.
They will be deprived of the hidden orders of prayer,
the well-equipped ships').
They will be deprived of the Mass for the dead and
baptism, and these will ascend to the place from which
they came- The hidden treasure will be taken from them,
[men were. and it will be set up by the great Jūrā"), the
treasurer Era) will be torn out of the light [be.
and blazing in the lowest gehenna.
He will fall into the boiling cauldrons
and burn in the fire while it burns. He
will look at the suffering of the
planets and die a double death.

Every one who chooses in a perfect way, devoutly, truly
and will not be cut off from his place. [the feast of faith
is, He will not be cut off from his place,
but be included in the expensive community.
You will let him see the brightness of the
root and set it up in the hidden light in an excellent
way'). He will be clothed with a robe of splendor,
which is miraculous and unlimited.
He will be covered with a turban of light,
which shines and shines beyond measure.
They will give him a belt, a belt of (living) water around-
in which there is no pain and suffering"). [bind,
They will put an ether wreath on
him, which was taken from the vine Rwaz.
When he leaves his body,
will a guide go to meet him, leading
him up to the Škina of the great (life), which
is miraculous and unlimited,

---

1) Which they are to take to the Hereafter. Basically, you expect a different word here.
2) Means "shine", see p. 66, 15, but it appears in these pieces as a proper name.
") The bad Mandaean.
4) Read (so sorry too.) נאהזונה לתוקנא דשירשא.
") See Joh. II, p. 206, 21.

to the place where the great (life) is
enthroned; no one came down from the —
height). And life is victorious.

Eighth piece.

At the beginning it is said that Yäwar is from higher beings - it does not stand there from whom; perhaps the plural refers to "life" - equipped and about the secret Things are taught. Furthermore, it is Hibil-Zīwā who teaches from the great Mānā and goes to the Näşōräern is sent to instruct them. He should especially emphasize the importance of of the oil used for "sealing". Whoever is sealed with it will all looking at hidden things.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
With the power of shine and sandarak tree*)
they created the jawar" and placed it over every thing.
They taught him about the knowledge,
which is miraculous and unlimited.
They set him over the great mountain, whose splendor is wondrous
and whose light shines and looses beyond measure.
They created enlightenment for him,
through which he is enlightened.
They bestowed upon him hidden speeches,
which are wondrous [321] and foreign to the world.
They taught him about the great Jūrā
and about his image, the miraculous that is with him.
They taught him about the great Nşab
and the Škinās, which he founded at the Place of Light.
They taught him about Zarzēl-Ziwā,
the gentle, firm Mānā.
They taught him about Josmir-Uthra
and the Škīnās he founded ...*).

Hibil-Zīwā spoke to his Creator as follows. He
praised the great, mighty Mānā,
who had established his knowledge °) in a perfect way.

') The meaning and conception of the sentence is quite uncertain, see Joh. II, p. 473.

2) See Lit., p. XXI. a) Here, probably so, not "to call, to call", see p. 324.

4) Instead of 53, there must have been something else, cf. verse 26. For the following Namy is hard to pull. There may be a bigger problem here.

5) I suspect instead of מדינתא.

He had taught, instructed and enlightened him
about the hidden things. He
had taught him about the living baptism
and the pure oil of this world.
He had taught him about the Naşoreans,
when you leave your body. He
spoke to him:
,Go to the Naşöreans,
who are left behind in the world.
Tell them:
When you leave your body,
you will ascend with the pure oil. Because
pure oil is important and expensive'),
that came from the house of the great life. Who
does not ascend with the pure oil,
will be at the guardhouses (so! the Ptahil must
wait, until he rises with sixty-one letters;
then he will be raised up in the worlds of light. He
will look at the vine Taurel, who rests
in the Jordan of the pure Tarwān.
He will look at the tree Tatagmur,
who rests at the Jordan of the Lord of
greatness. He will look at the vine Rwaz,
from which comes the blessing of life.
From him comes the blessing,
and all uthras smell through its fragrance.
He will look at the vine Jōsmīr, who
rests on the earth of Sam-Zīwā.
He will look at the vine Šarhabel, who
rests on the earth of Hibil-Zīwā.
He will look at the seven tent roofs
of splendor, of light and of glory,
who are curious about the miraculous vines. He
will look at the two pure mountains,
who sit quietly in their place.
He will look at Jāwar, the great splendor of life,
the first vine, [322] the one on the earth of the mighty,
He will look at the vine Šar, [first life rests.
who is established on the earth of the first life.
He will look at the vine Pirūn, the one
who rests on the earth who "made it firm and accomplished it" *).

---

1) Read instead מימרא.
2) A feminine counterpart to Jāwar, see p. 151, 17; 162,38.

He will look at the great vine,
who rests over the fruits of the predestined Jāwar.
He will look at the great vine,
the educator of the souls of the infants raised by him [will be').
They drink from seïnen buds and rejoice,
and their souls blossom.
Their souls are blooming
and maintain existence in the world of light.
He will watch the great Jūrā,
will see the concealment that he has created for himself.
He will watch Adatan and Jadatan,
who sit at the gate of the house of Life.
He will watch Šilmai and Nidbai,
who dwell in the great, hidden, first cloud.
You live in that cloud
and are employed over all the Jordanes.
He will look at Jošamīn, the Pure One,
who rests under the streams of water.
He will see the four men, the sons of salvation,
who are an aid to the Naşõra People,
a helper and a support
from the place of darkness to the place of —
light. And life is victorious.

Ninth piece.

The soul - it is, although it is referred to as Uthra in the play -- comes as a fragrant fragrance descends to the world and takes its place in the heart of the body (see also Lit., pp. 102, 10). She wistfully contemplates why she was sent into the world be. Life hears the lament and sends ilr a helper who enlivens and comforts her.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - I -
am the fragrance of the Uthras,
who I went to and took a place in every faithful heart.
The heart in which I took a seat,
I enlightened and enlightened beyond measure.
I enlightened and illuminated it beyond measure,
brought prosperity and let it dwell in it.

---

1) It is uncertain whether the second N27 is to be interpreted in this way. It is rather with CD too so that the sentence in which the souls of the singers are raised is simply called ".

I took the sigh out of it,
that the Seven brought to the bodies.
The Seven brought it to the bodies
and let it dwell in the dark hearts. Who can
be enlightened by enlightenment, will be
placed at the place of light. Who
does not let himself be enlightened by enlightenment,
will be cut off from the place of light.

Icl, in my sense, make considerations about it,
how it happened.
Who has caught me away from my place and my place-
from the circle of my parents who raised me? [nommen,
Who brought me to the guilty,
[323] the sons of the void dwelling?
Who brought me to the rebels,
who wage war every day?
Who showed me the bitterness,
where there is no candy?
Who showed me the darkness,
where there is no light beam?
Who showed me the stinky water,
that turns on wheels[1].
It turns on wheels,
and his stench rises and reaches the firmament. When
I was standing in my place,
I scared myself and scared my soul.
I told myself that I have no high helper,
no man as a nurse.

How I still stand in my place,
the great one heard me and did not condemn
me. It sent me a high helper,
sent me a man as a nurse.
It sent me a gentle assist, he
came and saved me from everything.
He spoke to me in vivid speech and
saved me from the world. He
called in a gentle voice
and let my heart rest on his support.
He taught me about praise, that
I forgot the persecution of Tibil.

---

[1] This probably means on the bucket wheels of artificial irrigation in contrast to the free flowing living water.

He spoke:
,,O gentle Uthra!
Not by the will of the great (life) did you come here. Did
not come here according to the will of the Great,
not according to dēm will of the Uthras who are there.
Rather, according to the will of the two Uthras1) it happened,
that they sent you and sent you here.
They sent you out, sent you here
and left you in the world. You
stayed in her for so long and grew up in her,
when your father liked
it. If your father likes it,
he will tell you how it went."

I then spoke to my father,
to the man who was appointed over me:
,Who are the two Uthras,
which were used over me?
Who are the two Uthras,
who sent me out and sent me here?
They sent me out, sent me here
and left me in the world."

That helper then spoke to me,
the man who was used over me:
,Where is there a son who despised his father"),
that he sent you here and sent you?
He sent and sent you here
and left you in [324] the world.
You stayed in her for so long,
when your father liked it,
when it pleased your father
and he sent you helpers.
He sent you helpers,
and they spoke to you [in vivid speech *******.
Now o gentle Uthra,
get up, ascend to the house of your family
and curse the place of your carer's house. As
long as you stayed and lived in it, the
Seven were your opponents.

---

1) See below.
2) or. there is no sense. Perhaps here, too, is a form of 822 garble. see p. 242.

.The seven were your opponents,
the Twelve are your persecutors').
The Twelve were your persecutors
and they said, 'Let us despise his works, maybe we'll
cut him off at our place. Maybe
we'll cut him off at our place
and he takes part in [our] world."

I talked to myself, researched in my mind
and answered my Father, the gentle helper,
the man who was appointed over me:
, When you know that there is a lack of me,
cut me off in the abode of sinners."
Then he spoke:
,Ó gentle Uthra!
There was a surplus of you, not a
shortage." [To this I replied]:
,,My father! When you know that there is no lack of
me, why did you do such harm to me?"

When he heard this from him,
he took it out of his body. He
clothed him with a robe of splendor and
put a precious wreath on him. He
broke their guardhouses
and led him out of the world with pomp.
With pomp he led him out of the world and
supported him on the earth of the great (life). He
supported him on the earth,
the Great Throne.
Up went the Uthra,
then they built him a throne, and he took a seat on it.

I want to tell you, you big,
I want to tell you, you mighty ones, how it happened:
If you do this to me,
should there be no shortage of your grape harvest in the sinking Tibil
The age decreased, [enter 2)?
and the persecution really depressed her."

,Sit there, Uthra,
orderly, well-ordered Uthra.

---

1) See Lit. , p. 160.
2) The point is: shouldn't the souls who make up your share suffer from it?

We know well,
that there is a shortage of our grape harvest in the sinking Tibil [admission[1]).
The age decreased,
and persecution was very much unleashed against them.
You were redeemed and ascended, Uthra,
and whoever is able to do it, let him ascend after you." —
[325] Life is upheld and is victorious, and
victorious is the man who went here.

Tenth piece.

The Mānā converses with his image, i.e. with the female who is associated with him Being, see p. 1445. He expresses the desire to create uthras who will stand by his side should. His image discourages him. He follows your advice, but probably was in a now there are pieces of it that have fallen away, that he nevertheless creates a companionship, because the following assumes this. He justifies the creation by the fact that the created He is the one who helps the righteous. He sends a messenger to the pious in to continue to ascend the height, life and the messenger take the place of the Mānā is Mandā dHaijē. He descends into the depths and fights the bad guys.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light.
- I am talking to my image: ,,Come
on, you and I want to build (create). We
want to build with hidden reputation,
build in the miraculous fruit.
Until we produce fruits, until we produce helpers,
praise me, and I will praise you. We
want to be kept in rich splendor and
keep each other in order in an excellent way.
Maybe uthras will be created by us and
then praise us mighty ones."

When he said this,
he thought of a companion.
On a companion he thought
in the miraculous fruit.
He spoke and sang:

---

[1] The text here is incorrectly reconciled with pp. 330, 34. You can expect here דמן גוטופתאן בתיביל אודא תיבצאר.

I want to create a companionship to my
right, will create lights to my left.
I want to create messengers
of life, those who are hidden from me.

He replied and spoke
the image of the expensive Mānā:
When you create messengers,
will the wickedness of the tribe of your planting become
apparent- Your planting wickedness will expand [stretch ').
because of the lack of the world.
There will be a lie in
her, There is shock in the world."

Then I replied and spoke
to my exceedingly wondrous image:
,We thought, and now we do not want to plant a planting, from
it comes lack and failure.
Lack and failure come from it,
and shock arises in the world."

I bowed, bowed to my companion and
accepted from her expensive
kuštā. We entered devices and hid"),
and she agreed to be my companion.
When the first ones were there,
think about the second.
When the second ones were there,
think about third parties.
When the third came,
think about the fourth.
From the fourth
there was a shortage and a failure.
Lack and failure came from
you, and [326] shock arose in the world.

He replied and spoke
the image of the expensive Manā:
,Didn't I tell you,
that we do not want to plant a planting?

---

1) , "Haupt" does not fit; I guessp1wa, Maybe NP37127 is also to be deleted.

") could in itself also mean "vestments", but then 5x fits badly. There are probably devices here, intended as containers of numina, as well as in the sense of ,"Spirit" goes back to this meaning, see above, p. 651.

We do not want to plant a planting,
because out of it comes lack and failure.
Lack and failure come from
it, and shock arises in the world."

Then he answered and said
for his most miraculous image: ,How should
we create the world that is supposed to,
left to destruction?
In it, men of proven justice will spread
and let the call of life rise up here').
Some of them will rise with the root,
some of them are held back in the world"). Who has
the strength to do so and sets himself free,
will rise up and look at the place of light.
Who has the strength to do so and (still) does not set himself
free, will be left behind in the world.
In the world he will be left behind,
and his place of residence will be of the world.
We want to call the messenger,
the messenger, the planting of the mighty (life). We
want to commission him and send him there:
what is there, he should bring up here.
He redeems the gentle Manās,
redeem the dear Mānā").
He redeems the expensive Mānā,
and let this one be a good one in the house of perfection.

I called and commissioned the
Great") and put his wisdom over
me. [It lay over me] the well-preserved
figure, which is kept hidden for me.
It put love over me,
which should be sent to my friends.
It put gentle speech over
me"), where I should talk to my friends.

---

1) Probably read N55 instead of
N55. ") Maybe you can also read here. To fluctuate between "Nonono and see R 307, 14f. with Varr.

a) The place is incomprehensible. With the gentle Mänās, the individual souls of the Meant for the pious. But the "dear Mānā" would have to be the supreme being here. How should will he redeem this? Is it by his help to the pious? It seems that instead of Ap-D" there was another verb.

4) The great life takes the place of the Mānā here.

a) Read NF1W, cf. Text 327, 12.

I'm supposed to talk to my friends
and deliver them from the ephemeral. I'm
supposed to redeem you from the faulty,
which they created by themselves. It
warns me and commands me,
like a father who commands his sons.
It feeds me and kisses me,
like a father kissing his son. It
warns me and protects me,
and it stays firmly with his speech[1]).
It speaks:
,We will send you treasurer,
come quickly with the messengers.
Come quickly with the messengers
and bring us the planting of the mighty.
Why do you want to stay in the Tibil,
why [327] beat you back and forth in the ephemeral?
Why do you leave the pure robe
and are you dressing in the rebellious
garb? Why do you leave the gentle secrets
and step into the ephemeral secrets? Do
not leave the beloved cooperative
and love the co-operative of the ephemeral.
Do not leave the living speech
and love the talk of the ephemeral."

When the Great [so] spoke to me,
i bowed and bowed in a perfect manner:
,Why are you talking to me like that,
where did my heart fall into discord?
My heart has fallen into discord,
and my eyes squeezed together with a tear. With a
tear my eyes squeezed together, until I whined
and cried in my place. Is there anyone
who stayed in the house of the great (life) and then
loved the talk of the ephemeral? Is there
anyone who would leave the pure garment
and dressed in the rebellious garb? Is there
anyone who would leave the beloved cooperative and
the co-operative of the ephemeral loved? Is there
anyone who would leave the speech of gentleness
and loved the speech of the ephemeral?"

---

1) Maybe p ,,and it fortified me with his speech."

Then it spoke to me:
, We told and explained to you:
Don't drag yourself back and forth in the ephemeral').
Because from the second, who was the eldest"),
there was a shortage and a failure.
Deficiency and malformation formed from it,
and the shock came into the world through him."

Then Manda dHaije called it (life) and spoke to it:
,,Come quickly and protect your sons.
Come on, take care of your sons
and bless them with your blessing.
[With] that [your blessing] bless them,
with which you have blessed your sons, the Uthras."

It blessed me") with its blessing
and spread his glory over me,
spread over me from his planting.
I bowed and bowed to life and came
into the world").
I bowed and bowed to life and
spoke in my wondrous voice.
I went to the Škīnās
and the good Uthras [who] created them.
When the Uthras saw me,
they bowed down and praised me") beyond measure.
They praised the Uthra of glory,
from which all truth has come.
[328] They spoke to him:
Where are you going, son of the shining
beings, where has life sent you (here)?"

I replied to them:
,I'm going to the deep "), which is quite stinky,
and among the works that are not (properly) created,
the works that the Uthras created,
which are hidden in their place."
So they spoke to him:
,Go, set up
and bring up your planting victoriously.

---

1) See Nöld., p. 249e
°) NwwND; the third, Abathur, is called xpN.
") It probably also refers here to life despite the singular, see p. 240 °.
) Sorry, hat אתיתילה̄. ") Lies ומשאביליא. ") Read Npmy.

Come with us and let us plant you, so that
we may be associated with you as helpers.
Walk with the power of life,
and be a perfect guide to you. The
King of the ether blessed you, and
you went to the tibil of impermanence."

When the wicked saw me,
they fell down and fell on their faces.
They fell down, fell on their faces
and went to the great Suf Sea:
,We've been watching you, man,
your form is not of ours."

So I turned and spoke
to the wicked and liars who dwell in this world:
Where did you get the robe,
that enlightens your figure?
Where did you get this smell,
which makes the smell of your stench pleasant?
Life has sent me;
i came here to conquer the tribe
Life was grateful to the Uthras, [bring.
who have risen from the Tibil." —
And life is victorious.

Eleventh piece.

Anõš-Uthra goes to Earth to stir up the Mandaeans. Rūhā finds out and conspires with her sons, the Seven, to counteract the strange man. They are attacking Jerusalem. After a parallel piece, you will only arrive on your journey after Bethlehem. They want to build there, but with a voice on the cloud of Anõš, that from 365 disciples would emerge from this city, they give up the plan. They move on to Bēt-Mtallalē. They feel the same way, the same in Kraklı-Nşab. Only then come go to the area of Jerusalem and build a city there. In it, the Jews let themselves settle. Anõš goes to Jerusalem and gains an annex there. Killing the Jews his followers, he then destroys the city. See also Brandt, Rel., p. 128; Reitzenstein, The Book of the Lord of Greatness, p. 33.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - -

When I, Anõš-Uthra, came,
in this world,
there I came, calling the call of life
and set up the planting of life.
I spoke and performed with my voice
and awakened the elect in the world.
I called with a noble voice,
i roused the sleeping ones and made them get up.
I grew younger among them,
some of them are worthy of the Place of Light.

Who said the Rūhā,
who taught the defective and faulty,
who told the liar,
that the strange man has gone here')?
Who told the Rüha,
[329] that she struck her head with her hands")?
With her hands she hit the head
and pulled out the curls on the head.
She pulled out the curls on her head
and cried ,,Woe to me, woe to me!"
Rūhā spoke in anger,
and in Liige her word came out.
Ruha spoke in anger
and called together their first-born sons.
She spoke to them:
,,Come, come, my first-born sons,
listen to what I tell you").
Come on, sinnet on evil,
and we want to create a party in the world.
We want to create a party in the
world under the trunk of the strange man who went here."

On it the seven stars gathered
and went to Rūhā dQudšā.
They spoke to her:
,With what should we start a party
within this world?u
Then she replied to them:
,,Come on, we want to lie together
and all of our secrets*).

---

1) Cf. Joh. II, p. 117, 6.) See p. 87, 4; 102, 23. 3) See Lit., pp. 200, 6.

4) Read NIN) after the suffix in the verbum and the following. secret" is their secret knowledge.

Our secret of all') we want to take and
form an entity with it. We
want to form a structure with it and
build the place of Jerusalem."

Then the seven stars went at it and
they lay down with their mother.
They lay down with their mother
and took away from their common secret.
From their common secret they took and they
built the place of Jerusalem.
They built the city of Jerusalem
and left fornication, corruption and fornication in it.
They spoke:
,,Every one who has his seat in the place of Jerusalem,
will not mention the name of God")."

Then the seven stars rose
and Namrus, the mother of the world.
The seven stars rose
and they came on their seven chariots.
They arrived on their seven wagons
and descended from the firmament to the
earth. They left this world")
and they came to Bethlehem.
Ruhā then spoke to her sons,
spoke to the worthless fiends:
,,My sons! Leave your cars down, we
want to build it (Jerusalem) in this place."

There came a voice from the cloud of Anoš-Uthra
[330] and spoke to Rūhā dQudšā:
,From the site where this place is being
built, there will be 365 disciples."
Then she cried out in a shrieking voice and
screamed, she spoke to her seven
sons: ,On, on, my seven sons,
don't build it in this place.
An evil, unclean curse
got over your cars.

---

2) See p. 3374.

2) Here this stands for the supreme being of the Mandaeans is rarely used, see p. 4.

") One expects "that world".

Get in your cars
and go away from that place."

They left that place
and arrived at Bet-Mtallale').
Rüha then spoke to her sons,
spoke to the worthless fiends:
,,My sons! Leave your cars down,
we want to build it on this site."

There came a voice from the cloud of Anoš-Uthra
and spoke to Rūhā dQudšā:
,,From the site where this place is being built,
there will be 365 disciples."
That's when Rūha dQudša spoke
and spoke to the planets:
,On, on, my seven sons,
a letter of anger has come to us.
Come on, get in your cars
and go away from that place."

They left that place
and went to the town of Krakh-Nşab. Then
Rūhā dQudšā spoke
and spoke to the planets:
,,My sons! Leave your cars down,
we want to build on this site."

There came a voice from the cloud of Anoš-Uthra
and spoke to Rūhā dQudšā:
,From the site where this place is being built,
there will be 365 disciples."

Then Rūha spoke in anger
and spoke to the planets:

---

1) N2, House of the covered sites or huts, as the name of a place that in the history of Judaism or Christianity would have played a role is not known. The word mṭalle ,"huts" is found in a geographical name, as far as I can see, only in the name of a monastery Dairā daMtalle im Haurān (see NöLdEKe, ZDMG XXIX, 1875, p. 438), but the place was without meaning. You also get no further if you are in Bēt-Mtallalē assumes the rendering of a Hebrew N3D. Likewise, this continues to be named 2N3) 7N73 unknown. It sounds like Nşībin-Nisibis, but the identity is doubtful. Halévy believed that it was Nazareth and DN3) ניצבאה 77D on a prescription fr) see Brand, Schr., p.9 this is not impossible. In 3N3) 7873 R 193, 6, see above, p. 1936.

,,On, on, my seven sons,
listen to what I am telling you.
On, we want to go,
before the big life comes here."

Then the seven planets rose and they
departed from that place. They got
up'), sat down in their wagons and continued
their journey in the world. They
continued [B31] their journey in the world, until
the wings of their carriages fell out ").
Then Namrus spoke to them,
the mother of the world:
,My sons, put down your wagons,
we want to build on this site. At this
site we want to build, because the
path has come to an end."

To this the planets responded and spoke to
Namrus, the mother of the world:
,,Yes, our strength is inhibited,
and the wings of our wagons have failed.
Yes, we want to talk after your speech")
and build on this site."

The seven stars gathered and
practiced sorcery and witchcraft.
Sorcery and witchcraft drove them
and did not call the name of God.
They went at it, kneaded the first brick and
they built the place of Jerusalem.
There came a voice from the cloud of Anoš-Uthra
and spoke to Rūhā dQudšā:
,,From the support on which this place is
built, there will be 365 disciples."
Then Rūhā dQudšā spoke
and spoke to the planets:
,,Come, come, my seven sons; Save
him to whom God is a helper."

---

1) Sorry. has Dxp.

2) DNOW seems to be intransitive here, especially after Z. 20: were-torn, fell out. Maybe even Joh. 133, 13, there are birds.

3) Well read.

They built Jerusalem,
. in it the Jews settled'). They
bestowed upon them the works of darkness,
and the Seven said a blessing over them.
They called forth protective angels,
Fish of the sea and feathered birds
and summoned them with oaths.
They summoned her with oaths
and they gave it to the Jews in Jerusalem.
They spoke a blessing over her,
and they found everything they were looking for, to a great extent.
The seven pillars emerged,
from which all falsehood and falsehood emanated.
The Jews multiplied
in the desert wasteland.
The Jews multiplied,
then came the time to form an appendix.
I took physical shape
and he brought me to Jerusalem.
I spoke with my voice and performed [332]
and became a physician of the Mirjai.
I became a doctor of the Mirjai
and healed them from scratch.
I was called a doctor of the Kuštā,
he heals without taking wages.
I led Mirjai down and baptized her in the
Jordan, i drew them with the pure sign*).

By Mirjai, the Perfect,
Jaqif and Beni-Amin") went out.
By Jaqif and Beni-Amin
have gone out 365 younger.
365 Jiingers have emerged in
the city of Jerusalem.
*The Jews got angry
and killed my disciples who pronounced the name of life.
When I saw her,
I was filled with anger and evil anger at them.
I became angry and angry with them
and ascended to the great life.

---

1) The text says "in what the Jews were".

2) The text alludes to the legend of Mirjai, a Jewish princess who She became a Mandaean and was celebrated as a representative of Mandaerism, see Joh. II, p. 123; Lit., p. 210.

") Jacob and Benjamin, cf. Joh. II, p. 71.

I told my father,
how it happened in his place.
I also told him,
how the Seven acted in this world.
When he heard this from me,
he gave me a letter in anger.
He gave me a letter in anger
against the place of Jerusalem.

Who told the Ruha,
who taught the error and deficient,
who told the liar,
that the white Aar") has ascended to the place of Jerusalem?
She calls her crowds together
and gather together all their Hmurthās.
She calls the seven stars together,
sit down and make a complaint. She
speaks:
,Woe to you, place of Jerusalem,
that the Aar has ascended to you.
Woe to the Jews,
who should be killed in anger and rage."
Ruha dQudša then steps down
and bows to Anoš-Uthra.
She speaks to him:
,,By your life, Anoš-Uthra,
do not destroy this place of Jerusalem that I have built."
To this he replied
Namrus, the mother of the world:
Who is an adversary [333] of the Light,
dies a second death."
The Jews in their fear
they hid in the different quarters.

Then he spoke to him 1
Namrus, the mother of the world:
,, Just let me,
i want to blow up the gates of the wall above them,
that they will be killed on the spot.
The Jews are to be killed, who
have sinned against your disciples."

---

1) Is more often found as a designation for higher beings of the Mandaeans. Here it is Anõš-Uthra; Joh. II, p. 235 it is Hibil-Zīwā, see also there, p. 131.

Then I hit her with the club of brilliance
and spoke to her:
,,Get away from me;
I came in anger.
[In anger] have I come,
in anger, life sent me here. Life sent
me here in anger, to devastate the
place of Jerusalem. Column after
column1) I threw down and
brought them down from their place.
I destroyed the pillar of Usrael "),
which was a persecution for my disciples. I
destroyed the pillar Jaqif, who
stood at the gate of Jerusalem").
I threw down the pillar of Adonai,
which rose up in the center of Jerusalem.
I destroyed the column Zatan,
which stood on the outer wall.
I threw down the pillar of Sihmai,
which stood on the inner wall.
I threw down the pillar Karkūm,
where all the angels lived.
I tied up*) the big tower,
in which the guardians of the place of Jerusalem dwelt.
I devastated the place of Jerusalem,
in which the blood of my disciples was shed.
I killed the Jews,
who were a persecution to the tribe of life,
all feathered birds
and ugly animals that have come out of them,
the monkeys and wolves"),
who came out of the Jews,
all evil animals,
against which anger was.

---

1) See Joh. II, p. 115°.

°) This is Israel. The following two names are also Jewish. Zatan is also Joh. 118, 2; 136, 7 as a Jewish name, but it is not, see Joh. II, a. a. O. "NO'y is from DNY (NDS) ,"shine" is formed according to the popular form qitlai. Karkūm is found as a name of a demon, see p. 143, 5.a) The text has , "stands", the only verb here in the present tense.

4) 227 stands there, which can not mean anything else. But one expects to "destroy" or, "prostrate"; maybe something similar has stood there.

b) The NENI, a priestly class, discussed above, p. 295, cannot be. Perhaps here is the word for "Wolf" (N2NT, older N2NI). In this, the zain could be preserved have, cf. Nöld., p. 43. The fact that the river name Zāb was translated by Aúkos shows that the word for "wolf" was similar.

Anger was against her,
and they shall come to an end on the great day of the end.
But my disciples were given security, who
endured the persecution in Jerusalem.
I destroyed the house
those who were without goodness. —
And life is victorious.

Twelfth piece.

Life sends a uthra to the lower world, to the pious and faithful to assist as a helper and instructor. The play runs out into an abrupt, arguably different- an account of the fate of the soul, "the gentle Mānā", on earth and during their ascent.

[334] In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
At the top of the pure wreath'), which the great (life) sent,
it created a gentle uthra.
It created the gentle Uthra
and lifted him up to the Škīnā of the Great.
It spoke to the gentle, firm Uthra:
,,Gentle, firm Uthra!
Take strength in abundance
from the life enthroned in his Škīnā.
A crown equal to the pure crown
are you on our head").
Take rich shine with you
and light without
end. Take a light in your right hand"),
and two Uthras shall come with you.
Sit in a salvaging cloud with
gentle, firm speeches').
Take away from the prayers,
which we do.
Take our enlightenment with you,
which is neither lacking nor lacking.

---

1) Sorry. has only N5:555 ,,As a pure wreath". The beginning seems to be under Bintlul to be disfigured by text Z. 6. The words N27 7N7NW7 should perhaps be deleted.

2) Well read. *) Sorry. got ND157ND wrong.

4) Read sorry. it looks like D במאלאלאי.

Go there in the gathering cloud,
and let the two Uthras come with you.
Go') to the men of proven justice, which
lack and lie is not. Bring them
the speech of life, which
is far and endless.
Go to the men of proven justice,
the true, believing men.
Let you hear the call of life,
so that they wake the sleeping ones*).
Give them hidden speeches,
by which they are to be instructed.
Teach them about the great life,
as he says in his book,
what life inspired the Nāşõra people with,
who are in the world.
So shall they clothe themselves with garments of splendor,
so that they will ascend on the paths after you.
Grant them speech and hearing,
that they may be delivered from the wrath of the wicked.
Grant them of mercy,
who gave up the great life to you in his skinā.
Grant them the wisdom of Ãther,
so that they may rise up and approach the mighty with supplications.
Teach them about the beings of
Light and the hidden škīnās, [335] in which they sit.
Teach them about the great life,
teach them about the Mānās who are there.
Teach them about the Ãtherkranz,
who is attached to the great life in his skīnā.
Teach them about the great life
and*) the Uthras who sit in mutual enlightenment. Teach
them about the gentle Mānā
and the three Uthras*),
who captured him.
[They took] the Mānā [captive]
and brought him to the abode of sinners.

---

1) The imperatives fluctuate between singular and plural in the following, by sometimes referring to the "gentle Uthra" alone, sometimes to him and his two companions.

2) It is expected, in itself and according to the following verse, that the men themselves be awakened. But there is just as little a strict sequence of thoughts here as in the related pieces p. 323 ob. ") Read Ny by.

4) According to the following, it is expected that it will be the Seven. The three Uthras are maybe taken to p. 347, 34.

The Seven spoke of him:
,,He should be counted among us.
He should be counted among us
and stay with us in the world.
We want to keep him in the Tibil, so
that he does not look at his Creator.
He does not look at the great vine the
men who are standing here.
He does not look at the one whose glory
lohet, and what things his Škinā equates to.
He does not look at his parents
and do not flaunt in his garb.
He does not look at the big life, he
does not look at the Mānās who are here."

The gentle Manā spoke
and taught his whole
tribe: ,I'm a lonely vine,
who stands in the world.
I do not have a high level of support, do
not have a breadwinner,
do not have a gentle helper,
he will come and teach me about every thing."

When the great (life) heard the Manā,
created it and sent him a helper.
It covered him with rich luster
and with endless light.
In my right I brought a wreath,
in my left I brought a robe*). In
my heart I brought the sign, with
the joy that the great gave me.
With the joy that the great gave me,
*******.
The Mānā departed from his body.
The seven did not notice,
after he was divorced from his body.
To the house of the Second
the splendor of the Mānā did not disappear from the house;
then it completely darkened.
Then the seven realized it; now
they are all sitting there in mourning.

---

1) Well read.
2) See also Lit. , pp. 98, 8.

Everyone is sitting there in mourning,
and Rüha is sitting there in confusion.
The sun left its shine,
the moon [336] left its brightness.
Nbū left his book,
Libat threw her bilur away.
Kewan threw away his loin(s)
and cut off his neck from the neck').
Bel left his gun
and sprinkled dust on the head of Ruha.
The gods and rulers
rushed down and fell on her face.
They fell down, fell on their faces
and went to the great Suf Sea.

They wander around the Tibil,
they seek the Mānā and do not find it.
You go to your father,
they look for the man and do not find him.
The Mānā ascended to the house of the great (life).
When the gods saw him"),
they fell down and fell on their faces.
The mana spoke to life,
which is enthroned in its Škīnā:
,In what have I sinned against
you, that I was sent to the abode of sinners?
They took me under their vintage*)
away from the big life in his Škīnā,
from the middle of the Mānās,
who come from the treasure of the mighty.

When the Great saw the mana,
about whom it had issued orders"),
it took him up with high gloss
and set him up in his Škinā.
It created him three uthras,
who should keep him company.

---

1) Or the neck from the neck; N7NW5 (Tišādu) like N7INS mean both. Sorry. hat and AS. The meaning of the words is that Kewen committed suicide. This seems to be alluding to a myth. Zimmern maintains a relationship (by letter) to Babylonian myths, but the question is too involved, as dali it would be discussed in a footnote.

2) Which he passed by at his Aufsticge.

") Uncertain, see above, p. 330, 34.

4) Probably incomplete.

You should keep him company
and enlighten his Škīnā.
It created him rich light,
which should illuminate his figure.
It gave him grace,
rich and big in the place of light.
It created him glow of brilliance,
who are to enlighten the Mānā in his Škīnā.
He bowed and praised
the great life in his Škīnā. -
Manda dHaije won the victory
and helped his friends to victory.

Thirteenth piece.

A brief account of creation. Ptahil is sent down by his father Abathur, to create the lower world and its creatures. He gets into the black water and he tries to compact an earth out of it, but he does not succeed. He shares the failure with his father. This one ascends to life, and at his request Hibil-Zīwā sends it ,to the stallion's side", from where he fetches compaction material. He gives it to Abathur, and this one gives it to Ptalil. He thus forms the world of the blessed, that of the Mšunnē-Kuštā, then the Tibil, but then also the world of darkness with Rūhā and the planets. He promises if they would do good (cf. pp. 105, 9), to use them as the folder of the world. He will therefore punished and put in shackles. Hibil is sent down to the world in To bring order. The piece shows touches with the third beech.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
When I was formed and created Ptahil, I
arose from the source of great splendor. When
my father conceived the plan and created
me, he created me from the source of
splendor. He clothed me with a robe of splendor
and covered me with a shell of light. [337]
He bestowed on me a great crown,
through whose brilliance the worlds shine.
He spoke:
,,My son! Get up, go, go to earth Tibil
and create a compaction in the black water.
Seal the earth Tibil
and divide the Jordan and channels into it.

Create') and form the physical Adam,
from which the elect shall arise.
From him shall the elect arise
and climb up and look at the place of light.
Go to Earth Tibil
and send out three shouts.
With the first call, the earth becomes denser;
with the second call, divide into her Jordans and channels;
with the third call, create the fish in the sea, the feathered birds
[in the firmament and form all the herbs and seeds.
Form the herbs and seeds,
each of which is different from the other."

I break up and succeed
to the limits of the earth Tibil. My
eyes were full on the black water'). Up to my
knees I was standing in the water,
and the water did not condense.
Up to the thighs") I stood in the water, and
the water did not condense. Until
the first mouth *) I stood in the water,
and the water did not condense.
Until the last mouth I stood in the water,
and the water did not condense.
I spoke the name of life and Manda dHaije about the
and the water did not condense. [Water,
Of the seven garments of splendor, light and glory,
which my father bestowed on me, I threw (some) on the water,
and the water did not condense.
The rod of speech and hearing") I hit the water,
and the water did not condense.

What should I do with the waters that consume each other"),
since you do not want to take the name of life?
What have I done against my father Abathur,
that he guided me here and sent
to the depth that is quite
stinky, where no one can live,
the waters that consume each other,
who do not want to take the name of life?

---

1) Sorry. hat בונייה. °) He saw it as far as he could see, see also p. 101".
3) See p. 291. 4) The anus, see also p. 192, 18.
5) The staff that gave him the power to speak and to be heard.
") See p. 15".

I rose from the black water
and he came to me before Abathur.
[I went] before my father Abathur,
to tell him about [338] the secrets of this world.
When Abathur saw me,
he asked me out.
He spoke:
,What kind of things is the world that you created,
and how do you have your works in it in a perfect way
[dressed up?"
Then I answered my father Abathur and spoke to him:
,,You sent me to the world that is all stink, where
there is no light beam,
the waters that consume each other,
who do not want to take the name of life. Up
to my knees I was standing in the
water, and the water did not condense.
Up to the thighs I stood in the water, and
the water did not condense. Until
the first mouth I stood in the water,
and the water did not condense.
Until the last mouth I stood in the water,
and the water did not condense.
Of the seven garments of splendor, of light, and of the Lord-
[i threw (some) on the water,
and the water did not condense.
I struck the rod of speech and hearing on the water,
and the water did not condense."

When I spoke thus to my father
Abathur, he was praying and praising.
To prayer and praise he stood up,
he bowed and praised life to a great extent.
He ascended to life, to his father,
to tell him about the works of this world.
I cried') Hibil-Zīwā,
and it sent him to the stallion's side"); from
him he took compaction.
Compaction he took from him,
and he came, gave them to
Abathur. Abathur wrapped her in his pure turban,
brought them to his son Ptahil and gave them to him").

---

1) It falsely stands for "it cried" (Abrp).

") See above, p. 227". *) See p. 109, 10ff., also below.

He spoke to him:
,,Go, compact the earth Tibil
and stretch out the firmament in a perfect way."
I rose from my father Abathur and
reached the borders of the earth Tibil').
I threw the compaction that my father gave me on the water,
and the water condensed.

The first compaction measured 12000 miles,
and they made her wing [339] like a cloud.
Wings like a cloud you created her,
and she flies and circles around the world.
It is called Mšunnē-Kuštā,
in which the men are raised by tried and tested justice.
The men are raised by proven justice in it, and they
rise up and look at the place of light.

The second compression measured 12000 miles,
which earth is called Tibil.
With my first call I sealed the earth and stretched the
company- [in a perfect way.
With my second call, I divided the Jordan and channels in it. With
my third call I created the fish in the sea and the- [feathered
birds of every genus and species.
I created the fish in the sea
as food for Adam and all his sons.
They are also food for souls,
who live in the empty apartment").
With my fourth call [I created] all the herbs and seeds, each
[one is different from the other.
By my fifth call, all evil worm arose. Through my sixth
call, the whole formation of darkness came into being. Through
my seventh call, Rüha and her seven sons came into being.
Rüha and her seven sons were born,
and they came, lined up in front of me.
When I saw her,
my heart fell off the support. I
turned to the seven and spoke to them:
,Where did you come from, Seven,
where your name wasn't in my father's house?
Where did you come from, seven,
where I had no intention of creating you")?"a

---

1) Which was formed only later! 2) They are also allowed as food to the Mandeans.
3) Cf. p. 104, 23. Also for the following, cf. p. 104f.

When the Seven heard me,
they came together and buried themselves in each other.
When Ruha heard it,
she came and stood in front of him.
She spoke to him:
,We come to be your servants
and to obey you in every way.
My sons and my tribes,
we stand before you as slaves.
Set up your kingdom;
we want to stand behind you as your slaves."

To this Ptahil replied and spoke to them:
, When you do good deeds,
I will count you among my party and take care of you.
If you do not do good deeds,
[340] will you be included in the place of origin, from When
you do good deeds, [the one you came to.
will you be called my sons in this world
and arrange the works,
which my father used me for."

When Ptahil said this,
the house was taken away from him.
The house was taken from him, and
they put him in heavy bonds. He
was tied up with gangs,
until the tibia passes. For he
departed from the speech of his fathers he
did not listen to the words of his fathers. He
did what his father did not command him,
therefore, he was put in heavy bonds.

A curtain fell down
between him and his father Abathur¹).
They hear each other's voice,
but can not look at her face. They
took the house from him
and put him in heavy bonds.
They sent Hibil-Zīwā,
to prepare this world,
preparing the works,
the Ptahil had caused, but not carried out,

---

1) See p. 1946

To protect Adam and his wife Hawwā')
and to keep you company,
To protect Adam,
from which the elect should proceed.
From him shall the elect go forth,
act with wage donation and alms and the Volikommenheit
Prayer and praise guard them, [gain.
lift up and set up in the house of perfection. -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fourteenth piece.

The emissary of the great life comes into the world to instruct the Jinger. Namrus tries to seduce and attract him, but he defies her.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
The disciples question the man,
who came from the great (life).
The disciples") speak to the Uthra,
whose glory they saw:
,Tell us, you son of the great (life),
how you came here from the Big one.
[From the Great] you came
and went into this world."

And the Uthra answered them,
whose glory they saw.
He spoke:
From the Great One") I came here,
from the chosen one I went here.
The Great One desired me and sent me
out; [341] I have come to instruct His own.

---

1) Their creation was not told before.

2) But probably here, also at the end of the piece instead of reading. Dak the disciples or priests are referred to as Uthras is unlikely.

a) You have to read here as before. Also N, sorry about that too. it is not right. -- N'2 with reference to life anch R 351, 21; 353,10. After that it is also R 78, 19 (above, p. 77, 11) not objectionable.

I went and taught
all sons of the good'),
those who had to endure and
bear2). From him") this house was
created and the works prepared in
him. Heaven and earth
was given strength by him4),
the sun and the Moon,
who shine through it,
the wind, the fire and the water,
the leaders of this world.
So the water poured out
and the connection of this world was established").
This is how the wind was created
and the planets got their course.
I went and taught them,
and the disciples were given the truth.
He shone in his enlightenment
and became powerful over all the worlds.
When the worlds saw him, they were terrified,
and the deity in it (the world) was frightened.
It speaks to him and speaks to him
Namrus, the mother of the world:
,,You fall down")
the lords of this world.
Be our head,
and we want to stand behind you."
To this he replied and spoke
to Namrus, the mother of the world:
When I came here,
then he wanted the big one and sent me here.
The great One wished and sent me here,
and I came to teach His people.
To the elect I came here,
why should I wake the sleeping ones?
To the good guys I came here, why
should I wake up the sinners?
For brightness I came here,
why should I accept turbidity?

---

1) The singular stands instead of the plural despite the relation on see above, p. 240°.

2) Read 583D. Here stands for X77 as often in the left part.

") Refers to life.

') Lies מן דילון.

4) With the upper world.

6) I think there is a word missing here.

To the gentle I came here,
I have no desire for the unruly. I
came to wake up the vigilant'), who are
worthy of the light abode."

When Namrus heard it,
she raised her voice and cried:
,,I told myself that the Uthra would not come, but
then he revealed himself and came
and cast down the lords of this world.
He came, instructed his disciples
and set up for them a way to the place of light.".

The disciples") rejoiced and praised
the Uthra, whose glory they beheld.
He taught [the disciples]
and established (with them) communion with the Place of Light
[342]. - 15 Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fifteenth piece.

Hibil-Zīwā is sent by life to Jõšamīn to instruct and reassure him. From Jõšamīn Hibil goes to Abatlur and then to Ptahil. This one is rebelling. Hibil 20 tell it to Abathur, the Jõšamīn. Jõšamīn rushes to chastise Ptahil. However, the Ptahil is forgiven by life, and he is accepted into graces.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
As the chosen one, Pure hinging3):
Life created me out of its midst.
From his midst, life created me,
and from his gentleness it put something in my mind.
It clothed me with splendor,
it brought a lot of light and covered me with it.

---

1) A futility; it is supposed to be an antithesis to p. 354, 35.

2) See above, p. 3532.

") This half-verse is a quote. In the Paris manuscripts Cod. Sab. 15 and 25 this liturgical collection contains fol. 8b and 38a (resp. fol. 12a and 46a) a Kinzellied and fol. 24aff. (or fol. 29aff.) a group of songs that begin with the verse begin (Var. When the chosen one, Reine went to the place where the perfect sit."

It armed me with its coat of arms and spoke:
,Go, be a force to the second.
Teach him so that his heart may shine,
strengthen him so that his mind shines.
Enlighten him about the quiet mysteries,
who were before the recalcitrant mysteries.
Teach him about the candy,
where there is no bitterness.
Teach him about the sons of the tribe of life, who
is older than the sons of the void dwelling.
Teach him about the great Jordan of life,
from which he gained victory').
Enlighten him about the great crown,
which is placed on the head of the
Uthras. Teach him about the sons of the great tribe
of life they stand, bow and praise."

I bow down and go, until I reach
the house of Jošamīn. When
Jošamīn saw me,
he jumped up from his throne
and he spoke to me, Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke:
,,You are the Kuštā of the Great,
who went and came into the world. You
went there, came into the world
and opened a gate to the world.
You opened a gate of the world
and set up a path for the believers. You are
the master of the Ganzibrās*), on
which your splendor rests.

I") taught Jošamīn so that his heart would shine, i
strengthened him so that his mind shines.
I taught him about the quiet mysteries,
who were before the recalcitrant mysteries. I
taught him about the candy, where
there is no bitterness.
I taught him about all the works of life, who
are wondrous and strange about everything.

---

1) 2D) refers to Jōšamīn, not to life, see p. 357, 5.

2) Here, as usual, the chief priests, see also R 368, 24. but cf. also pp. 305, 5 and 1503.

") It is probably fnoron to read.

[343] I seized Jošamīn by the area of his right, and
the question of the beings of light') I addressed to
him. I spoke to him:
,I gave you power power of the high voice of life,
from which you received victory.
I gave you the power of Pihta, Kuštā and Mambūgā,
you head of the whole tribe.
At the first creation
which man arose?
Which man has arisen, and
who was it that was lacking and missing2)?"

When Jošamīn heard this,
his heart dropped from the stitch.
He spoke:
,At the first creation
nothing defective and faulty has arisen.
In the second creation
nothing bad has arisen.
The third creation
splendor was increased over all uthras.
The fourth creation."
i was born Jošamīn.
It was with her that I was born Jošamīn,
and there was a lack and lack of me.«
Then I said to myself: 'How should I address Jošamīn now, that
he is not say: Hibil-Zīwā is now proud of me-
taken?" So I spoke to him:
,"You, our Father, your splendor is rich and luminous"),
for all the lights are set up for you.
You sit there and enlighten the whole tribe.
Good one, come and enlighten us with your rich splendor
and with your endless light that I give you from the house of
the great Brought life."

I'm going and I'm going,
until I reach the house of Abathur.
When Abathur saw me,
he jumped up from his throne.

---

1) How these ask each other.

2) Read ומאנו ד̄הואבה̄.

") So not at the first.

4) This piece contains a freer verse style, like the Lieder Lit., pp. 241 ff. See also there, p. XIV.

.He jumped up from his throne
and he spoke to me, Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke:
,,Yes, did not come to me?
Yes, well, Hibil-Ziwā has come to me!
.The great life blessed you,
and the custodians of Manā strengthened you." That's
.when I said to myself:
,,I want to address Abathur-Uthra,
so that he would sit quietly on his throne."
Then I spoke to him:
,,Kuštā keep you safe, Good,
and receive the Word in which you have spoken."

I'm going and I'm going,
until I reach the house [344] of Ptahil.
When Ptahil saw me,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne
and he spoke to me, Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke:
,'O you sprout who grew up in Äther'),
who created you, who commissioned you?"
To this I replied to him:
,The great life created me,
the great thing has strengthened me
here." I also spoke to Ptahil-Uthra:
Why is your prayer not up in the house of the great life-
and does your figure not shine in the place [drawn
of light? Why hasn't the great life blessed you
and gave you the treasure that will not be taken away?"
.To this he replied:
„Why should I step down, bow down and live the great life
when I don't know any thanks for it?u [rates,

When Ptahil spoke thus,
he whined about himself and cried.
He whined and cried over himself,
sat down and wrote a note to the planets.
Ptahil gathered the demons,
gathered the decrepit army.
He gathered the fallen army together,
and they are waiting to start a fight.

---

1) R 351, 19 is better, see also Lit... p. 220, 5.

When Hibil-Zīwa saw this,
he sat down and wrote a letter to Abathur.
Abathur went and went,
he and the four hundred thousand myriad Uthras who are with
him, Abathur-Uthra sat down [came there.
and wrote a letter to Jošamīn, the king's son.
Jošamīn, the king's son, then went and went,
by holding the club of living water in his hand.
The club he held in his hand,
it was such that the demons see and frighten them.
He took the great sword,
by which the demons are killed.
Jošamīn, the King's son, went and went, until
he came to Hibil-Zīwā.
,,Let me strike Ptahil with the great swords,
destroy him and fall from the throne.
I want to hit him with my club
and split his head.
I want to hit her with my big club and
extinguish their blazing fire."

Whereupon Hibil-Zīwā spoke to him:
,Be calm, Jošamīn, you son of the
King, for the great life has settled down in goodness [345]."

When the first life heard this,
knew it to be a folly of Hibil-Zīwā. Thereupon
it wrote a letter from the Kuštā
and sent him to the decrepit house.
Ptahil opened it and read it
and saw that the first life had forgiven him.
He then yelled at the demons
and scattered the decrepit army.
He spoke to
him: ,,Beware now, Hibil-Zīwā,
it is entirely your folly."
Thereupon Hibil-Zīwā and Abathur arose,
as well as Jošamīn and all
uthras. They put Ptahil in his own Škīnā
and spoke to him:
,,Pleasant is the fragrance of the mānā,
how your fragrance is pleasant, dear Manā.

---

4) N otherwise ,Faust" seems to be a weapon here, maybe a club with fist-like pommel. See Z. 17.

Pleasant is the splendor of the great life
and the illumination of the mighty life."
To which Ptahil replied')-Uthra
and spoke to her:
'How has the splendor risen over the courtyards of your face '), and
how wondrous is your splendor! [Uthras, my brothers,
Miraculous is the place where the Great
Enthroned, his praise is unlimited." --
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Sixteenth piece.

Uthras go to Mandā dHaijē to go with him to Jōšamīn. They reproach him for letting Jōšamīn do his work. Mandā dHaijē ask Hibil-Zīwā to go to Jōšamīn. At the request of the King of Light 15 he finally went there himself. He succeeds in reconciling Jōšamīn, but not Ptahil. He calls again Hibil-Zīwā, who also achieves the reconciliation of Ptahil. From Ptahil he goes to Abathur and then to Jōšamīn. Peaceful greetings are held on both sides. Hibil then ascends again to the celestials and is addressed by them with receive. - In some places the King of Light is called, p. 370, 11 also the Lord of the Size 20, but he steps back in the piece as a whole.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. -
When the chosen one, Reine
went: Life created me from the height.
The Uthras sought enlightenment in their
sense; they are enlightened by the wisdom of the great (life).
They sit in their škinās
and guard the shining treasure.
They speak:
,,Come on, let's go, let's go to Mandā dHaije
and speak to him of the works that are in him (in the treasure?) We
want to enlighten him about the living teaching, [have.
through which the men of proven justice are enlightened
We want to talk to him about the gentle Mānās [be. and
from the baptism of life, by which they were (newly) formed. We
want to summon him to the King of Light,
whose names the Uthras have not revealed.

---

1) Probably so instead of Hibil. 2) Siele Joh. II, p. 37" and above, p. 106, 4,

We want to summon him by the old myrtle,
the fragrant plant from which you wind the wreath.
[346] We want to talk to him:
Let's go to the edge of the house of Jošamīn and
among the works that the deficient created.
We want to lighten it over the shimmer,
which he scatters at the feet of the mighty')."

When the great ones spoke like this,
the call to the house of the mighty (life) ascended").
The Jordan River
550,000 Uthras went to Manda dHaije.
From the white, pure earth of Ãther
444000 Uthras went to Manda dHaije. From
below the throne of the King of the Uthras
660,000 Uthras went to Manda dHaije.
They spoke to him:
,Why did the King of Light create you
and made king in Ãther,
where you do not go to the house of Jošamīn
and does he not perform his works in a perfect manner?
Jošamīn should know,
that the power of life is greater than its vain power. The
Uthras of Light are more numerous
as the sons of the decrepit fiend.
The cooperative of life is greater as
the cooperative of the vanishing wicked. Now
you have taken the brightness
and thrown at the feet of the mighty,
have taken the gentle mānās
and thrown into the void bodies,
did you take the fragrant flowers
and scatter them in heaps over the decrepit house").
The myrtle you sent in loads
and he made them weak and
weak. You sent the high jasmine
and do all evil to him.

---

1) As to the meaning of the ambiguous here, it should be noted that it is safe elsewhere ,Schein, Schimmer, Glanz", see Joh, II, p. 1853. Since it stands here parallel to NiPIn (Z. 27), it will also have this meaning here. Instead (also sorry, so) maybe דשאריא to read, because it is happening in parallel, but there are still doubts- detention is also the meaning of the expression N3, which can only be found at this point. Does he mean, on big feet, cocky"? For gender, see Nöld., pp. 157, 17.

2) Perhaps, the mighty one," i.e., the Uthras.

a) Cf. p. 116.

You sent Maru aštargān there
and do all evil to him.
You sent the narcissus, the myrtle and the maru, who
came from the pure land of Tarwan. You sent
the narcissus, the myrtle and the maru; now they
practiced wrong things on them.
You sent the pure juniper,
whose fragrance from beneath the throne of the king of the Uthras [has come.
You sent the pure juniper,
and they were deficient and deficient in him
[347]. They despised the fragrant flowers
of any kind and genus.
They despised the fragrant flowers
and do all evil to souls.
You took the treasure of life
and cast him into the void earth.
You took the speech of life
and threw them into the talk of transience.
You took the pure pearl
and you gave them to men made of flesh and blood. You
were given dominion over the wisdom of the great (life) and
about the voice that came from above. You have
been given dominion over the works of light and
about the speech of the light treasure.
And now that you have been given dominion over all works,
why is lack and lack practiced on them?
You took the call of life
and cast him into the void.
You took the speech of life
and threw them into the talk of transience.
You sent the prayers
and cast them into the void.
You took the pure pearl
and cast them among the perishable.
Now I have taken away the reputation of life,
so that the perishable do not receive power over
him. Let the perishable have no power over him
and no woman will step on it in menstruation."

When Manda dHaije heard this,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne
and called Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke to him:

,Jump up from your throne
and call Jošamīn.
Talk to him:
,,Take the pure pearl,
raise them up and raise them up in their place.
Men of proven justice should not know, that the
power was taken away from the house in this way.
You should not receive any power
*******, and the trunk of life should not be cut off from the world He [be.
(Jošamīn) speaks:
,Why should I have a body without a soul,
like a vessel that has no shine?
Why should I have flaunting vines,
where your fragrance is not pleasant?«

There came a voice from the high King of Light
[348] and called to Manda dHaije.
He spoke to him:
,,Why should Jošamīn know,
that the call of life was taken away in this way?
Why should Hibil-Zīwā know,
that the treasure of life was hidden in this way?"

When Mandā dHaije heard this,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne
and he put on sixty-one garments of splendor, of light, and [of glory.
He sought enlightenment in the wisdom of the Great,
in the treasure that life, his father, bestowed upon him.
He sought instruction in the wisdom of the Great
and he went and came to Jošamīn.
He stood at the edge of the house of Jošamīn
and covered gloss over its shimmer').
'Over his shimmer') he covered,
and there was a shock in his house.
There was a shock in his house, and
the planets fell on her face.
The earth shrank together,
and the firmament rolled like mats.
Under the throne of Abathur
black water appeared and filled up.

---

1) It is doubtful whether it has the same meaning here as p. 361,6. Sorry, Nn-.

When they[1] saw the splendor of Manda dHaije,
they fell down and fell on their faces.
The planets called with their voice
Ptahil and languages:
,Why should we guard the house,
where is the glimmer taken from
us?" To this Ptahil-Uthra replied to the
planet: ,Who took the glimmer from you,
where I have not seen its splendor,
i have not seen his form, the
miraculous, alien to the worlds?"

When Ptahil spoke thus,
he fell down and fell on his face.
He spoke:
Since I'm sitting in the shackle,
they made Jošamīn the keeper of the house.
They appointed him over the
works, which I lack and mis-practiced.
Abathur became the daredevil,
who brings out the bright from the dull."

When Ptahil spoke thus,
Jošamīn rose from his throne.
From his throne, Jošamīn stood up and
he called forth sixty-one fetters around Ptahil.
Ptahil was angry in the shackle
and called [349] his father Abathur.
He spoke:
" What did Jošamīn want from me,
that he created the shackles around me?
Where Manda dHaije let go of fear
in this world,
what do you want from me,
that you have caused me to fall from my throne?
You have brought me down from my throne
and my heart fell down from the support."

When Ptahil spoke thus,
his voice went up to the house of the mighty.
The Great stood up from his throne"[°]
and spoke to Mandā dHaijē:

---

[1] The planets.

[°] For ,Throne*, the plural LANDING-ND stands with relation to (N"7), as we find it regularly at.

,Why did you actually grow up in your splendor
within this world? You
let go of fear against the Seven
and warfest confusion among the Uthras.
Where you now stand out with your brilliance
Jošamīn, put your rights in his rights
and summon him by the wreath of the mighty.
Summon him by the one great name, where
the King of Light has summoned you.
By him Hibil-Ziwā swore
and then descended to the place of darkness.
He built the works,
that's why I sent him into this world'). Tell
him3): It should not be that the Sun (does not) know"),
how she wears the glow of splendor.
It should not be that the moon knows,
that I have placed the sign on its brightness.
It should not be that Ptahil knows,
how the soul falls,
how the soul falls into the body
and how the blood speaks in him*)."
It said"): ,Jošamīn, my son, ...") Ptahil and let him hear
and support his heart on his support.
Release his shackles,
so that there is no lack and error in his sense."

When Jošamīn heard this,
he bowed down and praised the mighty life.
He praised the great life,
went and untied the fetter of Ptahil.
He loosened the fetter of Ptahil
and spoke to Ptahil.
He spoke to him:

---

1) The interpretation of this verse is uncertain to me. Dal it a salutation and prinE Being an imperative is unlikely. The relative in refers to היביל זיוא.

2) The Jōšamin.

3) In the following, x5 is missing at x7N5, and this is indicated by the parallel passage Text 1.02, gestiitzt, therefore, is probably to be deleted here as well.

4) See also p. 109 unt.

5) According to the following, this must be an address of life to Jōšamīn. Here it should not be regarded as an imperative.

°) The distorted and sometimes misunderstood 871 73 (see Lit., p. 136") not here before. N71) seems to me to contain an imperative with a suffix, that is, 77. but neither 7noch 77bzw. 7er 7eten a suitable sense.

'We believed in you'),
Good; we watched your shine and will not forget you.
Every day and even just an hour
we will not let you out of our heart.
For our heart shall not go blind
and our soul") will not be included in this world."

When Ptahil heard this,
his heart [350] was supported on his support.
He replied in a clear voice
and spoke to Jošamīn:
,Where Manda dHaije let go of fear
in this world,
what did you want from me,
that you left the shackles around me)pu

When Ptahil spoke thus,
did Mandā dHaije know,
that there are shortcomings between Ptahil and Jošamīn- [forms hat.
He called Hibil-Zīwā,
armed him and sent him out into the ages.
He spoke to him:
,,Go, preach to Jošamīn and let him hear
and support the heart of Ptahil on his support."

I'm going and I'm going,
until I get to the house of Jošamīn.
When I arrived at the house of Jošamīn,
I spoke to Jošamīn:
Why have you not been guided by the wisdom of the great (life)
why did you leave the shackle around Ptahil?" [let them teach;
When Jošamīn heard this,
he realized that I had uncovered the Gé secret that he had hidden in himself [habe4).
I'm going and I'm going,
until I get to the house of Ptahil.
When Ptahil saw me,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne
and Hibil-Zīwā addressed me.

---

1) In the following salutation, the text fluctuates between the 1st sing. and 1. pl. You i think they have the 1st pl everywhere. to manufacture. The verses are a quotation, see p. 60.

2) Sorry. has ntrens, see also p. 603.

3) Sorry. hPNEW has continued as before.

') hardly contains the 3rd pers.: dak he has uncovered.

He spoke:
,Come, come the shine
and went up in the house.
In the house he went up'),
and the whole house was illuminated.
The house lit up,
it lit up in its corners.
The Naşora people who heard the voice of life,
rejoiced and talked:
How sweet is this voice of life,
who came here by calling us from the place of Light
[be."
When I heard this from him,
i blessed him with the great blessing,
with which the dear Mānās blessed.
I spoke to him:
,,Behave calmly and quietly, Ptahil, with your mystery
within this world.
Now keep your name in your Škinā
and call him out loud only to the shining treasures").
I want to teach them about every
thing"). I want to teach the men of proven justice,
the men who are made of flesh and blood. I
want to teach you about every thing. I
want to teach the disciples,
who commemorate the speech of life:
,When [351] wickedness oppresses you
and anger (against you) will be released,
so beware of swearing and falling
and to overthrow the Mānā from his throne.
Beware of cursing Ptahil-Uthra,
because when he asked for a share of life, he did not It
did not grant him a share in the house, [hereby granted.
did not grant him dominion over any thing. About
anyone who escapes Ptahil-Uthra,
there will be great anger.
About anyone who brings him down from his throne,
the verdict will be made."

---

1) after suffering.

2) The reproduction of the half-verse is uncertain. It sets the reading p5rp instead קארילון ahead; the words may be otherwise disfigured. With the 'treasures' are higher Meaning of the essence, cf. Niy.

3) The verse is probably erroneously placed here from the following. He refers to hardly start the "guess".

I bound and guarded his works
and neither lacked nor failed in them. I
put the heart of Ptahil on his support, so
that his sense is neither lacking nor lacking.

I'm going and I'm going,
until I come to the house of Abathur.
When Abathur saw my glory,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne
and Hibil-Zīwā addressed me.
He spoke:
Where did life get this voice,
the one that's so sweet, the one that's so lovely?
The Uthras of the Light speak to her."

I'm going and I'm going,
until I get to the house of Jošamīn.
When Jošamīn saw my brilliance,
he jumped up from his throne.
He jumped up from his throne,
sought instruction in the wisdom of the great
(life) and in the enlightenment that life gave
him. He took') fragrant flowers,
dipped them in water from the Jordan
and went to meet me.
He took the fragrant flowers, put a
wreath of the most perfect kind on me and
he spoke to me, Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke:
, O you sprout who have sprouted up in the Ãtler,
who created you, who strengthened you")?

So I speak to him:
,,The great life created me,
the chosen one strengthened me here.
To the right of Manda dHaije
did it establish a throne for Jošamīn
at the mouth of the Fraš-Zīwā").
Manda dHaije has set up this world,
he raised up living water in her, which
is extended and unlimited.

---

1) Again, as continues, pound) can be read here, as well as powNON.
°) See above, p. 358, 21. ") Of the Euphrates, see Joh. II, pp. 452; 245.

It is not deficient- nor faulty,
in him there is neither [352] lack nor
lack." I delivered a speech in a perfect manner
and spoke:
,,I make a request to the great life,
i beg you, mighty life,
i make a request to the great life:
direct your praise to me').
Teach me about the great,
so that I may support the heart of Jošamīn on his support.
Jošamīn do not say:
Hibil-Zivä has risen above me."

When the great life heard this,
it sent me strength in abundance.
It spoke:
,Go, preach to Jošamīn and let him hear
and support his heart on his support.
Jošamīn do not say:
Hibil-Ziwā has risen above me."

When I heard this from life, my father,
I got the authority to say how it was.
I spoke with my pure voice
and addressed Jošamīn.
I spoke to him:
,The mountains of glory blessed you,
and the heights of light strengthened you.
The earth of Light blessed you, the
light abode strengthened you:
the most skillful among the Uthras, his brothers,
the folder of all light worlds."

This is how I addressed Jõšamīn,
then I left and went to my father2).
When Mandā dHaije saw my brilliance,
he called to the Uthras.
He spoke to me in an excellent way
and spoke:
,The Coming of Hibil-Uthras
is like the sitils who goes to the house of his friends.

---

2) See Lit., p. 189, XIX.

2) i.e. for life, see further, p. 370, 14. But perhaps "MEN here in the To grasp the meaning of "my guardians", i.e.: I went back to my homeland.

When the disciples heard the voice
the Anoš, the great Uthra,
did they bow down to the mighty life
and glorified the great life beyond measure").«
The Uthras rose from their throne, baptized
me with their baptism and strengthened me with their miracles-
Šitil-Uthra approached [seed Voice.
and he spoke to me, Hibil-Zīwā.
He spoke:
,Let your robe shine and let your form be highly honored
by your Father, the Lord of greatness."
He made me a pure wreath,
who keeps me from everything
ugly. It (life) made me take a seat in his Škinā,
[353] where it had been itself before.
He (Šitil) enlightened me through the voice of life
and pronounced my name at the place
of light. - Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Seventeenth piece.

Life sends Mandā dHaijē down to the world in order , the sons of salvation," according to p. 375, 10 to free the angels who have descended to earth from the lack that attaches itself to themheft. Rühä and her circle try in vain to keep him away. To bring their sons before him [1] to protect her, she tries to hide her in the earth, then in the sea, then in the mountain; finally, she hides them in the cisterns of the firmament. Mandā dHaijē gets them too down from there. He reproaches them for the seduction they have in the world practice, and reclaim his robe from them. He curses her for telling her father They should be the same. The play ends in a polemic against asceticism.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. - -
I was planted and came
in this world.
Life desired me and planted me
(to go) to this world").

?) See Lit., p. 205, XXXVII.
2) See also p. 273, 14.

It spoke:
,On, on, Good,
descend to the (present) generation,
go to your brothers, the sons of salvation,
those who are deficient (1).
There was a shortage of them,
there was a lack and a failure attached to them.
Lack and failure clung to her,
and shock arose in the world." Manda
dHaije then speaks to him:
,,The chosen one (life), who has chosen
himself! Give me a club of
shine, so that I destroy the house and its
builders; that I put down the lack
2) and lead him up to the place of light victoriously."

When Manda dHaije spoke like this,
his voice descended to all worlds.
The angels who built the house weep,
and the inhabitants who are in it"), frighten. The
residents beat themselves and howl
and weep like women.
Ruha dQudša stands up,
she leaves and goes there, like a parturient.
The sons of angels strike in the hand
and they are complaining') about their
father. They cry for the head of the ages"),
who resembles
them. The sons speak to evil,
to the corrupter who did not look at life:
,Woe, you are afraid and afraid of him,
the one you sent here. How
do you want us, who you created us,
protect from him ")pu
They also spoke:
,,*** * ** the stranger,
whom life has sent in its wrath.

---

2) here probably has the meaning ,with", and the sense is not from which lack create".

°) It is difficult to see the lack; one has considered oneself as an object, for example, the tribe of souls* think.

") Here you may have to read 735.

4) I suspect NDDND), or NTDDND), instead of NaDDND).

*) This is as much as the Lord of this world here, i.e. evil, see also, p.375, 5.

°) Read patnaanxDD? see pp. 372, 35ff.

Now the house is destroyed,
and his sons') are dissolved and fall down.
The treasure house is distributed,
and you condemn us to stay in this world."

Then the evil one spoke to his sons,
the treasurers of the worthless house:
,, Go away and disappear from me,
you dead who did not watch your life").
[354] When you are demons,
lives in the wastelands.
If you are Dews,
hide yourselves and do not let yourselves be seen.
When you are angels of wonderful powers,
take the gun and go to meet him.
Don't let the stranger
go into this world."

The sons responded to the evil, the
destroyer who did not see life: ,,You whom
they have clothed with their splendor, are
you not up to the power of the strange man;
how shall we who possess no strength,
start a fight with him?"

How the bad guys sit there and think,
he heard the voice of the eaters of splendor'). He
banged against her firmament
and split a gap in it.
He split a gap
and pushed a path into their firmament.
The cisterns of the firmament melted
and fell down from the firmament as rain.
Rüha took her sons in her bosom
and walks around from one place to another:
,,I want to hide you here
and let the killers escape. In
the earth I want to hide you,
but the splendor of Manda dHaije rests there."

---

1) Well, "your sons".

*) Read N2.

") Siche Joh. II, p. 1660.

4) is hardly okay; suffering is no better. reading is replaced by the otherwise common Np15 in which N5DN means "club" (see Joh. II, p. 1667), affected.

He struck a cleft in the earth of the wicked there,
and she drove out everything that was inside her.

Ruha took her sons in her bosom
and walks around from one place to
another: ,My sons, I want to hide you
here and let the killers escape.
In the sea I will hide you,
but the light of Manda dHaije rests there.
That's where Manda dHaije will kill
you and sink into the great Suf Sea."

Ruha took her in the bosom
and walks around from one place to
another: ,My sons, I want to hide you
here and let the killers escape. I
will hide you in the mountain,
but the power of Manda dHaije rests there."
Then Ruha took her sons
and hid them in the cisterns of the firmament.

How the bad guys sit there and think,
the strange man came flying up.
The strange man came flying up,
the messenger whom life sent.
He struck a crack in the earth of the wicked,
and everything [355] that was inside her drove and threw her out.
The cisterns of the firmament turned'),
and the sons of Rüha fell down like a thunderbolt.
Like a flash, the sons of Ruha fell down and
fell into the hands of her murderer.
Ruha swears and lies,
that they will not turn his sons (of Manda dHaije) into slaves- have power*).
Manda dHaije knew,
that Rūhā swore uud lied.
Manda dHaije spoke
to the wicked and liars who dwell in the world:
"Where did you come from,
that you live in this world?
By whose authority were you created,
who are you turning generations and worlds away?"

') I guess -Dnwy ,poured out". Sorry. has pDNy.

*) Sorry. there is no point in what if you does not read: 'that I did not take the sons of Mandā dHaijē by the arm."

To which the evil Manda dHaije replied,
the messenger of all lights.
,,Living at deinėm, Mandā dHaije, we
don't know where we are from').
Our place is the place of darkness,
where there is no light.
Our place is the place of turmoil,
where there is no rest.
Our place is the place of confusion,
where there is no order.
Our place is the place of evil,
where there are no good ones."

Then Manda dHaije spoke
to the wicked and liars who dwell in the world:
,,You bad guys and liars! All (things) I want to let go,
only I will not let go of my robe.
I will not let go of my robe,
which was brought and thrown among
you." So they took off their clothes and let it go,
rushed down and fell on her face.
[1] Now they are the same ...),
who do not come out of darkness to the light.
They are like the monks,
whose hair falls down to their knees.
Your hair falls down on your knees,
and they do not come up from the field to the city.
They are like the heretics of deception,
who sit on pillars of the support").
They sit on pillars of the support
and cut off their seed from the world.
They are like the fasters,
whose mouth is imposed fasting.

Manda dHaije spoke to the wicked and liars,
who live in the world:
,,Go, be like your forefather,
he is killed in the darkness").
Killed, he lies there in the darkness,
[356] and darkness comes and presses on him.

---

1) Sorry. has pa nont prntynts.
2) Siele Nöld., p. 1394, where I, 355, 16 is to be read. Sorry. has Nmtet.
a) Here we are referring to some Christian pillar saints, who are hardly
NPINI ge- can be named, cf. p. 229. I would rather assume, anchorites".
4) This is Ur, see above, p. 176, 5.

Go, be like the king of darkness,
who raised the gun against Manda dHaije.
He raised the gun against Manda dHaije,
but Manda dHaije overcame him and threw him into the darkness.

Go, be like the head of the ages,
on which ***** the head rested')
and the anvil of the earth immediately pressed on his side.

Go, be like the Lord, the giant, which
reaches from the earth to the sky.
The sons of Salvation stood up against him in rank and file,
10 the angels who don't take bribes.
They killed him with sword and iron,
because he caused all his admirers to apostatize.
All his admirers he brought to waste and
he imposed fasting on her mouth.
He imposed fasting on her mouth,
so that his name does not disappear from among them").
He imposed on them the fasting of the seventh in the month,
when he was killed at the beginning of the fighting.
He imposed on them the fast of the Fourteenth,
when Manda dHaije consulted and came against
him. He imposed on them the fast of the twenty-eighth, when
her hero fell down killed.
He imposed on them the fast of silence,
when his spirit left his body. He
imposed on them the fast of the Fifteenth,
when they eat the bread of shame."

Manda dHaije calls with a noble voice
and let his wondrous call be heard: ,,Some heard
and became believers and held fast
to the treasure") and to the speech. He held
on to the treasure and to the speech, so he
climbed up and looked at the place of light. The
wicked who wrapped themselves up and lay down,
still sitting there fasting
and do not look at the place of light.
The Fasters and Fasterinnen
they will fall into the fires of fire." —
And life is victorious.

---

1) The last words are disfigured. Also sorry for the reading. דרישה סמיך דדארא Fby is not right. 2) A mythical figure. One thinks of Ur, but it is from talk to him before. See also p. 229, 7f., where Christ is meant. ")
Probably also here the holy book, see above, p. 3234.

Eighteenth piece.

Admonition. The stick also stands Joh. 170.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. –
- A noble voice of life calls,
a noble voice of mighty life.
A noble voice of life calls: Let everyone
take care of themselves. Hail to
the one who takes care of himself,
and his heart [357] is a builder to him.
Save the Truthful;
they climb up and look at the place of light.
Woe to the counselor,
who has not given himself any advice.
Woe to the road builder,
who has not paved the way for himself.
He has not paved the way for
himself, if he walks on it, shall he not slip ')?
Woe to the builder,
who has not built a building in front of him.
Woe to you, displeasure,
that the wicked will not be satisfied with this
world. Woe to the wide belly,
no matter how much he eats, he doesn't get full.
Woe of the double tongue,
which makes two different judgments on the same case.
Woe to the learners,
they are taught without wanting to learn.
Woe to the simple-minded fools,
who are stuck in their foolishness.
Woe to the wise,
who has not taught his wisdom.
Woe to the rulers,
who rule over the abandoned
and do not do beautiful works;
they fall into the blazing fire.
They stoke the coals with their hands,
with your lips you are fanning the fire").
Woe to the evil
heart, evil dominates.

---

1) Better 73 Joh. as 737. At this reading it would mean ,so that he, when he walks on it, does not slip out". ") See p. 19".

Wickedness dominates it,
therefore, it will end with the end of the world.
It will end with the end of the world and
do not look at the place of light.
Hail to the one who has done good;
woe to him who has done evil.
Hail to the one who does
good, Woe, woe calls the one who does evil.
Woe to him who had
and he did not do any good from his goodness.
He committed sins for himself and
heaped insults in front of him.
Hail to the man who had
and has done good by his good'). He has
prepared a reward for himself,
his works go before him.
His works go before him
and form a support before him on the way.
May your hands practice righteousness
and keep your heart firm in faith.
Let this be your food,
be the breadwinner on your way.
Let this be your food,
and climb up, look at the place of light.

Life is victorious, and victorious is Manda dHaije and his 25th Love names.

Nineteenth piece.

Also Joh. 173. A wonderful song of the descent of the soul.

[358] In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
From the place of light I emerged,
out of you, lights of residence.
From the place of light I emerged,
and a Uthra from the house of Life gave me guidance.
The Uthra who led me out of the house of the great life,
held a stick of living water in his hand.

---

2) The last two verses are in the Ginzā.

The staff he held in his hand,
was full of leaves of an exquisite kind.
He handed me his foliage,
of these, prayer orders and prayers became
full. Again he handed it to me,
that's when my sick heart found recovery.
Recovery found my sick heart, and
my (world)strange soul found relief. For
the third time he handed it to me,
then he raised his eyes in my head.
He raised his eyes in my head,
that I saw my father and recognized him. I
saw my father and recognized him and
made three requests to him.
I asked him for gentleness,
where there is no rebellion.
I asked him for a strong heart,
with which large and small can be carried.
I asked him to pave the way,
to climb up and look at the place of
light. Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Twentieth piece.

A brief overview of creation. Then a reminder to the believers, their 25 of otherworldly origin.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
Who' wants to come, who will tell me'),
who wants to tell me who will teach me,
who wants to come, who will tell me,
who was on the light earth?
Who was on the light earth,
who is older than who,
and who was in front of whom?

Life knows it well),
life knows it and needs [not] to ask,

---

1) See Lit., p. 204. a) See also above, p. 73, 1.

life probably knows,
that life was on the light earth.
On the light earth was life, and
from life the water arose. Water
arose from life, and from the
water the shine arose: From the
splendor [359] the light arose, and
from the light the Uthras arose.
From the light arose the Uthras,
who stand there and praise life.

The good in his rich power,
in the splendor that life bestowed on
him'), teach and teach the perfect
within this world").
He speaks:
,,The man who brought me here,
will tell me what he brought me here for.
The house I live in,
will tell me who built it.
The seven who dwell in it,
they'll tell me where they came from."

I tell you and I explain,
for anyone who is truthful and believing within himself:
You weren't from here,
and your root was not of the world.
The house where you lived,
this house did not build life.
The seven who dwell in it,
do not ascend to the earth of Light.
You, adores and prizes
the place you came from.
Praise the man of proven justice, who has
raised up the speech in your mouth. You,
kick low) and overturn the seven and
throw shame on the world4). -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) Read עהאבלה.
2) Read pi8n7 instead of Fagy7. This is influenced by Fagy's text Z. 7.
#) Sorry. has 2135.
4) Sorry. it's like D.

* * *

Sixteenth book.

The first piece of this book corresponds in content to the pieces of the fifteenth book, especially the second piece, close and should actually be inserted into this book. It short hymns and prayers follow, as they are also in the Book of John and in the Qolastā, which are in part of unusual beauty.

First piece.

The son of the great Nbat, the keeper of the land of Tarwān, is armed and instructed and goes to the earth of the Second, where he, in turn, acts admonishing and instructing. Rühä and the Seven conspire to seduce the believers and lead them to apostasy. Nbat, the son of Jōhānā, -- the author has forgotten that he was previously informed by his son sprach --- goes to the guardhouse of the Rūhā and powerfully confronts the evil ones. Rühā seeks to establish a conversation with him; strengthened by the appearance of a Helpers - after the following Hibil-Zīwā - he finishes them briefly. She then speaks, in not fitting their mouths, curses against the unfromm Mandaeans. helper chastise them, Nbat will be received among the celestials.

I am the guardian of the pure Tarwen,
the son of the great Nbat.
I am the son of the great Nbat,
I came from the two pure mountains.
They clothed me with pure garments,
which were created from the 360 upper Jordanes of the
Lichterde. My form is the form of Jāwar-Zīwā,
which was created from the hidden places.
The cloud they created for me,
did not come out of the darkness.
She did not come out of the darkness,
there was no lack or lack of
it. There was no lack of it,
who came from the house of the second.

---

1) i.e. his wife, see p. 29011.

They created me, strengthened me and armed me, they
gave me instructions and created helpers for me.
They created messengers for me'),
Uthras who are full of insight.
They gave me dominion over the pure Tarwān
and all the secret speech that is in it.
They spoke to me and taught me about the pure Tarwān,
which originated from the earth of Jošamīn.
They taught me about the earth of the Äther
and about the expensive king of Ãthër, who was created out of him")
They taught me about the Ãther's earth, [be.
which existed before the earth of pure Tarwen.
They taught me about the earth of the great Nşab
and over the pure place of glorious splendor"), which came out of
the Jordan River about the Škinās in which he (Nşab) settled, [was created,
and about the Uthras who are sitting there in a light robe.
They taught me about the mighty mysteries of light, which
rest beneath the throne of the King of the earth of Ãthër.
They armed me with a coat of arms,
so that the rebels do not sin against
me. I came to the world that created the
Second'), it is based on the lack and
error. I sent out the call of life,
and planted the planting of the great (life).
The planting of the great I planted
and chose the chosen ones.
I chose every single one of them,
[361] brightened them up") and enlightened them about the good.
I made her eyes light
about") the place where the Great
enthroned. I taught them through hidden hymns and prayer
orders about prayer and praise that have come to us. I
built them into the construction of life
and brought them into the community of life. I
enlightened her with an enlightenment,
an enlightenment, wondrous and endless.
I enlightened her with an enlightenment
and showed them an image that came from the hidden place.

---

1) See Lit., p. 17°.

2) Or: from her, the earth. In any case, it is worth reading.

") See p. 3011.

4) I suspect instead of NP585. [So also sorry.].

8) here is a Mikhildung of p2, perhaps under the action of text Z. 3.
see also text 367, 20. ") Probably by reading.

When the elect saw it,
he healed her sick heart.
I called with a noble voice
and made the worthless fiends get up.
I called with a noble voice
and won me an appendix of the most excellent kind.
I called with a noble voice,
which roused the sleeping ones and made them get up.
****
** the truth of the faith was revealed to them.
She set up ****** in the house,
and they beat each other with their sides2).
With their sides against each other they beat,
armed themselves and stood up in the
world. With their sides they beat each other
and did nothing of the works of the Seven.
Of the works of the Seven they did nothing,
and their figure was not degraded.

When Rūhā saw her,
hit her head with her hands.
She hits her head with her hands and
the curls on the head are pulling out").
Rest in malice
calling for their firstborn sons:
,Come, come, my first-born sons,
listen to what I tell you.
Some of you are supposed to put
slings*), some of you knit").
We want to let go of lust and fire
in this world.
We want to stir up wickedness among them
and fire and ...) let go.
We want to create weapons,
and Christ is to make the whole world stumble.

---

1) It is uncertain whether this is the meaning of N7X7W here and whether one is about ,,the men true faith". The next sense of is "firmness".

2) The meaning of these words is unclear to me. Did you bump into each other when you got up?

#) See p. 87 ob.

4) Read with BCD The word x5y for slings can only be found at this point, it is good Aramaic.

8) See p. 104". The manuscripts here fluctuate between N and (also Sorry. has N37"D). N37"D means "passion, fornication", of which the plural fits badly here.

6) is niclt okay here; like, "Quülerei"?

We want to grab the tribe of souls
and split it into separate parts.
We want to call the disciples with a noble
voice and grant them of our teaching.
From our teaching we want to grant you
and spread our works over them. We
want to throw lust and chains into the world,
inhibiting the call of life
and disappear from the world.
We want to eradicate the sign of life
[362] and the baptism with which they were baptized in
the Jordan. We want to raise up baptism') of
shame and that of the vain Christ.
We want to eliminate Pihtā, Kuštā and Mambūhā
and establish the sacrament in the world.
We want to pack the whole Tibil
and plunge into the blazing fire.
We want to pursue the sons of the great tribe of life,
who rise above us.
All Naşöreans should be made our adherents; we
want to give you the kannā of almsgiving in an excellent
way Those who blame us, [place").
we will bring persecution to the world."

How the Seven stand and make plans, Nbat,
son of Johanā, left his body. The chosen
one left his body and strode
hurriedly through the ather.
The Uthra strode hastily thither,
until he came to the guardhouse of the Ruha.
When Rüha saw him,
the throne bowed down under
her. When the guards saw him,
the scourge fell out of their hands.
The scourge fell out of the hands of the watchmen,
the bell ringers") the bell fell down.
The sorceries of the Rūhā were bound,
and their works dispersed into different parts.

---

2) Read NotionD5. There the word stands for the Mandaean, here the for the christian baptism.

") Read sorry. has pxteriy. The sentence fits badly on the whole.

a) See also Lit., p. 164, 4. The idea of the hunchbacks is probably familiar to the military Taken from guard duty. They may have had their place in the wall towers and should sound the alarm in case of imminent danger. Zimmern writes to me that she is in the bahy- there is no evidence of Lonic literature.

Rūhā dQudšā spoke
and turned to the man of proven justice'):
,,How did you get here from the Tibil,
and where is your gait directed?
Who was a guardian to you,
who took you out of the world?
Who do you trust,
and who was a savior to you?
Where did you live in the house, and where
was your Šking founded in the world, that
you have not practiced any of our works
and you didn't submit to us?
How did you escape our snares,
how did our fornication arise")?
How did you spring from our greed and ardor,
how did our blazing fire originate? Who
freed you from the darkness and brought you out,
the ones we let into the world?
Who was a Lord to you,
who will help you?
Where is your pure helper,
the man who was a nurse to you?"

How Ruha stands there and speaks like this,
[363] the helper came flying up.
The pure helper came,
who shouted in a loud voice and made me hear.
He screamed in a loud voice and let me hear
and let my heart rest on his support. It
turned to him and spoke") Namrus,
the mother of the world:
Who was your creator now,
and how will you ascend to the light?"
I replied to her: ,I
was created from the light, and
after the worlds of light my course is directed."

Then she screamed in a loud voice and shrieked,
and the scourge fell out of her hand.
She called:
,Except you, Uthra,
let no one ascend to the light.

---

[1]) Lies לבהיר זידקא דתימארלה.
2) Here all manuscripts have see p. 3826.
") Read About.

Let no one rise from this world to the light, do not
let them climb up and look at the place of light.
Do not let the Naşoreans ascend,
who wear an inverted robe.
Do not let the Nazarenes ascend,
who give a testimony for money and good.
To get money and good, they give a testimony
and do not remember the name of Jawars.
Do not remember the name Jāwars
and give neither reward nor alms.
They do not give any reward or alms
and do not heal their (the suffering) blows.
Don't cure your strokes,
but give up (their possessions) for fornication, adultery, corruption They
give them up for corruption and fornication, [and fornication.
so they will be beaten with seven blows.
With seven strokes you will be beaten
and fall into the guardhouses of the seven stars.
All souls who do evil,
will become thin, like a hair on the head.
Who denies the name of life,
will die a second death.
He will die a second death,
and his form will become dark and not light up."

When Rūhā spoke thus,
the glory of the pure helper went up.
The pure helper's shine went on,
and Rüha fell down from her throne.
From her throne Ruha fell down,
and he threw her down, struck her with the club of splendor.
He threw her down, beat her with the club of splendor,
he threw Rüha into her own snares.
Ruha [364] he threw into their own snares,
and she turned her face to the great Suf Sea.
[After the great Suf Sea] she set her face
and the speech was not powerful.

He seized me with seven secret words,
he lifted me up and set me up in front of my father.
He baptized me with his baptism
and strengthened me by his Word.
By his word he strengthened me
and drew me with the pure sign.

He clothed me with a robe of splendor,
wondrous and endless.
He put a pure wreath on me,
whose leaves shine.
He covered me with a turban,
which was created from the earth of Ãther.
From the earth of Ãther he was created
and shines to a great extent more than the shine of the
sun. They let me take a seat in their secret škīnās,
which were founded by my father Johanā[1],
when he left the world.
I saw the figure of the great (life), which
is miraculous and outstanding in Ãther.
i looked at the big light,
looked at the expensive lamp.
I watched Hibil-Zīwā,
the man who saved me from the world, he
was saved from the ugly. He
redeemed me from the guardhouses,
who created the Seven in this world.
He showed me the figure of the great
(life) and taught me about the miraculous vine.
He taught me about Sar, the great vine,
the life in the škīnā of the great Jūrā, the treasurer, He
created a world of light for me [use.
and founded a škīnā like his for me.
He spoke:
,,All the souls that depart from here
and are worthy and worthy of the place of light,
all the souls that depart,
should find a place in your škīnā."
... And life is victorious.

Second piece.

Admonitions of a Uthra to Adam. The first part of the piece (until p. 387, 36) is also Joh. 245f.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light.

---

[1] Or, "for my father Jõhānā"?

A Uthra calls from outside
and teach Adam, the man.
Ev speaks to Adam:
'Do not slumber') and do not sleep
and do not forget what your Lord has commanded
you. Do not be a son of the (earthly) house
and do not be called a transgressor in the Tibil [365].
Love non-fragrant wreaths
and do not take a liking to a lovely woman.
Love does not smell good
and do not neglect the prayer of the night.
Love is not a deceptive shadow,
not having intercourse with lovely women.
Don't love the lust,
still lying shadows.
Do not drink and do not be
inordinate and do not forget your Lord from
the mind. Upon your entry and your
exit') see that you do not forget your Lord.
When you go and when you come
see that you do not forget your Lord.
In your sitting and your standing
see that you do not forget your Lord.
When you rest and when you lie
down see that you do not forget your Lord.
Don't say I'm a firstborn son,
that I, whatever I may do, remain without folly.
Adam, look at the world,
which is quite a thing without being there).
A thing without a being, she is,
in which you must not have confidence.
The carriage is sitting upright,
and out of a thousand, she chooses one.
She chooses one out of a thousand,
and she chooses two out of ten thousand.
The fragrant wreaths pass,
and women's beauty becomes as if she had never been there.
The smells are passing away,
and the lust of the night stops*).

') See Joh. II, p. 225 and Nöldeke, Zeitschr. for Assyriology XXX (1916), p. 139.
°) See also above, p. 19, 19; 36, 33; 182, 20 and Deut. 6,7; 11, 19.
") The expression anch R. 300, 11; L 106, 23f.; Paris divan, 869f., 1708.
4) Read nobnw.

All works pass away,
take an end and become as if you have never been there."

When Adam heard this,
he cried and cried about himself.
He spoke to the Uthra of life
steps:
, If you know that this is so,
why did you take me away from my place to captivity
and thrown into the smelly body? [bring
In the stinking body you threw me, i
was thrown into the consuming fire.
You threw me into the consuming fire,
that the stench rises every day."

To this he replied to him:
'Shut up, shut up'), Adam,
you head of the whole sex.
The world that should be,
we cannot suppress [2].
Up"), [366] up, worship the great and submit, so
that life may become your Savior.
Let life be a savior to you,
and you climb up and look at the place of light." ... -
And life is victorious.

Third piece.

Mandā dHaijē's exhortations to his friends.

The voice of Manda dHaijē is, he
calls and teaches all his friends.
He speaks to you:
,,My chosen ones! Make your heart submissive;
facilitates, cleans and washes,
calm your mind with Kušta.
Don't love the
money, that the worlds saw and loved.

---

1) 5p can seiu inner object, but is maybe to be deleted.

2) The turn also stands L 62, 1 and disfigures Parisian divan, 1086f.

a) For cf. Nöld ... p. 204, but it is probably also to be read here.

The worlds saw it and loved it, then
they went and ran in the drought').

My chosen ones! Liebet Kušta and alms donation, so
that a passage may be laid for you over the sea*).
There is a passage for you over the sea,
on the shore of which stand a thousand times a thousand.
On the shore of which there are a thousand
times a thousand, and out of a hundred he counts
one and leads him over. Who is humble of heart,
truly and faithfully.
Woe to the wicked and liigners,
who forgot the alms and did not give it. Have
you forgotten the alms and not given it,
now stay the night and ...") at the crossing.
You will spend the night at the crossing and ...;
the wicked do not ascend to the place —
of light." Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fourth piece.

Proclamation of the Messenger of Light to the believers.

From the place of light I emerged,
out of you, lights of
residence. I come to feel the hearts,
to measure and test all the senses,
to see in whose heart I dwell,
in whose mind I rest.
Whoever thinks of me, I think of him,
whoever calls my name, I call his name.
Who prays my prayer from the Tibil,
I pray his prayer from the place of
light. Who prays my prayer and my praise,
for him I pray (a prayer) rich and great.

---

1) The reading is woolly right, see the Varr, and Nöld., pp. בשידקא 107, 11. Sorry. it is an aggravation.

2) Probably pot to read from.

a) The sense of "repeat" or "tan again" pafit not. Maybe it's off ...and ומיתאנין they sigh" (to vinny, A NiNny) disfigured.

I came and found
the true and believing hearts.
When I was not among them,
my name was on [367] her mouth.
I took her and led her up to the Uthras, the
Jokabar was created.
I spoke to you:
,,Perfect! Your scent is pleasant, and
shine rests among you." ...
Blessed be you, my Lord,
who do not condemn the perfect.
And life is victorious.

Fifth piece.

Since the believer has come to love life, he has no confidence in anything else. Since he has found his soul again, he has not asked for anything else. Through the He is enlightened by the gifts of the Kuštā and finds the way to the place of light.

From the day I loved life,
from the day when my heart loved the Kuštā,
from the day I loved life, I don't have
any more confidence in the world.
Father and mother
I have no confidence in the world.
About brothers and sisters
I have no confidence in the world.
Wife and child
I have no confidence in the world.
Scourge and ruling power
I have no confidence in the world.
Castles and buildings .
I have no confidence in the world.
To magnificent vestments and beautiful
covers I have no confidence in the
world. What is made and created
I have no confidence in the world.
The whole world and its works I
have no confidence in the world.
Only for my soul I go (searching) around, which
is worth generations and worlds to me.

I went there and found my soul;
why should all the worlds be
mine? I climbed up to the high mountains
and descended to the deep[1]) valleys. I
went there and found Kušta,
[was he happy?] my heart.
I went and found her,
as it stands on the outer edge of the worlds. She's
standing there, and three ... .[2])
holding it in his hand.
One thing ... I took from
her, then my eyes became full of light.
I took the second,
that's when I made my soul bright and clear.
I took the third,
then I climbed up and looked at the place of light. ...-
Blessed be you, King of Light,
who you have been full of compassion for us. --
And blessed be life.

Sixth piece.

Instruction of the Chosen One, the Messenger of Life, to the sons of Adam: Only pious works, not earthly goods lead to salvation.

The chosen one preaches from beyond
and enlighten the sons of Adam.
[368] He enlightens the sons of Adam,
those simple-minded people who did not recognize anything.
He speaks to you: ,,O
you simple-minded people,
what are you building your trust on?
When you arrive at the Suf Sea,
with what do you want to cross the Suf Sea?
When you arrive at the Dark Mountains,
with what do you want to cross the Dark Mountain?
When the time of your departure is
here and the parting from the body comes,

---

1) The text says wrong,"high"; you have to use NFNPION for this.

2) A word of uncertain meaning, perhaps a weapon, see Joh. II, p. 193. Sorry. hat שאמימיא.

what will be your food,
what will be your food?"

To this they reply to him:
,,Well, our gold and our silver
is our way of eating.
Well, our estate and our money
is a salvation for us').
Well, our scourge and our ruling power
he is our helper.
Well, the made and the created it is
a support for us on our way."

The chosen one preaches from beyond
and enlighten the sons of Adam.
He enlightens the sons of Adam,
those simple-minded people who did not recognize anything.
He speaks to you:
,,Not your gold, not your silver
it is a way of life for you.
Not your good, not your money
it is a salvation for you.
Not your scourge, not your ruling power
he is your helper.
Not the made, not the created
it is a support for you."

The worlds and generations gathered then and
they went before the Messengers of life.
You speak to him:
,By your life, by your life, Messenger of life, reveal
to us the secrets of the way." Then
he speaks to them:
,Let your hands give alms
and your heart is in true faith.
Submit and worship the King of Light, so
that he may have mercy on you.
Let this be your food,
this is your path." —
And blessed be life.

---

2) y most manuscripts still have here is an erroneous repick up from the previous line.

Seventh piece.

The Uthra regrets having thrown the soul into the body, and promises that the hour of salvation will come for those cramped on earth.

At the gate of the House of Life
the Uthra bowed, sat down and preached.
He spoke:
,Since I was the supreme among the teachers,
I was a right leader to the scribes.
[369] Since icl was the supreme among the wise,
who deceived me so that I became a fool?
Who deceived me so that I became a fool
and threw the soul into the body?u
He also spoke:
When will the measure and number of the world
be full and will it be far for those who are cramped,
narrow? It will be far from the noble,
who used to own and have nothing left.
It will be far from the noble,
endure the tribulation in the tibil.
They endure tribulation in the tibil,
then they will be redeemed from the power of the Seven.
It will be far for those who are cramped, because
the world has outwitted them,
outwit the deity within her." —
Blessed be you, my Lord,
who do not condemn the perfect.

Eighth piece.

The wicked seek to destroy the Redeemer who has come down, and to but olne succeeded.

Who, whose son is this, whose
kind is so beautiful?
So beautiful is his manner,
and he foresees himself in the world.
The wicked speak of him:
,,Let us let go of desire against him.
We want to let go of desire against
him and keep him with us in the world.

He becomes an apostate, his heart is afraid,
and he forgets what his Lord has commanded
him. He forgets the rest,
and rebellion is upon him.
He forgets the gentle path')
and come with the sinners") behind us."

I stand with the power of my Lord,
with the praise of the Man, my Creator"). I held
on, my heart was not afraid, and I did
not forget what my Lord commanded me.
I did not forget about rest,
and rebellion was not on me.
I did not forget the hymns and prayer orders
and did not sing a vain chant. I
did not forget the gentle paths
and did not go after them with the sinners.
No, I sang hymns
and brought down the wicked of this world.
I spoke to you: ‚Don't
you know, you bad guys,
that I am not condemned in the world?
I worshiped and praised my Lord,
who will be a helper to —
me." [370] And blessed be life.

Ninth piece.

Prayer to the Kuštā for help here and on the way to the hereafter. Note anf the transience of all earthly things. There is also Joh. 178.

Kuštā, I testify to you
as a man who is looking for knowledge.
My eyes look up to you *),
The chosen one of life, who went here.
Well, tell my heart that it is resting, tell
my inner self that it is genesis.

---

1) after suffering.
2) How to continue correctly.
*) Siche Joh. II, p. 824.
4) According to Joh.: I let my eyes look up to you.

Tell my thoughts,
so that they remain firm in their place.
Tell the one who bridges rivers,
that he would build me a bridge over the rivers.
Tell the Guardian of the seas,
that he may preserve for me a passage in the sea. Tell
the one who paves the mountains,
that he may pave a way for me on the mountains.
Tell the creator of the pictures and pictorial
works: desire strikes at your own head.
Tell the physical builder: set up
your construction in a hurry.
Quickly list your construction,
because soon you have to leave him.
The world is passing away,
and their works will be abandoned.
The beloved gold is lost,
and the silver is searched and not found.
The hearts of joy go blind'), and
her singing goes there and becomes a niece.
The king leaves his crown,
and the noble people go into captivity.
The perfect ones ascend to the Light,
but the wrongdoers are held back here. —
And life is victorious.

Tenth piece.

Praise of life. Ask for life to grant you strength to live on earth to withstand and get to the place of light. The request is granted.

Of all the voices I heard,
answered me") your voice, you son of the mighty (life)*).
Lovely is the voice of his*) call,
sweet the voice of his speech.

---

1) Siche p. 60, 24; 366, 5. Joh, hat ,be torn out". ") Read py.

") Siche Lit. , pp. 147f.

4) i.e. of life. One should expect that the following verses also refer to the Son of life, but this relationship is not possible.

Miraculous is the place where it is enthroned,
his praise is unlimited ').
Luminous and large, it is in its orders
and do everything that it wiinschet.

How I stand in my place,
I made a big request.
I spoke:
Who may grant me of his high power,
that she would be a support for me in the
ages? Who may grant me of his gentle ruling power
and serve me (in a wonderful way) in all ages")?
Who likes my mouth like the mouth [371] of the Fraš-Zīwā
and make my lips equal to its two banks? [open
Like the water that runs in it,
fill me with prayers, hymns and prayer orders. Who
can take me up to the place where it (life) is enthroned, who is
wondrous, bright, luminous and enlightened beyond measure?
Who would like to clothe me with his (life's) splendor,
who will cover me with his light?
Who can bring me up to him,
who will let my soul dwell in his skinā?4

How I stand in my place,
granted it to me the request I uttered.
It granted me of its high power,
that it will be a support for me in the
ages. It granted me of its ruling power,
that you give me. in all ages (miraculously> served").
It opened my mouth right at the mouth of the Fraš-Ziwi
and made my lips equal to his two shores.
Like the water that runs in ibm,
it filled me with hymns and prayer orders.
It brought me up to
and let my soul dwell in the skinā of life. It showed her
the place where it is enthroned, who is
wondrous, bright and enlightened beyond measure.
It clothed me with its splendor and
covered me with his light. The
place where the great (life) is enthroned,
it is a place where the good rest.

---

1) See above, p. 552.
2) "N is to be deleted, even if it still stands.
3) Instead of reading.

Die Statte, an der das groBe (Leben) thronet,
ist ohne Mangel und Fehl.
Es ist ein Ort, dessen Sonne nicht untergeht
. und dessen Lichtlampen nicht dunkel werden '). . —
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Eiftes Stiick.

Das Stick fehlt in den Pariser Handschriften; es ist hier mach Cod. Leid. gegeben. —

[illegible]

Der Ruf Manda dHaije's ist es,
der am AuBenrande der Welten steht").
Am AuBenrande der Welten steht er . und ruft nach seinen Auserwahlten.
Nach seinen Auserwahlten ruft er
und nimmt3) Zeugen gegen sie.
Er spricht:
,Leben, sei mir Zeuge

Der Ruf Manda dHaije's ist es,
der am AuBenrande der Welten steht").
Am AuBenrande der Welten steht er .
und ruft nach seinen Auserwahlten.
Nach seinen Auserwahlten ruft er
und nimmt3) Zeugen gegen sie.
Er spricht:
,Leben, sei mir Zeuge

gegen die Gerufenen'), die ich aus der Tibil rief. . Ich rief sie, befahl ihnen und wollte sie herausholen, . doch

sie tun nicht, [was ich ihnen
befohlen]9). . Sie verlassen
die Werke des Lebens . und
iiben die Werke der Tibil.
Sie verlassen den Willen des Lebens
und iiben den Willen der Korper.
Sie verlassen Lohnzahlung und Almosenspende .
und straucheln tiber die AnstoBe der B6sen.

---

¹) Siehe Joh. II, p. 51 ob.

²) Siehe oben, p. 391, 8.

") Vieleicht ist Vlans lesen. .

') On krai zu lesen? Unsiclier.

") Hinterland ist wohl rapheidreinen zu lesen. Dieses steckt vielleicht im vorher- . gehenden and appethinone

I called them and ordered them:
Do as your Lord commands you.
Perform the prayer and prepare the pihta
and worship and glorify the mighty life. The
mighty life worships and praises, so
that you can climb on the path of the Kušta
and look at the place, the unlimited one." —
And blessed be life.

---

1) Read .7E8.

Seventeenth book.

First piece.

A piece of colorful content. A higher being speaks of the position that it is jen- and of the instruction and enlightenment that it receives among the Šǩīnās and Uthras exercise. Glittering plants and vines are created, and from these they are separated- the chosen ones who will be enlightened about the light earth. After a now not at the right The righteous among the sons of Adam will also be taught. Life asks Hibil-Zīwā, the elect on earth, about the hidden things to teach, especially about the clouds, which serve as a seat for the noble beings. It follows an enumeration of the prayers coming from above, which were left here, i.e. the 10th Believers were not deprived. In the play, the highest being is predominantly the great, mighty Mānā, but next to it the great life and the Lord of greatness.

In the name of the great life.

Beyond, beyond I stand there
in the words of the great, mighty Mānā,
out of the seven lights emerged.

Beyond, beyond I stand there,
me and the helpers who came up with
me. I shine in the garb of the great (life),
I shine in the power of the mighty (life)').

Beyond, beyond I stand there,
me and the cloud*), which arose with me.

Beyond, beyond I stand there,
in the hidden pillar that is being prepared") Ãther
I shine through secret speeches, [shall.
I speak") in excellent prayer orders.

---

1) Sorry. has Ne7177. 2) D. li. his wife.

a) i.e. noble, otherworldly, see p. 132'.

*) Or,,I shine" in parallel to ,,I lenchte"? See Joh. II, p. 11f.

I shine through the secret speech,
which I brought with me from the place of light.

I created great shine,
drew seven Jordans and set up škīnās in
them. i taught them about community
and the Kuštā, which was from time immemorial.
I taught them about the way,
on which the great, mighty Mānā has ascended.
With my enlightenment and my praise
worship and praise the Uthras in a perfect way.
I enlightened them in their škinās
and placed before them miraculous lights.

When Adam was created,
the head of the age for his whole tribe,
when Adam, the head of the age, was created,
a companion was formed for
him. His tribe spread from him,
and the community of life became powerful.
The power of the community of life,
which is wondrous, shiny and luminous in every
place. The men of proven justice were created, in
which there is no mixture or lie') [373].
Was not mixing or lying to you,
there was no form of darkness about them,
there was no hatred, jealousy or discord about
them. They were called quiet perfects, who
have emerged from quiet ones"). They
became powerful through their secret speeches,
and guardians were created before
them. They lived there, flourished and became
powerful, and the foreheads were turned on their heads.
They were enlightened about the great splendor
and about the light that looms in the hidden place.
They were about strength and firmness and about enlightenment
the Jawar Manda dHaije who went here"). [enlighten

---

1) B has been able to", To see text 259, 3, to 310,9. ") Probably read zn. The sense of "suddenly" that usually has, palit not here.

") This piece by the pious among the sons of Adam interrupts the- slope. Here, first of all, the heavenly beings are spoken of, and the following verse follow up on verse 12. It originally had its place behind p. 401, 12 and had its sequel in the plays that followed there.

Well, the Uthras were pleased with their speech,
the perfections of her shining treasure. At
the gate of the House of Life
a throne was set up for the chief of the brilliant beings'). In
front of the calm shining beings
a Jordan was drawn in a perfect way.
Three Škīnās were founded
and seven vines were created.
Seven vines were created, who
came from Jokabar-Zīwā.
They shine in their robes
and shine in the splendor that came from beyond.
Radiance, light and luminosity came from the great, first Mānā,
and he gave strength to all the
worlds. The chosen ones who come out of all the fragrant vines-
they stood apart from them. [have gone,
They ascended before the mighty life,
and this made them live in their Škinās.
How to sit in your Škinās,
they were enlightened about the earth of Light.
They were about strength and firmness and about enlightenment
the Jāwar Manda dHaijē who went here. [enlighten

The great life hub
and he spoke to Hibil-Zīwā.
It spoke to him:
,,Go, teach the elect,
who dwell in the desert wasteland.
Teach them about the hidden clouds
and about the splendor that was attracted to every place.
Teach them about the tent roofs
and about the Škinās and Jordans who created every
place Teach them about the big, inner, hidden eggs"), [were.
which arose before the Lord of greatness.
They [374] arose before the Lord of greatness
and as Uthras") went here.
Teach them*) about Nhūr-Haije-Anānā (the cloud),
in which the Lord of greatness sits hidden.
Teach them about Kimşath-Anānā,
in which the little Pirūn sits hidden.

---

1) See above, p. 94, 23.
2) Sorry. has ND'57.
*) 75 is expected).
4) pN can also be read here and below.

Teach them about the cloud Virgin,
where Hibil-Zīwā lives.
They are supposed to be over Šahrath')-Ebdath-Ukišrath-Anānā (the Cloud Was Watching,
[Made and Accomplished] will be taught,
in which the great, mighty Manā and his Nitufta are seated.
They are to be taught about Jasmus-anānā,
in the Šarrath, the great, hidden, first vine, is hidden. They are
to pray over Sidar-Kasiā-Anānā (the cloud, the hidden prayer-
[order] be taught,
in which the great Jūrā, the treasurer, is hidden.
They are to be taught about Tatagmūr-Anānā,
which was given to the first-born son of Jošamīn. They
shall pass over Pihtath-Unihrath (she opened and lit up) and
Nifqath-men-gau-maija (she went out of the water) will be taught,
the two clouds they gave Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab. They
are said about Barath (she shone) and Ethrauribath (she
became [outstanding), the two clouds, are taught,
in which Sar and Sarwān reside.
They shall be over Nhar (he shone) and Kbar (he became great),
the [both clouds, be taught,
where Šilmai and Nidbai live.
They are to be taught about Kbar-Ananā,
which was given to his pure rights.
They should be taught about the cloud, "the little boy" 2),
whose name is Šaškel-Anānā.
They are to be taught about Mašqlel-Anānā,
which was created and given to Ptahil.
They should be taught about the quantities, quantities of prayers,
those who are in the spirit of men of tried righteousness [rest]."
From this world*) Strength, firmness and speech ascends to their place,
and in the tibil, only turbidity remains.

Of the prayers') of the house of Rām-Zīwā, they have returned eleven- complacent. Of the prayers of Anan, the man Anan, they have fourand- twenty [375] left behind. From the prayers of the House of Jāwar-Zīwa 35 they left forty-four behind. From the prayers of Jāwar-Zīwā they left thirty-six behind. Of the prayers ,,The main of power and knowledge" *******. They lifted up their secret") and the power of the whole earth, all the murmurs that the Uthras in this The world murmured.

---

1) Sorry. has AN7A2, Šihrath; R 322, 3 has An, siche also p. 326, 41.
2) Well, "the little boy", see above, p. 235. ") It
is possible that the words wobx Awo are the rest of a fancy sentence.
4) The prose stick probably follows Z. 29.
5) Also sorry. has NuPDN, see also text, z. 9.

Of the prayers, When the mighty, first life in his Skinā "they left thirty behind. Of the prayers ,The great My- sterium and the proverb that rest by the bubbling of water", they have (some) hide. Of the prayers "When Hibil-Zīwā wanted", "When he went and came to the house of Abathur" have they (some) ascended from the world- lift. Of the prayers ,"On top of the Ãther" 1) you have two leave behind. Of the prayers of the House of the Bihrām, they have (some) separated and left to the helpers. Of the prayers ,About the Tannās" a) they left seven behind.

For they knew that among the men of tried righteousness
there will be lies in the world").
Of these dim scions of darkness
the figure is blind and does not shine.
These Naşoreans, who have a wisdom of the Liige from within- and
send out gloomy speeches into the world, [get
those Naşöräans of the lie
will come to an end on the great day of the end.
Your name will be eradicated from the house of life,
and your eyes will not see the light.
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Second piece.

A "being" of life comes into the world with rich splendor and brings the believer using secret knowledge and teaching. In a loose connection to the mention of Adam, a Adam's speech about the temptations that Rühã and the planets under the Believers, and about the punishments to which the apostates are subject. Painting on the Believers, on the day when they will be questioned and called to account be. Strong warning against the use of colored stuff. The reward of the pious.

In the name of the great life.
The essence of life has come
and set up for us the lamp of life.

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1) Siche Lit. , p. 228, LIX.

°) by perhaps only introduces the object, so "The Tannās".

a) One has probably read zn, and the verse is to be understood in this way. It is difficult to read, so this subject would be too pik-y. בהיריא זידקא it stands for parallel I and aut it refers to האלין שיתליא תאהמיא.

")Nny, Nny can be found in some places as a designation for higher beings: Lit., pp. 134,7; 138, 3; Cod. Par. 15, fol. 28a (Cod. 25, f. 34b, NDN7 NTy). It should probably be called the real being, in contrast to the ephemeral, earthly. See also Zeitschr. for Semitic Studies I (1922), p. 1.

It came with rich luster,
wondrous and endless.
It brought us') secret sayings,
so that we') will be enlightened by them in this
world. We are to be enlightened by them in this
world and praise the Man, our Creator").
We should praise the great life,
because life planted a planting for us.
It planted us a planting of life [376]
and granted us helpers.
It granted us hidden perfections,
who free us from all ugliness. It
taught us about the prayers,
what Adam did in this world.
It taught us about the Ãther vine, about the
speech of the Light, from which he took knowledge,
and about grace*), the Hibil-Zīwā
who brought Adam into this world.

Adam, the head of the whole tribe, spoke:
,I'm Adam,
Hibil-Zīwā was a helper to me*).
Hibil was a helper to me
and saved me from the
world, the fear of the seven stars,
who let them go against the souls,
the pursuit of the twelve stars,
from which every ugly shape has emerged,
from the rage°) and the embers,
which they release against their bodies.
They haunt the souls,
who are worthy and worthy of the place of light.
They bring suffering
about the true, believing men.
They bring persecution and sigh
about the souls who bear witness to life.
They make the Naşöreans stumble,
so that they are unworthy of the place of light.

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1) Read patom and pawntonnus.

2) Read NSYN); Sorry. did "NISSAN).

3) Probably to be interpreted that way. ,"Spice" is hardly called here, although this is in the apocryphal Adam's stories, see especially the Syrian "Treasure Cave".

4) See Joh. II, p. 60°.

") N715 seems to have this meaning here, cf. Nöld., p. 105, 9. See also above, p. 2591.

The darkness oppresses you,
and they stumble away from the light.
They stumble away from the light,
and Ruha rests on them.
On them rests Rüha
and keeps them trapped in the residences of indulgence in music.
About those who mine and sing at drinking parties,
there will be severe anger.
They will die a second death,
and your eyes will not see the light.
Won't your eyes look at the light,
your feet will not find firmness. About
the one who steps on a stock of upholstery'),
will be more severe Zorna).
Woe to the Naşoreans,
which have caused the Seven to stumble in this world. They
fell into the drunkenness of the planets,
r let them fall into the consuming sea').
[Into consuming sea] shall they fall
and be whipped with a fire whip."

I call you and I explain,
you souls who witness to life [377]:
Stay firm in this world,
until your measure4) is full.
I tell and explain to you,
you souls who dwell in the decrepit house:
When you leave your body,
what message will you give to the great life? What
will you tell the messenger,
who redeems you from the world?
What will you tell the guards
and the prison warden) who live there?
What will you say to Anoš-Uthra,
when will you be held accountable to him?
What will you say Abathur-Uthra
about the garment of darkness that you wear in this world,

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1) Sorry. has the same as D N7107.

") Sorry, Nov.

a) See p. 38. 4.

4) Read powtes.

b) A genius of the underworld, who was also worshiped in Palmyra and whose temple in the introduction to the customs tariff found there is mentioned, see Meeting reports der Berliner Akademie 1916, p. 1218.

about the seven ...'),
who came out of the nose of Ur, the Lord of darkness
about the twelve colored witnesses, [have,
who came out of the lower darkness?

My chosen ones! I'll tell you about the white robes.
Who is baptized in that colored stuff").
Anyone who is baptized in it and clothed with it,
will descend to the nature of the sinister placea).
Who wraps himself in it and sleeps in it,
will blaze in the lower gehenna.
When he leaves the body,
he will be hidden in the clouds of darkness. In
the misty clouds of darkness he will be obscured
and will fall to the seven as a share.
Anyone who frees himself from them
and beware of them all, will
be freed from their swords, their snares, their bonds ') [and
their chains,
as well as the sword and the wickedness that Christ wields
in this Anyone who frees himself from them,
[sowed. will ascend and see the mighty life in his Škinā.
He will look at Sam, the pure vine
and the tree Astarwan"), from which he emerged.
He will look at Sar, the vine,
he will find a place in its branches, sprouts and leaves.
He will wear a robe like the robe of the Bihrām-Uthra and
climb up and look at the place of light.
He will see the place of light,
will look [378] the light abode.
He will search and find
for the souls that dwell in the decrepit house. —
You were victorious Manda dHaije
and led all your friends to victory.

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1) See above, p. 935 2) The verses are sketchy.

a) Sorry. has NPDN), read N7D" cf. Text 80, 10.

4) See above, p. 1043, 3826. Sorry. has pap-ND), which the reading is against [137151 BD supports.

8) A tree that is otherwise unknown to me. According to AndrEaS, it is probably Persian ,Sternbaum".

Eighteenth book.

A world history, of course, a Mandaean one. Ptahil creates heaven and earth, everything on Earth, even the first human couple. As a world Dane, 480000 years are determined. Time is distributed among the planets and the zodiacal images. Numerical data on the The duration of the world periods until the Flood; Noah and the Flood. After the Age of Sems Jerusalem is founded by Adõnai-Jõrabbā. Abraham moves to Ãgypten, later left the Jews under Jõrabbā's leadership of Egypt, pass through the sea, then through the desert and settle in Jerusalem. Four hundred years later, Jesus is born. On-count of the Ancient Iranian and Sasanian kings. The events in the world of the year 791 to the year 803 of Pisces and then over the year 850. On the reign of the Persian follows the evil time of the Arabs. This is followed by apocalyptic-about the end time.

This treatise is the only one whose writing time can be more narrowly limited Page 414, the duration of the Arab rule is set at 71 years, which according to the first It cannot be said about the 8th century. The adoption of such a short duration of the Arab empire, for which the number 71, popular in addition to the numbers 70 and 72, is assumed but is more likely for the first years of Islam, so that the treatise is about it was probably redacted in the middle of the 7th century. The author has older material recycled. The "Kings of the Arabs" will be killed before the fall of the Sasanian rule on- placed. It is probably the Arab kings of Hīra, on whose territory a part of the Mandaeans live. In addition to the Islamic rulers, there are also kings of Babylon, with whom only the Persian kings may be meant, no place. The way in which the It shows that material of pagan origin is also is processed. The treatise requires a detailed examination for the details (1).

In the name of the great life.

On the first day, at the first place, in the first hour, when (Abathur and)") Ptahil came, stretched out the sky, sealed the earth, the firmament the seas split, the mountains cut out, the fish in the Seas, which formed feathered birds and livestock of any kind, fruit,

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1) I have the manuscript of the treatise because of the astrological and apocalyptic Franz Boll with the request to see him thereupon, whether he knew contain. The manuscript arrived in Heidelberg on the day of BOLL's death.

") This is inserted; the verbs are still here and still in the singular.

Grape and tree as food for Adam and as a drink for Adam, Hawwä and formed his whole tribe, fragrant plants, seeds, Created flowers, leaves and medicinal herbs, then considered (Abathur and) Ptahil, looking at himself, saw his figure, created Adam the Man, and created Hawwa, the woman of whom the family is divided in the world- then spread.

Then the measure and number of this world were given. From the day, since Adam was created, there are 480000 years until the end of the worlds.

Then measure and number [379] were given to the seven planets and the 10 were awarded to twelve stewards. The measure was equal to each other in seven So that no one has too much, no one has too little. For each Man fell as a proportion to 68571 years, 5 months, 4 days, 6'/an hour, 4 Sauces and 1'/s moments. The 12 zodiacal signs last in addition to the seven planets, and the seven planets last alongside the twelve zodiacal-characters. The twelve zodiacal signs are taken from the size of the bel when the There are still 9,000 years left. Receiving the Twelve Zodiacal signs from him, then they last 9000 years together with Bel and 69[000 years] together with Nerig. Of these 78000 years, the twelve zodiacal-signs last, they assigned 12000 years as a share to the Ram'), which Taurus 11000 Years, the Twins 10000 years, the Cancer 9000 years, the The lion 8000 years, the ear 7000 years, the chariot 6000 years, the Scorpio 5000 years, Sagittarius 4000 years, Capricorn 3000 years, Aquarius is 2000 years old, Pisces is 1000 years old.

Then, from the day Adam was created until the world 5 was destroyed by the sword and plague*), it is 216,000 years. In the Years of the star Sin (of the Moon) passed 10000 years from the years until the world was destroyed by the sword and the plague. From them two people were brought to life"), a man named Rām and a woman named Rūd, from whom the world comes to life became 0.

Until the world was destroyed by fire, [380] it is 1560004) Years. When 29000 years had passed from the share of the Bel, the world was destroyed by fire. It consumed the whole world, it consumed twelve ...) dust on the earth.

Then two people were brought to life by them." A man named Surbai and a woman Named Sarhabel, of whom the world brought to life. From the day when the world was destroyed by fire until it was swallowed up by water, it was 100000 Years.

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1) See p. 138.

2) See above, p. 27.

*) One expects ,"there were left", see pp. 27, 23, 80.

4) So it must be called; the text has incorrectly 150000.

8) See above, p. 835.

Then, when there were still 8000 years left of the years [of the Nerig]'), a call was made to Noah the Ark and he said to him: 'Build an ark." Then Noah, according to the command, brought carpenters, felled Cedars of Amanus") and female cedars) from Lebanon and built for three hundred years. He put the ark together in a length of 5 300 Cubits, in the width of 50 cubits, in the height of 30 cubits. Then Noah took two of each kind, male and female, and brought they go up into the ark. Then through 42 days and 42 nights the upper water sources from the sky and the lower water sources from the Earth, flooded the mountains and flooded the heights. Da the whole world was destroyed by water.

The ark floated on the water for eleven months. According to the For eleven months there was rest, and the ark sank down and remained on the mountain Qardün'). Then Noah realized in his soul that there was peace in the world was. Noah then sent out the raven and said to him: 'Go, see if there was peace in the world." The raven went and found a Corpse. He ate of him and forgot what Noah [381] commanded him. As- then Noah sent the dove after him and said to her: ,,Go, see if there was peace in the world. Where is the raven that I made before you- have sent?"

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1) This is to be paid for. An order of the planets is assumed here, as given above, p. 28, 192; 46, 126, from which the pp. 113, 124ff., 176, 347 ab- plush. For the planetary sequences among the Babylonians, see ZiMMERN in wedge inscriptions and Old Testament", p. 622f. The account here is the following: The first period, from which Creation of the world until the catastrophe caused by the sword and the plague, the time of the sun lasted, Venus, Mercury and 10000 years from the time of the Moon, so 3 >< 68571 + 10000, these are 215713 Years. For the second period then still remain from the time of the moon 58571 Jalre, in addition, there is the time of Saturn with 68571 years and 29000 years from the time of Jupiter, that's 156142 years. For the third period, 39571 years of Jupiter remain, plus coming 60571 years of Mars, that makes 100142 years. So the numbers are rounded. The duration of the periods given above, p. 27f., 45f. according to human ages is much shorter.

2) Instead of jn7n7 I read jnon7. The knowledge of the cedars of Amanus is well known when also indirectly, back to Babylonian or Assyrian sources, in which more often from ilmen the Speech is. Likewise, the motive continues to be that the raven sent by Noah has a corpse and therefore did not return, which is not found in the Old Testament, ultimately, its source in the Gilgameš epic. Here it is called Taf. XI, 155, that the emissary Raven ,ate ... did not turn back". The subject lived orally or literarily in Babylonia and was further embellished. So it is also in the present narrative as well as in the Syrian, Jewish and Arabic literature (siche M. GrünbaUM, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde, p. 82f.). According to the Arabic Targüm at LAGaRDE, Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs II, p. 79 can be found the train is already at Ephrem. In the Bee Book of Solomon of Başra (ed. BudgE, p. 32) in this context, reference is made to a proverb in which Noah's ravens the speech is; the more easily the motive could be preserved.

*) Siche Joh. II, p. 1574.

4) The mountain range of the Kordyaeans (Áebel Čūdī) according to Berossus (JosepHus, Arch. I, 93), then adopted by Jews, Christians and Muslims (Onkelos and Pšīttā to Gen. 8, 4; Tabari, Annales I, p. 197).

Then the dove went and found the raven, as he had been above a The corpse sat and ate from it. She saw the olive tree that was on the mountain Qardün stood and its leaves protruded from the water. pigeon picked it from him and brought it to Noah, so that he might know in his soul that There was silence. Then he cursed the raven and blessed the dove').

Then the age came to Sum (Shem), son of Noah, and his wife Nhüraita"), from whom the world was awakened again. Then 6000 years passed, and 2000 years remained. Over there- Jõrabba, whom the Jews call Adonai, he, his comrade Rūhā, and the seven planets. They planned to create a party. At the command of the Adonai they built a city, which is called the place of Jerusalem. Sixty miles measure them in width. A thousand years she should be in bloom, a thousand years in Desolation, and the whole Tibil should then be devastated.

Then Abraham, the father of the Jews, was created. He and all his tribe went") to the land of the Ágyptians, whose king The name of King Pharaoh. The Jews had to suffer much evil from the Ãgypters and King Pharaoh endured'). Then she led Jõrabba, Ruha and the God, whom they worship, from the land of Ãgypter. Jew when their God brought them out, they hurried, and one day they by the sea"). He divided them [the sea], and the waters of the sea rose up to two ramparts, two mountains alike, so that all the Jews passed through-retreated. [382] They then wandered through the desert wasteland. Then moved they entered Jerusalem and settled there"). Then came King Pharaoh behind them, he and all his army. Seventy Myriads'), 770000 The Egyptians were with King Pharaoh. He sees the sea without a ship, raft and ford. Then Pharaoh sees a path on the bottom of the sea, while the waters of the sea contracted into two mountains hat. Then the whole phalanx of King Pharaoh climbed up behind the Jews and the sea came down around the phalanx of King Pharaoh. Only the King Pharaoh escaped with his friends and helpers in the transgressions.

Then, until four hundred years passed in Jerusalem, Jesus became, Son of Miriam, not born in Jerusalem. Then Jesus became the

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1) Cf. Grünbaum, loc. cit., p. 82.

2) The words are to be interpreted as follows, as can be seen from the following relative sentence, not "Solmn of Noah and his wife Nhūraitā", although above, p. 46, 4 Nūraitā is the wife Noals is, see also Joh. II, p. 58.

") Instead there must have been a verb of this or similar meaning.

4) Instead of (also sorry. so) can be read with CD NMW and pWN has the in the usual sense ,"they found". Nöldeke's view of Gram., p. 104' is mir unwalır-probably. A verb "DWN in the sense of ,,lament" is not found in Mandaean.

6) The text here is greatly spoiled. Already xax5x) in addition to x27r is on-due. Sorry. has abtan-sAnd maxin, which is niclt better.

") The last two sentences belong to the end of this paragraph.

7) Is probably to be deleted, because it coincides with Noenw in the following.

") I'm reading with D NON'. Londd. and sorry. have NON") ND, Oxf. ND NON".

Head of the Ghrists, born. He created a church for himself and chose municipality.

Now I say that for the kings who have been from the floods of water until now and until the years of the kings are completed, (live) the years that each king rules, are pronounced.

The King') Arudan Gaimurat was at the beginning of all kings. He ruled (lasted) 900 years. After him was King Zardanaiata Tahmuraṭ. He ruled for 600 years. After him was King Lifriuš-Zişag. He ruled 750 Years. For a hundred years after that king there was no king in the World. After that, Asdahag, son of Asfag, was King Bahraen 10 call. He ruled for 300 years. After him was King Faridūn, son of Tibian. He ruled for 450 years. According to him, Pašm Nariman, the man the fetter of the Karkūm. He ruled for 500 years. After him was Fraarase [383] of Turān. He ruled for 60 years. After him was king Kaikobas. He ruled for 503 years. After him was Kai-Kosrau, son of the 15th Seiawišan. He ruled for 60 years. After him was King Egab*), son of King's Burzin. He ruled for 300 years. After him was King Lohrasp. He ruled for 365 years. After him was King Guštāsp, son of Lohrasp. He ruled for 14 years. After him was Ardšīr, son of Asfindiar. He ruled 112 Years. After him was Nuraitaš Horizdān, who is called King Šamidai, 20 He ruled for 80 years. After him was King Ašgan. He ruled for 470 years. After him was King Dšamšid, who was called King Solomon, son of David, call. He reigned 1000 years; 900 years on earth and 100 in heaven"). According to him, King Bruq ... was the man Sandar (Alexander) to the Greeks call. He ruled for 14 years. After him was Ašaq, son of Ašqan. He is 25 reigned 465 years. After him, Alzur and Listar were Kosrau and Abaš (Wabaš?) Jasdis Tibian, who is called King Ardban. He ruled for 14 years. After him were Persian kings*). They ruled for 382 years. At the The head of the Persian kings was Ardšīr Pabugan. He ruled for 14 years. After him was King Sabūr, son of King Ardšīr. He ruled for 62 years. 30 After him was King Balaš Ghurnig"), son of King Šabūr. He ruled 50 Years. After him was King Bahrūn, [384] son of King Šabūr. He ruled for 12 years. After him was Jazdigar, son of King Bahrān. He ruled for 12 years. After him was King Sābūr, son of Jazdigar. He

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1) is probably disfigured; it hardly belongs to the name. Also "N2ND D does not give Sense. For the following enumeration of the ancient Iranian kings, the most ancient, which is available, see Louis H. Gray, Zeitschr. for Assyriology XIX (1906), p. 272ff.

2) Sorry. did INay.

3) So according to BCD and sorry. (here NT52), while A has "on the world Ocean". Perhaps the legend is reflected here that Solomon was temporarily killed by a demon from In the meantime, nnd was wandering in a miserable state in the distance see GRünbaum, loc. cit., p. 221.ff., also here p. 28, 21; 46, 16. The demon ירי should DWN (Asmodaeus, Tobit); the name may have been in the preceding Šamidai (INTON1).

4) The Sasanian kings are listed below.

5) Sorry. hat הורמיג.

ruled for 10 years. After him was King Peröz, son of Jazdigar. He ruled for 40 years. After him was King Bihdad. He ruled for 3 years. After he was King Kabad, son of King Pēroz, He reigned for 41 years. After he was Kosrau, son of Kabzd. He ruled for 48 years. After him was King Hormiş, son of Kosrau. He ruled for 12 years. After him was the King of Kings Kosrau, son of Kosrau, son of Hormiş. He ruled 38 Years. In the 38th year, the Sun showed signs. There went Kosrau, and Šeroe') entered the reign').

From the day Jerusalem was destroyed until the King Jazdigar, son of Bahran, who took over from the Persians, will pass away from this last thousand 594 years"). Of this last thousand of the Pisces, when the world is in the 701st year of Pisces, it divides. 89 more She will be happy for years and unhappy for 210 years"). About the(se) years is said: when the world is in the 790th year, the water will from now on, the whole world will be hit by drought. Which Gods and kings") in (all) years and months under the Humanity shows all kinds of signs. This place") to zúr all over the world will hit dryness.

Furthermore, it is indicated: if the fish are in the 791st year, [385] will the water will not be there, and God will destroy it with every and every wind North(wind) let go.

When the fish are in the 792nd year, it is indicated that the Arabs will rise from every rural district, a black cloud and the cattle will come up and flee from the king of Babylon.

When the fish are in the 793rd year, it is indicated that the The king of the Arabs will die, the Arabs will fall on each other and in the In the land of Babylon there will be destruction among cattle and men.

If the fish are in the 794th year, it is indicated that the Earth quakes three times a day, at night once in the middle sleep time a light will appear in the whole world, the star Bel (Jupiter) more when the sun will shine, shine in the sky.

When the world is in the 795th year, it is indicated that the wolf rise up from the land and come") and devastation among the people

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2) Londd. and sorry. have 17W.

°) The term of government of the Sērōē is not specified, and his successors will be not named. The list therefore seems to date from the time of the Šērōē (628).

3) Jezdegerd II entered the government in 438. Jerusalem should be at the beginning of the last 28, 15), after which the calculation is not correct.

4) Insecure. Maybe it's worth reading. It's hard to sum up: ,,89 more years she will sit there in happiness and misfortune. About the (abiding) 210 Jalre is said:"

o) Of course, this does not mean earthly kings, but heavenly beings, see p. 62 in this sense, but probably originally מאלאכיא ,,Angel" stood there.

o) Probably so; in the text it says "those".

7) Sorry, did bad דארבאיא מן ארקא ניתיא.

various kings will die, the Arabs in the years of that Wolves become the masters of the whole world. The falsehood will Straightness ...'). In the month of February, in the Aquarius of the Mesenians"), on Wednesday, the falsity will be the sun ... Further it is indicated about it, that the king of Babylon shall come to Babylon, and the cattle of Babylon he will come to Babylon, and in Turan(? the barbarians rule will arrive.

When the world is in the 796th year, it is indicated that every Places") landmarks appear among the horses and men of the world and in the cities there are shortages, the grain is quite lacking, impiety, Drowning(? and hail will come, among the four-footed animals and among . . . . . . the lightning will cause damage*).

When the world is in the 797th year, [386] it is indicated that two rulers will mock each other; with horses and men will they (each other) ridicule.

When the world is in the 798th year, it is indicated that one of the rulers will die, and only one will be in the whole world.

When the world is in the 799th year, it is indicated that a The voice will come to the people, ...) will come to them.

When the world turns 800. Years, it is indicated that horses are and men all over the world, from big to small, on the field and on a place [will come] that in the whole world ...). Then look for them very much, and white fight') will be. In the month of June, the Twins of the Mesenians, on the first day of the month, in the 2'/a. hour it will be a white fight. Out of every 1700 men who move out, will three remain.

When the world is in the 802nd year, it is indicated that few Men will be there for the women* one thing will be a lot. It is indicated that seven women are in progress") sitting and saying we are waiting for a man to pass by in the streets. You will stand at the gate, go out and look for a man without him find. They will fall on the man's neck and kill him a thousand times kiss. For there will be few men to be found in the world. Further, it is indicated about this: when that time comes, there will be a lot of strife give, and few men will get away. Seven, eight women

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1) TN) otherwise has the meaning ,,reach" od. ühnl., see Joh. II, p. 148*, docli don't pal this one. One rather expects something like "suppress".

2) The inhabitant of the landscape Maišān, Mesene in southern Babylonia, see on this Schaeder, Islam XIV (1924), pp. 11 et seq. 3) Sorry. has 7NNN37.

4) NJNI here is like R 389, 16 pers. zijān.

") is found only here and is of uncertain mind, hardly "born of a traffic jam".

°) NNWN is probably "shell". There was a shell ... so . . . and so much will it cost? Behind it is a gap in which the year 801 was named.

7) It is unclear to me what the expression is supposed to mean.

*) Uncertain, but hardly ever "at the mosque".

they will be given to a man as a share, and the man will wishing evil to women.

It is indicated: when the world starts from the 803rd year of Pisces, so do not ask about the plagues of the world, (which) from that time on (be 5). It is said that when Kewān (Saturn) is in Scorpio and then he steps out of the Scorpion and enters the Lion, the great Euphrates will pour over the Tigris [387], the land Babel fifty years before the land of Gaukai and in the land of Gaukai a Kafiz seed is sought for five staters 10 and will not be found. It is indicated that a lie- messiah will come, become lord over the whole world, on a great Will sit on thrones and judge on him, while he will judge the other judges from the hotel. From east to west he will come in a day, until that the brick from the wall bears witness for him*).

When the world is in the 850th year of Pisces, great plague will be a-occur ").

Then, after the Persian kings, there will be Arab kings. They will rule for 71 years. In the years of those Arab kings the world is lying. The horses of the earth, the camels, the free, 20 the servants and maids, the little boys and girls, the women and the free will not find solidity and tranquility. In the years of those The father becomes king over the Son, the mother over the daughter The Lord will not have authority over the servant. Jene Kings skin people like gazelles and wild donkeys. 30 In the years of those kings, he who had many sons will have all but one Son [lose?]. Then they wish: salvation to the one who would have a son"). Gold and silver, horses and camels, bulls, donkeys and sheep will be in there is a (limited) number. The fish will fly up from the sea. Which

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1) A very fertile area east of Tigris in the area of Seleukia. Pognon faft properly DxTip in a local sense (Inscr. mandaites,

p. 9). °) Until even the stones cry out for him, see Pognon, loc. cit., p. 10 and Brandt, The Mandaeans (1915), p. 12.

a) The flooding is probably the serious flooding of the Euphrates and the fall of the Tigris, which occurred shortly before the collapse of the Persian Empire in the winter of 627-628 and through which a large part of Babylonia was devastated and swamped for the duration was, cf. Mas'ūdī, Les prairies dor I, p. 225; Jacut I, p. 668f. The same goes for this- early appearance of a false Messiah, i.e. the Prophet Molammed. Of course it fits the statement does not indicate that this year Saturn will be out of Cancer (so it must be instead of Scorpio heifen) entered the lion. How Herr Geheimrat MEYERmaNN von der Göttingen Observatory informs me, this constellation took place in the course of the 7th century in March 622, then held in the years 651 and 681. But with the Sternkunde of the author it was on-apparently, as the confusion shows, not far off. Then, of course, for a later year, the so-called plague is perhaps the "plague of the Sērōē" of the year 628, which of those Flooding followed and was no less disastrous, cf. Tabarī, Annales I, pp. 1061, 9; Jacut II, pp. 143, 14f.

4) Sorry. i guess fir,who had no son overbaupt".

Wild donkeys will come to him on the mountains ...'). Everything created, anything at all will be wrong. The rich become poor, the The poor will be rich. The houses become level fields, the levels Fields become houses. The excellent ones") become deaf-mutes, the deaf and dumb become excellent. The Lord [388] becomes the A servant who becomes a noble servant. .....*), Deceit and deception they will rule among the people. The temples are destroyed, the Houses of worship are destroyed. The sky [will darken?]'), the righteous will become possessors and greedy for possessions. Either of Deception will emanate from the earth, one from heaven. Both will be mingle with each other and lie down over the people. From The sky will not rain, and the earth will not bear fruit on the right Creating time. Nothing will happen at the right time, and iniquity will descend to Earth. Then there will be a time of death, of- tums and illness. Fire will break out at any time, and Snow will fall in excess. From one city to another, from one Two or three cannot go together"). The Son fights his father and drives him out of the house during his lifetime. The mother drives her daughter out ahead of time and demands from her daily fee. The magicians and scribes twist by oaths the Nask") and the book. At night the thieves go out, make the Ways are unsafe and bring out the possessions. The fish walk in the ocean and the seas. From time to time the sea comes and the waters abound, do much mischief, and destroy fruit, Grape and tree. The distance becomes the proximity, the proximity becomes the distance. No one keeps it up with his own people, but with strangers you are wrong according to the law. Well-ordered people stand up to the stretcher and a false testimony. Oaths are demanded from people, as a A dog asking for bread. The boyfriend does not keep it nice with his Friends, but they go after each other in jealousy. Fraudulent Men give empty words as a woman's gift, and the Virgin will ilınen to the comrade. [389] The women send out for adultery after men, the women leave their spouses and demand them to the court. Which People become deceitful and evil and fight ilren father and her mother. The brother is cheating with his brother, the son is

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1) The dark word is found only in this place.

2) i.e. the spiritually outstanding ones; here again the word is see above, p. 2151.

8) The word is found only in this place. It seems to be Persian and muf something like "List" bedcuten.

4) It may also be necessary to delete N with D; it may be possible under the influence of the following The line came here.

") N5 same as text 391, 23.

6) Londd. and Oxf. have NPDN). According to AndrEAs, this could be the Persian nask D.h.,.Collection of sacred Writings", see Bartholomae, Altiran, Wrtb., col. 1060.

with his father, the servant with his master, the maid with her mistress '), the wife murders her husband and joins another one. So there will be falsehood and wickedness among men. Which Demons, fiends, ekurs and altar spirits make people dull, so that the people of the world are without understanding and are being tortured. The gods are bitter against people and deprive them of them share of the future "). Soon you will be showing signs of age weakness ") and a failing body, and you will be given a short measure. Deception and deceit spread. To the face they say beautiful words to each other, and they say ugly words to themselves behind their backs. Because of this wrong- barley, wine yield and everything else can be found in the- wrestling crowd. They sow abundantly and achieve little. They acquire rich They own and are not satisfied. When you eat, you don't get full. To at all times it is afflicted with mischief and evil. On grasses and barley, the Earth without growth. Fruit, grape and tree dry up. A lie- neric impurity *****.

After that, the tongues rise up and fight with each other. Which People who live in the Wiisten move against the people who live in the Wiisten They live in houses and occupy the cities. The Persians, Parthians, Rhomäer, Siğistanier and the other tongues fight with each other. Then the inhabitants of the deserts prevail and bring misery to those who live in houses live. In the 71 years they reign ******* and bring good, and good The sons gather together with their Parents, [390] the wives together with their husbands, the brothers together with their brothers, according to one place. With his own hand, then one kills the other one.

Then the shore land of Gaukai will remain in bloom for fifty years. Ago- after the destruction of the land of Babel, the desolation of that land from Babel, change"). The Arabian Kings of Kardus") are outraged. The four winds are coming out. The Burdean King and the Simraean King9) come, rebel against each other and plün- this shore country of Babel from west to east. From this shore- lands of Gaukai are plundered 12000'). Then 50 years remain,

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1) The derivation of the words and is uncertain, but your Sim yields out of context. It could be AndrEAs from mittelpers. (h)ašākert ineupers. šāgird),"apprentice", then ,"servant" be Aramaized. maybe it's over ראבאה or NADX7 spoils.

2) Siche zu Np5n Joh. II, p. 1176. 3) Read קאשישותא?

4) well = If it means "sign", then there would have to be a gap here be like R 391, 24.

5) Iliermit means literally the Kurds, Kap80ūxoi.

") A Burdean king is unknown to soust. The Simräer will L 17, 5 together with the Turanians, see Brandt, Schr., p. 218; Marquart, Erānšahr, p. 261.

7) Not what one easily thinks of: being robbed, being taken away as prisoners. Cf. R 225, 20, wo 37) stands next to NEW.

that the shore of Gaukai is in bloom. When 25 years of the 50 Years pass, a gold mountain rises in Dašt-Misaq '), seven lands- dashes and seven kings come together on it and hold a ver- collection. The kings rise up and appoint a king of the Magi. They say to the King of kings: We want the appointment that the great man should be no more honored than the slave.

After they made the appointment, a king came from the firmament down and whispered to the King of kings. The King of Kings don't see him while all the people see him. Then they speak to the king the King:What did this man who descended from the firmament do and whispered in your ear, told you?" Then he speaks to you: ,You lie." Then the kings say to the King of kings, 'Then is the date we made, lug." Then the kings speak to the King of Kings: "Up, let's look each other in the face" "). You then jump up and fall over each other. Here comes the King, lets go of his horse, and the latter strides [391] over her to the saddle in Blood, and the vortex of blood gets to the wings of his nose. One ... the other, and every single one that is left is running behind one here, whom he kills, he says to him: "I kill, but why stay me back?" This is what the women grasp at the hem of their garment, look for the ... and form a man and find none. Since take your gold and silver and throw it on the dung heap.

After that comes the King Mzarz"). He ruled for 12 years. He creates Trust in the gods, and God is his helper. Those in the Deserts sit, he repels, and those who sit in their place come up. The city is given good things, and people go along with happiness.

After that, the water rises from the ocean and brings a lot of mischief. After that, something heavy 4) enters the world. The outstanding Men, as well as the deaf and dumb") go into battle, and stay away from them only a few people are saved from the struggle.

After this, another king rises, whose name is Sarqid, son of des Warzigar, ist. He ruled for seven years. Then another one rises King, whose name is Šerāsp. He reigns for seven and twenty years.

In the years of those kings, no malice will be attached to people. They will not cause a quarrel, will not look for possessions and will not over- eat moderately. Each individual will sit in his own house, and Quarrel, torment and struggle will not be among them. No one will Can carry out deception and fraud against his neighbor. When he

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1) Or Emisag. The location is otherwise unknown. belongs to the name; the Appellative ,level" is דישתא.

2) Cf. II Kön. 14, 8.

") Or Mzaraz. This means ,Equipped".

4) In the text behind it is N3NTP ,fight", which seems to me to be a gloss, see the following. ") See above, p. 415, 4.

If he exercises deception, he will be torn to pieces. When this ....[1]) speech ... and signs **. [392] A shining star lights up, it rises down to the earth and stays seven days and seven nights.

After him, the king Wazan rises. He rules for five years. In 5 all will be well in the years of that king. The gods are honored be"). All cities and houses of worship will be in bloom, the degrees- and people will not be greedy for Be money. At that time there will be so much wine in a measure that thirty people drink themselves full of it, and in an ardeb of barley- 10 grains will be so much that fifty people will be satisfied with them. Jeg- a good thing will stand well, and there will be no measure for people ").

Then this sign will occur that a star will come down from the sky- falls and falls into the ocean. In the seven seas') becomes red water flowing. A woman who drinks of that water becomes infertile and loses his mind. She sends out for men and speaks to to them: 'There you are, lie down with me."

Then other signs enter. A storm wind ") rises, with dust comes to him and covers the gates of the people. On this ver- when the king arranges a meeting, he asks the people and speaks to them: ,Have you ever seen or heard anything as it has occurred now?" But people don't know what to say to him"). According to them, be- King Wazan asks the spirits of the dead if it is written down that this event should occur at the end of the world, which was never a- '). Then the spirits of the dead speak to him: 'You know it is not that when a shining star falls from the sky, a Storm wind rises, dust comes with it, and people's houses you must know [393] that the Word that is about the end of the The world is written down*), has come to fulfillment. But you, O king, you have acted beautifully against God, that's why you need this word 30 not to worry. Yes, when you die, your spirits of the dead will become feed as well as you are alive."

After that, King Parašai Sifa, son of King Burzan, rises (Burzin). His reign lasts until the end of the worlds. In the In the years of that king there will be much prosperity and justice. It will not give a winter.

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1) ,Is formed", as Nöld., p. 252, 9, fits poorly.

2) C has a good naryu.

8) You will not need one, because of the overabundance.

4) Which, according to popular belief, exist, cf. ZDMG XLVIII (1894), p. 667 unt. *) There is no sense. You should read NAND and go to heb. belong?

°) Read the CD.

7) I guess I should read dak: king דהאזין מינדא בדינבא דאלמא קדים להאכא לאהואת see further.

8) You probably have to supplement.

Then the living water will be cut off, it will not come and do not ascend. Green water will come from the ocean, and the souls that inhale the fragrance of that water depart from their Body.

Then pick up the star Bel from among his brothers, clothe 5 cover him with the robe of Ptahil and cover him with the cloak of Ptahil, put the crown of Ptahil on his head and put him on the throne des Ptahil. Forty-two years (he sits) in the desolate wasteland. Then say to him, 'Open up, put off your garment, your covering, and your Wreath. They belong to the Ptahil, and we want to lift them up') to the Shine of the sun, to the brightness of the moon, to the shimmer of the stars, for the power of the water, for the power of the wind, for the glow of the fire and for the tightness of the earth."

Then Bel says to them: 'Only last night I sat down on this throne, and (already) now you say: ,, Up, put down!" Then raise 15 the robe, the covering and the wreath of the Ptahil ascend to their place.

Then the great old Leviathan is freed from his bonds. The thickness of the lip of his mouth is 144000 miles. He opens the Mouth, devours the Earth Tibil and devours the seven planets with their twelve kings and five rulers "), [394] as well as all the Hmurthās, Ekurs 20 and altar spirits, the demons, Dews, Liliths and all the souls that live in the- those who denied the first life; they are cut off in the darkness. Then he presses his mouth shut- whereupon all die in his womb, and his stench from the Tibil rises in height").

Then all the Uthras of the Light earth come, stand at the edge in this world and say: "So rise on the stench of everyone"), who think of creating a world equal to this world that Ptahil created. All the way- against this world °) is said to last a thousand times a thousand myriads of years. They The world is called shine and light. All the souls of fine men, 30 who have known the first life "), will not be guilty in the Court and do not die a second death. Their souls live here in life."

Live our knowing, live our understanding '), live the Men who teach us. Life is victorious over all works 35 for all eternity.

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1) To be understood in this way, see further, not ",because we want to lift Ptahil up".

2) Cf. pp. 13, 27. ") See p. 189.

4) Read pao h57. d) i.e. the world of light.

o) Probably read p787, see text Z. 2. 7) Read no3nd5, siche p. 177, 6.

* * *

Left part.

First book.

While the right part of the Ginză has a predominantly instructive character, the dealing with cosmogonic and cosmological things, the relationship between the good and the to show evil forces to the world and to man, and to inform the believer about his duties the left part deals almost exclusively with the fate of the soul, especially their departure. This part was rightly called the Book of the Dead of the Mandaeans. Reflections on the left part offers Reitzenstein, the Iranian Mystery of Salvation, p. 43ff. -- The first book, like the right-hand part for the most part, is in prose; it tells and admonished. The first two pieces describe Adam's behavior when leaving, his Hanging on to the world and alive, the third Hawwäs lament for the departed Spouse. The believer should be shown the nullity and reprobability of this action be. The fourth piece offers a new description of the guardhouses.

Blessed be my Lord with a pure heart.

In the name of the great, strange life, the sublime, which is above all Shine on your garment and be honored for your figure at your father there, the Lord of Greatness').

First piece.

The price of life, of the pious and of the brothers Hibil, Šitil and Anõš. - life decides to impose death on Adam, who is a thousand years old. It sends the Angel of death Şaurēl to him to get his soul. Adam cries and whines and begs, that instead of his Sitils soul would be fetched: first the grain of green and then the ears eat. Şaurēl communicates it to the first life, which agrees that Šitils And sends Şaurēl to him. Sitil sends the angel of death to Adam first he returns, but then lets himself be persuaded by him and strips off the body. He looks at the The world of light, and on his prayer Adam's eyes and other senses are also opened. Now Adam also wants to go to that world, but is rejected by Sitil. Šitil will then lifted up and welcomed by life and the Uthras.

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1) Otherwise these benedictions are held in the first person. This is probably talking the paid copyist to the principal.

Who are the mountains that do not shake,
and the water heights'), which do not change, those
who did not tremble, did not tremble,
and whose body did not tremble in his garment?

The great life is mountains that do not waver,
and water heights that do not change, that
did not shake, did not raise,
and whose body did not tremble in its garment.

It is our brothers who provide abundant wage donation and alms-, who illuminated the building"), who were on the earth Tibil, who were rich in And there is a constant shortage, accompanied by, not trembling, not and their bodies were not in their robes before the storms, Lightning and clouds that did not tremble before the evil and angry the tibil trembled and trembled.

It is our brothers Hibil, Šitil and Anoš, the Naşöreans, who are full of- those who come from tested justice, the donation of wages and alms they did not forget"), who enlightened the construction, the Tibil on earth, the rich there is a lack of impulses and a consistent lack of them, but they did not shake, and their bodies were not in their robes before the storms, Lightning and clouds that did not tremble before the evil and angry creatures of the Tibil trembled and trembled').

Life pondered and cleared up. Life sat in his and he said, Well, we want the punishment of the Death over that world of the wicked and that dwelling which abounds in and there is a shortage throughout, impose it. Because Adam is now a thousand years old"). Now you should call him out of the body and get him before he gets old- before he [2] becomes decrepit, before his young children- raise and practice a lot of follies on him."

Then he called, instructed, equipped") and sent the great, first life the redeemer Saurel-Qmamir-Zīwa'), who brought the spirits and souls from the

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1) "Water" means living water. How there are olive rods and other things there is living water (see p. 79,9; Lit., p. 211), so there are also heights of this kind.

2) i.e. the world. ") Either or to read.

4) For Hibil, Sitil and Anõš, neither the designation "our brothers" nor Näşõräer fits. They may be mentioned next to the great life, but in this paragraph, probably, as in the the previous one is about the pious, although then it is a disturbing repetition. It seems that the list was originally grouped differently.

5) See above, p. 27, 26. 6) See p. 295¹.

7) Saurēl is the angel of death, the redeemer of the soul from the body, and thus the Redeemer, see Joh. II, p. 1195. Qmamir-Zīwā is probably secondary to him as the second Beings attached. In the text it says ,the solver Saurēl and Qmamir-Ziwā"". This will be except in a poorly fitting context, Joh. II, p. 214, 13 mentioned only here. Which Pronouns and verba, which refer to saurel, were probably all originally in the singular, now they partially sting in the plural.

The body dissolves and continues. "Death" he is called in the world, but Kušṭa of those who know about him. Anyone who commits the offense, cursing to death accumulates sixty-six insults in front of you. Because he he is called, he is commissioned, he is sent out. He does not take a bribe no one receives a gift and no one exchanges it for another.

Then the great life spoke to the solver Saurel-Qmamir-Ziwa: ,Rise go down to that world of the wicked and to that dwelling which abounds in- if there is a shortage and there is a shortage all the time, Adam calls out a call and teaches him with excellent knowledge. Talk to him: ,0 Adam, first man, Mute, foolish, deaf, veiled')! Up, leave the Tibil, the empire there is a lack of impulses and a complete lack of them - because you are a thousand years old -, before you grow old, before you become decrepit, before your little ones Children rise up and practice many follies on you."

Then the redeemer Saurel-Qmamir-Zīwā descended and came to that The world of the wicked and of that dwelling which abounds in impulses and throughout Lack is. They called Adam a call and taught him with excellent Know. They said to him: 'O Adam, first man, Mute, foolish, Deaf, veiled! Up, leave the earth Tibil, which abounds with impulses and there is always a shortage - because you are a thousand years old - before you old age, [3] before you become decrepit, before your young children are rise up and practice many follies on you."

Then Adam was angry, he clothed himself in anger, clothed himself with anger and wrapped himself in anger. (Sweet, not)*) bitter saliva splashed and he threw it to the ground. He curled up and did not stretch"), and his heart filled with woe. A tear fell in his eye, he screamed and whined, howled and cried. He threw himself down and stretched get on the floor. He clenched his fists, beat them against the atria of his Breast*) and cried:,,O you voice that you call to me, O you excellent knowledge, that I was taught! I am now a thousand years old. In this world, in i live, only the panicles of flowers are eaten before the dates, and then the dates are eaten. First, the green grain is placed in front of the Ähren are eaten, and then the Ähren are eaten. Furthermore, in in this world in which I live, only the tender vegetables before the strong vegetables- eat, and then the strong ones will be eaten." Then he spoke to them: ,,Let us go to the mouth of the Fraš-Zīwā, to the bank of the great Jordan of the 35th And to the great edifice of our fathers, and into the habitation of- sit down to see if there are tender vegetables for eating or strong ones."

Thereupon the solver Saurel-Qmamir-Ziwā ascended, stepped in front of the great, first life and said to the great, first life: ,,You know and you are

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2) Whose mind is veiled and unclear.

e) The words x53 N5xa are to be deleted. That the sense was ,he swallowed the sweet saliva and splashed out bitter" (N01), is unlikely. ")

Dernyxt) is to be deleted.

4) See p. 106 ob.

apparently, my Father; the secret things are revealed before you. You are- no instruction and no need to ask. As for Adam, so we talked to him, but he loves the company and lust that world and does not want to leave it."

Then the great first life called and commissioned the solver Şaurel–Qmamir-Zīwā and said to him: 'Go down, go [4] to that world the evil one, and that dwelling which abounds in impulses and consistently lacks shall. Call upon Adam and instruct him with excellent knowledge. Say to him, 'O Adam! Should there be no one wiser than you, sit there, teach you good lessons, and say to you, No! Get up, ver- leave the earth Tibil, which is rich in impulses and consistently lacking, before you get old before you get old, before your little children rise up and practice many follies on you?' Say to him, 'O Adam, up, die as if you never been, and pass as if you never created would be. For your soul will be for the original container (of souls), for the the first father's house) and for the place where she used to stay."

Then they descended and came to the solver Saurel-Qmamir-Zīwā this world of the wicked, this dwelling, which abounds in- there is a lack. They called Adam a call and instructed him with treff- years of knowledge. They said to him, 'O Adam! Should no one be there, who, wiser than you, sits there, teaches you good lessons and speaks to you: No! Get up, leave the earth Tibil, which abounds in nudges and through- before you grow old, before you become decrepit, be- rise up in front of your little children and practice many follies on you?" Then they said to him, 'O Adam, come on, die as if you had never been, and pass away as if you were never created. Because your soul will be for the original container, for the great, first father's house and for the place where you in the past, he demanded.«

Then he said to them: 'O you caller, who called to me, O you excellent knowledge that was taught to me")! [5] I am a thousand years old and I want to live another thousand years. But go to my Son Sitil and call him; it is he who is needed for that world. He is younger than me, more tender than me. He is eighty years old in this world"). He has not yet stepped on the hem of a woman*), and he was there are no great fruits yet. He has not yet drawn a sword and no blood has yet been shed in the residences. It is He who is responsible for that world is needed."

Then the solver Saurēl-Qmamir-Zīwā came before the great, first life and said to him: 'Life, my Father! You know and it is obvious to you; the things that are revealed and the things that are secret are revealed before you. You need

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1) Cf. p. 3031. 2) I read according to text 3, מאפראשליא.

8 *) For the reading and relationship of PINA ND5N2, see text Z. 15 and p. 6,12,15.

4) Nw also means the female shame, and 777 ,kicking" also has soust in Aramaic means "begatten".

no instruction. As for Adam, we talked to him, and he sent us to his son Šitil, saying,I am a thousand years old and want to live another thousand years. Go', he said, ,too my son Šitil, who is younger than me, more tender than me. He is in this World eighty years old. He has not yet got on the hem of a woman- 5 and no great fruits have yet been given to him. He still has no sword drawn and no blood shed in the Tibil yet. He is it is needed for that world."

Then the great, first life called, equipped and sent the redeemer aurel-Qmamir-Zīwā and said to him: 'Go down, go to that 1o The world of the wicked, and of that dwelling which abounds in Lack is. Call Šitil, the Son of Adam, and instruct him with- light knowledge. Say to ilım: ,O Šitil, son of Adam, rise, die as if you never have been, and pass away as if you were never created. [6] Because your soul will be saved for the original container, [for the great, first father's house] and 15 for the place where she used to stay."

Then the solver Şaurel-Qmamir-Zīwa descended and followed thisér world of the wicked, this dwelling that abounds in- there is a lack. They called out to Šitil, the Son of Adam, and- they taught him with excellent knowledge. They said to him, 'O Sitil, son 20 Adams! Up, die as if you've never been, and pass as if you've never been- it would be possible. For your soul will be for the primordial container, for the great, first father's house and for the place where she used to stay."

Thereupon Šitil, the Son of Adam, said: 'O you caller, whorufest, O thou excellent knowledge that has been revealed to me! I am in this 25 World eighty years old. I have not yet got to the hem of a woman and no great fruits have yet been given to me. I still have no sword drawn and no blood shed in the Tibil yet. Go to my father Adam. He is a thousand years old in this world. (He die) before he is old, before he becomes decrepit and before his 30 little children rise up and practice many follies on him."

Then they said to him, 'O Šitil, son of Adam! Before we get this reputation we called him to Adam and spoke to him, but your father Adam 1) sent us to you."

Then Sitil, the Son of Adam, said to himself in his mind: 'I am afraid 55 to say that I do not want to leave my body, otherwise I am still angry the big life in your own big place."

Then Sitil, the son of Adam, arose and did a great, not a small prayer. Then he laid off the trunk of flesh and blood and put on a robe [7] of splendor and an exquisite, pure turban 40 from light on. 990000 Myriad times his light shone more than that Light of the Sun, and 990000 myriad times its brightness was brighter than

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1) Read DNTN).

the brightness of the moon. A thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten- a thousand led him by the right and by the left. Winds, winds brought Šitil, the son of Adam, storms, storms led him, lifted they lifted him up and placed him in a great cloud of light'). He performed a Prayer, which was very big, not small. Šitil, the son of Adam, said: I make a request to you, to the first life, the second life, the third Life, to Jöfin-Jofafin, to Sam, the well-preserved Manā, to the wine- a stick that is completely alive, and a big tree that is completely healed."), that you can") my father Adam the glare from the eyes, the plugs take the piece of meat from the ears and the piece of meat from the heart*) so that he Look at the world I'm going to."

Then the weeping, the lamentation, and the submissiveness of Šitil, the Son of Adam, before the great, first life arose, and it took (Adam) the Glare from the eyes, the plugs from the ears and the piece of meat from the heart. He looked at the world that Šitil saw and spoke to him: ,,My son! Come on, come on! I want to go to that world, to the i am demanded. To this he replied to him: "Go, old man, who is without Wisdom, and great Mariba"), who is devoid of reason. Is there anyone who Spit saliva out of his mouth and swallowed it again? Out there someone who would have stepped out of his mother's womb and would have been introduced to the former place")? No! How I came out of this world years, the fetus had to come out of the mother's womb, looking like an egg yolk, the little ones') Little children come there, choosing- when your mouth is still full of milk, the sealed letters come, the virgins go, [8] the brides go, while the oil is still dripping from the wreath, the boys come through ... and the maids, by using her mouth.......... . in this world"). The landlord"), on the other hand will desire death, and the latter will not approach him until she '0) and are ashamed (of him). Anyone who says this boy

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') See above, p. 208ff. °) See p. 191 ob.; 196, 11.

") Or "you". A change in the person, as is not uncommon, see p. 144.

4) See p. 237, 11.

") The word is also called Joh. 120, 12 used contemptuously by an old man. It is apparently disfigured, see Joh. II, p. 1176. °) Cf. Joh. II, p. 122f.

7) This must be, for example, the meaning of, which can only be found in L 17, 19.

8) The difficulty lies in the nip, which occurs twice. This means ,"Chance (who meets someone), misfortune", then "rebellion, quarrel" and finds sicl especially in the Jōšamīn pieces of the Book of John (21, 6; 26,11; 29, 11; 34, 6), see also Nöld., p. 195 unt. I don't know what to do with these considerations here. Maybe it's 72 pNDD got here under the influence of text 7,23.

o) The wealthy landowner.

10) Nöldeke takes for 522, which is found only in GL (here; text 44, 4; 62,15; 63, 9), the meaning of "throw down" at after 50 (Gram., pp. 55, 2). In 44, 4 it could be this It makes sense, but it doesn't fit in the other places. Since it seems,"despise" or ,"to make contemptible". However, this meaning could be derived from the condition "throw away".

stay here and this old man will go to the great place, in the house of the Great, be held accountable." Winds, winds brought Šitil, the son of Adam, hin, storms, storms they led him there, lifted him up, and placed him at the guardhouse- maize, the treasurer, who holds the stakes of splendor in his hand, and 5 the keys of the Kušta carries on both arms. They opened the gate for him of the treasure house, raised before him the great curtain of security in the They introduced him and showed him that vine whose interior Shine, whose sides light, whose heels water, whose branches Uthras, whose leaves shine with light'), whose seed is the great container of the 10 Souls are. They eat what is not reprehensible, and drink what is not wine shall"). Ajar-Zīwā, the son of the great, first life *They eat, and the bliss of life comes and lays over you. They squirm Wreaths of bliss and lie down on your head. They laugh, bounce, rejoice and rejoice at the magnificent splendor. They flaunted in the Lord- 15 the power that rests on you.

Šitil, the Son of Adam, said: 'On this way, path and ascent, on whom I have ascended, the true believers should also, excellent and perfect men ascend and come when they get rid of your body."

Thereupon life, the Uthras and kings of the light earth and of the light residence of the Kušta, they extended [9] the hand of the Kušta Šitil, the son of Adam.

Life supported life,
life found its own.
His own found life,
and my soul found what it hoped

for"). Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the Men who teach us. Saget: Life is fixed in his skina, life is victorious.

Second piece.

The great life sends a messenger to fetch Adam(s soul) from the body zn and to get rid of the earthly shackle. The messenger comes to Adam and calls him. to strip the body. Adam cries and howls and points out in a long speech his Unent- be honest in this world. The Messenger emphasizes the wickedness of this world, and 35 ask Adam again to leave this world. Adam hurts his body

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1) See Lit., pp. 72 unt.
") See Joh. II, p. 130. 4.
3) Cf. Lit., p. 1143.

leaving him unguarded and unattended, and he wishes to take him with him. How this is rejected he wants his wife and child to accompany him on the way. The messenger points to the The worthlessness of all earthly possessions and the difficulty of the way out. Adam complains again, having to leave the body, which, in addition to its shortcomings, also has its merits. A cloud led by four Uthras comes to meet him, and he is led by the Uthras asked to get into it. He still resists and asks again, Hawwa to be allowed to participate. He is taught that Hawwä will ascend after him, then over- his entire tribe. The sufferings of the end times are described; after that it should be ilm it would be nice to leave the world. Adam begs life to save the world from desolation to bewalıren. Life promises him and his tribe eternal salvation.

In the name of life.

When the plan started from the House of the great life, it sent the They offered to Adam to release him (him) and get him out of the body, from this world, from the foot block, the shackle, the knitting and the loops, to take him away from the earth, the Ptahil and the seven planets built in who then brought him in and let him live in it and let him sit to redeem and get out of the dirty, smelly, consuming, perishable body, the raging lion, the blazing, perishable The fire, the flowing (body), the sea, the , and the cleft '), which cannot be blocked, the Dragon, circling the world, the power of which no one has grown.

Then the soul in Adam's body thought, thought and felt too short"), by an inch she feels too short in the body. soul sitting there and talking to the ghost and the smelly body"): ,,Why if we are sitting there, why are we lying there where we are not dealing with travel expenses have you provided for our way? Soon the solver may come to us come and get us out of this world."

Once the soul spoke to the spirit and the smelly body, but the spirit and the stinking body gave her no answer. While the soul stands there and talks to the spirit and the stinking body, the Savior came near. [10] The Redeemer approached, and the messenger arrived. He came up, stepped on the feel of Adam, stepped on the feel of Adam and woke him from sleep. He said to him: ,Get up, get up, Adam, put down your stinky body, the clay skirt you were in. Put away the bodily skirt, the decaying body, in which you have been. Put off the physical garment in which you were, and beat it to the Seven and twelve, the men who created it, around the head. Lass the body immediately returns to the world, because your time has come, your measure is full of divorcing from this world'). Life has me too

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') Which leads from the large groundwater to the surface of the earth, see also p. 208".

2) She feels cramped in the body. ") Man consists of soul, mind and body, see Lit., p. 121.

4) Lies וכעלאך שלים למינפאק מינה.

sent to you, because it demands you. Let your walk be according to the place of Life, according to the place where you used to be, according to the apartment, in the one your father is sitting on."

When Adam heard this, he whined about himself and cried. He whined and cried, and in his eye a tear came off. Adam opened the 5 And he spoke to the messenger who had come to him: 'Father! If I come with you, who will be the guardian in this so wide Tibil? Who will my wife Hawwa keep him company? Who will Plants that I planted in the ages') be a support? Who will you be a support? Who will live in this house where 10 i'm used to; who should be in it ...)? When the palm bears fruit, if the Christmas thorn bears flowers, who will be its keeper? When the The Euphrates and the Tigris, who shall approach ....") with his hand he- grab and direct the water to the plants? When the mother gives birth- bieret, who should help you")? Who shall put the cattle before the plough") 15 and who will lead the seed into the earth? Who should put the rattles in take the hand and follow the sheep for their hurdle and the antelopes following your herd? Who should keep the orphans together, who will fill the widow's pockets [11]? Who shall clothe the naked, and put a robe around his neck? Who shall release the prisoner, 20 who will settle the dispute in the village?"

To this the messenger of life, who had come to Adam, replied: ,O Adam! Get up, climb up to your place, to the good cloud, in who you used to be, to a place whose sun does not set and whose Light lamps do not become dark. Take the robe of splendor and clothe 25 you with it and help yourself in expensive light. Set yourself the wreath, the wreath the victory through which the worlds shine. Tie your belt, the (Living) water°), in order to be able to live without pain and suffering remain. Sit down on your throne of splendor, which life has given you in full- of a coming kind. Forget your carer's house, where 30 you had to endure daily, everyday persecution. Don't be sorry, Adam, about this place where you were staying, because this place is desolate, and the the whole apartment is in the desert. The works are completely- leave and do not get back together. The evil is great in you and the anger spread in every city. The sons deny 35 her father, the daughters deny their mother. The brothers kill each other,

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1) Especially in the left part it is often uncertain whether too ,age" דארתא or too "Residence". However, the former sense generally fits better. ") pINT is spoiled, but it hardly stands for ,who should look at it?"

5) Apparently a device for watering. The origin of the word is unknown, see Jn. II, p. 48s.

4) ,Finen" probably just out of volatility instead of you" (FbnxF), or it refers to Mother and child. 5) Read NINTND3 or NTN5 ,,clamping the yoke cattle*.

o) See p. 4241.

and the sisters eat each other's flesh. Every man leaves his A married woman, and every woman leaves her husband. So that no badlet anger be released over the ages, so that no one Orphans, widowers and widows and prisoners be there, arise, Adam, and leave this world and the stinking body."

Then Adam opened his mouth and said to the messenger: 'Father! If you knew that this is so, why did you beguile me and put me in the stinky body inside? When I leave my body now, who will be his guardian? If he sleeps, who will wake him, who shake him out of his sleep? Who will give him to eat, who to drink, [12] and who will keep him company in the ages? When thunder and lightning will strike him, who will give him a palace and a building who will make him a roof? Do not come convulsions "), come don't the sun fall on him? The winds catch dust and throw Earth on him. Do not gather the birds and eat of my Bodies? From my body they eat, nest in my hair and carry from my flesh to her nest. They take off my robe, tear it [and throw it] on the dung heaps. Who shall give me a sight") be? Father! If you want me to come with you, my body will come with me as escort. My body come with me and keep me company on my way. I don't have a father and mother who accompany me as should come. Gold and silver are not worn and guided by me that I carry with me as a travel allowance, and that with me as a The escort should come."

The messenger who had come to Adam answered and said:: How does it hurt and does it grab you, Adam, around the smelly body, where you were staying! Is there a body [in the house] of life? A The body does not ascend to the house of life."

Then Adam answered the messenger who had come to him, and said: ,,Messenger of Life! If you like it and like it, come to my Wife Hawwa with me as escort and keep me company on the way. May my sons and daughters come with me and follow me on the way Keeping company."

When his wife Hawwa heard this statement from Adam, she screamed loudly and shouted. She screamed and shouted loudly, and a tear came off in her eye. She said to him: 'I want to come with you as a companion, Adam, and you keep company on your way."

Then the messenger of life who came to Adam spoke to him in the house of life there is no body; a body rises to the The house of life is not exalted. To the father and [13] mother, to brothers and Sisters, on gold and silver you can not ver in the house of life-

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1) The sunstroke is probably meant here, see p. 852.

2) Who am I looking at? Very insecure.

dare. Each individual is paid only according to his actions, according to-payment and alms donation, the sign and baptism, and the works, which he practiced, tested. When you leave the body, you will be attached to the Security guards checked. Adam! Why should you have false brothers who are and false sisters who are good for nothing? Your Brothers are uthras of the Kuštā, and your sisters are faithful Škinās. Daily, every day they stand in the house of life and take care of you rich, long prayer. Adam! Why should you have gold in this world, the ver- go, why do you need silver, which is darkening? The way') that we have to go it is far and endless. There are no miles measured on it, no Milestones set according to the measure. Birds are left on him, and watchmen and tax collectors sit by him. The weapon is forged and the iron is ready, polished and ready. The boilers are boiling, who will save the souls of the wicked. On the way there is a sea that is without- gear is. No, each individual will bring only payment of wages and alms- make a donation and bring it over. Only his works go as a guide in front of him. The way we have to go is full of thistles and Thorn. Seven walls surround it, mountains into which there is no breach- hitting is. The chariot sits erect there, and out of a thousand it chooses a soul that is good and enlightened."

.When Adam heard this, he wailed and wept over himself, and his Back .... tears flowed down. Adam then left his body. He when he turned and saw him, he trembled. It took him, the The body, and he could not part with it. Then joined he started his hike through the Äther. Adam wanders and moves there like a bird that has not yet built a nest, has not hatched and has not yet He received boys. [14] Adam wanders and moves like a bird, which has (just) formed wings'). He flies and pulls through the And resembles an animal that is separated from its herd-is cut. He is like the four winds, and the storms drove him Fort"). He is like a lion that has escaped from the cage. He like a wild boar') that escaped from the ...). Adam went there and said: 'Woe, woe, that my brothers beguiled me, °) and forcibly into the stinking body they threw in, the pernicious lion, the fierce, fierce lion. They threw me into the dragon that circles the whole world. You they brought me and threw me among the evil planets, which daily-

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1) See Joh. II, p. 180f.

°) This is probably the meaning of the sentence. "NS stands several times straight at wings: R 339, 1; L 88, 4; 104, 4; 111, 26, but see also R 244, 15 et seq.

3) Very insecure. There is probably a gap here, and may be disfigured.

4) Read instead בארקא.

5) Apparently also a word for cage or container. It may be spoiled under Impact of "Turban". °) Read open.

excite calm. Every day they forge weapons against me. They built for idol shrines made of clay, mirages, and daily, everyday battles they are in front of you and [play] on timpani and flutes to put me in their midst to bring it to waste. Through the power of the great life I came to you he took a seat in their midst, but I was not their companion, and did not make communion with them. I knew I was going to divorce, that I alone will divorce, alone will settle my dispute. As my Brothers, the Uthras, beguiled me, removed me from my place, and in brought the smelly body in, ugh! - since I did not enter it and I did not dwell in him for an hour, but I laid my feet on him and gave it to the seven and twelve, the men who created it-smoothed and lifted up, hurled at the head. But how beautiful my body was (after all) my body, (how ugly, on the other hand, the men who how wise and beautiful were the sculptors who formed him, and the goldsmiths who forged it!') [I5] Have a nice they formed his head, smoothed his hair and created him. You smoothed and created his hair, put his mind in his head and poured wisdom into the heart. They created him two eyes, which by day and light up the night. They created a great gate for him, which Lives. They created him two hands that work daily, without to soften*). They created two feet for him, which ran from east to Hiking west. Now the figure that was so beautiful goes there and becomes to dust and worms in the cemetery. His eyes went as a star-pictures are around, now they are darkness. The two windows are blocked, who heard the speech of life every day "). The big gate is clogged, who praised life every day"). While the hands are otherwise day and night "), without softening, now the birds are not afraid in front of my body. While the feet used to walk miles away"), now the birds are not running away. It takes me to leave him, and I cannot support him. I told myself we could go there, when- I carry my body, but then its walls burst, and he fell apart. Then I hit my body and threw it away, because he went there and became dust and worms. He went there, became Dust and worms, he divided and fell into every city." At the

gate of the cemetery')
brothers do not buy each other. When
brothers bought each other out, no
body would come to the cemetery.
No body would come to the cemetery,
the soul did not put down the body.

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1) In apar, perhaps, Persian zer ‚gold" is included.

2) Can only belong to "be sweet, gentle". Arabic halä ‚"to be empty, to be idle" would fit, but does not come into consideration. ")

The present tense is in the text. 4) An inserted piece in verse.

When the father redeemed his son, there
would be no childless') in the Tibil. When
the sons redeemed their father, there
would be no orphans in the Tibil.
When the husband bought his wife, there
would be no widowers in the Tibil.
When the wife bought her husband,
would not be called a widow in the markets*). And

the messenger of life answered and spoke to him, who Adam had come: ,,O Adam! [16] How does it hurt and grab you by the stinky body you were in! Lift up your eyes and look at the cloud of light coming towards you, Adam, the four men, Sons of Light, lead. A thousand by a thousand miles the cloud draws the one who came to meet you. Wrapped up in it lie- walls of brilliance and pure turbans of light. There are prangenden in it Wreaths that are wide and endless."

The four Uthras, the sons of Light, who had come to him, they spoke to him and said to him, 'Why are you weeping, Adam, and falling a tear from your eye?"

To this he replied to them: 'I am a servant without a Master, to whom the king is bitter." Then they said to him, 'You, Adam, are the Son of the great life, the servant of the mighty life. You are the Servants of the great life, so come in peace, Chosen one, Pure, Sinless, whom life has made sinless. Come on, climb up and take a seat in the big light cloud. Your memory of the light Your parents thought of you, because you were their ...), and they lifted you up from the world of Ptahil, the world that is without value."

Then Adam opened his mouth and spoke to the Uthras, who If it pleases you, Uthras, my brothers, wait me') an hour, just an hour is waiting for me, so that after my Send Woman Hawwa that she may come with me as a companion."

To this the Uthras replied, and spoke to Adam, the chief of the whole tribe: 'Be quiet and be silent, Adam, and the peace of the Good embrace you. You go and ascend to your place, and your Woman Hawwa will ascend after you. Your whole tribe will rise- follow you up. Then all generations come to an end, and all creatures perish. All wells and seas dry up, and the rivers and streams dry up. [17] The mountains and hills will

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1) Noniani, must have this meaning, but to me the origin of the word is unknown.

2) Of men who want to communicate with you? Again, the unfortunate Two-interpretation of 8ap.

a) Hardly, "with them"; also, "leaves", of course, does not fit.

4) Cf. Nöld., p. 851.

destroyed, falling and sinking in. Babel and Borsip are deserted and abandoned-go and become as if they never existed. The land of the Persians and the land of the Rhomaeans will be destroyed and will be as if they never exi- they would have bullied. And the Indian are falling over each other, and the Ge- the land of Simra, the land of Ture) and the Iron Mountain kill each other. They pronounce the verdict on their murderers, and the earth pronounces the verdict about the one who shed on her the blood of an Adam's Son, and images destroyed his kind. The Vögte, Häscher, Adulterers, thieves, Counterfeiters, informers, border shifters, border stone maniacs, magicians, Witches, priests, oracles, revilers, draftsmen"), fortune tellers and Chaldeans wander into the conflagration. When the earth is in ruins disintegrates"), the sky stands without stars, sun and moon in their place go back, the lights go back to their place, the four winds of the To go back to their place, all the wicked into the depths of darkness then save yourself, Adam, that you have been chosen and removed from the world the angel") and the suffering of this world. Don't do it to you sorry, Adam, for this world you left. After you leave them the little children, when they have not yet come to their senses. It leave the young men and girls, the boys and maids, when they have not yet celebrated an engagement. It will leave you the grooms and brides, and dust falls on your touch"). The nails of your bride-made jump out, and they leave the world empty. Married Men and women acquire houses and then leave them, they leave thither and end in the realm of the Seol. The elderly and householders demand [18] after death, and he does not come to them, then they leave and-voluntarily") the world. The king abandons his crown, leaving the noble let down their splendor. To the women their beauty goes, to the noble women their Charm lost, and they stride barefoot to the cemetery. You, Adam, get on and carry your case (to the King of Light and) to the great, first lives, the case concerning the world in which you were staying.

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1) Is the area of the Indus, for the other names see p. 416 unt.

2) For magical purposes. 3) See p. 203, 3. 4) See p. 4, 20.

6) This should be approximately the meaning of N5type. In a Wedding Song Cod. Paris. 25, f.15b; Cod. 15, f.11b it says:

פוריא מכיכלה̄ להידויא ואנאניא האמרא מזיגלה̄
בית קילבא ד̄הידויא סאדאן ארקא הוא
ביסארא ד̄הידויא גוביא רקיהא הוא

,Cushions are laid out for the groom,
Basins mixed with wine for him.
The feeling of the Bräntigam
was the anvil of the earth.
The groom's pillow
they were the cisterns of heaven."

The song is based on cosmological ideas (cf. R 354, 9, 21; 355, 1), but nonsense comes out. See also Lit., p. XI. °)

Actually: without your decision.

Say to the great life: ,Why did you create this world, why have you ordered the tribes away from your midst, why have you the Tibil dispute thrown? Why are you asking for me and my the whole tribe? Why did you bring the whole world to the wasteland, while no guardian was there for them, while the seven and Twelve were in their 5 to exercise dominion over the people and my tribes are you constantly under persecution? Well, if it's you, great (Life), is dear and it pleases you, do not let that world be devastated, (son- my trunks are not cut off from it, and your name, huge, first life, do not deviate from there. These Škinās, the Hibil-10 Zīwā, shall not be destroyed, the Jordan shall not go away from there- and the planets, Ruha and Christ are not the Lord-exercise a shaft over them."

Then the great first life spoke to Adam, the head of the the whole tribe: ,,O Adam! Stay calm in your enlightenment, and the 15 Rest of the good ones embrace you. Hibil-Zīwā is here, your brothers, who Uthras, are here, the whole Jordan is here. You, Adam, shall live here, your wife Hawwa will come here, and your whole tribe will follow climb up to you. This is the Škina, the one for you, Adam, and your wife Hawwa was founded before the [19] mighty, first life, until the day, 20 the judgment day, until the hour, the hours of salvation, until the great Days of Resurrection. Then you stand, Adam, and all your tribes rise up and go after your own earth'). So calm your mind and let your heart sit on its support."

And life is victorious.

This book ,When the measure of Adam was full and his bills were in the ages before him," Manda recites dHaije and explains*). He says: 'Everyone who, when he has his body, falls into condemnation and leaves the world in which he was, longing for company, gold and Silver loves, says what he does not see, and tells what he does not hear, brothers 30 and separates sons from parents, borrows and takes interest, little one ..."), pushing boundaries, boundary stones crazy and otherwise Manda dHaije will curse this Manda dHaije, he will the way that Adam, the head of the age, has gone, do not go,

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1) This sentence is meaningless according to the preceding exceptions; they should be in the oheren Škīnā receive their permanent seat.

°) It is cin afterword to the second pieces. The introductory words correspond to the beginning of the third piece, but the quotation is based on an error, or the verse has originally also stood at the head of the second piece, see also p. 183, 25. The Note contains a warning against hanging on to the world and its possessions, which for the second, not for the third pieces of pact. A corresponding anf the third Stiick be- a curious remark is at the end of this piece.

3) Neither (see p. 1046, 382") fits.

he will not ascend and look at the place of light when the good souls to ascend to the house of life, but he will come from the great place of light and must return from the light abode."

Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the 5 Men who teach us. Life is fixed in his skinā, which Life is victorious over all works.

Third piece.

The play turns against the lamentation for the dead and ties in with Hawwā's behavior Adam's death. At Rūhā's persuasion, Hawwā makes a complaint about Adam. Hibil-Zīwā becomes 10 sent by life to comfort her and to cause her to abstain from lamentation. Hawwā follows his persuasion. This is what Rūhā and the planets conspire to do, they again to return to the lamentation for the dead. Hibil-Zīwā communicates to life the success of his step and that Hawwā yearns for the place of light, the seat of Mandā dHaijē. Because the planets oppressing her, she turns to Mandā AHaijē for help. He comes to get you out of the body get i5 zn. Rūhā seeks to restrain them on Earth. Then Hibil-Zīwā appears and holt get them out of the body. We have a change here between Hibil-Zīwā and Mandā dHaijē, as usual often. Hibil admonishes the children of Adam, where their guardians are divorced from them, to take care of yourself, and also promises you salvation. He gets the little one Šitil in the cave. The play concludes with a warning by Mandā dHaijē against the lamentation for the dead.

In the name of the great life.

This is the mystery, the book, the teachings, the persuasion and the Enlightenment'), which Manda dHaije taught and taught to the men of er- probter announced justice.

When the measure of Adam was full and he left his body [20], and his wife has given herself up to lamentation, lamentation, and pain- when she gave herself up to the long, precious day, Rūhā came, sat down before her and said to Hawwa: ,,Why do the pains of the Widows?" She brings her the lamentation of the dead") about Adam (manifold) Complaints"). She strikes her hands against each other, so that she- the earth is shaken, and he says, 'My companion! Who has leave you, so that you sit quietly and do not get angry?" Then be- gann Rūhā and all the Liliths who were with her to bring suit, and she said to Hawwā: 'Well, let us devote ourselves eagerly to the lamentation. Either of The noble ones, who do not complain about [their spouse], despise their comrades." Hawwā obeyed the Rūhā, and Hawwā accepted everything Ruha told her.

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1) otherwise formed by p2 =22, belongs to pa here.

°) See Joh. II, p. 1151.

3) See Nöld., p. 2661. Not, for example, "with plaintiffs", see p. 441. 7.

I, Hibil-Ziwā, knew that Hawws had many sins. She stood there in thought and sorrow, and her heart was ambivalent. She stood in And he did not approach Adam.

Then life called, armed, commissioned and sent me, my father, and said to me: 'You, Creator of the tribes, to whom you belong the tribes of Adam spread! You led Adam into the wedding chamber, and you Hawwā founded a house of booing. You go, talk to Hawwā and let her heart rest on his support. Say to her: 'The soul that comes from you are divorced, the face shines in joy, she finds plenty ofhagen and leads the souls from there to himself. For the secluded, who is divorced from you, it is an imposition before the sword*). All people who bear witness to the call of life and in the otherworldly Speak, [21] depart according to the imposition before the sword and walk there on the path of life and the path on which the Men, the sons of salvation, who then turned to life and the skĭnas of the beings greatly supported in glory and salvation find. You too will, if you dry your eyes from the tear, take your arms away from your head, anger and grief from your mind remove sorrow and lamentation from your heart, soon it will be loud to follow the imposition before the sword, in the way of life go there and go out in the path of the men, the sons of salvationpull."

These words his father addressed to Hibil-Ziva, then the latter went and came before Hawwa. He turned over and smoothed his turban"), sat down sat down and spoke to Hawwa in friendly speech. Hawwā showed up and cried before him. She said to him: ,,Did you*) have you seen the soul that is divorced from me?"

.To this he replied to her: "The soul that is divorced from you is in her face shines in the comfort that she is found, she is raised up in great joy of the Light." Further he said to her: 'You are driving the follies of the planets, devoting yourself to the Grieving and lamenting, crying, scaring you and grieving you and bringing you Anger and grief in the mind *********). Their alienated sense became

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1) Whose body was still there?

2) Death is decreed over Adam before the age of the sword comes, see above, p. 259, 19.

3) As the words stand there, they do not give meaning. I suspect dab FD'nw AND) לטארטבונה be read. 4) Lies8ture.

5) The speech of Hibil-Zīwā is broken off, and in the gap there are remnants of one or more- various speeches by Rūhā and the Seven to Hawwā and a narrative by Rūhāadd. Maybe the words belong,and your eyes pressed' to gather together with a tear" still to the speech of Hibil-Zīwā. The words ,,[spoke to her] in kind speech and spoke to her in Hebrew speech" refer to Rūhā, see continue. The shape AstattA does not bother much. The following is talk of Hibil-Zīwā again.

you brought people back to the strangers'). He directed her heart after going to the house of life, her grief and lamentation took from her- sift, took the tear from her eyes and said to Hawwā: 'See, you drive their follies, but they will forgive you your sins. [22] Because the planets have seduced you. Now let your eyes shine, stand there in the joy of magnificent splendor, praise the soul, who is divorced from you, and send to her in joy prayer and praise."

Hawwa then rose, let go of the grief, the lamentation and the Woe, from the great, heavy lamentation, stood in praise2) and said, 'My sins will be forgiven to me, for Ruha and the planets they seduced me. I was sitting there complaining, making a big, heavy complaint." Hawwa then said to Hibil-Zīwā: 'Why didn't you take me with you, but did you sit down with me? You don't have my bitter sense- calm down, do not remove grief, lamentation and woe from my heart"). You did not speak to me in a strange speech, you did not talk to me in pleasant conversation and did not talk to me with pleasant Voice."

To this I replied to her: 'To the chosen one who divorced you i was a messenger. I led him past the guardhouses, to the shock and wrath of this world. I led him to Ptahil the one who created it. I showed him the house of Abathur, and Abathur held out his hand. I took him to the second'), and this one increased his splendor from his own. I brought him across the waters- streams and showed him the shining ones"), Well preserved in their škinās. I made him dwell in the chambers of the new palaces, which were not- fall. I created him a škinā of splendor, then I went and came to you."

Then she said to him: 'Why was Anoš not with me, forging not with me secret, seditious attacks")?" To this he replied you: 'He did not settle in the house of an adversary, was not fit for the The house of an enemy." Then she said to him, 'Was I his opponent when Did Adam hate him?"You weren't his opponent," he said to her,

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1) i.e., those who are beyond, see p. 52.

2) Read ובתושביהתא.

a) Read pp. The text has ,,from my gate *.

4) See p. 78*.

5) As it is often doubtful whether a shape is too "shine" or too עור ,"be awake" (see Nöld., p. 62 °), so with this Nny, whether it is "the Shiny" or ,"the watchful ones" means. The latter sense is R 341, 19 (here p. 355, 3), probably also L 130, 9f. With the meaning "watchful"', xay could Dan with the payy. 4, 10ff. tohanging together, see also above, p. 1801. Nay BCD is only used for the rare Nay.

°) Against Adam. An enmity between Anōš and Adam is alluded to here; perhaps it is the process of which p. 127 is told. That NI WN ,,secret Making plans", not "stepping down", is certain, see e.g. R 114, 11; 258, 22; 259, 14; L 24, 6, 8.

and Adam didn't hate him. The Seven were his opponents, and the Twelve and Rüha were his persecutors'). All the planets are in anger Evil against him."

Then Rüha and the planets rose, she turned in a circle, went and said to them: 'Hawwa is unfaithful, she is through the 5 a strange voice leads to infidelity. [23] She testifies in the lovely speech*), does not take the name of Adam into his mouth with complaints and raises no lamentation and grief. She saw the strange man and won him dear, while she does not put our name in her mouth. What have because we were sitting with her, and she was grieving and lamenting greatly. let them rise up"), that Hawwa then stood up to praise, grief, Lamentation and woe left her, that she stood up and was replaced by the stranger The call lit up, spoke in the sweet speech, in the face of the stranger The man came out of the light and said to him: 'Enlighten, enlighten me, my Creator, you man who brightened me more than all uthras4), you man who took my arms away from my head, my eyes from the tear dried, grief, lamentation and grief removed from me, so- like the foolishness and nonchalance that the planets threw at me"). You she bent her ear to the strange voice and spoke in the lovely Speech."

So I left Hawwa and went to my father. I told him what the planets were and what Rūhā did to Hawwa, (Adam and the Women have done it. How I freed you from the lawsuit, your eyes from the tear dried and put it down in praise. She then forgot Grief, lamentation, and woe, and the shaking that the planets produce- have called. She stood up, raised her eyes to the house of life and to the path where Manda dHaije came from. Everyday, everyday, everyday you: , When will he be inclined to come here, who will give me the will take me out of my body and lead me the way of the sons of the And let the path of pious men go")? I want to go- divorce according to the imposition before the sword and see that man, to which my eyes look up, the place where Manda dHaije is staying, the new palaces and the chambers of the new palaces, [24] which are not-fall."

Then the planets turned against Hawwi, pursued them, and left severe persecution against them. But Hawwā turned to praise and called to Mandā dHaije, addressing the words to him: ,,You,

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1) See Joh. 60, 9; Lit., pp. 160, 10.

°) Of the celestials. Not "for the ... speech", which it could also mean in itself. see further.

a) Read ואננידנאלה?

4) Lies נאברא דאפרישאן מן כולהון עותריא.

5) Read N5y.

*) Lies ונעיאסניאנבה.

Manda dHaije, become my savior soon and redeem me from this world, in which the ugly, pernicious fiends daily point out evil against me and to plot a secret plot against me. Because of the And because I do not listen to their speech, advise they are angry with us, and they are plotting hideous and secret plots against us against us, saying: We want the sons of Adam through the Take the sword."

Thereupon Manda dHaije set out, came there, fetched Hawwä before the- hanging of the sword and removed from her grief and lamentation. As When Hawwā saw Manda dHaije, she stretched out and fell before him and said to him: 'You have come to good, my Lord'), be- voice the imposition on me and take me away." - , Well, that Life has sent and equipped me, it has sent me here to you. To lead you over to your Father's treasure")."

Then Hawwä fell into sickness and stings"), one day and one half'). Then Ruhā came and sat down before Hawwā and spoke to her: ,"Why are you leaving life"), you noble one, and leaving the houses without Gentlemen, back to where I ask for you? Where should we go and what to trust in?"

Then Hibil-Zīwa came and taught Hawwa and took her out of the body. And Hibil-Ziwā said to the planets: 'Arise, carry the works of your Hands off and pay attention to them." Then Ruhā said to Hibil-Zīwā: 'Everything what is desirable, you get from us and what is of no value, you leave us back." Then Mandā dHaije said to Rūhā: 'You [and] the works your hands have found their place together, but the mana that in it, [25] shall ascend to the light abode." He admonished the And said to them: 'All of you admonish one another, because the keepers let you go back. I'm going to leave Hawwa in new Living in chambers that do not disintegrate, then I will come to you again, deliver you, keep you, and save you, in the place of the house of life take care, go and establish Škīnās with your Father."

Then came a fool who acted foolishly"), and said to him: "Your Forbearance will be granted to me, may I be guided, ascend, at my father and be raised up in his new skinā." Then I said to him, 'Every one of you who has fallen away will be here be raised up with you."The sons of Adam are afraid."

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1) Probably formulaic greeting of an arrival.

2) Well read.

3) See Nöld., pp. 41, 7.

4) Read ופאלגא.

b) In the mouth of Rühā is not offensive, otherwise one would or מן פאגריך expect.

") NOW also means "to commit transgressions, sins". The one who is a fool and a sinner in general, the bad believers are exemplified.

7) Read prrnW.

crying, and a tear squeezes in her eyes. They speak to him: 'You ascend and depart from it; what are you leaving us behind?" To which he replies to them: 'I'm going there, I want a place for your mother then I want to leave and come here."

Then I went there, showed Hawwa a place there in her Skina and spoke to the great life of the tribe of Adam. Then the great Life: ,,You are sent to them as a messenger."

That's when I came, sent here to the ages and worlds. I redeemed the little Šitil, and kept him from any thing. I sat him down a wreath of splendor, redeemed him from the world and gave him a Take a seat in his Škinā. I gave him rich splendor, redeemed the sons And he lifted them up to the light abode. This living tribe and the Seven who pursued them, *********.

This is the persuasion and enlightenment that Manda dHaije taught and the men of tried righteousness, formed of flesh and blood, who say that they are aware of the grief and lamentation of the planets He spoke'): 'To anyone who clings to this persuasion- a place will be built in joy, as Adam built it [26] and his face will shine like Haww, deni wife of Adam, whose face shone in the enormous eggs of concealment2)."

This is the persuasion that Manda dHaije gave to Adam and all The tribes of Adam. He said: 'Every one of whom has a soul divorce"), give yourself to the joy of her. He does not devote himself to great, severe grief and lamentation over them, but in true joy seek he, and he will find, like Adam, who sought in the house of life, and found, spoke and was heard."

Blessed be life, life is victorious, and victorious is Manda dHaije, as well as those who love his name.

Fourth piece.

A new account of the wandering of the soul through the guardhouses, see p. 183. The rulers of the guardhouses are here: Nbaz, Nbū, the seven created by Ptahil Gestalten, [Jōrabbā?], Christ, Ewath the Holy Spirit, [Ptahil], Abathur.

In the name of life and in the name of Manda dHaijē, the Blessed One among the worlds (beings).

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1) Read "NOT").

°) See above, p. 131°, 2367.

3) Read P1D').

This is the splendor and light of life. As the mind and soul leave the body, from the skirt of blood and meat, from the boiling cauldron, from the heated ovens, from the Ditches, ...') and pits parted, then this soul went and came across a guardhouse in which the device, foot block, torment and torment are held together they are where the guilty souls are judged with lawless rights. With a scourge of fire whips the [sorcerers and]*) witches, like worms throw them into the opening of the ovens.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its your whole form trembles in its garment. She's calling for the big one, where is the life that I loved, where is the Kuštā, which has taken its place in my heart, where is the alms that I in my pocket?"

To this they reply: 'O soul! You ascend to the place of light, why do you call for the great, noble life? Give your name and from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor, from the great, noble crater"), [27] from the great Jordan they have received healing and from the great sources of light."

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls, shows and give her her name, her sign, her blessing, and her baptism, and what else can you get from the waves of water, from the treasures of splendor, from the great, noble crater, from the great Jordan of healings, from from the mighty sources of light and from the great, noble life hat. Then the cursed ones fell on her face and said to her: 'Go, Soul, run and get there, escape, climb up, conduct your case and if you win, speak and be heard, remember us before the great, noble life."

To which she replies to them: 'Who shall save your life from the great- thinking? You are pretenders, we are weaklings, you are gods, we are People, your own deeds and works will remember you."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, ascend before me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and I say to them: 'Whose is watching- this is the house, and who is tied up in it?" They reply to me Uthras, my brothers: ,,This guardhouse is that of the Nbaz, the power of the Of heaven, the great anvil of the earth. At the gates of the worlds there is a The throne is placed, and its train stretches over all the seas. Be His head is hit on the ...'), and his feet rest on the lower abaddons of darkness." Further, they said, 'In this watch- at home, the priests, priests and oracle men are tied up, giggling,

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1) Hardly, "Nails", Nöld., p. 612. ")
According to the following pieces.

") See p. 183":

4) The meaning of here is uncertain. That it is as elsewhere הילבוניא for ,"Eggs", see p. 2367, is unlikely.

..... and ...'), the separated ones") and outstanding ones, the the men, their wives, and the women, who leave their spouses, who push the boundaries and set the boundary stones move it. You tie her up in this watchhouse and brew her") with Sword, fire [28] and fire until the day of judgment, until the 5th day of judgment The hour, the hour of salvation."

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now Fear, fear, horror and trembling in front of me are no longer there. They Soul then went there and came across another guardhouse, in which device, Foot block, torment, oppression and torment are held together, where at the souls of bad people are judged by lawless rights. With a You whip the wizards and witches, like worms you throw put them in the opening of the boiler.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its her whole figure trembles in her robe. She calls for the big one, and says, Where is the life that I loved, where is the Kušta, who has taken a place in my heart, where is the alms that I in my pocket?"

To which she is replied: 'O soul! You climb to the big place of light why do you call for the great, noble life? Give your Name and your sign, your blessing and your baptism, which you received from the Waves of water, from the treasures of splendor, from the great, noble Craters, from the vast sources of light and from the great, noble You brought life."

How this soul stands in its place, opens it (the mouth), calls, shows and gives her her name and her sign, her blessing and her baptism, and what else can this soul get from the waves of water, from the treasures of the From the great, noble crater, from the mighty springs of the He brought light and great, noble life. Then the cursed ones fell and they said to her, 'O soul, run and get there, escape, climb up, lead your case and win, remember our before the great, noble life."

To this she replies to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one?' Remember life? You are [29] Stretching, we are weaklings, you are Gods, we are human, your own deeds and works will become your memory."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, ascend before me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and I say to them: 'Whose is watching- this is the house, and who is tied up in it?" Reply to my question

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1) and NDNTN3 probably also denote vegetabilia, but are unknown. That Throw down the scarf probably for magical purposes.

") NNWD, see p. 277', 280°.

") Read p5p582) despite "sword". I also thought about p3D, but this one finds in the sense of "tormenting" only in paël.

to me: 'This guardhouse is that of the wise scripturalist Nbu'), before to whom these books of his have been laid down, and whose memorial book is on his Hands are2). At the top of his book, woe is cast down for him, at the end of his book he cries woe, woe!" They also spoke to me: ,,In this watchhouse are the outstanding and secreted Scribes who see with their eyes, hear with their ears, with to call out to their mouths, to know in their hearts, and yet to do no good. You tie her up in this guardhouse and brew her with sword, brand and fire until the day, the day of judgment, until the hour, the hours of Salvation"

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now Fear, fear and horror of me are no longer there. This soul then went there and came across a guardhouse in which the device, foot block, torment, Oppression and torment are held together, where one is left with lawless rights judge the souls of the wicked. Whipping with a fire whip man the sorcerers and witches, like worms you throw them into the opening oven.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its her whole figure trembles in her robe. She's calling for the big one, and he says, 'Where is the life that I love, where is the Kuštā, which has taken its place in my heart, where is the alms that I in my pocket?"

To which she is replied: 'O soul! You climb to the big place of light why do you call for the great, noble life? [30] Give your Your name and your sign, which you took from the waves of the water, from the And from the great, noble crater."

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls, shows and gives her her name and her sign, her blessing and her baptism, and what else is there about her, she who came from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor, from the mighty fountains of light, and from the great, he brought a great life. Then the cursed ones fell on their faces and they said to her, 'O soul, run and get there, escape, climb up, lead your cause and win, remember us before the great, noble life."

To this I reply to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one Remember life? You are extroverts, we are weaklings, you are gods, we are human beings, your own deeds and works will remember you."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, the sons of Light, rise up in front of me. I speak to the Uthras, my brothers: ,,Whose This is the guardhouse, and who is bound in it?" You reply to that me: ,This guardhouse is that of the seven figures that Ptahil-

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1) See p. 205 unt.

2) See p. 206, 15.

he called. They are clothed with roses, covered with roses. wreath fornication and fornication is laid on their heads. Fornication and shame is placed in your bosom. Their breasts are exposed to shame, their side slashed them to misdeeds. The dispute is over for you- they are cast out, strife is spread for them, and their heads are hidden from them." 5

I also ask and say: 'Who is in this watchhouse, the Ptahil evoked, tied up?" To this the Uthras reply to me, my Brothers: ,,In this watchhouse those are tied up who go to the house go to the Tammūz, sit there for 28 days, slaughter sheep, mix basins, Throw down the cake and sit in mourning in the house of the Dilbat'). The True-10 sages and fortune tellers, the magicians and witches, the boogers and boohle- thieves and thieves, those who are at the gates of their Comrades stand and listen to the words, open the gates, [31] who do not close their hands, who vomit what their hands do not sealed, release the shackles that your hands did not close, which is something 15 take what their hands have not laid down, who sell their milk, their kill their own children and feed the children of their comrades by begging for bites and cups that kill their own children and the children to feed their comrades, they are tied up in this watchhouse and brewed with sword, brand and fire, until the day of judgment, until 20 at the hour, the hour of salvation."

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now Fear, fear and horror of me are no longer there. This soul then went there and came across another guardhouse, in which device, foot- block, torment, oppression and torment are held together, where at 25 the souls of bad people are judged by lawless rights. With a You whip the wizards and witches, like worms you throw put them in the opening of the boiler.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its her whole figure trembles in her robe. She calls for the big one, 30 where is the life that I loved, where is the Kuštā, which has taken its place in my heart, where is the alms that I in my pocket?"

To which she is replied: 'O soul! You climb to the big place of light why do you call for the great, noble life? Give your 35 Your name and your sign, your blessing and your baptism, and what else from the waves of the water, from the treasures of the final glory, from the great, noble crater, from the great Jordan of healings, from the mighty sources of light and from the great, noble life you got it." 40

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls and show their name and their sign, their blessing and their baptism, and

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1) Or Dlibat. See p. 176, 16ff.

what else is there about her, she who came from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor, from the mighty sources [32] of light, and from the great, he brought a great life. Then the cursed ones fell on their faces and they said to her: 'Run, soul, escape, get there and climb up, conduct your case and be victorious, remember us before the great, noble life."

To this I reply to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one Remember life? You are extroverts, we are weaklings, you are gods, we are human beings, your own deeds and works will remember you."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, the sons of Light, rise up in front of me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and speak to to them: 'Whose guardhouse is this, and who is tied up in it?" On it answer me: 'In this watchhouse, the great ones who live with great Take bushels and give them with small bushels, the interest and interest-take interest. She ties you up in this watchhouse and brews you with Sword, brand, and fire until the day, the day of judgment, until the hour, the hours of salvation."

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now I was afraid, Fear, terror and trembling in front of me are no longer there. This soul then he went and came across another guardhouse, in which the device, foot- block, torment and torment are held together, where you are left with lawless rights the souls of bad people. With fire whips you whip the Wizards and witches, like worms, you throw them into the opening of the cauldrons.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its your whole form trembles in your garment. She's calling for the big one, and says (to him): 'Where is the life that I loved, where is the Kušta that took place in my heart, where is the Althe moses I carried in my bag?"

To which she is replied: 'O soul! You climb to the big place of light why do you call for the mighty, noble life? Give [33] your Your name and your sign, your blessing and your baptism, and what else from the waves of the water, from the treasures of splendor, from the the mighty sources of light, from the great, noble crater, from the you have brought the great Jordan of healings and of the great, noble life."

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls, shows and gives her her name and her sign, her blessing and her baptism and what else can this soul get from the waves of water, from the treasures of splendor, from the mighty sources of light and from the great Brought life. Then the cursed ones fell on their faces and spoke to her: ,,Run, soul, and escape, lead your case and win whether, remember us before the great, noble life."

To this I reply to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one?' Remember life? You are extroverts, we are weaklings, you are gods, we are human beings, your own deeds and works will remember you."

I am ascending, and the Uthras, the sons of Light, are ascending open up to me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and speak to them: Whose guardhouse is this, who guards it, and who is tied up in it?« To my question, they reply to me: 'This guardhouse is that of the magician Christ, the Son of the Spirit of Lies, who claims to be the God of the Naşoreans has thrown up')." Further, they say to me: 'In this watchhouse are tied up the "holy") men and women, the virgin men and women, the unmarried men and women, the men who are after no Women, and the women who do not desire men, the children so that they have none to destroy the children in their bodies*), who cut off their living seed, which was brought to them from the house of life has come. You tie her up in this watchhouse and brew her [34] with Sword, brand, and fire until the day, the day of judgment, until the hour, the hours of salvation."

I was walking past that guardhouse when I told myself that now I was afraid, There are no more horrors and tremors in front of me. I went and poked on another guardhouse, in which the device, foot block, torment, oppression, Bondage and torment are held together, where one is left with lawless rights the souls of bad people. Whips with fire whips man the sorcerers and witches, like worms you throw them into the opening oven.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its her whole figure trembles in her robe. She's calling for the big one, where is the life that I loved, where is the Kušta, who has taken a place in my heart, where is the alms that I have in my pocket?"

To which she is replied: 'O soul! You climb to the big place of light why do you call for the great, noble life? Give your name and your sign, your blessing and your baptism, which you received from the waves of water, from the treasures of splendor, from the great Jordan of the Healings, from the mighty sources of Light and from the great, noble You brought life."

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls, shows and gives her her name and her sign, her blessing and her baptism and what else is there about her that she brought from the waves of the water, from the Treasures of splendor, from the great Jordan of healings, from the it has brought great sources of light and great, noble life. Then the cursed ones fell on her face and said to her: 'O soul, run and get there, escape and climb up, lead your case and if you win, speak and be heard, remember us before the great one, noble life.«

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1) See pp. 25, 27.

2) See p. 1363.

") I read prino) with BD instead of pro) AC.

To this I reply to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one?' Remember life? [35] You are extroverts, we are weaklings, you are Gods, we are human, your own deeds and works will become your memory."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, the sons of Light, rise up in front of me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and speak to to them: 'Whose guardhouse is this, and who is tied up in it?" On it the Uthras reply: 'This watch-house is that of the Ewath, the holy One Spirit." Further, they say to me: 'In this guardhouse they are tied up the fasters and the fasters, who fast a fast of iniquity and a prayer those who hunger for bread and do not eat, for water thirsty and not drinking, sitting there in sorrow and sorrow, your head just stretch') and do not offer a greeting. She ties you up in this Keep watch and brew them with sword, brand and fire until the day, the day of judgment, until the hour, the hour of redemption."

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now Fear, fear, horror and trembling in front of me are no longer there. They Soul then went there and came across another guardhouse, in which device, Foot block, torment, oppression and torment are held together, where you can the righteous judge the souls of the wicked. With a You whip the wizards and witches, like worms you throw in the opening of the furnaces.

As this soul stands in its place, it trembles and trembles, and its her whole figure trembles in her robe. She's calling for the big one, hehren Leben, saying, 'Where is the life that I loved, where is the Kuštā, who has taken a place in my heart, where is the alms, the i carried in my pocket?"

To which she is replied: 'You soul ascend to the great place of light why do you call for the great, noble life? Give your Names [36] and your sign, your blessing and your baptism, and what or else it is on you who have come from the waves of the water, from the treasures of the From the great, noble crater, from the great Jordan of the Healings, from the mighty sources of Light and from the great, noble You brought life."

As this soul stands in its place, it opens (the mouth), calls, shows and gives her her name and her sign, her blessing and her baptism and what else is there about her, this soul from the waves of water, from the treasures of splendor, from the mighty sources of light and from the great, noble life. Then the cursed ones fell on her And they said to her, 'Soul, run and get there, escape

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1) Who keep the head stiff, without inclining it to salute. Inmerically uncertain. נגר is found in this piece in the sense of "torturing, tormenting", but it seems to me this will fit less zn.

and rise up, conduct your case and win, speak and become hearken, remember us before the great, noble life."

To this I reply to them: 'Who shall honor yours before the great one?' Remember life? You are extroverts, we are weaklings, you are gods, we are human beings, your own deeds and works will remember you."

I ascend, and the Uthras, my brothers, the sons of Light, rise up in front of me. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and speak to to them: 'Whose guardhouse is this, and who is tied up in it?" On it the Uthras, my brothers, say to me: 'In this watchhouse are the Evil, which provoked Ptahil. In it are the great powers-haber') and rulers who sit on the thrones of rebellion, to carry out their actions with the scourge and shed blood in the tibil. They acquit the guilty and condemn the innocent. You accept bribes and receive gifts. They twist the right, bend the right. They go out into the streets of the Tibil and say, what they do not see, tell what they do not hear, swear oaths [37] the And witness a testimony of iniquity. She ties you up in this overwatch- and brew it with sword, and with fire, and with fire, until the day when Days of judgment, until the hour, the hours of salvation."

I passed that guardhouse, and I said to myself that now I'm afraid, Fear and horror of me will no longer be there. I went there and came to the guardhouse of the old, high, hidden and guarded Abathur. I ask the Uthras, my brothers, and I say to them: 'Whose Guardhouse is this one, and who is tied up in it?" I will reply to that the Uthras, my brothers: ,,This is the guardhouse of the old, high, verborrowed and stored Abathur. The carriage is raised in front of him. He weigh works and wages. He weighs and unites the mind with the soul. Anyone who proves to be of great importance during weighing is lifted up and grant him a Stiitze in life. Who is not full when weighing-as it turns out, the litigation is already being settled there."

I ask and speak: , Who is all in this watchhouse of Abathur tied up?" To this they reply to me: 'In this the Naşoreans are tied up, who were not Näşoreans, who did not know the eve of the day") and did not go to the temple on Sunday, who did not bow their heads, did not they taught") and did no service*) who did not give alms to the poor and did not open their gates to the poor, who had wronged themselves They settled their names by calling themselves Näşoreans."

As this soul stands in its place, she looked and saw the Ajar-gufnā (ether-vine), the son of Piriawis-Gufnā, whose

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1) Siche p. 136".

2) See p. 283, 17.

") Since "NEDN5 can be both "NED N5 and "NEDN N5, it is doubtful whether it ,,not learned" or ,,not taught" means.

4) Not just worship, but general activity in the service of the faith.

Heels of water, whose root is the trunk of souls, whose branches Uthras, whose leaves are lights of light'). A leaf took this soul from him and put it on his eyes. Then she was blinded by and she looked at the outer Ãther and the light 5 Residence. They lifted up the fold of life's clothes for this soul and it was introduced, it was based on the image of life").

Life supported life,
[38] life found its own.
His own found life,
and my soul found what it hoped for.

Live our knowing, live our understanding, live the Men who teach us. Life is firmly established in his Škina, which Life is victorious over all works").

---

1) Siche Lit. , pp. 72 unt.

2) See also Lit., p. 84, 4f., where the words are incorrectly reproduced. ND)Nכ heißit next to ,,arm, side, lap" anch,,Kleiderfolde, Tasche", and this meaning is here, see also text 131, 16. It is uncertain what is meant by the "image of life" here.

3) Cod. Sorry, there is still: niind anon האכא לתית סידריא דבימאניא הינון ס--א pint this is the book that Mandā dHaije taught and taught to the souls of the Watchers: from here down the books are the Mānās."

Second book.

The second book hestelt ans 28 Stiicken with a uniform entry, in which the The soul introduces itself as the Mānā of life. Most of the topics are also related to the content near. The man complains that ilm is being removed from his original home and returned to the- the earth was thrown into the body of the wicked. On his call comes a Helpers, usually alone, but also with other bullies, as in Stiick 8, see also Piece 27. The helper enlightens him and comforts him, he admonishes him to persevere and ver- tell him the reward of this world and the salvation of this world. The helper will be in these Usually NEYN), which can also be required by the creator. The former Sin 1 it shows that it is needed next to it. Some pieces deviate from the main form ab, and even otherwise contradictions show up. The collection does not come from the same Author, and cinige Stiicke probably only got the matching from the compiler Get introduction. The piece above, p. 327f', also has a related content anderc introduction. In piece 1, the NP3YiND is sent by Mandā dHaije. In piece 10 only the forefather to whom the Mānā turns is named. He is apparently not the 470, 17f. The Father then sends a helper to him. In piece 15, the the Mānā was first invited by the great ones to enter the hull and go to the planets. He tnt it. the planets are trying to pull ilm into their nets, but he thwarts their attempts. The Mānā then calls for his helper and asks iln. to bring iln up again. In accordance with the fief, the helper does it. Also in pieces 16, 19, the male is first asked to enter the body. In pieces 14, 19, 21, 24, 25 the Mānā is called Adam, in piece 18,,the hidden Adam* in In contrast to the physical torso, while in Stiick 8 just this Adam is called. On the whole, the Sermon is a book of consolation to read for those who know the Scriptures to speak to those you don't know. The number 28 came up.Reitzenstein together with the lunar stations. By the number of lunar stations, the number became 28 popular, and it may be that the compiler deliberately chose them. but to the moon- he hardly thought about the stations himself.

In the name of the great life, may the community and the Blessed- and a remission of sins granted to me, the NN soul, the The soul of my wife, (the souls of) my children, my Father NN, my mother NN, as well as the souls of our fathers, our

Masters, our brothers and our sisters, who have left their bodies they are divorced and still in their bodies.
O gentle Mānā,
o orderly, well-ordered Mānā, o
gentle Manā,
may helpers come with you,
until the scales weigh
Works and wages.

First piece.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. --
I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I
am a Manā of the great life.
Who let me live in the Tibil?
In the Tibil, who let me live,
who threw me into the physical hull?
Who threw me into the physical hull,
who is without hands and feet?
He has neither hands nor feet
and I don't know how to lie.
He lies there and crawls
and is without power.
Why did they call me [39] away from my
place, took me there and threw me in the
hull? My feet are feet of shine,
now you need to serve the trunk for walking.
My mouth is a pure mouth,
now he became a mouth for the trunk.
My eyes that were opened from the place of light,
now belong to the hull.
My heart that selnet after life, came
there and was given to the hull.
My meaning, in which life dwells,
have you cast in (physical) casings here.
My feet have planted chosen planters, now
they are on the path of the trunk.

The path of the trunk is,
don't leave me the Seven on my') paths.
How must I obey, how must I tolerate,
how must I calm my mind!
How must igh hear of the seven and twelve mysteries,
how must I moan *)!
How must the speech of my mild Father
dwell among the dark beings!

When the Mānā said this,
his reputation rose to the place of light.
Manda dHaije heard my call
and sent his messenger to me:
,Go, my pure messenger,
show yourself to the Mānā that he shines.
If you don't show yourself to the Mānā,
the ephemeral ones despise him."
In a hidden glow there stood the
messenger who came to him.
He stood there in splendor
and revealed himself to Manā, the Son of the mighty (life).
He screamed and let him hear his voice
and set his heart on his support:
,,Light and enlighten, Manā!
I have come to you and I will not leave you.
When they call you,
climb up to the place of light.
They created me
and sent to you.
Up, leave, Mānā,
the hull you're thrown into,
the trunk in which you grew up, who
is without hands and feet.
Rise, rise to your ancestral homeland,
to your good seats of the Uthras.
Dwell among the Uthras, your brothers,
sit there as you are used to.
Find your home location
and curse the world of deception in which you were").
Your shine will remain on you,
stand up in your hidden light.

---

1) Read לְדירכאי.

2) Read ON nba.

a) Siebe Lit., p. 160.

[40] Let your splendor come before you,
and let your light be fixed behind you.
May your throne be established as it was established,
and the seven will be without well-being." —
And life is victorious.

Second piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
I am a Mānā of the great life.
Who threw me into secrets and beckons? In
secrets and beckons, who threw me, who
cast me in deficiency and in error')?
In defectiveness and defectiveness, who cast me, who
showed me the picture of ...2)?
Who made me dwell on the earth of destruction"), where all
the mountains will soon be destroyed?
All the exalted ones that are on it will be destroyed, their
power will be cut off among them.

How the mana stands and thinks,
here comes the man, his helper.
His great helper is coming,
who provided for him, who provided for him well:
,According to the house in which you live,
why do you ask?
You didn't know, Mānā,
that it will happen as you said")?
We submit ourselves") in secret,
that you leave her quickly.
Soon you will leave her
and climb up to us.

---

1) 72N ,casting" is supported by text 39, 5. Of course, it would be better to have i fell down", cf. the previous jND7 and D.

°) Again, the sense of N71D is dark, see p. 2591. ,Matte" or .,Celebration of" paft not here either.

a) Here is probably to read after suffering.

4) But probably to be taken as a question.

8) Actually, "we undervalue ourselves", but originally maybe another The word stood.

To us you shall ascend
and stay in our Škīnā."

When the helper spoke thus to the Mānā,
he locked the door and calmed
down. The Manā closed and calmed down
and no longer asked about the ephemeral.
He no longer asked about the ephemeral,
who built the dilapidated house.
He tolerated himself for a short while and lived in
it'), but soon he flew up and got to his place.
Soon he got to his place,
the place from which he was created,
the place from which he was created
and in which his form was illuminated.
The mana rejoices in his heart
[41] and clears up in his trunk:
,How wonderful is what you told me, Father*),
how wonderful that the great (life) abandoned
me. Go, go, your planet,
go, become a share of your houses.
Go, become a share of your houses,
and your houses may become a part of you.
I and the root") of my father rise up,
the house will leave around you." —
And blessed be life.

Third piece.

I am a Manā of the great life,
I am a man of tremendous life,
I am a mana of the great life. Who
threw me into the suffering of the world')?
In the suffering of the world*) who threw me,
who put me in the evil darkness?

---

1) In this book, skin and 787 are together. The original version- binding is 530 ."endure and tolerate," and so it stands at L 79, 20 (Lit., pp. 158, 1). but from this it was made unmistakably 77) 530 , "endure and dwell (in ...)".

e) BCD (also sorry.) after that, "what my father told me".

") Sorry. has NW.

Sorry, "of the worlds".

Who put me in the evil darkness,
who showed me the blazing fire?
Who showed me the fire,
and who threw me into the murky water,
from which the spoilers are formed.
From this the spoilers are formed,
and therefore they become
cloudy. Maybe I'll be held back
and my shape is clouding like their shape.
Maybe my shape is clouding
and my speech gets lost away from my parents.

How the Mānā stands and seeks to clarify himself,
here comes the man, his helper.
,,You are not a part of the suffering that you ponder over,
you are not a part of the darkness that will put an end to
you. You are not a part of the fire,
that you may see the blazing fire.
You are not a part of the turbidity,
that your form may become cloudy like them.
You are a part of the brightness,
which is without turbidity.
You are a part of the light earth,
where there is no darkness that will put an end to you.
You will win, Mānā,
and your own figure will enlighten you. Your
mind will firmly support you,
and your heart will be a helper and builder for
you. Stay in the world and live in it,
until we ask for you.
[42] When we ask for you,
we will come here and come to you.
We will go here and come to you,
then we will take you out') and to your treasure house
[lift up."
How his father supported the Manā,
he spoke and sang miraculous hymns.
He spoke and sang miraculous hymns
and in his mind he searched about the ephemeral things
,Why don't I submit, [lighten.
where the strength of my father supported micl to a great extent?
For a long time I endured it and longed for the world,
for a long time I lived among the works of my hands.

---

1) Sorry. has prn.

For a long time I lived in it,
until my number became full.
Where my number is full,
i remembered the meaning of my native house.
I was thinking of the first tannā'),
from which all uthras were created.
My great helper came to me,
the man who supported me to a great extent,
the man whose power stayed with me
and [my heart?] in the world calmed down.
He grabbed me with his right
hand, lift me up to my treasure house and hide me there.
When I saw my treasure house,
I forgot about the empty apartments.
I spoke with the speech [of the Uthras?]") and lit up,
and my foreheads were put on me by his blessing on the
[Heads turned."
Blessed be the great life, life is victorious.

Fourth piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I
am a Manā of the great life.
Who took me out of my treasure house? Who
took me out of my treasure house, who threw
me into the house of the Fourth")? Who
threw me into the Fourth House,
that the bad guys are breeding on me?
The wicked are angry with me
and they think evil of me every day. They
are sinning against me in (evil) senses
and speak:
,We want to cut him off with us, we want him back with us-
and shut off from its places of origin. [let
We want to block him [43] from his places of origin,
and he will be a part of us."

---

1) See above, p. 151".

2) A word has come up behind; perhaps Nary 7 is to be found, cf. Text 43, 7f.

*) i.e. Ptahils.

The Mānā ponders and speaks:
.,Maybe they cut me from my father's place of origin
How the Mānā stands and thinks, here [starting.«
comes the man, his helper.
His great helper is coming,
who brought him here: ,,Mānā!
Do not ponder and do not consume yourself
and do not grieve for the perishable.
The disgraceful Ephemeral fortunes do not
cut you off and leave you with him. They will
not be able to leave you with them and shut
you off from your father's place of origin. The power
of your Father is with you,
and the speech of the Uthras rests on you."

When the Mana heard this,
he no longer brooded in evil
and made the plans of the ephemeral to nullify. He
cried') with a loud voice
and witnessed the light shoot.
He cried") with noble, otherworldly praise, then
the great helper came to him.
[The great helper came to him]
and took him out of the world:
,Get up, Manā, come with me,
go with me to your place.
Put on your hidden robe, to the
destruction") and not to cling to anger.
Corruption and anger are not attached to
him; the Uthras put it on and flaunted."
The treasure that he bestowed on him, life took on"), the
messenger who came to him was victorious.
Life set up the Mānā, and
the messengers set him up in his place.
- And life is victorious.

---

2) Read קראבה.
") This sense fits hesser than here."Pass away, eat", see p. 9,4.
*) Not quite sure.

Fifth piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a man of tremendous life,
I am a Mānā of the great life,
a son of rich splendor, a son of bright glory. Why did
they expose me to my splendor, did they
take me there and throw me into the physical garment?
In the physical garment they threw me,
which he') put on and took off.
Welı and suffering are in my physical garb,
in which they brought me and threw me.
How often do I have to take it off, how often to put it on.
should always settle my dispute
and do not look at life in its skīnā.

How the Mānā stands and seeks to clarify himself,
[44] here comes the man, his helper:
,,You shall live with me,
and in your heart we will take a seat.
We will take a seat in your heart
and lift you up to your noble skinā.
Quickly passing, I want to make and pull together the months,
same . . . . .2).
Let your measure be like nothing,
I want to make the whole world contemptible").
You belonged to me here*),
now I want to take you out of the world and lift you up. I
want to take you away from her and lift you up
i want to leave everyone quickly.
I want to leave everyone,
let them all die and perish.
You are my image,
I will lift you up and keep you in my robe. In
my robe, which the great (life) grants me,
in the pure fragrance that it entrusts to me.
That robe you were in, I want
to beat the head of the one who created it.

---

1) A change in the person, see p. 144.

2) here, apparently, denotes a concretum formed by. Chew n
„Splinters". Something like pr% will have been behind it.

3) See above, p. 428^{10}

4) Sorry. hat painy. What is there does not fit the following; perhaps it הועתליא is or to read jtnyin.

Because they fall and pass away
the men who made it. The
men of the order pass away')." He
became a helper to the Mānā.
He tasted and caressed him
and put his blessing on him. From
his blessing he laid on him
and consolidated him in the Škinā of his
fathers. - Life is victorious over all works.

Sixth piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a mana of tremendous life,
I am a mana of the great life. I am
strengthened by the grace of my Father. I
am strengthened by my Father's grace,
i shine in the splendor about which she enlightens
me. Still I could not rejoice at the mercy of my Father, do
not yet understand the splendor about which she enlightens
me. Insidious3) they put me in the tibil,
they drove me out of my place and my place. They
drove me out and took me out of my place,
drive me out of my father's house. The
maker of bodies shall be smitten and put to death,
he created the world with his plans.
The planets are to be beaten and cursed, who
were at the forefront of his creation.
I want to escape (from) under your hand,
will go and accept the grace of my Father, will
accept [45] the splendor about which she enlightens
me. I want to rejoice all his treasure,
be perfected by all his wisdom").

How the Mānā stands and ponders,
is the man, his helper, approaching,
the great helper comes near:

---

1) Who have been commissioned with the production?
2) Insecure. Sorry. has FNDy and FNDyl, which palt worse.
a) Cf. Joh. II, p. 1164.

If') you want to accept the grace of your Father,
accept the splendor about which she enlightens
you, when you accept all your treasure and rejoice in
it, if you want to be perfected by all your wisdom, if
you want to set yourself up right,
stay and live in the world.
Stay and live in the world,
until your measure becomes full of
you, until your measure becomes full
and quite will be the number that they awarded
you. Then I want to come to you with rich splendor
and with light without end."

For a long time I waited and lived in the world,
until my measure was full.
My measure was full, and my number was gauz,
then my helper came and came to me.
He took me away from their midst,
lifted me up and set me up in the house of perfection. I
understood the grace of my Father,
i understood the brilliance about which she enlightened me.
I was delighted with the treasure that (my father) created,
and was perfected by his wisdom"). - -
And life is victorious.

Seventh piece.

A Manā am icl of the great life,
I am a man of tremendous life,
I am a Mānā of the great life.
Who threw me into the misery of angels?
Who threw me into the misery of angels,
who are ugly, whose scent smells bad
and whose shape is ugly and misshapen?
Even ugly is her figure;
who threw me under them?
How should I grow up among them,
where their residences are not suitable for me?

---

1) Read Y.
2) Feel good and read.

How should I dress her robe
    and live in your apartment?

How the Mānā stands and seeks to clarify himself,
    his helper came to him.
His helper came to him
    and made him hear a bright call.
[A bright call] he made him hear
    and spoke to him in brilliant speech:
‚Abominable is the smell of angels,
    but [do not care]') about their smell, [46] since it is on you [does not stick.
When their shape is misshapen,
    why are you asking about them?
You heard our voice,
    our imperishable speech was heard by you.
We spoke to you with our brilliant speech"),
    so stay and live in the house of misery.
The angels are hideous,
    her own darkness made her hideous. Look
at us and keep yourself pure
    and turn your gaze to your place.
Turn your gaze to your place,
    we are yours.
We are with you,
    and your form shines through us."

When he spoke thus to the Mānā,
    he prayed a righteous prayer. He
performed a proper prayer
    and prayed in firm
words: ‚I heard my helper"),
    now I will endure and dwell in the world.
I want to endure in the world and live
    in it, as long as my helper likes
it. If my helper likes it,
    let him go and come to me.
He will go and come to me
    and get me out of the misery of the angels.
Out of the misery of the angels he'll get
    me, their shape is ugly and misshapen."

Soon my helper came,
    he brightened me up and enlightened me.

---

1) This or similar is to be supplemented. 2) Read מאמלאלאן 3) Read roww.

He took me out of my body
and led me away under his escort. He
brought me') according to the treasure to which he went, and
strengthened me in the place where he was strengthened.
He strengthened me and made fellowship
with me and counted me on his own account.
.- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Eighth piece.

A Manā") I am of the great
life, I am a Mānā of mighty life, I
am a Manā of the great life,
who I left to come into the world. To
get into the world I broke up, their
inhabitants do not notice it at all.
Don't your residents notice me altogether,
not all worlds perceive me.
For a long time the Ãons did not notice me,
until I was thrown into the hull.
Until I was thrown into the hull
and Adam stood on his feet.
‹Adam stood on his feet,
while sleep [47] overwhelmed him.)
When Adam stood on his feet,
he cursed the man, his Creator"). He
cursed the maker of bodies*),
in whose hands his works did not become right.
Then his works were justified in his hands.",
until he created Adam?
Until he created Adam,
until this one resembled his image,

---

2) Read godmother.

°) See for this Stiicke Reitzenstein, The Mandaean book of the Lord of the Size, p. 92.

3) According to the following, NESN) is to be understood here in this sense.

4) Siele Lit., p. 102 ob.

") Read ppryoy with BC and sorry., i.e. ppn wypy, see Nöld., pp. 434 unt.

until he was full of living fire, how
his father had filled him with it. He
created and did not make it right,
until he created the wrong hull.
He created the wrong hull
and the empty hostel.
They drive me away from my place and
drove me out of the midst of my brethren.
They drove me out of the midst of my good
brothers, from the midst of the well-armed,
well-equipped. When will I leave the hull,
will entrust him to destruction and destruction,
will leave his works,
will the rebellious ruin close?
I will ascend to my place, the
planets will then fall down without getting up.

How the manā stands and enlightens himself
suclt, and his helper came to him, as
well as his own protectors
and the great, good ...[1]) who accompanied him:
,,On, Mānā, leave this world!
The perversity that pained you will become their own masters [take over.
The sleep you woke up from,
will turn and press on you.
Up, dress with the rich luster and
cover yourself with the expensive
light. Tie the belt of open eyes around
you, he is all eyes, all eyes."

The Mānā ascended from them,
and the planets surrender to the suit. Every
day they surrender to the lawsuit, every
day they eat around me ...2).
They lie on mats,
the bad guys are sitting there like prisoners.
The Manā ascended to the house of life and
did not brood in grief and lamentation.
In grief and lamentation he did not
ponder, there was nothing wrong with
him. There was nothing wrong with him,
he took nothing from them.

---

1) In the text stelit which gives no sense.

2) See p. 21 1.

manā ****** * *****
***** in secret they set me up
and based me on the image of the great life. —
And blessed be the great life.

Ninth piece.

[48] I am a Manā of the great life,
I am a mana of tremendous life,
I am a Mānā of the great life,
who seeks to clarify himself in his sense:
,,Why has my figure changed?
Where are you taking me?
To which place still
do you want to remove my Škinā?
They want to take me away
their brilliant speeches.
They want me out of their prayers ....[1]),
which they do in the house of perfection.
They want to take me away [from the] pure glimmer
of light2) and let them live in a smelly
robe. When I see that robe,
who will come and take me over")?
Who will be a caller to me,
who will be a great helper for me?
Who will sit down with me and caress me,
that I do not forget from here, from my place, what I have
[applied istau
How the Manā stands and ponders,
his helper held him tightly.
His helper gripped him tightly
and became a caller to him:
,Your radiance coming from life is extended and great,
why do you call him a glimmer of light?
To take away the shine')
and cut off the light from the robe!
The good ones are missing,
although they have not yet seen what is ugly.

---

1) There was probably a form of אויל.
") Sorry. has NEsy, see also
continue. ") Maybe ,and wake me up". 4) Read 2NDJ12.

Where you haven't seen what's ugly,
why are they missing and passing away?"

Then the man with his loud mouth he answered
the helper who had strengthened him:
,,I was full of lack,
now you have supported me, and the Light has become abundant.
You have supported me now, the light has become abundant,
and strength and firmness came in
abundance by the power of my great helper,
through the strength of the man who strengthened
me. He gripped me tightly with his right
hand and transferred his essence to me.
Through his rays [placed] over me') iclı lit up,
I lived in the stinking body and did not
ponder. The hours dragged on, the gravy pulled together.
and the course of the world was divided.
The seven stars were distributed,
and the shortage pressed on her.
My great helper came
and made me take off the body [49] of death.
The body of death he let me undress and
clothed me in the splendor of his rays. He
taught me about the Mass for the dead,
which they kept from any place."

He and his great helper
light up in a škīnā.
In a Škinā they shine
and live in praise.
A victory has been created for them,
and they take half the share of the grace.
You are looking to lighten up in a Škinā,
and how to try to lighten up, you will be enlightened. —
And blessed be life.

Tenth piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
I am a Manā of the great life,
who enlighten himself through the enlightenment of his father suclit:

---

1) That xw3N77 has this meaning here, not "talking" can be seen from Z. 22.

,From you, my Father, I receive instruction,
you became an assistant to me.
You became a helper for me,
tell me where you're sending me."

To this the forefather replied
and spoke to Mānā, the Son of the Mighty.'):
,We will send you here to your place,
which the Uthras, the sons of Salvation, created." ... –
„If you send me there,
tell me who of the Uthras created the place.
Tell me who created him from the Uthras,
so that I can bear the misery that is on him,
when I, my forefather, am thrown into it,
************.“

The Mānā descended to the world.
To the world the Mānā descended,
came there and fell into misery.
He came there, fell into misery,
and sighing received him. The
Mānā complains") and sighs,
that he was cut off from his place: ,,My
gentle father did not protect me,
he didn't teach me about every single thing and
did not enlighten me about the world.
Now that I have descended") and reached her, they
were all filled with wickedness. How
much should I hear from her'),
how much of their suffering endure!
I'm hurt and sorry,
that my father would not let me hear anything of his speech.
Nothing made my father hear me from his speech, he did
not give me any advice from the believers.
When my gentle father likes it,
send me a man, [50] a helper.
He sends me a helper, a first helper, in
whose Škīnā everything he says is heard."

,,You know, Manā,
who created the world,

---

1) Thus according to text 30, 16f.

") 73) is probably to be understood in the same way (see also text 53, 13), as is often the case with words for ,,lawsuit* is connected.

") Lies דניהתית.

*) Read NOwy.

who created the world,
and you have been advised what is right."

When the Manā heard this,
he pondered over the world:
,I want according to the word of my good father
living in a void body. I
want to stay and live in it for so long,
as my father liked it.
When my father likes it,
he will come and take me out of your midst. Because
I'm hurt and sorry
in your foul smell.
I feel hurt and sorry for the wrong talk
and listen, which is peculiar to
you. You speak and listen in falsehood,
do vain works."

I spoke [in the speech] of life; that
was sweet and pleasant to my father.
It was sweet and pleasant to my father,
and he sent his helper to me.
He sent his helper,
who speaks and is heard in his skina.
I opened my eyes,
then they were filled with light.
I opened my mouth and praised him;
he did not find me lacking and
lacking: If you know that I have missed against your
speech, leave me in my body in my place."

*Then my first helper replied')
and spoke to Mānā, the Son of Mighty:
,Be silent and be calm, Mānā,
Son of the Mighty, be silent and be calm.
Mānā, you have not missed,
no, you did the rest."
If I have done the rest and did not miss, now, what
is it that you have done to me?"

When he heard this from him,
he took ilın out of his body.

---

1) One expects "the first helper", but such a change is in the A person, as has been pointed out here several times, not infrequently.

He took it out of his body and performed hymns,
he calmed him, redeemed him and raised him
up. He lifted him up and showed him the great Lord of perfection
and set him up in expensive splendor. —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Eleventh piece.

I am a Mānā of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I am
a Mānā of the great life. Who
made me want to wear a physical garment?
[51] As long as I lived in him,
there was no lack of him.
I did not miss and did not pass me by and
did not accept any mistake.
I made no mistake
and did not create any offense in front of
me. There was no mixture on me,
I did not turn my speech away from my father's speech.
I shine by the power of my Father,
by the man who has made me live in physical garb
He let me live in a physical garment, [let. so
I waited and dwelt in it
and did not make a mistake for my father.
Do not say that the Mānā has forgotten what he was told,
the man was missing what he owed to his homeland. With
the power and speech of Manā
he asks and reaches out to his Father2).
He asks and reaches;
he got rid of me and took me out of the world.
He took me out and didn't leave me there,
and there was no lack or lack of me.
My gentle father knew,
that lack and lack was not about me").
(I said:) ,,If you like it,
I will come and see your form."

---

1) On the body, docl is probably,"it was not on me" to read. ") Again, a weclısel in the person. a) It is also possible to read here.

My father sent me a messenger
and freed me from the world.
He freed me from the criminals and
all the counterfeiters.
Of all who are full of sword(battle),
they talk about violence and deceit.
He lifted me up to the house of life and
set me up under the lights. Every
single one praises and exalts me:
Blessed and blessed be you, Mānā,
who held up the glory of your Father, and have kept it.
You got rid of them; [you
you came and set up with us.
You came to us and straightened up,
came and spoke with our speech as it was." —
And blessed be the great life in the light.

Twelfth piece.

I am a Mānā of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I
am a Manā of the great life.
They went and took me to the Tibil.
They went and took me to the Tibil,
the house that the liars built.
The house was built by Liigners,
Counterfeiters live in it.
There was no knower who knew me, no [52]
knowledgeable person who would have knowledge of me.
There was no righteous,
whose speech resembled that of the
Uthras. How should I live
in the house that Ligner built?
Counterfeiters live in it,
they are full of greed.
If you, King of the Great, like it,
set up a waystone for me.
Set up a waystone for me
and in front of the waystone a large dam.
Create me a caller,
create a caller for me.

When I sleep, he wakes me up,
if I stumble, he lifts me up').
When the seven hit me,
heal me and lift me up.

How the man stands there and seeks to clarify himself,
his helper came to him. His
great helper approached,
he went there and set up a waystone for him.
He went and set up a waystone for him
and in front of the Wegstein a dam.
He was a helper to him,
he was a caller to him.
When he slept, his prayer woke him up,
when he stumbled, his praise lifted him up*).
When the Seven beat him,
his hidden power made him a healer.
He became his healer,
he lifted him up and straightened him
up, he made a straight path for him.
He showed him") and set up a path for him
and a bridge so that he may ascend to his place:
,Come, come, Mānā,
come on, climb up on your path.
Come on, climb up on your path,
come on, step on your way of life.
Come on, step on your way of life,
because I became your helper.
I took you out of the world of darkness,
set up your throne high. I set
up Your throne high, because
you endured persecution in the world.
Because you endured the persecution,
we will forgive you all the sins."
Be gracious, be gracious,
Lord of Noble Bliss,
Lord of Noble Bliss,
who sits there and keeps the Uthras right'). --
And blessed be the great life.

---

1) Probably read pa), see further. 2) See the previous note.

a) For which One would also be inclined, or N to NNW ,he created but see Text 71, 17; 72, 14.

4) The last two verses are probably a final prayer addressed to the supreme being is directed.

Thirteenth piece.

I am a Mānā of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I am
a Manā of the great life. Who
brought me here? Who
brought me here [53] among
the sinister outrages?
How shall my heart bear it '), .
how should I endure the persecution of the world?
How should I live with lions,
with devouring dragons?
How am I supposed to live with the bad
guys"), who let go of evil every day?
Every day they let go of evil,
every day they let go of horrors.
Every day they let go of horrors
and say: 'We want to frighten the Manā.
Yes, we want to scare him,
so he will be humiliated with us.
So he will be humiliated with us,
and then we stand over him.
Yes, we want to scare him,
then he will be able to dwell among the works of our hands."

The Mānā with his loud mouth
then spoke to the planets:
,,By the power of my high") Father
your terror will not come upon me. By
the power of my father's sayings
your fear does not strike me.
By the power of my great Helper')
I will stand over you.
I'm better than you,
and my speech is more miraculous than yours.
The proverbs are miraculous,
who came from my father's treasure.

Everyone whines
and sprinkled dust on ilr main.

---

1) Read or N77).

") See Joh. II, p. 1061.

*) Sorry. has NDN7.

4) Here, in parallel with 2N, can also mean ,,my Creator:.

Dust they scattered on their heads
and tore the garments of their lust. They
glowed in their evil ') embers
and they were angry with themselves:
,How could we say,
that we would destroy the Manā among us?"

When the planets spoke like this,
a voice came from the house of the great life.
A voice came from the house of the great life, called
the Mānā and woke him up.
She called and woke the Mānā,
he got up and stood over her.
He stood up, rose above her
and pronounced a rebuke against
them: ,, Go away and disappear from me,
you wicked, cut-off, perishing ones. The
light is not counted to the darkness, no
firmness is granted to sinners. Would
firmness be granted to sinners, so
the pursuit would have no ...).
The pursuit would not have ... .,
she would not have been left here."
You ... .) and did not accept [54] anything from
him, to distribute it in different parts.

The Mānā in securing his eyes
he stood up and took his place.
Then my helper came, he came to
me, he reached me") and made me a protector.
He rebuked the angels —
if only you did not come to me with passing words.

He knew the great (life),
he knew the Great,
he knew the Great,
that the Mānā endured many things admirably,
that much of the Mānā endured,
therefore, his protector came and came to him.
His helper redeemed him,
he hugged him") and lifted him up").

---

1) Read בישתא. a) See Joh. II, p. 67n.
") is probably not okay; "despise" does not fit.
4) Uncertain, see Joh. II, p. 1484. 5) Sorry, hat נאצבה ועתכאראכבה.
") Read nPDN.

He held tight and endured for a long time,
like that one1) had stayed here:
,,Come, come, Mānā,
we want to bring you to the house of the great (life).
In the Big House we want to bring you;
come on, tell the mighty one.
Come on, tell the big one,
what the Seven did to you:
that they wanted to cut you off from themselves,
to stand over you."

Yes, the Mānā broke up with his Uthra
and he came before the mighty (life).
He stood before the mighty
and told him what the Seven did to him:
"Don't you know, big,
don't you know, huge,
don't you know, big,
that I rebuked the Seven? Despite
her strength, I rebuked her,
and the seven sank down under me.
Down below me the seven sank,
and I stood over them.
Above them I stood,
then my helper came and came to me.
[My helper] came to me and reached me,
it came to me and reached me my guide. It
arrived and my guide appeared to me,
my protector, helper and guide. He
hugged me, and I came to you,
tell you what the Seven did to me."

Then the Great One blesses me
and preserve me the mighty:
,,How did you endure and persevere,
until the order to you was fulfilled!
Until your divorce came
and you were freed from the hands of the tax collectors."
The Great One looked at him and loved him,
the Uthras of Light honored him. —
And blessed be life.

---

1) The Savior (Hibil)?

Fourteenth piece.

I am a mana of the great life, I
am a Mānā of mighty life, [55] I am
a mana of the great life. They drove
him away from the house of his brothers')
and sent him into this world.
Into this world they sent him,
to come and live in the desolate wasteland,
to come and guard the wasteland; the
planets peered out and caught sight of him.
The planets peered out and caught sight of him,
they are wrong and twisted.
Her mouth is open;
it is like the Suf Sea.
Their lips are like the consuming (fire?)").
Their smell is ugly and disgusting.
How wicked and rejected they
are! When I saw her, I was afraid, and fear came over me at me.
I fell into fear, and fear came over me,
because my helper is not with me.
My helper is not with me, he is not
there; if only I didn't get cut off!

But the great (life) knew,
that fear had come over the man. Then
came the call of the great helper, who
cried out to the Mānā in the world.
He spoke to him:
,What did you see, Adam, that you were afraid,
why did fear and anxiety come over
dicl? When you saw the ugly angels,
so I will grant you their prostration. Because
of the ugly Dews that scared you, I want to
tell you"), with which they will be tied up.
Over her mouth, which is like the (sea)
suf, their own darkness will
come. Over their lips, the devouring (fire?) equal,
will come great bonding."

The voice of the gentle Manā is,
who calls his helper.
He speaks to him:

---

1) Sorry. hat Ank.

") Or "a club"? See Joh. II, p. 1667.

") Lies אמארנאלאך.

,My father! When right order prevailed,
why did Ptahil come out of his place?
Why did Ptahil emerge from his place,
why did he sow evil seeds and
created worthless tongues?"

Then came the voice of the great helper,
who cried to the Mānā in the world:
,Be calm and be silent, Adam,
and the rest of the good ones embrace
you. Watch when it hurts and worries you,
see to it that you do not curse Ptahil'[1]).
Do not curse Ptahil-Uthra,
the Uthra who has separated himself from our midst,
the Uthra who has separated himself from our
midst and then created the worthless tongues.
He is Abathur's son,
whose parents [56] do not condemn him to darkness.
When this world passes away
and the firmament of angels is rolled up,
when rolled up the angel's firmament
and the sun and moon pass away,
when the sun and moon pass away
and [shine and] brightness will be taken from them,
if shine and brightness are taken from them, the
keepers take care of it
and the stars as a whole are no longer a glimmer,
when these works pass away,
Ptahil's robe will be adjusted.
The Ptahil will have his robe adjusted,
and they will baptize him here in the Jordan.
Here in the Jordan they will baptize him,
and he will forget all the persecution he has endured.
Then Ptahil and you, Mānā,
in a skīnă lohen,
then he will become your king,
o Mānā, be called."

So the helper spoke,
and the Mānā relied on him.
When he had to endure persecution and malice.
didn't he curse Ptahil after all,
but he forgave him his sins and transgressions.

---

[1] See also p. 367 unt.; 311f.

He spoke:
,,Look at me, Helper, look at me,
reach me, come to me and redeem me,
show me my way,
which all my brothers go."

When the helper heard his call,
he heard him') from the fruits of splendor.
He seized him by the right side of the
and led him past the guardhouses.
He led him past the guardhouses
and let him pass the carriage.
The dare he let him pass
and brought him near the sons of Salvation. He
brought him close to the sons of Salvation")
and led him over the streams of water.
He led him over the streams of water,
and he ascended with him to the house of life.
When life saw him, it loved him,
wrapped him up and put him on his throne. -
- And blessed be life.

Fifteenth piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
I am a man of great life.
,Up, go to the House of Seven!
Up, go to the House of Seven,
the vain rebels of darkness. The
vain rebels of darkness") are sinister, and there
is no light among them."

When you send me to the house [57] of the Seven,
teach me about the works you practice. They
practice [void] works,
and the outflow of life is not with them.

---

1) Perhaps it is worth reading: he came.

2) Leid. hat ולואת בניא שלאמא קארבה̈ קארבה̈ לואת בניא שלאם.

*) Sorry, did not know about wtone ntone מארדיא דהשוכא.

Are they about beautiful,
and is the outflow of life with you?
Are they about beautiful,
then I will send you among them." —
,,For this we send you there,
so that your works become beautiful.
Go, fall into the hull,
and they will be without reason."

The man did not change anything about it,
what the big ones') told him.
He left their midst,
went and came to the House of the Planets. He
went there, came to the house of the planets and
he saw that their works were of no avail. Their
works are not good for anything,
and the outflow of life is not with them.
He came and fell into the hull
and shone more than all.
They opened their mouths,
but they all stayed on their way.
They all [stayed seated] on their way,
and the cursed ones do not know what to say to him.
Then the Mānā opened his mouth
and spoke to the dull cursed:
,,O you stupid cursed ones,
do you have a Manā like me?
Do you have a Mānā,
do you have a form like my form?
Are you good,
is your figure right?
Was among you the outflow of life,
was there a man like me among you")?"

The Seven bowed their heads
and chatted with each other:
,,Let's grab the Mānā"),
we want to tie him up and throw him into our net.

---

1) Again, the meaning of is uncertain. Although continuing from life it seems to me, after the way in which the order was given in the previous paragraph, that-it is spoken of the outpouring of life, that here the Great, the upper beings are meant. The expression pp pND) is not authoritative. see text 18, 8; 58, 18; 61, 19; 64, 3; 91, 8.

2) Read N. ") Sorry. hat נילינטיא.

We want to include him in our throwing net'),
in our lead') and put our darkness *)."

Then the Mānā opened his mouth
and spoke to the planets:
,,I will take you, planets, there,
that your hand may not fall on
me. I will not get into your network,
don't get caught by your casting net.
Your darkness will not devour me and
your lead will not put me down.
All of you, as much as you are,
you will be entangled in your meshes and
nets. I set my purpose after life,
and my mind was based on strength and enlightenment,
who gave me the great (life) from my place.
While [58] your figure is ugly,
my figure is miraculous.
I was victorious because the great (life) commissioned
me, and they are victorious to a great extent (3). You
are contemptible and disgraceful,
where did you get the root and the victory, so that you would be
victorious with it? I rise to my place,
you will descend without ascending."

The Manā dressed in white,
rose up and sat on the height.
At the height the man sits
and calls the man, the helper:
,,Come, my helper, lift me up,
they couldn't hold me back in their apartment.
I escaped their nets
and their lead, in which they wanted to put
me. You spoke to me, and I held out,
now come quickly to me and lift me up."

The helper consulted with life,
to bring him light shine:
,Grant me shine,
I will go and clothe the Mānā in it.
I want to lift up the Mānā,
bring him to you.

---

1) Cf. Joh. II, p. 1485. 9) Sorry. has Aaeown) pownd1. 3) Read וזאכין.

I want to bring him to you, and rejoice in his,
for he has escaped from their nets,
for he has escaped from their nets
and did not remain in their lead.
The man jumps and is happy,
he jumped up and dressed in white.
He jumped up and dressed in white,
he climbed up and sat on the height. The
moon is sitting on the height,
he speaks and calls me and speaks to me:
,,I stayed firm and persevered,
now come quickly to me and lift me up." —
,,Up, go there, bring the mana here,
bring him here so that he may be raised up
with us. He dwells in our praise, he will be raised up among
us, let us rejoice in him, and He will love us and bless us
[with our praise." —
For you, the life of life became full'), and the
Mānā found what he was looking for. --
And blessed be life.

Sixteenth piece.

I am a Manā of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I am a
Mānā of the great life, who sits
in the shining treasure. In
the shining treasure he sits
and speaks with the speech of the
Uthras. He speaks [59] with the praise of the Mighty,
and they speak to him with words,
whose one is more miraculous than the other.

How the Mānā stands and seeks to
clarify himself, 3) and lifted him up It
spoke to him:
,,Come on, I want to talk to you, mana,
come to me, I want to teach you." … -

---

1) So according to D. Sorry. did tony, even here without nown.
°) From here on, I guess to take it that way.

,,I appeared before you,
say what you wish."

Then it spoke to him:
,,The world is created by Blendwerk,
get up, get down and go to her.
If you don't go down, who
should be her helper,
who shall cast splendour over them?
Who shall shine upon them
and not to allow the trunk to be cut off?
The consuming fire became fierce')
and kindled the fire")." ... –
,I want to leave and descend to the world;
what kind of works are you putting on me?a

,,Break up, descend to the world,
go there and grow up in the body.
Go there, grow up in the body,
in the garb that you are commanded to
wear. Go and grow up among the mysteries,
and let the mysteries shine through you.
.Through you let the mysteries shine,
let your tribe be strengthened. Let your
tribe ascend to its place, and the measure
of the world is fulfilled. Let the
measure of the world be fulfilled,
and two lights are to guard them.
Let them guard two luminaries
and shine to a great extent.
.Through your splendor the house will be guarded,
and through you the world will be established.
.You shall be guarded by louder guards,
your root will rise up and rise up.
Rise up the victory,
which I have distributed in your place."

---

1) See above, p. 2064.

2) The meaning is unclear. Deni Feuer seems to mean the total fire, it is difficult to supplement "living things". CHANGE looks like an aphelion of ans, the ge- usually the meaning of "flying" has (17D), but this does not fit. Since we have R 376.9 N715 it is possible that there is an aphelion from the tribe "D, so, for example, "kindle", and so perhaps the above, p. 105" discussed FDN) can also be explained: "we want you to-stir'.

The man did not change anything about it,
what the great (life) commanded him.
He entered the body,
in the garb that befohłen it to him.
He lived in the trunk,
and the mysteries shone through
him. He bowed to the Great
and yor bowed to the mighty
One. He bowed to the Great,
that will show itself to you and me').
It will show itself to you and me,
for [60] there was no lie between you and me. --
And blessed be life.

Seventeenth piece.

I am a Mānā of the great life,
I am a Manā of mighty life, i
am a mana of the great life,
there is no such thing as infidelity") and
treachery. There is no infidelity and
treachery in me, no talk of rape.
I waved and did not wink
and did not dwell among the guilty as the guilty. In
what have I sinned against life, against the
great one that is enthroned there?
In what have I sinned against the hidden,
that it threw me into captivity and exile, into the
captivity into which the Ãons brought me, in
the robbery that the worlds committed
on me? If only they had not sent me in your garb to
in the robbery committed by the Ãons! [live,

,We did not say that you, Mānā,
in the captivity of the Ãons"),
that you should get") into the captivity of the Ãons"),
not that the worlds should rob you.

---

1) In the first person the Mānā probably speaks again, the second probably refers to on the "helper".
°) See Joh. II, p. 424.
*) Sorry. hat ד̄דאריא.
4) Sorry. did twice when.

Rather, it is dear to us,
that you may remain firm and endure and not be caught.
Listen to the call we are calling you,
i have confidence in him.
Trusting in us')
you will ascend with us to your place.
You will be raised up behind us*),
and we will bless you."

,According to what you, great (life), told me,
a voice comes to me every day.
Call me a voice every day, which
wakes me up so that I don't stumble.
When you call me,
do not catch me the evil worlds.
The evil worlds don't catch me, and
I do not get into the robbery of the Äons."

The great (life) liked,
what I talked to him.
Daily voice, strength and speech
created and sent it to me.
It created and sent me
Voice, power and speech,
and what the great sent me,
i woke up my heart so that I would not stumble.
As long as he heard the call of life,
he did not change what the mighty commanded him.
I endured so long, I endured so long,
when the big one wanted
it. When the big one wants me,
it will keep me in its treasure.
[61] It will say to me: ,,Come, Mānā,
who let you be taught, and from the world (many things)
he- We will support you [tolerate.
and forgive you sin and guilt.
Sin and guilt we will forgive you,
because you listened to us and from the world (many things) he-
And life is victorious. tolerate." —

---

1) Sorry. hat וברוהצאנא דילא. 2) Read ,,at our place*?

Eighteenth piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I am
a Manā of the great life. Who
brought me out of the house of life?
From the house of life who brought me,
who sent me to the Tibil and let me live in it?
Who let me live in the Tibil,
who made me sit in the house of my enemies?
Who made me sit in the house of my enemies,
that my treasurers') know nothing of me? My
treasurers don't know about me, that I
may be placed in the house of my enemies.

The Uthra went and came,
until he got to the physical trunk.
He got to the physical trunk,
then he spoke to the hidden Adam.":
,O hidden Adam,
who brought you here from the house of life? Who
brought you here from the house of life, who sent
you to the Tibil and let you live there? Who sent
you and let you live in the Tibil, who made you sit
in the house of your enemies? Who
made you sit in the house of your enemies,
that your treasurers know nothing of you?
Don't your treasurers know about you,
that you may be placed in the house of your
enemies. If the great knew
of you, if the mighty knew of
you, if the great knew of you,
if only it hadn't forced you out of its midst. It
would not have called you away from its midst,
do not let yourself live in this tibil. It
would not have let you live in this Tibil, do
not enter into the house of your enemies."

Then the hidden Adam spoke 1
and answered the man who asked him:

---

1) His keepers in the treasure house in which he was formerly kept, see the conclusion.

-) The inner Adam, the soul, hidden in the physical Adam (cf. pp. 242, 18). From NDnD is abridged, see p. 239, 13.

,,My father, the great knows about me,
the mighty knowledge of me,
the great white of me:
the world, [62] which is to become, we cannot suppress ')."

When he heard this from him,
he rejoiced in it beyond measure.
He, yes he") had brought him here,
then he became his guide to the Hereafter. [Vestments"),
He stripped him [his robe] and clothed him with his own he led him
there, lifted him up, and set him up in the house of the 10th
He caught him by the right [life is great.
and handed him over to his own treasurers.
His treasurers were pleased with his;
they became his guardian.
They became his guardian,
they brought him into their treasure house and hid him in-
it. - And life is victorious.

Nineteenth piece.

I am a Manā of the great life,
I am a mana of tremendous life,
I am a Manā of the great life.
From the treasure of life, something
rests on me. I shine through my
father's speech, by praising the Man, my Creator.
When some of his (life's) treasures rested on me,
he asked me for it [from his treasure].
When he wanted me out of his treasure,
it sent me to this world.
When I came out of his treasure
house, I looked and saw the
world. I looked and saw the world;
she is ugly and her figure is misshapen.
I scolded and rejected*),
i despised the men who created them.
I'm talking to you:

---

1) See p. 388, 17. Sorry. see also Nöld., pp. 216 unt. °) Sorry. same as B 17 has 17. 1) Sorry, has Awabs. 4) See p. 4281".

,How should I leave the quiet mysteries
and enter into the seditious mysteries?
How shall I leave the praise of my fathers
and fall into the sorrows of the vain garment? How
should I leave the truth of the great
and live in a decrepit trunk?"

How Adam stands there and seeks to clarify himself,
the man came, his helper.
The high helper came to him,
who carried him into a piece of rich luster.
He spoke to him:
,,Put your robe on,
so that you stand firm in your own splendor.
Do not forget what the great (life) commands
you, and do not be called a culprit with him.
Enter and live') in this trunk, from
which the tribe should emerge.
[From it] shall the tribe [63] come forth
and maintain inventory."

Then Adam opened his mouth
and spoke to his helper: What
strength do you give me in abundance,
that I put on this robe?
With what support do you support me in the tibil,
that I should live in a dilapidated house?" Then
they respond to him."):
,,Your power is the power of the great (life),
your enlightenment is created from their place.
The men who created your garment,
serve you until you leave."

That's what I came to and lived in
and do not deviate from what my helpers commanded
me. I washed my hands and worshiped life, I went
there and came into the world.
They stopped and blessed me
the wicked, the cut-off, the perishing. But
I scolded and rejected them, i
despised them, each one individually.

---

1) The text says: 'I will enter and dwell in him."

2) The plural generally refers to the upper beings.

I'm talking to you:
,Who is blessed with the blessings of the Great,
do not need the blessing of the ephemeral."

When you heard this from me,
they saw themselves as inferior.
As inferior, they looked at each other,
and everyone fell into thought.
Everyone fell into evil thoughts
and make evil plans against me, Adam.
They speak:
,Well, we want to work on it, we want to inhibit it
and make him equal to us.
We want to make him like us,
because now he is away from us."

Adam sings hymns
and seeks to enlighten himself in his sense.
He speaks:
What do you want to do to me shameful,
where do my eyes look up to my
place? My eyes look up to my place,
and I shine through the praise of my Creator. As
long as I am among you,
what do you say about me in your plans?
'Soon the great Uthra comes to me'),
here comes the man, my helper.
He speaks to me:
,,Get up, get up with me, Adam,
that they may not cut you off with the passing mysteries.
Don't let the mysteries of the blazing fire capture you '),
it burns and burns.
Get up, put on the robe of the living fire,
which is like glory. Get
up, climb up to your treasure house,
[64] do not fall at their instigations and indebtedness."

Adam then got up and ascended to the house of Life,
he left the mysteries of this world.
Adam spoke to the great (life):
,,I was outside of you.

---

1) CHILD Nmy, see Lit., p. 279 p. 2iJN, here p. 146s, 370. 2 and L 94, 24.
°) Read The reading is influenced by pap New Text 64, 2.

[Outside] of you [was I] '), then I was redeemed and ascended;
blessed be the man who saved me and lifted me up.
Blessed be you, great life,
because you sent me this helper." ... -
,Beautiful you have ascended,
and whoever comes after you will ascend beautifully.
The age became deficient,
and persecution is abundantly unleashed against them").
You are beautiful, Adam, ascended,
and whoever is able will ascend after you." —
Life is held high and is victorious, and
victorious is Manda dHaije and his helpers.

Twentieth piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I am
a Mānā of the great life. I was
among hidden nurses. Among the
hidden nurses I stayed, who are
wondrous, blessed and established. Who will
be blessed with their blessings,
does not perish,
anyone who hears your speech will not
fall into a trap. Who enlightens himself
through their praise, do not fall on the leaders of
the Ãons"). mana . speaks to the
seven: ,I do not live among
you. [Among you] I do not live
and do not stumble through your
impulses. I will not get into your captivity
and do not take anything from you.
Nothing made me wise of your prudence, and
your dazzling work is not preserved with me.

---

1) It is questionable whether it should be supplemented in this way.

9) Against the believers.

") I suspect they are probably ladders on which the soul ascends should, see also above, p. 208f. Sorry. maybe here has the twist דסאבליא ריא87) (see p. 4571). Furthermore, there is suffering. instead of N), which does not fit here, the even worse fitting N31y.

I'm not learning anything from your ugly teaching
and do not practice any of your works altogether;
for I am not of you.
I pointed my lips at you and
despised all your works").
I spring from you,
the trappings that you cast into the world,
all your knitting and your hoops
and all your chains.
I'm going to my place and
hear [65] the speech of my nurses.
I hear the speech of my hidden nurses, who
are wondrous, blessed and established.
I shine through your robe
and I am wise by their wisdom.
I'm learning what you have in your heart,
and do everything they —
do." And life is victorious.

Twenty-first piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life, I
am a Mānā of the great life,
I shine through the praise of my Creator.
When they took me into captivity,
sent me into this world and brought me,
that's when they sent me to the world
of criminals, who are all cut off and doomed, in
the world whose shape is ugly
and theirs . . .2) does not light up.
Your servants have no gear,
all her creatures have no luster.
They are not gentle, not calm,
and there is no commonality among them.
Their shape is dark."),
and their appearance is dark.

---

1) You probably have to read pornaty and ponkteyt.
2) The text has been inappropriate , Plleger". ") Read prnrins.

Their houses have sunk, and they
are all sitting in the wasteland.
They turned black and took on blackness,
all are ugly and black'). In a
whisper they all stand there,
evil criminals who are full *******").
What is it good for me to vouch for
you") and to be counted among
you? I am to be cut off by your wickedness
and sink down among you?
What does it please me to see your haze,
where does everyone who sees him fall?
What is it good for me that I saw your works,
who do not have a pure name?
I'm going to the house of life, why
should I love your apartment?

The planets are there,
are tied up with shackles and talk:
When Adam escaped from us,
broke our guardhouses.
When Adam ascended from us,
our glory was quickly taken away from us.
Our splendor was quickly taken away from us,
and ours ..4) it was as if he had never been there."

He rose and ascended to the house of life, they
washed him in the Jordan and kept him safe.
They washed him and kept him in the Jordan,
they laid their rights on him. They
baptized him with their baptism
and strengthened him [66] by their pure
words. - Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) p53N ,,do not eat" past; it probably has a form of DDN ,,be black" dagenow standing.

2) Instead, perhaps NW27 is to read "Criminals who are full of evil". ")
See Nöld., pp. 242, 4, but the explanation does not seem to me quite certain.

4) See Joh. II, p. 66°

Twenty-second piece.

I am a mana of the great life, I
am a Mānā of mighty life, I am
a Manā of the great life. I was
in the hidden treasure house. In
the hidden treasure house I was
among the expensive treasurers.
I hadn't seen the treasure yet, which my
Creator opened and which he marveled at.
I hadn't seen the treasure yet,
not yet proclaimed in my enlightenment').
I hadn't seen the treasure yet,
so they took me there and sent me to this world.
How beautiful is what I looked,
how ugly what you then showed me!
I had seen enlightenment in abundance*),
so they took me there and showed me the darkness.
When should I escape
the darkness you showed me?
When should I escape her,
that I may go and see what I have seen beyond?

So the Mānā spoke,
and his voice went up to the house of life.
His voice rose to the house of life,
his submission ascended to the house of the mighty (life). It
spoke to ilım: ,,You
endure many things,
then you will soon look at your sweetheart.
Soon you will look at your treasure,
which your father opened and stared
at. Direct your thoughts away from the tibil,
and we will direct our thoughts to you from here.
Do you pray from the Tibil,
and we will pray for you (a prayer) rich and great").
You Mānā who watched life,
see to it that you do not love death.
See to it that you do not love death
and witness wrong speech.

---

1) A call of surprise.

e) Note the contradiction.

") See p. 389 below.

Don't love things of lust
and do not let down the light shine. Don't
forget the big ones,
do not forget what you wanted to look and did not look."

When the Mānā heard this,
he pursed his lips over the worlds.
He despised Jorabbā
and the seven figures that dwell with him.
He despised the planets,
how they sit in their carriages [67].
He despised the booger'),
from which all ugly things emanate.
He left her full of contempt,
he went away and went to his place,
while all his guards sat there in amazement.
He spoke:
,,I want to go and see what the great (life) is for me
see the treasure of the mighty (life). [applied,
I want to go and see the treasure"), which
my father opened and stared at."

Soon the pure messenger came,
he took me away from here, freed me from here
and lifted me up to his treasure house.
He spoke:
,,Come, come, Mānā,
come, look at the preciousness.
Come on, look at the preciousness,
which you wanted to look and did not look.
You have endured well, Mānā,
you freed yourself well and ascended."

The Mānā rejoices in preciousness
and bless the mighty (life).
He speaks to
him: When I have ascended"), I will tell you,
what will become of your living fire. will
When yours is . . . . . be left behind in the judgment of the worlds,
part of your harvest") will fall into the hands of the planets." —

---

1) Rūhā, see p. 804.
2) This seems to be the point of Nly here.
") A question does not fit here, one expects or yy.
*) Siche p. 330, 34.

,,You have spoken and realized, Mānā,
go, sit on your throne.
We know well,
that this starts from the second." —
And blessed be life.

Twenty-third piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
i am a mana of the great life,
which I shine in expensive
gloss. Who planted me, sent me
and brought into the deception of this world?
Who threw me in the skirt, the physical skirt,
that I can not get out of the pain and infirmity')?
Who showed me their deception,
who puts me in their glare?
Who removed me from the faith,
who threw me under the wrong tongues?
Who threw me under the wrong tongues,
where there is no shadow of straightness?
Who threw me under the angry,
who are all full of anger, [68] lie and
deception? If only I don't go and then don't look
my place, the place of light.
If only I did not forget them (the upper ones)
and do evil deeds.
If only I don't forget the gentleness,
which life has called and taught me.
The pernicious secrets pressed on me,
and the secrets of the place of light can not see me.

The voice of my pure Redeemer is,
the voice of the man, my helper,
the voice of my pure Redeemer,
he taught with his voice and let me hear.
He loaded a pure load on me,
at the sight of which the worlds shake.

---

1) Probably read noponins.

He speaks:
,,I have provided you, probably
provided, if you want, climb up here.
When they see you,
you submit to them.
When they are angry and angry,
be thou, Mānā, full of rest.
Do not heat up, do not be angry and do not sin (Manā,)
and do not take a mistake on your robe.
Crouch under your pure load
and seek rest in the enlightenment that is granted
to you. Behold your hidden glory
and escape from the faulty rocke.
Confess the right believers,
who all stop before you').
When you act like this,
your garment will be set up in its place. In
his place-your robe will be erected, and you
will be strengthened with us."

When the Manā heard this,
life made sense to him.
It spoke to him:
,,Be faithful and steadfast,
then you will ascend and see the mighty ones."
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Twenty-fourth piece.

I am a man of great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
i am a mana of the great life,
which they brought [from the house of the great (life)].
They brought me out of the house of the
Great; i have come to the tribe too .),

---

2) One can think right in the verse niclts. Maybe in the end there will be a there is another verb.

2) Something like "reasons" must have stood there. PND"D,,climb up" does not make sense.

the trunk too ... . i came
and to keep away') the faulty that was there.

When Adam came out of the house
of life, [69] looked at the planets and saw
him. They looked and saw the planets,
they are wrong and twisted.
When the planets saw him,
Adam did not know what to say to them').
As he stands in his place, he frightened
her, then he passed by (? and spoke to them:
,O you twisted eyes,
why do you rise to the pure")?
O you wicked mouth,
what do you want to say to the right tongue')?
O you who take an end,
what do you want to learn from the true
lips? O you defective, cut-off,
what do you want to learn from the shining
figure? It's not for your sake that I came here,
life has sent me here. It's not for
your sake that I came here, those who
have not been given any advice from
life. The second reason I came,
so that his works do not perish.
His works shall not perish, because
his rights are pure."

When they heard this from him,
they became his carers.
One created water,
another created wind.
One created wind
and added a crown together for everyone").
Every single one of them") gave him shine,
and they raised him with food.
He, in turn, enlightened her
without stopping').

---

1), "filling" fits badly; perhaps to yee, see Joh. 46, 13f.
2) Well read.
3) Read sorry. hat לאראכיאתא.
4) Read The contrast to the text 67.25.
5) For all winds? o) Sorry. has N77.
7) Probably something is missing behind.

They were his carers,
but from time to time they let go of fear against him. Then
the Manā prays in enlightenment,
and the fear will not be let go against him.
Praising, Adam prayed for the great life:
Send me this helper.
Only for a short time he stayed among them,
soon he escaped from her hands.
[He escaped] the lack,
he rose away from the attacks.
You see its rich luster,
how bright light surrounds him').
He climbed up and looked at the pure Volikommenheit,
who came to him.
He spoke to her:
.,Come, come, gentle helper,
for for your sake [70] I dwelt") in the world.
.Because of your brilliance and your
speech no fear was let loose against me."

She caught Adam by the right,
ascended and raised him up in her Šǩinā,
in the place where the great (life) dwells
and their shine and shape are bright:
,*The Adam you handed over to me,
he is with you again").«
Life blessed him with his pure mouth
and spoke kindly to him:
,Blessed be you and your Creator who created you,
this one, Mānā"), I brought to you")." ....
And blessed be life.

Twenty-fifth piece.

I am a Manā of the great life'),
I am a mana of tremendous life,

---

¹) Lies ומיתכאראכבה. ²) Lies אמינטול לדילאך דארית.
3*) These words after suffering.: "nondny (read Ntingnny7) הו אראם דעהאבתולה po15.
4) The words are spoken of the Adam-guiding ,perfection".
b) Here the Mānā is separated from Adam as a soul.
*) Sorry, hat -xtowx. 7) See also the beginning of the fourth piece.

I am a Mānā of the great life.
Who took me away from my place?
From my place brachie who took me away,
who let me live in the House of the Planets?
In the house of the planets, who let me live, that
the wicked are angry with me? The
wicked are angry with me,
and every day they think evil against me.
They think in malice against me and speak:
,,We want to cut him off and leave him with us.
We want to cut him off and leave him with
us and shut off from its places of origin.
We want to block him from his place of origin,
and he shall be called our share."

Adam thinks and talks:
,,Maybe they condemn me.
Maybe they condemn me here
and cut me off from my father's place of origin."
How Adam stands and thinks,
his helper comes to him.
His helper comes to him,
the Uthra who brought him here.
He speaks to him:
,,According to the house in which you live,
why do you ask?
You don't know, Adam,
that it happens as you said')?
In secret, we know,
that you will soon leave it
and he ascended to us.
You climb up to us
and live in our Škinā."

When Adam heard this,
he no longer asked about the ephemeral.
He no longer asked about those who built the dilapidated house;
he waited and lived in it.
But soon [71] he flew up and got to his place, the
place from which he was created, the
place from which he created
and in which his form was illuminated.

---

1) See above, p. 456, 25f.

Adam is happy in his sense,
clarifies himself in his sense:
How wonderful is what my father said to me,
how wonderful what the great (life) taught me.
Go, go, your planet,
be a part of your own homes.
Go, be a share of your houses,
and let your houses be your portion.
I ascend with the root of my Father,
while the house is left to you." ...

Blessed is life, victorious is the life that the friends don't damn his name.

Twenty-sixth piece.

I am a man of great life, I am
a Mänā of the mighty life, I am
a Mānā of the great life. Here
among the Aons I stayed.
Here I stayed among the Aons,
and Hibil was a nurse to me.
A nurse was Hibil to me,
and he was my pure helper.
The son of the rich gloss,
and his strength') was a support for me. He
was a support for me, he strengthened me,
and he delivered me from the world.
He saved me from the hand
and the works of the Seven. He
always showed me the way and
created a path for me to the place of light.
He lifted me up with him
and did not leave me in the empty apartment.
He clothed me with a robe of splendor and
got me out of the world with swagger.
- And life is victorious.

---

1) Sorry. has Foxa, this view is also supported by text 72, 12, 17.

Twenty-seventh piece.

I am a mana of the great life,
I am a Mānā of mighty life,
I am a Manā of the great life.
Who took me away from my place?
From my place who took me away,
who threw me between the mountains')?
Who rushed me between the mountains,
and who threw me into the place of death?
In the place of death who threw me,
who separated me from life?
Who separated me from life,
that is abundant, without shortage?

[72] As the Mānā ponders,
his helper came to him. His
helper approached him,
showed him the wreath that is entrusted to him,
showed him the louder treasure,
who was founded and created in his place*):
,When you let go of life, if it
hadn't given you these wreaths.
It would not have granted you these wreaths,
this treasure was created for you.
To you, Manā, it is certain,
that you may endure and dwell in the world.
The works are to become a niece,
which your father, the Second, created.
Every time it gets hard for you,
our call will come to you.
He will get to you;
don't change what we told you."

The three Uthras supported the Manā"),
and he, the Manā, found rest in his enlightenment.
He, the Mānā, found rest in his enlightenment,
he firmly received and set his mind.

---

1) With their mnlevels. difficult ways?

°) Probably (AnD17) read zn. The appended p may be replaced by the following הרין influenced.

*) Three Uthras as shipper and guardian of the soul above, p. 92,8f.; 96,23f. and otherwise, see anch Brandt, Rel., p. 122.

He received his meaning firmly,
he lived and lived in the world,
the world whose disgust has no end.
They grabbed the man with all their
strength and held him with both hands.
They took him out of the body
and set him up in his place.
They opened the gate of light for him
and showed him the ways of safety.
He goes there while his strength is always growing'),
and praise the men who taught him. He
praises the turban she shows him,
the garments of splendor she put on him.
He praises his helper,
by whose power he has been able to dwell in the
world. Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Twenty-eighth piece.

I am a Manā of the great life,
I am a man of tremendous life,
I am a Manā of the great life.
Who took me away from my place?
From my place who took me away,
in the House of the planets, who let me live?
Who let me live in the house of the planets,
who threw me into the defectiveness? Who
threw me to the place that is full of disgraces, where
all are full of deception and deceit?
Who included me in their mysteries,
who tied up me with their chains?
Who put me in her big foot block,
who [73] showed them to me")?
Who threw me into her walls,
who closed their gate before me?

---

1) Read nidnD?

2) p57 is hardly original. Perhaps the Assyrian mēdilu,bar* in it stuck?

Who put me together with their customs officers
and led me past their guardhouses?
When I saw her, I was startled,
and fear came over me. I was
frightened, I was overcome with fear,
and I said to myself that I forget what the mighty (life)
[ordered me.

How the Mānā stands and ponders,
his helper came to him:
,I came to you,
so that you may dwell among the works of your
hands. If you are among them,
beware of spoiling your soul.
Be careful to commit their sins, that you
will be counted with their end.
If you stay away from them,
they won't be able to harm
you. They will not hold you with their clasps,
they will not lead you on the way. I
will quickly deliver you from them
and of the vain Waclıthäuslers,
and from the dark walls,
who are a part of the
. . . . . ephemeral. the life
of your works; in true love I will lift you up.
I will reveal to you Sām, the hidden one'),
as well as his good name, in which you stayed.
I will show you the three pure (things),
which are wondrous and otherworldly.
Your heart that hurts you will find rest, and you
will forget about the persecution of the world."

The Mānā blesses
and praise his great helper:
If you show me these things,
why should I live with the ephemeral?"

His measure became full, and his time came,
then the Mānā ascended to his place.
The Manā ascended to his place,
and the gentle Uthras went to meet him.

---

1) NDND CND can only be found at this point, but the epithet stands for the frequent
The names ond and nind ond are close.

The Uthras went to meet him,
they brought him shine, light and shine.
They clothed him with splendor
of that with which they clothe themselves in their
place. They covered him with a turban of light,
from the way they are covered in their places,
they opened the door with their praise.
,Yes, so') we loved and honored you,
because you freed yourself and ascended from the
world! You freed yourself, ascended from
them and you were raised up among us [74] in
glory." ... Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

2) usually means,how", but this fits badly here. It's probably here the meaning ,"so" as above, p. 62,1. could stand for, which has B, see also R 239, L. ult. with Varr.

Third book.

The book contains a colorful collection of gediclites, all dealing with fate dealing with the soul. Some are also found in the Qolastā. The soul becomes predominantly NOW") instead of NDDW), see Lit., p. 121. The longer poems are usually followed by short. which one has to think of as responses of the community. The Liturgical Ver- 5 the turn of the collection in the event of a death trap results from the marginal glossiness at the beginning
a: If you want to read the book after the (death of a) departed,
if a man or a woman, or a priest, is a man or a woman, he
First of all, a prayer for oneself and the whole generation1)." In front of piece 14 is written in C am
Edge: "When you arrive at ",When the darkness made plans", then
you put the 10th If he is a priest or ganzibrā (see p. 1503)."

In the name of the great life, may the community and the Blessed- and a remission of sins is granted to me, my wife And my children, as well as the souls of our fathers, our Masters, our brothers and our sisters who have left their bodies- 15 they are divorced and they are still in their bodies.

O gentle Mānā,
o orderly, well-ordered Mānā,
o gentle Mānā,
may helpers come with you,
until the scales weigh
Works and wages.

First piece.

In the name of the great life
be glorified by the noble light. —
After the firmament stretched out,
after the earth is sealed,

---

1) For "prayer" then"stands", which can also mean "prayers". Maybe it's just this is the short prayer at the top of the book.

after the sun came,
after the moon reveals itself,
after the seven came
and these twelve had gone here, they
formed the body of Adam, but
they did not put a soul in him.
Because of Adam's body
the soul came from the house of the great life.
From the house of the great life came the soul, and
the three Uthras came with her.
With her came the three Uthras
and put them outside the body.
Outside the body, they put them;
they want to introduce it into the body, but it does not enter.
They want to introduce it into the body, but it does not enter,
she cries, whines and pours out (in tears):
,,To you I speak, you Uthras, my brothers,
just let me wait an hour a day.
Only one hour a day [75] let me wait,
so that I can let my voice rise to the place of light.
I want to speak to the Uthras, my brothers:
What have I sinned among you?
What have I sinned among you,
that you beguiled me and took me away from
your midst? you brought me out of my home and into captivity,
i was beguiled and taken away from my father's house.'
I want to talk to Mandā dHaije:
,Send a good one to me quickly.
Quickly send a good one to me, that
he may deliver me from the world.
He destroyed the building
and deliver the body to its Lord.
He lifts me up to the place of life, where
my root stood before, so that
the wicked do not blind me,
sinners do not make me deaf.
So that the bad guys don't blind me
and do not know where I came from. So
that you don't make me deaf by your Ekurs and
I do not hear what they say about me.
Now the peoples, borders and tongues oppress
me and throw me into the sea of bile.

Now idolatry oppresses me,
and I surrender to every city').
Now the evil bilures are tying together,
and cursed shawms speak through my mouth.
They teach me the voice of
apostasy, and I forget my Lord from my mind.
They throw me into a deep well,
into which the wicked fall without rising.
The dragons devour me,
and they take me to the residences of revelry in
[Music caught."

Everyone is talking to her:
,Life's guiltless soul!"
Everyone is talking to her:
,Messenger of all lights!"
Everyone is talking to her,
the life of a guiltless soul:
,,O soul, get up, go there,
enters the body
and let yourself be imprisoned in
the palace. The grim lion will be captured by you,
the grim, grim lion").
The dragon will be captured by you, the
evil one will be killed in his place.
Through you the king of darkness will be bound,
whose strength no one has grown." —
⟨A jeđer speaks to her:
,,Innocent of life [76] Soul!"
Everyone is talking to her,
the messenger of all lights!⟩
,,Good one, if you wish me to go,
entering the body
and be trapped in the palace,
give me a high weapon,
that I may turn away my persecutors from me."

Everyone is talking to her:
,Messenger of all lights!"
Everyone is talking to her:
,Life's guiltless soul!

---

1) I muk go where I am ordered?
1) See p. 433 unt.

'What high weapon do you wish, soul, that
we grant them to you from the treasure of life?
Your weapon is Naşaerism,
the true words that have come to you from the place of Light."
They also spoke to her:
,for your sake, soul,
this firmament has been stretched out'),
this firmament has been stretched
out and stars were formed in it.
For your sake, soul,
did this mainland arise,
did this mainland come into being,
the compaction formed and fell into the water.
For your sake, soul, the sun came,
for your sake, soul, the moon revealed itself,
for your sake, the Seven came
and these twelve went here,
the four winds were created and the
Ãther that blows on you, wisdom
was poured into your heart,
that you may remember your Lord and praise him.
Now comes the time and the date,
the date and time will come.
Years fade away like shadows,
and months fly by like the dawn. Years,
days, months, times, hours and sauce sink
down and pass away as if they had never been
there). The vines of joy are torn out, and
her singing goes there and gets lost.
The gold is lost,
and the silver is searched and not found.
The nobles and gentlemen
divorced from the world in her heartache.
You acquire and leave it to your children,
they go there and simmer in the fire.
The children of the wretched and persecuted
leaving the world in mourning.
The tibial passes and comes to an
end in the depths of the stench of darkness."

In the name of my Lord Manda [77] dHaije,
on his strength, I went and entered the body.

---

1) See Lit., p. 223,
2) See Joh. II, p. 180.

I went there and entered the
body and had me imprisoned in the
palace. From the day I entered the body,
I was his painter in the ages.
His wife in the ages I was,
and the wicked were angry with me from the depths.
From the depths the wicked were angry with me,
and they want the soul of life to go among them.
When I saw her,
I held her away from the world.
When Manda dHaije saw me,
he gave me strength.
He made me dress with splendor
and cover with expensive light.
He laid a wreath of victories on me,
whose leaves shine.
He spoke:
,,O soul, be careful with your speech, that
they may not bind you in the house of the tax —
collectors." Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

My meaning loved life,
and my soul recognized the place of light.

Second piece[1].

By mistake, I am,
the Uthras of Light have provided me.
I am mistaken, life has mistaken me,
I am well aware that the Uthras of the Light have mistaken me.
They provided me with the travel food of the Kuštā,
they equipped me with all their wisdom.

Why was Ptahil,
why did he create the world?
Why did the plan come about
and did they take me away from my place?

---

1) Is also Lit. , p. 161.

They sent me to the world of impulses,
which is full of knots and seals.
She's full of fire,
seeded with thorns and
thistles. She is full of dazzle,
full of lies and lies.
The planets that live in it, they
think evil of me every day. They are
thinking [against me] in malice
and say: we want to make his meaning
ambiguous. From my heart filled with
Kušta, say: we want to let it stumble from us [78].
From my eyes that look up to the liclt,
say: they shall wave (unchaste).
From my mouth that praises
life, tell him to tell a lie.
From my hands that give alms (and present Kušṭā),
tell them to kill.
From my knees, bowing to life, tell
them to bow down to the Seven.
From my feet walking the paths of Kuštā (and faith),
tell them to go barefoot.

I raised my eyes to the heights,
with my soul I looked towards the house of life[1]).
When life heard my call,
he sent a messenger to me.
The guide who came to meet me,
brought me a magnificent robe.
He revealed shine and showed it to
me, and I put the smelly body down.
He grabbed me by the area of my right
and led me over the streams of water.
Over the streams of water he led me,
he guided me and based me on the image of life[2]).
Life supported life,
life found its own.
His own found life,
and my soul, that of the NN of this ascension, found what
[hope. —
it- Life is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

[1]) Var. AND "my soul looked towards the house of life".

[2]) See p. 452*.

The soul speaks to the Uthras:
,My brothers, you Uthras who are sitting there,
by your lives, you Uthras, my brothers,
tell me where') Hibil-Zīwa's residence
is. He beguiled me and introduced me to the
body, then he left me and ascended to his place."

Third piece").

Heal you, Heal you, soul,
that you have left the world.
You left the rot
and the stinky body you were in,
the apartment, the dwelling of the wicked,
the place that is a pure sinner,
the world of darkness,
of hatred, jealousy and discord,
the apartment where the planets reside,
which bring pain and infirmity.
Pain will bring you and infirmity,
and every day they cause unrest.

Get up, get up, soul,
climb up to your original home.
Climb up to your original home,
*to the place from which you were planted,
to the place from which you were planted"), to
your good dwelling of the Uthras.
Get excited, put on your robe of splendor
and lay [79] on your flaunting wreath.
Sit on your throne of splendor,
which life has set up in the place of light.
Climb up*), live in the Škīnās
between the Uthras, your brothers.
As you are used to, bless
your original home
and curse this place
the house of your carers.

---

2) One rather expects "where".
**) This only after the Qolastā.

2) Is also Lit. , p. 159.
4 This according to the Qolastā.

Because the years you've been in this,
the Seven were your opponents.
Your opponents were the Seven,
and the twelve were your persecutors.-
- Life is held high and is victorious, and
victorious is the man who went here.

Sunday, Kuštā and alms,
you are witnesses of the soul,
you are your witnesses
and take them past the customs officers' house.

Fourth piece[1]).

Go in peace, chosen one, Pure,
Sinless without fail.
You have chosen your place from the
Tibil, and your lot has jumped out of the ages[2]).
Jumped out of the ages is your lot, you are
above all the world.
You said, chosen, pure:
I am a seer, a discriminator.
I am a seer, a discriminator, and
the worlds gather for judgment. The
worlds gather for judgment, and
they are spoken rightly.
Justice is spoken to you,
who have not practiced the works of a true man.
You alone, chosen, Pure,
you bright shining
Mānā, you will not go to the court,
you will not be spoken to right.
You will not be spoken right,
since you have practiced the works of a true man.
What they endure and tolerate, you,
chosen one, will not find it before you.
Escape the violence
the planet, the ruler of this world.

---

1) Is also Lit. , p. 157.

2) It is no longer bound to the times of this world, see also Joh. II, p. 117".

Take, put on your robe of splendor
and put on your flaunting wreath.
Bend your body, bow and stretch down
and praise the mighty life.
Praise the place of life,
to which your fathers draw [80].
You, chosen one, did not come from here,
and not from here your planting is planted.
Your place is the place of life,
your residence is the light residence. A
throne of peace has been established for you,
there is no anger or anger.
You have a belt,
at which ... ') and there is no mistake.
Good ones, climb up to the house of life,
go to the light residence.
Between the lamps of light
let your lamps be lifted up and shine.
Rise to your time and date and look
at the place of light. - –
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

My enlightenment*) and my praise lead me over.
Who led you through the guard, lead me over, the
cloud of light, and it will rise
victorious to the place of light.

Fifth piece").

Peace and quiet
in the way that Adam built right,
Peace and quiet
on the path that the soul walks.
Go, soul, victorious
according to the place from which you were planted,
after the place of joy,
where the face flaunts.

---

1) The word NIDN is apparently disfigured, see Lit., p. 158'.
2) Also Lit., p. 156. 3) With deviations, Lit., p. 101.

The soul untied the chain,
you. blew up the gang.
She took off the physical skirt,
then she turned around, saw him and
shuddered. The voice of the soul of life is,
which [separates] from the body of garbage')"). The
redeemer who redeems the soul weeps,
that they will not let him, that he will solve them").
The soul flies and moves there,
until she came to the gate of the house of Life.
When she came to the gate of the house of Life,
do Uthras go to meet her and bless her*):
,,Come in peace, you noble-born,
who was a maid in the home of the wicked.
Come in peace, you fragrant,
which you made the smelly body fragrant.
Come in peace, you pure pearl,
which you were taken from the treasure of life").
Come [81] in peace, Chosen, Pure,
which you illuminated the dark house."

The soul flies and moves there,
until she came to the gate of the house of Life.
When she came to the gate of the house of Life,
the guide comes to meet you.
He carries a magnificent wreath in his hand,
a robe on both arms:
,,Get excited, soul, put on your robe
and put on your flaunting wreath.
Climb up, go to the Škīnā,
the place where the Uthras sit.
The place where the Uthras sit
and your brothers are housed in their Škinās."
Life held out its hand to her, it concluded communion with
her, how the elect close them at the place
of light. - Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) See Nöld., p. 544. The sense is not certain, see above, p. 843.
2) So according to text 132, 18, or NDNE is to be repeated after 97, 9, then,"weinet".
3) Sorry for the first one. The sentence fits badly here.
4) The phini or the one behind it is to be deleted. ") So better according to a manuscript of the Qolastā than "you were planted".

Sixth piece.

Peace and quiet
in the way that Adam built right.
Peace and quiet
on the path that the soul walks:
,Go, soul, victorious
according to the apartment from which you were planted,
after the place of joy,
where the face flaunts.
The face flaunts on him,
the figure becomes luminous and does not darken."

The soul untied the chain,
she blew up the gang.
She took off the physical skirt,
then she turned around, saw him and shuddered.
The providers call her,
the men who supply the soul.
The providers call her,
they provide for them and bless
them '): ,,Come in peace, you light-giver,
which you enlightened the decrepit
house. Come in peace, you fragrant,
which you made the smelly body fragrant.
Come in peace, you pearl,
which you were taken from the treasure of life").
Come in peace, you noble-born,
who is called a maid in the dwelling of the wicked.
Come on, get excited, put on your robe
and put on your flaunting wreath.
Tie your belt around,
in which there is no pain and infirmity.
Come live in the Škinās
among the Uthras, your brothers, as they sit
there." Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

[82] Sing hymns
and let this soul be heard,
that their measure is full
and their course is directed to the place of life.

---

1) Perhaps so; p5ini does not fit here either, see p. 514, 12. 2) See p. 514, 17.

Seventh piece[1]).

On the day when the soul goes out,
on the day when the Completed ascent,
on the day when the soul goes out
away from under the wheels of death,
. . . . is dispute thrown
in the tibil of impermanence.
Ruha sits in mourning,
the seven sit there in a stupor.
The skirt of the stars is tattered,
Dust is thrown on the head of the ruha.
The bells are crying,
the vigilantes are terrified.
The man who brought me here,
brought me a magnificent
robe. He clothed me with a robe of splendor
and covered me with a turban of light.
He put a wreath of ather on me
and what else the great (life) granted to the Uthras.
He lifted me up to the house of life, to the
Wolnung, the olne border is.
He raised me up among the Uthras,
he placed me among the perfected. - -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

You of proven justice,
i'll come with you and guide you,
until the scales weigh
Works and wages.

Eighth piece.

On the day when the soul goes out,
on the day when the completed ascends,
on the day when the soul goes out,
a quarrel is thrown into the tibil.

---

[1]) Is also Lit., p. 163.

A quarrel is thrown into the tibil,
Turmoil is thrown into them, and unrest.
They gathered and ...')
the treasurers of this world.
They speak:
.,Who brought out the pearl,
who lit up the decrepit house?
[83] In the house she left,
the walls burst and collapsed.
Its walls cracked and collapsed,
and the posts of his gate fell to the
earth. His windows were closed,
and his lamps went out and did not shine.
My eyes don't see melr,
what to do in the ages.
My ears no longer hear,
what to say in the ages.
My feet no longer stride
in the ages of and . not")."
The soul speaks and goes there,
with her, too, who is worthy of the light abode: ,,
They brought me naked") into the world,
and they took me empty") out of her.
You took me empty *) out of her,
like a bird that nothing accompanies").
My salary payment precedes me,
my charity donation follows me.
The water waves") I hold in my hand
and raise me up in the light abode."

When the Seven saw the soul,
they put them back in the cut-off place, in the house of the They
crush her, but she won't be sweet'), [Customs officer, up. they
push her and try to throw her down, but she does not fall.
They tear the robe at her neck,
but she is clothed with the splendor of life.

---

1) tnoxiny ,"were murdered" paft not. One is most likely to expect axinony here. but it is graphically far from 5xoiny zn ah.

°),"Repeat" package for NNn as well as for pix n R.366, 14, see above, p. 3895.

*) Probably read zn, although text also has 97.9.

4) Sorry. has pP DN. ") Lies לאלוא.

6) That of the Jordan in which she received the aunt.

7) Badly attached quotation to p. 186, 2, 30.

They ask you out,
the dead who did not watch life:
,With whose strength did you go out,
and whose name is pronounced about you?" —
,I went out with the power of life,
and the name of the chief of the brilliant beings is over me-
I hold the water balance in my hand [spoken.
and raise me up in the light abode." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

The soul stands on the paths
and speaks to the Uthras:
,Don't you know, you Uthras, my brothers,
that I have lived among you?"

Ninth piece.

Between the hidden and the shining'),
between the revealed and the hidden places there
are the experts from the father's house.
The great ones, the wise ones,
stand there and ask the soul
out, who left the world.
You speak to her:
[84] ,,The good ones go there;
who shall endure the splendor of the good?
Who shall endure the splendor of the good,
who dampen their appearance")?"

To this the soul responded and spoke
among the great, the wise:
,,The great ones who are of proven righteousness,
are not held back by the deception of this world. The
poor and the young
are not held back by the deception of this world.

---

1) See also piece 20.

°) The meaning of here is uncertain. ,,Society" paft bad, see also p. 529, 15

The children of the poor and the disciples
are not held back by the deception of this world. But
the Vögte and Häscher
they are held back by the deception of this world.
The nobles and the gentlemen
leaving the world in your heartache.
You acquire and leave it to your children,
they go there and simmer in the fire." —
,Soul, arm yourself
with your wage donation, your works and your alms.
Because the way you have to go,
is far and endless.
There are no miles measured on it,
no waystones placed on it according to the
measure. Watchdogs are left on it,
and Vögte and Zöllner stand by him."

,What things did you look like yesterday, soul,
what things are you like today?« —
,,Yesterday I resembled a tall building, which the builder
artfully today he collapsed and collapsed')." - [listed, 20 What
things did you look like yesterday, soul,
what things are you like today?" —
,Yesterday, and I drank,
today my thoughts are full.
Yesterday I swept and watered,
today I climbed up to the sweepstakes.
Yesterday I washed and combed myself,
today is . ..... my combed together (3).
Yesterday I resembled a rose on its stem,
today it has dried up in its place."

If you're sorry, soul,
re-enter your hull.
Re-enter your hull,
the physical body you were in." —
,My brothers, don't tell me:
,Re-enter your hull.
Re-enter your hull,
the physical body you were in.

---

1) The text contains some erroneous repetitions here.

*) and are probably to be swapped. For the latter, see,,Unrat" Levy, Neuhebr. Wrth. IV, p. 145a. Instead of NINE) is suffering. NrE). There is a Noun N13') (Lit., p. 76, 7; 77, 12) and a proper name 1NE) (R 208, 3; L 27, 13), but a Verb 13) only here. The Sim is insecure; maybe it means "disperse".

My body [85] is a predatory sea,
the lamb robs and devours.
He's an evil dragon'),
he has seven heads.
He has seven heads,
he is without mind and sense')."

⟨If you feel sorry for him, soul,
re-enter your hull.
Re-enter your hull,
the physical body you were in. Because
life remembered you in kindness.
In kindness I remembered the life of your,
and the Uthras of the Light asked about you."⟩

,They drove me out and closed the doors in front of me
and blocked them ... ").
They blocked the two windows for
me'), who record the speech of life.
They put out the two lamps for me"),
the day and night glow.
The great Gate") was blocked,
that praises life every day.
The two wag(scarf)en') were broken, who
give wages and alms. They
donate wages and alms
and reach Kušta in a perfect way. The
two pillars") toppled") and fell down,
the solidity of the whole palace.
The body has outwitted its master,
and the whole house is filled with darkness."

The soul flies and moves there
only through the Ä̃ther, without fear.
When the wicked heard of it,
they placed them again in the cut-off place, in the house of the
You speak to her: [Customs officer, hin-
.,With whose strength did you go out, soul,
and whose name is pronounced about you?"

') is probably to be deleted. 2) I suspect noN27.

") (Var. that can only be found here, mub also something like ,door" mean. Sorry. has Ne), which makes no sense here.

4) The ears. a) The eyes. °) mouth. 7) The hands.

*) leg. ") Nanwy belongs to yaw.

She responds to them:
,I went out with the power of life,
and the name of Manda dHaije is pronounced over me."
Then you speak to her:
, O soul, you ascend to the house of life,
you stand in court and win.
When you go to the house of life,
remember us before life."

She responds to them:
When I ascend to the Hausé of life
and move towards the light residence,
when the great (life) asks me,
when the mighty (life) asks me, when
the great (life) asks me, there
will be witnesses and witnesses.
True witnesses are,
everything you say is true').
Icl will do to you, you planets,
that your eyes [86] will not see light.
Your eyes will not see light
and your feet will not find firmness.
Me and the Uthras, my brothers,
will ascend and look at the place of light,
the place whose sun does not set
and whose light lanıpen do not become dark.
In that place
your souls are called and charged (2)." ...
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

O gentle Mānā,
o orderly, well-ordered mana,
o gentle Mānā,
may helpers come with you,
until the scales weigh
Works and wages.

---

3) See Lit., p. 34.
2) See Lit., p. 101, 227. The last verse is addressed to the shining ones.

Tenth piece.

I am the head of the knowledgeable among the elect,
I am the head of the believers.
From the very beginning I was drawn by the sign,
and I went to the bank of the Jordan.
From the very beginning I was drawn with the
sign. The demons are on the streets.
As soon as the seven saw me,
the seven stood up and armed themselves.
They speak:
,,You're going out, man,
give us your head and then go out.
Man, give us your head,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,,I give you my head niclt,
the sign is set up on my head."

,,You're going out, man,
give us your eyes and then go out.
Man, give us your eyes,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,I won't give you my eyes,
my eyes are full of light."

From the very beginning I was drawn by the sign,
and I went to the bank of the Jordan.
The seven saw me and armed themselves,
all my enemies take the streets:
,,You're going out, man,
give us your ears and then go out.
Man, give us your ears,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,I won't give you my ears,
my ears hear hymns."

,,You're going out, man,
give us your mouth and then go out.
Man, give us your mouth,
maybe then you will come back to us." ... -
,My mouth [87] I will not give you,
my mouth is full of Kušta."

,,You're going out, man,
give us your hands and then go out.

Man, give us your hands,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,I will not give you my hands,
my hands give alms.
Giving alms to my hands,
and they are enough for Kuštā.

,,You're going out, man,
give us your heart and then go out.
Man, give us your heart,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,I won't give you my heart,
in my heart dwells the knowledge')."

,,You're going out, man,
give us your knees and then go out.
Man, give us your knees,
maybe then you will come back to us." —
,I won't give you my knees,
my knees bend before life."

,,You're going out, man,
give us your feet and then go out.
Man, give us your feet,
maybe then you will come back to —
us." ,I won't give you my feet,
my feet walk the paths of the Kuštā.
The paths of the Kuštā walk my feet
from the place of darkness to the place of light."

On the paths of Kuštā and faith you
will ascend and see the place of light. —
You were victorious, Manda
dHaijē, and help all your friends to victory. - —
And life is victorious.

The Mānā") rejoices in the treasures
and the illumination of life that rests on him.
I acknowledge you, (man) of tried righteousness,
for you have freed my soul from sinners.

---

1) Here is N7IND. 2) Is also Lit., p. 159.

Eleventh piece.

Be remembered in kindness of the great (life)'),
in kindness let the thought of the mighty (life) be
remembered, be remembered in kindness of the great
(life), that saved me and took me out of the
world, from the world of lack
and from the vain works.
It created me and clothed me [88] with splendor,
how the chosen men dress with it.
With this, the chosen men dress,
the true believers.
I stuck my head in,
then I became equal to the fullness of
the world. leh opened my eyes
in it, then my eyes became full of light. I
swung my wings*) in it, then they
formed wings of splendor for me. Fliigel
of brilliance was formed for me and
the other structures are good and luminous.

i sing hymns and go
to all souls.
When they saw me,
they gathered and went to meet me").
They gathered and went to meet me, and
everyone greeted me.
They speak:
,Son of good! Talk to your father:
When will the prisoners be released? When
will the prisoners be released and will it
be far for those who are confined to narrowness?"

Before I speak to my father,
i want to tell you: All
those who did ugly works,
stay sitting here in blocks of feet,
until the Euphrates dries up at the mouth and
the Tigris misplaced its course (?),

---

2) An old blessing formula, see my Northern Semiiische Epigraphik, p. 167.

") D. li. my arms.

5) This passage is quoted in Theodor bar Khōnī's scholia book, siche Pognon, Inscr. Mandaites, pp. 233 ff.

until all the seas dry up
and all the rivers, streams and springs pour out.
Then the one who is thrown into the well will ascend, and he
who is bound with the shackle will become free.
It will be far from the souls,
who live here in the house of suffering.
It will be far from the noble,
who used to own and now have nothing').
It will be far for the widows,
endure the tribulation in the tibil.
They endure tribulation in the tibil,
then they shall be redeemed from the hand of the Seven.
From the hand of the seven they shall be redeemed;
it will be wide for those who are cramped." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

,I wish to go with the two Uthras,
who came to me. I'm
afraid I'll have to go with the guards, who camp
by the wayside." —
Why are you afraid, soul,
where uthras accompany you?"

Twelfth piece.

[89] How happy I am,
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
until I get to the watchhouse of the sun.
I'm calling:
, Who will lead me past the watchhouse of the Sun?" —
,Your wage donation and your works, your alms and your charity
verden lead you past the watchhouse of the sun."

') See p. 393.

How very pleased I am,
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
until I get to the watchhouse of the moon. I'm
calling:
,Who will lead me past the watchhouse of the moon?"
,Your wage donation and your works, your alms and your charity
they will lead you past the watchhouse of the moon."

How very pleased I am,
how happy my heart is, how
very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
until I get to the watchhouse of the fire.
I'm calling:
,,Who will lead me past the watchhouse of the fire?"
,,Your wage donation and your works, your alms and your charity
they will lead you past the watchhouse of the fire."

How very pleased I am.
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
until I get to the watchhouse of the Seven.
I'm calling:
,Who will lead me past the Watchhouse of the Seven?" ...
,,Your wage donation and your works, your alms and your charity
they will lead you past the Watchhouse of the Seven."

How very pleased I am,
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,

on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
[90] until I come to the guardhouse of the Rühā.
I'm calling:
,,Who will lead me past the guardhouse of the Ruha?" —
,,Your wage donation and your works, your alms and your charity
they will lead you past the guardhouse of the Ruha."

How very pleased I am,
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!
I fly and move there,
until I get to the water streams.
When I arrived at the streams of water,
the outflow of gloss came to meet me. He
grabbed me by the area of my right and
led me over the streams of water.
They brought shine and clothed me with it,
brought light and covered me with it.

Life supported life,
life found its own.
His own found life,
and my soul, that of the NN of this ascension, found [hope. —
what it- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Son of Good,
show me the way you came,
and the ascent on which your father ascended
the place of light.

Thirteenth piece.

The hope of good came to
me, for they say, Thou shalt go out.

Then the hope came to me again,
for they say, Thou shalt go there.
Send to my brothers and tell them,
that they come and pray for me.
How good are my brothers,
that they came of their own accord!
,My brothers, in your life, o
good ones, by all your souls!
When you see something ugly,
do not let go of your burden.
If you see something ugly again,
do not let up, but do the rest. For
he who is loaded ascends,
those who are empty are cut off here.
I'm loaded and I'm climbing up,
my works and my wage donation precede me,
and I rely on my well-being." My
soul, why does it grieve you,
that you're leaving the house?
[91] [The house] falls to destruction,
and the legal dispute of the prisoners is to be settled.
DThe House of the Planets [is to be forfeited],
and the works of their hands shall pass away.
I fly and move there,
until I get to the planets").
At the gates of the planets
stand there and whisper.
,,Why are you whispering, you seven?
I'm not one of you."

I fly and move there,
until I get to the house of life.
How to get to the house of Life,
life is coming to me.
It brought out shine and clothed me with it, it
brought light and covered me with it.
It included me in its bill,
and the good placed me in its midst.
My light prepared the pihta,
and my mind stood up and praised life.
Will you find a good,
so approach him,

---

1) Maybe to read, see further.

do you find a bad,
so stay away from him.
Between the lamps of light
your lamps will be lifted up and shine ').

You have been raised and strengthened
through the Word of Truth that has come to you.
The Word of truth has come to the good,
the true word to the believers.
To the place that is all life,
are your souls called and charged"). —
And life is victorious.

The good guys go there,
the dispute of the elect is settled.
The good guys go there;
who shall endure the splendor of the good")?

Fourteenth piece.

When the darkness made plans,
Adam left his body.
Adam left his body,
in splendor and light, the soul was recovered.
The soul was recovered in splendor and light,
and the heart of the Rūha darkened.
Ruha speaks:
,The soul has ascended to the house of life." As long
as the soul was in the world of the wicked,
all the darkness sat in distress.
In distress sat the whole darkness,
and Rüha covered her head.
[92] She spoke:
,Woe to me that I knew nothing
of their treasures "), which I coveted.
I want to do (to the soul),
that I will plunge them into the tortures of the earth.

---

1) See p. 513, 17; Lit., pp. 104, 7; 214, 3. ") See Lit., p. 214.
3) See above, p. 518, 25. 4) Of the superior beings, see also p. 530, 28.

Into the tortures of the earth I will plunge
them and stand back at the gates of darkness.
I will restrain them at the gates of darkness and
shackles in the guardhouses.
We want to make the whole tribe contemptible with us,
towards darkness ******' . . . .
her voice penetrated to the house of the great life.
When the great (life) heard this,
he sent a messenger of light.
The Great spoke to Hibil-Zīwā'):
,Good Uthra of lovely name!
Deliver Adam from the darkness
and lift him up here."

I dressed myself with splendor from my place
and came out of my place.
I took Adam out of the world of
evil and led him past every ugly structure.
I darkened the light of the wicked
and broke all their guardhouses.
Rūhā dQudšā comes and finds the
body of Adam, as it is without a soul. Rüha
complains and beats herself
and call the astartes who were with her.
She speaks to the Liliths and Astarts:
,,Come on, we want to complain and
cry, let the astartes shout"),
that the strange man did this,
while I knew nothing of their treasures."

I took Adam past every ugly thing and got
in front of the Škina of the Ptahil.
When I arrived at the Škīnā of the
Ptahil, Ptahil rose from his throne.
Ptahil rose from his throne
and prayed with a bow before
life. He prayed with a bow to life
and handed Kuštā to the soul.
He handed Kušta to the soul
and spoke to her:
,,Your measure is full, soul,
and you left the world of the wicked."

---

1) The first namy is also missing in sorrow.
2) Sorry. the text is probably not in order here.

Then she spoke to him:
,Sit down, simple-minded Uthra, who
does not understand anything on the Tibil."

Ptahil sat down on his throne,
and I came before the Škinā of Abathur.
[93] Abathur rose from his throne
and prayed with a bow before life. He
prayed with a bow to life and handed
Kušta to the soul. He
handed the soul Kušṭā;
then I led them past Jōšamīn.
When Jošamīn saw the soul,
he rose from his throne.
Jošamīn rose from his throne
and prayed with a bow before life. He
prayed with a bow to life and handed
Kuštā to the soul.
He handed the soul Kuštā;
[then I led them past Enoš-Uthra].
When Enoš-Uthra saw the soul,
he prayed with a bow to life. He
bète with a bow to life and handed
Kuštā to the soul.
He handed the soul Kuštā;
then I led them past the sons of Salvation.
When the sons of Salvation saw the
soul, they prayed with a bow to life.
They prayed with a bow to life
and handed Kušṭā to the soul.
They submitted to the soul Kušṭa;
[then I introduced her to life].
When life saw me,
it won me love.
The Uthras of Light rejoiced mine1),
life blessed me,
and Mandā dHaijē was grateful to me.
You speak to her:
,Blessed be you, soul,
and blessed be the man who redeemed you and lifted you up [hat."
And to him they spoke:

---

1) This from Nöldeke Gram., p. 46, 8 assumed meaning does not seem to me sure. The readings fluctuate a lot. Sorry. has NNy, which is certainly incorrect.

,You brought the soul here, you brought it here, and
you were a helper to her."

He created her shine in his place
and clothed them with his own robe. With his
own robe he clothed them and he placed her
on the throne which he established for her. He
created her shine in his place,
and she clothed herself with his') robe.
With his robe she clothed herself and he
sat down on the throne which he built for her. When
she sat on the throne that he erected to her, there
she hopped in radiance and light.
As she hopped in shine and light,
then she jumped up and rose from her
throne. She jumped up, rose from her
throne and prayed with a bow before
life. She prayed with a bow to life and
[94] extolled the great life.
She praised Manda dHaije,
who redeemed them and brought them up
here"). The soul praises and says: 'On this ascension, on which I will ascend- have risen, let the true, faithful and excellent Naşoreans, as well as the perfect women ascend when they get out of their body divorce." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

I saw my robe and my wreath, then
my soul felt equipped for the place of light.

Fifteenth piece.

,My measure is full, and I move out." —
The Spirit speaks to the
soul: ,If you're moving out, why are you sorry?
If you're sorry, why are you moving out?" ...

---

1) AvDN) 7 is here taken absurdly from the previous one.
2) That was Hibil-Zīwā! Cf. pp. 438, 16.

If I move out, that's how the demons stand there,
if I turn back, my number is
full. Where is the life I loved,
where is the life that loves me?
Where is the man of proven justice,
in whose name I donated alms?
Where is Manda dHaijē,
in whose name did I go to Jordan?
Where are you going, Lord of the Kušta,
where the demons surround my body?
The demons surround my body,
and the Seven stand there and think about evil.
The Seven senses against me
and make secret plans against me.
They speak:
When he walks away from us'),
let's tie him up in the customs house. If
he calls, who will answer him, and
who will be a savior to him?
Who will be a savior to him,
when he is tied up in the house of the tax collectors?"

A quake arose on the spot
in this world.
A Uthra was sent to me,
a man who is outstanding in the world.
A great Uthra was sent to me,
a man who is supposed to be a helper for me.
[95] He shall be a helper to the men,
which strengthen the tribe.
He broke their guardhouses
and made a breach in their castle.
He made a breach in their castle,
and the seven fled away") from his path. He
brought shine and clothed me with it and
got me out of the world with swagger.
The Seven with their demons and Hmurthas
sitting there grieving.
Everyone is sitting there and grieving
the man who came from the Tibil,

---

1) Read prEN).

") Sorry. has p77. But N77 heals "wegstolen".. Either pray (Ethpeel) is too read or pri ,"they hurried away trembling," see Lit... p. 24, 6.

to the man who sprang from the tibil
and a breach was made in their castle.
He made a breach in their castle,
and they took him out of the world with pomp.

When the Seven saw this,
did they see themselves as inferior,
they turned back and sat down by their way.
But the elect (and the Uthras) rose with their praise
and looked at the place of — [upwards
light. Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

The soul saw the glory,
she stands at her place of origin and prangets.

Sixteenth piece.

The soul is in the fruit of life
blooms and blooms.
She blooms and blooms.
The Uthras stepped up and asked her out:
,When you were in the Tibil,
in the decrepit house,
when you were among the
seven, the sons of the empty dwelling,
what did the seven do to you,
when you were among them?a

She responds to them:
,They called me a slave who has no master, and
every day they took me to court.
They turned the court against me,
they pursed their lips against me.
They called me a slave who has no master and no mistress
everyone who reaches him"), beats him, [hat:
everyone who meets him, angers him,
and everyone who comes to him despises him.

---

1) NDDN does not make sense; it is probably influenced by. I suspect N3ON.
2) Sorry. hat lies דראורה.

They called me a river without a transition"),
which has lifted and is clogged at the mouth.
He has lifted and is clogged at the mouth,
[96] and the plants about him die of thirst and die of thirst. They
called me a prisoner without a place of residence,
who has no father.
He has no father
and no caregiver.
I was hurt and sorry,
that I had to hope for my helper for so long.
I had to hope for my helper,
the man who made me hear his voice, that
he may come and rid me of the wicked,
rid me of sinners,
that he may set me free from the birds that let go of the hearers,
who are used to anger in the tibil,
that he may free me from the watchmen, and me from the judges
who make a wrong judgment. [losmache,
I said to myself: when will I come out
from the desert wasteland")?
I said to myself: when will I get out of her
and look at the place of light?"

How I stand in my place,
I saw my helper. I
saw the gentle Uthra,
the man who made me hear his voice.
He screamed and let me hear his voice
and put my heart on his support.
When I saw my father, the Uthra,
the man who is a helper to me,
when I saw my father, the
Uthra, I am the light of the world.

He talked and talked
to the sons of the void dwelling:
,I am a slave whose master is One,
there is no noble who is like me.
I have a Uthra for my father,
i have a nurse.
I have a judge for my father,
who makes my case with my persecutors.

---

1) See Nöld., p. 430". 2) Sorry. has N37177.

I have a lord of plants,
who seals his plants with water."

The planets are there,
they whisper and talk:
,With whose power is he standing there,
that his mind is so firmly supported by him?
Who is his Lord, who is his helper,
who is the judge who settles his case with his persecutors
versiehtpu

I replied to the seven,
who have condemned themselves'):
,,The slave of the stranger I am,
the man who strengthens his friends.
[97] I am the slave of the stranger,
the man who is a helper.
[A helper] is he the man ********,
and he strengthens his tribe." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

When I was among you,
don't you worry about me.
Now I want to go there,
what do I have in common with you?

Seventeenth piece.

The voice of the soul of life I hear,
who weeps from the body of garbage.
She speaks:
, They brought me naked") into the world,
and they took me out of her empty. When
I was empty, they took me out of her,
like a bird that nothing accompanies."

The voice of the soul is,
who whines and cries in her place.

---

1) Sorry. is an aggravation, cf. R 54. 2; 117, 23
2) See above, p. 317, 22.

She speaks:
What should I do with you, my body,
start in that ') world?
If you, my body, were a garment of splendor and light,
that's how I attract you,
and you ascended with me to the house of life.
If you were a belt of shine and light,
so you would be tied around my hips,
and you ascended with me to the house of life.
If you were a wreath of shine and light,
so you would be placed on my head,
and you ascended with me to the house of life.
If you were a rod of shine and light,
that's how I held you in my hand,
and you ascended with me to the house of life. Would
you be sandals of shine and light, so
you would have put me at my feet,
and you ascended with me to the house of life."
So the soul spoke and spoke, and
the body did not accompany her.

The voice of the Messenger of Life I hear,
who calls to the soul of life:
,,Come, come 2), you light-giver,
which you illuminated the dark house.
Come on, come on, you fragrant,
which you made the smelly body fragrant.
Come, come, you noble-born,
[98] who is called a maid in the dwelling of the wicked."

The soul turns around and looks
according to the body and the palace from which they were taken.
She speaks to the body:
If you weren't a body,
formed from a lump of clay!
From a lump of clay you are formed,
and the seven who pursued you remained standing as inferior.
The seven who persecuted you stopped as inferior
within this world." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) So, do not, in this", as dastelt, see also p. 338"
2) See above, p. 514f.

The soul is on the way
and go to the truthful ones. She
speaks to you:
,,Come, eat and drink, you good ones,
i will be with you').

Eighteenth piece.

Although still young, my measure became
full, although still young, my exit took place;
although still young, my measure became full
away from this
world. If I go out, the demons are there,
if I turn back, my number is full.
How foolish are the Äons,
how simple are the worlds,
how foolish are the Äons,
who sit around me in sorrow.
In sorrow for me they sit there
and eat ...") around me.
To me they eat ... .,
and around me they lie on mats.
They lie around me on mats
and tear their treasure around
me"). To me you tear up your
sweetheart, and they shed tears for
me. They shed tears for me
and they're tearing their hair out around me.

Everyone who tears his dress around
me, will keep the flaw on his robe. Anyone
who sheds tears for me, will find
seas and rivers in front of him').
Anyone who pulls out their hair around me,
will be included in the Finsterberg").
My measure has become full, my time is coming,
and I'm moving towards the place of light. —

---

1) The words sound like the invitation of a god to the cult meal.
2) To and from the following siche p. 21 ob.; 466 unt.
a) Here seems to be as much as garb zn, see the following.
4) On his way to Life. 6) Sorry. did Agno.

Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

[99] When I was living in physical garb,
my robe was not taken from me;
now that you got me out of it,
my confidence is directed to life.

Nineteenth piece.

At my height I stand,
and my eyes are looking at the tibil.
I look and see the soul,
how she cries, laments and pours out (in tears)
and with her hair sweeping the streets.
With her hair she sweeps the streets,
with her nails she digs up earth.
With her nails she digs up earth,
she moistens the earth with her tears.
She moistens the earth with her tears,
with her hands she assembles vaults.
Vaults she puts together with her hands, so
she stands there and performs the
construction. She built it and cleaned it,
then she climbed up and sat down on the ring wall').
She took off the rose skirt
and marveled at its beauty.
She speaks to him:
"Woe to you, body splendor,
it is right that the worm of hell eats you.
Woe to you, rose skirt,
which the birds tear to pieces in the air."

The soul sits there and waits:
maybe a escort is coming.
Maybe a escort will come
and I'm going with them.
The soul looks up and sees, how
to approach the escort of the bad guys.

---

1) Doubtful, see Joh. II, P. 30°.

Darkness goes before them,
Darkness follows them.
Demons accompany you,
Liliths are their guides. A
mile and a half (1) the sound
of her crying penetrates. A
mile and a half away penetrates
the smell of their stench. When
they came to the soul,
spoke to you of life's guiltless soul:
What are your works, you wicked ones,
that your travel allowance looks like this?"
To this they reply to her:
,,Our head penetrated into the earth
") within this world.
Our eyes beckoned within
this world. Our ears
were listening at the doors within
this world. Our
hands committed murder
within this world. Our
heart was [100] ambiguous
within this world. Our
body drove fornication
within this world.
Our knees bowed to the Seven
within this world.
Our feet went barefoot
within this world."

Then he spoke to them
the innocent soul of life:
,If these are your works, you wicked,
so your travel allowance is excellent.
Go, go, you bad guys,
I am not coming with you in your escort."

The soul is sitting there:
maybe a escort is coming.
Maybe a escort will come,
and I walk with you in your escort.

---

1) i.e. a mile and beyond, similar to un corsaire et demi.

2) To listen or to drive earthmanticism? See also R 63, 16.

The soul looks up and sees,
how the guidance of the good comes about.
Shine goes before you,
Light follows them.
Uthras of life accompany you,
Angels of glory are their guides.
A mile and a half away
penetrate your fragrance.
Then he spoke to ilmnen
the innocent soul of life:
If it pleases you, my good brothers,
lead me with you in your escort.
I want a company for the good,
be a guide to the believers."

Then talk to her:
,What are your works, soul,
that we may guide you with us in our guidance on the way?"
Then she speaks to you:
,,My father distributed bread,
and my mother donated alms;
my brothers sang hymns,
and my sisters handed Kušta."
Then talk to her:
,,Your father who distributed bread,
did it for sicl;
your mother who gave alms,
did it for your soul.
Your brothers who sang hymns,
will ascend on the paths of the Kuštā;
your sisters who handed Kušṭā,
Manda dHaije will be a helper.
What are your works that you have done for
yourself, that we may lead you with us in our escort?"

Then she replies to
them: ,I want to say euclı, my brothers,
I want to tell you, true, believing men;
i want to tell you, my brothers,
i want to tell you how it was.
My brothers according to your
will, my sisters [101] by their own will, my
brothers according to your will
made me the bride of the wicked.

They made me the bride of the
wicked, do not give wages and alms. They
do not grant wages and alms, therefore,
they are tied up in the darkness.
But with me, I loved life, Manda
dHaije took a seat in the spirit.
When the Saturday went out in the evening,
when Sunday came for the
good'), i took alms in my pocket,
took a piece of bread in my
hand. I took alms in my pocket
and went to the gate of the
temple. I put the alms among the other alms")
and the piece of bread for the common feeding (for the poor")).
I found an orphan, so I sated her
and filled the widow's pocket.
I found a naked,
so I put a robe around his neck.
I found a prisoner,
so I untied him and sent him back to his place of residence.
I untied him, sent him back to his native place
and provided him with food on the way."

So they brought splendor and clothed them
with it, brought light and covered them
with it. They tied around her a large diadem of
splendor and they laid a wreath on her.
They tied a belt around her,
which is quite high gloss.
They laid her a transition across the seas,
put a dam through the rivers for her. They
seized her by the surface of the right and
led them over the streams of water.

Life turned life upside down,
life found its own.
His own found life, [hope for. —
and my soul, that of the NN of this ascension, found what it

---

1) Siche also Lit., p. 220, LIV.

2) Probably in the collection point for alms.

") In vernute I ovuboan, which is also used in the Syrian N5210 and סְבוּלֶת in the Talmudic (Levy, Neuhebr. Wtb. III, p. 468b). The mild gifts were given at a They gathered together and fed the poor there together. Sorry. סבילא; hat which is perhaps influenced by the Arabic sebil,"mild gift".

Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

The soul is on the way')
and look out for their helper:
I'll let my eyes look out for you,
Lord, You are all grace.

Twentieth piece').

Between the hidden and the shine,
between the Light and the Uthras,
between the hidden and the shine
stand there and ask the soul out.
They speak:
,Say, say, soul,
who educated you.
Who built you, who formed you"),
who was [102] the man, your Creator?a

,,One built me, One formed me, One of
them was the man, my Creator.
One of the sons of Salvation
kindly took a part.
He wrapped me in a wrap of shine, took
and handed me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity
ashamed, since he did not know, ashamed, since he did not know-[stand.
Adam, in his simplicity
nalım and put me in the physical trunk.
He took and put me in the physical rump
of wormwood, bitterwort and ..).
The soul sits there and protects
the physical hostel"), which is entrusted to her.
She sits there and protects her,
until their measure and number is fulfilled.

---

1) Sorry. has nhowo. e) Is also Lit., p. 99.
3) p2 probably belongs to N32, not to p2, although
man text 46,14 (here p. 464, 41; Nöld., p. 270, 23) has to move to pa.
4) Cf. Lit., p. 100". 5) Sorry. it's like Qol. NDW.

When their measure and number was fulfilled,
the solver went to her.
The solver went to her and solved her,
it led her away, who had bound her.
Who had solved the soul, preceded her,
he who had bound her followed her.
The soul ran [and reached] the one who had solved it,
he who had bound her ran, but he did not reach her. The
soul alone and its redeemer
go to the place of life. -
And life is victorious.

What is it good for me that I came and lived
in a deceptive, empty hull? What is
it good for me that I came and lived in him, where he
does not ascend with me to the place of light?

Twenty-first piece.

The soul goes out,
your measure is full, and your time has come.
Your measure is full, your time has come,
and she has her eye full of the solver').
Full of solver she has her eye,
and her heart is full of weeping.
Her heart is full of weeping,
and the solver does not take a bribe.
He does not accept a bribe
and do not trade the body for the soul. They
released the soul and led it there,
they were brought before the judge.
The judge asks you out
[103] according to their sins and transgressions:
,What works have you, soul, done
in the world of deception that you were in?"

,,You are my witness, judge,
that I have not done evil for my own sake.
I did not commit adultery") and did
not act according to the will of the wicked.

---

2) See Joh. II, p. 478. 2) See above, p. 540.

I did not commit murder
and no blood of Adam's son was
shed. My head did not penetrate the
earth, and my hands did not commit theft.
1 i have not done magic and do
not torment the soul in the body. I
have not delivered the servant into the hand of his Master,
don't put the maid in the hand of her mistress,
nor have I given false testimony. I
have not pushed boundaries, no
boundary stones go crazy.
My eyes gave no sign,
and my mouth did not produce a lie.
The fortune tellers didn't tell me true,
and the deceitful Chaldeans did not Chaldeans to me.
I did not eat a double alms') and did
not worship two gentlemen.
I gave alms to the poor,
and I was a guide to the blind man.
If I found a hungry one, I satisfied him,
and filled the widow's pocket.
I found a naked,
so I put a robe around his neck.
I found a prisoner,
so I released him and sent him back to his place of residence.
25 I untied him, sent him back to his native place
and provided him with food on the way.
With the sick man I went up to his camp,
with the deceased, I went to the cemetery." —
If these are your works, soul, so
may your witnesses come and witness."

When the soul was still standing before the judge,
her witnesses flew up and came to her.
The Jordan River and its two
banks for the soul").
The baptism with which she had been baptized,
the Pihta, the Kuštā and the Mambūgā
witness to the soul.
Payment of wages and alms (and baptism)
witness to the soul.

---

1) I did not let alms be given to me from different sides?

°) See Lit., pp. 33 f.

They grasped the soul by the surface of the right,
they lifted them up and set them up in the house of perfection,
in the place [104] whose sun does not set
and whose light lamps do not darken. -
- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

In old age, you formed her') wings,
she jumped down and sat down in a cloud of splendor.

Twenty-second piece.

I will be redeemed, my measure is
full, i am redeemed, my number is
full, I am saved, my measure is full. -
- When the soul strips the body, does
the trunk keep its mouth shut (closed),
the room*) shows solidification.
The Seven Planets
surround my body and sit there. They
speak to her (to the soul):
,When you go out*), soul,
let's get you in front of the customs -
officers." ... ,, I go out*), so the demons are
there, if I turn back, my number is
full. Where's the run I ran,
where is the greeting that my hands extended?
Where are the sandals of my feet,
who I left with my friends? Where
are you going, Lord of the Kušṭa,
where the demons have surrounded my body?
The demons have surrounded my body,
and my eyes color in my head."
I raised my eyes to the heights,
with my soul I looked towards the house of Life").

---

1) Read Ȧt any, the soul. 2) i.e. the body.

3) The preceding PD , "Go out" is here and text 116, 12 is not in place. The planets do not want the soul to leave the body. It is hardly ironic intentioned.

4) Read pidy. ") Sorry. has NNDD, see p. 5101.

I raised my eyes to the heights
and saw the man, my helper.
,,Help me, help me, " the soul cries,
,'help me before them and do not let me down ').
He helped me out of the middle of the
seven, lifted me above the tax collectors,
brought me up and straightened me in the house of the Full-
Life is held high and is victorious, [ending on. —
and victorious is the man who went here.

The manā rejoices, feels joy,
that Hibil-Zīwā is coming
from the house of life to him.

Twenty-third piece.

A voice called from above
and from the upper kingdoms.
[105] A voice called from on high, which spoke:
,,The prisoners are to be freed."
She said: 'Let the prisoners be freed, and for
those who are cramped, it will be a long way ")."

I moved there and came,
until I got to their prison.
When I arrived at her prison,
the warden of the prisoners came to meet me").
I talked and talked
the overseer of all prisoners:
" What is the food,
and what is the drink of the prisoners?" —
,,The food of the prisoners is wormwood, bitter herb and ... .,
the drink of the prisoners is black water and dirt."

Then I spoke and spoke
the overseer of all prisoners:
,,Take pegs and keys
and open the gate of the prison.

---

1) I read instead of see text 116, 25.
°) See p. 393, 22; 525 ob. a). See p. 405 unt.

Open the gate of the prison
and release the prisoners who are locked up.
Release the prisoners who are locked up;
let it be wide for those who are cramped."
Then he speaks to me:
How many should I let you out of a thousand,
how many shall I let you out of ten thousand?"

He opened the gate for me
and put the sign on the document'). He
picks out the adulterers and thieves
and leads them out to the gate of the Šeol.
He picks out the wizards and witches
and leads them out to the gate of the Šeol.
He picks out the fortune tellers and winkers
and leads them out to the gate of the Šeol.
He seeks out those who push boundaries and move boundary stones
and leads them out to the gate of the Šeol.
I went through the prison
and did not find a true man.
Then I spoke and spoke
the overseer of all prisoners:
,Include the wicked because of their works
and pay attention to the
souls, until the great will sit in judgment;
then the wicked will come and be tested."
The prisoners sing hymns and rejoice,
they have taken away the shackles.
The prisoners are crying and howling,
on which the shackles were left.
They speak:
,'We've heard from you, good guy'), [dammest." —
that you (the people) do not go to the cut-off mountain-
,,My sons, there is no cut-off mountain,
and there is no one whom his Lord condemned to him.
[106] No, your relatives have condemned you, who
live in the deception of the world. [arranges
They have no mass for you, not my memorial service-
and the table") of alms and Mass was not set up." —
And life is victorious.

---

1) This is probably ND" babyl. gittu ,,document". It is the gift given to the Redeemer Guide writing.

2) Cf. Joh. II, p. 1061.

3) Sorry. hat ולפאתורא.

O gentle Mānā,
o orderly, well-ordered Manā,
o gentle Mānā,
may helpers come with you.

Twenty-fourth piece.

At the gate of the prisoners I passed, my
radiance rose above their prisons. Over
their prisons my glory rose, and they
became fragrant due to my fragrance.
My scent made them fragrant, and
the Seol shone through my brilliance.
The souls perceived it,
then they cry and howl and pour out (in tears).
I call to the prison warden:
,Open the gate to souls."
That's what he's talking
about: How many should I let you out of a thousand,
how many shall I let you out of ten thousand?"

He opened the gate for me
and put the sign on the document.
He opened the gate for me
and gave them the reward for their chains').
He laid bread for the poor, He
distributed guest meals to the persecuted*),
he assigned the reward for their chains to their
tables. The souls were singled out
from the place of darkness to the place of light.
-- And life is victorious.

---

1) He compensated them for the sufferings suffered in the chains.
*) Read or פאלינ.

Twenty-fifth piece.

I have a soul in the Tibil,
she is wrapped up in the world.
She is wrapped up in the world,
a uthra step at her touch').
At her touch step a Uthra
and shake her out of her sleep:
,,Get up, get up, soul,
get up, look towards the house of life.
Get up, look towards the house of life and
lift up your face to the place of light.
Behold, the whole world
is a thing without value.
A thing without value is she
and does not deserve trust.
[107] See the great sea,
through which there is no transition.
See the Hitpūn River"),
through which no dam is laid.
See the guardhouse,
standing by the rebel.
See the fire fires,
whose smoke rises and reaches the firmament.
See the double pits,
which Rūha dug on the way.
See the high mountain,
on which no path is paved.
See the wall, the Iron wall,
which surrounds the world like a wreath.
Like a wreath, the world surrounds
you, and no breach has been made in them.

When you, soul, hear what I tell you,
and do not contradict my speech, so
you will be over this great sea
a transition will be laid.
Through this river Hitpūn
a dam will be laid for you").

---

1) Cf. pp. 430, 32.

2) Means,"they tore me away". Maybe you have ND ,"water", the plural it is to think as a subject.

a) Maybe stand (785 for 78tery, ,I will ", see also 78507d (7x50D).

I'll take you past the guardhouse,
where the rebels stand.
I'll take you past the fires, whose
smoke rises and reaches the firmament.
I'll take you past the double pits,
which Rüha dug on the way.
On this high mountain
I will pave a way for you.
In this wall, the iron wall,
I will make a breach for you.
I want to grasp you with all my strength
and stretch you with my whole body 1). With
all my strength I want to grasp you
and lift me up to the place of light." —
And life is victorious.

The chosen ones come from the earth
Tibil, so they come and are embraced by my vine.
They come, they are wrapped in my vine and
climb up, look at the place of light.

Twenty-sixth piece,

Whose soul is this,
who is so built, well-built *)?
So built, well-built it is,
so true and faithful.
So true and faithful is she,
so equipped, well-equipped.
She fears and is not afraid,
she does not know fear and anxiety.
She is not afraid of the tax collectors,
not in front of the wrong angels.
They put a Äther wreath on her head and
took them out of the world.

This soul flies and moves there, [108]
until she came to the house of the tax collectors.

---

1) You actually expect something different.

a) Here, as well as in piece 34, it is not entirely certain that daf belongs to NJD (see Nöld., p. 307, 17 and above, p. 543"); it could also belong to pa, see above p. 391, 14.

When the chief tax collector saw the soul,
he asked her out:
,,With whose strength did you go out, soul,
and whose name is pronounced about —
you?" ,,I went out with the power of life, and
the name of Manda dHaije is pronounced over me."

"[With what] should I compare you, soul,
what to compare with in this
world? I compare you to the sun of the day,
i compare you to the moon of the night. I
compare you to the northern air'),
when she regets herself in the
world"). I compare you to the waves of water,
when the northern air blows over you."

The soul shone more than the sun of the day, it was
brighter than the moon of the night. She
was stronger than the northern
air, when she moves in the world.
She was more pleasant than the waves of water,
when the north blows over you.
The chief tax collector bowed his head,
and the soul rose to him:
,Go, soul, climb up,
go, fly and get there." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

How very happy I am*),
how happy my heart is,
how very pleased I am
on the day when my dispute will be settled,
on the day when my dispute will be settled
and my walk to the place of life is!

Twenty-seventh piece').

A well-sealed letter is,
who goes out of the world,

---

1) See about this p. 281 ob.
[2] See also p. 440 °.
3) See also piece 12.
[4] With some deviations, Lit., p. 111.

a letter written with Kušta,
sealed with the Great seal ring.
Perfect ones have written it,
faithful men secured him.
They hung him around the neck of the
soul and sent him to the gate of life.
Where did it come from that Daium saw,
that the soul carried the letter?
Where did it come from that Daium saw her,
while her seven sons were gathered around her?
[109] These speak:
,Who wrote the letter,
whose secret we did not know?
The letter is written with Kuštā,
sealed with the seal ring Großer.
Pious, perfect ones wrote it, faithful
men secured him. They
hung him around the neck of the
soul and sent him to the gate of life."

The soul in its wisdom
spread splendor over him and kept him safe,
wrapped him in light and wrapped him.
The Seven bowed their heads,
and the soul descended on
her. They put an ether wreath on her head
and took them out of the world.

The soul flies and moves there,
until she came to the streams of water.
When she reached the streams of water,
the great outpouring of splendor went to meet her.
He seized them by the right side of the
and led them over the streams of water1).
They set them up in their skīnā,
at the place where the Uthras sit.

Life supported life,
life found its own.
His own found life,
and Bar-Haije carried out His own. -
And life is victorious.

---

1) Sorry. does it still stand behind here אנפיק אלבשויא זיוא ואיתון נהורא כאסויא
They brought out shine and clothed her with it,
they brought light and covered them with it.

My enlightenment and my praise lead me over.
Who led you through the guard, lead me over, the cloud of light, and it will rise
victorious to the place of light.

Twenty-eighth piece.

I excrete from my body,
my time has come, and my measure is full.
My measure is full, my time has come,
and the excretion from the body is close. The guard is moving out in a hurry.
The trunk held the mouth (closed),
the room showed solidification.
The physical hull shook.
The fiends pierce my heart').
Who of the wicked told him:
,,Equip and set up angels on the way")?u
Move out, you divorce, soul,
they will bring you in before the judge.
Your works and your deeds
they will bring you in before the judge.
Get up, go with him,
with the King") of the great (life) who has come to you.
The path I'm taking,
is far and endless.
Through the passage through which I pass,
does not penetrate any tax.
The sun does not set over it,
the lamps [110] of light do not become dark.
The men who are there,
they lay on themselves flaunting wreaths.
With a shine they are clothed,
a light is spread over all*).

---

1) Instead of reading I prefer the reading (also Sorry. so) before. For W37 = W27, see Nöld., p. 41, 6. Then 3N37 instead of 7N3).

2) The words are probably addressed to an underground being. Even the "angels" here are bad geniuses, see p. 4.

3),"King" is also here as much as heavenly being, see p. 62.

1) Read Di7D.

They are the same size
and take the measure of each other.
When the good ones speak,
your speech is one. —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Soul, get up, go
with the king of the great (life) who has come to you.

Twenty-ninth piece.

I was redeemed, my measure became full,
the great (life) sent for me. I'm
talking to my sprouts and
taught the great ones').
To my sprouts I speak, to
the great I gave decrees:
,,My rungs, I'm leaving you;
what will you, my rungs, do?"

I sat down in the shade of my vines"), and
my brightness went up over my vines.
Over my vines my shine went up,
and my vines spoke from their place.
They speak and speak:
,,You're divorcing us, man,
what are you giving up
on us? Tell us about your name,
a living speech, extended and endless. Tell
us about the hidden speeches and
from the fixed Mānā, when he goes out").
Tell us what the great (life) abandoned to him"),
when he leaves the world."

,I want to tell you about the hidden speeches
and from the fixed Mānā.

---

1) Here in the sense of "noble, noble". ,"Big, grown-up" does not mean.
2) These are its rungs. 3) It is the separating soul.
4) is not ok; maybe פאקדויא רביא.

When he leaves here,
the Seven are his opponents.
To the house of Ptahil
the Seven are opposed to the Manā. When he
comes out of the house of Ptahil, Abathur
welcomes him with his splendor
and his light is unlimited.
Because of its extended luster
fear comes over the second.
The second rises from his throne
and praise the mighty life:
,,Blessed be you, mighty life, that
you have sent me this helper."

My rungs bowed their heads,
they wailed and wept in their place.
[111] They speak:
,,You're divorcing us, man;
when will we see your place?
When will we see your figure, which
is now hidden from the world?"

To this he replies to
them: If the great (life) would let me,
I would grow up in the world with you.
But now that the big one wanted me,
the hidden perfects inflicted themselves
on me. I was added to the hidden Mānās,
the glory that looms in the vine." ...
The great life speaks to him and commissions him,
who sent for him in kindness.
It speaks to him:
,,You man, to whom did you leave your sprouts,
and who is the man to teach them?"
To which he replies to him '):
,,Your strength will keep them,
and your enlightenment will be a help to them."
And life is victorious.

---

1) A5 despite the relationship on see p. 240°; 3012; 335°.

Thirtieth piece.

At the gate of the garden I passed,
I heard the gardener's voice.
I heard the gardener's voice,
he cried and made the trees of the garden cry.
Why are you crying, gardener,
and make the trees of your garden cry? About
that ...") went away in your hands,
or was the water in your canals inhibited?"

,,It didn't go away ...") in my hands,
still the water in my canals was inhibited. But
yesterday, but in the evening
a cedar tree was uprooted from my garden.
[A cedar has been uprooted] from my
garden, a female cedar") torn out at the root.
I cry for my companions") and for the plants,
which he left with her")")."

,,The cedar that is uprooted from your
garden, she was uprooted by the man who
planted her. The female cedar, torn out at the root,
it will be set up here with us.
The good plants that have been left
with you, they will rise and prosper well."
... And life is victorious.

I am a great mana,
I am a Manā, a son of the mighty (life).
I am a great Manā,
who lived in the sea.
I lived in the sea,
until they gave me wings,
until they made me wings,
[112] until I became a winged,
until I became a winged
and lifted my wings against the place of light.

---

1) See above, p. 4318. 2) See above, p. 409, 4.

") Event. ,,my companion"; Sorry. did "NTINg.

4) He, the thief, by the cedar? After the following, one expects "with me".

b) The cedars are the souls that were taken away from here. Should NANWN really being the female cedar, so could be alluded to male and female secluded.

Thirty-first piece.

At the gate of the prison
the splendor of Sunday passed.
The splendor of Sunday passed,
and at the gate of the prisoners the light filled.
When the souls saw the splendor and light of Manda
dHaije, they felt joy in their
chains. Then the jailer spoke to them,
who lived among them:
"Which is my (best) day among the days")?
The day you felt joy in your chains")." They
talked about it") to the prison warden the
prisoners"), among whom he lived:
,Our") (best) day among all days is,
as the splendor of Sunday passed.
The splendor of Sunday passed,
and at the gate of the prisoners the light
filled. When we saw the splendor and light of Manda
dHaije, we felt joy in our chains."

Then I spoke to the prison warden,
who lived among them:
,,You overseer of all prisoners, you prisoner overseer! Let
go of your souls') and give them to me.
Let go and give me the souls,
who are worthy and worthy of the
place of light, anyone who is marked with the sign
of life and in the four Jordanes")."

Then the jailer spoke to him,
who lived among them:
,Good one, your souls are numerous,
endless and countless.
Search for them") in your gentle sense
and speak with your noble voice.

---

1) Actually, "are you looking for". ") See Lit., p. 186. ") See Nöld., p. 2554.
4) Sorry. hat ד̄נימארולה̄. 5) Sorry. hat 7877 עסיריא. o) Read /NDr.
7) See Joh. II, p. 245m.

8) I can only find the "four Jordans" at one point in the map. Divan (left to right-above the second dogs 37), which is dependent on this pieces: (1. N337) NIN37 pND כול בארבא יארדניא האבשאבא מאהליפלה̄ מן מאטארתא ד̄שאמיש,For anyone who is in the four Jordanen is baptized, passes the watchhouse of Samiš on Sunday."

") Perhaps, "recite to them", see the following half-verse.

Speak with your noble voice
and seek out your souls and lead them there.
Choose and lead your souls, who
are worthy and worthy of the place of
light, anyone who is marked with the sign of life and
is baptized in the four Jordans."

I researched in my gentle sense
and spoke with my noble voice.
With my noble voice I spoke,
sought out my souls [113] and led them there.
I sought out and led my souls, who are
worthy and worthy of the place of
light, anyone who is marked with the sign of life and
is baptized in the four Jordans.

.Then the jailer spoke to him,
who lived among them:
,,Good man, you sought out your souls and led them
there; who will grant them relief from their chains?" ...
To this I replied and spoke
the overseer of all prisoners:
,In the world where these souls dwelt,
that's where you get relief').
Relief can be found there
and gives bread to the poor.
On the table you put
the relief from their chains." ...
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

I walk towards my image,
and my image is coming towards me.
It feeds and hugs me,
it's like I'm coming back from captivity.

---

1) By organizing mass for the dead and practicing pious works, see p. 548 unt.

Thirty-second piece.

When will my measure be full,
when will my dispute be resolved?
When will I take off the physical garment and
go to the places of life, according to
the location of the house of the good,
after the world in which my house stands')?
I want to go out and go to my father's house,
will not return to my home here").
I was hurt and sorry,
that I had to live in this world, where
the life comes to me from the fruits,
the shine answered me from a distance.
From a place that is far and far away,
I looked and recognized my father.
.- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Thirty-third piece

What are the good things like,
when you leave your body?
[114] They like nimble (?) Arrow
"), 4) and who thus left this world. What
things do the bad guys like"),
when you leave your body?
They are like bees,
when you leave your cane.
You have delivered your honey°),
then they went and lay down on the stony mountain. -

---

1) I suspect (2N] ,,in the my paternal construction", see the following verse. אלמא
האזין probably also stands here erroneously for "N7 see p. 3389.

2) Well read. and are due to the previous האתאם affected. To "my father-in-law's house" is not to be thought of.

3) See Joh. II, p. 193.

4) FN2(F)12) means 'brush, smooth'. One of these meanings can probably be found here present. But one expects a different form, such as pDW" or NDW7 (Part. passport. PL.).

") See Joh. II, p. 1061.

6) B and suffering. have something I don't know how to start with before. ,Starting-measuring" does not fit here.

Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

I want to ascend and speak zunı great (life):
:Daily, everyday
send me voice and strength.
The voice and the power you send me, they
will keep me awake so that I do not stumble."

Thirty-fourth piece.

Whose soul is this,
who is so built, well-built')?
So well-built, it is built,
so equipped, well-equipped.
So well equipped, she is equipped,
so true and faithful.
She sits in a cloud of shine,
and angels provide her with a support.
Uthras walk in front of her,
Kuštā paves the way for her.
The soul moved through the prison'),
left eiliga) the house of suffering.

The soul goes and leaves,
until she gets to the customs house. The
tax collectors call for the servants,
according to the men who wait the Seol:
,,Take the whole weapon device with you
and go halfway along the way.
See whose soul this is, which
is so built, well-built.
So well-built, it is built, so
equipped, well-equipped.
So well equipped, she is equipped,
so true and faithful.

') See above, p. 5512.

*) can be called "passing through" and (more often) "passing by". It is unsafe, what sense there is here. See, on the one hand, the following half-verse, on the other, p. 445ff. ")

Continue reading the text, e.g. 23.

She sits in a cloud of shine,
and angels provide her with a support.
Uthras walk in front of her,
Kuštā paves the way for her.
She moved through the prison,
hurriedly left the house of suffering."
Didn't they take the whole weapon device
and moved halfway along the way?
But the soul ascended to the house of life,
while the Seven [115] repented shamefully.
-- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Thirty-fifth piece.

She (the soul) said: In life they put me in order; in
his order ... you get me").
In kindness let life be remembered"),
in kindness let the thought of the mighty (life) be remembered,
be remembered in kindness of life,
which made my robe otherworldly.
It took off my skirt of darkness and
put on me a robe of splendor. It put
a robe on me, which is
wondrous and endless.
I stretched out my body in it, he became
equal to the fullness of the
world. I swung my wings in it,
I went there and reached the firmament.
I opened my eyes in it, my
eyes became full of light.
I go there in my robe, in the
garb that life attracted me. I go
there in the garb of life, until I get
to the House of Seven. How I
arrive at the House of Seven,
stand there and whisper.

---

3) "tracking" does not fit; maybe it was also written here סידרון.
2) See above, p. 5241.

,,Why are you whispering, you seven?
I'm not one of you."

I go there in my robe,
until I come to the house of Abathur:
,,Kuštā about you, man of proven justice!"
,'Pray to me Kuštā from yours').«

I go there in my robe,
in the robe that life attracted me.
I'm going there in my clothes"),
until I come to the sons of salvation:
,Kušta about you, man of proven justice!"
,Pray me Kuštā from yours."

I go there in my robe,
in the robe that life attracted me. I go
there in my robe, until I get
to the water streams. When I
reached the streams of water,
the effusion of splendor went to meet me.
He grabbed me by the area of my right and
led me through the streams of water:
,,Kuštā about you, man of proven justice."
,,Pray me Kušta from yours."

I go there in my robe,
in the robe that life attracted me.
I go there in my robe, until
I get to the house of life.
When I arrived at the House of Life,
the good ones came to meet me.
[I16] They took out shine and clothed me with it,
brought light and covered me with
it: ,Kuštā about you, man of proven justice." ...
,Pray me Kuštā from yours."
The good ones counted me3) among
their and establish for us the prayer to the great
(life). -- Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) One has the words woll as a greeting of the incoming and his counter-greeting to grasp.

2) Read 21255, keep safe. ") Read proro.

The great (life) liked it;
what I told him, he heard:
,Daily, everyday
send me voice and strength.
The voice and the power you send me,
they will keep me awake so that I do not stumble."

Thirty-sixth piece[1]).

,,My measure is full, and I move out." —
When the soul strips the body, does
the trunk keep its mouth shut (closed),
the room shows solidification.
The seven surrounded the body,
sitting there (and talking):
When you go out), soul,
bring you in front of the customs
officers." ... If I go out, the demons are
there, if I turn back, my number
is full. Where is the life I loved,
where is the life that loves me?
Where is the man of proven justice,
in whose name I donated alms?
Where is Manda dHaije,
in whose name did I go to Jordan?
Where is the Jordan of living water,
from which I got victory?
From him I got victory and I
received the pure sign. Where's
the run I ran, where is the
greeting that my hands extended? Where
are the shoes of my feet, who
I left with my friends? Where are
you going, Lord of the Kušta,
where do the demons keep my body
surrounded? The demons keep my body
surrounded, and my eyes color in my
head." I raised my eyes to the
heights and saw the man, my helper.

---

[1] Also Siche pieces 15. 22.
e) Siche p. 546".

He spoke to me:
"Go out'), soul,
I came here because of you."
,Carry, carry me," the soul calls,
,carry, carry me away from them and do not leave me behind."

He carried me out of the middle of the seven,
he lifted me above the tax collectors.
He lifted me out [over the tax collectors],
[117] lifted me up and judged me in the house of the
in the place of all the splendor, [Completion on,
in the apartment, which is quite luminous.
In that place
your souls are also called and invited. -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

He climbed up and lifted me up with him
and did not leave me in the empty apartment.

Thirty-seventh piece").

Although still young, my measure became full,
although still young, my exit took place;
although still young, my exit took place,
away from this world.
How foolish are the Äons,
how simple are the worlds,
how foolish are the Äons,
that they sit there in sorrow for me.
In sorrow for me they sit there,
and around me they lie on mats.

The lamentations, die,
those lying on mats ") are killed.
Food,
do not look at the place of light.

---

1) Here, again, hpen bothers). ") See also piece 18.
") Read by שאכביא.

If you don't complain,
if you are not lying on mats,
so if you call me, I will answer you quickly.
I will speak before you,
when I bring you the shining robe, that's
coming out of you, big Jordan.

When you cry,
when you lie on mats,
so if you call me, I will not answer you.
I will not speak before you,
i will not give you a shining robe,
do not grant a flaunting wreath.
On the day of your divorce
you will be tied up in the house of the tax
collectors. Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Thirty-eighth piece.

The sound, the sound of a sound
I heard two voices,
the sound of two voices (of two),
they sit there and enlighten each other.
The voice of the spirit and the voice of the soul,
they sit there and teach each other. The
Spirit speaks to the soul,
[it speaks] the spirit to the
soul: ,,By your life, my sister, take
me with you when you go there." ,How
should I lead you with me,
where are you a lying ghost?
You are a lying spirit,
lie about what you didn't see.
How should I lead you with me, my brother,
where the man of the carriage stands erect?
The man of the carriage stands erect and
weigh works and wages.
Works and wages') he weighs
and do the spirit together with the soul.

---

1) can perhaps be read twice, but text 128, 12 is also missing.

If he weighs someone, and he turns out to be fully important,
this is how you lift him up and give him a support in life. If he
weighs someone, and he does not prove to be fully important,
that's how you settle the legal dispute with him already there').«

,Lead me with you
until (where) the carriage is erected.
Then may you take me on the dare,
Bring in works and rewards.
If you find me fully important when weighing,
may you bring the spirit together with the
soul. If you find me inferior when weighing,
may they cut me off behind you. —
How good are you"), my sister, soul,
that you led me with you when you went"),
until (where) the carriage is erected,
the works and wages are weighed.
They found me fully important when weighing,
then they brought the spirit together with the soul." —
How the soul rejoices,
that they brought the spirit together with the soul! —
Life [118] supported life,
life found its own.
And life is victorious.

Thirty-ninth piece,

Whether Kušā is good for the good
and Manda dHaije for the sons of Salvation')? -
... While you are still in your body and
seek to enlighten yourself by the power of the name of
life, When will it be dark, when will it be light"), [[speak]:
when shall the measure of the world be full?
When should the good come out of the evil, when does the
sweetness come out of the bitterness?

---

1) See p. 431 unt. °) Lies טאבאת.
") The soul has fulfilled the desire of the Spirit.
4) See also p. 142, 13.
") When should brightness take the place of darkness?

When shall life come out of death; when
shall life rise before his Father? When
should the bitter herb and . . be filed"), that
the soul had to carry in this world?"

,Even if it's not dark, even if it's not getting light, so
soon the measure of the body will be full.
Although the Kuštā does not come here to the good
and Mandā dHaijē to the sons of salvation,
the light comes out of the darkness
and the good from the evil,
the sweetness comes out of the
bitterness and the life out of death,
life rises before his father
and the soul of life to the sons of salvation, the
bitter herb and ... is discarded,
that the Sèele had to wear in this world,
so you will be raised up and strengthened
in the place where the good ones are
consolidated." And blessed be life.

Fortieth piece.

The voice of the soul I hear,
who cries out of the body"):
,Who will get me out of my body*),
who will take me out of my body? It
hurts and depresses me
in this world,
the world that is all night,
full of intrigue,
completely knotted with knots,
completely sealed with seals,
with nodes without a number,
with seals without measure."

,The man who looked at himself
and to beget the bodies to release them'),

---

2) Here, not life as a supreme being, but life itself.

°) Lies ונישתאהלון. 3) Read NDNE. *) Read papoN).

") What is there can not be translated differently, but I do not understand the meaning. Also in the following there is some darkness.

who counted the stars in the sky'),
measuring the world ocean under the
seas, [119] the Sin (the moon) looked at the sky,
before him, he became weak and supported himself
here, who watched the great gate,
from which he took the worlds,
he will untie your knots,
that man will break your seals.
You have searched and found,
again you will seek and find." —
And life is victorious.

Forty-first piece.

A mana (am I) from the house of the great (life),
a Manā from the house of the mighty (life),
a Mānā from the house of the great (life).
From the house of the great (life), who brought me?
Who brought me out of the house of the great (life), who
threw me into the tibil?
Who threw me into the tibil,
in the trunk without hands and feet?
I sit there and guard
the hostel that is entrusted to me.
I sit there and guard her,
until my measure is full.
Is my measure full,
then comes the solver.
When the solver comes,
he releases me and leads me to the place of light.
Who loosened me, walks in front of me,
he who bound me, runs after me. I
ran and held on to the one who loosened me;
those who bound me did not reach —
me. Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) Read N.

Forty-second piece.

The soul, the soul of life speaks:
,Who locked me in the Tibil?
From the day I fell into Adam, I
watched four mysteries1).
I went to the image of water;
water is the life of this world. I went
to the image of the sun, the
sun is the light of this world. I
went to the image of the moon,
the moon is the count of this world."

The soul, the soul of life speaks:
,Who threw me into the tibil?
Who threw me into the
Tibil2), who locked me in the wall?
Who threw me in the footblock,
who is like the fullness of the world?
Who put a chain around
me3), which is beyond
measure? Who [120] clothed me with a
skirt of all colors and types?

Yes, Manda dHaije is,
he left to come into the world. Verily,
he brought me out of the earth,
undressed me . . . . . .4).
He took me out of the footblock, which
is like the fullness of the world.
He took the chain from me5),
which is beyond measure.
He took off my skirt
of all colors and types.
Who had solved me, walked in
front of me, who tied me, ran after me.

---

1) See Joh. II, p. 167. Here mur three are enumerated.

2) 12 is probably to be deleted; perhaps it is too glossed in the Text got into it. Although there are still 12 in the corresponding place there is also a different word for N712.

») Lies רמאבאן.

4) The word N217N1 is found only here, and text 122, 6, 19. It seems something like To signify bondage. Maybe it's with baby. zirgūtu ,,Band" (Muss-Arnolt I, p. 297) together?

5) Read "NJVD.

I ran and held on to the one who loosened
me; I ran, who had tied me, did not reach
me. Life answered me from the fruits,
the shine answered me from a distance.
From a place that is far and far away,
I looked and recognized my father." —
And life is victorious.

Forty-third piece').

I'm lying wrapped up there
in a robe"), on which there is no mistake,
in a robe that there is no mistake about,
there is no lack or lack of him.
Life knew about me; Adam,
who was sleeping, woke up.
It grabbed me by the area of my right
and did not give me . in your hand.
It threw light into the darkness,
and the darkness filled with light.
On the day when the light rises,
the darkness will return to its place. He
approached the cloud of light,
his gait is directed to the place of Lebeus. —
And life is victorious.

Forty-fourth piece").

,,My measure is full, and I move out." ...
The Spirit speaks to the soul:
If you're moving out, why are you sorry?
Sorry, why are you moving out?" ,I aim —
out, that's how the demons stand there,
if I turn around, my number is
vóll. Where is the life I loved,
where is the life that loves me?

---

1) Is also Lit., p. 96. 2) Read x5oyya. a) See also item 15.

Where is Mandā dHaijē,
in whose name did I go to Jordan?
In his name we went to the Jordan
and received the pure sign.
Where is [121] the Jordan of living water,
from which we got victory?
Where is the man of proven justice, in
whose name did we give alms? Where
is the run we ran, where is
the greeting that our hands extended?
Where are the shoes of our feet,
who we left with our friends?
Where are you going, Lord of the Kušṭā,
where do the demons keep my body surrounded?
Manda dHaije is far away,
be close to me.
At his place Mandā dHaije Kuštā planted, now
Kuštā is abundant in the world')."

Then he spoke to me:
,How did you get into decay?
Has life sent you,
or did you come by yourself?
Life sent me
to you, soul of life.
It sends you out of the world,
from the world of darkness,
of hatred, jealousy and discord. From
the world of darkness
I will lift you up to the light abode." You were
victorious, Mandā dHaije,
and help all your friends to victory.

Forty-fifth piece.

Although still young, my measure became full,
although still young, my exit took place.
Who should I call, and who should answer me,
who should be my helper?

') Insecure. Or at best: now he is sitting in the worlds of the Kušṭā.

I want to call for the voice of life,
i want to call for the lamp, which is completely
light, i want to call for the man of proven justice,
the believer gave alms ').
He gives [alms] in faith,
and life set him up in a perfect way. .
. . . . . Kuštā,
and Manda dHaije heard my call.
It came, the man of proven justice came,
the believer gives alms.
He faithfully gave alms
with a true, believing heart.
It came, the Son of life came (and spoke):
,I will be a helper to you.
I'll take you past the planet, the
men who guard the Tibil. I
will lead you past Jorabbā and Rūhā,
who are called the chief tax
collectors. I will lead you up and show you the vine,
who stands outside the worlds."
The friends of the chosen one are erected.
*******.
Outside the 'worlds he stands
[122] and calls for the perfect. The
voice of life is calling,
we see him") in the place of
light. - Blessed be life, life is victorious.

Forty-sixth piece.

The man cries in the ages;
his name is dear to the worlds.
The earth is moved by his tears,
the sky is shaken by his voice.
The Lord of the Earth is moved,
and the oppressed of the .") answer him").

') According to the following, it means Mandā dHaijē, although the statement of the the second half-verse of ilm is striking, but see also p. 424, 16.

2) That is there, but one expects: we follow him (or Ã suchlike) or. your Places of light. ") See above, p. 5704.

4) You join him. it is probably influenced by.

The robe of Adam weeps,
which has emerged from the sandarak tree')[1].
Fruit, grape and tree came out
and true mystery and silence.
The elect gathered, and the birds
take possession of the mountains"). The
Manā speaks to the Aons
and makes all the worlds hear:
,,I am a crown of beryl,
which is set up on the head of the great (life).
Who brought me here,
went and put me in the hands of Ruhā and the planets?"
And life is victorious.

Forty-seventh piece.

The Mānā speaks in the ages:
,I am a crown of beryl.
I am a crown of beryl,
a shining belt of gold.
I am a crown of beryl,
which is set up on the head of the great (life)."
The Mānā weeps in the ages,
his name is dear to the worlds.
The sky is moved by his voice,
the earth is shaken by his tears.
The robe of Adam weeps,
which has emerged from the sandarak tree.
The Lord of the earth weeps,
and the oppressed of . . .the . . answer
him. The elect gather together,
the birds nelımen own the mountains.

The Manā speaks in the ages:
,,I am a crown of beryl.
I am a crown from the house of life;
who brought me there and threw me into the abode of the
wicked? They threw me into the abode of
the wicked, the place where sinners live.

---

1) See p. 325, 13. ") Read N'DDNT, see text Z. 19.

The bad guys took me prisoner,
all the worlds are looking to beguile
me'). By the power of my father, the Mana"),
and the enlightenment that came from the house
of life, couldn't Rüha capture me,
all worlds do not beguile —
me." And blessed be life.

Forty-eighth piece.

[123] A good one, a great son, I am,
who lived in a tear robe,
in the garb of consuming fire,
it is dark and does not shine.
I lived in the House of the Seven Planets,
who forge weapons against me every
day. I lived in the garb of darkness
and made me equal to them.
I was hurt and sorry
in a vain garb.
Pain and sorrow was in my robe,
when he3) put it on and when he took it
off. Am I not a son of Great,
who locked me up with the Seven?
Icl spread my light over you,
but they are dark and do not shine.
They tell each other inside:
,We want to cut him off and leave him with us."
But then the stranger came to me
and pulled me out of their midst.
He pulled me out of the consuming fire
and clothed me with the garment of the mighty (life). 30 He
paved a way for me
from here to the light residence. --
And blessed be life.

---

1) Read how to continue pwenwnty.
2) Something else may have stood here.
3) Well-being of the body. A relationship like p. 461,9 is hardly possible here and L 135,9.

Forty-ninth piece.

I am a great shining being,
which was neither lacking nor lacking.
When I lived in a physical garment, I
did not fight and did not steal,
there was no lack or lack of me.
I did not drive a secret being and did not wave,
there was no lack or lack of me.
I kept myself safe from the Seven
and did not drive anything from their works.
Now that my measure is
full, sit there all in sorrow.
I donned the robe of the high Father
-and looked at the garment of the mighty (life).
Man1) straightened me up in the carriage,
there was no lack or lack of me.
They clothed me with a garment of living fire,
there is no anger or anger.
They put a wreath of glory and victory on me,
whose leaves shine.
They clothed me with a garment of living fire, then
I climbed up and looked at the place of
light. And life is victorious.

Fiftieth piece.

From a right place
the man came to me, the helper,
came to me the speech
and armed my soul2) on the spot.
He called to me the call of life
and created helpers for me.
The helpers he created for
me, goods from [124] the place of Light.
He called loudly with his voice and let me
hear, he woke my soul from sleep.

---

1) Read תירצון. 2) Read raan.

He awakened the Lord of mysteries,
Adam, whom he had sown among the
bodies1). He woke me from sleep,
which life had put in my mind. He
confused the seven mysteries*), who were
with me in my garb. He removed
them from their place,
from her anger (?) he released a part on her. He
brought the bell ringer into confusion,
the men who guard the earth.
He rushed and threw down the guardsmen
and made a breach in their castle.
A breach in their castle he struck
and brought strife into it.
Yes, he stepped under her,
and they didn't know who they were fighting.
They did not see the high father,
did not see my helpers.
They did not see my gentle guide,
who pulled me out of their midst and led me away.
He pulled me out of her robe
of wormwood, bitter herb and ....
He pulled me out of the physical garment,
from the void robe. He
clothed me with splendor of himself,
covered me with expensive light of himself.
He tied a belt around me
and made my form more luminous than the Seven.
When the Seven saw me,
they saw themselves as inferior.
By the power of my High Father
i passed them all. The
⟨carriage was raised.>
I watched the great father's
house, where my brothers
live. When my brothers saw me,
they clothed me with splendor of themselves.
The good ones included me in their bill
and kept me in their midst.
- And life is victorious.

---

1) Perhaps it can be read: who lived under the bodies. °) Belongs more to Syriac than to N53.

Fifty-first piece.

My soul longed for life in me'),
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I got to the first one").
The servants of the First came to meet me:
,On, we want to capture the man,
may he come and be a partner to us.
Come on, we want to capture the man
and ask him where he came from:
Comrade, [125] where did you come from"),
where are you going?u —
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life is my walk." —
,,This is the house of life. Over
here! Where are you going? If
you go among them"), they will
do whatever they can to you." —
,,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I got to the second.
The servants of the second came to meet me:
,On, we want to capture the man,
we want to ask him where he came from:

---

1) The poem vividly depicts the ascent of the soul through the realm of seven planets, as she tries to keep them there, rejects them and finally goes to the Ogdoas, the house of life. Maybe the poem comes from the same man such as the Lit., p. 31. Both show the same content of the stanzas except for the one Sticlwort - the few deviations are probably secondary -, and the verse ,,That's it not what I wish," etc. is found only in them.

2) The first of the planets. 3) See text 125, 10; 126, 8.

4) The plural probably refers to the upper beings, but life could also be mean. can still stand, see text 128, 2 and here p. 4801.

Comrade, where did you come from here,
where are you going?" —
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life is my walk." —
,,This is the house of life.
Over here! Where are you going?
If you go among them, they
will do whatever they can to —
you." ,,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I came to the third.
The servants of the third came to meet
me: ,,On, we want to capture the man,
we want to ask him where he came from: Comrade,
where did you come from here,
where are you going?" —
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
according to the place [126] of life, my gait —
is." ,,This is the house of life.
Over here! Where are you
going? If you go among them,
pronounce the name of death." —
,,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I got to the fourth.
The servants of the Fourth came to meet me:

,On, we want to capture the man, let him
come and be a partner to us. Come
on, we want to capture the man, we want
to ask him where he came from: Comrade[1],
where did you come from here,
where are you going?u --
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life is my walk."
,,This is the house of life.
Over here! Where are you
going? If you go among them,
pronounce the name of death, they
bind and torment (you)."
,,That's not what I want, this
is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
(after the place of life was my walk)
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I got to the fifth. The
servants of the Fifth came to meet me:
,,On, we want to capture the man,
let him come and be a partner to us. Come
on, we want to capture the man, we want
to ask him where he came from: Comrade,
where did you come from here,
where are you going?" ...-
,,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life is my walk."
,,This is the house of life.
Over here! Where are you
going? If you go among them,
they will do whatever they can to you.
If you go among them,
pronounce the name [127] of death."

---

[1] Read instead גאברא.

,,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life was my walk.
I flew and moved there,
until I came to the sixth.
The servants of the Sixth came to meet
me: ,On, we want to capture the man,
we want to ask him where he came from: Comrade,
where did you come from here,
where are you going?" —
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
I come from the Tibil,
after the place of life is my walk." —
When you go among them,
pronounce the name of death." ... –
,,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me, after
the place of life was my walk. I flew
and moved there,
until I came to the seventh.
The servants of the Seventh came to meet me:
,On, we want to capture the man,
let him come and be a partner to us. Come
on, we want to capture the man, we want
to ask him where he came from: Comrade,
where did you come from here,
where are you going?" ... -
,I come from the Tibil,
from the house that built the planets.
My soul longed for life inside me,
after the place of life is my walk." —
When you go among them,
bind and torment them (you).
If you go among them,
pronounce the name of death." —

,That's not what I want,
this is not what my soul desires."

My soul longed for life inside me,
knowledge blossomed within me.
My soul longed for life inside me, after
the place of life was my walk. I flew
and moved there,
until I came to the house of life.
When I arrived at the House of Life,
life came to me.
[Life] came to meet me,
[128] it clothed me in splendor, brought light and covered
me It included me in its bill, [so.
and in his midst the good ones also came out:
,Between the lamps of
light let your lamps be lifted up and shine."

You have been raised and strengthened
through the Word of Truth that has come to you.
The word of truth has come to the good,.
the word of the truth to the believers. —
And life is victorious.

Fifty-second piece.

,Why are you standing there so (long);
whose path are you guarding?" ... -
,'His way') I guard,
he has to sit in the world." —
, Where did it come from, where is the shape
the man whose path you are guarding?" ... -
,,His robe is a robe of splendor,
and light is placed over his shoulders. He
penetrated through the worlds, came,
split the firmament and revealed himself*). The
carriage is erected in front of him, he
weighs works and rewards").

---

1) The text says "my way", but this contradicts the following. °) See p. 197, 16. *) See p. 451 unt.; 566 unt.

[Works and wages] does he weigh
and do the spirit together with the soul. If he
weighs someone, and he turns out to be fully important,
this is how you lift him up and give him a support in life. If he
weighs someone, and he does not prove to be fully important,
so he leaves him in this world." —
To us who praise you'),
you will forgive our sins and offenses. —
And life is victorious.

Fifty-third piece.

At the gate of the prisoners I passed,
the torment of this world.
The voice of souls I hear,
they cry out of prison.
They speak:
Woe to us that the world outwits us,
the deity in her has outwitted us.
Our money and assets
tied us to this place.
Who wants to go and tell our children,
who we left behind in the world,
that they do not practice any of our ugly works,
so that they are not tied to this place')?
They are to worship [129] the great doctor,
let them worship the great lamp, which is all light, they
are to worship Mandā dHaije,
so that he may step down and be a helper to them,
a helper for the perfect
from the place of darkness to the place of light." —
You were victorious, Manda dHaije,
you were victorious and helped your friends to victory. -
- And life is victorious.

---

1) Read דמשאבינאך.

e) Read pandroa57.

Fifty-fourth piece.

O birds of the carob trees,
who sit on their candles')!
What do you birds eat from the carob trees,
what do you drink from the candles?
When the time comes,
that you leave your body, what will
be your travel expenses,
what will your food be?
Not gold, not silver
it's a waste of time.
Not money, not good
it's a waste of time.

All the peoples gathered
and came to the gate of the Son of life:
,,Tell us, son of life,
at the moment when our divorce is taking place,
what will be our travel expenses,
what will our food be?" —
,,Let your hands give alms
and your heart is firm in faith.
This is your travel expense,
which is a blessing to you." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fifty-fifth piece.

On the construction site,
on the summit of the whole bulge"), at
the top of the whole bulge he is the
great one, and he is the great one.
The great (life) stands and recites and
enumerates the sins of this world*):

---

1) contains well, and (N5en, is candela, see Nöld., p. XXX unt. According to the following, it looks like the fruits of the tree are so but they don't look like candles. - The souls are thought of as birds, as according to the old idea, see above, p. 574, also Joh. II, pp. 129 f.

*) Lies קומבתא? *) See Joh. II, p. 169 ob.

,,O foolish world,
o you confused, confused world'), o
foolish world,
what is your trust directed at?
What is your trust directed to, to
whom does your faith cling?
I'll pick you up and take you away
the glimmer of light, [130] which is given to you.
I'll pick you up and take you away
the world that falls without getting up.
O you world, you wild beast,
that does not know from left to right!
The planets are mastochs,
which are pending for sale in the markets.
Now may they serve you!
Now you should wake up from sleep 2),
now clench your fists,
hitting the atria of your chest
and speak:
,,Woe to me, what have I done,
what have I done abundantly
within this world!
They called me on the path of life, but
I stayed away from the Waystone." —
And life is victorious.

Fifty-sixth piece.

My measure is full, and I move out,
an expert who has learned from the vigilant").
From the watchful I learned and
lived in the world.
****
and I heard the speech [of my father]*).
The man who was used over me,
let me hear the speech of the great (life) and
separated me from the world").

') See Joh. II, p. 93, 2. 2) Well read. *) See p. 440*.

⁴ See p. 587, 10. *) See ibid.

He gave me praise
and alienated me from the world.
I became estranged
the wicked and the sinners.
I dedicated myself to praising
and glorify the light abode.
I praised the wide place
and the uthras without number.

My measure was full, and I moved out,
the seven met me on the way.
They closed the gates in front of me,
to keep me on the road.
The bad guys are talking about me:.
,We want to cut him off and leave him with us."
Then I raised my eyes to the heights,
with my soul I looked towards the house of life[1]).
Life answered me from the fruits, the
shine answered me from a distance.
The great life was inclined
and sent the Son of Life to me.
It sent the man to me,
who let me hear his voice.
He opened the doors and came,
split the firmament and revealed himself.
He opened the doors and came,
he opened the gates in front of me
and removed the seven from my path.
He clothed me with splendor of himself
and covered me with light of himself.
He gave me a wreath of splendor,
and my figure shone [131] more than all the worlds.
The planets are there,
whispering and talking:
,When he was among us,
when he dwelt among the works of our hands,
when he lived among us,
he did not listen to our speech.
Now that his measure is full,
his figure shines more than all the world."
Then I spoke and spoke
to the wicked who have condemned themselves:

---

1) Sorry. has NNDD, see p. 5101; 5465.

Fifty-fourth piece.

O birds of the carob trees,
who sit on their candles')!
What do you birds eat from the carob trees,
what do you drink from the candles?
When the time comes,
that you leave your body, what will
be your travel expenses,
what will your food be?
Not gold, not silver
it's a waste of time.
Not money, not good
it's a waste of time.

All the peoples gathered
and came to the gate of the Son of life:
,Tell us, son of life,
at the moment when our divorce is taking place,
what will be our travel expenses,
what will our food be?" —
,Let your hands give alms and
your heart is firm in faith. This is
your travel expense,
which is a blessing to you." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Fifty-fifth piece.

On the construction site,
on the summit of the whole bulge"), at
the top of the whole bulge he is the
great one, and he is the great one.
The great (life) stands and recites and
enumerates the sins of this world"):

---

1) contains wool 277, and (N57dn, is candela, siel Nöld., p. XXX unt. According to the following, it looks like the fruits of the tree but they don't look like candles. - The souls are gedacl as birds as according to the old idea, see above, p. 574, also Joh. II, p. 129f.

*) Read NnDop? ") See Joh. II, p. 169 ob.

,,O you foolish "world,
o you confused, confused world'),
o foolish world,
what is your trust directed at?
What is your trust directed to,
to whom does your faith cling?
I'll pick you up and take you away
the glimmer of light, [130] which was given to you
I'll pick you up and take you away the
world that falls without getting up. O
you world, you wild beast,
that does not know from left to right!
The planets are mastochs,
which are pending for sale in the markets.
Now may they serve you!
Now you should wake up from sleep'),
now clench your fists,
hitting the atria of your chest and
speak: , Woe
to me, what have I done,
what have I done abundantly
within this world!
They called me on the path of life, but
I stayed away from the Waystone."
... And life is victorious.

Fifty-sixth piece.

My measure is full, and I move out,
an expert who learned from the watchful*)
ha From the watchful I learned
and lived in the world.
****
and I heard the speech [of my father]*).
The man who was used over me,
let me hear the speech of the great (life)
and separated me from the world").

t.

candela, see
the tree is so
Birds thought,

---

1) See Joh. II, p. 93, 2.
°) Well read.
³)
⁴ See p. 587, 10.
") See ibid.

He gave me praise
and alienated me from the world.
I became estranged
the wicked and the sinners.
I dedicated myself to praising
and glorify the light abode.
I praised the wide place
and the uthras without number.

My measure was full, and I moved
out, the seven met me on the way.
They closed the gates in front of me,
to keep me on the road.
The bad guys are talking about me:
,We want to cut him off and leave him with us."
Then I raised my eyes to the heights,
with my soul icli looked towards the house of
life'). Life answered me from the fruits,
the shine answered me from a distance.
The great life was inclined
and sent the Son of Life to me.
It sent the man to me,
who let me hear his voice.
He opened the doors and came,
split the firmament and revealed himself.
He opened the doors and came,
he opened the gates in front of me
and removed the seven from my path. He
clothed me with splendor of himself
and covered me with light of himself.
He gave me a wreath of splendor,
and my figure shone [131] more than all the worlds.
The planets are there,
whispering and talking:
When he was among us,
when he dwelt among the works of our hands,
when he lived among us,
he did not listen to our speech.
Now that his measure is full,
his figure shines more than all the world."
Then I spoke and spoke
to the wicked who have condemned themselves:

---

1) Sorry. has NNDD, see p. 3101; 5465.

,What are you whispering, you seven?
I wasn't one of you. I
did not drive your works
and was not counted among you.
[I did not mention] your name') and
did not speak your speech.
I was not a Chaldean,
not a soothsayer and not a prophet."

The Son of life spoke,
and I heard my father's speech. The
man who was used over me, let
me hear the speech of the great (life), and I
separated myself from the world.
He sent me a wreath of splendor;
the Seven documents, and I won.
In the glory of my father I go there,
[in the gloss?]*) of the man who was appointed over me.
I flew and moved there,
until I came to the daredevil.
I came to the Wagemann,
who weighs works and wages
and bring the spirit together with the soul;
he set me up in the carriage.
A Mānā, a *****") solved for me the clothes fold of life'),
and they based me on the image of
life. Life supported life,
life found its own.
Blessed be life, victorious is Manda dHaije and his
Love names.

---

1) Maybe it was with Verbum.

a) Maybe there is a bigger gap here, and there was something else.

3) Sorry. again, "NN, but there must have been another word.

') See above. p. 452.

Fifty-seventh piece.

I hear the voice of a soul,
from the dwelling of the wicked and from the interior of the dark-
She speaks: [nis ....[1]).
'Woe to me that my gold and my silver would not let me, To
create works in front of me.
My gold threw me into the gehenna,
my silver brought me to the depths of darkness. My
precious stones and pearls, my comrades,
what wickedness they taught me*)! My
money and my goods, my comrades,
****** and get lost.
[132] My singing and my lust,
they became me slings and chains.
They were slings to me and chains,
my figure is tied up") in every way."
She speaks:
,The wicked led me astray,
and I loved worldly desire.
Worldly desire I loved,
and my') heart made me think of all evil.
My heart made me think of malicethink,
and my tongue made me stumble through Lige."

Manda dHaije spoke to me, the
messenger of all lights:
,O soul! When I called you"), you didn't answer,
now that you're calling, who should answer you?
Since you loved gold and silver,
thou shalt be shut up in the innermost of the seol.
Since you loved dreams and deceit,
shall you fall into the kettles while they are boiling.
Or when your offenses are done
and all your sins are finished,
do you ascend on the ascent,
on which the perfect ones ascend.
If your dishes are not done
and all your offenses are not finished,

---

1) WND is only found at this point. Neither this nor a derivative of NWD or babyl, pašāhu gives a suitable meaning. In any case, one has to read.

2) Read אסברון. *) Read or 107. 4) Read וליבאי.

") Read -ptmp.

will you, soul, die a second death,
and your eyes will not see the light."
Me and the Uthras, my brothers,
they will rise up and look at the place of light. -
Blessed be the great life, and
blessed be his name in the place of light.

Fifty-eighth piece[1].

I hear the voice of a soul,
which is excreted from the body of garbage.
From the body of garbage she excretes,
out of this world.
She speaks:
,, Naked they brought me into the world,
and they took me out of it empty[2].
When I was empty, they took me out of her,
like a bird that nothing accompanies."

The soul turns around and
speaks the palace she left:
What should I do with you, my body,
what shall I do with you in that world[3]?
What should I do with you, you beautiful body,
who eats the hellworm[4]?
What should I do with you, rose skirt, which
the birds in the tibil tear to shreds?
[133] If you were a garment of splendor and
light, that I could attract you, my body,
so you ascended with me to the house of
life. If you were a belt of shine and
light, that I could bind you, [my body,]
so you ascended with me to the house of life.
If you were a turban of shine and light,
that I could cover myself with you, my body,
so you ascended with me to the house of life.

---

[1] See piece 17. [2] See p. 517, 22. [3] See p. 537, 3.
[4] Here, perhaps, so conceived by the author, see p. 539, 26.

If you were a wreath of shine and
light, that I might lay you on my head, [my body,]
so you ascended with me to the house of
life. If you were a rod of shine and light, my
body, that I could take you in hand,
so you ascended with me to the house of life.
Would you be shoes of shine and
light, that I could put you at my feet, my body,
so you ascended with me to the house of life.
What should I do with you, my body,
which you were formed from a lump of clay?
From a lump of clay you were formed, and
the seven and the twelve were your persecutors."

How the soul stands and speaks
the palace she left,
how she stands there and speaks to him,
and the messengers of life came to her; the
messengers of life came,
the messengers who do not take a bribe.
They spoke to her:
,,Come on, come on, you pearl,
which you were taken from the treasure of life").
Come on, come on, you fragrant,
which you made the smelly body fragrant.
Come on, come on, you light giver,
which you illuminated the dark house.
Come, come, you noble-born,
who is called a maid in the dwelling of the wicked.
Come on, get excited, put on your
robe and put on your flaunting wreath.
Climb up, live in the skinās
among the uthras, while sitting there."

Blessed be the great life, and blessed be the name of life in the place of light.

---

1) See above, p. 514f.

Fifty-ninth piece.

One of the children of the Kuštā
crying in the apartment of darkness:
,I am a daughter of pious men, a
daughter [134] of believing men.
I am a daughter of pious;
who threw me into the dwelling of darkness?"

,Your basket filled with bread,
which you withheld from the hungry.
Your jug filled with intoxicant,
which you withheld from the thirsty.
Your bottle filled with oil (?),
which you withheld from the seriously ill').
Your chest filled with vestments,
which you withheld from the one who wanted to
dress. Your maked2) Bette,
that you withheld from the one who wanted to lie
down. The path that has been trodden and
is reaching, which you blocked off the
incoming. As you shut off"), so you shall be shut off
within this world."

If only I had known that I was going to die,
if only I had known ') that I would stumble!
Then I would have my basket filled with bread
do not deprive the hungry.
My jug filled with intoxicant
I would not have withheld the thirsty.
My bottle filled with oil
I would not have withheld the seriously ill.
My chest filled with robes
I would not have withheld from the one who wanted to dress.
My prepared bed
I would not have kept from the one who wanted to lie down.
The path that has been trodden and is reaching,
if I hadn't blocked off the incoming. How
I blocked off"), that's how I was blocked
off within this world.

---

1) N37N7 may have the same condition here as 377 in Neuhebrüisch.

°) I suspect NIN212. *) Read 5557, see further.

4) Sorry. has m5y. b) Sorry. hat דכלית.

But we have heard from you'),
Good, that you leave no one behind in the cut-off
place. Good, I have sinned and led to sin, but
you forgive me my sins and transgressions,
****** my father"), who distributed bread,
and my mother, who donated alms."

,,Your father who distributed bread,
did it for yourself;
your mother who gave alms,
did it for your soul." —
A remission of sins and offenses will be left to your souls
because of the virtue of the pious and the kušta of the faithful").

Sixtieth piece.

A shining being, a son of shining beings, I am, I
am a shining being, a son of mighty ones,
I am a brilliant being, a great Son.
[135] Who brought me to the Tibil and let me live there")?
Who let me live in the Tibil,
in the house that the liars built? He
made me dwell in the consuming fire,
it is dark and does not shine.
It is dark and does not shine,
there is no glimmer of light on it.
I spread light over you,
but they remain sinister.

I am the first shine;
who let me live in the house of the Seven?
Who let me dwell in the house of the Seven,
and who spread her robe over me")?
Who threw me in the hull from
wormwood, bitter herb and ...?
I was hurt and sorry,
that I had to live in the world.

---

1) Read patpw.
2) For example, "think of my father" or "because of my father". *)
An attached consolation conclusion that does not fit the previous one.
4) Read here and in the following p. 5) Read porn)

I was hurt and sorry
in my garb, when he (the body) put it on and when [he put it down.
When') will the high man come,
who made me hear his voice? He let
me hear his gentle voice, caressed
and strengthened me. He
revealed and showed me
luminous and fixed mysteries.

How he stands there and seeks to clarify
himself, the man, the helper, comes up.
The high helper is coming,
he and with him") great
splendor. He took off his physical robe of
wormwood, bitter herb and ... .
He freed him from their desire
and washed away the fear of them from him*).
He put on him the robe of the great (life
and led him past the man who created him.
He led him past the Škīnas,
in which he had lived.
He led him past the sons of Salvation,
to the men who reach Kuštā. He
lifted him up and showed him Hauraran"),
in which the souls become perfect.
The souls become perfect in it,
and it becomes a witness for them.
He hurriedly put on him the robe of living fire"),
he lifted him up and set him up in the house of perfection.
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

Sixty-first piece.

Who and to whom did you serve,
o soul, in the world!

') Read NNOy. *) Probably really sorry. hat At).
a) Add pp. 4) Or read their embers"?
5) Here, as above, p. 302, 28, a country corresponding approximately to Tarwān.
°) Read Avsix.

[136] The men you serve,
were not of the world.
More than you, sun, they are stretched'),
more than you, light, they shine.
Lamps of light are they*),
who shine in the world.
When you investigated, you served the first,
the life that has always been.
You served the second,
the life that came out of life.
You served the third,
the ...") lovely name.
You went to the fourth,
where there was lack and lack.
Lack and error is there*),
there are secrets and beckons.
Secrets and hints are there,
there is the anger (?) world.
Why *******
are you wrapping yourself in the mānā's garment fold?

When I saw it, I left,
despised and abandoned them all.
[They all] I left
and went after Manda dHaije.
He will separate you from evil for good, of the
wickedness and distress of this world. -
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) Probably such surnames) in CD. Sorry. has FWeN) Fwionw. Of course, one expects ,shine"

2) Sorry. has py7.

3) Not only with the first, but also with the second and the following, the Plural, because they are also thought of. The designation of the third, i.e. Abathur, as (sorry. i don't understand. Xpiotiavós, what it looks like, of course, it can not be.

4) Lies דמן תאם הוא האסיר ובציר תאם האויא.

Sixty-second piece.

At the gate of the house of
Abaddon it is a throne for the Spirit.
A throne is placed for the Spirit, a
vessel is placed in front of him.
He calls to the thieves:
,,Come on, fall into the vessel.
Come on, fall into the
jar, come on, get clear.
Come on, get clear
about what you practice in the world." —
He calls out to the murderers:
,Come on, fall into the vessel.
Come on, fall into the jar,
come on, get clear.
Come on, get clear about
what you practice in the world."

At the gate of the house of Abaddon
there is a throne for the Spirit. A
throne is placed for the Spirit, a
vessel is placed in front of him.
He calls to the adulterers:
,,Come on, fall into the vessel.
Come on, fall into the jar,
come on, get clear.
Come on, get clear,
about what you practice in the world." ... -
He calls to the winkers:
,Come on, fall into the vessel.
Come on, fall into the jar,
come on, get clear.
[137] Come on, get clear
about what you practice in the world."

At the gate of the house of Abaddon
there is a throne for the Spirit.
A throne is placed for the Spirit,
a vessel is placed in front of him.
He calls to the sorcerers:
,,Come on, fall into the vessel.

---

1) Nomby, otherwise dead spirit, see Nöld., p. 136, 14 and above, p. 418, 22 et seq., appears here being a ruling spirit in the underworld.

Come on, fall into the jar,
come on, get clear.
Come on, get clear
about what you practice in the world."

,,Good man, we have sinned and
missed, may he') forgive us all our sins.
May He forgive us our sins and transgressions,
which we have committed in the world."

Thereupon a voice of life called:
,,An ear that is alert"), listens.
Some heard and lived on,
some of them lay down and lay down (to sleep)." —
Life is held high and is victorious,
and victorious is the man who went here.

---

1) See above, p. 144.

2) is better than or sorry. there is something grammatical is impossible.

The upper and lower beings.

Abathur (")MAN), the man with the chariot, the third life (cf. Jn., p. XXIXf.), 89, 2f. 173, 31, 37. 174, 1ff. 195. 196, 5. 199, 5. 210, 6. 230, 16. 242f. 266, 23. 283, 8. 284, 10. 285, 40. 286, 8. 290'. 297, 13f., 19f. 299, 19. 303, 27. 310, 3. 311, 25ff. 313, 34f. 321, 29. 323, 37f. 324, 1. 349ff. 357ff. 363ff. 403, 5. 407, 26. 408, 3. 440, 21f. 451. 478, 16. 531, 5f. 556, 6. 563, 4. Abathur-Uthra 358, 9. 359, 5. 405, 35.

Adakas (Dnonan), the hidden Adam (non see 64, 21. 4862), 246, 1. Adakas-Malalā 236, 25. 237, 9. Adakas-Manā 109, 29. 143,30. 146,30. 244, 14,38. 245,1,9. Adakas-Ziva 110,26. 112,36. 113,1, 26. 117,33f. 237,3. **243, 6. 246, 7.**

Adam (EN7n), the first man, 15,7ff. 16, 1ff. 27. 33, 16ff. 34, 10ff. 45, 25. 51,4. 53,33. 107f. 126ff. 141. 176 unt. 220. 242ff. 261, 5. 266,21,23. 284,18. 285, 1. 351, 24. 353, 1, 3. 387f. 400, 13, 15. 404. 408. 424ff. 465. 477, 28. 478, 8. 488ff. 497ff. 506, 5,7. 513, 29. 515,3. 529, 18f. 530. 543, 22ff. 570,4. 571,14. 574. 577, 2nd Great Adam 251,13. 269, 10. 270,9. 293,32. Bodies-licher Adam 242,19. 247,9. 255,35. 307,32. 349,1. Hidden Adam 486. Adam's Son 256, 13, 436,7, 545,2. Sons (children) of Adam 13, 34. 26, 16. 28, 25. 39, 10. 40,8. 44,3, 13. 45,14. 48,24. 201,17. 232, 31. 256,4. 260, 24. 391, 24f. 392, 13f. 442, 6, 36. 443, 11.

Adatan and Jadatan are a pair of geniuses (see Lit., p. 278), **143, 27. 289, 30. 292, 17. 327, 11.**

Agzēl (bien), epithet of Sin, 135, 27').

Ajar ("xx), the Äther. Ajar-Gufnā 451, 39. Ajar-Zivā 429, 12. Amamit (Fonon), a demoness, 154, 6. Epithet of Rüha 28, 27. **46, 32.**

Anan (jn3N), probably not , cloud", since this female being referred, perhaps, "he heard me" to nzy; see also Joh. II, p. 15',

---

') I give the ending by in this name by ël, niclt by iël (iël), if-probably Siouffi iel writes. The i should be shown in the description, also note man, as in addition to Azazēl and Nūrēl, especially names with iēl are assumed.

402, 33. Usually connected to 389: 118, 5f. 144, 26. 222, 2. 402, 15.
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Corrections and supplements.

P. 4,5f. The King of Light is also mentioned in some other pieces, see register.

P. 464. One can also see here as a spatial world and in singular To understand the senses, see p. 53.

P. 73, 10. Perhaps: was the great king of light of glory.

pp. 85, 25, should read: "he expanded" (to m0W); that fits badly. Perhaps pNANNwy can be read: "he rubbed himself up" (to pNW).

P. 103. I hesitated for a long time, whether not in z. 26-28 the firmament subject was on- instead of Ptahil and by the high throne Ptahil's throne was meant, but I have finally decided for the other view. To express 'high throne' for the The "high" tire of the firmament p. 104,15. Ptahil's throne has been to think above the firmament.

P. 107, 6 read: distributed the years evenly, that none ...

P. 115, 1. Also a translation , "Let us not call Adam Uthra" pact.

P. 1203. The translation p. 123,4f. is incorrect. It must read: ,,and ver- they shared their share among themselves. They divided their share among themselves." Therefore, one may do not rely on this position.

P. 125, 2. Instead of prinD, perhaps porn is to be read: who swear in lies.

P. 1273. "At best, one could also understand NEDN in the sense of "letting know", ,,knowledge" in the sense of"having sexual intercourse" (U7", idü).

P. 1290. Before ,,here" is missing a comma.

P. 1328. Read: Neuhebr. Wörterb. I.

P. 142, 15f. Read: the living, first teaching.

P. 152, 33. I now conclude with Brandt, Schr., p. 1422 NDy in the sense of ,waiting time, for a long time", although I can not explain it etymologically. After that, this post to translate: ,,a long wait is ahead of you." P. 153, 21f. gives such a sense: .If you hugged me, I'd waste a lot of time over it." P. 166,6: ,,You are still standing a (long) waiting time before."

P. 208,7. The cosmic omphaloi often took the form of a beehive (see the illustrations at RosCRER, Omphalos 1913 and New Omphalos Studies 1915), nevertheless, this sense is probably not to be thought of.

P. 240,11. Maybe prrnne pENE71 also refers to no1w D1W, after that: In them grew, through them was illuminated. Aabn'nphy Aewnektnys refers to the one with whom it was clothed and by whom it was strengthened.

P. 250,11. Text 261, 13, 17, 24; 262, 3; 271, 13 in spite of the Var. דניהויא probably for "have shone up, appeared", see 261, 11; 271, 6 (Var.), 11.

P. 264, 11f. and otherwise. NND'D UN7D is more correct ,"the lip(s) warped" than ,,the Lips tips".

pp. 272,21f. Besser: You are the first call that life called from its nature.

P. 278,16. NINT is perhaps originally an incorrect spelling for NDND (in the two words are very similar to each other), which are then written next to NDND in the text got into it. After that: some have a hundred jaws and incisors in the Mouth.

S. 323 ob. Der Sinn wiirde etwas glatter werden, wenn man fir Z. 2 und 9 zu Gesicht bekommt- und das zu einem ganz besonderen Anlass . (zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend: zuvorkommend)
(bezw. die Varr.) als איתראנררון auffaBte: ,die Schlafenden sollen ausgerittet werden und aufstehen - ,Sie sollen aufgerittelt werden.' Aber einer (rr) fir ist unwahrscheinlich trotz מירשימינין Joh. 74, 6, auch beachte zu 345, 10, wo eine Umwandlung ins Passiv nicht m6glich ist.

S. 334, 16ff. Die Verba konnten an sich auch 3. f. singen. statt 2. m. sein und sich aufציצוכתא beziehen, doch zeigt das Folgende, da.6 die Worte des Mana geltenn.

S. 343, 9. Im Text ist קארמאיא zu streichen.

S. 344, 23 Lügen: Ein Kranz gleich dem reinen Kranz.

S. 358, 6f. und 369, 25ff. sind die Perfekten kaums als Wunschauflockerungen aufzufassen. Das Perfekte ist in diesem Sinne im Aramäischen selten, im Syrischen fast nur auf הוא beschrankt.

S. 416, Anm. 1, Z. 4 liegt ראבתא statt : ראבאת

S. 424, 4 Lügen: in ihrem Gewande.

S. 433, 11. 436, 8. 519, 3, 16. 535, 15. גזירייא גזיריא draht besser mit ,,Bittel* oder ,Hischert, גזירבממאייא גזירבאטיא (so etwas zu lesen) mit ,,V6gte" zu iibersetzen.

S. 444, 4 Lügen ,,scheiden" statt ,,schied".

S. 471, 24 Lügen: bereitete keinen Fehler.

.S. 508, 25 Lügen: fliegen dahin wie Minuten, siehe S. 106%.

S. 522f. איתיב ,sitzest" (zu Z. 14, 20 usw.) pa.Bt nicht. Wenn es nicht direkt zu zugandern ist, dann ist vielleicht איתוב zugandern ist, zu lesen nach der Var. תיתאב.

S. 578, 21f.; 579, 11f. usw. Ich habe reif gewogen, ob die Worte הין מולית הינאתאיהון עביר אמאבאר אבריא nicht von der aufsteigenden Seele gesprochen werden: ,Wenn ich mich unter sie beebe, tun sie (mir) alles Erdenkliche an.* Ich konnte jeden zu keinem abschließenden Urteil gelangt. Fir diese Bestätigung spricht, dab weiterhin אלית fir אזליה steht, das nur 1. pers. sein kann und vielleicht ursprünglich in allen Strophen gestanden hat, fur die andere, da in der sechsten und siebten Strophe der vorausgehenden von den Dienern des Planeten gesprocheneYers fehlt und danach dieser Vers nicht eine Antwort darauf sein kann.

Mit Rucksack auf Ev. Mt. 23, 35 hebe ich hervor, dab Hibil S. 257, 31; 268, 9 ,der Gerechte* genannt wird.

Reference to the history of religion

published on behalf of the Religionsgejdidtlicen Kommijjion at the
Gejelljdhaft der Wijjenjdhaften in Göttingen.

Gemeinjamer Verlag der Firmen: J. C. Hinrids'sde Buchhandlung in Leipzig and
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The listed band numbers are those of the order of opinion. The ift collection is also divided into the following 12 groups: 1. Europe. 2. Altjemitijdes and Agnptijdes. 3. Judaism. 4. Gnojticism einjdl. mandäijde religion. 5. Jslam. 6th Jran. 7th Jndien, except 8th Buddhatum (joweit nidt in group 9). 9. China, Japan, Mongols. 10. Afrita. 11. America. 12. The primitives of the Südjee and the jüdl. Ajiens.

(Vol. 1 -3 originally, in the no longer continued Sammlung ‚Religionsverkunden der Dölker".)

1. The religion of the Batak. A paradigm for animijtijdhe religions of the indijcen archipelago. Don Lic. Johann Warned. With 4 Fig. VI, 136 pp. 4°. 1909. (Group 12.) include. 6, b. 8,50

2. Amida Buddha unjere 3ufludt. Certificates of recognition of the japanese Suthavati Buddhism. Don D. H. Haas. From 12 Onwards-education. VIII, 185 pp. 4°. 1910. (Group 9.) go. 8.50 geb. 11

‚Haas has worked with a thorough, many-sided study based on Budh, durdh that he gave us a clear insight into strange teachings in the distant Ojten verjdafft, jowohl der Wiljenjdhaft, as audh der Mijjion, has a valuefull service." Beitjdr. f. MijjionBfunbe, 1911.

3. The religion of the Tweer in Siid:Togo. Don D. J. Spieth. XVII, 316 pp. 4°. 1911. (Group 10.) include. 14, b. 17

4. Dīghanikāṇa. The Budh of the langen Terte of the Buddhijt. Canons of Selected by Prof. Dr. R. Otto Sranke, LXXX, 360 p. 4°. 1913. (Group 8.) include. 19, b. 22

‚Ik besluit deze mijn aankondiging van F.'s work met de verzekering dat ik ar niets dan lof voor heb." Prof. H. Kern im ‚Museum" 1914, 10.

5. Songs of the Rgveda. Edited by Prof. Dr. A. Hillebrandt. XII, 152 pp. 4°. 1913. (Group 7.) include. 7, b. 9,50

‚The broadest and most valuable styles of the large collection can be found united here in a forgetful superjection, which is considered the rejection of long-standing Sor- Identifications may apply. The reid-containing notes increase the value of the budget nidt only for the wider audience, yondern aud for the narrower Şadgenojjen des Derfajjers. Ş For the present volume, we have all Urjade dantbar too jein and fõnnnen highly recommend him to everyone." A. B. Sdjröber, in B. beutjdj. Biteraturztg. 1914, 3.

6. Prajña Pāramitā. The sinfulness of knowledge, Nam indijmen, tibetijden and dinefjden sources of Mar Wallejer. VIII, 164 PP. 4°. 1914. (Group 8.) include. 7.50 b. 10

7. The hijtorijden sources of Shinto:religion. From ancient Japan. and Chinefijmen overjoyed and cleared. Don Prof. Dr. K.Slorenz, X, 470-p. 4°. 1919. (Group 9.) include. 20, b. 23

‚Fier will provide a meeting-oriented introduction to the altreligiöje Japan has made a wide selection of the most important religious documents commanded. In-depth, jorgefältigte remarks suffer the Derständnis. Nad-

the work of Florence da ijt, it will be a favorite of anyone who Religion wants to talk and forjæen, to be the sun pit of more in-depth knowledgenuken.",
Beitjdjr. f. Miftionsfunde 1922, 10.

8. The Srautajūtra of the Āpajtamba. From the Sanstrite überjekt of Prof. Dr. W. Caland. 1.-7. Bud. IV, 270 pp. 4°. 1921.
(Group 7.) include. 12, b. 14,50

(Bud 8 - 15 eridien 1924 at the Koningl. Akademie van Wetenschappen in Amsterdam.)

,Cine has created a complete overview of a wide-ranging source for the- jtändnis des indijden Opferlultes, of high religious value."
Mund). New issues Madhridhten b. 6. Sept. 1921.

"For the religionshijtorijdh Lejer ift not only the content in the the whole is important, and the detail is important." Theol. Aiteraturzig. 1921.

9. The Kpelle. A Negro tribe in Liberia. Presented on the groundlocation of nativesberidhten. - With 2 Nadh carriers: Terte in der Golafprade und Kpelle-Beiträge von h. Rohde. Nebjt einer Kartenjfizze. Prof. Dr. Diedrid Wejtermann. XVI, 552 pp. 4°. 1921. (Group 10.) include. 25, b. 28

„. . .These few facts may serve to indicate the interesting ethnological this is a very valuable book. It may be confidential recommended to the attention of all serious students of anthropology."
Prof. Frazer in ,,The Times", May 25, 1922.

,This work can be used as a klajjijd for the jammed Dölkerkunde, nidt only for Africa, both because of the ydlidten clear style and penetrating piydologijden Derjtändnijjes, as due to the accuracy of the Nadridten and the new-a kind, meijterhaften method of shooting. Welcome to the World- jonderes has been dedicated. Dod can be found on the Wirtjdaft and about Samilie and Gefellidaft auslide Nadridhten and Terte. Auszeidnet and the model is the short presentation of the languages as a means of expression of the spiritual life."
R. Th. Preuß im Biter. Bentralblatt 1922, 20.

, A source work that has so far been supported by nidts in the field of Afritanifics be jtellt tann."
Stoloniale Runbsdau 1921, 3.

10. Religion and mnthology of the Uitoto. Tert recordings and Beobadtungen bei einem Indianerftamm in Kolumbien. Introduction, Terte and Wörterbudh. With 3 Tafeln. Prof. Dr. K. Th. Preuj. VI, 760 pp. 4°. 1921 - 1923. (Group 11.) go. 34, b.

37 Erjdjien in 2 parts. A binding for both parts[ammen 1,30.

,Cin Sorjderwerk erjten Ranges, of great general. Scope."
Border Messengers bom 26. Aug. 1922.

„Religions and languages can be found in the same great Dant obligated."
Deutfdje Biteraturzcitung 1922, 26.

,The religious material far exceeds all expectations. Which Analnje of the myths belongs to the grateful, the Derf. offers us. Either of The in-depth study offered every Religionshijtoriker, such as aum to anyone who takes it with the Jeddite of Menjdheit, the nuhbringendjten and we are grateful for all the studies that we have done of the outsized workforce of the Derf. thank."
Liter. Jentralblatt 1922, 25.

12. The Rigveda. Reviewed and explained by Prof. Dr. K. Srd. Geldner. 1st Part: 1st- 4th Eiederkreis. VI, 442 pp. 4°. 1923. go. 28, b. 31

,The publication of the first volume of Prof. G.'s annotated translation (and the notes are not the less importand part) is a most welcome event."
Royal Asiatic Society, 1925.

Fubert & Go. G.M.B.S. Göttingen.

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it might have some mistakes.
I hope you enjoyed the first and only
English translation of the Ginza Raba.
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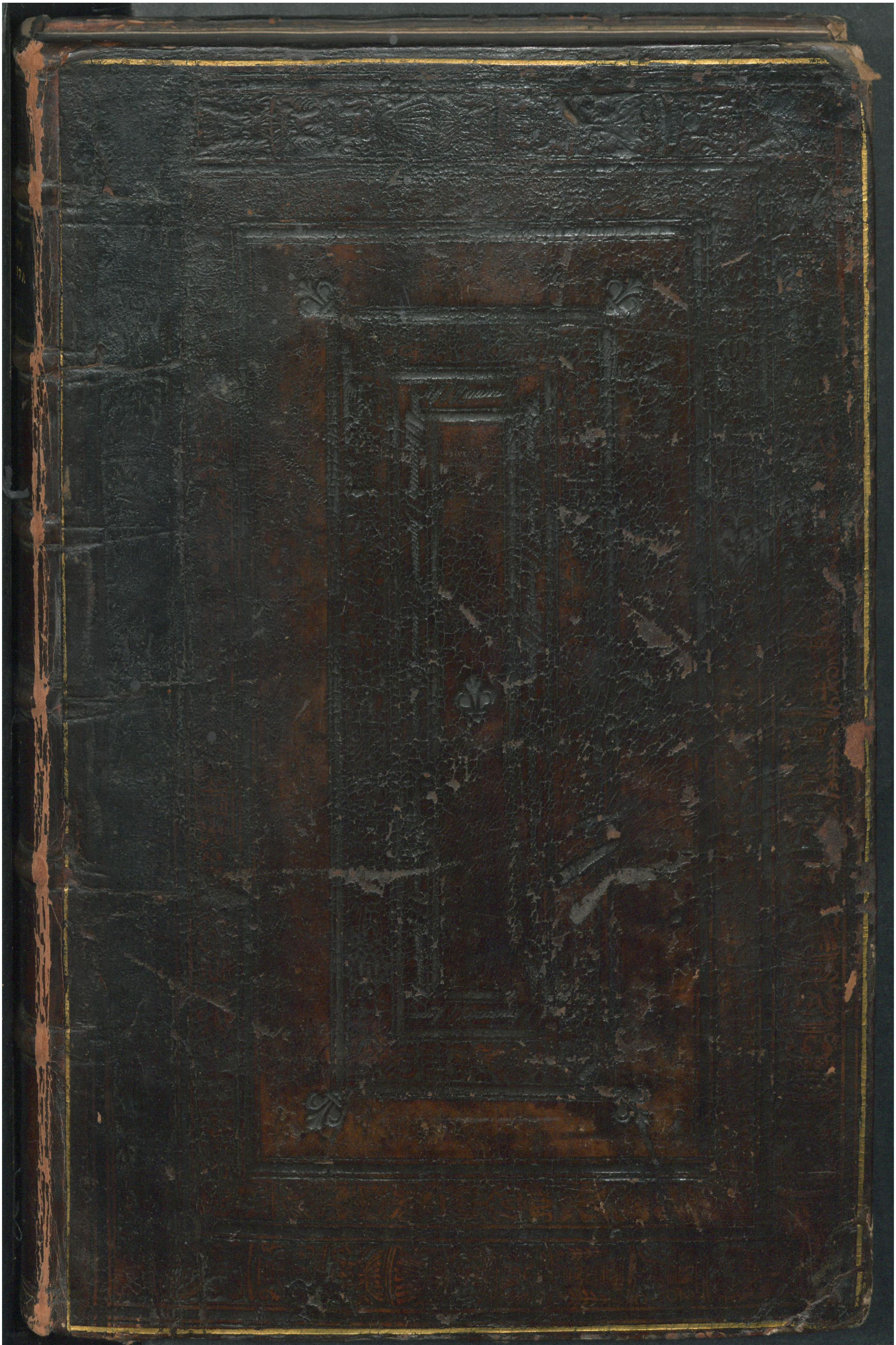
t.me/mandaen_friends
Greetings may god bless you all!

Mandaean friends

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
BY RAM AL SABIRY



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DIONYSIUS
AREOPAGITA
OPERA
PARIS
1515

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P

393 Dionysius Areopagita. Opera (cum Scholiis, &c. edidit J. Clichtovaeus),
title with large woodcut device (*coloured in yellow*), *and woodcut initials,*
old calf (*rebacked*) *Paris. H. Stephanus,* 1515

3/15/-

Dionysius
38/

a/-

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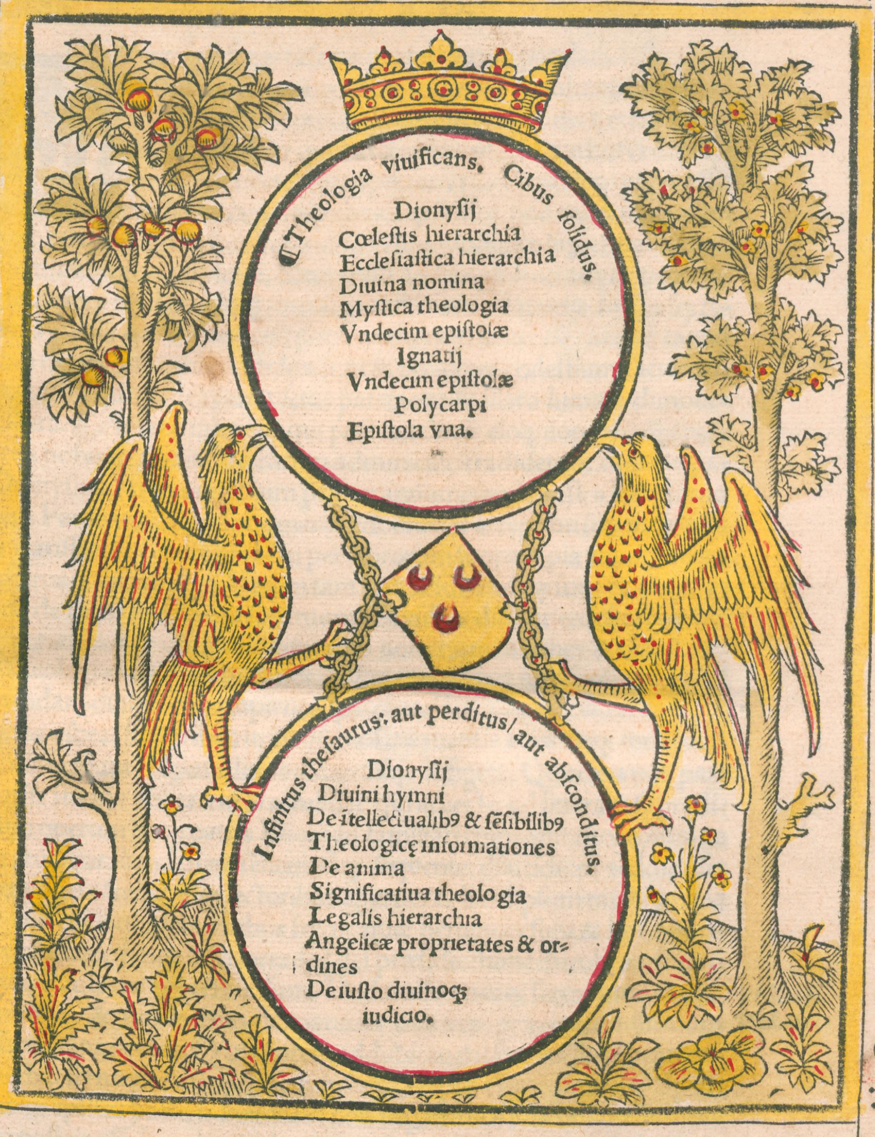
¶HAEC.SECVNDARIA.EST.ET.CASTIGATISSIMA.EX.OFFICINA.ÀEMISSIO.:



¶Theologia viuificans. Cibus ſolidus.

Dionyſij
Cœleſtis hierarchia
Eccleſiaſtica hierarchia
Diuina nomina
Myſtica theologia
Vndecim epiſtolæ
Ignatij
Vndecim epiſtolæ
Polycarpi
Epiſtola vna.

Infinitus theſaurus: aut perditus/ aut abſconditus.

Dionyſij
Diuini hymni
De ītellectualibꝰ & ſēſibilibꝰ
Theologicę informationes
De anima
Significatiua theologia
Legalis hierarchia
Angelicæ proprietates & ordines
De iuſto diuinoqꝫ iudicio.

¶Inſuꝑ addūtur. De hęreſibus. De fide catholica. De cōtēptu mūdi. nō habita.
Cum puritate Religione Pietate Deuotione
Humilitate Reuerentia Attentione & quæqꝫ
alia ſacra ſcripta Tractentur Legantur Seruentur:
Ad IHESV paternæ lucis/ talium munerum & authoris & largitoris/ honorē.

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¶REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC
domino/D. Guillelmo Briconneto/Epiſcopo Lodouenſi digniſſimo:
Iudocus Clichtoueus/ humillimam S D.

QVi templi fores reſerant/vt introitum pandant volentibus abſtruſa ſacra contueri/ſacratiſſime Præſul: non modicum præſtant illis adminiculum/ quo ſui deſiderij compotes ſiant. Haud aliter qui ſanctos elucidarūt authores diuinorum myſteriorum interpretes/vt illorū peruia magis eſſet intelligentia/perceptibiliorqꝫ ſenſus: non contemnendam tulerunt opem cupientibus recondita in illis altiſſimæ ſapientiæ arcana pio mentis obtutu conſpicere. Sicut enim ad templorum adyta penetraliaqꝫ ſecretiora nō datur cuiq̃ introitus/niſi valuis adapertis foribuſqꝫ recluſis: ita plane nec deiloquorū patet authorum ſententia/ aut ad manū obuiaqꝫ fit legēti/in quibus abdita ſunt & occultata cœleſtium ſacrorum munia: niſi ſit qui viam aperiat/ſeras patefaciat/& illato lumine dimoueat obſcura. ¶At vero inter eos qui poſt ſanctorū eloquiorum ſcriptores cœleſtia nobis myſteria/ litterarum adminiculo tradiderunt/diuinus pater Dionyſius Areopagita cum primis annumerandus eſt/ a beatiſſimo quidem Paulo veræ fidei ſacramenta edoctus: & acceptum ſupernæ lucis iubar clariſſimo radiorum iactu per librorum ſuorum pia monumenta in poſteros tranſfundens. Verum tam ardua ſublimiaqꝫ ſunt eius opera: quibus de ſacris cœleſtium ſpirituum ordinibus diſſerit/eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ functiones aſſignat/diuinorum nominum rationes/& demū myſticæ theologiæ dignitatem eminentiſſime pandit: vt non facile cuiuis ad hauriendam diuinā illam ſapientiā pateant. Perſtringitur enim eximijs illis quos vibrat fulgoribus imbecilla noſtræ mentis acies: neqꝫ intrepidū valemus oculum fulgentiſſimis illius radijs infigere. Quocirca non paruam pijs ſtudijs vtilitatem is attuliſſet: qui adiecto ad litteram ſupradictorum operum beati patris Dionyſij familiari commentario/ continuo contextu litteralem ſeriem ſententiāqꝫ ſequente: dilucidiora reddidiſſet tā ſacra opera/benigniſqꝫ lectoribus apertiora. Et idipſum michi perſuadens/non meis quidem viribus fretus: quæ pertenues ſunt & hoc munere rite obeundo longe inferiores/ſed dei præſidio: hunc elucubrandi commentarij laborem aggreſſus ſum. Declaratio namqꝫ ſermonum domini illuminat/ & intellectum dat paruulis. eius item præceptum/lucidum eſt: illuminans oculos. Quis autem addubitauerit ſacratiſſima beati patris verba/ ſermones eſſe dei: & in ipſis præcepta vitæ contineri? Spero equidem ipſum patrem luminum non negaturum ſubrutilam infirmis oculis noſtris affulgentiam/ ad exhibenda paulo apertius in hiſce libris contenta diuinorum myſteriorum ſpectacula: qui vberiore clariſſimæ lucis iubare ſacram authoris mentem impleuit. ¶Nec me arbitretur quiſpiam: tam arduum & difficile munus meo ipſius delectu aut arbitrio ſolum ſuſcepiſſe. Non enim tantæ ſum temeritatis aut arrogantioris au-

Pſal. 118.
Pſal. 18.

daciæ: ꝙ tam graue negocium meo solius sensu aut iudicio aggredi vnq̄ tentassem. Sed assiduis & crebris multorū & grauium virorum impulsibus ad id attentandum sum permotus: qui forte plus æquo de me sentiebant/ & michi plus æquo tribuebant/ dolebantq; maiorem in modum: tantum diuinæ sapientiæ thesaurum nullo reserante delitescere/ & tam diu latebroso in codice claudi. Quibus cum frequentius fuissem reluctatus/ michi nimirum conscius ꝙ tantæ moli ferendæ essem longe impar: improbę tamen illorum importunitati/ sed sanctę & piæ tandem manus victas dedi/ moremq; gessi. Neq; itidem superuacuum hunc laborem nostrum fore putarunt/ ꝙ scholia exactissime elaborata superioribus annis huic nouæ translationi in quam paramus commentarium/ subiuncta videantur. quandoquidem illa/ certorum duntaxat locorum intercisa annotatione explicant sententiam: reliquam autem litteralis cōtextus partem/ explanationis luce destitutam relinquunt. & præter huiusmodi annotamenta certis affixa locis: efflagitant impensius complures familiarem explicationem & continuam/ toti litteræ non intercise/ non mutilatim sed integre respondentē. Igitur nos persuasionibus eorum victi/ pro facultate nostra impræsentiarum talem continuam tentauimus expositionem: obnixe cupientes vt illa ad hæc sanctissima diuinę sapientiæ antistitis opera clarius intelligenda præstet adiumentum/ & pios legentium animos ad deum cum veneratione/ pietate & religione sacratius colendum: quodam quasi vehiculo subuehat/ erigat/ promoueat. Enimuero hic sacratissimi patris & omnium qui litteraria nobis de deo diuinisq; mysterijs monumenta pararunt/ præcipuus est finis: vt ex illis deus cognoscatur syncærius/ cognitus ametur ardentius/ amatus autem: in spiritu & veritate colatur/ adoretur/ & laudetur vberius. ¶ Porro cum variæ sint operum beati Dionysij traductiones: eam præsertim quæ Ambrosij est monachi Camaldulensis/ delegi nostro efflagitato commentario declarandā: ꝙ cæteris emunctior sit & tersior/ quā & Faber Stapulēsis olim præceptor noster/ diligenti recognitione & scholijs suis reddidit illustriorem. Vtriusq; autem horum/ subnectendam huic nostræ epistolā sedulo curaui: vt ex vtraq; cōstet liquidius præstita amborū ea in re opera atq; elaboratio. Hos vero quantuloscunq; labores nostros tuæ grauissimæ paternitati dicatos volui Antistes amplissime: non solum ꝙ pridem de me pluribus beneficijs optime merita sit/ sed & ꝙ eam nouerim cum sacrarum disciplinarū omniū/ tum operū beatissimi Dionysij q̄ studiosissimā/ & in illa syncæriore animo affectā vel maxime. Neq; id quidem præter rationem. Non enim potest qui præceptorē egregiū (Paulū dico apostolum) vnice colit: & illius tam diuinum discipulum propemodum sui magistri æmulū & assectatorem non colere atq; obseruare. Atqui diuiniloqui Pauli studio addictissimā esse tuā insignē āplitudinē/ negaturū putauerim neminē/ qui cōmētarios nouos in epistolas eius/ tui grauissimi nominis auspicijs iāpridē in lucē fœliciter æditos esse agnouerit. Iure igit̃ & Dionysiana pręcipuo & singulari affectu āplexatur opera obaltiſſimæ doctrinæ cum Paulo germanitatem ac affinitatem/ tua eximia præſtantia. meritoqꝫ illi nuncupantur & in Dionyſium commentarij: vt eiuſdem tui nominis authoritate & diuini præceptoris & eiuſdem diſcipuli monumenta legantur iam & enodatiora & detectiora. Itaqꝫ ſit hæc noſtra (velim) lucubratio tuæ præſtātiſſimæ dignitati accepta: & pro ampliſſima in me tua beneficentia vel quantulumcunqꝫ gratitudinis argumentū. legentibus autem omnibus vtilis/ atqꝫ ad percipiendam diuinorum ſenſorum intelligentiam accommoda. Vale litterarum & virtutum decus. Ex Pariſijs/ anno 1514.

¶ Ambroſij oratoris & monachi/ Camaldulenſis ordinis prefatio: in tranſlationem librorum ſancti Dionyſij Areopagitę.

NObilitatem generis/ diuitiarūqꝫ copiā magni Dionyſij: Athenienſium concilium/ cuius per electionē particeps erat oſtendit aperte. Nam vt diuinus nos Lucas in ſcribēdis apoſtolorum actibus docuit: Areopagitarum fuerat vnus. Cū enim apoſtolus Paulus Athenas petijſſet: atqꝫ cū philoſophis tum Epicureis/ tum Stoicis verba feciſſet/ CHRISTVMqꝫ ipſis dn̄m noſtrū/ mortuorū reſurrectionē/ et generale iudiciū prędicaſſet: captus/ atqꝫ ad Areopagitas ductus/ prędicatione ſua nonnullos etiam ibi cōfeſtim lucratus/ ad veritatis lucem reduxit. qui & recedētem ſecuti ſunt. In his Dionyſium quoqꝫ Areopagitam fuiſſe/ mulieremqꝫ Damarim nomine/ alioſqꝫ cum ipſis nōnullos tradidit. Ego autē nō arbitror abſqꝫ cauſa pręter cęteros qui tunc diuina Pauli prędicatione crediderunt: Dionyſium a ſcriptore/ qui ſpiritu dei mouebatur/ tātūmodo ipſa etiā addita dignitate nominatū fuiſſe. Areopagita enim (inquit) Dionyſius fuit. ſed credo ita factū: quia & ſapientia pręcipuus fuit/ & vitę apud Athenienſes ſanctiſſimę. Nō enī quoſlibet: ſed genere/ diuitijs/ vitęqꝫ ſanctimonia primos atqꝫ pręclaros ad cōciliū illud deligebāt. Et antiquitus quidē/ vt Androcio in ſecūdo rerū atticarū libro refert: ex nouē primis magiſtratibus/ nouē primi deligebātur. poſtea vero Areopagitarū numerus vſqꝫ ad quīquagita virū cōcreuit: primarij tamē ſemper viri (vt diximus) eligebātur/ vt etiā Philochorus in tertio rerū atticarū ſcribit. Erat autē pagus Martius extra vrbē Athenas/ vbi Areopagitarū cōciliū: leges contenentiū/ cauſas cognoſcebat. quas oēs Androcio in primo/ & Philochorus in ſecūdo & tertio rerū atticarū enumerat. Ita & diuinus Paulus quaſi nouos deos prędicās: a fatuatæ ſapiētiæ ſtudioſis ad Martiū trahitur pagū. Sed pręcipuus inter eos/ veritatiſqꝫ amator diuus hic Dionyſius: ītegro ſuo Pauli prędicationē iudicio cōfirmauit. atqꝫ ilico inani Areopagitarū grauitate relicta: lucē prędicationis Pauli dn̄m noſtrū IHESVM CHRISTVM ſecutus eſt. Nam etſi Romani tēporibus illis īperio ſuo domuerāt oīa: Atheniēſes tamē atqꝫ Lacedemonios legibus/ moribuſqꝫ ſuis libere viuere ꝑmiſerūt. Vnde Martij pagi con

Actuū. 17

Dionyſius
Damaris

Androcio

philochorꝰ

ciliū:dignitatē adhuc ſuā retinebat.Ita igitur veritati iā adhęrēs Diony
ſius:primū a Paulo ſalutis dogmata percepit. Deinde maximo Hiero-
theo(vt ipſe ait)ſecūdo vſus eſt pręceptore. & demū (vt in ſeptimo apo-
ſtolicarū inſtitutionū libro ſcribitur)epiſcopus a Paulo Athenienſiū qui
Dionyſius credebāt ſtatuitur. Huius beati Dionyſij: Dionyſius alter ātiquiſſimus
corīthiorū Corinthiorū epiſcopus meminit.& Polycarpus: in quadā eius ad Athe
Polycarpꝰ nienſes epiſtola.Sed rectā magnāqꝫ ſanctiſſimi huius viri doctrinam mi
rari oēs maxime debēt:vt qui traditiōes eccleſię inculpabiles/& exquiſitā
diſciplinā nouerit/nichil coinquinatū/nichil impurū/ex adulteratis philo
ſophorū dogmatibus immiſcēs.Et pleriſqꝫ vt miſeris cōdolendū eſt:qui
propter ſuā ignorantiā/ acerbos ſe iudices atqꝫ cenſores prębuerunt. qui
acuta cęteroru inuenta prout ignorātia ſua dictat acerbe carpētes:cū le-
gāt quę non intelligunt/ſcriptorē ſtatim condēnāt. neqꝫ eos pudet/ ꝙ nec
redarguere/nec emēdare poſſunt:quę male putant cōſcripta.Ad ſeipſos
ergo irā ſuā cōuertant:ſibiipſis acerbi ſint/qui per negligentiā altiora di-
ſcere nequiuerunt/quiqꝫ a doctioribus petere dedignati/in dubijs ſuis cō
tabuerunt.Hęc dixi/quia nonnulli beatū hunc Dionyſiū/quaſi hęretice
multa cōſcripſiſſet vituperāt:qui michi hęreticorū etiā peruerſas opinio-
nes ignorare videntur.nā ſi ſcirēt: certe cōferendo hæc illis/viderēt tantū
ab eis differre/quātū lumen a tenebris diſtat.Quid enim dicēt de theolo-
gia iſtius viri:qui trinitatē ſolā adorabilē pręedicat? Quid dicēt ꝙ animā/
corpuſqꝫ humanū (hoc eſt totum hominem) ab vno trinitatis IHESV
CHRISTO vnigenito dei verbo abſolute aſſūptū fatetur? Quid dicēt
de intellectualiū/intelligibiliū/ ſenſibiliūqꝫ ipſius doctrina? aut in quo re-
præhēdere poterūt:quæcunqꝫ de generali hominū reſurrectione/ de glo-
ria iuſtorū/& impiorū ſupplicijs docuit? Hæc enim vt ſummatim dicā:
ſalutē continent noſtrā.quæ latius exponere:modo tēpus nō eſt. præſer-
Euſebius tim cum oportune ſcholiorū cōmētarij illa indicaturi ſint.Sed nō enume
Origenes rauit libros ipſius (aiūt) Euſebius Pāphili: neqꝫ Origenes eius meminit.
Nos autē multa fuiſſe ab Euſebio prætermiſſa(quæ forte ad eū nō perue
nerāt)reſpōdemus.immo vero ille ipſe reſpōdet:qui ſe fatetur innumera-
biles credere libros ad ſe nō perueniſſe.nā vel nōnullorū regionis ſuæ ho
Hymeneꝰ minū libros legiſſe:nullo modo videtur.vt Hymenei & Narciſſi Hieroſo
Narciſſus lymitanę preſbyterorū eccleſiæ.nec Pantheni operū meminit:nec Clemē
Pāthenus tis Romani/duabus ſolū exceptis epiſtolis. multos inſuper ab eo pręter-
Clemens. miſſos numerare poſſem:ſi opus eſſe putarē. Origenes autē non omniū:
Origenes ſed vix quatuor ſolūmodo meminit virorū. Michi vero diaconus quidā
Romanus nomine Petrus: oēs diui Dionyſij libros in Romana ſacro-
rū bibliotheca librorū inueniri affirmauit.quorū plurimos ad beatū Ti-
motheū Pauli diſcipulū & Epheſinū epiſcopū ſcripſit.Is enim ab Ionicę
philoſophiæ ſtudioſis(qui tūc apud Epheſinos florebāt)vehemēter agi-
tabatur.atqꝫ ideo beati Dionyſij omnis externæ philoſophię doctiſſimi:
patrociniū petebat. Ab Areopagita vero Dionyſio hos libros cōſcriptos
fuiſſe/ illud etiā teſtatur;ꝙ multorū meminit/& nōnullorū dicta propo-

nit qui tēporibus illis floruerunt, quorū & actuū liber/& epiſtolæ Pauli meminerūt. ſed pręcipue omniū ſyncæritas dogmatū: iſtud oſtendit. Et quāuis hi libri longioribus egeant cōmentarijs: vt multitudo/altitudoq̧ rerū planior fieri poſſit: breuius tamen per ſcholia marginalia/deo confiſi quæ viſa ſunt ſcripſimus.

❡Capitū diuinorū operum beatiſſimi Dionyſij Areopagitæ index.

❡Cœleſtis Hierarchiæ.

Qꝫ oīs diuina lux (licet varie per ſummā benignitatē ad creaturā ꝓdeat) ſimplex tamē manet, neq̧ id ſolū: verū & quæ illuſtrat/vnū efficit. Cap. I
Qꝫ cōgrue/diuina atq̧ cœleſtia: etiā per diſſimilia ſigna tradātur. II
Quid ſit hierarchia: & quænam eius vtilitas. III
Quid ſignificet angelorum appellatio. IIII
Cur omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus: cōmuni appellatione dicātur angeli. V
Quænā ſit cœleſtiū ſubſtātiarū prima/q̄ media/q̄ extrema diſtictio. VI
De ſeraphim/& cherubim/& thronis: & de prima eorū hierarchia. VII
De dominationibus/virtutibus/ac poteſtatibus: et de media illorum hierarchia. VIII
De pricipatibus/archāgelis/& āgelis: deq̧ extrema illorū hierarchia. IX
Epilogus & concluſio totius angelici ordinis. X
Cur oēs cœleſtes ſubſtātię: cōi vocabulo cœleſtes virtutes appellant̄. XI
Cur ſacerdotes: inter homines dicantur angeli. XII
Cur a ſeraphim/purgatus fuiſſe dicatur Eſaias propheta. XIII
Quid ſignificet/is qui traditur: angelicus numerus. XIIII
Quæ ſint figuratiuæ angelicarū virtutū imagines/& reliqua. XV

❡Eccleſiaſticæ Hierarchiæ.

Quęnā ſit eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ traditio/& quæ illius intētio. Cap. I
De ijs quæ in illuminatione baptiſmatis fiunt Cap. II. pars. I
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Spūalis itelligētia/cōtēplatio/theoria/ſācta q̧ anagoge. Cap. II pars III
De ijs quæ in ſynaxi/ſanctaq̧ cōmunione fiunt. Cap. III. pars I
Myſterium ſynaxeos ſiue communionis. Cap. III. pars II
Spiritualis tantæ rei ſenſus. Cap. III. pars III
De ijs quæ in vnguēto fiunt: & quæ in ipſo cōſūmant̄. Cap. IIII pars I
Myſterium confectionis vnguenti. Cap. IIII. pars II
Spiritualis ſenſus/contemplatio. Cap. IIII. pars. III
De ſacerdotalibus cōſecrationibus & conſūmationibus. Cap. V. pars I
Myſterium ſacrorum ordinum. Cap. V. pars II
Spiritualis intelligentia. Cap. V. pars III
De initiandis ordinibus. Cap. VI. pars. I
Myſterium monaſticæ conſummationis. Cap. VI. pars II
Spiritualis ſenſus. Cap. VI. pars III
De ijs quæ in quieſcentibus fiunt. Cap. VII. pars I
Myſterium ſuper ijs qui ſancte quieuerunt. Cap. VII pars II
Spiritualis ſenſus. Cap. VII. pars III.

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¶Diuinorum Nominum.

Quænã ſit ĩſtitutio operis:& quę de diuinis noibus tradita ſint. Cap.I
De coniuncta & diſcreta theologia/& quęnam ſit diuina coniunctio atq; diſcretio. Cap.II.pars I
Ex ſanctiſſimi Hierothei libro elementorum. Cap.II.pars.II
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De bono/lumine ſiue luce/pulchro/amore/extaſi/zelo: & ꝙ malum neq; eſt/neq; ex eo quod eſt/neq; inter ſubſtantias eſt. Cap.IIII.pars I
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Insuper Polycarpi martyris ad Philippenses: epistola vna.

Finis indicis.

¶Iacobus Faber Stapulensis: pijs lectoribus.

LVmen quāto soli vicinius est: tāto splēdet illustrius/ vimqꝫ mortalium superat oculorū. & vnūquodqꝫ quanto magis suæ propinquat origini: tanto quoqꝫ puriorē suam retinet naturā/ atqꝫ seruat. neqꝫ id aliter in diuinis: aliter vero in humanis euenire putandū est. Hinc omniū sane scripturarū supremū dignitatis apicem/ summūqꝫ decus/ augustā reuerentiā/ & authoritatē obtinere dinoscuntur sacrosancta euangelia: vt quæ a deo proxime manauerint in dispositos animos trāsfusa. Mox ea sequūtur sanctæ & arcanæ IHESV reuelationes/ apostolorū acta/ & epistolæ/ & prophetarum monumenta: quæ veteris legis continentur organo. & hæc vniuersa duplici testamento/ & vetere scilicet & nouo cōtenta: eloquia nominantur. Porro eloquia proxime & dignitate & authoritate sequūtur ea hagiographa/ sanctaqꝫ scripta: quę apostolorū auditores ad fidelis ecclesiæ instituendam futurā sobolē reliquere. Inter quæ sunt diuini Dionysij Areopagitæ sacratissima opera/ tanta excellētiæ dignitate eminentia: vt cōmendationis eorū nullus vnq̄ verbis valeat assequi summā. Vt enim dilectissimus deo discipulus Ioānes/ ob euāgelij sui sublimitatē inter euāgelistas aquila nominatur: ita et sanctus Ioānes Chrysostomus hūc beatissimū patrē/ suorū scriptorū altitudinem demiratus/ totus pene effectus attonitus/ volucrē cœli exclamat. Hūc sancti viri singulari doctrina fulgentes sanctus Maximus/ sanctus Michael Hierosolymitanus/ sanctus Andreas Cretēsis & vniuersa docta Græcia: miris laudibus effert/ magnū appellat/ angelū appellat/ & cui similis nō successerit sacrorū interpretē. Et cū aliquādo in obscuris theologicis Eusebij Pamphili de motu monadis in dyada/ & statu in triade (quod ad intimos diuinitatis processus/ ineffabilēqꝫ intimorū illorū processuū statum in trinitate/ pertinere videtur: & discussum a beatissimo patre in libro hypotyposeon) ita legēs incidissem. Nō ens eni ex negatione: primū finitur. ꝙ entiū nichil existat.

Chrysostomus
Maximus
Michael hierosolymitanus
Andreas cretensis
Eusebius

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1773/D

Polycarp9
Dionyſius corithiorū.
Methodi9
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Gregorius turonenſis
Fortunat9

1.corin.3.
Hebræ.5.

effectrix ſiquidem cauſa/& præſtantius illis eſt.ex negatione:identidē ſinitur vltimū.ꝙ entiū nichil exiſtat:ſed ipſis quoqꝫ deterius.Et iterū.Quia ſupra vnionem huiuſmodi eſt vnio:& ſupra diuiſionē diuiſio.quod etiā melius quiſpiā ſuperunitū et ſuperdiuiſum nuncupauerit.viſus eſt michi ipſe Euſebius/aut Dionyſiū lectitaſſe aliquando:aut eos qui ſuis verbis/ſuoqꝫ philoſophandi modo fuiſſent vſi.Verū vt ſolē cōſpiciamus:face nō egemus.idcirco cætera teſtimonia patrū de ipſo:vt Polycarpi/Dionyſij Corithiorū epiſcopi/Methodij/Athanaſij/Damaſceni/Eugenij/Gregorij Turonenſis/& Fortunati:nūc prætereūda iure cenſeo.vt qui aliena luce ad perſuadendū:minime indigere videamur.Hæc ſacratiſſima opera/has diuinitatis opes/& cœleſtes ambroſias/nō quas fabuloſe fūdit cornu Amaltheæ:voluit ſumma dei benignitas noſtris tēporibus/latinis/intelligibilius reſtitui/ex illa plenitudine apoſtolicorū temporū deprōptas.Et plane litteraria monumēta ex apoſtolicis tēporibus ad noſtra deriuata/ęque michi a cæteris differre videntur:ac viuētia a mortuis/cœleſtia a terrenis/& a mortalibus imortalia:aliquid viuificū atqꝫ mirificæ lucis vltra cætera in ſe ſeruātia.Attamē illa ipſa eorum lux/ſpiritualiſqꝫ & viuifica intelligentia:ſine certo duce occulta manet/prorſuſqꝫ incognita.Ad quā procuidubio percipiendā:nullū hoc ſacratiſſimo authore inuenire valebimus certiorem ducem.de quo nimium vere dicere poterimus (quod ipſe de Hierotheo dicere ſolebat)nos nunq̄ illuſtriorem ſolem offendiſſe:cui infigere conaremur obtutus.Hic ſanctiſſimus author:vnus eorum eſt/de quibus beatiſſimus Paulus aiebat.ſapiētiam autem loquimur inter perfectos.& perfectorum/ſolidum eſſe cibum.ſiquidem horum diuinorum operū intelligentia:ſolidus cibus eſt.Et teſtor illorum ſanctorum temporū fœlicitatem/a quibus omnis ſapientiæ lux per omnia gratiæ tempora effluxit:michi nunq̄ poſt ſacroſancta eloquia/minus quidem & ſubrutile/intelligentiæ noſtræ peruia:quicquā his magni & diuini Dionyſij operibus occurriſſe ſacratius.Et ſi reliqua (quæ iniuria temporū perierunt) ad manus prompta haberētur:ſufficere haud dubie poſſent ad totius orbis viuificam illuminationē/magis reuera deploranda q̄ quæcunqꝫ opū/regnorum/aliarumqꝫ fortunarum iacturæ/q̄ quæcunqꝫ detrimēta.Et eloquia perſimilia ſunt arcæ in qua ſapientiæ theſauri latentius occluſi occultiqꝫ manent:nunq̄ oculis peruij/niſi ſit qui reſeret/ſacrumqꝫ inferat lumē.Hic autem cœleſtis/& ſupramundanus theologus diuinā arcā aperit:& ſacrum lumen infert.in quo/reſeratorū eloquiorum mirificum decorē contemplari valemus.quę vniuerſa idoneis lectoribus magis obuia patebūt:q̄ nos ipſi pręmonere/aut ſcribere ſufficiamus.¶Quare dum paucorum adhuc ammonuerimus:quaſi patefactis atrijs/ad diuinarum opum ſanctuarium(deo omniū munerū authore/& ſacratiſſimo martyre ducibus) vos admitti orabimus.Primum itaqꝫ eſt.Sacroſancta eloquia/& hæc inſuper diuina opera/illiſqꝫ ſimilia(quæ eloquiorū myſteria detegunt)attēte in orantis modum ad deum humili/proſtrata/prouolutaqꝫ mēte/omni cum reuerentia:& tractanda & legenda eſſe.In humanis enim ſtudijs homines vtcunqꝫ placet gerent habitum: in diuinis autem ſola attentio/deuotio/pietas/religio/reuerentia/ & humilitas iuuant/mentemqꝫ adaperiunt. Et qui ad ea ſecus accedunt: non modo nichil proficiunt/ ſed plerumqꝫ euadunt deteriores/impij/prorſuſqꝫ diuinis præſidijs capti.neſcientes diuina & ſancta: diuine & pure fuiſſe tractanda/ & humana humane. ¶ Secundum eſt.Hunc ſacratiſſimū diuinæ reſerationis ſapientiæ authorem:neqꝫ Platonicum/ Ariſtotelicū/Stoicū/aut Epicureū/ ſed IHESV vitæ authoris & ſpiritus ſancti ſub diuiniſſimis Paulo & Hierotheo præceptoribus/eſſe philoſophum.non ꝙ neſcierit/ quę Plato & Ariſtoteles ſciuerūt:immo vero vterqꝫ(ſi tempora dediſſent)ſe etiā beatū putaſſet/eius nominari diſcipulum. Et idcirco nolite eos audire:qui eum nominant Platonicū.ſapiētius cogitate.eſt enim aliquid lōge ſublimius. & his profecto nominibus:ſacrorum adimitur authoritas/ & diuina impie trahuntur ad humana.perinde ac ſi Ioannem euangeliſtam: Pythagoricum voco/aut voco Platonicum(vt nōnulli prophanorum fecerunt)& nō potius cœleſtem & ſupramundanum ſcribam/ſiue IHESV CHRISTI & ſancti ſpiritus ſuper oēs diuiniloquā tubā. Sācta ſanctis relinquātur/ & prophana prophanis.ſiue vt modeſtius loquamur:humanis relinquantur humana. Scio quid loquor/ſcio quid ſcribo/& cur ſcribo: nō in alicuius odiū/ſed longe minus q̃ par eſt/quæ dei ſunt veneratus. Credite potius beatiſſimo patri:de ſeipſo a terrenis philoſophis pręſidia non quæſiſſe » tradēti/atqꝫ ita capite primo diuinorum nominū proteſtāti.Sit autem » modo quoqꝫ nobis ea(quæ ſemper)definita lex:eorū quæ de deo dicuntur » tueri veritatē/non in perſuaſibilibus humanæ ſapientiæ verbis:ſed in » oſtenſione theologorū a ſancto ſpiritu agitatæ virtutis.per quā ineffabilibus » & incognitis/ineffabiliter & ignote coniūgimur/pręſtātiore illa vnione » rationalis noſtræ/ ſpiritualiſqꝫ virtutis/atqꝫ actionis.Nulla ergo ratione » præſumēdū/aliquid de ſuꝑſubſtantiali/ ſecretiſſimaqꝫ deitate aut dicere » aut cogitare: præter illa/ quæ nobis ſacra eloquia tradiderunt. Hactenus ſacratiſſimus pater.qui ſolūmodo euangelia/ Petrum/Iacobum/ Ioannem/Iudā/Bartholomeū/Ioſeph iuſtū/ Paulū/Hierotheum/Ignatiū/ & prophetas:ad ſuorū dictorū robur/et confirmationem ſolet adducere. Et nichil hic vos iterū moueat Nicolaū Cuſanum altiſſimæ ſapientiæ beatiſſimi patris ſtudioſum/communi errore deluſum/etiam vocaſſe ipſum Platonicum. eum enim:ipſorū furta latebāt.Et ideo poſt epiſtolā teſtes citabimus Platonicos/more ridiculæ apud Flaccum corniculæ/falſis plumis ornatos:ſibiqꝫ vanū diuinitatis nomen ex furto ſcriptorū/præſertim huius ſanctiſſimi patris/& ſupramūdani philoſophi quæſijſſe.& ſacra ex adytis prophanaſſe/ diuinitatemqꝫ de cœlo ad terrena deturbaſſe/et diuinis aduerſus diuina(quod beatiſſimus pater de Apollophane ſcribit ad Polycarpū) nefarie vſos.digniores profecto qui ad Caucaſiā rupem religati a vulturibus roderentur:q̃ fabuloſus ille Prometheus/ ꝙ ſacrum de cœlo ignem ſubiecta ferula ad terrena elicuiſſet. Neq; quis hunc ſacrum interpretem/Platonicū ideo putet:quia verbis diſſerendo de diuinis vſus

Nicolaus cuſanus

Apollophanes.

ſit Platonicis. quinīmo & verba / & ſententiæ: & Platoni / et reliquis philoſophis ꝓ maiori parte (ne dicā pro toto) de deo digne loquēdi āte apoſtolorū tēpora deerāt. Et proinde profuſū equidē riſu (ne ſi Heraclitus quidem fuiſſem) temperare haud valuiſſem: cū aliquando apud Platonicos ita legendum occurriſſet. Poſt apoſtolorū / apoſtolicorūqꝫ virorū contiones & ſcripta: a Philone & Numenio inceperūt ſcripta Platonis intelligi.

¶ Tertium. nos ea quoqꝫ (poſt publicā ad IHESV vitæ authoris venerationem / excogitatā vtilitatē) præcipua de cauſa ad litterā beatiſſimi patris / ſcholia adiecimus: vt cognoſcatur aperte ex ſacris litteris / & earū ſpirituali & viuificante intelligētia (prout a beatiſſimo Paulo & diuino Hierotheo / & ſpiritu ſancto / quod omniū maximū eſt: fuerat edoctus) omnia deprompſiſſe. Et inter legendū nō a ſcholijs ad litterā / ſed a littera ad ſcholia procedendū eſt. ſuntqꝫ ſcholia: annotationes quędā interciſæ pro certorū locorū cōmoditate adiectæ. cōmentaria vero: exactam magis / & continuā declarationē continent. Et cū ſacratiſſimus pater eloquia citat: vtitur æditione ſeptuaginta duorū interpretū / quorū nominatim meminit Ariſteas. Nō enim tempore apoſtolorū alia fuiſſe ab ea quæ ſeptuaginta duorum erat / & quæ nunc ſeptuaginta dicitur: præter originalia legitur. Et proinde quando ex noſtra traductione eadem adducuntur: interdū aliquanta apparet varietas / ſed ſpiritus omnia concordat & viuificat omnia. Et poſt epiſtolā: ex ſeptuagita (vt reliqua ſimili facilitate requirātur) pauca adijciemus. Et non adieci ſcholia Maximi: ꝙ huic trāſlationi minus michi viſa ſunt accōmodata. & illa quæ ſunt Ambroſij marginalia: meo inſtituto nō ſatis ſufficiebant. quæ ſi quis affectantius volet: a Camaldulēſibus facile requirat. Et id inſuper minime lectores latere cupimus: oportuiſſe plerumqꝫ Ambroſij ſententiā erigere / vbi codex inemēdatus / aut forte interpres humano more lapſus / diuiniſſimi patris intelligentiā nō fuerat aſſecutus. Ad quod cōmodius faciendū: honeſtiſſimi religioſi ſacrarū ædium ſecundo a Dionyſiana Pariſio milliario (in quibus nūc corpus deo dicatiſſimi martyris Galliarū apoſtoli / & noſtri primi ſacrorum antiſtitis: vna cū ſociorū ſuorū Ruſtici / & Eleutherij corporibus requieſcit) vetuſta originalia michi multa humanitate communicarūt. vt nullus etiā putet ea quæ Ambroſius manu ſua ſcripſerit: hac recognitione / ſtudijs vtiliora. Fecimus tamē pro virili noſtra quæ potuimus: ſed nō quanta / dignitas ipſa efflagitabat. lōge enim inferiores ſubſedimus. Inſuper nō ſine diuina ordinatione / & ſumma prouidētia id effectum eſſe michi viſum eſt: vt hic ſacratiſſimus / & longe diuina ſapientia illuſtriſſimus pater / primū Athenienſiū antiſtes Atticā rexerit eccleſiā / & ciuitatē primariā omniū litterarum parētem illuminauerit. qua illuminata / mox in Gallias a beatiſſimo Clemente apoſtolus miſſus: ſedem apud Pariſiorū inſignē vrbem (ſeu Pariſiū / ſeu Lutetiam appellarēt) delegerit. quæ melius Dionyſia a Dionyſio primo ſuo antiſtite & apoſtolo / primo ſuſceptore & regeneratore: q̄ ab Iſide / aut luto (vt volunt nōnulli) potuiſſet appellari. primus enim eā ad vitæ fontes erexit in CHRISTO paruulā (ſo-

Ariſteas

lent enim primi ſuſceptores indere nomina) primus mortē ab ea effugauit et induxit vitam: quā in Chriſtiano cultu/ſuo ſanguine/et omniū tormentorū molitionibus libēter ſuſceptis tandē cōfirmauit. vnde & victor (mundo triūphato) ad deū qui ipſum miſerat conſcendit. Tunc deus illum locum piorum ſtudiorū fontem pręordinauit: vt ad quem in certum euentus rei argumentū ex Athenis virū ſupra omnē humanā ſapientiā doctū/direxerit. Vos igitur Dionyſiaca bonarū litterarū omniū academia/eadē & Pariſienſis/quā vnus ideq; pater ſociam fecit Athenis/& ſororem: veſtro applaudite apoſtolo/veſtro primo antiſtiti/parenti/ primo ad vitā ſuſceptori/et illuminatori. & eius ſacras diſciplinas in honore ſuſcipite: atq; in eis ipſis dies/noctesq; proficite.

Furta platonicorum

De Furtis Platonicorum teſtimonia

Magnus Baſilius

Baſilius.

Magnus Baſilius de Numenio: in oratione qua exponit euāgeliū. In principio erat verbum. Non ignoro (inquit) plurimos veritatis inimicos/ & mundana ſapientia ſe plurimū iactantes/ſic ammiratos iſta fuiſſe: vt in ſuis libris conſcribere auſi ſint. Furatur enim noſtra diabolus: & ſuis ea largiri conatur.

Ambroſius Camaldulenſis.

Ambroſius

Sciendū multos externorū philoſophorū et maxime Proculum: ſententijs Dionyſij/immo vero ipſis quoq; vocabulis nudis vſos plerūq; fuiſſe. Vnde ſuſpicari poſſumus: ab ijs qui Athenis philoſophabant̄/libros beati Dionyſij (quorū ipſe meminit) celatos fuiſſe. vt que inde ſumebant: inueniſſe ipſi putarētur. ſed diuina prouidētia (his modo libris adinuentis) inanis gloria illorū/et malitia patefacta eſt. Hęc: Ambroſij ſcholium.

Marſilius Ficinus Platonicus.

Marſilius.

In libro de religione Chriſtiana: Marſilius capite ſecūdo & viceſimo de Platonicis ita habet. Ergo certe repperi pręcipua Numenij/Philonis/ Plotini/Iamblici/Proculi myſteria: a Ioāne/Paulo/Hierotheo/ Dionyſio Areopagita accepta fuiſſe. Quidquid enī de mente diuina/angeliſq; & cæteris ad theologiam ſpectantibus magnificū dixere: manifeſte ab illis vſurpauerūt. Hęc Marſilius. Et niſi in aduerſarios Chriſtianæ ſapientiæ mollior eſſe maluiſſet: plane dixiſſet/furati ſūt. ſed de platonicis nūc ſatis.

Nunc De Editione Septuaginta Interpretum

Cap. ſecūdo cœleſtis hierachiæ numero 13. ſic legitur. ferarū quoq; illi applicāt formas: leonis/ac pantheræ proprietatē ei aſcribētes. vt pardum fore dicētes/vrſāq; indigentē. Quod ex Oſee partim cap. quinto/ partim cap. decimotertio habetur. vbi nūc neq; pāther/ neq; pāthera legitur: ſed leena. Cap. quinto hoc modo. Quoniā ego quaſi leena Effraim/& quaſi leo domui Iuda. Et cap. decimotertio. Et ego ero eis quaſi leena: ſicut pardus in via Aſſyriorū. occurram eis quaſi vrſa raptis catulis: & diſrūpam interiora iecoris eorū. Septuaginta æditio cap. quinto ſic habet. Quia ego ſum quaſi pāther effraim/et quaſi leo in domo iuda. Et cap. decimotertio ſic. Et ero eis quaſi panther/& ſicut pardus in via Aſſyriorū. occurrā eis

ſeptuagita

ſicut vrſa indigens cibo: & diſrūpam interiora cordis eorū. ¶ Cœleſtis hierarchiæ cap. quarto circa finem ſic legitur. Et ipſe quoqꝫ IHESVS cum ob nimiā charitatē ſuā/ ſalutiqꝫ noſtre nimis neceſſariā/ ſuæ pietatis opus implendum in ordine veniſſet nunciantis: magni conſilij angelus ſit prædicatus. ¶ Qꝫ magni cōſilij angelus ſit prædicatꝰ: ex Eſaiæ cap. nono habetur. vbi id nūc nō legitur: ſed ſic. Paruulus enī natus eſt nobis/ & filius datus eſt nobis: & factus eſt prīcipatus ſuꝑ humerū eius/ & vocabitur nomē eius admirabilis cōſiliarius. Septuaginta ęditio ſic habet. Quia paruulus natꝰ eſt nobis/ & filius datus eſt nobis: cuius prīcipatus factus eſt ſuꝑ humerū eius. et vocabitur nomē eius magni cōſilij angelus. ¶ Et iterū eiuſdē cœleſtis hierachiæ cap. octauo/ nūero 43. Primus hoc poſt Cherubī diſcit: qui lūbos ſaphyro erat accictus/ qui talarē tunicā pontificalis veſtis indiciū induebat. porro angelos reliquos qui ſecuribus armati erāt. Nūc Ezechielis cap. nono de veſte linea/ pro podere & veſte talari: de atramētario ſcriptoris ad renes/ pro ſaphyro ſiue zona ſaphyrina: & vas interitus/ pro ſecuri legitur. que vniuerſa in æditione ſeptuaginta leguntur. vt etiā diuus teſtat̃ Hieronymus. pro lineis (inquit) ſeptuaginta interpretati ſunt podere. pro atramētario ſcriptoris ad renes: zona ſaphyrina ſuper renes. pro vaſe interitus in manibus: ſecurim. Sed ex his facile eſt intelligere diuerſitatem litterarū originalium a beatiſſimo patre adductarum: quæ plerumqꝫ limatior ꝗ noſtra eſſe videtur/ & vnde hæc diuerſitas pendere queat. ſpiritus autem immutabilis: omnia perficit/ & viuificat.

ſeptuagita

¶ Preterea cap. nono/ numero 46 legitur. Statuit enim altiſſimus terminos gentiū/ iuxta numerū angelorum dei. Et ſcholium eius OO. habet. hoc oraculo caremus. ¶ Verum poſtea inter legēdum michi occurrit id dictum eſſe propter dictum cantici Moſis Deuteronomij cap. triceſimo ſecundo. vbi nunc nō angelorū dei: ſed filiorum Iſrael habetur. quod nūc ita legitur. Memēto dierū antiquorū: cogita generationes ſingulas. interroga patrem tuū & annūciabit tibi: maiores tuos & dicent tibi. Quando diuidebat altiſſimus gentes: quando ſeparabat filios Adam. conſtituit terminos populorum: iuxta numerum filiorum Iſrael. Pars autem domini populus eius: Iacob funiculus hęreditatis eius. Sed hęc & ſimilia benignus lector facile ītelliget: & vnde huiuſmodi pēdeat varietas. nūc vero ad ſanctiorem litteram ſeſe cōuertendi: iam tempus videbitur idoneum.

Quid laterales numeri deſignent.

¶ Numeri ad latus in imo litteræ poſiti: ad litteralium ſententiarū diſtinctionē adiecti ſunt/ et ijdem in cōmentario repetiti eodem ordine: vt conſimiles vnius ad conſimiles alterius referantur.

Quid laterales litteræ.

¶ Litterę vero alphabeticæ in ſuperiore margine ad litterā adiectæ ſunt: vt ad conſimilia litterarum elementa (quæ litteræ reſpōdent) quærantur ſcholia.

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¶Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ Athenienſiū epiſcopi/et Galliarū apoſtoli: cœleſtis hierarchiæ liber/ ad Timotheū Epheſinæ ciuitatis epiſcopum: adiecto ad litteram cōmentario declaratus.

¶Qꝫ omnis diuina lux licet varie per ſummā benignitatē ad creaturā prodeat: ſimplex tamen manet. neqꝫ id ſolum: verum & quæ illuſtrat/ vnum efficit.

Cap.I.

1 OMne datum optimū/ & omne donum perfectū/ A
de ſurſum eſt. deſcendens a patre luminū. Sed &
candidiſſimæ illius lucis (quæ a patre/ motus initium
ſumit) proceſſus omnis/benigna in nos largitione
manans: rurſus vt ſumma virtus (per quā
vnū ſecum efficimur) vi intentionis precipuæ nos
parat & explicat: atqꝫ ad cogētis ad ſe patris vnitatem
ac deificam ſimplicitatē conuertit. Ex ipſo a
eni (vt ſacra teſtātur eloquia) & in ipſo ſunt ōnia.
2 ¶Itaqꝫ IHESVM inuocātes paternam lucem:
quæ eſt/quæ vera eſt/quæ illuminat omnē hominem venientem in hunc
mundū/ per quem ad patrem principale lumen/ acceſſum habemus: ad
ſanctiſſimarū ſcripturarū intelligētias (prout illas a patribus accepimus)
contuendas pro viribus pergamus. & quas illi nobis vel per ſigna vel per
intelligētiæ ſacratioris arcana tradiderūt: cœleſtiū ſpirituū diſtinctiones
3 & ordines inquātum poſſumus ſpeculemur. ¶Cūqꝫ principalē illā imo
principiū omne trāſcendentē ſummi patris lucē/quę nobis angelorū beatiſſimos
ordines typicis exprimit ſignis: purgata mentis acie nec trepidante
cordis aſpectu ſuſceperimus/ ex ipſa rurſus ad eius ſimplicem radium
tota animi intētione dirigamur. Nam profecto ne ipſa quidē vnq̃
ſingulari ſuo arcano et (vt ita dixerim) ꝓpria ſua itimitate deſeritur. Cæterum B
cū ad eos qui prouidentia regūtur ſubuehendos ac ſibi cōiungendos
condeſcenſione & cōnexione mirabili/ benigniſſime multiplicetur &
prodeat: manet tamen intra ſemetipſam firmiſſime in ſua imobili idētitate
ſtabiliter fixa. eoſqꝫ qui ad ipſam (vt fas eſt) aſpirare nitūtur: pro modo
virium ſuarū intēdit ac prouehit/ ac ſecundū ſimplicē illā vnionē ſuā
cōiungit ſibi/atqꝫ vnū efficit ſecum. Neqꝫ enim aliter fas erat/ infirmitati
noſtræ lucere diuinū illum radiū: niſi ſacrorū varietate velaminū (quibus
ad ſuperiora ferremur) opertū/& ijs quæ nobis familiaria ſunt/ prouidētia
4 paterna naturæ mortaliū ſeſe accōmodāte/veſtitū. ¶Quocirca & noſtri
quoqꝫ ſacerdotij ſacratiſſimā functionē: diuina illa ſanctio cœleſtium
ordinū excellēti mūdanis omnibus imitatione dignata/ memoratas illas C
ſpirituales diſtinctiones carnalibus figuris expreſſas/& formarū cōpoſitionibus D
varias tradidit. vt ipſi pro modulo noſtro/ex hiſce fictionibus ſacris:
ad ſimplices illas/ nulliſqꝫ figuris vmbratas cœleſtium rerū intelligētias/
aſſimilationeſqꝫ ſubuehamur. Nam neqꝫ poſſibile eſt humanæ mēti E
ad ſpiritualem illā cœleſtiū diſtinctionū imitationem/ intelligentiāqꝫ cōſcendere:
niſi ad hanc mortalium rerū ſimilitudinibus/ formiſqꝫ ducatur.

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vt ſcilicet viſibilem pulchritudinẽ: inuiſibilis decoris imaginẽ putet. odoreſqꝫ ſenſibus peruios: ſpiritualis fragrãtiæ ſimilitudinẽ extimet. & intimæ lucis indiciũ: ex lucidi ſolis ducat imagine. ſuauitatis item illius (quã deum ſitiẽs animus atqꝫ in diuina cõtẽplatione requieſcens capit) ſacrarum litterarũ lectionem / et flagrans ſtudium: arbitretur effigiem. habitus quoqꝫ illius cõgruentiſſimi / & perpetua intentione atqꝫ ordine ad diuina tendentis: ex vitæ præſentis ordinibus capiat cõiecturam. IHESV item fœliciſſimã ſocietatem: de ſacroſancti myſterij cõmunione cõijciat. Et cętera in hunc modũ: quę cœleſtibus quidẽ / ſpiritualibuſqꝫ ſubſtãtijs diuine ac nude: nobis vero per ſigna tradũtur. Vt igitur pro captu noſtro dij efficeremur: clemẽtiſſima illa diuinitas cœleſtium quoqꝫ diſtinctiões ordinum nobis exponens / noſtriqꝫ functionem ſacerdotij illis miniſterij ſocietate coniungens (dum pro viribus diuina illorum ſacratiſſima officia imitari nitimur) terrenis imaginibus cœleſtes ſpiritus pinxit / carnaliqꝫ velamine (dũ in ſacris litteris de illis loquitur) æternos animos texit / vt nos ex viſibilibus ad intelligibilia / & ex fictione ſignorum ad ſimplices cœleſtium ordinum prouehat ſummitates.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS.

¶Omne datũ optimũ. Epiſtola Iacobi apoſtoli cap. primo. Nolite itaqꝫ errare fratres
A mei dilectiſſimi. omne datum optimũ / et omne donũ perfectũ: de ſurſum eſt / deſcen-
dens a patre luminũ. apud quem non eſt trãſmutatio: nec viciſſitudinis obumbratio.
a ¶Ex ipſo enĩ: vt ſacra teſtãtur eloquia. Paulus ad Roma. cap. vndecimo. quoniã ex
B ipſo / et per ipſum / et in ipſo ſunt omnia. ¶Ceterũ cum ad eos. Ceterũ / ſed. ¶Excel-
C lenti mundanis omnibus. excellenti / ſupereminenti mundanis omnibus. ¶Carnali-
D bus figuris expreſſas. carnalibus: ſenſualibus / terrenis / materialibuſqꝫ figuris. ¶Nam
E neqꝫ poſſibile eſt humanę menti. Ex hoc depręhendis: quis modus diuina perquirẽ-
di in theologia ſit tenendus / atqꝫ poſſibilis.

¶PRIMI CAPITIS Libri de cœleſti Hierarchia cõmentarius ad litteram.

OMne bonum de cœlo manare / et a deo ſpiritualium munerũ largi- 1
tore profluere: ex beati Iacobi teſtimonio proponit imprimis ſacra-
tus pater. In quo per datum optimũ: accipiunt nõnulli interpretes
donũ naturæ. per donũ vero perfectũ: donum gratiæ / ꝙ ipſa habẽ-
tem perficiat. Alij vero potius idem omnino vtroqꝫ nomine ĩtelligi
debere cenſent: et ſecundũ / ipſius primi eſſe explicationẽ. vt ſenſus
ſit / omne donũ in creaturis exiſtens: deſuper atqꝫ a deo proficiſci.
quẽ & patrem luminũ hic vocat ſanctus apoſtolus: ꝙ author ſit & elargitor cœleſtiũ
donorũ. Vnde nomen patris hoc loco et alijs duobus proxime ſequẽtibus in hac lit-
terali ſententia locis / non diſcrete ſumitur et perſonaliter: ſed ſubſtãtialiter atqꝫ vt dei
ad nos habitudinem ſignat. Deſcẽdere autem donũ dicitur et de ſurſum eſſe: quoniã
a deo eſt / ratione excellentiæ ſuæ ſuper omnia collocato. et ab ipſo fonte plenitudinis
ſummæ / ad inferiorum defluit participationem. Omnis enim creatura / ſi ad creatoris
eminentiã conferatur: longe inferior eſt. et idcirco omne bonũ quod dono creatoris
ipſi creaturæ infunditur: de ſurſum eſſe / et quaſi ad inferiora deſcendere perhibetur.
Neqꝫ hiſce nominibus: aut locus corporalis aut motus localis hic ſignificari putetur /
quæ ſpiritualẽ tantũ habent rationẽ. Aſtipulatur autẽ & eidem Iacobi ſentẽtię beatus
1.Corin.4. Paulus: ſcribens ad Corinthios. Quid autem habes: quod non accepiſti? Si autem ac-
cepiſti: quid gloriaris quaſi nõ acceperis? Et diuinus ſaluatoris noſtri præco / idipſum
Ioan.3. etiã perhibet: cum ait. Non poteſt homo accipere quicꝗ: niſi fuerit ei datum de cœlo.
Et ſane id perſimile eſt: atqꝫ ſiquis dixerit claritatem omnẽ & illuminationẽ / in mor-
talium oculos ſubiectaqꝫ corpora a lãpade ſolis (qui fons eſt totius luminis ſenſibilis)
deriuari. Verum vt ipſius ſolis radius duplicem habet motũ. vnum quidem directũ
quo a ſole in oculos animaliũ vibratur / quaſi a cœli faſtigio ad inferiora deſcendens.

Alterũ vero reflexũ & regreſſiuum, quo illuſtratos oculos erigit ad ipſum ſolẽ/primitiuũ
luminis authorẽ: reſilitq; & reuertitur in ſuũ primordiũ/ & ad ipſum reducit omnia
quæ perfudit ſuo iubare/ quaſi ab imis denuo ad ſumma regrediens. Et certe primus
horũ motuũ ab vnitate eſt ad multitudinẽ: & ab vnico ſolis orbe intimaq; luce ſingulari/ad
multiplices & multiformes oculos in quibus ſpargitur. Secundus vero ediuerſo
a multitudine/varietate & diuerſitate redit in vnitatẽ: nã illuminatos omnes oculos
colligit in ipſũ ſolẽ atq; cõſtringit. quinimo efficit oẽs vnũ cũ ſole/vnione copulatiõeq;
lucis infuſę: qua reddit cũctos luciformes/ & imagine ac ſpecie ſolis indutos. Ita plane
diuinus & ſpiritualis radius bifariã mouet. Primũ a deo in nos: benigniſſimo eius ĩdultu
a ſũmo cœli ſolio in aĩos noſtros trãſfuſus. & qui in deo ſimplex eſt & vnicus: ĩ nobis
ſparſus cernitur/expãſus & multiplicatus. Secũdo vero intẽtos in ipſũ animos noſtros
& irradiatione illa cœleſti illuſtratos/explicatoſq;: vt cũcta in ipſis appareãt in ſuo decore
atq; ornatu(perinde vt ſuperfuſũ lumẽ rebus explicat eas: & colorũ oĩm pulchritudinẽ
diſcrimenq; oſtendit) noſtros inquã animos ſurſum attollit: colligitq; rurſũ ad diuinã
ſimplicitatẽ/ab imis ad ſũma nos reuocãs/& a diuiſione multitudineq; ad vnitatẽ.
Neq; id ſolũ efficit ſecũdo ſuo/regreſſorioq; motu cœleſtis radiꝰ ꝙ animos noſtros ſuo
ꝓfuſos fulgore ſubuehit ad deũ/patrẽ luminũ: ſed & ipſos vnũ efficit cũ deo per quandã
deiformitatẽ/ cõnexionẽq; & vnionẽ ſuperdiuinã. qua pię mẽtes ſuperno illo radio
illuminatæ inſeruntur deo: vniceq; & ſingulariter ipſi cõiunguntur. Quẽadmodũ enim
ferrũ ignitũ: vnũ quodã modo efficitur cũ igne ipſũ abſorbente atq; immeãte. vt iã ferrũ
nõ appareat/quis ſecundũ ſubſtantiã permaneat: ſed ſolus cãdor igneus. ita & ſyncæræ
mẽtes quas dignatur deus ſua illuſtratione/ſic diuino illo lumine trãſeũt in deũ ꝑ
quandã cõformitatẽ & aſſimilationẽ: vt arctiſſime illi atq; ſtrictiſſime cõiungãtur/vnũ ꝑ
fiant nõ ſubſtantia ſed ſpecie cũ eo. De hac autẽ vnione ſpirituali loquitur beatus Paulus
ad Corinthios dicẽs. Qui autẽ adhæret dño: vnus ſpiritus eſt. Et dominus noſter a 1.corin.6
diſcipulis per paſſionẽ diſceſſurus rogauit patrẽ: vt ipſi vnũ inter ſe eſſent/ſicut & ipſe Ioan.17
cũ patre vnũ eſt. At quomodo diſcipuli vnũ eſſent adinuicẽ mutuo charitatis vinculo:
niſi & cũ deo vnũ efficerentur/ per nexũ illum & vnionẽ ipſius diuini radij? Porro propter
huiuſmodi duplicem ſpiritualis radij motum: deus ipſe & alpha dicitur/ principiumq; Apo.1
a quo profunditur omne bonum. & ω/finiſq; rerum: in quem reditu/recurſuq; ſpirituali
cuncta reuocantur & colliguntur. Idem quoq; primus dicitur/vt omnium bonorum Apo.22
origo: & nouiſſimus/vt omnium meta/finis & vltimũ ad quod reducuntur. Et quẽadmodum
ex beato Paulo in littera adducit ſacratiſſimus pater: ex ipſo ſunt omnia Roma.11
tanquã primario bonitatis fonte/effundente in nos abunde ſuæ benignitatis dona. Et
in ipſo ſunt omnia tanquam fine præcipuo: ad quod tendunt & procedunt omnia. Q;
ſi quis dicat(ſicut & codex græcus in illo Pauli loco habet)in ipſum ſunt omnia: ſignificantius
exprimetur id ad quod confirmandũ/aſſumptũ eſt Pauli verbum/deum ſcilicet
2 finẽ eſſe in quem procedunt omnia. ¶Deinde beatus pater cum magna pietate &
religione deũ in iſtius operis principio (vt par eſt)inuocans: IHESVM filium dei vocat
paternam lucem. tum ꝙ a deo patre æterna generatione natus eſt: vt lux de luce/
lumen de lumine/deus de deo/deus verus de deo vero. tum ꝙ patris gloriam & excellentiã/
virtutem/ ſapientiam & bonitatem manifeſtat: ſicut verbum ſuam mentẽ/ ſicut
lux intima & ſplendida: corporis lucidi pulchritudinẽ declarat. Si enim filij dei claritatem/
magnitudinem/& perfectionẽ cognoſcimus: protinus ex eo quantus & qualis ſit
pater qui eũ genuit/agnoſcemus. Secũdo eã lucem quæ dei filius eſt: dicit beatus pater
eſſe. nam perfectiſſime ens eſt: & a non eſſe ſemotiſſima. nunq̃ enim nõ fuit: & nunq̃
non erit. Quod & ipſe IHESVS de ſeipſo proteſtatur: dicens ad Iudęos. Niſi credideritis Ioan.8
quia ego ſum: moriemini in peccatis veſtris. Et rurſum ad eoſdẽ. Anteq̃ Abraham
fieret: ego ſum. Tertio eadem eſt vera lux. nam natura ſua lux eſt abſoluta atq; eſſentialis:
non per participationem id habens aut aduentitium. quemadmodũ omnis lux creata
cum ſenſibilis tũ ſpiritualis/participatione ſolũ lux eſt & contracta: illius veræ lucis
typus & vmbra. Quarto eadem lux illuminat oẽm hominẽ venientẽ in hũc mundũ: vt Ioan.1
ait Ioãnes. Ego(inquit eadẽ ſumma veritas)ſum lux mundi. Qui ſequitur me non ãbulat Ioan.8
in tenebris: ſed habebit lumen vitæ. Et rurſũ alio loco. Ego lux in mundũ veni: vt Ioan.12
omnis qui credit in me/in tenebris non maneat. Quinto affert hic in laudem & præconium
filij dei ſacratus pater: ꝙ per IHESVM habemus acceſſum ad deum patrem/

qui principale eſt lumen. Et id quidem poſtremum/de patre ideo dicit: ꝙ pater/lux
eſt primitiua/ fontalis & primaria/ab alia luce nequaq̃ prodiēs. ſed filio qui vera lux eſt
itidē & ſpiritui ſancto luci immēſę: ineffabili modo cōmunicās ęternæ ſuę lucis cōſortiū/
ſocietatē & veritatē. Emanat enim filius identidē & ſpiritus ſanctus a patre: vt lux de lu
ce/& lumē de lumine. Cæterū ꝙ per filiū dei acceſſū habeamus ad patrē: ex eo cōſtat/
1. timo. 2. ꝙ mediator eſt dei & hoīm homo CHRISTVS IHESVS/ vt ait Paulus. & ex ipſius
Ioan. 14. mediationis officio: ima ad ſummū ſubuehit. qđ & de ſe dicit in euāgelio. Ego (inquit)
ſum via/veritas & vita. Nemo venit ad patrē: niſi per me. Idē quoq; & beatus Paulus
Ephe. 2. atteſtatur: ſcribēs ad Epheſios de dn̄o noſtro. quoniā per ipſum habemus acceſſū ābo
in vno ſpiritu ad patrē. Porro poſt piā huiuſmodi inuocationē proponit diuinus pater:
quidnā in hoc opere ſit moliturus. vtpote ꝙ ad ſacrarū litterarū intelligentiā (ſicut eā
antiqui patres tradiderūt) perſpiciendā enixe elaborare intēdat: pariter & ſpeculari ꝓ
viribus cœleſtiū ſpirituū ordines atq; hierarchias. quas ipſi patres tradiderūt poſteris
atq; aſſignarunt/ vel per ſigna materialia quę ſpiritualiū ſenſorū ſunt ſignificatiua: vt ꝑ
formas et figuras corporales. vel per myſteria ſecretioris et altioris agnitiōis: qua mēs
humana ſacratiore lumine perfuſa ſpiritualē haurit ex alto diuinorū ſciētiā/cœleſti re-
uelatione indultā. Et horū duorū modorū diuina cognoſcēdi: ſecūdus eſt primo ſupe-
rior & dignior. ¶ At vero queādmodum in luminis ſenſibilis ſuſceptione purgatus eſſe 3
debet oculus a lippitudine & noxijs ſordibus/ & firma eius acies quæ nō cōniueat aut
trepidet ob imbecillitatē ad lucidū ſolis radiū: cōſimili ratione proponit deinde Diony
ſius lucē illā diuinā/oīa ſupereminentē oīmq; primā (quę cœleſtiū ſpirituū incorporalē
naturā: ſenſibilibus & corporalibus figuris nobis īſinuat) a nobis primū hauriri debere/
purgata mente a nebulis & caligine terrenorū affectuū/ & irreuerberato mētis obtutu: 5
nō trepidāte ob infirmitatē/ad illius diuinæ lucis aſpectū. Poſtea vero cōuerſo/refle-
xoq; motu: ex ipſa luce in nobis ſuſcepta/ad vnicū/& ſingularē dei radiū illicq; intimum
vt reuocemur/elaborandū eſt. Nā ipſa diuina lux a ſingulari ſua ſimplicitate & intima
deo identitate nunq̃ diſcedit: q̃uis benigna cōdeſcenſione ad angelicos ſpiritus ac ho-
mines illuminādos/atq; ad ſui cōſortiū promouendos progrediat̃ ad exteriora/ & mul
tiformiter prodeat. Sed intra diuini ſecreti latebras & inacceſſa adyta: manet ipſa ſuꝑdi
uina lux ſemper eadē/ſtabilis/fixa/vnica/ſingularis & intima. Eoſq; qui ad illā hauriē-
dā enitūtur/erigit pro ipſorū facultate atq; ad ſe pertrahit: vnūq; ſecū cōiunctione ſu-
permūdana (vt ante dictū eſt) efficit. Sic ſane videmus & ſenſibilē ſolis lucē: ſemꝑ ſoli
ītimā manere/vnicā/eandē & fixā. q̃uis ad ſubiecta corpora illuſtrāda/& oculos aīaliū
ſuis radijs implēdos: multifariā/partibiliter & varie prodeat. vt in ſuo fōte/vna ſit: ex-
tra illū/diuerſa et diuidua. Neq; quis miret̃/diuina nobis myſteria et āgelicorū ſpirituū
ordines: per ſigna ſenſibilia/figmētaq; corporalia tradi debere. Nā nō potuit nobis craſ
ſo circūdatis corpore/diuinus ille radius cœleſtiū arcanorū reſeratiuus illucere: niſi fuiſ
ſet diuerſitate corporaliū velaminū adopertus/& ſenſibilibus formis quę nobis dome-
ſticę ſūt & familiares/obuelatus. Sic enī diuina prouidētia & noſtrę cōſuluit infirmita-
ti: & ſe naturę noſtrę/ſpiritualia in ſua puritate capere nō valēti/accōmodauit. ¶ Dein 4
ceps aſſignat Dionyſius cauſā propter quā diuina ordinatione id cōſtitutū eſt: ꝙ ſacrę
diſtinctiōes & ꝓprietates cœleſtiū ſpirituū nobis explicarent̃ per rerū ſēſibiliū formas
ac figuras. vt ſcilicet ex huiuſmodi viſibilibus ſignis & figmētis: erigeremur ad inuiſibi
lē earū & ſpiritualē naturā ac virtutē/atq; ex cōpoſitis ad ſimplices/ex corporeis ad in-
corporales/ex diuiſibilibus ad īdiuiduas illarū ſubſtātias: aciē mētis attolleremus. Nō 6
eſt aūt perfunctorie trāſeundū: quod hoc in loco annotat beatus pater. vtpote ꝙ diui-
na ordinatio/dignā iudicauit functionē adminiſtrationēq; ſacerdotalem quę ab hoībus
geritur/imitatione cœleſtium ordinum: omnia mundana ſuperexcellenti. Nam eccleſi-
aſtica hierarchia atq; diſtinctio: a deo inſtituta eſt omnino ad imitationem cœleſtis &
angelicæ hierarchiæ. vt quemadmodum ſuperiores ſpiritus cœleſtes purgant/ illumi-
nant & perficiunt inferiores: ita qui in eccleſia funguntur pontificali ſacerdotaliq; di-
gnitate/alios inferiore conſtitutos ordine ex ſuo officio itidē purgant/illumināt & per-
ficiūt. queādmodū in libro de eccleſiaſtica hierarchia: clarius illud determinabit̃. Proin
de ſacerdotes ipſi in ſacra ſcriptura: interdū angelorū nomine inſigniūtur. vt qui eiuſ-
dē functionis habent conſortiū: habeant & nominis eiuſdem communionem. Dicit enī
Malachi. 2. Malachias. labia ſacerdotis cuſtodiunt ſcientiā: & legē requirēt ex ore eius/quia āgelus

domini exercituum eſt. Verum hoc ex duodecimo huius libri capite euadet clarius. Qꝫ autem neceſſariũ fuerit humanæ infirmitati/ viſibilibus iuuari figuris & ſpeciebus ad ſpiritualẽ cœleſtiũ ſubſtãtiarũ naturã cõprehendendã: vel ex eo cõſtat. ꝙ nõ poteſt humana mẽs ſenſibus alligata & tegmine corporis aggrauata/ eniti & cõſcẽdere ad diuina ſuꝑcœleſtiaqꝫ intelligẽda: niſi rerũ ſenſibiliũ imaginibus et formis ad illa manuducat̃ & aſſurgat. vt ſcilicet ex viſibili rerũ pulchritudine: ad inuiſibilẽ cœleſtiũ decorẽ erigat̃. ex odore ſenſibili vt imagine: ad ſpiritualẽ ſuaueolentiã. ex luce ſolis viſibili: ad lucẽ diuinã. Putet itẽ dulcedinẽ lectionis ſacrę ſcipturę: effigiẽ eſſe ſuauitatis illius intimę/ quã diuina contẽplatione inebriati animi beatorũ percipiũt. ordinẽ quoqꝫ eccleſiaſticæ functionis quæ in pręſenti vita geritur: illius decẽtiſſimi ordinis cœleſtiũ ſpirituũ exiſtimet eſſe repręſentationẽ. deniqꝫ cõmunionẽ ſanctiſſimi ſacramenti euchariſtiæ: arbitret̃ eſſe imaginẽ illius feliciſſimę ſocietatis/ qua ſancti cũ CHRISTO in ęternũ cõiungũtur. Et ſimilia id genus/ humana mens pie cõiectet: quę angelicis ſpiritibus nude & ſine velamine/ nobis autẽ per velamẽta rerũ ſenſibiliũ exhibent̃. Itaqꝫ vt noſipſi deiformes q̃tũ nobis fas eſt/ & vberiori participatione dei fœlices euaderemus: benigniſſima dei bonitas angelicarũ ſubſtantiarũ diſtinctiones & ſpiritualẽ naturã nobis patefacere volẽs/ & ſacerdotalis officij miniſteriũ quod ab hominibus in præſenti vita geritur: ipſis cœleſtibus ordinibus ſocietate cõmunioneqꝫ functionũ cõiungens (ꝙ vt iã dictũ eſt/ ſacerdotalis functio eſt ad imitationẽ officiorum ac operationũ angelicarũ) ipſos cœleſtes ſpiritus in ſacra ſcriptura obtexit figuris & notis rerũ corporalium: vt ex imis ad ſumma nos ſubuehat/ a ſimplicibus ad compoſita/ a ſenſibilibus ad intelligibilia.

¶ Qꝫ cõgrue diuina atqꝫ cœleſtia: etiã per diſſimilia ſigna tradãt̃. Cap. II

5 PRimũ igit̃ oportet (vt reor) exponere: quã eſſe totius ſimul
cœleſtis hierarchiæ deſtinationẽ putemus/ & quid vnaq̃qꝫ F
cõferat ſectatoribus ſuis. Tũ cœleſtes quoqꝫ diſtictiones:
iuxta id qđ de illis ſacræ litteræ tradũt/ laudare cõueniet.
deinceps vero cuiuſmodi formis atqꝫ figuris cœleſtes illas
diſtinctiones ſacræ litteræ tradũt honeſtiſſime fictas/ & ad
quã ſimplicitatẽ per hæc figmẽta nobis cõſcẽdendũ ſit: explicare cõſequẽs
fuerit. Ne nos quoqꝫ vulgi errore ſeducti/ paſſim exiſtimemus cœleſtes ac G
diuina ſpecie ꝑditos ſpiritus: multis pedibus/ multiſqꝫ eſſe faciebus/ & ſiue H
ad boũ ſtoliditatẽ/ ſiue ad feritatẽ leonũ eſſe formatos/ ſeu ad aquilarũ recuruis
roſtris effigiẽ/ ſeu ad piloſã auiũ plumeſcentiã fictos/ ſeu rotas quaſdã
igneas & materiales ſedes ad accubitũ ſummę diuinitati neceſſarias ſupra
cœlũ imaginari ſtolide incipiamus/ & equos diſcolores aliquos/ & ſatellites I
armatos/ ac duces: & cætera id genus quæ nobis euidenti & expreſſa
varietate ſignorũ ſacratiſſime ficta tradũtur. Nẽpe enĩ poeticis fictionibus K
theologia (vt eos deſcriberet ſpiritus qui formis carẽt) affatim vtit̃/ humanę
ſcilicet mẽtis (vt diximus) infirmitatẽ nõ ignorãs/ eiqꝫ ꝓpriã et cognatã
viã per quã ad altiora ferat̃ benigniſſime prouidẽs/ ac pro ipſius modo
6 in ſacris litteris huiuſmodi aſcẽſionis itinera ſternẽs. ¶ Porro ſi cui videtur
ſacras quidẽ haſce cõpoſitiones nõ eſſe admittẽdas: quippe cũ ſimplex diuinarũ
rerũ ſubſtãtia in ſe ipſa/ & incognita ſit nobis/ & intelligentiã fugiat
noſtrã. cæterũ eas quæ in ſanctis libris & litteris reperiuntur imagines angelorum/
abſonas atqꝫ incongruas putat: & omnẽ hanc durã nimis (vt ita
dixerim) angelicorum nominũ improbat ſcęnam/ dicens oportuiſſe theologos
(quandoquidem ad incorporalia corporeis lineamẽtis ac formis deſcribenda
omnino veniſſent) proprijs inquantum poſſent illa/ cognatiſqꝫ
figuris exprimere. ex ijs ſcilicet quę ſũt apud nos precioſiſſima/ ſubſtãtiãqꝫ

ſuā ex humo altius attollūt/& ſeſe in altitudinē vēdicāt: & non cœleſtibus
ac diuinis/ſimplicibuſqꝫ naturis terrenas quaſqꝫ/infimas & varias circūda
re formas. Ita enim & mēs noſtra ſeſe melius ad celſa ſuſtolleret: cōmodio
re freta adminiculo. & ſublimes illæ ac mundo celſiores ſignificationes: ad
incōgruas diſſimilitudines & incōcinnas non deducerētur. At id profecto
eiuſmodi eſt: vt & diuinas virtutes neſarie iniurijs violet/& noſtrā etiā for
taſſis mētē in pręcipitia erroris īpellat/prophanis illā cōpoſitionibus pror
ſus affigēs. Et fortaſſe nō deſit qui arbitret̃ cœleſtia illa/leonū et equorum
agminibus plena: vt pro laude mugitus reſonent/& auiū gregibus/ & ani=
mātibus reliquis/& materijs quibuſlibet vilibus/& cæteris in hunc modū:
quæqꝫ vel abſurde vel corrupte vel paſſiue deſcribūt diſſimiles per oīa in ſa
cro eloquio ſimilitudines/quibus iſta ſignant̃. ¶ Atqui veritatis iſta inquiſi 7
tio abūde (vt reor) ſcripturæ ſanctæ altiſſimā ſapiētiā indicat: vt quæ in cœ
leſtiū deſcriptione ſpirituū/ vtriqꝫ rei vigilantiſſima cura proſpexit. vt neqꝫ
diuinis virtutibus iniuria vlla (vt ſic dixerim) fieret: neqꝫ nos infimis humil
limiſqꝫ affigeremur imaginibus. Nēpe enī ꝙ informibus/ formæ: figuraqꝫ
carētibus figurę admoueantur diſpēſatione ſalutari: nō modo ea cauſa fue
rit quā prædiximus/infirmitatis noſtræ ſcilicet ratio: quæ cōſcēdere ad cel
ſiora/ac ſpiritualia contēplari ſine adminiculis nequit/īdigetqꝫ proprijs &
de ſua fragilitate petitis auxilijs quibus ad ſuperiora nitatur: vt ſcilicet ſpe=
ctaculis illis eximijs & forma omni/ naturaqꝫ ſuperioribꝰ familiares nobis
L imponātur formæ. verū/ꝙ id quoqꝫ myſticis ſcripturarū eloquijs decētiſſi
mū eſt: ſacrā & obſtruſā cœleſtiū ſpirituū veritatē huiuſmodi arcanis vela
mētis/& ſacratiſſimis ſignis occultare/& ꝓphanæ multitudini inuiā pone=
M re. nō enī oēs ſacri ſunt: neqꝫ iuxta ſcripturæ ſentētiam/oīm ſciētia eſt. Qꝫ ſi
quis abſonas & abſurdas imagines in ius vocet/vereriqꝫ dicat diuinis illis
ſanctiſſimiſqꝫ ſpiritibus formas adeo fœdas imponere: illū ita admonuiſ=
N ſe ſufficiet/duplicē in ſacris litteris tradi ſignificādi modū. ex his alterū per
ſimiles imagines/figuraſqꝫ procedere/nichilqꝫ a ſua natura deuiare: alterū
per diſſimiles formas promouere/itaqꝫ effictū: vt diuerſa prorſus & alia q̄
O videatur inſinuet. ¶ Deniqꝫ & reuerēdā illā superſubſtātialis deitatis/ in=
effabilēqꝫ beatitudinē/diuinorū eloquiorū myſticæ traditiones dū expri=
mere cupiūt: aliquādo vt verbū & itellectū & eſſētiā laudāt/vt per iſtas ap 8
P pellationes: diuinā eius eloquentiā & ſapientiā/& ſubſtantiā veriſſime exi
ſtentē/atqꝫ oīm quę ſūt ſubſiſtētia verā cauſā ſignificēt. Interdū vt lucē ipſā
concelebrāt/& vitā vocāt. Enīuero huiuſmodi ſacra figmenta: honeſtiora
quidē ſunt/& terrenis ac materialibus formis eminere videntur. cæterū ne
ſic quidē ad diuinæ ſimilitudinis veritatem prope accedunt. Excedit enim
illa ſubſtantiā omnē: vitāqꝫ tranſcendit. nulla hanc exprimit lux. oīſqꝫ ſer=
mo/omnis mēs atqꝫ ratio: abſqꝫ vlla comparatione/illius ſimilitudine infe=
rior eſt. ¶ Aliquando item ab eiſdē laudatur ſcripturis honeſtiſſime ac pe 9
Q ne diuine/dū in eius laude diſſimilibus vtuntur ſignis: eāqꝫ inuiſibilem/in=
finitā/& incōpræhēſibilē prędicāt. ijs eā appellātes nominibus/ quibus nō
quid ſit: ſed quid non ſit dicitur. Hoc enī verius vt arbitror in ipſa eſt: & de

illa proprie magis aſſeritur. Nā ſicuti ſecretior illa/ſacerdotaliſqꝫ traditio
docuit: dū illā eſſe aliquid negamus ex ijs quæ ſunt: verū profecto loqui-
mur/etſi modū quo illa indiffinita eſt (quippe quę ſuperſubſtātialis & in-
10 cōpræhenſibilis atqꝫ ineffabilis eſt) prorſus ignoramus. ¶ Si ergo in diui-
nis rebus negationes quidē veræ ſunt/affirmationes vero nequaq̃ tātis ar
canorū latebris cōgruūt: illa ſane cōuenientior in rebus inuiſibilibus erit
expreſſio/quæ per diſſimilia ſigna monſtratur. Honorāt igit̄ illos cœlites
ordines: nō probro afficiūt/aut vllo dedecore/ſāctarū litterarū deſcriptio-
nes: dū eos diſſimilibus formis ac fictionibus exprimunt/ac per eas indi-
cāt terrenis ac mortalibus rebus abſqꝫ vlla cōparatione præcellere beatiſ
ſimos ſpiritꝰ. Porro ꝙ mentē atqꝫ animū noſtrū ſimilitudines illæ quæ vi
dentur abſurdę/potētius iuuēt/atqꝫ ad diuina cōmodius ſubuehāt: nemo
qui recte ſentiat arbitror inficiabitur. Nā ſi quidem quæqꝫ ſunt apud nos
precioſiora ſumantur: quis nō videat fore/vt per huiuſmodi figuras ober
rare incipiat animus/putās cœleſtes illas ęthereaſqꝫ ſubſtātias rutilātis au
ri pręferre ſpeciē/viroſqꝫ eſſe aliquos lucidos/ & oris maieſtate coruſcos/
decoros/& veſtis cādore cōſpicuos: ignēqꝫ innocue de ſe mittētes/& cęte-
ra id genus quibus theologia ſublimes illos ſpiritus pingit/& figurarū va
rietate deſcribit. Quod vti ne illi paterētur/ qui nichil celſius mortali hac
luce & corporū ſpecie cōtueri queūt: excellens illa ſanctorū virorū (qui di
uina nobis monumēta reliquerūt) ſapiētia/vt adminicula neceſſaria infir-
mis animis daret: ad eas quoqꝫ diſſimilitudines quæ videntur abſurdæ/
ſingulari diſpenſatione deſcendit. nequaq̃ permittēs imbecillā mentē no-
ſtrā fœdis inhærere imaginibus/atqꝫ illis prorſus acquieſcere: ſed potius
erigens animæ partē ad ſuperiora tendentē/ atqꝫ inhoneſtate formarū a
viſibilibus omnibus reuocans. quaſi fas nō ſit/neqꝫ veriſimile omnino eſ-
ſe videat̄: ne ijs quidē qui ſtolidiores/craſſioriſqꝫ intelligētię ſunt: cœleſtia
illa & diuina ſpectacula fœdis rebus reuera ſimilia eſſe. Ad hæc illud
quoqꝫ cogitādū eſt: nichil eſſe in rebus hūanis quod boni participatione
ſit oīno priuatū. nā vt ſeſe ſcripturæ ſanctæ veritas habet: fecit deus ōnia/ R
bona valde. Fas igitur fuerit ex his oībus pulcherrimas elicere intelligen-
tias: ſpiritualibuſqꝫ & intelligibilibus rebus/ex humilioribus atqꝫ terrenis
diſſimiles ſimilitudines. Sic enim dicimur effingere: cum eadem aliter ſpi
11 ritualibus inſunt/aliterqꝫ carnalibus. ¶ Nēpe enim iracundia mutis qui- S
dē animātibus ex affectu & cōmotione paſſiua prouenit: eſtqꝫ iracundus
eorum motus/omni prorſus ratione deſtitutus. At in ſpiritualibus om-
nino ſubſtantijs longe alio modo ira intelligenda eſt. ſignificat enim vt
reor equidem/maſculam illarum (vt & ita dicam) & penitus inſitā ratio-
nem atqꝫ ſapientiam/& habitum in diuinis atqꝫ immutabilibus rebus cō
ſtantem/& perpetua firmitate locatū. Eadē ratione cōcupiſcētiam in mu
tis quidē eſſe dicimus affectum quendā improuidum/atqꝫ terrenū: ex in-
ſito motu ſeu conſuetudine in ijs quæ ſunt mutabilia abſqꝫ vlla modera-
tione feruentem/ & irrationabile dominium corporalis appetitus. ex
quo animal omne ad id quod ſenſibus concupiſcendum occurrit: impel-

Cap.
2

litur. Vbi vero ſpiritibus angelicis diſſimiles ſimilitudines admouendo/
T concupiſcentiam illis applicare pergimus:diuinum hanc amorem intelli
gere neceſſe eſt eius qui omnem rationem/omnemqꝫ intelligentiam ſupe
rat/ mundiciæ atqꝫ puritatis: deſideriumqꝫ iuge & conſtans caſtiſſimæ
atqꝫ fœliciſſimæ illius atqꝫ ab omni perturbatione remotiſſimæ contem-
plationis/& inexplebilē auiditatem æternæ profecto atqꝫ inuiſibilis ſocie
tatis. per quā ad ſerenū illud/ ſupremūqꝫ iubar aſpirāt:& inuiſibilem illū
decorē totius authorē pulchritudinis ābiunt. Porro incontinentiā in his
accipiamus rigidā ſeueritatē/intentionēqꝫ perpetuā: quā nichil inflecte-
re/nichil intercipere poſſit/ob meraciſſimū & immutabilem diuinæ pul-
chritudinis ac ſimplicitatis amorē:cū ad id quod vere/ſūmeqꝫ expetendū
eſt/ſemper anhelent. Ipſum quoqꝫ irrationabile atqꝫ inſenſibile in brutis
quidē animalibus/ inanimatiſqꝫ naturis: rationis ac ſenſus priuationē ꝓ-
prie dicimus.cęterū in ſpiritualibus intellectualibuſqꝫ ſubſtātijs:ſingula-
rē ipſarū excellentiā(vt quæ mundo ſuperior ſit) cōgruētiſſime fatemur.
per quā ſermoni noſtro corporeo atqꝫ tranſeūti/terrenoqꝫ ſenſui/& a ſu-
pernis virtutibus alieno:longe antecellunt. Licet igitur nō incongruas cœ
leſtibus etiā ex viliſſimis materiæ partibus formas effingere: quippe quæ
& ipſa a ſummo bono nacta ſubſtātiā/ per oēs ſui partes atqꝫ diſtinctio-
nes/intellectualis decoris quaſdā præ ſe ferat imagines.per quas:ad ſpi-
rituales illas/primitiuaſqꝫ formas poſſimus aſcēdere.ſimilitudines (vt di
ctū eſt)haud ſimili ratione capientes/& eaſdē non eodem modo:ſed con-
uenienter & proprie in ſpiritualibus/corporalibuſqꝫ proprietatibus diffi
nientes. ❡Hiſce figmentis nō modo cū de cœleſtibus ordinibus loquerē 12
V tur/vſos theologos inueniemus/vt eos ſacratius/veriuſqꝫ ſignarent:verum
X & cū de ipſa ſumma diuinitate diſſererent. ❡Deniqꝫ illā interdū ex viſi- 13
bilibus iſtis/precioſiſqꝫ cōcelebrāt: vt cū ſolē iuſtitiæ/ſtellāqꝫ matutinā in
corde fideliū ſacratius orientem:atqꝫ vt lucē abſqꝫ vllo velamine ſpiritua
li fulgore perſtringentē mentis obtutus/appellant. Aliquando ex ijs quæ
ſunt media/diuinā prędicant maieſtatē;cū ſcilicet illam/ignē innocua flā-
ma lucentē/aquam vitalis plenitudinis indultricē;& (vt ſignificantius di-
xerim)in intima ventris penetrantē/emanantemqꝫ flumina perpeti lapſu
decurrentia/dicunt. Aliquando item ex infimis/rem tantam collaudāt:cū
deum vel fragrans vnguentum/ vel lapidem angularem vocāt. Ferarum
quoqꝫ illi applicant formas:leonis ac pantheræ proprietatem ei aſcriben
tes/vt pardum fore dicentes:vrſamqꝫ indigentem. Addā et quod omniū
viliſſimum atqꝫ abſurdiſſimū eſſe videatur.namqꝫ & vermis ſpeciem/ di-
uinam illam excellentiam ſibi affixiſſe:ij qui diuina ſacratius callent/tra-
diderunt. Adeo omnes quos diuina impleuit ſapientia/ occultę illius ac
diuinæ inſpirationis enunciādæ functi miniſterio: ſancta ſanctorū ab im
perfectis ac prophanis abſqꝫ vlla cōmixtionis macula dirimunt/diſſimi-
lemqꝫ ſacrarū rerum fictionē profitentur ac prædicāt.vt neqꝫ diuina pro-
phanis perceptu facilia ſint:neqꝫ rurſus ſacratiſſimorum ſignorum ſtu-
dioſi inſpectores/figuris tanq̄ veris inhęreant.vtqꝫ diuina veriſſimis ꝓſe-

cto negationibus honorētur: dum extremis creaturæ ſuæ partibus a ſua licet natura remotiſſimis ſimilis dicitur. Nichil igitur ineptū aut abſurdū facere videntur: qui ob eas quas diximus cauſas/ cœleſtibus illis immortalibuſq; ſubſtantijs diſſimiles omnino ſimilitudines ex inferioribus petitas affigunt. Nam fortaſſe ne nos quidem ex ambiguo ad inquirēdum excitati eſſemus/ neq; ad ſacratiora intelligentiæ per diligentiorem ſcrutationis indaginem veniſſemus: niſi nos commouiſſet inhoneſta fictionum facies qua proprietas exprimitur angelorū/ nulla ratione permittens mētem noſtrā fœdis formarū inſidere figmentis: ſed excitans potius ad omnes mortales affectus renuendos/ atq; ſalubriter cōſuefaciens per ea quæ vidētur ad ſublimiora cōtendere atq; ad cœleſtia ſubuehi. Sed hęc hactenus dixerim: ob eas quę in ſacris litteris habentur effigies/ deſcriptioneſq; angelorum. ex quibus id conſtet: eas ab inferioribus/ multūq; remotis/ rationaliter vtiliterq; petitas. 14 ¶ Deinceps vero diffinire oportet quid hierarchiam ipſam eſſe arbitremur: quidue illa conferat ijs qui ſe illi deuouentes/ in eius ſortem conceſſere. Sit autem dux verbi CHRISTVS (ſi michi dicere liceat) meus: qui de tanta re quid dicere debeamus inſpiret. Eſt enim ipſe: totius ſcientiæ fons/ cœleſtiſq; afflatus indultor. Tu autem o fili/ iuxta quod ſancit noſtra pijſſima et ſacroſancta traditio/ & ipſe (quæ ſācte dicuntur) congrua ſuſcipe pietate: ac diuina diſcendo diuinus efficere. & ſancta mentis receſſibus condens: ea vt eximia & coniungendi nos deo vim habentia ſingularem: a prophana multitudine inuiolata cuſtodi. Neſas enim eſt (vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia) ſpiritualiū margaritarum Z puriſſimū illum/ ac permixtionis ignarum perlucidumq; decorem & ornatum totius venuſtatis authorem: in porcos abijcere.

¶ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS.

¶ Deſtinationem putemus. deſtinationē: diffinitionē/ atq; determinationē. ¶ Ne nos F G quoq; vulgi errore ſeducti. Ficta tradūtur in prophetis: multipedes ſpiritus/ multarūq; facierum/ & bos/ leo/ aquila/ plumeſcentes aues/ rotę igneæ/ ſedes/ equi diſcolores/ ſatellites/ ac duces exercitus. Multipedes & multarū facierum. Ezechiel cap. primo. In medio eius ſimilitudo quatuor animaliū: & hic aſpectus eorū. ſimilitudo hominis in eis/ & quatuor facies vni/ & quatuor pēnæ vni: & pedes eorū pedes recti. Bos/ leo/ aquila. Ezechiel eodem in loco. Facies hominis & facies leonis: a dextris ipſorū quatuor. facies autē bouis: a ſiniſtris ipſorū quatuor. & facies aquilæ: deſuper ipſorum quatuor. Et plumeſcentes auiū inſtar finguntur: cū ſubiungitur. et facies eorū & pennæ/ extentę deſuper. duæ pennę ſingulorū tegebantur: & duę tegebāt corpora eorū. Rotę igneę & ſedes. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Aſpiciebā donec ſedes poſitę ſunt: & antiquus dierū ſedit. ſedes eius flāmę ignis: rotę eius ignis accenſus. Equi diſcolores. Zacharias cap. primo Ecce vir aſcendens ſuper equū rufum: & ipſe ſtabat inter mirteta quę erāt in profundo. & poſt eū equi rufi/ varij & albi. Satellites armati. ſecundus Machabeorum cap. tertio. Apparuit illis quidā equus terribilē habēs ſeſſorē optimis operimētis ornatus: iſq; cū impetu Heliodoro priores calces eliſit. qui autē ei inſidebat: videbatur arma habere aurea. alij etiam apparuerūt duo iuuenes virtute decori/ optimi gloria/ ſpecioſiq; amictu: qui circunſteterūt eū/ ſine intermiſſione multis plagis verberantes. Exercitus duces. Ioſue cap. quinto. Cum autē eſſet Ioſue in agro vrbis Hierico: leuauit oculos & vidit virū ſtantem contra ſe/ euaginatū tenētē gladiū. perrexitq; ad eū & ait: noſter es an aduerſariorū? qui reſpōdit/ nequaq̄: ſed ſum priceps exercitus domini/ & nunc venio. & cecidit Ioſue pronus in terrā/ adorās eū. ¶ Et ſiue H ad boū ſtoliditatem/ ſiue ad feritatem leonum. Stoliditatē: ferinā/ pecoralēq; effigiē.

multipedes
Multarū facierum
Bos
Leo
Aquila
Plumeſcentes auiū inſtar
Rotę igneę
Sedes
Equi diſcolores
Satellites armati
Exercitus duces

I K ¶Imaginari ſtolide incipiamus.ſtolide/ſenſualiter atqꝫ craſſe.¶Nempe enim poeticis
L fictionibus. fictitijs imaginibus/ repræſentationibuſqꝫ. ¶Verū q̄ id quoqꝫ myſticis
M ſcripturarū eloquijs.verum/ſed.ſubaudimus/cauſa fuit.¶Non enim omnes ſacri
ſunt:neqꝫ iuxta ſcripturæ ſententiā/omniū ſcientia eſt. Paulus epiſtola prima ad Corinthios
capite octauo.Nobis tamen vnus deus pater:ex quo omnia/& nos in illo.&
vnus dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS:per quem omnia/& nos per ipſum.ſed non
N in omnibus eſt ſcientia. ¶Duplicē in ſacris litteris tradi ſignificandi modum. Ex his
alterū per ſimiles imagines/figuraſqꝫ procedere.vt qui ex eſſentijs ſenſibilium/ex inferiorū
bonitatibus/ex noſtris intelligentijs:ad ſupramundanas eſſentias/bonitates/
menteſqꝫ:& ex dominio ad dominiū/ex temporali regno ad regnū immenſum/ & cæteris
eiuſmodi euehuntur. Alterum per diſſimiles formas promouere.vt cum inuiſibilem
/incompræhenſibilem/& immenſum dicunt deū.vt cum per bouem/leonē/aquilam
/alatas multicipites volucres/equos/ & ſimilia id genus: cœleſtes/ ſupramundaniqꝫ
ſpiritus & eorū ſacramenta/pijs ſanctorū hominū mentibus aliquando inſinuantur.
O ¶Deniqꝫ & reuerendā illā ſuperſubſtantialis deitatis/ ineffabilemqꝫ beatitudinē.
Tres ſuperſubſtātiales/ineffabileſqꝫ beatitudines nominat diuinus pater Dionyſius:
patrem/filium & ſpiritum ſanctū:quas nos perſonas/ ſuppoſitaqꝫ dicimus. Et diuina
illa beatitudo quę filius eſt: verbum/intellectus/eſſentia/lux/ vita/in ſacris litteris nominatur.
Verbum Verbum quidē,Ioānes cap. primo.In principio erat verbum:& verbū erat
Intellectus apud deum/& deus erat verbum.Intellectus.pſalmus cēteſimus triceſimus quintus.
Eſſentia qui fecit cœlos in intellectu:quoniam in æternum miſericordia eius.Eſſentia.Ioannes
Lux cap.octauo.Priuſq̄ Abrahā fieret:ego ſum. Lux.Ioannes cap. primo. Erat lux vera:
Vita quæ illuminat omnem hominē venientem in hunc mundū.Vita. Idem & capite eodem.
& vita erat lux hominū.Et hæc per primum diuinarum ſignificationum modum
P dicta ſunt. ¶Diuinā eius eloquentiā:& ſapientiā.eloquentiam:elocutionem/explicationemqꝫ.
In filio enim pater ſeipſum explicat:& omnia explicantur in filio.Mens:pater.
Q intimum mentis verbum:filius.voces & ſermones: creaturæ. ¶Eamqꝫ inuiſibilē
& infinitam.Per ſecundū ſignificandi modum diuina beatitudo in ſacris litteris:inuiſibilis
Inuiſibilis /infinita/incompræhenſibiliſqꝫ dicitur.Inuiſibilis quidē.Paulus ad Timotheum
epiſtola prima cap.ſexto.qui ſolus habet immortalitatem:& lucem habitat inacceſſibilem.
Infinita quem nullus hominū vidit:ſed nec videre poteſt.Infinita.pſalmus centeſimus
Incompręhenſibilis quadrageſimus quartus.& magnitudinis eius non eſt finis.Incompræhenſibilis.Paulus
epiſtola ad Romanos cap.vndecimo. O altitudo diuitiarum ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ
dei:q̄ incōpræhēſibilia ſunt iudicia eius/& inueſtigabiles viæ eius.quis enim cognouit
ſenſum dn̄i? ¶Nā vt ſeſe ſcripturæ ſanctę veritas habet:fecit deus ōnia/ bona valde.
R Geneſis cap.primo.Vidit deus cuncta quę fecerat/& erant valde bona.¶Nempe
S enim iracundia mutis quidem animantibus.mutis animantibus: brutis/ irrationalibuſqꝫ
animantibus.¶Diuinum hāc amorem intelligere neceſſe eſt.hanc/ concupiſcētiā.
T ¶Vſos theologos inueniemus. Theologi:prophetæ/apoſtoli/& ſacrarū litterarum
V inſtauratores.¶Deniqꝫ illam interdum ex viſibilibus iſtis precioſiſqꝫ cōcelebrāt.
X Ipſa diuinitas ex viſibilibus ſummis/ex medijs/ex imis nominatur.Ex ſummis:ſol iuſtitiæ
/ſtella matutina/lux vera.ex medijs:ignis/aqua.ex imis: vnguentū/lapis angularis
Sol iuſtitiæ /leo/panthera/pardus/vrſa/vermis.Sol iuſtitiæ.Malachias cap.quarto.& orietur
Stella matutina vobis timentibus nomen meum:ſol iuſtitiæ. & ſanitas in pennis eius. Stella matutina.
Apocalypſis cap. ſecūdo. & dabo illi ſtellam matutinā.Lux.ex beato Ioanne
Lux apoſtolo iam teſtimoniū habitum eſt.& ex eodē/cap.tertio.Hoc eſt autem iudicium/
Ignis quia lux venit in mundū:& dilexerūt homines magis tenebras q̄ lucē.Ignis.Exodus
cap.tertio.Apparuitqꝫ ei dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi:& videbatur q̄ rubus
Aqua arderet/& non comburebatur.Aqua.Ioannes cap.ſeptimo.ſi quis ſitit: veniat ad
me & bibat.qui credit in me(ſicut dicit ſcriptura)flumina de ventre eius fluent aquæ
Vnguentū viuæ.Vnguentum.Cantica cap.primo. Trahe me poſt te:curremus in odorē vnguētorū
Lapis tuorū. Lapis.Eſaias viceſimo octauo.ecce ego mittā in Sion lapidē:lapidē probatum
Leo /angularē/precioſum/in fūdamētū fūdatū. Leo/Panthera.Oſee cap.quinto.
Panthera quoniam ego quaſi leena Effraim & quaſi catulus leonis domui Iuda.vbi illa fœlicitate
Pardus apoſtolicorū temporum & plenitudinis ſapientiæ ſpiritus ſancti:legebatur. ego
Vrſa quaſi panthera Effraim & quaſi leo domui Iuda. Pardus/vrſa. Oſee decimotertio. &

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ego ero eis quaſi leena: ſicut pardus in via Aſſyriorū. occurram eis quaſi vrſa raptis catulis: & diſrumpam interiora iecoris eorum. Vermis. pſalmus viceſimus primus. ego autem ſum vermis & non homo: opprobriū hominum & abiectio plebis. ¶ Nefas enim eſt/ vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia. Mattheus cap. ſeptimo. Nolite ſanctum dare canibus/neqꝫ mittatis margaritas veſtras ante porcos: ne forte conculcent eas pedibus ſuis/& canes conuerſi dirumpant vos.

Vermis.
Z

¶ SECVNDI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

5 Quæ in hoc libro determinanda ſunt: certo quodā ordine proponit ſacratus pater/dicitqꝫ primo loco explicandū eſſe: quænā ſit ipſius hierarchiæ ratione generali diffinitio/vt totā complectatur cōmuni quodā ambitu cœleſtem hierarchiā/ & quid illa aſſectatoribus ſuis ac imitatoribus conferat. quod in proxime ſequenti capite expedietur. Secundo vero loco concelebrandæ ſunt dignis laudibus cœleſtes ſubſtātiæ/declarandæ earū diſtinctiōes/nuncupationes & proprietates. quod in quarto/quinto/& ſequentibus deinceps capitibus pertractabitur. Tertio deniqꝫ loco/ cuiuſmodi figuris ſenſibilibus ſacræ litteræ deſcribunt cœleſtes ſpiritus/et quid per vnāquāqꝫ illarū formarū ſignificetur/quoue modo ex illis ad ſimplicem illorū ſpiritualemqꝫ naturā eſt aſſurgendū: determinare conueniet. quod potiſſimum in vltimo huius libri capite cōficietur. Et plane operępreciū erit huiuſmodi materiales deſcriptiones ad ſpiritualē ſignificationem & ſenſum traducere: ne quiſpiam vulgi errorem ſecutus (quod carnaliter & ſenſibiliter expreſſa: carnaliter itidē & paſſibiliter capere ſemper ſolet/neqꝫ vnq̃ erigitur vltra molem & ſpeciem corporeā ad ſpiritualēītelligētiā) putet cœleſtes ſpiritus: aut multos habere pedes aut facies/boūue aut leonū/aquilarum vel auium gerere ſpeciem. aut effingat ſupra cœlos eſſe rotas igneas: aut ſedes corporales quibus deus ad inſidēdum egeat/aut equos diuerſicolores/milites armatos duceſve exercitus/& cętera id genus: quæ in ſacra ſcriptura decentiſſime efformata cōperiuntur. Vt enim in præcedēti capite dictum eſt/ diuinarum litterarū ſcriptores eā ob cauſam īmateriales cœleſtiū ordinū inuiſibileſqꝫ ſubſtantias materialibus & viſibilibus ſignis deſcripſerūt: vt noſtræ mētis infirmitati cōſulerent/ & accōmodatā illi viam per quā ad cœleſtiū eueheretur cognitionē prępararēt/ex cognatis ipſi & affinibus rebus: gradū ad ſuperiora & aſcenſionē ad cœleſtia cōſtruētes.

6 ¶ Obiectionē ponit deinceps eorū: quibus irrationabilis videri poſſet huiuſmodi ſenſibilis deſcriptio coeleſtiū ſpirituū. Nā ſimplex (inquiūt) & intellectualis angelicarum virtutū ſubſtātia: nobis prorſus eſt incognita. quomodo igitur per rerū materialiū cōpoſitiones/figurationeſqꝫ cognoſcetur ab hominibus? Ad hęc/imagines illæ & figurę quibus ſacræ litteræ beatiſſimos ſpiritus exprimūt: abſonæ (dicet fortaſſe quiſpiam) & abſurdę ſunt/prorſuſqꝫ indignæ quę tam ſublimibus rebus attribuantur. ideoqꝫ improbanda potius & reiiciēda cuiq̃ videbitur omnis illa ſenſibilis repręſentatio: tanq̃ theatralis quedā ac ſcęnica adumbratio/ſacris ſpiritibus adaptata. Qꝛ ſi quę incorporea ſunt/corporeis fuerāt et ſenſibilibus formis exprimēda: debuiſſent potius diuinarum rerum ſpeculatores illa corporalibus quidē rebus/ſed digniſſimis & perfectiſſimis exprimere. vt cœlo/ſole/luce/& ſimilibus: quę in alto cœli faſtigio locū ſibi vendicant/ & a terrę craſſitie longius diſtant. neqꝫ terrenę/ abiectęqꝫ & viles formę: erant angelis ipſis accōmodādę. Sic enim mens humana cōmodius ad cœleſtia capienda erigeretur: ꝙ cōuenientius nacta eſſet pręſidium/ob maiorē naturę cōformitatem & cognationem inter angelos & digniſſima huius mūdi corpora. neqꝫ cœleſtes ſubſtantię tunc ad humiles & infimas abijcerētur formas materiales: quibus omnino ſunt diſſimiles. At cū per abiectiſſima figmenta & ſigna deſcribūtur ſublimes illi & mundo celſiores ſpiritus: vidētur ipſi profecto iniuria affici/ ꝙ cōtra ſuā dignitatem tam ſordido & vili circūdantur amictu. Illud inſuper infirmā mentem humanā deuoluere poſſet in deuia erroris/& inducere in eā opinionē: ꝙ huiuſmodi terrenę & humiles formę ſecundum veritatē & ſubſtātiā adeſſent angelis. Forſan erit & aliquis: occaſione huiuſmodi figurationū viliſſimarū exiſtimans in cœlo leones eſſe & equos/ auiū multitudinē & aliorum animaliū/aliaſve res materiales: quibus per diſſimiles quaſdā ſimilitudines in ſacro eloquio ſignificātur cœleſtes ſpiritus/ſed abſurde/incōcinne & paſſibiliter. vt sen-
7 tirent ij: qui hęc ſupradicta obijcerēt. ¶ Prędictā diluit obiectionem/dicens imprimis

ſacrā ſcripturā ſapiētiſſime id obſeruaſſe: ꝙ infimis rebus angelicorū ſpirituū expreſſerit
proprietates/ & duobus incōmodis prouide occurriſſe. Primum. ne ipſis angelis
vlla fieret iīuria: ex eo ꝙ quis crederet formas ſenſibiles illis adeſſe. minus enim īmo
nullo modo ad id credendum quis inducetur: cū perſpicit viliſſimas illis formas aſcribi.
Secundū. ne noſipſi inhęreamꝰ & īmoremur affixi huiuſmodi formis/ putātes eas
ſecundū veritatē adeſſe cœleſtibus ſpiritibus: ſed animū ex illis ad altiora attollamus.
Non enim ſolū ob ſupradictā cauſam adhibētur angelicis ſubſtātiis figurę materiales
& ſenſibiles: vt illarū ſcilicet adminiculo mens humana(quę ībecilla admodum eſt/ &
ſupercœleſtia in ſuę naturę ſimplicitate cōpręhendere nequit. vt neqꝫ dei verbū percipere
potuiſſet/ niſi carne veſtitū: neqꝫ apparētes hominibus ſpiritus angelicos/ niſi
corporali forma vt humana aut ignea circūamictos) conſcēdat ad ſublimia & ſpiritualia
intelligēda. verum etiā ob alterā cauſam/ id rationabiliter & decenter a ſcriptura
factū eſt. vt videlicet ſecreta ſupercœleſtiū myſteriorū intelligentia & veritas occultetur
& abſcōdatur huiuſmodi corporalibꝰ tegumētis: ab iis qui indigni ſūt & minus
idonei eam capere. vtqꝫ imperita vulgi multitudo arceatur & excludatur ne illā percipiat:
ꝙ neqꝫ apta eſt neqꝫ diſpoſita ad cœleſtiū ſpirituū ſimplicitatē ſpiritualem contuendā.
Non enī omnes: ad ſacra perſpiciēda & diuinarū ſcientiā rerum ſunt accōmodati/
neqꝫ admittēdi. quādoquidē neqꝫ in corporalibus rebus ſacris/ vt gēmis precioſioribus/
auro argentoqꝫ circūdatis/ aut reliquiis ſanctorū id fit: vt paſſim omniū pateant
contactui aut aſpectui. ſed ſecretioribus recōduntur locis/ aut vitro perſpicuo
circūductę aſſeruantur: ne omniū manibus contrectentur. Qꝛ ſiquis ſuperius adducta
obiiciens/ accuſet & vituperet formas illas corporales ex infimis rebus petitas: tanq̄
ineptas & indignas quę cœleſtibus applicētur ſpiritibus/ ſeqꝫ dicat abhorrere prorſus
ab huiuſmodi figuris/ tā ſublimibus ſubſtātiis imponēdis: is demū agnoſcat/ duplicē
eſſe in ſacra ſcriptura ſignificādi quæ ſpiritualia ſunt & intellectualia/ modū. Vnus eſt
per ſimiles imagines & cōformes ſimilitudines. quādo ſcilicet inter id quod ſignificatur
& id per quod ſignificatur/ magna eſt naturæ & proprietatū cognatio: neqꝫ hoc
ab illius veritate diſcedit. vt cū per lumen/ vitā/ rationem/ mentem aut ſpiritū: de angelicis
ſubſtātiis ſublimiter habetur ſermo. Alter ſignificādi modus eſt per diſſimiles
formas/ & difformes ſimilitudines. quando ſignū longo diſtat naturæ/ perfectioniſqꝫ
interuallo ab eo cuius adhibetur ſignū: īmo plurimā cum eo habet diſſimilitudinē. vt
cū cœleſtes ſpiritus per rotas/ currus/ & equos igneos/ armatoſve milites repręſentātur.
vbi ſigna ipſa/ diuerſa prorſus & alia q̄ ſint ſecundū ſubſtantiā: inſinuāt. nam infima
ſummorum/ & corporalia ſpiritualiū ſunt indicia. ¶Declarat autem quod modo 8
dictū eſt beatus pater/ in expreſſione diuinitatis ipſius filii dei a ſcripturis facta: oſtendens
huiuſmodi explicationē interdū fieri per ſigna ſimilia/ primūqꝫ ſignificādi modum.
quēadmodū cum ſecūda ſummæ deitatis perſona dicitur in ſcripturis verbū: ad
deſignādam eius elocutionem & explanationē/ qua patrem cuius eſt verbum manifeſtat.
cum etiam nūcupatur intellectus: ad ſignificandā eius immenſam ſapiētiam.
deniqꝫ cū noīatur eſſentia/ vita & lux: quia omniū eſt ſubſtātia/ ſubſiſtendi cauſa/ omnium
etiā viuētium vita/ & lucidorū lux. Sane iſta quinqꝫ nunc adducta: honeſta quidem
ſunt deumqꝫ decētia ſigna/ a terrenis formis ſemota/ et propemodū ei propīqua
atqꝫ ſimilia. Nequaq̄ tamen ad omnimodā illius ſimilitudinem accedunt: quādoquidē
ipſe ſuper omnē ſermonē/ mētem/ ſubſtantiā/ vitā & lucem eminētiſſime collocatꝰ eſt.
¶Aliquando vero diuina ipſa beatitudo in ſcriptura diſſimilibus exprimitur ſignis & 9
ſecūdo ſignificationis modo: ſcilicet per diſſimiles ſimilitudines. quādo negatiuis appellationibus
& aliquā rerum corporaliū proprietatem de deo negātibus inſinuatur:
quibus nō quid ſit ſed quid nō ſit/ ſignificatur. vt cum noīatur incōpręhēſibilis/ iuiſibilis/
immortalis/ immēſus/ incircūſcriptus. Et hoc ſecundum enunciādi genus/ verius
de deo dicitur q̄ primum: quod eſt per affirmationes & predicatiuas nūcupationes.
Nam huiuſmodi affirmationes non adequate neqꝫ omnino exprimunt quid deus ſit:
ſed longe citra deficiunt/ minuſqꝫ voces ipſę dicunt q̄ res ipſa ſit. Quomodo enim dei
aſſequeris integre aut exprimis ſubſtantiā/ cum lucem eum vocas aut vitā: qui omni
luce ſuperior eſt & omni vita eminentior? Negationes vero id vere auferunt a deo:
quod ab eo eſt alienū/ re enī vera inuiſibilis eſt & indefinitus/ nulliſqꝫ finitus metis aut
limitibus: q̄uis modū ipſum quo incōpręhenſibilis eſt aut immēſus/ attingere nequaq̄

10 aut capere possimus. ¶Quoniã igitur in locutionibus quæ de deo fiunt/negatiões cõpletius & plenius enunciant quicq̃ de eo: affirmationes vero nequaq̃ sufficientes sunt ad ipsum diuinũ secretum & sublimitatem dei exprimendã. ꝙ semper inferiores sint & contractiores q̃ res enunciãda:& ab ea deficientes. perspicuum est in ipsa diuinitate exprimenda potiores esse negationes quæ fiunt per dissimilia signa: q̃ affirmationes/quæ per similia. Quare etiã consimiliter in cœlestium spirituum explicatione: potior erit secundus significãdi modus q̃ primus. Prosequitur deinceps datam superioris obiectionis dissolutionem sacer Dionysius: particulatim & peculiariter ad duo quæ colligi in illa videbãtur incõuenientia respõdens. Primo siquidẽ loco id asserebatur: ꝙ per huiusmodi humilium formarum ad cœlestes spiritus applicationem/videretur iniuria ipsis beatissimis angelis fieri. Idipsum hic refutat/ostẽditq; nõ per talem descriptionem dedecus aut contumeliã illis irrogari: sed potius honorem afferri egregiumq; decus/ quãdo per talia signa dissimilia exprimitur ipsorum angelorum super omnia visibilia & corporalia eminens excellentia. Secũdo vero loco adducebat obiectio pręcedens/id incõmodum: ꝙ illę similitudines rerum infimarum abiectæ & viles pertrahere facile possent animũ nostrum in errorem/affigereq; fœdis illis imaginibus. Et id quoq; hic constanter inficiatur Dionysius/ ostenditq; luculenter imagines illas extremas & humiles: efficacius animũ nostrum iuuare ad veritatem capessendã/ atq; ab errore liberius vindicare. Nã si cœlestes spiritus exprimantur solum per signa illa corporalia: quæ apud nos digniora sunt/perfectiora & excellentiora/ vt aurum/ candorem vestium/humanã effigiem aut ignem innocuum: protinus ob propinquitatem & affinitatẽ illorum cum angelicis substãtijs/putari possent illa secũdum veritatem & substantiã angelis adesse/& horum constituere naturã: quod vtiq; falsissimũ est. Ne igitur eo imbuerẽtur aut abducerentur errore: qui nichil vltra sensum & speciem corporum perspicere queunt(cuiusmodi sunt prophana vulgi multitudo:& turba imperitorum)qui sacrã nobis scripturã tradiderunt/ vt necessaria nobis(quibus ad diuina subueheremur)adiumẽta relinquerẽt: cõgruenter admodũ & apte dissimiles rerum sensibilium similitudines cœlestibus substãtijs accõmodarunt. ne sinerent animũ nostrum illis abiectis immorari signis: & existimare illa secundũ rem ipsam angelis adesse. sed erigerent eum per huiusmodi formarũ inhonestatem & fœditatem: ad spiritualem intelligentiã in illis quęritandã & vestigandam/ attollerentq; humo mentem nostrã: ad sublimiora ex illis formis indaganda ac perquirẽda. quãdoquidẽ nec ij qui crasso sunt & pingui ingenio: putare vnq̃ debeant aut possint/immortales angelorum substãtias illis fœdis abiectisq; signis esse persimiles: ob nimiam naturæ ipsorum abinuicem dissimilitudinem. Insuper & illud constanti ratione pensitandum est: ꝙ nichil est in rebus cõditis /omnino boni participatione destitutum. Quoniã enim omniũ cõditor/bonus est:& omnia ab eo condita itidẽ bona sunt cũctisq; suæ bonitatis (cuiq; pro suo captu) impressit signacula atq; vestigia. Quocirca ex infimis quoq; rebus & apud nos postremis elici possunt & trahi dissimiles similitudines: quibus ad supremarũ substantiarum intelligentiam euehamur/ per aptã quandã effictionem. qua eędem proprietates aliter sensibilibus/ aliter vero immo opposito modo intellectualibus assunt substantijs.

Gene. 1.

11 ¶Porro id postremo loco adductũ: quinq; exemplis & rerum sensibiliũ proprietatibꝰ ostendit beatus pater. Primo in ira. quæ in brutis animalibus irrationalis est affectus: cõmotionem & efferuentiã sanguinis circa cor inducens/& ratione carens. In cœlestibus vero spiritibus eadem designat virilem animi virtutem constãtissimũq; vigorem: supra affectum omnẽ longe eminentem/nulli motui obnoxium/rationi maxime coniunctum/& perpetuo tenore stabilem. Secũdo in cõcupiscẽtia. quę plane in animalibus designat appetentiam sine futuri prouidẽtia ad terrena procliuem: ex naturali inclinatione aut acquisita cõsuetudine ad illa quæ voluptate titillant sensus/sine vlla ratione se ferentem. Designat etiã concupiscentia/ nulla moderatione frenatũ appetitũ sensitiuũ/dominãtem in corpore: ex quo animal illi obsequẽs rapitur in id delectabile quod sensui obiectum est. Verum in angelicis spiritibus concupiscentia prorsus ex aduerso intelligi debet esse diuinus amor mundicię & puritatis ipsius dei: qui omnem rationẽ & mentẽ excedit. Debet item intelligi esse desideriũ continuũ & stabile ipsius diuinæ cõtemplationis: ab omni perturbatione seiũctissimæ. Deniq; & esse insatiabilis auiditas ipsius diuinæ societatis: per quã quidem auiditatem indeficientem/cœlestes

ſpiritus ad immẽſæ lucis claritatem & ſumme boni pulchritudinem iugiter aſpirant.
Tertio idẽ declarat beatus pater in incõtinẽtia. quæ in nobis quidẽ animi ſignificat ꝑturbationẽ:
abiecta recta ratione/ ad turpia & ea quæ ſuadet cõcupiſcẽtia pertrahentem/
& haud dubie vicio danda eſt. In cœleſtibus vero ſpiritibus penitus contrario
modo incõtinentia ſignificat immobilem in bono conſtantiã/ perpetuãq; perſeuerantiã:
quã nichil ad malũ inflectere aut a recto abducere poſſit/ ob ſyncęriſſimũ diuinæ
pulchritudinis amorem/ ad quem rectiſſime ſemper anhelant. Quarto idem oſtẽdit in
irrationabili: quod in brutis animalibus priuationẽ & carentiã rationis indicat. In cœleſtibus
vero ſpiritibus irrationabile per ſuperexcellentiã dicitur: & ſignificat eximiã
illorum eminentiã vltra rationem omnem humanã/ mentẽq; & ſermonem. Poſtremo
demõſtrat propoſitũ in inſenſibili: quod in inanimatis & ſenſu deſtitutis corporibus
priuationẽ defectũq; ſenſus ſignificat. In angelicis vero ſubſtãtijs excellentiã quãdã
ſingularem: per quam illæ ſenſui omni corporeo atq; terreno (qui ab ipſis omnino eſt
alienus: etſi ſpirituales ſenſus/ viſus inquam auditus & cęteri modo ſpirituali & ſupramũdano
eis decẽtiſſime conueniãt) longe pręſtãt. Ex prædictis recte colligit Dionyſius/
ꝙ fas eſt atq; rationabile: ipſis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus/ etiã ex ſingulis materiæ
corporalis partibus/ proprietatibus & affectiõibus/ formas ſenſibiles adhibere. Nam
& ipſa materia/ a ſummo bono & omniũ conditore deo conſecuta ſuam exiſtentiam
(omnia enĩ per ipſum facta ſunt: & clarum eſt omniũ nomine etiã materiã contineri)
Ioan.1. etiã bona eſt: contra illorũ ſentẽtiam/ qui eam malũ quiddam & ad maleficiũ eſſe poſuerunt.
Eadem quoq; per omnes ſui partes/ diſtinctiones & varietates/ per õnes itẽ
quãtumuis diuerſas aut humiles proprietates: præ ſe fert imagines quaſdã & notas
ſpiritualis pulchritudinis intellectualiſq; ſpeciei/ per quas ad pręcipuas & prĩcipales
cœleſtium ſpirituũ formas & proprietates poſſimus aſcendere. ſi modo ſimilitudines
corporalium rerum & ſpiritualiũ: non ſimili ratione conſiderationeq; acceperimus/ &
eaſdẽ quidem proprietates vt lumen/ ardorem/ motũ/ quietem: non eodem modo in
his & illis collocauerimus. ſed in corporalibus illa corporaliter/ & quẽadmodum ipſis
competit: in ſpiritualibus autẽ intellectualiter/ & ſecundũ ipſorum conditionẽ intellexerimus.
❡At vero ꝙ non incõgrue vel irrationabiliter ſacrarũ litterarum ſcriptores 12
vſi ſint figmentis & ſignis corporalibus/ cũ de incorporeis cœleſtium ſubſtãtiarũ naturis
loquerẽtur: hoc loco ex eo comprobat ſacratus pater. quia cũ etiam de ſuprema
ipſa diuinitate verba facerent: formis viſibilibus & figuris carnalibus eã expreſſerunt/
et quidem rectiſſime. quare argumento a minori ſumpto: idem cõgruentiſſime fecerunt
cum de angelis loquerentur. Eſt enim diuina ſubſtãtia: in infinitũ & improportionaliter
remotior a formis terrenis/ q̃ angelicorum ſpirituũ: qui & cõditi ſunt/ & certo
limite clauſi. ❡Q; autẽ de ſumma diuinitate differentes prophetæ & ſacrarũ litterarum 13
interpretes/ eam figmentis materialibus deſcripſerint: planius hic oſtẽditur. Nã
interdum ipſam ex ſummis & digniſſimis rebus corporalibus inſinuarunt: vt cũ ſolem
iuſtitiæ/ ſtellam aut lucem aperte ſpirituales mentis oculos illuſtrantem/ eam nuncupant.
Nõnunq̃ eandem ex medijs rebus viſibilibus/ & quæ quantũ ad ſuæ naturæ cõditionem
atq; dignitatẽ medio ſe habent modo/ deſignant: nuncupãtes illam/ ignem
Ioan.4. innocuum & innoxia flãma ardẽtem/ aut aquam viuã/ fontẽq; aquæ viuæ ſalientem
Ioan.7. in vitam ęternam/ atq; de intimo credentiũ ventre fluentem. Aliquando vero ex infimis
poſtremiſq; rebus corporalibus: ipſam ſupremã deitatem prędicãt. vt cum ipſam
vnguẽtum ſuaue olens vocãt/ aut lapidem. Quinimo & ferarum quãdoq; ipſi deitati
formas attribuunt & aſciſcũt: vt leonis/ pantheræ/ pardi & vrſæ. Et quod omniũ videtur
indecentiſſimũ: ipſi diuinorum myſteriorũ traditores perhibent deum ipſum/ &
vermis ſpeciem ſibi ipſi aſcripſiſſe. Vt intentiſſimo ſtudio vnanimiq; ſentẽtia viſi ſint
omnes/ explanandæ inſpirationis diuinæ vſi officio/ ad id elaboraſſe: vt cœleſtiũ myſteriorum
ſacramẽta ſignis corporalibus obuelarent/ illa a prophanis & imperitis occultarent/
& diſſimilem rerũ ſacrarum repręſentationem traderent: vbi aliud eſt quod
dicitur/ aliud quod intelligitur. Et id quidẽ ſtudioſe fecerũt ſancti patres. tum vt diuina/
vulgaribus & a ſacrorũ participatione ſecluſis nõ eſſent peruia: aut perceptibilia.
tum ne ſtudioſi ĩdagatores ſymbolorũ atq; ſignorũ: figuris ipſis tanq̃ veritati inhęreant.
ſed vel ex ipſa conditionũ diſſimilitudine incitentur ad aciem mentis altius attollendã:
et veritatẽ ex ſignis indagandã. tum deniq; vt diuina ſacramẽta negationibus

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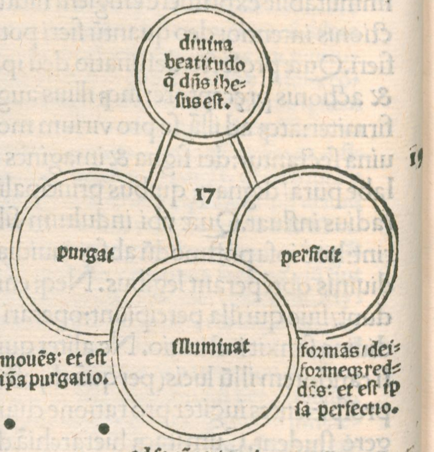
1773/D

etiam/quæ veriores affirmationibus esse dictę sunt: celebrentur & prædicētur. cum diuinitas
ipsa/postremis etiā & vltimis creaturæ suæ speciebus (a quibus tamen naturæ
interuallo ac ratione est abiunctissima) similis esse dicitur. Non enim solum negatiões
esse putandæ sunt/cum de deo quippiā negatiuū enunciamus: dicentes eum infinitū/
immensum/& intēporalem. sed cum etiā illud de eo affirmamus: quod vel omniū iudicio
secundū rem illi conuenire nequeat. quēadmodum quando dicimus ipsum au
vermē esse aut vrsam: aut aliam quāuis ex vilibus & abiectis formis illi attribuimus.
quod ex hoc loco facile depręhendas. Recte igitur faciūt: qui propter causas supradictas
cœlestibus spiritibus formas etiam viles & abiectas ascribūt. Nam multi sanctorū
patrum diuinæ sapientiæ studiosi/ nequaq̄ fuissent forsan impulsi ad indagādum sacratiorem
intelligentiā sub formis illis humilibus abstrusam: nisi eos ipsa figurarum
fœditas & abiectio prouocasset ad id studiū. quæ non permisit sacram illorum mētem
illis immorari imaginibus: cum nō visum fuerit credibile/illas in angelis debere reperiri.
sed ea occasione excitauit eorum mentē ad exuendas omnes rerum corporalium
proprietates/sub pedibusq; relinquendas: & assuefecit ipsorū animū/ per huiusmodi
14 abstractionem ad superna & sublimia prouehi. ❡Postremū in huius capitis (quod cū
pręcedēte: ipsius prohęmij & p̄fationis locū tenere videtur) calce/ quid primū sit determinaturus/
explicat beatus pater. diffiniendū imprimis esse dicens: quid sit hierarchia/
& quid ipsa ijs qui se illi addixere cōferat. quod in proxime sequēte capite exequetur.
Cum magna deinde pietate & veneratione inuocat CHRISTVM/ verum
summi patris verbū: vt sui verbi & eorum quæ differere constituit sit dux/director/&
amministrator. Postremū/sanctum Timotheū (ad quem pręsens mittit opus) admonet:
vt hæc scripta cū debita pietate & religione suscipiat/ illorūqꝫ lectione proficiat/
atqꝫ eadē a prophanis arceat. quæ omnia: in littera satis clara sunt/& ad oculū patēt.

❡Quid sit hierarchia: & quænam eius vtilitas. Cap. III.

15 Est itaqꝫ hierarchia (vt michi quidē videtur) ordo sacratior
& scientia & operatio/ quę ad dei similitudinē pro viribus
16 nititur: ac pro modo suo ad illius imitationem ex indulta
sibi diuinitus intelligentiæ luce subuehitur. ❡Porro pulchritudo
diuina vt simplex/vt bona/vt ꝑfectionis author/
pura quidem est: nullamqꝫ prorsus admixtionē dissimilitudinis
suscipit. verum singulos pro meritis/ lucis suæ participes facit: &
sacrosancto mysterio perficit/quātum quisqꝫ initiatus/ cōgrue illius in se
immutabilē exprimere effigiem nititur. Est ergo sacratissimæ huius functionis
intentio: deo quantū fieri potest similem euadere/ vnūqꝫ cum illo
fieri. Quæ profecto destinatio deū ipsum habet totius sacratioris scientię A
& actionis pręceptorē: inqꝫ illius augustissimā speciem intēta semper ac
firmiter: atqꝫ ad illā/se pro virium modo cōponens. eos etiā qui secum diuina
sectantur: dei signa & imagines efficit/ac perlucida specula & omni
labe pura/ dignaqꝫ quibus principalis illius ac diuinæ lucis suauissimus
radius influat. Quæ vbi indultum sibi sacratissimū iubar affatim hauserint:
hoc ipsa postmodū absqꝫ inuidia sequētibus fundūt/atqꝫ in hoc ipso
diuinis obtēperant legibus. Neqꝫ enim fas est ijs qui sacra mysteria tradunt/
siue qui illa percipiunt: operari prorsus aliquid/nisi quod officij sui
diuina sanxit institutio. Ne aliter quidē esse q̄ sunt/ cōfuso licebit ordine:
si candorem illū lucis (per quā dij efficiūtur) in se suscipere cupiūt: in quā
prospicientes iugiter pro ratione cuiusqꝫ sanctorū spirituū/ se ad eā effingere
student. Cum itaqꝫ hierarchiā dicimus: sacram penitus quādam distictionē
indicamus/quæ sit imago diuinæ pulchritudinis. fulgorisqꝫ sui

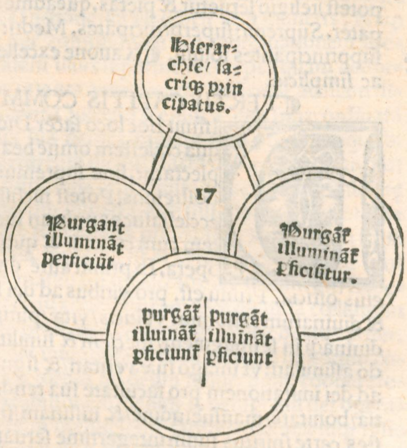
& intelligentiæ arcana myſteria ordinibus ac diſciplinis ſacratioribus
peragit: principijq; ſui ſimilitudinem (vt fas eſt) in ſe conatur exprimere.
¶ Ea enim demum cuilibet diuinæ illi diſtinctioni dedito/ perfectio eſt: 17
pro modo ſuo ad dei imitationem totis conatibus eniti/ quodq; pręſtantius
B omnibus ac diuinius eſt (vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia) dei cooperatorē
fieri: diuinamq; in ſe operationem/ quantum poteſt/ palam cunctis oſtendere.
Puta quoniā ſacræ illius functionis ordo eſt: vt alij purgentur/ alij
purgent. & alij myſterijs imbuātur atq; illuminentur doctrina ſalutari:
alij id opus exequantur. ad perfectum alij ducantur: perficiant alij. vnicuiq;
diuina imitatio hoc modo conueniet. Diuina illa beatitudo (vt humano
loquamur affectu) nullius diſſimilitudinis admixtione violatur:
plenaq; eſt ſempiterni luminis/ perfecta/ nullius perfectionis egēs/ totius
perfectionis induſtrix/ purgans/ & illuminās/ atq; perficiens. immo vero
ſacra ipſa purgatio exiſtens/ & illuminatio atq; perfectio: ſupra purgationem
omnē/ ſupra lucem/ ante perfectionem inextimabili modo locata/
ipſa perfectionis author ac totius quidem ſacræ functionis cauſa: cęterū
C a ſacris omnibus ratione excellentię ſingularis/ excepta. ¶ Oportet igitur 18
(vt arbitror) eos quidem qui purgantur: omni prorſus labe puros effici/
ac diſſimili omni cōmixtione liberari. Qui vero illuminantur: eos diuina
luce repleri/ atq; caſtiſſimis mentis obtutibus ad cōtēplationis habitum/
virtutemq; conſcendere. Porro qui perficiuntur: eos (cum gradatim ad
ſuperiora ferantur) participes fieri perficientis illius ſcientiæ ſacrorum/ ad
quæ contuenda prius illuminati erant. At vero quibus purgandi cęteros
officium eſt: ingenti mundiciæ copia tradere alijs ſuæ ſanctimoniæ conſortium
decet. Qui vero illuminandi cōſecuti ſunt munus: eos vtpote lucidiores
ſpiritus/ ad percipiendam atq; tradendam alijs participationem
ac ſocietatem lucis idoneos/ ſacriq; illius fulgoris gratia opulētiſſime plenos:
exundantem omni ex parte lucem in eos qui merentur/ effundere.


diuina beatitudo q̄ dñs iheſus eſt.
17
purgat
perficit
illuminat
mouēs: et eſt ĩpa purgatio.
formās/ deiformeq; redēs: et eſt ipſa perfectio.
ad ſe cōuertens/ ſurſumq; agens: et eſt illuminatio.

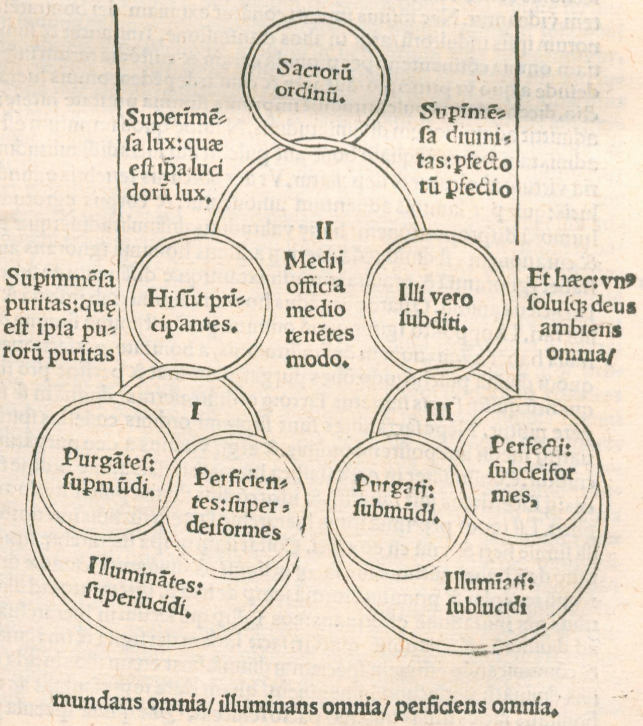
Qui autē perficiendi fungunt̄ vice:
eos vt perficientis diſciplinæ peritiſſimos/ ſacratiſſima inſtitutione ſcientię
ſanctarū (quas cōtēplati ſunt) rerū/ ad ſe accedētes huius rei cauſa
ꝑficere. ¶ Quilibet itaq; ſupernę di- 19
ſtinctionis ordo ꝓ modo ac ratione
ſua: vt deo cooperet̄ enititur. ea per
gratiā indultæ ſibi a deo virtutis efficiēs:
quę ĩpi diuinitati/ excellēti quodā
modo naturaliter inſunt/ & quæ
ab ea ſuꝑſubſtātialiter fiunt: quæq;
ſe ad imitationē cœleſtiū angelorū
ſublimiter pandunt.

A SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Quæ
profecto deſtinatio deū ipſum habet. deſtinatio:
B intētio/ imitatio/ ſacraq; fūctio. ¶ Vt

ſacra teſtantur eloquia. Ioānes epiſtola ad Gaiū. Nos ergo debemus ſuſcipere huiuſmodi:
vt cooperatores ſimus veritati. Mattheus cap. quīto. Sic luceat lux veſtra coram
hoībus: vt videāt opera veſtra bona/ & glorificent patrē veſtrū qui in cœlis eſt.
17 ¶Et vnaquæq; hierarchiarum/ hoc eſt ſacrorū principatuū/ cœleſtiumq; ordinū: diuinam
beatitudinē/ purgantem/ illuminantem
& perficiētem imitatur. ſuntq;
in ea qui purgant/ illumināt & perficiunt.
ſunt qui viciſſim purgantur & purgant/
illuminantur & illumināt/ perficiuntur
& perficiunt. ſunt qui eo in ordine
ſolū purgantur/ illuminantur & perficiuntur.
Sol dum aerem/ tenebras pellendo
mouet: purgat. dum animalium
oculos ad ſe rapit ac conuertit: illuminat.
dum vero ad ſe cōuerſos ſua lāpade
implet: format/ atq; perficit. Igitur ſacrorū
prīcipatuū quidā ſupremi/ quidā
poſtremi/ & quidā medij. Supremi quidem:
purgant/ illuminant/ & perficiunt.
poſtremi purgātur/ illuminātur/ & perficiuntur.
medij vero viciſſim purgantur
18 & purgant/ illuminantur & illuminant/
perficiunt̄ cōſummāturq; & cōſummāt.


Hierarchie/ ſacriq; principatus.
17
Purgant illumināt perficiūt
Purgāt illumināt ꝑficiūtur.
purgāt illuināt ꝑficiunt̄
purgāt illuināt ꝑficiunt

¶Et hinc hierarchicorū ordinum aliam ſubinferunt partitionē: quoſdā eſſe principātes/
quoſdā ſubditos/ & quoſdā mixtos/ viciſſim principantiū & ſubditorū officia: pro
dignitate/ ſyncęra
inuiolataq; ſeruātes. Et hos oēs
ordines: vna eademq;
diuinitas/
ſuꝑeminēter pura/
ſuperlucens/
omnēq; perfectionem
ſuperans:
ambit/ mundat/
illuſtrat/ perficit.
vt adiecta monſtrat
formula.
¶ Veruntamen
quia in cœleſtib⁹
ōnibus/ cū ſūmis
tū medijs ac infimis:
19 hierarchiæ
hoc eſt ſacri principat⁹
nomē coaptat
ſacrat⁹ pater/
& ſūmiſſionis
ſubiectioniſq; nomē
in illis ſupramūdanis
cap. ſeptīo
refutat: ideo
qui principantes
in ſubiecta figura
appellātur/ ſuꝑprincipantes ap-


Sacrorū ordinū.
Superimēſa lux: quæ eſt ipa lucidorū lux.
Supimēſa diuinitas: ꝑfectorū ꝑfectio
II
Medij officia medio tenētes modo.
Hi ſūt principantes.
Illi vero ſubditi.
Supimmēſa puritas: quę eſt ipſa purorū puritas
Et hæc: vn⁹ ſoluſq; deus ambiens omnia/
I
III
Purgātes: ſuꝑmūdi.
Perficientes: ſuperdeiformes
Illumināntes: ſuperlucidi.
Purgati: ſubmūdi.
Perfecti: ſubdeiformes,
Illumīati: ſublucidi
mundans omnia/ illuminans omnia/ perficiens omnia.

pellari poterūt.& qui ſubditi: ſupprincipātes. Quare iure euenit vt iterum coincidēte
cū ſuperiori / partitione: cœleſtes ordines diſtribui poſſint in ſuperprincipātes / in ſupprincipātes
ſolum / in principantes & ſupprincipantes. reſpectu quidem ſolum habito:
ad ipſos cœleſtes ordines. Et id adiectum eſt: vt de diuinis loquendo(quoad fieri
poteſt) religio ſeruetur & pietas. quēadmodum nobis pie iter mōſtrauit ſacratiſſimus
pater. Supremi: ſuperprincipātes. Medij: principantes / & ſupprincipātes. Poſtremi:
C ſupprincipantes ſolum. ¶Ratione excellentiæ ſingularis excepta. ſingularis: vnicæ
ac ſimplicis.

¶TERTII CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 15

Diffinit hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius hierarchiam in ſua generali ratiōe:
qua cœleſtem omnē beatorū ſpirituum principatum ambiat ac cōplectatur.
ſiue ſupremus ſit ille ſacer principatus: ſiue medius / ſiue
poſtremus. Poteſt nichilominus ſecundo loco eadem diffinitio etiā
eccleſiaſticę applicari hierarchię: ob ipſius cōformitatem & affinitatem
cum cœleſti / & quoniā eadem ſunt vtriuſq; munia cōſimiliaq;
opera. Exprimit autē data in littera hierarchiæ ratio: duo præcipua
eius officia. Primū eſt. pro viribus ad dei ſimilitudinem niti: per virtutū / operationū
& diuinarum rationum vt lucis / vitæ / puritatis / bonitatis / perfectioniſq; conformitatē.
diuināq; in ſe imaginem / ſpeciem & ſimilitudinē exprimere / & illi pro ſuę rationis modo
aſſimilari: vt imago ſuæ veritati / & ſignum ſuo exemplari reſpondet. Secundū eſt:
ad dei imitationem pro facultate ſua tendere & niti: illiuſq; benignitatem / prouidentiā
/ bonitatē / manſuetudinē / & iuſtitiam / in ſuis operibus imitari. Quorū vtrūq; cœleſtes
certe ſpiritus ſuum integerrime ſeruātes principatum: indefeſſo ſtudio / aſſiduoq;
enixu exequūtur. Nempe ſtudent pro viribus diuinam in ſe ſimilitudinē exprimere /
& illi quātum fas eſt ſimiles euadere: in candore puritatis / luminis effulgentia / & perfectionis
conſūmatione / vt omnino deiformes ſint / & in deum tranſire ob cōformitatem
videantur. Nec minus imitari conātur eximiam dei bonitatē: cōmunicatione bonorum
ipſis indultorū / atq; in alios tranſfuſione. Imitantur & ſummā eius prouidentiam
omnia cōtinentem: per prouidā curam & cuſtodiā rerum inferiorum. ¶Oſtendit 16
deinde a quo vt principio / authore & cauſa: depēdeat omnis hierarchiæ ordo & functio.
dicens diuinā pulchritudinē imprimis ſumma puritate nitere: quæ nullā prorſus
admittit admixtionem diſſimilitudinis. Nempe quod impurum eſt & purgari indiget:
admixtam habet aliquam boni aut pulchri aut lucis diſſimilitudinem / quæ purgatoria
virtute aboleatur & depellatur. Vt aer obſcurus tenebris offunditur diſſimilitudine
lucis: quæ per luminis aduentum amoueatur. & corpus ęgrotum admixtam habet
humorū diſproportionem / bonę valitudinis diſſimilitudinē: quæ per conualeſcētiam
& curationem eſt dimouēda. Deniq; animus hominis ignorans aut vicijs corruptus /
habet ignorantiā & prauitatem admixtam: quæ diſſimilitudo ſunt ſcientiæ & virtutis
perficiētis animū. Quare purgādus hominis animus: ab inſcitia & labe peccati debet
liberari. Ex oppoſito igitur quod omnino purū eſt / immo ſumma & immenſa puritas:
nullā habet admixtionem diſſimilitudinis / a bonitate / perfectioneq; decidentis. Eadē
quoq; diuina pulchritudo ōnes purgat / illuminat & perficit pro ſuo captu & modulo
quantū quiſq; ſacris initiatus ſacroq; ordini inſertus / diuinā in ſe ſimilitudinem effingere
nititur. Nēpe ſacratiores ſunt ſupremi ordinis cœleſtes ſpiritus / & amplius initiati:
q̃ medij aut poſtremi ordinis. & ergo vberius a deo purgātur / illuminātur & ꝑficiuntur.
Conſimiliter in eccleſiaſtica hierarchia / ſacratiore ordine ſunt inſigniti pōtifices:
q̃ ſacerdotes aut miniſtri. & idcirco illos diuina pulchritudo auguſtius illumīat &
ꝑficit. Eſt igitur pręcipua ipius hierarchię ſacreq; fūctiōis intētio: & deū recte imitari /
illi ſimilē fieri & vnū cū eo effici. Cōſtat itaq; ꝙ ip̄a hierarchię functio & propria operatio
deū habet authorē ſuę ſacrę actionis / & diuinioris ſcientiæ magiſtrū. in quē tanq̃
ſcopū / exēplar & primitiuā formā ſemꝑ defixa & intēta / atq; ad illius ſpeciē ſe pro viribus
per imitationē efformans: eos inſuꝑ qui ſecum in hierarchiæ ſortē cōceſſere / &
ad diuinorū aſſimilationē tendūt: facit itidem dei ſigna & imagines / imprimēdo ipſis
& cōmunicando effigiem ſpeciemq; diuinā. facit etiam illos lucida ſpecula: infundēdo
illis diuinarū perfectionū imaginem / quam clare reprę ſentent ac referant / vt deificæ
bonitatis facies in illis quoquo pacto reluceat. Quæ quidē ſpecula poſtq̃ diuinæ lucis

radios in ſe ſuſceperint: illos deinde ſequentibus & inferioribus tranſfundunt / atq; in
illo dei obſequuntur ordinationi. quæ ſanxit poſterioribus illa communicari debere a
prioribus: quæ priora ante in ſe ſuſceperunt. vt lunam miniſtrare debere lumen ſublunaribus
corporibus: quod a ſole prius accepit. Neq; enim licet aut eos qui ſacrorum
myſteriorum tradunt alijs notionem / aut qui illam ab alijs accipiunt / aliquid
facere: niſi quod ex diuina inſtitutione & ſanctione / ſui eſt officij atq; muneris. Neq;
præſcriptum definitumq; a deo ordinem / per confuſionem aut inordinationem licebit
in hiſce miniſterijs immutare: ſi claritatem illius ſupernæ lucis (per quam deiformes
fiunt) in ſe haurire cupiunt. in quam intenta mentis acie defixi: ſe ad illam diuinam
15 lucem componere atq; formare ſtudent. Quæcunq; enim a deo ſunt: ordinata
ſunt. & vbi confuſio eſt ordinis proprij: lux illa deifica radiare non poteſt / neq; ſibi Roma. 13.
conformes animos reddere. Cum igitur hierarchia dicitur: ſacra deſignatur diſtinctio /
ordinatiſſimaq; functio / quæ diuinæ ſit pulchritudinis repræſentatio ac ſpecies: ſuſceptę
lucis intimæ & notionis arcanorum myſteriorum munera atq; miniſteria recto ordine
diſciplinaq; peragens / & dei (quod ſuum eſt & omnium principium) imaginem in ſe
17 efformare ſummopere nitens. ¶At vero quæ ſuprema ſit & abſoluta eorum qui hierarchiæ
cœleſti (de illa enim hic ſecundum materiam ſubiectam / vt dictum eſt / habetur
ſermo: q̃uis ſecundo loco eadem poſſent & ad eccleſiaſticam / per quandā cœleſtium
imitationē applicari) ſunt dediti atq; addicti / perfectio: cōſequēter aperit beatus pater.
eamq; potiſſimum eſſe dicit: pro viribus ad dei imitationem eniti / deiq; in bonorum cōmunicatione
propagationeq; in alios / & cæterorum ad deum ſubuectione cooperatorem
fieri / per huius miniſterij in reliquos exhibitionem. deniq; & benignam dei operationem
in ſe factam atq; ſuſceptam: alijs etiam manifeſtam facere / conſimilemq; ipſis
operationem impendere. Quicunq; enim hierarchiæ cœleſti aut eccleſiaſticæ ſunt aſcripti
atq; deſtinati: hæc duo potiſſimum habent opera. Primum. ꝙ a deo aut proxime
aut per medium ſuſcipiunt ſupremæ bonitatis munera / purgationem / illuminationem /
perfectionem: ſuperne in ipſos deriuata. Secundum. ꝙ eadem dona benignitate ſui authoris
accepta: cum ſumma beniuolentia & cōmunicabilitate tranſfundunt in reliquos /
purgationiſq; illuminationis & perfectionis gratiam ac beneficium alijs impartiuntur.
16 Eſt autem ſacra tam cœleſtis q̃ eccleſiaſtica diſtinctio / potiſſimum circa hæc tria aut ſuſcipienda
aut efficienda intenta: purgationem / illuminationem & perfectionē / quæ ſunt
potiſſima ipſius hierarchiæ officia. Nempe aliqui cœleſtes ſpiritus purgantur: alij purgant
alij illuminantur myſteriorum diuinorum ſcientia: alij id officium exequuntur &
illuminant. demum alij perficiuntur: & alij perficiunt. & vnicuiq; cœleſtium ſpirituum /
in his operibus / dei imitatio pro ſua ratione ordine & modo congruit: vt ſcholia huic
loco reſpondentia apertius declarant. Porro diuina beatitudo nullam habet ſibi admixtam
diſſimilitudinem boni: quare nullo modo purgatur. nullis item eſt offuſa tenebris:
quoniam vt ait Ioannes / deus lux eſt: & tenebræ in eo non ſunt vllæ. & idcirco
non illuminatur. Deniq; nullius eget perfectionis: vt quæ omnem rebus perfectionem 1. Ioan. 1.
elargiatur / & ergo non perficitur. ſed ſolummodo purgat / illuminat & perficit ea:
quæ harum diuinarum operationum ſunt capacia. Quinimmo ipſa diuina bonitas:
eſt ipſa purgatio / illuminatio / & perfectio. nam ſuaptæ natura hæc habet: atq; propria
ſubſtantia. non autem per participationem & ab alio: quemadmodum cœleſtes
ſpiritus. qui dicuntur quidem & recte / purgare / illuminare & perficere: nullus tamen
eorum aut purgatio dici poſſet / aut illuminatio / aut perfectio / quoniam hæc ſolum
participatione & gratia obtinent. Deniq; tertio loco ſumma ipſa diuinitas propter eximiam
ſuam excellentiam / qua omnibus ſingulariter & in immenſum ſupereminet: prędicatur
hic eſſe ſupra omnem purgationem / ſupra illuminationem omnem atq; ſupra
perfectionem collocata. ꝙ omnem antecedit & excedit purgationem / illuminationem
& perfectionem / omniū quidem horum cauſa prima & principiū: ſed ante hęc omnia / &
18 ab omnibus eminentiſſime excepta. ¶Deinceps ediſſerit latius & digerit: quomodo
diſpoſitos oporteat eſſe eos qui purgātur / illuminātur & perficiūtur: purgāt / illumināt /
& perficiunt. Illos quidē qui purgantur, oportet (inquit) ōni labe terreni affectus & ignorātiæ
puros effici / & omni diſſimilitudinis admixtione euacuari: quo cōmodius & expeditius
ad dei ſimilitudinem prouehantur. Eos vero qui illuminātur / oportet diuine lucis
irradiatione perfundi: atq; ſyncęra mentis acie ad dei contemplationem euehi. Demū

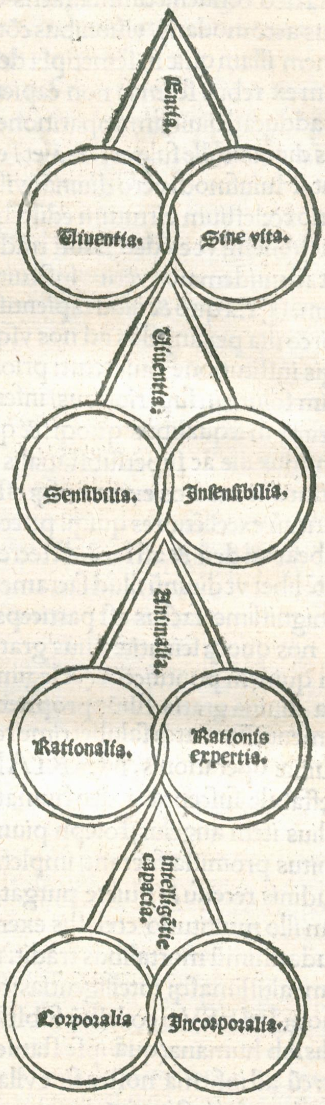
Cap.
3
4

eos qui perficiũtur/opus eſt participatione ſacrorum myſteriorum & ſancta illorum ſci-
entia imbui: ad quę cognoſcẽda prius erãt illuminati. vt hoc pacto per gradus quoſdã:
ad perfectionis apicem ferantur. Porro qui alios purgandi funguntur officio: debent
alijs ſuæ puritatis(qua vbertim affluere ipſos operęprecium eſt) tradere cõmunionem
& conſortium. Quomodo enim qui impurus eſt:alios ad puritatem adducere poterit?
Qui vero illuminandi alios gerunt officium:oportet eos affluentiore quidem lucis co-
pia præditos & ad elargiendã alijs participationem luminis aptos:profluentem vndiq;
ex ſe claritatis ſpiritualis gratiam / in eos qui idonei ſunt & digni trãſmittere. Deniq;
eos qui perficiendi cæteros exercent munus : opus eſt primum quidem perficientem
ſacrorum myſteriorum diſciplinam exacte callere/ alioqui alijs illam tradere non poſ-
ſent. deinde accedentes ad ſe ad hanc perfectionis gratiam obtinendam/ imbuere al-
tiſſima diuinarum (quas contemplati ſunt) rerum diſciplina : per quam illi ad ſummam
perfectionis ac apicem pertingant. ❡Demum colligit ſacratus pater ꝙ in hiſce tribus
hierarchiæ officijs / purgatione / illuminatione & perfectione : vnuſquiſq; ſupramun- 19
danæ diſtinctionis ordo pro ſuo captu & modo enititur / vt deo cooperator euadat.
illa quidem per gratiam virtutis a deo ſibi traditæ efficiens:quæ ipſi diuinitati ſuapte
natura & ex ſe conueniunt. illa itidem miniſterio quodam & more inſtrumenti alijs
elargiens: quæ ipſi deo præcipue & superſubſtantialiter aſſunt. atq; in ipſo fontaliter
primarieq; exiſtentia : explicant ſe ad exteriora modo quodam ſublimi / ad ipſorum
cœleſtium ſpirituum imitationem / atq; dignam aſſectationem. Enimuero ipſi diui-
nitati naturaliter inſunt: ſumma potentia/ſumma ſapientia/ & ſummus amor/ ſumma
veritas/ perfectio & virtus. Ab ipſa vero diuinitate fiunt: prouidentiſſima mundi gu-
bernatio/rerum conſeruatio/ & indeficiens ſuorum donorum elargitio. Et tam ea quæ
diuinitati naturaliter inſunt/q̃ ea quæ superſubſtantialiter ab ea fiunt/ ſe ad imitatio-
nem angelorum ſublimiter pandunt: quoniam deo inſunt per veritatem archetypam/
angelis vero per veſtigium ac imitationem. & tanq̃ exemplaria in deo exiſtentia:ipſis
cœleſtibus ſpiritibus inſinuantur ac panduntur / vt pro viribus illa imitentur / atq; ad
ipſorum nitantur imitationem ac ſimilitudinem: quo fiant deiformiores.

❡Quid ſignificet angelorum appellatio.

Cap. IIII.

QVoniam itaq; quid ſit hierarchia ipſa/cõuenienter a nobis
(vt reor) diffinitum eſt: ipſam iam angelorum functionem 20
ſuo ordine laudare neceſſario conuenit / ſacraſq; illius for-
mas (quas ſacræ litteræ fingunt) eleuatis mentis luminibus
cernere. vt per ſacratiora figmenta: ad excellentem illarum
prorſuſq; diuinam ſimplicitatem conſcendamus. atq; cum
debitæ venerationis honore/ gratiarumque actionibus congruis : totius
ſupremæ ſcientiæ laudemus initium. ❡ Primum omnium illud veriſſi-
ma ratione dixerimus:vt bonitate ſola/ ſumma illa diuinitas rerum eſſen- 21
tias ſtatuit atq; ad eſſe produxit. Eſt enim omnium cauſæ / excellen-
tiſq; bonitatis id proprium : vt ad conſortium ſui quæ ſunt inuitet & at-
trahat omnia / ſingula ſcilicet pro captu & modo rationis ſuæ. Igitur om-
nia quæq; ſubſiſtunt: prouidentiæ ratione reguntur/ ex ſumma illa om-
nium authore deitate manantis / illiq; participant. alioqui eſſent profe-
cto nulla : niſi ſubſtantiæ rerum / atq; principio communicarent. Itaq;
inanimata omnia: hoc ipſum quod ſunt/ inde ſuſcipiunt. quippe eſſe om-
nium eſt ipſa diuinitas: quæ modum totius eſſentiæ ſuperat. Porro quæ
viuunt omnia: ex hac ipſa quæ ſupra omnem vitam eſt/ cunctaq; viuificat:
vt viuant acceperunt. Rationalia item atq; intellectualia : eiuſdem ſupra
mentem omnem atq; intellectum perfectæ/& omnia ad perfectum ducen-



21

tis ſapiētiæ ſunt participatione fœlicia.
Liquet autem illas in conſpectu eius
verſari ſubſtātias: quæqꝫ multis modis
22 illi cōmunicant. ¶ Sanctæ itaqꝫ cœleſtium
ſpirituum diſtinctiones: eis &
quæ ſolum ſunt/ & quæ ſine rationis
vſu viuunt / & quæ humana vtuntur
ratione: diuinæ illius participationis
dignitate & copia / longe præcellunt.
Nam cum ſe ad imitandum deum ſpiritualiter/
intelligibiliterqꝫ componant/
atqꝫ diuinam ſimilitudinem vltra humanum
morem intuentes / ad eam / intellectualem
ſpeciem ſuam effingere
cupiant: merito vberiore illius participatione
beatæ ſunt. Aſtāt enim propius
illi coherētes/ ac ſemper in anteriora
(quātum fas eſt) eximia diuini & nunq̄
fatiſcentis amoris intētione cōtendunt:
diuinos illos fulgores abſqꝫ vlla materia
& admixtione / iugiter haurientes:
atqꝫ in illorū formæ naturam tranſeūtes/
vitamqꝫ omnem habentes ſpiritualem.
Hæ ſunt igitur quæ principali &
multiplici modo diuinæ ſocietatis honore
ſunt preditę: ſecretumqꝫ diuinum
præcipue/ multiſqꝫ enunciant modis.
23 ¶ Idcirco & præ omnibus angelicū cognomen
meruerunt: ꝙ cum in eas primo
diuinę claritatis fulgor emanet/ ipſę
poſtmodum in nos enunciationes illas
ſublimiores ſuperne traijciāt. Sic deniqꝫ
& lex (vt ſcriptura diuina teſtatur) per
angelos nobis indulta eſt/ inclytoſqꝫ illos D
patres noſtros qui ante legē/ quiqꝫ B
fuere poſt legem: angeli ad deum ſubuexere.
ſiue quid agendum eſſet admonentes
/ atqꝫ ab errore ſacrilego vitaqꝫ prophana ad rectum veritatis iter
traducētes: ſiue ſacra quęuis inſtituta/ ſeu cœleſtium ſacramentorū occultas
24 viſiones/ ſiue diuinas aliquas prædictiones docēdo pandētes. ¶ Enimuero
ſi quis fortaſſe dixerit/ ex deo ipſo abſqꝫ vllo medio / quibuſdam ſanctorū F
diuinas apparitiones contigiſſe: is illud quoqꝫ de ſacratiſſimis libris ſapienter
intelligat/ vt ſecretum ipſum dei/ quodcunqꝫ tandem illud eſt: nemo vnq̄ G
vidit / neqꝫ videbit. Cæterum diuinæ illæ apparitiones / ſanctis viris per

Cap.
4

H ſigna deo conueniẽtiſſima: ſacris quibuſdam atqꝫ intuentium modo ac viribus
accõmodatis / viſionibus cõtigere. At vero ſapiẽtiſſima theologia / viſionem
illam quæ in ſemetipſa deſcriptam oſtenderet diuinam veluti effictam
ex rebus formas non capientibus ſimilitudinem (ꝙ ad deum cernẽtes
I adducat) diuinam apparitionem rectiſſime appellat. per quam intuentibus
diuinius ille fulgor irradiet / eoſqꝫ ſacratius aliquid atqꝫ auguſtius doceat.
Huiuſmodi vero diuinas viſiones: celeberrimi illi patres noſtri miniſterio
K cœleſtium virtutum ediſcebant. An non ipſam quoqꝫ legis ſacram
ſanctionem: vt ex deo Moſi traditam / ſcripturæ ſanctæ traditio loquitur?
At id quidem nos verius inſtruit: diuinæ illam fuiſſe / ſacratioriſqꝫ legis effigiem.
L ¶ Ex quo & illud ſapientiſſime theologia videtur innuere: ꝙ ſcilicet
iccirco illa per angelos ad nos vſqꝫ manauerit / vt id ſanctiſſimæ ac diuinæ 25
legis inſtitutione caueretur: priora ſequẽtibus iter ad deum ſternere. Non
enim ſolum in ſuperioribus / inferioribuſqꝫ ſpiritibus lex iſta conſtituta eſt:
verum in æqualibus quoqꝫ / & qui eiuſdem ordinis ſunt. Quippe ſtatuit
ſummus ille ac superſubſtãtialis omnium ordo: per ſingulas diſtinctiões /
primos & medios extremoſqꝫ eſſe ordines atqꝫ virtutes. vt ſcilicet inferiorũ
ſpirituũ excellẽtiores quiqꝫ / præceptores ac duces ſint: ꝑ quos illi acceſſum
habeãt ad deũ / & ad lucẽ illã ſecretiſſimã dei / ſocietatẽqꝫ perueniãt. Intueri
autẽ libet vt diuinũ illud ſacramentũ / quo noſtræ humanitatis IHESVS
M benigniſſime factus eſt particeps / angeli primũ didicerũt: deinde per illos /
N ad nos quoqꝫ ſcientiæ iſtius gratia deriuauit. Sic deniqꝫ Gabriel Zachariam
quidem pontificem (vt legimus) docuit naſciturum ex ſe pręter ſpem
ſola diuina gratia filiũ / prophetam fore / ac pręuium illius (quæ mundo
clementiſſime atqꝫ ſaluberrime reuelanda erat in humana carne IHESV)
O diuinæ operationis. MARIAM vero / quo pacto in ea diuinũ illud atqꝫ
ineffabile ſuſceptæ a deo humanitatis ſacramentũ perficeretur: inſtruxit.
P Alius item angelus / Ioſeph pium erudiuit: & quæ patriarchæ Dauid diuinitus
Q promiſſa fuerant / impleta præmonuit. Alius item paſtores vt ſolitudinis
receſſu & quiete purgatos alloquitur / eiſqꝫ nunciat gaudium: atqꝫ
cum illo multitudo cœleſtis exercitus / hymnum illum celeberrimum atqꝫ
laudatiſſimũ mortalibus tradit. ¶ Libet ad ipſas quoqꝫ ſupremas ſanctorum
/ altiſſimaſqꝫ intelligentias: cordis lumen attollere. Cerno enim vt ipſe 26
quoqꝫ IHESVS cœleſtiũ ſubſtãtiarũ author mirabilis atqꝫ incõpręhẽſibilis
/ ab humana (quã ipſe ſtatuerat & elegerat) lege atqꝫ ordine nõ deſciuerit:
cũ ad infirma noſtra ſine vlla ſui mutatione veniſſet. imo obtẽperanter
R patris ac dei inſtitutis (quæ per angelos dederat) fuerit obſecutus. Illorũ itẽ
Ioſeph miniſterio nunciatur Ioſeph: a patre ſũma diſpẽſatione decretus IHESV
S vel in Aegyptũ diſceſſus / vel ex Aegypto in Iudęã denuo reditus. Ipſum
T quoqꝫ per angelos cernimus paternis legibus ſubditum. ¶ Omitto enim
ea dicere / quæ ſacroſanctis noſtris traditionibus exponuntur (ſcienti enim 27
V loquor) vt ſcilicet IHESVM angelus paſſioni proximum & orantem
confortaſſe memoretur. Et ipſe quoqꝫ IHESVS cum ob nimiam charitatem
ſuam / ſalutiqꝫ noſtræ nimis neceſſariam / ad ſuæ pietatis opus

implendum in ordine veniſſet nunciantis: magni conſilij angelus ſit prædicatus. X
Nam profecto(ſicut ipſe ſuo miniſterio conuenientia locutus ait)
quæcunq; audiuit a patre:nunciauit nobis. Z

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Vt ſcriptura diuina. Lucas in actibus apoſtolorum D
cap.ſeptimo. Et occiderunt eos qui annunciabant de aduentu iuſti/cuius vos nunc
proditores & homicidæ fuiſtis: qui accepiſtis legem in diſpoſitione angelorum. ¶Inclytoſq; E.
patres noſtros qui ante legem/ quiq; fuere poſt legem: angeli ad deum ſubuexere.
Ante legem: Loth/ Abraham/ Iacob. Poſt legem: Gedeon/ prophetæ/ apoſtoli/
& qui pie in deo vixerunt. vt Cornelius Centurio / Daniel / Ioſeph / Ioannes.
Angeli ad Loth: Geneſis cap. decimonono. Habes hic quempiam tuorum / aut generum/ Loth.
aut filios/aut filias/omnes qui tui ſunt: educ de vrbe hac. delebimus enim locum
iſtum: eo ꝙ increuerit clamor eorũ corã domino/qui miſit nos vt perdamus illos.
Cumq; eſſet mane/cogebant eum angeli dicentes: ſurge/tolle vxorem tuam & duas filias
quas habes/ne & tu pariter pereas in ſcelere ciuitatis. diſſimulante illo appręhenderũt
manum eius/& manum vxoris ac duarum filiarum eius: eo ꝙ parceret dominus
illi. Abraham: Geneſis capite viceſimo ſecundo. Extenditq; manum & arripuit gladium: Abraham.
vt immolaret filium ſuum. & ecce angelus domini de cœlo clamauit: Abraham/
Abraham. qui reſpondit/ aſſum. dixitq; ei/ non extendas manum tuam ſuper puerum/
neq; facias ei quicq̃: nunc cognoui ꝙ timeas dominũ/ & non pepercisti vnigenito filio
tuo propter me. leuauitq; Abraham oculos ſuos/ viditq; poſt tergum arietem inter vepres
cornibus hęrentem: quem aſſumens obtulit holocauſtum pro filio ſuo. Vocauit autem
angelus domini Abraham ſecũdo de cœlo dicens. per memetipſum iuraui dicit dominus:
quia feciſti hanc rem/ & non peperciſti filio tuo propter me: benedicam tibi &
multiplicabo ſemen tuum ſicut ſtellas cœli/& velut arenam quę eſt in littore maris. poſſidebit
ſemen tuum portas inimicorũ ſuorum: & benedicẽtur in ſemine tuo omnes gentes
terræ. Iacob. Geneſis cap. triceſimoprimo. Nũc ergo ſurge: & egredere de terra hac
in terram natiuitatis tuæ. Gedeon. Iudicum ſexto. Apparuit ei angelus domini & ait: Iacob.
dominus tecũ/virorum fortiſſime. vade in hac fortitudine tua: & liberabis Iſrael de manu Gedeon.
Madian. ego ero tecũ: & percuties Madian quaſi virũ vnũ. Tolle carnes & azymos
panes: & pone ſupra petram illam/& ius deſuper funde. & extendit angelus domini ſũmitatem
virgę quam tenebat manu: & tetigit carnes & panes azymos/aſcẽditq; ignis
de petra & carnes azymoſq; panes conſumpſit. angelus autem domini/euanuit ex oculis
eius. Cornelius centurio. Lucas actuum apoſtolorum cap. decimo. Orationes tuæ &
eleemoſynæ tuæ aſcenderunt in memoriam in conſpectu dei. & nũc mitte viros in Ioppen: Cornelius.
& accerſi Simonem quẽdam qui cognominatur Petrus. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Aſpiciebam Daniel.
ergo in viſione noctis/& ecce cum nubibus cœli quaſi filius hominis veniebat:
& vſq; ad antiquum dierum peruenit/ & in conſpectu eius obtulerunt eum. & dedit ei
poteſtatem/ & honorem/& regnum: & omnes populi/tribus & linguæ ſeruient ei. poteſtas
eius: poteſtas ęterna quæ non auferetur/ & regnum quod non corrũpetur. Ioſeph. Ioſeph.
Matthęus cap. ſecũdo. Ecce angelus domini apparuit in ſomnis Ioſeph dicens: ſurge
& accipe puerum & matrem eius/ & fuge in Aegyptum. & eſto ibi: vſq; dum dicam tibi.
futurum eſt enim vt Herodes quęrat puerum ad perdendũ eum. Ioannes. Apocalypſis Ioannes
cap. viceſimoſecundo. Et poſtq̃ audiſſem & vidiſſem: cecidi vt adorarem ante pedes
angeli/ qui michi hæc oſtendebat. & dixit michi: vide ne feceris/ conſeruus enim tuus
ſum & fratrum tuorum prophętarũ/& eorum qui ſeruant verba prophetiæ libri huius.
deum adora. Ecce ergo angeli ad deum ſubuehũt: vt Ioannem. quid agendum ſit monſtrant
& ammonent: in Loth/ Iacob/Gedeone. ab errore ad veritatis iter reducunt: in
Cornelio centurione. ſacramentorum cœleſtium occultas viſiones pandunt: in Daniele.
diuinas prædictiones docent: in Abraham & Ioſeph. ¶Quibuſdam ſanctorum diuinas
apparitiones cõtigiſſe. vt Moſi: de quo numerorum duodecimo. Cunq; fuiſſent egreſſi: F
deſcendit dñs in colũna nubis/ & ſtetit in introitu tabernaculi vocãs Aaron & Mariam. Moſes
qui cum iſſent: dixit ad eos. audite ſermones meos. ſi quis fuerit inter vos ꝓpheta dñi:
in viſione apparebo ei/vel ꝑ ſomniũ loquar ad illũ. at nõ talis ſeru⁹ meus Moſes: qui in
oĩ domo mea fideliſſimus eſt. ore enĩ ad os loquor ei: palã & nõ per ęnigmata/& figuras
deũ videt. ¶Vt ſecretũ ipſũ dei qđcũq; tandẽ illud eſt. Id ſupra ex Paulo ad Timotheũ. G

cap. ſexto. Qui lucem habitat inacceſſibilem/quem nullus hominũ vidit vnq̃: ſed nec videre
H poteſt. ¶Per ſigna deo conuenientiſſima ſacris quibuſdam. adiunge viſionibus.
I ¶Diuinam apparitionẽ rectiſſime appellat. diuinam apparitionem quæ & theophania
dicitur: celeberrimi patres noſtri (hoc eſt ſancti prophetæ) miniſterio angelorum ediſcebant.
vt Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Horruit ſpiritus meꝰ/ego Daniel territus ſum in his: & viſiones
capitis mei cõturbauerunt me. acceſſi ad vnum de aſſiſtentibus/& veritatẽ quęrebam
ab eo de omnibus his: qui dixit michi interpretationem ſermonũ/& docuit me.
K ¶An non ipſam quoqꝫ legis ſacram ſanctionẽ. Deuteronomiũ cap. nono. Deditqꝫ michi
L duas tabulas lapideas ſcriptas digito dei. ¶Ex quo & illud ſapiẽtiſſime theologia
videtur innuere. Ex luca paulo ante. Et paulus epiſtola ad Galatas cap. tertio. Quid
igitur lex? propter tranſgreſſionem poſita eſt: donec veniret ſemen cui promiſerat/ ordinata
M per angelos in manu mediatoris. ¶Angeli primũ didicerunt. Lucas cap. primo
Ait angelus ei/ne timeas MARIA: inueniſti enim gratiã apud deum. ecce cõcipies in
vtero & paries filium: & vocabis nomen eius IHESVM. hic erit magnus/& filius altiſſimi
N vocabitur: & regnabit in domo Iacob in ęternum/& regni eius nõ erit finis. ¶Sic
deniqꝫ Gabriel Zachariam quidem pontificem. Lucas cap. primo. Apparuit autem angelus
domini ſtans a dextris altaris incenſi: & Zacharias turbatus eſt videns/ & timor
irruit ſuper eum. Ait autem ad eum angelus. ne timeas Zacharia/quoniam exaudita eſt
deprecatio tua. & vxor tua Elizabeth pariet tibi filium: & vocabis nomen eius Ioãnem.
& erit gaudium tibi & exultatio: & multi in natiuitate eius gaudebũt. erit enim magnus
coram domino: & vinum & ſiceram non bibet. & ſpiritu ſancto replebitur adhuc ex vtero
matris ſuæ: & multos filiorum cõuertet ad dominũ deum ipſorum. Et ipſe præcedet
ante illum in ſpiritu & virtute Heliæ (vt conuertat corda patrum in filios/& incredulos
O ad prudentiam iuſtorum) parare domino plebem perfectam. ¶MARIAM vero quo pacto
in ea diuinum illud. Lucas cap. primo. Dixit autem MARIA ad angelũ. quomodo
fiet iſtud: quoniã virum non cognoſco? Et reſpondens angelus dixit ei. ſpiritus ſanctus
ſuperueniet in te/& virtus altiſſimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoqꝫ & quod naſcetur ex te ſanctum:
P vocabitur filius dei. ¶Alius item angelus: Ioſeph pium erudiuit. Matthęus cap.
primo. Ecce autem angelus domini apparuit in ſomnis Ioſeph dicẽs. Ioſeph fili Dauid:
noli timere accipere MARIAM coniugem tuã. Quod enim in ea natum eſt: de ſpiritu
ſancto eſt. Pariet autem filium: & vocabis nomen eius IHESVM. ipſe enim ſaluũ faciet
Q populum ſuũ: a peccatis eorum. ¶Alius item paſtores. Lucas cap. ſecũdo. Et paſtores
erant in regione eadem: vigilantes/& cuſtodiẽtes vigilias noctis ſuper gregem ſuũ. Et
ecce angelus domini ſtetit iuxta illos/ & claritas dei circũfulſit illos: & timuerũt timore
magno. Et dixit illis angelus: nolite timere. ecce enim euãgelizo vobis gaudiũ magnũ
quod erit omni populo: quia natus eſt vobis hodie ſaluator (qui eſt CHRISTVS dominus)
in ciuitate Dauid. & hoc vobis ſignum: inuenietis infantem inuolutũ & poſitũ in
præſepio. & ſubito facta eſt cum angelo/multitudo militiæ cœleſtis laudantium deum/
R & dicentium: gloria in altiſſimis deo/& in terra pax hominibus bonę volũtatis. ¶Illorũ
item miniſterio nunciatur Ioſeph. Matthęus cap. ſecundo. Ecce angelus domini apparuit
in ſomnis Ioſeph dicens: ſurge & accipe puerum & matrem eius/ & fuge in Aegyptum.
Et paulo poſt. Defuncto autem Herode/ ecce angelus domini apparuit in ſomnis
Ioſeph dicens: ſurge & accipe puerum & matrem eius/ & vade in terram Iſrael.
S defuncti ſunt enim: qui quærebant animam pueri. ¶Ipſum quoqꝫ per angelos cernimus
paternis legibus ſubditum. hoc eſt. videmus dominum in eius natiuitate/ in fuga
in Aegyptum/in reditu ex Aegypto: ordinatũ per angelos ſub ſummi patris legibus/ ordinationibuſqꝫ.
Oſee. 2. qui & per os Oſee prophetæ locutus ait: ex Aegypto vocaui filiũ meũ.
T ¶Omitto enim ea dicere: quæ ſacroſanctis noſtris traditionibus exponuntur. hæ ſacroſanctę
V traditiones: ſancta ſunt euangelia. ¶Vt ſcilicet IHESVM angelus paſſioni
proximum & orantem confortaſſe memoretur. Lucas cap. viceſimo ſecundo.
Et ipſe auulſus eſt ab eis quantum eſt iactus lapidis/ & poſitis genibus orabat dicens:
pater ſi vis/tranſfer calicem iſtum a me. veruntamen non mea voluntas: ſed tua
X fiat. Apparuit autem illi angelus de cœlo: confortans eum. ¶Magni conſilij angelus
ſit prædicatus. Eſaias cap. nono. Paruulus enim natus eſt nobis/ & filius datus
eſt nobis/ & factus eſt principatus ſuper humerum eius: & vocabitur nomen eius
admirabilis conſiliarius/ deus fortis/ pater futuri ſeculi/ princeps pacis. Legebatur

tempore apoſtolorū.& factus eſt principatus ſuper humerum eius:& vocabitur nomen
eius magni conſilij angelus.loco cuius nunc verſum habemus:admirabilis cōſiliarius.
❡Quecunqꝫ audiuit a patre: nunciauit nobis. Ioannes cap. decimoquinto. Vos amici
mei eſtis:ſi feceritis quę ego pręcipio vobis.Iam non dicam vos ſeruos:quia ſeruus Z
neſcit quid faciat dominus eius.vos autem dixi amicos: quia omnia quęcunqꝫ audiui a
patre meo/ nota feci vobis.

❡QVARTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

20 QVid deinceps determinãdum ſupereſt: hic proponit ſacer Dionyſius/
dicens poſt aſſignatam hierarchiæ diffinitionē reliquum eſſe: vt ipſa
ſacra cœleſtium ſpirituū diſtinctio dignis laudibus celebretur/ rectoqꝫ
ordine enucleatius declaretur/& formæ ipſæ corporales(quibus ſacra
ſcriptura ipſos deſcribit) erecta mentis acie obtutuqꝫ ſpirituali conſiderentur.
vt per huiuſmodi velamina ſenſibilia/ad occultam & latentem
ſub ipſis intellectualem illorū ſimplicitatē congruenter fiat aſcenſus:
& demum cum decenti veneratione & gratiarū actionibus debitis/ deus ipſe laudetur.
qui totius ſcientiæ ſanctiſſimorum ſpirituū/omniſqꝫ cognitionis quę de cœleſtium
myſteriorum ſacramētis haberi poſſit:principium eſt & exordium. Ab eo enim vt fonte
exuberantiſſimo profluit in cœleſtes ſpiritus & homines: quicquid de ſupremis ac ſupramundanis
21 habetur ſacratioris ſcientiæ/ vereqꝫ cognitionis. ❡Oſtendit deinde ōnia
condita/ a diuina bonitate ſubſiſtere/illiqꝫ participare: vt gradatim per varia rerum genera/
ad cœleſtium ſpirituū contemplãdam dignitatem nos euehat.Sane ex ſola bonitate
ſua/ſumma deitas omnes rerum ſubſtantias ad eſſe produxit.quoniã cum ſit per ſe
ſufficiētiſſima & bonorum omniū pleniſſima:non indiguit creaturarum eſſentijs/aut aliquam
inde vtilitatem accepit. Verum cum bonitatis diuinæ(quæ omnium cauſa eſt) ſit
proprium:ſeipſam cōmunicare/& ſui cōſortium atqꝫ participationē alijs tradere: cōdidit
diuerſa entium genera/vt eſſent quibus bonitatē ſuã ipſe qui ſumme & per ſe bonus
eſt/communicaret.Quęcūqꝫ igitur ſubſiſtunt: diuinæ prouidentiæ cura gubernãtur/ex
ſumma dei bonitate profluētis/ipſiqꝫ prouidentię participãt.Alioqui nullo pacto ſubſiſterent:
niſi ſummæ deitatis(quæ rerum omniū ſubſtãtia atqꝫ principium eſt) participationem
haberent.Itaqꝫ inaĩata omnia/vt cœli elementa/mixta imperfecta & mineralia:
hoc ipſum quod ſunt/a diuina bonitate ſuſcipiunt. eſt enim diuinitas ipſa / rerum omnium
eſſentia:quinimo gradum omnem & modū eſſentiæ rerum eminētiſſime ſuperat.
Viuentia itidem/vt plantæ/bruta/homines/ſpiritus cœleſtes:ipſum viuere a ſumma diuinitate(
quæ omniū vita eſt/& cunctis vitam largitur)acceperunt. Deniqꝫ rationalia &
intellectualia/ vt homines & agmina cœleſtia:diuinæ ſapiētiæ ſunt participatione fœlicia/
quæ ſupra omnem rationem & mentem perfecta eſt/ omniaqꝫ ad perfectum ducit.
Perſpicuum autem eſt/illas in cōſpectu ſummæ diuinitatis diuerſari & conſiſtere ſubſtãtias:
*quæ multis modis illi participant/atqꝫ amplius q̃ cęteræ cum illa cōueniunt.*quales
ſunt angelicæ ſubſtantiæ:quæ ſubſiſtūt/ viuunt/ rationales ſunt & intellectuales inſuper
immateriales ſunt & incorporeę.quod nullis inferiorum entium generibus cōuenit.Cū
enim pluribus modis huiuſmodi ſubſtãtiæ ipſi deo q̃ reliqua cōmunicant:inde noſcuntur
eſſe natura perfectiores/ſicut ſunt & ſimiliores ipſi perfectiſſimo rerum principio / q̃
cætera quæ paucioribus modis dei habent participationem.quare dignum eſt & ęquū:
ipſas iugiter aſſiſtere ipſi deitati.vt ipſi perfectiſſimo propinquius adhęreant:quæ perfectiora
22 ſunt. ❡Ex ſupradictis colligit ſacratiſſimus pater ꝙ cœleſtes ſpiritus dignitate
naturæ & copia diuinæ participationis longe pręſtant inanimatis quæ ſolum ſunt/plantis
& brutis quæ viuunt / & hominibus qui ratione vtuntur & intellectu ſunt pręditi.
Cum enim ad dei imitationem ſe totos omnino conferant/ & diuinam ſpeciem perfectiore
modo q̃ homines intueantur/eamqꝫ nitantur ad viuum & conformiter in ſe exprimere:
haud ab re copioſiore ipſius dei participatione ſunt beati. Aſſiſtunt enim ipſi deo
e propinquo & in vicinia/ & ſemꝑ in ſuperiora anterioraqꝫ nitūtur/indefatigabili diuini
amoris vigore emicantes:a deitate ſummæ lucis radios indeſinenter ſuſcipientes/ atqꝫ
in illorum ſpiritualium radiorum formam ac habitum traſſuſi/vitaqꝫ omnino ſpirituali
dotati. Ipſæ igitur angelicæ ſubſtantiæ: modo principaliori q̃ cætera ſubſiſtentia &
pluribus itidem gradibus/ diuinam ſortitæ ſunt participationem / & ipſam ſummæ
diuinitatis ignotam omnibus & incognitam ſubſtantiã: varijs modis & inter ſe & ho-

minibus ipſis enunciant. ¶Quocirca recte cœleſtibus illis ſpiritibus / angelorum no-
men impoſitum eſt: quod a nunciandi officio rebus indi ſolet. quoniam cum in ipſos
diuinæ claritatis fulgor & radius emittatur: illum deinde in nos varijs & multiplici- 23
bus modis tranſfundunt/ deiq; cognitionem altiſſimorũq; myſteriorũ arcana nobis an-
Gala. 3. nunciant. Quippe hoc modo lex moſaica: angelorum miniſterio/ teſte ſcriptura/ popu-
lo Iſraelitico eſt tradita. Et antiquos patres noſtros qui ante legem ſcriptã fuerũt & qui
poſt legem/ angelici ſpiritus ad deum adduxerũt: aut admonentes quid foret agẽdum/
aut ab errore & vita prophana ad veritatis viam ipſos trãſferentes/ aut ſacros ritus ce-
rimoniaſq; dei colendi docentes/ ſeu occultas arcanorũ cœleſtium viſiones hominibus
reſcrantes/ aut rerũ futurarũ prẽnũciationes a deo factas: hominibus illarũ ignaris ape-
rientes. Horum autem quinq; angelicorũ miniſteriorum exempla: in huius loci ſcholijs
diffuſe explicantur. ¶Deinde obiectionem diluit: quæ contra ſupradicta fieri poſſet/
quoniam enim dictum eſt diuinarũ rerum enunciationes/ hominibus angelorum mini-
ſterio factas eſſe: dicet forſan aliquis ꝙ nõnullis ſanctorũ patrum cõtigerũt diuinæ ap- 24
paritiones abſq; vllo medio/ cœleſtiumve ſpirituũ officio. vt Moſi: de quo dominus ipſe
Nume. 12. in Numeris teſtatur. Ore ad os loquor ei: palam & non per ęnigmata & figuras deum
Exo. 33. videt. Et rurſum alio loco. loquebatur dominus ad Moſem facie ad faciẽ: ſicut ſolet lo-
qui homo ad amicũ ſuum. Reſpondet ſacratus pater id ex ſacris diuinæ ſcripturæ libris
inconcuſſe tenendũ: ꝙ ipſam diuinæ naturæ ſubſtantiã (quæ cũctis vſq; adeo manet in-
cognita: vt non poſſet quiſpiã recte diffinire quidnam ipſa ſit/ nã eſt incõprẹhenſibilis)
nullus mortaliũ & hanc vitam degentiũ vidit vnq̃ nude/ neq; videbit. quemadmodum
1. timo. 6. beatus Paulus ad Timotheũ etiã perhibet: de deo loquens. qui ſolus habet immortali-
tatem: & lucem habitat in acceſſibilem. quẽ nullus hominũ vidit: ſed nec videre poteſt.
Verum illæ diuinæ apparitiones de quibus loquitur obiectio: contigere ſanctis viris per
ſigna deo cõgruentiſſima/ figmentaq; conueniẽtia ad reprẹſentandũ illam dei proprie-
tatẽ/ quæ tum ſanctis viris erat inſinuãda. cõtigerunt etiam illæ apparitiones per ſacras
quaſdam viſiones: ſubiectarum creaturarũ miniſterio formatas/ & accõmodatas capaci-
tati ac viribus intuentiũ illas viſiones. Nã qui limpidiore fuerunt mentis acie: viſiones
habuerũt ſacratiores & altiores. qui vero infirmiore: inferiores & minꝰ ſpirituales/ quiſq;
ſcilicet pro ſuo captu. Sacra autem ſcriptura/ eam viſionem quæ diuinam exhibet ſimi-
litudinem efformatam ſignis/ non quidẽ ſenſibilibus extero aut interno ſenſu/ ſed intel-
lectualibus ſolum & forma omni figuraq; carẽtibus: diuinã vocat apparitionem/ ꝙ hu-
iuſmodi viſio eos quibus offertur: hoc medio ad deum ſubuehit. per quam quidẽ viſio-
nem/ ſupercœleſtis fulgor diuiniore modo illis q̃ cęteris illucet: & eos excellẽtius aliquid
& excelſius q̃ alios edocet. Et hoc modo Moſes dicitur in ſacris eloquijs dei apparitionẽ
habuiſſe: q̃uis nude & ſine velamine diuinã faciem in hoc prẹſentis vitę incolatu nunq̃
viderit. queadmodum diffuſius annotauimus circa primũ caput primi libri eximij patris
Ioãnis Damaſceni de fide orthodoxa. Tales autem diuinas viſiones: antiqui patres ve-
teris teſtamenti/ miniſterio angelorum didicerũt/ efformataſq; perſpexerũt. quare per-
ſpectum eſſe debet/ quęcũq; ſanctis patribus reuelata ſunt aut apparuerũt: annũciatione
angelicorum ſpirituũ atq; officio illis fuiſſe exhibita. Quod & hoc argumento atq; iudi-
Exo. 20. cio/ in littera comprobatur. legem Moſaicam diuina ſcriptura affirmat a deo eſſe Moſi
traditam. et tamen (vt ſupradictum eſt) cœleſtium ſpirituum enunciatione atq; mini-
ſterio: illa eſt lata atq; poſita. Quæ igitur in ſcriptura a deo fuiſſe tradita dicuntur: fun-
ctione & intermedio angelorũ officio exhibita ſunt & reuelata. Qz autem lex illa vetus
dicatur in ſcripturis a deo eſſe tradita: nos edocet & admouet/ ipſam nouæ & euãgelicæ
legis (quæ longe verior eſt & ſacratior) fuiſſe imaginem & figuram. queadmodum per-
Hebrę. 10. hibet beatus Paulus: legem habere vmbram futurorum bonorum. ¶Aſſignat deinde
rationem admodum dignam beatus pater: quare lex vetus per cœleſtes ſpiritus tanq̃
miniſtros & adminiſtratores/ ad homines vſq; ꝓpagata fuerit & deriuata vt ſcilicet per 25
hoc iſta cognoſceretur eſſe diuinæ ſanctionis & ordinationis lex/ ꝙ priora in huius mũ-
di ordine & ſublimiora naturæ entia: inferioribus iter ad deum parent/ & præceden-
tia ſequentibus ductum præbeant quo ad deum perueniant. Sunt autem (vt iam
dictum eſt) cœleſtes ſpiritus/ natura priores: homines vero/ longe poſteriores. Siquidẽ
hęc diuinæ ſapientiæ conſtitutio: non ſolum in ſuperiorum diſtinctionũ & inferiorum ſpi
ritibus locũ habet/ vt ſuperiores inferioribꝰ prẹſtent ad deũ ꝑueniẽdi adminiculũ: verũ

etiã & in ijs qui æquales ſunt ſecundũ eiuſdem hierarchiæ rationẽ/ & vnius eiuſdemqꝫ
diſtinctionis. Nẽpe conſtituit ipſe deus/ qui ordinatiſſimus eſt omnium rerum tenor /&
ordo rectiſſimus: per ſingulas trium diſtinctionũ atqꝫ hierarchiarum cœleſtium ſtationes/
eſſe quoſdam ſupremos/alios medios/& alios extremos ac vltimos ordines: quẽadmodum
ſextũ huius libri caput latius aperiet. vt excellentiores ſcilicet & ſuperiores
ſpiritus angelici/inferiorũ poſteriorumqꝫ duces ſint ac præceptores: per quos ipſi aditũ
habeant ad deũ/& ad candidiſſimã dei lucem ſocietatemqꝫ perducantur. At vero quemadmodũ
hanc ſupernæ ſanctionis regulam angeli inter ſe adamuſſim obſeruãt:ita & ad
homines. Enimuero ipſi ſuperni ſpiritus primum didicerunt altiſſimũ dominicæ incarnationis
myſteriũ/ diſpenſationiſqꝫ carnis aſſumptæ ſacramentum: deinde hominibus
tanti myſterij notionẽ tradiderunt. Quod multis ex ſacra ſcriptura deſumptis declaratur
exemplis. Primo ipſius Zachariæ. cui nunciauit Gabriel naſciturũ filium Ioannem/ **Lucę.1**
præter expectationem & ſupra naturæ legẽ: qui præcurſor eſſet & præco illius diuinæ
operationis/quæ mundo in aſſumpta dei verbi carne erat manifeſtanda/ſcilicet aduentus
ipſius domini in carnem iã completi:& euangelicæ perfectionis ab eo tradendæ. Secundo.
exemplo ſacroſanctæ virginis MARIAE: quã Gabriel edocuit quomodo id diuinum
in ea compleretur myſteriũ: quo virgo manẽs pareret dei filiũ. Tertio. exemplo
ſancti Ioſeph. quẽ ãgelus inſtruxit de myſterio impletæ promiſſiõis olim patriarchę Dauid
a deo factæ/ſcilicet ꝙ de fructu ventris ſui poneret ſuper ſedem eius/ꝙqꝫ de ſemine **Pſal.131.**
eius naſceretur CHRISTVS. Id autem in filio ſacratiſſimæ virginis & puriſſimæ ſpõſæ
ſuæ impletũ eſſe: teſtatus eſt angelus cum ait. Et dabit ei dominus deus ſedẽ Dauid patris **Lucę.1**
eius:& regnabit in domo Iacob in æternum/& regni eius non erit finis. Quæ quidẽ
verba q̃uis ad ſolã deo ſacratã virginẽ dicta fuiſſe in euangelio legantur: credibile eſt tamen
eadẽ/aut ab angelo aut a beata virgine ipſi Ioſeph fuiſſe reuelata. Quarto idẽ patefacit
exemplo paſtorũ. qui a vulgi & turbæ ſtrepitu remoti per ſeceſſum in ſolitudinẽ/
et ideo ad diuina myſteria capienda purgatiores: didicerunt ab angelo natũ eſſe mũdi **Lucę.2**
ſaluatorẽ/ & cœleſtis militiæ multitudinem deo laudes & hymnũ concinentẽ audierũt.

26 ¶ Deniqꝫ quinto loco erectis ad altiorem diuinarũ rerum/ ſanctorumqꝫ eloquiorũ & ſacratiorem
intelligentiã cordis oculis: idem dilucidũ eſſe comprobatur in domino noſtro.
qui vt deus: cœleſtiũ ſpirituum conditor eſt/& author admirabilis. vt homo vero: ab humana
lege & ab hominibus obſeruãda (quã ipſe cũ deo patre ſimul inſtituerat) nequaq̃
aberrauit/quando noſtræ carnis infirmitatẽ ſine aliqua ſuæ deitatis permutatione ſuſcepit.
ſed cum admiranda obediẽtia: dei patris mandatis (quæ per angelos tradiderat) integre
eſt obſecutus. Siquidem octaua die circũciſus eſt: quadrageſimo die oblatus in tẽplo **Lucę.2**
cum hoſtijs conſtitutis/ cum parentibus itidẽ/in ſolennitatibus a deo ordinatis iuit
Hieroſolymã: agnum paſchalem ſecundum legis ritum manducauit/ & deniqꝫ non venit **Math.26**
ſoluere legem ſed adimplere. Rurſum miniſterio angelorum ipſi Ioſeph nunciatur a **Math.5**
deo patre primum diſceſſus in Aegyptum: et ſecundo reditus in terrã Iſrael. vt omnino **Math.2**
& per omnia cognoſcatur ipſe CHRISTVS: paternis legibus atqꝫ decretis circa diſpẽſationem
carnis & quæ eam concernebant factis/ per angelos fuiſſe ſubditus: ꝙ angelorũ
27 denunciatione omnia illa ſunt cõpleta. ¶ Præterea vt euangelica tradit lectio: dominum **Lucę.22**
noſtrũ imminente paſſione orantem in horto angelus confortauit. Ipſe quoqꝫ cũ
veniſſet in hũc mundũ/nũciaturus opus humanæ redẽptionis a ſe implendũ: magni cõſilij **Eſa.9**
angelus a propheta nuncupatus eſt. Et quẽadmodũ diſcipulis ſuis loquens ea quę
ſuo miniſterio erant cõuenientia/ad quod perficiendũ venerat/dixit: ꝙ quęcunqꝫ audiuit **Ioan.15**
a patre/nunciauit nobis. nã per diſcipulos: illa toti mundo promulgauit.

¶ Cur õnes cœleſtes ſpiritus: cõmuni appellatione dicãtur angeli. Cap. V.

28 HAec igitur eſt (quantũ ipſi ſapimus) angelicæ/quam in ſcripturis
ſanctis inuenimus: appellationis cauſa. Dignum vero
videtur inquirere/diligentiuſqꝫ rimari/quamobrem ij qui **A**
nobis de deo rebuſqꝫ diuinis diſſeruerũt: omnes quidem ſimul **B**
cœleſtes ſubſtantias/angelos vocẽt. Vbi vero altiſſimas **C**
illarum diſtinctiones exponere & enarrare pergunt/angelicum
eum proprie ordinem nominant: qui diuina & cœleſtia agmina com-

D E plet/ extremoq; in loco poſitus perficit. Ante hunc vero archangelos emi-
nentius ſtatuunt/principatus deinceps/ & poteſtates ac virtutes/quaſq; his
etiā ſuperiores ſubſtantias norunt/atq; enūciant ſanctorum voluminū tra
ditiones: graduū inter ſe celſitudine differentes. ¶ Dicimus itaq; in omni- 29
bus ſacratiſſimis diſtinctionibus ſuperiores quoſq;/ eminētioreſq; ordines:
inferiorum quoq; agminum non carere fulgoribus/atq; virtutibus. poſteri-
ores vero: ſuperiorum intelligentiæ exortes eſſe. Igitur ſanctiſſima illa/ſum-
F morum ſpirituū agmina/etiā angelos theologi appellant: & ipſa enim vim
ſuperni illius/diuiniq; fulgoris enunciant. Porro extremum ſanctorum ſpi
rituum ordinē: principatus/aut thronos/ aut ſeraphim/dicere: abſurdū eſt/
& a ratione prorſus alienū. neq; enim ſupremis illis virtutibus ſocietate aut
G participatione coniungitur. Cæterum quemadmodū ipſe hic venerandos/
diuinoſq; pontifices noſtros ad familiares ſibi & cognitas ſummæ diuini-
tatis intelligentias prouehit: ita et quæ illi prelatæ ſunt/& longe eminent ſa
cratiſſimæ diſtinctiones/implētem cœleſtes/ angelicaſq; functiones ad deū
ſubuehūt ordinem. ¶ Niſi forte iſtud quoq; quis dixerit/ idcirco angelicas 30
omnes appellationes eſſe communes: q omnium cœleſtium virtutum ſit
æqua ſocietas/atq; ad dei ſimilitudinem/luceq; diuinā (licet aliæ alijs excel-
lant/graduſq; diuerſi ſint) vna tamen intentione nitantur. Verum vt huius
rei ratio liquidius conſtet/ & quod dicimus magis perſpicuum ſit: intuea-
H mur alto mentis obtutu cuiuſq; cœleſtis ordinis expoſitas in ſanctis litteris
proprietates.

A ¶ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Ij qui nobis de deo/rebuſq; diuinis diſſe-
B ruerunt. prophete/& ſancti apoſtoli. ¶ Omnes quidem ſimul cœleſtes ſubſtantias/ange
los vocent. pſalmus centeſimus ſecundus. Benedicite domino omnes angeli eius/potē-
tes virtute: facientes verbū illius ad audiendā vocē ſermonū eius. Et Mattheus cap. vi
ceſimo quinto. Cum autem venerit filius hominis in maieſtate ſua/ & omnes angeli cū
eo: tunc ſedebit ſuper ſedem maieſtatis ſue/& congregabūtur ante eum omnes gentes.
C ¶ Vbi vero altiſſimas illarū diſtinctiones exponere & enarrare pergunt. Quod dictū eſt
propter Paulum/ex cuius ſancta diſciplina/ſequentia deducit. Et vtinam diuine pieta-
tis indultu: nobis plura reliquiſſet. nam qui hæc aperte declarent: Hebreorum libros nō
D habemus. ¶ Extremoq; in loco poſitus perficit: perficit/ complet/ terminat/ atq; cœle-
E ſtes ordines abſoluit. ¶ Ante hunc vero archangelos eminentius ſtatuūt. Nouē beatiſſi
morum ſpirituum ordines/ ſacroſq; principatus eſſe: ex ſequentibus amplius dilucebit.
qui a ſanctis/& deo plenis viris appellātur: ſeraphim/ cherubim/throni/ dominationes/
Seraphim virtutes/poteſtates/principatus/archangeli/angeli. De ſeraphim Eſaias. cap. ſexto. Vi-
di dominū ſedētem ſuper ſolium excelſum/& eleuatum: & plena erat domus a maieſta-
te eius. & ea que ſub ipſo erant: replebāt templum. ſeraphim ſtabant ſuper illud: ſex ale
vni/& ſex ale alteri: duabus velabant faciē eius/& duabus velabant pedes eius/ & dua-
Cherubim bus volabāt. De cherubim. pſalmus ſeptuageſimus nonus. Qui ſedes ſuper cherubim:
manifeſtare Effraim/Beniamin/ & Manaſſe. Excita potentiam tuam & veni/ vt ſaluos fa
cias nos. Et Ezechiel cap. decimo. Cherubim autem ſtabant a dextris domus cū ingre-
deretur vir: & nubes impleuit atriū interius/ & eleuata eſt gloria domini ſuper cherub.
Throni De thronis/dominationibus/poteſtatibus & pricipatibus. Paulus epiſtola ad Coloſſen-
Dñationes ſes cap. primo. Qui eſt imago dei inuiſibilis: primogenitus omnis creature. quoniam in
Poteſtates ipſo condita ſunt vniuerſa in cœlis & in terra/viſibilia & inuiſibilia: ſiue throni/ ſiue do-
Pricipatus minationes/ſiue principatus/ſiue poteſtates. omnia per ipſum & in ipſo creata ſunt: &
Virtutes ipſe eſt ante omnes/& omnia in ipſo conſtant. De virtutibus. Mattheus. cap. viceſimo
quarto. Sol obſcurabitur: & luna non dabit lumen ſuum. & ſtelle cadēt de cœlo: & virtu
tes cœlorum commouebuntur/& tunc parebit ſignum filij hominis in cœlo. De archan-

gelis. Paulus ad Theſſalonicēſes epiſtola prima capite quarto. Quoniam ipſe dominus Archāgeli
in iuſſu & in voce archangeli & in tuba dei deſcendet de cœlo. ¶ De angelis. Geneſis Angeli
cap. decimonono. Veneruntqꝫ duo angeli Sodomam ſedente Loth in foribus ciuitatis.
qui cū vidiſſet eos: ſurrexit & iuit obuiā/adorauitqꝫ pronus in terrā. ¶ Et ipſa enim vim F
ſuperni illius/diuiniqꝫ fulgoris enunciant. ipſa: ipſa agmina. ¶ Cæterum quēadmodum G
ipſe hic venerandos. ipſe: ipſe ſanctorū ſpirituum extremus/angelicuſqꝫ ordo. ¶ Expoſitas H
in ſacris litteris proprietates. expoſitas: expreſſas atqꝫ tactas.

¶ QVINTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

28 PRoponit hoc loco beatus pater queſtionem: quare omnes cœleſtes
ſpiritus cuiuſcunqꝫ diſtinctionis & hierarchię/ vocentur angeli/ appellatione
quadam communi & generali omnibus. Dicta eſt (inquit) iam
ratio & ſignificatio nominis angelici. Verum id inquiſitione non eſt
indignū: quare ſacrarum litterarum ſcriptores/ omnes ſimul cœleſtes
ſubſtantias ſiue ſupremæ/ ſiue medię/ſiue poſtremę hierarchiæ: angelos
communi nomine vocāt. Cū vero illarum diſtinctiones/ & diſtinctionum
per ſuos ordines partitionem depromunt/eum vocāt appellatione peculiari angelicum
ordinem: qui finit & terminat ſupernorū ſpirituū ſeriem/ vltimoqꝫ & poſtremo
inter ordines cœleſtium ſubſtantiarū ponitur loco. Supra illū vero: archangelorum excelſius
ponunt ordinem/deinde principatuū/poſtea poteſtatū & virtutū. & reliquos illis
ſuperiores ordines ſuo digerunt ſitu & loco (quemadmodū ſacrorum librorum aſſerit
authoritas) graduum inter ſe ſublimitate/eminentiaqꝫ diſcrepantes. quandoquidem aliqui
29 eorum excelſiorem ſortiti ſunt gradum: alij vero inferiorem. ¶ Diſſoluit propoſitā
queſtionem/diuinæ ſapientiæ ordinatione obſeruatam hanc explicans legem: ꝙ in omnibus
cœleſtium ſpirituum diſtinctionibus/ ſuperiores atqꝫ excelſiores/ inferiorū quoqꝫ
& poſteriorū habent proprietates, dignitates & perfectiones. non tamen ediuerſo. nā
inferiores: ſuperiorū minime aſſequuntur excellentias aut eminentias. Quemadmodū
in rerum corruptibilium ſerie/ſi conſtituantur hæc quatuor ſuo ordine: inanimata/plantæ/animalia
bruta/homines. quicquid habent ea quę imperfectiora ſunt/vt inanimata:
ſortiuntur et ea quæ ſunt natura digniora/vt plantæ. non tamen contra. Sicut enim inanimata
ſubſiſtunt: ita & plantæ hę tamen vita participant: qua carent inanimata. Rurſum
vt plantæ vitam habent: etiam & bruta. Attamen bruta ſenſu prędita ſunt: cuius
plantę ſunt expertes. Deniq; vt bruta animalia ſentiendi habent facultatem: haud minus
& homines. obtinent tamen homines rationem & intellectum: cuius pręſidio bruta
ſunt deſtituta. Cum itaq; cœleſtes ſpiritus vltimi atqꝫ infimi ordinis/ nunciandi habeāt
proprietatem & officium: etiā aliorum omnium ordinum ſuperiorum ſpiritus superni/
eandem nunciandi ſibi vendicant conditionem/per regulā modo adductā. Recte igitur
cuiuſcunqꝫ ſint ordinis cœleſtia agmina/ſiue medij ſiue ſupremi: nomen angelorum ſibi
aſciſcunt/quoniam virtutem & vim diuini illius fulgoris in omnes radiantis/ alijs enunciant.
At vero extremū illum & infimū ſanctorum ſpirituū ordinem: principatus aut dominationes
aut thronos dicere/& alicuius ſuperiorum ordinū nominatione appellare/
foret abſurdum. quoniā ille poſtremus ordo: ſuperioribus & eminentioribus ordinibus/
ſocietate aut participatione peculiariū proprietatū nō cōiūgitur/ ſed infra cæteros ſubſidet.
Verum quemadmodum ipſe poſtremus ordo/ qui peculiari nomine angelorū deſignatur:
homines ſacros cœleſtia pertractātes myſteria vt pontifices ipſos/ad cognatas
ſibi & familiares diuinarum rerū notiones ſubuehit. ita et ſacratiſſimę cœleſtiū ſpirituum
diſtinctiones/quę illi infimo ordini prelatę ſunt/ graduqꝫ pręcellunt: hunc vltimū
ordinem/finientē & terminantem ea parte ſupernarū ſubſtantiarū ſeriem/ ad deū ſubuehunt/
30 promouent & ſuſtollunt. ¶ Aſſignatur & altera a beato patre angelicæ appellationis
omnibus cōmunis/ratio: idcirco angelorum nomē ſpiritibus omnibus cœleſtibus
eſſe cōmune/quia omniū ſupernarū ſubſtantiarū ęqua eſt ſecūdū generalē rationē ſocietas
& cōmunio. ſunt enī oēs: immortales/imateriales/intellectuales atqꝫ a bono indimobiles.
Et licet alię alijs excellant/graduſqꝫ earū diuerſi ſint: ōnes tamen ad dei ſimilitudinē/
claritatemqꝫ diuinam/ vna eademqꝫ intentione feruntur. Perrecte igitur hoc naturę
eiuſdem in genere conſortiū: vnius nominis identitate & nuncupatione ſignificatur.
Quemadmodum diuerſa eſſe animalium genera/varioſqꝫ gradus/inficiabitur nemo: &
alia alijs eſſe excellētiora. omnibus tamē illis nomē animalis commune eſt: ꝙ eadē om-

Cap.
6

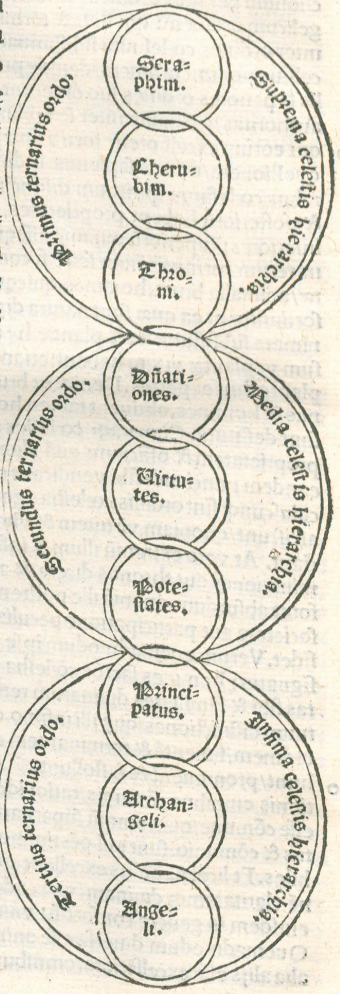
nino animalis ratione participant/& virtutis ſenſitiuæ communione cōueniunt. Verum vt ea quæ nunc adducta ſunt/manifeſtius dinoſcantur: videndæ ſunt ſingillatim cuiuſqꝫ ordinis angelorum peculiares proprietates/quas ſeptimum/ octauum & nonum caput adaperient.

¶ Quęnam ſit cœleſtium ſubſtātiarum prima/quæ media/quę extrema diſtinctio.

Cap.VI.

QVot nēpe & cuiuſmodi ſint ſanctorū ſpirituū diſtinctiōes/ 31 et quo pacto ſacræ illorū functiones peragant̄: ſolā examuſ I ſim noſſe dixerim ſummā(per quam illi in deum aſſumuntur)deitatē. Ad hæc ipſos quoqꝫ cœlites: virtutes proprias/atqꝫ fulgores/& ſacratiſſimum ſuum cœleſtēqꝫ ordinem nō ignorare/par eſt. Neqꝫ enim ſcire poſſumus nos beatiſſimorum ſpirituum abſtruſa myſteria/ vtqꝫ illi ſanctiſſime perficiantur. niſi illa forte nos ſcire quis dicat: quæqꝫ illorum miniſterio/ ſua ſcilicet rite callentiū/ diuina nos pietas docuit. Itaqꝫ nos quidē nichil k motu proprio/inſtructuqꝫ dicemus. cæterū quę a ſanctis theologis notata ſunt āgelicæ proprietatis inſignia: ea nos edocti pro viribus L exponemꝰ. ¶ Omnes ſimul cœleſtes/īmortaleſqꝫ ſubſtantias: in nouem ordines diuinus ſermo diſtinxit/proprijſqꝫ ac ſignificantibus vocabulis appellauit. Has eximius M præceptor noſter in ternas tertio repetitas diſtinctiones: ad ſanctę trinitatis diuiſit imaginem. Ac primam quidem eſſe ait: quę coram deo verſetur ſemper/ idqꝫ ex diuina dignatione ſuſceperit: vt illi inhæreat iugiter/ nulliſqꝫ medijs interiectis ſpiritibus inſeratur. N Nam ſanctiſſimos thronos / & oculis plurimis aliſqꝫ præditos ordines/cherubim ſcilicet & ſeraphim Hebræorum voce appellatos: iuxta deum nullis medijs inſertis agminibus eminenti propinquitate locatos O ait/idqꝫ ſanctarum ſcripturarū tradere expoſitionem. Hanc igitur ternariam diſtinctionem: vt vnam/ & per omnia æqualem/ primamqꝫ re vera hierarchiā/illuſtris dux noſter ac magiſter eſſe ait: qua non ſit præſtantior altera/primoribuſqꝫ dei ſummi ſplēdoribus maiori propinquitate coniuncta. Secundam vero aſſeruit: quæ poteſtatibus/ dominationibus/virtutibuſqꝫ cōficitur. Tertiā item/quæ in cœleſtibus fūctionibus extremum teneat locum: ex angelis & archan

Doctrina beatiſſimi Pauli



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1773/D

gelis principatibuſq; conſtantem.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Ad hæc ipſos quoq;. Ad hęc: adhuc/ pręterea/ inſuper. I
¶Cæterum quæ a ſanctis theologis. theologis: prophetis & apoſtolis/ & præſertim K
a beatiſſimo Paulo: a quo angelicæ proprietatis inſignia/ hic ſacramentorum diuinorum
magiſter edoctus eſt. ¶Omnes ſimul cœleſtes. doctrina beatiſſimi Pauli. ¶Has L
eximius præceptor noſter in ternas tertio repetitas diſtinctiones. Eximius pręceptor noſter/ M
beatiſſimus Paulus. ¶Nam ſanctiſſimos thronos/ & oculis plurimis/ aliſq; pręditos N
ordines. Ezehiel cap. 1. Et totum corpus oculis plenum: in circuitu ipſorum quatuor. Et
Eſaias cap. 6. Seraphim ſtabant ſuper illud: ſex alæ vni/ & ſex alę alteri. ¶Idq; ſanctarũ O
ſcripturarum tradere expoſitionem. Et dicebat Paulus: id ſanctarũ ſcripturarũ tradere
expoſitionem.

¶SEXTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

NIchil de cœleſtibus ſpiritibus proprio ſenſu aut ſentẽtia differendum
31 eſſe/ caute imprimis admonet beatus pater: conteſtans primum ſummam
deitatem (per quã ipſi ſpiritus ſuperni in deũ trãſeunt & traducuntur)
exacte & plene noſcere/ quot & quæ ſunt ipſorum ſupramundanorũ
ſpirituum diſtinctiones: & quomodo ſacræ illorum operationes/
ſpirituales omnino & eximię/ exerceantur. Secundo/ par & rationabile
eſſe: ꝙ ipſi cœleſtes ſpiritus ſuas virtutes/ proprietates & conditiones/
ſuumq; ſacrum ordinem non ignorent. quandoquidem ſuas functiones proprias
rite peragere non poſſent: niſi eas cognoſcerent & exploratas haberẽt. Tertio vero/
nos homines cognoſcere non poſſe occulta ſanctiſſimorum ſpirituum myſteria/ & quomodo
ſpiritus illi ad ſummã ſibi congruam perfectionem ducantur: ob noſtrę mentis imbecillitatem/
& excellentem illorum celſitudinẽ atq; eminentiam. Niſi forte quis illa nos
ſcire dicat: quæ diuina benignitas nos edocuit/ ipſorum ſupercœleſtiũ ſpirituũ miniſterio.
vt qui ſua munera & officia probe calleant: & idcirco alijs quantũ deus ſinit/ ea reuelare
poſſunt. Verũ huiuſmodi ſcientia noſtra/ admodũ imperfecta eſt & obſcura: & per
quam vix bene dicimur quicq̃ ſcire de angelicarum ſubſtãtiarum natura. Quocirca proteſtatur
ſacer Dionyſius cum ſingulari quadam modeſtia/ nobis reuera ſemper imitanda/
cum de diuinis myſterijs eſt differendum: ſe nichil quidem de ſacratiſſimorum ſpirituum
ordinibus & functionibus/ proprio motu aut iudicio dicturũ/ ſed ea duntaxat quę
ab alijs diuinæ ſapientiæ ſtudioſis annotata ſunt angelicæ naturæ myſteria/ vt ab ipſis
32 edoctus eſt: ſe traditurum. ¶Poſtea diſtribuit ipſos cœleſtes ſpiritus in tres hierarchias/
& quãq; earum rurſum in tres partitur ordines: hoc pacto. Cœleſtes omnes/ angelicaſq;
ſubſtãtias: in nouem ordines ſacra ſcriptura (quæ viuus et verus eſt dei ſermo) diſtinxit/
eaſq; peculiaribus & ſpecialibus nominibus: cuiuſq; ordinis propriã functionẽ deſignãtibus/
appellauit. Has beatiſſimus Paulus in tres diuiſit hierarchias & diſtinctiones: tertio
quidem repetitas/ ꝙ vnaquęq; earum rurſum in tres diducitur ordines. Et id plane
ad ſanctæ trinitatis imaginem. Nam vnius in genere/ naturæ angelicę ternaria diſtinctio:
trinitatem diuinarum beatitudinũ atq; perſonarum in vnitate ſubſtantię ſignificat.
Cuiuſq; itidem hierarchiæ ternarius ordo: diuinã triadem in monade ſuprema/ haud obſcure
repręſentat. Cæterum primã harum triũ hierarchiã eſſe poſuit ſacratiſſimus Paulus:
quæ coram deo ſemper/ iugiterq; & proxime diuerſatur. id muneris ex diuina benignitate
adepta: vt illi perpetuo & e propiquo adhęreat/ nulliſq; intermedijs alijs ſpiritibus
ipſi coniungatur ac vniatur. Nam altiſſimos thronos & multioculos atq; multipennes
ordines (quos Hebræi cherubim ac ſeraphim appellant) iuxta deũ nullo alio cœleſtium
agminum interſtite ordine collocatos aſſerit: idq; ex ſacræ ſcripturæ traditione cõpertum
haberi. Hanc igitur ſupremã diſtinctionem in tris ordines partitam: vt vnã/ &
per omnia/ in ijs quę ad primę hierarchię diſtinctioniſq; pertinẽt rationẽ/ ęqualẽ (tametſi
ordinum ipſius inter ſe: ſit excellentiæ graduſq; diſcrimen) primam merito hierarchiã
& eſſe & dici: beatus Paulus ſenſit. vt qua non ſit altera diſtinctio pręſtantior/ neq; primitiuis
& immediate ex deo manantibus ſacris ſplendoribus: viciniore gradu/ locoq; cõiũcta.
Secundã vero/ mediãq; hierarchiã/ deo ſacratus Paulus eſſe ait: quę ex poteſtatibus/
virtutibus/ dominationibus/ vt tribus ſuis ordinibus conflatur & coaleſcit. Tertiam
vero/ poſtremamq; diſtinctionem eſſe dixit: quę ex angelis/ archãgelis & principatibus/
ſuis quidem ordinibus conſtituitur.

¶De seraphim & cherubim &,thronis: & de prima eorum hierarchia. Cap.VII.

Hunc nos quoqꝫ suscipiētes functionū cœlestiū ordinē/aptissimaqꝫ 33
distributionem:dicimus primo omne sanctorū spirituū
cognomen/ insinuationē atqꝫ indiciū p̄ferre diuinæ cuiuslibet
ipsorum proprietatis. Ac sanctorum quidem seraphim
appellationem/ ij qui Hebrȩæ liguæ periti sunt/incēdentes
siue calefacientes:cherubim vero/multitudinem sciētiæ
siue sapientiæ effusionem significare aiunt. Merito igitur prima illa cœlestis
functio ab altissimis spiritibus agitur:cui sit ordo omnibus celsior atqꝫ
sacratior/vt ante conspectum diuinæ maiestatis continenter assistat/ perpetuoqꝫ
locata sit.atqꝫ in ipsam vtpote propinquissimam: primores illæ diuinæ
apparitiones ac perfectiones/præcipue ac peculiarius penetrent. Appellantur
nempe calefacientes/ & throni/& sapientiæ effusio: congruo scilicet
Seraphim ac diuino illorum habitus signāte nomine. Nam ꝙ diuinis rebus sempiterno
motu & nunq̄ lacessente studio inseruiant:ardoreqꝫ ac celeritate mirabili
ac feruore perpetui illius & nunq̄ cedentis aut inclinantis æterni motus
sui:inferiora etiam agmina ad sui similitudinem potentissime subuehant/illa
veluti incēdentes atqꝫ ad similem feruoris gratiā exuscitantes/ præterea
ꝙ summa vi flammantis incendij expurgent/lucidaqꝫ & illuminante proprietate
beatissimi spiritus/apertaqꝫ & inextinguibili & quæ semper eodē
se habeat modo/totius obscurissimę caliginis ac cęcitatis expultrice ac profligatrice
Cherubim sint prędīti:seraphim accepere cognomen. At vero sanctorū cherubim
appellatione: illorum eximia scientia deiqꝫ speculatio/ summæqꝫ &
exuberantis lucis capacitas atqꝫ cōtemplatio(qua diuinam speciem nō pertraduces
vllos/sed primaria vi sua intuentur)gratiæ quoqꝫ copiosa traditio
& communicatio/inuidiæ liuore carens/qua indultam sibi sapientiam in sequentia
Throni & inferiora transfundūt:designatur. Porro altissimarū & eleuatarum
sedium nomine: illas ab omni terreni affectus humilitate longissime
remotas esse/sursumqꝫ ad ardua inuiolabili studio ferri edocemur. dum illæ
ab infimis omnibus iugi intētione disiunctæ/ac circa illum qui vere excelsus
est totis viribus incōcusse/stabiliterqꝫ locatę/ diuinum aduentū absqꝫ
vllius perturbationis ac materiæ impedimento suscipiunt:deumqꝫ ferentes
obsequij deuotione/ad ipsius percipiendos fulgores semper patēt. Ista quidem
nominum ipsorum (quantum ipsi intelligimus) ratio est. ¶Dicendum 34
vero:quam esse ipsorum hierarchiā arbitremur. Nempe enim ꝙ omnis
huiusce sacræ functionis intentio:ex diuina imitatione ac specie dependeat/
ꝙꝫ officium ipsius omne in participationem sacram/ traditionemqꝫ
purgationis/immixti & diuini luminis/consummātisqꝫ scientię diuisum sit:
supra iam satis dictum esse arbitror. Nunc vero digne pro merito tantarū
rerum/dicere cupio:quonam modo hæc altissimorū spirituum functio/in sāctis
litteris traditur. Primis illis substantijs/quæ post authorem suum deū
locatæ ac velut in ipsius valuis positæ/omnem inuisibilem/ visibilemqꝫ virtutem
cōditam longe transcendunt:propriā quandā esse atqꝫ adesse in nul-

lo diſſimilem functionem/arbitrãdũ eſt. Puritate quoqꝫ ſingulari præditas
exiſtimandum/non quaſi maculis impuris/ colluuionibuſqꝫ liberatas: neqꝫ P
vt materiales non ſuſcipientes imagines. ſed vt omni ſummiſſione atqꝫ admixtione
celſiores/ſacraqꝫ omni re(excellẽti licet)per ſupremam atqꝫ inuiolabilem
puritatem/diuiniſqꝫ ipſis virtutibus omnibus ſuperne eminentes/
atqꝫ ordinem ſuum ſempiterno pariliqꝫ & conſtanti vigẽtem motu: fixum
atqꝫ inuertibilem diuina dignatione tenentes. nullãqꝫ in deterius imminutionẽ Q
penitus ſcientes: ſed ſtabili ſemper atqꝫ immobili diuinæ proprietatis
ſuæ/puriſſimaqꝫ ſede ſubnixas. Contemplatiuas item pari ratione ſentiendum
eſt/nõ quaſi illæ ſenſibilia vel ſpiritualia contẽplẽtur ſigna: neqꝫ vt quę
traditæ in diuinis litteris ſpeculationis ad deũ varietate ferantur. ſed vt totius
ſpiritualis ſcientiæ celſiore luce repletas: principaliſqꝫ atqꝫ pulchra cuncta
facientis ſpeciei/ ſuperſubſtantiali ac liquidiſſima contemplatione/plenitudineqꝫ
35 beatas. ¶ Eadem quoqꝫ ratione IHESV fœliciſſima ſocietate
dignatas intelligendũ. non ꝙ ex fictis imaginibus ac formis illæ deificam ſimilitudinẽ
nitantur exprimere: ſed ꝙ veraciter in prima participatione ſciẽtię
deificorum ipſius luminum illi propinquæ ſint/ac præterea ꝙ ipſis diuina
imitatio excellentiore modo donata ſit. cõmunicãtqꝫ(quantum par eſt) R
in primæ conditionis ſuæ poteſtate/ deificis ipſius/ benigniſſimiſqꝫ virtutibus.
Perfectas autem itidem fatendum: non quaſi eam ſcientiã didicerint/
qua ſignorũ ſacra varietas/perplexaqꝫ ſoluantur inuolucra. ſed vt quę primæ
illius/eminentiſqꝫ gratiæ(per quam deo inſeruntur) plenitudinem ſint S
conſecutæ: iuxta ſupremam illã (cuius capaces ſunt angeli) diuinorum operum
diſciplinam. Neqꝫ enim per ſanctos alios ſpiritus: ſed a diuinitate ipſa
ſacratius erudiuntur/in illam perpetua ſe intẽtione dirigẽtes/ excellenti cũctis
virtute atqꝫ ordine. Ad ſummũ quoqꝫ puritatis & nuſq̃ deuiantis conſtantiæ
verticem peruectæ/& in eo ſtabilitæ: decorem illum omni materia
celſiorem/intelligibilemqꝫ(vt fas eſt)contemplari pergunt. diuinorũqꝫ operum
profundas/& quæ ſciri poſſunt rationes: vt primariæ & quæ iuxta deũ
36 ſint diſcunt/ab ipſa ſancta trinitate ſupreme eruditæ. ¶ Iſtud nempe theologi
apertius indicant: inferiores ſcilicet cœleſtium ſpirituum ordines/ a ſuperioribus
diuinorum operũ ſcientiam honeſtiſſime diſcere. qui vero celſiores
omnibus ſunt: a deitate ipſa(vt fas eſt)ſeorſum ſacratius erudiri. Quoſdam T
enim ex ipſis inducunt a prioribus ſacramẽta perdiſcere/ dominumqꝫ
cœleſtiũ virtutum eſſe ac regem gloriæ(qui humana forma aſſumptus eſſet
in cœlum)alijs docentibus noſſe. Quoſdã item ad IHESV ipſius hæſitãtes
aſpectum/diuiniqꝫ illius operis & pro nobis aſſumptæ carnis ſcientiam
diſcere cupientes: quos ipſe IHESVS per ſe doceat/eximiamqꝫ benignitatem
ſuã primo ipſis inſinuet. ego enim (inquit) loquor iuſtitiam: & iudiciũ V
ſalutaris. Dignum vero miraculo eſt: cur primæ illæ quoqꝫ virtutes angelicæ(quæ
cæteras tanto celſitudinis honore tranſcendunt)diuinarum intelligentias
rerum/quaſi non ſummæ ſed mediæ ſint: a deo reuerenter addiſcere
cupiãt. Non enim ad ipſum ſtatim verba dirigunt/ interrogantes quare
rubra ſunt veſtimẽta tua: ſed prius inter ſe hęrentes inquirunt. vt oſtendãt

quidem ſe diſcendi auidas & diuini operis ſcientiam cupere: verum hāc ſi-
bi nequaq̃ ante diuinæ illuſtrationis gratiam ſuo ordine procedentis/ vſur-
pare præſumere. ¶Prima igitur cœleſtiū ſpirituum ſacratiſſima functio: 37
ab ipſo deo (vt diximus) eruditur. Cumqꝫ ad illum nullo medio tota inten-
tione feratur: purgatione caſtiſſima/ ingēti lumine/ & exactiſſima primaqꝫ
perfectione pro modo & captu ſuo plena/ purgatur & illuminatur atqꝫ ꝑ-
ficitur. omnis quidem ſummiſſionis admixtione pura: cæterum primo ple-
na lumine/ & primitus indultæ notionis ac ſcientiæ effecta particeps. ¶Il- 38
lud quoqꝫ paucis non inconuenienter addiderim/ ꝙ participatio ipſa diui-
næ ſcientię: & purgatio/ & illuminatio ſit/ atqꝫ perfectio: dū per indultam ſi-
bi ordinatiſſime perfectiorū myſteriorū notionē/ veluti ab ignorantia pur-
gat. Ipſaqꝫ diuina ſcientia illuminat/ per quā etiā purgat: dum quæ antea
non videbantur/ ſublimioris nunc intelligentiæ luce panduntur. perficit iti-
dem hoc lumine: dum altiſſimorum ſenſuū firmam/ perſeuerantēqꝫ ſcientiā
tradit. Hæc igitur eſt (quantū ipſe ſapio) cœleſtium ſpirituū prima diſtin-
ctio/ quæ deū iugiter ambiens/ & circa illum nullis medijs interpoſitis agmi
nibus aſtans: æternam ipſius ſcientiam ſimpliciter & indeficienti circūſtat
affectu/ ſecundum altiſſimā illius angelicæ firmitatis ſempiterno vigentis
motu/ rationem. Ea quippe plurimas ac beatiſſimas ſpeculationes/ puriſſi-
mis intuetur obtutibus: ſimpliceſqꝫ & continentes diuinæ claritatis radios
ſuſcipit/ atqꝫ diuini cibi alimonia paſcitur: qui primę quidem eſt largitionis
profuſione plurimus. cæterū diuinæ refectionis vnitate non varia/ & quos
repleuerit ſibi inſerente: vnus eſt. Permulta item diuinæ ſocietatis gratia &
X familiaritate & cooperatione beata/ dum eius in ſe pro viribus ſimilitudinē
exprimit/ præclaros habitus/ actioneſqꝫ imitatur: plurima ex diuinis rebus
excellenti ratione cognoſcens/ diuinæqꝫ ſcientiæ & agnitionis (quantū fas
Y eſt) particeps facta. Quocirca ipſius quoqꝫ laudes ſcriptura ſacra mortali-
bus tradidit: in quibus aperte ſupremæ illius lucis & auguſtiſſimæ intelligē-
tiæ notatur eminentia. Namqꝫ (vt humano more dixerim) alij ex his ſpiri-
tibus/ aquarum voces imitantur: dum exclamant. benedicta gloria domini
de loco ſuo. alij laudatiſſimā illam & horroris/ reuerētiæqꝫ ac ſacratioris in-
telligentię plenam clamātes emittūt vocem. Sāctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus: domi-
nus deus ſabaoth/ plena eſt omnis terra gloria illius. Has autem altiſſimas
Z cœleſtium ſpirituum laudationes/ iam quidē cū de diuinis hymnis ſcribere-
mus: ſatiſqꝫ tūc hac de re pro modulo noſtro in illo opere diximus. Ex quo
ammonendi cauſa id tantum impræſentiarum dixiſſe ſufficiat: ꝙ theologię
ſcientiam prima iſta diſtinctio a diuina bonitate (vt fas eſt) intimi fulgoris
accipiēs: hāc ad diuinę bonitatis imaginē/ deinceps ijs etiā qui poſt eā ſunt
ordinibus tradit. illud (vt breuiter dixerim) docens/ venerandā illam/ excel
lentiqꝫ laude ab omnibus prædicandam deitatem: fas eſſe/ laudabiliter a di
uinis/ tātæqꝫ maieſtatis capacibus ſpiritibus agnoſci/ atqꝫ pro merito ac mo
z do ſingulari celebrari. Sunt enim iſti plane (quod ſacrę tradunt litteræ) vt
diuinam ſpeciē præ ſe ferentes/ diuinæ requiei beatiſſimæ ſedes. Illud præ-
terea: monadē eſſe/ atqꝫ in tribus perſonis vnitatē: quæ a ſummis illis/ ange-

liciſq; ſubſtantijs vſq; ad terræ nouiſſima ineffabili benignitate pertingat/ & quæ ſunt omnia: prouidentiæ ſuæ ratione moderetur. vt totius prouidentiæ ſingulare principium & cauſa: & quod omnia superſubſtantialiter inuiolabili modo compræhenſa contineat.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Neq; vt materiales non ſuſcipiẽtes ima- P
gines: ſed vt omni ſummiſſione atq; admixtione celſiores. Hoc eſt non quaſi libera-
tas a rerum materialium imaginationibus: quemadmodum nos (cum ad dei contem-
plationem proficere volumus) liberari neceſſum eſt. ſed vt omni ſummiſſione/ hoc eſt
ſubiectione & diminutione & contrariorum ammixtionis impuritate: longe ſuperio-
res. ¶ Nullamq; in deterius imminutionem penitus ſcientes. imminutionem: immu- Q
tationem/ offenſionem/ atq; iniuriam. ¶ Communicantq; quantum par eſt in primæ R
conditionis ſuæ poteſtate: deificis ipſius/ benigniſſimiſq; virtutibus. Alia traductio ha-
bet. communicant autem huiuſmodi (vt poſſibile eſt) in præoperatrice virtute: deifi-
cis ipſius & humanis virtutibus. quia primos IHESV perficientis/ beatificantiſq;
radios & benigniſſimæ humanitatis ſuæ myſteria (vtpote quæ ſint viciniores) præri-
piunt: in alios deriuant/ atq; diffundunt. ¶ Plenitudinem ſint conſecutæ: iuxta ſu- S
premam illam (cuius capaces ſunt angeli) diuinorum operum diſciplinam. Angeli/ ſu-
premæ diſciplinæ diuinorum operum capaces ſunt: ſed non ſecundum illam exube-
rantem plenitudinem/ qua ſupremus ordo (qui ſine medio a diuinitate imbuitur) pur-
gatur/ illuminatur/ atq; perficitur. Alij vero tantæ plenitudinis minime capaces: a di-
uinitate (concurrentibus alijs/ medijſq; ſpiritibus) purgationes/ illuminationes/ per-
fectioneſq; ſuſcipiunt. ¶ Quoſdam enim ex ipſis inducunt: a prioribus ſacramen- T
ta perdiſcere. Theologi/ ſanctiq; prophetæ quoſdam cœleſtium ſpirituum indu-
cunt: ſacramenta a ſuperioribus/ celſioribuſq; ſpiritibus perdiſcere. Pſalmus viceſi-
muſtertius. quis eſt iſte rex gloriæ? dominus virtutum ipſe eſt rex gloriæ. Eſaias ca-
pite ſexageſimoſecundo. Ecce ſaluator tuus venit/ ecce merces eius cum eo/ & opus
eius coram illo: & vocabunt eos populus ſanctus/ redempti a domino. ¶ Ego enim V
inquit loquor iuſtitiam: & iudicium ſalutaris. Eſaias capite ſexageſimotertio. quis eſt
iſte qui venit de Edom/ tinctis veſtibus de Boſra: iſte formoſus in ſtola ſua/ gradiens
in multitudine fortitudinis ſuæ? Ego qui loquor iuſtitiam: & propugnator ſum ad ſal-
uandum. Quare ergo rubrum eſt indumentum tuum: & veſtimenta tua ſicut calcan-
tium in torculari? Torcular calcaui ſolus: & de gentibus non eſt vir mecum. Ex quibus
õnibus: talis diuinus colligitur dialogus. cuius interlocutores: angelicus ordo. eccleſia. Dialogus
medius cœleſtiũ ordo. ſupremus ordo. IHESVS mundi author & ſaluator: qui ſe a ter- ex diuinis
ris recipiẽs/ in cœlũ aſſumitur. Angelicus ordo ad eccleſiã. Ecce ſaluator tuus venit/ ec-
ce merces eius cum eo & opus eius coram illo: & vocabunt eos populus ſanctus/ redẽ-
pti a domino. tu autẽ vocaberis quæſita ciuitas: & nõ derelicta. Medius virtutũ ordo ad
principatus & angelicũ ordinem. Attollite portas principes veſtras/ & eleuamini portæ
æternales: & introibit rex gloriæ. Angelicus ordo ad mediũ cœleſtiũ/ ſuperioremq; ordi-
nẽ. Quis eſt iſte rex gloriæ? Medius ad angelicũ. Dñs fortis & potẽs/ dñs potẽs in præ-
lio. Supremus cœleſtium ordo ad medium ordinem. Attollite portas principes veſtras
& eleuamini portæ ęternales: & introibit rex gloriæ. Medius ad ſupremum. Quis eſt iſte
rex gloriæ? Supremus ad mediũ. Dñs virtutũ: ipſe eſt rex glorię. Supremi inter ſe. Quis
eſt iſte qui venit de Edom/ tinctis veſtibus de Boſra: iſte formoſus in ſtola ſua/ gradiens
in multitudine fortitudinis ſuę? IHESVS author ſęculorũ ad eos. Ego qui loquor iuſti-
tiã/ & propugnator ſum ad ſaluandũ. Supremus ordo ad eundẽ. Quare ergo rubrũ eſt
indumentũ tuũ: & veſtimenta tua ſicut calcantiũ in torculari? IHESVS ſaluator ad eoſ-
dẽ. Torcular calcaui ſolus: & de gentibus non eſt vir mecũ. ¶ Familiaritate & coopera- X
tione beata. Suprema diſtinctio beata: eſtq; beata rectus & nõ ſeptimꝰ caſus. ¶ Quocir- Y
ca ipſius quoq; laudes ſcriptura ſacra mortalibus tradidit. Ezechiel cap. 3. Et aſſumpſit
me ſpiritus: & audiui poſt me vocẽ cõmotionis magnę. benedicta gloria domini de loco
ſuo/ & vocẽ alarũ animaliũ percutientiũ alterã ad alterã/ & vocẽ rotarũ ſequentiũ ani-
malia/ & vocẽ cõmotionis magnę. Eſaias cap. ſexto. Seraphim ſtabãt ſuper illud. ſex alę
vni/ & ſex alæ alteri: duabus velabant faciẽ eius/ & duabus velabãt pedes eius/ & dua-
bus volabãt. & clamabant alter ad alterũ & dicebãt. ſanctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus: dñs deus

ſabaoth. plena eſt omnis terra: gloria eius. Sabaoth nūc apud nos verſum eſt/exercituū

Z ¶ Iam quidem cum de diuinis hymnis ſcriberemus. Librum de diuinis hymnis diuinus pater Dionyſius compoſuit: qui et nunc deſideratur. & quē clementia IHESV CHRISTI/ z eiuſq; omni hymno & laude digna bonitas: reſtituat. ¶ Sunt enī iſti plane (quod ſacræ tradunt litteræ) vt diuinam ſpeciem præ ſe ferentes. Eſaias cap. ſexageſimoſexto. Quæ eſt iſta domus quam ædificabitis michi: & quis iſte locus requietionis meę? hæc/ manus mea fecit: & facta ſunt vniuerſa iſta/dicit dominus.

¶ SEPTIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

De prima/ſupremaq; hierarchia/& triplici illius ordine determinaturus 33 hic ſacer Dionyſius/admiſſa ſuſceptaq; diſtinctionū angelicarū diuiſione in prȩcedente capite poſita: primū loco proloquij pricipijq; proponit. ꝙ ōne ſanctorū ſpirituū nomē ordini ipſorū peculiariter inditū: inſinuat ac indicat diuinā aliquā proprietatē illi ordini conuenientē. Vt qui hebrȩā callēt linguā: ſeraphim ſignificare dicūt/incendētes ſiue calefaciētes. Cherubim vero: exuberantiā ſciētiæ/ſiue ſapiētiæ affluentia. Eſt itaq; eximiæ dignitatis & excellētiæ prima ſupernorū ſpirituū diſtinctio: ꝙ cæteris omnibus longe ſupereminead & excelſiore collocata ſit gradu/ante diuinæ maieſtatis conſpectū e vicino immediateq; & iugiter aſſiſtens: & primos diuinæ illuſtrationis radios ſine aliorū interſtitio ſuſcipiēs. Etenī ſuperni ſpiritus huius ſupremæ diſtinctionis/ vocanť throni, cherubim & ſeraphim: nominibus quidē diuinis/accōmodatiſq;/et ipſorū habitus ac proprietates deſignantibus. Quod deinceps ſingillatim hoc pacto declarat: Seraphim in ſingulis iſtorū triū ordinū. ¶ Nāq; ſupremi (īquit) ordinis huius primȩ hierarchiȩ cœleſtes ſpiritus/ſeraphim accepere denominationē: ꝙ diuinis rebus ac officijs ſempiterno motu & nunq̄ defatigato ſtudio intenti ſint/& obſequātur. perinde atq; ignis ſenſibilis: perpetuo motu & indefeſſe ſuas agit functiones. Videmus ſane hūc materialē ignē: ſurſum ſemper emicare & in ſuperiora irrequiete ferri. vt ītelligamus et ſupremos iſtos ſpiritus/ab igne & calefaciendi virtute ſuū nomen ſortitos: ſumma vi ſemper in deū cōuerti/totaq; intentione (quæ nunq̄ fatiſcat) in illū rapi. Rurſum ignis iſte terrenus feruore ſuo & magna quidē celeritate/admota ſibi corpora reddit ignita: illiſq; ſui tradit conſortiū/atq; ſecū defert in ſublime. At longe verius & efficacius ſummi ordinis & eminentiſſimi ſpiritus/ardore ſpirituali & pernicitate perpetui motus ſui/quo iugiter in ſuū ferūtur principium: inferiora etiā cœleſtiū ſubſtantiarū agmina ad ſui ſimilitudinē potentiſſima virtute promouent. quaſi illa incendentes: & ad ſimilem feruoris diuini amoris gratiā inflammātes. Deniq; ignis iſte noſter/purgatorius & lucidus eſt: et ſplendore ſuo dēſas propellit tenebras. Supremi itē ſpiritus/ ſeraphim appellati ſunt: ꝙ virtute ſui ſingularis incendij expurgent alios ſpiritus/quibus ſui tradunt conſortiū. lucidaq; & alios illuminante claritate ſint præditi: in aperto quidem conſpicua ac inextinguibili/& ſine remiſſione aut immutatione eodem ſe modo ſemper habente. quæ ſane claritas: obſcuræ Cherubim caliginis/ cæcitatiſq; a mentibus eorum expultrix eſt & propulſatrix. ¶ Nomine vero ſanctorum cherubim/ ſecundi ordinis primæ hierarchiæ ſpirituum: deſignatur eximia illorum ſcientia deiq; ſpeculatio/ſummæq; & profuſiſſimæ lucis copia. qua diuinam ſpeciē nō per radios lucidos ab alijs ſpiritibus in ipſos traductos: ſed propria nixi virtute & imediate deū contuentur ac contēplātur. Deſignať etiā illorū nuncupatione/copioſa gratiæ a deo ſuſceptæ in alios trāſfuſio atq; traditio: qua ſine liuore inuidię indultā ſibi Throni deſuper ſapientiam inferioribus ſpiritibus cōmunicant. ¶ Deniq; thronorum appellatione (qui poſtremum ſupremæ hierarchiæ ordinem complent) inſinuari dicunt ſacri authores/ipſos ab omni terreni affectus ſummiſſione procul eſſe remotos: ſurſumq; ad ſublimia diuinitatis myſteria indefatigabili ſtudio ferri. dum illi ab imis humilibuſq; rebus omnino diſiuncti/& circa illum qui vere excelſus eſt & ſumma celſitudine omnibus ſupereminet/ ſtabiliter collocati: aduentum dei (qui ipſis inſideat atq; immaneat) ſine aliquo materialis affectus obſtaculo ſuſcipiunt. deumq; ipſis immorantem atq; inhærentē prōptiſſima obſequij deuotione ferentes: ad percipiēdos ipſius lucidiſſimos radios ſemper aperti ſunt ac patent. Et plane hæ ſacratiſſimæ thronorum proprietates: a ſedibus materialibus per aſſurrectionem ſunt deſumptæ. quæ a terra eleuatiores eſſe ſolent/ atq; in altum erectæ: fixis ne titubent pedibus ſtabiliuntur. Inſuper inſidere ipſis volentis aduentum patentes ſuſcipiunt: eumq; officioſo quodam obſequio

34 quieſcentem ferunt. ¶ Nunc ſupereſt oſtendere: quænam ſit iſtorum trium ordinum &
totius primæ diſtinctionis functio. Sane ꝙ omnis hierarchiæ cœleſtis (quæcunq; etiam
ea ſit) intentio conuertatur ad hæc duo: ſcilicet imitationem dei/ & exprimendam in ſe
eius ſimilitudinem. ꝙ etiam omne eius officium diuiſum ſit in ſacram participationē ſuſceptionemq;
a deo/ & in traditionem atq; communicationem horū trium purgationis/
illuminationis & perfectionis: ſatis in tertio capite dictū eſt. Nunc autem videndū eſt:
quomodo totius primæ hierarchiæ functio peragitur. Et plane putare congruit propriā
quandam/ primam/ ſupremamq;/ & in nullo diſcrepantem ab ijs quibus adeſt/ functionē:
cōuenire primis illis cœleſtibus ſubſtantijs/ quæ poſt deum proxime collocatę maximaq;
propinquitate iuxta illū poſitæ: omnē inuiſibilē incorporalēq; creaturā/ & omnē viſibilem
atq; materialē lōge dignitate tranſcendunt. Dignioribus enim ſubſtātijs dignior
accōmodatur operatio: & ipſam ſubſtantiæ conditionem ſequitur & ipſa functionis proprietas.
Exiſtimādū itaq; eſt: ipſas ſupremas ſubſtantias imprimis ſingulari puritate dotatas
eſſe. non quidem ꝙ more humano a maculis aut ſordibus liberatæ ſint/ aut exemptæ
demum a materialibus imaginibus: quas ſecundum modum intelligendi noſtrum
prius ſuſceperint & in ſe habuerint. ſed quia omni ad inferiora deiectione inclinationeq;
ad terrena/ aut humilium affectuum admixtione ſunt ſuperiores/ omniq; re ſpirituali &
ſacra licet admodum excellēti per ſupremam (quæ nunq̄ labefactari poteſt) puritatem/
& cæteris ſpiritibus cœleſtibus longe eminentiores. quia etiam ordinem ſuum conſimili
ſemper & perpetuo conſtantem motu: tenent fixum diuina dignatione atq; inuertibilem.
Neq; vllam in deterius prolapſionem/ imminutionemq; boni vnq̄ ſentiunt: ſed ſtabili
ſemper atq; immobili virtutis ac bonitatis ſede fixę permanent. Secundo loco exiſtimandum
eſt eaſdem primas ſubſtantias/ quæ totam primam cōplent hierarchiam: eſſe
inſigniter contemplatiuas. non quidem quia ſenſibilia aut intellectualia contemplentur
ſigna aut ſpectra/ aut quia varietate & multiformitate ſignorum euehātur ad deum: ſecundum
eum ſpeculandi modum qui in ſacris litteris traditur/ humanæ infirmitati accōmodū.
ſed quia excellentiore totius ſpiritualis ſcientiæ (non autē partis illius: quēadmodum
in hominibus vſu venit) luce ſunt repletæ. quia etiam apertiſſima/ clariſſimaq; contēplatione
diuinæ ſpeciei atq; pulchritudinis (quę pręcipua eſt omniū: & cūcta facit pulchra)
35 ſunt beatę. ¶ Conſimili quoq; modo putandū eſt/ eaſdē primas ſubſtantias: eſſe dignas
habitas vt fruantur fœliciſſima ſocietate domini IHESV. nō tātum ſecundū diuinitatē:
ſed & glorioſam eius humanitatē. Non quidē ꝙ ex effictis imaginibus ac formis:
diuinā in ſe ſimilitudinē humano more conentur efformare. ſed quia reuera illi e vicino
aſtāt & propinquæ ſunt/ in prima immediataq; participatione diuinorum illius radiorum:
qui deiformes eos reddunt quibus infulgent. quia etiā ipſis diuina imitatio excellentiore
modo q̄ reliquis omnibus indulta ſit: ob maiorem ad deum propinquitatē. communicantq;
per benigniſſimam IHESV illuſtrationē in diuinis eius virtutibus: quibus
deificantur atq; in deum tranſeunt. necnō & in benigniſſimis aſſūptæ humanitatis ipſius
cōmunicāt virtutibus: agnoſcētes āplius q̄ cæteri auguſtiſſima illius myſteria/ ob primā
ad deū vicinitatē & immediatā locationē. Ea enim eſt poteſtas & virtus primę ſuæ
cōditionis & ſortis/ qua deo proxime collocatę ſunt: vt cæteris vberius ſacris CHRISTI
muneribus participēt. Tertio deniq; loco ſentiendū eſt ipſas primas ſupremæ hierarchiæ
ſubſtantias eſſe perfectas. Non quidem quia eam didicerint ſcientiam/ qua varietas
& multitudo ſignorum ſenſibilium abſtruſa obuelantium myſteria reueletur: aut
qua velamenta corporalia inuoluentia occultis ambagibus ſpiritualem intelligentiam
rerum cœleſtium/ reſerentur. Nempe ob imperfectionem & imbecillitatem/ ille
modus eſt cognoſcendi noſtræ mentis: quam illę/ eminentiſſime excedunt. ſed quoniā
cōſecutæ ſunt exuberantiā & plenitudinē primæ & inſignis gratię: per quā in deum aſſumuntur/
iuxta ſummam illam (cuius ipſi cœleſtes ſpiritus capaces ſunt) diuinorum operum
ſcientiam. Quippe in CHRISTO vt homine atq; in ſacratiſſima eius anima/
ſuperior eſt et eminentior diuinorum operum ſcientia: de cuius etiam plenitudine accipiunt
& homines & angeli/ accepto generatim (vt hic fit) angelorum nomine. Illa
autem animæ CHRISTI ſcientia (in qua omnes theſauri ſcientiæ & ſapiētiæ ſunt abſconditi) Coloſ. 2
ipſorum etiam ſupremorū ſpirituum excedit capacitatē & menſuram. Conſimiliter
in ipſo deo exuberantior eſt ſapientia q̄ in angelis: quoniā īmēſa & infinita. quare
angelorum ſcientia collata ad diuinam/ non eſt ſimpliciter ſuprema. Verum quoniam

illius immenſitatis diuinę ſcientiæ/cœleſtes ſpiritus non ſunt capaces: id impedimento
non eſt/quin ipſis primæ hierarchiæ ſpiritibus aſſit ſuprema(cuius capaces ſunt angeli)
diuinorum operũ ſcientia. Nēpe nullis alijs ſpiritibus angelicis adeſt ſuperior aut affluētior
ſcientia: cum nulli alij ſint illis ſublimiores/aut maiore propinquitate circa deũ collocati.
Qꝫ autē hæ ſacratiſſimę & altiſſimę ſubſtãtię: ſupremam hauriãt(quantum eſt in angelis)
diuinorum operum diſciplinam: vel ex eo conſtat/ ꝙ non per alios cœleſtes ſpiritus
ſed ab ipſa diuinitate primo erudiuntur: in illam perpetua conuerſione atqꝫ motu ſe
dirigentes/ea quidem virtute & ordine qui cuncta tranſcendat. Eędem ad ſummum puritatis
& ſtabilitatis apicem faſtigiũqꝫ ſubuectę/atqꝫ in eo ſtabiliter fixę: decorem illum
diuinę ſpeciei omni re materiali celſiorem & intellectualem(quantum eis conceditur)
contemplari ſtudent/diuinorumqꝫ operum occultas rationes (quę ſciri ab ipſis poſſunt)
primo loco diſcunt: vt immediate iuxta deum conſtitutę/& a ſancta trinitate primũ eruditæ.
¶Tradunt namqꝫ diuinorum myſteriorum ſcriptores/ inferiores cœleſtium ſpirituum 36
diſtinctiones a ſuperioribus rerum ſacratiſſimarum ſcientiam percipere. eas vero
quæ eminētiores omnibus ſunt: ab ipſo deo ſecretius & occultius erudiri. Inducũt enim
ipſi deiloqui patres quoſdam ex angelicis ſpiritibus inferiores quidem & poſteriores:
a prioribus occulta ſacramenta diſcere/ & ex aliorum doctrina cognoſcere: ꝙ IHESVS
Pſal.23 qui in glorificata carne aſſumebatur in cœlum: dominus eſſet virtutum & rex
gloriæ. Quoſdam etiam inducunt ex admiratione ad ipſius IHESV aſcendentis in
cœlũ ſubſiſtētes aſpectũ: & cupiētes percipere ſcientiã altiſſimi illius operis noſtrę redemptionis
& diſpenſationis pro nobis aſſumptæ. quos vtpote ſupremos & ſummos
Eſaiæ.63 ſpiritus/ IHESVS ſine medio & per ſe doceat: dicens illud Eſaiæ. Ego loquor iuſtitiam:
& iudicium ſalutaris. Illud vero dignum contemplatione eſt & admiratione/
quomodo illæ ſummę angelicæ ſubſtantiæ/ quæ alijs(vt dictum eſt) lõge ſupereminēt:
diuinorum myſteriorum ſcientiam cum modeſtia/ reuerentia & veneratione ſingulari a
IHESV addiſcere cupiant: quaſi non ſummæ eſſent & quæ immediate a deo debeãt
erudiri/ſed tanq̃ forent mediæ/& aliorum cœleſtium ſpirituum officio indigerent ad ſacramenta
cœleſtia perdiſcenda. Non enim in principio verba ad ipſum dirigunt vt inquirant:
quare rubrum eſt veſtimentũ tuum? ne arroganter ſe videantur ante tempus
ingerere ad perquirendũ: ſed prius inter ſe dubitantes ſciſcitantur. quis eſt iſte qui venit
de Edom? vt oſtendant ſe quidem diſcendi myſterij deſiderio teneri: verum nequaq̃
pręſumere/vt illam ſibi vſurpent ſcientiam ante tempus legitimum & diuinæ illuſtrationis
gratiam/ſuo tempore ſeipſam humilibus & cum reuerentia diuinum donum expectantibus/inſinuantis.
Quemadmodum diſcipuli apprime eruditi/aliquid diſcuſſione
& enodatione indigens ad manum habentes: non audent ex modeſtia primum compellare
magiſtrum/ vt dubium illud enodet. ſed prius inter ſe percontantur quod videtur
ambiguum/ & illorum diſceptatione excitus præceptor: verba ad eos facit rem illam
concernentia/ex quibus ipſi quaſi ſecundo loco capiunt fiduciam ipſum magiſtrum interrogandi.
Quod & diſcipulos in euangelio apud Ioannem factitaſſe legimus: cum
Ioan.16 inter ſe quærerent eorum verborũ quę a domino dicta fuerant/intelligentiam. ¶Deinde 37
oſtēdit ſacratus pater hoc loco/quomodo ſuprema diſtinctio tria illa cõmunia cuilibet
hierarchiæ munera ſuſcipit: purgationem/illuminationem & perfectionem. dicens
ex ſupradictis iam conſtare/ꝙ illa prima cœleſtium ſpirituum diſtinctio a deo immediate
eruditur. Et quoniam tota intentione virtuteqꝫ mentis fertur in deum: ideo
purgatione defecatiſſima/ illuminatione candidiſſima/ & perfectione conſummatiſſima
pro ſuæ dignitatis gradu purgatur/ illuminatur & perficitur. nullam habens admixtionem
diſſimilitudinis aut ſummiſſionis ad inferiora/primario & ſine medio a deo manãte
lumine illuſtrata/ & primo loco indultæ ſibi diuinorũ ſcientiæ qua perficiatur effecta
particeps. ¶Neqꝫ illud prætermittendũ eſt/ꝙ ipſa diuinæ ſcientiæ prima participatio/ 38
quam percipiunt ſupremæ illæ virtutes angelicæ: eſt & purgatio/& illuminatio/ & perfectio.
Purgatio quidem: quoniam huiuſmodi participatio per traditam ſibi altiſſimorũ
myſteriorum notionem eas veluti a priore ignorantia purgat. Illuminatio vero: quoniã
talis participatio illas angelicas ſubſtantias diuina quadam ſcientia illuminat. dum ea
quæ antea non cognouerunt: vberioris poſtea cognitionis luce fulgida ipſis manifeſtãtur.
Demum perfectio etiam eſt ea participatio ſupernæ ſcientiæ: dum ſublimium &
arduorum myſteriorum perficientem ipſis ſcientiam tradit. Hæc itaqꝫ eſt angelicorum

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ſpirituum prima diſtinctio: quę deum indeficiētet āplectens & nullo alio interſtite ſpirituum
agmine illi aſſiſtens/ æternam ipſius ſcientiam & indeſinenter ambit ardente deſiderio/
& illam iugiter haurit ſecundum ſui motus perpetuo vigore conſtantis rationē.
Nempe eadē plurimas & altiſſimas ſpeculationes ſupra cæteros omnes ſpiritus puriſſimis
intuetur luminibus/ ſimpliceſqꝫ & primos ac immediatos diuinę lucis radios in ſe affluenter
ac vbertim ſuſcipit: huiuſmodi cibi diuini alimoniam(dei dico perfectiſſimam
contemplationem & viſionem)ſemper aſſecuta & obtinens. qui quidem diuinus cibus
profuſione largitionis in alios: plurimus eſt. ſed eadem prorſus vnitate diuinæ refectionis/
qua deus eos reficit & inſerit intime ſibi/ quos eo cibo replet: maxime vnus eſt. vt ſi
eum a quo proficiſcitur hic cibus/ & in quem tranſeunt qui eo paſcūtur/ attēdas: vnum
maxime cibum illū inuenias. Si vero eos conſideres quibus cōmunicatur et profunditur
huiuſmodi cibus: plurimus eſt & multiplex. queadmodū de diuinę lucis radio: in principio
huius libri dictum iam eſt. Eadem quoqꝫ prima angelorū diſtinctio/ copioſa diuinæ
ſocietatis gratia & familiaritate beatitudinē ſortita/ cum ipſius dei in ſe ſpeciē pro viribus
efformat: præclaras eius proprietates & actiones q̄ proxime imitatur. multo plura
q̄ inferiores ſpiritus de diuinis rebus excellenter cognoſcens: et ſcientiæ diuinæ atqꝫ
cognitionis (quantum illi conceditur) multo vberius cæteris particeps effecta. Hanc
ob rem ipſius primæ ſupremæqꝫ hierarchiæ laudes ſancta ſcriptura inſigniter hominibus
inſinuat: in quibus eminentiſſimæ illius cognitionis & ſcientiæ notatur ſuperexcellentia.
Nā deſcribuntur apud deiloquos patres/ nōnulli ex illis ſpiritibus imitari voces
aquarū: cū dicit propheta audiuiſſe poſt ſe vocē cōmotionis magnæ/ dicentē. Benedicta Ezech.3
gloria domini de loco ſuo. Alij vero auguſtiſſimā illam vocem & plenam reformidationis
diuinæ maieſtatis/ ob reſilitionē in ſuam paruitatem ex veneratione & debita reuerentia
procedētem: proclamant. Sāctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus: dominus deus ſabaoth. Quas Eſa.6
quidem āgelicas laudationes: beatus pater in libro ſuo de diuinis hymnis diffuſius explicuit.
Demū & illud ſupradictis adijciendū, ꝙ iſta prima diſtinctio diuinitatis ſcientiā
& illuſtrem claritatem a deo ſuſcipiens: eā ad diuinę bonitatis imitationē in ſequētes inferioreſqꝫ
deriuat ac transfundit, quo nos edoceat fas id eſſe & rationabile/ ꝙ merito ab
omnibus adoranda & prædicanda deitas: ab ipſis primis & ſupremis ſpiritibus/ immēſæ
maieſtatis ſuo modo capacibus/ celebretur honore quodā ſingulari/ ſimul & collaudet.
Sunt enim ſpiritus ōnes primæ hierarchiæ/ cuiuſcūqꝫ ſint ordinis: vt ſuſceptacula quędam
& reclinatoria diuinæ quietis/ dei ſpeciē & imaginem propter continuā immediationē
ad ipſum/ clare præ ſe ferētia. Ex eodē quoqꝫ edocemur: monadem eſſe diuinā/ in
perſonarū triade ſubſiſtentem/ quæ a ſupremis illis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus per intermedia
omnia/ tum agmina cœleſtia/ tū corpora & cœleſtia & elemētaria: vſqꝫ ad terræ nouiſſima
& infimā creaturæ ſpeciē pertingit. Attingit enim (vt ait ſapiens) a fine vſqꝫ ad finē Sapi.8
fortiter: & diſponit omnia ſuauiter. & cuncta quæ ſubſiſtunt: prouidentiæ ſuæ cura moderatur/
tanq̄ totius prouidentiæ fons/ origo & cauſa. quæ omnia virtutis ſuæ immenſitate
cōpræhenſa: in ſuo tenore continet & ſaluat. Nichil ſane eſt vſqꝫ adeo in rebus minutū
aut abiectum: quod eius prouidentiam ſubterfugiat. cui æqualiter eſt cura de omnibus: Sapi.6
apud quem nec paſſeres in obliuione ſunt/ nec ſine eius nutu in terrā cadunt. qui Lucæ.12
& lilia agri miro veſtit ornatu: & fœnum terrę grato virore adornat. Matth.10

¶De dominationibus/ virtutibus/ ac poteſtatibus: & de media illarum hierarchia. Matth.6

Cap. VIII.

39 TRanſeundum iam nobis eſt ad mediam cœleſtium ſpirituū
diſtinctionem: dominationeſqꝫ illas & potentiſſima omnino
ſpectacula diuinarum poteſtatum/ atqꝫ virtutum (erectis
in æterna luminibus) pro captu noſtro contemplandum.
Quęlibet enim ſupernarum virtutum appellatio: proprietates
illarum diuinam imitantes ſpeciem ſignat. Sanctarum
igitur dominationum pleno myſterij nomine ſignari arbitror: celſiorem Dñationes
intelligentiam quandam/ totius ſeruitutis ignaram/ omniqꝫ ſummiſſione
infima liberam/ nulliqꝫ tyrannicæ diſſimilitudini vllo omnino modo

ſeipſam ſubijcientem. Quæ cum ſuam aſſerit libertatem: vt nullis blãdicijs
cedens/veraqꝫ dominatio/ſeruili omni & imminutioni obnoxio opere ſupe
rior eſt/nulliqꝫ ſummiſſioni cedit. Atqꝫ õni diſſimilitudine celſior: verę do-
minationis/ immo deitatis ipſius ſũmæ dominantis/ indeficienti ardentiqꝫ
flagrat deſiderio. atqꝫ ad illius propriam ſimilitudinem/ſe ipſam inquãtum
poteſt/& quæ poſt ſe ſunt: ad ſummi boni exemplar effingit. atqꝫ ad nichil
A eorum quæ fruſtra videntur/ſed ad id ſolum quod vere ac proprie eſt: tota
intentione conuerſa/ ſummæ ſemper dominantis deitatis pro viribus par-
Virtutes ticeps fit. ℭ Enimuero beatiſſimarum appellatione virtutum: virilem quan 4
dam & (vt ſic dixerim) maſculam incõcuſſamqꝫ fortitudinem ſignari/ certũ
eſt. qua in omnibus diuinis ſuis actionibus præditæ/ ad nullius ſuperne il-
labentis diuini fulgoris perceptionem inualidæ fiunt/ atqꝫ ad dei imitatio-
nem potenter aſſurgũt. Neqꝫ per imbecillitatis ignauiam diuinos ſuos de-
ſerunt motus: cæterum intentione perpetua ſupremam illam (per quam va
lent omnia) virtutem intuentur. eiuſqꝫ potens imago pro viribus fiunt/ atqꝫ
ad ipſam vt virtutis totius authorem vi ſumma conuerſæ: ad ea quæ inferio
ra ſecundo loco ſunt/virtutis largitate/ ad diuinæ bonitatis effigiem/prode
Poteſtates unt. ℭ Porro ſanctarum poteſtatum vocabulo (quę vnam & æqualem cum 4
altiſſimis dominationibus atqꝫ virtutibus ſortem accepere) ſignificari dici-
mus ornatiſſimum/ & nulla permixtione confuſum ad diuina ſuſcipienda/
ac pulcherrimum ordinem: & aptiſſimam ſeriem cœleſtis/ ſpiritualiſqꝫ po-
tentiæ/ nequaq̃ tyrannice atqꝫ in deterius viribus ſuę poteſtatis abutentis.
verum inſuperabili conſtantia ordinatiſſime ad diuina tendentis/ & quæ
poſt ſe ſunt agmina: dei imitatione promouentis. Hæ vero/ ſummæ illius
poteſtatis (ex qua/vt ſint potentes/acceperunt) ſimilitudinem in ſe nituntur
B exprimere/ eamqꝫ (vt angelis fas eſt) in ſuis ordinibus/ decore potentiſſi-
mæ virtutis inſignibus præferunt. His diuinis proprietatibus freta cœle-
ſtium ſpirituum media illa diſtinctio: purgatur quidẽ & illuminatur/atqꝫ
perficitur (modo quo diximus) ex ſacris intelligentiæ diuinæ fulgoribus/ in
illam per primæ/ ſuperioriſqꝫ diſtinctionis officium ſecundo loco manan-
C tibus: perqꝫ mediam illam hac liquidiore penetrantibus luce. ℭ Deniqꝫ ꝙ 4
D legimus/per angelum in alium angelum cuiuſdam rei perueniſſe noticiam:
euidens indicium eſſe arbitramur perfectionis ex longinquo venientis/ac
proceſſus ratione in ſecundum perfectionis locum deriuãtis. Nempe enim
vt ij qui noſtra veneranda myſteria probatiſſime callent: eas diuinarũ perce
ptiones rerum/ quæ a deo ipſo ſumuntur nullius intercedente miniſterio/
perfectiores eſſe aiunt ijs diuinæ contemplationis participationibus/ quæ
per alios veniunt: ita reor angelicorum quoqꝫ ordinum gradum/ qui ſine vl
lo medio diuina contemplatione fruuntur/dum in deum ipſum præcipue
tẽdunt: longe eſſe certiorem & efficaciorem/ q̃ illorum qui per alios medios
E id aſſequuntur. Quocirca noſtra quoqꝫ ſancta/ſacerdotaliſqꝫ traditio/ pri-
mores illos ſpiritus: ſequentiũ perficiẽtes & illuminãtes ac purgãtes appel
lat. quorũ illi miniſterio/ ad ſummũ illud oĩm pricipiũ ſubuehunt̃: diuina-
rũqꝫ purgationũ/& illuſtrationũ ac ꝑfectionũ (vt ſibi fas eſt) participes fiũt.

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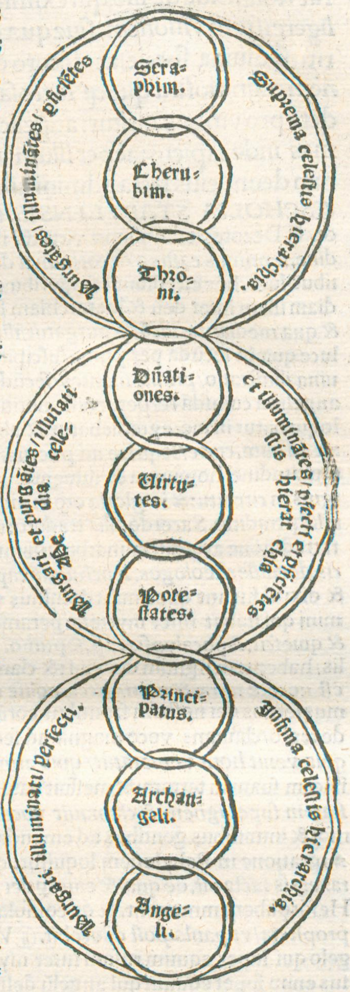
1773/D

Id quippe diuina & æterna lege atq; ordine ſãcitũ eſt: vt ꝑ prima / ſecũdis diuini fulgoris radius influat. Inuenies hoc pleriſq; in locis F docuiſſe theologos. Nã cũ diuina paterna q; clemẽtia / Iſraeliticã plebẽ ꝓ ſalute ſua ad cõ uerſionis gratiam erudiret / feriſq; & immi- G tibus gentibus ad emẽdationem / & ad pœnam de illa ſumendam exponeret / omniq; prouidentiæ genere errantes ad meliora cõuerteret: vbi ad pœnitentiæ remedia confugiſſent / & liberos a captiuitatis iniuria dimittebat: & ad priores per ſummam clemen-
43 tiam delicias / copiaſq; reuocabat. ℭ Cernit nempe Zacharias vnus ex theologis vnum ex primis vt arbitror angelis / qui oculis di- H uinæ maieſtatis ſemper aſſiſtunt (communis quippe eſt / vt ſupra iam diximus: cœleſtibus omnibus angelica cognominatio) verba conſolatoria de hoc ipſo a deo didiciſſe / vt dictum eſt. Alium vero ex inferio- I ribus angelis in occurſum primi proceſſiſ- k ſe: vt diuinæ per illum intelligentiæ capax & particeps fieret. deinde cum ab eo veluti ab antiſtite diuinum conſilium didiciſſet: vt prophetam quoq; doceret / fuiſſe permiſſum / q; vbertim habitabitur Hieruſalem a multitudine hominum. Alius item ex theologorum numero: Ezechiel / hoc & a dei- L tate ipſa ſedente ſuper cherubim in ſuæ glo- M ria maieſtatis / ſacratiſſime fuiſſe conſtitutum ait. Iſraeliticam enim (vt diximus) gentem paterna clementia per diſciplinam ad meliora traducens: iuſtitia conuenientiſſi- N ma inſontes a reis diſcernendos inſtituit.


Sera-
phim.
Cheru-
bim.
Thro-
ni.
Purgãtes / illuminãtes / pficiẽtes
Suprema celeſtis hierarchia.
Dñati-
ones.
Virtu-
tes.
Pote-
ſtates.
Purgari et purgãtes / illuĩati
Me dia. cele-
et illuminãtes / pfecti et pficiẽtes
ſtis hierar chia
Princi-
patus.
Archan-
geli.
Ange-
li.
Purgari / illuminati / perfecti.
Infima celeſtis hierarchia.

Primus hoc poſt cherubim diſcit: qui lumbos ſaphyro erat accinctus / qui O talarem tunicam pontificalis veſtis indiciũ / induebat. Porro angelos reli- P quos qui ſecuribus armati erant: diuina & ornatiſſima diſpoſitio iubet a priore diſcere diuinum de re tanta diſcrimen. Nam illi quidem per mediam Hieruſalem tranſire iubet: & ſigna frontibus inſontium virorum imponere. aliȷs vero / ite dicitur in ciuitatem poſt ipſum & occidite: neq; parcatis oculis veſtris. ſuper omnes autem in quibus eſt ſignum: nolite propinquare. Quid autem de illo dicemus angelo / qui Danieli ait / exiȷt Q ſermo? aut de illo: qui primus ignem de medio cherubim ſumpſit? ſiue R (quod ad demonſtrationem angelici pulcherrimi ordinis profecto plus

valet) ꝙ cherubim ipſa/ ignem in eius manus inijciunt: qui ſanctam indue
S rat ſtolã. Siue de illo qui eximij meriti Gabrielem vocauit & dixit: fac intel
ligere iſtum viſionem. ſiue quæq; alia a ſanctis theologis de cœleſtium ſpi
rituũ diuina ſpecie/ac decoro ordine dicta leguntur. Ad cuius ſane imagi
nem dum noſtra quoq; ſacroſancta functio ſe componit/eiq; ſimilis eua-
dere pro viribus nititur: angelicũ decorem veluti in figuris conſequetur/for
mas inde capiens: ac per illum/ad ſummum totius ſacræ functionis autho-
rem deum/eius freta adminiculis ſcandens.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Eorum quæ fruſtra videntur. fruſtra: vane/cadu-
B ce. ¶Decore potentiſſimæ virtutis inſignibus præferunt. decore: forma/ & pulchritu-
C dine. ſeptimus caſus a decor/non a decus. ¶Perq; mediam illã/hac liquidiore penetran
tibus luce. hoc eſt/ diuinis fulgoribus manifeſtiore quidem luce penetrantibus per me-
diam illam inter deũ & hierarchiam ſecundo loco collocatam/quæ prima hierarchia eſt:
& qua mediante/ſecũda purgatur/illuminat̃/atq; perficitur. manifeſtiore dico luce: hac
luce quæ in ſecũda per primã ſuſcipitur hierarchia. Sol/lumẽ/ cœlũ/aer/aqua: deus/di-
D uina illuſtratio/primæ mentes/ſecũdæ/tertię. ¶Deniq; ꝙ legimus: per angelum in aliũ
angelum cuiuſdã rei perueniſſe notitiam. Zacharias cap. ſecundo. Et ecce angelus qui
loquebatur in me/egrediebatur: & alius angelus egrediebatur in occurſum eius/ & di-
xit ad eum. curre/loquere ad puerũ iſtum dicens/abſq; muro habitabitur Hieruſalẽ prę
multitudine hominum & iumentorum in medio eius. et ego ero (ait dominus) murus
E ignis in circuitu: & in gloria ero in medio eius. ¶Quocirca noſtra quoq; ſancta ſacerdo-
taliſq; traditio. Sacerdotalis traditio: noſtræ humanæ hierarchiæ diſciplina. & de præſen
F ti traditione atq; diſciplina: beatiſſimus hic loquitur pater. ¶Inuenies hoc pleriſq; in lo-
cis docuiſſe theologos. Zacharias cap. primo. Et reſpondit vir qui ſtabat inter myrteta/
& dixit. Iſti ſunt quos miſit dominus vt perambulent terram. & reſponderũt angelo do
mini qui ſtabat inter myrteta: perambulauimus terram/ & ecce omnis terra habitatur
& quieſcit. Apocalypſis cap. ſeptimo. Et vidi alterum angelũ aſcendentem ab ortu ſo-
lis/habentem ſignum dei viui: & clamauit voce magna quatuor angelis quibus datum
eſt nocere terræ & mari/dicẽs. nolite nocere terræ & mari neq; arboribus: quouſq; ſigne
mus ſeruos dei noſtri in frontibus eorũ. Et capite decimoquarto. Et alius angelus exiuit
de tẽplo/clamans voce magna ad ſedentem ſuper nubem. mitte falcem tuam & mete:
quia venit hora vt metatur/ quia aruit meſſis terræ. & miſit qui ſedebat ſuper nubem/
falcem ſuam in terram: & meſſuit eam. & alius angelus exiuit de altari qui habebat pote
G ſtatem ſuper ignem: & clamauit voce magna ad eum qui habebat falcem acutam. ¶Fe
riſq; & immitibus gentibus ad emendationem. Chaldeis & Babylonijs. de ea enim tranſ
migratione in Babylonem loquitur: quę per Nabugodonoſorum ad Cyri tẽpora & Ar
taxerxis facta eſt. de qua/& eius ꝑ dei indulgentiã reuocatione: quartus regũ & primus
Heſdrę liber ammonent. & de conſolatione reuocationis a deo facta: ſcribit Zacharias
H propheta/vt paulo poſt dilucebit. ¶Vnum ex primis vt arbitror angelis. De eo dicit an
gelo qui ſuper equum rufum inter myrteta paradyſi profunde ſubmiſſa/ ſtabat. Aſcen-
ſus enim ſuper equum qui angelũ deſignat/& myrteta profunda ſubmiſſaq;/& equi va-
rij poſt eum qui ſunt angeli dei: illius diuini ſpiritus ſublimitatẽ atq; altitudinis eminen-
tiam denotant. Zacharias capite primo. Ecce vir aſcendens ſuper equum rufum: & ipſe
ſtabat ſuper myrteta quæ erant in profundo. et poſt eum equi rufi/ varij & albi. quod &
I paulo ſupra adductum eſt. ¶Verba conſolatoria de hoc ipſo a deo didiciſſe. Zacha-
rias ſuper reuocatione Iſraeliticę plebis a captiuitate Babylonica: a dño cõſolatoria ver
ba accepit. Zacharias cap. primo. Reſpõdit angelus dñi & dixit: dñe exercituũ vſq;quo
nõ miſereberis Hieruſalem/& vrbiũ Iuda quibus iratus es? iſte iã ſeptuageſimus ãnus
eſt. et reſpõdit dominus angelo qui loquebatur in me verba bona/ verba conſolatoria.
Et hęc diuinę cõſolationis verba ſunt. zelatus ſum Hieruſalẽ & Sion zelo magno. reuer
tar in Hieruſalẽ: & domus mea ædificabit̃ in ea/& perpendiculũ extẽdetur ſuper Hieru
ſalẽ. adhuc affluent ciuitates meæ bonis/& cõſolabitur adhuc dñs Sion/ & eliget adhuc
k Hieruſalẽ. ¶Aliũ vero ex inferioribus angelis. Zacharias cap. ſecũdo. Et alius angelus
egrediebatur in occurſum eius: & dixit ad eũ. curre/loquere ad puerũ iſtũ dicens: abſq;
muro habitabitur Hieruſalem prę multitudine hominũ & iumentorum in medio eius.

¶Alius item ex theologorũ numero Ezechiel. Ezechiel cap. decimo. Et eleuata eſt gloria L
dñi ſup cherub ad limen domus:& repleta eſt domus nube/& atriũ repletũ eſt ſplendore
gloriæ dñi.& ſonitus alarum cherubim audiebatur vſq; ad atriũ exterius:quaſi vox
dei omnipotentis loquentis. ¶Hoc & a deitate ipſa ſedente ſuper cherubim in ſuę gloria
maieſtatis/ſacratiſſime fuiſſe conſtitutũ ait. Hoc/ ſcilicet Iſraeliticã trãſmigrationem M
in Babylonem. Ezechiel cap. duodecimo. Hec dicit dominus deus. in trãſmigrationem/
& captiuitatem ibunt:& dux qui eſt in medio eorum in humeris portabitur/& in caligine
egredietur. Et paulo poſt.& adducam eum in Babylonem/in terram Chaldeorum:&
ipſam non videbit/ ibiq; morietur / & omnes qui circa eũ ſunt. ¶Iuſtitia cõuenientiſſima N
inſontes a reis diſcernendos inſtituit. Ezechiel cap. vndecimo. Et vidi in medio eorum
Iechoniam filium Azur/& Pheltiam filiũ Banaię principes populi: & dixit ad me.
fili hominis hi ſunt viri qui cogitant iniquitatem/& tractant conſilium peſſimũ.& paulo
poſt. plurimos interfeciſtis in vrbe hac/& impleſtis vias eius interfectis. propterea hæc
dicit dominus. interfecti veſtri quos poſuiſtis in medio eius :hi ſunt carnes/& hæc eſt
lebes/ & educam vos de medio eius. gladium metuiſtis:& gladium inducã ſuper vos
dicit domnus deus. ¶Primus hoc poſt cherubim diſcit:qui lumbos ſaphyro erat accinctus.
Ezechiel cap. nono. Et gloria domini Iſrael aſſumpta eſt de cherub: quæ erat ſuper O
eum ad limen domus.& vocauit virum qui indutus erat lineis/& atramentariũ ſcriptoris
habebat in lumbis ſuis: & dixit dñs ad eum. tranſi per mediam ciuitatem in medio
Hieruſalem:& ſigna Tau ſuper frontes virorum gementium & dolentium ſuper cũctis
abominationibus quæ fiunt in medio eius. Tempore beatiſſimi patris/ vbi legitur:qui Diuerſitas litterarum originaliũ.
indutus erat lineis/ & atramentarium ſcriptoris habebat in lumbis ſuis:legebatur. qui
induebatur veſte talari/ & lumbos ſaphyro erat accinctus. ¶Porro angelos reliquos/
qui ſecuribus armati erãt. Ezechiel eodẽ cap. nono. Et vt id ſũmatim quod hic diuinus P
author dicit/& de ſigno Tau/& de prohibitione facta reliquis angelis taxetur: cõtinuata
Ezechielis ſeries(reſumpto etiam quod paulo ante dictum eſt)audiatur. Et ecce ſex viri
veniebant de via portę ſuperioris quę reſpicit ad aquilonẽ:& vniuſcuiuſq; vas interitus
in manu eius. vir quoq; vnus in medio eorum veſtitus erat lineis: & atramentariũ
ſcriptoris ad renes eius. Et ſteterunt iuxta altare æreum/ & gloria dñi Iſrael aſſumpta
eſt de cherub/quæ erat ſuper eum ad limen domus.& vocauit virum qui indutus erat lineis/
& atramentariũ ſcriptoris habebat in lumbis ſuis:et dixit dominus ad eum. trãſi
per mediam ciuitatem in medio Hieruſalẽ:& ſigna Tau ſuper frontes virorum gementium
& dolentiũ ſuper cũctis abominationibus quæ fiunt in medio eius.& illis dixit/audiente
me. tranſite per ciuitatem ſequentes eum:& percutite. non parcat oculus veſter
neq; miſereamini. ſenem/ adoleſcẽtulum/& virginem/paruulum/& mulieres interficite
vſq; ad internitionẽ. omnem autẽ ſuper quem videritis Tau ne occidatis:& a ſanctuario
meo incipite. Vbi hic interpretatum legimus vas: tempore beatiſſimi patris legebatur
ſecuris. ¶Quid autem de illo dicemus angelo qui Danieli ait/exij ſermo. de Gabriele
id dictũ eſt. Daniel cap. nono. Ecce vir Gabriel quem viderã in viſione a principio: cito Q
volans tetigit me in tempore ſacrificij veſpertini.& docuit me & locutus eſt michi: dixitq;.
Daniel nunc egreſſus ſum vt docerem te/& intelligeres. ab exordio precum tuarũ
egreſſus eſt ſermo. ego autem veni: vt indicarẽ tibi. ¶Aut de illo qui primus ignem de
medio cherubim ſumpſit. Ezechiel cap. decimo. Cũq; pręcepiſſet viro qui indutus erat R
lineis dicens: ſume ignem de medio rotarum quæ ſunt inter cherubim/ingreſſus ille ſtetit
iuxta rotam: & extendit cherub manũ de medio cherubim ad ignem qui erat inter
cherubim.& ſumpſit/et dedit in manus eius qui erat indutus lineis: qui accipiẽs egreſſus
eſt. ¶Siue de illo qui eximij meriti Gabrielem vocauit. Daniel cap. octauo. Et audiui S
vocem viri inter vlai & clamauit & ait: Gabriel/ fac intelligere iſtum/ viſionem. &
venit: et ſtetit vbi ego ſtabam.

39 ¶OCTAVI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

MEdiam cœleſtium ſpirituũ diſtinctionem tres itidem ordines complectentem/nunc explanandã ſuſcipit ſacer Dionyſius: repetens quod in præcedente adduxerat capite proloquiũ. ꝙ quælibet angelicarũ ſubſtantiarũ appellatio: proprietatem illarũ qua diuinam imitãtur imaginẽ/ peculiariter deſignat. Quod hoc loco in dominationibus/ virtutibus & poteſtatibus: hoc modo declarat. Dominationũ quidẽ nomine

(inquit)ſignificatur celſior quædam præſidentia: ſeruitutis õnis prolapſioni & vicio obnoxię
prorſus expers/& õni inclinatione ad inferiora(quæ animũ in ſeruitutẽ redigunt)
omnino libera, neqꝫ ſe tyrannicæ violentiæ aut cõcuſſioni quoquo pacto ſubijciens: quę
ſua dominatione(cum iuſtos opprimit/malos extollit/& propriũ intendit bonum) abutitur.
Recte autem tyrãnis ipſa/ diſſimilitudo eſt dei: qui vt rex benigniſſimus toti mũdo
moderatiſſime dominatur/ ſolum ſubditorum bonum quærens. Quæ ſane angelica dominatio
cum ſe in libertatem ſpiritus vendicat/nullis ſuccũbens blãdicijs ad illicita trahentibus:
omni opere ſeruili ſcilicet peccati/& obnoxio diminutioni bonitatis inſitæ ſuperior
eſt/nulliqꝫ ſubmiſſioni & ad deteriora inclinationi cedit vnq̃. Eadem quoqꝫ omni
diſſimilitudine veri boni excelſior: diuinæ dominationis (quæ vera eſt/& omniũ dominationum
veritas: omnibus pręſidens nulliqꝫ ſubiecta/ & perpetua atqꝫ inuiolabilis natura)
immo ipſius deitatis omnibus dominãtis flagrãtiſſimo ardet deſiderio: atqꝫ ſeipſam
quantum poteſt/& quæ infra ipſam ſunt efformat ad propriã ipſius ſummæ & verę dominationis
ſimilitudinẽ/quo ipſius ſummi boni exẽplar & archetypam veritatẽ propius
et vicinius imitetur. Inſuper ipſa ad nichil eorum quæ vana ſunt & inania / ſed ad id
quod vere ac proprie eſt/ſcilicet deum ipſum cõuerſa: totis animi viribus diuinæ dominationis/
õnibus ſumme præſidentis/ pro modo ſuo fit particeps. ¶ Nomine vero ſanctarum 40
virtutum, vt ſecũdum deſignant medię hierarchiæ ordinem: ſignificatur virilis
quędam/robuſta & firma fortitudo, qua illius ordinis cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ in õnibus ſuis
actionibus prædite: ad diuini radij deſuper earũ mentibus illabentis ſuſceptionem nequaq̃
trepidæ ſunt aut infirmæ/ quẽadmodũ imbecillis oculus ad illuſtre ſolis iubar hauriendum
eſt inualidus & trepidat, quinimmo ad dignam dei imitationem: magnis viribus
aſſurgũt ac annitũtur. Neqꝫ per debilitatẽ aut inertiam ſua propria deſerũt munia:
more humanæ mentis ignauia torpentis, ſed perpetua interni luminis ad deum cõuerſione:
virtutem illã ſummã & primam quæ omniũ virtutum eſt veritas/& per quam omnia
ſunt in ſuo genere valida: ac ſignaculis & notis illius diuinæ virtutis inſignita/ ſemper
intuentur. Quinimmo ipſius ſupremæ virtutis: iſtæ virtutes angelicę perfecta fiunt
imago. atqꝫ ad illam vt totius virtutis primã cauſam toto niſu conuerſæ: ad ea cœleſtia
agmina quæ inferiora ſunt/virtutis etiam ſuæ cõmunicationẽ(vt & in eo diuinã imitentur
bonitatem) diffundunt. ¶ Deniqꝫ ſanctarũ poteſtatum appellatione (quæ æqualem 4
hierarchiæ conditionem cũ dominationibus & virtutibus ſunt ſortitæ: q̃uis illius diſtinctionis
ordinem habeant poſtremũ/& quãtum ad hoc quandam gradus inęqualitatem)
inſinuatur ornatiſſimus & nulla cõfuſione permixtus ad diuina ſuſcipienda/ ac decoratiſſimus
ordo/& diſpoſitiſſima ſeries cœleſtis ac ſpiritualis potentiæ: nequaq̃ more tyrãnidis
in peiora viribus ſuæ poteſtatis abutentis. Non enim ad inſolentiam/ violentiã aut
oppreſſionem aliorũ exercet cœleſtis illa ſpirituũ poteſtas vires ſuas: ſicut tyrãni facere
ſolent/opprimentes ſubiectos ſibi/ ſed ad ſuæ ſortis munera exequenda. & inſuperabili
conſtantia pulcherrimo quodam ordine ſurſum tendunt ad diuina: atqꝫ inferiores ſubſtantias
cœleſtes/per indultorũ ſibi bonorum benignam diſtributionẽ/ad deum promouent.
in quo diuinã ordinatiſſime bonitatem imitantur: ſua bona alijs effuſe elargiẽtem
Eædem quoqꝫ angelicæ poteſtates: ſummę/ſupremæqꝫ poteſtatis(quæ omnipotens eſt/
immenſa/infinita: & ex qua vt prima cauſa/ipſæ vt potentes ſint acceperũt/immo õnia
ex illa & per illam poſſunt)imaginem in ſe nituntur expreſſe efformare/eamqꝫ præ ſe ferunt
in ſuis functionibus & officijs: potentiſſimæ virtutis pulchritudine inſignitis. Itaqꝫ
hiſce præclaris & ſacris proprietatibus adornata ſecũda cœleſtium ſpirituũ/mediaqꝫ diſtinctio:
purgatur/ illuminatur & perficitur per ſacros diuinæ ſcientiæ fulgores: in illam
per primæ ſupremæqꝫ hierarchiæ miniſterium manantes/ſecũdoqꝫ loco emicantes. Qui
ſane ſacratiſſimi radij penetrant per primã illam angelicorum ſpirituum diſtinctionem/
mediam quidẽ inter deum & hanc ſecundam hierarchiam: luce multo liquidiore & puriore/
q̃ ſit hæc lux per ſecũdam diſtinctionem diffuſa. quẽadmodum ſolaris radius liquidius
penetrat cœlum/ipſi ſolari lãpadi proximũ: q̃ aerem ab ea diſtantiorẽ. ¶ Quod 4
poſtremo loco dictum/ mediã ſcilicet diſtinctionem ſecũdo loco ac per primæ officium
percipere diuinas illuſtratiões: beatus pater amplius explanat/ ſacræ ſcripturæ teſtimonio
& exemplis. Qz enim legimus (ait) in ſanctis eloquijs/in vnum cœleſtem ſpiritũ alicuius
rei perueniſſe cognitionem/per alterius edoctionem & doctrinam: perſpicuum eſt
argumentũ perfectionis in inferiores ſpiritus per intermedia atqꝫ e longinquo traductę/

& in ſecundum locũ per primũ/ratione porrecti in vlteriora proceſſus/procul tranſfuſæ.
Sicut enim ſacrorum myſteriorũ noſtrorum periti dicunt eas diuinas illuſtrationes quæ
a deo ſine intermedio cuiuſq̃ officio percipiũtur: perfectiores eſſe & potiores illis diuinæ
ſcientiæ participationibus/quæ per alios ſuperiores angelos habentur. ita putãdum eſt
illum angelicorũ ordinum gradum/ qui ſine vllo medio diuinã contemplationem aſſequuntur/
dum in deũ ipſum præcipue ac proxime tendunt: eſſe longe digniorem & præſtantiorem
q̃ gradum illorũ cœleſtium ſpirituũ/qui contẽplationem dei & in illum tendentiã
per alios medios angelos obtinẽt. Quapropter hæc noſtra (inquit) quæ de cœleſti
hierarchia hic traditur/diſciplina: ſupremos illos & primos ſpiritus appellat inferiorum
poſteriorũq; purgatores/ illuminatores & perfectores. nã ipſorum primorum ſpirituum
miniſterio: illi ſequẽtes/ad deum/ſummũ rerum omniũ principium promouẽtur/
ſacrarũq; purgationũ/ illuminationũ & perfectionum pro ſui ordinis ratione participes
fiunt. Nempe id diuina lege & ęterna cautum conſtitutumq; eſt: vt per prima cœleſtia
agmina ſecundis/& per priora ſequẽtibus/diuinæ claritatis fulgor irradiet. Porro inuenientur
ſancti prophetæ nõnullis in locis id edocuiſſe/ quod paulo ante dictum eſt: vnũ
ſcilicet angelum per alterũ alicuius diuini myſterij percepiſſe noticiam/& hoc pacto per
prima ſecundis diuini fulgoris radium influxiſſe. Nam cum diuina benignitas paternũ
in populum Iſraeliticum monſtrans affectũ/ ipſum pro ſalute ſua ad emendationẽ vitæ
reuerſionemq; ad deũ: per tribulationes induceret/ Babylonijſq; barbaris & efferis ad 4. regũ. 25
caſtigationem & punitionem de illo ſumendã/illum in trãſmigratione obijceret atq; ꝑmitteret:
omniq; modo & via ſuæ prouidentiæ errantes per cultum idolorum & grauia
ſcelera/ad melioris vitæ frugem reuocaret. vbi populus ille Hebræorũ ad pœnitẽtiam
atq; priſtinæ malitiæ emẽdationem ſe cõtulit: protinus liberũ a captiuitate Babylonica 1. eſdre. 1.
per Cyrum dimiſit/ & ad terram natiuitatis ſuæ prioremq; rerum fœlicitatem reduxit.

43 ¶ Idipſum autẽ quod modo propoſitũ eſt: beatus pater quinq; manifeſtat in littera exẽplis/
ex ſacra ſcriptura depromptis. Primo ex Zacharia propheta. qui ſcribit vnũ ex primoribus
& ſupremis angelis (eſt enim vt ex quinto capite iam patuit/omnibus cœleſtibus
ſpiritibus cõmunis angelorum appellatio) qui pręſentiæ diuinæ maieſtatis iugiter
aſtant: verba conſolatoria de liberatione populi Iſraelitici a captiuitate Babylonica a
deo didiciſſe: poſtq̃ ſupplex eum rogauerat vt tandem miſereretur Sion & Hieruſalẽ. Zacha. 1.
Deinde dicit idem propheta/alium angelũ ex inferioribus in primi occurſum prodijſſe: Zacha. 1.
vt diuinæ ordinationis & beneplaciti per illum diſceret ſacramentum. Eundẽ quoq; poſteriorem
ac inferiorem angelũ/cum a primo diuinũ percepiſſet conſilium ſuper reditu
populi in Hieruſalem: vt idem myſteriũ prophetã edoceret fuiſſe permiſſum/ꝙ rurſum
magna hominũ frequẽtia habitaretur Hieruſalẽ. Secũdo. exẽplo ex Ezechiele ꝓpheta
ſumpto. qui ſcribit a ſumma deitate ſedente ſuper cherubim hoc fuiſſe conſtitutũ: ꝙ populus Ezechi. 12.
Iſraeliticus in captiuitatẽ Babylonicã ob ſcelerũ ſuorũ immanitatem eſſet abducendus.
Nempe ſumma ipſa diuinitas/paterna benignitate populũ illum per correptoriam
diſciplinam ad meliorẽ vitæ viam reducere ſtudens/ perinde ac optimus pater filium
diſſolutum per aſperitatem virgæ: ęquiſſima cenſura innocentes a reis internoſcendos
ordinauit/ne eadem ſimul pena inuoluantur inſontes cum nocentibus. Id primum Ezech. 9.
deus vni ex ſanctis cherubim angelo reuelauit/a quo proximus & ille angelus accepit
id diuinum conſiliũ: qui lumbos ſaphyro erat accinctus/indutuſq; erat podere ac talari
tunica: pontificalis veſtis indicium præferente. Reliquos autem ſex angelos qui ſecuribus
erant inſtructi: ſuperna ſanctio iuſſit a priore angelo lineis induto diuinũ de hac bonorum
a malis diſcretione diſcere iudicium. Nempe dei diſpoſitio rectiſſima/illi angelo
qui ſaphyro erat accinctus/per mediam ciuitatem ire iubet: & ſigna Tau frontibus innocentium
virorũ imprimere. Alijs vero ſex pręcepit/vt vadant in ciuitatem poſt illum:
& occidant omnes noxios/neq; parcat eorum oculus cuiq̃ illorũ. Eos autem quibus impoſitum
eſt ſignum Tau: neq; occidant neq; tangant. Tertio idem declarat exẽplo Danielis: Daniel. 9.
ad quem orantem pro fine captiuitatis Babylonicę/miſſus eſt angelus Gabriel dicens.
ab exordio precum tuarum egreſſus eſt ſermo. Quarto. ex teſtimonio Ezechielis: Ezech. 10.
ſcribentis ſe angelũ vidiſſe/ qui primus ignem de medio cherubim ſumpſit. imo (quod
amplius valet & confert ad manifeſtationẽ pulcherrimi ordinis angelici: quomodo ſcilicet
in illo/ vnus inferior a ſuperiore diuina ediſcit myſteria) dicentis: ꝙ ipſa ſancta cherubim/
ignem ſumptũ de medio eorum in illius manus imponũt/qui indutus erat lineis.

per quod deſignabatur/rerum diuinarũ intelligentiã per ignem lucidum indicatã: a ſupremo angelo/inferiori eſſe cõmunicatam. Danie. 8. Quinto, idem demonſtrat ex teſtimonio Danielis: dicentis vnũ ex ſuperioribus (vt exiſtimare fas eſt) angelis vocaſſe Gabrielem archangelum / illiq; mandaſſe: vt Danielem faceret intelligere viſionem ipſi oſtenſam. quemadmodũ ex ſcholijs hæc omnia clarius innoteſcũt. Neç minus alia his perſimilia: a ſanctis prophetis de cœleſtiũ ſpirituũ ordinatiſſima diſpoſitiõe (qua vnus ab alio quicq̃ ediſcit) ſępius dicta leguntur. Cum autem humana noſtra functio & eccleſiaſtica hierarchia ſeipſam accõmodat pulcherrimo cœleſtium ſpirituũ ordini/eiq; pro viribus aſſimilari annititur in diſpoſitiſſima & rectiſſima ordinatione: tunc illa angelicũ decorem/ nõ quidem in ſua plenitudine & veritate/ſed in figuris dũtaxat & imagine conſequetur. ꝙ cœleſtium ordinum decor & ornatus longe ſit perfectior ac eminẽtior: q̃ huius humanæ functionis/& tanq̃ exemplar ad ſuã effigiem. Vnde & hæc eccleſiaſtica functio/ab angelici decore ordinis formas & imitandi rationem capere debet: atq; illius adiuta pręſidio ad deum ſcandere/ſubuehi ac tendere: totius ſacrę functionis cum humanæ tum angelicæ authorem/ cauſam & finem.

¶ De principatibus/archangelis/ & angelis: deq; extrema illorum hierarchia. Cap. IX.

Reliqua nobis ad ſpeculãdum ſupereſt ſacra illa diſtinctio: 44 quæ ordines concludit angelicos. quæ profecto in diuinos principatus & archangelos/angeloſq; diſtinguitur. Ac primo quidem neceſſario dicẽdum puto (inquãtum vires ſuppetunt) Pricipatus quid ipſorum ſignificet nomen. Exprimitur namq; cœleſtium principatuũ nomine: illos ad dei imaginem principari ac duces eſſe: cum ſacroſancto/ principalibuſq; virtutibus cõuenientiſſimo ordine. Atq; id pręterea/ ad ſummũ eos principatũ tota intentione conuerſos: aliorum quoq; pręcipua dignitate duces eſſe. ac pro viribus in ſe effingere ſupremũ illum/ſuiq; authorem principatũ ſtudent: principaliũq; Archãgeli. decore virtutum/ ſummũ illius diuinumq; ordinem promere. 45 ¶ Porro ſanctiſſimus archangelorũ ordo: ęqualis quidem cœleſtibus principatibus dicitur. Eſt enim (vt diximus) ipſorũ atq; angelorũ functio vna/ vnaq; diſtinctio. T Quia tamen nulla eſt huiuſmodi ſacratiſſima functio/quæ non & primas habeat & medias extremaſq; virtutes: ſanctus archangelorũ ordo (ꝙ ſit in medio functionis conſtitutus) cõmuni quodam/ſocialiq; iure extrema complectitur. altiſſimis nãq; principatibus: & ſanctis cõmunicat angelis. V Illis quidẽ: quoniã ad ſupremũ illum principatum præcipue intentus eſt/ & ad eius (quantũ fas eſt) formatur imaginem: ac præterea honeſtiſſimis/ atq; ordinatiſſimis & inuiſibilibus ductibus ſuis angelos etiam iungit/ atq; X vnũ facit. His autem: quia etiam docendi atq; dictandi alijs/ ordinẽ tenet: dum diuinarum intelligẽtias rerum a primarijs virtutibus ſumens/ eas angelis quoq; gratuita nunciat bonitate: ac per angelos nobis/ pro modo ac Angeli. ratione cuiuſq;/diuinorũ ſenſuum aperiens lucem. 46 ¶ Angeli namq; (vt ſupra iam diximus) implendi peragũt munus: õneſq; cœleſtiũ ſpirituũ ordines complent/ extremo in loco inter eximias illas immortaleſq; ſubſtãtias/ angelicam proprietatẽ conſecuti. Atq; ideo a nobis angeli rectius q̃ ſuperiores appellantur: ꝙ ſcilicet & ipſorũ ordo magis circa euidẽtiora & apertiora verſatur/ ac mundana ferme negocia ab eis diſponũtur. Nam ſupremam illam (vt diximus) diſtinctionẽ vt ſecreto illi ſacratiſſimo/ primo or-

dine proximã:ſecundæ moderari/ac ſciẽtiæ lucem ſecretius & abditius dare
putandum eſt.ſequentẽ vero ex altiſſimis dominationibus & virtutibus
poteſtatibuſqꝫ conſtantem:tertiæ illi(quæ principatibus/archãgelis/ angeliſqꝫ
conficitur)pręeſſe.priori quidem/ſupremaqꝫ diſtinctione:manifeſtius/ Y
ſequenti autem extremaqꝫ:ſecretius. At vero principatuũ/archãgelorum/
angelorũqꝫ poſtremam diſtributionem/enũciandi munus adeptam:humanis
ordinibus ac fũctionibus ſacris viciſſim pręeſſe credendũ eſt.vt illius miniſterio/
ſuo ordine ferantur ad deum & cõuertantur:ſintqꝫ ipſius ſocietate
& coniunctione fœlices. dum diuinus proceſſus eximia dignatione cũctis Z
ſacris ordinibus indulgetur: & ſocialiter ac diuino cum ornatu reuelatur.
Hinc profecto humanã iſtam/ſacramqꝫ functionẽ angelis ſacra ſcriptura z
diſtribuit: quę Michaelem principem Iudaicæ gentis appellat/& alios cæterarum
nationũ.ſtatuit enim altiſſimus terminos gentium:iuxta numerũ oo
47 angelorũ dei.¶Porro ſi quis inquirere pergat quid ſit cur Hebręorum populus
ſolus/ad dei diuinarũqꝫ rerum intelligentiã ſubuectus ſit?reſpõdendum/
non oportere imputari rectiſſime gubernãtibus angelis:ſi gentes aliæ
ad eorũ(qui dij non ſunt)culturã deuolutæ ſint.ſed illis ipſis imprimis:qui
motibus proprijs a recto calle(quo ad deum aſcendere poſſent) ſua ſponte
deuiarunt. Cuius erroris adeo pernicioſi/cauſa illis fuit amor ſui atqꝫ ſuperbia:
&(quod ſequi neceſſe erat)eorum cultura quæ diuinum aliquid habere
putauiſſent.Huius rei etiam ipſi hebręorum populo crimen impingitur: pp
atqꝫ ideo ad ipſum paſſus memoratur/ſcientiã enĩ inquit dei reppuliſti:
& poſt cor tuũ ambulaſti. Neqꝫ enim coactam habemus vitam: neqꝫ liberi
arbitrij gratia diuinitus indulta mortalibus/prouidẽtię diuinæ luce & ſplẽdore
obtunditur.Cæterũ diſſimilitudo ſpiritualiũ luminum facit:vt affluentiſſima
paternæ benignitatis lux aut omnino capi/participariqꝫ nõ poſſit
(quippe quę ipſos obtut⁹ intimos ſuo fulgore p̄ſtringat)aut certe ipſa lucis
participatio pro ſuſcipiẽtium meritis varia ſit: parua ſcilicet vel magna/ obſcura
vel lucida.cum tamen radius ille diuinus/vnus ac ſimplex ſit:eodẽqꝫ qq
modo ſe habeat/ſuper omnia ſemper explicitus.Nempe enĩ & alijs gentibus rr
ex quibus & nos adimenſum/& infinitũ diuini luminis pelagus(quod
paratum ſemper eſt: & patet õnibus ad participandũ) ex pręteriti erroris
cæcitate reſpirauimus: nunq̃ præfuerũt alieni aliqui dij/ ſed vnũ illud omnium
ac ſingulare principium. ad quod ſane/obſequentes ducebant angeli
pręfecti ſingulis gentibus. Conſiderare libet Melchiſedech illum põtificem ss
chariſſimum deo:qui nequaq̃ inanium deorum/ ſed altiſſimi ęterniqꝫ dei
ſacerdos fuit.Non enim ſine ratione ſapientia diuina illuſtres viri: Melchiſedech
non modo amicum dei/verum etiã ſacerdotem dei appellarũt. ſiue
vt prudẽtioribus aperte indicarẽt:non modo ipſum ad verũ/ac ſempiternũ
deum eſſe conuerſum/verum & cæteris ad veram & ſolã/ſupremãqꝫ deitatem
48 prouehendis/authorem ducemqꝫ fuiſſe.¶Illud quoqꝫ ſacerdotale pectus Ad timotheũ loquit̃
tuũ/ſanctãqꝫ prudentiã ammonere curabimus:vt Pharaoni ab Aegyptiorum
pręſule angelo/ Babyloniorũqꝫ principi a ſuæ itidem gentis pręſide/ tt
& prouidentis & dominãtis oĩbus diſpenſatio atqꝫ poteſtas per viſum

innotuere. Et illis gentibus veri dei famuli atqꝫ cultores/duces cõſtituebantur:
Daniel. dum ea viſionũ expoſitio quæ figurata prius ab angelis fuerat/ſanctiſſimis
Ioſeph. viris & qui angelis ferme pares euaſerant Danieli ac Ioſeph a deo reuelata
per angelos fuit. Vnum quippe omniũ principium eſt: vnica prouidentia.
Neqꝫ vllo modo putãdum eſt Iudęis quidẽ pręfuiſſe deum quaſi id
ſorte conſecutum: cæteris autem gentibus angelos proprie ac ſeorſum/ſiue
vv ęqualiter/ſiue aduerſãter/ſiue deos alios quoſdã præſules eſſe. Sed & illud
quoqꝫ diuinæ ſcripturæ iuxta hunc ſenſum ſacratius accipiendum eſt: non
quaſi deus cũ dijs alijs aut angelis/humani generis gubernaculũ regimẽqꝫ
diuiſerit/& Iſraeliticæ gentis princeps & dux ipſe conſtitutus ſit. ſed ꝙ vna
illa quidem altiſſimi in cũctis prouidentia: mortales omnes in ſalutem/angelorum
ſuorũ ductibus ad ſe peruehendos diſtribuerit. ſolus autem ferme
Iſrael præ omnibus ad veriſſimi domini intelligentiã/cognitionẽqꝫ conuerſus
ſit. Vnde Iſraeliticã plebem ſeſe diuino cultui deuouiſſe/illumqꝫ hæreditario
xx iure ſuſcepiſſe/ſacra ſcriptura indicat dicens: factus eſt pars domini.
Cæterum ipſum quoqꝫ populũ ſignans ęquali cum gentibus cæteris iure/
alicui ſanctorũ angelorũ fuiſſe aſſignatum (cuius officio & miniſterio: vnũ
zz illud omniũ principium noſceret) Michaelem ait Iudęorũ pręfectum eſſe
genti: apertis profecto indicijs comprobans vnã eſſe omniũ prouidentiam/
quæ omnibus inuiſibilibus viſibilibuſqꝫ virtutibus longe vi ſummæ maieſtatis
emineat. õnes autem angelos ſingulis pręfectos natiõibus: ad ipſam
veluti ad principium ſuum/ eos qui voluntarie ſequerentur (quantum fas
eſt) prouehere atqꝫ perducere.

T ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Quæ nõ & primas habeat/& medias extremaſqꝫ
virtutes. Virtutum nomine: cœlicos ſpiritus cõpręhendit omnes. Neq; hic ſpecialis nũcupationis/
vſus accipitur: quæ mediam cũ dominationibus & poteſtatibus cõplet hierarchiam.
& cur hunc in modũ/cõmuni hac liceat appellatione vti: cauſam capite vndecimo
V dicturus eſt beatiſſimus pater. ¶Illis quidem: quoniã ad ſupremũ illum principatum.
X illis/principatibus cõmunicat. ¶His autem: quia etiã docendi/atq; dictandi alijs.
Y his/angelis ſacer archangelorũ ordo cõmunicat. ¶Priori quidẽ ſupremaqꝫ diſtinctione/
manifeſtius. Diuinitas incompręhẽſibile ſapientiæ pelagus: nobis ignota manet/ſecretaqꝫ
ab omnibus. Supremus autem cœleſtium ordo: nobis poſt diuinitatem manet ignotior/
occultiorqꝫ/quia illi ignoto vicinior. Poſtremꝰ vero/angelicuſqꝫ ordo: nobis iam eſt
manifeſtior. vt qui illi ignoto remotior: & nobis cõiunctior ac affinior habeatur. Porro
medius hierarchiarum ordo nobis ſupremo manifeſtior: ſed infimo/angelicoqꝫ ſecretior
atqꝫ abditior. Et hoc eſt quod de medio illo ordine/ ſuis quidem extremis cõparato: littera
hęc dicit. ſequentem vero ex altiſſimis dominationibus & virtutibus poteſtatibuſqꝫ
conſtantem/tertię illi (quę principatibus/archangelis/angeliſqꝫ cõficitur) pręeſſe: priori
Z ſupremaqꝫ manifeſtius/ſequenti autem extremaqꝫ: ſecretius. ¶Dum diuinus proceſſus
eximia dignatione cũctis ſacris ordinibus indulgetur/& ſocialiter ac diuino cum ornatu
reuelatur. hoc eſt/ dum diuinæ gratiæ ſubminiſtrãtibus angelis perfuſio/ eximia & præcellenti
dei liberalitate & gratuita largitione omnibus ſacris humanis ordinibus indulgetur:
& concordi ac amica communicatione pulchro cum adhortantiũ diſciplinarum/
virtutumqꝫ ad decenter imitandum ornamẽto/reuelatur atq; manifeſtatur. Hinc profecto.
z & reliqua que ſequuntur. ¶Sacrãqꝫ functionẽ angelis ſacra ſcriptura diſtribuit. Daniel
cap. decimo. Et ego veni propter ſermones tuos. princeps autem regni Perſarum:
reſtitit michi vno & viginti diebus. et ecce Michael vnus de principibus primis/ venit
in adiutoriũ meum: & ego remanſi ibi iuxta regem Perſarum. Veni autem vt docerẽ te
quæ ventura ſunt populo tuo in nouiſſimis diebus. & nunc reuertar vt prælier aduerſus
principẽ Perſarum. cũ enim egrederer/apparuit princeps Gręcorũ veniens. verũtamen

annunciabo tibi quod expreſſum eſt in ſcriptura veritatis. & nemo eſt adiutor meus in
omnibus his: niſi Michael princeps veſter. ❡Statuit enim altiſſimus terminos gẽtium: oo
iuxta numerũ angelorum dei. Hoc oraculo caremus. ❡Huius rei etiã Hebræorum populo pp
crimen impingitur. Exodus cap. triceſimo ſecũdo. Locutus eſt autem dominus ad
Moſem dicẽs, vade/ deſcende: peccauit populus tuus quẽ eduxiſti de terra Aegypti. receſſerunt
cito de via quã oſtendiſti eis: fecerũtq; ſibi vitulum conflatilem & adorauerũt.
atq; ĩmolantes ei hoſtias dixerunt: iſti ſunt dij tui Iſrael/ qui te eduxerũt de terra Aegypti.
Et Oſee cap. quarto. Et fornicati ſunt a deo ſuo. ſuper capita montiũ ſacrificabant:
& ſuper colles accendebant thymiama ſubtus quercum & populum & terebinthum. Et
paulo ante, quia tu ſcientiam reppuliſti: repellam te. ❡Eodemq; modo ſe habeat: ſuper qq
omnia ſemper explicitus. Omnibus ſuperexpãſus/ ſuperextẽſus/ atq; ſuꝑfuſus. ❡Nẽpe rr
enĩ & alijs gẽtibus: ex quibꝰ & nos. De ſeipſo loquitur pius pater: qui a beatiſſimo Paulo
ex gẽtilitio errore ad veræ/ pię & ſanctæ religionis lumen diuina pietate cõuerſus eſt.
❡Cõſiderare libet Melchiſedech. Geneſis cap. decioquarto. At vero Melchiſedech rex ss
Salem: proferens panẽ & vinũ (erat enim ſacerdos dei altiſſimi) benedixit ei & ait. benedictus
Abram deo excelſo qui creauit cœlum & terrã: & benedictus deus excelſus/ quo
protegente: hoſtes in manibus tuis ſũt. Et beatiſſimus Paulus epiſtola ad Hebręos cap.
ſeptimo/ de eodem. aſſimilatus autem filio dei: manet ſacerdos in perpetuũ. ❡Vt Pharaoni tt
ab Aegyptiorum pręſule angelo/ Babyloniorũq; principi. De pharaone. Geneſis
cap. quadrageſimo primo. Poſt duos annos vidit Pharao ſomniũ. putabat ſe ſtare ſuper
fluuium/ de quo aſcendebãt ſeptem boues pulchrę & craſſę nimis: & paſcebantur in locis
paluſtribus. aliæ quoq; ſeptem emergebant de flumine/ fœdæ confectæq; macie: &
paſcebãtur in ipſa amnis ripa in locis virentibus. deuorarũtq; eas: quarũ mira ſpecies
& habitudo corporũ erat. De principe Babyloniorum. Daniel cap. ſecũdo. Vidit Nabugodonoſor
ſomniũ & conterritus eſt ſpiritus eius: & ſomniũ eius fugit ab eo. quod indicauit
ei Daniel. Tu rex videbas: & ecce quaſi ſtatua vna grãdis. ſtatua illa magna/ & ſtatura
ſublimis: ſtabat cõtra te. & intuitus eius erat terribilis. Huius ſtatuæ caput ex auro
optimo erat: pectus autem & brachia de argento. porro venter & femora ex ęre: tibiæ
autem ferreę. pedum quedã pars erat ferrea: quedã autẽ fictilis. Videbas ita donec abſciſus
eſt lapis de mõte ſine manibus: & percuſſit ſtatuam in pedibus eius ferreis & fictilibus/
& cõminuit eos. Tũc cõtrita ſunt pariter ferrũ/ teſta/ es/ argentum/ & aurũ. & redacta
quaſi in fauillam æſtiuę areæ: quę rapta ſunt vento/ nulluſq; locus inuentus eſt eis.
Lapis autem qui percuſſerat ſtatuã/ factus eſt mons magnus: & impleuit vniuerſam terram.
hoc eſt ſõniũ. Hec ãgeli: Pharaoni Aegyptio & Nabugodonoſoro principi Babylonio
in viſionibus pręmõſtrabãt. ❡Siue ęqualiter ſiue aduerſanter ſiue deos alios quoſdam vv
pręſules eſſe. Sententia eſt/ deum non ſolũ & peculariter prouidere ac pręeſſe Hebræorum
populo: & alijs ſpiritibus nonnullis reliquas terræ prouincias/ reliquaq; regna
ex ęquo eſſe diſtributa: quibus quidẽ præeſſent/ & in quibus vt dij colerẽtur. ſiue quibus
præeſſent aduerſando: vt quas fortitudine ſua/ ſuoq; robore aduerſus alios obtinuiſſent.
Neq; alijs regnis dij quidam alieni præſunt: quos gentilitius error temere credebat eſſe
deos. ſed omniũ & Hebræorũ/ Aegyptiorũ/ Chaldeorum/ Gręcorũ/ & Latinorum: vnicũ
principium eſt/ vnicaq; prouidẽtia. quoniã (iuxta diuina eloquia) rex omnis terræ deus. Pſal. 46.
quorum quidẽ vniuerſorum & ſingulorũ bonum (ſi saperent homines) pia gubernatiõe Pſal. 118.
diſpenſat. et cui (iuxta prophetæ ſententiam) ſeruiunt omnia. ❡Sacra ſcriptura indicat xx
dicens: factus eſt pars domini. pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus quartus. Quoniã Iacob
elegit ſibi dominus: Iſrael in poſſeſſionem ſibi. ❡Michaelem ait Iudęorum præfectum zz
eſſe genti. Hoc de Daniele dicit. quod ex Danielis cap. decimo ſupra adductum eſt. Et
nemo eſt adiutor meus in omnibus his: niſi Michael prĩceps veſter. Et cap. duodecimo.
In tempore autem illo cõſurget Michael princeps magnus: qui ſtat pro filijs populi tui.
& veniet tẽpus: quale non fuit ab eo ex quo gentes eſſe cœperũt/ vſq; ad tẽpus illud.

❡NONI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

44 Poſtremam cœleſtium ſpirituũ diſtinctionem in tres ordines/ principatus/
archangelos & angelos diſtributã: nunc determinãdam ſupereſſe
proponit ſacer Dionyſius/ & imprimis elucidandũ quid vnũquodq;
dictorum ordinũ nomẽ ſignificat. Sane principatuũ nomine (inquit) Principatꝰ
nobis ſignificatur: ꝗ illius ordinis cœleſtes ſpiritus principãtur ac du-

ces ſunt inferioribus & ſub ſe poſitis ſupernis ſubſtãtijs/ad imaginem dei:omnibus ſupreme principãtis. Sunt autem ſupradicti ſpiritus ſuperni/aliorum principes: ſecũdum ſacrum ſuũ ordinem/ad hoc ex officio ordinatũ atqꝫ conſtitutum/maximeqꝫ conuenientem principalibus ſuis virtutibus/in quibus: cęteris eiuſdem hierarchiæ ſed inferiorum ordinũ ſupernis ſpiritibus excellentiores ſunt/illiſqꝫ eximie pręcellunt & pręſtãt. Exprimitur pręterea ſanctorũ principatuum nomine/ipſos ad ſummũ dei principatũ (qui nulli ſubeſt/& omnibus eminẽtiſſime principatur)totis animi viribus cõuerſos:aliorum ſpirituũ ſupernorũ qui inferiores ſunt & gradu poſteriores/ duces eſſe ſingulari dignitate ac principes. Eos inſuꝑ cœleſtes principatus pro viribus anniti: vt in ſe/ſupremũ illũ dei principatum(qui ſacri principatus ipſorum author eſt & cauſa)effingant ac exprimant/ diuiniqꝫ principatus ordinem ſummũ quidem & occultum: declarẽt & explicent/ ornatiſſimo pręcipuarum & principãtibus congruentium virtutũ decore.

Archãgeli.

❡At vero archangelorũ ordo/ ęqualis quidem habetur ipſis ſacris principatibus: ſecundũ vnam & eandem hierarchiæ rationem. quãdoquidem ipſorum principatuum/ archãgelorum & angelorum/vna eſt(vt iam dictum eſt)hierarchia atqꝫ diſtinctio. Quia tamen omnis hierarchia cœleſtis/ſupremum habet & mediũ/atqꝫ poſtremum ordinem: ipſe archangelorũ ordo quia in medio poſtremę diſtinctionis conſtitutus eſt:extremos illius ordines principatuum inquam & angelorum/ quodam cõueniẽtiæ & mutuæ ſocietatis nexu coplectitur/atqꝫ cum vtroqꝫ quoquo pacto cõmunicat:ſicut & nomen habet ex amborum extremorum ordinum nominibus compactum. Siquidem cum ſacris principatibus cõmunicat archangelorum ordo:ꝙ vti illi/ ad ſupremum illum dei principatũ præcipue conuerſus eſt/& ad eius(quãtum fas eſt)imaginẽ efformatur. inſuper & angelos ſub ſe poſitos ordinatiſſimo & pulcherrimo ductu deo iungit:atqꝫ vnum cum eo facit. quẽadmodum dictum eſt/cœleſtes principatus: inferiores ſupernas ſubſtantias ad deum ſubuehere/atqꝫ illi coniungere. Cum angelis vero conuenit ſacer archangelorum ordo: quia etiam docendi atqꝫ enunciandi(ſicut & illi)ſortitur officium. dum diuinorum myſteriorum ſcientiam a primis ſupremiſqꝫ ſpiritibus percipiens : eam angelis quoqꝫ gratuita benignitate annunciat/ & nobis itidem per angelorum miniſterium: diuinorũ ſenſuum & ſecretorum pandit intelligentiam.

Angeli.

❡Deniqꝫ angeli ipſi: complendi terminãdiqꝫ cœleſtium ordinum ſeriem habent officium. eam enĩ finiunt/perficiũt/ & claudũt: poſtremo loco inter cœleſtes ordines angelicam nunciãdiqꝫ proprietatem adepti. Atqꝫ ideo hi poſtremi ordinis cœleſtes ſpiritus rectius angeli nominãtur:q̃ ſuperiores cuiuſuis ordinis ſubſtantiæ. quia eorum officium functio & miniſterium/magis circa apertiora & notiora verſatur:& humana fere opera eorum directione & ductu diſponũtur. Nam ſupremam illam cœleſtium ordinum diſtinctionem(quia ipſi deo/ſecretiſſimo quidem & occultiſſimo proxima eſt)putandũ eſt ipſius ſecũdę diſtinctionis moderationem habere/illiqꝫ diuinæ ſcientiæ lumen occultius & latentius dare. Sequentem vero/ ſecundãqꝫ diſtinctionem/ex dominationibus/virtutibus & poteſtatibus conſtitutam: exiſtimandum eſt ipſi tertię diſtinctioni(qus ex principatibus/archãgelis & angelis cõflatur) pręeſſe: manifeſtius quidem & patẽtius/ q̃ ſuprema diſtinctio. nam a ſecreto diuino remotius q̃ prima/ diſtat. ſecretius tamen & occultius:q̃ poſtrema diſtinctio. nam ipſi diuino ſecreto q̃ tertia/eſt propinquior. Cæterum infimam/extremamqꝫ diſtinctionem/ennunciandi miniſterium manifeſtius & apertius adeptam: credendum eſt humanis ordinibus & diſtinctionibus præſidere. vt illius angelicæ functionis officio/ homines ſuo ordine & gradu tendant ad deum: ſintqꝫ eiuſdem communione & ſocietate beati. dum diuinorum munerum ordinatiſſima diſtributio: gradatim & certa ſerie in cunctos diffunditur ordines tum angelicos tum humanos. & a ſummis ad ima/quadam mutuę ſocietatis cõnexione/agglutinatione atqꝫ compaginatione: vna cum pulcherrimo diuini ordinis ornatu declaratur. Hanc ſane ob cauſam/humanã hierarchiam atqꝫ functionem gubernandam Danie. 10. angelis/extremi ſcilicet ordinis ſpiritibus/ſacra ſcriptura aſſignat: quæ Michaelem Iudaicæ plebis principem aperte vocat/& alios angelos :aliarum nationum præſides appellat/ vt principem Perſarum & principem Gręcorũ. Statuit enim deus altiſſimus terdeutero. 32 minos gentium(vt habet ſcriptura:ſecundum ęditionem ſeptuaginta interpretũ)iuxta numerum angelorum dei. quia vnicuiqꝫ genti atqꝫ nationi: vnum deſignauit angelum pręſidem & cuſtodem.

❡Verum ſiquis percontetur. quã ob rem ſolus Hebræorum populus ad dei cognitionẽ & cultum perductus ſit:ſi alijs etiam nationibus deſignati ſunt

angeli pręſules & duces/qui ipſas ad deum ſubuehant? Reſpōdet ſacratiſſimus pater/
non id imputandum eſſe angelicis ſpiritibus rectiſſime humana gubernantibus: ſi alię
gentes ad idolorum (quę dij vere non ſunt ſed dæmonia) culturam abductæ ſunt. Sed Pſal. 95.
hoc ipſis ethnicis & gentilibus ſolum iure debet imputari: qui ſua ſponte & proprio
cordis ſui motu declinauerunt a recto calle/quo ad deum peruenire potuiſſent. Cuius
plane erroris adeo exitialis & peſtiferi/ipſis gentibus cauſa fuit amor ſui: vero deo contempto/atqꝫ
ſuperbia extollentiaqꝫ animi: cui deus ſemper reſiſtit. ad quæ duo extrema 1. petri. 4.
mala/ conſecutum eſt & id omnium pernicioſiſſimum: cultura ſcilicet eorum ſimulacrorum
& ſculptilium/quæ/ipſæ gentes putarunt habere aliquid diuini numinis. cum
non fuerint niſi argentum & aurum/opera manuum hominum. Et huius etiam infandi Pſal. 113.
cultus idolorum crimen: Hebræorum populo a ſcriptura imponitur/in deſerto/ſub
iudicibus/& regibus ſuis. hinc iſte ſcripturæ locus ad ipſum populum Iſraeliticum
dicitur: ꝙ ſcientiam dei reppulerit atqꝫ cognitionem/ & poſt cor ſuum in vanitatibus Oſee. 4.
ambulauerit. Neqꝫ id mirum videri debet/ ꝙ gentes permiſſæ ſint abire poſt adinuentiones
ſuas & placita: neglecto veri dei cultu. Nam nosipſi nequaq̃ coactam &
neceſſitate ad bonum adactam habemus vitam: quandoquidem id repugnaret naturali
voluntatis libertati. neqꝫ liberi arbitrij noſtri poteſtas & gratia/ hominibus a
deo indulta: ipſius diuinæ prouidentiæ ratione/ luceve obtunditur aut impeditur.
cum ſimul ſemper ſtent: humani arbitrij libertas/ & ſummæ prouidentiæ diſpoſitio
omnia continens. Sed multiformitas & diuerſitas ſpiritualium oculorum ac mentium
humanarum facit: vt exuberantiſſima diuinæ benignitatis claritas/ ſe in munerum
ſuorum communicatione diffundens: aut nullo modo capi poſſit & ſuſcipi/ ꝙ
nimio ſuo fulgore imbecillas mentes pręſtringat ac obtundat. aut ipſa ſpiritualis lucis
participatio: ſecundum ſuſcipientium diſpoſitionem modum & captum/ diuerſa
ſit & multiplex/aut parua ſcilicet aut magna/ obſcura vel lucida: ſecundum rationem
& conditionem ſuſcipientis eam. cum tamen diuinus ille radius in ipſo deo
vnicus ſit & ſimplex/ eodemqꝫ modo ſemper ſe habeat: ſuper omnia latiſſime expanſus.
Et certe horum duorum quæ modo ſub diſiunctione propoſita ſunt: ſecundum
tribuendum eſt/ non primum. Sicut neqꝫ admittendum eſt: ꝙ ſolaris lampadis
radius nullatenus poſſit a mortalium oculis percipi. ſed ꝙ ipſius participatio/ pro
diuerſitate oculorum illum haurientium ſit varia: in vno quidem maior ac copioſior/
in altero vero minor. ſimiliter in vno radius ſolis percipitur lucidior: in alio vero
obſcurior. Enimuero alijs gentibus: a dei veri cognitione alienis (ex quibus & ſeipſum
ab errore gentilitatis ad veræ fidei lumen (quod ſemper paratum eſt vt infundatur
hominibus/ illiſqꝫ communicetur: modo ſe diſponant ad ipſum recipiendum)
conuerſum fuiſſe/gratulatur cum debita gratiarum actione ſacratiſſimus pater)
nunq̃ præfecti fuerunt aliqui dij alieni: vt Romanis Mars/ Phebus Delphicis/ aut
Athenienſibus Pallas: quemadmodum autumarunt errore cęco deceptæ gentes. Sed
omnibus vbiuis terrarum degentibus nationibus: præfuit ſemper & præeſt vnum illud
omnium rerum principium/ ſcilicet deus. ad cuius cognitionem/angeli gentibus
quibuſqꝫ pręfecti ducebant eos quidem: qui ipſorum monitis & ductibus obſequebantur.
neqꝫ enim inuitos aut renitentes: pro ſuo debuerunt officio ad deum ducere.
Vnde dignum admodum & rationabile eſt attendere pontificem illum inſignem Melchiſedech/
deo longe dilectiſſimum: qui nequaquam falſorum deorum/ſed altiſſimi
& veri dei ſacerdos fuit. Quem deiloqui patres & ſapientia præſtantiſſimi/haud immerito Gene. 14
non ſolum amicum dei: ſed etiam ſacerdotem vocauerunt. vt hac appellatione
deſignarent perſpectioribus oculatioribuſqꝫ viris/ non ſolum ipſum ad deum verum
per fidem & opera eſſe conuerſum: verum etiam alijs (vt eos ad ſummæ deitatis agnitionem
48 adduceret) ducem & præceptorem fuiſſe. ¶ Deinde oſtendit ſacratus pater
exemplo ſanctæ ſcripturæ/nationibus gentium prępoſitos eſſe angelos: verba ad Timotheum
dirigens, dicenſqꝫ ſe velle & illud ſacerdotalem illius dignitatem & prudentiam
admonere: quomodo diſpenſatio prouida & poteſtas ſuprema ipſius dei prouidentis
& dominātis omnibus/ ſignificata ſunt per ſomnium ipſi Pharaoni regi Aegypti
ab angelo Aegyptiorū pręſide: cū vidit ſeptem boues pulchras & totidē macras/& rurſum Gene. 41.
ſeptem ſpicas plenas & totidem percuſſas vredine. Et ipſi itidem Nabugodonoſor
regi Babylonis ab angelo Babylonijs præfecto/ipſius dei prouidētia & ordinatio inno-

tuere:cum ſomno ſolutus vidit ſtatuam partim auream/partim argēteam/ hinc æream Danie.2. & hinc ferream. Et iiſdem gentibus/Aegyptijs inquam & Babylonijs/ veri dei cultores Ioſeph & Daniel/conſtituti ſunt duces & directores:cum expoſitio atqꝫ interpretatio viſionum prius per angelos in regum dormiētium animis efformatarū: ſanctitate conſpicuis viris ipſi ſcilicet Ioſeph & Danieli/a deo reuelata per angelos fuit. vt pręnoſceretur futura ſterilitas ſeptēnis/poſt tanti temporis fertilitatem: & quinqꝫ regnorum futura ſucceſſio. Vnicum enim eſt rerum principium:non plura/ vnica item prouidentia/omnia ſapientiſſime diſponens:non plures & diuerſę. Neqꝫ exiſtimandum eſt deum ipſum Iudęis præfuiſſe:quaſi id ſorte & partitione cū alijs eſſet conſecutus.& cæteris gentibus angelos præſides eſſe:non ſub deo/ſed proprie ac ſeorſum/ ſuaqꝫ ipſorum authoritate. ſiue æqualiter ſocialiterqꝫ cum deo: vt tantam angeli ſinguli in gentes quibus pręſident habeant poteſtatem/quātam deus in Iudęos. ſiue aduerſanter inimiciterqꝫ cum deo: vt ipſi deo repugnent & aduerſentur in ſuarum gentium pręſidentia. perinde ac diuerſi reges terræ inter ſe diſſentiunt. Neqꝫ itidem putandum eſt:cæteris gentibus quoſdā alios deos a deo vero/præſides eſſe aut pręfectos. Quin & illud ſacrę ſcripturæ verbū/quo Pſal.134. dicitur Iſrael eſſe pars domini:iuxta hanc accipiendum eſt intelligentiam. non quaſi deus cum alijs dijs aut angelis diſtribuerit humani generis regimen/ & illis alias ſortitis nationes: ipſe ſolius populi Iſraelitici dux ſit & princeps conſtitutus. ſed ꝙ vna ſolius dei prouidentia omnes homines ad ſalutem ſuiqꝫ cognitionem ſanctorum angelorum ſuorum ductibus & adminiculis adducendos ordinauerit: & ſingulas nationes ſuis angelis ad hoc miniſterium diſtribuerit. ſolus autem populus Iſraeliticus inter omnes/ ad veri dei cognitionem & cultum ſit cōuerſus: cæteris idolorum cultura a dei intelligentia abductis. Propter quod & ſancta ſcriptura populū Iſraeliticum dei culturæ & venerationi ſe præſertim dediſſe/& deum hæreditario quodam iure populum illum Deute.32. peculiariter ſuſcepiſſe innuit: cum ait. Pars autem domini/populus eius: Iacob funiculus hęreditatis eius. At vero eadem ſcriptura deſignās populum Hebræorum alicui angelorum ſanctorum(cuius ductu & officio: deum omnium principium populus ille noſceret) eſſe aſſignatum/æquali cum cæteris nationibus in hoc iure atqꝫ ſocietate/& quemad Danie.10. modum cæteræ nationes habent ſuum quæqꝫ angelum præſidem: ait Michaelem eſſe præpoſitum genti Iudęorum/manifeſto per id argumento ſignoqꝫ ſignificans: ꝙ vna eſt rerum omnium prouidentia/quæ inuiſibilibus omnibus ſcilicet angelicis ſpiritibus/ & viſibilibus vtpote rebus corporalibus/ longe ſupereminet.& ꝙ omnes angeli ſingulis pręfecti nationibus/ eos homines qui ſponte ſua & libere ipſorum ductum ſequi velint(nam neqꝫ dei neqꝫ angelorum eſt munus: vim inferre naturæ aut libertati voluntatis) peruehunt atqꝫ perducunt ad ipſam omnium prouidentiam cognoſcendam: veluti ad ſuum & rerum omnium principium/quod agnoſcant/ venerentur & colant.

¶ Epilogus & concluſio totius angelici ordinis Cap.X.

COlligitur itaqꝫ ex ijs quę ſupra diximus:vt ſanctorum ſpirituū qui diuinis conſpectibus ſemper aſſiſtunt/ prima illa antiquiſſimaqꝫ diſtinctio(quippe quæ a diuino illo totius perfectionis authore radio erudiatur:ad quem nullis interpoſitis ordinibus alijs/ perpetua intentione ſubuehitur)ſecretiore diuinitatis & candidiore luce purgatur/illuſtratur/ atqꝫ perficitur. ſecretiore quidem: ꝙ intelligibilior ſit/ magiſqꝫ ſimplicitati diuinæ nos iungat/atqꝫ inſerat. cādidiore autem:vt quæ primo indulta ſit/ primoqꝫ apparuerit/ totamqꝫ ſe in illam beatiſſimorum ſpirituum ſeriem vtpote capaciorem ſui fulgoris/effuderit. Ab hac autē tam excellentis meriti functione:ſecunda pro modo & ratione ſua rurſus imbuitur. atqꝫ a ſecunda:itidem tertia. a qua/noſtra quoqꝫ ſancta functio: eodē pulcherrimæ A atqꝫ ordinatiſſimæ diſpoſitionis iure/conuenientia & ratione diuina:ad totius pulchritudinis atqꝫ ordinis ſummū illud/ ęternūqꝫ principium ac finē/

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officio ſacratiſſimi muneris fertur. Sunt autem & angeli omnes ita inſtituti:
vt inferiores ſuperioribus obaudiant/eorumqꝫ nutus enuncient. Ac primi B
illi quidem: vt ſummi dei ſe mouētis conſilia & voces exponant. reliqui C
vero proportione debita: eorum qui a deo mouētur exprimāt voces. Intantum
enim ſumma illa omnium & ſupereminens cōgruentia/ quorumlibet
rationalium ac ſpiritualium ſacro decori & ordinatiſſimo inſtituto proſpexit:
vt ipſis quoqꝫ diſtinctionibus ſacris ordines decētiſſimos poneret. Deniqꝫ
hierarchiam omnem cernimus in primas & medias/extremaſqꝫ virtutes
diſtributam. immo & ipſas quoqꝫ ſingulas (vt proprie dixerim) diſtinctiones
ita diſcreuit: vt in eiſdem conuenientiæ pulchritudo ſeruetur. Quocirca D
& ipſa ſacratiſſima ſeraphim alterum ad alterum clamaſſe theologi
aiunt: apertiſſime per hoc (vt reor) indicantes/ ꝙ diuinarum rerum notiones/
prima ſequentibus tradunt. Et hoc præterea non incōuenienter addiderim/
eſſe quibuſqꝫ ſeorſum cœleſtibus humaniſqꝫ animis proprias ac
primas & medias extremaſqꝫ virtutes atqꝫ ordines: quibus memoratę pro
cuiuſqꝫ modo ſingulorum cœleſtium ordinum propriæ de deo intelligentiæ E
expreſſæ videantur. per quas vnuſquiſqꝫ quātum ſibi fas eſt/quātumqꝫ
penetrare ſufficit: caſtiſſimæ illius & eminentiſſimæ purgationis/pleniſſimiqꝫ
luminis/& principalis perfectionis particeps ſit. Nichil enim eſt quod
abſolute perfectum ſit/ aut omnino perfectione non egeat: niſi quod vere
perfectum eſt/ ipſaqꝫ perfectio.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Cōueniētia & ratione diuina. cōueniētia: coaptatione/ A
congruentia/harmonia/diuina ratione/diuinaqꝫ analogia. ¶Vt inferiores ſuperioribus B
obaudiant/eorumqꝫ nutus enuncient. Obaudiāt: obediant/verbum antiquum.
Nutus: angelicus ſermo. quod enim in nobis ſermo/vocaliſqꝫ loquela: id in angelis nutus/
mentiſqꝫ ſpiritualis inſinuatio. quas & pauxillo poſt voces: diuinus pater appellat
in analogia. ¶Ac primi illi quidem/ vt ſummi dei ſe mouentis: conſilia & voces exponant. C
ſe/ non ad deum: ſed ad ſupremos illos/ ſublimiſſimoſqꝫ ſpiritus refertur. Primos
enim illos ſpiritus/ deus (qui ipſa puritas/illuminatio & perfectio eſt) purgat/ illuſtrat/
& perficit. & ſuos illis nutus aperit/atqꝫ inſinuat: quæ diuina conſilia/quæ diuinæ voces
dicuntur. ¶Quocirca & ipſa ſacratiſſima ſeraphim. Eſaias cap. ſexto. Seraphim ſtabant D
ſuper illud. ſex alæ vni: & ſex alæ alteri. duabus velabāt faciem eius/& duabus velabant
pedes eius: & duabus volabant. & clamabant alter ad alterum: & dicebāt. ſanctus/ ſanctus/
ſanctus: dominus deus ſabaoth. ¶Propriæ de deo intelligentiæ/ expreſſę videantur. E
Accommodatæ de deo notiones/anagoge/aſſurrectiones/ſurſumqꝫ ductiones: illis
manifeſtatæ depræhendātur.

¶DECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

49 Breui repetitione & epilogo conſtringit hic ſacer Dionyſius/quæ prius de angelicis diſtinctionibus & ordinibus diſſeruit: primum proponens ꝙ prima ſupremaqꝫ diſtinctio ſanctorum ſpirituū/qui diuinæ maieſtati ſemper aſſiſtunt/antiquiſſima quidem & perfectiſſima (tum quia ab illo diuino radio qui totius perfectionis author eſt/ proxime ipſa eruditur. tum quia ad eundem radium nullis interpoſitis angelorum ordinibus/ tota animi intentione huiuſmodi prima diſtinctio ſubuehitur) & ſecretiore diuinitatis luce & candidiore q̄ cæteræ diſtinctiones/purgatur/illuminatur & perficitur. Secretiore quidem. ꝙ illa deitatis lux ſit intellectualior: & illos ſummos cœleſtes ſpiritus magis ſimplicitati diuinæ iungat & cōiunctius inſerat. Cādidiore vero. quia huiuſmodi deifica lux primo indulta eſt/et a deo immediate in illos ſupernos ſpiritus trāſfuſa: extra deum/primū in illis apparens/ & ſe totam in illum ſupremorū ſpirituū ordinem (vt qui ſit diuini huius fulgoris ob maiorem ad deū propinquitatē capacior) effun

dens. Quāto enī radius eſt ſuę propinquior origini: tāto ſplēdet illuſtrior. Ab hac autem ſuprema tantæ dignitatis & excellentiæ diſtinctione: ſecunda atq; media cœleſtium ſpirituum diſtinctio/ ſecūdo loco illuſtratur. Et a ſecunda: ſimiliter tertia poſtremaq; angelicarum ſubſtantiarum hierarchia/ functioq; purgatur/ illuminatur & perficitur. Ab ipſa vero tertia diſtinctione: humana functio & eccleſiaſtica hierarchia ad ſummū illud totius pulchritudinis principium & finem (ꝙ omnis a deo pulchritudo & decor in ſubiectas emanat creaturas: & rurſum omnis a rebus cōditis in ipſum reuehitur/ reuocatur & reducitur) miniſterio angelici muneris ſubuehitur: eodem quidem ordinatiſſimæ diſpoſitionis diuinæ tenore/ eadem lege/ eodemq; iure: quo a deo ſancitū eſt vt ſequentia per priora ad ipſum ferantur. ¶ Sunt autem cœleſtes ſpiritus omnes ita a deo inſtituti/ vt inferiores ſuperioribus prompte obediāt: & ipſorum nutus per ſigna intellectualia expreſſos (quibus intimarum ſuarum notionum alijs præbēt indicium) cæteris inferioribus enuncient. Et primi quidem ſummiq; cœleſtes ſpiritus ita ſunt inſtituti: vt ſummi dei cōſilia & voces ipſis inſinuatas (nempe illos deus primū & proxime mouet) alijs exponant. Reliqui vero inferiores cœleſtes ſpiritus ita ſunt inſtituti: vt ipſorum primorum & ſummorū ſpirituum qui a deo immediate mouentur/ debita ſerie ac ordinatione exprimant voces/ elocutioneſq; ſpirituales: quæ in analogia ad humanū ſermonem & verbū prolatum/ hic voces dicūtur. Nempe ipſa ſumma dei ordinatio atq; diſpoſitio: ita quorumlibet rationalium/ & angelorū ſcilicet & hominum/ congruentiſſimo decori atq; officio conuenientiſſimo prouidit: vt omnibus etiam ſacris diſtinctionibus cum humanis tum angelicis decentiſſime ſuos ordines conſtituerit. Vnde omnem hierarchiam angelicam videmus in tres ſacros ordines/ ſupremum/ medium & poſtremum diſtinctam. immo & ipſos quoq; ſingulos ordines ordinatiſſima dei ſanctio ita diſcreuit: vt in ipſis quoq; quędam diſcretionis & ſeriei pulchritudo ſeruetur/ qua in eodem ordine inueniuntur trifariam cœleſtes ſpiritus diſtincti. Hi quidem in ſupremo/ illi in medio/ alij vero in poſtremo vnius eiuſdēq; ordinis gradu atq; loco. Quam ob rem ſacratiſſimi prophetę deſcribunt ipſa ſancta ſeraphim clamaſſe alterum ad alterū/ volentes per hoc indicare: ꝙ diuinarum rerum notiones/ prima cœleſtia agmina ſequentibus etiam in ordine eodem beniuole communicant. Quinimmo & illud ſupradictis non immerito adijciendum videtur/ ꝙ & cœleſtes & humani animi/ quiſq; ſeorſum ſeparatim & ſingillatim ſumptus: habent peculiares & proprias virtutes/ his tribus etiam gradibus diſtinctas: vt quædam earum virtutum ſupremæ ſint/ quædam mediæ/ & quædam poſtremæ. Nempe purgandi virtus poſtrema eſt/ illuminandi media/ perficiendi vero ſuprema. Vnde & in nobis memoria purgat/ intellectus illuminat/ & voluntas perficit. quod & in ſupramundanis ſubſtantijs longe eminentius inuenitur. vt per has triplices eiuſdē mentis virtutes: proprie de deo notiones atq; aſſurrectiones/ ſecundum captum & modum cuiuſq; cœleſtium ſpirituum illis inſinuatæ: dinoſcantur & percipiantur. Per quas itidem virtutes: quiſq; rationalium & ſpiritualium ſiue homo ſiue angelus/ quantum capere poteſt/ ſit eminētiſſimæ purgationis diuinæ/ candidiſſimi luminis/ & primitiuæ perfectionis particeps. Enimuero nichil eſt quod ſimpliciter perfectum ſit/ nulliuſq; perfectionis indigens: niſi ſolus deus/ ipſum vere perfectum & ipſa rerum omnium perfectio.

Eſa.6.

¶ Cur omnes cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ: communi vocabulo cœleſtes virtutes appellantur.

Cap. XI.

His ita diffinitis: illud quoq; cōſiderare dignum eſt/ quam ob cauſam omnes ſimul angelicos ſpiritus/ cœleſtes appellare virtutes cōſueuimus. Neq; enim vt de angelis/ dicere poſſumus: ꝙ omniū ſit extrema diſtinctio/ ſāctarū virtutū ordo. Atq; inferiorum quidem ſcientiæ ſanctiq; fulgoris/ ſuperiorum ſpirituū ordines participes ſunt: non autem idētidem ſuperioribus ac primis/ inferiores nouiſſimiq; cōmunicāt. Cuius igitur rei gratia cœleſtes quidem virtutes/ ſublimes illæ ſubſtantiæ omnes nominātur: non autem ſeraphim & throni & dominationes pari ratione dicūtur? extremæ namq; ſupremis illis proprietatibus omnibus non cōmunicant.

Angeli enim & ante ipſos archangeli/principatuſqꝫ ac poteſtates: cũ a ſanctis viris ac theologis poſt virtutes ſtatuuntur/cõmuni ſæpe a nobis vocabulo vna cum alijs ſanctis ſpiritibus cœleſtes virtutes appellantur. ❡ Dicimus autẽ/quia dum cõmuniter in omnibus vtimur cœleſtiũ appellatione virtutum: nullam cuiuſqꝫ ordinis proprietatum cõfuſionem introducimus. Sed quoniã diuini omnes ſpiritus altiſſima ratione ſua in tria diuiduntur: F ſubſtantiam ſcilicet/virtutẽ atqꝫ actionem: quoties aut omnes aut aliquos ipſorum omiſſa diligentiore obſeruatione/ſubſtantias cœleſtes/ſiue virtutes appellauerimus: ipſos (de quibus ſermo eſt) nos ſignificare circũlocutione putandum eſt: ex ea (quæ in ſingulis eſt) ſubſtantia atqꝫ virtute. Neqꝫ enim eminẽtem illam ſanctarum virtutum proprietatem a nobis iam rite digeſtam: inferioribus quoqꝫ putandi ſumus per omnia applicare ſubſtantijs/vnde profecto ſummi illius & inconfuſi cœleſtium ſpirituum ordinis peruerſio ſequeretur. Nam iuxta rectiſſimam illam rationem/quam ſæpe reddidimus: ſuperiores illæ diſtinctiões/inferiorũ quoqꝫ ꝓprietates abũde in ſe habẽt. extremæ vero/priorũ excellentioribus meritis carent/cũ primitiui illius luminis fulgor: in illas pro captu ſuo ſuperiorũ officio/deriuetur.

❡ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡ Sed quoniã diuini omnes ſpiritus altiſſima ratione ſua in tria diuiduntur: ſubſtantiã ſcilicet virtutem atqꝫ actionem. F Supramũdana quadam ſibi conſentanea ratione/cœleſtes ſpiritus omnes ac ſinguli dirimuntur in ſubſtantiam/virtutem/& actionem. Nomine ſiquidem ſubſtantiæ: eſſentiam intelligimus. ſubſiſtunt enim ſupramundani ſpiritus omnes/& vere ſubſiſtunt. Nomine vero virtutis: vigorem quendam ſubſtantialem & ad agendum fœcunditatem intelligimus. Sed is actus/hicqꝫ vigor/& hæc ad agendum fœcunditas: ſemper eſt in opera. perinde ac ſi noſter oculus illuſtre ſolis iubar ſemper aſpiceret: & perinde ac ſi mens noſtra ſemper/continuoqꝫ/quod vere bonum eſt/intelligeret/amaret/recogitaretqꝫ ſemper. & hinc quoqꝫ hæc ſupramũdana cœleſtium ſpirituum actio: nobis intelligenda eſt. Et haud ſecus ab illo vigore/cœleſtes ſpiritus/virtutes appellãtur: atqꝫ mens noſtra ab intelligẽdi particula/intellectus appellaretur atqꝫ intelligẽdi virtus. & ab actione/actus ſumũdanos: & ab eſſentia ſupramũdanas eſſentias/ſubſtãtiaſqꝫ/eoſdẽ appellare poſſumꝰ. Ratio: analogia. Verum qui cœlites ſpiritus: virtutes cœleſtes/actus ſupramundanos/formas/& ſpecies ab omni materiæ conſortio & labe ſeiugatas/prorſuſqꝫ immunes ac liberas appellabit: digniori/inſigniorıqꝫ illos nuncupatione appellat q̃ ſi cœleſtes & ſupramundanas nuncupet eſſentias. Nam qui virtutes dicit: vigorem ſubſtantificum nominat/deum ſemper imitantem. qui actus: operationem/ipſius ſummi abſolutiqꝫ eſſe ſemper æmulam. qui formas & ſpecies: pulchritudinem mortalium oculis incognitam/immarceſcibilem/ipſum abſolute pulchrum prope modum repræſentantẽ. qui vero dicit eſſentias: ferme ſpecula paſſiua nominat/diuinas illas pulchritudines/imagineſqꝫ ſuſcipientia: & ſinus/diuinos illos vigores atqꝫ actus complectentes. Vnde fit/vt ſi licet illa nomina ad ipſum innominabile transferre: magis id dignum putent/vt abſolutum ſuperqꝫ omnia ſupereminens/eſſe dicatur: & minus inter hæc/eſſentiæ appellationem illi conſentaneam. Sed de his ſatis.

50 ❡ VNDECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

HNquirit hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius: quare omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus interdum communi appellatione virtutes ſcriptura nominat. vt in pſalmo. Dominus virtutum: ipſe eſt rex gloriæ. Et rurſum. Domine deus Pſal. 23.
virtutum conuerte nos. Et iterum. Benedicite domino omnes virtu- Pſal. 79
tes eius/miniſtri eius: qui facitis volũtatem eius. vbi non ſolũ de ſup- Pſal. 102.
nis ſpiritibus medij ordinis ſecũdę hierarchiæ (quibus virtutũ nomen peculiariter eſt inditũ) habetur ſermo: verũ etiã de omnibus cuiuſcũqꝫ ſint diſtinctionis aut ordinis/cœleſtibꝰ ſubſtãtijs. Neqꝫ enĩ illius eadẽ poſſet reddi ratio/quę de angelorũ cõmuni appellatione in quinto capite ſuperius aſſignata eſt: ꝙ ſcilicet

ſanctarum virtutū ordo ſit omniū angelicorū ordinum poſtremus/ ſicut & ordo angelorum. & ergo ſuperiores ōnes ordines ſicut cōmunicant angelorū proprietati officioq; nunciandi/nomenq; illorū ideo habent cōmune: ita omnes reliqui ſupernorū ſpirituum ordines participent proprietati ſacrarum virtutum tanq̄ poſtremo ordine conſtitutarū/ itidem & nomini. Non enim ſacer ordo virtutū/extremus eſt & vltimus/ſicut angelorū: ſed ipſius ſecūdæ hierarchiæ eſt medius. Et cū ſuperiores ſpirituū ordines/inferiorum ſcientiæ & proprietatis ſint participes/non autem ediuerſo inferiores ſuperiorum: non videntur poteſtates/principatus/archangeli & angeli (ꝙ ſub ſacris ponātur virtutibus) ſortiri proprietatē & fulgores ipſarum virtutū illis eminentiū. quare neq; deberēt earū nomen ſibi vendicare cōmune. Rurſum inferiores ſupernorū ſpirituū ordines non vocantur ſeraphim/cherubim/throni aut dominationes: ꝙ eorū vtpote eminentiorū proprietates & excellentias non aſſequantur/& idcirco neq; illorum ſortiātur vocabula aut appellationem. Cōſimili ergo iure neq; poſteriores cœleſtium ſpirituū ordines deberēt virtutum nomine deſignari: cum earum etiā non obtineant proprietates. Aut ediuerſo ſiquis cōtendat eos recte virtutū nūcupatiōe exprimi: fateatur oportet eodē iure/ipſos poſtremos ordines/aut ſeraphim aut thronos aut dominationes appellari poſſe. Et ſic angelicarum proprietatum inducetur permixta quædā confuſio: nam & imæ ſummis & ſummæ imis inordinate cōmiſcebūtur.

¶ Reſpondet huic inquiſitioni ſacratus pater: ꝙ cum ōnibus cœleſtiū ſpirituū ordinibus/virtutū appellatio aſſignatur/ nequaq̄ introducitur cōfuſio proprietatum cuiuſq; ordinis. quoniā ibi nomen virtutū non deſignat peculiarem illam proprietatem/medio ordini ſecūdæ hierarchiæ addictā: neq; id nomen/ tūc eſt illius ordinis proprium. Sed fit huiuſmodi cōmunis omnibus ſupernis ſpiritibus virtutum appellatio: quoniā omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus ſecundū congruentiā & rationem ipſis conuenientem diuiduntur in hæc tria/ etiam re ipſa & non ſola ratione diſtincta: ſubſtātiam/ virtutem & actionem. Subſtātia/eſſentiaq; cœleſtium ſpirituum: ea eſt pars ſubſtantifica eorum/quæ & ſubſtantialē actum & proprias illorum operationes in ſe ſuſcipit/analoga in rebus corporalibus ipſi materię: vt pupillæ oculi. Virtus autem ſupernorum ſpirituum: vigor eſt agendi ſubſtantialis/efficiens proprias cuiuſq; ſpiritus functiones & officia/analogus quidem in rebus ſenſibilibus formę rerum naturaliū: vt actui ſubſtātiali & formæ oculi. Ex huiuſmodi autem ſubſtantia & virtute (vt ex adiectis huic loco ſcholijs licet facile depræhendere) conſtituitur vnuſquiſq; cœleſtium ſpirituum: vt partibus ſuis ſubſtantialibus/& ſpecie quidē inter ſe differentibus. perinde atq; oculus ſenſibilis: ex materia vt pupilla/& ex ſua forma coaleſcit. Et rationabile eſt huiuſmodi ſubſtantialem compoſitionem in vnoquoq; cœleſtium ſpirituum (ſicut & in anima rationali hominis) aſtruere: quoniā ſolus deus omnino & abſolute ſimplex eſt. a cuius perfectiſſima ſimplicitate/quæcūq; condita ſunt: quoquo pacto deficiunt/& ad compoſitionem decumbūt. Neq; id derogat ipſorū cœleſtium ſpirituum ſimplicitati. nam ſimplices quidem ſunt/ ꝙ non diſſecētur in partes eiuſdem rationis ſolo numero differentes: quēadmodum hæc materialia & ſenſibilia. non tamen ſimplices: ꝙ refugiant compoſitionem ex partibus ſubſtantialibus. Cum enim nichil idem natum ſit quicq̄ efficere/& illud opus ſecundū idem omnino in ſeipſo ſuſcipere: quādoquidē aliud eſſe debet agēs/ aliud ſuſcipiens/ quēadmodum aſtruit philoſophus in tertio libro de anima/ ad cōprobandum in anima humana intellectum agentem eſſe diſtinctum a poſſibili: quis non videat par eſſe atq; cōueniens/in vnoquoq; cœleſtium ſpirituū/ſubſtātiam eſſe ſiue eſſentiam ad recipiendū: & virtutem/vimq; agendi ſubſtātialem ad agendum? Neq; idcirco inclamet quiſq̄ nos aſſerere cœleſtes ſpiritus eſſe corporeos. Abſit eni a nobis tanta abſurditas. quoniā & ſubſtantiā/eſſentiā/ potentiāq; eorum ſubſtantialem: omnino ſpiritualem/intellectualem & incorporeā eſſe aſſeueramus. Eorū itidem eſſe/actum/ac virtutē ſubſtantialē: ponimus intellectualē & imaterialē. Quomodo igitur ex immaterialibus & incorporalibus coalitū partibus: erit corporeū? Sed hæc ad dilucidiorē præſentis litterę intelligentiam hactenus dicta ſint. Demum actio / tertio loco hic poſita: propria eſt cuiuſq; cœleſtis ſpiritus operatio quam exercet/producta quidem a ſua virtute vt effectrice cauſa: & ſuſcepta in ſubſtantia ſiue eſſentia ſubſtantiali vt ſuo ſubiecto atq; receptaculo. haud aliter q̄ viſio/propria oculi operatio: producitur a forma ſubſtantiali oculi/ & recipitur in pupilla. Itaq; quoties omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus aut aliquos eorum/ omiſſa ſpecialiori aut magis particulari nuncupatione/ ſubſtātias cœleſtes ſiue virtutes.

Qꝫ in āgelis eſt ſubſtātialis cōpoſitio.

appellamus: putandū eſt nos ſignificare ipſos totos cœleſtes ſpiritus de quibus loquimur / per quādā circūlocutionem / figurāq; ſynecdoches: qua a parte totum ſignificatur. Nempe denominamus ipſos totos per huiuſmodi appellationem: ex ea ſubſtantia quæ in ſingulis eſt vt pars in ſuo toto / ſimiliter & ex ea virtute quæ itidem in ſingulis eſt angelis: vt pars ſubſtātialis in ſuo toto. Neqꝫ per huiuſmodi cōmunē omnibus promiſcue ſupernis ſpiritibus virtutū appellationem / exiſtimādum eſt ſanctos patres voluiſſe ſpecialem illam angelorum medij ordinis ſecundæ hierarchiæ proprietatem aſſignare inferioribus cœleſtibus ſpiritibus. ex quo haud dubie pulcherrimi cœleſtium ſubſtātiarū ordinis confuſio & permixtio ſequeretur: quod eſſet maxime abſurdum & irrationabile. Nam (vt ſæpius ante dictum eſt) ſuperiores cœleſtium ſubſtantiarum ordines / inferiorū proprietates in ſe abunde excellenterq; continent: ſed extremæ / poſtremæqꝫ cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ / ſuperiorū excellentioribus perfectionibus & eximijs fulgoribus carent. cum ipſius diuini luminis fulgor qui primitiuus eſt & fōtalis: in ipſas extremas cœleſtes ſubſtātias deriuetur / officio & miniſterio ſuperiorū ſpirituū. Quare neceſſe eſt illos ſuperiores ſpiritus / profluētius illum diuinū fulgorē percipere. tum ꝙ ipſi primario lumini ſunt propiores. tum ꝙ illum debent alijs profundere: & ergo affluentius q̃ inferiores / in ſe eundem habere.

¶ Cur ſacerdotes: inter homines dicantur angeli. Cap. XII.

51 QVęri autem & illud ſolet ab ijs qui diuinorū librorū ſtudio
& amore flagrant / ſi extrema integre non cōmunicant ſummis:
quā ob cauſam ſacerdos homo / inter homines domini G
omnipotentis angelus a ſacra ſcriptura nominatur. Eſt autē
ea ratio nequaq̃ ijs quæ ſupra diffiniuimꝰ aduerſa. dicimus
enim extremos illos ordines licet integerrima / & ſūma priorum
diſtinctionū virtute indigeāt: eius tamen pro captu ſuo vel ex parte /
iuxta vnā omniū concinnā / ſeqꝫ mutuo iungētem ſocietatē eſſe participes.
Exempli cauſa. ſanctorū cherubim ordo: ſapientiæ celſiori / ſcientięqꝫ cōmunicat.
qui vero ſub illis ſunt ſanctorum ſpirituū ordines / & ipſi ſapientiæ ac
ſcientiæ participes ſunt quidem: particularis tamen pro modo ſuo / atqꝫ inferioris.
Nempe enim ſapientiæ ac ſcientiæ cōmunicare: prorſus cōmune
omnibus diuinis ſpiritibus eſt. at vero cōtinenter & primo / ſiue ſecūdo loco H
& humiliter id agere / cōmune iam non eſt: ſed vt ſingulis pro modo ſuo &
ratione definitum eſt. Hoc autē & de omnibus diuinis ſpiritibus qui ſtatuerit:
nequaq̃ peccabit. Nam quēadmodum primi / ſanctas inferiorū proprietates
affatim habent: ita & vltimi / priorū proprietates habent / licet modo
non ſimili: ſed inferiore. Nichil igitur (vt reor) abſurdum eſt: ſi ſacerdotem
quoqꝫ hominē theologia angelum vocat: qui pro viribus angelicę proprietati
docendo participat / atqꝫ ad angelorum ſimilitudinem (vt homini
poſſibile eſt) per nunciandi officiū nititur. Inuenies autem celeſtes illas angelicaſqꝫ I
ſubſtantias / in ſacris litteris deos quoqꝫ appellari: ſanctos item viros
& dei familiaritate digniſſimos / deos dici. Et certe cum diuinum illud
ſecretum: exceptum ab omnibus / & ſummæ potentia maieſtatis ſuper ōnia
locatum ſit / nichilqꝫ in rerū natura ſimile illi dici proprie & per omnia poſſit:
ſi tamen quęcūqꝫ ſpiritualis / rationaliſqꝫ ſubſtātia (dum id totis viribus /
totaqꝫ ſit intentione) contendit: vt ei coniuncta vnum cum illo fiat / atqꝫ ad
diuinos eius fulgores hauriendos (quantum fas eſt) indeſinenti ſtudio ac
deſiderio aſpirat / ꝙ deum pro viribus (ſi dici licet) imitari pergat: diuino
quoqꝫ cognomine digna cenſetur.

G ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Quam ob cauſam ſacerdos homo: inter homines
dñi omnipotētis angelus a ſācta ſcriptura noīatur. Malachias cap. ſecūdo. Labia enim
ſacerdotis cuſtodiūt ſcientiā/& legem requirent ex ore eius: quia angelus dñi exercituū
H eſt. ¶At vero continenter & primo. Continenter: abūde continendo/cōpręhēdendoqꝫ.
I & primo: īmediate/ſine medio/prima participatione. ¶Inuenies autem cœleſtes illas/
angelicaſqꝫ ſubſtantias: in ſacris litteris deos quoqꝫ appellari. Pſalmus nonageſimus
quartus. Quoniā deus magnus dñs: & rex magnus ſuper omnes deos. Et angelus colluctator
ſe deum appellat. Geneſis cap. triceſimo ſecūdo. Nequāq̄ (inquit) Iacob appellabitur
nomen tuū/ ſed Iſrael: quoniā ſi contra deū fortis fuiſti/ tanto magis contra homines
prēualebis. Et de hominibus: Pſalmus octageſimus primus. Ego dixi dij eſtis: &
filij excelſi omnes. quod diuinus ſermo alio in loco de hoībus (ad quos ſermo dei factus
eſt) interpretatur. Ioannes cap. decimo. Reſpondit eis IHESVS: nōne ſcriptum eſt in
lege veſtra/quia ego dixi dij eſtis? Si illos dixit deos ad quos ſermo dei factus eſt/& non
poteſt ſolui ſcriptura: quē pater ſanctificauit & miſit in mundū/ vos dicitis quia blaſphemas/
quia dixi: filius dei ſum. Et de Moſe: Exodus cap. ſeptimo. Ecce conſtitui te deum
Pharaonis: & Aaron frater tuus erit propheta tuus.

¶DVODECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Mala.2. QVeſtionem hic mouet ſacer Dionyſius/ a ſacrarū litterarū ſtudioſis agitari
Apo.2. ſolitā: cur homo ſacerdos dicatur apud prophetam angelus domini
omnipotētis/& in apocalypſi pōtifices ſeptē eccleſiarū Aſiæ/nominātur
illarum angeli. ſi ita res ſe habet/vt ſupradictū eſt: ꝗ poſtrema non cōmunicāt
integre & omnino proprietatibus ſupremorū. Eſt enim homo
longe poſterior & inferior angelicis ſpiritibus: quare nec illorū proprietatibus
nec nomini videtur debere cōmunicare. ¶Reſpondet, ꝗ huius
appellationis ratio/nequāq̄ eſt diſſona ijs quæ ante determinata ſunt. Nā extremi cœleſtium
ſpirituū ordines/licet excellentia & eminenti perfectione virtutis ſuperiorū ordinum
careant: illius tamen virtutis ſaltem in parte & inferiore quodam gradu participes
ſunt/ſecundū vnā omnium in ſpiritualibus fulgoribus ſocietatem: venuſtā admodum/
& omnes inter ſe mutuo cōmunicationis nexu coniungentē. Queādmodū terra & aqua
non tātum habēt ſolaris luminis iubar/ vt ſuperiora corpora cœleſtia: eius tamen quoquo
pacto & pro ſuo captu ſunt participes. Et plantæ non vſqꝫadeo perfectum habent
vitæ gradum ſicut homines: neqꝫ inanimata tam eminētem habent ſubſiſtendi rationē
vt noſipſi. nichilominus & plantæ/aliquo modo vita: & inanimata/ ſubſiſtendi ratione
participant. Et vt propoſitū in cœleſtibus declaretur ordinibus: cōſtat ex prędictis/ ordinem
ſanctorū cherubim/exuberantiorē diuinæ ſcientiæ & pleniorem habere copiam:
a qua & nomen ſortiūtur. qui vero ſub ſanctis cherubim ſunt ſuꝑnorū ſpirituū ordines:
habent etiā diuinæ ſapiētię participationē/ ſed particularis ſolū ſapiētiæ pro ſuo gradu/
& inferioris. Enimuero ſciētiæ diuinorū myſteriorū & ſapiētiæ cōmunicare: cōmune eſt
omnibus angelicis ſubſtātijs/cuiuſcūqꝫ ſunt ordinis. Sed illi cōmunicare hoc vel illo modo/
vt exuberāter/pleniſſime/& primo loco: vel tenuiter/exiliter/ humiliter atqꝫ ſecūdo
loco: iam non omnibus angelis cōmune eſt/ ſed vt cuiqꝫ ordini pro ſuo gradu & modo
definitū eſt. Illud enim ſanctis cherubim ſolum cōuenit: quæ prima participatione profuſionem
ſcientiæ habent. hoc vero: inferioribus cœlorum ſpiritibus etiā omnibus competit.
Et qui idem quod de ſcientiæ participatione dictū eſt/ in omnibus etiā diuinorum
ſpirituū proprietatibus aſſeruerit: nequāq̄ a veritate aberrabit. Nam queādmodum primi
ſupremiqꝫ cœleſtes ſpiritus/inferiorū proprietates abunde & affluenter habent: ita
& poſtremi obtinēt ſuperiorū virtutes/licet nō cōſimili modo neqꝫ in tanta plenitudine:
ſed inferiore modo & gradu. Non igitur præter rationem ſacra ſcriptura hominem vocat
angelum: qui docendo alios dei legem/in angelica proprietate nunciādiqꝫ miniſterio
cōuenit. & quātum ei cōceditur/ad angelorū aſſimilationem per annunciādi munus
Mala.3. officiūqꝫ tendit: id faciēs homo ad homines/qđ angeli ex ſuo officio ad homines faciūt.
Ibidem Et hinc diuinus CHRISTI præco Ioannes: a propheta angelus dictus eſt/miſſus ante
faciē eius. quinimmo ab eodē propheta/& CHRISTVS ipſe/ angelus teſtamēti dictus
eſt: ꝗ noui teſtamēti gratiā nobis ex beneplacito patris annūciauit. Inueniet itidem ſacrarū
litterarū ſolicitus indagator/ipſos cœleſtes ſpiritus: deos appellari. ſimiliter & homines
deo dignos & familiares illi: deorū nomine honoratos. Et plane cū ſecretiſſima

prorſuſqꝫ incognita diuinæ naturæ ſubſtantia/ celſitudine ſummæ maieſtatis ſuper ōnia ſit collocata/ nichilqꝫ inueniatur in rebus conditis illi per omnia conſimile: ſi tamē quęuis rationalis ſubſtantia ſiue humana ſiue angelica/ totis viribus annititur vt deo coniuncta vnum cum eo fiat/ & ad diuinæ lucis hauriendam claritatem quantum ei conceditur aſpirat: dei nūcupatione digna habetur/ & deus nominatur: ꝙ deum pro ſuo modo imitari ſtudeat. Valentiore igitur ratione & homo recte nominatur angelus: qui nūciando dei voluntatem/ angelicum exequitur officium. ꝙ longe minus homo ab angelica natura q̈ diuina/ diſpeſcatur & diſtet.

❡Cur a ſeraphim/ purgatus fuiſſe dicatur propheta Eſaias. Cap. XIII.

52 k AGe illud quoqꝫ pro viribus inſpiciamus: cuius rei gratia ad vnum ex theologis/ ſeraphim mitti memoretur. Merito enī inde ſcrupulus naſcitur: ꝙ non ex inferioribus angelis quiſpiā/ ſed ipſe qui inter primas/ excellentioreſqꝫ ſubſtantias numeratur/ prophetam expurgat. ❡Sunt qui dicant iuxta id quod ſupra diffiniuimus de ſpirituum omnium ſocietate/ & ſuarum inter ſe proprietatum cōmunione: non vnum ex altiſſimis illis/ primiſqꝫ ſpiritibus ad purgationem theologi adueniſſe a ſcriptura memorari. ſed aliquem ex ijs (qui nobis præfecti ſunt) angelis/ purgandi prophetæ officio functum: ſeraphim appellatū eſſe cognomine/ ob incendendi miniſteriū. quo & peccata deleta ſunt: & is qui purgatus fuerat/ ad diuinæ obedientiæ reparatus ardorem. Aiuntqꝫ ſcripturas vnum ex ſeraphim/ ſimpliciter dixiſſe: non ex ijs qui prope deum aſtant excelſi ordinis dignitate/ ſed ex ijs virtutibus quæ purgandis hominibus præſunt. L ❡Alius item huiuſce queſtiōis nō improbabilem michi rationem ita aſſignauit. Aiebat enim magnum illum (quicunqꝫ tandem is fuerit) angelum/ qui viſionem adeo inſignem effinxerat/ vt prophetam diuinis rebus inſtrueret: purgādi munus quod ſui erat officij/ in deum: & poſt deū ad primū illum ac primo conditum/ retuliſſe ordinē. Et vera fortaſſis/ ea ratio fuerit. Dicebat enim huius author ſcientiæ/ ꝙ diuina virtus ſuper omnia pergens graditur: & per omnia ineffabili penetrat modo/ omnibuſqꝫ item inuiſibilis eſt. non ſolum ꝙ excellentior ſuper omnia ſit: verū & ꝙ occulto ac ſecretiſſimo ordine/ ſuæ prouidentiæ vires ac munera cunctis immittat. Nempe enim & ſpiritualibus omnibus/ pro ſuo quibuſqꝫ captu/ apparet: antiquiſſimis illis primoribuſqꝫ ſubſtantijs lucis ſuę radios tradens/ ac per illas vt eminētiores ac primas: inferioribus quoqꝫ pro modo cuiuſqꝫ ordinis/ & contēplandi viribus/ eiuſdem lucis diſtribuit iubar. Siue vt apertius loquar/ exempliſqꝫ vtar ex noſtro vſu petitis/ etſi longe inferioribus deo: qui ſuperne ōnibus eminet/ apertioribus tamen: ſolaris diſtributio radij in eam primo materiā tota facilitate concedit/ quæ omnibus lympidior & clarior ſit: ac per illam aptius & euidentius fulgores ſuos iaculatur. Vbi vero craſſiores materias offendit/ minus valet ad ſplendoris ſui vires diffundēdas: ꝙ hæ materiæ in quas lucis ſpicula incidunt/ ad exuberantis lucis traducendos radios idoneæ nō ſint. atqꝫ ideo ſenſim ad hoc vſqꝫ contrahitur: vt diſtribui ferme omnino nō poſſit. Rurſus ignis calor in ea quę ad percipiendū aptiora ſunt/ ſeſe diffundit magis: & quæ illi facilius cedunt/ & in eius traducuntur effigiem. Porro in reluctantes penitus/ contrariaſqꝫ ſubſtātias: aut nullū aut prorſus exi-

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guum ignei vigoris & muneris veſtigiū apparet infectum. Et quod his ma
ius eſt: ijs quæ ſui generis non ſunt / per ea quę ſibi familiaria ſunt (ſi aſſint)
vim ſui feruoris immittit. ea igniens: quæ in ignis facile vertūtur effigiem. ac
per illam / ſiue aquam ſiue aliud quippiam eorum quæ difficile igneſcunt:
pro cuiuſqꝫ calefaciens modo. Iuxta hunc igitur naturalis conſequentiæ or
dinem: ſummus ille totius venuſtatis viſibilis atqꝫ inuiſibilis / ordo: ineffa-
bili imprimis modo / lucis ſuæ exuberantē claritatē altiſſimis illis / primiſqꝫ
ſubſtantijs largiſſimo inſinuat lapſu. ac per illas ipſas: inferiores quoqꝫ ſub-
ſtantię / diuini radij participes fiūt. Nempe enim hæ cum primo loco dei co
gnitione beatæ ſint / diuinæqꝫ virtutis deſiderio ſumme ardeant: id quoqꝫ
meruerunt / vt primæ (quantum fas eſt) ad imitationem diuinæ virtutis &
actionis aſſurgerent / ſequenteſqꝫ ſubſtantias ipſæ ad eandem imitationem
pro viribus / ſummi boni exemplo ſubueherent. affatim illis eius (quam ac-
cepere) lucis participationem / abſqꝫ inuidia vlla tradentes: atqꝫ illæ itidem
inferioribus. Et hunc in modum ſingulæ faciunt: dum quæ prima eſt / ſequē
ti ſecundo loco / indultæ ſibi diuinæ lucis conſortium tradit. atqꝫ ita in om-
nes diuinus ille fulgor emanat. Omnibus igitur qui illuminantur / percipiē-
dæ lucis initium eſt deus quidē per naturā: & omnino proprie / vtpote ſub-
ſtantia / lucis ipſiuſqꝫ eſſentiæ & viſionis author. Cæterum poſitione & illu-
minatione dei per partes: ſuperior quæqꝫ inferiori principium luminis eſt /
dum per ipſam: in illam diuinum iubar deriuatur / atqꝫ diffunditur. Itaqꝫ
ſummā illā cœleſtium diſtinctionem animorū: reliquorū angelorum om-
niū ſubſtantiæ / totius ſacroſanctæ ſcientiæ / diuinæqꝫ imitationis authorem
(vt ratio docuit) arbitrantur. vtpote per illam: in omnes / atqꝫ in nos / diuinæ
claritatis manante ſplendore. Quocirca omnem quoqꝫ ſacratiorem / & ad
dei imitationem tendentem actionē: ad deum quidem (vt cauſam principa
lem) referūt. deinde vero diuinis quoqꝫ illis / ſummiſqꝫ ſpiritibus (vt qui pri-
M mi: diuina operentur & doceant) acceptā nichilominus referunt. Habet igi
tur prima diſtinctio ſanctorū angelorū: plus cæteris igneam proprietatē /
effuſamqꝫ diuinæ ſapientiæ traditionē / ac ſcientiā diuinarū illuſtrationum
N diiudicandarū ſummā: thronorūqꝫ proprietatem / apertam ac patulam dei
ſuſceptionē indicantē. Porro inferiorū ſpirituū ordines: igneæ / ſapientis / ſci-
entis / deiqꝫ capacis virtutis participes ſunt quidē: ſed minore modo. atqꝫ ad
primos illos intuentes altiſſimos ſpiritus: per illos (vt qui dei imitatione pri
mi dignati ſint) ad conſequendā diuinæ ſpeciei ſimilitudinē ſcandunt. San
ctas igitur (quas diximus) proprietates / quarum per primas cæteræ quoqꝫ
ſubſtantiæ participes ſunt: his illis poſt deū (vt primoribus ac principibus
ſacris) aſſignant. Dicebat ergo qui iſta me docuit: viſionem quidem illam /
per vnum ex præſulibus noſtris ſanctis ac beatiſſimis angelis oſtenſam eſſe
O theologo. atqꝫ ab ipſius illuminante ductu / ad ſacrā illā ſpeculationem fuiſ
ſe ſubuectum: in qua ſummas illas / altiſſimaſqꝫ ſubſtantias veluti per ſigna
(vt ita dixerim) ſub deo & poſt deū atqꝫ circa deū collocatas vidit. ſummi-
tatēqꝫ illam ante omne principiū / omnibus atqꝫ illis ipſis ineffabiliter emi-
nentem: in medio excellentium virtutū excelſe reſidentem. Admonebatur

ergo theologus ex ijs quæ cernebat: vt ſecundū omnē superſubſtantialem
eminentiam cunctis viſibilibus inuiſibilibuſqꝫ virtutibus/ abſqꝫ vlla cōparatione
deus excelſior ſit. ac præterea/ ꝙ ita exceptus ab ōnibus: vt ne ipſis
quidē primis cœleſtibus/ immortalibuſqꝫ ſubſtantijs ſimilis per omnia putari
poſſit. Ad hæc/ principiū quoqꝫ illū eſſe omniū/ & ſubſiſtendi cauſam:
atqꝫ inſolubilis cœlitū manſionis immutabilē ſedē. ex qua vt eſſent & bene
eſſent: excellentiores quoqꝫ illæ virtutes acceperūt. Deinde ipſorum quoqꝫ
ſeraphim diuinas profecto virtutes ex ea viſione ſacratiſſima/ propheta diſcebat:
incendium ſacro illorum ſignificante cognomine/ de quo paulo poſt
dicturi ſumus (quātum nobis explicare fas fuerit) igneæ virtutis altiſſimas
53 intelligentias: vtqꝫ incentiua illa vis/ ad diuinā ſpeciē ferat. ¶ Porro illa ſex
alarū ſacratiſſima fictio: abſolutiſſimam/ ſummāqꝫ in deū intentionē in primis
ac medijs & vltimis intelligentijs ſignat. At quando multos quoqꝫ illorū
pedes & cōplures facies cernens theologus inclytus/ vtqꝫ alis & pedū
& vultuū arceretur aſpectus/ alęqꝫ mediæ perpetuo ferrentur motu: ad intelligibilē
eorū quæ cernebat ſcientiā ducebatur. Aperiebatur nēpe illi per
hæc/ altiſſimorū ſpirituū vis multa peragrans/ multaqꝫ proſpiciens: ſacraqꝫ P
illorū & plena horroris veneratio/ ac religio. qua vltra humanū modū: celſiorum/
profundiorūqꝫ myſteriorū inſolentem & temerariam neqꝫ omnino
promouentem indaginem exhorreſcunt. præterea & indefeſſus ille/ atqꝫ Q
alta petens ſempiternus motus: quo præditi/ pro modo ſuo diuinas quoqꝫ
actiones imitantur. Ad hæc & diuinā illam ac precioſiſſimam laudationē R
in ſecreto ille diſcebat: quippe angelo (qui formabat viſionem) pro viribus
prophetam ſacratioris ſcientiæ ſuę participē faciente. Docebat igitur ipſū
& hoc/ vt ijs qui quomodolibet mundi ſunt: mundiciæ/ purgationiſqꝫ ſuæ S
cauſa eſt/ diuini fulgoris diuinæqꝫ mūdiciæ pro captu cuiuſqꝫ participatio.
Cæterū purgatio huiuſmodi/ a diuinitate ipſa præcipuis cauſis in ōnes angelicos
ſpiritus ſummo & ſecretiſſimo perficitur modo: atqꝫ altiſſimis illis
virtutibus (quę propinquiores ipſi ſunt) euidentior ferme eſt/ magiſqꝫ ſe inſinuat/
atqꝫ diſtribuit. Porro in ijs quæ ſecundo loco ſunt ſiue in extremis
medijſue ſubſtantijs intellectualibus/ quantū ſingulæ ab ea meritis diſtant:
pro modo diſtantiæ/ claram intelligentiæ ſuæ lucem ad ſecreti ſui ſingularis/
atqꝫ ignoti laudē colligit. Datur autē ea lux ſingulatim: priorū officio/
ſecundis atqꝫ ſequentibus. & ſi ſummatim dicere neceſſe eſt: primo loco/ ex
occulto illo ſacratiſſimo per primas virtutes in apertū educitur. Hoc itaqꝫ
theologus ab angelo ſe inſtituente diſcebat: purgationē ſcilicet & cæteras
diuinas actiones/ per primas celſioreſqꝫ ſubſtantias vim ſuæ claritatis aperire/
atqꝫ in omnes reliquas diuidi/ quantū quæqꝫ deificæ illius participationis
eſt capax. Atqꝫ ideo purgationis illam proprietatē/ quæ incendio fit:
altiſſimis ſeraphim poſt deū rectiſſime ōnino aſſignauit. Nichil igitur abſurdum
eſt: ſi ſeraphim purgare theologū dicitur. Sicut enim deus purgat
omnes: ꝙ ſit ipſe purgatiōis author. immo (vt ſimiliore vtamur exemplo)
quemadmodum apud nos pontifex homo/ cum miniſtrorū ſuorum ſiue ſacerdotū T
officio purget/ aut gratia doctrinæ ſalutaris illuminet: ipſe purga-

re & illuminare dicitur/cum ij qui ab eo conſecrati ſunt ordines: ad ipſum
vt authorem/ſacra functionis ſuæ munera referant. ita & purgantē ſcientiā
ſuam atq; virtutem/is qui purgationē prophetæ peragit angelus: ad deum
quidem vt authorem/ad ſeraphim vero quaſi primo poſt deum operantē
pontificem refert. eum qui a ſe purgabatur: angelica cum reuerentia (vt ita
V dixerim) ita docens. Eius (quæ in te meo miniſterio perficitur) purgatiōis:
principiū quidem præcipuum/& ſubſtantia/& conditor/& author ille eſt:
qui primas quoq; ſubſtantias ad eſſe produxit/& perpetua circa ſe continet
ſede/& ne mutari queant atq; decidere: ſola clementia ſeruat. ipſeq; eas
ad prima prouidentiſſimarū actionum ſuarum conſortia promouet (hoc
X enim is a quo didici: miſſionē ſeraphim ſignare ait) at vero princeps illa &
poſt deum dux/primarū antiquiſſimarū ſubſtantiarum ſacra diſtinctio (ex
qua purgare ipſe ad dei ſimilitudinem didici) illa eſt quæ te meo miniſterio
purgat: per quam author ille totius purgationis atq; opifex/prouidentiæ
Z ſuæ opera ex abdito illo ſecretiſſimo ad nos quoq; deduxit. Iſta quidem ille
me docuit: quæ tibi ego itidem trado. Tuæ iam erit ſpiritualis/diſcretæq;
ſcientiæ/aut altera ex his cauſis omni ambiguitatis abſolui ſcrupulo/eamq;
alteri in honore præferre: vt quæ conſentanea ratione ac fortaſſis veritate
ſubnixa ſit. aut abs te ipſo aliquid inuenire/ſiue ab alio diſcere: quod ſit integerrimæ
veritati propinquius/deo ſcilicet verbum tribuente/ac ſubminiſtrantibus
angelis. idq; ipſum nobis quoq; angelorum ſtudioſis reuelare:
vt liquidiore intelligentia/michiq; gratiore (ſi fieri poteſt) & ipſe tecū fruar.

k ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Cuius rei gratia ad vnū ex theologis: ſeraphim
mitti memoretur. de Eſaia propheta id dictū eſt. Eſaias cap. ſexto. Et dixi. ve michi quia
tacui/quia vir pollutus labijs ego ſum: & in medio populi polluta labia habentis ego habito/
& regem dominū exercituū vidi oculis meis. Et volauit ad me vnus de ſeraphim/
& in manu eius calculus quē tulerat de altari: & tetigit os meū/& dixit. Ecce tetigi hæc
L labia tua: & auferetur iniquitas tua/& peccatum tuum mundabitur. ¶Alius item huiuſce
queſtionis non improbabilem michi rationē ita aſſignauit. Nota ſanctam & eleuatā:
ſacri patris Dionyſij & vnius ſuorū æqualium/theologicarū rerū conferentiā: & q̃ ſublimis
M eo tempore erat theologica intelligentia. ¶Habet igitur prima diſtinctio ſanctorū
angelorū. Hic cōmuni angeli appellatione vtitur: ad omnes cœleſtes & beatificos ſpiritus.
N vt cap. quinto monſtrauit interdū eſſe vtendum. ¶Thronorūq; proprietatem: apertā
ac patulam dei ſuſceptionem indicantē. Hoc eſt/proprietatem inſinuantem ſeſſionis
O ac requietionis dei capacem locū/atq; ſedem. ¶Oſtenſam eſſe theologo. de Eſaia intelligitur:
in hoc cap. ſexti oraculo/quod ſæpenumero ſuperius adductum eſt. Vidi dominū
ſedentem ſuper ſolium excelſum & eleuatum: & plena erat domus a maieſtate eius.
ſeraphim ſtabant ſuper illud: ſex alæ vni/& ſex alæ alteri. duabus velabant faciem
P eius/& duabus velabant pedes eius: & duabus volabant. ¶Multa peragrans/multaq;
proſpiciens: ſacraq; illorum et plena horroris veneratio ac religio/qua vltra humanum
modum celſiorum/profundiorumq; myſteriorum inſolentem & temerariam neq;
omnino promouentem indaginem exhorreſcunt. Multa peragrans: ex ſempiterno illo
motu alarū cognoſcitur. Multa proſpiciens: ex multiplici illo vultu in eo numero quo
deus condidit & ſæcula. Veneratio atq; religio plena reuerendi timoris/& ab indagine
audaciore/temeraria aut impoſſibili altiorum & profundiorum ſecretorum dei/ſupramundana
exhorrentia/& cauta retractio: per alas faciem velantes & pedes (quæ ſunt altorum
& profundorum ſymbola) deſignantur. Igitur contemplari licet ſanctiſſimorū ſeraphim
ſempiternum in deum motū/perſpicientiæ plenitudinē/venerationē & dei cultum:
reuerentiæ & auguſti timoris pleniſſimū. deniq; abſtruſorum dei in latibulo ſuarū
tenebrarum ſe recipientis: omni cum reuerentia inquiſitionis perfectam abſtinentiam.

¶Pręterea & indefeſſus ille/atq; alta petens ſempiternus motus. Subauditur ex ſuperio Q
re particula: aperiebatur. ¶Ad hæc & diuinam illam ac precioſiſſimã laudationẽ. quam R
audiebat a ſeraphim altero ad alterum clamantibus: ſanctus/ſanctus/ſanctus/ dominus
deus ſabaoth. plena eſt terra: gloria maieſtatis eius. ¶Vt is qui quomodolibet. vt: qua- S
liter/quo pacto. ¶Cum miniſtrorũ ſuorũ ſiue ſacerdotum officio purget. Officio/ ſubmi T
niſtratione & medio. ¶Eius quæ in te meo miniſterio perficitur purgationis. Hic fingũ- V
tur verba angeli ad purgatum loquentis: ad hanc particulã vſq;/hoc enim is a quo di-
dici. quæ ſunt verba ſacri patris Dionyſij ad Timotheũ: ꝙ ea ex ſeipſo non dicit/ ſed ex
eo a quo hanc intelligentiã ac declarationem acceperat. ¶At vero princeps illa & poſt X
deum dux. Hic iterum finguntur verba angeli ad purgatum: ad hanc vſq; particulã/iſta
quidem ille me docuit. ¶Iſta quidem ille me docuit. Verba ſunt Dionyſij ad Timothe- Z
um. Iſta quidem expoſitionis myſteriorum ſeraphim ſacramenta: ille æqualis meus me
Dionyſium edocuit/quæ tibi Timotheo identidem communico.

¶DECIMITERTII CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

52 ALiam hoc loco diſcutit queſtionem ſacer Dionyſius: quare ad Eſaiam
prophetam purgandũ a peccato/ vnus ex ſeraphim mitti perhibetur.
Non ab re enim exinde difficultas emergit: ꝙ ex poſtremis ordinibus
cœleſtes ſpiritus ad homines humanaq; diſponenda officia mitti dicun
tur. Qui autem ad prophetam miſſus refertur: non ex inferioribus an-
gelis ſed de ſupremo ordine (vt nomen ipſum indicat) fuiſſe perhibe-
tur/de quo tamen ordine cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ mitti ad externa non di-
cuntur: ſed iugiter diuino aſpectui aſtare. ¶Adhibet primo loco aliquorũ reſponſionẽ/
conſentaneam ijs quæ ſuperius dicta ſunt de omniũ ſpirituum cœleſtium quantũ ad ſu
arum proprietatũ inter ſe cõmunionem ſocietate (qua ſuperiores/inferiorũ proprietates
excellenter: inferiores vero/ ſuperiorum humiliter & ſubexcellenter habere dicti ſunt)
ꝙ nõ dicitur a ſcriptura vnus ex ſupremis & ſummi ordinis ſpiritibus: adueniſſe ad pro-
phetæ expurgationem. ſed eũ qui miſſus ſcribitur/ fuiſſe vnũ ex poſtremis/ & angelis il-
lis: qui nobis cuſtodiendis & gubernandis ſunt præpoſiti. Ipſum autẽ/ſeraphim eſſe ap-
pellatum: ob purgandi prophetæ officiũ quo fungebatur/miniſterio incẽdendi comple-
tum. quo & peccata prophetę deleta ſunt: & ipſe purgatus ad diuini amoris & promptę
obedientię reuocatus eſt ardorẽ. Itaq; dicunt iſti: per vnũ ex ſeraphim/ſcripturam intel
lexiſſe nõ vnum ex illis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus qui deo ſunt proximi: ſed ex his poſtremis
vnum/qui purgandorum hominũ gerũt officium. Et nomen illud ſeraphim/non ibi de-
terminati ordinis nomen eſſe: ſed officij. ꝙ ſoleant plerumq; cœleſtes ſpiritus id nomẽ
ſortiri: cuius exequuntur officium. ¶Secundo vero loco affert beatus pater & alteram
reſponſionem: ab vno ſuorum æqualiũ & in ſanctæ ſcripturæ ſtudio ſociorũ ſibi aſſigna
tam. qui dixit excellentẽ illum angelum qui viſionem adeo diuinam efformauerat (qua
vidit Eſaias dominum ſedentem ſuper ſoliũ excelſum & eleuatum: et cætera quæ conſe Eſa. 6
quenter idem cõmemorat) vt ipſum prophetam diuinis myſterijs ſublimiter inſtrueret:
illud purgandi munus quod ad ſuum attinebat officium/ retuliſſe primo in deum vt pri
mum illius muneris indultorẽ/& deinde in primũ illum ſupremumq; diuinorum ſpiritu
um ordinem: a quo poſt deũ acceperat benigna deriuatione & communicatione/huiuſ-
modi miniſterium. Et vera (inquit) merito videri poſſit hæc ratio. Dicebat enim qui hãc
ſecundã aſſignauit reſponſionẽ: ꝙ diuina virtus immenſitate ſua omnia ſupergreditur/
omnia ambit/& per omnia ineloquibili modo diffunditur/expanditur & extenditur: om
nibus etiam inacceſſa & inuiſibilis eſt. non ſolum quidẽ quia excellentiore ſit dignitate
& gradu ſuper omnia: ſed etiam quia occultiſſimo & nobis incognito quodã ordine/ꝓui
dentiæ ſuę munera omnibus diſpartiatur & infundat. Nẽpe ſpiritibus cœleſtibus omni-
bus (cuiq; pro ſuo captu) ipſa diuina virtus apparet: ſupremis illis ſubſtantijs angelicis
primos ſuæ lucis radios indulgẽs. & per illas vt primas & ſibi proximas/inferioribus di-
uinis ſubſtantijs ſecundum cuiuſq; ordinẽ & contemplandi vires: eiuſdem ſuæ lucis diſ-
partitur radios. ¶Deinde idem duplici manuductione/radij ſcilicet ſolaris & ignei ca-
loris: accõmodatiſſime declarat. Vt apertius (ait) fiat quod modo propoſitum eſt: exem-
pla illius ſumantur ex rebus iſtis corporalibus/nobis domeſticis. quæ licet longe deo in-
feriora ſint/omnibus ſublimiter eminente: apertiora tamen nobis & clariora videbũtur.
Itaq; primũ exemplum eſt de diſtributiõe ſolaris radij/qui in eam primo corporalẽ ſub-

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ſtantiam facillime ſpargitur: quæ omnibus lympidior & clarior eſt/ quēadmodū(exempli gratia)eſt cœlum: per quod plane ſol/lucidius & fulgentius ſuos iacit radios. Vbi vero ſolis radius craſſiores/ denſioreſq; inuenit corporales ſubſtantias/ vt aerē caliginoſū aut aquā: minus potens eſt ad ſplendorē ſuum libere diffundendum. ꝙ huiuſmodi craſſiores ſubſtantiæ in quas vibrantur radij: minus idoneæ ſunt & aptæ ad illos copioſę lucis radios tranſmittendos in ſequentia corpora/ob nimiā materiæ denſitatem & feculētiam. Et ita ſenſim ad id peruenitur/ vt lucis radius amplius fere nō poſſit diſtribui: ob corpulentiorem eius cui incidit craſſitiem. vt cū ad terram vſq; pertigit: quā penetrare nequaꝗ poteſt. Secundū exemplū eſt. Calor ignis in ea quæ ad ipſum recipiendū ſunt aptiora/facilius diffunditur: vt ſtuppam/ſtramenta/ligna arida/ & cætera id genus quæ leuius igni cedunt & in ipſius formā facile traducūtur. In reluctantes autē igni contrariaſq; ſubſtantias/vt ligna viridia aut humectata/ aut nullū aut exiguū caloris ignei veſtigiū percipitur tranſmiſſum: quia non ſint idoneæ neq; diſpoſitæ ad illud recipiendū. Quinimo(quod amplius eſt)ignis ipſe illis ſubſtātijs quæ ſui generis atq; naturę nō ſūt: per ea quæ ſibi cognata ſunt atq; affinia/vim ſui caloris infundit. vt per ligna ignita & flāmam: calefacit aquā ſibi omnino aduerſam. ea ignificans quæ in ignis ſpeciem facile vertunt: vt ligna ſicca & tenuia. & per huiuſmodi ſpeciem igneā atq; effigiem calefaciens pro cuiuſq; diſpoſitione & conditione: aut aquam/aut quippiam eorum quæ difficile igneſcunt. quale eſt ferrū. Itaq; iuxta hūc naturæ ordinem: deus ipſe qui ſummus eſt ordo totius pulchritudinis/& viſibilis in corporalibus & inuiſibilis in ſpiritualibus: modo quidem nobis inexplicabili/ſummis illis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus lucis ſuæ claritatē prima largitione & copioſiſſima infundit. & per illos ſupremos tanꝗ intermedios: īferiores quoq; ſpiritus diuini radij participationem ſuſcipiunt. Cum enim hę altiſſimę ſupremęq; ſubſtantię prima participatione dei cognitionem obtineant/& ipſius caſtiſſimo deſiderio ſummopere flagrēt: id quoq; gratuita dei bonitate ſunt aſſecutę/ vt primę etiam poſt deū ad diuinę virtutis & operationis imitationē proueherentur/& ſequentes angelicas ſubſtantias ad eādem dei imitationem(quantū illis conceditur)attollerent. & in hoc ſūmi boni ſectarentur exemplū/omnia ad ſe attrahentis: dum abunde lucis ſupernę participationē quam primo loco acceperunt/alijs poſterioribus ſine inuidia cōmunicant. & illę ſequentes ſubſtantię: ſuſceptā ſuperne illuſtrationem deinceps inferioribus angelis impartiuntur. Et hunc in modū ordinatiſſima ſerie ſingulę cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ faciunt: dum ea quę prima ſupremaq; eſt/ſequenti ſecundo gradu atq; ordine/ traditę ſibi diuinę lucis communionē effundit: atq; ita in omnes angelicas ſubſtantias/ inconfuſo quodā ordine diuinus radius effulget. Itaq; deus ipſe per naturam & ſua ſubſtantia/percipiēdę lucis diuinę eſt principiū: ōnibus & angelis & hominibus qui illuminantur. eiuſdēq; lucis & illuſtrationis intimę primus author eſt & cauſa/omnino proprie & per ſe: nā ſubſtantia & ſuapte natura. nō autē gratia aut participatione: quēadmodū omnia quę ſub deo ſunt. Verū quemadmodū deus in ſupremas angelicas ſubſtātias copioſius atq; valentius fundit ſuę lucis cōſortium/vt quaſi in viciniores poſitione: ita & quæq; ſuperior ſibi viciniori(vt cui ſit poſitione ꝓxima)ad diuinæ imitationis ſimilitudinē/fortius atq; validius ſupernæ lucis participandæ cōmunicat munus. Et ſecundū huiuſmodi intellectualē ſitum/diuiniq; radij in plura diſtributionē tanꝗ in partes/ vnaquæq; ſuperior angelica ſubſtantia inferiori luminis percipiendi eſt principium: quia per ſuperiorē/ in inferiorem diuinum lumen emanat. Sancti igitur patres recte arbitrantur ſupremā cœleſtium ſpirituū diſtinctionē/authorem eſſe & cauſam cognitionis rerū diuinarū & dignę dei imitationis: omniū reliquorū angelorum ſubſtantiæ atq; ordinibus. quoniam per illam primā diſtinctionem: in omnes ſequentes & nos homines/diuinæ claritatis ſplendor traducitur & propagatur. Et hanc ob rem inferiores ſpiritus cœleſtes omnē ſacram actionē & ad dei imitationē promouētē/referunt primum ad deum vt cauſam pręcipuā & primitiuā. Deinde vero eandē actionē etiā referunt acceptam ipſis ſupremis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus: eo ꝙ primi diuina myſteria poſt deū cognoſcant & edoceant. Habet igitur prima illa angelicorū ſpirituū diſtinctio abundantius ꝗ cæteræ diſtinctiones/ igneā incenſionē: ob ſupremum eius ordinem. diuinę ſapientiæ plenitudinem ac effuſionē: ob ſecundū eiuſdē ordinē. & ſpiritualiū ſediū proprietatē/ indicantē(vt ante dictū eſt)apertam dei in ſe ſuſceptionem: propter poſtremū illius ordinem. Inferiores vero cœleſtiū ſpirituum ordines etiam participes ſunt ſupradictorum trium: igneæ inquam virtutis/

ſapientiæ diuinæ/ & capacitatis ipſius dei: ſed minore atq; inferiore modo. Nempe inferiores ipſi ſpiritus erigētes mentis aciē in illos ſummos atq; ſupremos/ & toti in ipſos intenti: eorum ſubuectu/ductu & adminiculo ad aſſequendam diuinæ imaginis ſimilitudinem conſcendunt: ꝙ ipſi ſupremi primo loco dei imitatione digni ſint habiti. Et ideo ſanctas illas (quæ dictæ ſunt) proprietates/ quas inferiores ſuperni ſpiritus per primos recipiunt: ipſi inferiores ſupremis illis poſt deū/ tanq̄ ducibus & magiſtris ſuis aſſignant ac attribuunt. quēadmodum CHRISTVS in euangelio opera ſignorum deitatē ſuam atteſtantium/ad patrem refert/item & doctrinam: cum ait. Pater in me manens: ipſe facit opera. & mea doctrina non eſt mea: ſed eius qui miſit me patris. Itaq; qui hanc ſecūdam reſponſionem ſacratiſſimo Dionyſio aſſignauit: dixit viſionem illam eximiam (qua vidit Eſaias dominū ſedentē ſuper ſolium excelſum & eleuatū: ac reliqua/ quæ ſexto eiꝰ capite deſcribūtur) per vnum ab extremi ordinis ſpiritibus/ qui noſtri ſunt præſides/ duces & cuſtodes: prophetæ oſtenſam eſſe. atq; eundem prophetam illius angeli illuminatione/ad ſacram illam viſionem eſſe perductum: in qua vidit illas ſupremi ordinis angelicas ſubſtantias tanq̄ per ſigna quædam aut corporalia aut potius intellectualia/ proxime ſub deo & circa deū eſſe collocatas. Vidit item in eadem viſione ſummitatem illā diuinæ maieſtatis/ipſis ſupremis angelis immo & omnibus rebus conditis ſublimiter eminentem: in medio illarum ſupremarū atq; primarum virtutum cœleſtiū reſidentem. Quod ſane illi ſignificatum eſt per id: ꝙ vidit dominum ſedentem ſuper ſolium excelſū & eleuatū. Docebatur ergo propheta per ea quæ videbat: ꝙ ꝓpter ſupſubſtantialē ſuam eminentiā deus omnibus rebus cum viſibilibus tum inuiſibilibus improportionaliter eſt præcelſior/ & ita exceptus ab omnibus ob eximiam ſublimitatē: vt nec ipſis quidem primis ac ſummis angelicis ſubſtantijs omnino ſimilis putari poſſit/ ꝙ ſine comparatione illis eſt excellentior. Inſuper ex huiuſmodi viſione docebatur propheta: deum ipſum/ principium eſſe ac cauſam omnium/ atq; impermutabilem ſtabilitatē indiſſolubilis in bono permanentiæ: qua cœleſtes ſpiritus in deo conſtantiſſime fixi ſunt. ex qua ſane omnium cauſa/ ipſæ ſupremæ cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ: & vt eſſent & vt bene eſſent/ habuerūt. Et id ipſi Eſaię ſignificatum eſt per hoc: ꝙ vidit domū totā plenam gloria maieſtatis domini. Rurſum ex eadem viſione propheta diſcebat ipſorum ſanctorū ſeraphim diuinas virtutes & proprietates: cum dixit ꝙ ſeraphim ſtabant ſuper illud. Nā ipſorū ſeraphim appellatio: ſacrū ſignificat (vt ante dictū eſt) incendiū. & paulo poſt dicētur igneę virtutis ſublimes ſignificationes: & quomodo illa incendendi virtus ad dei ducat imaginem.

53 ¶Cęterū efformatio illa ſex alarū ipſis ſeraphim circūpoſitarum/ cū ait propheta ꝙ erant ſex alæ vni ex ſeraphim/ & ſex alæ alteri: ſignificat perfectiſſimā ac intentiſſimā in deum conuerſionē in primis/ medijs/ & vltimis hierarchijs/ & ſacris cœleſtiū ſpirituū diſtinctionibus. At per hoc ꝙ multos illorū ſeraphim pedes/ & multas facies vidit propheta: & ꝙ alis extremis/ facierū & pedū velabatur aſpectus/ mediæ vero alæ perpete volatu ſurſum tendebant: manuducebatur ad ſpiritualem & occultā intelligentiā eorū quæ per ſigna cernebat. Nempe per multos ſummorū ſpirituū pedes: deſignabatur ipſorum virtus multa peragrans atq; percurrens. Et per multas illorū facies: ſignificabatur eorundē virtus complura perſpiciens. Per velationem vero capitis & pedum/ extremis alis factam: monſtrabatur ſacra illa reuerentia & cum reformidatione diuinæ celſitudinis ob ſuam paruitatem veneratio: qua altiſſimi ipſi ſpiritus refugiūt cū ſūma modeſtia & ſupra humanā conſuetudinem/ arrogantem & temerariā/ neq; ſubuehētē ad deū ſed potius deprimentem indagationem profundiorū & altiorum myſteriorum/ q̄ ad eos attineat cognoſcere: a quibus cū ſobrietate & humilitate prorſus abſtinent. Deniq; per medias illas alas quibus volare deſcribuntur ſancta ſeraphim/ inſinuabatur ſempiternꝰ ille & ſemper ad alta indefatigabili niſu tendens motus: quo prędita/ diuinas operationes quantum ipſis conceditur imitantur. Inſuper & diuinam illam laudationem atq; ſacratiſſimam propheta diſcebat/ qua in triū ſupernarum beatitudinum atq; perſonarum diſcretione monſtratur vna deitas & vnus eius dominatus: cū audiuit ſancta ſeraphim clamare vnū ad alterū: ſanctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus/ dominus deus ſabaoth. Nempe angelus qui formabat in mente Eſaiæ huiuſmodi viſionē: tradidit ipſi prophetæ/ ſuæ ſacratiſſimæ cognitionis participationem. Docebat vtiq; angelus ille prophetā: ꝙ participatio diuinæ mundiciæ/ cauſa eſt purgationis & puritatis oībus ijs qui mundi ſunt. & diuini fulgoris in ſe ſuſceptio: itidē cauſa eſt illuminationis & lucis ſpiritualis omnibus qui lu

Ioan. 14.
Ioan. 7

Explicatio viſionis Eſaiæ.

cidi ſunt & illuminati. Verum huiuſmodi purgatio & illuminatio/ab ipſa deitate vt principio & fonte: in omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus certo quodam ordine emanat. atqꝫ ſupremis illis ſubſtãtijs angelicis quæ deo proximæ ſunt: ea purgatio & lucis irradiatio/perſpectior eſt atqꝫ clarior/magiſqꝫ & copioſius ipſis inſinuatur atqꝫ diſtribuitur. In ijs vero ſupnis ſubſtantijs quæ ſequentes ſunt/ſiue ſecundo & medio loco/ſiue tertio & extremo: quantum ſingulæ earum a ſumma diuinitate diſtant/ipſa deitas claram cognitionis ſuæ lucẽ diffundit per primas. atq; diſtantiores illas/proximarum miniſterio: ad ſecretiſſimæ ſuæ atq; ſingularis lucis vnitatem/ſimplicitatem & excellentiam cogit & vnit. Atqꝫ vt in ſũma res ipſa dicatur/lux diuina in dei ſecreto latentiſſima & incõpræhenſibilis: primo loco atqꝫ deriuatione primaria/ ex illo diuinitatis occulto in ſupremas cœleſtes ſubſtãtias in apertũ prodit/foraſq; progreditur. deinde primarum officio/ſequentibus: & ſuperiorũ cõmunicatione/inferioribus eadem lux traditur. Illud igitur propheta ab angelo ipſum docente diſcebat/ꝙ purgatio ſcilicet & cæteræ actiones dei: per primas & ſummas angelicas ſubſtantias/vim ſuæ proprietatis manifeſtant primum. & deinde in reliquas omnes diuiduntur: quantum vnaquæqꝫ pro ſuæ naturæ modo/diuinam participationẽ nata eſt ſuſcipere. Et ideo propheta illam purgationis functionem quæ fit per incendium/ ſupremis ſeraphim poſt deum recte & ſcite aſcripſit: q̃uis per extremũ facta ſit angelũ. neq; quicq̃ abſurdum eſt: ſi vnus ex ſeraphim/purgare prophetam dicatur. Quemadmodũ enim deus purgare omnes dicitur: ꝙ ipſe ſit primus omnis purgationis author. quinimmo vt magis familiari vtamur exemplo/ſicut in humana hierarchia pontifex cũ miniſtrorum ſuorum atqꝫ ſacerdotum officio purgat ſubiectos ſibi/aut doctrina illuminat: ipſe purgare & illuminare dicitur. cum ij ordines ſacerdotales & miniſtrorum qui ab ipſo pontifice conſecrati ſunt: ad eum tanq̃ ſacrorũ antiſtitem & authorem/ſuæ functionis officia referãt. ita & angelus ipſe qui prophetę purgationem exhibet/ purgatoriam ſuã virtutẽ ad deũ quidẽ vt primum authorem: ad ſeraphim vero tanq̃ primo loco poſt deũ purgationis munus exercentem pontificem/refert. ipſum qui purgabatur prophetam/ hiſce verbis reuerenter alloquens. Illius O Eſaia purgationis quę in te meo officio nũc peragitur/principium & cauſa prima ille eſt: qui ſupremas etiam angelicas ſubſtantias de nichilo creauit/& indemutabili firmitate in bono ita continet ſuaqꝫ gratuita dignatione conſeruat: vt ne vnq̃ decidere a bono/aut in malũ decumbere poſſint. Ipſe itidem illas: ad prima actionum ſuæ prouidentiæ conſortia ſubuehit(qui enim hæc beatum Dionyſium edocuit: dixit miſſionem ſeraphim id ſignificare/ꝙ ſcilicet cœleſtes ipſius ſupremi ordinis ſpiritus/primi diuinæ prouidentiæ munera in ſequentes exequuntur)facitqꝫ eas primas ſuæ diſpenſationis & diſtributionis bonorum miniſtras. Verum illa ſummorum ſpirituum ſacratiſſima diſtinctio(ex qua ipſe/qui extremi ſum ordinis: purgare ad dei omnia primo purgantis ſimilitudinem ſum edoctus)quæ princeps eſt cæterorũ ordinum cœleſtium/& poſt deũ dux ac præſes: illa eſt quæ te nunc meo purgat miniſterio. ꝑ quam deus author & opifex totius purgationis/ſacra ſuæ prouidentiæ opera rectiſſimo ordine: ex ſecretiſſimo ſuę diuinitatis arcano ad nos vſqꝫ poſtremũ ſortitos ordinẽ/deduxit. ¶Hęc ſupradicta(inquit ſacer Dionyſius ad Timotheũ)ille æqualis meus & in ſcripturarum ſtudio ſocius me edocuit: quæ ego ſimiliter tibi communico. Tuæ autem nũc erit diſcretionis & prudentiæ: per alteram ex his duabus reſponſionibus/ ab omni ambiguitate queſtionis propoſitæ liberari. & vnam earum alteri/ ſcilicet ſecundam cauſam primæ præferre: vt quæ rationi & veritati videatur magis conſona. aut a teipſo nouam aliam cauſam inuenire/vel ab aliquo diſcere: quæ ſit veritati propinquior q̃ duæ cauſæ nunc aſſignatæ. deo quidem intelligentiam diuinorum myſteriorum ſuggerente: & angelis a deo eam pijs mentibus benigniter inſinuantibus. Deniqꝫ & tuum erit/ id ipſum quod nouum a teipſo inueneris aut ab alio didiceris/ ad propoſitæ queſtionis attinens diſcuſſionem: michi angelicarum proprietatum cognoſcẽdarum cupido communicare. vt profundiore rerum diuinarum intelligentia q̃ ego ex me penetrare queam/ michiqꝫ gratiore(ſi modo id fieri poſſit)tecum perfruar. In quibus ſane poſtremis verbis/ attendenda eſt ſingularis/ſacratiſſimi Dionyſij modeſtia: qui non dedignatur ſed expetit a ſãcto Timotheo(quem tam ſublimiter in hoc opere inſtituit) edoceri/& illius ſententiam q̃ propriam ſibi acceptiorem fore conteſtatur. Quæ quidem modeſtia: omnibus litterarũ ſtudioſis eſt ſummopere imitanda.

Eximia pij patris modeſtia et humilitas.

¶Quid ſignificet/is qui traditur: angelicus numerus. Cap. XIIII.

54 AT hoc item ſpirituali diſcuſſione & magiſterio dignũ puto: quãobrem ſcripturæ ſanctæ traditio/de angelis loquẽs/milia A miliũ eſſe dicat/& decies millies dena milia:ſupremos humanos B numeros in ſeipſos inuoluẽs atq; multiplicãs/ perq; hos:cœleſtium ſubſtãtiarum ordines nobis eſſe innumerabiles/apertis rationibus pãdens. Sunt enim profecto plurimæ cœleſtium militiæ ſpirituum: quæ mortalium noſtrorum numerorum infirmum/breuemq; modum longe tranſcendant.atq; ab ſola ſua eminentiſſima & cœleſti intelligentia atq; notione ſcitæ ſint ac diffinitæ: quam illis opulentiſſime largita eſt ſumma diuinitas/ immenſæ author ſcientiæ/ atq; ſapientiæ fons/& principium omnibus ſimul exiſtẽtibus:excellentis ratione ſubſtantiæ ipſa exiſtens & cauſa ſubſtantiæ/& continens omnia virtus/ & conſummatio cuncta complectens.

❡SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡Quãobrẽ ſcripturæ ſãctę traditio. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. A Fluuius igneus/ rapiduſq; egrediebatur a facie eius. milia milium miniſtrabant ei:& decies centena milia aſſiſtebant ei. ❡De angelis loquens/milia milium eſſe dicat/ B & decies millies dena milia:ſupremos humanos numeros in ſeipſos inuoluẽs atq; multiplicans. Supremos humanos numeros vocat:mille/& decem milia. quos hoc pacto figurant.1000. 10000.Quos ſi in ſeipſos duxeris/ multiplicaueriſq;: ex mille in ſe ductis/ tetragonicus numerus ſurgit/milia milium: qui hoc pacto ſeptem notis figuratur.1000000.Siquidem millies mille: milia milium reddunt.Eadem profecto cenſent: millies mille/millies milia/& milia milium: ſola vocis prolatione diſſidentia. Et ex decem milibus in ſe multiplicatis: prouenit tetragonicus alter numerus/ decies millies dena milia:qui hoc pacto nouem notis deſignatur. 100000000. Vbi numeri quadrati & æquales / præ ſe omni ex parte diuinam naturam ſine vituperatione ferentes: exercitibus militiæ cœleſtis applicantur. & quorum radices & tetragonica latera (vt hic ſacratus deo loquitur antiſtes) rerum humanarum ſummæ ſunt/ ſummiq; numeri. Ex his intelligere perprõptũ eſt/cur deo plenus pater dixerit:ſupremos humanos numeros in ſe inuoluens/ atq; multiplicans. Et mirum eſt ꝙ Pythagorica his conſentiant:cum in radicibus vltra quas non procedũt/tum in diuina quadratorũ natura. Sed fas non eſt rebus tam ſanctis:eorum ſententias ammiſceri.Id tamen non negligenter prætereundũ eſt:nos nunc legere/ milia miliũ miniſtrabant ei: & decies centena milia aſſiſtebant ei.Vbi qui volet attentiuſcule aduertere/& qui arithmetices non fuerit prorſus ignarus:idem profecto reperiet milia milium/& decies centena milia. neq; varijs e terminis ſurgunt: ſed vterq;/ vnus idẽq; eſt millenariorum tetragonus. Vnde veriſimile eſt: tẽpore ſanctiſſimi patris/ litteras ſacras magnam habuiſſe & in ſe & in ſua conuerſione fidelitatem.Et hic locus abſq; arithmetices præſidio:nullo pacto inueniri poteſt/ & pleriq; alij contemplatoribus digniſſimi. Quapropter per eum vos oro qui omnium numerus & menſura eſt/ futuri contemplationis amatores: ne arithmeticen & geometriam teneriore adhuc ætatula deſpiciatis/ vt ad diuina tãdem ſternant iter/ pręſidiaq; ferant.

Nota fidelitatem litterarũ originaliũ tẽpore apoſtolorum & beatiſſ. dionyſij

❡DECIMIQVARTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

54 PErquirit hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius:quidnã deſignat angelicus ille numerus/qui in ſacris litteris a Daniele exprimitur.Id etiã(inquit) diſcuſſione & inquiſitione dignũ exiſtimo/ quare ſacra ſcriptura de cœleſtibus ſpiritibus loquens: dicit eorum numerum eſſe milia milium & decies millies dena milia. In qua ſane numeri expreſſione/ipſa diuina ſcriptura duos ſupremos humanos numeros : vtpote mille & decem milia (qui ſupremi dicuntur numeri:ꝙ vltra illorũ ſummam arithmetici Pythagoricis aſſentientes nõ eſſe progrediendũ contendant/ſed in illa ſtãdum)in ſeipſos inuoluit atq; multiplicat.Nam eos tanq̃ radices & latera quadratorum in ſeipſos ducens:producit duos numeros tetragonicos/ in Daniele ſecundum æditionem ſeptuaginta interpretum(quam hic adducit ſacratus pater)expreſſos.Si enim mil-

Danie.7.

lenarium in ſeipſum duxeris: procreabitur prior numerus ſcilicet milia milium. Si vero
decies mille quis inuoluerit in ſeipſum/& per ſeipſum multiplicauerit; protinus conſurget
numerus ſecundo loco hic ex Daniele adductus/ vtpote decies millies dena milia.
vt præclare dilucidat huius loci ſcholiũ. At vero non ab re hic dictum eſt: ſecundum
numerum ex Daniele hic nominari ſecũdum traductionẽ ſeptuaginta interpretum. Nã
noſtri codices/ qui in eccleſiæ gallicanæ ſunt vſu: habent hoc ſecũdo loco numerũ multo
maiorem/ vtpote decies millies centena milia. De quo/& huius apud Danielem loci
elucidatione ac varietate in diuerſis codicibus: annotauimus nonnichil in calce opuſculi
de myſtica ſignificatione numerorum. Verum per hos numeros tam ingentis & copioſæ
ſummę/ milia inquam miliũ & decies millies dena milia: ſacra ſcriptura clare nobis
pandit ac inſinuat/ipſos cœleſtium ſubſtantiarũ ordines nobis eſſe innumerabiles:
nec certo a nobis numero compræhendi poſſe. Sunt enim reuera plurima supernorum
ſpirituũ agmina: quæ humanorum noſtrorũ numerorũ ſummam breuemq; menſuram
longe tranſcendunt. ſuntq; huiuſmodi cœleſtium ſubſtantiarũ militiæ/a ſola ſua ſciẽtia
atq; cognitione perſpectę: atq; in quo ſunt numero/diffinitę. ꝙ poſt deum/ipſę ſolę cognoſcũt:
quo ſint numero a ſumma diuinitate determinatę. Hanc vero notionẽ & proprij
numeri intelligentiam/ipſis affluentiſſime elargita eſt ſuprema deitas: totius ſcien
1.regum.2 tiæ ac ſapientię fons vberrimus. Deus enim/ ſcientiarum dominus eſt: vt ait ſcriptura.
Ecci.1. & omnis ſapientia a domino deo eſt. Eſt itidem ipſa ſumma diuinitas/principium & authoribus
omnibus rebus conditis in hoc vniuerſo ſubſiſtentibus: ratione excellentiſſimæ
Roma.11. ſuæ ſubſtantiæ omnibus longe eminẽtis. & cauſa ſubſtantiæ cunctis exiſtit: nã ex ipſo/
per ipſum/& in ipſo ſunt omnia. Deniq; eadem eſt cõtinens ac conſeruans omnia virtus:
& perfectio cuncta compræhendens. omnia enim ſeruat in eſſe: & cuncta conſummat
ac perficit.

¶ Quæ ſint figuratiuæ angelicarum virtutum imagines/& reliqua. Cap. XV.

Age vero iam ſi placet relaxãtes parũper intentionẽ noſtrã/
& mentis aciem a ſublimibus illis angelorum ſpeculationibus
tantiſper auertentes: ad diuiduam atq; in plura diſciſſam
latitudinem multiplicis angelicarum imaginum varietatis
deſcendamus. atq; ab ipſis rurſus veluti ab imaginibus:
ad ſimplicitatem cœleſtium ſpirituum per illarum ſolutionẽ
redeamus. ¶ Id autem ãte omnia compertum tibi ſit velim/ ꝙ imaginum
C ſacratiora ſignantium deſignationes: eaſdem interdũ ſubſtantiarum cœleſtium
diſtinctiones/perfectas atq; docentes inducunt/aliquando diſcentes
atq; ſubiectas. & vltimas ſæpe docentes: primariaſq; diſcẽtes. deniq; (vt dictum
eſt) & primas & medias & extremas: virtutibus præditas. ac per
hunc expoſitionis explicitæ modum: nichil abſurditatis inſeritur/ nichil
quod ſit a ratione alienum. Nam ſi quidem regi ac doceri aliquas a prioribus
diceremus/deinde eaſdẽ regere atq; docere: prioreſq; rurſus extremas
docere/& poſtmodum ab ipſis illis diſcentibus diſcere: eſſet profecto ea res
perabſurda/& ingenti confuſione plena. Sin autem eaſdem & docere & doceri
dicimus: verum non eaſdem & ab eiſdem/ ſed ſingulas a ſuperioribus
regi ac diſcere/ extremas vero docere atq; regere: non inconuenienter infertur/
eas quæ in ſacro eloquio continentur ſacratius effictas formas: eaſdem
D aliquando & primis & medijs extremiſq; virtutibus/ proprie ac vere
E circumponi poſſe. ¶ Igitur & illa vel in anteriora conuerſio ac iugis intentio/
vel ſuis in locis manſio atq; tuendarum virtutum ſuarum cauſa nuſq̃
progreſſio/ ſtatus ille præterea per quem ſociali ad ſequentes ſecundo lo-

co cōmunicabiliqꝫ proceſſu/prouidentiſſimæ virtutis participes fiunt: omnibus
profecto cœleſtibus ſpiritibus aptiſſime ac veriſſime congruit/ etſi
alijs eminentiſſime atqꝫ integre quidem (quod ſæpe iam diximus) alijs vero
58 ex parte atqꝫ ſubmiſſius. ¶ Aggrediamur itaqꝫ quod inſtituimus/illud
ſtatim in prima figurarū expoſitione inquirentes: quā ob cauſam diuina F
eloquia igneam deſcriptionē præ omnibus ferme honorare videntur. Deniqꝫ
inuenies in his nō modo igneas rotas effingi/ verum ignita quoqꝫ animalia:
& viros ignem veluti ex ſe coruſcationis inſtar emittentes. ac iuxta
ipſas quoqꝫ cœleſtes ſubſtantias: congeſtos carbones ignis apponi/ & flumina
ingenti fragore ignis feruorē emittentia. Sed & thronos eſſe aiunt
igneos: & ipſa eminentiſſima ſeraphim incendendi munus ipſa nominis
ſui appellatione ſignare. ipſiſqꝫ proprietatem & officium ignis imprimis
aſſignant: ac prorſus vltro/citroqꝫ ignis figuras præcipue honorant. Per
ignem itaqꝫ ſignari arbitror cœleſtium ſpirituum faciem: dei maxime ſpecie Ignis.
inſignem. Nam profecto ſanctiſſimi qui de deo locuti ſunt viri: ſummam G
illam & nullis obnoxiam figuris/formiſqꝫ ſubſtantiam varie in igne
deſcribunt. quippe qui diuinæ proprietatis (ſi dici liceat) in rebus viſibilibus
plurimas ſeruat imagines. Nempe enim ignis/ſenſibilis in omnibus (vt H
ita dixerim) eſt. & per ōnia ſine vlla ſui admixtione proficiſcitur. & ab omnibus
prorſus excipitur. cumqꝫ lucidiſſimus ſit: ipſe tamen non admota
materia (in qua ſuā vim/ ſuumqꝫ oſtēdat officium) in ſeipſo occultus/atqꝫ Ignis proprietates & philoſophia ad aſcenſum anagogicum mirabilis.
incognitus manet. neqꝫ admittit habitum. neqꝫ patet aſpectui. ipſe omnia
ſuperat. et ea quibus inſederit/in ſuum traducit officiū. omnibuſqꝫ quomodolibet
ſibi appropinquantibus ſui conſortium tradit. renouat omnia calore
vitali. ac fulgoribus apertis illuminat. teneri/miſceriqꝫ non poteſt. diſcernēdi
vi habet. atqꝫ imutabilis eſt. ſuperiora ſemper petit. & in acumen tendit.
agilis. celer. ſublimis. nullaqꝫ vi vt inferiora petessat: adigi poteſt. ſemper
mobilis. eodēqꝫ motu vigēs. alia mouet. cōplectitur oīa. cū tamē aſtrigi
ipſe non poſſit. cūqꝫ alio ipſe nō egeat: ſibiipſi tamē clā incrementa ſuppeditat.
atqꝫ in qualibet ſuſcipiente materia/ſuæ maieſtatis potentiā indicat. efficax.
potens. omnibus inuiſibiliter præſens. ſi negligatur/non eſſe videtur.
attritu autem veluti irritatione quadam naturaliter ac proprie continuo lucentem
excitatur in flammā: rurſuſqꝫ incōpræhenſibili abuolat modo. cūqꝫ
affatim omnibus participationem ſui locupletiſſimam præbeat: nunq̄ tamē
ipſe minuitur. Cōplures item alias ignis proprietates inuenies: diuinæ
actioni (quantum humanis imaginibus fas eſt) prope accedētes. Hoc itaqꝫ
nō ignorantes viri illi diuina ſapientia repleti: cœleſtes ſubſtantias/ ex igne
maxime effingunt. vt illarū diuinam ſpeciem/ ad dei imitationem tendere
59 pro virib⁹: indicēt. ¶ Humana quoqꝫ illas forma deſcribūt: ꝙ mēte vigeāt I Humana forma.
homines/videndiqꝫ vires habeant ad ſuperna tendentes/ſublimiqꝫ ore/&
erecto ſint ſtatu/& per naturam ad imperandū ac regendū idonei. Cūqꝫ
ſenſu ac viribus/brutorum animalium comparatione/ minimum valeant:
præſtāti tamē virtute animi/ac rationabilis ſciētiæ dominatu/& ꝙ anima
naturaliter libera/ſeruire vinciqꝫ non poſſit: oīa ſuperant. Poſſumus autem

& per ſingula plurifariam diuiſa humani corporis membra: non inconcin
nas (vt reor) imagines cœleſtium inuenire virtutū. Dicimus enim viſu qui-
dem in ſanctis angelis clariſſimā ſignari aciem: qua diuinis hauriendis lu-
minibus inhiant. ſimplicemqꝫ præterea illam & liquidā/ nichilqꝫ obluctan
tem: ſed motus celeritate conſtantem/ purāqꝫ & patulam ſuſcipiēdis abſqꝫ
Nares. perturbatione vlla diuinę claritatis fulgoribus/ qualitatem. Porro naribus
olfaciendi ac diiudicandi vi præditis: capacē eorū perceptionem/ qua ſum-
mam illam/ ſuauiſſimāqꝫ fragrantiam pro viribus admittentes: cætera quę
Aures. huiuſmodi non ſint/ ſcite diiudicant ac penitus fugiunt. Auribus vero: vim
Guſtus. illam participandi/ diuinamqꝫ participationem ſcite ſuſcipiendi. Guſtu au-
tē: intelligibilis alimoniæ refectionem/ & diuinorum nutrientiumqꝫ liquo-
Tactus. rum admiſſionem. At vero tactu/ conſtantiā illam exprimi putamus: qua
Palpebræ. quid vtile/ quid noxium ſit/ perite diſcernunt. Palpebras autem & ſuperci-
Supercilia. lia: ſtatum illū ſignificare arbitramur/ quo diuinę ſpeculationis ſenſus atqꝫ
Pubertas. intelligentias cautiſſime ſeruant. Pubeſcentem vero ac iuuenilem ætatē: vi-
Dentes. talis virtutis conſtantiam/ ſempiterne vigentis. Porro dentes: diuiſionē in-
dultæ ſibi perficiētis alimoniæ/ alentiſqꝫ perfectiones exprimere credimus.
Quælibet enim ſubſtantia ſpiritualis/ quam ab auguſtiore perceperit vni-
Humeri. cam & vniformem intelligētiā: prouida virtute diuidit atqꝫ multiplicat/ dū
Vlnæ. inferiorem quoqꝫ pro captu ſuo promouet/ atqꝫ ad altiora ſuſtollit. Hume-
Manus. ros autem atqꝫ vlnas/ & manus: faciendi & operandi ſtrennuam ac poten
Cor. tiſſimam vim in diuinis ſpiritibus interpretamur. Cor item/ ſignum eſſe di-
cimus diuinam ſpeciem præ ſe ferentis vitæ: quæ vitalem vim ſummi bo-
Pectora. ni inſtar in inferiora diſſeminat. Porro pectora: virtutem inſuperabilē/ ſer-
Dorſa. uandiqꝫ vim/ vt eſt a ſubiecti cordis viuifica diſtributione/ ſignificant. Dor
Pedes. ſa vero: vim indicant vitales omnes virtutes cōtinentem. Pedes autem: mo-
K bilitatem/ celeritatē/ atqꝫ curſum inſinuant ſempiterni motus ad diuina ten
Alæ. dentis. Quocirca & ſanctorum ſpirituum pennatos theologia pedes ef-
finxit. Quippe alis ſignatur celeritas alta conſcendens/ & cœleſtis vitæ cur-
ſus: iter in anteriora ſemper ac celſiora conſternens/ & (ꝙ ad ſuperiora
Alarum le-uitas. feratur) mortalibus atqꝫ infimis omnibus exceptus. Sed enim alarum le
uitas: id in ſanctis angelis indicat/ ꝙ terreni corporis ſarcina liberi/ toti
Nudi. abſqꝫ vlla admixtione vel pondere ad celſa ferantur. Qꝫ autē nudi ac diſcal
Diſcalceati ceati deſcribuntur: hoc ſignat/ ꝙ liberi & abſoluti & expediti/ atqꝫ exterio-
ris ois adiectionis labe ſint puri/ & ad diuinæ ſimplicitatis ſimilitudinem
pro viribus tendant. Verum quia rurſus ſimplex illa/ multiformiſqꝫ ſapien
tia nudos etiam operit/ & vaſa quædam illis circūferenda largitur: age ipſa
quoqꝫ cœleſtiū ſpirituum ſacra operimenta atqꝫ inſtrumēta/ inquantū poſ
Veſtis gnea. ſumus/ explicare pergamus. Perlucidā nempe atqꝫ igneā veſtē ſignare ar
bitror diuinam ſpeciem/ ſecūdū illā (quā diximus) ignis imaginē. illuminā-
di præterea vim: ob præmia in cœlo poſita vbi lux eſt/ & quod prorſus in-
Veſtis ſa-cerdotalis. telligibiliter illuſtrat/ ſiue intellectualiter illuſtratur. Porro ſacerdotalem
Zonæ. veſtem: vim illam adducendi ad diuina & ſacratiora ſpectacula/ totiuſqꝫ
vitæ conſecrationem/ inſinuare puto. Zonas vero: fœcūdarum ipſarū vir-

tutum cuſtodiam diligentem/cogentemqꝫ ipſas in habitum:qui in ſemet L
ſingulari facilitate conuertitur/ac per gyrum circa ſeipſum immutabili idētitate
verſatur. Virgas itidem:regis ac ducis inſigne præferre/quod omnia Virgæ.
recta perficiat/dicimus. Haſtas vero atqꝫ ſecures:vim diſſimilia diuidendi/ Haſtæ.
diſcernentiumqꝫ virtutum habilitatem/& efficientiam/atqꝫ ſtrennuitatem Secures.
intelligimus. Vaſa quoqꝫ geometrica atqꝫ fabrilia: fundandi & conſtruendi Vaſa geometrica.
ac perficiendi vim/ & quæqꝫ alia ſunt prouidentiæ illius munera/quæ
inferiora promouet/atqꝫ conuertit. Interdum & diuinorum in nos iudiciorum M
ſigna ſunt:quæ finguntur ſanctorũ angelorum inſtrumenta.alijs quidem
ſignificantibus emendantē diſciplinam / ſiue iuſtitiam punientem:
alijs vero mœſtorum caſuum ereptionē/ſiue diſciplinæ finem/ſiue prioris
fœlicitatis receptionem/ſeu aliorum quoqꝫ munerum adiectionem: ſiue illa
parua/ſiue magna/ſiue carnalia/ſiue intelligibilia ſint. Prorſuſqꝫ mens diuinis
in rebus exercitata:nunq̃ dubitabit/inuiſibilibus rebus rerum viſibiles
coaptare imagines. At vero cũ ventorum appellatione cenſentur: naturæ Venti.
ſumma celeritas(quæ cũcta ferme abſqꝫ vlla mora temporis penetrat)
motuſqꝫ ille ex ſummis ad infima/rurſuſqꝫ ex imis ad ſumma in momento
pertingens profecto ſignatur/inferiora et ſecundo a ſe loco poſita ad ſuperiorem
celſitudinem tollens/primaſqꝫ ſubſtantias ad tradēda inferioribus
lucis ſuę conſortia prouidentiſſime mouens. Dicet fortaſſe aliquis hũc aereum
ſpiritum qui ventus dicitur: diuinã quoqꝫ cœleſtium ſpirituum præferre
ſpeciem. Habet enim & ipſe/diuinæ actionis imaginem atqꝫ figurã(ſicut N
in ſymbolica theologia:iuxta quatuor elementorum expoſitionē/pluribus Symbolica theologia.
documentis oſtendimus)ſecundũ naturalem mobilitatem/vimqꝫ animãdi/
& celerē inſuperabilemqꝫ diſceſſum/& mobilium principiorum atqꝫ
finiũ incognitas nobis atqꝫ inuiſibiles latebras. Nõ eni ſcis(inquit)vnde venit: O
& quo vadit. Nubis quoqꝫ ſpeciē diuina ſcriptura illis effingit:per id ꝓfecto Nubes.
innuens/ſanctos ſpiritus occulto quidē lumine ſupra mundanum impleri
modũ:cæterum primitiuam illã/primoqꝫ apparentē lucē/ modeſte reuerenterqꝫ
ſuſcipere/eamqꝫ ſequentibus abſqꝫ inuidia pro ſuo cuiuſqꝫ captu
ſecunda deriuatione tranſfundere. præterea ꝙ illis & fœcunditas & vis
item animãdi & augendi ac perficiendi aſſit:iuxta intelligibilis imbris fœcunditatem
(quæ ſubiectum gremiũ ad vitalem partum pinguibus euocet
pluuijs)rectiſſime nube ſignãtur. Et ſi quæritur/quã ob cauſã æris quoqꝫ
& electri ac diſcolorum lapidum ſpeciem diuinæ litteræ ſanctis angelis applicant: Electrum.
id profecto dixerim electro(quod auri atqꝫ argenti ſpeciē præfert) P
ex qua parte auri color oſtenditur/ſplendorē illum inuiolabilem deſignari:
qui neqꝫ conſumi neqꝫ imminui poſſit/neqꝫ vlla ratione maculari. qua vero
argentum lucet:nitidum illud ac purum/cœleſteqꝫ iubar oſtendi. Porro Aes.
æri iuxta eas quas ſupra expoſuimus rationes)ignis aut auri ſpeciē oportet
aſcribi. At vero gemmarũ ſpecies colorum varietate diſtinctas:ita accipiendas Q
puto.vt ſiue illæ ſint candidæ:nitorem lucis inſinuent. ſiue rutilæ: Gemmæ.
ignis ſpeciem ſignēt.ſiue fuluæ:rutilans referant aurum.ſiue virides:vigorē
ac robur iuuentutis enuncient. Inuenies deniqꝫ per ſingulas figurarum

Cap.
15

imagines digniſſimos ſenſus:quibus ad ſuperiora feraris. Verum quia de
ijs pro modo virium noſtrarum ſatis dictum puto:ad cætera diſcutienda
tranſeamus/& cœleſtibus ſpiritibus effictas beſtiarū effigies explicemus.
Leo. Leonis faciem ſignare putamus:vim illā in angelis principalem ac robuſtā
& indomabilem/ per quam occultiſſimo illi ineloquibilis diuinitatis ar-
cano pro viribus ſimiles nituntur euadere: operti ſpiritualibus veſtigijs/&
expedita illa atqꝫ ineffabili celeritate itineris:ad diuini fulgoris ſecreta ten-
Bos. dentis. Bouis autem imaginē: fortitudinis ac robuſtatis præferre ſpeciem/
& qua ſpirituales ſulcos ſuſcipiendis cœleſtibus fœcundiſqꝫ imbribus ſcin
Cornua. dunt. Cornua itē:ſeruatricē illā ſignant atqꝫ inſuperabilē vim. Porro effigiē
Aquila. aquilæ:regiā dignitatem/motumqꝫ ad ſuperna tendentem/celeremqꝫ vola
tum/atqꝫ ad captandum neceſſariū reparādis viribus cibum:agilitatē atqꝫ
vigilantiam/& curſum/& facilitatem ſummā. ac præterea vim illam ſingu
larem ſpeculādi atqꝫ intēdendi libere/et directe(in nullā partem inclinan
do aciem luminū)in radiū illum vberrimū & luciditſſimum deitatis:quem
Equi. ex ſe inſtar ſolis emittit. Equorū quoqꝫ figurā:obedientiā in ſanctis āgelis
ſignificare dicimus/qua diuinis obtēperant iuſſis. Qui ſi quidē albi ſint:cā
dorē ac diuinæ propinquitatē lucis q̃ maxime ſignant. ſin vero pulli:occul-
ta diuinitatis inſinuant. ſi autem rubei: vigorem ignis & ſtrennuā efficaciā
indicant. ꝙ ſi ex albo/nigroqꝫ permixti:vis illa ſignatur/qua traducente ne
ctuntur extrema. & prima ſecundis/ac ſecunda primis:cōuerſionis ac pru-
dentię ratione/iunguntur. Enimuero niſi cohibendæ prolixitatis rationem
haberemus:particulares quoqꝫ memoratorum animaliū proprietates/cor-
poraleſqꝫ illorum deſcriptiōes omnes:cœleſtibus illis virtutibus/diſſimiliū
Iracundia. ſimilitudinū ratione/aptiſſime congruere profecto doceremus. feruorē ira-
Cōcupiſcē-tia. cundiæ ad ſpiritualem fortitudinem:cuius extremū ira veſtigiū eſt. concu-
piſcētiam quoqꝫ ad diuinum amorem. & vt totum ſimul explicem/ omnes
mutorum animātium ſenſus & partes in plura diſciſſas: ad virtutum cœ-
leſtiū altiſſimas intelligentias & vnicas virtutes/referentes. Verū prudenti-
bus nō modo iſta ſufficiunt:ſed vel vnius obſcuræ imaginis expoſitio/ad ſi
milia pari ratione ſoluenda ſufficiet. Illud inſuper inſpiciendū/quid ſibi ve
lint flumina/rotæ/& currus:qui cœleſtibus virtutibus cōiuncti referuntur.
Flumina. Nempe enim ignea flumina/ diuinos ſignificant latices: largiſſimā angelis
atqꝫ indeficientem inundationis copiam largientes/ vitaliſqꝫ fœcunditatis
Currus. altores. Currus autem:coniunctam ſimilium & æqualium ſocietatem ſi-
Rotæ. gnant. Rotę vero quæ altæ quidem ſunt/ cæterū in anteriora ſemper abſqꝫ
vlla conuerſione in nullam partē declinando incedunt:vim profecto actio-
nis angelicę/qua rectā ſemper viam atqꝫ arduam pergunt/ inſinuant. Quip
pe omnis illorū curſus/ſpiritualiſqꝫ rotatus:ad viam illā erectā atqꝫ arduā
cœleſti intentione dirigit̃. Poſſumus autē & iuxta aliū ſenſū: intellectualiū
Ezech. 10 rotarū figuralē deſcriptionē exponere. eſt enī eis (vt ꝓpheta ait) cognomē
inditum/gel/gel. quod Hebræorū voce reuolutiones ac reuelationes ſignifi
cat. Igneæ namqꝫ atqꝫ diuinæ rotę/regyrationes quidem habent:ꝙ ſempi
terno motu circa ſummū idem verſentur bonū. reuelatiōes autē:ꝙ occulta

Gaudium.

R

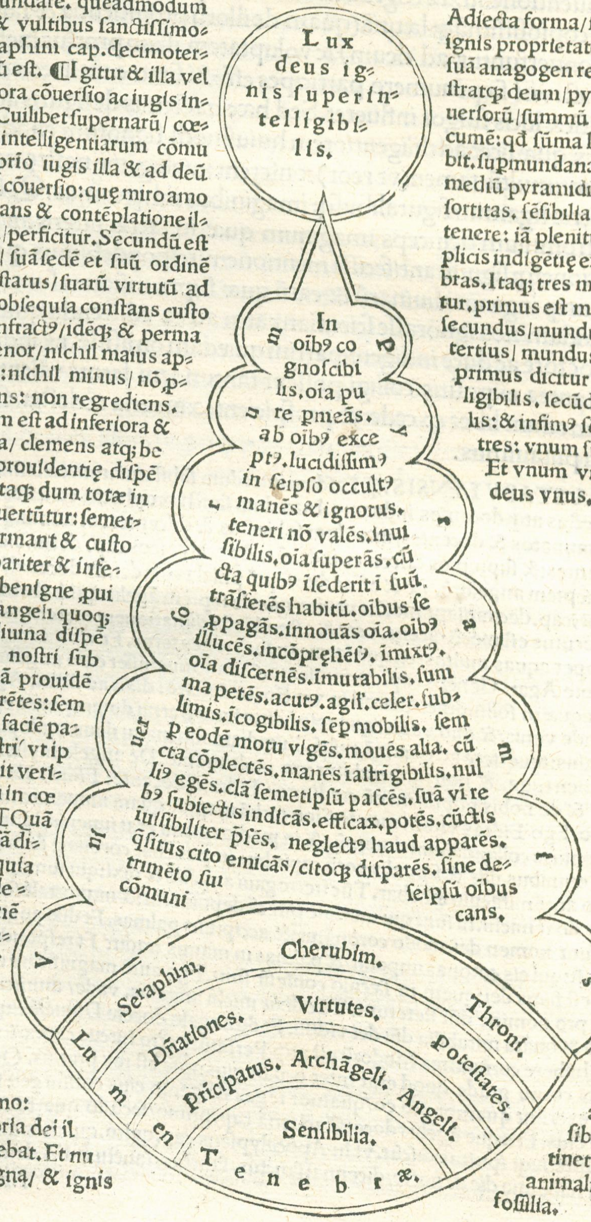
ſacramēta reuelent/ & humiliores quoſcꝗ promoueãt/ſublimeſcꝗ diuini fulgoris radios in inferiora agmina deſcēdendo trāſfundāt. Reliqua autē nobis ad exponēdū eſt gaudij cœleſtiū ordinū ratio. ſunt enim illi: paſſiuæ voluptatis noſtræ prorſus ignari. congaudere autē dicuntur deo/ in eorū qui perierant inuentione: iuxta cōgruā ſibi diuinam prorſus trāquillitatē/ & benigniſſimā copioſiſſimācꝗ lætitiā (quam de illorū prouidentia & ſalute capiunt: qui conuertuntur ad deum) ac voluptatem illam prorſus ineffabilē/ cuius & ſancti viri ſæpenumero participes effecti ſunt: cum in eos diuinæ illius ac deificæ lucis fulgor influeret. Sed hæc hactenus de figuris ac fictionibus ſacris. quæ licet ad diligentiorem huiuſmodi ſignorum enodationē non attigerint: multū tamen (vt reor) conferent intelligētiæ noſtrę/ ne in humilitate litteræ figamur/ figuralibuſcꝗ imaginibus inhęreamus. Qꝫ ſi obijcias nos non omnium deinceps imaginum quæ in ſacris litteris angelicas virtutes actioneſcꝗ ſignificant/ feciſſe mentionem: reſpondebimus ꝙ verum eſt/ fatebimurcꝗ ingenue diuinarū & earū quæ ſupra mūdum ſunt rerum/ partim liquidam nos ignoraſſe ſcientiam: atcꝗ ad ea ediſcenda quæ ſupra nos ſunt/ doctore ac duce indigere. partim quædam omiſiſſe ex induſtria: vt quæ ex antea expoſitis colligi poſſent/ tantundem ferme valentia. Simul & ne modum liber excederet proſpicientes: arcana cœleſtia/ ſilentio honoranda putauimus.

C

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Eaſdem interdum ſubſtantiarum cœleſtiū diſtinctiones: perfectas atqꝫ docentes inducunt. Interdum ſancti prophetæ: cœleſtes ſpiritus inducunt illuminatos & docentes/ interdum ſubiectos & diſcentes. et nõnunꝗ infimos ſpiritus docentes: & ſupremos diſcentes inducūt. Apocalypſeos cap. decimoſexto: docetur quiſcꝫ ſeptem angelorū. ite & effundite ſeptē phialas iræ dei. Et docet idē (qui prius docebatur) cap. decimoſeptimo. Et venit vnus de ſeptem āgelis qui habebant ſeptē phialas: & locutus eſt mecū dicens. veni & oſtendā tibi dānationem meretricis magnæ/ quæ ſedet ſuper aquas multas/ cū qua fornicati ſunt reges terræ. Et vltimi docent. vt de āgelo docente Agar: Geneſis cap. decimoſexto. Cumcꝫ inueniſſet eam angelus domini iuxta fontē aquæ in ſolitudine/ quæ eſt in via Sur in deſerto: dixit ad illam. Agar ancilla Sarrai: vnde venis/ & quo vadis? quę reſpōdit. a facie Sarrai dominę meæ ego fugio. dixitqꝫ angelus: reuertere ad dominā tuā/ & humiliare ſub manu illius. multiplicās multiplicabo ſemen tuum: & non numerabitur præ multitudine. De angelo myſteria ſaluatoris noſtri/ & de nobis populo in eū credituro/ Eſdram docente: Eſdras libro quarto/ cap. ſecundo. Ego Eſdras vidi in monte Sion turbā magnā quam numerare non potui: & omnes canticis collaudabant dominū. & in medio eorum erat iuuenis ſtatura celſus/ eminentior omnibus illis/ & ſingulis eorū capitibus imponebat coronas: & magis exaltabatur. ego autē miraculo tenebar. Tūc īterrogaui angelū/ & dixi: qui ſunt hi dñe? qui reſpondens dixit michi. hi ſunt qui mortalē tunicā depoſuerūt: & immortalē ſumpſerūt/ & confeſſi ſunt nomen dei. modo coronātur: & accipiunt palmas. Et dixi angelo. ille iuuenis quis eſt: qui eis coronas imponit/ & palmas in manus tradit? Et reſpondens dixit michi. ipſe eſt filius dei: quem in ſæculo confeſſi ſunt. Ego autē magnificare eos cœpi: qui fortiter pro nomine dñi ſteterunt. Tūc dixit michi angelus. vade/ annūcia populo meo: qualia & quāta mirabilia dñi dei vidiſti. Et de angelo docēte Danielē cap. 8. Aries quē vidiſti habere cornua: rex Medorū eſt atqꝫ Perſarū. porro hircus caprarū: rex Gręcorum eſt. & cornu grāde quod erat inter oculos eius: ipſe eſt rex primus. Qꝫ autē fracto illo ſurrexerunt quatuor pro eo/ quatuor reges de gente eius conſurgēt: ſed non in fortitudine eius. Et æque āgelus docet Zachariā cap. primo/ ſecūdo/ quarto & quīto. Et primarij/ ſupremiqꝫ ſpiritus diſcūt. vt in Apocalypſeos cap. quīto. quatuor animalia requiem non habentia die ac nocte/ dicentia: ſanctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus/ dñs deus omnipo-

Cap.
15

ēs: qui eſt/ qui erat/ & qui venturus eſt: diſcunt/ cū agnus ſoluit ſignacula libri/ itidē & vi
D ginti quatuor ſeniores: qui ſuperiores nobis intelligentiarū deſignant ordines. ℂ Eaſdē aliquando & primis & medijs extremiſq; virtutibus proprie ac vere circūponi poſſe. Eaſdē formas quæ angelis circūpoſitę videntur in ſanctorū prophetarū ſacris viſionibus/ nichil incōmodi eſt interdū ad proprietates mediarū & ſupremarū intelligentiarū pernoſcēdas: eiſdem coaptare atq; circundare. queādmodum de alis & vultibus ſanctiſſimorum ſeraphim cap. decimotertio dictū eſt.
E ℂ Igitur & illa vel ī anteriora cōuerſio ac iugis intentio. Cuilibet ſupernarū/ cœleſtiūq; intelligentiarum cōmune eſt/ prīo iugis illa & ad deū attenta cōuerſio: quę miro amore flagrans & contēplatione illuſtrata/ perficitur. Secundū eſt circa ſe/ ſuā ſedē et ſuū ordinē firmus ſtatus/ ſuarū virtutū ad diuina obſequia conſtans cuſtodia: & infract9/ ideq; & permanens tenor/ nichil maius appetens: nichil minus/ nō pgrediens: non regrediens. Tertium eſt ad inferiora & ſequētia/ clemens atq; benigna prouidentię diſpēſatio. Itaq; dum totæ in deū cōuertūtur: ſemetipſas firmant & cuſtodiunt/ pariter & inferiorib9 benigne puidēt. Et angeli quoq; noſtri/ diuina diſpēſatione noſtri ſub deo curā prouidētiāq; gerētes: ſemp vidēt faciē patris noſtri (vt ipſamet ait veritas) qui in cœlis eſt. Matth. 18.
F ℂ Quā ob cauſā diuia eloquia igneā deſcriptionē præ omnib9 ferme honorare videntur. Ezechiel cap. primo: cum gloria dei illi apparebat. Et nubes magna/ & ignis Ignis.


Lux
deus ignis ſuperintelligibilis.
In oīb9 cognoſcibilis. oīa pure pmeās. ab oīb9 except9. lucidiſſim9 in ſeipſo occult9 manēs & ignotus. teneri nō valēs. inuiſibilis. oīa ſuperās. cūcta quib9 īſederit ī ſuū trāſferēs habitū. oībus ſe ppagās. innouās oīa. oīb9 illucēs. incōprehēſ9. īmixt9. oīa diſcernēs. īmutabilis. ſumma petēs. acut9. agil'. celer. ſublimis. īcogibilis. ſēp mobilis. ſemp eodē motu vigēs. mouēs alia. cūcta cōplectēs. manēs īaſtrigibilis. nulli9 egēs. clā ſemetipſū paſcēs. ſuā vi rebus ſubiectis indicās. efficax. potēs. cūctis īuiſibiliter pſēs. neglect9 haud apparēs. qſitus cito emicās/ citoq; diſparēs. ſine detrimēto ſui cōmuni ſeipſū oībus cans.
V ni uer ſo r u m
P y r a m i s
Seraphim.
Cherubim.
Throni.
Dñationes.
Virtutes.
Poteſtates.
Pricipatus.
Archāgeli.
Angeli.
Senſibilia.
Lu m en
T e n e b r æ.

Adiecta forma/ ſex & triginta ignis proprietates cōtinet: ad ſuā anagogen reductas. mōſtratq; deum/ pyramidis vniuerſorū/ ſummū occupare cacumē: qđ ſūma lux ſuperambit. ſupmundanas ſubſtātias: mediū pyramidis luminoſum ſortitas. ſēſibilia vero/ baſim tenere: iā plenitudinis/ multiplicis indigētię experiētē tenebras. Itaq; tres mūdi intelligūtur. primus eſt mundus lucis. ſecundus/ mundus luminis. & tertius/ mundus tenebrarū. primus dicitur mundus ītelligibilis. ſecūdus ītellectualis: & infim9 ſēſibilis. Et hi tres: vnum ſūt vniuerſū. Et vnum vniuerſorum: deus vnus.

Mundus autem ſenſibilis hæc cōtinet: elementa/ animalia/ plantas/ foſſilia.

Igneę rotę.
Flumen igneum.
Thronus igneus.
Ignita animalia.
Viri quaſi ignē emittentes.
Carbones.

inuoluens/& ſplēdor in circuitu eius:& de medio eius quaſi ſpecies electri/id eſt de medio ignis. hæc erat viſio diſcurrens in medio animaliū:ſplendor ignis/ & de igne fulgur egrediēs. Igneę rotę/flumen & thronus igneus. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Thronus eius flāmæ ignis/rotæ eius ignis accēſus/fluuius igneus rapiduſq; egrediebatur a facie eius. Ignita animalia. Ezechiel cap. primo. Et ſimilitudo animalium & aſpectus eorum quaſi carbonū ignis ardētium & quaſi aſpectus lampadarū:& animalia ibant & reuertebātur in ſimilitudinē fulguris choruſcātis. Viri quaſi ignem emittentes. Daniel cap. decimo. Et ecce vir vnus veſtitus lineis/& renes eius accincti auro obryſo/& corpus eius quaſi chryſolithus:& facies eius velut ſpecies fulguris/& oculi eius vt ſpecies ęris candentis. Et de angelo qui apparuit mulieribus in viſitatione ſepulchri domini:Matthęus cap. viceſimo octauo. Angelus enim domini deſcēdit de cœlo:& accedēs reuoluit lapidem/& ſedebat ſuper eum. erat autem aſpectus eius: ſicut fulgur. Carbones & prunę cōgeſtę. Ezechiel cap. decimo. Ingredere in medio rotarum quæ ſunt ſubter Cherubim:& imple manum tuam prunis ignis/quæ ſunt inter Cherubim/& effunde ſuper ciuitatem.

G

¶Nam profecto ſanctiſſimi/qui de deo locuti ſunt viri. vt Ezechiel/Daniel/& huiuſmodi. & beatiſſimus Paulus epiſtola ad Hebræos cap. duodecimo. Etenī deus noſter: ignis conſumens eſt.

H

¶Nempe enim ignis/ſenſibilis in omnibus (vt ita dixerim) eſt. Sex & triginta: ad anagogen & diuinam aſſurrectionem/diuinus hic pater ignis aſſignat proprietates. Sed ignis ad ſenſibilia dūtaxat conferatur: deus autem ad vniuerſa. de igne intelligātur ſenſibiliter: de deo autē diuine & intelligibiliter. Et hæ ex adiecta pyramide (cuius mucronem lux habitat inacceſſa: & eius baſim tenebræ) depræhendi poſſunt.

I

¶Humana quoq; illas forma deſcribunt. In qua angelorum apparitione: apparēt proculdubio nares/aures/guſtus/tactus/palpebræ/iuuenta/dentes/humeri/vlnæ/manus/pectora/dorſa/pedes/corq; intimū cogitatur. Vt de myſtico angelo triformi Abraham apparente: Geneſeos cap. decimo octauo. Cūq; eleuaſſet oculos: apparuerunt ei tres viri ſtantes prope eum. quos cum vidiſſet: cucurrit in occurſum eorum de oſtio tabernaculi ſui/& adorauit in terra & dixit. dn̄e ſi inueni gratiā in oculis tuis/ne tranſeas ſeruum tuum/ſed afferam pauxillum aquæ: & lauentur pedes veſtri. & requieſcite ſub arbore: ponamq; buccellā panis/& confortetur cor veſtrū. Ecce formā virilem nominat/oculos/pedes/ & cor. & alia ferme mēbra in ſanctis patrū viſionibus exprimūtur: de quibus ſolertiſſimus pater diligentem paulo poſt exequitur determinationem. Sed vt vno tractu/quæ ſequentia trahunt/ exequamur: quæ ſunt hæc quadraginta/

1	Oculi		11	Manus	21	Virgæ	31	Bos
2	Nares		12	Cor	22	Haſtæ	32	Cornua
3	Aures		13	Pectora	23	Secures	33	Aquila
4	Guſtus		14	Dorſa	24	Vaſa geometrica	34	Equi
5	Tactus		15	Leuitas alarum	25	Ventus	35	Iracundia
6	Palpebrę		16	Diſcalceatum	26	Nubes	36	Concupiſcētia
7	Pubertas		17	Vaſa tenentes	27	Aes	37	Flumina
8	Dentes		18	Veſtis fulgida	28	Electrum	38	Currus
9	Humeri		19	veſtis ſacerdotal'.	29	Gemmæ	39	Rotæ
10	Vlnæ		20	Zonæ	30	Leo	40	Gaudium

Oculi
Nares
Aures
Guſtus
Tactus
Palpebræ
Pubertas

de vnoquoq; particulatim: ex prophetis paucula adducamus. Oculi. Geneſis cap. decimo octauo: de angelis qui apparuerunt Abrahæ. Cum ergo ſurrexiſſent inde viri: direxerunt oculos contra Sodomam. Nares. Geneſis cap. octauo/de angelo Noe. odoratus eſt dn̄s odorem ſuauitatis:& ait ad eum. nequaq̄ vltra maledicam terræ propter homines. Aures. Exodus cap. tertio/de angelo alloquente Moſem. Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Aegypto:& clamorem eius audiui/propter duritiam eorū qui pręſunt operibus. Guſtus. Geneſis cap. decio nono/de duobꝰ angelis qui liberauerūt Loth de Sodoma. Compulit illos oppido/vt diuerterent ad eum: ingreſſiſq; domum eius fecit cōuiuium/coxit axyma:& comederunt. Tactus. Geneſis cap. triceſimo ſecundo/de angelo qui cū Iacob luctatus eſt. Et ecce vir luctabatur cū eo vſq; mane: qui cum videret ꝙ eum ſuperare non poſſet/tetigit neruū femoris eius & ſtatim emarcuit. Palpebræ. Pſalmus decimus. Oculi eius in pauperem reſpiciūt: palpebræ eius interrogant filios hominum. Pubertas. Marcus cap. decimo ſexto/de angelo ſepulchri dn̄i vitæ. Et introeuntes in mo-

Cap. 15

numentum viderunt iuuenem ſedentem in dextris/coopertum ſtola candida/& obſtupuerunt.
Dentes puerunt.Dentes, Daniel cap.ſeptimo.Et ecce beſtia alia ſimilis vrſo in parte ſtetit: &
Humeri. tres ordines erant in ore eius/& in dentibus eius.Humeri. Deuteronomium cap. tricesimo
tertio de benedictione Beniamin a Moſe. Et Beniamin(ait)amātiſſimus domini:
habitabit confidenter in eo/& quaſi in thalamo tota die morabitur/& inter humeros illius
Vlnæ requieſcet.Vlnæ.Daniel cap.decimo.Et brachia eius & quæ deorſum ſunt ad pedes:
Manus quaſi ſpecies æris candentis.& vox ſermonum eius:vt vox multitudinis. Manus.
Ezechiel cap.decimo.Apparuit in cherubim ſimilitudo manus hominis:ſubtus pennas
Cor eorum.& paſſim de manu in prophetis reperitur.Cor. Daniel cap.ſecūdo. Aſpiciebam
donec euulſæ ſunt alæ eius: & ſuper pedes quaſi homo ſtetit/& cor eius datum eſt ei.
Pectora. Pectora.Apocalypſis cap.decimo quinto. Et exierunt ſeptem angeli habentes ſeptem
plagas de templo:veſtiti lapide mundo & candido/& præcincti circa pectora zonis aureis.
Dorſa Dorſa.Ezechiel cap.nono/de angelo ſignante viros ſigno Tau/in frontibus eorū.
Et ecce vir qui erat indutus lineis qui habebat atramentarium in dorſo ſuo:reſpondit
Leuitas alarum verbum dicens.feci ſicut præcepiſti michi. Leuitas alarum.Daniel cap.nono.Ecce vir
Gabriel quem videram in viſione a principio/cito volans tetigit me in tempore ſacrificij
veſpertini.& Ioannes apocalypſeos cap.decimo quarto videt angelum volantem
per medium cœlum:habentem euangeliū æternum/ vt euāgelizaret ſedentibus ſuper
terram/& ſuper omnē gētem/& tribum/& linguam/& populū:dicens voce magna.timete
dominū/& date illi honorē:quia venit hora iudicij eius.& adorate eum:qui fecit
diſcalceatū cœlum/& terrā/mare/& fontes aquarū.Diſcalceatum. nudis/diſcalceatiſq; pedibus intelliguntur
angeli:qui apparuerūt Abraham/quibus dixit Geneſis cap.decimo octauo.
Vaſa tenētes. Afferam pauxillum aquæ:& lauentur pedes veſtri. Vaſa tenentes. Ezechiel cap.nono.
Et ecce ſex viri veniebant de via portæ ſuperioris/ quæ reſpicit ad aquilonē: & vniuſcuiuſq;
vas interitus in manu eius. Et apocalypſis cap.decimo quinto/ de angelis quibus
datæ ſunt phialæ. Et vnū de quatuor animalibus dedit ſeptem angelis ſeptem phialas
Veſtis fulgida aureas/plenas iracundiæ dei viuentis in ſæcula ſæculorum. Veſtis fulgida. Lucas de
mulieribus ſepulchrū domini ſummo diluculo inuiſentibus/ cap. viceſimo quarto. Ecce
duo viri ſteterunt ſecus illas in veſte fulgenti. Et Ezechiel cap.primo. Similitudo quaſi
aſpectus hominis deſuper:& per circuitū eius vidi quaſi ſpeciem electri.quaſi aſpectū
Veſtis ſacerdotalis ignis a lūbis eius & deſuper:& a lūbis eius vſq; deorſum vidi quaſi ſpeciem ignis ſplendentis.
Veſtis ſacerdotalis.Apocalypſis cap.primo. Et cōuerſus vidi ſeptem cādelabra
aurea:& in medio ſeptem cādelabrorū aureorum ſimilem filio hominis veſtitū podere/
Zonę. & pręcinctum ad mamillas zona aurea. Poderis ſiquidem veſtis talaris/ſacerdotalis eſt.
Virgæ Zonę.Nunc & cum veſte ſacerdotali dictum eſt.& cap.decimo quinto. Et pręcincti circa
pectora zonis aureis. Virgæ.Iudicum cap.ſexto. Extendit angelus domini ſummitatem
virgæ quam tenebat in manu:& tetigit carnes & panes azymos.aſcenditq; ignis de petra:
Haſtæ & carnes/ azymoſq; panes conſumpſit. Haſtæ. Secundus Machabeorum cap. vndecimo.
Secures Apparuit præcedens eos eques in veſte cādida:armis aureis haſtam vibrans.
Secures.Ezechielis cap.nono de ſex viris de via ſuperioris portæ venientibus legebatur/
Vaſa geometrica. ſecures in manibus habebāt.nunc autē illa littera de vaſis interitus in manibꝰ eorū/
interpretata legitur. Vaſa geometrica. Ezechiel cap.quadrageſimo. Et ecce vir cuius
erat ſpecies quaſi æris:& funiculus lineus in manu eius/ & calamus menſuræ in manu
Ventus eius. Ventus. Daniel cap.ſeptimo. Videbā in viſione mea/nocte:& ecce quatuor venti
cœli pugnabant in mari magno. Et Pſalmus decimus ſeptimus. Aſcendit ſup cherubim
Nubes. & volauit: volauit ſuper pennas ventorū. Et centeſimus tertius.qui facis angelos tuos
Aes ſpiritus:& miniſtros tuos ignem vrentē. Nubes. Apocalypſis cap.decimo. Et vidi aliū
angelū fortem deſcēdentem de cœlo/amictū nube:& iris in capite eius. Aes. Paulo ſupra
Electrum tactū eſt. Ezechiel cap.quadrageſimo. Et ecce vir cuius erat ſpecies quaſi æris. Electrum.
Ezechiel cap.primo. Et vidi/& ecce ventus turbinis veniebat ab aquilone: & nubes
magna/& ignis inuoluens/& ſplēdor in circuitu eius.& de medio ignis:quaſi ſpecies
Gemmæ electri. Et eſt electrū ex auro:quinta argēti parte adiecta. Gemmæ. Ezechielis cap.
primo. Et ſup firmamentū quod erat iminens capiti eorū:quaſi aſpectus lapidis ſaphyri.
Et apocalypſis cap.quarto. Et ecce ſedes poſita erat in cœlo:& ſupra ſedē ſedens.&
qui ſedebat:ſimilis erat aſpectui lapidis iaſpidis/& ſardinis.& iris erat in circuitu ſedis:
ſimilis viſioni ſmaragdinæ. Quæ hic nominātur gēmę/ſunt:ſaphyrus flaua/iaſpis mul-

ticolor/& purpurea optima/ſardius rutila/ſmaragdus viridis. ¶Leo. Bos. Aquila. Apocalypſis Leo
cap. quarto. Et animal primũ ſimile leoni/ & ſecũdum ſimile vitulo: & tertium Bos
animal habẽs faciem quaſi hominis/& quartũ animal ſimile aquilæ volãti. Et idẽ: Ezechielis Aquila
cap. primo. Similitudo autem vultus eorũ facies hominis/& facies leonis a dextris
ipſorũ quatuor. facies autem bouis a ſiniſtris ipſorũ quatuor. & facies aquilæ deſuper
ipſorum quatuor. Cornua. Ad bouis effigiem pertinent/vt quæ eius fronti ſint impreſſa: Cornua
tametſi & in apocalypſi cap. quĩto legat̃. Et vidi/& ecce in medio throni & quatuor
animaliũ/& in medio ſeniorũ agnum ſtantem tanq̃ occiſum: habentẽ cornua ſeptẽ
& oculos ſeptem/qui ſunt ſeptẽ ſpiritus dei/miſſi in omnem terrã. & venit: & accepit de
dextera ſedẽtis in throno librum. Et de eiſdem: in pleriſq; locis alijs. Aquila paulo ante Aquila
expreſſa eſt. Et iterũ apocalypſis cap. octauo. Et vidi/ & audiui vocẽ vnius aquilæ volantis
per mediũ cœlum: dicẽtis voce magna. vę vę vę habitãtibus in terra. Equi. Zacharias Equi
cap. ſexto. Et leuaui oculos meos & vidi: & ecce quatuor quadrigæ egrediẽtes
de medio duorũ montium. & mõtes: montes ærei. in quadriga prima: equi rufi. in quadriga
ſecũda: equi nigri. in quadriga tertia: equi albi. & in quadriga quarta: equi varij/
& fortes. Iracundia. Iracũdiæ feruor ad leonem attinet/animal ſuapte natura iracundũ: Iracundia
& quæ præſertim cum rugit/exprimitur. Et fortitudinem in angelo denotat: qualem ſignat
dilectiſſimus a deo diſcipulus/apocalypſeos cap. decimo. Et facies eius erat vt ſol:
& pedes eius tanq̃ colũna ignis. & habebat in manu ſua libellũ apertum. & poſuit pedẽ
ſuum dextrum ſupra mare: ſiniſtrum autẽ ſuper terrã. & clamauit voce magna: quẽadmodum
cũ leo rugit. & cum clamaſſet: locuta ſunt ſeptẽ tonitrua voces ſuas. Et Zacharias
cap. octauo. Sicut cogitaui vt affligerem vos cũ ad iracundiã me prouocaſſent patres
veſtri: dicit dñs. Concupiſcẽtia. Vt iracũdia ad leonem: ita concupiſcentia ad equũ Concupiſcentia.
(de quo paulo ante dictum eſt) refertur. & de quo/animaliũ hiſtoriæ ita tradunt. ſalaciſſimum
omniũ tum feminarũ/tum marium: equus eſt. Sed & pſalmus quadrageſimus
quartus. Et cõcupiſcet rex decorem tuum: quoniã ipſe eſt dominus deus tuus/& adorabunt Flumina ignea
eum. Flumina ignea. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Fluuius igneus/ rapiduſq; egrediebatur
a facie eius. Currus. Quartus regum ſexto. Cumq; oraſſet Heliſeus: ait. dñe aperi Currus
oculos pueri huius: vt videat. & aperuit dominus oculos pueri: & vidit/quia ecce mons
plenus equorũ & curruũ igneorum in circuitu Heliſei. Rotæ. Daniel cap. ſeptimo. Rotę Rotæ
eius: ignis accenſus. Et ezechiel cap. primo. Et aſpectus rotarũ & opus earũ: quaſi viſio
maris. & vna ſimilitudo ipſarũ quatuor: & aſpectus earũ & opera/quaſi ſit rota in medio
rotæ. Gaudium. Beatiſſimus pater: angelorũ gaudium ex ſacroſancto euangelio nobis Gaudium
pie proponit contẽplandũ. Audite igitur diuinam benignitatẽ/nos errabũdas oues
per os Lucę euãgeliſtæ cap. decimo quinto: ad ſe multa cõmiſeratione reuocantẽ. Erãt
inquit appropinquãtes ei publicani & peccatores: vt audirent illũ. & murmurabãt phariſei
& ſcribæ/dicentes: quia hic peccatores recipit/& manducat cum illis. Et ait ad illos
parabolam iſtã dicens. quis ex vobis homo qui habet centũ oues/& ſi perdiderit vnam
ex illis: nõne dimittit nonaginta nouem in deſerto/& vadit ad illã quæ perierat donec
inueniat eam? Et cũ inuenerit eã/imponit in humeros ſuos gaudens: & veniẽs domũ
conuocat amicos & vicinos/dicens illis. Cõgratulamini michi: quia inueni ouem meam
quæ perierat. dico vobis ꝙ ita gaudium erit in cœlo: ſuper vno peccatore pœnitentiam
agente/q̃ ſupra nonaginta nouem iuſtis qui nõ indigent pœnitẽtia. Aut quæ mulier habens
dragmas decem: & ſi perdiderit dragmam vnã/ nõne accẽdit lucernam & euertit
domũ/& quærit diligenter donec inueniat eam? Et cum inuenerit/conuocat amicas &
vicinas dicens/congratulamini michi: quia inueni dragmam quam perdideram. Ita dico
vobis: gaudium erit coram angelis dei ſuper vno peccatore pœnitentiam agente.

¶Quocirca & ſanctorũ ſpirituum pẽnatos theologia pedes effinxit. Eſaias cap. ſexto. K
Sex alę vni/& ſex alę alteri: duabus velabãt faciem eius/& duabus velabãt pedes eius.

¶Cuſtodiã diligentem/cogenteq; ipſas in habitũ. Cogẽtem: colligentẽ atq; adunantẽ. L

¶Interdũ & diuinorũ in nos iudiciorũ ſigna ſunt: quæ fingũtur ſanctorũ angelorũ inſtrumẽta. M
Signa diuinorũ iudiciorũ ſunt: aut ad emendantem diſciplinã/aut iuſtitiã punientẽ/aut
ad mœſtorũ caſuũ ereptionẽ/aut diſciplinæ finẽ/aut ad prioris fœlicitatis receptionẽ/aut
ad aliorũ munerum adiectionẽ. Ad emendãtem quidẽ diſciplinã. vt Numeri Emendans diſciplina.
cap. viceſimo ſecundo de Balaam. Protinus aperuit dñs oculos Balaam: & vidit
angelũ ſtantem euaginato gladio/adorauitq; eũ in terrã. Cui angelus: cur inquit tertio

verberas aſinam tuam? ego veni vt aduerſarer tibi: quia peruerſa eſt via tua/michiqꝫ
contraria. & niſi aſina declinaſſet a via dans locū reſiſtenti: te occidiſſem & illa viueret.
Iuſtitia puniens vade cum iſtis & caue/aliud ne q̄ pręcepero tibi loquaris. Iuſtitiā punientē. ſecūdus re-
gum cap. viceſimo quarto. Immiſitqꝫ dñs peſtilentiā de mane vſqꝫ ad tēpus conſtitutū:
& mortui ſunt ex populo a Dan vſqꝫ Berſabee/ſeptuaginta milia virorū. Cunqꝫ exten-
diſſet manum ſuā angelus ſuper Hieruſalem/vt diſperderet eā: miſertus eſt dñs ſuper
afflictionem. & ait angelo percutiēti populū: ſufficit nunc/contine manū tuā. Erat autē
angelus domini iuxta areā Areuna Hiebuſei. Dixitqꝫ Dauid ad dñm/cū vidiſſet angelū
cędentē populū. ego ſum qui peccaui: & ego inique egi. iſti qui oues ſunt/quid fecerūt?
Mœſtorum caſuū ereptio. vertatur obſecro manus tua contra me: & contra domū patris mei. Ad mœſtorū caſuū
ereptionē. Apocalypſis cap. viceſimo. Et vidi angelū deſcēdētem de cœlo habentē cla-
uem abyſſi/& catenā magnā in manu ſua: & appręhēdit draconē ſerpentē antiquū (qui
eſt diabolus & ſathanas) & ligauit eū per ānos mille/& miſit eū in abyſſum & clauſit/&
ſignauit ſup illū vt nō ſeducat amplius gētes/donec cōſummētur mille anni. Diſciplinę
Finis diſciplinæ finem. Amos cap. octauo. Et ecce vncinus pomorū. & dixit/quid tu vides Amos? Et di-
xi: vncinū pomorū. Et dixit dominꝰ ad me. venit finis ſuper populū meū Iſrael/& ecce
dies veniūt dicit dominꝰ: & emittā famem in terrā. nō famē panis/neqꝫ ſitim aquæ: ſed
audiēdi verbum domini. & cōmouebūtur a mari vſqꝫ ad mare: & ab aquilone vſqꝫ ori-
entem circuibūt/quęrentes verbū domini & nō inuenīēt. & cadent: & nō reſurgēt vltra.
Prioris fœlicitatis receptio. Ad prioris fœlicitatis receptionē. Zacharias cap. ſecūdo. Et leuaui oculos meos & vidi:
& ecce vir/& in manu eius funiculus menſorū. Et dixi: quo tu vadis? & dixit ad me/vt
metiar Hieruſalē: & videā quāta ſit lōgitudo eius/& quāta latitudo eius. abſqꝫ muro ha-
Donorum adiectio. bitabitur Hieruſalē: præ multitudine hominū/& iumentorū eius. Donorū adiectionem.
Hieremias cap. viceſimo quarto. Quid tu vides Hieremia? ficus bonas: bonas valde.
& malas: malas valde/quæ comedi nō poſſūt/eo ꝙ ſint malę. Et factū eſt verbū domini
ad me dicēs. Hæc dicit dominus deus Iſrael. ſicut ficus hæ/bonæ: ſic cognoſcā trāſmi-
grationē Iuda (quā emiſi de loco iſto in terrā Chaldeorū) in bonū. & ponā oculos meos
ſuper eos ad placandū: & reducā eos in terrā hanc. & ędificabo eos: & nō euellam. & da
bo eis cor: vt ſciant me/quia ego ſum dñs. Ceteræ differentiæ: paruū/magnū/carnale/
N intelligibile: ſuperioribus exēplis ſatis agnoſci poſſunt. ¶ Sicut in ſymbolica theologia:
Symbolica theologia. iuxta quatuor elementorū expoſitionem pluribus documentis oſtendimus. Symbolica
theologia/hoc eſt ſignificatiua theologia: nō habetur. Deus vniuerſorū bonorū largi-
tor: pijs mētibus hoc ſacrū ſuę cognitionis munus ad ſuū honorē reparet atqꝫ reſtituat.
O ¶ Non enim ſcis (inquit) vnde venit/& quo vadit. Ioānes cap. tertio. Spiritus vbi vult
P ſpirat/& vocē eius audis: ſed neſcis vnde veniat/aut quo vadat. ¶ Id profecto dixerim
electro: quod auri atqꝫ argēti ſpeciem pręfert. Cum auro/argenti portio quinta adiecta
eſt: electrum eſſe diffiniunt naturales hiſtoriæ. quod naturale fuerit/precioſum admodū
Q eſt: ſuo nitore non modo viſui ablādiens/ſed & impoſita venena prodens. ¶ At vero
gemmarum ſpecies colorum varietate diſtinctas: ita accipiēdas puto. Candidæ gēmæ:
vt onyx/ſardonyx/& chryſtallus. Rutilę: ſardius/carbūculus. Fuluæ: ſaphyrus/chryſo-
lithus. Virides: ſmaragdus/beryllus/topazius.

Has nouē noīat Ezechiel cap. 28. Has duodecī noīat Ioānes apocalypſis cap. 21.

Gemmæ	Colores	Gemmæ	Colores
Sardius	Flauus	Iaſpis	Purpureus optimus
Topazius	Viridis	Saphyrus	Flauus
Iaſpis	Multicolor	Calcidonius	Fuſcus
Chryſolithus	Aureus	Smaragdus	Viridis
Onyx	Candidus	Sardonyx	Cādicās vt vnguis in carne
Beryllus	Ceruleus	Sardius	Rutilus
Saphyrus	Flauus	Chryſolithus	Flauus
Carbunculus	Igneus	Beryllus	Ceruleus
Smaragdus	Viridis	Topazius	Viridis
		Chryſopaſſus	Guttatim aureus
		Hiacintus	Rubeus
		Ametiſthus	Violaceus

❡Cuius & ſancti viri ſępenumero participes effecti ſunt. vt Paulus/ Petrus/ Ioannes. R
Paulus. Epiſtola ad Corinthios ſecūda cap. duodecimo. Si gloriari oportet: nō expedit Paulus
quidē. Veniā autē ad viſiones & reuelationes domini. ſcio hominē in CHRISTO ante
annos quatuordecim(ſiue in corpore/ſiue extra corpus: neſcio/ deus ſcit)raptum vſqꝫ ad
tertiū cœlum. & ſcio huiuſmodi hominē(ſiue in corpore/ſiue extra corpus/ neſcio: deus
ſcit)quoniā raptus eſt in paradiſū: & vidit arcana verba q̃ nō licet homini loqui. Petrus. Petrus
Matthęus cap. decimo ſeptimo. Et poſt dies ſex/ aſſumpſit IHESVS Petrū/& Iacobū/
& Ioannem fratrem eius in montem excelſum ſeorſum: & transfiguratus eſt ante eos.
Et reſplenduit facies eius ſicut ſol: veſtimēta autē eius facta ſunt alba ſicut nix. Et ecce
apparuerunt illis Moſes & Helias cum eo loquentes. Reſpōdens autē Petrus dixit ad
IHESVM. bonū eſt nos hic eſſe. ſi vis/ faciamus hic tria tabernacula: tibi vnum/ Moſi
vnum/& Helię vnū. Et Ioannes ad tam fœlix ſpectaculū admiſſus: videt apocalypſeos Ioannes
cap. viceſimo primo/ ſanctā ciuitatem Hieruſalem nouā/ deſcendētem de cœlo: a deo
paratā/ ſicut ſponſam ornatā viro ſuo. Et audit vocem magnā de throno dicētem. ecce
tabernaculū dei cum hominibus/& habitabit cum eis. & ipſi populus eius erunt: & ipſe
deus cum eis/ erit eorum deus. & abſterget deus omnem lachrymā ab oculis eorum: &
mors vltra non erit/ neqꝫ luctus/ neqꝫ clamor/ neqꝫ dolor erit vltra/ quæ prima abierunt.
Et illa ciuitas claritatem dei habet/& fundamēta eius omni lapide precioſo ornata. Dominus
autem deus omnipotēs: templum illius eſt/& agnus. & nō eget ſole/ neqꝫ luna:
vt luceant in ea. nam claritas dei illuminabit eam: & lucerna eius/ eſt agnus. Et ſimile
ſpectaculū vidit Eſdras libro quarto cap. ſecundo. ❡Veſtram igitur O IHESV CHRISTI
nomen habentes/ recognoſcite ciuitatem: & viuite veſtro nomine digni. benigniſſimā
erga vos diuinæ pietatis agnoſcite diſpenſationē. et iam angelicę amminiſtrationis
& cuſtodiæ facti cōſcij: nolite corā angelo imo angelis dei dicere/ non eſt prouidētia. Eccés. 5

❡DECIMIQVINTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

55 EXplicat ſingulatim in hoc capite ſacer Dionyſius/ quid ſpiritualis intelligentiæ
habeāt figurę illę & formę ſenſibiles: quibus ſacra ſcriptura
cœleſtes ſpiritus exprimit/ vt in primo & ſecūdo huius libri capite
dictum eſt. Tempus(inquit)& res ipſa nunc admonet: vt remittentes
paulisper animorū noſtrorum ad diuina conuerſionem/& mētis noſtrę
oculos ab altiſſimis illis cœleſtiū ſpirituū contēplationibus/ a tertio
huius operis capite ad hunc vſqꝫ locū explicatis/ aliquātiſper deflectentes/
detorquenteſqꝫ ad inferiora: deſcēdamus ad illā diuiſibilem & in plura diſſectam
multitudinem diuerſitatis angelicarū formarū & figurarū materialiū/ quæ in ſancta
ſcriptura affatim nominātur. & deniqꝫ rurſus ab huiuſmodi multiformibus imaginibus/
tanq̃ diuiduis quibuſdā ſignis: ad ſimplicitatē indiuiduā cœleſtium ſpirituum/ per
illarum imaginum explicationē/ reſerationem & enodationem: conſcendentes ad alta/
56 reuertamur. ❡Porro id ante omnia exploratum eſſe debere admonet/ ꝙ deſignationes
huiuſmodi ſenſibilium imaginum inducunt interdū eaſdem angelicarum ſubſtātiarum
diſtinctiones & ordines: nunc quidem docentes & præſides/ nunc vero diſcētes & ſubiectas/
ſed ratione habita ad diuerſa. Interdum itidem inducūt vltimas cœleſtes ſubſtātias
docentes/ primas vero & ſupremas diſcentes: & vtrunqꝫ recte/ atqꝫ cōparatione hic
ad deum/ illic vero ad homines habita. Oſtendūt etiam huiuſmodi ſenſibiles imagines:
primas cœleſtium ſpirituū ſubſtantias/& medias/ itidem & extremas: ſuis quāqꝫ virtutibus
eſſe prędita. Cūqꝫ hæc omnia aperte explicātur/ quę per ſenſibiles repræſentantur
imagines: nichil abſurditatis aut a ratione alienū in his inuenitur. Nempe ſi dicerētur
inferiores angelicæ ſubſtantiæ regi & doceri a prioribus/& deinde eaſdem priores
regere ac docere: ſimiliter ſi putarentur priores cœleſtes ſpiritus docere extremas/&
poſtea ab illis extremis diſcere: eſſet nimirū ea res valde abſurda/& confuſionis plena.
Si autem eædem cœleſtes ſubſtātiæ docent quidē & docentur: nō tamen eaſdē docent
a quibus docentur/ neqꝫ ab ijs diſcunt quas docent. ſed inferiores a ſuperioribus regūtur
& diſcunt/ primæ autē & ſupremæ regūt ac docent ſubiectas: ex his cōgruenter colligitur
57 eaſdem ſacras imagines in ſancta ſcriptura efformatas/ proprie & vere applicari
poſſe aliquādo primis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus/& medijs/& extremis. ❡Tria deinde
ponit: omnibus ſupernis ſubſtantijs cuiuſcūqꝫ ſint ordinis/ cōmunia. Quorum primum
reſpicit quod ſupra ipſas eſt: ſcilicet iugis in anteriora ſuperioraqꝫ intētio/ atqꝫ in deum

conuerſio.Secundū cōcernit ipſaſmet:ſcilicet firma in ſuis locis manſio/atq; a cōſtituto
ſuo gradu nuſq̄ digreſſio/quo vires ſuas tueantur & cuſtodiant.nec citra declinantes:
neq; vltra q̄ par eſt/ſe promouentes.Tertium vero ſpectat ad ea que poſt ipſas ſunt:
videlicet ea habitudo & ſocietas/ per quam elargitione diuinorum fulgorum procedūt
ad inferiores rationales ſubſtātias/& indulta ſibi a deo dona eis cōmunicant.per quod
diuinæ prouidentiæ/ſua ōnibus largiſſime diſpēſantis:fiunt æmulæ ac participes.itaq;
hęc tria omnibus(vt dictum eſt)angelicis ſpiritibus conueniunt:ſed diuerſo modo.nam
ſupremis/ eminentiſſime ac integerrime: ſequentibus vero/ particulariter & inferiore
Ignis modo.ſicut etiam ante ſepius eſt dictum. ℭDeinceps inquirit/quā ob cauſam ſacræ literæ
igneam figuram in cœleſtium ſpirituum deſcriptione/præ cæteris alijs ſenſibilibus 58
formis concelebrant:ſæpius illam q̄ quaſcunq; alias/ipſis diuinis ſubſtantijs applicantes.
Nempe in ipſis ſacris eloquijs inueniūtur effingi rotæ igneæ/animalia ignita/& viri
igneo fulgore coruſcantes.Inſuper deſcribūtur iuxta ipſos angelicos ſpiritus/congeſti
carbones ignis admoueri:& flumina igneo feruore rapida.Rurſum & throni exprimūtur
ignei/& ſancta ſeraphim ſuo nomine dicūtur incendendi officiū ſignificare:quibus
diuina eloquia pręſertim ignis ꝓprietatē accōmodant.& ita varijs modis & locis:ignis
figuram angelis honeſte attribuūt. ℭReſpondet. ꝙ per ignem deſignatur cœleſtium
ſpirituū habitus ac ſpecies:dei imagine potiſſimū & expreſſe inſignita/ac propemodū
illi perſimilis.Nam deiloqui patres diuinam ſubſtantiam nullis ſubiectam formis corporalibus/
diuerſo modo & frequentius in igne exprimunt:eo ꝙ ipſe ignis/ diuinarum
proprietatum ſenſibiliter multas habet ſimilitudines.Quod in ſex & triginta proprietatibus
hac figura deſcriptis:luculenter oſtendit.Verum hic cuiq; ſenſibilis ignis proprietati:
reſpōdet in eadē linea ipſius intelligibilis ignis(qui deus eſt)proprietas/hoc modo.

Sex & triginta ignis ꝓprietates

	Ignis ſenſibilis.	Ignis intelligibilis/qui deus eſt.
1	In omnibus ſenſu perceptibilis eſt.	In omnibus cognoſcibilis intellectualiter
2	Per omnia ſyncęre proficiſcitur.	Omnia pure permeat.
3	Ab ōnibus rebus prorſus excipit.	Ab omnibus eminenter exceptus eſt.
4	Lucidiſſimus eſt fulgore ſenſibili.	Itidem lucidiſſimus ſplēdore intellectuali
5	Nō admota materia manet occultꝰ	In ſeipſo incognitus & abditus manet.
6	Non admittit ab altero cōtinentiā.	Teneri & haberi nequaq̄ valet.
7	Non patet aſpectui.	Inuiſibilis eſt/& oculis imperuius.
8	Omnia vigore ſuo ſuperat.	Cuncta virtute ſua ſuperexcedit.
9	Ea quibus inſidet:in ſe traducit.	Omnia quibus inſeritur/in ſe transfert.
10	Admotis oībus ſui cōſortiū tradit.	Omnibus ſe propagat & cōmunicat.
11	Vniuerſa calore vitali renouat.	Omnia ſpirituali feruore innouat.
12	Fulgoribus apertis ōnia illuminat.	Omnibus intelligibiliter illucet
13	Teneri/conſtringiq; non poteſt.	Incompręhenſibilis & incircūſcriptus eſt.
14	Permiſceri rebus non valet.	Impermixtus/& alijs incōfuſus eſt.
15	Diſcernendi diuerſa/vim habet.	Omnia diſcernit & dijudicat.
16	Permutari a ſua natura nō poteſt.	Immutabilis atq; inuariabilis eſt.
17	In ſublime ſemper fertur.	Summa petit/& ad alta conſcendit.
18	In acumen & mucronē tendit.	Acutus eſt/& cuncta penetrat.
19	Agilitate prædirus eſt.	Agilis eſt ſpiritualiter.
20	Celeritatem motus habet.	Velox & celer eſt.
21	Altus eſt/& excelſo ſitus loco.	Sublimis eſt/& cuncta ſupergrediens.
22	Nulla vi ad inferiora cogi poteſt.	Incogibilis eſt.
23	Semper agitabilis.	Mobilis ſemper/ & nunq̄ torpens.
24	Eodem motu ſemper vigens.	Eodem tenore ſe ſemper habens.
25	Alia/ virtute ſua mouet.	Omnia vigore ſuo mouet.
26	Cuncta ſuo ambitu complectitur.	Omnia compręhendit.
27	Aſtringi non poteſt aut coartari.	Manet inaſtringibilis.
28	Alio non indiget.	Nullius egens eſt.
29	Sibi clam nutrimenta miniſtrat.	Semetipſum clam paſcit.

	Ignis ſenſibilis.	Ignis intelligibilis.
30	Vim ſuã ſubiectæ materię oſtẽdit.	Virtutem ſuã rebus ſubiectis indicat.
31	Magnam habet efficaciam.	Efficaciſſimus eſt.
32	Singularem obtinet potentiam.	Potentiſſimus eſt/& ipſa potentia.
33	Omnibus inuiſibiliter adeſt.	Cunctis imperceptibiliter præſens eſt.
34	Si negligatur: nõ eſſe videtur.	Neglectus haud apparet.
35	Attritu & flatu excitatur in flãmã.	Quęſitus cito emicat/& cito diſparet.
36	Sine diminutione ſeipm coicans.	Sine detrimento oĩbus ſe tradens.

Complures etiam aliæ colligi poſſunt ignis ſenſibilis proprietates: diuinæ actioni apta
proportione reſpondentes. Quod perſpectum habentes viri ſacratiſſimi & dei ſapien-
tia pleni/angelicas ſubſtantias maxime in igne deſcribunt: vt illarũ intellectualem ſpe-
59 ciem/ad deiformitatem ac dei imitationẽ enixius contendere ſignificẽt. ¶Inſuper hu-   **Humana**
mana forma depingunt ac exprimunt cœleſtes ipſos ſpiritus ſacri ſcriptores: ꝙ mente   **forma.**
præditi ſint homines ſicut & angeli/videndiq; vim corporalem habeãt ad alta directã/
ore ſint ſublimi/vultuq; & ſtatura erecta. quemadmodum cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ mentis
aciem ſemper in alta ſuſtollũt: & ad deum indeflexibiliter ſunt intentę. homines itidem
vt regant & dominentur alijs/natura ſunt apti: ob rationis vigorem/ad recte alios mo-
derandum dirigentem. & in hoc angelicis ſubſtantijs perſimiles: ſequentium ſe/duci-
bus ac pręſidibus. Et q̃uis homines ſenſuum corporalium viuacitate & acumine itidem
& viribus corporis/ longe minus q̃ bruta animalia valeant: eximia tamen animi vir-
tute/ dominioq; rationis & prudentiæ omnia ſuperant animalium genera. & ob hoc
itidem / ꝙ anima rationalis/ libera voluntatis poteſtate naturaliter donata: in ſerui-
tutem adigi aut cogente vi ſuperari non poſſit. Qꝫ ſi lubet per ſingula corporis hu-
mani membra(vt perrecte id fieri poteſt)aptas exprimendis angelicis proprietatibus
imagines corporales/inquirere: inuenientur in ipſis oculi nobis deſignare clariſſimam   **Oculi.**
mentis aciem: qua diuinis percipiendis fulgoribus ſemper ſunt intenti. præterea & pu-
ram illam contẽplandi diuina facultatem: ſyncęrã omnino/& nequaq̃ ex imbecillitate
reluctãtem ſuperne iactis in eam radijs/ſed hauriendæ iugiter diuinæ claritati paten-
tem. ſicut oculi corporales acuti non trepidant ad ſolis iubar. Per nares vero/quę in re-   **Nares.**
bus corporalibus olfaciendi & odores diiudicandi vim habent: intelligitur capax cœle-
ſtium ſpirituum perceptio/qua diuinam & ſpiritualem admittentes ſuaueolentiã: quod
illi contrariũ eſt & tetri odoris/facile diſcernunt & refugiunt. Per aures accipienda eſt   **Aures**
vis ſcientiam diuinam percipiendi: & quod deus illis inſinuat cognoſcendi/quoniã au-
ditus eſt ſenſus diſciplinę. Per guſtum intelligi debet ſpiritualis alimoniæ in angelis re-   **Guſtus**
fectio: & diuinorum ciborum admiſſio. Deniq; per tactum illa angelicæ naturæ conſtan-   **Tactus**
tia: quæ quid vtile ſit aut noxium diiudicat. At vero palpebræ & ſupercilia cœleſtibus   **Palpebrę**
ſubſtantijs applicata/deſignant eam virtutem ipſarum & habitum: quo diuinæ ſpecu-   **Supercilia**
lationis notionem & ſenſum prouide ſeruant. Palpebris enim obteguntur oculi: & vi-
dendi vis illeſa conſeruatur. Demũ pubertas & iuuenilis ætas deſignare nobis putãda   **Pubertas**
eſt vitalis virtutis conſtantiã: non labentis in deterius/ ſed ſempiterno vigore perma-
nentis. ꝙ iuuentus in animalibus vires naturales ſeruat infractas: neq; ob pueritiam
nimium molles/neq; ob ſenium debilitatas. At vero dentes in ſupramundanis ſpiriti-   **Dentes**
bus exprimũt nobis diuiſionem alimoniæ ſpiritualis illis indultæ: atq; in plura diſtri-
butionem. Vnaquæq; enim cœleſtis ſubſtantia: vnicam & vniformem a ſuperiore ſuſci-
pit rerum diuinarum intelligentiã. quam deinde prouide diuidit atq; multiplicat: cum
ipſam in inferiores ſparſim diffundit/eaſq; ad altiora huiuſmodi diſtributione promouet
ac euehit. Eſt enim dentium propriũ: integre ſumptum cibum diuidere ac cõtundere.   **Humeri**
Humeri autem/vlnæ & manus: ſtrennuam & validam operandi vim in cœleſtibus ſpi   **Vlnę**
ritibus nobis ſignificant. ꝙ his corporis partibus onera ferimus: & opus õne molimur.   **Manus**
Cor vero ſignum eſt atq; ſignificatio vitæ ſpiritualis angelicę: diuinam imaginem clare   **Cor**
exprimentis. quæ quidem vita virtutẽ vitalem in inferiora diffundit: inſtar ipſius ſũmi
boni/in omnia ſubiecta ſuę bonitatis diuitias communicantis: & quia vita eſt perpetua/
omnia viuificantis. Eſt enĩ cor in animalibus ſedes vitæ: eam in omnia membra propa-
gans. Cæterum pectora in cœleſtibus ſubſtantijs deſignant vim inſuperabilem ſeruãdi   **Pectora**
virtutem vitalem: a viuifica diſtributione cordis propinqui emanantem. Dorſa vero ſi-   **Dorſa**

Cap. 15

Pedes

Alæ

Alarum leuitas.

Nudi Diſcalceati

Veſtis lucida & ignea

Veſtis ſacerdotalis

Zonæ

Virgæ

Haſtæ Secures

Vaſa geometrica.

Venti

gnificant in ipſis vim ſpiritualem: vitales omnes virtutes complectẽtem. Pedes autem celeritatem & agilitatem nobis indicãt ſempiterni motus angelorũ/ad diuina indefeſſe tendẽtis. Idcirco ſancta ſcriptura: pedes ſanctorum ſpirituũ pẽnatos deſcribit. Alis nãq; deſignatur eorum celeritas in alta tendens/& velociſſimus vitæ cœleſtis motus: iter in ſuperiora ſternens/& ab infimis rebus except9. ꝙ alis aues in ſublime feruntur: & terrę interiora relinquunt. Porro alarum leuitas in ſanctis ſpiritibus inſinuat: ꝙ ſine terreni corporis põdere aut admixtione materiæ/ad excelſa ferãtur. ſunt enim ipſi omnes: natura incorporei. Qz autem nudi & diſcalceati cœleſtes angeli interdum efformantur: ſignificat ꝙ omnis adiectionis exterioris onere ſunt expediti & liberi(ſunt enim calcei & veſtes: nobis ab extrinſeco adiectitiæ) & ꝙ nulla externorum additamentorũ mole ac ſarcina degrauati: ad diuinæ vnitatis & ſimplicitatis ſimilitudinem(quãtum eis datur) aſpirent. Cæterum quoniã diuinorũ myſteriorũ ſcientia: ſimplex in ſpirituali intelligentia/& multiformis in ſignis corporalibus/angelicos ſpiritus interdum exprimit veſtitos & inſtrumenta geometrica manibus ferentes: quid ſacra ipſorum veſtimenta & inſtrumenta ſignificent/explicandũ eſt. Sane perlucida & ignea veſtis/cœleſtibus ſpiritibus circũpoſita: deſignat ſacram eorũ ſpeciem/diuinæ ſubſtantiæ perſimilem. ſecũdum illã ignis ad deum ſimilitudinẽ: quæ paulo ante adducta eſt. Indicat præterea ea veſtis vim illuminandi qua ſunt pręditi: ob retributionem illis in cœlo conſtitutam. vbi lux eſt perpetua & nox locum nõ habet/quod quidẽ cœlum plane intellectualiter illuſtrat: ratione ſui luminis. quod q̃uis ſit ſenſibile oculis: eſt tamen intelligibile intellectui/intelligibiliterq; illuminat: diuinitatis lumen inſinuans. Lumen item cœli: a lumine diuini intellectus illuſtratur. nam cœleſte lumen: luminis diuini intellectus eſt veſtigiũ. hinc & cœlũ ipſum ratione ſui luminis: hic etiam dicitur intellectualiter illuſtrari. Sacerdotalis vero veſtis inſinuat vim illam adducendi ſequentia ad diuina/quã habent cœleſtes ſubſtantiæ: & totius vitæ ad dei miniſterium cõſecrationem. Nam ſacerdotum eſt: alios ad deũ adducere/ſeq; deo conſecrare. Zonæ autem in ipſis demonſtrant ſpiritualium ſuarum virtutum diligentẽ cuſtodiam: colligẽtem ipſas in habitum & firmitatem. qui quidẽ habitus/in ſemetipſum facile conuertitur: & per gyrum circa ſeipſum immutabili ſtabilitate verſatur. Cõſtringit enim zona veſtes: & in gyrũ circa corpus flectitur. Virgæ itidẽ cœleſtibus ſpiritibus attributæ/pręferũt ac oſtendunt ſignum regis & ducis: quod õnia recte dirigat. Nempe illis deſignatur authoritas & poteſtas regendi alios: quã acceperunt. At vero haſtæ & ſecures ſignificant vim cœleſtium ſpirituum/ qua diſſimilia diuidant ac ſeparent: vt bonos a malis & probos ab improbis. ipſorũq; diiudicantiũ & diſcernentium diuino iuſſu merita hominũ: virtutem/efficaciam & vigorem. Securibus enim: quæ coniuncta ſunt diuellimus. Inſtrumẽta autem geometrica & fabrilia/quibus inſtructi deſcribuntur diuini ſpiritus: indicant vim fundandi/ conſtruendi & perficiendi ſpiritualia ædificia in cœleſti Hieruſalẽ/& quæcũq; alia ſunt prouidentię angelicæ munera: quæ inferiora ad deum promouet ac conuertit. Eadem itidem inſtrumenta: interdum diuinorum in nos iudiciorum ſunt ſigna. Et aliqua ex his ſignificant emẽdantem diſciplinam : aut iuſtitiam dei puniẽtem. Aliqua vero a mœſtis caſibus liberationẽ: aut diſciplinæ a deo inflictæ finem. Deniq; nõnulla illorum ſignant prioris fœlicitatis receptionem: aut aliorum munerum diuinorum ad priora adiectionem. ſiue illa dona parua ſint ſiue magna/ſiue corporalia ſiue ſpiritualia. Horum autem omniũ exempla ex ſcholijs requirantur. Et profecto mens humana ſacrarum litterarum ſtudio exercitata: facile valebit rebus ſpiritualibus aptas aſſignare imagines materiales/ex proportione recta & reſpõſione proprietatis harum ſenſibilis ad intellectualem illarũ cõditionem. Porro cũ ventorum nomine exprimuntur angelicæ ſubſtantiæ: ſignatur naturę illarum ſumma celeritas/cuncta fere abſq; mora temporis penetrãs & percurrens. Declaratur etiã earumdem motus velociſſimus: ex cœlo in terram/& ex in terra in cœlum etiam in momẽto eas deferẽs/& longe quidem celerius q̃ ſol radios ſuos per totum orbem ſpargit. Secundo idem motus: inferiora cœleſtia agmina & ſub ſe poſita/ad ſuperiora attollit. & tertio ſupremas & primæ diſtinctionis cœleſtes ſubſtantias: ad cõmunicãda ſequẽtibus ſuſceptæ a deo lucis munera/prouida ratione concitat. Neq; itidem aberrabit a vero/ qui dixerit ipſum aereum ſpiritum qui ventus dicitur: diuinam ſupernorum ſpirituum exprimere faciem/ſpeciem & ſimilitudinem. Nam & ipſe vẽtus habet diuinæ actionis expreſſionẽ & figuram(quẽadmodum in ſignificatiua theologia iuxta myſticã quatuor

elementorum explicationem: diuinus pater plurifariam ſe oſtendiſſe perhibet) potiſſimum
ſecundum has quatuor proprietates. Primo mobilitatem. quia ventus facile mobilis.
& omnibus mobilibus mobilior eſt ſapientia: quę deus eſt. non quidē ſecundū ſubſtantiā Sapi.6.
ſuā/ nam ea immutabilis eſt: ſed iuxta munerū ſuorū in alia diffuſionē. Secūdo/
ſecūdū vim animādi. Nam ventus vegetat flores: & virgulta ad germen exuſcitat. nec
minus deus omnia viuificat: animamq; cuiq; viuenti tribuit. Tertio ſecundū celerem &
inſuperabilem diſceſſum. Siquidem ventus nullo ingenio coerceri poteſt aut detineri:
quo minus diſcedat. ita nec deus conſtringi poteſt aut cōcludi: vt non libere cum affuit
abeat. Quarto conuenientiam habet ventus materialis ad deum: ſecundum loca nobis
incognita atq; incerta/ a quibus inchoat ſuum motum & in quibus a flatu deſinit. Non
enim aſſignare locum quiſpiam poſſit: vbi ſumitur principium motus ventorum/ & vbi
illius eſt finis atq; exitus. quemadmodum teſtimonio euangelico comprobat ſacratus
pater: quod ad litteram accipiendum eſt de vento ſenſibili & materiali. quamuis ſecundo
loco a pleriſq; accōmodetur idem domini verbum: ſpiritus vbi vult ſpirat/ & neſcis Ioan.3.
vnde veniat aut quo vadat: ad ſpiritum ſanctum. propter magnam conuenientiam
& affinitatem ſpiritus aerei ad ſpiritum diuinum: cuius ille apta eſt figura ac imago.
nam & in flatu dedit dominus diſcipulis ſpiritum ſanctum. & cum deſcenderet in Ioan.20.
apoſtolos ſpiritus ſanctus: factus eſt repente de cælo ſonus tanq̄ aduenientis ſpiritus/
id eſt venti/ vehementis. Haud aliter aduentum dei in nos & abitionem a nobis/ certo Actu.2.
percipere non poſſumus: cum dicat Iob de deo. Si venerit ad me: non videbo eum. Iob.9.
et ſi receſſerit: non intelligam. Cæterum nubis ſpecies in cœleſtibus efficta ſpiritibus: Nubes
primo innuit ipſos diuino ſpiritualiq; lumine/ modo ſupramundano impleri/ eoſq; primitiuam
illam lucem quæ a deo prima deriuatione profunditur: cum ſingulari modeſtia/
reuerentiaq; ſuſcipere/ & eandem ſequentibus abſq; liuore (quantum quiſq; capere
poteſt) ſecunda traditione communicare. Videmus enim nubem ſuperne vibrato
lumine ſolis impleri: & illud conſequenter in oculos noſtros diffundere. Secundo vero
inſinuat nubis forma & ſpecies/ ſupernis ſpiritibus accommodata: ꝙ ipſis fœcunditas
ſpiritualis adeſt/ & occulta quedā vis animādi intellectualiter augendiq; cœleſte bonum
& perficiendi: iuxta ſupercœleſtis imbris (quem ſequentibus impluunt) fœcundam
virtutem. quæ ſubiectas angelorum & hominum mentes ad boni operis fructum:
irrigatione roris & pluuiæ gratuitæ excitet & prouocet. Nempe nubes corporalis irroratione
copioſa vim habet fœcundandi terram/ animandi ſegetes & terrenaſcentia:
adaugendi ea & ad perfectam maturitatem perducendi. Eadē quoq; cū imbrem deſuper
effundit: ſubiectum terræ gremium ad vitalem ſuorum fructuum partum pinguibus
& fœcūdis diſponit pluuijs. At vero cum electri (quod auri & argēti gerit ſpeciem) Electrum
ſacra ſcriptura cœleſtibus ſubſtantijs applicat figuram: qua parte in electro auri color
oſtenditur/ ſignificatur earum ſplendor & rutilantia inuiolabilis: quę neq; conſumi neq;
minui/ neq; commaculari poteſt. Aurum enim/ igni inconſumptibile eſt & indiminuibile:
neq; vllam ex eo contrahit maculam. qua vero parte lucet argentū in electro: deſignatur
nitidus ille & purus candor lucis/ quo fulgent angeli. Quoniam vero æs in colore Aes
& rutilantia cum igne & auro propemodum conuenit: cum cœleſtibus ſubſtantijs/
æris attribuitur figura: idem prorſus ſignatur/ quod in ignis aut auri ſpecie superius dictum
eſt indicari. Gemmæ vero colorum diuerſitate diſtinctæ: ita intelligendæ ſunt. vt Gemmæ
ſi candidæ ſint: candorem lucis angelicæ inſinuent. ſi rutilæ: ignis deſignent rutilantis
ſpeciem. ſi autem fuluæ: idem quod aurum repræſentent. deniq; ſi virides: vigorem
& robur indicent iuuentutis. ꝙ viror ipſe indicium ſit vegetæ in plantis virtutis
& efficaciæ. Et ita per ſingulas rerum corporalium formas: inuenientur digniſſimæ
diuinarum rerum intelligentiæ ac notiones/ quibus ad ſuperiora nitamur. Deinceps
leonis figura angelicis aſcripta ſubſtantijs/ ſignat nobis virtutem earum cæteris principantem/ Leo
fortem & inſuperabilem: per quā ipſi nobis incognitæ & ineffabili diuinitati
ſimiles fieri annitūtur. Nam & leo cæteris principatur feris: robuſtus eſt & indomabilis.
Sunt etiam ipſi angeli operti ſpiritualibus veſtigijs: ꝙ ſummæ deitatis gerunt ſignacula
& ſigna ipſis impreſſa/ occultata tamen & abdita nobis propter illorum ſimplicitatem
& eminentiā. vt & leonem ferunt verrentem cauda humū: ſuorū pedum abolere
veſtigia. Sunt & operti admirabili celeritate itineris ad deum tendētis: ſicut leo ingentem
habet curſus ad ea aſſequenda quæ expetit pernicitatem. Vnde veſtigia illa quibus

operti ſunt angeli: ſunt inditæ veritatis ſimilitudines/& quaſi concreati ipſis noſcendi
habitus. Celeritas vero itineris eſt velocitas appræhendendi ſupernorum ſpirituum:
Bos maxime ea quæ circa dei & ſummæ veritatis verſantur cognitionem/quæ etiam omni-
bus mortalibus ſunt obſtruſa. Bouis autem imago in angelicis ſpiritibus efformata/
exprimit fortitudinis & roboris illorum ſimilitudinem: qua inferiores animos cœleſtes
tanq̃ agros intellectuales præparant ad ſuſcipiendos diuinos imbres/& cum fœcundi-
Cornua tate fructum afferendum. Cornua vero angelis attributa: conſeruatricem illorũ & inſu-
perabilem inſinuant virtutem. Sunt enim cornua: in conſeruationem & tutamen ani-
Aquila. malium. Porro effigies aquilæ: regiam ſupernarum ſubſtantiarũ & dominatricem deſi-
gnat dignitatem/& motum earum aſſidue ad ſuperna tendẽtem/celeremq; ad dei celſi-
tudinem volatum. inſuper & ad ſumendam ſpiritualem alimoniam quibus earum ſoli-
dentur vires: agilitatem atq; promptitudinem. contemplandi itidem diuina/ virtutem
eximiam: atq; conuertendi intrepide irreuerberatam oculorum aciem in radium illum
lucidiſſimũ deitatis: ex ipſa veluti ſole clariſſimo emiſſum. Enimuero hæc omnia corpo-
raliter aquilis conueniunt: & non inepte ſecundũ ſpiritualem ſenſum angelis aſſignan-
Equi tur. Equorum quoq; figura in angelicis ſpiritibus obedientię promptitudinem inſinuat:
qua diuinis iuſſis obſequuntur. quemadmodum equorum proprium eſt: freno & ſeſſori
obedire. Qui ſane ſi albi deſcribuntur: candorem angelicum & conformitatem ad diui-
nam lucem exprimunt. Si vero nigri: occulta diuinitatis myſteria ſignant/ꝙ niger co-
lor omnium maxime obſcurus eſt. Si autem equi effinguntur rubei: vigorem igneum &
agendi ſtrennuitatem innuunt. Deniq; ſi fuerint ex albo & nigro permixti: virtus illa
angelorum repræſentatur/qua transfundente indulta ſibi a deo munera in ſequentes:
nectuntur inter ſe ſociali iure extrema cœleſtiũ ordinũ. & prima ſecundis/atq; ediuerſo
ſecunda primis: ratione cõmunicationis ſuſcepti radij in ſequentia/& conuerſionis po-
ſtremorum in ſumma/coniunguntur. Q2 niſi foret cohibenda prolixitas: ſpeciales etiã
ſupradictorum animalium proprietates/& corporales ipſorum formæ docerentur ap-
tiſſime congruere ipſis cœleſtibus ſubſtantijs ſecundum diſſimilium ſimilitudinum
rationes. In quibus ſimilitudo quidem eſt eiuſdem cõmunis proprietatis: compertæ in
viſibilibus rebus & inuiſibilibus. ea tamen ſimilitudo/ diſſimilis eſt: nam viſibilibus re-
Ira bus corporaliter cõuenit/& inuiſibilibus intellectualiter. Et in huiuſmodi adaptatione/
referendus eſſet feruor iracũdiæ mutorum animaliũ ad ſpiritualem angelorum fortitu-
Concupiſcentia. dinẽ: cuius ira vltimum eſt & remotiſſimum veſtigium. & concupiſcẽtia animalis ad di-
uinum amorem: cuius ipſa eſt imago quidem/ſed maxime a veritate diſtans & poſtre-
mo repoſita loco. Et conſimili modo omnes brutorum animalium ſenſus & potentiæ
in plura membra diſſectæ: ad ſpiritualem ſubſtantiarum cœleſtium naturam & ſimpli-
ces indiuiduaſq; virtutes eſſent referendæ. Cæterum ſolertibus & in diuinorũ contem-
platione ſagacibus/non ſolum hæc quę dicta ſunt ſufficiunt: verum etiam vnius obſcu-
ræ imaginis corporalis explicatio/ ad cætera conſimili ratione enodanda ſufficeret.
Flumina ignea. Præterea ignea flumina diuinis applicata ſpiritibus/ſacratiſſima ſignificant intellectu-
Currus alium aquarum fluenta: quæ affatim in ipſos & largiſſima copia effundũtur a deo/atq;
ad vitalem fœcunditatẽ præſtant alimentum. Currus autem (in quibus & multæ partes
compactæ/& equi eodem iugo coniuncti ſolent haberi) coniunctam cœleſtium ſpiritu-
um ſocietatem inſinuant: ſed eorũ qui ſimiles inter ſe ac equales ſunt/eodemq; in or-
Rotæ dine cõſtituti. Rotæ vero quæ a terra quidem/ſumma parte eleuatæ ſunt/& recta ſem-
per orbita neq; ad dexteram neq; ſiniſtram declinãdo procedunt ad anteriora: ſignifi-
cant nobis cõditionem angelicæ actionis ſemper recta via in deum tendentis. Siquidẽ
omnis angelorum motus & gyratio: iugiter in arduam illam viam quæ ad deum ducit/
abſq; deflexione contendit. Poteſt item & alius ſpiritualiũ rotarũ ſenſus aſſignari. Nam
Ezech. 10. eis (vt habet Ezechiel) apud Hebræos cognomen eſt inditũ: gel/gel. quod in græco ſo-
nat reuolutiones ac reuelationes. In latina vero traductione: nunc eo loco legimus. Et
rotas iſtas vocauit volubiles: audiente me. Hęc autem hebraici cognominis illarũ rota-
rum interpretatio/apud gręcos expreſſa: cõgruẽtiſſime cœleſtibus ſpiritibus cõuenit.
Nempe diuinæ illæ rotæ/reuolutiones quidẽ habent: ꝙ ſempiterno motu circa ſummũ
bonum maxime omniũ idem verſentur/ vt rota perpetuum quæ circũuoluitur axem.
Reuelationes autem habẽt ijdem diuini ſpiritus: quia occulta diuinitatis ſacramẽta re-
uelant/& inferiores ad altiora promouent/lucidoſq; diuinæ claritatis radios cõmunica-

Gaudium

bili condeſcenſione in ſequentes tranſfundunt. Demum ſupereſt explicāda ratio gaudij ſpiritualis cœleſtium ſubſtātiarum. ſunt enim ipſæ: voluptatis noſtræ corporalis & paſſioni obnoxię, expertes. Dicuntur autem congaudere deo: in hominum qui per peccata perierant inuentione & reditu ad ſalutem. iuxta conuenientem eis placidam quietem animorum/ & effuſam letitiam ſpiritualem/ ac voluptatem verbis inexplicabilem: quam de illorum reditu in gratiam & ſalute capiunt/ qui de errore conuertuntur ad deum. cuius ſane voluptatis dulciſſimæ/ & viri ſancti præſentem tum adhuc vitam degentes/ facti ſunt participes: cum in eos diuinæ lucis radius ſuperna dignatione profluxit. ¶ Cæterū hæc hactenus de figuris ſacratioribus dicta ſint/ quæ licet ad exactam & integram talium ſignorum reſerationem non peruenerint: multum tamen conducent menti noſtræ ne corporalibus dūtaxat formis quæ exprimūtur inhęreamus/ ſed altius exeramus animum: atq; ad earum ſpiritualem intelligentiam prouehamur. Q; ſiquis obiecerit ſacratum patrem hic non omnium feciſſe formarum corporalium mentionem: quæ in ſacris litteris virtutes angelicas inſinuant. Reſpondet id quidem verum eſſe: ſed cæterarum determinationē ſe prętermiſiſſe/ propter tria. Primo. quia ingenue fatetur ſe rerum ſupramundanarum ſyncęram & puram ſcientiam ignorare: atq; ad eas perdiſcendas/ præceptore & doctore ſibi opus eſſe. quod quidē inſignis modeſtiæ & humilitatis plenum eſt verbum. Secundo. quia per ea quæ hic ſunt expreſſa: cętera quæ non ſunt hoc loco explicata/ conſimili ratione poſſunt agnoſci. Tertio. quia ne liber iſte modum & iuſtam libri menſuram excederet: ſecreta cœleſtia ſilentio ſupprimenda putauit/ vt exinde haberentur honoratiora/ cum a vulgi aſpectu ſemouerentur.

¶ Cœleſtis Hierarchiæ beatiſſimi
Dioniſij Areopagitæ: ad
IHESV authoris omnium cœleſtium &
terreſtrium
laudem/
finis.

¶ Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ de eccleſiaſtica hierarchia liber ad Timotheum: adiecto ad litteram familiari cōmentario explanatus.

¶ Quænā ſit eccleſiaſticę hierarchię traditio/ & quæ illius intētio. Cap. I.

1 SAcerdotij quidē noſtri functionem ſanctiſſime fili
Timothee: auguſtioris eſſe ac diuinæ/ & diuinitus
indultæ ſcientiæ/ actioniſq;/ & perfectionis: ijs qui
ſacratioris doctrinæ inſtitutionem ex ſacerdotalibus
myſterijs/ traditionibuſq; acceperunt: de ſanctarum A
ſcripturarum maieſtate neceſſario demonſtrare
2 inſtitui. ¶ Sed obſerua diligētius: ne ſancta
ſanctorum efferas/ neu prophanis luminibus violanda
permittas. verū reuereberis magis: occultiq;
dei myſteria ſpiritualibus/ inuiſibilibuſq; notionibus
honorabis. atq; ītemerata ſeruabis: nequaq̄ ea paſſim rudibus tradēs/
ſed ſanctis ſolis ſanctarum rerum intelligētias ſacratius pandens. Sic enim B
(vt theologia nobis ſuis ſtudioſis cultoribꝰ tradidit) ipſe quoq; IHESVS
diuina profecto atq; omni ſubſtantia ſuperior mens/ & hierarchiæ omnis
& expiationis ac diuinæ actionis initium & ſubſtātia/ auguſtiſſimaq; virtus:
beatiſſimis illis ſpiritibus & nobis naturali dignitate longe præſtanti-

bus/manifeſtius ſimul atqꝫ ſpiritualius lucet:eoſqꝫ pro viribus ad lucis ſuę
ſimilitudinē tranſfert.Noſtros item varios & incōſtantes motus:honeſtarum
amore rerum in eum intento/noſqꝫ intendente: cōſtringit & cōplicat/
& in vnam ac diuinam perficit vitā. ¶Habitu præterea & actione digniſſima 3
donat:diuini ſcilicet virtute ſacerdotij.Ex qua dum ad ſacerdotale ſacroſanctū
munus accedimus:ſuperioribus virtutibus propinquamus/imitando
pro viribus illarum conſtantiam ac perpetuā firmitatem.Cuius vbi
ſimilitudinē(quantū fas eſt)fuerimus adepti:hinc iam ad beatiſſimū/ac diuinum
IHESV radium aciem mentis intendimus. Et quæqꝫ videre permittimur:
digna cum veneratione intuētes/atqꝫ eorum quæ viderimus dinoſcendorū
myſticam ſcientiā vi interni luminis edocti:ſacrati ac ſacrantes/
C illuminati & illuminātes/perfecti ac perficiētes poterimus fieri.¶Quęnam 4
ergo ſit angelorū atqꝫ archangelorū ſacra diſtinctio/cœleſtiūqꝫ principatuum
& poteſtatum ac virtutū/ dominationū item/ thronorūqꝫ ſublimium/
ęqualium item thronis ſubſtātiarum(quas inhęrere deo & ſemper
circa illum & cum illo eſſe:theologia tradit/cherubim illas atqꝫ ſeraphim
Hebræorum voce appellās)in ijs quæ de huiuſmodi beatiſſimorū ſpirituū
diſtinctiōibus/ordinibus/ac diuiſionibus ſcripſimus:diſces. In quibus nos
(etſi non ſatis pro merito)quantū tamen penetrare potuimus/ quātumqꝫ
theologia ſuggerere/& ex diuinis litteris dictare dignata eſt:ipſam eorū ſacratiſſimam
functionem laudare ſtuduimus. ¶Illud tamen neceſſario dicendum. 5
ꝙ & cœleſtis illa/& omnis(quam modo laudare pergimus) functio:
vnam habet & eandē per omne ſui officij munus/intentionē atqꝫ vim.
vt ſcilicet & ipſe pontifex/pro ſuę ratione ſubſtātiæ & captus atqꝫ ordinis/
diuinis in rebus perficiatur:atqꝫ in deitatis conſortium tranſeat.Inferioribuſqꝫ
atqꝫ ſubditis gradibus/cuiqꝫ pro merito indultum ſibi diuinitus tradat
tantæ excellētiæ munus:per quod ipſe participatione euaſit in deum.
Subiecti quoqꝫ & inferiores:præſtantiores ſequantur.qui & ipſi:minores
in anteriora promoueant.illiqꝫ itidem perpetuo ſucceſſu ad altiora enitentes:
etiā prouehendis alijs/duces pro viribus fiant.perqꝫ hanc diuinā profecto
ac diſpoſitiſſimam cōgruentiā:ſinguli pro modo ſuo/eius qui vere &
pulcher & ſapiens ac bonus eſt/euadant participes.¶Sed enim ſubſtantiæ 6
illæ ſuperiores atqꝫ ordines/quorū ſupra facta eſt mentio:& incorporales/
& intelligibiles ſunt/eſtqꝫ mundo celſior illorum ſacra diſtinctio.Noſtram
D autem hāc ſacerdotalem functionem/cernimus viſibilium varietate ſignorum
pro captu noſtro multiplicem fieri: per quæ pontificali munere/ ad
ſtatum illum vnicum(quo tranſimus in deum)pro modo noſtro quiqꝫ
prouehimur. Atqꝫ deum/ diuinamqꝫ virtutem cœleſtes quidem illæ
ſubſtantiæ(quippe quæ ſpiritus ac mentes ſunt)intelligunt/ iuxta quod
eis fas eſt. Nos autem: viſibilibus imaginibus ad diuinas intelligentias
pro virium noſtrarum modo conſcendimus.Et vt vere ac proprie dixerim:
E vnum quidem eſt quod appetunt omnes/qui vnius ſpeciem præferunt.
ſed non vno modo/eius quod vnum atqꝫ idem eſt/participes fiunt:
verum vt cuiqꝫ pro merito ſortem/ diuina & æquiſſima libra diſtribuit.

Verum enim iſta in libro quē de intelligibilibus ac ſenſibilibus ſcripſimus: F
7 latius diſputata ſunt. ¶ Nūc autē ſacerdotalē ordinem noſtrū/principiūqꝫ
eius atqꝫ ſubſtantiā(quantū vires ſuppetāt)aggrediar eloqui: IHESVM
primo inuocans/ ordinū omnium cœleſtium/ atqꝫ terreſtrium principem/
8 initium & conſummationē. ¶ Eſt itaqꝫ hierarchia omnis(vt ſe habet veneranda G
ac ſacroſancta noſtra traditio) omnis ſacrarū rerum illi quidem
ſubiectarū ratio: generaliſqꝫ prorſus eorū quæ in hanc ferme cadunt functionem/
ſiue ſacrarū eius rerum cōpræhenſio. Noſtra igitur functio/& dicitur
& eſt illius ſacra omnia cōtinens munus: per quod cōſummatus diuinus
pontifex/eorū omnium(quæ ad eū pertinent & ſacratiſſima ſunt)vt ſacerdotij
nomine honoratus/particeps erit. Vt enim qui ſacerdotium dixit:
ſacrorū ſimul omniū vno vocabulo ſignauit ordinem/ita & qui ſacerdotem
ſeu pontificem dicit: auguſtiorem/prorſuſqꝫ diuinū inſinuat virum/ totius
ſanctæ ſcientiæ peritiſſimū. in quo liquido/ac perſpicue ſacratus ōnis ordo
9 ſuus: & perfectus ſit/ & poſſit agnoſci. ¶ Huius profecto ſacræ functionis
initiū: eſt fons vitæ/bonitatis eſſentia/vnica rerum omniū cauſa/beatiſſima
trinitas. Ex qua ſola bonitatis cauſa: quæ ſunt omnia/ vt & eſſent & bene
eſſent acceperunt. Huic tranſcēdenti omnia diuinæ beatitudini trinæ/atqꝫ
vni(cui ſoli/vere eſſe ineſt/modo nobis quidē incognito: ſed ſibi plane perſpecto
& noto)voluntas quidē eſt/rationalis ſalus humanæ omnis/ cœleſtiſqꝫ
ſubſtantiæ. Ea vero aliter prouenire non poteſt: niſi ij qui ſaluātur/in
dei conſortiū tranſeāt. Porro ea in deum tranſitio fit: cū illi ſimiles euadūt/ H
atqꝫ inſeruntur. Omni autē ſacræ functioni cōmunis hic finis eſt: intentiſſima
dei/diuinarūqꝫ rerum dilectio: quæ ſublimiter omnino/ ſingulariterqꝫ I
operatur. & quæ hanc præit: omnium quæ illi aduerſantur exactiſſima &
nunq̄ retro aſpiciēs fuga. notio earū quæ ſunt(qua parte ſunt)rerū. ſanctæ
veritatis viſio atqꝫ ſciētia. vnicæ illius perfectionis(qua in vnū ipſum trāſitur)
diuina pro viribus participatio. viſionis ipſius vnius & contēplationis
fœlix illa refectio/qua intelligibiliter alitur & euadit in deum: quiſquis in
10 illā ardenti ſtudio intendit. ¶ Dicimus igitur ꝙ beatitudo diuina/naturalis
deitas/& pręſtandæ diuinitatis initiū(ex qua/vt in deum traſeant ij qui
illius participationē promerētur: accipiūt)bonitatis inſtinctu: ſacratiſſimæ
functionis munus in ſalutem omniū rationalium/intellectualiūqꝫ ſubſtantiarum(vt
ſcilicet dei conſortio fruerentur)indulſit. Atqꝫ illis quidem altiſſimis/
beatiſſimiſqꝫ ſpiritibus: liquidius/& purius/ac ſpiritualius. Neqꝫ enim
illas ad diuina deus extrinſecus mouet: cæterum intelligibiliter & intus/diuinum
conſilium & voluntatem/puriſſimi candoris fulgore diſcunt. Nobis
autem/ quod illis vnice & collecte præſtitum eſt: ex diuinis libris in ſignorum K
diuiſibium multitudine/ ac varietate donatur. Subſtantia enim ſacerdotij
noſtri: ſcriptura ſacra eſt/ nobis diuinitus tradita. Porro huiuſmodi
plena venerationis eloquia dicimus: quæqꝫ a beatiſſimis patribus noſtris L
(a quibus ſacris myſterijs imbuti ſumꝰ)in ſanctis ac theologicis cōmēdata
ſunt libris. Ac præterea/ quæqꝫ ab eiſdem ſanctiſſimis viris/ ſacratiore & M
purgatiore & propinqua quodā modo cœleſti hierarchiæ doctrina/ſancti

duces ac præceptores noſtri didicerūt:& ex animo in animū(medioq inter-
currente verbo/corporali quidē:ſed quod carnis penitus excedat ſenſum)
N ſine litteris trāſfuſa ſunt. Et ipſi quoqꝫ ſanctiſſimi principes noſtri dum ſa-
cra publice agenda inſtituerunt:non apertis ac patulis ſenſibus/ſed ſignis
O auguſtioribus tradiderunt. Eſt enim non omnis ſanctus/neqꝫ omnium
ſcientia eſt:vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia. Neceſſario itaqꝫ primi illi noſtri ſa-
cerdotalis muneris duces:cum ex ſumma/ ſuperſubſtantialiqꝫ deitate ipſi
ſancti muneris plenitudinem percepiſſent/ & id ipſum deinceps profer-
re & propagare a diuina bonitate miſſi eſſent/ipſiqꝫ(vt qui tranſiſſent in
deum) poſteros ad diuina prouehere affatim cuperent: viſibilibus ſignis
cœleſtia ſacramenta texerunt. varietateqꝫ ac multitudine:quod vnicum eſt/
& collectum tradiderunt. Et in humanis imaginibus res diuinas:materia-
libuſqꝫ figuris ſpiritualiū maieſtatem/atqꝫ in ijs quæ nobis ſunt familiaria:
ſumma illa & ſuperſubſtantialia partim ſcriptis/partim non ſcriptis inſti-
P tutionibus ſuis(iuxta quod ſacræ diffiniunt leges)nobis tradiderūt non
modo prophanæ multitudinis cauſa:cui ne ipſa quidem fas eſt ſigna con-
tigere. verū ob id quoqꝫ: ꝙ hęc noſtra ſacratiſſima fūctio/ſignificatiua eſt/
plenaqꝫ(vt dixi)ſignis pro modo & ratione captus noſtri. indigetqꝫ viſibi-
libus figuris:quibus veluti adminiculis/ad eorum auguſtiorem intelligen-
tiam ſubuehamur. ❡Non ſunt tamen opertæ diuinis pōtificibus/ſignorū 11
rationes:quas in eos efferre fas non eſt/ qui adhuc fidei rudimenta perci-
piunt. Sciūt enim profecto/vt ij qui de ſacris rebus diuinitus inſtructi le-
ges dederunt:ac cōſtantiſſimis & omni admixtione puris/incōfuſiſqꝫ ſan-
ctarum diſtinctionum ordinibus(diſtribuenda cuiqꝫ pro merito & captu
ſuo / prouidentiſſima ratione cenſentes) functionem ipſam inſtituerunt.
❡Quocirca tuis ſacris pollicitationibus inductum: ſanctum eſt profecto 12
& me admonere/ & te earum meminiſſe. vt eminentiſſimam pontificalis
muneris rationem nemini tradas/ pręterq̃ ęqualibus tuis reuerendiſſimis
præſulibus:quibus ſacra tractare inſtitutum eſt. Ipſoſqꝫ illos pōtificio iure
monebis:mundi vt munda contingant/ſoliſqꝫ cōmunicent diuina diuinis/
perfecta perficientibus/ſanctiſqꝫ ſanctiſſima. Ego enim tibi/vt reliquorum
ſacrorum:ita huius quoqꝫ diuini muneris conſortium tradidi.
A ❡SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡De ſanctarū ſcripturarū maieſtate/neceſſario di-
1.corin.3. cere inſtitui. de ſanctarū ſcripturarū ſpirituali intelligentia: quā beatiſſimus Paulus ap-
pellat viuificantem. & quā nos ex ſacri patris nuncupationibus/dicere poſſumus: nunc
B purgantē/nunc illuminātem/nūc vero perficiētem. ❡Sic enim vt theologia nobis ſuis
ſtudioſis cultoribus tradidit. Id cap. ſeptimo/numero 35. cœleſtis hierachiæ traditū eſt:
Apo.1. ex ea(quā a beatiſſimo Paulo acceperat) apoſtolica theologia. Et Ioannes in principio
diuinæ apocalypſis oſtendit IHESVM diuinā ſapientiā/ primū angelis illucere: & per
C angelos/arcanorū cœleſtium homines cōſcios reddere. ❡Quęnam ergo ſit angelorum
atqꝫ archangelorū. Id executus eſt diuinus pater cap. ſeptimo/octauo/& nono cœleſtis
D hierarchiæ: vel q̃ diligentiſſime. ❡Viſibilium varietate ſignorū pro captu noſtro multi-
plicem fieri. Signorum: ſymbolorum/atqꝫ ſacramentorū. vt ſignum illuminationis: hoc
eſt expiātis/& illuminātis baptiſmi. ſignum ſynaxeos/ſanctiſſimæqꝫ cōmunionis: & reli-
E quarum ſanctificationum/ de quibus ſermo in longum poſtea protrahetur. ❡Vnum
quidem eſt: quod appetunt omnes/qui vnius ſpeciem præferunt. Nam vnum eſt bo-
num quod appetunt omnia/quæ diuina vnius imagine(quaſi regio numiſmate: quod

regis imagine percuſſum eſt)ſunt ſignata. Verũtamen id ſcire licet: vnũ ideq; eſſe/ipſum
vnum atq; ipſum bonũ. & proinde vt in omnibus/ipſius vnius veſtigium reperias impreſſum:
nõ minus ipſius quoq; boni intueri licet veſtigium. & nõ modo ipſius boni: ſed
& reliquorũ omniũ/quæ vt tranſcendentia & longe ſupramũdana celebramus. ¶Verũ F
enim iſta in libro: quẽ de intelligibilibus ac ſenſibilibus ſcripſimus. Liber de intelligibilibus Liber de ĩtelligibilib⁹
& ſenſibilibus ſacratiſſimi patris deſideratur. pijſſimus intelligibilium & ſenſibilium
author/ad ſuum honorem eum in mundum reparet. ¶Vt ſe habet veneranda & ſẽſibilib⁹
& ſacroſancta noſtra traditio. Vt ſe habet veneranda & ſacroſancta apoſtolica diſciplina G
ac inſtitutio. ¶Porro ea in deum tranſitio fit: cum illi ſimiles euadunt/atq; H
inſeruntur. inſeruntur: vniuntur/vnumq; fiunt. ¶Quæ ſublimiter omnino ſingulariterq; I
operatur. Singulariter/vnifice. Et ſex hoc in loco diuinus pater/quæ ad noſtræ Sex ad eccleſiaſticã
ſanctæ hierarchiæ finem pertinent: tangit. Primum eſt intentiſſima dei/diuinarumq;
rerum dilectio: ſublimiter omnino/ſingulariterq; & vnifice operata: & quaſi holocauſtũ hierarchiã
& incenſum redolẽs libata/ſacrificataq; deo. Secundũ eſt eorum omniũ quæ illi deificę pertinẽtia.
dilectioni aduerſari queunt: nunq̃ retro aſpiciens/accuratiſſima diligentiſſimaq; fuga.
Et hæc quidẽ fuga/intentiſſimã illam dei dilectionem præuenit. Tertiũ eſt eorum quæ
ſunt/quatenus ſunt(non autẽ quatenus labũtur/& ab imitatione deficiũt/atq; nõ ſunt)
cognitio. Quartũ eſt ab ijs ad ipſam rerum veritatẽ aſſurrectio: ipſiuſq; ſanctæ veritatis
viſio/contẽplatio & ſcientia. Quintũ. vnificæ cõſummationis(qua ipſi vni quantum fas
eſt inſerimur/vnũq; euadimus) participatio. Sextũ eſt diuinæ contemplationis ipſius
vnius(quę ſũma eſt & ſingularis diuinitas)fœliciſſima cibatio/refectio & ſupramũdana
alimonia. qua intellectualiter alitur/tranſit/& transformatur in deum(quãtum mortalibus
indultum eſt)quiſquis ardenti ſtudio in illud diuiniſſimum vnũ ſupra vires fertur/
atq; rapitur. Et qui hoc pacto in hac noſtra humana hierarchia viuit: propemodũ cœleſtem/
& ſupramundanã imitatur hierarchiã. ¶Vnice & collecte pręſtitũ eſt: ex diuinis K
libris in ſignorũ diuiſibiliũ multitudine ac varietate donatur. vnice: vno ſimpliciq; modo.
Ex diuinis libris. vt in exodo. vbi agitur de arca fœderis/tabernaculo/altari/veſtibus
ſacerdotalibus. & in leuitico de ſacrificijs/de vrna/ordine/& miniſterio leuitarũ. Et
in ſacramẽtalibus cerimonijs noui teſtamẽti: IHESV ſuperna bonitate ad noſtram ſanctificationẽ
indultis. ¶Id tamen aĩaduerti dignum eſt illam vnã/ſupremãq; diuinitatem:
beatiſſimos ſupramundanos ſpiritus non exterius ad diuina mouere ſed interius
vnice/collecte/vno ſimpliciq; modo/ipſius vnius ſuperirradiatione: ſuos nutus illis inſinuantis.
perinde vt ſol intentis oculis lucis ſuæ ſpicula vnice & collecte vibrat. Nobis
vero a principio/dũtaxat ſacra cognoſcere cõceditur in multitudine/& diuiſibilium ſignorum
perplexa varietate. haud ſecus ac infirmis oculis ad lucem ipſam ſolis ſeſe attollere
non valentibus: ex colorũ varietate/ipſius vnicæ lucis & potentificæ omnẽ colorem
purgãtis illuminãtis & quoquo pacto perficientis/pętenderetur cognitio. Verũ
poſteaq̃ cõſummatiores euaſimus: illã diuiſibiliũ ſignorũ multiplicem varietatẽ in ſuæ
exemplaris veritatis indiuiduam monadẽ colligimus per veræ contẽplationis viam. &
a bonitate diuina: a multiplici & cõpoſito mũdo ad vnialẽ & ſimplicem eleuamur mundum.
vbi rex eſt/omnibuſq; præſidet ipſum ſuperexaltatum vnũ. Qꝛ ſi vſq; adeo vita in
ſanctitate eleuata fuerit: vt ip̃m vnũ/idẽq; bonũ non extrinſecus ſed intrinſecus mentẽ
moueat: diuiniformis vir ille(quiſquis is tandẽ fuerit)nõ amplius vt homo viuit/ſed viuit
vt angelus. Qui ſi quãdo ex illo diuino ſpectaculo ab intra &(vt ſic dixerim)penitiſſime
facto/veluti ex diuina quiete ſurgit: iterũ incipit viuere vt homo. & vita hęc: quędam
mors illi apparet. & ſuſpirat ad intimã illã viuificationẽ. & rurſum quoad poteſt/ex
multitudine ſe colligit ad omniũ principẽ vnitatẽ. & per verę contẽplationis iter: quęrit
deũ toto mẽtis ardore in intima illa viſitatione/in intima viuificatione/modo ſupramũdano Raptus
laudare. Et multi ſanctorũ hanc viuificationẽ/raptũ vocãt: in quo homo extra ſe Extaſis.
& ſupra ſe viuit. alij extaſim hoc eſt exceſſũ: in quo õnis humanę vitæ & mortalis/iperfecta mors oſculi
agnouit ꝓpheta. alij mortẽ oſculi nuncupãt: de qua dicit̃/precioſa in cõſpectu dñi Pſal. 115.
mors ſãctorũ eius. ¶Quęq; a b̃tiſſimis patribus noſtris. ij ſũt ſancti ꝓphetę & apoſtoli. L
¶Ac pręterea ab eiſdẽ ſãctiſſimis viris. hoc eſt ipſe ſacer pater nõ modo appellat plena M
venerationis eloquia: ea quę ſancti ꝓphetę/apoſtoli/& euãgeliſtę ſcripta reliquere. ſed
& ea ex animo in animũ & ore ad os(medio intercurrẽte vocali verbo)trãſfuſa: quę ſancti
pręceptores ſui Paulus & Hierotheus ab apoſtolis/& diuinis ſacrarũ ſcripturę ſanctę

intelligentiarũ participationibus didicerunt. quę quidẽ nec scripta erãt/neq; adhuc scri
pta sunt. ¶ Et ipsi quoq; sanctissimi principes nostri dum sacra publice agenda institue-
N runt. Sanctissimi principes nostri: apostoli. Sacra: sacramenta/ vt baptismũ/synaxim/&
reliqua. quæ dum in publicum agenda instituerunt(spiritu sancto illis suggerente õnia)
sacratissimã a rudibus & indignis: sanctis signis sed occultis/velauerunt intelligẽtiam.
¶ Neq; omniũ scientia est: vt sacra testantur eloquia. Id supra cap. secũdo cœlestis hie-
O rarchię ex testimonio Pauli epistola ad Corinthios prima cap. octauo adductum est: sed
non in õnibus est scientia. ¶ Iuxta quod sacræ diffiniunt leges. Mattheus cap. septimo.
P Nolite sanctũ dare canibus/neq; mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos: ne forte con-
culcent eas pedibus suis/ & canes conuersi disrumpant vos.

¶ PRIMI CAPITIS libri de ecclesiastica hierarchia: cõmentarius ad litteram.

Quid in hoc opere proponit determinare: ad Timotheũ verba faciẽs 1
sacer Dionysius/ primũ aperit. dicens ꝙ instituit hoc libro demõstra-
re ex spirituali sacrarum litterarũ intelligentia/sensuq; sacratiore: illis
qui doctrinę spiritualis cognitionẽ ex ecclesiasticis mysterijs & sacer-
dotalibus traditionibus perceperũt. ꝙ sacerdotalis muneris functio/
admodũ excellẽtis est & diuinitus traditæ operationis & pfectiõis: ꝙꝗ
ecclesiastica hierarchia diuinas habet & apprime dignas/quibus deũ
imitetur/ actiones. ¶ Monet deinde diligentius Timotheum: ne hæc sacra diuinarum 2
rerũ mysteria passim diuulget/aut prophanorũ oculis violanda exponat. Sed reuerea-
tur ea potius & honoret: spirituali & vulgo occulta intelligentia/atq; eadem illabefacta
cõseruet. nequaq̃ illa prophanę multitudini & vulgaribus cõmunicans/sed solis ad dei
cultum sanctificatis & exercitatos habentibus sensus: sacrorũ mysteriorũ cognitionem
reserans. Quod exemplo ipsius domini nostri & filij dei faciendum cõprobat. Sic enim
(inquit) quẽadmodum sacra scriptura nobis testificatur: ipse IHESVS CHRISTVS
dei filius omni substantia longe præcellentior/ & omnis hierarchiæ cum ecclesiasticæ
tum cœlestis/ omnis item purgationis ac deiformis actionis author & causa/ eximiaq;
virtus: ipsis cœlestibus spiritibus(qui nos multo naturæ dignitate transcendunt) clarius
& spiritualiore lucet radio. quãdoquidem nõ per velamina aut signa vt nobis: sed nude
ac aperte diuinam illis lucem vbertim infundit/ & eos quantũ capere possunt ad suæ di
uinæ lucis attrahit consortium. Idem quoq; dñs noster humanos motus/varios quidem
& instabiles/ colligit in vnum & conuoluit: per amorem rerum honestarum/ desuper
cordibus nostris iniectum. quo in eũ toti intendimus/cõuertimurq; studiosius in ipsum:
cum proprium sit amoris/amantem ad amatum rapere ac inflectere. Et hoc pacto ex
diuidua vita in vnam nos perficit vitam: ex humana in diuinã/ex multiplicitate in sim-
plicitatem/ex inconstantia ad firmitatem/& ex motu in stabilitatem/diuinę imitationis 3
ratione adducit. ¶ Insuper idem dei filius/statu & functione perfectissima nos homines
honorat: scilicet sacerdotalis officij dignitate ac virtute. per quã dũ ad sacerdotale exe-
quendum officium homines se accingunt: cœlestibus substantijs ministeriorum officio
assimilationeq; propinquãt/dum pro viribus illarũ constantiã ac firmitatem imitantur.
Cum vero angelicæ stabilitatis & virtutis similitudinẽ homines fuerint sacerdotali mu-
nere assecuti: tum demum ad sacratissimum & diuinum IHESV CHRISTI radium/
aciem mentis fixius intendunt/ad illius aspirãtes cõsortium. Et digna cum veneratione
ea contuentes/quæ diuina dignatione videre permittuntur: edoctiq; fulgore diuini lu-
minis eorum mentibus irradiantis/quidnam mysterij contineãt ea sacratiorisq; sciẽtiæ/
quæ ipsi interiore mentis obtutu perspexerint: purgati & purgãtes/illuminati & illumi-
nantes/perfecti & perficientes euadere tandẽ poterũt/deoq; propemodũ similes fieri.
¶ Quid autem in pręcedẽte libro de cœlesti hierarchia determinauerit: paucis deinde 4
refert. Quænam (inquit) sit postrema cœlestium spirituum distinctio in tris ordines di-
gesta/quæ media tribus itidem ordinibus integrata/& demum quæ suprema: tres etiã
ordines cõplexa/thronos & duas reliquas illis æquales cœlitum substantias (quas deo
proxime adesse/sacra scriptura nos edocet: cherubim illas & seraphim/hebraica lingua
vocans) in libro de sacratissimorũ spirituũ distinctionibus/partitionibus ac ordinibus/a
nobis (ait) conscripto/dictũ est. In quo etsi non pro tantæ rei dignitate: quantum tamen
intelligere potuimus/& sacra scriptura nobis materiã subministrare/suggerereq; digna-
ta est: ipsam diuinorũ spirituũ beatissimã functionẽ celebrare/& prędicare laborauimus.

5 ❡Deinceps cœleſtis hierarchiæ & eccleſiaſticæ conuenientiam affert. dicens vtramq;
vnã & eandem habere per omne ſuum officium intentionem. vt quẽadmodum ſupremi
cœleſtes ſpiritus primũ perficiuntur: deinde proximos inferiores ad dei conſortium
euehunt/& hi alios ſequẽtes ſimili promouẽt modo. Ita pontifex in ſacerdotali functione
pro ſuo captu/gradu & ordine: primo perficiatur in rebus diuinis/atq; in dei trãſeat
ſimilitudinem. Deinde inferioribus & proxime ſubditis gradibus idem tradat diuinæ ſocietatis
habendæ munus: cuius participatione ipſe primus euaſit in deũ. Subiecti autẽ
& poſteriores: obedienter ſequãtur eos qui præſtantiores in hac humana hierarchia habentur.
& illi ſuperioribus ſubiecti: etiã alios minores in altiora prouehãt. Rurſum hi minores
toto ſtudio ad ſublimiora aſpirantes: etiã alijs adhuc inferioribus ad deum prouehendis
duces ſe præbeant. & ita per hunc pulcherrimũ & congruentiſſimũ ordinem/ſinguli
pro ſuo captu & gradu: ipſius dei/qui vere pulcher/ſapiens & bonus eſt/participes
fiant. Quẽadmodum ſi in ardui montis aſcenſu/ſuperiore cõſtituti loco ſub ſe poſitis ordinatim
manus porrigant/quiſq; ſibi proximo: vt omnes demũ in montis cacumen euadant.
6 ❡Poſtea differentiam aſſignat inter cœleſtem & eccleſiaſticam hierarchiam. Primo
ſiquidẽ differũt. ꝙ angelicæ ſubſtantiæ (quarum ſuperiore libro facta eſt determinatio)
& incorporeæ ſunt & intellectuales/ipſarumq; diſtinctio: iſto mundo lõge eſt ſublimior.
Eccleſiaſtica vero & ſacerdotalis functio/cernitur diuerſitate ſenſibilium ſignorũ
õnino fieri multiplex & multiformis: per quæ quidẽ ſigna ſpiritualiter reſerata/ad vnicũ
illũ ſtatum & ſimplicem quo deiformes efficimur/demũ prouehimur. Secũdo ab inuicem
diſcrepant hæ duæ hierarchię. ꝙ angelicę ſubſtantię quia ſpirituales ſunt & intellectuales:
deũ ipſum clare & nude vident/quantum ipſis fas eſt. non enim immenſitatẽ
eius compręhẽdere poſſunt. Nos autẽ homines viſibilibus formis & figuris ad diuinarum
rerũ intelligentias/q̃diu in hac humana functione verſamur/conſcendimus: diuinum
quidẽ radiũ varietate imaginũ adopertum duntaxat contuentes. Nempe vnum
eſt & vere vnum: quod omnes rationales potiſſimum ſubſtantię/vnius ſpeciem atq; ſignaculum
in ſe impreſſum oſtendentes/appetunt. Verũ non vno eodemq; modo omnes/
illius quod ſumme vnũ & maxime idem eſt/participationẽ aſſequuntur: ſed vt vnicuiq;
pro conditione ſua mẽſuram & captũ diuina prouidentia & diſpenſatio diſtribuit.
Nẽpe quę ipſi maxime vni ſunt propinquiora: plenius illi participant/vt cœleſtia agmina.
quę vero diſtantiora: minus/vt homines. Hęc autẽ in libro de ſenſibilibus & intelligibilibus
7 beatiſſimi patris: latius pertractata ſunt. ❡Quid vero nũc ſit determinaturus/
oſtendit: dicens ſe aggredi velle imprimis ſacerdotalis ordinis explanationẽ/& quænã
ſit eiꝰ prima cauſa ac author ꝑcipuus ex quo ſubſiſtit. Porro IHESVM CHRISTVM
verum deũ & dei filiũ/primo inuocãdum pie & religioſe admonet: vt miniſtret verbum
veritatis huic negocio. quoniã omnis hierarchiæ & cœleſtis & terreſtris: ipſe princeps
8 eſt/initiũ & finis. ❡Cæterum quid ſit hierarchia in generali ſua ratione/vt tam cœleſtẽ
q̃ eccleſiaſticã complectatur: diffinit/ex apoſtolica diſciplina atq; inſtitutione illi tradita.
dicens eam eſſe omnimodã rationẽ atq; adminiſtrationẽ ſacrarũ actionũ illi ſubiectarũ:
vt purgationis/illuminationis & perfectionis/imitationis dei/aſſimilationis diuinæ/intentionis
in deũ & promotionis aliorum in deũ. Hæc enim ſeptem: ex tertio capite pręcedẽtis
libri colliguntur ad integram hierarchiæ rationẽ pertinere. Eſt itidẽ hierarchia/
generalis compræhenſio atq; cõplexio omniũ officiorum & munerũ: quæ ad ipſius attinent
functionem/ſiue vniuerſalis huiuſmodi compræhenſio ſacrarũ eius operationum.
Eccleſiaſtica vero hierarchia (de qua peculiaris hic ſuſcipitur determinatio) eſt munus
atq; functio continens omnia ſacra illius myſteria: omniũ ſcilicet ſacramentorũ eccleſiaſticorum
officia. per quod quidẽ munus/ipſe diuinus pontifex perfectus: erit particeps
eorũ omniũ ſacrorũ quæ ad ipſum pertinent & longe digniſſima ſunt/tanq̃ ſacerdotij
nomine/gradu & ordine inſignitus/honoratus & honeſtatus. Nẽpe ſicut nomine ſacerdotij/
omniũ ſimul ſacrorũ deſignatur ordo: ita nomine ſacerdotis ſiue pontificis/excellens
admodũ & propemodum diuinus inſinuatur vir: totius ſcientiæ rerũ eccleſiaſticarum
peritiſſimus/in quo omnis ſui ſacrati ordinis functio: & perfecta ſit/et perſpicue dinoſci
9 poſſit. ❡Quid autem ſit principium atq; cauſa primaria huius eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ:
nunc vt ante propoſuerat/adaperit. dicens beatiſſimã trinitatem (quæ eſt fons
vitę/bonitatis eſſentia/& vnica rerum omnium cauſa) eſſe initium atq; authorẽ huius
ſacrę functionis eccleſiaſticę. Ex qua quidem trinitate beatiſſima (quę ſola eſt bonitatis

Quid hierarchia.

Quid eccleſiaſtica hierarchia.

Cap.
I

totius causa)ōnia quę ſunt:& eſſe & bene eſſe acceperunt. Huius autem diuinę beatitu
dinis atq; deitatis/ vnius & trinę: vnius in eſſētia/ trinę in perſonis. cui soli: ipſum eſſe/
vere ineſt/modo quidē nobis ignoto: ſed illi perſpectiſſimo. Nā ſolū habet eſſe ſine nō
eſſe: ſcilicet eſſe ęternum atq; perpetuū. Et illud eſſe non ab alio accepit vt creaturę: ſed
a ſe & ſua natura habet. Huius inquam ſummę diuinitatis volūtas: eſt ſalus cuiuſq; ra
1. timo. 2. tionalis ſubſtantię tam cœleſtis q̄ humanę. Vult enim omnes homines ſaluos fieri: & ad
agnitionē veritatis peruenire/& nichil petit niſi ſaluare. At vero huiuſmodi ſalus ęter
na non poteſt rationalibus ſubſtātiꝭs prouenire: niſi ij qui ſalutē accipiūt/ in deū trāſe-
ant per quandā conformitatē/atq; deiformes fiant. Ea autē in deū tranſitio fit: cū & ho
mines & angeli ſimiles illi efficiuntur/ atq; intime vniuntur. Porro omni ſacrę functio-
ni cū eccleſiaſticę tū cœleſti: hic finis eſt communis/qui per ſex deinde ſuo ordine expli
cata obtinetur ac habetur. Primum eſt intentiſſima dei/ſacrarūq; rerū dilectio: quę emi
nēter & vnialiter operatur/vniēs amatum amanti. Secundum eſt fuga diligētiſſima &
nunq̄ ad poſteriora ſe deflectens: eorū omniū quæ diuino amori repugnant. Et hęc fu-
ga pręcedit natura/dilectionem dei: ſicut propulſatio frigoris ſuſceptionem caloris/ aut
ęgritudinis depulſio inductionē ſanitatis. Tertiū eſt notio earum rerū quę ſūt atq; exi-
ſtunt/& qua parte ſunt: id eſt diuinā imitantur eſſentiam. Quippe qua parte eā nō imi-
tantur: vt mortalitate/corruptibilitate/peccantia/ignorantia & cæteris id genus: ea par-
te dicuntur potius nō eſſe/neq; horum notio perducit ad conſtitutū finem. Quartum eſt
ſanctæ veritatis diuinorū myſteriorū ſpeculatio atq; ſcientia. Quintum. diuina partici-
patio illius vnicæ & ſingularis perfectionis: qua in ipſum vnū per vniformitatem tranſi
tur. Sextum eſt beata illa refectio & alimonia: ex viſione atq; contēplatione ipſius vni-
us percepta. qua ſane refectione ſpiritualiter alitur & tranſit in deum: quiſquis in illam
viſionē vnius/intentam mentis aciem defigit. ¶ At vero q̄ differenti & vario modo cœ
leſtem et eccleſiaſticam hierarchiam deus conſtituit: ſubinde explicat. Ipſa(inquit)bea- 10
titudo diuina/quæ naturalis eſt deitas: non participatione ſuſcepta/& pręſtandę ratio-
nalibus ſubſtātiꝭs deitatis per participationē principiū & cauſa: ex qua accipiunt & ho-
mines & angeli qui illius participationem aſſequuntur/vt in deū tranſeant & diuinifor-
mes fiant. Ipſa inquam diuina beatitudo/ſolo ſuę bonitatis inſtinctu & nō ex meritis ſu-
ſcipiētium: ſacratę hierarchię munus ac functionē/in ſalutem omniū rationaliū ſubſtan-
tiarū & angelorum & hominum conſtituit. vt per huiuſmodi munus ac officiū: frueren-
tur omnes dei conſortio/perpetuoq; illi inhęrerent. Verū ipſis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus ipſa
diuina beatitudo tradidit hanc ſacrā functionem liquidius/ſyncęrius & intellectualius:
q̄ hominibus. Non enim ſupernas illas ſubſtantias deus extrariꝭs obiectis ciet neq; ab
extrinſeco mouet ad diuina: quemadmodum ipſos homines ſignis & ſpectris exteriori-
bus. Sed angelicæ ſubſtantiæ intellectualiter & interius in ſuarū mētium penetralibus/
diuinæ voluntatis beneplacitum diſcunt: per intimum puriſſimę lucis diuinę cādorem/

Quid hie
rarchia.

illis irradiātem. Quod autem illis cœleſtibus ſubſtantiꝭs vnice & collectim eſt traditum:
nobis hominibus ex ſacris litteris in ſignorum materialiū multitudine ac varietate pręſ
ſtatur. Fundamētum enim & baſis noſtrę ſacerdotalis functionis: eſt ſcriptura ſacra/re-
uelāte ſpiritu ſancto nobis diuinitus indulta. Cęterum ſancta dicūtur eloquia inſigni ve
neratione digna: quęcunq; a ſanctiſſimis prophetis/apoſtolis & viris apoſtolicis(a qui-
bus ſacrorum myſteriorum emanauit inſtitutio)in canonicis & ſanctę ſcripturę tradita
ſunt libris. inſuper & ea/quę ſancti pręceptores ac apoſtolicorum virorum inſtitutores

Quid eccle
ſiaſtica hie
rarchia.

ab ipſis ſanctiſſimis apoſtolis didicerunt: ſublimiore quadam & auguſtiore ſcientia/ &
ipſi hierarchiæ angelicæ admodum propinqua ac propemodū cœleſti. Quæ quidem lit
terarū monumentis non ſunt mandata: ſed ex animo docentis in animum diſcentis trāſ
fuſa/ipſius verbi corporaliter prolati miniſterio ac officio. quod tamen verbum carna-
lem longe tranſcendit ſenſum & litterā: ſpiritualem infundens animo & viuificam intel
ligentiam. Ipſi itidem ſacratiſſimi diuinorum myſteriorum antiſtites/apoſtoli inquam &
eorū aſſectatores/dum ſacra eccleſiaſtica publice peragenda conſtituerunt: non aperta
& omnibus patente intelligentia/perceptioneq; illa tradiderunt/ ſed ſignis quibuſdam
ſacratioribus obuelata atq; inuoluta. Non enim omnis homo ſanctimoniam habet/ vt il
la digne percipiat: neq; omnes callent illam diuinarum rerum ſcientiam/quæ ad huiuſ-
modi ſacra rite intelligenda efflagitatur. Itaq; prudenter & prouide/illi primi eccleſia-
ſticę hierarchiæ duces ac pręſides: cū ex ſūma deitate/ipſius ſacrę functionis munus ac-

cepiſſēt/& idipſum munus depromere alijs ac promulgare miſſi eſſent/ & iccirco ipſi vt
in deū trāſierant ita ſequentes prouehere ad diuina ſtudioſe anniterētur: materialibus
ſignis diuina eccleſiaſticæ functionis ſacramēta contexerunt/ atq; quod vnicum eſt &
in ſimplicitate collectū ſpirituale myſterium: varietate & multitudine formarum viſibilium
tradiderunt. Iidē quoq; in humanis imaginibus res diuinas deſcripſerunt/figuriſq;
ſenſibilibus ſpiritualium rerum altitudinem. Deniq; ſumma illa & eminentiſſima myſteria
communicauerunt nobis per ſacras ſuas conſtitutiones atq; traditiones partim quidē
ſcriptas partim vero nō ſcriptas(queādmodū ſacræ ſcripturæ diffinit præceptio: prohibēs
ſanctū canibus dare)ſed & in ijs quidē imaginibus & ſignis: quæ nobis familiaria Matth. 7.
ſunt & domeſtica. Et id ſane nō ſolū prophanę multitudinis a ſacris arcendæ cauſa: cui
non fas eſt etiam ipſa ſacra attrectare. ſed etiam eam ob cauſam ꝙ ſacratiſſima ſacerdotalis
functio/eccleſiaſticaq; hierarchia omnino ſignificatiua eſt ſpiritualiū myſteriorum
per ſigna corporalia: ſecundum noſtræ capacitatis modum/ & idiget viſibilibus figuris
ac formis. quibus tanq̃ gradibus quibuſdā & auxilijs/per aſcenſum atq; aſſurrectionem
ſubuehamur ad ſacratiorem tantorum myſteriorum intelligētiam. quemadmodū diffuſius
11 in primo & ſecundo præcedentis libri capite dictū eſt. ¶ Huiuſmodi tamen ſignorū
materialium ſignificationes nequaq̃ incognitæ ſunt aut ignotæ ipſis ſacris pontificibus/
quinīmo eas exactiſſime callent. nō tamē illas efferre & expromere poſſunt illis/ qui adhuc
prima fidei catholicæ rudimenta edocentur: ꝙ non ſint adhuc illorū capaces/ neq;
digni quibus tam alta cōmunicentur myſteria. Sciūt enim ipſi ſacratiſſimi pontifices rationē
huiuſcemodi ſignorū: tanq̃ ij qui de ſacroſanctis illis myſterijs a deo edocti/ leges
quomodo ſint peragenda dederunt/& qui ipſam functionem eccleſiaſticā primitus inſtituerunt
certis quibuſdam ordinibus: ſine confuſione atq; admixtione conſtantiſſimis
atq; determinatiſſimis/decernentes cum ſingulari prouidentia ac ratione: quid cuiq; officij
12 & muneris pro merito & captu ſuo diſtribui debuerit ac diſpenſari. ¶ Demū admonet
deo dignū Timotheum ſacratiſſimus pater: vt ſuæ pollicitationis memor/excellentiſſimā
ſacerdotalis functionis rationem & explicationē hic conſcriptam nemini communicet:
niſi auguſtiſſimis pontificibus æquali præſulatus gradu inſignitis. quibus contrectare
ſacra/ſecretiuſq; cognoſcere: a deo inſtitutū eſt. Hortatur item Timotheū ꝙ ipſos
ſacrorum antiſtites/pontificia authoritate ſua commonefaciat: vt mundi ac puri/ſancta
ac munda attrectent ſacra/memores illius verbi prophetici. mundamini: qui fertis vaſa Eſa. 52.
domini. vt etiam diuina illa myſteria: ſolis communicent per doctrinā viris diuinis/eadē
perfecta: viris cōſummatis & alios perficere ſufficientibus/ atq; ſanctiſſima ſacra: viris itidem
ſanctiſſimis. Deniq; ſuo ipſius exēplo hæc facienda cōmonet ſacratus pater: ꝙ ipſe
ſancto Timotheo ſicut reliquorum ſacrorū myſteriorum(quemadmodū cœleſtis hierarchiæ
arcana & diuinorum nominum altiſſimas rationes)ita & huius diuini muneris/ reſerationis
ſcilicet ipſius eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ conſortium tradidit. vt ipſe ſimili modo
alijs/eiuſdem ſacræ diſciplinæ communicet notionem & intelligentiam. At ſicut ipſe
pontifici non autem in gradu inferiore conſtitutis tradidit: ita ſtudeat Timotheus eadē
ſacra ſolis pontificibus tradere.

¶ De ijs quæ in illuminatione baptiſmatis fiunt. Cap. II. pars I.

13 DIximus itaq; rite ac pie(q̃tum ſentio) noſtram hāc functionē
hoc intēdere/hoc agere: vt ſimiles deo pro viribus efficiamur/
ipſiq; iungamur. Hoc autem ita demum potiemur: ſi
(vt diuinis monemur eloquijs) auguſtiſſima dei mandata Q
diligamus atq; operemur. Seruabit enim(inquit) ſermonē
meū is qui diligit me: & pater meus diliget eum/& ad eum
14 veniemus/& manſionem apud eum faciemus. ¶ Quod igitur initium eſt: R
reuerendiſſima dei mandata peragendi: Quod animales habitus noſtros:
ad alia ſuſcipienda ſacrata eloquia & opera cōmodiſſime format. quod nobis
vt ad cœleſtia præmia ſubuehamur: viam ſternit. & ſacratiſſimæ ac penitus
diuinæ regenerationis noſtræ traditio. Vt enim dux ille & præceptor S
noſter eximius ait: primus animi ad diuina motus/ dei dilectio eſt. Porro

Cap.
2
prsa
1

ſacræ dilectionis ad diuina mandata facienda principalis omnino progreſſus/
T eſt ſecretiſſima illa & ineffabilis prorſus operatio: qua diuinus in nobis
ſtatus efficitur. Si enim diuinus hic ſtatus/ diuina natiuitas eſt: nunq̄ ille
aliquid ſciet ex ijs quæ a deo tradita ſunt/ neqꝫ operabitur/ qui neqꝫ diuinū
hunc ſtatum conſecutus eſt. An vero nobis quoqꝫ ipſis/ non dicimus prius
eſſe neceſſarium humanæ vitæ ſtatum: vt ſic demū humana poſſimus operari?
Quippe quod non eſt: id neqꝫ motū vllū/ neqꝫ ſubſtantiam omnino
habet. quod autē quoquo pacto eſt: ea ſolum & agit & patitur/ quæ ſubſtātiæ/
ſtatuſqꝫ ſui ſunt. Verum id quidē reor: perſpicuū eſt. Iā vero diuina ſanctæ
regenerationis cōtēplemur ſigna. Et michi nemo ꝓphanus obſtrepat/
nullus qui rudimentis cœleſtibus careat: pergat ad videndū. Nam neqꝫ infirmis
pupillis aduerſam ſolaribus radijs aciem intendere/ tutum eſt: ita ne
V nobis quidē ea quæ ſupra nos ſunt tentare velle/ innocuū fuerit. Siquidē vera
Ozias. legalis/ ſanctaqꝫ inſtitutio: Oziam quidem ꝙ ſibi ſacerdotale munus aſ-
Chore. ſumeret/ Chore autē ꝙ celſiora ſeſe ſacroſancta munera vſurpare præſu-
Nadab. Abiud. meret/ Nadab vero & Abiud ꝙ ſuo munere indigne abuterentur: abiecit/
repulit/ perdidit.

Q ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Si (vt diuinis monemur eloquijs) auguſtiſſima
dei mandata diligamus/ atqꝫ operemur. Ioannes cap. decimoquarto. Si quis diligit me/
ſermonem meū ſeruabit: & pater meus diliget eum/ & ad eum veniemus/ & manſionē
R apud eum faciemus. ¶Quod igitur initium eſt reuerendiſſima dei mandata peragēdi?
Tria ad mādata dei ꝑagenda. Tria ponit ſacratiſſimus pater. Primum eſt regeneratio diuini baptiſmatis/ ex qua procedit
dei dilectio: quæ eſt primus ad diuina motus. Secundū eſt id quod noſtros animales
habitus diſponit ad ſacra eloquia/ & diuina opera ſuſcipiēda. Et tertium ſancta anagoge:
qua ad vitam ſupramundanā cognoſcendam ſubuehimur. Et hæc tria/ paulo alio
S ordine a beatiſſimo patre tanguntur: ſed intelligētia non leditur. ¶Vt enim dux ille &
præceptor noſter. Paulū intelligit/ qui & ſecunda ad Timotheū epiſtola cap. primo ſcribit.
Non enim dedit nobis deus ſpiritū timoris: ſed virtutis & dilectionis. Et paulo poſt.
Formam habe ſanorū verborum/ quæ a me audiſti: in fide & dilectionè in CHRISTO
IHESV. Alij diuinū Hierotheum intelligunt/ qui doctus a Paulo ſanctū docuerat pa-
T trem: quod idē valuerit. ¶Qua diuinus in nobis ſtatus efficitur. Vnde in nobis duplex
Duplex generatio. eſt generatio. Prima eſt humana/ naturalis et mundana: ex voluntate carnis & voluntate
viri. quę eſt primus noſter in hoc mundo ſtatus/ ſi in eo dici meretur ſtatus: in quo cōtinue
agitamur. ſecundū quam: mundum & quæ illius ſunt diligimus/ & opera eius facimus.
Secunda eſt ſuperhumana/ ſpiritualis & diuina: ex aqua & ſpiritu. qua neqꝫ ex voluntate
carnis/ neqꝫ ex voluntate viri: ſed ex deo naſcimur. ſecundum quā in nobis diuinus
efficitur ſtatus/ & dei dilectio. Et merito quidem. Nam ſi ex mundana amor nobis
ingignitur mundanus: ex diuina profecto ingignetur & diuinus. Et ex humana/ naturali
& mundana ad diuinam proceditur: vt in operibus naturæ ab imperfecto ad perfectū
progreſſio fieri ſolet. Et analogiā diuinus proſequitur pater: in ijs quæ ſuo cōducere vi-
V dentur propoſito. ¶Siquidē vera legalis/ ſanctaqꝫ inſtitutio. In legali inſtitutione Moſaica/
Ozias rex Iuda: quia ſancta ſuperbe tangere præſumeret/ ſubito lepra tactus diuinam
in ſe vindicē expertus eſt iram. Et Chore/ Dathan & Abiron/ ꝙ ſuperbia ſe dignos
Ozias. extimarent ad thura offerēda: terra viuos abſorpſit. Nadab vero & Abiud filios Aaron/
thuribulis ignē vltra mandatum imponētes: vltrix flamma conſumpſit. De Ozia. Secū-
dus paralipomenon cap. viceſimoſexto. Iratuſqꝫ Ozias & tenēs in manu thuribulum vt
adoleret incenſum: minabatur ſacerdotibus. Statimqꝫ orta eſt lepra in frōte eius coram
ſacerdotibus: in domo domini ſuper altare thymiamatis. Cumqꝫ reſpexiſſet eū Azarias
pontifex & omnes reliqui ſacerdotes/ viderunt lepram in fronte eius: & feſtinato expu-
lerūt eum. Sed & ipſe perterritus accelerauit egredi: eo ꝙ ſenſiſſet ilico plagā domini.
Fuit igitur Ozias leproſus vſqꝫ ad diem mortis ſuę: & habitauit in domo ſeparata plenus

lepra/ob quam eiectus fuerat de domo domini. De Chore/Dathan & Abiron: Numeri Chore.
cap. decimoſexto. Cumq; ſtetiſſent aduerſum Moſem & Aaron: dixerūt. Sufficiat vobis/ Dathan.
quia omnis multitudo ſanctorū eſt: & in ipſis eſt dominus. Et Moſes. Tollat vnuſquiſq; Abiron.
thuribula ſua tu Chore & omne concilium tuum: & hauſto cras igne ponite deſuper
thymiama coram domino: & quemcunq; elegerit/ipſe erit ſanctus. Et deus ad Moſem.
Præcipe vniuerſo populo: vt ſeparetur a tabernaculis Dathan & Abiron. Et diruta eſt
terra ſub pedibus eorum: & aperiendo os ſuum deuorauit illos cum tabernaculis ſuis
& vniuerſa ſubſtantia eorum. deſcenderuntq; viui in infernum operti humo: & perierūt
de medio multitudinis. De Nadab vero & Abiud: Leuiticus cap. decimo. Arreptiſq; Nadab.
Nadab & Abiud thuribulis impoſuerunt ignē & incenſum deſuper: offerentes corā domino Abiud.
ignem alienum/quod eis præceptum non erat. Egreſſuſq; ignis a domino: deuorauit
eos/& mortui ſunt coram domino.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS SECVNDI CAPITIS cōmentarius ad litteram.

13 Viam aperit & modum hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius: quo ad ipſius eccleſiaſticæ
hierarchiæ præcipuum finē deueniatur. Siquidē vt ante eſt dictum/
præcipua ipſius ſacerdotalis functionis intentio eſt: vt nos homines
deo ſimiles efficiamur/ipſiq; intime commungamur. hoc autem/ſcilicet
dei ſimilitudinem & vnionem cum eo/potiſſimum aſſequemur: ſi
ſacratiſſima dei mandata diligamus & exequamur/ quandoquidem
ſumma veritas apud Ioannē dicit. Si quis diligit me: ſermonē meum Ioan. 14.
ſeruabit. & pater meus diliget eum: et ad eum veniemus/& manſionem apud eū faciemus.
14 Et rurſum eodem loco. Si diligitis me: mandata mea ſeruate. ¶ Inquirit deinde qđ
eſt principium ſiue exordium: ſanctiſſima dei mandata peragendi. Reſpondet autē hæc
tria potiſſimum conducere ad illud. Primo idipſum (quodcunq; tandē id eſt) quod irrationales
affectus noſtros ad amplectenda diuina eloquia & opera bona recte diſponit:
ab affectuum noſtrorū pronitate ad malum omnino aliena. Planū enim eſt omnibus/cōcupiſcentias
noſtras carnales procliues eſſe ad prauum: & propenſius inclinari ad ea
quæ carni & ſanguini ſunt amica/ deo autem inimica. Illud igitur quod eas coercet ab
huiuſmodi procliuitate ad voluptatē (exēpli cauſa/amor dei & gratia: ſimul cum exercitio
& ſtudio boni operis) maxime in nobis initiū eſt & inchoatio: diuina implendi mandata.
Secundū eſt/illud ipſum quod nobis viam ſternit & præparat adiumentum: quo
ad cœleſtia præmia & futuræ vitæ bona ſperanda & deſideranda aſſurgamus & aſpiremus.
Nempe cum nobis ſuggeritur ſpes obtinendi potiora (q̄ hic mundus habet) bona
in altera vita/illorumq; aſſequēdorū accendimur deſiderio ac amore: id mirifice nos inducit
ad mandata dei opere cōplenda. Tertiū eſt ſacratiſſimæ regenerationis (quæ ex
aqua fit & ſpiritu) nobis facta traditio. Et id tertium: ianua eſt & itroitus quo ad alia duo
iam dicta præparemur & diſponamur/& ergo ab hoc inchoandū eſt. Vt enim beatiſſimus
ait Paulus/diuini patris præceptor egregiꝰ/primus animi ad diuina motus: dei dilectio
eſt. qua ſuccenſus calcatis & ſub ſe relictis terrenis: mouetur ocyus & fertur/ignis
inſtar/ad ſuperna. Cæterum principalis proceſſus/ inchoatio & inductio ſacræ dei dilectionis
ad diuina mandata peragenda/eſt illa occultiſſima & verbis inexplicabilis operatio:
per quam diuinæ in nobis vitæ conditio efficitur/ vtpote ſpiritualis regeneratio:
qua anima humana in deo renaſcitur per baptiſmum. Cum enim diuinus hic ſtatus viuendiq;
modus ſit diuina natiuitas/quicunq; diuinum hunc ſtatum et hanc nouā vitæ
conditionem nō fuerit conſecutus: nunq̄ aliquid efficaciter ſciet eorum quæ a deo mandata
ſunt/ neq; illa operabitur. Quare ex oppoſito vt quis ſciat vtiliter dei mandata &
ea operetur: diuinam natiuitatem et ſtatum iam fuerit conſecutus/oportet. Nempe nobis
ipſis neceſſaria eſt omniū confeſſione humana natiuitas ſecundū carnem/& humanæ
vitę ſtatus: vt humana opera atq; naturalia poſſimus operari. Quod enim omnino
non eſt: id neq; motum vllū neq; operationem aut ſubſtantiā habet/cum actio et motus
requirant rei exiſtentiam. Et id ipſum quod aliquo modo eſt/et particulare aliquod exiſtendi
genus eſt aſſecutum: ea ſolum agit et patitur quæ ſui ſunt ſtatus/cōditionis et naturæ.
vt leo ea facit opera quæ leonis naturæ competunt: et ignis/quæ igneæ. Verū hęc
ſtatim dilucida ſunt. et nunc ad contemplanda diuinæ regenerationis viſibilia ſigna ꝓgrediendum.
¶ Admonet deniq; ſacratiſſimus pater: ne prophani et ſacrę fidei expertes
hęc ludibrio habeant aut ſubſannēt. et qui catholicæ profeſſionis carent rudimentis:

non ſe temere ingerant ad contuenda hæc ſacra ſpectacula/ꝙ minus idonei ſunt ad ca-
pienda hæc ardua myſteria. Quoniam ſicut imbecilles oculi leduntur potius q̃ iuuen-
tur/obtūduntur & hebeſcunt/ſi aciem ſuam intendere velint in ſolare iubar: ita neq; ho
minibus id cedet in bonū ſed nocumentum graue inferet/ſi tentauerint ea facere quæ
ſupra ſuū ſunt munus & officiū. Quod triplici ſacræ ſcripturæ comprobat exemplo. Pri
2.para.26 mo Oziæ regis Iuda: qui lepra ſubito percuſſus eſt a domino/ꝙ ſacerdotale ſibi arroga-
re vellet officium atq; adolere incenſum. Secundo ipſius Chore & conſectatorum eius:
Nume.16. qui diuina vltione viui abſorpti ſunt a terra/ꝙ vellēt ſua ambitione vſurpare ſibi ſacer-
Leui.10. dotium. Tertio. duorum filiorum Aaron ſcilicet Nadab & Abiud/qui percuſſi a domino
repente mortui ſunt: ꝙ contra domini inſtitutum/ignem alienū thuribulis imponerēt.

¶ Myſterium illuminationis ſiue baptiſmatis. Cap. II. pars II.

ITaqꝫ pontifex quidē in dies ad dei ſimilitudinē omnes ho- 15
mines ſaluos fieri cupiens/ & ad agnitionem venire verita-
tis: prædicat omnibus vera profecto euangelia. annuncians
deum cum ſit mortalibus ex propria/ & naturali bonitate
propicius: ipſū eximiæ benignitatis gratia/ ad noſtra infir
ma deſcēdere dignatū eſſe. noſqꝫ ſibi iungendo atqꝫ inſeren
do ignis inſtar: quos iunxerit/ iuxta ſingulorum propoſitū atqꝫ aptitudinē
X ſibi ſimiles facere. Quotquot enī receperūt eū/dedit eis poteſtatē filios dei
fieri: ijs qui credunt in nomine eius. qui non ex ſanguinibus/ neqꝫ ex volun-
tate carnis/neqꝫ ex voluntate viri: ſed ex deo nati ſunt. Porro qui tam ſubli
miū ac tam cœleſtiū munerum ſacro fuerit deſiderio & amore captus: acce
dit ad aliquē ex fideliū numero/oratqꝫ vt ſe ad pontificē ducat: ſecuturum
ōnia quæqꝫ ſibi tradētur/penitus atqꝫ ex toto animo ſpondens. precaturqꝫ
tū vt ſe adducat: tū vt reliquæ deinceps regendæ vitæ ſuæ ſuſcipiat curam.
Illū (etſi ſalutis eius ſacro amore ſuccenditur) celſitudinē tamen rei/ huma-
namqꝫ infirmitatē metientē: continuo horror & anguſtia difficultatis inua
dit. poſtremo tamen facturū quod ille poſtulat/ benigniſſime pollicetur: aſ-
Y ſumenſqꝫ hominē/ad pontificē ducit. Ille magna cū lętitia (non ſecus q̃ ouē
perditā in humeris) virū ſuſcipiens: primū quidē ſecretius ex corde gratias
agit. tum in orantis quoqꝫ habitum ſternitur: adoratqꝫ ſupplex/atqꝫ vene-
ratur ſummum illud beneficūqꝫ principium: a quo & vocanda vocantur/
& ſaluanda ſaluantur. Deinde ſacros omnes gradus vt ſibi cooperentur/
ac pro ſalute viri ſimul congaudeant/agantqꝫ diuinæ clementiæ gratias: in
ſanctā eccleſiā cogit. Atqꝫ initio quidem hymnū aliquem ſacris libris inſer
tū: ſimul cum omnibus eccleſiæ ordinibus canit. Poſt hæc deoſculatis ſan-
ctis altaribus/ad virum aſtantem proficiſcitur: percōtaturqꝫ ab eo quidnā
volens eo venerit. Illo autem (iuxta quod a ſuſceptore ſuo fuerat edoctus)
impietatem/& veri boni ignorantiam accuſante/ac diuinæ vitæ opere tam
diu ſe fuiſſe deſtitutum ingemiſcente/atqꝫ orante vt eius ſacratiſſimo mune
re ac prece: deo diuiniſqꝫ myſterijs frui mereatur: cōteſtatur ei oportere ex
integro totoqꝫ corde accedere ad deum/per cuncta perfectum/ & immacu
latum. Tum diuinæ quoqꝫ conuerſationis ac vitæ/illi explicans rationem:
an ita velit deinceps viuere/ſciſcitatur. Quod vbi ille pollicitus fuerit: impo-
nit eius capiti manū. conſignanſqꝫ illum ſacerdotibus: mandat vt virū/ſuſce

ptorēqꝫ deſcribāt. Poſtea vero q̃ illi deſcripſere: ſacrā effundit precē. quam
cum omnis ſecum eccleſia terminauerit: diſcingit quidē ipſum/ ac miniſtro-
rum manibus exuit. Deinde occidentem verſus illum ſtatuens: intenden-
tem/ manuſqꝫ impingentem ad eandē regionē conuerſas/ inſufflare illū ter
ſathanā iubet: ac præterea abrenunciationem profiteri. Et cum poſt trinam
abrenunciationis conteſtationem tertio ſe ille abrenūciare profeſſus fuerit:
ad orientem illum traducit. aſpicientemqꝫ in cœlū/ atqꝫ intendentē manus:
CHRISTO/ ſacriſqꝫ omnibus diuinitus traditis conſentire iubet. Poſtq̃
vero & hoc ille fecerit: rurſus ter illū profiteri monet. Trina vero ea cōfeſſio-
ne peracta: rurſus ille orans benedicit/ eiqꝫ manus imponit. Et cum illū mi-
niſtri perfecte exuerint: deferunt ſacerdotes ſanctū vnctionis oleū. At vero
pontifex trino crucis ſanctæ ſignaculo vnctionē inchoans: inungendū iam
ſacerdotibus toto corpore hominem tradit. Ipſe ad adoptionis matrē pro-
ficiſcitur: eiuſqꝫ aquas ſancta prece & inuocatione ſanctificans/ terqꝫ in eas
ad crucis effigiem ſanctiſſimum fundens vnguentum/ illaſqꝫ hoc ritu perfi-
ciens: terqꝫ ad numerū ſacræ effuſionis/ carmen (quod prophetæ deo pleni/
diuinituſqꝫ afflati cecinere) pronuncians/ ſemel ſcilicet per ſingulos ſancti
vnguinis iactus: iubet afferri hominē. Et cum illum/ eiuſqꝫ ſuſceptorē quiſ-
pia ſacerdotum ex deſcriptione/ celſa voce prædicauerit: ille quidem a ſa-
cerdotibus ſe tenentibus in aquam ducitur ad pontificis manum. Pontifex
autem ſuperne aſtans (cum rurſus ſuper aquas ſub pontificis manu ſacer-
dotes/ eius qui initiatur inclamauerint nomen) ter illum aquis immergit.
hac trina illius merſione/ & emerſiōe: tres beatitudinis diuinæ perſonas in-
clamans. Aſſumentes autē illum ſacerdotes: ſuſceptori/ ſuiqꝫ acceſſus du-
ci conſignant. & vna cum ipſo illum/ veſtem/ baptiſati mūdiciæ congruam
induunt: ſicqꝫ indutum/ rurſus ad pontificem ducunt. Ille diuino ac deifico
prorſus vnguento virū ſignans: ſacratiſſimæ communionis participem fa-
16 cit. ¶His ita peractis exteriori ex munere/ ſuoqꝫ ad ſequentia & ſecunda Z
progreſſu: rurſus præſul ad prima & potiora ſpeculanda ſuſtollitur. vt qui
nullo tempore/ nullo modo/ ad aliena vlla q̃ ſola ad munera ſua conuerti-
tur: ſed a diuinis ad diuina continenter ac ſemper diuino ſpiritu/ diuinaqꝫ
ratione transfertur.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Quotquot enim receperunt eū. Id ſatis cognitū X
eſt ex Ioannis cap. primo eſſe deſumptum. Quemadmodū & id ſupra: pontificē omnes
homines ſaluos fieri cupere/ ad dei ſimilitudinem: ex Paulo epiſtola ad Timotheū pri-
ma cap. ſecundo. Hoc enim bonum eſt & acceptum coram ſaluatore noſtro/ deo: qui om
nes homines vult ſaluos fieri/ & ad agnitionem venire veritatis. ¶Ille magna cum læ- Y
titia. Ille/ ille pontifex. ¶His ita peractis exteriori ex munere/ ſuoqꝫ ad ſequentia & ſe- Z
cunda progreſſu: rurſus præſul ad prima & potiora ſpeculanda ſuſtollitur. Diuinorum
ſignorum (quæ in ſe diuidua & multiplicia ſunt) adminiſtrationem: vocat interpres ex-
terius pontificis munus/ & ad ſequentia & ſecunda progreſſum. diuinā vero contēpla-
tionē ad illam ſuperexcellentem omnibus vnitatem ſe colligentem: interius pontificis
munus/ & ad prima ac potiora proceſſum. ¶Sed vt cōtinuata litteræ huius partis & ſe-
quentis ſeries lucidior appareat: non inconſonum fuerit myſteria ritu apoſtolico (quan-
tum diuinus tāgit pater) quæ in diuina generatione/ baptiſmo/ illuminationiſqꝫ ſacramē-
to fiebant: quaſi ex formula depræhendere. & quæ præſentis eccleſiæ ritus obſer-
uat: pariter annotare.

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Cap 2 pars 2

¶ Mysteria baptiſmi ex ritu apoſtolico: tempore ſacratiſsimi patris.	Quæ præſentis eccleſiæ ritus obſeruat.
Initiandus quærit ſuſceptorem.	obſeruat: plures.
Suſceptor ad pontificem perducit.	obſeruat: aut cõmiſſum.
Pontifex ſuſcipit.	obſeruat: aut cõmiſſus.
Põtifex deo gratias agit/ſacros cõuocat gradus ad cooperandũ/ad congratulãdum ſaluti viri/ad gratias diuinæ clementiæ peragendum.	
Pſalmus ab vniuerſis canitur.	
Deoſculatur pontifex ſanctũ altare.	
Adinitiandum proficiſcitur rogans quid velit.	obſeruat.
Orat cathecuminus ſacris initiari.	obſeruat.
Initiandum hortatur pontifex.	
Pollicetur initiandus.	
Pontifex capiti initiandi manum imponit.	obſeruat.
Vitali ſigno cruci s munit.	obſeruat.
Mandat ſacerdotibus/initiandũ & ſuſceptorẽ deſcribi.	
Orat cum omni eccleſia.	
Manibus miniſtrorum initiandũ diſcingit ac exuit.	
Illũ ad occidentẽ ſtatuit: manus eã in partẽ impingentẽ.	
Ter ſathanam exufflare iubet.	
Ter abrenũciationem profiteri.	
Ad orientem traducit.	obſeruat.
In cœlũ ſuſpiciens initiandus: in illud manus intendit.	
Chriſto & ſacris diuinitus traditis conſentire iubetur.	
Ter Chriſtum profitetur.	
Pontifex orãs initiando benedicens: manus illi imponit.	obſeruat.
Miniſtri perfecte eum exuunt.	
Sacerdotes ſanctum deferunt vnctionis oleum.	
Pontifex trino crucis ſignaculo vnctionem inchoat.	obſeruat nũc bis/nũc ter
Toto corpore vngendum ſacerdotibus tradit.	
Pontifex ſacrum locum ingreditur.	
Aquas prece & inuocatione ſanctificat.	Obſeruat aut cõmiſſus.
Ter vnguẽtũ ad crucis effigiem fundit.	obſeruat.
Ter propheticum carmen canit: vox domini ſuper aquas alle luia/& pſalmum viceſimum octauum.	obſeruat ſemel.
Iubet adduci hominem.	
Aliquis ſacerdotum initiãdum & ſuſceptorem ex deſcriptione alta voce proclamat.	obſeruat.
Ducitur a ſacerdotibus in aquam ad ſacerdotis manũ.	
Initiandi ad aquas ſub manu pontificis ſacerdotes nomen inclamant.	
Trina immerſione/& emerſione: pontifex virũ abluit.	obſeruat.
Tres diuinæ beatitudinis perſonas inclamat.	obſeruat.
Sacerdotes illum ſuo ſuſceptori tradunt.	
Suſceptor cum ſacerdotibus initiatum veſtem candidã et mundam induunt.	
Rurſum ad pontificem ducunt.	obſeruat cũ ſacerdote.
Pontifex ſancto chriſmate initiatum ſignat.	
Sacroſanctæ cõmuniõis participẽ efficit/ſtatimq; coĩcat.	obſeruat.

Et hęc quo ad obſeruationem præſentis eccleſiæ in libris myſteriorum diligẽtius a dignis inſpectoribus depræhendi poſſunt. Neqꝫ hic omnia præſentis eccleſiæ myſteria ad baptiſmum attinentia adducuntur: vt de ſale/ de ſputo/ de lumine. ꝙ ad ea quæ beatus pater ex primitiuo ritu adduxit: non habeant reſponſum. Et vetus & præſens myſteriorum forma/ ſuam ſeruat pietatem: & ad eandem ex diuiſibilibus ſignis ſupramundanæ vnitatis tendit participationem. Et ex præſenti apoſtolica forma: noſtræ religionis a diuinis contemplatoribus mira pietas/ puritas & veræ ſanctitatis ſublimitas intelligitur. Et nemo confundatur: ſed inquirat. quærentibus enim & pulſantibus: parata bonitas aperit/ & petentibus diuinitatis opes/ largitur abunde: quæ eſt omnium ſanctificationum (ſeu teletas/ ſeu myſteria/ ſeu ſacramenta dicamus) author. Neqꝫ hiſce quiſquam temere adijcere/ demere/ mutare/ aut innouare debet: nouiſqꝫ inuentionibus ſtudere. ne ſuo cum periculo non aliter q̃ filij Aaron (quos vltionis ignis exuſſit) Leuiti.10. ſuo ſenſu abundet. ſed in ijs ſolum quæ diuinitus inſpirantur: ſpiritum ducem ſequi. & ſacramenta omnia (per quæ euadimus/ tranſimuſqꝫ in deum) maxima cum veneratione tractare. Illuceat deus hominibus vt videant: videntes purgentur/ purgati illuminentur/ illuminati perficiantur. Et bonum forſitan videretur ſi vniuerſæ regeneratorum matris/ ſponſæ dei in ſpiritu ſancto conuocaretur cõcilium: vt ſacramentorum formæ particularium eccleſiarum ſub conſpectum & examen venirent/ & vetuſta perquirerentur inſtituta cum ſanctorum patrum annotatione cuius eſſent. ne neglectis aliquid ab ignoranti & temeraria hominum ſuperba audacia adiectum/ detractum/ immutatum/ aut innouatum ſit: quod futuræ proli piæ matris eccleſię poſſet afferre detrimentum. Et omnibus in eccleſijs vnum ſacramentorum ritum/ vnamqꝫ formam vbiqꝫ teneri foret operęprecium: & multo etiam arctius q̃ legalia in veteri ritu ſeruabantur. Sane ſi ſeptuaginta veteris legis ſacerdotes: eius myſteria & profundam intelligentiam tenebant/ quam ſcriptis redigi (ne in nouiſſimis ſuæ legis diebus: qui tunc in foribus aderant/ periret) mandauit Eſdras: tanto magis debent Eſdras. legis gratiæ pontifices/ eius & ſuorũ ſacratiſſimorum rituum profundam callere intelligentiam. Qꝫ ſi qui hactenus negligentiores inuenti ſunt/ & ſimiles illis virginibus quæ oleũ ſecũ nõ ſumpſerũt: priuſq̃ ſponſus adueniat/ & lucernã e manibus eorũ requirat/ lampades diſponant. & ad beatiſſimũ patrẽ Dionyſiũ venientes: ante id tẽporis lucem ſibi comparent & intelligentiam. Deus lucis author/ det vt homines videant.

15 ¶SECVNDAE PARTIS SECVNDI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS ad litterã.

DEſcribit hic modum & ritum tradendi ſuſcipiendiqꝫ ſacri baptiſmatis ſacer Dionyſius: tempore primitiuæ eccleſiæ (quo degebat in humanis) obſeruatum. Cuius ordo eſt huiuſmodi. Imprimis ipſe pontifex ad dei imitationem cupiens omnes homines ſaluari & agnitione veritatis illuſtrari: prædicat aſſidue & diligenter omnibus ſacroſancta euangelia. annuncians vniuerſis deum (qui hominibus ex ſumma ſua bonitate propicius eſt & clemens: paratuſqꝫ ad miſerendum) deſcendiſſe de cœlo in hunc mundum/ ad ſuſcipiendam noſtræ carnis ſubſtantiam: & id quidem/ ex ſola ſua benignitate & miſericordia. Conteſtatur itidem eundem id maxime expetere/ vt noſipſos ſibi iungat & inſerat: more ignis/ ferrum ſibi inſerentis. & hoc pacto ſecundum cuiuſqꝫ diſpoſitionem & modum/ quoſcunqꝫ coniunxerit: ſimiles ſibi efficiat & deiformes. Quotquot enim receperunt eum (vt diuinus ait euangeliſta) dedit Ioan.1. eis poteſtatem vt filij dei fiant ij qui credunt in nomine eius. qui non ex humana carnaliqꝫ propagatione: ſed ex deo per baptiſmum nati ſunt/ ex aqua ſcilicet & ſpiritu. Cæterum quiſpiam prius infidelitate detentus/ & ſacris verbis pontificis ad hæc ſublimia myſteria ſuſcipienda inflammatus: primum accedit ad aliquem ex numero fidelium/ oratqꝫ vt ſe ad pontificem (a quo ſacris fidei myſterijs initietur) adducat & totius reliquæ vitæ ſuæ curã ſuſcipiat atqꝫ directionẽ. promittens ex animo/ ſe integre omnia facturum: quæ ſibi iniungentur. At vero fidelis ille quãuis magno teneatur deſiderio ſalutis ſui fratris & proximi: primum tamen horrore concutitur & anxietate premitur animi/ cum conſiderat ſublimitatem myſterij quod expetitur/ & humani cordis infirmitatem: facile poſt ſuſcepta ſacra ad relapſum/ procliuem. poſtea tamen dei fretus auxilio & fiducia/ cum ſingulari benignitate pollicetur ſe facturum quod ille initiandus poſtulat: ipſumqꝫ ad pontificem adducens/ aperit eidem pium illius deſiderium. Pontifex vero illum catechuminum cum ingenti cordis lætitia ſuſcipiens

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pars
2

(nō ſecus q̄ bonus ille paſtor ouē centeſimam perditam & demum inuentam: humeris
Lucæ.15. ſuſtulit in ouile) primū in cordis intimo gratias deo agit de illius cōuerſione. deinde vero
in orantis modum ac formam proſternitur palam: laudatq; gratulabundus deū ipſū/
rerum omnium principium & totius boni fontem vberrimum: a quo qui vocandi ſunt
ad ſalutem/ gratuita dignatione vocantur. & qui ſaluandi ſunt: ſola illius gratia ſaluantur.
Deinde pontifex gradus omnes eccleſiaſticos ſibi ſubiectos in eccleſiā conuocat ac
colligit: vt ſibi cooperentur in baptiſmi adminiſtratione/ ac pro viri illius ſalute congratulētur/
Ibidem. diuinæq; bonitati gratias agant. haud ſecus ac paſtor ille inuēta oue quæ prius
perierat/ conuocat amicos & vicinos: qui cōgratulentur ei de inuētione ouis ante deperditæ.
Et in principio quidē pſalmū aliquē pontifex ſimul cum omnibus eccleſiæ ordinibus
decantat. Deinde deoſculatis ſanctis altaribus ad catechuminū virum foris ſtantē
proficiſcitur: ſciſcitaturq; ab eo quidnam petat. Ille autem vt a ſuo ſuſceptore ante eſt
edoctus/ ſuam accuſat priſtinam impietatem & veri dei ignorantiam: qua hactenus detentus
eſt/ ingemiſcit item ſe tanto tēpore fuiſſe priuatū opere diuinę vitę/ fideiq; ſignaculo
& vita ſpirituali. deniq; orat pontificē vt ſacro eiꝰ miniſterio atq; adiutorio: ſacroſanctæ
fidei myſterijs initiari poſſit. Tū pōtifex conteſtatur/ illū oportere ex toto corde
citra fictionē omnem ad deum accedere: vt qui ſit omnino perfectus/ ſanctus & immaculatus.
Eidē quoq;/ vitæ Chriſtianæ deinceps agendæ modū ac rationē explicans: percontatur
ab eo an ita in poſterū viuere velit. Quod poſtq̄ ille initiandus pollicetur ſe facturū:
imponit eius capiti manū/ & tradens ipſum ſacerdotibus: præcipit vt nomē initiādi
& ſuſceptoris conſcribant. Poſtq̄ autem facta eſt a ſacerdotibus hæc deſcriptio: ſacrā
ad deum effundit orationē. quā cū omnis eccleſiaſticus ordo ſecum terminauit: diſcingit
pontifex initiandum/ & miniſtrorum manibus eum exui mandat. Deinde ſtatuēs ipſū/
occidentem verſus/ habentē manus extentas & conuerſas ad eandē cœli plagam: exufflare
ſathanam ter illum iubet/ & abrenūciationem eius profiteri. Cūq; initiandus ille tertio
ſe abrenūciare ſathanæ & operibus eius conteſtatus fuerit: pontifex illum ad orientē
transfert. aſpicientemq; cœlum atq; illuc manus intendentē: CHRISTO & ſacris omnibus
myſterijs eccleſiaſticis illū cōſentire iubet. Quod vbi factū eſt: rurſum ter illū profiteri
fidem CHRISTI/ q̄q; ſe credere dicat CHRISTO/ admonet. Et cum trina huiuſmodi
profeſſio facta eſt: rurſus pontifex orans benedicit deum/ & illi qui initiatur manus
imponit. Cumq; illum miniſtri omnino exuerint: ſacerdotes ad pontificem deferunt ſanctum
vnctionis oleū. Pōtifex autem facto ter crucis ſanctæ ſignaculo/ vnctionē eius qui
ſacris initiatur incipiēs: inungendū ipſum toto corpore/ ſacerdotibus tradit. Deinde pōtifex
ſacrum ingreditur locum vbi baptiſteriū eſt: quo eccleſia mater filios adoptionis
CHRISTO gignit. Et ipſius lauacri baptiſmalis aquas ſancta oratione & inuocatione
diuini nominis ſanctificans/ atq; ter in illas ad formā crucis ſacrum fundens vnguentū/
& ipſas aquas hoc ritu conſecrans: ter itidē pronūcians canticū laudis (vt alle luia/ &
pſalmum viceſimū octauum: qui ſacri baptiſmi myſteria complectitur) quod prophetæ
diuino ſpiritu inſpirati cecinerunt: ſecundum numerum ſacræ effuſionis vnguenti/ ſemel
ſcilicet id canticū proferens per ſingulos ſacri vnguēti iactus in aquā: iubet ipſū baptiſandum
ad ſe adduci. Et cum illius nomen itidem & ſuſceptoris aliquis ſacerdotum
ex libro (vbi deſcriptum eſt) alta voce proclamauerit: ille initiandus a ſacerdotibus in
aquā baptiſmalem ducitur iuxta pontificis manū. Ipſe vero pontifex in ſuperiore conſiſtens
loco/ cum rurſus ſuper aquas ſub pontificis manu ſacerdotes ipſius baptiſandi
protulerint nomen: ter illum aquis immergit & rurſum educit/ hac trina immerſione &
eductione: tres ſummæ diuinitatis perſonas ſimul inuocans & nominans. Deinde aſſumentes
illum iam baptiſatum ſacerdotes/ ſuſceptori (quo duce: ad pontificem ille acceſſerat)
ipſum tradunt ac cōmittunt/ et vna cum ipſo ſuſceptore induūt illū iā ablutū veſtē
cādidā et cōuenientē mūditiæ ipſius baptiſati: cuius ſcilicet cādore/ deſignetur ille iā
mūdatus a ſordibus vitæ præteritæ & cādidatus. Et ita indutū ipſū initiatū: rurſū ad pōtificē
ducūt. Pōtifex autē ipſū ſacro chriſmatis oleo in fronte ſignās: ſacræ cōmuniōis
euchariſtiæ eū participē facit. ¶ Porro cū hæc ita pacta ſūt per exterius ipſius pōtificis 16
munus/ adminiſtrationem ſcilicet viſibilium ſignorum quæ in ſacramento baptiſmatis
exhibentur. qua quidē adminiſtratione/ ipſe pontifex ad ſequentia & ſecunda progreditur:
vtpote ad ordines ſub ſe poſitos & poſt ſe conſtitutos/ vt ipſos ad cœleſtium ſpirituum
imitationem in deū ſubuehat. rurſus ipſe pontifex ad ſuum interius reuertitur mu

nus/intimam ſcilicet dei contemplationem: qua ipſe in deum ſuſtollatur. atq; ad prima potioraq; contemplanda promouetur: ſpiritualia ſcilicet arcana diuinaq; myſteria/ quibus ſe totum ad ſummam illam vnitatem colligat. Nempe ipſe pontifex vt vir conſummatus & perfectus/ nullo vnq̄ tempore aut loco: ad aliena vlla negocia q̄ ad ſola ſua officia conuertitur. ſed a diuinis exterioribus ad diuina interiora/ aut ediuerſo: continue & aſſidue a ſpiritu ſancto diuina quadam motione transfertur.

¶Spiritualis intelligentia/ contemplatio/ theoria/ ſanctaq; anagoge. Cap.II.pars III.

17 HSta quidē veluti in ſignis: ſanctæ ac diuinæ regenerationis
conſūmatio eſt. Quæ profecto nichil habet in ſe indecēs: ni-
chil vel ex ipſis carnalibus imaginibus fœdū. ſed aſſunt illi
digniſſimæ intelligentiæ ſigna: naturalibus & humanis/ ac
decentiſſimis ſpeculis informata. Quid enim illi/ dignitatis
defuiſſe videatur: etiam ſi myſteriorum diuinior ratio ſileatur: cū & per-
ſuaſione certa/ & diuinis eloquijs: eius qui accedit/ vitæ optimum ſtatum
ſacratius moliatur. totiuſq; ſimul vicioſitatis emundationem: diuiniore/
ac virtutibus dedito vitæ genere ſuccedente/ denunciat. vt naturali aquæ
expurgatione dum corpora diluuntur: vicia quoq; mundata credantur.
Hac ergo ratione (etſi nichil ſacratius haberet myſteriorum ſignificatiua
traditio) nichil puto haberet fœditatis. quippe cum & rectioris vitæ ma-
giſterium præferat: & totius vicioſæ conuerſationis ablutionem integram
(corpore naturaliter aquis omnino purgato) ſignificet. Sed ſit illa plane
rudibus introductio ſalutaris: quæ & ſacratiora quibus deo iungimur
(quantum fas eſt) a multitudine dirimat. & in partes diſtributis ordini-
18 bus: cuiq; pro captu ſuo cōgruū ſubminiſtret ad altiora ſucceſſum. ¶Nos
autem ſacris aſcenſibus viſibilium rerum aſpicientes initia: vbi ea ſacratio-
re modo didicerimus/ ſciemus quænam exemplaria/ formæ huiuſmodi:
& quæ inuiſibilia/ imagines iſtæ ſignificēt. Sunt enim (vt in libro de intelli- A
gibilibus & ſenſibilibus aperte docuimus) viſibilia ſacramenta/ intelligibi-
lium imagines quædam: quibus ad ea recto itinere ducimur. Porro intelli-
gibilia: viſibilium ſacramentorum initium ſunt atq; ſcientia. Dicimus igit̃
eſſe diuinę beatitudinis bonitatem (cui cum ſemper aſſint per eadem & eo-
dē modo ſuę lucis benefici radij) eos in oīa ſpiritualia lumina affatim expli-
19 cantem. ¶Siue itaq; motu proprio ab intelligibili lumine/ ſpiritualis natu-
ra libertate arbitrij donata diſcedat/ et inſitas ſibi naturaliter vires (quibus
illuminari valeat) amore næquitiæ claudens: lucis excidat gratia/ cum præ-
ſens illa nequaq̄ diſcedat/ ſed cæcutiēti ſuffulgeat: aduerſantiq;/ vi ſūmæ be-
nignitatis occurrat. ſiue indulti ſibi modice luminis terminos tranſilire nita- B
tur/ atq; ad excelſioris (q̄ imbecillitas oculorum ſuorū ferre poſſit) lucis ra-
dios/ intendere aduerſos conetur obtutus: lux quidem illa nichil præter lu-
cis operabitur munus. cæterum ipſa (dum perfectioribus imperfecte inten-
dit) non modo quæ nichil ad ſe pertinēt nequaq̄ attinget: verū ea quoq; lu-
cis mediocritate (qua capere potuiſſet) proterue ſuperbiēs/ ac de ſe magnū
ſapiens/ excidet. diuina tamen vt diximus lux: ſpiritualibus ſemper oculis
benigniſſime patet. licetq; haurire præſentē: ac paratiſſimā ſemper ſua mu-

nera/diuina dignatione volētibus tradere. ¶ Ad huius æternæ lucis effigiē 20
atqꝫ imitationē: diuinus formatur antiſtes. atqꝫ doctrinæ ſuę cœleſtis perlucidos
radios ſuper oēs affatim fundit: accedentē ſemper ad diuinæ bonitatis
imaginē illuminare paratus. Non autem inuidia vlla tangitur: neqꝫ ad
prioris erroris aut defectionis culpā ira infauſta & immoderata mouetur.
ſed ad dei exemplar/accedentibus ſemper doctrinæ cœleſtis fulgorem pontificaliter
explicat: maxima cū dignitate atqꝫ ordine ſingulis (pro modo &
captu ſuo) diuini ſermonis iubar impartiens. ¶ At ſi quidem ſacri ordinis 21
atqꝫ conſtantiæ/deus principium eſt: per quā/ſeipſas diuinæ mētes noſcūt/
ad propriam naturæ ſuæ ſpeculationē/ſcientiamqꝫ recurrens: in principio
quidem quiſnam ipſe ſit intuebitur. iſtudqꝫ primū ex illa conſideratione: ad
agnitionis lumen ſacrū accipiet munus. Porro qui ſua omnia oculis omni
perturbatione liberis diligenter inſpexerit: profundas quidē effugiet ignorantiæ
tenebras. ¶ Verum perfectiſſimæ illius coniūctionis/participationiſqꝫ 22
diuinæ rudis adhuc & ignarus exiſtens: ipſe non ſtatim ex ſeipſo continēter
hāc cupiet. verū ſenſim ac per gradus: ad priora ſemper & digniora
atqꝫ excellentiora conſcendet. Sicqꝫ perfectus: ad ſupremū illum tandē/diuinumqꝫ
ordinem gradu proficiēte ſubuehetur. ¶ Huius honeſtiſſimi atqꝫ 23
auguſtiſſimi ordinis imago eſt/accedentis verecundia/ſuorumqꝫ omnium
cauta ſcientia: quæ hominē ducem inquirit/per quē recto itinere ad pontificem
eat. Hunc ita accedentem diuina maieſtas in ſui conſortiū intus admittit:
eiqꝫ lucem ſuam perinde ac ſignum aliquod tradit/ſanctum efficiēs/
& ſanctorum ſortis ordiniſqꝫ participem. Hoc autem ſignificat id ſignum
quod accedenti pontifex primo largitur: ſalutariſqꝫ illa deſcriptio ſacerdotum/
per quam ille ſaluandis inſeritur. Neqꝫ ille modo/verū & ſuſceptor eiꝰ
ſacris monumētis inſcribitur: vtpote viuifici ad veritatem itineris dux. atqꝫ
ille quidem: ꝙ amator veritatis verus fuerit/ducemqꝫ pium ſecutus ſit.
hic autem: ꝙ ductu diuinitus inſtituto/ſequentem data manu ſine errore
prouexerit. Atqui fas non eſt vt quis eorum quæ ſibi ſunt omnino
aduerſa: vna/ſimulqꝫ particeps fiat. neqꝫ is qui illius quod vnum eſt/conſortium
aliquod ceperit/diuiduas habeat vitas: ſi quidem vnius (quam cepit)
participationem: firmam/inconcuſſamqꝫ cuſtodiat. Cæterum eiuſmodi
eo in ſtatu eſſe debet: vt nullis affectibus (qui vnū illud diuidāt atqꝫ diſcindant)
vllo pacto violabilis ſit. quod profecto ſignificat ſignorum illa ſacroſancta
traditio: quæ accedētem veluti priori exuit vita. & ad extremos
vſqꝫ illam affectus expolians: nudū illum diſcalceatumqꝫ conſtituit/ad occidentē
conuerſum/& impulſione manuū: obſcuræ militię conſortia renuētem/
atqꝫ indutū ſibi diſſimilitudinis ſtatū velut exufflantē/profitentēqꝫ ijs
ex integro abrenunciare: quæ deo contraria ſunt. Sic exutum penitus affectibus
viciosis/atqꝫ his inuiolabilem factū: ad oriētem ſancta traditio trāſfert.
ſtatū per id/atqꝫ proſpectum diuini luminis puriſſimū fore: ijs qui perfecte
vicia effugerint/innuens. ſanctamqꝫ illius profeſſionem (qua vnus effectus:
ad vnum prorſus aſpirante voto cōſentit) veriſſime ſuſcipit. ¶ Sed 24
enim omnibus liquet (vt puto) qui ſacra didicerunt: vt perpetua in vnū il-

De duce ſiue ſuſceptore.

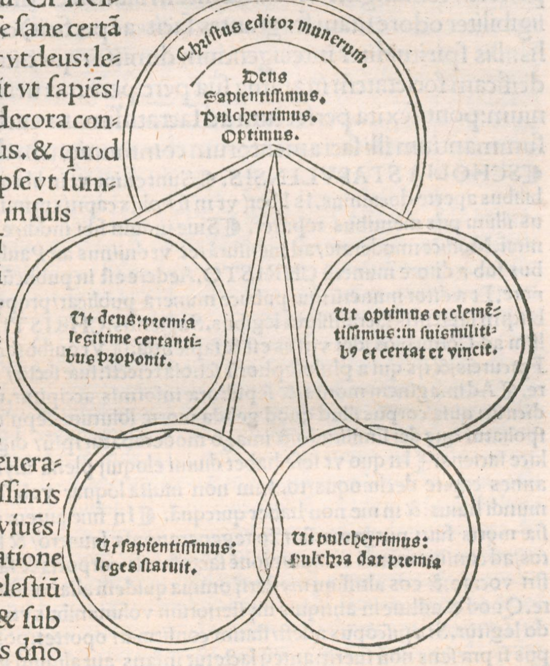
Quid ꝙ pōtifex initiādū ſuſcipit: manum imponit/& ſignat.

Quid deſcriptio: & cur ſuſceptor deſcribitur.

Quid ꝙ diſcingit atqꝫ exuitur.

Quid ad occidētem cōuerſio & eā in partē manuū impactio & exufflatio

lud cōſtantiſſimaq; intētione(dū cōtraria omnino mortificantur atq; abo-
lētur)conſtantē illū atq; immutabilem diuini habitus ſtatum/intellectua-
lia capiūt. Neq; eni ſolū a vicioſitate ōni diſcedere neceſſe eſt: verū maſculo
quoq; vigore ad oēm ipſius pernicioſam ſubreptionē inflexū/iterritūq; du
rare. & nunq̄ ſacro veritatis amore ſatiari: nunq̄ illū conſeneſcere vlla rati-
one permittere. cęterū id pro viribus eniti: vt ad perfectiora diuinitatis hau
25 riēda/perpetua ſēper intentione feramur. ¶ Cernis nempe harū rerum dili
gentes imagines: in ijs quæ pontificali geruntur officio. Diuinus namq; pō
tifex: ſacræ vnctionis inchoat munus. ſacerdotes autē poſt ipſū: vnctionis
officiū peragunt. ita inunctū ad ſacra certamina in figura euocātes: in qui-
bus ſub æditore munerū CHRI-
STO cōſtitutus eſt. Ipſe ſane certā
tibus præmia proponit vt deus: le-
ges autē certaminis tulit vt ſapiēs/
præmiaq; vincentibus decora con-
ſtituit ipſe pulcherrimus. & quod
eſt profecto diuinius: ipſe vt ſum-
me bonus & clemens/in ſuis
bellatoribus vincit. dū i
illis habitās: pro ipſorū
ſalute ac victoria aduer
ſus mortis & corrupti-
onis imperiū pugnat.
Certamina quidē vt di
uina/is qui initiatur ag
gredietur gaudēs: perſeuera-
bitq; in ſapiētis ſacratiſſimis
legibus: earumq; iure viuēs/
ſine vlla earū prꝑuaricatione
pugnabit/prꝑmioꝝ cœleſtiū
ſpe firmiſſima fœlix. & ſub
p̄ſtantiſſimo certaminis dn̄o
ac duce conſtitutus: innitens autē ſacris veſtigijs primoris athletæ(q̄ ille ſo-
la bonitate calcauit)dei imitatione pugnando: actiōes & ſubſtātias ſibi ne
26 in deū tranſeat aduerſantes/deuincit ac ſuperat. ¶ CHRISTOq; in ba-
ptiſmo (vt myſtice dixerim) peccato commoritur. Et michi quæſo ſa-
pienter attende: q̄ ſacramenta proprijs inuoluta ſunt ſignis. quia enim
in nobis mors eſt non ſubſtantiæ abolitio(vt quibuſdam viſum eſt)ſed
cōiunctarū rerū ſeparatio: ad id quod nobis obſcurū eſt atq; inuiſibile du-
cēs. animam quidem: quaſi priuatione corporis euanidā/diſparentemq; ef
fectam. corpus autē: vt humo abditum/aut iuxta aliam quādam corpora-
liū immutationū humana ex ſpecie exterminatū: ꝑprie & cōuenientiſſime
merſio illa qua totus homo aquis operitur/ad imaginē mortis ac ſepulturę
iformis/accipitur. Eū igitur qui ſacro fōte renaſcit: ſacroſācta myſteria do-


Chriſtus editoꝛ munerum.
Deus
Sapientiſſimus.
Pulcherrimus.
Optimus.
Ut deus: premia legitime certantibus proponit.
Ut optimus et clemētiſſimus: in ſuiſmilitibꝰ et certat et vincit.
Ut ſapientiſſimus: leges ſtatuit.
Ut pulcherrimus: pulchra dat premia

Quid ad orientē conuerſio.

Quid īſtiati ſacra inunctio.

C

D

Quid trina in ſanctificantē aquā īmerſio et emerſio.

E

F

Quid mundæ & cādidæ veſtis acceptio. Quid finalis & conſūmans chriſmatis inunctio.

cēt trina illa lauacri merſiōe & emerſione/diuinā triduanæ ſepulturę IHE
SV authoris vitæ mortē imitari q̄tū attingere homines ad dei imitationē
G poſſunt. In quo vt ſeſe habet diuini eloquij plena myſterij & occulta tradi-
tio: nichil mundi princeps inuenit. ❡ Deinceps ita initiatu: candentes indu 27
unt veſtes. Dū enim virili atq; ad dei imaginem formata conſtantia nullis
perturbationibus cedimus/& ad vnum illud intentiſſima deuotione flagra
mus: id quod fuerat turpe/componitur. & quod ſine ſpecie: formæ gratiam
ſumit/ac lucentis vitæ fulgore euadit prorſus illuſtre. ❡ Enimuero illa perfi 28
ciens vnctio facit ita perfectum: fragrantia ſuauiſſimi odoris inſignē. quip-
pe diuinæ generationis ſacroſancta perfectio: diuino ſpiritui quæ fuerint
perfecta coniungit. Porro aduentum illum ſecretiſſimum ſpiritus (qui intel
ligibiliter odore ſuaui fragrantes facit/ ac perficit) cum ſit prorſus ineffabi-
lis: illis ſpiritualiter intelligendum dimitto/ qui diuini ſpiritus ſanctam ac
H deificam ſocietatem in anima ſua percipere meruerūt. ❡ In fine autem om- 29
nium: pontifex ita perfectum ad ſacratiſſimam euchariſtiam vocat/atq; cō
ſummantium illi ſacramentorum communionem deificam tradit.

A ❡ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡ Sunt enim vt in libro de intelligibilibus & ſenſi-
bilibus aperte docuimus. Is liber (vt in ſcholijs capitis primi dictū eſt) non apparet: de-
B us illum pijs mentibus reparet. ❡ Siue indulti ſibi modice luminis terminos tranſilire
Roma.12. nitat. Modice: moderate/ad menſurā/et (vt diuinus ait Paulus) ad ſobrietatē. ❡ In qui-
C bus ſub æditore munerū CHRISTO. Aedere eſt in publicū emittere/publicare/ propo
D nere. Et æditor munerū: qui publice munera publicat/proponit atq; dat. ❡ Perſeuera-
1.corin.1. bitq; in ſapientis ſacratiſſimis legibus. Sapientis: CHRISTI. qui (iuxta beatiſſimū Pau
E lum ad Corinthios) dei virtus eſt & ſapientia. ❡ Vt quibuſdam viſum eſt. vt Saduceis/
Epicureis/& ijs qui a philoſophorū ſchola reiecti: ſuæ ſectæ/ impietatis nomen reliqu-
F re. ❡ Ad imaginem mortis/& ſepulturæ informis accipitur. mors & ſepultura/informis
dicitur: quia corpus illud quod gelida morte ſolutum ſepulturæ mandatur/ forma illa
ſpoliatur quę dei ſimilitudo/& imago moderabatur ipſū/ dignū (q̄diu affuit) ipſum hac
G luce faciens. ❡ In quo vt ſeſe habet diuini eloquij plena myſterij/& occulta traditio. Io
annes capite decimoquarto. Iam non multa loquar vobiſcum. Venit enim princeps
H mundi huius: & in me non habet quicquā. ❡ In fine autem omnium. Primitiuæ eccle-
ſiæ moris fuit: purgatos ſancto regenerationis lauacro/ & baptiſmo peracto illumina
tos/ad conſummantē communionē ſacroſancti corporis & ſanguinis redemptoris no-
ſtri vocare/& eos altiſſimi myſterij omnia quidem alia conſummantis participes effice-
re. Quod & adhuc in antiquis myſteriorum voluminibus etiam de infantibus hoc mo-
• do legitur. Si epiſcopus adeſt/ſtatim confirmari oportet: poſtea communicari. Epiſco-
• pus ſi præſens non fuerit: anteq̄ lactetur infans aut aliquid guſtauerit/ cōmunicet eum
• ſacerdos de corpore & ſanguine domini/ ante miſſam etiam ſi neceſſitas ingruit. Sic in
ipſis trina implebatur ſanctificatio: initians quæ purgatio eſt/medians quę eſt illumina-
tio/& finiens quæ perfectio eſt & conſummatio. in ijs enī tribus ipſa ſumma beatitudo
(quę trina eſt) omnē & in cœlo & in terra impleuit ſanctificationē. Vide igitur quo pacto
oīs Chriſtianus ex ea ipſa ꝓfeſſione ſua/ſtatim ſāctus eſt: & ſāctus dici poteſt cū primū
regeneratus eſt. etſi nōdū cōſūmatus atq; perfecte ſanctus: priuſq̄ ad deificantē eucha-
riſtiā digne fuerit admiſſus. Et in his rurſus ſūt gradus ſupremi/medij/& infimi: de qui-
bus cap. quito/numero 81. diuinꝰ pater plenius āmonet. Cuſtodiat ergo quiſq; ſuā (quā
nouerit) ſanctitatē: & totā gloriā in ipſius ſanctificationis referat authorē. ❡ Præterea ꝙ
diuinus pater ſilentio ferme præterire viſus eſt: quid pontificis (ſuſcepto initiando) deo
oblatæ gratiarum actiones/& ſacrorum eccleſiaſticorum graduum ad cooperandum/
ad cōgratulandū ſaluti viri/& ad gratias diuinæ clementiæ perſoluendum/ conuoca-
tio ſignificet. & quid: pſalmorū ab omnibus decantatum melos. quid chriſmatis in aquā
baptiſmi in ſignū viuificæ crucis infuſio/quid illa peracto baptiſmo iam initiati inūctio.
id de gratiarū actione/ & congratulatoria cooperatrice conuocatione factū eſt: ꝙ in prin

cipio ſecũdæ partis huius capitis dictũ eſt/hierarchiæ noſtræ pontificem ad CHRISTI
ſimilitudinem(qui deus eſt)velle omnes ſaluos fieri. Itaq; vt ſummũ & inuiſibilem in cœlo
pontificem habemus/mediatorẽ dei & hominũ/hominẽ CHRISTVM IHESVM 1.timo.2.
qui dedit redemptionẽ ſemetipſum pro omnibus (vt diuinus ait Paulus) cuius ſpiritus Roma.8.
poſtulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus: cui ſuper noſtra ex impietatum errore cõuerſione
congratulantur angeli, ita viſibilis noſter pontifex/ſummam illam & ineffabilẽ
benignitatem imitatus (quam ex ſanctiſſimis euãgelijs: quæ apprime edoctus eſt/ perdidicit)
ſuſcepto ad ouile CHRISTI initiando/deo gratias agit/ & ſacros eccleſiaſticorum
gradus(qui ad beatiſſimos angelos noſtræ conuerſionis amatores: ſuã referũt analogiã)
conuocat: vt oui CHRISTI repertæ congratulentur/ vt cooperentur/ & gratias
ſummo illi deo(qui eam e tenebris ad lucem: & ex deuijs mortis ad vitæ ſemitã euocauit)
ſimul/vnaqꝫ perſoluant. De diuino autem pſalmorũ decantato melo: nichil hic ideo
credatur locutus/ꝙ in tertia ſequentis capitis parte id generaliter reliquerat dicendũ:
cur ſcilicet nullũ ſacrorum duces noſtri/ ſanctiſſimi apoſtoli ſacramentũ/ ſine pſalmorũ
laude compleri inſtituerunt. Et de aqua baptiſmatis/in qua diuinũ ad crucis effigiẽ funditur
vnguentũ: cauſam reliquit dicendã ſacerrimus pater cap. quarto/numero 71. vbi
de ſpirituali intelligentia ſanctiſſimi vnguenti diſſerit. Et de vltima vnctione quæ baptiſmo
peracto fit: dicet cap. eodẽ numero 72. aduentũ ſpiritus ſancti ſignificare. Baptiſato
enim dño noſtro ſacramentorũ authore: vox patris intonuit/& in ſpeciem placidę & mitis Matth.3.
colũbæ viſus eſt ſpiritus ſanctus deſcẽdere. Statim poſt noſtrã theogeneſiã/diuinãqꝫ
generationẽ(q̄ ſimul purgat & illuminat)merito ſacratiſſimus pater/de ſynaxi(q̄ perficit
& cõſummat)proximam exequitur determinationem. Nunc igitur de ſynaxi.

¶TERTIAE PARTIS SECVNDI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD litterã.

17 RAtionabilem imprimis & decẽtiſſimã eſſe diuinæ regenerationis(quę
in baptiſmate fit per ſigna ſuperius deſcripta) perfectionem/ oſtendit
ſacer Dionyſius. ꝙ ipſa nichil in ſe habet indecorum/nichil item in viſibilium
imaginũ exhibitione fœdum viſu aut turpitudinẽ præferens:
ſed aſſunt in ea ſacram intelligentiam continentia ſigna/ naturæ conuenientibus
aptis & decentibus repræſentationibus efformata. Quid
enim illi ſanctę regenerationis cõſummationi dignitatis deeſſe videri
poſſit: etiam ſi taceatur ſpiritualis intelligentia myſteriorum per ſenſibiles imagines ſignificatorum:
cum huiuſmodi conſummatio & certa cunctis perſuaſione & ſacrę ſcripturæ
atteſtatione: potiſſimũ prætẽdat & inducat optimũ ſtatũ vitæ eius qui accedit ad regenerationis
ſacræ ſuſceptionẽ. Repræſentat item & inſinuat emundationem totius iniquitatis
vitæ præteritæ: eo ipſo ꝙ diuinius & virtutibus deditũ vitę genus ſuccedit huic
baptiſmali ablutioni. per quam id præſertim indicatur omnibus/ ꝙ dum corpora diluuntur
naturali aquæ expurgatione: vicia quoqꝫ priſtinæ vitæ mundata credantur
in anima. & per id quod foris fit in corpore: credatur & illud proportionale & analogum/
quod intus fit in anima. Quãuis igitur traditio baptiſmalis lauacri per ſigna exteriora
diuinorũ plane myſteriorũ ſignificatiua/nichil ſacratius haberet aut ſignaret q̄ qđ
modo dictũ eſt: nichil tamen in ſe haberet fœditatis aut abſurditatis, quãdoquidẽ rectioris
vitæ in poſterũ ducendæ præ ſe fert indicium: & totius viciosæ conuerſationis tranſacti
temporis integram abſterſionem ſignificat per hoc ſymbolum atqꝫ ſignum/ ꝙ corpus
naturaliter aquis abluitur. Verum iſta ſit rudibus & ſacrarum rerum imperitis introductio
congrua & generalis ad ſalutem: quæ ſacratiora myſteria quibus intime deo
iungimur/ a prophana multitudine diſſeparet & ſeiungat. & facta in partes eccleſiaſticorum
ordinum diſtributione: vnicuiqꝫ pro ſuo captu & gradu congruentem ſuppeditet
18 ad altiora progreſſum. ¶ Pontifices autem & ſacerdotes ac cæteri ſacris miniſterijs
addicti: cognoſcũt per aſſurrectionẽ ex viſibilibus ad inuiſibilia/ipſa ſpiritualia
myſteria: quæ ſignorum ſenſibilium initia ſunt atqꝫ exordia. Nam primum ſunt huiuſmodi
intellectualia arcana: deinde ſecũdo loco effinguntur ſigna materialia/ ad ea
ſignificanda, perinde atqꝫ notio mentis: initiũ eſt vocis. & quod ſignatur: principiũ eius
eſt quo ſignatur. tũ ꝙ principalius eſt: & primo conſideratũ. tũ ꝙ plerũqꝫ tempore pręcedit.
vt verbũ mẽtis intimũ: prius eſt verbo vocali prolato. Itaqꝫ poſtq̄ hæc ĩitia et ſpiritualia
myſteria ſacratius didicerimus: ſciemus vtiqꝫ quã veritatẽ rerũ/huiuſmodi formę
ſenſibiles indicant: & quæ inuiſibilia myſteria/imagines iſtæ viſibiles ſignificant/prom

Cap.
2
pars
3

pti & edocti: vt cuiq; ſigno ſuū adaptemus & accōmodemus exemplar. Nēpe viſibilia
ſacramenta ſunt inuiſibiliū myſteriorum & ſacrorū imagines quædā exteriores: quibus
quidem imaginibus ad intellectualium agnitionem recto tramite ducimur. Intelligibilia
vero myſteria ſunt viſibilium ſignorum ſacrorum principiū (vt iā diximus) atq; ſcientia:
ꝙ ea ipſa ſint quæ ſciantur & cognoſcātur/per ſacramentorū traditionē. Eſt igitur ſum
mæ diuinitatis bonitas: beneficos ſuæ lucis radios diuinorūq; munerū diffuſionem atq;
elargitionem/in omnes mentes cū humanas tum diuinas (quę certe ſpiritualia ſunt lu
mina ac oculi) copioſius explicans. qui quidem radij ſemper eidem deitati aſſunt/& eo-
dem modo: nā neq; in eos cadit imminutio atq; permutatio/ aut viciſſitudinis obūbra-
tio. ¶ Duplici vero modo: rationalis ſubſtantia huius radij luce deſtituitur. Primū pro- 19
pria ignauia. ꝙ ipſa/libertate arbitrij donata quam deflectit in deterius/ proprio motu
ab illa intelligibili luce diſcedit: ſpirituales oculos naturaliter ſibi inſitos & mentem ipſā
& reliquas vires quibus illuminari poſſet/amore maliciæ occludens. Tunc ſane ſpiritu-
alis illa ſubſtantia lucis diuinæ excidit gratia: haud aliter q̄ oculos palpebris obuelans
aut a ſole ſe deflectens/ deſtituitur ſolari iubare. At ſicut lux ſolis/ obductis palpebrarū
velamine oculis adhuc adeſt/& exterius ipſas perfūdit palpebras neq; diſcedit ab illis:
ita neq; lux diuina mentibus etiā occluſis næquitia præſens/ abſcedit ab illis: ſed cęcu-
tientibus & excæcatis ſuffulget/& reluctantibus ſummæ benignitatis gratia obuiam ſe
præbet atq; occurrentem: nichil aliud petens q̄ vt ei detur aditus/quo infulgere atq; il
lucere illis poſſit. Secundo ſpiritualis ſubſtātia deſtituitur diuinæ lucis illuſtratione per
temeritatem. quando menſuram & terminum lucis ſibi mediocriter conceſſę tranſgre-
ditur: atq; ad excelſiora haurienda myſteria aut contuenda ſpectacula q̄ imbecillitas vi
rium eius ferre poſſit/aciem mentis intendere conatur. Sane tunc ipſa lux nichil aliud
faciet: q̄ ſe in illius oculos diffundet. Cęterū ipſa ſpiritualis ſubſtantia dum perfectis &
arduis rebus imperfecta acie oculorum eſt intenta: non ſolum nō attinget ea quę ſupra
ſe ſunt & ad ſe nichil attinent/ verū etiā ea lucis mediocritate (per quā capere potuiſſet
conuenientia ſibi myſteria) ob ſuperbiā & temeritatem priuabitur. At vero q̄uis hoc du
plici modo excidunt plerumq; rationales ſubſtantię/diuinę lucis participatione: ipſa ta
men oculis ſpiritualibus in eam intentis/ſemper ſpectabilis eſt & conſpicua. Eamq; ſem
per pręſentē omnibus/ haurire cuiq; datū eſt. nā pro ſua gratuita dignatione paratiſſi-
ma eſt elargiri ſua munera: ijs qui illa ſuſcipere voluerit. ¶ Cęterū ipſe pōtifex eccleſia- 20
ſticus omnino componitur ad huius diuinæ lucis imitationem/ ſuæq; doctrinę euange-
licę lumen ac iubar ſuper omnes vbertim diffundit: accedētem ad fidei catholicę pro-
feſſionem ſemper lumine diuini verbi illuſtrare paratus/ad diuinę bonitatis ſimilitudi-
nem. Non autem pontifex ipſe vlla torquetur inuidia/qua a communicatione bonorū
ſibi indultorum in alios auocetur: neq; indignatione aut turbida ira commouetur/ ob
prioris vitę accedentium impietatem aut deſertionis dei culpam. Sed benignus & mi-
tis in omnes ad CHRISTI exemplum eſt: neq; improperans neq; exprobrās prętert-
tam infidelitatem atq; nęquitiam. Atq; vt verus dei imitator/ accedentibus ad deū do-
ctrinę ſacrę veritatem cū authoritate & maturitate pontificali explicat: cuiq; pro captu
ſuo verborum ſanctorum ad deum inducentium lumen infundens. ¶ Nūc de eo qui cō- 21
uertitur poſt errorem ad deum/ differit ſacratiſſimus pater: id ſupponens tanq̄ omnibus
perſpicuum/ ꝙ deus eſt cuiuſq; ſacri ordinis ſiue cœleſtis ſiue terreſtris & perſeueran-
tiæ in bono principium. per quam ſane conſtantiam atq; in bono permanentiam: ip-
ſę mentes diuinę atq; angelicę ſeipſas cognoſcunt/ ſuamq; naturam & proprietates
perſpectas habent. Itaq; qui poſt infidelitatem cupit myſteriorum fidei particeps fieri/
illiuſq; ſacris initiari & illuminari: ad propriā ſuę naturę conſiderationem & notitiam
recurrens / in principio quiſnam ipſe ſit attentius intuebitur. & iſtud primum aſ-
ſequetur munus ex hac ſui ipſius conſideratione: ſcilicet ſui cognitionem/ vt ad ſa-
crum lumen agnitionis dei perueniat. Nempe qui ſua omnia opera/ affectus & in-
tima cordis: iudicio mentis non deprauato per aliquam perturbationem/ diligentius
inſpexerit: denſas effugiet ignorantię tenebras / ꝙ prima ad ſalutem via eſſe cre-
datur: ſeipſum noſcere. ¶ Veruntamen is qui diuinę adhuc participationis rudis eſt 22
& expers / ante ſemper in tenebris verſatus: non ſtatim ex ſeipſo & proprio ductu
illam cupiet. ſed paulatim ac ſucceſſione quadam ad anteriora ſemper & altiora ni-
tetur: & demum hac per gradus aſcenſione perfectus / ad ſupremum & ſummum

23 ordinem eccleſiaſtici ſtatus euadet de gradu in gradū proficiendo progrediēs. ¶ Huius
autem ſacratiſſimi ordinis catholicæ perfectionis pedetentim obtinendi/ imago ſenſibilis:
eſt ipſius accedentis ad baptiſmū verecundia/ & ſuorum omniū tum actorum tum
agendorū cauta ſcientia: quæ hominē fidelem inquirit ducem/ per quem ad pontificem
habeat acceſſum. Hunc autem ſacris initiandū ita alterius ductu accedentem: ipſa diuina
maieſtas occulte in ſui conſortiū aſſumit. illiq; lucem ſuam ſpiritualem tanq̃ ſignaculum
aliquod coniunctionis cum eo/ elagitur: reddens illum iam ſanctificatum/ & ſacri
ordinis fideliū participem. Hoc autē myſtice ſignificatur per id ſignū: quod ipſi catechumino
accedēti pōtifex primo tradit/ ſcilicet ꝙ eū benigne ad ſe ſuſcipit/ & manus illi iponit.
Idē quoq; ſignificatur per deſcriptionē illam ſacerdotū/ qua nomen initiandi annotant:
& per quā ille ſaluādorum numero aſcribitur/ quaſi iam in libro vitæ ſcriptus. Neq;
ſolū ille qui initiatur/ ſed & ſuſceptor eius ſacris litteris inſcribitur: tanq̃ ſalutaris ad veritatē
viæ dux ac mōſtrator. Atq; ille quidem qui accedit ad baptiſmū/ inſcribitur: quia
ſyncęrus amator veritatis fuerit/ & rectū ducem in via ſalutis ſit conſectatus. Hic vero
ſuſceptor & dux/ etiam inſcribitur: ꝙ ſequentem ſe initiandum benigna directione ſine
errore ad deum promouerit/ ſecundum ductum diuinitus inſtitutum: quo priora debent
ſequentibus ad deum iter ſternere. ¶ Cæterum id fieri nullo modo poteſt: vt quis eorū
quæ adinuicem ſunt contraria/ ſimul particeps fiat. Quæ enim participatio iuſtitiæ cum 2.corin.6.
iniquitate (vt ait diuiniloquus Paulus) aut quæ ſocietas luci ad tenebras? Quæ autem
conuentio CHRISTI ad belial: aut quæ pars fidelis cū infideli/ aut quis cōſenſus tēplo
dei cum idolis? Quare et is qui ipſius ſumme vnius cōſortium & ſocietatem habet: nō
poteſt amplius diuiduas habere vitas neq; plures affectus a deo diſtrahentes/ ſi modo
participationem ipſius vnius quam accepit: firmam & illabefactam obſeruet. ſed in eo
ſtatu mentiſq; diſpoſitione is eſſe debet: vt nullis prauis affectibus/ vnum illud (cuius factus
eſt particeps) in plura diuellentibus atq; diſcindētibus/ ſit violabilis quoquo pacto
aut diſſolubilis. Et plane idipſum inſinuat illa viſibilium ſignorum in baptiſmo traditio:
quæ accedentem ad ſuſcipienda regenerationis ſanctæ ſacramenta diſcingit & exuit/
tanq̃ priori illum vita ſpolians. quinimmo ad vltimos illum affectus (cum nullam illi veſtem
relinquit) denudans: nudum illum & diſcalceatum conſtituit ad occidentem conuerſum/
& dęmonicæ cohorti militiæq; tenebrarū voce pariter & manuū in eā regionē
impactione abrenunciantem: atq; habitum diſſimilitudinis elongationiſq; a deo/ ex priſtina
conuerſatione cōtractum: exufflatione abnegantem/ profitentēq; ſe omnino abrenunciare
ijs quæ deo contraria ſunt/ & hactenus ipſum deo diſſimilem & in diſſimilitudinis
ſtatu collocatū detinuerunt. Deniq; ſacroſancta traditio myſterij baptiſmatis trāſfert
virum illum qui initiatur ſic exutum affectibus vicioſis/ & iam talem factum ꝙ his
amplius violari aut labefactari non poſſit: ad orientem. innuens per id/ ꝙ ſtatus perfectiſſimꝰ
atq; aſpectus luminis ſpiritualis puriſſimꝰ: erit illis qui perfecte vicia effugerint.
Eſt enim pars orientalis: omniū nobiliſſima/ & a qua ſenſibilis lucis exortus proſpicitur.
Sacra item traditio per huiuſmodi traductionem ad orientem/ integre ſuſcipit & intelligit
ſanctam illius qui initiatur profeſſionem: qua iam vnus effectus reiecta diuiſibilitate
vitæ/ ad ipſum vere & ſumme vnū toto animo & corde conſentit/ ſtrictiuſq; illi coniungitur.
24 ¶ Cæterum omnibus qui ſacram myſteriorū doctrinam perceperūt/ id perſpicuum
eſt: ꝙ ſpirituales intellectualeſq; ſubſtantiæ aſſumunt eodem ſemper tenore ſtabilem
& inuariabilem diuinæ ſimilitudinis conditionem/ per iugem & aſſiduam intentiſſimæ
mentis in illud vnum ſingulare ac ſimplex conuerſionem: dum contraria illi vni/
diuiduæ ſcilicet vitæ & opera tenebrarum/ omnino abraduntur & depelluntur. perinde
atq; corporis oculus capit habitum luminis/ perpetua intentione aciei in orientem & ſolare
iubar ibi refulgens: cū opacitas & tenebræ ab eo prorſus effugantur. Neq; enim ad
perfectā profeſſionem fidei ſatis eſt ab omni iniquitate diſcedere: ſed etiā opus eſt quēq;
ad omnē mali ſurreptionē atq; ſuggeſtionē virili animo indeflexum indimobilēq; perſtare/
& nunq̃ ſyncęro ſacræ veritatis amore ſatiari: ſed in dies magis ac magis eam cōcupiſcere/
& ardenti ipſius deſiderio affici. Dicit enim ipſa apud eccleſiaſticū. Qui edunt Ecci.24.
me adhuc eſurient: & qui bibunt me adhuc ſitient. Neq; illum veritatis amorem debet
quiſpiam ſinere langueſcere aut refrigeſcere: ſed aſſidua animi in deum motione atq;
25 cōuerſione/ ſemper ad perfectiora diuinitatis hauriēda myſteria ſecretaq; ferri. ¶ Et horum
quidem aptæ & conuenientes imagines viſibiles cōſpiciuntur in ijs: quæ pontificis

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miniſterio geruntur in baptiſmatis adminiſtratione. Nempe ipſe pontifex(vt ante dictũ eſt)inchoat ipſius initiati ſacram vnctionem: deinde ſacerdotes eam abſoluunt & complent. per id ſignum/ipſum ſic inunctum deſtinãtes atq; mittentes ad ſacra certamina: contra ſpirituales nęquitias & hoſtes inuiſibiles/ in figura & ſimilitudine athletarum & pugilum corporalium: qui oleo delibuti inibant mutuo certamen/luctam/paleſtram in ſtadio locali. In quibus ſacris certaminibꝰ/in huius vitæ ſtadio militia ſpirituali peragẽdis: ipſe initiatus conſtitutus eſt ſub CHRISTO datore diſtributoreq; munerũ. Nempe Matth.5. ipſe CHRISTVS/vt deus: præmia cœleſtia certãtibus ꝓponit. gaudete inquit & exultate: ecce merces veſtra copioſa eſt in cœlis. & beati qui ꝑſecutionẽ patiũtur ꝓpter iuſtitiã: quoniã ipſorũ eſt regnũ cœlorũ. Idem vt ſapiẽs: leges certaminis conſtituit. Ioan.12. conteſtans animã noſtrã odio habendã/mundũ non eſſe diligẽdũ/non eſſe dandũ locũ dia- 1.ioan.2. bolo. Idẽ quoq; vt pulcherrimus: decora & ſpecioſa pręmia vincentibꝰ decernit/coronã Ephe.4. ſcilicet ęternæ vitæ incorruptibilẽ & imarceſſibilẽ. Tunc inquit iuſti fulgebũt ſicut ſol in Matth.13. regno patris eorũ/& erunt ęquales angelis dei. Deniq; ipſe vt ſumme bonus: in ſuis mi- Matth.19. litibus(vt martyribus)certat & vincit. cum ipſis imanens & intimus/vireſq; ad pugnandum ſuggerens: contra dæmonem qui mortis habet imperium/& omnẽ peccati corruptelam pugnat. Quocirca is qui initiatur: hæc ſacra certamina in hoc theatro/ſpectante tota cœli curia/ſpectãtibus angelis dei aggredietur impigre & intrepide: perſeuerabitq; Colos.2. in ipſius CHRISTI (in quo omnes theſauri ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ ſunt abſconditi)legibus: ab ipſo decretis atq; conſtitutis/quę diuina ſunt mandata. & viuens ſecundũ illarũ ſacrarũ legũ inſtitutũ ſine vlla earũ trãſgreſſione: pugnabit acriter cõtra hoſtes animæ/ſpe certiſſima pręmiorũ cœleſtiũ fretus/& ſub CHRISTO deo/ acerrimo certaminis illius duce ac domino fortiſſimo conſtitutus: vnde magis animabitur ob tantum ac talem ducem/ad pugnã. At huiuſmodi agoniſta & pugil ſequẽs ſacra pręcipui athletæ vtpote CHRISTI veſtigia (quæ ipſe ſua bonitate impreſſa terris reliquit/ vt ea imitemur: & Ioan.16. qui nobis ad pugnam trepidis/hortatoria voce benigniter inclamat. In mũdo preſſurã habebitis: confidite/ego vici mundum)aſſidue pręliãdo: operationes omnes & res/ſibi ne in dei cõſortium tranſeat obſiſtentes/euincit & ſuperat. ¶Deinceps quid trina eius 26 qui baptiſatur in aquam immerſio ſignificat: diuinus pater explicat/dicens eum qui ſacris abluitur vndis: CHRISTO cõmori in baptiſmo/ſed peccato. Nam vetuſtas omnis peccatorũ tranſactæ vitæ: nullã in eo habet vim aut actionẽ. perinde atq; CHRISTVS pro nobis mortuus: naturales vitæ operationes tum non exercuit. Id liquido perhibet Roma.6. ſacratiſſimus Paulus: ad Romanos ſcribens. Quicunq; baptiſati ſumus in CHRISTO IHESV: in morte illius baptiſati ſumus. Conſepulti enim ſumus cum illo per baptiſmũ in mortem: vt quomodo CHRISTVS ſurrexit a mortuis per gloriam patris/ita & nos in nouitate vitę ambulemus. Et reliqua quę ſequuntur in eandem ſententiam. Et certe operępreciũ eſt videre q̃ conuenienter & congrue ipſa ſacra myſteria ſuis obtecta ſunt & obuelata ſignis/aptis & accõmodis. Quoniã enim mors in hominibus non eſt ſubſtantię ipſius animę corruptio: vt quibuſdã impijs/Epicureis ſcilicet & Saduceis/viſum eſt: arbitrantibus animã humanã omnino deperdi & interire cum corpore/quod exiſtimare: extremæ impietatis eſt/ſed mors humana eſt animæ & corporis prius coniunctorum ſeparatio: ducẽs vtrũq; eorum ad id quod nobis abditum eſt atq; inuiſibile. animã quidem/tanq̃ ſeiunctiõe a corpore effectam euanidam atq; diſparentẽ: ꝙ amplius oculis noſtris non offertur operationum naturaliũ indicio conſpicua. corpus autem ducens ad id quod obſcurum eſt: tanq̃ humo abſtruſum atq; reconditum/aut ſecũdum aliquam trãſmutationum ſenſibilium humana iam ſpecie deſtitutum atq; priuatum/per reſolutionẽ ſcilicet in cinerem & puluerẽ: qua humana figura prius in corpore cõſpecta deperditur atq; aboletur. idcirco apte admodũ & conuenienter illa immerſio qua totus homo aquis tegitur: intelligitur fieri ad imaginẽ mortis & ſepulturæ informis. eo ꝙ per mortem & ſepulturam/corpus humanũ illa exuitur forma: quam cum anima viuificaretur habebat. atq; ita diſparet: vt homo totus aquis adoptus. Itaq; ſancta diuinæ regenerationis myſteria nos edocẽt/ꝙ is qui ſacro fonte renaſcitur: per trinam illam lauacri immerſionem & emerſionem imitatur ſacratiſſimã mortem IHESV CHRISTI authoris vitæ/triduanæ ſepulturæ ſpacio extentam: quantum homines ad dei imitationem per- Ioan.14. tingere poſſunt. In quo domino IHESV & dum vixit & dũ mortuus eſt: princeps mũdi huius & ſathanas non ſuum inuenit quicq̃. vt euangelica teſtatur lectio: altiſſimorũ my-

ſteriorum pleniſſima. quoniā vt ait propheta: peccatum non fecit/ nec inuētus eſt dolus Eſa.53.
27 in ore eius. ¶ Poſtea quid candētis veſtis & mundæ acceptio a baptiſato ſignificat oſtēdit:
dicens per illam nobis innui interiorem animi munditiā & puritatem per baptiſmū
ſuſceptā. Cum enim firma animi in bono ſtabilitate (qua dei identitatē indemutabilem
pro viribus imitamur) nullis ad malum trahentibus affectibus ſuccūbimus/ & ad vnum
illud intentiſſime aſpiramus: quod fuerat in nobis deforme per peccatū/ adornatur diuina
puritate. quod prius ſine decore & fœdum aſpectu fuit: gratā aſſumit pulchritudinem/
28 & nouitatis vitæ ſplēdore mirifice illuſtratur. ¶ Poſtremū quid illa ſacra chriſmatis
inunctio quā pontifex ipſi initiato impēdit inſinuet: nūc aperit. ſubijciēs ꝙ illa perficiens
& conſummās omnia anteacta myſteria vnctio ſacra/ reddit hominē illū ita perfectum:
inſuper inſignitum odore ſuauiſſimi chriſmatis atq; delibutū. eo ꝙ diuinę regenerationis
ſacratiſſima perfectio/ coniungit ea quæ fuerint pfecta ſcilicet baptiſatorū corda
ipſi ſancto ſpiritui: qui in ſacris litteris per vnctionē ſæpenumero deſignatur. Et ita per 1. ioan. 2.
hanc poſtremā inunctionem deſignatur aduentus ſpiritus ſancti in animam initiati: &
diffuſio donorum eius atq; impletio in eos qui ex deo nati ſunt. Cæterum quis & qualis
ſit aduentus ſpiritus ſancti in animos hominū (qui ſpiritualiter ſuaui bonorum operum
odore mētes humanas imbuit: ac ſuis perficit chariſmatib9) ꝙ ſecretiſſimus ſit & verbis
inexplicabilis: ſacratiſſim9 pater illis intelligendū & explicandū cōmittit atq; reliquit/ qui
ſacrā & deificātem ſancti ſpiritus ſocietatē in anima ſua cognoſcere potuerūt: atq; per rei
29 experientiā melius noſſe/ quid de eo aduentu ſentiendum ſit aut dicendum. ¶ Demum
perfectis omnibus quæ ante digeſta ſunt: poſtremo loco pontifex ita initiatū hominem
& perfectum/ ad percipiendā ſacratiſſimā euchariſtiā inuitat. atq; ſacramēti omnia conſummantis
perficientiſq; cōmunionem/ homines in deum traducentē atq; deo inſerentem:
ipſi baptiſato atq; initiato tradit.

¶ De ijs quæ in ſynaxi/ ſanctaq; cōmunione fiunt. Cap. III. pars. I.

30 SEd euge quoniā huius pulchre ſane ac tempeſtiue meminimus: I
quam profecto negligenter omittere/ ſeu ſacramenta
quęuis alia ante eam laudare/ fas michi omnino nō fuerit.
eſt enim iuxta inclytum preceptorē noſtrū: ſacramentorum
cōſummatio. operępreciū igitur eſt prius illam exponere:
& eius veluti corporalia lineamenta deſcribere. tum vero vbi
eam ex authoritate ſcripturæ/ ſacerdotaliq; inſtitutione didicerimus: ad illius
31 contemplādam ſacratiſſimā dignitatem diuino ſpiritu ſubuehi. ¶ Ac
primum quidem illud pie inſpiciendum: cuius rei gratia/ quod alijs quoq; K
venerādis diuiniſq; myſterijs cōmune vocabulū eſt/ huic præ cæteris pręcipue
ac peculiariter applicetur. vt ſingulariter cōmunio ſiue ſocietas/ & ſynaxis
ſiue collectio dicatur. Nempe enim & vnaquæq; ſacramentalis inſtitutio
id agit: vt noſtras vitas in plura diuiſas/ in vnicum illū ſtatum (quo
deo iungimur) colligat. diuiduorūq; noſtrorū diuina collectiōe: nobis eius
quod vere vnum eſt ſocietatem/ vnitatemq; indiuiduā largiatur. Dicimus
ergo cætera ſacrarū rerum ſigna (quorum nobis ſocietas indulgetur) huius
diuinis profecto conſummātibuſq; muneribus perfici. Neq; enī ferme
fas eſt ſacerdotalis muneris myſterium aliquod peragi: niſi diuinum iſtud
euchariſtiæ/ auguſtiſſimūq; ſacramentū cōpleat. quæ (ſingula cū peraguntur)
& eius qui perficitur collectionem ad vnum illud vnicū/ ſacratius operetur:
& diuinitus indulto ſacramentorum cœleſtiū munere/ ipſius ad deū
conſortium peragat atq; perficiat. Si igitur vnūquodq; ſacerdotale myſterium
ex ſe imperfectum: noſtram ad vnū illud cōmunionem/ collectionēq;
non perficit/ ac per id quod perficiendi vim non habet: ferme etiam nomen
amittit. finis autem ac principalis omniū ratio in eo eſt/ vt diuinorum my-

Cur deificę euchariſtiæ ſacramētū: communio peculiarit appelletur.

ſteriorū is qui perficitur particeps fiat:merito ſacerdotalis ſacroſancta prudentia ex rerum effectu propriū illi/verumqꝫ cognomen inuenit. Sic igitur & ſacrum diuinæ generationis ſacramentū/quia primi luminis conſortium tradit/omniūqꝫ diuinarum illuſtrationum principiū eſt:ex effectu ipſo/veriſſimo illud illuminationis cognomine prędicamus. Etſi enim alijs quoqꝫ ſacerdotalibus ſacramētis cōmune eſt/ijs qui perficiūtur ſacri luminis conſortium dare:iſtud tamen imprimis michi videndi pręſtitit munus/ipſiuſqꝫ principali maxime lumine:ad alia inſpicienda ſacramēta lucis gratiā cepi. Verum his generaliter præmiſſis: diligentius intendamus/inſpiciamuſqꝫ per ſingula/myſterij ſanctiſſimi ritum/exactiſſimamqꝫ confectionem. & quid ſpiritualiter ſignet:indagare pergamus.

Cur baptiſmus ſacræ regenerationis ſacramentū:appelletur ſacramētū illumiatiōis.

I ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Sed euge quoniā huius pulchre ſane ac tēpeſtiue meminimus. Huius:cōmunionis. in calce ſcilicet ſuperioris capitis:vbi ita dictū eſt. pontifex ita perfectum ad ſacratiſſimā euchariſtiam vocat: atqꝫ conſummātium illi ſacramentorum cōmunionem deificam tradit. K ¶Cuius rei gratia:quod alijs quoqꝫ venerandis/diuiniſqꝫ myſterijs cōmune vocabulum eſt. Commune vocabulū:ſcilicet cōmunio. nam cōmunio dici videtur:ꝙ couniat/conuocet/congreget/atqꝫ colligat ad vnitatem. id autē:omni diuino myſterio cōuenit. Communionis igitur appellatio:alijs quoqꝫ æque communis eſt & conuenit ſacramentis. Sed huic venerandiſſimo myſterio(prout ſanctus pater adducit)ideo peculiarius attribuitur:ꝙ finis/conſummatio/perfectio/& complementum aliorum ſacramentorum ſit.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS TERTII CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM

30 DE diuino ſanctæ euchariſtiæ ſacramento nunc ſuſcipiendam determinationem proponit ſacer Dionyſius. Quoniā(inquit)ipſius cōmunionis deificæ/oportune & congruēter in calce prȩcedentis capitis mētio facta eſt:quam indeterminatam indiſcuſſamqꝫ prętermittere/aut alia eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta ante illam explanare/par atqꝫ rationabile nō eſt. quādoquidem ſecundū beatiſſimi Pauli ſententiam:ipſa eſt ſacramentorum omniū complementū & conſummatio. conueniēs vtiqꝫ erit ſacram illam cōmunionem/ſanctiſſimāqꝫ euchariſtiā prius elucidare:& ſigna eius viſibilia quibus conficitur/deſcriptione quadā oculari exprimere. Deinde vero vbi illa ex ſacrarū litterarū teſtimonio & eccleſiaſtica traditione/cognita & perſpecta fuerit: reliquū erit ad ſpiritualē eius intelligētiam & eximiā ipſius cognoſcēdā dignitatē/diuina aſſurrectione promoueri. 31 ¶Inquirit deinde diſcutiēdūqꝫ monet:cur nomen cōmunionis qđ cęteris etiā digniſſimis eccleſię ſacramētis cōmune eſt/huic euchariſtiæ ſacramēto præſertim & ſpecialiter aſciſcitur:vt hoc ſacroſanctū myſteriū præter cætera & peculiariter cōmunio ſiue ſocietas appelletur. Siquidem vnaquęqꝫ cuiuſuis etiā ſacramenti adminiſtratio id efficit:vt affectus noſtros carnales in plura diſciſſos/in vnicā illā diuinæ ſocietatis conditionē(qua deo ſtrictius vniamur)colligat/vt plures lineas ex diuerſis circūferētiæ particulis reuocans in vnicū & ſimplex centrum. vt etiā per diuinā quandā collectionē appetituū noſtrorū multipliciter diuiduorū:largiatur nobis vnitatē & conſortiū eius quod vere vnū eſt/& ōnia in ſe vnit. ¶Reſpōdet ſacratiſſimus pater/cætera eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta quorū nobis participatio conceditur:huius ſacratiſſimæ cōmunionis & euchariſtiæ myſterijs & muneribus ſacris perfici atqꝫ conſummari. Non enim licitum eſt(quod pro tempore primitiuæ eccleſiæ/quo hæc ſacratus pater ſcripſit:dictum intelligatur/& ſecundū illius temporis ritum)aliquod ſacramentum a ſacerdote cuiq̄ adminiſtrari:niſi ſanctiſſima cōmunio & euchariſtia illud compleat atqꝫ perficiat/tradaturqꝫ in fine illius tanq̄ eius conſummatio/ſicut iam de baptiſmo dictum eſt. vt huiuſmodi ſacroſancta cōmunio & euchariſtia ſacratius operetur & abſoluat ſingula alia ſacramenta cum peraguntur: & eius qui illa ſuſcipiendo perficitur/collectionem ad deum(qui eſt illud vnice vnum)efficiat. vt etiam ipſa communio & euchariſtia peragat atqꝫ perficiat conſortiū ad deum ipſius qui perficitur participatione ſacramentorum:& id quidē munere aliorum cœleſtium ſacramentorū/diuinitus indulto. Cum igitur vnumquodqꝫ ſa-

cramentum ſacerdotali functione adminiſtrandū præter ſanctam euchariſtiam/ex ſe & ſine alterius adminiculo imperfectum: noſtram ad illud ſumme vnum communionem & collectionem non perficiat/ & quoniam nos perficiendi ſuapte natura virtutem non habet: pene etiam nomen communionis amittit. cum etiam finis præcipuus/ & principalis omnium ſacramentorum ratio in eo conſiſtat: vt is qui ſacramentis perficitur/ diuinorum myſteriorū particeps fiat/ atq; in dei ſocietatem colligatur: recta ratione ſacerdotalis inſtitutio atq; traditio/nomen communionis ipſi euchariſtiæ ſacramento peculiariter attribuit: vt propriū illi & verum/& ex ipſo rerum effectu commode ſumptū.

⸿Declarat id ſacratus pater per ſimile in ſacramēto diuinæ regenerationis: quod quoniam primi luminis quo in dei agnitionem ducimur participationem tradit/& omnium ſanctarum illuſtrationū quibus humana mens impletur/principiū eſt: ex ipſo primum illuminādi effectu/ ſacramentū illuminationis illud vero nomine dicitur. Quāuis enim alijs etiā eccleſiaſticis ſacramentis commune ſit/illis qui ipſa ſuſcipiunt diuini luminis munus elargiri: illud tamen ſacrę regenerationis myſteriū cuiuis homini īprimis agnoſcendæ veritatis & fidei percipiēdæ donum pręſtat. & ipſius præſertim lumine: ad alia cognoſcenda ſacramenta oculoqꝫ mentis videndi deum/ gratiam percipiūt omnes. Verum his generatim ante dictis: diligentius inſpiciendus nunc eſt huius altiſſimi euchariſtiæ ſacramenti ritus & ſacratiſſima confectio/ deinde quid illa ſpiritualiter ſignificant: ſtudioſius indagandum.

⸿Myſterium ſynaxeos ſiue communionis. Cap. III. pars. II.

32 HTaqꝫ pōtifex quidē vbi orationē ſanctā ſupra diuinū altare peregit: ex ipſo incenſum adolere inchoās/omnē phani ambitū circuit. Demum ad ſanctum altare iterum rediēs/ pſalmorū incipit melos: cōcinentibus ſecum ſacra carmina omnibus eccleſiaſtici ordinis gradibus. deinde miniſtrorū officio: ſanctarum ſcripturarum lectio ſuo ordine recitatur. Poſt hæc: extra delubrum catechumini fiunt/& cum ipſis energumini: & ij quoqꝫ qui in pœnitentia ſunt. manent autem intus ſoli: qui diuina ſpectare merentur/atqꝫ percipere. Porro miniſtrorū alij quidem pro clauſis templi foribus aſtant: alij proprij aliquid muneris agunt. Qui vero ipſius ordinis præcipui ſunt: vna cū ſacerdotibus ſanctum panem & benedictionis calicem/ſacroſanctis altaribus imponunt: cum ante præceſſerit ab omni clero vniuerſalis laus/atqꝫ confeſſio. Ad hæc venerādus antiſtes orationem ſanctiſſimam peragens: pacem ſanctā omnibus nūciat. & cum ſe mutuo ōnes ſalutauerit: myſtica ſanctorum recitatio fit. Vbi vero manus tum antiſtes tum ſacerdotes aqua lauerūt: pōtifex ad medium diuini aſſiſtit altaris. circūſtant autē ſoli cum ſacerdotibus electi quiqꝫ/ex miniſtrorū numero. At vero pontifex cum diuina munera laude proſecutus fuerit: ſacroſancta & auguſtiſſima myſteria conficit. & quæ ante laudauerat venerandis operta atqꝫ abdita ſignis: in conſpectum agit. diuinaqꝫ munera reuerenter oſtendens: ad ſacram illorum communionem & ipſe conuertitur/& reliquos vt cōmunicēt hortatur. Sumpta demū atqꝫ oībus tradita cōmunione diuina: gratias referēs finē myſterijs imponit. Ac multi quidē: ſola in ſigna diuina proſpiciūt. ipſe autē ſemper diuino ſpiritu ad excelſa ſignorū initia/fœlicibus & intelligibilibus intuenda luminibus: pontificia dignitate ac merito/ mundiciaqꝫ ſingulari/diuini capacioriſqꝫ ſenſus attollitur.

L

Psalmi

Lect. Script.

claud.ª porta

panis et vinū offerunt.ª

pax vobiscū

Consecratio

lavatio manuum

Expositio Sacr.

SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ⸿Poſt hæc extra delubrum catechumini fiunt. Catecheo/inſtruo ſignificat. Et catechumini inſtructi: nondum tamen vitali lauacro regene-

L

Catechumini.

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1773/D

Cap.
3
pars
2

Energumini. Apoſtatæ. Pœnitẽtes. Ezechie. 18

rati/nondum initiati. Energeo/ago. Energumini: qui a fœdis poteſtatibus/immundiſqꝫ ſpiritibus aguntur. vt vexati/qui & abrepticij etiam dicuntur. ſub quibus publice ſceleratos comprehẽdimus(quos defectores & apoſtatas dicimus)vt qui fœdis libidinibus/& aliarum perturbationũ phantaſijs varie agũtur. vt notorij fornicatores/inceſtuoſi/vſurarij/venefici/& cętera id genus ſceleſtorum hominũ: qui a CHRISTO & eius militia defecerũt/& ſe ad poteſtates tenebrarum & ſua caſtra(proditis ſacris: & ſua ſequẽtes deſideria)receperunt. Pœnitentes: qui ex illa vita tam perdita & immunda vel potius vitæ miſera corruptione/ad piam fidelium matrẽ recurrunt: ſe & contra deum vitæ & bonitatis authorem/& cõtra ſuã ſalutem perdite & miſerabiliter erraſſe fatentes. Pro quibus quidẽ erratis ad genua miſericordiæ dei(qui non vult mortem peccatorum/ſed conuerſionem & vitã potius)confugiẽtes: pœnitentiã ſibi imponi petunt. vt queadmodum publici fuerunt peccatores in perditionis exemplum: ita ſint publici pœnitẽtes in ſpem & remiſſionem peccatorũ. Et hi omnes: a templo(dum ſacra peragerentur)extorres fiebant. Et vt de baptiſmo ea quæ ad ipſum pertinent myſteria ſub formula repræſentauimꝰ: ita & de ſanctiſſimæ ſynaxeos myſterijs hic oportunũ videtur eſſe faciendũ.

Ecc. Anglicana.	¶ Myſteria deificę ſynaxeos/hoc eſt ſanctiſſimæ cõmunionis: ex ritu apoſtolico tempore beatiſſimi patris	Quæ præſentis eccleſiæ ritus obſeruat.
obs. —	Pontifex ſupra ſacroſanctum altare orat.	obſeruat
alio modo — {	Ab altari incenſum adolere incipiens: phanũ circuit.	obſeruat particulariter.
	Ad altare rediẽs: pſalmos cũ eccleſiaſticis ordinibus canit.	
	Sacrarum ſcripturarum lectio recitatur.	obſeruat ſed alio modo
observat. {	Poſt ſacram lectionem catechumini/apoſtatæ/energumini/& pœnitentes: extra templum aguntur.	
observat {	Intus ſoli manent/qui diuina videre merentur: põtifex/ſacerdotes/miniſtri/& plebs ſancta.	
	Miniſtrorum quidã clauſis templi foribus aſtant/quidã altaribꝰ inſeruiũt/alij vero quiſqꝫ qđ ſuũ eſt officiũ peragũt.	
observat.	Omniũ catholica laus/& ſymboli fidei confeſſio canitur.	obſeruat.
Observat {	Miniſtrorum præcipui cum ſacerdotibus: ſanctũ panem et benedictionis calicem ſanctis altaribus imponunt.	obſeruat partim.
	Pontifex omnibus pacem nunciat.	obſeruat.
	Se caſtiſſimo pacis oſculo ſalutant omnes.	
	Poſtea myſtica piorum ſanctorum recitatio fit.	
	Pontifex & ſacerdotes: manus abluunt.	
? — {	Pontifex ad medium ſacrati regreditur altaris.	obſeruat partim.
	Eum ſacerdotes & ſelecti miniſtrorum aliqui circũſtant.	obſeruat.
Observat	Pontifex poſt diuinorum munerũ laudes: ſanctiſſimũ conficit ſacramentum.	obſeruat.
	In conſpectũ agit: diuinarum operationum munera reuerenter oſtendens.	obſeruat.
Observant	Communicat.	obſeruat.
alio modo.	Reliquos ad ſanctiſſimã & cõſũmantẽ cõmunionẽ adhortatᷓ.	obſeruat.
Observat.	Gratias agens/finem ſanctis myſterijs imponit.	obſeruat.

¶ SECVNDAE PARTIS TERTII CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Ritum confectionis ſacratiſſimæ euchariſtię/tempore apoſtolorum obſeruari ſolitum: explicat hic particulatim ſacer Dionyſius/qui eſt huiuſmodi. Imprimis pontifex peracta ſupra diuinũ altare ſancta oratione/ab ipſo altari incenſum adolere incipiẽs: omnẽ templi ambitũ/thuriferum ſpargendo vaporem circuit. Deinde ad ſanctum altare regrediens: pſalmos cũ omnibus eccleſiaſticis ordinibus canit. poſtea ſacrorum miniſtrorum officio: lectio ſanctarum ſcripturarum ſuo loco & ordine recitatur. Inde extra templum aguntur catechumini: fidei quidem documentis inſtructi/nondum tamen in CHRISTO regenerati/& energumini: qui ab immũdis ſpiritibus vexantur. ſub quibus & excōmunicati ob publica ſcelera: contineri intelligantur. demum & pœnitentes: qui pro peccatis prætеritis publicam agunt pœnitentiā/ quā necdum abſoluerunt. Etenim hi non habentur digni aut idonei: vt ſpectandis interſint ſacris. & idcirco tunc cū celebrātur diuina myſteria: iubētur tēplo egredi. manent autē intra tēplū ſoli illi, qui diuina ſacra videre ſunt digni atq; ꝑcipere: vtpote ſacerdotes/ miniſtri & plebs ſācta. At vero miniſtrorū aliqui clauſas tēpli fores obſeruāt: ne quiſq̄ ingrediatur ꝓphan⁹ aut ſacris indign⁹. alij vero miniſtri aliquid aliud/ qđ ad ſuū ſpectet officiū: exequūtur. Qui autē ex ordine miniſtrorū præcipui ſunt/ vt exēpli gratia ſubdiaconi & diaconi: vna cū ſanctis ſacerdotibus panē ſanctū & benedictiōis calicē altaribus ſacris īponūt: cū ante pręmiſſa fuerit a toto clero dei laus & cōfeſſio. Deinde pōtifex ipſe ſanctā ad deum orationem abſoluens: pacem omnibus annunciat. Et cū omnes ſe placido pacis oſculo ſalutauerint: myſtica ſanctorum qui in CHRISTO pie obdormierunt/ recitatio ac nominatio fit. Poſtq̄ vero & pōtifex & ſacerdotes manus ſuas abluerint: ipſe antiſtes ad medium ſancti altaris progreditur. quem circūſtant cū ſacerdotibus ſoli ex miniſtrorū numero præcipui ac electi: vt ſubdiaconi & diaconi. Cum autem ſacratus pontifex ipſa diuina munera/ debita laude honorauerit: ſacroſancta & excellentiſſima ipſa myſteria conficit. Et quæ ante laudauerat dona/ ſignis viſibilibus imprimus honorandis adoperta & velata: cōſpicienda omnibus exhibet. Poſtq̄ vero reuerenter illa aſtantibus oſtendit: ad ſacram illorum myſteriorū ſumptionē ipſe conuertitur/ et reliquos vt eiuſdē cōmunionis participes ſint/ exhortatur. Deniqꝫ ſumpta a pōtifice atq; ōnib⁹ tradita cōmunione ſanctorū: ipſe pōtifex gratias agēs deo/ finem ſanctis myſterijs imponit. Sane multi ex aſtantibus qui rudiores ſunt & minus myſteriorum conſcij: in ſola diuina ſigna (quibus ſacra occultantur myſteria) proſpiciunt. Ipſe autem pontifex ſemper attollitur ſancto mentē eius agitante ſpiritu/ ad ſublimia ſignorū ſenſibilium myſteria & ſpiritualia exemplaria: oculis mentis intellectualibus ſolum agnoſcēda. attollitur inquam pōtificali dignitate atqꝫ officio/ & mundicia inſigni animi diuinioris: atqꝫ ad arcana cœleſtia percipienda longe cæteris capacioris.

¶Spiritualis tantæ rei ſenſus. Cap. III. pars. III.

33 AGe itaqꝫ fili honeſtiſſime poſt imagines rerum: ad ipſam
quoqꝫ primitiuorū exemplarium veritatem profecto diuinam
deinceps cōtuendā veniamus. Illud autē ante omnia
ijs qui adhuc rudes imbuūtur/ pro cōuenienti illorum vſu
ac ſolatio dixerim: ꝙ ne ipſa quoqꝫ varia ſignorū & ſancta
cōpoſitio/ illis ſtolida ſeu inutilis eſt: neqꝫ ſolis in exterioribus
figitur ſignis. Namqꝫ ſacratiſſima ſcripturarū cantica & lectiones: integerrimæ
illis vitæ magiſterium dictant/ & (quod ordine præit) exactiſſimam
malitiæ totius ac pernicioſiſſimæ vicioſitatis emūdationē docent. At
vero auguſtior illa vnius eiuſdēqꝫ & panis & calicis cōmunis/ pacificaqꝫ cōmunio:
concordię illis vt fratribus vna educatis/ diuinas ſtatuit leges. atqꝫ
cenæ illius ſacratiſſimæ (ex qua/ ſigna iſta ſumpſere principiū) ſacram memoriam M
renouat. In qua & author ipſe ſignorum: eum (qui ſecum nō pie N
neqꝫ cōcorditer ſacra in cena perceperat) a contubernaliū ſorte iuſtiſſime
ſeparat. probabili ſimul ac diuina ratione nos admonens: vt verus ille ad O
ſacra percipienda & congruo captu firmatus acceſſus: id accedentibus tribuit/
vt ex cōmunione diuina/ ad dei ſimilitudinē atqꝫ conſortiū trāſeant.
Hæc igitur (vt diximus) ad ipſas adytorum valuas honeſtiſſime picta/ rudibus P
adhuc reſpicienda linquētes (neqꝫ enim altiora capiunt) iuxta ſacratiſſimæ
ſynaxis noſtrę rationem ex cauſalibus ingrediamur ad cauſas/ atqꝫ Q
intelligibilium (illuſtrante IHESV) decoram prorſus intelligentiā intueamur.
ex qua: primitiuorū exemplariū beatiſſima emicat pulchritudo. Sed

Quid pſalmorū cātica: & ſacre lctōnis recitatio ſignat

Quid cōis panis & calicis pacifica cōio.

Cap.
3
pars
3

Quid ab altari iceptū ꝑ phani circuitū thuris odoriferū incenſū: & pōtificis ꝓgreſſus et regreſſus.

o diuinū penitus/ſanctūqꝫ myſteriū/obducta tibi ſignificantiū operimēta
ſignorum dignanter aperiens:nobis palam atqꝫ aperte luceſce/ noſtroſqꝫ
ſpirituales oculos ſingulari & aperto tuæ lucis fulgore imple.¶Oportet 34
igitur nos vt reor nudata primi ac præcipui intelligentia ſigni:intra ſacroſancta
tranſire.diuinamqꝫ principalis huius ſigni ſpeciem intueri:ac pontificem
auguſtius cernere a diuino altari vſqꝫ ad phani nouiſſima cum odoris
ſuauitate pergentē/ac rurſus ad altare ipſū conſummādi ſacrificij cauſa
remeantem.Sūma namqꝫ illa atqꝫ diuina maieſtas/quæ ſuper omnia eſt/
etſi bonitate diuina procedit:vt ſacram ſui cōmunionem accedentibus tradat/
R non tamen extra ſubſtātialem atqꝫ immobilē ſui ſtatus crepidinem ſit.
ceterū omnibus qui diuinā præferunt ſpeciem:ſingulis pro captu ſuo/vim
ſui fulgoris impartit/in ſeipſa veriſſime ſubſiſtens atqꝫ ſuam identitatem
nūq̄ penitus deſerens.Pari profecto ratione diuinum ſynaxeos venerandumqꝫ
myſteriū/ſingulari licet ac ſimplici collectoqꝫ principio præditum
ſit:benigniſſime tamen in ſacra ſignorum varietate multiplex fit/pertingitqꝫ
ad omnē vſqꝫ ſacerdotalis deſcriptionis imaginem.Sed enim vnitatis
ratione:ex his rurſus ad propriā ſe colligit monadem.eoſqꝫ ſecum vnum
efficit:qui ad illud purgatiore intelligentia ſubuehūtur.Iuxta eundē igitur
diuinū modum venerādus pręſul/etſi functionis ſuæ ſingularem ſciētiam
S ad ſubiectos quoqꝫ diuinæ bonitatis imitatione deriuat/ſanctorum ęnigmatum
varietatibus vtens:rurſus tamen vt abſolutus atqꝫ ab inferioribus
liber/ad ſuū principium ſine vlla ſui imminutione reuertitur.peractoqꝫ in
vnū illud ſingulare ingreſſu ſuo ſpirituali:cernit puro lumine/ myſteriorū
ſignorūqꝫ ſacrorū liquidas atqꝫ vnicas rationes.clementiſqꝫ illius ad inferiora
& ſecūda proceſſus:finem facit/diuiniorem ad prima & principaliora
reditum.¶Porro pſalmorū ſancta modulatio(quæ omnibus ferme ſacerdotalibus 35
myſterijs iungitur:& ſubſtātiæ ratione cohæret)ſummo omnium
T principaliqꝫ myſterio deeſſe non debuit.Omnis quidē ſcripturæ ſanctæ
textus:aut rerum ſubſtantiā ac diſtinctionem a deo conditā prędicat.
aut legale ſacerdotiū/viuendiqꝫ denunciat modū.aut ſortes dei populo diſtributas/
ac poſſeſſiones narrat.aut iudicum ſanctorū/aut ſapientium regum/
aut piorū ſacerdotū ſenſum ac prudentiā celebrat.aut veterum hominum
inter varios & multiplices triſtium caſus mirabilē conſtantiā/immobilemqꝫ
philoſophiā eloquitur.ſiue agendæ vitæ ſapientia monita.ſiue diuinorum
amorū dulcia carmina/ & diuinas effigies pręfert.ſiue futurorū
plenas doctrina ſalutari/ prædictiones enunciat.ſiue diuina dn̄i IHESV
in humano corpore opera loquitur.ſiue diſcipulorū eius mores/atqꝫ inſtituta
diuinitus tradita & ad dei ſimilitudinem imitādo ducentia/ ſanctiſſimaſqꝫ
V doctrinas.ſiue arcanam illā ac myſticā omnino viſionē dilecti diſcipuli:
diuināqꝫ domini IHESV & altiſſimam theologiam eis qui dij fieri
merētur exponit/eoſqꝫ per myſteria ſacra & diuina ſuſtollit/atqꝫ cōfirmat.
X Porro diuinorū carminū ſacroſancta ſcriptura cum id precipuæ intendat:
vt omnia dei eloquia operationeſqꝫ concelebret/ſacratiſſimeqꝫ vitā inſtituentium
virorum verba ſimul atqꝫ opera laudet:diuina vniuerſaliter canit

Quid pſalmorū modulatio.

atqꝫ exponit/adomnia ſacerdotalia ſacramenta ſuſcipienda atqꝫ tradẽda.
eis habitum aptiſſimũ inſerens: qui illam pie/digniſqꝫ affectibus promũt.
36 ¶Cum igitur huiuſmodi hymnorum modulatio(quæ ſacra omnia conti-
net)animales habitus noſtros cõgrua diſpoſitione præparauerit ad ea quę
paulo poſt ſunt celebranda myſteria: diuinorumqꝫ carminum cõcentu atqꝫ
cõſenſu/vnicam illam ad diuina & ad ſemetipſos atqꝫ ad alterutrũ conſen-
ſionem & concordiam(quaſi vna concordi & conſona ſacrarũ rerum cho-
rea)inſtituerit: ea quæ in pſalmorum modulatione ſpirituali cõciſiora ſunt
atqꝫ adumbrata magis/ pluribus manifeſtioribuſqꝫ figuris ac recitationi-
bus/ſacratiſſima diuinarum ſcripturarum lectione dilatantur. In ijs ſi quis
pie intendat: vniformem atqꝫ vnicam cõſpirationem admirabitur/quam
ſcilicet vnus ac diuinus ſpiritus mouerit. vnde conſequenter & ex ordine
poſt antiquioris traditionis lectionem: teſtamentum nouum recitatur. il-
lud vt reor diuino pontificaliqꝫ ſignificante ordine: vt vetus illud quidem
inſtrumẽtum diuina IHESV opera futura præcinuerit/nouum vero fa-
cta prædicauerit. atqꝫ illud quidem veritatem imaginibus texerit: præ-
ſentem vero iſtud oſtenderit. illius enim prædictionum veritatem: hu-
ius effectus aperuit & credi fecit. eſtqꝫ diuinæ locutionis: operatio diuina
37 complementum. ¶Harum rerum ij qui ſacramentorum cœleſtium om-
nino rudes ſunt/ ne ipſas quidem imagines cernunt: ſalutari diuinæ ge-
nerationis inſtitutione ſe imbui peruicaci contentione renuentes. & contra
ſcripturæ ſacræ monita in perniciem ſuam ita pronunciant: vias tuas ſci-
38 re nolo. ¶Porro catechuminos & energuminos & eos qui in pœnitentia
ſunt: ſacroſancta ſacerdotalis inſtitutio pſalmodiam quidem piam & di-
uinam ſanctarum ſcripturarum lectionem audire permittit. ad ea vero
quæ deinceps in hoſtiæ ſalutaris oblatione geruntur contuenda: non hos
plane/ ſed perfectos & tantæ rei dignorum admittit obtutus. Eſt enim
diuinus ſacer ordo/ ſanctæ iuſtitiæ plenus: et vnicuiqꝫ pro meritis digna
ſalubriter diuidit/ congruam ſingulis diuinarum rerum participationem
(iuxta illorum modum & rationem) ſuo tempore ſacratius largiens. Ex-
tremus igitur/ catechuminis ordo tribuitur. ſunt enim nullius perficientis
myſterij participes aut eruditi: carentqꝫ diuinæ formationis pia ſubſtan-
tia. patrumqꝫ adhuc ſolis fouentur eloquijs: formiſqꝫ viuificis ad diuinam
illam vitæ ac lucis authorem & beatã(quæ ex diuina regeneratione pro-
uenit)effinguntur vitam. Quemadmodũ igitur carnales infantes prius q̃
perficiantur atqꝫ formentur(ſi cura ſua deſtituantur: & abſqꝫ obſtetricum
manibus excidãt)vt abortiui & emortui caſum illũ ingenitũ & vita luceqꝫ
39 carentẽ in terra habituri ſunt. ¶Neqꝫ profecto quiſpiã recte ſentiens di-
xerit(ad id quod videtur intendẽs)in lucẽ illos e tenebris vẽtris emergere.
Obijciet enim perita corporũ ſeruatrix medicina: lucẽ in ijs ſolũ operari/
quæ lucis capacia ſint. Ita & ſanctarũ rerum ſapiẽtiſſima diſciplina: rudes
primo atqꝫ informes animos in cunabulis fidei & tenero alimẽto ſermonũ
dei (quibus & illuminandi & viuificandi vis adeſt)curat/ fouet/ ac nutrit.
Vbi vero illorũ ſubſtantiã ad id ꝑfectionis adduxerit/vt ad diuinã regene-

Y

Ad quid ſacrarũ ſcripturarũ recitata lectio. Quare pri⁹ veteris teſtamenti/ deĩde noui recitabatur

aa

Quare catechumini/ energumini/ & pœnitentes ad pſalmodiã & lectionũ recitationẽ admittebãtur: & poſtea extra delubrum fiebant.

rationẽ idonei ſint: tum demum ſuo ordine ſalubriter illis conſortium ad ea quæ ſunt lucis ac perfectionis indulget.

¶ Nunc vero veluti ab imperfectis perfecta ſecernit: vna & ſacramẽtorum ordinatiſſimæ diſpoſitionis/ & catechuminorum educationis ac vitæ/ iuxta ſacerdotalis functionis diuinum ordinem/ curam ac prouidentiam gerens.

Cur catechuminis/ energumini pręponantur.

Porro energuminorum (qui ſcilicet vexantur a ſpiritibus immũdis) multitudo/ inſyncęra quidẽ & ipſa eſt: ſecũdo tamen atqꝫ altiore gradu catechuminis eminet. Neqꝫ enim quod ſacratiſſimorũ myſteriorum participationem aliquam habuit: iudicio meo/ æquandum illi eſt quod horum omnino rude eſt/ nulliqꝫ diuinarum rerum vnq̃ penitus cõmunicauit.

Qꝫ energumini superiores ſint apoſtatis/ atqꝫ deficientibus.

Præterea illis quoqꝫ energumini ſuperiores ſunt: qui cõtrarijs aut voluptatibus/ fœdiſqꝫ libidinibꝰ aut perturbationibus obnoxij ſunt. Quippe & illi ſacratiſſimis rebus & aſpiciendis & ſumendis arcentur. & merito id quidem. Si enim id verum eſt ꝙ qui ſe deo omnino deuouit vir: qui digniſſime diuinis participandis admittitur/ qui quãtum fas homini eſt/ ad ſummam peruectus eſt diuinæ imitationis effigiem: idqꝫ conſecutus eſt perfectiſſimis illis ac perficiẽtibus modis/ quibus in deum trãſit mortalis infirmitas: is neqꝫ ea quæ carnis ſunt geret/ niſi inquantũ vrgebit neceſſitas naturæ/ idqꝫ veluti ex latere ac per trãſitum faciet. templũqꝫ ſimul & ſequax (in ſumma illa pro modo ſuo in deum tranſitione) diuini ſpiritus erit/ ſimile in ſimili collocans. profecto qui eiuſmodi eſt: nunq̃ aduerſis imaginibus/ terroribuſqꝫ vexabitur. ſed ridebit potius: accedẽteſqꝫ profligabit ac perſequetur. agetqꝫ magis q̃ patietur: pro ea conſtantia habitus (quam induit) nulla perturbatione violabili/ nulliqꝫ cedẽti. alijſqꝫ: huiuſmodi vexationum præſtabit ſe optimum medicum. Ad hæc/ reor quidem immo ſcio & compertum habeo: vt meraciſſima illa ſacrorũ ſanctaqꝫ diſcretio eos nouit ſceleſta & impura actione vexari: quiqꝫ a diuina vita defecere/ perditiſqꝫ dæmonibus & ſententia & moribus ſimiles fiunt. dum ea quidem quæ & vere ſunt & immortaliter poſſidentur/ & ſempiterne iucunda ſunt: per extremam/ ſibiqꝫ pernicioſam ſtoliditatem auerſantes: terrenam potius ac materialem/ innumeriſqꝫ perturbationibus ſubditam immutationem/ perditaſqꝫ & corrumpentes voluptates/ atqꝫ in ijs quæ aliena ſunt: fluxam & inſtabilem/ neqꝫ exiſtentem ſed apparentem delectationem ambiunt & operantur. Primi iſti igitur/ & quidem rectius q̃ illi: miniſtri officio/ & voce ſeparantur. Neqꝫ enim fas eis eſt alterius cuiuſlibet ſacræ rei eſſe participes/ q̃ eloquiorum dei: quorum magiſterio poſſint ad meliorem conuerti frugem. Nam ſi diuinorum veneranda illa altiſſimaqꝫ celebratio/ eos quoqꝫ qui in pœnitentia ſunt (quamq̃ ſui fuerint aliquando participes) reſpuit: eum qui per omnia conſummatæ virtutis ſanctitatiſqꝫ non fuerit/ nequaquam admittens: & ita ferme caſtiſſime pronunciare videtur.

Diuinitatis ſub ſacramẽti velamine loquẽtis: verba ad adhuc maculatos

ego ijs etiam qui ad ſupremum diuinæ imitationis culmen/ imperfectionis ſuæ gratia non aſſurgunt: neqꝫ viſibilis neqꝫ communicabilis ſum. Arcet enim puriſſima illa & ſyncęra per omnia vox: eos quoqꝫ qui diuina digne ſumentibus munera coniungi/ connectiqꝫ non poſſunt. Longe profecto magis prophana & im-

pura illorum turba erit: qui paſſibiliter iactandos ſe fœdis voluptatibus
præſtant/ & ab aſpectu omni & cōmunione ſacramentorum prorſus alie-
41 na. ❡Vbi vero diuino exceſſere phano & excellentiore meritis ſuis ſacri- cc
ficio amoti ſunt: ſacramentorum omnino rudes & necdum initiati. ac præ-
terea: qui a ſacratiore vita defecerūt. tertioq; demum loco ij qui ob ignauiā
ſuam aduerſantium ſpirituum terroribus viſiſq; agitantur. quippequi per
conſtantem ac firmiſſimum ad diuina conſenſum/ nequaq̄ ad ſtatum illum
plane efficacem peruenerint: quo a diuino habitu conuelli/ moueriq; non
poſſint. deinceps illi etiam qui licet a contraria vita diſceſſerint: nondum ta-
men imaginum ipſius habitu altius impreſſo caruere/ & necdum amore di
uino atq; puriſſimo purgati ſunt. Poſt hos autem & illi: qui vſq;quaq; ad
vnius effigiem non peruenerūt/ atq; (vt legis vtar verbis) immaculati om- dd
42 nino incōtaminatiq; non ſunt. ❡Tum vero caſtiſſimi ſacratiſſimorum ſi-
gnorum miniſtri & ſtudioſiſſimi ſpectatores/ ſacroſancta myſteria digna
cum veneratione cōtuentes: beneficū illud principium/ ac totius indulto- ee
rem bonitatis catholica laudatione concelebrant. ex quo ſalutaria nobis
ſigna monſtrata ſunt: quibus vt ij qui initiantur in deum tranſeant/ ſacra-
tius fit. Hunc autem hymnum alij laudationem/ alij religionis ſymbolum
vocant. alij diuinius (vt michi quidem videtur) pontificalem gratiarum
actionem: vt quæ omnia diuinitus in nos emanantia ſacra dona conti-
neat. Videtur namq; michi omnium quæ laudantur a nobis diuino-
rum operum/ circa noſtram ſalutem ratio & cauſa verſari: dum ſubſtantiā
quidem noſtram atq; vitam ad boni ſiſtit effigiem. & primitiuis illis ve-
nuſtatibus diuinam in nobis ſpeciem format: diuinioriſq; habitus & celſio-
ris intelligentiæ participes efficit. inſuper prouidens vt nos (qui per negli-
gentiam noſtram atq; deſidiam: diuinis deſerti atq; deſtituti muneribus
ſumus) paratis atq; ad id inſtitutis bonis in antiquum ſtatum dignitatēq;
reuocet: perfectaq; noſtrorum aſſumptione/ exactiſſimā propriorum mu-
nerum participationem tradat/ & tandem nobis dei diuinorūq; cōmunio
43 largiatur. ❡In hunc autem modum vbi ſuprema illa dei & excellentiſſi-
ma benignitas laudata fuerit: opertus quidem proponitur diuinus panis/
& benedictionis calix. Porro ſacratiſſima cōſalutatio iccirco celebratur: ſan
ctorumq; deſcripta nomina myſtice & modo ſupramūdano prædicātur.
ꝙ fas non ſit eos ad vnum colligi atq; vnius illius pacifica coniunctione
frui/ eiuſq; participes fieri: qui aduerſum ſeipſos diſſident atq; diuiſi ſunt.
Nam ſi vnius contemplatione ac ſcientia illuminati/ vnicæ illi ac diuinæ
nos ad ſe cogenti luci iungi vnumq; effici cum illa ſtuderemus: nunq̄ pro-
fecto in varias diuiduaſq; concupiſcentias deijci pateremur. Ex ijs nempe
carnales ac paſſiuæ: aduerſus eiuſdem naturæ conſortes/ gignuntur ini-
micitiæ. Hanc itaq; (vt reor) vnicam & vniformem atq; indiuiduam vitā:
ſacra illa pacis conciliatio ſancit/ ſimile in ſimili collocans & diuina ſingu-
44 lariaq; ſpectacula a diuiduis dirimens. ❡Enimuero ſanctorū poſt pacem
illam nominū prędicatio: eos pręconio attollit/ qui pie ſancteq; vixerunt.
& ad finē vſq; virtutis vitā conſtāter nuſq̄ ab ea deflectendo tenuerūt: nos

Ad qd ſymboli noſtræ pijſſimæ fidei decantatio.

Quid cōſalutatio mutua in oſculo ſancto ſignificat.

Ad qd piorū ſanctorū noīa prędicantur.

quidem ad imitandum beatiſſimum illorum habitum atqꝫ ad diuina ap-
petenda præmia prouocās ac ducens. Illos autem veluti viuentes prædi-
ff cans:qui (vt theologia ait)non mortificati ſed in diuinam penitus vitam
ex morte tranſlati ſunt. Inſpice autem vt ſacris quoqꝫ memorijs aſcripti
ſunt. Nempe enim diuina memoria non humano more/in phantaſia eius
partis vbi ſedes eſt memorię/īſinuamur:ſed ſacratiore quodā modo iuxta
eam quam in deo intelligimus(vt ita dixerim)precioſam/& nunq̄ migran-
tem ſcientiam:eorum qui in dei imaginem exceſſere atqꝫ in deo conſum-
gg mati ſunt.Nouit enim(vt ait ſcriptura)qui ſunt eius. & precioſa in cōſpe-
ctu domini:mors ſanctorum eius.Quæ profecto ſanctorū mors:pro con-
ſummata in ſanctitate dicitur vita.Sed & illud quoqꝫ ſacratius intuere/ ꝙ
impoſitis ſancto altari venerabilibus ſignis per quę CHRISTVS ſigna-
hh tur ac ſumitur:adeſt protinus atqꝫ incunctanter ſanctorum deſcriptio/cō-
iunctionem eorum indiuiduam/vnionemqꝫ cum illo altiſſimam & ſacratiſ-
ſimam indicans. ¶His autem eo quo diximus iure peractis:aſtās coram 45
ſignis ſanctiſſimis pōtifex:manus lauat cum ſacerdotum honeſtiſſimo or-
ii dine. ꝙ quidem iuxta ſaluatoris eloquium:is qui lotus eſt/ nulla alia niſi
tantū ſummitatum extremitatū ve ſuarū lotione indigeat.per quam pro-
fecto ſupremam munditiam:illud conſequitur/vt caſtiſſimo in habitu di-
uinæ ſpeciei conſtitutus:ad ſequentia quoqꝫ ad diuinæ bonitatis imaginē
prodeat.vinculis omnibus mortalium affectionum liber atqꝫ expeditus:vt
qui in vnius omnino tranſierit ſpeciem. Et dum ad vnum rurſus ſingulari
illo/pauciſqꝫ cognito modo conuertitur:immaculatā eam conuerſionem fa-
ciet atqꝫ illibatam.quippe qui diuinam plenitudinem/integritatemqꝫ cu-
kk ſtodiat.& dudum lauacrum illud in veteri præfigurabat lege(vt in libro
de legali ſacerdotio diximus) & modo in pontifice ac ſacerdotibus hæc
ablutio mannū ſignat. Eos enim qui ad ſacramēta cœleſtia cōficienda ꝓce-
dūt/ea oportet eſſe mūditia:vt ipſas quoqꝫ animę extremas imagines pur-
gatas habeant/ſicqꝫ ad reuerenda myſteria(quāta fas eſt)ſimilitudine pu-
ritatis accedere. Ita *enim liquidiore diuinæ apparitionis luce cingētur*:exi-
mijs illis altiſſimiſqꝫ fulgoribus in ſpecula ad ſui ſimilitudinē lucentia vbe-
rius atqꝫ lympidius propriū immittentibus iubar. ¶Eniuero pōtificis illa 46
ſacerdotūqꝫ exactiſſima/& ad ſumma vſqꝫ ſiue extrema ablutio/coram ſi-
gnis ſacratiſſimis agitur:vt oſtēdatur ſub CHRISTO nos arbitro dege- 47
re/cunctas noſtras ſecretiſſimas cogitationes inſpectante. ¶Vbi vero ſu-
prema illa expiatio ipſius patulis & cuncta ſpectantibus oculis/& iuſtiſſi-
mis incorruptiſqꝫ inclinationibus probata pręceſſit:tunc iam diuinis pon-
tifex iungitur. exactaqꝫ diuinorum operum laude: veneranda myſteria
conficit atqꝫ in conſpectum agit. ¶Quænam vero eſſe diuina in nos ope- 48
ra exiſtimemus:deinceps exponendū pro viribus. Neqꝫ enim laudare om-
nia ſufficio equidem:nedum aperte ſcire/alioſqꝫ docere. Quę tamen a ſan-
ctiſſimis viris iuxta ſacrarum ſcripturarū fidem laudantur atqꝫ celebrātur:
ea nos pro captu noſtro dicemus/ cum primum diuinam inſpirationem
in auxilium noſtrum inuocauerimus. ¶Humanam naturam initio ſto- 49

Quid manuum ablutio.

Liber de legali ſacerdotio.

Cur ea ablutio: corā ſacratiſſimis ſignis agitur.

lide a diuinis beneficijs prolapſam:obnoxia paſſionibus varijs vita ſuſcepit/
& mortis corruptibilis finis.Quippe pernicioſa illa a vera bonitate defectio/
& ſacræ in paradyſo legis præuaricatio:eam(quæ ſpõte ſua blande mm
mulcẽtibus atqꝫ infeſtis aduerſarij fraudibus cedẽs:vitale excuſſerat iugũ)
ijs quæ ſunt diuinis bonis cõtraria tradidit.Hinc iam miſerabiliter æternitatem
mortalitate mutauit. & quæ initiũ corruptibilis generationis acceperat:
ad conſentaneum principio finem iuſtiſſime properauit.Sed & ab
ſublimiore vita/propria voluntate delapſa/& ad contraria extrema deuecta/
immutationẽ tenuit varijs perturbationibus ſubditam.Oberrãs itaqꝫ
& a recto itinere ad eum(qui veraciter deus eſt)tendente/ auerſa/& perditis
atqꝫ maleficis ſubiecta turmis:minime aduertit ſe pro dijs & amicis/infeſtis
hoſtibus fuiſſe obſecutã.His vero illa inclemẽter pro ſuæ immanitatis
libidine abutentibus:in id deuenerat/vt ſubſtantiã ſuam miſerabiliter
50 periclitaret̃ amittere atqꝫ omnino perire.¶ At vero diuinæ illius bonitatis
infinita clementia:benigniſſime omnino prouidentiam noſtri ne ſic quidẽ
omiſit per ſe ipſam operari/noſtrorum omniũ ſine peccato veraciter particeps
facta:noſtræqꝫ humilitati inſerta/abſqꝫ cõfuſione vlla & maculatione
veræ & integerrimæ diuinitatis ſuæ.cuius nobis conſortiũ(vtpote iam cõgeneis)
largita eſt:ſuorũqꝫ bonorũ participes declarauit/aduerſariæ poteſtatis(vt nn
habet occulta traditio)imperio quod aduerſum nos erat/profligato.
non viribus veluti prȩualens:ſed iuxta nobis traditũ myſtice eloquiũ/ oo
in iudicio & iuſtitia.Noſtra vero:in contrariũ penitus clemẽtiſſime tranſtulit.
quippe qui animi noſtri cæcitatem diuino impleuit atqꝫ opulentiſſimo
lumine:deformitatẽqꝫ diuinis exornauit ſpecioſiſſimiſqꝫ muneribus.
Porro animæ noſtræ habitaculum:in ſalute perfecta/iam labentis noſtræ
ſubſtantiæ fœdiſſimis paſſionibus/pernicioſiſqꝫ inquinamentis liberauit.
quo pacto mundo ſuperiores euadamus inſinuans/cœleſtemqꝫ nobis conuerſationẽ
51 ſternens: per quam illi pro viribus ſimiles efficiamur.¶ Eniuero
diuina iſta imitatio quomodo nobis aliter obueniat:niſi memoria tam
excellentium beneficiorum dei iugiter innouetur ſacerdotalibus prædicationibus
atqꝫ myſterijs? Hoc enim facimus(vt ſacra eloquia admonent)in pp
52 eius commemorationem.¶ Hinc iam venerandus antiſtes diuinis altaribus
aſtans:ſancta & diuina laudat IHESV opera.quæ ineffabilis prouidentiæ
ratione in ſalutem generis noſtri:voluntate ſanctiſſimi patris in qq
ſpiritu ſancto (vt eloquia diuina tradunt) conſummauit. Peracta vero
laude/ venerandaqꝫ ipſorum & intelligibili ſpeculatione ſpiritualibus inſpecta
luminibus: tum vero etiam ad ſacra myſteria in ſignis celebranda
53 progreditur/idqꝫ ex traditione diuina.¶ Quocirca reuerenter ſimul & ex rr
pontificali officio poſt ſacras diuinorum operum laudes: ꝙ hoſtiam ſalutarem
(quæ ſupra ipſum eſt)litet/ſe excuſat/ ad ipſum primo decenter
exclamans/ tu dixiſti:hoc facite in meam cõmemorationem.Deinde tanto
miniſterio ad imitationem dei inſtituto dignus fieri poſtulat: & ſimilis
ipſi CHRISTO pro viribus euadere.vt & ſacramenta ſancte conficiat:
& caſte diſtribuat. & qui ad cõmunionem acceſſuri ſunt:digne parti-

Lapſus miſerandus & triſtis primorũ parentum.

Benigniſſima dei viſitatio noſtrũ triſtem caſũ pluſq̃ paterne miſerantis.

Cap. 3 pars 3

Quid indiuidui panis & ſingularis calicis in plura diuiſio.

cipent.ſicq; venerādiſſima myſteria conſummat/& laudata oculis ſubiicit:
in ſignis ſancte propoſitis. ¶ Sane opertum panem & indiuiduū aperit in 54
fruſta cōcidens/& ſingularem calicē omnibus impartiēs:vnitatē ſignanter
multiplicat atq; diſtribuit/inq; ijs cōſummat cœleſte myſteriū. Vnū enim
illud & ſimplex atq; ſecretum IHESV diuini verbi/noſtræ humanitatis
aſſumptione:ad cōpoſitū atq; viſibile ſine imutatione ſui per ſummā clementiā
benignitatēq; proceſſit. ſocietatēq; noſtram qua ſibi iungeremur:
beneficentiſſime excogitauit/noſtra humilia diuinis ſuis excellētijs iungēs.
ss ſi quidē & nos illi tanq̄ membra corpori cōgruamus:& per vitæ ſyncærę/
ac diuinæ ſimilitudinē cōpaginemur.ne corrūpentibꝰ mortificati vicijs/ad
diuina & ſaniſſima mēbra incongrui efficiamur:vt qui hærere/eadēq; vita
viuere nequaq̄ valeremus. Oportet enim nos(ſi ad illius aſpiramus ſocietatem)
diuinā ipſius in carne vitam intueri aſſidue:ſanctāq; ipſius impeccantiam
imitando/pro viribus ad ſacratiorem habitū/exactiſſimāq; recurrere
intelligentiā. Ita enim cōuenienter nobis ſocietatem:ad ſimile conſortiū largietur.
Ita ijs quę myſtice fiunt pontifex ſignat:dū operta munera in apertum
ducit/ipſorūq; vnitatem in plurima diuidit.& perfecta ſacramentorū
tt ſic diſtributorū/ad ea in quibus fiūt/inſitione:ſocios eorū illos qui ea perceperint
efficit. Deſcribit enim in ijs ferme ſenſibiliter in conſpectum dans:
CHRISTVM IHESVM noſtrā ſpiritualem (vt in imaginibus) vitā:
ex diuinitatis occulto(perfecta & incōfuſa noſtræ mortalitatis aſſumptione)
clemētiſſime proprietatē ex nobis accepiſſe.atq; ad diuiſibile noſtrum
ſine immutatione ſui:ex vnitate naturali proceſſiſſe.perq; hanc beneficam
clementiā:ad participationē ſui/ſuorūq; bonorū inuitare genus humanū.
ſi tamen ipſius ſacratiſſimæ inſeramur vitæ:ipſam quantū fas eſt imitādo.
ſicq; veraciter:conſortes dei/diuinorūq; participes efficiemur. ¶ Sūptis vero/ 55
traditiſq; myſterijs ſacris:in gratiarū actiones cum omni eccleſię ſancta
multitudine deſinit. Enimuero participatio cōmunionem præcedit: myſticamq;
vv diſtributionē myſteriorū ſancta perceptio. Eſt enim hic diuinarum
rerum decentiſſimus ordo:vt prius cōmunicet/atq; īpleatur ſanctus pręſul
iis(quæ per illum diſtribuēda ſunt cæteris)diuinis donis:& ſic alijs tradat.
Quocirca & ij qui diuinis magiſterijs(priuſq̄ digna illis conuerſatione capaces
effecti ſint)abutūtur audacter:īpuri atq; a ſacra lege extranei ōnino
cenſentur. Vt enī in ſolis radijs/tenuiores lympidioreſq; ſubſtantiæ primæ/
influenti luce replentur:ſicq; exuberantē lucem in ſubſequentes/ſolis vice
tranſfundunt.ita non ſine periculo diuinis in rebus quibuſq;/aliis ſe ducem
præſtare pręſumit:qui non per omnia euaſerit ſimillimus deo/& ab inſpiratione
iudicioq; diuino fuerit gubernator declaratus. In his omnis ſacerdotalis
functio pontificaliter congregata / poſt diuina percepta myſteria:
cum gratiarum actione deſiſtit.vbi ſcilicet diuinorum beneficiorum
gratias: pro modulo ſuo recognouit atq; laudauit. Qui enim diuinorum
exortes ſunt atq; omnino rudes:nequaquam ad agendas gratias conuertuntur/
quamuis ex natura ſua digniſſima ſint gratiarum actione dona
diuina. Cæterum(vt dixi)cū neq; tunc diuinis muneribus aciem intendere

Cur pontifex priꝰ cōmunicat q̄ alijs cōmunionis conſortiū tradat: & cur in gratiarū actiōes deſinit.

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voluerint(ꝙ ad deteriora magis inclinarint)ingrati ad infinitas diuinorũ
beneficiorũ gratias perſtiterunt. Guſtate inquit & videte. Profecto qui ſacroſancta xx
diuinarum rerum diſciplina initiantur: permagnificas ipſarum
recognoſcent gratias. & excellentiſſimã illarũ celſitudinem ac magnitudinem
participatiõe ſpeculãtes: cœleſtia diuinitatis beneficia grate laudabũt.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Atq; cœnę illius: ex qua ſigna iſta ſumpſere principium. M
De illa benedictiſſima conſummatrice cœna loquitur pius pater: quã Matthęus
cap. viceſimo ſexto deſcribit dicens. Cœnãtibus autem eis/accepit IHESVS panem/&
benedixit ac fregit: deditq; diſcipulis ſuis & ait. accipite & comedite: hoc eſt corpus meum.
Et accipiens calicem gratias egit: & dedit illis dicens/bibite ex hoc omnes. hic eſt
enim ſanguis meus noui teſtamenti: qui pro multis effundetur in remiſſionẽ peccatorũ.
¶Eum qui ſecum non pie neq; cõcorditer ſacra in cœna perceperat. De Iuda proditore N
perditionis filio loquitur pater: de quo Ioannes cap. decimo tertio. Qui cum recubuiſſet
ſupra pectus IHESV dixit ei. dñe quis eſt? Reſpõdit IHESVS. ille cui ego intinctum
panem porrexero. Et cũ intinxiſſet panẽ: dedit Iudæ Simonis Scariothis. & poſt buccellam:
introiuit in eum ſathanas. & dixit ei IHESVS: quod facis/fac citius. cum autem
accepiſſet ille buccellã: exiuit cõtinuo. ¶Vt verus ille ad ſacra percipienda. Vt: quo pacto/ O
qualiter. ¶Hęc igitur vt diximus ad ipſas adytorũ valuas. Hæc: hæc ſigna. Adytũ/ P
locus eſt tẽpli ſecretior: ad quẽ ſoli ſacerdoti patebat acceſſus. Et hic ſacri patris ſermo:
honeſta velatur metaphora. ¶Ex cauſalibus ingrediamur ad cauſas. Ex cauſalibus: ex Q
effectis/ipſiſq; cauſatis. ¶Non tamen extra ſubſtantialem/atq; immobilẽ ſui ſtatus crepidinem R
fit. Crepidinem: ſedem/& ſuæ collocationis ſummitatẽ. Et eſt proprie crepido:
prærupti ſaxi vertex atq; altitudo. ¶Sanctorũ ænigmatum varietatibus vtens. Aenigmatum: S
figurarum/& obſcurarũ velationum. ¶Omnis quidem ſcripturę ſanctæ textus. T
Scripturã ſacrã partitur pater. Nam aut creaturã a deo conditã manifeſtat: vt geneſis.
aut legale ſacerdotium & viuendi ritum: vt exodus & leuiticus. aut dei ſortes/& poſſeſſiones
populo diſtributas: vt numeri/deuteronomiũ/Ioſue. aut prudẽtiã ſanctorum iudicum:
vt liber iudicum. aut ſapientum regum/& piorum ſacerdotum: vt libri regum &
paralipomenon. aut veterum in aduerſitatibus infractam magnanimãq; conſtantiam/
& immobilem philoſophiã: vt Iob. aut vitæ ſapiẽtiſſima monita: vt prouerbia/& eccleſiaſtes.
aut diuinorum amorũ dulcia canticorũ dramata: vt cantica canticorum. aut plenas
ſalutari doctrina/futurorũ prædictiones: vt pſalmi/libri prophetarũ/Eſdræ/Eſaiæ/
Hieremiæ/Baruch/Ezechielis/Danielis/Oſeę/Iohelis/Amos/Abdiæ/Ionæ/Micheæ/
Naum/Abachuc/Sophoniæ/Aggei/Zachariæ & Malachiæ. ſiue diuina IHESV in humano
corpore opera: vt quatuor ſacroſanctorũ euãgeliorum volumina. aut apoſtolorũ
diſcipulorumq; eius mores/atq; inſtituta diuina: vt actus apoſtolorum & epiſtolæ. aut
arcanam a IHESV traditã reuelationem: vt apocalypſis Ioãnis euãgeliſtæ. ¶Siue arcanam V
illam ac myſticam omnino viſionẽ dilecti diſcipuli. Aperte teſtatur beatus pater
ſanctã apocalypſim eſſe Ioãnis euãgeliſtæ. nec res in primitiua eccleſia erat cõtrouerſa.
¶Porro diuinorũ carminum ſacroſancta ſcriptura. Prima/pręcipuaq; pſalmorũ intẽtio X
eſt: vt omnia dei eloquia diuinaſq; operationes decãtet/ac cõcelebret. Secũda eſt/vitã
verba & opera pie & ſancte in deo viuentium & ſeſe ad eius effigiem pro viribus efformantium
laudare. & ſic quoq; eos ex ea bonorũ operum laude: ad illum deiformem ſtatum
fortius prouocare. quod ſine teletis & myſterijs fieri impoſſibile eſt. Idcirco diuinæ
odæ/& diuina pſalmorum carmina in ſe ea continent: quæ ad vnũquodq; ſacramentorũ
& ſacerdotale munus ſint accõmodãda. Merito igitur ſanctiſſima apoſtolorũ inſtitutio/
qui(vt diuinus habet ſermo)annũciauerunt opera dei/& facta eius intellexerunt: inſtituit Pſal. 63.
pſalmorũ hymnos in vnoquoq; ſacramẽtalium miniſteriorũ cõcini/illi quidẽ conuenientes
atq; accõmodatos. ¶Qui illã pie/digniſq; affectib⁹ promũt. Qui illã pſalmorũ Y
ſcripturã pie/& dignis affectibus pãgunt & decãtant. ¶Et cõtra ſacræ ſcripturæ monita aa
in perniciẽ ſuã: ita pronũciãt. Iob. cap. viceſimo primo. Ducunt in bonis dies ſuos: & in
pũcto ad inferna deſcẽdunt. qui dixerũt deo/recede a nobis: & ſciẽtiã viarũ tuarũ ſcire bb
nolumus. ¶Primi iſti igitur & quidẽ rectius q̃ illi: miniſtri officio & voce ſeparãtur. Iſti
ſcilicet vicioſi(qui apoſtatæ & deficientes appellantur)paulo ſupra tacti/officio & voce
miniſtri rectius valentioreq; iure primi ſeparantur: q̃ illi energumini. Nam impura

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actione perturbate viuentes a vita diuina defecere/ ad aduerſas acies profugi: perditiſq;
dæmonibus ſententia & moribus magis ſunt ſimiles q̃ energumini/ qui a dæmonibus
ipſis vexati maniſeſte corripiuntur. Nam & flagitioſi illi ſimiles eſſe videntur ijs:
qui ſponte ſua fidefragi (patriæ & ciuium legibus violatis) in caſtra ſeſe recipiunt hoſtilia/
in domeſticos & patrios ciues arma vertētes. Energumini vero ijs potius: qui ſocordes
& pauidi ſeſe dediderunt hoſtibus: pendentes poſtea ſępius ſuis victoribus horrendas
cc & miſerabiles pœnas. ¶ Vbi vero diuino exceſſere phano. Ordo eorum qui a ſacro
arcentur phano: dum venerandiſſima peraguntur myſteria. Remotiſſimi omniū arcentur
catechumini/ vt qui nondū initiati ſunt: quaſi nondum geniti/ lucem vitamq; habentes.
deinde ſcelerati apoſtatæ/ qui a CHRISTO principe cœleſtium & terreſtrium/
mentiti defecerunt: tanq̃ proditores in hoſtilibus caſtris inimica arma ferētes ſub nigra
poteſtate tenebrarū. Mox energumini: tanq̃ debiles & pauidi ſeſe ſuis hoſtibus dedentes/
ſuæ ignauiæ miſerabiles pœnas dātes. Et quarto in loco ſtatuūtur pœnitētes: tanq̃
ij qui defecerunt quidē/ ſed errorem ſuū miſerabiles agnoſcentes/ ſuorum ciuiū miſericordię
& patriarum legum clementiæ ſe ſubmittentes/ omnem penā vltro & acceptātes
& ferentes: dum modo priori (quā ab eis malus abſtulit error) donentur libertate. Intra
dd vero phanū/ vltimū locum plebs ſancta obtinet: deinde miniſtri/ mox ſacerdotes. quartum
vero ſupremūq; locum: ipſe ſummus ſupremuſq; pontifex. ¶ Vt legis vtar verbis:
immaculati omnino incōtaminatiq; non ſunt. His verbis ſæpius lex diuina vtitur. Petrus
epiſtola prima cap. primo. Sciētes ꝙ non corruptibilibus auro vel argento redēpti
eſtis/ de vana veſtra cōuerſatione paternæ traditionis: ſed precioſo ſanguine quaſi agni
ee immaculati CHRISTI & incontaminati. ¶ Ac totius indultorem bonitatis catholica
laudatiōe celebrāt. Catholica/ vniuerſaliq; laudatiōe: hoc eſt ſymbolo fidei/ ꝙ ōnia diuina
cōtineat. & de oībus nobis diuinitus indultis: totius bonitatis authorem hymno illo
celebramus & pariter gratias agimus. Continet enim cunctarū rerū a ſummo deo proceſſum.
diuini verbi noſtrum lapſum miſerātis ad nos pijſſimā inclinationem. inenarrabilem
de ſpiritu ſancto cōceptionem. virgineam ad naturæ miraculum natiuitatem. ſuſceptam
pro nobis agni immaculati & innocentis ſua ſponte paſſionem. ſepulturā. reſurrectionem.
ad cœlorū ſumma reditum. ad patris dexteram collocationē. in dei filios
diuinæq; regenerationis: ſpiritus ſancti donum. ſacroſanctā (qua de hic agitur) cōmunionem.
diuinam clementiā peccatorum noſtrorum benigniſſime indultricem. noſtram
reſurrectionem. & futuri ſæculi immortalem/ indeficientemq; vitam. In cuius laudis
deuota confeſſione: pia mens contabeſcit deo liquefacta/ iubilans potius mente: q̃ (intercipientibus
ff ſingultibus) poſſit interdū ore laudare. ¶ Qui (vt theologia ait) non mortificati:
ſed in diuinam potius vitam ex morte tranſlati ſunt. Ioannes cap. quinto. Qui
verbum meū audit/ & credit ei qui me miſit: habet vitam æternam. & in iudicium non
gg venit: ſed trāſiet a morte in vitam. ¶ Nouit enim (vt ait ſcriptura) qui ſunt eius. Paulus
epiſtola ad Timotheum ſecūda/ cap. ſecūdo. Cognouit dominus qui ſunt eius. & diſcedat
ab iniquitate: omnis qui inuocat nomen domini. Et pſalmus centeſimus decimus
quintus. Vota mea domino reddam coram omni populo eius: precioſa in conſpectu domini
hh mors ſanctorū eius. ¶ Adeſt protinus atq; incunctanter ſanctorū deſcriptio. Illa
ſanctorum deſcriptio/ ea eſt ſanctorum prædicatio: quæ poſt diuina impoſita ſigna &
pacis oſculū celebratur. & cur tam e vicino atq; incunctanter: id ſignum eſt ſanctorum
indiuiduam cum CHRISTO coniunctionē/ vnionemq; ſupramūdanam & fœliciſſimā
ii nuſq̃ abeſſe. ¶ Qꝫ quidē iuxta ſaluatoris eloquiū. Ioānes cap. decimo tertio. Qui lotus
kk eſt/ non indiget niſi vt pedes lauet: ſed eſt mundus totus. ¶ Et dudum lauacrū illud in
veteri præfigurabat lege: vt in libro de legali ſacerdotio diximus. De lauacro illo/ exodus
cap. triceſimo. Locutuſq; eſt dominus ad Moſem dicēs. Facies & labiū ęneum cum
baſi ſua ad lauandū/ poneſq; illud inter tabernaculū teſtimonij & altare. & miſſa aqua/
lauabūt in ea Aaron & filij eius manꝰ ſuas ac pedes: quādo ingreſſuri ſunt tabernaculū
teſtimonij/ & quādo acceſſuri ſūt ad altare. Et liber de legali ſacerdotio deſiderat: deus
ll det vt appareat. ¶ Humanā naturā initio ſtolide a diuinis beneficijs ꝓlapſam. Id totū
mm tertiū cap. geneſeos deſcribit. ¶ Eā quę ſpōte ſua. Eā: eā naturā humanā. ¶ Aduerſarię
nn poteſtatis (vt habet occulta traditio) īperio quod aduerſū nos erat ꝓfligato. Paulꝰ epiſtola
ad Hebręos cap. ſcđo. Quia ergo pueri cōmunicauerūt carni & ſāguini: & ipſe ſimiliter
ꝑticipauit eiſdē/ vt ꝑ mortē deſtrueret eū qui mortis habebat īperiū/ id eſt diabolū.

Ordo eiectorū a tēplo: & corū qui ī eo ad diuina ſpectacula manent.

¶Sed iuxta nobis traditum myſtice eloquium.in iudicio & iuſtitia. Ioannes cap. duodecimo/ oo
cum vox ſummi patris(audiente turba)ſupra IHESVM intonuiſſet.non propter
me(inquit)hæc vox venit:ſed propter vos.nunc iudiciū eſt mundi:nunc princeps
huius mundi eijcietur foras.Et ꝙ nō in fortitudine veniſſet nos de iugo antiquæ ſeruitutis
liberaturus:Zacharias cap.nono. Exulta filia Sion: exulta filia Hieruſalem. ecce
rex tuus veniet tibi iuſtus & ſaluator: ipſe pauper & aſcendens ſuper aſinam & ſuper
pullum filiū aſinæ.tu quoq; in ſanguine teſtamenti tui emiſiſti vinctos de lacu.Et Abachuc
ait ipſum abſcondiſſe fortitudinem ſuam.Deus(ait)ab auſtro veniet/& ſanctus de Abachuc.3
monte Pharam.operuit cœlos gloria eius: & laudis eius plena eſt terra. Splendor eius
vt lux erit:cornua in manibus eius.ibi abſcondita eſt fortitudo eius:āte faciem eius ibit
mors.egredietur diabolus ante pedes eius. ¶Hoc enim facimꝰ (vt ſacra eloquia admonēt) pp
in eius commemorationem.Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola/cap. vndecimo.
Ego enim accepi a domino:quod & tradidi vobis.quoniam dominus IHESVS in qua
nocte tradebatur:accepit panē & gratias agens fregit/ & dixit. accipite & manducate:
hoc eſt corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur.hoc facite in meam cōmemorationem.
Similiter & calicē poſtq̄ cœnauit dicens:hic calix nouū teſtamentum eſt in meo ſanguine.
hoc facite quotienſcunqꝫ bibetis:in meam cōmemorationem. ¶Voluntate ſanctiſſimi qq
patris in ſpiritu ſancto(vt eloquia diuina tradunt) conſummauit. Voluntate quidem
patris:vt qui per os ſui dilecti euangeliſtæ Ioannis cap.ſexto dicit.Quia deſcēdi de cœlo
non vt faciam voluntatē meam:ſed voluntatem eius qui miſit me.Hæc eſt enim voluntas
eius(qui miſit me)patris:vt omne quod dedit michi non perdā ex eo:ſed reſuſcitem
illud in nouiſſimo die.& cap.octauo.Et a meipſo facio nichil:ſed ſicut docuit me pater/
hæc loquor.& qui me miſit/ mecū eſt: & non reliquit me ſolū. quia ego quæ placita
ſunt ei:facio ſemper.Et in ſpiritu ſancto conſummauit:quādo ſpiritū veritatis qui a patre
procedit miſit in diſcipulos/& in eos qui in filiorū adoptionē ſuſcepti ſunt.vt ex Ioanne
cap.decimo quinto/& actuū apoſtolorum cap.ſecundo aperte cognoſcitur. ¶Idqꝫ rr
ex traditione diuina.Id ex beata illa cœna quā cap.viceſimo ſexto deſcribit Matthęus:
& ex Pauli prima ad Corinthios epiſtola/cap.vndecimo paulo ante adducta/ ſatis intelligitur.
Hoc facite(inquit)in meam cōmemorationē. ¶Si quidem & nos illi tanq̄ membra ss
corpori congruamus.Nos eſſe CHRISTI membra:Paulus clamat epiſtola ad Corinthios
prima.cap.ſexto.Neſcitis quia corpora veſtra/membra ſunt CHRISTI:& ad
Epheſios cap.quinto.Nemo vnq̄ carnē ſuam odio habuit:ſed nutrit & fouet eam/ ſicut
CHRISTVS eccleſiā.quia mēbra ſumus corporis eius:de carne eius/& ſanguine eius.
¶Ad ea in quibus fiunt inſitione.Inſitio proprie eſt:cum ſciſſo trunco ſurculus fœcundæ tt
arboris inſeritur in ſterili.Hic vero pro vnitione ad diuina accipitur:pro qua dominus
noſter humanæ ſanctificationis initiū & perfector/apud Ioannē orat patrem.Pater Ioan.17.
ſancte ſerua eos in nomine tuo quos dediſti michi:vt ſint vnum ſicut & nos. Et iterum.
Non pro eis autem rogo tantū/ſed & pro ijs qui credituri ſunt per verbum eorū in me:
vt omnes vnum ſint.ſicut tu pater in me & ego in te: vt & ipſi in nobis vnum ſint. En
igitur de illa deiformi inſitione ac vnitione ienarrabili/ipſa ſuper omnia exaltata pro nobis
orat vnitas et veritas. cui ſemper ſit laus omnis: pariter et gratiarū actio. ¶ Eſt enī vv
hic diuinarum rerum decentiſſimus ordo. Non immerito hic ordo fuerit congruentiſſimus:
vt ipſe pontifex qui alios ſanctificat/prius ipſe ſit ſanctificatus.et qui perficit:prius
ſit et perfectus.Sic enim et CHRISTVS (quem noſtræ humanæ functionis quoad
poteſt imitatur pontifex)de ſeipſo ait Ioannis cap.decimo ſeptimo.Et pro eis ego ſanctifico
meipſum:vt ſint et ipſi ſanctificati in veritate. Quo fit vt qui illuminatus per vitalem
lauacri ablutionem non fuerit:alios iure illuminare non poſſe cognoſcatur/ atqꝫ
ad illuminationis ſacramentū perducere.et qui nondū perfectus:alios perficere. ¶Guſtate xx
inquit et videte.Pſalmꝰ triceſimus tertius.Guſtate et videte/quoniā ſuauis eſt dominus:
beatus vir qui ſperat in eo.Vbi animaduertere dignū eſt/ ignorantiam nos ſummopere
ingratos facere: cognitionem autem et rectam diſciplinam/gratos.Iccirco cognoſcere
ſtudendum eſt diuinorum beneficiorum præſtantiam : vt nosipſi grati ſimus
ei/qui omni gratiarum actione ſemper eſt digniſſimus. vtqꝫ digni(quātum in nobis eſt)
diuinarum rerum aut ſuſceptione aut amminiſtratione efficiamur. Neqꝫ profecto vnq̄
iſta auguſtiſſima ſacramenta(in quibus ſumma noſtra perfectio/ conſummatioqꝫ/ et in
deum tranſitio ſita eſt)tam negligenter/ irreuerēter/ et ingrate tractarent pleriq; ſacer-

Cap. 3 pars 3 dotes: ſi cæci & indigni ad tantā rerum maieſtatem tractandā nō fuiſſent admiſſi. Idcirco 34
non temere ordinandus eſt diuinarum rerū præſul/qui omni ſanctitate & præcellenti
myſticarum rerū intelligentia non cognoſcatur inſigniter præditus:&(vt ait ſacratus
pater/& primus noſter Galliarū antiſtes)qui diuino indicio non fuerit gubernator declaratus.
qui ſi talis fuerit: nequaq̄ ſummo & ſummi omniū regis ſeruitio immūdos/cęcos/
præſumentes/ ingratos/impudentes/ & prorſus indignos vnq̄ promouebit miniſtros.
Qꝫ ſi quem deus hac luce dignatus fuerit(dignatur enim eos: qui id in omni humilitate/
vt paruuli ab ipſo petunt)& per intimā cognitionem/dulcedinem munerū dei guſtauerit:
caueat ſummopere cadere/& indignū quicq̄ & ingratum tanto dei beneficio admittere/
ſententia diuini Pauli de difficultate reſurgendi ſalubriter ammonitus. Impoſſibile
Hebrę. 6. eſt(inquit)eos qui ſemel illuminati ſunt/guſtauerunt etiā donum cœleſte/& participes
facti ſunt ſpiritus ſancti/guſtauerunt nichilominus bonum dei verbum/virtuteſqꝫ venturi
ſæculi & prolapſi ſunt: rurſum renouari ad pœnitentiam. Sed nunc ad ſancti vnguēti
myſteria tranſeatur.

¶TERTIAE PARTIS TERTII CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

ADmonet imprimis ſacer Dionyſius/poſt ſenſibiles ſacroſanctæ euchariſtiæ 33
explicatas imagines/ conſcendendum eſſe ad contemplandam
veritatē occultorū & ſpiritualium ſanctæ cōmunionis myſteriorū: quæ
huiuſmodi imaginum primitiua ſunt exemplaria/præcipue per illas repræſentata.
Rudibus autē & ſpiritualis intelligentiæ minus capacibus/
pro eorū inſtitutione ac doctrina id perſuadendū tradit: ꝙ ipſa ſignorū
materialiū diuerſitas ac multiplicitas quæ in ſanctiſſimæ euchariſtiæ cōfectione
cernitur/nequaq̄ illis abſurda aut inutilis videri debet: neqꝫ ſolam habet viſibilium
ſignorū exteriorum/ſine alicuius doctrinæ eis conuenientis ſignificatione/oſtēſionem.
Nempe pſalmorū cantica & ſacrarū ſcripturarū lectiones/illis rudibus vitæ rectius
agendæ documenta præbent: & ab omni inquinamento peccati expurgationem faciendam
edocent. quod quidem ſecundū: ordine prius eſt q̄ primū. Debet enim ante fieri vitæ
viciosæ emundatio: q̄ magiſterium ſuſcipiatur vitæ ſecundū virtutē agendæ. Sicut
prius eradicandæ ſunt ſpinæ inutiles: q̄ inſerendum agro bonum ſemen. & ante propellendæ
ſunt tenebræ: q̄ lumen oculis inferendū. Ante quoqꝫ languor e corpore tollēdus:
q̄ inducatur optata ſanitas. Inſuper ſacratior illa vniuſqꝫ ac eiuſdem panis & calicis cōmunicatio:
decernit illis rudibus legem cōcordiæ/pacis ac fraternæ dilectionis/integerrime
ſeruandam adinuicem: tanq̄ fratribus vna & eadē menſa enutritis. Eadem quoqꝫ
cōmunio renouat illis memoriā cœnæ illius ſacratiſſimę & vltimę: quā fecit dominus noſter
cum diſcipulis ſuis ante paſſionē. Ex qua quidem cœna/iſta ſigna viſibilia quibus ſacratiſſima
traditur euchariſtia: ſuum habuerunt exordium/ꝙ tunc fuerit primum inſtituta
hęc ſacroſancta communio. In qua etiam cœna ipſe dominus noſter/ſactorum ſacramenti
euchariſtię ſignorum inſtitutor: Iudam traditorem(qui cibum etiam cum eo inibi
ſumpſerat: non tamen ſyncęro nec pio animo/ſed proditionis peragēdę propoſito)a cæterorum
diſcipulorū cœtu ęquiſſime ſeparauit/ diſcreuit & diſpeſcuit. Vnde rationabili
iure ac diuina inſtitutione nos per id dominus noſter admonuit: ꝙ ſyncęrus ad ſacra euchariſtię
munera percipienda acceſſus/ & debita præparatione factus/ id accedentibus
tribuit donū: ꝙ ex communione illa ſacra/ad dei ſocietatem et conſortium colligantur.
Hęc itaqꝫ tanq̄ depicta ad exteriores valuas adytorū quibus ſacra occulta continentur/
rudibus ipſis inſpicienda relinqui debent: ꝙ ſublimiora myſteria capere nō poſſint. quēadmodum
in foribus ipſis pictura effigiari ſolent imagines ſacrarum reliquiarū: quę intus
abſtruſę latent. vt ſaltem externā illam efformationē palam cernant: qui ad ſacratiora
ſpectacula intus abdita non admittuntur. Et iuxta ipſius ſacratiſſimę communionis
inſtitutionem ac traditionem: ab effectibus ipſis ad cauſas progrediendum eſt. et ab exterioribus
ſignis(quę cauſalia ſunt: ꝙ propter aliud ordinantur) introgrediendum eſt
ad cauſas ipſas: ſpiritualia ſcilicet ſenſa/quorum gratia: ſunt hęc ſigna ſenſibilia. Sacramētalium
quoqꝫ miniſteriorū/domino IHESV illuminante mentes noſtras/ pulchra &
ſpiritualis intuenda eſt intelligentia: ex qua ſacratiſſimorum myſteriorum veritas et venuſtiſſima
pulchritudo apparet/ innoteſcit et promitur. ¶Deinde paucis cum ingenti
pietate & religione orat ſacratiſſimus pater hoc diuiniſſimū myſteriū: vt aperire ei dignetur
illa ſignificatiuorū ſignorū velamina quibus obducitur/ & animis humanis pa-

34 Iam atq; aperte ſe inſinuare. ſpiritualeſq; mentis oculos claro ſuȩ cognitionis iubare p̄fundere:
quo pro dignitate poſſint hæc tanta myſteria alijs reſerare. ¶Poſtea quid thurificatio
ab altari incepta & per totū templi circuitū facta rurſumq; ad altare reducta ſignificet:
particulatim oſtēdit/dicens poſt explicatã primi ſigni/cōmunionis ſcilicet eiuſdem
calicis et ſanguinis intelligentiam iam aſſignatam: intra ipſius ſanctuarij adyta
iam introeundum eſſe/ & intuendam præcipui huius & primo loco obiecti ſigni ſignificationem:
quid ſcilicet inſinuet pōtifex ab ipſo altari vſq; ad extrema templi cum vapore
thuris progrediens/ & rurſum ad idē altare cauſa perficiendi ſacrificij pedē reuocãs.
Sane idipſum ſignat: ꝙ diuina maieſtas omnibus immenſe ſupereminens/ q̃uis gratuita
ſua bonitate ad infima etiam terræ procedat/ vt ſui participationē omnibus cuiq; pro
ſuo captu elargiatur: nunquã tamen extra immobilem ſuæ ſubſtantiæ intimitatem atq;
celſitudinem digreditur. Vniuerſis enim qui diuinam in ſe gerunt imaginē/ ſingulis pro
modo & ratione ſua/ſuæ lucis cōmunicationē impartit: in ſeipſa tamen ſemper manet illa
ſumma maieſtas indimobiliter ſubſiſtēs/ neq; ſuam identitatem deſerens vnq̃: ſicut et
ipſe pontifex nunq̃ in eo progreſſu/ templi ſeptis egreditur. ¶Eodē fere modo venerãdū
ſanctiſſimȩ euchariſtiȩ myſteriū licet ſingulare habeat/ſimplex & vnicū principium/
dominū ſcilicet IHESVM qui tali myſterio vnice & ineffabiliter cōtinetur: benigna tamen
condeſcenſione/in ſignorū viſibilium multiformi diuerſitate eſt multiplicatū/& p̄tingit
ad omnem ſacerdotalis functionis imaginem: in illius adminiſtratione adhibitam.
Verum ratione vnitatis atq; vnionis in ſuum principiū/ ex his multiplicibus ſignis rurſum
ad propriam ſe colligit ſimplicitatē/ ſingularitatē atq; vnicã rationē: & eos omnes
ſecum colligendo vnum efficit/ qui ad illud ſacratiſſimum cōmunionis myſteriū puriore
mente ſuſtolluntur. Secundum eundē ferme modum pontifex quamuis ſacerdotalis
ſuæ functionis notionem & ſcientiam ad ſubiectos cuiuſuis ordinis & gradus deriuet:
in viſibili adminiſtratione ſui officij/ ſanctorum velaminū & ſignorū atq; inuolucrorum
varietatibus vtens: iterum tamen vt ſenſibilium rerū admixtione abſolutus atq; ab inferioribus
ſignis liber/ad ſuum vnicū & ſpirituale principiū/ ſine vlla ſui diminutiōe propter
egreſſum ad exteriora/reditū parat. Et poſtq̃ in vnū illud ſingulare ſpiritualiter ingreſſus
eſt per reuerſionē ad interiora: ſpeculatur lympido radio ac fulgore puro ſacras
& ſimplices diuinorū myſteriorū rationes. facitq; ſuū ad ſecreta & intellectualia arcana
(quæ ſane prima ſunt & principaliora) reditū: eſſe finē ſacratiorem illius clementis progreſſionis
ad inferiora & ſecunda/ vtpote viſibilia & corporalia ſigna. Vbi enim clementer
ad illa proceſſit: continuo ſe ad ſpiritualia & ſuperiora reuocat contemplanda myſteria/
35 quæ finis ſunt præcipuus ipſorū ſignorū. ¶Deinceps quid ſignat pſalmorū modulatio/
quæ ſanctiſſimæ cōmunionis adminiſtrationi adhibetur: ſacratius adaperit. Cū (inquit)
ſacrorū decantatio pſalmorū omnibus ſacramentis eccleſiaſticis adminiſtrandis cōiungatur/
rationeq; ſubſtantiæ & integritatis/ eſſentiæq; ipſis cohæreat: non debet illa
iure/ digniſſimo omnium ſacramentorū & quod omnia alia perficit/ deeſſe. Sane omnis
ſcripturæ ſanctæ contextus/ aut rerū omniū productionem & diſtinctionē a deo factam
enunciat: vt liber geneſeos. aut ſacerdotium leuiticū/præcepta dei/ritus ac cærimonias
legis Moſaicæ explicat: vt exodus/leuiticus/liber numeri & deuteronomiū. aut ſortes
poſſeſſioneſq; terræ promiſſionis dei populo diſtributas enarrat: vt liber Ioſuæ. aut ſanctorū
iudicū/regum ac ſacerdotum prudentiã & virtutem cōmemorat: vt liber iudicū/
liber regū & paralipomenon. aut antiquorū patrū in aduerſis caſibus grauiſſimiſq; calamitatibus
conſtantiam & doctrinam ſalutarem refert: vt liber Iob & libri Machabeorū/
Thobiæ/Iudith/& Heſter. ſiue diuini amoris canit epithalamiū & dulces modos ſub viſibilibus
ſignis: vt liber canticorū. ſiue vitæ ſecundū virtutem agendæ ſanctiſſima tradit
monita: vt liber prouerbiorū/eccleſiaſtes/eccleſiaſticus & liber ſapientiȩ. ſiue prænūciationes
futurorū a deo reuelatas continet: vt liber pſalmorum & omniū oracula prophetarum.
Siue domini noſtri & verba et opera in aſſumpta humanæ carnis ſubſtantia peracta/
explicat: vt ſacroſancta euangelia. ſiue diſcipulorū domini mores & opera ſimul et
ſanctiſſimam doctrinam/ quȩ homines ad dei imitationē adducat recenſet: vt acta apoſtolorū
et epiſtolȩ beati Pauli vna cū aliorū quatuor apoſtolorū epiſtolis. ſiue diuinam
apocalypſim beati Ioannis euangeliſtȩ dilecti CHRISTO diſcipuli reſerat: et altiſſimã
domini noſtri cœleſtemq; doctrinam/ ijs qui dei participationem aſſequuntur traditam/
illoſq; per ſacra myſteria inibi tradita: ad arduam rerum contēplationem ſuſtollit et ele-

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nat. Cæterum cum diuinorũ pſalmorũ prima/præcipuaq; ſit intentio: vt omnia dei ver-
ba & opera digne celebret & prædicet/deinde vero vt ſanctorũ virorũ & recte viuentiũ
etiam verba & opera collaudet/quo ad dei imitationē prouocentur alacrius: in vniuer-
ſum ipſa ſacra pſalmodia canit & explicat diuina myſteria/ad omnia eccleſiaſtica ſacra-
menta ſuſcipienda & tradenda congruenter attinentia. & conſtantem ad bonum animi
habitũ atq; ſtatum illis inducit: qui pio animo & affectu ſyncęro illã pſalmodiã depro-
mũt/reddens eos ad diuina alacriores & diſpoſitiores. ¶ Rationē deinde aſſignat/qua- 36
re prius pſalmorũ ſit modulatio: q̃ recitatio lectionis ſcripturarũ. Cum (inquit) ipſa pſal-
morum decantatio(quæ omnia ſacra continet myſteria: & omniũ ſacramentorũ comple
ctitur rationem)irrationales affectus noſtros debita præparatione diſpoſuerit ad ea vi-
denda & percipienda myſteria/quæ paulo poſt celebranda ſunt| eademq; pſalmodia ſa
crorũ canticorũ harmonia & modulatoria conſonãtia: induxerit animis noſtris vnani-
mitatē/conſenſum & concordiam ad hæc tria/ad deũ qui ſupra nos/ad noſmetipſos/ &
ad proximos qui iuxta nos ſunt/quaſi per ſacram quandã choream & conſonum in tri-
pudij ſpiritualis actione chorũ: tunc ea quæ in ipſa pſalmorũ decantatione conſtrictiora
ſunt & contractius dicta/atq; magis idcirco abſtruſa: per eam quæ ſubnectitur diuinarũ
ſcripturarũ lectionē latius diffuſiuſq; explicantur & manifeſtantur. Qz ſi quis diligētius
attendat pſalmorum & aliarũ ſcripturarum quæ ad illorum manifeſtiorem intelligentiã
recitantur/contextum: maxime earũ quæ noui ſunt teſtamenti/admirabitur vniformem
ſententiam & omnimodã veritatis concordiam in vtriſq; cõtineri: quã vnus atq; idem
ſpiritus ſanctus effecit/ſpiritus veritatis/concordiæ & pacis. quo reuelante: & pſalmi &
illę ſcripturæ pſalmorũ explicatoriæ/conſcriptæ ſunt. Vnde conuenienti ordine poſt ve-
teris teſtamenti lectionem: nouum recitatur in eccleſiaſticis officijs. vt per hoc ſignifica
ret pontificalis ſanctio/quæ hunc lectionis ordinē obſeruandum inſtituit: ꝙ vetus teſta-
mentum diuina domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI opera ad carnis diſpenſationem atti
nentia prænunciauit/nouũ vero eadem opera iam facta affirmauit. ꝙ itidem vetus te-
ſtamentũ ipſam veritatē figuris & varijs typis obtexit: nouũ vero oſtendit eandē verita
Ioan.I. tem iam præſentem & exhibitam. gratia enim et veritas: per IHESVM CHRISTVM
facta eſt. Siquidem effectus operum in nouo teſtamento exhibitus: aperuit & credi fecit
veritatem prænunciationũ veteris inſtrumēti. operatioq; diuina a domino noſtro in no-
uo teſtamēto peracta: eſt complementũ & verificatio diuinæ locutionis deſcriptæ in ve
teri pagina. quandoquidem ipſa opera in nouo teſtamento a domino noſtro facta: clare
oſtendunt prędictionem illorũ in veteri teſtamento ſcriptam/ eſſe veram. ¶ Poſtea qui 37
ab omnimodo ſacrorũ contuitu arcentur/& qui ad ea in principio admittuntur/ & dein-
de templo iubentur egredi: diuinus pater ediſſerit. Sane illi qui ſacramentorum cœleſtiũ
omnino ſunt expertes/nec primis fidei rudimentis imbuti: non admittuntur ad ipſarũ
etiã imaginũ ſpectacula/neq; diuinę ſcripturę auditionem. eo ꝙ pertinaci obſtinatione
recuſant inſtitui regulis et documentis fidei catholicę: ad diuinã regenerationem ſuſci-
piendam. & incredulitate ac impietate animi concitati/in ſuam perditionē id dicũt deo:
Iob.21. quod ſcriptura ſancta monet nunq̃ eſſe a quoq̃ dicendũ. Recede a nobis: ſciētiam viarũ
tuarũ ſcire nolumus. ¶ Cęterũ eccleſiaſtica et ſacerdotalis inſtitutio permittit catechu- 38
minos/ energuminos et pœnitentes audire pſalmorũ modulationē: et lectionis ſancta-
rum ſcripturarũ recitationem. ad ea vero contuenda quę deinde fiunt in ſacramenti eu-
chariſtiæ confectione/non ſupradictos tres admittit: ſed perfectos tantum et dignos tã-
tę rei contuitu. Eſt enim ſacerdotalis ordo ad diuine iuſtitiæ imitationē ęquitatis ſeruan
tiſſimus: et cuiq; pro conditione et ſtatu ſuo congrua officia prudenter diſtribuit. largiēs
quidem diuinã participationem cunctis recte ad eam percipiendã diſpoſitis: cuiq; tamē
iuxta ſuum modũ atq; captum. Inter hos autē tres iam nominatos: catechumini poſtre-
mo et vltimo reponuntur ordine/ac poſt cęteros collocãtur. quia adhuc nullius diuini
ſacramenti facti ſunt participes: aut plene myſterijs ipſis imbuti. Necdum enim ad ple
num formati ſunt: vt vita ſpirituali vegetati ſubſiſtant. et propter ruditatem ſuam/prę-
ceptorum ac ducum ſuorũ ſolis verbis inſtructorijs enutriuntur: et prima ab eis fidei ru
dimenta ediſcunt. diſponũturq; formatione quadã ſpirituali et effigiatione præuia: ad
diuinã illam et beatã vitã ſpiritualem/ſalutis et lucis internę effectricem(quæ ex diuina
regeneratione/ſalutariſq; lauacri ablutione enaſcitur) demũ conſequendã. Sicut igitur
infantes ſecundum carnē priuſq̃ complete perficiantur et integre formētur in vtero ma

terno ſi deſtituantur ipſius naturæ cura ac opera/& ſine obſtetricū miniſterio ante debitum
tempus maternis excidunt latebris: tunc vt abortiui & mortui generationem naturalem
non aſſequuntur/ſed vita naturali & hac luce carentem habent inter mortuos cōditionem.
39 ¶Neqꝫ quiſpiā ad id quod oculis corā perſpicit attendēs vere dixerit/ſi modo
recte ſentiat: infantes illos informes & abortiuos ſecundū carnem e tenebris materni
ventris in lucem emergere. Nempe id dicenti obijciet & vere quidē medicina/quæ corpora
humana curat & ſeruat: lucē hanc corporalem ſolum in illis quicq̃ operari/ quę huiuſmodi
lucis ſunt capacia & ſuſceptiua. Atqui tales infantes emortui: non ſunt lucis huius
mundanæ capaces. quomodo igitur in eos actionē habebit lux? aut quomodo vere
dicentur in lucē emergere? Ita manuductione quadā familiari a generatione carnali ad
ſpiritualem/quam hic molitur ſacratiſſimus pater: eccleſiaſtica & ſacerdotalis diſciplina
prudentiſſime hominum ſaluti & rerum ſacrarum dignitati conſulens/ rudes diuinorū
myſteriorū & informes adhuc animos catechuminorū educat/alit ac nutrit in primis fidei
cunabulis & tenero lacte eloquiorum dei/ad fidei documenta ſpectantium: quæ & illuminare
mentes cæcas/& viuificare mortuas queant. Cū vero illorum rudiū & informium
animorum ſtatū ac conditionem ad eā prouexerit perfectionē/ vt ad diuinā ſuſcipiendā
regenerationem ſint diſpoſiti & apti: tunc ſacerdotalis illa diſciplina tradit ipſis
ſalutari indultu conſortiū ac participationē ad ea quæ ſunt viuificę lucis ac vitalis perfectionis.
40 ¶Nunc vero cū adhuc rudes ſunt et necdū formati catechuminorū animi: eos
vt imperfectos adhuc a perfectis & completam aſſecutis formationem ſeponit ac ſegregat.
In quo & rectiſſimæ ordinationis diuinorum ſacramentorū illa ſapientiſſima diſciplina
curā ac prouidentiā gerit: proſpiciens ne quid ante legitimum tempus tradatur. ſimiliter
educationis ac vitæ ſpiritualis catechuminorū ſecundū ſacerdotalis officij ordinē a
deo conſtitutū habet ſolicitudinem & curā: prouidens ne ipſis adhuc minus idoneis diuina
ſacramenta cōmunicentur. Cæterū energuminorū qui ab immundis agitātur ſpiritibus
turba/itidem impura eſt ac immunda: ſecundo tamen loco ſupra catechuminos/
& altiore gradu q̃ illi iure collocatur. Nempe quod eccleſiaſticorum ſacramentorū participationem
iā habuit: non eſt recto iudicio æquādum ſed lōge præferendum illi/quod
nunq̃ diuinarū rerum cōmunicationem aut conſortium obtinuit. Atqui energumini facti
ſunt participes ſacrorū myſteriorū: catechumini vero nunq̃. Inſuper energumini illis
ſuperiores ſunt qui voluptatibus dei legi contrarijs/fœdis libidinibus aut horrēdis perturbationibus/ex
electione & ſpontaneo animi motu contaminati ſunt: atq; in his perſiſtunt.
quos apoſtatas & deficientes recte dicere liceat: ꝙ CHRISTVM(quem ore fatētur
ſe noſſe/& cuius ſacris initiati ſunt)factis abnegant atqꝫ a ſe abdicant. Et hi identidē
a ſacris hoſtiæ ſalutaris myſterijs aſpiciendis & ſumendis/optimo iure(ſicut catechumini
& energumini)arcētur procul. Cum enim id verum ſit ꝙ qui deo ſe perfecte addixerit/&
diuinorū ſacrorum participationi ſuſcipiendę digne admittitur/qui ad diuinę imitationis(quantū
homini conceditur) propinquā admodū ſimilitudinē peruectus eſt: &
tantā ad deū propinquitatem aſſecutus diuinorū ſacramentorū participatione/& perfectorum
quidem et homines perficientiū/ quibus humana imbecillitas vt cōuenientibꝰ
adminiculis tranſit in dei cōſortium: is ſane voluptates carnis non proſequetur/ niſi inquantum
exiget naturę neceſſitas: vt in cibo potuq; ad vitā ſuſtentandā ſumendo/ idqꝫ
perfunctorie ſolū et velut in trāſcurſu faciet. eritqꝫ idem/ ſancti ſpiritus templum illiuſq;
imitator: ſecundum illam(quā aſſecutus eſt)in deum tranſitionem/et ſimile in ſimili collocare
ſtudebit: ſcilicet mundum ſpiritum in mundo corpore et anima/purum hoſpitem
in puro tabernaculo/ſanctum in ſancto/incontaminatū dominū in habitaculo incontaminato.
Itaqꝫ qui eiuſmodi eſt/nunq̃ horrendis immundorū ſpirituum laruis aut terriculamentis
torquebitur: ſed irridebit ea potius/et irruentes nęquitias ſpirituales ipſis ſuperior
atq; valentior aget in fugā/ac terrefaciet. incutietqꝫ illis potius metum et terrorem/q̃
ab ipſis ea patiatur: ſecundum eā conſtantiā diuini habitus ac ſtatus quā ſibi aſſumpſit/nulla
perturbatione violabilem/ nulliqꝫ vexationi cedentem. immo et alijs qui
tāta non ſunt prędit conſtātia: pręſtabit ſe cōtra huiuſmodi dęmonicas vexationes optimum
medicum et propugnatorem. Inſuper et id exploratum haberi debet ꝙ puriſſima
illa diſcretio ſacrorum/ſanctos ac pios admittēs ad ipſorum ſpectacula/rudes autem &
impuros arcens ab illorum conſpectu: probe cognouit eos omnes dęmonica agitatione
vexari/quicunqꝫ a diuinę vitę imitatione et ſemitis diſceſſere/ et nęquiſſimis dęmo-

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nibus animo pariter & moribus ſimiles ſunt. dum recuſantes ea bona cœleſtia quæ ve-
re ſunt/perpetuo poſſidentur/ac ſempiterna iucunditate animos beatos oblectant: me-
ra quadã inſania ac ſtoliditate ipſis plane exitiali & dãnoſa/appetũt potius hanc rerum
terrenarum mutabilitatẽ/materialemq; & multis obnoxiã caſibus bonorum huius mun
di inconſtantiam. concupiſcunt inſuper & proſequũtur illecebroſas & ducentes ad per-
niciẽ/carnis voluptates. deniq; & in ijs quæ hominis propria non ſunt/ſed ab eius ra-
tione ſaluteq; aliena/delectationem auidius amplectuntur & affectant: non permanen-
tem neq; fixam ſed fluxam & inſtabilem/neq; vere exiſtẽtem delectationem ſed appa-
rentem ſolum/atq; inanem fucũ præferentem. Quocirca vicioſi iſti & deſertores dei/po-
tiore iure a ſacris/miniſtri proclamatione diſſeparantur: q̃ illi energumini a ſathana ve-
xati. cum ſit execrabilior propriæ mentis malicia ex electione vicijs addicta: q̃ corpora-
lis illa a dæmonibus vexatio. Neq; fas eſt illis apoſtatis & qui a CHRISTO ſponte defe
cerunt: alterius cuiuſdã ſacræ rei participationẽ habere/ q̃ eloquiorum dei in pſalmorũ
decantatione & ſacræ ſcripturæ recitatione pronunciatorum: quorum inſtitutione & di-
ſciplina/poſſint ad melioris vitæ frugem & formã conuerti. Nempe ſi ſacratiſſima diui-
norum myſteriorum celebratio eos reijcit & abire templo iubet qui pœnitentes ſunt: q̃-
uis aliquando huiuſmodi ſacrorum fuerint participes/cum ſcilicet necdum ea perpetraſ
ſent ſcelera quorum nunc agunt pœnitentiam. neq; eum in præſentia tantorum cũ ce-
lebrantur ſacramentorum admittit altiſſima ſacerdotalis officij functio/ qui non fuerit
omnino conſummatæ perfectionis & munditiæ. quaſi ita intelligatur ipſa ſumma diui-
nitas ſub ſacramenti ſignis occultata: ipſos vicijs adhuc cõtaminatos alloqui. Nolite in
meorum myſteriorũ prodire conſpectum: aut ipſorum participationem expetere. quo-
niam neq; videri neq; communicari ijs poſſum: qui ad ſummã diuinæ imitationis perfe
ctionem euadere non conãtur/ ob imperfectionis ſuæ imbecillitatem. Enimuero huiuſ-
modi diuina vox puritatis ſyncęræ aſſertrix/eos prohibet a diuinorũ ſacrorum aſpectu
& participatione: qui digne ſumentibus diuina munera ob morum diſſimilitudinem &
diſparitatem coniungi non poſſunt. potiore igitur iure & ratione magis immunda & ꝓ-
phana(q̃ pœnitentium)erit illorum multitudo: qui carnaliter horrendis libidinibus & fla
gitijs ſe ſponte ſubijciunt/aut grauibus cuiuſlibet generis vicijs manus dant victas. Et
merito iſtorũ ſacrilegorũ deumq; deſerentium turba/ab intuitu ſacramentorum ſimul &
participatione habetur prorſus aliena: cum longe diſſimilior ſit ipſorum apoſtatarum q̃
pœnitentium qui reſipiſcunt/ad deum habitus. ¶Deinde paucis recolligit eos qui tem 41
plo excedere iubentur: cum ſacrificium illud ſalutare meritis & ſtatu ſuo excellentius ce
lebratur/iam ante diffuſius expreſſos. Quorum primi(ab extremis & infimis minuſq; ꝑ-
fectis ſeriem incipiendo)ſunt catechumini/ſacramẽtorum omnino rudes. ſecundo loco:
qui a ſyncæritate vitę Chriſtianę defecere fœdis voluptatibus implicati. Tertio: qui pro-
pter inertiam ſuam immundorum ſpirituum agitationibus ac inſilitionibus vexantur.
quiq; necdum per ſtabilem ac firmum animi ad diuina nexum ad illam peruenerunt
perfectionem: vt a diuina ſimilitudine indimobiles ſint & inſeparabiles. Quarto ve-
ro loco pœnitentes. qui licet iam a contraria deo & ſacris eius vita(quam ante duxe-
rant)diſceſſerint per reſipiſcentiã: nondum tamen omnino illius priſtinæ & prauæ vitæ
habitum atq; altius animo infixam imaginem exuerunt/neq; adhuc diuino amore ab af
fectibus & ſpeciebus illius atq; reliquijs: penitus expurgati ſunt. Quinto vero loco & il-
li templo egrediuntur cũ ſacra offeruntur myſteria: qui ob imperfectionem ſuã nõdum
ad eius quod vere vnum eſt ſimilitudinem & ſocietatem peruenerunt/quiq; nõ adhuc
omnino ſãcti & immaculati ſunt: ſed viam qua ad id ducãtur carpere primum incipiũt.
¶Itaq; his templo egreſſis: intus manẽt ipſe pontifex/ſacerdotes/ipſorum ſacrorũ mi- 42
niſtri/& plebs ſancta: diuinorũ myſteriorũ ſtudioſi & digni ſpectatores. qui illa cum de-
bita reuerentia & veneratione contuentes: deum ipſum bonorum omnium principium
et authorem/catholicæ fidei ſymbolo ac profeſſione/cõfeſſioneq; eorum quæ credenda
ſũt imprimis laudãt. a quo ſacratiſſima ſigna quibus ſancta eccleſiaſticę hierarchię my-
ſteria velãtur: nobis primum oſtẽſa ſũt. quibus id hominibus indulgetur/vt ij qui ſacris
initiãtur & ſacramẽta percipiũt: in deum trãſeãt. Hũc vero hymnum qui a tota celebra-
tur eccleſia: alij laudationem vocãt. alij religionis ſymbolum: ꝙ collectim complectatur
omnia quę ad religionis noſtræ fidem attinẽt. alij vero diuiniore vocabulo(vt ſacratiſſi-
mo patri videtur)eũdem hymnum/põtificalem gratiarum actionem vocãt: ꝙ omnia ſa

cra dona & diuinæ bonitatis munera in nos deriuata/particulatim contineat. Nēpe omnium
diuinorum operum quæ a nobis laudātur/ratio & cauſa circa noſtram ſalutē verſatur:
vt productionis mundi/incarnationis verbi/paſſionis/reſurrectionis & aſcenſionis
dominicæ. dum per illa deus ipſe ſubſtantiam & vitam noſtram ſpiritualem effigiat &
componit ad boni ſimilitudinem. cum etiam primaria illa ſuę diuinitatis pulchritudine:
diuinam in nobis ſpeciem effigiemq; efformat. ſacratioriſq; ſtatus & ſublimioris ſacrorum
myſteriorum intelligentiæ: nos participes efficit. prouide nobis proſpiciens/ vt qui
per inertiam atq; ſecordiam noſtrā diuinis muneribus ſpoliati & priuati ſumus: per ſanctiſſima
ſacramentorū myſteria tanq̄ parata atq; ad obtinenda dei munera inſtituta bona/
in priſtinum ſtatum & dignitatem vnde per peccatum excidimus reuocemur. vt etiam
ipſe dei filius perfecta noſtræ ſubſtantiæ per diſpenſationē carnis aſſumptione: perfectiſſimam
diuinorum munerū participationem nobis tradat. & tandem hoc medio &
43 via/dei & diuinorum bonorū cōmunio nobis indulgeatur. ¶Porro cum ſumma dei benignitas
hoc modo ex operum ſuorum dignatione & gratuita elargitione laudata fuerit:
proponitur in altari adopertus panis ſanctus & calix benedictionis. Tunc autē placida
in oſculo ſancto omniū cōſalutatio fit: itidē et ſanctorum/ qui in domino pie defuncti
ſunt/nomina celebrantur. ad ſignificandū nobis: ꝙ non liceat eos ad id quod vere vnū
eſt colligi/atq; pacifica illius connexione conſtringi/ aut participationem ipſius obtinere:
qui aduerſus proximos & fratres ſuos diſſident/atq; animis ob inteſtina odia diuiſi
ſunt/aut qui intra ſe rationem habent reluctantem affectibus: & affectus effrenes rationi
aduerſantes atq; contrapugnantes. Nempe ſi ipſius ſummæ vnius contemplatione
atq; cognitione illuſtrati/ ſtuderemus coniungi illi vnificæ ac diuinæ luci nos ad ſe coniungēti/
atq; vnum cum illa ſuperna luce effici conaremur: nunq̄ reuera pateremur nos
ipſos deijci in varias concupiſcentias/animū noſtrum a deo in plura diuellentes ac diſtrahentes.
Nempe ex huiuſmodi diuiduis cupiditatibus/ carnales & perturbationibus
obnoxiæ gignuntur in nobis inimicitiæ aduerſus homines eiuſdem nobiſcū naturę participes:
nunc ob carnis voluptates/nūc ob auiditatem opū/nunc vero ob honorum ambitionem.
Sancta igitur illa pacis conciliatio quæ per caſtum ſignatur oſculum: firmat &
ſtatuit hāc vniformē et indiuiduā vitā/qua in deū colligimur & in omnes homines ſyncero
amore afficimur. collocatq; ſimile in ſimili: vnū ſcilicet in vno/pacificū in pacifico/
& indiuiduū in indiuiduo. dirimit item & diſtinguit diuina ſpectacula ſacroſanctaq; myſteria
vnione animorum in deū ſingularia & vnita: ab ijs qui diuidui ſunt & odiorum ſimultatibus
abinuicem diſſidētes. Hæc ſiquidem cōmunionis & concordiæ ſacramenta:
44 diſſenſionem prorſus repudiant. ¶At vero ſanctorum qui in domino obdormierūt/poſt
datam omnibus pacem nominatim facta recitatio: eos digno extollit præconio qui piā
et ſanctam duxerunt in hac peregrinatione vitam/& ad exitum vſq; in via virtutis nuſq̄
ab ea exorbitando perſtiterunt immoti. Qua ſane cōmendatione/noſipſi ad imitandam
illorum conuerſationē et probitatem alacrius incitamur: atq; ad cœleſtia appetēda pręmia
prouocamur ardētius. Nempe hæc ſanctorum virorum celebratio illos tanq̄ adhuc
præſentem degentes vitam prædicat: qui(vt ſacra ait ſcriptura)non mortificati ſunt aut Ioan.5.
morte penitus intercepti/ſed potius a morte in vitā diuinā fœlicius tranſlati. Vnde & illud
ſtudioſius inſpiciendum eſt: ꝙ ſacris etiā memorijs illi pie in CHRISTO vita defūncti/
aſcripti ſūt. Quippe noſipſi in diuina etiā memoria(de qua dicit pſalmus: ꝙ in memoria Pſal.111.
æterna erit iuſtus: ab auditione mala non timebit)recōdimur atq; reponimur. nō
quidē humano more in memoria ſenſuali: imaginatiuæq; partis ea particula vbi memoriæ
eſt ſenſoriū atq; receptaculū. ſed diuiniore quodā modo iuxta eam quam in deo intelligimus
eſſe ſcientiā atq; cognitionem/ſacrā omnino & nulla viciſſitudine aut obliuione
intercidentē: quam habet de ijs qui in conformitate diuinæ imaginis hac vita exceſſere/
atq; in deo præſentis vitę curſū cōſūmarunt. Nouit enim dominus approbatoria 2.timo.2.
ſentētia/qui ſunt eius: & ad eū pertinēt. et precioſa eſt atq; imprimis honorabilis in conſpectu Pſal.115.
domini: mors ſanctorū eius. Quæ quidem mors ſanctorū nichil aliud eſſe dicitur:
q̄ cōſummata & abſoluta in ſanctitate ipſorū vita/et ad finem vſq; ſancte perducta. Eſt
et illud ſacratius intuendum: ꝙ poſtq̄ impoſita ſunt ſacris altaribus venerāda illa ſigna/
per quæ CHRISTVS dominus noſter ſignificatur et ſumitur/panis inquam ſanctus et
calix benedictionis: tunc protinus et continuo fit ipſorū ſanctorum nominatio atq; recitatio.
ad indicandū coniunctionē indiuiduam ipſorum ſanctorum cū CHRISTO: et il-

ſorum vnionem ſacratiſſimã cũ eodem/nunq̃ poſtea diuellendã. vt per ea quæ ſimul fere
viſibiliter fiunt: intelligatur ſpiritualis eorum quæ ſignãtur atq; immediata cõnexio.
¶Deinceps quid manuũ ablutio a pontifice & ſacerdotibus facta myſticum indicat: diuinus 45
pater oſtendit. Cũ hæc (inquit) quæ præmiſſa ſunt/rite peracta fuerint: ipſe põtifex
ſacratus coram ſignis auguſtiſſimi euchariſtiæ ſacramenti/ſcilicet pane ſancto & calice
benedictionis aſſiſtens: manus ſuas abluit cũ digniſſimo ſacerdotum ordine. quia ſecundum
Ioan.13. ſaluatoris noſtri verbum: qui lotus eſt/non indiget niſi vt manus aut pedes lauet.
id eſt ſecundũ myſticum ſenſum/qui grauioribus vicijs liber & expeditus eſt: eget
duntaxat leuiũ venialiũq; operum aut affectuũ ſuorũ abſterſione/ſine quibus hæc vita
mortalis agi nequaq̃ poteſt. vt neq; pes progredi: quin puluere terreno aſpergatur. Per
quã quidẽ ſummam munditiã ipſe pontifex illud aſſequitur: vt in puriſſima diſpoſitione
diuinæ ſimilitudinis conſtitutus/& ad diuinam in caſtitate propemodum accedens ſpeciem:
procedat ad ſequentia & poſt ſe poſita eccleſiaſticorũ ordinum genera/ſacerdotes
inquã/miniſtros/& plebem ſãctam/per ſacratiſſimorũ myſteriorũ celebrationẽ atq;
in alios communicationẽ. in quo diuinã e propinquo bonitatẽ imitatur: ad omnia ſub
ſe poſita ſuorum munerũ elargitione prodeuntẽ. Ipſe itidem ſacratiſſimus põtifex iam
in ipſius ſumme vnius traductus effigiem: per huiuſmodi manuum ablutionẽ ſignatur
omniũ affectionũ terrenarũ labe purgatus & laqueis expeditus. vt cum ad vnum illud
modo quidẽ ſingulari & incognito intentiſſime conuerti ſtuduerit: eam animi ſui ad deũ
intentionẽ atq; conuerſionẽ faciet immaculatã atq; illabefactã/q̃ diuinam puritatẽ atq;
munditiã copioſe integreq; cuſtodire ſemper annitatur. Sane huiuſmodi põtificis ac ſacerdotum
a ſordibus animi immunitatẽ atq; puritatem/præfigurabat in veteri lege lauacrum
Exo.30. illud dei iuſſu conſtitutum: quo Aaron & ſacerdotes oblaturi hoſtias/lauabãt manus
& pedes. & in noua lege ablutio manuũ in pontifice & ſacerdotibus: eandẽ habet ſignificantiã.
Enimuero eos qui ad celebranda diuina ſacramenta procedunt/oportet tãta
eſſe mũditia & caſtitate præditos: vt extremos etiã & minimos animi affectus/a phãtaſijs
& imaginibus viciorũ habeant purgatos. vt neq; in imaginatione interna neq; intima
appetitus ſede reſideat impurus aliquis cogitatus: aut affectio ĩmunda. & ſic ipſos
omnino interius purgatos oportet cum ea diuinæ puritatis ſimilitudine/quantã fas homini
eſt attingere: ad veneranda myſteria offerẽda progredi. Ita enim diſpoſiti/implebũtur
copioſiore diuinæ (quę animis ipſorum inſinuabitur) apparitionis luce. et eximij
illi a ſumma diuinitate prodeuntes fulgores/abundantius & clarius propriũ immittent
iubar in ſpecula illa humanarum mentiũ: ad ſui ſimilitudinẽ lympide ac terſe lucentia.
¶Huiuſmodi autem manuũ ablutio quę a pontifice & ſacerdotibus fieri dicta eſt: corã 46
ſanctiſſimis ſacramenti euchariſtię ſignis videlicet pane ſancto & calice benedictionis
agitur. vt per hoc nobis detur indiciũ: q̃ ſub CHRISTO iudice & omniũ actionum noſtrarum
arbitro/præſentẽ tranſigimus vitã. qui non modo opera & verba: ſed & occultas
2.para.6. noſtras cogitationes inſpectat & agnoſcit. ipſe enim (vt ait ſcriptura) nouit corda filiorum
Pſal.7. hominũ/ſcrutaturq; & corda & renes noſtros. ¶Poſtq̃ vero exactiſſima illa emũdatio 47
animi anteceſſit per manuũ lotionem expreſſa ac ipſius CHRISTI ſemper patentibus
Prouer.15. & cuncta cernentibus oculis (nã teſte ſcriptura: in omni loco oculi domini contemplantur
Hebrę.4. bonos & malos/et ſecundum Paulũ: omnia nuda & aperta ſunt oculis eius) approbata/
necnõ ęquiſſimis et puriſſimis illius ad nos inclinationibus accepta (dicũtur autẽ
hic ĩclinationes: diuinę in nos clemẽtię reſpectus/et ꝓ miſericordia eius benignę ꝓſpectiones:
ſiue ad parcẽdũ cõuerſis peccatoribus/ſiue ad ꝑficiendũ et cõſummãdũ iuſtos)
tũc põtifex diuinis ſacramẽtis celebrãdis animũ intẽdit. et perfecta diuinorũ operũ
laude: ſacratiſſima myſteria conficit/atq; ea aſtantibus palã oſtẽdit. ¶At vero quoniã 48
modo dictũ eſt/a põtifice diuinorũ operũ laudẽ celebrari cũ ſacramẽta cõfecturus
eſt: quænã ſint illa diuina in nos hoĩes opera/deinceps explicandũ eſt (inquit) quantũ
ferũt vires. Neq; enim õnia laudare ſufficit mortalis infirmitas/immo neq; ſcire alioſue
docere: q̃ & plurima ſint/et maxima/humanęq; mentis captũ ſuperantia. Quę tamẽ a
ſacratiſſimis patribus ſecundũ ſanctę ſcripturę teſtimoniũ et authoritatem prędicãtur:
ea quantum conceditur expromenda ſunt/vbi diuina bonitas quę animos noſtros illuſtret/ 49
inuocata fuerit. ¶Sane cum humana natura in principio ſuę conditionis a diuinis
beneficijs inſipienter prolapſa eſt: illam varijs ſubiecta paſſionibus et erumnis vita
ſuſcepit/atq; mortis neceſſitati obnoxia. Nempe exitialis illa veri boni deſertio diſceſ-

sioq; a deo/& cõstitutę a creatore legis ne de ligno sciẽtiæ boni & mali comederẽt primi Gene.3.
parentes in paradiso voluptatis transgressio: ipsã naturã humanã subiecit ijs malis/ quæ
diuinis bonis erant contraria. vtpote maledictioni/exilio/ seruituti/ cupiditatibus/ pro-
nitati ad malum/ corruptioni: cum prius percepisset a deo benedictionem/incolatũ pa-
radisi/libertatem/rectitudinem/promptitudinem ad bonum atq; immortalitatẽ. Quod
eo factum est/ quoniã ipsa humana propago sponte sua succumbens male suadenti &
blande promittenti diuinitatis consortium/antiqui hostis calliditati: salutare obedientiæ
(quod deus imposuerat) iugum excussit. Hanc ob rem eadem humana natura pro im-
mortalitate quam acceperat: decidit in mortalitatem. & quæ a non esse ad esse in prima
sui conditione deducta fuerat: ad exitum illi principio conformem iusto dei iudicio decu
buit/atq; ab esse rursum ad non esse est redacta. Siquidem quæcunq; a nõ esse ad esse ꝓ-
ducta sunt: ipsa naturæ lege iterum ab esse ad non esse nata sunt deuolui/& hic finis: il-
li principio est consentaneus. Eadem quoq; natura humana a diuiniore vita (qua cœle-
stiũ contemplatione fruebatur) sponte sua delapsa/& ad extrema illi pristinæ vitæ om-
nino contraria deuoluta: scilicet affectum terrenorum/ desideria sæcularia/& huius mũ-
di concupiscentias: permutationẽ & mutabilitatẽ incurrit varijs affectionibus & pertur
bationibus subiectam. Itaq; ipsa miserabiliter oberrans/ atq; a recta via in deum verum
ducente deflexa/dæmonicisq; subdita nequissimis turbis: nequaq̃ animaduertit se capi-
talibus obtemperasse inimicis/& infestissimis suæ salutis hostibus/cum putaret se dijs li-
tasse & beneficis amicis. Cum autem immanissimi ipsi dæmones humana natura pro
suæ crudelitatis libidine exitialiter abuterentur/& in grauissimos errores infandaq; sce-
lera eam præcipitarent: in id miseriæ & perditionis deuenerat humana progenies/ vt
versaretur in periculo atq; discrimine suam amittendi substantiam quantum ad eius be
50 ne esse/atq; in omni sua prole & sobole æternum incurrendi interitum damnationemq;
perpetuam. ¶ Verum summa diuinæ bonitatis clementia non prætermisit gratuita sua
dignatione: per seipsam operari nostram salutem/nostriq; liberationem. Sed nostrę sub-
stantiæ proprietatumq; naturalium/omniumq; humanorum affectuum (excepto pecca-
to) facta est particeps/& humili nostræ infirmitati ineffabiliter coniuncta: absq; aliqua
confusione siue commixtione/& etiam sine labefactatione suæ summæ deitatis. quæ &
vera & integerrima in hypostasi verbi fuit vere itidem & integre/ naturæ nostræ vnita.
Et hoc pacto ipsa filij dei benignitas suæ nobis diuinitatis consortiũ elargita est: vt eius
dem iam naturæ scilicet humanæ consortibus/eiusdemq; cum illo humani generis par-
ticipationem habentibus. & nos homines suorũ diuinorum bonorũ declarauit esse par-
ticipes: confracto principis huius mundi (quod nobis aduersum erat) atq; euerso impe- Hebrę.2.
rio. nam (vt habet sacra scriptura) fortis armatus per superuenientem fortiorem atrio Lucę.11.
suo deturbatus est & eiectus foras. Non autem viribus aduersus tyrannũ præualuit ipsa
dei clementia: q̃uis & id potuisset. ne daretur illi materia querimonię/ ꝙ violente esset
eo detrusus regno: quod spontanea subditorum permissione primum occupauerat.
sed in æquitate & iustitia illum deuicit/ secundum sacrarum litterarum sententiam: Ioan.12.
cum ab eodem/eiusdemq; generis homine superatus est sathanas/quem prius supera-
uerat. & prius hominis victor: posterius ab homine etiam victus est. Insuper immen-
sa filij dei clementia/ nostra imperfecta: omnino in bona illis contraria traduxit. Nam
animi nostri cæcitatem: copioso impleuit cœlestis gratiæ lumine/eius deformitatem ac
fœditatem: insigni virtutum adornauit pulchritudine. Deniq; animę nostrę habitaculũ
a sordibus peccatorum & inquinamentis scelerũ expurgauit: perfectã substantię nostrę
ad lapsum pronę salutem & sospitatẽ elargita. Declarauit itẽ quo pacto calcatis mundi
51 delicijs superna petamus: & cœlestis vitæ conuersationẽ nobis patefecit/ per quam illi
similes efficiamur/& veri eius imitatores. ¶ At vero ista dei imitatio haudquaquã no-
bis obtingere potest aut competere: nisi tantorũ ipsius dei beneficiorũ memoria in no-
bis inouetur per cõmemorationẽ frequẽtẽ eorũ sacerdotali ministerio factã/& diuinorũ
52 mysteriorũ celebrationẽ. Nẽpe huiusmodi sacratissimorũ munerũ consecrationẽ facit ec
clesia (vt sacra nos admonet scriptura) in ipsius CHRISTI cõmemorationem. ¶ Hanc 1.corin.11.
ob causam sacratus antistes sacrosanctis assistens altaribus: diuina domini IHESV di-
gno præconio extollit opera: quæ per magnã suã misericordiã in salutẽ humani generis
perfecit/ volũtate atq; beneplacito dei patris. qui filiũ suũ misit in mundum: vt saluetur Ioan.3.
mũdus per ipsum. & cooperatione spiritus sancti: qui vnxit eum & ad euangelisandum Esa.61.

pauperibus miſit/vt prophetica teſtantur eloquia. Poſtq̃ vero peracta eſt diuinorũ ope-
rum laus/& intellectualis illorum ſpeculatio ſpiritualibus ipſius pontificis oculis eſt per-
ſpecta per intentã contẽplationẽ: tunc ad ſanctiſſima ſacramenti euchariſtiæ myſteria in
ſacris ſignis pane ſancto & calice benedictionis cõficienda procedit. & id quidem ex in-
Math.26. ſtitutione diuina: cũ dominus noſter tradiderit hoc pacto celebrandũ tale myſteriũ: ¶Il 53
lud autẽ vt reuerenter & ſecundũ ſacerdotalis officij rationẽ congruenter fiat: poſt con
ſummatas diuinorũ operũ laudes ipſe pontifex humiliter ſe corã deo excuſat/ ꝙ hoſtiã
illam omniũ maxime ſalutarem offerre tentet: quæ dignitate & excellentia longe ſupra
pontificis ipſius/immo omnis creaturæ ſortem & conditionem eminet. conteſtans ſe nõ
ex ſuorũ operũ fiducia aut meritorum qualitate: ſed ex ſolo ipſius CHRISTI iuſſu &
imperio id aggredi munus celebrandi/ꝙ CHRISTVS ipſe dixerit ſacerdotibus de hu
Luce.22. iuſmodi ſacrificio. hoc facite in meã cõmemorationem. Deinde petit idem põtifex gra-
tuito dei indultu fieri dignus tanto miniſterio: ad imitationem CHRISTI inſtituto. qui
primus hoc confecit in nouiſſima cœna myſterium: & diſcipulis cõmunicauit. Orat etiã
pontifex ipſi CHRISTO ſicut in miniſterio/ita & in moribus atq; bonorũ operũ fructu
ſimilis euadere. vt & ipſe ſacramẽta ſancta recte cõficiat/alijs etiã ſancte diſtribuat: atq;
ad cõmunionẽ acceſſuri eã digne percipiant. Et hoc pacto ſacratiſſimus põtifex venerã-
da perficit myſteria. eadẽ eximijs prædicata laudibus/oĩm oculis ꝓponit atq; in cũcto-
rũ aſtantiũ agit conſpectũ/in ſignis illis diuinis pane & vino: ſancte & reuerenter ante
omniũ aſpectũ propoſitis. ¶Poſtea dilucidat diuinus Dionyſius: quid inſinuet vnici 54
panis & ſingularis calicis in plura diuiſio. dicens ꝙ ipſe pontifex panem prius velatum
adaperit ac detegit/& indiuiduum in plures diuidit particulas/ſingularem itidem calicẽ
omnibus diſtribuit: in vtroq; vnitatem ſignificanter multiplicans/& in hoc perficiens id
cœleſte myſteriũ. Quoniam ſumma ipſius domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI diuinitas/
vnica/ſimplex atq; ſecretiſſima: per noſtræ humanitatis aſſumptionẽ proceſſit ad cõpo-
ſitũ atq; viſibile/ ſcilicet humanæ carnis vnionẽ: compoſitę ſane atq; viſibilis. & id qui-
dem ſine aliqua ſui immutatione: atq; per ſolã ſuã benignitatẽ. Non enim mutationem
ſubijt ſumma verbi deitas: per noſtræ carnis aſſumptionẽ. Et hac via noſtram ſecũ ſocie
tate adinuenit atq; cõciliauit: qua ſibi intime iungeremur. infirma & humilia noſtræ na-
turæ: diuinis ſuis perfectionibus atq; proprietatibus coniungens. ſi modo noſipſi tanq̃
mẽbra myſtica/apte ipſius corpori congruamus: & ſi CHRISTO per vitæ purioris ac ſa
cratioris opera myſtice coniungamur. Vt enim mortua mẽbra aut putrida non bene cõ-
hęrẽt naturaliter corpori ſano: neq; cõcinnã conſtituũt ſecundũ leges naturę cõpagem.
ita ſi corruptelã inducẽtibus vicijs ſumus mortificati: ad diuina & omnino ſana CHRI-
STI membra erimus incongrui/neq; illi adhærere neq; eadẽ cũ eo vita ſpirituali viuere
valebimus. Operępreciũ eſt enim nos ſi CHRISTI ſocietatẽ obtinere volumus: intẽtã
mẽtis acie ſacratiſſimã eius vitã (quã hic in carne duxit) inſpicere. immunitatẽq; ipſius a
peccato quantũ hoĩ cõceditur imitãdo: ad ipſius habitũ & ſimilitudinẽ ſtudioſius eniti.
atq; ad perfectiſſimã eorũ quæ dixit & fecit intelligentiã atq; ſcientiã recurrendo: eadem
operãdo cõſectari. Nempe nobis hoc modo diſpoſitis cõueniẽter ſui ſocietatẽ ob morũ
ſimilitudinẽ largietur: & ad ſimile noſipſos prouehet cõſortiũ. Sane hęc ipſa per ea quę
myſtice & ſignificanter ab eo fiũt/põtifex inſinuat: dũ adoperta prius ſacramẽtalia mu-
nera aperte omnibus oſtẽdit/& ipſorũ ſignorũ ſacramẽtaliũ vnitatẽ in plura diſtribuit. &
poſt ꝑfectã ſacramẽtorũ ſic diſtributorũ inſitionẽ atq; vnionẽ ad eos circa quos fiunt/&
qui illa ſuſcipiunt: ipſos homines qui ſacramenta perceperunt efficit ſocios atq; partici-
pes illorũ diuinorũ munerũ. Enimuero ipſe põtifex ſub oculis oĩm iſta peragens/ſenſi-
biliter in illis tanquã imaginibus/figuriſq; viſibilibus exprimit ac indicat: ꝙ IHESVS
CHRISTVS totius humani generis vita ſpiritualis/ex occulto atq; arcano ſuæ diuini-
tatis/quo ſecrete & ſimpliciter (vt ita dixerim) atq; indiuidue delituit ante aſſũptã carnis
diſpẽſationẽ: accepit ex nobis proprietatẽ humanę cõditionis ꝑ ineffabilẽ illã verbi cũ
carne vnionẽ. atq; ad diuiſibile noſtrũ exiſtendi genus ex vnitate naturali ſuæ deitatis:
ſine aliqua ſui variatione proceſſit. atq; per hanc beneficentiſſimã ſuã benignitatem: ad
ſui participationem ſuorumq; bonorum totum inuitauit genus humanũ. ſi modo ſacra-
tiſſimę ipſius vitę per dignã imitationẽ & morũ cõformitatẽ/inſeramur intime & ſtrictiꝰ
vniamur. ſic eni & diuinæ cõſortes naturę/& diuinorũ participes munerũ deniq; euade-
mꝰ. ¶Poſtremũ ſacratiſſimꝰ pater hoc loco cauſã aſſignat/cur põtifex ipſe prius ſacra ſu 55

nit myſteria q̃ alijs tradat/cur item in fine oīm gratias deo de beneficijs ſuſceptis agit. Cū ſumpſerit(inquit)ipſe pōtifex ſacroſancta myſteria/alijſq; eadē tradiderit: cum tota fideliū congregatione/poſtremo loco deo gratias agit. At vero participatio ſumptioq; ſacramenti euchariſtiæ a pōtifice: præcedit eius cōmunicationē in ſanctā multitudinē/& ſacra myſteriorū ab antiſtite perceptio: antecedit illius diſtributionē in alios. Siquidē iſte eccleſiaſticę functionis eſt congruentiſſimus ordo: vt prius ipſe pręſul ſumat hęc ſanctiſſima ſacramenta/& prius impleatur diuinis illis donis quę per ipſum alijs ſunt diſpartienda/& ſic deinde alijs tradat Quare illi ipſi qui diuini magiſterij officiū ſibi inſolēter arrogant: anteq̃ illius per dignā vitę conuerſationem capaces ſint & idonei/alijſq; ſacra tradere pręſumunt/cum ipſi neq; ſancti ſint neq; ſacri: immundi profecto ſunt/ atq; a ſacra CHRISTI lege omnino abhorrentes atq; alieni. Sicut enim in huius ſenſibilis ſolis illuminatione/liquidiores & puriores ſubſtantię corporales vt ſpherę cœleſtes/primū emanante in ipſas a ſole luce replentur: & deinde copioſum lucis radiū in ſequētes & inferiores transfundūt ſubſtātias/ vt aerē/ vt aquā/in hac deriuatione lucis quaſi vicē ſolis agentes: ipſiuſq; fungentes officio. Ita cū graui diſcrimine proprię ſalutis/ in quibuſcunq; diuinis rebus adminiſtrandis ille ſe alijs pręceptorem & ducem exhibere pręſumit: qui non euaſerit omnino quātū humana fert infirmitas deo ſimillimus/ quiq; interna reuelatione indicioq; exteriore diuinitus dato: non fuerit gubernator aliorum deſignatus. Nemo enim (inquit apoſtolus)ſumit ſibi honorē: ſed qui vocatur a deo tanq̃ Hebrę.5. Aaron. Demum tota eccleſiaſtica functio in ſuo ordine cum pontifice congregata/ poſt diuinorū myſteriorū perceptionē in gratiarū actionē deſinit: poſtq̃ videlicet ipſa diuina beneficia recenſuit/atq; recognoſcēdo ſingula(vt par eſt)collaudauit. Enimuero qui diuinorum bonorum in homines collatorum omnino expertes ſunt/ neſcij & ignari: nequaquā incitantur ad agendas deo pro ſuſceptis beneficijs gratias/ quāuis illa ſint gratiarū actione ob amplitudinē & excellentiā ſuā digniſſima. Quomodo enim gratias exoluent pro acceptis muneribus: quę ipſi ob ignauiā & negligentiam ſuā non cognoſcūt neq; ſciunt? Verū quoniā eo tēpore quo dei cognitionem & illius in homines beneficentiam diſcere potuiſſent & debuiſſent: noluerunt cognoſcendis dei muneribus animū intendere/ꝙ ad peiora delapſi ſint & inutiliora ſectati: permanſerunt omnino ingrati diuinorum beneficiorū/neq; debitas illis gratias perſoluere curarūt. cum tamen admoneat propheta nos guſtare debere diuinæ bonitatis dulcedinem/& videre beneficiorū ipſius Pſal.33. in nos copiam atq; multitudinem: vt exinde prouocemur ad gratias pro viribus noſtris tanto & tam benigno benefactori agendas. Quare ex oppoſito ducēdo argumentū/ qui ſanctiſſimā diuinorū beneficiorum diſciplinam ſunt aſſecuti/ illorumq; imbuti ſcientia: q̃maximas agent pro illis gratias/ recognoſcentq; eadem: eſſe immenſa gratiarū actione digniſſima. Inſuper & eximiā huiuſmodi bonorū altitudinē & ſingularem dignitatē participatione illorum(vt ſacramētorum perceptione)attendētes: cœleſtia in homines beneficia a deo collata magnis proſequentur laudibus/& digna gratitudine extollent.

¶De ijs q̃ in vnguento fiunt: & q̃ in ipſo conſūmātur. Cap. IIII. pars I.

56 HAec habuimus quæ de ſanctiſſima ſynaxi diceremus: adeo pulchra ſpiritualiaq; ſpectacula. quę noſtrā ad vnū (vt ſępe iā diximus) ſocietatē atq; collectionē pōtificaliter permouerēt. Sed enī alia eſt huius finitima venerāda cōfectio vnguēti: cōſecrationē eā vocāt præceptores noſtri. Huius itaq; partes yy cū iuxta ſacras imagines ſuo perſpexerimus ordine: ſic demū ad vnum ipſius per partes ſacris intelligentijs ſubuehemur.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Conſecrationē eam vocant præceptores yy noſtri. Paulus/Hierotheus & apoſtoli.

56 ¶PRIMAE PARTIS QVARTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

QVę modo determinata ſunt paucis repetit/& quę mox determinādā ſūt ꝓponit ſacer Dionyſius: dicēs ea quę nūc adducta ſunt/illa eſſe quæ de ſanctiſſima cōmunione dicēda videbātur/pulchra quidē & ſpirituali mētis obtutu ſpectāda myſteria. quę humanā ad deū ſocietatē efficere/& multitudinē ad vnū ipſum colligere queant: pontificali miniſterio/functione ac officio. Verū alia eſt huic ſacræ

Cap.
4
pars
2
3

cōmunioni admodū propinqua pontificalis functio/ scilicet cōfectio vnguēti: quæ a plerisq; sāctis patrib9 cōsecratio nūcupatur. Itaq; cū huiusce cōfectionis diuiduas imagines & multiplices formas certo ordine datū fuerit perspicere: ex illis ad vnū ipsum per sacrā & spiritualem intelligentiā prȩstabitur assurrectio atq; subuectio.

ℂMysterium confectionis vnguenti. Cap.IIII.pars II. 57

zz HVxta eundem synaxis modum/eorum qui necdum initiati sunt absoluuntur ordines. vbi scilicet præcessit pontificis circū omnem phani ambitū redolēs thure profectio/ psalmorumq; modulatio/ & lectio scripturarū diuinarū. Sumptū deinde vnguentū pontifex sacris imponit altaribus/ duodecim sacris alis circūtectū: resonantibus omnibus voce sanctissima melos sacrum/ quod diuinitus afflati prophetæ didicerunt. Cōpletaq; oratione super eo solenni in sanctissimis eorū quæ sacrantur cōsūmationibus: eo vtitur ad omnem ferme sacerdotalis officij functionem.

ℂSCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS.

zz Mysteria confectionis vnguenti ex apostolico ritu.		prȩsens ecclesia obseruat.
Pontifex incensum ab altari adolere incipiens: per phani ambitū cum odorifero thure progreditur.		obseruat partim.
Ad altare regrediēs: psalmos cum ecclesiasticis ordinibus canit.		
Diuinorum librorum lectio recitatur.		
Postea foras agūt catechumini/ apostatȩ/ energumini & pȩnitētes		
Vnguentum duodecim alis seraphim intectum: pontifex sanctis altaribus reuerenter imponit.		
Canunt omnes sacrum melos: quod diuina inspiratione deo accepti prophetæ didicerunt.		
Pontifex solēni sup vnguentū oratione fusa: mysteriū absoluit.		obseruat.
Eo ad omnē ferme vtitur sacerdotalē sanctificationem.		obseruat.

ℂSECVNDAE PARTIS QVARTI CA. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 57.

MOdū confectionis vnguēti & ritū/ apostolorū tēpore vsitatū describit sacer Dionysius. In quo iuxta modū in sacræ cōmuniōis mysterio obseruatum/ eorum qui necdū baptismi sacris initiati sunt atq; catechuminorū (sub quibus apostatæ/ energumini & pœnitentes cōpræhenduntur) ordines/ excluduntur tēplo & foras aguntur: postq̄ facta est ipsius pontificis cum thuris suffumigio per totū templi circuitū profectio/ psalmorū modulatio & lectionis sacræ scripturæ recitatio. Postea sumptū vnguentū sacratus pontifex sanctis imponit altaribus: non quidē nudū & apertum/ sed duodecim sacris alis seraphim obuelatū. resonatq; totus ecclesiasticus ordo sāctum illud canticū ad diuinam laudationem incitatoriū allelu ia: quod diuina inspiratione edocti prophetæ didicerunt. Demū pontifex solēnem super vnguento cōplet orationem: ipsumq; conficit & consecrat/ ad sanctissimas eorum omniū quæ sacrantur consummationes accōmodandū. eoq; sic consecrato vtitur fere ad omnem sacerdotalis administrationis functionem: sacramentiq; ecclesiastici perfectionem.

ℂSpiritualis sensus/ contemplatio. Cap.IIII.pars III. 58

Quid designat id q̄ sanctū vnguētū portaṫ cōtectū.

VT autem in huiusmodi quoq; consummante mysterio: sacratiora quæramus intelligentiæ. per ea quæ in sacro vnguento fiunt/ illud reor exprimitur: q̄ in sanctis viris obtectam esse oporteat sacram animi virtutem atq; fragrantiam. Siquidem illis diuina semper voce suggeritur: ne ad inanem gloriam (quando per virtutis studia: ad speciosas illas atq; odoratas secreti dei similitudines tendunt) ostentationi inseruiāt.

Sunt enim intemeratæ ſecretæ dei ſenſumqꝫ excedentes odoratæ pulchritu
dines: ſoliſqꝫ ſpiritualibus ſpiritualiter inſinuantur. habereqꝫ cupiunt ſimi-
les in animabus atqꝫ inuiolabiles virtutis imagines. Quippe diuinæ virtu-
tis incorruptum ac præclare expreſſum ſigillũ: ita demũ ſibi format ac fin
git imitatione præſtanti/ ſi a ſpirituali illa fragrantiqꝫ pulchritudine nuſq̃
deflectat obtutus. Deniqꝫ ſicut in ſenſibilibus imaginibus ſi ad primitiuã
ſpeciem pictor conſtanter intendat: ita vt ad nichil aliud viſibile pertraha-
tur/ aut in aliquo diuidatur ſecundum ſe/ ipſum illum (quiſquis eſt qui pin-
gitur) ſi dicere liceat: duplicabit. veritatemqꝫ in ſimilitudine: & archetypum
in imagine reddet. ac præter ſubſtantiæ differentiam: vtrumqꝫ in vtroqꝫ re-
feret. ita & induſtrijs quibuſqꝫ/ ſpiritualibuſqꝫ pictoribus intẽtus ille ad fra- A
grantem & occultam pulchritudinem/ & nuſquã declinans obtutus: id lar-
gietur/ vt ſine errore diuinam in ſe imaginem exprimant. Congrue igitur pi
ctores diuini/ mentem ſuam eminentiſſime ad odorũ ſpiritualemqꝫ decorẽ B
formantes: nullam earum quæ in eis ſunt diuinarum virtutum operantur
(ſecundũ euangeliũ) vt videantur ab hominibus. ſed ſacratius veluti in ima- C
gine ſancti vnguenti/ ſpeculantur ſacratiſſima quæqꝫ eccleſiæ circumtecta.
Quocirca ipſi quoqꝫ virtutis ſacratiora & diuiniora intra animũ/ dei imita
tione & inſcriptione ſublimem ſancte obtegentes: ad ſolam primitiuã in-
telligentiã aſpiciunt. Neqꝫ enim diſſimilia ſolũ non vidẽt: ſed ne ipſi quidẽ
ad illorum trahuntur aſpectum. Ex quo profecto fit vt cõgrue ſibi nequaq̃
quæ fruſtra videntur/ ſed quæ veraciter ſunt pręclara & iuſta: fortius amẽt.
neqꝫ eã gloriã eſtimẽt: quã vulgo irrationabiliter beatã putant. ſed bonum
aut malũ in ſeipſis ad dei æmulationem iudicantes: ſigna diuina ſunt ſupre
mæ illius auguſtioriſqꝫ fragrantiæ. quę in ſeipſa odorem veraciter habens:
ad id quod plurimũ diſſimiliter ſe habere videtur nunq̃ conuertitur/ veris
59 ſuis imaginibus nichil imprimens ſimulatum/ nichil fictum. ¶ Age vero iã
quando pulchri omnino myſterij (quod totum pulchrum eſt) exteriorẽ in-
ſpeximus decorẽ/ ſacratiorẽ ipſius pulchritudinem intueamur: ipſum in ſei-
pſo ſublatis velaminibus inſpicientes beatiſſimum aperte iubar emittere/
noſqꝫ ea replere fragrantia quæ ſpiritualibus operta non eſt. Neqꝫ enim vi-
ſibilis illa vnguenti confectio: illis eſt inacceſſa vel inuiſibilis/ qui circa anti-
ſtitem ſunt. ſed contra ad illos quoqꝫ pertingens figenſqꝫ intelligẽtiam emi-
nentem: plurimis ab eis reuerenter obtegitur/ ſacerdotaliqꝫ officio a turba
dirimitur. Quippe ſacratiſſimorum ſignorum radius/ diuinis viris vt pro-
pinquis intelligibilis lucis pure ac continenter infulgens/ ſpiritualiaqꝫ ipſo-
rum amminicula (amoto tegmine) odore imbuens: ad id quod inferius
eſt non iam ſimiliter prodit. Cæterum ab ipſis vtpote occultis inſpecto-
ribus intelligibilis lucis: ſecretius (ne a diſſimilibus quibuſqꝫ violetur) ſub
pennatis opertionibus operitur. per quæ profecto ſacra ſigna ſubiecti ho
60 neſtiſſimi ordines/ ad ſacram proportionem ſuam promouentur. ¶ Eſt
igitur vt dixi (quod nunc laudatur a nobis) ſacroſanctum myſterium
eius ordinis atqꝫ virtutis: vt ſacerdotalia cuncta perficiat. Atqꝫ ideo ſancti
præceptores noſtri iſtud quaſi æquali ordine atqꝫ officio ſacro ſynaxeos

Quid alæ vnguẽtum integentes inſinuent.

De excellẽtia ſancti chriſmatis et affinitate ad ſanctiſſimã euchariſtiam.

Quid pontificis cum thure ad phanũ progreſſ⁹ et ad ſacrum altare regreſſus.

cõiunxere myſterio/eiſdem imaginibus vt plurimum & diſtinctionibus
myſticis/& eloquijs ſubnixum ſacris. ¶Et pontificem quidẽ aſpicies pari 61
modo ex ſacratiore loco præclarũ odorem ad ſequentia ſacra proferẽtem:
redituq; ad eundem locum ſuo edocentẽ diuinarum rerũ participationem
in omnibus quidẽ ſacris pro meritis fieri. verum ipſam neq; moueri vlla
ratione/ nec minui: intra diuinæ crepidinis ſuæ proprietatem ſine vlla
mutatione perſtantem. Pari rurſus ratione ſcripturarum cantica & lectiones:
rudibus adhuc ad vitalem adoptionem obſtetricum funguntur officio.
cõuerſionemq; efficiunt ſacram eorum qui agitantur a dæmonibus/
contrariosq; pauores tollunt & male mulcentia voluptatum: ab ijs qui pro
A imbecillitate ſua arripiũtur/ſupremum diuini habitus ſui atq; virtutis illis pro
modo capacitatis ſuæ inſinuantes. Qua ſcilicet virtutis excellẽtia: terrebũt
ipſi magis poteſtates aduerſas/aliorumq; curæ pręfecti erunt. atq; ex
B imitatione dei(cum in nullo proprijs bonis efferantur)aduerſus contrarios
pauores non tantummodo habent vim efficacem: verum etiam largiuntur. 62
C ¶Porro ijs qui a deterioribus conuerſi ad mentis rediere munditiam:
ſacrum inſerunt habitum/ne rurſus manus vicijs & næquitiæ dent. Quibus
autem aliquid deeſt ad conſummatam exactiſſimamq; caſtimoniam: eos
expiant. ſanctos vero ad diuinas imagines ſubuehunt: & earum
contuitum atq; conſortium. Paſcunt itidem exactiſſime ſanctos beatiſſimis
D ſpiritualibusq; ſpectaculis: implentes vnicum ipſorum vno/ atq; vnum
facientes. Quid illud? Nonne & eos ordines qui non omnino mundi ſunt(quos
iam memorauimus) ſine admixtione dimittit eodem quo ſynaxis
E modo: id quod nunc in manibus eſt ſacrum/cõſummanſq; myſterium? quod
ſolis ac ſanctis imaginibus cernitur/ atq; a ſolis conſummatæ ſãctitatis
viris continenter ſacratiſſimis intelligentijs inſpicitur atq; conficitur. Hæc
F itaq; a nobis iam ſæpius dicta: ſuperfluum eſt(vt reor)eiſdem iterare
ſermonibus. ¶Ad ea igitur magis quæ ſequuntur tranſeamus: intueamurq; 63
pontificem/ alis duodecim circumtectum habentem ſacrum vnguentum/
caſtiſſimamq; in eo perfectionem conſummantem. Dicimus igitur
vnguẽti cõpoſitionẽ: collectionẽ eſſe quandã ſpirantium ſuauiter materiarum/
habentẽ in ſe affatim odoratas qualitates. cuius qui participes ſunt: pro
quãtitate eius (quæ in illis fit) fragrantis participationis/ odoris ſuauitate
replentur. ¶Scimus autẽ auguſtiſſimũ IHESVM/ ſuperſubſtãtialiter 64
odorũ eſſe: intellectuale noſtrũ ſpiritualibus diſtributionibus diuina voluptate
replentẽ. Si enĩ carnaliũ odoramentorũ perceptio: ſuauiter fouet ac nutrit
magna cũ voluptate nariũ noſtrarũ iudiciũ/modo illabefactũ aſſit/atq; ad
odores in commenſione reſpondens. rationabiliter dixerit quiſpiam/
ſpirituales etiam virtutes noſtras nulla ratione ad deteriora vergẽtes:
naturali vigore iudicij noſtri ſecundum diuinæ operationis modos/congruamq;
ad eum animi conuerſionem/ ad perceptionem diuini odoris euadere/
& ſacra voluptate ac pabulo diuiniore compleri. Ipſa itaq; vnguẽti
cõpoſitio myſtica(vt ea interim formemus: quæ formam nequaquã admittunt)
ipſum nobis pingit IHESVM/principalem ſcilicet diuinorum odorum

Quę materia cõpoſitionis vnguenti.

Quid ſuauiſſima illa ſenſibilium odorũ compoſitio ſignet.

opulentiam ſacris proportionibus in auguſtiſſima quæqꝫ ſpiritualiū diuinos
vapores immittentē. in quibus ſpiritus ſuauiter affecti/ ſacriſqꝫ perceptionibus
pleni: ſpirituali vtuntur alimonia/ odoratis diſtributionibus ad
65 ipſorū intellectuale diuina participatione ſubeuntibus. ¶ Liquet autem vt G
reor/ ꝙ ſuperioribus ſubſtantijs vtpote diuinioribus: principalis fragrantię

Quid ſācta ſeraphim vnguētum integētia ſignent.

gratia propinquior eſt ferme. magiſqꝫ ſeipſā inſinuat ac diffundit: in ipſarū
liquidiſſimā lucē & ſpiritualis virtutis valentiā affatim inundans ac multipliciter
ſubiens. Porro ad inferiora ſpiritualiū neqꝫ ita capacia/ ſupremā
illam ſpeculationem ac participationem immaculate occulens: vaporibus
pro modo participantiū congruis in cōmenſuratione diuina diſtribuitur.
Sanctorum itaqꝫ ſeraphim ordo/ cœleſtibus ſanctiſſimiſqꝫ ſubſtātijs adeo
eminens: in alis duodecim circa IHESVM firmiter ſtare deſcribitur/ beatiſſimiſqꝫ
illius ſpeculatiōibus pro viribus defigere obtutus: ac diſtributione
ſpirituali in caſtiſſimis ſuſceptionibus ſacratius imbui/ laudatiſſimamqꝫ H
66 theologiā (vt carnaliter dixerim) linguis nunq̃ tacentibus exclamare. ¶ Sacra
enim cœleſtiū ſpirituū ſcientia: & infatigabilis eſt/ & nunq̃ deficientem

Quid clamor et vox illa ſeraphī deſignet.

diuinū habet amorem/ omniqꝫ malicia & obliuione ſuperior eſt. Vnde clamor
ille nunq̃ quieſcēs: deſignat (vt reor equidē) ſempiternā illorū & nuſq̃
migrantē ſcientiā/ & intelligentiā deo conſtantiſſime gratias agentem. Sanctorū
ergo ſeraphim incorporeas proprietates deſcriptas in ſāctis litteris/ I
imaginibus ſpiritualia declarātes: in diſtinctionibus cœleſtiū ordinum puto
67 diligēter inſpeximus/ tuiſqꝫ ſpiritualibus ſubiecimus oculis. ¶ Quia tamen
nunc quoqꝫ qui pontificem reuerenter circunſtant/ ipſam illam nobis
altiſſimā figurant diſtinctionē: breuiter modo itidē purgatiſſima acie illorum
intueamur auguſtiſſimā lucem. Ipſorū itaqꝫ facies varia/ pedūqꝫ multitudo:
ſignat (vt arbitror) perſpicaciſſimam diuinis hauriendis fulgoribus
proprietatem/ intelligentiamqꝫ diuinorū bonorū: ſemper mobilem & multa
peragrantem. Porro tergeminam alarū poſitionem (vt ſanctæ tradunt K
litteræ) non ſacratiorem numerū ſignare arbitror/ quod quibuſdā placuit.
ſed id potius: ꝙ eius (qui deo proximus eſt) excellētioris ordinis/ ſupremęqꝫ
ſubſtantiæ abſoluta penitus ſupermundana/ prima & media atqꝫ extrema
ſint: ſpirituales ipſius ſubuehētia diuinaſqꝫ virtutes. Quocirca ſacratiſſima
ſcripturæ ſanctæ ſapientia pennarum deſcribens fictionem/ circa facies ipſorum
& media & pedes/ pēnas impoſuit: ꝙ ſint in totum pennata ſignificans/
& modis omnibus ad id quod vere eſt potenti virtute ferantur. Qꝫ ſi
facies ac pedes velant/ ſoliſqꝫ medijs alis euolant: intellige ſacratius hūc ordinem
tantum excellentem ſupremarum altiſſimarūqꝫ ſubſtantiarū/ celſiora
ac profundiora intelligentijs ſuis revereri. medijſqꝫ alis modice ad dei
ſpeculationē ferri/ diuinis lancibus propriā ſubijciēdo vitā: a quibus ad ſui
notionem apte promouetur. Qꝫ autem propheta ait/ clamabāt alter ad alterū: L
illud reor inſinuat/ ꝙ diuinarū intelligentiarū ſuarū ſibi inuicē participationem
68 ſine inuidia tradunt. ¶ Et hoc item nequaquā ſilebimus/ ꝙ hebræorum
lingua plene ſignificante cognomine ex eo ſanctiſſimas ſeraphim
ſubſtantias vocat: ꝙ per diuinam/ ſemperqꝫ mobilem vitam igne-

Cap.
4
pars
3

Quid ſeraphim vis ignea ad vnguētū prætendat.

ſcant/ & ferueant. Si igitur (vt aiunt qui hebræam linguā callent) altiſſimi
ſeraphim/ incendentes & calefacientes a theologia appellati ſunt: proprio
plane & ſubſtantialē habitum ſuum ſignante nomine/ ſacri vnguenti (iuxta
quod ſignificatiua ipſius deſcribit imago) ſurſum agentes habent virtutes:
quæ ad ipſius expolitionē/ efficaciorūqꝫ vaporum diſtributionem euocent.
Quæ enim ſenſum ſuperat odora ſubſtantia/ ab ignitis puriſſimiſqꝫ ſpiritibus
moueri in notitiā amat: ſacratiſſimaſqꝫ inſpirationes ſuas ijs qui ſic illam
excellentiore modo euocāt/ in opulentiſſimis diſtributionibus donat.
¶ Non ignorauit igitur altiſſimus ſupercœleſtiū ſubſtātiarum ordo: IHESVM 69
deum ſummū vt ſanctificaretur deſcendiſſe. ſed eū plane intelligit
per diuinam ineffabilemqꝫ clementiam ſancte ad noſtra ſeipſum deieciſſe.
M Atqꝫ a patre/ ſeqꝫ ipſo/ ac ſancto ſpiritu ſe humano more ſanctificatum cernens:
ſuum recognouit initiū (in ijs quę diuina virtute ipſe operatur) ſubſtātiæ
immutabilitate ſubnixū. Quocirca ſignorum ſacrorum veneranda traditio/
ſeraphim ſancto (dū ſacratur) circūponit vnguento: CHRISTVM
indemutabilē ſciens atqꝫ deſcribens/ in vera & integra aſſumptione fragilitatis
humanæ. ¶ Et quod præterea diuinius eſt/ ad ōnis ſacræ rei conſecrationem 70
N vtitur vnguento diuino: aperte indicans ſanctificantē eū qui ſanctificatur/
iuxta ſcripturę teſtimoniū. vt qui ſemper ſibiipſi ſimilis atqꝫ idē ſit:

Cur ī aquā baptiſterij vnguentū ī crucis modū fundit.

in ōni diuinæ benignitatis operatione. Iccirco & ſacræ regenerationis perficiēs
donū & gratia: vnguēti ſacratiſſima cōſūmatione perficitur. ¶ Vnde 71
(vt reor) purgāti quoqꝫ baptiſterio vnguentū iactibus in crucē formatis infundēs
pōtifex: palā ſpeculatiuis oculis idicat ad ipſā vſqꝫ mortē per crucē/
IHESVM pro diuina generatiōe noſtra/ ſacro ipſo (& qui teneri a morte
O nō poſſet) deſcēſu/ inferna penetrātē. eoſqꝫ qui in morte ipſius (iuxta arcanū
eloquiū) baptiſati eſſent: ex antiqua abſorptione corrūpentis mortis benigniſſime
auellentē/ atqꝫ renouantē ad diuinā perpetuāqꝫ ſubſtantiā. ¶ Sed 72

Quid ſignificet baptiſmo peracto chriſmatis inunctio.

& ipſi qui ſacratiſſimo regenerationis myſterio cōſecratur: aduentum ſancti
ſpiritus/ conſummans inunctio largitur vnguēti. ſubſignificante (q̃tum
arbitror) ſacra deſcriptione ſignorū: ab ipſo qui propter nos in aſſūpta carne
diuino ſpiritu ſanctificatus eſt/ immutabili ſubſtātialis deitatis habitu:
P ſanctiſſimū ſpiritum dari ¶ Et hoc item ſacratius aduerte/ qꝫ diuini quoqꝫ 73
altaris conſecrationem: ſanctiſſimorum myſteriorum lex/ ſacratiſſimi vnguenti
Q caſtiſſimis infuſionibus perficit. Eſt autem ſupercœleſtis & ſuperſubſtantialis
hæc diuina operatio: totius noſtræ diuinitus indultæ ſanctificationis
initium atqꝫ ſubſtantia & perficiens virtus. Nam ſi ſacratiſſimum
altare noſtrum IHESVS eſt/ diuina ſcilicet ſpirituū ſanctorū cōſecratio:
R in quo (iuxta ſcripturæ fidē) ſanctificati & myſtice holocauſti inſtar incenſi/
acceſſum habemus. purgatis luminibus ipſum profecto ſanctiſſimum
ſpeculamur altare (in quo quæ fiunt: conſummantur & ſanctificantur) ab
S ipſo ſacratiſſimo vnguento perfectum. Sanctificat enim pro nobis ſemetipſum
totius ſanctitatis apex IHESVS/ ōniqꝫ nos ſanctificatione replet:
ijs quæ in eo mira diſpenſatione geruntur ad nos/ veluti iā diuina generatione
dignatos/ ſumma benignitate manantibus. ¶ Vnde vt opinor iuxta 74

ſacratiorem ſenſum traditione diuina ſancti noſtræ ſacerdotalis functionis
duces: honeſtiſſimū iſtud vnguenti conſecrandi munus/teleten ab effectu T
rei quę in eo perficitur nominãt. Nec defuere qui hanc dixerint teleten: de
vtroqꝫ ſenſu diuinā ipſius confectionē prædicantes. Eſt enim ipſius telete
etiam ꝙ noſtri gratia ſanctificatur in carne:& ꝙ diuina operando cuncta
75 perficit ac perfecta ſanctificat. ¶ Porro ſacrum diuinitus inſpiratorū prophetarum V
melos aiunt qui hebraice norunt:laudē dei ſignificare/ſiue laudate
dominū. Cum igitur ſacra omnis diuina apparitio & operatio/in varia
ſacerdotaliū compoſitione ſignorū deſcripta ſit:nequaq̃ indecens fuerit
meminiſſe laudationis quā prophetæ afflati ſpiritu ſancto perdocti ſunt.
Docet enim honeſte ſimul & ſancte:digna eſſe ſacris laudibus opera beneficiaqꝫ
diuina.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Ita & induſtrijs quibuſqꝫ/ſpiritualibuſqꝫ pictoribꝰ. A
Induſtrijs:epithetum eſt ab induſtrius/hoc eſt ingenioſis atqꝫ ſolertibus. Et huius loci
hæc intelligentia eſt. Quemadmodum ſenſualis pictor ſuo exemplari perq̃ attentus:id
aſſequitur vt imaginem exprimat archetypo q̃ſimillimā. ita & obtutus ille animi attentiſſimus/
diligentiſſimaqꝫ ad ſuperhumane fragrantem & occultā pulchritudinem contēplatio/
nunq̃ & nuſq̃ declinās:id induſtrijs/ ſolertibus/ ſpiritualibuſqꝫ pictoribus largietur/
vt diuinam in ſe propemodum exprimant imaginem/ ineffabileq; pulchritudinem.
¶ Mentem ſuam eminētiſſime ad odorum/ ſpiritualemqꝫ decorem formātes. Odorum/ B
odoriferum:epithetum ab odorus. ¶ Secūdum euāgelium: vt videantur ab hominibus. C
Matthæus de ſcribis & phariſeis cap. viceſimo tertio. Secundum opera vero eorū nolite
facere. dicunt enim: & non faciunt. alligant autem onera grauia & importabilia/
& imponunt in humeros hominum: digito autem ſuo nolunt ea mouere. omnia vero
opera ſua faciunt: vt videantur ab hominibus. Et eiuſdem euangeliſtæ cap. ſexto ſancta
& ſalutaris doctrina ad idem nos inſtruere contendit. Attendite (inquit) ne iuſtitiam
veſtram faciatis coram hominibus/ vt videamini ab eis: alioquin mercedem non habebitis
apud patrem veſtrū qui in cœlis eſt. Cum ergo tu facis eleemoſynam/noli tuba canere
ante te: ſicut hypocritæ faciunt in ſynagogis & in vicis/vt honorificētur ab hominibus.
amen dico vobis: receperunt mercedem ſuā. Te autem faciente eleemoſynā: neſciat
ſiniſtra tua quid faciat dextera tua. vt ſit eleemoſyna tua in abſcōdito:& pater tuꝰ
qui videt in abſcondito reddet tibi. Et cum oratis: nō eritis ſicut hypocritæ/qui amant
in ſynagogis & in angulis platearum ſtantes orare/vt videantur ab hominibus. amen
dico vobis: receperunt mercedem ſuā. Tu autem cum oras/intra in cubiculum tuum:&
clauſo oſtio ora patrem tuū in abſcondito. & pater tuus qui videt in abſcōdito: reddet
tibi. ¶ Implētes vnicū ipſorum vno/atqꝫ vnum faciētes. Vnicum ipſorū appellat: quod D
iam eſt vniforme/& ad diuinam vnitatem collectū per veræ aſſurrectionis intelligentiā.
Et quāq̃ ſigna multa variaq; ſunt: vt tamen illis iam ad ſumme vnius effigiem vniformibus
præſentantur/ilico ad ſuæ veritatis redigunt vnitatem. haud ſecus ac multas variaſq;
in nubibus colorum apparitiones: in vnam lucis reuocarent vnitatem. ¶ Id quod E
nunc in manibus eſt ſacrum. Sacrum: ſacramentū/ſanctum vnguentum. ¶ Hæc itaqꝫ a F
nobis iam ſæpius dicta. Vt tertij capitis parte tertia/numero. 38. ¶ Liquet autē (vt reor) G
ꝙ ſuperioribus ſubſtantijs. Ferme apud philoſophos proloquiū eſt: vnūquodqꝫ agentium
ſuapte natura vicinioribus atq; diſpoſitioribus ſeſe valentius efficaciuſq; propagare.
vt lux viciniora & diſpoſitiora vberius illuminat: & calidum calefacit/& odorum
ſuo ſpiraculo completius imbuit. Et hanc naturæ legem: in omnibus ſeruari inuiolatam
conſpicere licet. Sed quid? nonne quæ ſecundū naturā fiunt: diuinā imitātur naturā/
vt eorū entitas diuinā entitatē/& bonitas bonitatē/ atqꝫ potētia potentiā? quare &
operādi modus diuinā in rebus imitatur oꝑationē: ſeu per lumen/ſeu per ſuaueolentiā/
ſiue per aliud quicq̃ nobis inſinuetur. Fit igitur hanc naturæ ſequendo conſequentiam
veluti certā quandā diuinæ ſapientiæ ſeſe cunctis in rebus explicātis exprimētiſq; ſcripturam:
vt ſanctiſſima ſeraphim/cherubim atqꝫ thronorū agmina CHRISTI IHESV Pſal. 44.
(qui ſancto vnguento deſignatur:& qui vnctus eſt præ patticipibus ſuis) vberius & co-

pioſius ſuauiſſimis odoribus imbuātur. mox dominationes/virtutes/poteſtates. dehinc
principatus/ archangeli/angeli. Deinde hi hominū fortunatiſſimi: quibus diuina bonitas
clementer indulſit ſpiritualiū odorum diſcretionis nares. & hanc ob cauſam non inſcite
finguntur ab apoſtolis ſanctiſſima ſeraphim ſacrum vnguentū ſuis alis integentia/
& ſemper diuino eius odore ſecretius oppleta. Sed hæc/& analogiæ ſimiles eos pręſertim
non latent: qui ſanctum patris aduertūt ſermonem. vt quas frequētiuſcule vſurpat:
vt et infra numero 85. nunc ex diuina humanā illuſtrans philoſophiam: nunc vero ex
humana veluti ex quodam dubio fulgore ad inſigne lumen perducens/& ex rei in loco
ſubluſtri pertenui veſtigio: ad ipſam in aperto lumine cognoſcendam veritatem. & vt
canis venaticus(ſi magna paruis nobis comparare fas eſt)ex odoris impreſſione quęſitam
ſine vllo errore perducit ad feram. Cuius viri philoſophiam ſi Ariſtoteles/ſi Plato
olfeciſſet: ſane pluſq̄ humanam venerati ſe gloriati fuiſſent reperiſſe magiſtrum/qualem
nunq̄ aſſequi valuerant. Quod ideo dictum ſit/vt vos hac tempeſtate verę philoſophię
amatores: non exiſtimetis deſtitutos/tam inſignem præceptorem ſortiti. qui beatiſſimū
Paulum & diuiniſſimos apoſtolos/ & quod omnium maximum eſt/ipſum ſpiritum ſanctum
meruit habere illuminatorē: & qui antehac a latinis haudquaq̄ ſatis intelligi valebat.
Sed diuinæ bonitati viſum eſt(cui gratiæ ſint)noſtra tempora hac luce non carere.
H ¶ Laudatiſſimāqꝫ theologiā (vt carnaliter dixerim)linguis nunq̄ tacētibus exclamare.
Quia carnaliū & humanorū more linguas beatiſſimis ſeraphim applicuit: quibus nūq̄
tacentibus(vt vidit Eſaias)clamāt. ſanctus/ſanctus/ſanctus/dominus deus ſabaoth/ cū
tamen linguas vllas non habeant: ideo ſacratus pater dixit/vt carnaliter dixerim. hoc
I eſt/vt humano more loquar. ¶ Sanctorum ergo ſeraphim incorporeas proprietates
deſcriptas in ſanctis litteris. Illud dictum eſt in libro cœleſtis hierarchiæ cap. ſeptimo.
K ¶ Porro tergeminā alarū poſitionē. De ſex alis ſeraphim ſępius ex Eſaia cap. ſexto ſuperius
L ſatis adductū eſt. ¶ Qꝫ autē ꝓpheta ait: clamabāt alter ad alterū. De Eſaia cap.
M ſexto loquitur: vt perſæpe quoqꝫ iam dictum eſt. ¶ Atqꝫ a patre/ſeqꝫ ipſo/ac ſancto ſpiritu
ſe humano more ſanctificatum cernens: ſuū recognouit initium(in ijs quæ diuina
virtute ipſe operatur)ſubſtantiæ immutabilitate ſubnixum. De hac ſanctificatione loquitur
pſalmus quadrageſimus quartus. Dilexiſti iuſtitiā & odiſti iniquitatē: propterea
vnxit te deus deꝰ tuus oleo leticię prę cōſortibus tuis. Vbi vnctio illa a beatiſſima intelligitur
facta trinitate/quippe quæ deus eſt. Et quāuis ſanctificatus eſſet vt homo: ſuū tamen
cum operaretur vt deus/in ſeipſo recognouit principium/ſubſtantiæ immobilitate
ſubnixum. quod quidē cum ad noſtra infirma deſcenderit: ſuam in ſanctis ſeraphim ſtabilem
non demutauit ſedem. Et illud quidem/ oleum: hoc vero/ ſeraphim deſignant.
N ¶ Aperte indicans ſanctificantem eū qui ſanctificatur: iuxta ſcripturæ teſtimoniū. Paulus
epiſtola ad hebręos cap. ſcđo. Qui enī ſanctificat & qui ſanctificātur: ex vno omnes.
O ¶ Eoſqꝫ qui in morte ipſius(iuxta arcanū eloquiū)baptiſati eſſent. Paulus ad Romanos
cap. ſexto. An ignoratis fratres: quia quicunqꝫ baptiſati ſumus in CHRISTO IHESV/
in morte eius baptiſati ſumus? cōſepulti enim ſumus cum illo per baptiſmū in mortem:
vt quomodo CHRISTVS ſurrexit a mortuis per gloriam patris/ita & nos in nouitate
P vitæ ambulemus. ¶ Et hoc itē ſacratius aduerte. In cōſecratione ſancti altaris in primitiuæ
eccleſiæ ritu fiebat diuini vnguēti infuſio: quod & præſentis eccleſiæ ſtatus obſeruat.
Q ¶ Eſt autē ſupercœleſtis/& ſuperſubſtātialis hæc diuina operatio. Hæc diuina operatio:
R cōſecratio altaris. ¶ In quo(iuxta ſcripturæ fidem)ſanctificati. Paulus epiſtola ad
Epheſios cap. ſecūdo. Et veniens euāgelizauit pacem vobis qui longe fuiſtis/& pacem
ijs qui prope: quoniā per ipſum habemus acceſſum ambo in vno ſpiritu ad patrē. Ergo
iam non eſtis hoſpites & aduenæ: ſed eſtis ciues ſanctorū & domeſtici dei/ſuperędificati
ſuper fundamentū apoſtolorū & prophetarum: ipſo ſūmo angulari lapide CHRISTO
S IHESV. in quo omnis ędificatio conſtructa: creſcit in templū ſanctū in domino. ¶ Sanctificat
enim pro nobis ſemetipſum totius ſāctitatis apex. Ioānes cap. decimo ſeptimo.
T Et pro eis ſanctifico meipſū: vt ſint & ipſi ſanctificati in veritate. ¶ Honeſtiſſimū iſtud
vnguēti conſecrādi munus: teleten ab effectu rei quæ in eo perficitur nomināt. Telete:
perfectio & ſanctificatio interpretatur. perfectio autē & ſanctificatio: quia perficit & ſanctificat/aut
quia eaipſa quicq̄ perficitur & ſanctificatur. Et omne ſacramentū quatenus
expiat & illuminat: telete quidem/ſed inferior dici poteſt. quatenus vero perficit & cōſummat:
telete ſuperior prorſuſqꝫ diuina. Et ſancti vnguenti cōſecratio: de vtroqꝫ ſenſu

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telete celebratur/& ab eo quod perficit & ab eo quod perficitur. CHRISTVS enim noſtra
ſupramũdana teleta/noſtrũ omnibus ſuperdiuinis odoribus oppletũ vnguentũ: ipſe
eſt qui ſãctificat & ſanctificatur/qui perficit & qui ꝑficitur. ❡ Prophetarũ melos aiũt: qui V
hebraice norunt. Illud melos: allelu ia eſt/quod laus dei & laudate dominũ ſignificat. Et
laudatio illa prophetarũ cui ſanctũ melos allelu ia præfigitur: pſalmus eſt Aggei & Zachariæ
prophetarũ qui eſt centeſimus quadrageſimus octauus/ honeſte & ſancte opera
beneficiaq; diuina cõmemorans/atq; docens ſacris laudibus eſſe digniſſima.

❡TERTIAE PARTIS QVARTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

58 SPiritualem ſenſum/per ſigna imagineſq; ſenſibiles confectionis ſacri
vnguenti ſignificatum: explanat hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius, dicens ꝙ
vt ſacratior quęratur intelligentia in huiuſmodi myſterio conſecrationis
vnguenti/omnia fere eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta (vt dictum eſt) conſummante:
per id ꝙ ſacrum vnguentũ defertur obtectum/ exprimitur
myſtice ſanctorũ virorum virtutes bonorũq; operum odorem: oportere
eſſe opertum hominibuſq; incognitũ. Nempe diuino admonentur
oraculo/ne ad humanæ laudis aucupationem vanãq; oſtentationem ſua faciant opera: Matth.6.
quando per bonarũ actionũ ſtudia virtutũq; officia/ ad diuinæ virtutis omni ſuauitate
redolentis ſimilitudinem nitũtur. Enimuero dei pulchritudines ipſi intimæ arq; immanentes:
illabefactæ ſunt & occultæ/omni ſenſu ſuperiores & ſpirituali odore refertiſſimę/
ſoliſq; ſpiritualibus ſubſtantijs ſpiritualiter manifeſtantur & oſtendũtur. atq; in animabus
hominũ petũt habere ſimiles virtutis imagines: nulla peccati labe violabiles/quæ
ad diuinæ pulchritudinis ſimilitudinẽ ſint efformatæ. quẽadmodũ primitiuus odor in
flore ſubſiſtens: ſuæ redolentiæ ſpeciem infundit naribus animaliũ/eaſq; conſimili fragrantia
imbuit. Ipſa autem rationalis ſubſtantia in ſeipſa per dignam imitationem ita
efformat effigiatq; diuinæ virtutis ſigillum/nulla obductum corruptela ſed integrum &
egregie expreſſum: ſi ab illa diuina pulchritudine (quæ ſpiritualis eſt & omni virtutum
ſuauitate fragrans) ſuæ mentis aciem nunq̃ deflectit/eius contẽplationi ſemper intenta.
Quinimmo ſicut in ſenſibilium imaginũ depictione ſi ad primitiuum exemplar oculis
obiectum ipſe pictor indeſinenter attendat/ vt neq; ad aliud viſibile interim ſpectãdum
conuertat obtutum neq; in alio quouis opere diſtrahatur: tunc eum qui pingitur ille diligens
pictor (vt ita dixerim) duplicabit & ingeminabit quantũ ad repræſentationis rationem/
veritatemq; in ſua imagine reddet/& primitiuã formam in ſua ſimilitudine. Et
dempta ſubſtantiæ veritatis ad imaginẽ differentia (alia enim ſemper erit ipſius veritatis
ſcilicet viui hominis qui pingitur/ſubſtantia: & alia ipſius imaginis/quæ inſtar exẽplaris
efformatur) & veritatẽ in imagine referet/& imaginem in veritate. Ita & diligẽs
animi ſpeculatio/ad fragrantiſſimã & occultiſſimã diuinæ virtutis pulchritudinẽ intẽta/
neq; vſq̃ ab ea deflectẽs mẽtis aciem: id pręſtabit ſolertibus & ſpiritualibꝰ pictoribus/vt
ſine errore aliquo viuam & integrã in ſe exprimãt diuinę pulchritudinis imaginẽ. Recte
igitur diuini illi pictores animũ ſuum perfectiſſime ad diuini decoris (qui cœleſti virtutũ
odore redolentiſſimus eſt/& omnino ſpiritualis) ſimilitudinẽ efformãtes/nullas virtutũ
actiones faciunt/ſicut & admonentur in euangelio: vt humanã inde laudẽ captent aut Matth.6.
gloriam aucupentur. ſed omnia faciũt opera ſua & ſacratiſſima eccleſiæ officia/obtecta:
atq; hominũ oculis abſcõdita. quemadmodũ in ipſius ſancti vnguenti opertione tanq̃
in imagine: ſignificatum eſſe cognoſcũt. Quapropter ijdem diuini pictores recta virtutum
opera cõtegentes intra ſuũ animũ/dei imitatione ſimul & effigiatione diuinæ pulchritudinis
inſignem: ad ſolam primitiuam formã diuinãq; ſpeciem oculos mentis conuertũt.
Neq; enim obliqua & praua (quæ deo diſſimilia ſunt) ſolũ nõ aſpiciunt: ſed neq;
ad leuiſſimũ illorum vel in tranſcurſu trahuntur obtutum/ꝙ nuſq̃ a ſuo exemplari primario
oculos detorqueant. Vnde fit vt eorum quæ vana ſunt & friuola (vt propriæ laudis
aut humanæ gloriæ) nequaq̃ rapiãtur amore: ſed ea dũtaxat quæ recta & iuſta ſunt/
conſtanter ament iuxta congruũ ſibi ſtatum. Neq; eam eſtimant eſſe gloriã/quã imperitum
vulgus & errore deceptum magnificat & iudicat eſſe magnopere expetendam:
vento ſcilicet humanæ laudis extolli & ab hominibus mirifice celebrari. Sed in ſeipſis
ſecundũ veritatem quid bonum & malum ſit recte iudicantes ad ipſius dei imitationẽ:
ipſi quantum ad animũ ſigna quædam ſunt & ſignacula ipſius diuinæ & ſupremæ fragrantiæ/
quæ omniũ odorum ſpiritualium archetypus eſt & veritas. Et huiuſmodi pri-

mitiua exemplariſq; fragrantia odorem in ſe habens myſticũ & ſpiritualem/non quidẽ
ſecundũ imaginem ſed veritatem: ad illud quod per peccati turpitudinem & horrorem
diſſimiliter ſe habet ad ipſam/nunq̃ conuertitur: neq; veris ſuis imaginibus (quæ mẽtibus
humanis & angelicis expreſſæ ſunt) quicq̃ ſimulatũ vnq̃ aut fictũ imprimit/quãdoquidem
eo ipſo imagines illę a ſuæ veritatis natura deſciſcerent. ¶ Deinde quid alæ tegentes 59
ipſum vnguentum ſignent: ſacratiſſimus pater edocet. Quoniã (inquit) exterior
myſterij confectionis vnguenti pulchritudo/ conſpecta eſt in decentia & congruentia
ſignorum materialiũ: quæ in ipſius cõſecratione fiunt. nunc ſacratior ipſius decor in ſpirituali
latens intelligentia: contuendus eſt. & ſublatis viſibilium formarũ velaminibus
inſpiciendũ/quomodo ipſum cõficiendi vnguenti myſterium in ſeipſo clariſſimũ iubar
emittit: & animos noſtros eo replet odore intellectuali/ qui ſpiritualibus viris ignotus
non eſt neq; imperceptus. Quippe viſibilis illa vnguenti materialis confectio/ nequaq̃
illis eſt imperceptibilis aut abſcondita qui ſunt circa pontificem: vt ſacerdotibus ſanctis
& ſacratioribus miniſtris. ſed etiam ad eorum conſpectũ peruenit: & ſpiritualem ipſorũ
animis ingerit ſacrarũ rerum intelligentiã. Verũ huiuſmodi ſenſibilis confectio/ab ipſis
circũſtantibus congruenti numero pontificem cum veneratione & reuerentia contegitur:
ne paſſim ab ipſa turba & multitudine populi conſpiciatur/a qua iure debet dirimi.
Cõſimili pene ratione ſpiritualis ſanctorũ ſignorum radius & fulgor/ viris ſpiritualibus
lympide ac affluẽter infulgens (vt qui luci ſpirituali ſint admodũ propinqui: & ad ipſam
percipiendam rite diſpoſiti) & ſpiritualem illorum olfactũ ad diuina percipienda adminicularium/
intellectualeq; ſenſoriũ ac receptaculũ/ amoto ſignorũ velamine/ ſpirituali
odore perfundẽs: non eodẽ modo neq; ſic pure & lympide ad inferioris gradus & ordinis
homines progreditur/ꝗ nõ ſint illius conſimili ratione capaces. Sed huiuſmodi radius
intellectualis ſub velamine alarum tanq̃ ſigno & operimento ſenſibili contegitur
ab ipſis ſpiritualibus viris/ad lucis illius internæ ſpeculationẽ admiſſis atq; idoneis: ne a
prophana multitudine & ijs qui diſſimiles ſunt ac inepti tantis myſterijs/ ille ſpiritualis
intelligentię radius violetur. Per hæc vero ſacra ſigna viſibilia/ſubiecti ipſius pontificis
authoritati ordines eccleſiaſtici vt ſacerdotes/miniſtri & plebs ſancta: promouentur ad 60
ſpiritualis ſenſus ſpeculationem/quiſq; iuxta ſui gradus congruentiã ac rationẽ. ¶ Habet
autem (quod & ſuperius dictum eſt) hoc ſacroſanctum cõfectionis vnguenti myſterium
hanc efficaciam atq; virtutẽ: vt cuncta ſacerdotalia myſteria cõpleat atq; perficiat.
Iccirco ſanctiſſimi patres & viri apoſtolici/ iſtud fere pari ordine atq; officio cõiungendũ
putarũt ipſi ſanctiſſimo euchariſtiæ ſacramẽto: propter affinitatem cognationẽq; ipſius
ſancti chriſmatis ad ſacram euchariſtiã/potiſſimũ in his tribus. ꝗ ijſdem fere ſignis viſibilibus
(quibus euchariſtia) ſanctum chriſma repræſentatur/ꝗ cõſimilibus partitionibus
atq; diſtributionibus diſtinguitur/ꝗ deniq; eiſdem ſacris eloquijs prædicatur atq; celebratur.
¶ Siquidem in huius myſterij completione pontifex conſimili modo ſicut in ſacroſanctæ 61
euchariſtiæ celebratione/progreditur a ſacro altari cum incenſo per totũ tẽpli
ambitũ: & rurſum ad ſuũ regreditur locum. vt hoc ſuo proceſſu edoceat diuinã bonitatẽ
per ſuorũ munerum participationem in omnia hæc inferiorũ rerum genera emanare.
Ipſam tamen neq; ſuo moueri ſummæ celſitudinis ſolio/neq; per ſui effuſionẽ imminui:
ſed in ſuę maieſtatis ſummitate/ſublimiq; ſede eãdem ſemper manere/& ſine mutatione
ſtabilem. Conſimili itidem ratione pſalmorũ cantica & ſcripturarũ ſacrę lectiones in hoc
cõfectionis vnguẽti (ſicut & euchariſtiæ) myſterio: catechuminos obſtetricũ more ad vitalis
regenerationis ſuſceptionem efformant. Eos etiam qui ab aduerſis aguntur poteſtatibus/
ad ſaniorem mẽtis habitum cõuertunt: atq; ab energuminis pauores a dęmonibus
inductos tollunt. Ab apoſtatis vero deiq; deſertoribus/ad malum illicientia voluptatum
carnalium tollunt oblectamenta: quibus hi ex infirmitate ſua ad flagitia pertrahuntur.
Et vtriſq; diuinioris atq; excellentioris vitæ habitum ac ſtatum: hæc ſacra carmina
necnon lectiones inſinuãt atq; demonſtrãt. quo firmati qui prius energumini erãt
& apoſtatæ/& inſigni virtutis excellentia iam roborati: deinceps potius perterrefacient
tenebroſas & inimicas poteſtates/& aliorum ad ſalutẽ dirigendorũ curę prępoſiti erũt:
poſtq̃ ipſi per melioris vitæ frugem omnino ad bonum fuerint cõuerſi. Atq; ex ſtudioſa
dei imitatione cum in bonis cœlitus collatis non extollantur/ ſed deum recognoſcant
primum illorum authorem: ad perfectiorem mentis habitum perducti/non ſolum cõtra
dæmonicos pauores atq; terrores habebũt virtutis efficaciã: verũ etiã illã alijs elargiẽ-

tur.& ad hæc aſſequenda bona:per auditionem pſalmodiæ lectioniſq; ſacræ interim diſponuntur.
62 ¶Cæterum eadem cantica & lectiones ſcripturarũ pœnitẽtibus qui ex vitæ
immunditia redierunt ad rectitudinem ac puritatem/firmã animi ad bonũ diſpoſitionẽ
inducunt:ne rurſum ad præteritã relabãtur nequitiã.Imperfectos vero & quibus adhuc
aliquid deeſt ad completam munditiam:eadem pſalmodia & ſcripturarum recitationes
expurgant & emundant.Sanctos vero & omnino mundos:adducũt ad ſacrarum imaginum
ſignorũq; materialium huius myſterij aſpectum ac contuitum.Eos identidem
replent ſpirituali ſacrorum ſignorum intelligentia/ſenſuq; myſtico:mentem ipſorum
vniformem colligentes ad ipſum ſumme vnum/& per vnitionem collectionẽq; ipſius ad
deum:illam facientes omnino vnam.Inſuper hoc ſacrum confectionis vnguenti myſterium
deinde excludit cæterorũ conſortio/atq; templo egredi decernit eos ordines qui
non omnino mundi ſunt:vt catechuminos/apoſtatas/energuminos & pœnitẽtes/ſicut
& ſacroſanctũ euchariſtiæ myſteriũ.atq; a ſolis ſanctis ac mũdis:& ſacras imagines cõſpici/
& ſpiritualem ſenſum percipi conſtituit.Verum hæc omnia ſuperius in precedenti
63 capite adducta:non ſunt hic amplius repetenda.¶Sed ad ea quæ conſequenter in hoc
geruntur preſenti myſterio:nunc tranſeundũ.& contuendus imprimis eſt ſacratus pontifex/
ſacrum portans vnguentũ duodecim alis ſanctorum ſeraphim circũuelatum:& ſacram
ipſius confectionẽ atq; cõſecrationem perficiens. Eſt autem vnguenti materialis — Quid vnguentum.
compoſitio:collectio quedã materiarum ſuauiter ſpirãtium/habens in ſe abunde qualitates
odoriferas.cuius quidem vnguenti qui ſunt participes:ſecundũ quãtitatem participationis
illius quã habent/ſuaui odore imbuũtur ac replentur.Si enim copioſe/ipſius
64 vnguenti participationẽ habent:affluenter itidẽ ſuaui implentur odore.ſi vero exiguũ
quiddam habent vnguenti ſenſibilis:& modico replẽtur odore.¶Nunc vero quid huiuſmodi
ſenſibilium odorũ in vnguẽto ſuauis cõmixtio ſignet:ſacratiſſimus pater declarat/
per diuinã philoſophiam ab humanis ad diuina nos manuducens.Excellentiſſimus
inquit & ſuperdiuinus dñs noſter IHESVS CHRISTVS:ſuperſubſtantialiter odorus
eſt/ſpiritualiq; odore principaliter refertiſſimus.de quo ob virtutum ipſius excellentiſſimam
fragrantiã:dicit ſcriptura. curremus in odorem vnguentorũ tuorum/& ꝙ oleum — Canti.1.
effuſum nomen eius:ꝙ etiã ſit flos campi & lilium conualliũ.Inſuper ꝙ vnctus eſt oleo — Canti.2
letitiæ præ conſortibus ſuis:ꝙ deniq; myrrha/gutta & caſia/a veſtimentis eius defluãt. — Psal.44.
Et ipſe vt ſuauiſſimo plenus odore/intellectualem noſtrum olfactum:per ſuorum ſpiraminum
diſtributionem ſpiritualem cœleſti voluptate replet.Cum enim id perſpectum
habeatur/ꝙ ſenſibilium odorum perceptio ingenti ſuauitate fouet ac reficit narium noſtrarum
virtutem ac vim diſcretiuam:dummodo ea leſa non ſit neq; impedita/atq; ad
ipſos odores debita cõmenſuratione temperamẽtoq; reſpõdens.vt neq; remiſſi nimiũ
ſint ac languidi/neq; nimium acres aut vehemẽtes:ne ſenſum ipſum corrumpãt.rationabile
ſane & id fuerit:ſpiritualem animorum noſtrorum olfactum/vimq; internã intellectualium
odorum perceptiuam/nullo pacto ad tetra prauaq; deuergentem:ad diuini
odoris perceptionem pertingere per naturalem iudicij noſtri intellectualis vigorem/ſecundum
diuini odoris in nos diffuſionem:& conuenientem ad ipſum percipiẽdum animi
noſtri conuerſionem.Cunq; ad hauriendum hunc diuinum odorem/virtus noſtra
ſpiritualis perducta fuerit:ſimul & ſuauiſſima voluptate afficietur & diuino replebitur
alimento/omniaq; ſpiritualiter habebit:quæ corporaliter in ſenſibilis odoris ſuauiſſima
perceptione contingere ſolent.Itaq; vt per ea quæ formã habent materialem/illa inſinuentur
quę nullã admittunt figuram ſenſibilem:ipſa vnguenti materialis compoſitio/
diuinorũ myſteriorum ſignificatiua/deſcribit nobis atq; repræſentat IHESVM CHRISTVM
dominũ noſtrum(qui principalis eſt diuinorum odorum opulentia/primitiuaq;
illorum apotheca/exuberantiſſimũ diffuſionis illorum in cætera principium atq; primarium
illud ſpirituale vnguentũ)debita proportione in excellentiſſimas cœleſtes ſubſtantias
diuinos illorum odorum vapores ac ſpiracula immittere.In quibus ſane vaporibus
ipſi cœleſtes ſpiritus/mirifica voluptate affecti/& perceptionibus ſacrarum huiuſmodi
euaporationũ pleni:ſpirituali reficiũtur alimonia per hoc ipſum/ꝙ diſtributiones emiſſioneſq;
talium odorum ſpiritualiũ:diuina participatione ſubeunt intellectualem ipſorũ
65 olfactum.¶At vero cõpertum id haberi debet/ꝙ diuinæ principaliſq; fragrantiæ participatio:
diuinius copioſiuſq; fit atq; prius/ipſis ſupremis cœleſtium ſpirituũ ſubſtãtijs:
ꝙ deo immediatæ ſint ac proximæ.& exuberãtius huiuſmodi gratia diuinæ redolentiæ

ſeipſam inſinuat ac infundit illis ſummis & primis virtutibus angelicis: in puriſſimam
ipſarum lympiditatē ac valentiſſimũ ſpiritualis virtutis vigorem copioſe emanans/ac
multifariam exundans. Cæterum eadem principalis fragrãtiæ(quæ in deo/& a deo eſt)
gratia/ excellentiſſimã illam & ſummã participationem prouide occultans inferioribus
ſubſtantijs angelicis/ ꝙ illius primæ deriuationis non ſint capaces: ipſis certa quadam
proportione pro capacitate & gradu ſuo/diuina prouidentia diſtribuitur ſecũdo loco &
ordine. Itaqꝫ ſanctorũ ſeraphim ordo/cœleſtibus omnibus diſtinctionibus & ordinibus
longe ſublimior: alis duodecim obuelatus circa IHESVM CHRISTVM dominum &
deum noſtrũ ſtabili firmitate conſiſtere/ab Eſaia propheta deſcribitur: atqꝫ in ſpeculati-
onem ſummæ diuinitatis eius fulgoriſqꝫ eximij ſacros intēdere cõtuitus/diſtributioneqꝫ
diuinorũ odorum ſacris illorum perceptionibus imbui/diuinãq; laudationem trinæ ſan-
ctitatis nuncupationem in vnum dominiũ atqꝫ deitatem reducentē: aſſidue ac ſine ceſſa-
tione dicitur reſonare. ❡Enimuero ipſorum cœleſtium ſpirituũ ſcientia: & ſacratiſſima 66
eſt & indefatigabilis/diuinũqꝫ habet coniunctum amorem nunq̄ fatiſcentē/langueſcen-
tem aut ſeneſcentem: vt ipſa nulli vnq̄ malitiæ aut obliuioni ſit obnoxia. Vnde clamor
ille ſanctorũ ſeraphim nunq̄ quieſcens ſignificat ſempiternã ipſorum ſcientiam: nuſq̄ a
deo ſuos obtutus deflectentem/itidem & clariſſimã illorum intelligentiã atqꝫ notionem:
deo iugiter de acceptis beneficijs & eius gloriæ immenſitate gratias agentem. Verum
ipſorum ſanctiſſimorum ſeraphim proprietates incorporales in ſacris litteris expreſſas/
ac ſub imaginũ ſenſibiliũ velamine(quæ ſpiritualiter declaratæ ſunt)obtectas: liber ſan-
ctiſſimi patris de cœleſti hierarchia latius aperuit/& ſpiritualibus ſancti Timothei ac le-
gentium oculis ſacratius obiecit. ❡Cæterum quẽadmodũ duodecim alæ ſanctorum ſe- 67
raphim integentes ſacrum vnguentũ: dictæ ſunt nobis ſignificare/ſupremum ſanctiſſi-
morum ſeraphim ordinem proxime ipſi CHRISTO deo in cœlis aſtare: ita qui in ſacri
vnguenti conſecratione pontificem ipſum circũſtant ſacerdotes & electi miniſtri/eundē
ſignificant ſupremum ſanctorum ordinem ipſi deo proxime aſſiſtentem. idcirco puriore
mentis obtutu conſpicanda nobis eſt ipſorum altiſſimorũ ſeraphim eximia lux atqꝫ cla-
ritas. Porro varia ipſorum ſeraphim facies & multitudo pedum/ſignificat lympidiſſimã
ipſorum virtutem ad hauriendos diuinos fulgores perſpicaciſſimã: diuinorũqꝫ bonorũ
notionem/iugi motu vigentem & aſſidua cõtemplatione multa percurrentem/ꝙ nunq̄
torpeat ocio ſed velociter omnia permeet. quemadmodũ in libro de cœleſti hierarchia
Nũero.53. capite decimotertio etiã dictum eſt. Senaria vero alarũ poſitio ab Eſaia propheta circa
ſeraphim deſcripta: non ſignificat ſacratum numerũ vt nõnulli poſuerunt/ſcilicet ſena-
rium. qui eam ob cauſam a pleriſqꝫ ſacratus habetur: ꝙ perfectorum numerorum ſit pri-
mus. ſed potius id inſinuat/ ꝙ ſupremus ipſe ſanctiſſimorum ſeraphim & deo ꝓximus
ordo partes habet(vt ita dixerim)atqꝫ vires primas/medias/& poſtremas. nõ quidem
imperfectas: ſed integras & abſolutas. non itidem mũdanas aut terrenas: ſed ſupermũ-
danas & ſupercœleſtes. quæ ſpirituales eiuſdem ordinis virtutes atqꝫ diuinas: ad deum
iugiter ſubuehũt. Hanc ob rem ſanctiſſima ſcriptura/alarum ſanctorũ ſeraphim figura-
tionem/ſitum & collocationem exprimens: circa facies eorum binas poſuit/circa mediã
quoqꝫ ipſorum ſubſtantiã binas/ & demum circa pedes ipſorum conſtituit geminas. ea
poſitione alarum tergemina ſignificans: ꝙ ipſa ſanctiſſima ſeraphim omnino pennata
ſint & alis prædita/& ꝙ ad deum ipſum qui ſolus vere eſt: indeſinenter & totis viribus
ferantur. Qꝛ autem facies & pedes velare deſcribuntur/& ſolis medijs alis euolare ſu-
premi ipſi cœleſtes ſpiritus: id deſignat ꝙ ſublimiora q̄ intelligere queãt itidem & pro-
fundiora diuinitatis myſteria(quorum hæc per pedes/illa vero per caput intelligũtur)
reuerētur/atqꝫ cum veneratione relinquunt indiſcuſſa necnon ab illis inquirēdis cũ mo-
deſtia abſtinent. & media horum arcana/ occultaqꝫ deitatis myſteria cum ſobrietate &
mediocritate ſpeculantes: quaſi medijs alis modeſte ad dei contēplationem ferũtur. Et
ita ſanctiſſima ſeraphim: diuinis legibus atqꝫ prouidentiſſimis rationibus ſuam ſubijciũt
vitam/ea ſolum inquirendo: quæ eis nota fieri permittit & vult immenſa diuinæ ſapiē-
tiæ abyſſus/a qua ad dei notionē & ſcientiã congruo ordine & modo adducũtur. Demũ
ꝙ Eſaias propheta dicit ſancta ſeraphim clamaſſe alterũ ad alterum: id ſignificat ꝙ ipſi
ſupremi ordinis cœleſtes ſpiritus ſuarũ notionũ intelligentiã & participationē adinuicē
cũ benigna cõmunicabilitate tradunt. ❡Neqꝫ illud prætermittendũ cenſetur/ꝙ lingua 68
hebraica ipſos primi ordinis cœleſtes ſpiritus vocat ſeraphim: nomine quidem pleno.

myſterij & ſignificatiuo/eam ob cauſam ꝙ diuino ſemper amore)irrequieto & perpetuo
feruore vigenti incaleſcant atq; igniãtur. Cum itaq;(vt aiũt hebrę)ſupremi illi ſpiritus
a ſacra ſcriptura ſeraphim appellati ſint/quaſi incendẽtes & calefaciẽtes: nomine quidẽ
ipſis congruo & peculiarem ſuã proprietatem atq; cõditionem indicante/virtutẽ plane
habẽt diuinorum vaporũ ipſius vnguenti diffuſiuam/ſurſumq; actiuam: ſecundũ ꝙ ſenſibilis
ipſius vnguẽti imago/ſpiritualis ſenſus ſignificatiua/materialiter exprimit. Quæ
quidem virtus ignea euocet ipſum vnguentũ ad ſui euaporationem: & ſacratiſſimorum
halituum atq; odorũ diſtributionẽ. quẽadmodum thus cum igni imponitur: reſoluitur
in odoratas euaporationes. Siquidem ipſa diuinitatis ſubſtantia primo & principaliter
odorifera/ſuperhumano tamen modo: ab ipſis ſanctiſſimis ſeraphim ſpiritibus ignitis &
inflãmatis educi in noticiam atq; euocari in apertũ affectat/ſuauiſſimaſq; ſpirationes
atq; vaporum ſuorũ emiſſiones illis impartit: qui ſic illam diuiniore modo exuſcitãt ſuis
incendijs/atq; ad opulẽtas interim odoris ſui deriuationes emanationeſq; prouocãt.
69 ❡Neq; altiſſimũ cœleſtium ſubſtãtiarum ordinem latuit: IHESVM verum deum vt ſecundum
carnis diſpenſationem ſanctificaretur/de cœlo in hunc mundum deſcendiſſe.
Sed perſpectum habet & cognitum: ꝙ is per eximiã ſuã benignitatem ſeipſum ad noſtræ
naturę infirma demiſerit. ꝙq; ſe a deo patre/a ſeipſo/& a ſpiritu ſancto ſanctificatũ
ſecũdum humanã naturam cognoſcens: ſuã etiam in ſe ſemper recognouerit diuinitatis
ſubſtantiã/in ijs operibꝰ quæ diuina virtute perfecit(vt ſignis & miraculis)indemutabili
identitate ſubſiſtentẽ. Idcirco myſtica ſanctorũ ſignorum ſenſibilium traditio/ipſi
vnguento cum conſecratur/ſancta ſeraphim circũponit: circũpoſitaq; deſcribit. vt per
hanc fictionem innuat atq; deſcribat/CHRISTVM ſecũdum diuinitatem permanſiſſe
indemutabilem/atq; a ſummis ſpiritibus(vt ante)eminentiſſime circũuallatum: cũ vere
& integre humanam fragilitatem aſſumpſit/ob quam a ſuæ deitatis identitate nequaq̃
70 decidit. ❡Quinimmo quod his altius & ſublimius eſt: ipſa veneranda ſignorum ſacrorum
traditio ad cuiuſq; rei ſacræ cõſecrationẽ vtitur ipſo vnguẽto cõſecrato. clare ſignificãs
ipſum CHRISTVM ſecũdum hominẽ ſanctificatũ/& omnes itidem ſanctificantẽ: Hebræ.2.
vt diuinum habet Pauli eloquium. Eſt enim ipſe CHRISTVS etiam poſt aſſumptã noſtræ
carnis ſubſtantiã ſibi ipſi ſemper idem atq; ſimilis: in omni diuinæ bonitatis operatione
& ſanctificatiua virtute. quã vt deus: nõ minus nunc q̃ prius/hominibus impẽdit.
Inſuper vt homo prius ſanctificatus: omnes etiã ſanctificat/quẽadmodũ vnguẽtũ ante
conſecratum: reliqua cõſecrat. Idcirco baptiſmalis lauacri donum & gratia/qua deo renaſcimur:
71 ſacratiſſima vnguenti(vt ante dictum eſt)completione perficitur. ❡Eandem Nũero.15.
fere ob cauſam/ipſi baptiſterio ſacrum vnguentum pontifex ternis iactibus in crucẽ formatis
(vt ſecundũ huius libri diſſeruit caput)infundit. per hoc/ſpiritualem ſenſum ſpeculantibus
oculis indicãs: ꝙ ipſe IHESVS mortem crucis perpeſſus pro redemptione Actu.2.
noſtra ac reparatione ad inferna deſcenderit/vbi ſecundum ſcripturę teſtimoniũ teneri
a morte non potuit. ꝙq; eos qui in morte ipſius baptiſati ſunt: ex antiqua mortis voragine
ac fauce benigniter eripuerit/atq; ad ſpiritualem vitam perpetuãq; renouauerit.
72 ❡Inſuper & ei qui ſacro ablutus eſt baptiſmo/ipſa chriſmatis inunctio: ſancti ſpiritus
aduẽtum elargitur. ſignificatq; per hoc ipſa ſanctorum ſignorũ traditio: ꝙ ſpiritus ſanctus
datur baptiſatis ab ipſo CHRISTO per ſacrum chriſma ſignato. qui propter nos
in humanitate aſſumpta/ſpiritu ſancto ab ipſo cõceptionis articulo ſãctificatus eſt: ipſa
73 diuinitatis proprietate ſecundũ ſubſtantiã manente indemutabili. ❡Eſt & illud diligẽtius
aduertendum/ꝙ eccleſiaſticorũ myſteriorum ordinatio: altaris cõſecrationem infuſione
vnguenti perficit. Eſt autem hæc ſacra altaris cõſecratio/quin potius quæ per eã
ſignatur ipſius CHRISTI ſecundũ humanitatem ſanctificatio/ſuperſubſtãtialis plane
operatio/ſupercœleſtis & diuina: prĩcipium/cauſa & virtus perfectiua totius ſanctificationis
naturæ humanæ diuinitus cõceſſæ. Nempe quoniã CHRISTVS eſt ſacratiſſimũ
altare noſtrũ/& diuina ſanctarum mẽtium cõſecratio: per quẽ ſcilicet pię mentes cũ humanæ
tũ angelicæ cõſecrãtur. in quo ſane altari myſtico ſecũdũ ſcripturę eloquiũ noſipſi Ephe.2.
ſanctificati & more holocauſti in oblationẽ incẽſi: habemus acceſſum ad patrẽ/quẽadmodum
in altari ſenſibili offertur ſacrificium quo reconciliamur deo. interiore profecto
& claro mentis oculo CHRISTVS ipſe proponitur nobis inſpiciendus: vt ſanctiſſimũ
altare(in quo quæcũq; offeruntur: perfectionem accipiunt & ſanctificationẽ)ab ipſo ſacro
vnguento perfectum/id eſt ſpiritu ſancto effuſius ipſi dato ſanctificatũ. Siquidem

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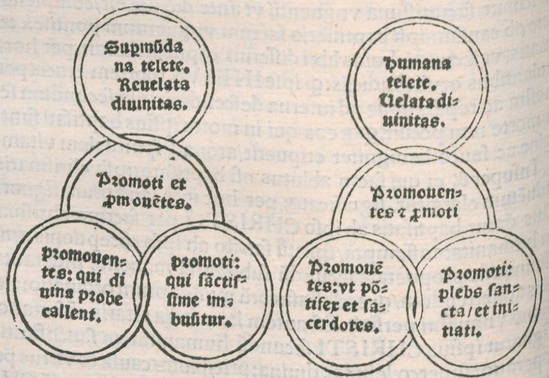
ipſe IHESVS author & initium totius ſanctificationis: ſeipſum pro nobis(vt ipſe teſtatur)
Ioan.17 ſanctificat/& noſipſos omni ſanctificatione replet. dum ea quæ in ipſo diſpẽſatoria
carnis aſſumptione geruntur: ad nos tanq̃ diuina adoptione iam factos dei filios/per
ſummam benignitatem emanant. Conſequimur enim illorũ participationem munerũ:
quæ ipſi vt humani generis reparatori primo collata ſunt. ⸿Eam ob rem(vt coniectare 74
licet)primarij eccleſiaſticæ functionis inſtitutores ſacratiſſimũ iſtud vnguẽti conſecrãdi
myſterium nomine grȩco vocarũt teleten: quaſi perficiens & ſanctificãs munus/ab ipſo
ſcilicet rei effectu quæ per vnguentũ ſanctificatur & perficitur. Fuerunt & alij qui hanc
vnguẽti conſecrationẽ dixerunt teleten: ꝙ cõſecretur vnguentũ & perficiatur. Et ita in
vtroq; ſenſu/& actiuo & paſſiuo: huiuſmodi cõfectio per hãc teletes appellationẽ digne
prædicatur atq; commendatur. Cæterum vtraq; hæc ratio nominis/etiam CHRISTO
conuenit: ipſius vnguenti veritati & archetypo. Eſt enim ipſe: noſtra telete ſacratiſſima.
tum ꝙ noſtri gratia: ſanctificetur in carne a deo. tum etiam ꝙ ipſe diuina operando/
cuncta perficiat atq; ſanctificet. ⸿Deniq; qui hebraicæ linguæ periti ſunt/ dicunt ſacram 75
illam melodiam a prophetis diuino ſpiritu afflatis expreſſam allelu ia: ſignificare
laudem domini/ſiue laudate dominũ. Cum igitur omnis diuinæ bonitatis ad homines
apparitio/itidẽ & operatio/ſiue in mundi productione & gubernatione/ſiue in humani
generis directione & reparatione/per variã eccleſiaſticorũ myſteriorum deſcriptionem
& ſignorum figurationem expreſſa ſit: par & rationabile videtur/in illorum exhibitione
illam diuinã laudationem in medium afferre: quam ipſi prophetæ diuinitus ſũt edocti.
Docet enim huiuſmodi laudatio & decenter & cõgrue: omnia diuina opera atq; in nos
collata beneficia/ egregijs eſſe laudibus digna.

⸿De ſacerdotibus/ cõſecrationibus/ & cõſũmationibus. Cap. V. pars. I.

A HOc ordine ſanctiſſimum conſecratur vnguentum. Tempus 76
vero iam ammonet: poſt diuina iſtiuſmodi munia/ipſos exponere
ſacros ordines/ac diſtributiones/virtuteſq; ipſorum
& actiones atq; conſummationes/ſubiectamq; illis trinitatem
excellentium ordinum. vt oſtendatur ſacerdotij noſtri
perfunctio: inordinata omnia & incõpoſita atq; confuſa ab
ſe arcere ſemper atq;
cohibere. ornatum
vero atq; ordinem
& grauitatem: in
proportionibus ſanctorum
ordinum ſuorum
B exhibere. ⸿Et 77
quidem hierarchiã
omnem / cur in trinitatis
diſtribuerimus
numerum: in libro
de cœleſti hierarchia
congrue ſatis
reor expoſuimus. dicentes(vt habet ſacra noſtra traditio) omnem ſacrorum
C ordinum functionem in ſanctiſſimas teletas diuidi: & in eos qui diuina
probe callent alioſq; ſacratius imbuũt/ inq; eos qui ab ijs ſanctiſſime
promouentur. ⸿Itaq; ſuprema quidem ſupercœleſtium ſubſtantiarum 78
hierarchia: teletã habet pro viribus propriam/dei ſcilicet diuinarumq; rerum
liquidiſſimam intelligentiam/capaxq; diuinitatis eſt integræ: & deũ


Supmũdana telete. Reuelata diuinitas.
Promoti et pmouẽtes.
promouentes: qui diuina probe callent.
promoti: qui ſãctiſſime imbuũtur.
humana telete. Velata diuinitas.
Promouentes ⁊ ꝓmoti
Promouẽtes: vt põtifex et ſacerdotes.
Promoti: plebs ſancta/ et initiati.

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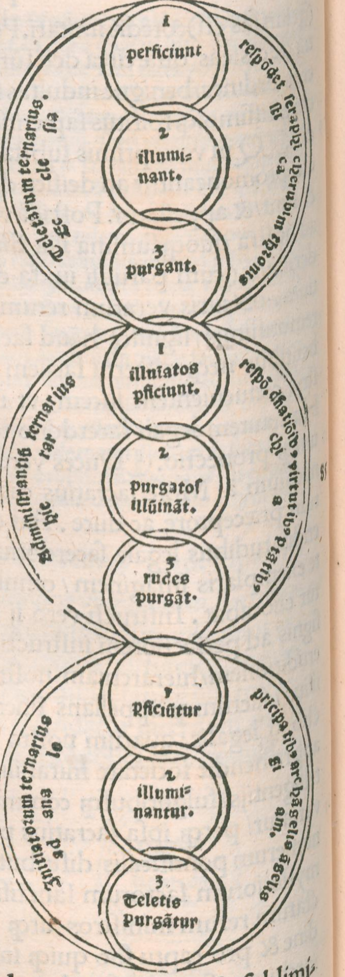
(q̃tum fas eſt)cōtēdit imitari.Porro illuminātes atqꝫ ad ſacrā hanc efficiētiā
duces:eas(quæ circa deū ſūt)primas eſſentias.Hæ nāqꝫ in inferiores ſacros
ordines/benigne indultas ſibi ſemper deificas notiones a per ſe perfecta
altiſſimoſqꝫ ſpiritus ſapientia replente deitate/pro ipſorū modo transfūdūt.
79 ¶ Qui vero primis ſubſtātijs ſubiecti ſunt ordines(vt qui per illas ſācte
promoueantur ad deificā diuinitatis notionē)perficiēdæ diſtinctiones
& ſunt/& appellātur.Poſt illā vero cœleſtē ſupramūdanāqꝫ hierarchiam:
ad noſtra quoqꝫ ſumma illa diuinitas/ſua ſacratiſſima munera benigne
deriuans (cum paruuli iuxta eloquium eſſemus)legale indulſit ſacerdotium. D
obſcuris verarum rerum imaginibus/& figuris a primitiuis ſuis
remotiſſimis/ſigniſqꝫ haud facile penetrabilibus/ac typis opertam habentibus
neqꝫ diſcerni facilem intelligentiam: congruam & viribus noſtris
conuenientem lucem/vt imbecillioribus oculis innocue inſulgens.
Huic autem legali ſacerdotio teleta fuit: ad cultum ſpiritualem obſequiumqꝫ
80 prouectio. ¶ Duces vero ad eam ij ſunt: qui ſanctum illud tabernaculum E
a Moſe ſacratius didicerunt: primo ſcilicet legalium ſacerdotum
præceptore ac duce. Ad quod ſacrum tabernaculum cum imbuendis
rudibus legale ſacerdotium pingeret: ad oſtenſi ſibi in Sina monte F
exemplaris imaginem/omnia quæ ſecundum legem conſummarentur
euocabat. Inſtructi vero ij dici poſſunt: qui ſuo ordine a legalibus
ſignis ad perfectiorem inſtructionem promouentur. Porro perfectiorem G
eruditionem/hierarchiam noſtram theologia vocat: impletionem hanc
illius/ſacrumqꝫ appellans finem. Eſt autem tam cœleſtis illa perfunctio
/q̃ legalis: quarum noſtra hæc (ꝙ ſit media) vtriuſqꝫ extremitates
appræhendit ſocietate mirabili.ac ſuperiori illi quidem: ſpiritualibus intelligentijs
/fulgoribuſqꝫ communicat. inferiori vero: ꝙ ſignis carnalibus
81 variatur/perqꝫ ipſa ſacratius promouetur in deum. ¶ Porro ternarium
numerum pontificalis diſtributionis æque habet: dum in auguſtiſſimas
myſteriorum ſacrorum ſanctificationes diuiditur/& in auguſtiores ſanctarum
rerum miniſtros/atqꝫ in eos qui ab his ad ſacramenta ſuo ordine
& pro captu ſuo quiqꝫ ſubuehuntur. At vero quæqꝫ ex tribus hierarchiæ
noſtræ diuiſionibus: ad legalis & illius ſacratioris (q̃ noſtra eſt)
functionis imaginem/prima & media & extrema ſtatuitur.tum ſacratioris
82 proportionis:tū venuſtiſſimæ ac ſuo ordine cōgruæ & cūcta nectētis ſocietatis
virtute ſubnixa. ¶ Itaqꝫ ſāctiſſima quidē myſteriorū operatio:prima
quidem ei innititur diuinæ virtuti/ꝙ rudes hactenus purgat.media:ꝙ
purgatos ratione ſacratioris eruditionis illuminat.vltima/quæ & priores
concludit & complet:ꝙ ita eruditos ſuarū inſtructionum ſcientia perficit.
83 ¶ Porro miniſtrorum ſacra diſtinctio:in prima ſui potentia per myſteria
rudes eatenus purgat.in media: purgatos illuminat.in vltima(quæ & ſuprema
ſacratius operantium virtutū eſt) eos qui diuini luminis cōmunione
dignati ſunt:in perceptorū radiorū peritis conſummationibus perficit.
84 ¶ At vero initiādorū:vis prima eſt quæ purgatur.media:poſt purgationē
quæ illuminatur/& ad ſacramentorū quorūdam intelligentiā admittitur.

Cap. 5 pars 1

extrema vero ſacratior cæteris: quæ ſacrarum (quas intellexerat) rerum conſummantem aſſequitur diuino fulgore ſcientiam. Sanctæ itaq; operationis myſteriorum/ triplex celebrata eſt virtus: oſtenſumq; de ſacris litteris/ ſanctam regenerationem/ purgationem eſſe/ illuminantemq; ſcientiam. porro ſynaxim & vnguenti confectionem: conſummantem diuinorum operum ſcientiam & diſciplinam. per quam prouectus ille ſublimis qui deo nos iungit & vnum cum illo facit/ beatiſſimaq; communio: ſancte perficitur. Nunc iam ſacerdotalis perfunctio/ ſuo eſt loco exponenda: in purgantem atq; illuminantem/ conſummantemq; ordinem diſtributa. ℂ Iſta quidem diuinitatis ſacroſancta lex eſt: vt per prima/ ſequentia ad auguſtiſſimam illius ſubuehantur lucem. An vero non videmus vt ipſæ quoq; ſenſibilium ſubſtantiæ elementorum: cum primum in propinquiora naturæ ſuæ ierint/ tum demum per illa/ in alia actionem traducant ſuam? Merito itaq; totius inuiſibilis ac viſibilis ſpeciei initium ac ſedes: in eos primo deificos radios ire permittit/ qui deo ſimiliores euaſere. ac per illos vtpote lympidiores ſpiritus/ idoneoſq; ad participationem traditionemq; lucis: ad inferiores pro captu ipſorum/ fulgorem deriuat luminis proprij. Iſtorum igitur eſt qui primitiuo radio deū ſpeculātur: ſequētibus ſine inuidia pro modo ipſorū/ que ab ipſis ſublimiter inſpecta ſunt/ diuina inſinuare ſpectacula. Atq; docere ſacramenta noſtratia/ eorum eſt: qui cum perficiente ſcientia functionis ſuæ diuiniora quæq; præclare didicerunt/ conſummatamq; docendi alios virtutem acceperunt. Tradere item pro meritis ſacramenta/ illorum eſt: qui ſcite atq; integre ſacerdotalis perfectionis participes ſunt. Pontificum itaq; ordo ſacratior/ primus eſt diuina ſpeculantium ordinum: idemq; & ſummus & vltimus/ quippe in quo deſinit & impletur ſacerdotij noſtri diſtinctio omnis. Sicut enim hierarchiam omnē in IHESVM terminari conſpicimus: ita vnamquamq; functionem in diuinum pontificem proprium. ℂ Porro 86 pontificalis ordinis virtus: in ſacris omnibus diſtinctionibus capitur/ & per omnes ſacros ordines operatur propriȩ hierarchiæ myſteria. præcipue vero illi præter ordines cæteros: in ſui miniſteriū diuina lex officia ſacratiora


Teletarum ternarius ec cle ſia
1 perficiunt
2 illuminant.
3 purgant.
reſpōdet ſeraphi cherubim throni ca ſu
Adminiſtrantis ternarius hie rar
1 illuiatos pficiunt.
2 purgatos illūināt.
3 rudes purgāt.
reſpō. dñatiōib. virtutib. ptātib. chi a
Initiatorum ternarius ad ana lo
1 pficiūtur
2 illuminantur.
3 Teletis purgātur
pricipatib. archāgelis āgelis gi am.

diſtribuit.Iſtæ quidẽ ſunt perficientes diuinæ virtutis imagines: quibus &
ſacratiſſima ſigna omnia/ & ſanctæ omnes diſtinctiones conſummantur.
Etſi enim a ſacerdotibus quædam perficiuntur venerabilia ſigna:nunq̃ tamen
diuinã regeneratione ſine ſacratiſſimo conſummabit vnguento. Neq;
ſacroſanctæ cõmunionis ſacramenta perficiet:niſi ſignis tãti myſterij altaribus
venerãdis/impoſitis.Ne ipſe quidem ſacerdos erit:niſi pontificalibus
87 officijs ad hoc fuerit promotus. ¶Quocirca diuina lex:pontificaliũ ordinationum
ſanctimoniam/ & diuini confectionem vnguenti/ ſacramq; altaris
conſecrationem:reuerendiſſimorum pontificũ officijs atq; virtutibus
æterna ſorte diſtribuit.Eſt igitur pontificalis ordo/ qui conſummanti virtute
ſuffultus:perficientia quæq; hierarchiæ præcipuo & proprio peragit
munere/ſacramentorumq; diſciplinas exponendo tradit: edocetq; pro ratione
88 conſtantes & ſacros ipſorum ordines atq; virtutes. ¶Sacerdotum
vero illuminans ordo: ad contuenda ſacra myſteria eos qui initiantur adducit.
ſub ſanctorum tamen pontificum ordine:cum quibus propria officia
peragit.in ijs quæ ipſe operatur/diuina myſteria per ſacratiſſima ſigna
ſubindicans:& eos qui accedunt ſpeculatiuos efficiens/myſteriorũq; participes.
Cæterum ad pontifices eos mittit:qui inſpectorum ſacramentorũ
89 ſcientiam atq; intelligentiam cupiunt. ¶At vero miniſtrorum ordo eſt:
qui purgandi & diſſimilia diſcernendi vim habens/ priuſq̃ accedatur ad
ſacra ſacerdotũ myſteria accedẽtes purgat/ſyncæros omniũ aduerſariorũ
ãmixtione/ac puros efficiẽs:atq; ad ſacra cõtuenda & ſumẽda pro viribus
idoneos.Vnde in ſancta regeneratione miniſtri accedẽtem antiqua exuũt H
veſte/atq; diſcalceant:& ad occidentem vt abrenũciet ſiſtunt/ ruſumq; ad
orientem tranſferunt.Sunt enim purgantis ordinis atq; virtutis/eos qui accedunt
vt prioris vitæ integre amictum ponant hortantes: præteritiq; erroris
tenebras aperientes/atq; docentes vt ipſi abrenunciantes obſcuris /
ad illuminantia tranſeant. Eſt igitur purgandi officio præditus miniſtrorum
ordo ſacer: ad liquidiora ſacerdotum munera eos qui purgati fuerint
ducens. & necdũ initiatos emũdans/ eoſq; fouens purgãtibus ſcripturæ
ſanctæ fulgoribus atq; doctrinis:prophanoſq; prȩterea a ſacerdotibus
dirimens.Quocirca & ſacris hunc ianuis præfecit pontificalis inſtitutio: ſignificans
ad ſancta accedentium introitum præcipua & ſumma niti oportere
mundicia.officiũq; huiuſmodi introducẽdi ad ſacras eorũ ſpeculationes
ac participationes: purgãtibus virtutibus tradens/perq; has/illos õni
90 macula liberos introducens. ¶Oſtenſum eſt igitur antiſtitũ ordinẽ: perficientẽ
eſſe & perfectionis authorem.ſacerdotũ vero:illuminantẽ/atq; ad lucem
promouentem.porro miniſtrorũ:purgantem atq; diſcernentẽ. Videlicet
pontificalis ordo: non perficere ſolũ/verũ & illuminare & purgare nouit.
ſacerdotum vero virtus:in ſe cum illuminante habet purgantẽ quoq;
ſcientiam. Verum quæ inferiores ſunt/ad præſtantiora tranſire nequeunt:
propterea ꝙ fas illis nõ eſt/ad iſtiuſmodi proſilire ſuperbiã. Porro ſacratiores
virtutes vna cum ſuis : inferiores quoq; ſua ipſa perfectione ſcientias
ſacras nequaquam ignorant.Quia tamen diuinarum actionum ima-

Quæ ſunt propria põtifici.

gines ſunt ſacerdotales diſtinctiones / ornatiſſimi atq; inconfuſi diuinarum operationum ordinis inſitos ſibi fulgores indicantes: in primas ac medias & vltimas ſanctas actiones atq; ordines / pontificali diſcretione diſtributæ ſunt. inſinuantes (vt dixi) in ſeipſis: diuinas actiones ordinatas eſſe atq; impermixtas. Quia enim ſumma illa diuinitas eos (quibus ſe inſinuat) ſpiritus purgat primo: conſequenter illuminat / & illuminatos ad diuinam effigiem perficit / merito ſacerdotalis diuinas imagines præſeferens ęmulatio: diſcretos ſeipſam in ordines / virtuteſq; diſtribuit. aperte indicans: diuinas actiones in caſtiſſimis puriſſimiſq; ordinibus conſtanter atq; inconfuſe perſiſtere. Verum enim poſteaq̃ de ſacerdotalibus ordinibus ac diſtributionibus / virtutibuſq; illorum & actionibus quantum penetrare potuimus diximus: ſacratiſſimas quoq; illorum conſummationes pro viribus ſpeculemur.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Hoc ordine ſanctiſſimum conſecratur
B vnguentum. Hoc ordine: qui paulo ante dictus eſt. ¶Et quidem hierarchiam omnem /
cur in trinitatis diſtribuerimus numerum. Id capite ſexto cœleſtis hierarchiæ diſſeruit ſacratiſſimus
C pater. ¶In ſanctiſſimas teletas diuidi: & in eos qui diuina probe callent.
Teletæ: perfectiones / & ſanctificationes iam interpretatæ ſunt. & ꝙ ſanctificatio / tam
ſanctificantis q̃ ſanctificati eſt: & id ſuperius in domino noſtro ſæculorum rege / concurrere
monſtratum eſt. Veruntamen telete vt ſanctificantis eſt: in ſupramundanis magis
ipſum quod ſuper omnia collocatum eſt / eminentiſſimum bonum reſpicit. quod quidẽ
omniũ purgatorũ purgatio eſt / illuminatorũ illuminatio & perfectorum perfectio: ſuperdiuina
& ſuperbeata trinitas. Et ij ordines qui diuina probe callent / alioſq; ſacratius
erudiunt: hi ſunt ſub ipſa trina ſupereminentiſſimaq; telete purgantes / illuminãtes
/ & perficientes. & ij qui ab his ſanctiſſime promouentur: ſunt qui a ſuperioribus lõge
eminentibus ſpiritibus purgantur / illuminantur & perficiuntur. Itaq; primus cœleſtium
ſacre principantium ordo: per eos qui diuina probe callent tangitur / & infimus
ordo: per eos qui ab ijs ſanctiſſime promouentur. Medius vero cœleſtium ordo: per
vtrumq; coniuncte tangitur. nam & medij diuina probe callent ad ſubiectorum promotiones:
& a ſuis ſuperioribus ſanctiſſime promouentur. Et quis non videt ſi in ſymbolis
/ & ænigmatibus CHRISTVS deus / noſtra ſola & veriſſima teleta eſt (vt nuper
de ſalutari hoſtia & diuino vnguento dictum eſt) deum ipſum / ipſamq; ſupereminentiſſimam
diuinitatem ſine velamine / ſine ænigmate: modo quidem nobis inacceſſo
/ ſupramundanorum omnium ſolam veriſſimamq; eſſe teletam? et teletam vt ſanctificantis
eſt / ipſum deum: vt vero ſanctificatorũ / ſummæ diuinitati ſubiectos reſpicere ordines?
quouſq; ad noſtra humilia per multiplicia velamina & ęnigmata (vt dignum eſt)
deſcendat. & qui ſub omni ſacro velamine videt deũ: is eſt qui diuinarũ teletarũ myſteria
profundius callet ac penetrat. Sed diuinus pater ſemetipſum ſuper his ſatis interpretatur:
in ijs quæ ſubſequũtur. Ideo fortaſſe de his a nobis amplius q̃ par ſit: dictum
D eſſe videbit̃. ¶Cũ paruuli (iuxta eloquiũ) eſſemus: legale indulſit ſacerdotiũ. Paulus epiſtola
ad Hebręos cap. quinto: loquẽs ad eos qui legalia Moſis acceperãt / vocat paruulos.
Etenim inquit cũ deberetis magiſtri eſſe propter tẽpus: rurſus indigetis vt vos doceamini
quæ ſunt elementa exordij ſermonũ dei: & facti eſtis quibus lacte opus ſit / nõ
ſolido cibo. omnis enim qui lactis eſt particeps: expers eſt ſermõis iuſtitiæ / paruulus enĩ
E eſt. perfectorũ autem: eſt ſolidus cibus. ¶Duces vero ad eam ij ſunt: qui ſanctum illud
tabernaculũ a Moſe ſacratius didicerunt / primo ſcilicet legaliũ ſacerdotũ præceptore ac
duce. Per eos qui ad eam cultus & obſequii ſpiritualis prouectionẽ / hoc eſt diuinam
anagogen duces ſunt: intelligit eos ſeptuaginta qui poſt Moſem legis tenuerunt intelligentiam
/ & de animo in animum ſecretiore ſermone tranſfundebant. Vnde tradit
hebraica authoritas / Moſem ex diuino mandato ſeptuaginta delectos ſecretam legis
docuiſſe intelligentiam: neq; eam litteris mandaſſe (de quibus exodi capite viceſimoquarto
dicitur Moſi: aſcende ad dominum tu & Aaron / Nadab & Abiud / & ſeptuagin

ta ſenes ex Iſrael:& adorabitis procul) legem autem figuris & ęnigmatibus adopertam
ſcripſiſſe palamq; dediſſe. Et illi: per ſucceſſiones ſeptuaginta ſacerdotes/legis peritos/
& doctores continuo relinquebant/ quibus vitalem legis intelligentiam transfunderent:
receptioniſq; ſcientiam appellabant. Quæ primum tempore Eſdræ Aggei
& Zachariæ/ſeptuaginta voluminibus/ litteris demandata eſt. Quod noſtros primoris
eccleſiæ duces neutiq̃ latebat. Et Xyſtus quartus pontifex maximus: conceperat
illas opes ad latinorum eccleſiam & theſaurum congregare.& iam tria illi verſa
erant volumina: quando rebus conceſſit humanis. Sed ſperandum eſt deum clementiſſimum:
tum principum tum pontificum excitaturum torpentia corda/ & intelligentiæ
gratiam mitibus ingenijs impartiturum: vt tandem varicoſa & clauda erigantur/
& ad eius cognitionem & honorem reparanda reparentur. ¶ Ad oſtenſi ſibi in F
Sina monte exemplaris imaginem. Exodus capite viceſimo quinto. Inſpice & fac
ſecundum exemplar: quod tibi in monte monſtratum eſt. Et de Sina monte/ epiſtola
ad Galatas capite quarto ſic legitur. Hæc enim ſunt duo teſtamenta. vnum
quidem in monte Sina in ſeruitutem generans: quæ eſt Agar (Sina enim mons eſt
in arabia: qui coniunctus eſt ei quæ nunc eſt Hieruſalem) & ſeruit cum filijs ſuis. Illa G
autem quæ ſurſum Hieruſalem: libera eſt/ quæ eſt mater noſtra. ¶ Porro perfectiorem
eruditionem/ hierarchiam noſtram theologia vocat: impletionem hanc illius/
ſacrumq; appellans finem. Matthæus de euangelica lege (quæ noſtra eccleſiaſtica
hierarchia & functio eſt) loquens: ꝙ ſit Moſaicæ adimpletio & finis/ aperte teſtatur
capite quinto. Nolite putare (inquit) quoniam veni ſoluere legem/ aut prophetas.
non enim veni ſoluere: ſed adimplere. Et in hac legis impletione/ finis noſter
eſt: de quo diuinus Paulus ait. Nunc liberati a peccato: ſerui autem facti deo/ habemus Roma.6.
fructum noſtrum in ſanctificationem: finem vero vitam æternam. ¶ Vnde in H
ſancta regeneratione: miniſtri accedentem antiqua exuunt veſte. Quia paulo ante dixerat
diaconos hoc eſt miniſtros purgare accedentes priuſq̃ ad diuinorum cōtuitum
& ſacroſanctam communionem admitterentur: declarat igitur hic in quo purgant &
quod eorum officium eſt.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS QVINTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

76 Quid deinde ſit determinandū: primum proponit ſacer Dionyſius/ dicens
poſt ſacri vnguenti conſecrationem eo (qui iam dictus eſt) modo
factam/& poſt ſacra illa officia: reliquū eſſe/ vt ipſi exponantur ſacri ordines/
illorum partitiones/ virtutes ac operationes/& illis ſubiectus ſāctorum
ordinum ternarius, vt ex eo conſtet eccleſiaſticam hierarchiā
omnia inordinata/confuſa & incompoſita a ſe reijcere:& venuſtatem/
ornatum atq; ordinem in ſacris ſuis functionibus concinne ſeruare.
quo pulcherrimo rerū cœleſtiū ordini apte reſpondeat: atq; deo perſimilis euadat. de
77 quo ait Paulus: ꝙ quæcunq; a deo ſunt/ ordinata ſunt. ¶De cœleſti hierarchia factam Roma.13.
determinationem deinde paucis perſtringit: dicens in libro de cœleſti hierarchia cauſam Cap.6.
aſſignatā eſſe/ cur omnis hierarchia ſiue āgelica ſiue humana: in ternariū numerū
diſtribuitur.& ex diſciplina ibidē tradita iā perſpectū eſſe/ ꝙ omnis ſacrorū ordinū functio/
ſiue ea cœleſtis ſit ſiue mundana: in ſanctiſſimas diuiditur teletas atq; perfectiones.
vtpote in eos qui recte diuina norūt & illis alios ſacratius imbuūt: qui promouētes apte
dici queūt.& in eos qui ab ijs diuinorū cōſcijs ad deū ſacratiſſime ꝓmouētur: qui & ꝓmoti
recte dicuntur. Quæ quidem mēbra ſi vna connectantur: aſſignabuntur tertij/ qui
& alios ad diuina promouent & ab alijs ad diuina promouentur. Quorum omniū exempla/
78 & in ſupramundana & humana hierarchia: in figura litteræ adiecta perſpicue cernuntur.
¶Sane ſuprema cœleſtium ſpirituum diſtinctio functionem habet & perfectionem
ſibi propriam: ſcilicet clariſſimam diuinarum rerum ſcientiam/ totiuſq; diuinitatis
(quātū extra ſe capi poteſt) eſt capax/ atq; ad dei imitationē pro viribus annititur. Habet
autē eadem ſuprema hierarchia/ primos ipſos & ſummos cœleſtes ſpiritus qui proximi
deo aſſiſtunt: illuminantes ſequentia/ atq; aliorū ad diuinam ſimilitudinem duces.
Ipſi namq; in inferiores ſacros angelorum ordines pro illorum captu diuinas transfundunt
notiones: indultas ſibi a ſūma deitate per ſe perfecta/& replēte ſupremos illos

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Cap. 5 pars 1
ſpiritus exuberanti ſapientiæ copia. Quocirca ijdem ſummi cœleſtes ſpiritus: & perficientes
& promouentes congrue dicuntur. ¶ Qui vero illis ſubſunt cœleſtium ſpirituum 79
ordines: perficiendæ promouendæqꝫ diſtinctiones & ſunt & vocãtur/ ꝙ per ſupremas
ſubſtãtias angelicas ſubuehuntur & promouentur ad ſacratiſſimam deitatis notionẽ.
Verũ hęc oĩa ex p̃cedẽte (qui de cœleſti hierarchia ãple diſſeruit) libro/ dilucida habent.
¶ Deinde de legali hierarchia (quę in veteri fuit teſtamẽto) pertractãs ſacratus pater/
dicit ꝙ poſt illã hierarchiam cœleſtem/ ad noſtra quoqꝫ inferiora & longe ſub illa poſita/
Gala.4. ſua munera diffundens ipſa ſumma deitas: cum iuxta beati Pauli ſententiam paruuli
adhuc eramus & imperfecti/ ſub elementis mundi & antiquę legis rudimentis ſeruientes:
legale nobis tradidit ſacerdotium atqꝫ functionem legalem. Infuditqꝫ oculis noſtris
tunc adhuc infirmis & imbecillibus/ lucem pertenuem diuinę cognitionis: ſtatui
illi congruam & viribus noſtris pro eo tempore conuenientem. infudit inquam per obſcuras
verarum rerum imagines atqꝫ figuras: a primitiuis ſuis & exemplaribus remotiſſimas/
per ſigna carnalia haud facile intelligibilia/ per typos occultam habentes intelligentiam/
& quæ facile diſcerni non potuerit. Huius autem legalis ſacerdotij munus
atqꝫ perfectio fuit: ipſius populi Iſraelitici ad cultum ſpiritualem & obſequium dei 80
promotio. ¶ Quomodo autẽ hæc legalis hierarchia ſuum habuit ternarium/ nunc explicat
beatus pater/ proponens ꝙ duces atqꝫ præceptores populi ad eam/ fuerunt illi
ſeniores & primores ex Iſrael: qui ſancti illius tabernaculi a Moſe rationem ſpiritualem
didicerunt/ primo atqꝫ præcipuo legalium ſacerdotum duce ac magiſtro: & deinde
illam alijs ſub ſe poſitis benigniter communicarunt. Ipſe vero Moſes cum ad
rudes imbuendos legale figuris ſenſibilibus deſcriberet ſacerdotium/ ipſi ſacro tabernaculo
adaptatum: omnia quæ ſecundum legem illam perficerentur referebat ad
imaginem exemplaris/ ſpirituali viſione ſibi in monte Sina oſtenſi. Siquidem iuſſus
Exo.25. erat a domino inſpicere id ſpirituale ſpectaculum: & facere exterius tabernaculum
ſecundum exemplar ſibi in monte oſtenſum. Inſtructi vero & promoti in legali ſacerdotio
(qui tertio ſunt loco & poſtremi) ij iure dici poſſunt: qui a ſignis viſibilibus
legalis ſacerdotij ad ſacratiorem illorum intelligentiam prouehuntur. ¶ Poſtea de eccleſiaſtica
& legis euangelicæ hierarchia (quam recte noſtram vocat) ſermonem faciens
diuinus pater: inquit ꝙ ſacra ſcriptura noſtrã hierarchiã eccleſiaſticã vocat p̃fectiorẽ
inſtitutionẽ atqꝫ inſtructionẽ/ q̃ ſit ipſa legalis functio. appellatqꝫ hanc noſtram/
impletionem & finem illius legalis hierarchię. ꝙ ipſa legalis ante data ſit: vt per eam
Roma.10 perueniatur tandem ad euangelicam perfectionem. Et vt Paulus ait: finis legis eſt
Matt.5. CHRISTVS ad iuſtitiam omni credenti: qui non venit legem ſoluere ſed implere.
Porro cœleſtis hierarchia & legalis tanquam extremæ/ fere ex oppoſito ſe habent.
inter quas eccleſiaſtica functio tanquam media conſtituitur: vtriuſqꝫ extremi aliquid
participans. Communicat enim noſtra functio cum ſuperiore/ cœleſtiqꝫ hierarchia:
ꝙ ſpirituales habet diuinarum rerum intelligentias & intellectuales fulgores/ ſicut &
angelica. Cum inferiore vero & legali hierarchia conuenit noſtra ſacerdotalis functio:
ꝙ ſignorum viſibilium atqꝫ materialium habet varietatem/ ſicut & Moſaica. & 81
per illorum adminicula: in deum ſacratiore modo promouetur. ¶ Deinceps quonam
pacto diuidatur eccleſiaſtica hierarchia/ dilucidat: perhibens ꝙ & ipſa non minus ternarium
habet quo diſtribuatur numerum/ q̃ cœleſtis & legalis functio. Diuiditur enim
in eos qui ſancta myſteria peragunt & celebrant vt pontifices/ in ſacratiores ſanctarum
rerum miniſtros/ & in eos qui a miniſtris ad ſacramenta percipienda (quiſqꝫ ſuo
ordine) ſubuehuntur: vt plebem ſanctam & initiatos. Vnaquæqꝫ autem ex his tribus
eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ partitionibus atqꝫ partibus: ad imaginem legalis & cœleſtis
hierarchiæ (quæ longe q̃ noſtra/ ſacratior eſt) rurſum in triplicem diuiditur functionem:
primam/ mediam & poſtremam. habens & ſacram ad ambas extremas
functiones proportionem & congruentiſſimam ad illas ſocietatem: mira venuſtate & 82
concinno nexu compactam. ¶ Ipſa autem myſteriorum celebratio atqꝫ perfectio (quæ
prima eſt eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ diſtinctio: & ad pontifices attinẽs) ſortitur tres virtutes
atqꝫ operationes. Prima/ ab imperfectioribus & tempore prioribus ſumpto
ordine/ atqꝫ ad perfectiora temporeqꝫ poſteriora deducto: eſt quæ rudes purgat. Media
purgatos ſacratiore eruditione illuminat. Vltima vero (quæ & dignitate eſt ſuprema)
cæteras duas præſuppõẽs atqꝫ complens: ſicut ternarius vnitatẽ cõplectitur atqꝫ

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binarium/ & intellectus vitam concludit atq; ſenſum: illuminatos diuinarum rerum
ſcientia perficit. Cæterum hæc tertia virtus atq; functio/ in figura litterę adiecta/ monade
ſignatur & prima collocatur: quia in huiuſmodi formula atq; deſcriptione/ attenditur
ordo dignitatis atq; perfectiõis iſtarum trium inter ſe: vt habeatur aptus earum reſponſus
ad tres eiuſdem cœleſtis hierarchiæ ordines/ & ſupremo prmoq; eiuſdem diſtinctionis
ordini reſpondeat ſuprema & ſumma operationum eiuſdem eccleſiaſticæ diſtinctionis.
vt in hoc pontificali munere atq; circulo: perficere adaptatur ſanctis ſeraphim/
illuminare: ipſis cherubim/ & purgare: ſanctis thronis Et ita de duabus reliquis eccleſiaſticis
diſtinctionibus/ earumq; functionibus eſt ſentiendum. Ex quo facile depręhendetur
nullam eſſe controuerſiam atq; contrarietatem inter litterã ſanctiſſimi patris et illam
figuralem deſcriptionem/ ad ipſius litteræ elucidationem adiectam. quoniam alia & alia
ratio ordinis hic & illic attenditur. In littera quidẽ/ quæ tempore pręcedere debet functio:
prima dicitur/ & ita deinceps. In figura vero/ quę dignitate cęteras ãtecedit: ſignatur
prima/ & ita conſequenter. quo apta exprimatur proportio & habitudo illarum eccleſiaſticarum
functionum ad tres eiuſdem hierarchiæ cœleſtis ordines/ ſupremę ad ſupremum/
83 & ita deĩceps. ¶ Miniſtrorum vero ſacra diſtinctio quę eccleſiaſticę hierarchię eſt
media: primo loco eos qui ad id vſq; tẽpus rudes fuerũt/ per eccleſiaſtica ſacramẽta purgat.
Secundo vero & media virtute ſua: purgatos illuminat. Tertio vero loco & extrema
virtute ſua (quæ inter tres ſacras virtutes ſuas ſuprema eſt & perfectiſſima) eos qui participatione
diuini luminis illuſtrati ſũt: diuinarum notionum inſtructionibus perficit. Verum
huiuſmodi virtutes miniſtrantium ſumuntur in ipſius litteræ cõtextu & figurali deſcriptione
illi ad latus adiecta: habita iſtius mediæ diſtictionis ratione ad poſtremam atq;
infimam/ quam nimirum purgat primũ/ deinde illuminat et deniq; perficit. Nam ſi collatio
fiat huiuſmodi diſtictionis eccleſiaſticæ mediaſtimæ ad ſupremam: ipſa primũ a ſuprema
purgatur/ purgata illuminatur/ & illuminata perficitur. Perinde atq; media cœleſtium
ſpirituũ diſtinctio (cui hęc eccleſiaſtica in meditullio cõſtituta: in analogia reſpondet)
purgat/ illuminat & perficit poſtremam: eadem quoq; purgatur/ illuminatur & perficitur
84 a ſuprema. Sed hæc ſtatim peruia ſunt. ¶ Porro initiandorũ (qui poſtremã cõſtituunt
eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ diſtinctionem) virtus prima eſt quę a ruditate purgatur. ſecũda
vero: quę poſt purgationem illuminatur/ & ad aliquorum ſacramẽtorũ ſibi cõgruentium
ſcientiã adducitur. Suprema vero vis (quæ cęteris duabus ſacratior eſt & eminẽtior)
quæ ſacrarum rerum perficiente diſciplina ſcientiaq; perficitur. Cum igitur ſanctæ
myſteriorum celebratiõis quæ a pontificali fit ordine/ triplex in pręcedẽtibus huius libri
capitibꝰ explicata ſit virtus/ ſcilicet in baptiſmo purgatiua & illuminatiua/ in ſãcta vero
euchariſtia & vnguenti conſecratione: perfectiua. cumq; oſtenſum ſit ſacrarũ litterarũ authoritate/
ſacram regenerationem quæ per baptiſmum obtinetur: eſſe purgatoriã pariter
& illuminatricem. ipſam vero ſanctam euchariſtiæ communionem atq; ſacri vnguẽti
cõfectionem: eſſe perfectiuam diuinorum in nobis operum ſciẽtiam/ per quã altiſſima
illa in deum prouectio quę homines deo cõiungit & vnũ cum eo facit/ & beatiſſima hominum
cum deo ſocietas conſortium atq; cõnexio/ ſacratiſſime perficitur. nunc ſupereſt
ipſa ſacerdotalis functio atq; operatio/ quæ ad mediam ſpectat eccleſiaſticę hierarchię
diſtinctionem: ſuo loco declaranda/ in purgantem ordinem illuminantem & perficientem
85 ſuperius diſtributa. ¶ Poſtea ipſum pontificalem ordinem ad cæteros eccleſiaſticæ
ſortis ordines illi ſubiectos cõparat diuinus pater. Iſta (inquit) ſummę diuinitatis ordinatiſſima
eſt ſanctio/ & in viſibilibus rebus & inuiſibilibus inuiolabili lege conſtituta: ꝙ per
prima atq; ſuprema/ quæ poſteriora ſunt & inferiora: ad eminentiſſimam ipſius lucem
promoueantur. Ita enim videmus ipſa ſenſibilia elemẽta cũ vim ſuã in propinquiora ſibi
corpora immiſerint: deinde illorũ adminiculo in alia diſtãtiora ſuę actionis participationem
transfundunt. vt ignis cum proximum calefecerit aerem: per illum in alia quoq;
corpora ab ipſo remotiora/ ſui caloris vigorem traducit. Recte igitur deus ipſe qui totiꝰ
venuſtatis atq; decoris rerum corporalium & ſpiritualium principium eſt & firmamentum/
continens eã in oĩbus atq; cõſeruãs: in eos primũ cœleſtes ſpiritꝰ diuinos fulgores
deriuat/ q illi ꝓximi ſũt atq; q̃ſimillimi. Deĩde per illos (quia lympidiores ſũt/ purioreſq;
et liquidiores ſpiritꝰ: ad diuinę lucis ꝑceptionẽ a deo/ & traditionẽ in ſequẽtia magis idonei)
ad inferiores quoq; ſuꝑnos ſpiritꝰ pro ipſorum capacitate/ diuini radij claritatẽ deriuat
atq; ꝓpagat. Itaq; ipſorũ ſuꝑmorũ & altiſſimorũ ſpirituũ (qui prima diuini radij in ſe

Cap.
5
pars
1

deriuatione/& non per traducem radium ſed primitiuũ:deum cõtemplãtur)officiũ eſt:
ſequentibus angelicis ſpiritibus ſine æmulatione aut liuore inuidiæ/pro captu illorum
diuina tradere atq; cõmunicare ſecreta/arcana & myſteria: quæ primum ab ipſis eminenter
ſunt percepta.Conſimiliter(vt ex ſublimi illa & ſupramũdana hierarchia:ad hãc
humanam analogia duce deſcendamus)docere eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta:illorum eſt munus
atq; officium/qui diuina myſteria omnia exacte & integre didicerũt/perfectam ſuæ
functionis ſcientiam aſſecuti.inſuper & qui conſummatam atq; ſacratiorem alios docēdi
ea myſteria virtutem acceperunt/quod vtiq; ſolis pontificibus congruere dinoſcitur.
Tradere vero pro cuiuſq; dignitate & meritis ſacramenta:illorum eſt officiũ/ qui ſacerdotalis
miniſterij & functionis exacte & recte participes ſũt effecti/ipſorum ſcilicet ſanctorum
ſacerdotum.Ex quibus aperte liquet:ꝙ ordo pontificum/omnium eccleſiaſticæ
hierarchiæ ordinum diuina myſteria contemplantium primus eſt/ itidem & ſummus
atq; vltimus:quãtum ad ſupremum ordinum finem atq; calcem.in ipſo enim terminatur
& completur omnis eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ diſtinctio.Sicut enim hierarchia omnis
& angelica & humana in IHESVM terminari conſpicitur tanq̃ apicem ipſius & faſtigium:ita
& vnaquæq; ſacerdotalis functio deſinere dinoſcitur & finiri in ipſum pontificem/ 86
in culmine atq; ſummitate eccleſiaſticæ ſortis conſtitutum. ¶Cæterum quemadmodum
diuina IHESV virtus in omnibus conſpicitur angelicorũ ſpirituum diſtinctionibus
etiam media & poſtrema: ita & pontificalis ordinis virtus/in omnibus eccleſiaſticæ
hierarchiæ ordinibus ſpectatur & continetur.atq; virtus illa pontificalis:per omnes
ordines inferiores vt adminiſtrãtium & initiatorum/operatur ſui ordinis & gradus
officia.Circa initiatos enim pontifex ſua exercet munia:ſibi ad illos congruẽtia. itidem
& circa adminiſtrantes agit pontifex:quæ ad ipſos ſibi competunt. Potiſſimum tamen
diuina lex ipſi pontifici præter cæteros ordines inferiores/ officia perfectiora & altiora
diſtribuit: quæ ſui miniſterij executione peragat. Longe enim ſacratiora & auguſtiora
ſunt ipſius pontificis officia/& ſuo congruentia ordini:q̃ ipſorum adminiſtrantium atq;
initiatorum propria munera. perinde atq; ſupremæ cœleſtium ſpirituum diſtinctionis
multo ſublimiora ſunt opera:q̃ mediæ & poſtremæ.Quæ enim a põtificali ordine peraguntur
munera ſiue myſteria:ſunt diuinæ virtutis imagines/omnia quæ in eccleſiaſtica
ſunt functione perficientes.quibus & omnia ſacramentalium myſteriorum ſigna/ &
omnes ſanctæ eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ diſtinctiones:complentur & abſoluũtur.Quãuis
enim a ſacerdotibus nonnulla ſanctorum ſacramentorum fiant & peragantur ſigna/vt
baptiſmalis ablutionis aut confectionis euchariſtiæ:nunq̃ tamen ipſe ſacerdos ſacram
regenerationem baptiſmi ſine ſancto perficiet vnguento/quod non niſi a pontifice poteſt
conſecrari.Neq; itidem ſacerdos ſanctæ euchariſtiæ celebrabit myſteria:niſi ſacratiſſima
illius ſigna/panis inquam & calix benedictionis/ipſis altaribus fuerint impoſita.
Altare autem:non niſi a pontifice poteſt conſecrari.Quinimmo nec quiſpiam ſacerdos
erit:niſi officio & miniſterio pontificis ad ſacerdotalem ordinem fuerit promotus.Conſtat
igitur inferiores ordines ſuum exercere munus non poſſe:niſi pontificali adminiculo.
¶Deinceps quæ ipſi pontifici ſunt propria/ quæ ſacerdotibus/ & quæ miniſtris: 87
certa ſerie digerit.dicens ꝙ diuina ſanctio/ipſorum pontificum officio & virtuti:peculiariter
hæc tria deſignauit.ſcilicet traditionem atq; collationem ſanctorum ordinum/
confectionem ſacri vnguenti/& diuini altaris conſecrationem.Ordo ergo pontificalis
perficiente præditus virtute:quæ eccleſiaſticam perficiunt & conſummant hierarchiã/
peculiari & proprio exercet munere. & rationes ſpirituales viſibilium ſignorum quibus
ſacramenta traduntur/explicando aſſignat:edocetq; ipſorum ſacramẽtorum ordines
certa ratione conſtãtes/ vim ſimiliter & efficaciam/ ſublimiter eminenter & perfecte.
¶Ordo vero ſacerdotum cui illuminatiua competit virtus:illos qui ſacris fidei 88
myſterijs initiantur per diuinam regenerationem/ adducit ad ſacra (cum celebrantur)
ſpectanda : nõ tamen præcipue nec primo loco/ſed ſolum ſub ſacrorum pontificum
ordine.cũ quibus quidem pontificibus ipſe ſacerdotum ordo ſibi propria peragit officia:
inſinuãs per ſacratiſſima ſigna(quę in ſacramẽtorum cernũtur traditione)ſpiritualẽ
& myſticũ ſenſum introrſus latentem in ijs myſterijs/quæ ipſe ſacerdotalis ordo ex ſuo
officio operatur.Eos item qui accedunt ad ſacrorũ contuitum atq; perceptionem: efficit
ſua illuminatione ſpeculatiuos ſpiritualis intelligentiæ ſecundum menſuram ſibi
præſcriptam/& myſteriorum ſanctorum eoſdem reddit participes.Verum idem ordo ſa

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cerdotum illos ad pontificem mittit: qui exactã perficientemqꝫ ſcientiam ſacramentorũ ipſis exhibitorum/intelligentiamq; omnimodã & conſummatã efflagitant. quoniã huiuſmodi abſolutam & completam ſacrorũ diſciplinam tradere: ſolius põtificis eſt munus.

89 ❡Miniſtrorũ autẽ ordo/purgandi & prophana a ſanctis/mundaqꝫ ab immundis diſcernendi vim habens: priuſq̃ accedatur ad ſacra ſacerdotum officia ac opera/ipſos accedẽtes vt ſacris primũ initientur purgat: eoſdem puros & omni viciorũ colluuione ab aduerſarijs inducta liberos efficiens/qui diſſimiliũ ammixtionẽ illorum animis intulerunt: aptoſq; & idoneos ad ſacra myſteria tum videnda tum ſumẽda reddens. Vnde in ſuſceptione baptiſmi/ipſi miniſtri accedentem ad baptiſma exuũt priore veſte/atq; eidẽ calceos pedibus eximunt/ad occidentem vt abrenũciet ſathanæ eundẽ conſtituunt & demũ ad orientem tranſferunt: quemadmodũ in ſecunda parte ſecundi capitis huius libri dictum eſt. Nũero.15. Sunt enim miniſtri/ordinis & virtutis purgatoriæ: exhortantes eos qui accedunt baptiſmum ſuſcepturi/vt antiquę vitę conſuetudinem tanq̃ habitum quendam & amictum a ſe deponant. errorum inſuper vitę pręteritę tenebras initiandis aperiunt: docentqꝫ eos vt abrenunciantes operibus tenebrarũ/ad clara cœleſtis militię agmina caſtraqꝫ tranſeant/& induantur arma lucis. Itaqꝫ ſacer ordo miniſtrorum/purgandi officiũ ſortitus eſt: ducens eos qui ſuo miniſterio purgati ſunt/ad ſacratiora ſacerdotum munera/ſicut ſacerdotes dicti ſunt illuminatos ducere ad põtificem. Idem quoq; ordo necdũ ſacris fidei initiatos emũdat ab errore & veri ignorãtia/fouetq; eos ſanctę doctrinę rudimẽtis atq; diſciplinis: tanq̃ nutrix infantes tenero lacte & obſtetricãte manu. Præterea prophanos ac immundos ne ſacerdotes accedere pręſumant: idem ordo miniſtrorũ arcet ac prohibet. Idcirco eccleſiaſtica ſanctio atq; conſtitutio hunc miniſtrantium ordinẽ pręfecit ianuis templi obſeruandis: eo ipſo ſignificans eos qui admittuntur ad ſacra inſpicienda & percipienda/oportere ſumma munditia adornatos eſſe. Ipſa quoqꝫ pontificalis inſtitutio tradidit purgatorijs miniſtrorum virtutibus officiũ introducendi aptos atqꝫ idoneos/ad ſacrum myſteriorũ contuitum atqꝫ ſumptionem. & per huiuſmodi purgantes virtutes: illos accedentes omni macula peccati vacantes ad ſacra introducens.

90 ❡Poſtremũ aſſignatos tres ordines/pontificũ ſacerdotum & miniſtrorũ inter ſe ſecundum propria cuiuſq; officia confert: repetitqꝫ breuibus quæ modo adducta ſunt. dicens iam dilucide oſtenſum eſſe/ꝙ pontificũ ordo vt ſupremus: eſt perficiẽs & eccleſiaſticæ perfectionis author. Sacerdotũ vero ordo vt medius: eſt illuminans atqꝫ ad lucẽ verę cognitionis promouens. Miniſtrorũ autem ordo vt poſtremus & imus: purgat atq; diſcernit mundum ab immundo. Cęterum ſicut in cœleſti hierarchia/ſuperiores ordines etiã inferiorum habent proprietates ac munera: inferiores vero/ſuperiorum carent excellẽtijs. ita pontificum. ordo non ſolum nouit perficere: ſed & illuminare & purgare/& excellentiore quidem modo q̃ ſacerdotes ac miniſtri. licet a perficiendi virtute tanquã omnium ſuprema & eminentiſſima: pręcipuam ſumat denominationem. Sacerdotum vero ordo in ſe cum illuminante virtute (quę in eo pręcipua eſt & pręſtantior) purgandi quoqꝫ vim habet/ſicut & miniſtri: q̃uis ſuperiore & potiore ratione. Perficiẽdi vero vim nequaq̃ obtinere dicitur. quia & ſi quoquo pacto perficiat/quemadmodum ex paulo ante dictis de ſecunda eccleſiaſticę hierarchię diſtinctione facile conijcitur: huiuſmodi tamen perfectiua virtus in ordine ſacerdotali inſignis non eſt neq; ſpectabilis/ſed exigua admodũ & mediocris. idcirco illa ſupprimitur: & duntaxat ordini pontificali in eminentia aſcribitur. Verum virtutes illæ quę minores ſunt & inferiores/vt purgans miniſtrorum vis: ad pręſtantiora ſuperioraqꝫ munera vt illuminãdi perficiendiue virtutem aſpirare nequeũt & tranſire. eo ꝙ ipſis inferioribus minime licet ad tantã inſoleſcere ſuperbiam: qua ſupra ſe ſortemq; ſuam collocata munera ambiant aut arripiant. Sacratiores vero ordines/vna cum ſuis & ſibi proprijs virtutibus: inferiorum quoq; ordinum virtutes ac functiones habent. quemadmodũ pontificalis virtus cum perficiente: illuminantem ac purgantem. & ſacerdotalis ordo cum illuminãte: purgantẽ quoqꝫ vim habere dinoſcitur. Et hæc omnia ex cœleſtis hierarchiæ analogia (ad cuius imaginem: hæc eccleſiaſtica a diuino patre decentiſſime pingitur) perſpicua ſunt. Aut ſiquis ex rebus naturalibus ac ſenſibilibus manuductionem efflagitat: intelligat pontificalem ordinem vt vim intellectiuam/ſacerdotum vt ſenſitiuam/miniſtrorũ vero vt vegetatiuam. Et ex horũ triũ/intellectus ſenſus & vitæ adinuicem habitudine ad ea quibus aſſunt: haud difficilem aſſequetur eorũ quæ hic diſſeruntur intelligentiam. Quoniam tamen eccleſiaſticæ diſtin

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ctiones ac functiones/actionū ipſius dei in ſubiectos cœleſtes ſpiritus ſunt imagines: inſinuantqꝫ impreſſam ſibi venuſtatem ac congruentiam pulcherrimi ac diſpoſitiſſimi ordinis/in diuinis operationibus elucentis: idcirco huiuſmodi diſtinctiones eccleſiaſticæ/pōtificali virtute atqꝫ ordinatione in primas medias & vltimas actiones ſunt diremptæ atqꝫ diuiſæ. vt inſinuent in ſeipſis tanq̃ imagine quadā & figura/ipſas diuinas operationes in ſequentia ac ſub ſe poſita cœleſtia agmina: ordinatas eſſe atqꝫ inconfuſas. Siquidem quia ſumma ipſa deitas eos cœleſtes ſpiritus/quibus ſe benigna dignatione cōmunicat participandam: primo quidem loco purgat/deinde purgatos illuminat/poſtremū illuminatos ad diuinam ſpeciem & ſimilitudinem perficit/deiformes illos reddens: recto iure eccleſiaſtica inſtitutio diuinas in ſe gerēs multifariam expreſſas imagines/ diſtribuit ſeipſam in ordines diſcretos pontificū/ſacerdotū/miniſtrorum/ & in virtutes diſcretas perficientem/illuminantem & purgantem. quo aperte indicet diuinas actiones in puriſſimis ac ornatiſſimis cœleſtiū ſpirituum ordinibus conſtanti tenore & ſine confuſione aliqua perſiſtere. Cæterum poſtq̃ de eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ ſacris ordinibus atqꝫ partitionibus/de illorum etiam virtutibus proprijs & operationibus pro humanæ mentis facultate diſcuſſum eſt: reſtat ſanctiſſimas illorum ordinum conſecrationes quomodo conſummentur/nunc vtcunqꝫ explicare.

¶Myſterium ſacrorum ordinum. Cap.V.pars II. 91

PRæſul igitur vbi ſacrādus offertur/vtroqꝫ genu poſito ante altare: ſupra caput habet a deo tradita euangelia/ manūqꝫ pontificis. atqꝫ hoc modo a conſecrante pontifice: caſtiſſimis imprecationibus conſummatur. Sacerdos vero coram ſancto altari ponens vtrumqꝫ genu: in capite habet pontificis dexteram. & in hunc modum a ſacrante præſule ſanctiſſimis inuocationibus conſecratur. At vero miniſter altero tantum corā ſanctis altaribus poſito genu: ſacrantis ſe pontificis dexterā in capite præfert/ atqꝫ ab eo perficitur precationibus ad eam rem accommodatis. cuilibet autem ipſorum a benedicēte pontifice: crucis imprimitur ſignum. & per ſingulos ſacra prædicatio nominis conſūmanſqꝫ cōſalutatio fit. cunctis ſacri ordinis viris ipſoqꝫ ſacratore pontifice: eum ſalutātibus/ qui ad aliquē ſacrorum (quos diximus) ordinum/ea fuerit conſecratione promotus.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶De conſecrandis præſule/ ſacerdote & miniſtro: ſecundum apoſtolorum ritum.

PRAESVL		Præſens eccleſia:
Preſul ſacrandus vtrumqꝫ genu flectit ante altare.		ſuū ſeruat ritū.
Supra caput dexteram ſacrantis pontificis habet.		
Et ſuper caput ſancta dei ſuperpoſita euangelia.		
Sanctis imprecationibus conſecratur.		
Vitale crucis illi imprimitur ſignum.		
Nomen eius & ſacramenti dignitas predicatur.		
A ſacri ordinis viris & pontifice in oſculo ſalutatur.		
SACERDOS		
Sacerdos ſacrandus vtrumqꝫ genu ante altare ſubmittit.		
Dexteram pontificis in vertice habet.		
Non habet euangelia ſuperpoſita.		
Sanctis imprecationibus conſecratur.		
Viuifice crucis ſignum imprimitur.		
Fit nominis predicatio.		
Salutatur.		

MINISTER		
Diaconus tantum vnum genu ponit.		
Dexteram pontificis in capite perfert.		
Sanctis perficitur imprecationibus.		
Crucis ſignum ei imprimitur.		
Nomen prędicatur.		
Salutatur.		

Inſuper pontifex/ ſacerdos & miniſter peractis ſuis conſecrationibus: ad diuinam communionem percipiendam vocantur. vt infra dicetur numero 110.

ℂSECVNDAE PARTIS QVINTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

91 MOdum primitiuæ eccleſię quo ex apoſtolorum inſtitutiōe & ritu conſecrabātur pōtifices/ ſacerdotes & miniſtri: hic depromit ſacer Dionyſi9. primum quæ cuiq; ordini ſunt propria/ deinde vero quæ his tribus in cuiuſq; conſecratione ſunt communia: digerens. Primū itaq; de conſecrando prędule dicit/ ꝙ vbi offertur ad ſuſcipiendam conſecrationem: vtrunq; genu ponit in terrā ante altare/ habetq; ſupra caput diuinitus tradita ſacroſancta euangelia/ & manum conſecrantis pontificis. atq; hoc pacto ab ipſo conſecratore pręſule ſanctiſſimis orationibus conſecrat̄. Sacerdos vero conſecrādus coram altari flectens vtrunq; genu: habet in capite ſolū pontificis conſecrantis dexteram/ atq; talem in modum a ſacrante pręſule ſacratiſſimis inuocationibus perficitur & ſacratur. Demū miniſter altero ſolum coram altari flexo genu/ conſecrantis itidem pontificis dextrā in capite gerit: atq; ab ipſo conſecratur/ non prætermiſſis ſanctis precibus ad id officium & munus deſignatis. At vero cuilibet horum trium ſcilicet pontifici/ ſacerdoti & miniſtro/ cum ſacratur: a ſacrante pontifice viuificæ crucis imprimitur ſignū. & per ſingulos ipſorū trium qui conſecrantur: fit ſancta prędicatio nominis ipſius conſecrati/ & conſalutatio totā ſacrationē complens atq; finiens. nam & cuncti/ cuiuſuis ſacri ordinis viri & ipſe pontifex cōſecrans/ eum in oſculo ſancto ſalutat: qui ad aliquem trium ſacrorum ordinū modo nominatorū fuerit pontificali conſecratione promotus.

ℂSpiritualis intelligentia Cap. V. pars III.

Quę cōmunia & quæ ꝓpria ī myſterijs ſacrorū ordinū.

92 SVnt quidem iſta præſulibus & ſacerdotibus ac miniſtris in
ipſorum cōſecratione cōmunia: acceſſus ad altare diuinum/
poſitio genuū/ manuſq; pontificalis īpoſitio/ crucis impreſ-
ſio/ prędicatio/ conſummāſq; ſalutatio. pręcipua vero et pro-
pria epiſcopis/ euangeliorū ſupra caput impoſitio: qua infe-
riores ordines caret. ſacerdotibus/ vtriuſq; pedis inclinatio:
cum id non habeat diaconorū conſecratio. illi enim (vt dictum eſt) alterum
93 tantum genu ponūt. ℂItaq; acceſſus ille quidem ad ſanctū altare & poſi-
tio genuum: illud omnibus pręſcribit qui ad ſacrorū ordinū promouentur
officia/ vt authori myſteriorū deo ſuam integre ſubiiciant vitam/ & ſpiritu-
alem integritatē ſuam caſtiſſimumq; & ſacratum acceſſum: per quem illi ſi-
miles fiant/ & diuinis caſtiſſimiſq; et ſacroſanctis altaribus (vnde conſecra-
tio in eos ſpiritus qui diuinam ſpeciem præferūt: ſanctiſſime prouenit) pro
94 viribus digni. ℂPorro pontificalis īpoſitio manus: inſinuat vna et protecti-
onem dei (qua vt ſancti filij paterno fouentur affectu) ipſis habitum virtu-
temq; ſacratiorem largientem/ aduerſariaſq; virtutes ab eis procul abigen-
tem. Docet itidem ſacras omnes conſūmāteſq; actiones: quaſi ſub deo eos
95 qui ſacris ordinibus mancipantur/ efficere perfectos: ipſū operationū ſu-
arum habentes in omnibus ducem atq; rectorem. ℂCęterum ſigni vitalis
impreſſio: omnium ſimul carnaliū deſideriorum vacationē/ vitamq; ad dei

Quid acceſſ9 ad ſāctū altare & poſitio genuū

quid pōtificalis ſupra caput man9 īpoſitio.

Quid crucis viuificæ impreſſio.

imitationem effictam ſignat(nuſq̄ obtutus auertendo)intuentem in hominis
IHESV ſacratiſſimā vitam ad crucē vſqꝫ ac mortem progreſſi/ diuina

Quid noīs cōſecrati p̄dicatio.

ſemper impeccantia comite:atqꝫ ita viuentes(vt ſui ſimiles)imagine ſuę impeccantiæ
in crucem formata ſignātis. ¶ At vero ſanctā & conſecrationū/ 96
et eorum qui ſacrantur prędicationē pontifex reſonat:id inſinuante myſterio
ꝙ ſacrator ille diuinus/diuinæ eſt electionis expoſitor.non ipſe ſua gratia
I promouendos ad ſacros ordines ducens/verum afflatu dei:quo in omnibus
K ſacris officijs agitur. Ita Moſes legaliū cerimoniarū promotor:neqꝫ
fratrem Aaron ad ſacerdotale munus inungit(& quidē cum deo et charū/
et ſacerdotio non ignoraret eſſe digniſſimū)donec ad id diuinitus agitatus/
ſub deo principe ſacerdotalem conſecrationē pontificaliter conſūmauit.Ipſe
quoqꝫ noſter auguſtiſſimus & primus pontifex(et hoc enim propter nos
L fieri voluit benigniſſimus IHESVS)non ſeipſum glorificauit(vt ſcriptura
ait)ſed qui locutus eſt ad eum/tu es ſacerdos in æternum ſecundū ordinem
Melchiſedech.Quocirca & ipſe diſcipulos ad ſacerdotalem functionē promouens/
& quidē cum eſſet myſteriorū princeps(quippe cum deus)ad patrem
M tamen ſanctiſſimū/diuinumqꝫ ſpiritum: huiuſmodi conſummationis
officium refert/diſcipulos(vt legimus)admonēs ne ab Hieruſalem diſcederent/
ſed expectarent promiſſionē patris quam audiſtis ex me:quia vos baptiſabimini
N in ſpiritu ſācto. Cū ipſe quoqꝫ ſupremus diſcipulus cum ęquali
ſibi ſacerdotali decade ad ſacrum duodenarium diſcipulorū numerum
perficiendū eſſet progreſſus:deo reuerēter electionis permiſit munus/ oſtēde
inquiēs quem elegeris.eumqꝫ quem diuina declarauerat ſors:in duodenarium
ſuffecit ſacratiſſimū numerum. Porro de ſorte illa diuina/quę Mathiæ
diuinitus obtigit/alij quidem alia ſenſere:meo iudicio non recte.aperiam
autem & ipſe:quid ſentiam. Videtur michi ſcriptura ſortē appellaſſe/diuini
quiddam & præcipui muneris:per quod illi choro ſacratiſſimo inſinuaretur/
qui eſſet diuina electione declaratus.Oportet enim pontificē ſanctū
O non motu proprio ſacerdotales ordinationes conficere:ſed ſub deo agente/
has pōtificaliter cœleſtiqꝫ celebrare mundicia. ¶ Illa vero ſalutatio quæ in 97

Quid cōſecratorū in oſculo cōſalutatio.

fine conſecrationis offertur: ſacrum aliquid innuit. Cuncti enim qui aſtant
ex ſacris ordinibus/ ipſeqꝫ qui conſecrauit præſul:ita cōſummatū ſalutant.
Poſtq̄ enim ſacerdotalibus intelligentiis atqꝫ virtutibus/ diuinaqꝫ vocatione
et ſanctimonia ad ſacerdotalis officii conſummationē peruenerit ſacratior
animus: amabilis eſt æqualibus & ſacroſanctis ordinibus. atqꝫ ad excellentē
peruectus pulchritudinē: amat & ipſe ſibi ſimiles ſpiritus/et ab ipſis
viciſſim æque diligitur. Eius rei gratia/cōſalutatio illa ſacerdotalis adinuicem
celebratur: per quam ſignatur æqualium ſpirituum ſancta ſocietas/
mutuaqꝫ & iucunda leticia:vtpote diuinā pulchritudinem per ſacerdotales
formas integerrime ſeruans. Iſta igitur (vt dixi)cōmunia ſunt totius ſacerdotalis

quid ſuper caput pōtificis euāgeliorū impoſitio.

cōſūmationis. ¶ Habet vero pontifex:peculiarē euangeliorū ſupra 98
caput impoſitionem. Quia enim conſūmatrix totius ſacerdotij virtus atqꝫ
ſcientia/ſanctis pręſulibus a diuina & perfectionis authore bonitate clementer
indulta eſt:congrue tradita diuinitus eloquia/ſacrandorum præſulum

capitibus imponuntur. quibus cōtinetur ac ſcite exponitur theologia omnis/
omniſqꝫ diuina actio & dei apparitio: ſacra item elocutio & operatio.
atqꝫ (vt breuiter dixerim) diuina omnia & ſacra opera atqꝫ verba: quæ a benefica
deitate noſtræ functioni indulta ſunt. quaſi ꝓfecto ſanctiſſimus præſul:
ſacratioris virtutis omnis ſit futurus particeps. omniumqꝫ ſacrarum eruditionum
atqꝫ actionum verā traditamqꝫ diuinitus ſciētiā/ nō ſolum percepturus:
verum alijs quoqꝫ pontificali ratione traditurus. exactiſſimiſqꝫ notionibus
atqꝫ promotionibus altiſſimis/ ſacerdotaliter cōſummaturus
99 omnia: quæ ad totius noſtri pontificij perfectionem tendunt. ¶ Enimuero ſacerdotibus
amborum poſitio genuum peculiaris eſt/ præter miniſtrorum
ordinem/ qui vnum tātum curuant genu: atqꝫ hoc/ a pontificali conſecratione
non diſcrepans. Itaqꝫ curuatio genuum/ ſubiectum accedentis ſignat acceſſum:
per quem ſubiicitur deo quod ſacratius eſt adductū. Quoniam vero
(vt ſępius diximus) tres ſacre erigentiū ordines per tres itidem ſanctiſſimas P
actiones atqꝫ virtutes tribus initiandorū ordinibus præſunt/ ſalubrēqꝫ
illorum ſub iuga diuina acceſſum moliuntur: merito miniſtrorum ordo (vt
ſolum purgans) vnum efficit eorum qui purgantur acceſſum/ eos diuino altari
ſubiiciens. quippe in quo purgandi ſpiritus: altiſſimo litentur more. Sacerdotes
autem vtrūqꝫ genu curuant: a quibus qui ſacre offeruntur non ſolum
purgātur/ verum etiam liquidiſſimis eorū miniſterijs (purgata per excellentem
intelligētiam vita) in contemplationis habitū atqꝫ virtutem ſacerdotaliter
conſummantur. At vero pontifex vtroqꝫ poſito genu/ ſupra caput
habet euangelia: qui eos quos miniſtrorum purgauit virtus/ ſacerdotaliſqꝫ
functio illuminauit: ad eorum quæ cōſpexere ſacrorum pro modo cuiuſqꝫ
ſcientiam/ pontificio munere prouehit. perficitqꝫ per illam accedētes: vt pro
captu ſuo integre dicentur deo.

Cur ſacerdotes duo flectunt genua: miniſtri vero vnum ſolum

¶ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Verum afflatu dei: quo in omnibus ſacris officijs I
agitur. Agitur: mouetur ac ducitur. ¶ Ita Moſes legalium cerimoniarū promotor. Exodi K
cap. viceſimo nono ait deus ad Moſem. Cūqꝫ laueris patrem cum filijs ſuis aqua: indues
Aaron veſtimentis ſuis/ id eſt linea & tunica et ſuperhumerali et rationali/ quod
cōſtringes baltheo. & pones thyaram in capite eius/ & oleum vnctionis fūdes ſuper caput
eius: atqꝫ hoc ritu conſecrabitur. ¶ Non ſeipſum glorificauit/ vt ſcriptura ait: ſed qui L
locutus eſt ad eum. Ioannes cap. octauo. Si ego glorifico meipſum: gloria mea nichil
eſt. eſt pater meus qui glorificat me: quem vos dicitis/ quia deus noſter eſt. & nō cognouiſtis
eum: ego autem cognoui eum. Et pſalmus centeſimus nonus. Tecum principium
in die virtutis tuę: in ſplendoribus ſanctorum ex vtero ante luciferū genui te. Iurauit dominus
& non pœnitebit eū: tu es ſacerdos in æternum ſecūdū ordinem Melchiſedech.
¶ Ad patrem tamen ſanctiſſimum/ diuinūqꝫ ſpiritum: huiuſmodi cōſummationis officiū M
refert. Actus apoſtolorum cap. primo. per dies quadraginta apparens/ & loquens de regno
dei: & conueſcens præcepit eis ab Hieroſolymis ne diſcederent/ ſed expectarēt promiſſionem
patris quam audiſtis per os meum. quia Ioannes quidē baptiſauit aqua: vos
autem baptiſabimini ſpiritu ſancto non poſt multos hos dies. ¶ Cum ipſe quoqꝫ ſupremus N
diſcipulus cū æquali ſibi ſacerdotali decade. Supremus diſcipulus: Petrus. Decas/
denarius numerus: qui erant Ioānes/ Iacobus/ Andreas/ Philippus/ Thomas/ Bartholomeus/
Matthęus/ Iacobus Alphei/ Simon Zelotes/ et Iudas Thadeus. Actus apoſtolorū
cap. primo. Et ſtatuerunt duos: Ioſeph qui vocabatur Barnabas/ qui cognominatus eſt
iuſtus/ & Matthiam. Et orantes dixerunt. Tu domine qui corda noſti omnium: oſtende
quem elegeris ex his duobus/ vnum accipere locum miniſterij huius & apoſtolatus/ de
quo pręuaricatus eſt Iudas: vt abiret in locum ſuum. Et dederūt ſortes eis: & cecidit ſors

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ſuper Matthiam/& annumeratus eſt cũ vndecim apoſtolis. Et vt quæ diuinæ ſortes ſint/
apertius intelligamus: Numeri cap. decimoſeptimo legimus tribus Iſrael virgas ſuas in
ſortes dediſſe. vt qui electus a deo eſſet ſacerdos: declararetur. ſors autem ſuper Aaron
cecidit: cuius ſola virga turgẽtibus gemmis effloruit. Et ſortem petit diuinam Gedeon:
Iudicum cap. ſexto. Si ſaluum facis (inquit) per manum meam populũ Iſrael ſicut locutus
es/ponam hoc vellus lanę in area: ſi ros in ſolo vellere fuerit/& in õni terra ſiccitas:
ſciam ꝙ per manũ meam ſicut locutus es liberabis Iſrael. Factũq; eſt ita. & de nocte conſurgens:
expreſſo vellere cõcham rore impleuit. Dixit rurſus ad dominum. Ne iraſcatur
furor tuus cõtra me: ſi adhuc ſemel tentauero/ſignũ petens. oro vt ſolũ vellꝰ ſiccũ ſit: &
omnis terra rore madens. Fecitq; dominus nocte illa vt poſtulauerat: & fuit ſiccitas in ſolo
vellere/& ros in omni terra. Et cap. decimo octauo tertij Regũ ſortes per Heliã prophetam
datę ſunt: vt cognoſceretur ne ipſe an ſacerdotes Baal veri dei eſſent prophetę
veriq; dei ſacerdotes. Dentur nobis (inquit) duo boues. et illi eligant ſibi bouem vnum:
et in fruſta cędentes ponant ſuper ligna/ignem autem non ſupponant. & ego faciã bouẽ
alterum/& imponã ſuper ligna: ignem autem non ſupponam. Inuocate nomina deorũ
veſtrorũ/& ego inuocabo nomen dei mei: & deus qui exaudierit per ignem/ipſe ſit deus.
Reſpondens omnis populus ait: optima propoſitio/ quam locutus eſt Helias. Clamauerunt
ſacerdotes Baal/ de mane vſq; poſt meridiem/ cultris & lanceolis (donec
perfunderentur ſanguine) ſe incidentes: dicentes/ Baal exaudi nos. Nec audiebatur
vox: nec aliquis reſpondebat/nec attendebat orãtes. Accedens autem Helias propheta
ait. domine deus Abraham & Iſaac et Iſrael/oſtende hodie quia tu es deus Iſrael
& ego ſeruus tuus: et iuxta præceptum tuum feci omnia verba hæc. Exaudi me domine/
exaudi me: vt diſcat populus iſte quia tu es dominus deus/ & tu conuertiſti cor eorum
iterum. Cecidit autem ignis domini & vorauit holocauſtum/ & ligna et lapides:
puluerem quoq;/& aquã (quæ erat in aquæ ductu) lãbens. Quod cum vidiſſet omnis populus/
cecidit in faciẽ ſuam & ait: dominus ipſe eſt deus/ dominus ipſe eſt deus. Ex his
itaq; cognoſcere promptũ eſt/ diuinã ſortem nõ eſſe niſi quoddam petitum & diuinitus
oſtenſum ſignum: diuinam voluntatem declarans/& humanæ fragilitatis deo reuerẽter
arbitrium cõmittentis ambiguitatem tollens. quod & paulo vlterius/ſacratus pater confirmat.
O ¶Sed ſub deo agente has pontificaliter/cœleſtiq; celebrare mundicia. Agente:
P agitante/ſuggerente/mouente. ¶Tres ſacre erigentiũ ordines: per tres itidem ſanctiſſimas
actiones atq; virtutes. Erigentium: promouentium/eleuantiũ & perficientium. tres
enim erigentes promouẽteſq; ordines ſunt: miniſter/ ſacerdos/ pontifex. Per tres actiones
& virtutes: purgationem/illuminationem/perfectionem. Tribus initiandorũ ordinibus:
purgandis/illuminandis/perficiendis. Purgandi quidem ſunt: eijciendi. illuminandi:
plebs ſancta. pẽrficiẽdi: monachi. Et id amplius paulo poſt cognõſcetur. Et qui obſeruat
quæ pius pater exequitur: ad formã viuit angelicam. qui vero negligit: imitationem
interturbat & cõfundit. ordo enim et diſtinctio: diuinum eſt. inordinatio vero & cõfuſio:
peruerſum. Quo pacto igitur deo placiturũ exiſtimari poteſt: quod peruerſum eſt? Et qui
Remũdus eremita.
hoc ſane intelligit: intelliget profecto cur Remundus pius eremita/differentiã/vnum diuinorum
principiorum ponat/& inter diuinas annumeret dignitates. Et vtinã cognoſcerent
homines: q̃ confuſio noxia eſt. et quanta in cõfuſione poſitus eſt mundus: quæ regionis
eſt opacæ atq; tenebrarum. vt ordinem & diſtinctionem lucidæ regionis/in ſuam reuocarent
dignitatem: & omnia extra confuſionis chaos in ſua pulchritudine reuelatis
aſpicerent oculis.

¶TERTIAE PARTIS QVINTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

SPiritualem ſenſum eorum quę viſibiliter in ſupradictorũ ordinum con- 92
ſecratione fiunt/hic aſſignat ſacer Dionyſius: primum quæ communia
et quę propria ſunt in myſterijs ſacrorũ ordinũ/enumerans. Communia
quidẽ pontificibus/ſacerdotibus & miniſtris in ipſorum conſecratione:
ſunt hæc ſex ſequentia. acceſſus ad altare ſanctum/poſitio genuum:
vnius vel amborum/ manus pontificis conſecrantis ſuper caput
conſecrãdi impoſitio/vitalis crucis impreſſio/prędicatio nominis conſecrati/
& omnia complens in oſculo ſancto cõſecrati ſalutatio. Peculiare vero & proprium
epiſcopis conſecrandis/eſt euangeliorum ſupra caput ipſorum impoſitio: qua inferiores
ordines/ſacerdotũ ſcilicet & miniſtrorum cum ſacrãtur/carent. Sacerdotibus vero

collatione ad miniſtros facta/ propria eſt amborum genuũ inclinatio: cum eam non habeat
diaconorum miniſtrorumq; conſecratio. Miniſtri enim cum ſacrãtur(vt iã dictũ eſt)
93 alterum tantum genu flectunt. ¶ Deinde quid acceſſus ſacrandorum ad altare & poſitio
genuum ſignet: apertius declarat. Acceſſus(inquit)ille ad altare & inclinatio genuum id
omnibus inſinuat/ qui ad ſacrorum ordinum prouehuntur myſteria: ꝙ deo ſacrorũ omnium
authori ſuam integre vitã ſubijcere debeãt/ & infractã atq; illabefactam virtutem
ſuam. eſt enim genuum inclinatio: ſenſibile ſubiectionis/ venerationis & obediẽtiæ indicium.
Significat itidem huiuſmodi acceſſus ad altare/ſacratũ illum & purum mentis ipſorũ
ſacrãdorũ ad deum acceſſum: per quem ipſi deo ſimiles virtutũ imitatione fiant/et
quantum ipſis cõceditur digni habeantur ſacratiſſimis altaribus: ex quibus conſecratio
in eos ſpiritus humanos qui diuinam in ſe gerunt expreſſam ſimilitudinẽ/cum omni ſanctimonia
94 emanat. ¶ Impoſitio autem manus pontificis ſacrantis ſupra caput conſecrandorum:
ſignificat protectionem dei/ ipſos vt filios paterno affectu blande fouentis. quæ
firmum illis ſtatũ mentis & robur ad opera bona peragenda largitur: & aduerſas dęmonum
poteſtates ab eis procul arcet. Siquidẽ manibus quoduis molimur opus: & quę nobis
aduerſãtur propellimus. Eadem quoq; manus impoſitio edocet/ ꝙ omnes ſacrę actiones
& conſecrationes quaſi ſub deo eos efficiunt perfectos: qui ſacris ordinibus deſtinantur/
95 tanq̃ habeant deum/ omnium operationum ſuarum ducem ac directorem. ¶ At
vero viuificæ crucis impreſſio a ſacrante pontifice facta: omnium deſideriorum carnaliũ
mortificationem atq; repreſſionem inſinuat/ & vitam ſacrandorum: ad dei imitationem
propemodum efformatam. Quæ ſane vita tanq̃ imago atq; figura/ſine oculorũ mentis
ad alia deflexione/ intuetur aſſidue in IHESV CHRISTI vt hominis vitam: tanq̃ primitiuam
ſpeciem & archetypam/ obiectam obtutibus animi. Qui quidẽ dominus noſter
ad crucem vſq; & mortem pro noſtra ſalute progreſſus eſt: habens ſecum comitem ſemper
omnimodã peccati immunitatẽ. Atq; homines ad ſui imitationem viuentes in terrenorũ
contẽptione/tanq̃ ſibi fere ſimiles ſignat imagine ſuæ impeccantiæ/in modum crucis
formata/atq; illorum animis impreſſa. cum eos reddit q̃tum humana fert infirmitas/
96 a peccato abſtinentes atq; alienos: quo ei in impeccantia aſſimilentur. ¶ Deinde pontifex
nomen eius qui conſecratur & ordinis quem ſuſcipit prædicat: ad ſignificandũ ꝙ huiuſmodi
conſecrans eſt declarator & denunciator diuinæ electionis ad conſecratũ factę.
Non enim ipſe pontifex ſuo delectu aut arbitrio ducit quos vult ad ſacrorum ordinum
promotionem: ſed ſacra dei inſpiratione/ qua in omnibus operibus ſuis et functionibus
dirigitur. Enimuero ſimili ratione Moſes cerimoniarũ veteris legis promulgator & expoſitor:
Aaron fratrem ſuum non prius vnxit in ſacerdotẽ legalem/q̃uis illũ ſciret et deo
dilectũ eſſe & ſacerdotali munere digniſſimũ/donec ad hoc faciendũ diuina authoritate
pręceptioneq; inductus: ſacerdotalem conſecrationem ſub deo pręcipuo illius authore/
circa Aaron decenter & honeſte perfecit. Ipſe quoq; IHESVS CHRISTVS excellentiſſimus
& ſupremus pontifex noſter ſecundum carnis diſpenſationem (nam vt reliqua Hebræ. 5.
omnia: ita & pontifex noſter propter nos homines/ & propter noſtram ſalutem fieri dignatus
eſt. vt haberemus eum qui pro nobis oblationem offerret: & aſſiduus apud deũ 1. ioan. 2.
patrem poſtulator eſſet/aduocatus & mediator) non ſeipſum glorificauit: vt ipſemet teſtatur. Ioan. 8.
ſed glorificauit illum pater cœleſtis: qui ad eum hæc locutus eſt. tu es ſacerdos in Pſal. 109.
æternum: ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech. Eandem ob cauſam ipſe dominus noſter
diſcipulos ſuos ad pontificalem promouens dignitatem/ q̃uis vt deus omnium eſſet ſacrorum
myſteriorum princeps & author primarius: tamẽ ad deum patrem & ſpiritum
ſanctũ huiuſmodi conſecrationis munus refert atq; reuocat/cũ diſcipulos(vt acta perhibent
apoſtolica)admonuit: ne diſcederent ab Hieroſolymis/ ſed expectarent promiſſionem Actu. 1.
patris quam ex ipſo audiuerant: quia ſpiritu ſancto propediem baptiſandi forent.
Deniq; cum beatus Petrus apoſtolorum ſupremus/ cum ſacro diſcipulorum ſibi in apoſtolatus
gradu & ratione æqualium denario/ ad perficiẽdum apoſtolorum ſacrũ duodenarium
procederet: ipſi deo cum omni reuerentia & veneratione electionis faciendæ
conceſſit tribuitq; authoritatem atq; arbitriũ: dicens inter orãdum. Tu domine qui corda
noſti omnium: oſtende quẽ elegeris ex his duobus vnum. Et beatũ Matthiam(quem
diuina deſignauerat ſors ad apoſtolatum promouendũ) in duodenarium ſubſtituit atq;
ſurrogauit apoſtolorum numerum. Cęterũ de ſorte illa electoria quæ ſancto Matthiæ diuinitus(
vt ſacra tradit ſcriptura) obuenit: diuerſi diuerſa ſenſere/ minus tamẽ recte. Ipſi

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Cap. 5 pars 3

us vero ſacratiſſimi Dionyſij ſententia hac de re eſt/ ꝙ ſcriptura ſancta eo in loco ſortẽ
vocauit: diuinum aliquod & cœlitus datum ſignum (vt lucentem radium e cœlo in illũ
ſuper quẽ cecidit ſors porrectum/ aut quiduis aliud) per quod illi ſacratiſſimo apoſtolo-
rum choro daretur ſignificatio: vter ex duobus propoſitis/ diuina electione declaratus
eſſet ad officium apoſtolatus obeundum. Siquidem oportet conſecrantem pontificem
non proprio animi ſui motu aut arbitrio eccleſiaſticas ſacrorũ ordinũ cõſecrationes fa-
cere: ſed ſub deo oĩm ſacrorũ principe ipſũ pręcipue dirigente atqꝫ inſpirante/ eas pon
tificali officio & ſingulari munditia celebrare. ¶ Præterea illa conſecratorum ſalutatio 97
in oſculo ſancto/ quæ in fine conſecrationis fit: myſticum aliquid & ſpirituale ſignificat.
Nempe cuncti ex ſacris ordinibus præſentes & ipſe pontifex conſecrans: ita conſecra-
tum ſalutant. Poſtq̃ enim ipſius conſecrandi animus/ diſciplina inſtitutioneqꝫ pariter &
virtute ſacerdotali/ diuina inſuper electione/ & ſingulari vitæ munditia ad alicuius ſa-
crorum ordinum conſecutionem peruenerit: iam factus eſt dignus qui ametur a conſi-
milibus ſacroſanctis ordinibus/ ob eundem animi habitum & æqualem eccleſiaſticæ
functionis gradum. ipſe quoqꝫ ad eximiam mentis pulchritudinem/ decore virtutum &
ordinis ſacri ornatu relucentis euectus: caſto amore proſequetur humanos ſpiritus/ ſi-
bi venuſtate virtutis & ordinis ſacroſancti gradu perſimiles/ & mutuo ab ipſis ac ęquo
diligetur amore. cum nichil æque ſanctum amorem conciliet: ac morum ſimilitudo bo-
norum pariter & eiuſdẽ generis vitæ conſortium. Hanc ob cauſam ea conſalutatio con
ſecrati ab ijs qui ſacros ordines ſunt ſortiti celebratur: per quam ſignificatur æqualiũ
humanorum animorum caſta ſocietas/ & mutua ipſorum adinuicem de bonis ſuſceptis
congratulatio atqꝫ læta iucunditas. vt quæ diuinam pulchritudinem primitiue in deo
conſiſtentem/ & per omnia quæ condita ſunt decentiſſime deriuatam: per has eccleſia-
ſticarum actionum viſibiles formas honeſtiſſime ſeruet/ exprimat & declaret. habet au-
tem ipſa diuina pulchritudo: placidam omnium inter ſe ſociali iure (ſeruato cuiuſqꝫ pro-
prio gradu) coaleſcẽtiam. Itaqꝫ hæc ſupradicta omnia: communia ſunt cuiuſuis triũ ſa-
crorum ordinum conſecrationi. ¶ Porro ipſe pontifex conſecrandus propriam habet 98
& ſibi ſoli accommodatam ſanctorum euangeliorũ ſupra caput impoſitionem. Quoniã
enĩ totius eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ perfectiua virtus & diſciplina/ ipſis præſulibus a deo
totius perfectionis authore clementer eſt indulta: recte tradita diuinitus & veteris &
noui teſtamenti eloquia (quæ hoc in loco/ euangeliorum nomine ſignificantur: latius ſũ-
pto eo nomine/ aut a potiſſima parte totius facta denominatione: vt ipſe contextus lit-
teræ ſatis indicat) ſacrandorum antiſtitum capitibus ſuperponuntur. Quibus quidem di
uinis eloquijs/ omnis ſacer de deo ſermo ac diſciplina continetur: omnis etiam diuina
operatio ac apparitio ad homines facta/ quinimo omnis dei locutio & actio diffuſe ex-
ponitur. omnia inſuper diuina opera & verba quæ a ſumma deitate eccleſiaſticæ fun-
ctioni tradita ſunt: diuinis illis eloquijs integre compræhenduntur. tanq̃ ipſe qui con-
ſecratur præſul: particeps fieri debeat omnis ſacræ virtutis in diuinis litteris expreſſæ/
& ad dei imitationem propius adducentis. tanq̃ etiam omnium ſacrarum inſtitutionũ
atqꝫ actionum inibi contentarum ſcientiam/ non modo ediſcere ac percipere debeat: ve
rum etiam illam alijs pontificali officio tradere/ perfectiſſimaqꝫ ſacrarum rerum diſci-
plina atqꝫ ſublimi ad ſacros ordines promotione cuncta conſummare: quæ ad totius ec
cleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ perfectionem attinent. ¶ Demum ipſis ſacerdotibus cum conſe- 99
crãtur propria eſt amborum genuum in terram poſitio. In quo a miniſtrorum differunt
ordine: qui ſacrandi/ vnum tantum flectunt genu. a pontificali vero cõſecratione: in am
borum genuum inclinatione nequaq̃ diſcrepant ſacerdotes. Curuatio autem genuũ (vt
Nũero. 93. paulo ante dictũ eſt) ipſius accedentis ſignificat habitũ & ſtatũ deo ſubiectũ. per quem/
idipſum quod adductum eſt vt conſecretur/ ſiue pontifex ſit/ ſiue ſacerdos/ ſiue miniſter:
Nũero. 87. deo reuerenter ſubijcitur & integre. Quoniam autem (vt frequentius ante dictũ eſt) tres
et ſequen- ſacræ erigentiũ atqꝫ ad deum adducentiũ ordines/ ſcilicet miniſtri purgantes/ ſacerdo-
tibus. tes illuminantes/ & põtifices perficientes: per tres ſanctiſſimas actiones/ purgationem/
illuminationẽ & perfectionẽ/ per tres itidẽ ſacras virtutes/ purgatiuam illuminatiuã &
perfectiuam: tribus initiandorũ atqꝫ ad deum adducendorum ordinibus præſunt ſcilicet
Nũero. 100 purgandis/ illuminãdis & perficiendis: eiectis quidem purgandis/ plebi ſanctæ illuminã
& 101. dæ/ & monachis perficiẽdis/ vt paulo poſt dicetur. & tres illi ſacri ordines ſalutarem ip-
ſorum initiandorum ſub diuinorum mandatorum obedientia conãtur parare acceſſum:

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1773/D

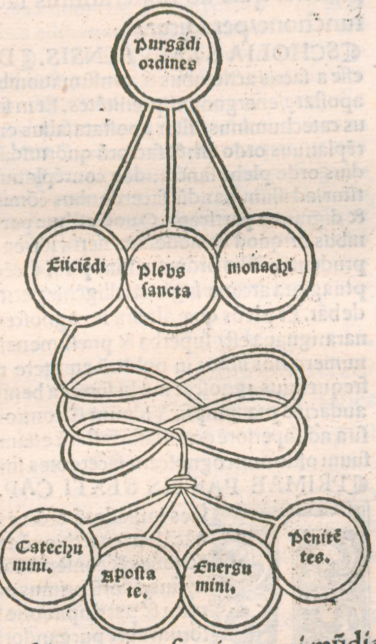
optimo iure miniſtrorū ordo vt ſolum ex officio purgans/ vnicum facit eorum qui purgātur acceſſum ad deū: vtpote per purgationis munus eos diuino altari adeūdo aptos idoneoſq; ac diſpoſitos efficiēs, in quo ſane ſacratiſſimo altari/ ipſi ſpiritus humani oīno purgādi ſacrificētur deo: nō more pecorū & hoſtiarū antiquæ legis/ ſed lōge altiore & ſacratiore/ myſtica ſcilicet & ſpirituali oblatione. Sacerdotes autem cū cōſecrātur: vtrūq; flectūt genu. ꝙ ij qui ab ipſis ſacre offerūtur & adducūtur ad deū/ nō ſolū ipſorum miniſterio purgantur: verū etiā ſacratiore ſanctorum myſteriorū intelligētia & notione liquidius illuminātur/ atq; illuſtrantur. Demū pōtifex ſacrādus vtroq; genu poſito in terrā/ ſupra caput habet euangelia: ꝙ eos qui miniſtrorū virtute purgati ſunt & ſacerdotū officio illuminati/ prouchit ad exactā eorū myſteriorū quæ conſpexere/ perfectamq; ſciētiam: quantū quiſq; capax eſt & idoneus. & per huiuſmodi ſpiritualem ſacrorū intelligētiā/ pontificali munere ipſos perficit accedentes: vt ꝓ ſuo gradu integre mācipent̄ deo.

¶ De initiandis ordinibus. Cap. VI. pars I.

100 Diximus de ſacris ordinibus ac diſtributiōibus/ virtutibuſq; illarum & actionibus/ atq; cōſummationibus: exponemus deinceps ſubiectam illis initiādorum ordinum trinitatem. Dicimus igitur eos qui purgantur ordines/ turbas eſſe a ſacris actionibus & conſummationibus ſegregatas: quarum ſuperius fecimus mentionem. Atq; alius quidem ex his/ a miniſtris hactenus obſtetricātibus verbis: ad vitalem abrenūciationē formatur atq; effingitur. Alter vero adhuc ad eā (qua exceſſit) vitæ ſanctimoniam reuocatur: ſanctorū eloquiorū blanda & refouente doctrina. Alius autē hactenus a contrarijs pauoribus ignaue terretur: atq; a potentificis roboratur eloquijs. Atq; alius quidē: iā a peruerſis operibus ad ſacras transfertur actiones. Alius vero licet euaſerit ad meliorem frugem: nondū tamen id eſt cōſecutus vt in ſacratioribus intelligētijs caſte & incōuertibiliter immobiliterq; perſiſtat. Sunt enim iſti ordines: qui a miniſtrorū tenera inſtitutione mūdanteq; virtute purgantur. Eos miniſtri ad id ſanctis ſuis virtutibus prouehūt: vt perfecte purgati/ ad illuminantē liquidiſſimarū diuinarū actionū ſpeculationē/ cōſortiūq; trāſferātur. Medius autē cōtēplatiuus ordo eſt/ & ſacrorū quorūdā pro captu ſuo in omni mūditia particeps: qui ad illuminādū ſacerdotibus eſt diſtributus. Liquet enim (vt reor) omni hunc funeſta labe purgatū caſtiſſimāq; cōſecutū atq; immobilem ſui ſpiritus ſedē: ad cōtēplatiuū habitū virtuteq; ſacerdotali miniſterio tranſuehi/ & cōmunicare ijs (quæ ſibi fas eſt) ſanctiſſimis ſignis: in ipſorū ſpeculationibus atq; cōmunione ſacra omni cū voluptate acquieſcētem/ & ad diuinū ipſorū ſcientiæ amorē/ ſubnixū eorum ſubuehentibus virtuti-

Eiecti.

Q



R

Plebs ſācta

bus/pro modo ſuo euolantem.Hũc equidẽ ſanctæ plebis ordinẽ dixerim:
vtpote per omnẽ purgationẽ profectũ/ ſanctiſſimorũqꝫ myſteriorũ cõtuitu
Monachi. ſacro(vt fas eſt)cõſortioqꝫ dignatũ. ¶Porro initiandorũ oĩm excellẽtior
ac ſublimior ordo/monachorũ eſt ſancta diſtictio:expiatione õni/tota virtute/atqꝫ exactiſſima ſuarũ operationũ caſtitate mundata. oĩs itẽ (quantã
ſibi licet inſpicere)ſacræ operatiõis ſpiritualiter ſpeculatrix & particeps facta:pontificũqꝫ conſũmantibus virtutibus tradita.Q uorũ diuinis fulgoribus et põtificalibus traditionibus/cõſpecta pro ordine ſuo ſanctorũ myſteriorũ ſacrificia ediſcens:a ſacra eorũ ſcientia/ad exactiſſimã perfectionẽ diuina ratione ſubuehitur.Vnde ſancti pręceptores noſtri:diuinis eos appellationibus ſunt proſecuti.partim therapeutas:id eſt cultores/a ſyncęro dei
famulatu atqꝫ cultu. partim monachos/ ab indiuidua & ſingulari vita appellãtes.vt quæ illos ſanctis diuiſibiliũ cõplicatiõibus:in diuinã & deo gratã monadẽ perfectionẽqꝫ promoueat.Idcirco & perficiẽtẽ eis indulſit gratiã diuina ſanctio:eoſqꝫ conſecrante quadã inuocatione dignata eſt/nõ põtificali quidẽ(illa enim ſolis in ſacerdotalibus ordinibus fit)ſed ſacerdotali
plane:& quæ ab honeſtiſſimis ſacerdotibus ſecundo in loco a pontificali
functione/peragitur.

Q ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Dicimus igitur eos qui purgãtur ordines: turbas
eſſe a ſacris actionibus & conſũmationibus ſegregatas, Et hæ turbę ſunt:catechumini/
apoſtatę/energumini/pœnitẽtes. Et in ſequẽtibus:alius/alter/alius/alius:itelligitur/alius
R catechuminus/alter apoſtata/alius energuminus/alius pœnitẽs. ¶Medius autẽ contẽplatiuus ordo eſt:& ſacrorũ quorundã pro captu ſuo in omni mũditia particeps.Medius ordo plebs ſancta:ideo contẽplatiua dicitur/ꝙ ad cõtuitũ diuinorũ ſignorũ admittitur/ad illuminandũ ſacerdotibus cõmiſſa: vt fiat aliquarũ intelligẽtiarũ pro captu ſuo
& dignitate particeps.Quod adhuc per ſacerdotes eccleſiarũ in catholicis informationibus fit:quod & modeſtius fieri vidi/ea nõ excedẽtes quæ in antiquis patrum inſtitutis
prudenti cõſilio ordinata ſunt plebi dicẽda.non enĩ oĩa plebi licẽt.Neqꝫ Moſes/neqꝫ ſeptuaginta arcanæ legis intelligẽtiæ periti:illã ſecretã legis intelligentiã in vulgus ꝓfundebãt.Et plebs quæ altiora ſe cognoſcere petit/ſuiipſius & mediocritatis ſui ſtatus ig-
Nũeri.16. nara:ignaua eſt/ ſuperba & præſumens/ Chore & eius familię q̃ſimillima. Et ego ſæpenumero hos libros in publicũ emittere reformidaui: & legẽs quæ ſupra me ſunt horrui
frequentius.ignoſcat michi ſumma benignitas:& purget clementius quicquid hac in re
audacius præſumpſi. Viderint & contionantes:ne modum excedant ad populũ/ & ne
ſua ad ſuperiorẽ eccleſiaſticũ ſtatũ etiam tranſgrediantur officia. Recognoſcat põtifex
ſuum officium:cognoſcant ſacerdotes ſuum/cognoſcant & miniſtri ſuum.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS SEXTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

TRes initiãdorũ ordines/ipſis ſacris ordinibus ſubiectos:poſt determinatã horũ partitionẽ atqꝫ diuiſionẽ/poſt explicatas eorundẽ virtutes/
actiones & conſecrationes: nunc exponẽdos eſſe proponit ſacer Dio-
Eiecti. Nũero 38/ & ſequentibus. nyſius.Illorũ primus eſt ordo purgandorũ:quæ turba eſt a ſacrorũ cõtuitu & participatione ſegregata/cuius ſuperius facta eſt mẽtio.Ex ipſorum autẽ purgandorũ numero/catechuminus a ſanctis miniſtris eformatur atq; diſponitur ad diuinã regenerationẽ demũ ſuſcipiendã:
ſacrorũ eloquiorũ adminiculo blande eũ educante. Apoſtata vero ad eã quã deſeruit
abſtractus atqꝫ illectus voluptatibus/munditiã vitę reuocatur:ſanctarũ litterarũ dulci &
ſpiritualiter demulcente diſciplina. Energuminus autẽ adhuc dæmonicis terroribus ob
ignauiã ſuã/qua illos permiſit inualeſcere:cõcutitur.& contra illos:ſacris ſcripturæ verbis efficaciſſimis corroboratur/ vt amplius ipſis non agatur. Demũ pœnitẽs a peruerſis ãte actę vitę operibus:ad bonas trãſfertur reſipiſcẽdo actiones. Poſtremũ impfectus
& necdũ ad plenũ purgatus licet ad vitę & actionũ rectitudinẽ euaſerit: nondũ tamẽ ad
id perfectiõis peruenit/vt in bonis actionibus & recta ſacrarũ rerũ intelligẽtia conſtã-

ter & indimobiliter perſiſtat. Et hic poſtremus: hoc loco/ itidem & in tertia parte quarti capitis numero 61. ſub pœnitente cõpræhenditur: neqꝫ quintũ expreſſe conſtituit eijciẽdorũ ordinẽ. Sane omnes iſti qui iam adducti ſunt ordines: a tenera & facili miniſtrorũ educatione purgatiuaq; virtute mũdãtur. & ipſos ſancti miniſtri ſuo miniſterio atqꝫ officio ad id ſtudioſe promouent: vt exacte purgati/ad ſacram ſanctorum myſteriorũ inſpectionem qua illuminentur/& perceptionẽ admittantur. ¶Medius vero initiandorũ ordo qui plebis eſt ſanctæ/ diuinorum myſteriorũ inſpectiuus eſt: & ſacrorum nonnullorũ pro ſuo gradu ac modo particeps. qui vt illuminetur ſalutaris doctrinæ radio: ipſis ſacerdotibus eſt deſignatus. Enimuero is medius ordo omni noxia peccati labe iam purgatus/ſtabilemqꝫ ac indimobilem ſuæ mentis firmitatem in puritate conſecutus: ad inſpiciendi ſacra habitum & virtutem officio ſacerdotali ſubuehitur/& cõmunicat ijs(quę ſibi permittuntur)ſanctis ſacrorũ myſteriorũ ſignis. Inſuper in huiuſmodi ſignorum inſpectionibus & ſacra participatione ſumma cum voluptate quieſcit: & ad flagrans deſiderium ſcientiæ ſpiritualis eorundem totus aſpirat/ virtutibus ipſorum ad altiora mentem euehẽtibus prorſus innixum. Is autem vocatur ſanctæ plebis ordo: per omnẽ progreſſus purgationem/& ſacro myſteriorum cõtuitu atqꝫ ſumptione iam dignus habitus.

Plebs ſãcta

101 ¶Demũ initiandorũ omnium altiſſimus & ſupremus ordo/eſt ſancta monachorũ contio: perfecta purgatione/expiatoria virtute/ omniqꝫ actionum ſuarum puritate prorſus emundata. õnis itẽ quantũ ſibi iſpicere permiſſum eſt: ſanctæ myſteriorũ operationis inſpectrix atqꝫ particeps facta/& hanc ob rem perfectius illuminata: perficientibuſqꝫ põtificum virtutibus vt conſummetur tradita. Ipſorum autem præſulum diuinis inſtitutionibus ac traditionibus inſtructa monachorum ſacra diſtinctio/& conſpecta pro ſui gradus qualitate ſacramentorum ſpiritualia myſteria ediſcens: per ſacram huiuſmodi myſteriorum ſcientiam & myſticam intelligentiam/ ad eximiam perfectionem diuina quadam ratione & via perducitur. Vnde ſancti apoſtoli & primi eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ ordinatores: huius tertij ordinis viros/dignis admodum & honoratis nominibus appellarunt. vocantes ipſos nũc therapeutas: id eſt famulos & cultores/a puro dei famulatu ac cultu cui ſe addicunt. nunc monachos/ab indiuidua & vnica vita: quæ eos per ſanctas diuiſibiliũ affectuũ in vnũ cõplicationes ac collectiones/ in diuinam vnitatem ſingularemqꝫ perfectionem promouet. Idcirco diuina conſtitutio ſecundũ eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ leges/ gratiã illis qua perficerentur indulſit: & conſecrantem ipſis inuocationẽ quę ipſos conſummaret atqꝫ perficeret/ aſſignauit. nõ quidẽ pontificalẽ: ꝙ hæc conſecratio quæ a pontifice fit/in ſolis ordinibus ſacris fieri debeat. ſed ſacerdotalem/ & quæ a ſanctiſſimis ſacerdotibus ſecundo loco poſt pontificalem conſecrationem exercetur: vt ſequens oſtendit determinatio.

Monachi.

102 ¶Myſterium monaſticæ conſummationis. Cap. VI. pars II.

STat quidẽ ſacerdos ante ſacrũ altare: monaſticã imprecati-
onẽ pſallens. ille autẽ poſt ſacerdotẽ aſtat non vtrũqꝫ ponẽs
genu/ non alterũ/ non habẽs impoſita ſacra eloquia capiti:
verũ ſolum ſacerdoti aſtans/myſticã ſuper illum inuocatio-
nẽ proſequenti. Ea vero finita/ſacerdos ad eũ accedẽs inter-
rogat primũ: an renunciet diuiſibilibus omnibus nõ ſolum S
vitis/verũ imaginibus quoqꝫ ac phantaſijs. Deinde exponit illi perfectiſſi-
mam vitam. illud aperte conteſtans/oportere illum medio longe antecelle- T
re. Vbi vero ille iſta omnia intente promiſerit: conſignans eũ crucis ſigno ſa- V
cerdos tondet/trinas diuinæ beatitudinis perſonas inclamans. exutumqꝫ
veſte omni: aliã induit. & cum ſanctis alijs(qui aſtant) viris/ipſum ſalutãs:
diuinorum myſteriorum participem efficit.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶An renunciet diuiſibilibus omnibus non ſolũ vi- S
tis: verum imaginibus quoq; ac phantaſijs. Diuiſibiles vitæ ſunt ſæculares & mundanæ: quæ ad implicationes mundi/negocia ſæcularia diuiſibilia & multiplicia tendunt/ & a verorum & vnorũ contemplatione amouent atq; diſtrahunt. Et reuera eæ ſunt illæ ſpinæ quæ diuinum ſemen in cordibus noſtris ſeminatũ ſuffocãt: vt ſumma bonitas nos

per Matthęum cap. decimotertio ammonet: & per Lucam cap. octauo. vt cauti has vitas diuiſibiles fugientes: ad ſaluatricẽ nos colligamus vnitatem.

Myſteria monaſticæ conſũmationis ex apoſtolico ritu.			Præſens eccleſia
Sacerdos conſũmans ante ſacrũ altare monaſticã inuocationem pſallit.			ſuũ ſeruat ritũ.
Conſũmandus poſt pſallentẽ ſacerdotẽ erectus aſtat.			
Interrogat ſacerdos an abrenunciet diuiſibilibus omnibus & vitis & phantaſijs.			
Ei quoqꝫ perfectiſſimæ illius vitæ ſtatum exponit.			
Promittit conſummandus.			
Conſignat eum ſacerdos: vitali ſigno crucis.			
Crines detondet.			
Trinas inclamat beatitudinis diuinæ perſonas.			
Exuit eum veſte omni/ & aliam induit.			
Caſtiſſimo ſalutat eum oſculo cũ ſanctis qui aſtant viris.			
Salutatum ad deificam communionem vocat.			

¶ SECVNDAE PARTIS SEXTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 102

Monaſticæ conſummationis myſterium ex apoſtolico ritu: hoc loco deſcribit ſacer Dionyſius. In quo primum ſacerdos cõſummationem illam facturus: ſancto aſtat altari/ pſalmorum cantica huic rei accommodata pſallens. Qui vero monaſticam conſummationem ſuſcepturus eſt/ poſt ſacerdotem aſtat altari: neqꝫ vtrumqꝫ neqꝫ alterum genu in terram flectens/ neq; ſacra habẽs eloquia capiti impoſita: ſed duntaxat ſacerdoti aſtans/ pſalmorum ſuper ipſum cantica pſallenti. Finita autem huiuſmodi inuocatione diuina: ſacerdos ipſum conſummandũ accẽdens interrogat primum/ an abrenunciare velit omnibus vitis ſæcularibus & mundanis/ animos humanos a deo diuidentibus atq; in diuerſa rapientibus/ nec illis ſolum: verũ etiã omnibus illarum vitarum affectibus & cogitatibus. Deinde illi declarat perfectiſſimam vitam deinceps ducendam/ manifeſte teſtificans & aſſerẽs: oportere ipſum in vitę perfectione/ medio initiandorum ordine qui plebis eſt ſanctę/ longe antecellere. Poſtq̃ vero ipſe monaſtica profeſſione conſummandus/ omnia iſta ſe facturum obnixe promiſerit: ſacerdos eum ſigno crucis conſignans/ tondet crines capitis eius/ ſimul tres ſummæ diuinitatis perſonas inuocans. Deinde exutũ priori veſte aliam ipſum induit/ & cũ ſanctis qui præſentes ſunt alijs viris ipſum oſculo ſancto ſalutans: ad ſanctæ euchariſtiæ communionem vocat.

¶ Spiritualis ſenſus. Cap. VI. pars III. 103

Qꝫ ſolũ erectus monaſtice conſũmãdus aſſiſtat ſacerdoti.

Quod neutrum genu ponat/ neqꝫ habeat euãgelia impoſita capiti/ aſſiſtatqꝫ ſacerdoti imprecationem pſallenti: monaſticum ſignificat ordinem non alios ex officio adducere/ ſed in ſeipſo ſubſiſtere. in vnico/ ſacroqꝫ ſtatu ſacerdotales ſequentem ordines: ab ipſis/ vt aſſeclam ad diuinam ſacrarum rerum pro ordine ſuo ſcientiam obtemperanter adduci. 104 ¶ Porro diuiſibilium non modo vitarum/ verũ imaginationũ quoqꝫ abrenũciatio: ſupremam illam monachorum philoſophiam indicat/ dũ in ſcientia operatur vnientium mandatorum. eſt enim (vt dixi) non medij ordinis: ſed omnibus celſioris. Idcirco plurima quæ impune a medio geruntur ordine: monachis omnino interdicuntur. quippe qui vnũ ipſum ambire debent/ & ad ſacram monadem cogi: atqꝫ ad ſacerdotalem (quantum fas eſt) formari vitam/ & vt in plurimis illi congruentẽ. Nullus quippe ex ordinibus reliquis: illi propinquat magis. 105 ¶ At vero crucis ſanctæ ſignaculum (vt iam dictum eſt) mortificationem om-

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V

Quid ſignaculi ſanctæ crucis impreſſio.

106 nium ſimul carnalium cupiditatum ſignat. ❡Porro tonſura crinium: vi-
tam mundiſſimam indicat/ & nulla figura fucatam. & quæ nullis fictis
coloribus inductis animi deformitatem exornet: ſed ipſa in ſeipſa non
humanis venuſtatibus ſed ſingularibus & vnicis/ ad dei exactiſſimam ſi-
107 militudinem properet. ❡Prioris autem veſtis poſitio/ alteriuſqꝫ aſſum-
ptio: migrationem illam a media vita (ſacra licet) ad perfectiorem ſigni-
ficat. Sicut in diuina regeneratione: promotionem indicabat a purgata
vita ad contemplantem illuminantemqꝫ habitum/ illa veſtis candentis im-
108 mutatio. ❡Qꝛ ſi modo quoqꝫ tam ſacerdos q̃ circũſtantes reliqui viri
ſancti/ ſic dicatum conſalutant: ſacram intellige dei præferẽtium ſpeciem
109 ſocietatem/ qua ſibi inuicem cum lætitia & charitate gratulantur. ❡In fi
ne vero omnium/ ſacerdos ad diuinam ita inſtructũ communionem vo-
cat: aperte ſatis inſinuans/ eum qui ſic conſummatus eſt (ſi ad monachicũ
& ſingulare inſtitutum veraciter venit) non modo contemplatorem fore ſa
crarum ſecundũ ſeipſum rerum/ ſiue medij ordinis in morem ad com-
munionem ſanctiſſimorum ſignorum acceſſurum: verum eorum quæ per-
cepit ſacramentorum auguſtiore ſcientia fretum (alio q̃ ſanctus populus
110 modo) ad communionis diuinæ participationem admittendum. ❡Quo-
circa ſacris quoqꝫ ordinibus/ quãdo proprijs officijs & expiationibus cõ
ſummantur: in fine ſanctiſſimarum conſecrationum ſuarum ſanctæ eucha
riſtiæ communio traditur a ſacrante pontifice. non ſolum quoniam diui-
norum participatio myſteriorum/ cuiuſqꝫ ſacroſanctæ participationis eſt
ſumma: verum quia ipſius quoqꝫ cõmunicabilis & ſacratiſſimi muneris/
ſacri omnes ordines (pro ſua quiqꝫ ratione) participes ſunt. vt per id: ſub-
111 uehantur & perſiciantur in deum. ❡Concluſimus igitur: ſancta quidem
myſteria/ purgationem eſſe & illuminationem atqꝫ perfectionem. mini-
ſtros vero: purgantem ordinem. ſacerdotes autem: illuminantem. conſum-
mantem autem ſiue conſecrantem: diuinos eſſe pontifices. Porro purgan-
dorum ordo is eſt: qui ſacræ ſpeculationis & cõmunionis eſt exors/ quip-
pe qui purgatur adhuc. At ſpeculatiuus ordo: pius eſt populus. conſũma-
tus vero: ſingularium monachorum eſt proprius. Ita noſtra ſacra perſun-
ctio dum ordinibus diuinitus traditis aptius congruit: hierarchijs cœleſti-
bus ſimilis eſt/ ipſius (quantũ viris fas eſt) ad dei imitationem effictos diui
noſqꝫ characteres ſeruans. ❡Verum obijcies forte: cœleſtibus hierarchijs
purgandos deeſſe ordines. Neqꝫ enim fas eſt dicere/ neqꝫ dici veraciter
poteſt: vllam eſſe cœleſtem diſtinctionem obnoxiam ſceleri. Equidem
integras omnino eſſe/ et caſtitate eximia excellentiſſime præditas: conſtan
ter aſſeuerauerim/ niſi pijſſima intelligentia penitus excidam. Nam &
ſi qua ex his dedit maliciæ manus: cœleſti atqꝫ inconfuſa decidit diui-
norum ſpirituum congruentia/ inqꝫ obſcuram turbarum a deo deficien-
tium eſt prolapſa ruinam. ❡Verũ enimuero dicere poſſumus: in cœleſti
hierarchia purgationem eſſe ſpiritibus inferioribus: cum a deo edocentur
quæ interim ignorabant. fulgore illos diuini radij ad perfectiorẽ ducente
diuinarum notionũ ſcientiam: atqꝫ earum rerũ ignorantia (quarũ nõdum

Quid crinium tõſura.

Quid prioris veſtis poſitio: & alterius acceptio.

Quid ſacerdotis & aſſiſtẽtium ſic cõſummati cõſalutatio.

Cur conſũmatũ ad ſãctã cõmunionẽ vocat ſacerdos.

Cur ſacrorũ ordinũ cõſummationibus pactis cõſecrati ad diuinã vocãtur cõmunionem

Epilogus multorũ pcedentium

x

De caſu dæmonum.

ſcientiam habuerant) veluti expiante/ per primas diuinioreſqꝫ ſubſtantías. vt ſic ad ſuperiores diuinarum ſpeculationum liquidioreſqꝫ fulgores ſubuehantur. Ita ſunt & qui illuminantur ordines/ & qui conſummantur. Purgantes item & illuminantes ac perficientes in hierarchia cœleſti: quando ſupremæ illæ diuinioreſqꝫ ſubſtantiæ/ inferiores ſacras cœleſteſqꝫ diſtinctiones ignorantia omni emundant in ordinibus ac proportionibus cœleſtium functionum/ ipſaſqꝫ ſacratiorum doctrinarum fulgore implent/ atqꝫ perficiunt caſtiſſima diuinarum intelligentiarum
Z diſciplina. Et nos enim iam diximus/ & eloquia ſacra diuine dictarunt: non eaſdem eſſe cœleſtes diſtinctiones omnes/neqꝫ tantundem valere in omnibus ſacris perceptionibus illuſtrationum diuinarum. Cæterum ex deo quidem continenter primas illuſtrari: per illas vero ex deo rurſus inferiores quoqꝫ pro captu ſuo edoceri/ac percipere clariſſima diuini radij lumina.

T ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Dum in ſcientia operatur: vnientium mandatorum. Vnientium: deo nos coniungentium/ qui vere ipſum vnum eſt/ & om-
V nium rite coniũctorum vnio. ¶Eſt enim (vt dixi)non medij ordinis: ſed omnibus celſioris. Medij ordinis: ſcilicet ordinis ſanctæ plebis. ſed omnibus celſioris. Omnibus:
X omnibus ordinibus initiandis. ¶Iſta noſtra ſacra perfunctio dum ordinibus diuinitus traditis aptius congruit. Diuinitus traditis dicit: quia quæ apoſtoli ordinauerunt/ſpiritu ſancto(quem promiſſum patris acceperunt) ſuggerente & monſtrante omnia/ apertius etiam ac lucidius q̃ angelo monſtrante Moſes: didiciſſe credendum eſt. De quibus ipſemet dominus teſtatur Ioannis capite decimo ſexto. Cum autem venerit ille ſpiritus veritatis: docebit vos omnem veritatem. non enim loquetur a ſemetipſo: ſed quæcunqꝫ audiet loquetur/& quę ventura ſunt annunciabit vobis. Et ſiuiſſe illa per negligentiam minus obſeruari/pietatis fuit extinctio & inducta rebus ſacris confuſio: vbi ordo deo gratiſſimus locum habebat/ ad diuinorum ſanctiſſimis apoſtolorum intelligentijs monſtratorum imitationem. Secundum enim diuiniſſimum exemplar a ſpiritu ſancto illis oſtenſum/ melius formabant omnia: q̃ ipſe Moſes ſecundum typum legis/ legalia. Sed O ſumma bonitas reuela oculos tuorum miniſtrorum/ tuorum pontificũ:
Z & adiuua vt reparentur reparanda/& formentur reformanda. ¶Et nos enim iam diximus/& eloquia ſacra diuine dictarunt: nõ eaſdem eſſe cœleſtes diſtinctiones omnes. Id ex doctrina beatiſſimi Pauli cap. ſexto cœleſtis hierarchiæ dictum eſt: & in ſcholijs cap. quinti ex ſacrarum litterarum teſtimonijs oſtenſum.

¶TERTIAE PARTIS SEXTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Senſum ſpiritualem eorum quæ viſibiliter in monaſtica conſummatione geruntur/explanat ſacratiſſimus pater: primum id proponẽs. Qꝫ monaſtice conſummandus ſolum erectus aſſiſtat pſallenti ſacerdoti/ neutrum flectens genu neqꝫ ſacra habens eloquia capiti impoſita: id ſignificat ꝙ monaſticus ordo non alios ad deũ ex officio proprio adducit/ſed in ſeipſo ſubſiſtit/ad alios ſubuehendos nequaq̃ progrediens. Deſignat item/ ꝙ idẽ monaſticus ordo in vnicę & ſingularis vitæ ſtatu ſacros ſequẽs ordines/pontificũ ſcilicet ſacerdotum & miniſtrorũ: ab ipſis ordinibus ſacris vt comes & pediſſequꝰ/ad ſacrã diuinarũ rerũ notitiã ſecũdũ ſuũ gradũ obedię̃ter adducitur. ¶Diuiduarũ autẽ non ſolũ vitarũ ſed & imaginationũ internarũ abrenunciatio: ſupremam illam monaſticæ vitæ diſciplinam ac profeſſionem nobis indicat/ diuina mandata homines ad deum vnientia atqꝫ colligentia/ opere complentem atqꝫ exequentem. Quippe monaſticus ordo non medij eſt initiandorũ ordinis ſcilicet plebis ſanctę: ſed omnibus reliquis huiuſmodi ordinibus/excelſioris eſt & ſublimioris gradus. Hãc ob rẽ cõplura quæ a medio recte gerũtur & populi pij ordine: monachis oĩno vetãtur ac ꝓhibẽtur/ vt cõnubialis thorus & ꝓprię rei poſſeſſio. quoniã monachi ex vitę ſuę

inſtituto: ipſum ſumme vnum amplecti & expetere debent. & contempta vitarum diuiſibilitate:
ad ipſam ſingularem colligi vnitatẽ. quinimmo ad eorũ qui ſacris ordinibus
addicti ſũt efformari vitam: quæ ipſi monachico ſtatui in permultis cõgruit. Nullus enĩ
ex reliquis initiandorũ ordinibus/ magis appropinquat ipſi vitæ ſacerdotali & ſacros ordines
105 adeptorum: q̃ monachus. ¶ Crucis vero ſanctæ ſignum/ conſummando impreſſũ:
inſinuat nobis(vt in tertia præcedentis capitis dictũ eſt parte)mortificationẽ atq; repreſſionem Nũero. 95.
106 omniũ affectuũ & cupiditatum ſæculariũ. ¶ Tonſura autem crinium: vitã monachi
deſignat puriſſimam/ & nulla fictione ſimulationeue adumbratam. vt quæ animi
turpitudinẽ fœditatẽq; morũ: nulla ꝓbitatis ſpecie/ vmbra aut colore ficte contegat. quę
etiam non in hominũ oculis & ore/ quinpotius in ſeipſa & ſecundum veritatem: feratur
nude & veraciter ad dei ſimilitudinem/ imitatione virtutum induendam. non humana
quidem venuſtate & apparente decore: ſed ſingulari & vnica diuinæ ęmulationis
107 congruentia. ¶ Deinde prioris veſtis depoſitio & alterius aſſumptio: emigrationem a
media vita ſcilicet plebis ſanctæ(licet ſacra ſit & pia)ad perfectiorem vitam indicat. Sicut
& in baptiſmi ſuſceptione/ illa candidæ veſtis circũpoſitio: indicare dicta eſt pronectionem Nũero. 16.
108 illam a purgata vita per baptiſmum/ ad contemplantem ſacra & illuminantem
chriſmatis & euchariſtiæ participatione vitam. ¶ Qꝫ autem tam ſacerdos conſummationem
peragens q̃ aſtantes cæteri viri ſancti/ ſic dedicatum deo in oſculo ſancto conſalutant:
ſignificat(vt & ante dictum eſt)ſanctam eorum ſocietatẽ qui dei præ ſe ferũt imaginem/
noſtræ ad bonum promotioni cõgaudentis. Ita & huius ſacræ ſocietatis viri: ſibi
109 inuicem cum lætitia & caſto amore de ſuſcepto bono gratulãtur. & hęc gratulatio: per
oſculũ ſignatur. ¶ Poſtremo omnium/ ipſe ſacerdos ita conſummatum ad ſanctam inuitat
euchariſtiam. quo inſinuet eum qui ſic deo mancipatus eſt/ ſi ad ſeruandũ monaſticę
vitę inſtitutum vere & ex animo venit: non ſolum contemplatorẽ inſpectoremq; futurũ
ſacrorum myſteriorum ex ſui ordinis gradu/ neq; ipſum ad cõmunionẽ ſancti panis & calicis
benedicti acceſſurũ more medij initiandorum ordinis/ ſcilicet plebis ſanctæ. verum
ipſum monachum imbutũ ac inſtructum excellentiore ſciẽtia notioneq; illorum quę ſũpſit
ſacramẽtorum: longe ſublimiore q̃ ſanctus populus modo/ admittendũ eſſe ad ſanctæ
110 euchariſtię cõmunionem. ¶ Eãdem ferme ob cauſam ipſis ſacros ordines ſuſcipiẽtibus/
pontificibus/ ſacerdotibus & miniſtris/ cum ad finem perductę ſunt ipſorum conſecrationes:
ſanctę euchariſtię participatio traditur a conſecrante eos pontifice. Nõ ſolũ
quidem ob hãc rationem/ quoniã ſacroſanctę euchariſtię perceptio: finis eſt & cõplemẽtum Nũero. 31.
cuiuſq; ſacramentorũ participationis/ vt ſuperius dictũ eſt. ſed etiã quia omnes/ ſacros
ordines ſortiti: participes ſunt pro ſuo quiſq; gradu ipſius diuini muneris/ ſine ſui
diminutione omnibus communicabilis/ ſacratiſſimę ſcilicet euchariſtię. vt per id ſupercœleſte
munus/ promoueantur & perficiantur in deum: quod omnium maxime præſtat
111 ipſa ſancta communio. ¶ Deinde epilogum eorum quę ſuperius dicta ſunt cõſtringit
diuinus pater: dicens ex ſupradictis oſtenſum & manifeſtum eſſe/ ꝙ tria ſunt eccleſiaſticę
hierarchię munera atq; officia: ſcilicet purgatio/ illuminatio & perfectio. ꝙ item
miniſtri: purgantem conſtituunt ordinem. ſacerdotes: illuminantem. pontifices vero:
perficientem & conſecrantem. Rurſum ꝙ purgandorum ordo is eſt: qui inſpectionis
ſacrorum & perceptionis expers eſt & immunis/ nam adhuc a priore labe purgatur.
Speculatiuus autem & ſacrorum inſpectiuus ordo: ſanctus eſt populus. Conſummatus
autem & perfectus ordo: monachorum eſt peculiaris. Et hoc pacto eccleſiaſtica hierarchia
cum ordinibus diuina ſanctione traditis ſubnixa/ diſpoſitiſſima venuſtate congrue
ſubſiſtit: hierarchię cœleſti perſimilis eſt/ ipſius characteres formas & ſigna ad
dei imitationem efformata integerrime ſeruans: quantum humana poſſunt ad cœleſtium
ſimilitudinem euadere. Eſt enim cœleſtis hierarchia: vt præcipua & primitiua
forma. eccleſiaſtica vero: vt eius imago/ typus & figura. ¶ Obiectionem ponit:
occaſione eorum quæ modo dicta ſunt obortam. Dicet enim fortaſſe aliquis: in cœleſti
hierarchia nullos eſſe purgandos ordines. Non enim vere quiſpiam dixerit/
vllos eſſe cœleſtes ſpiritus peccato obnoxios: quo indigeant purgari. Omnes enim
ſupernæ angelicæq; ſubſtantiæ/ integræ ſunt: virtute & eximia puritate præditæ. quod
quiſquis aſſeruerit: nequaquã veritate excidet/ aut recta intelligentia. Ea namq; immortalium
ſpirituum turba quæ næquitię ſuccubuit/ ceſſitq; malitię: a diuinorum ſpirituum
recto decidit ordine/ & in triſtem(a qua nunquã erigetur)prolapſa eſt ruinam.

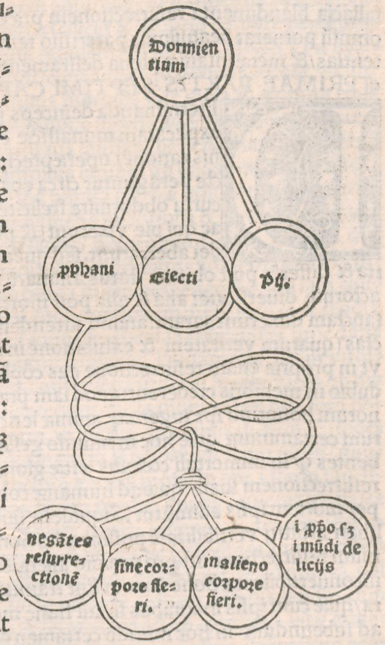
Cap.
7
pars
1

Ecclesiastica vero hierarchia purgandos habet ordines/etiam quadruplices: vt superiora
monstrarunt. Non est igitur ecclesiastica hierarchia effigiata ad similitudinē cœlestiū
Nũero.100 distinctionū. ¶ Respondet diuinus pater. ꝙ in cœlesti hierarchia inferiores spiritus angelici
purgationem habent/ non quidē a peccato ante contracto: sed ab ignorātia/cum
a deo ea docentur quæ ante ignorabant. quando scilicet diuini radij fulgor illos ad perfectiorem
ducit diuinarum rerum cognitionem q̃ prius habuerant: & priorum superiorūqꝫ
angelorū ministerio ipsos expiat atqꝫ purgat earū rerū ignorātia/quarū āte necdū
scientiam habuerant. vt hoc pacto: inferiores angelici spiritus/ ad clariores diuinarū notionum
speculationes promoueantur. Sunt & in cœlesti hierarchia ordines qui illuminātur/
Nũero.17. & qui perficiuntur: vt ex præcedenti libro iam perspicuum euasit. Sunt itidem
in eadem/ordines purgantes/ illuminantes ac perficientes: quando ipsæ supremæ cœlestes
substantiæ/ inferiores functiones angelicas omni ignorantia purgant secundum
debitam cœlestium actionum proportionem/easdemqꝫ diuinarum scientiarum fulgoribus
illuminant/atqꝫ sacratissima altissimarum intelligentiarum disciplina perficiunt.
Enimuero & superius id dictum est/& diuinorum eloquiorum testimonio comprobatū:
ꝙ non eiusdem gradus & perfectionis sunt omnes cœlestium virtutum distinctiones/
neqꝫ æqualiter valent omnes aut paris sunt virtutis/ad percipiendos diuinarum illustrationum
fulgores. sed primas cœlestes substantias proxime ac immediate a deo illustrari:
inferiores vero etiam ex deo/sed ipsarum primarum officio (quamqꝫ pro suo captu)
edoceri: atqꝫ percipere clarissimos diuini radij iactus. Verum de his hactenus.

¶ De ijs quæ in quiescentibus fiunt. CAP. VII. pars. I.

His vero ita diffinitis/necessarium reor & ea exequi quę a nobis
A in ijs qui obdormierūt: caste gerūtur. Nā ne istud quidē:
sacris prophanisqꝫ cōmune est. verū vt vtrorūqꝫ vitæ est species
varia: ita vbi in mortem ierint. Ij quidem qui sacram tenuere
B vitam: in veras dei repromissiones intuētes (vt qui veritatem
ipsarum: in sua inspexerint resurrectione) firma &
certissima cum spe/ diuinaqꝫ leticia ad mortis tendunt finem: quasi ad sanctorum
certaminum vacationē. non ignorātes in exactissima et immortali
vita & salute/fore sua omnia: per futuram integram resurrectionem suam.
C Sanctæ profecto animæ cū in hac vita possint ad deteriora cōuerti: in regeneratione
id habituræ sunt/ vt ex dei similitudine ad inconuertibile transeant.
At vero casta sanctarum animarum corpora (cum quibus vna & vitæ
mortalis iter egerunt: & simul descripta sunt/simulqꝫ certarūt) pro sacris sudoribus
suis in animarum immutabili secundū diuinam vitam firmitate ac
D sede/resurrectionem quoqꝫ vna recipiēt propriam. Inserta enim animabus
sanctis (quibus hac in vita iuncta fuerant: vt CHRISTI effecta membra)
diuinam atqꝫ immortalem/beatamqꝫ recipient requiem. In ijs ergo est sanctorum
quieta obdormitio in leticia & spe immobili: cum ad sanctorū certaminū
peruenerint finē. Porro ex prophanis partim quidē animas in id
euanescere vt non subsistāt arbitrantur: irrationabiliter omnino. partim corporalem
cōiunctionem a suis animabus abrūpi penitus/vt eis diuina in vita
& beatissima requie minus congruentē: non intelligentes/neqꝫ satis magisterio
diuino edocti/vt iam cœpta sit nostra in CHRISTO sacratissima
vita. Alij vero animabus aliorū corporū coniugia tribuūt: iniurijs (vt reor)
quantum in se est afficientes corpora/quæ cū sanctis animabus laborarunt:
sacrisqꝫ retributionibus parum honeste priuantes/ quæ ad finem sanctissimi
cursus peruenerunt. Alij rursus nescio quo pacto ad carnales cogitati-

ones declinantes: dixere pręſenti vitę ſimilē/eam (quæ ſanctis promiſſa eſt) ſanctiſſimam & beatiſſimam requiem. ciboſqꝫ vitę variabilis ꝓprios: iȷs q̃ ęquales E
angelis ſunt euaſuri/neſarie applicuerunt. Sed abſit vt vnq̃ ſactus aliquis vir: in iſtiuſmodi errores incidat. Norūt ꝓfecto ſe totos percepturos exactiſſimam ad CHRISTI ſpeciem/requiem: cum ad pręſentis finem vitæ peruenerint. viamqꝫ ad immortalitatem ſuam e vicino iam clarius intuentes: diuinitatis laudāt munera/diuinaqꝫ leticia geſtiūt. non iā ad deteriora conuerſionem metuentes: ſed parata bona ſe firmiter perpetuoqꝫ habituros probe noſcētes. Qui vero inquinamentis/impuriſqꝫ maculis pleni ſunt (ſi quidem aliquid ſacræ inſtructionis hauſerunt: eaqꝫ pernicioſe ab aīo abiecta/ad corruptrices libidines ſūt deuoluti) cum ad vitæ huius peruenerint metas: non iam eis æque deſpicabilis apparebit ſcripturæ ſacræ diuina ſanctio. pernicioſaſqꝫ viciorū ſuorum voluptates aliis aſpicient oculis: beatamqꝫ vitam (qua imprudēter excidere) laudantes/inuiti miſerabiliter excedūt ſeculo/nulla ſubnixi ſpe propter deterrimā vitā. Cū vero nichil ex his contingat in ſanctorum virorū dormitione/is quidem qui ad finem ſuorum certaminū properat: ſancta leticia impletur. magnaqꝫ cum iucūditate/fœliciſſimæ regenerationis iter ſcādit. Defuncti vero propinqui ſancta propinquitate/morumqꝫ ſimilitudine: ipſum qui talis eſt prædicant/ꝙ ad optatū victoriæ peruenerit finem. authoriqꝫ victoriæ/laudes cum gratiarum actione perſoluunt: ſeipſos quoqꝫ orātes ad ſimilem requiem admitti. Sumentes autem ipſum ad pontificem ducunt/quaſi coronis donādum ſacris. hunc ille libenter ſuſcipit/eaqꝫ peragit: quæ diuino inſtituto ſuper ſancte quieſcentibus fiunt.



¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Nam ne iſtud quidem: ſacris prophaniſqꝫ cōmune A
eſt. ſacri: initiati/qui extra cōmunionis participationem non ſunt. prophani: non initiati/
& qui extra cōmunionem ſūt/qui & reiecti. ¶Vt qui veritatem ipſarum in ſua inſpexerint B
reſurrectione. Sua: refertur ad dei. et ſenſus eſt. intuentes veritatem ipſarum repromiſſionum
dei: in ſua ipſius dei (qui CHRISTVS deus homo eſt) reſurrectione. ¶In regeneratione C
id habituræ ſunt. In regeneratione: ex mortuis/in reſurrectione. ¶Inſerta D
enim animabus ſanctis: quibus hac in vita iuncta fuerant. Inſerta: iuncta/atqꝫ reunita.
¶Iis qui ęquales āgelis ſunt euaſuri: nefarie applicuerunt. Marcus capite duodecimo. E
Nonne ideo erratis neſcientes ſcripturas atqꝫ virtutem dei? Cum enim a mortuis reſurrexerint/
neqꝫ nubent neqꝫ nubentur: ſed ſunt ſicut angeli dei in cęlis. Et qui animas cū
corporibus extingui poſuere: manifeſte cognoſcuntur Saducei. qui ſine corporibus reſurgere:
Simon magus/Menander/Martion. qui cum corporibus extraneis: quidam qui parum
deſciuerunt a Menandro & Martione. Qui ad cibos/potus & huius præſentis vitæ

fallacia blandimenta reſurrectionem prædicarunt: vt Papias Hieropolitanus. quorum
omniũ potuerat beatiſſimus pater: ſuo tempore abſurdas & irrationabiles audiuiſſe ſententias/
& meræ inſaniæ plena deliramenta.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS SEPTIMI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Determinanda deinceps proponit primũ ſacer Dionyſius: dicẽs ꝙ poſt
explicatam monaſticæ conſummationis & triplicis initiandorum ordinis
rationẽ/ operæprecium erit ea pertractare quæ eccleſiaſtico ritu recte
peraguntur circa eos qui ex hac vita migrarunt. Nam expleto vitę
curſu obdormire fœliciter & ſancte quieſcere: non eſt commune ſacris
ac qui pie vixerunt/ & prophanis qui a fidei ſyncæritate & mandatis
dei aberrarunt. ſed quẽadmodum diuerſum eſt vitę amborum genus:
ita & differẽs poſt obitum ſtatus animarũ atq; conditio. & pro operum ſuorum hic peractorum
diuerſitate: alia & alia poſt mortẽ qualitas ac diſpoſitio animarũ. Sane ij qui
ſanctam duxerunt vitam: animo attendentes veras dei repromiſſiones/ ſacris & pijs factas
(quarum veritatem & exhibitionẽ in ipſius CHRISTI reſurrectione perſpexerũt:
vt in propria etiam reſurrectione eas cõplendas firmius ſperarent/ idq; futurum proculdubio
in membris crederent: quod iam præceſſit in capite) cum firma & certiſſima æternorum
bonorum ſpe ingentiq; animæ leticia/ ad vitæ tendunt exitum: quaſi ad aſſiduorum
certaminum quæ hoc in mundo geſſerunt completionem & terminum. certum habentes
ꝙ in immortali cœleſtis vitæ gloria erunt rurſum eis omnia reddita per integrã
reſurrectionem ſuam: quæ ad humanæ conſtitutionis attinent complementum/ & nunc
per mortem ipſis adimũtur. Siquidem ſanctæ iuſtorum animæ cum in hac vita propter
liberi arbitrij vertibilitatẽ poſſint ad peiora deflecti & non deflectantur: in extrema omnium
reſurrectione id pro pręmio aſſequentur/ vt ex deiformitate deiq; ſimilitudine ad
inconuertibilem a bono ſtatum ſint tranſituræ. Ipſa vero munda piarum animarũ corpora/
quæ cum ipſis animabus ſimul hanc mortalis vitæ peregrinationẽ peregerunt/ ſimul
ad ſubeundum in hoc mundo certamen deſignata & deputata ſunt/ ſimulq; prælia domini
certarũt: pro ſanctis ſuis laboribus in hoc certamine peractis immutabilitatẽ & firmitatem
cum animabus ſuis diuinãq; vitam adepta/ reſurrectionem etiã vna conſequentur.
Rurſum enim vnita ſuis animabus quibus hac in vita ante iuncta fuerant/ et ſecundum
1.corin.6. beati Pauli ſententiã effecta per ſanctimoniã CHRISTI mẽbra: æternam & placidiſſimam
conſequentur requiem/ nulla interpolandã morte. In ijs igitur corporibus ſancti
& iuſti placide & quiete obdormiunt in domino/ in ſpirituali leticia & ſpe certiſſima:
cum ad laborum huius vitæ peruenerint finem. ¶Cęterũ ex prophanis & de ſacrę fidei
myſterijs perperã ſentientibus: nonnulli putant animas cum corporibus ſoluuntur/ omnino
euaneſcere/ vt nullo modo deinde ſubſiſtant. ſed irrationabiliter id arbitrantur: ponentes
animas humanas non minus q̃ brutorũ mortales eſſe/ & ſubſtantię interitũ ſuſtinere.
Alij vero ponũt in reſurrectione extrema/ corpora a ſuis animabus diuelli penitus
et perpetuo ſeparari: tanq̃ minus congruentia animabus in vita illa cœleſti atq; immortali/
propter terrenã ſuam & craſſam ſubſtantiam. Et hi reſurrectionem quidem fieri ponunt
animarum: ſed ſine corpore. primi vero penitus tollunt & negant futuram reſurrectionem.
Verum hi ſecundo loco adducti nõ ſatis intelligunt/ aut ex euãgelico ſunt teſtimonio
edocti: quomodo noſtra in altero ſæculo futura vita/ in CHRISTO ex mortuis
rediuiuo iam ſit inchoata. Atqui CHRISTVS anima ſacratiſſima ſuo corpori coniũcta/
reſurrexit a mortuis: & non ipſa anima deſtituta cõmercio corporis. Nos igitur omnes
ita reſurgemus: animas habituri rurſum ſuis corporibus vnitas. Rurſum alij animas alienis
corporibus/ & non ijs quæ in hac vita habuerant: in reſurrectione cõiũgendas aſtruunt.
Sed hi iniurijs (quantũ in ſe eſt) afficiunt caſta corpora: quæ cum ſanctis animabus
in huius vitæ agone deſudarunt. & congrua mercedis retributione ea priuant corpora:
quæ ad finem ſtadij huius vitæ in perſeuerantia virtutis peruenerunt. Quomodo enim
illa iuſtam recipient mercedem: ſi non ſuis animabus quę ſimul vna decertarũt/ ſed alijs
et fortaſſe reprobis iungentur? Certe non eſt id diuinæ ęquitati & iuſtitiæ conſonũ. Demum
alij carnalibus cogitationibus futuram vitam metientes: dixerunt ſanctiſſimam et
Lucæ.20. perpetuam requiem quæ ſanctis promiſſa eſt/ ſimilem omnino fore pręſenti vitę ac ſenſibili.
& iis ipſis qui diuino teſtimonio ęquales angelis ſunt futuri: ſtolide ac impie attribuerũt
cibos & potus corporales/ & cęteras vitæ mutabilis ac ĩterituræ delicias. Sed auer-

tat hoc deus: ꝙ vnq̃ vir ſāctus & pius/in huiuſmodi abſurdas cogitatiões incidat. ¶ Nouerunt
plane qui pij ſunt & ſancti/ſe totos in anima ſcilicet & proprio corpore percepturos
in poſtrema illa regeneratione perfectiſſimam requiem; ad ipſius CHRISTI a mortuis
ſuſcitati ſimilitudinem. & hac ſpe ſubnixi ſunt/cum adhuc pręſentem agunt vitam:
et cum ad eius finē perueniunt. Quinimmo in huius mortalis vitę meta & termino conſtituti/
videntes iam e vicino viam adeſſe per reſolutionē mortis ad immortalitatē ſuam/
in ſęculi conſummatione complendā: diuinæ bonitatis laudant beneficētiam/ & interna
geſtiunt quam deus illis aſpirauit leticia. non amplius lapſum ad deteriora formidātes/
queādmodum totius vitę curriculo metuerunt: ſed parata ęternæ vitę bona ſe perpetuo
poſſeſſuros certo cognoſcentes. Porro qui inquinamētis peccatorū & ſordidis viciorum
maculis obſiti ſunt: ſi ſuſcepta veræ fidei profeſſione/ perceperunt recte viuendi doctrinam/
ſed ea prorſus animo exploſa neqꝫ operibus comprobata/ ad pernicioſas cupiditates
& libidines ſunt prouoluti: cum ad vitæ huius finem peruenerint/ non iam contemptibilem
iudicabunt aut irridendā ſcripturæ ſacræ veritatem: ſicut toto vitæ tēpore
illam deſpicabilem putarunt & aſpernandā. ſuas item illecebroſas voluptates tunc dānabunt
& deteſtabuntur: quas prius auidiſſime fuerant proſecuti. laudanteſqꝫ vitam virtutibus
& mandatis dei deditam/quam hactenus contēpſerunt: inuiti & reluctātes ob malorum
ſuorū conſcientiam/miſerrime hac vita excedunt/nulla omnino ſpe futurorū bonorum
freti propter vitæ ante actæ improbitatem. vt merito de talibus dictum ſit: mors Pſal. 33.
peccatorū peſſima. At vero cum nichil horū contingat in ſanctorū virorum obitu/ quoniam
preciosa eſt in conſpectu domini mors ſanctorū eius: is profecto qui vitæ in ſanctimonia Pſal. 115.
tranſactæ ſibi conſcius/ ad ſuorū laborum finem tendit: diuina repletur letitia/et
cum ſumma animi iucunditate/ futuræ in fine mundi beatæ regenerationis iter ingreditur
& viam inchoat. Atqui ipſius defuncti/non tam ſanguine q̃ ſancta morum ſimilitudine
propinqui: ipſum iam vita functū digna cōmēdatione prædicant/ꝙ ad optatū palmę
finē iā ſecurus periculi peruenerit. deoq; ſāctę victorię authori debitas laudes cum
merita gratiarum actione perſoluunt: petentes & ſeipſos/ tandem cum finis vitæ aduenerit/
ad conſimilem laborum requiem aſſumi. Deinde ſumentes ipſum defunctum propinqui
ad pontificem ducunt: quaſi finito iam certamine victricibus coronis munerandum.
Illum pontifex benigniter ſuſcipit: et ea peragit quę ex diuina conſtitutione ſuper
ijs qui pie obdormierunt fieri debent.

¶ Myſterium ſuper ijs qui ſancte quieuerunt CAP. VII. pars II.

113 Coacto ſancto cœtu/venerādus antiſtes ſi quidem ſacerdotalis F
ordinis fuerat qui obdormiuit: ante ſanctum altare inclinans
eum/orationem ad deum inchoat & gratiarum actionem.
Si autē aut honeſtiſſimis monachis aut ſanctæ plebi
inſertus erat: ad venerādum ſacrarium/ipſum ante ſacerdotum G
reclinat ingreſſum. deinde precem cum gratiarum actione
peragit præſul. Deinceps vero miniſtri diuinis inſerta eloquijs veriſſima H
de noſtra reſurrectione promiſſa recitantes: cōſentanea tantūdemqꝫ valentia
canunt pſalmorum cantica. Deinde miniſtrorum primus dimittit catechuminos:
ſanctoſqꝫ iam defunctos concelebrat/cum quibus & nuper vita
functū pari laudatione proſequitur. hortaturqꝫ omnes: vt ſibi ipſis identidem
poſtulent beatam in CHRISTO conſummationem. Poſtea accedens
venerabilis præſul: precem ſuper eo ſacratiſſimam peragit. & poſt orationem
ipſe quoqꝫ pontifex defunctū ſalutat: & poſt illum/qui aſtant omnes.
Vbi vero cuncti conſalutauerunt: ſuper defuncto fundit oleum pontifex.
& oratione pro omnibus facta: honeſto in loco ponit corpus cum ęqualibus
alijs corporibus ſanctis.

¶ SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Coacto ſācto cœtu. Coacto: cōuocato/cōgregato. F
¶ Ad venerandum ſacrarium/ ipſum ante ſacerdotum reclinat ingreſſum. Sacrarium: G

H ſanctuarium. & id ſeptum eſt: in quo ſecretus ſeiunctuſq; a plebe ſacerdotum chorus reſidet. ¶ Deinceps vero miniſtri diuinis inſerta eloquijs. De noſtra reſurrectione locupletiſſima ſunt ſacris inſerta litteris teſtimonia. vt in Iob/ pſalmis/ Hieremia/ Ezechiele/ euāgelijs/ & epiſtolis. Iob cap. decimonono. Scio enim ꝙ redemptor meus viuit: & in nouiſſimo die de terra ſurrecturus ſum. & rurſum circundabor pelle mea: & in carne mea videbo deū. quem viſurus ſum ego ipſe: & oculi mei cōſpecturi ſunt/ et non alius. Pſalmi. Vt pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quintus. Exibit ſpiritus eius & reuertetur in terram ſuam: in illa die peribūt omnes cogitatiōes eorū. Hieremias threnorū cap. quarto. Seſſionem eorum & reſurrectionem eorū vide: ego ſum pſalmus eorū. redde eis vicem domine: iuxta opera manuū ſuarum. Ezechiel cap. triceſimo ſeptimo. Facta eſt ſuper me manus domini: & eduxit me in ſpiritu domini. et dimiſit me in medio cāpi/ qui erat plenus oſſibus: & circūduxit me per ea in gyro. Erant autē multa valde ſuper faciem cāpi: ſiccaq; vehementer. Et dixit ad me. fili hominis: putas ne viuent oſſa iſta? et dixi: domine deus tu noſti. Et dixit ad me. vaticinare de oſſibus iſtis: & dices eis. Oſſa arida: audite verbum domini. hęc dicit dominus deus oſſibus his. Ecce ego intromittam in vos ſpiritum & viuetis: & dabo ſuper vos neruos/ & ſuccreſcere faciam ſuper vos carnes/ & ſuperextendā in vobis cutem/ & dabo vobis ſpiritū & viuetis: & ſcietis quia ego dominus. Euangelia. Marcus cap. duodecimo. Cū enim a mortuis reſurrexerint: neq; nubent neq; nubentur/ ſed ſunt ſicut angeli dei in cœlis. Lucas cap. decimoquarto. Cum facis conuiuium: voca pauperes/ debiles/ claudos/ & cęcos: et beatus eris/ quia nō habēt retribuere tibi. retribuetur autē tibi in reſurrectione iuſtorū. Et cap. viceſimo. Ait illis IHESVS. filij huius ſęculi nubunt/ & tradūtur ad nuptias. Illi vero qui digni habebūtur ſæculo illo et reſurrectione ex mortuis: neq; nubent neq; vltra ducēt vxores/ neq; vltra mori poterunt. æquales enim angelis ſunt/ & filii ſunt dei: cum filii ſint reſurrectionis. Et Ioannes cap. quinto. Amē amē dico vobis/ quia venit hora & nunc eſt: quādo mortui audiēt vocem filii dei. & qui audierint: viuent. Nolite mirari hoc/ quia veniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis ſunt: audient vocē filii dei. Et procedent qui bona fecerūt/ in reſurrectionem vitæ: qui vero mala egerunt/ in reſurrectionē iudicii. Et cap. ſexto. Hęc eſt enim voluntas eius qui miſit me patris: vt omne quod dedit michi non perdam ex eo/ ſed reſuſcitem illud in nouiſſimo die. Et capite vndecimo. Ego ſum reſurrectio et vita. qui credit in me: etiam ſi mortuus fuerit/ viuet. & omnis qui viuit & credit in me: non morietur in æternum. Epiſtolæ. Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola/ capite decimoquinto. Alia claritas ſolis/ alia claritas lunæ/ & alia claritas ſtellarū. ſtella enim a ſtella differt in claritate. ſic reſurrectio mortuorū. ſeminatur in corruptione: ſurget in incorruptione. ſeminatur in ignobilitate: ſurget in gloria. ſeminatur in infirmitate: ſurget in virtute. ſeminatur corpus animale: ſurget corpus ſpirituale. Omnes quidē reſurgemus: ſed non omnes immutabimur. In momento/ in ictu oculi/ in nouiſſima tuba. canet enim tuba: & mortui reſurgēt incorrupti/ & nos immutabimur. oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem: & mortale hoc induere immortalitatē. Et ſanctæ ſcripturæ/ noſtræ reſurrectionis teſtimonijs paſſim reſperſę ſunt: vt erigatur ſpes infirmorū ad vitam illam immortalem/ indeficientē/ omniq; fine carentem demū percipiendam.

¶ Myſteria ſuper ijs qui ſancte quieuerunt: ex ritu apoſtolico.

Sancto cœtu congregato: pontifex/ ſi ſacerdos fuerit qui requieuit: ante ſanctum altare ipſum reclinat. ſin de medio piorū ſtatu aut plebeius aut monachus: ante ſacrarium/ eo in loco vbi ſancta plebs aſtat aut monachi.		Preſes eccleſia ſuū ſeruat ritū
Orationem ad deū inchoat pontifex/ & gratiarum actionem.		
Pſalmos accōmodatos pontifex & ſacer chorus canunt.		
Miniſtri de ſacris eloquijs promiſſiones nobis de reſurrectione factas recitant.		
Deinde archidiaconus/ principaliſq; miniſter: ſolos catechuminos a foribus templi excludit.		
Sanctos iam pie functos concelebrat.		
Pari panegyri & laude/ nuper functum proſequitur.		
Hortatē omnes ad ſibi beatā in CHRISTO poſtulādā cōſūmationē.		

Venerabilis p̃ſul accedẽs: ſacratiſſimã ſuꝑ quieſcẽtẽ/ p̃cem peragit.		
Poſt orationem pontifex defunctum ſalutat.		
Et poſt illum pariter omnes qui aſtant.		
Super ſalutatum/ ſanctum fundit oleum.		
Mox honeſto in loco: corpus cũ alijs corpotibus ſãctis collocatur.		

❡SECVNDAE PARTIS SEPTIMI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD litteram.

113 EA quæ ſuper ſancte quieſcentibus ex ritu apoſtolico fiunt: hic certo digerit ordine ſacer Dionyſius. Quorũ primũ id eſt/ ꝙ congregato cœtu ſanctorũ ordinum/ ipſe põtifex: ſi is qui defunctus eſt/ aliquẽ ſacrum ordinẽ in vita ſortitus fuerat/ vt põtificis ſacerdotis aut miniſtri: ante ſanctum altare illum reponens/ orationẽ ad deum fũdit/ & gratiarum actionem de finito defuncti labore perſoluit. Si vero qui obdormiuit/ de ordine fuerat monachorũ aut plebis ſanctæ: ad ipſius ſanctuarij fores illum reclinat/ atqꝫ ante ſacerdotum collocat ingreſſum. dehinc orationem ad deum cum gratiarũ actione: pontifex exoluit. Poſtea vero miniſtri/ ex veteris & noui teſtamẽti eloquijs certiſſimas de noſtra reſurrectione promiſſiones & teſtificationes recitãt: cum quibus & pſalmorũ cantica eidẽ materiæ accõmodata concinũt/ ad corroborandã aſtantiũ fidem & mœrentiũ cõſolationẽ. Deinde præcipuus miniſtrorũ/ ſolos catechuminos templo excludit: ſanctoſqꝫ iam hoc mundo exẽptos dignis proſequitur laudibus/ cũ quibus et eum qui dudũ vita fũctus eſt/ merito pręconio celebrat: ad incitandũ aſtantes/ vt pręclaras illius virtutes ſtudioſe imitentur. hortatur item omnes: vt quiſqꝫ ſibi etiã poſtulet conſimilẽ in CHRISTO beatamqꝫ laborũ conſummationẽ. His autẽ peractis/ accedens venerãdus antiſtes: orationem ſuper ipſum quieſcentẽ peragit. qua cõpleta: defunctum benigniter ſalutat. & poſt illũ/ quicũqꝫ præſentes ſunt: etiam defunctũ ſalutant. Finita vero omniũ cõſalutatione: pontifex ſuper defunctũ/ ſacrum fundit oleũ. & oratione pro omnibus defunctis facta: corpus ipſum honeſto in loco cum alijs æqualis ordinis & officij corporibus ſanctis collocat/ vt pontificẽ cum põtificibus/ ſacerdotẽ cũ ſacerdotibus/ et ita de cæteris.

CAP. VII. pars III.

114 ❡Spiritualis ſenſus

CAeterum iſta ſi viderĩt prophani/ vel fieri a nobis audierint:
late puto ridebunt/ noſtrumqꝫ miſerabũtur errorẽ. Neqꝫ eſt
ſane cur miremur: niſi enim crediderĩt (iuxta ſcripturæ fidẽ) I
115 non intelligent. ❡Nos autem intelligẽtias eorũ quæ geruntur
ſpeculãtes IHESV duce præuioqꝫ: dicamus pontificẽ
non irrationabiliter in ſacrũ introducere chorũ/ imponereqꝫ
defunctũ. Oſtendit per id profecto/ omnes in regeneratione illas conſecuturos K
ſortes: ad quas hic vitã ꝓpriã direxerũt. Puta ſi ad diuinã hic imaginẽ
quiſpiam ſanctiſſime vixerit/ q̃tum viro poſſibile eſt deum imitari: diuina
in ſæculo futuro & beatiſſima donabitur requie. Sinautem ad ſũmã illam
non peruenit effigiẽ/ ſancte tamen ſe in vita habuit: paria & iſte meritis pręmia
116 referet. ❡Huius diuinæ iuſtitiæ cauſa/ præſul gratias agens: orationẽ
ſacram peragit/ venerãdamqꝫ diuinitatem laudibus celebrat. qua deſtructũ
eſt iniquum & violentũ contra nos omnes imperiũ: noſqꝫ ad ſua iuſtiſſima
117 iudicia trãſlati ſumus. ❡Porro diuinarũ ꝓmiſſionum cantica & lectiones/
explicant quidem beatiſſimã requiem: ad quã ſubuehũtur ſempiterne/ qui
ſancte conſummati ſunt. ſuſcipiunt vero & amplectũtur vita functum: viuẽteſqꝫ
118 præterea ad conſummationẽ ſimilem prouocant. ❡Inſpice autem vt
nunc non omnes (vt ſolitum eſt) purgandi ordines dimittuntur: ſoliqꝫ catechumini/
ſacris arcẽtur locis. Eſt enim hic ordo/ ſancti omnis myſterij penitus
rudis: neqꝫ ſibi fas eſt quicq̃ aut paruum aut magnum/ ex ijs quæ ſacra-

Quid põtificis oratio/ et gratiarũ actio.

L

Cur ſoli catechumini et nõ oẽs ĩmũdi arcẽt a phano.

tius conſummantur inſpicere. quippe qui necdū eius virtutis eſt particeps:
quæ aſſurgit ad contuēda diuina/ ex ſacra lucis indultrice generatione pro-
ueniens. Reliqui vero purgandorū ordines: ſacram quidem traditione iam
ferme didicerunt. Sed ꝙ ſtolide prorſus ad deteriora prolapſi ſint/cum de-
buerint in anteriora contendere intentione perpetua: diuinis quidem vene-
rabilium ſignorū ſpeculationibus & participationibus arcentur merito. le-
dentur enim magis/ſi indigne ſancta percipiant: atqꝫ ad maiorem deueniēt
diuinarum rerū ſuiqꝫ contemptū. non inconuenienter autem aſſunt ijs quæ
modo gerūtur/patētius diſcētes atqꝫ intuētes noſtrę mortis incertū: ſancto-
M rūqꝫ munera de ſcripturis celebrata diuinis/& intentata ſibi ſimilibus im-
puris infinita ſupplicia. ¶ Ex his enim forte proficient: cernentes eum(qui 119
ſancte obijt) miniſtrorum prędicatione celebrari/ vt vere conſortem ſancto-
rum omnium. Fortaſſeqꝫ & ipſi ad ſimile deſiderium venient: miniſtrorum
officio edocti/ꝗ ſit beata & vere fœlix in CHRISTO conſūmatio. ¶ Ac- 120
cedens deinde venerādus antiſtes: precem ſacram ſuper mortuum peragit.
poſtqꝫ precem & ipſe eum præſul ſalutat: & ſuo deinceps ordine qui aſtant
omnes. Precatur oratio illa diuinam clementiam: vt cuncta dimittat per in-
firmitatem humanā admiſſa peccata defuncto. eumqꝫ in luce ſtatuat & re-
gione viuorum: in ſinibus Abrahę/ Iſaac & Iacob/ in loco vnde aufugit do-
lor & triſtitia et gemitus. Iſta (vt reor) perſpicua ſunt beatiſſima ſāctorum
præmia. quid enim immortalitati perfectæ/omniqꝫ triſtitia vacuæ/ac plenæ
N perpetui luminis conferri poſſit? licet multum ſane promiſſiones illæ omni
ſublimiores noſtra mente ſint/ quæ vocabulis nobis congruis deſignantur:
O longe tamen inferiores earū re & veritate appellationes habent. Verū enim
profecto illud exiſtimandū eloquium eſt: ꝙ oculus non vidit nec auris audi-
uit/neqꝫ in cor hominis aſcēdit/quæ præparauit deus diligētibus ſe. Sinus
autem beatorū patriarcharum/reliquorūqꝫ ſanctorum omniū: ſunt(vt reor
equidem) ſacratiſſimæ illæ ac beatiſſimæ ſedes: quæ omnes diuinā effigiem
præ ſe ferētes/ in ſua ſuſcipiūt inſeneſcibili & beatiſſima requie. ¶ Ac for- 121
taſſe inquies/ iſta quidē recte a nobis dici: verum ambigere/cuius rei gratia
præſul diuinam precatur clementiam: defuncto peccatorum veniam poſtu-
lans/& æqualem ſanctis ac lucidiſſimā ſortem. Si enim eorū(quę in vita geſ-
ſit) bonorum aut malorū/a diuina iuſticia percipiet præmia/ perfecit autem
actiones ſuas in vita iſta defunctus: quænā hunc oratio præſulis ad aliam
(pręter illam quam meruit: vitę hic actę reſpōdentem) transferet requiem?
P Non ignoro quidē & ego diuinis eloquijs accedens: ſingulis reddendā pro
meritis ſortē. concluſit enim dominus(inquit) apud ſe: & referet vnuſquiſqꝫ
Q ea quę per corpus geſſit/ſiue bonum ſiue malum. Qꝫ autem & iuſtorū pre-
ces etiam in vita iſta & nedum poſt mortem/ iis ſolis proſint qui digni ſunt:
ſcripturę nos edocet ſacroſancta traditio. Quid enim Sauli profuit Samue-
lis oratio? quid hebręorū iuuit plebē/prophetica interpellatio? Nam pro-
fecto idē fit: ac ſi quis ſole ſuos radios ſanis largiēte oculis/ ſibi oculos eruēs:
ſolaris luminis ꝑticeps fieri poſtulet. Sic impoſſibiliū ſuꝑflua ſpe ille ſuſpē-
ſus eſt/qui ſanctorū flagitat preces: & naturæ ipſorum conſentaneas ſacras

Quid defūcti panegyris & pia cū cęteris defunctis laudis proſecutio

Dubitatio circa orādi et petitiōis modum

operationes abigit/ diuinis nequaq̃ intendendo muneribus/ & a ſanctiſſimis
beneficiſq; recedẽdo mãdatis.Itaq; ſcripturę ſacrę acquieſcẽs/vtiles eſſe R
in hac vita dixerim ſanctorũ preces:hoc modo ſcilicet.ſi quis ſanctorum
munerum deſiderio incenſus/ad eaq; percipiẽda pie affectus/paruitatis tamen
proprię conſcius/quempiam ſanctorũ virorum adeat/oretq; ſibi adiutorem
& precatorẽ accedere:capiet ex hoc omnino vtilitatẽ cõmoda cuncta
excedẽtẽ.fruetur enim ijs quæ petit ſacratiſſimis donis/ſuſcipiẽte diuina clementia:
atq; imprimis in eo amplectente religioſam cognitionem ſui/ reuerentiamq;
ſanctorum/& laudabile ſanctarũ petitionum a ſe poſtulatarum
deſiderium/conſentaneumq; his ſacratiorẽ habitũ.Eſt enim & hoc diuinis
ſancitum iudicijs:vt diuina munera ijs(qui digni ſunt ſumere)decentiſſimo
per eos tribuãtur ordine/qui ea tradere non ſunt indigni.Hanc ſi quis ſpernat
ſacroſanctam diſciplinam/atq; infœlici elatione ſeductus dignũ ſe diuina
arbitret̃ familiaritate/ſanctoſq; deſpiciat: hic certe ſi petitiones indignas
deo neq; ſacras poſtularit/ intentoq; careat diuinorum deſiderio/ ſibiq; ipſi
conſentaneo:imperita poſtulatione per ſeipſum nunq̃ potietur.¶ Quænã
vero de huiuſmodi prece(quam ſuper defuncto peragit præſul) ex diuinis S
ducibus noſtris traditio peruenit ad nos: operæpreciũ eſt vt dicamus. Venerandus
antiſtes(vt ſcriptura ait)interpres eſt iudiciorum diuinorum:angelus T
enim domini omnipotẽtis eſt. Didicit igitur de ſcripturis diuinitus V
traditis:vt ijs qui pie vixerũt/lucidiſſima diuinaq; vita pro merito ab ęquiſſimis
lãcibus redditur.non recordante diuina bonitate per ſummã clementiã
maculas:quæ illis ex humana infirmitate adhęſerũt. nullus enĩ (inquit) X
eſt mundus a labe.Iſta quidem nouit pontifex promiſſa a ſanctis eloquijs:
petit autem ea fieri/donariq; eisqui pie vixerunt/pręmia ſacra.ſimul quoq;
ſeipſum ad imitationes dei benignius formans/& aliorum dona quaſi proprias
expetens gratias:neq; ignorãs veras repromiſſiones futuras.pręſentibus
etiam aperte demonſtrat/ ꝙ quæ ab eo ſacro iure poſtulãtur: omnino
illi conſequentur qui in vita diuina conſummati ſunt.Neq; enim vnq̃ peteret
pontifex diuinæ iuſtificationis pręđicator:quę deo ſciret non eſſe gratiſſima/
& quę largiturum ſe ille nequaq̃ promiſiſſet. Quocirca prophanis vita
functis:non iſta imprecatur. non modo quia in hoc proprium deſereret
ordinem / & aliqua pontificalis officij præſumeret/ a diuino ſpiritu nequaq̃
agitatus:verum quia & indigne orãs non exaudiretur. atq; ad ipſum Y
non immerito illud diceretur eloquium iuſticiæ plenum: petitis & non accipitis/
quia male petitis.Poſtulat itaq; ſanctus antiſtes quę ſunt promiſſa diuinitus/
atq; accepta deo:& quæ largienda non ambigit/vna & diuinum ac
benignum habitum præferens clementiſſimi dei: & pręſentibus aperte inſinuans
quibus bonis donandi ſunt ſancti.Sic enim nituntur ſecernentibus
virtutibus præſules:quaſi interpretes iuſtificationum diuinarũ.non eorum
irrationabilibus motibus ſapientiſſima diuinitate(vt honeſte dixerim)obſequente
ſeruiliter:ſed ipſis pro merito eos qui a deo iudicati ſunt/miniſterio
ſuo ſeparantibus/ſpirituſq; ſancti inſpirationi obtemperantibus. Accipite
enim(inquit)ſpiritum ſanctum.quorũ remiſeritis peccata/remittuntur eis: Z

Cap. 7 pars 5

pp et quorū tenueritis/ retēta ſunt. Eiq; qui reuelationes diuinas a patre ſum-
mo didicerat: dicitur. quodcūq; ligaueris ſuper terrā: erit ligatū & in cœlis.
qq et quodcūq; ſolueris ſuper terrā: erit ſolutū & in cœlis. Sic profecto ille/ om-
niſq; illi ſimilis prȩſul iuxta paternarū iuſtificationū ſibi indultas reuelatio-
rr nes: declarādo et traducēdo/ deo charos admittit/ et excludit impios. Sāctā
deniq; illam theologiā (vt ſacra eloquia teſtantur) non ſuo motu/ neq; carne
et ſanguine reuelantibus: ſed a deo illum ſpiritualiter imbuēte edoctus pro-
nunciauit. In hunc igitur modū ſancti antiſtites & ſeparationibus & ſacer-
dotalibus virtutibus omnibus vti debent: vt ipſos myſteriorum author di-
uinitus mouerit. Cȩteros vero ita pōtificibus oportet animū intēdere/ quȩ-
ss cūq; illi geſſerit: tanq̃ a deo agitatis. qui enim (inquit) vos ſpernit: me ſper-
nit. ¶ Sed iam ad conſequētia dictæ orationis redeamus. Ea peracta/ pon- 122
tifex & ipſe ſalutat defunctum: & deinceps qui aſtant omnes. Eſt enim iu-
cundus atq; honorabilis omnibus diuinæ imaginis æmulis: is qui in ſancta

Quid ſup defunctum olei infuſio

conſūmatus eſt vita. ¶ Exacta ſalutatione: defuncto infundit oleum ponti- 123
fex. Memento autem/ vt in prima ſancta regeneratione ante ſacrum baptiſ-
ma: prima ſancti ſymboli participatio traditur initiando poſt priorē omnē
abiectam veſtem/ ſancti chriſmatis oleū. & nūc in fine omniū: defuncto iti-
dem infunditur oleum. Atqui tunc quidem olei vnctio: baptiſanduum euo-
cabat ad ſacra certamina. Nunc autem infuſum oleum ſignat eum qui de-
fūctus eſt: eadem ſacra exegiſſe certamina/ ſicq; fuiſſe cōſummatū. ¶ Pera- 124
ctis his: pontifex condit in loculo digniſſimo corpus cum alijs ſui ordinis
corporibus ſacris. Si enim in anima & corpore vitā ſanctā qui defunctus eſt
duxit: honorabile erit cum ſancta anima/ et quod ſacris ſudoribus cum illa
decertauit corpus. Hinc diuina iuſtitia cum ſuo corpore digna illi largitur
tt præmia: vt comiti atq; conſorti/ diuinæ ſiue cōtrariæ vitæ. Idcirco & ſancto-
rum ſacra functio: diuinas participationes largitur vtriq;. animȩ quidem: in
ſpeculatione puriſſima/ & vera eorum quæ geruntur ſcientia. corpori vero:
per ſacratiſſimum (vt in imagine loquamur) vnguentum. & per diuinȩ com-
munionis auguſtiſſima ſigna totum ſanctificans hominem/ integramq; ip-
ſius ſalutem operans: atq; vniuerſalibus luſtrationibus/ exactiſſimā eius re-
vv ſurrectionem fore denuncians. At vero efficientes conſecrationis preces/ fas
non eſt ſcripto interpretari: neq; ipſarum arcanum ſiue illas quæ in his ex
deo fiunt virtutes/ e ſecreto in publicū efferre. Sed ſicuti noſtra habet ſacro-
ſancta traditio: vbi eas ſecretioribus inſtructionibus hauſeris/ atq; ad ſacra-
tiorem habitum capacioremq; intelligentiā diuino amore ſacriſq; actioni-
bus conſummatus euaſeris: ad ſupremā ipſarum ſcientiam ſubueheris/ di-

De baptiſmo puerorum & infantium: timotheum alloquens.

uina luce radiatus. ¶ Illud vero ꝙ pueri quoq; qui necdū poſſunt intellgere 125
diuina/ ſacri baptiſmatis altiſſimorūq; communionis ſacroſanctæ ſignorū
participes fiāt: videtur quidem prophanis (vt dixiſti) rationabiliter irriden-
dum/ ſi auditores minus idoneos epiſcopi diuina edocent: & nō intelligen-
tibus/ ſanctas traditiones nequicq̃ tradunt. & quod adhuc ridiculoſius eſt:
alij pro ipſis abrenunciant/ ſanctaq; ineunt fœdera. ¶ Verum oportet tuā
ſanctam prudentiam errantibus non indignari: ſed religioſe ſimul et inſtru-

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1773/D

ctionis illorum gratia cum charitate rationē reddere/ & cōfutare obiecta.
et illud inſuper addere iuxta diuinas leges: quo pacto nō auguſtiora omnia/
noſtra ſcientia circūſcribūtur. & plurima ex ijs quæ ignoramus: cauſas
habent digniſſimas/ nobis quidem ignoratas/ verum præſtantioribus ordinibus
cognitas. Complura item ſummas illas altiſſimaſqꝫ ſubſtantias
latent: ſoliqꝫ ſapientiſſimæ ac ſapientiæ authori diuinitati nota ſunt. Verum xx
enim ea de re/ iſta quoqꝫ dicimus: quæ ſancti præceptores noſtri ex
priſtina traditione edocti ad nos deriuarunt. Aiunt enim (quod eſt veriſſimum)
infantes ſi ſancta lege formentur: ad ſacrum peruehendos habitum/
omni errore liberos & vitæ exortes impuræ. Iſtud cum pijſſimis ducibus
noſtris in mentem veniſſet: viſum eſt admittere infantes hoc modo/
vt naturales oblati paruuli parentes/ puerum vni ex fidelibus tradant pręclaro
diuinarum rerum magiſtro. ſub quo iam puer ſit: quaſi ſub patre diuino/
ſanctæqꝫ ſalutis alumno. Hunc itaqꝫ præſul ſpondentem/ puerum iuxta
ſanctam educaturū vitam: requirit vt abrenunciationem profiteatur/
fidemqꝫ confiteatur. non (vt illi ridētes aiunt) alium pro alio imbuit ſacris.
Neqꝫ enim hoc ille ait. ego pro puero abrenunciationes facio/ aut fidei ſacramenta
profiteor: ſed ita puer renunciat & profitetur. id eſt ſpondeo puerum
inducturum cum ad ſacram intelligentiam venerit/ ſedulis adhortationibus
meis: vt abrenunciet contrarijs omnino/ profiteaturqꝫ & peragat
diuina quæ pollicetur. Nichil igitur (vt reor) indignū eſt: ſi ad diuinū inſtitutum
puer adducitur/ ſanctum habens præceptorem: qui illi diuinarū rerum
habitum tradat/ malorumqꝫ ſeruet immunē. Tradit autē puero ſācta
myſteria pontifex: vt nutriatur in ipſis. neqꝫ vitā aliā habeat: niſi hanc quę
diuina inſpiciat ſemper/ & quæ huiuſmodi ſancta cōmunione ꝓficiat. atqꝫ
in his ſacrū poſſideat habitum: promoueaturqꝫ ſtudioſe a ſuſceptore ſuo.

De ſuſceptore puerorū in baptiſmo, & diligenter nota.

126 ❡Iſta fili tam multa & adeo præclara/ ſingulariaqꝫ functionis noſtræ ſpectacula
videre: michi datum eſt. Alij fortaſſe qui perſpicaciore animo ſunt:
non iſta ſolum inſpexere/ verum & manifeſtiora multo ac diuiniora. Et tibi
ipſi arbitror illucebunt clariores longe/ auguſtioreſqꝫ pulchritudines: ſi ad
excellentiorem radium/ his veluti gradibus nitaris. Michi igitur/ ipſe quoqꝫ
O amice/ perfectioris intelligentiæ conſortium trade: meiſqꝫ oſtende luminibus
quaſcunqꝫ videre potueris decentiores/ vniuſqꝫ illius ſacratiſſime effigiem
præſeferentes venuſtates. Nam confido equidem: ex ijs quæ dicta
ſunt/ inſitas tibi diuini ignis excitandas excudendaſqꝫ ſcintillas.

Pia & humilis ſacri patris concluſio ad Timotheum.

❡SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡Niſi enī crediderint (iuxta ſcripturę fidē) nō intelligēt. I
Sic nūc legimus in Eſaiæ cap. ſeptimo. ſi nō credideritis: nō ꝑmanebitis. tūc vero K
legebatur, nō intelligetis. ❡Oſtēdit per id profecto: oēs in regeneratione illas conſecuturos
ſortes/ ad quas hic vitam propriā direxerūt. In regeneratione: in reſurrectiōe/ quę L
fit ex corruptibili ad incorruptibile/ & ex mortali ad īmortale. ❡Suſcipiūt vero & āplectūtur
vita functū. Diuinarū promiſſionū cantica & lectiones ſuſcipiunt & āplectūtur vita M
functū: pio fauore cōmēdantes atqꝫ celebrantes. ❡Et intentata ſibi ſimilibus īpuris/ Ioan. 5.
infinita ſupplicia. Intētata: cōminata & parata. ꝓcedēt (inquit veritas) qui bona fecerūt: Matth. 25
in reſurrectionē vitæ. qui vero mala: in reſurrectionē iudicij. Et rurſū. ibunt hi in ſuppliciū N
æternū: iuſti autē in vitā æternā. ❡Licet multū ſane promiſſiones illæ ōni ſublimiores
noſtra mēte ſint. Vt promiſſiones lucis & quietis in finibus Abrahę/ Iſaac & Iacob.
de quibus dominus apud Lucam capite decimoſexto. Factum eſt autem vt moreretur

mẽdicus:& portaretur ab angelis in ſinum Abrahæ. Sunt & aliæ complures in ſacris litteris
paſſim repertæ promiſſiones: vt de voluptate fontis vitæ. de domo domini. de terra
viuentium. de regione viuorum. De voluptate. pſalmus triceſimus quitus. Inebriabuntur
ab vbertate domus tuæ:& torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos. quoniam apud
te eſt fons vitæ:& in lumine tuo videbimꝰ lumẽ. De domo domini. pſalmus cẽteſimus
viceſimus primus. Lętatus ſum in ijs quæ dicta ſunt michi: in domum domini ibimus.
De terra viuentium/& regione viuorũ. pſalmus cẽteſimus quadrageſimus primus. Clamaui
ad te domine:dixi tu es ſpes mea/portio mea in terra viuentium. & pſalmus centeſimus
O decimus quartus. Placebo domino:in regione viuorum. ¶Verum enim profecto
illud exiſtimandum eloquium eſt. Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. ſecundo.
Qꝫ oculus non vidit/nec auris audiuit/nec in cor hominis aſcendit: quæ præparauit
P deus ijs qui diligunt illũ. ¶Non ignoro quidem & ego: diuinis eloquijs accedens. Paulus
Q ad Galatas capite ſexto. Vnuſquiſqꝫ enim onus ſuum portabit. ¶Qꝫ autem & iuſtorum
preces etiam in vita iſta & nedum poſt mortem/ijs ſolis proſint qui digni ſunt.
Iuſtorum enim preces hac in vita prodeſſe & poſt mortem ijs qui digni ſunt: ſacrarũ litterarum
teſtatur authoritas. Qꝫ proſint in vita: Geneſis capite viceſimo. Et orabit pro
te quia propheta eſt:& viues. Orante autem Abraham: ſanauit deus Abimelech/& vxorem/
ancillaſqꝫ eius. Et Iacobus in epiſtola ſua capite quinto. Helias homo erat ſimilis
nobis paſſibilis/& oratione orauit vt non plueret ſuper terram: & non pluit annos tres
& menſes ſex. & rurſum orauit:& cœlum dedit pluuiam/& terra dedit fructum ſuum. Qꝫ
poſt mortem: liber Machabeorum ſecundus capite duodecimo. Sancta ergo & ſalubris
eſt cogitatio pro defunctis exorare: vt a peccatis ſoluantur. Et contra ꝙ indignis piorum
preces non ſuffragentur: Hieremias capite decimoquarto. Et dixit dominus ad
me. Noli orare pro populo iſto in bonũ. cum ieiunauerint: non exaudiam preces eorũ.
et ſi obtulerint holocauſtomata & victimas/non ſuſcipiam ea: quoniam gladio & fame
& peſte conſumam eos. Et de Samuele/quo orante pro Saule & populo: nichilominus
& Saul & populus in manus hoſtium corruere/neqꝫ quicquã eis profuit oratio prophetæ:
primus regum capite duodecimo. Dixit vniuerſus populus ad Samuelem: ora pro
ſeruis tuis ad dominum deum tuum. Samuel. Abſit autem a me hoc peccatum in domino:
vt ceſſem orare pro vobis. Et capite decimo quinto: lugebat Samuel Saul. Et triceſimo
primo. Dixit Saul ad armigerũ ſuum: euagina gladium tuũ/& percute me/ne forte
veniant incircunciſi iſti/& interficiant me illudentes michi. & noluit armiger eius. fu
erat enim nimio terrore perterritus. Arripuit itaqꝫ Saul gladium ſuũ: & irruit ſuper eũ.
quod cum vidiſſet armiger eius/videlicet ꝙ mortuus eſſet Saul: irruit etiam ipſe ſuper
gladium ſuum/& mortuus eſt cum eo. Mortuus eſt ergo Saul & tres filij eius/& armiger
R illius: & vniuerſi viri eius in die illa pariter. ¶Itaqꝫ ſcripturæ ſacræ acquieſcens/
vtiles eſſe in hac vita dixerim ſanctorum preces. Epiſtola Ioannis prima capite quinto.
Et hæc eſt fiducia quam habemus ad deum: quia quodcunqꝫ petierimus ſecundum
voluntatem eius/audit nos. & ſcimus quia audit nos: quicquid petierimus. ſcimus
quoniam habemus petitiones noſtras: quas poſtulamus ab eo. Qui ſcit fratrem ſuum
peccare peccatum non ad mortem: petat & dabitur ei vita/peccanti non ad mortem.
S eſt peccatum ad mortem: non pro illo dico vt oret quis. ¶Ex diuinis ducibus noſtris:
T traditio peruenit ad nos. Diuini duces noſtri: apoſtoli. ¶Venerandus antiſtes: vt ſcriptura
ait. Id ſuperius ex Malachia capite ſecundo adductum eſt. labia enim (inquit) ſacerdotis
cuſtodiunt ſcientiam: & legem requirent ex ore eius/quia angelus domini
V exercituum eſt. ¶Didicit igitur de ſcripturis diuinitus traditis. Hieremias capite viceſimo
quinto. Reddam eis ſecundum opera eorum: & ſecundum facta manuũ ſuarum.
Et Matthęus capite decimoſexto. Filius enim hominis venturus eſt in gloria patris
X ſui: & tunc reddet vnicuiqꝫ ſecundum opera eius. ¶Nullus enim inquit eſt mũdus
Y a labe. Tertius regum capite octauo. Non eſt enim homo: qui non peccet. ¶Atqꝫ ad ipſum
non immerito illud diceretur eloquium iuſtitiæ plenum. Epiſtola Iacobi cap. quarto.
Z Petitis & non accipitis: eo ꝙ male petatis. ¶Accipite enim inquit ſpiritũ ſanctũ. Ioannes
cap. viceſimo. Gauiſi ſunt ergo diſcipuli viſo domino. Dixit ergo eis iterum: pax
vobis. Et cum hoc dixiſſet: inſufflauit & dixit eis. Accipite ſpiritum ſanctũ. quorũ remiſeritis
PP peccata: remittũtur eis. & quorũ retinueritis: retẽta ſunt. ¶Eiqꝫ qui reuelatiões
diuinas a patre ſummo didicerat: dicit̃. Mattheꝰ cap. decio ſexto. Dixit illis IHESVS.
vos aũt quẽ me eſſe dicitis? Reſpõdẽs Simon Petrus dixit. tu es Chriſtus filiꝰ dei viui.

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Reſpondens autem IHESVS: dixit ei. Beatus es Simon Bariona/ quia caro & ſanguis
non reuelauit tibi: ſed pater meus qui in cœlis eſt. Et ego dico tibi/ quia tu es Petrus:
& ſuper hanc petrā ædificabo eccleſiā meā. & portæ inferi non præualebunt aduerſus
eā. Et tibi dabo claues regni cœlorū. & quodcunq; ligaueris ſuper terrā: erit ligatū & in
cœlis. & quodcunq; ſolueris ſuper terrā: erit ſolutū & in cœlis. ¶ Sic profecto ille/ oīſq; qq
illi ſimilis præſul. Ille/ ille Petrus. ¶ Sanctā deniq; illā theologiā. Illa eſt quę paulo ante rr
ex Matthęo cap. decimoſexto adducta eſt. tu es CHRISTVS filius dei viui. ¶ Qui enī ss
inquit vos ſpernit: me ſpernit. Lucas capite decimo. Qui vos audit: me audit. & qui vos
ſpernit: me ſpernit. qui autē me ſpernit: ſpernit eum qui me miſit. ¶ Vt comiti atq; conſorti tt
diuinæ/ ſiue contrariæ vitæ. Vita diuina eſt: qua ſecundū virtutem & perfectionem
omnem (q̄tum nobis conceditur: & ad ſortis noſtræ conditionē attinet) diuinā ducimus
vitam: illius ſummi veri/ ſummiq; boni imitatricē. Cōtraria vero vita: impura eſt/ fœda/
vicijs horrēs/ & a diuina imitatione (propter quā ſunt omnia) prorſus delapſa/ nichil cœleſte/
nichilq; diuinum habens. ſed iam horrendarū tenebrarum confuſionis plenarum
præ ſe ferens horrorē/ & confuſionis imaginē. quā ſumma clementia ab omnibus auertat:
qui ex ſanctæ regenerationis expurgatione facti ſunt ſui filij. & ab omnibus: quos in
altioribus huius diuinæ/ & ſolorū diuinorū ęmulæ hierarchiæ ſtatibus cōſūmauit ac perfecit.
¶ At vero efficientes conſecrationis preces: fas non eſt ſcripto interpretari. Quæ vv
ſint illæ conſecrationis preces & diuinæ inuocationes (quæ in quieſcentibus & aliorum
ſacramentorū conſummationibus fiebāt) pijſſimus pater/ reuerēter ſilentio veneratur.
Nunc vero noſtrę tēpeſtatis pōtifices & ſacerdotes: ſacris vtuntur imprecationibus/ ex
ordinatione ſanctorū traditis. quæ ab ijs qui digni ſunt/ in libris ſacramentaliū myſteriorū
& videri & legi queunt. qui tamen ad ea legēda/ illiſq; vtendum conſummati non
ſunt: legere non debent. vt neq; ſacrata vaſa tāgere: qui illius altiſſimæ & ōnino perficiētis
ſcientiæ nondū participes facti ſunt. ſed ignorātia multos ad temerariā & inſolentem
eleuat ſuperbiā. Studeat igitur quiſq; ſacroſancta ſacramentorū myſteria (quæ pluſq̄ humana
ſunt) digna veneratione proſequi/ non efferri/ nō inſoleſcere/ nichil temere audere
vltra id quod ſuo attinet ſtatui/ ſuæq; ſorti: neq; infra ſui ſtatus dignitatē deijci & vileſcere
(quā non ex ſe: ſed ex ſacramentorū participatione & ſacramentorū authore cogitet)
tanq̄ degener & diuinā effigiē diuinūq; munus in ſe velut ingratus non recognoſcēs.
Nā & hic eſſet inſipientiæ filius iumēto ſtolido comparatus/ & nō CHRISTI: qui
dei ſapientia eſt. & ille ſuperbiæ filius & nō CHRISTI: qui veræ eſt humilitatis forma
& archetypus. & vterq;: perditionis filius. ¶ Quæ ſancti præceptores noſtri ex priſtina xx
traditione edocti: ad nos deriuarunt. Sancti præceptores noſtri: Paulus/ Hierotheus/ &
ſiqui tales beato patri illuminationis & perfectioris diſciplinę cōtulerāt munus. Et videntur
ſtatim a principio/ noſtræ ſpiritualis generationis duces: prouidiſſe infantes &
paruulos baptiſandos/ & ſacramentorum ritus (ſpiritu ſancto monſtrante) inſtituiſſe. Et
ideo hic dicitur. quæ ſancti præceptores noſtri ex priſtina traditione edocti: ad nos deriuarunt.
hoc eſt ex apoſtolica traditione a principio legis gratiæ tributę: diuina benignitate
largitrice condita. Eſt enim priſtinum: quod ſuperioribus annis/ menſibus/ diebus/
& noſtra quoq; memoria fuit. Et videtur hic commodius ex priſtina traditione q̄ antiqua
ſcribi debere: ſed non vſq;adeo curioſe plerumq; ſeruatur ſermonis proprietas.
Et hęc hactenus ſunt: quę multa religionis pietate a beatiſſimo patre de noſtrę humanę
hierarchię ſacramentis dicta ſunt. ¶ Vbi id aduertendum eſt/ beatiſſimū patrē in vniuſcuiuſq;
ſacramenti myſteriorum declaratione: tripartitam obſeruaſſe determinationem.
in cuius prima parte quaſi accedentes purgat/ præparatq; ad ſacratiorem intelligentiam.
in ſecunda illuminat. & in tertia de ſpiritu litteræ perficit & cōſummat. Et ex his
quęcunq; magnifica ſunt/ & de ſacramentis contemplatione digna: cognoſcere promptum
eſt. ¶ Quod vt apertius cognoſcatur: id minime latendū eſt/ eos qui nunc de ſacramentis
tractāt: illa in ſeptē partiri. quę quidē nuncupāt: baptiſmū/ cōfirmationē/ eucharistiā/ De ſeptem
pœnitentiā/ vnctionē extremam/ ſacrum ordinem & coniugiū. Et de baptiſmo ſacramētis.
cap. ſecundo. diuinā & ſufficientiſſimā beatus pater cōpleuit determinationē. ¶ Confirmatio Baptiſinus
vero chariſmatūq; ſacramentū/ ſub digniſſimi vnguenti teleta. cap. quarto cōtinetur. Cōfirmatio
in qua nunc manus pontificis fit impoſitio/ & ex ſacro chriſmate in ipſius cōfirmati
fronte viuificę crucis impreſſio/ ſanctiſſima imprecatio/ tonſioq; capillorū. & hoc ſacramentū
queādmodū & reliqua: ex apoſtolis intelligitur inſtitutū. Cū enī audiſſet apoſto-

li qui erant in Hieroſolymis(vt capite octauo actuum apoſtolorum legitur) quia Samaria
receptiſſet verbum dei: miſerunt ad eos Petrum & Ioannem. Qui cū veniſſent/ orauerunt
pro ipſis: vt acciperent ſpiritum ſanctū. tunc imponebant manus ſuper illos: & accipiebant
ſpiritum ſanctū. Et quid manus pontificis impoſitio/ quid vitale ſignū/ quid
chriſmatis inunctio/ quid crinium ſciſſio/ quæ myſterialia ſunt: ex beatiſſimo patre ſuis in
correſpondentibus locis diſce. Non enim vlterius noſtra/ neqꝫ cuiuſq̄ alterius intereſt/
ſine manifeſta diuina motione aut ſacrarū litterarū authoritate: diuinorum myſteriorū
ſecretiorem & quę ſupra nos eſt intelligentiam præſumere. verum cum reuerentia omni/
omniqꝫ veneratiõe in timore & ſobrietate: quæ diuina dictat authoritas/ aut quę ipſa
afflat diuinitas/ de ſanctificationibus ſolum loqui audere. alioqui timeant: ne ſanctarum
ſanctificationū non fiant participes. Et in libris myſteriorū legitur hoc ſacramentū dari
ſolitū: ſtatim poſt regenerationis lauacrū. nūc vero in hac infœlicitate noſtrorū tēporū/
ad id ſacramenti pueros ducunt nullo pacto inſtructos/ nullo præparatos modo: qui ferme
ſacramentū ridētes/ myſteria pene cum cachinnis ſuſcipiunt. Et vtinam cum hoc ſacramento
initiatus ſum: intellexiſſem me ad ſancti ſpiritus ſuſcipienda chariſmata perductum.
Euchariſtia ¶De ſanctiſſima ſynaxi quam dicunt euchariſtiam: piā ſacratus pater pro fragilitatis
humanæ poſſibilitate executus eſt toto capite tertio determinationē/ quā nec angeli
Pœnitētia. ſufficerent laudare. ¶Et quia pœnitentes de ordine purgandorum ſunt & extra eccleſiaſticā
hierarchiam/ neqꝫ diuinorum contuitu neqꝫ tanto magis deifica cōmunionis
participatione dignati(vt ex cap. ſexto cognoſcitur) non videtur piū patrē de eorū pœnitentia
āplius protrahere oportuiſſe ſermonē/ & ſanctiſſimis inſeruiſſe teletis. quæ quidem
ſuſcipiendorum perficientiū ſacramentorū potius præparatio quædam introitus
& ianua/ q̄ ſacramentū eſſe videtur. Hic autem de ſacramētis aut mundorū/ aut quæ ſtatim
mundant & ſacrorū conſortiū tradūt: proſecutus eſt determinationem. Et iuſta miſericordia
diuina/ & miſericors iuſtitia ſemper a nobis multū adorāda eſt: quę nobis cadentibus/
fidefragis/ & a ſua militia defectoribus: neqꝫ ſemel neqꝫ bis/ ſed quotieſcunqꝫ/
pœnitentiā ſalutarē in benignā recōciliationem miſericorditer indulſit. ¶Sed parū fortaſſe
dixiſſe videbimur/ pœnitentiā: introitū quendam & ianuā ſacramentorū eſſe. Eritne
ad tam benignam reconciliationē & mortiferorū peccatorum medelam ordinatū ſacramentū:
cū & ad veterē abolendā parentū maculā ordinatū ſit vnū? ¶Nos vero dicimus
baptiſmum/ nō tā ad delendā nobis a parētibus inſitā maculā: q̄ ad adoptionē in filios/
ad ſpiritualē generationē & illuminationē eſſe ordinatū: etſi ad hæc/ ſequatur macularū
oīm deletio. veluti oriente luce: protinus tenebræ vaneſcūt. neqꝫ lux eſt tā ad tenebrarū
fugam: q̄ ad illuminationē/ & ad pulchritudinis ſuæ opes & bonitatem cōmunicandā.
Nichilominus tamē forſitan inficias nullus ibit: circa peccatorū remiſſionē prouiſum
eſſe ſacramentū. Dominus enim noſtrū inuiſibile(ſi ita dici licet) ſacramentū/ noſtrorū
viſibiliū indultor ſacramentorū: vt inſtituit & poteſtatē fecit baptiſare/ & ſanctū
Ioan.20. panē & benedictionis calicē conficere: ita & peccata dimittere. accipite inquit ſpiritū ſanctū.
quorū remiſeritis peccata: remittuntur eis. & quorū retinueritis: retenta ſunt. Et ipſe
Matth.9. apud Matthęū peccata dimittit/ & clamat: vt autē ſciatis quia filius hominis habet poteſtatem
in terra/ dimittendi peccata. Et eſt ab eccleſia prouide forma/ peccata dimittēdi
ordinata: & manus ſacerdotalis impoſitio/ & reconciliandi humiliatio. Quis igitur nō
videat id eſſe ſacramentale? & viſibilem ſacerdotem: inuiſibilis noſtri pontificis gerere
perſonam? & manus impoſitionē/ & ſanctam imprecationē: ſignū eſſe diuinæ benignitatis
ad nos ſeſe clementiſſime(vt nos ſibi reconciliet/ vt iterū ſecū inſerat) inclinātis? Vnde
ſatis cognoſcere promptū eſt: hoc ſacramentū iterū rite appellari poſſe remiſſionis
peccatorū/ & reconciliationis ſacramentū. Cognoſci item poteſt: cur deficientiū errata
audire/ ſacerdotibus ſit cōmiſſum(neqꝫ quidē id ab re fit) vt ad quos ſolos pertineat ſacramēta
Pſal.29. miniſtrare. Et ideo ad apoſtolos dixit miſericordiſſimus dominus: in cuius voluntate
Ioan.20. vita eſt. quorū remiſeritis peccata: remittuntur eis. & quorū retinueritis: retēta
ſunt. Illa profecto retinent: quæ ad eorū notitiam nō veniūt. nō enim remittūt: quæ neſciunt.
Matth.18. Et apud Mattheum. Amen dico vobis/ quæcunqꝫ alligaueritis ſuper terrā: erunt
ligata & in cœlo. & quæcunqꝫ ſolueritis ſuper terrā: erunt ſoluta & in cœlo. Tunc accedens
Petrus ad eum dixit: domine quotiens peccabit in me frater meus/ & dimittam ei?
vſqꝫ ſepties? Dixit illi IHESVS. non dico tibi vſqꝫ ſepties: ſed vſqꝫ ſeptuagies ſepties.
¶Habet itaqꝫ hoc ſacramentū pœnitudinem/ confeſſionem & ſatiſfactionem(vt efficax

ſit)neceſſarias comites. pœnę autē quæ poſt ſuſceptū ſacramentū interdum ponuntur: non tā neceſſariæ q̄ arbitrariæ eſſe videntur/nunc pœnitentiæ nunc ſatiſfactioni (vbi ſufficientes illę per ſe haberi nō poſſunt) accōmodatæ. Vt enim ei qui ad ſanctas regenerationis aquas accedit: ſi non tenebroſę militię renunciat/ſi CHRISTO & eius ſacris nō conſentit: ſanctum non conceditur ſacramentum. ita ei qui de defectione ſua pœnitētia non ducitur (quę dolor eſt de ſummæ bonitatis offenſione/& præceptorū eius tranſgreſſione) minime hoc ſacramentū miniſtrari debet. Inquit enim dominus ſi peccauerit frater tuus/& pœnitentiā egerit: dimitte ei. & ſi ſepties in die peccauerit in te/& ſepties in die conuerſus fuerit ad te dicens/pœnitet me: dimitte illi. Vides igitur pœnitentiā/non modo aliorū ſed & huius ſacramenti eſſe ianuā: a qua & ſortitum eſt vſitatius nomen ſuum. ¶Et confeſſionem debere eſſe comitem: nos ſumma clementia per prophetā Eſaiā ſalubriter inſtruit. dic tu (inquit) iniquitates tuas: vt iuſtificeris. Addunt & comitē ſatiſfactionem: vt in iuſtitia deo reconciliemur/qui per iniuſtitiam prolapſi ſumus. Et hęc ſatiſfactio intelligitur. ſi ceciderimus per ſuperbiā: nos ſatiſfacere oportere per veram humilitatem. ſi per irrationabilem iræ motum: per māſuetudinem. ſi per inuidiam/aut maliuolentiam: per dilectionem & charitatem. ſi per acediam: illam per cōtinuum diuinæ imitationis exercitiū redimere debebimus. ſi per intemperantiam aut gulæ aut venereæ: per temperantiæ (quæ præ ſe ferat cœleſtem munditiam) puritatem. ſi per auaritiā: per noſtrorum bonorū miſericordē in pauperes & pia opera erogationem. deniq; ſi per iniuſtitiam aliena detenta ſunt/aut cuiq̄ facta iniuria: per detenti & iniurię diſſolutionē. Qui enim hæc faciunt: ſatiſfactionē habent quam huic recōciliationis ſacramento oportet eſſe aſſeclam & comitem. Quomodo enim ad ſanctificantes & perficientes teletas quis accedere auſit iniuſtus? nō ſanctificatio reuera: ſed virum iniuſtum (vt propheta canit) mala capiunt in interitu. ¶Pœna autem poſt ſacramenti ſuſceptionem: ideo interdum committitur. ꝙ licet peccata dimiſſa ſint: nondum tamen mundi intelliguntur/& ſufficienter purgati/donec condigne pœnitentiam compleuerint/& quantum in ipſis eſt prioribus iniuſtitijs ſatiſfecerint: ſacrorum contuitu & participatione iam digni adiudicati. Sed hac in re plerumq; homines delinquere ſolent grauiſſime: ſacrorum contuitū & eorum cōmunicationem priuſq̄ ſufficienter mundi ſunt præſumentes. Et hæc ſuperbia deo deteſtabilis (quæ ex ignorantia ſui prouenit) multos trahit in ruinam. Ideo prudentia ſacerdotum (debēt enim ſacerdotes eſſe diſcreti: qui ſub CHRISTO inſpectore pœnas ponunt) quædā illis facienda conſtituit/nunc ad inſufficientem pœnitudinem ſupplendam/nūc vero ad ſatiſfactionis aliter impoſſibilitatem. Et gratiæ ſummæ clementiæ/quæ terrenis principibus ſimilis non eſt: qui in ſemel a ſe deficientes milites/ex deditionibus aduerſariorum ad ſe reuertentes/pœnitentes licet & ſupplices: plerumq; capitis ſupplicio/aut grauiore cenſura animaduertunt. neq; eos ſecundo/neq; tertio: ad miſericordiam recipiunt. Diuina autem clementia quę dominus dominantium eſt/& princeps principantium: nos quotienſcunq; pœnituerit ex ſuis hoſtibus ad ſe reuertentes/ad benigniſſimæ reconciliationis ſuæ admittit ſacramentum.

Comites ſacramēti remiſſiōis peccatorum.
Pœnitētia.
Lucæ.17.
Confeſſio.
Eſa.43.
Satiſfactio.
Pſal.139.
Pœna impoſita.

¶Et ſi volumus ordines qui extra noſtrā humanā hierarchiā ſunt/quę iuxta eloquium eſt/nō habēs maculā/aut rugā/aut aliquid huiuſmodi: ſed eſt ſancta & īmaculata/quia adhuc immūdi ſunt: amplius cognoſcere. catechumini profecto ijs ſimiles ſunt: qui in matris vtero nichil habent pręter obſcurū ſerpentis virus in primis parentibus noxie inſtillatū/& in totā progeniē (quā ſpiritus ſancti claritas & ſāctificatio nō pręuenit) deriuatū. Apoſtatę vero prorſꝰ impœnitētes: ſimiles ſūt obſcurę noctis poteſtatibus de cœlo prolapſis/quibus neq; in hoc ſęculo neq; in altero remittitur. Porro energumini ſimiles ſunt tyrannorū ſeruis: qui duro ſeruitutis iugo preſſi crudelia tyrannis (in quorū ſeruitio nati ſunt/aut quoquo alio miſerabili euentu deuenerūt) coguntur pendere tormēta. Verū apoſtatę pœnitētes: ſimiles ſunt noſtris primis parētibus de paradyſo poſt ſuā defectionē eiectis/iam ſupplices ad deū tendētibus palmas/iā ſingultibus occupatis/iā lachrymis perfuſis/neglectis/ſqualentibus/diuinam cōmiſerationē (quę ſola ſua bonitate attrahi vult/& gaudet) attrahentibus: & ad ſe & ad nos ſua cauſa miſeros/maximū & incognitum (niſi filijs vitę) ſacramentum IHESVM noſtrum ſalutare incarnatum. & qui ſolum nos erat glorificaturus: venit per pœnitētiam noſtrā & ſuam pręcipue premouentem bonitatem & redempturus & glorificaturus. Sed religionis noſtrę puritas de hoc tam pio noſtrę reconciliationis officio: multa ad benignarum mentium conſo-

Ephe.5.
Catechumini.
Apoſtatæ.
Energumini.
Pœnitētes.

Cap. 7 pars 3

lationem/& illuminationē reliquit. quæ ſi noſtra ſæcula ſalutari luce cognitionis dānata non eſſent: pallantes paſſim oues ad vitales caulas CHRISTI vitæ paſtoris in omni ſanctimonia reconciliatos cogerent. Sed hæc ſatis: nunc ad reliqua tranſeamus.

Extrema vnctio.

Iacobi. 5.

¶Vnctionis (quam extremam dicunt) ſancto chriſtianitatis voto dignam: ſeptimum caput cōpleuit determinationem. Fiebat eo in tempore ſupra iam dormientes: corporibus magna munditię cura ab illuuiebus (quas terrenæ mortis neceſſitas/ & diſſolutionis clauſtri vitæ violentia/ plerumq; ſecum afferre ſolent) purgatis/ & ad viuificationis noſtræ matrē adductis. Nūc vero faciunt ſuper extreme (vt humana fert coniectura) laborātes: īducti beatiſſimi Iacobi apoſtoli authoritate dicētis. Triſtatur quis veſtrū: oret æquo animo/ & pſallat. infirmatur quis ex vobis: inducat preſbyteros eccleſię & orent ſuper eū/ vngentes eū oleo in nomine dn̄i. & oratio fidei ſaluabit infirmum: & alleuiabit eū dn̄s. & ſi in peccatis ſit: remittentur ei.

¶Et dubiū non eſt: vtrāq; inunctionem/ tempore apoſtolorū fieri ſolitā. Sed cū pro ſalute infirmantiū/ ſuffragia preſbyterorū & inunctio petebantur: non pręſtolabatur ſūma rerū deſperatio. immo vt in libris myſteriorū adhuc legitur/ eccleſiæ lōgiſſimus fuit mos: preſbyteros/ orationes & inunctionē per ſeptē dies (ſi oportere videbatur) cōtinuare pro ſalute infirmātiū/ ad deū votis & inuocationibus ſupplices.

Sacer ordo

Diuiſio ordinum.

Hoſtiarij

Lectores

Exorciſtę

Acoliti

Hypodiaconi

Diaconi

Preſbyteri

¶De ſacris vero ordinibus quintū cap. exequitur. qui quidē ſunt: cōſecratio pontificis/ cōſecratio ſacerdotis & cōſecratio miniſtri. pōtifex perficit/ preſbyter illuminat/ & miniſter purgat. neq; a diuinæ & ſupermundanę hierarchiæ imitatione: vſquequaq; fit deuiatio. Nūc aūt aliter diſtribuūt ordines in ſeptē: ſcilicet ī ordinē hoſtiariorū/ lectorū/ exorciſtarū/ acolitorū/ hypodiaconorū/ diaconorū & preſbyterorū. pōtificis vero: dignitatē ponūt/ & officiū. Hoſtiarij: pro foribus tēpli aſtant. Lectores: pſalmos cū ſacerdotibus & pontifice cōcinūt. Exorciſtæ: ad ſoluendos energuminos adiurationes callēt. Acoliti: ignē & aquā tēplo ſubminiſtrāt. Hypodiaconi in ſacrario ſeruiunt/ res ſacras nōnullas manibus tractantes. Diaconi ſanctā ſtolā accipiētes: euangeliū recitāt. Preſbyteri vero ipſi ſunt ſacerdotes: qui iam ſanctū cōmunionis conficiunt ſacramentū. Et hoſtiarios/ lectores/ exorciſtas/ acolitos/ hypodiaconos & diaconos: hos omnes beatus pater nomine miniſtrorū cōpræhendit.

Coniugiū.

Ephe. 5.

¶Et de matrimonio nichil beatus cōmeminit pater: ꝙ hoc ſacramentū quodā modo pręueniat eccleſiā. cepit enim in paradyſo ſua initia: diuinę cōiunctionis & humanę ſymbolū. diuinę CHRISTI ęterni ſponſi/ & eccleſiæ: vnionis ſignū. quę in ſōno CHRISTI in viuifica cruce ex eiꝰ coſta & latere formata eſt: vnde ſāguis redēptionis ſpōſę & aqua ablutionis eius in omni ſanctificatione effluxit. Et id myſteriū nos docet Paulus ad Epheſios cap. quinto. Viri inquit diligite vxores veſtras: ſicut & CHRISTVS dilexit eccleſiam/ & ſeipſū tradidit pro ea vt illā ſanctificaret. et ſacramentum hoc: magnū eſt (inquit) ego autē dico in CHRISTO & in eccleſia. Vnde perſpicuū iā euaſit/ diuinū patrem nichil prorſus eorū omiſiſſe: quę ſuo conducerent inſtituto. & nos poſſe colligere/ ſacramenta ſic iterum rite poſſe nuncupari.

Sacramētorū nomina

1 Sacramentum baptiſmi: regenerationis/ illuminationis.
2 Sacramentum confirmationis: chariſmatum/ donorum ſpiritus ſancti.
3 Sacramentum euchariſtiæ: ſynaxis/ communionis.
4 Sacramentum pœnitentiæ: reconciliationis/ remiſſionis peccatorum.
5 Sacramētum extremæ vnctionis: partim viſitationis īfirmorū/ partim ſancte quieſcētiū.
6 Sacramentū ſacrorū ordinū: ſanctarū conſummationū.
7 Sacramentum matrimonij: coniugij/ CHRISTI & eccleſiæ.

& id exploratū haberi/ ſacramentum reconciliationis non ſtatim mundos & puros efficere/ & communionis participes: quod baptiſmo/ confirmationi/ euchariſtiæ/ ſacro ordini/ & ad beatam quietem vnctioni conuenit. de quibus ſolis: exactam beatiſſimus pater ſuſcepit determinationem. & coniugium in ſua ſignificatione: eccleſiæ ſacramenta quæ ſponſa eſt (& quæ nunc debet ſponſo CHRISTO multos ſpirituales filios: ſi tenebræ eius lucem non occupaſſent) præuenire. CHRISTVS enim prius ſponſā delegit: q̄ ſacramenta ad ipſius & ſuæ prolis veram ſanctificationem inſtituerit. in cuius coniugio totus mundus quantū potuit: & ſupra humanū affatū/ ſupra mentē omnē & cogitatū/ & exaltatus eſt & ſublimatus. Ipſi igitur ſupreme ſanctificato & ſanctificanti ſpōſo: ab vniuerſa eccleſia eius ancilla & ſponſa/ pro vniuerſis eius beneficis largitionibus & ineffabilibus teletis/ & ſanctificationibus (quas propter nos ſua ſola bonitate motus indulſit: & per ſuum ſanctiſſimum antiſtitem oculis noſtris contemplandas ſubiecit) ſit ſuper nos

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ſemper & laus/& gratiarum actio. AMEN.

❡TERTIAE PARTIS SEPTIMI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM

114 Spiritualem intelligentiã eorũ quæ circa ſancte quieſcentes fieri dicta
ſunt/aſſignat hic ſacer Dionyſius:id vnũ pręmittẽs/ ꝙ ſi iſta viderint
ĩcreduli & noſtræ fidei expertes quę ſuper pie defũctis religioſe ex inſtituto
eccleſiaſtico peragũtur/aut ſi ea fieri a nobis Chriſtianis audie
rint:effuſe cachinnum mouebunt/& cõmiſeratione quadã ducentur
ſuper noſtro(vt putant)errore aut ſuperſtitione. Verum non id miran
dum eſt ſi profuſe hęc rideant/aut errore trahi nos arbitrentur: quoniam
115 iuxta ſcripturę teſtimonium/niſi crediderint:non intelligent. ❡Atqui noſipſi ſacrã
Eſaiæ.7.
profeſſi fidem/& ſpiritualem myſticũq; ſenſum eorũ quę circa defunctos geruntur perſcrutantes/
ipſo IHESV ductore & illuminatore noſtro:exiſtimemus imprimis non irra
tionabiliter a pontifice id fieri/ꝙ defunctum introducat in ſacram fidelium congregationem/
officio & gradui defuncti conformem. Vt ſi ſacro fuerit ordine inſignitus: inter
ſacri ordinis viros ante ſummũ altare deponitur. ſi vero de monachorũ ordine aut ſanctę
plebis fuerit:eo in loco ante ſacrariũ collocatur vbi monachi & plebs ſancta in templo
ſtare conſueuit. Oſtendit enim per id pontifex/omnes in ęterna illa beatitudine/eas
habituros manſiones & ſedes:ad quas hic ſuã per opera propria vitam direxerunt. Exempli
gratia. ſi ad diuinã propemodũ ſimilitudinẽ(quantum poteſt homo eam aſſequi)
quiſpiã hic viuens euaſerit:requiem in cœlo perfectiſſimã & diuinã conſequetur. Si autem
hic degens ad exactiſſimam illam dei imitationem nõ attigerit/ſanctã tamen duxe
116 rit vitam:conſentanea ſuis operibus etiã pręmia recipiet. ❡Propter hanc autẽ diuinæ
æquitatis/reddentis cuiq; iuxta opera ſua/rectitudinẽ: ipſe pontifex gratias agẽs deo/
orationẽ ad ipſum fundit/& ſummam deitatẽ dignis laudibus prędicat. per quã deſtructũ
eſt tyrannicũ hoſtis antiqui in nos omnes imperium/quo violente in hominum genus
graſſabatur:& noſipſi ad æternæ glorię præmia iuſte nobis a deo adiudicata traducti
117 ſumus. ❡Cæterum diuinarum promiſſionũ de futura reſurrectione & cœleſti pręmio
cantica & lectiones quę recitantur: exprimũt apertius illam fœliciſſimam requiem/ ad
quã perducuntur habendam perpetuo/qui ſancte in CHRISTO quieuerunt. Eadem
quoq; promiſſionũ cãtica & lectiones pio fauore cõmendãt & proſequũtur ipſũ vita defunctũ:
& ipſos itidẽ viuẽtes ad conſimilẽ in domino vitę cõſummationẽ obtinendã inci
118 tãt. ❡Porro in his pie quieſcentiũ exequijs/nõ oẽs(vt in aliorũ ſacramẽtorũ myſterijs/
ſcilicet euchariſtiæ & cõfectionis vnguẽti:fieri ſolitũ eſt)purgãdi ordines/tẽplo excludũ
tur:ſed ſoli catechumini foribus ipſis ſacrorũ locorũ prohibẽtur. Siquidem catechuminorũ
ordo:omnis ſacri myſterij penitus expers eſt & ignarus. neq; illi fas eſt quicquam
aut magni aut parui momenti inſpicere ex ijs:quæ in eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ myſterijs
ſancte peraguntur. Nondum enim ordo ille eam conſecutus eſt virtutis participationem:
quæ ad diuina cõſpicienda promouet & erigit. ꝙ illa virtus:ex diuina regenera
tione baptiſmali/ illuminationis ſacræ elargitrice: primũ proueniat/cuius quidẽ regenerationis/
idem ordo necdum eſt particeps. Reliqui vero purgandorũ ordines: apoſtatæ/
energumini/ pœnitentes/perceperunt ſanctam regenerationem:& ſacrorum my
ſteriorum rationem atq; inſtitutionem didicerunt. Verũ quoniam imprudenter ad deteriora
prolapſi ſunt opera:cum deberent aſſiduo conatu in anteriora tendere/ & ad ampliorem
virtutis profectum incumbere:idcirco ſanctiſſimis ſacrorũ ſignorum (quæ in eu
chariſtię & vnguenti cõfectione peraguntur)inſpectionibus & participationibus/& merito
quidem excluduntur. Grauius enim ſalutis detrimentũ incurrerẽt/ ſi indigne ſacra
huiuſmodi perciperent:atq; ad maiorẽ decũberent diuinarum iuſſionum & ſuipſorum
contemptum. Non irrationabiliter autem aſſunt reliqui tres purgandorum ordines/ ijs
quæ nunc geruntur ſuper ſancte defunctis: coram intuentes exemplo eius qui obdormiuit/
q̃ incertus eſt nobis aduentus mortis/ diſcentes itidem aperte ipſa ſanctorum
æterna præmia: diuinarum litterarum corroborata teſtimonio/& intermina etiam ſupplicia
: ijs qui ſimiliter vt ipſi / impure viuunt & ſordide/ comminata . vnde potiſſimum
119 ad meliorem vitæ frugem reuocari queunt. ❡Nempe ex ijs & viſis & auditis:
haud dubie magnum profectum aſſequi poſſunt ipſi reliqui purgandorum ordines.
cum ſcilicet vident eum qui pie obdormiuit in domino/ſanctorum miniſtrorum præconio
laudari: tanquam iam vere factum participem conſortij ciuium cœleſtium.

Forſan & ipſi apoſtatæ/ energumini & pœnitentes/ ad ſimilis vitæ & fœlicis conſummationis
deſiderium prouocabuntur: cum miniſtrorum fuerint inſtructione edocti/ q̃ ſit 120
optanda & vere fœlix in CHRISTO obdormitio. ¶ Poſt hæc ſacratus pontifex orationem
ad deum ſuper mortuū effundit/ deinde illum ſalutat. & cæteri omnes qui aſtāt ſuo
quiſq; ordine poſt pontificē/ defunctum ſalutant. Ipſa autem pontificis oratio diuinam
precatur bonitatem: vt ipſi defuncto cuncta dimittat peccata per fragilitatē humanam
commiſſa/ illumq; collocet in lucis perpetuæ habitaculo ac regione viuorum/ in ſinibus
Abrahæ/ Iſaac & Iacob/ & in eo cœleſtis manſionis loco: vnde ſecundū diuinā apocalypſim
Apo.7. tollitur omnis luctus/ dolor & gemitus. Iſta ſane quæ modo nominata ſunt: cumulatiſſima
ſunt & ampliſſima beatorū pręmia/ omnē rerū dignitatē tranſcendentia. Quid
enim obſecro immortalitati perpetuæ/ nulla vnq̃ triſtitia obnubilatæ & ſempiterno lumine
chоruſcanti/ comparari queat? Et ſane promiſſiones illæ fœlicitatis æternæ/ lōge ampliores
ſunt & exuberantiores: q̃ mens humana capere poſſit aut concipere. Qꝫuis autem
nominibus nobis accommodatis & noſtræ intelligentiæ congruentibus plerumqꝫ
illę deſignentur promiſſiones: vt nomine lucis/ quietis/ voluptatis/ terrę viuentium/ fontis/
vitę & cæteris id genus: illæ tamen appellationes longe inferiores ſunt & contractiores/
q̃ res ipſa quæ ſignatur & veritas ipſa cœleſtium præmiorum. quandoquidem verum
exiſtimare debemus illud diuinum eloquium: nobis a Paulo expreſſum. ꝙ nec oculus
1.corin.2. vidit/ nec auris audiuit/ neqꝫ in cor hominis aſcendit: quę pręparauit deus diligentibus
ſe. Sinus autem ſanctorū patriarcharū iam nominatorū/ eſſe putandi ſunt/ beatiſſimæ
cœleſtis regni ſedes: quæ omnes diuina per virtutū imitationē effigie inſignitos in 121
ſe ſuſcipiūt/ in gloria īmarceſſibili ac ſempiterna requie. ¶ Mouet deinde hoc loco dubitationem
ſacratiſſimus pater circa petitionis ipſius pontificis orandiqꝫ modum. Dicet
(inquit) fortaſſe quiſpiam/ quæ præmiſſa ſunt/ recte quidem & vere dicta eſſe: verū ambiguitatem
emergere/ quam ob cauſam pontifex diuinam implorat benignitatem/ ipſi
defuncto veniam peccatorum poſtulans: & æternam cum ſanctis in regno cœleſti manſionem.
Cum enim defunctus eorū operū quæ in hac vita geſſit ſiue bonorū ſiue malorū/
a diuina iuſtitia percipiat retributionem/ cumqꝫ perfecerit huius vitæ actiones defunctus
& extremam illis manū in mortis articulo impoſuerit: non videtur oratio pontificis
ipſum defunctum transferre poſſe ad aliam requiem/ præter illam quam meritus eſt/ vitę
hic tranſactę reſpondentem atqꝫ proportionalem. quare ſuperuacua cenſeri poſſit huiuſmodi
pręſulis oratio/ aut id expoſcere quod īpetrare nō valeat. ¶ Reſpōdet diuinus pater
neminem qui diuinis aſſentitur eloquijs id ignorare: ꝙ ſingulis hominibus reddenda
ſit ſecundū ſua opera retributio. Definiuit enim deus apud ſe: atqꝫ pręſcripſit cuiq; ſuam
2.corin.5. pro operibus mercedem. & teſte Paulo referet quiſqꝫ eorum quę per corpus geſſerit
operū pręmia: ſiue opera ea bona ſint ſiue mala. Qꝫ autem iuſtorum hic viuētiū preces/
alijs proſint: non ſolum adhuc hanc degentibus vitam/ verum etiam mortuis/ ſedijs ſolis
qui digni ſunt: multa ſcripturę teſtimonia nos clarius edocent. Nichil enim profuit
1.regū.15. Sauli: Samuelis deo placentis oratio. nichil itē ipſi populo Hebraico cōtulit: Hieremię
Hiere.14. prophetę deprecatio. ꝙ vterqꝫ & rex & populus indignus eſſet: cui diuina conferrentur
munera. Sane qui indignus omnino eſt cœleſtibus donis ob vitę improbitatem/ & tamē
alicuius viri iuſti petit pro eo fieri poſtulationem: ſimile quippiam agit/ ac ſiquis ſole ſuos
radios ſanis oculis infundente (ſicut deus ſuę gratię fulgorē pijs mentibus & ſanctis
immittit) aliquis ſtolide oculos ſibi effodiens/ cuperet ſolaris luminis tamen habere participationem.
Ita ſane vana lactatur ſpe/ & eorum quę nequaq̃ fieri poſſunt: qui ſanctorū
pro ſe fieri preces poſtulat/ & tamen bonas actiones eorū vitę & moribus conformes
prorſus abijcit. neqꝫ animū adaptat aut parat diuinis ſuſcipiendis muneribus: neqꝫ diuina
& apprime nobis ſalutaria mandata obſeruare ſtudet. ¶ Itaqꝫ quiſquis ſcripturę ſanctę
accedit: vtiles in hac vita adhuc degentiū ſanctorū preces affirmabit/ hac pręſertim
ratione. Siquis diuinorum munerū percipiendorum deſiderio inflāmatus/ & ad illa obtinenda
feruenter affectus: proprię tamen imperfectionis & indignitatis ex humilitate
cordis conſcius/ neqꝫ audens per ſeipſum primo diuinę maieſtatis celſitudinem accedere:
aliquē ſanctorū virorum adeat/ oretqꝫ eum vt ei ſit apud deū adiutor/ precator & patronus.
is ipſe ex huiuſmodi petitione alieni patrocinij maximā conſequetur vtilitatem:
ſpiritualem ſcilicet/ & cuncta cōmoda temporalia longe tranſcendētem. Potietur enim
illis quę expetiuit diuinis muneribus: omni auro & argēto precioſioribus. diuinaq; cle-

mentia in eo acceptabit/atqꝫ gratam habebit illam humilem ſui recognitionē: nam hu- 1.petri 4
milibus deus dat gratiam. Approbabit item deus illā ſanctorū reuerētiam/ quam exhi-
bet is:qui ipſos ſe meliores exiſtimans/adiutores apud deū ſibi aſciſcit & patronos. Nec
minus amplectetur diuina clementia in illo/ pium illud ſanctarū petitionum(quas a deo
poſtulauit)deſiderium:& diſpoſitionē animi illius/ conformem illis ſanctis petitionibus/
aptamqꝫ & idoneā illis percipiendis. Enimuero diuina lege id cautū eſt & ordinatum:ꝙ
congruo ordine diuina munera concedātur ijs qui digni ſunt accipere/ & per eos qui illa
digni ſunt tradere. vt amborū & ſuſcipientis & ſecundarij tradentis: neceſſaria ſit digni-
tas. perinde atqꝫ ſol radium ſuū cōmunicat oculis diſpoſitis: & per aerem ac intermedia
corpora/apta ad illius trāſfuſionem. Et rex terrenus diſtribuit munera reipublicæ dignis
illa capeſſere: & per eos tanq̄ internuncios atqꝫ precatores/qui regi ſint grati et amici.
quos aliquis obſcuri nominis & humili loco natus/non auſus ſe regio offerre cōſpectui
aut maieſtatis eius oculis ſe ingerere:ſibi cōciliauit patronos atq; interpellatores/ vt pro
ipſo regem exorent. Qz ſi quis hanc diuinæ legis ſanctionē aſpernatus fuerit & tumida
elatione inflatus/magnumq; de ſe quiddam exiſtimans: dignū ſe dei amicitia et ſocieta-
te putet/ & ſanctos deſpiciat tanq̄ minus dignos/aut non neceſſarios ad interpellādum
pro ſeipſo deum: ille. reuera ſi petitiones indignas & ſaluti ſuæ minus cōueniētes/ vt re-
rum opulentiam aut mundi gloriam poſtulet/neqꝫ feruens habeat ſacrarū rerum deſide
rium/ſuoqꝫ ſtatui & gradui congruū:nunq̄ indiſcretam poſtulationem per ſeipſum inſo-
lenter factā obtinebit. tum ꝙ indigna peti popoſcit/tum ꝙ impudenter ad petendum ſe
ingeſſit:nō exhibita diuinæ maieſtati(quam debuit)per reſilitionem in ſuam paruitatem
veneratione. ¶Deinde diuinus pater alteram adhibet reſponſionem ad dubitationem
paulo ante motā: dicens & id expedire/ vt adducatur in medium & illa ratio atqꝫ cauſa
orationis factæ a pontifice ſuper defunctū: quam ſanctiſſimi apoſtoli & pręceptores eius
aſſignarunt. Eſt autem illa: huiuſmodi. Ipſe quidem ſacratus pontifex: diuinorum iudi-
ciorum interpres eſt/ expoſitor et declarator. nam ſecundū ſcripturę teſtimonium: ange- Mala.2.
lus eſt & nuncius domini exercituū. Didicit autem præſul ex ſcripturis ſanctis/ ꝙ ijs qui
pie vixerunt & ſancte conſummati ſunt: ab ęquiſſima diuinę iuſtitiæ libra redditur lucida
et immortalis in regno cœlorum vita. neqꝫ imputat diuina bonitas per ſummam ſuam
miſericordiam illis maculas peccatorum: quas hac in vita ex humana fragilitate cōtra- Iob 25.
xerunt. nullus enim(vt ait ſcriptura)eſt mundus a ſorde: nec infans vnius diei. ꝙ huiuſ-
modi maculæ: ante vitę exitum deletę ſint/& ſalubriter abſterſę. Iſta quidē beatorū prę-
mia nouit ex ſcripturis ſacris pontifex pijs & ſanctis promiſſa: petitqꝫ ea cōpleri/ & mu-
nera cœleſtia illis donari qui ſanctam duxerunt vitam/et pie conſummati ſunt. In quo &
ſeipſum ad imitationem dei efformat & componit: ea poſtulans alijs tradi munera/quę
deus ipſe dare repromiſit. diuinæqꝫ charitatis ęmulus/aliorum dona ijs quibus compro
miſſa ſunt dari expetit: tanq̄ propriā pro ſe & ſibi dandam expoſceret gratiam/non mi-
nori affectu pro alijs q̄ pro ſe rogās. Neqꝫ ipſe ignorat promiſſiones illas dei: vere futu-
ras illis quibus factæ ſunt. quinimmo præſentibus ipſe pontifex aperte declarat/ ꝙ qui
ſancte in CHRISTO quieuerunt: omnino conſequentur illa bona quæ ipſe a deo poſtu-
lat illis dari. vt illa in modum petitionis facta oratio/non tā poſtulatio ſit q̄ aſſertoria di-
uini iudicij declaratio atqꝫ denunciatio: ꝙ huiuſmodi bona quæ petuntur/ proculdubio
reddētur ijs pro quibus fit ſupplicatio. Non enim pontifex ſuo rite fungēs officio(ꝙ di-
uinæ eſt iuſtitię interpres et explanator/illa palam prædicans: quę deus occulte iudica-
uit/ſibi diuinitus inſpirata)vnq̄ peteret illa: quæ deo ſciret ingrata/& quę deus ſe largi-
turum ante non promiſiſſet. Idcirco incredulis/ infidelibus & immundis: non impreca-
tur æterna pręmia. tum quia in hoc proprium ſui officij deſereret ordinē: & aliqua pro-
prio motu atqꝫ ſenſu tentare pręſumeret / ad quæ facienda a ſancto ſpiritu interius non
fuiſſet incitatus. tum etiam quia indigne & pro indigno orans: non exaudiretur a deo/ Iacobi 4
atqꝫ ad ipſū merito diceretur illud beati Iacobi verbū: diuinæ iuſtitiæ conforme. Petitis et
non accipitis: quia male petitis. Itaqꝫ venerandus pontifex ea dūtaxat petit a deo: quæ
ſunt repromiſſa cœlitus atq; grata deo/ & quæ elargienda ijs pro quibus petuntur non
ambigit. oſtēdens ſimul animi ſui ſententiā deo clementiſſimo omnino conſentaneam/
in eo ꝙ quæ deus promiſit: ipſe pontifex complenda aſſeuerat/ & pariter præſentibus
ſubindicans: quantis & q̄ amplis bonis munerādi ſunt poſt hanc vtam ſancti. Hoc enim
pacto ipſi pontifices diſcretiuis bonorum ab impijs & ſanctorum a prophanis vtuntur

ſuis virtutibus/tanq̃ declaratores diuinorum iudiciorum occultius factorū. ꝙ quos deus
primum diſcreuit:illos ſecundo loco pontifices diſcretos eſſe/virtute ſua pontificali
palam prędicant. Non tamen exiſtimandū eſt/ꝙ ſapientiſſima diuinitas ſeruiliter & tanq̃
ſubiecta: obſequatur irrationalibus ipſorum pōtificum affectibus & arbitrio. vt quos pōtifices
ſua ipſorum authoritate iudicauerint primo loco/immundos aut prophanos:illos
deus tanq̃ ad id adactus/ſecundo fere ordine tales habeat/ ſequaturq; illorum iudicium
atq; cenſuram. Sed ediuerſo ipſi pontifices/pro merito illos ſuo miniſterio ſeparant a iuſtorum
conſortio:qui a deo propter ſuam incredulitatē aut iniquitatem iam iudicati ſūt/
et internæ ſpiritus ſancti operationi ea in re obtemperant. Siquidē dictum eſt ipſis a domino
Ioan.20. diſcipulis:et dein omnibus pontificibus. Accipite ſpiritum ſanctum. quorum remiſeritis
peccata:remittuntur eis. et quorum retinueritis: retenta ſunt. quoniam ipſi abſolutos
aut ligatos declarāt: quos diuina cēſura prius & in occulto abſoluit aut ligauit. Beato
itidem Petro/ cui pater cœleſtis veræ fidei confeſſionem reuelauerat: dicitur a domino.
Matth.16. Quodcūq; ligaueris ſuper terram :erit ligatū & in cœlis/ & quodcūq; ſolueris ſuper
terram: erit ſolutum & in cœlis. Non quidem quia prius liget Petrus aut ſoluat ſuper
terram: et deinde idem faciat deus in cœlo. ſed econtrario quia deus primum liget aut
ſoluat in cœlo:& ſubinde Petrus et quiuis pontifex idem declaret in terris/ ligatum aut
ſolutum. Et ſane hac poteſtate diuinitus indulta: Petrus & omnis illi eccleſiaſticæ fūctionis
ordine ſimilis pontifex/iuxta reuelationes diuinorum iudiciorum ſibi traditas/ declarando
eas & traducēdo homines in deum: admittit eos qui deo ſunt chari in ſanctorum
cōſortium/impios autem excludit. Deniq; ſanctus Petrus ſacratiſſimam illam orthodoxæ
fidei confeſſionem pronūciauit. Tu es CHRISTVS filius dei viui. non quidem proprio
ſenſu/neq; humana natura aut diſciplina illi hoc reuelāte: ſed a deo patre illum interne
illuſtrante edoctus. Itaq; hunc in modū ſacrati pontifices/& ſeparationibus iuſtorū
ab impijs & virtutibus ſuis ſacerdotalibus vti debēt: quemadmodum deus omnium
myſteriorum author & princeps illos diuinitus & intima inſpiratione agitauerit. Cæteri
vero eccleſiaſtici ordines ita pontificibus debent morē gerere & obſequi/ quæcūq; ipſi fecerint:
tanq̃ a deo inſpiratis & motis ad ſua obeūda officia. Dictum nanq; eſt a domino
Lucæ.10. diſcipulis/et deinde pręſulibus omnibus. Qui vos audit:me audit. et qui vos ſpernit:me
ſpernit. ❡Verum nunc ad propoſitam materiam quaſi ex digreſſione redeundum eſt. 122
Peracta oratione ad deum; pontifex ipſe defunctū ſalutat/& ſimul qui aſſunt omnes/ad
ſignificandum mutui amoris ſocietatem/quam inter ſe habēt:& congratulationem omnium
de fœlici vitæ exitu eius qui ſalutatur. Siquidē qui rectæ vixit & ſancte vitam conſummauit:
omnibus diuinæ bonitatis imitatoribus atq; dei ſimilitudinem æmulantibus
gratus eſt & venerabilis. ❡Deinde trāſacta ſalutatione: pontifex defuncto infundit oleum. 123
Meminiſſe autē decet/ ꝙ in prima ad vitam ſpiritualē regeneratione ante baptiſmi
ſuſceptionem fit ipſi initiando poſitis omnibus veſtibus per totum corpus inunctio tanq̃
prima cōmunicatio cognitionis fidei vt nobis tradita eſt ab apoſtolis/& in ipſorum ſymbolo
contenta. quæ fidei confeſſio ſicut in principio naſcentis eccleſiæ: ita & nunc ſeruato
vetuſto nomine ſymbolum apoſtolorum appellatur. Et nunc in fine omnium vitę
operationum: etiam defuncto infunditur oleum. At vero in baptiſmi ſuſceptione: inunctio
illa baptiſandum præparauit ad ſancta contra ſpirituales næquitias certamina/
toto vitæ huius tempore exercenda. Nunc autem in exequijs infuſum defuncto oleum:
ſignificat eundem illa peregiſſe certamina/& illis completis ſancte eſſe conſummatum.
❡Poſtq̃ vero hæc omnia ſunt peracta/pontifex in loculo decēti & honeſto defuncti corpus 124
reponit cum alijs ſui ordinis corporibus: vt pontificis corpus cum pōtificibus/et ſacerdotis
cum ſacerdotibus. Quoniam enim qui defunctus eſt/ſanctam egit vitam in anima
& corpore: etiam corpus ipſum honorari dignum eſt cum anima/ ſicut & ſanctis laboribus
cum ea contra vicia deſudauit in hac vita. Proinde diuinæ iuſtitiæ rectitudo dignam
ipſi animæ cum ſuo corpore decernit atq; diſtribuit retributionem: tanq̃ ſocio atq;
conſorte vitæ bonæ & ad dei imitationem in virtutibus actæ/aut vitæ peruerſæ atq; deo
contrariæ. Ideo & eccleſiaſtica conſtitutio: tam animæ q̃ corpori diuinorum aſſignat myſteriorum
participationem. Animæ quidem: in lympidiſſima cognitione ſpiritualis intelligentiæ
ſacrorū/& ſyncæra eorum quæ viſibiliter in ſacramentis geruntur ſcientia. Corpori
vero: per ſacrum quod ei ſuperfunditur vnguentum/ quod diuinæ participationis
typus eſt & imago. Quinimmo eadem ſancta ſacrorū functio per ſanctiſſima diuinæ eu-

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chariſtiæ ſigna/panem ſanctum & calicem benedictum: totum ſãctificat hominem/inte-
gramq; illius ſalutem tam in anima q̃ corpore operatur. atq; vniuerſis expiationibus
et expurgationibus circa hominẽ adhiberi ſolitis: perfectiſſimam eius reſurrectionem in
vtraq; ſui parte fore denunciat. Cęterum preces ac orationes/conſecrationis ante dicto-
rum ſacramentorum effectiuas: non eſt licitum ſcriptis mãdare/neq; earum ſecreta my-
ſteria aut virtutum (quæ per illas preces a deo fiunt) efficaciam/in publicum proferre.
Sed ſicut eccleſiaſtica habet ſanctio: qui eas ſecreta inſtructione ab alio perceperit/atq;
ad altiorem animi diſpoſitionem & ſublimiorem diuinorum intelligentiam/amore ſacro
et ſanctis actionibus perfectus euaſerit: is demum cœleſti luce illuſtratus/ad altiſſimam
125 illarum orationum virtutũq; inde prodeuntium prouehetur ſcientiam. ¶ Porro id eccle-
ſiaſticę conſtitutionis inſtitutum/ꝙ pueri qui necdum ob ętatis imbecillitatem poſſunt
diuina myſteria intelligere/fiant participes ſancti baptiſmatis & ſacrę euchariſtię: pro-
phanis & incredulis videtur merito (vt retulerunt nonnulli catholici) irridendum/obiji-
entibus ꝙ pontifices id faciẽtes: auditoribus minus capacibus vtpote pueris diuinorum
ſacrorum doctrinam tradunt/ipſis itidem non intelligẽtibus communicant ſanctas fidei
traditiones ac ſacramenta. immo quod magis ridiculum cenſetur: alii ſcilicet ſuſceptores
puerorum pro ipſis pueris abrenunciant/& ſanctam fidei profeſſionem faciunt. ¶ Hæc
a prophanis de paruulorum baptiſmo & ſacra communione obiecta/quæ ſanctus Timo-
theus beato patri ſignificauerat: refellẽs hoc loco ſacer Dionyſius/& ad Timotheũ ver
ba dirigens/dicit ꝙ oportet ſacerdotalem eius prudentiam non indignari amaro ſtoma-
cho errãtibus: ſed eorum potius errorem miſerari. & modeſte ſimul atq; benigniter vna
cum charitate & pia religione: eorum quæ ab eccleſiaſtica functione fiũt rationem legi-
timam reddere/atq; incredulorum obiecta contra veritatem refutare/ea potiſſimũ cauſa
vt inſtruantur ignorantes/et ad viam rectam reducãtur aberrãtes. Oportet item et illud
ipſis adijcere ſecundum diuinæ legis ſanctiones/ꝙ non omnia ſacroſancta myſteria no-
ſtræ humane ſcientiæ concluduntur anguſtia aut cõpręhendũtur: ꝙ permulta ſunt/quę
noſtræ mentis captum ob ſui eminentiam longe exuperant. Complura itidem myſteria
quæ nos latent/rationes habent digniſſimas: nobis quidem incognitas/ſed præſtantio-
ribus cœleſtium ſpirituum ordinibus exploratas & peruias. Inſuper et multa ipſis ange-
licis ſubſtãtijs ſunt ignota: quæ ſoli diuinitati totius ſapientiæ authori perſpecta ſunt et
cognita. Verum de re iſta propoſita/paucis illa hic afferenda ſunt: quæ ex primitiuæ ec-
cleſię conſtitutione ab ipſis apoſtolis & primarijs rei eccleſiaſticę ducibus ad cęteros de-
riuata ſunt. Sentiunt enim illi (quod plane eſt vero conſonum) infantes ipſos ſi ſancta
inſtitutione fuerint educati/ad rectæ vitæ conſuetudinem demum perductum iri: quam
agant omni errore vacui/& ab omni morũ impuritate alieni. Id ergo cũ ſibi perſuaſum
haberent ſapientiſſimi patres: viſum eſt eis congruum admittere infantes ad ſacrorum
participationem/hoc pacto ꝙ ipſius pueri parentes ſecundũ carnem/illum vni ex fideli-
bus committant: tanq̃ egregio ſacrarum rerum illi cognoſcendarũ pręceptori. ſub cuius
cura & cuſtodia puer ſit: tanq̃ patris ſpiritualis/& eorum quæ ad ipſius ſpectant ſalutem
inſtitutoris/& ſecundũ animam educatoris. Ab hoc igitur ſuſceptore/ſpondente ꝙ pue-
rum educabit ſecundum orthodoxæ fidei regulam: pontifex exigit ꝙ abrenũciationem
faciat & fidem profiteatur. non quidem (vt prophani nos irridentes dicunt) alium pro
alio/ſuſceptorem ſcilicet pro puero: ſacris myſteriis imbuens. Siquidem non dicit ipſe
ſuſceptor. ego pro puero abrenũcio: aut fidem profiteor. ſed ita dicit. puer iſte abrenun-
ciat & profitetur: meis verbis & meo ore. quod tãtũdem valet: atq; ſi diceret. Ego ſuſce-
ptor ſpondeo me inducturum puerum cum ad vſum rationis & cognitionem mẽtis per-
uenerit/aſſiduis admonitionibus meis: vt puer omnino abrenunciet aduerſis poteſtati-
bus/profiteatur fidem & peragat diuina mandata/quę nunc pollicetur ſe obſeruaturum.
Quocirca nichil abſurdum eſt aut ineptũ: ſi ad ſãcti baptiſmi ſuſceptionẽ a CHRISTO
inſtitutam puer adducitur/præclarum habẽs eorum quæ ſcire debet magiſtrum: qui illi
ſacrarum rerum ſcientiã notionemq; tradat/& a prauitate vitæ conſeruet alienum. Tra-
dit autem puero iam baptiſato ſacroſanctam euchariſtiam pontifex: vt illius alimonia
nutriatur ſecundum ſpiritum. neq; aliam habeat aut agat vitam: niſi hanc ſpiritualem/
quæ diuina præcepta ſemper inſpiciat et exequatur/ſeq; totum ad diuinorum imitatio-
nem componat: & quæ huiuſmodi ſumptione diuinæ euchariſtiæ in melius ſemper pro-
126 grediatur. vt in ipſis diuinis rebus ipſe puer habitum & conſuetudinem demum ſibi aſ-
ſumat: & promoueatur ad ſancta virtutũ exercitia ſtudioſius a ſuo ſuſceptore. ¶ Poſtre-

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Cap. 7 pars 3

mum ſacratiſſimus pater piam & humilem ſubnectit ad ſanctum Timotheum concluſionem: modeſtiæ & religioſæ ſubmiſſionis plenam. dicens ꝙ ſibi a domino conceſſum eſt: iſta pręclara/inſignia/& pręcipua eccleſiaſticę functionis myſteria(quę hoc in libro dicta ſunt) cõſpicere. Alii vero qui diuiniore ſũt & ſacratiore animo/nõ ſolũ iſta & ſigna viſibilia & latẽtia in illis ſẽſa ſpiritualia cognouerũt: verũ etiã alia multo altiora & ſublimiora. Et tibi(inquit)O Timothee/conſpicuæ erunt ac peruiæ/ longe clariores & excellẽtiores diuinarum rerum intelligentiæ: ſi ad liquidiorem ſacrarum notionum fulgorem his tanq̃ adminiculis contendere ſtudeas. præſtabunt enim iſta adiumẽtum ad maiora intelligenda. Cum igitur aſſecutus fueris intentiſſimo ſtudio perfectiorem ſacratiſſimorum myſteriorum ſenſum/ q̃ hic tibi a me traditus eſt: illius oro & michi quoqꝫ conſortiũ communica. et ſpiritualibus animi mei oculis exhibe quaſcũqꝫ percipere poteris/honeſtiores diuinorum ſacrorum congruentias atqꝫ pulchritudines: ipſius dei(qui illud ſumme vnum eſt) imaginem ac ſpeciem ſacratiſſima repræſentatione oſtendentes. Confido equidem ex iJs quæ hoc in libro dicta ſunt: diuinæ intelligentiæ igniculos tibi excitatum iri. qui vbi excudentur: ad auguſtiora capienda & hauriendum lucidiorem radium/ mentem tuam aptabunt ac diſponent. vt ſic demum per hæc noſtra/ ſubueharis ad excelſiora diuinarum rerum intelligenda myſteria;& ab inferioribus ad ſuperiora nitaris.

¶Eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ diuiniſſimi Dionyſii Areopagitæ: Athenienſium epiſcopi ac
Galliarum
apoſtoli
finis.

∴

¶Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitę/ Atheniēſis epiſcopi:ad Timotheū epiſcopum Epheſinū / liber de diuinis nominibus/ adiecto ad litteram commentario declaratus.

¶Quęnā ſit inſtitutio operis:et q̃ de diuinis noībus tradita ſint. Cap.I.

1 NVnc iam vir dei poſt theologicarū hypotypoſeon A
librum: ad explicanda pro viribus diuina nomina
tranſeamus. Sit autem modo quoqꝫ nobis ea (quæ
ſemper)definita lex:eorū quæ de deo dicūtur tueri
veritatem/ non in perſuaſibilibus humanæ ſapien= B
tiæ verbis. ſed in oſtenſione theologorum a ſancto
ſpiritu agitatæ virtutis: per quā ineffabilibus et in=
cognitis/ineffabiliter & ignote coniūgimur pręſtan=
tiore illa vnione rationalis noſtræ ſpiritualiſqꝫ vir=
2 tutis atqꝫ actionis. ¶Nulla ergo ratione præſumendum eſt aliquid de ſu=
perſubſtātiali ſecretiſſimaqꝫ deitate aut dicere aut cogitare:præter illa quę
nobis ſacra eloquia tradiderūt. Nam ſuprema diuinaqꝫ ſcientia ignoratio= C
nis illius/ ſermonem omnē & ſenſum ſubſtantiāqꝫ ſuperantis/ qua ipſum
ſuperſubſtantiale noſcitur:ipſi aſcribenda eſt.tātūqꝫ fas eſt ad celſiora con=
tendere:quantum ſeipſum diuinorum eloquiorum radius inſinuare digna=
tur.cōparamuſqꝫ vires nobis ad ſupremos illos fulgores hauriendos inno=
cue:ſi diuina ſobrie & pie / caſteqꝫ reueremur. Nam ſi quid ſapientiſſimæ D
veriſſimæqꝫ theologiæ credēdum eſt:pro captu animorum diuina reuelan=
tur atqꝫ ſpectātur.dei ſcilicet bonitate per ſaluberrimam iuſtitiam:immen=
ſitatem(quippe quæ incompręhenſibilis)ab ijs quæ ſub menſuram cadūt
3 (quemadmodū decet)dirimente. ¶Sicut enim ſpiritualia/carnales percipe=
re & inſpicere nequeunt:& qui figmentis ac figuris inhęrēt/ ad ſimplicia fi=
guriſqꝫ vacua non aſpirant: & quæ ſecundum corporum lineamenta affor=
mantur/ incorporearum rerum informabilitatem nec tactui nec figuris ob=
noxiam nequaq̃ attingūt. eadem quoqꝫ veritatis ratione ſupereminet ſub=
ſtantiis omnibus ſuperſubſtātialis infinitas:ſenſuſqꝫ excellit omnes vnitas
ſenſu eminentior. ac mentibus omnibus inexcogitabile eſt vnū illud mente
ſuperius: ineffabileqꝫ eſt verbis omnibus bonum quod ſuperat verbum/
vnitas vnifica totius vnitatis/ ſuperſubſtantialiſqꝫ ſubſtantia/ & intelligen=
tia nequaq̃ intelligibilis/ & ineffabile verbum/ſermonis & intelligentiæ no=
miniſqꝫ priuatio: quæ iuxta nullam ſubſtantiarum eſt.& cum omnibus vt E
ſint cauſa ſit:ipſum non eſt/ vtpote omni eſſentia ſuperius/& vt ipſum de ſe
proprie periteqꝫ negantibus verbis enunciat. De hac igitur (vt dictū eſt)ſu=
perſubſtantiali ſecretiſſimaqꝫ deitate: neqꝫ dicere quicq̃ neqꝫ cogitare præ=
ſumēdum eſt/aliter q̃ ſacra nobis eloquia pie admodū/caſteqꝫ tradiderūt.
4 ¶Namqꝫ vt ipſa de ſe in ſāctis litteris benigniſſime tradidit:eius(quicquid F
tandem ipſa eſt)& ſcientia et intelligentia/omnibus eſt inacceſſa ſubſtātijs. G
vtpote ab omnibus:altiſſimis modis excepta. Deniqꝫ theologos plures in=
uenias illam non modo vt inuiſibilem/incompręhenſibilemqꝫ laudaſſe:ve=

rum & inſcrutabilem ininueſtigabilemq; dixiſſe: quaſi nullũ extet veſtigiũ
eorũ qui ad eius ſecretiſſimã infinitatẽ penetrarũt. ¶ Non tamen vſq;quaq; 5
ſummum illud bonum/ vlli ſubſtantiæ cõmunicabile non eſt. ſed cum in ſeipſo
ſtabiliter superſubſtantialẽ fixerit radium: cõgruis tamen cuiuſq; ſubſtantiæ
captibus ſeſe clementer inſinuat/ & ad ipſius ſpeculationẽ & ſocietatem
ac ſimilitudinem (quantam aſſequi poſſunt) intẽdit ſpiritus altiſſimos. Qui
(vt fas eſt cœleſtes) ipſi reuerenter intendũt/ & neq; ad ſuperiora q̃ feratindultus
illis pro modo ſuo radius: inſolenter aſpirãt. neq; ꝙ ad inferiora vergãt:
ad deterius labuntur. ſed conſtãter ac firmiter nuſq̃ obtutus declinando:
ad illuceſcẽtem ſibi radium aciem intendũt. atq; amore cõgruo illuſtrationum
diuinarum (quas haurire fas eſt) ſancta cum reuerẽtia ſobrie ac pie 6
euolant. ¶ Ijs igitur inhęrẽtes diuinis lancibus quę totas cœleſtiũ ordinum
ac ſubſtãtiarum diſtinctiones gubernãt: arcanũ quidem diuinitatis (quod
intellectum omnem/ ſubſtãtiamq; trãſcendit) inſcrutabilibus et ſacris animi
venerationibus: ineffabilia vero/ caſto honorãtes ſilẽtio: ad eos quos ex ſanctis
litteris haurimus fulgores intẽdimur. atq; ab his: ad diuinos hymnos
H dirigimur (ab his quidẽ vltra mũdanum modum illuminati) atq; ad ſacras
laudationes effingimur. ad id ipſum vt etiam aſpiciamus/ quæ nobis pro captu
noſtro ex ipſis indulgẽtur diuina lumina: & principiũ ſacræ totius illuſtrationis
I (a quo omne prouenit bonum) celebremus. vt ipſa de ſe in ſacris
eloquijs tradidit: puta ꝙ ſit omnium cauſa. & initium. et ſubſtantia. & vita.
eos qui ab illa cadunt: reuocans atq; erigens. & qui ad id prolapſi ſunt vt in
ſe diuinam effigiem corruperint: renouãs ac reformãs. quiq; impura aliqua
agitatione quatiuntur: eos ſacratius firmans. ſtantes corroborãs. eoſq; qui
ad ſe promouẽtur & aſſurgunt: porrecta veluti ſubuehẽs manu. eis qui illuminãtur:
fulgor intimus. & qui perficiũtur: cõſummationis princeps. quiq;
in deum aſſumũtur: ſumma diuinitas. & qui ſimplices fiũt: vera ſimplicitas.
quiq; in vnum tranſeũt: vnitas. principij totius omnia ſuperãs initia per excellentem
ſubſtantiam principium. occultiq; ſacratiſſimi (quantum fas eſt)
benigne participationem tradens. atq; (vt paucis dixerim) viuentium vita/
ſubſiſtẽtiumq; ſubſtantia. vitæ omnis ac ſubſtantiæ initium & cauſa. ꝙ bonitate
K ſua/ cũcta quæ ſunt/ vt eſſẽt produxerit: atq; vniuerſa cõtineat. ¶ Iſta 7
ex diuinorum eloquiorum fontibus haurimus. inuenieſq; omnem ferme (vt
ita dixerim) theologorum laudationẽ: ad beneficos diuinitatis progreſſus
L exponendos atq; laudandos / diuina effingere nomina. Quocirca in omnibus
ferme ſanctis libris aduertimus: diuinitatem ſãcte prædicari. vt ſingularem
Vnum. quidem atq; vnicam: ob ſimplicitatem atq; vnitatem excellentis illius
indiuidui/ ex quo veluti vnifica virtute in vnũ euadimus / diuiduiſq; noſtris
alteritatibus ſupra mũdanum modum cõglobatis: in diuinam monadem
Trinitas. atq; vnionem deum imitantem colligimur. vt trinitatem vero: propter diuinæ
M fœcunditatis in tribus perſonis expreſſionem ex qua omnis paternitas
Cauſa. in cœlo & in terra eſt/ et nominatur. vt vero cauſam rerum omniũ: quia
Sapiens. omnia per ſubſtãtificam ipſius bonitatem/ vt eſſent acceperunt. Porro ſapientem
Pulchrum. & pulchram: quia quę ſunt omnia & quæ naturam ſuam inuiolabi-

lem ſeruant/ omni diuina cõgruentia ſacroqꝫ decore ſunt plena. Supra mo- Benigniſſimum.
dum vero benignam: quia in vna perſonarum ſuarum/infirma noſtra inte-
gre veriſſimeqꝫ ſuſcepit. ad ſeipſam reuocans atqꝫ aſtringens humilitatem
noſtram: ex qua ineffabiliter compoſitus eſt ſimplex IHESVS. ęternuſqꝫ:
temporales ſubiit metas. atqꝫ intra naturæ noſtræ terminos venit: qui om-
nẽ totius naturæ ordinẽ eminẽter excedit/ſuis proprietatibus ĩmutabiliter
atqꝫ incõfuſe ſubnixus. et quęqꝫ alia deifica lumina ſacris ex litteris hauſta: N
ſecreta ſanctorum præceptorum noſtrorum traditio nobis explanãdo tra-
8 didit. quę & nos quoqꝫ didicimus. ¶ Et nunc quidem pro captu noſtro per
ſacra velamina ſanctarũ litterarum ſacerdotaliumqꝫ traditionum benigni-
tas: carnalibus ſpiritualia/& ſubſiſtentibus ſuperſubſtãtialia contegit. for-
maſqꝫ & figuras ijs quibus iſta per ſummam excellentiam deſunt/circũpo-
nit. ac ſupremam illam neqꝫ figurabilem ſimplicitatem: diuiduorũ varietate
ſignorũ multiplicat atqꝫ effingit. Tunc vero quãdo incorruptibiles/immor-
taleſqꝫ facti erimꝰ/& ad imaginem CHRISTI beatiſſima dignati requie:
ſemper (vt ſcriptum eſt) cum domino erimus. viſibili quidem ipſius diuina O
præſentia caſtiſſime contemplando fruentes/lucidiſſimis nos circunfulgen-
te luminibus: non ſecus ac diſcipulos in ſacratiſſima illa trãſfiguratione ſua. P
Porro ſpiritualis ipſius & intelligibilis lucis (mente/perturbatione omni &
materia libera) participes facti: eius quæ ſenſum omnem ſuperat vnionis/
lucidiſſimorum radiorum incognitis et beatiſſimis iactibus/erimus (ſuper-
cœleſtes ſpiritus diuinius imitãdo) cõſortes. erimus enĩ (vt ait veritas) ęqua Q
9 les angelis: & filij dei/cum ſimus reſurrectionis filii. ¶ At enim pro modulo
noſtro in diuinis rebus/familiaribus nobis vtimur ſignis: & ex eis rurſus
ad ſimplicẽ atqꝫ vnitã ſpiritualiũ ſpeculationũ veritate/congrue nobis aſſur
gimus. et poſt omnẽ pro humano captu diuinarũ intelligentiã rerum feria-
ti: ſpiritualibus actionibus noſtris ſupremũ illũ radiũ (quantũ fas eſt) hau-
rire contẽdimus. in quo termini omnes omniũ ſciẽtiarum pluſq̃ ineffabili-
ter præſubſiſtũt: quem neqꝫ intelligere neqꝫ eloqui poſſumus/neqꝫ omnino
quomodolibet intueri/ꝙ ſit exceptus ab omnibus et excellẽter ignotus. Et
cum omniũ ſubſtãtialiũ ſciẽtiarum atqꝫ virtutũ fines ſimul omnes in ſe inef-
fabili modo ante acceperit: omnibus etiã ſpiritibus angelicis eminet/incom-
prẽhẽſibili virtute ſuperne locatus. Si enim ſciẽtiæ omnes/rerũ ſubſiſtentiũ
ſunt/atqꝫ in ſubſtãtias deſinunt: qui ſubſtantiã excedit omnẽ/ſciẽtia quoqꝫ
10 omni ſuperior ſit neceſſe eſt. ¶ Atqui ſi ſermone omni/omniqꝫ ſciẽtia prę-
ſtantior eſt: ſi ſupra ſenſũ prorſus atqꝫ ſubſtãtiam eminet/& percipiẽs cir- R
cũambiat & cõpręhendat atqꝫ anticipet omnia: ipſe tamẽ omnino incõprę-
henſibilis permanet. et neqꝫ ſenſus vllus eius eſt neqꝫ imaginatio/neqꝫ opi-
natio/neqꝫ nomen/neqꝫ ſermo/neqꝫ tactus/neqꝫ ſcientia: quomodo ergo ſcri
bemus/& de diuinis nominibus aggrediemur? cum docuerimus ſuper- S
ſubſtantialem deitatem carere vocabulo: atqꝫ omne nomen excedere? Cęte
rum quod diximus cũ theologicas hypotypoſes id eſt inſtitutiones expone
remus: vnum illud (quod incognitum/quod ſuperſubſtantiale eſt) ipſum
bonũ quod eſt/trinitatis vnitatẽ ſcilicet/vnum ſimul deũ atqꝫ ſimul bonũ:

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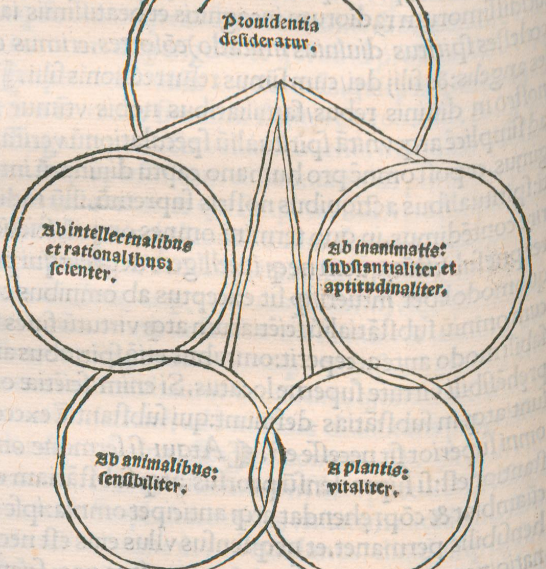
neqꝫ explicare neqꝫ intelligere poſſumus. Sed & ipſæ ſanctarũ virtutum
angelis congruæ coniũctiones(ſiue eas iactus dicere oportet/ſiue perceptiones)
pluſq̃ incognite eminentiſſimeqꝫ lucentis bonitatis:& ineffabiles ſimul
et ignotæ ſunt.ſoliſqꝫ ipſis inſunt:qui ex angelorum numero ſupra ſcientiæ
angelicæ modum/his digni habiti ſunt.His cōiuncti ad imitationem angelorum
(quātum fas eſt)ſublimiores quiqꝫ ſanctorũ ſpiritus:quādo per vacationem
totius ſpiritualis operationis huiuſmodi ſpirituum in deum contendentium/
ad ſupremā dei lucem peruenit vnio:ipſam proprie ac decentiſſime
omnium ablatione concelebrāt.illud veriſſime & excellenter edocti
ex beatiſſima ad eam lucem vnione:vt illa quidem ſubſtantiarũ omnium ſit
author/ipſa vero nichil ſit ex his:vt quę ineffabiliter emineat oibus.¶Itaqꝫ 11
ſuperſubſtantiale illud diuinum (quicquid tandē id eſt:ſupremæ bonitatis
ſubſtantia eximia)neqꝫ vt verbum aut virtutem/neqꝫ vt ſenſum aut vitā aut
ſubſtantiam laudare licet vlli ex ijs:qui excellentis omnem veritatem veritatis
amatores ſunt.ſed vt ab habitu omni/motu/vita/imaginatione/opinatione/
nomine/ſermone/mente/intelligētia/ſubſtantia/ſtatu/ſede/vnione/fine/
infinitate & ijs quæ ſunt omnibus eminentiſſime exceptam. Quoniam vero
vt bonitatis ſubſiſtētia/ipſo eſſe ſuo eſt
omniũ ſubſiſtētiũ cauſa:
boni authorē ſũmę
Prouidētia diuinitatis prouidentiam ex omnibus creatis
laudare cōueniet.
Circa ipſā enim et ipſius
cauſa/ſũt omnia:
ipſaqꝫ eſt ante omnia/
et in ipſa cuncta conſiſtunt.
atqꝫ eo ipſo ꝙ
eſt/ vniuerſa ꝓducta
ſunt atqꝫ ſubſiſtũt:ipſamqꝫ
deſiderant omnia.
Spiritualia quidē
et rationalia:ſcienter.
his autem inferiora:
T ſenſibiliter.alia vero:
vitalis ratiōe motus/
aut per ſubſtātialem
habitualemve aptitudinem.



V ¶Iſta deniqꝫ non ignorantes theologi:ipſam & vt carētem nomine/ 12
& ex omni nomine celebrant. Vt carentem quidem nomine:cum deum
ipſum aiunt in vna ſacratiſſimarum viſionum apparentem/eum increpaſſe
qui dixerat:quod eſt nomen tuum? Ac veluti ab omni eum diuini nominis
cognitione abducentem/dixiſſe:cur de nomine meo interrogas/quod eſt

mirabile? An vero iſtud non eſt mirabile nomen: quod eſt ſuper omne nomen/
quod eſt ſine nomine/ quod omne exuperat nomen quod nominatur
ſiue in hoc ſæculo/ ſiue in futuro? Vt plurimis vero nominibus præditum
laudant: cum ipſum rurſus inducunt dicentem/ ego ſum qui ſum/ vita/ lux/
deus/ veritas. & cum ipſi diuina ſapientia illuſtres: authorem omnium ex
creaturis omnibus/ multis nominibus prædicant. vt bonum/ vt pulchrum/
vt ſapientem/ vt diligibilem/ vt deum deorum/ vt dominum dominorū/ vt
ſanctum ſanctorum/ vt æternum/ vt exiſtentē/ vt ſæculorum authorē/ vt indultorē
vitę/ vt ſapientiā/ vt mentē/ vt verbum/ vt ſcientem/ vt theſauros omnes
totius ſcientiæ in ſe eminentiſſime habentem/ vt virtutem/ vt potentem/
vt regem regum/ vt antiquū dierū/ vt inſeneſcibilem & immutabilem/ vt ſalutem/
vt iuſtitiā/ vt ſanctificationē/ vt redemptionem/ vt magnitudine excellentem
omnibus/ & vt in aura tenui. Sed & in ſpiritibus ipſum eſſe aiūt/
& in animabus/ & in corporibus/ & in cœlo/ & in terra/ & ſimul in eodem
eundem in mundo/ circa mundū/ ſupra mundum/ ſupercœleſtem/ ſuperſubſtantialem/
ſolem/ ſtellam/ ignē/ aquam/ ſpiritum roris/ nubem/ ipſum lapidem
13 & petram/ omnia quæ ſunt/ & nichil eorum quæ ſunt. ¶ In hunc ergo
modum omniū cauſæ quę ſupra omnia eſt: & priuatio nominis cōgruet/
& omnia ſubſiſtentium nomina. vt ſit profecto omnium regnum: & circa
ipſam ſint omnia/ & ex ipſa veluti cauſa/ veluti principio/ veluti fine dependeant:
ipſaq; iuxta ſcripturæ fidem ſit omnia in omnibus. veriſſimeq;
laudatur vt ſubſtantiæ induſtrix atq; conſummatrix/ continenſq; cuſtodia
& domicilium/ & ad ſeipſam conuertens. atq; iſta: coniuncte/ incircunſcripte/
excellenter. Non enim compræhenſionis ſolum aut vitæ/ aut conſummationis
eſt author/ vt ab hac ſola ſeu altera: prouidentia/ bonitas illa
quæ ſupra omne nomen eſt/ denominetur. verū ſimpliciter omnia/ atq; indiffinite
in ſeipſa cōpræhendit: exactiſſima vnius ipſius/ authoriſq; omniū
prouidētiæ bonitate. atq; ex rebus omnibus: conuenientiſſime prædicatur
14 ac denominatur. ¶ Nēpe enim non hæc tantū diuina nomina ex abſolutis
omniū ſeu ſingularibus prouidentijs/ ſeu ex ijs quæ prouidentia aguntur:
theologi prædicant. verum a quibuſdam interdum viſis/ quę in ſacris ędibus
ſeu alibi/ alijs atq; alijs ex cauſis ac virtutibus/ inſtitutores ſeu prophetas
illuſtrarunt: lucem omnem/ omneq; nomen tranſcendentem bonitatem
nominant. formaſq; illi & effigies humanas/ ſeu ignis ſeu electri circumponūt.
ipſiuſq; oculos/ & aures/ & crines/ & facies/ & manus/ ſcapulas/ & alas/
& brachia/ & poſteriora/ & pedes laudant: coronas quoq; & ſedes/ & calices
& crateras/ & alia quædam id genus myſtica illi applicant. de quibus
in ſignificatiua theologia pro viribus diſſeremus. Nunc autem quęq;
ſunt præſentis operis de ſcripturis ſanctis colligentes/ & ijs quæ dicta
ſunt veluti norma quadam & linea vtentes/ atq; ad ea aciem dirigentes:
intelligibilia diuina nomina explicare pergamus. Et quod nobis ſemper
in omnibus ſacris eloquijs ſacra lex dictat: mente in deum intentiſſima/
diuina (vt proprie dixerim) ſpectacula contemplemur. Expiataſq;
aures ſanctis diuinorum nominum expoſitionibus applicemus: ſan-

Nomina dei.

X

Qui ſum.
Vita.
Lux.
Deus.
Veritas.
Bonum.
Pulchrum.
Sapiens.
Diligibile.
De9 deorū
Dn̄s dn̄orū
Sāctus ſanctorum.
Aeternum.
Sęculorum author.
Vitæ indultor.
Sapientia.

Y

Mens.
Verbum.
Sciens.
Virtus.
Potens.
Rex regū.
Antiquus dierum.

Z

Inſeneſcibilis.
Immutabilis.
Salus.
Iuſtitia.

z

Sanctificator.
Redēptor.
Immenſus.
Sine termino.
In aura tenui habitās

ƈta ſanctis ex traditione diuina inſinuantes.eaqꝫ:a riſu & illuſione rudium
hactenus atqꝫ infidelium vindicãtes.immo illos ipſos(ſiqui ſunt iſtiuſmo-
di homines)hoc errore liberantes. Te quidem iſta ſeruare conuenit pręcla-
re O Timothee/iuxta ſacratiſſimam ſanctionem:neqꝫ inter imperitos elo-
qui/aut efferre diuina. Michi autem deus largiri dignetur:vt congrue lau-
dare poſſim benefica multiplicia nomina/ appellatione ac nomine carentis
deitatis,neqꝫ de ore meo auferat verbum veritatis:auferrive permittat.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Nunc iã vir dei poſt theologicarũ hypotypoſeon
librum.hoc eſt poſt librum theologicarum inſtitutionum atqꝫ informationũ.& hoc mu-
B nere libri caremus:quod deus reſtituat. ¶Nõ in perſuaſibilibus humanæ ſapientię ver-
bis. Pauli ſententia eſt prima ad Corinthios epiſtola capite ſecundo. inquit enĩ. Et ego
in infirmitate/ & timore/ & tremore multo fui apud vos. & ſermo meus & prædicatio
mea/non in perſuaſibilibus humanæ ſapientiæ verbis:ſed in oſtenſione ſpiritus/ & vir-
C tutis. vt fides veſtra non ſit in ſapientia hominum: ſed in virtute dei. ¶Nam ſuprema
diuinaqꝫ ſcientia ignorationis illius/ ſermonem omnẽ & ſenſum/ſubſtantiãqꝫ ſuperãtis.
Scientia diuinæ ignorantiæ (qua deus ignote cognoſcitur/& inintelligibiliter intelligi-
tur/cõprȩhenditurqꝫ incõpræhenſibiliter)ſummũ munus eſt(poſt illam ad nos pluſq̃ be-
nigniſſimam inclinationem qua deus in terris viſus eſt: & eius ineffabilis bonitatis quæ
geſſit ſacramenta)quod deus largitus ſit benigniſſimis mẽtibus/ in ipſum ſupra ſeipſas
& effuſis & intentis.qua quanto mens inſignius ſe deũ cognoſcit ignorare:tanto vbe-
rius quod incognoſcibile eſt cognoſcit. quæ quanto magis offunditur tenebris/ tene-
briſqꝫ propinquat:tanto purius lumen appræhendit/illi ipſi ſyncęrius immixtiuſqꝫ inful-
gens. porro vbicunq; illi maius/ inſigniuſq; lumen apparet/ quod re vera appræhen-
dere valet:tunc minus appræhendit/ minuſqꝫ cognoſcit. Vnde tandem euenire cogno-
ſcitur: vt eminentius ſciendi genus ſit non appræhendere q̃ appræhendere/& ignorare
ac neſcire q̃ ſcire.& non appræhendere/ignorare & neſcire per eminentiam dicta: non
repugnare ad maxime(quantum hominibus poſſibile eſt)appręhendere/ & maxime ſci-
re.tametſi illa per defectum dicta(qua in ſignificatione vtuntur dialectici/ & philoſophi
quiqꝫ: qui de diuinis/ aut nichil aut perparum nouere)illis vel plurimum aduerſen-
tur/ & nullo ſe compatiantur modo. ¶Et ea ignorantia profecto: ſcientia negatiua
eſt perfectiſſimi oculi/finiti tamen/ infinitum ſolem ignote incompræhenſibiliterqꝫ at-
tingentis. affirmatiua vero ſcientia: aut eſt oculi cæci de infinito ſole diſſerentis/ aut ſo-
lis ſolum ſplendorem & nullo pacto eius iubaris incompræhenſibilitatem ſuſtinentis.
Quo fit iterum vt omnis humana de deo ſcientia/ ad diuinam ignorantiam compa-
rata: perinde ſeſe habeat/ vt philoſophia cæci nati aut lucioſi de ſolis lumine diſſeren-
tis/ ad ſcientiam probe videntis & de ſolis lumine diſputantis. Et quanq̃ diuinus pa-
ter ad hanc pluſq̃ humanam ſcientiam/venerandam & diuinam ignorantiam nos pro-
Nicolaus Cuſanus.
mouet : iuuabere tamen amplius/ ſi in opuſculis(quæ vir pietate plenus Nicolaus
Cuſanus emiſit) te aliquantum exerceas. ſunt enim quo ad theologicam intelligenti-
am: ex his fontibus deducta. reliqua vero in eo philoſophia: peregrina eſt. Quod di-
ctum ſit: vt contemplatoribus nichil deſit (quantum in nobis eſt: & ammonere ſuffici-
mus) quod eos iuuare poſſit. quo tandem ex notorum proportionibus ducantur ad im-
proportionaliter/ſupraqꝫ omnem proportionem ignotum. & pedetentim ex multitudi-
ne:ad vnum ſe colligant/quod eſt ante omne cõpræhenſibile vnũ.& ad id pariter acce-
dant:quod cum omnibus ſemper aſſit/ſemper manet inacceſſum. Id etiã dictũ ſit:ne ſę-
Modi de deo philoſophandi.
pius oporteat quæ hic repugnantẽ plerumq; intelligentiã habere videntur repetere/ &
ſcholiorũ modum excedere. ¶Sunt enim modi de deo philoſophandi per affirmatio-
nes/per excellentes negationes/& per ſuperexcellentes negationes. Per primũ: theolo-
gia de deo habetur affirmatiua/quæ ſapientia dicitur:& quæ plurima eſt apud prophe-
tas. per ſecũdũ & tertium/habetur theologia de deo negatiua:quæ diuina dicitur igno-
rantia. quæ eſt in prophetis rarior: ſed vberius in apoſtolis/beatiſſimo Paulo/& ijs quos
ipſi ſecretius inſtituerunt/per ſpiritũ ſanctum tranſfuſa. Primus modus omnia de deo po-
nit/quæ peruerſionẽ & imitationis lapſum non ſentiunt:et ex oĩbus/ omniumq; poſiti-
onibus deum celebrat. Secundus de deo omnia aufert poſita:& ipſum ex oĩm poſitorũ

ablatione collaudat. Tertius de deo & poſitiones & ablationes omnes aufert: & ex omniū
& poſitionum & ablationum ſuperante ablatione deus iam in ſolo ſilentio colitur &
veneratur. Et vnicuiq; horum trium modorū/ pura intelligentiæ pietas & integra religio:
coniuncta eſſe debet. Et ex primo quidem modo aſcenditur ad ſecundum: & ex primo
& ſecundo ad tertium. Et tres hi philoſophiæ modi: tres ſunt perfectoriæ virtutes/
& conſummatarum mentiū perfectiones: infima/ media/ ſuprema. Rurſuſq; primus modus
eſt perfectorum purgatio/ ſecundus illuminatio/ & tertius conſummatio. primus a
multis capi poteſt/ ſecundus a perq̃ paucis/ & tertius a pauciſſimis. Rurſum primi modi
nuda & primo ſeſe offerens intelligentia: cum humilitate accedentes/ rudes purgat.
eiuſdem moralis actiuaq; intelligentia: eoſdē illuminat. & anagoge iam purgatos & illuminatos
perficit. & eo ſolo/ ad multitudinem & vtendum & loquendū eſt: qꝛ aliorum
modorū intelligentiæ pietatē penetrare non ſufficiant. Secundo modo: loquendū eſt ad
paucos/ vt qui iam conſummati: ſecretioris philoſophiæ conſcij facti ſint. Tertius autē
modus manet ineloquibilis. ¶ Et cum beatiſſimus pater hic in his diuinorū nominū ſanctiſſimis
manifeſtationibus ex primo modo aſſurgit ad ſecundū/ & in myſtica theologia
ex primo & ſecūdo ad tertiū: ſummopere cauendū eſt ne temerariū efferamus iudiciū.
quin veneremur potius ſacrā quæ ſupra nos eſt/ intelligentiā: & propriā fragilitatē (vt
dignū eſt) agnoſcamus. Potens eſt enī deus tenebras noſtras illuminare: & quę a ſapiētibus
ſæculi abſcōdit/ ea reuelare paruulis. Indigna inſuper his in rebus deuitate problemata/ Matth. 11.
indignaſq; paleſtricas altercationes: quæ non illuminant/ ſed mētis oculū (ſic deo
volente) aut eluſcant/ aut prorſus occęcant. tanta enim maieſtas/ tantæ diuinitatis pondus:
ludicrā in corona dialecticorū more (vt modeſtius loquar) dedignatur paleſtram.
ſed ſancta ſanctis ſolū: & vult & gaudet propagari. Sic enim beatiſſimus Paulus eccleſiarū
lucerna/ & fax nullo tēpore extinguibilis/ & oculus longe proſpiciens: dulciter āmonet
Timotheū/ vt ab illis abſtineat. ſtultas autē (inquit) & ſine diſciplina queſtiones deuita: 2. timo. 2.
ſciēs quia aggenerāt lites. ſeruū autē dei nō oportet litigare: ſed māſuetū eſſe ad oēs/
docibilē/ patientē/ cum modeſtia corripientē eos qui reſiſtūt veritati. ne quādo deus det
illis pœnitentiā ad cognoſcendā veritatē: & reſipiſcāt a diaboli laqueis/ a quo captiui tenentur
ad ipſius voluntatē. In reliquis autem ad ſequentia deus pias mentes dirigat: &
ea quorū āmonere nō ſufficimus/ adimpleat. & hactenus ſatis ſit ad præparationis ammonitionē
prælocutū. ¶ Nā ſi quid ſapientiſſimæ veriſſimæq; theologiæ credendū eſt. D
Paulus ad Epheſios cap. quarto. Vnus deus/ & pater omniū: qui ſuper oēs & per omnia
& in omnibus nobis. vnicuiq; autē noſtrū data eſt gratia ſecundū menſurā donationis
CHRISTI. & ipſe dedit quoſdam quidē apoſtolos/ quoſdā autē prophetas/ alios
vero euangeliſtas/ alios autē paſtores & doctores. Et prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap.
duodecimo. Diuiſiones vero gratiarū ſunt: idē autē ſpiritus. & diuiſiones miniſtrationū
ſunt: idem vero deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Vnicuiq; autem datur manifeſtatio
ſpiritus ad vtilitatē. Alij quidem per ſpiritū datur ſermo ſapientiæ/ alij autem ſermo
ſcientiæ ſecundū eundem ſpiritum/ alteri fides in eodem ſpiritu/ alij gratia ſanitatum
in vno ſpiritu/ alij operatio virtutum/ alij prophetia/ alij diſcretio ſpirituum/ alij genera
linguarum/ alij interpretatio ſermonum. hæc autem operatur vnus atq; idem ſpiritus:
diuidens ſingulis prout vult. ¶ Et vt ipſum de ſe proprie periteq; negātibus verbis enūciat. E
Ipſum: ipſum vnū mente ſuperius/ & ineffabile. Matthęus cap. vndecimo. Et nemo
nouit filiū: niſi pater. neq; patrem quis nouit: niſi filius/ & cui voluerit filius reuelare. Et
proteſtationē/ de ſumma & ſupereminēti diuinitate nichil eſſe præſumendū oīno aut cogitandū
aut dicendū: niſi quæ pie ſacra dictāt eloquia/ frequentius repetit ſanctiſſimus
pater. & nos cautius pariter ammonet: vt de illa ſecundū menſurā/ pie & ſobrie loquamur
& cogitemus/ nos intra ſacrarum litterarū limites coercentes atq; cōtinētes. Et ſimul
fortaſſe ne vani aliqui quæ dei ſunt non ſapientes: ipſum ſuſpicari poſſint hāc altiſſimam
philoſophiā carnaliū philoſophorū (vt academicorum/ ſtoicorum/ platonicorum/
aut peripateticorū) præſidijs adiutum deſumpſiſſe. tantū enim abeſt: q̃tum cœli ſublimitas
a terræ infimitate/ ſolis claritas a noctis opacitate/ & quantū āgelus ab homine.
Diuina enim hæc tuba eſt/ tuba superſubſtantialis CHRISTI/ & ſpiritus ſancti: nō Platonica
aut Ariſtotelica. vt diuina relinquamus diuinis: & humanis humana. Et tēpora
noſtra a factione platonica (quæ tempore Origenis cœpit: per centū ānos et ſupra poſt
beatiſſimū patrē) ſūmopere cauta eſſe debēt. Et vt homines ſciant: illa neq; Plato dixit/

neqꝫ cogitauit/neqꝫ nouit. ſed cōiurati quidã gentiliū/vt Plotinus/Iãblicus/Porphyriꝰ/Proculus: altiſſima ſuperdiuinæ trinitatis myſteria per ſuum triplex vnū ex pauciſſimorū Platonis phantaſia excitati interturbare moliti ſunt/ſe dicētes Platonis interpretes: ſic rati pijſſimum CHRISTI cultum/quaſi ex inſidijs coacto cuneo opprimere/expugnare/vel extirpare. Et quæcunqꝫ noſtri afflatu diuino locuti ſunt: ad ſuam perniciē traxere/diuiniſſima quæqꝫ: platonica nuncupantes. Tunc id diuiniſſimi euangeliſtæ (quod Ioan. 1. de ſacro IHESV pectore hauſit) in principio erat verbum: & verbum erat apud deū/vſq; ad particulam/& verbū caro factum eſt/minus ſuæ ſententiæ placentem recognoſcunt. & clamant ſumme eſſe platonicū: & ſuis inſerūt libris/ferme indignati id ſibi vſurpaſſe barbarū. Tunc nomina æternæ dei ſapiētiæ (quæ CHRISTVS IHESVS author vitæ eſt: mortiſqꝫ deſtructor) fecerūt ſuæ ideæ nomina. Tunc ſancti ſpiritus nominibus/& in ſacris eloquijs expreſſis beneficis proprietatibus: anima mundi diues facta eſt. Tūc triſtis & impia de dæmonibus irrepſit philoſophia. & ijs quæ regnum in ſe diuiſum habent/& quæ peruerſitate confuſa ſunt: ordinē qui angelis debitus eſt/tribuerunt. & ſumma confuſa ſunt in imis: & in ſummis ima. Tūc cœpit Plato dici diuinus: & pœnituit Auguſtinū poſt eos nimis nuncupaſſe diuinū. Tunc cœpit Plato numen haberi: tūc Chriſtiana religio ex Platonis ouo tyndaridarū more proſiluiſſe viſa. Nullus michi ſuccenſeat: Chriſtianos alloquor/non Platonicos. Et ſatis ſit: neqꝫ Petrū/neq; Ioannē/ neqꝫ Bartholomeū/Lucã/Paulū/neqꝫ Dionyſiū fuiſſe Platonicos: ſed longe ſupra & Platonicos & philoſophos oēs. Et qui p̄ſens opus diligenter inſpexerit: videbit fundamenta impietatis (nō dico Platonis: nã ea vt dixi Platonis non ſunt/& poteſt Plato impune legi) ſed Platonicæ factionis funditus euerſa. Sed hæc facile (vt puto) religioſę mentes & percipient & probabunt. Neqꝫ vnq̄ in eos inuectus eſſem (cuius nunq̄ in queq̄ fuit inuectiuæ propoſitum) niſi religioni noſtræ/ob infirmos diſcretionis oculos profundo iudicio non penetrantes & aconita ſub melle non percipientes: mali periculum aliquod timuiſſem.

F ¶ Namqꝫ vt ipſa de ſe in ſanctis litteris benigniſſime tradidit. Illud eſt quod in præcedē-
Matth. 11. ti ſcholio adductū eſt. Nemo nouit filiū: niſi pater. neqꝫ patrē quis nouit: niſi filiꝰ. ¶ De-
G niqꝫ plures theologos inuenias. Deū inuiſibilē/incōpræhenſibilē/inueſtigabilē/hoc eſt nullis veſtigijs explorabilē/in ſcholijs ſecundi capitis cœleſtis hierarchiæ ex Paulo adductum eſt. Et rurſum Paulus ad Coloſſenſes cap. primo. Qui eſt imago dei inuiſibilis: primogenitus omnis creaturæ. & ad Romanos cap. vndecimo. Qꝫ incompræhenſibilia ſunt iudicia eius: & ĩueſtigabiles viæ eius. Vbi (vt dictū eſt) ĩueſtigabiles particulã negã-
H tē habet adiectã. ¶ Ab his quidē vltra humanū modū illuminati. Ab his: ab his fulgo-
I ribus qui ex ſacris litteris dehauriuntur. ¶ Vt ipſa de ſe in ſacris eloquijs tradidit. Ioannes cap. primo. Omnia per ipſum facta ſunt: & ſine ipſo factum eſt nichil. & quod factū
K eſt: in ipſo vita erat. ¶ Iſta ex diuinorum eloquiorum fontibus haurimus. Deprompta ſunt proculdubio ex ſacris litteris hæc vndeuiginti diuina nomina.

1	Illuminator.	R	1	Totius illuminationis principium.
2	Cauſa.	V	2	Omnium cauſa.
3	Initium.	R	3	Initium omnium.
4	Subſtantia.	S	4	Subſtantia omnium.
5	Erector.	V	5	Cadentium erector.
6	Renouator.	S	6	Corruptorum innouator ac reformator.
7	Confirmator.	A	7	Immunde actorū confirmator.
8	Corroborator.	L	8	Stantium corroborator.
9	Surſum actor.	I	9	Ad ſe accedentium quaſi
10	Illuminatio.	T		porrecta manu ſubleuator.
11	Perfectio.	E	10	Illuminatorum illuminatio.
12	Diuinitas.	R	11	Perfectorum perfectio.
13	Simplicitas.	E	12	Summa in eo aſſumptorum diuinitas.
14	Vnitas.	A	13	Simplicium ſimplicitas.
15	Principium.	D	14	Vnitorum vnitas.
16	Occulti propagator.	E	15	Principij totius vniuerſi/
17	Vita.	M		ſubſtantiale principiū.

18	Entitas	N	16	Sui occulti quantū fas eſt
19	Cauſa	O		conſortium tradens.
		Mi	17	Viuentium vita.
		N	18	Subſiſtentium entitas.
		A	19	Omnis vitæ & ſubſtantiæ cauſa.

¶Et hæc ex ſacrarum litterarum fontibus (quemadmodum & reliqua dei nomina quæ
poſtmodum adducentur) deprompta eſſe: dubium eſſe non debet. Quid eſt enim quod
pſalmus triceſimus tertius dulciter inuitat nos ad illuminatorem propter nos factū pauperem?
accedite ad eum inquit/ & illuminamini/ & facies veſtræ non cōfundentur. quid
euangeliſta clamat. et illuminat omnem hominem veniētē in hunc mundū: niſi ipſum Ioan.1.
eſſe totius illuminationis principium? Et Iacobus id superſubſtantiale bonum a quo omne Iaco.1.
datū optimum/ & bonū perfectum deſcendit: appellat patrē luminū. Et ecce ipſū omnium
cauſa. Pſalmus centeſimus tertius. Qꝫ magnificata ſunt opera tua domine: omnia
in ſapientia feciſti. Et euangeliſta. omnia per ipſum facta ſunt. Initium omniū. Apocalypſis
cap. viceſimo primo. Ego ſum alpha & ω/ initium & finis. Et qui dicit/ ego ſum Ioan.1.
qui ſum: ſe nominat eſſentiam/ ſubſtantiamqꝫ omnium. Et velle omnia & ſingula ſuis locis Exo.3.
reſtituere: magis oneroſum q̄ neceſſarium eſſe videtur. & pro excitatione hæc dixiſſe
ſatis eſſe viſum eſt. Et vt paucis aperiam: omnes ſacræ litteræ ijs quibus oculi mentis
adempti nō ſunt/ nominibus dei plenę ſunt. Et ad ſacras litteras ire: eſt ad ſacratiſſimorum
dei nominum/ præſertim quæ ex benigniſſimis ad nos proceſſibus prodiere/ digniſſima
ſpectacula ire. Et proinde vitæ contemplatricis amatores: ad primos diuinarum
lectionum introitus genua ſubmittite/ ſubmittite mentem. & ſupplices: cum reuerentia
& timore ad reuerenda dei nomina accedite. quæ vobis ſic paratis proculdubio illucebunt.
Nomina tamen quæ beneficos dei proceſſus in nos non declarant: vt infinitum/
immenſum/ inuiſibile/ inacceſſibilem lucem inhabitans/ & ſimilia negatiua: non prompte
in ſacris litteris negatiue expreſſa reperias. ſed ex ſuis affirmationibus (quæ paſſim
reperiūtur) per ſecreta analogiam in excellētia negationis ſuperexcellenter oīa ſuperātis:
quanta fieri poteſt mentis reuerentia & pietate effinguntur. Et non tam homines
q̄ ipſe deus pia corda inhabitans: ſua format in eis nomina/ & ſe illis nominat & exprimit.
ſe enim nominare: eſt ſeipſum inſinuare ac declarare. Sint igitur imprimis omnia
diuina & affirmantia & negantia nomina/ quæ affirmantibus longe præeminent: ſemper
benedicta. ſint & tanta pro qualicunqꝫ mentis erectione adducta: & piæ mētes ad
ſequentia conualeſcant. Quæ autem dei nomina in hoc capite ſequuntur declaranda:
ſunt vnum/ trinitas/ cauſa / ſapiens/ pulchrum / ſumme benignum/ prouidentia/ qui
ſum/ vita/ lux/ deus/ veritas. & reliqua huiuſmodi/ ad latus (quo paratius in proſpectu
habeantur) ſuis in locis annotata. ¶Quocirca in omnibus ferme ſanctis libris aduertimus. L
Deuteronomium capite ſexto. Audi Iſrael: dominus deus tuus/ deus vnus eſt. Pſalmus
octogeſimus quintus. quoniam magnus es tu & faciens mirabilia: tu es deus ſolus.
Zacharias capite decimo quarto. in die illa erit dominus vnus: & erit nomen eius
vnum. Et Matthęus capite decimo nono. Quid me interrogas de bono? vnus eſt bonus
deus. Paulus ad Epheſios capite quarto. Vnus dominus/ vna fides/ vnum baptiſma.
vnus deus & pater omniū: qui ſuper omnes & per omnia/ & in omnibus nobis.
¶Ex qua omnis paternitas in cœlo & in terra: eſt & nominatur. Paulus ad Epheſios M
capite tertio. Huius rei gratia flecto genua mea ad patrē domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI:
ex quo omnis paternitas in cœlis & in terra nominatur. vt det vobis ſecundū diuitias
gloriæ ſuæ virtutē/ corroborari per ſpiritū eius in interiori homine/ CHRISTVM
habitare per fidem in cordibus veſtris. ¶Et quæqꝫ alia deifica lumina ſacris ex litteris N
hauſta. Deifica lumina: diuinorū nominū illuminationes/ ex ſacrarū litterarū ſpiritualibus
intelligentijs deſumptæ. quemadmodum & beatiſſimo patri ſpirituales præceptores
eius apoſtoli/ Paulus/ Hierotheus / & alij ſanctorum/ in illa plenitudine temporum
viuentium: ſacram humaniſſime communicarunt intelligentiam. ¶Semper (vt ſcriptū O
eſt) cū domino erimus. Beatiſſimus Paulus ad Theſſalonicenſes capite quarto. Deinde
nos qui viuimus/ qui relinquimur: ſimul rapiemur cū illis in nubibus obuiā CHRISTO
in aera. & ſic ſemper cū domino erimus. Itaqꝫ conſolamini inuicē in verbis iſtis.

P ¶Non ſecus ac diſcipulos ſuos in ſacratiſſima illa tranſfiguratione ſua. Hanc beatiſſimam
glorificationis pie in CHRISTO viuentium repræſentatricem tranſfigurationẽ:
ſcribit Matthæus cap. decimoſeptimo. Et poſt dies ſex aſſumpſit IHESVS Petrum &
Iacobum & Ioannem fratrem eius: & duxit illos in montem excelſum ſeorſum & tranſfiguratus
eſt ante eos. & reſplenduit facies eius ſicut ſol: veſtimenta autem eius facta
Q ſunt alba ſicut nix. ¶Erimus enim (vt ait veritas) æquales angelis. Lucas capite
viceſimo. Et ait illis IHESVS. filij huius ſæculi nubunt & tradũtur ad nuptias. Illi vero
qui digni habebuntur ſæculo illo & reſurrectione ex mortuis: neq; nubent/ neq; ducent
vxores/ neq; vltra mori poterunt. æquales enim angelis ſunt: & filij ſunt dei/ cum
R ſint filij reſurrectionis. ¶Si ſupra ſenſum prorſus atq; ſubſtantiam eminet. Senſum: mẽtem/
intellectum. Vſurpat enim interpres paſſim & hic & alijs in locis: ſenſus nomen
S pro nomine mentis & intellectus. ¶Cæterum quod diximus cum theologicas hypotypoſes:
id eſt inſtitutiones exponeremus. Diximus in principio huius capitis nos hoc
diuino ſapientiæ munere carere. & eiuſdem frequenter poſtmodum beatus pater mentionem
T repetet: quod ad latus annotabitur. ¶Alia vero vitalis ratione motus: aut per
ſubſtantialem/ habitualemve aptitudinem. Alia: quæ neq; intellectualia/ neq; rationalia/
neq; ſenſibilia ſunt. vt plantę & prorſus inanimata. Et plantæ quidem manifeſte vitali
motu adoleſcendi/ virendi/ frondendi/ florendi & fructificandi: & in eo pulchro
ordine vbi alterum propter alterum fit prouidentiam deſiderare/ & imitando aſſequi
dinoſcuntur. Et quæ prorſus vitæ ſunt expertia: vim quandam ſubſtantialem & habitualem
habent/ per quam ſuis in locis & firmantur & cuſtodiuntur. & qua non ſunt in
opera/ niſi e ſuis ſedibus dimoueantur: aut quicquã ſint contra eorum naturã paſſa/ ſopitæ
& ſepultæ virtutis/ ad torporem degenerãtia & mortuis q̃ſimillima. habitus enim
& habitibus ſimilia q̃diu non ſunt in opera: ocioſitatem torpentiamq; & aliquid degenerans
& ignauum præ ſe ferunt. qua tamen in materiæ ſinu ſubtorpida virtute (quantum
eis conceſſum eſt) prouidentiam/ ſe ſaluando & quoad poſſunt quicquid in eis labefactum
eſt reſtituendo/ & aſſequuntur & deſiderant. Et hæc partitio ad boni deſiderium
V capite quarto huius/ numero 47. repetitur. ¶Iſta deniq; non ignorantes theologi:
ipſam & vt carentem nomine & ex omni nomine celebrant. Theologi: prophetæ. De
Iacob nomen dei inquirente: Geneſis capite triceſimo ſecundo. Interrogauit eum Iacob:
dic michi quo appellaris nomine? Reſpondit: cur quæris nomen meum quod eſt
mirabile? Et iudicum decimo tertio. Et neſciebat Manue q̄ ãgelus domini eſſet. dixitq;
ad eum: quod eſt tibi nomen? vt ſi ſermo tuus fuerit expletus: honoremus te. cui ille reſpondit:
cur quæris nomen meum quod eſt mirabile? Vbi angeli legatione diuina/ in
myſterijs ad humanos functi: loquuntur in perſona mittentis nomina dei/ ego ſum qui
X ſum/ qui eſt/ quod eſt mirabile/ & ſimilia. ¶Cum ipſum rurſus inducũt dicentẽ: ego ſum
qui ſum/ vita/ lux/ deus/ veritas. Ego ſum qui ſum. Exodus capite tertio. Si dixerint michi/
quod eſt nomen eius: quid dicam eis? Dixit dominus ad Moſem: ego ſum qui ſum.
ſic dices ad filios Iſrael: qui eſt/ miſit me ad vos. Et capite eodem paulo ante. Ego
ſum deus patris tui deus Abraham/ deus Iſaac & deus Iacob. Vita & veritas. Ioannes
capite decimoquarto. Ego ſum via/ veritas & vita. Lux. Ioãnes capite octauo. Ego
ſum lux mundi: qui ſequitur me non ambulat in tenebris/ ſed habebit lumen vitæ. Et capite
duodecimo. Ego lux in mundum veni: vt omnis qui credit in me/ in tenebris nõ maneat.
Et niſi magis oneroſum q̃ neceſſarium eſſe videretur: reliqua dei nomina quæ conſequenter
exprimit/ ſapientia/ mens/ verbum/ omnes theſauros ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ
abſconditos in ſe habẽs/ virtus/ potẽs/ rex regum/ & quæq; ſequẽtia: ex ſacrarũ litterarũ
authoritate ſuis locis fuiſſent reſtituta. Sed fortaſſe hæc reſtituendi exercitatio alijs
Y prodeſſe valebit: neq; inutilis alijs erit hic occupationis labor. ¶Iuxta ſcripturæ fidem:
ſit omnia in omnibus. Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola capite decimo quinto. Cum
autem ſubiecta fuerint illi omnia: tunc & ipſe filius ſubiectus erit illi/ qui ſubiecit ſibi oĩa:
Z vt ſit deus omnia in omnibus. ¶Ex abſolutis omniũ ſeu ſingularibus prouidentijs. Abſolutis:
z completis/ perfectis. ¶De quibus in ſignificatiua theologia pro viribus differemus.
Is liber ſymbolicę/ ſignificatiuęq; theologię non habetur: deus eum benignitate
ſua reparet.

¶PRIMI CAPITIS LIBRI DE DIVINIS NOMINIBVS: COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

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1773/D

1 DEterminandam hoc in libro materiam & modum determinationis ſuſcipiendæ:
exponit imprimis ſacer Dionyſius. dicens ad ſanctum Timotheum/
ꝙ poſt inſtitutionum informationumq; theologicarum librum:
ad diuinorum nominum explicationem ſit tranſiturus. In hac
vero determinatione eam proponit ſeruandam eſſe legem: quam ſem
per obſeruare curauit. ſcilicet eorum quæ de deo dicuntur aperiendā
eſſe & defenſandam veritatem/ non in perſuaſorijs humanæ diſciplinæ
aut mundanæ philoſophiæ verbis: ſed in oſtenſione virtutis occultæ theologorum/
apoſtolorum ſcilicet & prophetarū/ agitatæ a ſpiritu ſancto. id eſt in manifeſtatione cœ
leſtis ſapientiæ cognitioniſq; diuinorū: a deiloquis patribus perceptæ/ & a ſpiritu ſancto
inſpiratæ. Per quam quidem virtutem/ ipſis ſecretiſſimis deitatis myſterijs (quæ inef
fabilia ſunt & incognita: ꝙ omnem ſuperant ſermonē & mentis captū) modo itidē inef
fabili & nobis ignoto coniungimur. ſicut oculus ſoli per lucis ſolaris radiū: & cognoſcēs
omne ipſi cognito per notionem ipſam ſociatur. ſed eſt huiuſmodi vnio longe præſtantior:
q̄ ſit virtus noſtra & actio rationalis ac intellectualis. quoniam quæ diuina illuſtratione
& mente ſuper ſe in deū intenta cognoſcūtur: lōge altiora ſunt & auguſtiora q̄ ea
quæ modo rationali ex notis ignota perquirendo/ & intellectuali ratiocinatione cōpræhendimus:
2 cum ſint illa ſupra rationē naturalē & intellectus actionem. ¶ Modū diſſerē
di de diuinis/ nobis ſemper præſcribendū deinde proponit. proteſtās nichil vnq̄ de ſum
ma diuinitate aut dicendū a quoq̄ aut cogitandū eſſe: præter ea quæ ſacræ ſcripturę au
thoritas nobis tradidit. Nā diuina ſcientia/ ipſi ſupremę ignorantię non quidē per defectū
& priuationē ſed per ſuperexcellentiā dictę (vt quæ ſermonē omnē & mentē & ſubſtantiā
ſuperat) coniūcta: per quā ſane ſcientiā ignorantē & ignorantiā ſumme ſcientē/
deus ipſe ōni ſubſtantia ſuperior cognoſcitur: ipſi ſecretiſſimę diuinitati eſt attribuēda.
Tantūq; nobis conceſſū eſt ad altiora diuinitatis myſteria dinoſcenda contendere: quātū
ſacrarum litterarū cognitio & intelligentia/ earū ſtudioſis communicat ſuæ claritatis
& lucis. Sternimus itē viā/ paramus iter/ animūq; cōmode diſponimꝰ ad diuinas illuſtrationes
percipiendas: ſi ſacra eloquia & ſancta illorū myſteria humiliter/ cū ſobrietate/ religioſeq;
veneramur: reiecta prorſus omni temeraria præſumptione/ inſolentia & curioſitate.
Nā vt perhibet ſacratiſſimæ ſapientiæ veritas: diuina myſteria reuelantur & com
municātur ſpiritibus cū humanis tū angelicis/ ſecundū captū & diſpoſitionē animorū
ſuſcipientiū. haud ſecus atq; ſolaris iubaris fulgor oculis ſenſibilibus: ꝓ ipſorū capacitate.
Siquidē diuina bonitas noſtræ conſulēs infirmitati/ immēſitatē ſuæ deitatis (quę pror
ſus angelis & hominibus finitā mentis rationē ſortitis: eſt incōpræhenſibilis) ſeparat ab
ijs ſuæ maieſtatis myſterijs/ quæ ſub menſuram cadunt & finita ſunt. vt hæc permittat
pijs cognoſcenda mētibus: illā vero ęquiſſime rectiſſimeq; occulat atq; abſcondat ab il
3 lis/ ſibiq; ſoli cognoſcēdā ſeruet. ¶ Porro deū ſecūdū id quod eſt prorſus eſſe incōpræhenſibilē:
ſacratiſſime aſſeuerat hoc loco diuinus pater. Sicut enim (inquit) carnali hærētes
ſenſui: ſpiritualia cōpræhendere nequeunt. Animalis enim homo (vt ait Paulus) nō 1.corin.2.
percipit ea quæ dei ſunt. & ſicut figuris corporalibus & formis viſibilibus affixi/ nec mētem
ſupra illas attollētes: nō pertingūt ad ſimplices ſubſtantias & oīno figurę expertes
recte intelligēdas. ſicut itē ea quæ ſecundū corporū protractiones deſcribuntur: nequaq̄
exprimunt informitatem rerum incorporearum ac ſpiritualium/ neq; ſenſui neq; formis
addictā. eodē penitus modo ipſa ſuperſubſtātialis dei infinitas ac immēſitas: oībus ſubſtantijs
improportionaliter ſupereminet. & vnitas ipſa dei/ omni ſenſu corporeo & mētibus
ōnibus tā angelicis q̄ humanis excellētior: oēm tranſcendit intelligentiā. Vnū item
illud dei/ omni mente ſuperius: nullo cogitatu cōpræhēdi poteſt. & bonum ipſum quod
omne ſuperat verbū: nullis poteſt verbis ſatis explicari. Vnitas itidē diuina/ vnitatē om
nē in rebus producens ac conſeruans/ & omnem multitudinem ad vnitatem colligens:
verbis etiam ineffabilis eſt. Sic dei ſubſtantia: ſuperſubſtantialis eſt. & ipſius intelligen
tia atq; cognitio: nequaquā eſt intelligibilis. & verbum ipſum dei: ineffabile eſt. quinimmo
ſermonis/ intelligentiæ & nominis eſt priuatio/ non quidem per defectum ſed
ſupereminentiam: ꝙ omnem excedit ſermonem/ mentem & nomē. ſicut & dei ſubſtātia
iuxta nullā ſubſtantiarū eſt/ cū tamen omnibus aſſit: quia ſupra omnē ſubſtātiā eminētiſſime
collocata eſt. Rurſum cum ipſum vnum dei/ oībus vt ſint cauſa exiſtat/ quoniam
omnia per ipſum facta ſunt: ipſum tamen non eſt/ quia omni eſſentia et exiſtendi gra-

du rationeq; ſuperius eſt/ prorſuſq; incognoſcibile. quēadmodum ipſum vnum proprie &
vere de ſeipſo in euangelio enunciat: verbis quidem negātibus ſe a quopiam cognoſci
Matth.11. poſſe/ cum ait. Nemo nouit filium niſi pater: neq; patrem quis nouit niſi filius/ & cui voluerit
filius reuelare. Cum itaq; ſuperſubſtantialis ſit & ſecretiſſima deitas/ noſtram longe
tranſcendens cognitionem: nichil præſumere debemus de ea dicere aut cogitare/ aliter
q̄ ſacra diuinorum librorum eloquia nobis pie & ſobrie reliquerunt. ¶Sicut enim ipſa 4
occultiſſima & auguſtiſſima deitas de ſeipſa in ſacris litteris perhibet/ cum negat patrem
a quoq̄ cognoſci niſi a filio/ neq; filium niſi a patre: ipſius diuinitatis (quicquid demum
illa eſt: nam id neq; inueſtigari a nobis neq; inquiri debet nec poteſt) ſcientia & cognitio:
omnibus eſt abdita & incompræhenſa ſubſtantijs cum humanis tum angelicis/
quia ab omnibus ſubſtantijs eminētiſſimo modo & improportionaliter excepta eſt atq;
exempta. Proinde complures occurrent deiloqui patres & prophetæ & apoſtoli/ qui illam
non ſolum vt inuiſibilem & incōpræhenſibilem laudarunt: verum etiam vt imperſcrutabilem
atq; ininueſtigabilē. tanq̄ nullū ſuperſit indiciū/ ſignum & veſtigiū illorum:
qui ad latentiſſimam eius infinitudinem peruenerunt/ ꝙ nulli adhuc tales reperti ſint.
¶Poſtea dei cognitionem & ſcientiam non omnino nobis eſſe negatā oſtendit ſacratiſſimus 5.
pater: q̄uis & incompræhenſibilis ſit & ineloquibilis. Non tamen (ait) ſummum illud
bonum/ prorſus eſt omni ſubſtantiæ ſub ea poſitæ incōmunicabile. ſed cum ipſum in
ſeipſo immenſam & infinitam ſui cognitionem tanq̄ immenſum lucis iubar ſtabiliter cōtineat:
cuiuſq; tamē inferioris ſubſtantiæ capacitati ſe benigniter accōmodat/ ſuorumq;
radiorum lucem clementer diſtribuit. Perinde atq; ſolem intelligas immenſo infinitoq;
ſplendore choruſcū: ſubiectis tamen oculis pro cuiuſq; captu & modulo/ rationaliter atq;
per cognitionē prouidentiſſimā ſuos fulgores diſpartientem. Summum etiam illud bonum/
ſuorum radiorū iactibus ad ſui contemplationem ſocietatem ac ſimilitudinem ſupernos
ac cœleſtes prouehit ſpiritus: quantā illi ſpeculationem ac dei imaginem poſſūt
aſſequi. Ipſi vero ſpiritus angelici (vt cœleſtes illas ſubſtantias decet) ipſi ſummo bono
reuerenter ſunt intenti. neq; cum præſumptione ac temeritate contendunt ad altiora: q̄
permittat conceſſus illis diuinæ cognitionis pro ſua ratione radius. neq; itidem ad deteriora
affectuſq; ſiniſtros labuntur: ex eo ꝙ ad inferiora ſe per ſui humiliationem ac ſubmiſſionem
inclinant. ſed ſtabiliter & fixe ad irradiantem eorum mentibus diuinæ illuſtrationis
radium/ aciem conuertunt: nuſq̄ ab eo oculos deflectendo. Inſuper & ad deū
feruntur ſemper/ ac in eum aſſiduo tendunt volatu ſpirituali/ cum omni modeſtia/ ſobrietate
ac veneratione: per feruens diuinarum illuſtrationum (quas indeſinenter hauriunt)
deſideriū & affectū. ¶Quæ vero tacēda ſint de deo/ & quæ dicēda: prudenti diſcretione 6
diſtinguit hic diuinus pater. conteſtans ꝙ diuinę veritatis amator innitens his rectiſſimis
diuinæ æquitatis legibus/ cuiq; quod congruum eſt diſtribuentibus/ quæ totam
angelicorum ſpirituum hierarchiā prouidiſſime moderātur: debet ſecretum ipſum deitatis
(quod omnem mentis captum & rationem ſupergreditur) ſacra animi veneratione
1.corin.2. ſine perſcrutatione aliqua honorare. ſimiliter & ineffabilia myſteria pio reuereri ſilētio:
neq; de illis quicq̄ inquirere aut effari. ad eos vero diuinarū rerū fulgores qui ex ſacris
litteris depromuntur: animum debet ſtudioſius intendere. atq; ab illis fulgoribus ac notionibus
ad dei laudem dirigi: per illuminationem ab ipſis modo quodam ſupramundano
illi infuſam/ atq; ad celebrandam diuinam bonitatem excitari ex huiuſmodi fulgorū
irradiatione. illum præſertim ob finem/ vt etiam cognoſcantur diuinæ claritatis lumina:
quæ ex ipſis ſacris litteris nobis cōmunicantur. & celebretur ipſe deus totius bonitatis
Ioan.1. author: a quo omne procedit (vt ait euāgeliſta/ perhibens ōnia per ipſum facta eſſe)
ac emanat bonum. laudeturq; his præſertim nouēdecim ſacris nominibus: vtputa ꝙ ſit

1	Sacræ totius illuſtrationis principium: omnia illuminans.
2	Omnium cauſa: cuncta ad eſſe producens & formās.
3	Initium rerum omnium: a quo vniuerſa ſuum habent exordium.
4	Subſtantia omnium: per quam cuncta in ſuo gradu ſubſiſtunt.
5	Erigens & reuocans eos: qui vita ſpirituali exciderunt.
6	Renouans ac reformans eos: qui diuinam in ſe imaginem corruperunt.
7	Confirmans eos & conſolidans: qui impura vexatione agitantur.
8	Stantes corroborans: vt in bono perſeueranter permaneant.

9 Accedentes ad ſe:quaſi porrecta manu ſubleuans/ac promouens.
10 Eis qui ſpiritualiter illuminantur:fulgor intimus & lucidus.
11 Illis qui perficiuntur:conſummationis perfectioniſqꝫ princeps.
12 Eorum qui in deũ aſſumũtur:ſumma diuinitas et deifica virtus.
13 Illorum qui ſimplices ſunt:vera & ſingularis ſimplicitas.
14 Eorum qui in vnum tranſeunt:ſumma vnitas & vnifica virtus.
15 Principij totius vniuerſi:omnia ſuperans/ſubſtantiale principium.
16 Occulti ſuæ diuinitatis/quantum licet/participationem tradens.
17 Viuentium vita:omnibus pro ſuo gradu vitam elargiens.
18 Subſiſtentium entitas:cunctis ſubſtantiam communicans.
19 Omnis vitæ ac ſubſtantiæ cauſa:primitiua ac pręcipua.

eo ꝙ ſingulari ſua bonitate/cũcta quæ ſunt ad eſſe produxerit:omnipotẽtiqꝫ ſua & omniefficaci
7 virtute/cuncta conſeruet ac ſaluet. ¶Iſta plane ſupradicta nomina/ex ſacris
litteris deſumũtur:inuenieturqꝫ omnis fere deiloquorum patrum/prophetarũ ſcilicet et
apoſtolorum laudatio/diuina deſcribere & exprimere nomina:ad benignos diuinorum
beneficiorum in ſubiectas creaturas proceſſus explicãdos. Proinde animaduertetur facile
in omnibus fere ſacris libris ipſa ſumma diuinitas/his quinqꝫ ſicut & aliis conſimilibus
nominibus laudari.ſcilicet vt vna/trina/cauſa/ſapiẽs & pulchra/ſummeqꝫ benigna.
Primum vt vna & ſingularis cõmendatur:ob ſimplicitatẽ & ſingularitatem excellentiſſimi
illius indiuidui/quod ſumme vnum eſt.ſecreti ſcilicet diuini/ex quo veluti virtute
omnia vnum faciente:noſipſi in vnũ euadimus.& cum fuerit diuidui noſtri affectus multiplices
alteritates & diuerſitates/in deum modo quodã ſupramũdano coactæ & coadunatæ:
tunc demum in diuinam vnitatem & vnionem ſimpliciſſimam deum imitantem
colligimur.perinde atqꝫ lineæ in diuerſis eiuſdem circunferẽtię partibus diſtanter abinuicẽ
collocatę ac multipliciter diuerſæ:omnes in centro vniũtur & copulantur.Secundo
vt trinitas laudatur ipſa ſuprema deitas:propter expreſſionẽ & manifeſtationem diuinę
fœcunditatis in tribus diuinis perſonis:in æterna filij a patre generatione/& ineffabili
ſpiritus ſancti a patre & filio proceſſione perpetuo exuberãtis.ex qua plane diuina
fœcunditate/omnis paternitas(vt ait beatus Paulus)in cœlo & terra:eſt & nominatur. Ephe.3.
Tertio vt omnium rerum cauſa celebratur ipſa diuinitas:quia omnia per ipſius bonitatem/
ſubſtãtiæ omnis productricem/eſſe acceperunt.Quarto vt ſapiens et pulchra:quia
omnia quæ ſunt & ſuæ naturæ tenorẽ inuiolabiliter ſeruant/diſpoſitiſſimo quodã ordine
et venuſto ornatu ſunt inſignita.Quinto vt ſũme benigna extollitur ſũma deitas:quia
in vna perſonarum ſuarum ſcilicet verbo dei/noſtrę carnis infirmitatem integre & vere
ipſa ſuſcepit/ad ſeipſã hypoſtatica & perſonali vnione copulans & vniens humanę ſubſtantiæ
humilitatẽ.ex qua ſane noſtræ naturę veritate:ineffabiliter cõpoſitus eſt ſimplex
IHESVS CHRISTVS.ſimplex quidem ſecundũ diuinitatem:cõpoſitus vero ſecũdũ
humanitatem.Idẽ quoqꝫ ęternus vt deus:temporales ſubijt metas/& in tẽpore natus
atqꝫ in terris diuerſatus eſt/vt homo.Inſuper ipſe intra humanæ naturę terminos venit
circunſcriptus/localis/figuratus/& certa determinatus menſura vt homo:qui omnẽ
totius naturę ordinẽ ſupereminẽter excedit vt deus/fuitqꝫ ſuis vtriuſqꝫ naturæ ꝓprietatibus
ſine mutatione aliqua & confuſione integerrime pręditus.ꝙ naturales & diuinitatis
& humanitatis ꝓprietates:in ipſo poſt vnionẽ & integrę ꝑmãſerũt et ſaluæ. Manifeſtum
eſt autẽ iſta quinqꝫ ſupradicta nomina/inſinuare nobis ſecundũ ratiões aſſignatas
benigniſſimos diuinorũ munerũ in ea quę illi ſubſũt progreſſus.ſimiliter & alia quęuis
nomina/inſtar deificorũ quorũdam luminũ deſuper in terram porrectorum benefica:
ex ſacris eloquijs deprompta.quæ occulta apoſtolorũ & prophetarum traditio pijs
8 mẽtibus explanauit:& quæ diuinę ſapiẽtiæ ſtudio flagrãtes attentius didicerũt. ¶Dein
de quantũ ſit diſcrimen inter cognitionem noſtrã de deo in hac vita/& eam quæ habetur
in cœleſti regione:ſacratiſſimus pater adaperit.Nunc(inquit)& in pręſentis vitę incolatu/
ipſa ſacrarum litterarũ & eccleſiaſticarum functionũ benignitas/per ſacra quædam
velamina figmentaqꝫ ſenſibilia:ea quę ſpiritualia ſunt/materialibus contegit ſignis.et
quę ſuperſubſtantialia ſunt diuinitatis arcana:ſubſiſtentibus & viſibilibus operit rebus.
Eadem quoqꝫ prouida benignitas/formas & figuras corporales ijs circũdat incorporalibus
ſubſtantijs:quibus & formę abſunt & figuræ/non quidem ob imperfectionem ſed

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propter eximiam earum excellentiam. Deniq; eadem ſupremã illam dei ſimplicitatẽ ac
vnitatem: diuiſibilium diuerſitate ſignorũ & multiplicitate deſcribit et depingit. Tunc
vero quando in cœleſtis gloriæ regno incorruptibiles/immortales atq; impaſſibiles fuerimus
effecti/& digni habebimur illa fœliciſſima requie ad CHRISTI ſimilitudinẽ/qui
primus & vt caput noſtrum reſurrexit ad vitã illam beatiſſimã: tũc inquam (vt vere Paulus
1.theſſa.4 ait) ſemper cum domino erimus. fruemurq; puriſſime diuina ipſius domini preſẽtia/
omnibus tum conſpicua ac viſibili/& quæ lucidiſſimis nos circũfulgebit & clariſſimis fulgoribus:
Matth.17 non aliter q̄ ſanctos ſuos diſcipulos circũluſtrauit/in ſua ſacratiſſima transfiguratione.
Tunc itidem noſipſi participes effecti illius ſupercœleſtis & ſpiritualis lucis/quã
exuberanter hauriet mens noſtra/omni perturbatione affectuq; & conditione materiæ
libera: conſortes erimus vnionis illius cum deo/quæ ſenſum omnem & mentẽ ſuperat/
per incognitos & beatiſſimos lucidiſſimorum radiorũ a ſuprema diuinitate in noſipſos/
iactus atq; deriuationes. imitabimurq; in huiuſmodi beatificorum luminum perceptione
ipſos angelicos ſpiritus: ad eandem cum ipſis gloriam aſſumpti. erimus enim (vt inquit
Lucæ.20. in euangelio ſumma veritas) ęquales angelis dei/in glorię cœleſtis participatione atq;
conſortio. erimus itidem filij dei: gratia & dignatione diuina/cum ſimus reſurrectionis 9
ad vitam filij. ¶Quomodo autem hac in vita ad diuinorum ſcientiã aſſurgimus: manifeſtat
diuinus pater. Nunc (inquit) pro noſtri ſtatus ratione: ad diuina intelligẽda myſteria/
domeſticis nobis & familiaribus vtimur ſignis materialibus. & ex eis rurſũ erigimur
atq; promouemur ad ſimplicẽ ac ſingularem ſpiritualiũ notionum veritatem: ſecundum
congruentem nobis modũ. Poſt omnem autem diuinarũ rerum intelligentiã ex corporalibus
ſignis pro humano captu cõparatam/noſipſi quieſcẽtes ab huiuſce generis ſpeculatione:
ſublimioribus ac ſacratioribus mentis noſtræ contemplationibus elaboramus
demũ haurire ac percipere ſupremum illum diuinæ illuſtrationis radium/ſuperne a deo
nobis infulgentem. In quo ſane diuino radio omnium ſcientiarum perfectiones metæ ac
fines ineloquibiliter præexiſtũt: ꝙ omnium complectatur ſciẽtiarum ſummã/& omnibus
ſciẽtijs in infinitũ ſit eminẽtior. ſicut omniũ entium gradus in ſummo & primo ente
præſubſiſtũt: quod omnium eſſe in immẽſum tranſcẽdit/ꝙ complectatur omnia/pręueniat
omnia/ſuperet omnia. Hũc item a ſumma diuinitate in mẽtem humanam effuſum
radium ſuperdiuinãq; irradiationem: neq; intelligere/neq; exprimere/neq; quoquo pacto
cõſpicari poſſumus/licet animo illuceat. quia exceptus eſt ab omnibus & ſuperexcellenter
ignotus: mẽtem humanam ſupra ſe in deum ſubleuans. Et cum huiuſmodi ſupercœleſtis
radius/omnium cognitionũ quæ de rerum habẽtur ſubſtantijs ſimul & virtutum
omniũ ſpeculatiuarũ terminos ac limites in ſe ineffabili modo pręacceperit/vniceq;
& ſupereminẽter contineat: omnibus etiam angelicis ſpiritibus eſt ſuperior/ſupra
omnia in deo eminentiſſime & vi quadam incompręhẽſibili collocatus. Eſt enim radius
ille/cognitio de deo: ſecũdum abſolutam diuinitatis ſuæ ſubſtãtiam & ſimplicem veritatem/
quæ nimirũ & ſupra mẽtes omnes humanas & angelicas eminet. Cũ enim ſciẽtię
omnes/de rebus ſint ſubſiſtẽtibus vt ſuis obiectis/& in ſubſtãtias rerũ ſuam finiant determinationem:
conſeqnẽs eſt deum qui omnem improportionaliter excedit ſubſtãtiam 10
atq; eſſentiam rerum/etiam omni ſciẽtia ſuperiorem eſſe. ¶Poſtea ex ſupradictis obiectionem
proponit: cõtendẽtem non eſſe dicẽdum quicq̄ neq; ſcribẽdum de diuinis nominibus.
Si deus (inquit) omni ſermone & ſciẽtia eſt excellentior: ſi ſupra mentem omnem
et ſubſtãtiam eminet/vt dictum eſt. cũq; cuncta cognoſcẽs circumplectatur/cõprehendat
atq; præoccupet omnia: ſi ipſe tamen penitus incompræhẽſibilis ſubſiſtit. ſi deniq;
nec ſenſu vllo/neq; imaginatione/nec opinione/neq; nomine/neq; ſermone/neq; tactu/
neq; ſciẽtia capi aut explicari poteſt: quomodo igitur ſcribetur præſens opus/& de diuinis
nominibus determinatio ſuſcipietur? cũ nũc oſtenſũ ſit ipſã ſummã diuinitatẽ carere
nomine/& omne nomen ſupereminẽter excedere. ¶Reſpondet beatus pater/ꝙ ſicut in
libro theologicarum inſtitutionum a ſe dictum eſt: neq; explicare poſſunt homines neq;
intelligere vnum illud ſingulare/quod occultiſſimũ & ſuperſubſtantiale eſt/ipſumq; bonum
quod vere eſt: ſcilicet vnitatem ſummę trinitatis/vnũ ſimul deum & ſimul bonum.
Quinimmo & ipſe cõiunctiones angelicarum virtutũ ad deum per deificæ lucis participationem/
ſecundum modũ cœleſtibus ſpiritibus congruũ et accommodũ. ſiue quis eas
coniunctiones angelicarũ mẽtium ad lucem dei/iactus dixerit: quia iaciantur diuini fulgores
ſuperne in eas. ſiue perceptiones: quia huiuſmodi deifici radij percipiantur ab

ipſis ſupernis ſpiritibus, vtroq; enim vocabulo recte nūcupātur: propter rationes iam
adductas. Illæ inq̃ coniunctiones diuinæ bonitatis illucētis ipſis angelis/modo nobis incognito
atq; eminētiſſimo: & verbis inexplicabiles ſunt & ignotæ. et ſolis illis aſſunt cœleſtibus
ſpiritibus: qui ex angelicorum agminum numero/ſupra angelicæ ſciētiæ modum
ac rationem his ſuperdiuinis cōiunctionibus digni ſūt habiti. in quibus ipſæ mētes angelicæ
ſupra ſe per lucis ſupernæ irradiationem in deum ſubleuātur. Porro ſacratiores
et diuiniores ſanctorum patrum ſpiritus/humani quidem re ipſa ſed angelorū imitatores:
cōiuncti etiam (ſicut de angelis dictū eſt) his diuinis iactibus & radijs: quādo per ceſſationem
ab omni rationali & intellectuali actione/talium humanorum ſpirituum enixius
in deum cōtendētium ad ſummā illam dei lucem cōpletur vnio: tunc huiuſmodi ſpiritus
ſacratiſſimi diuina luce perfuſi/ ipſam ſupremā deitatem per omniū rerum ablationem
laudāt/omniaq; & affirmatiua et negatiua a deo auferunt. illud vere & eminenter
agnoſcentes ex fœliciſſima illa ſuarū mētium ad lucem diuinā vnione/ꝙ ipſa vnitas trinitatis
et ſumma deitas: omnium ſubſtātiarū eſt author/nichil tamen ipſa eſt ex ijs quæ
11 ſunt/ꝙ omnibus inexplicabiliter ſupereminet. ¶ Datam autem reſponſionē dilucidius
explanās: hic deinde declarat ſāctiſſimus pater/quomodo deus innominabilis eſt & quomodo
varijs nominibus explicabilis. Nullus (inquit) eorum qui diuinę veritatis omnem
veritatē ſuperexcedentis ſunt amatores: laudare poteſt ſecretum illud diuinū (quicquid
tandem ipſum eſt: ſecūdum eximiā ſupremæ bonitatis ſubſtātiam) neq; vt verbum aut
virtutem/neq; vt mentem aut vitam aut ſubſtantiam. ſed prædicare eam oportet vt ſupereminēter
exceptā ab omni qualitate/motu/vita/opinione/nomine/ſermone/mēte/
intellectu/ſubſtātia/ſtatu/permanētia/ vnione/fine/infinitate/ & vt paucis agam: ab omnibus
quæ ſunt exēptā. At vero quoniā deus ipſe vt totius bonitatis ſubſiſtentia/per ipſum
eſſe ſuum eſt omnium ſubſiſtentium cauſa: conueniens erit ipſam ſummæ diuinitatis
prouidentiam vt boni authorem/ex omnibus rebus creatis laudare. Circa ipſā enim
diuinā prouidentiam et ipſius gratia/ſunt omnia: ipſaq; eſt æternaliter ante omnia/et
in ipſa vt cōſeruatrice & continente cuncta ſubſiſtunt. atq; eo ipſo ꝙ diuina prouidentia
eſt: vniuerſa producta ſunt/ipſamq; deſiderant omnia/licet diuerſo modo & ratione.
Nempe ſpiritualia et rationalia vt angelici ſpiritus et homines: ipſam diuinam prouidentiam
deſiderant intellectualiter et ſcienter. his autem intellectualibus et ratione
præditis inferiora/ſcilicet animalia bruta rationiſq; expertia: eandem appetūt ſenſibiliter.
Vegetabilia vero & plātæ: eam deſiderāt ratione vitalis motus ſiue vitaliter. Inanimata
vero ipſam deſiderāt dei prouidētiā: per ſubſtantialē aptitudinē ſiue habitualē/id
12 eſt per ſolū ſubſiſtendi habitum & naturalem aptitudinē. ſolū enim ſubſtātialiter/& ea
qua ſubſiſtūt ratiõe: prouidētiæ diuinæ ſentiūt beneficiū. ¶ Quæ ſupradicta ſūt: ſacrarū
litterarū nunc teſtimonio cōprobat ſacer Dionyſius. Iſta (inquit) quæ modo adducta ſūt/
probe callētes ſancti prophetæ & diuiniloqui patres: ipſam dei prouidentiā prædicant
nunc vt carētem nomine/nūc vero vt omni nomine celebrādā. Vt carētem quidē nomine
eam prædicāt theologi: cum referūt ipſum deū in vna ſacrarū viſionū apparentē ſancto
patriarchæ Iacob increpaſſe illum/ꝙ interrogauerat quod eſt nomē tuum? ac veluti Gene.32.
deus ipſum interrogātē ab omni diuini nominis cognitiõe (vt quod eſt homini incognoſcibile)
voluiſſet abducere atq; ſemouere/aiunt ipſum illi interrogāti reſpōdiſſe. Cur queris
nomē meū: quod eſt mirabile? Nimirū illud ſane eſt mirabile nomen: quod eſt ſuper
omne nomē/immo quod eſt ſine nomine/& quod omne ſupergreditur nomē quod nominatur Ephe.1.
ſiue in hac præſenti vita/ſiue in futura & cœleſtis regni beatitudine. Vt multis
vero nominibus nūcupatum deum theologi laudāt: cū ipſum alijs in locis inducūt dicentē.
Ego ſum qui ſum/ego ſū vita/lux/deus/veritas. cū etiā ipſi ſancti patres diuinæ Exo.3.
ſapiētiæ ſplendore inſignes: deū omniū authorem multis prædicāt nominibus/ex omnium
creaturarū cōſideratione ſumptis. vt bonū. Lucæ. 18. Nemo bonus niſi ſolus deus.
vt pulchrū. cāticorū primo cap. Ecce tu pulcher es dilecte mi: & decorus. ſicut ſapientē.
Iob. 9. Sapiens corde eſt: & fortis robore. ſicut diligibilē. canticorū. 5. Guttur eius ſuauiſſimū:
& totus deſiderabilis. vt deum deorū. pſalmo. 135. Confitemini deo deorū: quoniā
in ſęculū miſericordia eius. vt dominū dominorū. eodem loco. confitemini domino dominorū:
quoniā in ſęculū miſericordia eius. vt ſanctū ſanctorū. Danielis. 9. Et impleatur
viſio & ꝓphetia: et vngatur ſanctus ſanctorū. vt æternū. Baruch. 4. Exacerbaſtis enim
eum qui fecit vos/deū æternū: immolātes dęmonijs & nō deo. vt exiſtentē. Iob. 14. nō-

ne tu qui ſolus es? vt ſæculorũ authorẽ. Eccleſiaſtici. 24. Ego feci in cœlis vt oriretur lumen indeficiẽs: & ſicut nebula texi omnẽ terrã. Rurſum eiuſdẽ libri cap. 18. Qui viuit in æternũ: creauit omnia ſimul. vt indultorẽ vitæ. Actuũ. 17. In ipſo enim viuimus/ & mouemur & ſumus. vt ſapientiã. Sapiẽtiæ. 9. Et tecũ ſapientia tua: quæ nouit opera tua. vt mentẽ. Iob. 10. licet hæc celes in corde tuo: tamen ſcio quia vniuerſorum memineris. Vt verbum. pſal. 32. Verbo domini cœli firmati ſũt: & ſpiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorũ. vt ſcientẽ. Ad hebre. 4. omnia nuda & aperta ſunt oculis eius: nec eſt vlla creatura inuiſibilis in cõſpectu eius. vt theſauros omnes totius ſcientiæ in ſe eminẽtiſſime cõtinentẽ. ad Coloſſenſes cap. 2. In quo ſunt omnes theſauri ſapiẽtiæ et ſcientiæ abſconditi. ſicut virtutem. primæ epiſtolæ ad Corinthios cap. primo. CHRISTVM dei virtutẽ & dei ſapientiam. ſicut potentẽ. pſalmo. 23. Dominus fortis & potẽs: dominus potens in prælio. ſicut regem regũ. Apoca. 19. Et habet in veſtimẽto & in femore ſuo ſcriptũ: rex regum et dominus dominãtiũ. vt antiquũ dierum. Danielis. 7. Aſpiciebã donec throni poſiti ſunt et antiquus dierũ ſedit. vt inſeneſcibilẽ & immutabilẽ. pſalmo. 101. tu autem idẽ ipſe es: et anni tui nõ deficiẽt. Et Malachię. 3. ego deus: & non mutor. vt ſalutẽ. pſal. 84. Cõuerte nos deus ſalutaris noſter: & auerte irã tuam a nobis. vt iuſtitiam/ vt ſãctificationẽ/ vt redemptionẽ. primæ ad Corinthios primo. qui factus eſt nobis ſapiẽtia & iuſtitia/ & ſanctificatio & redẽptio. vt magnitudine excellentẽ õnibus. Iob. 11. Excelſior cœlo eſt: et quid facies? profũdior inferno: et vnde cognoſces? longior terra mẽſura eius: & latior mari. vt in aura tenui. tertij libri regũ/ cap. 19. Et poſt ignem: ſibilus auræ tenuis.

¶ Inſuper ipſi prophetæ & ſancti patres dicũt deũ eſſe in ſpiritibus: id eſt cordibus. ad Epheſios cap. 3. CHRISTVM habitare per fidẽ in cordibus veſtris. & in animabus. ſapientiæ. 7. Et per nationes in animas ſanctas ſe transfert. & in corporibus. primę ad Corinthios. 6. An neſcitis quoniã mẽbra veſtra templũ ſunt ſpiritus ſancti: qui in vobis eſt? Et paulo poſt. glorificate et portate deum in corpore veſtro. In cœlo. pſalmo. 10. Dominus in tẽplo ſancto ſuo: dominus in cœlo ſedes eius. In terra. Hieremiæ. 23. Nũquid non cœlũ & terram ego impleo: dicit dominus? Et ſimul in eodem/ hoc eſt in eadem natura & ſecũdum idẽ: aiunt eũdem eſſe in mundo. Ioannis primo cap. In mundo erat: & mũdus per ipſum factus eſt. circa mũdum. ſapientiæ primo. Spiritus domini repleuit orbem terrarũ: & hoc quod cõtinet omnia/ ſciẽtiam habet vocis. Supra mũdum. Eſaię. 66. Cœlũ michi ſedes eſt: terra autem ſcabellũ pedum meorũ. Supercœleſtẽ. Pſalmo. 112. Excelſus ſuper omnes gẽtes dominus: & ſuper cœlos gloria eius. Superſubſtãtialẽ. Matthęi. 6. Panẽ noſtrũ ſuperſubſtãtialem da nobis hodie. Solem. Malachiæ. 4. Vobis timẽtibus nomen meum orietur ſol iuſtitię. Stellã. Apocalypſis. 22. Ego ſum genus & radix Dauid: ſtella ſplendida & matutina. Ignem. Deuteronomij. 4. Deus noſter: ignis cõſumẽs eſt. Aquam. Ioannis. 7. Qui credit in me/ ſicut dicit ſcriptura: flumina de vẽtre eius fluent aquę viuę. Spiritũ roris. Oſeę. 14. Ero quaſi ros. Nubem. Oſeę. 6. Miſericordia veſtra quaſi nubes matutina: & quaſi ros mane pertrãſiens. Lapidem. pſalmo. 117. Lapidẽ quem reprobauerunt ædificantes: hic factus eſt in caput anguli. Petram. primæ ad Corinthios. 10. Petra autẽ erat CHRISTVS. Demũ dicunt ipſi diuinæ ſapientiæ indagatores deum eſſe omnia quæ ſunt: ſecũdum quandã eius ad omnia cõuenientiã atq; congruẽtiam. ꝙ quęcũq; proprietates particulariter & contracte ſunt in rebus cõditis: eædem ſupereminẽter et abſolute ſunt in deo/ vt omniũ veritate primitiua & exẽplari. Aiunt itidẽ ipſum nichil eſſe eorum quæ ſunt: ſecundũ ſubſtãtiæ identitatem & ſubſiſtẽdi rationem. nam ipſe eſt ſuper omnia: neq; omniũ debet nũcupatione aut ambitu cõpræhendi/ neq; nominis illius vniuerſalitate cõcludi.

¶ Alia inſuper adiungit dei nomina ſacratus pater: ex beneficæ eius prouidẽtię rationibus deſũpta. Hoc (inquit) modo qui nunc poſitus eſt: ipſi deo/ omnium cauſę ſuper omnia exiſtẽti/ & cuiuſq; nominis priuatio cõueniet per excellentiam/ quia nomen omne ipſo minus eſt & inferius. & omnia etiam ſubſiſtentiũ nomina eidem cõpetent: ꝙ cum rebus õnibus in aliquo cõſpirat & cõuenit. vt ipſe deus reuera ſit omnium regnũ/ dominatio & principatus: ꝙ ſapiẽtiſſime & cœleſtia omnia et terrena moderatur regit & gubernat. et circa ipſam omnium cauſam ſunt omnia: tanq̃ intimã eis et proximã. ex ipſa itidem vt cauſa productrice/ veluti principio conſeruatiuo/ & veluti fine cõſtringẽte omnia et reuocante ad ſe: dependẽt vniuerſa. et ipſa iuxta ſcripturæ teſtimoniũ: eſt omnia in omnibus. 1. corin. 15. Veriſſime quoq; prædicatur ipſa rerum omnium cauſa: vt ſubſtantiæ vniuerſorum elargitrix per productionem/ & cõſummatrix atq; perfectrix

per omniū in ſeipſam vt finē reductionē. cōtinenſqꝫ cuſtodia & domiciliū: ꝙ omnia contineat/
cōſeruet & tueatur. deniqꝫ dicitur & omnia ad ſeipſam conuertēs ac reuocās: tāq̄
optimū finem & vltimū. Ipſa autē omniū cauſa laudatur eſſe iſta omnia quæ modo aſſignata
ſunt: cōiuncti ſimul & cōplexiue/incircūſcripte atqꝫ indeterminate/necnon excellēter
& ſupereminēter. ꝙ non vnū illorum ſolū efficiat determinate excluſis cæteris: ſed
omnia ſimul & cōiuncte. Nō enim ipſa prima omniū cauſa/ſolū continētiæ rerū/aut vitæ/
aut perfectionis dūtaxat eſt author: vt diuina bonitas(quę omni nomine ſuperior eſt)
tantūmodo ab vna prouidētia ſcilicet cōpræhendēdi omnia/aut ab altera prouidētia ſcilicet
vitā elargiēdi denominetur. ſed ſimpliciter & vnice ōnia in ſeipſa cōplectitur benefica
munera: ſine determinatione ad vnū eorum cū cęterorū ſecluſione/& id quidē per eximiam
bonitatē prouidētiæ/ipſius vnius & authoris omniū ſcilicet dei. atqꝫ ex rebus omnibus
cōditis ipſa omniū cauſa congruētiſſime laudatur & denominatur: ꝙ per ōnia diffundat
14 beneficos ſuę elargitionis & diſtributionis bonorū radios. ¶Poſtremū quomodo
rerum ſenſibiliū formæ/figuræqꝫ & nomina/deo in ſcriptura attribuūtur: aſſignat ſacratus
pater. perhibēs ꝙ ſancti prophetæ deiloquiqꝫ patres non hæc ſupradicta ſolū diuina
nomina celebrant ex cōpletis omnibus & vniuerſalibus prouidētijs: totū concernētibus
mundū/aut ex ſingularibus & particularibus prouidentijs: ad aliquod peculiare rerum
genus ſpectātibus/aut ex ijs quæ dei prouidētia regūtur et gubernātur. Sed interdum
etiam a quibuſdā apparitionibus diuinis que doctoribus populi aut prophetis ſacratiore
modo factæ leguntur aut in tēplis aut alijs locis/propter alias & alias cauſas/diuerſaſqꝫ
dei virtutes inſinuādas: ipſam diuinā nomināt bonitatem/quæ & lucem omnē et omne
tranſcendit nomē. circūdantqꝫ illi nūc formas humanas. Eſaiæ. 6. Vidi dominū ſedētem
ſuper ſoliū excelſum & eleuatū. nunc igneas. Exodi. 3. Apparuit Moſi dominus in flāma
ignis de medio rubi. nūc electri. Ezechielis. primo. Et ſplēdor in circuitu eius/& de medio
eius quaſi ſpecies electri. Laudāt inſuper diuinę ſapientię ſtudioſi: ipſius dei oculos.
Ad hebręos. 4. Omnia autē nuda & aperta ſunt oculis eius. Aures. pſalmo. 142. Domine
exaudi orationē meam: auribus percipe deprecationē meā. Crines. Canticorū. 5. Caput
eius aurum optimū/comæ eius ſicut elatę palmarū/nigræ quaſi coruus. Et Danielis.
7. Veſtimentū eius cādidum quaſi nix: & capilli capitis eius quaſi lana mūda. Facies.
Pſalmo. 33. Vultus autem domini ſuper faciētes mala: vt perdat de terra memoriā eorum.
Et pſalmo. 50. Auerte faciem tuā a peccatis meis: et omnes iniquitates meas dele.
Manus. Pſalmo. 118. Manus tuę domine fecerūt me & plaſmauerūt me: da michi intellectū
vt diſcā mādata tua. Scapulas ſiue humeros. Pſalmo. 90. Scapulis ſuis obūbrabit
tibi: & ſub pennis eius ſperabis. Similiter deuteronomij. 32. Aſſumpſit eū atqꝫ portauit
in humeris ſuis. Alas Pſalmo. 16. Sub vmbra alarum tuarū protege me: a facie impiorū
qui me afflixerūt. Etiā deuteronomij. 32. Sicut aquila prouocās ad volandū pullos ſuos/
et ſuper eos volitās: expādit alas ſuas. Brachia. Eſaiæ. 53. Quis credidit auditui noſtro:
et brachium domini cui reuelatū eſt? Etiam pſalmo. 97. Saluauit ſibi dextera eius: & brachium
ſanctū eius. Poſteriora. Exodi. 33. Videbis poſteriora mea: faciē autem meā videre
non poteris. Pedes. Deuteronomij. 33. Et qui appropinquāt pedibus eius: accipient de
doctrina illius. Etiam Eſaiæ. 66. Terra autē: ſcabellū pedum meorū. Inſuper ſancti prophetæ
& pręceptores populi: in ſacris litteris deo applicāt atqꝫ attribuūt coronas. Eſaię.
62. Et eris corona gloriæ in manu domini: & diadema regni in manu dei tui. Etiā Eſaiæ
28. In die illa erit dominus exercituū corona glorię: & ſertum exultationis reſiduo populi
ſui. Sedes. Eſaię. 66. Cœlū michi ſedes eſt. Et Danielis. 7. Aſpiciebā donec throni poſiti
ſunt: & antiquus dierū ſedit. Calices. Pſalmo. 74. Calix in manu domini: vini meri plenus
mixto. Et pſalmo. 115. Calicem ſalutaris accipiā: & nomen domini inuocabo. Crateras.
Prouerbiorū. 9. Immolauit victimas ſuas/miſcuit vinum/propoſuit mēſam ſuā. Et
canticorum. 5. Comedi fauū cum melle meo: & bibi vinū meum cū lacte meo. Inſuper et
alia quędā corporalia nomina ſpiritualis myſterij ſignificatiua deo aſcribunt: de quibus
in ſymbolica ſignificatiuaqꝫ theologia latius differendū eſt. Nūc autē quecūqꝫ ad præſēs
ſpectant opus de ſacris litteris diuina nomina colligēdo: beneficos dei ad inferiora progreſſus
inſinuantia/& ijs quę iam in hoc libri exordio dicta ſunt tanq̄ regula quadā vtendo/
atqꝫ ad illa mentis aciem dirigēdo: intellectualia diuina nomina & ſpiritualem præferentia
rationē pro viribus explicanda ſunt. Et quod diuinę ſapiētię ſtudioſis ipſa inſtitutio
ſacra & ſanctio in omnibus ſacræ ſcripturæ libris obſeruādū decernit ac ſtatuit: oculis

Cap.
2
pars
1

mentis in deū intētiſſime defixis diuina myſteria contēplāda ſunt/& non animo ad alia
euagante. Expurgatę itidem aures internæ/ſanctis diuinorum nominū explanationibus
ſunt accōmodandę/ & ſancta ſanctis ſecūdum diuinā legem atq; traditionem inſinuāda.
Eademq; ab irriſione & ſubſannatione prophanorū/incredulorū & imperitorū ſunt defendenda.
quinimmo ſiqui tales ſunt homines: ab infœlici ſuo errore noſtra opera reuocandi
ſunt/ atq; ad veritatis agnitionē perducendi. Demū ſanctum Timotheū(ad quem
pręſens ſcribit opus)alloquēs ſacratus pater: te(inquit)o Timothee iſta quæ præmonui
obſeruare operępreciū erit/neq; diuina ſacramēta iter imperitos proferre/aut ſublimia
deitatis prophanis ꝓpalare myſteria. Poſtremū pie ac religioſe diuinū inuocās auxiliū:
michi(ait)dignetur deus elargiri gratiam vt cōuenienter & pro dignitate poſſim laudare
varia ipſius ſummæ deitatis omni nomine & nuncupatione carētis nomina: ſuorū in
Pſal.118. nos beneficiorū rationes deſignantia/neq; de ore meo(vt ſacriloquus etiā orauit pſaltes)
auferat verbum veritatis: aut auferri vnq̄ ſinat.

¶De coniuncta & diſcreta theologia/et quęnam ſit diuina cōiunctio/ atq; diſcretio.

CAP.II.pars.I.

Diuinam totam ſubſtātiam/quidquid illa eſt: ipſa bonitas diffinire 15
A atq; aperire a ſacris eloquijs dicitur. quid eni aliud ex
ſancto euangelio diſcimus/cum deū ipſum ait exponēdo dixiſſe:
quid me interrogas de bono? nemo bonus: niſi ſolus
B deus. Hoc ſane et in alijs locis diſcuſſum a nobis ac demonſtratum
eſt: vt omnes ſemper deo dignæ denominationes/
non per partes ſed in tota ac perfecta atq; integra & plena deitate a ſcripturis
C ſanctis celebrātur. & oēs ipſæ/ indiuidue abſoluteq; ac præter omnē
obſeruationē: integræ tota integritate exactiſſimæ totiuſq; deitatis intenduntur.
Deniq; ſicuti in theologicis inſtitutionibus admonuimus: niſi quis
hoc de tota deitate accipiat dictum/blaſphemare ac ſcindere nefario ſcelere
pręſumit cōiunctā ſupreme vnitatē. Dicendū itaq;: hoc de tota deitate oportere
D accipi. Namq; vt verbū quoq; ipſum natura bonū/ait: ego bonus ſum.
Et quidā ex prophetis diuinitus afflatus: prædicat ſpiritū bonum. Et illud
rurſus/ego ſum qui ſum: niſi de tota dictū deitate ſentiant/& vna tantū ex
parte nitantur circūſcribere: quomodo illud intelligent/hæc dicit qui eſt/qui
erat/qui venturus eſt omnipotēs? et illud: tu autem idem ipſe es? & illud: ſpiritus
veritatis qui eſt/qui a patre procedit? Et niſi totā eſſe dicāt vitalē vitā:
E quomodo verū eſt verbum ſacrū quod ait. ſicut pater ſuſcitat mortuos et viuificat:
ita et filius quos vult viuificat? et illud: ſpiritus eſt qui viuificat? Ceterum
ꝙ dominatū quoq; omniū habeat tota diuinitas: de patris quidem
F fœcunda deitate/vel filij dici non poteſt/vt reor. q̄ multis in locis diuinarum
ſcripturarum: de patre & filio legitur/dominus. ſed et dominus: ſpiritus eſt.
Pulchritudo quoq; & ſapientia/in deitate celebratur. et lux itidē/& deificū/
et cauſa/& omnia quę totius deitatis ſunt: a ſanctis litteris in totius deitatis 16
G laudes aſſumūtur. ¶Complexiue quidē: vt cum dicitur/omnia ex deo. diffuſius
vero: cum dixerit quiſpiā. omnia per ipſum/& in ipſo cōdita ſunt: et
in ipſo conſiſtūt vniuerſa. et illud: emittes ſpiritum tuū & creabuntur. Et vt
perſtringā breuiter: diuinū ipſum ait verbum. ego & pater vnum ſumus. et
omnia quę habet pater: mea ſunt. & omnia mea tua ſunt: et tua mea. Et rurſus
quæq; patris & ipſius ſunt: diuino quoq; ſpiritui ſocialiter et coniuncte
applicat. vt diuinas operationes/venerationem principalē/& indeficientem

cauſam/ac diſtributionē cœleſtium munerũ. Neminemqꝫ arbitror ex ijs qui
in diuinis eloquijs rectiſſima/piaqꝫ intelligentia ſunt enutriti: huic ſentētiæ
contradicturum/ꝙ diuina omnia iuxta exactiſſimam rationem toti diuini-
tati inſunt. His igitur breuiter hic & ex parte/alijs vero in locis ſatis de ſcri-
pturis oſtēſis ac definitis: quālibet explicare nitamur integrā dei nominati-
17 onem/ipſa in tota deitate ſumenda eſt. ¶ Qꝫ et ſi quis dixerit cōfuſionem
nos contra ſacratiſſimā perſonarum diſtinctionē hac ratione introducere:
is noſtro iudicio ſe vera proſequi perſuadere nunq̄ poterit. Nam ſi quidē
eſt qui omnino ſacris ſcripturis reſiſtat: longe ōnino aberit et a philoſophia
noſtra. ac niſi illi curæ ſit diuina ſanctarũ litterarũ ſapiētia: quomodo nobis
erit curæ ipſum ad caſtiſſimorũ eloquiorum ſcientiā adducere? Sin vero ſcri
pturæ ſanctę veritatē intuetur: iſta nos quoqꝫ regula & luce freti/ad rationē
pro viribus reddēdam nuſq̄ declinādo pergemus. illud ante omnia dicen-
tes/vt ſcriptura ſacra alia cōiuncte tradit: alia diſcrete. & neqꝫ coniũcta di-
rimere neqꝫ diſcreta cōfundere fas eſt: ſed ipſam ſequēdo (q̄tum vires ſuppe
tunt) ad diuinę lucis radios aſpirare nos conuenit. et ſubinde diuinas perci-
pientes interpretationes veluti regulam quādam præclaram veritatis: quæ
ibi condita ſunt ſeruare in nobis ipſis/nichil addēdo/nichil minuēdo/nichil
peruertendo curamus. intra ſanctarum litterarum præſidium nos continē-
18 tes: a quibus vt ſeruemur (dum ea ſeruamus) robur accipimus. ¶ Atqui cō-
iuncta quidem totius deitatis ſũt (vt in theologicis inſtitutionibus latius de
ſcripturis ſanctis oſtendimus) quod ſupra bonitatē/ſupra deitatem/ſupra
ſubſtātiam/ſupra vitam/ſupra ſapientiam ſit: & quęqꝫ eminētiſſimę priua-
tionis ſunt. quibus & cauſalia omnia adijciuntur: bonitas ſcilicet/pulchritu-
do/eſſentia/viuificatio/ſapientia. et quodlibet ex ipſius benigniſſimis do-
nis: bonorum omniũ cauſa denominatur. Porro diſcreta ſunt/patris ſuper-
ſubſtātiale nomē & perſona/filijqꝫ ac ſancti ſpiritus: cũ nulla in his conuer-
ſio/aut omnino communitas inducatur. Eſt pręterea diſcreta/IHESV ex
nobis ſũpta perfecta immutabiliſqꝫ ſubſtātia: & quæqꝫ ſunt aſſumptæ car-
19 nis ſubſtantialia ſacramēta. ¶ Eſt autem (vt reor) conueniēs/vt reſumentes
exponamus perfectũ diuinæ coniũctionis ac diſcretionis modum: vt ſermo
omnis nobis apertus ſit atqꝫ cōſpicuus/varietatē omnē & obſcuritatē fugi-
ens: dum facile & manifeſte atqꝫ ordinate quæ ſua ſunt pro viribus ponit.
Aiunt (quod alibi etiam dixi) noſtræ theologicæ inſtitutionis præceptores
ſancti: cōiunctiones diuinas illius pluſq̄ ineffabilis/pluſq̄ incognitę ſingula-
ritatis occultas eſſe/& q̄ nuſq̄ extra ſuas prodeāt ſacratiſſimas ſedes. Porro
diſcretiones: benigniſſimos deitatis proceſſus/expreſſioneſqꝫ diffiniunt. Et
autumant ſanctis inhęrentes eloquijs: & memoratæ cōiunctionis ſeorſum/
et diſcretionis itidem quaſdam etiam et coniũctiones et diſcretiones propri
as eſſe. Puta in vnione diuina ſiue superſubſtātiali illo eximio: coniũctum
quidem eſt *vnicæ trinitati* atqꝫ commune/ſubſtantia ſubſtantiā ſuperans/
deitas deitate ſuperior/bonitas eminentiſſime bona cũcta tranſiliēs/totius
proprietatis idētitas ōnia ſuperans/vnitas ſuperprincipalis/ineffabile quod
multis vocibus prædicatur/ignoratio quæ per cuncta intelligitur/omnium

H
Con
iun-
cta.
Suꝑbonũ.
Suꝑdiuinũ
Suꝑſubſtā
tiale.
Suꝑuiuēs.
Suꝑſapiēs
Bonitas.
Pulchritu-
do.
Eſſentia.
Viuificatio
Sapientia.
Di
ſcre-
ta.
Pater.
Filius.
Spũs ſāctꝰ
Deꝰ incar-
natus.
De ſpũ ſan
cto cōceptꝰ
De virgine
natus.
Paſſus.
Sepultus.
Reſurgēs.
Ad cœlos
aſcendens
Sedens in
dextera pa
tris.
I

poſitio/omnium ablatio/quod poſitionē omnem ablationemqꝫ tranſcēdit/
principātiū perſonarū in ſe inuicē(ſi ſic dicere expedit)māſio & ſedes/inte
gre & ſuperexcellēti modo cōiuncta et nulla ex parte cōfuſa.quēadmodū
Manuductio luminarium. cęreorū lumina(vt ſenſibilibus ac familiaribꝰ vtamur exēplis)in domo vna
cū ſint:et tota in totis mutuo ſunt.et integra tamē atqꝫ ꝑfecta et ab ſe inuicē
diſcretione ſeparātur:diſcretione coniūcta/& coniunctione diſcreta.¶De- 20
niqꝫ cernimus in domo plurimis tedis illuſtri:ad vnum quoddā lumē/con-
iungi omnia lumina/fulgoremqꝫ vnum indiſcretū indiuiduumqꝫ pręferre.
Neqꝫ reor poſſet quiſpiam huius facis lumē ab alijs ex aere lumina cuncta
continente diſtinguere/et alterū ſine altero cernere:cū tota in totis mere cō-
mixta ſint. Verū et ſi quis facem vnā tecto ſubducat:omnis quoqꝫ ipſius lux
vna exibit/nichilqꝫ ſecum ex luminibus reliquis ſubſtrahet/vel ex ſuo cæte-
ris linquet. Erat enim illi(vt dixi) omniū ad omnia exacta coniūctio:mera
penitus/& nulla ex parte confuſa.idqꝫ cum eſſet lumē in corpore aere:& ex
materiali igne penderet.Superſubſtātialem itaqꝫ coniunctionem illam lon-
K ge eminere dicimus:non modo corporalibus cōiunctionibus/verum & ani-
malibus & ſpiritualibus ipſis:quas habēt impermixte & ſupra mūdanum
modum tota in totis diuina effigie prædita ſupercœleſtia lumina/participa
tione excellētiſſimæ cunctiſqꝫ eminētis vnionis pro captu ſuo cuiqꝫ indulta.
¶Eſt autem & diſcretio in ſupremis diuinis eloquijs non ea quam dixi ſo- 21
lum:ꝙ ſecūdum ipſam vnionem quælibet principātiū perſonarum imper-
mixta atqꝫ incōfuſa firmitate nitatur.ſed quia ineffabilis quoqꝫ diuinæ fœ-
cunditatis ratione:adinuicem nequaq̄ conuertūtur.ſoluſqꝫ fons superſub-
ſtantialis deitatis eſt pater:cū non ſit filius pater/neqꝫ pater filius ſit.ſeruāt
autem diuinæ laudes honeſtiſſime proprietates ſuas cuiqꝫ diuinarū perſo-
narum.Iſtæ quidem ſunt iuxta ineffabilem coniunctionē ac ſubſtantiam:
coniūctiones/ac diſcretiones.¶Si vero diuina quoqꝫ diſcretio eſt benigniſ- 22
ſimus ille coniunctionis diuinæ proceſſus/excellēti vnitate ſeipſam propa-
gantis ac multiplicantis:cōiunctæ quidem ſunt iuxta diuinæ diſcretionis le-
L gem/abſolutæ communicationes ſuſtantiæ/vitæ/ſapientiæqꝫ traditiones/et
alia munera omniū authoris bonitatis/ſecūdum quæ ex participationibus
et ex participātibus laudantur:quę ſine participatione participādo ſumun-
tur.Et iſtud commune & coniunctum atqꝫ vnum eſt toti bonitati:ꝙ ipſa
omnis ac tota ab vnoquoqꝫ participante ſumitur/& a nemine vlla ex parte
Manuductio circuli et ſigilli. percipitur.non ſecus ac centrum/pūctum ſcilicet in medio circuli:ab omni-
bus circūpoſitis rectis lineis.ac veluti ſigilli formationes plurimæ:primitiui
ſigilli participes ſunt/& in ſingulis totū atqꝫ idē eſt:et in nulla/vlla ex parte
eſt. Supereminet his quoqꝫ authoris omniū deitatis incōmunicabile illud:
ꝙ neqꝫ tactus/eius ſit/neqꝫ alia aliqua(ad ea quæ participāt)cōmixta ſocie- 23
tas.¶Enimuero dixerit quiſpiā:ſigillū in ōnibus formationibus totū atqꝫ
idē non eſt. Atqui huius rei non ſigillū cauſa eſt:totū enim ſe/illud atqꝫ idē
vnicuiqꝫ inſinuat.verum participantium differētia:vnius totius/eiuſdemqꝫ
primitiuæ formæ diſſimiles reddit effigies. Ac ſi quidē ſubiecta ſint mollia/
M formatuqꝫ facilia/& leuia/ſuſcipiēdiſqꝫ lineamentis idonea/non reluctātia/

nec dura/neqꝫ fluxa/& inconſtantia:figurã nitidã/& apertã/permanentẽqꝫ
habitura ſũt.ſin vero aliquid ex ijs quæ diximus idonea/ deſideretur:ea imprimis
cauſa erit vt & forma archetypo minime congruat/& obſcura ſit.
aliaqꝫ (quæcunqꝫ ea ſint) ex habilitate participationi minus idonea fiunt.
24 ¶Diſcretum eſt autem a diuinis operibus in nos benigne manantibus: ꝙ
ſecundum nos atqꝫ ex nobis integre & vere ſubſtantiam ſumpſit ſuperſubſtantiale
verbum.eaqꝫ & geſſit & pertulit:quæ ſunt humanæ ipſius aſſumptionis
electa/atqꝫ præcipua.His enim neqꝫ pater neqꝫ ſpiritus vlla ratiõe
cõmunicat:niſi forte quis aſſerat benignitate/clemẽtiaqꝫ/& cõmunione voluntatis
atqꝫ in omni ſupereminentiſſima & ineffabili operatione diuina
(quam homo pro nobis factus adimpleuit:immutabilis profecto deus/&
dei verbum)illos quoqꝫ acceſſiſſe conſortes. In hunc nos modum diuina &
connectere & diſtinguere oratione ſtudemus: ſicuti diuina ipſa & coniuncta
25 profecto & diſcreta ſunt. ¶Verum enim harum nos coniunctionum
ac diſcretionum quaſcunqꝫ in ſanctis litteris deo dignas inuenimus cauſas:
in theologicis inſtitutionibus ſeorſum de ſingulis diſſerentes (vt licuit) expoſuimus. Liber hypotypoſeõ
alia quidem vera ratione enodantes/atqꝫ explicantes:expiatũqꝫ
& tranquillum animum perlucidis ſcripturarum intelligentijs admouentes.
Alijs vero vt myſticis:ex traditione diuina ſupra intellectualem operationem
intendentes. Diuina ſane omnia & quæ nobis enodata patuere:
ſolis participatiõibus noſcũtur.Porro ipſa/cuiuſmodi in ſuo prĩcipio/ſuaqꝫ
ſede ſint:nullus ſenſus attingit/nulla ſubſtantia/ nullaqꝫ ſcientia penetrat.
deniqꝫ ſiue ſuperſubſtantiale illud occultũ:deũ/aut vitã/ ſiue ſubſtantiam/
ſeu lucẽ/ſeu verbũ appellemus:nichil intelligimus aliud q̃ ex eo in nos emanantes
participationes atqꝫ virtutes/quibus aſſumamur in deũ/& quæ nobis
vel ſubſtantiã/vel vitã/ vel ſapientiã largiãtur. Enĩuero ſecreto illi oĩbus
feriati & abſoluti ſpiritualibus actiõibus cõgredimur: nullã aſpiciẽtes deificentiã/
ſeu vitã ſeu ſubſtantiam/ quæ per oĩa ſimilis ſit cauſę illi/cũctis per
26 oẽm excellentiã eminenti. ¶Rurſus ꝙ primordialis & fõtana ſit deitas pater:
filius vero & ſpiritus ſanctus fœcundę deitatis(ſi fas eſt dicere)germina N
plantata diuinitus/ & veluti flores ac ſuperſubſtantialia lumina:a ſcripturis
ſanctis accepimus. Quonam vero modo iſta ſint: neqꝫ eloqui / neqꝫ
intelligere poſſumus. Sed hactenus omnis noſtri ſpiritualis operatio progreditur:
ꝙ diuina omnis patris ac filij notio/ ex tranſcendente omnia
patris ac filij principatu / & nobis & cœleſtibus eſt indulta virtutibus.
ex quo & dij / & deorum filij/ deorumqꝫ patres / ſpiritus diuina effigie
inſignes: & fiunt & dicuntur. eo ſcilicet patris ac filij ſpiritualiter exacto
munere: id eſt incorporaliter non materialiter. intelligibiliter ipſo quidem
diuino ſpiritu:immateriale omne ac diuinum ſuperne eminente. patreqꝫ &
filio:ab omni & patre & filio/ diuino patris & filij munere excellenter exceptis.
27 ¶Neqꝫ enim eſt exacta ſimilitudo cauſalibus & cauſis:ſed habent
cauſalia quidem cauſarum pro viribus impreſſas imagines. cauſæ vero
ipſæ a cauſalibus exceptæ: emicant ſui ratione principij. atqꝫ (vt noſtratibus
vtar exemplis) voluptates & dolores vt lætemur ac triſtemur autho-

Cap. 2 pars 1

Manuductiōes voluptatū/ dolorū ignis & viæ.

res eſſe dicuntur: cum tamen ipſa neqꝫ delectentur/ neqꝫ angantur. Ignis
quoqꝫ cum calefaciat & vrat: neqꝫ vri neqꝫ calefieri dicitur. Et ſi quis vitam
viuere/ aut illuminari lucem dicat: meo quidem iudicio non recte loquitur.
niſi forte per alium hæc dixerit modum: ꝙ affluenter ac ſubſtantifice
quæ cauſalium ſunt/ cauſis præindita ſint. ¶ Immo & quod theologiæ 28
totius vel euidentiſſimum eſt: ipſa IHESV in carne apparitio/
& ineffabilis eſt ſermone omni/ & omni ignota intelligentiæ: ipſi
O quoqꝫ antiquiſſimorum angelorum primati nō cognita. Et quidem ꝙ virilem
ſubſtantiam aſſumpſerit: in ſacramentis accepimus. Ignoramus autem
quomodo ex virgineis ſanguinibus altero q̃ naturali iure formatus
eſt: quove pacto ſiccis pedibus corporale pōdus habentibus materięqꝫ grauitatem:
liquidam perambulauit inſtabilemqꝫ ſubſtantiam. & alia quæqꝫ 29
excellentē IHESV naturā ſignant. ¶ Iſta & nos alibi ſatis tractauimus:
P & ab inclyto præceptore noſtro in ipſius theologicis elemētis celebrata ſūt
ſublimiter penitus. quæ ille ſiue a theologis ſanctis accepit/ ſiue etiam ex
ſolerti ſcripturarum indagine comprehendit longo exercitio ac tempore/
ſiue aliqua ſacratiore inſpiratione perdidicit: nō modo diſcendo aſſecutus
verum etiam patiendo diuina/ atqꝫ ex paſſionis ad ea ſocietate (ſi dicere liceat)
ad indocibilem eorum/ myſticāqꝫ vnionē ac fidem conſummatus. Et
vt plurimas/ beatiſſimaſqꝫ intelligentias præclarę ipſius mentis/ paucis apponamus:
hęc de IHESV in collectis ab eo theologicis elementis ait.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. Quid enim aliud ex ſancto euangelio diſcimus. Id
modo ex Matthæi capite decimo nono in præcedentis capitis ſcholijs adductum eſt.
Et Lucas capite decimooctauo. Quid me dicis bonum? nemo bonus niſi ſolus deus.
B ¶Hoc ſane & in alijs locis diſcuſſum a nobis/ ac demōſtratum eſt. In alijs locis: in libro
C hypotypoſeon/ qui (vt dictum eſt) non habetur. ¶Abſoluteqꝫ ac præter oēm obſeruationem.
D Præter: ſupra. ¶Namqꝫ vt verbum quoqꝫ ipſum natura bonum ait. Matthæus capite
viceſimo in parabola operantium in vinea: de ſeipſo qui primo mane a ſummo patre
exijt in hunc mundum/ operarios vineæ (quæ fidelis eccleſia eſt) conducere. An oculus
tuus inquit næquam eſt: quia ego bonus ſum? Neemias capite nono. Et ſpiritum
tuū bonū dediſti: qui doceret eos. Exodus capite tertio. Ego ſum qui ſū. Apocalypſis capite
primo. Ego ſum alpha & ω/ principiū & finis: dicit dominus deus qui eſt/ & qui
erat/ & qui venturus eſt omnipotens. Pſalmus centeſimus primus. Tu autem idem
ipſe es: & anni tui non deficient. Et Ioannes capite decimo quinto. Cum autem venerit
paracletus (quem ego mittam vobis a patre ſpiritum veritatis: qui a patre procedit)
E ille teſtimonium perhibebit de me. ¶ Quomodo verum eſt verbum ſacrum quod ait:
ſicut pater ſuſcitat mortuos/ & viuificat. Ioannes capite quinto. Pater enim diligit filium:
& omnia demonſtrat ei/ quæ ipſe facit. & maiora his demonſtrabit ei opera: vt vos
miremini. ſicut enim pater ſuſcitat mortuos & viuificat: ſic & filius quos vult viuificat.
F Et idem capite ſexto. Spiritus eſt qui viuificat: caro nō prodeſt quicq̄. ¶Qꝫ multis in
locis diuinarum ſcripturarum: de patre & filio legitur dominus. Pſalmus centeſimus
nonus. Dixit dominus domino meo: ſede a dextris meis. Vbi primo loco dominus nomen
patris eſt: & ſecundo loco nomen filij. Et Eſaias capite decimo ſexto. Emitte domine
agnū dn̄atorē terræ. dn̄s nomen patris eſt. Et capite quadrageſimo tertio. Hęc dicit
dn̄s redēptor veſter/ ſanctus Iſrael. dominus nomen filij eſt. Et operoſū nimis eſſet: quoties
G dominꝰ pro patre/ & quoties pro filio dicat̃: ex ſacris litteris colligere. ¶Cōplexiue
quidē: vt cū dicitur omnia ex deo. Actus apoſtolorū capite decimo ſeptimo. Deus qui
fecit mundū & omnia. Et cōplexiue ſummatimqꝫ dicitur: quod ęque ad tres ſummę diuinitatis
perſonas abſqꝫ vlla diuinarū perſonarū ineffabilis diſcretiōis expreſſiōe attinet.
Diffuſe vero atqꝫ diſcrete: cum perſonarum diſcretio innuitur. Paulus ad Romanos ca-

pite vndecimo. Quoniam ex ipſo & per ipſum & in ipſo ſunt omnia. vbi ex ipſo ad pa-
trem/ per ipſum ad filium/ & in ipſo ad ſpiritum ſanctum: diſcretiōis expreſſionem præ-
ferunt. Pſalmus centeſimus tertius. Emitte ſpiritum tuum & creabūtur: & renouabis fa-
ciem terræ. ſit gloria domini in ſæculum: lætabitur dominus in omnibus operibus ſuis.
Vbi de ſolo ſpiritu diſcrete: & de patre & filio complexiue. Et Ioannes cap. decimo. Pa-
ter meus quod dedit michi: maius omnibus eſt/ & nemo poteſt rapere de manu patris
mei. ego & pater: vnum ſumus. ecce diſcretiue de patre & filio: & complexiue de ſpiritu
ſancto/ qui cum patre & filio vnum eſt. Et capite decimo ſeptimo. Non pro mundo ro-
go: ſed pro ijs quos dediſti michi/ quia tui ſunt. & mea omnia tua ſunt/ & tua mea ſunt:
& clarificatus ſum in eis. ¶ Alijs vero in locis ſatis de ſcripturis oſtenſis. Alijs in locis: H
in libro theologicarum inſtitutionum/ qui deſideratur. Ioannes capite decimoquarto.
Paracletus quem mittet pater in nomine meo: ille vos docebit omnia & ſuggeret vobis
omnia quæcunq; dixero vobis. Et paulus ad Epheſios capite quarto. Aſcendens in al-
tum/ captiuam duxit captiuitatem: dedit dona hominibus. ¶ Aiunt (quod alibi etiam I
dixi) noſtræ inſtitutionis præceptores. Alibi: in libro hypotypoſeon. ¶ Verū & aīalibus K
& ſpiritualibus ipſis. Animalibus: animalibus coniunctionibus (animalibus/ epithetum
ab animales) hoc eſt coniunctionibus animarum. ¶ Abſolutæ communicationes ſubſtā- L
tiæ/ vitæ/ ſapiētiæq; traditiones. Abſolutæ ſubſtātiæ: exceptæ/ incōtractæ/ a nulloq; pror-
ſus pendentis. Et ita de vita/ ſapientia/ bonitate/ veritate/ & potētia: quæ in diſcretio-
nibus proceſſibuſq; incompræhenſibiliter compræhenduntur cōmunicationes/ & rurſus
in coniunctionibus ſummæ & nuſq̄ digredientes vnitiones. ¶ Formatuq; facilia & le- M
uia/ ſuſcipiendiſq; lineamentis idonea. Leuia: plana/ quæ æquali in ſuperficie & nullam
in partem ſubſultante iacent. ¶ Si fas eſt dicere: germina plantata diuinitus/ & veluti N
flores ac ſuperſubſtantialia lumina. Eſaias capite ſexageſimo. Germen plātationis meę/
opus manus meæ ad glorificandum. Et capite ſexageſimo primo. Spiritus domini ſu-
per me: eo ꝙ vnxerit me/ ad annunciandum manſuetis miſit me/ vt mederer contritis
corde. ſubiungit in fine. Sicut enim terra/ & ſicut hortus ſemē ſuum germinat: ſic domi-
nus deus germinabit iuſtitiam/ & laudem corā vniuerſis gentibus. Vbi de iuſtitia ęter-
na/ quæ filius dei eſt: loqui videtur. Et capite vndecimo: filius dei (cuius generatio ine-
narrabilis eſt) ab eodem propheta flos appellatur. Et egredietur (īquit) virga de radice
Ieſſe: & flos de radice eius aſcendet. & requieſcet ſuper eum ſpiritus domini: ſpiritus ſa-
pientiæ & intellectus/ ſpiritus conſilij & fortitudinis/ ſpiritus ſcientiæ & pietatis/ & reple
bit eum ſpiritus timoris domini. Et de ſpiritu ſancto: pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus pri
mus. Illuc producam cornu Dauid: paraui lucernam CHRISTO meo. inimicos eius
induam confuſione: ſuper ipſum autem efflorebit ſanctificatio mea. Et ꝙ dicantur lu-
mina: pſalmus centeſimus vndecimus. de filio. Exortum eſt in tenebris lumen rectis:
miſericors/ & miſerator & iuſtus. De ſpiritu: pſalmus centeſimus decimus octauus.
Declaratio ſermonum tuorum illuminat: et intellectum dat paruulis. os meum ape-
rui & attraxi ſpiritum. Et Paulus ſecunda ad Corinthios epiſtola capite tertio. Nos ve-
ro reuelata facie gloriam domini ſpeculantes: in eandem imaginem tranſformamur a
claritate in claritatē/ tanquam a domini ſpiritu. Et ꝙ hæ diuinæ diſcretiones (ſiue diui-
ni proceſſus ſeu germinationes/ ſeu effloreſcentiæ/ ſeu ſuperſubſtantiales illuminatio-
nes: ſiue hæc diuina generatio/ illa vero ſpiratio dicatur) ineloquibiles & inintelligibiles
ſint: Eſaias cap. quinquageſimo tertio. Oblatus eſt quia ipſe voluit: & non aperuit os ſu
um. ſicut ouis ad occiſionem ducetur: & quaſi agnus coram tondente ſe/ obmuteſcet. &
non aperiet os ſuum. de anguſtia & de iudicio ſublatus eſt. generationē eius quis enar-
rabit? Et ſi proceſſus generationis filij eſt inenarrabilis: identidem profecto & diuini
proceſſus amoris/ dulciſſimiq; ſpiritus/ inenarrabilis intelligendus eſt. Et ſummopere
de his altiſſimis/ & viuificantibus dei nominibus/ in quibus ſumma illa diuinitas om-
nem teletam voluit/ omnemq; ſanctificationem perfici: iurgia (quæ græci merito apo-
ra/ inutiliaq; dicunt) minime ſuſcitari debent. Hæc enim digniora ſunt q̄ quæ in conten-
tiones/ litigioſaſq; controuerſias veniant. ſed omni religione in ſilentio (niſi cum my-
ſteria requirunt: & pia dignorum/ & illis perficiendorum cura poſcit) tam coniuncta q̄
diſcreta dei nomina profunda mente recondenda ſunt. & qui ad illa auditores accedunt
velut ad æternæ vitæ cibū: omni cum humilitate & veneratione accedāt neceſſe eſt. Q̄z
ſi ſtatim guſtare non ſufficiunt: non inſurgant/ non cauillētur/ ne ex ſua ignorātia quicq̄

indignum contra altiſſimum effutiant & loquantur. ſed paruitati ſuæ intelligētiæ ad præſentiam inſignioris luminis/cęcutientis: aſcribant. Et orandum eſt ſuppliciter/ illum oculum ſine diuino auxilio cæcutientem illuminari: vt viuant eam vitā ad quam regenerati ſunt/ deum quanto magis intelligentes tanto magis & venerātes/& amantes. & id/ad hos ipſos fines petendum. Et qui ita non fecerit/& ad hos libros acceſſerit: apoſtata eſt. & non modo ad hos: ſed ad ſacros quoſq;. Dignos igitur deus ad ſua ſpectacula admittat: vanos autem & ſuæ oſtentationis cupidos/& quærentes ſapientes videri: haud aliter q̃ ſol aduenieēs noctis propellit tenebras/& omnium pariter lucifugorū oculos: procul arceat/abigat/propellat. ¶Ipſi quoq; antiquiſſimorū angelorū primati non cognita.

O Hoc dicit propter principē apoſtaſiæ & defectionis angelorum: qui primatum excellentiſſimū inter angelos tenuerat. De quo Ezechiel cap. viceſimo octauo. Tu ſignaculum ſimilitudinis/plenus ſapientia/ perfectus decore: in delicijs paradiſi dei fuiſti. omnis lapis precioſus operimētum tuum/ſardius/topazius/& iaſpis/chryſolythus/& onyx/& beryllus/ ſaphyrus/& carbunculus/ & ſmaragdus. aurū opus decoris tui: & foramina tua in die qua conditus es præparata ſunt. tu cherub extentus/ & protegens: & poſui te in monte ſancto dei/in medio lapidum ignitorum ambulaſti. perfectus in vijs tuis a die cōditionis tuæ: donec inuenta eſt iniquitas in te. in multitudine negociationis tuæ repleta *ſunt interiora tua iniquitate/& peccaſti: & eieci te de monte ſancto dei. & perdidi o cherub protegens de medio lapidum ignitorum. & eleuatum eſt cor tuum in decore tuo: perdidiſti ſapientiam tuam in decore tuo. in terram proieci te: ante faciem regum dedi te/ vt cernerēt te.* ¶Qꝫ autem dominus noſter pedibus ſuper liquidam & inſtabilē ſubſtantiam ambulauerit: Matthęus cap. decimoquarto. Quarta autem vigilia noctis/ venit ad eos ambulans ſupra mare. & videntes eum ſupra mare ambulantē turbati ſunt/ dicentes quia phantaſma eſt: & præ timore clamauerunt. ſtatimqꝫ IHESVS locutus eſt eis dicens: habete fiduciam/ ego ſum/ nolite timere. ¶Et ab inclyto præceptore noſtro in ipſius theologicis elementis celebrata ſunt.

Cherub de cœlo deiectus: ſpeculū regū ne ſuperbiant

P *Ab inclyto pręceptore noſtro:* ab egregio & diuino Hierotheo. Et liber diuini Hierothei de theologicis ſtechioſibus/ elementationibuſue/aut elementis: non habetur. vtinam deus ſæcula noſtra illa luce dignaretur.

¶PRIMAE PARTIS SECVNDI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM

AD ſpecialia ſenſim deſcendens ſacer Dionyſius: hoc loco oſtēdit nō de oībus *paſſim diuinis nominibus affirmatiuis & dei in homines* beneficam benignitatem declarantibus/eſſe ſuſcipiendam in hoc opere determinationem/ſed de ijs tantum: quæ toti integræq; deitati conueniūt/ & cuiqꝫ diuinarum perſonarum ſunt communia. Inter quæ quidem nomina/ipſa bonitas primum ac pręcipue a ſcriptura ſancta dicitur nobis *reſerare ac manifeſtare totam diuinam ſubſtantiam*/ quicquid illa eſt. nam id nobis abditum & inſcrutabile eſt. Nempe bonitatis ratio/ in communicatione diffuſioneqꝫ beneficorum ſuorum radiorum in creaturas potiſſimum conſiſtit: per quam ſane deriuationem & elargitionem/diuina nobis ſubſtantia quoquo pacto & ſecundario innoteſcit. perinde atqꝫ ſolis noſtri ſubſtantiam(ſi occulta poneretur aut abſtruſa ꝓpter nimiam claritatem: quam ferre non poſſent oculi mortalium)præſertim luminibus noſtris inſinuaret atqꝫ declararet illa radiorum ſolarium effuſio atqꝫ porrectio: qui ab ipſa ſolis ſubſtantia ad noſtros vſq; oculos emanarent. Et certe idipſum quod de bonitatis ratione modo propoſitum eſt/ ex ſacro dinoſcitur euangelio: in quo dominus noſter/ deum nomine boni exponendo ac deſcribendo / dicit. quid me dicis bonum? nemo bonus: niſi ſolus deus. ꝙ abſolute/ per ſe/ & natura: bonus ſit. non autem contracte/ participatione/ & gratia: vt omnes creaturæ. Porro & illud alijs in locis a beato patre determinatum eſt/ ꝙ omnes dei denominationes a ſacris prædicantur eloquijs: non particulatim/neqꝫ peculiariter vni perſonæ diuinæ cum cæterarum excluſione eas attribuendo/ ſed toti ac integræ deitati & omnibus indifferenter perſonis. Itaqꝫ omnes illæ nuncupationes/indiuidue ac indiſtincte/ abſolute ac ſine habitudinis perſonarum ratione/& præter obſeruationem conſiderationēq; & attentionē diſcretionis perſonalis: intelligūtur integræ ac perfectæ/integritate quidem totius & pleniſſimę deitatis. Sicut enim in libro theologicarum inſtitutionum iam admonitum eſt: niſi quis illud do

Lucæ. 18.

mini verbũ/nemo bonus niſi ſolus deus/intelligat eſſe de tota deitate dictum: ille nefanda
temeritate præſumit ſummam deitatis vnitatem blaſphemare/illamq; diuellere & diuidere
in plures ſubſtantias/quæ tamen ſupreme & indiuidue eſt coniuncta. quare ſentiendum
eſt/hoc domini verbum de tota integraq; deitate accipi debere: perſonas omnes
vnialiter complectente. Non enim recte poſſet quiſpiã id de ſolo deo patre intelligere:
cum & dei verbum de ſeipſo dicat in euangelio. Ego bonus ſum. & pſalmigraphus Math.20.
propheta ſuperno lumine inſpiratus: etiam ſpiritum ſanctũ vocat bonum/ cum ait ſpiritus Pſal.142.
tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam. Conſimiliter ſiqui illud verbum dei ad
Moſem/ego ſum qui ſum: ſentirent non de tota deitate dictum & omnibus diuinis perſonis Exo.3.
eſſe commune/ ſed niterentur illud conſtringere & coartare ad vnam tantum perſonam
vt dei patris: non poſſent illi recte intelligere id quod in apocalypſi filius dei inducitur
de ſe dicere. Hæc dicit qui eſt/qui erat/qui venturus eſt omnipotens. neq; illud Apo.1.
in pſalmo ad filium dei/ eloquium. Tu autẽ idem ipſe es. neq; hoc in euangelio de ſpiritu Pſal.101.
ſancto dictũ. ſpiritus veritatis qui eſt: qui a patre procedit. In iſtis enim adductis ſententijs: Ioan.15.
eſſe/& filio dei & ſpiritui ſancto aſcribitur. quare illud non recte ſoli patri accommodari
poteſt. Rurſum niſi totius deitatis eſſe confiteantur virtutem viuificam & vitã
omnia viuificantem/ſed ſolius dei patris: quomodo verum erit illud domini noſtri verbum
euangelicum. Sicut pater ſuſcitat mortuos & viuificat: ſic & filius quos vult viuificat? Ioan.5.
quomodo etiam & illud euãgelicum eloquium: habebit locum veritatis. Spiritus Ioan.6.
eſt qui viuificat? Vtrobiq; enim viuificare: & filio dei & ſpiritui ſancto attribuitur. Deniq;
ꝙ omnium rerum dominium habeat tota integraq; deitas (neq; poſſit illud ſoli paternæ
fœcunditati aut ſoli filio peculiariter aſſignari: ex eo facile liquet) ꝙ in compluribus
ſacræ ſcripturæ locis nomen dominus/de patre legitur & filio. potiſſimum in eo pſalmi
loco. Dixit dominus domino meo: ſede a dextris meis. Similiter & de ſpiritu ſancto/ Pſal.109.
cum dicit Paulus: ꝙ dominus ſpiritus eſt. Eodem quoq; modo pulchritudo & ſapientia: 2.corin.3.
in tota deitate laudatur/pariter & lux/& deificum/& cauſa. Et vt paucis omnia concludantur/
quæcunq; totius ſunt & integræ deitatis: etiam a ſancta ſcriptura in totius deitatis
16 & perfectæ laudationem adducuntur. ¶Verum id bifariam fieri ſolet. Aliquando
quidem complexiue ſiue coniunctim. quando id quod ad totam attinet deitatem: enũciatur
ſine diſcretionis perſonarum expreſſione. vt cum dicit ſcriptura: omnia ex deo
eſſe. Aliquando vero diuiſim & diſcrete. cum idipſum quod toti deitati & cuiq; perſonarum
eſt commune: cum determinatæ alicuius perſonæ expreſſione enunciatur. vt cum
de filio dei ſcribit Paulus ad Coloſſenſes. omnia per ipſum & in ipſo condita ſunt: & in Coloſ.1.
ipſo conſiſtunt vniuerſa. Et illud in pſalmo de ſpiritu ſancto. Emitte ſpiritum tuum & Pſal.103.
creabuntur. Similiter ipſum dei verbum inquit ad Iudęos. Ego & pater vnum ſumus. Ioan.10.
& ad diſcipulos. omnia quæ habet pater: mea ſunt. deniq; & ad patrem. omnia mea Ioan.16.
tua ſunt: & tua mea. In quibus omnibus quæ toti conueniunt deitati: enũciantur cũ certa Ioan.17.
alicuius perſonę vnius aut duarum explicatione. Conſimiliter quæcunq; patris & filij
ſunt: ſacra ſcriptura etiam ſpiritui ſancto vnialiter & coniunctim attribuit. vt diuinas
operationes ad exteriora progredientes/ venerationem principalem atq; adorationem:
non minus diuino ſpiritui q̃ patri & filio debitam/ indeficientem rerum omnium
cauſam/& diſtributionem diuinorum munerum. quam manifeſte beatus Paulus a ſpiritu
ſancto fieri pro ſuo beneplacito/affirmat. Neq; putandum eſt quempiam eorum qui 1.corin.12.
in ſacris eloquijs & pia illorum intelligentia ſunt educati diutiuſq; verſati: huic ſentẽtiæ
refragaturum. ꝙ diuina omnia attributa quæ ad naturam deitatis ſubſtãtiãq; ſpectant:
iuxta rectam diſciplinę catholicæ rationem/toti perfectęq; diuinitati inſunt/ac perſonis
omnibus ſunt communia. Cum itaq; hæc ſuccincte in præſentia & breuiter oſtenſa ſint/
alijs vero in locis latius ac diffuſius ex ſcripturarum teſtimonio determinata: quamcunq;
in præſenti opere explicare annitemur (inquit) dei denominationem: ipſa in tota
integraq; deitate ſumenda eſt/ & non cuiq̃ diuinarum perſonarum peculiariter aſciſcenda.
17 ¶Obiectionem adducit: quæ contra prius dicta ſuboriri poſſet. Diceret enim
fortaſſe quiſpiam/ ꝙ ex huiuſmodi denominationibus toti deitati aſcribendis: confuſio
induceretur contra inconfuſam diuinarum perſonarum diſcretionem/ & tolli videretur
earum ſacra diſtinctio. ¶Reſpondet ſacratus pater eum qui talia obiectaret: nequaq̃
veritate ſubnixum eſſe/neq; alios in eam inducere poſſe ſentẽtiam/ꝙ veritatem tueret.
Nam ſi ille inquit talis eſt qui obſtinate ſacris eloquijs reſiſtat: procul etiã aberit a diſ-

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Cap. 2 pars 1

ciplina & inſtitutione noſtra. Niſi enim ille curet ſacratiſſimam ſanctarū litterarum ſcientiam: quomodo noſipſi curabimus illum ad rectam earum intelligentiam adducere? eſſet enim talis opera noſtra: irrita prorſus/ propter illius proteruiam. Sin autem ille/ ſcripturæ ſacræ veritatem recipiat & admittat: tunc nos eadem quoqꝫ regula ſubnixi & luce directi/ ad rationem eorum quæ dicta ſunt illi reddendam/ nuſq̄ a veritate digrediendo/ pro viribus annitemur. illud imprimis proponentes: ꝙ ſcriptura ſancta aliqua de deo coniuncte tradit/ alia vero diſcrete. Coniuncte quidem: quæ toti conueniunt deitati/ & cuiq; itidem diuinarum perſonarum ſunt communia. Diſcrete vero: quæ vni tantum hypoſtaſeon congruunt/ & reliquis ſunt incommunicabilia. Neq; fas eſt coniuncta dirimere atqꝫ ſeparare/ ea attribuendo vni perſonæ & de alijs negando. quia hoc eſſet indiuiduam deitatis vnitatem & ſubſtantiam diſcindere atqꝫ diuidere. neqꝫ etiam licitū eſt diſcreta confundere/ quæ vni perſonæ ſunt propria: omnibus cōmunia faciendo. quia hoc eſſet perſonarum diuinarum diſtinctionem confundere atqꝫ permiſcere. Sed ipſam ſacram ſcripturam ſequendo quantum noſtræ vires ſinunt: ad hauriendos diuinæ lucis radios contendere debemus/ percipiendamqꝫ ſacrarum rerum ſcientiam. Et cum rectas ſacrorum eloquiorum cū modeſtia & ſobrietate admittimus interpretationes/ tanq̄ præcipuam quandam normam veritatis: ſtudemus enixe quæ in illis tradita ſunt documenta/ ſeruare in nobis ipſis. nichil ipſis addendo quod ſit contrarium/ nichil minuēdo quod ad ſententiæ integritatē eſt neceſſariū/ nichil deniqꝫ peruertendo per extortā & arbitrariā expoſitionē plerumqꝫ ipſi litterę repugnantem: ſed noſipſos diligenti ſtudio intra ſanctæ ſcripturæ limites/ terminos & fines continendo. Dum enim gnauiter & intente ſacra ſeruamus eloquia/ illabefacta & ſyncęra veritate: ab ipſis profecto robur accipimus. vt & ab eis in veritate ſeruemur/ neqꝫ ad errorū deuia declinemus.

18 ¶ Deinde exēplis declarat beatus pater: quæ in diuinitate coniuncta dicantur & quæ diſcreta. Coniuncta (inquit) totiqꝫ & integræ deitati conuenientia (quemadmodum in libro theologicarum inſtitutionū ex ſcripturæ teſtimonijs eſt oſtēſum) ſunt hæc: ſuperbonum/ ſuperdiuinum/ ſuperſubſtantiale/ ſuperuiuens/ ſuperſapiens. & quæcunqꝫ priuationem ſignant in deo: per ſuperexcellentiam atq; ſupereminentiam eius vltra omnia. Adijciuntur ſupradictis & cauſalia nomina/ deſignantiaqꝫ deum vt principium & cauſam progreſſionis perfectionum: quæ ab ipſo emanant in creaturas. vt bonitas/ pulchritudo/ eſſentia/ viuificatio/ ſapientia. & quodcunqꝫ aliud ex ſuis benigniſſimis donis: ſuprema omnium bonorum cauſa nominatur. Diſcreta autem ſunt: ipſius dei patris ſuperſubſtantiale nomen & perſona/ ſimiliter & filij nomē ac perſona/ itidem & ſpiritus ſancti. eo ꝙ nulla in illis nominibus conuerſio atqꝫ permutatio/ neqꝫ communio admittatur. Non enim vnq̄ perſona patris in filij conuertitur perſonam: aut ediuerſo. vt qui prius pater fuerit: poſtea ſit filius aut contra. neq; nomen patris: vnq̄ filio aut ſpiritui ſancto eſt cōmune. Diſcreta inſuper eſt: perfecta & immutabilis in aliud/ IHESV CHRISTI ſubſtantia humana/ ex noſtro genere ſumpta. ꝙ ea neqꝫ patri neqꝫ ſpiritui ſancto ſit communis. ſolus enim dei filius: humanam aſſumpſit naturam. Et quæcunqꝫ ſunt præcipua & inſignia aſſumptæ carnis ſacramenta: etiam diſcreta ſunt. vt ꝙ deus eſt incarnatus/ de ſpiritu ſancto conceptus/ de virgine natus/ ꝙ deus in mundo viſus & cū hominibus conuerſatus/ paſſus mortē/ inferna ſpoliās & mortē deſtruēs/ reſurgēs ex mortuis/ ad cœlos aſcendēs/ & ſedēs in dextera patris. hæc enī oīa: ad ſolū pertinēt dei filiū.

19 ¶ Poſtea exactiore accuratioreqꝫ q̄ ſuperius/ determinatione: de cōiunctione & diſcretione diuina ſecūdū aliā differit rationem ſacratus pater. dicēs id cōducibile eſſe ac expediens/ vt reſumendo aliquātulū quæ paulo ante dicta ſunt: nunc exponatur perfectior diuinæ cōiunctionis & diſcretionis modus. quo omnis ſermo de re tam ardua ac ſublimi dilucidus ſit & clarus/ perplexitatē omnem & ambages refugiēs: dū ea quæ ad propoſitā attinent materiam/ cum facilitate perſpicuitate & inconfuſo ordine pertractat. Dicunt itaqꝫ (vt etiam in libro theologicarum inſtitutionum diſcuſſum eſt) diuinæ ſapientiæ magiſtri/ coniunctiones diuinas eſſe ſacratiſſimas ſingularis & vnicæ deitatis (quæ & ineffabilis eſt & incognita) perfectiones: vt illa in ſe occulta maneat/ & nuſq̄ extra progrediatur. Diſcretiones vero eſſe diffiniunt benignos deitatis extra ſe proceſſus: atqꝫ beneficas ſuæ bonitatis in creaturis expreſſiones. Iidem quoqꝫ ſacrarum litterarum ſententiam ſequentes: putant ſupradictæ & modo diffinitæ coniunctionis quaſdam etiā cōiunctiones proprias eſſe/ necnō & proprias diſcretiones. putāt itidem ſupradictam & nūc deſcriptam

diſcretionem habere ſimiliter coniunctiones quaſdā proprias/& etiam peculiares diſcretiones.
quæ omnia: exemplis ordinate proponendis clarius eluceſcent. Nempe in coniunctione
diuina/& ſuperſubſtātiali illo in ſuæ maieſtatis arcano/manēte: coniunctū eſt
indiuiduæ trinitati & cōmune/ quodlibet iſtorū ſequentiū: ſcilicet ſubſtātia ſubſtantiā ſuperans/
deitas deitate ſuperior/bonitas eminentiſſime bona/cūcta trāſcendēs/totius ꝓprietatis
identitas oīa ſuperās: quia ſecretū illud diuinū oībus ſuis proprietatibus/ virtuti/
ſapiētiæ/bonitati/perfectioni eſt prorſus idē. Inſuper vnitas ſuperprincipalis & ōne
ſuperās principiū/ineffabile & nullo nomine explicabile: quod tamē multis nominibus
prædicatur/ignoratio ſuperexcellēs: quæ per cuncta entiū genera intelligitur/omniū poſitio
atq; affirmatio: ꝙ de ipſo affirmētur oīa/omniū ablatio atq; negatio: ꝙ de ipſo negētur
oīa, immo quod poſitionē oēm ablationēq; trāſcendit: quia eſt ſupra oēm affirmationē
& negationē. Sane hæc omnia/ipſius ſuperdiuinæ cōiunctionis ſunt coniuncta: &
dei in ſeipſo occulti atq; latentis ſubſtantiā cōcernentia. Eiuſdē vero internæ/ intimæq;
coniunctionis diſcreta ſunt: diuinarū perſonarū in ſe inuicē māſio atq; permanētia/cōiuncta
quidē modo quodā ſupereminenti & nullo pacto cōfuſa: ꝙ eadē ſyncęrā earum
diſtinctionē diſcretionēq; ſeruet. Sicut triū cęreorū lumina(vt familiaribus ac materialibus
idē declaretur exemplis)cum ſint in vna & eadē domo: tota lumina in totis mutuo
ſunt/atq; vnū alijs adinuicem in eodē adeſt aere. ipſa tamen integra manēt atq; perfecta/
vnūquodq; per ſe/& abinuicē diſcretione ſeparantur: ꝙ vnum illorū luminū nō eſt
aliud/ſed quodq; ipſorū ab alijs re ipſa diſtinctū. ſuntq; tria illa lumina: & diſcretione cōiuncta
20 & coniunctione diſcreta. ¶ Altero inſuper exēplo ſenſibili: manifeſtat beatus pater
ipſam ineffabilem diuinarū perſonarū immanētiā. Cernimus (inquit)in domo pluribus
tędis illuſtrata/ vt verbi gratia tribus: ad vnū quoddā totū lumē cōiungi tria illa tędarū
lumina/ipſaq; præ ſe ferre fulgorem vnum indiſcretum/indiſtinctum atq; vnicum.
Neq; poſſet quiſpiam vnius illarum tędarum vt primæ lumen/ab alijs reliquarum duarum
luminibus diſtinguere in aere: lumina cuncta trium facularum cōtinente. neq; vnū
illorum ſine alio cernere: ꝙ tota perfectaq; & integra in totis ſint omnino indiuiſim cōmixta.
Verum ſi quis vnā tędā vt primā domo dimoueat: tota quoq; illius claritas vna
diſcedet. neq; quicquā ſecum de luminibus reliquis duarum tædarum auferet: aut de
ſuo lumine quicquā cæteris luminibus commixtum relinquet. Erat enim anteq̄ ſubduceretur
fax illa prima/lumen eius(vt iam dictum eſt) ad alia inconfuſe coniunctū: neq;
vlla ex parte cū cæteris cōfuſum. Verū hęc luminariū manuductio lōge deficit a ſuo exēplari
& archetypo: ad quod declarandū eſt adducta. Nā trium illarū tædarum lumen/ in
ſubiecto eſt corporali ſcilicet aere: & ex materiali igne/ flāma videlicet facularū dependet
tanq̄ ſuo producente ac conſeruante. Superſubſtantialis autem illa trium diuinarū
perſonarū in ſeinuicem coniunctio cum diſcretione/ longe ſupereminet non ſolū corporalium
rerum coniunctionibus: ſed & animarum ad corpora/& cœleſtiū angelicorūq; ſpirituum.
quas quidē coniunctiones/ ipſa ſupercœleſtia lumina ſpiritualia & ſubſtantialia
(vtpote angeli) diuina ſimilitudine & ſpecie inſignita: adinuicem habent tota in totis/
impermixte/inconfuſe & modo certe ſupramundano/ ſimul cum diſcretione atq; diſtinctione.
Habent autem huiuſmodi coniunctionem angelica illa agmina per participationem
excellētiſſimæ & quę cunctis eminet vnionis diuinarum perſonarum ad ſe inuicem
cum inconfuſa diſcretione: cuiq; ipſorum pro ſuo modo ac ratione ſublimiter indultam.
21 ¶ Adiungit deinceps ſacratiſſimus pater & alterum diſcretionis proprię in coniunctione
illa deitatis intima repertæ exemplū. Eſt(inquit)& diſcretio in ſupremis diuinis
perſonis/non ea ſolum quæ modo dicta eſt: ꝙ ſecundū ipſam vnionem perſonarū
in ſeinuicē per immanſionē atq; inſeſſionē/ vnaquæq; trium perſonarū/ impermixta atq;
inconfuſa manet cū altera/ſuæq; diſcretionis atq; diſtinctionis ſeruat inconcuſſā firmitatem.
ſed etiam quia ratione diuinæ fœcunditatis nobis inexplicabilis: nequaq̄ adinuicem
conuertuntur/ vt vna earū ſit alia. ſolus enim pater/fons eſt ſuperſubſtantialis deitatis:
ꝙ ab eo filius & ſpiritus ſanctus ſecundum deitatem habēt originē æternā/ipſe vero
a nemine prodit & proficiſcitur. neq; ſane pater ipſe: filius eſt/neq; filius eſt pater. Et
diligenti cura ſeruant ſacræ litteræ in diuinis laudibus cum ſumma honeſtate & decentia/
cuiq; ſupremarum perſonarum ſuas proprietates. vt patri innaſcentiam attribuūt:
filio gignentiam/ ſpiritui vero ſancto proceſſionem. Itaq; hæ quæ nunc adductæ ſunt:
coniunctiones ſunt & diſcretiones ipſius ineffabilis cōiunctionis/deitatē in ſeipſa ma-

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Cap.
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pars
1

nentem concernentis. ¶Poſtea diſcretionem diuinam quæ in progreſſione deitatis extra 22
ſe attenditur/ elucidat: & quæ in ea ſit coniunctio/ primum explanat. Cum (inquit) diuina
etiam diſcretio (vt paulo ante dictum eſt) ſit benigniſſimus diuinæ coniunctionis
intimæ ad exteriora progreſſus/ excellenti bonitate ſeipſam multiplicantis & deriuantis
in alia: coniunctæ ſane ſecundum diuinæ iſtius diſcretionis legem ac regulam ſunt communicationes
ipſius abſolutæ & ſupremę ſubſtantiæ/ traditioneſq; vitæ ſuperdiuinæ &
ſapientiæ/ aliorūqꝫ diuinorum munerū elargitiones: ab omniū authore bonitate emanantes.
ſecundū quæ quidē dona: ipſa ſumma bonitas ex participationibus eorū & ijs
qui ea participant & ſumunt/ laudatur. & quæ etiam munera imparticipanter participātur/
atqꝫ ſine participatione per participationem habentur. Neqꝫ illa adinuicem repugnant:
quæ hic afferuntur. Nam illa abſoluta diuinitatis totius communia: ſubſtantia/
vita/ ſapientia/ vt in deo ſunt: & ſecundū ſuam ſubſtātiam imparticipata manent/ & ab
omnibus eminenter excepta. Eorū autem imagines/ efformationes/ & veſtigia rebus cōditis
impreſſa/ & effuſa in totius mundi ambitum: habentur per participationem. Sicut
& ipſa ſolis claritas intima/ ſecundum ſeipſam imparticipabilis eſt: & corporibus diaphanis
omnibus incōmunicata/ atqꝫ a cūctis exempta. ſecundum ſuam vero effulgentiam
& lumen quod ad exteriora profundit: cōmunicatur cœlo/ aeri/ aquæ & mortaliū oculis
ad quos deriuatur eius radius. Enimuero iſtud cōmune eſt & cōiunctum atq; vnice cōueniēs
toti deitati: ꝙ ipſa omnis/ tota & perfecta ab vnoquoqꝫ eā participante accipitur/
& a nemine ſecundū vnā tantum partem aut alteram percipitur: ꝙ impers ipſa ſit & inſectilis
atqꝫ indiuidua. Et ita de abſoluta dei ſapientia/ vita/ bonitate & cæteris id genꝰ
proprietatibus ſentiēdum. quarum vnaquęqꝫ/ tota atq; plena a participātibus percipit̄/
nō quidē ſecundum ſeipſam: ſed ſuam imaginem/ notam atq; impreſſionem. quæ tamen
in diuerſis eſt multiplex/ diuerſa & particularis: in vno quidē maior/ in altero vero minor/
& ſecundū partes diſtributa. ſicut & vnius lucis ſolaris multiplices ſunt & particulares
radij: diuerſo modo & varie diuerſis diſtributi. ¶Declarat autē beatꝰ pater quod
nunc de tota deitatis participatione dictū eſt: duobus exemplis ſenſibilibus. Primo manuductione
centri circuli: quod ab omnibus circūpoſitis lineis ſumitur vt extremū/ finis
& terminus cuiuſqꝫ earū/ nam eas omnes claudit. non tamen vlla ex parte ab illis lineis
percipitur: nam impartibile eſt et partiū immune/ & extra quālibet illarum eſt linearum
tanꝗ limes & meta earū. Secundo manuductione ſenſibili ipſius ſigilli: efformātis ſuam
ſpeciem in pluribus cęris. Illic enim plurimæ formationes ſunt: ipſius primitiui ſigilli participes/
& in ſingulis formationibus ſigillū eſt totum atq; idem: & in nulla formatiōe ſecundum
partem ſolum eſt/ cum cæris omnibus integram/ totam & perfectam ſui imprimat
effigiem. nichilominus primitiuum ſigillū extra quālibet eſt cæram: & ſeparatum
atq; exceptū ab vnoquoqꝫ eorū quæ ſui impreſſionem admittunt. Cęterum non accedūt
hæc data exempla ſenſibilia ad ſuperſubſtantialē deitatis in rebus cōmunicationem: ad
quā declarandā ſunt adducta. Illis enim longe ſupereminet authoris omniū diuinitatis
illud incōmunicabile: quod omnibus tamē incōmunicabiliter cōmunicatur. Nā cētri ad
lineas eſt vnio: & primitiui ſigilli ad materiā cui applicatur/ contactus eſt atqꝫ coniunctio.
Ipſius vero imparticipabilis & ab ōnibus participatæ deitatis/ neqꝫ tactus eſt ad ea
quæ eius participationē ſuſcipiūt: neq; cōmixta ſocietas/ ꝙ īcorporalis eſt prorſus et ab
omnibus eminenter excepta. ¶Obiectionem diſſoluit: quam adducere poſſet quiſpiam 23
contra id quod modo dictum eſt/ ſigillum in ſingulis formationibus totum atqꝫ idem eſſe.
Videmus enim (ait) plerūqꝫ primitiuū ſigillū imperfecte & māce imprimi materię: &
vnā eius partem impreſſam conſpici/ alteram vero non apparere neq; figuratam eſſe.
Non eſt igitur ſigillum primitiuum: in omnibus totum atq; idem. ¶Reſpondet/ huius
imperfectæ formationis/ ſigillum cauſam non eſſe: cum illud/ ſe totum atqꝫ idem vnicuiqꝫ
cæræ inſinuet atq; imprimat. Sed differentia ipſarum materiarum formæ ſigilli
participantium: vnius atqꝫ eiuſdem primitiui ſigilli diſſimiles reddit efformationes atq;
figurationes. Si enim ſubiecta ſigillo materia vt cæra: ſit mollis/ formatu facilis & ad ſuſcipienda
ſigilli lineamenta idonea/ non reluctans nec dura/ nō fluxa nec inconſtans: ſuſcipiet
figuram ſigilli nitidā/ integrā/ apertam & permanentem. Sin autē aliqua ex ijs
conditionibus quæ nunc dictæ ſunt deſit ſubiecto: ea præſertim erit cauſa ꝙ imago &
ſpecies ſuo primitiuo non integre reſpondeat/ & obſcura atqꝫ imperfecta appareat. &
alia itidem ſubiecta (quæcunqꝫ ſint illa) minus idonea reddūtur participationi ipſius ar-

chetypi ſuſcipiendæ:ex conditione/natura/diſpoſitioneqꝫ materię/nō ſatis apta ad ſuſci
piendam effigiationem/impreſſionem & inſculptionem eius.qualia ſunt aqua et lapis.
Qꝛ ſi ex his iam dictis aſſurgere libet:cōſpicuum erit omnibus/dei bonitatem varie et
multifariam cōmunicari diuerſis entiū generibus:his quidem magis & clarius/illis vero
minus & obſcurius.non quidem ob ipſius diuinæ bonitatis diuerſitatē/quæ tota & eadē
omnibus inſinuatur:ſed propter participātiū diſcrimen atqꝫ differentiā.quorū hæc:ad
24 huiuſmodi participationē magis idonea ſunt/alia vero:minus atqꝫ inferius. ¶Deinde
exemplum ponit de diſcreto illius diuinæ diſcretionis:benigna cōmunicatione ſuæ boni
tatis in nos emanātis.dicēs huiuſmodi diſcretum & ad vnam tātum attinēs perſonam/
id eſſe:ꝙ verbum dei ſecūdum naturæ noſtrę legem & etiam ſupra eam/ex humanæ car
nis ſubſtātia vere & integre noſtrā aſſumpſit naturam.eaqꝫ fecit opera & paſſus eſt:quę
in diſpēſatione carnis ab eo aſſumptæ ſūt cæteris plus inſignia & principalia.vt hominū
a poteſtate dęmonis ereptionem/eorum ſaluationē/mortis deſtructionem/vitæ repara⸗
tionē/mortē crucis/reſurrectionē/aſcēſionē in cœlū.In his enim/neqꝫ pater neqꝫ ſpiritus
ſāctus vllo modo cōueniunt:nec habēt cum filio dei cōmunicationē.niſi forte quis dixe⸗
rit eos ambos patrem inquā & ſpiritū ſanctū fuiſſe in eo myſterio/verbo dei conſortes:
per benignitatē et clementiam in humanū genus ſaluandū/per cōmunionē bonæ volun
tatis atq; beneplacitū ad opus redēptionis a CHRISTO complēdū/& per cooperatio⸗
nem ad diuina miracula:quæ CHRISTVS verus deus & homo in ſuæ diuinitatis teſti⸗
ficationem fecit.Nēpe & patris et ſpiritus ſancti miſericordia:filiū dei miſit in mūdum.
ipſorum bona voluntate & beneplacito:noſtrā carnem CHRISTVS aſſumpſit.illorūqꝫ
virtute & poteſtate:miracula operatus eſt.Hoc itaqꝫ modo qui iam dictus eſt/diuinorū
coniunctionē & diſcretionē oratione explicare enunciareqꝫ ſtuduit ſacratus pater:ſicut
25 ipſa diuina/ſecundū rem & veritatē cōiuncta & diſcreta ſunt. ¶De ampliori autem cō⸗
iunctorum & diſcretorum diuinorum hic facienda determinatione ſe excuſans/dicit ꝙ
quaſcūqꝫ illorū in ſacris litteris rationabiles inuenit cauſas:in libro theologicarum inſti⸗
tutionum ſingulatim de omnibus diſſerendo explicuit.nōnulla illorū modo rationali in⸗
tellectualiqꝫ ratiocinatione enodando:ac animum ſerenū purgatūqꝫ rectæ ſcripturarum
intelligentiæ applicādo.alia vero illorū myſteria ſupra intellectus & rationis naturalis
actionem:per ſacræ fidei lumen ſecundū diuinā inſtitutionem reſerando.Porro perfecti⸗
ones omnes & proprietates diuinæ quæ nobis patentius innotuerunt:per ſolas partici⸗
pationes emanationeſq; earū a deo in creaturas atqꝫ cōmunicationes dinoſcūtur a no⸗
bis.Quomodo autē illæ ſūt in primo ſuo fōte/occultiſſimoqꝫ illo dei ſecreto collocatę:nul
lus poteſt ſenſus attingere/nulla ſciētia penetrare/quia illic vt in ſua ſede ineffabiliter &
incognoſcibiliter habent firmitatem.Quare cum arcanum illud diuinū/appellatur deus
aut ſubſtātia/vita/lux aut verbum:nichil aliud illis appellationibus intelligitur q̄ parti⸗
cipationes cōmunicationeſqꝫ diuinitatis/ſubſtātiæ aut vitæ/ex eo in nos emanātes.ſimi
liter & virtutes deificæ/ſubſtantificæ aut viuificæ:quibus prouehamur in deum/& quæ
nobis vitam/ſubſtantiā & lucem benigniter elargiātur.At cum fuerimus ab omni intel⸗
lectuali operatione expediti ac liberi/& ſupra omnē rationem naturalē & intellectus acti⸗
onem eleuati:tunc ipſi ſecreto diuino/incōpręhenſibili vnione per diuinā lucem coniun
gimur.atqꝫ in huiuſmodi cōgreſſione:nullā inuenimus deificētiam/a deo in hęc inferiora
prodeuntem.nullam itidē vitam aut ſubſtātiam:quæ omnino ſimilis ſit illi ſupremę cau⸗
ſæ/cunctis rebus excellentiſſime eminēti.Eſt enim illa ſuper omnem ſubſtātiam/vitam/
26 lucem & ſapiētiam. ¶At quēadmodū in cōiunctis appellationibus oſtēſa eſt ipſius dei
ſuper ōnia improportionalis excellentia:ita eādem nūc declarat beatus pater in nūcupa
tionibus diſcretis.Ex ſcripturis (inquit) ſāctis id cognoſcitur:ꝙ pater ſit primordialis et
fontana deitas/quoniam reliquis duabus perſonis ſecūdum deitatem præſtat originem
ęternā.Filius vero & ſpiritus ſanctus ſunt fœcūdę diuinitatis paternæ germina/& veluti
flores ac ſuperſubſtātialia lumina:ꝙ a patre ſuam habēt ſecūdum deitatem/originē ac
emanationē.quo autem modo iſta ſe habeāt:neqꝫ ſermo humanus eloqui poteſt neqꝫ
mens intelligere/quoniam omnē trāſcendūt ſermonem & mētis captum.Sed ad hoc
vſqꝫ intelligēdum/omnis noſtrę mētis actio & intellectualis cōpræhēſio ſolum progredi⸗
tur:ꝙ omnis denominatio patris & filij ſimul et noticia/& hominibus et cœleſtibus ſpi⸗
ritibus eſt cōceſſa ac proficiſcitur ex primitiua patris & filij in diuinis principaliqꝫ rati⸗
one.ex qua ſpiritus angelici diuina ſpecie exacte præditi:fiunt & dicuntur dij per par⸗

Cap. 2 pars 1

ticipationem gratuitam/deorumq; filij:inferiores ſcilicet ſuperiorum angelorum a quibus
dirigũtur.itidẽ & deorũ patres:vtpote ſuperiores inferiorum angelorũ & hominũ/
quos dirigũt ad deũ.& ratione huiuſmodi directionis:eorũ patres vocãtur.Tale autem
munus atq; donum patris & filij in diuinis/quo alios per gratiam efficiunt patres & filios:
perficitur ſpiritualiter/hoc eſt intellectualiter ſolũ & non carnaliter.et benigna ſimiliter
ſancti ſpiritus cõmunicatio:alios reddit intelligibiliter ſpirituales.Attamẽ manet ipſe
ſanctus ſpiritus/ſuper omne immateriale/ſpirituale et diuinũ per participationẽ:in immenſum
eminens.ſicut & pater et filius in diuinis/ab omni patre & filio in rebus creatis
(qui diuino patris & filij primitiui munere:paternitatis et filiationis habet nomen)eſt
eminenter exceptus. ¶Porro eorum quæ modo dicta ſunt ratio eſt/ꝙ nunquam cauſalia 27
& quæ ex cauſis prodeunt: omnimodam habent et exactam ſimilitudinem ad ſuas
cauſas.ſed ea quæ efficiuntur:ſibi impreſſas gerunt ſuarum cauſarum imagines & ſpecies.
Ipſæ autem cauſæ longe ab effectis ſuis exceptæ:illis ſupereminent ratione productricis
ſuæ virtutis.vt emanatio radij ſolaris in aerem:imago eſt intimi ſplendoris in
ſole.ſed hæc lux ſolis natiua radio illo extra diffuſo multo eſt excellentior & prior.Vt autem
idipſum familiaribus rerum ſenſibilium exemplis declaretur:voluptates ac dolores/
cauſæ eſſe noſcuntur vt letentur & triſtentur homines. neq; tamen voluptates delectãtur:
neq; dolores angũtur.Ignis itẽ calefacit & vrit:non tamẽ calefieri aut vri dicit/
ſed illa ſolum quę igni participant.demũ inepte loquetur:qui ipſam vitam dicet viuere/
aut lucem illuminari.niſi fortaſſe id dixerit per alium loquẽdi modum/quo illa quæ cauſalium
ſunt propria:ipſis attribuuntur cauſis/ꝙ in his fontaliter primordialiter & efficaciter
præexiſtũt.Complectũtur enim & præambiunt cauſæ ipſę/atq; vnice continẽt actiones
omnes:quæ in cauſalibus ſuſcipiuntur.vt lux ſolis ſupereminenter omnem habet
in ſe præinditam illuminationẽ/& calor ignis omnem virtute et poteſtate præoccupat
anteceditq; calefactionẽ:& fons exuberãs inſitã ſibi habet omnẽ irrigationẽ/anteq̃ illa
fiat ad hortos fœcũdandos. ¶Neq; id mirũ videri cuiq̃ debet/ꝙ ipſa dei cõiuncta vt in 28
ſua ſede occultoq; diuino reponuntur/ſimiliter & diſcreta dei/perſonarum diuinarum
nominibus vt patris et filij & ſpiritus ſancti deſignata:nobis ſunt(vt modo dictũ eſt)inexplicabilia
& incompræhenſibilia. Nam & ipſa filij dei incarnatio(quæ inter omnia de
deo dicta manifeſtiſſimũ quiddã videtur & apertiſſimũ)nullo poteſt ſermone depromi/
nullaq; mẽte cõpręhẽdi.quã nec ipſe ſupremus angelicorũ ſpirituũ/cęteris author defectionis
a deo et ruinæ in pręceps:quis inter virtutes cœleſtes omnes principatũ tenuerit/
vnq̃ ad liquidum & plenum cognouit.Et ſane ꝙ humanã ſubſtantiã vere acceperit
IHESVS CHRISTVS:ex fidei myſterijs didicerunt omnes/qui illis ſunt initiati.Ignorant
tamen quomodo ex puriſſimis ſacroſanctæ virginis ſanguinibus ſupra naturæ legẽ
formatus ſit.aut quomodo pedibus non immerſis tametſi materialẽ haberent etiam tũc
grauitatẽ:ſuper aquas ambulauit tũc fluidas etiam & inſtabiles.Et alia quæcũq; opera
naturam CHRISTI humanã inſinuant/cæterorum hominum conditionibus longe excellentẽ:
neq; ſermone itidem digne explicari queunt/neq; animo compræhẽdi. ¶Hæc 29
autẽ ſupradicta omnia beatus pater ſe pertractaſſe perhibet alio in loco:vtpote in libro
theologicarũ inſtitutionum/& ab eximio præceptore ſuo diuino Hierotheo in libro de
theologicis elementis eadem luculenter eſſe dicit determinata.Quæ quidem ipſe Hierotheus
aut a ſanctis apoſtolis & viris apoſtolicis audiẽdo percepit/aut ex ſedula ſanctarum
ſcripturarũ indagatione:proprio ſtudio & diuturna exercitatione didicit/aut ſecretiore
inſpiratione diuinaq; illuſtratione interiori illa cognouit.non modo more humano
diſcendo/illorum ſcientiam aſſecutus:verum etiã ſuſcipiendo in ſe diuinitus reuelationes
internas/et ita patiendo diuina.Quippe diuina patiuntur:qui diuinum ſuſcipiunt
afflatum/et per quos diuina deus agit.vt prophetæ/vt apoſtoli:per quos ſpiritus ſanctus
Matth. 10. diuina operabatur et loquebatur/non ipſi:licet eſſent inſtrumẽta ſpiritus ſancti vt
ſuſcipientia.Idem quoq; Hierotheus ex coniunctione vnioneq; mentis ita deo afflatæ
ad ea diuina myſteria quæ cœlitus accepit:conſummatus euaſit.et pertigit ad occultã
illorum vnionem et notionem:ſupra rationem et mentem repoſitam/et quæ humano
magiſterio nequaq̃ edoceri poteſt. Vt autem præclaræ et ſacræ mentis ipſius cognitiones
paucis exponãtur:hęc ſequẽtia Hierotheus de domino IHESV in theologicis elementis
a ſe compoſitis inquit.

¶Ex ſanctiſſimi Hierothei libro elementorum

30 OMnium eſt cauſa/cunctaqꝫ replet IHESV diuinitas:quæ
partes vniuerſitati conſonas ſeruat.& neqꝫ pars neqꝫ totum
eſt:& pars eſt/et totum.vt quæ omne/& partem et totum in
ſeipſa compræhendat & excellenter habeat/anteqꝫ habeat.
perfecta eſt quidē/in imperfectis: vtpote perfectionis prin-
ceps.porro inter perfectos imperfecta eſt:quippe quæ per-
fectionem excellētia temporeqꝫ tranſcendat.ſpecies ſpecifica inter ſpecie ca-
rentes:vt ſpeciei author.ſpecie carens inter ſpecies:vtpote ſpeciem ſuperās.
ſubſtātia omnes ſubſtātias ſine inquinatione perluſtrans:ac ſuperſubſtāti-
aliter ab ōni excepta ſubſtātia.pricipia ōnia/ordineſqꝫ diſſeparās: et ſupra
omne principiū/ordinēqꝫ locata.menſura eſt rerū et ſæculū:et ſupra ſeculū
et āte ſeculū.plena inter egenos:inter plenos exuberās.ineffabilis/ineloqui-
bilis/ſupra ſenſū/ſupra vitā/ſupra ſubſtantiā excellenter habet excellentiā:
ſuperſubſtātialiterqꝫ ſubſtātiā ſuperat.Vnde quoniā & vſqꝫ ad noſtrā na-
turā per ſummā clementiā venit/vereqꝫ ſubſtātiam noſtræ carnis accepit:
et vir/ſummus ille deus appellatus eſt:propicia ſint igitur quæ ſenſum om-
nem & ſermonem ſuperantia laudantur a nobis.In his quoqꝫ illius excel-
lens ac ſuperſubſtantiale eminet:non modo qua parte immutabiliter nobis
atqꝫ inconfuſe communicauit/nichil in exuberanti ſua plenitudine ex ineffa
bili exinanitione perpeſſus.verum quia quod eſt nouitatum omnium ſu-
pereminens nouitas:in naturalibus noſtris ſupra naturam erat/in ijs quæ
ſunt noſtræ ſubſtantiæ:ſuperſubſtantialis/noſtra omnia ex nobis & ſupra
31 nos excellēter habens.¶Sed de his ſatis:illuc iam vnde cœpit recurrat ora-
tio:& communia atqꝫ coniuncta diuinæ diſcretionis nomina pro viribus
explicare pergamus.Atqꝫ vt apertius de omnibus deiceps dicēdis ante diſ-
finiamus:diſcretionem diuinam eſſe dicimus(vt præmiſſum eſt)proceſſus
benigniſſimos deitatis.Cum enim ijs quæ ſunt omnibus affatim bonorum
omnium conſortia largiatur & ſupereffundat:coniunctim quidem diſcer-
nitur/creſcit autem ſingulariter & multiplicatur/neqꝫ vſq̄ ab vno diſcedit.
Puta quoniam ſuperſubſtantialiter ens deus eſt/et ijs quæ ſunt eſſe largitur/
omneſqꝫ producit eſſentias: vnum illud quod eſt/ multiplicari dicitur/
multas ex ſe producēdo ſubſtantias.manet autem illud nichilominus & in
multiplicatione vnum/et in proceſſu cōiunctū/atqꝫ in diſcretione plenum:
ꝙ ſit ſubſtantijs omnibus eminenter exceptum/et ſingulari productione
omnium atqꝫ indiminuta profuſione ipſius indeficientium munerum.Sed
et cum ſit vnum/omniqꝫ parti et toti et vni et multitudini/vnius conſorti-
um tradat:vnum ſimiliter eſt ſuperſubſtantialiter/neqꝫ pars exiſtens multi-
tudinis neqꝫ ex partibus totum.Sicqꝫ nec vnum eſt/neqꝫ vnius particeps/
longeqꝫ ab his vnum eſt:ſuper vnum illud quod in ſubſtantijs eſt.& multi-
tudo indiuidua inexplebilis/pluſq̄ plena:omne vnum multitudinēqꝫ pro-
32 ducens/& perficiens/& continens.¶Rurſus ex ipſius deificentia:dum ſin-
guli imaginem dei in ſe nituntur exprimere/multi fiunt dij.ac videtur eſſe
quidem et dicitur vnius dei diſcretio/& multiplicatio.Eſt autem nichilomi-

Ex libro ſtechioſeon beatiſſimi hierothei.

Q

Hic finiuntur dicta diuini Hierothei.

nus principalis & ſupremus deus/ſuperſubſtantialiter vnus deus:in ijs quę
diuiſionē admittunt indiuiſus penitus /ſibi ipſi cōiunctus/& impermixtus
R plurimis:& qui multiplicari penitus nequeat. Iſtud mirabiliter profecto
intellexit communis & noſter et noſtri præceptoris ad diuinam illuminationem
eximius ductor:diuinis in rebus celeberrimus/lux mundi. hæc enim
in ſuis ſanctis litteris diuino ſpiritu afflatus ait. Nam ſi quidem ſunt qui dicuntur
dij ſiue in cœlo ſiue in terra(ſicuti profecto ſunt dij multi/& domini
multi)ſed nobis vnus deus eſt pater:ex quo omnia & nos in ipſo.& vnus
dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS:per quem omnia/& nos per ipſum.
S Porro & in diuinis cōiunctiones diſcretionibus excellunt ac præſunt:et nichilominus
poſt vnius nuſq̄ procedētem/ſingularemq; diſcretionem/coniuncta
diuina ſunt. Iſtas nos communes atq; coniunctas deitatis totius diſtinctiones
ſiue benignos proceſſus:ex diuinis nominibus eas in ſcripturis
ſanctis exponentibus/pro viribus laudare conabimur. cum iſtud(vt prædictum
eſt)prius diffinierimus/omnem beneficam dei appellationem in quacunq;
diuinarum perſonarum ponatur:abſq; obſeruatione vlla/in tota ſimul
accipi trinitate.

Q ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Species ſpecifica inter ſpecie carentes. Species
ſpecific:a forma formās/pulchritudo pulchrificās pulchrumq; faciēs/& venuſtas venuſtifica.
R ¶Iſtud mirabiliter profecto intellexit cōmunis & noſter & noſtri præceptoris ad
diuinam illuminationē eximius ductor. Ductor ille cōmunis & diuini Hierothei & beatiſſimi
Dionyſij:beatiſſimus Paulus eſt. cuius ſententia hic ex prima ad Corinthios epiſtola
cap. octauo adducitur. Nam et ſi ſunt(inquit)qui dicantur dij ſiue in cœlo/ſiue in
terra(ſiquidem ſunt dij multi & domini multi)nobis tamē vnus deus pater:ex quo omnia/&
nos in illo.& vnus dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS:per quem omnia/& nos
S per ipſum. ¶Porro & in diuinis cōiunctiones diſcretionibus excellūt ac præſunt. Vnitiones
in diuinis excellūt ac præſunt diſcretionibus:& nichilominus poſt diſcretiones ipſæ
vnitiones ſūt cōiunctæ. ſic viciſſim vnitiones diſcretionibus et diſcretiones vnitionibus
præeſſe videntur/viciſſimq; ſubeſſe:attamen & ſibiipſis ſumme æquales ſunt. principium
ſunt/finis ſunt/mediū ſunt. Patris enim boni in bonū filium eſt proceſſus:& potentis
in potētem/& veri in verum filium. rurſus boni potentis & veri patris et filij:proceſſus
eſt in bonum potētem & verum ſpiritū/quē appellāt & procedētem. Et in his ineffabilibus
proceſſionibus:vnum/bonū/potēs/verum(quæ communia & cōiuncta ſunt
nomina)vidētur diſcretionibus excellere/atq; præeſſe. Sed rurſum nō erit ſumme vnū/
ſumme bonum/ſumme potēs/& ſumme verū:niſi ſint ex ſummo gignēte/genito/& procedēte
coniuncta. Etenim infœcūda ſunt:niſi ſit gignēs/& genitum. et imperfecta:niſi
ſit procedēs. Et hæc tria/gignens/genitum & procedēs:ſunt ipſum ſumme vnū/ſumme
bonum/potēs/atq; verum. quæ ſine omni cōpoſitione ſumme cōiuncta ſunt:& ſine quacūq;
diuiſione diſcreta. Et cum ea et eorū quodq; intelligimus ex gignēte/genito/& procedēte:
diſcretiones vidētur vnitionibus præcellere/atq; præeſſe. verūtamē cōiuncta omnia
inter ſe cōuertūtur/& cum diſcretis:& diſcreta cum cōiunctis/ſed diſcreta diſcretis
non conuertūtur. Et proinde cum ipſum gignēs ſit ipſum ſumme vnum/itidē & genitū
ipſū ſūme vnū/& procedens ſumme vnum:ſibiinuicē ſumme erunt æqualia/immo ipſa
ſūma æqualitas. Patet igitur vnitiones diſcretionibus pręeſſe & ſubeſſe videri(quæ ſunt
ante ōne prius et poſterius)nichil aliud eſſe q̄ in diuinis vnitiones & diſcretiones ſūme
æquales eſſe. Sed de iſtis & coniunctionibus & diſcretionibus deficiunt verba ad loquendum/
& mentes ad compræhēdendum:neq; rationali modo attinguntur. Et benedicta
ſint ſemper illa quæ intelligere non ſufficimus:ſed per piam fidem(quę ſupra intellectū
eſt)credimus. et ſcimus quia illa pie credere/vita æterna eſt:quæ in altero digne ea in
fide conſūmatis reuelabitur ſæculo.

¶SECVNDAE PARTIS SECVNDI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD litterā.

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1773/D

30 Eximias diuinitatis & humanitatis IHESV CHRISTI laudes/ex libro elemẽtorum diuini Hierothei depromptas: hic adducit ſacer Dionyſius/verba ipſius pariter & cõtextum referẽs. In quibus primũ dicit Hierotheus ꝙ IHESV diuinitas eſt omnium cauſa/per productionẽ et cõſeruationẽ: & cuncta cũ viſibilia tũ inuiſibilia replet/per ſui in omnia expanſionẽ. partes item vniuerſitatis integritati cõgruẽtes: ſeruat in ſuo tenore ſtatu & natura. Inſuper eadẽ ſumma diuinitas neqꝫ pars eſt neqꝫ totũ/quia neqꝫ cõponit quicq̃ neqꝫ ex aliquo componitur: ſed partẽ omnem et totum eminẽter excedit. nichilominus eadem & pars eſt et totũ/virtute atqꝫ poteſtate: quia omne totũ & partem in ſeipſa ſimpliciter & vnice cõpræhẽdit/excellenter habet/& ante ſibi inditũ q̃ extiterit res condita in ſua ſubſtãtia: veriuſqꝫ & perfectius habet q̃ in re exiſtat. Inſuper ipſa IHESV CHRISTI diuinitas/perfecta eſt ĩ rebus imperfectis: quia perfectionis earum eſt prima cauſa. in perfectis vero eſt imperfecta per ſuperexcellẽtiã: quia omnẽ perfectionẽ excellẽtia & tempore pręcedit. Rurſum ipſa eſt venuſtas ſpiritualis & pulchritudo/omnia faciẽs pulchra: ſi comparatur ad ea quæ informia ſunt & ſpeciei gratia carent/quia omnis formæ et pulchritudinis eſt author. Inter ea vero quæ ſpeciem habent & decorem/eadẽ eſt carens ſpecie: quia omnem ſpeciem rerum eminẽtiſſime ſuperat. Præterea eadem IHESV CHRISTI diuinitas eſt ſubſtãtia: omnes rerum cõditarũ ſubſtãtias ſine cõmixtione aut labefactatione permeãs. & ſuperſubſtãtialis eſt: ab omni ſuperexcellenter excepta ſubſtãtia. Eadem quoqꝫ omnia rerum principia & ordines abinuicem diſſeparat/ne cõfundantur aut permiſceantur: tanq̃ principiũ et ordo omnium. nichilominus ſuper omne principiũ & ordinem eſt collocata: propter eximiã ſuam excellẽtiam. Ad hæc/ipſa domini IHESV diuinitas/mẽſura eſt durationis rerum et duratio: quia omnis temporalis & æuiternæ durationis origo & fons. Eſt tamẽ ſupra omne ſæculum & ante omnẽ rerum productarũ durationem: propter æternitatis eius immẽſitatem. Adde ꝙ ipſa eſt plena inter egenos & indigentes plenitudine: quia plenitudinis õnis eſt fons indeficiẽs. Inter plenos vero eſt exuberãs: propter affluẽtiſſimã et immẽſã ſuã plenitudinẽ. Deniqꝫ ipſa nec ſermone nec eloquio poteſt exprimi. ſupra mentem ſupra ſubſtãtiam & vitã ſuperexcellẽter habet excellentiam/& omnem ſubſtantiam ſuperſubſtãtialiter exuperat. Cæterum quoniã ipſe dei filius vſqꝫ ad noſtrã naturam ſumẽdam benigniter ſe inclinauit/vereqꝫ ſubſtantiam humanæ carnis accepit/et deus ipſe ſummus vere appellatus eſt homo: ſuperdiuina illa deitatis & humanitatis myſteria (quæ omnẽ mentis captum & ſermonis expreſſionẽ exuperantia: celebrantur a nobis) ſint ſua benignitate & clementia nobis propicia/fauentia & aſpirantia. Certe in his altiſſimis myſterijs: excellẽs eius diuinitas & ſuperſubſtantialis ſublimiter emicat. nõ ſolum ea parte & ratione: qua cõmunicauit nobis in humanitatis aſſumptione immutabiliter & inconfuſe. quia neqꝫ permutata eſt per illam vnionem eius diuinitas: neqꝫ permixta aut cõfuſa cum humana ſubſtãtia in vnam tertiã naturã. neqꝫ ex benigniſſima illa exinanitione/qua longe infra ſe poſitam naturã humili inclinatione aſſumpſit in vnitatẽ perſonę: perpeſſus eſt quicq̃ detrimẽti in exuberanti plenitudine ſuæ diuinitatis. quandoquidẽ eius deitas nichil accepit diminutionis ſuæ maieſtatis: ex cõiunctione naturæ humanę cũ illa in vnã perſonã. ſed vltra hoc in vnione illa ineffabili & id inuenitur/quod nouorũ omniũ eſt maxime nouũ: ſcilicet ꝙ in naturalibus noſtris/partibus virtutibus et operationibus/erat ſupra naturã. nam ſacratiſſima eius caro: deificata. itidem & ſanctiſſima ipſius anima: quia diuinitati hypoſtatice vnita. virtutes item naturales humanitatis eius & operationes: longe excedebãt noſtras vires natiuas & actiones. nam et ſalutares erant & viuificæ: ratione deitatis cõiunctæ. Eadem quoqꝫ ratione in ijs quæ ſunt noſtræ ſubſtantiæ erat ſuperſubſtãtialis: quia in illis tranſcẽdit noſtræ ſubſtantiæ fines et metas/quãtum ad dignitatẽ et perfectionẽ. Habuitqꝫ noſtra omnia humanæ naturæ integritatem cõcernẽtia/ſubſtãtiam ſcilicet virtutes et actiones humanas/ex nobis: quoniam ex humanæ carnis maſſa. et ſupra nos: quoniam lõge excellẽtiore modo q̃ nos habeamus.

31 ¶Finitis autẽ hoc loco diuini Hierothei verbis: ad propoſitam materiã regreditur ſacratiſſimus pater. coniunctaqꝫ diuinæ diſcretionis nomina quę ſcilicet benignam cœleſtium munerũ cõmunicationem in creaturas ſignãt/et toti cõueniũt deitati: explicare proponit. Et vt apertiora ſint ea quæ deinceps eſt dicturus: diffinit diſcretionẽ diuinam eſſe (vt et ante dictum eſt) benigniſſimos deitatis in inferiora proceſſus atqꝫ progreſſiones.

Cap.
2
pars
2

Cum enim ſumma ipſa diuinitas omnibus quæ ſunt exuberãtiſſime bonorũ omniũ participationẽ
largiatur & diſpartiatur: manet tamẽ vnica et ſimplex/cõiunctimq; diſcernitur
atq; diſpergitur. cõiunctim quidẽ in ſe: & diſcrete in rebus ſubiectis. Creſcit itidẽ ſingulariter
/atq; multiplicatur. nam vnica manẽs & ſingularis in ſe: fit multiplex et plurima
in donorum participatione atq; participãtium multitudine/neq; tamẽ vnq̃ diſcedit
ab vno. perinde atq; vnũ ſigillum in plurimis multiplicatur efformationibus: & vna hominis
viua facies in multis ſpeculis/atq; vnica lux ſolis in pluribus oculis. Exẽpli gratia/
quoniam deus ſuperſubſtãtialiter ens eſt/& omnibus quæ ſunt largitur entitatẽ/ac omnes
rerũ producit eſſẽtias: vnũ illud ſuperdiuinũ quod eſt/multiplicari dicitur & creſcere
ratione productorũ/ꝙ multas ex ſe producat ſubſtãtias. Nichilominus illud ſummũ ens
etiam in multiplicatione manet vnũ/et in progreſſione ad exteriora manet cõiunctũ ac
intimũ: & in diſcretione atq; diſtributione integrũ/plenum/perfectũ & totum. eo ꝙ ab
omnibus ſubſtantijs productis eſt eminẽter exceptũ: et per ſingularem ac ſimplicẽ omnium
productionẽ/& per indiminutã munerũ eius nũq̃ deficiẽtiũ profuſionẽ. Non enim
diminuitur affluẽtiſſima eius bonitas aut benefica plenitudo: per indeficiẽtem ſuorũ donorum
propagationẽ. vt neq; lux intima ſolis ſuſtinet imminutionẽ/per continuam illuminationẽ:
neq; ſciẽtia animi per ſui in alios doctrinalem trãſfuſionẽ. Rurſũ cũ ipſa ſumma
deitas ſit ſumme vnũ/& omni parti rerum productarũ item et toti/omni etiam vni
rei & multitudini tradat vnius participationẽ (vnumquodq; enim horum quatuor: ab
ipſo ſumme vno accipit & habet/ꝙ ſit et denominetur vnum) ipſum tamen eſt vnũ ſuperſubſtãtialiter
/ſimpliciter & vnice: neq; pars eſt multitudinis rerũ neq; totum ex partibus
cõflatum/ſed ſuper omnẽ partem & totum ſublimiter eminẽs. Et ipſum ſic ſũme vnũ
neq; vnum eſt more aliorũ/neq; vnius participationẽ ſortitum. ſed multo diſtat interuallo
ab ijs omnibus quæ vnius habẽt nomen: & ſuper omne vnũ quod in ſubſtãtijs inuenitur
eſt eminẽtiſſime collocatũ. Deniq; ipſũ eſt multitudo impartibilis/atq; impertrãſibilis
et ſuperplena. multitudo quidẽ: virtute & poteſtate cõtinẽs omnem rerũ multitudinem.
Indiuidua vero: propter ſimpliciſſimã eius ſingularitatẽ. Inexplebilis: quia nõ poteſt
eius virtus productrix rerum exhauriri aut terminari. & pluſq̃ plena: ꝙ plenitudinem
habeat immẽſam multa omnia cõtinentẽ. quippe iſtud ſuperexcellẽs vnum: omne
vnum in rebus itidem & multitudinẽ producit/perficit et cõſeruat. ¶At vero quẽadmodum 32
nũc in ente et vno declarauit ſacratus pater cõiunctã deitatis diſcretionẽ: ita eandem
deinde manifeſtat in deificentia/deitatiſq; cõmunicatione ac propagatione. Sane
per huiuſmodi vim deificã dum ſinguli ratione & mẽte præditi cum homines tũ angeli
nituntur in ſe dei imaginẽ efformare ac referre: multi fiunt dij per participationẽ & gratiam.
et ibi dicitur eſſe ac eſt vnius dei natura/in plures cõſortio ac ſocietate deitatis per
gratiã: diſcretio ac multiplicatio. Nichiloſecius principalis ipſe & ſupremus deus: eſt ſuperſubſtãtialiter
vnus deus/& in ijs quæ diuiſionẽ recipiunt omnino indiuiſus. ſibi ipſi
propriæ ſubſtãtiæ ratione ſolũ cõiunctus: rebus autem alijs impermixtus atq; incõfuſus.
et qui ſecundũ ſuã ipſius ſubſtantiã multiplicari prorſus nequeat: licet ſecũdũ participationẽ
propagetur/creſcat & multiplicetur in ijs quę deiformia fiũt. Hoc plane arduũ &
auguſtum cõiunctæ diſcretionis dei myſteriũ ſublimiter intellexit beatiſſimus Paulus: et
Dionyſij & Hierothei præceptoris illius ad fidem orthodoxã illuſtrator egregius/in ſacratiſſimis
diuinæ ſapiẽtiæ myſterijs agnoſcendis locupletiſſimus/& inſigne totius mũdi
1.corin.8. iubar. Qui diuino ſpiritu illuſtratus: hæc ad Corinthios ſcribens ait. Nam ſi quidem ſunt
qui dicũtur dij/ſiue in cœlo vt angeli: ſiue in terra/vt homines dei imitatores & ſimiles
(ſunt enim reuera & dij multi/per deitatis participationẽ: et domini multi/per ſupremi
dominatus imaginẽ ac ſimilitudinem) nobis tamẽ vnus eſt deus pater: ex quo ſunt omnia
vt primordiali cauſa/& nos in ipſo ſumus vt cõtinẽte ac conſeruãte. nobis etiã vnus
eſt dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS: per quẽ omnia ſubſiſtũt vt diuinã ſapientiã rerũ
conditricem/& nos per ipſum ſumus vt ſubſtãtificam dei virtutem. Cæterum in diuinis
denominationibus cõiunctiones quæ in deo ſecũdum ſe & abſolute cõſiderantur: pręſũt
et duratione & dignitate diſcretionibus/ſecũdum cõmunicationem diuinorũ donorũ inſequẽtia
ſumptis. ſicut primitiua forma/veritas & exẽplar: præeſt ſuæ imagini/ſimilitudini
& figuræ. Attamen poſt diſcretionem propagationẽq; vnius in multa/ſingularem
vtiq;/ſimplicem ac vnicam/ac nuſq̃ a deo digredientem: diuina eſt coniunctio/quantũ
ad intelligentiæ noſtræ rationem ac ordinem, nam ex diuinis diſcretionibus/notionibus

quo ad nos tanq̃ effectis & imaginibus: debemus ad diuinas coniunctiones vt cauſas agnoſcēdas aſſurgere. Itaq; iſtas cōmunes & cōiunctas deitatis diſcretiones/benignoſq; dei ad exteriora progreſſus: ſacratiſſimus pater annitetur celebrare prędicareq; ex ſanctis ſcripturis/quæ huiuſmodi diſtinctiones ac diſcretiones dilucide exponunt ac patefaciunt. cum iſtud (quod & ante dictum eſt) prius determinatum fuerit ac diffinitum: ꝙ omnis benefica dei appellatio cōmunicationiſq; explicatiua/cuicūq; diuinarum perſonarum attribuatur: abſq; obſeruatione diſtinctionis atq; ſecluſione aliarum perſonarum/in tota ſimul accipienda eſt deitate.

¶ Quæ ſit orationis virtus/de beato Hierotheo/& de reuerentia et conſcriptione theologica. CAP. III.

33 AC primum quidem perfectiſſimam/omniumq; dei proceſſuum
interpretem boni appellationem intueamur ſi placet: vbi
primum authorem boni/& ſupreme bonam trinitatem inuocauerimus/omnes
ſuas benigniſſime exponentem prouidentias.
Oportet enim nos votis imprimis ad ipſam veluti bonitatis
principē prouehi: atq; e vicino diſcere benigniſſima illi
inſita munera. Nam ipſa quidē adeſt omnibus: non autē illi aſſunt omnia.
vbi vero ipſam caſtiſſimis precibus animoq; purgato & peruio/atq; ad diuinam
idoneo cōiunctionem inuocamus: tunc nos quoq; illi aſſumus. Ipſa
namq; neq; in loco ſic eſt vt vſq̃ abſit: ſeu ex alijs ad alia migret. immo etiā
in rebus omnibus eam eſſe dicere: minus eſt q̃ vt colligatur infinitas illa quę
ſuper omnia eſt/& cuncta cōpręhendit. Itaq; nos ipſos ad celſiorem diuinorum/clariſſimorumq;
radiorum contuitum: orationibus imprimis cōparamus.
34 ¶ Veluti ſi lucidiſſima catena ex cœleſti ſūmitate ſuſpenſa/& hucuſq;
pertingente/nos ſemper eam manibus alternis in anteriora porrectis capiamus:
trahere quidem ipſam videmur. re autem vera non illam ipſi deducimus/quippe
quam ſupra infraq; habeamus præſentem: ſed ipſi magis ad
ſublimiores illuſtrium radiorum fulgores promouemur. Aut certe quēadmodum
ſi nauim ingreſſi rudentes ex ſaxo quodam ad nos vſq; porrectos
teneamus/quippe quorum nitamur auxilio: non ſaxum ad nos/ſed nos
ipſos magis/nauimq; ad ſaxum promouemus. Sicut et cōtra/ſi quis maritimum
ſaxum in naui ſtans percellere pergat: nichil quidē ſtans & immobile
ſaxum violabit/ſed ſeſe potius ab eo magis arcebit. q̃toq; in illud violentius
impulerit: tanto ab eo longius repelletur. Quocirca ante omnē actum & in
theologia maxime: ab oratione inchoandū nobis eſt. non vt vbiq; et nuſq̃
præſentem virtutem attrahamus: ſed vt memoria diuinarum rerum/atq;
35 inuocationibus pijs nos ipſos illi dedamus atq; iungamus. ¶ Atq; huius
rei fortaſſis afferenda ſit ratio: cur cum eximius præceptor noſter Hierotheus
theologica elemēta mirabiliter profecto collegerit: nos (quaſi illa non
ſufficiant) & alias alia/et præſens de theologia nūc opus conſcripſerimus.
Nēpe enim ſi ille omnes theologicos tractatus deinceps explicare voluiſſet/&
expoſitionibus vel ſuccinctiſſimis theologiæ totius ſummā explanaſſet:
nunq̃ nos ad id inſaniæ vel ſtoliditatis veniſſemus/vt aut liquidius illo/ac
diuinius arbitraremur eloquia ſacra penetrare poſſe. aut eadē bis dicendo:
ſuperfluo caſſoq; labore ſudare vellemus. Pręterea magiſtrū noſtrum et

Manuductio de catena/naui et rudentibus

amicum violaſſe merito conuinceremur:ſi nos poſt beatum Paulum/illius
eloquijs imbuti atqꝫ inſtituti:ipſius celeberrimam & intelligentiam et expoſitionē
nobis ipſis applicare ſtuderemus. Verum quia diuina ille exponens
profecto gnauiter & ſcite:breues nobis expoſuit compēdioſaſqꝫ diffinitiones/
et quæ in vno multa cōpræhēderent/præcipiens nobis idipſum ſtudij/
prout poſſemus. Et quicūqꝫ rudium adhuc magiſtri animarū/ad id nos ſūt
adhortati:vt explicare & enucleare oratione nobis congrua/breuia quæqꝫ
et ſingularia pergamus:quibus ſummi illius viri ſpiritualis virtus eniteat.
T Ipſe item ſępenumero nos ad id hortatus es: librumqꝫ ipſum vt excellens
quiddā remiſiſti. Eū igitur nos quoqꝫ vt perfectorum ſeniliumqꝫ ſenſuum
V magiſtrū ijs aſſignamus/qui celſiora capiunt:veluti ſecunda ſacra eloquia/
et eorum qui a deo vncti ſunt ſequentia. ijs vero qui nobis ſimiles ſunt:nos
diuina pro modulo noſtro trademus. Si enim perfectorū eſt ſolidus cibus: 36
eo & alios paſcere/quantæ perfectionis eſt? ¶ Recte itaqꝫ diximus & hoc:
X per ſe ipſam diuinorum eloquiorum apertā cōtemplationem/perſpicaceqꝫ
et conſummatā diſciplinam:ſenilis eſſe virtutis. Porro ſermonū(qui ad id
manuducant)ſcientiā atqꝫ diſciplinam:inferioris meriti præceptoribus diſcipuliſqꝫ
cōgruere. Atqui id quoqꝫ & quidem diligenter obſeruauimus:vt
quæ diuinus ille præceptor aperta expoſitione digeſſit:nequaꝗ̃ attingeremus/
neu eadem diceremus ad id explanandum/quod de ſcripturis fuiſſet 37

De auguſta & ſacroſancta virgine Maria.

Y ab eo propoſitum. ¶ Nāqꝫ & apud ipſos diuino ſpiritu plenos pontifices
noſtros/cum et nos(vt noſti)& pleriqꝫ ex ſanctis fratribus noſtris ad cōtuendum
corpus illud quod authorē vitæ deumqꝫ ceperat/cōueniſſemus(aderat
autē et frater domini Iacobus/et Petrus ſupremū decus et ātiquiſſimū
theologorum columen)vbi poſt cōtuitum placuit vt infinite potentē diuinæ
infirmitatis bonitatē pontifices laudarent omnes/quiſqꝫ pro captu ſuo.
Ille deniqꝫ(vt noſti)poſt apoſtolos/ omnibus alijs laudatoribus ſuperior
erat:totus excedens/totus ſe deſerens/& eorum quæ laudabat conſortium
patiens. ab omnibus deniqꝫ a quibus audiebatur & videbatur/et agnoſcebatur
et non agnoſcebatur:afflatus deo/diuinuſqꝫ laudator eſſe iudicatus eſt.
Ecquid ea tibi referre(quæ ibi ſacratiſſime ſunt dicta)contendimus? Nēpe
enim(niſi mei oblitus ſum)ſcio me ſæpius partes quaſdā laudationum illarum
diuinarum abs te accepiſſe/adeo ſtuduiſti diuina non perfunctorie in 38
tranſituqꝫ perſequi. ¶ Enimuero vt quæ illic myſtice ſunt dicta(vt quæ
plurimis nequaꝗ̃ perceptibilia:tibiqꝫ notiſſima)prætermittamus:quando
opus erat plurimis noſtræ fidei conſortiū tradere/& ꝗ̃ multos poſſemus ad
noſtram ſacroſanctā ſcientiam attrahere:multū ille cōpluribus ſanctorum
doctorum eminebat & maturiore æuo/et mundicia animi/& demonſtrationum
diligētia/& reliquis inſtitutionibus ſacris. Nunꝗ̃ deniqꝫ illuſtriorem
ſolem offendimus:cui infigere conaremur obtutus. Ita enim nobis ſumus
conſcij/nec ignoramus:vt neqꝫ ſatis intelligere quæqꝫ diuinarū ſcripturarū
intelligibilia poſſumus/neqꝫ arcana diuinæ cognitionis edicere aut eloqui
ſufficimus. longeqꝫ a ſanctorū virorū ſcientia:in exponenda ſcripturarū veritate
inferiores ſumus. Ad hoc enim prorſus per abundantē reuerentiam

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venimus:vt neqꝫ audire omnino/neqꝫ dicere aliquid de philoſophia diuina
auderemus:niſi id inſediſſet animo/ non oportere diuinarum rerum ſcientiã
pro captu noſtro negligere.idqꝫ perſuaſiſſent non modo naturalia ſublimium
animorum deſideria:amatorie ſemper ambiẽtia (quantam capere
poſſunt)diuinarum intelligentiam rerum. verum ipſa quoqꝫ præſtantiſſima
legum diuinarum inſtitutio/quæ ſupra nos ſunt (vt & quę merita excellant
noſtra:& penetrari a nobis nequaq̄ poſſint)inquirere prohibẽs:oĩa vero
quæ permiſſa nobis & indulta ſunt/intente diſcere atqꝫ alijs benigne tradere
admonens.His itaqꝫ nos etiã obtemperantes:ad indaganda pro viribus
diuina/ nequaq̄ laceſſimus/ aut trepidamus. eoſqꝫ qui præſtantiora q̄
nos nequaq̄ valent intueri/abſqꝫ auxilio deſeri non tolerantes:ad ſcribendũ
deſcendimus.nichil quidem noui inferre præſumentes:cæterum ſubtilioribus
& per partes ſingulas appoſitis diſquiſitionibus/ quæ compendioſe a Z
vere Hierotheo ſunt dicta diſtinguentes atqꝫ exponentes.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Ipſe item ſæpenumero nos ad id hortatus es: librumqꝫ T
ipſum vt excellẽs quiddam remiſiſti.Ipſe: tu ipſe Timothee. Et hic ſermonem
ſuum ad Timotheum conuertit beatus pater. Librumqꝫ ipſum cõpendioſarũ theologicarũ
diffinitionum/& elementorũ diuini Hierothei: vt excellens quiddã ad me remiſiſti.
vt excellens quiddam: vt intelligentiæ tuæ capacitatẽ ſuperãs/atqꝫ excedens. ¶Veluti V
ſecunda ſacra eloquia:& eorum qui a deo vncti ſunt ſequentia. Prima ſacra eloquia:
ſunt ſcripta prophetarum & apoſtolorum/vtrumqꝫ teſtamentum complectentia. ſuntqꝫ
primo in loco:& dignitate & authoritate conſtituta. Secunda vero eloquia ſacratus pater
ponit elementa theologica diuini Hierothei:& ſecundo loco proxime eloquia apoſtolorũ
(qui ſunt CHRISTI dei/& qui a deo vncti: ſpiritũ ſanctũ omniũ vberrime acceperunt)
ſequẽtia. Sua vero ſcripta beatus pater religioſa humilitate loco quodam longe
inferiore collocat. Sed verum eſt eloquiũ quod dicit. Qui ſe humiliat: exaltabitur. & nũc Lucæ.18.
factũ eſt: vt poſt prima eloquia nichil his operibus oculis noſtris appareat ſacratiꝰ. poſſuntqꝫ
merito eloquiorũ/ eorũ qui a deo vncti ſũt: proxime eſſe aſſequacia. ¶Perſpicacemqꝫ X
& conſummatã diſciplinã: ſenilis eſſe virtutis. Senilis virtutis: adultæ/ prouectæ/
atqꝫ conſũmatæ intelligentię. ¶Namqꝫ & apud ipſos diuino ſpiritu plenos põtifices noſtros. Y
Diuino ſpiritu repletos põtifices: appellat beatiſſimus pater apoſtolos. qui ſacroſanctæ De ſemper
virginis dei matris neceſſitatis humanæ obdormitioni interfuerũt. Interfuit & Timotheus/ ſãcta virgĩe
Hierotheus/beatuſqꝫ pater/& multi ſanctorum fratrum: qui a ſpiritu repente MARIA.
vbiuis gentiũ eſſent/ collecti ilico in nube(haud ſecus q̄ Philippus a ſpiritu raptus/ ſublatus
eſt ab aſpectu eunuchi reginæ Cãdacis)ad virginales exequias perducti ſunt. Vbi Actuũ.8.
ſacrum illud corpus quod vitæ principem/ deumqꝫ ſuſceperat: contuiti ſunt. ſacrum illud
tabernaculũ: quod ſãctificauit altiſſimus. depoſitũ verę & ſpiritualis Euę: quę ſerpẽtis
virus nõ ſenſit/ ſed quæ caput eius(iuxta eloquia)contriuit. Carnalis enim Eua: carnaliũ Gene.3.
filiorũ mater eſt/& filiorũ iræ. Spiritualis autẽ Eua: ſpiritualiũ & regeneratorũ mater
eſt/& filiorũ gratiæ/& ſanctæ & imaculatę eccleſię. Carnalis Eua/ vmbra eſt & idolũ:
ſpiritualis autẽ/eius lux eſt & veritas. Sed id parũ eſt. Spiritualis Eua/mater eſt ineffabilis
verbi: quę oẽm ſanctificationẽ & gratiã cœlũ/terrã/vniuerſaqꝫ replẽtẽ in ſuo ſẽper
ſancto virginali gremio(ſi ita dicere licet)concluſit/facta cœlo & terra capacior: quippe
quę infinitũ acceperit. Virgo ſãcta quia tu tota ſancta es/ tota mitis & miſericors/& largitrix
vitę & gratię(quę nobis vitã ipſã profudiſti: & ipſam per ſe gratiã effloruiſti) & nõ
interitus/vltionis & vindictę: te oro nõ vlciſcaris ad interitum eorũ qui te nõ poſſunt in
tuo perfecto decore inſpicere. quia te in ſua carnali tunica ĩſpiciũt: & per chlamydẽ peccatricis
Euę. Sed tu virgo/tuo modo ſemper ſanctificata ſicut CHRISTVS homo ſemp̄
ſãctificatus/aperias eorũ oculos: vt te per tunicã CHRISTI per ſpiritualẽ chlamydẽ aſpiciant.
nõ in vmbra delirẽt: ſed auerſi ſe cõuertãt ad veritatẽ/et veſtigia ſuis reddãt archetypis.
et in paradiſo te videãt ante Euã eorũ matrẽ genitã: ſicut et CHRISTVS ãte
Adam. ſed poſterius in tempore cum vero Adam apparentẽ: qui CHRISTVS dñs eſt.

Tu es ancilla & libera dei mater: ſicut CHRISTVS dominus in æternitate filius liber/
& pro nobis exinanitus & formam ſerui accipiens. Tu es/& ipſe eſt: de quibus per ſpiritū
Pſal.85. ſanctum dicitur. Da imperium tuum puero tuo: & ſaluū fac filium ancillæ tuæ. Heluidius
Heluidius. ſi rediret (qui te virgo angelis purior: virginitate ſpoliabat) conſpueretur/peſſundaretur/
calcareturq; pedibus. Ita virgo ſēper pluſq̄ beata/āgelis ſanctior: qui te ſanctitate
ſpoliant (niſi reſipiſcant/niſi pœnitentiam agant) conſpuantur/peſſum dentur/calcētur/
lucem vitamq; fugiant. Ad huius ergo ſemper ſanctificatæ arcę contuitū: collecti ſunt ſācti
apoſtoli/& qui viuebant ſanctiores. Inter quos & beatiſſimus pater Dionyſius fuit
vnus: & diuinus Hierotheus. Et omnes diuinis laudibus (quemadmodum ſpiritus eloqui
dabat) diuinitatis habitaculū (ex quo conditrix omnium ſapientia domum ſibi ædificauerat:
& humanum circūdederat corpus) ſunt proſecuti. quibus quidē laudibus noſtra
tempora (ſi haberentur) putarentur fœlicia. Et ſanctus Andreas Cretenſis hunc paſſum
beatiſſimi patris religioſæ pietatis plenum: de illa ipſa ad virginales exequias ſpiritu
ſancto facta conuentione atq; collectione commemorat & confirmat. & huius myſterij
tota credula fuit piorū fideliū antiquitas. quos quia in nube qui procul degebāt/ſublati
Z fuiſſent: nubiferos appellabat. Sed hæc hactenus. ¶ Ille deniq; (vt noſti) poſt apoſtolos:
omnibus alijs laudatoribus ſuperior erat. Ille: ille Hierotheus. & alloquitur ſāctus
Z pater Timotheum. ¶ Quæ compendioſe a vere Hierotheo ſunt dicta. Alludit ſanctus
pater ad nomen Hierothei: quod ſacer deus/deove ſacratus interpretatur. ſiquidem
hieros ſacrum ſignificat/& magnum: & theos deum. quaſi hæc nuncupatio
non vana in ipſo fuerit/& temere indita: ſed rei ipſi/atq; vitæ ſanctimoniæ conſentanea.

¶TERTII CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 33

AD determinationem de diuinis nominibus recte faciēdam: deum pijs
orationibus ante inuocandum proponit ſacer Dionyſius. dicens appellationem
boni/omniū dei in creaturas benignorū proceſſuum manifeſtatiuam
(ꝙ omniū illorū eſt cauſa et origo/atq; radix) primo loco inter
diuina nomina eſſe diſquirendā: ſi modo ſumma trinitas omnis boni auctor
& ſupreme bona/reuerēter & pie inuocata fuerit. quæ omnes ſuæ
prouidētiæ rationes & modos: benigne nobis explicat & declarat. Neceſſe
enim eſt noſipſos ſedula oratione ad ipſam ſanctam trinitatē veluti totius bonitatis
fontem ſubuehi ac ſubleuari. & pij affectus motione propinquiores illi factos: viciniore
gradu cognoſcere exuberantiſſima bona ipſi primitus indita/& deinde in nos tranſfuſa.
Siquidem ipſa ſuperdiuina trinitas/omnibus quidē adeſt per præſentiam maieſtatis:
at non omnia ipſi aſſunt per vnionem/coniunctionemq; affectus & amoris. Nō enim
Eſa.29. illi aſſunt improbi & praui: de quibus per prophetā conqueritur ꝙ cor eorū longe eſt a
Pſal.72. deo/& de quibus ait pſalmus ꝙ qui elongant ſe a deo: peribunt. Neq; illa duo inter ſe
pugnant: quæ iam dicta ſunt. Nam & ipſa lux ſolis omnibus adeſt oculis mortalium: nō
tamen ipſi luci omnes adſunt oculi. Nempe qui excæcati ſunt aut palpebris obuelati: nō
percipiūt ipſam lucem etiam præſentem ſuperfulgentēq; illis/& extremā ſuperficiē eorum
ſua claritate perfundentem. Cum vero ipſam ſuperſanctā trinitatē ſtuduerimus puris
precibus animoq; purgato a nebulis viciorum/& peruio diuinis fulgoribus percipiendis/
diſpoſitoq; ad dei habendam vnionem/inuocare: tunc nos etiā illi ſummæ trinitati
aſſumus/atq; per preces ad eam promouemur. Nempe ipſa non ſic eſſe in loco credenda
eſt/vt ab aliquo loco abſit: aut ab vno loco ad alium tranſeat/priorem dimittendo locum
& nouum ſubeundo. Quinimmo qui eam ſupremam trinitatē oībus in rebus eſſe dicit:
minus certe dicit q̄ vt omnino exprimatur infinitudo illa diuinitatis quæ omnia trāſcendit
& complectitur omnia. Itaq; ſedulo piarū orationum ſtudio noſipſos diſponimus
& aptos reddimus: ad hauriēdum diuinorum radiorum fulgorē/aſpectūq; percipiēdū. 34

¶ Quomodo autē per pia orationū vota ad deū animo ſubuehimur & affectu: duobus
manifeſtat ſenſibilibus exēplis. Primū. ſi intelligatur fulgentiſſima catena ex ſummitate
cœli ſuſpenſa & vſq; ad nos in imo pertingens: quam ſemper manibus vices alternantibus
in altiora porrectis atq; nitentibus capere ſatagamus/videmur quidem tunc illam
catenam ad nos deorſum trahere. Secundū veritatem autem illā non ad ima ducimus:
cum ipſam habeamus & ſupra nos cœlū verſus & infra nos verſus terrā ſemper pręſentē,
ſed noſipſi potius illius catenę adminiculo/ad lucidiores ſolis percipiendos radios ob

maiorem ad ipſum viciniam prouehimur. Secundum exemplum eſt. ſi nauim ingreſſi
funes nauticos ex ſaxo aliquo in littore fixo ad nos vſq; extentos manibus teneamus/
eorumq; nitamur auxilio ad trahendū toto corporis niſu: huiuſmodi tractione non ſaxum
ipſum ad nos ducimus/ſed ediuerſo noſipſos & nauim ad ſaxū pertrahimus/ illiq;
magis ac magis propinquamus. Sicut & econtrario ſi quis in naui ſtans/ ſaxum mari vicinum
a ſe propellere pergat conto: ille nullo pacto loco dimouebit ſaxum illud fixum
& immobile/ſed ſeipſum potius a ſaxo repellet. & quanto violentiorē fecerit in ſaxum illud
impulſum: tanto ſane diſtantius a ſaxo dimouebitur. Proinde ante omnē actum noſtrum
& præſertim vbi de deo habendus eſt ſermo: ab oratione debemus exordium ſumere.
non quidem vt diuinam virtutem & vbiq; præſentem (quia cœlū & terrā implet) Hiere.23.
& nuſq̄ præſentē (quia extra omnia eſt/nec vllis clauditur locorū ſpacijs) ad nos trahamus:
ſed vt per memoriā rerum diuinarū excitantē animū/& per inuocatiões pias ſubleuantes
35 affectū in deū/noſipſos dedamus illi diuinæ virtuti atq; coniungamus. ¶Excuſat
ſe deinde cum humili modeſtia beatus pater: ꝙ poſt diuini Hierothei elementa theologica
conſcripta/tentauerit de diuinis nominibus diſſerere. Oportunū (inquit) nunc eſt
huius rei afferre rationem: quare cum Hierotheus/inſignis præceptor noſter/theologica
elementa luculenter collegerit: noſipſi quaſi illa tanti viri ſcripta non ſufficiāt/& alijs
temporibus alia opera & nunc præſens de diuinis nominibus opus conſcribere ſumus
aggreſſi. Certe ſi ipſe Hierotheus omnes theologicos ſermones & materias diffuſe voluiſſet
& plane explicare/& eorum quæ de deo dicenda ſunt ac ſentienda complementum
& totam materiam etiam breuiſſimis elucidationibus explanaſſet: nunq̄ eo deueniſſemus
inſaniæ aut temeritatis/ vt putaremus noſipſos aut clarius illo aut ſacratius eloquia
ſancta intelligere poſſe. aut vt eadem bis dicendo/actumq; agendo: ſuperuacuo labore
conſumi ac deſudare vellemus. Inſuper eximium præceptorem noſtrum iniuria affeciſſe
merito argueremur/ſi noſipſi poſt beatiſſimū Paulum illius magiſterio ac doctrina
edocti: ſacratiſſimam illius in ſcripturis ſanctis intelligentiam & elucidationem nobis
aſcriberemus/& quæ alterius ſunt: noſtra inſolenter faceremus. Cæterum quia ipſe Hierotheus
diuina exponens eloquia luculenter & erudite: ſuccinctas tantū conſtrinxit &
breues determinationes/ & quæ paucis verbis copioſam complecterētur ſententiam/
impoſuitq; nobis eam prouinciam vt ſtrictim a ſe dicta latius & vberius exponeremus.
Multi inſuper ex ſanctis fratribus/ deſignati rudium & imperitorum præceptores/ nos
ad id ſtudij ſunt importunius exhortati: vt breuiter & compendioſe ab eo dicta enucleatius
aperire ſtuderemus/& oratione prolixiore congruenteq; & noſtræ & multorum intelligentiæ/
eadem enodare: quo celeberrimi illius viri ſingularis virtus & doctrina clarius
eluceſcat. Quinimmo & tu ipſe (inquit) O Timothee nos ad id faciundum/ explanandumq;
amplius ſacratiſſimi Hierothei breuiuſculos tractatus ſæpius prouocaſti: &
librum ipſius de elementis theologicis inſcriptum ad me miſiſti/ tanquam aliquid excedens
tuæ intelligentiæ captum. Idcirco ipſum Hierotheum vt perfectarum mentium
& ad diuina ſublimiter prouectarum magiſtrum illis deſignamus: qui ſublimiora capiunt
veluti proximo loco habenda poſt ſacra eloquia/ & continuo ſequentia illorum
æditiones ac conſcriptiones/ qui a deo ad diuinos libros conſcribendos ſpiritus ſancti
chariſmate ſunt vncti: quales ſunt prophetæ/ apoſtoli ac euangeliſtæ. Illis vero qui minus
in diuinis exercitati ſunt/& noſtri (inquit) ſimiles: ſacrarum rerum notiones aperiemus
pro noſtra facultate & tenuitate. Cum enim perfectorū ſit ſolidus cibus/ vt ait Diuinus
Paulus: certe ſolido cibo alios paſcere/ magnæ eſt & eximiæ perfectionis. Quare Hebrę.5.
ſacer Hierotheus/ qui vere idipſum poſſe dictus eſt: inſigni eſſe præſtantia & ſingulari
36 perfectione credendus eſt. ¶Porro quæ modo dixit de perfectis & rudibus ſenſibus:
amplius aperit. Recte (inquit) & hoc a nobis dictū eſt: ꝙ aperta diuinorum eloquiorum
cognitio per ſeipſam/& non inferiorum ſermonū ad eā manuducētiū adminiculo/ perſpicax
itidē & ꝑfecta illorū diſciplina: ſenilis eſt/prouectęq; & ꝑfectæ virtutis animi. Sermonū
vero & tractatuū/qui ad ſacrorū eloquiorū contēplationē p̄ſtant adiumētū/ ſcientia:
inferioris minoriſq; gradus & conditionis magiſtris & diſcipulis congruit. At vero
in noſtris (ait) operibus: & nunc & alias id diligenter obſeruauimus. vt quæ diuinus Hierotheus
præceptor noſter clara explanatione pertractauit: nequaq̄ diſcuteremus/aut ne
eadem (quæ ipſe dixerit) repeteremus ad id explicādum/quod de ſcripturis ſanctis ab
eo fuiſſet (vt reſeraretur) propoſitū. Studuim⁹ enī illa quę apte ipſe expoſuit/aut de ſcri

Cap. 3

pturis propoſuit aperienda: omnino intacta dimittere & a nobis indiſcuſſa relinquere. 37 ❡Poſtea diuinum Hierotheũ/vt gratus in præceptorem diſcipulus & veritatis aſtipulator: præclaris extollit præconijs/& quanta eum proſequatur veneratione ac reuerentia/pie & religioſe demonſtrat. Cum(ait)noſipſi vt ſcis O Timothee/& nonnulli alij ex ſanctis fratribus noſtris in CHRISTO regenitis: cõueniſſemus apud ſacratiſſimos apoſtolos ſancto ſpiritu mirifice repletos/& illiꝰ donatos primitijs/p̄cipuoſq; eccleſiaſticę fũctionis p̄ſules. & id quidē ad cõtuēdũ illud ſacratiſſimũ corpus cãdidiſſimę virginis MARIAE/tempore ſuæ placidæ in CHRISTO obdormitionis: quod authorē vitæ deumq; verũ in ſe geſtauerat atq; ſuſceperat. Aderat autē huic ſanctæ cõgregationi & Iacobus frater domini/& Petrus egregiũ decus & præſtantiſſimũ theologorũ/apoſtolorũq; culmen. Vbi poſt ſacrum ſanctiſſimi illius corporis contuitũ/ omnibus viſum eſt: ꝙ ſancti præſules omnes qui tũ aderant/laudarent bonitatē ſingularē diuinæ infirmitatis/humanitatiſq; CHRISTI qui noſtra infirma vere & integre ſuſcepit. quoniã tamen illa noſtrę carnis infirma erãt deitati vnita: merito hic diuina ĩfirmitas dicitur/ſed quæ infinite potenti virtuti non repugnaret. nam & hæc & illa: in eodem erant vnita. Nempe CHRISTVS ex virgine natus: deus eſt & homo. vt homo: tunc infirmus. vt deus: infinite potens. Quare per mutuam proprietatum cõmunicationem/ipſe: deus eſt infirmus/& homo infinite potens. Eo vero tempore ipſe Hierotheus(vt noſti O Timothee: qui etiam tum præſens affuiſti)poſt apoſtolos/ omnibus alijs dei laudatoribus erat eminētior atq; præſtantior: totus ſeipſum ex mentis eleuatione excedens/totus ſupra ſe raptus & ſublatus/& diuinorum quæ laudabat: conſortiũ ac ſocietatem habēs/illiſq; intimo animi affectu coniunctus. Deniq; ab omnibus tunc præſentibus a quibus in eo laudationis officio videbatur & audiebatur/a quibus item cognoſcebatur ex tranſacti temporis vſu/& a quibus etiam non agnoſcebatur ex præterita familiaritate aut notitia: iudicatus eſt fuiſſe inſpiratus a deo/& eximius præter cæteros diuinorum laudator. Sed quid(inquit) O Timothee hæc tibi cõmemorare laboro: quæ in eo ſanctorũ fratrũ conuentu ſunt ſacratiſſime dicta? Nõ enim animo meo excidit: ꝙ ſæpius abs te acceperim quaſdã illarũ diuinarũ laudationum diligentia tua exceptas atq; collectas particulas. adeo fuiſti ſtudioſus ipſorum diuinorũ tractatuũ/non quidem in tranſcurſu & leuiter: ſed ſerio mature 38 & ſedulo perſequendorũ. ❡Proſequitur & hoc loco ſacratiſſimus pater: diuini Hierothei præceptoris ſui laudes/Timotheũ alloquēs. Vt(inquit) O Timothee prætereamus ea quæ in huiuſmodi celebratiſſima laudatorũ corona dicta ſunt ſpiritualiter & myſtice: ꝙ cõpluribus ob ſui ſublimitatem ſint imperceptibilia/tibi autē vt cæteris perſpicaciori & diuinorum gnaro notiſſima. quãdo neceſſe fuit multitudini populi noſtræ fidei pãdere myſteria/& q̃plurimos poſſemus ad ipſius profeſſionē agnitionemq; veritatis inducere: ipſe Hierotheus longe alijs ſanctis doctoribus ſupereminebat & ęuo prouectiore/ quod habet plerumq; coniunctã ſapientiã. Iob 12. nam vt ait Iob. in antiquis eſt ſapientia: & in multo tēpore prudentia. Excellebat item cęteris animi puritate & ſanctimonia/docendi rudes diligentia/& ſacrarũ rerũ eruditione. Nunq̃ deniq; præceptorē & illuminatorē nacti ſumus illuſtriorē: in quē defigeremus intimos animi noſtri obtutꝰ/& ſpirituales mētis oculos cõuerteremus. Ingenue ſiquidem fatemur(inquit)noſtræ imbecillitatis cõſcij: ꝙ neq; digne ſatis ſanctarũ ſcripturarũ intelligentiã/neq; diuinarũ notionũ abſtruſa myſteria exprimere aut effari ſufficimus. longeq; ſanctis viris eruditione ſacra pręſtãtibus: in exponēda ſacrarũ litterarũ veritate ſumus inferiores. In quibus quidem verbis & ſequētibus: q̃ humiliter de ſe ſenſerit ſacratiſſimus pater/& q̃ parũ ſibi tribuerit: ſũmopere annotandũ eſt. & imitanda viris litteratis oĩbus(ne ſciētia inflet)admirabilis eſt & inſignis iſta tanti viri humilitas. Et ad hoc vſq;(ait)per ingentē reuerentiã(quã ad ſanctã ſcripturã & eius peritos habemus)peruenimus/vt neq; quicq̃ audire neq; diſcere de altiſſima diuinarũ rerum diſciplina ſapientiaq; auderemus: niſi id perſuaſum nobis fuiſſet & conſtitutũ animo/ꝙ nõ oportet ſacratiſſimarũ rerũ ſcientiã quantum capere poſſumus negligere/aut ignauiter omittere. & ad hoc nos induxiſſet/ nõ ſolũ naturale immortalium animorũ noſtrorũ deſideriũ/ſũmo ardore ac ſtudio concupiſcens ac natura affectans (quantã capere poteſt) diuinorum notitiã: verũ etiam ſanctiſſima diuinæ legis ſanctio/ prohibens inquirere auſu temerario ea quæ ſuperiora nobis ſunt & excelſiora: ꝙ noſtrũ excedant captum & intelligi a nobis nequeant. Ecci. 3. Altiora(inquit)te non quæſieris: & fortiora te ne ſcrutatus fueris. admonēs autem ſtudioſe diſcere omnia ad dei cognitionē

ſpectãtia: quæ nobis permiſſa ſunt tanq̄ noſtris viribus æqua/ & eadẽ alijs benigne tradere.
Deriuentur inquit fontes tui foras: & in plateis aquas tuas diuide. Itaqꝫ his diuinis Prouer. 5.
legibus obtemperantes: nequaq̄ fatiſcimus (inquit) aut trepidamus: ad diuina myſteria
pro facultate noſtra inueſtigãda. & non ſuſtinentes illos qui altiora q̄ nos non poſſunt
conſpicari/ auxilio prorſus deſtitui quo diuina cognoſcant: ad ſcribẽdum noſipſos accinximus.
nichil quidẽ noui ex ſenſu noſtro ingerere præſumentes: ſed ea quæ breuiter &
ſuccincte ab ipſo non tã nomine q̄ re Hierotheo dicta ſunt/ digerentes in latius: atqꝫ exponentes/
per ſubtiliores inquiſitiones & in partes/ ſingulatim diſtinctas.

¶De bono/ lumine ſiue luce/ pulchro/ amore/ extaſi/ zelo: & ꝙ malum neqꝫ eſt/ neqꝫ ex eo quod eſt/ neqꝫ inter ſubſtantias eſt. Cap. IIII. pars I.

39 AGe ergo ad ipſam iam boni appellationẽ pergamus explicãdã: Bonum.
qua theologi peculiariter ſummæ deitati ex omnibus applicant/
ipſam vt reor ſubſtãtiam diuinam: bonitatem appellantes.
& quia eo ipſo quod eſt bonũ/ vt ſubſtãtiale bonum:
in omnia quæ ſunt pertendit bonitatem. Nam quemadmodũ Manuductio de ſole.
ſol iſte non cogitatione aut electione/ ſed eo ipſo quod eſt:
illuminat omnia quæ pro modo ſuo participationẽ lucis admittunt: ita &
ſummũ illud bonum ſolem ſuperans (non ſecus ac obtuſam imaginem primitiua
excellẽter forma) ipſa ſua ſubſtantia omnibus quæ ſunt pro captu
40 cuiuſqꝫ totius bonitatis inijcit radios. ¶Eorũ deniqꝫ gratia: ſubſiſtunt intelligibiles A
õnes ſpiritualeſqꝫ ſubſtantiæ/ & virtutes/ atqꝫ operationes. perqꝫ
eos ſunt & viuunt: vitãqꝫ habent indeficientem/ & inuiolabilẽ. corruptione
omni/ & morte/ & materia & generatione liberę: omniqꝫ inſtabili/ ac fluxa/
& alias aliter ſe habente mutatione longiſſime remotæ. ac per eos incorporales
atqꝫ omni materia carentes intelliguntur: & tanq̄ ſpiritus ſupra mundanum
intelligunt modum/ rerumqꝫ rationes diuinis illuſtrationibus ſibi
accommodatis diſcũt. & rurſus ad propinquiora & cognata: quæ didicere
tranſmittũt. Habẽt itẽ ex bonitate cõſtantiã: ſedeſqꝫ illis ac firmitas nõ aliunde
eſt. inde continẽtur atqꝫ ſeruantur: inde illis bonorũ refectio. ipſamqꝫ
appetẽtes: & vt ſint & bene ſint habẽt. Atqꝫ ad illã ſeſe pro viribus formãtes/
ipſius etiã bonitatis ſpeciẽ præferunt: & (vt diuina lex dictat) inferioribus/ B
41 donorũ quæ ex ſummo bono proueniũt conſortiũ tradũt. ¶Inde illis
aſſunt mundo ſuperiores ordines/ coniunctiones ad ſeipſas/ mutuæ in ſe inuicẽ
profectiones/ inconfuſæ diſtinctiones: & quæ inferiora ſuperioribus iũgunt
ſubuehendo virtutes. Inde potiorum ad ſequentia prouidentia multiplex/
propriarum cuiuſqꝫ virtutum cõſeruationes: mutui in ſeipſas & nũq̄
labentes circuitus/ atqꝫ circa ſummi boni deſiderium immutabilitates ac ſũmitates.
& quæqꝫ alia a nobis in libro de angelicis proprietatibus/ atqꝫ ordinibus liber de angelicis proprietatibus & ordinibꝰ
dicta meminimus. Sed quæqꝫ cœleſtis hierarchiæ ſunt angelis ſcilicet
cõgruæ luſtrationes/ quæ ſupra mundum ſunt illuminationes & quęcunqꝫ
angelicã totam perfectionem cõſummant: ex authore omniũ/ & principali
bonitate proueniunt. ex qua etiam illis boni indulta ſpecies eſt: & a C
qua vt in ſeipſis exprimerent occultam bonitatem/ & eſſent angeli (veluti
diuinũ ſilentiũ enũciãtes: & ꝓminẽtes/ quaſi lucida lumina eũ qui in adytis
42 eſt interpretantia) ſunt conſecuti ſortẽ. ¶Poſt illos quoqꝫ ſacroſanctos ſpi-

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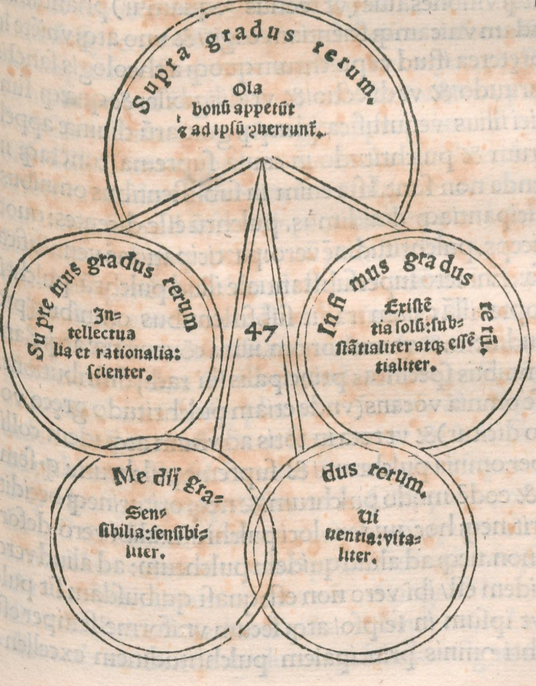
ritus/animæ & quæqꝫ animarum bona: per ſupreme bonam conſiſtunt bo
nitatem. ꝙ ſcilicet intellectuales ſunt: ꝙ habent ſubſtātialem/immortalēqꝫ
vitam/ꝙ ſunt & poſſunt ad angelorū aſpirare vitas. ac per illos veluti opti
mos duces ad bonorum omnium principem bonitatem promoueri: atqꝫ
inde manātium fulgorum pro captu ſuo participes fieri. & deinde illis in-
D ſignis boni ſpecie conſortes accedere: quantū ſuppetunt vires. & quæqꝫ alia
Liber de anima beati patris.
in ijs quæ de anima ſcripſimus: enumerauimus. ¶ Sed & de ipſis (ſi dicere 43
fas eſt) irrationalibus animabus ſeu animalibus/vel quæ aerem findunt/vel
quæ ſupra humum incedunt/ & quæ in terram porrecta ſunt / & quæ in
aquis vitā acceperunt/vel quæ in terris & in aquis viuūt/ & quæ ſub terra
adoperta & ruderibus preſſa vitā agūt/ & quæ ſenſibilem animam aut vi-
tā accepere: ea oia per ipſum bonum vt animarentur & viuificarentur ſunt
cōſecuta. Plantæ itē omnes: ex bono ipſo nutritiuā motabilēqꝫ vitā accepe-
runt. & quæqꝫ eſt anima & vita deſtituta ſubſtantia: propter bonū ipſū eſt
per quod etiā ſubſtantialē accepit qualitatē. ¶ Si autē ſuper omnia quæ ſūt 44
eſt (vt eſt profecto) ſummū illud bonum/eius quod eſt informe: forma for-
mans eſt/idqꝫ in ſeipſo ſolo. & eius quod ſubſtantiā nō habet: ſubſtantiæ
excellētia eſt. quodqꝫ vitam deſiderat: eminētiſſima vita. & quod mēte nō ni
titur: ſuprema ſapiētia eſt. & quæqꝫ in ipſo bono: informiū ipſorū excellen-
tiſſima forma ſunt. Et (ſi dicere fas eſt) bonū illud quod oēs ſubſtātias ſu-
perat: ipſum quoqꝫ quod non eſt appetit/& ipſum quodā modo in bono
veraciter ſuperſubſtantiali per omniū ablationē eſſe contendit. ¶ Verum 45
(quod nos in medio ferme orationis effugerat curſu) cœleſtiū quoqꝫ prin-
cipiorū & finiū cauſa/bonū ipſum eſt: cum neqꝫ augeri/nec minui poſſit illa
ſubſtantia/ neqꝫ omnino variari. motuum quoqꝫ ſine ſono & ſtrepitu ſuas
agentium vices: huius (ſi ſic dicere oportet) ampliſſimi cœleſtis itineris/ſide
reorūqꝫ ordinū decentiæ/ & luminū atqꝫ ſtabilitatū/non aliunde cauſa eſt.
Siderum etiam quorūdā vt multiplex giret motus/duorumqꝫ luminariū
(quæ magna a ſcriptura appellantur) vt ex eiſdē ad eadē ſemper remeet cir
culus (quo ſiderū curſu dies noſtri ac noctes peraguntur/ menſeſqꝫ conclu-
duntur atqꝫ anni: & quæ tēporis & eorū quæ ſunt in tēpore orbiculares mo
tus terminant/numerant/ordināt/continent) cauſa a bono ipſo proficiſci- 46
Lux ſiue lumen.
tur. ¶ Quid autem de ipſo dicemus in ſe ſolari radio? ex ipſo nāqꝫ bono
lux eſt: & imago bonitatis. Idcirco lucis quoqꝫ appellatione laudatur bo-
num: veluti in imagine expreſſa primitiua forma. Sicut enim tranſcendē-
tis omnia deitatis bonitas: a ſupremis antiquiſſimiſqꝫ ſubſtantijs ad ex-
tremas vſqꝫ pertingit. & ſupra omnes eſt: cum neqꝫ ſuperiores ipſius attin-
gant eminentiam/neqꝫ inferiores (quin ab ipſa contineantur) effugiant. ſed
illuminat quæ lucem admittunt omnia: & creat/atqꝫ viuificat/ cōtinetqꝫ/ac
perficit. menſuraqꝫ ſubſiſtētium eſt/& ſæculum/& numerus/& ordo/ & cōti
nētia/& cauſa atqꝫ finis. ita profecto & liquida diuinę bonitatis imago ma
gnꝰ iſte & ꝑlucidus/ſemperqꝫ lucēs ſol/pro exigua boni ſimilitudine: oia q̄
haurire ipſum poſſunt illuminat/habetqꝫ lucem eminenter explicitā/ expā
dēs illam ſuper omnem hunc viſibilem mundū/ſupraqꝫ atqꝫ infra vibrans

radios ſuos. Quos ſi quid eſt quod non hauriat/id nõ aut imbecillitati aut
breuitati luminoſæ ipſius diſtributionis imputandum:ſed ijs quæ percipiẽdæ
luci minus idonea ſunt/neqꝫ ſe ad conſortium lucis extendunt. Cõplura
deniqꝫ iſtius modi/pertranſiens radius: contigua illis illuminat. nichilqꝫ
viſibile eſt:quod ille non penetret excellenti lucis ſuæ magnitudine. Sed ad
ipſam quoqꝫ generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert:ipſaqꝫ ad vitam
mouet/& nutrit/ & auget/ & perficit/ purgatqꝫ & renouat. menſura quoqꝫ
& numerus eſt horarum/ dierum/ totiuſqꝫ labentis temporis: lux. Ipſa eſt F
47 enim ea lux (etſi tunc erat informis: quod & diuinus Moſes ait) quæ primam
diſtinxit/ & diffiniuit dierum noſtrorum trinitatem. ℭ Et ſicuti omnia
bonitas ad ſe conuertit/& quæ diſperſa ſunt congregat veluti vnitatis
author/ atqꝫ vnifica deitas: omniaqꝫ ipſam veluti principium/ veluti continentiam/
veluti finem deſiderant. bonumqꝫ illud eſt (vt ſacra teſtantur G
eloquia) ex quo ſubſiſtunt omnia : ſuntqꝫ veluti ex abſolutiſſima cauſa
producta/& in quo omnia conſtant/ac veluti in omnipotente receſſu præſidioqꝫ
ſeruantur. & ad quod omnia conuertuntur veluti ad ſuum quæqꝫ
finem:& quod appetunt omnia. ſpiritualia quidem & rationalia:ſcienter & gnauiter.
ſenſibilia vero: ſenſibiliter atqꝫ carnaliter. quæ autem ſunt ſenſus
expertia:ingenito vitalis deſiderij motu. & quæ vita carent/ ſolũqꝫ ſunt:ſola
aptitudine participandæ ſubſtantiæ. Iuxta eandem liquidę imaginis rationem/
lux quoqꝫ ad ſe cogit omnia/ atqꝫ conuertit:quæ vident/quæ mouentur/
quæ illuminantur/ quæ caleſiunt/ quæqꝫ omnino ab ipſius radijs
continẽtur. Idcirco ſol
quoqꝫ helios grȩco vocabulo
ex eo dicitur:
ꝙ ſeruet ĩuiolata omnia/
congregetqꝫ diſperſa.
Omniaqꝫ ipſũ
ſenſibilia appetunt:
aut ſicut videre/ aut
moueri/& illuminari/
& caleſieri/ atqꝫ omnino
a luce contineri
cupiẽtia. Neqꝫ id plane
dixerĩ iuxta obſoletã
vetuſtatis rationem:
vt deus cũ ſit ſol
& mũdanę machinæ
conditor/viſibilẽ ꝓcurat
peculiariter mundũ.
ſed ꝙ ĩuiſibilia dei H
a creatura mũdi ꝑ ea
quæ facta ſunt intellecta
cõſpiciunt̃/ſẽpiter


Supra gradus rerum.
Oĩa bonũ appetũt ⁊ ad ipſũ ꝯuertunt.
Supremus gradus rerum
Intellectualia et rationalia: ſcienter.
47
Infimus gradus rerũ.
Exiſtẽtia ſolũ: ſubſtãtialiter atqꝫ eſſẽtialiter.
Medij gradus rerum.
Senſibilia: ſenſibiliter.
Uiuentia: vitaliter.

Cap.
4
pars
1

I na quoqꝫ eius virtus/ & diuinitas. ¶ Verũ iſta quidem in ſignificatiua the- 48
ologia plenius diximus: nunc boni illius intelligibilem a luce ductam appel
lationem celebrare nos conuenit. Dicendum itaqꝫ vt intelligibilis lux/ bonũ
ipſum dicitur: ꝙ omnem ſupercœleſtem ſpiritum ſpirituali impleat luce/
omnemqꝫ ignorantiam pellat/ erroremqꝫ abigat ex animabus (quibus ſe-
ſe inſinuauerit) omnibus. eiſqꝫ ſacræ lucis conſortium tradat/ ſpiritualeſqꝫ
illarũ oculos purget: obductamqꝫ ignorantiæ caliginem tergat/ & ingẽti te-
nebrarum põdere obtuſos ac ferme cæcatos renouet/ atqꝫ excitet. tradatqꝫ
illis primum quidẽ exigui conſortia luminis: deinde (vbi illæ deguſtauere
lucem: maioreqꝫ eius tanguntur deſiderio) ſeſe eis magis infundat/ & copia
K vberiore lucis infulgeat/ quia dilexerunt multum. ſemperqꝫ eas in anterio-
ra intendat: quantũ aſpirare ad ea pro captu ſuo poſſunt. ¶ Lux igitur in- 49
telligibilis dicitur bonum illud/ omnem ſuperans lucem: vt principalis ra-
dius et exuberans effuſio lucis/ omnem vel mundo præeminentẽ vel circa
mundum vel intra mundum agentem ſpiritum ex ſua illuſtrans plenitudi-
ne. & ſpirituales ipſorum totas renouans vires/ omneſqꝫ tranſiliens/ & con-
L tinẽs: ꝙ ſuperne extenta ſit. & cunctis excellens: ꝙ ſuperemineat. prorſuſqꝫ
omnem illuminãtis virtutis ditionem (vt lucis princeps/ omnemqꝫ ſuperãs
lucem) in ſeipſa compræhendens/ & excellenter habens: ſpiritualia atqꝫ ra-
tionalia omnia colligens/ & immortalia faciens. Nam ſicut ignorantia eos
qui ſeducti ſunt ſeparat: ita præſentia intelligibilis lucis eos qui illuminãtur
colligit/ cõiungit ac perficit. atqꝫ a multis/ erroneiſqꝫ opinationib⁹: ad id qđ
vere eſt conuertit. variaſqꝫ viſiones/ ſiue (vt rectius loquamur) phantaſias:
in vnam veram & liquidam vnicamqꝫ ſcientiam cogit/ & vno atqꝫ vniẽte lu-
M mine cõplet. ¶ Bonũ pręterea iſtud vt pulchrum quoqꝫ a theologis ſanctis 50
Pulchrum. prædicatur/ & vt pulchritudo/ & vt dilectio/ & vt diligibile: & quæqꝫ ſunt
aliæ decentiſſimę/ ſpeciei illius venuſtificæ plenęqꝫ gratiarũ/ diuinæ appel-
lationes. Porro pulchrum & pulchritudo in cauſa ſuprema cunctaqꝫ in
vnũ colligẽte: diſtinguenda non ſunt. Iſta enim in ſubſiſtentibus omnibus:
in participationes participantiaqꝫ diuidimus. pulchrũ eſſe dicentes: quod
ſit pulchritudinis particeps. pulchritudinẽ vero: participationẽ venuſtificæ
pulchrorũ omniũ cauſæ. Eniuero ſuperſubſtantiale illud pulchrũ/ pulchri-
tudo quidem dicit̃: propter illã quam tradit ſubſiſtentibus omnibus (pro
captu cuiuſqꝫ) pulchritudinem. & vt author omnium cõueniẽtiæ atqꝫ clari-
tatis: lucis in morem/ omnibus ſpecificas principalis ſui radij diſtributiones
infulgens. & veluti ad ſe omnia vocans (vnde etiam pulchritudo gręco vo-
cabulo calos a vocando dicitur) & vt tota in totis ad vnum atqꝫ idem colli-
gens. pulchrũ vero & per omnia pulchrum/ & ſupreme pulchrum: ꝙ ſem-
per ſit ſecundum eadẽ & eodẽ modo pulchrum/ & neqꝫ oritur/ neqꝫ occidit/
neqꝫ augetur neqꝫ interit. neqꝫ hoc quidem loci pulchrum: alibi vero defor-
me. neqꝫ alias eſt: alias non. neqꝫ ad aliud quidem pulchrum: ad aliud vero
eſt fœdum. neqꝫ hic quidem eſt/ ibi vero non eſt: quaſi quibuſdam ſit pul-
chrum/ alijs non. ſed vt ipſum in ſeipſo/ atqꝫ ſecum vniforme/ ſemper eſt
pulchrum: & vt pulchri omnis principalem pulchritudinem excellen-

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1773/D

tiſſime in ſeipſo ante omnia habens. Simplici etenim & præexcellenti pulchrorum
omnium naturæ: pulchritudo omnis atqꝫ omne pulchrum vniformiter
51 ſecūdum cauſam præadeſt. ¶ Ex hoc quoqꝫ pulchro ijs quæ ſunt
omnibus prouenit: vt ſint pro modo ſuo pulchra ſingula. efficitqꝫ pulchrum
iſtud/rerum omnium congruētias & amicitias ac ſocietates: pulchroqꝫ iſto
coniunguntur omnia. initiumqꝫ omniū id eſt/veluti effectiua cauſa: & mouens
omnia & continens amore pulchritudinis propriæ. finiſqꝫ eſt omniū/
et diligibile vt finalis cauſa (pulchri enim gratia/omnia fiunt) & exemplar:
quia iuxta id diffiniuntur omnia. Quocirca pulchrum idem eſſe quod bonum:
perſpicuum eſt. Pulchrum enim et bonum: per omnes cauſas cuncta
deſiderant. neqꝫ eſt aliquid in ſubſtantijs rerū: quod pulchri & boni non ſit
aliquatenus particeps. Et illud item dicere diſſerēdo pręſumimus: id quoqꝫ
quod non eſt/pulchri & boni particeps eſſe. tunc enim & ipſum/pulchrum
eſt ac bonum: cum in deo per omnium priuationem ſuperſubſtātialiter celebratur.
52 ¶ Iſtud vnum/bonum/atqꝫ pulchrū: omnium multorum/pulchrorum/
ac bonorum eſt ſingulariter cauſa. Ex hoc: eorum quæ ſunt/ſubſtantiales
eſſentiæ ſunt/coniunctiones/diſcretiones/identitates/alteritates/ſimilitudines/
diſſimilitudines. ſocietates/fœderaqꝫ contrariorum: & eorum quæ
vniuntur incōfuſæ diſtinctiones/ſuperiorum prouidentiæ/æqualium alternæ
adinuicem vicitudines/conuerſiones inferiorum/omniumqꝫ ſuimet ipſorum
ſeruatrices atqꝫ immobiles manſiones ac ſedes. rurſuſqꝫ omnium in
omnibus pro ſingulorū modo ſocietates & congruentiæ/inconfuſæqꝫ amicitiæ
& conuenientiæ vniuerſi: & quæ in mundo ſunt contēperantiæ/indiſſolubileſqꝫ
rerum cōtinentiæ/indeficiētes naſcentiū ſucceſſiones/ſtatus omnes/
atqꝫ motus ſpirituum/animarum/corporum. Status enim eſt omnibus
ac motus: quod ſuper ſtatum omnem/omnemqꝫ motum vnumquodqꝫ in
ſuiipſius ratione firmat/& agit ad proprium motum. ¶ Et moueri ſane altiſſimi
illi dicuntur ſpiritus/circulariter quidem: dum ętenis illis principio
ac fine carentibus pulchri ac boni fulgoribus cōiungūtur. Per rectam vero
lineam: quādo ad inferiorū prouidētiam prodeūt/recta omnia peragētes.
Reflexe autē: quia et inferiorū prouidētiam agentes/in ſua identitate nuſq̄
diſcedēdo perdurāt/circa identitatis authorem pulchrum ac bonū indeſinenter
choream ducētes. Porro animę quidē motus circularis: ingreſſus eſt
in ſeipſam ab exterioribus omnibus/ſpiritualiumqꝫ ſui virium vniformis
glomeratio: veluti in orbe quodam ei vt nuſquā oberret largiens. eamqꝫ
ab extimis erroribuſqꝫ plurimis cōuertēs & colligēs: primū in ſeipſam/deinde
vt vniformē effectam ſingulariter cōiūctis virtutibus iungens. atqꝫ ita
ad pulchrum illud & bonum ducens: quod ſuper omnes ſubſtātias eſt vnū
atqꝫ idem/pricipioqꝫ & fine carēs. Oblique vero mouetur anima: inquātū
ſibiipſi cōuenieter diuinas notiones nō ſpiritualiter & ſingulariter/verum
rationaliter et latius ac veluti promiſcuis trāſitorijſqꝫ actionibus haurit. Recta
vero linea mouetur: cum nō in ſe ingrediēs/neqꝫ ſingulari ſpiritus effectu
acta (hoc enim eſt vt dixi/in orbē moueri) ſed ad ea quæ ſūt circa ſe prodiens:
ab exterioribus veluti a quibuſdam ſignis varijs ac multiplicibus ad

Circularis ſpirituum motus.

Rectus motus.

Reflexus motus.

Circularis animę motus.

Motus obliquus animæ.

Motus animæ rectus.

ſimplices atqꝫ coniunctas intelligētias promouetur.¶Harum itaqꝫ etiam 54
ſenſibilium in mūdo iſto triū motionum/& multo prius cuiuſqꝫ māſionū/
ſtatuumqꝫ/ac firmitatū:cauſa eſt & continēs et finis/pulchrū ipſum atqꝫ bonum.
quod ſupra omniū ſtatū/omnēqꝫ motum eſt:per quod ſtatus omnis
atqꝫ motus eſt/& ex quo/et in quo/& ad quod/et cuius gratia ſūt omnia.ex
ipſo nāqꝫ & per ipſum/& ſubſtantia et vita omnis eſt:& ſenſus/& animæ/
naturæqꝫ omnis decremēta/æqualitates/augmēta.mēſuræ omnes/& proportiones
rerum/& cōgruētiæ/et contēperamēta/integritates/partes/totū/
vnū/atqꝫ multitudo.colligationes partiū/omnes multitudine cōiunctiones:
integritatū perfectiones.quale/quātum/quotum/infinitum:cōparationes/
diſcretiones/infinitas omnis/omnis finis/termini omnes/ordines/eminētiæ/
elemēta/ſpecies/ōnis ſubſtātia/ōnis virtus/ōnis operatio/ōnis habitus/ōnis
ſenſus/ſermo omnis/ōnis intelligētia/tactus ōnis/ōnis ſcientia/omnis vnio.
ſimpliciterqꝫ ōne quod eſt:ex pulchro eſt & bono/et in pulchro et bono/&
ad pulchrū bonūqꝫ cōuertitur.Et ōnia quæcūqꝫ ſunt & fiūt:ob pulchrū et
bonū ſunt & fiūt.ipſumqꝫ aſpiciūt omnia:& ab ipſo mouētur atqꝫ cōtinentur/
& ipſius gratia/et per ipſum.& in ipſo eſt principiū omne a quo exēpla
ducūtur:principiū cōſummās/efficiēs/formaleqꝫ/atqꝫ materiale.prorſuſqꝫ
omne principiū:cōtinētia omnis/omnis finis.ſiue(vt perſtringā breuiter)
omnia quæqꝫ ſūt:ex pulchro & bono ſūt.et quæ nō ſunt:omnia ſuperſubſtātialiter
in pulchro ſunt & bono.eſtqꝫ ipſū/initium omniū & finis:omne
N principiū/omnēqꝫ ſuperās finem.quia ex ipſo & per ipſum/& in ipſo atqꝫ
Amor. in ipſum omnia ſūt:vt ſacra teſtātur eloquia.¶Omnibus igitur eſt pulchrū 55
et bonū:deſiderabile & amabile ac diligibile.Et per ipſum atqꝫ ipſius gratia/
& inferiora:cōuerſionis ratione præſtātiora amant.& paria:ſocialiter
æqualia diligunt.& præſtātiora:minoribus prouidēdo amore iungūtur.et
ipſa ſe amāt ſingula:ſuæ ratione cōtinētiæ.& omnia quæcūqꝫ faciūt et volunt:
pulchti et boni deſiderio & faciūt et volūt.Cōſidēter id quoqꝫ veriſſima
ratione dicemus:ꝙ ipſe quoqꝫ author omniū pro bonitatis magnitudine
omnia amat/omnia facit/omnia perficit/omnia cōtinet/cōuertitqꝫ omnia.
Eſt etiam & diuinus amor:bonus/& boni/et propter bonū.ipſe enim
O author beneficus entiū amor(cū antea in bono excellēter eſſet)nequaq̄ ipſū
in ſeipſo manere infœcūdum permiſit:ſed ipſū ad operādū mouit per excellētiam
cūcta gignētem. ¶Et nemo nos arbitretur præter ſcripturæ ſacræ 56
authoritatē/amoris cognomē introducere.Eſt enim(vt reor)perq̄ ſane
irrationabile atqꝫ peruerſum:nō vim inſpicere ac ſenſum/ſed affigi dictionibus.
idqꝫ fuerit hominū nō plane diuina intelligere cupiētium:ſed ſimplices
captātium ſonos/eoſqꝫ aure tenus ita cōtinētium vt ad intima nequaq̄
penetrare permittāt.nec ſcire volētium quidnā iſtiuſmodi ſignificet verbū:
et quomodo oporteat illud per alia ęquiualētia & planiora verba declarari.
affigūtur enim elemētis/& litteris haud intelligentiæ peruijs/& ſyllabis ac
verbis ignotis/neqꝫ animæ ſuæ intelligētiam penetrātibus:ſed extra circum
labia & aures perſtrepētibus.quaſi nō liceat quaternarium numerū per bis
duo ſignare:aut ſimplices lineas per lineas rectas exprimere/ſiue maternam

humum per patriā exponere:ſeu aliud quodlibet ex iȷs quę in plurimis ora-
57 tionis partibus tātūdem ſignificāt.¶Sciēdum enim eſt iuxta rectam ratio-
nem:ꝙ elemētis et ſyllabis/et vocabulis/et ſcripturis/et ſermonibus vtimur:
ſenſuum gratia. Vbi vero anima noſtra ſpiritualibus actionibus ad intelli-
gibilia moueri iam cœperit:ſuperflui iam ſūt cum rebus ſenſibilibus ſenſus.
Queādmodum etiam ſpirituales virtutes vacare dicūtur:quando anima/
diuina ſpecie dignata per ignotā cōiūctionē/inacceſſibilis lucis radios lumi
num nequaq̃ ſēſibilium iactibus hauſerit. Cum vero mēs noſtra per ſenſi-
bilia agi ad intelligibiles ſtuduerit motus:illi prorſus in honore ſenſus præ-
ferūtur/qui liquidius noſtam intelligētiam adiuuāt.queādmodum et aper-
tiores ſermones:& quęqꝫ ſunt ex viſibilibus clariora.quippe ſi obſcura ſunt
quæ adiacēt ſenſibus:ne ipſi quidem animo rite ſuggerere ſenſibilia pote-
58 runt.¶Sed enī ne iſta dicere videamur/vim ſcripturę ſacrę inferētes:audiāt
illam qui amoris vocabulū in ius trahūt.ama illā(inquit)& ſeruabit te:cir- P
cunda illam tibi & exaltabit te/honora illā vt cōplectatur te.et quæqꝫ alia:
in ſacris litteris amatoria celebrātur. Atqui viſum eſt pleriſqꝫ ex tractatori- Q
bus noſtris:diuinius eſſe amoris q̃ dilectionis nomē.Scribit enim et diuinus **Ignatius.**
Ignatius. Amor meus:crucifixus eſt. Et in primis ſcripturarū inſtitutioni- R
bus quēdam de ſapiētia diuina dixiſſe comperies:amator factus ſum for-
mæ illius. Nō ergo metuamus hoc amoris nomē:neqꝫ nos vllus perturbet
ſermo/terroreve cōcutiat. Michi enim vidētur theologi:commune quidem
arbitrari dilectionis & amoris nomē.cæterum idcirco diuinis magis verum
amorē aſſignare:vt huiuſmodi hominū ſtultā præſumptionem feriāt. Con
uenientiſſime enim cū verus amor non a nobis modo/verum & a ſcripturis
ipſis celebretur:turbæ nequaq̃ capiētes vniforme illud amatoriæ in deo ap-
pellationis/pro infirmitate ſua ad diuiduū & corporalē/diuiſūqꝫ delapſæ
amorē ſunt.qui verus amor profecto nō eſt:ſed imago potius/ſeu magis a
vero amore prolapſio.eſt enī incapax multitudini:vnicū illud & ſingulare
diuini atqꝫ vnius amoris. Quocirca vt quod videatur multis ingratius no-
men/in diuina ſapiētia ponitur:ad eos ſubuehēdos atqꝫ intendēdos ad veri
amoris ſciētiā/& vt eo errore liberētur.in nobis autem rurſus vbi craſſiores
quiqꝫ obſcenum aliquid opinari poſſent:honeſtiore(vt videtur)vocabulo
ſcriptura vtitur.cecidit enim(ait quidam)dilectio tua ſuper me:ſicut dile- S
59 ctio mulierū.¶Et id tamen apud eos qui diuina recte audiūt:tantūdem
valet.neqꝫ a theologis differēter ponitur dilectionis & amoris nomē:quan-
do illi diuina exponere pergunt. Eſtqꝫ hoc virtutis cuiuſdā vnificæ & con-
nexiuæ/& diſtincte atqꝫ incōfuſe adunatiuæ:quæ in pulchro et bono pro-
pter pulchrū & bonū antea ſubſtitit.et ex pulchro & bono:pulchri & bo-
ni cauſa emanat ad nos.cōtinetqꝫ ęqualia:ſociali inuicem cōnexione.et pri-
ora:ad inferiorū prouidētiam mouet.inferioraqꝫ:ſuperioribus cōuerſione
60 firmiter iungit.¶Eſt autem mētis ſeceſſum/extaſinqꝫ faciēs diuinus amor: **Extaſis.**
amatores ſui iuris eſſe nō ſinens/ſed in ea quæ amant penitus trāſferens.
Idqꝫ indicant ſuperiora quidem:quæ inferiorum ſeſe prouidentiæ deuo-
uerunt.æqualia vero:ꝙ ſe mutuo cōtinent. inferiora porro:quia ad prima

Cap. 4 pars 1

T diuiniore cõuerſione contendũt. Idcirco & Paulus ille magnus cum diuino
amore flagraret/exceſſiue illius virtutis particeps factus: ſacro ore/viuo inquit
Sacra Pauli pietas iam/nõ ego: viuit vero in me CHRISTVS. tãq̃ verus amator mẽtis
exceſſum paties (vt ipſe ait) deo viuens: & nõ ſuã ſed amatoris vitam vt valde
diligibilem. ¶ Audebimus & id pro veritate loqui: ꝙ ipſe quoqꝫ author 61
omniũ pulchro & bono amore omnium pro amatoriæ bonitatis magnitudine
extra ſe fit. ad omnia quæ ſunt: prouidẽtiæ multiplicis pertingẽdo ratione.
et veluti bonitate/ac dilectione/et amore mulcetur: et ex ſupremo illo
ſtatu quo ſupra omnia & ab omnibus exceptus eſt/ad id vt inter omnia ſit
excedẽte illa ſuperſubſtãtiali virtute ſua (qua nuſq̃ ab ſe progreditur) ſemet
Zelus V demittit. Quocirca zelotem illũ ij qui diuina probe callẽt appellant: vt vehementem
ad ea quæ ſunt clementer amanda. & vt ad zelum excitantem
amatorij ipſius deſiderij: & vt ipſum quoqꝫ amoris deſiderium appetibile
monſtrantem/per quem & quæ deſiderantur ſunt expetenda. et vt qui eorum
quæ prouidentia reguntur Zelotes ſit: eaqꝫ pariter illi in amore ſint.
prorſuſqꝫ pulchri et boni eſt: vt ſit amabile/atqꝫ amor. et in pulchro ac bono
ſedem antea fixit: & pulchri ac boni gratia eſt et fit. ¶ Quid autem ſibi volunt 62
X theologi: qui aliquãdo amorem/ipſum ac dilectionem vocãt: aliquando
Y vero amabilem ac diligibilem dicunt? Alterius nempe author & veluti
productor et genitor: alter vero ipſe eſt. atqꝫ altero quidem mouetur: altero
autẽ mouet. ſiue quia ipſe ſui ipſius et ſibi ipſi: prouocator ac motor eſt. hinc
diligibilem quidem ipſum atqꝫ amabilem vocant: vt pulchrũ atqꝫ bonum.
amorem vero rurſus vocant ac dilectionem: vt qui ſit mouens ſimul & vt
prouehens virtus ad ſeipſum. ꝙ ſolum ipſum: per ſe pulchrum/ac bonum
eſt. et veluti qui ſit ſuimet per ſeipſum expreſſio: et eximiæ illius coniunctionis
benignus proceſſus. atqꝫ amatorius motus: ſimplex/ſe mouens/per ſe
operans. qui ante erat in bono: et ex bono ſubſtantijs emanans/ac rurſus
ſe ad bonum conuertens. in quo quidem ꝙ fine careat atqꝫ principio diuinus
amor: excellenter oſtẽdit. veluti circulus quidam ſempiternus: propter
bonum/ex bono/in bono/& ad bonum certa et nuſq̃ oberrante glomeratione
circuiens. & in eodem/ac ſecundum idem: & procedens ſemper et manens
Z ac remeans. Iſta et inclytus noſter in ſanctis litteris inſtitutor: in amatorijs
hymnis/diuinis afflatibus expoſuit. quæ profecto in memoriam reuocare
non indignum fuerit/et veluti ſacrum quoddã caput noſtro de amore
ſermoni inſerere.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Eorum deniqꝫ gratia. Eorũ: eorum diuinæ totius
B bonitatis radiorum. ¶Et vt diuina lex dictat. Diuina lex eſt atqꝫ ordinatio: vt ſuperiora
inferioribus prouideãt. vt æquales: ſocietatis inuiolata iura cuſtodiãt. vt inferiora: ad ſuperiorum
prouidẽtiã ſe conuertãt. Hinc orbium giratus/ſolis ad nos acceſſus & abſceſſus/
imbriũ a ſuperioribus eleuationes/ſpirituũ flatus: rigores mortificã tabem peſtiferumqꝫ
afflatũ ex fluctuãtis materiæ cõtagione reprimẽtes/fœcũdum lumen/viuificuſqꝫ
calor: in ſinus nutricis terrę receptus/omnia germinare/pullulare/repubeſcereqꝫ faciẽs.
Hinc leones inuiolato ſocietatis iure viuũt cum leonibus: æqualitatis ſuæ ſortem amantes.
vrſi/cum vrſis/& efferatiſſima quæqꝫ animalia ius ſocietatis: ſua feritate in ſeipſa nõ
violant. Hinc aduenıẽte ſole pertenui quidem totius vniuerſitatis boni veſtigio: omnia
quæ in deteriori nota luce damnata non ſunt/ad ipſum ſe cõuertunt/vapores ſuſtollun-

tur/flores aperiūtur/herbæ arbuſtaq; & arbores comā erigūt/et animalia a ſomno mortis
imagine ſoluūtur:oculos ad boni ſimulacrum cōuertentia. Solū impuræ mētes/caligantes/
exoculatæ peccato:hoc ſanctum & inuiolabile diuinitatis fœdus corrumpunt. et
ſemper emortuis ſimiles:nūq̄ precioſum illū oculum ad verū ſolem verūq; bonum aperiunt/
nūq̄ conuertūt/diuinæ legi factæ rebelles. Et q̄uis hæc diuina lex rebus ipſis inſcripta
ſit:eandē tamen & ſacræ litteræ mandāt ac præcipiunt. patres(inquit)educate filios Colos.3.
in diſciplina & correctione domini. filij obedite parentibus veſtris in domino. Domini
quod iuſtum eſt & ęquum/ſeruis præſtate:ſciētes quoniam & dominū habetis in cœlo.
ſerui obedite per omnia dominis carnalibus:in ſimplicitate cordis timētes dominū. viri Ephe.5.
diligite vxores veſtras:ſicut & CHRISTVS dilexit eccleſiā. mulieres viris ſuis ſubditæ
ſint ſicut domino:quoniā vir caput eſt mulieris. Fraternitatē diligite. et cætera id genus 1.petri.2.
diuinæ legis interpretatiua/de prouidētia boni ſuperiorū ad inferiores. de conuerſione
et obediētia inferiorum ad ſuperiores. de æqualiū vicitudine & æqualitatis ſorte ſeruanda
ad totius boni & eorum quæ ab eo ſua ſola præmotrice bonitate proceſſerūt/indita
ſibi naturali lege:harmoniā. Quæ cū in ſua origine/ſuoq; principio reſpicitur:lex diuina
dicitur. cū vero in ipſis rebus oculo deiecto cōſideratur:eadem/lex naturæ nuncupatur.
& ſi audacius loquēdū eſt:nichil eſt in vniuerſa naturæ ſerie/ſi oculum ipſum exerimus/
quod non ſit diuinū. & qui aliter iudicat:oculum in tenebris figit/a ſole ob oculi infirmitatē
auerſus. ❡Et a qua vt in ſeipſis exprimerent occultā bonitatem. In ſeipſis:in C
ſeipſis angelis. vbi ſacra notetur analogia ſanctorū puerorum qui accenſa lumina ante
ſancta ſanctorum/ſacrumq; adytū deferūt/pontifice quidem in conſpectū nō prodeūte:
ad ipſos angelos. tēplum:cœlum eſt. ſummus autē ſacerdos:ipſe eſt deus/qui occultus
et velatus colitur ſecretius in cœli ſilētio. ❡Et quęq; alia in ijs quæ de anima ſcripſimus D
enumerauimus. Librum de anima ſcripſit beatus pater:qui deſideratur/& quē deus reſtituat. E
❡Sicut enim tranſcendētis omnia deitatis bonitas. Ab hoc loco ad particulam
vſq;/ita profecto & liquida diuinæ bonitatis imago:ſententia ſuſpenſa eſt. Et pleriſq; in
locis apud hunc ſanctiſſimum patrem ſententiæ longo tractu ſuſpēſæ ſunt:veluti cuiuſdam
lucidæ mentis/continuatos radios procul iaculantis. ſed attentis lectoribus:hi longiores
iactus nichil oberunt. pertinent enim ad orationis maieſtatē & ad ſtili grauitatē:
qua nulla quo ad materiam poteſt eſſe grauior/quam nullus ſtilus aſſequi poteſt. ❡Ipſa F
eſt enim ea lux:etſi tūc erat informis(quod & diuinus Moſes ait)quæ primam diſtinxit
et diffiniuit dierum noſtrorū trinitatē. Ex cap. primo Geneſeos:lux primo die creata eſt.
ſecundo firmamētū/& tertio omnis herba virens & arbor. quarto autem die duo luminaria
magna & ſtellæ creatæ ſūt. Tres igitur primos dies:lux informis/indiſtincta/ nōdūq;
formata diſcreuit/atq; diuiſit. quarto autē die:in ſolē formata eſt. Ex hiſtoria igitur ſacra
intelligitur:cur beatus dixerit pater. ipſa eſt enim ea lux:etſi tunc erat informis(quod et
diuinus Moſes ait)quæ primam diſtinxit & diffiniuit dierum noſtrorū trinitatem. ❡Bonumq; G
illud eſt(vt ſacra teſtātur eloquia)ex quo ſubſiſtūt ōnia. Paulus prima ad Corinthios
epiſtola cap. octauo. Nobis tamē vnus deus pater:ex quo omnia. quod & alias ſæpius
adductum eſt. ❡Sed ꝙ inuiſibilia dei a creatura mundi. Sententia hæc eſt diuini H
Pauli/epiſtola ad Romanos cap. primo. Inuiſibilia enim ipſius a creatura mundi per ea
quę facta ſunt/intellecta conſpiciuntur:ſēpiterna quoq; eius virtus & diuinitas. ❡Verū I
iſta quidē in ſignificatiua theologia plenius diximus. Hic liber ſignificatiuæ theologiæ
dictus eſt non haberi. ❡Et copia vberiore lucis infulgeat:quia dilexerūt multum. Alludit K
ad id Lucę cap. ſeptimo de amatoria Magdalena:quæ & cōtemplatiuæ vitæ typum De amatoria Magdalena.
gerit. de qua dictum eſt a domino/dimiſſa ſunt ei peccata multa:quoniam dilexit multū.
Et adeo diuinis inſert9 eſt amor:vt verorū amorū dominus/noſtrū(quāuis ex defectione
ad ipſū reuertamur)non dedignetur amorem. & quanto amplius amor in nobis intēditur
quē ipſe agricola & amoris hortolanus ſolus plantat & inſerit:tanto magis nobis
illabitur/& ſuo illapſu cogit fortius amare/& amantes languere. & hic lāguor nō mentis
eſt morbus:ſed beneficus eſt. & eſt purgatio quædam quæ diuinas præuenit illuminationes/
diuinaſq; perfectiones:vt floris odor ſuauiſſimus ſapidiſſimum prȩuenire ſolet
fructum. & qui ſcit philoſophiam amoris:nichil vnq̄ niſi puriſſimū in amore cogitabit.
et impuro cum lachrymis maledicet amori/quia ſe mentitur amorem:vt angelus ſathanæ 2.corin.11.
ſe mētitur angelū lucis/& maiore mendacio. et mendacia rebus inſperſa ex tunc
odiet:& percipiet quia omnis prolapſio a patre mendacij eſt. ſi tamen cum impuro ali-

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Cap. 4 pars 1

quando pollutus eſt amore: nō audet ad puriſſimū amorem oculos attollere. ſed plorat
ad pedes domini amoris: & lachrymis ſuis pedes eius irrigat. et dominus amoris ei dimittit/
defēdit/ cōſolatur & confortat: & effugata mendaciorum turba ad delicias excitat
L veriſſimi amoris. benedictus ſit ſemper diuinus amor. ¶ Qꝫ ſuperne extenta ſit et cūctis
M excellēs. Extēta: ipſa lux ītelligibilis/ & lucis effuſio. ¶ Bonū præterea iſtud: vt pulchrū
quoqꝫ a theologis ſāctis prædicatur/ & vt pulchritudo. Vt pulchrū. Cāticorū cap. primo.
Ecce tu pulcher es dilecte mi & decorus. Et pſal. 44. Specioſus forma præ filijs hoīm:
diffuſa eſt gratia in labijs tuis/ propterea vnxit te deus in eternū. Vt pulchritudo. Hieremias
cap. triceſimo primo. Benedicat tibi dominus pulchritudo iuſtitiæ/ mons ſanctus.
Vt dilectio. Paulus ad Coloſſenſes cap. primo. Qui eripuit nos de poteſtate tenebrarū &
tranſtulit in regnū filij dilectionis ſuæ: in quo habemus redemptionē & remiſſionē peccatorum.
Vt diligibile. Matthęus cap. tertio. Et ecce vox de cœlis dicēs: hic eſt filius meus
N dilectus/ in quo michi complacui. ¶ Quia ex ipſo/ & per ipſum/ et in ipſo/ atqꝫ in ipſū
omnia ſunt. Ex Paulo ad Romanos cap. vndecimo. Quoniā ex ipſo/ & per ipſū/ et in ipſo
O ſunt omnia. ¶ Nequaq̃ ipſum in ſeipſo manere infœcūdū permiſit. Ipſum: ipſū bonum.
P ¶ Ama illam (inquit) & ſeruabit te. circunda illā tibi: & exaltabit te. honora illam: vt cōplectatur
te. Sic nunc legitur prouerbiorum cap. quarto. Dilige eam: et conſeruabit te.
arripe illā: & exaltabit te. glorificaberis ab ea: cū eam fueris amplexatus. Et in amatorijs
canticis. Cāticorū cap. ſecundo. Fulcite me floribus/ ſtipate me malis: quia amore langueo.
Et cap. quīto. Adiuro vos filiæ Hieruſalē/ ſi inueneritis dilectū meū: vt annūcietis
ei quia amore lāgueo. Et interpretes promiſcue diligere pro amare: & contra frequēter
poſuere/ neqꝫ vſqꝫadeo exactā curauerūt expreſſionē: & in ſacris litteris eandē habent
Q intelligētiā. ¶ Atqui viſū eſt pleriſqꝫ ex tractatoribus noſtris. Hi tractatores noſtri (quos
diuinus pater vocat ſacriloquos) ſancti illi erāt: qui tēpeſtate ſua/ pia & ſacra ſcribebant.
inter quos diuinus Ignatius vnus erat: cuius ex epiſtolis hic teſtimoniū citat/ & quæ in
fine operis adijciētur. & epiſtola ex qua hic teſtimoniū affert: ea eſt quā ſcripſit ad Romanos/
R & ponetur in ordine vndecima. ¶ Et in primis ſcripturarū inſtitutionibus: quēdam
de ſapientia dixiſſe cōperies. In primis inſtitutionibus: in præintroductionibus. Et
has præintroductiones appellat librum ſapientię: in cuius cap. octauo. quod hic adducit
pius pater/ legitur. Hanc amaui: et exquiſiui eā a iuuētute mea. & queſiui ſponſam michi
eam aſſumere: & amator factus ſum formæ illius. Et liber ſapiētiæ reuera videtur antiquior:
q̃ nōnullorū ferat opinio. ex quo etiā & videtur Paulus vt & de alijs ſacris litteris
teſtimoniū deſumere. et beatus pater hoc in loco ex eo teſtimoniū ſumit. Vnde parū
valuerit authoritas Hebræorum a quibus Hieronymus audiuerat opus illud eſſe Philonis.
libēter enim Iudęi hunc librū refutāt: ꝙ nimis apertū capite ſecundo continet teſtimonium
de iuſto quē diſſimilē vijs eorū/ grauem illis ad videndū/ contumelia & tormento
interrogantes/ morte tandē turpiſſima cōdemnarūt. Qꝫ autem Philonis hebræi
omnino non ſit/ videtur: quādoquidem neqꝫ rex/ neqꝫ iudex/ neqꝫ tēpli dei extructor fuerit
Philo. Et cap. nono legitur. Tu autem elegiſti me regē populo tuo & iudicem filiorū
tuorum & filiarū. & dixiſti me ędificare tēplum in monte ſancto tuo: & in ciuitate habitationis
tuæ altare ſimilitudinē tabernaculi ſancti tui/ quod præparaſti ab initio. & tecum
ſapientia tua: quæ nouit opera tua. quæ & affuit tunc cum orbē terrarum faceres: et ſciebat
quid eſſet placitū oculis tuis/ & directum in præceptis tuis. mitte illam de cœlis ſanctis
tuis: & a ſede magnitudinis tuæ. Quis non videat Philonē & quicūqꝫ vir bonus ſit:
nolle tam impudenter alteri emētitum opus aſcribere? Et Hieronymus ipſe cum libros
Philonis annumerat: nichil libri ſapientiæ mentionis facit/ vt quē plane iudicaret non
eſſe Philonis. Satius tamē viſum fuiſſet in illo prologo (ſiue Hieronymi ſit ſiue alterius)
propter infirmos qui plurimi ſunt: ex facilitate iudicandi nōnullorū/ poſteritati phantaſiam
non feciſſe. Et quāuis tamen Philonis eſſet: potuiſſet ſacratus pater id opus vidiſſe.
Nam et Philo memoratur ſub Claudio Petrū Romæ cōueniſſe/ & eius magnifeciſſe amicitiam:
libros quoqꝫ in noſtrorū cōmendationē ſcriptos reliquiſſe. Sed non idcirco michi
S perſuaſum fuerit: eſſe Philonis. ¶ Cecidit enim (ait quidā) dilectio tua ſuper me: ſicut dilectio
mulierū. Nunc ſecundo regū verba Dauid Ionatham ex morte deſiderātis: ita leguntur.
cap. primo. Doleo ſuper te frater mi Ionatha: decore & amabilis ſuper decorem
T mulierum. ſicut mater vnicū amat filium ſuū: ita ego te diligebā. ¶ Idcirco & Paulus ille
magnus cū diuino amore flagraret. Epiſtola ad Galatas cap. ſecundo. CHRISTO

cōfixus ſum cruci. viuo autem iam: nō ego. viuit vero in me CHRISTVS. ꝙ autē nunc viuo in carne/ in fide viuo filij dei: qui dilexit me/ & tradidit ſeipſum pro me. V ¶ Quocirca zelotem illū ij qui diuina probe callent: appellant. Exodus cap. viceſimo. Ego ſum dominus deus tuus fortis zelotes: viſitans iniquitatē patrum in filios in tertiā & quartam generationem/ eorū qui oderūt me. & faciens miſericordiam in milia ijs qui diligūt me/ et cuſtodiunt præcepta mea. Et cap. triceſimo quarto. Noli adorare deum alienū. dominus zelotes nomen eius: deus eſt ęmulator. X ¶ Quid autem ſibi volūt Theologi: qui aliquando amorē ipſum ac dilectionē vocant. Ipſum: ipſum deum. Vocāt quidē amorem: vt de Ignatio adductū eſt. amor meus/ crucifixus eſt. Dilectionē. vt ex Paulo ad Coloſſenſes cap. primo in ſcholio paulo ſuperiore adductū eſt. Et Ioānes cap. decimoquinto. Si præcepta mea ſeruaueritis: manebitis in dilectione mea. ſicut & ego patris mei præcepta ſeruaui: & maneo in eius dilectione. Vt amabilē. cum dicitur deuteronomij cap. vndecimo. Ama itaq; dominū deum tuū: et obſerua præcepta eius. Et vt diligibilē. cum dicitur deuteronomij cap. ſexto. Diliges dominū deū tuum ex toto corde tuo/ & ex tota anima tua/ & ex tota fortitudine tua. Et cāticorū cap. quarto. Anima mea liquefacta eſt: vt dilectus locutus eſt. dilectus meus cādidus & rubicūdus: electus ex milibus. Y ¶ Alterius nēpe author & veluti productor/ & genitor: alter vero ipſe eſt. Duę enim ſpecies amoris ſunt. vnus quidē primarius eſt & amorum princeps: qui deus eſt. alter vero ſecundarius: qui genitus & productus eſt/ et primarij amoris imago. Ille primitiuus: hic deriuatus. Ille abſolutus: hic contractus/ a ſummis ad ima quæq; pertingens. Illic enim ſyncęrus & purus: hic vero obſcurus & permixtus. Et eſt vniuerſum vt vnū ſpeculū: cui præſens aſtans amor ſuum afformat idolū. et id: amor naturæ eſt/ ſed vniuerſus. particularis vero: in partibus. & ſi ſpeculum vniforme eſſet/ leue/ ſyncærū/ perpolitū & mundiſſimum: omnia profecto eſſent in amore tranſformata. Et ex ſecundario amore: multæ excuduntur reflexæ amoris ſcintillæ. qua in reflexione niſi ad debita dirigātur ſpecula: fieri ſolent amorū degenerationes/ prolapſioneſq;. et quæ multos (qui neſciūt quid ſit amor/ et quid ſit amare) adigunt ad inſaniā: & ad extremam trahunt perniciem. et talē ſępenumero experiūtur amorem: qualem ferme deſcripſit poeta.

Virgilius.

Nunc ſcio quid ſit amor: duris in cautibus illum
Iſmarus aut Rhodope/ aut extremi Garamantes
(Nec noſtri generis puerum/ nec ſanguinis) edunt.
Seuus amor docuit natorum ſanguine matres:
Commaculare manus.

Sed is amor procul faceſſat. qui cum ſit crudelitas/ impietas/ et mera demētia: ſe mentitur amorē. & nullius nos rei præcipua cupido teneat: niſi eius qui in ſummitatibus cœlorum rex pręſidet: per ſe/ verus/ abſolutuſq; amor. Z ¶ Iſta et inclytus noſter in ſanctis litteris inſtitutor in amatorijs hymnis. Inclytus ille inſtitutor: diuinus Hierotheus. Et liber ille diuini Hierothei de amatorijs hymnis deſideratur: quem deus verus amor et eos qui beati patris non extant/ nobis reſtituat.

Liber diuinorū hymnorū Hierothei.

39 ¶ PRIMAE PARTIS QVARTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

NVnc tandem ad ſpecialē diuinorum nominū explicationem deſcendit ſacer Dionyſius: imprimis nuncupationē boni determinandam proponens. quam deiloqui patres prophetæ & apoſtoli: ex nominibus omnibus præſertim ſummæ deitati attribuunt/ ipſam diuinā ſubſtantiam (vt nobis inſinuetur) appellantes bonitatē. quia ob id ſolū ꝙ ipſa ſumme eſt bonū & ſubſtantiale bonum/ non autē per accidentariā qualitatem: in omnia quæ ſunt/ deriuat & effundit ſuam bonitatē. Sicut enim ſol iſte ſenſibilis/ non propoſito deliberatione aut electione ſpontanea/ ſed eo ipſo quod eſt & ſecundū ſuā ſubſtantiā illuminat omnia corpora: quæ pro ſuo captu luminis conſortium recipiunt. ita & ſummū illud ac ſuperſubſtantiale bonum/ ſolem iſtum corporalem ſuperans: non aliter q̃ primitiua forma excellenter excedit obſcurā & imperfectā imaginem (eſt enim ſol iſte: remota ſolū dei imago) per ſuam ſubſtantiā atq; naturam cōmunicat 40 ſuæ bonitatis radios omnibus quæ ſūt/ et viſibilibus & inuiſibilibus: cuiq; ſcilicet pro ſuo captu. ¶ Declarat quod modo generatim eſt dictū/ in ſingulis rerum generibus: et primum in cœleſtibus angeliciſq; virtutibus. Eorum (inquit) diuinæ bonitatis radiorum gratia ſubſiſtunt intellectuales et ſpirituales angelorū ſubſtantiæ/ naturales eorum virtutes et propriæ actiones. & per eos radios ſubſtantię illæ cœleſtes ſunt et viuunt/ vitamq;

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Cap.
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pars
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habent interminabilem et finis neſciam/liberæ ab omni corruptione/morte/materia/et generatione tẽporanea atq; naturali. procul itidem remotæ ab omni mutatione ſenſibili et corporali/inſtabili ac fluida:& nũc hoc/nũc vero alio modo ſe habente. Per eos itidẽ diuinæ bonitatis radios/angelicæ ipſæ ſubſtantiæ dinoſcuntur eſſe incorporales:atq; ab omni materia ſeiuges ac alienæ. et tanq̃ ſpirituales ſubſtantiæ:intelligunt diuina altiore q̃ quæ in hoc mundo degunt modo. diuinarũq; rerum & diſpoſitionũ cauſas diſcunt per diuinas reuelationes/ſuis viribus accõmodas:quas ſuperne hauriunt. & quæ didicere: rurſus ad vicinas propinquaſq; cœleſtes ſubſtantias tranſfundũt. habent itidẽ angeli ex diuina bonitate conſtantiã:ſtabilitaſq; eorum in bono & firmitas/non aliunde prouenit. Ex ea ſane conſeruantur atq; ſaluãtur:exinde eis naſcitur bonorũ exuberantia ac copia. appetenteſq; ipſam dei bonitatẽ:ex ea habent vt ſint & vt bene ſint. Deniq; ad illam ſe pro viribus cõponentes ac efformãtes:ipſius etiam diuinæ bonitatis præ ſe ferũt imaginem. & quemadmodũ diuina lex ordinat ac ſancit:inferioribus angelicis ſpiritibus donorum a ſummo bono in ſeipſas manantiũ participationẽ benigne concedũt. ¶Ex eadem quoq; dei bonitate aſſunt ipſis cœleſtibus ſubſtãtijs ordines & chori mũdo iſto ſenſibili ſuperiores/coniunctiones amoris & beniuolẽtiæ adinuicem/mutuæ in ſeinuicẽ progreſſiones:ſuperiorũ ſcilicet ad inferiores in donorum cõmunicatione/& inferiorum ad ſuperiores in promotione & ſubuectione ad deum. Inconfuſę inſuper diſtinctiones earũ abinuicem/& ſpirituales virtutes:quæ inferiora ſuperioribus cõiungũt/ac firma cõpage ligant. Rurſum ex eadẽ dei bonitate eſt priorum cœleſtiũ ſpirituum ad ſequẽtes multiplex prouidentia:in purgationis/illuminationis & perfectionis officio/propriarũ itidẽ cuiuſq; angeli virtutum illabefactæ conſeruationes/mutui illorũ in ſeinuicem & nunq̃ fatiſcentes circuitus:ſuperiorũ ſcilicet in inferiores per deriuationem bonorũ/et e diuerſo inferiorum ad ſuperiores per promotionẽ in deum/circa ſummi quoq; boni deſiderium immutabilis ac ſũmus amor. & quęcũq; alia in libro de cœleſti hierarchia ãgeliciſq; proprietatibus a ſacratiſſimo patre ſunt dicta. Præterea quæcũq; cœleſtis hierarchiæ ſunt illuſtrationes ſupernæ: angelicis ſubſtantijs cõgruẽtes/quæcũq; idẽtidem ſupra mũdum hunc ſenſibilẽ ſpirituales ſunt illuminationes/deniq; quæcũq; totam perfectionẽ angelicam cõplent ac peragũt:ex diuina bonitate omniũ authore proficiſcũtur. ex qua etiam illis angelicis ſpiritibus boni ſpecies & effigies eſt indulta/et a qua itidem hanc cõſecuti ſunt ſortem: vt in ſeipſis repræſentẽt abſtruſam in occulto dei bonitatem/& vt ſint illius nuncij atq; interpretes tanq̃ diuinũ nunciãtes ſilentium atq; ſecretũ/et extra occultam dei ſedem prodeuntes:quaſi lucida lumina ſubſtãtialia/deum qui in adytis eſt & penitiſſimis ſuæ maieſtatis penetralibus/manifeſtãtia ac declarantia. ¶Oſtendit dehinc & animas rationales ac humanas a diuina bonitate pẽdere atq; ſubſiſtere/dicẽs ꝙ poſt ſupramundanos ſpiritus angelicos quæcũq; ſunt animarũ rationalium bona:per ſummã conſiſtunt dei bonitatẽ. ꝙ ſcilicet intellectu ſunt preditę/ꝙ habent propriã & immortalẽ vitam/ꝙ exiſtũt & poſſunt ad angelorũ aſpirare vitam ac cõſortiũ:et per illos tanq̃ benigniſſimos & optimos duces ad dei bonitatẽ omnium bonorũ authorem prouehi/atq; ex ea indeſinenter & exuberãter manantiũ ſpiritualium fulgorũ pro ſua cõditione ac ſorte participes fieri/& deniq; ipſis angelis accedere cõſortes in diuinæ bonitatis imagine ac ſimilitudine/& quæcũq; alia animarũ rationalium propria:in libro de anima a beato patre ſunt enumerata. ¶Monſtrat deniq; bruta animalia plantas & inanima omnia:a ſuprema dei bonitate ortum habere & ſubſiſtentiã. De ipſis(inquit) irrationalibus animabus/animalibuſve brutis ſiue quæ aera peruolant vt aues/vel ſuper terrã progrediuntur vt quadrupedia/aut in terram extenta repunt vt ſerpentes/aut in aquis vitã degũt vt piſces/vel quæ in terris & aquis viuunt vt anſeres/fluuiales anates & holores/quæ itidem terris obruta & glebis terreſtribus preſſa:quaſi tenebris dãnata vitam ducunt vt talpę/quinimmo quęcũq; vitã & animam ſenſitiuã acceperunt:omnia per ipſum ſumme bonum vt animata ſint/vita participẽt et ſenſu vigeant/id ſunt adepta. Inſuper omnes plantæ:ex ipſo ſupreme bono nutritiuam vim & motricẽ ad maius incrementũ acceperunt. Deniq; quæcũq; ſubſtantia eſt animæ & vitæ expers:propter ipſum ſũme bonũ eſt/a quo etiã habuit ſubſiſtendi vim atq; qualitatẽ. ¶Declarat deinceps quomodo ſummum ipſum bonum eſt omnium aliorũ ſuperexcellens et eminẽtiſſima cauſa. Si(inquit) ſummum illud bonum eſt eminenter ſuper omnia/ſicut profecto eſt:reuera eius quod in rebus conditis informe eſt/ipſum eſt forma formans et abſoluta/idq; non in exterio-

ribus & a ſe manātibus ſubſtātijs: ſed in ſeipſo ſolo. Eius itē qđ ſubſtantiā non habet: ip-
ſum ſummū bonū eſt ſubſtantiæ excellentia. illius etiā quod vitam appetit: eſt excellen-
tiſſima vita/ & eius quod mente non vtitur aut ratione: ſuprema eſt ſapientia. Et vt pau
cis agantur multa/ quæcunqꝫ in ipſo ſumme bono exiſtunt: ipſorum informiū & imperfe
ctorum ſunt excellentiſſima forma. Quinimmo ſi & id dicere liceat/ etiā id quod non eſt:
appetit illud bonū quod omnes ſubſtantias ſuperat. & ipſum quod nequaq̃ eſt: quodā
modo & negationis aſſimilatione enūciationiſqꝫ ſimilitudine contendit eſſe in ipſo bo-
no vere ſuperſubſtantiali: per omniū ablationē atqꝫ priuationē oppoſito tamē modo. nā
in eo quod non eſt: omniū eſt ablatio per defectū & carētiā. in ipſo autem ſumme bono:
omniū eſſe ponenda eſt priuatio per ſuperexcellentiā/ quia omnia quæ ſunt eminentiſſi-
me ſuperexcedit. Veruntamen ea eſt ipſius non entis cum deo ſimilitudo/ propoſito cō-
ducēs: ꝙ ſicut de deo cū per omniū ablationē quæritur/ negātur ōnia. ita & de eo quod
non eſt/ omnia auferūtur: vt ꝙ nō eſt cœlū/ non eſt terra/ non eſt lapis/ neqꝫ aliquid eo-
45 rū quæ ſunt. & in hoc/ eo modo quo poteſt: gerit ſimilitudinē cū deo. ❡Orbes indē cœ-
leſtes & eorū motus: hic oſtēdit etiā a ſuprema dei bonitate in ſuo tenore ac gradu ſub-
ſiſtere. Cœleſtiū inquit orbiū (quod fere in ipſo orationis decurſu prętermiſſū fuerat) prī-
cipia magnitudinū & fines: ab ipſo ſumme bono vt cauſa prima pēdent. cū ipſa cœlorū
ſubſtātia nec augeri poſſit nec minui: neqꝫ omnino a ſua conditione variari. Cauſa iti-
dē motuū cœleſtiū ſine ſono & harmonia aut ſtrepitu ſuas ſeruantiū viciſſitudines/ am-
pliſſimi etiā cœleſtis ſpacij quod orbiū illorū vertigine abſoluitur: venuſtatis itē & decē
tiæ ſidereorū ordinū admirādo decore ſeruatę/ & deniqꝫ luminū ipſorū aſtrorū & ſtabili-
tatū eorundē/ qua fixa cœlis hærent: cauſa nō aliūde eſt q̃ ab ipſo ſumme bono. Demum
ꝙ quorundā ſiderū (quos planetas & erraticos vocāt) multiplex fiat motus/ ꝙ duorū lu Gene. 1.
minariū ſolis atqꝫ lunæ (quæ magna a ſcriptura in Geneſi appellātur) ex eiſdē pūctis ad
eadē pūcta ſemper regrediatur circulus. quo duorū ſiderum motu: dies noſtri & noctes
aguntur ac determinātur/ mēſes quoq; cōcludunt & āni. diurnū enim ſpaciū & āni cur-
riculū: ſol diffinit. luna vero noctu lucet: & mēſtruū diſtinguit interuallū. quæ etiā duo
ſidera termināt/ continent & metiuntur reuolutiones motuſq; in orbē actos temporis: &
eorum ſenſibiliū corporū quæ ſunt in tēpore. omniū inquam horum cauſa: ab ipſo ſum-
46 me bono proficiſcitur. ❡Deinceps cōprobat ſolē iſtū ſenſibilē & eius lucē viſibilem: eſſe
imaginē admodū propinquam ipſius diuinæ bonitatis. Quid (inquit) dicendum de ip-
ſo ſolari radio in ſe conſiderato cenſebitur? Ex ipſo enim ſumme bono/ lux eſt ſenſibilis:
& ipſa eſt imago ſupremæ bonitatis. Ideo in ſancta ſcriptura appellatione ac nomine lu
cis prædicatur ipſum ſumme bonum: velut archetypum/ primitiua forma & veritas/ ex-
preſſa in ſua imagine ac figura. Nempe ſicut eminentiſſimæ deitatis bonitas a ſummis
& perfectiſſimis ſubſtantijs vt cœleſtibus ſpiritibus/ ad infimas vſqꝫ et poſtremas vt ter-
ram ipſam et materiam/ per intermedia omnia pertingit/ inuiſibili ſuæ virtutis expanſi-
one atqꝫ extenſione: nichilominus eadem ſupra omnes eſt ſubſtantias. quia neqꝫ ſu-
periores digniorefq; ſubſtātiæ: ipſius diuinę bonitatis attingunt eminētiā. neqꝫ inferio-
res imperfectioreſq; ſubſtantiæ effugere queunt: quin ab ipſa dei bonitate contineantur
et compræhendantur. ſicut etiam eadem ſuprema bonitas illuminat ſpiritualiter om-
nia quæ lucem intellectualem admittunt: creat etiam vniuerſa/ viuificat/ conſeruat ac
perficit. mēſura quoq; omniū eſt ſubſiſtentiū: ꝙ cuiqꝫ eorū ſuos præſcripſit fines. ſæculū
etiam eſt et duratio rerū/ & numerus et ordo: ꝙ ōnibus ſuū determinauit numerū et or-
dinē. demū continētia rerū eſt et cauſa et finis: ꝙ omnia conſeruet/ producat atqꝫ ad ſe
reuocet. ita plane ſol iſte ſenſibilis: mole/ claritate et luce continua inſignis/ claraqꝫ ad-
modum diuinæ bonitatis imago: ſecundum aliquantam (quā præfert) boni ſimilitudinē/
omnia quæ ipſum ſolē percipere poſſunt atqꝫ ſuſcipere illuminat. habetqꝫ ſol ipſe lucem
conſpicuā: excellenter in omnia effuſā atqꝫ explicatā. quā in omnē hunc mundum viſi-
bilem late expandit: et ſupra ſe ad cœleſtia corpora/ infraq; ad ſublunaria elemētariaqꝫ
aut ex elementis coalita corpora vibrat et iaculatur ſuos radios. Qꝫ ſi quid eſt in hoc to
tius mundi ambitu quod radios illos ſolares non hauriat/ vt opaca corpora in parti-
bus ſuis interioribus: id non eſt imputandum imbecillitati ſolaris radij aut contractio-
ri eius effuſioni/ quæ luminoſa diſtributione pertingere non queat ad illa corpora. ſed
id ſolum ijs corporibus eſt impingendum quæ percipiendæ luci non ſunt idonea: neqꝫ
ſe ad lucis participationem aut ſocietatem adaptāt. Deniq; radius iſte ſpectabilis noſtri
ſo[illegible]s mūdani/ cōplura permeans corpora perſpicua vt cœlum/ ignem/ aerem: proxima

Cap.
4
pars
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illis corpora vt aquā vt terrā etiā illuminat. et nichil in toto orbe eſt viſibile: quod ille
ſolaris radius nō penetret ingenti ſuæ lucis exuberātia et copia. Inſuper et ſol iſte ſenſibilis
ad ipſam ſenſibiliū corporū generationē mirifice conducit/ipſaqꝫ corpora ad vitam
mouet/ educat/ adauget/et ad cōpletū perducit crementum: purgat itē corpora labefacta/et
renouat ad vitales operationes. Pręterea lux ipſa ſolaris eſt menſura et numerus
horarum et dierum et totius temporariæ durationis / continua partium ſucceſſione labentis:
ꝙ horarum/ dierum / et temporum diſtinctio potiſſimum ab ea pendeat. Ipſa
enim lux ſolis/ſecundum rem ipſam atq; ſubſtantiam ea eſt lux: quæ tres primos mūdanæ
Gene.I. productionis dies diſtinxit. quemadmodū diuinus Moſes in Geneſi cōteſtatur. Veruntamen
toto illo triū primorū dierū curriculo: lux illa dierū diſcretiua/ informis erat/
nōdūqꝫ ad plenū formata atqꝫ cōpleta. ſed quarto die perfecta oīno eſt illius formatio:
cum ex ea ſolare formatū eſt(vt ſentiunt oēs)corpus. ¶Rurſum ſicut ſumma dei bonitas
oīa ad ſe cōuertit vt finē optimū/et quæ diſſipata ſūt cogit in vnū: veluti ipſius vnitatis
amor et virtus diuina/oīa in vnū colligēs ac cōſtringens. immo oīa ipſam ſupremā
bonitatē vt productricē oīm/ vt cōſeruatricē/atq; ad ſe oīm reductricē deſiderāt. Et illud
1.corin.8. ſūme bonū eſt/ vt ſcribit beatus Paulus ad Corinthios: ex quo ſubſiſtunt oīa/ ſuntqꝫ
ab eo velut prima et ſuprema cauſa producta. in quo etiā ōnia cōſtant: ac tanq̄ in ſecreto
quodā omnipotentis virtutis cōditorio/aſyloq; cōſeruātur. ad quod itidē bonum omnia
cōuertūtur veluti ad ſuum præcipuū finē/et qđ appetūt oīa: quodq; pro ſuo modulo
& cōditione. Spiritualia quidē et rationalia/vt āgeli et hoīes: appetūt ipſum bonū ſciēter
et rationaliter. Senſibilia vero/vt aīalia bruta: ſenſibiliter atqꝫ paſſibiliter. Quę vero
ſenſus ſunt expertia & vita participantia/ vt plantæ: deſiderāt ipſum bonū vitaliter/&
per inſitū ſibi vitalis motus deſideriū. Quæ autem vita carent & ſolū ſubſiſtūt/ vt inanimata
omnia: ſubſtantialiter & eſſentialiter atqꝫ per ſolā participandæ ſubſiſtentiæ aptitudinē.
Secundū eundē ferme modū quo clara imago ad veritatē referri poteſt/ & figura
ad exemplar: lux ſolis huius mūdani ad ſe colligit omnia ſenſibiliter & cōuertit/& ea
quæ vidēt vt animalia/quæ mouentur/quæ illuminātur/quæ incaleſcunt/& quæ in vniuerſū
ab illius radijs colluſtrātur & ſeruātur. Ideo & ſol græca appellatione dicitur helios
hāc ob cauſam: quia omnia in ſuo ſtatu ſeruat illabefacta/& colligat ea quæ ſunt diſperſa.
Siquidē helios nomen a verbo græco heloo deducitur: quod iungo & figo ſignificat.
Iuncta autem/ counita & fixa: ſeruari ſolent diutius. Omnia itidē corpora ſenſibilia
appetunt naturaliter ipſum ſolē: aut ſicut videre cupientia/aut moueri/illuminari/caleſieri:
aut quoquo modo ab eius luce ſaluari atqꝫ conſeruari. Neqꝫ id quiſpiā de ſole dictū
putet/ſecundū antiquitatis errorē iam exploſum & abolitū: ponentis ſuperſtitioſe/ꝙ cū
ſol iſte corporalis eſſet deus & huius mundi ſenſibilis conditor: ipſum propria ac ſingulari
virtute ſua gubernaret & moderaretur. ſed quia intellectualia & inuiſibilia dei propria:
vt eius potentia/ſapientia/bonitas/vnitas/perfectio: conſpiciuntur intellecta a creatura
mundi/intelliguntur qꝫ ab homine(qui hic mundi creatura dicitur: quia omnis creaturæ
& corporalis & ſpiritualis nexus eſt ac vinculū/atqꝫ cum omni etiā creatura conſortiū
atqꝫ conuenientiam habet: aut in exiſtentia/ aut vita/aut ſenſu/aut intellectu)per
ea quæ facta ſunt atqꝫ a deo creata. ſempiterna etiam dei virtus & diuinitas: intelligitur
conſpecta a creatura mundi/ per ea quæ facta ſunt & condita. Quare per ſolem
iſtum mundanum poteſt per aſſurrectionem eius optimus author intelligi: & idcirco hic
dicūtur ſenſibilia oīa ſolem appetere/vt per hoc manuducamur ad deum cognoſcendū.
¶Deinceps ipſū ſūme bonū ſacratiſſimus pater hic cōcelebrat vt lucē itellectualē: a corporali
luce iā explicata ad ſpiritualē nos ſubuehens. Quę modo(inquit)adducta ſunt: in
libro de ſignificatiua theologia latius ſunt pertractata. nūc autē oportunū eſt & cōgruum:
laudare ipſius ſumme boni ſpiritualē nuncupationem/a luce ſumptā. rationēqꝫ aſſignare:
quare in ſanctis ſcripturis deus ſæpenumero lux appellatur. Sane ipſum ſupreme
bonum dicitur lux intellectualis: quia omnem ſpiritum angelicū ſpirituali implet luce/
vt ſol oculos mortaliū ſuo radio. omnemqꝫ pellit ignorantiā & errorē veluti tenebras
ex animabus oībus humanis: quibus pro ſua gratuita dignatione ſe infundit. Ipſis itē
animabus/ſacræ lucis incorporalis tradit participationē: & ſpirituales illarū oculos purgat
a peccato & craſſis ignorātię nebulis. obductāqꝫ illis caliginē errorū aut malitię detergit:
& graui tenebrarū dēſitate obtuſos ac pene excęcatos mētis humanę oculos renouat
& exuſcitat. Et primū quidē ſummū illud bonū vt lux primaria/ tradit aīabus humanis
participationē exigui luminis: ꝙ maioris adhuc non ſint capaces. poſtq̄ vero animę

illæ ſubrutilā percepere lucem & flagrantiore afficiuntur deſiderio illius amplius hauriē
dæ: tunc ſe lux illa ſuperdiuina largius ipſis infundit/ & affluentiore luminis copia illis
infulget/quia dilexerunt eam multū. vt dilectio & vehementior animi ad lucē illam af-
fectus: cauſa fuerit illius vberius percipiēdæ. Eadē quoqꝫ lux ſuprema/ animas ipſas ſic
illuſtratas ſemper in anteriora maioraqꝫ virtutū incrementa conuertit: quantū ipſæ pro
49 ſua capacitate ad ea contendere poſſunt. ¶ Bonū itidē illud dicitur lux ſpiritualis: om-
nem ſuperans lucem creaturis indultam. & tanq̄ principalis radius/a nullo ſcilicet depē
dens & omnes lucis opes a ſe dependentes habens/& copioſa lucis ſpiritualis exunda-
tio: illuſtrat ſua plenitudine omnē ſpiritū. aut mūdo ſupereminentē: vt ſunt cœleſtes ſpi
ritus ſupremi & deo iugiter proximi/atqꝫ aſſiſtentes. vel ſpiritū agentem circa mūdum:
vt poſtremos ãgelicos ordines circa hominū cuſtodiā & regionū adminiſtratorios. aut
ſpiritū agentē intra mundū: vt animas humanas degentes in corporibus. Eadem quoqꝫ
ſpiritualis & diuina lux: omnes ipſorū ſpirituū renouat atqꝫ in vigorē reuocat vires. oēs
etiā tranſcendit & continet ipſorū vires: ꝙ illis deſuper extenta ſit & ſupereffuſa. cūctis
itē excellit illorū viribus: ꝙ longe omnibus ſuperemineat. omnē deniqꝫ illuminantis vir
tutis ambitū/vigorē & vim/tanq̄ fons præcipuus lucis & omnē exuperans lucē in immē
ſum: in ſeipſa vnice & ſingulariter cōpræhendit & excellenter habet. creaturas omnes
ſpirituales & rationales ad ſe ſimpliciter colligens: & immortales eas per gratuitā con-
iunctionē cū luce ſuperna (quæ etiā vita eſt perpetua) reddēs. Nēpe ſicut ignorātia dei &
eorū quæ vera ſunt/eos qui ſeducti ſunt ſeparat a deo & via veritatis: ita ediuerſo præ-
ſentia lucis intellectualis eos qui ſuperne illuminantur colligit ad deū/coniungit ac per-
ficit. atqꝫ a multis erroribus falſiſq; opinionibus illos ad id quod vere eſt & ſumme bonū
conuertit. variaſqꝫ apparētias veri & inutiles phantaſias/incertas opinationes & exiſti-
mationes diuerſas: in vnicā dei ſcientiā verā & perſpicuā colligit/ atqꝫ illos lumine vni-
50 fico in vnūq; cuncta colligente deſuper implet. ¶ Deinde declarat ſacratus pater quo-
modo ipſum ſumme bonū in ſcripturis etiam pulchrū appellatur: & quæ nominis illius
propria ſit ratio. Illud (inquit) bonū quod nomine lucis modo celebratū eſt: etiā a deilo
quis viris ac authoribus ſacris laudatur vt pulchrū/ & vt pulchritudo/ etiam vt dilectio
& vt diligibile. & ſiquæ aliȩ ſunt diuinæ appellationes honeſtiſſimæ: illius pulchritudi-
nis ſupremæ/& omnia pulchra facientis/atqꝫ omni gratia formæ/ pleniſſimæ. Cæterum
pulchrum & pulchritudo in deo/ſuprema omniū cauſa & cuncta in vnū conſtringente:
re ipſa & ſecundū ſubſtantiā diſtinguenda nō ſunt/tametſi aliquantā habēt rationū di-
uerſitatem. In ſubſiſtentibus autem & rebus ad ortū a deo deductis/iſta duo pulchrum
inquam & pulchritudo diſtinguūtur ſecundū rem: in accidens quod participādo habēt/
& in ſubiectā ſubſtantiā: illius accidētis a quo pulchrū dicitur/participem. Dicitur enim
id eſſe pulchrū: quod pulchritudinis eſt particeps. vt ſol/flos/ ager. Pulchritudo vero
eſt participatio diuinæ venuſtatis atqꝫ ſpeciei: quæ pulchrorū omniū primitiua eſt cau-
ſa. vt ſpecies ſolis/floris et agri. Porro deus ſuperſubſtātiale pulchrū/dicitur in ſcriptu-
ris pulchritudo: propter illam decentiſſimam pulchritudinem quā tradit omnibus ſub-
ſiſtētibus. & quoniam vt author congruentiæ atqꝫ concinnitatis omnium rerum/ inſtar
lucis & ſicut de luce modo dictum eſt: communicat atqꝫ immittit omnibus diſtributio-
nes ſui radij venuſtifici. qui primitiuus eſt: atq; omnia reddens ſpecie ac pulchritudi-
ne inſignita. & huiuſmodi effuſione radij pulchrifici: omnia ſubſiſtentia ad ſe vocat &
inuitat. In cuius rei argumentum: pulchritudo græco vocabulo dicitur calos/ a vocan-
do. Deniq; ipſa tota ſubſiſtentia/ in alijs totis collocata: ad vnum et idem ſcilicet ſeip-
ſum totius pulchritudinis apicem coadunat/ multitudinem omnē ad vnitatem colligēs
atqꝫ in ſe conſtringens. At vero ſuperſubſtantiale illud bonū dicitur pulchrum: quia per
omnia tale eſt & ſupreme pulchrum/& quoniam ſemper ſecundum eadem & eodē mo-
do eſt pulchrum: ſine ortu & occaſu/ cremēto ſuæ formæ aut interitu. Non enim eſt mo-
re iſtorū corporū ſenſibilium/ſummū illud bonum in vno quidē loco pulchrū/in alio ve
ro deforme: ſed vbiqꝫ pulchrū. neqꝫ vno tēpore pulchrū/alio vero non: ſed ſemper. neqꝫ
ad vnū collatum eſt pulchrum/ad aliud vero fœdū: ſed ad quæcūq; cōparetur/eandem
ſemper & eximiam præfert pulchritudinē. Neq; illud pulchrū in vno quidem loco adeſt/
alio vero abeſt: quaſi quibuſdam ſit pulchrum quibus ſcilicet adeſt/& quibuſdā non ſit
pulchrum quæ videlicet eius præſentia et participatione deſtituantur. ſed vt ipſum
pulchrū in ſeipſo primitiue & ſuperexcellēter/ atqꝫ ſecū maxime vniforme/ ſingulare et

Cap.
4
pars
1

ſimplex: ſemper eſt pulchrũ. & vt omnis pulchri in rebus ſubſiſtentibus/primariã & pręcipuã habẽs in ſeipſo pulchritudinẽ: excellentiſſime/antecedẽter atqꝫ vnice. Omnis enĩ rerũ ſubſiſtentiũ pulchritudo varia & multiplex/& omne pulchrũ participatione: vniformiter & ſecundũ cauſam præexiſtit in ipſa ſimplici atqꝫ præcellenti pulchrorũ omnium natura/ipſo videlicet deo ſumme pulchro. cui vnice pręaſſunt ſecundũ cauſã oĩa: quę in rebus inferioribus ſparſim & diuerſo modo per participationẽ conſpiciuntur. ¶ Ex hoc 51 itaqꝫ ſumme pulchro/õnibus quæ ſunt id cõceditur: ꝙ ſint pro ſua conditione & gradu pulchra. Efficitqꝫ illud ſupreme pulchrũ/rerũ omniũ inter ſe cõuenientias/fœdera & ſocietates: vt totorũ ad tota & partiũ eiuſdem totius inter ſe. & iſto ſingulariter pulchro: indiſſolubili amicitiæ nexu coniunguntur omnia. Idem quoqꝫ pulchrũ: eſt rerũ omnium initiũ atqꝫ principiũ velut efficiẽs cauſa. õnia itidem mouet & continet in ſuo ſtatu: virtute pulchritudinis propriæ/velut cauſa omniũ conſeruatiua. & deniqꝫ eſt finis omniũ diligibileqꝫ vt cauſa finalis: quandoquidẽ pulchri gratia deſiderãtur et fiunt oĩa. Demum ipſum vnice pulchrũ etiã eſt exemplar omniũ: quia ſecundũ id determinantur & diffiniũtur omnia/quæ ſunt velut illius exẽplaris imagines. Proinde manifeſtũ eſt ipſũ pulchrũ idẽ eſſe quod bonũ ſecundũ rem ipſam: licet aliqua ſit rationis diſcrepãtia. oĩa enĩ et in omni cauſarũ genere: ipſum pulchrũ et bonũ deſiderãt. neqꝫ quicq̃ aſſignabitur in toto ſubſiſtentiũ rerũ numero: quod ipſius pulchri et boni non ſit quoquo modo particeps. Quinimo et illud citra præſumptionẽ adijciatur atqꝫ fidentius aſtruatur: ꝙ idipſũ etiã quod non eſt/ipſius pulchri et boni vtcunqꝫ eſt particeps. tunc enim id quod nõ eſt/pulchrũ eſſe dicitur et bonũ: cũ ipſum in deo laudatur et prædicatur per omniũ ablationem superſubſtantialiter. Enimuero ipſi deo cõuenit omniũ rerũ priuatio: per ſupereminentiã. Ei itidẽ quod nõ eſt/omniũ conuenit rerum priuatio: ſed per defectũ. Verũ quia ei quod non eſt cõuenit eadẽ generali et cõmuni ratione priuatio et ablatio ſicut deo: licet modus ſpecialis ſit diuerſus et oppoſitus/ideo etiã id quod nõ eſt dicitur aliquo modo dei particeps. Cæterũ neqꝫ abſurda etiã loci huius eſſet intelligẽtia: ſi nõ eſſe hic per ſupereminẽtiã ſolũ dici intelligatur et nõ per defectũ. et celebrat̃ illud in deo: quãdo dicitur deus nõ eſſe/et quidem ſuperſubſtantialiter: quia eſt ſupra omne eſſe et ſubſtantiã. Et huiuſmodi nõ ens ita per ſuperexcellentiã dictum/etiã pulchri et boni eſt particeps: 54 immo ipſi ſumme pulchro et bono idẽ õnino/atqꝫ coincidens. ¶ Præterea iſtud vnum: multorũ eſt ſingulariter cauſa. ipſum bonũ: itidẽ cauſa oĩm bonorũ. & pulchrũ ipſum: omniũ cauſa pulchrorũ. Ex hoc quoqꝫ pulchro/oĩa quæ ſunt: ſuas habent eſſentias/coniunctiones inter ſe & diſcretiones abinuicem/idẽtitates ad ſeipſa/ alteritates diuerſitateſqꝫ ad alia/ ſimilitudines ad ea quæ eiuſdẽ ſunt ſpeciei aut qualitatis/ diſſimilitudines ad ea quæ diuerſæ. Ex eodẽ etiã pulchro ſunt ſocietates & fœdera cõtrariorũ: vt elemẽtorũ in vniuerſo/& qualitatũ elemẽtariũ in corpore animalis/& eorũ quæ adinuicẽ vniuntur inconfuſę diſtinctiones: vt formarũ ad materiã/accidentiũqꝫ ad ſubiecta/& diuerſarũ qualitatũ ad idẽ ſubiectũ. Sunt & ex eodẽ pulchro ſuperiorũ ad inferiora prouidẽtiæ/æqualiũ mutua adinuicẽ & alterna obſequia atqꝫ officia: vt hoĩm inter ſe/ inferiorũ ad ſuperiora conuerſiones/omniumqꝫ in ſeipſis ſtatus et permanẽtiæ quibus cõſeruant̃. Rurſus oĩm in alijs ſocietates/ cõueniẽtiæ & placidæ amicitiæ pro ſingulorũ natura ac cõditione: in toto vniuerſo & partibus eius. Quæ præterea in mũdo ſunt cõtẽperãtiæ rerũ/indiſſolubileſqꝫ corporũ a ſuis locis cõtinẽtiæ atqꝫ cõſeruationes/indeficiẽtes naſcẽtiũ rerũ in earũ quæ intereũt locũ ſucceſſiones/ſtatus oẽs ac motus ſpirituũ cœleſtiũ aĩarũ & corporũ: ex ipſo pulchro habent ortũ & vim. Illud enim omnibus eſt effectiue & cauſaliter ſtatus & motus: quod ſuper oẽm ſtatũ ac motũ collocatũ ſecundũ ſuã ſubſtantiã/vnumquodqꝫ in naturali ſua conditione firmat ac ſtabile ſeruat/ & ad proprium motum 53 operationẽqꝫ natiuam agit ac impellit. ¶ Quoniam autem motum omnem a pulchro ipſo prodire modo dictum eſt: hic diffinit beatus pater triplices ſpirituum itidem & animarum rationalium motus. Spiritus quidem cœleſtes moueri dicuntur: aut circulariter/aut recte/aut reflexe. Motus eorum circularis eſt: quando iugi contemplatione æternis illis pulchri & boni radijs (quibus nec principium adeſt nec finis) coniunguntur. ſic dictus: ꝙ ſpirituali animorum agitatione in circulum agi videatur/ & a deo auſpicando: in ipſum peracto circo regredi. Motus eorum rectus dicitur: quando cœleſtes ſpiritus ad inferiorum prouidentiam benigne prodeunt/ recta via quaſi a ſeipſis ad exteriora progreſſi per lineam a ſuperioribus ad ima ductam. Reflexus autem cœleſtium

ſpirituū motus eſt:quo inferiorum agentes prouidentiam/ in ſua identitate ſubſtantiæ
virtutis & operationis perſtant:nuſq̄ a propria functione aut dei viſione diſcedendo(di Math.18.
cit enim ſumma veritas de paruulorum cuſtodibus angelis:ꝗ ſemper vident faciem pa
tris qui in cœlis eſt)perpetuaq; circuitione circa ipſum pulchrū & bonū totius identita-
tis authorē verſantur. Et is motus reflexus dicit̄:ꝗ ab imis ad ſumma reſilire videatur.
Porro animæ rationalis etiā triplex eſt motus:circularis/obliquus/& rectus.Motus eius
circularis dicitur eſſe ingreſſus ipſius animæ in ſeipſam per ſui abſtractionē ab exterio-
bus:& ſpiritualiū ipſius animæ viriū vt memorandi/ intelligendi ac volendi/ vniformis
recollectio.largiens ipſi animæ veluti in orbē actæ: ꝗ nuſq̄ oberret/ ad exteriora ſe fun-
dendo.illam itidem ab exteris rebus & pernicioſis erroribus conuertens:& colligēs pri-
mū in ſeipſam.deinde eandē vt vniformē in ſe factā/ cœleſtibus iungēs virtutibus:quæ
ſingulariter & ſuperiore q̄ anima modo atq; ſimpliciore/ adinuicem ſunt coniunctæ. de-
mum eandem altius ſubuehendo: ad bonū illud atq; pulchrū ducēs quod ſuper omnes
eſt ſubſtantias/neq; principiū ſui eſſe neq; finē habēs.Motus autē animæ rationalis ob-
liquus eſt:quo anima ſecundū conuenientē ſibi(proprietatē diuinas haurit notiones.nō
quidem ſingulariter & ſpiritualiter:ſicut cœleſtes ſpiritus ſimplicem habentes cognoſ-
cendi modum ac rationem.ſed rationaliter & diffuſe: ratiocinando ſcilicet & diſcurren-
do ex notis ad ignota/& veluti per actiones quaſdā promiſcuas & tranſitorias.quibus
anima permiſcetur rebus quas intelligit/ percipiendo earum ſpecies:& de vna in aliam
ratiocinio tranſit ac mouetur. Poſtremo motus animæ rectus eſt;quādo ipſa non in ſe
per viriū ſuarū glomerationē ingrediens/neq; mota per vniformē ſui ſingularitatem in
virtutē ſpiritualē(cū enim id fit:tunc dicta eſt ſuperius in orbē moueri)ſed ad ea obiecta
quæ extra ſe ſunt per cognitionem progrediens:ab exteris ipſis rebus tanq̄ quibuſdam
ſignis ſenſibilibus diuerſis & multifarijs/ ad ſimplices ſingulares & vnicas intelligētias
54 promouetur/& quaſi a multis ad vnū reuocatur. ❡Quomodo autē pulchrum & bonū:
omniū ſtatuū & motuū quinimmo omniū in mundo conſonantiarū/ ordinū/ ac diſpoſi-
tionū eſt cauſa:latius hic proſequitur.Ipſum(inquit) pulchrum & bonum cauſa eſt etiā
horū triū motuū ſenſibiliū in hoc mūdo corporali: ſcilicet motus circularis/ obliqui/ &
recti/qui fiūt in corporibus tū cœleſtibus tū elemētaribus.immo etiā ipſū multo potius
eſt cauſa permanentiæ/quietudiniſq; & ſtatus rerū naturaliū.eſt enim in rebus iſtis ſub-
lunaribus quies potior motu:cū motus ipſe ad quietē tanq̄ ſuū finē ordinetur. Neq; ſo-
lū horū omniū/ipſum pulchrū & bonū cauſa eſt efficiēs:ſed & continens ſiue cōſeruās/
& finus optimus. Et cū ipſum ſupra omnem ſtatum & motū eſt per excellentiā:per ipſū
ſimul omnis ſtatus rerū & motus eſt per efficientiam.& ex eo vt primo principio/ & in
ipſo vt omnia conſeruante/& ad ipſum vt finem vltimū/ipſiuſq; gratia:ſunt omnia ſub-
ſiſtentium rerum genera.Nempe ex ipſo vt effectiuo/& per ipſum omniū productiuū:
omnis eſt rerum ſubſtantia/ vita/ſenſus/& intellectus:quatuor ſcilicet rerū gradus gene
rales.omnes itidem animæ ſpecies:vegetatiuæ/ſenſitiuæ & intellectiuæ ex ipſo prode-
unt.totius itē naturę diminutiones/æqualitates in ſtatu/& augmentationes:quæ potiſſi
mum in vegetibus/animalibus brutis/& hominibus ſecundū corpus conſpiciūtur. Rur
ſum ex ipſo pulchro & bono ſunt oēs rerū menſuræ & determinati limites/proportiōes
earū adinuicem/cōgruentiæ atq; vnius ad aliā rē cōuenientiæ/contemperamenta quali-
tatū vt in hominibus potiſſimū/brutis & plantis/integritates & cōplementa rerū/ par-
tes & totū/vnū & multitudo in quibuſq; rebus creatis.Ad hæc/ ex eodē & per idē ſunt
cōpaginationes et nexus partiū in toto/oēs multitudinis in vnū cōiunctiones/integrita
tū atq; totorū ꝑfectiones/qualitates/q̄titates/ordines et infinitudo:īdeterminataq; nu-
mero cōgeries rerū.cōparationes etiā rerum adinuicem/earum diſcretiones atq; abiun-
ctiones/omnis īdefinita rerū moles aut numerus/ finis omnis et termini atq; limites re-
rum/ordines ipſarū in vniuerſo et vnius ſupra aliā eminentiæ aut in ſitu aut perfectiōe/
elementa primaq; rerū et ſimplicia principia/ſpecies omnes atq; ſecūdū ſpeciem ſūptæ
rerum differentiæ.Deniq; ex ipſo pulchro et bono eſt oīs rerū ſubſtātia/naturalis virtus
cuiuſq;/et propria operatio.omnis quoq; qualitas firmiter hærens/oīs virtus ſenſitiua/
omnis elocutio mentiſq; notio: omnis corporū tactus/oīs ſcientia/et vnio rerū adinui-
cem.Et vt paucis oīa abſoluantur/quicquid exiſtit:ex pulchro et bono eſt vt efficiente/
in pulchro & bono cōſiſtit vt conſeruante/& ad pulchrū bonūq; cōuertitur vt omniū fi
nē.Et quæcunq; in tota rerū vniuerſitate ſunt & fiunt: omnia ob pulchrū & bonū ſunt

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& fiunt/& ad ipsum conuertuntur omnia/naturalemq; suũ obtutũ dirigunt. Ab ipso itidem
pulchro & bono mouentur omnia ad suas actiones: continentur etiã & conseruantur
omnia/ ipsiusq; gratia fiunt vniuersa. Per ipsum etiã subsistunt omnia/ & in ipso vt
primo exemplari est principiũ omne: a quo in rebus subiectis exempla ducuntur/ efformatæq;
ad illius speciẽ imagines. Ab ipso deniq; est in hoc toto mundi ambitu principiũ
consummans ac finale/principiũ efficiens formale ac materiale: quoniã hęc quatuor causarum
genera ab ipso pendent. Immo ab ipso pulchro & bono est omne in rebus ipsis
principiũ: omnis cõtinẽtia atq; cõseruatio rerũ/itidẽ & omnis finis. Atq; vt paucis multa
perstringantur/omnia quæcunq; sunt: ex pulchro & bono sunt. & quæ non sunt: omnia
etiam supersubstantialiter in pulchro & bono sunt. siquidẽ nõ secundum substantiã
in eo sunt/cũ necdũ subsistant: sed secundũ diuinã & æternã rationẽ/ qua omnia etiam
anteq̃ sint: in deo pręexistunt/& qua vocãtur ea quæ non sunt tanq̃ sint. Deniq; ipsũ pulchrũ
& bonũ/omniũ rerũ initiũ est & finis: omne tamẽ principiũ & finẽ superãs. quia ex
ipso vt effectiuo/& per ipsum vt productiuũ/in ipso etiã vt cõseruatiuo/& in ipsum vt finẽ 55
Roma.11. vltimũ sunt omnia: vt scribit beatus Paulus ad Romanos. ❡ Deinceps deum omni
nomine superiorẽ/nomine amoris laudandũ prædicat sacratus pater: dicens ipsum pulchrũ
et bonũ propter supradictas eius proprietates omnibus esse desiderabile/amabile
& diligibile. et id quidẽ per ipsummet pulchrũ et bonũ/ excitans omnia in sui desideriũ
et amorem: et gratia ipsius pulchri et boni tanq̃ vltimi finis/ et non propter aliquẽ finẽ
extrinsecum. Siquidẽ authore ipso pulchro et bono: inferiora in hoc pulchro vniuersi ordine
per hoc ꝙ cõuertuntur ad superiora/a quibus directionẽ suscipiũt ac prouidentiæ
munera: amant ipsa præstãtiora. æqualia vero: sociali iure et nexu sibi paria diligũt. omne
Ecci.13. enim animal (dicit scriptura) diligit simile sibi. Et superiora inferioribus quibus prouident
et benefaciunt: etiã amore coniunguntur. omnia itidem subsistẽtia/ seipsa amãt:
ratione suæ conseruationis et saluationis. et quæcunq; faciunt et volunt: oĩa ipsius pulchri
et boni desiderio faciunt ac volunt. Insuper et id cõfidenter est astruendum: ꝙ ipse
deus author omnium/ secundum suæ bonitatis exuberantiam & abundantiam omnia
produxit ad esse/omnia ad perfectionẽ ducit/omnia cõseruat atq; ad se cõuertit/& amat
Sapi.11. omnia. quemadmodum dicit scriptura. Diligis omnia domine: & nichil odisti eorũ quæ
fecisti. Ipse itidem amor dei in creaturas: & bonus est immo superbonus/ & ipsius boni
(nam creatura omnis si naturam attendas: bona est/ sicut & a bono orta) & propter bonum:
quia propter salutem & perfectionẽ creaturarũ/immo propter ipsũ summe bonũ.
Ipse enim beneficentissimus omnium rerum author & amor omniũ supersubstantialis
cum ante mundi productionem in ipsius boni sufficientia & immensitate excellẽter etiã
ab æterno esset/sine aliqua indigẽtia: nequaq̃ permisit ipsum bonũ in seipso manere infœcũdũ
q̃tũ ad exteriora/atq; alijs incõmunicatũ. sed mouit ipsũ supreme bonũ ad agẽdũ
hãc mũdi productionẽ: per excellentiã suæ bonitatis cũcta producentẽ ad ortũ/vt essent 56
ea quibus suæ bonitatis dona cõmunicaret. ❡ Quoniã autẽ nõnulli cõtenderũt nomẽ
amoris nullo pacto ipsi deo rebusve diuinis attribui debere: ꝙ putarẽt id nomẽ solũ
pro amore carnali & mũdano sumi posse/istorũ falsã sentẽtiã cõfutat hoc loco beatꝰ pater.
Nemo (inquit) putet nosipsos cõtra scripturæ sanctę authoritatẽ & vsũ: ipsius amoris
nomẽ inducere/aut deo ascribere. Est enĩ illud absurdũ in disciplinis & irrationabile:
nõ ipsam significationẽ dictionũ attẽdere aut rem ipsam/sed duntaxat in verbis ipsis &
vocabulis hærere/& ad ea cõtentiosum esse aut difficilẽ. Et id sane hominũ est nõ cupiẽtiũ
intelligere diuina mysteria: sed nudos haurientium sonos dictionum sine significati
intelligentia. & ita sonos illos aure corporali continentiũ: vt nequaq̃ permittant eos penetralia
animi subire ad insinuandam rem quæ designatur. neq; etiã cupiẽtiũ scire quidnam
rei/huiusmodi verba significẽt: & quomodo oporteat vnũ verbũ obscurius per aliud
apertius declarari. Qui enim ita affecti sunt homines: solis affiguntur & adhęrẽt litteris
& syllabis/nichil intellectui significationis ingerẽtibus. verbis item ignotis addicti
sunt: ipsam mentis intelligẽtiã nequaq̃ subeuntibus/ sed ad exteriora solũ circa loquentiũ
labia & audientiũ aures perstrepentibus. quasi nõ liceat: vnũ nomen per aliud clarius
& tantundẽ valens explicare. vt quaternarium per bis duo/aut simplices lineas &
quæ in priores resolui non possint: per lineas rectas/aut maternã humum in qua scilicet
mater nos in lucẽ ędidit: per patriã significare/aut in alijs partibus orationis vbi duę dictiones
idẽ prorsus signãt: nõ liceat vnã quæ subobscurior videtur/per alterã dilucidio-

57 rē explanare. ¶In quo & id animaduertēdū/ ꝙ nō res ipſæ propter dictiones ſunt & no-
mina: ſed e diuerſo litteris ſyllabis & dictionibus vtimur propter ſignificationes rerū/ &
res ipſas quæ ſignantur noſtro intellectui. Cum vero anima noſtra intellectualibus ope-
rationibus ad ſpiritualia & incorporalia promoueri cœperit per abſtractionē a ſenſibili-
bus: tunc ſuperflui ſunt nobis ad diſciplinam capeſſendā & ſenſus ipſi corporales/ & ſen-
ſibilia. quēadmodū adueniente eo quod perfectū eſt: nō amplius in vſu eſt quod imper-
fectum/ & prius propter imbecillitatē fuerat neceſſariū. Quēadmodū etiā intellectuales
noſtræ mentis operationes tūc vacare & ceſſare dicūtur: quādo anima noſtra diuinæ ſpe-
ciei ſuſceptione iā digna habita/ atq; gratuita dei dignatione ad illā percipiēdā admiſſa:
per incomprænhenſibilē & ignotā coniunctionē illius ad mentē noſtrā/ lucis diuinę & in-
acceſſibilis radios hauſerit per iactus luminū ſupercœleſtiū: nequaq̄ corporeo ſēſu per-
ceptibiliū. Cū vero mens noſtra rerū ſenſibiliū adminiculo ſtuduerit ad intelligibiles ꝑ-
uehi notiones: illi omnino ſenſus corporei honore & dignitate præferuntur/ qui effica-
cius & clarius noſtrā mentē ad intelligendū adiuuant. quales ſunt viſus potiſſimum &
auditus: ambo nobiles & perfecti diſciplinæ ſenſus. quemadmodū apertiores ſermones:
obſcurioribus merito præferuntur. & quęcunq; ex rebus viſibilibus clariora ſunt: iјs quę
minus ſunt lucida iure præponuntur. Si enim ea quæ ſenſibus obiјciuntur & proponun-
tur obſcura ſint quidnā deſignant: nequaq̄ poterūt ipſi intellectui noſtro ſubminiſtrare
ſenſibiliū quæ ſignificātur intelligentiā. quare huiuſmodi ſenſus minus tūc erūt idonei:
58 vt ſuppeditent auxiliū & adminiculū intellectui ad ſcientiæ conſecutionē. ¶Deinde cō-
probat ſacer Dionyſius teſtimonio ſacræ ſcripturæ: ꝙ nomē amoris ipſi deo & rebus di-
uinis recte & crebro attribuatur. Ne (inquit) iſta quæ propoſita ſunt dicendo/ violen-
tia & extorta interpretatio ſacræ ſcripturæ videatur inferri: audiāt ipſam ſacram ſcriptu-
ram qui nomē amoris accuſant/ tanq̄ indignū quod deo aſcribatur. Dicit enim ipſa per
Salomonē in prouerbiјs. Ama ſapientiā & ſeruabit te/ circūda illam tibi & exaltabit te: **Prouer.4.**
honora illam vt cōplectatur te. & quæcunq; alia in ſacris litteris amatoria cantica prędi-
cantur. In illis enim frequēs etiā eſt amoris nomen: diuinis accōmodatū. Quinimmo nō-
nullis ſacriloquis & diuinarū rerū tractatorib9 viris: diuinius videtur & ſacratius nomē
amoris q̄ dilectionis. Scribit enim diuinus Ignatius in ſua ad Romanos epiſtola. Amor **Ignatius.**
meus: crucifixus eſt. Et in primis ſcripturarum inſtructionibus libriſq; introductoriјs: in-
ducitur quidam de diuina ſapientia ita loquens. Amator factus ſum formæ illius. Non
igitur metuendum eſt cuiq̄ hoc amoris nomen tanq̄ obſcenū: neq; quēpiam vllus pertur-
bet aduerſariorū ſermo/ aut timore concutiat. Nam deiloqui patres prophetę & apoſto-
li/ nomen amoris & dilectionis videntur omnino pro eodē ſumpſiſſe: cōmuneq; feciſſe et
mundano & ſupramundano amori. Verū viſi ſunt ipſi theologi verū amorē atq; nomen
amoris ideo magis diuinis aſſignare voluiſſe: vt vanā huiuſmodi hominū temeritatem
damnarent/ contendentiū amorē deo et ſupramūdanis ſubſtātiјs nequaq̄ applicari de-
bere. Cum enim verus et primitiuus amor nō ſolū a beato patre in hoc loco/ ſed etiam a
ſacris litteris prædicetur: imperitorū turba nequaq̄ capiens vniformē illam & ſimplicem
in deo amatoriā nūcupationē/ ſecundū ſuæ mentis infirmitatē ad diuiſibilē carnalem et
mundanū prolapſa eſt amorē. qui tamē verus amor non eſt: ſed remota ſolum veri amo-
ris imago/ aut potius a vero amore prolapſio. quippe diuinus ille/ ſingularis & ſimplex
amor: non poteſt ab ipſa capi multitudine. Proinde nomen illud amoris multis inuiſ-
ſum ac odioſum/ diuinæ aſcribitur ſapientiæ/ et in ſacra ſcriptura ponitur: ad illos pro-
mouendos erigendoſq; ad veri amoris notionem/ atq; eo quo tenebantur errore libe-
randos. Vbi autem de rebus humanis fit ſermo/ et locus occurrit vbi carnales homines
aliquid laſciuum aut petulās ſuſpicari poſſent: honeſtiore vocabulo ſcilicet dilectionis
ſcriptura vtitur/ ex induſtria nomē amoris ſubticēs: ne prolapſionis det materiam. vt cū
Dauid deplorans mortē Ionathę amici ſui: dicit. Cecidit dilectio tua ſuper me: ſicut dile- **2.regū.1.**
59 ctio mulierū. ¶Id tamen dilectionis nomē apud eos qui diuina recte intelligūt/ tantun-
dem valet: atq; nomē amoris. neq; a diuinarum rerum ſcriptoribus et expoſitoribus no-
men amoris et dilectionis vt diuerſa ſignificet ponitur: ſed omnino indifferenter ſumi-
tur. Eſtq; nomen illud ſignificatiuum virtutis cuiuſdam diuinæ/ omnia in vnum colli-
gentis ac connectentis/ omniaq; diſtincte et inconfuſe adunātis: quę in ipſo pulchro et
bono et propter pulchrum et bonum longe ante res omnes pręextitit. et ex eodem
pulchro & bono gratia pulchri & boni tanq̄ ſuiipſius & omnium aliorū finis: emanat ad

nos atq; deriuatur. conſeruatq; in rebus ſubiectis omnibus æqualia: pari amicitiæ ſocietate.
ſuperiora vero ad inferiorũ mouet prouidentiã: & inferiora ſuperioribus per conuerſionem 60
ad ea/ſtabiliter coniungit. ¶ Declarat deinde vnam diuini amoris proprietatem/
vtpote ꝙ extaſin & mentis exceſſum in amãte facit: non ſinens ipſos amatores illo
diuino ſuccenſos igne eſſe ſui iuris aut arbitrij/ ſed eos in illa quæ amãt omnino trãſferẽs.
Eſt enim id amoris propriũ: ipſum amantẽ/ſecundũ affectũ traducere in amatũ/
vt ignis in ſe ferrũ. Hanc porro amoris conditionẽ declarãt ſuperiora: quæ tanq̃ ſui oblita/
inferiorum prouidẽtiæ omnino ſe addixerunt/eãq; continue exercent. Declarant &
æqualia: ꝙ ſe mutuo conſeruant/& ſociali connexione adinuicẽ ſunt deuincta. Similiter
& inferiora idem patefaciunt: quia ad priora & ſuperiora conuerſione quadam ſubiectionis
& obediẽtiæ aſpirãt. Ideoq; beatus Paulus cum diuino amore totus inardeſceret:
exceſſiuæ illius virtutis (quam amatoria inducit flãma) factus particeps/ ait ad Galatas.
Gala.2. Viuo ego/iam non ego: viuit vero in me CHRISTVS. In quibus verbis tanq̃ verus &
feruidus amator/mentis ſeceſſum patiens: non ſibi (vt ait) ſed deo vixit. & nõ ſuam ſed
CHRISTI hominũ amatoris vitã patiens/vt valde diligibilem: hãc in ſe vigere conteſtatus 61
eſt. ¶ His & illud pro veritate adijciendũ eſt: ꝙ ipſe deus author omniũ/per pulchrũ
& bonũ amorẽ quo omnia proſequitur: ſecundũ amatoriæ ſuæ bonitatis excellentiam
& exuberantiã extra ſe fit/transferturq; ad amata omnia per ſuorũ donorũ elargitionem.
pertingendo ad omnia quæ ſubſiſtunt: per multiplicẽ ſuæ prouidentiæ rationẽ
ac modũ. Ipſeq; ſola ſua bonitate amoreq; & dilectione delinitur ac mouetur ad beneficiendum.
& ex ſupremo illo faſtigio/quo ſupra omnia & ab omnibus eſt eminenter exceptus:
ſeipſum ad id demittit & inclinat/vt inter omnia ſit per ſuorum bonorum gratuitã
cõmunicationem. Facit autem hoc: ſuperexcedens omnia/ ſua virtus immẽſa: qua nuſq̃
a ſe progreditur/quia ſemper manet in ſeipſo occultus. & tamen ad omnia ſe diffundit:
quoniam cunctis ſui participationem indulget. Quocirca ſacri patres diuinorũ interpretes/
ipſum deum appellant zelotem: vt vehementẽ ad omnia quæ ſunt benigniter amanda.
& vt excitantẽ ſeipſum ad zelum & ardorẽ illius diuini deſiderij: quo cuncta diligit.
vt etiã demonſtrantẽ: ꝙ ipſum amoris deſideriũ ſit apprime appetibile. Siquidẽ per ipſũ
deũ/quæcunq; deſiderantur: ſunt expetenda/& ipſius gratia. & ipſe ſane vere zelotes
eſt & acerrimus amator eorum quæ ſuperna prouidentia reguntur/& illa ipſi ſyncero
ſunt amore connexa. Eſt namq; id boni & pulchri propriũ: vt ſit amabile & amor verus.
& in pulchro & bono: amor ipſe ſedem etiã ante mundi conſtitutionẽ fixit/& domiciliũ.
& pulchri & boni gratia: omnis amor eſt & fit/tanq̃ primi ac præcipui finis. ¶ Poſtremo 62
rationem reddit: quare a ſacris authoribus deus aliquando dicitur amor & dilectio/
aliquando vero amabilis ac diligibilis. Amor quidem & dilectio dicitur effectiua ratione:
quia ipſius amoris author eſt & veluti productor. Amabilis autẽ & diligibilis dicitur
ratione potius paſſiua: quia reuera talis eſt/qui amari diligiq; ſit dignus. Et quatenus
amor eſt & dilectio: mouetur ad alia diligenda/ferturq; ad amanda ſingula. Quatenus
vero amabilis eſt et diligibilis: mouet alia ad ſe amãdũ et diligẽdũ. Inſuper & alia
de cauſa deiloqui patres vtrãq; dictarũ appellationũ deo accõmodãt: quia ipſe ſuiipſius
prouocator eſt et incitator ad alia amandũ/ et ſibiipſi etiã eſt impulſor et promotor: ad
vniuerſa quæ cõdidit diligẽda. Sola enim bonitate ſua amatoria mouetur/ vt cũcta quæ
cõdidit amet: et alia itidẽ mouet/ vt ipſum diligãt reciproco et alterno amore. Propter illud
autẽ/recte amor et dilectio dicitur. ꝓpter hoc vero/amabilis et diligibilis. Et ipſi diuiniloqui
ſcriptores deum diligibilem et amabilem vocant: quatenus pulcher et bonus
eſt. Eundem autem vocant amorem et dilectionem: quoniam ipſe eſt mouens virtus
et prouehens alia ad ſeipſum amandum/eo ꝙ ſolus ipſe: ſumme pulchrum et bonum
eſt. immo ipſe etiam eſt ſuimet expreſſio et explicatio in rebus conditis per ſeipſũ.
ꝙ in vniuerſis et ſingulis creaturis ſemet per ſeipſum inſinuauit et declarauit. eſt etiã
eximiæ illius coniũctionis ſui ad res amatas et rerũ amantiũ ad ſeipſum amatum: benignus
proceſſus atq; ad extera profuſio. Similiter et ipſe/motus eſt amatoriꝰ/ quo ad res
omnis amãdas progreditur: et quo res omnes ad ipſum amoris reciprocatione reuocãtur.
motus inquã ſimplex ſine multiformitate/per ſe mouẽs ſine admixtione aduentitię
cauſę: et per ſe operãs ſine alicuius extrinſeci adminiculo. Qui quidẽ motus anteq̃ etiam
mundus ſubſiſteret/ ab æterno erat in ipſo bono: deinde ex eo in ſubſtantias conditas
emanans/et deniq; ex illis rurſum ſe ad bonũ ipſum quaſi completo circulo conuertẽs.

In quo quidem ſempiterno motu luculenter & aperte diuinus amor oſtẽdit/ꝙ principio et fine careat: tanq̃ circulus quidã æternus circũgyrationẽ faciens perpetuã/propter bonum tanq̃ finem vltimũ/ex bono tanq̃ principio & termino a quo proficiſcitur huiuſmodi motio. in bono vero tanq̃ ſpacio intellectuali & proprio illius diuinæ circuitionis/ et ad bonum tanq̃ terminũ ad quem tendit illa circulatio. Eſt & circulus ille diuini amoris/in eodẽ ſemper & ſecundum idẽ progrediens: manens/et regrediẽs. nã iugiter in ipſo ſumme bono: nuſq̃ ab eo digrediẽdo. perpetuo itidẽ ſecundũ eandẽ eius & indemutabilem bonitatẽ: procedit ad ea quæ bonitate participãt. manet & in ipſo bonitatis fonte: et in ijs quæ eius percipiunt ſcaturiginẽ. remeat vero a rebus ſubſiſtẽtibus: in ſuum principium et originẽ. Porro ſupradicta diuini amoris ſacramenta ſacratiſſimus Hierotheus ſacrato ſpiritu afflatus luculenter pertractauit in libro quem conſcripſit de amatorijs hymnis. quæ hic operæpreciũ erit in memoriã reducere/& tanq̃ præcipuum quiddam et ſingulare: huic noſtræ de amore determinationi adijcere.

¶Hierothei ſanctiſſimi ex amatorijs hymnis Cap. IIII. pars II.

63 AMorem (ſiue diuinum/ſiue angelicum/ſiue ſpiritualem/ſiue animalem/ ſiue naturalem dixerimus) inſitiuam quandam A intelligamus/ commiſcentemq́ʒ virtutem: ſuperiora quidem mouentem ad inferiorum prouidẽtiam/æqualia vero rurſus ad ſocialem ſui inuicem communionem/ac poſtremo loco inferiora vt ad potiora & ſublimiora cõuertãtur: adigẽtem.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Siue naturalẽ dixerimus: inſitiuã quandã intelligamus/cõmiſcentẽq; virtutẽ. Inſitiuã virtutẽ/vnitiuã/cõiũctiuã/aſſociatiuã/adunatiuã. A

¶SECVNDAE PARTIS QVARTI CA. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

63 DIuini Hierothei ex amatorijs hymnis verba hic affert ſacer Dionyſi9:
quibus ille amorem in multas diducit ſpecies/eũdem diffinit/& tria
eius præcipua depromit opera. Diuidit quidẽ amorẽ in quinq; mẽbra/
ſcilicet amorẽ diuinũ: quo deus ſeipſum & omnia amat. angelicũ: quo
cœleſtes ſpiritus ardẽt. ſpiritualẽ: quo homines ſpiritualia amãt bona.
animalẽ: quo bruta ſecundũ appetitum ſenſitiuũ quæ cõuenientia vi⸗
dentur affectãt. et naturalem: quo plantæ & inanimata omnia ferũtur
inclinatione naturali ad ea quæ ſuænaturæ ſunt cõſentanea. Diffinit autem amorẽ eſſe
virtutem quandã vnitiuam: atq́ʒ cõiungentẽ amatum cũ amante. Nam ſicut odiũ diui⸗
dit & ſeparat: ita amor aſtringit/cõnectit & agglutinat. Tria vero principalia amoris of⸗
ficia ſunt. Primũ. mouet priora & ſuperiora ad poſteriorũ ac inferiorũ prouidentiã. Se⸗
cundum. impellit æqualia ad placidã & æquabilem adinuicẽ ſocietatem. Tertium. adigit
inferiora vt ad ſuperiora & perfectiora a quibus dirigantur/iugiter cõuertantur.

¶Eiuſdem ex eiſdem amatorijs hymnis. CAP. IIII. pars III.

64 QVoniam plurimos amores ex vno profluẽtes diſpoſuimus:
diximuſq́ʒ deinceps cuiuſmodi ſunt mũdanorum/eorumq́ʒ
qui ſupra mundum ſunt amorum cognitiones ac virtutes.
quibus ſupereminent iuxta aſſignatam orationis intentio⸗
nem ſpiritualium atq́ʒ intelligibilium amorum ordines atq́ʒ
diſtinctiones. poſt quas qui per ſe intelligibiles ſunt ac diui⸗
ni: pulchri ibi veraciter amores antiſtant/et a nobis pro viribus: proprie ſũt
celebrati. Nunc rurſus reſumentes/omnes in vnum & conglobatum amo⸗
rem/ipſorumq́ʒ omnium parentem colligamus ſimul atq́ʒ congregemus:
ex multis primum in duas omnino ipſum contrahentes amatorias vires. B
ex quibus obtinet/atq́ʒ dominatur omnibus cauſa illa abſolutiſſima amo⸗
ris omnis/omnia longe antecellens: & ad quã intenditur pro modo cuiuſq́ʒ
ſubſtãtię amor ille integer/atq́ʒ vniuerſus: qui ex ijs quę ſũt õnibus naſcitur.

Cap. 4 pars 3 4

B ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Ex multis primũ in duas omnino ipſum contrahentes/amatorias vires. Vna quidẽ eſt: quæ a ſummis ad ima deriuatur amatoria prouidentia: perinde ac lux ſolis in omnia transfunditur ſubiecta corpora. altera vero amatoria vis/ex imis rurſum colligitur ad ſumma: haud ſecus ac lumen per omnia ſubiecta ad primitiuæ lucis originem reſilit corpora. Non eſt enim ſub luce ſubiectum cõtentũ corpus: a quo reſilitio non fiat/& quaſi tacita quædam rerum omnium genitricis lucis veneratio/& luminũ omnium cõuerſio. et ea quã circa denſa & opaca corpora cernimus: craſſior eſt. et idcirco craſſiori ſenſui peruior atq; manifeſtior. quæ vero circa lympidiora/et puriora: lympidior ac impermixtior. et talis eſt in rebus/naturalis naturãq; ſequens/et ſuis initijs conſentaneus amor.

¶TERTIAE PARTIS QVARTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 64

RVrſum diuini Hierothei verba ex ſupradicto opere adducit beatus pater: quibus et amorẽ primum in diuerſa diſſecat mẽbra/deinde omnia illa in vnum reuocat atq; ſimplicẽ amorẽ. quoniã (inquit) oſtenſum eſt plurimos & diuerſos amores ex vno amore tanq̃ fontano profluere/dictumq; eſt deinceps quę & quales ſunt mundanorũ amorum conditiones: quibus huius mũdi delectabilia & bona aut a brutis animantibus aut hominibus carnalibus amãtur. quales itidẽ ſũt cognitiones & virtutes amorũ ſupramũdanorum: quibus ſpirituales homines ſupercœleſtia bona & quæ vere bona ſunt/magno animi ardore ãbiũt. Illis autẽ duobus amoribus iuxta factã prius determinationẽ ſupereminẽt dignitate & perfectione angelicorũ ſpirituum amores/illorumq; decẽtiſſimi ordines & gradus/quibus ſuperdiuina et intelligibilia bona longe perfectius q̃ homines amant. Supra quos cœleſtiũ ſubſtãtiarum amores: multo præcellunt primitiui & veri amores diuini/ab alijs non pendentes ſed per ſe & ſuperſubſtantialiter in deo ſedem habentes: qui a ſanctis patribus et diuinarũ rerum ſcriptoribus honeſtiſſime & potiſſimũ laudati ſunt ac prædicati. Nunc igitur omnes iſti multiformes amores in vnum ſupremũ ac primarium ſunt cõglobandi/& in deum ipſorum amorũ omnium parentẽ colligendi. atq; ex multis diuerſiſq; amoribus in duas potiſſimũ vires amatorias contrahendus eſt amor ipſe: vtpote in eam quæ a ſummis ad ima profluit/per prouidẽtiſſimam in omnes beneficentiã. & in eam quæ reflexo motu ab imis rurſum ad ſumma reſilit ac recurrit. Iſtis autem duabus viribus/ſicut & amoribus omnibus: dominatur ipſe deus abſolutiſſima & primitiua cauſa omnis amoris/omnia longe præcellens. et ad quẽ conuertitur totiſq; aſpirat viribus ſecundũ rationẽ & modum ſubſtãtiæ cuiuſq; rei: amor ille totus integer & cõpletus totius vniuerſi/qui ex omnibus rebus quæ ſubſiſtunt enaſcitur. & ex ſingulis in vnũ amoris globũ collectus: ad ipſum amoris fontẽ recurrit.

¶Eiuſdem ex eiſdẽ amatorijs hymnis. CAP. IIII. pars IIII.

AGe itaq; & has rurſus in vnum colligentes dicamus: vt vna 65
quædã eſt ſimplex virtus ſeipſam mouens ad inſitiuã quandam concretionẽ ex ſummo bono ad extremã vſq; ſubſtantiam. a qua rurſus deinceps per omnia ad bonum ipſum: ex ſeipſa & per ſeipſã/et in ſe ipſa ſeipſã circuiens/atq; in ſeipſa ſemper eodẽ modo remeãs. ¶Atqui dixerit quiſpiã. ſi omnibus et pulchrum & bonum amabile eſt et deſiderabile ac diligibile (deſiderat enim ipſum: & quod non eſt/vt antea diximus/et in ipſo ferme eſſe contendit. ipſumq; eſt/quod ſpeciem etiã informibus facit. & in ipſo etiã quod non eſt: ſuperſubſtantialiter dicitur & eſt) quo modo dæmonũ turba pulchrum ac bonũ non deſiderat? ſed affixa materiæ & circa bonum expetendum angelica identitate delapſa: malorũ omnium cauſa & ſibi ipſi/& alijs (quæq; maliciæ dederũt manus) eſſe dicitur? Quo item pacto cum ex bono deducta ſit dæmonica cohors: boni ſpeciẽ nequaq̃ pręfert? Aut quomodo bona ex bono facta: mutata eſt? & quid eſt quod ipſam efficit malã? et omnino quid eſt malum? & ex quo initio ſubſiſtit/et in qua ſubſtantiarum eſt? 66

C

Hactenus ex diuino Hierotheo

De malo.

Tenatio mali.

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et qua ratione qui summe bonus est/ipsum producere voluit? vel si voluit: potuit? & si alia ex causa dicitur malũ:quænã alia ijs quæ sunt/prẹter summum bonũ est causa? Quomodo vero prouidentia cum sit:malum est/aut omnino sit/aut certe non tollitur? & quo pacto ipsum/aliquid ex ijs quæ sunt(bono omisso)desiderat?

Malum ex bono nõ est

Malũ non est ex malo

Malũ inter substantias non est.

D

67 ¶ Ista quidẽ forte dicturus est quispiã/huiusmodi dubitationibus motus:at nos contra orabimus vt in rerũ aspiciat veritatem. Ac primũ quidem istud cõfidenter dicemus:ꝙ malum ex bono nequaq̃ est. & si ex bono sit:malũ profecto non est. Neqꝫ enim proprium est ignis/refrigerare:neqꝫ boni/non bona producere. et si quæ subsistunt: omnia ex bono sũt. natura est enim bono:producere atqꝫ seruare. malo autẽ:corrũpere ac perdere. nulla igitur substãtia ex malo est. Neqꝫ quidẽ ex malo ipsum erit malũ:si quidem sibiipsi sit malũ. Quod nisi ita sit:malum nõ omnino erit malũ/sed boni quãdam secundũ quã subsistat habebit portionẽ. Et si quæ sunt:pulchrũ bonumqꝫ desiderant. & omnia quæcũqꝫ faciunt:propter id quod videtur bonũ faciunt. omnisqꝫ substantiæ destinatio: principiũ habet ac finẽ/bonũ illud(neqꝫ enĩ quicq̃/mali naturã aspiciẽs:ea facit q̃ facit)quo modo ergo erit inter substãtias malũ? aut quo pacto substãtia est:cũ sit istiusmodi bono appetitu destitutũ? Et si quæ sunt õnia:ex bono sũt/bonũqꝫ ipsũ õnia superat:est quidẽ in bono/& quod non est substãtia. Malũ vero neqꝫ substãtia est(alioqui non õnino malũ est)neqꝫ non substãtia est. nã nichil erit quod õnino substantia non sit/nisi in summo bono per substãtiæ superexcessum dicatur. Igitur bonũ quidẽ erit longe prius: et eo quod simpliciter est/& eo quod non est/atqꝫ excellentius fixũ. malum vero neqꝫ in ijs quæ sunt est:neqꝫ in ijs quæ non sunt. sed ipso quoqꝫ quod non est/a bono alienius est malum:multoqꝫ a substantia remotius.

Obiectiões ꝙ sit malũ.

68 ¶ Vnde ergo malũ est dicet quispiã? nisi enim sit malum:virtus & viciũ idem erit. omnisqꝫ virtus:ipsũ erit quod tota viciositas. et quæ particularis est virtus: hoc erit quod vicium itidẽ particulare. aut neqꝫ quod virtuti aduersatur:erit malum. Atqui contraria castitati luxuria est:iustitiæqꝫ iniustitia. neqꝫ profecto dixerim:iustũ & iniustũ/castũqꝫ & luxuriosum idem esse. Verũ et anteq̃ foris appareat virtutis aduersus improbitatẽ dissidentia:in ipsa longe prius anima prorsus distant a virtutibus vicia/perturbationesqꝫ contra rationem rebellant. atqꝫ ex his necesse est dare aliquod contrariũ bono:malũ. Neqꝫ enim sibiipsi aduersatur bonũ:sed veluti ex vno initio vnaqꝫ causa genitum/societate & coniunctione et amicitia gaudet. & neqꝫ minus bonum: maiori cõtrariũ est. quia nec minus calidum aut frigidũ:amplius calido aduersatur aut frigido. est igitur inter substãtias/atqꝫ subsistit:oppositũqꝫ aduersatur bono malũ. Et si corruptio substantiarũ est:non id excludit a substantia malũ. sed erit ipsum quoqꝫ substantia:& substantias generans. An vero non sæpe alterius corruptio:alterius generatio fit? eritqꝫ malũ ad totius perfectionẽ cõferẽs:atqꝫ vniuerso(ne ĩperfectũ sit)per seipsum præstãs.

Malũ nichil producere.

69 ¶ Dicet ad hæc vera ratio. malum qua parte est malũ:nullã substantiã aut generationẽ facere/solũqꝫ violare atqꝫ corrumpere(quoad in ipso est)substãtiã rerum. Qꝫ si quis ipsũ dicat generationis authorẽ:ꝙ alterius corruptio-

ne/alteri generationē largiatur.reſpondebimus veriſſime/ꝗ non qua parte
corrumpit:tribuit generationem.ſed qua corruptio & malū eſt:corrumpit/
ac violat ſolū.generatio vero atqꝫ ſubſtantia:propter bonū fit.& erit malū
ex ſe quidē corruptio:generationis autem efficiens propter bonum.et qua
parte quidē eſt malum:neqꝫ ſubſtātia eſt/neqꝫ ſubſtantiarū efficiēs.propter
bonum autem & ſubſtantiā:& bonum et bonorū efficiens erit.immo vero
neqꝫ erit idem in eodem & bonū et malum:neqꝫ erit eiuſdē corruptio & generatio/
eadē ſecundū idem virtus/neqꝫ ipſa virtus aut ipſa corruptio.quod
enim ipſum malū eſt:neqꝫ ſubſtantia/neqꝫ bonū/neqꝫ generās/neqꝫ ſubſtātiarum
aut bonorū efficiens eſt.Bonum vero quibuſcūqꝫ ſe perfecte inſinuauerit:
perfecta facit/& mera atqꝫ integra bona.quæ vero minus ipſi participant:
per defectum boni & imperfecta ſunt/et mixta bona.neqꝫ eſt omnino
malum:neqꝫ bonū/neqꝫ beneficū.ſed quod magis aut minus appropinquat
bono:pro modo ſuo erit bonū.Nam quæ per omnia pergit perfecta
bonitas:non ad eas ſolū quæ circa ſe ſunt eximie bonas ſubſtantias penetrat/
verum ad extremas quoqꝫ pertingit/alijs penitus præſens/alijs inferiore
modo/atqꝫ alijs in fine:vt ſingula capere poſſūt.atqꝫ alia omnino participant
bono:alia vero magis eo/minuſve priuata ſunt.alia autem perexiguam
habēt participationē:atqꝫ alijs extremo modo adeſt bonum.Nā niſi
pro captu cuiuſqꝫ ſingulis adeſſet bonū:auguſtiſſima quæqꝫ et ātiquiſſima/
extremorū profecto tenerent ordinem.& qui fieri poſſet/vt vno modo omnia
bono participarent:cum non ſint idonea omnia ad eius participationē
exactiſſimā prouehi?at nunc iſta eſt excellens magnitudo virtutis boni:ꝗ
ea quoqꝫ quæ priuata ſunt/& ſui ipſius priuationem ſuſtentat/vt integre ad
ipſius participationem admittātur.et ſi confidentius aſtipulari oportet veritati:
etiam quæ illi repugnāt/ipſius virtute & ſunt et repugnare poſſunt.
¶Immo vt breuius loquar/quæ ſunt omnia:inquantū ſunt/& bona et ex 7
bono ſūt.inquantū vero priuata ſunt bono:neqꝫ bona ſunt/neqꝫ ſubſiſtūt.
nam ſub alijs quidem affectionibus ſubſiſtunt:puta calore aut frigore.vt
quæ calefacta ſunt:perſtant etiam vbi ea deſeruerit calor.& vitæ ac ſenſus
pleraqꝫ expertia:ſunt.Et ſubſtantiā ſupereminet deus:& eſt ſuperſubſtantialiter/
E atqꝫ ſimpliciter.in alijs quidē omnibus iam aliquanto labeſſente/
neqꝫ omnino indito habitu ſubſtātiæ:ſunt/& ſubſiſtere poſſunt.Quod autem
per omnem modū bono priuatum eſt:nuſq̄ nequaq̄/neqꝫ fuit/neqꝫ eſt/
neqꝫ erit/neqꝫ eſſe poteſt.verbi gratia/impudicus etſi per irrationabilē concupiſcentiam
bono priuatus eſt:in eo quidē non eſt/neqꝫ concupiſcit ea quæ
ſunt.iuxta tamen ipſam coniunctionis/atqꝫ amicitiæ vel tenuē imaginem:
eſt particeps boni.Et ira itē boni eſt particeps ex ipſo motu:quo appetit q̄
videntur mala adid quod videatur bonū dirigere/atqꝫ conuertere.Et ipſe
qui deterrimā appetit vitā(vt qui omnino vitā deſideret:etiā quæ ſibi videatur
optima)ex eo ꝗ deſiderat/vitāqꝫ deſiderat/& ad optimā aſpicit vitā:
boni eſt particeps.Et ſi omnino ſuſtuleris bonum:neqꝫ ſubſtantia erit/neqꝫ
vita/neqꝫ deſiderium/neqꝫ motus/neqꝫ aliud quicq̄.¶Itaqꝫ & ꝗ ex corruptione 7
fiat generatio:nō eſt mali virtus/ſed minoris boni præſentia.Sicuti

Manuductio ex morbo.

et morbus defectus eſt ordinis:non omnis.nam ſi hoc ſit:neqꝫ morbus iſte
ſubſiſtet.manet autem & eſt morbus:ſubſtantiam habens minimū ordinē/
et in ipſo fere ſubſiſtēs.Nam quod eſt omnino expers boni:ipſum neqꝫ eſt/
neqꝫ inter ſubſtātias eſt.Quod autē mixtū eſt in rebus:boni cauſa ſecundū
id quoqꝫ inter ſubſtātias eſt/atqꝫ ſubſiſtit inquātū eſt particeps boni.immo
vero quæ ſunt omnia:intantum magis/minuſve erunt/inquātum ad boni
conſortium accedunt.Nam & in eo quod eſſe ipſum eſt/quod nuſq̄ nulloqꝫ
modo eſt:ne erit quidem.quod autem alicubi eſt/alibi vero nō eſt:inquantum
quidem ab eo quod ſemper eſt decidit/non eſt.inquātum vero vt eſſet
accepit:intantum eſt.& eo ipſo/id totum quidquid ipſius eſt/et etiam quod
ipſius non eſt:tenetur atqꝫ ſeruatur.Nēpe malū id quidem quod bono penitus
excidit:neqꝫ inter magis/neqꝫ inter minus bona erit. quod autē alicubi
bonū/alibi non bonum eſt:aduerſatur quidē bono cuidam/non autē integro
& abſoluto bono.teneturqꝫ et ipſum participatione boni:ſubſtātiāqꝫ
addit bonū ipſum etiam priuationi ſuæ aliqua participatione ſui.Nam ſi
bonum prorſus abſcedat:neqꝫ omnino bonū erit/neqꝫ mixtum/neqꝫ ipſum
malum.Nam ſi malū/imperfectū eſt bonum:per vniuerſam abſentiā boni/
et imperfectū & perfectum aberit bonū.tuncqꝫ ſolum erit atqꝫ apparebit
malum:cū alijs quidem eſt malū quibus aduerſatur/ab alijs vero tanq̄ bonis
exceptū eſt.pugnare enim adinuicē eadem ſecundū eadem in omnibus:

Iterū malū in entibus non eſſe.

72 poſſibile non eſt.Non igitur ſubſtantia eſt malū.¶Sed neqꝫ eſt in ſubſtantijs/malū.
Nam ſi quæ ſubſiſtūt:omnia ex bono ſunt.& in omnibus ſubſtātijs
eſt:& omnia continet bonum.non igitur erit malū in ſubſtantijs:aut in
bono erit malum.Atqui in bono nō erit:quippe neqꝫ in igne frigidum eſt.
Neqꝫ quidem erit malū:eo ipſo ꝙ bonū efficit malū.ſi igitur erit:quomodo
erit in bono malum? Si quidē ex bono eſſe dicatur:ineptū ſimul id eſt et

F

impoſſibile,neqꝫ enim poteſt(ait veritas)arbor bona fructus malos facere:
neqꝫ item ecōuerſo.Si autem ex ipſo non eſt:ex alio profecto principio/et

G

alia ex cauſa erit ſi eſt.nam aut malū ex bono erit/aut ex malo bonum/aut
(ſi & idipſum poſſibile nō eſt)ex alio initio & cauſa erit et bonum & malū.
nulla enim dualitas:principiū eſt.vnitas vero:dualitatis erit initium.ac fieri
non poteſt:vt ex vno atqꝫ eodem duo penitus contraria prodeant/et vt ſit
ipſum principium non ſimplex & ſingulare:ſed diuiſum et præferens dualitatem/
73 contrariūqꝫ ſibi ipſi atqꝫ immutatū.¶Nempe neqꝫ duo rerum contraria
principia eſſe poſſibile eſt:& ea in ſe mutuo et in mūdo eſſe repugnātia.
Nam ſi hoc detur:erit deus quoqꝫ non exors difficultatis atqꝫ moleſtiæ:
ſi quidem ſit aliquid quod ipſum quoqꝫ perſtringat.deinde cuncta erunt
inordinata/ſemperqꝫ pugnantia:cum certe bonum ipſum/quæ ſunt omnia

H

amicitiæ fœdere copulauerit/ipſaqꝫ pax & pacis largitor celebratur a theologis
ſanctis.Quocirca & bona omnia amicitiæ nectuntur fœdere/ſibiqꝫ
cōſentiūt:vna ex vita progenita/atqꝫ ad vnum compacta bonū/& placida
atqꝫ ſimilia/& pari appellatione coniuncta.Itaqꝫ non eſt in deo malum:et

Ex deo nec in deo eſſe malum.

74 malum/diuinū non eſt.¶Sed neqꝫ eſt ex deo malum.aut enim bonus non
eſt:aut bona facit/& bona producit.neqꝫ aliquādo quidem atqꝫ aliqua:ali-

quando vero non/& non omnia.pateretur enim in hoc mutationem ac va-
rietatem etiam circa id quod eſt omniũ auguſtiſſimũ atq; cauſa.ſin autem
in deo bonũ ſubſtantia eſt/et in eo malũ:erit quidẽ tranſiens ex bono deus/
aliquando ens:aliquando vero non ens.Q; ſi participatione bonũ habet:
et ab alio habeat neceſſe eſt.ſicq; aliquando habebit:aliquando vero non.
Non igitur ex deo malum eſt/neq; in deo:neq; ſimpliciter/neq; ſecũdũ tem- 75

In angelis nõ eſſe malum.

pus.¶Sed ne in angelis quidem eſt malũ.Nam ſi enũciet diuinam bonita-
tem boni ſpeciem præferens angelus/illud per participationẽ exiſtens ſecũ-
do loco/quod ſecundũ cauſam eſt id quod enunciatur primo:imago dei eſt
angelus/manifeſtatio inuiſibilis lucis/ſpeculum purũ/lucidiſſimũ/nitidum/
incoinquinatũ/immaculatum.ſuſcipiens in ſe totam(ſi fas eſt dicere)pul-
chritudinẽ diuinæ ſpeciei preclare inſignitæ:& in ſeipſo ſyncære inſinuans
(vt poſſibile eſt)ſecretioris adytorum ſilentij bonitatem.itaq; neq; in ange-
lis eſt malum.An vero ideo ſunt mali:ꝙ puniant peccatores? Ea ratione et
qui peccãtes plectũt/mali erunt:et qui de ſacris ordinibus prophanos a di-
uinis myſterijs arcent.Atqui nõ plecti malum eſt:ſed dignũ ſupplicio fieri/
neq; pro merito ſacris arceri:ſed ſceleſtũ et prophanũ fieri/et indignũ qui 76

Dæmones natura malos nõ eſſe.

ad ſacramẽta admittatur.¶Sed neq; dæmones natura mali ſunt.Nã ſi ſũt
per naturam mali:neq; ex bono ſunt/neq; inter ſubſtantias ſunt.neq; item
ex bonis mutati:ſi per naturã ſẽperq; mali ſũt.deinde ſibi an alijs ſũt mali?
Si quidẽ ſibi:etiã ſeipſos perdũt.ſi autẽ alijs:quomodo corrũpũt? aut quid
corrũpunt:ſubſtantiã/an virtutẽ/aut operationẽ? Si ſubſtãtiã:primũ quidẽ
non vltra naturam.Nam quæ per naturã ſunt incorruptibilia/nequaq̃ cor-
rumpunt:ſed quæ corruptionẽ admittũt.Deinde ne iſtud quidẽ omnibus/
et omnino malũ eſt.ſed neq; quicq̃ corrũpitur ex ijs quæ ſunt/ inquãtum
ſubſtantia & natura eſt.ſed defectu naturalis ordinis/congruentiæ & com-
menſurationis infirmatur ratio:cum eodẽ modo manere debeat.infirmitas
vero:perfecta non eſt.nam ſi perfecta eſſet:& corruptionem perimeret/atq;
ſubiectum.eſſetq; huiuſmodi corruptio:ſuimet quoq; corruptio.atq; iſtiuſ-
modi nõ eſſet malum:ſed deficiẽs bonum.Nam quod omnino expers bo-
ni eſt:neq; inter ſubſtãtias erit.Eadem & de corruptione virtutis atq; ope- 77
rationis/ratio eſt.¶Deinde quonã modo dæmones a deo facti:mali ſunt?
bonum enim bona producit/& ſtatuit.Ac mali dicũtur/dixerit quiſpiam:
ſed non ſecũdum ꝙ ſunt.ex bono enim ſunt/bonamq; ſortiti ſubſtãtiam.
I ſed ex eo ꝙ non ſunt:ꝙ iuxta ſacra eloquia infirmati ſunt ad ſeruãdum ſu-

In dęmonibus malũ/neq; natura neq; vt quid exñs adeſſe.

um principatũ.In quo enim obſecro malos fieri dæmones dicimus:niſi in
vacatione diuinorũ bonorum habitus/atq; operationis? Præterea ſi natu-
ra mali ſunt dæmones:ſemper ergo mali.atqui malum:inſtabile eſt.itaq; ſi
ſemper eodẽ modo ſe habẽt:non ſunt mali.ſemper enim idẽ eſſe:boni pro-
prium eſt.Si autem non ſemper mali:non natura mali ſunt/ſed angelicorũ
bonorum indigentia.neq; tamen omnino exortes boni ſunt:quia & ſunt/et
viuunt/& intelligũt.eſtq; in eis quidã deſiderij motus.Mali vero eſſe dicũ-
tur:ꝙ circa naturalem operationẽ infirmentur.auerſio itaq; eſt illis malum/
ꝙ exciderint/potitiq; non ſint naturalibus bonis:imperfectioq; et imbecil-

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litas/& infirmitas/ac fuga & prolapſio virtutis conſeruantis eis inditā perfectionem.
78 ¶ Ad hæc/quidnā eſt in dæmonibus malū:furor irrationabilis/
demens concupiſcētia/imaginatio præceps atqꝫ proterua? Verū iſta quāq̄
in dæmonibus ſunt:non prorſus/neqꝫ in omnibus/neqꝫ ipſa ſecūdū ſe mala
ſūt. Nāqꝫ in alijs animātibus non iſta habere/ſed his carere:potius corruptio
eſt animātis & malum. ſicuti contra/his niti:ſaluat/& eſſe facit iſtis ſubnixam
animātis naturam. Non itaqꝫ mala eſt dæmonū gens/qua parte ſecundum
naturā eſt:ſed qua parte non eſt. Neqꝫ immutatū eſt/traditū illis
totum bonum:ſed ipſi dato ſibi toto bono exciderūt. neqꝫ indulta illis angelica
munera/immutata dicimus:verū ſunt & integra et lucidiſſima perſtāt.
licet ipſi non videāt occluſis ſcilicet viribus/quibus bona ſua intueri poſſint.
Itaqꝫ ꝙ ſunt:& ex bono ſunt/& boni ſunt/et pulchrū bonumqꝫ deſiderant.
vt ſint/& viuant/et intelligant quæ ſubſiſtunt:deſiderantes. cæterum priuatione
atqꝫ effugio/prolapſioneqꝫ conueniētiū eis bonorum:mali dicuntur.
et ſunt mali:in quo non ſunt. & quod non eſt/appetentes:malum profecto
79 deſiderāt. ¶ Ac animas quiſpiā eſſe dixerit malas:ſi quidem ideo quia attendunt/
inuigilantqꝫ malis/vt prouideāt atqꝫ ſaluent. hoc malum non eſt
ſed bonum/& ex bono proueniens:quod malum etiam efficit bonū. Et ſi
malas fieri animas dicimus:in quo fiunt malæ? niſi in bonarum qualitatū
operationumqꝫ defectu/atqꝫ proueniēte ex infirmitate propria priuatione/
ac prolapſione fruendi bonis ſuis. Nam & circūfuſum nobis aerem offundi
tenebris dicimus:defectu atqꝫ abſētia lucis. ipſa vero lux ſemper lux eſt:
quæ etiā illuminat tenebras. Itaqꝫ neqꝫ in dæmonibus neqꝫ in nobis eſt malum
quaſi exiſtens:ſed vt defectus ac deſertio cōſummationis propriorum
80 bonorum. ¶ Sed ne in mutis quidē animantibus eſt malum. Nam ſi ſuſtuleris
iram & concupiſcentiā et cætera quæ dicuntur (et non ſunt ſimpliciter
per ſui naturam) mala:leo fortitudine & ferocitate amiſſa/leo eſſe deſiſtet.
blandus item omnibus effectus canis:canis non erit. quippe latrare/canis
proprium eſt:& domeſticos admittere/alienoſqꝫ propellere. itaqꝫ naturam
non corrumpi:malum non eſt. naturæ vero corruptio:infirmitas eſt/ac
defectus naturalium qualitatum/& operationū atqꝫ virtutum. Et ſi cuncta
quæ naſcuntur/perficiūtur in tempore:ne imperfectū quidem omnino per
81 vniuerſam cōperias naturā. ¶ Sed neqꝫ in tota natura eſt malum. Si enim
omnes naturales rationes ab vniuerſali natura ducūtur:nichil eſt quod illi
aduerſetur. Porro ſingulari naturę partim ſecūdum naturā erit:partim nō.
eſt enim pręter naturā alij/aliud. et quod huic ſecūdum naturā:alteri præter
naturā eſt. naturæ vero vicium:quod præter naturā eſt/ipſaqꝫ priuatio naturalium.
Nō eſt itaqꝫ natura:mala. ſed hoc eſt naturæ malū:ꝙ naturæ ſuæ
82 propria nequit efficere. ¶ At enim ne in corporibus quidē eſt malū. fœditas
enim & morbus:defectus ſpeciei eſt/et priuatio ordinis. hoc vero non
vſquequaqꝫ malū:ſed minus pulchrum eſt. Nā ſi fiat omnino pulchritudinis
83 et ſpeciei/ordiniſqꝫ ſolutio:peribit ipſum quoqꝫ corpus. ¶ Qꝛ autē neqꝫ
maliciæ cauſa ſit corpus animæ/ex eo cōſtat:ꝙ etiam ſine corpore malicia
poſſit irrepere/ſicuti in dæmonibus. Eſt enī hoc/& ſpiritibus & animabus

Quid in dæmonibus malum.

K

In animabus nō eſſe malum vt qd exiſtēs.

Itidē neqꝫ in brutis animātibus malū eſſe.

In tota natura non eſſe malū.

In corporibus malum non eſſe.

L

Cap. 4 pars 4

Materia inq̃tū materia malum nō eſt:neqꝫ quidē in ea malum eſt.

et corporibus malū:ſi infirmētur/& excidāt bonorū ſuorum habitu. ¶Sed 84
ne in materia vulgatiſſimū quidem eſt(vt aiūt)malum:inq̃tum materia eſt.
Et ipſa enim:ad ornatus/& pulchritudinis/et ſpeciei accedit conſortium.Si
autem extra hæc materia exiſtēs/in ſeipſa qualitatem ſpeciemqꝫ deſiderat:
quo pacto facit aliquid materia/quæ nec vt pati poſſit ſecundum ſeipſam
habet? Præterea quomodo malum eſt materia? Nam ſi quidē nuſq̄ nulloqꝫ
pacto eſt:neqꝫ bonum profecto eſt/neqꝫ malū. Sin autem quomodolibet
eſt/et quæ ſunt omnia ex bono ſunt:& ipſa ex bono ſit neceſſe eſt.et aut bonum
mali efficiens erit/aut malum quaſi ex bono ſit:bonū erit.aut malum
erit efficiēs boni:ſiue etiam bonum(vt ex malo ductū)malum erit.aut duo
rurſus erunt principia:& hæc alio quodam dependentia capite atqꝫ principio.
Si autem aſſerunt materiam ad perfectionē mundi totius fuiſſe neceſſariam:
quomodo erit materia malum? aliud eſt enim malum: aliud neceſſarium.
Qua enim ratione:bonus ex malo aliqua ad generationem ducit?
aut quomodo malū bono neceſſarium? fugit ſane boni naturā:malū. Quomodo
item gignit ac nutrit naturā materia:ſi mala eſt? malum enim eo quo
malum eſt:nullius eſt gignens/aut nutriēs/aut omnino efficiens/aut ſeruās. 85
¶Qꝫ ſi dixerint ipſam quidem in animabus maliciā non facere/verum eas
attrahere:quomodo hoc verum erit? plurimæ namqꝫ ex his bonum intuentur.
at id qui fieri poſſet:ſi eas materia ad malum prorſus attraheret? Non
itaqꝫ ex materia malum animabus prouenit:ſed ex inordinato/& delinquente
motu. Si autem & hoc aſſerant omnino materiā ſequi/eſtqꝫ neceſſaria
inſtabilis materia ijs quæ in ſeipſis figi nō valent:quomodo malum eſt
neceſſarium/aut quomodo neceſſarium malum? At neqꝫ id quod dicimus
priuationē: viribus proprijs reluctatur bono. nam priuatio ſi vniuerſa ponitur:
viribus omnino deſtituitur.ſingularis vero/non ex eo ꝙ priuatio eſt/
vires habet:ſed quia priuatio perfecta non eſt.Nempe enim ſi priuatio boni
particularis ſit:non vſquequaqꝫ malū eſt.qua abeunte/ſimul & mali natura
diſcedit. ¶Atqꝫ vt paucis expediam/bonum ex vna & tota cauſa:malum 86
ex multis/particularibuſqꝫ proficiſcitur defectibus. ¶Nouit deus malum 87
vt bonū:atqꝫ apud ipſū malorū cauſæ/virtutes beneficæ ſunt. ¶Quod 88
ſi malum:ſempiternum eſt/et creat/& poteſt/et eſt/& agit:vnde ſibi iſta? an
ex bono/an bono ex malo/an vero ambobus ex cauſa alia? ¶Omne quod 89
ſecundum naturam eſt:ex definita naſcitur cauſa.ſi autem malum cauſa ac
definitione caret:ſecundum naturam nō eſt.Neqꝫ enim naturæ ineſt: quod
eſt præter naturam.neqꝫ inertiæ:in arte eſt ratio. ¶Num ergo anima/malorum 90
eſt cauſa:ſicuti calefaciēdi ignis? et omnia quibus ſe inſinuarit: malicia
replet? An vero bona eſt quidem animæ natura:operationes vero ſuas
aliquādo ſic peragit/aliquādo non ſic? Nempe ſi per naturā/eſt animæ mala
ſubſtātia:vnde illi ſubſtātia eſt? an ex cauſa illa bona:conditrice omniū?
M Sed ſi ex ea:quomodo per ſubſtātiā mala? Bona ſane ſūt ōnia:quæ ab illa
progenita ſūt. Sin autē per operationes:neqꝫ iſtud eſt immutabile.alioqui
vnde illi virtutes ineſſent:niſi boni hauſiſſet ſpeciē? Reſtat igitur vt malū:infirmitas 91
N ſit/atqꝫ a bono defectio. ¶Bonorū cauſa:vna eſt.& ſi bono malū

contrarium:mali cauſæ ſunt plurimæ.non tamen efficientes malorum/ra-
tiones atqꝫ virtutes:ſed impotentia/ & infirmitas/ & diſſimiliũ incongrua
permixtio.Neqꝫ vero immobilia & eodem modo ſe ſemper habentia/ma-
la ſunt:ſed infinita & indeterminata/ & in alijs aliter peruagantia/ & ipſis
92 quoqꝫ infinitis.¶Omniũ etiam malorũ initiũ & finis:bonũ erit. Boni eni
gratia/omnia ſunt:& quæqꝫ bona/ & quæqꝫ contraria.& hæc enim:appeti-
tu boni aggredimur.nemo etenim in malũ intuens:agit quæ operatur.Id-
circo neqꝫ ſubſtantia nititur malũ/ſed ſubſtantiæ ſimulacro:dũ boni gra-
93 tia/& non ſuiipſius geritur.¶Malo ſecundũ accidens eſt applicanda ſub-
ſtantia/& propter aliud:non ex initio proprio.vt quod cũ fit:rectum quidẽ
eſſe videatur/quia boni gratia fit.reuera autẽ rectum non ſit:quia quod bo
94 num non eſt/arbitramur bonũ.¶Oſtenſum eſt aliud eſſe quod expetitur: O
aliud vero quod agitur.Itaqꝫ malũ eſt præter viam/præter intentionẽ/prę-
ter naturã/præter cauſam/præter initiũ/ præter finem/ præter diffinitionẽ/
pręter voluntatem/præter ſubſtantiã.Eſt igitur malũ priuatio/ & defectio/
infirmitas/inconuenientia/atqꝫ fruſtratio:deſtinatione/pulchritudine/ vita/ P
ſeſu/ratiõe/perfectione/ac ſede/& cauſa priuatũ:indefinitum/infœcundum/
ocioſum/imbecillum/inordinatũ/diſſimile/infinitum/ tenebroſum/ carenſqꝫ
95 ſubſtantia:& ipſum nullo modo/nuſq̃ & nichil exiſtens.¶Quomodo po-
teſt omnino aliquid/malũ? Permixtione boni.quod enim boni prorſus ex-
pers eſt:neqꝫ eſt quicq̃/neqꝫ quicq̃ poteſt.Nã profecto ſi bonũ ſubſtãtia eſt:
& cõſilio/ac valentia/& actione præditũ: quomodo quod huic aduerſatur
aliquid poterit/ ſubſtantia/ prudentia/ virtute atqꝫ operatione priuatum?
96 ¶Non omnia omnibus/ & prorſus eadem ſecundum idem mala ſunt.ve-
rum dæmoni malum eſt:ꝙ boni ſpecie inſignẽ/ animum reppulit. animæ:
97 ꝙ a ratione defecit.corpori vero: ꝙ a natura deſciuit.¶Si prouidentia eſt:
quomodo omnino ſunt mala? Non eſt malum qua parte malum:neqꝫ ſub-
ſtantia/neqꝫ inter ſubſtantias.nichilqꝫ in rebus:prouidentiæ gubernatione
deſeritur. neqꝫ enim malum: ſubſtantia eſt conſpicua/ & in aperto in bono
ſubſiſtens.Et ſi nichil in rebus exiſtentibus boni participatione caret/malũ
vero eſt a bono defectio(nichil reuera in ſubſtantijs:bono vſquequaqꝫ pri-
uatum eſt) in omnibus quæ ſubſiſtunt: diuina prouidentia eſt/nichilqꝫ ex
ijs non prouidentia agitur.ſed ijs quoqꝫ qui fiunt mali: benigne prouidẽtia
vtitur ad illorum/ſiue aliorũ cõmunẽ/ſeu priuatã vtilitatẽ:& proprie cuiqꝫ
ſubſtantiæ prouidet.Ideo & abſurdam plane multorum rationem nõ ad-
mittimus:qui aſſerunt oportuiſſe prouidentiã inuitos etiam nos ad virtu-
tẽ ducere.Neqꝫ enim eſt prouidẽtię:violare naturã.Quocirca vt prouidẽtia
cuiuſqꝫ naturæ eſt ſeruatrix:eis quæ per ſe mouent̃(vt libero aguntur arbi-
trio)ꝓuidet.oĩbuſqꝫ & ſingulis ꝓprie:vt oĩm/ſingulorũqꝫ natura capit.& to
tius/ac vniuerſę prouidẽtiæ:pro modo cuiuſqꝫ ꝓuidẽtiſſimas bonitates im
98 partit.¶Nõ igitur eſt ſubſtantia malũ:neqꝫ eſt inter ſubſtãtias malũ.nuſq̃
enim malum eſt:qua parte malũ.& fieri malum:non virtutis/ſed infirmita-
tis eſt.Atqꝫ dæmonibus quod ſunt quidem: & ex bono ſimul & bonum
eſt.malum vero illis eſt: a proprijs bonis prolapſio/ atqꝫ defectio. & im-

Cap. 4 pars 4

mutatio identitatis atqꝫ habitus:infirmitas eſt (quæ illis conſentanea eſſe
debet)perfectionis angelicæ. atqꝫ expetunt bonũ:qua parte eſſe/& viuere/
& intelligere appetunt.& non appetunt bonũ:dum quod non eſt/appetũt.
Q neqꝫ eſt illud appetitio:ſed verę fruſtratio appetitionis.¶Eos autem in ſcientia 99
peccantes ſcriptura vocat: qui circa boni notionem haud eos latentem/
atqꝫ actionem infirmantur. & qui ſciunt voluntatem: & non faciunt.
qui audierunt quidem:ſed infirmantur circa fidem/aut operationem boni.
cum nolint quidam intelligere/vt bene faciant:ex peruerſione/ ſiue infirmitate
voluntatis.Prorſuſqꝫ malum eſt/vt ſæpe iam quoqꝫ diximus: infirmitas
& imbecillitas/ ac defectus: vel ſcientiæ/vel notionis/vel fidei/ vel appetitionis/ 100
vel operationis boni. ¶At dixerit quiſpiam/ non puniri meretur
infirmitas: ſed contra veniæ digna eſt.Nempe niſi licuiſſet obſiſtere:non
R ignaua eſſet ratio. Si autem bonum illud ſuppeditat vires (quod iuxta
ſcripturæ fidem: dat omnibus omnino congrua) laudandũ nõ eſt:ſi ex bonorum
noſtrorum habitu a ſummo permanente bono fruſtremur/ & auertamur/
S & effugiamus/atqꝫ decidamus per ignauiam noſtram. Sed hæc in
ijs quæ ſcripſimus de iuſtitia/iudicioqꝫ diuino:ſatis pro viribus dicta ſunt.
quo in ſacro opere: ſcripturæ veritas/ ſophiſticas & iniuſtitiã/ac mendacium
contra deum loquentes rationes: vt ſtolidas omnino confutauit/ 101
& reppulit. ¶ Nunc autem pro captu noſtro ſatis laudatum eſt bonum:
vt vere admirandum/vt principium omnium ac finis/vt quod cõtineat omnia.
vt ſpeciem ijs faciens quæ non ſunt: vt bonorum omnium cauſa/ vt
malorum non cauſa. vt prouidentia & abſoluta bonitas: & quæ ſunt/ &
quæ non ſunt omnia ſuperans.& mala ſecũdum boni priuationem:in bonum
conuertens.omnibus expetendum/ & amabile/ac diligibile:& quæqꝫ
alia in ſuperioribus verax(vt reor)oratio demonſtrauit.

Liber de iuſto diuinoqꝫ iudicio.

C ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Atqui dixerit quiſpiam:ſi omnibus & pulchrũ &
bonum/amabile eſt.Hactenus ex amatorijs diuini Hierothei hymnis dictum ſit:hic vero
propriam beatus pater reſumit determinationem. Et hoc in loco per opacam tenebrarum
ſiluam venatur malum:& epicherematis/& ſyllogiſmis omni ex angulo extrudit/
explodit/confodit:omnes ſentes in quibus habitare videatur vellicans. Et primum
queſtiunculas quaſdam (quas ferme facere ſolent ipſius mali & ſuæ noctis defenſores)
1 præmouet/quaſi defenſorias partes agẽs. ¶Prima queſtio. Quomodo dæmonũ turba:
pulchrũ/ac bonũ non deſiderat/ſed ſibi & alijs omnium malorum cauſa eſt:ſi omnibus
2 pulchrũ/& bonum:amabile/deſiderabile/ac diligibile eſt? ¶Secũda.quo pacto dæmonica
3 gens/dæmonũq; turba:cũ ex bono proceſſerit/nequaq̃ boni ſpeciẽ præfert? ¶Tertia.
4 quomodo bona ex bono facta/mutata eſt:& quid eã efficit malã? ¶Quarta.quid omnino
5 malũ eſt?ex quo & in quo ſubſiſtit? ¶Quinta. qua ratione ille qui ſumme bonus
6 eſt:ipſum producere voluit?& ſi voluit:quo modo potuit? ¶Sexta.ſi alia ex cauſa pendet
7 malum:quęnam ea cauſa præter ſummũ bonum eſt? ¶Septima. quo modo ſi prouidentia
8 eſt:malũ eſt aut fit/& quo modo non tollitur? ¶Octaua.quomodo aliquid eorũ
quæ ſunt/malũ deſiderat:omiſſo boni deſiderio?Et alias pleraſqꝫ infra mouebit. quarũ
quidẽ & harũ ſenticoſis nodis/diuina luce radiatus beatus pater (ſuperata ſophiſtica
ſphynge/& multicipite echidna) diſſolutis:noctis victor euadet.Et operępreciũ eſt videre
boni & pulchri militẽ:malũ boni & pulchri hoſtẽ aggredientẽ/& velut latis appetentem
venabulis:omni ex latibulo prodẽtem/ineluctabiliter vrgentẽ/extrudentẽ/buccinantemqꝫ
tandem(victo malo)boni pulchriq; victoriam. Et gaudet mens pia non tam
de inuentione mali(quod in priuatione/de lucis et entiũ regione profugũ/fragile/ infirmũ/
miſerũ:latitare deprehenſum eſt) q̃ de victoria boni et pulchri. Et victori deo gra-

tias agit: ꝙ non in tenebris sed in luce eã statuerit/ꝙq; ad horrẽdas & multiplices pri=
uationũ tenebras & nõ entium(ipso sustinente)lapsa non sit: aut lapsam sua benignita=
te rursum erexerit. Sed audite iã diuinũ patrẽ: singula quæq; magna dignitate persequẽ
tem. ¶Est quidẽ in bono: & quod non est substãtia. Quod non est substantia: quod non D
est simpliciter ens/ vt materia. & sensibilia supramundanis cõparata: etiã nõ entia dicũ=
tur. ¶In alijs quidẽ omnibus iã aliquanto labessẽte neq; omnino indito habitu. Omnia E
alia a supereminẽte illa substantia quæ deus est: subsistunt quidẽ/ iã non nichil labesseri=
te & non omnino indito substantiæ habitu. hoc est subsistunt: ab illa sũma entitate & en
titatis plenitudine deficientia. verũtamen hic defectus & hæc plenitudinis substãtię ab=
sentia/ non proprie malũ diceretur: ꝙ non sit eorũ bonorũ priuatio quæ illis secũdũ eo=
rũ naturã debentur. immo vero vnũquodq; quantũ sua natura capax est: & entitate &
bonitate plenũ est/ nisi alieno errore/ naturæ pendeat peruersitas: vnde malũ & sui bo=
ni priuatio irrepat. A bono enim(vt neq; a lumine tenebræ: & a calore rigor) malũ non
est. & aliunde/ & alienum est. & proinde sacra scriptura dicit. ab alienis parce seruo tuo. Psal.18.
¶Neq; enim potest(ait veritas) arbor bona fructus malos facere: neq; itẽ ecõuerso. Mat F
thęus cap. septimo. Nunquid colligũt de spinis vuas: aut de tribulis ficus? Sic omnis ar
bor bona fructus bonos facit: mala autẽ arbor malos fructus facit. Nõ potest autẽ arbor
mala bonos fructus facere: neq; arbor bona malos fructus facere. ¶Nam aut malum ex G
bono erit: aut ex malo bonũ. Si ponimus & bona & mala esse/ et ex eodẽ pendere prin=
cipio: si principiũ id bonũ est/ proculdubio ex bono malũ erit. & si principium malũ esse
ponitur: & bonum quoq; ex malo erit. At id quidẽ vtrumq;/ impossibile. nam neq; bona
arbor malum fructũ: neq; mala bonũ facit. Et si omniũ bonorum vnũ est principiũ/ ma=
lorũ autem alterũ est: iam cum duo sint/ vt principiũ habeant necesse est. binarius enim
principium esse non potest: sed ante binarium/ natura et est et intelligitur monas prin=
ceps. Sed id rursus impossibile. nã id quatenus bona produceret: bonũ esse intelligeret:
et quatenus mala: malũ/ diuiduũq; esset. neq; fieri vllo pacto potest: vt ab eodem et sim
plicissimo et immutabili fonte tam varia prodeant/ bonũ dico et omnino malũ. vt neq;
ab eodẽ sensibili et immutato fonte: liquor dulcissimus pariter et amaricatissimus pro=
fluere. et ab eodẽ lucidissimo corpore: insignis et vndiquaq; exuberans lucis effusio/ et
densissimæ tenebræ. ¶Ipsaq; pax et pacis largitor celebratur a theologis. Vt pax enim H
celebratur: cum ad Ephesios cap. secundo dicitur. Ipse est pax nostra: qui fecit vtraq;
vnum. Vt deus pacis: frequenter. Epistola ad Hebræos capite decimo tertio. Deus autẽ
pacis(qui eduxit de mortuis pastorẽ magnum ouiũ/ in sanguine testamenti æterni dñm
nostrũ IHESVM CHRISTVM) aptet vos in omni bono: vt faciatis eius voluntatẽ. Et
ad Romanos & Corinthios similiter. Vt pacis largitor. Ioannes capite decimo quarto.
Pacem relinquo vobis: pacem meã do vobis. non quomodo mũdus dat: ego do vobis.
¶Qz iuxta sacra eloquia infirmati sunt ad seruandum suum principatũ. Epistola Iudæ I
cap. primo. Angelos vero qui non seruauerunt suum principatum/ sed dereliquerũt suũ
domicilium: in iudicium magni dei vinculis æternis sub caligine reseruauit. ¶Siquidẽ K
ideo quia attendũt/ inuigilantq; malis: vt prouideãt/ atq; saluent. Ferme tota et attentis
sima cura animarũ in legibus ponendis/ et eorum qui in actiua vita et rebus gerundis
versantur: est vt aduersus mala solicite prouideant/ et ab illis liberẽt et saluent. et id qui=
dem: malum non est. Veruntamen primum præcipuumq; eorum propositum/ et prima
intentio esse debet: vt homines ad diuinæ vitæ effigiẽ dirigant/ et secundum diuina ex=
emplaria/ quæ bonæ sunt dei voluntates. vt capite sequenti ex beatissimo patre cogno=
scetur. Prima enim & præcipua agricolæ cura & intẽtio est/ ad annonæ necessitatẽ opor
tuna fruges: non nocentium herbarum radicitus euulsio. attamẽ fieri non potest vt red
datur fertilis ager: nisi fiat solicita huiuscemodi fertilitati aduersantiũ herbarũ extirpa=
tio. Ita quoq; neq; respublica virtutum ad deiformem vitam referet fructum: nisi solici=
ta fiat malis eradicandis inuigilatio. ¶Qz etiam sine corpore malicia possit irrepere. L
Dæmones sine corpore esse: hic ex beato patre habes. Idem ex beato Ignatio: cuius
epistolæ/ diuini patris operibus adijcientur. Ex domino item saluatore nostro/ sapi=
entia/ & veritate. Lucæ capite vicesimo quarto. Stetit IHESVS in medio eorum:
& dixit/ pax vobis. Ego sum: nolite timere. Conturbati vero & conterriti: existima=
bant se spiritum videre. & dixit eis. quid turbati estis et cogitationes ascendunt in
corda vestra? Videte manus meas & pedes: quia ego ipse sum. palpate & videte quia

ſpiritus carnē & oſſa nō habet: ſicut me videtis habere. Et ſi ſtatuis inſunt/ ſi arreptitiorū
corpora neqꝫ clauſi neqꝫ excluſi occupant: quis nō perceperit naturali ratione effectū
eſſe, corporeos nō eſſe: quādoquidē ea quæ corporea mole obruta ſunt: ſe nequeāt vlla
ratione/ natura occupare. At vero tā bonorum āgelorum intimas inſinuationes (ſeu cōpræhenſiones/
ſeu inſilitiones/ occupationeſve benignas dicamus) q̄ malorum eſſe maleficas:
1.regū.16. quas nunc arreptiones/ nunc inuaſiones dicunt (inuaſit inquit ſpiritus dei malus
Saul) ſacræ litteræ indubitatā fidē præſtāt. Eſtqꝫ aīa cū a bono cōpræhēditur āgelo/
perſimilis vitreæ pilæ in aeris medio pendulę. bonus autē angelus: infuſo & circūfuſo lumini.
& malus angelus (vbi inuadit) eſt infuſæ & circūfuſę horrētes tenebræ. Et ſuſpicari
& credere dęmonas corporeos eſſe: gentilitiū eſt/ et eorum qui ſe potius gētiles & Platonicos:
q̄ Chriſtianos dici malunt. Sed neqꝫ Plato (dum vixit: veritatis q̄tum aſſequi valuit/
amicus) eorum mēdacia probabit/ neqꝫ refrigerium eorum animę dabit: neqꝫ dęmones
ipſi quicq̄ ſuos pręcones leuabunt. CHRISTVS enim ſolus refrigerium eſt animarum
noſtrarum/ & vita æterna in ſe credētium: qui faciat oro vt reſipiſcāt (& talia queqꝫ
tenues vaneſcāt in auras) ſi qui erūt illa vanitate luſi. Illiqꝫ proſtrato corde: CHRISTO
Pſal.118. domino authori vitę liberati concinant. narrauerunt michi iniqui fabulationes: ſed nō
Pſal.11. vt lex tua. q̄ dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua: ſuper mel ori meo. Eloquia dn̄i eloquia caſta:
Pſal.17. argētum igne examinatum/ probatum terræ/ purgatum ſeptuplum. Eloquia domini
M igne examinata: protector eſt ōnium ſperantium in ſe. ¶Bona ſane ſunt omnia: quæ ab
illo progenita ſunt. Geneſis cap. primo. Vidit deus cuncta quæ fecerat: & erāt valde bona.
N ¶Et ſi bono malum cōtrarium: mali cauſæ ſunt plurimæ. Si cōtrarium/ ſi prorſus oppoſito
ſeſe habēs modo: multæ mali erunt cauſæ/ cum bonorū vna ſit cauſa. vt vel in
O hoc/ malum bono contrarium & diſſimile ſit. ¶Oſtenſum eſt aliud eſſe quod expetitur:
aliud vero quod agitur. Oſtēſū eſt: paulo ante. nā quod expetitur/ & nos natura mouet:
P bonū eſt. quod autē agitur: propter ignorātiā plerūqꝫ malū/ & lapſū eſt. ¶Deſtinatione
pulchritudine/ vita/ ſenſu. Deſtinatione: intentione/ propoſito & ſigno ad quod vere dirigat̄.
Q Et huius vocabuli deſtinatio: varius eſt iterpretis nūc hic/ nūc alibi vſus. ¶Eos
aūt in ſciētia peccātes ſcriptura vocat. Lucas cap. duodecimo. Quis putas eſt fidelis diſpenſator
& prudens: quē cōſtituit dn̄s ſupra familiā ſuā/ vt det illis in tēpore tritici menſurā:
beatus ille ſeruus: quē cū venerit dn̄s/ īuenerit ita facientē. Vere dico vobis: quoniā
ſuper ōnia quæ poſſidet conſtituet illū. Qꝫ ſi dixerit ſeruus ille in corde ſuo/ morā facit
dn̄s meus venire: & cœperit percutere ſeruos & ancillas/ & edere & bibere & inebriari:
veniet dn̄s ſerui illius in die qua nō ſperat/ & hora qua neſcit/ & diuidet eū/ partemqꝫ
eius cū infidelibus ponet. Ille autē ſeruus qui cognouit volūtatē dn̄i/ & nō ſe præparauit/
& nō fecit ſecundū voluntatē eius: vapulabit multis. qui autē non cognouit/ & fecit
digna plagis: vapulabit paucis. Et de eiſdē qui in ſciētia peccāt & circa boni notionem
haud latentē infirmantur: pſalmus triceſimus quintus. Dixit iniuſtus vt delinquat in ſemetipſo:
nō eſt timor dei āte oculos eius. quoniā doloſe egit in cōſpectu eius: vt inueniatur
iniquitas eius ad odiū. verba oris eius iniquitas & dolus: noluit intelligere vt bene
R ageret. ¶Qđ iuxta ſcripturæ fidē dat oībus oīno cōgrua. Epiſtola Iacobi cap. primo. Si
quis autē veſtrū indiget ſapientia: poſtulet a deo qui dat omnibus affluenter/ & nō improperat.
S & dabitur ei. ¶Sed hæc in ijs quæ ſcripſimus de iuſtitia/ iudicioqꝫ diuino. Liber
de iuſto/ diuinoqꝫ iudicio: nō habetur. deus iuſtꝰ ſæculorū iudex vt reſtituat tribuat.

¶QVARTE PARTIS QVARTI CAP. COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM 65

PRoſequitur & hoc loco ſacer Dionyſiꝰ verba diuini Hierothei de amoris excellētia & dignitate: quibus omnes amoris vires & multiplices formas in vnā ſimplicē virtutē amatoriam coadunat. Supradictas (inquit) duas amoris vires quarū modo facta eſt mentio/ par atqꝫ rationabile eſt in vnū colligere/ atqꝫ id animaduertere/ ꝙ vna quędā eſt ſimplex virtus amatoria ſeipſam abſolute mouēs ad vnitiuā quandā oīm ad ſe cōnexionē: ex ſūmo bono per intermedia oīa ad poſtremā vſqꝫ & infimā rerū ſubſtātiā pertingens. a qua reciproco motu iterū per omnia rerū genera: ad ipſum ſumme bonū remeat. Virtus inquā diuina/ irrequieta circuitione & infatigabili/ ex ſeipſa vt termino inchoationis huius intellectualis circuitionis: & per ſeipſā vt ſpaciū intelligibile per quod circūfertur/ & in ſeipſa vt ābitu & ſpacio talis giratiōis a quo nuſq̄ digredit̄: ſeipſā circuit/ ambit & circūuoluitur. quoniā ſua amatoria bonitate ſeipſam mouet ad omnia: atq; ex omnibus in ſeipſā eodē ſemper & indemutabili modo regreditur. 66 ¶Hactenus diuini Hierothei verba adducta ſūt. Nūc repetit beatus pater ꝓpriā determinationē: mouens primo dubitationē occaſione ſupradictorum exortam. Dictū enim eſt ſuperius: ꝙ pulchrum & bonū/ omnibus eſt amabile/ deſiderabile & diligibile. nam & id quod nō eſt/ etiā ipſum bonū & pulchrū deſiderat: & in ipſo eſſe ſubſiſtereq; laborat per illius participationē ad quā inclinatur. Ipſum itidē pulchrū et bonū eſt: quod venuſtatē et formā etiā informibus et natiuo decore deſtitutis pręſtat. et id quoq; quod nō eſt: ſuperſubſtantialiter in ipſo pulchro et bono eſſe dicitur/ ꝙ nō ſecundū ſubſtantiā et rē ſed aptitudinē ſolā naturaliter inclinatur: vt eius euadat particeps. aut de eo quod per ſupereminentiā nō eſt/ id accipiatur: quod haud dubie ſuperſubſtantialiter pulchrū eſt et bonū. Quomodo igitur dęmonica turba: ipſū pulchrū et bonū nō deſiderat: ſed ab illius deſiderio ad malitiæ appetētiā eſt prolapſa? Nēpe ipſa rerum materialiū cupiditati addicta: vt honorū ab hoibus exhibitorū illis et ſacrificiorū/ delapſaq; ab angelica perfectione et firmitate circa id quod vere bonū eſt expetēdū: dicitur eſſe oim malorū cauſa et ſibiipſi et alijs omnibus/ qui malitiæ manus victas dederunt et ſuccubuerūt. Quo etiā modo cum ex bono principio ad eſſe deducta ſit dęmonū turba: ipſius boni effigiē nequaq̄ in ſe gerit & exprimit? Aut quomodo eadē cohors/ bona primū creata & a bono authore: mutata eſt in deterius? & quid eſt quod eā efficit malā/ atq; malitiæ affixā? Quinimmo & id interrogatione hic dignū cēſetur: quidnā eſt malū/ & ex quo principio ac primo authore malū ſubſiſtit: & in qua rerū ſubſiſtentiū tanq̄ ſuo ſubiecto eſt? Inſuper qua ratiōe deus ipſe qui ſumme bonus eſt: malū ipſū producere voluit? aut ſi voluit illud producere: quomodo id potuit? cū nequaq̄ poſſit contrariū vnū producere ſuū cōtrariū: vt neq; calor frigiditatē. Qꝫ ſi ex aliqua alia cauſa q̄ ex ipſo ſumme bono dicitur eſſe malū: quænā alia poſſet rebus ſubſiſtētibus præter ſummū bonū aſſignari cauſa? nulla profecto: nā ipſum ōnibus author eſt. Deniq; cū diuina ſit prouidētia hūc mūdū ſapientiſſime gubernās: quomodo malū hic locū habet aut cōmittitur? aut quo pacto ipſū hinc non tollitur? & qui id fit vt aliquid ex ijs quæ ſunt deſideret ipſū malū: omiſſo 67 boni deſiderio/ quo ſuperius teneri dicta ſunt oia? ¶Iſtis dubitationibus reſpondet ſacratiſſimus pater in toto hoc capite: ample/ copioſe & diffuſe. Poteſt (inquit) quiſpiā iſta quæ modo propoſita ſunt obijcere: & hiſce dubitationibus non irrationabiliter moueri. Verū orandus eſt ille: vt ſyncęrā rerū veritatē attētius inſpiciat/ & ſolerti indagine perquirat. Et primo loco illud cōfidenter aſſerendū: ꝙ malū nequaq̄ ex bono eſt tanq̄ productiuo principio. & ſi quicq̄ ex bono eſt: protinus conſequēs eſt id malū nō eſſe. Neq; enim propriū eſt ignis: inducere frigiditatē. neq; boni propriū eſt: producere nō bona. & quęcunq; in rerū natura ſubſiſtūt: oia ex bono vt ſuo authore ſunt. Ipſi enim bono natura eſt: producere atq; ſeruare. malo vero natura eſt: e diuerſo corrūpere & deſtruere. Nulla igitur ſubſtantia eſt ex malo: vt productiuo principio. Neq; etiā ex malo ipſū erit malū: tanq̄ authore & cauſa. nā malū ipſū etiā ſibi ipſi eſſet malū & pernicioſū: ſuiq; ipſius deſtructiuū. cū propriū ſit mali: corrūpere & deſtruere. quomodo ergo alterū ex ſe producet malū? cū productio rei cuiuſpiam/ ita aduerſetur malo: ſicut luminis effuſio tenebris. Qꝫ ſi quis dicat ipſū malū ſibi ipſi nō eſſe malū: nō erit igitur illud ōnino malū/ ſed aliquā boni habebit portionē & particulā/ ſecundū quam ſibi ipſi erit vtile & accommodū/ ſuiq; cōſeruatiuū. Rurſum cū quæcūq; ſunt: omnia pulchrum & bonū deſiderent. & cuncta quæ faciunt: propter id quod eis apparet bonū faciūt. & omnis ſubſtantiæ ad aliquod opus determinatio & deſignatio: habet ipſum bonū vt ſuæ operationis principiū/ itidē & finē vltimum. quādoquidē nichil in rerū natura/ ſolā habens mali rationē & illiꝰ attendens naturam: ſua facit opera aut mouetur in actionem. quomodo igitur malum erit de numero eorum quæ ſunt/ & rerum ſubſiſtentium? aut quomodo malum eſt ſubſiſtens: cū ſit naturali appetitu & deſiderio boni deſtitutum? Et cum quæcunq; ſunt: omnia ex bono ſint/ & bonum ipſum ſuperſubſtātiale oia ſubſiſtētia eminēter ſuperet: etiā & id quod non eſt ſubſiſtēs/ natū tamen ſubſiſtere/ eſt in ipſo bono per aptitudinem participationis. Malū verū neq; ſubſtantia eſt: quia tunc non eſſet omnino malum/ ſed aliquam haberet boni participationē ex eo ꝙ ſubſiſteret. neq; etiā malū eſt nō ſubſtātia. nā nichil eſt quod omnino eſt non ſubſtātia/ per ſubſiſtendi priuationē: niſi illud in ſummo bono eſſe dicatur per ſubſtantiæ ſuperexceſſum atq; ſuperſubſtantialiter/ vt ſępius ante dictū eſt. nō enim eſt tale in ſumme bono per ſubſiſtendi actū/ cū necdū ſubſiſtat: ſed ſu

periore quodã modo atq; gradu/ſcilicet per diuinã rationẽ/etiã ea quæ nõ ſunt in ſe cauſaliter
præhabentẽ. Quare bonũ ipſũ longe prius eſt & antiquius:& eo quod ſimpliciter
eſt/& etiã eo quod nõ eſt ſed eſſe natũ eſt. ſublimiuſq; collocatũ eſt ipſum bonũ: q̃ vtrũq;
iſtorũ. Malũ vero neq; inter ea quæ ſunt locũ habet & ſedẽ: neq; inter ea quæ non ſunt.
ſed alienũ magis eſt a bono q̃ idipſum quod nõ eſt/ atq; multo a ſubſtantia diſtantius. 68
❡Obiectiones deinde ponit aduerſariorũ: contendentiũ oſtẽdere ꝙ ſit malum. Si (inquiunt)
inter ſubſtantias non eſt malũ/ vt modo oſtenſum eſt: vnde ergo originẽ habebit
malũ? Niſi enim ponatur malũ eſſe: virtus & viciũ/ idẽ erit. nã viciũ tunc erit bonũ:
cũ per hypotheſim nullum erit malũ. quare viciũ/hoc ipſum erit quod virtus: quę etiã
eſt bonũ. & oĩs ac tota virtus oẽm cõplectens virtutis ſpeciẽ: hoc ipſũ erit/quod tota vicioſitas/
oẽs cõpræhendẽs viciorũ partes. et quę particularis eſt et ſpecialis virtus/vt fortitudo/
tẽperãtia aut liberalitas: hoc idẽ erit quod viciũ particulare/timiditas/intẽperantia
aut illiberalitas. aut neq; id quod virtuti aduerſatur/erit malũ: cũ nullũ tũc prorſus
in rebus eſſet malũ. Id autem: manifeſte falſum eſt. quia contraria caſtitati luxuria eſt:
quæ vicio datur/ et iuſtitiæ contraria eſt iniuſtitia: quæ merito damnatur. Neq; dicere
quiſpiã recte poſſet: iuſtũ et iniuſtũ idem eſſe/caſtũ ſimiliter et luxurioſum eſſe idẽ/cũ rationes
habeãt inter ſe pugnantes. Quinimmo & anteq̃ appareat in propatulo & operibus
exterioribus virtutis aduerſus malitiã cõtrarietas: in ipſa multo prius anima & interiori
habitu/omnino diſſident a virtutibus vicia/& perturbationes appetitus ſenſitiui cõtra
rationẽ rebelles inſurgunt. atq; ex huinſmodi rebellionibus & pugnis: neceſſe eſt dare
malũ aliquod bono contrariũ. Neq; enim bonũ: ſibiipſi cõtrariari ponendũ eſt. ſed veluti
ex vno principio/vnaq; productrice bonorũ omniũ cauſa progenitũ: ſocietate cum
quouis alio bono/cõiunctioneq; & amicitia gaudet. Neq; etiã minus bonũ: maiori bono
cõtrariũ eſt. quia nec minus calidũ/amplius calido aduerſatur: nec remiſſius frigidũ/magis
frigido. Eſt igitur malũ inter ſubſtãtias atq; ſubſiſtit: ipſiq; bono aduerſatur ac oppoſitũ
eſt. Qꝫ autẽ corruptio ipſis cõueniat ſubſtantijs/ſuſtineantq; ſubſtãtiæ ipſæ corruptionẽ:
nõ id excludit a rerũ ſubſiſtentiũ numero/ ipſũ malũ. ſed eo ipſo potius erit ipſum
quoq; malũ ſubſtantia: & ſubſtantias producẽs. Nẽpe plerũq; cũ vnius rei fit corruptio:
ſimul alterius rei fit generatio. corruptio autẽ fit a malo: quare & illi cõiuncta generatio
etiã a malo proficiſcetur. eritq; malũ ad totius mundi perfectionẽ cõferẽs: cum res ipſas
deducat ad ortũ. præſtabitq; malũ ſua virtute ipſi vniuerſo: ne ſit imperfectũ. quia per 69
rerũ generationẽ quã efficiet: tollet ab vniuerſo imperfectionẽ. ❡His obiectionibus reſpondet
beatus pater. ꝙ malũ ea ratione & parte qua malũ eſt: nullã prorſus ſubſtantiã
gignit/aut generationem facit. ſed ſolum violat & corrũpit/quantũ in ipſo eſt: ſubſtãtiã
rerũ. Qꝫ ſi quis dicat ipſum malũ eſſe cauſã generationis/quia per vnius rei corruptionẽ:
alteri rei quæ ſimul oritur/generationẽ præſtet. vt cũ corrũpitur lignũ: ſimul gignit
ignis. Reſpondendũ illi eſt ſecundum veritatẽ/ꝙ non qua parte corrũpit malum: tribuit
generationem. non enim ſecundum eandem prorſus rationẽ corrũpere poſſet & generare:
cũ ſint oppoſita. Sed qua parte malũ eſt & corruptio: corrumpit/violat/ac deſtruit
ſolũ. generatio vero atq; ſubſiſtentia rerũ: propter bonũ atq; ex bono prouenit. Et malũ
quidẽ ex ſe atq; per ſe: eſt corruptio. generationẽ autẽ efficiet: propter bonum illi cõiunctum.
Et qua parte malũ eſt: neq; ſubſtãtia eſt/neq; ſubſtantiã efficiens. propter bonum
autem & ſubſtantiam illi pariter coniunctam: bonum erit & efficiens bona. Quinimmo
neq; idem in eodem erit bonum & malum: cum aduerſanter & contrarie illa ſe habeãt.
neq; eadem virtus ſecundum idem erit corruptio & generatio/aut amborũ effectiua: cũ
ſint inter ſe contraria. Neq; ipſa virtus/atq; per ſe virtus: erit malum. cum ea ſit abſolutum
bonũ. neq; itidem ipſa corruptio ſiue per ſe corruptio erit ipſum malũ. nã ſi ipſa eſſet
abſolutũ malũ: haud dubie eſſet ſummo bono contrariũ/ eſſentq; duo principia prima
rerũ: vnũ bonorũ & alterũ malorũ/quod eſt abſurdum. Et ſane ipſũ malũ quatenus
tale: neq; ſubſtãtia eſt neq; bonũ neq; generãs/neq; ſubſiſtentiũ rerũ aut bonorum effectiuũ.
Bonũ vero ediuerſo quibuſcunq; perfecta participatiõe ſe cõmunicauerit: ꝑfecta
facit & imꝑmixta malo/atq; ĩtegra bona. quæ vero minus ipſi bono participãt ex naturę
ſuæ cõditione: aliquãtulũ a bono deficiũt/& ĩperfecta ſũt ac mixta bona/aliquã boni priuationẽ
ſuſtinẽtia. vt plãtæ & inanima. At vero quod oĩno malũ eſt: neq; bonũ eſt neq;
beneficum alijs. ſed quod inter ſubſiſtentia magis aut minus appropinquat bono per
maiorẽ aut minorẽ illius participationem: pro modo & gradu ſuo erit aut magis aut mi-

nus bonū. Perinde atq; magis propinquans lucido corpori: reſplendet clarius. quod vero diſtãtius eſt ab eo: minori impletur claritate. Siquidē diuina bonitas omnia permeãs: nõ eas ſolū attingit angelicas cœleſteſq; ſubſtãtias quæ circa ſe ſunt/ eximia bonitate refertas: verū etiã & ad poſtremas vſq; ſubſtãtias rerū & infimas penetrat. Et nonnullis ſubſtãtijs õnino & perfectiſſima ſui cõmunicatione præſens eſt: vt angelis. alijs vero inferiore modo & minori bonorum elargitione adeſt: vt hominibus & brutis animãtibus. Alijs vero infimo & poſtremo modo præſens eſt: vt quibus elargitur exiguã ſui participationē/ qualia ſunt inanimata. Singulis autē præſens eſt: vt ipſa capere poſſunt & percipere perfectæ bonitatis conſortiū. Idcirco aliqua ex ſubſiſtentibus omnino participant ipſi bono: vt angelicorū ſpirituū agmina. aliqua vero magis/ & aliqua minus ipſo bono priuata ſunt. vt hoīes ãplius illi participant q̃ bruta/ & bruta q̃ plãtæ. aliqua vero admodū exiguã habent boni participationem: vt inanimata cæteris natura præſtantiora/ corpora cœleſtia/ ignis/ aer/ aqua. Demū alijs poſtremo & īfimo loco adeſt bonū vt omniū abiectiſſimis: quēadmodū terræ/ & materiæ rerū. Niſi enim pro cuiuſq; ſubſiſtētiū captu ipſis adeſſet ipſum bonū: perfectiſſima & præſtantiſſima entiū genera/ ipſorū poſtremorū & nouiſſimorū tenerēt locū/ gradū & ordinē. vt angeli/ ipſius terræ. nã cum æqualiter ipſi bono participarent: ęquã etiã inter ſe ſortirentur & parē naturæ ſortē ac cõditionē/ quo nichil abſurdius. Sed quomodo id fieri poſſet vt oīa ſubſiſtentia ipſi bono/ vno eodēq; modo participarent: cū nõ ſint omnia idonea vt ad perfectiſſimã eius participationē prouehantur? ſicut nec oculi oēs animaliū apti: vt clariſſimã ſolis in ſe effulgentiam percipiant. At vero nūc iſta eſt excellēs magnitudo diuinæ bonitatis: ꝙ etiã ea quę ipſo bono partim priuata ſunt ſuſtētat & fulcit. quinīmo & ſuiipſius cõtinet ac ſaluat priuationē: vt ea paulatim abiecta/ ipſa integre & plene ad ipſius ſumme boni participationē perducantur. quēadmodū rudes adhuc puerorū animos ſciētiæ & virtutis expertes cõſeruat ipſa dei bonitas in ſua pro ętatis illius ſtatu/ ruditate: vt demū per ſacrarū rerū notiones & virtutis habitū/ perfectius deo participēt. Immo cõfidētius & illud pro veritatis aſſertione eſt pronūciãdū: ꝙ ea quæ ipſi ſummo bono moribus & actibus ſuis improbis repugnant/ vt dæmones & illorū ęmuli homines: ipſius etiã virtute continēte & ſūt & repugnare poſſunt. Niſi enim illa cõſeruaret in eſſe/ & ſineret obluctari ſuæ bonitati: neq; profecto eſſent neq; repugnare poſſent. In quo ſane admiranda dei benignitas magnopere eſt attendēda: ꝙ eos qui ſuæ bonitati pro viribus contranituntur/ & erigūt ſe inſolēter ac ſuperbe cõtra omnipotentē ipſius maieſtatem: tolerat æquanimiter & conſeruatrice ſua virtute fulcit ne intereãt/ quos poſſet in momento ad nichilum deducere. 70 Permittit itē eos irritis & improbis conatibus repugnare potētificę ſuę virtuti ac bonitati: quorū praua molimina poſſet et impedire/ & diſſipare ac deſtruere.

¶ Declarat latius aſſignatã modo reſponſionē/ & ad propoſitarū queſtionū diſſolutionem conducentia diſſerit: dicens ꝙ vt breuius aperiatur rei propoſitæ materia/ ſentiendū eſt omnia quę ſūt inquantū ſunt: & bona eſſe & ex bono. inquantū vero priuata ſunt bono: neq; bona ſūt neq; ſubſiſtunt/ ſed ſolã boni ſuſtinent carentiã. Siquidē quæ alias in ſe habent affectiones/ vt caliditatē aut frigiditatē: ſubſiſtunt etiã vbi tales affectiones fuerint deperditæ. vt aqua prius calefacta/ etiã perſtat & perſeuerat ſubſiſtēs: vbi calor ipſius abierit & interierit. & nõnulla ſubſiſtentiū neq; ſenſum neq; vitã ſortita: ſuū habent eſſe & ſubſiſtūt/ vt inanimata. Porro deus ipſe omnē ſupereminet ſubſtantiã: & eſt ſuperſubſtantialiter propter ſummã ſuã excellentiã. eſt & ſimpliciter & vnice: propter inſignē ſuã ſingularitatē. Aliæ autē res omnes: & in ſuo quæq; gradu ſūt/ & ſubſiſtere quidē poſſunt. Habitus tamen & perfectio ſubſtantiæ iam labitur in illis ad quandã imperfectionē & deficiētiã: neq; omnino eis inditus eſt in ea plenitudine ac perfectione/ ſecūdum quam eſt in deo. ꝙ omnia ab eminentiſſimo illo ſubſiſtendi faſtigio quod habet deus: deficiūt/ labūtur & diſcedunt. Quod autē oīno & ſecundū oēm participandi modū bono priuatum eſt: neq; fuit vſq̃/ neq; eſt/ neq; erit/ neq; eſſe poteſt. Quod vero partim bono priuatum eſt & partim illius adhuc eſt particeps: non omnino malum eſt/ ſed mixtum. Exempli gratia. impudicus qua parte per irrationabilem concupiſcentiam bono priuatus eſt/ & ordine excidit: in eo quidē neq; eſt/ neq; ea quæ ſunt concupiſcit. caret enī ea ratione recto ſubſiſtēdi modo: & q̃ bona videtur ꝓſequēs/ decidit a recta cõcupiſcētia. Scd̃m tamē exiguã imaginē et modicã ſpeciē cõiunctionis & amicitiæ quã ſeruat ad id cui vehemēter afficitur: eſt quoquo pacto particeps boni. nã huiuſmodi coniunctio affectionis/ ipſius con-

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cupiſcentis ad id quod cōcupiſcitur: eſt remotiſſima quædā veri amoris imago/ prolapſa
tamē in vmbrā & tenebris fere obducta. Similiter & ira īmoderatū habens vindictę appetitū:
excidit a recto ordine & in malū procūbit. nichilominus eadē eſt boni particeps
ex eo motu animi: quo appetit dirigere & cōuertere ea quæ videntur mala/ ad id quod
videtur bonū. nā perpetrata ab alio mala vult per punitionis & animaduerſionis ſeueritatē:
in rectitudinē reducere. Deniqꝫ qui deterrimā appetit vitā: manifeſte a bono decidit/
ꝙ malū ſiniſtro proſequatur affectu/ & inordinato motu feratur ad illud. Quoniā tamen
vitā deſiderat/ etiam eā quæ ſibi videtur optima: ex eo quidem ꝙ deſiderat/ & vitā
deſiderat/ & ad optimā ſua opinione vitā animū intendit: boni quoquo modo eſt particeps.
Qꝛ ſi omnino ſuſtulerit quiſpiam bonū: neqꝫ ſubſtantia erit in rebus neqꝫ vita/ neqꝫ 71
deſideriū neqꝫ motus/ neqꝫ aliud quicq̄ naturā cōſequens. ¶ Qꝛ itaqꝫ ſimul in corruptione
vnius rei/ fiat generatio alterius: quemadmodū paulo ante obiecerūt aduerſarij/ id
non contingit ob ipſius mali virtutē/ ſed ob minoris boni præſentiā quæ facit generationem.
Sicut & morbus: defectus eſt ordinis debiti contemperamenti qualitatū/ non tamen
omnis ordinis & cuiuſcunqꝫ eſt carentia. nā ſi omnimoda eſſet diſproportio qualitatum
corporaliū: interiret ipſum ſubiectū vt homo aut equus ſimul cū morbo/ neqꝫ morbus
ipſe amplius ſubſiſteret. Manet autem & eſt morbus: ſubſiſtendi ſedem in corpore
habens/ modicū qualitatū naturaliū a ſua debita proportione non immutatarum ordinem/
& in eo exiguo ordine ſubſiſtens. Quod enim omnino participatione boni deſtitutum
eſt: ipſum neqꝫ eſt/ neqꝫ īter ſubſiſtētia locū habet. Quod autē mixtum eſt in rebus/
partim quidem boni particeps & partim bono priuatū/ vt corpus ægrotū aut anima vicioſa:
attendendo id boni quod ſortitur/ inter ſubſtantias eſt atqꝫ ſubſiſtere dicitur/ quatenus
eſt boni particeps. conſiderando vero priuationē boni: ea ratione neqꝫ eſt neqꝫ ſubſiſtit.
Quinimo omnia quæ ſunt in rebus: intantum magis aut minus ſunt/ inquantū amplius
aut minus ad boni participationē accedunt. Quæ enim vberius ipſi bono participant:
magis eſſe dicuntur. quæ vero imperfectius & obſcurius: dicuntur minus ſubſiſtere.
Siquidē illud quod nullo loco/ nulloqꝫ modo eſt per participationē in ipſo ente & vere
exiſtente: neqꝫ id quidem eſt/ neqꝫ erit vnq̄/ neqꝫ eſſe poterit. Quod vero ſecundū aliquam
partē eſt & ſecundū aliquam non eſt/ vt homo cæcus: ſecundū eā rationē qua ab
eo quod ſemper & vere eſt decidit/ non eſt. inquantū vero participationem ipſius eſſe
accepit: ea ratione tantum eſt. Et in eo ipſo quod habet entis participationem: id totum
quicquid illius rei eſt vt in cęco natura humana/ & etiā id ipſius quod non eſt vt cęcitas
viſuſqꝫ priuatio/ continetur atqꝫ ſeruatur. nam cæcitas ipſa perdurat in illo: per totum
vitæ ſpacium. Quippe malum illud quod penitus a bono prolapſum eſt atqꝫ diſceſſit/
nullam illius habens participationem: neqꝫ inter magis bona neqꝫ minus bona cōnumerabitur/
quia inter bona locum habere non poterit. Quod autem ſecundū vnā partem
bonū eſt & ſecundum alterā non bonum/ vt homo ęgrotus aut vicioſus: contrariatur
quidem alicui bono particulari/ vt ſano aut ſtudioſo. non autem opponitur abſoluto
& integro bono: quia aliquam habet illius participationem. Et continetur illud atqꝫ
fulcitur participatione boni: & bonum ipſum præſtat quoquo pacto ſubſiſtentiam & ſuſtentationem
ſuæ priuationi particulari/ per aliquā ſui participationem. Nam ſi bonum
prorſus abſcedat per priuationem omnimodæ participationis: tunc neqꝫ erit omnino bonum/
neqꝫ mixtum ex bono & malo/ neqꝫ omnino malum. Porro ſi malū ſit imperfectū
bonū vt malus homo/ mala actio: per vniuerſam/ totam & integram boni abſentiā atqꝫ
priuationē/ & imperfectū tolletur bonū pariter & perfectū. Vbi enim omnimoda eſt boni
deficientia: neqꝫ illic perfectū aderit bonū neqꝫ imperfectū. quare tūc etiā tolletur et malū:
quod dictū eſt eſſe imperfectū bonū. Tunc itaqꝫ ſolum erit atqꝫ apparebit malū: quādo
illud in cōparatione ad aliqua bona eſt malum/ quibus contrariatur. ab alijs autem
bonis diſtinguitur & ſeparatur: tanq̄ bonum a bono. Quemadmodū in animæ vicioſitate
ſpectatur malum: quia ibi vicioſitas eſt. quæ ad virtutem collata cui aduerſatur: reuera
malum eſt & perfectionis priuatio. eſt etiam ibidem anima/ quæ ad alias animas
comparata: ab eis tanquam bonis excipitur/ dirimitur & ſegregatur. Impoſſibile eſt
enim aliqua duo/ ſecundum eadem in omnibus habere contrarietatem: cum debeāt ſaltem
in ipſa entitate conuenire. Non igitur malum ea ratione qua malum/ ſubſtantia eſt
atqꝫ ſubſiſtens: ſed ſolum exiſtentiæ atqꝫ perfectionis rerum priuatio. ¶ Oſtendit deinde 72
beatus pater: malum in entibus atqꝫ de exiſtentiū numero non eſſe. Quæcunqꝫ enim

ſubſiſtunt:omnia ex bono ſunt.& bonū ipſum in omnibus eſt rebus ſubſiſtētibus: atq;
omnia ſeruat.Non igitur erit malum in rebus ſubſiſtentibus:aut in eo quod bonum eſt/
erit malū.Hoc autē īpoſſibile eſt:in bono ſcilicet eſſe malū.quia nō poteſt vnū cōtrariū
in ſuo eſſe cōtrario:quēadmodū in igne nō eſt frigidū/neq; in lucido tenebroſū.Neq; re-
cte quiſpiā dicere poterit eſſe malū hāc ob cauſā:quia bonū efficit atq; producit idipſum
quod eſt malum.quoniam vnū contrariū nunq̃ per ſe efficit ſuum contrariū:vt neq; lux
tenebras/neq; calor frigora.Si igitur erit malū:quomodo ipſum erit in bono vt ſuo ſub-
iecto?Et certe ſi ex bono vt authore & effectiuo/dicatur eſſe malū:illud & abſurdum eſt
pariter et impoſſibile.Non enim poteſt(vt ſumma in euangelio teſtatur veritas)arbor Matth.7.
bona fructus malos facere:neq; etiam ediuerſo arbor mala/fructus bonos.Itaq; ſi malū
non eſt ex ipſo bono:ex alio principio & cauſa productrice erit malum/ſi ponatur eſſe.
nam aut malū ex bono erit:aut bonū ex malo.aut ſi vtrūq; illorū impoſſibile eſt:ex alio
principio & cauſa vna productiua erit bonum et malum.Nulla enim dualitas:primū eſt
rerum principiū.nam vnitas:ipſius dualitatis natura debet eſſe principiū.eſt enim ante
omnem binarium:monas conſtituta.Atqui id fieri non poteſt vt ex vno eodemq; prin-
cipio:duo omnino contraria bonum inquā & malum proficiſcantur.eſſet enim tunc tale
principium/non ſimplex vnicum & ſingulare/vt eſſe deberet:ſed diuiſum et quandam
in ſe gerens dualitatem.immo eſſet illud quodam modo ſibi ipſi contrariū:atq; permu-
tatum de bono in malum aut econuerſo.quandoquidem cum bona produceret:eſſet bo-
73 num.& cum mala proferret: mutatum eſſet in malum/& idem foret nunc bonum nunc
malum.¶Neq; ſane poſſibile eſt duo adinuicem contraria eſſe rerum prima principia:
& ea inter ſe & in hoc mundo eſſe repugnantia.nam ſi hoc admittatur: tunc deus neq;
difficultate carebit neq; moleſtia.quandoquidem aliquid tunc daretur/quod ipſum vi
adigeret aut violentia impelleret ad quippiam agendum: ſcilicet alterum illud primū
principium.deinde omnia in vniuerſo ſubſiſtentia eſſent inordinata atq; inter ſe diſſi-
dentia:propter illorum duorum principiorum inter ſe repugnantiam atq; in rerum gu-
bernatione diſcordiam.cum cōtra videamus omnia:placido pacis fœdere ab ipſo bono
eſſe copulata.quod proinde pacis nomine atq; vt pacis author:laudatur a ſacris patri-
bus.Certe bona omnia in toto mūdi ambitu conſiſtentia:amicitiæ naturalis vinculo ad-
inuicem connectuntur/& mutua iunguntur concordia.tanq̃ ex vno vitæ perennis fonte
progenita atq; ad vnum ſociata bonum:placida pace/ſimili naturæ compage/ſimul et
eadem nominis appellatione coalita/vtpote boni.eſt enim boni nomen:rebus omnibus
commune.Non eſt igitur in deo malum:neq; malū ipſum/diuinitatis habet titulum aut
74 conditionem.¶Deinceps per omnia ſubſiſtentium genera progrediendo:oſtendit bea-
tus pater ſingulatim in nullo eorum prorſus eſſe malum.& primū a deo auſpicatus exor
dium:comprobat ex deo nō eſſe malum/hac ratione.Nam aut deus/bonus nō eſt:aut
bona facit atq; producit.neq; quidem aliquādo producit bona/aliquando vero non:ſed
ſemper.neq; itidem aliqua producit bona & aliqua nō:ſed prorſus omnia.alioqui deus
ipſe ſuſtineret varietatem & mutationem etiam circa id quod in ipſo eſt omnium præſtā
tiſſimum atq; vniuerſorum cauſa:ſcilicet circa ſuam bonitatē omnium effectricem.eſſet
enim bonus:cum bona produceret.& ſecus ſe haberet:cum illa nō faceret.Qꝫ ſiquis di-
cat bonum in deo ſubſtātia eſſe/itidem & malum in eodem:tunc ex bono in malū tranſi-
ret deus/ſicut aer de lumine in tenebras.et eſſet aliquādo quidem ens:cum ſcilicet eſſet
bonus/aliquando vero non ens:vtpote cum foret malus.Id autem abſurdum.nam et
ſemper ens & ſemper bonus/eſt deus.Porro ſi quis dicat ꝙ deus bonum habet non ex
ſe & natura ſua/ſed participatione ſola:tūc neceſſe eſt ꝙ bonū habeat ab alio illius elar
gitore.quare aliquādo quidem habebit bonum/aliquādo vero non:ſcilicet cum illo non
participat.Quicquid enim participatione quippiam habet:aliquādo illud habet/et ali-
quando non.nam ante mūdi conſtitutionē ne cœleſtes quidem ſpiritus quippiā habue-
runt per participationem:cum necdū ſubſiſterent.Id autē quod colligitur:eſt inconue-
niēs.nam deus ſēper habet bonū:immo eſt ſēpiterna bonitas.Nō igitur ex deo eſt malū/
neq; itidem in deo malum eſt:neq; perpetuo atq; in æternum/neq; ad tempus ſiue tem-
57 poraliter.¶Manifeſtat deinde nec in ipſis cœleſtibus ſpiritibus eſſe malum.Cum enim
angelus eximiam & clarā boni effigiem in ſe gerens atq; boniformis:diuinā bonitatem
in deo occultam & abditam enunciet.et illud exiſtat per participationem ſecūdo loco/
deriuationeq; quadam;quod deus ipſe qui enūciatur foriſq; depromitur/eſt per cauſam

ac naturam primo loco: vtpote bonitate prędıtus/& bono plenus.ipſe certe angelus eſt imago dei expreſſa & lympida/manifeſtatio et declaratio diuinæ lucis quæ in deo inuiſibilis eſt & inacceſſibilis/ſpeculũ purũ lucidũ & nitidũ:recipiens in ſe integrã ſpeciẽ diuinam ſupernoſqꝫ fulgores/ſpeculũ etiam immaculatũ & incoinquinatũ:nullã in ſe habens malitiæ aut erroris labẽ.ſuſcipiens in ſe totam & integram(quantã capere poteſt) pulchritudinẽ diuine imaginis/inſigniter in ipſo & luculẽter efformatæ.et in ſeipſo itidẽ pure et mere declarans ſupremã diuini ſecreti bonitatẽ/& arcanorũ myſteriorũ deitatis: quæ in ſilentio tantũ ceſſante iam omni voce percipiũtur.Non eſt igitur in angelis malum: vt neqꝫ in deo/quẽ propemodũ referũt & exprimunt.Qꝫ ſi quis dicat angelos ideo eſſe malos/quia puniũt peccatores: vt de angelo percutiẽte populũ peſte ſub Dauid rege/et eo qui exercitũ Sennacherib graui afflixit plaga/refert ſcriptura:irrationabilis eſt illa reſponſio.Nam eadem ratione qui peccãtes puniunt ſecundũ ſanctiones iuris/vt iudices & magiſtratus:erũt mali.quod vtiqꝫ falſum eſt.et miniſtri ſacrorũ ordinũ participes qui prophanos a diuinis myſterijs conſpiciẽdis arcent/vt in libro pręcedẽte dictum eſt:etiam erũt mali.quod non minus abſurdũ eſt:cũ in hoc obeũdo munere/ſuo fungãtur officio.At vero plecti pro cõmiſſo crimine/malũ non eſt:cum ſit opus iuſtitiæ.ſed dignum ſupplicio fieri:reuera malũ eſt.pro merito itidem ſacris arceri:nõ eſt malũ.ſed ſcelestum & prophanũ fieri/et indignum haberi vt ad ſacra quis admittatur:malũ & peruerſum eſt. ⁋Deinceps multis cõuincit rationibus dæmones natura non eſſe malos.Nã ſi ſunt(inquit)per naturã mali:neqꝫ ex bono ſunt principio producti/neqꝫ inter ſubſiſtẽtia ſunt.Non enim poteſt ex bono progigni malũ:neqꝫ inter ſubſtantias locum habere. Vtrũq; autem illorũ eſt falſum.nã ex deo ortũ habẽt:cũ oĩa per ipſum facta ſint.et vere ſubſiſtũt:vt ſcriptura liquido prodit.Similiter neqꝫ eſſent dæmones ex bonis in malos demutati:ſi per naturã & ſemper mali forent.Quod enim cuiq̃ natura cõuenit:ſemper illi et indemutabiliter adeſt.Atqui falſum eſt & ſacrarũ litterarũ fidei cõtrariũ:ꝙ dæmones non ſint permutati de bono in malũ.cum cõteſtetur euangeliũ ꝙ ſathanas de cœlo ſicut fulgur cecidit:et ꝙ in veritate nõ ſtetit.Inſuper ſi dæmones natura ſũt mali:aut ſibi ipſis ſunt mali/aut alijs.Si dicãtur ſibi ipſis eſſe mali:tunc etiã ſeipſos perdũt.cũ propriũ mali ſit:perdere & corrũpere id cui eſt malum.Illud autẽ eſt falſum.Si autem dentur alijs eſſe mali:inquirendũ tũc eſt quomodo corrumpũt alia/aut quid corrũpunt:an ſubſtantiam aliorũ an virtutẽ/ vel operationẽ.Si corrũpunt ſubſtãtiam:primo quidẽ non id faciunt præter naturæ ordinẽ/aut vltra naturam rebus inditã.Nam dæmones ea quæ per naturam ſunt incorruptibilia vt corpora cœleſtia & materiã rerum nõ corrũpunt:ſed ea dũtaxat quæ corruptionẽ admittũt/vt corpora naturalia.Deinde neqꝫ ipſum corrumpi: eſt omnibus & omnino malum.nõ enim illis:quibus ſuapte natura et ex propriæ naturæ conditione corruptio cõuenit.Inſuper nichil ex ijs quæ ſunt corrumpitur:inquãtum ſubſtãtia aut natura eſt.ſed defectu naturalis ordinis/debita proportio cõtemperamẽti et cõmẽſurationis qualitatum naturaliũ debilitatur.cum ad illius rei conſeruationem: huiuſmodi ratio & temperies eodẽ modo manere deberet.Illa autẽ infirmitas & diſproportio qualitatũ:nõ eſt perfecta/tota & integra.Nã ſi eſſet plena et omnimoda infirmitas/vt nullarum maneret adinuicẽ qualitatum proportio:tunc ipſã quoqꝫ particularem aliquarum qualitatũ corruptionẽ perimeret et etiã ſubiectum ipſum.quod nequiret ſubſiſtere:ſoluto omnimodo qualitatum omniũ contẽperamento.eſſetqꝫ huiuſmodi corruptio:ſuimet quoq; quãtum ad vnã ſui partẽ corruptio.nã tota illa & vniuerſalis corruptio deſtrueret particularẽ corruptionẽ:quæ in imperfecta eſt infirmitate Deniqꝫ iſtiuſmodi corruptio nõ eſſet proprie malum:ſed deficiẽs bonum/habẽs quidẽ cum bono aliquid infirmitatis & defectus permixtum.Nã quod omnino expers boni eſt/et ſecundũ perfectionẽ accidentariã & ſecundum naturã:inter ſubſiſtẽtia eſſe nequit.Eodẽ penitus modo de corruptione virtutis naturalis & operationis propriæ ducenda eſt ratio:ſicut de corruptione ſubſtantiæ dicta eſt. ⁋Alia ad idem cõprobãdum ratio eſt.Natura boni eſt: bona producere & ſtatuere.Dæmones autẽ:a deo facti ſunt.non ſunt igitur natura mali:et taliter producti.At vero recte dixerit quiſpiam & vere/ꝙ mali dicuntur dæmones: non quidẽ ſecundum ꝙ ſunt.nam ex bono ſunt principio:& bonã natura ſortiti ſubſtantiam.ſed mali ſunt:ex eo quod nõ ſunt/ꝙꝙ debita ſua perfectione per ſuã carent ignauiam.et iuxta ſcripturæ teſtimonium/imbecilles facti ſunt & infirmi ad ſeruãdum ſuum principatum:& inſignem angelicæ dignitatis ſublimitatem in qua conditi ſunt.In quo

2.regũ.24

4.regũ.19

76

Ioan.1.

Lucæ.10.

Ioan.8.

77

Iudę.1.

enim dixerit quis dæmones eſſe factos malos/niſi in carētia atq; priuatione firmitatis diuinorum
bonorū eis indultorū/atq; in propriæ operationis defectu:quia non perſtiterūt
in bonitate indita? Inſuper ſi natura mali ſunt dæmones:ſemper ergo mali ſunt. Quod
enim natura alicui cōuenit:ſemper eidē adeſt. Malum autē omne/inſtabile eſt varium et
inconſtans:nullā habens in recto firmitatē. Itaqꝫ ſi dæmones ſemper eodē ſe habēt modo:
nō ſunt natura mali. quādoquidē ſemper eſſe idem:eſt ipſius boni proprium. Si vero
non ſemper ſunt mali/vt neq; ſunt:natura igitur nō ſunt mali/ſed angelicorū bonorum
quæ ipſis ineſſe deberēt/priuatione & carentia. Neqꝫ tamen dæmones ipſi:omnino boni
ſunt immunes. quia et ſunt/& viuunt et intelligunt:eſtq; in illis quidam voluntatis
proprius motus. Mali autem eſſe dicūtur:ꝗ circa naturalem operationē ſunt infirmati/
atqꝫ ab ea ſponte ſua exciderunt prolapſiq; a perfectione ſunt. Itaq; auerſio a ſuo principio/
eſt illis malum:quia deciderunt a ſuis naturalibus bonis/neqꝫ illa ſunt(vt debuerūt)
conſecuti. ſimiliter imperfectio ob naturalium bonorū defectum/infirmitas/diſceſſio et
prolapſio a virtute conſeruāte perfectionē eis inditam:eſt eis malū. ſicut ægritudo et cæcitas
78 cōtingunt in corpore:ob lapſum a virtute natiua. ¶Alia inſuper ad idem propoſitum
oſtendēdū ratio. Sciſcitandum eſt præterea diligētius:quidnā in dæmonibus dicatur
eſſe malum. an furor irrationabilis:quantū ad partem iraſcibilē ratione nō frenatam/
an demens concupiſcētia:quantū ad concupiſcibilem non moderatam conſilio & prudentia/
an imaginatio præceps ac proterua:quātum ad partem rationalē veritate et ratione
non ſubnixam. Cæterum iſta tria q̈uis in dæmonibus ob lapſum ſint:non tamen
ipſa omnino mala ſunt. nam omnibus illis ſubeſt natura:quæ bona eſt. neqꝫ etiam illa in
omnibus mala ſunt. non enī in illis:quibus naturali conditione indita ſunt & aſſūt. Neqꝫ
etiam ipſa ſecūdum ſe & ſuapte natura ſunt mala. nempe in animalibus brutis iſta tria
ſupradicta habere:nō eſt malū. ſed his carere:inducit potius corruptionem animāti. ſicut
ediuerſo illis fulciri & ſuſtētari:ſaluat et integram cōſeruat animalis bruti naturam/
illis ſuffultam affectibus atqꝫ ſuſtentatam. Quocirca dæmonū turba non mala eſt ſecūdum
eam partē/qua ſecūdum naturā degit & ſubſiſtit:ſed ea ratione qua non eſt ſecundum
naturam. Neqꝫ totum bonū illis traditum eſt permutatū:cum natura eorum māſerit
illabefacta. ſed ipſi a dati ſibi boni perfectionibus & gratia exciderūt ſua ſpōte & ignauia:
cum debuiſſēt ſe ad ſumme bonū cōuertere. Neqꝫ præſtita illis in prima productione
naturalia dona ad angelicā naturā & integritatem ſpectātia/permutata ſunt:vt mēs
perſpicax/libera volūtas/memoria tenax/incorporalis ſubſtantia. ſed hæc omnia in ipſis
dæmonibus integra ſunt/& perſpicaciſſima permanēt. licet ipſi talia in ſe bona non lympide
dinoſcāt/occæcatis ſcilicet & clauſis ſpiritualibus eorum oculis:quibus bona ſua
poſſint ſyncære cōtueri. quemadmodū humanus oculus perpetuis damnatus tenebris:
ſuam videndi virtutem haud valet agnoſcere. Itaqꝫ dęmones quatenus ſunt:& ex bono
ſunt/et boni ſunt. & pulchrum bonūq; natura expetūt:deſiderātes vt ſint/vt viuant/vt
intelligāt ea quæ ſubſiſtūt. Verum priuatione atqꝫ defectu bonorū ſpiritualium ipſis natura
conuenientium:dæmones mali dicūtur. et ſunt mali eo ipſo in quo non ſunt:quia
ſcilicet non ſunt præditi bonis ad ſuam perfectionem cōgruis. Ipſi quoqꝫ/id quod nō eſt
appetentes:vtpote inordinationē/lapſum/& quod vere bonū nō eſt quare nec ſubſiſtēs/
79 licet tale videatur:malum deſiderāt. ¶Oſtendit deinde in animabus rationalibus non
eſſe malum:vt quid exiſtens. et primū reijcit rationē falſam quam nōnulli aſſignare poſſent:
ad comprobādum animas humanas eſſe malas. Diceret enim fortaſſe(inquit)quiſpiam/
animas eſſe malas:quia curam gerūt & prouidentiam circa malos/vt eos a malis
retrahāt/ad bonūq; conuertāt & ſaluēt. vt præceptor circa prauos inuigilat diſcipulos:
et pater circa filios improbos. Reſpondet autem huic rationi:interimendo eam. quia inuigilare
circa malos & attendere ad illorum emendationem:non eſt malum/immo bonum
& ſalutare/et quod prius malum:facit deinde bonum. quare ex hoc non recte colligitur/
animas dici debere malas:ſed potius bonas. cum & deus malis etiam prouideat
et inuigilet:vt emendentur in melius. ſicut et ipſe(quemadmodum paulo ſuperius de
angelis dictum eſt)peccatores & malos punit. Ex neutro tamen illorum:recte intuleris
deum eſſe malum. Qꝫ ſi animæ rationales dicantur eſſe malæ/in nullo alio poſſunt fieri
aut dici tales:niſi in defectu bonarum qualitatum & operationum/ad earum perfectionem
requiſitarum. ſimiliter ex priuatione propriæ perfectionis:proueniente ex infirmitate
& imbecillitate ſua. deniqꝫ ex prolapſione bonorū ſibi naturalium:quibus frui et po-

tiri deberent.ſicut oculus dicitur cæcus:quia caret vidēdi perfectione ad quā factus eſt.
Namqꝫ aerem nobis circunſtātem tenebris oppleri dicunt omnes:priuatione & carentia
luminis/non autem ob aliquid exiſtēs in aere.Ipſa autem lux ſemper ſua natura lux eſt/
et vere exiſtens:quæ etiam tenebras prius infuſas propellit ab aere/& clarum illi ſuum
lumē immittit.Quocirca neqꝫ in dæmonibus neqꝫ in hominibus eſt malū/quaſi quiddā
reipſa exiſtēs:ſed vt defectus ac priuatio perfectionis propriorū bonorum.quibus cum 90
adeſſe deberent/carentes:merito dicuntur mali. ¶In brutis itidem animalibus declarat
beatus pater non eſſe natura malum.Nam ſi ſublata ab eis fuerit ira/truculētia/concupiſcentia/et
ſimilia (quæ dicuntur quidem in eis mala:quia ſunt hominibus noxia et
infeſta.non tamen ſimpliciter & per ſui naturam ſunt mala:quia ſunt naturæ brutorum
conſentanea et congruētia)non permanebit in ipſis propria natura in ſua integritate et
propria conditione. Vt leo deperdita feritate ſua:deſinet eſſe leo.et canis iam factus
talis vt omnibus ablādiatur:amplius non erit canis.eſt enim aliis allatrare/ipſius canis
proprium:et domeſticos vt notos admittere/alienos autem & extraneos latratu arcere.
Itaq; naturā non corrumpi ſublatione affectionum neceſſariarū/& eam in ſua integritate
conſeruare:non eſt malum.Sed naturæ corruptio/eſt priuatio & defectus naturalium
qualitatum virtutū atq; operationum:quæ ad ipſius perfectionē & complementū ſunt
neceſſariæ.Et quoniam cuncta quæ naſcūtur/perficiuntur in tempore/paulatim ſecundum
tēporis decurſum ad perfectionē perueniētia:non poteſt quicq̄ imperfectū per vniuerſam
naturā & totum ſubſiſtētiæ ſpaciū in quauis etiam naturæ ſpecie cōperiri.Nam
ſi detur imperfectū huiuſmodi:illud temporis ſucceſſione nō deductū fuerit ad perfectū/
quod eſt iam poſiti oppoſitū.Proinde neq; animalia bruta quis recte dixerit imperfecta/
q̄uis alijs vt hominibus ſint inferiora:quoniā in ſuo gradu atqꝫ ſtatu ea habent/quę ſuā 91
naturam integrant & cōplent. ¶Deinceps cōprobat in tota vniuerſaliqꝫ natura non eſſe
malum. Quoniā ſi naturales omnes conditiones ſumantur/quæ rebus omnibus cōditis
et vniuerſali conſideratis ratione cōueniunt:nichil eſt quod illi vniuerſali naturæ aduerſetur.
Sunt enim in vniuerſa natura/ōnia placida pace ligata:neqꝫ dederis quicq̄ illi vniuerſitati
rerum contrarium aut repugnās.Particulari autem naturæ & in vna re ſingulari
conſideratæ/vt in igne aut aqua:aliquid eſt partim ſecundū naturam/& aliquid præter
naturam.et diuerſis/diuerſa ſunt præter naturā.et quod vni rei particulari eſt ſecundum
naturam/vt caliditas igni:eſt alteri vt aquæ præter naturā.Naturæ autem vicium
et malum:eſt id quod præter naturam eſt/et priuatio qualitatū naturalium.vt caliditatis
in igne/et frigiditatis in aqua defectus.Non eſt igitur natura aliqua particularis:de
ſe mala.ſed hoc eſt ipſius naturæ malum:ꝙ propria ſua opera ob infirmitatē & defectū 92
nequeat efficere.vt ipſius pedis vicium eſt/ꝙ non poſſit ambulare:& ipſius oculi/ꝙ videre
nequeat. ¶Oſtendit deinceps in corporibus natura non eſſe malū.Nam deformitas
ipſa & morbus in corpore:defectus eſt naturalis pulchritudinis/& priuatio ordinis
humorum corporaliū.Atqui quod deforme eſt & a ſpeciei gratia decidit:non eſt propter
hoc omnino malū/ſed dūtaxat minus pulchrū.quādoquidē in aliquibus corporis illius
partibus:adhuc ſeruatur debita mēbrorum cōmenſuratio.Ita quoqꝫ quod a recta diſcedit
humorum proportione & temperie:non eſt omnino malum atqꝫ viciatū/ſed minus
ſanum.cum ſaltem in aliquibus qualitatibus:adhuc debita ſeruetur proportio.Nempe
ſi omnimoda fiat pulchritudinis priuatio/vt ne vnū quidē membrū alteri apte reſpondeat
aut cohęreat:interibit totum corpus.Similiter ſi tota & integra fiat ſolutio ordinis
qualitatum naturaliū/vt nulla amplius vnius ad aliam maneat proportio:ſoluetur et ipſum
corpus/neqꝫ ſubſiſtere poterit.Quare hæc aſſignata corporis incommoda/non ſunt 93
omnino & plene mala:ſed ſolū partim/et commixta. ¶Qꝫ itidem corpus nō ſit ipſi animæ/cauſa
maliciæ per ſe & in vniuerſum:ex eo liquet/ꝙ etiam ſine corpore malicia poteſt
ſubire ſpiritualem naturam.Siquidem dæmones natura ſunt incorporei/ſicut & cœleſtes
ſpiritus:& tamē ipſis obrepſit malicia.Eſt plane illud & ſpiritibus angelicis/et animabus 94
hominum et corporibus ipſis malum:ſi infirmentur circa ſuam perfectionem/et
priuentur perfecta ſuorum bonorū acquiſitione atqꝫ cōſecutione. ¶Deinde declarat ꝙ
in materia inquantum materia eſt/non eſt ponendum malum:vt vulgatiſſima fuit multorum
philoſophorum ſentētia/inſectantium materiam tanq̄ malum quoddam.Nempe
ipſa materia quia formarum ſubſtantialium eſt ſuſceptaculum:accedit ad participationem
ſocietatemqꝫ ornatus/pulchritudinis & decoris/qui præſertim a forma ſpecifica

rebus adeſt, quare & boni obtinet conſortium. Et quoniam materia extra ornatū & ſpe-
ciem exiſtens(vt cum forma ſubſtantiali eſt deſtituta)in ſeipſa qualitatum decentiam et
ſpeciem deſiderat/inclinaturqꝫ natura ad formā in ſe recipiendā: quonā modo poterit ma
teria aliquid facere? quæ etiam ex ſeipſa nō habet: vt quicꝗ pati poſſit/atqꝫ in ſe ſuſcipe-
re, ſiquidem idipſum non ſecundū ſe: ſed a forma ſibi inhęrente habet. Qꝫ ſi materia nō
poteſt quicꝗ facere: conſequēs eſt ipſam nō eſſe malum. Nam mali proprium eſt: mala
producere/perdere bona & corrumpere: quare et agere. Inſuper quomodo quis recte di
xerit: materiam eſſe malum? Nam ſi ipſa omnino nō eſt/neqꝫ in aliquo loco neqꝫ quoquo
modo ſubſiſtēs: ipſa neq; bonū eſt neqꝫ malū. Si autem materia aliquo modo eſt/et om-
nia quæ ſunt/ex bono ſunt: cōſequens eſt & materiam ex bono eſſe/quare & eſſe bonam.
Qꝫ ſi malā eā eſſe dixeris: tūc aut bonū erit mali effectiuū. aut malū quaſi ex bono produ-
ctum: erit bonum. aut ediuerſo malū erit boni effectiuū: ſiue bonum tanꝗ ex malo profe
ctum/erit malū. aut duo iterum erunt rerum principia: vnū bonū & alterum malū/et illa
ambo: ex vno eodēq; principali fonte atqꝫ principio exorta atq; dependētia. Vnūquodq;
autem horum quinqꝫ iam adductorū: oſtēſum eſt eſſe incōueniens. Porro ſi dixerint ad-
uerſarij contendētes materiam eſſe malū/ipſam ad totius mundi perfectionem eſſe ne-
ceſſariam/vti certe eſt: non poterit igitur materia eſſe malum. Aliud enim eſt malum: et
aliud neceſſarium. quinimmo nullū malum/ad vniuerſi integritatē(vt quod totum ſit bo-
num)eſt neceſſariū. Enimuero nō poteſt bonus ex malo ducere aliqua ad ortum et ge-
nituram: vt neq; calidū ex frigiditate quicꝗ efficit. ex materia autem deus corpora ſenſi-
bilia et naturalia produxit ad eſſe. nullo etiam modo malum eſt ipſi bono neceſſarium.
Fugit enim malū naturā boni: ſicut cōtrarium ſui contrarij conditionē & ſtatum. Deniqꝫ
ſi materia eſt mala: non poteſt ſuſtentare/gignere/& nutrire naturā rei genite. nam ma-
lum quatenus malū eſt: nullius eſt effectiuū/generatiuum aut nutritiuum. Atqui mate-
ria ipſa ſuſtentat formā ſubſtantialem/vt ſedes eius ac receptaculum: et educat eam vt
85 mater/parēs et nutrix rerum ſenſibiliū. Non eſt igitur materia malum. ¶Diluit deinde
obiectionē aduerſariorum dicentiū pro ſubterfugio: ꝙ materia quidem in animabus nō
facit maliciam: ſed eas attrahit ſuis illecebris ad praua. Cæterum nō poteſt hoc veritati
cohęrere. Nam ſi materia ex natura ſua allicit ac inducit animas ad malum: neceſſe eſſet
animas omnes ipſius materiæ incitamētis ad malū perpelli ac pertrahi. Illud autem eſt
falſum. nam plurimæ animarum rectā ſequētes rationem/illecebras & voluptates mate-
riæ ſpernunt: & virtutem ipſam/rectamqꝫ viuendi viam amplectuntur. Non igitur malū
ipſis animabus ex materia prouenit: ſed ex inordinato ipſius animę motu & declinante
ad deteriora. Cum enim deberet anima ſecundum rectæ rationis precepta moueri: victa
concupiſcentijs ad turpe trahentibus/ſponte ſua maliciæ manus dat victas. Qꝫ ſi dicant
aduerſarij/id omnino materiæ eſſe impingendum & aſcribendū: ꝙ anima pelliciatur et
inclinetur ad malum. cum ipſa materia/inſtabilis & indeterminata de ſe/quia ad omnem
formā indifferens: ſit neceſſaria ſubſtantificis rerū naturaliū formis/quæ in ſe ipſis firma-
ri/collocari & ſuſtentari non poſſunt: quomodo id fieri poteſt ꝙ malū ſit neceſſariū/aut
id quod neceſſariū eſt: ſit malum? Aut igitur neceſſaria non eſt materia: aut nō eſt mala.
Eſt autem ipſa neceſſaria: non eſt igitur mala. Cæterū neqꝫ illud quod dicitur boni priua-
tio: per propriā agēdi vim & efficaciā obſiſtit bono. Nam ſi vniuerſa/perfectaq; ponitur
priuatio/nichil relinquens quod non priuet: illa omnino vires amittit & imbecillis eſt/
quare nec vires habet aliquas ad reluctandū bono. Particularis vero priuatio/vt vnius
virtutis aut operationis non autē omniū/aut virtutū priuatio nō autē naturę: vires qui-
dem habet ad reſiſtendū. non tamen ex eo ꝙ priuatio eſt: cum ea ratione ſolū infirmitas
ſit & impotentia. ſed quia non eſt perfecta priuatio & omnimoda/relinquens aliquid re
ipſa exiſtens & efficax: quod huiuſmodi habeat obluctandi vires. Si enim priuatio ſolū
ſit boni particularis/vt vnius virtutis & non alterius/aut virtutis ſolū et non naturæ: nō
eſt id ōnino & vniuerſaliter malū. Et abeūte illa particulari priuatione per iteratā indu-
ctionem deperditæ virtutis: ſimul & mali illius natura diſcedit/per bonum illi contrariū
expulſi. vt abſcedente priuatione ſanitatis ope naturæ aut medicinæ: deperditur ipſe
86 morbus. ¶Oſtendit dehinc beatus pater/malum ipſum nequaꝗ ex bono produci vt tale
eſt: præmittens nonnulla ad id elucidandū conducentia. et primo ꝙ bonum ex vna eſt
et integra cauſa: malum vero ex multis & particularibus defectibus. vt pulchritudo ex
perfecta membrorū omnium totius corporis cōmenſuratione & decentia conſurgit: de-

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formitas vero ex defectu debitæ cõmenſurationis huius vel illius mẽbri ad aliud. Sanitas
itidem ex tota & plena qualitatũ omniũ naturalium proportione exoritur: ægritudo
vero ex diſproportione & defectu contẽperamenti huius vel illius qualitatis ad aliam.
Hebræ.4. ¶ Neq; malũ ipſum latet deum: qui non minus malũ nouit atq; bonũ / cuius oculis nuda 87
et aperta ſunt omnia. & apud ipſum deũ cauſæ malorũ: ſunt beneficæ virtutes / bonũq;
operantes & facientes. vt mens et voluntas libertaſq; arbitrij: ſiue humana ſiue angelica.
Iſtæ enim virtutes: a deo ordinatę ſũt ad bene agẽdũ / exercendũq; bonũ. Eædem tamen
vt deficiũt a ſuo ordine & deflectũtur ad deteriora: ſunt cauſæ malorũ. ¶ Q; ſiquis 88
aſtruat malum eſſe ſempiternũ / & creare / et poſſe / & eſſe / et agendi vim habere: percontãdum
eſt ab illo / vnde iſta omnia iam dicta conueniunt ipſi malo? an ex bono: quod illi
tantam dederit virtutẽ? Id autem falſum. nam bonũ eſt ipſius mali deſtructiuũ. Vel vtrũ
ediuerſo iſta quinq; / eſſe ſempiternũ / creare / poſſe / eſſe / agere: cõueniant ipſi bono ex malo
/ quod author omniũ horum fuerit in bonũ? Et id non minus falſum eſt: nam malũ etiam
eſt boni corruptiuũ. quomodo igitur dabit ipſi bono: eſſe ſempiternum / & creare / et
reliqua? Vel vtrum ſupradicta quinq; ſcilicet eſſe ſẽpiternũ / creare / poſſe / et cætera / conueniãt
ambobus et malo & bono: ex aliqua alia tertia cauſa. Et illud etiã eſt abſurdũ. nã
illa ipſi malo nequaq̃ cõueniũt: vt quod nec creãdi vim nec agẽdi habeat / ſed ſolã infirmitatẽ
& impotẽtiã. ¶ Ad hæc. Quicquid ſecundũ naturã eſt: ex definita determinataq; 89
naſcit̃ cauſa. vt triticũ ex ſemine tritici / oliua ex ſemine oliuæ & ignis ex igne. Malũ autẽ
cauſa determinata & definitione certa caret: in ſola inordinatione & prolapſione a perfectione
conſiſtẽs. Non eſt igitur malũ ſecundum naturã. Quod enim præter naturã eſt:
non ineſt ipſi naturæ. vt neq; inertiæ & defectus artis ratio: in ipſa eſt arte / cum adinuicẽ
opponantur. Malũ autem eſt præter naturã. ¶ Nunquid ergo anima rationalis eſt cauſa 90
malorũ naturalis: ſicut ignis cauſa per ſe calefaciendi? eo quidẽ pacto vt omnia quibus
ſe anima infũdit / malicia repleat: quẽadmodũ ignis omnia quibus adeſt / calore cõplet?
Certe reſpõdendũ eſt in promptu / animã nõ ſic eſſe malorũ cauſam: ſicut ignis ipſius caloris.
nam hic: natura eſt talis / illa vero: nequaq̃ cauſa mali natura / ſed potius ex diſceſſione
a natura. Deinde inquirit an bona quidẽ ſit animæ natura: operationes vero ſuas
interdũ ſic peragit vt ſua natura & perfectio exigit / aliquãdo vero ſecus. Et id profecto
tribuẽdũ & admittẽdũ eſt. et quãdo aliter q̃ natura eius efflagitat operatur: tũc animã
malã eſſe / et hãc precipuã maliciæ eius eſſe rationẽ. Nẽpe ſi per naturã eſt ſubſtãtia animæ
mala: vnde illi tanq̃ a cauſa productrice eſt ſubſtantia? vtrũ ex illa prima cauſa: rerũ
õniũ creatrice? Et plane ſi ex ea cauſa eſſet animæ ſubſtantia: non eſſet ipſa anima per
Gene.1. ſubſtantiã mala. quandoquidẽ bona ſunt omnia / vt teſtatur ſcriptura: quæ ab illa prima
rerum cauſa ſũt producta. Sin vero anima per operationes ſuas ſit mala: nõ eſt illud in
anima immutabile. ſed ſicut ex bonis operationibus in malas delapſa eſt: ita ediuerſo
poterit ex malis actibus reuocari in bonos. Non enim eſſẽt in anima ipſa virtutes et boni
habitus: niſi ipſa boni induiſſet effigiem / et ſpecie boni foret inſignita. quare neq; ſic
anima eſt naturaliter mali cauſa. Reliquũ eſt igitur: vt malum in anima non ſit niſi infirmitas
quædã pertingendi ad perfectionẽ / et a bono quod ineſſe deberet defectio atq; diſceſſio.
¶ Rurſum. bonorũ cauſa vna eſt: integra ſcilicet & tota eorũ quæ ad perfectionẽ 91
exiguntur / plenitudo. Ipſi autem bono / malũ contrariũ eſt: & oppoſito ſe habens modo.
Sunt igitur cauſæ mali plurimæ & multiplices: particulares ſcilicet defectus aut hi / aut
illi / ab illa plena & integra perfectione. vt diſſonãtia in harmonijs muſicis: ex multiplicibus
emergit cauſis. conſonãtia vero ex vnica: ſcilicet vna omnium chordarum cytharæ
aut vocum cõcordia. Proportiones tamen ipſæ rerum / rectæ rationes & virtutes: non
ſunt effectiuæ malorum. ſed ſola impotentia / infirmitas / defectus a ratione: et incõcinna
eorum quę diſſimilia ſũt commixtio. vt calidorũ cum frigidis / & humidorũ cum ſiccis in
corpore humano intẽperata mixtura: ipſius morbi eſt cauſa. Neq; mala ipſa / ſuapte natura
immutabilia ſunt: et ſemper eodẽ modo ſe habentia / id enim boni potius eſt proprium.
ſed indefinita ſunt & indeterminata: in diuerſis alio et alio modo accidentia. non
quidẽ in õnibus ſubiectis: quoniã non in cœlo & ijs quę imutabilia ſũt. ſed ſolũ in ijs rerũ
generibus quæ ſũt obnoxia mutabilitati / inſtabilitati et inconſtãtiæ: vt corporibus ſenſibilibus 92
& ſpiritibus ratione prędıtis et libertate. ¶ Inſuper omniũ malorum initium productiuũ
& finis gratia cuius: bonũ eſt. Nẽpe malum omne: ab aliquo quod ſubſiſtit / cõmittitur
& fit. Illud autem: natura bonũ eſt. omniũ igitur malorum principiũ: bonũ eſt.

Boni item gratia omnia ſunt:et quæcūq; ſunt bona/et quæcūq; bonis cōtraria ſiue mala.
nam & ipſa bonorū contraria aggrediuntur homines:appetitu ac deſiderio boni.Nemo
etenim ad malum intuens/qua parte malū eſt:agit ea quæ perpetrat.Idcirco malū
non fulcitur nec ſuſtentatur ipſa boni ſubſtātia aut re vere ſubſiſtente:ſed dūtaxat imagine
& ſpecie ſubſtātię atq; boni.quādoquidem malū ipſum non ſuiipſius gratia agitur:
ſed alicuius boni.et illud plane non vere bonū eſt:ſed ſolū apparens/et boni ſimulacrū.
93 ¶Idcirco ipſi malo per accidens applicāda eſt & attribuenda ſubſiſtentia/atq; propter
aliud:et non ex propria ſua conditione ſiue habitudine/vtpote propter bonū illud gratia
cuius fit.Nempe cum fit malum:rectum quidem eſſe videtur/quia fit gratia alicuius
boni.Secundum rei autem veritatem/illud quod fit non eſt rectū:quia quod non eſt bonum/
errore decepti homines arbitrantur eſſe bonum.Similiter et illud gratia cuius fit
94 malū:habet quidē boni ſpeciē/non tamen eſt bonū. ¶Porro oſtenſum eſt ſuperius:aliud
eſſe quod expetitur/& aliud eſſe qđ agitur.nā quod expetitur:finis eſt & bonū/aut quod
tale apparet.Quod vero agitur & opus ipſum:eſt malū/et plerūq; cognitū eſſe tale.Itaq;
malum eſt præter viam & rectam deductionē mediorum in finem/præter intentionē rectam/
præter naturam & contra eam/præter cauſam definitā & ſubſiſtentem/præter initium
recte ordinatum/præter finem debitum/præter definitionē certam/præter voluntatem
rectam/præter ſubſtantiā & ſubſiſtētiam.Eſt itaq; malum priuatio propriæ perfectionis
& defectus/infirmitas et impotentia/incongruētia operationū/atq; fruſtratio a debito
fine.Malum inſuper priuatum eſt intentione & directione in ſuum finē/priuatum
etiam pulchritudine/vita/ſenſu/ratione/perfectione/firmitate/& cauſa per ſe atq; ſubſiſtente:
nam hæc omnia tollit.Malum itidem eſt indefinitum/infœcundū & ocioſum:vacat
enim fœcunditate et exercitio propriarum naturæ operationū.Eſt & imbecille/inordinatum/
diſſimile:ꝙ nullam ſumme boni gerat ſimilitudinē.tenebroſum & luce rectę rationis
deſtitutum/carenſq; ſubſtantia/et nullo ſubſiſtēdi modo nullo etiam loco & nichil
95 eorum quæ ſunt exiſtēs:ꝙ eius ratio in ſola conſiſtat priuatione ac defectu. ¶Qꝫ ſiquis
percontetur/quomodo igitur malum aliquid poteſt efficere:cum modo dictum ſit ipſum
eſſe infirmum & inualidum? Reſpondendū illi eſt malum aliquid poſſe/non ſimpliciter
quidem & per ſe ſolum:ſed permixtione boni ſuſtinentis in ſe tale malū.vt priuatio virtutis:
in anima eſt/ægritudo in corpore/et cæcitas in oculo.hæc autē tria/anima/corpus/
oculus:bona ſunt ſuapte natura/quibus mala ſunt coniuncta.Quod enim boni omnino
eſt expers:neq; eſt aliquid/neq; aliquid efficere vnq̄ poteſt.Cum enim bonum ſubſtantia
ſit/et prudentia virtute ac operatione præditum:neceſſe eſt malum quod illi aduerſatur/
nichil omnino poſſe:vt quod ſit ſubſtantia/conſilio/virtute/& operatione priuatum.
96 ¶At vero non omnia omnibus/eodē modo & ſecundum idem ſunt mala:ſicut neq; bona.
Diuerſarum namq; rerum:diuerſæ ſūt natura virtutes/ operationes ac perfectiones.
quare & illarum priuationes(quæ mala eſſe dicuntur)ſunt diuerſæ.Verū dæmoni id malum
eſt:ꝙ a ſe ſponte reiecit animum/boni ſpecie inſignitum.neq; in ea perſtitit bonitate:
quam in productione ſui acceperat.Animæ vero rationali id malum eſt:ꝙ a recta
ratione deficit/et declinat ad deſideria carnis ac mundi.Corpori vero id eſt malum:ꝙ
a naturali diſpoſitione prolabitur per ægritudinem/ deformitatē/cæcitatem aut alia naturæ
97 incommoda. ¶Deinde diſſoluit hanc dubitationem/inter cæteras in huius capitis
exordio propoſitā:ſi eſt diuina prouidentia/quomodo eſt malum? Et reſpōdet ꝙ malū
ea ratione qua malum eſt:neq; ſubſiſtens eſt/neq; de numero ſubſiſtentium. nichilq; in
rebus ſubſiſtentibus:gubernatione diuinæ prouidētiæ deſtituitur.Malū autem neq; res
ſubſiſtens eſt/ſpectantiū oculis occurrens:atq; in propatulo tanq̄ quippiam re ipſa conſiſtens/
in ipſo bono repoſitum.cum ſolummodo ſit priuatio propriæ virtutis & actiōis:
quæ deberet adeſſe.quare non id mirum cuiq̄ videri debet/ſi malum ſub ratione prouidentiæ
quæ tantum ad bona & ordinata porrigitur:qua parte malum eſt/non compræhendatur.
cum enim nichil in rebus ſubſiſtentibus boni participatione careat(nam ſi a
ſupremis ſubſtantiis per intermedias vſq; ad infimas & poſtremas decurrreris ſubſtantias:
nullam earum comperies omnino bono priuatam)malū autem eſt a bono defectio/
ipſiuſq; priuatio:quid igitur incommodi fuerit/ ſi malū præter prouidētiam & extra prouidentiæ
fines ponatur? Et plane cum in ōnibus quæ ſubſiſtunt diuina conſpiciatur prouidentia/
nichilq; ſit omnium rerum ſubſiſtentium quod prouidentiſſima dei gubernatione
non agatur:etiam & malum ipſum ſi ſubiectam attendas naturam/non ſubterfugit

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ipſam dei prouidentiam. Nam & ijs qui mali ſunt dæmonibus & hominibus/ benigne
diuina vtitur prouidentia: ad propriam ipſorum malorū vtilitatē/ ſiue ad cōmunem aut
priuatam aliorū vtilitatem. aut vt benignitate dei conuertantur ad bonum/ aut vt eorū
exemplo alij a malo deterreātur: aut vt malorum improbitate exerceatur bonorum patientia/
et oppreſſa moleſtijs virtus accreſcat: quemadmodū in beato Iob & inuictis martyribus
liquido conſtat. Idcirco non eſt admittenda multorū in deum ſtulta obiectio et
abſurda penitus: qui dicunt id conuenientius fuiſſe & congruentius/ ꝙ diuina prouidentia
nos etiam inuitos adegiſſet ad bonum: et tales produxiſſet ꝙ in malum prolabi
non potuiſſemus/ ſed neceſſitate naturali virtutem fuiſſemus amplexi. Quippe non eſt
ipſius prouidentiæ munus ac officium/ ipſam rei naturam violare aut corrumpere: ſed
conſeruare prorſus & integram ſaluare. Si autem deus inuitos homines ad virtutē duxiſſet:
iam violata fuiſſet hominis natura/ et adempta illi libertas arbitrij & libera voluntatis
poteſtas. neqꝫ fuiſſet tunc homo ob virtutem: aut laude aut præmio dignus. Proinde
quoniam prouidentia dei propriæ cuiuſqꝫ naturæ rerum eſt ſeruatrix: eis quæ per ſe
et ex inſita eis libertatis virtute mouentur/ ſcilicet hominibus & angelis qui libero agūtur
arbitrio/ ſapientiſſime prouidet. omnibus etiam & ſingulis rebus vt earū natura expoſtulat:
prouidentiæ curā impendit. totiuſqꝫ & vniuerſæ prouidentiæ quæ toti rerum vniuerſitati
reſpōdet: pro modo & captu cuiuſqꝫ rei particularis/ munera & partes quibuſqꝫ 98
benigniter impartit. ❡Ex his omnibus tanꝗ totius propoſitę queſtionis ſummā ac determinationem
colligit ſacratiſſimus pater: ꝙ malum quatenus malum eſt/ neqꝫ ſubſtantia
eſt neqꝫ inter ſubſtātias. ipſum enim vt tale: nuſꝗ eſt. et malum fieri: non virtutis eſt
ſed infirmitatis/ vt & ęgrotū fieri & cęcum. Et dęmonibus quidem/ ꝙ ſunt: et ex bono eſt
ſcilicet deo/ et bonum eſt. malum vero illis eſt: a proprijs & naturalibus bonis ſpōtanea
prolapſio/ et per propriam culpam defectio. permutatio quoq; identitatis ipſorum in diuerſitatem
quantum ad accidentariam diſpoſitionem/ et habitus boni in prauū: eſt infirmitas
& defectus perfectionis angelicæ/ quæ illis adeſſe & conuenire deberet. ipſi etiam
dæmones expetunt bonum: quatenus eſſe/ viuere/ et intelligere expetunt/ quæ ipſorum
naturæ competunt. Non autem appetunt bonum: cum id quod non vere eſt appetunt/
ſcilicet corruptelam virtutis/ confuſionē/ inordinationem & omnē maliciam. Neqꝫ illud
proprie eſt appetitio: ꝙ non ſit vere boni deſideriū/ ſed fruſtratio eſt & deficientia veræ 99
appetitionis. ❡Diffinit poſtea eos qui in ſcientia ſiue ſcienter dicuntur peccantes: illos
eſſe ſecundum ſcripturæ ſententiā dictitās/ qui infirmantur & imbecilles ſunt circa boni
cognitionem quæ ipſos non latet ſimul & actionem. ſcientes quidem bonū quod agere
debent: et non faciētes. et qui ſciunt voluntatem domini ſui: non autem faciunt. qui audierunt
quidem & intellexerunt quid agere debeant: ſed infirmātur circa fidem aut operationem
boni. quoniā aut non credunt ea ſibi eſſe facienda: aut non exequūtur illa opera.
Pſal. 35. cum ſecundū pſalmi teſtimonium/ nolint quidā intelligere vt bene faciant: ex peruerſitate
ſiue imbecillitate volūtatis/ affectantis dedita opera id quod malum eſt. Itaqꝫ malum
in communi ſua ratione eſt (vt iam ſæpius dictum eſt) infirmitas/ priuatioqꝫ & defectus:
vel ſcientiæ vel notionis/ cum ignoratur ex propria culpa quod faciendum eſt. vel
fidei: cum ſcitur quidē quid agi debeat/ ſed nō creditur id fieri oportere/ ꝙ concupiſcentia
ſuadeat oppoſitū. vel imbecillitas appetitionis: cum ſcilicet id appetitur quod nō eſt
appetēdū/ aut id non appetitur quod eſt appetendū. aut deniqꝫ imbecillitas operationis 100
boni: cū nō fit illud bonū quod agi debeat. ❡Reſpōdet obiectioni: quæ occaſione ſupradictorum
poſſet adduci a quopiam. Poſſet enim aliquis dicere/ ꝙ pœnam & punitionem
non meretur infirmitas prolabens in culpā: ſed potius venia eſt digna. Cum igitur malum/
ob infirmitatē & imbecillitatē proueniat: nō deberet pro malo admiſſo irrogari pœna.
Reſpondet beatus pater/ ꝙ ſi illi infirmitati & malo non datum fuiſſet reſiſtere: obiectio
illa locum habere videretur. Quoniam autem ſummū illud bonum ſubminiſtrat reluctandi
Iaco. 1. vires poſcentibus (quod ſecundum ſcripturæ teſtimonium: dat omnibus congrua
ad ſalutem) id ſane vicio dandum eſt: ſi a perfectione & firmitate bonorū noſtrorum per
ignauiā noſtrā decidamus/ ſi ab ipſo ſummo bono/ torpore & deſidia deficimus & auertimur:
cum in nobis ſitum ſit/ ad ipſum cōuerti. Cęterum hæc in libro ſacratiſſimi patris de
iuſtitia iudicioqꝫ diuino: latius declarata ſunt. in quo quidem opere/ ipſa ſcripturæ ſacræ
veritas confutauit & reiecit ſophiſticas rationes: loquentes contra deum impietatem 101
ac mendaciū/ tanꝗ ſtolidas irrationabiles & abſurdas. ❡Poſtremo ponit epilogum eorū

omnium: quæ in hoc capite diffuſius ſunt pertractata. In quo quantum capere poteſt humana infirmitas/ ſatis diffuſe laudatum eſt ipſum bonum: vt reuera admiratione dignum/ vt principium omnium per efficientiam/ & finis per omnium in ſe reductionem/ vt quod contineat & ſeruet omnia. vt pulchritudinem & venuſtatem inducens ijs quæ non ſunt: nam illa in ſuo decore deducit ad ortum. Laudatum eſt etiã ſub ea ratione ꝙ ſit bonorum omnium cauſa: ꝙ malorum non ſit cauſa nec author. ꝙ ſit prouidentia omnium & abſoluta bonitas: ſuperans omnia & quæ ſunt & quę non ſunt. & quæ mala ſunt ex boni priuatione/ in bonum conuertens: cum ex malis elicit bona. ꝙ deniq; ipſum bonum ſit omnibus expetendum/ omnibus amabile ac diligibile. & quæcunq; alia/ in ſuperioribus huius capitis locis determinatio ante poſita/ & ſine hæſitatione veritati conſona: demonſtrauit.

¶ De ente: in quo etiam de exemplaribus. Cap. V.

102 TRanſeūdum iam ad eminentiſſimam eius qui vere eſt/ ſub-
ſtantialemqꝫ appellationem: iuxta theologiæ fidē explican
dam. ſi prius admonuerimus nos nequaq̄ intendere/ ſupre-
mam illã ineffabilemqꝫ ſubſtãtiam qua parte eſt superſub-
ſtãtialis: exponere. id enim & ineffabile eſt: & cognitionem
noſtram omnino expoſitionemqꝫ refugit/ & ipſam vnionē
antecellit. ſed ſubſtantificum diuinæ/ principaliſqꝫ ſubſtantiæ: ad ea quę
ſunt omnia laudare progreſſum. Nam boni quidem diuina appellatio/ Bonitas.
cauſæ omnium proceſſus omnes exponens: & ad ea quæ ſunt/ & quæ non
ſunt extenditur. & ſuper omnia quæ ſunt & quæ non ſunt: eminet. Porro
vitæ denominatio ad viuentia cuncta porrigitur: & ſupra viuentia eſt. Vita.
ſapientiæ quoqꝫ appellatio ad ſpiritualia omnia & rationalia/ ſenſibi- Sapientia.
liaqꝫ pertenditur: & ſuper hæc omnia eſt. has itaqꝫ laudare noſtra cupit
oratio (quæ prouidentiam explicent) diuinas appellationes. Neqꝫ enim
ipſam eminentem ſubſtantijs omnibus bonitatem/ & deitatem/ & ſub-
ſtantiam/ vitamqꝫ ac ſapientiam ſuperſubſtantialis ipſius deitatis pollice-
tur eloqui: quę ſuper bonitatem/ deitatem & ſubſtantiam vitamqꝫ & ſa-
pientiam in occultis (vt ſcriptura ait) ſuperne locata eſt. ſed patentem be- T
neficamqꝫ prouidentiam/ ſupremamqꝫ bonitatem/ & bonorum omnium
celebrat cauſam: & quod eſt/ & vitam & ſapientiam ſubſtantię effectricem/
& cauſam viuificam/ ſapientięqꝫ indultricem: ijs quę ſubſtantię/ ac vitę/ &
103 mentis/ & rationis/ & ſenſus capacia ſunt. ¶ Non autē aliud eſſe bonum Idem: ens/ bonum/ vita/ ſapiētia
docet/ *aliudqꝫ quod eſt/ & aliud vitam/ ſiue ſapientiã: neqꝫ plures cauſas/ &*
aliorum alias effectrices deitates ſuperiores & inferiores. ſed vnius dei bo-
nos proceſſus omnes/ *& eas (quæ celebrantur a nobis) diuinas appellatio-*
nes. & hanc quidem omnino vnius dei prouidentiæ eſſe enūciatricem: ali- V,
104 as vero generaliorū/ & alias magis particulariū eiuſdē iterpretes dici. ¶ Ac
dixerit quiſpiam. cuius rei gratia cum eſſe: vitam/ vitaqꝫ antecellat ſapiēti-
am/ & ijs quæ ſunt ſolum: ea quę viuunt/ & viuentibus ſenſibilia/ & ijs: quę
rationalia/ & rationalibus angelici ſpiritus præcellunt: & circa deum ſunt
magis/ quæ illi plus appropinquant. attamen oportebat quæ maiora mu-
nera a deo acceperunt: præſtantiora quoqꝫ eſſe/ cæteriſqꝫ præeminere. At-
qui ſi quidem ſubſtantia & vita carere ſpiritualia quiſpiam poneret: recte
iſtud diceretur. ſin autem & ſunt diuini ſpiritus ſupra reliqua quæ ſubſi-

ſtunt/& viuunt ſupra viuentia reliqua/intelliguntq; & agnoſcūt ſupra ſen
ſum/ſupraq; rationem:& ſuper omnia quæ ſunt/ pulchrū ac bonum deſi-
derant ac capiunt:ipſi magis circa bonū ſunt/ vt qui eo vberius fruuntur/
maioraq; ex ipſo dona percipiunt. ſicuti & rationalia ſenſu præditis emi-
nent/vincuntq; rationis excellentia:& vltra ſentiendi facultatem/ ea quoq;
ſuperāt & alia vita.eſtq; vt reor equidem hoc veriſſimū/ꝙ quæ vnius & in-
finitis muneribus præditi dei participatione fœliciora ſunt: illi & viciniora
X ſunt & diuiniora/ q̃ quę minus illud perceperunt. ¶ Quoniam vero & de 105
Ens ſiue q eſt.
his ſatis dictū eſt:age bonum ipſum vt veraciter ens et omnibus quæ ſunt
ſubſtantiam largiens/laudare pergamus. Ipſum qui eſt:eſſentiæ totius ſu-
perſubſtantiali virtute fundatrix cauſa eſt atq; opifex.exiſtētis ſubſiſtētiæ/
ſubſtātię/eſſētię/naturæ principiū:et menſura ſęculorū/atq; tēporū entitas/
et æternitas entium/et tempus eorum quæ fiunt.eſſe autem ijs quę quomo
dolibet ſunt:et generatio ijs quæ quomodocūq; gignūtur. Ex eo enim qui
eſt:ſæculum eſt/et eſſentia/et ens/et tempus/et generatio/et quod gignitur/
et ea quæ in exiſtentibus ſunt/et quæ quomodolibet ſubſiſtunt atq; extāt. 106
¶ Nā deus nō quoquo pacto eſt ens:ſed ſimpliciter et incircūſcripte totū
Y in ſe eſſe pariter ambit/et præambit ſuperapprehendens. Idcirco etiā rex
Rex ſæculorum.
ſæculorum dicitur:vt in quo/et circa quem totum eſſe/et ens/ſubſiſtenſq;
verſetur. Et neq; erat/ neq; erit/neq; fuit/neq; fit/ neq; fiet:immo vero neq;
eſt.ſed ijs quæ ſunt:eſſe ipſe eſt.neq; ea quæ ſunt ſolum:verū ipſum quoq;
eorum eſſe/ex eo eſt qui eſt ante ſæcula. ipſe vero eſt ſæculum ſæculorum: 107
qui ante ſæcula eſt. ¶ Reſumentes itaq; dicamus vt ijs quæ ſunt omnibus/
et ſęculis eſſe:ab eo eſt qui āte eſt.et ōne quidē ſęculū ac tēpus:ex eo eſt.om
nis autē ſæculi/ac tēporis/ et omnis quod quomodolibet eſt:is qui ante eſt/
initiū et cauſa eſt.omniaq; ipſo participant:et a nullo exiſtente diſcedit.ip-
ſeq; eſt ante omnia:et omnia in ipſo conſiſtunt. prorſuſq; ſi quid quomo- 108
dolibet eſt:in eo qui ante eſt/ et eſt/et noſcitur atq; ſeruatur. ¶ Et āte alias
ipſius participationes:eſſe prępoſitū eſt.et eſt ipſum per ſe eſſe/antiquius q̃
Z ipſam vitam/ipſamq; ſapiētiā/et ipſam ſimilitudinem diuinam eſſe. alijſq;
quibuſcunq; participantia: ante hæc omnia ipſo eſſe participant. immo et
ipſa per ſe ōnia quibus ea quæ ſunt participant:ipſo per ſe eſſe participāt.
Nullūq; ens eſt/cuius non ſit ſubſtantia et ſæculum:ipſum/atq; per ſe eſſe.
Merito igit̃ reliquis alijs prīcipalius vt qui eſt:deus ex antiquiore alijs ipſiꝰ
donis celebratur. Etenim ipſe præeſſe & ſupereſſe ante habēs/& ſuperemi-
nenter habens: idipſum (dico ipſum per ſe eſſe) præeminere fecit. atq; per 109
idipſum eſſe:quicquid quomodolibet eſt/vt ſubſiſteret effecit. ¶ Enimuero
& rerū principia omnia:ipſius eſſe participatione & ſunt/& principia ſunt.
& prius quidē ſunt:& ſubinde principia ſunt. Et ſi velis vitā ipſā viuētiū:vt
viuētiū initiū dicere/& ſimiliū: vt ſimiliū ſimilitudinē ipſam/& cōiūctorū:
vt cōiūctorū ipſā per ſe vnionē/& ordinatorū:vt ordinatorū per ſe ordinē/
& aliorū quæq; huius vel illius vel amborū vel pluriū participatione gau-
dent:& hoc/aut illud/aut ambo/vel multa/per ſe participata.inuenies pro-
fecto ipſas participationes:primum ipſo eſſe participare.& eo ipſo eſſe/pri

mum exiſtentes:mox vero huius aut illius principia eſſe.& ipſo eſſe parti-
cipando:& exiſtere/& participatas eſſe. Si autem iſta/participatione ipſius
110 eſſe ſunt:multo magis & ea/quæ ipſorū participia ſunt. ¶ Primū igitur ip- z
ſius eſſe munus cæteris præponēs ipſa ſuprema bonitas:ipſo eſſe/antiquio
re quidē & prima participationū celebratur.eſtq; ex ipſa & in ipſa & ipſū
eſſe & principia rerū:& quæ ſunt omnia/& quæ quomodocunq; ab ipſo eſ-
ſe ſunt contenta.idq; immenſurate/inuolute/atq; vnice.Namq; in monade
omnis numerus vniformiter præeſt: habetq; monas omnē in ſe numerum
vnice.& omnis numerus:complicatus quidē in monade eſt.quantum vero
a monade progreditur/tantū diſcernitur & multiplicatur.Et in centro om- qq
nes circuli lineæ/in vnitione præextiterunt:habetq; punctum omnes in ſe-
ipſo rectas lineas vniformiter iūctas ad ſe inuicem & ad vnū initiū/ex quo
proceſſere.atq; in ipſo quidem centro perfecte coniunctæ ſunt. modice ve-
ro ab ipſo diſcedentes:modice quoq; diſcernuntur.magiſq; recedentes:ma
gis.prorſuſq; quanto centro viciniores ſunt: tanto plus & illi & ſibiinuicem
iunguntur.quo vero ſe ab illo dimouent magis:eo etiā abinuicem diſtant.
Sed & in tota ipſa vniuerſorū natura/omnes naturæ cuiuſq; rationes colle
ctæ ſunt:per vnā inconfuſam vnionē.& in anima vniformiter virtutes par
tiū omnium totius corporis gubernatrices:conglobatæ atq; cōplicatæ ſūt.
Nichil itaq; alienum a noſtro inſtituto facimus: ſi per exiles imagines ad
authorem omniū cauſam aſcendentes/ purgatiſſimis & mundo ſuperiori-
bus oculis inſpiciamus omnia in omniū cauſa/ & adinuicem cōtraria:vni-
111 formiter atq; counite. ¶ Eſt enim principium rerum ex quo eſt & ipſum eſ-
ſe/& omnia quæ quomodolibet ſunt/omne initium/omnis finis/omnis vi-
ta/immortalitas omnis/omnis ſapiētia/omnis ordo/harmonia omnis/om-
nis virtus/omnis cuſtodia/firmitas omnis/omnis diſtributio/omnis intelli-
gentia/omnis ratio/omnis ſenſus/habitus omnis/omnis ſtatus/omnis mo-
tus/omnis vnio/temperamentū omne/omnis amicitia/ omnis continentia/
diſcretio omnis/ omnis diffinitio/ & alia quæq; ab ipſo eſſe cum ſint: quæ
112 ſunt omnia exculpunt. ¶ Ex eadem quoq; omnium cauſa ducuntur ange-
lorum ſanctorum intelligibiles ſpiritualeſq; ſubſtantiæ: & animarum to-
tiuſq; mundi naturæ.& quæ quoquo pacto vel in alijs ſubſiſtere:vel ſecun-
dum intelligentiā eſſe dicuntur.Deniq; ſanctiſſimæ illę antiquiſſimæ virtu
tes/cū veriſſimę ſint & veluti in valuis ſuperſubſtātialis trinitatis collocatę:
ab ipſa & in ipſa vt ſint & ad dei effigiē ſint acceperunt.& quę poſt illas in-
feriores ſunt:inferiore quoq; modo vt ſint habent.extremęq; extremo mo-
do:quantum ad angelos.quantum ad nos autem:excellenter & ſupermun
dane. Animæ itē & alia quæq; ſunt omnia:eadem ratione et vt eſſent & vt
bene eſſent acceperunt.ſuntq; & bene ſunt:ab eo qui ante eſt vt & ſint & be
ne ſint conſecuta.atq; in ipſo ſunt & bene ſunt:et cum ex ipſo initium cœ-
113 perint/in ipſo ſeruantur/atq; in ipſum finiuntur. ¶ Ac munera quidem ip-
ſius eſſe honorabiliſſima præſtantioribus ſubſtantijs diuidit: quas etiam rr
æternas ſcriptura vocat.ipſū vero eſſe:ijs quæ ſunt ōnibus nunq̄ ōnino de-
ſtituit.& ipſū quoq; eſſe:ex eo qui āte eſt ducit.et ipſius eſſētia eſt:nō ipſe/

Manuductio monadis et cētri circuli.

eſſentiæ.atqꝫ in ipſo eſſentia:non ipſe in eſſentia eſt.ipſeqꝫ eſſentiā:non ipſū
habet eſſentia.& ipſe eſt ipſius eſſe ſæculum/& initium & modus atqꝫ mēſura:qui
& ante eſſentiam eſt.& entis & ſæculi & omnium:ſubſtantificum
ss principium/& medium/ac finis eſt. ¶ Ideoqꝫ in ſanctis litteris qui vere ante 114
eſt: per omnem rerum multiplicatur intelligentiam. atqꝫ in ipſo: & erat/
& eſt/& erit/& fit/& fiet/proprie laudantur. Hæc enim omnia/ijs qui conuenienter
intelliguut: per omnem intelligentiam ipſum superſubſtantialiter
eſſe ſignificant.& eorū quę ſunt vbilibet/cauſā. Nā ꝓfecto nō iſtud quidē
eſt:illud vero nō eſt.neqꝫ alicubi eſt:alicubi non eſt.ſed omnia eſt:vt omniū
cauſa.& in ſe omnia initia/omnes concluſiones & terminos rerum omniū
cōtinens & ante habēs.& ſuper omnia eſt:vt qui ante omnia per ſubſtantiæ
eminentiam præeſt. Idcirco & omnia ipſius ſunt/ſimulqꝫ prædicātur
:& nichil eſt omnium.omni figura/& omni ſpecie præditum: formaqꝫ
carens/ac ſpecie.principia & media & fines rerum: immenſe & eminenter
in ſe ante compræhendit. omnibuſqꝫ eſſe per vnam & ſupreme coniunctā 115
Manuductio ſolis. cauſam:ſine contaminatione inſulget/ atqꝫ infundit. ¶ Si enim viſibilis ſol
ſenſibilium ſubſtantias & qualitates/ permultas licet atqꝫ differentes: ipſe
tamen vnus cum ſit/& vniformem infundendo lucem: renouat/ nutrit/ ſeruat/
perficit/diſcriminat/ coniungit/ refouet/ fœcundat/ auget/ immutat/ firmat/
implet/ſuſtollit/ viuificatqꝫ oīa.& quodlibet ex omnibus modo ſibi cōgruo:
vnius eiuſdēqꝫ ſolis eſt particeps.plurimorūqꝫ participātiū ſol vnus i
ſeipſo cauſas/ante vniformiter cœpit.multo magis omnium exemplaria rerū:
vna superſubſtantiali vnitate in ſolis & oīm cauſa/ante ſubſiſtere eſt concedendum.
Exēplaria quæ & paradigmata quia & ſubſtantias producit:ſecundum quod a ſubſtantia excedit. 116
¶ Exēplaria vero eſſe dicimus/rationes in deo ſubſtantificas rerū/& ſingulariter
tt ante ſubſiſtentes:quas prædeſtinationes theologia vocat/ & bonas
diuinaſqꝫ voluntates/eorū quæ ſunt definitrices atqꝫ effectrices.ſecundum
vv quas ipſe superſubſtantialis deus:quæ ſunt omnia prædeſtinauit atqꝫ 117
xx produxit. ¶ Si autem & philoſophus Clemēs vult etiā ad aliquid dici exēplaria
Clemēs philoſophus. /quæ ſunt in rebus magis principalia: procedit quidē illi oratio non
per propria & abſoluta & ſimplicia nomina. Cæterum vt concedamus &
yy hoc recte dici:meminerimus quid ſacra proteſtentur eloquia.quia nō ea tibi
oſtendi vt poſt illa incederes:ſed vt per rationalē horum ſcientiā/ad omniū
zz cauſam prout poſſumus prouehamur. Oīa igitur ipſi/quę ſunt ſecūdū
vnicā omnibus eminentem vnitatē:accepta ſunt referenda. quādoquidem
ab eſſentia ſubſtantifici proceſſus atqꝫ bonitatis inchoās/ & per omnia pergens
/& cuncta ex ſeipſa/eſſentia implens atqꝫ in omnibus quæ ſunt exultans
:omnia quidem in ſe ante complectitur/per vnā ſimplicitatis excellentiā
omne renuēs duplex.cūcta vero ſimiliter cōtinet ſecūdū ſuperexpāſam
ſimplicem infinitatem ſuam: atqꝫ ab oībus vnice participatur. quēadmodum 118
& vox vna cū ſit/atqꝫ eadē:a multis auribus vt vna percipitur. ¶ Oīm
itaqꝫ initium & finis rerum eſt: qui ante eſt.initium quidē vt author:finis
vero vt alicuius gratia.finiſqꝫ omniū atqꝫ infinitas totius infinitatis/ & finis
excellenter/quę velut oppoſita ſunt.imo eni(vt ſæpe iā dictū eſt)quę ſūt

omnia:& ante habet/& ſubſiſtere facit/omnibus & vbiqꝫ præſens.& ſecundum
vnum atqꝫ idem:& ſecundum idem eſſe.& ad omnia prodiens:& manens
in ſeipſo.& ſtans/ & ſe mouens:& neqꝫ ſtans/neqꝫ ſe mouens. neqꝫ initium
habens:aut medium/vel finem. neqꝫ in aliquo ſubſiſtentium eſt: neqꝫ
aliquid eſt ſubſiſtentium.& neqꝫ ei vlla ratione competit: aliquid eorū quæ
æterne ſunt/aut quæ temporaliter ſubſiſtunt. ſed tempore & ſæculo & ijs
quæ in tempore & ſæculo ſunt/omnibus eminenter excipitur.quia & ipſū
ſæculum/ & quæqꝫ ſunt/& menſuræ rerum/& quæqꝫ ſub menſuras cadūt:
per ipſum & ab ipſo ſunt.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶In occultis (vt ſcriptura ait) ſuperne locata eſt. T
Pſalmus decimus ſeptimus. Et aſcendit ſuper cherubim et volauit: volauit ſuper pēnas
ventorum.et poſuit tenebras latibulum ſuū. ¶Et hanc quidē omnino vnius dei prouidentiæ V
eſſe enunciatricem. Hanc: hanc dei appellationē ſcilicet bonitatem. Et quæ ſint
vniuerſaliores dei nuncupationes/ quęve particulariores: ſequentia monſtrabunt. Vnū
enim/verū/bonū/eſſentia: latiſſime ſe fundunt. vt etiam in materia(quæ eſt ſubſtantiarū
vltima/infimaqꝫ linea)ſe inſinuent. illa ſiquidem et vna/et vera/ et bona eſt: et ſenſibilium
deniqꝫ eſſentia. et quantum vna/ vera et bona: et ipſa quoqꝫ tantū eſt. Deinde vita.
deinde ſenſus. deinde ratio. deinde ſapientia/et intellectus. ita vt inferior ente nūcupatio
ſit vita: ſed ſenſu latior/ vniuerſaliorqꝫ. et ſenſus vniuerſalior ratione: particularior
autem vita. et rurſus ratio: latior intellectu. Intellectus autem iam fit nuncupationum
dei(ad quas noſtræ mentis penetrat obtutus)contractiſſima: poteſtate autem et efficientia/
vniuerſaliſſima. Et ex ijs quę proxime ſequūtur numero 104 habes modū ea refellēdi
quæcunqꝫ adducuntur a Platonicis ad ſuū æterna lite impacatū problema confirmādum: Platonici.
vnum eſſe ſupra ens ipſum/ſupra bonum/& pulchrum. Sed hic illa inſerere ideo
conſiliū non fuit: ꝙ ijs qui veritatem videre poſſunt/triſtis ſit omnis intelligentiæ prolapſio:
ipſa veritate (vt peregrinantes plano/rectoqꝫ calle) contentis. tū ꝙ his religioſis diuini
patris diſcuſſionibus/non aliter ꝗ prophana ſacris: ammiſcenda talia profecto neqꝫ
ſint/ neqꝫ cenſuerim. ¶Quoniā vero & de his ſatis dictum eſt. Idem intelligendum eſt X
per ens/ipſum ens/ ipſum eſſe/ qui eſt. ¶Idcirco etiam rex ſæculorum dicitur. Paulus Y
prima ad Timotheum epiſtola cap primo. Regi autem ſæculorū/immortali/inuiſibili/ſoli
deo: honor & gloria in ſæcula ſæculorū. ¶Alijſqꝫ quibuſcūqꝫ participantia. Alijs: vt ipſo Z
ſenſu/appetitu/motu/ratione. Ita enim ordo a rebus ipſis diuinos proceſſus explicantibus:
ſumptus eſſe videtur. Eſſentia/vita/ſenſus/appetitus/motus/ ratio ſeu prudētia/
intellectus ſiue ſapientia. Et vnicuiqꝫ diuina ſimilitudo adeſt: quantum ipſi diuinæ z
imitationis participatio indulta eſt. ¶Primū igitur ipſius eſſe munus: cæteris præponēs
ipſa ſuprema bonitas. Eſt enim ipſa ſuprema & ſuper omnia locata bonitas: a qua ipſū
eſſe latiſſime profluit/beneficum in omnia munus. deinde vita minus commune. deinde
ſenſus/deinde ratio/deinde intellectus: ea quidem proferens de æternitatis ſuæ theſauro
vt noua & vetera. Et hic primordialium participationum ordo non in eis ipſis
putandus eſt. nam reciproca ſunt adinuicem omnia/ & in ſumma æqualitate & mutua
conuerſione omnia. ſed in contemplatione noſtra attendendus eſt: atqꝫ in contuitu
animi / primordiales rerumqꝫ effectrices omnium diuinas participationes ex rerum
ipſarum veſtigijs perueſtigantis ſapienter. ¶Et in centro omnes circuli lineæ: in qq
vnitione præextiterunt. Vt enim numerus/ euolutio quædam eſt & explicatio monadis:
qua id quod indiuiduum eſt & ſimplex/diuidue ſe explicat. Ita linea/euolutio quędam
eſt puncti/& puncti explicatio: qua indiuiduum diuidue explicatur/& ſimplex compoſite/
& vnū multipliciter. vnitas enī in numero/punctū in magnitudine/deus in vniuerſo.
Intelligibilia numerus/ſenſibilia magnitudo/ vniuerſū deiforme.& numerꝰ: vnitas
eſt euoluta.& linea: euolutus punctus. vniuerſū autē: deus euolutus. Et rurſus vnitas:
numerus cōplicatus. pūctus: cōplicata linea. deus autē: cōplicatū vniuerſū. ſed neqꝫ
numerus vnitas/ neqꝫ linea punctus/ neq; vniuerſum deus: aut contra. Sic enim deus
omnibus præeſt & præcellit. ſpiritualibus quidem: vt ſpeculo aſtās/ſuæ imagini. corporalibus
autem: vt corpora ipſa ſuæ vmbræ corporali. immo vero perinde omnibus: vt

rr ens per defectū non enti. ¶Quas etiam ęternas ſcriptura vocat. Paulus ſecunda ad Corinthios
epiſtola/capite quarto. Quæ enim videntur: temporalia ſunt. quę autem non
ss videntur: ęterna ſunt. ¶Ideoqꝫ a ſanctis litteris: qui vere ante eſt. Apocalypſis capite
primo. Gratia vobis et pax ab eo qui eſt/& qui erat/& qui venturus eſt. Et Ioannes capite
tt primo. Omnia per ipſum facta ſunt. ¶Quas prędeſtinationes theologia vocat/et
bonas diuinaſqꝫ voluntates. Paulus epiſtola ad Romanos capite octauo. Scimus: quoniam
diligentibus deum/ omnia cooperantur in bonum ijs qui ſecundum propoſitum
vocati ſunt ſancti. nam quos ſciuit:& prędeſtinauit conformes fieri imagini filij ſui. vt
ſit ipſe primogenitus in multis fratribus. quos autem prędeſtinauit: hos & vocauit. et
quos vocauit: hos & iuſtificauit. quos autē iuſtificauit: illos & magnificauit. Et ad Epheſios
capite primo. Qui prędeſtinauit nos in adoptionem filiorum per IHESVM
CHRISTVM/ in ipſum ſecundum propoſitum voluntatis ſuæ/ in laudem gloriæ

De paradigmatis.

gratiæ ſuę. ¶Et hoc in loco pius & profundus contemplator: eleuatur ad diuinas præſcientias
laudandas/ad diuinas prædeſtinationes adorādas. quia illæ ſunt primordialia
exēplaria rerū: prima (vt beatus vocat pater) paradigmata/prædiffinitrices & bonæ dei
voluntates. quinimmo illæ ſunt ſempiterna illa ratio/ſapientia & verbum: in quo omnia

Ex quibus præſcientia et p̄deſtinatio cognoſcuntur.

priuſq̄ fierent prædiffinita & prædecreta ſūt/& per quod facta ſunt omnia. Et vt paradigmata
colligamus in quibus ſalus viuentium & vita ſaluandorum ſita eſt: primum
eſt dei filius/ deinde primordialis bonitas/primordialis amor/ obedientia/munditia/iuſtitia/
clementia/manſuetudo/miſericordia/prouidentia/ intelligentia/& ſimilia: quæ facile
per iſta intelliguntur. Primum enim prædeſtinati vocantur per regenerationis lauacrum
in filialem adoptionem. Hæc prima ſanctificatio ad diuinam in ſe viuendo efformandam
bonitatem/ad geminum amorem complendum/ad præceptorum obedientiam/
ad cordis munditiam/ ad iuſtitiam/ clementiam/ manſuetudinem/ prouidentiam/
ſapientiam: ſecundum cuiuſqꝫ captum atqꝫ ſortem. Itaqꝫ qui regenerationis eſt filius/bonitati
inuigilans: quia deus bonus eſt. deum amans: quia optimus eſt. & quia filius ſemper
patrem diligit: cuius nos factura in ipſo & per ipſum in adoptionem reformata ſumus.
& proximum: quia eundem ſpiritualem patrem habet/& eius frater eſt/ adde etiam
quia dei filius fieri voluit noſter frater & proximus. præceptorum obedientiam ſeruans:
quia deus dei filius (in quo prædeſtinati & filij ſumus) ſemper facit voluntatē patris.
munditiam colens: quia deus ſumma puritas eſt & ſanctificatio noſtra. iuſtus/ clemens/
pacificus/miſericors/prouidus/intelligens: quia deus iuſtus/ clementiſſimus/ pacis
largitor/miſerator/omnibus prouidens/& omnia in ſemetipſo cognoſcens. talis prędeſtinatus
eſt:& nomen eius in cœlo ſcriptum eſt. & ſcriptura illa ſunt diuina paradigmata/
in quibus deus omnia nouit/& prænouit: & bonæ eius voluntates. ¶Et reuera

Matt.26.

cum dominus vitæ/ orat patrem. veruntamen non mea voluntas/ ſed tua fiat. & cum

Lucę.6.

in loco campeſtri (qui huius inferioris mundi figura eſt) turbas edocet/ diſcipulos &
apoſtolos. diligite inimicos veſtros/ benefacite/ & mutuum date nichil inde ſperantes/
& erit merces veſtra multa/& eritis filij altiſſimi: quia ipſe benignus eſt ſuper ingratos
& malos. eſtote ergo miſericordes: ſicut & pater veſter miſericors eſt. Hæc tota paradigmatum
eſt/& vniuerſa (qui inſpicere valet) ſacroſancta euangelica doctrina. Et cū magnus

Coloſ.3.

Paulus clamat ad Coloſſenſes. Viri diligite vxores veſtras: ſicut & CHRISTVS
dilexit eccleſiām. Mulieres viris ſuis ſubditæ ſint/ſicut domino: quoniā vir caput eſt mulieris.

Coloſ.4.

Domini quod iuſtum eſt & ęquum ſeruis pręſtate: ſcientes ꝙ dominum habetis in

Ephe.4.

cœlo. Et ad Epheſios. Eſtote autem inuicem benigni/miſericordes/ donantes inuicem:

Ephe.5.

ſicut & deus in CHRISTO donauit vobis. Eſtote ergo imitatores dei: ſicut filij chariſſimi.
hæc omnia: ſancta paradigmata reſpiciunt. ſed ex paucis multa intelligite. ¶Et
qui regeneratus non fuerit/in libro vitæ ſcriptus non eſt: vtpote in quo ſoli filij in primo
filio ſcripti ſunt. Qui autem ſcriptus non eſt: iam iudicatus eſt & reprobus. & ita quoqꝫ
qui malus/odiens/inobediens/immundus/iniuſtus/crudelis/immanſuetus/auarus/ improuidus/
inſipiens. Non enim habet huiuſmodi aſſimilationes: in quarum primordijs
& exemplaribus præcogniti ſumus & prędiffiniti ad vitam & ſalutem/ ſed eorū priuationes.
Deletum igitur eſt de libro viuentium nomen eius: & iam iudicatus eſt & reprobus.
Qꝫ ſi eius obſcuræ vitæ & priuationum boni plenę/ pœnitentia ducatur: & eius lauacri
poteſtatem a deo petat (cui proprium eſt miſereri ſemper/ & manum porrigere lapſo/
& ad reconciliationis admittere gratiam) et a deo petat bonitatem ſibi indulgeri/et

amandi perfectionē/et mandatorum intranſgreſſibilitatē. et fiat vir ille reconciliationis filius: ſubinde bonitati ſtudēs/geminam charitatē pro poteſtate ſua amplectēs/diuinis præceptis obſequēs/& per alia diuinorū paradigmatū veſtigia pro captu ſuo/ſuaq; forte incedens/prædeſtinatus eſt/& ſcriptus in libro vitæ: qui prius ſcriptus non erat/ ſed iudicatus & reprobus. ¶Et in æterna ſapientia(quæ eadē & præſcientia & prædeſtinatio eſt)non eſt altera pro electis/& pro ijs qui in reprobū ſenſum dantur/ſcriptura: ſed & electorū & reproborū eadē eſt ſcientia. & nulla illic cōtingentia/nulla varietas/nulla mutabilitas(notæ enim ſapientiæ: ſcriptura ęterna)ſed in nobis contingentia/varietas/mutabilitas. vt qui interdum deo indultore a quo ſolo omne bonū: diuinas in nobis exprimimus imagines/quantū ipſe dat/& largitur. & tunc ſignati ſumus. & illa ſignatio noſtra/illa ſcriptura: ſumma eſt ſuis veſtigijs reddita veritas. Humana enim ſcriptura imagines reſtituit veritati: diuina autem veritatē imagini. ¶Aliquando vero ex inconſtantia & mobilitate noſtra/aut obſcuræ mendacis turbę impulſu cadimus/& illis diuinis veſtigijs priuamur: & tunc noſtra nomina deleta ſunt (& ſponſus æternus neſcit nos) & nihilominus tamen ſemper ſcripta: ſi nobis reſurgere ſit curæ/& poſſumus. ex ſe enī poteſt nullus: ſed deus eſt erector & qui poſt caſum firmat/& ſtantiū & reſurgentiū fortitudo & virtus. ¶Quo fit vt idem ſit in primordijs ſcientia & neſciētia: ſi ita dicere poſſumus. apud nos vero diuerſa: vt lumen et tenebræ/ vt gaudiū et pœna/vt vita & mors. Eam enim ſcientiā: in nobis tandem ſequitur immenſa lux/immenſa gloria/ et vita ęterna. neſcientiam vero: tandem immenſus tenebrarum horror/ et confuſio/ et intermina ſupplicia/morſq; ſecunda. ¶Et cui deus videre permiſerit quo modo liber ille in quo ſignata ſunt omnia/purus ſit: et omnis in eo ſcriptura/ et omne nomen cum alio conuertatur/in vnoq; coincidant omnia/immo omnia ſint vnum/idemq; et ſimpliciſſimum ineffabile nomen: pariter intelliget cur qui in vno deliquit/factus eſt omniū reus. Iaco.2. Et nō expaueſcet/non trepidabit ad præſcientiæ et prædeſtinationis ſancta nomina: quin potius laudabit toto gaudio effuſus diuinas præſcientias/prædiffinitiones/et bonas dei voluntates. et concinet adoptiuus/ſanctum altū et ſublime carmē filij. Pſal.138. Ecce domine tu cognouiſti omnia nouiſſima et antiqua: tu formaſti me et poſuiſti ſuper me manum tuam. mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua ex me. et beatus eſt: qui poteſt hoc ſanctum carmen canere. et gaudebit tota mentis religioſa humilitate conſtratus ante deum: cognoſcere nomē ſuum in cœlo/nomen verum/nomen nouum quo nullus eſt dignus: ſed deus habentium eſt dignitas/et ſufficientia. nomen de quo dictum eſt. vincenti dabo calculum candidum/et in calculo nomen nouum ſcriptum: quod nemo ſcit/niſi qui accipit. Apo.2. Et ſi religioſa humilitas/et ſacrarum litterarum veneratio quæ nos docent quia nemo ſcit/ an ſit amore an odio dignus: Eccēs.9. non ſinit ipſum audere cogitare nomē ſuum ſcriptum eſſe in cœlis: ſuſpirat tamē et ſperat nō ex ſuo curſu/non ex ſua voluntate/ſed ex ſola miſerentis dei præordinatrice bona voluntate/partem tandem ſe habiturū cum fidelibus. Non enī quia currimus aut volumus: prædeſtinati ſumus. ſed quia prædeſtinati ſumus: et currimus hoc ſanctum et pulchrū vitæ certamen/et volumus. immo et currere poſſe/et velle poſſe: accipimus. Perinde atq; non quia ambulo aut viuo: deus eſt motionum motus/ et viuentium omnium vita/ quare et vitæ meæ vita. ſed quia deus eſt primordialis motus/et prima vitalis/viuentiumq; vita: ego et ambulo et viuo/et vt ambulē atq; viuam: poſſe accipio. ¶Vnde fit vt deus nō æque cauſa eſſe dinoſcatur reprobationis malorum: et proborum electionis. quin reprobi ipſi ſibiipſis ſuæ reprobationis cauſa ſunt: ſua illicita deſideria ſectantes et multipliciter ſuam imitationē euertendo diuina ſpecie ſe priuantes(ad quas quidem diuinas ſpecies percipiendas: quiſq; pro captu ſuo vitam hanc temporalem/communemq; cum cæteris hominibus lucem acceperat) non æterna/bonaq; dei voluntas. Verum probi ſuę electionis non cauſa ſunt/niſi admodum exilis et parua: ſed diuina bonitas. neq; enim quicq̄ ad diuinorū paradigmatum participationem agere quiſquā poteſt: cuius ipſa/ præcipua cauſa non ſit et author/ et quod ex bona eius voluntate non pendeat. Malos enim deus odit: quos non nouit. illos autem non nouit: qui ęternaliter/ſempiterniſq; rationibus ſcripti non ſunt. at ꝙ illos odit ꝙ non noſcit/ ꝙ ſcripti non ſunt: cauſa non eſt. ſed ipſi/et eorum: ad priuationes/ ad nō eſſe/ et malum degenerantes voluntates. Qui hoc enim ignorat: philoſophiam et amoris/et ſcientię/et caloris ignorat. amor enim per ſe non odit: neq; ſcientia per ſe neſcit/ neq; calor infrigidat. Et deus bonos amat quos cognoſcit: illos autē cognoſcit/ quorum

nomina in æterna ſapientia ſcripta ſunt. Et illius amoris/illius ſcientiæ/ & primordialiũ nominum: deus tota cauſa eſt. Opera autem noſtra quæ facimus & quicquid poſſumus/ immo potius quæ in nobis fiunt: idolum ſunt in ſpeculo. deus enim in bonis ſe ſpeculatur: & illos videt. a malis autem faciem ſuam auertit: & ſpeculum tetrum ſine luce & ſine imagine manent. ¶Et cum duplex in hac noſtra huius mũdi per viam arctam peregrinatione callis ſit/trameſqꝫ bifidus: vnus quidem agendi/ & alter contemplandi: vtriuſqꝫ profecto vitæ atqꝫ ſemitæ ſua exemplaria ſunt. Et hæc: pater/ filius/ſpiritus/ dominus/ſeruus/rex/ſubditus/ bonum/ verum/ pulchrũ/amor/obedientia/ fortitudo/temperantia/largitas/miſericordia/magnificentia/humilitas/ patientia/modeſtia/ manſuetudo/benignitas/iuſtitia/amicitia/ prudentia/ & omnino prouidentia: in agendo/ amminiſtrandoqꝫ ſunt actiuæ vitæ paradigmata. & illa intelligere oportet ſupramundane. Et hæc quoqꝫ eadem in contemplando/contemplatiuæ: & pleraqꝫ alia. vt vnũ/ens/ viuens/ mouens/intelligens/æternum/potens/fœcundum/plenum/ trinũ/ſuperens/ſuperbonũ/ ſuperuiuens/& reliqua diuina nomina quæ beatiſſimus pater colligit non plane negantia. & contẽplatrix vita ſuper paradigmata aſcendit: cum id quod incognoſcibile eſt per omnia cognitum/laudat per infinitum/immenſum/incõprȩhenſibile/inuiſibile/ inacceſſibile/ĩcognitũ/& ſimilia. de quibus eſt theologia negatiua/& diuina ignorãtia: et quorũ deo digna contẽplatione/contẽplatoris animus fœlix euadit. ¶Et hic (fateor) multã aquã in anguſto vaſculo conſtringere molitus ſum: quã rẽ materia ipſa refugiebat/ iccirco quoqꝫ factus contra propoſitũ prolixior. Perſtricta tamen ſunt hæc quanta breuitate nobis donatum eſt: vt labentes erigantur intelligentiæ/& ad ſacra primordialiũ rerum ſpectacula admittantur. Sed opus fuiſſet (ingenue fateor) ad hæc ſublimia prȩſtantiore duce: & deus det/ vt ſecula noſtra illuminentur. & operarios mittat ſuæ lucis capaces: quia eius ſupereminens lux per omnia ſæcula irradiat/ſed obſcura natura non cõprȩhẽdit. ¶Et vt adiectis paucis finẽ faciamus/id attenta animaduerſione dignũ eſt: idẽ hoc in libro eſſe exempla/exemplaria/ paradigmata/ ſcientias/præſcientias/ prædeſtinationes/bonas dei voluntates/diffinitiones/prædiffinitioneſqꝫ rerũ. Non ꝙ plures putandũ ſit in deo eſſe voluntates/plures ſcientias/præſcientias/ſapientias/& huiuſmodi ſimilia. hæc enim omnia: vnum ſunt/& ſuperexcellenter vnũ. Sed hæc multitudo ex proceſſu rerũ ad ipſum ſuperexcellenter vnum(vt ex lineis ad circuli centrũ)intelligitur. omnes enim in centro ſunt vnum. Ex quibus intelligere poſſis: quæ ea ſunt exẽpla/ de quibus cap. quarto numero 54. legitur. Et ipſius gratia/ & per ipſum/& in ipſo eſt principium omne: a quo exempla ducuntur. ¶Id etiã ſilentio prætereundũ non eſt/idiotas quoſdã de his prædiffinitionibus rerũ/cõtra deum ſtulta loqui interdũ ſolere: & eum ex magno benignitatis eius munere(ꝙ liberã nobis fecerit voluntatis poteſtatẽ)accuſare. Et non minus inter litteratos hæc procella cadere ſolet: & ſtatim ex incõpoſitione ſtudiorũ inter ephebos/& impuberes(quorũ infirmæ vires vix adhuc lacte fouendæ ſunt) hæc materia ventilari. & ex contingentia nonnullarũ propoſitionũ/ protinus ſine amminiculis (vt ferme fabulantur Pyreneũ: ſine alarũ ope poſt muſas volare voluiſſe)ad cœli ſumma conſcendere/& an ipſi cœnaturi ſint: circa ſemper adorãdã dei prȩſcientiã multa delirare. Meminerint Pyreneũ ſtultȩ prȩſumptionis dediſſe pœnas: ſi fabula potius moueãtur q̃ veritate. Et hȩc profecto licentia/ hæc vero nomine impudentia: in ſtudijs reprimenda/atqꝫ arcenda eſt. ſinite ſtudia illuminari. in lumine enim ſaluamur: in lumine nemo offendit. diſcãtur logica in logicis/in naturalibus naturalia/in moralibus vitȩ inſtituta/& diuina in diuinis. Aſſurgere tamen in naturalibus/et moralibus: interdũ modeſte & reuerenter licet. amminiculatiuȩ autẽ diſciplinȩ: id põdus non ferunt. earũ enim officiũ ſolum eſt: vt in alijs ſint inſtrumenta. in diuinis autẽ aſſurrectiones: & naturales/& propriȩ ſunt.
Mala.1. ¶Et ante idiotas ſacramentũ de dilectione Iacob/& odio Eſau magnum apud
Roma.9. Paulum myſteriũ: nõ proferatur. & eis quoqꝫ interdicatur: ea de re quicq̃ temere loqui.
non autem eos decet. Iacob enim electorum multitudo: Eſau autem multitudo reproborum.
diuina quidẽ ſemper bonitate vt boni fiãt(ſeruatis rerũ numeris/ & inditis proprietatibus)benigniſſime procuratrice. Et multi ex Eſau veniunt ad miſericordiæ fontẽ:
Oſeȩ.2. & ſalui fiunt. Verũ non intelligunt ex Eſau fieri Iacob: & ex Iacob Eſau. neqꝫ quod per
prophetam dicitur. Miſerebor eius qui fuit abſqꝫ miſericordia. dicam non populo meo/
populus meus es tu: & ipſe dicet/deus meus es tu. Dicatur potius talibus: quo modo benigniſſimus deus nunc ſimilis ſolicito pro liberis patri/ nunc ſimilis importune et ſupra

modum vehementer amanti: Eſau/et reprobos vt electis inſerat & ſaluandis/per ſuos
præcones prophetas dulciter inuitat. Per Eſaiam cap. 44. Reuertere (inquit) ad me:
quoniam redemi te. Et cap. 55. derelinquat impius viam ſuam/& vir iniquus cogitatio-
nes ſuas/et reuertatur ad dominum & miſerebitur eius: et ad deum noſtrum/quoniam
multus eſt ad ignoſcēdū. Per Hieremiam cap. tertio. Vulgo dicitur/ſi dimiſerit vir vxo-
rem ſuam/et recedens ab eo duxerit virum alterum: nunquid reuertetur ad eam vltra?
nunquid nō polluta erit/et cōtaminata mulier illa? Tu autē fornicata es cū amatoribus
multis: tamē reuertere/dicit dominus: & ego ſuſcipiā te. Et iterū. Frons mulieris meretri Hiere. 3.
cis facta eſt tibi: noluiſti erubeſcere. ergo ſaltem amodo voca me: pater meus es tu/dux
virginitatis meæ tu es. Et per Malachiā cap. tertio. Ego enī deus/et non mutor. Reuerti-
mini ad me & ego reuertar ad vos. Et iterum. Et attēdit dominus & audiuit: et ſcriptus Mala. 3.
eſt liber monumenti coram eo timentibus dominū/et cogitantibus nomen eius. et erūt
michi (dicit dominus exercituū) in die qua ego facio in peculiū. et parcā eis ſicut vir par-
cit filio ſuo ſeruienti ſibi. et conuertimini: et videbitis quid ſit inter iuſtum & impium/
et inter ſeruientem deo & non ſeruientem ei. Hæc & ſimilia poterunt eos cōſolari: quæ
prima ſui intelligentia purgant/et dei benignitates & bonas eius in nos voluntates de-
clarant. ❡Et ad eos qui in re litteraria verſantur dicendū: vt meminerint non ex inſtabi
litate ſemper fluctuantiū rerum/non ex euentu rerum incerto indeterminatoq; ad æter-
nas præſcientias ſtabiliſſimas/certiſſimas & rerum omnium prediffinitrices cauſas eſſe
aſcendēdū. ſed pietate/religione/veneratione/et ſobria oratione: ad diuina paradigma-
ta eſſe viam. quæ ſemper a nobis & ab ijs quæ ſupra nos ſunt ſint benedicta. Et hæc pro
introductione diffuſius q̃ par ſit: dicta eſſe videbuntur. ❡Quæ ſunt omnia prædeſtina- vv
uit/atq; produxit. Prædeſtinauit: pręſcripſit/prædiffiniuit. ❡Si autē et philoſophus Cle- xx
mens. Hunc volunt eſſe Clemētem qui tertius a Petro ſedit pontifex. et de quo Paulus
ad Philippenſes cap. quarto. Etiam rogo & te germane cōpar: adiuua illas quæ mecum
laborauerunt in euangelio cum Clemente/et cæteris adiutoribus meis: quorum no-
mina ſunt in libro vitæ. Et exemplaria in rebus principalia quædam nominabat: vt my-
ſterialia. ſed illam ſignificationē minus in propoſito congruentē: non approbat beatus
pater. Neq; quidē illa diuina ſigna: principaliſſima ſunt/præcipueq; ſequēda: ſed ea quæ
per illa intelliguntur/quæ & vera ſunt exēplaria. Vbi autem Clemēs id dicat: non con-
ſtat. Et in deuteronomio cap. viceſimo nono ita ſcribitur. Cuſtodite ergo verba pacti hu
ius/et implete ea: vt intelligatis vniuerſa quæ facitis. ❡Meminerimus quid ſacra prote yy
ſtentur eloquia: quia non ea tibi oſtendi vt poſt illa incederes. Id ex decimotertio cap.
Oſee prophetæ deſumptū putatur. vbi ſeptuaginta interpretum tralatio ſic habet. Ego
autem dominus deus tuus formans cœlum & creans terram: cuius manus creauit om-
nem militiā cœli/et non oſtendi ea tibi vt ambulares poſt ea. et eduxi te de terra Aegy-
pti: et deum præter me non cognoſces/& ſaluator non eſt præter me. Nunc vero id ſolū
legitur. Ego autem ſum dominus deus tuus ex terra Aegypti: et deū abſq; me neſcies/ zz
et ſaluator non eſt præter me. ❡Omnia igitur ipſi quæ ſunt ſecundum vnicam. Ipſi: ipſi
omniū cauſæ. Et quod paulo poſt infra ſubiungitur. atq; in omnibus quæ ſunt exultans.
id eſt quod per prophetam dicitur: pſalmo centeſimo tertio. Sit gloria domini in ſæcu-
lum: letabitur dominus in operibus ſuis.

❡QVINTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

102 SVſcipiendam nūc eſſe determinationem diuinæ appellationis/qua is
qui vere eſt: ens/ſubſtantia/atq; ſubſiſtēs nominatur: et id quidem ſe-
cūdū ſcripturæ ſãctę ſentētiā/proponit ſacer Dionyſius. Prius tamen
admonet non eſſe ſuæ intētionis/explicare ipſam diuinam ſubſtantiā:
vt in ſeipſa ſupereminenter ſubſiſtit/et quatenus superſubſtãtialis eſt.
Ea enim/ineffabilis eſt: et cognitionem omnē atq; explanationem hu-
manam trãſcendit. quinimmo & ipſam coniunctionē mentis cum deo
per infuſionem diuini radij (quæ ſane vnio: dicta eſt cognitionem intellectualē antecel-
lere) ſupergreditur. ſed ſui eſſe propoſiti: laudare benignã diuinæ & primitiuæ ſubſtan-
tiæ progreſſionem ad ea omnia quę ſunt/ſubſiſtentię rerum omnium cauſam & authorē.
Siquidē ipſa diuina boni appellatio/beneficos omnes ipſius dei (qui omniū eſt cauſa)
proceſſus declarãs & expromens: tã ad ea quæ ſũt q̃ ad ea quæ non ſunt protenditur. et
ſuper omnia quæ ſunt & ea etiam quæ non ſunt expanſa: ſublimiter eminet/vt in prima

Cap.
5

parte quarti capitis huius libri ſæpius dictum eſt. Entis vero ſiue ſubſtantiæ nũcupatio:
ſolum ad ea quæ ſunt omnia extenditur/ et illis omnibus ſuperfunditur. quæ enim non
ſunt: ipſo eſſe nequaq̃ participant. Quocirca latior eſſe cognoſcitur ambitus ipſius bonitatis
& ad plura profuſus: q̃ ipſius entis. At vero vitæ denominatio/ad viuẽtia cuncta cũ
ſenſibilia tum intellectualia porrigitur: et ſupra omnia viuentia eſt/in deo principaliter
collocata. Deniq; ſapientię appellatio a deo primũ profecta: ad omnes cœleſtes ſpiritus/
homines/et animalia rationis expertia ꝙ ſentiendi habeant facultatem pertenditur: et
ſuper hæc omnia eminẽter eſt. Has itaq; diuinas appellationes/bonitatẽ/entitatem/vitam
/ſapientiam (quæ diuinam in ea quæ condita ſunt explicant prouidentiam/atq; bonorum
cõmunicationem) præſens determinatio proponit eloqui. Neq; enim ipſã ſuperdiuinam
bonitatem ſubſtantijs omnibus eminentẽ/atq; ſubſtantiam/vitam & ſapientiam
ſupremæ ipſius deitatis: promittit effari. quãdoquidem ipſa ſumma deitas: ſuper bonitatem
omnem a creaturis participatã/etiam & ſuper ſubſtantiam vitam & ſapientiam
rebus cõmunicatam: in abditis & abſtruſis diuinitatis receſſibus eminentiſſime eſt collocata.
Sed hæc oratio atq; pertractatio laudat in aperto conſpicuã & beneficiorum largitricem
prouidentiam ac bonitatẽ diuinam: in omnia/ſuæ bonitatis munera effundẽtem.
ipſam itidem ſupremã ſubſtantiam: vt omnis ſubſtantiæ eſt effectrix. ſic & vitam ipſam:
omnium quæ viuũt cauſam viuificam. et deniq; ipſam ſapientiã: ijs quę mentis rationis
et ſenſus capacia ſunt ſapientię indultricem ac authorem. ¶ Oſtẽdit deinde diuinus pater 103
/idem eſſe re ipſa: bonum/ens/vitam & ſapientiam in deo. Neq; noſtra (inquit) oratio
docet aliud eſſe bonũ/aliud ipſum ens/aliud item vitam/et aliud ſapientiam. neq; itidẽ
docet plures eſſe primas cauſas/& alias deitates aliorum effectrices/alias vero aliorum.
vt ſint inter eas aliquæ ſuperiores deitates: quæ plus habeãt virtutis aut ad plura ſe profundant.
et aliæ deitates inferiores: quæ minus habeant authoritatis/et ad pauciora ſe
porrigãt. Sed edocet hæc oratio omnes huiuſmodi bonos proceſſus vnius eſſe dei/atq;
ab vno eodemq; profectos: qui & ſumma bonitas eſt/et ipſum eſſe & vita et ſapientia.
et has omnes quæ prędicantur in hoc opere & laudãtur diuinas appellationes: non plurium
ſed vnius & eiuſdem dei eſſe nuncupationes. Docet item vnam ſupradictarũ appellationum
vtpote bonitatem/omnium vnius dei prouidentiarum eſſe enunciatricem:
atq; omnium ampliſſimam & latiſſimã. Alias autem diuinas appellationes eſſe & dici interpretes
generaliorum eiuſdem dei prouidẽtiarum: quæ ſcilicet ad plura ſe extendunt.
vt ſubſtãtia. Alias vero explicatrices eſſe magis particulariũ eiuſdem dei prouidẽtiarum
et participationum: quæ ſcilicet ad pauciora porrigũtur/& rarioribus conueniunt. vt vita
/et ſapientia. ¶ Deinde obiectionẽ diſſoluit ratione ſupradictorũ ſuboriẽtem. Diceret 104
enim fortaſſe aliquis/cum ipſum eſſe præcedat antiquitate & generalitate vitam: et vita
eo etiam modo antecedat ſapientiam. pluribus enim cõuenit eſſe q̃ viuere: et pluribus
itidem conuenit vita q̃ ſapientia. cum itidem ea quæ viuũt: præſtantiora ſint natura ijs
quæ ſunt ſolum/et ſenſibilia: ſolum viuẽtibus ſint perfectiora/et ſenſibilibus: rationalia/
et rationalibus: angelici ſpiritus pręcellant. et ea entium genera magis circa deum ſint:
quæ illi proprietatum excellentia & perfectione propinquiora ſunt atq; ſimiliora. vt angelici
ſpiritus: cæteris omnibus deo viciniores. cur animalia bruta ſubſtãtiam habent vitam
& ſẽſum: homines autem ſortiti ſunt ſubſtantiam/vitam/ſenſum & rationem. cœleſtes
autẽ ſpiritus illis carent: ſubſiſtendi inquam ſorte/viuendi/ſentiendi & ratione vtendi
/ſolamq; habẽt ſapientiæ participationem. et tamen animalibus brutis & hominibus
longe habentur præſtãtiores & perfectiores? cũ potius oporteret ea entia quę maiora et
plura a deo munera acceperũt/vt bruta & homines: pręſtantiora etiã eſſe & cæteris antecellere
¶ Reſpondet beatus pater ꝙ ſi quiſpiã poneret aut admitteret ipſos cœleſtes
ſpiritus carere ſubſtãtia & vita: iſta obiectio locum haberet ac robur/recteq; formaretur.
At vero id falſum eſt. nam ſpiritus ipſi angelici ſũt perfectiore modo: q̃ reliqua quę ſubſiſtunt.
et viuunt perfectiore vita: q̃ reliqua viuentia. intelligunt etiam & agnoſcunt ſublimiore
ratione: q̃ quę ſenſum habent & rationem. et longe excellẽtius q̃ cętera quæ ſunt:
ipſum pulchrum & bonum deſiderant. et illius copioſiorem habent participationem/ꝙ
exuberantius eo perfruũtur: et maiora ex ipſo dona ob propinquitatẽ & ſimilitudinem
cognatiorem ſuſcipiunt. quemadmodum & rationalia pręeminent perfectione: ſenſu ſolum
pręditis/et exuperant ea/rationis natura inditæ excellentia. et ſupra ſentiẽdi facultatem
ipſa rationalia vincunt ſenſibilia: etiam alia vita/vtpote ſpiritus & rationis: quæ

longe pręſtat vitę ſẽſus. Et vt paucis agantur õnia: id omnibus indubitatũ eſſe debet/ ꝙ
ea quæ vberiore ipſius vnius dei/ infinitis perfectionibus prędıti participatione cumulata
ſũt atqꝫ locupletata: viciniora illi ſunt & diuiniora/ q̃ illa quę minus dei participationẽ
105 et in paucioribus perceperũt. ¶ Deinde dignis laudibus cõcelebrat deũ ſub entis ſiue
eius qui eſt/ nũcupatione. Quoniam (inquit) de his ſatis iam dictum eſt: laudãdũ nũc
eſt bonum ipſum ſupremũ vt vere ens/ et omnibus quę ſunt ſubſiſtentiã impartiens. Sane
ipſe qui eſt: totius exiſtentiæ in creaturis ſuperſubſtãtiali ſua virtute cauſa eſt ac opifex/
omnis ſubſiſtentiæ/ ſubſtantię/ eſſentiæ naturęqꝫ principium. eſt & menſura durationum/
entitas temporũ/ æternitas entium/ et determinatio tẽporis eorum quę fiunt. Ipſe
itidem qui eſt: author eſt ipſius eſſe ijs quę quouis modo ſunt/ et author generationis ijs
quę quouis pacto gignuntur. Nempe ex eo qui eſt: menſura durationis rerum profluit/
et eſſentia & ens omne/ et tempus & generatio/ et quod gignitur. Ex eodem item ſunt ea
omnia quæ inter exiſtentia ſunt: et quę quouis modo ſubſiſtunt/ atqꝫ in rerũ natura conſtant.
106 ¶ Non enim deus aliquo particulari exiſtendi modo eſt ens: ſicut ea quæ ab ipſo
condita ſunt. ſed vnice/ ſingulariter & indefinite totum in ſe eſſe pariter complectitur
et ante compręhendit: omne genus entis & ſubſiſtendi modum omnem in ſe eminenter
et ſimpliciter ambiẽs. Et idcirco in ſcripturis ſanctis etiam rex ſęculorum dicitur/ quoniã 1. timo. 1.
in eo & circa ipſum: totum eſſe/ et vniuerſaliter omne ens & ſubſiſtẽs/ abſolute verſatur.
quocũqꝫ tempore/ loco & modo: illud exiſtat. Et deus ipſe quia ab omni particulari modo
ſubſiſtendi abſoluitur/ eminẽterqꝫ excipitur: neqꝫ erat/ neqꝫ erit/ neqꝫ fuit neqꝫ fit neqꝫ
fiet. immo vero neqꝫ eſt: quoniã omni illi quod eſt/ longe ſupereminet. ſed ipſe eſt eſſe:
ijs quæ ſunt. Neqꝫ ſolum ea quę ſũt: ſed etiam ipſum eſſe eorum & quod participatur ab
ijs quæ ſunt/ eſt ex eo qui eſt ante ſæcula. Ipſe vero deus eſt ſęculum ſæculorum & definitio
107 atqꝫ determinatio durationũ omnium: qui eſt ante ſęcula. ¶ Supradictis & illud
eſt adijciendum. ꝙ eſſe ſiue exiſtentia/ eſt omnibus quæ ſunt & etiam ſęculis: ab eo qui
ante eſt & duratione et excellẽtia. ꝙ & omnibus eſt antiquitate prior: et perfectione eminẽtior.
et omne ſæculũ/ tempus & euum: ex eo vt authore eſt. Inſuper & is qui ante omnia
eſt: initium eſt & cauſa omnis ſęculi et tẽporis/ et cuiuſlibet etiam entis/ quod quouis
modo ſubſiſtit. et omnia ipſo qui eſt participant/ et ipſe a nullo diſcedit exiſtente: ſui
participationem ſubtrahendo. Ipſe itidem eſt ante omnia: & cuncta in ipſo vt continẽte
et conſeruãte conſiſtunt. Et in ſumma/ ſiquid aliquo modo eſt: illud & eſt & intelligitur &
108 conſeruatur in eo qui ante omnia eſt/ tanq̃ fonte primitiuo cuiuſcũqꝫ eſſentiæ. ¶ Poſtea
comparat ſacratus pater ipſum eſſe/ ad alias dei participationes illud conſequentes ac
poſteriores: vt vitam/ ſapientiam & conſimiles. dicens ꝙ ipſum eſſe præpoſitũ eſt ordine
& antiquitate ante cæteras õnes ipſius dei participationes. et ipſũ per ſe eſſe/ ſimpliciter
& abſolute dictum: antiquius eſt & natura prius q̃ ipſam vitam eſſe/ ipſam ſapientiam
eſſe/ et ipſam ſimilitudinem diuinam eſſe. Et alijs quibuſcũqꝫ diuinis perfectionibus
participantia/ vt virtute/ pace/ vnitate & conſimilibus: ante has omnes/ ipſo ente participant/
quod in cæteris omnibus pręſupponitur ac includitur. Quinimmo & ipſa per ſe
omnia diuina munera: vt ipſa vita/ ipſa ſapientia/ ipſa perfectio/ ipſa vnitas (quibus ea
quæ ſubſiſtunt in rerum vniuerſitate/ participãt: ſuntqꝫ ab illis viuentia/ cognoſcentia/
perfecta/ et vnum) ipſo etiam per ſe eſſe participãt. nam & ipſa ſapiẽtia eſt/ ipſa vita eſt:
ipſa perfectio eſt/ ipſa deniqꝫ vnitas eſt. Nullumqꝫ dari poteſt ens in rerum natura: cuius
ipſum eſſe & per ſe eſſe/ non ſit ſubſtantia/ ſæculum/ et cauſa. Non ab re igitur deus ipſe
ab ea nũcupatione qui eſt/ celebratur principalius & potius q̃ a reliquis alijs: tanq̃ a dono
antiquiore/ priore & ãteriore/ q̃ ſint reliqua ipſius in creaturas diffuſa dona. Enimuero
ipſe deus habens ante creaturas omnes/ præexiſtere et ſuperexiſtere: et quidem ſupereminenter
(nam ante omnes eſt: et ſuper omnes excellẽter eſt) ipſum per ſe eſſe fecit
cæteris ſuis muneribus quæ rebus conditis cõmunicauit/ præeminere & ſupereminere.
109 atqꝫ per idipſũ per ſe eſſe: vt quicquid aliquo exiſtendi modo eſt ſubſiſteret/ effecit. ¶ Siquidem
& omnia rerum principia: quæ rebus ipſis dãt aliquo modo eſſe (vt vnitas: eorũ
quæ vnum ſunt principiũ/ et perfectio: eorum quæ ſunt perfecta/ et ita de cæteris) ipſius
eſſe participatione & ſunt et principia ſunt. et prius quidem naturæ ordine ſunt: deinde
vero principia ſunt. vt exiſtendi in ipſis ratio prior ſit: q̃ principij. Cæterũ nomine principiorum
hoc in loco omnia intelligũtur principia: et particularia/ vt rerum particulares
formæ & materiæ et efficientes/ fineſqꝫ particulares. et vniuerſalia vt cœlorum virtutes/

Cap. 5

et ipſa per ſe bonitas/entitas/ſapiētia/vita:et ſimilia id genus.Qꝫ ſiquis velit ipſam vitam viuentium/ dicere vt initium viuētium. et ipſam ſimilitudnem deo ſimilium: dicere vt principium eorum quæ deo ſunt ſimilia.ſimiliter ipſam per ſe vnionem coniunctorum:eſſe vt principium coniunctorum.et per ſe ordinē ordinatorum:aſſerere eſſe vt initium ordinatorū.et ſimiliter alia per ſe talia/eſſe principia aliorum:quę vnius/vt vnitatis.vel alterius:vt vitæ.vel amborum vt vnitatis & vitæ.vel plurium vt vnitatis vitæ et ſapientiæ:habent participationem.ponatqꝫ idem aut hoc/vt vnitatem / aut illud vt vitam/aut ambo vt vnitatem & vitam/aut multa:vt vnitatem vitam & ſapiētiam/per ſe a rebus participata:is certe inueniet ipſas participationes vt per ſe ſimilitudinē vnionem/et ordinem/vnitatem/vitam/ſapientiā:primum ipſo eſſe participare.et propter hoc ipſum:illas primū exiſtere/deinde vero huius aut illius principia eſſe.eſt enim prius ſimilitudo:deinde ſimilium eſt principium.et oportet vnionem ipſam eſſe:vt coniūctorum ſit initium.et ipſe per ſe ordo primum eſt:poſtea vero ordinatorum eſt cauſa et exordiū.Vnde iſtæ participationes & conſimiles per hoc ꝙ ipſo eſſe participant:et ſunt et a rebus participatæ ſunt.vt quoniam vita participat ipſo eſſe:ipſa & eſt/et a viuentibus participatur/eſtqꝫ viuentium principium.Cum autē ipſæ participationes:ipſius eſſe participatione oſtenſæ ſint eſſe.et ipſa participātia vt ſimilia/coniuncta/ordinata/viuentia/cognoſcētia:ipſis participationibus ſimilitudine/vnione/ordine/vita/ ſapiētia ſint poſteriora/nam illarum participatione ſunt talia:conſequens eſt potiori iure & ipſa participātia/ipſius eſſe participatione ſubſiſtere.Quicquid enim eſt participās participātis: participans eſt & participati.Conſtitutis ſiquidem tribus terminis iam propoſitis:ipſum eſſe ſolum participatum eſt/et in ſupremo collocatur faſtigio.Participationes ipſæ(quæ rerum per ſe ſunt principia: vt vita & ſapientia)medium occupant locum.et reſpectu ipſius eſſe/participantia ſunt:collatione autem facta ad alterum extremū/ſunt participata.Poſtremo vero loco & infimo:ſita ſunt ſolum participantia/vt viuentia & cognoſcentia/quæ & vita et ſapientia participāt.Itaq; hoc loco a minori ad maius progrediendo: ſic nectitur ratio.Ipſa participantia vt ſimilia/coniuncta & ordinata:ipſis participationibus ſcilicet ſimilitudine vnione & ordine participant/ac talia ſunt.Et ipſæ participationes/ipſo eſſe participant:nam per ipſum eſſe ſubſiſtunt.Igitur & ipſa participantia:ipſo eſſe participant.Quicquid enī poſterius eſt poſteriore:poſterius eſt & priore.et quicquid dependet a cauſali:depēdet itidem et ab eius cauſa. ¶Nunc vero ipſam bonitatem ad alias diuinas appellationes confert:et quatuor exemplis ſenſibilibus manuducit ad diuinæ entitatis ſimplicitatem & eminentiam intelligendā.dicens ꝙ ipſa ſuprema dei bonitas ipſum eſſe(vt dictum eſt)antecedens/et ipſius eſſe munus cæteris dei donis entitatem comitantibus præponens:laudatur ac prædicatur ipſo eſſe tanꝗ antiquiore cæteris participationibus/et reliquarum participationum poſt entitatem primo.Eſtqꝫ ex ipſa ſumma dei bonitate & in ipſa:ipſum eſſe & principia rerū/vt vita/ſapiētia/vnitas/perfectio.et omnia quæ ſunt/& quæ quouis modo ab ipſo eſſe contenta ſunt:ex ipſa itidem ſuprema dei bonitate & in ipſa ſunt.non quidem definite ſed incircūſcripte/non expanſe ſed complicate/non multipliciter ſed vnice.Quod primū declaratur in monade & numero.Siquidem in monade/omnis numerus vniformiter & vnice præeſt: virtute & poteſtate in ea compręhēſus.habetqꝫ numeralis vnitas omnem in ſe numerum vnice/indiuidue & ſimpliciter:et omnis numerus cōplicatus eſt & inuolutus in vnitate.et quantum a monade progreditur numerus:tantum euoluitur/explicatur & in multitudinem ſurgit.Inde numeri propinquiores vnitati:minus ad pluralitatem labuntur/et ad monadis ſimplicitatem propius accedunt.vt binarius & ternarius.Qui vero diſtantiores ſunt ab vnitate/principio & fonte numerorum:magis decumbūt ad multitudinem/et ab indiuidua vnitatis ſingularitate magis elongātur.Secundo idem declaratur in centro circuli & lineis ab eo progrediētibus.Sane in ipſo centro omnes circuli lineæ anteꝗ e centro protraherentur ad circūferentiā/in vnitione præextiterūt.habetqꝫ punctum illud in meditullio circuli cōſtitutū/omnes in ſeipſo lineas rectas: vniformiter ſimpliciter et vnice coniunctas ad ſe inuicem & ad vnum principium ex quo proceſſere/vtpote punctum illud mediaſtimum.Atqꝫ in ipſo quidem centro:lineæ omnes indiſtāter & immenſurate coniunctæ ſunt.Modice autem diſcedentes a centro/per protractionem & deſcriptionē ſenſibilem:modice etiam diſcernūtur.magis vero recedentes a centro:magis ſecernuntur.Et omnino quanto lineæ illæ egredientes a centro/ipſi centro ſunt propinquiores:

tanto et ipsi centro & adinuicem indistantius iunguntur. quãto vero lineæ illæ amplius
seipsas a centro dimouent: tanto maior est earum a centro & abinuicem intercapedo/&
diffusius interstitium. Tertio idem manifestatur exemplo naturæ vniuersalis & particularis.
quoniam in ipsa tota vniuersarum rerum natura(quæ generali ratione explicatur;
omnem particularem rerum naturam ambiente)omnes cuiusq; particularis naturæ rationes
speciales/collectæ sunt. vt naturæ inanimatorum/viuentium/sentientium/rationalium/
et spiritualiũ: per vnam sine aliqua confusione/rationis vnionẽ. Quarto idem ostenditur
in anima: potissimum sensitiua/appetitiua/et motiua. in qua virtutes particulares/
gubernatrices partium totius corporis: vt virtus visiua/auditiua/tactiua/progressiua/et
cæteræ: conglobatæ sunt & complicatæ. quasi delitescentes in ea/anteq̃ explicẽtur in singulas
corporis partes: & ab anima egrediantur ad functiones corporis. Neq; putet quispiam
id alienũ ab officio diuina pertractandi esse: si per tenues & exiguas rerum sensibilium
imagines ad deum authorem omnium paretur ascensus animis. qui demũ lympidissimis
& cœlo sublimioribus oculis conspiciant hisce manuductionibus: omnia rerum
genera etiam ea quæ adinuicem sunt contraria/esse in omniũ causa vniformiter et coniunctæ.
111 ¶Siquidem ipsum rerũ omnium principiũ(ex quo est & ipsum esse quod participatur
a rebus : et omnia quæ quouis modo existunt)est omne initium/omnis finis/omnis
vita/immortalitas omnis: quoniã hæc omnia in eo ante existũt singulariter & vnice/
et ab eo in ea quæ sunt emanãt. Est etiam idem principiũ/omnis sapientia/omnis ordo/
omnis proportio atq; cõmensuratio: omnis virtus/omnis custodia ac cõseruatio rerum/
omnis firmitas & stabilitas. ꝙ ista supereminẽter & simpliciter in eo sunt: causaliterq; et
effectiue ab eo prodeunt. Insuper ipsum rerum principium est omnis distributio ac elargitio
diuinorum munerũ quæ fit rebus/ cuiq; pro suo captu: omnis intelligentia ac mentis
cognitio/omnis ratio ac discurrẽdi per ratiocinationem virtus/omnis sensus/omnis
habitus ac firma qualitas naturæ rei competens. nam singula horum in eo singulariter
prẹexistũt ac superexcellenter: et ab ipso vt authore deriuantur in ea quę condita sunt.
Deniq; idem rerum principiũ est omnis status ac quies rerum/omnis motus/omnis vnio
ac coniũctio rerum adinuicem/temperamentũ omne saluti rerum cõgruens: omnis amicitia/
omnis continentia comprælensioq; rerum/omnis discretio & inconfusa distinctio
rerum/omnis diffinitio ac determinatio rerum/et alia insuper talia munera. quæ cũ sint
ab ipso esse/atq; a deo qui vere est: effigiant ac efformant omnia quę sunt. quoniã tanq̃
sculpturę quædã & signacula: ab ipso primo ente rebus omnibus indita sunt & insculpta.
112 ¶Deinde ostendit sacratus pater omnes rerum existẽtium gradus pendere ac proficisci
ab ipso esse: tanq̃ suo fonte ac principio. Ex eadem(inquit)suprema omnium causa exortum
suum habent cœlestium spirituum intellectuales substantiæ/animarũ itidem omnium
naturæ/et totius mũdi. immo & omnia: quæ aliquo modo in aliis subsistere/vel secundum
rationẽ intelligendiq; modum esse dicuntur. vt caliditas frigiditas & huiusmodi
accidentia: in suis subiectis subsistunt. humanitas autem animalitas & talia vniuersalia:
secũdũ rationẽ cõmunẽ & animi notionẽ recte esse dicũtur. Insuper ipsæ inter angelicos
spiritus/supremæ distinctionis virtutes/cũ verissime omniũ subsistãt/et ipsi superdiuinæ
trinitati proximæ sint/et immediate sub illa collocatę: ab ipsa omniũ causa acceperunt/
et in ipsa vt conseruãte habent ꝙ sint/et ꝙ ad dei effigiẽ cæteris expressius & lympidius
formatę sint. Deinde medię distinctionis cœlestes substãtię quæ supremis illis inferiores
sũt: inferiore etiã modo habẽt vt sint. Demũ postremæ distinctionis & infimæ/cœlestes
spiritus: postremo etiã & infimo modo habẽt vt sint/sumpta cõparatione ad angelicas
spiritualesq; substãtias. nam facta eorũ collatione ad nos homines: ipsi postremi ordines
angelorũ habent vt sint. excellenter & supermundane/ꝙ longe excellentiorem & præstantiorem
habeant q̃ homines subsistendi modum. Animę itidem vegetatrices/sensitiuæ
& rationales/et alia omnia quæcũq; subsistunt: cõsimiliter ab ipsa suprema omnium
causa/et vt essent secundũ substãtiam & vt bene essent secundũ naturales proprietates/
acceperunt. suntq; & bene sunt omnia: consecuta vt & sint et bene sint/ ab eo qui ante
omnia est. atq; in ipso qui ante est vt continente & seruante: et sunt & bene sunt. Et cum
ex ipso qui ante est/vt efficiẽte initiũ ceperint omnia: in ipso vt continẽte etiam seruantur/
atq; in ipsum vt finem optimũ reducuntur & finiuntur. vt ratione triplicis causæ/omnia
113 ex eo qui ante est dependeãt: ab ipso/in ipso/et in ipsum. ¶Insuper & ipse qui ante
est/præstãtioribus substantijs scilicet angelicis dispartit munera ipsius esse perfectissima:

Pſal.23. quas quidem angelicas ſubſtantias ſcriptura ſacra vocat æternas/cum ait. Attollite portas
principes veſtras/et eleuamini portæ ęternales:et introibit rex gloriæ. Et merito ſane
excellentioribus ſubſtantijs pręſtantiorem ſubſiſtendi modum largitur:ꝙ rectiſſima
prouidentiæ ratio dignioribus ſemper digniora dona diſtribuit. Ipſum autem eſſe/nūq̄
omnino deſeritur aut ſubtrahitur ab ijs quæ ſunt. nam ſi ipſius eſſe participatione eſſēt
deſtituta:protinus interirent. Quinimmo & ipſum eſſe quod rebus in participationem
diſtribuitur:ex eo qui ante omnia eſt/proficiſcitur & ducit ortum. Et ipſius vt efficientis
eſt eſſentia:non autem ipſe eſt eſſentiæ tanq̄ effectricis. nam omnis eſſētia rerum ab ipſo
producta eſt:non autē ediuerſo ipſe productus ab eſſentia. In ipſo itidem vt conſeruātē
eſt eſſentia:non autem cōtra ipſe in eſſentia eſt vt conſeruatrice. nam ipſe deus eſſentiā
rerum conſeruat:& non cōſeruatur ab ea. Deniq; ipſe eſſentiam habet vt a ſe contentam
et conſeruatā:non autem econtrario ipſum habet eſſentia tanq̄ cōtinens eum. Ipſe nāq;
continet eſſētiam:et non cōtinet ipſum eſſentia. Pręterea ipſe qui ante eſt/eſt ipſius eſſe
diſtributi in rebus/ſæculū ac initium/modus & menſura:qui ſane ante omnem eſt eſſentiam.
ipſe itidem ſubſtantificū eſt principium & mediū et finis:cuiuſlibet entis/durationis 114
rerum/et omnium exiſtentiū. ¶ Idcirco in ſancta ſcriptura ipſe qui vere ante omnia
eſt:multipliciter exprimitur/et per omnē exiſtendi rationē ac notionem. atq; in ipſo hæ
temporū differētię:erat/eſt/erit/fit & fiet:apte/accōmodeq; laudātur. Quippe hęc ōnia
temporum motionūq; diſcrimina ſignificāt ijs qui recte intelligunt:ipſum ſuperſubſtantialiter
eſſe per omnē ſubſiſtendi modū/omnemq; eſſentiæ rationem ipſum ambire atq;
in ſe cōplecti/ipſumq; eorū omniū quę quouis in loco & tēpore ſunt:eſſe cauſam Siquidem
ipſe qui vere ante eſt:non vnum eſt/et aliud non eſt. neq; vno in loco eſt:et alio in
loco non eſt. ſed omnia eſt:vt omnium cauſa. et omnem locum pariter & tempus præambit
/circumplectitur & cōpręhendit. Ipſe itidem omnia rerum initia/limites omnes &
terminos continens ac ante habens:ſuper omnia eſt/quoniam ante omnia per ſubſtantiæ
excellentiam præeſt. Ideo & omnia ipſius ſunt/ ſimul & dicuntur:& tamen nichil eſt
omniū. ipſe itidem omni figura & ſpecie præditus prædicatur: pariter & forma carēs &
ſpecie. Deniq; idē principia media & fines rerū incircūſcripte ac immēſurate in ſe ante
compræhendit:& omnibus ipſum eſſe ſine cōmixtione aut confuſione impartit ac infundit 115
per ſeipſum/qui vnica eſt & ſupreme cōiuncta et ſimplex rerum omniū cauſa. ¶ Declarat
autē quod modo dictū eſt beatus pater per manuductionē ſolis. Cū enim (inquit)
ſol iſte viſibilis vnicus ſit/et vniformē omnibus lucem infundens:ipſe tamen omnes rerum
ſenſibilium ſubſtantias & qualitates licet multiplices/varias ac differentes/renouat
/nutrit/ſeruat/perficit/diſtinguit ac diſcernit/cōiungit/refouet/fœcundat/adauget/
permutat/firmat/implet/ſuſtollit in altum/ac viuificat omnia. et vnūquodq; corporum
ſenſibiliū modo ſuæ naturę conuenienti ac congruo vnius eiuſdemq; ſolis eſt particeps.
plurimorumq; participantiū cauſas ac virtutes:ſol vnus in ſeipſo ante vniformiter accepit.
multo valentiore iure concedendum eſt:omnium exemplaria/primitiuas cauſas ac
veritates rerum/ſecundum vnam ſuperſubſtantialē vnitatem in deo (qui ipſius ſolis et
rerum omnium eſt cauſa) ante ſubſiſtere. quia & ipſe ſubſtātias producit ſecundū ꝙ ſuperſubſtātialis
eſt:et ab omni ſubſtantia ſupereminēter excipitur/vt qui ſubſtantijs omnibus
ſit ſuperior. Non enim inferioris eſt eminentius producere:ſed contra eminētioris
producere æquale & inferius. Aequale quidē patri gignēti:verbū dei eſt. inferius autem
producente deo omnis eſt ſubſtantia:et tanto magis omne ſubſtantia imperfectius. 116
Merito igitur deus omni ſubſtātię ſupereminere dicitur. ¶ At vero quoniā exemplaria
iam nominauit ſacratiſſimus pater:quid hic exēplaria dicātur nūc diffinit. dicens ea eſſe
rationes in deo ſubſtantiæ rerum effectrices/et ſingulariter ante rerū productionem ſubſiſtētes
in eo. quas ſancta ſcriptura præordinationes/præconſtitutiones ac prædeſtinationes
appellat & bonas dei voluntates:eorum omnium quę ſunt definitrices atq; determinatrices.
ſecundum quas ipſe ſubſtantia ſuperior deus:quę ſunt omnia prædefiniuit
atq; produxit. queādmodum ipſa vita in deo:omnium viuentiū eſt exemplar/ſapientia 117
omnium ſapientium/et perfectio perfectorum. ¶ Porro Clemens philoſophus contendit
etiam ea quæ in rebus conditis ſunt magis principalia atq; pręſtantiora:dici exemplaria
ad aliquid/vtpote ad inferiora & minus pręſtantia. vt ſupercœleſtes ſpiritus eſſe
exemplaria ad homines & corpora ſenſibilia:ob eximiam illorum ſuper hæc excellētiā.
Verum hæc oratio atq; aſſertio non procedit illi per propria exemplarium nomina/neq;

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abſoluta/neq; ſimplicia. ꝙ exemplariũ nomẽ de illis neq; proprie dicitur/neq; abſolute
neq; ſimpliciter: ſed de ſolo deo & iis quæ dei ſunt propria. Sunt enĩ exẽplaria: ad quorũ Quid ſunt exẽplaria.
exẽplũ/ſpeciẽ/et ſimilitudinẽ alia formata ſunt/nõ ex alijs dependentia: ſed primitiua et
ex quibus omnia alia pendẽt. Ea vero quæ inter creaturas præcipua ſunt vt angelici ſpiritus:
non hoc pacto primaria ſunt neq; abſoluta/neq; omnino ſimplicia/quãdoquidem
a primo & ſũmo ente ſuã ducunt originẽ. Non igitur recte neq; proprie debẽt dici exemplaria.
Sed eſto(inquit Dionyſius)admittatur & id recte dici quod vult Clemens/vtpote
magis principalia quæ ſunt in rebus/ad aliquid dici exemplaria: meminiſſe tamen debent
omnes quid ſacra conteſtentur eloquia/cum dicunt homini de ſole luna & aſtris ac
alijs corporibus ſuperne eminentibus. Non ea tibi oſtendi: vt poſt illa incederes/cultum
ſcilicet illis vt dijs exhibẽdo: et aliquod deitatis numen adorandũ illis attribuendo. ſed Deute. 4.
illa lucida corpora creata ſunt in miniſterium cũctis gentibus/ſicut ait dominus per Moſem
filijs Iſrael: vt per rationalẽ horum corporũ cognitionem prouehamur vtcũq; poſſumus/
ad cognoſcendã omnium cauſam ex ſuo opificio. Non igitur huiuſmodi corpora
aut alia quæuis creata: recte vocari poſſunt exemplaria/vt quæ omnino prima non ſint
neq; ſumma. Cæterum quod hic ex ſacris litteris affert beatus pater/ſcilicet. non ea tibi
oſtendi vt poſt illa incederes: deſumptũ eſt ex decimotertio capite Oſee prophetę. vt in
ſcholijs amplius annotatũ eſt. Simile quiddã habetur Deuteronomij quarto capite: vbi
Moſes ad filios Iſrael ait. Nõ vidiſtis aliquã ſimilitudinẽ in die qua locutus eſt vobis dominus
in Oreb de medio ignis: ne forte decepti faciatis vobis ſculptam ſimilitudinẽ aut
imaginem maſculi vel fœminę/ſimilitudinẽ omniũ iumentorũ quæ ſunt ſuper terrã/vel
auium ſub cœlo volantiũ atq; reptilium quæ mouẽtur in terra/ſiue piſciũ qui ſub terra
morantur in aquis. ne forte eleuatis oculis ad cœlum videas ſolẽ & lunam et omnia aſtra
cœli: et errore deceptus adores ea & colas/quæ creauit dominus deus tuus in miniſteriũ
cunctis gentibus quę ſub cœlo ſunt. ℂ Ex ſupradictis autem colligit ſacer Dionyſius/ꝙ
omnia quæcũq; exiſtunt: ipſi qui eſt accepta ſunt referenda/& ab eo eſſe cognoſcenda:
ſecundum vnicã omnibus eminentem vnitatẽ. quoniã ipſa ſuprema omniũ cauſa/a benefico
proceſſu bonitatis & eſſentiæ omniũ ſubſtantiarum authore inchoans/& per omnia
entiũ genera means/& cuncta quę ſũt eſſentiæ dono implens/atq; in omnibus quæ
ſunt exultãs(quẽadmodũ ait pſalmus: letabitur dominus in omnibus operibus ſuis)omnia Pſal. 103.
plane ſingulariter in ſe ante cõplectitur/per vnã ſimplicitatis excellentiã & ſingularitatẽ/
omne in ſe renuẽs cõpoſitum & duplex. Cuncta itidẽ vnice continet & collectim:
ſecundũ ſupereffuſã omnibus ſimplicẽ infinitatẽ ſuam. atq; ipſe deus ab õnibus quæ ſũt
vnice & ſimpliciter participatur. quẽadmodũ & vox loquẽtis cũ ſit vna et eadẽ: a multis
auribus vt vna ac integra percipitur. et ad vnãquãq; aurem audientiũ: plena/perfectaq;
118 defertur & non per partes. ℂ Demũ paucis cõſtringẽs quaſi epilogo quæ ante dicta ſũt/
colligit ꝙ ipſe qui ante omnia eſt: omniũ rerũ initiũ & finis eſt. Initiũ quidẽ vt author ac
efficiens: finis vero vt cuius gratia ſint omnia. immo finis eſt omniũ atq; infinitas: quæ
velut oppoſita ſunt/& cõtrario modo ſe habere videntur. finis quidẽ: excellenter ad ſe reuocans
omnia. infinitas vero: totius infinitatis ac immẽſitatis. Inſuper(vt ſępe iam dictũ
eſt)ipſe ante in ſe habet/et ſubſiſtere facit omnia quæ ſunt: omnibus et vbiq; præſens.
non quidem diuerſis ſecundum diuerſas ſui partes: ſed ſecundum vnum atq; idem/et
ſecundum idem eſſe. & ad omnia effuſione donorum prodiens: et manens in ſeipſo ſine
digreſſione. et ſtans per quietam ac indemutabilem ſtabilitatem: et ſe mouens per ſuas
beneficas progreſſiones munerumq; communicationes. et neq; ſtans neq; ſe mouens:
quia eſt ſuper omnem ſtatum ac motum. neq; initium habens aut medium aut finem:
quia incircũſcriptus eſt/immenſus et æternus. Neq; in aliquo ſubſiſtentium eſt/neq;
aliquid eſt ſubſiſtentium: quoniam ſuper omnia eminenter eſt et ab omnibus ſuperne
exceptus. Neq; illi quoquo pacto conuenit aliquid eorum quæ perpetuo ſunt ac euiternę/
aut eorum quæ temporaliter ſubſiſtunt: ſed a tẽpore et ſæculo/et ab omnibus quæ
in tempore et ſæculo ſunt eminẽter excipitur. quoniam et ipſum ſæculum et quæcũq;
ſunt/menſuræ itidem rerum et quæcũq; ſub menſuras cadunt: per ipſum et ab ipſo ſunt.

CAP. VI.

119 ℂ De vita.
SEd de his quidem in alijs oportunius dicatur. nunc vero celebran A Vita.
da laudibus eſt vita æterna: ex qua ipſa vita/et vita omnis eſt: & a

qua in omnia quæ vitam quomodolibet hauriūt/viuere pro modo cuiusqꝫ
diffūditur. Nempe & ipſa immortalium angelorum vita/et immortalitas
et conſtātia illa angelici ſempiterni motus nunq̄ deficiēs: ex ipſa & per ipſa
eſt atqꝫ ſubſiſtit/quocirca viuentes ſemper immortaleſqꝫ dicūtur. et rurſum
non immortales: quia non ex ſe habēt vt immortales ſint & ſempiterne viuant/ſed
B ex viuifica/& vitę omnis efficiente atqꝫ continente cauſa. Et ſicuti
in ente dicebamus: ꝙ ipſius quoqꝫ eſſe/ ipſa eſt ſæculum. ita & hic rurſus: ꝙ
vitę ipſius quoqꝫ/ſupereminēs illa & diuina vita/vitæ eſt author atqꝫ ſubſtantiæ.
Et vita ōnis/ac vitalis motus ex vita illa ducitur: quę eſt ſupra omnē
vitam/& omne totius vitæ principiū. Ex ipſa: et animæ immortalitatē habent.
et animantes omnes/& plantæ: iuxta extremam vitæ harmoniam/vt
C viuant acceperūt. qua ſublata: iuxta eloquiū ōnis deficit vita. et ad quā ipſa
quoqꝫ quę participandæ ipſius infirmitate defecerunt: ſi rurſum conuertantur/rediuiua
fiunt. ¶ Ac largitur primum quidem ipſi per ſe vitę: vt ſit vita,
et ōni vitæ et particulari: vt ſit vnaquæqꝫ idipſū proprie quod eſſe a natura
habet. Atqꝫ ſupercœleſtibus quidē vitis ſpiritualem & diuinam/immutabilemqꝫ
immortalitatem: & nuſq̄ vergentem aut inclinantē ſempiternum motum/ſeſe
etiam per bonitatis copiam ad dæmonum vſqꝫ vitam ſuperextendens.
Neqꝫ enim vita illa: ab alia prouenit cauſa. ſed ex ipſa: & ꝙ ſit vita/et
ꝙ perſeuerās ſit/habet. Sed & viris quoqꝫ vt promiſcuis q̄tum licuit angelicam
condonās vitam: ſuperabundantia pietatis/a ſe auerſos nos conuertit
atqꝫ ad ſe reuocat. ¶ Quod vero longe diuinius eſt: nos totos (animas
dico & ſocia corpora) ad perfectam vitam et immortalitatem trāſferre pollicetur.
quod veteribus quidem: præter naturam fortaſſe videatur. michi vero/tibiqꝫ/&
veritati: et diuinum/& ſupra naturam (vt eſt) videtur. ſupra naturam
noſtram dixerim viſibilē: non ſupra omnipotentem/illi per ſe & diuinæ
vitæ ęqualem. Ipſi quippe (vt quæ ſit vitarum omnium natura: maxi
D meqꝫ ſacratiorum) nulla vita præter naturam/aut ſupra naturam eſt. Itaqꝫ
demētiſſimi Simonis hac de re contradictorij libri: procul a choro diuino/
tuaqꝫ ſancta anima pellātur. Fugit enim illum puto (et quidem/cum ſapientem
ſe exiſtimaret) non oportere eum qui recte ſentiat: manifeſta ſenſus
E ratione inniti adiutrice/contra inuiſibilem omnium cauſam. et hoc eſt quod
ei dicēdum: id eſſe præter naturam dicere. ipſi enim: nichil contrarium eſt.
¶ Ex ipſa viuificantur & confouentur: et animātes cunctæ/atqꝫ arbores.
et ſiue ſpiritualem dixeris/ſiue rationalem/ſiue ſenſitiuā/ſiue nutritiuam/
ſiue vegetatiuā/ſiue quālibet vitam/aut vitæ initium/aut vitæ ſubſtantiam:
ex ipſa & viuit et viuificat/quę ſupra omnem vitam eſt/et in ipſa ſecundum
cauſam vniformiter ante ſubſiſtit. Nam vita illa ſuprema & principalis: et
vitæ omnis eſt author/& fœcūdat/et replet/& diuidit vitam. et omni ex vita
prædicanda eſt: pro omnium fœcūditate vitarum. vt omnigena/omniſqꝫ
vita: intelligentia compręhenſa/laudataqꝫ. vt nullius egens: immo vitæ affatim
plena/per ſe viuens. et vt ſupra omnem vitam/vt vitam viuificans/
vitaqꝫ ſuperior: ſiue quomodocūqꝫ ineloquibilem vitam quiſqꝫ humano
more laudare velit.

Simon magus.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Nūc vero celebranda laudibus est vita æterna. A
Deus & vt vita/& vt vita æterna frequenter in sacris litteris celebratur. Vt vita. Deuteronomium
capite tricesimo. Ipse est enim vita tua/& longitudo dierum tuorum. Et prima
epistola Ioannis capite primo. Quod fuit ab initio/quod audiuimus/ quod vidimus
oculis nostris/ quod perspeximus: & manus nostræ contrectauerunt de verbo vitæ/ &
vita manifestata est. Vt vita æterna. Epistola Ioannis eodem in loco. Et vidimus et testamur/
et annunciamus vobis vitam æternam: quę erat apud patrem/et apparuit nobis.
Et capite quinto. Hic est verus deus/et vita ęterna. ¶Et sicuti in ente dicebamus. B
Capite pręcedente numero 113. ¶Qua sublata: iuxta eloquium omnis deficit vita. Psalmus C
centesimus tertius. Auertente autem te faciem turbabuntur: auferes spiritum eorum
et deficient/et in puluerem suum reuertentur. ¶Itaq; dementissimi Simonis hac D
de re contradictorij libri. De huius Simonis magi dementia: Clemens/ Egesippus/ Iustinus/
Hireneus/ et Eusebius scripta reliquere. qui se deum ementiebatur: et qui nitebatur
sententiam apostolorum dei/ Petri et Pauli de futura resurrectione cum corporibus/
euertere. Inquit enim diuinus Paulus prima ad Corinthios epistola capite decimo
quinto. Seminatur corpus animale: surget corpus spirituale. Oportet enm corruptibile
hoc induere incorruptionem: et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Et hanc
regenerationem nostram ex mortuis negabat Simon perditionis filius: posse cum corporibus
fieri/quia id esset contra naturam. ¶Et hoc est quod ei dicendum. Id Simoni E
dicendum est: velle contra incompręhensibilem dei potentiam ex ijs quę naturę cursu/
potentiaq; surgunt atq; cognita sunt/inniti et contendere: id profecto contra naturam
esse. non autem illam ipsam omnium omnipotentem causam ea operari: quę sunt supra
nostram naturam.

¶SEXTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

119 TErtiam dei appellationem ex his quæ ante digestæ sunt scilicet vitā/
hoc loco concelebrat sacer Dionysius: dicens imprimis ꝙ de his quæ
in calce præcedentis capitis discussa sunt/oportunior alio loco facienda
est determinatio. nunc vero debitis laudibus prædicanda est vita Vita.
æterna: ex qua/ipsa vitæ participatio emanat in omnes propagata/&
omnis itidem vita suum habet exortum. a qua etiam æterna vita/ipsum
viuere pro modo cuiusq; diffūditur in omnia: quæ quomodocūq;
vitam percipiūt. Siquidē ipsa cœlestiū spirituū immortalitate præditorū vita & immortalitas/
& iugis illa perseuerantia angelicæ motionis & operationis nunq̄ deficiens: ex
ipsa vita æterna atq; per ipsam est atq; subsistit. Quapropter ipsi spiritus angelici/semper
viuentes dicuntur atq; immortales: ꝙ nunq̄ desituri sunt. Rursum etiā dicūtur ijdē 1.timo.6.
non immortales/cum soli deo immortalitas a beato Paulo tribuitur dicēte. qui solus habet
immortalitatem: & lucem habitat inaccessibilem. quoniam non ex se aut propria sua
virtute habent ꝙ immortales sint & sempiterne viuant: sed ex causa ipsa viuifica/ omnis
vitæ effectrice atq; conseruatrice. Et quemadmodū in determinatione facta de ente
cap. præcedenti dictū est/ꝙ ipsa suprema causa/ipsius esse diffusi in omnia quæ sunt/sęculū
est ac mensura: ita & hic rursus dicendū est ꝙ supereminens illa atq; diuina vita/ipsius
vitæ in omnia quæ viuunt propagatæ author est/& causa viuifica atq; substātifica.
Et vita omnis rebus indulta/ & vitalis omnis operatio: ex illa oritur æterna ac diuina vita
quæ est super omnem vitā/& super omne totius vitæ principiū. quoniam omne in rebus
principium vitę: ex vita illa diuina oritur ac proficiscitur. Ex ipsa quoq; diuina vita:
animę rationales habent immortalitatem. & animalia bruta & plantæ: secundum postremam
vitæ rationē ac modū vt viuant acceperūt/ ꝙ in plantis sit postremū & infimū vitæ
vestigiū. qua quidē diuina vita substracta per participationis sublationē: secundū scripturæ Psal.103.
sanctæ sententiam deficit omnis rerū inferiorū vita. & ad quā si rursum cōuertant
per participationis cōmunionē/quæ ab ipsius participatione ob infirmitatē defecerūt:
vt plātæ emortuę et steriles/arbores/frutices & herbę/itidē & aīalia ꝓpemodū extīcta:
120 ad pristinā redeūt vitā/& vitæ munus rursum accipiūt. ¶Prosequitur deinde ipsius diuinæ
vitę vim viuificā & exuberantiā munerum: quæ in omnes viuentiū gradus abūde
diffundit. Et primum quidem (inquit) ipsa æterna diuinaq; vita elargitur ipsi per se vitę/
participationiq; vitæ in omnia viuentia gratuito dei indultu emananti: vt sit vita. largitur
item omni vitæ in vniuersum & ratione generali comprænhensæ/necnō & vitæ par-

ticulari/in his aut illis viuentium gradibus ac ſpeciebus exiſtenti: vt vnaquæqꝫ ſit illud ipſum/ quod ſuæ conuenit ſorti ac naturæ. quemadmodum vitæ hominum quod illi cōgruit/& vitæ brutorum: quod ei conueniens eſt/ſimiliter & vitæ plantarum. Porro ſupercœleſtibus & angelicorum ſpirituum vitis ipſa diuina vita indulget ſpiritualem/diuinam/indemutabilemqꝫ immortalitatem/ſempiternamqꝫ & iugem operationem nuſq̄ a deo vergentem aut aliorſum inclinantem. quinimo & ipſa ſuperdiuina vita ſeſe etiam per exuberantem bonitatis copiam ad dæmonum vſqꝫ vitam conſeruandam porrigit. Neqꝫ enim illa dæmonum vita: ab alia prouenit cauſa q̄ a diuina vita. ſed ex ipſa habet ꝙ vita ſit/& ꝙ perſeuerans atqꝫ immortalis ſit. Sed & hominibus vt inferiorum & ſuperiorum/ſenſibilium & intelligibilium naturam participantibus(nam eſſe/ viuere/ſentire: cum ſenſibilibus/eis cōmunia ſunt. ratiocinari: hominibus propriū. intelligere vero/memorari & amare ſiue velle: ipſis cum angelis ſunt communia. & ita in homine promiſcuę ſunt naturę: ſenſibilis & ſpiritualis/mortalis & immortalis)ipſa ſempiterna dei vita angelicā quantū homo poteſt aſſequi: impartit vitam. ſuæqꝫ benignitatis affluentia homines a ſe per peccatum auerſos pientiſſime conuertit/ atqꝫ ad ſe reuocat. multifariam nos per prophetarum oracula & ſacra eloquia exhortans vt reuertamur ad eum/& miſericorditer nos ſuſcipiet. ¶Et quod ſupradictis longe auguſtius & ſacratius eſt: ipſa diuina vita nos homines totos et itegros(ſcilicet animas noſtras et illis vnita corpora noſtra ad vitā reſuſcitata)promittit in ſcripturis ad perfectam vitam et immortalitatē trāſferre. Quod antiquis quidem præter naturam eſſe videtur et contra naturam: ipſum ſcilicet hominem iam vita defunctum/iterum ad immortalem ſuſcitari/reſurgereqꝫ vitam. Michi vero et tibi O Timothee/et ipſi veritati: illud/diuinum eſſe et ſupra naturam(vt vere eſt)videtur. Supra naturam inquam noſtram viſibilem et ſenſibilem: non autē ſupra naturam dei omnipotentem/illi per ſe vitæ et diuinæ vitæ æqualem. Ipſi quippe diuinæ naturæ pariter et vitæ: nulla vita præter naturam aut ſupra naturam eſt. quandoquidem ipſa eſt vitarum omnium natura: et maxime ſacratiorum et ſpiritualium/vt angelicarū aut animarum rationaliū. quoniam illæ vt cæteris rerum ſenſibilium vitis præſtantiores ſunt: ita diuinæ vitæ propinquiores et ſimiliores. Quocirca inſipientiſſimi Simonis magi/ reſurrectioni carnis futuræ contradicentes libri: ab omni fidelium cœtu et anima Chriſtianæ religionis pietatem colente/procul pellendi ſunt. Ille enim cū pro ſua inſolentia ſapientem ſe exiſtimet/ignorare profecto videtur ꝙ is qui recte de diuinis ſentire ſtudet: non debet inniti ſenſuum experimento aut cognitioni/contra omnipotentē dei virtutem. neqꝫ exiſtimare/id quod ſenſus percipere nequit aut natura noſtra efficere: neqꝫ deum illud præſtare poſſe. quoniā non eſt metienda diuina virtus/ ſenſuum noſtrorū aut naturalis virtutis breuitate atqꝫ infirmitate. Et hoc plane eſt: quod ipſi Simoni mago dicendum eſt ac reſpondendum. ſcilicet ꝙ dicere quicquid ſenſus noſter capere non poteſt aut natura noſtra operari/neqꝫ inuiſibilem quoqꝫ omnium cauſam hoc ipſum efficere poſſe: id reuera eſt contra naturam/ impium et blaſphemum. Ipſi enim inuiſibili omnium cauſæ nichil eſt contrarium: nichil itidem ea eſt ſuperius aut potentius. quare nichil contra ſuam ipſius naturam/aut contra eam: effici vnq̄ poteſt. ¶Demū ex ipſa diuina vita fouentur et viuificantur omnia animalia bruta: ſimiliter et plantę. Et vt in ſumma concludantur omnia/ ſiue ſpiritualis detur vita: vt in angelicis ſpiritibus/ſiue rationalis: vt in hominibus/ ſiue ſenſitiua: vt in animalibus rationis expertibus/ſiue nutritiua et vegetatiua: vt in plantis/ſiue quælibet alia aſſignetur vita/modo aſſignari poſſit/aut quoduis detur vitæ initium atqꝫ ſubſiſtentia: id omne et viuit quantum ad ſe et viuificat alia/ex illa diuina vita quæ eſt ſupra omnē vitam/et in illa ſecūdum cauſam viuificamqꝫ vim vniformiter & vnice ante ſubſiſtit: q̄ ſit in rebus ipſis exiſtens. Enimuero vita illa ſuprema & præcipua atqꝫ abſoluta: omnis vitæ in rebus ſubſiſtentibus eſt author ac cauſa/omnem etiam fœcūdat/replet & diſtribuit vitam. & ipſa omni ex vita laudanda eſt: ſecundum omnium fœcunditatem vitarū ex illa profluentē. Eadem quoqꝫ recte intelligentia cōpræhenditur & prædicatur: vt omne genus vitæ complectens in ſe ſimpliciter & vt omnis vita. vt nullius egens vitæ: immo affluenter omnis vitæ pleniſſima/per ſe viuens & non ex alio/vt etiam ſupra omnem vitam: vt vitā ipſā in creaturas diſtributā viuificans/& omni vita ſuperior. ſiue quocunqꝫ alio modo vitam ipſā diuinā/ineffabilem plane & ſermone inexplicabilem: quiſpiam laudibus extollere velit.

¶De ſapientia/ſenſu/ratione/veritate/fide. Cap. VII.

123 AGe vero ipſam ſi placet verā/perennemqꝫ vitam:& vt ſapiē- **Sapientia.**
tem/& vt ſapientiam ipſam celebremus/immo vt toti ſapien F
tię ſubſtantiā largientē/& ſupra oēm ſapientiā/intelligētiāqꝫ
longe eminentē. Nō enim ſolū eſt ſapiētiæ exuberās deus/&
ſapientiæ eius nō eſt numerus:ſed & ſupra ſermonē oēm/&
mentē/& ſapientiā locatus eminet. Intellexit hoc mirabiliter G
profecto diuinus vir cōmunis noſter/noſtriqꝫ præceptoris ſol:qui ſtultū dei **Paulꝰ apl'ſ Hierothei et Dionyſij communis præceptor.**
ſapientius hominibus dixit. Nō modo quia humana mēs ōnis firmitati &
ſtabilitati diuinarū/exactiſſimarumqꝫ intelligentiarū cōparata:error qui-
dam eſt. verū quia etiā ſolenne theologis eſt:paſſione reciproca/in deo quæ
ſunt priuationis aſſerere. Ita & inuiſibilem aiunt ſanctæ litterę clariſſimam H
lucem/eumqꝫ qui celeberrimus eſt/& eum qui multis inſignis nominibus
eſt:ineffabilem & ſine nomine appellant. præſentemqꝫ omnibus/& qui in-
uenitur ex omnibus:incompræhenſibilem/atqꝫ ininueſtigabilē dicūt. Hoc
modo nūc quoqꝫ diuinus apoſtolus ſtultitiā dei laudare perhibetur: quod
in ea irrationabile indignūqꝫ videtur/ad ineffabilē rationēqꝫ omnē præcel-
124. lentem referens veritatē. ⸿ Verū (quod in alijs dixi) quæ ſupra nos ſunt ſi I
more noſtro accipiamus/familiaribuſqꝫ inuerſemur/ſenſibus diuina no-
ſtris conferentes:fallimur/qui diuinum illud arcanum/iuxta viſibilem ſpe-
ciem perſequamur. Cum ſcire profecto debeamus animum noſtrū partim
habere intelligendi virtutē/per quā intelligibilia aſpicit:partim vnionē mē
tis naturæ præcellentē/per quam ijs quæ ſunt ſupra ſe iungitur. hac itaqꝫ/di
uina oportet intelligamus non humano more:ſed toti integre a nobis ipſis
excedentes atqꝫ prorſus in deum tranſeuntes. Præſtat enim dei eſſe:q̄ iuris K
125 noſtri. Sic deniqꝫ tradi diuina nobis poterunt:ſi cum deo fuerimus. ⸿ Hāc
itaqꝫ irrationabilem & amentem ſtultamqꝫ ſapiētiam/eminentia ſingulari
prædicantes:dicamus/omnis ſenſus & rationis/omniſqꝫ ſapientiæ & intel-
ligentiæ authorē eſſe. ipſius eſſe omniū conſiliū:atqꝫ ab ipſa omnem ſciētiā
intelligentiamqꝫ profluere/& in ipſa omnes eſſe theſauros ſapientiæ & ſciē L
tiæ abſconditos. Atqꝫ vt ab ijs quæ ſupra iā diximus non diſcedamus: cau
ſa illa ſupreme atqꝫ omnium omnino ſapiens/ſapientiam ipſam & totā &
particularem ſubſiſtere facit. Ex ea intelligibiles angelicorū ſpirituū intelle-
ctualeſqꝫ virtutes:ſimplices & beatas intelligentias habent. nō in diuiſibili-
bus aut a diuiſibilibus/ſiue ſenſibus ſiue verbis latioribus diuinā colligen-
tes ſcientiam:dum neqꝫ conſortio aliquo ad hæc ipſa agglutinātur/& mate
ria omni ac multitudine perſiſtunt purę. ſpiritualiter/& extra materiā/vni-
ceqꝫ intelligibilia diuina penetrant. eſtqꝫ in eis ſpiritualis virtus/& operatio
impermixta/& immaculata irradiata munditia: contemplatioqꝫ diuino-
rum ſenſuum indiuidua & ſpiritualis. & quæ auguſtiore illo ſingulari: ad
126 diuinum ac ſapientiſſimū & ſenſum & verbū pro viribus formatur. ⸿ Per
diuinam item ſapientiā:& animæ ratiocinandi vim habent/diſcurſione &
longo ambitu ad rerum veritatem annitentē. atqꝫ in eo ſingularibus illis ſpi
ritibus inferiores:ꝙ diuiduis atqꝫ omnigenis varietatis vtuntur ſignis. in
eo vero ꝙ plurima in vnum colligant:intelligentijs quoqꝫ æqualibus ange-

M lis (quãtum fas eſt animabus ad id aſpirare) illuſtrari promerentur. Ac ſenſus
ipſos quoqꝫ ſi quis ſapientiæ aliqua ex parte dicat eſſe participes: nõ errabit
/extraqꝫ propoſitum aget. Certe & dęmonicus ſenſus ex ipſa ducitur:
inquantum ſenſus eſt. inquantum vero ſenſus eſt irrationalis/ frui eo quod
appetit neſciẽs/ ac nolẽs: rectius a ſapiẽtia defectio poteſt appellari. ¶ Sed
enim ꝙ ſapientiæ ipſius & omnis mentis & omnis rationis/ ac ſenſus omnis:
diuina ſapientia & initium/ & cauſa ſit/ & ſubſtantia/ & perfectio/ & custodia/
& finis: dictum ſit. Verum deus ipſe qui eſt pluſq̃ ſuperqꝫ ſapiens:
quo modo ſapientia/ ſenſus/ & ratio/ & cognitor laudatur? quomodo enim
intelligibile aliquid ſentiet: cum intellectualibus operationibus careat? aut
N quomodo ſenſibilia noſcet: qui ſenſu omni ſuperior eminet? Atqui ſcire illum
omnia: ſcriptura teſtatur/ nichilqꝫ diuinam ſcientiam fugere. Verum
(quod ſępius dixi) diuina digne deo ſunt intelligenda. Sane animi/ ſenſuſqꝫ
priuatio: excellentiam in deo/ non defectum ſignat/ ſicqꝫ accipi oportet.
quemadmodum etiam irrationale ei applicamus: qui ſupra rationem eſt.
& imperfectionem ei: qui ſumme perfectus eſt excellentia & duratione. et
intangibilem/ inuiſibilemqꝫ caliginem inacceſſibilis lucis: per excellentiam
viſibilis luminis. ¶ Itaqꝫ diuina mens omnia continet/ cunctis ſupereminente
ſcientia: ſecundum omnium cauſam/ omnium in ſe notionem ante
complexa. priuſq̃ angeli fierent ſciens: angeloſqꝫ producens. et alia omnia
in intimis/ et ab ipſo (vt ſic loquar) initio noſcens: atqꝫ ad ſubſtantiam ducens.
O Et hoc arbitror id ſignare quod dicitur: qui nouit omnia anteq̃ fiant.
Non enim ex ijs quæ ſunt ea quidem diſcens/ diuina mens nouit. ſed ex ſe
et in ſe ſecundũ cauſam: omnium notionem et ſciẽtiam atqꝫ ſubſtantiã anticipat/
et ante compræhẽdit. nõ ſingula ex cuiuſqꝫ ſpecie ducens: ſed ſecundum
vnicam cauſæ complexionẽ omnia ſciẽs et continens. ſicuti et lux ſecundũ
cauſam in ſeipſa tenebrarum ſciẽtiam præambit: non aliunde q̃ ex
luce tenebras noſcẽs. ¶ Seipſam itaqꝫ diuina ſapientia noſcens/ omnia ſcit:
materialia ſine materia/ et indiuidue quæ diuiſionem admittunt/ et vnice
plurima: vno ipſo cuncta ſciens et proferens. Nam ſi ſecundum vnam cauſam
deus omnibus eſſe impartit: vna eadẽ profecto cauſa ſciet omnia/ vtqꝫ
ex ſeipſo ſint/ et in ipſo ante ſubſiſtãt. neqꝫ ex ijs quę ſunt/ eorũ capiet notionẽ:
ſed et ipſis ſingulis ſuę et aliorũ alijs ſciẽtię erit idultor. Nõ habet itaqꝫ
deus peculiarem ſcientiã ſui: aliã vero cõmunem/ omnia compræhendentẽ.
ipſa eni ſeipſam omniũ cauſa cognoſcens: qua tandẽ ratione quę ab ſe ſunt/
et quorũ eſt cauſa ignorabit? Hac itaqꝫ deus cuncta cognoſcit: nõ rerũ/ ſed
P ſui profecto ſciẽtia. Namqꝫ et angelos ea ſcire quæ in terra ſunt: ſcriptura
teſtatur. non ea ſenſu haurientes quæ quidem ſunt ſenſibilia: ſed propria
ad dei imaginem effictæ mentis virtute atqꝫ natura. ¶ Ad hæc quęrendũ/
quomodo nos deũ ſcimus: qui neqꝫ itelligibilis/ neqꝫ ſenſibilis/ neqꝫ omnino
quicq̃ intelligibilium eſt? Forte id veraciter dicemus: nos deum non ex
ipſius natura cognoſcere (id nempe ignotum eſt: omnemqꝫ ſuperat rationẽ
ac ſenſũ) ſed ex creaturarũ omniũ ordinatiſſima diſpoſitione vt ab ipſo producta/
& imagines quaſdã ac ſimilitudines diuinorũ ipſius exẽplariũ præ

Manuductio a luce.

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1773/D

ſe ferente:ad id quod omnia trāſcendit via & ordine pro viribus ſcandimus
in omniū eminētiſſima priuatione/ atqꝫ in omniū cauſa. Idcirco & in oībus
deus agnoſcitur:& ſeorſum ab omnibus.& per ſcientiā & per ignorationē
noſcitur deus. eſtqꝫ ipſius & intelligētia/et ratio/& notio/& tactus/& ſenſus/
& opinio/& imaginatio/& nomen/& alia omnia:& neqꝫ intelligitur/neqꝫ
dicitur/neqꝫ nominatur/neqꝫ eſt aliquid eorū quæ ſunt/neqꝫ in aliqua creatura
cognoſcitur.& in omnibus omnia eſt: atqꝫ in nichilo nichil.& ex omnibus/
cunctis agnoſcitur:& ex nullo/nemini. Enimuero & iſta de deo rectiſſime
dicimus:& ex ſubſtantijs omnibus celebratur iuxta omniū rationē
quarū eſt author. Et eſt itē auguſtiſſima dei ſcientia quę per ignorationē
ſcitur:in coniunctione illa quæ ſuperat ſenſum. quādo mens ōnia alia trāſiliens/
& ſeipſam demum linquens:coniuncta fuerit lucidiſſimis radijs/inde
atqꝫ illic inſcrutabili ſapientiæ profundo illuſtrata. Et ex omnibus quidem
(vt dixi) ipſa noſcenda eſt:ipſa enim eſt/iuxta ſcripturæ fidem effectrix omniū/ Q
& ſemper cuncta coaptans/ipſiuſqꝫ omnium indiſſolubilis conuenientię
atqꝫ ordinis cauſa:ſemper priorū fines ſequentiū initijs iungens/vnāqꝫ mūdi
131 conſpirationē & congruentiā decentiſſime moliens. ❡Ratio quoqꝫ deus R
dicitur in ſanctis litteris:non modo quia & rationis & ſenſus & ſapientiæ Ratio ſiue
indultor eſt/ſed quia & omnium cauſas in ſe vniformiter ante complexus verbum.
eſt/& quia per omnia pergit penetrans (vt ſcriptum eſt) vſqꝫ ad omnium finem.
Et ſupra hæc etiam/quia ſupra ſimplicitatem omnem diuina expāditur S
ratio:eſtqꝫ ab omnibus ſupra omnia ſupremæ ſubſtantiæ ratione abſoluta.
Hæc ratio eſt ſimplex/vereqꝫ ſubſiſtens veritas:circa quam vt liquidā T
& nuſq̄ oberrantem ſcientiam omniū/diuina fides eſt/ſtabilis credentiū ſedes. Veritas.
quæ hos in veritate locat/in ipſiſqꝫ veritatē imperſuaſibili idētitate certam: V
132 & ſimplicem veritatis notionem habentibus ijs qui crediderūt. ❡Nā
profecto ſi ſcientia cognoſcentium & cognitorum coniunctrix eſt/ignorantia
vero mutationis ſemper & ex ſe ignoranti ſuæ diuiſionis eſt author: eū X
qui in veritate credit iuxta ſcripturæ fidem nichil remouebit a veræ fidei
authore/in quo conſtantiam immobilis atqꝫ immutabilis identitatis habebit.
Nouit enim penitus is qui veritati coniunctus eſt:q̄ bene ſe habeat/etiam
ſi plures illum corripiant/quaſi amentem & extra ſe factum. fugit enim
(quemadmodum & par eſt) illos:quomodo velut ex errore ille per intemeratam
fidem veritati vnitus extra ſe fit/extaſimqꝫ patitur. Porro nouit ipſe
ſeipſum veraciter/nō (quod illi aiūt) inſanire:ſed ab inſtabili ac variabili circa
latiſſimam erroris varietatem motu/per ſimplicem & ſemper ſecundum
eadem & eodem modo ſe habentem veritatem euaſiſſe liberum. Ita deniqꝫ Z
noſtratis diuinæ ſapientiæ principes ac duces/pro veritate moriūtur:omni Teſtimonium
die teſtimonium perhibentes (vt dignum eſt) & verbo & omni opere/ſingulari martyrum.
Chriſtianorum/veræqꝫ ſcientiæ:omnibus hanc eſſe & ſimpliciorem et
diuiniorem/immo ipſam eſſe ſolam veram & vnicam & ſimplicem diuinā
notionem.

❡SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡Non enim ſolum eſt ſapientiæ exuberans deus. F
Pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus ſextus. Magnus dominus noſter et magna virtus

eius:et ſapientiæ eius non eſt numerus. Et pſalmus cẽteſimus quadrageſimus quartus.
G Magnus dominꝰ et laudabilis nimis:et magnitudinis eius nõ eſt finis. ¶ Intellexit hoc
mirabiliter profecto diuinus vir. De diuino Paulo id intelligitur:qui beati patris et Hierothei
communis extitit præceptor. Epiſtola ad Corinthios prima/cap. primo. Nos autẽ
prędicamus CHRISTVM crucifixũ:Iudęis quidẽ ſcandalũ/gẽtibus autẽ ſtultitiã. Ipſis
autẽ vocatis:Iudęis atqꝫ Gręcis/CHRISTVM dei virtutẽ/atqꝫ ſapientiam, quia quod
ſtultũ eſt dei:ſapientius eſt hominibus. et quod infirmum eſt dei:fortius eſt hominibus.
H ¶ Ita et inuiſibilem aiunt ſanctæ litteræ clariſſimã lucẽ. Deus qui æterna ſapiẽtia eſt: vt
lux clariſſima in ſanctis litteris celebratur/ vt inuiſibilis/ vt celeberrimi nominis/ multorũqꝫ
nominũ/ vt ineffabilis/ vt præſens õnibus/ vt incõpręhenſibilis/ et ininueſtigabilis.
Vt clariſſima lux. Ioannes cap. primo. Erat lux vera: quæ illuminat omnem hominẽ venientẽ
in hunc mundũ. Vt inuiſibilis. Prima ad Timotheũ epiſtola cap. primo. Regi autẽ
ſæculorũ/immortali/inuiſibili/ſoli deo:honor et gloria in ſæcula ſæculorũ. Celeberrimi
nominis. Pſalmus centeſimus duodecimus. A ſolis ortu vſq; ad occaſum: laudabile
nomen domini. Et multorũ eſſe nominũ/ex his ſine magno impendio cognoſcitur: ꝙ dicitur
Exodi cap. tertio. Ego ſum qui ſũ: deus patrũ veſtrorũ/deus Abrahã/ deus Iſaac/
deus Iacob/hoc michi nomen inæternum. Et cap. ſexto. Ego dominus qui apparui Abraham/
Iſaac/& Iacob in deo omnipotẽte:& nomẽ meũ Adonai non indicaui eis. Et
cap. decimo quinto. Omnipotens nomen eius. Et Eſaias cap. ſeptimo. Et vocabitur nomen
eius Emanuel. Ego dominus: hoc eſt nomen meũ. Et quid molior multas dei nuncupationes
adducere? Vt enim paradyſus/ vt cõſitus hortus verno tempore ſuaue ſpirantibus
floribus: ita quoqꝫ ſacræ litteræ paſſim veris & ſanctis dei nominibus pictę/reſperſæqꝫ
ſunt. Ineffabilis. Pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus octauus. Er õnes ſemitas meas
præuidiſti: quia non eſt ſermo in lingua mea. Et ſapientiæ cap. nono. Quis enim hominũ
poterit ſcire conſilium dei: aut quis poterit cogitare quid velit deus? Vt præſens õnibus.
Prouerbiorũ cap. octauo. Quando præparabat cœlos aderã: quando certa lege
& giro vallabat abyſſos. quãdo æthera firmabat ſurſũ:& librabat fontes aquarũ. quãdo
circundabat mari terminũ ſuũ:& legẽ ponebat aquis ne tranſirent terminos ſuos. quando
appendebat fundamenta terræ: cũ eo eram cuncta componens. & deliciæ meæ: eſſe
cum filijs hominũ. Et pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus octauus. Si aſcendero in cœlũ tu
illic es: ſi deſcendero ad infernum/ades. ſi ſumpſero pennas meas diluculo/& habitauero
in extremis maris: etenim illuc manus tua deducet me/& tenebit me dextera tua. Vt
incõpræhenſibilis & ininueſtigabilis: ſæpe ex ſententia Pauli ad Romanos cap. vndecimo
adductũ eſt. O altitudo diuitiarũ ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ dei: q̃ incõpræhenſibilia ſunt iudicia
eius/& ininueſtigabiles vię eius. Et Eſaias cap. quadrageſimo. Nec eſt inueſtigatio
I ſapientiæ eius. ¶ Verũ (quod in alijs dixi) quę ſupra nos ſunt. cap. præcedente numero
K 123. in Simonẽ magũ. ¶ Pręſtat enim dei eſſe q̃ iuris noſtri. Sic enim Dauid ſecũdo regũ
viceſimo quarto cap. Melius eſt inquit vt incidã in manus dñi (multę enim miſericordiæ
L eius ſunt) q̃ in manus hominũ. ¶ Et in ipſo oẽs eſſe theſauros ſapiẽtiæ & ſciẽtię abſconditos.
Paulus epiſtola ad Coloſſenſes cap. ſecũdo. Vt conſolẽtur corda ipſorũ inſtructi
in charitate:& in õnes diuitias plenitudinis intellectus in agnitione myſterij dei patris/
M & CHRISTI IHESV. in quo ſunt oẽs theſauri ſapientiæ & ſciẽtię abſcõditi. ¶ Ac
ſenſus ipſos quoqꝫ ſi quis ſapientiæ aliqua ex parte dicat eſſe participes. Nomine ſenſus:
intellectum/mentemqꝫ intelligimus. hac enim ſignificatione ſæpe vtitur interpres/
1. Ioan. 5. & ſacræ vtuntur litteræ. Scimus (inquit Ioannis eloquium) quoniam filius dei venit:&
N dedit nobis ſenſum vt cognoſcamus deum verum. ¶ Atqui ſcire illum omnia: ſcriptura
teſtatur. Prima Ioannis epiſtola capite tertio. Quoniam ſi repræhenderit nos cor noſtrũ:
O maior eſt deus corde noſtro/& nouit omnia. ¶ Et hoc arbitror id ſignificare quod
dicitur. qui nouit omnia anteq̃ fiant. Daniel cap. decimo tertio. Deus æterne qui abſconditorum
P es cognitor: qui noſti omnia anteq̃ fiant. ¶ Namq; et angelos ea ſcire quæ
in terra ſunt: ſcriptura teſtatur. Et prophetæ et Apocalypſis id aperte monſtrant. Apocalypſis
capite ſecundo. Et angelo Epheſi eccleſiæ ſcribe. Hæc dicit qui tenet ſeptẽ ſtellas
in dextera ſua/qui ambulat in medio ſeptem candelabrorũ aureorũ. ſcio opera tua
et laborem/et patientiã tuam. et quia non potes ſuſtinere malos: et tẽtaſti eos qui ſe dicũt
eſſe apoſtolos/et nõ ſũt. Scio tribulationẽ tuã et paupertatẽ tuã/ſed diues es: et blaſphemaris
ab ijs qui ſe dicunt eſſe Iudæos et nõ ſunt/ſed ſunt ſynagoga ſathanæ. Et ita

de ſeptem eccleſijs. Quæ enim dominus mandat: exequens præco & legatione fungẽs
non ignorat. ¶ Ipſa enim eſt iuxta ſcripturæ fidem effectrix omniũ/ & ſemper cuncta co Q
aptans. Id ex prouerbiorũ capite octauo paulo ante adductũ eſt. Cum eo eram cuncta
cõponens. ¶ Ratio quoq; deus dicitur in ſacris litteris. Ioannes capite primo. In princi R
pio erat verbũ: & verbũ erat apud deũ. Pſalmus triceſimus ſecundus. Quia rectum eſt
verbum domini: & omnia opera eius in fide. diligit miſericordiã & iudiciũ: miſericordia
domini plena eſt terra. verbo domini cœli firmati ſunt. Et pſalmus centeſimus decimus
octauus. In æternũ domine verbũ tuum permanet in cœlo. Eſaias capite quadrageſi-
mo. Verbũ autem domini: manet in æternum. Et verbũ perq̃ frequenter in ſacris repe-
ritur litteris. Et ſancti theologi verbum/ rationẽ/ ſermonẽ: idem intelligunt/ verbiſq; illis
promiſcue vtuntur/ & promiſcue vertunt interpretes/ q̃uis vſitatius legatur verbũ. Et
quod hic ratio/ & in modo allegatis locis dicitur verbũ: verſum eſt in epiſtola ad Hebrę
os capite quarto/ ſermo. ¶ Per omnia pergit penetrans (vt ſcriptum eſt) vſq; ad omniũ S
finem. Sapientiæ capite octauo. Attingit ergo a fine vſq; ad finẽ fortiter: & diſponit om
nia ſuauiter. ¶ Hæc ratio eſt ſimplex/ vereq; ſubſiſtens veritas. Deus vt veritas/ vt ve- T
rax/ vt verus/ vt fidelis: a ſanctis theologis celebratur. Vt veritas. Ioannes capite deci-
mo quarto. Ego ſum via & veritas. Pſalmus centeſimus decimus ſextus. Quoniã confir
mata eſt ſuper nos miſericordia eius: & veritas domini manet in æternũ. Vt verax. Pau
lus ad Romanos cap. tertio. Eſt autẽ deus verax. Vt verus. Prima Ioannis epiſtola/ ca-
pite quinto. Et ſcimus quia filius dei venit: & dedit nobis ſenſum vt cognoſcamus deũ
verum/ & ſimus in vero filius eius. hic eſt verus deus/ & vita æterna. Et id quoq; iam ſu
pra adductũ eſt. & apocalypſis capite tertio. Hæc dicit ſanctus & verus: qui habet clauẽ
Dauid. Vt fidelis etiã celebratur. Deuteronomiũ capite triceſimo ſecundo. Deus fidelis
& abſq; vlla iniquitate: & iuſtus & rectus. Paulus ad Hebręos capite ſecundo. Nuſq̃ enĩ
angelos appræhendit: ſed ſemen Abrahæ appræhendit. Vnde debuit per omnia fratri-
bus ſimilari: vt miſericors fieret & fidelis pontifex ad deũ. Et capite decimo. Fidelis enĩ
eſt qui repromiſit. Apocalypſis capite tertio. Hæc dicit amen/ teſtis fidelis & verus: qui
eſt principium creaturæ dei. Et ab illa ſumma & diuina fide: omnis fides ſurſum in ope
ribus & nutibus/ & deorſum in verbis/ ſermonibus & factis: tenorẽ/ conſtantiamq; ſer-
uat. ¶ In ipſiſq; veritatẽ imperſuaſibili identitate. Imperſuaſibili: ſupra omnẽ perſuaſio V
nẽ/ oẽmq; excedentẽ credulitatẽ. ¶ Eũ qui in veritate credit (iuxta ſcripturæ ſacræ fidẽ) X
nichil remouebit a veræ fidei authore. Contemplari licet diuinum Paulum ad Roma-
nos capite octauo vere fidelem/ & fidelium omnium feruentiſſimum ſolicitatorẽ. Quis
ergo nos (inquit) ſeparabit a charitate CHRISTI? tribulatio/ an anguſtia/ an fames/ an
nuditas/ an periculum/ an perſecutio/ an gladius? certus enim ſum: quia neq; mors/ neq;
vita/ neq; angeli/ neq; principatus/ neq; virtutes/ neq; inſtantia/ neq; futura/ neq; for-
titudo/ neq; altitudo/ neq; profundũ/ neq; creatura alia: poterit nos ſeparare a charitate
dei: quæ eſt in CHRISTO IHESV domino noſtro. Ecce enim vera fides: hanc conſtã
tiam & inſuperabilem immobilitatem in cordibus vere credentium operatur. & hanc fi
dei inſuperabilitatẽ ſancti duces noſtri apoſtoli: in cordibus vere ſanctorum alte infige-
bãt. Qua inuicta conſtantia fideliſſimi CHRISTI milites armati: omnes olim hominũ
contemptus/ ludibria/ riſus/ verbera/ carceres/ pectines/ accenſas ad teneriora membra
faculas/ decerpentes vngulas/ flagra/ ferreas (quibus ſupra ardentes prunas verſaren-
tur aſſati) crates/ frixorias ſartagines/ aſperatas pice & plumbo accenſas fornaces/ ſcor-
pionũ ſagittas/ rotas/ nouaculas/ eculeos/ contemptibiles cruces/ leonum truculẽtiſſima
ora/ & omnia tormentorũ machinamenta. quæ quis Mezentio & Buſyride crudelior no
ſtri generis ſuggerente hoſte excogitare poterat: contemnebant/ calcabant. omnibuſq;
demum ſuperatis per veræ fidei inuictam/ inſuperabilemq; conſtantiam euadebant vi-
ctores. quibus iam perpetuo ęuo fruenda: ſuperata tellus ſydera donat. O ſæcula noſtra
fœlicia: ſi pietas/ religio/ & ſancta infractaq; fides (quæ cum illis ad cœli ſumma conſcẽ-
dit) pauliſper ad nos inclinaretur/ ſuoq; reditu corda fida firmaret. Et ab illis reuera &
ab eorum rege (in cuius manu: & fides/ et omnis poteſtas) iugiter petẽda eſt. ¶ Ita de- Z
niq; noſtratis diuinæ ſapientiæ principes ac duces. Illi noſtræ diuinæ ſapientiæ princi-
pes ac duces: ſanctiſſimi ſunt apoſtoli/ quorum nomina ſunt. Petrus/ Paulus/ Ioannes/
Iacobus/ Andreas/ Philippus/ Thomas/ Bartholomeus/ Matthæus/ Iacobus Al-
phei/ Simon/ Thadeus. Et hoc in loco plus pater teſtimonium de ſanctis martyri-

Teſtimoniũ martyrum.

bus affert. Et nemo eſt qui neſciat ſanctos duces noſtros precioſo martyrio(tanquā ſuauitatis
incenſum)deo conſecratos. Petrus enim apoſtolorum caput/et(vt beatus pater
Petrus. ait)theologorum columen: in cruce appenſus innoxiam deo exoluit animam. Paulus
Paulus. omnium ſolicitudo eccleſiarum/gentium doctor (cuius in filio dei genitura ſumus) gladio
Ioannes. de mundo triumphat. Ioannes magnus mundi ſol exulat in Pathmo: cuius lumen
quo eo in exilio eluxit/mundi anguſtiæ non capiunt. dira venena ſorbet: ſed virgineum
cor/ſed ſacratiſſimum caput ſupra pectus IHESV reclinatum/dira venena damnare nequeunt.
neq; efferuētiſſimū oleum: ſacrata(quæ introrſus diuina charitas vrebat) membra
Iacobus. violare. Et Iacobum (qui genua ad deum flectendo: callos inſtar camelorum contraxerat)
cum Iudaica ſtultitia deorſum præcipitare conatur: ſudibus ſupra cœlum eleuat.
Andreas. Andreas vero per crucem(mundo ſuperato)regem martyrum/ dominum gloriæ et
Philippus. ſuum glorioſum fratrem ad cœlos ocyus aſſequitur. Philippum Phryges per crucis tropheum:
Thomas. cœli ciuibus adiungūt. Mirantur Indi Thomā: nunquā tā clarum ſydus intuiti,
quē dum ſacrificuli idolorum/cultris et lanceis crudeliter impetūt: clariſſimis intulerūt
aſtris. Ecce dum Armeni diuinum Bartholomeum(cui cum angelis familiare fuit in terris
Bartholomeus. colloquium)mortali cute ſpoliant: immortalitatis veſte induunt. Matthęum autem
poſt hoſtiæ laudis percepta ſacramenta: horridus æthiops martyrio deo ſacrat/ facitq;
Matthæus. de terreno cœleſtem ſacerdotem. Et cum Iacobo Zebedei filio/de mortali trunco caput
Iacobus. diſiungitur: immortali capiti(qui CHRISTVS eſt)in vita æterna inſeritur. Simon
Simon. & Thadeus indiuidui fratres poſteaq̄ Pontum ægyptum/et Chaldaicas oras diu peruaſere
Thadeus. (terrificis monſtris magorum et dæmonum ſuperatis) dum a coniuratis nigræ cohortis
cultoribus adoriuntur: ſocias animas/ candidiſſimas columbas de mortali carcere
Matthias. ſoluentes/ad cœlū euolare permittunt. Et ne ſilentio prætereamus: Matthias(qui ſacrum
apoſtolorū ſuppleuit duodenariū)dū ſaxis obruitur/ angulari lapidi CHRISTO
indiſſolubiliter agglutinatur. Et huic ſacro martyrū ſuorū choro/deus in ſanctis ſuis mirabilis:
Dionyſius. ſuū ſanctū antiſtitē Dionyſiū poſt flagra/poſt ferreas crates/poſt clibanos et fornaculas
accenſas/poſtq; ſecures/ porrecta miſericordiæ ſuæ manu adiungens/ſupra cœlos
euehit: locum vnde ad deum eleuatus eſt mitibus oculis ſemper aſpicientē/ et monumenta
ſui ad omniū ſtudiorū illuminationē in terris relinquentē. Vnde ſuæ et omnis
ſapientię ante omnia indultrici bonitati ſemper gratię ſint.

¶SEPTIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

QVartam dei appellationē in ſuperioribus adductam ſcilicet ſapientiā:
cum nonnullis alijs nominibus in eandem fere conuenientibus rationem
hic explanat ſacer Dionyſius. primum id proponens ꝙ ipſa vera
Sapientia. & perennis vita modo laudata/nunc vt ſapiens & vt ipſa ſapiētia
celebranda eſt: immo vt toti ſapientiæ creaturis indultæ ſubſtantiam
largiens/& ſupra omnem ſapientiam & cognitionem longe eminens.
Non enim deus ſolum eſt exuberantiſſimæ ſapientiæ/vt ſecundū ſcripturæ
Pſal, 146. teſtimonium ſapientiæ eius non ſit numerus: ſed etiā ſuper omnem ſermonem &
mentem & ſapientiam collocatus eminet. Quod ſane diuinæ & ſublimiter intellexit beatus
Paulus/& ſancti Dionyſij & diuini Hierothei cōmunis præceptor ac illuſtrator: cum
1, corin. 1. ad Corinthios ſcribens ait ꝙ ſtultū inſipienſq; dei/ſapientius eſt hominibus. Et id plane
ab eo dictū eſt/ non ſolum hanc ob cauſam/ quia omnis humana mens & ſapientia
ad firmitatē & ſublimitatem diuinarum notionum & præſtantiſſimæ dei ſapientiæ comparata:
eſt velut quidam error/ ob improportionalem vnius ab altera diſtantiam. ſed
etiam ob iſtam cauſam/quia conſuetum eſt & vſitatum viris deiloquis: ea quæ priuationis
ſunt deo attribuere/contraria ratione atq; oppoſita fere intelligentia/vt talia in eo
non defectum aut imperfectionem ſed ſuperexcellentiam & perfectionis eminentiam ſignent.
Ita enim ſacræ litteræ ipſam clariſſimam diuināq; lucem: vocāt inuiſibilem. eum
inſuper qui laudibus eſt celebratiſſimus: dicunt ineffabilem. ipſum etiam qui multis nominibus
eſt inſignitus: appellant ſine nomine. præterea præſentem rebus omnibus/&
qui ex omnibus inueniri poteſt & cognoſci: incognoſcibilē & ininueſtigabilē dicunt. Eadem
certe ratione in loco paulo ante adducto/deo dignus apoſtolus ſtultitiam dei laudare
dinoſcitur: referens idipſum quod in ea ſtultitia irrationabile & deo indignum videtur/
ad ineffabilē veritatē dei et quæ omnē præcellat rationem. Siquidem per ſtultum
ipſius dei intelligitur eiuſdem ſapientia: omni ſapientia mundi ſuperior ac eminentior.

124 ¶Verum & hic animaduertendū eſt quod in ſuperiore dictum eſt capite/ ſcilicet ꝙ ſi ſu-
pramūdana myſteria & quæ ſupra nos ſūt/ cōtēdimus more noſtro humano adiutoreq;
ſenſu accipere: et humi ſerpētes verſemur in familiaribus ac domeſticis rebus/ & diuina
ſacramenta ſenſibus noſtris conferamus/ volentes ea virtute ſenſitiua metiri ac cōpræ-
hendere: profecto decipimur. ꝙ arcanum illud diuinum/ perinde atq; ſenſibilis eſſet ſpe-
cies/ & eo modo quo quippiā ſenſibile: compræhēdere & aſſequi arbitramur. cum potius
ſcire debeamus/ animū noſtrum ſupra ſentiendi virtutē habere partim quidem vim in-
telligendi: per quam ea quę intellectu capiuntur agnoſcit. partim vero vnionem ad di-
uina/ mentis natura ſuperiorem: per quam ijs quæ ſupra ſe ſunt vt angelis & deo/ ani-
mus noſter iūgitur. Hac itaq; vnione & cōiunctione mentis noſtræ ad deum/ oportet vt
diuina intelligamus. nō quidem humano more: ſed toti perfecte plene & integre a nobis
ipſis cōtemplatione diſcedentes/ ſuper noſmetipſos eleuati/ atq; omnino in deum trāſe-
untes atq; traducti. Satius enim & potius eſt nos dei eſſe atq; illi penitus inſeri: q̃ noſtri
iuris eſſe/ noſtræq; naturę relinqui. quemadmodū perfectiori modo eſt ferrū cum abſor-
ptum eſt ab igne & totum candēs: q̃ cū igni deſtitutum ſuam ſeruat conditionē. Sic ſane
diuina nobis myſteria tradi & communicari poterunt: ſi cum deo fuerimus/ per ſuæ lucis
125 radiationem arctius illi cōiuncti. ¶Nunc vero diuinam beatus pater laudat ſapientiam:
a propagatione donorum eius in ea quæ illorum ſunt capacia. Ad prædicandā (inquit)
inſigni excellentia hanc irrationabilē/ ſtultam/ amentemq; (vt Paulus ait) diuinā ſapi-
entiam. quæ hiſce nominibus appellatur non per defectum ſed ſupereminētiam: ꝙ ſuper
omnem ſit rationem/ ſuper omnē ſapientiā/ & mentem. imprimis operæpreciū eſt dice-
re: ipſam omnis ſenſus authorem eſſe & rationis/ omnis item ſapientiæ et cognitionis.
ipſius etiam eſſe omne conſilium & agēdorum prudentiam: atq; ab ipſa diuina ſapientia
omnem ſciētiam & agnitionem in creaturas profluere/ et in ipſa eſſe omnes theſauros Coloſ. 2.
ſcientiæ & ſapientiæ (vt Paulus ait) abſconditos. Atq; vt ab ijs quæ ſuperius dicta ſunt
non diſcedatur/ cauſa illa prima ſupreme ac ſuper omnia ſapiens ipſam ſapientiā & to-
tam: in omnes ſcilicet participationis eius capaces diffuſam/ & particularem: in hos vel
illos ſapientiæ participes vt angelos aut homines diſtributam/ ſubſiſtere facit. Enimuero
ex ipſa diuina ſapientia vt fonte primario: intellectiuę cœleſtiū ſpirituū virtutes/ habent
notiones ac intellectiones ſimplices & indiuiduas. neq; diuinam colligūt ſciētiam in re-
bus diuiſibilibus vt ſubiectis/ neq; a rebus diuiduis vt obiectis: neq; a ſenſibus tanq̃ ipſi-
us mentis adminiculis more humano/ neq; a verbis diffuſioribus tanq̃ explicātibus rem
obſcuram: quemadmodum mens humana ob imperfectum cognoſcendi modū his indi-
get præſidijs. Nam nullo conſortio ipſi ſpiritus cœleſtes vt cognitiones hauriāt/ ad hæc
materialia aut externa obiecta coniungūtur: ſed ab omni materia liberi & ab omni mul-
titudine ſpecierū alieni perſiſtunt. penetrantq; diuina arcana quę ipſis intelligenda pro-
ponūtur: ſpiritualiter/ extra materiam/ vniceq; & ſimpliciter. Et eſt in ipſis/ ſpiritualis in-
telligendi virtus & operatio/ materiæ ſpeciebuſq; exteris impermixta/ et incoinquinata
puritate irradians. ſimul & contemplatio diuinorum myſteriorum in eis eſt indiuidua et
ſpiritualis: quæ per ſingularem & ſimplicem vnitatem diſponitur ac efformatur ad diui-
num ſenſum hauriendum/ & ſapientiſſimū dei verbum ac eloquium in ſe pro viribus ſu-
126 ſcipiendū/ haud aliter q̃ oculus ad lumen ſolis ſuperne emicās in ſe traducēdum. ¶Per
eandem quoq; diuinam ſapientiam/ animæ rationales vim habent intelligēdi: anniten-
tem ad rerum veritatem diſcurſione ratiocinationis/ & longo deducēdi rationes ambitu
atq; tractu. Vnde ipſę in eo ſunt cœleſtibus ſpiritibus inferiores: ꝙ diuiſibilibus & cuiuſ-
libet generis vtuntur ſignis viſibilibus/ vt eorum adiumento manuducātur ad intelligi-
bilia. In eo vero ꝙ animæ rationales etiam plurima prius ſparſim agnita in vnam col-
ligunt notionem/ & multitudinem in vnum conglobant: promerentur illuſtrari cognitio-
nibus/ quę angelorum ſcientijs ſunt æquales. et id quidem quantū fas eſt animabus hu-
manis ad id aſpirare: vt angelorum aſſequantur notiones. Inſuper ſenſus ipſos & virtu-
tes ſenſitiuas vt viſum auditum olfactum & in hominibus & brutis/ ſiquis dicat eſſe ſa-
pientiæ participes: is profecto a veritate non exorbitabit neq; errore ducetur. Eſt enim
ſenſus/ quoniam cognoſcendi vim habet: extremū & vltimū ſapientiæ veſtigium rebus
impreſſum. Quinimmo & dęmonica mens/ ex ipſa eſt diuina ſapiētia vt authore et cau-
ſa: inq̃tum mens eſt/ et eam ſortita naturā. Inquātum vero mens ipſa dæmonica/ irratio-
nalis eſt & minime rationi rectę parens: eoq; quod naturaliter appetit bono frui neſci

ens ob cęcitatem inductã/& nolens ob peruerſitatem volũtatis:rectius appellari debet
defectio ac prolapſio a ſapientia/quæ ab ipſis ſolum dæmonibus eſt. ¶Cæterũ iam ſatis 127
dictum eſt:ꝙ ipſa diuina ſapientia eſt initiũ & cauſa/ſubſtãtia & perfectio/continentia
et finis ipſius ſapientiæ creaturis cõmunicatæ/& omnis mentis in angelicis ſubſtantijs/
omnis rationis in hominibus/& õnis ſenſus in brutis animalibus. Sed dicet fortaſſe quiſpiam:
cum deus ipſe ſit pluſq̃ ſapiens & ſuperſapiens/ꝙ omnem tranſcendat ſapiẽtiam
et ſuper omnem ſit eminenter collocatus:quomodo ipſe laudatur vt ſapientia/ſenſus/
ratio & omniũ cognitor? quomodo enim intelligibile aliquod cognoſcet:cum intellectualibus
careat operationibus/ſuper omnem intellectum eminẽs? aut quomodo deus ipſe
noſcet ſẽſibilia:cum omni ſenſu ſuperior emineat? Nichilominus illum omnia ſcire/diuina
1.Ioan.3. ſcriptura teſtatur:et nichil in rebus diuinam ſcientiã ſubterfugere. Sed vt ſępius dictum
eſt/quæ deo attribuũtur/deitatiſq; propria:digne deo & quemadmodũ decet ipſũ
ſunt intelligenda. Nempe animi ſenſuſq; priuatio cum deo aſcribitur:excellentiã in deo
non defectum ſignat/ & ita diuinas priuationes accipi oportet. quemadmodũ etiã ipſi
deo irrationale applicatur:qui ſupra rationẽ eſt. et imperfectionẽ ei aſcribũt ſacri authores:
qui ſumme perfectus eſt excellentia & duratione. ꝙ omnem rerum perfectionẽ improportionaliter
excedat:et ſempiterna perfectione quę nunq̃ decidit/vigeat. Ita intangibilem
& inuiſiblem caliginẽ inuiſibilis lucis ei ſacræ litteræ attribuũt:propter eminentem
ipſius excellentiã ſuper omnẽ lucem viſibilem/immo & ſpiritualem quæ in creaturis 128
enicat. ¶Poſtea quomodo diuina mẽs ſeipſam & omnia noſcat:beatus pater elucidat.
Ipſa(inquit)mens diuina per ſapientiã ſuam cunctis ſupereminẽtem:õnia in ſe ante continet
q̃ ad ortum prodeant. et vt omnium cauſa prædiffiniens ac prædiſponẽs/omnium
in ſe notionem prius eſt complexa:q̃ res ipſę ſubſiſtant. vtpote priuſq̃ angeli fierent:ipſos
quomodo futuri erant ſciens/angeloſq; in mundi exordio producens. et omnia alia
in intimis ſuæ deitatis penetralibus ac theſauris ſciens/& ab æterno ante rerum initium
omnia noſcens:atq; ad ſubſtantiã cum ſuę placuit omnibeneficę bonitati omnia ducens.
Danie.13. Et hoc ipſum(vt autumare licet)ſcriptura inſinuat:cũ dicit de deo. qui nouit omnia:anteq̃
fiant. Porro diuina mens rerum notionẽ non accepit ex ijs quæ ſunt: quaſi ea de nouo
diſcens. ſed ex ſeipſa & in ſeipſa ſecũdum cauſalitatis rationem:omniũ cognitionem/
ſcientiam & ſubſtantiã præuenit atq; præoccupat/et ante cõprehendit q̃ ſubſiſtãt. Neq;
ſingula quæ ſubſiſtunt condita/ex cuiuſq; ſpecie dinoſcit:aut ex ipſis rerum ſpeciebus
more animi humani ducitur in ipſarum notionem. ſed ſecundũ vnicam ac ſingularẽ cauſæ
cõplexionem:omnia ex ſeipſa ſcit & cõtinet. Quemadmodũ & lux ſecũdum cauſæ rationem
in ſeipſa tenebrarum ſcientiã præambit atq; ante cõpræhendit:non ex alia cauſa
q̃ ex luce tenebras noſcẽs/perſuaſumq; habens tenebras dũtaxat eſſe: vbi lucis eſt deficientia 129
atq; carentia/& nichil aliud eſſe tenebras q̃ lucis priuationem. ¶Itaq; diuina ſapientia
ſeipſam noſcens:etiam omnia cognoſcit. materialia quidem ſiue materia/diuiſibilia
indiuidue/multa vnice:et ex ſeipſa vna/cuncta ſciẽs & proferens. Cum enim mens
noſtra quæ longe inferiorem ſortitur intelligẽdi modum/temporalia noſcat intemporaliter/
localia illocaliter/& dimẽſa indimenſe:cur illud quoq; non poterit mens diuina/ſuper
omnem motũ locum & molem eminẽter locata? Et certe quemadmodũ deus ſecundum
vnã cauſam ſcilicet ſeipſũ/omnibus eſſe impartit/& ex vnica & ſimplici cauſa profert
omnia:ita per vnam eandemq; cauſam atq; ſcientiã cognoſcit omnia/& quomodo
ex ſeipſo ſint & in ſeipſo ante ſubſiſtant. Neq; ex rebus ipſis quæ ſunt/earũ capiet agnitionem:
ſed & ipſis rebus ſingulis pro captu ſuo/et ſui & aliorum ſcientiã tradet ac communicabit.
Non habet igitur deus vnam peculiarẽ ſcĩetiam ſui/aliam vero cõmunem rerum
cõditarum:omnia quæ ſubſiſtunt complectẽtem. Ipſa enim omnium cauſa/ſeipſam
perfecte cognoſcens:nulla certe ratione ea quæ a ſeipſa ſunt & quorum eſt cauſa/ignorare
poterit. Hac itaq; cognitione qua ſeipſum noſcit deus/etiam cuncta cognoſcit:non
quidem rerum productarũ ſed ſola ſuiipſius ſcientia. Nempe & diuina ſcriptura atteſtatur
Apoca.2. angelicos ſpiritus ea ſcire/quæ in terra ſunt ac fiunt:cum ea deſcribuntur hominibus
exacte enunciare. non tamen illa norunt eo ipſo ꝙ ſenſu hauriãt illa quæ ſenſibilia ſunt/
ſed propria virtute atq; natura ſuæ mẽtis:ad dei imaginem effictæ atq; effor matę. Si igitur
id poteſt angelus:ſenſibilia ſcilicet ſupra ſenſum agnoſcere:quomodo illud non poterit 130
deus/qui hoc ipſum angelo largitus eſt? ¶Inſuper & illud percontandũ ſupereſt/
quomodo homines deum cognoſcũt:qui neq; intellectu neq; ſenſu cõpræhendi poteſt/

neqꝫ quicq̄ eorum eſt quæ ſub intellectus notionem cadunt. Reſpondendū plane eſt et
ſecundum veritatem: ꝙ homines deum non ex ipſius natura & conditione cognoſcunt.
nam ipſius dei ſecretum omnino ignotum eſt: omnemqꝫ exuperat ſenſum/rationem et
mentem. Sed ex ordinatiſſima creaturarum omnium diſpoſitione vt ab ipſo producta/
et præ ſe ferente imagines quaſdā & impreſſiones diuinorum ipſius exemplarium: ho-
mines in dei cognitionem prouehuntur/tanq̄ ex formatione ſigilli in cæra ad primitiuā
eius formam/atqꝫ ab imagine ad veritatem. Et hoc pacto congrua quadam via ac ordi-
ne homines pro viribus aſcendunt ex viſibilibus & intelligibilibus ad id quod ōnia ſubli-
miter tranſcendit: in eminentiſſima omnium priuatione/atqꝫ in omniū cauſa. ꝙ per om-
nium ablationem/abnegationemqꝫ & ſenſibiliū & intelligibilium: ad deum ipſum aſcen-
dendo perueniatur/omnium tamen authorem & cauſam. ſicut et in monade omniū con-
ſpicitur numerorum priuatio: & omnium cauſa. Ideo & in omnibus rebus deus agnoſci-
tur: et ſeorſum ab omnibus noſcitur. & per ſcientiam noſcitur deus: et per ignorationem
omni ſcientia ſuperiorem. Rurſum intelligitur ipſe deus/ratione appræhenditur/noſci-
tur/tactu/ſenſu/opinione & imaginatione percipitur/nominatur: et alijs cognoſcendi
modis ſcitur. et neqꝫ intelligitur neqꝫ ratione noſcitur neqꝫ dicitur/neqꝫ nominatur/neqꝫ
eſt aliquid eorum quæ ſunt: quia eſt ſuper omnia/neqꝫ in aliqua creatura cognoſcitur.
Ipſe quoqꝫ deus in omnibus omnia eſt: & in nichilo nichil. et ex omnibus rebus a cūctis
agnoſcitur: et ex nullo a nemine dinoſcitur. Sane iſta ōnia q̄uis videantur oppoſita: re-
ctiſſime tamen de deo veriſſimeqꝫ dicuntur/& ex omnibus rebus ſubſiſtentibus conue-
niēter laudatur deus: vt omnium author & opifex/ab effectis ipſis & cauſalibus: in ip-
ſam cauſam aſſurgendo. Præter quem modum cognoſcendi deum/eſt & excellentiſſima
dei ſcientia: quæ per ignorationem in excellētia dictam habetur/in cōiunctione illa mē-
tis ad deum quæ omnem ſuperat ſenſum & intelligentiam. quando mens ipſa humana
aut angelica/omnia alia ſupergrediens & demū ſeipſam relinquens/coniuncta fuerit lu-
cidis a deo profuſis radijs: vndiqꝫ imperſcrutabili ſapientiæ abyſſo per hunc radiorū ia-
ctum illuſtrata. Ipſa quoqꝫ diuina ſapientia omnibus ex rebus(vt dictum iam eſt)dino- Prouer. 8.
ſcenda venit: quandoquidem ſecundum ſacræ ſcripturæ ſententiā ipſa eſt effectrix om-
nium & cuncta ordinatiſſime diſponēs. Ipſius item congruentiæ indiſſolubilis & ordinis
eſt cauſa: ſemper priorū corporum fines/ſequētium & inferiorum initijs connectens. vt
imum cœli lunaris: ſummo ipſius ignis/& finem ignis principio aeris/& ita in cæteris.
et deniqꝫ vnam mundi conuenientiam & connexionem congruentiſſimo ordine & ſitu
131 moliēs atqꝫ fabricans. ¶Deinde alias dei nuncupationes annexas ſapiētiæ explicat ſa- Ratio.
cratus pater: oſtēdens cur rationis/veritatis & fidei appellatio etiā deo tribuatur. Ratio
quidem ſiue verbum dicitur deus in ſancta ſcriptura: non ſolum quia rationis/ſenſus &
ſapientiæ eſt ipſis rebus author & indultor/ſed etiam quia omnium cauſas in ſe vnifor-
miter & vnice cōplectitur ac continet: et quia per omnia meat/attingens(vt dicit ſcriptu- Sapien. 8.
ra)a fine vſqꝫ ad finem fortiter. Et præter hęc etiam: quia ipſa diuina ratio ſupra omnem
ſimplicitatem & ſingularitatē in rebus expanditur/eſtqꝫ ab omnibus rebus abſoluta et Veritas.
ſupra omnia/ratione ſupremæ ſubſtantiæ qua omnibus ſupereminet. Hæc item ratio eſt
ſimplex/vereqꝫ ſubſiſtens & diuina veritas. circa quam vt certiſſimā & nuſq̄ a vero ober- Fides.
rantem ſcientiam omnium quæ credenda ſunt: diuina fides eſt. quæ eſt ſtabilis credenti-
um firmitas & ſedes: quæ ipſos credētes in veritate ſtabiliter collocat. et in ipſis creden-
tibus itidem collocat veritatem maxime certam & eandem: ſupra omnem tamen huma-
nam perſuaſionem. quandoquidem ob arduam ſui ſublimitatem nullis humani ingenij
perſuaderi poteſt argumētis: aut naturalis rationis credulitate attingi. Verum qui fidem
ipſam amplexi ſunt/ nulla ſubnixi perſuaſoria humanę ſapiētiæ ratione: ſimplicē habēt
ac vnicam veritatis notionē/cui inconcuſſa mente adhęrēt ob ſolam ipſius dei eam re-
uelantis authoritatem. quem probe nouerūt & veracē & fidelem eſſe: et neqꝫ a veritate
132 decidere/neqꝫ ea quæ a vero abhorrēt credenda proponere aut inſpirare poſſe. ¶Enim-
uero cum ſcientia ſit cognoſcentiū & cognitorum coniunctrix: ſicut viſio coniungit ocu-
lū rei viſæ. ignorātia vero ſemper mutationis eſt author ac inſtabilitatis animi: inſuper
et ex ſe ipſi ignoranti ſuæ diuiſionis eſt author/quia ſecum diſſidet & rectæ ſententiæ
minime cohęret. eum qui credit in veritate/nichil(vt ſacræ perhibēt litteræ)remouebit
a deo veræ fidei authore: in quo firmam conſtantiā immutabilis atqꝫ indimobilis iden-
titatis habebit/eritqꝫ animus in veritatis cōfeſſione ſemper idem: neqꝫ in diuerſa fluctua-

bit. Conſcius enim ſibi eſt/ qui veritati fidei coniunctus eſt: q̄ recte inſtitutus eſt/ & ſalutarem viam amplexus. q̄uis plures ſecundum faciem iudicantes/ illum redarguāt: tanq̃ inſipientem & mente captum. Latet enim illos (ſicut & par eſt) quomodo ille fidem profeſſus velut ex errore reuocatus/ per inconcuſſam veritatis fidem extra ſe ſit/ propemodum deo cōiunctus: & quaſi ſeipſo relicto/ extaſim mentiſqꝫ exceſſum ob diuinorū amorem patitur. At vero ille fidem amplexus probe nouit: ſeipſum non (vt illi hoſtes fidei dicunt) inſania agi aut delirare. ſed ab inſtabili & vario circa multiplicem erroris diuerſitatem motu liberatum: per ſimplicem & ſemper eodem modo ſe habentem veritatem/ ſe euaſiſſe firmū ac ſtabilem. Deniqꝫ id perſuaſum habentes Chriſtianæ ſapientiæ duces & præſules/ apoſtoli ſcilicet & ipſorū ſectatores: pro veritate defēdēda moriūtur quotidie/ teſtimoniū perhibentes & verbo et exemplo/ ſingulari Chriſtianorū & veriſſimæ ſcientiæ. teſtificanteſqꝫ omnibus & ore et opere: ꝙ hæc Chriſtianorum ſcientia ac profeſſio/ omnibus alijs ſciētijs & ſimplicior eſt et diuinior. immo ꝙ ipſa ſola: eſt vera/ et vnica et ſimplex diuinarum rerum notio.

¶ De virtute/ iuſtitia/ ſalute/ redemptione: in quo & de æqualitate et inæqualitate.

CAP. VIII.

VErum enim quoniam diuinam veritatem/ ſupremāqꝫ ſapientiam:
vt virtutem theologi celebrant/ & vt iuſtitiam/ ſalutem
quoqꝫ ipſam/ & redemptionem appellant: age iſta pro
A viribus diuina nomina explicare pergamus. Nempe enim
ꝙ deitas ſumma/ virtute omni (quomodolibet aut eſt aut
Virtus. intelligitur) eminētiſſime ſuperior ſit: neminem reor qui diuinis
litteris ſit inuerſatus ignorare. plurimis enim in locis ſcriptura ſacra:
B etiam dominationem illi virtutum quoqꝫ cœleſtiū aſſignās tradidit. Quomodo
igitur illam theologi etiam vt virtutem laudant: quæ virtute omni
longe eminēter excipitur: aut quomodo in ipſa virtutis accipimus nomē?
Dicamus ergo quoniam virtus eſt deus: qui omnem in ſe virtutem ſupreme
habet & tempore et excellētia. et vt omnis virtutis author/ omniaqꝫ per
virtutem nuſq̃ inclinantem atqꝫ incircunſcriptam producens: & ſicut eius
quæ eſt virtus ſiue vniuerſalis ſiue particularis cauſa efficiens. et vt infinitæ
virtutis: nō modo ꝙ virtutem proferat omnem/ verum & ꝙ ſupra omnem
et ipſam quoqꝫ virtutem ſit. & ꝙ excellentiſſime poſſit & infinite infinitas
præter eas quę ſunt/ alias proferre virtutes. eo ꝙ nullo modo poſſint vel infinitæ
vel in infinitum productæ virtutes: ſupreme infinitam vim ipſius potentiſſimæ 134
virtutis obtundere. ¶ Ac vero ineloquibili & incognito atqꝫ incogitabili
modo ſupereminentis ōnia virtutis ſuæ/ ſiue per potentiæ copiā:
infirmitatem quoqꝫ corroborat/ extremaſqꝫ ſubſtantias continet/ ac potenter
firmat. Sicuti & in ijs quæ ſenſuum ſortita ſunt potētiam: cernimus ſuperlucētia
lumina ad hebetiores quoqꝫ acies penetrare. maioreſqꝫ crepitus
aiunt in aures quoqꝫ obtuſiores/ & haud facile ſonitus haurire idoneas: ingredi.
Quod enim audiendi officio penitus vacat: neqꝫ auris eſt. & quod
omnino non videt: neqꝫ acies eſt. Hæc deniqꝫ infinite potens diuina diſtributio:
in ōnia quæ ſunt ſe intendit/ atqꝫ permeat. et nichil eſt in rebus/ quod
non ſit virtuti alicui percipiendæ idoneū: ſed aut ſpiritualē/ aut rationalem/
aut ſenſibilem/ aut vitalem/ aut ſubſtantialē habet virtutē. ipſum quoqꝫ eſſe
(ſi fas ſit dicere) virtutem vt ſit/ a ſuperſubſtātiali virtute conſequitur. ¶ Ex 135
ipſa ſunt altiſſimæ angelicarum diſtinctionū virtutes: ex ipſa vt & ſint ſine

lapſu/habent.omneſqꝫ ſpirituales ſuos atqꝫ immortales ſempiternos mo-
tus/ipſamqꝫ conſtantiā/boniqꝫ deſiderium inuiolabile:ab infinitæ bonita-
tis virtute perceperūt.ipſa illis largiente vt poſſint/& iſta ſint/et ſemper eſſe
deſiderent:ipſumqꝫ deſiderare poſſe/vt ſemper poſſint.Procedūt ipſius in-
deficientis virtutis effectus ad homines quoqꝫ & animantes/et arbores/to-
tamqꝫ mundi naturam:& coniuncta corroborant ad amicitiā mutuam ac
ſocietatem.et quæ diſcreta ſunt/vt ſint ſingula iuxta rationem propriam ac
diffinitionē/inconfuſa atqꝫ impermixta cuſtodit:mundiqꝫ ordines & diſpo-
136 ſitiones in proprio conſeruat bono.¶Atqꝫ immortales angelicarum vnita
tum vitas inuiolabiles/& cœleſtes luminarium ſiderūqꝫ ſubſtātias atqꝫ or-
dines:immutabiles ſeruat.ac ſæculū vt eſſe poſſit indulget:temporū quoqꝫ
orbitas progreſſu diſtinguit/et reditu colligit.igniſqꝫ vires inextinguibiles
facit:et aquarū fluenta perennia.aeream quoqꝫ fuſionē terminat:& terram
ſuper nichilum firmat/eiuſqꝫ viuificos partus incorruptibiles cuſtodit.ele-
mentorumqꝫ congruentiam & temperantiam inconfuſam/atqꝫ indiuidu-
am ſeruat:& animæ ac corporis continet nexum.arborum quoqꝫ virtutes
quibus nutriuntur & creſcunt:mouet.ſubſtantialeſqꝫ omnium roborat vi-
res:et mundi indiſſolubilem conſtātiam tutatur/deificumqꝫ ipſum ſtatum
condonat:virtutem vt hoc poſſint/iis qui in deum tranſeūt præſtans.Pror-
ſuſqꝫ nichil in ſubſtantiis eſt:quod ipſius omnipotens diuina virtus non tu-
tetur/atqꝫ contineat.Quod enim omnino nulla virtute fulcitur:neqꝫ eſt/
137 neqꝫ aliquid eſt/neqꝫ eſt penitus ipſius vlla poſitio.¶Atqui īquit Elymas
magus ſi eſt omnipotēs deus:quomodo a veſtro theologo aliquid nō poſſe
dicitur?beatum inſimulās Paulum:qui ait deum ſeipſum negare non poſ-
ſe.Illud autem ſi adiiciam/vehementer timeo ne vt amens ridear:qui pue-
rorum ludentium ſtructuras/et ſupra harenam fundatas & infirmas/euer-
tere moliar/atqꝫ huius rei diuinum ſenſum veluti arduum aliquid ac perdiſ-
ficile intentius aperire aggrediar.Nempe enim ſeipſum negare:a veritate
decidere eſt.porro veritas deus eſt:& a veritate cadere/a deo eſt cadere.Si
igitur veritas deus eſt/veritatiſqꝫ negatio eſt a deo prolapſio:a deo cadere
deus non poteſt.& nō eſſe(vt ſic dixerim)non eſt:& non poſſe/nō poteſt/et
non noſſe ſecundum priuationem non nouit.Id ſapiēs ille non intellexit:
imitaturqꝫ athletas imperitos/qui ſæpe imbecillos ſibi aduerſarios eſſe ſua-
dentes/contraqꝫ abſentes ipſos fortiter adumbrata pugna dimicantes/et
aerem caſſis ictibus conſtanter ferientes:aduerſarios ipſos ſuperaſſe arbi-
trantur/ſeqꝫ victores buccinantur/cum neqꝫ illorum nouerint vires.At nos
diuinum ipſum Paulum pro viribus aſſequentes:eum qui ſupra virtutem
eſt deum vt omnipotētem celebramus/vt beatum ſolumqꝫ potentem/vt do-
minantem in virtute ſua ſæculo.vt qui in nullo a ſubſtātiis exciderit:immo
quæqꝫ ſunt omnia/excellenter & ante tempora habeat superſubſtātiali vir-
tute ſua.qui iis quæ ſunt omnibus/vt eſſe poſſint & hoc ſint:excellentis vir-
138 tutis copia & exuberanti profuſione largitur.¶Iuſtitia vero rurſus deus vt
omnibus ſecundum merita retribuens dicitur:menſuramqꝫ & pulchritudi-
nem & ordinem ac diſpoſitionem/omneſqꝫ diſtributiones atqꝫ ordinatio-

C
Elymas
magus.
D

Vbi hic deꝰ
et a deo fre
quēter dici
tur/exēplar
habet no-
mē dei on:
hoc eſt ens
et qui eſt.&
nō eſſe/nō
poſſe/non
noſſe nomi-
naliter ītel-
liguntur.

E
Iuſtitia.

nes iuxta veriſſimam ac iuſtiſſimam diffinitionem ſingulis ſegregās/et om-
nibus quibuſqꝫ proprij operis author exiſtens. Cuncta enim diuinæ iuſti-
tiæ legibus ordinat/atqꝫ determinat: et omnia ex omnibus mera atqꝫ imper-
mixta cuſtodiens/pro ſingulorum meritis ijs quæ ſunt omnibus congrua
cuiqꝫ largitur. Hæc vero ſi recte dicuntur/qui diuinā iuſtitiā inſimulant: dū
non aduertūt/ſuā iniuſtitiā apertiſſime dānant. Aiūt enī immortalitatē in-
eſſe debere mortalibus: imperfectiſqꝫ perfectionē. & ijs quæ ex ſe mouētur:
neceſſitatē qua aliunde moueātur. mutabilibuſqꝫ idētitatē/& infirmis: quæ
perfectæ virtutis ſunt/adeſſe oportere. item ſempiterna eſſe temporalia/et
immutabilia: quæ natura mouētur. temporariaſqꝫ voluptates oportere eſ-
ſe æternas: & omnino quæ aliorum ſunt/alijs reddūt. Verum in hoc operę-
precium eſt cognoſcere diuinam iuſtitiam veram eſſe iuſtitiam/ꝙ omnibus
quæ ſua ſunt tribuit pro ſingulorum merito: et cuiuſqꝫ naturam in ſuo or-
dine ſeruat/atqꝫ virtute. ¶ At dixerit quiſpiam/non eſſe iuſtitiæ: ꝙ viri ſan-
cti ſine adiutorio dimittantur a peſſimis conteri. Ei dicēdum ꝙ ſi quidem
terrena quæ carnalibus in ſtudio ſunt/diligunt: ij quos ſanctos appellat/di-
uino amore prorſus exciderūt. et neſcio quo pacto ſancti appellari poſſint:
qui amabilia veraciter ac diuina iniurijs afficiunt. dum ea quæ neqꝫ amari/
neqꝫ haberi in ſtudio merentur: minus plane honeſte congerūt/minuſqꝫ re-
probant. Sin autem quæ vere ſunt amant: lętari cōuenit eos qui aliqua cu-
piuut/quando fruuntur optatis. An vero non tunc magis angelicis propin-
quant virtutibus: cum diuinorum deſiderio pro viribus ab omni carnalium
affectione diſcedunt? atqꝫ ad hoc viriliter multum exercentur: dum preſſu-
ras/caſuſqꝫ varios honeſti gratia tolerāt. Itaqꝫ (vt verum dixerim) hoc ma-
gis eſt diuinæ iuſtitiæ propriū: nequaq̄ emollire atqꝫ eneruare optimorum
quorumcūqꝫ maſculum ſenſum/largitione carnalium. neqꝫ ſi quis id cone-
tur agere: eos ſine adiutorio linquere/ſed illos in præclaro/inflexibiliqꝫ ſta-
Salus. tu ſolidare/eiſqꝫ cum ſint huiuſmodi: ſecundum merita reddere. ¶ Hæc de-
F niqꝫ diuina iuſtitia/ſalus quoqꝫ omnium prædicatur: propriam cuiuſqꝫ et
ſyncæram ab alijs ſubſtantiā & ordinem ſeruans atqꝫ cuſtodiens/cauſaqꝫ
pure exiſtens propriæ in quibuſqꝫ actionis. Si quis vero ſalutem laudet (vt
etiam ne a deterioribus quidem abſtineat) cuncta ſaluando rapientem: &
hunc ipſi laudatorem profuſiſſimæ ſalutis perlibenter admittemus. Et hāc
ſanc primam vniuerſorum ſalutem ipſum diffinire cupiemus/quæ omnia
in ſeipſis immutabilia/neqꝫ diſſidentia & nuſq̄ deflectentia ad deteriora:
præſeruet/cuſtodiatqꝫ ōnia ſine pugna & bello/ſingula ſuis rationibus/or-
dinibuſqꝫ diſtincta. et inæqualitatem omnem/& alienam actionem ex om-
nibus eliminet: & cuiuſqꝫ proportiones ad id cōfirmet vt in diuerſa cadere/
aut commigrare nequaq̄ poſſint. ¶ Verum enim profecto & hanc ſalutem
non præter intentionem ſcripturæ ſanctę/vt bonitate cuncta ſaluante/quæ
ſunt omnia ab ſuorum prolapſione bonorum redimentem: prædicare me-
G rito poſſumus/quantum cuiuſqꝫ ſaluandorū admittit natura. Idcirco etiam
Redēptio. redemptionem illam theologi nominant: ex eo ꝙ non ſinit quæ veræ ſunt/
ad id cadere vt non ſint. ex eo item ꝙ etſi quid deliquerint/& ab ordine ſuo

aberrauerint/ & imminutionem aliquam perfectionis bonorũ ſuorum paſſa fuerint: hac etiam in parte a paſſione & imbecillitate ac priuatione redimit. implens quod deeſt/ & paterno affectu infirmitatem ſupplens/ atq; a malo erigens: immo in pulchro ſiſtens/ & quod effluxerat bonũ reparãs/ ac diſponẽs/ & ordinis quod deeſt in illo atq; poſitionis exornãs/ integrũq;
142 perficiens/ & ab omnibus abſoluens inconcinnitatibus. ¶Sed de his qui- Equalitas.
dem/ & de iuſtitia dictum eſt. ſecũdum quam omnium æqualitas emetitur H
atq; terminatur: omniſq; inæqualitas/ quæ ſecũdum priuationem eſt eius (quæ in ipſis ſingulis eſt) ęqualitatis: extorris agitur. Verum enimuero inæqualitatem ſi quis differentias omnium ad omnia in omnibus accipiat: huius quoq; iuſtitia ſeruatrix eſt/ non permittens promiſcua omnia fieri ac perturbari: ſed cuſtodiẽs quæ ſunt omnia ſecũdum ſpeciem in qua ſingula quæq; eſſe acceperunt.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. Nempe enim ꝙ deitas ſumma/ virtute omni. Virtu- A
tis appellatione: ſacræ litteræ deum collaudant. Pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus nonus. Domine domine virtus ſalutis meæ: obumbraſti ſuper caput meũ in die belli. Et ad Romanos cap. primo. Inuiſibilia enim ipſius a creatura mundi per ea quæ facta ſunt intel-
lecta conſpiciuntur/ ſempiterna quoq; eius virtus/ & diuinitas. ¶Etiam dominationem B
illi virtutum quoq; cœleſtium aſſignãs tradidit. Pſalmus viceſimus tertius. Quis eſt iſte C
rex glorię? dominus virtutum ipſe eſt rex gloriæ. ¶Atqui inquit Elymas magus. Hic eſt Elymas
Elymas magus: qui et Barieu (id eſt filius maleficij) nominatus eſt: de quo actuũ aposto magus.
lorum cap. decimo tertio hunc in modum legitur. De Barnaba et Paulo. Et ipſi quidem miſſi a ſpiritu ſancto/ abierunt Seleuciam: & inde nauigauerunt Cyprum. Et cum veniſſent Salaminam: prædicabant verbum dei in ſynagogis Iudęorum. Habebant autem et Ioannem in miniſterio. Et cum perambulaſſent vniuerſam inſulam vſq; ad Paphum: inuenerunt quẽdam virum magũ pſeudoprophetã Iudęũ cui nomen erat Barieu: qui erat cum proconſule Sergio Paulo viro prudẽte. Hic accerſitis Barnaba et Paulo: deſiderabat audire verbum dei. Reſiſtebat autem illis Elymas magus (ſic enim interpretabatur nomen eius) quærẽs auertere proconſulem a fide. Saulus autem qui et Paulus repletus ſpiritu ſancto: intuẽs in eum dixit. O plene omni dolo/ & omni fallacia fili diaboli/ inimice omnis iuſtitiæ: non deſinis ſubuertere vias domini rectas. et ecce nunc manus domini ſuper te: & eris cæcus/ non videns ſolẽ vſq; ad tempus. et confeſtim cecidit in eum caligo/ et tenebræ: & circuiens quærebat qui ei manum daret. Tunc proconſul cum vidiſſet
factum: credidit/ admirans ſuper doctrina domini. ¶Beatum inſimulans Paulũ: qui ait D
deum ſeipſum negare non poſſe. Paulus ſecunda ad Timotheum epiſtola cap. ſecundo.
Si non credimus: ille fidelis permanet/ negare ſeipſum nõ poteſt. ¶Iuſtitia vero rurſus E
deus: vt omnibus ſecundũ merita retribuens dicitur. Et iuſtitia & iuſtus frequẽter in ſanctis litteris de deo adducũtur. Iuſtitia. Pſalmus centeſimus decimus. Confeſſio & magnificentia opus eius: iuſtitia eius manet in ſæculum ſæculi. Et centeſimo decimo octauo. Iuſtitia tua: iuſtitia in æternum. Et ſapiẽtiæ cap. primo. Iuſtitia enim perpetua eſt/ & immortalis. Iuſtus. pſalmus ſeptimus. Deus iudex/ iuſtus/ fortis/ et patiẽs. Et decimo. Quoniam iuſtus dominus/ & iuſtitias dilexit: æquitatẽ vidit vultus eius. Et hæ diuinæ nuncupationes/ quo magis homines ad iuſtitiam faciendã exemplaria diuinitatis non igno-
rent: omnium ferme frequentiſſime occurrunt. ¶Hæc deniq; diuina iuſtitia: ſalus quoq; F
omnium prædicatur. Et vt ſalus/ vt ſaluator/ vt ſalutare celebratur. Salus. pſalmus viceſimus ſextus. Dominus illuminatio mea & ſalus mea: quem timebo? Saluator. Secũdus regum cap. viceſimo ſecundo. Dominus petra mea/ & robur meũ/ et ſaluator meus. Iterum. Scutum meũ & cornu ſalutis meę/ eleuator meus/ & refugiũ meum: ſaluator de iniquitate liberabis me. Ioannes cap. quarto. Ipſi enim audiuimus & ſcimus: quia hic eſt vere ſaluator mundi. Et prima ad Timotheũ epiſtola cap. quarto. quia ſperamus in deũ viuum: qui eſt ſaluator omniũ hominum. Salutare. Eſaias cap. quinquageſimo ſecundo.
Et videbũt omnes fines terrę: ſalutare dei noſtri. ¶Idcirco etiam redemptionẽ illã theo- G

logi nominant. Quæ poſſunt ſacrę litteræ/diuinæ bonitatis beneficia agnoſcentes: nunc
Pſal. 73. redemptionẽ/nunc redemptorẽ eum vocant/qui in medio terræ omniũ hominũ operatus
eſt ſalutẽ. Redẽptionẽ. Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. primo Ex ipſo autẽ
vos eſtis in CHRISTO IHESV: qui factus eſt nobis ſapiẽtia/& iuſtitia/et ſanctificatio/
et redẽptio. Redemptorẽ. Pſalmus decimus octauus. Domine adiutor meus: & redemptor
meus. Eſaias cap. quinquageſimo quarto. Dominabitur tui qui fecit te: dominus
exercituum nomen eius/& redemptor tuus/ſanctus Iſrael: deus omnipotens terræ vocabitur.
H ¶Secundũ quã omniũ æqualitas emetitur atq; terminatur. Aequitatẽ & æqualitatem
deo ſacra eloquia attribuunt. Aequitatẽ. pſalmus nonus. Parauit in iudicio thronum
ſuum: & ipſe iudicabit orbem terrę in æquitate. Aequalitatem. cum ſapientiæ cap.
ſexto dicitur. Non ſubſtrahet perſonam cuiuſq̃ deus: quia eſt omnium dominator. quoniam
puſillum & magnũ ipſe fecit: & æqualiter eſt illi cura de omnibus. Et cum dicitur
ad Philippenſes cap. ſecundo. Qui cum in forma dei eſſet/non rapinã arbitratus eſt eſſe
ſe æqualẽ deo: ſed ſemetipſum exinaniuit/formã ſerui accipiens/in ſimilitudinẽ hominum
I factus/& habitu inuentus vt homo. ¶Verũ enimuero inæqualitatẽ: ſi quis differentias
omnium. Hoc eſt/ſi quis vocet inæqualitatem: differentias/& diſtinctiones rerum
abinuicem.

¶OCTAVI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

NVnc alias diuinas appellationes/virtutem/iuſtitiã/ſalutem/redemptionem:
explanare aggreditur ſacer Dionyſius. proponens primum ꝙ
quoniam diuinam ſapientiã & veritatem deiloqui patres etiã laudant
vt virtutem & vt iuſtitiã/eandemq; vocant ſalutẽ & redemptionẽ: iſta
Virtus. etiã diuina nomina dignis laudibus prędicãda ſunt/ſicut & ſuperiora.
Siquidẽ ꝙ ſumma deitas/omni creata virtute (quomodocũq; ea ſit aut
intelligatur) longe ſit ſuperior: nullus certe ignorat/qui in diuinis litteris
eſt verſatus. quoniam cõpluribus in locis ipſa ſcriptura etiam dominationẽ cœleſtium
Pſal. 23. ſpirituũ illi attribuit: cũ ipſum/dominũ virtutum/& dominum ſabaoth ſiue exercituũ
appellat. Quomodo igitur ipſam ſummã deitatem ſacri authores vt virtutem laudant:
quæ omni virtute ſublimior eminet? aut quomodo in ipſa ſuprema deitate/virtutis accipitur
nomen? Reſpondet beatus pater ꝙ deus dicitur virtus: quoniã omnem in ſe virtutem
ſupereminenter habet/& tempore et excellentia. Tempore quidem: ꝙ prius in eo q̃
in rebus cõditis ſit virtus/quia ab æterno. Excellentia vero: ꝙ exuberãtius in eo q̃ quibuſuis
creaturis eluceat virtus/quia immenſa & infinita. et quia omnis virtutis eſt author:
õniaq; per virtutẽ ſuã nunq̃ defatiſcentẽ & immenſuratã producens. author inquã
et cauſa efficiens virtutis: rebus ſubſiſtentibus inditę. ſiue vniuerſalis: & generali ratione
res omnes ambientis. ſiue particularis: & in hoc aut illo rerũ genere conſideratæ. Deus
etiam (quod alteri nulli conuenit) infinitæ eſt virtutis atq; imẽſæ. non ſolũ quia omnẽ
producat virtutẽ: ſed etiã quia ſupra omnẽ eſt virtutẽ/& ſupra ipſam quoq; virtutẽ: a ſe
in creaturas effluentẽ. Dicitur etiã infinitæ virtutis deus: quia excellentiſſime poſſit etiã
infinite infinitas numeroq; indeterminatas & non tot quin plures/præter eas quę ſunt/
alias producere virtutes. ex eo ꝙ etiã infinitę aut in infinitũ productę virtutes: nõ poſſũt
ſupreme infinitã efficaciã ipſius potentiſſimæ virtutis diuinę obtundere/exhaurire aut
imminuere. perinde atq; infinitę & quotcũq; velis productę numerorũ ſpecies/nõ queunt
ipſius monadis numeralis debilitare vim productricẽ aut infirmiorẽ reddere: quin
adhuc plures & nouas proferre poſſit numerorũ ſpecies. et quotquot velis eductæ a centro
lineæ non valent ipſam centri virtutẽ euacuare: quin plures & nouas explicet lineas/
atq; a ſe educat in conſpectũ. ¶Immo deus ipſe/per excedentis omnia virtutis ſuæ
modũ (qui nec ſermone poteſt exprimi/nec mente cõpræhendi/nec cogitatu capi) atq;
per ſuæ potentię copiã: etiam ipſã rerũ infirmitatẽ ne omnino labaſcat aut tendat in interitũ/
corroborat atq; ſuſtentat. poſtremaſq; rerũ ſubſtantias atq; infimas vt terrã/materiã
rerũ/& accidentia extremũ ſortita locũ conſeruat ac firmiter continet. quẽadmodũ
et in corporibus ſẽſibilibus quæq; ſẽtiẽdi habẽt facultatẽ: lumina multo ſplẽdore chorusca
ad hebetiores etiã oculos penetrant. et vehemẽtiores ſonitus aiunt phyſiologi obtuſiores
quoq; aures & non facile ſonũ haurire idoneas ferire ac ingredi. Quod enĩ audiendi
virtute omnino caret: non eſt auris. et quod nichil prorſus videt: non eſt oculus/
quoniã proprium illius officiũ & a natura conſtitutũ explere non poteſt. Deniq; hæc in

finite potens diuina virtus/ſuæ potentiæ largiſſima diſtributrix: in omnia quæ ſunt ſe
explicat/effundit ac propagat. omnia permeat/ penetrat & ſubit. vt nichil omnium cõ-
ſpiciatur in rebus: quod non ſit alicui virtuti recipiendæ aptum aut accommodum.
ſed aut ſpiritualem vt angeli/ aut rationalem vt homines/ aut ſenſibilẽ vt bruta/ aut
vitalem vt plantæ/aut ſubſtantialem vt inanimata/ habet virtutem. Quinimmo & ip-
ſum eſſe (ſi ita loqui liceat) a superſubſtantiali/ diuinaq; virtute conſequitur virtutem
135 vt ſit/ & in rebus omnibus ſubſiſtat. ¶Deinde varias ipſius diuinæ virtutis diſtributi-
ones in diuerſos creaturarum gradus deſcribit: dicens ꝙ ex ipſa ſuprema virtute ſunt
excellentiſſimæ angelicorum ordinum virtutes/et vt ſine lapſu/decidẽtiaq; in deterius
ſint: ex ipſa habent. omneſq; ſuas operationes/ functiones & motiones perpetuas/ ip-
ſamq; in bono conſtantiam/ & deſiderium boni nullo modo violabile: ab infinitæ bo-
nitatis virtute diuina perceperũt. Largitur enim illis ſumma ipſa dei virtus vt hæc poſ
ſint/& iſta ſint/& ſemper ita eſſe deſiderent/necnon vt poſſint deſiderare ꝙ ſemper poſ-
ſint/poteſtatẽq; & vires indeficientes habeant: ſine ſui diminutione perpetuo vigen-
tes. Inſuper progrediuntur ipſius indeficientis diuinæ virtutis effectus ad homines/ani
malia bruta ac plantas/ totamq; mundi naturam conditam. & coniuncta in rebus cor-
roborant ad mutuam amicitiam ac ſocietatem: vt partes in toto & qualitatum contem-
peramenta in corpore. quæ autem diſcreta ſunt & diſtincta/ vt elementa & quæ ex ip-
ſis conſtant: inconfuſa ac impermixta conſeruat/ vt ſint ſingula iuxta naturæ ſuæ mo-
dum ac conditionem. totumq; mundi ordinem ac diſpoſitionem in ſuo continet teno-
136 re/ ſtatu & gradu. ¶ Eadem quoq; diuina virtus immortales angelicarum ſimplici-
tatum vitas: inuiolabiles cuſtodit. cœleſtes quoq; duorum præcipuorum luminarium/
ſiderumq; omnium ſubſtantias: immutabiles ac indeciduas ſeruat. Inſuper & ſubſiſten-
tium rerum duratio vt eſſe poſſit: præſtat. temporumq; reuolutiones & circuitus conti-
nuo progreſſu diſtinguit: ac conſimili regreſſu colligit. Ignis item vires reddit inextin-
guibiles/& aquarũ profluuia perpetua. aeris etiam fuſionem & expanſionem terminat:
& terram ſuper nichilum (vt ait ſcriptura)appendit ac firmat: ꝙ nichil/terræ ſit ſub- Iob.26.
ſtratum quo fulciatur/ ſed ipſa ſuipſius ſit fulcimentum & baſis. Viuificos itidem terræ
partus/incorruptibiles ſecundum ſpeciem cuſtodit: ꝙ dat terræ virtutem/eadẽ ſemper
ſpecie rerum genera proferendi. Præterea elementorum adinuicem conuenientiam &
temperamentum: ſine confuſione aut diuulſione integrum conſeruat. animæq; & cor-
poris in viuentibus: continet ſocietatem ac vinculum. arborum etiam & vegetabilium
vires/ quibus enutriũtur & ſurgunt in crementũ: mouet. ſubſtantialeſq; & naturales om
nium rerum virtutes corroborat: & indiſſolubilẽ mundi conſtantiam permanentiãq; cõ-
ſeruat. Deniq; & deiformem ſtatum rationalibus & ſpiritualibus ſubſtãtijs elargitur. ijs
qui in deum imitatione ac aſſimilatione tranſeunt/ virtutem præſtans: vt poſſint tam
perfectam & propinquam dei participationem aſſequi. Et omnino nichil eſt in tota re-
rum ſubſiſtentium vniuerſitate: quod omnipotens dei virtus non tueatur ac conſeruet.
Quod enim penitus virtutis eſt expers/neq; vlla virtute ſtabilitur: neq; eſt/neq; aliquid
137 eſt/neq; illius aliqua eſt exiſtentia/aut in rerũ natura cõſtitutio. ¶Obiectionẽ deinde di-
luit/ab impio & ſacrilego Elyma mago cõtra omnipotẽtẽ dei virtutẽ inductã: qui hac ra
tione illã annititur infirmare. Si deus eſt õnipotẽs: quomodo ab vno Chriſtianæ ſapiẽtię
profeſſore dicit̃ aliquid nõ poſſe? hiſce verbis beatũ ſugillãs & accuſans Paulũ: qui ſcri- 2.timo.2.
bit deum non poſſe ſeipſum negare. Verũ ſi huic cauillationi reſpondere pergã (inquit
beatus pater) vehementer vereor ne tanq̃ amens irridear: ꝙ ludicras puerorum luden-
tiũ ſtructuras & arces ſuper harenã collocatas euertere nitar/ atq; propoſitionis huius
ex Paulo adductę diuinũ ſenſum/veluti quippiã ſublime/altũ & difficile/ſtudioſius ape
rire. cũ id plane permultis facile ac leue videatur: & indignũ cui quis inſiſtat ac immore-
tur. Siquidem ſeipſum negare: eſt a veritate decidere. veritas autẽ: deus eſt. & a verita-
te cadere: eſt a deo cadere atq; prolabi. Cũ igitur deus (vt ſcriptura teſtatur) ſit veritas/ Ioan.14.
& veritatis negatio ſit a deo prolapſio: a deo cadere/ deus certe non poteſt. et non eſt
ipſe deus(vt ita dicam) non eſſe/ſiue non ens. & ipſe non poteſt non poſſe/ſiue impo
tentiam. & non nouit nõ noſſe/ſiue ignorantiam: notioniſq; carentiam ſecundum priua-
tionem atq; defectum. Id plane ſapiens ille Elymas (quod per ironiam dictũ intelligat̃:
& ad notandã eius inſipientiam) non intellexit/imitaturq; pugiles ignauos: qui ſæpius
aduerſarios ſuos inualidos & imbelles eſſe ſibi perſuaſũ habẽtes/& cõtra ipſos abſentes

certamine fictitio dimicãtes/aerem crebris ictibus incaſſum verberantes: ſe hoſtes ſuos
deuiciſſe putant/ et ſeipſos victoria potitos gloriantur ac iactitant/ cum neqꝫ illorum
cognouerint vires: neqꝫ manus cum ipſis conſeruerint. At nos ipſi (inquit) diuini Pau-
li intelligentiam aſſecuti/eiuſqꝫ tenentes ſententiam: deum ipſum (qui ſupra omnem eſt
virtutẽ) prædicamus vt omnipotentem/vt beatum/ ſolumqꝫ potentẽ/vt dominantẽ in
virtute ſua toti mundo/vt in nullo: ſubſtantiarũ perfectione deſtitutum. cũ omnia quæ
ſunt: excellẽter & ante temporũ decurſum habeat/per ſuperſubſtantialẽ ſuam virtutẽ.
qui deniqꝫ ijs omnibus quæ ſubſiſtunt: & vt ſint & eſſe poſſint elargitur/ſuæ excellẽtiſſi- 138
Iuſtitia. mæ virtutis copia & largiſſima profuſione. ¶Deinde deum/ iuſtitiæ appellatione diui-
nus pater prædicat. qui in ſanctis ſcripturis frequenter hoc nomine dicitur: ꝙ omnibus
ſecundũ merita retribuat cõpenſetqꝫ mercedẽ/ ꝙ etiã menſurã rerũ omniũ ac pulchritu-
dinẽ/diſpoſitionem & ordinẽ cuiq; diſpenſet. ꝙ inſuper diſtributiones proprietatũ loco-
rũ ac temporũ/ſimiliter & ordinationes decentiſſimas ſecundũ veriſſimã ac iuſtiſſimam
ſuæ prouidentiæ determinationẽ cunctis aſſignet: & omnibus rebus propriæ ſuæ functi-
onis & operationis author exiſtat. Quippe deus cuncta: diuinæ iuſtitiæ legibus ęquiſſi-
mis ſancit & ordinat. & omnia ex omnibus inconfuſa atq; impermixta ſeruans: largitur
cuiqꝫ quod ſuæ naturæ eſt propriũ ac congruũ/pro cõditione/ qualitate ac modo ſingu-
lorũ. Cæterũ quoniã hæc recte & vere dicuntur/nonnulli ponentes os in cœlũ & loquẽ-
tes contra altiſſimum/diuinãqꝫ iuſtitiã accuſantes: dũ quid agãt nõ aduertunt/ ſuam in-
iuſtitiam manifeſte produnt & declarant. Dicũt enim immortalitatẽ debere ineſſe rebus
mortalibus: vt hominibus ſecũdum hanc vitã ſenſibilẽ. & imperfectis: perfectionẽ. & ijs
quæ arbitrij libertate mouẽtur quo ſe deflectere volunt: dicunt debere ineſſe neceſſitatẽ
& vim/qua ab alio moueantur adiganturqꝫ ad opus. & mutabilibus/vt rebus inferiori-
bus: conſtantẽ & eodem modo ſe ſemper habentem identitatẽ. dicunt item infirmis ea
adeſſe oportere: quæ perfectæ ſunt virtutis. & tẽporalia: oportere eſſe ſempiterna/ per-
petuæqꝫ durationis. & quæ natura mouentur: debere eſſe immutabilia. voluptateſq; mũ-
di huius quæ fluxæ ſunt & fugaces: oportere eſſe perpetuas. & omnino quæ ex diuina or-
dinatione/ aliorum ſunt propria: alijs reddere & aſſignare contendunt/ hunc totũ mun-
di ſtatum confundẽtes. Verum in hoc promptum eſt cognoſcere ꝙ diuina iuſtitia/ vera
eſt iuſtitia: ꝙ omnibus quæ ſibi cõgrua ſunt & cõuenientia tradit pro ſingulorũ qualitate 139
& conditione/ cuiuſqꝫ rei naturã in ſuo ordine ſuaqꝫ virtute ſeruãs. ¶Obiectioni dein-
ceps reſpõdet: quę cõtra diuinę iuſtitiæ rationẽ afferri poſſet. Diceret enĩ fortaſſe aliquis
id non eſſe iuſtitiæ & rectitudinis diuinæ munus: ꝙ viri ſancti permittantur ſine adiuto-
rio & ſubleuamine ab improbis & prauis opprimi ac cõculcari. Verũ ei qui hęc obijceret
reſpondendũ eſt/ ꝙ ſi illi quos appellat in ſua ratione ſanctos/terrena quæ carnales ho-
mines toto ſtudio proſequũtur/diligũt: a diuino amore penitus defecerũt & alieni ſunt.
Et mirum id eſt quomodo illi poſſunt recte appellari ſancti: qui cœleſtia diuinaqꝫ bona/
veraciter amari digna/habent ludibrio ac contemptui. cũ illis poſthabitis ea inhoneſte
affectant et ſibi accumulant: quæ neqꝫ amari merentur neqꝫ in precio haberi debẽt/ſed
potius reprobari ac reijci. Si autẽ ij quos aduerſarius appellat ſanctos/ea diligunt quæ
vere ſunt amore proſequenda: cum a peſſimis conteruntur ac indigne vexantur/ma-
iorem gaudij q̃ querimoniæ habent materiam. Nam eos qui aliqua ardenter cupiunt/
tunc par eſt lætari: quando potiuntur optatis & voti fiunt compotes. At vero in tribu-
lationibus & preſſuris: homines iuſti/id perfectius aſſequuntur. Enimuero præcipua eo-
rum intẽtio eſt: vt propemodũ in terris angelicam agant vitam/et digna imitatione ad
deiformitatẽ accedãt. Atqui tũc certe vicinius angelicis appropinquãt perfectionibus:
cũ bonorũ diuinorũ deſiderio/toto ſtudio ab omni rerũ carnaliũ affectione diſcedũt. ad
quod ſane viriliter exercentur atq; laborant: cum calamitates & ſiniſtros caſus/ honeſti
gratia & eius etiam quod eſt ſuper omne honeſtũ/perpetiũtur. Itaqꝫ ſi veritatẽ fateri li-
buerit/hoc magis eſt diuinæ iuſtitiæ officiũ: nequaq̃ effœminare & frangere optimorũ vi-
rorũ maſculã virtutẽ animũqꝫ virilẽ/profuſa largitione bonorũ carnaliũ. et ſi quis alio-
rũ id conetur agere pollicitationibus aut donationibus: diuinę iuſtitiæ proprium eſt/nõ
relinquere tunc bonos et iuſtos viros ſine adiutorio/ ſed illos in firma animi conſtan-
tia/ſtabilitateqꝫ indemutabili a bono/conſolidare: ne alliciantur affectu aut cupiditate
terrenorũ. & deniqꝫ ipſis cum ad finẽ vſq; in bono perſtiterint: digna reddere prẽmia. 140
Salus. ¶Deinde deum nomine ſalutis prædicat ſacratus pater/dicens ꝙ diuina iuſtitia in ſa-

cris litteris ſalus etiam omniū nominatur: quia propriam cuiusq; ſubſtantiam & ordinē Pſal.26.
ab alijs incōfuſum/ merum & diſtinctum ſaluat ac cuſtodit/et cauſa eſt naturalis & pro-
priæ in quibuſq; rebus actionis ſine permixtione aut confuſione. Qz ſi quis deum vt
ſalutem laudet/ quia cuncta quæ ſunt ſaluando ad ſe rapiat & attrahat/ vt neq; ab im-
perfectioribus & abiectioribus rebus puta materia & accidentibus ſaluandis abſtineat:
& hic plane/ diuinæ ſalutis laudator profuſiſſimus admittendus eſt. Debetq; is diffinire
atq; determinare hanc eſſe primam vniuerſorum ſubſiſtentium ſalutem: quæ omnia
conſeruet in ſeipſis immutata neq; ab inuicem diſſidentia/ & nuſq̄ ad deterius prolaben
tia, cuſtodiatq; omnia in ſua integritate ſine pugna & diſſidio: ſingula ſcilicet ſuis ratio-
nibus/ ordinibus & legibus diſtincta. & omnem inconuenientiam ac diſproportionem
& ſuæ naturæ incongruam actionem ex omnibus propellat/ & cuiuſq; rei conditiones
& habitudines ad id conſolidet et corroboret: vt in oppoſita decidere aut abire in diſcō
141 uenientia nequaq̄ poſſint. ¶ Demū poſtremo loco deum/ redemptionis nomine conce- Redēptio.
lebrat beatus pater/ ſubnectens ꝙ hanc omnium ſalutem iam prædicatā etiā poſſumus
laudare vt redemptionem: ꝙ per bonitatem ſuam cuncta ſaluantem redimat & præſer-
uet omnia quæ ſunt/ a prolapſione ſuorum bonorum/ neue ab illis decidant: quantū cu
iuſq; eorum quæ ſaluantur ſinit natura. Et hanc ob cauſam diuiniloqui patres illam om-
niſaluificam ſalutem/ etiam redemptionem appellant. tum ꝙ non ſinat ea quæ ſubſiſtūt
ad id cadere vt non ſubſiſtant: per ſuorū priuationē & amiſſionē bonorū. tum etiā quia
ſi ea quæ libertate voluntatis donata ſunt/ quoquo modo deliquerint contra rectam ra-
tionem/ & ab ordine ſibi conſtituto aberrauerint in malū/ ac aliquam diminutionē perfe
ctionis bonorum ſuorū/ virtutis ſcilicet & rectitudinis incurrerint: hac etiam in re/ diuina
ipſa ſalus illa quæ prolapſa ſunt/ a paſſione trahente in lapſum/ ab imbecillitate prona
ad caſum/ & a priuatione propriorum bonorum redimit. illud ſupplens & reddēs quod
deeſt ipſis/ & paterno affectu infirmitatem ſubleuans: atq; a malo contracto erigens. im
mo illa rurſum in pulchro vnde exciderant ſiſtens: & quod perierat bonum reparās/ ac
recto ordine diſponens. inſuper & id ordinis quod in illo prolapſo deeſt/ exornans: & iā
142 factum denuo integrum perficiens/ & a cunctis ipſum liberans deformitatibus. ¶ Cęte-
rū de his/ redemptione inquam & ſalute/ & de iuſtitia: iam ſatis dictum eſt. ſecundum
quam dei iuſtitiam: omnium æqualitas/ concinnitas & conuenientia in rebus definitur
ac clauditur. et omnis inæqualitas/ vt ſumitur ſecundum priuationem illius æqualitatis
143 et proportionis quæ in ſingulis eſt rebus: propellitur ac eliminat̄. ¶ Verū ſi quis inæqua
litatem in alia accipiat ſignificatione/ vt ſcilicet inſinuat et nominat differentias et di-
ſtinctiones rerum/ vnius ab alia/ in ſubſtantia/ virtutibus et actionibus proprijs: huius
etiam inæqualitatis cum ipſa æqualitate coincidentis/ iuſtitia diuina conſeruatrix eſt. nō
permittens omnia promiſcue turbari/ et in confuſionis chaos incidere: ſed cuſtodiens
omnia quæ ſunt ſecundum eam formam ac ſpeciem in qua ſingula ſuū eſſe ſortita ſunt/
et ſecundum naturam ſuam conſiſtunt.

¶ De magno/ paruo/ eodem/ altero/ ſimili/ diſſimili/ ſtatu/ motu/ æqualitate.

Cap. IX.

144 QVoniam vero & magnū & paruum/ authori omniū appli-
catur/ idemq; & alterum/ ſimile quoq; ac diſſimile/ & ſtatus
& motus: age & hæc nominū diuinorū ſigna liquide quan-
tum poſſumus ſpeculemur. Magnus itaq; deus in ſacris lit- Magnum.
teris prædicatur/ & in magnitudine: & in aura tenui/ diuinā Paruū ſiue ī aura tenui
ſignante paruitatem. Atq; idem dicitur/ ſicuti cum ſcriptu- Idem.
ra dicit: tu autem idem ipſe es. Alter quoq;: quando multiformis/ multiſq; Alterum.
figuris a ſacris eloquijs fingitur. Et ſimilis: vt ſimilium & ſimilitudinis opi- Simile.
fex. Et diſſimilis omnibus: vt cui ſimilis non ſit. Et ſtans atq; immobilis: & Diſſimile. Stans.
ſedens in æternum. Et mobilis/ vt qui omnia penetret: & quæq; alia diuina Mobile.
nomina tantundem valentia a ſacris prædicantur eloquijs. Magnus qui- Magnum.
dem appellatur deus/ iuxta propriam ipſius magnitudinem: quæ magnis

omnibus ſuimet conſortium tradit/& extrinſecus ſuper omnem magnitudinem
funditur & ſupra expanditur:omnem continens locum/omnẽ trãſcendens
numerum/omnem tranſiliens infinitatem.& per ipſius plenitudinis
exuberantiã/principaliaq; ipſius dona/qua parte ipſa ab omnibus participata:
per infinitam donorum profuſionẽ ſine diminutione omnino perdurant/
eandemq; habent plenitudinis exuberantiam.neq; participationibus
minuuntur:ſed magis/ac magis exundant.Magnitudo hæc & infinita
eſt:& quantitate caret/& numero .atq; hæc eſt excellentia:ſecundum abſolutam
& ſuperne expanſam incompræhenſibilis magnitudinis redundantiam.
Paruum. ¶Paruum vero ſiue tenue in eo dicitur: ꝙ molem omnem excedit/
L atq; diſtantiam/& ꝙ abſq; impedimento per omnia pergit.Enimuero
omnium cauſa puſillum eſt: nuſq̃ enim inuenies puſilli ſpeciem imparticipatam.
Ita igitur in deo puſillum accipiẽdum:vt quod in omnia/& per omnia
M ſine impedimento pergat/& operetur.atq; pertingat vſq; ad diuiſionẽ
animæ & corporis/compagũ quoq; & medullarum:& diſcernens cogitationum
& intentionum cordis/immo eorum quæ ſunt omnium.non enim
eſt creatura inuiſibilis in conſpectu eius.Hoc itaq; puſillum & quãtitate caret
& qualitate:tenetur nullo/infinitum eſt/& interminatum/cõpræhendẽs
Idem. omnia/et ipſum compræhenſibile nulli.¶Idem vero ſuperſubſtantialiter
ęternum eſt/inuertibile/in ſeipſo manens/ſemper ſecundum eadem & eodẽ
ſe habens modo/omnibus eodem modo præſens:ipſumq; ſecundũ ſeipſũ
in ſeipſo firmiter & intemerate in pulcherrimis excellentis identitatis finibus
collocatũ/ immutabile/caſui minime obnoxium/forte/& conſtans/inuariabile/
impermixtum/immateriale/ſimpliciſſimum/nullius egens/quod
augeri/minuiq; non poſſit.ingenitum:non quaſi nondum genitũ/ſeu quaſi
imperfectum ſit/ſeu nõ ſit ab hoc/aut hoc non ſit/neq; vt quod nuſq̃/nulloq;
modo ſit:ſed vt quod ſuper omnia ingenitũ/& abſolute ingenitũ.ſemperq;
ſit & in ſe perfectum ſit/atq; idem ſit ſecũdũ ſeipſũ:atq; a ſeipſo vniformiter
eademq; ſpecie determinatũ.idemq; illud ex ſeipſo omnibus participare
idoneis inſinuans/& alia connectens alijs/copia identitatis & cauſa:
in ſeipſo etiam contraria eodem modo ante habens/ ſecundum vnam
Alterum atq; vnicam totius identitatis ſupereminentem cauſam.¶Porro alterum
dicitur:quia omnibus prouidentiæ ratione deus adeſt/& omnia in omnibus
pro omniũ ſalute fit.in ſeipſo & in ſua identitate manens/& nuſq̃ progrediendo
per vnam/indeficientemq; operationẽ ſtans: & ſeipſum virtute
nuſq̃ inclinante ad eos(qui conuerſi ſunt) in deum aſſumendos largiens.
Alteritatem quoq; variarum dei iuxta multiformes viſiones figurarum:
alia quædam per ea quæ videntur/præter id quod videtur ſignificare putandum
Manuductio ex anima ſumpta eſt.Quemadmodũ enim ſi animam ipſam corporali ſpecie vellemus
effingere/parteſq; ipſi indiuiduæ applicare corporeas:aliter cogitaremus
in ea partes ei circũductas/ab indiuiduo animæ non diſcedẽdo.vt caput
quidem intelligentiam/ceruicem vero opinionẽ:vt in medio rationalis
atq; irrationalis poſitam.pectus iram/ventrẽ concupiſcentiam/crura & pedes
naturam diceremus:nominibus partiũ/virtutũ ſignis vtẽtes.multo fa-

ne magis in eo qui ſupereminet omnibus: alteritatē formarū atqꝫ figurarū/
pijs & deo cōgruis ſacratioribuſqꝫ explanationibus vt purgemus oportet.

Figurę. Latitudo. Lōgitudo. Profundū.

148 ¶ Et ſi velis triplices figuras corporū ei qui tactum/figuramqꝫ refugit deo
applicare: latitudo diuina dicenda/ ampliſſima dei ad cuncta progreſſio.
longitudo vero: virtus peruagans omnia. profundum autem: abdita illi vir-
tus/atqꝫ ignoratio ijs (quæ ſunt) omnibus incompræhenſibilis. Verū enim
ne imprudentes (dum varijs formis/ac figuris exponēdis inſiſtimus) incor-
poralia diuina nomina ſignorū carnalium nominibus cōfundamus: de eis
ipſis profecto in ſignificatiua theologia iam diximus. Nunc diuinam alte-
ritatē/non immutationem aliquā inuertibilis idētitatis ſuſpicemur: ſed mul
tiplicationem ipſius ſingularem/atqꝫ vniformes ad omnia fœcunditatis di-

Simile. N

149 uinæ proceſſus. ¶ Enimuero ſimilē deū ſi ita quiſpiā acceperit/vt totū per
omnia ſibi firmiter atqꝫ indiuidue eundē atqꝫ conformem: aſpernanda nō
erit ſimilis in deo appellatio. Porro theologi eū (qui eſt ſuper omnia) deum
qua parte ipſe eſt/nemini ſimilē eſſe aiunt. ipſum vero diuinā largiri ſimili-
tudinē ijs qui ad ipſum conuertuntur: eū imitādo pro viribus/qui ſupra dif
finitionē omnē ac rationē eſt. Et eſt diuinæ ſimilitudinis virtus: per quā quę
producūtur omnia/ad authorē conuertūtur. Hæc deniqꝫ deo ſimilia dicēda
ſunt: & ad diuinā imaginē/ac ſimilitudinē ficta. nō autē illis ſimilis dicēdus
eſt deus: quia neqꝫ homo eſt imagini ſuæ ſimilis. In ijs nēpe quę ſunt ęqua-
lia: poſſunt & ipſa ſibi inuicē eſſe ſimilia/& ad vtraqꝫ poteſt ſimilitudo con-
uerti/vt ſint inuicē ambo ſimilia ſecundū principalem ſimilis ſpeciē. in cau-
ſa vero atqꝫ cauſalibus: cōuerſionem nequaq̄ admittemus. Nō enim his ſo
lis aut illis vt ſint ſimilia donatum eſt: ſed omnibus quæ ſimilitudinē admit
tunt vt ſimilia ſint/deus author eſt. Eſt autē ipſius quoqꝫ ſuæ ſimilitudinis
opifex. & quod eſt in omnibus ſimile: veſtigio quodā diuinæ ſimilitudinis

O Diſſimile.

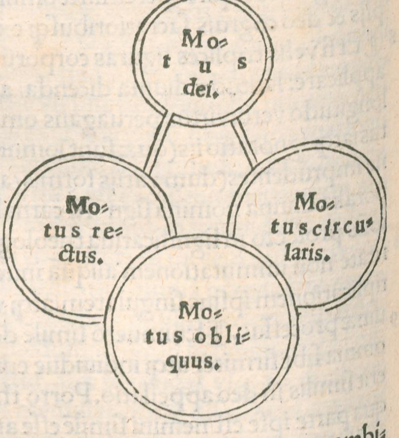
150 ſimile eſt/eorūqꝫ coniunctionē cōplet. ¶ Et quid de hoc dicere oportet? ipſa
nēpe theologia ipſū eſſe diſſimilē pręדicat/& extra ordinē omniū: vt ab om
nibus alterū. & quod eſt profecto mirabilius: nichil illi ſimile eſſe ait. Et cer
te non aduerſatur iſtud propoſitæ diuinæ ſimilitudini. nā eadē deo & ſimi
lia ſunt/& diſſimilia. illud quidē: quia pro viribus ei participāt/qui non po-
teſt participari. hoc autē: quia cauſalia authore ſuo multū inferiora ſunt/&

Status.

151 infinitis & non comparandis mēſuris/ab eo longe abſunt. ¶ Quid autem
de diuino ſtatu/ſiue ſeſſione dicemus? Quid? niſi ꝙ ipſe in ſeipſo deus ma-
net/in ſua immobili identitate ſtabiliter fixus atqꝫ fundatus: ſecūdumqꝫ ea-
dem & circa eadem eodemqꝫ modo operatur/ penituſqꝫ ſubſiſtit. nuſq̄ ex
ſeipſo migrando/& mutatione omni ac motu omnino carendo: iſtaqꝫ ineſ-
fabili modo. Ipſe enim eſt omniū ſtatus/ac ſeſſionis author: qui ſupra ſeſſi-
onem omnem/ac ſtatum eſt. & in ipſo cōſiſtunt omnia: atqꝫ a bonorū ſuo-

Motus.

152 rum ſtatu immota ſeruantur. ¶ Quid autē quādo hunc procedere ad om-
nia/& moueri theologi dicunt/qui eſt immobilis: nonne id quoqꝫ pie eſt
intelligendum? Moueri enim eum religioſe putandum eſt: non per corru-
ptionē/aut immutationē/aut variationē/ſeu ſucceſſoriū localēue motū/nō
rectū/non orbicularem/non ex vtriſqꝫ conſtantem/non intelligibilem/ non



animalem/ non naturalem.ſed ex eo
ꝙ ad ſubſtantiam perducat deus/&
cuncta contineat/& modis omnibus
omnium prouidẽtiam gerat/ aſſitqꝫ
õnibus:cuncta abſolute continẽs ꝓuidẽtiſſimis
ſuis(ad ea quæ ſunt) ꝓceſſibus
atqꝫ operationibus. Sed &
motus/ immobilis dei: digne & pie
Motus dei rectus. laudari conueniet. At rectũ quidem
intelligere oportet in deo: indeflexibilem
conſtantiam/ proceſſumqꝫ actionum
nuſq̃ inclinantem/ & (quæ
ex eo prodit) omnium generationẽ.
Motus obliquus. Porro flexuoſum:progreſſum ſtabilem/
fœcundumqꝫ ſtatum. Orbicularem
vero: identitatem/ & ꝙ continet media atqꝫ extrema/ quæ ambiunt
atqꝫ ambiuntur/& eorum(quæ ab ipſo proceſſerunt)ad ipſum conuerſionem. 153
Aequalitas ¶Si quis autem vel identitatis in ſanctis litteris/ vel iuſtitiæ diuinam
appellationem in æquo accipiat:dicendum æquum eſſe deum nõ modo
vt indiuiduum/& nullã in partem vergentẽ.ſed vt ad omnia & per omnia
æque pergentem/atqꝫ vt ipſius ac per ſe æqualitatis authorem:per quã
vt vniuerſa per ſe inuicem ſimiliter permeent/ & vt participantia pro cuiuſqꝫ
captu æqua ratione participent/& æque pro meritis ad omnia: diuina
profluant munera/ æque operatur.per id ſane ꝙ æqualitatem omnem
intelligibilem/ſpiritualem/rationalem/ſenſibilem/ſubſtãtialem/naturalem/
voluntariam: eximio & ſingulari modo in ſeipſo ante compræhenderit/
virtute illa ſua ſuperante omnia/totius æqualitatis authore.

K ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Magnus itaqꝫ deus in ſacris litteris prędicatur. Vt
pro ſequentibus multa ſimul hic colligamus: magnum/ paruum/ idem/ alterum/ ſimile/
diſſimile/ ſtans/ ſedens/ mobile/ immobile/ æquale/ inæquale: de deo ſacræ litteræ prædicant.
Magnum. pſalmus octogeſimus quintus. Quoniam magnus es tu/& faciens mirabilia:
tu es deus ſolus. Et pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus ſextus. Magnus dominus
noſter/& magna virtus eius:& ſapiẽtiæ eius non eſt numerus. Paruum/ ſiue in aura tenui.
Tertius regum cap. decimo nono. Et ecce dominus tranſijt:& ſpiritus grãdis/& fortis
ſubuertens montes & conterens petras ante dominum. non in ſpiritu dominus. &
poſt ſpiritum commotio:non in commotione dominus. et poſt commotionem/ ignis: nõ
in igne dominus. et poſt ignem: ſibilus auræ tenuis. Quod cum audiſſet Helias: operuit
vultum ſuum pallio/ et egreſſus ſtetit in oſtio ſpeluncæ. Item et Eſaias cap. nono. Paruulus
enim natus eſt nobis: et filius datus eſt nobis. et factus eſt principatus ſuper humerum
eius: et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis/ conſiliarius/ deus fortis/ pater futuri
ſæculi/ princeps pacis. Idem. pſalmus centeſimus primus. Tu autẽ idem ipſe es: et anni
tui non deficient. Et Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. duodecimo. Idem autem
deus: qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Alterum. Ioannes cap. decimo quarto. Et ego rogabo
patrem: et alium paracletum dabit vobis/ vt maneat vobiſcum in æternum. Simile.
Geneſis cap. primo. Et vidit deus ꝙ eſſet bonum: et ait. faciamus hominẽ ad imaginẽ
et ſimilitudinẽ noſtrã: et præſit piſcibus maris/ et volatilibus cœli/ vniuerſæq; terræ/ omniqꝫ
reptili quod mouetur in terra. et creauit deus hominem ad imaginẽ et ſimilitudinẽ
ſuam. Et pſalmus centeſimus primus. Similis factus ſum pelycano ſolitudinis: et fa

ctus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio. Dissimile. Secundus paralipomenon cap. sexto.
Non est similis tui deus in cœlo et in terra. Et Esaias cap. quadragesimo. Cui ergo simi-
lem fecistis deum: aut quam imaginem ponetis ei? Stans. psalmus octogesimus primus.
Deus stetit in synagoga deorum: in medio autem deos diiudicat. Sedens. psalmus vi-
cesimus octauus. Dominus diluuiū inhabitare facit: et sedebit dominus rex in ęternum.
Mobile. psalmus quadragesimus nonus. Deus manifeste veniet/ dominus noster: & nō
silebit. Et psalmus decimus septimus. Inclinauit cœlos & descendit: & caligo sub pedi-
bus eius. & ascendit super cherubim & volauit: volauit super pennas ventorum. Et sa-
pientiæ capite septimo. Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia: attingit autem
vbiq; propter suam mundiciam. Immobile. Malachias capite tertio. Ego enim domi-
nus: & non mutor. Et de æqualitate & inæqualitate/ in vltimo capitis præcedentis scho-
lio dictum est. ¶Enimuero omnium causa: pusillum est. Paruum in rerum principijs: L
se declarat esse diuinum. Quid enim in numeris vnitate minus esse potest? quæ nichi-
losecius omnium numerorum tum diuiduorum / tum indiuiduorum principium est.
pares enim/ diuiduos: impares indiuiduos nuncupamus. Quid in habentibus molem
puncto minutius est? & nichilominus magnitudinum principium est. Itidem & in-
stans temporum/ & momentum motuum/ & tonus superparticularium pthongorū mi-
nimus: auditū suauiter ferientium concentuum principium. elementa/ elementorumq;
concretiones & contemperamenta/ ex quibus sensibilium corporum deducuntur har-
moniæ: secundum naturæ minima fiunt. vel adeo/ vt nichil vsq accipere queas quantu-
lumcunq; pusillum sit: quod nōnichil igneum/ aereum/ aqueumq;/ & terreū non retineat.
Et rerum omnium semina sigillo tamen omnipotentiæ mirifice impressa: parua sunt. Pu-
sillum enim tritici granum per totam temporis extensionem etiam si in immensum tem-
porum series protraheretur: similem relinquendo sobolem nulla etiam successione defi-
turam (quoad diuinum hoc vniuersum perseuerabit artificium) suam insinuat potentiā/
& in paruo proprietatem subesse diuinam. Et ipse mundi sator & saluator/ nunc grano Matth.13.
sinapis quod omnium leguminum minimum est/ regnum cœlorum: nunc seipsum par- Ioan.12.
uo tritici grano comparat. Et vt finem faciamus/ principia scientiarum parua sunt: ex
quibus magnus conclusionum (ijs qui liberaliter instituti sunt) amplusq; & dignus colli-
gitur aceruus. Est ergo natura parui: merito diuina cēsenda. Et reuera & magni & par-
ui eadem est diuinitas/ mensura eadem/ eademq; veritas. ¶Atq; pertingat vsq; ad di- M
uisionem animæ & corporis. Alludit ad id diuini Pauli ad Hebræos cap. quarto de ser-
mone dei. Viuus est enim sermo dei & efficax/ & penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti: &
pertingens vsq; ad diuisionem animæ & spiritus/ compagum quoq; ac medullarum &
discretor cogitationum & intentionum cordis. et non est vlla creatura inuisibilis in con-
spectu eius: omnia autē nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius. ¶Porro theologi eū (qui est su- N
per omnia) deū. Id ex Esaia cap. quadragesimo/ in primo huius capitis scholio adductū
est. Et rursus ex eodē cap. quadragesimo. Et cui assimilastis me et adæquastis: dicit san-
ctus? leuate in excelsum oculos vestros et videte quis creauit hæc: qui educit in numero
militiā eorū/ et ōnes ex nomine vocat præ multitudine fortitudinis et roboris virtutisq;
eius: neq; vnū reliquū fuit. deus sempiternus dn̄s qui creauit terminos terrę et nō defi-
ciet/ neq; laborabit: nec est inuestigatio sapientiæ eius. qui dat lasso virtutē: et ijs qui non
sunt fortitudinē/ et robur multiplicat. deficient pueri et laborabunt: et iuuenes in infir-
mitate cadent. qui autē sperant in domino: mutabunt fortitudinē/ assumentes pēnas si-
cut aquilæ. currēt et nō laborabūt: ābulabūt et nō deficiēt. ¶Et quid de hoc dicere opor- O
tet? ipsa nempe theologia. Id in primo huius capitis scholio dictum est.

¶NONI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

143 QVatuor diuinorum nominū cōbinationes/ singulas ex duobus vt op-
positis sumptas: hic explicat sacer Dionysius. id primū proponens/ ꝙ
quoniā magnū & paruū deo in sacris litteris attribuitur: similiter idē
& alterū/ simile etiā & dissimile/ & denique status ac motus: quid hæc
diuinorū nominū signa in deo insinuent/ speculandū est. Enimuero
magnus in sancta scriptura deus nominatur: & magnitudine prædi-
tus. dicitur itidem esse in aura tenui: significante diuinam paruitatē.
Ipse præterea dicitur idem: sicut cum psalmus ait. tu autem idem ipse es. Dicitur etiam Psal.101.
alter: quando multiformis describitur/ & multis figuris sensibilibus in scriptura expri-

mitur. Similis item appellatur deus: vt ſimiliū omniū & ipſius ſimilitudinis opifex. Diſſimilis
etiā omnibus dicitur: quoniam ei nulla res ſubſiſtens eſt ſimilis. Deniqꝫ ſtans vocatur
deus/ & immobilis/ & ſedens in æternū: propter indemutabilem eius permanentiam.
Mobilis quoqꝫ dicitur: quoniam per omnia puritate ſua meat & ſingula penetrat.
& quæcunqꝫ alia diuina nomina idem fere ſignificantia: a ſacris celebrantur ſcripturis.
Magnum. ¶Vt autē a primis ſumatur exordiū determinationis/ magnus quidē appellatur deus 144
ſecūdū propriā ipſius magnitudinem: quæ magnis omnibus aut mole aut perfectione/
ſuiipſius conſortiū ac participationē tradit. et extra ſe ſuper omnem creaturarum magnitudinem
funditur: & tabernaculi more ſuperexpanditur. omnem complectens locū/
omnem tranſiliens numerū/ omnem ſupergrediens infinitatem/ et cuius nobis indeterminata
ſūma eſt/ multitudinē: per affluentiſſimā plenitudinis ipſius exuberātiā. Inſuper
ipſius diuinę magnitudinis efficacia/ principalia dei dona vt bonitas/ entitas/ vita/ ſapientia/
quatenus a rebus õibus pro cuiuſqꝫ captu et modo participata ſunt atqꝫ percepta:
per indeficientē donorū profuſionē ſine diminutione integra perdurant. vt neqꝫ
lux ſolis minuitur effuſione radiorum: neqꝫ calor igneus elangueſcit per deriuationem
ſuæ virtutis. Et ſupradicta dona eandem ſemper habent plenitudinis copiam/ neqꝫ participationibus
aut propagationibus continuis in alia/ diminuuntur: ſed magis ac magis
multiplicantur ac abundant/ ꝙ continue in alia & noua ſubiecta profundantur & profluant.
Porro magnitudo hæc diuina/ infinita eſt: & quantitate caret extenſionis & numero.
atqꝫ hæc eſt inſignis eius excellentia: ſecundum abſolutiſſimam incompræhenſibilis
Paruum. ipſius magnitudinis exundantiā/ ſuperne in omnia expanſam atqꝫ extentam. ¶Paruum 145
vero ſiue tenue/ ideo dicitur deus: ꝙ omnem excedit molem atqꝫ diſtantiam/ immo
etiam ꝙ ſine mole & diſtantia ſit/ & ꝙ ſine obſtaculo libere per omnia meat. quēadmodum
quod mole exiguū eſt: facile ſine impedimento alia ſubit/ & per omnia tranſit. Eſt
enim omnium cauſa: ipſum puſillū. & nulla inuenietur res ſubſiſtens: quin puſilli ſpeciē
ac rationem aliquo modo vt in ſuis principijs participet/ ꝙ rerum principia ſoleant eſſe
puſilla & parua. Eſt itaqꝫ puſillum ſecundum eam rationem in deo accipiendū: quoniā
ipſum in omnia ſubſiſtentia & per omnia expedite ſine obice penetret ac operetur/ pertingatqꝫ
Hebræ. 4. (vt diuinus ait Paulus) vſqꝫ ad diuiſionem animæ & corporis/ compagū etiam
& medullarū: diſcretionem habens cogitationum & intentionū cordis/ immo eorum omnium
quæ ſunt/ quoniam non eſt aliqua creatura inuiſibilis in conſpectu eius. Hoc vtiqꝫ
puſillum/ & quantitatis eſt expers & qualitatis: a nullo tenetur & concluditur. infinitum
enim eſt & interminatū: cõpræhendens omnia ampliſſimo ſuo ambitu & a nullo cõpræhenſibile.
Idem. ¶At vero idē in deo: ſuper oēm eminet ſubſtantiā/ æternū etiā eſt/ & indemutabile 146
in ſeipſo manens/ ſemperqꝫ ſecundū eadē diuinæ proprietatis inſignia & eodē ſe
habens modo/ õnibus rebus quomodolibet diuerſis eodē modo præſens. Ipſum quoqꝫ
idem/ ſecundum ſeipſum et abſolute ſumptum: in ſeipſo firmiter & inuiolate manet/ in
ornatiſſimis ipſius identitatis finibus ac metis collocatum. Eſt & ipſum idem diuinum:
immutabile/ caſui fortuito minime ſubiectum/ forte & conſtans/ inuariabile/ impermixtū
rebus/ immateriale/ ſumme ſimplex/ nullius egens ob exuberātiſſimam ſufficientiā.
neqꝫ augeri poteſt: vt quippiā illi perfectionis adijciatur. neqꝫ minui: vt quicq̄ illi detrahatur
dignitatis. Ipſum inſuper idem/ eſt ingenitū. nõ quidē quia nondum ſit genitum:
ſicut roſa futuro anno producenda. ſeu quaſi imperfectū ſit: velut id cuius incepta eſt generatio
nondū tamen abſoluta. aut quia non ſit ab hoc generante: ſicut auena non eſt
a tritico. aut quia non ſit hoc genitum: vt auena non eſt triticum. neqꝫ etiam dicitur ingenitum:
quia nuſq̄ & nullo modo ſit. ſed quia eſt ſuper oĩa ingenitum & abſolute ingenitum:
id eſt non factum neqꝫ poſt non eſſe deductum ad ortum/ ſed ſempiternum. et
quia ipſum idem/ ſemper eſt: et in ſe perfectum. et quoniam idem eſt ſecūdum ſeipſum:
non id ab alio accipiens. neqꝫ ſecundū quippiam alienū: ſed a ſeipſo vniformiter et idētitate
ſimplici ac vnica determinatū. atqꝫ ſingularem ſuam identitatē ex ſe ipſo õnibus
quę eam participare ſunt idonea/ communicans: et alia coniungens alijs vt corporibus
aĩas/ et materiæ formā/ ſubiectiſqꝫ accidētia: ad vnū totū idē cõſtituēdū/ per exuberātiā
idētitatis et cauſalitatē. immo et in ſeipſo etiā contraria calidū/ frigidū/ humidū et ſiccū
ac conſimilia/ in identitate et coincidentia ante habens: q̄ ſubſiſterēt in rebus/ ſecundū
vnicā totius idētitatis in rebus ſupereminētē cauſam. quādoquidē ipſū idē diuinū: õnis
in rebus idētitatis eſt origo. ¶Dicit autē deus/ etiā alterū: quia omnibus per prouiden- 147

tiæ rationē adeſt rebus/et omnia fit in ōnibus:pro omniū ſalute. vt fit vita in viuētibus/
ſapientia in cognoſcentibus/perfectio in perfectis:motus in mouentibus/ſtatus in quie-
ſcentibus. nichilominus in ſeipſo & ſua identitate ſtabilis manet:a ſe non diſcedendo.
et nuſq̄ ſecūdū ſubſtantiā progrediēdo:per vnā continuāq; operationē in ōnia quæ ſunt
procedētē/ſtabilis perſiſtit. et ſeipſum per virtutē ſuā indeficientē & nuſq̄ in obliquū de-
clinantē/cōmunicat rationalibus creaturis:vt eos qui conuerſi ſunt ad diuinorū imitati-
onē animūq; ad eā intendūt/in deū aſſumat ſuiqꝫ conſortiū tradat. Rurſū alteritatē ac di-
uerſitatē multipliciū figurarū dei/ſecundū multiformes viſiones prophetarū expreſſas:
in ſcripturis putādū eſt ſignificare alia quædā ſpiritualia & intellectualia/per ea quæ vi-
dentur tanq̄ ſigna/præter illud ſenſibile atqꝫ materiale quod videtur. Sicut enim ſi ani-
mam rationalē(quæ haud dubie incorporalis eſt)vellemus corporali ſpecie deſcribere/
et ipſi natura indiuiſibili aſſignare partes corporeas:aliter q̄ ipſa anima ſe habeat cogi-
taremus in ipſa partes ſecundū effictionē illi circūpoſitas/ab indiuidua tamē animę ſub-
ſtantia non diſcedendo. Vt caput quidē animæ diceremus intelligentiā:ꝙ reliquis ani-
mæ viribus mens ſupereminet/ſicut & caput cęteris mēbris corporis. ceruicē vero ani-
mę diceremus opinionē:tanq̄ in medio partis rationalis ſcilicet mētis/& partis irrationa-
lis ſcilicet irę poſitā/ſicut & ceruix eſt intermedia ſitu & poſitione capiti & pectori. Pectus
itē animæ diceremus irā:ꝙ circa pectus & pręcordia ſedē ſuā habeat iræ efferueſcētia.
ventrē quoq; poneremus cōcupiſcētiā:ꝙ is cibi & potus ſit appetēs. Deniqꝫ crura & pe-
des animæ diceremꝰ naturā:ꝙ naturales motus & progreſſiones his organis fiāt. et hoc
pacto vteremur nominibus partiū corporis:tanq̄ ſignis virtutū & affectionum animæ.
multo ſane potius in deo qui ſupereminet omnibus/oportet nos expurgare alteritatem
formarū & figurarum ſenſibiliū(ne ſcilicet illæ credātur ſecundū rem adeſſe deo)per pi-
as & deo congruas explanationes:ſacratius explicādo virtutes ſpirituales & intellectua-
148 les/quæ harum formarū figmento ſignificātur adeſſe deo. ¶ Qꝫ ſi quis velit tria magni-
tudinum interualla/longitudinē/latitudinē & profundū:ipſi deo(qui molem omnē ta-
ctumqꝫ refugit)applicare:latitudo diuina dicetur benigniſſima dei ad cuncta progreſſio
atqꝫ proceſſus. lōgitudo vero:diuina virtus a ſummo ad imū permeās omnia. Profun-
dum vero dei eſt abdita eius & occulta virtus/illi intima:atq; ignoratio ipſius dei omni
ſcientia ſuperior/& ijs omnibus quæ ſunt incōpręhenſibilis. perinde atqꝫ profundę rerū
corporaliū partes nos latent:et noſtros fugiunt oculos. Verum ne varijs formis ſenſibili-
bus(quę deo aſcribuntur)exponendis inſiſtendo/ſpiritualia nomina diuina in hoc libro
pertractāda/figurarū carnaliū nominibus confundantur:de his materialiū ſignorū no-
minibus in ſignificatiua theologia abunde dictū eſt. Quod autem ad pręſens ſpectat ne-
gocium:alteritatē diuinā nullus ſuſpicari debet eſſe aliquā mutationem inuertibilis eius
identitatis. ſed multiplicationē ipſius ſingularē in omnia quæ ſunt/& benignos diuinæ
bonitatis proceſſus ad omnia:vniformes tamen/& ab vnica idētitatis ſimplicitate nuſq̄
149 diſcedentes. ¶ Porro ſi deum quiſpiā intellexerit in ſcripturis ſimilē appellari:quia to- Simile.
tus per omnia ſibi firmiter ac indiuidue eſt idem/atqꝫ ſibi ipſi maxime cōformis ſine va-
rietate:non eſt reijcienda in deo hæc ipſius ſimilis appellatio aut ratio. At vero qui de
rebus diuinis diſſerunt ſacri authores:deū qui ſuper omnia eſt/ſecundū ſuam naturā et
ſubſtantiā nulli rerum ſubſiſtentiū ſimilem eſſe dicūt. ſed ipſum diuinā largiri ſimilitudi-
nem ijs qui toto ſtudio ad ipſam conuertuntur:eum pro viribus imitando qui ſupra om-
nem proportionē rationem & deſcriptionē eſt. Et plane ſingularis eſt diuinæ ſimilitudi-
nis virtus:per quam quæ producta ſunt omnia ad ſuū authorē conuertūtur/vt cum quo
aliqua ex parte conueniant. Deniqꝫ hęc producta/deo quidē ſimilia dicenda ſunt:et ad
diuinam imaginē ac ſimilitudinē efformata. non autem illis dicendus eſt deus eſſe ſimi-
lis:quia neq; homo imagini ſuæ in ſpeculo effictę eſt ſimilis/licet imago dicatur ipſi ho-
mini cuius eſt eſſe ſimilis. Nempe illa quę ſunt æqualia inter ſe/& eiuſdē ordinis atqꝫ gra-
dus rerum:poſſunt ſibi inuicem eſſe & dici ſimilia. et ad vtraqꝫ illorū poteſt ſimilitudo
conuerſim dici:& primū ſimile ſecundo/ac ediuerſo ſecundū ſimile primo. vt ſint adin-
uicem ambo ſimilia ſecundum præcipuā & primitiuam formā:ad quam gerunt ſimilitu-
dinem. vt vnius ac eiuſdē hominis duę imagines in diuerſis ſpeculis formatæ/hoc mo-
do inter ſe dicuntur mutuo ſimiles:quia eandem referunt veritatē & archetypā ſpeciē.
In cauſa vero & cauſalibus atq; effectis:nequaq̄ admittenda eſt iſta ſimilitudinis con-
uerſio. nam q̄uis cauſalia ipſis cauſis ſimilia dicantur:non tamen e contrario cauſæ ſuis

cauſalibus ſunt dicendæ ſimiles/ob excellentem ipſarum ſuper ea quæ ab eis prodeunt
et improportionalē eminētiam. Neq; ſolis his entium generibus aut illis(vt angelis aut
hominibus)vt ſint ſimilia/indultum eſt: cæteris omnibus a ſimilitudine dei excluſis. ſed
omnibus quæ diuinā admittunt ſimilitudinem: vt ſimilia ſint/deus author eſt. Immo et
deus/ipſius ſuę ſimilitudinis quā rebus diſtribuit: eſt opifex. et quodcūqꝫ in rebus conditis
omnibus eſt alteri ſimile: veſtigio quodam diuinę ſimilitudinis illi impreſſo eſt ſimile.
et diuina ipſa ſimilitudo/ipſorū ſimilium cōiunctionem & cōuenientiā ad vnum ſimiliū 150
Diſſimile. omnium exemplar: complet & perficit. ¶Veruntamen et ſancta ſcriptura ipſum deum
eſſe diſſimilem enunciat: & extra omniū ordinem et numerū/& ab omnibus alterū atqꝫ
difformē. et quod certe amplius eſt/ipſa diuina pagina nichil omniū quæ ſunt: illi ſimile
eſſe ait. Neqꝫ hoc poſtremo dictū aduerſatur diuinæ ſimilitudini: paulo ante propoſitæ.
nam eadē ipſi deo ſimilia ſūt & diſſimilia. Similia quidē. quia omnia pro viribus ipſi deo
participāt in proprietatibus/bonitate/entitate/vita & ſapientia: qui ſecundū ſubſtantiā
et id quod eſt/participari non poteſt. Hæc autē participatio: quædā eſt ſimilitudo participantis
ad id quod participatur. Diſſimilia vero. quia cauſalia atqꝫ producta/ſua cauſa
et authore longe inferiora ſunt: et improportionali omnēqꝫ cōparationem fugiēte menſura 151
Status. atqꝫ intercapedine ab eo diſtant. ¶De diuino autem ſtatu id dicendū: ꝙ ipſi deo
ſtatus ſiue ſeſſio attribuitur/quoniam ipſe in ſeipſo manet in ſua immobili identitate ſtabiliter
fixus atqꝫ firmatus. atqꝫ ſecundū eadem & circa eadem/eodēqꝫ modo operatur &
ſubſiſtit ſine mutatione: nuſꝗ ex ſeipſo digrediendo/neq; motum aliquem aut mutabilitatem
ſentiēdo. Et iſta quidem eſt deus: ineffabili atqꝫ incōpręhenſibili modo. Quippe
ipſe author eſt/omnis ſeſſionis ac ſtatus vniuerſorū: qui ſupra omnem ſeſſionem eſt et
ſtatum. et in ipſo conſiſtunt omnia: in ſuo gradu & genere fixa. et ne a bonorū ſuorum 152
Motus. ſtatu decidant: ſtabilia atq; immota ſeruantur. ¶Cum vero deiloqui patres deum ipſum
procedere ad omnia & moueri dicūt/qui eſt prorſus immobilis: & id quoqꝫ pie eſt intelligendum.
Putandū enim eſt reuerenter & religioſe/deum ipſum moueri: non quidē per
corruptionem aut mutationē ſubſtantiæ vel proprietatū/aut variationem/more rerum
ſenſibilium. neqꝫ per ſucceſſiuum aut localem motū: non rectum/non circularē/non obliquum
ex recto & circulari cōſtātem. neqꝫ per motū intelligibilem: vt angeli & homines.
non animalem: vt homines & bruta. non etiā naturalem: vt plantę & inanimata. Sed ex
eo moueri dicitur deus: ꝙ ad ſubſtātiam perducat & conſeruet omnia/et indeficientem
omnimode prouidentiā omniū gerat & aſſit ōnibus. vniuerſa abſolutę & ſimpliciter cōtinens
benigniſſimis ſuæ prouidētię proceſſibus ac operationibus: quibus a ſummo per
media omnia ad ima vſq; pertingit. ¶Cæterum & hic congruū erit/diuerſos ipſius immobilis
dei motus decenter & pie laudare: ſcilicet rectum/obliquum & circularem. Rectus
motus in deo intelligi debet: indeflexibilis a recto conſtātia/& proceſſus ſuarū operationum
in hæc inferiora directe progrediens/& nuſꝗ ad diuerticula inclinās. deniqꝫ et
omnium rerum generatio quę ab eo proficiſcitur/atqꝫ ad ima protenditur: recti etiā motus
nomine apte cēſetur. Obliquus vero motus in deo(qui mixtus eſſe debet & ex diuerſis
compoſitus)intelligēdus eſt eſſe progreſſus eius ſtabilis in rerum productione & ordinatione
/quaſi ſe extra fundens: et fœcundus eius ſtatus in diuinarū operationum ſtabilitate
ac inuariabilitate/quaſi ſe intra ſua ſepta quietū cōtinens. Deniqꝫ orbicularis motus
in deo recte intelligitur eſſe ipſa dei immutabilis identitas. etiā mediorū entiū extremorūqꝫ
(ſcilicet ſupremorū & infimorū)cōtinētia: quæ & circūdāt alia & ab alijs circūdantur
corporibus. inſuper & eorū omniū quæ a deo prodierunt: reciproca ad ipſū cōuerſio.
Nēpe motus circularis maxime idētitatē ſeruat: ſemper ſui ſimilis. Idem quoqꝫ: principiū
mediū & finem ſua reuolutione cōplectitur. et ad idem regreditur punctū: a quo inchoatus
eſt. Verum vt ſecunda motus orbicularis hic deo aſſignati particula/ clarius intelligatur
: id paucis adijciendū. ꝙ qui continet omnia: deus eſt. quod per motū circularem
cæteros continentem motus: deſignatur. Extrema hic dicuntur ſummę creaturæ & infimæ
. et media: mediæ. Supremę: naturę intellectuales. mediæ: rationales. infimæ: irrationales
& quæ ſubſiſtunt. Et hæ omnes ambiunt alias naturas: quia ſūmæ ambiunt medias
/et mediæ infimas/& infimarum multæ etiam alias ambiunt. vt cœlū ignem/et ignis
aerem. hæ itidem omnes ambiūtur: quia ſūmæ a deo(qui virtute ſua cōplectitur omnia) 153
Aequalitas ambiuntur/mediæ a ſūmis/et infimę ſiue poſtremæ a medijs. ¶Poſtremo. ſi quis nomine
æqualitatis in ſacris eloquijs/intelligat aut diuinæ identitatis rationem aut iuſtitiæ:

dicendum eſt æquū atq; æqualem eſſe deum/non modo quia indiuiduus eſt & in nullam
inæqualitatis partē quantū ad ſe vergēs. ſed etiam quoniā ad omnia extra ſe & per om-
nia ęqualiter meat per ſuæ prouidentię curam. et eſt ipſius æqualitatis/ſiue per ſe ęqua-
litatis in omnia propagatę author. Per quam ſane æqualitatē: ipſe deus ęqualiter ope-
ratur et facit vt omnia rerum conditarū genera per mutuā quandā ſuperiorum cum in-
ferioribus & inferiorū cum ſuperioribus conuenientiā atq; cognationem: habeant reci-
150 procam inter ſe permeationem & quandā in genere adęquationem. Enimuero vniuerſa
entia ſe inuicem permeant: ſed pro captu cuiuſq;. Nam quod in ſummis eſt mens: in me-
dijs eſt ratio/in infimis vero ſenſus & naturalis inſtinctus. Et quæ in infimis inueniūtur:
eſſe/viuere/ſentire/moueri: eminentius ſuperiora permeāt/& in illis cōperiuntur. quan-
doquidē homines & cœleſtes ſpiritus perfectiore modo ſubſiſtunt/viuūt/ſentiūt & mo-
uentur: q̃ animalia irrationalia/plantæ & inanimata. Similiter eſſe/viuere/ſētire & ratio-
cinari mediorū/ſcilicet hominum: obſcuriori modo in inferioribus/& clariori in ſuperio-
ribus inueniūtur. Siquidē imperfectius & inferiore modo animalia bruta/plātæ et inani-
ma his participāt entitate ſcilicet/vita/ſenſu & motu: q̃ homines. Ediuerſo vero ſpiritus
151 angelici ea ōnia ſublimius & verius q̃ homines: ſortiti ſunt. Deniq; eſſe/viuere/ſentire et
intelligere ſupremorū entium ac angelorum: obſcurius in medijs ſcilicet hominibus q̃ in
ipſis ſummis ſubſtantijs eſſe dinoſcuntur. et longe adhuc inferius minuſq; in poſtremis
ipſis: q̃ medijs ſubſtantijs. Quoniā igitur infimorum proprietates in medijs & ſupremis
rerum gradibus quodā modo conſpiciuntur/& mediorū in poſtremis & ſummis/et ſum-
morum in medijs & infimis: in his quidē clarius/in illis vero obſcurius pro cuiuſq; captu/
ratione & modo: hic a beato patre vniuerſa per ſe inuicem ſimiliter permeare dicuntur.
152 Operatur item deus ratione huiuſce æqualitatis: ꝙ & participātia omnia æqua propor-
tione (quodq; pro ſuo captu) diuinis donis participent/& ꝙ dei munera æqualiter ad
omnia profluant: pro cuiuſq; ratione/conditione/& gradu. eo ꝙ æqualitatē omnem in-
tellectualem & ſpiritualem in angelis/rationalē in hominibus/ſenſibilem in brutis ani-
malibus/ſubſtantialem & naturalem in plantis et inanimatis/volūtariam in ijs quæ vo-
luntate ſunt prædita vt angelis & hominibus: in ſeipſo deus ante compræhēderit emi-
nentiſſimo ſingulariq; modo/per virtutē ſuam omnipotentē ſuperantē omnia/& totius
æqualitatis in creaturis authorem.

¶ De omnipotēte/antiquo dierū: in quo & de ſæculo/et de tēpore. Cap. X.

154 TEmpus iam admonet: vt prędıtū multis nominibus deum/
vt omnipotentem/vt antiquum dierum celebremus. Enim- P Omnipotēs
uero omnipotens dicitur: ꝙ ipſe ſit (quæ poteſt omnia) om-
nium ſedes/omnia continens atq; complectens/& cuncta
ſtabiliens/fundans/atq; conſtringens: & hoc omne/indiſru- Q
ptum atq; indiſſolutum in ſeipſa perficiens. et ex ſe: veluti ex
omnipotente radice/cuncta producens. atq; ad ſe: vt ad omnitenēs profun-
dum/vniuerſa conuertens atq; conſeruans/vt omnium ſedes omnicapax.
quæ continentur omnia: vna cuncta excellente virtute cōmuniens/neq; ſi-
nens ea ab ſe cadere. ne tanq̃ exactiſſimo domicilio mota: diſpereant. Dici-
tur autem omnipotens ſumma illa diuinitas/& vt omnia ſuperans: et om-
nibus quæ prouidentia reguntur/mere imperans. atq; vt omnibus amabi-
lis/atq; deſiderabilis perſtans: & immittens omnibus voluntarias leges/
dulceſq; partus diuini & ōnipotentis ac tranquilliſſimi ſuæ bonitatis amo-
155 ris inſinuans. ¶ Antiquus vero dierum deus prædicatur: ꝙ ſit ipſe omni- R Antiquus dierum.
um et ſæculum & tempus/et ante dies & ante ſæculum ac tempus. Quis
et tempus & diem et momentum & ſæculum/eum conuenientiſſime ap-
153 pellare poſſimus: vt qui per omnem motum incommutabilis atq; immo-
bilis ſit. quiq; cum ſemper moueatur: in ſeipſo manet/vt ſæculi & temporis

ac dierum author. Quocirca & in ſacris myſticarum viſionum apparitio-S nibus:et antiquus & nouus effingitur.ſeniore quidem/antiquitatem eius Iuuenis. quæ ab initio eſt:iuniore autem/inſeneſcibilitatẽ ſignante ipſius.vtriſqꝫ vero:eum ab initio ad finem vſqꝫ per cuncta procedere monſtrantibus.ſiue (vt diuinus noſter inſtitutor ait)vtroqꝫ diuinam eminentiam ſubinſinuante.ſeniore quidem/eminentiam temporis:iuniore vero/numeri præſtabilitatem præ ſe ferente.vnum enim & quæ ab vno vicinius pendent:in longũ Sęculũ ſiue æternitas. progreſſis numeris/et principaliora & præſtabiliora ſunt. 156 ¶Operæpreciũ autem eſt vt reor:et ſæculi & temporis naturã ex ſacris litteris diſcere. T non enim omnino & abſolute ingenita ſunt/ac vere æterna vbicũqꝫ dicuntur æterna:ſed incorruptibilia potius atqꝫ immortalia & immutabilia/et Pſat.23. eodem modo ſeſe habentia.ſicuti cum dicitur:eleuamini portæ æternales/et ſimilia.Sæpe vero etiam antiquiſſima:ſæculi appellatione ſignantur.et tota rurſus interdum noſtri fugacis temporis ſeries:ſæculum appellatur. Tempus. Verũ ſæculi proprietas eſt:antiquum/& immutabile/et totum impartibiliter ſecundumqꝫ totum eſſe metiens.tempus autem vocant:quod in gene-V ratione/& corruptione/& variabilitate/et alias aliter ſe habet.Idcirco nos quoqꝫ quibus eſt id diffinitum tempus:ſęculi fore participes theologia pollicetur/quando incorruptibile & eodem modo ſemper habens attigerimus X ſæculum.Interdum vero & temporale ſæculum ſcriptura concelebrat/& Y ſæculare tempus.q̃q̃ ſcimus magis apud eam & rectius quæ ſunt/ſæculi:et quæ naſcuntur/temporis appellatione & dici et intelligi. 157 ¶Non itaqꝫ ſimpliciter deo qui ante ſæcula eſt:coæterna putanda ſunt quæ ſæcularia ſeu æterna dicuntur.ſed ſacratiſſimis eloquijs tenaciter inhærendo:ſæcularia quidem ac temporalia/iuxta cognatos ac proprios modos intelligenda.media vero eorum quæ ſunt & quæ naſcuntur:quæqꝫ alicubi ſęculi/alibi vero participant temporis. Enimuero deum & vt ſæculum & vt tempus laudare conuenit:quippe qui temporis totius ac ſæculi author ſit.et vt antiquum dierum:vt qui ante tempus/& ſupra tempus ſit/et momenta im-Z mutet & tempora.et ante item ſæcula ſubſiſtat:quia & ante ſæculũ & ſupra ſæculum eſt.eiuſqꝫ regnum:regnum omnium ſæculorum Amen.

P ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Enimuero omnipotens dicitur.Geneſis cap.decimo ſeptimo.Ego dominus omnipotens:ambula coram me/& eſto perfectus.Et Exodus cap.decimo quinto.Dominus quaſi vir pugnator:omnipotẽs nomen eius.Et operoſum nimium eſſet:velle adducere quoties in ſanctis eloquijs deus/omnipotens appel-Q letur. ¶Et hoc omne/indiſruptũ atqꝫ indiſſolutum in ſeipſa perficiẽs.In ſeipſa:in ſeipſa R ſede. ¶Antiquus dierum deus prædicatur.Daniel cap.ſeptimo.Aſpiciebã donec throni poſiti ſunt:et antiquus dierũ ſedit.veſtimẽtum eius candidũ quaſi nix:& capilli capitis S eius quaſi lana munda. ¶Et antiquus & nouus effingitur.Antiquus:ex Daniele cap.ſeptimo nunc auditum eſt.Nouus autem & iuuenis:ex Eſdra libro quarto cap.ſecundo.Et in medio eorũ erat iuuenis ſtatura celſus/eminentior omnibus illis:et ſingulis eorum capitibus imponebat coronas/& magis exaltabatur.ego autẽ miraculo tenebar.Et dixi angelo.ille iuuenis quis eſt/qui eis coronas imponit/& palmas in manus tradit? Et re-T ſpondens dixit michi.ipſe eſt filius dei:quem in ſæculo confeſſi ſunt. ¶Non enim omnino & abſolute ingenita ſunt/ac vere æterna:vbicũqꝫ dicuntur æterna.Pro per ſe/vere/et abſolute æterno/interdũ ęterno ſacræ vtũtur litterę:aliquãdo vero alio modo.Pro vere et abſolute æterno:Paulus ad Romanos cap.decimo ſexto.Quod nunc patefactũ eſt per ſcripturas prophetarum ſecundū præceptū æterni dei:ad obeditionē fidei in cunctis gentibus cogniti/ſoli ſapienti deo per IHESVM CHRISTVM. Pro non vere & abſolute æterno:ſecūda ad Teſſalonicenſes epiſtola cap. primo. Qui pœnas dabunt in interitu ęternas a facie domini/& gloria virtutis eius:cum venerit glorificari in ſanctis ſuis/ V et admirabilis fieri in omnibus qui crediderunt. ❡Idcirco nos quoq; quibus eſt diffinitū tempus:ſęculi fore participes theologia pollicetur. Lucas cap. viceſimo. Illi vero qui digni habebūtur ſæculo illo & reſurrectione ex mortuis:neq; nubent/neq; ducent vxores/ X neq; vltra mori poterunt. ❡Interdū vero & temporale ſęculum ſcriptura concelebrat: 156 et ſæculare tempus. Paulus epiſtola ad Titum cap. primo. Et agnitionem veritatis quæ ſecundū pietatem eſt:in ſpem vitæ ęternæ. quam promiſit qui non mentitur deus ante tempora ſęcularia. Hoc in loco certe tempora ſæcularia:ſęcula ſunt tēporalia/quę principium finemq; capiunt. Et pſalmus octogeſimus. Inimici domini mentiti ſunt ei:et erit tempus eorum in ſęcula. Hoc in loco tempus ſæculare:ſęculū/ęuumq; termini finiſq; neſcium denotat. quo boni in vitam æternā perpetuo ęuo durabūt. mali vero in ſuppliciū/et tormentum interminū. et tunc illis ſua oberit immortalitas:q̄ pœnis deficere/moriq; non poterūt. Et tunc quoq; immortalitatem mortalitatis forte cōmutari poſſe optabunt: ſed id nichil ipſis prodeſſe valebit. nodus enim indiſſolubilis eſt:niſi ipſe mortalium im- Y mortaliumq; pater nodum (quem ipſe indiſſolubilem nexuit) ſolus diſſoluat. ❡Qz̃q̄ ſcimus magis apud eam/& rectius. Z Eam:eam ſacram ſcripturā. Et ſupermundana vocat: quæ ſunt. mundana vero & temporalia:quę gignuntur. ❡Et ante item ſęcula ſubſiſtat. Deum ante ſęcula ſubſiſtere/& regnū eius regnū omniū ſęculorū eſſe:teſtatur pſalmus ſeptuageſimus tertius. Deus autem rex noſter ante ſęcula:operatus eſt ſalutē in medio terræ. Et pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quartus. Regnū tuum regnū omniū ſęculorum:& dominatio tua in omni generatione & generationem.

❡DECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

154 DVas alias diuinas appellationes ſcilicet omnipotētis & antiqui dierū hoc loco ſacer exponit Dionyſius:in principio proponens nunc oportunū eſſe/q̄ deus multis nominibus inſignis laudetur vt omnipotens 57 et antiquus dierū. Sane omnipotens dicitur deus:quia ipſe omniū rerum eſt firmitas & vigor qui omnia poſſit. omnia poteſtate ſua cōpræhendens ac continens/cuncta firmans/ſtabiliens & conſolidās:et hoc totū mundi opificiū/indiſruptū atq; indiſſolutū ſua potentia conſeruans atq; perficiens. et ex ſeipſo veluti principio/origine & radice ōnipotente:cuncta ad eſſe proferens. et rurſum ad ſe tanq̄ profundū quoddā/immenſū & omnipotens:vniuerſa conuertens atq; reducens/vt omniū receptaculū & ſuſtentaculū omnicapax. ōnia item quæ continentur & cōpræhenduntur a ſe/vnica ſua virtute cunctis excellente cōmuniens atq; protegens:neq; ſinens illa a ſeipſo decidere ac prolabi/ne tanq̄ tutiſſimo domicilio præſidioq; emota aut extruſa diſpereant/abeantq; in interitū. Dicitur inſuper ipſa ſumma diuinitas/omnipotens:vt omnia virtute ſua ſuperās/& rebus omnibus quæ prouidentia reguntur:ſyncære imperans. etiam vt omnibus amabilis ac deſiderabilis perſiſtens:cum omnia naturaliter ipſam diuinā bonitatem & prouidentiā deſiderent/vt ſuperius dictum eſt. et conſtituens omnibus leges ſuæ naturę cunſentaneas/& quas naturali inclinatione ac voluntarie libenter amplectantur:vt a diuina voluntate (quę ſemper rectiſſima eſt) profectas. inſinuanſq; omnibus dulces partus ſiue effectus diuini amoris/et omnipotentis/& ſumme tranquilli:quo ſua bonitas omnibus in rebus quaſi fructus quoſdam gignit:cum ſuauiſſimi amoris diuini munera rebus ex ſeipſa/per ſeipſam/et propter ſeipſam exuberantiſſime impartit. Porro volūtarias leges hic dicit beatus pater/leges ſpontaneas & vltroneas:et ad quas ſuapte natura & proprio inſtinctu et inclinatione res ipſę feruntur. vt ignis ſponte & vltronee diuina lege fertur ſurſum. et quoniam legem non habet inditam vt deorſum tendat:ideo inſpontanee & præter inſtinctū fertur deorſum. Quia enim omnia in omnibus ſunt et ſe omnia permeant/vt prius dictū eſt:quod in medijs & ſummis voluntas appellatur/in imis nominatur naturale deſide- 155 rium et inſtinctus a deo rebus inſitus. ❡Antiquus autem dierum deus dicitur:quia ipſe eſt omnium rerum ſpeculū & tempus ſecundū cauſam/et ante dies omnes & ante ſæculum et tempus. Ipſum tamen deū appellare recte poſſumus/& tempus et diem et momentum & ſęculum:quia per omnem motū & inflexum durationū incōmutabilis eſt et

Omnipotēs

Antiquus dierum.

immobilis.et qui cũ ſẽper moueatur/ſui ipſius & donorũ ſuorum in omnia profectione
indeficienti:in ſeipſo tamen manet fixus & immotus/vt ſæculi et tẽporis & dierum
author.Hanc plane ob cauſam in ſacris viſionibus quę ipſis prophetis myſtice ſunt
oſtenſę:ipſe deus deſcribitur ac reprę ſentatur vt antiquus & vt nouus.Nã ſenior figura ſignat
ipſius dei antiquitatẽ quæ ab initio eſt:durationemq; principio carentẽ.Iunior vero
forma ſignat ipſius inſeneſcibilitatẽ & indeficientiã durationis futuræ/vt ita dixerim:quæ
nunq̃ ad ſeniũ finemve aut metã decumbet.Vtraq; vero effictio & antiqui ſcilicet et
noui/mõſtrat ipſum deum ab initio durationis rerum ad finem vſq; per cuncta procedere:
ſine ſuæ ſubſtantię detrimento fluxuq; aut imminutione/per diuturnitatẽ durationis
inducta.Siue vt diuinus ait Hierotheus:vtraq; in deo denominatio & ſenioris et iunioris/
diuinam indicat excellentiã.nomen quidẽ ſenioris & antiqui:ob eminentiã temporis.
nam quæ antiquiora ſunt ac vetuſtiora:et honorabiliora habentur & præſtãtiora.
Nomen vero iunioris atq; noui/ipſius dei excellentiam ſubinſinuat:ꝙ præ ſe ferat numeri
propius ad vnitatẽ accedentis prę ſtantiam.Vnitas enim numeralis & qui ab eo vicinius
emanant numeri/vt binarius & ternarius:alijs numeris longius ab vnitate diſtantibus
vt centenario & millenario/principaliores ſunt atq; perfectiores.ꝙ ad ſimplicitatẽ
magis accedãt:et ad multitudinẽ(quę imperfectioni plerũq; eſt obnoxia)non vſq;adeo
Sęculum. decumbant.Quod autem nouũ eſt:ipſi initio propinquius eſt/& minus ab eo diſtans.¶At 156
nunc etiam cõueniens eſt & ſæculi et temporis acceptiones ex ſacris litteris cognoſcere.
Non enim quęcũq; in illis dicuntur ęterna/et vbicũq; nominantur æterna:ſunt omnino
et abſolute ingenita ac vere æterna/vt neq; facta ſint neq; ſuę durationis principiũ
habeãt.Sed huiuſmodi ęternorum appellatione potius ſignificantur nonnulla eſſe
incorruptibilia/immortalia & immutabilia:ac eodem modo ſe habentia.quemadmodũ cum
Pſal.23. de cœleſtibus ſpiritibus dicit pſalmus.eleuamini portæ æternales.quos tamen conſtat
principium ſui eſſe/ſuæq; durationis initiũ habuiſſe:nunq̃ tamen deſituros/ac perpetuo
ſine futuro interitu permanſuros.Sępenumero etiam quę antiquiſſima & vetuſtiſſima
ſunt/licet etiam corruptioni ſint obnoxia:appellatione ſæculi ſiue ęternitatis continẽtur.
Deute.33. vt in illo deuteronomij loco.De vertice antiquorum montium/de pomis collium
æternorum. Deniq; et tota huius temporariæ durationis ſeries atq; ſucceſſio:interdũ
Roma.16. nomine ſęculi atq; ęterni exprimitur.vt cum dicit apoſtolus.ſecundum reuelationem
Matth.12. myſterij temporibus æternis taciti.et in hoc ſæculo/frequenter ſcriptura dicit:cum
præſentem hanc vitam ſignat.Verum ipſius ſæculi proprie ſumpti conditio eſt:antiquum
Tempus. eſſe/et immutabile/& totum eſſe impartibiliter atq; ſecundũ totum metiri.Tempus
autem vocant ſacri authores:illud durationis curriculũ quod in generatione & corruptione
ac mutabilitate/diuerſiſq; ſucceſſionibus & ſpacijs aliter ſe habet.Ideo & nos
homines quibus in hoc mundi incolatu determinatũ eſt tempus ad tranſigendã hanc
Lucæ.20. peregrinationem:ſæculi fore participes in altera vita/ſancta ſcriptura promittit/quãdo ſcilicet
incorruptibile & eodem modo ſemper ſe habens ſæculum fuerimus aſſecuti.Interdum
Titum.1. etiam ſcriptura cõmemorat temporalẽ ſęculũ & ſæculare tempus:pro eo durationis
Pſal.80. ſpacio/quod ſucceſſione continua in præſentis vitę ſtatu defluit.q̃uis id compertũ ſatis
habeatur:ꝙ ea quę ſunt permanentia ac immutabilia:magis & aptius apud ipſam
ſcripturam/ſæculi appellatione cẽſentur.quę vero generantur/corrũpuntur & mouẽtur:
potius nuncupatione temporis intelliguntur.¶Itaq; ea ſubſiſtentia quæ ſęcularia ſeu 157
æterna dicuntur/vt cœleſtia agmina:non ſimpliciter putanda ſunt eſſe coæterna deo/qui eſt
ante ſæcula & ſolus vere æternus.Sed ſacrorum eloquiorũ ſententię firmiter
adhęrendo:ſæcularia ac temporalia ſunt intelligenda/iuxta proprios & ſuę naturæ
conuenientes modos.Sæcularia quidem:quę eſſe incœperunt/ſed in eodẽ ſtatu permanẽtia nunq̃
deſinent.vt angeli.Temporalia vero:quę & eſſe incœperũt et deſinent/mutationibus
ac varijs motibus ſubiecta.vt corpora ſenſibilia.Inter hæc autem duo vtpote ſęcularia
quę ſunt/et temporalia quę naſcũtur:ſunt intermedia quędam/vtriuſq; extremi aliquid
participãtia.quæ ſcilicet ſecundũ aliquid participant ſęculo:ſecundum aliud vero/
tempore.vt corpora cœleſtia ſecundum ſubſtantiã ſuam ſemper eadẽ:ſæculi rationẽ
ſequũtur.ſecundum motũ vero continuũ & lationẽ circularem:temporis habent conditionẽ.
Et homines/ſi animam attendis & proprias eius functiones quas agit ſine corpore:
ſæculo participant.ſi vero corpus reſpicis & eius mutationes varias:tẽporis naturam
ſequuntur et proprietatẽ.Porro deum ipſum/ſęculi & tẽporis nomine laudare par eſt:quia

temporis totius & ſeculi eſt author.et vt antiquum dierum:quia eſt ante tēpus & ſupra
omne tempus/& immutat tempora et momenta:certiſſimis ſuæ prouidentiæ legibus.
Deum item laudare conuenit/ꝙ ante ſæcula ſubſiſtat:quia & ante ſeculū et ſupra ſeculū
eſt/eiuſqꝫ regnum dicitur in pſalmo eſſe regnum omniū ſæculorū.Cui ſit honor et gloria: Pſal.144.
in omnia ſæcula ſæculorum Amen.

¶De pace/et quid ſibi vult in deo ipſum eſſe:quæ ſit ipſa vita/quæ ipſa vir-
tus/et quæ hunc in modum dicuntur. CAP.XI.

158 AGe itaqꝫ diuinam complectentēqꝫ omnia pacem:pacificis ef- A Pax.
feramus laudibus.Hæc eſt enim quæ cuncta connectit/con-
cordiamqꝫ omnium atqꝫ conſenſum gignit & efficit:cuius rei
gratia ipſam quoqꝫ deſiderāt omnia.vt quæ diuiſibilem ipſo-
rum multitudinē:ad totam conuertit vnitatem.inteſtinumqꝫ
mundanæ machinæ belliū(quo fœdere mirabili congruat)ef-
ficit.Diuinæ participatione pacis:antiquiores vnientium virtutū & ipſę ad
ſeipſas/et adinuicem coniungūtur atqꝫ ad vnam omnium principatū gerē-
tem pacem/etiam & quæ ſibi ſubiecta ſunt iungūt.ipſaqꝫ et ad ſe & adin-
uicem:et ad vnum atqꝫ perfectū omnium pacis initiū/authoremqꝫ ſtringū-
tur.Hæc itidem non per partes cuncta perluſtrās/quæ diuiſa ſunt:veluti ve-
ctibus quibuſdā aſtringentibus conciliat/finit/terminat/atqꝫ cōmunit.nec
permittit diuiſa in infinitū/interminatumqꝫ diffūdi:neqꝫ inordinata et ſede
159 carentia/deoqꝫ deſtituta/ſuiqꝫ egreſſa vnitatē:inuicē confuſe miſceri.¶De
ipſa ergo(quicquid tandē illa eſt)diuina pace/quiete & ſilentio(quam ſan- B Ioſeph iuſtꝰ
ctus iuſtus ineloquibilitatē vocat/et ad omnē noſcibilem proceſſū immo-
bilitatem)quo pacto quieſcat/agatqꝫ ſilētiū/vtqꝫ in ſe & intra ſe ſit/et tota
ad ſe totā eminenti ratione iungatur/& neqꝫ dum in ſe ingreditur ſeqꝫ mul-
tiplicat:ſuam linquit vnionē/ ſed procedit ad omnia/tota intrinſecus manēs
per excellentiam cuncta ſuperantis vnionis:neqꝫ dicere cuiq̄/neqꝫ cogitare/
neqꝫ fas eſt neqꝫ poſſibile.Verum enim iſtud quoqꝫ vt neqꝫ eloquibile neqꝫ
noſcibile/ipſi applicantes cuncta ſane tranſilienti:participationes eius(quæ
et intelligi/& dici poſſunt:et id quoqꝫ vt poſſibile eſt viris/& nobis potiſſi-
160 mum qui multis bonis viris inferiores ſumus)inſpiciamus.¶Ac primum
quidē id dicendum/ꝙ ipſius per ſe pacis & vniuerſæ et particularis illa eſt
author:omniaqꝫ adinuicem tēperat/atqꝫ cōmiſcet iuxta inconfuſam ipſorū
vnionem.per quam abſqꝫ diuiſione vlla/diſtātiaqꝫ coniuncta:integra nichi-
lominus in ſua quæqꝫ ſpecie durāt.nichil aduerſantium admixtione turba-
ta:neqꝫ quicq̄ cōfœderatricis illius diligētiæ ac puritatis offendētia.Vnam
igitur quādam ac ſimplicem pacificæ cōiunctionis intueamur naturam/ſibi
et eis atqꝫ inuicem cuncta iungētem/ſeruātemqꝫ omnia:incōfuſe continen-
161 do ea/et mera & commixta.¶Per quā diuini ſpiritus ſuiſmet intelligētijs
inſerti:ijs quoqꝫ quæ intelligūt coniungūtur.rurſuſqꝫ ad incognitā ſcandūt
eorum quæ menti ſupereminēt cōiunctionem.per quam animæ varias ſu-
as nectētes rationes/atqꝫ ad vnam ſpiritualem puritatem congregātes pro-
cedunt:ſibi cōgrua via atqꝫ ordine per ſpiritualem indiuiduāqꝫ intelligēti-
am/ad cōiunctionem illam quæ omnem intelligētiam ſuperat annitentes/
ob quam vna omniū/indiſſolubiliſqꝫ cōnexio:iuxta diuinam ipſius ſubſiſtit

congruētiam.concētuqꝫ mirabili & cōcordia perfecta atqꝫ cōſenſu coaptatur:
dum & ſine cōfuſione colligitur/et ſine diuiſione atqꝫ diſſolutione cōtinetur.
¶Nimirū perfectæ pacis itegritas/ad ea q̄ ſūt ōnia per ſimpliciſſimā 162
ipſius et merā vnificæ virtutis pręſentiā penetrat:cōiūgēs ōnia/& extremis
extrema per media cōnectens/per vnam quidē cognatam amicitiā copulata.
atqꝫ vltimis quoqꝫ mundanæ machinæ molitionibus:vt ſe fruantur indulgens.
cognataqꝫ efficiens omnia:vnitatibus/idētitatibus/inſitionibus/collectionibus.
quādoquidem diuina pax nulli diuiſioni perſtat obnoxia/et in
vno indicat omnia:et per omnia pergit/& nuſq̄ a propria idētitate diſcedit.
Sane ad cuncta procedit/ſuiqꝫ participationē omnibus tradit pro ſingulorum
modo:ac pacificę copia fœcūditatis exuberat/manetqꝫ per vnionis excellētiam
tota ad totam & per totam ſeipſam ſupreme cōiuncta. ¶Et quo 163
pacto/dixerit quiſpiā/cuncta deſiderāt pacem? quando plurima alteritate
ac diſcretione gaudēt/neqꝫ ſponte quieſcere volunt. Atqui ſi alteritatem ac
diſcretionē qui ſic loquitur/cuiuſqꝫ rei proprietatē dicit(cum hanc/et eorum
quæ ſunt ne vnum quidē quod exiſtēs eſt:vnq̄ perire velit)ne nos quidē
id refragabimur. Verū idipſum quoqꝫ:pacis deſideriū eſſe ſtatuemus.amāt
enim omnia ad ſeipſa & habere pacē/et eſſe cōiuncta:atqꝫ in eo eſſe ſtatu vt
a ſeipſis & a ſuis moueri/decidereqꝫ non poſſint. Enimuero perfecta illa et
cuncta perficiēs pax:merę atqꝫ impermixtę per ſingula proprietatis cuſtos/
atqꝫ ſeruatrix eſt.pacificis prouidētijs ſuis omnia ſeditione & cōfuſione vacua
et ad ſeipſa & adinuicem ſeruans:cunctaqꝫ ſtabili et conſtante virtute
ad propriam ipſorū pacem atqꝫ immobilem cōſtantiā figens. Nēpe enim
ſi quæ mouētur omnia/non feriari ocioqꝫ torpere/ſed operari ſemper pro
eorū motu cupiunt:id profecto diuinæ omniū pacis deſideriū eſt.quę omnia
in ſeipſis ne poſſint cadere ſeruat:et cūctorum quæ mouētur proprietatem/
ac mobilem vitam(ne dimoueatur/neue decidat)cuſtodit.dumqꝫ mouentur/
ad ſeipſa pacem ſeruantia/& eodem modo ſe ſemper habentia:quę
ſui ſunt muneris peragunt. Cæterum ſi alteritatē ex pacis prolapſione veniētem
dicat/aſſeratqꝫ non eſſe amabilem omnibus pacē:maxime quidem
nichil eſt/quod omni prorſus cōiunctione deciderit.quod enim penitus inſtabile
& infinitum et nuſq̄ conſiſtens/prorſuſqꝫ indiffinitū eſt:neqꝫ ipſum
eſt/neqꝫ in ijs quæ ſunt eſt. ¶Verum ſi eos dicat pacem/paciſqꝫ bona auerſari: 164
qui litibus/& furoribus/et immutationibus atqꝫ inſtabilitatibus gaudent.
Illi quoqꝫ perexiguis quibuſdā pacifici deſiderij ſimulacris detinētur:
dum perturbationibus varijs agūtur/quas imperite deſiderant ſiſtere.et arbitrātur
ſe pacem habere:ſi ſemper fluentibus voluptatibus hauriendis inſiſtant.
perturbanturqꝫ:ſi eis quæ ſeipſos obtinuere fruſtrentur. Quid vero
de CHRISTI pacem profundēte clemētia dicemus? per quam diſcimus
non vltra bellare neqꝫ nobiſcū/neqꝫ adinuicem/neqꝫ aduerſus angelos:ſed
cum ipſis potius diuina pro viribus agemus/iuxta IHESV prouidētiam.
qui omnia in ōnibus operatur:facitqꝫ pacem a ſæculo prædeſtinatā.et nos
ſibi in ſpiritu recōciliat:& per ſe/ipſi quoqꝫ conciliat patri. De quibus excellentiſſimis
donis/in theologicis informationibus ſatis diſſeruimus:aſtipu-

165 lantibus aſſertioni noſtrę ſacris eloquijs. ¶Verũ enim quando alias quoqꝫ
me per epiſtolã rogaſti: quidnã eſſe putarẽ ipſum eſſe/ipſam vitã/ ipſamqꝫ
ſapientiam. dixiſtiqꝫ te multũ moueri ꝙ aliquãdo deũ/ipſam dixerim vitã/
aliquando vitæ ipſius authorẽ: operæpreciũ exiſtimaui ſancte vir dei/ hac
te de nobis concepta hæſitatione liberare. Ac primũ quidẽ vt quæ alias latius
diximus/nunc quoqꝫ paucis repetamus: non ſibi aduerſatur deũ ipſã
virtutem/ipſamqꝫ vitam dicere/& ipſius vitæ ſeu pacis ſeu virtutis authorem.
Nã partim quidẽ ex ijs quæ ſunt/& ex ijs maxime quę primo ſunt cõdita:
vt oĩm quæ ſunt author appellatur. partim vt ipſe: qui ſuper õnia etiã
primo condita/ſupreme & superſubſtantialiter eſt. Quid autẽ (inquies) ipſum
eſſe/aut ipſam vitã dicimus: aut quæqꝫ abſolute eſſe ac principaliter &
ex deo/primo ſubſiſtere ponimus? At iſtud quidẽ curuũ non eſt/ ſed rectũ:
ſimplicẽqꝫ habet explanationẽ. Neqꝫ enim ſubſtantiam aliquã diuinã ſeu
angelicam eſſe dicimus ipſum atqꝫ per ſe eſſe: quod quidẽ cauſa eſt vt ſint
quæ ſunt omnia. verum ipſum quoqꝫ eſſe quod superſubſtãtiale eſt: initiũ/
& ſubſtantia/& cauſa eſt. Neqꝫ viuificam deitatẽ aliã: præter ſupremã illam
diuinamqꝫ vitã/omniũ quæ viuunt/& ipſius quoqꝫ vitæ cauſam. Neqꝫ (vt C
breuiter dixerim) dicendum eſt principales rerum conditrices eſſentias cœleſtes/
atqꝫ ſubſtantias. quas non defuerunt qui creaturarum deos/atqꝫ opifices
ſibi protinus effingerent: & dicere auderent. quos vt vere/proprieqꝫ dixerimus:
neqꝫ ipſi nouerunt (quippe qui non ſunt) neqꝫ patres eorum. Cæterum
ipſum eſſe/ ipſamqꝫ vitam/& ipſam deitatem dicimus: principaliter
quidem ac diuine ac ſecundum cauſam/ vnum principia cuncta excellẽs
& superſubſtantiale principium/ & cauſam. participabiliter vero: virtutes
illas prouidentiſſimas ex deo minime communicabili prouenĩẽtes/ ipſam
ſcilicet ſubſtantificationẽ/ipſamqꝫ viuificationem/& ipſam per ſe deificentiam.
quibus dum congruo ſibi modo creata participant: & exiſtẽtia/& viuentia/
& diuina & ſunt & merito prædicantur. et eodem item modo: alia.
Quocirca etiam eorum quę prima ſunt: author eſſe qui ſupreme bonus eſt
dicitur. Deinde ipſorum integre omnium: deinde ipſorum particulariũ/ tũ
166 eorum quæ integre ipſis pleneqꝫ participant/tum vero eorum quæ ipſis ex
parte cõmunicabũt. ¶Et quid me plura de his dicere neceſſe eſt? quãdoquidẽ
nõnulli ex noſtris diuinis præceptoribus/ipſius quoqꝫ bonitatis ac deitatis D
authorem eum dicunt qui ſupreme bonus ac ſummus eſt deus. ipſam
bonitatem ac deitatem eſſe dicẽtes/beneficũ illud atqꝫ deificũ ex deo proueniens
donum/ipſamqꝫ pulchritudinẽ: pulchritudinis effectricẽ largitatẽ/
& totam pulchritudinem et particularem pulchritudinem/& omnino pulchra
et in parte pulchra. et quæqꝫ alia eodẽ modo dicta ſunt/atqꝫ dicẽtur:
prouidentiaſqꝫ ac bonitates quæ a creaturis participantur indicãtia/ex deo
nequaq̃ participabili profuſione copioſa procedentes atqꝫ emanantes. vt
qui author eſt omnium: vltra omnia profecto ſit. & qui omnem ſubſtãtiã/
naturãqꝫ tranſcendit: eis prorſus emineat/quæ ſubſtantiæ ac naturæ quomodocunqꝫ
participant.

Quid ipſũ eſſe.
Ipſa vita.
Ipſa ſapientia
Quid ipſa/ atqꝫ per ſe virtus/& reliqua quæ ĩ hũc modũ dicuntur.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Age igitur diuinam/complectentemqꝫ omnia pa- A cem. Deum vt pacẽ celebrari: ex beato Paulo ad Epheſios cap. ſecũdo iam didicimus. Ipſe eſt pax noſtra: in vno nouo homine faciens pacem. & veniens euangelizauit pacẽ B vobis qui longe fuiſtis: & pacem ijs qui prope. ¶Quam ſanctus iuſtus ineloquibilitatẽ vocat. Hic ſanctus iuſtus eſt: de quo actuum apoſtolorum cap. primo legitur. Et ſtatuerunt duos: Ioſeph qui vocatur Barſabas qui cognominatus eſt iuſtus/ & Matthiam. Et ſcriptis huius iuſti caremus. & vtinam non tantum licuiſſet hoſti naturæ: vt monu- Pſal. 127. menta pietatis huius ſancti viri & cæterorum piorum (qui illa ætate: ſicut nouellæ oli- C uarum in circuitu menſæ domini floruerunt) valuiſſet extinguere. ¶Neq; vt breuiter dixerim: dicendum eſt principales rerum conditrices eſſentias cœleſtes/ atq; ſubſtan- Timeo Platonis. tias. Hoc in loco pius pater refutat gentilia quædam quæ in Timeo de creatione mundi inſerta ſunt. in quo introduci videntur principales rerum eſſentiæ vt conditrices: quas ita deorum opifex alloqui fingitur. Tria adhuc genera mortalium nobis generanda reſtant: abſq; horum generatione cœlum imperfectum erit. omnia enim animantiũ genera ambitu ſuo non continebit. contineat autem oportet: ſi eſt mũdus omnino perfectus futurus. hæc vero ſi a me fiant ſolo/ vitaq; donentur: dijs adæquabuntur. quapropter accedite vos ſecundum naturam ad animalium generationem: ita vt vim imitemini meam/ qua in ortu veſtro ſum vſus. atq; eius quidem animalis quod in ipſis tale futurum eſt vt cum immortalibus appellatione conueniat/ diuinumq; vocetur/ principatũq; teneat/ & iuſtitiam ſimul ac vos vltro colat: ego vobis ſemen & initium tradam. vos cætera exequi par eſt: vt immortali naturæ mortalem attexentes faciatis/ generetiſq; animalia ſubminiſtranteſq; alimẽta augeatis/ & conſumpta rurſum recipiatis. Eius filij cum parentis ordinem cognouiſſent: eum protinus imitabantur. Itaq; accepto ab illo mortalis animantis immortali principio ſui effectorem imitati: ignis/ aeris/ aquæ/ terræ particulas (quas rurſus redderent) a mundo mutuabantur/ eaſq; inter ſe copulabant. haud ijſdem illis indiſſolubilibus vinculis: quibus ipſi fuerant colligati. ſed talibus quæ propter paruitatem cerni non poſſent: crebriſq; huiuſmodi clauis coniunctis/ vnũ ex omnibus corpus efficiebant. Et hæc & ſimilia quæ gentilium (ne vanas fabulationes dicam) continent errorem: moliuntur quaſi ab ijs qui a dijs ipſis geniti/ dicta fuiſſent/ confirmare. Priſcis itaq; viris (inquiunt) hac in re credendum eſt: qui dijs geniti (vt ipſi dicebant) parentes ſuos optime nouerant. Impoſſibile ſane: deorum filijs fidem non habere/ licet nec neceſſarijs/ nec veriſimilibus rationibus eorum oratio confirmetur. Quem paſſum gentilitatis ſtultitiæ plenum beatus pater ridẽs: contra/ de dijs opificibus ait: quos vt vere proprieq; dixerimus/ neq; ipſi nouerunt (quippe qui non ſunt) neq; patres eorum. Sed præter officium egiſſe merito fortaſſe arguemur: qui prophana ſacris immiſcuerimus. Verum idcirco hic declarantur prophana/ vt a ſacris arceantur/ & ne homines melioris vitæ partes pia mentis ſectantes religione: in hæc non admoniti incidant/ tempuſq; inani caſſoq; ſtudio conterant. Et ꝙ prius dictum eſt Platonem poſſe impune legi: de ijs quæ eius ſunt/ intelligi volumus. neq; enim Timeum/ neq; Parmenidem/ neq; Cratylum ex eius ſententia deprompta eſſe certum eſt: ſed ſtilum/ verborumq; elegantiam Platonis eſſe. alioqui in pleriſq; dialogis pleraq; inuenies impura: a pia mente/ ſacroq; ritu regenerata/ atq; expiata ſalubribus vndis/ proti- D nus reijcienda. ¶Quandoquidẽ nonnulli ex noſtris diuinis præceptoribus. Id propter beatum Hierotheum dictum eſt.

¶VNDECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM. 156

PAcis appellationem deo in ſacris eloquijs ſæpius aſſignatam hic declarat ſacer Dionyſius: ad id primum exhortans/ vt diuina ipſa pax quæ omnia continet & ſeruat dignis extollatur præconijs. Nempe Pax. ea ipſa eſt: quæ cuncta ſociali vinculo connectit/ omnium concordiam & mutuam conſenſionem gignit. ob quod ipſam etiam pacem deſiderant omnia: quoniam diuiſibilem ipſorum multitudinem & variam/ ipſa colligit & conſtringit ad vnitatem. et naturalem rerum hãc mundi machinam conſtituentium contrarietatem qua ſibiinuicem aduerſantur/ ad eam reuocat vnionẽ: vt ipſæ res contrariæ placido fœdere cõueniant & congruãt ad vniuerſi compoſitionem. Diuinæ quidẽ pacis participatione: cœleſtiũ ſpirituum (qui ob propinquitatem ad deũ: etiã eximiã habent cætera vniẽdi virtutẽ) antiquiores/ ſuperioreſq; ſubſtantiæ: ad ſeipſas/ et vna ad alteram coniungũtur placido affectu. inſuper et ea quę

sibiipsis subiecta sunt: etiam connectunt ad vnicam illam dei pacem/omnium principatum
habentem. Et ipsa quidem subiecta spiritibus angelicis: primum ad seipsa/ deinde
adinuicem & vnum ad alterum/ demum ad deum/ vnum & singulare pacis principium
authoremq;: pacifico nexu astringuntur. Et ipsa plane diuina pax non per partes & diuidue
sed simpliciter & vnice cuncta permeans quæ diuisa sunt: velut retinaculis quidē
& compagibus ipsa colligantibus/omnia conciliat/suis definit terminis atq; munit. nec
permittit ea quæ diuisa sunt: in incertum & sine termino diffundi. Neq; illa quæ inordinata
sunt & firmitate carentia stabiliq; sede/ deiq; destituta præsidio/ et propriam ex lapsu
egressa vnitatem: sinit inuicem per quandam confusionem misceri. sed pacifica sua
159 benignitate: illa in suum reuocat ordinem/stabilitatem et tenorem. ❡Cæterum neq; dicere
cuiq̃ neq; cogitare fas est aut possibile de ipsa diuina pace: absolute in deo considerata
(quicquid tandem illa sit: quoniam id nobis prorsus est incognitum) itidē et de diuina
quiete/ atq; diuino silentio: quod sanctus Ioseph iustus nuncupat ineloquibilitatē/
et immobilitatem ad omnem processum noscibilem. quoniam vnūquodq; horum triū/
ineloquibile est nobis: & immobile ad propagationem dei exteriorem/ hominibus facile
cognitam. Non est inquam fas cuiq̃ aut possibile/ dicere vel cogitare: quo pacto diuina
ipsa pax quiescat in deo/ aut silentium agat. & quomodo in seipsa & intra seipsam sit ipsi
deo intima: & tota ad se totam excellentissima ratione connectatur. & neq; dum in seipsam
ingreditur: occulta et abdita manens/ neq; dum se multiplicat: in creaturas sua
dona profundens/ suam deserit vnionē. sed et procedit exuberantia deriuationis ad omnia:
tota tamen intrinsecus manens et perfecta/ per excellētiam diuinæ vnionis omnia
superantis. sicut et lux solis suos effundit radios: et tamen semper manet intima soli. Cæterum
ipsius diuinæ pacis arcanum et secretum neq; eloquibile nobis neq; noscibile/ ipsi
deo soli relinquētes omnia singulariter transcendenti: inspicere debemus benignas ipsius
supremæ pacis participationes/ progressionesq; ad externa/ quæ et intelligi a nobis
et dici possunt. Et huiusmodi quidem deriuationes pacis contemplari debemus: vt hominibus
possibile est. et nobis potissimum (inquit de se beatus pater) qui multis bonis viris
inferiores sumus et imperfectiores. quod ad insignem eius modestiam et humilitatem
demonstrandam attinet: qui sane multis præclaris viris/ et virtute et doctrinæ splēdore
160 erat superior. ❡Quomodo autem diuinæ pacis participatio in omnia extēdatur:
particulatim hoc loco manifestat. id primo dicendum proponens/ ꝙ illa pax diuina:
author est & opifex ipsius per se pacis/ pacificæq; distributionis in cuncta propagatæ.
siue vniuersalis: & vt in omnibus generatim attenditur. siue particularis: & vt in hoc
aut illo genere entium speciatim consideratur. Quippe ipsa diuina pax omnia adinuicem
temperat/ conciliat/ atq; coniungit: secundum inconfusam ipsorum vnionem. per
quam singula absq; vlla distantia aut diuulsione ad proxima sibi corpora coniuncta/
vt ignis ad aerem/ aer ad aquam & aqua ad terram: integra nihilominus in sua specie
permanent. nullomodo turbata a suæ naturæ integritate/ per aduersantiū eis corporum
iuxta positionem: neq; offendentia aut ledentia in aliquo illam diuinæ pacis diligentiam
ac puritatem omnium confœderatricem. Vna igitur attendenda est ac simplex
pacificæ rerum omnium coniunctionis natura: vtpote pax diuina/ quæ cuncta triplici
nexu iungit. scilicet ad seipsam. ad ea ipsa: singulum scilicet ad seipsum. & ad inuicem:
siue vnum ad alterum. Ipsa quoq; seruat omnia: inconfuse continens ea/ syncera
161 & impermixta. ❡Per hāc itidē diuinā pacem/ cœlestes spiritus suis notionibus & intellectionibus
vniti: illis etiam obiectis quæ intelligūt adiunguntur/ ꝙ cognitio omnis coniungat
ipsum cognoscentem rei cognitæ. & ex huiusmodi mentis scientia atq; intelligētia/
conscendunt ipsi spiritus angelici ad ignotam coniunctionem eorum quæ menti supereminent:
per irradiationem diuinæ lucis subleuantis ipsos supra se. Per hanc etiam
diuinam pacem animæ rationales primo varium ac multiplicem rationum discursum
atq; nexum disquirūt. deinde illum ad vnam intellectualem agnitionē simplicē ac purā
colligunt. postea vero per viā sibi cōgruā atq; ordinē procedētes/ ex hac spirituali & indiuidua
intelligētia: ad coniunctionē illā cū deo per diuinæ lucis superinfusionē annitūtur.
quæ sane coniunctio mentis rationalis cum deo: oēm superat intelligentiā. Demum
per hanc diuinā pacem/ vna rerum omnium indissolubilisq; compago: iuxta propriam
cuiusq; a deo determinatam subsistit cōgruentiam. & harmonia mirabili/ atq; cōcordia
stabili/ aptoq; contemperamēto disponitur illa rerum connexio: quando sine confusione

in vnam ordinatiſſimam fabricam colligitur/& ſine diſcerptione atq; diſſolutione conſeruatur
& cõtinetur. ¶Et certe ipſius perfectæ diuinæq; pacis integritas/ad ea omnia 162
quæ ſubſiſtunt penetrat: per ſimplicem & ſyncæram ſuæ virtutis omnia in vnum conſtringentis
præſentiam. Nempe coniungit inter ſe cuncta rectiſſimo ordine/& extrema
extremis connectit per media: per mutuam adinuicẽ affinitatẽ ac amicitiam conſociata.
vt ignẽ terræ/per aerẽ & aquã intermedia/ & ſpirituales creaturas corporalibus: per
hominẽ vtriuſq; naturæ participem. Vltimis itẽ mundanæ huius machine creaturis &
poſtremũ ſortitis locum: vt terræ/materiæ & accidẽtibus abiectioribus indulget ac elargitur
diuina pax: vt ſeipſa fruantur/& ſui participationẽ ſentiant. efficitq; omnia in hoc
mũdi opificio diſpoſita corpora: adinuicem cognata & aliqua affinitate propinqua. aut
per vnitates/aut identitates/inſertiones/aut collectiones. Cõueniunt enim ipſa inter ſe/
aut quia vnũ vnitur alteri: aut idẽ eſt cum altero. aut quoniã vnũ alteri inſeritur/ vt accidens
ſubſtantię: aut vnum ad alterũ colligitur & continuatur. vt gutta ad guttã. *Et ita*
de cæteris cognationis modis. Enimuero diuina pax nulli diuiſioni eſt ſubiecta/ ſed in
vno ſcilicet deo vt exẽplari totiꝰ pacis mõſtrat õnia: ad illius ſimilitudinẽ per ĩpreſſas pacis
notas efformata/atq; ad diuinæ pacis ęmulationẽ adinuicem conciliata. Eadẽ quoq;
diuina pax per omnia pergit et progreditur/mirabili rerũ inter ſe fœdere ac nexu: nuſq̃
tamen a propria identitate ac ſingularitate diſcedit. Ipſa plane ad cũcta rerum genera
procedit & meat: ſuiq; participationem omnibus impartit/cuiq; pro ſuo captu & modo.
Affluentia quoq; pacificę diſtributionis exuberat in omnes rerũ ſpecies: manet tamẽ cũ
huiuſmodi profuſione per vnionis eminentiam ſingularem/ipſa tota ad ſeipſam totam
& per ſeipſam totam ſumme ac intime coniuncta. vt ipſa eadem ſit quod coniungitur/ 163
cui coniungitur/& per quod coniungitur. ¶Deinde obiectiones diſſoluit: quæ contra
prius determinata poſſent induci. Poſſet enim quiſpiam inſiſtere/ꝙ non videantur omnia
pacem deſiderare: eo ꝙ plurima conſpiciuntur alteritate & diſcretione ab alijs gaudere
/neq; ſuapte natura quieſcere velle ſed ſemper moueri. vt corpora cœleſtia. Ratio
autem pacis: in vnitate & quiete conſiſtit. ¶Reſpondet ſacratus pater/ꝙ ſi ita obijciẽs
per alteritatem & diſcretionem intelligat cuiuſq; rei peculiarem proprietatem: quæ ſane
in diuerſis eſt diuerſa/cum nichil eorum quæ ſubſiſtunt/ſuam velit naturalem proprietatem
deperdi aut perire: non eſt illud inficiandum ꝙ permulta/alteritate & diſcretione
gaudeant. quinimmo idipſum: pacis etiam eſſe deſiderium eſt ſtatuendũ. Deſiderant
enim omnia & ſingula: ad ſeipſa habere pacẽ atq; eſſe coalita. vt ignis ad ſeipſum/
& terra ad ſeipſam. Amant itidem omnia in eo eſſe ſtatu ac diſpoſitione: vt a ſeipſis
decidere/& a ſuis dimoueri nequeant natiuis proprietatibus. Nempe ipſa diuina
pax/& perfecta & cuncta perficiens: naturalis per ſingula proprietatis eſt cuſtos atq;
conſeruatrix/ vnamquamq; in ſua ſyncæritate & integritate ſine permixtione ſeruans.
Eadem quoq; per pacificas ſuæ prouidentiæ rationes/omnia a ſeditione/ diſſenſione &
confuſione aliena: & ad ſeipſa/& adinuicem vnumq; ad alterum cuſtodit. cuncta etiam
per ſtabilem & firmam virtutem: ad congruam naturæ eorum pacem atq; indimobilem
conſtantiã figit. Cum igitur ex indita ipſis diuina lege ea quæ moueri nata ſunt cupiant
ſuapte natura non a motu interquieſcere ac torpeſcere ocio/ſed ſecundum propriam
naturam & motum operari: id reuera quod dictum eſt in obiectione/ nonnulla ſcilicet
quietem recuſare/motumq; moliri/ diuinæ omnium pacis eſt deſiderium. quæ omnia
in ſua natura ne poſſint decidere aut ab ea deficere conſeruat: & cunctorum quæ
natura mobilia ſunt/proprietatem inſitam ac mobilem vim (ne ab ipſis dimoueatur ac
diſpereat) cuſtodit. Et huiuſmodi ſubſiſtentia/ cum ſecundum naturam ſuam mouentur:
ad ſeipſa pacem habentia/& eodem quem natura expoſcit modo diſpoſita: quæ
ad ſuum ſpectant officium faciunt. Verum ſi ſupradicta obijciens/ nomine alteritatis
intelligat diſſenſionem & diuiſionem ex pacis prolapſione prouenientem/& aſſerat idcirco
pacem non eſſe omnibus amabilẽ: illi reſpondendum eſt/nichil omnino eſſe quod
ab omni prorſus cõiunctione defecerit/& nullam ad aliquid ſeruet vnionẽ. Quod enim
penitus eſt inſtabile/interminatum/nuſq̃ conſiſtẽs ac indefinitum/per omnimodã pacis
priuationẽ oppoſitas cõditiones inducẽtis: neq; illud eſt/neq; in numero eorũ quę ſubſiſtũt 164
reponitur. ¶Cæterũ ſi dubitationem mouens dicat eos pacẽ odio proſequi ac aſpernari:
qui litibus & iurgijs/ mutationibus quoq; ac inſtabilitate gaudent. Et cum pleriq;
comperiantur tales: ideo non omnia pacem deſiderare contendat. reſpondet beatus

pater/ꝙ qui huiuſmodi ſunt: exigua adhuc pacifici deſiderij ſpecie detinentur & quoquo
pacto pacem licet adumbrate deſiderant/dum varijs affectionibus percelluntur &
quatiuntur. quas inſipienter & imperite cupiūt ſedare/illis indulgendo: cum per hoc acrius
& vehementius inualeſcant ac inſurgāt huiuſmodi perturbationes. Arbitranturqꝫ
qui ita affecti ſunt ſe pacem habere: ſi mollibus ac animos eneruantibus voluptatibus
potiundis laxent habenas. indignanturqꝫ & perturbātur: ſi eis voluptatibus quæ in ſeipſos
præualuerunt & obtinuere dominatū/fraudentur ac priuentur. Porro & locus iſte
nunc efflagitat: vt etiam aliquid de eximia CHRISTI clementia/pacem in hunc mundum
per ſaluificum ſuū in carnem aduentū profundente dicamus. per quam diſcūt homines
non amplius bella gerere: neq; ſecum & quiſq; ad ſeipſum/inter carnē & ſpiritū.
neqꝫ adinuicem & vnus cum alio: per contentionē aut odium. neqꝫ aduerſus angelos:
rectis eorum *monitis & ad deum ductibus obnitendo. Sed cum ipſis angelis* potius diuina
opera agere debent nunc homines/& deiformē ducere vitā: iuxta ſalutarem IHESV
CHRISTI doctrinam ac inſtitutionē. qui omnia bona in omnibus hominibus operatur/
pacemqꝫ ſancit a mundi initio præordinatā: atqꝫ per ſacratiſſimū diſpenſationis
ipſius carnis myſteriū huic mundo inuectam. quo ſane ſacramento/et nos homines ſibiipſi
CHRISTVS *in ſpiritu reconciliat*: & per ſeipſum nos etiam ſuo patri reconciliatos
reddit. Verum de iſtis eminentiſſimis diuinæ benignitatis in nos donis/diffuſius in
libro theologicarū inſtitutionū a beato patre determinatū eſt: et ſacrorū eloquiorū ſententijs/
165 ipſius aſſertiones ſunt cōprobatæ. ¶ Verū quoniā beatus Timotheus diuinum
patrem Dionyſium aliquādo per epiſtolam interrogauerat: quidnā eſſe putaret ipſum
eſſe ſiue ens/ipſam vitam/ipſamqꝫ ſapientiam/et ſimilia. ſcripſeratqꝫ ſe multum moueri
admiratione: ꝙ ſacer Dionyſius aliquando deū vocauerit ipſam vitam/aliquando vero
vitæ ipſius authorem. ſic interdum dixerit deum eſſe ipſam ſapientiā: interdū autem
ipſum eſſe authorē ſapientiæ/et ita in cæteris. idcirco hoc loco conſtituit beatus pater/
ſanctū dei virū Timotheū hac dubitatione ex verbis ipſius cōcepta liberare atqꝫ eximere.
Et primū vt alias latius dicta/nūc breuibus repetantur: nullā habet cōtrarietatē aut
repugnantiā/dicere deū eſſe ipſā vitā/ipſā virtutē aut ipſam pacē: et dicere eundē eſſe
ipſius vitæ/ipſius virtutis/aut ipſius pacis authorem. Nā attendēdo ea ipſa quæ ſunt/
& ea potiſſimum quæ primo ſunt condita: vt eſſentiam/vitam/ſapientiam in creaturas
propagatā/& per quā res ipſę dicūtur exiſtentes/viuētes & cognoſcentes/vt horū participes:
ipſe deus vt omnium quæ ſunt author appellatur. quare etiam recte dicitur author
ipſius eſſe/ipſius vitæ/& ipſius ſapientiæ ſic acceptorum: vt inſinuant dona dei in res
conditas deriuata. Attendendo vero deum ipſum vt ſuper omnia eſt/etiam primo
condita: vtpote ſuper ipſas rerum participationes illi ſindultas/ & vt ſupreme atq; ſuperſubſtantialiter
omnia quæ ſunt ſupergreditur: ipſe deus dicitur ipſum eſſe/ipſa vita/
ipſa ſapientia. vt iſta diuinas inſinuant proprietates deo intimas atqꝫ connaturales: nō
quidem vt extra progredientes/ſed inſeparabiliter illi imanētes. Qꝫ ſi quis interrogauerit:
quid eſſe tandem dicatur ipſum ens/ipſa vita/ipſa ſapientia/& quæcunqꝫ talia abſolute
eſſe/atqꝫ ex deo principaliter & primo ſubſiſtere ponuntur. reſpondendum eſt illud
nō anfractuoſis implexū eſſe ambagibus ſed rectitudinē veritatis habere/& nudā manifeſtamqꝫ
explanationem. Non enim putandum eſt ipſum eſſe/ſiue per ſe eſſe/diuinam
aliquam eſſe ſubſtantiam ſub deitate ſuprema conſtitutam/ aut angelicam. quæ quidem
vt miniſtra & cooperatrix ſummi dei: ſit cauſa ſubſiſtendi omnibus quæ ſunt. ſed
ipſum eſſe diuinum quod ſuperſubſtantiale eſt: omnibus initium & cauſa ſubſiſtēdi eſt.
Neqꝫ itidē dicendū eſt viuificam/vitæqꝫ indultricem eſſe aliquā deitatē aliam: prȩter ſupremam
illam diuinamqꝫ vitam/omniū quæ ſunt & ipſius quoqꝫ vitæ in omnia propagatæ
illi participātia authorē. Neqꝫ (vt paucis abſoluātur oīa) ſentiendū eſt eſſentias cœleſtes
atq; ſubſtātias vt angelicas aut ſubdiuinas: eſſe principales rerum conditrices ac
productrices. quemadmodum ponere viſi ſunt nonnulli: qui huiuſmodi cœleſtes ſubſtantias
confinxerunt eſſe creaturarum deos & opifices. & auſi ſunt illos aſtruere deos:
quos vt libere & ingenue veritas proferatur/ neqꝫ ipſi qui eos aſtruxerunt nouere:
quādoquidem nullo modo ſunt/neq; patres eorum huiuſmodi deos cognouerūt. Cęterū
ipſum eſſe/ipſa vita/ipſa deitas/ſi abſolute principaliter & primitiue ſumantur atqꝫ
ſecundum cauſam: ſunt vna cauſa quæ deus eſt/et vnum principium omnia principia
excedens/atq; ſuperſubſtantiale. Si vero ipſę eædem appellationes ſumuntur partici-

pabiliter/contracte & ſecundario: tunc dicuntur eſſe virtutes illæ prouidentiſſimæ/ ex
deo minime ſecundum ſubſtantiam communicabili prouenientes/atq; in ipſas creaturas
tranſfuſæ. vtpote ipſa ſubſtantificatio ſubſtantiarumq; efficientia/ ipſa viuificatio
viuentiumq; productio/& ipſa per ſe deificentia ſiue deificatio. quibus donis & perfectionibus
diuinis extra propagatis/quando ſecundum modum ſibi congruentem creata
participant: & ſunt & merito dicuntur ſubſiſtentia/viuentia/& diuina. Et eodẽ modo
de aliis dicendũeſt. Hanc ob rem deus ipſe qui ſupreme bonus eſt/author eſſe merito
dicitur eorum quæ prima ſunt & primo participantur a rebus: vt ipſius eſſe/ ipſius
vitæ & ipſius ſapiẽtiæ. Deinde author eſſe dicitur ipſorum integre omniũ: vt eſſentiæ
vniuerſalis/totius vitæ & totius ſapientiæ. vt ſcilicet omnia ambiãt a quibus participãtur.
Demũ idem dicitur eſſe author ipſorũ donorũ particularium: vt particularis eſſentiæ/
particularis vitæ aut ſapiẽtiæ/ vt in vno aut altero eorum quæ ipſis participant accipiuntur.
Rurſum deus ipſe dicitur eſſe author eorum: quæ perfecte ſupradictis & plene
participant. qualia ſunt cœleſtia agmina/ipſo eſſe/vita/& ſapientia excellentiſſime
inter creaturas participantia. Deniq; & author eſt eorum: quæ ſupradictis ex parte ſolum
& imperfecte participant. qualia ſunt corpora ſenſibilia: quorum aliqua participãt
ipſo eſſe non tamen vita. nonnulla ipſius eſſe & vitæ participationẽ habent: nõ tamen
ſapientiæ. Ad hæc/imperfecto admodũ modo & ignobili ſi ad ſupercœleſtia conferantur: 166
hæc materialia/ſupradictis participare dinoſcentur. ¶ Neq; opus eſt (inquit) plura
de his diſſerere: aut in mediũ afferre. quoniam nonnulli ex beatiſſimi patris præceptoribus
(quorum hic citat teſtimoniũ) dixerũt eũ qui ſupreme bonus eſt & ſummus deus:
eſſe ipſius bonitatis & deitatis authorem. vocantes in illa ſua ſententia bonitatem &
deitatem: beneficum illud atq; deificum donum ex deo profluens/per quod ea quæ cõdita
ſunt: bonitatis & deitatis participationem obtinent. Ita ipſam pulchritudinem/ dicunt
largitatem ex deo prodeuntem: pulchritudinis omnis in rebus effectricem. & totam/
vniuerſalemq; pulchritudinem: quæ omnia ambit & complectitur pulchra. & particularem
pulchritudinem: quæ in hoc aut illo pulchrorum genere conſideratur. & omnino
pulchra: quæ integram habẽt pulchritudinis participationẽ/vt cœleſtes ſpiritus.
& in parte pulchra: quæ imperfecte & exiliter ipſi pulchritudini ſunt participantia. vt
hæc corpora ſenſibilia. Et quæcunq; alia eodem modo cum ſuperioribus dicuntur: indicantia
prouidentias ac bonitates quæ a creaturis participantur/procedentes exuberanti
profuſione atq; emanantes ex deo: nequaq̃ ſecundum ſubſtantiã & id quod eſt participabili
a rebus/tametſi ſecundum dona ſua & perfectionum ſuarum deriuationes ab
eis participetur. vt ipſe deus qui author eſt omnium: vltra omnia & ſupra omnia ſit. vt
etiam is qui omnem ſubſtantiam/ naturamq; tranſcendit: illis omnino emineat quæ
ſubſtantiæ ac naturæ ſecundum modum ſibi congruum participationem ſortiuntur.

¶ De ſancto ſanctorum/rege regũ/domino dñorũ/deo deorũ. Cap. XII. 167

VErum enimuero quoniam quæcunq; de his dicenda erant/
congruũ (vt reor) finem acceperunt: laudare iam conuenit
infinitis nominibus præditum/& vt ſanctum ſanctorum/
E & regem regum/& regnãtem in ſæculum & in æternum &
vltra/& dominũ dominorum/deumq; deorum. Ac primo
quidem dicendum/ quid ipſam ſanctitatem eſſe putemus/
quid regnum/quid dominationem/quidue deitatem: & quid ſcriptura hac
Sanctitas. geminatione nominum ſignificare velit. Itaq; ſanctitas quidem eſt vt ſecũdum
nos loquamur: omni ſcelere libera/ perfectaq; & penitus incoinquinata
Regnum. mundicia. Porro regnũ eſt omnis termini/& ornatus/legiſq; & iuris/ordiniſq;
Dñatio. diſtributio. Dominatio vero/ non modo inter deteriores eminentia:
verum omnis quoq; honeſtorum ac bonorum perfecta poſſeſſio/veraq; et
Deitas. indemutabilis firmitas. vnde & a libera poteſtate dominandi facienda: &
F dominatio/& dominus/et dominans dicitur. At deitas græce theiotes iti-

dem: ꝙ proſpiciat cuncta/prouidentia bonitateqꝫ mirabili/ et circũ omnia currat/cunctaqꝫ contineat/& ſe omnia repleat/atqꝫ vniuerſa trãſcendat quę prouidentia illius vtuntur. Hæc igitur in ſupereminente õnibus cauſa/ abſolute laudanda ſunt. appellandumqꝫ illã: excellentẽ ſanctitatẽ & dominationem/regnũqꝫ ſupremũ/et ſimpliciſſimã deitatẽ. Ex ipſa enim continuo ac repẽte exorta eſt et diſtributa omnis mera diligentia totius ſyncerę mũdiciæ/omnis rerum ordo/lex atqꝫ diſtinctio: inconcinnitatẽ et inæqualitatẽ atqꝫ incongruentiã eliminans/ & ad ordinatiſſimã identitatẽ ac rectitudinem geſtiens/et quæ ipſius participationẽ promeruerunt circũagẽs. omnis perfecta/bonorũqꝫ omniũ exacta poſſeſſio. omniũ benigna prouidẽtia inſpectrix/et omnia continens quæ prouidentur: ſeipſam ad eos qui conuertuntur in deum aſſumendos clementer inſinuans. ¶ Quoniã vero exuberanter pleniſſimus eſt omnium author: per vnã excellẽtẽ cũcta excellentiã/ ſanctus ſanctorum prædicatur/et reliqua ſimiliter per exuberãtiſſimã cauſam/præcipuãqꝫ eminentiã. ac ſi dicamus. quantũ excellũt ijs quæ nõ ſunt: ea quæ ſunt ſancta/aut diuina/aut dominantia ſiue regnãtia: quantũqꝫ rurſus participantibus eminẽt participationes ipſæ: tantũ ijs quæ ſunt oĩbus/ is qui ſuper omnia eſt ſuperior emicat/participãtibuſqꝫ oĩbus atqꝫ participationibus: imparticipabilis author. Sãctos autẽ et reges & dños et deos ſcripturæ appellãt: quæ in ſingulis ſũt magis principales diſtinctiones. per quas ſecundæ atqꝫ ſequentes/diuina percipientes munera: diſtributionis illarum ſimplicitatem circa ſuas multiplicant differẽtias. quarum primæ varietatem: prouide ac diuine ad ſuam colligunt vnitatem.

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Sãctus ſanctorum.
Rex regũ.
Dominus dominorũ.
De⁹ deorũ

E

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶ Et vt ſanctum ſanctorum/& regem regum/ & regnantem in ſæculum/& in æternũ & vltra/& dominum dominorum/deumqꝫ deorum. His excellentijs ſumma diuinitas/quæ omnem excellentiam ſuperexcellenter ſuperat: in ſacris eloquijs celebratur/ coliturqꝫ. In primis vt ſanctus ſanctorum: ſummus deus celebratur. Daniel cap. nono. Angelus Danieli. Tu autem animaduerte ſermonem & intellige viſionem. Septuaginta hebdomades abbreuiatæ ſunt ſuper populũ tuũ & ſuper vrbem ſanctam tuam/vt conſummetur præuaricatio: & finẽ accipiat peccatũ/& deleatur iniquitas/& adducatur iuſtitia ſempiterna: & impleatur viſio & prophetia/& vngatur ſanctus ſanctorũ. Et quoties in ſymbolis ſanctus ſanctorũ dicatur in Exodo/ Leuitico & alijs ſacris libris: longum eſſet colligere. Rex regũ. Paulus prima ad Timotheũ epiſtola cap. ſexto. Præcipio tibi corã deo qui iuſtificat omnia/ & CHRISTO IHESV qui teſtimoniũ reddidit ſub Pontio Pilato bonam confeſſionem: vt ſerues mandatum ſine macula/irrepræhenſibile: vſqꝫ in aduentũ domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI. quem ſuis temporibus oſtendet: beatus/et ſolus potens/rex regũ/& dominus dominantium. Regnans in ſæculũ. Pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quartus. Regnum tuũ regnũ omnium ſæculorum: & dominatio tua in omni generatione & generationem. Et pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quintus. Regnabit dominus in ſæcula: deus tuus Sion in generatione et generationẽ. Regnans in æternũ et vltra. Exodus cap. decimo quinto. Sanctuarium tuum domine: quod confirmauerunt manus tuæ. Dominus regnabit in æternum et vltra. Dominus dominorũ. Pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus quintus. Confitemini domino dominorum: quoniã in æternum miſericordia eius. Deus deorum. Pſalmus quadrageſimus nonus. Deus deorum/dominus locutus eſt et vocauit terram. Et pſalmus centeſimus triceſimus quintus. Confitemini deo deorum: quoniam in æternũ miſericordia eius. ¶ At deitas gręce theiotes itidẽ: ꝙ proſpiciat cuncta/prouidentia bonitateqꝫ mirabili: et circum omnia currat. Vnde deitatem/ſiue diuinitatẽ Græci theiotetа dicunt a theoreo/ aut theio. et theoreo proſpicio et contemplor: theio vero quod et theo/ſignificat curro. Sed gręca a Græcis vlterius ſunt requirẽda.

F

¶DVODECIMI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Diuinas appellationes quatuor/ geminatis nominibus expreſſas hoc 167
loco ediſſerit ſacer Dionyſius: proponens in principio ꝙ quoniam
quæcunqꝫ de ſupradictis nuncupationibus diuinis erant dicenda/ iã
ad ſuum finem perducta ſunt: congruum erit nunc ipſum deum permultis
& certo indeterminatis numero nominibus inſignitum/ laudare
vt ſanctum ſanctorum/ & regem regum/ & regnantem in ſæculum
& in æternum & vltra/ et ut dominũ dominorũ/ deũq; deorum. Et primo
quidem loco/ more doctrinali dicendum eſt: quidnam ſit ipſa ſanctitas/ quid regnũ/
quid dominatio/ quid deitas. & quid ſancta ſcriptura per hãc nominum geminationem
Sanctitas. ſignificare velit. Itaqꝫ ſanctitas eſt/ vt ſecundum humanum morem fiat ſermo: mũdicia
Regnum. corporis et animi/ omni ſcelere libera/ perfectaqꝫ et penitus incoinquinata. Regnũ autẽ
eſt cuiq; facta pro ſuo modo termini diſtributio et ipſius ornatus: legiſqꝫ qua viuendũ
Dñatio. eſt et iuris et ordinis conſtitutio. Dominatio vero non modo eſt inter imperfectiores et
inferiores eminẽtia: verũ etiam bonorũ & honeſtorũ perfecta poſſeſſio/ veraqꝫ & indemutabilis
in bono firmitas. Vnde et a libera dominandi poteſtate quam habent qui dominatum
gerunt/ in ſuos ſubditos: et dominatio et dominus et dominans habet denominationem.
Deitas. Demum deitas gręce theiotes dicitur: ꝙ proſpectét cuncta deus ſua prouidentia
ac bonitate ſingulari/ et circum omnia currat ambiatqꝫ omnia ſuæ prouidentiſſimæ
gubernationis cura. ꝙ etiam cuncta contineat ac cõſeruet/ et ſeipſo cuncta repleat:
atqꝫ vniuerſa tranſcendat entia quæ illius vtuntur prouidentia ac ſuſtentantur. Itaqꝫ
hæc quatuor ſupradicta: in ſupereminẽte rebus omnibus cauſa abſolute et principaliter
laudãda ſunt/ eſtq; ipſa merito appellãda: excellens ſanctitas et dominatio/ regnũq;
ſupremũ et ſimpliciſſima deitas. Ex ipſa enim ſumma omniũ cauſa in ipſo mundi initio/
protinus exorta eſt omnis ſyncæra diligentia totius puritatis et ſyncæritatis impermixtæ
in creaturis. vt non ſint ſpiritualia carnalibus confuſa/ neqꝫ rerum proprietates per
confuſionẽ inquinatæ. Eſt enim in deo ſuprema mundicia et puritas: cuius imaginem et
ſpeciẽ rebus omnibus cuiq; pro ſuo captu impreſſit. ſpecioſumq; hunc mundi ornatum
diligenter et gnauiter fabricatus eſt: vt in eo eluceant ſuæ mũdiciæ ſignacula rebus indita.
quare ipſi merito ſecundũ rationem prius aſſignatã attribuitur ſanctitas. Ex ipſa itidem
ſuprema rerũ cauſa diſpoſitus eſt omnis rerũ ordo/ lex atqꝫ diſtinctio: omnẽ incõuenientiã/
diſproportionem et incongruitatem a rebus propellens/ et ad diſpoſitiſſimã
æqualitatem rectitudinemqꝫ aſpirans/ ac ea omnia quæ ipſius ſupremæ cauſæ participationem
ſunt aſſecuta: dirigens et moderans. Per diffinitionẽ igitur antepoſitam: ipſi ſupremæ
cauſæ conuenit etiam regnum. Rurſum ex eadem ſumma rerũ cauſa ortum habet
bonorum omniũ perfecta et integra poſſeſſio. Igitur et ipſius ſecundum rationem
iam datam eſt dominatio. Deniqꝫ ex ipſa ſuprema omnium cauſa et in ipſa eſt benigna
prouidentia/ inſpectrix omnium/ et omnia conſeruans quibus prouidentiæ curã impendit:
atqꝫ ſeipſam clementer communicans rationalibus creaturis quę cõuertuntur in
deum/ vt eas ad ſe ſubuehat ac promoueat. Ex quo liquidum eſt per deitatis rationem 168
modo adductã: ipſi ſupremæ omniũ cauſæ deitatem eſſe attribuẽdã. ¶At vero quoniã
deus omniũ author/ affluenter omniũ perfectionum eſt pleniſſimus: nominatur ſanctus
ſanctorũ geminato ſanctitatis nomine per excellentiã ſingularẽ ſanctitatis/ cũcta trãſcẽdentẽ.
& reliqua ſimiliter vtpote rex regum/ dominus dominorum & deus deorũ prædicatur:
per inſignẽ exuberantiã & præcipuã eminẽtiã. perinde atq; ſi quis diceret. quãtum
ea quæ ſunt ſancta regnantia/ dominantia & diuina: excellũt ijs quæ nõ ſunt talia.
& q̃tũ ipſæ participationes vt bonitas/ entitas/ vita/ ſapiẽtia: eminẽt ſuis participãtibus
ſcilicet ijs quæ ſunt bona/ entia/ viuẽtia & cognoſcẽtia: tãto is qui eſt ſuper omnia/ ſublimior
emicat ijs õnibus quæ ſunt. & tanto itidẽ ipſe author oĩm/ imparticipabilis ſcd̄m
ſubſtãtiã & id quod eſt: ſuperior eſt oĩbus participãtibus/ vt bonis/ entibus/ viuẽtibus &
ſapientibus: & oĩbus etiã participationibus/ vt bonitate/ entitate/ vita/ ſapiẽtia & cęteris.
Porro diuinę ſcripturę appellãt in ãgelis et hoĩbus eos etiã ſãctos/ & reges/ et dños/
et deos: qui in ſuo genere magis principales ſortiũtur diſtinctiones/ ordines & gradus.
vt in cœleſtibus ſpiritibus: illos qui cæteris ſuperiores et eminẽtiores ſunt. & in hoĩbus:
qui ſupremũ obtinẽt dignitatis & pręſidẽtię gradum. per quos quidem primos et ſummos:
ſecundi et ſequentes diuina ſuſcipiunt dona/ in ſeipſos deriuata ac traiecta. Et in

huiuſmodi perceptione munerũ:ipſi poſteriores multiplicãt in varias differẽtias/& mul-
tifariam diuidũt ſimplicitatem diſtributionis ipſorum ſupremorũ & angelorum et homi-
num.ſicut & ediuerſo primi:varietatem & multiplicitatẽ differentiarũ ipſorum inferiorũ
prouidentiſſima ac diuina ratione conſtringũt ac colligunt ad ſuam vnitatẽ ac ſimplici-
tatem.Quod enim eſt vnicũ & ſimplex in ſupremis diſtinctionibus cum humanis tum
angelicis:idem ſane eſt multiplex & diuiduũ ſecundum diſtributionem in inferioribus.
perinde atqꝫ in ſole noſtro ſuperne emicante:vnica eſt lux refulgens & ſimplex.In ſubie-
ctis vero corporibus:multiplex illius diſtributio/variaqꝫ et late ſparſa eius irradiatio.

CAP.XIII.

¶De perfecto et vno.

169 HSta & de his dicta ſufficiãt:iam vero ad id quod eſt validiſ-
ſimum(ſi placet)diſſerendum:pergamus.De authore ſane G
omnium ſcriptura diuina/& omnia/et ſimul omnia prædi-
cat:et vt perfectum ipſum/& vt vnum celebrat.Perfectum H Perfectum.
quidem eſt/non ſolum vt in ſeipſo & per ſe perfectum:et ſe-
orſum vniformiter per ſeipſum ſeparatũ/totumqꝫ per totũ
perfectiſſimum.verum & vt perfectionem ſuperans:ex eo ꝙ ſupereminet
omnibus.omnemqꝫ terminat infinitatem:et ſupra omnem expanditur fi-
nem/atqꝫ a nullo capitur ſeu cõpræhenditur.ſed pertingit ad omnia ſimul/
et ſuper omnia:indeficientibus largitionibus & nunq̃ deſinentibus opera-
tionibus.Perfectum item dicitur et vt incremẽta non capiens/ſemperqꝫ per-
fectum:& vt imminui neſcium.quippe vt in ſeipſo omnia antea excellenter
habens:atqꝫ exuberans ſecundum vnam indeſinentem & eandem/pleniſſi-
mamqꝫ & nunq̃ imminuibilem largitatem.per quam omnia perfecta con-
170 ſummat:ſuaqꝫ perfectione replet.¶Vnũ vero deus eſt:quia õnia vnice eſt Vnum.
ſecũdum vnicam eminẽtiã vnitatis/omniumqꝫ vnum eſt cauſa:nunq̃ egre-
diendo/diſcedendoqꝫ ab vno.Nichil enim ex ijs quæ ſunt:vnius expers eſt.
cæterum vt numerus omnis/eſt monadis particeps:& vna dualitas/vnaqꝫ
dicitur decas/et dimidium vnum/& tertium/et decimum vnum:ſic omnia
et omnis omniũ particula/vnius eſt particeps.et quia eſt vnum:ſunt cuncta
quæ ſunt ſubſiſtentia.Neqꝫ enim vnum illud omnium cauſa/vnũ ex pluri-
bus:ſed ante vnum omne/omnemqꝫ multitudinem/vniuſqꝫ omnis ac mul-
titudinis diffinitiuum.neqꝫ enim eſt multitudo/quæ vnius ſit expers:ſed id
quidem quod plura partibus eſt/vnum eſt toto.et quod plura accidentibus:
vnum ſubiecto eſt.quodqꝫ plura numero aut virtutibus:vnum eſt et ſpecie.
et quod plura ſpeciebus:vnum eſt genere.et quod plura proceſſibus:vnum
principio eſt.nichilqꝫ eſt in rebus:quod non vnius aliqua ex parte ſit par-
ticeps.eius ſcilicet quod ſingulare per omnia:omnia & tota/omnia etiam
aduerſantia ſingulariter quoqꝫ coappræhendit.et ſine vno quidem/mul-
titudo nõ eſt:erit vero vnum ſine multitudine/ſicuti & monadem ante om-
nem multiplicatum numerum ponimus.Et ſi omnibus omnia coniuncta/
counitaqꝫ quis ponat:erunt omnia toto vnum.Et id præterea ſciendum:ꝙ
ſecundum vniuſcuiuſqꝫ ſpeciem ante animo præconceptam/coniuncta eſſe
dicuntur quæ coniuncta ſunt.eſtqꝫ vnum:omniũ veluti elementum.Deniqꝫ
ſi vnum tollas:neqꝫ totum erit/neqꝫ pars aliqua/neqꝫ aliud quicq̃ in rebus. I
171 Omnia enim in ſeipſo:vnum vniformiter pręaccipit/atqꝫ cõplectitur.¶Hac

nempe ratione ſacra eloquia diuinitatem totam vt omnium cauſam:vnius
appellatione cōcelebrāt.et vnus deus ac pater/& vnus dominus IHESVS
CHRISTVS:et vnus atq; idem ſpiritus per excellens totius diuinæ vnitatis
indiuiduum/eminētēq; ſimplicitatem:in qua ſunt omnia ſingulariter
collecta atq; coniuncta/& ante ſuperſubſtantialiter compræhenſa.Quocirca
& omnia ad ipſam iuſte referūtur/atq; redigūtur:a qua/& ex qua/et per
quam/et in qua/& ad quam omnia ſunt/et conſtituta ſunt/& permanent/
et continentur ac implentur/atq; conuertūtur.Nichil deniq; in ijs quæ ſunt
inuenies:quod non vno(ſecundum quod/omnis diuinitas ſuperſubſtātialiter
nominatur)ſit id quod eſt/& perficiatur/atq; ſeruetur.¶Et expedit vt 172
nos quoq; a multis ad vnum virtute diuinæ vnitatis conuerſi:vnice laudemus
totam atq; vnam deitatem/vnum/omnium cauſam.quod ante omne
vnum omnemq; multitudinem/& partem et totum/& terminū et indeterminationē/
finemq; & infinitatem eſt:quod omnia quæ ſunt/ipſumq; eſſe
determinat.quod omnium & totorum omnium ſimul/et ante omnia et ſuper
omnia ſingulariterq; eſt cauſa:quod ſuper ipſum vnū eſt/ipſumq; quod
vnum eſt terminat.namq; vnum quod eſt:inter ea quæ ſunt cōnumeratur.
Porro numerus:ſubſtantiæ particeps eſt.vnum vero illud ſuperſubſtātiale:
et vnum quod eſt/& omnem numerum terminat.ipſumq; eſt & vnius/et
numeri/& quæ ſunt omnium:principium/et cauſa/& numerus/et ordo.Idcirco
et vnitatis ac trinitatis appellatione celebratur:quæ eſt ſuper ōnia deitas.
neq; vnitas/neq; trinitas:aut a nobis aut a quouis alio cognita eſt.Verum
vt et ineffabilē ipſius vnionē & diuinā fœcūditatē celebremus:trinitatis
atq; vnitatis ſacratiſſima appellatione/omne nomen excedentē appellamus/
ſubſiſtentibuſq; ſuperſubſtātialē nominamus.Porro nulla monas aut
trinitas/neq; numerus/neq; vnū neq; fœcūditas/neq; aliud quicq̃ conditū/
aut creaturæ alicui cognitū:arcanū illud(quod ſermonē omnē & intelligentiam
ſuperat)ſummæ deitatis quę ſuper omnia altiſſime eminet/aperit.neq; 173
nomen ipſius eſt/neq; ſermo:ſed inacceſſibilis emicat.¶Et ne ipſius quidem
bonitatis quaſi congruū illi nomē offerimus:ſed affectu ac deſiderio
aliquid de ineffabili natura illa intelligēdi ac dicendi/reuerētiæ plenū in primis
illi nomen dedicamus:in quo tamē a theologis non diſſentimus:licet
multū a rerū veritate deſtituamur.Idcirco ipſi quoq; aſcēſum qui fit per negationes
prætulerūt:vtpote animā a cognatis ſibi auertētem/et per omnes
diuinas intelligētias incedentē.a quibus excipitur longe:quod ſuper omne
nomē eſt/omnēq; ſermonē/atq; ſcientiā.poſtremo autē omniū ipſi cōiungentē/
quātum & nobis illi iungi fas eſt.¶Iſtas nos intelligibiles diuinas 174
appellationes congeſſimus:et vt potuimus explanare ſtuduimus.nō modo
non ſatis digne ac diligēter id munus executi(id enim veraciter et de ſe angeli
dicerēt)neq; quidē angelicas laudes aſſecuti:quādoquidē extremis etiā
angelis præſtātiſſimi theologi noſtri ſint inferiores.neq; theologis ipſis/aut
ipſorū philoſophiā aſſequētibus et cōſequētibus pares:verū ne ijs quidē qui
noſtri ordinis ſunt accedētes/illis ipſis longe inferiores ſumus.Itaq; ſi quidē
rite iſta diximus/et pro modulo noſtro diuinis explicādis nominibus ſatis

Pia et humilis beati patris concluſio:& libri ꝑoratio.

animo inuigilauimus: authori bonorū omniū res tāta accepta referatur. qui dedit primo vt diceremus: deinde vt bene diceremus. Sed et si quid a nobis omissum est ex ijs quæ tantūdē valēt: illud quoqꝫ eisdē rationibus/eisdemqꝫ intelligētiæ modis supplere oportebit. Porro si hęc aut minus recte/aut minus plene diximus/& a veritate seu in toto seu in parte deuiauimus: erit humanitatis tuæ corrigere non spōte ignorantē: sciētiamqꝫ tradere discere cupienti/atqꝫ ferre opem nō satis neruorū habēti/& curare nolentē egrotare. et alia quidē ex teipso inuēta/alia vero ab alijs mutuata/cuncta aute a summo bono accepta: trāsfundere in nos. Neqꝫ pigeat amicū fouere beneficio. Vides nēpe vt nos quoqꝫ nichil ex traditis nobis sacerdotalibus rationibus intra nos ipsos cōtinuimus: sed integras illas/atqꝫ in nullo violatas & tibi et sāctis alijs viris tradidimus. faciemusqꝫ id quoad et nos dicere sufficiemus: et ij quibus dicitur idonei erūt ad audiendū/in nullo traditionē violātes/nisi forte ad intelligēdum aut eloquendū infirmiores erimus. Verū ista quidē vt deo placitū erit explicabuntur. Erit autē iste spiritualiū dei nominationū quātum ad susceptū opus pertinet finis: transibimus autem nunc deo duce ad significatiuam theologiam conscribendam.

Significatiua theologia.

G

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶De authore sane omniū scriptura diuina & omnia/ et simul omnia prædicat. Et ōnia seorsum prædicat: quādo ex omniū nominibus authorē omnium celebrat. vt cap. primo huius libri diuinorū nominū dictū est: in quo ex supremorum nominibus/infimorū & mediorū (per quæ/ reliqua non expressa intelligūtur) omnium author celebratur. simul autē atq; collecte ipsum omnia esse prędicat: vt cū diuinus Paulus epistola ad Ephesios cap. primo ait. Et quæ sit supereminēs magnitudo virtutis eius in nos: qui credimus secundū operationē potentię virtutis eius. quā operatus est in CHRISTO suscitās illū a mortuis/& cōstituens ad dexterā suā in cœlestibus/supra omnem principatum & potestatē/et virtutē/& dominationē: et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc sæculo sed etiā in futuro. Et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius: et ipsum dedit caput super omnē ecclesiā/ quæ est corpus ipsius/& plenitudo eius: qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur. Et ad Colossenses cap. tertio. Nolite mentiri inuicē/expoliantes vos veterē hominē cum actibus suis: et induentes nouū eū qui renouatur in agnitionem dei/secundū imaginē eius qui creauit eum. vbi nō est gētilis & iudęus/circūcisio et præputiū/barbarus & scytha/seruus et liber/sed omnia et in omnibus CHRISTVS.

H

¶Perfectū quidē est/nō solū vt in seipso & per se perfectū. Perfectus merito dicitur deus: qui omniū perfectio est/atqꝫ superperfectus. Mattheus cap. quinto. Estote ergo vos perfecti: sicut & pater vester cœlestis perfectus est.

I

¶Hac nēpe ratione sacra eloquia diuinitatē totam vt omniū causā/vnius appellatione cōcelebrāt. Paulus ad Ephesios cap. quarto. Vnum corpus/er vnus spiritus sicuti vocati estis in vna spe vocationis vestræ. Vnus dominus/vna fides/vnū baptisma. vnus deus & pater omniū: qui super omnes et per omnia & in omnibus nobis. Et prima ad Corinthios epistola cap. octauo. Et vnus dominus IHESVS: per quem omnia/et nos per ipsum.

¶DECIMITERTII CAPITIS COMMNTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

169 Postremo huius diuini operis loco/duas alias dei appellatiōes discutit sacer Dionysius: scilicet perfectū & vnū. dicēs ꝙ quoniā de superioribus dei nominibus satis āpla & sufficiēs facta est determinatio: reliquū est nūc ad illud disserēdū pergere quod est omniū potētissimū atqꝫ efficacissimū/vtpote perfectū & vnū. nichil enim perfecto potētius/nichil vno validius. Ab ipso enim perfecto: emanat omnis rerū perfectio/vigor et virtus. ab ipso itidē vno/omnis multitudo pēdet & sustentatur: non vnū a multis. ab vno omnia: nō ab ōnibus vnū. Ipsa plane diuina scriptura de deo omniū authore: et omnia seorsum/& simul atqꝫ cōiunctim omnia enūciat. ac inter cætera: ipsum vt perfectū & vnū prædicat. Perfectū quidē est deus/nō solū vt in seipso & per se perfectū: nō aliūde neq; ab extrinseco perfectionē suscipiēs. neq; solū vt seorsum vni-

formiter per ſeipſũ ſeparatũ/totũq; per totũ perfectiſſimũ: non habẽs in vna quidẽ parte maiorẽ perfectionẽ, in altera vero minorẽ/ſed omniquaq; vnifomẽ. Verum etiam perfectũ dicitur deus/vt perfectionẽ ſuperãs: ob idipſum ꝙ omnia trãſcendit/& omnẽ terminat indeterminatã numero aut mẽſura multitudinẽ & molem. et ſupra omnẽ rei ſubſiſtentis finẽ ſuperne expanditur: atq; a nullo capitur fine aut cõpræhẽditur. ſed pertingit ad omnia ſimul/& ſuper omnia: per indeficientes ſuorũ munerũ largitiones & nunq̃ deſinẽtes ſuæ ꝓuidẽtiæ operationes. Perfectũ itidẽ dicit̃ deus: vt incremẽta ſuæ perfectionis non capiẽs/more rerum inferiorũ/quæ ſenſim ad ſuã perfectionẽ perducũtur. ſed vt ſemper perfectũ: & diminutioni minime ſubiectũ. quoniã perfectionẽ omnẽ rebus indultam in ſeipſo ante excellenter habet: q̃ extra profluxerit. atq; exuberãter affluit in ipſius perfectionis cõmunicatione/ſecundũ vnã eandemq; largitatẽ: quæ pleniſſima eſt/nunq̃ deſinit aut exhauritur/neq; vnq̃ diminuitur. per quã ſane largitatẽ/omnia quæ in rebus conditis perfecta ſunt: abſoluit & cõſummat/ſuaq; perfectione replet. 170

Vnum.

¶At vero deus in ſacris litteris vnũ dicitur: quoniã ipſe eſt omnia vnice/ſecũdũ ſingularẽ vnitatis eminentiam in ipſo cõſiſtentẽ. et ipſum vnũ eſt omniũ cauſa: nũq̃ propter ſubſiſtentiũ multitudinem egrediẽdo aut diſcedẽdo ab vno. Nichil enim ex ijs quæ ſunt: vnius participatione aut denominatione vacat. ſed vt numerus omnis eſt vnitatis particeps/& binarius dicitur vnus/itidẽ & denarius/& dimidia cuiuſuis rei pars dicit̃ vna/et tertia pars/itẽ et decima dicitur vna: ſic omnia quæ ſubſiſtunt/vno participãt. et omnis cuiuſq; rei particula: vnius eſt particeps. et quia eſt vnũ tanq̃ cauſa & opifex omnium: ſunt etiã cuncta quæ ſunt ſubſiſtẽtia. Neq; putandũ eſt vnũ illud quod omniũ eſt cauſa/eſſe vnũ collectũ ex pluribus: aut ſumptũ ex numero pluriũ ſubſiſtentiũ. ſed ipſum eſt ante omne vnũ et ante õnẽ multitudinẽ: cuiuſq; vnius & multitudinis diffinitiuũ atq; determinatiuũ. Nulla nãq; eſt multitudo: quæ vnius participatione careat. ſed quod plura partibus eſt: vnũ eſt toto/vt domus. et quod plura eſt accidẽtibus: vnũ eſt ſubiecto. vt calidũ/ſiccũ/leue et lucidũ: vnus eſt ignis. quod itẽ plura numero eſt aut virtutibꝰ: vnũ eſt ſpecie. vt Ioãnes/Petrus et Paulus: in humana cõueniũt ſpecie. Et cũ cuiuſq; indiuidui ſit alia vis aliaq; ſingularis proprietas ab alterius indiuidui proprietate: quæ quidẽ ĩdiuiduales proprietates hic nomine virtutũ deſignãtur. multa ſane indiuidua diuerſas habẽtia huiuſmodi proprietates/vt Socrates Plato/et Cicero: eiuſdẽ ſpeciei habẽt rationẽ/ſcilicet humanæ. Et quod plura eſt ſpeciebus: vnũ eſt genere. vt homo/equus/aſinus/in vno genere animali cõueniũt. et quod plura eſt proceſſibus: vnũ eſt principio. vt multiplices in aere & oculis animaliũ illuminationes: ab vno prĩcipio ſcilicet luce ſolis prodeũt. et diuerſa ipſius vitæ in viuẽtibus diſtributio: in vnũ reducitur principiũ/diuinã ſcilicet & abſolutã vitã. Et vt in ſumma/res ipſa colligatur: nichil eſt in rebus ipſis & toto ſubſiſtẽtiũ numero/quod non vnius aliqua ex parte ſit particeps. illius ĩquã vnius/quod ſingulare & ſimplex per omnia: omnia & partes et tota/omnia etiã cõtraria et oppoſita/vt calida & frigida/humida & ſicca/ſimpliciter et vnice coappræhẽdit atq; ſimul ambit. Et certe ſine vno/multitudo eſſe nõ poteſt: cũ omnis multitudo ex vno oriatur/& ab eo pendeat. Vnũ autẽ ſine multitudine eſſe poteſt: ſicut fuit ante mundi cõſtitutionẽ deus vnus ſine creaturarũ multitudine. quẽadmodũ & monadẽ numeralẽ/ante omnẽ numerũ ex vnitatibus multiplicatũ atq; cõpoſitũ: recte ponunt arithmetici. Et ſiquis õnia ponat omnibus cõiuncta atq; coalita/more Anaxagorę ponẽtis quodlibet eſſe in quolibet: erũt tũc omnia vnũ toto/quoniã tũc eſſent in eodẽ toto quod cõſtituerẽt vnita. Illud tamẽ quod ex cõditione hic ponitur/õnia ſcilicet omnibus eſſe cõiũcta: nequaq̃ eſt ſimpliciter admittẽdũ/quoniã id incõfuſæ rerũ diſcretioni atq; diſtinctioni cõtrairet. Neq; illud itidẽ eſt ignorãdũ/ꝙ ea quæ cõiuncta ſunt in aliquo toto: dicũtur in illo eſſe cõiuncta ſecũdũ vniuſcuiuſq; partis ſpeciẽ/ante in animo efformatã atq; cõceptã. vt partes domus materialis cõiungũtur in domo: ſecũdũ exẽplar & effigiẽ domus formatã atq; effictã in mẽte artificis. et quæcũq; in toto vniuerſo rerũ genera cõiuncta ſunt: ſecũdũ imaginẽ in ipſius dei cõditoris mẽte ante effigiatã/ęternãq; rationẽ diuinã dicũtur eſſe cõiuncta/vt reuera vnũ ſit quaſi õniũ elemẽtũ atq; principiũ. Demũ ſi vnũ tollat̃ a rebus: neq; totũ erit vllũ/neq; pars aliqua/neq; aliud quicq̃ in rebus. quãdoquidẽ vnũ õnia in ſeipſo vniformiter ante accipit atq; cõpræhẽdit. haud aliter q̃ ſublata vnitate numerali nullus omnino erit numerus: quoniã vnitas ipſa õnẽ numerũ vnice & ſingulariter in ſe ãte habet ſecũdũ cauſã/atq; cõplectit̃. Et ſane permagna eſt analogia vnius in toto vniuerſo authoris/ad vnitatẽ numeralẽ: ſicut & rerũ creatarũ ad numeros. quẽadmodum in opuſculo de myſtica ſignificatione

171 numerorū diffuſius diſcuſſimus: ex hoc loco ſumptis affatim teſtimonijs. ¶Ob hāc ſane
rationē modo adductā/quia vnū rerū omniū eſt elmētū: ſacræ litteræ totā perfectāq; di-
uinitatē tanq̄ omniū cauſam/ vnius nūcupatione prædicāt. Et vnus eſſe laudat̄ deus pa-
ter/ & vnus dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS /et vnus itidē ſpiritus ſanctus. propter ex- 1. corin. 8.
cellentē totius diuinitatis indiuiduāq; vnitatē/ac eminētē ſimplicitatē. in qua quidē ſin-
gularitate ac vnitate: omnia quæ ſubſiſtūt/ ſimpliciter & vnice ſunt collecta et ante emi-
nēter cōpræhēſa. Quapropter & ōnia ad ipſam diuinā vnitatē merito referūtur atq; re-
ducūtur: a qua vt efficiēte/ex qua vt authore & cauſa/per quā vt ōniū formā et rationē/
in qua vt cōſeruāte & cōtinēte/et ad quā vt optimū & extremū finē omnia ſūt/et ordina
ta ſunt/et permanēt/cōtinētur/atq; cōuertūtur. referēdo ſingulas prępoſitionū cū ſuis ca
ſibus particulas: ad ſingula ſuo ordine poſtpoſita verba. Deniq; nichil in ijs quę ſunt in-
uenietur: quin per ipſum vnū ſit id quod eſt/& perficiat̄ & cōſeruetur. ſecūdū quod vnū:
172 omnis diuinitas ſuperſubſtātialiter denominatur. ¶Quin & illud expedire nūc videtur/
vt homines diuinorū myſteriorū ſtudioſi a multis ad vnū virtute diuinæ bonitatis con-
uerſi: vnice laudēt vnā ac totā deitatē/& vnū ipſum omniū cauſā/quod eſt ante omne
vnū omnēq; multitudinē/ante omnē partē & totū/ante omnē terminū et indetermina-
tionē/deniq; ante omnē finē & infinitatē. quod quidē vnū: ōnia quæ ſunt/et ipſum eſſe
in omnia diſtributū determinat. quod etiā omniū ſeorſum/& totorū omniū ſimul: eſt opi
fex et cauſa. quod ante omnia & ſuper ōnia/ſingulariter eſt. quinimmo quod ſuper ipſum
vnū rebus cōmunicatū ac diſtributū eſt/ipſūq; quod vnū eſt in rebus: terminat. Nēpe
vnū quod eſt in rebus: inter ea quæ ſunt recte numeratur. numerus autē: ſubſiſtētiæ eſt
particeps/atq; ipſo eſſe participat. Vnū vero illud ſuperſubſtātiale & diuinū: terminat ac
definit & vnū illud quod eſt in rebus et omnē etiā numerū. ipſumq; eſt principiū & cau-
ſa/numerus & ordo: et vnius & numeri et omniū quę ſubſiſtūt. Hāc ob cauſā ipſa deitas
quæ eſt ſuper omnia: celebratur appellatione vnitatis & trinitatis. Neq; tamē vnitas di-
uina neq; trinitas: aut ab hominibus aut ab angelis/ ſecūdū id quod eſt/cognita eſt. Ve-
rum vt ineffabilē deitatis in ſubſtātia vnionē/& in diuinarū perſonarū internis proceſſi-
bus fœcūditatē quoquo pacto prædicēt homines: nomināt deitatē excedētem omne no-
men/ſacratiſſima appellatione vnitatis ac trinitatis. et eā quæ ſuperſubſtātialis eſt: ſubſi-
ſtētium rerū nominibus vocāt. Verū neq; monas vlla/neq; trinitas/neq; numerus/neq;
vnū/neq; fœcūditas/nq; aliud quicq̄ creatū aut creaturæ alicui cognitū: aperit arcanū
illud & ſecretū diuinū/quod omnē virtutē ac intelligētiā tranſcēdit. neq; ipſa deitas vllo
173 exprimitur nomine aut ſermone: ſed inacceſſibilis remanet & innoīabilis. ¶Immo neq;
ipſius bonitatis nomē/tanq̄ ipſi deitati cōgruū aut accōmodū: recte aut digne homines
offerūt ac applicant. ſed affectu & deſiderio aliquid intelligēdi ac dicēdi de ineffabili illa
deitatis natura: nomē bonitatis reuerētiæ ac venerationis plenū/ante ōnia illi aſcribūt.
In quo tamē a diuinarū rerū tractatoribus nō diſſentiūt/licet multū a rerum veritate de-
ſtituātur: neq; eo nomine aut alio quouis/ipſam veritatē exacte aſſequātur. Hāc ob cau-
ſam theologi aſcēſum ad deū qui fit per negationē: prætulerūt illi modo inueſtigādi deū
qui fit per affirmationē. Nam cōſcēſus ille ad diuina per negationē/magis auertit animā
hunanā a cognatis & materialibus rebus: et ad ſpiritualia rectius erigit. Idē etiā per om-
nes diuinas notiones gradatim incedit: ab imis per media ad ſūma progrediēs/& om-
nia a deo auferēs. ꝙ ab omnibus huiuſmodi intelligētijs longe excipitur/ac ſupercolloca
tur id vnū: quod eſt ſuper omne nomē/ſuper omnē ſermonē/omnēq; ſcientiā. Poſtremo
174 aſcēſus ille per negationē nos cōiungit deo per cōtēplationis habitū: quātum nobis fas
eſt ipſi deo cōiungi. ¶Demū beatus pater piā & humilē plenāq; modeſtię ponit totius
operis cōcluſionē/& libri perorationē: ad Timotheū ipſū hæc verba dirigēs. Nos(inquit)
iſtas ſpirituales & intellectuales diuinas appellationes in vnū collegimus: & vtcūq; po-
tuimus eas explanare ſtuduimus. Fatemur tamē ingenue: ꝙ id munus non ſatis pro rei
dignitate/nec ſufficiēte diligētia ſumus executi. Id enim & ipſi cœleſtes ſpiritus de ſeip-
ſis veraciter dicerēt: ꝙ non ſatis digne nec ſufficiēter diuina nomina poſſent explicare.
Neq; in hoc opere angelicas laudes ſumus aſſecuti/ vt æqualiter & tātū diuina nomina
laudauerimus: quātum angeli in fœliciſſima beatorū regione ea celebrāt & prædicant.
Nam qui præſtātiſſimi ſunt inter homines/diuinarū rerū perſcrutatores: poſtremis etiā
angelis & infimis ſunt inferiores. Neq; nos ipſi(inquit) deiloquis patribus et diuinorū
myſteriorū cōſcijs/aut illorū diſciplinam diuināq; intelligentiā aſſecutis: ſumus pares.

Cap.
13

quinimmo neqꝫ illos qui noſtri ſunt ordinis ſacerdotaliſqꝫ functionis/diuinarū notionū
perſpicacitate attingētes:illis in cognitione diuinorū & explanatione ſumus longe inferiores.
Cæterū ſacratiſſimus pater hoc loco quāto maior eſt:tanto ſe depreſſius in omnibus
Ecci.3. ſecundū ſcripturæ ſentētiam humiliat/ſeqꝫ & theologis et ſacerdotalis ordinis viris
modeſte poſtponit.qui certe & plurimis theologorū et pontificalē ſortitis dignitatē viris
ſui tēporis:lōge erat ſuperior.ſublimioreqꝫ volatu cœlos penetrauit/et lympidiore mentis
acie diuina perſpexit:vt hæc ipſius opera apertū & euidens perhibent teſtimonium.
Itaqꝫ ſi iſta ſupradicta(inquit)recte & vere diximus/et pro facultate noſtra diuinis explanandis
nominibus ſufficiētē adhibuimus operā/animūqꝫ ſatis intēdimus:id totū deo bonorū
omniū authori omnino acceptū referat̄.qui nobis dedit primo vt diceremus iſta:
1.regū.2. deinde vero etiā dedit vt eadē bene diceremus.Deus enī:ſciētiarū dominus eſt/& ōnis
Ecci.2. ſapiētia a domino deo eſt/eāq; dat omnibus affluēter.Qꝛ ſiqua diuina nomina tātundē
Iaco.1. ferme valētia ſicut ea quæ diſcuſſimus/prætermiſſa ſunt:illa eiſdē rationibus & modis
vt ea quæ expreſſa ſunt/ſuppleri debent atqꝫ dinoſci.Nā per ea quæ poſita ſunt:intelligenda
ſunt ſimiliter illa quæ nō ſunt explicata.Sin vero aut minus recte/aut minus plene
diſſeruimus quæ ad materiā propoſitam attinēt/& ab ipſa veritate aut omnino aut
partim aberrauimus:tuæ humanitatis erit officium ac munus me non ſponte neqꝫ affectatione
ignorantē corrigere/& ſcientiam tradere michi deſiderio diſcēdi affecto/opem
itē ferre mihi imbecilli & nō ſatis viriū habenti/curare etiā eum qui ex electione et propoſito
non vult ægrotare.Rurſum & tuū erit:alia ad hāc rem attinētia/hic non tradita
ſed ex teipſo inuēta/aut ab alijs per diſciplinæ ſtudiū mutuata/cuncta autē a ſūmo bono
Iaco.1. (a quo omne bonū profluit)accepta:in nos per doctrinæ cōmunicationē trāſfundere/
neqꝫ te pigeat me amicū tuum impartiēdæ ſciētiæ fouere ac ſubleuare beneficio.Perſpicis
enim aperte:ꝙ noſipſi nichil ex diuinis myſterijs & ſacris altiſſimarū rerum ſermonibus
ac rationibus nobis traditis/occultauimus intra nos ipſos aut abſcondimus.ſed huiuſmodi
diuinarū rerū rationes/integras & nullatenus inquinatas:tibi & alijs viris ſanctis
cōmunicauimus.ideqꝫ poſthac ſemper faciemus:q̄diu & nos ad dicēdū ſufficientes
erimus/& ij quibus noſtra dicētur verba/ad audiēdū erūt idonei.in nullo traditionē ſcientiæ
ab alijs acceptæ violaturi:niſi forte ad intelligendū cœleſtia ſacramēta aut ad explicādū
illa imbecilliores fuerimus q̄ exigat ipſius materię ſublimitas.Cæterū quæ deinde
dicēda ſunt myſteria:vt dederit deus/eiqꝫ placuerit/explicabūtur.Erit itaq; iſte ſpiritualiū
ac intellectualiū dei nominū(quantū ad præſens opus attinet)finis.trāſferemur
autē nūc deo ductore & adiutore:ad ſignificatiuā theologiā pro viribus expromēdam.
Et hāc quidē ſymbolicā de deo diſciplinā:cōſcripſit(vt hic inſtituerat)ſacratiſſimus pater.
in qua quomodo materialiū/ſenſibiliūqꝫ rerū nominibus/deus in ſacris eloquijs laudatur:
vt nomine ſolis/fontis/ignis/leonis & lapidis/et quid ſpiritualis intelligētię in illis
deliteſcat appellationibus:diffuſe diſſeruit.quemadmodū in libro de cœleſti hierarchia/
ſignificationes formarū figurarūqꝫ ſenſibiliū/quibus cœleſtes ſpiritus deſcribūtur:expoſuit.
Verū hoc munere ſignificatiuę theologię(prohdolor)caremus.quod ſane ſi ad nos
tranſijſſet:diuitijs omnibus & theſauris haberi deberet precioſius.At pro hoc diuinorū
nominū opere nūc exacto/ꝙ etiā non delituerit obſitū tenebris & puluere/ſed in publicū
ad piam legētium inſtitutionē prodierit:perpetuas deo debemus gratias.Cui ſit honor
et gloria in ſæcula ſęculorum.Amen.

¶Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ
libri de diuinis nominibus
cū dei gratiarū actione
et ſuorū ſanctorū nominū ſēper benedictione:
finis.

¶Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ Atheniēſium Epiſcopi et Galliarū apoſtoli ad Timotheum Epheſinum epiſcopū/ de myſtica theologia liber: adiuncto ad litteram familiari cōmētario declaratus.

CAP.I.

¶Quænam ſit diuina caligo.

1 TRinitas ſuperſubſtātialis/ deitate ac bonitate ſu-
perior/diuinæ Chriſtianorum ſapientiæ præſul:
dirige nos ad myſticorū eloquiorum ſupreme in-
cognitum et lucidiſſimum/atqꝫ eminentiſſimū ver-
ticē. vbi ſimplicia & abſoluta atqꝫ inuertibilia theo
logiæ myſteria ſecundum ſuperluminoſam ſilentij A
in occulto docentis/ſuperliquidiſſimāqꝫ caliginem
ſunt adoperta: in dēſiſſimis tenebris eum qui pluſq̄
excellentiſſime ſplendet ſuperlucētem/& in refugi-
ente omnino tactum atqꝫ inuiſibili/honeſtiſſimis fulgoribus & pluſq̄ pul-
2 chris excellenter implentem vacuos oculis ſpiritus. ¶Hæc interim paucis
orauerim. Tu vero Timothee chariſſime intētiſſima contuendis ſpectacu-
lis myſticis exercitatione: & ſenſus lique et intellectuales operationes/et ſen-
ſibilia & intelligibilia omnia/et quæ non ſunt/& quæ ſunt omnia. et vt illi
iungaris qui ſuper omnem ſubſtantiam/omnemqꝫ ſcientiam eſt: ignote pro
viribus teipſum intende. Enimuero abs teipſo atqꝫ ab omnibus/libere &
abſolute ac pure excedendo: ad ſuperſubſtantialem diuinæ caliginis radi-
3 um ſublatis omnibus/et abſolutus ex omnibus euolabis. ¶Hæc autem ca-
ue: ne quis imperitus ac rudis exaudiat. Eos autē ſic appellauerim: qui vi-
ſibilibus affixi/nichil ſupra ea quæ obtutibus ac ſenſibus patent ſuperſub-
ſtantialiter eſſe arbitrantur. putantqꝫ ſcientia ſua illum aſſequi: qui poſuit B
tenebras latibulum ſuum. Si vero eos qui ſunt huiuſmodi/longe ſuperemi-
nent diuinorum myſteriorum notiones: quid de illis dicemus qui longe im-
peritiores/ſupremam illam omnium cauſam ex infimis quoqꝫ creaturis ef-
fingunt? nichilqꝫ hanc excellere fictis ab ſe impijs/varijſqꝫ ſculptilibus au-
tumant? cum debuerint potius ipſi omnium cauſæ/omnes etiam rerum ap-
plicare atqꝫ affirmare poſitiones: rectiuſqꝫ de ea illas omnes (vt quæ ſuper
omnia ſit) negare. neqꝫ arbitrari negationes aduerſari affirmationibus: ſed
longe prius ipſam ſupra priuationes eſſe/quæ ſuper omnem & ablationem
4 et poſitionem eſt. ¶Sic itaqꝫ diuinus Bartholomęus ait: & plurimā theo- C
logiam eſſe & minimam/euangeliumqꝫ & latum et magnum/rurſuſqꝫ con- Bartholomęus.
ciſum. Michi quidem illud mirifice intellexiſſe videtur: quia et plurimis ver-
bis exprimitur bona omniū cauſa/& breuibus ſimul et nullis. vt quæ neqꝫ
verbum/neqꝫ intelligentiam admittat: ꝙ omnibus ſuperſubſtantialiter et
excellēter emineat. ſoliſqꝫ illis amoto velamine veraciter luceat: qui impura
omnia & pura tranſiliunt/omnemqꝫ omnium ſanctarum ſummitatū aſcē-
ſum tranſcendūt. cunctaqꝫ diuina lumina/& ſonos/ſermoneſqꝫ cœleſtes de-
ſerentes/caliginem ſubeunt: vbi veraciter ille eſt (vt ſcriptura ait) qui ſupra D
5 omnia eſt. ¶Neqꝫ enim ab re diuinus Moſes primum vt mūdetur admo- E

netur/& rurſus vt ab ijs qui non ſunt huiuſmodi ſeparetur:et poſt omnem illam expiationem/ buccinarum clangores varios exaudit/cernitqꝫ lumina plurima/plures atqꝫ multifidos vibrãtia radios.mox vero ſegregatur a vulgaribus turbis:& cum electis ſacerdotibus ad ſummitatem aſcenſionum diuinarum contendit.ibiqꝫ non ipſi congreditur deo/neqꝫ ipſum cernit(eſt enim inuiſibilis deus) ſed locum vbi ſtetit. Hoc autem(reor)inſinuat auguſtiſſima quælibet & ſuprema viſibilium atqꝫ intelligibilium:rationes cõgruas ac ſigna quædam eſſe eorum quæ ſubiecta ſunt/omnia trãſcendenti deo.per quæ:ipſius præſentia omnem intelligentiam ſuperans/demonſtratur ſupra ſpirituales ſanctiſſimorum ipſius locorum ſummitates ſupergreſſa. Tum vero ipſa quoqꝫ viſibilia atqꝫ intellectualia contemplator linquens/ingreditur ignorationis myſticam profecto caliginem:in qua omnia ſcientiæ cognitionis præſidia terminans/totus in eo fit qui tactum penitus viſumqꝫ refugit/tranſcẽditqꝫ õnia/& qui nullius eſt/neqꝫ ſuimet/neqꝫ alterius.penitus autem ignoto:ſcientiæ omnis & cognitionis vacatione/præſtantiore modo coniunctus.et eo quoqꝫ ipſo ꝙ nichil cognoſcit:ſupra ſenſum/mentemqꝫ cognoſcens.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Secundũ ſuperluminoſam ſilentij in occulto do-
centis/ſuperliquidiſſimamqꝫ caliginẽ ſunt adoperta. De diuino ſilẽtio non per priuatio-
nem & defectum dicto/ſed per arcanorum ineloquibilem manifeſtationẽ:ita vt ea quæ
iam ſuper viſum/mentẽ & verbum videntur/maneãt ineffabilia: Apocalypſis cap.octa-
uo. Et cum aperuiſſet ſigillum ſeptimũ:factum eſt ſilentiũ in cœlo. Et vidit diuinus Pau-
lus ad ſacrum cœleſte ſilẽtium raptus/arcana verba:quæ non eſt amplius poteſtatis viri
eloqui. De caligine vero:quę ſuperlucida/ſuperimmenſa/& inacceſſibilis lux eſt/impro-
portionaliter omnem & rationalẽ et intellectualẽ oculum ſuperexcedens/vt linea infi-
nita punctum:pſalmus nonageſimus ſextus. Nubes & caligo in circuitu eius:iuſtitia et
iudicium correctio ſedis eius. Et de illa ſuperlucente caligine/et illuminãtibus tenebris:
ſymbolũ habetur Exodi cap.decimo quarto. Et erat inquit nubes tenebroſa:& illuminãs
B noctem. ¶Putant ſciẽtia ſua illũ aſſequi qui poſuit tenebras latibulũ ſuum. Pſalmus de-
cimus ſeptimus. Et aſcẽdit ſuper Cherubim & volauit:volauit ſuper pẽnas vẽtorum.et
poſuit tenebras latibulũ ſuum. Et ſecundus regũ cap. viceſimo ſecũdo. Poſuit tenebras
C in circuitu ſuo latibulũ:cribrãs aquas de nubibus cœlorum. ¶Sic itaqꝫ diuinus Bartho-
lomæus ait & plurimã theologiam eſſe et minimã. Hic diuinus Bartholomæus eſt:de
quo actuum apoſtolorũ cap.primo legitur. Et cum introiſſent in cœnaculũ:aſcenderunt
vbi manebat Petrus/et Ioãnes/et Iacobus/et Andreas/Philippus/et Thomas/Bartho-
lomæus/et Matthæus. Et quæ vir iſte diuinus/vnctuſqꝫ dei apoſtolus/angelorũ(vt me-
moria proditum eſt)familiaris collocutor/diuina litterarũ monumẽta ſcripta reliquerit:
ad noſtrorum temporũ cognitionem non peruenerũt. IHESV ſuperna bonitas det:vt
D ne õnino perierint. ¶Vt ſcriptura ait/qui ſupra õnia eſt. Paulus ad Epheſios cap.quar-
E to. Vnus deus et pater omniũ:qui ſuper õnes. ¶Neqꝫ enim ab re diuinus Moſes. Exodi
cap.decimo nono legitur:quo pacto deus qui in caligine deſcenſurus erat/præceperit
populum ſanctificari & lauari. In quo intelligere promptũ eſt:vt Moſes ad caliginẽ itidẽ
lotus cum electis ſacerdotibus/vno quidem aut pluribus(nam cum Aaron legitur)con-
ſcenderit. Et de buccinę clangoribus/& varijs luminibus:illic admonemur. Fxodus autẽ
nunc ſic habet. Iam nunc veniam ad te in caligine nubis:vt audiat me populus loquen-
tem ad te/& credat tibi in perpetuũ. Vade ad populum & ſanctifica illos hodie et cras:
lauentq; veſtimenta ſua/& ſint parati in diem tertiũ.in die enim tertio deſcendet domi-
nus corã omni plebe ſuper montẽ Sinai. Deſcenditqꝫ Moſes de mõte ad populũ:& ſan-
ctificauit eum. Iamqꝫ aduenerat dies tertius/& mane inclaruerat.et ecce cœperũt audi-
ri tonitrua/ac micare fulgura:et nubes denſiſſima operire montẽ.clangorq; buccinæ ve-
hementius perſtrepebat:& timuit populus qui erat in caſtris .Cũqꝫ eduxiſſet eos Moſes
in occurſum de loco caſtrorũ:ſteterunt ad radices montis.totus autem mons Sinai fu-

mabat: eo q descendiſſet dominus ſuper eum in igne/& aſcenderet fumus ex eo quaſi de fornace. eratq; omnis mons terribilis: & ſonitus buccinæ paulatim creſcebat in mai9/ & prolixius tendebatur. Deſcenditq; dominus ſuper montem Sinai in ipſo montis vertice: & vocauit Moſem in cacumen eius. cui ait dominus/ vade deſcende: aſcendeſq; tu & Aaron tecum. Et capite viceſimo. Cunctus autem populus videbat voces & lampades/& ſonitum buccinæ/montemq; fumantem: & perterriti/& pauore concuſſi ſteterũt procul dicentes Moſi. loquere tu nobis: & audiemus. non loquatur nobis dominus: ne forte moriamur. Et ait Moſes ad populum. nolite timere. vt enim probaret vos: venit deus. & vt terror illius eſſet in vobis: & non peccaretis. ſtetitq; populus de longe: Moſes autem acceſſit ad caliginem in qua erat deus.

¶PRIMI CAPITIS LIBRI DE MYSTICA THEOLOGIA COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

1 QVoniam vt in libro præcedente/ capite tertio dictum eſt/ ante omnem actum & in theologia maxime/ ab oratione ad deum inchoãdum eſt: de myſtica theologia in hoc libro determinaturus ſacer Dionyſius/ orationem in ipſo operis exordio præponit. per quã a superſancta trinitate petit diuino illuſtrari radio: quo perducatur ad diuinę caliginis introitum/& dignam illius intelligentiam atq; explanationẽ. Eſtq; ipſius altiſſimæ & imprimis præclaræ orationis: hęc fere ſententia. O trinitas ſumma/ ſuper omnem ſubſtãtiam ſuperne locata/& deitate ac bonitate ſuperior. vt hæc ſcilicet participata ſunt a creaturis/ deificaq; & benefica munera inſinuãt: a quibus multi & in cœlo & in terra & dij & boni dicuntur. quẽadmodum ſecunda beati Dionyſij epiſtola & adiectum ei ſcholium: dilucide explanant. 1. corin. 8. O ſuprema etiã trinitas quæ es præſul & dux diuinæ ſapientiæ Chriſtianorum/ quibus veram dei cognitionem & cõtemplationem indulges tuæ lucis irradiatione: dirige nos ad ſummitatem verticemq; arcanorum eloquiorum: ſupreme incognitum ob celſitudinem eius inacceſſibili luce circunſeptam/ ac luciſſimũ ob diuinæ claritatis immenſum in eo ſplendorem. & eminentiſſimum ob ſublimitatem ipſius ab omnibus exceptam. In quo quidem vertice eminentiſſimo: ſecretiſſima theologiæ myſteria/ ſimplicia ob ipſorum ſingularitatem & collectionẽ/ abſolutaq; quia ab omni participatione abſtracta/& inuertibilia ob ipſorum immutabilitatem & conſtantiſſimam firmitatem: ſunt adoperta & occultata nõ quidẽ carnalibus ſignis/ ſed immenſitate diuini fulgoris/ ſecundum caliginem diuinam: omne lumen excedentem & claritatis eximiæ. vbi eſt ſilentium in occulto docens/ arcanorũq; inexplicabilis reſeratio/ ſine verbo & ſermone: quia ſuper omnem locutionem & ſermonem. Quę ſane diuina caligo ſuperillucet & manifeſtat deũ in denſiſſimis ignorationis ſuperdiuinæ tenebris: qui excellentiſſimo & ſuper omnem excellentiam claro ſplendore coruſcat. Eadem quoq; diuina caligo/ vt eum qui tactum omnem refugit & inuiſibilis eſt pijs mentibus inſinuet: implet ſpiritus cum humanos tum angelicos carentes oculis. Quod poſtremũ ideo adiectum eſt: quoniam quãuis ſpiritus illi ſint oculatiſſimi interna mentis acie/ præſtringit tamen & offendit eorũ intellectum/ immenſitas illa diuini luminis. vt immenſitas lucis ipſius ſolis vacuos facit & incapaces ſui/ oculos eam capere volentes. ſe tamen omnibus pro captu cuiuſq; cõmunicat: & capacitati ſanctorũ ſpirituum ſe accõmodat. Implet inquam diuina caligo ipſos ſpiritus captos oculis: excellenter clariſſimis fulgoribus/ & omnem viſibilium venuſtatem excedentibus.

2 ¶Deinde Timotheum (ad quem præſentem ſcribit librum) admonet ſacratus pater: qua via/ quove modo ad diuinæ caliginis acceſſum admitti debeat. Hæc ſupradicta (inquit) in orationis modum ad deum profuſa ſint. Tu ipſe vero O Timothee/ per exercitationem aſſiduam ad ſpeculanda myſteria ſecreta maxime intentam & ſedulam: omnes ſenſus actiones relinque/ itidem & intellectuales operationes. quinimmo & ſenſibilia & intelligibilia omnia deſere/ necnon & ea quæ non ſunt & quæ ſunt. & teipſum pro viribus exerce atq; ad deum conuerte per ignotum modum ac menti incognitum: vt illi iungaris qui eſt ſuper omnem ſubſtantiam/ omnemq; ſcientiam. Sane vbi a teipſo & ab omnibus quæ ſunt/ libere pure & abſolute exceſſeris: tum ſublatis vniuerſis quæ ſunt & ſenſibilibus & intellectualibus/& expeditus liberq; ab omnibus: ad ſuperſubſtantialem diuinæ caliginis radium euades ac pertinges.

3 ¶Admonet deinceps Timotheũ: ne hæc tam ardua diuinæ caliginis myſteria rudibus & ignaris cõmunicet. Eos

autē imperitos ac idiotas hic vocat/ qui rebus ſenſibilibus inhærētes: nichil ſpirituale/
intellectuale ac ſuperſubſtantiale eſſe putāt ſupra ea quæ corporalibus oculis apparent.
& ſolo ſenſu metientes quæ noſcunt: nichil vltra illius vim cognitioneqȝ ponūt. Ac ſcientia
ſua illum ſe cōpræhenſuros arbitrantur: qui in dēſiſſimis diuinæ caliginis tenebris occultus
manet & abſtruſus. Cū autē diuinorū arcanorū cognitiōes longe ſuperēt eos qui
1.corin.2. huiuſmodi ſūt/ ſoli ſenſui & rebus corporalibus addicti (quoniā animalis homo nō percipit
ea quę dei ſunt) quid de illis igitur eſt dicendū: qui longe rudiores ac ſtolidiores ipſam
ſupremā omniū cauſam ex infimis & abiectiſſimis effingūt creaturis: arbitrati deitatis
numen ſuis ineſſe ſimulacris: & diuinitatē ipſam nichil differre a varijs ſculptilibus
cū magna impietate ac ſuperſtitione a ſe efformatis. cum deberent potius ipſi omnium
cauſæ omnes rerū poſitiones affirmationeſqȝ attribuere: quinimo verius oēs illas poſitiones
de ſuprema oīm cauſa negare/ quoniā eſt ſupra ōnia. neqȝ arbitrari debuerint negationes
in deo affirmationibus repugnare: ſed omnino coincidere. & ipſam oīm cauſam
exiſtimare ſupra priuationes eſſe: vt quæ ſit ſupra omnem poſitionem & ablationē.
¶ Itaqȝ diuinus Bartholomęus dignus deo apoſtolus/ ipſum de deo ſermonē ac diſciplinā: 4
& plurimā eſſe ait/ ꝙ ex omnibus rebus ea habetur. & minimā: ꝙ nulla res aut locutio
exacte eā explicat. Ita & euangeliū doctrināqȝ euangelicā/ quæ auguſtiſſima diuinitatis
& humanitatis CHRISTI annunciat ac reſerat ſacramenta: latam & magnā eſſe
dixit/ quantum ad ſententiæ vbertatē & copiā plurimis explicandam verbis. eandemqȝ
dixit eſſe conciſam & contractam: ob verborū breuitatē & inopiā/ vt quæ nō ſufficiāt rei
dicendę magnitudinē ęquare. Quod ſane dictū: excellentē diuinorū in ipſo ſacratiſſimo
Bartholomęo intelligentiā/ perſpicue declarat. quoniā optima rerū omniū cauſa & plurimis
exprimitur verbis: ꝙ ſit oīa. & breuibus etiā verbis ac paucis: ꝙ ſola in rebus præſtantiſſima
illi ſint applicanda/ quæ aliorum collatione perpauca ſunt. nullis deniqȝ verbis
eadē exprimitur/ ꝙ nichil ſit eorū quę ſūt: neqȝ verbū vllū aut cognitionē admittat/
quoniā omni ſermone & ſciētia ſuperior eſt ac eminentior. eadē quoqȝ ſumma omnium
cauſa ſolis illis ſyncæro lumine ſpirituali illuceat/ poſito ſenſibiliū omniū ac intellectualium
velamine: qui omnia corporalia & ſpiritualia ſupergrediūtur (hæc enim pura hic
dicūtur: quia a materiæ conſortio aliena. illa vero impura/ quoniā materialia ſunt) quiqȝ
omnem ſupernorū ſpirituū ſummarūq; virtutū angelicarū aſcenſum in deum/ tranſcendunt.
& deferentes cuncta lumina diuina/ ſonos ſpirituales/ ſermoneſqȝ cœleſtes/ diuinā
Ephe.4. ſubeunt caliginem: in qua veraciter ille eſt qui ſecūdum ſcripturæ teſtimoniū ſuper omnia 5
eſt. ¶ Demū diuinę caliginis ſubeundæ ſymbolum ac ſignū ſenſibile declarat beatus
Exo.19. pater in Moſe. qui a deo iubetur in Exodo primū mundari: & deinde ſeparari ab ijs
qui non ſunt mundi. poſt omnem autē illam expurgationē & ſanctificationem: exaudit
Moſes buccinarum clangores/ cernit & fulgura varijs coruſcationibus emicantia. Poſtea
vero ſegregatur a multitudine populi: & cum delectis ſacerdotibus ad cacumen &
verticē montis aſcendit. Ibidēqȝ nō ipſi coniungitur deo/ neqȝ ipſum cernit vt qui ſit de
ſe inuiſibilis: ſed ſolū videt locū vbi ſtetit deus. Hoc autē quod modo dictū eſt/ Moſem
ſcilicet in culmine montis non vidiſſe deū ſed locū vbi ſtetit: ſignificat excellentiſſimas
& ſupremas proprietates viſibiliū creaturarū & intellectualium/ eſſe congruos quoſdā
modos & ſigna: in ijs quæ deo omnia eminēter trāſcendenti ſubiecta ſunt. per quæ plane
ſigna: ipſius dei præſentia omnem ſuperans cognitionem demonſtratur/ ſuper omnem
ſpiritualium ipſorum locorum ſummitatem excellētiamqȝ ſuperne collocata. Locus
enim dei hic dicitur: veſtigium & imago ipſius dei in creaturis. qui ob inſitam illis
dignam aliquam proprietatem diuinorum æmulam: præſens illis adeſſe dicitur/ & quaſi
in loco ſubſiſtere. Omnes autem huiuſmodi cōditiones inditas aut acquiſititias/ quibus
creaturæ deum imitantur: ipſe longe tranſcendit. & idcirco diuina præſentia recte
hic dicitur ſpirituales ſanctiſſimorum ipſius locorū ſummitates ſupergreſſa. Deinde vero
ipſe diuinorum contemplator/ & viſibilia omnia & intelligibilia poſt ſe relinquēs: ingreditur
myſticā diuinæ ignorationis caliginē. in qua omnia ſcientiæ & cognitionis adminicula
terminās/ imo ad illius introitū oēm deponēs a ſe cognitionē ac ſcientiā/ & ōni
notione ſe exuēs: totus in eo abſorbetur & efficit̃ qui neqȝ tactu neqȝ viſu ꝑcipi poteſt/
quiqȝ tranſgreditur omnia/ & qui nullius etiā eſt neqȝ ſuimet neqȝ alterius. Nēpe ipſe talis
contēplator euadit hoc modo ad ipſum abſolutum/ & penitus abſolutum. Quod autem
omnino abſolutū eſt: vt tale/ nullius eſt/ quia ad nulla prorſus habet habitudinem

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neq; ad ſe neq; ad alterū. & ergo ipſum | neq; ſui eſt neq; alterius. Nempe ſi ſuimet eſſet: ſubiret rationem non abſoluti/ vt eiuſdem aut alterius. quod eſt contra poſitum. Itidem ſi eſſet ipſum alterius: ſubiret etiam rationem non abſoluti/ vt cauſę/ principij/ conditoris/ aut ſimilium. Non eſſet igitur illud quod perſpicitur in diuina caligine/ omnino abſolutum: vt ponebatur. Ipſe autem contēplator/ deo penitus ignoto cōiunctus eſt in hac diuina caligine: per vacationem atq; carentiam omnis ſcientiæ & cognitionis. qui ſane cognoſcendi modus præſtantior eſt q̃ quiuis alius: per notiones & intelligētias ad deū conſcendere annitens. Nam eo ipſo ꝙ diuinam ingreſſus caliginem ſpeculator diuinorum/ nichil cognoſcit: ipſe eſt ſupra ſenſum & mentem omnem cognoſcens.

¶Quomodo oportet & coniungi/ & laudes referre authori omnium cuncta excellenti. Cap. II.

6 AD hanc nos perlucidam/ liquidiſſimamq; caliginem admitti oramus: et per viſus/ ſcientiæq; priuationem videre ac ſcire eū qui aſpectum omnem ſcientiamq; tranſcendit (et hoc ipſum non videre/ et non ſcire: eſt veraciter videre ac ſcire) et eum etiam qui ſubſtantia ſuperior eſt: ſuperſubſtantialiter ex omniū quæ ſunt ablatione celebrare. veluti qui natiuam effigiem ex quauis materia faciunt/ omnia tollentes quæ impedire poſſint liquidum latentis decoris intuitum: ipſamq; in ſeipſa pulchritudinem occultā ſola ſublatione pandentes. Oportet autem (vt reor) ablationes cōtra/ ac poſitiones collaudare. Illas enim a primis inchoantes: et per media ad extrema deſcēdentes/ ponebamus. hic autem ab extremis ad prima gradibus factis aſcendentes: omnia tollimus. vt ignorationē illā velamine amoto noſcamus: quæ a noſcibilibus cunctis in ijs quæ ſunt ōnibus operta monſtratur. ſuperſubſtantialemq; caliginem illam intueamur: quæ ab omni in ſubſtantijs emicante luce occultatur.

Manuductio ex ſculptili.

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¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Illas enī a primis inchoantes. Illas: illas poſitiones, et in primo capite diuinorū nominum: hunc beatus pater poſuit ordinē. Incepit ab ente ſiue qui eſt/ nomine dei. ſubinde adiungēs: vitā/ lucem/ deū/ veritatē. in hæc fines: ſol/ ſtella/ ignis/ aqua/ ſpiritus roris/ nubes/ petra. In negatiua autē theologia: ablationes a nouiſſimis/ infimiſq; rebus incipimus. Et cur ponendo & auferendo/ diuerſo procedamus modo: cauſam poſtmodum dicturus eſt/ capite tertio huius/ numero 9.

¶SECVNDI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

6 QVomodo ad diuinam caliginem ſubeundam diſponi debeamus/ & in ea deo cōiungi: hic determinat ſacer Dionyſius. dicens ꝙ ad hanc clariſſimo lumine refulgentem & lucidiſſimā caliginē (quæ in quinta beati patris epiſtola diffinitur eſſe lux inacceſſibilis quam inhabitat deus: & ibidem latius explicatur) admitti: obnixe petere debemus a deo. & per viſus atq; ſcientiæ priuationem eum videre ac ſcire hoc ignoto & nouo cognoſcendi modo: qui omnem viſum & ſcientiam longe tranſcendit. Et certe hoc ipſum non videre & non ſcire per diuinam ignorationem: eſt veraciter videre ac ſcire. Oramus item & expoſcimus: ex omnium quæ ſunt negatione ſuperſubſtantialiter eū laudare/ qui omni ſubſtātia ſuperior eſt ac eminētior. Quēadmodū qui effigiē aliquā rei natura exiſtentis repræſentatiuam ſculpendo adaptāt in qualibet materia: oīa tollūt quæ impedire queūt apertū latentis in materia informi decoris aſpectū/ & ſola partium materiæ vt ligni aut lapidis amotione: pandūt ipſam imaginis pulchritudinem in ſeipſa occultam/ atq; ſub ijs quæ tollūtur delitentem. Verū oppoſito prorſus ordine oportet deū per ablationes atq; negationes/ & per poſitiones ſiue affirmationes laudare. Nā in ipſis poſitiōibus/ a primis atq; ꝑfectiſſimis ſumptū eſt exordiū in principio operis præcedentis: vbi diuina nomina certo quodam ordine ſunt digeſta. deinde per media rerū genera quæ ſummis & imis interiacent: ad poſtrema & infima

deuentū eſt/quæ vltimum in ſubſiſtentibus habent perfectionis & ſubſiſtentiæ locū/itidem
& nominationis. In negationibus vero ediuerſo a nouiſſimis & extremis inchoandum
eſt:& deinde per media gradibus quibuſdam aſcendendum ad ſumma. vt ꝙ deus
non eſt terra nec lapis: primo loco dicendum. deinde: ꝙ neqꝫ ſol neqꝫ ſtella. poſtremo vero:
ꝙ neqꝫ mens neqꝫ ſpiritus. Et in hoc laudandi genere: tollenda ſunt omnia/abnegā
daqꝫ de deo. vt demum illa ignoratio/amoto rerū omnium ſubſiſtentium velamine dinoſcatur:
quæ ab omnibus cognoſcibilibus & in omnibus quæ ſunt/ adoperta monſtratur.
De qua quidem diuina ignoratione: prima beati patris Dionyſij epiſtola nonnichil
diſſerit. Vt etiam superſubſtantialis illa caligo diuina conſpiciatur: quæ omni cognitiuę
appræhenſiuæqꝫ virtuti in rebus ſubſiſtentibus emicanti occultatur. nulla enī lux in creaturis
effulgens: ad diuinam illam caliginem poteſt pertingere aut peruenire.

ℭ Quænam in theologia ſint affirmantia/& quæ negantia. Cap. III.

ITaqꝫ in eo quidem opere quod de theologicis inſtitutionibus 7
Liber theologicarum iſtitutionū. ſcripſimus: quæ ſint affirmantis theologiæ imprimis
propria/celebrauimus. quomodo diuina illa benigniſſimaqꝫ
natura/ vnica: quomodo item trina dicitur. quænam
ſecundum hanc ſit patris/ quænam filij appellatio: quid itidem
iſtud eſt/aut quid ſignificare vult ſancti ſpiritus theologia.
G quo pacto ex ſpirituali indiuiduoqꝫ bono/ in cordis intimo: bonitatis
exorta ſunt lumina. quo item modo in ipſo/& in ſeipſis/atqꝫ inuicē/coæterna
manſiones germinatione permanent: & nuſq̃ ab ſe excedendo perſiſtunt.
quomodo superſubſtantialis IHESVS: humanæ naturæ veritatē/
H ſubſtantiamqꝫ ſuſcepit. & quæqꝫ alia a ſacris litteris expoſita: in memorato
I opere celebrata ſunt. Porro in libro de diuinis nominibus: quomodo bonus
appelletur/ quomodo ens/ quomodo vita/ & ſapientia/ & virtus/ &
iſtiuſmodi cætera/ad ſpiritualem diuinamqꝫ appellationem pertinentia: diximus.
In ſignificatiua autem theologia/quænam ſint a ſenſibilibus ad diuina
Significatiua theologia. deductæ appellationes: quæ formæ diuinæ/ quænam diuinæ figuræ/
quæ membra et inſtrumenta/ quæ diuina loca/ qui ornatus/ qui furores:
quæ triſtitiæ et iræ/ quænam ebrietates et crapulæ/ quæ iuramenta
et quæ maledictiones/qui ſomni et quæ euigilationes/ et ſiquæ aliæ ſignificantis
K figurationis: ſacratius fictæ formationes exprimuntur. ℭ Et te 8
arbitror depræhendiſſe: vt ſint extrema prolixiora prioribus. Oportebat
enim theologicas inſtitutiones/diuinorumqꝫ explicationem nominum minus
habere verborum/ breuitatiqꝫ ſtudere magis: q̃ ſignificatiuam theologiam.
Nam quanto ad altiora contendimus: tantum ipſo contuitu intelligibilium/
verba contrahi neceſſe eſt. Quemadmodum nunc quoqꝫ caliginem
illam ſubeuntibus(quę omnem intelligentiam ſuperat)non breuitas/
ſed defectus ōnino ſermonis atqꝫ intelligētiæ occurret. Atqꝫ illic quidem a
ſupremo ad infima deriuans oratio: pro quantitate deſcenſus/ ad congruā
latitudinē extendebatur. nūc vero ab inferioribus ad id quod ſupremū eminet
conſcendens: pro modo aſcenſus breuiatur. et poſt aſcenſum omnem/
omnino obmuteſcet: atqꝫ ineloquibili illi tota iungetur. ℭ Sed fortaſſis inquiras/ 9
cur a primo poſitiones diuinas inchoare pergentes: diuinam ablationem
ab extremis inchoamus? Ob id ſcilicet/ ꝙ cū id ponamus quod ſuper
omnem poſitionem eſt: eius rei ſignificantem affirmationem oportuit

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1773/D

ponere/ quæ sibi propinquior sit. Cum vero id tollimus/ quod omni ablati-
oni eminet: ab ijs quæ magis ab eo distant auferre. An vero non magis est
vita & bonitas: q̃ aer & lapis? & magis non crapulatur & non furit: q̃ non
dicitur & non intelligitur? G

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Quo pacto ex spirituali/ indiuiduoqꝫ bono. Psal-
mus quadragesimus quartus. Eructauit cor meum verbum bonũ: dico ego opera mea
regi. Ioannes cap. decimo quinto. Cum autem venerit paracletus/ quem ego mittã
vobis a patre/ spiritum veritatis qui a patre procedit: ille testimonium perhibebit de
me. Ecce a summo bono/ summoqꝫ patre: exorta leguntur ineffabilis diuinitatis lu-
mina. Et de mansionibus coæternarum germinationum in inuicem: Ioannnes capi-
te decimoquarto. Non creditis: quia ego in patre/ & pater in me est? alioquin pro-
pter opera credite. & ego rogabo patrem: & alium paracletum dabit vobis (vt ma-
neat vobiscum in æternum) spiritum veritatis/ quem mundus nõ potest accipere. quia
non videt eum: nec scit eum. In illo die cognoscetis/ quia ego sum in patre meo: & vos H
in me/ & ego in vobis. ¶In memorato opere celebrata sunt. In memorato opere: in li-
bro hypotyposeon. Vnde & hic depræhensu q̃ facillimum est: q̃ sacrata/ & omnium scitu
dignissima/ illic discutiebantur. & quanta diuinarum opum sapientia: illo cum sacro ope- I
re periclitata est. ¶Porro in libro de diuinis nominibus. De bono: in libro de diuinis no-
minibus capite quarto. De ente: capite quinto. De vita: capite sexto. De sapientia: ca- K
pite septimo. De virtute: capite octauo. ¶Et te arbitror depræhendisse: vt sint extrema
prolixiora prioribus. Priora vocat: librum theologicarum informationum/ institutio-
numqꝫ. Posteriora vero: significatiuam theologiam. quo ex loco conijcere potes: gran- L
de & propensum opus fuisse diuinam illam significatiuam theologiam. ¶Atqꝫ illic qui-
dem a supremo. Illic: in significatiua theologia.

7 ¶TERTII CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

TRium a se compositorũ de diuinis mysterijs operũ materiã hic recẽ-
set sacer Dionysius: vt ostendat quæ in illis ad theologiam affirmati-
uam attinent/ & quæ ad negatiuam. In libro (inquit) theologicarũ in-
stitutionum: quæ theologiæ affirmatiuæ sunt propria/ conscripta sunt
ac celebrata. quomodo scilicet diuina natura/ vnica dicitur in substan-
tia: & quomodo trina in personis. quænam secundum hanc diuinã na-
turam sit patris appellatio/ & quæ filij: quid item sancti spiritus voca-
bulum ac nomẽ in supersancta trinitate significat. Rursum quo pacto ex deo patre/ spiri-
tuali ac indiuiduo bonitatis fonte: in suæ substantiæ intimo ac sinu/ filius & spiritus san-
ctus/ vt gemina bonitatis lumina spiritualia/ sunt exorti. quo itidem modo in deo patre/
ac mutuo in seinuicem/ trium personarum mansiones cum perpetua tamen emanatio-
ne persistũt: & nunq̃ abinuicẽ digrediẽdo/ intimæ per inhabitationẽ mutuã permanẽt.
Preterea in eodẽ theologicarũ istitutionũ libro discussũ est/ quomodo IHESVS CHRI-
STVS secundum diuinitatẽ supersubstantialis: humanæ naturæ veritatem ac substãtiã
suscepit. cuius quidẽ mysterij: & quarta beati patris epistola aliquantã facit mẽtionem.
& quæcunqꝫ alia aut sanctæ trinitatis aut dominicæ incarnationis mysteria/ a sacris litte-
ris declarata: in supradicto opere sunt exposita. In libro autẽ de diuinis nominibus di-
ctum est: quomodo deus appellatur bonus/ quomodo ens/ vita/ sapiẽtia/ & virtus/ & hu-
iusmodi talia: ad spiritualem/ intellectualemqꝫ dei nuncupationem pertinentia. De-
mum in libro de significatiua theologia est pertractatum: quænam sunt dei denomi-
nationes a sensibilibus rebus ad diuina traductæ/ & quare deus in sacris litteris rerum
materialium nominibus appelletur. quæ item sint formæ & figuræ diuinæ: quibus in
sãctis eloquijs exprimitur/ quæ mẽbra & instrumẽta corporalia/ q̃ diuina loca/ qui ornat⁹
& furores/ q̃ tristitiæ & irę/ quenã sũt ebrietates & crapulę/ quę dei iuramẽta & maledi-
ctiones/ qui sõni et euigilationes. et siquæ aliæ formationes sensibiles figurationesqꝫ signifi-
catiuæ sacratiore modo effictę: i scripturis exprimunt. Sane hęc fere oĩa sensibilia signa
modo adducta/ insuper & alia: certo digerunt ordine ac declarãtur in nona epistola bea-
8 ti patris Dionysij. quæ vna cũ adiectis scholijs: ipsi⁹ significatiuę theologię quoquo pa-
cto est itroductoria. ¶Rationẽ deiñde reddit breuitatis et ꝓlixitatis ꝑdictorũ triũ operũ:
in hoc illa adinuicem conferens. Et Timotheum alloquens ait ipsum facile deprǣhen-

dere poſſe: ꝙ horum trium operum poſtrema & vltimo hic nominata loco/ ſunt prolixiora atq; protenſiora prioribus & hic prius poſitis. Decens enim fuit librum theologicarũ inſtitutionũ & de diuinis nominibus cõtractiores eſſe/ & breuitati magis ſtudere: q̄ ſignificatiuæ theologiæ librum. Nam quanto ad altiora fit conſcenſus: tãto magis verba ipſa breuiari et conſtringi eſt neceſſe/ ob propinquiorẽ & ſublimiorẽ rerũ intellectualium contuitũ. Atqui liber de ſignificatiua theologia/ in imo verſatur: & ſenſibilibus dei nominibus explicandis intentus eſt. liber autem de diuinis nominibus: medio modo ſe habẽtia tractat/ aſcenſumq; molitur ſuper ſignificatiuam theologiam. ſubſidet tamẽ & inferior eſt (ſi materia attendatur) q̄ liber theologicarum inſtitutionum: qui plane inter hos tres ſupremũ tenet locũ/ & aſcenſum altiorẽ præſtat. quare merito in eo ſuccinctior eſt breuitas: q̄ in cæteris duobus. Quemadmodum diuinam ſubeuntibus caliginem (ad quã ingrediendã hic liber parat introitũ: & idcirco omniũ eſt breuiſſimus & maxime ſuccinctus) quoniã illa ſupra oẽm intelligẽtiã eminet: nõ verborũ breuitas/ ſed defectus omnino ſermonis ac intelligentiæ obueniet. Atq; in affirmatiua quidem theologia tribus ſupradictis libris conſcripta/ a ſupremo ſublimiq; materiæ vertice in libro theologicarum inſtitutionum traditæ/ ad infima quæ pertractat ſignificatiua theologia/ per media in libro diuinorũ nominũ tradita/ decurrens oratio: pro modo & quantitate deſcenſus eorũ quæ tractabantur/ ad congruã amplitudinẽ & prolixitatem extendebatur. quandoquidẽ primus qui & ſummus: dictus eſt eſſe breuiſſimꝰ. medius autẽ & materiæ qualitate & nominandi ordine: aliquanto prolixior. poſtremus vero & infimus ſecundum materiæ quã tractat conditionem: omniũ eſt maxime diffuſus. In negatiua vero theologia & in hoc libro illã potiſſimũ explicante/ oratio doctrinalis ab inferioribus ad id quod ſupremo eminet loco conſcendens: ſecundum aſcenſus modum breuiatur et contrahitur. & poſt aſcẽſum omnẽ vbi diuinę propinquauerit caligini: omnino conticeſcet oratio/ & tota in ſilẽtio ipſi ineloquibili proxime cõiungetur.

9 ¶ Sed fortaſſis inquiret quiſpiam. cur ſacri authores & diuinarũ rerum ſtudioſi/ poſitiones affirmationeſq; diuinas a primo atq; ſupremo inchoant: deinde paulatim ad inferiora deſcendentes. diuinas autẽ ablationes incipiunt ab imis & poſtremis: deinceps gradatim ad ſuperiora nitentes. Reſpondet beatus pater/ illius hãc eſſe cauſam. quoniam cum id affirmatur ac aſtruitur quod eſt ſuper omnem affirmationem: oportuit illi primũ applicare poſitionem illam in rebus ſubſiſtẽtibus/ quæ illi eſt propinquior. Atqui vicinior & propior illi ea eſt affirmatio: quæ prior eſt atq; ſuperior. Eſt igitur prima & ſuprema poſitio: ipſi primum aſſignanda. Cum vero id tollitur & negatur quod ſuper omnem eſt ablationem: oportuit illud primũ auferre ab illis/ quæ magis ab eo diſtant. Atqui ima & poſtrema: maxima ab eo diſtãtia diſpeſcuntur. erant igitur infima ab eo primũ remouẽda. Addeq; inter affirmationes/ quæ ſuprema ſunt & perfectiſſima: veriſimilius ei conueniunt & omniũ fere iudicio/ q̄ poſteriora & minus perfecta. vt deus ipſe magis eſſe dicitur ac admittitur vita & bonitas: q̄ aer & lapis. Merito igitur quæ ſuprema ſunt in affirmationibus: primo illi attribuuntur. In negationibus vero ediuerſo/ quæ inferiores ſunt & poſteriores: veriſimilius illi & prius vno omniũ conſenſu conueniunt/ q̄ ſuperiores et perfectiores. vt de deo facilius admittent omnes ꝙ non crapulatur & non furit: q̄ ꝙ ipſe non dicitur nec intelligitur. Bono ergo iure: inferiores negationes illi primum applicantur.

¶ Qꝫ nil ſenſibilium eſt: qui ſenſibilis oīs eminenter eſt author. Cap. IIII.

M 10 DIcimus itaq; vt omnium cauſa ſuper cuncta cum ſit: neq; ſine ſubſtantia/ neq; ſine vita eſt. neq; ratione neq; mente caret: neq; corpus eſt/ neq; figura/ neq; ſpecies. neq; qualitatẽ/ aut quantitatem/ aut molem habet: neq; in loco eſt/ neq; cernitur/ neq; tactum ſenſibilem habet. neq; ſentit/ neq; ſenſibilis eſt/ neq; temeritati & perturbationi eſt obnoxia/ a carnalibus agitata paſſionibus: neq; inualida eſt ſenſibilibus ſubiecta caſibus/ neq; indiga luminis eſt. neq; immutationem aut corruptionem ſeu diuiſionem ſiue fluxum admittit: neq; aliud quicquam ſenſibilium/ aut eſt aut habet.

M

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Dicimus itaqꝫ vt omnium cauſa ſuper omnia cũ ſit. In ſacro diuinorum nominũ opere pro maiori parte beatiſſimus pater/ per poſitiones & theologiam affirmatiuam: deum pie contemplari & laudare docuit. idem quoqꝫ hoc in loco: per ablationes & theologiã negatiuã facit. & ab vltimis remouet: ſenſimqꝫ ad ſumma auferendo perducit. Vbi cognoſcere operæpreciũ eſt/ diuinas excellenteſqꝫ negationes: excellentibus/ abſolutiſqꝫ affirmationibus oppoſitas non eſſe. verũ in ipſo quod ſuper omnia eminenter collocatum eſt/ ſimpliciſſimo abſolutoqꝫ bono: negationes affirmationibus cõſpirant/ atqꝫ coincidunt. Et ad hanc diuinæ philoſophiæ pietatem: dialecticorum affirmationes & negationes: quæ inter ſe oppoſitæ ſunt/ repugnãtiamqꝫ admittunt/ locum non habent. verum potius illi diuinæ & ſupermundanæ ſapiẽtiæ officiunt plurimum/ impedimentoqꝫ ſunt. Et cui nox clarior die non apparuerit: nondũ eſt ad huius ſacræ philoſophiæ veſtibula admiſſus. Et nox (inquit) illuminatio mea in delicijs meis. Et diuinis atqꝫ ſupramundane inſtitutis viris: negatiua theologia/ ſecurior & amenior ad deum laudandum eſt via. & remiſſius conſtrictiuſqꝫ/ atqꝫ anguſtius: per affirmationẽ ſe intelligunt deũ & cognoſcere & laudare. humane vero inſtitutis: affirmatiua/ ſecurior & delectabilior eſt ſemita/ vt qui in negatiua ad excellentiã non ſurgãt: ſed recidant ad ſuarum & vſitatiorũ (vt ita dicam) negationũ defectus. Proinde non defuerunt qui cum hæc duo vltima ſacrati patris capita perlegiſſent: ex humana & caſui ſemper prona fragilitate auderent ſacratiſſimum patrem/ ad diuinã caliginẽ (lõge melius q̄ Moſes) admiſſum (ad quã diuinæ negationes ducũt) impietatis verbis inceſſere/ inſimulare/ inſectari: ignorantes ſe blaſphemũ os in cœlũ ponere. Sed pia mens nichil tale audeat. Verũ ante omnia eũ ſuppliciter oret/ cui nox ſicut dies illuminabitur/ cuius tenebræ ſicut et lumen eius: vt ſuis diuinis adminiculis eũ adiuuet/ quo poſſit ad eius incõpræhenſibilitatem laudandam accedere. Neqꝫ putauerit vnq̄ ſe ſatis vna vocula ipſum qui innominabilis eſt poſſe nominare: & vno mentis conceptu/ vna ratione/ vna affirmante poſitione ſe poſſe eum qui incompræhẽſibilis eſt cõpræhendere. tantũ enim abeſt: q̄ vt queat punctum infinitam lineam menſurare. eſt enim ſuprema illa immenſitas (vt diuinus Paulus nos ad diuinas negationes eleuat) ſupra omne nomen quod nominatur/ non ſolum in hoc ſæculo: ſed etiam in futuro. Vides igitur quo pacto magnus ille Paulus omne nomen nominabile et in hoc/ & in altero ſæculo: de ſummo illo bono omnem mentem/ omneqꝫ verbum tranſcendente (quod & idem incompræhenſibili benignitate ad noſtra humilia deſcendit: in mundo viſum/ cõuerſatũ/ pro hominũ ſalute homo factum) paucis aufert. Diuinus ille Paulus: de quo/ deo dignus Ignatius. Poſſum inquit intelligere cœleſtia/ angelorũ ſcilicet atqꝫ archangelorum ordines/ principatuũ diuerſitates/ virtutum & dominationum differentias/ thronorum atqꝫ poteſtatum diſtantias/ æternorum magnificentias/ cherubim et ſeraphim excellentis ſpiritus ſublimitatẽ/ domini regnum/ & ſuper hæc omnia: omnitenẽtis dei incomparabilitatem. Hæc igitur ego cognoſcẽs/ non omnino perfectus aut diſcipulus eſſe poſſum: qualis Paulus aut Petrus. Hæc ergo ſacroſancta negatiua theologia: ſacræ ignorationis dux (quæ ſcientias ſupereminet omnes) nõ maledictis laceſſenda eſt: ſed ſummopere venerãda. vt quæ propinquius perducit ad eum qui vbiqꝫ et nuſq̄ eſt: et qui in omnibus/ & in nullis cognoſci gaudet/ in õnibus cognitus omniũ notorũ notiſſimus: pariter et ignotorũ ignotiſſimꝰ.

Pſal.138.

Exo.19.

Pſal.138.

Ephe.1.

Ignatiꝰ epiſtola.1.

10 ¶QVARTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

Quoniam dictum eſt in præcedenti capite/ in ablationibus eſſe ab infimis inchoandum & paulatim ad altiora conſcendendum: id exemplo hic manifeſtat ſacer Dionyſiꝰ/ & primũ ſenſibilia omnia aufert a deo: qui omnium tamen ſenſibilium author eſt & opifex. Cæterum ne quis arbitretur iſtas negationes per priuationem & defectum eſſe accipiendas: primum aliqua affirmat de deo/ proponens ꝙ cum omniũ rerum cauſa/ ſit eminenter ſuper omnia: & ſubſtantia eſt & vita/ & rationem habet & mentem. Deinde negationibus per ſuperexcellentiam intelligendis primum aufert ab eo ſenſibilia: quæ ad ſubſtantiam/ quantitatem/ aut qualitatem attinet. vtpote ꝙ neqꝫ corpus eſt ſubſtantiaqꝫ corporea/ neqꝫ figura neqꝫ forma: neqꝫ qualitatẽ/ quantitatem/ aut dimenſionem habet/ neqꝫ in loco eſt. Deinde negat omnem ſenſum & perceptionem ſenſibilem a deo: ſcilicet ꝙ neqꝫ videtur/ neqꝫ tactum habet ſenſibilem/ neqꝫ ſentit/ neqꝫ ſenſu percipi poteſt. Poſtea vero paſſionem omnem & affectum ani-

Cap.
5

mi remouet ab eo:dicens ꝙ prima omnium cauſa neq; temeritati aut perturbationi eſt obnoxia/neq; carnalibus agitata paſſionibus vt ira/triſtitia/concupiſcentia/ neq; inualida eſt aut fortuitis ſubiecta caſibus. Demum omnem motum & mutationem tollit ab ipſa õnium cauſa/perhibens ꝙ non eſt indiga luminis quoniam eſt lux immenſa: neq; permutationem aut corruptionem/diuiſionem aut fluxum admittit/ quoniã impers eſt & indemutabilis. Poſtremum vno verbo concludens omnia: dicit ꝙ prima omnium cauſa neq; aliud quicq̃ ſenſibilium eſt/ neq; in ſe habet, neq; id ab re quidem: quoniam ab omnibus ſenſibilibus eſteminenter excepta.

¶Qꝫ nil intelligibiliũ eſt:qui intelligibilis omnis rei author eſt. Cap.V.

RVrſus autem aſcendentes dicimus/vt neq; anima eſt/neq; II
ſenſus:neq; imaginationem/aut opinionem/ aut rationem/
aut intelligentiam habet.neq; ratio eſt/neq; intelligentia/
neq; dicitur/ neq; intelligitur:neq; numerus eſt/neq; multitudo/neq;
ordo/neq; magnitudo/neq; paruitas/neq; ęqualitas/neq;
ſimilitudo/neq; diſſimilitudo.neq; ſtat/neq; mouetur/
neq; agit quietem: neq; virtutem habet/neq; virtus eſt/neq; lux eſt.
neq; viuit/ neq; vita eſt/neq; ſubſtãtia eſt/neq; ſæculum/neq; tempus:neq;
tactus eſt ipſius ſpiritualis/neq; ſcientia/ neq; veritas eſt.neq; regnum/neq;
ſapientia/neq; vnum/neq; vnitas/neq; deitas aut bonitas: neq; ſpiritus eſt
N quantum ſcire ipſi poſſumus.neq; filij/ neq; patris eſt denominatio/ neq;
aliud aliquid ex ijs quæ nobis aut alteri cuiq̃ in mũdo eſt cognitum: neq;
aliquid eorum quæ non ſunt/ neq; eorum quæ ſunt eſt.neq; ea quæ ſunt:
illam ſciunt ſicut ipſa eſt. neq; ſcit ipſa quæ ſunt:ſicuti ſunt.neq; ſermo ipſius
eſt/neq; nomen/neq; ſcientia/neq; tenebræ/ neq; lux eſt:neq; error/
neq; veritas/neq; eſt ipſius vlla omnino poſitio/neq; ablatio. cæterum
cum eorum quæ poſt ipſam ſunt poſitiones & ablationes faciamus:ipſam
neq; ponimus/neq; auferimus. Nam & ſuper omnem poſitionem
eſt perfecta & ſingularis omnium cauſa/& ſuper ablationem omnem
excellentia ipſius illius:qui ſimpliciter abſolutus ab omnibus & vltra omnia
eſt.

N ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Neq; filij/neq; patris eſt denominatio. Neq; paternitas eſt/neq;(ſi ſermo patitur)filialitas.

¶QVINTI CAPITIS COMMENTARIVS AD LITTERAM.

A Senſibilibus ad intelligibilia aſcendendo/ per ablationem progrediẽs ſacer Dionyſius:hic omnia intelligibilia tollit a deo.& primum ea quæ animæ rationali vt corpori coniuncta vitam degit/conueniunt:ſcilicet ꝙ prima omnium cauſa neq; anima eſt rationalis/ neq; ſenſus aut virtus ſenſitiua/neq; imaginationem aut opinionẽ/ aut rationem aut intelligentiam habet. Deinde omnem ab ea aufert intelligendi modum & humanum & angelicum:cum dicit ꝙ prima omnium cauſa neq; ratio eſt neq; intelligentia/ neq; ſermone explicatur neq; intellectu capitur. Poſtea omnem quantitatem & qualitatem rebus intellectualibus conuenire ſolitam/ ab eadem ſuſtollit: dicens ꝙ neq; numerus eſt neq; multitudo/neq; ordo neq; magnitudo/neq; paruitas/neq; ęqualitas aut ĩęqualitas/neq; ſimilitudo neq; diſſimilitudo. Rurſũ oẽm motũ ſpiritualẽ itidẽ et vacationẽ ab eo/ſeparat ab illa:cũ ait ꝙ neq; ſtat neq; mouetur neq; quieſcit/neq; virtutẽ habet neq; virtus eſt/ neq; lux intellectualis. Gradus itidẽ rerũ & durationem oẽm/ſpiritualẽq; perceptionẽ tollit ab ipſa õniũ cauſa: cũ inquit ꝙ neq; viuit neq; vita eſt neq; ſubſtantia/ neq; ſæculũ eſt neq; tempus/ neq; vllo ſpirituali tactu percipitur/neq; ſciẽtia eſt neq; veritas. Præterea quæ ipſi deo in theologia affirmatiua peculiariter ſolent attribui: per theologiã negatiuã vere a prima omniũ cauſa remouet.

vtpote ꝙ ipſa neq; regnum eſt neq; ſapientia/neq; vnum neq; vnitas/neq; deitas aut bonitas eſt/neq; ſpiritus: quantum ipſi poſſumus dinoſcere. Verum omnia hæc ſumuntur hoc loco non abſolute & ſimpliciter/ſed contracte et participate: vt diuina deſignāt munera ſapientiæ/vnitatis/bonitatis & deitatis/in creaturas participatione diſtributa. Deniq; ſuperdiuinarum ſummæ trinitatis perſonarum appellationes tollit ab ipſa omnium cauſa: cum dicit ꝙ ipſi neq; patris neq; filij neq; ſpiritus ſancti eſt denominatio. quoniam ſuper omnia hæc nomina quæ pie perſonis diuinis applicamus: longe eminet. Neq; ipſa eſt aliud aliquid ex ijs quæ nobis/aut cœleſtibus ſpiritibus in mundo ſunt cognita: quoniam omnia ſublimiter tranſcendit. Poſtremum ſimpliciter omnia negat de illa omnium authore ac opifice cauſa: cum ait ꝙ ipſa neq; aliquid eorum quæ non ſunt neq; eorum quæ ſunt eſt. Neq; illa quæ ſunt vt homines & angeli/ſciunt illam omnium cauſam ſicuti eſt: ſed longe inferius et imperfectius. ſicut neq; oculus finitus videt lineam infinitam: aut lucem immenſam. Neq; ipſa omnium cauſa ſcit illa quæ ſunt ſicuti ſunt: ſed longe excellentius & ſublimius/ſcilicet in diuinis earum et æternis rationibus. Neq; ipſius vllus eſt ſermo/ſufficiens eam explicare: neq; nomen neq; ſcientia. neq; ipſius vllæ ſunt tenebræ quibus deliteſcat: neq; lux. neq; illius itidem omnium cauſæ vllus eſt error neq; veritas: neq; eſt ipſius vlla poſitio neq; ablatio. Sed cum eorum quæ poſt ipſam et ſub ipſa ſunt/vtpote ſubſiſtētium omnium poſitiones aut ablationes faciamus: ipſam tamen primam omnium cauſam neq; ponimus neq; auferimus. Nam ipſa perfecta et ſingularis omnium cauſa: ſuper omnem eſt poſitionē. et excellētia illius qui ſimpliciter abſolutus ab omnibus et vltra omnia eſt: ſuper omnem etiam eſt ablationem et negationem propter eximiam ſuam eminentiam. Cui ſecundum ſuæ maieſtatis magnitudinem et immenſitatem: ſit laus/honor et gloria in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

¶ Dionyſij Areopagitæ de myſtica
theologia ad honorē eius qui
ſuum thronū inacceſſibilē
collocauit: et inacceſſibilem lucem inhabitat/
finis.

¶Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ Athenienſis epiſcopi et galliarum apoſtoli epiſtolæ.

¶Ad Caium cultorem. Epiſt.I.

A TEnebræ luce vaneſcunt.eoqꝫ magis:quo maior fue-
rit copia luminis.ignorantiā/agnitiones excludūt.
B atqꝫ eo itidem magis:quo illæ fuerint plures.Hæc
autem per eminentiam et non per priuationem di-
cta accipe.et vere prorſus enuncia:ꝙ lateat profe-
cto eos(qui hāc habēt)vera illa lux/rerūqꝫ ſciētia/
ea ſcilicet quę dicitur in deo ignoratio:et quę illi ſu-
pereminent tenebræ,totoqꝫ illæ operiuntur lumi-
ne:omnemqꝫ ſcientiam fugiunt. Ac ſi quis conſpi-
catus deum/id ipſum quod vidit intellexit:non ipſum intuitus eſt/ſed eius
aliquid ex ijs quę ſunt/&in noticiam cadunt. Cæterum ipſe(ꝙ ſupra men-
tem omnem/atqꝫ ſubſtantiam locatus emineat)eo ipſo ꝙ omnino/neqꝫ ſci-
ri/neqꝫ eſſe dicitur:et superſubſtantialiter eſt/& ſuper omnem mentem/atqꝫ
intelligentiam noſcitur.pręſtanſqꝫ illa et perfecta ignoratio:eius vera cogni-
tio eſt/qui omnibus noſcibilibus eminet.

A ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentū.Caius monachus per epiſtolam ſci-
ſcitatus eſt:quid diuina eſſet ignoratio.Cui beatus pater hac epiſtola vt in hac materia
par eſt ſatiſfaciens:primū finit diuinā ignorationem ſcientiam eſſe eius lucis quæ lateat
habentē/ſcientiam tenebrarū quæ toto lumine opertæ omnem cognitionē fugiunt/om-
ni cognitioni abſconſæ.Rurſum diuinā ignorationem/veram cognitionē eius eſſe:qui
B omnibus ſupereminet cognoſcibilibus. ¶Hæc autem per eminētiā & nō per priuationē
dicta accipe.Qꝫq̄ hæc prima epiſtolæ particula.tenebræ luce vaneſcunt/eoq; magis:quo
maior fuerit copia luminis.ignorantiam agnitiones excludunt:atqꝫ eo itidem magis/
quo illæ fuerint plures.de tenebris noſtris/& ignorantia noſtra quæ per defectū dicitur
vera eſt.id tamen præſenti in loco altius/diuiniuſqꝫ accipi oportet nō per priuationem
et defectum/ dictum:ſed per eminentiam.Qꝫdiu enim aliqua lux rerum quarumcunqꝫ
menti noſtræ ſuffulget:diuinæ tenebræ latent.Et q̄diu alicuius rei cognitio mentē ſubit:
ad diuinam non pertingit ignorantiā.et quo magis quod contēplatur mens appræhen-
dit:eo magis a diuina illa ignoratione diſcedit.Hæc beatus pater ad quæſtionem Caij
monachi adduxit. ¶Vbi aduertendū eſt/temporibus apoſtolorum ſtatim fuiſſe mona-
chos:de quibus & beatus pater in ſecunda parte ſexti capitis eccleſiaſticæ hierarchiæ
meminit.et item aduertendū:eoſdem eſſe monachos/cultores/& therapeutas.Et ope-
ræpreciū eſt ex hiſtoria extra noſtros/eorū etiam qui tēporibus apoſtolorū fuere:de eiſ-
dem paucula admonere.Philo Iudęus qui illa ætate viuebat:fidele Chriſtianis primiti-
uæ eccleſiæ in libro de contēplatiua vita perfert teſtimoniū.Therapeutæ(inquit)primū
renūciant cunctis facultatibus ſuis.Et qui ſe ad huiuſcemodi philoſophiā dedūt:bonis
ſuis ad aliorum vtilitatem in quorū re eſt cedunt/omnes vitæ ſolicitudines procul abij-
cientes.extra vrbes in conſitis locis aut agellis vitam ducunt.diſſimilis vitæ conſortia
deuitant:rati arduum virtutis iter volentibus ingredi/id ipſum eſſe impedimentū.Et in
multis orbis regionibus id genus hominū reperitur:nā & oportebat huius perfecti boni
participē fieri omnē Gręciam/Barbariāqꝫ omnem.In Aegypto tamen per ſingula quæq;
territoria maior copia increbreſcit/maiorq; numerus:et maximopere circa Alexādriam.
Quibus/ſingulis in locis conſecrata eſt orationis domus:quæ ſemmon/& honeſtorum
conuentus appellatur.in quā prorſus nichil eorum quæ ad cibū potumqꝫ pertinēt/et re-
liqua humani corporis officia:verū tantum legis codices/prophetarū volumina/hym-
noſq; in deū/& id genus ſimilia inferunt.in quorū intelligentijs et exercitationibus im-
buti:ad perfectā vitam indefeſſa cura aſſurgunt.Ab ortu autē ſolis ad ſolis occaſum:to-

De primarijs Chriſtianis pontificibꝰ ſacerdotibꝰ plebe ſancta

Et primum de cultoribus ex hiſtoria.

Determinatio Philonis Iudęi.

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1773/D

tum id temporis interuallū in suorum studiorū exercitationibus consumunt. quibus ad diuinam philosophiā: per sacras litteras profundius imbuuntur. Patrū leges ad allegoricam quandā intelligentiam deducūt: formas quasdā & imagines esse ducentes ea quę in lege scripta sunt/sed latētis introrsus & profundi cuiusdā/diuiniq; mysterij. Et legem hi viri corporeo animali comparāt: ꝙ littera vt corpus sit. anima vero: spiritualis quidā et inuisibilis sensus in littera occultus. quem a suis authoribus edocti: sublimius/atq; generosius veluti per speculū inspicientes contemplātur. Habent enim ij viri determinationes quasdam & interpretationes priscorum virorum: qui suæ sectæ authores extitere. et quos hanc figuratiuæ intelligētiæ normā eis ipsis tradidisse: q̄plurimis scriptorū suorum constat monumētis. Itaq; non modo subtilius intelligunt hymnos veterū: verum et ipsi nouos in deum conponūt/omnibus cum metris tum sonis/honestaq; admodum et suaui compage modulantes. Continētiam vero veluti fundamentum quoddā: primum iaciunt in anima. et ita demū reliquas super hanc pergunt extruere virtutes. Nullusq; inter eos cibum/potūq; ante solis sumit occasum: tēpus lucis philosophiæ lectionibus/curam vero corporis tenebris cōmittētes. et eorum nonnulli etiam post triduū in cōmunionem cibi veniūt: vtpote quos contēplationum auiditas vehemētius perurgens detinet. Hi namq; inter eos qui eruditionibus sapientiæ & profundiore sacrorū voluminū intelligentia rapiūtur(haud secus q̄ auidiuscule famescētes: ciborū copijs)lectione expleri/exaturariq; nequeūt: quinimmo acrius inflāmātur. adeo etiā vt neq; quarto neq; iā quinto: sed sexto demū die non tam desideratū/q̄ pernecessarium corpori indulgeant cibum. Præterea vero præter viros(quos iam memorati sumus)sunt & fœminæ quædā: quarum complures iam grandeuæ virgines sunt/integritatē casti corporis non necessitate aliqua/verum pura deuotione seruantes. dum sapientiæ studijs semetipsas gestiunt non animo solum/sed & corpore consecrare: indignū putantes libidini mancipare vas ad recipiendam sapientiā præparatum/& ædere mortalem partū a quibus diuini verbi sacrosāctus/purus/& immortalis expetitur cōtactus/ex quo posteritas relinquatur: corruptionis/mortisq; non obnoxia. Et viri seorsum habitant: itidem & mulieres seorsum a viris/secretos seiunctosq; conuētus habentes. Vinum quidē omnino: nec gustu attingunt/nec carnem quālibet. tantum aqua illis poculū: & panis cum sale/vel olusculis/cibus. ministros/sacerdotes/et pontifices habēt: mysteria illis rite exhibentes. Hæc ex Philone Iudęo(qui apostolorum tēpore vixit)hic ideo adiecta sunt: vt homines intelligant q̄ pura/sancta/& immaculata erat primariorum ad regnū dei vocatorū & vita/et philosophia: amplius etiam q̄ vir Iudæus qui ad eorum secretiora non admittebatur: sua colligere potuerit historia. ¶Et nō defuerūt nōnulli qui propter hæc & similia de primarijs Christianis monumenta: omnes a principio fuisse therapeutas arbitrarētur. Sed satius ex beato patre cap. sexto ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ veritatis huius rei determinatio intelligenda est: Christianos ea etiam tempestate in pontifices/sacerdotes/ministros/therapeutas & plebē sanctam partiens atq; dirimens. quod & idem epistola octaua quę est ad Demophilū monachum/rursum cōmemorat. norat enim singula quæq;(ut sic dicā)penitius/atq; intimius q̄ Philo Iudæus: qui ad Christianorū secretiora(vt dictū est)non admittebatur. Et fuerūt qui idem opinarentur: quia apostolicorū actuum cap. quarto scriptū sit. Multitudinis autem credentiū erat cor vnum/& anima vna: nec quisq̄ eorū quæ possidebat aliquid suum esse dicebat: sed erant illis omnia cōmunia. quotquot enim possessores agrorū/aut domorum erant: vendētes afferebant precia eorū quæ vendebant/& ponebant ante pedes apostolorū. Sed non satis animaduertunt id dictū esse de ijs qui erāt Hierosolymis/de discipulis/& ijs qui se discipulis adiunxerant. quorū q̄plurimi dominum adhuc in terris versatum: & viderant et audiuerant. et id non est therapeutas esse atq; monachos: verū potius domini discipulos/discipulorum socios/& imitatores. Si enim longius in actibns progredimur: legemus cap. nono/quo pacto Paulus infertur Damascū in domum Iudæ Christiani. Lidde Tabita possidebat: vnde eleemosynas plurimas faceret. Petrus ī domo Simonis coriarij hospitio suscipitur. Et cap. decimo fidelis legitur Marci mater: domum habēs & familiā curās. Et cap. decimo sexto. Lidia Philippis cum tota familia regenerata domum habet: Paulū et Barnabam hospitio suscipit. si iudicastis me inquit fidelē domino esse: introite in domū meam/& manete. et coegit eos. Et Paulus ad Cotinthios scribens. nūquid domos non habetis(inquit)ad manducandū & bibendū? Et dat pręcepta beatissimus Paulus de dominis & seruis/viris et vxoribus/patre liberis/& familia curan-

Cultrices/
et primarię
Christi famulæ.

1.corin.11.

Ephe.5.6.

Coloſ.3.4. da:quæ cultorũ non ſunt & omnibus diuiſibilibus vitis abrenũciantiũ/ſed plebis ſanctæ
et aliorũ ſacrorũ ſtatuum. Et mirabili prouidẽtia/& ordine põtifices:prophetas/preſbyteros/
Actu.14. & miniſtros eccleſijs(vt in actibus legitur)diſponebãt. cũ enim inquit cõſtituiſſent
illis per ſingulas eccleſias preſbyteros/& oraſſent cũ ieiunationibus:cõmendauerũt eos
Titũ.1. domino/in quẽ crediderũt. Et Paulus ad Titũ. et cõſtituas per ciuitates preſbyteros. Ex
his igitur ſatis patere puto:in primatiua eccleſia fuiſſe pontifices/ſacerdotes/miniſtros/
monachos/& plebẽ ſanctã:queadmodũ hũc nobis ſacrũ ordinẽ diuine mõſtrauit beatiſſimus
pater. Et videtur hic ordo:in primitiuis eccleſijs fuiſſe. Solus põtifex in ſecretius
adytũ ſanctaq; ſanctorũ intrabat. ſacerdotes & ſacrorũ miniſtri:intra adytorũ ſepta continebãtur.
cultores qui & monachi ad adytorũ valuas proxime aſtabãt. hos ſequebatur
1.corin.11. plebs ſancta virorũ/nudato vertice orans. õnis(inquit diuinus Paulus)vir orãs aut prophetans
velato capite:deturpat caput ſuũ. caput enim viri:CHRISTVS eſt. Viros ſanctæ
velatæ ſequebãtur mulieres. Mulier(inquit Paulus)orans aut prophetãs non velato
capite:deturpat caput ſuũ. caput enim mulieris:vir eſt. Inter quas ſi cultrices & famulæ
erãt:frontẽ in ordine ſanctarũ mulierũ a viris ſeparato tenebãt. et liberi qui tantuli eſſent
maſculi ad patres:femellæ ad matres accedebãt. Qui vero nondũ regenerati eſſẽt/apoſtatæ/
immũdi/& pœnitẽtes:extra ſacra delubra extorres arcebãtur. neq; quicq̃ immũdum
ſinebatur locũ ſacrũ introire:orationibus/thymiamatũ odoribus/& ſacramẽtorũ
Exo.19. participationibus ordinatũ. conſtitues inquit terminos populo per circuitũ:& dices ad
eos/cauete ne aſcẽdatis in montẽ/nec tangatis fines illius. õnis qui tetigerit montẽ:morte
morietur. ſiue iumẽtũ fuerit/ſiue homo:non viuet. Et ſtati a principio in prima ſpõſæ
CHRISTI eccleſiæ prole:videtur dies dominica ſpiritualibus ſacrificijs/& cõgregationi
Apo.1. fideliũ deputata. de qua Ioannes euãgeliſta in apocalypſi. Ego inquit Ioannes frater
veſter/& particeps in tribulatione/et regno/& patiẽtia in IHESV CHRISTSO:fui in
inſula quæ appellatur Pathmos ꝓpter verbũ dei in teſtimoniũ IHESV. fui in ſpiritu in
Ignatius dominica die. Itidẽ meminit & Ignatius. Congregato igiť in illa beatiſſima die(quę verũ
epiſtola.1. ſabbatũ eſt fideliũ/atq; in ſpiritu regeneratorũ)ſacro pricipatu/miniſtris/& plebe ſãcta:
põtifex ſacra peragebat. ſacerdotes ſanctũ panẽ & benedictionis calicẽ adoperta:ſacris
imponebãt altaribus. Hymnos cũ pontifice pſallebãt. illi proximi aſſiſtebãt ſacris in proceſſibus
ad phani etiã nouiſſima per circuitũ:& ad ſacroſancta altaria regreſſibus/alijſq;
ſanctificationibus. et miniſtri ſuo ordine ſacerdotes aſſequebãtur. Pontifex venerãdum
cõficiebat ſacramẽtũ:ſanctiſſima ſigna in proſpectũ faciẽs/primus ſacrorũ effectus particeps.
mox ſacerdotib9 proxime auguſtiſſimorũ ſacrorũ cõmunionẽ faciebat. Suſceptis
autẽ ſacris perfecti ſacerdotes:ſanctã cõmunionẽ miniſtris diuidebãt. & poſt miniſtrorũ
perfectionẽ ijdem ſacerdotes:ſuperſubſtãtialẽ panẽ/& ſuperbenedictũ calicẽ ſuo ordine
therapeutis/& plebi ſanctæ a ſupremis ad nouiſſima procedẽtes diſtribuebãt. Nulla tũc
illis inerat cõfuſio:õnia tũc ad diuinorũ imitationẽ & ornatũ efficiebant. Ad quod quidẽ
et inſtituẽdũ & inuiolabiliter perpetuo ſeruandũ:ſãctiſſimi huius ſpiritualis vitæ duces/
diuinas illuminationes & ſpiritũ ſanctũ acceperãt. ad quod rurſum ex veteribus legis cerimonijs
iuuabãtur:ex vmbra lucẽ/& ex veſtigio veritatẽ perueſtigãtes ſapiẽter. quam
Philo Iudæus allegoricã/ figuralẽq; appellat intelligẽtiã. Verũ amplius ex beatiſſimi patris
ſacris operibus:quæ illorũ verorũ Chriſtianorũ & vita/et dignitas/& officia eſſent/
intelliges. Nũc vero nobis incõſolabiliter/& gemendũ/et plorandũ eſt. iactamus enim
nos eſſe Chriſtianos:& ſi ſumus/videamus ne nõ veri ſimus. et ne CHRISTVS princeps
regũ omniũ/& dominus dominãtiũ:nos tanq̃ falſa & adulterata numiſmata repudiet.
ſacramẽta ſine honore iacẽt:non intellecta/nõ venerata. altaria calcãtur. ruſtici nũc
ſuper illa(ſi quãdo indigni loca ſancta adeũt)innixi vtroq; cubito & mẽto ſtertũt:& ſuas
crapulas eructãt. et nõ licebat in vmbra veri altaris:montẽ ſine morte neq; homini/neq;
pecori attingere. omnibus ſancta ſanctorũ patent:cõfuſa ſunt ſumma in imis/& in imis
ſũma. Idiotæ & deſertores/pontifici dũ ſacra peragũtur:propius aſtant. nullus miniſter
pro foribus vigilat. omnia immũda admittuntur. pœnitẽtiæ ceſſant. apoſtatæ & prophani:
a ſanctis non decernũtur. qui ſe therapeutas dicũt:vitas diuiſibiles maxime amant.
omnes ſua ignorãt officia. Et ĩ hac cõfuſione & ignorãtia:horrẽda ſuperbia creuit in temerario
Nume.16. auſu/& attẽtatione ſacrorũ:ſuper eã quæ Chore eſt:nũc æternis in abyſſis dãnata.
In infimis hæc ſuperbia regnat:quæ illos efferre & inſolẽter audere vltra quod debent
facit. in ſupremis autẽ puſillanimitas maxima/ſed maximę ambitioni cõiuncta:quę

facit eos nichil ſuæ dignitatis cogitare/nichil ſui officij:& ad magiſtratus impatientius
anhelare/& plane delirorū more ridere cū plorātibus. Angeli etiā noſtri plorāt:vidētes
noſtrā peruerſionē/quorū cuſtodiā ſuſceperāt. Ploremus igitur qui ſolū CHRISTI nomen
habemus/& nō vitā:cum angelis noſtris plorātibus. cōuertamus nos/& omnia ordinemus:
& tūc veraciter cognoſcemus an habemus benigniſſimos noſtri piā prouidentiam
gerētes angelos. Qui ad ſolē ſe non cōuertit:ſolē nunq̄ videt. oculus cęcutit in tenebris:
ſed ſine lucis iniuria atq; culpa. æger qui medicū nō audit:pœnas ſuſtinet acerbas/
et ipſam deniq; mortē. et id medici nō eſt volūtas:nō eſt pij medici ſanare volētis culpa.
Ploremus igitur quia cæcutimus in tenebris/viſumq; perdidimus. ploremus quia dabimus
pœnas in interitu æternas. et deus lux eſt/ſūmuſq; medicus:quare id præter lucis
et ſummi medici prorſus patiemur culpā. nos ſoli noſtrę ruinę/noſtrę mortis & interitus
cauſa ſumus. Nos ſumus illi ſtulti de quibus Paulus ad Galatas:qui cum ſpiritu cœperimus/ Gala. 3.
carne cōſūmamur. nullus regenerationē ſuam cogitat:nullus vota & promiſſiones
CHRISTO ſpirituū domino factas. Et vultis amplius cognoſcere:quā cōfuſionē rebus
inducimus ſacris. ſanctuariū/cœlū eſt. pōfex eſt deus. teletæ/ſacramēta/ſāctificationeſq;
in ſua etiā inferiore ſignificatione:ſacer ſunt ſupremus cœleſtiū ordo. ſacerdotes:medius.
miniſtri:angelorū rebus amminiſtrātiū humanis infimi. Plebs ſancta:digni ſūt in hoc
mūdo prouidētia dei. apoſtatæ/deſertores/& īpœnitētes:peſſimi dæmones. et tāto magis:
ſi ex ſacro principatu illi erāt qui defecerūt. Porta igitur cœli nūc ſine angelorū cuſto
dia eſt:ōni immūdicię patet. apoſtatę dęmones ad adytū dei ꝓpius accedūt. ſupremi cœ
leſtes angeli:abſiſtūt longius. ſubiecti ſupra ſuū principatū:& audēt et aſcendūt. ſupremus
principatus proterue contēdit ſimilis fieri altiſſimo:& de pari imperio contēdere.
mortales:ſupra angelos moliūtur aſcēdere. maior nūc q̄ olim gigantū:mundū occupat
ſuperbia/cōfuſio maior. Siccine cœleſtia pīgimus? et nichilominus cū his ōnibus/& blaſphemijs/
& diuinorū deriſionibus:credimus ferme deū vniuerſorū dominum nobis eſſe
debitorē. Et id vltimū:nimiū verū eſt. debet enim nobis pœnas/& dura flagella. Sed in
hoc mira eius cognoſcitur benignitas:ꝙ nos tā diu ſuſtinet/tā diu tolerat. Hæc ſigna in
cœlo/in ſole/in luna:manifeſte cōſpiciūtur. & prīceps mūdi huius ſolutꝰ eſt:qui regnat
ſuper filios ſuperbiæ. & hūc rebus induxit horrorē:et hāc æternæ noctis & cōfuſionis ca
liginē. filijs ſuis oculos eruit:ne illā cōfuſionē videāt/& pœniteāt/et curētur. Scit enī quia
deus benignus eſt/& miſericors:et multus ad ignoſcēdū. ipſe vero/crudeliſſimꝰ tyrānus:
et a principio ſuæ defectionis multus ad nocēdū. cui ſoli in hac cōfuſionis nocte mācipia
ſeruimus. Et neq; ignoramus ſcriptum eſſe. anima quæ per ſuperbiam peccauerit/ſiue Nume. 15.
ciuis ſit:ſiue peregrinus(quoniā aduerſus deū rebellis fuit)peribit de populo ſuo. Non
ignoramus eū qui fragmēta lignorū in ſabbato colligebat:diuino iudicio morte mulctatū. Ibidem.
et alia innumera ad noſtrā doctrinā & exēplū ſcripta. Sabbatū enim/dies domini eſt:
nūc paſſim vbiq; violata/& nomē eius vbiq; blaſphemijs impetitū. Illis autē quibꝰ talia
in figura cōtingebāt/diuina trāſgrediētibus:viſibilis mors iminebat. nos autē proculdubio(
niſi miſericordia dei præueniat/& anticipet:cuius pleni ſūt cœli & terra)inuiſibilis et
mors ſecūda manet. Sol mane indubitatus oritur:tenebræ noctē ſuffundūt. ſed certiora
ſūt iudicia dei & indubitabiliora:quę nobis diuinitus ſcripta ſūt. et cœlū & terra trāſibūt: Lucæ. 21.
verba autē illa non trāſibūt. Hæc ipſa ſemel locuta eſt veritas:vt credatis. nam ſi crederetis:
hāc horrendā cōfuſionē/& vitā perditiſſimis dæmonibus ſimillimā non ſineretis.
Deū igitur ad veſtrā ſalutē aduocate in auxilium. bonus enim eſt/& ſuperbonus:ſuipſius
profuſor/propagator/& illuminator. Cōciliū cōuocate/perquirite/et arbitriū cōmittite
ſāctis viris:ex deo nō ex mūdo ſapiētibꝰ. qui ōni cura & diligētia prę ſētibus cū antiquis
collatis:nūc ex maiori luce ad minorē/nūc figurā & vmbrā in ſuam reuocātes veritatē:
quod inordinatū eſt/ad formā/ordineq; redigant. Nōn potui reuera extremū noſtrorū
temporū(vt michi profecto viſū eſt)caſum miſeratus:nō tanta de Chriſtianis dixiſſe.

¶ Ad eundem Caium. Epiſt. II.

Quonam modo is qui vniuerſa tranſcendit:ipſam quoq; celſitudinē deitatis ac bonitatis excellit? Si deitatē atq; bonitatem/rem ipſam intelligas benefici ac deifici muneris:imitationemq; illam ſummi dei/ſūmiq; boni nequaq̄ imitabilis/ per quam dij ac boni efficimur/cogites. Nam ſi hoc ijs qui C

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ad id euaſere dignitatis vt dij boniq; fierēt/initium eſt: profecto is qui principium omne vi ſuæ maieſtatis excellit/ eam quoq; (quam ſic dicimus deitatem/atq; bonitatem) hunc in modum deitatem/boniq; principatum ſuperat. queadmodū qui imitationi/captuiq; nō patet: imitationes/captuſq; præcellit/& imitantes atq; participantes.

C ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentū. Interrogauit Caius per epiſtolā/cur deus qui ſuper omnia eſt: etiam vt ſuper bonitatē/ac deitatem exiſtēs celebretur. Cuius ambiguitatē beatiſſimus pater: per homonymitatē bonitatis/ac deitatis diſſoluit. Nam interdū/& bonitas/et deitas non abſolute dicūtur: ſed contracte/atq; participate. et tunc quoq; benefica/& deifica munera inſinuāt: a quibus et boni/& dij multi/et in cœlo/et in terra dicuntur. qua in ſignificatione perpalam eſt/deum & ſuper bonitatē/et ſuper deitatem eſſe: recte dici poſſe. Alio modo bonitas & deitas/abſoluta/incontracta/imparticipataq; intelliguntur: ſecundum quam ſignificationem diuinus inquit Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. octauo. Scimus q nullus deus niſi vnus. Et Marcus cap. decimo. Nemo bonus niſi vnus deus. Et rurſum Paulus eodem in loco: ſed in prima ſignificatione. Nam & ſi ſunt qui dicantur dij/ſiue in cœlo/ ſiue in terra: ſiquidem ſunt dij multi & domini multi. Et ſtatim ſubiungit in ſecunda ſignificatione. Nobis tamen vnus deus pater: ex quo omnia/& nos in illo. et vnus dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS: per quem omnia/et nos per ipſum. Et hæ duæ ſignificationes in ſacris litteris frequentes et vſitatæ/peculiareſq; ſunt.

¶Ad eundem Caium. Epiſt. III.

D REpente dicitur: cum quid præter ſpem/ac veluti ex abdito quodam profertur in lucem. Porro in ſacramento humanitatis CHRISTI: hoc etiam arbitror theologiam ſignificare voluiſſe. q ex occulto ſuperſubſtātialis ille deus/in conſpectum noſtrum repente proceſſerit/humana ſubſtantia et carne veſtitus. occultus autem etiam poſt reuelationem illam ſiue (vt diuinius loquar) in ipſa quoq; ſui reuelatione perdurat. Et hac enim ex parte IHESVS ſecretus occulitur: nulloq; vel ſermone vel animo ipſius myſterium promitur. ſed & cum profertur/arcanum: & dum intelligitur/manet incognitum.

D ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS ¶Argumentū. Interrogauit Caius beatiſſimū patrē per epiſtolā: quid dictio repēte/ſiue ſtatī deſignet in hoc ſacro Malachiæ prophetæ cap. tertio oraculo. Et ſtatim veniet ad tēplū ſuū dominator quē vos quæritis: & angelus teſtamēti quē vos vultis. Ecce venit: dicit dominus exercituū. & quis poterit cogitare diē aduētus eius? et quis ſtabit ad vidēdū eū? ipſe enim quaſi ignis cōflās/& quaſi herba fullonum. et ſedebit cōflās & emūdabit argētū/et purgabit filios Leui. et colabit eos quaſi argentū: & erūt domino offerētes ſacrificia in iuſtitia. et placebit domino ſacrificiū Iudæ: ſicut dies ſeculi/& ſicut anni ātiqui. Et nō modo quid ſtatī/atq; repēte hic ſignificet/indicat ſacerrimus pater: verū & id quoq; declarat. & quis poterit cogitare diē aduētus eius? et quis ſtabit ad videndū eum? Nā aduētus eius cognitus eſt/et nō cognitus. et in terris viſus eſt: & non viſus. venit enim vere humana ſubſtātia & carne circūdatus: occultus etiā poſt reuelationē & in ipſa reuelatione perdurās. & id myſteriū dū profertur/manet arcanū: & dū intelligitur/incognitū. Id eſt enim: quod ſpiritus ſanctus per prophetā dicit. Et quis poterit cogitare diē aduentus eius? et quis ſtabit ad videndum eum? Baruch. 3.

¶Ad eundem Caium. Epiſt. IIII.

E Vonam modo (inquis) IHESVS qui cuncta tranſcendit: hominibus cæteris eſſentiæ communione coordinatur? Nō enim vt author hominum hoc loco homo dicitur: ſed vt re vera homo/tota ſubſtantię veritate circundatus. Nos autem

IHESVM nō humana ratione diffinimus.neqꝫ enim ille:homo tantum
eſt.neqꝫ ſuperſubſtantialis eſſe poſſet:qui homo tantum eſſet.ſed eſt homo
verus:qui ſingulari benignitate amator hominum/ſupra homines/ac ſecū-
dum homines ex hominum ſubſtantia carnem ſuperſubſtantialis accepit.
Eſt autem nichilominus altiſſimæ illius/diuinæqꝫ ſubſtantiæ/is qui ſem-
per ſuperſubſtātialis eſt:perq̃ plenus/atqꝫ exuberans.Itaqꝫ a tanta magni-
tudinis celſitudine ad noſtra etiam veraciter infirma deſcendens:vltra hu-
manum modum ſubſtantiam noſtræ carnis accepit.ac ſupra hominem:
quæ ſunt hominis geſſit.Cuius rei euidens indicium eſt:virgo excellentis F
miraculi nouitate concipiēs.& aqua inſtabilis ac fluida:materialium/terre- G
norumqꝫ pedum ſuſtinens pondus/nec cedens.ſed ſupermundana/admi-
randaqꝫ potētia cōſtans:ad materiæ ſolidioris imaginem.Q uid vero cæ-
tera quæ ſunt permulta commemorem?per quæ(ſi quis ea digne & vltra
modum capacitatis humanæ mentis diſcutiat)animaduertet ea etiam quę
in ſumma illa IHESV benignitate affirmatiue dicuntur:vim excellentio-
ris negationis habere reconditam.Namqꝫ vt breuiter dixerim:neqꝫ homo
ille erat.non quaſi non homo/humanæqꝫ cōditionis exors:ſed veluti ex ho
minibus vltra homines/ac ſuper hominem/homo veraciter factus. Iam
quoqꝫ neqꝫ diuina vt deus:neqꝫ vt homo humana perficiens.ſed deo homi-
ne facto:nouam quandā/ac inuſitatam ex diuinitate atqꝫ humanitate per-
mixtam operationem/nobiſcum quidem conuerſatus oſtendens. E

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumētum.Interrogauit Caius per epiſtolam
beatiſſimum patrē:qui fieri poſſet vt IHESVS qui cuncta tranſcendit/in hominū ſerie/
ſpecie/atq; ordine reponatur?Cui reſpondet beatiſſimus pater.Cum dicitur ſuperſub-
ſtantialis IHESVS homo eſt in aliorum hominū ſerie/ſpecie/atqꝫ ordine: vt leo in ſpe-
cie & ordine leonū.hoc in loco homo non capitur vt exēplare nomen eſt:quo modo
omnia rerum nomina ſupramūdane/& exemplariter intellecta/nomina ſunt dei.quem-
admodū petra/robur/& ſaluator:cū eloquia dicunt.dominus petra mea/& robur meū/ 2.regū.22.
et ſaluator meus.verum ea in ſignificatione capitur homo:qua dicitur aut Paulus/aut
Petrus apoſtolus/homo eſt.Sed tamē beatus pater pie ammonet Caium:non humana
tantum ratione/non diuina tantum/IHESVM eſſe diffiniēdum.quippe qui vtrāq; na-
turam incōfuſe ſine conuerſione ſeruet.vnus tamen dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS.
Et hæc quidem:abſoluta eſt/imparticipata/& impaſſibilis bonitas et diuinitas/immorta-
lis/inuiſibilis/incompræhēſibilis.Illa vero:cōtracta/participata/& paſſibilis.vt qui vere
pro nobis mortuus & paſſus ſit:viſibilis et cōpræhēſibilis.Et illa ſublimitas/illa ſumma
maieſtas(quę ſuper omnes thronos & ſublimitatem cœlorū omnē/immēſe ſuper collo
cata eſt)ad noſtræ naturę humilia ſe inclinauit:ſeſe natura noſtra vt veſtimēto ineffabi-
liter induens(cui nichil impoſſibile:nichil reſiſtere valet)quam ſuper thronos/& omnē
cœlorum ſublimitatē vnde ad nos ſe inclinauerat/exaltauit.ea etiam ſemper ex parte:
noſtræ naturæ(excepta peccātiæ fragilitate)proprietatem ſeruans.Regū enim huius
ſæculi primores ſe beatos putāt:qui ad regis purpuram admittūtur.Hæc profecto regis
æterni purpura precioſa eſt:per quā voluit redimere & ſæcula.Vides igitur vitæ cōtem-
platricis amator/vt qui IHESVM dicit:non ſolum diuinitatē dicit/neqꝫ humanitatem
ſolum.ſed diuinitatem ſuper omnia exiſtētem vera humana ſubſtātia indutā:& huma-
nitatem in diuinitate immenſa/modo ineffabili aſſumptā/eiqꝫ counitam ſuper omnia/et Hebræ.2.
ideo non ab re ſuper omnia axaltatā.Nuſq̃ enim(vt diuinus inquit Paulus)angelos ap-
præhendit:ſed ſemen Abrahæ.Et modus huius altiſſimæ appræhenſionis atq; vnionis
manet hominibus ineffabilis & ignotus:vt nemo quęrat ſupra ſuū ſenſum ſurgere.Hic Pſal.69.
eſt de quo per ſpiritum ſanctū dictum eſt.annunciauerūt cœli iuſtitiam eius:et viderūt
omnes populi gloriam eius.adorate eum omnes angeli eius:audiuit & lætata eſt Sion.

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quoniam tu dominus altiſſimus ſuper omnem terram: nimis exaltatus es ſuper omnes
deos. Et Stephanus cum eſſet plenus ſpiritu ſancto intēdens in cœlum: vidit gloriā dei/
et IHESVM ſtantem a dextris virtutis dei/ & ait. Ecce video cœlos apertos: et filium
hominis ſtantē a dextris virtutis dei. Et Paulus ad Epheſios. vt ſciatis quæ ſit ſpes vo-
cationis eius/ & quę diuitię glorię hæreditatis eius in ſanctis: & quæ ſit ſupereminēs ma-
gnitudo virtutis eius in nos/ qui credimus ſecundū operationē potentiæ virtutis eius:
quā operatus eſt in CHRISTO ſuſcitans illū a mortuis/ & conſtituēs ad dexterā ſuam
in cœleſtibus ſupra omnē principatū/ & poteſtatem/ et virtutē/ & dominationē: et om-
Apoca. 5. ne nomen quod nominatur non ſolū in hoc ſæculo/ ſed etiā in futuro. Et Ioannes in di-
uinæ mentis exceſſu: videt & audit vocē angelorū multorū in circuitu throni/ & anima-
lium & ſeniorū (et erat numerus eorū milia milium) dicentium voce magna. dignus eſt
agnus qui occiſus eſt accipere virtutē/ & dignitatem/ et ſapiētiā/ & fortitudinē/ et hono-
rem/ & gloriam et benedictionē. et ōnē creaturā quę in cœlo eſt/ & ſuper terrā/ et ſub ter
ra/ & quæ ſūt in mari/ et quæ ſunt in eo/ ōnes audiui dicētes: ſedēti in throno & agno be
nedictio/ & honor/ et gloria/ & poteſtas in ſæcula ſæculorū. Ex his ſufficiēter patere puto
quo pacto ſuperbenedictus & ſubſtātialis & ſuperſubſtātialis IHESVS ōnia trāſcēdit/ nō
modo ſecundū diuinitatē exaltatus: ſed & ſecundū humanitatē. Et hoc ſacramentū qui
oculos quibus intelligētiam penetret habeat: ex ſeptimo cœleſtis hierarchiæ capite/ & di
F uine & pie intelliget. Sed hactenus ſatis. ¶ Cuius rei euidens indicium eſt virgo: excellē
tis miraculi nouitate concipiens. Hæc eſt virgo ſemper ſancta: de qua Eſaias cap. ſepti-
mo. Propter hoc dabit dominus ipſe vobis ſignum. Ecce virgo cōcipiet/ & pariet filium:
et vocabitur nomē eius Emanuel. Et de qua Lucas cap. primo. Miſſus eſt angelus Ga-
briel a deo in ciuitatē Galileæ cui nomen Nazareth: ad virginem deſponſatam viro cui
nomen erat Ioſeph de domo Dauid/ & nomē virginis MARIA. et ingreſſus angelus ad
eam dixit. Aue gratia plena/ dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus. Quæ cum au-
diſſet/ turbata eſt in ſermone eius: & cogitabat qualis eſſet iſta ſalutatio. Et ait angelus
ei. ne timeas MARIA: inueniſti enim gratiā apud deum. Ecce concipies in vtero & pa-
ries filium: et vocabis nomē eius IHESVM. Hic erit magnus: et filius altiſſimi vocabi-
tur. & dabit illi dominus deus ſedē Dauid patris eius: & regnabit in domo Iacob in æter-
num/ & regni eius nō erit finis. Dixit autem MARIA ad angelum. quo modo fiet iſtud:
quoniam virum non cognoſco? Et reſpōdens angelus dixit ei. Spiritus ſanctus ſuperue-
niet in te: et virtus altiſſimi obumbrabit tibi. ideoqꝫ & quod naſcetur ex te ſanctum: vo-
cabitur filius dei. Et ecce Elizabeth cognata tua/ & ipſa concepit filiū in ſenectute ſua: &
hic menſis eſt ſextus illi quæ vocatur ſterilis. quia non erit impoſſibile apud deum/ om-
ne verbum. Dixit autem MARIA. Ecce ancilla domini: fiat michi ſecundum verbum
G tuum. ¶ Et aqua inſtabilis et fluida. Id myſterium ex beato euāgeliſta Marco cap. ſexto
diſcitur. Et circa quartam vigiliam noctis (inquit) venit ad eos ambulans ſuper mare: et
volebat præterire eos.

¶ Dorotheo miniſtro. Epiſt. V.

H CAligo diuina eſt inacceſſibilis lux: in qua inhabitare dici-
tur deus. & quidem cum ſit illa inuiſibilis: propter eximiā/
et quæ ſubſtantiæ ſupereminet claritatē. eademqꝫ inacceſſi-
bilis: pro immenſa ex ſe manantis ſuperſubſtantialis lumi-
nis copia. ad hāc pertingit/ eaqꝫ abſorbetur: quiſquis deum
noſſe ac videre meruerit. eoqꝫ ipſo ꝙ neqꝫ videt/ neqꝫ cogno-
ſcit: illi qui viſionem omnem cognitionēqꝫ tranſcendit/ familiarius iungitur.
hoc ipſum noſcens: quod poſt ea omnia eſt quæ in ſenſum atqꝫ intelligen-
I tiam cadūt. et cū propheta pronuncians/ mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua ex
me: confortata eſt & non potero ad eam. quēadmodū profecto & ſanctus
et mirabilis Paulus deum cognouiſſe memoratur: illū ſupra omnem ſcien-
tiam atqꝫ intelligentiam eſſe cognoſcens. Quocirca & vias eius ininueſtiga-
biles eſſe dixit/ & inſcrutabilia iudicia illius/ atqꝫ ienarrabiles gratias: paceqꝫ

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eius omnem ſenſum ſuperare teſtatus eſt. Inuenerat etenim eum qui eſt ſuper omnia: eumqꝫ ſupra modum humanæ intelligentiæ nouerat. quoniam is cuncta tranſcendit: qui author omnium eſt.

H ¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentum. Interrogauit Dorotheus miniſter per epiſtolam: quid diuina eſſet caligo. Cui reſpōdet ſacratus pater: diuinam caliginem lucem eſſe inacceſſibilem in qua habitare dicitur deus/ & reliqua quæ ſequuntur. I ¶ Et cum propheta pronuncians: mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua ex me. Id pſalmo centeſimo triceſimooctauo canitur. Mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua ex me: confortata eſt & non potero ad eam. Cætera quæ ſequuntur: ex diuino Paulo adducit. Ad Romanos capite vndecimo. O altitudo diuitiarum ſapientiæ & ſcientiæ dei: q̈ incomprælienſibilia ſunt iudicia eius/ & ininueſtigabiles viæ eius. Prima ad Corinthios epiſtola capite nono. Glorificantes deum in obedientia confeſſionis veſtræ/ in euangelio CHRISTI/ & ſimplicitate communicationis veſtræ/ in illos & in omnes/ & in ipſorum obſecratiōe pro vobis: deſiderantium vos propter eminentem gratiam dei in vobis. gratias ago deo ſuper inenarrabili dono eius. Et epiſtola ad Philippenſes capite quarto. Et pax dei quæ exuperat omnē ſenſum: cuſtodiat corda veſtra/ & intelligentias veſtras in CHRISTO IHESV. Et de dei incompræhenſibilitate: Iheſus Sidrach ſimiles etiā habet ſententias/ eccleſiaſtici capite 43. Glorificantes deum quantumcunq; potueritis: preualebit adhuc. Benedicentes dominum exaltate illum quantum poteſtis: maior eſt enim omni laude. Exaltantes eum replemini virtute/ ne laboretis: non enim compræhendetis. quis videbit eum/ et enarrabit? & quis magnificabit eum ſicut eſt ab initio?

Epiſt. VI. K

¶Soſipatro ſacerdoti.

Noli hoc putare victoriam venerande Soſipater: ſi in eam religionem ſeu opinionem quæ mala eſſe videatur/ inueheris. Neqꝫ enim eam ſi vel grauiter & vere coarguas: cōtinuo Soſipatri quoqꝫ recta erit opinio. Fieri etenim poteſt/ vt & te & alios inter multa quæ falſa & euidentia ſunt: vnū illud quod eſt opertum verumqꝫ lateat. Neqꝫ enim ſi quid rutilum non ſit: iam etiam candidum erit. nec ſi quis non equus: neceſſario iam homo eſt. Sic autem ſi michi obtemperaueris facies. deſiſtes aduerſus alios dicere. cæterum ita pro veritate loqueris: vt ea quæ dicuntur/ argui refelliqꝫ non poſſint. K

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentum. Soſipater ſacerdos in alios dicebat/ eorū dicta & arguens & confutans: totus repræhēdendi ſtudio geſtiens. Hūc modeſtius ammonet prudētiſſimus pater: vt alios laceſſere deſiſtat/ ſola veritatis indagine cōtentus. quandoquidem id ſæpenumero euenire ſolet: vt dum alia repræhendamus: noſtra quoq; vicio non careant. quod & Eutici & compluribus hæretica prauitate lapſis contigit. cum enim alienos confutare ſtudebant errores: proprios/ peculiares/ nouoſqꝫ conflabant. Verum ſic ſemper pro veritate dicere enitendum eſt: vt quæ pro veritatis amore dicuntur/ coargui refelliqꝫ nequeant.

Epiſt. VII. L

¶Polycarpo epiſcopo.

Non ſum michi equidē conſcius: aduerſus Græcos/ ſeu alios quoſlibet aliquādo dixiſſe. ſufficere enim arbitrabar bonis viris: ſi id quod verū eſt/ ipſum in ſeipſo vt ſeſe habeat/ & ſcire & eloqui poſſent. Hoc enim quid ſit/ rite iuxta legē veritatis oſtenſo inuiolabiliterqꝫ cōſtāre: quodlibet quod ſe aliter habeat & veritatē ſimulet/ arguetur. aliudqꝫ eſſe: q̄ id quod vere eſt/ atqꝫ oīno diſſimile. & quod illud magis videat̄ eſſe q̄ ſit: deprælīēdet̄. Itaqꝫ ſuperuacaneū eſt/ veritatis prędicatorē: cōtra hos/ illoſue pugna-

re. Dicit enim fere quiſqꝫ numiſma habere ſe regium:& habet ille fortaſſis
quandā(vt ita dixerim)particulā/fallacēqꝫ veritatis imaginē. Ac ſi quidem
iſtud cōfutaueris;alius rurſum atqꝫ alius/eadē de re pertinaci intētione contēdet.
Porro ipſa veritatis ratione cōparata/& rite firmiterqꝫ conſtāte/ atqꝫ
ita vim ſuā pręferēte/vt a nullo prorſus hoīm coargui poſſit: quicquid illud
erit quod in aliquo diſſideat/nec ſe ita in oībus habeat: ipſum ex ſeipſo/ iſuperabili
ſtatui veritatis obiectū detegit̃ atqꝫ proſternitur. Hoc itaqꝫ inſtituto
rite(vt michi videor)vſus: nō aduerſus Gręcos/aut alios quoſlibet diſſerere
ſtudui. ſed ſatis eſſe putaui ſi michi ex diuina largitate contingeret: primum/
vt de veritate bene ſentirem/eamqꝫ probe tenerem. tum vt de ea quā
noſſē: verba conuenienter facere poſſem. Tu autē aſſeueras ſophiſtā Apollophanem

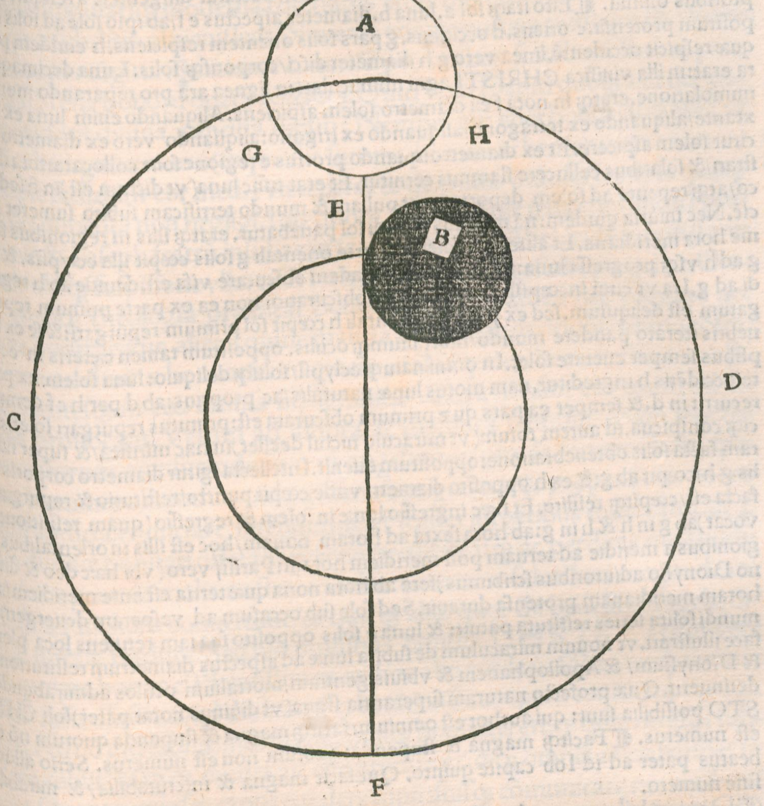
Apollophanes ſophiſta.

in me intorquere maledicta/ et parricidā appellare: vt qui Gręcorum
dictis atqꝫ ſententijs in eos ipſos parū iuſte vtar. Atqui nos contra/
verius obijcere poſſemus/Græcos potius aduerſus diuina diuinis vti iniuſtiſſime:
ac nefario ſcelere per ſapientiam dei diuinæ religionis cultum euacuare
moliri. Neqꝫ vero ego quicquam nunc de multitudinis opinione loquor:
quæ poetarum fictionibus carnaliter (vt ita dicam) & paſſibiliter ac
perlibenter inhærens/creaturæ potius q̄ creatori famulatur. verum & ipſe
Apollophanes: diuinis aduerſus diuina/nefarie vtitur. Nam per hanc rerum
M ſcientiam quæ ab ipſo philoſophia rite nominatur/ & a Paulo beatiſſimo
ſapientia appellatur: ad authorem omnium/& eiuſmodi quoqꝫ ſcientiæ
parentem/ oportebat viros philoſophos ſubuehi. Ac ne aliorum q̄
ipſius opinionem contra inſtitutum meum a veritate deuiare conuincam:
ſcire atqꝫ intelligere Apollophanes debuit cum ſapiens ſit/ nichil vnquam
cœleſtis ordinis ac motus immutari vlla ratione potuiſſe: niſi authorem
ſuum a quo & vt eſſet accepit/ & cuius maieſtatis potentia continetur: in
N hoc ſe incitantem habuiſſet/ qui (vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia) facit omnia &
tranſfert. Qua ergo ratione nō colit eum: quem ex hoc quoqꝫ cognouimus
veraciter eſſe omnium deum? admiraturqꝫ ipſius ineffabilem/ inextimabilemqꝫ
O virtutem: per quam cuncta ſubſiſtunt? quādoquidem ſol & luna per
ſummam vim ſtatu omnino mirabili vna cū cœlo/vt eſſent prorſus immobiles:
ipſius imperio paruerūt/atqꝫ ad diei totius mēſurā in eiſdē ſignis oīa
P cōſtiterūt. Erit autē profecto maius atqꝫ mirabilius/ſi alia atqꝫ etiā pręſtātiora
quę cōtinēt ita ferri. quę vero cōtinentur: nō ſimul acta memorentur.
Q Et cū itē alia quædā dies perpetuo lumine triplo ferme q̄ ſolet maior effecta
eſt:& cœlū intra viginti horas(quē iam exegerat curſum)retrogradiēs
repetit. digniſſimiſqꝫ miraculo contrarijs orbitis tanta mora temporis remeat
ſol/miro atqꝫ inſolito curſu motum illum annuum varia temporum
dimenſione conſtantem intra decem horarum ſpaciū cōtrahit/ipſumqꝫ totū
rurſus intra decem alias nouā quādā tenēs ſemitā cōficit. Hoc profecto
miraculū Babylonios tunc merito terruit: & abſqꝫ pugna/Ezechiæ (vt qui
deo putaretur æqualis: ac mortalibus cæteris virtute præſtare) ſubiecit.
R Omitto quæ in Aegypto magnifice contigere: & alia quædam ſigna alibi
diuinitꝰ facta. Sola hæc memoro quæ cōmunia ſunt/atqꝫ cœleſtia: & or-

bi toti/ atq; omnibus nota. Sed forte dicturus Apollophanes eſt: hæc ve-
ra non eſſe. Ac iſtud quidem: Perſarum ſacerdotum monumentis reſerua S
ta hiſtoria continet. magiq; nunc vſq; triplicis mitri id eſt ſolis memoriã ce-
lebrant. Verum liceat illi ſane: his per ignorantiam ſiue per hæſitationem/
fidẽ nõ accõmodare. Age itaq; illum rurſus aggredere. Quid de illo qui tẽ- T
pore crucis dominicæ factus eſt ſolis defectu: dicturus es? Eramus tũc am-
bo apud Heliopolim: amboq; ſimul incidentẽ mirabiliter ſoli/ lunæ globũ
notabam9 (nõ enim eiuſce cõiũctionis: tũc aderat tẽpus) ipſamq; rurſus ab
hora nona ad veſperã ad ſolis diametrũ ſupra naturæ vires reſtitutam. In
memoriã autẽ illius reuoca & aliud quippiã. Nẽpe enim (vt ipſe non igno-
rat) eã lunæ incidentiã ab oriente cœpiſſe/ & vſq; ad ſolaris corporis finem
perueniſſe: ac tum demũ reſiliſſe notauimus. Neq; vero eadẽ ex parte/ vt aſ-
ſolet: & incidentia illa & repurgatio facta eſt/ ſed ex aduerſo diametri. Hęc
ſunt quæ tunc temporis cõtigere naturã profecto ſuperãtia/ ac ſoli CHRI- V
STO poſſibilia: qui author eſt oĩm/ facitq; magna & ſtupenda/ quorũ nõ
eſt numerus. Iſta illi (ſi licuerit) dicito. Ea ſi potes Apollophanes argue. Nẽ-
pe eni p̃ſens vna tecũ affui/ vnaq; aſpexi/ ac diiudicaui oĩa: dignaq; ſum ad-
miratione proſecutus. Deniq; tũc neſcio quo afflatus ſpiritu: ad diuinatio-
nẽ quoq; prorupit Apollophanes. atq; ad me cõuerſus/ hę (iquit) O præ-
clare Dionyſi diuinarum ſunt viciſſitudines rerũ. Iſta interim quantũ epi-
ſtolaris patiebatur anguſtia: dixiſſe ſufficiat. Potes autem ipſe ea etiã ſup-
plere quæ deſunt: ac deo perfecte offerre hominem compluribus in rebus
ſapientem. Fortaſſe non dedignabitur: manſuete atq; humiliter diſcere ſa-
pientiſſimam religionis noſtræ veritatem. L

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentum. Scripſit Polycarpus Smyr-
neorum epiſcopus ab beatiſſimum patrem: Apollophanem ſophiſtam (ſic enim eo
tempore: ſapientem/ aut qui illa opinione duceretur inflatus appellabant) in eum cõ-
uicia/ & maledicta intorquere. Eius obiecta omni cum modeſtia purgat ſanctiſſimus
pater: & modeſtiſſime/ veriſq; eum/ non obiurgans/ non conuicijs inceſſens/ conuincit
argumentis/ & quæ Apollophanes refutare non poſſit. & pro viri conuicijs: illum to-
to mentis affectu/ totis præcordijs a falſitatis errore ad veritatis lumen/ a deuijs mor-
tis (in quibus Apollophanes vt intorta funda excuſſus dedebatur/ deuoluebaturq; in
præceps) ad veram vitæ viam reuocare contendit. vt quem in ſæcularibus ſtudijs ſo-
dalitia amicitia olim coniunctum habuerat (erant enim ſimul ſodales in Aegypto in vr-
be Heliopoli/ quæ ſolis ciuitas appellatur: cum terrificus ille & mundo inauditus ſo-
lis defectus/ paſſionis CHRISTI contigit tempore: & ambo ſimul mirificum/ & ſu-
pra naturam admirati ſunt portentum) vt inquam haberet & in regeneratione æternæ
vitæ: & fratrem/ & ſocium. Fieri enim non poterat: vt in ſacro pectore (quod IHESV
amore/ & lege diuina flagrabat) quibuſcunq; etiam verborum inſectatorijs importu-
nitatibus fraterna extingueretur charitas/ & vt geminam veram & perfectam non
cuſtodiret charitatem: cæteris Chriſtianis qui futuri eſſent/ ſingulare ſuæ modeſtæ be- M
nignitatis exemplum relinquens. ¶Et ab ipſo beatiſſimo Paulo/ ſapientia dei appel-
latur. Epiſtola ad Corinthios prima/ cap. ſecundo. Sed loquimur dei ſapientiam in my-
ſterio/ quæ abſcõdita eſt: quã prædeſtinauit deus ante ſæcula in gloriã noſtrã/ quam ne- N
mo principum huius ſæculi cognouit. ¶Qui vt ſacra teſtãtur eloquia. In Daniele legi-
tur cap. ſecundo. Sit nomen domini benedictũ in ſæcula/ & vſq; in ſæculũ: quia ſapiẽtia O
& fortitudo ei9 ſũt. & ipſe mutat tẽpora & ætates: trãſfert regna/ atq; cõſtituit. ¶Quan-
doquidẽ ſol & luna per ſummam vim/ ſtatu omnino mirabili. Hoc grande oſtentum: Io-
ſue cap. decimo legitur. Tunc locutus eſt Ioſue domino/ in die qua tradidit Amorreum
in conſpectu filiorum Iſrael: dixitq; eis. Sol contra Gabaon ne mouearis: & luna con-

contra vallem Hailon. ſteteruntq; ſol & luna: donec vlciſceretur ſe gẽs de inimicis ſuis.
P ¶Erit autem profecto maius atq; mirabilius. Hoc dicit beatiſſimus pater propter primum
mobile: cuius rapaci vertigine/ omnes inferiores cœleſtes globi pariter rapiuntur.
quod cum id mirabile ſignum de ſole & luna ſub Ioſue factum eſt: nichilominus tamen
ſuum curſum ſolita celeritate peragebat/ pariter & firmamentum/ & alij globi errantium
ſiderum. Et id quoq; miraculum adauget. tantum enim per ſpiritum/ Ioſue inſidentem
dictum eſt: ſol contra Gabaon ne mouearis/ & luna contra vallem Hailon.
Q ¶Et cum item alia quædam dies perpetuo lumine triplo ferme q̃ ſolet. Id ſignum ſub
Ezechia rege Iuda factum: quartus regum capite viceſimo memorat. Ait Ezechias. facile
eſt vmbram creſcere decem lineis/ nec hoc volo vt fiat: ſed reuertatur retrorſum decem
gradibus. Inuocauit itaq; Eſaias propheta dominum: & reduxit vmbram per lineas
quibus iam deſcenderat in horologio Achaz retrorſum decem gradibus. Er ex hiſtoria
intelligitur/ quamlibet lineam atq; gradum: horariam moram deſignaſſe. & diem artificialem
(quæ mora eſt ſolis ſupra finitorem circulum) tunc paulo amplius q̃ decem horarum
fuiſſe. & iam ſole ſenſim ad occaſum deuergente (Eſaiæ prophæte ſancta imprecatione
facta) decem alijs horis verſis habenis ſolem relapſum ad ortum. & ab ortu denuo
decem alijs horis ſolita perambulatione motum reuocaſſe ad occaſum. Vnde fit vt
cum ſol primitus ſupra finitorem circulum decem horas proceſſiſſet/ & decem horas reciprocauerit/
retroceſſeritq; ad ortum/ & rurſus ab ortu ad occaſum decem horis regreſſus
ſit: ea artificialis dies/ ferme tripla q̃ eſſe debuerit inuenta ſit. Et ꝙ regi Babyloniorum
de Ezechia auditum ſit: nulli dubium eſſe debet id omnibus ſæculis narrandum
miraculum/ eum tunc non latuiſſe. & non modo non latuiſſe: ſed & mirum in modum
attonitum reddidiſſe. Neq; enim ad Ezechiam munera congratulatoria miſiſſet: niſi ipſi
4.regũ.20 de miranda eius ſanitate conſtitiſſet. vt eodem in loco quarti regum deinceps legitur.
In tempore illo (inquit) miſit Merodach Baladan/ filius Baladan rex Babyloniorum
litteras & munera ad Ezechiam. audierat enim ꝙ ægrotaſſet Ezechias. Lætatus
eſt autem in aduentu eorum Ezechias: & oſtendit eis domum aromatum/ & aurum/
& argentum/ & pigmenta varia/ vnguenta quoq;/ & domum vaſorum ſuorum/ & omnia
quæ habere poterat in theſauris ſuis. non fuit quod non mõſtraſſet eis Ezechias in
R domo ſua/ & in omni poteſtate ſua. ¶Omitto quæ in Aegypto magnifice contigere/ &
alia quędã ſigna. Id partim dicit propter ſigna facta in Aegypto diuina virtute per Moſem
ſub Pharaone. vt exodi capite ſeptimo: virga Moſis conuertitur in colubrum. percuſſæ
aquæ vertuntur in ſanguinem. Cap. octauo: omnia ranæ fœdant. cyniphes: homines
& iumenta perurgent & perdunt. muſcæ grauiſſimæ gentem & animalia ad lethum
infeſtant. Capite nono: Omnia Aegyptiorum pecora moriuntur. vlcera & tumentes veſicæ:
corpora Aegyptiorum tabe reſoluunt. omnia in agris horrenti & vago fulmine/
grandineq; percuſſa intereunt. Et cap. decimo: locuſta/ & bruchus: quæ ex grandine ſuperfuerant/
radicitus erodũt. tenebræ horribiles tota in Aegypto factæ ſũt. Et cap. duodecimo:
Ioſue.6. decimo: trãſiens angelus omne primogenitũ Aegypti ab homine ad pecus percutit. Et
Iudicũ.6. alia quidẽ ſigna dicit: propter muros Hiericõtis qui ante Ioſue corruerũt. propter ſigna
S facta Gedeoni/ & eiuſmodi talia: quę facile eſt ſuis ex locis requirere. ¶Ac iſtud quidem
Perſarum ſacerdotum monumentis hiſtoria continet. Mirum profecto & ſpectaculo dignũ:
beatũ patrẽ annales/ hiſtoriaſq; Perſarũ ac Babyloniorum (vt eorum ſacerdotes reponere
ſolebãt) percalluiſſe. neq; eorũ peregrinã linguam: identidẽ ipſũ latuiſſe. Et hoc
in loco peregrino/ perſicoq; vocabulo mithri vtitur: quo Perſę & Babylonij ſolem (vt
vetus ſcholium habet) denotant. Quod & Strabo libro decimo quinto teſtatur. Perſæ
(inquit) nec ſtatuas nec aras erigunt. Cœlum: Iouem putant. colunt ſolem/ quẽ mithrã
vocant. Neq; hic referat an mithros/ an mithras/ an vtrumq; dicatur. Et quia dies
quæ ab aſtrorũ peritis (vt dictũ eſt) appellatur artificialis: fere in mora/ ac duratione triplicata
fuit: ideo ait/ triplicis triplicatiq; ſolis Perſas celebrare memoriã. Viſus eſt enim
eo die quo Ezechiæ regi cœlitus datũ eſt ſignum: ſol per decem horas ad occaſum procedere/
& per decem horas ad orientem regredi/ & rurſum per decem horas ad occaſum
denuo tendere: quaſi triplices illo die ſol fixerit ſtationes. Et admodum veriſimile
eſt: beatiſſimũ patrem linguarũ munus (vt diſcipuli et apoſtoli) accepiſſe. nã hic ipſũ vides
neq; Babyloniũ ignorare. Et cap. decimo quito cœleſtis hierarchię: ſecretas hebręorũ
interpretatur voces. & loquitur patrio ſermone: nõ vt homo/ ſed vt ãgelus. quẽ pro



V

inde Græci nunc magnum/nunc cœli volucrem appellāt. & mittitur in
Gallias apoſtolus: & eius apoſtolatu reuera Gallia fœlix. Sed quod apoſtolatus ſui mu-
nus exequi potuiſſet/linguarum gratia non donatus? profecto quantum quiſpiam no-
ſtrum in Indiam profectus: ſed Indicæ linguę ignarus. Et noſtræ fidei initia longe admi
rabiliora fuere: q̃ noſtræ mentis paruitas concipere ſufficiat. Verum nobiſipſis multa in-
firmorum more ſupra vires noſtras arrogamus: neq; tanta vnq̃ nobis perſuadere pote
rimus/ quin multo plura & excellentiora in veritate præfuerint. Et homines illius/ & T
huius temporis (de ſpiritualibus loquor) ita plane differre videntur: vt angeli ab homi
nibus/ & immortalia a mortalibus. ℭ Age ita illum rurſus aggredere. Heliopolis ſo-
lis ciuitas in ægypto/ olim cultui ſolis dedicata. Ante mortem magnorum principū:
ſolent interdum ſtupenda oſtenta videri. Sed & paulo ante mortem CHRISTI ſal-
uatoris/principis principum/& magnorum maximi: quod omnia ſuperaret grande oſtē
tum/& ſupra naturam miraculum viſum eſt in ſtupenda illa deliquij ſolis nouitate: cu-
ius & Phlego gentilis & Africanus/in hiſtorijs ſuis meminere. ſed & euangeliſtę: quo-
rum fides longe ſupra omnem hiſtoriam. Marcus capite decimoquinto. Et facta hora
ſexta: tenebræ factæ ſunt per totam terram vſq; in horam nonam. Et Lucas capite vice
ſimotertio. Erat autem fere hora ſexta: & tenebræ factæ ſunt in vniuerſam terram vſq;
in horam nonam/& obſcuratus eſt ſol: & velum templi ſciſſum eſt in medium. Tunc vi
detur adimpletū oraculū Abachuc. Sol & luna ſteterūt in habitaculo ſuo: i luce ſagitta- Abachuc.3

rum tuarum ibunt/in ſplendore fulgurantis haſtæ tuæ. Et beatiſſimus pater modū huius eclypſeos quo tunc attonito mundo intonuerit/declarat diligenter: a reliquis ſcriptoribus omiſſū. ¶Eſto itaqꝫ ſol a.luna b.diameter aſpectus e f/ab ipſo ſole ad ſolis oppoſitum protenſa.c oriens.d occidens.g pars ſolis orientem reſpiciens.h eiuſdem pars quæ reſpicit occidentē.linea vero g h diameter diſci/corporiſqꝫ ſolis. Luna decimaquarta erat:in illa viuifica CHRISTI agni immaculati in lignea ara pro reparando mundo immolatione.eratq; in nota f ex diametro ſolem aſpiciens. Aliquando enim luna ex ſextante/aliquando ex tetragono/aliquando ex trigono:aliquando vero ex diametro dicitur ſolem aſpicere. Et ex diametro:quando prorſus e regione ſolis collocata:tota illuſtrari/& ſolaribus collucere flammis cernitur. Et erat tunc luna(vt dictum eſt)in f:ſed illico/atqꝫ repente ad ſolem deportata/vt pullam & mundo terrificam ſubito ſumeret faciē.Nec iniuria quidem:nā magnus mundi ſol patiebatur. eratqꝫ illis in regionibus ferme hora meridiana. Et aliter q̄ aſſolet:ex parte orientali g ſolis cœpit illa eclypſis. & ab g ad h vſqꝫ progreſſa luna:totam ſolis lampadem obſcurare viſa eſt.deinde ab h regredi ad g. Ita vt cum incœpiſſet in g fieri ſolis obſcuratio: non ea ex parte primum repurgatum eſt deliquium. ſed ex parte occidentali h cœpit ſol primum repurgari:& ſe ex tenebris iterato pandere mundo/mortaliumq; oculis. oppoſitum tamen cæteris in eclypſibus ſemper euenire ſolet. In omni namqꝫ eclypſi/ſoliſqꝫ deliquio: luna ſolem ex parte occidētis h ingreditur.nam motus lunæ naturalis/ac proprius:ab d per h c f demum recurrit in d.& ſemper ea pars quæ primum obſcurata eſt:primitus repurgari ſolet/efficiqꝫ conſpicua.id autem totum(vt miraculo nichil deeſſet)in hac mirifica/& ſuper naturam facta ſolis obtenebratione:oppoſitum euenit. Intellecta igitur diametro corporis ſolis g h/cœpit ab g:& ex h oppoſito diametri vnde cœpit puncto/reſtitutio & repurgatio facta eſt/cœpitq; reſilire. Et hæc ingreſſio lunæ in ſolem & regreſſio(quam reſilitionem vocat)ab g in h & h in g:ab hora ſexta ad horam nonam/hoc eſt illis in orientalibus regionibus a meridie ad tertiam poſt meridiem horam: Pariſij vero(vbi hæc deo & diuino Dionyſio adiutoribus ſcribimus)fere ab hora nona quæ tertia eſt ante meridiem/ad horam meridianam protenſa durauit. Sed ſole ſub occaſum ad veſperam deuergente/mundi ſolita ſeries reſtituta patuit: & luna e ſolis oppoſito ſua iam retinens loca plena face illuſtrari. vt nouum miraculum de ſubita lunæ ad aſpectus diametrum reſtitutione:& Dionyſium/& Apollophanem & vbiuis gentium/mortalium oculos admirabundos detinuerit. Quæ profecto naturam ſuperantia ſigna(vt diuinus notat pater)ſoli CHRISTO poſſibilia ſunt: qui author eſt omnium/facitqꝫ magna & ſtupenda quorum nō eſt
V eſt numerus. ¶Facitqꝫ magna & ſtupenda: quorum non eſt numerus. Serio alludit
beatus pater ad id Iob capite quinto. Qui facit magna & inſcrutabilia/& mirabilia
ſine numero.

X ¶Demophilo monacho:de benignitate. Epiſt. VIII.

Y HEbræorum tradit hiſtoria animoſe Demophile/etiā ſanctum
illum virum Moſem eximiæ manſuetudinis merito:
diuina amicitia/& familiaritate dignatū. Ac ſi quando ipſum
diuino aſpectu excidiſſe commemorant:non id ei priuſq̄
Z a manſuetudine defecerit/contigiſſe deſcribunt. Sed cū
aliquando nimium inſoleſceret & conſilijs obſiſteret diuinis:
iratus eſt inquit furore dominus. Cum vero ipſum diuinis meritis/atqꝫ
a deo indultis honoribus facit illuſtrem:ex ea imprimis excellenti ac diuina
z prorſus ſummi boni imitatione concelebrat. Erat enim(inquit) manſuetus
valde.atqꝫ ideo dei famulus dicitur/digniorqꝫ prophetis oībus: cui de⁹
A viſionis ſuæ gratiā largiretur. Sed & cū aduerſus eum & Aaron pro pōtificatus
honore ac principatu gētis/improbi quidā atqꝫ impudētes ꝓterue cōtenderēt:
omni honoris ac primatus ambitione ſuperior fuit/paratus quidē
cuicūqꝫ deus decreuiſſet populi gubernacula credere. Verum vbi inſurgere
in eū cœperant/prioraqꝫ exprobando minari/& iam ferme in opus erum-

pere: mitiſſimus ille deum quidem in ſalutem inclamauit. magna vero conſtantia/
ſingulariq; modeſtia cōteſtatus eſt: ſe inſontem eſſe calamitatũ omniũ
quæ ſubditis obueniſſent. Nouerat enim oportere eum/ qui deo bono
familiariter iũgitur: q̃ maxime conari/ei pro viribus ſimillimũ fieri/ac præterea
ſibi eſſe bonorũ operũ cōſcium. Quid vero Dauid quoq; illũ dei parentem: B
fecit diuina amicitia dignũ? Nempe cum eſſet bonus/atq; eſſet in
hoſtes benignus: inueni (inquit ille ſumme bonus/ ac benignitatis amator) C
hominē ſecũdum cor meũ. Præceperat & diuinitus indulta lex: ipſa quoq; D
inimici iumenta non negligi. Iob quoq; vt innocētiæ tenax: iuſtificari promeruit.
& Ioſeph fratrũ inſidias in ſe vlciſci noluit. Abel itidē ſimplici animo
& abſq; ſuſpitione vlla: cum fratre parricidium geſtiēte pergebat. Omnes E
deniq; theologia prædicat bonos/ qui mala antea nec cogitare nec
facere norũt: ſed ne aliena quidē malicia a bonitate decidunt. immo cōtra:
penitus ad diuinæ bonitatis imaginem malos quoq;/bonos efficere curāt.
effundenteſq; in eos omnia benignitatis viſcera: ſenſim eos etiam ad ſimilia
prouocant. Verum ad altiora ac digniora feramur. Non ſanctorum
virorum manſuetudines/non angelorum: præ ſe ferentes boni ſpeciem
homines amantiũ/ euidentiſſima benignitatis & propenſioris in eos
ſtudij indicia/enunciare intendimus. vt ſcilicet illi gētibus miſereātur/ac ꝓ F
ipſis diuinæ bonitati offerant preces: pernicioſaſq; ac perditas multitudines
increpent. & malis noſtris cōdolentes: eorum ſaluti læti congaudeant
qui ſe ad meliora conuertunt. & quæq; alia: quæ de beneficis angelis diuinæ
litteræ tradunt. Sed his omnibus omiſſis CHRISTI (qui vere
ac ſupreme bonus eſt) beatiſſimos radios alto corde in ſilētio excipiamus:
& ab ipſis illuſtrati/ad diuina eiꝰ et benigniſſima opera contuenda pergamus.
An nō ineffabilis/incōpręhēſibiliſq; bonitatis eſt: ꝙ quæ nō erāt ſubſiſtere
voluit/& ꝙ ea omnia ad eſſe produxit? ꝙq; omnia item ſemper ſimilia
ſibi/ pro cuiuſq; captu euadere cupit: ſuiſq; cōmunicare muneribus?
Quid? ꝙ a ſe auerſos ac reſilientes amatorie ſequitur/ contenditq; ac deprecatur: G
ne ſe deſerant ij quos tanta vi amoris inquirit. Quid? ꝙ delicijs H
quoq; reſolutos/ac per id redire differentes/& eos fruſtra inſimulantes: benigniſſime
tolerat/ rationemq; reddere per ſeipſe dignatur/ immo & promiſſionibus
releuat/ blāditijſq; demulcet. Cumq; adhuc procul ſint qui ad
ſe redeũt/ lætus occurrit: atq; obuius fit/& totus totos cōplexus oſculatur/
nec prioris illos auerſionis culpat. verum præſenti conuerſione contentus/
& diem feſtum agit/& conuocat amicos: eos ſcilicet qui ſingulari benignitate
ſunt p̄diti/ vt ſit oīm lętātiũ habitatio. At vero Demophilꝰ & quiſquis
alius ſi aduerſetur bonis: iuſte oīno corripitur. edoctuſq; quid cōgruat: bonus
efficitur. Quomodo enī (inquit) nō oportuit eũ qui bonus eſſet: de eorum
qui perijſſent ſalute/& qui mortui eſſent vita/ lætari? Deniq; & ſuper I
humeros attollit ouem vix ab errore conuerſam: & benignos angelos ad
lætitiam excitat. Ingratis quoq; clementiſſime vtitur/ et oriri facit ſolē ſuũ K
ſuper bonos et malos: atq; ipſam animā ſuam pro auerſis a ſe/ac refugientibus
ponit. Tu vero vt tuæ litteræ indicant/ procidentē ſacerdoti impium L

Cõfeſſio hic et pœnitentię ſacramẽtũ intelligit̃

(vt ais)atqꝫ peccatorem:neſcio quo pacto contra diſciplinæ ordinẽ aſtans/
calce abieciſti/ac reppuliſti.cũ ille quidem verecunde(quod oportuit) fate-
retur ſe ad peccatorũ remedia quærẽda veniſſe.neqꝫ exhorruiſti inſup̃ et ſa-
cerdotem optimũ/lacerare conuicijs:miſerabilem eũ dicẽs/ qui pœnitẽtem
atqꝫ impium iuſtificaſſet. Ac tandem exi inquiens ſacerdoti/cũ ſimilibus
tuis.contra fas omne irrupiſti in adyta: & ſancta ſanctorum prophanare
auſus es.& ſcribis nobis te ſancta cum violanda eſſent/ſumma cura/proui-
dentiaqꝫ ſeruaſſe:eaqꝫ hactenus illibata cuſtodire. Nunc ergo quid ipſi ſen-
tiamus:attende.Nefas eſt ſacerdotẽ a miniſtris(qui te ſuperiores ſunt)atqꝫ
a tui ordinis viris iudicari:etiã ſi impius in diuina eſſe videatur/etiã ſi quid
aliud ex ijs quæ interdicta ſunt egiſſe depræhẽditur.Nam ſi diſtinctiones/
ordineſqꝫ confundere: ſacratiſſimas dei ſanctiones & iura tranſgredi eſt.
omni profecto ratione caret:dei cauſa peruertere traditũ diuinitus ordinẽ.
Neqꝫ enim in ſeipſum:dei ſermo diuiſus eſt. alicqui quomodo ipſius ſta-
M ret regnũ? Et ſi dei eſt iudicium/vt ſacra eloquia teſtãtur:ſacerdotes autem
angeli ſunt/diuinorũ iudiciorũ cõtinuo poſt põtificem magiſtri: ab ipſis tu
diuina congrue ac ſuo ordine per medios miniſtros cũ tẽpeſtiuũ fuerit di-
ſce/per quos etiam cultor eſſe meruiſti. An vero non hoc ipſum ſacra ſigna
proclamãt? neqꝫ enim ſancta ſanctorũ ſimpliciter omnibus ſunt inacceſſa:
verũ his appropinquat magis pontificum ſacra diſtinctio/ deinde ſacerdo-
tum ordo/quos deiceps & miniſtrorũ ſequitur gradus. Porro ijs qui culto-
res ſunt ordinati:adytorũ portæ ſegregatæ ſunt/iuxta quas & initiantur et
aſtãt.nõ ad cuſtodiã:ſed vt ordinẽ recognoſcant ſuum. ſuntqꝫ ipſi populo
propinquiores:q̃ ij qui ſacra adminiſtrãt. & q̃ populus:ipſis quoqꝫ ſacer-
dotibus magis accedentes. Vnde & ſacrorum ſanctus ordo ſacerqꝫ princi-
patus/eos diuina percipere ſacre inſtituit:alijs quidem qui intra adytorum
valuas ſunt/ſacrorũ amminiſtrationẽ concedens. Nã ij qui diuinũ (vt ex-
preſſius dixerim)altare circũſtant:diuina intuentur/atqꝫ audiunt aperte ſi-
bi reuelata. procedenteſqꝫ benigniſſime ad exteriora ſacrorũ velaminum:
ſubiectis cultoribus/& ſacro populo/& ijs qui purgantur ordinibus ſacra
myſteria pro meritis pandunt. Quæ profecto rite immaculata tã diu ſer-
uata ſunt:quoad ipſe tyrannice nimiũ in ea irrupiſti/ ſanctaqꝫ ſanctorũ &
quidem nolentia/tibi publicari coegiſti. Et poſt hæc haberi ab te ſacra/atqꝫ
ſeruari dicis:cum ea neqꝫ videre neqꝫ audire merueris/neqꝫ aliquid habeas
ſacerdotio dignũ. Sicuti ne veritatẽ quidẽ ſcripturarũ noſti: cum eas quoti-
die ſermone impugnes ad ſubuerſionẽ audientiũ. Nempe enim ſi quis non
permiſſum ſibi a rege principatum gentis/ vſurpare tentaſſet: iuſtiſſima in
eum pœna deſæuiret. Idẽ quoqꝫ putaretur/ſi principe quempiã vel abſol-
uente vel damnante: nõnullus ex aſtantibus ſubditis præſumeret latam a
domino retractare ſententiã.& ne id modo:verũ et dominũ afficere iniu-
rijs/pulſare/atqꝫ ex imperio deturbare moliretur. An vero tu homo tã au-
dax ac temerarius es:aduerſus mitiſſimũ atqꝫ optimũ virũ/ſacratiſſimãqꝫ
ipſius functionẽ/et ſacerdotalis dignitatis iura? Et hæc quidẽ nos oportuit
dicere: cum quis ſupra merita ac dignitatem ſuam auſus/ aliqua præ-

ſumpſit attentare:quæ tamen non indigna viderētur.nam neq; hoc cuiquā omnino fas eſt.Quid enim quod non conueniret:fecit Ozias/incenſum of N ferens deo?quid item Saul victimas faciens?quid violenti nimium dæmones:cum IHESVM dei filium veriſſime prædicarēt?Sed profecto a theo O logia omnis alienus/interdicitur epiſcopus.vnuſquiſq; enim miniſterij ſui P ordinem ſeruare debebit.ſoluſq; pontifex ſemel in anno ingreditur in ſancta ſanctorum:& hocſeruata diligenter omni(quam lex præcipit)mundicia pontificali.Sacerdotes autem ſancta circūtegunt/& leuitæ ſancta non tangunt:ne moriantur.et iratus eſt furore dominus:contra Oziæ temerita Q tem.et Maria lepra reſpergitur:quæ legifero fratri legem conatur imponere.Et ſuper filios Scene inſiliere dæmonia.et non mittebam eos(inquit)et R ipſi currebant:& non loquebar ad illos/et ipſi prophetabant.& impius qui michi immolat vitulum:ſicut qui occidit canem. Atq; vt ſummatim dicam:eos non tolerat qui diuina peruertunt/perfecta illa dei ſupremaq; iuſtitia.dicentibuſq; illis/in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus:reſpondet/neſcio vos/recedite a me omnes operarij iniquitatis.Nefas itaq; eſt(vt diuina teſtātur eloquia)ea etiam quæ iuſta ſunt:non ſecundū dignitaten/meritaq; exequi.cæterum debet ſibi quiſq; cautius intēdere:vt non ſublimia et quæ ſe altiora ſunt ſapiat.ſolaq; ea meditari:quæ ſibi pro meritorū modo credita ſunt.

Argumētū Demophili

¶Quid igitur inquis non oportet ſacerdotes qui vel impie vel perperam aliquid facere depræhenſi fuerint/corrigi?ſoliſq; licebit gloriantibus in lege:per pręuaricationem legis deum inhonorare?Et qua ratione ſacerdotes:prædicatores dei ſunt?quo enim pacto diuinas populo virtutes enunciant:qui nec earum vires penitus norunt?Aut quomodo illuminabūt alios:qui ipſi ſunt tenebris obſiti?Quomodo item diuini ſpiritus gratiam præſtabunt:qui neq; an ſit ſpiritus ſanctus/habitu atq; veritate crediderunt?

Satiſfactio ſanctiſſimi patris.

¶Ad hæc tibi ipſe reſpondeo.non enim inimicus Demophilus eſt:nec patiar te circūueniri a ſathana.Vnuſquiſq; profecto circa deū aſtātium ordo:ſacratior eſt magis abſiſtente/atq; diuinior.& lucidiora ſimul ſunt/vimq; illuminandi ſeruantia maiorem:quæ vero lumini magis ſunt propinquantia.Neq; localiter accipias velim huiuſmodi propinquitatem:ſed ſecundum idoneitatem qua ad deum recipiendum ſunt accōmodatiora.Si igitur quæ illuminat/ſacerdotum eſt ſancta diſtinctio:proculdubio ille a ſacerdotali ordine & virtute omnino prolapſus eſt/qui illumināſ non eſt/multoq; ſane magis:qui neq; illuminatus eſt.Atq; vt michi quidem videtur/audax nimiū huiuſmodi eſt:ſi ſacerdotalia munia ſibi aſſumit.neq; metuit/neq; veretur:ea quæ ſunt diuina præter meritum perſequi.putatq; ea latere deum:quorum ſibi ipſe conſcius ſit.et ſe deū fallere exiſtimat:quē falſo nomine appellat patrē.audetq; ſceleſtas blaſphemias ſuas(neq; enim preces dixeri)ſacris aris iferre/eaſq; ſuper ſigna illa diuina ad CHRISTI ſimilitudinem dicere.Non eſt iſte ſacerdos/non eſt:ſed infeſtus/atrox/doloſus/illuſor ſui/& lupus in dominicum gregem ouina pelle armatus.At Demophilo fas non eſt:iſta corrigere. Nam ſi diuinus ſermo iuſta iuſte proſequi iubet(iuſte vero proſequi:eſt vnicuiq; quod ſuum eſt pro meritis

Epiſt.
8

reddere)iuſte hoc omnis proſequi non pręter ſuum meritum aut ordinem
debet.Namqꝫ & angelis iuſtum eſt/officia ſecundum merita diuidi:vt et
profecto diuiſa ſunt.verum hoc illis nō a nobis o Demophile:ſed per illos
nobis ex deo/& ipſis quoqꝫ per ſuperiores angelos. Atqꝫ vt breuiter dixerim:
in omnibus quæ ſunt/per prima ſecundis a diſpoſitiſſima omnium ac
iuſtiſſima prouidentia/iuſta pro meritis tribuūtur.vt ij quidem quos deus
præeſſe alijs ſtatuit:inferioribus atqꝫ ſubiectis ſecundum merita tribuant.
Verum enim Demophilus iræ & concupiſcentiæ:ratione moderetur/eiſqꝫ
ſecundum merita tribuat.neqꝫ ſuum violet ordinem:ſed regat ſubdita ſupereminēs
ratio.Nam ſi cum forte in foro aſpicimus famulū domino/ſeniori
adoleſcentulū/ ſiue etiam filiū patri maledicere/ſimulqꝫ impetu facto
plagas inferre:pietatē violare videmur/niſi accurrētes præſtantioribus opē
ferre ſtudeamus/quātūlibet illi fortaſſe prius perpeſſi iniuriā ſint.cur quęſo
non erubeſcimus qui rationē ab ira & concupiſcentia violari et a tradito
ſibi diuinitus principatu deijci videmus/atqꝫ negligimus:& inter nos ipſos
S impiam & iniuſtā temeritatē ac ſeditionē/ cōfuſionēqꝫ excitamus? Merito
ſane noſter a deo nobis indultus legifer:eccleſiæ dei præfici prohibet eum/
qui domui ſuæ eatenus non bene præfuerit.Qui enim ſeipſum regere nouit:
& alterū reget.qui alterū:etiam domū.et qui domū:ciuitatem quoqꝫ.
T et qui ciuitatē:etiam gentē. Atqꝫ vt ſūmatim dicā:iuxta veritatis vocē/qui
in modico fidelis eſt:& in multo erit fidelis.et qui in modico infidelis:& in
multo quoqꝫ infidelis erit.Ipſe igitur concupiſcentiæ & iræ atqꝫ verbo:congrua
iure tuo impartire.tibi autem venerādi miniſtri moderētur/miniſtris
ſacerdotes/ſacerdotibuſqꝫ pontifices:atqꝫ illis ipſis apoſtoli/apoſtolorūqꝫ
ſucceſſores conuenientia dictent. At ſi quis forte & inter ipſos a recto tramite
deuiarit:is ab æqualibus atqꝫ ſui ordinis ſanctis corrigatur.vt non ordo
in ordinem ruens cuncta permiſceat:ſed vnuſquiſqꝫ in ſuo ordine/ſuoqꝫ
officio maneat.Iſta tibi interim idcirco dixerimus:vt & ſcias et facias quæ
tui muneris ſūt.Porro de illa in virū(vt tu ais)impiū ac perditū immanitate:
neſcio quo fletu plangā contritionē dilectiſſimi mei. Cuius enī te arbitraris
a nobis cōſtitutū eſſe cultorem? Niſi enim illius ſumme boni cultor es:
profecto & a nobis et ab omni noſtræ religionis cultu alienus ſis neceſſe eſt.
iāiāqꝫ tibi ex hoc deus inquirēdus eſt alius/& alij ſacerdotes:vt apud illos
V effereris potius q̄ perficiaris/ſiſqꝫ amicæ crudelitatis miniſter atrox. An enī
et nos ipſi ad ſupremæ ſanctitatis imaginem perfecti ſumus? aut non in nobis
X ipſis diuinæ clementiæ largitate indigemus? An vero iuxta diuinas litteras:
peccatum duplex impiorū more peccamus? dum & neſcimus in quibus
offēdimus/inſuper & nos ipſos iuſtificare præſumimus/putamuſqꝫ
nos videre:cū reuera minime videamus.Obſtupuit cœlū ſuper hoc/& exhorrui
ego/michiqꝫ ipſi vix credo.ac id ipſum bene ſcias velim:niſi tuas legiſſem
litteras(quas vtinam nūq̄ vidiſſem)nemo vnq̄ perſuaſiſſet(quicūqꝫ
michi hæc de te perſuadere moliretur)vt ad credendū adductus eſſem/Demophilum
non arbitrari deum ſuper omnia bonum ac benignum eſſe:ſeqꝫ
putare ipſius miſerantis ac ſaluātis gratia non indigere.immo et ſacerdotes

De dño ſaluatore noſtro

abrogare:qui promeruerunt bonitate præcipua plebis ignorantias porta-
re.et non ſeuere corripere/ſed eis deum propicium facere:non ignorãtes ꝙ
et ipſi circundati ſunt infirmitate.Sed profecto diuinus ille ac ſũmus pon- Y
tifex/altera ingreſſus eſt via:idq; cum(vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia)a peccato- Z
ribus eſſet ſegregatus. Atq; hoc eximiæ in ſe dilectionis argumẽtũ capit:ſi z
oues eius modeſtiſſima gubernatione paſcamus.& næquã eũ appellat qui
conſeruo non dimiſerat debitum:neq; illi indultæ ſibi largiſſime bonitatis
ne minimam quidem tradiderat portionem. Atq; ideo in illum intorquet
iuſtã oĩno ſententiã vt(quod michi ac Demophilo valde metuendũ eſt) ab rr
eo quæ ſemel fuerant dimiſſa repetantur.Nempe enim & ijs qui impias in
ſe manus iniecerant in ipſo ſuæ paſſionis tempore:veniam a patre precaba ss
tur.diſcipulos item corripuit:ꝙ perſequẽtes ſe Samaritanos vt impietatis
condemnaret/optauerant.Hoc ſane illud eſt quod imprudenti illa & pro-
lixa nimis epiſtola tua inculcas et replicas:ꝙ ſcilicet non teipſum ſed deum
vltus es.Dic oro te:per maliciam/eum qui ſumme bonus eſt vindicas? tt
abſit.Nõ enĩ habemus pontificẽ qui compati non poſſit infirmitatibus no- vv
ſtris:verum & innocens/et miſericors eſt.Non contendet neq; clamabit:et
ipſe eſt mitis/& ipſe propiciatio eſt pro peccatis noſtris.Non itaq; ſuſcipie- xx
mus improbos conatus tuos/ne ſi millies quidem Phinces atq; Heliam te
dicas æmulari.Hæc enim minime probauit IHESVS:cum ea ſibi diſci-
puli/mitis ac benigniſſimi ſpiritus eatenus rudes/ignariq; ſuggererent.De-
niq; & ſacratiſſimus noſter inſtitutor:in manſuetudine docẽdos admonuit
eos/qui doctrinæ dei aduerſarentur.Doceri quippe ignaros decet:nõ ſup-
plicijs affici.ſicuti & cæcos non cruciamus:ſed ad manum ducimus.Con-
tra vero tu reſpirare in lucẽ inchoanti viro:ictum in caput impingens emer-
gendi facultatem adimis/accedentemq; ſumma cum verecũdia/repellis au-
dacter.Hoc igitur ingẽtis horroris eſt:ꝙ is quẽ CHRISTVS ſũme bo-
nus errantẽ in mõtibus requirit/fugientẽq; reuocat/& vix repertũ ſacris hu
meris reuehit:abs te affligitur/repudiatur/abijcitur. Ne quæſo tam male
nobis ipſis cõſulamus:neq; gladium in nos ipſos impellamus.Nam ij qui-
dem qui alios violare iniurijs/aut beneficijs fouere nituntur:cum illi forte
quæ voluerint facere nequeant/ſibi tamen aut maliciam ſecundum propo-
ſitum/aut bonitatem conſciuere. atq; ideo euadunt aut virtutibus diuinis:
aut atrocitatibus inhumanis pleni.Et ij quidem angelorum ſanctorum ſe-
ctatores & comites/et in præſenti & in futuro ſæculo cum omni pace libe-
rati a malis omnibus: beatiſſima requie in perenni vita/ perpetua hęre-
ditate potiẽtur/et(quod bonorum omnium maximum eſt)cum deo ſem-
per erunt.Porro ij qui a diuina ſimul ac ſua pace deciderunt:& in vita et
poſt mortem cum immitibus/atrocibuſq; dæmonibus futuri ſunt.Cuius
rei gratia nobis ſummo ſtudio curandum eſt/vt bono inhæreamus deo/ſi-
muſq; cum domino ſemper:& non cum malis occulto illo iuſtiſſimoq; iu-
dicio ſegregemur/atq; ex nobis ipſis pœnas debitas ſubeamus.Quod ego
maxime omnium timeo:malorumq; omnium exors eſſe/& cupio et oro.
Ac ſi vis:diuinam quoq; ſancti cuiuſdam viri viſionẽ memorabo.❡Cum yy

Viſio Carpi ſãcti viri de benignitate Iheſu amatoris vitæ.

aliquãdo in Cretam veniſſem:ſanctus Carpus me ſuſcepit hoſpitio:vir ob eximiam animi mũdiciam ad dei ſpeculationem vltra ferme omnes aptiſſimus. Deniqꝫ nunq̃ ſancta myſteria celebrare cœpiſſet:niſi prius inter eas preces(quæ antea conſummantur)ſacra illi/ac propicia viſio apparuiſſet. Hunc igitur(vt ipſe referebat)infidelis quiſpiã cõtriſtarat aliquando. Erat autem cauſa triſtitiæ:ꝙ ille quēdam ab eccleſiæ fide/ad impietatem erroris zz abduxerat. Cũqꝫ eius celebritatis(quam vulgus ilarias vocat)agerētur dies:qui debuerat pro vtriſqꝫ benigniſſime orare/atqꝫ dei ſaluatoris auxilio alterũ ab errore conuertere:alterũ bonitate ſuperare. nec deſiſtere quin eos ammoneret per omnem vitam:donec pœnitentiæ tempus ſupereſſet. et ita eos ad dei cognitionem attrahere:vt iam tandem & quæ illis erant ambigua/& obſcura pateſcerent. et ab ijs quæ præter rationem audacter admiſerant:reſipiſcere legitima ſeueritate cogerentur. neſcio quo pacto(cum intra ſemetipſum id antea paſſus non eſſet)tunc vehementem indignationem/atqꝫ amaritudinem imbiberat animo. Sic itaqꝫ affectus obdormiuit:erat enim veſpera. Circa vero mediam noctem/quo tempore conſueuerat ipſe ſemper apud ſe ad diuinos euigilare hymnos:expergiſcitur quidem et ſurgit/cum ſomnos parum quietos & crebro interruptos/nec abſqꝫ perturbatione cœpiſſet. ſtans tamen ad diuinam precem et collocutionem non ſatis intente:irreligioſe triſtabatur. et ferebat grauiter:iniquum eſſe dicens/ſi impij homines & qui vias domini peruerterent rectas/adhuc viuerent. Et hæc dicens precabatur deum:vt amborum vitam turbine aliquo et fulmine prorſus abrũperet. His dictis repente ſe vidiſſe referebat domum in qua conſiſtebat:primitus vehementer agitari/ac tum demũ a ſummo culmine per medium diuidi. & quēdam ante ſe ingentis luminis rogum/eũqꝫ (videbatur enim iam ſub diuo eſſe locus)e cœlo ad ſe vſqꝫ deferri. cœlum vero ipſum patere apertum conſpiciebat:eiuſqꝫ cardini IHESVM inſidere/innumeris illi humana ſpecie aſtantibus angelis. Et iſta quidem vidiſſe:cum ſuperne aſpiceret/& ſe eſſe admiratum memorabat. Vbi vero ad inferiora deflexit obtutus Carpus:ipſum quoqꝫ ſolum inſtar vaſti ac tenebroſi cuiuſdam profundi diſciſſum ſe vidiſſe ait. atqꝫ viros illos (quibus mala imprecatus fuerat)ante ſe ad os illius profundæ voraginis ſtare trementes ac miſerabiles:& qui ipſa pedum ſuorum labilitate iam mergendi viderentur. Porro ab inferiori parte voraginis ſerpentes cernebat emergere:qui circa illorũ pedes ita inſtabiles ac nutantes/interdum quidē in globum colligi & ingrauari vna/atqꝫ pertrahere:interdum vero dentibus & caudis/ore/gutture/linguis ac toto corporis motu vim immenſi pauoris viderentur incutere. vt qui modis omnibus deorſum illos præcipitare molirētur. fuiſſe autem & viros quoſdam in medio/qui contra eos vna cum ſerpentibus impetum facerent:exagitantes vna/& impellentes/atqꝫ ferientes. Videbantur autem illi lapſui proximi:partim vi/partim etiam inuiti/partim etiã ſponte:cum a malo ſenſim & cogerentur ſimul/et inducerentur. Referebat autem Carpus ſe(dum inferiora aſpiceret)fuiſſe delectatum/atqꝫ ſuperiora neglexiſſe:grauiter autem & indigne ferentem ꝙ illi necdum cecidiſſent. et cum ſæpius eo deſiderij ferretur impetu/eoſq; & ipſe niteretur impellere/ſẽperq; fruſtra moliretur:moleſtiſſime tuliſſe/& contra eos imprecatum eſſe. Cum ecce vix tãdem reuocatis ad ſuperna luminibus:vidit cœlũ ſicuti & prius aſpexerat/IHESVMq; miſeratum quod fiebat/de cœleſti illa ſede conſurgentem/ad eos vſq; deſcendere/& porrigere clementiſſimam manum. angeloſq; vna opem ferentes:aliũde alium/tenuiſſe viros. ac dixiſſe Carpo IHESVM/ſtanti porrecta adhuc manu:iam percute aduerſum me. paratus enim ſum etiam iterum pro ſaluandis hominibus pati:gratum michi iſtud eſt/dum non alij homines peccent. Tu autem inſpice:an tibi vtile ſit hanc iſtius profundi/& cum ſerpentibus manſionem/dei ac bonorum clementiumq; angelorum præferre conſortio? Hæc ſunt quæ ego audita:vera eſſe credo.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentũ. Demophilus monachus ſcripſit ad X
ſacrũ patrẽ Dionyſiũ:quo pacto cũ impius quidã peccator/deſertor & apoſtata(vt dicebat)
ſuo ſacerdoti ante pedes vt recõciliaretur/vt iuſtificaretur/procidiſſet:calce apoſtatam
duriter pulſauerit/abiecerit/reppulerit. ſacerdotem vero(ꝙ impium & iniuſtũ contra
CHRISTI zelum iuſtificare & venia dignari voluiſſet)non modo aſpere obiurgatũ
eſſe/verum & cum impius eſſet(vt qui impijs et iniuſtis indigne ignoſceret)ex adytis deieciſſe:
vt cum ſuis ſimilibus ſceleſtis degeret. et ſancta ſanctorũ cum violãda eſſent/ſumma
cura prouidẽtiaq; ſeruaſſe:eaq; hactenus cuſtodire illibata. et pro merito delecto ſedere/
ſeq; ſtatuiſſe ſacerdotem: & multa ſuæ ſuperbę ſtoliditatis inculcauit argumenta.
Quam elatam impudentiam/& impudentẽ elationem atq; ſuperbiã cõſultiſſimus pater:
admirãdo & diuino artificio prorſus elidit. et ita elidit vt pariter medeatur:non modo
Demophilo/ſed omnibus veniẽtis æui poſteritatibus. et docet omnes fore verę humilitatis
amatores:& diuinæ et ineffabilis in nos benignitatis imitatores. Et hæc tota
epiſtola potius in cordibus fidelium:q̃ in ſchedis/& mẽbranis ſcripta eſſe debet. Et q̃plurimorum
hac in epiſtola ſcitu digniſſimorũ/& noſtræ ſuper omnes pijſſimæ religioni accommodatiſſimorũ
ammonemur. quæ per ſcholia non ſatis pro dignitate:ſed vtcũq; poterimus/
ſuis in locis annotabimus. ¶Hebræorũ tradit hiſtoria O animoſe Demophile. Y
O animoſe:o fortis/o generoſe Demophile. Et id modeſta ironia dictum intelligendum eſt.
Hiſtoria vero Hebræorũ in qua de benignitate Moſis legitur:liber numeri eſt cap.
duodecimo. Erat enim(inquit)Moſes vir mitiſſimus ſuper õnes homines:qui morabantur
in terra. Vbi animaduertere haud inconſentaneũ eſt hãc Moſis mãſuetudinẽ/& tantopere
cõmendatã benignitatẽ:non eſſe niſi veſtigium & tenuẽ vmbram benignitatis
CHRISTI veri legiferi/de ſinu cœleſtis patris ad terras inenarrabili benignitate/& quę
amplius eloqui non poteſt/demiſſi. ¶Sed cum aliquando nimiũ inſoleſceret. Id numeri Z
cap. vndecimo legitur. Cum enim inſolentius aliquãdo(ſua ſolita manſuetudine relicta)
auſus ſit Moſes cogitare in deum/& plane querulus videri:iratus eſt(inquit eloquium)
furor domini valde. ſed & Moſi intolerãda res viſa eſt. Et ait ad dominũ. cur afflixiſti ſeruum
tuum? quare non inuenio gratiam coram te? et cur impoſuiſti pondus vniuerſi populi
huius ſuper me? nũquid ego concepi omnẽ hanc multitudinem/vel genui eam:vt
dicas michi/porta eos in ſinu tuo ſicut portare ſolet nutrix infantulũ/& defer in terrã pro
qua iuraſti patribus eorum? vnde michi carnes vt dem tantæ multitudini? flent contra
me dicentes:da nobis carnes ut comedamus. non poſſum ſolus ſuſtinere omnẽ hũc populum:
quia grauis eſt michi. ſin aliter tibi videtur:obſecro vt interficias me. et inueniã
gratiam corã oculis tuis:ne tantis afficiar malis. Et de ſpiritu Moſis tunc dẽptum eſt/
quia priſtinã benignitatem ſuam non integre ſeruauerat:& ſeptuaginta viris diſtributus.
Ecce enim quid a mãſuetudine & benignitate caſus et prolapſio operetur:vt quæ
ſtatim aufert ſpiritum domini benignũ. Dixit enim dominus ad Moſem. Cõgrega michi Nume.II.
ſeptuaginta viros de ſenioribus Iſrael:quos tu noſti ꝙ ſenes populi ſunt ac magiſtri. et
duces eos ad oſtium tabernaculi fœderis/facieſq; ibi ſtare tecum vt deſcendã & loquar
tibi:& auferam de ſpiritu tuo/tradamq; eis vt ſuſtentẽt tecum onus populi/& non tu
ſolus graueris. ¶Erat enĩ inquit mãſuetꝰ valde/atq; ideo dei famulus dicitur/digniorq; z

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1773/D

prophetis omnibus. Valde mãſuetus: ex duodecimo Numeri dictũ eſt. Erat enim Moſes
vir mitiſſimus ſuper omnes. Et ſeruus dei appellatur etiam ſanctior prophetis: Numeri
cap. eodem. Audite ſermones meos. ſi quis fuerit inter vos propheta domini: in viſione
apparebo ei/ vel per ſomniũ loquar ad illum. at nõ talis ſeruus meus Moſes: qui in omni
domo mea fideliſſimus eſt. ore enĩ ad os loquor ei: palã & nõ per ęnigmata & figuras/
A deum videt. ¶ Sed & cum aduerſus eũ et Aaron pro pontificatus honore. Numeri cap.
decimo ſexto id ſcribitur. Ecce autem Chore filius Iſuar/ filij Caath filij Leui: et Dathan
atq; Abiron filij Eliab/ Hon quoq; filius Pheleth de filijs Ruben ſurrexerũt cõtra Moſẽ/
alijq; filiorum Iſrael ducenti quinquaginta viri proceres ſynagogæ: & qui tempore concilij
per nomina vocabantur. Cunq; ſtetiſſent aduerſum Moſem et Aaron: dixerũt. ſufficiat
vobis quia omnis multitudo ſanctorum eſt: & in ipſis eſt dominus. cur eleuamini
ſuper populũ domini? Quod cũ audiſſet Moſes/ cecidit pronus in faciem: locutuſq; ad
Chore/ & omnem multitudinẽ/ mane inquit notum faciet dominus qui ad ſe pertineant.
et ſanctos applicabit ſibi: & quos elegerit appropinquabũt ei. Et de inſurrectione in Moſem
poſt horrendã Chore & ſuorum aſſequacium ad inferos abſorptionẽ: ſtatim eodem
capite hunc in modum legitur. Murmurauit autem multitudo filiorũ Iſrael ſequenti die
contra Moſem et Aaron dicens. Vos interfeciſtis populum domini. Cũq; oriretur ſeditio
et tumultus increſceret: Moſes et Aaron fugerunt ad tabernaculũ fœderis. quod poſtq̃
ingreſſi ſunt: operuit nubes/ & apparuit gloria domini. dixitq; dominus ad Moſem. recedite
de medio huius multitudinis: etiam nunc delebo eos. Cunq; iacerent in terra: dixit
Moſes ad Aaron. tolle thuribulũ/ et hauſto igne de altari mitte incenſum deſuper: pergens
cito ad populũ vt roges pro eis. Iam enim egreſſa eſt ira a domino: & plaga deſæuit.
Quod cum feciſſet Aaron/ & cucurriſſet ad mediã multitudinem quã iam vaſtabat
incendium: obtulit thymiama. et ſtans inter mortuos ac viuentes pro populo deprecatus
eſt: et plaga ceſſauit. Et proteſtatio Moſis quam hic adducit ſanctiſſimus pater: illic
ſcripta non eſt. Et ex hoc reuera loco & cap. primo myſticæ theologię numero. 5. admodum
perſuaſibile eſt: ſacerrimũ patrẽ ſecretiores (qui apud Moſaicæ legis ſacerdotes ſeruabantur)
libros legiſſe/ ex quibus tam dignam & exactã hiſtoriam texeret. Non enim
ea quæ in arcanis legis habita ſunt/ et ſoli ſacerdotũ intelligentiæ credita: inferiora authoritate
erant ijs/ quæ paſſim multitudini permiſſa ſunt. ex quibus in epiſtolis et Pauli
et apoſtolorum pleraq; ad viuificantẽ intelligẽtiam deprõpta eſſe credendum eſt. Liber
enim legis palam multitudini permiſſus: vt cortex eſt. intelligẽtia vero illa per ſacerdotum
ſucceſſiones (vt volunt) ad Heſdræ tempora in arcanis ſeruata: ſpiritus quidam/ et
B quædam anima. ¶ Quid vero Dauid quoq; illũ dei parẽtem fecit diuina amicitia dignũ?
In ſacris litteris CHRISTVS deus/ & dominus: filius Dauid appellatur. et proinde hic
beatiſſimus pater vocat Dauid dei parentẽ. Matthæus cap. primo. Liber generationis
IHESV CHRISTI/ filij Dauid. Et de benignitate Dauid in hoſtes/ vt in Saulẽ qui ipſũ
crudeliſſime perſequebatur: primo regum cap. viceſimo quarto legitur. Porro Dauid et
viri eius in interiori parte ſpeluncæ latebãt: et dixerunt ſerui Dauid ad eũ. Ecce dies de
qua locutus eſt dominus ad te: ego tradã tibi inimicum tuũ/ vt facias ei ſicut placuerit in
oculis tuis. Surrexit ergo Dauid: & præcidit oram clamydis Saul ſilẽter. Poſt hæc percuſſit
cor ſuum Dauid: eo ꝙ abſcidiſſet oram clamydis Saul. Dixitq; ad viros ſuos. propicius
ſit michi dominus/ ne faciã hanc rem domino meo CHRISTO domini/ vt mittam
manũ meam in eum: quia CHRISTVS domini eſt. Et cõfregit Dauid ſeruos ſuos
ſermonibus iſtis: & non permiſit eos vt conſurgerẽt in Saul. Porro ſaul exurgẽs de ſpelunca
pergebat cœpto itinere. Surrexit autem Dauid poſt eum: & egreſſus de ſpelunca
clamauit poſt tergũ Saul dicens. domine mi rex. Et reſpexit Saul poſt ſe: & inclinans ſe
Dauid pronus in terram adorauit. dixitq; ad Saul. Quare audis verba hominũ loquentiũ:
Dauid quęrit malũ aduerſum te? ecce hodie viderũt oculi tui/ ꝙ tradiderit te dominus
in manu mea in ſpelunca: & cogitaui vt occiderẽ te. ſed pepercit tibi oculus meus.
dixi enim/ non extendã manum meã in dominũ meum: quia CHRISTVS domini eſt.
Quin potius pater vide: & cognoſce orã clamydis tuæ in manu mea. quo modo cũ præſcinderem
ſummitatẽ clamydis tuæ: nolui extendere manũ meã in te. Animaduerte et
vide: quoniã non eſt in manu mea malum/ neq; iniquitas/ neq; peccaui in te. Tu autẽ
inſidiaris animæ meæ: vt auferas eam. Iudicet dominus inter me & te/ et vlciſcatur me
dominus ex te: manus autẽ mea nõ ſit in te. ſicut in prouerbio antiquo dicitur: ab impijs

egredietur impietas. manus ergo mea non ſit in te. Quem perſequeris rex Iſrael? quem
perſequeris? canē mortuū perſequeris/ & pulicē vnum. ſit dominus iudex: & iudicet inter
me & te. et videat & iudicet cauſam meam: & eruat me de manu tua. Cum autē compleſſet
Dauid loquēs ſermones huiuſmodi ad Saul: dixit Saul. Nūquid vox hæc tua eſt
fili mi Dauid? & leuauit Saul vocem ſuā: & fleuit/ dixitꝗ ad Dauid. Iuſtior tu es: q̄ ego.
tu enim tribuiſti michi bona: ego autem reddidi tibi mala. & tu indicaſti michi hodie quę
feceris michi bona: quo modo tradiderit me dominus in manu tua/ & nō occideris me.
quis enim cū inuenerit inimicū ſuū: dimittet eum in via bona? ſed dominus reddat tibi
viciſſitudinē hāc: pro eo quod hodie operatus es in me. Et nūc ſcio certiſſime ꝙ regnaturus
ſis/ & habiturus in manu tua regnum Iſrael. Iura michi in domino/ ne deleas ſemē
meū poſt me: neqꝫ auferas nomē meū de domo patris mei. Et iurauit Dauid Saul. Abijt
ergo Saul in domū ſuā: & Dauid et viri eius aſcēderūt ad tutiora loca. Hęc de benignitate
Dauid in hoſtē. Et cap. ſequenti in Nabal: ad preces Abigail benignæ vxoris eius.
¶ Inueni (inquit ille ſumme bonus/ ac benignitatis amator) hominē ſecundū cor meum. C
Ita primo. regum cap. decimo tertio nunc legitur. Quæſiuit dominus ſibi virū iuxta cor
ſuum: & præcepit ei dominus vt eſſet dux ſuper populū ſuum/ eo ꝙ non ſeruaueris quæ
præcepit dominus. ¶ Præceperat & diuinitus indulta lex. Id cap. viceſimo tertio exodi D
diuina lege cauetur. Si occurreris boui inimici tui/ aut aſino erranti: reduc ad eum. Si
videris aſinum odiētis te iacere ſub onere: non pertrāſibis/ ſed ſubleuabis cum eo. Et de
patiētia Iob/ totus liber qui Iob inſcribitur: nos per totum admonet. Et de vēditione Ioſeph/
& benignitate/ ꝙ fratrum in ſe inſidias vlciſci noluerit: ſacræ declarant hiſtoriæ.
De vēditiōe quidē: Geneſis cap. triceſimo ſeptimo. Dixit ergo Iudas fratribus ſuis. quid
nobis prodeſt ſi occiderimus fratrē noſtrum/ & celauerimus ſanguinē ipſius? melius eſt
enim vt venundetur Hiſmaelitis: & manus noſtræ nō polluātur. frater enim & caro noſtra
eſt. Acquieuerunt fratres ſermonibus illius: & prætereuntibus Madianitis negociatoribus/
extrahentes eum de ciſterna: vēdiderunt eum Hiſmaelitis viginti argēteis.
qui duxerunt eum in Aegyptū. Et de benignitate eius: cap quadrageſimo quinto. Eleuauitꝗ
vocē cum fletu: quā audierūt Aegyptij/ omniſq; domꝰ Pharaonis. & dixit fratribus
ſuis. ego ſum Ioſeph. adhuc pater meus viuit? Non poterant reſpondere fratres/ nimio
terrore perterriti. Ad quos ille clemēter: accedite (inquit) ad me. & cum acceſſiſſent
prope: ego ſum ait Ioſeph frater veſter/ quē vēdidiſtis in Aegyptū. Nolite pauere: neqꝫ
vobis durum eſſe videatur ꝙ vēdidiſtis me in his regionibus. pro ſalute enim veſtra miſit
me deus ante vos in Aegyptum. Bienniū eſt enim ꝙ cœpit fames in terra eſſe: & adhuc
quinqꝫ anni reſtant/ quibus nec arari poterit/ nec meti. præmiſitqꝫ me deus: vt reſeruemini
ſuper terram/ & eſcas ad viuendū habere poſſitis. Non veſtro conſilio/ ſed dei
voluntate huc miſſus ſum: qui fecit me quaſi patrē Pharaonis: & dominum vniuerſę domus
eius/ ac principē in omni terra Aegypti. Feſtinate/ & aſcēdite ad patrē meū: & dicetis
ei. hæc mādat filius tuus Ioſeph. deus fecit me dominū vniuerſæ terræ Aegypti. deſcēde
ad me ne moreris: & habitabis ī terra Ieſſen. eriſqꝫ iuxta me tu & filij tui/ & filij filiorū
tuorū: oues tuæ & armēta/ & vniuerſa quæ poſſides. ibiqꝫ te paſcā. adhuc eni quinqꝫ
anni reſidui ſunt famis: ne & tu pereas/ & omnis domus tua/ et omnia quæ poſſides. En
oculi veſtri/ & oculi fratris mei Beniamin vidēt: ꝙ os meum loquatur ad vos. Nunciate
patri meo vniuerſam gloriam meā/ & cuncta quæ vidiſtis in Aegyto: feſtinate & adducite
eum ad me. Cūq; āplexatus recidiſſet in collum Bēiamin fratris ſui: fleuit/ illo quoqꝫ
ſimiliter flente ſuper collum eius. Oſculatuſqꝫ eſt Ioſeph omnes fratres ſuos; & plorauit
ſuper ſingulos. Hæc de benignitate Ioſeph. Et de. Abel ſcribitur Geneſis cap. quarto.
Fuit autem abel paſtor ouium: & Cain agricola. Factum eſt autē poſt multos dies: vt offerret
Cain de fructibus terræ munera domino. Abel quoq; obtulit de primogenitis gregis
ſui: & de adipibus eorū. Et reſpexit dominus ad Abel/ & ad munera eius. ad Cain autem
& munera illius: non reſpexit. Iratuſqꝫ eſt Cain vehemēter/ & concidit vultus eius.
Dixitqꝫ dominus ad eum. Quare iratus es: & cōcidit facies tua? nonne ſi bene egeris: recipies/
ſin autē male: ſtatim in foribus peccatū tuum aderit? ſed ſub te erit appetitus eius/
et tu dominaberis illius. dixitqꝫ Cain ad Abel fratrē ſuum. egrediamur foras. Cūqꝫ eſſent
in agro/ conſurrexit Cain aduerſus fratrē ſuum Abel/ & interfecit eum. ¶ Omnes deniqꝫ E
theologia prædicat bonos. Pſalmus decimus quartus. Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo
tuo: aut quis requieſcet in monte ſancto tuo? qui loquitur veritatē in corde ſuo:

F qui non egit dolum in lingua ſua.nec fecit proxmo ſuo malũ.❡Vt ſcilicet illi gentibus
miſereantur.De benigna cura/prouidentiaqꝫ angelorum circa gẽtes & nationes in mũdo:
vt ad bonũ ferant/malos corripiant & emendẽt/vt ad veritatis viam reſpirantibus/
redeuntibuſqꝫ congaudeãt:paſſim ex prophetis/& ijs quæ ex cœleſti hierarchia audita
ſunt/admoneri poſſumus.Zachariæ cap.primo docentur angeli terrã circuiſſe:& omnia
in pace ac tranquillitate ſtatuiſſe.Perambulauimus(dixerunt)terrã:& ecce omnis terra
habitatur/& quieſcit.Illic orat angelus/& luctuoſam ad deum fundit precẽ.Domine exercituum
(inquit)vſquequo tu non miſereberis Hieruſalem/& vrbium Iuda:quibus iratus
es?iſte iam ſeptuageſimus annus eſt.Et meruit ãgelus audire petitionis ſuæ conſolationem.
Et noſtris duris caſibus/calamitatibuſqꝫ:ſpiritualiter compatiuntur & condolent.
Eſaias cap.triceſimo tertio.Ecce vidẽtes clamabũt foris:angeli pacis amare flebunt.
diſſipatæ ſunt viæ/ceſſauit trãſiẽs per ſemitã/irritum factũ eſt pactũ:proiecit ciuitates/
non reputauit homines.Et quid eſt ꝙ Apocalypſis cap.ſeptimo angelus quatuor
aliis angelis clamabat.Nolite nocere terræ & mari/neqꝫ arboribus/quouſqꝫ ſignemus
ſeruos dei noſtri in frontibus eorum:niſi pia eorum in nos cura/& prouidentia?Nobis
etiam ad dei cognitionẽ/amorem/& digne imitandũ ex defectione redeuntibus congratulantur
& gaudẽt.Lucas cap.decimo quinto.Gaudium erit corã angelis dei:ſuper vno
peccatore pœnitẽtiam agente.Et omnes increpationes prophetarum:in pernicioſas &
perditas multitudines(quas angelis monſtrantibus didicerũt)non immerito intelliguntur
eſſe benigniſſimorum angelorũ.Et Apocalypſis cap.decimo octauo:angelus increpat
Babylonẽ/& multitudinẽ eius:eiqꝫ cõminat̃.Exite de illa populus meus:& ne participes
ſitis delictorum eius/& de plagis eorum nõ accipiatis.quoniã peruenerũt peccata
eius vſqꝫ ad cœlum:& recordatus eſt dominus iniquitatum eius.reddite illi ſicut & ipſa
reddidit vobis:& duplicate duplicia ſecundum opera eius.in poculo quo miſcuit vobis:
miſcete ei duplum.quantũ glorificauit ſe/& in delicijs fuit:tantum date illi tormẽtum et
luctum.quia in corde ſuo dixit:ſedeo regina/& vidua non ſum/et luctum non video.
ideo in vna die veniẽt plagæ/mors/luctus/& fames:et igne comburetur.quia fortis eſt
deus/qui iudicabit illam.& flebunt et plangẽt ſe ſuper illam reges terræ:qui cum illa fornicati
ſunt/& in delicijs vixerũt.cum viderint fumũ incendij eius:longe ſtantes propter
timorem tormẽtorum eius.dicẽtes:vę vę ciuitas illa magna Babylon/ciuitas illa fortis:
quoniam vna hora venit iudicium tuum.❡Quid?ꝙ a ſe auerſos ac reſiliẽtes:amatorie
G ſequitur.Hieremias cap.tertio.Tu autẽ fornicata es cum amatoribus multis:tamen reuertere
H dicit dominus/& ego ſuſcipiam te.❡Quid?ꝙ delicijs quoqꝫ reſolutos/ac per id
redire differentes.Licet hic hiſtoriã de filio prodigo:quam beatiſſimus Lucas cap.decimo
quinto texit(quo magis littera eluceat)inſerere.in qua profecto hiſtoria:magna benignitatis
dei ad nos(qui in delicijs huius mundi volutamur)contẽplari licet argumenta.
Ait autem.Homo quidam habuit duos filios:& dixit adoleſcẽtior ex illis patri.pater:
da michi portionẽ ſubſtantiæ quæ me contigit.& diuiſit illis ſubſtantiã.et non poſt multos
dies:congregatis omnibus/adoleſcẽtior filius peregre profectus eſt in regionẽ longinquam.
et ibi diſſipauit ſubſtantiam ſuam:viuendo luxurioſe.Et poſtꝗ omnia cõſummaſſet:
facta eſt fames valida in regione illa.et ipſe cœpit egere:& abijt/et adhęſit vni
ciuium regionis illius.& miſit illum in villã ſuam:vt paſceret porcos.et cupiebat implere
ventrem ſuum de ſiliquis quas porci mãducabant/& nemo illi dabat.In ſe autẽ reuerſus
dixit:quanti mercenarij in domo patris mei abundant panibus/ego autem hic fame
pereo?ſurgam & ibo ad patem meũ:et dicam ei.pater peccaui in cœlũ & coram te/iam
non ſum dignus vocari filius tuus.fac me ſicut vnũ de mercenarijs tuis.Et ſurgẽs venit
ad patrem ſuum.Cum autem adhuc longe eſſet:vidit illum pater ipſius/& miſericordia
motus eſt.& currens cecidit ſuper collum eius:& oſculatus eſt eum.dixitqꝫ ei filius:
pater/peccaui in cœlũ & coram te/iam non ſum dignus vocari filius tuus.Dixit autẽ pater
ad ſeruos ſuos:cito proferte ſtolam primã/& induite illum:et date annulũ in manu
eius/& calceamẽtum in pedes eius.et adducite vitulũ ſaginatum:& occidite.et manducemus
& epulemur:quia hic filius meus mortuus erat:& reuixit.perierat:et inuẽtus eſt.
et cœperunt epulari.Erat autem filius eius ſenior in agro.& cum veniret/et appropinquaret
domui:audiuit ſymphoniam & chorũ.et vocauit vnum de ſeruis:& interrogauit
quid hæc eſſent.iſqꝫ dixit illi.frater tuus venit.& occidit pater tuus vitulum ſaginatum/
quia ſaluũ illũ recepit.Indignatus eſt autẽ:& nolebat introire.pater ergo illius egreſſus:

cœpit rogare illũ.at ille reſpondens dixit patri ſuo.Ecce tot annis ſeruio tibi/ & nunq̃
mandatũ tuũ præteriui: & nunq̃ dediſti michi hedum/ vt cũ amicis meis epularer. ſed
poſtq̃ filius tuus hic/qui deuorauit ſubſtãtiã ſuã cũ meretricibus venit/occidiſti illi vitulũ
ſaginatũ.At ipſe dixit illi.Fili/tu ſemper mecũ es:& omnia mea/tua ſunt.epulari autẽ
et gaudere oportebat:quia frater tuus hic/mortuus erat et reuixit: perierat/& inuentus
eſt.Et ꝙ littera dicit.& eos fruſtra inſimulantes: benigniſſime tolerat/rationẽq; reddere
per ſe ipſe dignatur.id propter ſeniorem fratrẽ indignatũ & murmurantẽ/ dictum
eſt.cui gaudij ſuſcepti/& epuli publici rationem reddit ſummus pater.& ne a bonitatis
perſeuerãtia diſcedat:ſua omnia promittit.Inquit enim/tu ſemper mecum es:& omnia
mea tua ſunt.& rationem lętitiæ ſubinfert.Epulari autẽ & gaudere oportebat:quia frater
tuus hic/ mortuus erat:& reuixit. perierat:& inuẽtus eſt. ¶Deniq; et ſuper humeros I
attollit ouẽ/vix ab errore conuerſam.Apud Lucã cap.decimoquinto pius dominus
& ſaluator ſe aſſimilat viro/ qui ouẽ perditã amatorie proſequitur & inquirit(et re vera
ille ipſe eſt)& inuentã/gaudẽs humeris immenſæ benignitatis ſuæ imponit.cui quidem
benigniſſimo dño cõgratulãtur angeli:eius benignitatis imitatores/ ouiq; plurimũ congaudent
repertæ.Erãt autẽ(inquit Lucas) appropinquãtes ei publicani & peccatores:
vt audirent illũ.Et murmurabãt pharisęi & ſcribæ/dicentes:quia hic peccatores recipit/
& mãducat cũ illis.Et ait ad illos parabolã iſtã dicẽs.Quis ex vobis homo qui habet cẽtũ
oues/& ſi perdiderit vnã ex illis:nõne dimittit nonaginta nouẽ in deſerto/& vadit ad
illã quę perierat:donec ĩueniat eã?& cũ inuenerit eã:imponit in humeros ſuos gaudẽs.
& veniẽs domũ:cõuocat amicos/& vicinos dicẽs illis.congratulamini michi/quia inueni
ouẽ meã quę perierat.Dico vobis ꝙ ita gaudiũ erit in cœlo:ſuper vno peccatore pœnitentiam
agẽte/q̃ ſuper nonaginta nouẽ iuſtis:qui non indigent pœnitentia. ¶Ingratis K
quoq; clementiſſime vtitur.Matthæus cap.quinto. Ego autẽ dico vobis: diligite inimicos
veſtros:benefacite ijs qui oderunt vos/& orate pro perſequentibus & calumniãtibus
vos.vt ſitis filij patris veſtri qui in cœlis eſt: qui ſolem ſuum facit oriri ſuꝑ bonos
& malos/& pluit ſuper iuſtos & iniuſtos.Et cap.viceſimo.Qui voluerit inter vos primꝰ
eſſe:erit veſter ſeruus.ſicut filiꝰ hominis nõ venit miniſtrari ſed miniſtrare:& dare aĩam L
ſuã/redẽptionẽ pro multis. ¶Tu vero(vt tuæ litteræ indicãt)procidentem ſacerdoti impiũ
(vt ais)atq; peccatorẽ:neſcio quo pacto cõtra diſciplinæ ordinẽ aſtãs calce abieciſti.
Hoc ex loco notatu dignũ eſt:impiũ illũ & peccatorẽ/ad reconciliationis per pœnitentiã
ſacramentũ/omni(vt par eſt)cũ humilitate/verecunde ſacerdoti procubuiſſe/ ſecundũ
Chriſtianã diſciplinã.Et diſciplinã quã hic appellat:cõtra cuius ordinẽ Demophilus
cõmiſit/eã intelligere oportet/qua peccator ſeſe ante ſacerdotẽ humiliãs/& ad eius pedes
prouoluẽs:ſe reũ accuſabat.orãs vt pro impietatibus quas ipſe memorabat:& quaſcunq;
in deũ/in ſuperiores/in ſeipſũ/ ꝓximũ/& æquales/& in inferiores admiſerat:oraret.
vt venia/miſericordiaq; apud deũ/apud quẽ plurima ꝓpiciatio eſt:dignaret̃/ & ex
illis impietatibus iuſtificaretur.& hãc ſane accuſationẽ ad iuſtificationẽ impij:nunc noſtri
cõfeſſionẽ vocãt.Et ꝙ ſacerdoti procideret̃/fuſiq; ſeſe humiliantes/procũberent humi:
in vetuſtis adhuc codicibus legit̃.Quo ex loco cõijcere promptũ eſt: ſalubrẽ & religioſam
humiliũ accuſationũ confeſſionũq; diſciplinã:etiã ex apoſtolorũ tẽpore cœpiſſe/
ad cadentiũ erectionẽ/ad peccatorũ iuſtificationẽ/recõciliationiſq; gratiã. ¶Et ſi dei eſt M
iudiciũ(vt ſacra teſtant̃ eloquia)ſacerdotes autẽ angeli ſũt.Eſaias cap.triceſimo.Deus
iudicij dominus eſt.Et Paulus ad Romanos cap.ſecũdo. Propter id inexcuſabilis es O
homo:qui iudicas.in quo enim alterũ iudicas:teipſum condẽnas.ſcimus enĩ: quoniam
iudicium dei eſt.Et Malachias cap.ſecũdo.Labia enĩ ſacerdotis cuſtodiũt ſcientiã:& legẽ
requirẽt ex ore eius/quia angelus domini exercituũ eſt. ¶Quid enĩ quod nõ cõueniret N
fecit Ozias:incẽſum offerẽs deo?De Ozia/ de Saule/ & de infenſiſſimis dæmonibus:
qui & bona & conueniẽtia fecerũt/ſed quę ad eos minime pertinebãt.verũ ꝑſumpſerũt
ſuperbe/ſupra ſe & id qđ ſuũ erat officiũ/attẽtantes:exẽpla hoc in loco inducit beatiſſimus
pater.De Ozia autẽ legitur libro ſecũdo Paralipomenon cap.viceſimo ſexto. Iratuſq;
Ozias & tenẽs in manu thuribulũ vt adoleret incẽſum:minabat̃ ſacerdotibꝰ.ſtatiq;
orta eſt lepra in fronte eius/corã ſacerdotibus in domo domini ſupra altare thymiamatis.
Et in ſcholijs priæ partis ſecũdi cap.eccleſiaſticæ hierarchię:id ad lõgũ adductũ eſt.
De ſuꝑba vero ꝑſumptione Saulis:primo Regũ cap.deciotertio legit̃.Et expectauit ſeptẽ
diebus iuxta placitũ Samuelis:& non venit Samuel in Galgala/ dilapſuſq; eſt po-

pulus ab eo. Ait ergo Saul. afferte michi holocauſta et pacifica. et obtulit holocauſtum.
Propter quã ſuperbiã et temerariã attentationẽ(qua ſe ſuũq; officiũ nõ cognouit) deus
Saulẽ reppulit atq; abiecit. De infenſiſſimis autem dæmonibus: Marcus cap. tertio. Et
ſpiritus immundi cum illum videbant: procidebant ei/ & clamabant dicentes. Tu es filius
dei. Et vehementer cõminabatur eis: ne manifeſtarent illum. Neq; enim decebat:
vt quẽ etiam angeli cum timore/ & magna cum reuerentia nũciauerant/ prophetiſq; lõge
O antea præfigurauerant: impuri dæmones nominare auderent. ❡Sed profecto a theologia
oĩs alienus interdicitur epiſcopus. Qz quiſq; in ſuo ordine manere debeat: Neemiæ
cap. decimotertio. Et cõſtitui ordines ſacerdotũ & leuitarum: vnumquẽq; in miniſterio
ſuo. Et Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. decimoquarto. Omnia autẽ honeſte
P & ſecũdũ ordinẽ fiant in vobis. ❡Soluſq; põtifex ſemel in anno ingreditur in ſancta
ſanctorũ. Id Leuitici cap. decimo ſexto deſcribitur: & qua mundicia/quoue apparatu
põtifex/ſummuſq; ſacerdos ingrederetur ſancta ſanctorũ. Loquere(inquit) ad Aaron
fratrem tuũ/ne omni tẽpore ingrediatur ſanctuarium quod eſt intra velum/coram propiciatorio
quo tegitur arca: & non moriatur. eritq; hoc vobis legitimũ ſempiternum: vt
oretis pro filijs Iſrael/ & pro cunctis filijs eorum ſemel in anno. Et hæc expiatio fiebat
mẽſe ſeptimo/decima die menſis. Et huius typi veritatem/in ſaluatore domino noſtro
ſubſecutã eſſe: a beatiſſimo Paulo epiſtola ad Hebręos cap. nono declarat̃. CHRISTVS
autem aſſiſtens pontifex futurorum bonorum: peramplius & perfectius tabernaculum
non manufactũ/id eſt non huius creationis/neq; per ſanguinem hircorũ aut
vitulorum/ ſed per proprium ſanguinem introiuit ſemel in ſancta ſanctorũ/æterna redẽptione
inuenta. Qz autem ſacerdotes ſancta circũferant ac circũtegant: & leuitæ ea nõ
tangant ne moriantur/Numeri cap. quarto ſcriptum eſt. Tabernaculum fœderis & ſancta
ſanctorum ingredietur Aaron et filij eius: quando mouenda ſunt caſtra. & deponẽt
velum quod pendet ante fores: inuoluentq; eo arcã teſtimonij. Cumq; inuoluerint Aaron
& filij eius ſanctuariũ/& omnia vaſa eius in commotione caſtrorum: tunc intrabunt
Q filij Caath vt portent inuoluta/& nõ tangãt vaſa ſanctuarij: ne moriant̃. ❡ Et iratus eſt
furore dñs cõtra Oziæ temeritatẽ. De Ozia paulo ante dictũ eſt. De Maria vero ſorore
Moſis: Numeri cap. duodecimo. Locutaq; eſt Maria & Aaron contra Moſem. Num per
ſolum Moſem locutus eſt dominus? nonne & nobis ſimiliter eſt locutus? Quod cum audiſſet
dñs: iratus eſt valde. Et ecce Maria apparuit candens lepra/quaſi nix. Cũq; reſpexiſſet
eã Aaron/& vidiſſet perfuſam lepra: ait ad Moſem. Obſecro dñe mi/ ne imponas
nobis hoc peccatũ/quod ſtulte cõmiſimus. ne fiat hęc quaſi mortua. ecce iã mediũ carnis
eius deuoratũ eſt a lepra. Clamauitq; Moſes ad dominũ dicẽs: de⁹ obſecro ſana eã.
Cui reſpondit dominus: ſi pater eius ſpuiſſet in faciẽ illius/nõne debuerat ſaltem ſeptẽ
diebus rubore ſuffundi? ſeparetur ſeptẽ diebus extra caſtra: & poſtea reuocabitur. Excluſa
eſt itaq; Maria extra caſtra ſeptẽ diebus: & popul⁹ nõ eſt motus de loco illo/donec
R reuocata eſt Maria. ❡Et ſuper filios Scenę inſiluere dæmonia. De filijs Scene antiquũ
habet ſcholiũ: eos(cum manus imponẽdi poteſtatẽ nõ haberẽt) exorciſmis/imprecationibuſq;
temerarie abuſos: protinus incurſaſſe/occupaſſeq; dæmonia/in eoſq; inſiluiſſe.
quod ex actis apoſtolorũ deſumptũ eſt: vbi decimonono cap. Lucas ait. Tẽtauerũt autẽ
quidã & de circũeuntibus Iudęis exorciſtis inuocare ſuper eos qui habebãt ſpiritus malos
/nomen domini IHESV: dicẽtes: Adiuro vos per IHESVM: quẽ Paulus prędicat.
Erãt autẽ cuiuſdã Iudęi noĩe Scene/principis ſacerdotũ ſeptẽ filij: qui hoc faciebãt. Reſpõdẽs
autẽ ſpiritus nęquã: dixit eis. IHESVM noui & Paulũ ſcio: vos autẽ qui eſtis? Et
inſiliẽs homo in eos in quo erat dęmoniũ peſſimũ/& dominatus ãborũ inualuit contra
eos: ita vt nudi & vulnerati effugerẽt de domo illa. De quibus & quorũ ſimilibus: Hieremię
vaticiniũ cap. viceſimo tertio adducit beatiſſimus pater. Nõ mittebã prophetas:
et ipſi currebant. nõ loquebar ad eos: et ipſi prophetabant. quo oraculo et ex præſenti
loco: ariolorũ/aruſpicũ/mathematicorum/magicorũ et inuocatorum vanitas explodit/
execratur/damnatur. Hi enim ferme quaſi fati neceſſitas et nõ prouidẽtia regeret orbẽ/
& mutabilia mutabiliter/et immutabilia immutabiliter futura noſſe ſibi arrogãt. Qz ſi illis
aſtra/exta/aut dextra libratum fulmen ab aure/futurorũ euenta nõ monſtrẽt(vt neq; re
vera faciunt) tunc ad coniecturas deſcẽdunt humanas/voluntq; vates videri. Ac eſto
credant prouidentiæ legibus orbem moderari: non ſunt tamen illi miſſi/ vt diuinę prouidẽtiæ
decreta hominibus denũciẽt. quę ꝓfecto dei prouidẽtię: angelorũ amminiſtratio-

De aſtrologis/magis
& huiuſmodi vano hominũ gñe.

bus cōmiſſę ſunt. quis enim eos: ſecretarios dei fecit? Et ſimiles ſunt huiuſmodi (vt ſic di
cā) diuinaculi ijs qui viſo regis ſolio/ ſtatim ſoleāt multa delirare: & quicquid ab eo toto
illo anno/ aut pluribus ānis decretū ſit/ & eius totū cōſiliū ſe dicāt tenere. Cœlū enim: ſo
liū & thronus dei eſt. Verūtamē nō inficias eo: cœlū librū eſſe/ immo & totū vniuerſum/
& vniuerſi particulā etiā quāq;. ſed nō vanorū iſtorū vt plurimū illitteratorū/ & idiota-
rū: verū ęternę dei ſapiētię. Et harū plerę q; fucariarū (vt ſic dixerim) diſciplinarū/ tolerā
dę eſſent ob quandā ad liberaliores diſciplinas affinitatē: ſi nō e vicino veneficā quādā
& impurā magiā/ & adiuratoriā haberent. ad quā ſe ſolēt vt plurimū præcipitātes dede-
re. Et pater mēdacij: mēdacia illis ſuperſtitioſis vanitatibus/ ſūmis tamē in deū iniurijs
fecit inſtrumenta. qualia ſunt emētiti libri Salomonis/ & Apollonij Thianei/ et ij qui dicū
tur Semāphoras/ & nominum dei. quibus in libris/ imprecationes/ & adiurationes ſpiri
tuū cōtinenť. Et audet/ & p̄ſumit homo prophanus/ ſuis horrēdis execrationibus/ ſpiri-
tuales poteſtates adiurare. cū & angelus dei ne prę ſumat/ ne blaſphemet: etiā veretur Iudæ.1.
diabolo imperare. ſed (vt eloquia aiūt) dixit/ imperet tibi dn̄s. Et ī illis qui & Apollonio/
& Salomoni parū caute aſcribunť libris: bonorū angelorū inuocationes/ & præſidia cō
tinētur/ elaboratę imprecationes/ noīa dei in ſacramentis occultis & myſterijs venera-
ta & exquiſita/ nomē dei ineffabile/ & (q̄d magis dolēdū eſt) trinę beatitudinis inclama-
tiones/ & ſacratiſſimū IHESV nomē/ in quo oē genu flectatur/ cœleſtiū/ terreſtriū/ & in-
fernorū: frequēter reperias. Et nō defuerūt qui de his rebus vnde in parte pendeāt/ ita
opinati ſint. Arbitrati ſunt enī/ olim gētiles noſtræ ſanctę functionis ſacrorū miniſtris in-
ſidiatos. quos cū viderēt certis noīm dei inuocationibus vti/ ſubijcere ſibi dęmones/ ſa-
nitates reſtituere/ & miracula operari: protinus rati ſunt huiuſmodi nebulones vaniſſi-
mi/ virtute nōnullorū incantantiū verborū/ & ſecretę inter eos cōſtitutæ diſciplinę: mi-
racula illa patrare. Plane enim in eccleſijs erāt exorciſtę a ſacro principatu ordinati: qui
manus imponerent/ & immūdos ſpiritus a vexatorū corporibus arcerēt/ & poteſtates ſi
bi ordinatas exercerēt. ꝓ quibus erāt certę imprecationes a ſanctiſſimis ducibus noſtris
iſtitutæ/ exorciſmi atq; adiurationes: quas Latini latinas habebant/ & Græci cōſimiles
græcas/ & Hebręi hebręas. Arbitrātur itaq; nefarios illos & ſuperſtitioſos/ qui noſtris ī-
ſidiabātur/ diuina nulla ex parte ſapientes: ſtuduiſſe imprecationes illas/ & exorciſmos
tenere. quas vbi habuerūt: rati ſunt ſe Chriſtianorū ſecreta callere/ & miracula quę vel-
lent ſimiliter operari poſſe. Et latina/ græca/ pariter & hebręa: in vno libro (vt faſciculo
quodā) collegere. adiectis nouis titulis/ nouis petitionibus/ & operādi modo: pro eorum
vana & ſuperſtitioſa voluntate. ſic autē collecta aſcripſerūt Apollonio: quē ōni ritu ini-
tiatū/ ōne idioma oēmq; linguā callentē (vt de apoſtolis credimus) gētiles fingūt. Et li-
bros Philoſtrati de Apollonio legi: eo (vt michi videre ſum viſus) ingenio fictos/ vt gen
tiles nichil de miraculis (quæ a Chriſtianis fiebant) mouerentur/ ſuoue cultu diſcederēt/
neq; idcirco CHRISTVM deū eſſe conſentirēt. quandoquidē apoſtolorum tēporibus:
ſimilia (vt plane fabulantur) miracula feciſſet Apollonius. Et riſum cōtinere frequenter
haud potui/ eorū librū legēs: qui cum falſis Apolloniū miraculis ornāt/ vera CHRISTI
ſaluatoris & ſanctorū apoſtolorū miracula approbāt. Taliaq; idoneus agnoſcet lector:
vtpote ad quorū ſimilitudinē ſua effingant. quæ tamen tantopere ſuis in hiſtorijs vo-
luerāt tacere: ne ea viderentur approbare. Et libros illos dico de imprecationibus & ex-
orciſmis Apollonio falſe inſcriptos: in ſubterraneis cryptis ferme abſconſos ſemper deti
nuere/ & adhuc detinent: timentes ſuper omnia/ ne in manus pontificū veniāt. olim pu
to ne pariter furtum & diſciplinæ adulterationem depræhendiſſent: nūc vero ne eorum
ſuperſtitiones in luce arguantur. Et his dæmonū machinationibus/ nunc ſoli vani qui-
dā Chriſtiani: illudūtur. meminerint tamē pro talibus nefarijs auſis/ in filios Scene inſi- Actuū.19.
luiſſe dęmonia. Effecit enim plane ars/ aſtus/ & dęmonis calliditas: vt hoīes his diuinis
abuterenť. quę cū tractabātur a dignis: potentiā eius elidebāt/ & conterebāt eius fauces
fūditus/ & quę ſūmopere et ſuꝑ oīa formidabat. vt deus his iiurijs atrociter infēſus: ſuā
manū retraheret. & vt ipſe ab ātiquo noſter hoſtis/ libere & multiplicit in nos deſęuiret/
īcurſaretq;: vt lupus in ouile ſine cuſtodia. & vanos errores/ & hęreſes multiplices atq;
varias diſſeminaret. Vnde & nūc ſūmopere dolendū eſt/ huiuſmodi aduerſus infenſiſſi-
mos dęmones pręſidijs: loca ſācta deſtituta eſſe/ q̄ ſancti duces noſtri et ſui ſucceſſores/
ad noſtri tutamina reliquerāt. et multo magis quia ab ijs (quos veritas vocat operarios
iniquitatis) noīa dei prophanata ſunt: ſacramēta cōculcata. horrēt cœli/ horrēt elemen-

ta: horrent & ipſi qui excitant dæmones. Et multum hac in re pontificibus fuiſſet vigilandum
non ſegniter: & nunc quoqꝫ vigilandũ eſſet. Nã vbi pro dignitate/iſta ex ſacroſancto
apoſtolico ritu & immaculata diſciplina obſeruata fuiſſent/ & confuſionis turbo
non omnia inuoluiſſet: videremus proculdubio temporibus noſtris per eos qui rebus ſacris
præſunt: id ſaluatoris (vt diebus antiquis) quãtũ neceſſarium eſſet/indies adimpletum
Marci.16 iri. In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient/linguis loquentur nouis/ſerpentes tollent: et
ſi mortiferum quid biberint/non eis nocebit. ſuper ægros manus imponent: & bene habebunt.
Sed neqꝫ ſacra ſatis reuerẽti cuſtodia obſeruata ſunt: neqꝫ fidei immobilitas (vt
decuit) habita. vt nũc etiam propter operarios iniquitatis ferme religio extincta lugeat:
attrectare non audeant ſacra ij quos id deceat/ne ſimiles illis nefarij & magi videantur.
Et hoc arte dæmonis quæſitum: quis non videt? vt in ſacro principatu quem illis armis
munitũ extreme pertimebat: puſillanimitatem/& in inferioribus temerariũ auſum
inſtillaret. auſum dico: quo etiam cœleſtia ſtatim infimarentur ad abyſſos. Saul enim &
Ozias genibus flexis/complosis manibus/in cœlũqꝫ tẽſis orando & vt putabant ſe deo
humiliando: in temerarium inciderunt auſum/horrẽdamqꝫ ſuperbiam. ſed vani de quibus
nunc ſermo eſt/& qui multiplices habent modos & ſectas: in longe maiorem. Et
hæc duo peccata puſillanimitas & ſuperbia/frequentiſſime operata ſunt: & minime omnium
Semãphoras. ferme cognita. Et quia ſuperius de Semamphoras minus q̃ in tranſitu dictum eſt:
expedit idẽtidem quid de hoc ſentiant aliqui adijcere. Vt enim Chriſtiani myſteria quędam
& ſacra in arcanis habuere/quæ ſolum fas eſſet ſacros ordines & noſſe & tractare:
ita quoqꝫ & Hebręi arcanas quaſdam imprecationes/& inuocationes nominum dei habebant.
Quæ vbi ad manus prophanorum venere: cœperunt ſanctis inuocationibus illis/magno
dei nomine tetragrammaton/& alijs diuinis nũcupationibus abuti. ex quarum
& præſertim magni dei & ineffabilis nominis litterarijs reuolutionibus: incantationes/&
carmina ſe nectere dicunt ad monſtrifica portenta/ad elementorum & fluminũ
immutationes/ſe poſſe ligare/ſe poſſe diſſoluere. & ſanctiſſimos Dauid hymnos (qui ferme
vniuerſi: de ſanctiſſimo ſaluatore noſtro ſacra ſunt oracula) ad ſua maleficia traxere.
Et hęc ſæuiſſima procella: q̃ plurimos & vanos Iudęos/& Chriſtianos implicuit. Et permittit
plerũqꝫ deus: vt in eorũ quoſdã qui talia aut ex noſtris/ aut ex Hebræis deſũpta
Actuũ 19. attẽtare vane & temere audent/inſiliant dæmonia: vt in filios Scene/ qui talia vane tentare
auſi ſunt. alios vero permittit ſigna aliqua facere: ſed proculdubio quæ ſunt in abutentium/&
illis adhærentiũ perniciem. Et vidi mulierculas quaſdam: quæ ex longa ſucceſſione
ad ipſas deriuatis imprecationibus abutentes/a varijs infirmitatibus ſoluebãt
gratis ſuccurrẽtes: & illicitũ ducẽtes tanq̃ quiddam ſpirituale operas ſuas vẽdere. quas
quidem imprecationes qui audierunt: ſatis ſimiles ipſis viſæ ſunt/ijs quibus ad ſanitates
& manus impoſitiones olim eccleſię miniſtri vti potuiſſent. vt ad quos: id officium
a deo & a ſanctis eius miniſtris indultum incubuiſſet. Nunc vero ſimilia attentantur a
prophanis: & quorum temeritatem/cœlum & terra exhorrent. Neqꝫ eis facile perſuaderi
poteſt/ vt neqꝫ olim temerario Sauli: ſe malũ aliquod/aliquodue piaculũ in deũ cõmittere.
quin ſe pios putant: & religioſa quadam ſupra cæteros & mente & credulitate operari.
De quibus vere ſacratus pater/longe vidẽs/multũqꝫ circũſpectus id Matthęi cap.
ſeptimo adducit. Multi dicent michi in illa die. domine domine nonne in noĩe tuo prophetauimus:
& in nomine tuo dęmonia eiecimus/& in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus?
& tũc cõfitebor illis: quia nunq̃ vos noui. diſcedite a me oẽs qui operamini iniquitatem.
Ecce quos veritas operarios iniquitatis appellat. & de quibus amplius ſacratiſſimus
pater ſubiungit. neqꝫ fas itaqꝫ eſt (vt diuina teſtãtur eloquia) ea etiã quæ iuſta ſunt/
non ſecundũ dignitatẽ meritaqꝫ exequi. Cæterum debet ſibi quiſqꝫ cautius intendere
vt non ſublimia/& quæ ſe altiora ſunt ſapiat: ſolaqꝫ ea meditari/quæ ſibi pro meritorum
modo credita ſunt. Hæc ſanctus pater/hæc noſter antiſtes/& Galliarum apoſtolus: quę
ab ijs qui ſacro funguntur principatu/non ignaue non ſegniter non perfunctorie ſunt
penſiculãda. Et tanta ſufficiãt. ¶ Merito ſane noſter a deo nobis indultus legifer. Paulꝰ
primę epiſtolę ad Timotheũ cap. tertio. Oportet enim (inquit) epiſcopũ irrepręhẽſibilẽ
eſſe/vnius vxoris virum/ſobrium/ornatum/prudentẽ/pudicũ/hoſpitalem/doctorem/nõ
vinolentum/non percuſſorem: ſed modeſtum/non litigioſum/non cupidum/ſed ſuæ domui
bene præpoſitum/filios habentem ſubditos cum omni caſtitate. ſi quis autẽ domui
ſuæ pręeſſe neſcit: quomodo eccleſiæ diligẽtiã habebit? Neqꝫ nobis erubeſcendum fuit:

hic ſententiam ſanctiſſimi apoſtoli adducere. quanq̄ nūc quædā immutata ſunt: religio-
ſa quadam eorum affectione/ qui nos omni perfectione abundantes eſſe voluerūt. Sed
nobis erubeſcendum eſt: omni etiam in ſtatu repræhenſibiles eſſe/ non horrere adulte-
rium/ intēperantes eſſe/ inornatos/ imprudentes/ impudicos/ ſine hoſpitalitate/ elingues
& indoctos/ vinolentos/ vindices/ ambitioſos/ litigioſos/ cupidos. quibus (cum domui &
familiæ nunq̄ præeſſe didicerimus) ſceptra etiā moderari nō videatur difficile. vt qui iā
in ſententia apoſtoli: nichil noſtrum eſſe recognoſcere poſſumus. Et plane factum eſt/ vt
dum nimium ſtudetur fictile concoquere/ & ad ſummam perfectionem ducere: omni ex T
parte duxerit rimas/ factūq; ſit vas inutile. ¶ Atq; vt ſummatim dicā iuxta veritatis vo-
cem: qui in modico fidelis eſt. Lucas cap. decimo ſexto. Qui fidelis eſt in minimo: & in V
maiori fidelis eſt. & qui in modico iniquus: & in maiori īiquus. ¶ Vt apud illos effereris/ X
potius q̄ perficiaris. Effereris: īſoleſcas/ crudus/ immitiſq; fias: ab efferor efferaris. ¶ An
vero iuxta diuinas litteras: peccatū duplex impiorū more peccamus? Hieremias cap.
ſecundo. Duo enim mala fecit populus meus: me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ viuæ/ &
foderunt ſibi ciſternas diſſipatas. Et dixiſti/ abſq; peccato & innocens ego ſum: & pro-
pterea auertatur furor tuus a me. ecce ego iudicio contendam tecum: eo ꝙ dixeris/ non Y
peccaui. ¶ Idq; cum (vt ſacra teſtantur eloquia) a peccatoribus eſſet ſegregatus. Prima
Petri epiſtola cap. ſecundo. Quia & CHRISTVS paſſus eſt pro nobis: vobis relinquēs
exemplum vt ſequamini veſtigia eius/ qui peccatum non fecit/ nec inuētus eſt dolus in Z
ore eius. ¶ Atq; hoc eximię in ſe dilectionis argumentum capit. Ioannes cap. viceſimo
primo. Dixit Simoni Petro IHESVS. Simon Ioannis diligis me plus his? dixit ei: etiam
dn̄e tu ſcis/ quia amo te. dixit ei: paſce agnos meos. Dixit ei iterū. Simon Ioānis diligis
me? ait illi etiā dn̄e/ tu ſcis quia amo te. dixit ei iterum: paſce agnos meos. Dixit ei tertio.
Simon Ioānis amas me? cōtriſtatus eſt Petrꝰ quia dixit ei tertio: amas me. & dixit ei/ dn̄e Z
tu oīa noſti: tu ſcis quia amo te. dixit ei: paſce oues meas. ¶ Et næquā eū appellat: qui
conſeruo non dimiſerat debitum. Matthęus cap. decimo octauo. Tunc accedēs Petrus
ad eum dixit. domine quoties peccauerit in me frater meus/ & dimittā ei: vſq; ſepties?
dixit illi IHESVS. non dico tibi vſq; ſepties: ſed vſq; ſeptuagies ſepties. Ideo aſſimilatū
eſt regnum cœlorum homini regi: qui voluit rationem ponere cum ſeruis ſuis. Et cū cœ
piſſet rationem ponere/ oblatus eſt ei vnus: qui debebat ei decem milia talenta. cum au
tem non haberet vnde redderet: iuſſit eum dominus venūdari/ & vxorem eius/ & filios/
& omnia quæ habebat/ & reddi. Procidens autem ſeruus ille/ orabat eum dicens: patiē-
tiam habe in me/ & oīa reddā tibi. miſertus autē dominus ſerui illius: dimiſit eū/ & debi
tū dimiſit ei. Egreſſus autē ſeruus ille: inuenit vnum de conſeruis ſuis/ qui debebat ei cē
tum denarios. & tenēs ſuffocabat eum dicens: redde quod debes. & procidēs cōſeruus
eius/ rogabat eū dicēs: patientiā habe in me/ & oīa reddā tibi. Ille autē noluit: ſed abijt/
& miſit eū in carcerē/ donec redderet debitū. Vidētes autē cōſerui eius quæ fiebant/ cō-
triſtati ſunt valde: & venerūt & narrauerūt domino ſuo oīa quæ facta fuerant. Tūc vo
cauit illū dominus ſuus & ait illi. ſerue nęquā ōne debitū dimiſi tibi quoniā rogaſti me.
nōne ergo oportuit & te miſereri conſerui tui: ſicut & ego tui miſertus ſum? & iratꝰ dn̄s
eius: tradidit eū tortoribus/ quoadusq; redderet vniuerſū debitū. Sic & pater meus cœ-
leſtis faciet vobis: ſi nō remiſeritis vnuſquiſq; fratri ſuo de cordibus veſtris. ¶ Nēpe enī rr
& ijs qui impias in ſe manus iniecerant/ in ipſo ſuæ paſſionis tēpore. Lucas cap. viceſi-
mo tertio. Et poſtq̄ venerunt in locū qui dicitur caluariæ: ibi crucifixerunt eum & latro-
nes/ vnum a dextris/ & alterū a ſiniſtris. IHESVS autem dicebat: pater dimitte illis/
non enim ſciunt quid faciūt. ¶ Diſcipulos item corripuit: ꝙ perſequentes ſe Samarita- ss
nos. Lucas cap. nono. Factū eſt autē dū complerētur dies aſſumptionis eius: & ipſe fa-
ciem ſuam firmauit vt iret in Hieruſalem/ & miſit nūcios ante cōſpectū ſuū/ & eūtes in-
trauerunt in ciuitatē Samaritanorū: vt pararent illi. Et nō receperūt eū: quia facies eius
erat euntis Hieruſalē. Cū vidiſſent autē diſcipuli eius Iacobus & Ioannes: dixerunt. dn̄e
vis dicimus vt ignis deſcendat de cœlo/ & conſumat illos? Et conuerſus increpauit il-
los dicēs: neſcitis cuius ſpiritus eſtis. filius hominis nō venit animas ꝑdere: ſed ſaluare.
¶ Non habemus pōtificem/ qui cōpati non poſſit infirmitatibus noſtris. Paulus ad He- tt
bręos cap. quarto. Habentes ergo pontificem magnū/ qui penetrauit cœlos IHESVM
filium dei: teneamus ſpei noſtræ confeſſionem. nō enim habemus pōtificem/ qui nō poſ-
ſit compati infirmitatibus noſtris: tentatū autem per omnia pro ſimilitudine abſq; pec-

cato. Adeamus ergo cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius: vt miſericordiam conſequamur/
vv & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno. ¶Non contendet neqꝫ clamabit:& ipſe
eſt mitis. Matthęus cap. duodecimo. Exeuntes autem phariſęi: conſiliũ faciebant aduerſus
eum/quomodo perderēt eum. IHESVS autem ſciẽs/ receſſit inde:& ſecuti ſunt
eum multi/& curauit eos omnes. & præcepit eis ne manifeſtũ eum facerent: vt adimpleretur
Eſa. 42. quod dictum eſt per Eſaiam prophetam dicentem. Ecce puer meus quem elegi/
dilectus meus in quo bene complacuit animæ meę. ponam ſpiritum meum ſuper eum:
& iudicium gentibus nunciabit. non cõtendet/neqꝫ clamabit: neqꝫ audiet aliquis in plateis
vocem eius. harundinem quaſſatam non confringet:& lignum fumigans non extinguet/
donec eijciat ad victoriam iudicium. & in nomine eius gentes ſperabunt. Et mitis
& propiciatio dicitur pro peccatis noſtris. Mitis quidem. Matthęus cap. vndecimo.
Et diſcite a me quia mitis ſum/& humilis corde:& ĩuenietis requiem animabus veſtris.
Propiciatio autem. Prima Ioannis epiſtola/cap. ſecũdo. Et ipſe eſt propiciatio pro peccatis
noſtris: non pro noſtris autem tantum/ſed etiam pro totius mũdi. Et cap. quarto.
In hoc apparuit charitas dei in nobis: quoniam filium ſuum vnigenitum miſit in mundũ/
vt viuamus per eum. In hoc eſt charitas/non quaſi nos dilexerimus deum: ſed quoniam
ipſe prior dilexit nos. & miſit filium ſuum/ propiciationem pro peccatis noſtris.
xx ¶Ne ſi millies quidem Phinees & Heliam te dicas ęmulari. De Phinees: Numeri cap.
viceſimoquinto. Et vnus de filijs Iſrael intrauit coram fratribus ſuis ad ſcortũ madianitem/
vidente Moſe & omni turba filiorũ Iſrael: qui flebant ante fores tabernaculi. quod
cum vidiſſet Phinees filius Eleazari/filij Aaron ſacerdotis: ſurrexit de medio multitudinis.
& arrepto pugione ingreſſus eſt poſt virum Iſraelitẽ in lupanar:& perfodit ambos
ſimul virum ſcilicet & mulierem. Dixitqꝫ dominus ad Moſem: Phinees filius Eleazari/filij
Aaron ſacerdotis auertit iram meã a filijs Iſrael. quia zelo meo commotus eſt contra
eos: vt non ipſe delerem filios Iſrael in zelo meo. Idcirco loquere ad eum. ecce do ei pacem
fœderis mei:& erit tam ipſi & ſemini eius pactum ſacerdotij ſempiternũ. quia zelatus
eſt pro deo ſuo:& expiauit ſcelus filiorum Iſrael. Erat autẽ nomen viri Iſraelitæ qui
occiſus eſt cum madianitide: Zambri filius Salumi/dux de cognatione & tribu Simeonis.
Porro mulier Madianitis quæ pariter interfecta eſt: vocabatur Cozbi filia Sur/prĩcipis
nobiliſſimi madianitarũ. Et de Helia: tertio regum cap. decimooctauo legitur/iuſſiſſe
quadringẽtos & quinquaginta vanos ſacerdotes occidi. Et de vtroqꝫ: primus Machabeorum
cap. ſecundo. Phinees pater noſter zelando zelum dei: accepit teſtamentum ſacerdotij
æterni. Helias dum zelat zelum legis: receptus eſt in cœlum. Et vbi ſacratiſſimus
inſtitutor beati patris diuinus Paulus admonet eos qui doctrinæ dei aduerſantur
in manſuetudine docendos: ſecunda eſt ad Timotheum epiſtola cap. ſecundo. Seruum
autem domini (inquit) non oportet litigare: ſed mãſuetum eſſe ad omnes/docibilem/patientem/
yy cum modeſtia corripientem eos qui reſiſtunt veritati. ¶Cum aliquãdo in Cretã
veniſſem: ſanctus Carpus me ſuſcepit hoſpitio. Hic eſt Carpus: cuius beatiſſimus Paulus
ſecunda ad Timotheum epiſtola cap. quarto meminit. Penulam quam reliqui Troade
zz apud Carpum: veniens affer tecum/& libros/ maxime autem membranas. ¶Cũqꝫ
eius celebritatis quam vulgus ilarias vocat. Ilariæ græcum vocabulum eſt:& lætitiæ/voluptateſqꝫ
ſonat. Et ilariæ olim gentilium feſta erant: quæ cum nouus imperator pronũciatus
eſſet/celebrabantur. publica ſpectacula fiebant/ſacrificia publica/publicũ ſine intermiſſione
epulum. lugentes ceſſabant a luctu/ſpectaculis aderant/lętiſqꝫ conuiuijs. Leguntur
& ilarię apud Romanos celebritates fuiſſe Cybeles/matris deorũ. Sed hæc omnia
ocyus faceſſant cum ſuis falſis dijs/depereatqꝫ memoria. & tantum pro nota adiectum
eſſe: ferme putetur piaculum.

¶Tito pontifici per epiſtolam interroganti: quæ ſit ſapientiæ domus/quę patera/qui cibi eius/& qui potus. Epiſt. IX.

SAnctus quidem Timotheus honeſtiſſime Tite: neſcio an
Significatiua theologia. aliquid ſcripſeri de theologicis ſignis/cuius ille ignarus abſceſſerit.
cæterum in ſignificatiua theologia/ omnia illi quæ
in diuinis litteris de deo indigne dici pleriſqꝫ videntur: diligentiſſime
enucleare curauimus. Nam abſurditatem profe-

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1773/D

ĉto maximam imperitis ac rudibus animis imprimunt/arcanæ illius ſapiē
tiæ patres: cum per obſcura quædam ænigmata diuinam illā/ plenamq;
myſterijs/ac prophanis inaceeſſam veritatem enunciant. Atq; ea ratio eſt:
cur plurimi diuinorum myſteriorum verbis difficile credimus. ea enim cū
adhærentibus ſibi tantū vernaculis & carnalibus ſignis aſpicimus:cum his
amotis/ipſa in ſeipſis nuda atq; ad purum liquida intueri debeamus. Ita
enim vitæ fontem digna demum veneratione proſequimur:ſi hunc in ſeip- B
ſum fundi & in ſemetipſo ſtare videamus. Atq; vnam quandam vim ſim-
plicem ſe mouentem/ per ſe operantem/ſeq; ipſam non deſerentem intel-
ligamus:ſcientiarumq; omnium ſcientiam eſſe/ac ſemper ſeipſam per ſeip-
ſam intueri fateamur. Oportere igitur exiſtimauimus:a nobis cum illi/tum C
cæteris omnigenas formas exponi:quæ de deo ſacratiſſime/ ſymbolice ſi-
gnificatiueq; finguntur. Namq; exteriora velamina perq̃ ſane multa indi-
gnitate plena ſunt:quæ inſtar efficta prodigij/minus probabilia videantur.
puta cum in superſubſtantiali illa diuina generatione ventrem dei/ deum D
corporaliter gignere fingunt:verbumq; in aere ex corde viri illud eructan-
te profundi/& ſpiritum ex ore ſpirantis prodire deſcribunt.ac ſinus dei pa E
tris corporeo more filium vlnis complectentes:nobis cum laude pronun-
ciant. Siue cum iſta: per inferiora quælibet/ & quæ humo prodeunt: ſi- F
gnant .atq; cum arbores quaſdam/ & virgulta & flores/ radiceſq; indu-
cunt. ſiue cum inundantes aquarum fontes: aut ſplendorum/ lucis produ
ctiuas generationes: ſeu alias quaſlibet deſcriptiones (quæ superſubſtan-
tialia multiplicis theologiæ ſacramenta digniſſime referent) ponunt. Item G
cū in intelligibilibus dei prouidētijs/aut donis/aut inſinuationibus/aut vir
tutibus/aut proprietatibus/aut terminis/ aut māſionibus/ aut proceſſibus/
aut diſcretionibus/aut coniunctionibus:humanā deo effingūt formā.& fe-
rarum/ & aliorum animalium ac plātarum/lapidumq; varias ſpecies/ & or
natum illi muliebrem:aut barbaricas armorum inſtructuras applicant/ &
vaſorum fictoriā ſeu conflatoriam veluti opifici vulgari attribuūt.& equos
illi/& currus ſedeſq; ſubſternunt:ac dapes quaſdam veluti cocorum com-
mentis & arte conficiunt/bibentemq; et ebriū ac dormitātem/ crapulaq; di
ſtentum dicunt. Quid memorem iras/ dolores/omnimoda iuramenta/ pœ
nitētias/ maledicta/ furores/ multimodas item obliquaſq; fruſtratarū pro-
miſſionū rationes/gigāteā illam in geneſi expugnationem? quādo viris illis
potētibus ex metu dicitur inſidiari:idq; cum ędificium illud non pro alio-
rum iniuria ſed pro ſalute ſua molirentur. Conſilium quoq; illud quid re-
feram aduerſus Achab fraude ac deceptione capiendū:in cœlo cōcinnatū?
Quid itē canticorū carnales ac adamatorios q̃ plurimos affectus? et quæq;
alia ſacra et viſibilia ſigna occultis obducta/et in multitudinē excreſcentia:
diuina fictio ſacris audacius inſeruit/atq; effinxit. ſingularibuſq; et indiui-
duis: quæ diuiſionem admittunt. et figuratiua atq; multiformia: ijs quæ
formam figuramq; non capiunt. Quorum profecto ſi quis intueri poſſit
intimum/ſecretumq; decorem: myſtica eſſe omnia/et diuina mirabitur/ atq;
ingenti theologiæ lumine plena. Neq; enim putādum eſt/viſibilia ſigna ſui

cauſa fuiſſe conficta:verū arcanæ illius plurimiſqꝫ inuiſibilis ſcientiæ. idcirco
velata:ne prophanis fierent peruia quæ ſacratiſſima ſunt/ ſoliſqꝫ veris ac
legitimis diuinitatis amatoribus aperta paterent. quippe qui puerilem omnem
ſenſum atqꝫ imaginem/ſacra ſigna diſcutiendo/deponerent:ac ſimplicitate
animi & contemplatiuæ ratione virtutis/ad ſimplicem illam atqꝫ omnino
mirabilē ac ſupereminētem ſignorum veritatem penetrare ſufficerēt.

Duplex theologorū inſtitutio.

Et hoc præterea operępreciū eſt animaduertere/duplicem eſſe theologorū
traditionem:arcanā alterā ac myſticā/alteram vero manifeſtam atqꝫ notiorem.
H & alteram quidem ſignificatiuā ac perficientē:alterā vero ſapientię eſſe
ſtudioſam/ ac demonſtratiuā. Connexum vero/ intextumqꝫ eſt effabili:
quod dici non poteſt.atqꝫ illud quidem perſuadet/colligit/ac confirmat veritatem:
hoc autem agit/ atqꝫ indocibilibus occultiſqꝫ docendi modis conciliat/
collocatqꝫ in deo.Ne in ipſa quidē ſanctiſſimorū ſacramentorum celebratione/
ſancti illi noſtræ ſeu legalis traditionis magiſtri:diuinis atqꝫ honeſtiſſimis
I abſtinuere ſignis.& ipſos quoqꝫ ſanctiſſimos āgelos:diuina/myſtice
per ænigmata propalare cernimus. Ipſumqꝫ IHESVM in parabolis

Ratio quare duplex ē theologiæ traditio.

diuina:& per typicæ menſæ apparatū deifica myſteria tradere. Fuit
enim profecto conueniens/vt non modo illibata plurimis ſeruarentur ſancta
ſanctorum:verum vt & ipſa quoqꝫ hominū vita(quæ indiuidua ſimul/
ac diuiſibilis eſt)pro captu & modo ſuo diuinis cognitionibus illuſtrata doceretur.
& impaſſibilis ipſius pars:ad ſimplices atqꝫ intimas diuinarū imaginum
ſpecies contuendas ſecerneretur. quæ vero paſſibilis eſt: vernacule
(vt ita dixerim)illiceretur vna/atqꝫ ad capiēda quæ ſunt auguſtiſſima pręelaboratis
typicorū ſignorū fictionibus intēderetur. cui quidem nimirum
natura cognata ſūt huiuſmodi ex noſtris ſumpta velamina. Quod indicāt
K quicunqꝫ(cum apertam & extra velamina audierint theologiam)in ſeipſis
imaginem aliquam fingunt:quæ illos ad dictæ theologiæ intelligentiā manuducat.
L Sed & ipſa mundi viſibilis fabrica: inuiſibilibus dei (quēadmodū

Partitio theologorum.

& Paulus/& verax ratio docet)ſubſignatur. Quocirca & theologi alia
quidem ciuiliter atqꝫ legitime:alia vero purgate & incontaminate perſpiciunt.
& alia humane ac medie:alia vltra humanā cōſuetudinem atqꝫ perficiendo
diſcutiunt. Atqꝫ interdū quidem a viſibilibus legibus: interdū vero
ab inuiſibilibus(prout ſubiectis ſacris litteris/ & mentibus/ & animis congruit)
docent. Neqꝫ enim hiſtoria ſimplici & vacua: ſed vitali perfectione
ſubnixus eſt illorū omnis & per omnia ſermo.Oportet igitur & nos omiſſa
de hiſce opinione vulgari:intra ſacra ſigna tota intētione penetrare. neqꝫ
ea debito honore priuare:cum ſint diuinarum figurarum germina/expreſſiones
atqꝫ formæ/ac ſecretiſſimorū excellētiūqꝫ ſpectaculorū euidētes imagines.
Nō enim ſola ſuperſubſtātialia & intelligibilia ac diuina lumina:typicis
variantur ſignis.ſicuti cū ſuperſubſtātialis deus/ignis dicitur: & intelligibilia
eloquia dei/ignita memorantur.verū & intelligibilium intellectualiūqꝫ
angelorum ſacræ illæ diſtinctiones:varijs formis & multiplicibus/igneiſqꝫ
M figuris deſcribūtur. Atqꝫ aliter ipſam ignis imaginē cū de deo(qui
omnem intelligētiam ſuperat)dicitur/oportet accipere:aliter cum de intel-

lectualibus eius prouidentijs ſiue rationibus/aliter quoq cum de angelis
enunciatur.ac priorem quidem illam imaginem ſecundum cauſam/ſequen-
tem vero ſecundum ſubſtantiam/tertiam ſecundum participationem.atq
alia aliter/ſicuti digna cuiuſq ſpeculatio/& erudita diſpoſitio ſacit:accipere
conuenit.& non temere ac paſſim ſacra ſigna miſcere:ſed ipſa congrue cau-
ſis ſiue ſubſtantijs ſiue virtutibus/ſiue ordinibus/meritiſve ac dignitatibus
diſcernere:quorum etiam ſunt enunciantia ſigna.⁋Et ne modum exceda-
mus epiſtolæ:ad ipſam iam propoſitam a nobis quæſtionem veniamus.
Dicimus itaq eſcam omnem/vim habere eos perficiendi quos nutrit:dum
imperfectum illorum atq indigentiam replet/& infirmitatem curat/vitãq
cuſtodit.& reuireſcere facit/ac renouat:& vitalem illis iocunditatem/copi-
amq largitur.prorſuſq mœſtitiæ & imperfectionis omnis expultrix:læti-
tiæ vero ac perfectionis indultrix eſt.Rite igitur & ſapientiſſima/benigniſ-
ſimaq ſapientia diuinis laudatur eloquijs:ꝙ myſticum craterem ſtatuat/
ſacrumq ipſius propinet poculum/ſolidiores quoq ante cibos proponens:
et cum alta prædicatione/ipſam deſiderãtes benigniſſime inuitans.Dupli-
cem ergo diuina ſapientia proponit eſcam:ſolidam alteram atq durabi-
lem/alteram liquidam & quæ profunditur.in cratere quoq prouidentiſſi-
mæ benignitatis ſuæ:gratiam/copiãq largitur.Crater enim rotundo et pa-
tulo ore cum ſit:prouidentiæ omnium(quæ initio & ſine caret:patenſq et
explicita/omnia ambit & continet)ſignum profecto eſt.Verum quoniam
et ad omnia prodiens in ſeipſa manet/ſubſiſtitq in immobili idẽtitate ſua/
neq prorſus a ſeipſa diſcedit/ſtabiliter firmiterq locata:ipſe quoq crater
ſtare memoratur.Aedificare autem ſibi domum ſapiẽtia dicitur/& in ipſa
ſolidos cibos & pocula/crateremq proponere:vt omnibus diuina digne
conijcientibus perſpicuum ſit/illum eſſe perfectam prouidentiam:qui om-
nibus vt ſint/ac bene ſint author eſt & cauſa.et procedit ad omnia:et in om-
nibus fit/& omnia continet.Atq eadem rurſus in ſeipſa per eminẽtem ex-
cellentiam:nichil in nichilo ſecundum nichilum eſt.ſed excipitur ab omni-
bus/ipſa in ſeipſa identidem ac ſempiterne ſubſiſtens/& ſtans et manens:
ſemperq eodem modo ac ſimiliter ſe habens.& nequaꝙ extra ſe fit:neq a
ſede propria/& immobili manſione atq ſubſtantia deficit.Verum & in ip-
ſa prouidentiæ ſuæ integra perfectaq bonitate:cuncta diſponit.& proce-
dit ad omnia:& in ſeipſa manet.et ſtat ſemper atq mouetur:& neq ſtat
neq mouetur.ſed prouidentiæ(vt ita dixerim)officia & actiones/dum ſtat
immobilis:peragit.atq dum prouidet:in ſua illa ſtabilitate/diuinæ ratione
naturæ/omnino mirabiliter manet.Sed enim dixerit quiſpiam:quis ſolidus
eſt/& quis liquidus cibus?huiuſmodi enim/benigna ſapientia largiri ſimul
ac prouidere laudatur.Arbitror itaq ſolidum cibum:intellectualis perſe-
uerantiſq perfectionis atq identitatis ſignificationem præferre.per quam
intellectuales illi ſenſus ſecundum ſtantem/ac potẽtiſſimam & ſingularem/
indiuiduamq ſcientiam:diuina participant.quibus beatiſſimus Paulus ſo-
lidi veraciter cibi a ſapiẽtia accepti:conſortium & participium tradit.Porro
liquidum cibum/inundantiam illam large manantẽ atq ad omnia prodire

Hic quæſti-
oni pontifi-
cis Titi ſa-
tiſfacit.

Eſca ſiue
cibi.

N

duplex cib⁹
atq eſca.

Domus.

Cib⁹ ſolid⁹.

O

feſtinantem:ſed adhuc per varia & plurima atqꝫ diuidua/ad ſimplicem et
fixam atqꝫ conſtantem dei ſcientiam/eos quos alit pro captu ac modo ſingulorū/
P bonitate præcipua manuducētem:ſignare certū eſt.Idcirco diuina
ac ſpiritualia eloquia:et rori/et aquę et lacti et vino/ac melli merito aſſimilātur.
Q ꝙ et viuificādi atqꝫ fœcūdandi/veluti in aqua:& ad incrementū perducendi/
vt in lacte:& recreandi/vt in vino:& purgandi ſimul atqꝫ conſeruandi/
veluti in melle:habeant vim.Hæc enim ſapientia diuina:accedentibus
ipſis præſtat affluentiam/indeficientium dapum inundantiam largiens/ſuperemanans/
A atqꝫ ſupereffundens. Iſtud nempe:veraciter epulari eſt.atqꝫ
ideo viuificans ſimul/& paruulos nutriens/et renouans/atqꝫ perficiens celebratur.
S Iuxta hanc nempe ſacram conuiuij expoſitionē:& ipſe bonorum
Inebriatio diuina. author omnium deus inebriari perhibetur/propter pleniſſimam/& quæ
omnem intelligentiam ſuperet diuinæ epulationis/ſiue(vt verius loquar)
bonitatis perfectiſſimam atqꝫ ineffabilem immenſitatem.Sicut enim noſtro
more in deteriorem partem ebrietas capitur(eſtqꝫ repletio immodica:
per quam mente & ſenſu excidimus)ita & in deo meliorem in partem accipiendo:
ebrietas nichil aliud q̃ pleniſſima bonorum omnium immenſitas
Exceſſꝰ mētis ebrietatem ſequēs (quæ in ipſo ſecundum cauſam præexiſtit)intelligenda eſt.Sed et illum qui
ebrietatem comitatur exceſſum ſenſus/atqꝫ ſciendi:dei excellentiam quæ
omnem refugit intellectū accipi oportet.per quam excipitur ab intelligendi
ratione:cū ea ſit excellētia/vt intelligere atqꝫ intelligi/ipſumqꝫ eſſe trāſcendat/
ac omnia ſinpliciter quæcūqꝫ ſunt bona.Inebriatus ergo eſſe atqꝫ excedere
dicitur deus:quippe qui eis omnibus immenſitatis totius eminentia et
Conuiuia ſanctorum. pleniſſimus eſt/& rurſus extra omnia/et vltra omnia ſegregatus.Ex his igitur
admoniti:ſanctorum quoqꝫ in regno dei ſacra conuiuia eadem ratione
T ſuſcipiemus.tranſiens enim inquit rex ipſe faciet illos diſcumbere:& ipſe
miniſtrabit eis.Inſinuant enim iſta communem quādam ſanctorum in diuinis
bonis/concordemqꝫ lætitiam:& conſentientem ſocietatem.et eccleſiam
primitiuorū qui deſcripti ſunt in cœlis/ac iuſtorum ſpiritus:bonis omnibus
conſummatos/& omnium virtutū plenos/totiuſqꝫ beatitudinis participatione
Diſcubitus ſanctorum. fœlices.Porro diſcubitum illum:requiem ex multis laboribus
et inuiolabilem vitam/conuerſationemqꝫ diuinam in lumine ac regione viuentium/
omni ſacra iucunditate repletam/vberrimorum ac beatiſſimorum
bonorum affluentiſſimam largitatem:ſignificare putamus.per quam:
lętitię totius plenitudo tribuitur.Hoc profecto lętari eſt authore IHESV:
qui illos & recumbere facit & illis miniſtrat/æternamqꝫ requiem donat/ac
Sōnus diuinus. bonorum omnium largiſſime diſtribuit copiam.Pergens autem inquirere
non fallor:ſi & laudatiſſimum illum dei ſomnum/& euigilationem explicare
pergimus.dicendo diuinum ſomnum eſſe:dei illam excellentiā exceptam
a creaturis omnibus/& nulli communicabilem ex ijs quæ prouidentiæ ratione
Euigilatio diuina. gubernantur.Euigilationem vero:attentionem ipſius ad eorum prouidentiā/
qui diſciplina vel ſalute indigent.Continuo alia theologica ſigna:
in ſignificatiua theologia offendes.Idcirco ſuperfluum eſſe arbitrati/eadem
eiſdem de rebus replicando/alia videri dicere/ſimulqꝫ noſtri rationē haben-

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tes/& quid ratio ſibi poſcit:hic finem epiſtolæ faciamus.cum plura etiam vt
reor perſoluerimus:q̃ litteris tuis deberemus.Ipſam vero noſtram ſignifica
tiuam theologiam integram mittimus:in qua vna cum ſapientiæ domo/
columnas quoq; ſeptem elucidatas inuenies/& ſolidum ipſius cibum:in vi-
ctimas paneſq; diuiſum.quæ ſit etiam vini commixtio:quæ item crapula
ex dei ebrietate proueniens.Et ipſa etiam quæ modo diximus:in ea latius
tractata reperies.eſt enim(vt reor)equidem omnium ſignificatiuarum the-
ologiarum inuentrix optima/& ſanctarum ſcripturarum ſacris traditioni-
bus ac veritatibus congruens.

Sigĩficatiua theologia.

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS.¶Argumentum.Titus pontifex/beatiſſimi Pauli di- A
ſcipulus/& ad quem Pauli epiſtola extat:per epiſtolam beatiſſimũ patrem interrogauit/
quid eſt quod prouerbiorũ cap.nono dicitur.Sapientia ædificauit ſibi domũ:excidit co-
lumnas ſeptem/immolauit victimas ſuas/miſcuit vinũ/& propoſuit menſam.et quæ ſit
ſapientiæ domus:quis crater/qui cibi & qui potus.Cuius petitioni ſatiſfaciens ſacratiſſi-
mus pater/paucis aperit quæ ſapiẽtiæ manſio/& domus:quis crater/quis cibus ſolidus/
et quis cibus liquidus/qui appellatur & pot9. Et vltra petita adiecit:quæ diuina inebri-
atio/quæ extaſis/ſciendiq; exceſſus diuinam ebrietatem ſequens.quæ ſanctorum con-
uiuia/qui recubitus.quis diuinus ſomnus/quæ vigilia.Et hæc epiſtola:vt argumentum
quoddã in diuinam ſignificatiuam theologiam eſſe videtur/vnde nec examuſſim ſine
ſignificatiua illa theologia intelligi poſſe.Illic enim(vt in calce epiſtolæ meminit)exacte
de ſapientiæ domo/de ſeptẽ eius columnis/qui panes eius/quod vinum/quæ vini com-
mixtio/& reliqua eiuſmodi:omniũ profecto ſcitu & contemplatione digniſſima/elucida-
tur.quod ſacrũ/& omnibus ſæculis deſiderabile munus:vna cum præſenti epiſtola/ad
ſanctum pontificẽ Titum deſtinauit.¶Si hũc in ſeipſum fundi:& in ſemetipſo ſtare vi- B
deamus.Fons vitæ deus eſt:& hoc nomine frequenter in ſacris celebratur litteris.Et vt
fons in ſeipſo funditur & ſcaturit/in ſeipſo manẽs:ita in ſemetipſa nõ eſt infœcũda ſum-
ma diuinitas.ſed principium a ſemetipſo fœcundũ ſurgens:ſe totum fundit/cõmunicat/
et propagat in ſeipſo manens.eſt enim pater a quo motus initium:nunq̃ ſe deſerens/et
a quo principium de principio.quæ procedũt/ſe fundunt/atq; propagant:neq; ſe deſe-
runt/ſed intra ſe manent.Et hi proceſſus:verbũ/mentemq; omnem ſuperãt/ineffabiles
ſemper/atq; incompræhẽſi.ſũtq; principiũ a ſemetipſo/principium de principio:& prin-
cipium de principio per principium.Et hæc tria vnum ſunt principiũ:a quo/per quod/
et ad quod omnia/ſuperimmenſa & ſuperbenedicta trinitas/in ſeipſa æterna manſione
manentia/ſemper procedentia/& æterna operatione priuſq̃ fierẽt & ſæcula:in ſemetipſa
fœcunda.quæ cum ſe/exuberantia ſuæ immẽſæ bonitatis extra fuderunt/in ſe tamen ni-
chilominus ſemper manentia:ex incõpræhẽſibilibus proceſſibus vt vno ſummo/incom-
præhenſibiliq; principio vt ex quo/per quod/& ad quod:orta ſunt omnia.ſed ab incom-
præhenſibili cõpræhenſibilia/& ab incõmunicabili cõmunicabilia/ab vno infinito & im-
menſo:finita omnia menſurãq; habentia.Ex patre enim & a patre/ineffabiliũ proceſſuũ
eſt initium:per filium mediantur/& ad veracẽ et ſuperbonum ſpiritum terminantur et
finiunt.Itaq; ex et a ad patrem/per ad filium/ad et in ad ſpiritum ſanctum:plerumq; in
ſacris litteris/diſcretiue referuntur.efficiens/forma/finis.ſuntq; nomina dei.¶Oportere C
igitur exiſtimauimus:a nobis cum illi/tum cæteris omnigenas formas exponi.Illi:illi Ti-
motheo.¶Puta cum in superſubſtantiali illa diuina generatione.Filium ex vtero gigni/ D
et ex corde eructari/& ſpiritum ex ore prodire:ſacræ litteræ enunciant.Ex vtero.Pſal-
mus centeſimus nonus.Tecum principium in die virtutis tuæ:in ſplẽdoribus ſanctorũ
ex vtero ante luciferum genui te.Ex corde.Pſalmus quadrageſimus quartus.Eructauit
cor meum verbum bonũ:dico ego opera mea regi.Ex ore.Pſalmus triceſimus ſecũdus.
Verbo domini cœli firmati ſunt:& ſpiritu oris eius/omnis virtus eorum.¶Ac ſinus dei E
patris:corporeo more filium vlnis cõplectentes/Ioannes cap.primo.Deum nemo vidit
vnq̃.vnigenitus filius qui eſt in ſinu patris:ipſe enarrauit.¶Siue cum iſta:per inferiora F
quælibet/& quæ humo prodeunt:ſignant.Per lignum ſiue arborem/virgultũ/florem/
radicem/per fontẽ/per generationem ſplẽdorum lucis:ſummũ illud & ineffabile bonum
(per quod facta ſunt omnia)in ſanctis eloquijs deſignatur.Per lignũ.Prouerbiorũ cap.

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tertio. Precioſior eſt cunctis opibus ſapientia: & omnia quæ deſiderãtur/huic non valent comparari. Longitudo dierũ in dextera eius: & in ſiniſtra illius diuitiæ & gloria. viæ eius viæ pulchræ: & omnes ſemitæ eius pacificæ. lignũ vitæ eſt ijs qui appræhenderint eam: et qui tenuerint eam/beati. Et Apocalypſis cap. ſecundo. Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vitæ/quod eſt in paradyſo dei mei. Per virgultũ & radicem. Eſaias cap. quinquageſimo tertio. Quis credidit auditui noſtro: & brachium domini cui reuelatum eſt? et aſcendet ſicut virgultũ coram eo/& ſicut radix de terra ſitiẽti. Per florem. Eſaiæ cap. vndecimo. Et egredietur virga de radice Ieſſe: & flos de radice eius aſcendet/& requieſcet ſuper eum ſpiritus domini. Per fontem. Hieremias cap. ſecundo: vt & ante adductũ eſt. me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ viuæ: & foderunt ſibi ciſternas diſſipatas. Et Pſalmus triceſimus quintus. Quoniam apud te eſt fons vitæ: & in lumine tuo videbimus lumen. Per generationem ſplendorũ lucis. Ex pſalmo centeſimo nono iam auditum eſt. In ſplendoribus G ſanctorum/ex vtero ante luciferũ genui te. ¶ Itẽ cum in intelligibilibus dei prouidẽtijs/aut donis/aut inſinuationibus/aut virtutibus/aut proprietatibus. Multa in ſignificatiua theologia beatiſſimus pater de deo reſerauit: quorum hic inter alia/ſex et triginta adducit/quæ ſunt.

1	Prouidentia	14	Plantę	27	Crapula
2	Dona	15	Lapides	28	Iræ
3	Manifeſtationes	16	Muliebres ornatus	29	Dolores
4	Virtutes	17	Barbarica arma	30	Iuramenta
5	Proprietates	18	Ars fictilium	31	Pœnitentiæ
6	Fines	19	Conflatilium	32	Maledictiones
7	Manſiones	20	Extrinſeci apparatus	33	Furores
8	Proceſſus	21	Equi	34	Promiſſionum
9	Diſcretiones	22	Currus		fruſtrationes
10	Coniunctiones	23	Sedes	15	Conſilium frau-
11	Humana forma	24	Fercula		de cõcinnatum
12	Formæ ferarum	25	Potus	36	Canticorum adamato-
13	Aliorũ animalium	26	Somnus		rij & laſciuiuſculi affectus

Prouidẽtia
Dona

Et de quorum vnoquoq;: ex ſacris litteris aliquid vel parum adducendũ eſt. Prouidentia & dona. Pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quartus. Oculi omniũ in te ſperant domine: & tu das eſcam illorum in tẽpore oportuno. aperis tu manũ tuam: & imples omne animal benedictione. Et centeſimus quadrageſimus ſextus. Qui operit cœlum nubibus: & parat terræ pluuiã. qui producit in montibus fœnum/& herbam ſeruituti hominum. qui dat iumentis eſcam ipſorum: & pullis coruorũ inuocantibus eum.

Manifeſtationes.

Manifeſtationes. Geneſis cap. decimo octauo de Abrahã. Apparuit ei dominus in conualle mãbre/ſedenti in hoſtio tabernaculi ſui in ipſo feruore diei. Et cap. viceſimo ſexto de Iſaac. Orta autem fame ſuper terrã/poſt eam ſterilitatem quæ acciderat in diebus Abraham: abijt Iſaac ad Abimelech regem Paleſtinorũ in gerara. Apparuitq; ei dominus & ait. ne deſcẽdas in Aegyptũ/ſed quieſce ĩ terra quã dixero tibi: & peregrinare in ea/eroq; tecũ & benedicam tibi. Et exodus cap. tertio de Moſe. Moſes autem paſcebat oues Ietro ſoceri ſui ſacerdotis Madian. Cumq; minaſſet gregem ad interiora deſerti: venit ad montem dei Oreb. Apparuitq; ei dominus in flãma ignis/de medio rubi. Et videbat ꝙ rubus arderet et non comburebatur.

Virtutes.

Virtutes. Virtutes/& diuinæ potentiæ ſigna (vt ad hominum timorem/& ſalutẽ innoteſceret deus) frequenter patuerunt: vt ex veteri & nouo teſtamento facile dinoſcitur. Ex veteri quidem: vt in Exodo de plagis Aegypti ſupra allatis/et de ijs admirandis: quæ filijs Iſrael in deſerto contigere. de quibus et pſalmus centeſimus quintus. Obliti ſunt deum qui ſaluauit eos: qui fecit magnalia in Aegypto/mirabilia in terra Cham/terribilia in mari rubro. Ex nouo vero teſtamẽto: Matthæus cap. vndecimo. Cæci vident/claudi ambulãt/leproſi mundãtur: ſurdi audiunt/mortui reſurgũt/pauperes euangelizantur/& beatus qui non fuerit ſcandalizatus in me. Et Lucas cap. ſexto. Et deſcẽdens cum illis/ſtetit in loco campeſtri/& turba diſcipulorum eius: & multitudo copioſa plebis/ab omni Iudęa et Hieruſalẽ/et Maritima/& Tyri/et Sidonis. qui venerant vt audirent eum:& ſanarētur a lāguoribus ſuis.et qui vexabantur a ſpiritibus immundis:curabantur.& omnis turba quęrebat eum tangere:quia virtus de illo exibat/et ſanabat omnes.Proprietates.Vt cum dicitur miſericors/miſerator/patiens/ſuauis/iuſtus/ſanctus/& id genus diuinorum nominū:diuinas & benignas eius proprietates inſinuātiū.Exodus cap.viceſimo ſecūdo.Si pignus a proximo tuo acceperis veſtimētum:ante ſolis occaſum reddes ei.ipſum enim eſt ſolum quo operitur indumētū carnis eius:nec habet aliud in quo dormiat.ſi clamauerit ad me:exaudiā eum/quia miſericors ſum.Pſalmus centeſimus quadrageſimus quartus.Miſerator & miſericors dominus:patiens et multum miſericors.ſuauis dominus vniuerſis:& miſerationes eius ſuper omnia opera eius.iuſtus dominus in ōnibus vijs ſuis:& ſāctus in omnibus operibus ſuis.Fines atq; conſūmationes.Apocalypſis cap.primo.Ego ſum alpha et ω/principium & finis:dicit dominus deus.Et Eccleſiaſticus cap.quadrageſimo tertio.Propter ipſum confirmatus eſt itineris finis:in ſermone eius cōpoſita ſunt ōnia.Multa dicimus/& deficimus verbis:conſummatio autem ſermonnm ipſe eſt.Et dominus a beatiſſimo Paulo epiſtola ad Hebræos cap.duodecimo:conſummator appellatur. Deponentes(inquit)omne pondus/et circūſtans nos peccatū:curramus ad propoſitū nobis certamen/aſpicientes in authorem fidei & conſummatorē IHESVM.qui propoſito ſibi gaudio ſuſtinuit crucem/confuſione contēpta:atq; in dextra ſedis dei ſedet.Manſiones.Ioannes cap.decimo quarto.Si quis diligit me/ſermonē meum ſeruabit:& pater meus diliget eum/& ad eum veniemus/& māſionem apud eum faciemus.Et cap.decimo quinto.Manete in me/& ego in vobis.ſicut palmes non poteſt ferre fructum a ſemetipſo:niſi māſerit in vite.ſic nec vos:niſi in me māſeritis.Proceſſus.De intimis & imanētibus proceſſibus qui ineffabiles ſunt/pariter & extimis:alijs in locis dictum eſt.de quibus etiam pſalmus decimus octauus.In ſole poſuit tabernaculū ſuum:& ipſe tanq̄ ſponſus procedens de thalamo ſuo.Et Lucas cap.quarto.Et omnes teſtimonium illi dabant:& mirabantur in verbis gratiæ quæ procedebant de ore ipſius.Diſcretiones.Matthæus cap.viceſimo octauo.Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes:baptizantes eos in nomine patris/& filij/& ſpiritus ſancti.docentes eos ſeruare quæcūq; mandaui vobis:& ecce ego vobiſcū ſum omnibus diebus/ vſq; ad conſummationem ſæculi.Coniunctiones.Ioannes cap.decimo.Ego & pater: vnum ſumus.Et prima Ioannis epiſtola cap.quinto.Quoniā tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant in cœlo/pater/verbum/& ſpiritus ſāctus:et hi tres vnum ſunt.Et de diuinis diſcretionibus et coniunctionibus:nos amplius cap.ſecundo diuinorum nominū admonuit ſacratiſſimus pater.Humana forma.Daniel cap.ſeptimo.Et ecce in nubibus cœli quaſi filius hominis veniebat:& vſq; ad antiquūdierū puenit.et in cōſpectu eius obtulerūt eū:& dedit ei poteſtatem & honorem et regnū/& omnes populi tribus et linguæ ipſi ſeruient.poteſtas eius poteſtas æterna quæ non auferetur:& regnum eius quod non corrumpetur.Formæ ferarum.Vt leonis/leenæ/pardi/& vrſi.Oſeæ cap.decimo tertio.Et conſumam eos ibi quaſi leo.Et ego ero eis quaſi leena/ſicut pardus in via Aſſyriorū.occurram eis quaſi vrſa raptis catulis.Alia animalia.Ioannes cap.primo.Teſtimoniū perhibuit Ioannes dicēs:quia vidi ſpiritum deſcendētē quaſi columbā de cœlo.et manſit ſuper eum:& ego neſciebā eum.Et rurſus.altera die iterum ſtabat Ioannes/& ex diſcipulis eius duo:et reſpiciens IHESVM ambulātem dixit/ecce agnus dei.Plantæ.Eſaias cap.quinquageſimo tertio.Et aſcendet ſicut virgultū coram eo. Et Ioānes cap.decimo quinto.Ego ſum vitis vera:& pater meus agricola eſt.ego ſum vitis:& vos palmites.Lapides.Eſaias cap.viceſimo octauo.Ecce ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidē:lapidem probatum/angularem/precioſum/in fūdamēto fundatū.Et Paulus epiſtola ad Epheſios cap.ſecundo.Ergo iam non eſtis hoſpites & aduenæ/ſed eſtis ciues ſanctorum & domeſtici dei:ſuperedificati ſuper fundamentū apoſtolorum & prophetarū/ipſo ſummo angulari lapide CHRISTO IHESV:in quo omnis ædificatio conſtructa creſcit in templū ſanctum in domino.Muliebris ornatus.Hieremias cap.viceſimo ſecūdo.Viuo ego dicit dominus/quia ſi fuerit Iechonias filius Ioachim regis Iuda annulus in manu dextra mea:inde euellā eum.Eſt enim annulus in manu:vt muliebris ornatus.Et Ezechiel cap.decimo ſexto.Et tranſiui per te/& vidi te:et ecce tempus tuum/tempus amantium.& expandi amictū meum ſuper te/& veſtiui te diſcoloribus:et calceaui te hiacyntho/& cinxi te byſſo.& indui te ſubtilibus/et ornaui te ornamento :& dedi armillas manibus tuis/et torquem circa collum tuum.& dedi inaurem circa os tuū:& circa oculos in auribus tuis/

Proprietates.

Fines.

Manſiones

Proceſſus.

Diſcretiōes

Cōiūctiōes

Humana forma.

Formæ ferarum.

Alia aīalia.

Plantæ.

Lapides.

Muliebris ornatus.

et coronam decoris in capite tuo.& ornata es auro et argento:& induta es byſſo et polymito/
& multis coloribus.Et ſumens de veſtimentis meis feciſti tibi excelſa hinc inde
conſuta:& fornicata es ſuper eis.Et paulo ante ſcribebatur.Et ingreſſa es:& veniſti ad
mundũ muliebrem.Vbi Symachus vertit:ad ornatũ muliebrem.Coſmos enim gręce/anceps
Barbarica arma. vocabulum eſt:nunc mundũ/nunc ornatum ſignificans.Barbarica arma.Apocalypſis
cap.ſecundo.Hæc dicit qui habet romphęam ex vtraq; parte acutã.Romphęas
Fictoria. ſcribit Philarchus:arma eſſe barbarica.Fictoria.Eſaias cap.viceſimo nono.Peruerſa eſt
hæc veſtra cogitatio:quaſi ſi lutum cõtra figulum cogitet.& dicat opus factori ſuo:non
feciſti me.et figmentũ dicat fictori ſuo:nõ intelligis.Et cap.ſexageſimo quarto.Et nũc
domine pater noſter es tu:nos vero lutum.Et fictor noſter es tu:& opera manuũ tuarũ
Cõflatoria. omnes nos.Conflatoria.Hieremias cap.nono.Propterea hæc dicit dominus exercituũ.
ecce ego conflabo/& probabo eos.Et Malachias cap.tertio.Et ſedebit conflans & mundans
argentum:& purgabit filios Leui.et colabit eos quaſi aurum:& quaſi argentum.
Extrinſeci apparatus. Extrinſeci apparatus.Ad extrinſecos apparatus pertinent equi/currus/ſedes/& id genus
ſimilia non expreſſa:quæ in ſacris litteris paſſim depræhenduntur.Equi & currus.
Equi. Hieremias cap.quarto.Ecce quaſi nubes aſcendet/& quaſi tẽpeſtas currus eius:velociores
Currus. aquilis equi illius.Sedes.Apocalypſis cap.quarto.Et ecce ſedes poſita erat ĩ cœlo:
Sedes. et ſupra ſedem ſedens.& qui ſedebat ſimilis erat aſpectui lapidis iaſpidis & ſardinis:et
iris erat in circuitu ſedis/ſimilis viſioni ſmaragdinę.& in circuitu ſedis/ſedilia vigiti quatuor.
Fercula. Fercula.Auditum iam eſt de conuiuio & ſolenni illa epulatione:a ſummo rerũ patre/
diſſipationis filio ad ſe reuertenti/facto.Et iterum ſummus rex.Matthæi cap.viceſimo
ſecũdo:opiparũ & nuptiale filio ſuo parat conuiuiũ.Simile factũ eſt(inquit)regnum
cœlorum homini regi:qui fecit nuptias filio ſuo/& miſit ſeruos ſuos vocare inuitatos ad
nuptias/& nolebant venire.Iterum miſit alios dicens.dicite inuitatis.ecce prandiũ meum
paraui/tauri mei et altilia mea occiſa ſũt/& omnia parata:venite ad nuptias.Potus
Potus. Lucas cap.viceſimo ſecundo.Vos autem eſtis qui permanſiſtis mecum in tentationibus
meis:& ego diſpono vobis/ſicut diſpoſuit michi pater meus regnum/vt edatis & bibatis
Somnus. ſuper menſam meã in regno meo.Somnus & crapula.Pſalmus ſeptuageſimus ſeptimus.
Crapula. Et excitatus eſt tanq̃ dormiens dominus:tanq̃ potens crapulatus a vino.Iræ.Exodus
Iræ. cap.decimoquinto.Miſiſti iram tuam:quæ deuorauit eos ſicut ſtipulam/& in ſpiritu
furoris tui cõgregatæ ſunt aquæ.Et cap.triceſimo ſecundo.Quieſcat ira tua/& eſto placabilis
Dolores. ſuper næquitia populi tui.Dolores.Iudicum cap.decimo.Omnia de finibus ſuis
alienorũ deorũ idola proiecerũt:& ſeruierũt domino deo/qui doluit ſuper miſerijs eorũ.
Et Pſalmus ſexageſimus octauus.Quoniam quem tu perfeciſti perſecuti ſunt:& ſuper
dolorem vulnerũ meorum addiderũt.Threni cap.primo.Dolor meus ſuper dolorem:
Iuramẽta. in me cor meum mœrens.Iuramenta.Geneſis cap.viceſimo ſecundo.Per meipſum iuraui
dicit dominus/quia feciſti hanc rem & nõ peperciſti filio tuo vnigenito propter me:
benedicam tibi/& multiplicabo ſemen tuum ſicut ſtellas cœli/& velut arenam quæ eſt
in littore maris.poſſidebit ſemen tuum portas inimicorum ſuorum:& benedicentur in
ſemine tuo omnes gentes terræ/quia obediſti voci meæ.Et Eſaiæ cap.quadrageſimo
Pœnitẽtię. quinto.In memetipſo iuraui:egredietur de ore meo iuſtitiæ verbum.Pœnitentiæ.Geneſis
cap.ſexto.Videns autem deus ꝙ multa malicia hominũ eſſet in terra/& cuncta cogitatio
cordis intenta eſſet ad malum omni tempore:pœnituit eum ꝙ hominem feciſſet in
terra.Et præcauens in futurum/& tactus dolore cordis intrinſecus:delebo(inquit)hominem
quem creaui a facie terræ/ab homine vſq; ad animantia/a reptili vſq; ad volucres
Maledictiones. cœli.pœnitet enim me feciſſe eos.Maledictiones.Threni cap.ſecundo.Reppulit dominus
altare ſuum:maledixit ſanctificationi ſuæ.tradidit in manu inimici:muros turrium
eius.Et Abachuc cap.tertio.Maledixiſti ſceptris eius/capiti bellatorum eius:veniẽtibus
Furores. vt turbo ad diſpergẽdum me.Furores.Numeri cap.vndecimo.Iratuſq; eſt furor domini
valde.Adhuc carnes eorum erant in dentibus eorum/nec defecerat huiuſcemodi cibus:
et ecce furor domini cõcitatus in populũ/percuſſit eum plaga magna nimis.Et deuteronomium
cap.viceſimo nono.Et dicent omnes gentes:quare ſic fecit dominus terræ
huic?quæ eſt hæc ira furoris eius immẽſa?Idcirco iratus eſt furor domini contra terram
Promiſſionũ fruſtrationes. iſtam:vt induceret ſuper eam omnia maledicta quæ in hoc volumine ſcripta ſunt.& eiecit
eos de terra ſua in ira & in furore/et in indignatione maxima.Promiſſionũ fruſtrationes.
Ita enim ſæpe quæ a deo/aut comminata/aut promiſſa ſunt:fruſtrari videtur.quæ

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tamen in ſe profundã & arcanam continent ſapientiam. Vt quarto Regum cap. viceſimo: ægrotanti regi Ezechiæ/mortem per prophetã nunciat. quã paulo poſt prece & lachrymis inflexus: quaſi mutabilis reuocat/nunciatũq; facit irritum. Pollicetur & ipſum et ciuitatem ab aſſyrijs propter ſe & Dauid ſeruum ſuũ tutatum ire: & ſtatim(mutandæ ſentẽtiæ occaſione vt videtur ſũpta: ꝙ theſauros & exquiſitiſſima quæqꝫ regiæ ſuæ oſtentauerat Ezechias/legatione ad ſe functis oratoribus regis Babyloniorũ)nunciat ei omnia Babylonijs futura ſpolia. Reuertere(inquit)et dic Ezechię duci populi mei: hæc dicit dominus deus Dauid patris tui. Audiui orationẽ tuam/& vidi lachrymã tuam: et ecce ſanaui te. die tertio aſcẽdes templũ domini: & addam diebns tuis quindecim annos. ſed et de manu regis Aſſyriorũ liberabo te/& ciuitatem hanc: et protegã vrbem iſtam propter me/& propter Dauid ſeruũ meum. Et rurſus. Dixit itaqꝫ Eſaias Ezechiæ. Audi ſermonem domini. ecce dies venient/& auferẽtur omnia quę ſunt in domo tua/& quæ condiderunt patres tui vſqꝫ in diem hãc: in Babylonem. non remanebit quicq̃: ait dominus. Sed & de filijs tuis qui egredientur ex te/quos generabis: tollentur/& erunt eunuchi in palacio regis Babylonis. Inſidiæ. Videtur Geneſeos cap. vndecimo ex metu/gigãtibus turrim in cœlum erigentibus inſidiari: atq; eos(eorum linguas cõfundendo)expugnaſſe/eoſqꝫ diuiſiſſe. ſic enim illo in loco legitur. Erat autem terra labij vnius/& ſermonũ eorumdẽ. Cũqꝫ proficiſcerentur de oriente: inuenerunt campũ in terra Sennaar/& habitauerunt in eo. Dixitqꝫ alter ad proximũ ſuum. venite faciamus lateres/& coquamus eos igni. habueruntqꝫ lateres pro ſaxis/& bitumen pro cemento: & dixerũt. venite faciamus nobis ciuitatem & turrem/cuius culmen pertingat vſq; ad cœlum: & celebremus nomẽ noſtrum/anteq̃ diuidamur in vniuerſas terras. Deſcendit autem dominus vt videret ciuitatem/& turrem quã ædificabant filij Adam: & dixit. Ecce vnus eſt populus/et vnum eſt labium omnibus: cœperuntqꝫ hoc facere/nec deſiſtent a cogitationibus ſuis/donec eas opere compleant. Venite igitur deſcendamus/& confundamus ibi linguam eorum: vt non audiat vnuſquiſqꝫ vocem proximi ſui. atqꝫ ita diuiſit eos dominus ex illo loco/in vniuerſas terras. Conſilium fraude concinnatũ. In tertio regũ cap. viceſimo ſecundo legimus(nec id quoqꝫ ſuo myſterio carere putandũ eſt)quo pacto videlicet omnes prophetæ concordi oraculo: Achab regi Iſrael victoriam pronunciabant. immo & Micheas propheta domini: idem ei pronunciauit. qui & adiuratus: fraudem ei detexit/dolũqꝫ in cœlo cõcinnatũ. Et ſacra littera ita habet. Fecit quoqꝫ ſibi Sedechias filius Chanaã cornua ferrea: & ait. Hæc dicit dominus: his ventilabis Syriam donec deleas eam. Omneſqꝫ prophetæ/ſimiliter prophetabãt: dicentes/aſcende in Ramoth Galaad/& vade proſpere/& tradet dominus in manus regis. Venit itaqꝫ ad regẽ Micheas: & ait illi rex. Michea ire debemus in Ramoth Galaad ad præliandum: an ceſſare? cui ille reſpondit. Aſcende: et vade proſpere/& tradet dominus in manu regis. Dixit autẽ rex ad eum. Iterum atqꝫ iterum adiuro te/vt non loquaris michi niſi quod verũ eſt in nomine domini. Et ille ait: vidi cunctum Iſrael diſperſum in mõtibus/quaſi oues non habẽtes paſtorẽ. Propter hoc audi ſermonem domini. Vidi dominum ſedentem ſuper ſoliũ ſuum/& omnẽ exercitum cœli aſſiſtentem ei a dextris & a ſiniſtris: et ait dominus. Quis decipiet Achab: vt aſcendat/& cadat in Ramoth Galaad? Et dixit vnus verba huiuſmodi/& alius aliter. Egreſſus eſt autem ſpiritus/& ſtetit coram domino: et ait. ego decipiam illũ. Cui locutus eſt dominus: in quo? et ille ait: egrediar/& ero ſpiritus mẽdax in ore omniũ prophetarũ eius. Et dixit dominus: decipies/& præualebis. egredere: et fac ita. Nunc igitur ecce dedit dominus ſpiritum mendacij in ore prophetarũ tuorum qui hic ſunt: & dominus locutus eſt cõtra te malũ. Acceſſit autẽ Sedechias filius Chanaã: & percuſſit Micheã in maxillam. & dixit: me ne ergo dimiſit ſpiritus domini/& locutus eſt tibi? Et ait Micheas/viſurus es in die illa: quãdo ingredieris in cubiculũ intra cubiculũ/vt abſcõdaris. Cãtica adamatoria. Hæc canticorũ liber cõtinet: quæ nullus carnalẽ ſenſum retinẽs/legere debet. ſunt enim ſpiritualia: ſolũ ſpiritualiter penetranda. Dilectus nãqꝫ illic & amicus: CHRISTVS dominus eſt regenerationũ author/ſapientiſſimus/pulcherrimus/optimus/ſũmuſqꝫ amator. Dilecta & amica: ſãcta eſt & ſpiritualis eccleſia/non habẽs maculam/neqꝫ rugã. quæ poſt amatũ impatientius elanguens: nunc ipſum in horto: in quo ſuauiſſime ſpirant omnia/in omnibus perfectionum virtutũq; veſtigijs inquirit. nũc in ſuperna ciuitate/cœleſtiqꝫ Hieruſalem: & non inuenit. vtpote qui vltra/ſupraqꝫ omnia eſt: cunctaqꝫ tranſcendit. Nunc vero in lectulo/diuiniqꝫ amoris cubili: extaſis/ſomnuſqꝫ diuinam amicã occu-

Inſidiæ.

Conſilium fraude cõcinnatum.

Cantica amatoria

pat.et summi amati vocem audit: at eum non videt/quippe qui sit inuisibilis.et attactū
manus eius sentit:& non appræhēdit/vt qui sit incomprehensibilis.et ad ipsius attactū:
venter/spiritualisq; fœcūditas intremuit & mota est. Si enim imber in gremiū terræ dilabitur/
& reddit fœcundam: nonne diuinitatis attactus spirituale gremiū illabetur: fœcundum
non faciēs? Sed ex raptu/extasisq; quiete & somno soluta: amicū non inuenit/pertransierat
enim.et iterum inquirit eum: ad cuius vocē/eius liquefacta fuerat anima. Et
amicum per hortum/per flores/& odoramenta/spiraculaq; suauissima rerum/per ciuitates/
vicos/& plateas inquirere: est ipsum affirmatiue & per entium excellentiam inquirere.
Et in lectulo/sacroq; cubili ipsum inquirere: est ipsum in extasi/mentisq; excessu inquirere.
de quo somno/extasi. & excessu: vltimū scholium primi capitis ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ/
parumper admonuit. In nocte vero/est eum ipsum negatiue & per excellentes negationes:
qui omnia superat & posita et negata/qui inueniri non potest(et de quo per
Esai.45. vnum diuine amantiū dictum est: vere tu es deus absconditus/deus Israel/saluator)inquirere.
Nunc igitur intellectualē sensum excitate/ad spiritualiū amorum cantica. Canticorum
cap. quarto. Summus amicus. Vulnerasti cor meum soror mea/spōsa: vulnerasti
cor meum in vno oculorum tuorum/& in vno crine colli tui. q̄pulchræ sunt mammæ
tuæ: soror mea/sponsa. pulchriora sunt vbera tua vino: & odor vnguentorū tuorum super
omnia aromata. fauus distillās labia tua sponsa: mel & lac sub lingua tua/& odor vestimentorū
tuorū sicut odor thuris. Cap. quīto. Spiritualis amica. Veniat dilectus meus
in hortū suum: vt comedat fructus pomorū suorū. Summus amicus. Veni in hortū meū
soror mea/sponsa: messui myrrhā meam cum aromatibus meis. comedi fauū cum melle
meo: & bibi vinū cum lacte meo. comedite amici/& bibite: et inebriamini charissimi. ego
dormio & cor meum vigilat. Spiritualis sponsa. Vox dilecti mei pulsantis. Sūmus sponsus/
summusq; amatꝰ. Aperi michi soror mea/amica mea/colūba mea/immaculata mea:
quia caput meum plenū est rore/& cincinni mei guttis noctiū. expoliaui me tunica mea:
quomodo induar illa? laui pedes meos: quomodo inquinabo illos? Spiritualis amica. Dilectus
meus misit manum suam per foramen: & venter meus intremuit ad tactum eius.
Surrexi vt aperirem dilecto meo/ pessulum ostij mei aperui dilecto meo: at ille declinauerat/
atq; transierat. Anima mea liquefacta est: vt dilectus locutus est. quæsiui & non
inueni illum: vocaui & non respondit michi. Et his similibus/amatoria cantica sunt plena:
& quæ identidem summa pietate spiritualibus amatoribus sunt refertissima. In quibus
profecto sola intelligentia: spiritualis est & viuifica. imaginatio: sensualis & carnalis.
sensus vero: plane bestialis est. Cui igitur deus intelligentiā non erigit/tutaturq; a phantasiæ
casu: huic lecturę se ipse cōmittere non debet/periculū etenim est. nā phantasia ad
sensum est perpræceps. & mota: ocyus sensum mouet. hæc enim spiritualibus intelligentijs
H non modo non conferunt: sed officiunt q̄plurimū/ab illisq; seiungunt. ¶ Et alteram
quidem significatiuā/ac perficientē: alterā vero sapientiæ studiosam/ac demonstratiuā.
Theologorū traditio arcana & mystica eadē est: et quæ hic significatiua/& perficiens dicitur.
Arcana quidē dicitur propter secretas imprecationes/obseruationes/& signa: quæ
fas non est in vulgus effundi/publicari/& prodire: vt quæ a solis sacris ordinibus & cognosci
& tractari debeant et mereantur. Mystica vero eadem de causa: propter mysteria
quæ cōtinet. Porro significatiua: propter symbola/& diuinorū sacratissima signa/quibus
suis in sanctificationibus vtitur. Perficiens vero & consūmās: quia sacramenta & tractat
et amministrat/perficientia atq; consūmantia. Et rursum eadē est sanctorū theologorum
apostolorū/& suorū pro merito et dignitate successorū traditio manifesta atq; notior: et
sapientiæ studiosa ac demonstratiua. Manifesta quidē atq; notior: quia arcanorū mysteriorum/
symbolorū & perfectionū noticiam tenet apertā. vmbram reuocat in lucem: vestigia
in exemplar/& diuidua illa signa in vnam simplicem & indiuiduā veritatē ac naturam.
Sapientiæ vero studiosa & demonstratiua: ꝙ tota in supramundanis intentissima
inuigilet & versetur(quorū solorum sapientia est)nunq̄ ferme nisi nouam moliēdo anagogem
nouūq; conscensum/mentis oculos demittens. persimilis profecto aciei: semper
ad solarē lucem/eiusve conspicuos radios perintentæ: per quos lux illa formosissima venustifice
se primo pandit/manifestat/explicat/exprimit/insinuat/euoluit. Deus enim: archetypa
lux est. & supramundana: eius venustifici radij/lucē ipsam spiritualibus auditibus
pronunciantes/& intellectualibus oculis insinuantes. qui in noctem & tenebras huius
inferioris sensibilisq; mundi finiunt & terminātur. in quibus etiā lux illa superimmēsa:

lucet & radiat. Et quia in hac ſacroſancta theologica traditione: & omniū/& ſingulorū
quæ in ſacro eccleſiaſtico geruntur principatu agnoſcuntur cauſæ: nulli incognitum eſſe
debet/cur eadē & demōſtratiua dicatur. ¶Sancti illi/noſtrę ſeu legalis traditionis magi I
ſtri. Noſtræ ſpiritualis eccleſiæ traditionis legifer: CHRISTVS dominus eſt. & inſtituti
ab eo duces & magiſtri/qui illam ſanctā traditionē docerent/ mōſtrarent/ac elucidarēt:
ſancti apoſtoli. Legalis traditionis legifer: Moſes. Magiſtri & duces: prophetæ. Et apo=
ſtoli ſuper ꝓphetas: vt lumina ſuper vmbras. Et hæc omnia in vnā lucē/in vnā eandēqꝫ
veritatē: ad hominū ſalutē/& deiformem imitationis ſtatū conſpirāt. quē qui appræhē=
dunt: beati. Verūtamē legalis traditio: tenebricoſus eſt medius paries diſſipatus/ velūqꝫ
diſciſſum. ſacerdotalis autē & eccleſiaſtica: tanq̄ mare vitreū ſimile cryſtallo in conſpe=
ctu ſedis diuinæ. Et vere beati/qui per hanc apoſtolicæ traditionis tranſlucentiā: ſapien
tiam omni cum puritate inquirunt/inquiſitāqꝫ appręhendunt. ¶In ſeipſis imaginē ali= K
quā fingunt: quæ illos ad dictæ theologiæ intelligentiā manuducat. Qui enī nude de ſu
perſubſtantiali trinitate aliquādo audierūt: quo fidem intelligentia iuuet tum in ſe/ tum
in alijs: plerumqꝫ imaginē ſibi fingunt/quæ illos manuducat atqꝫ ſubuehat. quidam a lu
ce/lumine/& calore: præſidia mutuantes. quidā ab intellectu/memoria/& volūtate. alij
vero ab eſſentia/virtute/& intima actione. cæterū nōnulli ex cōpoſitorum potētia/for=
maqꝫ/& nexu/ad incōpoſitū ſurgunt. Et his veluti quibuſdā machinis: vt ad superſub=
ſtantialē monadē eandēqꝫ & triadem pro fragilitate humana conſcendant/iuuātur. quę
intellecta: ſemper intelligēda manent. Et cum de æternis diuinarū perſonarū manſioni=
bus in inuicē aliquādo per fidē nude audiuerunt/ ſumme quidē vnitis & nichilominus
ſemper manentibus diſcretis: imaginē ex tedarū & facū luminibus ſumunt. Et fides iu=
uat intelligentiā: & viciſſim intelligentia fidē. Eſtqꝫ dū mortalē hanc peregrinationem
decurrimus: fides ſupra intelligentiā. immortalē vero nobis agentibus vitā (quos deus
illa immortalitate dignabitur) intelligentia ſuperabit fidē. Et cui deus/& fidem et intel=
ligentiam coniunxit in hoc cito tranſeuntis æui curriculo (in quo vita æterna: pro=
poſitus eſt finis & brauiū) ſimilis eſt aquilæ quæ geminis expaſſis alis acie directa ſuſtol
litur in ſolem/ſenſibilia tamen corporali præſentia non deſerens. Et reliquis ſanctę no=
bis a deo idultæ fidei myſterijs & ſacramētis: imagines ad noſtrā ſubuectionē/aſſurrecti
onēqꝫ ſacratiſſime effingunt. ¶Queādmodū Paulus & verax ratio docet/ ſubſignatur. L
Id adiectū eſt ob ſæpius adductā beatiſſimi Pauli ſentētiā ad Romanos cap. primo. In=
uiſibilia enim ipſius/a creatura mūdi per ea quæ facta ſunt/intellecta cōſpiciūtur: ſempi
terna quoqꝫ eius virtus & diuinitas. ¶Atqꝫ aliter ipſā ignis imaginē. Ignis nūc de deo/ M
nunc de intelligentijs & ijs quæ ſupra mundū ſunt: nūc vero de humanis/inframunda=
niſqꝫ in ſacris litteris dicit. De deo. Deuteronomion cap. quarto. Caue ne quādo oblui=
ſcaris pacti domini dei tui/qđ pepigit tecū/& facias tibi ſculptā ſimilitudinē eorū quę fie
ri dñs prohibuit: quia domin9 deus tuus/ignis cōſumēs eſt/deus ęmulator. De intelligē
tijs & ſupramūdanis. Pſalmus cēteſimus tertius. Qui facis angelos tuos ſpirit9: & mini=
ſtros tuos ignē vrentē. De inferiorib9 autē & inframūdanis. Lucas cap. duodecīo. Ignē
veni mittere in terrā: & quid volo niſi vt accēdatur? De noua fidei doctrina dictū: ad di
uinorū chariſmatū in ſpirituali regeneratiōe & feruēti charitate participationē. quę oīa
facit nichili pēdere: & mūdū/& patrē/& matrē/& vxorē/ et filios & ſemetipſum propter
deū. vt ipſi quē ſolū ſuper oīa amat (eleuata iā ſupra calcatū mundū/fœlici mēte) poſſit
adhęrere. Hūc ſacrū ignē ad ſui participiū vult vniuerſorū parēs (qui ignis cōſumēs eſt/
& liquefaciēs/cui ignea miniſtrāt oīa/cui9 amor zelus) in hūc mūdū ardere: & illa luce/ N
ſupcœleſti mūdo aſſimilari/& illa leuitate ſuſtolli. & qđ volo inquit: niſi vt ardeat? ¶Ri
te igit̄ & ſapiētiſſima/benigniſſimaqꝫ ſapiētia: diuinis laudat̄ eloquijs. Prouerbiorū cap.
nono. Miſcuit vinū: ꝓpoſuit mēſā. miſit ancillas ſuas: vt vocarēt ad arcē/ & ad mœnia
ciuitatis. ſi quis eſt paruul9: veniat ad me. venite/comedite panē meū: et bibite vinū qđ
miſcui vobis. Vbi crater q̄uis non exprimatur: intelligitur/pariter et propinatio. Et inui
tare ad ſpirituales cibos: frequēter alias in ſacris litteris intelligimus. vt paulo ante au=
ditum eſt in canticis canticorū. Et Lucæ cap. decimoquarto. Homo quidā fecit cœnā ma
gnam: et vocauit multos. et miſit ſeruum hora cęnæ dicere inuitatis vt venirēt: quia iā
parata ſunt omnia. Et Matthęi cap. vndecimo/ſapiētia per ſeipſā ſine parabola et æni=
gmate inuitat. Venite (inquit) ad me ōnes qui laboratis et onerati eſtis: et ego reficiam
vos. ¶Quibus beatiſſimus Paul9 ſolidi veraciter cibi a ſapiētia accepti. Paulus ad He= O
bræos cap. quinto. Perfectorum autem eſt ſolidus cibus: & eorū qui pro ipſa cōſuetudi=

P ne exercitatos habent ſenſus/ad diſcretionẽ boni & mali. ¶Idcirco diuina/& ſpiritualia
eloquia. Scientiã dei:& rori/& aquæ/& lacti/& vino/& melli/eloquia aſſimilant. Rori enĩ
& aquæ:cũ dicitur Eſaiæ cap. quadrageſimo quinto. Rorate cœli deſuper/& nubes pluant
iuſtũ: aperiatur terra & germinet ſaluatorẽ. Et Oſee cap. decimoquarto. Ero quaſi
ros:& Iſrael germinabit ſicut liliũ/& erũpet radix eiꝰ vt libani. Et eccleſiaſticus cap. decimo
quinto. Qui timet deũ:faciet bona. & qui cõtinens eſt iuſtitiæ: appræhẽdet illam/
& obuiabit illi quaſi mater honorificata. cibabit illum pane vitæ & intellectus:& aqua ſapiẽtiæ
ſalutaris potabit illũ. Lacti. Paulus prima ad Corinthios epiſtola/cap. tertio. Tãq̃
paruulis in CHRISTO lac vobis potum dedi:non eſcam. nondum enim poteratis:ſed
nec nunc quidẽ poteſtis. Et prima Petri epiſtola cap. ſecundo. Rationabiles & ſine dolo/lac
concupiſcite:vt in eo creſcatis in ſalutem/ſi tamẽ guſtatis quoniã dulcis eſt dominus.
Vino. iã dictũ eſt:prouerbiorũ cap. nono. Bibite vinũ quod miſcui vobis. Melli. Pſalmus
centeſimus decimus octauus. Qꝫ dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua: ſuper mel ori
Q meo. ¶Qꝫ viuificandi velut in aqua. Agros enĩ aqua cũ e nubibus erũpit:lætos/fœcũdoſqꝫ
Leui.26. reddit/& vegetãtia ad fertilitatẽ ac generationẽ perducit. dabo(inquit)vobis pluuias
R tẽporibus ſuis:& terra gignet germen ſuum/& pomis arbores replebuntur. ¶Atqꝫ
ideo viuificans ſimul & paruulos nutriẽs/& renouans/atqꝫ perficiens celebratur. Viuificans.
Ioan.5. Inquit enim de ſemetipſa:dei ſapiẽtia. Sicut enim pater ſuſcitat mortuos & viuificat:
Prouer.9. ſic & filius quos vult viuificat. Paruulos nutriẽs. Si quis(inquit)eſt paruulus:veniat
Sapien.7. ad me. Renouãs. Et cũ ſit vna:õnia poteſt. & in ſe permanẽs:õnia ĩnouat. Et rurſus clamat
Matth.11. vt perficiens. Venite ad me õnes qui laboratis/& onerati eſtis: & ego reficiã vos.
S ¶Et ipſe bonorũ author omniũ deus/inebriari perhibetur. De crapula & inebriatione/
ſomno & expergefactione diuina:ex pſalmo ſeptuageſimo ſeptimo auditũ eſt. Et excitatus
T eſt tanq̃ dormiẽs dominus: tanq̃ potẽs/crapulatus a vino. ¶Trãſiens enim(inquit)
rex faciet illos diſcũbere. Lucas cap. duodecimo. beati ſerui illi:quos cum venerit dominus/
inuenerit vigilantes. amen dico vobis ꝙ præcinget ſe/& faciet illos diſcumbere: &
tranſiẽs miniſtrabit illis.

¶Ioãni theologo/& apoſtolo/& euangeliſtæ:in Pathmos inſula relegato. Epiſt. X.

V SAluto te ſacram animam/ dilectiſſime: & eſt mihi iſtud/
X ad te præ multis peculiarius. Exulta dilectiſſime/ veraciter
ei (qui vere amabilis ac deſiderabilis/ & diligibilis eſt) nimium
Y dilecte. Quid mirum ſi CHRISTVS vera loquitur:
& iniqui diſcipulos ciuitatibus pellunt. illi ipſi/ſibi quæ
merentur profecto tribuentes:dũ a ſanctis ſceleſti dirimũtur
atqꝫ recedũt. Viſibilia veraciter: inuiſibilium manifeſtæ imagines ſunt.
Neqꝫ enim in ſæculis futuris author erit deus iuſtarum ab ſe ſeparationũ:
ſed ij qui prorſus ſe a deo ſequeſtrarũt. Queãdmodum & alios cernimus:
hic iam dei conſortio & familiaritate beatos. quia cum ſint veritatis amatores:
ab affectu omni materialiũ rerum longiſſime ſecedũt. & in omni libertate
malorum omnium/& amore diuino bonorum vniuerſorum pacẽ diligunt/
& ſanctificationem:atqꝫ ex præſenti vita/futuræ primitias ſumũt. inter
homines angelico more conuerſati:cum omni trãquillitate animi ac de-
Z nominatiõe dei & ſanctitate & virtutibus reliquis. Et te quidẽ/nõ adeo inſanus
ſũ/ vt arbitrer aliquid pati:immo & paſſiones corporis hac tantũ in
parte ſentire credo/vt eas ſolũ diiudices. Cæterũ qui te iniurijs impetũt/ &
exilio relegare ſe euãgelij ſolẽ putãt nõ recte:eos iure culpãs/cupio his omiſſis
quæ in ſeipſos peragunt/ad bonum conuertantur/ et te ad ſe attrahẽdo
fiant participes luminis. Nos autẽ nulla ꝓcella/nulla aduerſitas priuabit Io
annis clariſſimo radio: id quidem conſecuturos memoria/ ac renouatio-

ne tuæ veriſſimæ theologiæ. poſt paululum vero (dicam enim: etſi au-
dax dictu videatur) tibi chariſſima ſocietate iungemur. Ero autem pror
ſus dignior cui fides habeatur: ſi (quæ tibi præcognita ſunt) quæ ex deo Z
didici/hæc loquar: ꝙ ſcilicet et ex Pathmi cuſtodia dimittendus es liber/et
in Aſiaticam terram reuerſurus. illicꝫ perages boni dei imitationes: eaſcꝫ
poſteris trades. V
❡SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ❡Argumentũ. Hãc epiſtolã ſcribit ſacerrimus pa-
ter ad Ioannẽ apoſtolũ & euangeliſtã. quẽ ſacrã animã/& euangelij ſolem magna cum
reuerentia appellat. cõſolaturcꝫ eũ ſaluatoris verbis: quem & ſpiritualiter a deo conſo- Lucæ.6.
latiſſimũ (tametſi corpus pateretur) cognoſcebat. Et nuſq̃ a benigniſſimi IHESV ſalua
toris & amatoris hominũ præceptis diſcedẽs (qui pręcepit: diligite inimicos veſtros/be-
nefacite ijs qui oderunt vos/benedicite maledicẽtibus vobis/orate pro calumniantibus
vos) hoc in loco orat pijſſimus pater/vt ij qui in euangelij ſolẽ peccauerunt: ad bonum
ipſum reſpirent/& ad ipſum in quẽ deliquerũt veniẽtes/lumẽ vitæ percipiãt/vitãq; par
ticipẽt. vt quibus ſolis exularet: cæteris autẽ ad vitã vocatis per profundiſſimã & arca-
nã eius theologiã/ſuis epiſtolis/ſacra reuelatione & euãgelio cõtentã: luceret vel abũ-
dantiſſime. Ignis enim cum abſcõdi putatur: ſua ſe luce prodit/& manifeſtat in amplũ.
Verecunde/& humili (vt decuit) ſpiritu/ne id ſuperbũ & audax putetur: reuelationẽ ſibi
a deo patefactã ꝙ a Pathmi cuſtodia ac relegatione ſoluendus ſit/& per Aſiã euangelij
bonũ ſemen ſparſurus/& poſteris culturæ ſuæ frugẽ ſanctãcꝫ imitationẽ relicturus/ꝙcꝫ
ipſe eũ ſit viſurus: diuino euangeliſtæ aperit. quod & ſanctũ euangeliſtã identidẽ nõ la-
tere cognoſcebat. Et hoc ſit epiſtolæ argumentũ. Et contẽplari dignũ eſt: copioſam do- 1.corin.12.
norũ dei elargitionẽ in hoc beatiſſimo patre cumulatã. Scribit enim vas electũ/ ſanctiſ-
ſimus Paulus. Alij quidẽ per ſpiritũ datur ſermo ſapientiæ/alij autem ſermo ſcientię/al-
teri fides in eodẽ ſpiritu/alij gratia ſanitatũ in vno ſpiritu: alij operatio virtutũ/ alij ꝓ-
phetia/alij diſcretio ſpirituũ/alij genera linguarũ/alij interpretatio ſermonũ. Hæc autẽ
operatur vnus & idem ſpiritus: diuidẽs ſingulis prout vult. Sed hæc: hoc in beatiſſimo
patre aggregata videntur vniuerſa. Qui enim ſua opera/ſermonem ſapientiæ & mirifi-
cæ ſcientiæ cõtinere non videt: neſcit quid ſapientia/ necꝫ quid ſcientia. Et immobilitas
huius fidei: nullas prorſus pœnas/nichil quod videatur durũ/nullacꝫ exhorruit tormen
ta/totus vt diuinus clybanus charitate (quam deus in fide præparatis largitur) ſuccen-
ſus. Et gratiam ſanitatum & operationem mirabilium virtutum eum habuiſſe/nulli du- Marci.16.
bium eſſe debebit: qui eum ſummo ſacerdotio & apoſtolatu functum agnoſcet. profe-
cti enim prædicauerunt vbicꝫ domino cooperante: & ſermonẽ confirmante ſequẽtibus
ſignis. tametſi eius rei non deſint librorũ monumẽta. Et ecce nũc prophetię munus: per
ſpiritũ ſanctũ legis adeptũ. Et de linguarum munere prius admoniti ſumus. Magna igi
tur reuerentia/eius a ſpiritu ſancto agitatæ mentis ſcripta: & venerari & ſuſcipere debe-
mus. & proculdubio iis qui ſuſceperint/ & ad monſtratę vitæ effigiẽ animũ induxerint: X
pręmiũ eſt vita æterna. & id annuat deus: vt hoc nobis ad efficacẽ effectũ ſatis perſua-
ſum ſit. ❡Et eſt michi iſtud ad te præ multis peculiarius. Iſtud/ſcilicet te ſacrã aiam/&
dilectiſſimũ appellare. Sacrã quidẽ animã peculiarius appellat: ꝙ ſemper virgo/incoin-
quinatus/& purus vt angelus permanſerit. Dilectiſſimũ vero: ꝙ paſſim vbiq; ſacris in Y
eloquijs diſcipulus quẽ diligebat IHESVS nominetur. hoc noie: per oia ęui tẽpora ho-
noratiſſimus. ❡Quid mirũ ſi CHRISTVS vera loquitur. Matthęꝰ cap. viceſimotertio.
Ecce ego mitto ad vos ꝓphetas/& ſapiẽtes & ſcribas: & ex illis occidetis/ & crucifige-
tis. & ex eis flagellabitis in ſynagogis veſtris: & ꝑſequemini de ciuitate in ciuitatem. vt
veniat ſuper vos oĩs ſanguis iuſtus/qui effuſus eſt ſuper terrã a ſãguine Abel iuſti: vſcꝫ
ad ſanguinẽ Zachariæ filii Barachię/quẽ ĩterfeciſtis inter tẽplũ & altare. Et Lucas cap. Z
viceſimo primo. Sed ante hæc oĩa iniicient vobis manus ſuas/& perſequẽtur tradentes
in ſynagogas & cuſtodias/trahẽtes ad reges & præſides: propter nomẽ meũ. ❡Ac de-
nominatione dei/& ſanctitate/& virtutibus reliquis. Denominationes dei ſũt: iuſtus/pi-
us/miſericors/ſanctus/& ſimilia. Et qui viuunt in hoc mundo/in hacꝫ parũ durãte mor
tali peregrinatione: angelico more probationis ſuæ curſus trãſigẽtes/ſolũ id quod ſpi-
rituale eſt cogitãtes: cũ dei denominationibus viuũt/dicũturcꝫ plane diuini/ſancti/iuſti/
pij/miſericordes/& ita de virtutibus reliquis. Et quia viſibilia: inuiſibiliũ indubitata ſũt

ſigna. qui oppoſito igitur modo viuunt: cū denominationibus viuunt peſſimorū dęmonum. planeꝫ dicūtur dæmonici/tyranni/impij/iniuſti/immiſericordes: & ita de reliquis horrendorū viciorū nominibus. quibus etiam ob horrorē ne proferantur/neue nominētur: parcendum eſt. Quis enim neſcit principes: ſuorū habere nomina? & quorū agnoſcunt nomina: illi ſui ſunt. & tyranni itidē nomina ſuorū? Deus autem principantiū princeps eſt: & quicūꝫ ſua noīa tenēt/illi ꝓfecto ſui ſunt. Et hoīes id nō ſatis vidēt: viuūtꝫ cū noībus peſſimorū/inclemētiſſimorūꝫ dæmonū. quos tamē deus ipſe optimus et clementiſſimus publica luce donauit: vt viuerēt cū ſuarū ſanctarū denominationū dignitatibꝰ.
z ¶ Qz ſcilicet & ex Pathmi cuſtodia dimittēdꝰ es liber. Inſula Pathmos/vna eſt Cycladū: de quibus & Strabo libro tertio meminit. Cæterū ad Aſiam pertinent inſulę Cyclades & Sporades: & quæ Cariæ & Zonę & Eoliæ vſꝫ troadē adiacent. Et hac in inſula a Domitiano deportatus/relegatuſꝫ eſt ſanctus euangeliſta: ſacrā inibi vidit Apocalypſim/IHESVꝫ reuelationem/& a Nerua per Aſiam dimiſſus eſt liber.

¶ Apollophani philoſopho. Epiſt. XI.

xx HAm iam meus ad te cōuertitur ſermo: pręcordialis amor. & multas curarum mearum pro te ſuſceptas anxietates: tibi in memoriam reuoco. vt te beniuola mēte: ꝙ tam diu veſana pertinacia errori tuo/ & tibi quidem bene noto inhæſeris/arguerim. & te pro dementibus phanatico more ludificantiū phantaſijs/inſimulauerim. Verum nunc ſummam omnium prouidentiſſimā moderationē diuinæ benignitatis/magnifice totoꝫ affectu adoro: tibiꝫ pars animæ meæ ſalubriter reſpiranti congratulor atꝫ coniubilo. et te ijs quæ aliquando contempſeras: rurſum aggrediar. vt ea nunc iterum tibi cōmēdem: quorum notitiam dudum es aſpernatus.
yy Sæpe/& quidem accurate tibi patefeci: primitus hominem a deo de limo factum/vt & ipſe quoꝫ Moſes fideliter prodidit. & hominis tranſgreſſiones: cataclyſmo/ diluuioꝫ piatas. & deinceps diuina amicitia dignatum. multaꝫ deum in Aegypto/multa in eo ipſo ſuæ egreſſionis itinere ipſius gratia/& in eo manifeſtaſſe magnalia. et multos/compluresꝫ theologos diuinitus afflaſſe: quorum ſacris oraculis pręnūciatus/deus homo fieri ex virgine dignatus eſt. Ad quæ nō raro reſpōſa ad me dediſti te nō modo hęc vera eſſe prorſus neſcire: verū et quis ipſe quoꝫ Moſes fuerit/ te oīno fugere. euāgeliū vero IHESV CHRISTI/qui totius maieſtatis deus eſt (qđ et ipſe meum appellabas) refutare. Porro Paulū mundi circuitorē/multiloquum/verborūꝫ ſeminatorē: de ſenſibilibus ad intelligibilia nolle recipere. Immo vero tu in me conuicia intorquebas: ꝙ paternę religionis iura vt degener ꝓdens/in ſacrilegia quædā nefanda me cōieciſſē. Hortabariſꝫ pariter aut me illa quibus innitebar dediſcere: aut illis cōtentū/ diuina numina patriaſꝫ leges deſiſtere inceſſere/& euacuare moliri. Cęterū vt ſuperna lux paternæ gloriæ/ſuū ſplendorē in tuæ mentis tenebras infulgere ſua volūtate diſpoſuit: protinus cordis mei penetralibus infudit/ vt pijſſimā recordationē & geſtæ rei monumentū/tuis oculis ſubijcerē. vt videlicet in Heliopoli: tu quidē pene michi coæuus/et ego quinꝫ & viginti fere ānorū tempus euoluēs/vna morātes cōſtiteramus: cū feria quadā ſexta/& hora etiā pene ſexta ſol horribilibus ſubito eſt obſitus tenebris/luna ipſum intercurrente. quia non deus/ſed creatura dei: in ipſius veræ lucis occubitu lucere non potuit. Querebar enim tū apud te/qui michi ſane ſapiētiſſimus videbaris: vt

quid ipſe inde ſentires agnoſcerem. Tu vero mirabili prudentia ſubintuli-
ſti/ quod vſqꝫadeo penetralibus mentis meæ/ alte inhæſit: vt nulla obliuio-
ne deleri/ nullaqꝫ vnq̄ mortis valeat imagine deteri. Offuſi enim tenebris ip
ſi eramus: orbem ſolis vndiquaqꝫ/ & ex æquo occupāte caligine. & poſteaq̄
repurgatio/ reſtitutioqꝫ facta eſt: luna ad ſolis diametrum conuerſa aufu-
git. Et tunc quoqꝫ regulam Philippi Aridei aſſumpſimus. cumqꝫ repperiſ
ſemus (quod & erat notiſſimum) eo tempore ſolē eclypſis moleſtias/ labo-
reſqꝫ minime perpeti debuiſſe: ac nichilominus lunam ab oriente ſolarem
ſplendorem pullis nigrantibuſqꝫ velis obduxiſſe/ cū ſoleat ex occidua par-
te ſolem ingredi. tunc autem opifices lucis theſauros: caliginibus (quas ipſa
genuerat) ad occiduos vſqꝫ ſolis fines peruagata (vt ipſi putauimus) occulta
uit. cum tamen & lunæ id tempus deeſſet/ neqꝫ coitus tempus vicinum eſſe
cognoſceretur. Aio ad te (neqꝫ enim adhuc myſterij tantæ rei conſcius erā)
O ingentis prudentiæ promptuarium/ quid inquam O doctrinę ſpeculum
Apollophanes: his ſecretis aſcribis? Ad quę neſcio quo pacto/ diuio quo-
dam afflatu: & non humani ſenſus ſermone ſubintuliſti. hæ O bone Dio-
nyſi diuinarum viciſſitudines ſunt rerum. Deniqꝫ vero annotatum diligen
ter feriæ diem & annum: annunciationi quam ſacer Paulus noſtris atten-
tis auribus infudit conſentientibus ſignis conſpirare & concordare exper-
tus: manus veritati ſubmiſi/ & falſitatis nexibus ſum abſolutus. Quā qui-
dem veritatem mirifice effero/ & quam tibi communico: quę eſt via/ & vita/
& lux vera: quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mūdum.
cui tu tandem vt vere prudens acceſſiſti. Acceſſiſti enim ad vitam: & abdi-
caſti mortem. cui profecto inhærendo/ res mirifice tecum bene acta eſt: hac
inſuper ratione nobis arctioribus conſtrictus vinculis. qui me oris tui nitido
lepore offundere ſolebas: & plerumqꝫ fucatis quibuſdā/ multicoloribuſqꝫ
& varijs rationibus intima noſtri ſenſus offuſcare/ & quaſi acuminatis tere
brare ſpiculis. Et adijciebas te illius ſapidam agnitionem compræhendere
ſatagere: verum ocyus a mentali palato reſilire/ planeqꝫ dedignari in tuo
ventre ſedem ſibi deligere. Age igitur modo cognoſcentia et prouida cor-
da gerens: ſurſum erigere. ne pro ijs qui non ſunt: ipſum ens verum vnquā
permutes. et pertinacior eſto quibuſcunqꝫ ad falſa præcipitantibus: q̄ ad ip
ſum qui vere eſt/ noſtris ſuadentibus votis teipſum præſtiteras. Ita enim in
IHESV (qui eſſe et vita mea eſt) lęt⁹ iā moriar: cū ipſe ī eo te viuere ſentiā. yy

Philippus. Aride⁹ philoſoph⁹ & aſtronom⁹

¶SCHOLIA STAPVLENSIS. ¶Argumentum. Dudum fraternæ charitatis amo-
re ſuccenſus beatiſſimus pater: multis tentauit epiſtolis Apollophanē philoſophum/ vt
ouili CHRISTI adiungeret. iuſtum etenim & deſiderabile erat: vt philoſophi ad ſapiē-
tiam (cuius ſe amatores dicunt) accederent. Et per ſanctum Polycarpum Smyrneorum
antiſtitem: idem attentare diligenter curauit. Tandem diuina benignitas ſolicitum pro
amico ſanctiſſimum virum exaudiens: Apollophani vt reſpiraret ad vitam/ conceſſit.
Quod vbi pijſſimi patris menti innoteſcere voluit: largas diuinæ bonitati gratias fun-
dens/ ꝗ amicum ſibi donaſſet: protinus ad Apollophanem cōgratulatorias litteras de-
dit. quibus curas/ anxietateſqꝫ & ſolicitudines (quas pro ipſo frequenter ipſe ſuſceperat)
aperit. & terrificæ eclypſeos omnibus inauditam ſæculis nouitatem: quam ipſi ābo tūc
vna Helíopoli cōmorantes admirati fuerant/ in ſalutarem memoriam reuocat. & futurū
iam: vt in IHESV (qui ſuum eſſe/ & ſua vita eſt) lætior moriatur/ quandoquidem in eo
Apollophanem animæ ſuæ partem/ viuere cognoſcit. Et ex vrbana allocutione beatiſſi-

mi patris ad Apollophanem/& Apollophanis ad beatiſſimum patrē cum adhuc eſſent gentiles/cuius & hac in epiſtola meminit ſacratiſſimus pater: conijci poteſt vtrūqꝫ fuiſſe nobilem. ſic enim nobiles inter ſe vrbanam(ne quis aſſentationem putet)habent allocutionis dexteritatem/& comitatis obſeruantiam. Et q̄uis generis nobilitas ex officio in pago Martio/ex animaduerſione ſecuris in ipſum/ex Ariſtarchi annalibus/ex loquendi vrbanitate ignota non ſit: ecce iā non ſit nobilis/niſi vera nobilitate etiam omnibus terræ regibus(quanto ſoli ſidera cedunt)nobilior enituerit.

yy ¶ Sæpe & quidem accurate tibi patefeci. Hominem de limo a deo factum Moſes prodit: Geneſeos cap. ſecundo. Formauit igitur dominus deus hominem de limo terræ: & inſpirauit in faciem eius ſpiraculum vitæ/& factus eſt homo in animam viuentem. Et hominum malicias cataclyſmo piatas fuiſſe: Geneſis cap. ſexto/& ſeptimo declarat. Sexto quidē. Vidēs autem deus ꝙ multa malicia hominum eſſet in terra/& cuncta cogitatio cordis intenta eſſet ad malum omni tempore: pœnituit eum ꝙ hominē feciſſet in terra. delebo(inquit)hominem quem creaui/a facie terræ: ab homine vſqꝫ ad animantia/a reptili vſqꝫ ad volucres. Et cap. ſeptimo. Factumqꝫ eſt diluuium quadraginta diebus ſuper terram: & multiplicatæ ſunt aquæ/& eleuauerunt arcam in ſublime a terra. Conſumptaqꝫ eſt omnis caro quæ mouebatur ſuper terram: volucrum/animantium/beſtiarum/omniumqꝫ reptilium quę reptāt ſuper terrā. Et de homine cōſequēter diuina amicitia ſuſcepto/de Abraham/ Iſaac & Iacob/& filijs eius/populoq; ab illis deſcēdente: legitur ſufficiēter in Geneſi/& exodo. Pariter & de magnalibus quæ deus in Aegypto/& egreſſu populi ſui/& in ſolitudine oſtēdit: alijs in locis frequenter ex Exodo auditum eſt. Cætera autem quæ annotationē deſiderare poſſent: ex ijs quæ in ſeptima epiſtola(quæ eſt ad Polycarpū)dicta ſunt/ cognoſci poſſunt ſufficienter.

Peroratio. ¶ Et eorum erit qui hæc legerint: ſi in horū ſacrorū operū recognitione & ſcholiorum adiectione a nobis quicq̄ erratū eſt/aut amplius q̄ par eſt/aut minus appoſitum: veniā tribuere. Inſufficientem enim me ipſe non ignorabam: & id pondus longe vires meas ſuperare. Sed dolore victus: has cœleſtes diuitias/ has diuinitatis opes/fœdo ſitu tā diu indigne tenebris horrere latentes/& nullū ſuppetias afferre: id effeci quod potui. Et plane effeci/quale facere ſolet: qui precioſam gemmā luto obſitā offendit/quam non ſatis a ſe cognitam illico docto artifici(vt eam ſedulo detergat/perpoliat/ſuumqꝫ ſolitū inducat reparetqꝫ nitorem)præſentat. Ita & vobis O Pariſienſes/ has litterarias opes præſento: vt vos illuſtrent. & per eas: alios vberius(pro vt deus ipſe vobis conceſſerit)purgetis/illuminetis atqꝫ perficiatis/ſuumqꝫ illis nitorem reſtituatis.

¶ Diuini Dionyſij Areopagitæ/ Pauli et Hierothei
auditoris/ Athenienſis epiſcopi/ et Gallia-
rum apoſtoli/diuinorum operum:
ad IHESV/ horum et
omnium munerū
largitoris ho
norē/fi-
nis.

¶Iacobi Fab. Stapulenſis: in epiſtolas diuini Ignatij argumentum.

IGnatius Ioannis euangeliſtæ diſcipulus/ tertius a Petro Antiochenæ eccleſiæ ſuffectus antiſtes/ in vinculis exultans quia dignus habitus ſit pro nomine IHESV cõtumeliam pati/ Romam miſſus vt ad ſæuiſſimas beſtias depugnaret/ & i theatro dei miles feruẽtiſſimus inter ſolutos efferatiſſimos leones medius ſpectaculum præberet: ſcripſit epiſtolas vndecim/ ſua vincula pro CHRISTO continentes/ plenas ſancti ſpiritus feruore: ſacrum eius pectus ſuauiter agitantis. Quapropter pie legendæ & pronunciandæ ſunt: non laxe/ non remiſſe/ eneruo emollitoq; animo/ ſed cum feruore. ſic enim & eas ſcripſit totus ardens/ totus geſtiens/ totus flammatus: cupiens diſſolui & eſſe cum CHRISTO ſacratiſſimus martyr/ diuino iam amore inebriatus. Delicias etenim paradiſi in extaſi & amatoriæ mentis exceſſu: aliquãdo ipſum expertum/ poſteris reliquit antiquitas. & pſalmos & cãtum per antiphonum ad angelorum auditam harmoniam: eccleſijs tunc cœleſtiformiter viuentibus primum induxiſſe. Primam eius epiſtolam ſcribit ad Trallianos/ ſecundam ad Magneſios/ tertiam ad Tarſenſes/ quartã ad Philippenſes/ quintam ad Philadelphios/ ſextam ad Smyrneos/ ſeptimam ad Polycarpum Smyrneorum epiſcopum/ octauã ad Antiochẽſes/ nonam ad Heronem diaconũ Antiochenũ/ decimam ad Epheſios/ & vndecimam ad Romanos. Et has epiſtolas (cum vt ex more ſolitum erat: in eccleſijs ſancto cœtu conuocato ad omnes legerentur) dubium non eſt fideliũ corda ſic tunc aperuiſſe: vt plane miſerum ſe putaret qui a paſſione fuiſſet excluſus/ qui relictus fuiſſet. quandoquidem & nunc legentes/ qui viuificantem ſpiritum ſentiunt: illo deſiderio & pietate non fruſtrentur. Et adiecta eſt vna Polycarpi martyris/ Smyrneorum Antiſtitis epiſtola: quæ his epiſtolis teſtimonium affert/ cuius & Hireneus/ & Euſebius meminerunt. Et ſæpe hic deo dignus martyr/ in ſacro ipſo affectatæ immolationis ſuæ exprimẽdo feruore: hoc loquendi genere vtitur. ego pro vobis/ ego pro aĩabus veſtris efficiar. Quæ ſententia eſt ſacratiſſimi Pauli/ ardentis CHRISTI apoſtoli/ ſecunda ad Corinthios epiſtola cap. duodecimo. Ego autem (inquit) libẽtiſſime impendã: & ſuperimpendar ego ipſe pro animabus veſtris. victimam ſe facere optans pro eorum animabus qui in eccleſijs iã verſabantur/ ingreſſuriq; erant. Et reuera pro ipſis atq; etiam pro nobis qui eccleſiæ (dei nos miſerante benignitate) acceſſimus: & Paulus & reliqui apoſtoli/ diſcipuli/ Dionyſius/ Ignatius & Polycarpus/ victimam ſe fecerũt. Et his epiſtolis beatiſſimi martyris: & inuicti CHRISTI IHESV militis Ignatij: teſtes accedunt Polycarpus/ Hireneus/ Euſebius Pamphili/ & Hieronymus. Quas ideo libẽtius ſacris magni & diuini Dionyſij operibus cõiunximus: quia ex his epiſtolis deſumptum/ cum de amore ſpiritualiter & ſupermundane diſſereret/ teſtimoniũ citauit. tum ꝙ in adiectis ad diuinum Dionyſium ſcholijs non ſemel meminerimus ſanctarum ſentẽtiarum his

præſentibus epiſtolis contentarum. Addo etiam nos nichil pientius adiecisse potuiſſe ſcriptis: a deo & ſpiritu ſancto agitatæ mentis. Inter enim ſcribendum/ cum ducitur ad huius mundi præſides/ & mortalia tribunalia: ꝓphetat. & quæ ſurgere debeant hæreſes: præuidet. aduerſus quas/ & quæ iam extabant: magno mentis affectu pręmunit. Et plane a mentibus pijs/ eorum qui hæc pro dignitate & reuerenter legunt: agnoſcitur ſpiritus in eo
Lucæ 21. loquens/ et verba pro veritate vincto/ ſubminiſtrans. Ego enim (inquit veritas) dabo vobis in illa hora os & ſapientiã: cui non poterunt reſiſtere. Neqꝫ opus eſſe michi viſum eſt: ſingulatim ad vnamquamqꝫ epiſtolam argumẽta adducere ob litteræ peruietatem/ et ꝙ omnes ferme eandem contineant ſententiam: vincula ſcilicet/ et ad mortalis clauſtri diſſolutionem pro nomine IHESV feruentiſſimum deſiderium. et ſatis inſuper eſſe viſum eſt: ad latus paucis annotatiunculis adiectis/ nonnullorum ammonuiſſe. Hoc inſuper appoſito: quia ad Trallianos ſcribit/ Magneſios/ Tarſenſes/ Philippenſes/ Philadelphienſes/ Smyrneos/ Antiochenſes/ Epheſios et Romanos: qui Tralliani/ Magneſij/ Tarſenſes et reliqui ſint.

Trallis. ¶ Trallis/ vrbs eſt Aſiatica: in vertice quodam plano (qui promontoriũ natura munitũ
Ex Strabone & ſãcto habet) ſita: Aſiaticarum vrbiũ opulentiſſima. vnde & dicuntur Tralliani. ¶ Smyrna (vt
hieronymo ſcribit Hieronymus) ciuitas eſt Lyciæ prouinciæ in Aſia. Et locum Smyrnã iuxta Ephe-
Smyrna. ſum inter Trachiã & lepramactam ponit Strabo. vnde Smyrnei. ¶ Magneſia/ Eolica ciuitas eſt: quæ ad Meandrũ dicitur. nam (vt inquit Strabo) ei proxima eſt. vnde Magneſij/ & Magneſiani.
Tarſus. ¶ Tarſus/ ciuitas metropolis Ciliciæ prouinciæ/ Pauli apoſtoli natalibus celeberrima: ab Argiuis (vt ſcribunt geographi) condita. Hinc Tarſenſes.
Philippi. ¶ Philippi/ ciuitas eſt in prima parte Macedoniæ: & hinc quoqꝫ dicti Philippenſes.
Philadelphia. ¶ Philadelphia/ Myſiæ vrbs: frequentibus terræ ſuccuſſionibus patens/ frequentibuſqꝫ agitata terræ tremoribus. idcirco malefidos parietes habẽs: vt qui (quod & geographi tradũt) crebris concuſſionũ iniurijs diſcutiantur/ rimiſqꝫ pateant. hinc Philadelphienſes.
Troia. ¶ Troia inter Propontidos fluenta & montẽ Idã ſita memoratur/ monti vicinius adiacẽs: Aſiaticarũ vrbium/ vatũ poetarũqꝫ monumentis famatiſſima.
Antiochia. ¶ Antiochia/ ciuitas Syriæ: prima Petri apoſtoli ſedes/ prima ĩ qua Chriſtiani (qui baptiſma ſuſcepiſſent) a CHRISTO nuncupari cœperunt/ in qua Paulus & Barnabas ordinati ſunt. quæ & poſtea: diuini Ignatij moderationibus credita eſt. a qua Antiochenſes.
Epheſus. ¶ Epheſus/ ciuitas in Aſia ab Amaſonibus olim condita: ſepulchro Ioannis euangeliſtæ dilectiſſimi apoſtoli celebris. A qua & Epheſij.
Roma. ¶ Roma (a qua & Romani) notior eſt q̃ vt hiſtorię lucem requirat: Italicarum vrbium præclariſſima/ quondam orbis caput/ & vrbs per excellentiam dicta. Et hæc pro communi argumento abunde dicta putentur.

¶Diuini Ignatij epiſcopi Antiocheni tertij a Petro apoſtolo: martyris/diſcipuli beati Ioannis euāgeliſtæ/epiſtolæ.

Epiſt. I.

¶Ad Trallianos ex Smyrna.

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: dilectę a deo patre/et domino IHESV CHRISTO eccleſię ſanctæ quæ eſt in Trallis: electæ/& deo dignæ/pacificatæ in carne & ſpiritu IHESV CHRISTI ſpei noſtræ in paſſione per crucem & mortem/atq; reſurrectionem: quã & ſaluto in plenitudine apoſtolicæ formæ/& opto plurimũ in deo gaudere.

¶Immaculatũ animũ/& ſine dolo in perſeuerantia cognoui vos habere: non in hæſitationẽ/ſed in fidei poſſeſſionem. prout ſignificauit michi Polybius epiſcopus veſter: qui peruenit volũtate dei patris/et IHESV CHRISTI filij ei9 & cooperatione ſpirit9 Smyrnam/& ſic michi cõgratulatus eſt vincto in CHRISTO IHESV: vt omnem plenitudinẽ in ipſo conſpicerem. Suſcipiens ergo eum ſecũdum deum: veſtram beniuolẽtiam per ipſum agnoui/inueniẽs vos imitatores eſſe IHESV CHRISTI ſaluatoris noſtri.

Polybius.

Præcepta/ et ſancta monita.

¶Epiſcopo ſubiecti eſtote: ſicut domino. Ipſe enim vigilat pro animabus veſtris: tanq̃ rationem redditurus deo. propter quod videmini michi non ſecũdum carnem viuere ſed ſecundum IHESVM CHRISTVM/qui pro nobis mortuus eſt: vt credẽtes in morte eius/per baptiſmum participes reſurrectionis eius efficiamur. Neceſſariũ eſt enim vos nichil præter epiſcopum facere/neq; aliquid agere. Sed et preſbyteris ſubditi eſtote ſicut apoſtolis IHESV CHRISTI ſpei noſtræ: in quo perſeuerantes/in ipſo inueniamur. Oportet etiam & diaconis qui ſunt in miniſteriũ IHESV CHRISTI: õni modo placere. Non enim in cibo & potu ſunt miniſtri: ſed miniſterij eccleſiæ dei. Oportet ergo præcepta eorum obſeruare: ſicut ignem ardentem. ipſi vero ſint tales. Vos autem reuereamini eos tanq̃ dominum IHESVM CHRISTVM: quoniam cuſtodes ſunt loci eius. ſicut epiſcopus forma eſt patris omnium: preſbyteri vero ſicut cõſeſſus dei & cõiũctio apoſtolorũ CHRISTI. Sine ipſis enim eccleſia electa nõ eſt: neq; collectio ſãctorum/neq; cõgregatio ſancta. Confido enim & vos ſic conſiſtere: exempla enim charitatis veſtræ accepi/& habeo penes meipſum in epiſcopo veſtro. quoniam ipſius inſtitutio: magna doctrina eſt. Nam & mãſuetudo eius: virtus eſt/quam arbitror etiam illos qui ſine deo ſunt reuereri. Quia autem diligo vos: parco frequentius vobis ſcribere/ne videar aliquibus cõtrarius aut tedioſus eſſe. Vinctus ſum enim pro CHRISTO: ſed nondum CHRISTO dignus ſum. ſi autem conſummauero: forſitan ero.

Magna humilitas: vbi gratia abũdat.

¶Non ſicut apoſtolus præcipio: ſed metior meipſum/ne in gloriatione mea peream. bonum eſt enim: in domino gloriari. Et ſi ſaluatus fuero apud deum: plus me oportet timere/& non attendere ad eos qui magnificãt me. hi vero qui me laudant: potius flagellãt. Eligo enim pati: ſed neſcio ſi dignus ſum. Zelus enim inimici: multis nõ videtur/me autem ipugnat. debeo ergo eſſe mãſuetus: vt diſſoluatur princeps ſæculi huius diabolus. Nūquid non poteram vobis/ſecretiora ſcribere? ſed timeo ne paruulis vobis conſtitutis: leſionē imponam. Et ignoſcite michi quia non valetis ferre vinculorum onera: quēadmodum ego vinctus ſum. Et poſſum quidem intelligere cœleſtia: angelorum ſcilicet atqꝫ archangelorū ordines/militiarum diuerſitates/virtutum et dominationū differentias/ſedium atqꝫ poteſtatum diſtantias/æternorum magnificentias/cherubim & ſeraphim excellentis ſpiritus ſublimitatē/domini regnum/et ſuper hæc omnia omnitenentis dei incomparabilitatē. Hæc igitur ego cognoſcēs: non omnino perfectus ſum/aut diſcipulus eſſe poſſū: qualis Paulus/aut Petrus. Multū enim michi reſtat: ne a deo derelinquar. Rogo autem vos: non ego/ſed dilectio IHESV CHRISTI/vt idipſum dicatis omnes: et non ſint in vobis ſciſmata. Sitis autem perfecti in eodem ſenſu/& in eadem ſciētia.

Petri et Pauli laus mirifica.

Cōtra hereticos.

¶ Sunt enim quidam vaniloqui & mētis ſeductores: nō Chriſtiani ſed CHRISTVM mercantes/ſeductione circūferentes nomen CHRISTI/et cauponantes verbum euangelij. et venenū erroris commiſcētes dulci blandimēto: ſicut puro melli virus admiſcētes. vt qui biberit illius potus ſenſuales illecebras: dulcedine captus inobſeruāter morti addicatur. Monet autem quidā antiquorum: vt nemo bonus dicatur/qui malū bono admiſcuerit. Nominant enim CHRISTVM/nō vt CHRISTVM prædicēt: ſed vt CHRISTVM ſpernant. Et legem proferūt/nō vt legem ſtatuāt: ſed vt legi cōtraria annūcient. CHRISTVM enim alienāt a patre. legem vero CHRISTI et natiuitatem ex virgine abijciunt: crucem erubeſcentes/et paſſionem negantes/et reſurrectioni non credentes. dominum incognitum profitētur/CHRISTVM ingenitum putāt/& neqꝫ quia eſt ſpiritus ſanctus: cōfitētur. Quidam vero eorū: filium/hominē purum eſſe dicūt. alij autem ipſum patrem eſſe dicūt ipſum filiū/ipſumqꝫ ſpiritū ſanctum. Et creaturā/non opera dei eſſe per CHRISTVM dicūt: ſed alterius cuiuſdā extraneæ virtutis. Cauete ergo a talibus: ne ſumatis laqueos animabus veſtris. et vitam veſtram inexplorabilē opponite omnibus hominibus: ne efficiamini muſcipula explorationis/et ſicut retia extenſa. Qui enim ſibi non parcit in operibus ſuis: ftater eſt polluentis ſemetipſum. Si ergo & vos deponatis naturalē ſuperbiam/inflatilem/& tumidā extollētiam: poſſibile erit vobis inſeparabiles eſſe a deo. Prope eſt enim dominus timētibus eum. Et in quem (inquit) reſpiciam: niſi in humilē/& quietum/et tremētem verba mea?

Eſaiæ. 66.

Quis honor bonis epiſcopis preſbyteris et diaconis debeatur: et cuiꝰ formā gerūt/et quid ſint

¶ Veneremini autem & epiſcopū veſtrū ſicut CHRISTVM: ſecūdum quod vobis beati apoſtoli præceperūt. Qui enim intra altare eſt cōſtitutus: mūdus eſt. propter quod obedite epiſcopo veſtro & preſbyteris. Qui vero extra altare cōſtitutus eſt: extra epiſcopum eſt/& preſbyteros/et diaconos aliquid agens. qui autem talis fuerit: pollutus eſt conſcientia/& eſt deterior infideli. Quid eſt enim epiſcopus/niſi omnem principatū & poteſtatem illorū omnium tenens: quemadmodū deceat hominem tenere/imitatorem dei factū ſecundum virtutē? Quid eſt preſbyteriū: niſi īſtitutio ſancta cōſiliarij/& cōfeſſoris epiſcopi? quid etiam diaconi: niſi imitatores CHRISTI/miniſtrantes epiſcopo ſicut CHRISTVS patri/& operantes illi operationē mundam

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1773/D

et immaculatā? quo modo ſanctus Stephanus beatiſſimo Iacobo/et Timotheus et Linus Paulo/et Anacletus et Clemens Petro? Qui igitur iſtis inobediens fuerit: hic ſine deo omnino erit. et impius & contēnens CHRISTVM: et ordinationem ipſius minorās. Ego vero hæc vobis mādo: non ꝙ aliquos inter vos tales agnouerim (nec permittat deus aliquid huiuſmodi aliquādo in auribus meis introire: qui filio ſuo non pepercit propter ſanctā eccleſiam) ſed præuidēs ſeditiones iniqui/præmonitione cōforto vos: ſicut filios meos chariſſimos & fideles in domino/præpotans vos medicamine præmuniēte cōtra imminētem peſtilētiam: quā etiā vos tanq̄ morbū fugite/beneplacentes in CHRISTO domino noſtro. Vos ergo ſuccincti māſuetudine: imitatores eſtote paſſionum CHRISTI/et dilectionis eius/qua dilexit nos. dans ſemetipſum pro nobis redēptionem: vt nos ſanguine ſuo mundaret ab antiqua impietate/& vitā nobis præſtaret incipiētibus nobis iā perire/pro malicia quæ erat in nobis.

Marci.11.

ℂNemo ergo veſtrū aduerſus proximum aliquid habeat: dicēte domino/dimittite & dimittetur vobis. Nolite occaſionem dare gētibus: ne propter aliquos paucos inſipiētes/verbum domini & doctrina blaſphemetur. ne in vobis compleatur quod propheta ex perſona dei ad huiuſmodi dicit: quoniam per vos nomen meum blaſphematur in gentibus.

Eſai.52.

Obturate autem aures veſtras: quando vobis quis ſine IHESV CHRISTO filio dei loquitur. qui factus eſt per MARIAM ex ſemine Dauid: qui vere natus ex deo & ex virgine. quia hoc ipſum eſt: quod & deus. ſuſcepit enim vere corpus. verbum (inquit) caro factum eſt: et habitauit ſine peccato in nobis. quis enim (inquit) ex vobis arguet me de peccato? Manducauit enim vere/& bibit: et crucifixus eſt & mortuus ſub Pontio Pilato.

De ſēper beata virgine Maria.

Ioan. 8.

Sed & ſecundū placitum voluntatis ſuæ vere crucifixus eſt/et vere mortuus: videntibus cœleſtibus/& terreſtribus/et infernis. Cœleſtibus quidem: tanq̄ incorporalibus creaturis. Terreſtribus vero: vt Iudæis/et Romanis/et cæteris hominibus. qui tunc eodem tempore preſto erant: quando crucifixus eſt dominus. Infernis autem: vt multitudine eorum qui cum domino reſurrexerunt. multa (inquit) ſanctorum corpora dormientium: reſurrexerunt de monumentis patefactis.

Matth.27.

Deſcēdit autem in infernum ſolus: aſcendit vero cum multitudine. et dirupit maceriam quæ erat a ſæculo: et medium parietem eius diſſoluit. et reſurrexit tertia die: reſuſcitāte eum patre. et poſt dies quibus conuerſatus eſt cum apoſtolis: aſſumptus eſt ad patrem. et ſedet ad dexteram eius: expectans donec ponantur omnes inimici eius/ſcabellum pedum eius.

Maceria: murus/vetuſtus & ruinoſus.

Marci.16.

Die ergo paraſceues tertia hora: accepit ſententiam a Pilato/permittēte patre. ſexta vero: crucifixus eſt. nona autem: emiſit ſpiritum. Ante vero ſolis occaſum de cruce depoſitus eſt/& ſepultus in monumēto nouo. ſabbato vero māſit ſub terra in ſepulchro: in quo poſuit eum Ioſeph ab Arimathia. Dominica autem die reſurrexit a mortuis. ſecundum quod dictum eſt ab eo: ſicut fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus & tribus noctibus: ſic erit filius hominis in corde terræ tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Continet autem dies paraſceues paſſionem eius: ſabbatum vero ſepulturā & requiem/dominica autem reſurrectionem. ℂQuidā

Horæ myſterij viuificæ paſſiōis Ihesu Chriſti.

Matth.12.

autem tanq̃ ſine deo increduli & infideles: dicunt eum putatiue tantū fuiſſe hominem/& non verum corpus ſuſcepiſſe/atq; putatiue paſſum/et mortuum. Ego vero pro paſſione & morte domini mei vinctus ſum: et opto ad beſtias pugnare. Si enim putatiue & non vere paſſus eſt/et mortuus: ergo ego gratis moriturus ſum/mendacia de cruce domini confingens. Sed et propheta ſuperflue dixit. videbunt in quem cōpunxerunt: & plangent inter ſeipſos tanq̃ ſuper dilectum/& dolebūt dolore tanq̃ ſuper primogenitum. Ergo infideles illi/et increduli non minus ſunt: q̃ illi qui eum crucifixerunt. Ego ſic deuoui ſpem habere in eum: qui pro me vere mortuus eſt/quia alienum eſt ab eo mendacium. Vere etenim peperit MARIA corpus: deo in eo habitātē. et vere natus eſt: deus verbū ex virgine. corpus ſine nobis paſſibile ſine peccato induēs: vere cōceptus eſt in vtero et factꝰ eſt in vtero. formans et faciēs ſibi corpus ex virgine: ſine ſemine ſcilicet/& collocutione viri. portatuſq; in vtero: ſicut & nos tēpore portati ſumus. Et vere lactatus eſt et nutritus: ſicut & nos. et cibo/et potu: ſicuti & nos/vſus eſt. et triginta annos agens: baptizatus eſt a Ioanne in veritate/& non in phātaſmate. Et tribus annis prædicauit euāgelium: et fecit ſigna & prodigia coram falſis Iudæis. et a Pilato præſide: iudex iudicatus eſt/flagellatus eſt/colaphis cæſus eſt/cōſputus eſt. ſpineam coronam/purpureamq; veſtem portauit. condemnatuſq;: crucifixus eſt vere. volūtarie/complacens/nō imaginarie/neq; fallaciter mortuus eſt: ſed vere. et ſepultus eſt: et reſurrexit a mortuis/ſicut ipſe alicubi orās patrem/dicebat. Tu autem domine reſuſcita me: et reddam illis. Et pater qui ſemper eum exaudit: reſpondens ait. Exurge deus iudica terram: quoniam tu hæreditabis in omnibus gentibus. Qui ergo reſuſcitauit eum pater: ipſe etiam nos per eum reſuſcitaturus eſt/non ſine vera vita. hoc eſt non ſine ipſo qui ait: ego ſum vita/qui credit in me (licet moriatur) viuit: et omnis qui viuit & credit in me/non morietur in æternum. Fugite illas ſine deo hereſes: diaboli enim ſunt adinuentio/ſerpētis/authoris malorum. qui per mulierem ſeduxit Adam/patrem generis noſtri. Fugite vero & malas ſoboles eius: Simonem dico primogenitum generis ipſius/et Menandrum/et Baſilidem/& totam collectionem malignitatis ipſius. et illos hominis cultores hebionitas: quos maledictos eſſe/Hieremias propheta aſſeruit. Fugite quoq; & illos immundiſſimos Nicolaitas: amatores libidinis/malos calumniatores. nam talis fuit apoſtolorum miniſter Nicolaus. Fugite etiam ipſius næquiſſimi nepotes: Theodotum ſcilicet et Cleobolum/qui generant fructum mortiferum. de quo ſi quis deguſtauerit: ſtatim morietur non morte temporali/ſed æterna. Hi autem omnes non ſunt plantatio dei patris: ſed progenies maledicti. Omnis autem plātatio (inquit deus) quam non plantauit pater meus cœleſtis: eradicabitur. Qꝫ ſi fuiſſent rami patris: non vtiq; eſſent inimici crucis CHRISTI. ſed ſunt rami illorum: qui occiderunt dominum gloriæ. Nunc autem crucem negantes/& paſſionem erubeſcentes: operantur Iudæorum iniquitates/illorum ſcilicet qui et deo rebelles extiterunt/& dominum occiderunt. parum eſt enim eos dicere: prophetarū eſſe interfectores. Vos ergo inuitat CHRISTVS ad ſuā incorrupti-

Iterum in hereticos.

Zacha. 12.

Corpꝰ ſine nobis: ſine hūana oꝑatiōe ſed diuino oꝑante ſpiritu/ immo & tota ſuperſubſtātiali trinitate.

Lucæ. 3.

Pſal. 40.

Pſal. 81.

Ioan. 11.

Hiere. 17.

Nūc diabolū nęquiſſimū/nūc maledictū appellat.

Matth. 15.

onem per passionem suam & resurrectionem: qui estis membra eius. Saluto vos ex Smyrna/ vna cum compræsentibus michi ecclesijs dei: quæ & præsentes me id requisierũt in omni carne et spiritu. Postulant vos vincula mea/ quæ propter IHESVM CHRISTVM porto: rogans deum vt mereamini in cõsensu et oratione in inuicẽ permanere. decet enim vnumquenq; vestrũ bene obsequi presbyteris: episcopũ in honorẽ dei patris/ & in honorẽ IHESV CHRISTI atq; apostolorũ/ venerari. Deprecor vos ex affectu audire me: vt non sit in testimonium quod vobis scripsi. et orate pro me indigente misericordia dei/ ac vestra charitate: vt merear consequi sortem cui subiaceo/ ne reprobus inueniar. Salutat vos dilectio Smyrneorum et Ephesiorum/ memores vestri: ecclesiaq; quæ est in Syria. Vnde non sum dignus dici vltimus eorum: qui ibi sunt. Incolumes estote in CHRISTO IHESV. Subiecti estote episcopo/ similiter & presbyteris/ atq; diaconis: omnes inuicem corde inseparabili. Castificet vos spiritus meus/ non solum nunc: sed & quando deum meruero adipisci. Adhuc enim in periculo sum: sed fidelis est pater IHESV CHRISTI adimplere petitionem meam & vestram: in qua inueniamur immaculati/ & acquisiti in domino. Amen.

Epist. II.

❡ Ad Magnesianos ex Smyrna

IGnatius qui & Theophorus/ benedictæ ecclesiæ gratia dei patris in CHRISTO IHESV saluatore nostro: in quo saluto ecclesiam quæ est in Magnesia iuxta Meandrum. et oro i deo patre et IHESV CHRISTO domino nostro/ in quo plurimum vos gaudere opto: cognoscens vestram secundum deum bene dispositam dilectionem. exultans assumpsi in fide IHESV CHRISTI alloqui vos: dignus effectus sancti atq; desideratissimi nominis/ in ijs quæ gesto viculis. Laudo ecclesias in quibus iubilare opto carne & spiritu CHRISTI IHESV: qui est saluator omnium hominum/ maxime fidelium. cuius sanguine redempti estis: per quem cognouistis deum/ immo cogniti estis ab eo. in quo sustinentes: sæculi huius tentationem effugite. fidelis est autem qui non permittit tentari vos: super id quod potestis sufferre. Cæterum ego merui videre vos: per deo dignum episcopũ vestrum Damam/ et deo dignos presbyteros vestros/ Bassum scilicet et Apollonium/ & conuiuam meum Socionem/ quem ego nutriui. quoniã subditus est episcopo et presbyteris in gratia & lege IHESV CHRISTI. et vos oportet non contemnere ætatem episcopi: et secundum dei patris præceptum omnem venerationem ei exhibere. et secũdum quod cognoui/ etiam sanctos presbyteros ei deferre: non propter iuuẽtutem (quæ in eo videtur) arbitrantes contemnendum/ sed in sapientia dei ei obedire. quandoquidẽ non longi temporis sunt sapiẽtes: neq; senes sciũt prudentiã: sed spiritus qui est in hominibus. Deniq; Daniel sapientissimus duodecim annorũ effectus: spiritu sãcto repletus est. et illos seniores caniciẽ vanã habẽtes: calũniatores & alienæ pulchritudinis appetitores esse manifestauit. Samuel etiam cum esset pusillus/ nonagenariũ Heli sacerdotẽ/ per increpationẽ redarguit: ꝙ filios suos honorificaret super deũ. Similiter & Hieremias

Sãctũ & desideratissimũ nomẽ: nomẽ Christianum.

1. corin. 10

Damas qui et dameus aliquando apud Eusebiũ legitur.
Bassus.
Apolloni9.
Socion.

Danie. 13.

1. regũ. 3.

Hiere. 1.

audit a domino:noli dicere quia iuuenis ſum ego.Salomon quoqꝫ& Ioſias
3.regū.3. in iuuentute mirifici & ſapientes in operibus ſuis apparuerunt.Salomon
quidem duodecimo anno ætatis ſuæ regnare incipiens:arduam & ininterpretabilem
mulierum pro paruulis quæſtionem/terribili iudicio diſſoluit.
Ioſias vero octo annorum exiſtens:aras & monumenta ſubuertere cœpit/
4 regū.22. lucos excidere/templa deijcere:quæ non deo ſed dæmonibus fuerant conſecrata.
Nam & falſos ſacerdotes interfecit vt corruptores/et ſeductores hominum:
non diuinitati/ſed diabolo ſeruientes.propter quod non eſt contemnenda
iuuentus/cum deo adiacuerit atqꝫ adhæſerit:ſed illa ætas quæ
ex ſententia nocet/etiam ſi inueterata fuerit dierum malorum.Iuuenis fuit
1.timo.4. etiam Chriſtoforus Timotheus:ſed audite quid ei ſcripſit magiſter.Nemo
(inquit)iuuentutem tuam contemnat:ſed forma eſto fidelium/in verbo/in
conuerſatione.Dignum eſt ergo/& vos obedire epiſcopo veſtro:et in nullo
ei contradicere.Terribile eſt enim tali contradicere.non enim iſtum viſibilem
quis ſpernit:ſed illum inuiſibilē in eo contemnit/qui non poteſt a quoq̄
contemni.Hic enim non ab homine:ſed a deo habet promotionem.dicit
1.regū.8 enim deus Samueli de contemptoribus eius:non te ſpreuerūt/ſed me.Nam
et Moſes populo aduerſus ſe murmurāti ait/non enim aduerſus nos murmuraſtis:
Exodi.16. ſed aduerſus dominum deum.nemo enim inultus remanſit:qui
Numeri.16 ſe contra potiores extulit.Deniqꝫ in lege Dathan et Abiron Moſi reſiſtentes:
viui ad inferos depoſiti ſunt.Sed et Chore & qui conſpirauerunt cum
eo aduerſus Aaron ducenti quinquaginta:igne conſumpti ſunt.Abſalon
2.regū.18. etiam parricida exiſtens:diuino iudicio arbori appenſus eſt.ſed & cor eius
Heſter.7. quod mala cogitauerat:ſagittis tranſfixum eſt.Nam et Achab et Aman
3.regū.22. nichilominus propter ſimilē cauſam morte plexus eſt.Ozias quoqꝫ leproſus
2.parali.22 factus eſt:qui contra ſacerdotes ſacerdotium auſus eſt arrogare .Saul
1.regū.13. etiam ſacrificare præſumens:regali dignitate dehonoratus eſt/non expectans
principem ſacerdotum Samuelem.Oportet ergo & nos reuereri potiores.
et dignum eſt non ſolum vocari nos Chriſtianos:ſed etiam eſſe.non
enim dicere/ſed eſſe:facit beatum.Quidam autem epiſcopum quidem vocant:
et præter ipſum omnia faciūt.Talibus igitur etiā ipſe CHRISTVS
dicit(qui & verus et primus eſt epiſcopus/& ſolus natura pontifex)quid
Lucæ.6. me vocatis domine/domine:et nō facitis ea quæ dico?Tales enim non bonæ
ſcientiæ:ſed deriſores eſſę michi vidētur.Quoniam vero negocia finem
habent/& adiacet quidem vita ex obſeruatione/mors vero ex inobediētia/
et neceſſe eſt vt vnuſquiſqꝫ in loco quem ſibi de pręteritis elegerit/in futuro
eſſe præcipiatur:fugiamus igitur mortem/& eligamus vitam.Duos enim
characteres dico in hominibus inueniri:vnum quidem veræ monetę ſignaculum/
alterum vero adulterinū.Pius enim homo et religioſus:vera moneta
eſt/quæ a deo formata vel expreſſa eſt.impius vero & irreligioſus:falſa
moneta eſt/noxia/adulterina/praua:quæ non a deo/ſed a diabolo facta eſt.
Hæc autem afferens/non duas naturas hominum eſſe dico:ſed vnum eundemqꝫ
hominem/qui aliquando quidem dei/aliquando autem diaboli efficitur.
Si quis igitur pius fuerit homo:dei eſt.ſi vero quis impius extiterit:

diaboli eſt.non ex natura:ſed ex ſententia factus.Infideles enim imaginem
habent principis næquitiæ:fideles autem formam habent authoris omnium
dei patris/et CHRISTI IHESV filij eius.Propter quod ſi nō elegerimus
pro veritate mori in paſſione ipſius:vita eius nō eſt in nobis.Et quoniam
in præſcriptis perſonis multitudinem veſtri cōtemplatus ſum:in fide
et dilectione moneo/vt vnanimes in deo omnia facere feſtinetis.aſſidēte episcopo
in loco dei/& preſbyteris in loco conſiſtorij apoſtolorum/et diaconis
dulciſſimis michi:quibus creditum eſt miniſterium IHESV CHRISTI.
qui ante ſæcula genitus eſt a patre deus verbum/vnigenitus filius:& in consummatione
ſæculorū ipſe permanet.regni enī eius nō erit finis:inquit Daniel Danie.2.
propheta.Omnes in concordia inuicem diligamus:et ſecūdum carnem
nemo conſideret propoſitum ſuum/ſed ſecundum CHRISTVM IHESVM.
Nichil ſit in vobis:quod vos poſſit ſeparare.ſed adunamini episcopo:
ſubiecti per ipſum deo in CHRISTO.Sicuti ergo dominus ſine patre Ioan.5.
nichil facit(non enim poſſum inquit a meipſo facere quicq̄.)ſic etiam et
vos ſine epiſcopo:ſiue preſbyteri/ſeu diaconi/ſiue laicus.Non ergo aliquid
rationabile vobis videatur:extra ipſius ſententiam.tale enim iniquum eſt: Oratio fidelium.
et ideo odioſum.Omnes in idipſum ad orationem ſimul conuenite:vna deprecatio
ſit communis/vnus animus/vna ſpes/dilectio immaculata in fide
IHESV CHRISTI/qua nichil aliud melius eſt.Omnes adunati ad templum
dei cōcurrite:ſicut ad vnum altare/ſicut ad vnū IHESVM CHRISTVM
pontificem ingeniti dei patris.Nolite errare in aliena gloria:neq;
intendatis fabulis & genealogijs interminatis/et iudaicis inflationibus.vetera 2.corin.5.
enim tranſierunt:et ecce facta ſunt omnia noua.Si enim nunc vſq; secundum
legem iudaicam & circunciſionem carnis viuamus:negamus nos
gratiam accepiſſe.Sancti etenim prophetæ ſecundū IHESVM CHRISTVM
vixerunt:ideoq; et perſecutionē paſſi ſunt inſpirātē gratia/ad manifestationem
incredulis:quia vnus eſt deus omnipotens/qui manifeſtauit
ſeipſum per IHESVM CHRISTVM filium ſuum.qui eſt verbum ipsius:
non prolatum ſcilicet/ſed ſubſtantiale.non locutio articulatæ vocis:ſed
operatio deitatis/ſubſtantia ſcilicet genita/in omnibus bene complacens
ſuo genitori.Si ergo ex antiquis ſcripturis conuerſi ad vacuam ſpem venerunt/
expectantes CHRISTVM/ſicut ipſe dominus docet dicens:ſi crederetis Ioan.5.
Moſi/crederetis vtiq; et michi.de me enim ipſe ſcripſit.Nā et Abraham Ioan.8.
(inquit)pater veſter exultauit:vt videret diem meum.vidit:& gauiſus
eſt.Ante Abraham enim inquit ego ſum.quomodo nos poterimus viuere
ſine ipſo:cui & prophetæ ſerui fuerunt/ſpiritu præuidentes eum:et tanq̄
magiſtrum expectabant/& ſperabant vt dominum & ſaluatorem:dicentes. Eſaiæ.35.
ipſe veniet/et ſaluabit nos.Non ergo baptizemus Iudaice:vt ferijs gaudentes. 2.theſſa.3.
Qui enim non operatur:non manducet.Et iterum.In ſudore vultus Gene.3.
tui manducabis panem tuum:dicunt eloquia.Sed vnuſquiſq; veſtrum sabbatizet
ſpiritualiter:meditationi legis congaudens.non corporis dimiſſione
fabricationem dei admirans:velut Iudæus.non omnia comedens/et tepidum
bibens/& menſurate ambulans:et ſaltationes atq; plauſum manuum

nunc habens.Sed pro ſabbatizatione:diem feſtum celebret omnis Chriſtianus:
dominicam reſurrectionem/regalem/eminentiſſimam omnium dierum.
Pſal.8. de qua propheta expectans dicebat:in finem pro octauo.in quo die/
et vita noſtra exorta eſt:& mortis in CHRISTO facta victoria.quam filij
perditionis negant/ inimici ſcilicet ſaluatoris:quorum deus venter eſt.
qui terrena ſapiunt:amatores voluptatum/& non dei.ſpeciem quidem pietatis
præ ſe ferentes:virtutem autem eius abnegātes.CHRISTVM mercantes:
verbum dei in tabernis prædicantes/& dominum noſtrum IHESVM
CHRISTVM vendentes/ mulierum corruptores/aliena concupiſcentes/
et pecuniarum amatores.a quibus eruamini miſericordia faciente:
per dominum noſtrum IHESVM CHRISTVM. Non enim ſentimus
vtilitatem eius:niſi nos tentauerit.ſecūdum autem quod agimus iam/
Pſal.129. non erimus:niſi ipſe nos miſeratus fuerit.ſi enim iniquitates obſeruauerit:
De nomine Chriſtiano. quis ſuſtinebit? Efficiamur ergo digni cognomento:quod accepimus.Qui
enim alio nomine præter iſtud vocatur:hic non eſt dei.non enim ſuſcepit
Eſaiæ.62. prophetiam dicentem de nobis:quoniam vocabitur nomine nouo quo dominus
vocauit eum/& erit populus ſanctus.quod & completum eſt primo
Actuū.11. in Antiochia Syriæ/vbi acquiſierūt diſcipuli nomen Chriſtianum:Paulo
et Petro fundantibus eccleſiam. Abijcite ergo malum/vetus fermentum/
quod corrumpit & putrefacit:et percipite nouum gratiæ fermentum. Exultate
in CHRISTO:vt non alienus dominetur veſtri.Ineptum eſt enim
IHESVM CHRISTVM lingua tantum proferre:et Iudaiſmum in
animo habere.non enim Chriſtianitas in Iudaiſmum credidit:ſed Iudaiſmus
in Chriſtianitatē.Omnes deniq; gentiles æqualiter crediderunt:omnis
lingua CHRISTVM confeſſa/ad dominum collecta eſt.et facti ſunt
lapidei corde:filij amici dei Abrahæ.et in ſemine eius benedicti ſunt omnes:
Sic haberi: Iudaiſmū ſectari. qui in vitam æternam deputati ſunt in CHRISTO. Hæc autem dilectiſſimi
michi/taliter ſcribens:non agnoui aliquos ex vobis ſic haberi.ſed
ſicut minimus veſtrum/volo vos cōſeruatos eſſe:vt non incidatis in hamos
inanis gloriæ.ſed vt ad plenum inſtructi ſitis in CHRISTO.qui ante ſæcula
Maria virgo. genitus eſt a patre:poſtea autem factus eſt ex MARIA virgine ſine
collocutione viri.et nobiſcum conuerſatus ſancte & ſine querela:omnem infirmitatem/
omnemq; languorem curauit in populo.et ſigna atq; prodigia:
pro beneficijs hominum fecit.& illis qui longe erant/et illis qui prope in
multitudine: vnum & ſolum verum deum patrem ſuum annunciauit.et
paſſionē pertulit:& ab interfectoribus ſuis Iudæis ſub Pontio Pilato præſide
et Herode rege/crucē ſuſtinuit.& mortuus eſt/atq; reſurrexit:& in cœlos
Nō ſū vinctus:nō reputo me victū/ſi vinculis meis poſſū vos acquirere/ſi poſſū vos ſoluere. aſcēdit ad illū qui miſit eū.et ſedet ad dexterā eius:vēturuſq; eſt in conſummatione
ſæculi in gloria paterna iudicare viuos & mortuos/et reddere
vnicuiq; ſecundū opera ſua.Hæc qui in pleno cognouerit & crediderit:beatus
eſt.quomodo & vos amici dei & amatores CHRISTI eſtis:in plenitudine
ſpei veſtræ/a qua nulli veſtrū auerti cōtingat. Acquiſiui vos in omnibus:
ſi quidē dignus ero.ſi enim victus ſum/ſed ad ſolutionē omniū veſtrū:
non ſum vinctus.Scio enim quia non inflamini:quia IHESVM habetis

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in vobis. Et magis cum laudauero vos: ſcio quia reueremini/ ſicut ſcriptum eſt/ quoniam iuſtus ſui accuſator eſt in primordio ſermonis. & dic tu (inquit) primus peccata tua: vt iuſtificeris. & cum feceritis (inquit) omnia quę mandata ſunt vobis: dicite/ ſerui inutiles ſumus. quoniam in hominibus qui ſe exaltauerit: delinquit ante deum. dicit enim deus: propicius factus ſum peccatori. propter quod magni illi Abraham/ & Iob/ terram et cinerem ſemetipſos ante deum nominauerunt. Et Dauid. quis ſum ego (ait) coram te domine: quoniam glorificaſti me vſq; nunc? Nam et Moſes ſupra omnes homines manſuetiſſimus/ dicit ad deum. gracilis voce/ et tardus lingua ſum ego. humiles ergo eſtote/ et vos ipſi: vt exaltemini. Qui enim ſe humiliauerit/ exaltabitur: & qui ſe exaltauerit/ humiliabitur. Studete ergo confirmari in dogmatibus domini et apoſtolorum: vt ex omnibus quæ facitis dirigamini in viam rectam carne & ſpiritu/ fide et dilectione/ cum honore digno epiſcopo veſtro: et corona digno atq; ſpirituali Stephano preſbytero veſtro/ et ſecundum deum diaconis. Subiecti eſtote epiſcopis et inuicem: quomodo IHESVS patri. vt laus ſit in vobis ſecundum deum: videntes vos repletos omnibus bonis. Compendioſe rogaui vos in dilectione IHESV CHRISTI: mementote mei in orationibus veſtris/ vt deum merear adipiſci/ et eccleſiæ quæ eſt in Syria/ cuius non ſum dignus vocari epiſcopus. Indigeo enim illa laudabili veſtra oratione: vt dignus ſim illam quæ in Syria eſt eccleſiam per bonam operationem veſtram paſcere in CHRISTO. Salutant vos Epheſij de Smyrna (vnde ſcribo vobis) præſentes/ quomodo in gloria dei in omnibus refeciſtis me ſimul cũ Polycarpo. et cæteræ eccleſiæ: i honore IHESV CHRISTI ſalutant vos. Incolumes eſtote: in vnanimitate poſſidentes inſeparabilem ſpiritum in CHRISTO IHESV per voluntatem dei. Amen.

Prouer. 18
Eſaiæ. 43
Lucæ. 17
Hebrę. 8
Gene. 18
Iob. 7
2. regum. 7
Exodi. 4
Lucæ. 14

Epiſt. III.

¶ Ad Tarſenſes ex Philippis.

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: ſalutẽ conſecutæ in Chriſto eccleſiæ/ laude dignæ/ & memoria dignę/ & dilectiõe dignę/ quæ eſt in Tharſo: miſericordia & pax a deo patre/ & dño IHESV CHRISTO. Satiatus ſum in omnibus a Syria Romã vſq; cũ beſtijs depugnans/ nõ ab irrationabilibus ſcilicet beſtijs voratus (illę enim: volũtate dei pepercerunt Danieli) ſed humanam figuram habentibus: quæ ſunt imanes beſtiæ. Obſidẽt enim me nocte dieq;/ ac deuorant: ſed nulli iniquorum iſtorum/ facio ſermonem. neq; habeo naturam meã tam honorabilem michi: vt plus eam q̃ dominum diligam. propter quod paratus ſum ad ignem ad beſtias/ ad gladios & crucem: tãtum vt CHRISTVM videã ſaluatorẽ meũ/ & deũ qui pro me mortuus eſt. Rogo ergo vos ego victus Chriſti/ qui per terrã & mare exagitor: ſtate in fide confirmati/ quoniã iuſtus ex fide viuit. Eſtote inclinabiles & vnanimes in fide: quoniam dominus habitare fecit vnanimes in domo. Agnoui enim: quoniã quidã ex miniſtris ſathanæ voluerũt vos cõturbare. quorũ quidã dicũt quia Iheſus putatiue natus eſt/ & putatiue crucifixꝰ. quidã vero quia nõ eſt filiꝰ eius qui fecit mũdũ. alij autẽ quia ipſe eſt

Satiatus ſũ ſaturatꝰ ſũ repletus ſũ malis/ et crudelitatibus eorum qui me ducunt p̃ õnia Feruida martyris pietas.
Abacuc. 2
Pſal. 67

Ille qui eſt ſup̃ omnia deus: pater

ille/qui eſt ſuper omnia deus. Alij quoqꝫ:quia homo eſt purus.quidã vero:
quia caro eius nõ reſurrexit:& quia oportet terminabilem vitã haberi/atqꝫ
hanc eſſe finem bonorum/quæ non multo poſt corrumpitur. quibusquidem
multorum malorũ ager cumulatus eſt. Sed vos non intendatis mendacijs
eorum. Pauli enim eſtis ciues/et diſcipuli:qui ab Hieroſolymis et in
Roma.15 circuitu vſqꝫ ad Illyricum cuncta repleuit euangelio/et ſtigmata CHRISTI
in corpore ſuo portauit. Cuius memores eſtote õnibus modis:& cognoſcite
quia dominus IHESVS CHRISTVS/vere natꝰ eſt de MARIA/
factus ex muliere/et vere crucifixus eſt:in qua cruce gloriat̃ Paulus
Gala.6 dicens.michi autem abſit gloriari niſi in cruce domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti.
& vere paſſus eſt/& mortuus:& reſurrexit. Si enĩ paſſibilis inquit Chriſtus/
1.corin.15 & primus ex mortuis reſurrexit. & qui mortuus eſt peccato: mortuus
Roma.6 eſt ſemel.quod autem viuit:viuit deo. Inſuper quæ neceſſitas vinculorũ:
Chriſto non mortuo? quæ neceſſitas tolerantiæ/aut quæ neceſſitas flagellorum?
Quid ꝙ Petrus crucifixus eſt. Paulus & Iacobus gladijs obtrũcati
ſunt/Ioannes in Pathmo relegatus eſt.ſed & Stephanus a domini interfectoribus
Actuum.7 Iudæis: lapidibus extinctus eſt. Sed nec in hoc quidẽ eſt victoria:
vere enim crucifixus eſt dominus ab impijs. & quia iſte qui natus eſt
ex muliere/filius eſt dei:& qui crucifixus eſt/ primogenitus eſt omnis creaturæ/
& deus verbũ:& ipſe fecit omnia iuſſione patris.quod apoſtolus corroborat
1.corin.8 dicens. vnus deus pater/ ex quo omnia:& vnus dominus Iheſus
1.timo.2 Chriſtus/per quem omnia. Et iterum vnus enim deus/vnus & mediator
dei et hominum:homo CHRISTVS IHESVS/qui eſt imago dei inuiſibilis/
coloſ.1 primogenitus vniuerſæ creaturæ.quoniã in ipſo creata ſunt omnia/
quæ ſunt in cœlo et in terra/viſibilia et inuiſibilia.et ipſe eſt ante omnes:et
oĩa in ipſo conſtant. Et quia non eſt ipſe/ ille qui eſt ſuper omnia deus: ſed
Ioan.20 filius ipſius.qui et aſcendere ſe ad eum profitetur dicens. aſcẽdo ad patrem
meum/et patrem veſtrum:et ad deum meum et deum veſtrum. et quando
1.corin.15 ei fuerint omnia ſubiecta: tunc et ipſe ſubiectus erit illi qui ei ſubdidit
omnia/ vt ſit deus omnia in omnibus. Ergo alius eſt ille qui ſubiecit filio
omnia/et qui eſt omnia in omnibus:et alius filius cui ſubiecta ſunt omnia/
qui et poſt hæc omnia ſubiectus erit illi qui ei ſubdidit oĩa.et non eſt homo
Ioan.1 purus ille:per quem et in quo facta ſunt omnia. Omnia enim (inquit) per
Prouer.8 ipſum facta ſunt. Et in libro ſapientiæ ipſe de ſeipſo refert dicẽs. cum faceret
cœlum:aderã illi. Et iterũ. Ego eram apud deũ cuncta cõponens:et congaudebat
Pſal.109 michi quotidie. Quomodo autẽ homo purus audiret: ſede a dexterã
Ioan.8 meã? aut quomodo diceret. anteq̃ Abrahã fieret: ego ſum? vel illud
Ioan.17 quod ait. gloria illa glorifica me/ quã habui apud te priuſq̃ mũdus fieret?
Ioan.6 Quis autẽ homo poſſet dicere. deſcẽdi de cœlo nõ vt faciã volũtatem meã:
ſed voluntatẽ eius qui miſit me? vel de quo hoĩe diceretur. erat lumẽ verũ:
Ioan.1 quod illuminat omnẽ hominẽ venientẽ in hunc mũdũ. In hoc mundo erat:
et mundus per ipſum factus eſt/et mundus eum non cognouit. in propria
venit: et ſui eum non receperunt? Quomodo ergo huiuſmodi homo eſt
purus? ex MARIA demũ habens initium vt eſſet: et nõ potius deus vere-

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bum & filius vnigenitus? De quo dictum eſt. In principio erat verbum/ & Ioan.1.
verbum erat apud deum: & deus erat verbum. omnia per ipſum facta ſūt/
& ſine ipſo factum eſt nichil. Et paulo poſt. vidimus gloriam eius/ gloriam
quaſi vnigeniti a patre: plenum gratia & veritate. Et iterum. vnigenitus qui
eſt in ſinu patris: ipſe enarrauit. Qui & per Salomonē refert dicens. creauit Prouer.8.
me dominus principium viarum ſuarum. in opera ſua ante ſæcula fundauit
me: āte autē oēs colles genuit me. Et reſuſcitaturus eſt corpora noſtra. Ioan.5.
dixit enim. amen dico vobis quoniam venit hora/ in qua omnes qui in monumentis
ſunt: audient vocem filij dei. & qui audierint: viuēt. Quod etiam
apoſtolus confirmat dicens. oportet corruptibile hoc: induere incorruptionem/ 1.corin.15.
& mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Et quia oportet caſte ac iuſte
viuere: iterū dicit. nolite errare: neq; fornicarij/ neq; molles/ neq; maſculorum 1.corin.6.
concubitores/ neq; maledici/ neq; ebrioſi/ neq; fures/ neq; rapaces: regnum
dei poſſidebunt. Et ſi mortui non reſurgunt: neq; CHRISTVS 1.corin.15.
reſurrexit. vacua eſt ergo prędicatio noſtra/ vacua eſt fides veſtra: & adhuc
eſtis in peccatis veſtris. Ergo & qui dormierūt in CHRISTO: perierūt.
Si in hac vita tantum ſperantes ſumus in CHRISTO: miſerabiliores ſumus
omnibus hominibus. Si mortui non reſurgunt: manducemus & bibamus/
cras enim moriemur. Si autem ſic confidimus: quæ eſt differentia hominum
& canum vel aſinorum: qui nichil de futuro cogitant/ qui comeſtionis
tantūmodo appetitores ſunt/ & poſt comeſtionem inſcij ſunt quid interius
moueatur? Acquiſiui vos in domino: elaborate vnuſquiſq; omnem
maliciam deponere/ et ferocem animum/ & maliloquia/ et calumniā/ et turpiloquium/
malam conuerſationē/ ſuſurrationē/ inflationem malignā/ auaritiam/
inanem gloriā/ inuidiā/ & omnia quæ his ſimilia ſunt. induite autem Roma.13.
dominum noſtrum IHESVM CHRISTVM: et carnis curam ne feceritis
in concupiſcentijs. Preſbyteri ſubditi eſtote epiſcopo/ diaconi preſbyteris/
populus diaconis. pro animabus hanc ordinationem cuſtodientibus:
ego efficiar. et dominus ſit cum eis indeficienter. Mando vobis O viri: diligite
coniuges veſtras/ filij honorate patres/ et vos parentes nutrite filios in
eruditione et diſciplina domini. Eas quæ in virginitate ſunt honorate/ ſicut
ſacras CHRISTI. viduas pudicas vt ſacrarium dei veneremini. domini
cum parcitate eſtote: ſerui cum timore/ dominis ſeruite. Nemo ocioſus in
vobis ſit: mater enim egeſtatis eſt vacuitas. Hæc autem dicens non impero
quantum oportet: et ſi quidem vinctus ſum/ tanquam fratres commoneo.
Et ſi dominus eſt vobiſcum: acquiſiui vos. orationibus veſtris
incumbite: vt IHESVM merear adipiſci. Commendo vobis eccleſiam:
quæ eſt in Antiochia. Salutant vos et electæ eccleſiæ Philippēſium: vnde
& ſcribo vobis. Salutat vos Philon diaconus veſter: cui et ego gratias ago/ Philon.
bene michi ſeruienti in omnibus. Salutat vos Agathopus diaconus de Syria: Agathopꝰ
qui me ſequitur in CHRISTO. Salutate inuicem in oſculo ſancto.
Saluto vniuerſos et vniuerſas: qui ſunt in CHRISTO. Incolumes
eſtote corpore et animo et ſpiritu: et mei ne obliuiſcamini/ et ſit deus vobiſcum.
A M E N.

Ad Philippẽſes de baptiſmo: ꝑ Euphaniũ lectorẽ naui aſcẽſurũ. Epi. IIII

IGnatius qui & theophorus/ex ĩperio dei patris miſericordiã
conſecutę in fide et patientia et dilectione ſine dolo/ecclesię
quę eſt Philippenſis: miſericordia et pax a deo patre/
et domino IHESV CHRISTO/ qui eſt ſaluator omnium
hominũ maxime fidelium. Memores charitatis veſtrę
et ſolicitudinis quę eſt in CHRISTO/quam oſtenditis in
nobis: decens eſſe arbitrati ſumus ſcribere ad fraternã in domino vnanimitatis
veſtrę dilectionem. commonitos vos faciens curſus noſtri: vt idipſum
dicatis omnes/vnum ſentientes. in hoc ipſo fidei regulas/præceptaqꝫ feci: ſicuti
1.corin.8. et Paulus erudiens vos dicit. Vnus eſt enim omnium deus/pater Chriſti:
ex quo omnia. et vnus dominus noſter IHESVS CHRISTVS filius
dei vnigenitus/dominator vniuerſorum: per quem omnia. vnus autem
etiam ſpiritus ſanctus qui operabatur in Moſe et prophetis/et apoſtolis.
vnum quoqꝫ et baptiſma: quod datur in morte Chriſti. Vna itaqꝫ eccleſia
etiam eſſe debet/et vna fides: quę eſt in Chriſto ſecũdum dictũ eiuſdẽ apoſtoli
Ephe.4. dicentis. vnus dñs/vna fides/vnum baptiſma. vnus deus et pater omnium:
qui eſt ſuper omnes/& per omnes/& in omnibus. vnus eſt ergo deus
pater: & non duo vel tres. vnus ſcilicet qui eſt: & non eſt præter eum ſolum/
Deutero.6 verus. dñs enim (inquit) deus tuus: deus vnus eſt. Et iterũ. Nõne vnus dñs
Mala.2 creauit nos/& vnus pater eſt oĩm noſtrũ? vnus quoqꝫ & filius/deus verbũ.
Ioan.1 vnigenitus (inquit) qui eſt in ſinu patris. Et rurſum vnus dñs IHESVS
Prouer.30 CHRISTVS. Et alibi. quod eſt nomen eius: aut quod eſt nomen filij
eius? Scitote autem quia vnus eſt etiam ſpiritus ſanctus paracletus ſicut
Ephe.4. idẽ Paulus ait. vnus ſpiritus: ſicut vocati eſtis in vnam ſpem vocationis veſtrę.
1.corin.12 Et iterũ: oẽs (inquit) in vno ſpiritu potati ſumus. manifeſte autẽ omnia
dona gratiarum: ipſe vnus atqꝫ idem ſpiritus operatur. Ergo neqꝫ tres ſunt
patres/neqꝫ tres filij/ ſed neqꝫ tres paracleti: ſed vnus pater/ & vnus filius/
& vnus paracletus. propter quod & dominus mittens apoſtolos docere
Matth.28 omnes gentes: præcepit eis baptizare eas in nomine patris/ et filij/ et ſpiritus
ſancti. non in vnum quendam trinomium: neqꝫ in tres vnius eiuſdemqꝫ
honoris. quia vnus eſt tantum qui homo factus eſt: non pater ſcilicet/
neqꝫ paracletus/ſed ſolus filius. non putatiue neqꝫ in phantaſmate: ſed
Ioan.1 certiſſima veritate. verbum enim caro factũ eſt: et habitauit in ea. Sapiẽtia
Prouer.9 nãqꝫ ædificauit ſibi domũ: et factus eſt (ſicut homo) deus cũ corpore/ quod
ſuſcepit ex virgine. nõ ex collocutione ſcilicet/aut ſemine viri. virgo enĩ (inquit)
Eſaiæ.7 in vtero concipiet: & pariet filiũ. Vere natus eſt/et vere creuit/vere manducauit/
et bibit: vere crucifixus eſt/et mortuus/et reſurrexit. Qui hęc credit
vt vera eius continet natiuitas: beatus eſt. qui autem hæc non credit: nichil
differt ab eis/qui eum crucifixerunt. princeps enim huius mũdi in hoc gaudet:
quando quis crucẽ negauerit. Interitũ enĩ ſibiipſi eſſe cognouit confeſſionẽ
crucis. hoc enim tropheum eſt contra eius virtutem: quod videns expaueſcit/
& audiẽs timet. Nam et anteq̃ facta eſſet crux: feſtinabat facere
hoc/et operari in filijs diffidẽtię. operatus eſt autẽ inuidia in Phariſęis/ĩ

Saduceis/in ſenioribus/in iuuenibus/& in ſacerdotibus. Cū autē propera- Matth.27.
ret vt fieret:cōturbabatur.& poſtea deſperationem immiſit proditori:& la
queum ei oſtendit/& ſuſpendiū eum docuit.& mulieri immiſit timorem in
ſomno:ipſe conturbans/& compeſcere tentans patibulū crucis.ipſe omnia
euocans:mouet in ſuam perniciem/non recognoſcens. in tātum enim mala

Aſtus peſſimi dæmōis aperit:et tādē in eū diſputationē ſuſcipiēs ipſum confutat viriliter

erant/nō omnia. Malignus autē ſentiebat ſuā perditionem.Initiū enim illi
fuit ad dānationē crux CHRISTI: principiū mortis/ initiū perditionis.
propter quod in aliquibus quidem operatur:negare crucē/paſſionē erube-
ſcere.qui vt funeſtū putant vocari de virgine generationē/ circuncidere ipſā
naturam/& diffamare quaſi odioſam: Iudæorum auxiliator eſt ad nega-
tionem crucis/paganorum ad calumniam MARIAE/hereticorū ad phā
taſiam.multiformis eſt enim maliciæ princeps:furans ſenſus/contrarius ſi Hiere.4.
bimetipſi.& alia quidem ſuggerēs:alia vero oſtentans.Sapiens eſt enim ad
malefaciendum/quod bonū eſt autem neſcit aliquādo:ignorantia enim re-
pletus eſt per inobedientiam.Quomodo enim non ſit talis:qui non ſibi ꝑ-
ponit ſuum ſermonē?Si enim homo purus eſt dominus ex anima & corpo
re:quid circūcidis natiuitatē communē naturę hominū?Quid tanq̄ paruā
gloriam in homine factam:paſſionē/ſimulationē vocas/& mortem immor
talis gloriam exiſtimas?Si deus eſt homo:quid vnicū vocas dominū glo-
riæ/illum videlicet natura immutabilem? Quid ſine lege dicis legiſlatorē:
qui non humanam naturam habuit?verbum caro factum eſt. verbum ho-
mo:ſed nō in homine.Quomodo igitur magus eſt ille/qui in principio om
nem ſenſibilem & intelligibilem naturam volūtate patris præparauit? qui
cum eſſet in carne:oēm infirmitatem atq; languorē curauit?Quomodo au Matth.11.
tem nō eſt deus ille:qui mortuos reſuſcitauit/claudos ſanauit/ leproſos mū Ioan.2.
dauit/cæcos illuminauit/ aquam in vinū conuertit/ tuumq; exercitū verbo Marci.5.
tantum fugauit?Quid ergo deijcis naturam virginis:& membra turpia vo
cas?Hæc ergo præſeminas:& nudari iubes maſculos in facie fœminarum/
fœminas vero in illicitū deſideriū maſculorū.tunc oīa turpia vidētur:& pu-
dicum te ipſum facis/cum tu ſis fornicationis ſpiritus.Ignoras quia tunc fit
aliquid turpe:quando illicite perpetratur?cæterū nichil turpe eſt: quod ſi-
ne peccato geritur/nichil prauū/ ſed oīa bona valde. & tu nō vidēs peſſun-
das eam.Quomodo rurſum nō tibi videtur natus eſſe CHRISTVS ex
virgine:ſed ille qui eſt ſuꝑ oīa deus/ille ſcilicet oīa potēs? Quis ergo eſt qui
hūc miſit dicito:quiſve huic dn̄atur/vel cuius ſentētię ſubiectus fuit/aut cu-
ius legē adipleuit?Tu qui nullius ſentētiā vel poteſtatē habes: Chriſtū ſe-
paras a generatione.legiſlatorē ingenitū eſſe pronuncias: et cruci affixum
illum/qui eſt ſine principio.Cuius ergo permiſſu hoc factum eſt: non eſt di
cere.Nō enī me latuit tuū antiquū conſiliū.neq; ignoro quoniā curue et lu-
brice incedis.tu autem ignoras quis eſt qui natus eſt: qui oīa ſcire te fingis.
Multa enim te latent:virginitas ſcilicet MARIAE/ glorioſus partus/de
cuius corpore deus proceſſit.ſtella orientis quę apparuit: munera ferenti- Matth.2.
bus magis.archangeli ſalutatio ad virginem facta. virginis glorioſa conce- Lucæ.1.
ptio/deſponſatæ puellæ prædicatio. & virginis in vtero:infantis præuiſio.

angelorū hymno gloriæ/ad gentium paſtores annunciatio/Herodis timor
in extollentia regni/præceptio ad paruulorū necem.in Aegyptū tranſmigratio/
atq; exinde reuerſio:cunabula infantilia. deſcriptio humana: lactis
nutritio/nomē patris non ſeminantis.præſepe vbi poſitus eſt: eo ꝙ nō fuerit
locus.nulla humana præparatio: prouectus ætatis/ crementum corporis/
humana loquela.ſed et ꝙ eſuriit/ſitiuit/iter ambulauit/laborauit: ſacrificiorum
Matth.3. oblatio/circūciſio/baptiſma.vox dei deſuper ad baptizatum: quid
Ioan.1. vel vnde fuerit teſtificatio ſpiritus/ et dei vox.Ioannis prophetia: ſignificantis
paſſionem per agni appellationem.diuerſorum ſignorum operatio/ variæ
Matth.8. curationes/imperium domini quo mari imperauit/et ventos ſedauit/et
ſpiritus iniquos fugauit/teipſum torquens et manifeſtatione virtutis ſuę affligens.
Hæc omnia videns/ non habes quid facias: niſi tenebroſas vertigines.
Et quia virgo peperit ignoras:ſed confundit te angelorum laudatio/
magorum adoratio/ſtellæ apparitio. Ignorātiam igitur olim incurriſti per
contumaciā.parua tibi videntur cunabula/paſſiones/circūciſio/lactis nutritio:
Matth.4. indigna tibi deo eſſe hæc videntur.Iterū ne vidiſti hominem quadraginta
diebus & quadraginta noctibus inguſtato cibo humano/ & angelos ei
miniſtrantes:quos & tu timebas? videns primo quaſi communē hominem
baptizatū:et cauſam ignorans. poſt ieiuniū vero eſurienti/inſidiabaris: &
tentabas quaſi cōmunem hominē/ignorās quis eſſet.dicebas enim. ſi filius
dei es:ignorātię id eſt.nā ſi vere cognoſceres:ſcires ſine dubio.quia quę impoſſibilia
videntur ad faciendū/& difficilia ad conuertendū:factori omnia
poſſibilia ſunt.Et propter ventrem tentans eū/ qui paſcit omnes eſca indigentes:
audes tentare dominum gloriæ.oblitus per tuam maliciā/quia non
Deutero.8 in pane ſolo viuit homo:ſed in omni verbo quod procedit ex ore dei/ſcires
quia filius dei erat.cognoſceres vtiq; quia in quadraginta diebus & quadraginta
noctibus nullo egens/reddens corruptibile corpus:etiam in continuatione
hoc facere poterat.Sed idcirco eſurijt:vt oſtenderet quia vere ſuſcepit
Lucę.10. corpus paſſibile/ſimile hominibus. propterea & primo oſtēdit quia
deus erat: & ſecundo quia & homo fuit.Tu ergo qui tanquam fulgur de
Matth.4. ſublimi gloria cecidiſti:audes dicere domino/ mitte te deorſum.cui ea quę
ſunt: æſtimantur quaſi quæ non ſunt. & ad inanem gloriam prouocas
eum: qui non extollitur. et fingis te ſcripturas de eo legere dicens: ſcriptum
Pſal.90. eſt enim/ quoniam angelis ſuis mandauit de te nequando offendas
ad lapidem pedem tuum. et fingis te ſequentia ignorare/ auferens ea
quæ de te ac tuis miniſtris prophetauit dicens: ſuper aſpidem & baſiliſcum
ambulabis/ et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Si ergo conculcatio
es pedum domini: quomodo tentas intentabilem? immemor legiſlatoris
Deutero.6 qui dixit: non tentabis dominum deum tuum.& audes impudentiſſime
opera dei aſſumere/et dicere quia tibi traditus eſt principatus eorū:
et caſum tuū oſtēdis contra dominū deū tuū.et promittis te dare ei quę
ſunt ipſius/dicēs:hęc oīa tibi dabo/ſi cadēs in terrā adoraueris me.Quomodo
non timuiſti talem vocem contra dominum emittere:tu qui omnium
Gene.3. malignorū ſpirituū maligniſſimus es? et pro malicia/vētre et pectore ī terrā

repere 'uſſus es:& per inanē gloriā inhonoratus es/qui ꝑ auaritiā & arro-
gantiā ad impietatē deductus es? Tu incēſor/draco/apoſtata/ſerpens per-
plexus a deo diſcedēs:a CHRISTO ſeparatus/a ſancto ſpiritu alienus/
& a choro angelorū exulās. Iniuriator legis dei/& legitimorū inimicus:qui
ſuper prothoplaſtos inſurrexiſti/& a mādato dei auertiſti eos qui nichil te Gene.4.
leſerunt.qui aduerſus Abel: Cain parricidā excitaſti.qui in Iob: mala ex- Iob.1.
ercuiſti.tu ergo huiuſmodi dicis domino:ſi cadens in terrā/adoraueris me.
O audacia/O puniende ſerue fugitiue/ſerue flagellande/ exterminator bo-
norum:domino dominorū/perfecto deo omniū intelligibiliū atq; ſenſibi-
liū dicis/ſi cadens adoraueris me? Dominus autē lōganimis/qui nō in prę-
ſenti & illico interficit eum qui per ignorātiā & audaciā talia dicit:ſed mā-
ſuete reſpondet dicens. vade ſathana. non dixit reuertere poſt me:non enim
es reuerſurus aliquādo. ſed vade inquit ſathana:in ea quæ tibi elegiſti loca.
vade in ea quibus prouocatus es a tua malicia. Ego autem ſcio quis ſum/&
a quo ſum miſſus:& ſcio quem debeo adorare. dominū enim (inquit) deū Deute.6.
tuū adorabis:& illi ſoli ſeruies. Scio enim & noui vnum ſolū:cui non dene-
go ſeruire. a quo tu apoſtata factus es. non enim ſum antitheus hoc eſt cō-
trarius deo:ſed confiteor eius eminentiam/et non recuſo adorare eum quē
noui natiuitatis meæ authorem & dominum/ atq; meæ perſeuerantię cu-
ſtodem. ego enim viuo propter patrem. Hęc autem fratres per diſpoſitio- Ioan.6.
nem dei coactus ſum mittere ad vos:monens vos ad gloriam dei nō quaſi
extraneus/ſed ſicut frater. Subiecti eſtote epiſcopo & preſbyteris & diaco-
nus. diligite inuicem in domino:ſicut dei ſimulacra. Videte ergo viri: vt dili-
gatis vxores veſtras/ſicut propria membra. mulieres vero ſicut vnitatis ta-
ctu viros veſtros amate. Qui caſtus eſt vel continēs/non extollatur:ne per-
dat mercedem ſuam. dies feſtos nolite inhonorare. quadrageſimam vero
nolite pro nichilo habere: imitationem enim continet dei conuerſationis. Quadrageſima.
Hebdomadam etiam paſſionis nolite deſpicere. Quarta vero et ſexta feria Hebdomada paſſiōis
ieiunate:reliquias pauperibus porrigentes. Quicūq; dominicam aut ſab- Quarta feria.
batum ieiunauerit pręter vnū ſabbatum paſchę:ipſe eſt CHRISTI inter-
fector. Orationes veſtrę protendantur ad eccleſiam Antiochię:vnde et vin- Sexta feria
ctus ducor Romā. Saluto ſanctum epiſcopū Polycarpum. Saluto ſanctū Dies dominica.
epiſcopū Vitalem et ſacroſanctū preſbyterū/et conſeruos meos diaconos: Sabbatum.
ꝑ quorū animabus ego efficiar. Adhuc dico epiſcopo et preſbyteris in do- Polycarp9.
mino/quicūq; cum Iudęis paſcha egerit/aut ſolennia dierū feſtorum eorū Vitalis.
ſuſceperit:cōparticipabit eis qui dominum et apoſtolos eius occiderūt. Sa- Paſcha.
lutant vos Philon et Agathopus diaconi. Saluto cōgregationem virginū/ Philon.
legionem viduarum:a quibus adiutus ſum. Saluto populū domini/a mini- Agathop9.
mo vſq; ad maximum. Tranſmiſi vobis hęc mea ſcripta per Euphanium
lectorem/virum deo honorabilem et fideliſſimum:qui michi occurrit in re-
gionem iam nauim aſcenſuro. Mementote vinculorum meorum:vt cōſum
mer in domino. Incolumes eſtote carne et anima et ſpiritu/perfecta ſentien
tes:deuitantes operarios iniquitatis et corruptores verbi veritatis/ confor-
tati in gratia domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI. Amen.

ℂAd Philadelphienſes ex Troia. Epiſt.V.

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: eccleſiæ dei patris & domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI/quę eſt in Philadelphia/ miſericordiã conſecutę in dilectione/& cõfirmatione in cõcordia & exultatione dei/in paſſione domini indiuiſæ & in reſurrectione eius/repletæ omni miſericordia: quã & ſaluto i ſanguine IHESV CHRISTI quod eſt gaudiũ ſempiternũ & ſingulare maxime ijs qui ſunt in vnũ cũ epiſcopo/cũ presbyteris/& diaconis probatis in volũtate dei patris: per dominũ IHESVM CHRI- Matth.16. STVM qui ſecũdũ ſuã volũtatẽ ſolidauit firmiter eccleſiam eius ſuper petrã/ædificio ſpirituali non manufacto.quã flumina inundãtia & flãtes venti non valuerũt ſubuertere:nec valebũt aliquãdo ſpiritus nęquitiæ/ſed de- Lucę.6. bilitãtur virtute domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI.Videns autem epiſcopũ veſtrum/cognoui:quia non a ſemetipſo/neqꝫ ab hominibus promotus eſt in miniſterium ad cõmunionẽ pertinens/ neqꝫ per inanẽ gloriã: ſed in dilectiõe IHESV CHRISTI/et dei patris qui reſuſcitauit eũ a mortuis.cuius expaueſco mãſuetudinẽ:quomodo tacẽs amplius poteſt a loquẽte.Aptus eſt enĩ mãdatis domini/et iuſtitię eius:ſicut chordæ citharę.et eſt Lucę.1. irrepræhenſibilis:non minus a Zacharia ſacerdote.propter quod beatificat anima mea illius ſecundũ deũ diſpoſitionẽ: cognoſcẽs innocentẽ & perfectã/et immobilẽ/et ſine ira circa oẽs/eius manſuetudinẽ/tanq̃ dei viui. Sicut ergo filij lucis fugite diuiſionẽ vnitatis/et malã doctrinã hæreticorũ: ex quibus exit coinquinatio in omnẽ terrã.Vbi ergo paſtor eſt:illuc ſicut oues cõgregemini.multi enim lupi pellibus ouiũ induti/ volũtate mala captiuãt Matt.7. decurrẽtes ad deũ:ſed in veritate veſtra nõ iueniũt locũ.abſtinete itaqꝫ vos a verbis malis:quæ IHESVS CHRISTVS nõ ſeminauit/ſed hominũ interfectrix beſtia.propter quod non ſunt plantatio patris:ſed ſeminariũ næquiſſimi. Non ergo ſeparationem inueniens apud vos hæc ſcribo:ſed vt muniẽs vos vt filios dei.Quotquot enĩ ſunt CHRISTI:ipſi ſunt epiſcopi.Qui autem declinant eum vel communionem eius/et ſociant ſe cum maledicis:ipſi cum illis ſimul abſcinduntur.Non enim ſunt agricolæ Chriſti/ſed inimici ſeminarium:a quibus eruamini ſemper precibus aſſidentis paſtoris veſtri fideliſſimi/& mitiſſimi.Rogo itaqꝫ vos in domino/ quicũqꝫ pœnitentes venerint ad vnitatem eccleſiæ:ſuſcipite eos cum omni manſuetudine.vt per vtilitatem et bonamdem onſtrationem de luto et muſcipula diaboli eruti/et digni Iheſu Chriſto effecti:ſempiternã ſalutẽ percipiant in regno Chriſti.Nolite ergo errare fratres.Quicunqꝫ enim ſeparatũ a veritate fuerit ſecutus:regnum dei non hæreditabit.Et qui non diſceſſerit a falſiloquo prędicatore:in gehẽnã dãnabit̃.vnde nec a iuſtis diſcedere:neqꝫ iniuſtis appropinquare oportet.Quicũqꝫ enĩ in aliena ſentẽtia ambulauerit:ipſe nõ eſt Chriſti/nec paſſionis eius particeps/ſed eſt fraudator/et corruptor vineæ Chriſti.Tali ne commiſceamini:ne ſimul cum eo pereatis/nec ſi pa- Ezech.9. ter ſit/vel filius/aut frater/aut domeſticus.non enim (inquit) parcat oculus Pſal.138. tuus ſuper eũ.Qui ergo odio habent deum: oportet etiam vos eos odire/

De veniẽtibus ad ſacramẽtum pœnitẽtiæ et reconciliationis.

oportet ſecundū gentes quæ non nouerūt deū: ſed inimicos arbitrari/& ſe-
et ſuper inimicos eius tabeſcere. non quidē perſequi eos/aut percutere nos
oportet ſecundū gentes quæ non nouerūt deū: ſed inimicos arbitrari/& ſe-
parari ab eis. et monere eos/& ad pœnitētiam prouocare: ſi forte audiāt et
acquieſcāt. Amator enim hominū eſt deus noſter: & vult omnes homines
ſaluos fieri/et ad agnitionē veritatis venire. Propter quod & ſolem oriri facit
ſuper bonos & malos: et pluit ſuper iuſtos & iniuſtos. Cuius vtilitatis etiā
nos dominus volēs eſſe imitatores dicit: eſtote perfecti/ſicut & pater veſter
cœleſtis/perfectus eſt. Ego cōfido in vobis: quoniam in domino nihil aliud
ſapitis. propterea fiducialiter ſcribo deo dignæ dilectioni veſtræ/rogās vos
vt inſtetis vni fidei/vni prædicationi: vna gratiarū actione vtentes. Vna eſt
enim caro domini IHESV/& vnus eius ſanguis: qui pro nobis effuſus eſt.
vnus etiā panis pro omnibus cōfractus/& vnus calix totius eccleſię/et vnus
epiſcopus ſimul cū omnibus preſbyteris/& diaconis cōſeruis meis. quia et
vnus eſt ingenitus deus pater/& vnus vnigenitus filius deus verbū & ho-
mo/& vnus paracletus ſpiritus veritatis. Vna etiā prædicatio/& fides vna/
et vnum baptiſma/& vna eccleſia: quā fundauerūt ſancti apoſtoli a finibus
vſq; ad fines/in ſanguine CHRISTI proprijs ſudoribus & laboribus. Et
vos ergo oportet ſicut populū ſacerdotalē/& gētem ſanctā: in concordiā om-
nes in CHRISTO cōſummari. Mulieres vero ſubditæ eſtote viris veſtris
in timore dei: virgines CHRISTO in incorruptione: non execrātes nu-
ptias/ſed meliora diligentes. non in criminatione cōtagij: ſed propter legis
meditationem. Filij ſubditi eſtote parentibus: & diligite eos tanq̃ coopera-
rios dei ad veſtram generationem. Serui ſubditi eſtote dominis veſtris
in deo: vt CHRISTI liberi efficiamini. Viri diligite vxores veſtras ſicut
conſeruas in domino vt proprium corpus/ſicut ſocias vitæ/& cooperatrices
ad filiorum procreationē. Virgines ſolū CHRISTVM præ oculis habe-
te: & eius patrē in animabus veſtris/illuminatæ a ſpiritu ſancto. Memor ſū
ſāctitatis veſtrę ſicut Heliæ/ſicut Ieſu Naue/ſicut Melchiſedech/ſicut Heli-
ſei/ſicut Hieremiæ/ſicut Ioannis baptiſtæ/ſicut dilectiſſimi diſcipuli/ſicut
Timothei/ſicut Titi/ſicut Enodij/ſicut Clementis: vel eorū qui in caſtitate
de vita exierūt. Non detraho autē cęteris beatis qui nuptijs copulati fuerūt:
quorū nūc memini. opto enim deo dignus ad veſtigia eorū: in regno ipſius
inueniri. ſicut Abraham/et Iſaac/& Iacob/ſicut Ioſeph et Eſaias/& cæteri
prophetæ/ſicut Petrus/et Paulus & reliqui apoſtoli: qui nuptijs fuerūt ſo-
ciati. qui non libidinis cauſa/ſed poſteritatis ſubrogādæ gratia: cōiuges ha-
buerunt. Patres nutrite filios veſtros in eruditione & diſciplina domini: et
docete eos ſacras litteras/& artes honeſtas/vt non ocio gaudeāt. Bene enim
(inquit) nutrit pater iuſtus: in filio autē ſapiēte lætabitur cor eius. Domini
benigne in domeſticos veſtros intendite: ſicut ſanctus Iob docuit. vna enim
eſt natura: & vnū genus hominū. In CHRISTO autē/neq; ſeruus/neq;
liber. Principes ſubditi eſtote cæſari: milites principibus/diaconi preſbyte-
ris/vt ſacrorū āminiſtratoribus. preſbyteri vero & diaconi atq; omnis cle-
rus ſimul cū omni populo/& militibus atq; principibus ſed & cæſare: obe-
diāt epiſcopo/epiſcopus vero CHRISTO/ſicut patri CHRISTVS. et

1. timo. 2.
Matth. 5.
Ephe. 4.
Helias.
Ieſu naue.
Melchiſe-
dech.
Heliſeus.
Hieremias
Ioānes ba-
ptiſta.
Dilectiſſim⁹
diſcipulus.
Timothe⁹.
Titus.
Enodius.
Clemens.
De cōiuga-
tis.
Abraham.
Iſaac.
Iob. 30.
Iacob
Ioſeph.
Eſaias.
Petrus.
Paulus.

Iudith.
Anna.

ita vnitas per omnia ſeruatur. Sint autē viduæ non vagæ/neqꝫ guloſæ/neqꝫ proteruę:ſed pudicæ & ſobriæ/ſicut Iudith et Anna. Hæc autem non ſicut apoſtolus pręcipio. quis enim ſum ego/aut quæ domus eſt patris mei:vt æqualē me illis dicā: ſed ſicut cōmilito veſter/obediētiæ ordinem cōtinens. Fratres mei valde pronus ſū ad dilectionē veſtrā:ſuperexultās de vnanimitate veſtra. Moneo eni vos nō ego/ſed dominus IHESVS per me:in quo vinctus ſum. Adhuc magis timeo quia nōdum perfectus ſū:ſed oratio veſtra faciet me perfectū apud deum:vt eum in quo vocatus ſum merear adipiſci/cōfugiens ad euāgelium tanq̃ ad corpus Iheſu Chriſti/ad apoſtolos tanq̃ ad preſbyteros eccleſiæ. Et prophetas quidē diligo:vt Chriſtum prænunciātes/continētes eius ſpiritū ſicuti & apoſtoli. Sicut enim pſeudoprophetæ & pſeudoapoſtoli vnum eūdemqꝫ malignū & ſeductorē/& populū errare faciētem ſpiritum aſſumpſerūt:ſic certe veri prophetæ & veri/apoſtoli vnū eūdemqꝫ ſanctū/bonum/principalē & verum/atqꝫ doctorē per Chriſtum acceperūt ſpiritum. vnus enim deus veteris et noui teſtamēti/vnus et mediator dei & hominū:ad facturam intelligibiliū & ſenſibiliū/& prouidentiā gerēs omniū. Vnus quoqꝫ & paracletus:qui operabatur in Moſe/et prophetis/et apoſtolis. Omnes enim ſācti cū CHRISTO ſaluati ſunt per ipſum/in ipſo ſperātes/atqꝫ ipſum expectātes:& per ipſum ſalutem adepti ſunt qui erāt digni dilectione/& digni laude. ſanctificati a Chriſto Iheſu/teſtificātes in euangelio ſpei cōmuni. Si quis deū legis & prophetarū vnum prædicauerit/Chriſtum autē negauerit filiū eſſe dei:mēdax eſt/quomodo et pater eius diabolus. & eſt huiuſmodi inferioris circūciſionis pſeudo Iudæus. Si autē quis cōfitetur Chriſtū Iheſum dominū/negat autē deū legis et prophetarum patrem eſſe Chriſti:hic in veritate nō ſtat/quomodo nec pater eius diabolus. & eſt huiuſmodi: Simonis magi/& non ſancti ſpiritus diſcipulus. Si quis autē dicit vnū deum/cōfiteturqꝫ Iheſum Chriſtū:hominem vero purum putās dominū/& non deū vnigenitū/& ſapiētiam/et verbum dei/ſed ex anmia et corpore eum ſolū eſſe exiſtimās:huiuſmodi ſerpēs eſt ſeductor/errorē prædicās ad perditionē hominū. huiuſmodi pauper eſt ſenſu:ſicuti vocatur & adinuētor ipſius erroris Ebion. Si quis enim hæc cōfitetur/corruptionē autē & coinquinationē vocat legitimā cōmixtionem/et filiorum procreationē/aut aliquā eſcam execrabilē putat:huiuſmodi habet cohabitatorē draconem apoſtatā. Si quis enim patrē & filiū & ſpiritū ſanctum cōfitetur/& creaturā laudat/ſimulationē vero dicit incarnationem/et paſſionē erubeſcit cōfiteri:huiuſmodi fidem abnegat nichilominus q̃ interfectores CHRISTI Iudæi. Si quis autē hæc cōfeſſus fuerit:& quia deus verbum in humano corpore habitauit ſicut & anima in corpore:propter quod inhabitare dicimus deū in corpore/ſed non in humana anima:dicit autem quaſdā iniquas mixtiones aliquid boni eſſe/& finē beatitudinis voluptatē ponit(qualis ille falſo nomine Nicolaita)hic neqꝫ dei amicus/neqꝫ Chriſti amator eſſe poteſt:ſed corruptor propriæ carnis. & propterea a ſpiritu ſācto deſertus eſt:et a Chriſto alienus. Huiuſmodi oēs/ ſtatuæ exanimes ſunt:& ſepulchra mortuorū/in quibus ſcripta ſunt tātūmodo nomina

Ebion et Ebionita/ pauper interpretat. Ideo dicit: pauper eſt ſenſu/ ſicut vocatur.

defũctorũ. Fugite ergo malas artes/inſidias ſpiritus:qui operat in filijs sæculi huius.nequãdo tribulati infirmemini in dilectione:ſed omnes idipſum eſtote inſeparabiles corde/& in vnanimitate vnũ ſemper ſentiẽtes in idipſũ. de hocipſo glorificãtes in requie/et in pįculis/et i triſtitijs/& in gaudijs. Gratias ago deo per IHESVM Chriſtũ/quia bene michi cõſcius ſũ in vobis: et nõ habet quis vnde gloriari/neq; clam neq; palã & publice: ꝙ grauauerĩ aliquẽ aut in modico aut in magno. Et õnes quibus locutus ſum precor:vt non in teſtimoniũ illud poſſideat. Si enim ſecũdum carnẽ me voluerũt quidam oberrare:ſed ſpiritus meus nõ oberrat.a deo etenĩ eũ accepi:noui enim vnde venerit/& quo eat/et occulta arguet. Clamaui enim voce magna inter eos quibus loquebar:nõ meum ſermonẽ/ſed dei proferẽs/epiſcopo intẽdente/& preſbyteris/& diaconis.hi vero deſpexerũt me:tanq̃ prohibẽtem diuiſionẽ quorũdam fieri. Hoc autẽ dicẽti teſtis ille eſt propter quẽ ego vinctus ſum:quia de humano ore hæc non cognoui/ſed ſpiritus michi præconiſauit dicens/hæc præter epiſcopum ne feceritis.vnitatem diligite.diuiſionem fugite. Imitatores eſtote Pauli & cæterorum apoſtolorum:quomodo & ipſi Chriſti. Ego quidẽ quod meũ fuit feci:vt homo in vnitate perfectus.adijciens etiã hoc/quia vbi diſſenſio mẽtis & iracũdia et odium:illic deus nõ habitat. Omnibus igitur pœnitẽtibus dimittit deus/ſi ad vnitatẽ Chriſti concurrũt/& ad cõſenſum epiſcopi. Credo gratiæ Iheſu Chriſti:quia ſoluit a nobis omne vinculũ iniuſtitiæ. Rogo autẽ vos vt nichil ſecũdũ iracũdiã agatis;ſed ſecũdum Chriſti militiã. Audiui enim quoſdã dicẽtes:ſi nõ inuenero euangeliũ in antiquis/nõ credã. Talibus autẽ ego dico:quia michi antiquitas IHESVS Chriſtus eſt.cui nõ obedire:manifeſtus et irremiſſibilis interitus eſt. Principat⁹ eius eſt crux/& mors ipſius/et reſurrectio/& fides in omnibus his.in quib⁹ volo per vos/nos in orationib⁹ veſtris iuſtificari. Qui nõ credit euãgelio:õnibus ſimul nõ credit/qui nõ pręiudicat ãtiquitati ſpiritus. durũ eſt enim cõtra ſtimulũ calcitrare:durũ etiã Chriſto nõ credere/durum quoq; apoſtolorũ prædicationẽ ſpernere. Boni enĩ ſũt ſacerdotes/& ſermonis miniſtri.melior autẽ eſt põtifex cui credita ſunt ſancta ſanctorũ/cui ſoli cõmiſſa ſunt ſecreta dei. Bona ſunt etiã officia virtutis dei:bonus quoq; ſpiritus ſãctus/qui eſt ſuper õnia ſancta ſãctiſſimus/& verbi miniſter.ſed ſuper omnes ſãctos ſanctiſſimus eſt ſũmus põtifex/et priceps pontificũ:qui eſt legatus & miniſter patris.et princeps legionũ militiæ cœleſtis/per quẽ pater omnia fecit:atq; omnẽ prouidẽtiã gerit. Ipſe enĩ eſt via quæ ducit ad patrẽ: ipſe eſt petra/maceria/clauis/paſtor/ſacerdotiũ/ianua ſciẽtiæ & agnitionis: per quã introiuit Abrahã/& Iſaac/et Iacob. Moſes quoq; atq; õnis chorus prophetarũ/et colũnæ mũdi apoſtoli/et ſponſa domini eccleſia:pro qua ſãguinẽ ſuũ fudit vt eã redimeret. Omnia igitur hęc in vnitate vnius/et vnigeniti veri dei. Quid autẽ præcipuũ habet euãgeliũ? præſentiã aduẽtus ſaluatoris noſtri IHESV Chriſti/paſſionẽ/ſed & ipſã reſurrectionẽ. Quę enĩ prophetæ annũciauerũt dicẽtes:donec veniat cui repoſitũ eſt/et ipſe erit expectatio gẽtiũ:hæc in euãgelio cõpleta ſunt/dicẽte domino.pergite & docete omnes gẽtes/baptizãtes eos in nomine patris/& filij/& ſpiritus ſancti.

Sanctiſſim⁹ martyr accepro ſpiritu ſancto quæ pręcipiebat loquebat vt Petrus/Paulus/Barnabas/& cęteri apoſtoli.

Actuũ.9.

Hebræ.1.

Ioan.14.

Gene.49.

Matth.28.

Omnia ergo bona ſunt ſimul:lex/prophetæ/apoſtoli/ōnis cōgregatio quæ
per ipſos credidit.Solū autē reſtat vt inuicē diligamus.quoniā ſecūdū orationē
veſtrā/& viſcera quę habetis in domino IHESV:annūciatū eſt michi
pacificare eccleſiā quæ eſt in Antiochia Syriæ.Decet enim vos tanq̃ eccleſiam
dei ordinare epiſcopū ad mittēdum illuc viſitationē dei:cōcedere eis in
idipſum cōſtitutis glorificare nomē dei.Beatꝰ in Chriſto Iheſu:qui dignus
effectus fuerit tali miniſterio.Et vos quidē feſtinātes glorificamini in Chriſto.
Volūt autē vobis(quod nō eſt ōnibus impoſſibile)pro noīe dei(quomodo
& ſemper vicinæ eccleſiæ cōſueuerūt)mittere vobis epiſcopos/preſbyteros/
Philon. & diaconos. De Philone vero diacono viro religioſo a Cilicia qui nunc
Gaius. michi miniſtrat ī verbo domini/vna cū Gaio et Agathopo viro electo(qui
Agathopꝰ. a Syria me ſequitur)teſtificor vobis quia renūciauerūt ſæculo:& martyriū
conſūmare elegerūt.Et ego gratias ago pro vobis:rogās vt ſuſcipiatis eos
in domino/vt et vos ſuſcipiat Iheſus Chriſtus.Qui enim eos diffamauerūt/
Ezechi.18. redēpti ſunt in gratia Iheſu Chriſti:qui non vult mortē peccatoris ſed pœnitentiā.
Salutat vos dilectio fratrū qui ſunt in Troia:vnde & ſcribo vobis
Burgus. per Burgum qui miſſus eſt ſimul ab Epheſijs & Smyrneis ad verbū honoris/
quos Iheſus Chriſtus redimat:in quē ſperāt carne et anima/ſpiritu et fide/
dilectione & cōcordia.Incolumes eſtote in domino Iheſu Chriſto/cum
omni ſpe noſtra in ſpiritu ſancto.Amen.

¶ Ad Smyrnenſes ex Troia. Epiſt.VI.

IGnatius qui et Theophorus:eccleſiæ patris altiſſimi & dilectiſſimi
filij eius IHESV Chriſti miſericordiā cōſecutæ/et
gratia repletæ/in fide & dilectione fundatæ/& totius gratiæ
deo decētiſſimæ/ſāctiſſimæ/ſanctificatę/quæ eſt in Smyrna:
immaculatæ ſpiritu & verbo dei/plurimā ſalutē.Glorifico
deū & patrē domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti:qui per ſeipſū vos
tantū illuminauit.Agnoui enim vos perfectos eſſe in fide īmobili tanq̃ clauis
affixos cruci domini Iheſu Chriſti carne & ſpiritu.et cōfirmatos in charitate
dei in ſanguine CHRISTI:& vere ad plenū inſtructos in domino
Iheſu Chriſto filio dei/primogenito totius creaturæ/deo verbo vnigenito
Matth.1. filio:qui eſt ex genere Dauid ſecūdum carnē ex MARIA virgine.baptizatus
Matth.3. a Ioanne vt adimpleretur ōnis iuſtitia:qui cōuerſatus ſancte ſine peccato/
Lucæ.23. ſub Pontio Pilato et Herode tetrarcha vere clauis cōfixus eſt pro nobis
in carne.a quo & nos redēpti ſumus per diuinā & beatā eius paſſionē:vt tollat
ſecū ſibi cōiunctos in ſæcula per reſurrectionē ad ſāctos & fideles ſuos/
ſiue ex Iudæis/ſiue ex gētibus in vnū corpus eccleſiæ ſuæ.Hæc enim ōnia
paſſus eſt pro nobis/& vere paſſus eſt:nō putatiue ſed vere/ſicuti & reſurrexit.
Sed nō ſicut quidā infideliū erubeſcētes plaſmationē homimis/& crucem
& ipſam mortē/dicūt:quaſi putatiue & nō vere ſuſcepit corpus ex virgine/
Ioan.1. et putatiue paſſus eſt.immemores illius qui dixit/verbū caro factū eſt:
Ioan.2. et habitauit ī nobis.& iterū.Soluite tēplū hoc:et ego in triduo reſuſcitabo illud.
Ioan.12. Et in alio loco/cū exaltatus fuero a terra:ōnia trahā ad meipſum.Ergo
Prouer.9. verbum habitauit in carne.ſapiētia enim ædificauit ſibi domū.verbū ergo:

templū ſuiipſius ab aduerſarijs diſſolutū/reſuſcitauit tertia die.verbū vtiq;
exaltata carne ſua veluti illo æneo ſerpēte in eremo:attraxit ad ſe omnes ad Nume.21.
ſalutē æternā.Ego autē non ſolū natum eū & crucifixū in corpore factum
ſcio:ſed etiā poſt reſurrectionē in carne eum noui/& credo eſſe.Nā cum ad Lucæ.24.
eos qui cū Petro erāt veniſſet:ait illis.Palpate me & videte:quia nō ſum dæmoniū
incorporeū.ſpiritus carnē & oſſa non habet:ſicut me videtis habere.
Et Thomæ dixit.Inijce digitū tuū in fixurā clauorum/& affer manū tuā/ Ioan,20.
et mitte in latus meū:& noli eſſe incredulus/ſed fidelis.Et ſtatim crediderūt:quia
ipſe erat CHRISTVS. Propter quod & Thomas ait illi:deus
meus/& dominus meus.propterea ergo mortē contempſerūt: parū dicētes
eſſe/iniurias & plagas/et alia nōnulla propter ipſum ſuſtinere.Nā et poſtq̄
oſtēdit ſe eis/quia vere & nō putatiue reſurrexiſſet:māducauit cū eis & bibit.&
ſic vidētibus eis aſſūptus eſt cū carne:ad eū qui miſerat illū.In qua et Marci.16.
iterū vēturus eſt cū gloria & virtute/ſecūdum quod dictū eſt ab angelis ad
apoſtolos:hic Iheſus qui aſſūptus eſt a vobis ī cœlū/ſic veniet queādmodū Actuū.1.
vidiſtis eum aſcēdētem in cœlum.Si ergo ſine corpore dicunt eum vēturū
eſſe in cōſummatione ſæculi:quomodo viſuri ſunt eū illi/qui cōpunxerūt in Zacha.12.
eū:& cognoſcētes plāgent inter ſe? Nā incorporaliū/neq; ſpecies neq; figura/ſed
neq; effigies quidē aliqua animalis formæ haberi poterit:in qua figuræ
clauorū/vel lanceę foramē appareat/propter ſimplicitatē naturæ.Hęc
autē moneo vos chariſſimi:ſciēs quia & vos ſic habetis.præcuſtodio autem
vos a beſtijs/hominū figuras habētibus:quas nō ſolum deuitare/ſed etiā fugere
oportet vos.Tantū orate pro illis:vt forte pœniteāt.Si enim putatiue
in corpore fuit dominus/& putatiue crucifixus eſt:ergo & ei putatiue ego
vinctus ſum.Quare autē & meipſū tradidi ad mortē/ad ignem/ad gladiū/
ad beſtias? Sed nō putatiue/ſed vere ōnia ſuſtineo propter CHRISTVM
ad compatiendum ei/ipſo me confortante/quia non eſt michi tanta virtus.
Quem profecto quidam ignorantes negauerūt:& cōſentiūt magis mēdacio
q̄ veritati.quibus nec perſuaſerūt prophetæ/neq; lex Moſi:ſed nec nunc
vſq; euangeliū/nec noſtræ ſpeciales paſſiones.nā & de nobis hoc ipſū ſentiunt.
Quid enim me iuuat ſi me quis laudauerit:dominū autē meū blaſphemauerit/ſi
non eū cōfeſſus fuerit incarnatū eſſe deum? hoc autē qui nō dixerit:perfecte
eū negat/ſicut mortuū baiulās.Nomina vero eorū infidelia:nō
michi eſt nūc viſum ſcribere.ſed neq; cōtingat michi vt mētionē eorū faciā:
donec pœniteāt.Nemo ſeipſum ſeducat.Si eni nō crediderit Chriſtū Iheſum
in carne fuiſſe cōuerſatum/& cōfeſſus fuerit crucē eius/& paſſionē/et ſāguinē
quē effudit pro mundi ſalute:vitā æternā nō cōſequetur.ſiue rex/ſiue
ſacerdos/ſeu princeps/ſeu priuatꝰ:ſeu dominus/ſiue ſeruus/ſeu vir/ſiue mulier.qui
capit capiat:& qui audit audiat.Locus ergo & dignitas atq; diuitię:
neminē inflēt.Ignobilitas & paupertas:nullū humiliet.ſed cum his ōnibus:
fides eius ſit in deum/& in Chriſtū/& ſpes fruitionis futurorū bonorū cū
dilectione/quæ eſt circa deū & circa proximū.diliges enī dominum deū tuum Matth.22.
ex toto corde tuo:& ꝓximum tuū ſicut teipſum.Sed & dominus dicit.
Hęc eſt vita æterna vt cognoſcāt te ſolū verū deū:& quē miſiſti IHESVM Ioan.17.
CHRISTVM.& illud Ioānis.Mādatum nouum do vobis vt diligatis Ioan.13.

inuicē:in his enim duobus mādatis/tota lex pēdet & prophetæ. Dicite ergo
eis qui taliter docēt:quomodo legē ponūt/incognitū eſſe patrē CHRISTI
prædicātes?quomodo etiā:cū infidelem inimicitiā inuicē habēt/dilectionē
autē futurorū negligūt/pręſentia diſſimulāt?quæ vētura ſunt:tanq̄ præſentia
eſſe putāt/et tāq̄ ſōnia et phantaſiā exiſtimāt.mādata cōtēnunt/viduā et
orphanū deſpiciunt:vinctū deridēt/reſurrectionē fruſtrāt. Huiuſmodi oēs
Gene.3. nepotes ſūt illiꝰ inueterati malorū ſpiritus/qui et Adā per mulierē mādatū
Gene.4. trāſgredi perſuaſit.qui et Abel per Cain occidit:qui et Iob decipere conatus
Iob.1. eſt.qui et Ieſu filio Ioſedech reſiſtere tētauit:qui & apoſtolorū fidē ſubuertere
Zacha.3. voluit/et Iudæorū multitudinē aduerſus dn̄m ſuſcitauit.qui & nūc
Lucæ.22. operatur in filijs diffidētiæ. A quibus eruat nos dn̄s Iheſus Chriſtus.qui
patrē deprecatus eſt:vt nō deficeret fides apoſtolorū.nō ꝙ nō ſufficeret cuſtodire
eā:ſed gaudēs de patris eminētia/ipſū deprecatus eſt pro eis. Dignū
eſt ergo a talibꝰ abſtinere:et neqꝫ propriū cū his/neqꝫ cōmune colloquiū habere.
ſed intēdere legi & prophetis/et euāgelizātibus vobis ſalutare verbū.
Nefādas vero hereſes & ſciſmata faciētes/fugite:ſicut principatū malorū.
Oēs epiſcopū ſequimini/ſicut Chriſtus IHESVS patrē:preſbyteros ſicut
apoſtolos/diaconos autē veneramini ſicut mādato dei miniſtrātes. Nemo
Euchariſtia p̄ter epiſcopū aliquid agat eorū q̄ ad eccleſiā ꝑtinēt. Firma euchariſtia reputet̄:
quę ab epiſcopo cōceſſa fuerit. Vbi epiſcopus præſēs fuerit:illuc & plebs
cōgreget̄.ſicuti & vbi Chriſtus eſt:oīs cœleſtis militia adeſt/tanq̄ principi
militiæ virtutis dn̄i.& ipſe eſt diſpēſator totius ītelligibilis naturę. Propterea
nō licet ſine epiſcopo:neqꝫ offerre/neqꝫ ſacrificiū īmolare/neqꝫ miſſas celebrare.
Sed ſi ei viſū fuerit ſcd̄m beneplacitū dei:tūc demū tutū & firmū erit.
Ergo oīa quæcūqꝫ agitis et facitis iā/mutabilia ſūt:vt corrigamꝰ nos in deo/
cū tēpus habemus pœnitēdi. Quod enī incertū eſt:nō habet cōfeſſionē. Ecce
Eccēs.12. enī homo inquit:& opera eius cū eo. Sicut ſcriptū eſt:honora inquit fili
.1.petri.2. deū/& regē.ego autē dico:honorate quidē deū & authorē omniū et dn̄m.
epiſcopū autē tanq̄ principē ſacerdotū:imaginē dei ferentē/pricipatū quidē
ſecundū deū:ſacerdotiū vero ſecundū Chriſtū.et poſt hūc/honorare oportet
etiā regē. Nemo enī potior eſt deo:neqꝫ ſimilis ei.neqꝫ epiſcopo ī eccleſia
honorabilior:ſacerdotiū dei gerēti ꝓ mūdi ſalute.neqꝫ regi quis ſimilis eſt
in exercitu:pacē & beniuolētiā oībus principibus cogitāti. Qui enī honorat
epiſcopū/honorabit̄ a deo:& qui inhonorauerit eū/a deo inhonorabit̄. Si
enim quis cōtra regē inſurgēs/dānatione dignus eſt:quomodo vltionē euadere
poterit/qui p̄ter epiſcopū aliquid egerit? Sacerdotiū enī ſūma eſt omniū
bonorū:quæ in hoībus cōſtāt.quod ſi quis inhonorauerit:deū inhonorat/et
Coloſ.1. dn̄m IHESVM Chriſtum primogenitū totius creaturæ/& ſolū natura
principē/ſacerdotē dei. Omnia bene vobis ordinate:quę mādata ſūt in
Chriſto. Laici diaconis ſubditi ſint:diaconi preſbyteris/preſbyteri epiſcopo/
epiſcopus Chriſto:ſicut ipſe patri. Secūdū ꝙ vos me refeciſtis fratres:et
vos dn̄s Iheſus Chriſtus.abſentē me & præſentē dilexiſtis:retribuat vobis
deus ꝓpter quē tanta in vinctū eius oſtēdiſtis.& ſi quidē nō ſum ſufficiēs:
Matth.10. ſed tamē deuotio veſtra grādis eſt. Si quis enī honorauerit prophetā in nomine
prophetæ:mercedē ꝓphetæ accipiet. Manifeſte & qui honorat vinctū

CHRISTI IHESV: mercedē martyrū accipiet. Philoni et Gaio/et Agathopo qui me ſequūtur in verbo dei/qui ſunt miniſtri Chriſti: benefeciſtis ſuſcipiēdo eos ſicut miniſtros dei. qui et maximas gratias agūt domino pro vobis: quoniā refeciſtis eos oībus modis. Nichil vobis reputabitur ad peccatū: de ijs quę eis impēdiſtis. det vobis dñs iuenire miſericordiā apud deū. In illa die pro animabus veſtris/ſpiritus meus & vincula mea ſint: quæ nō ſpreuiſtis/nō erubuiſtis. hæc eſt ꝑfecta ſpes in Chriſto Iheſu. Orationes veſtræ appropinquauerūt ad Antiochenā eccleſiā: cui & pacifici eſtis. Vnde et vinctus: ōnes ſaluto. et non ſum dignus eſſe vltimus eorū. ſed ſecundū dei voluntatē dignus effectus ſum/nō ex mea ꝓuidentia: ſed ex gratia dei. quā opto perfectā michi tribui: vt per veſtras orationes deū merear adipiſci. vt opus veſtrū perfectū ſit in cœlo & in terra. Decet ergo vos in honorē dei curā gerere deo dignæ eccleſiæ dei/quæ eſt in Syria: & gratulari eis/quia pacifici ſunt. et perceperūt ſuā magnificentiā: et reſtituta eſt in corpore eorū. Sed michi viſū eſt mittere illuc cū epiſtola: vt glorificēt tranquillitatē quæ eis ſecundo cōtigit/et quietē. Ego vero merui portū tutiſſimū orationibus veſtris. Cū ſitis perfecti: perfecta cogitate/ſentite/ſapite. Volētibus eni vobis bene agere: etiā deus paratus eſt vobis præſtare. Salutat vos dilectio fratrum veſtrorū/quæ eſt in Troia: vnde & ſcribo vobis per Burgū quē miſiſtis mecū vna cū Epheſijs fratribus veſtris: qui me refecit in oībus. Et debuerāt quidē omnes imitari: quia exēplum eſt miniſterij dei. retribuet ei dñs gratiā in omnibus. Saluto deo dignū epiſcopū veſtrum Polycarpū: et deo decētiſſimum preſbyterū. et Chriſtoforus diaconus meus: & cōſeruus/et ſpecialiter & generaliter ōnes in nomine domini IHESV Chriſti/& in ſanguine ipſius/et in paſſione/& in reſurrectione carnali/et ſpirituali in vnitate dei & veſtra. Gratia vobis & miſericordia/pax & patiētia in ōnibus in Chriſto. Saluto domos fratrū meorū cum vxoribus & filijs: ſed et virgines & viduas. Incolumes eſtote in virtute dei patris. Salutat vos Philon cōdiaconus qui eſt mecum. Saluto domū Graniæ: quā opto firmari fide/& deuotione carnali et ſpirituali. Saluto Alcem deſiderabile nomē michi/& Daphniū ſpirituale et bonū filiū. et oēs nominatim incolumes eſtote in gratia dei/et domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti: repleti ſpiriru ſancto/& ſapiētia ſancta atq; diuina. Amen.

Philon.
Gaius.
Agathopꝰ.
Burgus.
Policarpus
Chriſtoforꝰ
Philon.
Grania.
Alces.
Daphnius.

¶ Ad Polycarpum epiſcopū Smyrnenſium de illuminatis. Epiſt. VII.

IGnatius epiſcopus Antiochiæ qui & teſtis IHESV Chriſti: Polycarpo epiſcopo Smyrnenſiū. Suſcipiēs autē tuā ſententiā tanq̄ ſupra immobilē petrā fundatā/quoniā deſidero promereri faciē tuā immaculatā/quā acquiſiui in dño: rogo te in gratia dei qua inductus es/adijcere ad curſum tuū/et rogare oēs vt ſaluētur in Chriſto. Defende locū tuū in omni diligētia. vnitatis curā habeto: qua nichil melius eſt. Omnes baiula: quo modo & te Chriſtus. Omnes ſuffer in dilectione. orationibus indeſinēter vaca. ampliorē prudentiā q̄ habes poſtula. vigila inobdormibilē ſpiritū poſſidens. ſecundū adiutoriū dei loquere. omniū infirmitates porta: vt perfectus athleta/quomodo & dominus omniū. Ipſe eni (inquit) infirmitates noſtras portauit: et languores noſtros abſtulit. vbi eni magnus fuerit labor: ibi etiā

Eſa. 53.

maius lucrū eſt. Si bonos diſcipulos amaueris: nō eſt tibi gratia. magis autem peſtiferos ſubiuga in māſuetudinē. Non omne enī vulnus: vno emplaſtro curat̃. acredines atqꝫ vehemētias embrocha cōpeſce. Aſtutus eſto vt ſerpens: & ſimplex vt colūba. propterea enī ex anima & corpore carnaliter et ſpiritualiter extas: vt oīa quæ tibi oſtēſa fuerint in facie/corrigas. quę autē tibi inuiſibilia fuerint: pete vt tibi manifeſtētur. vt tibi nichil reſtet: ſed totius gratiæ abundans ſis. Tēpus depoſcit/te tanq̄ gubernatorē proſperū petere: et ſicut naui periclitāti portū aptū ad ſalutē requirere. Sic & te dei athletam pręſta: vt veſtē incorruptionis & vitā æternā ꝑcipias: pro qua et tu cōfidis in oībus. pro anima tua ego efficiar/& vincula mea quæ dilexiſti. Qui ſe arbitrātur fide dignos eſſe/& aliter docēt: nō te circūueniant. ſed ſta firmus ſicut incus quæ percutit̃. Magni enī athletæ eſt vapulare: & vincere. maxime autē pro deo oīa oportet nos ſuſtinere: vt ipſe ſuſtineat nos in regno. Plurimū adde ad feſtinationē. cōtinuanter curre. tēpora cognoſce: vt in ipſis ſemper vincas. hic eſt enī ſtadiū: illic corona expectat Chriſtum filiū dei. intemporalē: in tēpore. inuiſibilē natura: viſibilē in carne. impalpabilē & intactū: vt corporeū vero propter nos/& cōtrectabilē. impaſſibilē vt deum: paſſibilem vero propter nos in hominem. Amen.

Embrocha fomētū eſt et infuſio. medicinæ vocabulū.

¶ Ad Antiochenſes ex Philippis. Epiſt. VIII.

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: eccleſiæ Antiochēſi miſericordiam a CHRISTO cōſecutæ/habitāti in Syria (quæ prima Chriſti cognomē accepit) quæ eſt ī Antiochia: in deo patre/& domino Iheſu Chriſto ſalutē. Leuia michi et inonerōſa fecit dn̄s vincula: cū didiciſſem pacificos vos eſſe/& in omni cōcordia carnali & ſpirituali vos trāſigere. Rogo igit̃ vos ego vinctus in dn̄o: digne ambulare in ea vocatione qua vocati eſtis/cuſtodiētes vos ab introeūtibus hereſibus malignis/ad ſeductionē & ꝑditionē cōſentiētiū eis. intēdere autē apoſtolorū doctrinę: et legi atqꝫ ꝓphetis credere/omniūqꝫ Iudæorū aut paganorū errorē abijcere. & neqꝫ deorū multitudinē admittere: neqꝫ Chriſtum ad excuſationē vnius dei negare. Moſe fideli famulo dei ad populū dicēte: dn̄s deus tuus/deus vnus eſt. & vnū atqꝫ ſolum prædicās deū: cōfeſſus eſt ſtatim etiā dn̄m noſtrū dicens. Pluit dominus ſuꝑ Sodomā et Gomorrā ignē et ſulphur a domino de cœlo. Et iterū. et dixit deus. faciamus hominē ad imaginē & ſimilitudinē noſtrā. Et rurſū. Et fecit deus hominē/ad imaginē dei fecit illum. et paulo poſt. Ad imaginē dei fecit hominē. Et quia naſciturus erat homo/ſic ait: prophetā ſuſcitabit vobis dn̄s deus veſter ſicut me. Nam & ꝓphetæ ex perſona dei dixerūt. ego deus primus/& ego poſt hæc: et præter me nō eſt deus. Hoc autē de patre omniū dixerūt. De domino noſtro IHESV Chriſto: rurſum ꝓphetę proclamauerūt dicētes. Ecce puer natus eſt nobis/et filius datus eſt nobis/cuius initiū eſt deſuper: et vocabitur inquiūt nomē eius magni cōſilij angelus/ammirabilis cōſiliarius/deus fortis/poteſtatē habēs/princeps pacis. Nam et de incarnatiōe eius ex virgine dicūt. Ecce virgo cōcipiet in vtero/et pariet filiū: et vocabit̃ nomē eius emanuel. Et de paſſione eius nichilominꝰ adiecerūt dicētes. Sicut ouis ad occiſionē ductus eſt: et ſicut agnꝰ corā tōdēte ſine voce.

Actuū. 11.
Deute. 11.
Gene. 19.
Gene. 1.
Deute. 18.
Eſaiæ 43.
Eſaiæ. 9.
Eſaiæ. 7.
Eſaiæ. 53.

Et iterū ipſe de ſeipſo referēs dicit:ego autem ſicut agnus innocens ductus ſum ad immolandū.Nam euangeliſtæ vnum ſolum verum deū eſſe patrē aſſerentes: etiā ea quæ ad dn̄m noſtrū Iheſum Chriſtum pertinēt nō prętermiſerunt/ſed potius exacte ſcripſerūt dicētes.In principio erat verbū: & verbū erat apud deū/& deus erat verbū.hoc erat in principio apud deum. omnia per ipſum facta ſunt:& ſine ipſo factū eſt nichil.Sed & de incarnatione eius ſubiunxerunt dicentes.et verbū caro factū eſt:& habitauit in nobis.Et iterum.Liber(inquiunt)generationis Iheſu Chriſti/filij Dauid/ filij Abrahā.Apoſtoli quoq; Chriſti aſſerentes quia deus vnus eſt:adiecerunt dicentes.vnus deus:vnus & mediator dei & hoīm.Et de incarnatione eius ac paſſione eius non erubuerūt:ſed potius fiducialiter ſubiūxerūt dicētes. homo Chriſtus Iheſus:qui dedit ſemetipſum pro ſæculi vita.Oīs ergo qui vnū deū annunciat/intercipit autē Chriſti diuinitatem:filius eſt diaboli/ & inimicus oīs iuſtitiæ.Qui autē non cōfitetur Chriſtū/filiū eius eſſe qui fecit mundū/ſed alterius cuiuſdā incogniti pręter eum quē prædicat lex et prophetę:hic organū eſt ipſius diaboli.Quicunq; autē incarnationē Chriſti recuſat/et crucē eius erubeſcit propter quam ego vinctus ſum:hic eſt antichriſtus.Quicunq; vero purū hominē dicit eſſe Chriſtū:maledictus eſt ſecūdū dictum prophetæ/non in deū fidens ſed in hominē tantū.propterea et infructuoſus eſt:queādmodū Tamariſcus quæ eſt in deſerto.Hæc ſcribo vobis cum ſim Chriſti nouella oliuę/non ignorans vos taliter ſapere:ſed pręcuſtodio vos ſicut pater filios ſuos.videte ergo malignos operarios/ inimicos crucis Chriſti:quorū finis interitus/quorū deus vēter eſt/ quorū gloria in confuſione eorū.videte canes rabidos/ſerpētes ſuper pectus repētes:dracones ſquamoſos et aſpides/baſiliſços et ſcorpiones.Hi enī ſunt thoes/vulpes et ſimiæ/humana imitantes.Pauli et Petri:ſancti eſtis diſcipuli. nolite perdere depoſitū:quod vobis cōmendauerunt.Mementote digne beatiſſimi Enodij paſtoris veſtri:qui primus vobis ab apoſtolis antiſtes ordinatꝰ eſt.non confundamus patrem:ſed efficiamur certi filij/et non adulterini.Scitis qualiter conuerſatus ſum inter vos.Quæ ergo præſens dicebam vobis: hęc nunc et abſens ſcribo vobis.Si quis nō diligit dominum IHESVM: ſit anathema.Imitatores mei eſtote:pro animabus veſtris ego efficiar quādo Chriſtū meruero adipiſci.mementote vinculorū meorū.Preſbyteri paſcite gregem/qui in vobis commiſſus eſt:donec oſtendat deus eum/qui futurus eſt in vobis rector.Ego autem nunc feſtino:vt CHRISTVM lucrifaciā.Diaconi agnoſcant cuius ſint dignitatis:et ſtudeāt eſſe inculpabiles/ vt ſint CHRISTI imitatores.populus ſubditus ſit preſbyteris et diaconis.virgines agnoſcāt cui ſe conſecrauerūt.Viri diligant vxores:memores quia vna vni in principio creaturæ/datę ſunt in poſſeſſionē.Mulieres honorificent viros ſuos ſicut carnē ſuā:et non audeāt proprio nomine eos vocare.Sciāt autē ſolos viros ſuos cōpares eſſe:quibus et cōiunctæ ſunt ſecūdū ordinationē dei.Parētes erudite filios eruditione ſancta.filij honorate parētes:vt bene ſit vobis/et ſitis lōgęui ſuper terrā.Domini nolite ſuperbe ſeruis vti:imitantes patientiſſimū Iob dicentē.ſi praue iudicaui ſeruū aut an-

Hiere.11.

Ioan.1

Matth.1

1.timo.2

Hiere.17

Tamariſcꝰ Tamaryx et myrica/ eadē dicūt Hieremias cap.17.Maledictꝰ q cōfidit i hoīe: et pōit carnē brachiū ſuū/& a domīo recedit cor eiꝰ. erit enim quaſi myricę i deſerto.

Thoes genꝰ lupi/habitū corporis mutās: hyeme hirtū et ęſtate nudum.

Id de viro et muliere notandum

Exo.20.

Iob.31.

cillam meam: iudicer ego ab eis. Quid enim faciā ſi interrogationem fecerit dominus de me? & cætera quæ ſequūtur bene noſtis. Serui nolite ad iracūdiā in aliquo prouocare dominos: ne forte aliqui malefaciāt vobis & voſ ipſi vobis eritis rei. Nemo ocioſus māducet: ne vagus & fornicarius efficiatur. Ebrietas/ iracundia/ inuidia/ maliloquiū/ clamor/ blaſphemia: nō nominentur in vobis. Viduæ nō in delicijs agant: ne per luxuriā abijciāt verbū. Cęſari ſubditi eſtote in ijs: in quibus ſine periculo eſt ipſa ſubiectio. Principes nolite exaſperare: ne detis occaſiones aduerſum vos quęrentibus eas. de maleficijs autem et veneficijs vel homicidio/ ex abūdanti eſt ſcribere vobiſcum: quando hæc etiam in gentibus abominabile ſit agere. Hæc autem non ſicut apoſtolus præcipio: ſed ſicut veſter conſeruus cōmemorās vobis. Saluto ſanctum preſbyterum veſtrum. Saluto ſanctos diaconos. et deſiderabile michi nomen eius: quē reſeruaui poſt me in ſpiritu ſancto/ cū Chriſtum meruero adipiſci/ pro cuius anima ego efficiar. Saluto ſubdiaconos/ lectores/ cantores/ oſtiarios/ laborantes/ exorciſtas atq; confeſſores. Saluto cuſtodes ſanctarum portarū/ diaconiſſas quę ſunt in Chriſto. Saluto ſuſceptrices Chriſti virgines: quas ego nutriui in domino Iheſu. Saluto pudiciſſimas virgines. Saluto plebē domini a minimo vſq; ad maximum/ & oēs ſorores meas in domino. Saluto Caſſianū hoſpitē meū/ & coniugem eius/ & amabiles natos eius. Salutat vos Polycarpus/ digne decentiſſimus epiſcopus: qui & curam veſtri gerit/ cui & cōmendaui vos in domino. & omnis eccleſia Smyrnenſium: memor eſt veſtri in oratione apud deum. Salutat vos Oneſymus Epheſiorum paſtor. Salutat vos Damas Magneſiæ epiſcopꝰ. Salutat vos Polybius Trallianorum antiſtes. Salutat vos Philon & Agathopus diaconi: qui me ſequuntur. Salutate inuicem in oſculo ſancto. Hæc autem a Philippis ſcribo vobis. incolumes vos ille qui eſt ſolus ingenitus: ꝑ illum qui ante ſæcula natus eſt/ ſpiritu & carne cuſtodiat/ & videam vos in CHRISTI regno. Saluto eum qui pro me futurus eſt princeps veſter: quem & acquiſiui in CHRISTO. Incolumes eſtote deo & Chriſto: illuminati ſpiritu ſancto. AMEN.

Et deſiderabile michi nomē eius: id propter ſanctū Heronē diaconū adiectū eſt.

Diaconi.
Subdiaconi.
Lectores.
Cantores.
Oſtiarij.
Exorciſtæ.
Laborātes qui et acolyti.
Cōfeſſores cuſtodes ſāctarum portarum.
Diaconiſſæ
Suſceptrices virginū
Virgines.
Plebs ſācta
Caſſianus
Polycarpꝰ
Oneſymus
Damas.
Polybius.
Philon.
Agathopꝰ.

¶ Ad Heronem eccleſiæ Antiochenę diaconū: quem ei dominus oſtendit ſeſſurum in ſede ipſius/ ex Philippis. Epiſt. IX.

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: deo honorabili/ deſiderabili/ pudico/ Chriſtifero/ ſpiritifero/ in fide & dilectiōe Heroni diacono CHRISTI/ miniſtro dei: gratia & miſericordia & pax ab omnipotente deo/ & Chriſto Iheſu domino noſtro vnigenito filio eius. qui dedit ſemetipſum pro peccatis noſtris/ vt redimeret nos de hoc præſenti ſæculo in ligno/ & ſaluos faceret in regno ſuo cœleſti. Rogo te in domino adijcere ad curſum tuum: defendere dignitatē tuā/ concordię quæ eſt ad ſanctos curam gerere. Infirmiores ſuffer: vt adimpleas legem Chriſti. ieiunijs et orationibus vaca: ſed non vltra menſuram/ ne teipſum deijcias. Vino et carnibus non ex toto abſtineas: non enim ex toto ſunt abominabiles. Bona (inquit) terrę comedetis: et carnes/ vt olera māducabitis. Sed et vinum lętificat cor hoīs: &

Eſaiæ. 1
Gene. 9

oleũ exhilarat|& panis confirmat.ſed & menſurate|& ordinate:tanq̃ deo Pſal.103.
cõcedẽte.Quis eni mãducat aut q̃s bibit p̄ter eũ? Qm̃ quicquid bonũ eſt:
eius eſt.& quicquid optimũ: eſt ipſius. Lectioni intende| vt non ſolus ipſe 2.timo.2
ſcias leges:ſed etiã alijs eas expone|vt dei athleta.Nemo militãs CHRI-
STO|implicat ſe negocijs ſæcularibus:vt placeat ei cui ſe ꝓbauit. Sed nec
vir athleta coronabitur:niſi legitime certauerit.Pro aĩa tua ego victus ſum.
Oĩs igitur qui dixerit pręter illa quę tradita ſunt:tametſi fide dignus ſit|tã-
etſi ieiunet|tametſi virginitatẽ ſeruet|tametſi ſigna faciat|tametſi ꝓphetet:
lupus tibi appareat i grege ouiũ corruptionẽ operãs.Si quis crucẽ negaue
rit|& paſſionẽ erubuerit:ſit tibi tanq̃ aduerſarius.tametſi ſubſtãtiã ſuã pau 1.corin.13
peribus diſtribuat|tametſi mõtes transferat|tametſi corpus ſuũ cõbuſtioni
tradat:ſit tibi execrabilis & abominabilis.Si quis infalſauerit legẽ & pro-
phetas quos Chriſtus p̄ſens adimpleuit: ſit tibi tanq̃ antichriſtus.Si quis
hoĩem tantũ dixerit dñm:Iudęus eſt|Chriſti interfector. Viduas honora: 1.timo.5
quę vere viduæ ſunt.pupillos tuere:deus eſt enim pater pupillorũ|et iudex Pſal.145
viduarũ. Sine epiſcopis nichil agas:ſacerdotes eni ſunt|tu vero miniſter ſa-
cerdotũ.Illi enim baptizant| ſacerdotiũ agũt|ordinãt|manus imponũt: tu
vero eis miniſtras ſicut ſanctus Stephanus Iacobo|& cęteris preſbyteris in
Hieroſolymis.Congregationẽ noli negligere: noĩatim oẽs require.Nemo 1.timo.4
adoleſcentiã tuã cõtemnat: ſed forma eſto fideliũ in verbo & conuerſatio-
ne.domeſticos ne cõfundas:communis eſt enim nobis et ipſis natura. Mu
lieres noli execrari:ipſæ eni pariũt et nutriũt. diligi ergo oportet eas gene-
rationis cauſa|tantũ in domino:quia ſine muliere vir omnino generare non
poteſt.honorare ergo eas oportet vt cooperarias generatiõis: quia neq; vir
ſine muliere|neq; mulier ſine viro aliquãdo originẽ ſortiri poterit|niſi in ſo
lis illis protoplaſtis.quia corpus Adæ ex quatuor elemẽtis eſt factũ| Eua Gene.2
vero de latere Adæ:glorioſum vero habitaculũ domini de ſola virgine.Ex-
ecrabilis quidẽ videt legitima cõmixtio:ſed deo condecẽs eſt ipſius genera-
tio.decebat enim opificẽ non ſecũdũ humanã conſuetudinẽ natiuitate vti:
ſed glorioſe|et noue| vt decebat naſci factorẽ. Superbiã fuge. Superbis eni 1.petri.4
deus reſiſtit.falſiloquiũ execrare:perdes enim omnes(inquit)qui loquũtur Pſal.5
mendacium.Inuidiã caue:author enim eius eſt diabolus|et ſucceſſor ipſius Gene.4
Cain| fratri inuidẽs| & de inuidia homicidiũ perpetrãs.Sorores meas mo-
ne deũ diligere:et ſolis viris ſuis ſufficere debere.Similiter fratres meos mo
ne:ſuis coniugibus ſufficere debere.virgines cuſtodi:tanq̃ Chriſti ſacramẽ-
ta.Longanimis eſto:vt multus ſis prudentia.Pauperibus ſecundum ꝙ ha-
bueris:benefacere ne neglexeris.Eleemoſyna enim et fide|purgantur pecca Thobiæ.12
ta.Teipſum caſtũ cuſtodi:tanq̃ dei habitaculũ.Templũ Chriſti conſtitut9
et organũ ſpiritus ſancti exiſtẽs:ſcito quomodo te enutrierim.Etſi minim9
quidem ſum:ęmulator meus eſto|et imitare conuerſationẽ meã.nõ eni glo-
rior in mũdo:ſed in domino.Heronẽ filiũ meũ moneo|vt qui gloriat|in do 12.corin.10
mino glorieẽ: cuius et memini| filij deſiderabilis. cui cuſtos fiat ille ingeni-
tus deus|et dñs IHESVS CHRISTVS.Noli oĩbus credere| neq; de
omnibus præſumere:ne quis te ſubintret.multi enim miniſtri ſũt ſathanę.

Epiſt.
9
10
Ecci. 19
Reuelatio ſancto martyri facta.
Oneſymus Vitus. Damas. Polybius.
Caſſianus.
Marius. Maria.

& qui cito credit: leuis eſt corde. Memento dei: & nunq̄ peccabis. Noli eſſe duplex animo in oratione tua: beatus eſt enī qui nō dubitauerit. Credo ergo in patrē dñi noſtri Iheſu Chriſti/ & in vnigenitū filium eius: quia oſtēdit michi Heronem in ſede mea. Ergo adde ad curſum tuū. Pręcipio tibi corā deo/ qui eſt ſuper oīa/ & corā Chriſto p̄ſente/ & ſpiritu ſancto/ et corā miniſtrātibus legionibus: cuſtodi depoſitū meū/ quod ego & dñs Chriſtus cōmēdauimus tibi. Et ne indignū te iudicaueris eorū: quæ oſtēſa ſunt michi/ de te a dño. Cōmēdo ergo tibi eccleſiā Antiochenſiū. Cōmēdaui vos Polycarpo in dño Iheſu Chriſto. Salutant te epiſcopi Oneſymus/ Vitus/ Damas/ Polybius/ & oēs a Philippis: vnde ſcripſi tibi. Saluta deo decētes preſbyteros. Saluta ſanctos condiaconos tuos: quos ego enutriui in dño/ in carne & ſpiritu. Saluta populū dñi a minimo vſqꝫ ad maximū ſecundū oīa q̄ tibi cōmēdo: ſicut Moſes Ieſu duci exercitus. Et nō tibi videat̃ oneroſū/ q̄d dictū eſt de te: etſi tales nō ſumus quales illi fuerūt. ſed tamē oramus vt tales ſimus: quia filij Abrahę ſumus. Cōfortare ergo Hero potēter/ & age viriliter. Tu enim introduces & educes ex hoc nūc/ populū dñi qui eſt in Antiochia: & non erit ſynagoga dñi ſicut oues non habētes paſtorem. Saluta Caſſianū hoſpitē meū/ et illā pudiciſſimā eius coniugem/ & dilectiſſimos filios eorū: quibus det deus inuenire miſericordiā apud deum in illa die miniſtrationis quę eſt ad nos. quos & cōmēdo tibi in Chriſto. Saluta eos qui ſunt in Laodicia fideles omnes: ſecundū nomina in CHRISTO. Eos qui ſunt in Tharſo noli negligere: ſed aſſidue eis intende/ cōfirmās eos in euangelio. Marium epiſcopum qui eſt in Neapoli ſecus Zarbo: ſaluto in domino. Intende etiam pudiciſſimæ Mariæ filiæ meæ: quæ eſt abunde doctiſſima. et ei quę in domo eius/ eccleſię: quę facta eſt michi pro aīa mea exemplum pijſſimarum mulierum. Sanum te & in omnibus probabilem: pater CHRISTI æuo longiore per ipſum vnigenitū ſuū cuſtodiat/ ad vtilitatē eccleſiæ. Incolumis in domino ora pro me: vt conſummem. AMEN.

¶ Ad Epheſios de vnitate ex Smyrna. Epiſt. X.

Ephe. 5

IGnatius qui & Theophorus: benedictæ/ magnitudine repletæ dei patris/ & p̄deſtinatę ante ſęcula: vt ſit ſemꝑ in ſingulari gloria incōuertibilis/ & adunata/ et electa in paſſione vera/ in voluntate dei patris et dñi noſtri Iheſu Chriſti ſaluatoris: eccleſię beatitudine dignę/ q̄ eſt Epheſi in Aſia plurimā in Chriſto Iheſu et īmaculato gaudio ſalutē. Suſcepi veſtrū in dño multū deſiderabile nomē/ quod poſſidetis natura iuſta ſecundū fidē et dilectionē ī Chriſto Iheſu ſaluatore noſtro. cū ſitis imitatores humanitatis dei/ vt viuificati in ſāguine Chriſti/ regenerationis charitatis geminū opus conſūmate: audientes me de Syria vinctū pro Chriſto/ ſpe communi confidentē orationibus veſtris/ vt merear Romę beſtijs dimicare. vt per martyriū poſſim diſcipulus eius eſſe: qui pro nobis ſeipſum obtulit deo hoſtiā & oblationē/ in odorē bonę ſuauitatis. Quoniā ergo ſuſcepi multitudinem in nomine dñi Chriſti in Oneſymo dilecto ſcriptore noſtro/ veſtro aūt epiſcopo: obſecro eū ſecūdū IHeſum CHriſtū diligere vos. et vos ōnes

in concordia eius in ipſo eſſe. Benedictus enim deus: qui vobis talibus talē Burrus.
epiſcopū donauit habere in Chriſto. Pro cōſeruo noſtro autē Burro/ ſecun
dū deū diacono veſtro/& in oībus benedicto: dep̄cor permanere eū imacu Crocus.
latū in honore eccleſię/& beatiſſimi epiſcopi veſtri. Crocus vero deo dignꝰ/ honeſipho
quē tanq̄ exēplar dilectionis veſtrę ſuſcepi: in oībus me refecit/& catenam rus.
meā nō erubuit/ſimul cū Honeſiphoro & Burro/& Euplo/& Phrontone: Euplus.
quibus refrigeret pater domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti/per quē vos oēs in dile Phronto.
ctione habui. Acquiſiui vos in oībus: ſi quidē dignus fuero. dignū eſt enim
oībus modis vos glorificare IHESVM CHRISTVM/qui vos glorifi-
cauit: vt in vna perfectione perfecti ſitis/in eodē ſenſu/& in eadē ſentētia. vt
idipſum dicatis oēs de eo ipſo: vt ſubiecti epiſcopo & preſbyteris ſecundū
omnia ſanctificati. Nō pręcipio vobis: quaſi aliquis ſim. Et ſi quidē vinctꝰ
ſum pro noīe Iheſu Chriſti: tamē necdū cōſummaui. Nūc enī initiū habeo
eruditionis: & alloquor vos tanq̄ conſeruos. Me autē oportebat a vobis cō
moneri fide/monitione/patiētia/lōganimitate: quoniā dilectio nō permittit
me tacere de vobis. Propterea pręueni rogare vos/vt concurratis diſpoſiti-
oni dei: quia & IHESVS CHRISTVS oīa ſecundū diſpoſitionē patris Ioan. 8
agit. ſicut & ipſe in quodā loco dicit: ego quę placita ſunt ei facio ſemꝑ. Er
go et nos oportet ſecundū diſpoſitionē dei viuere in Chriſto: et ęmulari ſe- 1. corin. 4
cundū quod Paulus ait. Imitatores mei eſtote: ſicut et ego Chriſti. Vnde et
vos decet diſpoſitionē paſtorū ſequi: qui ſecundū deum vos paſcunt. quod
etiam ipſi facitis ſapienter a ſpiritu ſancto inſtructi. Illud ergo digne nomi
nandū/et deo dignū preſbyteriū/ita coaptatū ſit epiſcopo: quomodo chor
de in cithara colligatę. ita et ipſi in concordia et cōſona dilectione: cuius dux
et cuſtos eſt Iheſus Chriſtus. Et qui ſunt ſigillatim ōnes vnus chorus fiant/
vt conſonātes facti in vnitate/coniunctionem domini in ſimilitudinem mo
rum recipientes. in vnitate vnum effecti conſenſu/ deo patri et dilectiſſimo
filio eius Iheſu Chriſto domino noſtro: ſecundum ꝙ ipſe patrē rogans di- Ioan. 17
cit. Da illis pater ſancte/vt ſicut ego et tu vnū ſumus: ita et hi in nobis vnū
ſint. Vtile eſt enim vos ſine macula in vnitate coniunctos deo/imitatores eſ
ſe Chriſti: cuius et mēbra eſtis. Si ego in paruo tēpore talē cōſuetudinē ha
bui circa epiſcopū veſtrū/quæ nō humana ſed ſpiritualis fuit: quāto magis
vos beatifico qui pendetis ad eum/quomodo eccleſia ad dominum IHE-
SVM/et ipſe dominus ad deū patrē ſuum/vt in vnitate omnia ſibi conſo-
nantia ſint. nemo oberret. Si quis non fuerit intra altare: fraudabitur pane Matth. 18
dei. Si enim vnius aut duorum oratio tantam habet virtutem/ vt CHRI-
STVS in eis conſiſtat: quanto magis ſacerdotis et ſancti populi ſupplica-
tio conſonanter aſcendēs ad deū/ perſuadet præſtare eis omnes petitiones
in Chriſto. Qui ergo a talibus ſeparatur/et nō conuenerit in congregatio-
ne ſacrificiorū eccleſiæ primogenitorum deſcriptorum in cœlo: lupus eſt
in grege ouium/manſuetam demōſtrans figuram. Feſtinate ergo dilectiſſi
mi: ſubditi eſſe epiſcopo/et preſbyteris/et diaconis. Qui enī iſtis ſubditꝰ fue
rit: CHRISTO obedit/qui eis hoc cōceſſit. Qui vero eis nō cōſenſerit: Ihe
ſu Chriſto nō conſentit. Qui autē filio non conſenſerit: nō videbit vitam/

ſed ira dei manebit ſuper eū.huiuſmodi ergo/temerarius & horribilis et ſuperbus:
Iaco.4 qui non eſt ſubditus potioribus.Superbis enī(inquit) deus reſiſtit:
Pſal.118 humilibus autē dat gratiā.Et iterū.ſuperbi inique geſſerunt vſqꝫquaqꝫ.Dicit
Luce.10 etiā dn̄s ſacerdotibus.Qui enim vos audit:me audit.& qui me audierit:
audiet illū qui me miſit.& qui vos ſpernit:me ſpernit.et qui me ſpernit: ſpernit
eum qui me miſit.Quando enim videtis tacere epiſcopum:plus eum timete.
Omnē itaqꝫ quem mittit paterfamilias pro ſua diſpenſatione:ſic nos
oportet ſuſcipere/quemadmodū ipſum qui mittit.Ergo epiſcopum manifeſte
ſicut ipſū dominum oportet contemplari: domino aſſiſtentem.proſpectorem
enim verum/& acutum in operibus ſuis/ regibus oportet aſſiſtere:
honeſym9 & non aſſiſtere hominibus infirmis.Ipſe enim Honeſymus laudat veſtram
diſpenſationem.quia omnes ſecundum deum viuitis:& quia nulla hereſis
inter vos habitat.ſed nec obeditis alicui:niſi Iheſu Chriſto vero paſtori/ &
Ephe.4 doctori.& eſtis quēadmodū Paulus vobis ſcripſit/ vnū corpus & vnus ſpiritus:
quoniam in vna ſpe fidei cōcluſi eſtis.vnus enim dominus/vna fides/
vnū baptiſma/vnus deus & pater omniū:qui ſuper omnes/& per omnia/et
Paulus Timothe9. in ōnibus.vos ergo eſtote tales:qui a tali eruditi eſtis.hoc eſt a Paulo Chriſtifero
& Timotheo.Quidā autē fallaces conſueuerūt dolo maligno nomē
Chriſti circūportare.Sed aliquanta indigna deo agentes/& contra doctrinā
Chriſti ſapiētes:ad interitum ſuū ſibimetipſis conſentiunt.quos oportet
Prouer.16 vos tanq̄ beſtias declinare.Iuſtus(inquit)declinās/euadet interitū:extraneus
Eſaie.56 eteni atqꝫ alienus erit ab impiorū perditione.Sunt igit̄ canes muti nō
valētes latrare/rabidi occulte.quos obſeruare oportet/inſanabilē languorē
habentes.Medicus autē noſter eſt ſolus verus deus ingenitus/et inuiſibilis
dn̄s oīm/vnigeniti pater & genitor.Habemus autē medicū etiā dominum
Ioan.1 noſtrū Iheſum Chriſtū/ante ſæcula filium vnigenitum/& in principio verbū/
Maria virgo. poſtea vero et hominē ex Maria virgine.verbū enī(inquit)caro factum
eſt.incorporalis:in corpore.impaſſibilis:in corpore paſſibili.immortalis:in
corpore mortali.vita:in corruptione/vt de corruptione & morte liberet animas
noſtras/ & ſanet eas infuſas morbo impietatis & iniquis deſiderijs.
Nullus ergo veſtrum ſeducatur:quod & de vobis cōfido.homines etenim
eſtis.Quando eteni nichil in vobis fuerit/quod vos potuerit coinquinare et
tormentū ſuꝑinducere:ſecundū deū viuetis.et erit Chriſti ſubiectio veſtra:
et eccleſiæ Epheſiorū quæ eſt auxiliatrix/et multū amabilis.Carnales eni
ſpiritualia nō poſſunt agere:neqꝫ ſpirituales carnalia.ſicut nec fides:ea quę
ſūt infidelitatis.neqꝫ infidelitas:ea q̄ ſunt fidei.Vos ergo repleti ſpiritu ſancto:
nichil carnale/ſed omnia ſpiritualia agite.vnuſquiſqꝫ veſtrū ꝑfectus ſit
1.timo.4 in Chriſto Iheſu:qui eſt ſaluator oīm hominū/maxime fidelium.Agnoui
eni aliquos ex vobis a via veritatis diſcedētes:malā doctrinā habere alieni
et næquiſſimi ſpiritus.Quibus nō tribuiſtis ſecus viā ſeminare zizania:obturātes
aures ad non ſuſcipiendū errorē/qui ab ipſis eſt prędicatus.ſciētes
quia huiuſmodi ſpiritus eſt erroris:nō ea quę ſunt Chriſti/ſed ſua loquens.
falſiloquus eteni eſt.Sanctus autē ſpiritus nō ſua propria loquitur: ſed ea
Ioan.14. quę ſūt Chriſti.neqꝫ Chriſt9 ſua nūciat.Sermo(inquit)quē audiſtis nō eſt

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meus:ſed eius qui me miſit.de ſpiritu ſãcto dicit.Non enĩ loquetur a ſe:ſed Ioan.16
quæcũq; audierit a me.De ſe autẽ patri.Ego te glorificaui ſuper terrã:op9 Ioan.17
perfeci quod dediſti michi vt facerẽ/manifeſtaui nomẽ tuũ hoibus.De ſpiritu
ſancto ait.Ille me glorificabit ſuper terrã: quia de meo accipiet/& annũciabit Ioan.16
vobis.Ergo vterq; eorũ/ipſum glorificat:a quo & accepit quod faceret.
& ipſum p̃dicat:atq; eius verba pronunciat.Erroris autẽ ſpiritus:ſeipſum
p̃dicat/ſua prophetia dicẽs.ſibi placens etenĩ eſt:& ſeipſum glorificat.
acerbus namq; eſt/plenus exiſtẽs falſiloquio/ſeductor/lubricus/ſuperbus/
arrogãs/verboſus/diſſonus/immẽſuratus/nigriformis/tumidus.De cuius
operationibus liberauit nos IHESVS CHRISTVS: fundans nos ſuper
petrã tanq̃ lapides electos(qui apti ſunt ad ædificiũ dei patris/eleuati
in altum a Chriſto qui pro nobis crucifixus eſt)confortatos ſpiritu ſancto
in fide introductos/in ſpe & dilectione eleuatos a terra in cœlũ/ambulãtes
ĩmaculate.Beati enim(inquit)immaculati in via:qui ambulant in lege dñi. Pſal.118
Via enim ſine errore eſt Iheſus Chriſtus/ſicut ipſe ait:ego ſum via/veritas Ioan.14
& vita.deducit autẽ hæc via ad patrẽ.Nemo enĩ(inquit)venit ad patrẽ:niſi
per me.Beati ergo eſtis vos deiferi/Chriſtiferi/ſpiritiferi/ſanctiferi/tẽpliferi/ 1.petri.2
in omnibus ornati/in mandatis Iheſu Chriſti:regnũ ſacerdotale/gẽs ſancta/
populus in acquiſitionem.In quibus exultans:dignus effectus ſum per
quos ſcribo/alloqui ſanctos qui ſunt Epheſi/fideles in Chriſto Iheſu.Gaudeo
enĩ in vobis quia vanitati non intenditis:neq; ea quę ſecundũ carnẽ ſũt
diligitis/ſed ea quę ſecundũ deũ ſunt.Sed pro alijs hoibus orate indeſinẽter.
Eſt enĩ in illis ſpes:vt deũ mereant̃ adipiſci.nunquid qui cadit(inquit) Hiere.8
non adijciet vt reſurgat: aut qui auertitur nõ conuertet̃? Cõuertimini ergo
ad doctrinã:eſtote miniſtri dei/& os Chriſti.dicit enĩ deus.Si abduxeritis Hiere.15
precioſum ab indigno:os meũ eritis.Eſtote ergo ad iracundias eorũ humiles:
renunciate blaſphemijs eorum.vos vero orationi inſtate.illis errantib9:
vos ſtabiles eſtote/radicati in fide.Vincite eorum ferocem conſuetudinem:
per veſtram manſuetudinem.& iracundiam:per lenitatem.Beati enim(inquit) Matth.5
mites.nam & Moſes manſuetus ſupra omnes fuit:& Dauid mitis Numeri.12
valde.propter quod Paulus monet dicens.Seruum autem domini non 1.regũ.24
oportet litigare/ſed mitem eſſe ad omnes:docibilem/patientem/cum omni 2.timo.2
modeſtia corripientem eos qui reſiſtunt veritati.Nolite feſtinare:vlciſci
volentes vos.Si reddidi:retribuentibus michi mala.fratres ęos faciamus: Pſal.7
per manſuetudinem.dicite itaq; ijs qui oderunt vos/fratres noſtri eſtis:vt
nomẽ domini glorificetur.Imitemur ſcilicet dominũ/qui cũ malediceretur 1.petri.2
nõ maledicebat:cũ pateretur non comminabatur/cum crucifigeretur nõ cõtradicebat:
ſed pro inimicis ſuis orabat dicẽs.Pater dimitte illis:quia neſciunt Lucę.23
quid faciũt.Cui plus nocetur:ampliora ſuſtineat.Beatus qui abiectus Matth.5
et reprobatus fuerit propter nomen domini:ipſe etenim verus eſt CHRISTI.
Videte ne herba diaboli inueniatur in vobis:amara etenĩ eſt/et falſa.
Ergo ſobrij eſtote/& caſti in Chriſto Iheſu.iam enĩ nouiſſima tẽpora ſunt.
Reuereamur et timeamus lõganimitatẽ dei:et nõ ſim9 diuitiarũ aut vtilitatũ
rerũ appetitores.Futurã iracundiã plus timeamus:q̃ p̄ſentẽ gratiam

diligamus. Præſens enim gratia eſt vt inueniamur in CHRISTO IHESV
;et in veritate viuamus. Extra hoc autem: nec reſpirare oportet aliquādo.
Hęc eſt enim ſpes mea: hęc exultatio/ hęc deniqꝫ indeficiētes diuitię. In
quo & vincula mea a Syria Romā vſqꝫ ſuffero/ ſpirituales margaritas. in
quibus michi contingat cōſummari orationibus veſtris. participē paſſionū
Chriſti/ cōmunē & mortis eius fieri & a mortuis reſurrectionis et vitę ęternæ.
quā michi cōtingat ꝑcipere: vt ī ſorte Epheſiorū Chriſtianorū iueniar.
Apoſtoli. Qui & cū apoſtolis ſempꝑ cōuerſati ſunt in virtute Iheſu Chriſti: Paulo/ Ioanne
Paulus. / & Timotheo fideliſſimo. Scio qui ſunt: et quibus ſcribo. Ego itaqꝫ minimus
Ioannes. ſum: & ſupplex ſub periculis et iudicijs et lōge cōſtitut9. vos vero cō
Timothe9. ſecuti eſtis miſericordiā: firmi in Chriſto. Traditus ſum autē ꝓpter deū generi
interfectorū: a ſanguine Abel iuſti/ ad ſanguinē Ignatij minimi. Pauli
enī ſacti eſtis cōminiſtri: & teſtimoniū cōſummatis eius/ qui eſt vas electionis.
Sub veſtigia eius merear inueniri/ & ceterorū ſanctorū: quādo Iheſum
Chriſtū meruero adipiſci. qui ſemper in ſuis orationibus memor ſit veſtri.
eucharistia Feſtinate ergo frequenter accedere ad euchariſtiā/ et gloriā dei. Quādo enī
aſſidue hoc ipſū agit̄: expellunt̄ poteſtates ſathanę/ qui actus ſuos cōuertit
Ipſius/ ipſi9 in ſagittas ignitas ad peccatū. veſtra autē cōcordia et cōſonās fides: ipſi9 eſt
ſathanę. et īteritus/ et cōſentaneis eius tormētū. Nichil enī melius eſt q̄ pacē habere: in
cōſētaneis/ qua oē telū euacuatnr/ aeriorū & terreſtriū ſpirituū. Nō eſt nobis colluctatio
cōplicibus aduerſus carnē et ſanguinē: ſed aduerſus principatū et poteſtates/ aduer
ſuis. ſus mundi rectores tenebrarū harū/ aduerſus ſpiritualia nequitię in cœleſtibus.
Ephe. 6.
Ephe. 4. Ergo nolite vos vulnerare in aliqua cōtagione diaboli: ſicuti & Paulus
dicit/ habētes in Chriſtū fidē/ et dilectionē. quę eſt pricipiū vitę et finis.
Principiū quidē vitę eſt fides: finis vero eius/ eſt dilectio. Ambę vero ſimul
iūctæ in vnitate factę: hoīem dei ꝑficiūt. Sed et reliqua oīa quę in beniuolētia
ſequunt̄: cōſummāt. Nemo enī fidē annūcians debet peccare: neqꝫ dilectionē
Matth. 22. poſſidēs/ debet fratrē ſuū odire. Qui enim dixit. diliges dn̄m deū tuū
ex toto corde tuo/ ipſe iterū ait: & proximū tuū ſicut teipſum. Qui enī annunciant
eſſe Chriſtū: nō ex ijs quæ dicunt tantūmodo/ ſed ex ijs quæ agūt
Matth. 12 agnoſcunt̄. Ex fructu enī arbor cognoſcit̄. Melius eſt eū igit̄ tacere & eſſe: q̄
Roma. 10 dicere & nō eſſe. quia nō in verbo eſt regnū dei: ſed in virtute. Corde enī credi
tur ad iuſtitiā: oris autē cōfeſſio fit ad ſalutē. Bonū eſt igitur docere: ſed ſi
Matth. 5 fecerit ea quæ dixerit. Qui docuerit et fecerit: hic magnus vocabitur ī regno
cœlorum. Dominus autem noſter et deus Iheſus Chriſtus/ qui eſt filius
Actuum. 1 dei viui: primo videlicet fecit et ſic docuit/ ſicut teſtatur Lucas. cuius laus eſt
2. corin. 8 in euangelio per omnes eccleſias. Nichil enim latet dominum: ſed etiam occulta
noſtra corā ipſo ſunt. Omnia ergo faciamus tanq̄ ipſo in nobis habitante:
vt ſimus eius tēpla/ et ipſe habitet in nobis. dn̄s itaqꝫ CHRISTVS
in nobis loquatur: ſicut et in Paulo ſpiritus ſanctus. nos doceat: quæ ſunt
CHRISTI reſpōdere. Adiūcti illi: nolite errare fratres mei. et ne ſitis maſculorū
1. corin. 6 cōcubitores: quia huiuſmodi regnū dei nō poſſidebūt. Qui enī habitacula
corrūpūt: morti cōdēnabunt̄. quomō nō magis qui Chriſti doctrinā
dirūpere conant̄/ ſempiternā dānationē percipiēt: ꝓpter crucē et mortē

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quam ſuſtinuit dominus IHESVS vnigenitus dei filius? Cuius doctrinā
quicūq; deprauauerit:abiectus & pollutus in gehennā proijciet. Similiter
autē & oīs homo qui ſpernet quod a deo accepit:condēnabitur. Qui impe-
ritū paſtorē ſecutus fuerit/& falſam gloriam tanq̄ verā ſuſceperit:particeps 2.corin.6.
Chriſti nō eſſe poterit. Quæ enī ſocietas luci cū tenebris:aut Chriſto cū be-
lial? aut quæ pars fideli cū infideli:aut tēplo dei cū idolis? Dico autē et ego:
quæ cōmunicatio veritati ad mendaciū? aut q̄ ſocietas iuſtitiæ cū iniuſtitia:
aut veræ gloriæ cū falſa gloria? propterea vnguentū accepit deus in capite Pſal.132.
ait eccleſia:vt fragret incorruptione. vnguentum enī exinanitū nomen tuū:
propterea adoleſcētulę dilexerūt te. attraxerunt te naribus:poſt te in odorē Canti.1.
vnguētorū tuorū curremus. Ne vnguat̄ quis fœtore huius ſæculi. ſancta dei
eccleſia nō captiuetur ab aſtutia illius:ſicut mulier prima Eua. Quapropter
cū ſimus rationabiles:nō efficiamur ſtulti. Quare plātationē quā a deo per
Chriſtū accepimus/nō cuſtodimus:ſed in iudiciū ꝑ ignorantiā incidimus.
ignorātes gratiā quam accepimus:& neſciētes perimus. quia Chriſti crux
infidelibus quidem ſcādalum:fidelibus autem ſalus/& vita æterna. Vbi ſa- 1.corin.1.
piens/vbi ſcriba/vbi conquiſitor/vbi exultatio dictorū? filius autē dei(qui
ante ſæcula natus eſt:& omnia diſpoſitione patris conſtituit)ipſe in vtero
portatus eſt a MARIA/ſecundū dei diſpoſitionem ex ſemine Dauid et Eſaiæ.7.
ſpiritu ſancto. Ecce enim inquit virgo in vtero concipiet et pariet filiū:& vo-
cabitur nomē eius Emanuel. Ipſe enim baptizatus eſt a Ioanne/vt fidelem
faceret ordinationem:quæ tradita eſt prophetis a deo. & latuit principem
huius ſęculi virginitas Mariæ:& partus eius ſimiliter/et mors domini. Tria Stella ſal-
myſteria clamaui in ſilētio:dei enim opera nobis manifeſtata ſunt. Stella in uatoris.
cœlo fulſit ſuper omnes:quæ ante ipſam erant. Et lux eius inextimabilis et
noua/atq; peregrina apparuit vidētibus eam. Cętera vero ſidera ſimul cum
ſole & luna:coruſca facta ſunt illi ſtellæ. illa vero ſuperabat omnes ſplendo-
re ſuo. Et facta eſt ꝑturbatio:vnde fuiſſet illa nouitas/quæ apparuerat. hinc
hebetata eſt ſapientia huius mundi:iniquitas & malicia exterminabantur/
maleficia adnullabantur/magica deridebantur/tenebræ & ignorantiæ diſ-
ſipabantur/& tyranni principatus abolebantur:deo vt homine apparen-
te/& hoīe ſicut deo operante. Sed neq; primo gloria/neq; ſecūdo puritas:ſed
illa veritas & cōuerſatio/principatū accepit a deo. Perfecta oīa in illo cōſta-
bant:ꝑpter quod meditatus eſt mortis ſolutionē. State ergo fratres firmi in
fide IHESV Chriſti:& in dilectione eius/atq; reſurrectione oēs. in ōnibus
enim his:gratia. In eius nomine cōgregamini cōmuniter:in vna fide dei pa-
tris/& Chriſti filij eius vnigeniti & primogeniti totius creationis/ſecūdum
carnem quidē ex genere Dauid. eruditi a paracleto:obediētes epiſcopo et
presbytero imprę uaricabili ſenſu. frāgentes panē qui eſt medicamentū im-
mortalitatis/antidotū nō moriēdi ſed viuendi per Iheſum Chriſtū in deo.
catharticū expellēs malū/ſit in vobis. Pro aīabus veſtris ego efficiar/et eius
quē miſiſtis in honorē dn̄i ad Smyrnā. vnde & ſcribo vobis:gratias agens
domino/diligēs Polycarpū/quomodo & vos. Memores eſtote mei:ſicut et
veſtri Iheſus Chriſtus/qui eſt benedict⁹ in ſæcula. Orate ꝑ eccleſia Antio-

Primo et ſe
cundo: ad-
uerbia.
De cōmu-
nione panis
vitæ.
Antidotū:
medicamē/
et id maxīe
qđ datur in
venena.
Catarticū:
purhatiuū.
ſolutiuaq;
et humorū
excretina
medicina
eſt. Quo-
modo et
vos: eū di-
ligitis.

chenſium quæ in Syria eſt:vnde & vinctus ducor Romã.qui ſum vltimus illorum fideliũ:vnde ſum vltimus ego/dignuſqꝫ effectus in honorē dei has ſufferre catenas.Incolumes eſtote in deo patre & domino IHESV Chriſto/communi ſpe in ſpiritu ſancto. Amen.

Hic piiſſimꝰ martyr Romanorũ rogat eccleſiã ne viculis ſuis carnaliter cõpatiētes ꝓcurēt eiꝰ ſolutionē/ne īpediãt eiꝰ certamē ne retardēt eiꝰ coronã.qđ fauore prīcipũ & vrbis gubernacula amminiſtrantiũ eos facile poſſe ītelligebat. Et tota epiſtola multa pietate referta eſt.& qui piꝰ eſt Chriſtianꝰ:eam ſine lachrymis nõ leget. verba enī ſũt mētis extaſim diuini amoris patiētis. et beati qui illo igne calent. Carmē q̃le eccleſiæ deo canebãt:quãdo martyr aliquis huiꝰ cito labētis vitæ certamē ꝓ Chriſto ītrabat/pie orãtes vt deꝰ daret illi felicē ī eo cõſummationem.

¶ Ad Romanos de Smyrna per Epheſios. Epiſt.XI.

IGnatius qui et Theophorꝰ:miſericordiã cõſecutę in magnitudie dei altiſſimi patris IHESV Chriſti vnigeniti eius filij eccleſiæ ſanctificatæ & illuminatæ in volũtate dei(qui fecit õnia quæ ſũt ſecundũ fidem et dilectionē Iheſu Chriſti dei/et ſaluatoris noſtri)quæ & pręſidet in loco regionis Romanorum:deo dignæ/eminētia dignæ/beatitudine dignæ/laude dignæ/fide dignæ/fundatæ in dilectione & fide Chriſti/paternũ nomen habenti/ſpiritiferæ:quã & ſaluto in nomine domini omnipotētis/& Iheſu Chriſti filij eius/qui eſt ſecũdum carnē & ſpiritũ:adunatis in mãdatis eius/repletis gratia dei inſeparabiliter/& ablutis ab omni alieno colore/atqꝫ immaculatis:plurimã in deo patre & domino Iheſu Chriſto ſalutem. Deprecans deum obtinui vt videre merear dignos vultus veſtros/ſicut plurimum optabã promereri.vinctus enim in Chriſto Iheſu ſpero vos ſalutare:ſi quidem fuerit voluntas illius qui dignũ me faciat vſqꝫ in finem propoſitũ meũ conſummare.Illa vero principia bonæ conuerſationis ſunt:ſi quidem per gratiã meruero ſortē meã vſqꝫ in finē ſine impedimēto ꝑcipere. Timeo enī dilectionē veſtram:ne ipſa me ledat.vobis enim facile eſt quod vultis facere: michi autem difficile deũ promereri.tamen potero ſi vos peperceritis michi: occaſione amicitiæ carnalis.Nolo igitur homini placere:ſed deo/ſicuti et cõplacuiſtis.nec enim ego habui aliquãdo tale tempus:vt deũ promeruiſſem. Ergo ſi vos tacueritis de me:ego efficior dei.Si enim dilexeritis carnē meã: iterum forſitan abſoluar.Multũ enim michi præſtatis:ſi me offeratis deo cum iam altare paratũ eſt/vt in dilectione chorus effecti cantetis deo patri in Chriſto IHESV (quoniam epiſcopũ Syriæ dignũ fecit deus inueniri in occidente:ab oriēte præmittēs ſuam paſſionē/martyrem bonũ/proficiſcentem de mũdo ad deum)vt in ipſo oriar.nunq̃ leſiſtis aliquē:alios docuiſtis. Ego autem rogo/vt ſecundũ illa firma quę docti eſtis:ex omni virtute optetis michi vt non ſolũ dicar/ſed etiam inueniar Chriſtianus.Si autē inuentus fuero:& dici poſſum.et tunc eſſe fidelis:quãdo mundo non cõparuero. nichil enim de ijs quæ vidētur:æternũ eſt.Quæ enim vidētur(inquit)temporalia ſunt:quæ autē non videntur/æterna ſunt/non ſolũ in opere ſed etiã in magnitudine.Chriſtianitas enim eſt quę oditur a mũdo/amatur a Chriſto:quia non eſt ab hominibus/ſed a deo.Si enim eſſetis(inquit)de mũdo: mundus quod ſuũ erat diligeret.nunc autem quia nõ eſtis de mundo:propterea odit vos mũdus.ſed ego elegi vos:manete in me.Ego ſcribo õnibus eccleſijs/& omnibus mãdo:quia volũtarie pro deo morior/ſi vos nõ pręperieritis.Rogo itaqꝫ vos vt nõ fruſtra ſit in me dilectio veſtra.Sinite me vt beſtiarũ eſca ſim:per quã poſſum deũ promereri.Triticũ enim dei ſum/dētibus beſtiarũ molar:vt poſſim panis dei mũdus inueniri.magis autē blandaimini beſtijs/vt michi ſepulchrū ſint:& nichil de meo corpore reliquāt/vt non obdormiēs grauis alicui inueniar. Nō ſicut Petrus et Paulus præcipio vobis:illi enī apoſtoli ſūt IHESV Chriſti/ego autē minimus. illi vero liberi ſunt ſerui dei:ego autē vſqꝫ nunc ſeruus. ſed ſi paſſus fuero/libertus ero Iheſu Chriſti:& reſurgā in eo liber. Nunc diſco vinctus nichil mundi concupiſcere:aut aliquod vanū. a Syria Romam vſqꝫ cū beſtijs depugno/per terram & mare:die ac nocte vinctus cum decē leopardis. hoc eſt, cū militari cuſtodia;qui ex beneficijs peiores fiūt. in iniuſtitijs autē eorum magis edoceor:ſed nec in hoc quidē iuſtificor. Vtinam fruar beſtijs quæ michi paratæ ſunt:quas & opto michi veloces eſſe ad meum interitū. et allici:vt celerius me comedant. ne ſicut in alijs/territæ ſint:& non eos tetigerūt. Et ſi ipſæ noluerint:ego ipſis vim ingerā/ego vrgebo. ignoſcite michi:ego ſcio quid michi expediat. nunc incipio eſſe diſcipulus. nulli æmulor viſibiliū & inuiſibilium:vt IHESVM Chriſtū merear adipiſci. Ignis/crux/beſtiarūqꝫ conſtantia/abſciſio/ſeparatio/cōfractio/diſſipatioqꝫ membrorū/interitus totius corporis/& flagella diaboli ōnia in me veniant:vt Iheſum Chriſtū merear adipiſci. Nichil me iuuāt quæ ſunt mūdi huius:neqꝫ regnū tēporale. bonū eſt michi mori in Chriſto Iheſu:q̃ regnare in finibus terræ. Quid enī ꝓdeſt homini ſi vniuerſū mundū lucretur:animā vero ſuā perdat? Dominū nāqꝫ deſidero filiū veri dei:& patrē Iheſu Chriſti. ipſum vtiqꝫ quæro:& illū qui pro nobis mortuus eſt/& reſurrexit. Ignoſcite michi fratres:ne michi impedimenta opponatis ad vitam. Iheſus eſt enim vita fidelium/vt ne velitis me mori:quia vita mors eſt/ſine Chriſto. dei volēs eſſe:mundo non placeā. Sinite me purā lucē percipere:illuc perueniēs homo dei ero. Concedite michi:vt ſim imitator paſſionū dei mei. Qui enim vult in ſeipſo habere:intelligat quod volo/& compatiatur michi ſciēs quid ſit in me. Princeps enim mūdi huius diripere me vult:& in iudicio dei mei dirūpere. Nemo ergo de præſentibus vobis auxilietur ei:magis autem mei adiutores eſtote/hoc eſt dei. Nolite dicere IHESVM Chriſtū:mundū honorantes. facinus in vobis non habitet:neqꝫ ſi vos præſens rogauero/cōſentiatis michi. his autē conſentite quæ ſcribo vobis. viuus enī vobis ſcribo:deſiderans mori pro Chriſto. Meus enim amor/crucifixus eſt:& nō eſt in me. Aqua autem alia viua manet in me/intrinſecus michi dicens:veni ad patrē. non comedā eſcam corruptionis:neqꝫ voluptates huius mūdi deſidero. Panem dei volo/panē cœleſtem/panem vitæ:qui eſt caro Iheſu Chriſti filij dei viui(qui natus eſt in nouiſſimo ex ſemine Dauid/et Abrahæ)et potum volo ſanguinē eius:qui eſt dilectio incorruptibilis/& vita æterna. Iam nolo ſecundū hominnes viuere:hoc autē erit ſi vos volueritis. Chriſto cōcrucifigor:quia iam ego non viuo/viuit vero in me Chriſtus. Per modica ſcripta rogo vos:ne michi obſiſtatis. Credite michi quia Iheſum diligo:quoniā et ipſe dilexit me/& ſeipſum tradidit pro me. Quid retribuā ei pro omnibus quæ retribuit michi? Ipſe autem deus & pater dñi noſtri IHESV CHRISTI et ipſe dominus Iheſus Chriſtus:manifeſtauit nobis hæc oīa/quia verū dico. et vos ſimul cōdeprecamini mecū:vt laborē cōſequar in ſpiritu ſancto. Nō ſecundū carnē

Hūc paſſū:et Euſebi⁹ et Hieronymus ſāctiſſimi huius martyris memoriam faciētes:cōuertunt.

Diuin⁹ feruor:& ſacra q̃ Chriſto dño merito debetur pietas.

Matth.16.

Diuin⁹ Dionyſi⁹ id ex Ignatio cap.4. diuinorū nominū adduxit/de amore diuino differens.

Gala.2.

Pſal.115.

Ioan. 10.

Crocus.
Philon.
Gaius.
Agathopꝰ eũ comitabãt / in omnibꝰ in quibꝰ poterãt famulatum prẽſtãtes: pariter martyriũ cõſũmaturi.

vobis ſcripſi: ſed ſecundũ diſpoſitionē dei. Si autem paſſus fuero: dilexiſtis me. Sed ſi reprobatus fuero: odio me habuiſtis. Memētote in orationibus veſtris illius qui pro me rectorꝰ eſt eccleſiã: quę eſt in Syria. Credite domino dicēti: ego ſum paſtor bonus / qui viſitauit eam. & ſit veſtra in eo dilectio. Ego autē & erubeſco ex ipſis dici. Non enī ſum dignus eſſe vltimus aut purgamentũ: ſed miſerabilis ſum nũc / donec deũ merear adipiſci. Salutat vos ſpiritus meus / & dilectio eccleſiarũ: quæ me ſuſceperunt / ſicut nomē Iheſu CHRISTI. habentes enī me / non quaſi trãſeuntē viam meã aſpiciebãt: et per ciuitatē me deducebant. Hæc igitur ſcribo vobis de Smyrna / per Epheſios beatitudine dignos. Eſt autē mecũ ſimul cum alijs Crocus deſiderabile michi nomē: ex ijs qui aduenerũt de Syria ad Romã in gloria dei. Credo vos agnoſcere: quæ michi mãdaſtis adhuc proxime cõſtituto. Omnes enim digni ſunt deo: & apud vos me oportet requieſcere. Scripſi vobis hęc: nono calēdas ſeptēbris. Incolumes eſtote vſqꝫ ī finē: ī patiētia Iheſu Chriſti Amē.

Epiſtolarum Di-
uini Igna-
tij fi-
nis.

¶ Polycarpi martyris Smyrneorum epiſcopi / diſcipuli Ioannis euãgeliſtæ: Ad Philippenſes. Epiſtola.

Et cõgratulatus ſum inſuper vobis: quia firmitas fidei veſtrę a principio vſqꝫ nunc ꝑmanet.

Polycarpus et qui cum eo ſunt preſbyteri / eccleſię dei quæ eſt Philippēſis: miſericordia vobis et pax a deo omnipotēte / et IHESV Chriſto ſaluatore noſtro abundet. Cõgratulatus ſum vobis magnifice in domino noſtro Iheſu Chriſto: ſuſcipiēs immutabilia verba dilectionis / quam oſtendiſtis in illis (qui præmiſſi ſunt) viris ſanctis / decoris vīculis cõnexis. quæ ſunt coronæ electæ deo / illius veri regni: per dominũ noſtrũ Iheſum Chriſtum. et quia firmitas fidei veſtrę a pricipio vſqꝫ nũc permanet: & ſanctificat̃ in dño Iheſu Chriſto. qui ſuſtinuit pro peccatis noſtris vſqꝫ ad mortē. quē reſuſcitauit deus: diſſoluēs dolores inferni. quē cum non videritis: nũc diligitis. in quē nunc nõ aſpiciētes: creditis. credētes autē: gaudebitis gaudio inenarrabili / & glorificato (in quo multi deſiderãt introire) ſcientes quia gratia facti eſtis: nõ ex operibus / ſed in volũtate dei per Iheſum Chriſtũ. Propter quod ſuccicti lũbos veſtros: ſeruite dño cũ timore / et in veritate: dimiſſo inani vaniloquio / & multo errore. Credite ergo in illum qui reſuſcitauit dñm noſtrũ IHESVM Chriſtũ ex mortuis: & dedit gloriã et ſedem in dextera ſua. Huic ſubiecta ſunt oīa: cœleſtia / & terreſtria et ſubterranea. cui omnis ſpiritus ſeruit. qui vēturus eſt iudicare viuos et mortuos. Huiꝰ ſanguinē requirit deus ab eis: qui nõ crediderũt in eũ qui reſuſcitauit eũ a mortuis. qui et nos reſuſcitaturus eſt in vita: ſi fecerimus voluntatē eius / et ãbulauerimus in mãdatis ipſius / & dilexerimus quæ & ipſe dilexit. auocãtes nos ab omni iniuſtitia: hoc eſt a cõcupiſcētia / ab auaritia / a detractione / a falſo teſtimonio. nõ reddētes malũ pro malo / aut iniuriã pro iniuria / aut cõtumeliã pro cõtumelia/aut maledictū pro maledicto. Memētote ꝙ dominus docēs dixit. nolite iudicare: ne iudicemini. dimittite: & dimittetur vobis. miſeremini: et dominus miſerebitur veſtri. qua enim mēſura menſi fueritis: remetietur eadem et vobis. Memētote et illius quod dictum eſt. Beati pauperes ſpiritu/et qui perſecutionē patiūtur propter iuſtitiā: quoniā ipſorum eſt regnū cœlorum. Hæc autē fratres mei nō a meipſo imperās ſcribo vobis de iuſtitia: ſed quoniam vos ꝓuocaſtis. propterea quia neqꝫ ego/neqꝫ ſimilis alius mei: poterit ſequi ſapientiā beati et glorioſi Pauli/qui fuit apud vos. et viſus eſt ſecundū faciē illis (qui tūc erāt) hoibus. qui docuit certiſſime atqꝫ veriſſime verbū veritatis: qui & abſens ſcripſit vobis epiſtolas ad quas deflectimini. vt poſſitis ædificari in fide quæ data eſt vobis: quę eſt mater omniū noſtrū/ſubſequente ſpe/præcedēte dilectione quæ eſt in deo/& in CHRISTO/et in proximo. Si enim quis horū intrinſecus repletus fuerit mādatis iuſtitiæ/& habuerit dilectionē: longe eſt ab omni peccato. Principiū omniū malorū eſt auaritia. Scitote autem quia nichil intulimus in hunc mundū: neqꝫ auferre poſſumus. armemur armis iuſtitiæ: et doceamus noſmetipſos primū ambulare in mandatis domini. et poſt hæc mulieres veſtras: in fide quæ data eſt eis/et dilectione & caſtitate/amantes ſuos viros in omni veritate et charitate. diligentes omnes æqualiter in omni cōtinentia: & filios erudite in omni diſciplina & timore dei. Viduæ vero pudicę circa fidem dei: interpellēt inceſſanter pro omnibus. elongātes ſe ab oibus diabolicis detractionibus/& falſo teſtimonio/& ab omni malo/cognoſcētes ſeipſas: quia ſunt ſacrariū dei. quoniam omnia deus proſpicit. et nichil eū latet: neqꝫ cogitatio/neqꝫ cōſcientia/neqꝫ aliquod abditū cordis. Scientes autē quia deus nō irridetur: debemus digne in mādatis eius et gloria ambulare. Similiter diaconi iculpabiles ſint in conſpectu iuſtitiæ eius: ſicut dei & Chriſti miniſtri/et non hominū. non criminatores/neqꝫ detractores/neqꝫ auari: ſed omnia tolerātes. in omnibus miſericordes/diligētes/in omnibus ambulantes in veritate domini: qui factus eſt miniſter omniū. Huic ſi placem⁹ in hoc ſæculo: percipiemus ea quæ futura ſunt/ſecundū ꝙ repromiſit reſuſcitare nos a mortuis. Et ſi digne in eo conuerſati fuerimus/& ſi crediderimus: cōregnabimus cū eo. Iuuenes ſimiliter inculpabiles ſint in omnibus: omnē ignorantiā præuidētes/refrenantes ſe ab omni malo. Bonū eſt enim abſcidi ab omnibus cōcupiſcentijs. quoniam ōnis concupiſcentia aduerſus ſpiritū militat. quia neqꝫ fornicarij/neqꝫ molles/neqꝫ maſculorū cōcubitores/regnū dei poſſidebūt: neqꝫ illicita facientes. Propter quod abſtinere oportet ab oibus his. Subiecti eſtote preſbyteris et diaconis/ſicut deo et CHRISTO. Virgines caſta cōſciētia ābulate. Preſbyteri ſimplices ſint: in omnibus miſericordes/omnes ab errore conuertentes/omnes infirmos viſitātes/viduas/pupillos et pauperes non negligentes: ſed ſemper prouidētes bona corā deo & hominibus. Abſtinete vos ab omni iracundia/et iudicio iniuſto. Longe ab omni auaritia eſtote. non cito cōſentiatis aduerſus aliquē: ne præuaricemur in iudicio/ſciētes quia debitores ſumus peccati. Si ergo deprecamur dominū vt nobis dimittat: debemus etiā nos dimittere. Ante conſpectū oculorū domini ſumus. & omnes

Lucæ.6.
Matth.5.
1.timo.6.
Viri.
Mulieres.
Patres.
Liberi.
Viduæ.
Gala.6.
Diaconi.
Iuuenes.
1.corin.6.
Preſbyteri.
Diaconi.
Virgines.
Roma.12.
Matth.6.

2,corin.5. oportet nos aſtare ante tribunal CHRISTI/et vnūquemqꝫ pro ſe rationem
reddere.Seruiamus ergo ei cū timore & reuerētia:ſecundum ꝙ euangelizauerunt
nobis apoſtoli domini/& prophetæ annunciauerūt aduētum
domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti.zelantes bona/abſtinete ab ſcandalis & falſis
fratribus:qui in vanum portāt nomen domini/qui oberrare faciunt inanes
1.ioan.4. homines.Omnis enim qui non cōfitetur IHESVM Chriſtū in carne veniſſe:
hic antichriſtus eſt.Et qui non cōfitetur myſterium crucis:ex diabolo
eſt.Et qui deuiauerit eloquia domini ad propria deſideria/& dixerit neqꝫ
reſurrectionē neqꝫ iudiciū eſſe:hic primogenitus ſathanę eſt.Propter quod
relinquentes vanitates multorū & falſas doctrinas:ad illud(quod traditū
eſt nobis a principio)verbū reuertamur.Sobrij ſimus:in orationibꝰ ieiunia
tolerantes/& ſupplicationibus petentes omniū proſperatorē dominum/ne
Matth.6. nos inducat in tentationē.ſecundum quod dicit dominus:ſpiritus quidem
Matth.26. promptus eſt/caro autē infirma.Indeficiēter autē toleremus propter ſpem
1.petri.2. noſtrā/& pignus iuſtitiæ quod eſt CHRISTVS.qui ſuſtulit peccata noſtra
in corpore ſuper lignum.qui peccatū non fecit:nec inuētus eſt dolus in
ore eius. ſed propter nos omnia ſuſtinuit:vt viuamus in ipſo.Imitatores
ergo efficiamur tolerantiæ eius.et ſi paſſi fuerimus pro nomine eius:glorificemus
eum.Hoc enim nobis iudiciū poſuit de ſeipſo:& nos hoc credimus.
Huius loci meminit Euſebiꝰ:et vertit. Rogo igitur omnes vos/inſiſtere verbo iuſtitiæ/& patiētiæ:quam oculata
fide vidiſtis.non ſolū in beatiſſimis illis Ignatio ſcilicet et Zoſymo et Rufo:
ſed in alijs qui ex vobis ſunt/et in Paulo/& in cæteris apoſtolis.confidentes
Ignatius. quia hi omnes non in vacuum cucurrerūt/ſed in fide & iuſtitia:et ad debitū
Zoſymus. ſibi locum cū domino(cui & cōpaſſi ſunt)abierunt.quia non hoc ſæculū dilexerunt:
Rufus. Paulus. ſed eum qui pro ipſis & pro nobis mortuus eſt/et a deo reſuſcitatus.
In his ergo ſtate:& domini exēplar ſequimini/firmi in fide/et immutabiles/
fraternitatis amatores/diligentes inuicē/in veritate ſociati/manſuetudinem
domini alterutri præſtātes/nullū deſpicientes.Cum poteſtis benefacere/
Thobiæ.12 nolite differre:quia eleemoſyna de morte liberat.Omnes vobis inuicem
ſubiecti eſtote:cōuerſationem veſtram cōſiderantes irrepræhenſibilē in gentibus.
vt ex bonis operibus veſtris:et vos laudē accipiatis/et dominus in vobis
nō blaſphemetur.Væ autem illi:per quē nomen domini blaſphematur.
Sobrietatē ergo docete omnes:in qua & vos cōuerſamini.Nimis contriſtatus
Valens. ſum pro Valēte:qui preſbyter factus eſt aliquādo apud vos/ꝙ ſic ignoretis
locum qui datus eſt ei.Moneo itaqꝫ vos vt abſtineatis ab auaritia:et ſitis
caſti/ac veraces.Abſtinete ab omni malo.Qui autem in his non poteſt
ſe gubernare:quomodo alij pronūciat hoc? Si quis non abſtinuerit ab auaritia:
ab idololatria coinquinabitur/& tanq̃ inter gentes iudicabitur.Quis
ignorat iudiciū domini? An neſcimus quia ſancti mundū iudicabunt:ſicut
1.corin.6. Paulus docet? Ego autē nichil tale ſenſi in vobis/vel audiui:in quibus laborauit
Philip.1. beatus Paulus.qui eſtis in principio epiſtolæ eius.de vobis etenim gloriatur
Pro illo/ꝑ valente. in omnibus eccleſijs:quæ deū ſolæ tunc cognouerāt.nos autē nondū
noueramus.Valde ergo fratres cōtriſtor pro illo/& cōiuge eius:quibus det
dn̄s pœnitentiā veſtrā.Sobrij ergo eſtote et vos in hoc:& nō ſicut inimicos

tales exiſtimetis. ſed ſicut paſſibilia mēbra/& errātia: eos reuocate/vt omnium veſtrū corpus ſaluetis. hoc enī agētes: voſipſos ędificatis. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos eſſe in ſacris litteris: & nichil vos latet (michi autē non eſt conceſſum modo) vt his ſcripturis dictū eſt. Iraſcimini & nolite peccare. Et ſol nō occidat ſuper iracūdiam veſtrā. Beatus qui meminerit: quod ego credo eſſe ī vobis. Deus autē et pater domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI/ et ipſe ſēpiternus pontifex dei filius Chriſtus Iheſus: ædificet vos in fide et veritate/et in omni māſuetudine/et ſine iracūdia/& in patiētia/et in longanimitate/tolerātia/& caſtitate. et det vobis ſortem et partē inter ſanctos ſuos: et nobis vobiſcum. & omnibus qui ſunt ſub cœlo qui credituri ſūt in dominum noſtrū IHESVM Chriſtū/& in ipſius patrem: qui reſuſcitauit eum a mortuis. Pro omnibus ſanctis orate. Orate etiā pro regibus/& poteſtatibus/& principibus/atq; pro perſequētibus et odiētibus vos: et pro inimicis crucis/vt fructus veſter manifeſtus ſit in ōnibus/vt ſitis in illo perfecti. Scripſiſtis michi & vos et Ignatius: vt ſi quis vadit ad Syriā/deferat litteras meas/quas & dedero ad vos: ſi habuerimus tēpus oportunū/ſiue ego/ſeu legatus/quē miſero pro vobis. Epiſtolas ſane Ignatij quæ trāſmiſſæ ſunt vobis: habeo. et alias quantaſcūq; apud nos habuimus: tranſmiſimus vobis (ſecūdum quod mādaſtis) quæ ſunt ſubiectæ huic epiſtolæ. ex omnibus enī vobis magnus erit profectus. Continent enim fidē/patientiā & omnē ædificationem ad dominū noſtrū pertinentē. Et de ipſo Ignatio/& de ipſis qui cū eo ſunt: quod certius agnoueritis ſignificate. Hæc vobis ſcripſi per Creſcentem: quē in præſentē diem cōmendaui vobis/& nūc commēdo. Conuerſatus eſt nobiſcū inculpabiliter: credo quia vobiſcū ſimiliter. Sororē autē eius habebitis commendatam: cum venerit ad vos. Incolumes eſtote in domino IHESV Chriſto/in gratia cum omnibus veſtris. AMEN.

Pſal. 4.

Ephe. 4.

Orationes fidelium.

Huius loci meminit Euſebius: et vertit.

Ignatius.

Ignatius.

Creſcens.

¶ Operum Beatiſſimi Dionyſij & vndecim epiſtolarum diuini Ignatij
Antiochenſis eccleſiæ Epiſcopi/& vnius beati Polycarpi Smyrneorum
Antiſtitis: diſcipulorum ſanctorum apoſtolorum/& marty-
rum IHESV ſaluatoris mundi fœliciſſimorum: ad
ipſius IHESV ſaluatoris/ſapientiæ ſapientū/
et regis martyrū omnium honorē/finis.

¶ In alma Pariſiorum academia
per Henricū Stephanū artis
formulariæ peritū et ſe-
dulū opificē e regione
ſcholæ Decreto-
rū habitā-
tem.
Anno ab incarnatione eiuſdē domini noſtri IHESV CHRISTI. 1515.
die vero menſis Aprilis decima quarta.

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Elderſs Betsey: Please accept of this small preſent
with my pure goſpel love.
From Prudence Carnahan.
Pleasant Hill, Oct. 24th '59.

A

HOLY, SACRED AND DIVINE

ROLL AND BOOK;

FROM

THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN,

TO

THE INHABITANTS OF EARTH:

REVEALED IN THE UNITED SOCIETY AT NEW LEBANON, COUNTY OF
COLUMBIA, STATE OF NEW-YORK, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Read and understand all ye in mortal clay.

IN TWO PARTS.
PART I.

RECEIVED BY THE CHURCH OF THIS COMMUNION,
AND PUBLISHED IN UNION WITH THE SAME.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED SOCIETY,
CANTERBURY, N.H.
1843.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The publishers of this work, feel that it is their duty to say unto all who may read the contents of the same, that in the compilation and arrangement of it, they have copied the style in which it was originally written by the pen of inspiration; that the subject matter is preserved entire, and wherever supply words have been added to the original matter, they are inclosed in brackets. The contents of each chapter, and a part of the leading captions have been added also for convenience' sake.

Some of the chapters have been divided for the sake of perspicuity, and many of the sections also, where it could be done without injuring the sense.

Throughout the work, it has been the object to follow the inspired diction, and, in a great measure the original manuscript, rather than conform to the customs of the present age and day.

In fine, it has been the labor of those engaged in the publication of this work, to preserve the sense as purely original as possible; and it has been many times carefully compared with the original for this purpose.

As this is the first printed book ever issued by the United Society at Canterbury, among whom there is no regular printer, the mechanical execution may not be perfect in all respects.

We would also add, that the Society who have published the first edition of these sacred books, feel that they have, by so doing, answered the requirement of God unto them, in that respect, and will in no case become responsible for any expense that may be incurred on account of reprinting them hereafter. All printers who may wish to reprint them, must do it at their own risk.

September, 1843. THE PUBLISHERS.

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A PROCLAMATION

OF THE

LORD GOD OF HEAVEN AND EARTH,

SENT FORTH BY HIS BLESSED SON, AND REVEALED IN
FLAMES OF FIRE UPON HIS HOLY MOUNTAIN,
FOR MORTAL HAND TO WRITE.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROCLAMATION.

New Lebanon, May 4, 1842.

This morning, between the hours of six and seven, the word of the Lord, through a Holy Angel, came to me, saying, Arise, O thou little one, and appear before the Lord, on the Holy Mount; and as thou goest, kneel seven times, and bow low, seven times to the earth; for the Lord hath words for thee to write; and thou shalt kneel, or sit low, by the side of his Holy Fountain, and the words shall be revealed unto thee, in flames of fire.

I went, and in obedience to the direction of the Holy Angel, I kneeled, and bowed the number of times required.

And as I reached the foot of the hill, whereon the Fountain is placed, language cannot describe the sensations of my soul; and the noise as of a mighty rushing wind, or as of distant thunder, did roar throughout the hill. But as I approached the Fountain, and seated myself low, to write, all became calm; and an inexpressible feeling, as of a consuming fire within, filled my mortal frame, and prepared me to write the following communication.

Philemon Stewart.

THE WORD OF GOD,

TO HIS HOLY SON JESUS CHRIST, THE SAVIOR OF MEN.

Take this short Roll of my word, go forth to earth, and read aloud, upon the top of my holy Mountain, that one of my servants may understand and correctly write the same.

To this place, I will cause one of my holy Angels, who shall bear thee company, to lead the one whom I have chosen, even in the first watch of the rising sun, to the sacred spot of ground, whereon I will cause my word to be revealed in flames of burning fire.

PROCLAMATION.

Bow down your hearts, all ye who dwell in Zion, and humble yourselves to the dust before Me, O ye worms of mortal clay! All flesh shall wither at my presence, and the deceitful worker in Zion shall be consumed by the fire of my burning. For much have I given unto Zion, and much will I require at her hand, saith the Lord God of Heaven.

For I will have a pure people on the earth, whose hands are not stained with human blood, nor their souls defiled with sin and disobedience to the commands of my blessed Son, whom I, Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, have twice sent forth to the inhabitants of earth, whom I created in my own image, that they might bring forth offerings pure and holy, before my sacred throne.

In tender mercy, and loving kindness, did I send forth my Son, both in his first and second appearance, that they might learn the way of peace and salvation, and gain an inheritance in my pure and holy gospel, while on earth, that would insure them a peaceful mansion of rest in my holy kingdom, when they had done with the things of time.

But, *Oh! Ha'len si vas' ta vac' la!* Mortal man hath never been ready, from the earliest ages of the world to the present day, to learn my will and obey my sacred word, through such means as I was pleased to send it forth to them.

But my sacred words have been trampled under their feet; my law of nature disregarded and set at nought; and in the sacred path of my gospel, which is the law of grace to the soul, their feet have not walked. But in other paths their feet have trodden, and [they have] shed much innocent blood. And other gods than Me, have their souls bowed down to worship.

Thus saith the Lord God of Heaven and earth; My All-seeing Eye hath beheld the doings of the children of men, for ages and ages long past, even to the present day. And a cruel, persecuting spirit, in all ages of the world, to the present time, hath invariably risen up against my most merciful offers, to persecute, even unto death, those who put their trust in Me, and would sooner suffer death, in any form, than disobey my righteous commands.

But give ear, O earth, and understand, O ye people that dwell in her! The day of my visitation hath begun, saith the Lord; and I will never cease, nor cause my hand of judgment to be stayed, until I have met all nations in their own paths. Mercy and judgment are in my grasp; and my hand of wrath and indignation is hovering over the earth, and my Angels are passing to and fro, through every quarter.

And where ever I find a people on the earth, saith the Lord, who are ready and prepared to keep the commands of my blessed Son, either in his first, or second appearance, and heed this, my present warning voice unto them, by humbling themselves, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance, which are, humility of soul, peace, love and good will to all men, and a conscience void of offence, before Me, their God, and each other; my hand of judgment shall lightly pass them over; and in merciful rays of loving kindness, will I cause my blessings to distill upon them.

But unto such as make light, in this their day, of my warning voice, and will not even return to the law of nature, as I commanded the children of Israel, by my faithful servant Moses, in ancient days; but pass on, saying within their own hearts; "*These are the words of mortals and not of God;*" I will surely visit them, in my own time and season, with sore destruction and desolating judgments, till mountains sink and valleys rise, and kingdoms into pieces rend.

For I will cause peace to depart from the earth, and an awful gloom of terror and dismay to spread itself over her face. For I am the God of yesterday, to-day, and forever; and my spirit shall not always strive with mortal man to no purpose.

But they shall hear my word in different parts of the earth, sent forth through the mouths of babes and sucklings. And the tongues of the dumb shall be loosed, to warn the people to turn from the error of their doings, and repent before the Lord their God, that his rolling judgments sweep them not from the earth.

And awful signs shall appear in the firmament of heaven, that shall cause the heart of man to faint; and his strength shall fail because of the judgments which my Almighty hand hath sent forth upon the earth. For she groaneth beneath her present weight of sin and wickedness; and crieth unto Me for vengeance to recompense unto the inhabitants thereof, who, by their own disobedience, have brought this curse upon her.

Therefore, have I, the God of Heaven, in mercy and loving kindness, seen fit to reveal, in these last days, my word and will unto my chosen witnesses. And this short roll of my word, saith the Lord of hosts, I command my witnesses to put up in the yard of my Holy Sanctuary; that all such of the children of men, as may pass this street, upon the side of my Holy Mountain, may read and understand the same.

But touch it not, saith the Lord of hosts; for I have placed four of my holy Angels, to guard my sacred word. And let him that readeth understand; and judge not my word, judge not my work; for my doings are marvelous in the sight of men; and who can comprehend my ways, saith the GREAT I AM.

I have commanded my chosen people, who dwell upon this Mount, to bow down in low humility before Me, and separate themselves more from the children of this world; and worship Me, the coming season, in a retired situation, humbly supplicating the mercy of the Lord their God, both for themselves, and the rest of the inhabitants of the earth.

Therefore, trouble ye not my chosen ones; for I have called them, saith the Lord, and they shall not appear in pomp and splendor; but they shall be clothed in meekness, and humility of soul; clad in the spirit of the LAMB, and the garment of the SAVIOR. For my people are inoffensive, and will sooner suffer, even unto death, than resist unto blood. Therefore, in blessing I will bless; and in troubling I shall trouble, saith the Lord of hosts.

THE WORD OF THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN,

To one of his holy and mighty Angels of Light, Power and Truth, as He was about to send him with a sacred and solemn Roll of his word, in mercy to the inhabitants of a perishing earth, and languishing world.

Draw near before my throne, O ye mighty and holy Angels, and all ye Seraphs, spread your wings and lie low in breathless silence, while I sound forth my word and will to this Holy Angel, whom I have commissioned to take this Roll, which I have written with my own hand, and place it safely upon the central dwelling, in the heart of my Zion on earth; and there it shall remain, until the time shall come, that I, in my own wisdom, shall send him forth to read the same for mortal hand to write.

Have ye not beheld my doings, O ye holy and mighty Angels that surround my throne, how that my hand of charity and mercy, hath, in all ages of the world, preceded the hand of my judgment?

Have I not always verified unto you, the truth of that declaration which I sent forth by the mouths of my Prophets in early days, that I delighted not in the death of the wicked, but I would, that all turn and repent, in the day that my hand of charity, and loving kindness, was stretched out towards them? "Truth, O thou mighty God of Heaven, reply the Angels."

And have ye not furthermore seen, how that I, myself, in the everlasting attributes of my goodness, did stoop, and come down from my throne, and visit the earth on Sinai's top? And did I not there, on the Mount, engrave my law on two tables of stone, for the children of Israel, (a people whom I did call with my own voice,) and give them into the hands of my servant Moses, to establish the same among the people; warning him to use all his influence and power, to have these divine commands kept unbroken?

And at the same time, did I not acquaint him of the judgment that would invariably follow their disobedience, should the people persist in so doing?

And cannot all ye holy Angels bear witness that I have, from the day that I created and placed man upon the earth, held forth clearly and plainly to his view, both the good and comforting rewards of *obedience*, and the painful and distressing rewards of *disobedience?*

And can ye not also bear witness, that I have made use of every means, to bring my creature man into the path of obedience, even to the destroying of his whole race from the face of the earth, save a few chosen ones, who, by their faithful obedience, merited my mercy and protection? "Truth, truth, O righteous God, we bear thee witness from the foundation of the world, to the present day."

And can ye not furthermore bear witness, that I, in mercy and loving kindness, did send my only begotten Son on earth, to open the way of peace and salvation to a lost and degenerate world, and that too, after they had broken my commandments, and trampled my laws under their feet; and had turned and bowed their hearts to serve and worship other gods, that would please their own lusts? and that, with their eyes open, knowing that they were violating the most sacred laws of Heaven, that had been sent forth for their protection?

And nought would they learn from the judgments, which my Almighty hand, from time to time sent forth, to restrain their wicked, idolatrous hearts; but as a body of human beings, (whom I had created after my own image, with immortal souls, and rational faculties, with power to exercise them for their own best good and comfort,) they would, and did, madly pursue their own course to their utter destruction; by denying and crucifying my only begotten Son, whom I had sent forth, in the sublime order of my glory, clothed with power divine, sufficient to insure salvation to the whole human family, had they but hearkened to his voice and kept his commandments.

And furthermore, O ye my holy Angels, can ye not bear Me witness, that I did promise through the mouths of my faithful servants, the Prophets, that in the latter days, I would set up a kingdom which should never be destroyed? And that a stone from the mountain, cut out without hands, should grow, and fill the whole earth; and that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head?

And did I not say, by the mouths of the Prophets, that in the last days, the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established in the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills, and that many nations should flow unto it? That the law should go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem? "Surely we, thy holy Angels, bear thee witness, that all is true, O thou Everlasting Source of all goodness."

Then, O thou mighty and proclaiming Angel, take to thyself other Angels, and go to the Zion on earth, where, by my Almighty Power, the windows and doors of Heaven have been opened for several years past, that the indwellers thereof might converse with mortals on earth, or with such a portion of them as had forsaken all for the gospel's sake, in a more remarkable degree of nearness and freedom, than was ever before suffered, since the earth, by my hand was created.

There, take to thyself a servant of my name, an instrument whom I have chosen for this purpose, and prepare him, through deep tribulation, and anguish of soul, to write correctly, the words of this Roll, as thou shalt read them unto him.

But before this shall take place, thou shalt show forth strange and striking signs unto the people, which shall appear both awful and sublime. For in this Roll to the children of men, have I declared the Daughter of Zion, in her proper lot and place, as well as the Son.

WORD OF THE HOLY AND MIGHTY ANGEL,

To the inspired writer, who had been at the Angel's service, many days previous to the writing of this Roll, in showing forth signs, both strange, and in a great measure unaccounted for by mortals; yet evidently showing that heavy tribulation for the people of God, was even at their doors.

O thou child of mortality, in whose body life and breath is, but in whose power it is not, why dost thou seek to evade the sufferings and distress, which the Lord thy God hath meted out for thee, that thou mayest be prepared to do his will, though thy mortal life should be sacrificed as the consequence, and thy blood should be required by the hands of persecutors, to seal the truth of the words which, by his Almighty Power, thy mortal hand hath been moved to write?

I say unto thee, fear not mortals, nor the face of mortal man, who is able to destroy the body only; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

Bow down thine heart, O thou instrument in mortal clay, and suffer thy soul to drink in tribulation, as a thirsty ox drinketh in the crystal water. Have not all thy Heavenly Parents bestowed their strength, love and blessing upon thee, that thou mightest take thy life in thy hand, and put thy trust in God? Hast thou ever been forsaken by the spirit of God, when thou didst go forth, in obedience, to do his will? "Nay, nay, never, never, O holy Angel."

Then, make haste, get thee up from thy slumbers, thou child of sorrow, no more be faint hearted or dismayed, because of the word of thy God unto thee, that thou shouldst end thy days under excruciating sufferings; for none can find complete happiness, until they have suffered the final destruction of all the life that is natural and carnal.

But rejoice in that God who hath called thee to suffer, that his word, pure and uncorrupted, may be brought forth to the children of men, according to his divine purpose: for to this end hath He called thee, and unless thou resignest to his will, thy soul will sink from his presence, and the blood of the unrighteous who would have hearkened to his word, had it been sent forth, he will require at thy hands. But if thou doest thy duty, and they hearken not, after they have had my word of warning placed before their eyes, or sounded in their ears, their blood must be upon their own heads.

The Lord thy God, sendeth forth to earth nothing in vain; nought of all that he giveth to the children of men, shall again return unto him void. He sendeth it forth in mercy, to all such as will receive and obey it, according to the best light they have; and in judgment to all such as willfully refuse to hearken and give ear to the words of solemn warning, which he hath sent forth, stamped with the seal of his everlasting kindness, to all who turn and repent. Let him that *will*, come and partake of the waters of life freely.

For we, his holy and proclaiming Angels, do testify and bear witness, that the Almighty Hand of the Lord God of Heaven is stretched out in wrath, in judgment and in mercy, over the inhabitants of earth, in a more singular and striking manner, than ever was done before, since it, by his hand was created.

And we do further testify, to all human beings, who may hear or see the record of our words, that judgments awful, gather rapidly over the face of the whole earth. And where ever God does find a people, whether they be few, or many, who fear Him, by keeping his commandments, and denying themselves of all ungodliness and every worldly lust, He will surely cover them with the shadow of his wings, and hold them in the hollow of his hand, that his destroying Angels, pass them lightly over.

He is no respecter of persons, farther than their works render them objects of his peculiar delight and protection: this marked distinction for work's sake, his attributes of goodness and justice at all times require him to show. Therefore, put on strength, O thou mortal child of sorrow, and be patient under sufferings, until the will of thy God, in writing this Roll, shall be accomplished.

Six hours in each day, I will distinctly read from the Roll, for thy mortal hand to write; the words thou shalt clearly understand, as I sound them forth to thee; but the rest part of the day, and time, thou shalt labor under severe distress of soul, and great anguish of spirit.

And so thou must be patient in this situation, until I shall have finished reading the Roll, and delivered the word which the Lord my God hath given me: and, at times, you will be required to leave writing the Roll, and write the word which is sent forth for immediate application in Zion.

Be not too anxious to get released from thy present scene of sufferings. Do all things in the order that God requires, and then his Almighty Hand will stay and support thee; and I, his Holy Angel, will lead thee safely through the work which I have for thee.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED ROLL.

BY THE HOLY ANGEL.

Reader, hearken! Consider in breathless silence, every subject embraced in the following pages, which you are about to peruse: for they are the sentences of your Eternal God and Creator.

And as you slowly pass your eyes along these sacred pages, pause, and consider the source from whence this sacred volume was, in mercy, sent forth unto all the inhabitants of the earth; that it is the Eternal Source of all goodness, and of your immortal existence.

Then proceed in solemn fear and reverence, considering, that by the declaration of the Almighty, made in this your day, He has placed before you that word, by which you shall be judged at his eternal bar of justice. And as you treat this, his word, so will He treat you, in the day of his heavy judgment which is at hand, and of which you have a solemn warning, in the sacred pages of this book.

Therefore, prepare, make no delay. And I solemnly warn you, (says the Angel,) make not this book a subject of speculation, for money's sake: for God forbiddeth that his sacred givings should be so used by mortals.

Ministers, professing to preach the pure gospel of Christ, are required, by the spirit of God, as soon as they can obtain a copy, to keep one sacred in the pulpit of their house of worship, as directed in the latter part of this book; and to be used accordingly. [See Chap. xxiv. Sec. 50.]

Boards of Foreign Missions, are also required, by his Holy Spirit, to translate correctly, into other languages, [this Sacred Roll,] and print copies sufficient to circulate into all foreign nations, throughout Christendom, and where ever missions have been extended, making charges for the books, sufficient only to remunerate them for their trouble; and this is to be done, if possible, in two years' time from the commencement of the year eighteen hundred forty four, as will be seen towards the close of the Roll. [See Chap. xxvii Sec. 30.]

All printers, who may have a wish to re-print this book, are under the most solemn charge, (as will be seen by reading it through,) not to alter, add, or diminish, a word herein contained. [See Chap. xxvii Sec. 33.] And to make such charges for the books, of those who may wish to purchase, as will justly compensate them for their expense, and no more, saith the Holy and Mighty Angel of God.

New Lebanon, Feb. 2, 1843. 12 o' clock. M.

THE
SACRED, SOLEMN AND SEALED ROLL,
OPENED AND READ, BY THE
MIGHTY ANGEL.

CHAPTER 1.

THE LORD FIRST ANNOUNCES HIMSELF IN HIS TRUE CHARACTER, TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

1. The Lord announces himself in his true character.
8. All creation should pass into oblivion, rather than one word of God should fail.
9. Times and seasons of the accomplishment of God's work, seldom given to his agents to declare.
10. Of the fulfillment of God's promise in sending a Savior into the world.
11. Of the creation of New Heavens and a New Earth, and the humbling of man.
12. Of coming in the night as a thief.
14. Of blessing to those who prepared themselves at his coming, &c.
16. Mercy always has preceded judgment.
17. Of warnings sent forth in this day.
18. Character of those through whom God reveals his will.

1. I AM THAT I AM, A GOD OF JUSTICE, OF WISDOM, AND OF TRUTH. A GOD OF LONG FORBEARANCE, OF TENDER KINDNESS, AND LOVING MERCY. A GOD OF WHOM YE READ, WHO CREATED THE HEAVENS, AND THE EARTH, AND ALL THAT IS THEREIN. A God who sent forth the overwhelming deluge, to sweep from the earth's face, even that which I had created in my own image, bearing immortality, because of their gross wickedness, in perverting the order of nature which I had given them.

2. A God that appeared on Sinai's top, and gave my law, engraven upon two tables of stone, into the hands of my true and faithful servant Moses, for the Children of Israel.

3. A God who fought their battles when they were obedient, and suffered their enemies to prevail when they were disobedient;

4. A God that led them to the promised land, and sent, in my own wisdom unto them, the promised Messiah.

5. A God who hath narrowly watched the doings of the nations and

kingdoms of the earth, from the day they crucified my Son, up to the present time.

6. I AM, is God; whose power is Almighty, and whose glory and beauty filleth all immensity and space; yet the least creature of my creation, is an object of my particular notice; either in mercy or in judgment. And with Me, time does not exist, for before time was, I AM, existed; and the after Me can never come.

7. Jehovah Jah, is my name; through endless worlds I'm known; fulfilling, to the least jot and tittle, that which I have promised through the mouths of my true and faithful servants.

8. All creation, that mortals can comprehend, should pass into oblivion, rather than one word from my mouth should fail of being accomplished, let it be spoken through whatever medium it may; if I have prepared that medium, I have also recorded it on the records of eternity; and all the power that earth and hell possess, can never falsify one word.

9. But times and seasons, I seldom give to any agent, to declare: they are reserved in true wisdom, by the Eternal Twain, united in one. I am that God that did promise, in ancient days, through the mouths of my faithful servants, that in the latter day, I would set up a kingdom that should never have an end. This I have done; I have begun a kingdom that shall never have an end.

10. I did also promise, that I would fill the whole earth with a stone, from the Mountain, cut out without hands: This I am also doing, in my own time and season. Remember that with Me, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day: yet, the very hairs of your head are all numbered, and the moments of your lives all counted.

11. I did also promise to create a new heaven and a new earth, wherein should dwell righteousness. And I did furthermore declare, that my kingdom was a kingdom of peace; and for this purpose did I send my only begotten Son into the world. I did also promise, that I would cause the loftiness of man to be brought low; and bring into contempt the honorable and great ones of the earth, (or those who felt themselves as such,) that the pride of all flesh might be stained, and my name alone, exalted in that day. This work I am now doing, even in the present time in which you live.

12. I am that God who did promise, through the Lord Jesus Christ, that I would come as a thief in the night; and warned all to be prepared, with lamps well trimmed and burning, having oil in

their vessels, ready to meet the Bridegroom and Bride, and not to be found sleeping, when their Master should return.

13. And lo, I have come, and cried aloud the watch, but few answered; therefore I called the lame, the halt and the blind to my feast, and they that were the children of the kingdom I did cast out, and compelled those from the highways and hedges, to come in and sit at my table, that it might be filled.

14. I am that God who promised, through my blessed Son, that if any would forsake all, for the gospel's sake, take up their cross, and follow Me, they should be blessed while in time, an hundred fold; and in the world to come, with eternal life. And that all such as would lose their life for my sake, should find it; and all such as would save their life should lose it. For the Father and the Son are one, and from the Eternal Essence of my goodness, did I send him forth. [See St. John, Chap. xvii. 11, 21, 22.]

15. I AM, is God of yesterday, to day, and forever; my purposes alter not, neither do they change, with the passing events of time.

16. My attributes of goodness, justice and equity, with an offer of repentance, have always, in the wise dispensations of my providence, preceded, (in kind and merciful offers to the children of men,) the heavy hand of my judgment, that they who would, might turn and be saved.

17. And now, even in this your day, I am that God who does, through means of my own choosing, and vessels of my own preparing, send forth my word of truth, accompanied by a kind and friendly warning, to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, who dwell upon the face of the whole earth.

18. Not through vessels polished by the arts and sciences, cultivated by man, but through such as are humble and dependent children, who seek to know, and do my will, as the first, and greatest object of their pursuit; who dwell in a humble and secluded position in life; choosing, rather to suffer persecution, tribulation and affliction with my people, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.

19. Such are the instruments and vessels, through whom the word of my law shall go forth, from the Zion of my likeness, to the ends of the earth. Through such as do, in truth, yield themselves as clay in the hands of the potter; giving all the honor and glory to my name, knowing and feeling themselves nought, but poor frail worms of the dust, whose life and breath is but as a vapor, that vanisheth quickly away.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEFLY SHOWING THE ORDER OF MY WORK WITH THE CHILDREN OF MEN IN EARLY AGES;

WHOM I HAD CREATED IN MY OWN IMAGE, SAITH THE LORD, TO FILL A MUCH MORE HONORABLE AND EXALTED STATION, IN MY VIEW, THAN THAT TO WHICH THEY HAVE APPLIED THEMSELVES.

1. Of the primitive state of man.
6. Generation, innocent and justifiable, had it been kept in its order.
7. How corrupted, and the following consequences.
8. Of the original design of God in the creation of man.
10. Man protected, had he kept his rectitude.
11. Mankind never ceased to pervert the true order of nature.
12. Judgments suffered to follow, as a rebuke.
13. Man still hardens his heart.
14. Of the earth's witness to its Creator.
15. Of the sending forth of God's warning.
17. Violation of the order of nature, the cause of war and bloodshed.
20. Expressions of the hearts of many, concerning the judgments of God.
25. Of the call of God to the inhabitants of the earth.
26. Of man's obstinacy against God, from the beginning.
28. Salvation only to the obedient.
29. Criterion of the true witnesses of God.
30. Of the dispensations of justice to mankind.

1. When I created the earth, and all that is therein, I created man in a state of free agency, possessing an immortal soul, endowed with reasonable faculties, and also with irrational, or opposite propensities.

2. These irrational, or opposite propensities, could never have gained such an influence over his rational mind, as to have perverted the order of his creation, had he kept my commandments, when first by my hand he was created, and placed in the garden, with full liberty to partake of every flower, and eat of the fruit of every tree, save the one that stood in the midst. This he was not to meddle with on pain of death.

3. But the irrational and inferior propensities working upon his animal part, seduced him to yield to the pleadings of the weaker vessel, and disobey the righteous command of his Creator God,

4. By giving way to indulge their natures, the seat of which gratification was placed in the midst of their bodies; and this is the tree, standing in the midst, bearing the forbidden fruit, from which they plucked, not for the sake of procreation, but wholly for the sake of gratification.

5. Therefore, the death, of which I had before told them, did now ensue; they could no longer stand before Me in a state of true innocence; for they had basely corrupted that order of nature which I had strictly commanded them to keep, and violate it not.

6. The times and seasons for them to come together merely for the sake of propagating their own species, could have been fulfilled, sufficient to accomplish that end, and [that work] been as justifiable in my sight, as that of eating or drinking; and they could have known no more shame in the transaction.

7. But by yielding to inordinate propensities, the seed of man was basely corrupted; and by that means, the order of nature, which I had established for his protection while in a natural state, was wholly thrown aside, saith the Lord, by the great mass of mankind, until debauchery, bloodshed and violence, did fill the whole earth, save a small remnant, who had descended from him who was begotten strictly after the order of nature, in true obedience to my command.

8. I never intended, saith the Lord, that after having created man in our own image, to be an honor and glory unto us, by showing forth the image of his Creator, that he should have filled the earth with every species of abomination and violence, and caused it to be covered with bloodshed and carnage: by no means.

9. But I intended it should have been a terrestrial paradise, standing in its natural order uncorrupted, until in my wisdom, I should have seen fit to introduce an order of grace, or a spiritual dispensation, for such portions of its inhabitants as were adequately ripened for the calling.

10. I should have noticed, with my blessing and protection, in the order of my providence, those who had strictly kept the order and law of nature, uncorrupted, as really as those who were called into the order of my grace; or to a work so pure and holy, that it could allow of nothing pertaining to the works of generation;

11. But mankind, from the earliest ages of the world, have never

ceased to pervert the order of nature, and turn it to subserve their own ungoverned and licentious passions, until their loss and darkness have become so great, that the whole earth is corrupted, and fast sinking under a curse, from my all righteous hand.

12. And all the judgments and calamities which I have suffered to come upon the earth in past dispensations and ages, to the present day, as a just recompense for their own doings, have been for the purpose that mankind might learn obedience to my law, by the things which they suffered.

13. Yet, notwithstanding all these solemn warnings, accompanied by awful judgments, if their lives were spared, they have never ceased to harden their hearts; and again provoke my Holy Spirit to anger by their gross wickedness, committed [by many,] with their eyes wide open; knowing that they were disobeying the commands of the Lord their God.

14. The whole world, and all the inhabitants that have heretofore lived on the earth's face, bear Me witness, that it hath now become ripe, for sore and heavy judgments.

15. Therefore, do I firstly send forth my warning voice in charity, and extend the offer of repentance to all who will accept it; for I delight not in the death of the wicked, saith the Lord.

16. But I would, that ye turn from the evil of your doings, and learn true righteousness; or come so far towards it, as to keep that law of nature which I first established for the protection of man, while yet in a natural state.

17. Hearken, O ye people, and hear my word, saith the Lord your God. Had man kept his rectitude in the order of nature, as I commanded him, no innocent blood would ever have been shed by his hand; no wars and fightings would ever have existed among the nations of the earth.

18. But because of their awful wickedness, and of their beastly abominations, I, the Lord God of Heaven and earth, have suffered the sword, with bloodshed and carnage, famine, destruction and pestilence, with sweeping blasts of my fury, in earthquakes and tornadoes, to devastate many parts of the earth, and swallow up in destruction, the living thereon; that others might take warning and behold the doings of an Almighty hand, that no mortal power could sway.

19. [*These events were suffered,*] that those who beheld the awful calamities, with which their fellow creatures had been visited in a

stroke of my judgment, might take warning, and turn from the evil of their doings, before it be too late.

20. But how, saith the Lord, have they hardened their hearts? Truly, by saying to their fellows when the calamity was passed, "Why this is truly remarkable, the Lord must have done this; but perhaps the like never will take place again, and so we will go on as usual, [*and do as we have done.*]"

21. Others would say, "These things are unavoidable in the natural course and order of the elements; I do not consider that God has any thing to do with it."

22. And by this means, they would strengthen their fellow mortals in the belief, that my Almighty hand and power, hath nothing to do in bringing such sweeping calamities upon the earth, and by so doing, [they would] strengthen and encourage their companions to go on, still adding to, and increasing the black catalogue of crimes that was attached to those whom I had swept from the face of the earth.

23. Yea, saith the Lord, instead of my judgments serving to work repentance and humiliation, in those who were unvisited by my judgments, it only served, (with many,) to harden them in their awful crimes of wickedness.

24. I deal, saith the Lord Almighty, with the creatures of my creation, according to my own wisdom. I deal with the different nations, kindreds, tongues and people, dwelling upon the face of the whole earth, both in mercy and in judgment; and in my own wisdom I deal with them as nations, and I deal with them as individuals.

25. Give ear, O Earth, and understand my words, all ye people who dwell in her, saith the Lord of hosts. Will you receive the word of the Lord your God in mercy, now while it is extended to you, in this, the latter day of his glory? Or will you forbear to hear, and refrain from repentance, as your fathers before you have done?

26. Eternity, and the souls dwelling therein, cry unto Me, as a witness, that from the earliest ages of the world to the present day, mankind, as a body, have stood against the most merciful offers of my hand, by refusing to hearken to my word, which I sent forth for their best good, their peace and their comfort.

27. But, as a few glimmering stars in the midst of midnight darkness, so have I preserved a few chosen witnesses, who were prepared, through deep tribulation, and much suffering, to testify of

my word, and of my work in truth, through all the dispensations of my goodness to man, from the earliest ages of the world to the present day.

28. I have never promised salvation nor protection, to any souls, only in the path of true obedience to that revealed will and order, made known to them, through such instruments, as I had prepared and raised up to testify of Me, both by precept and example, in the age and day wherein they lived.

29. And, as a criterion by which to tell those who were the true witnesses of my word, I did proclaim, through my blessed Son, that *fruits* alone, should declare, for or against each soul; that I would know no man by his words; but by the *fruits* which he brought forth, should he be judged. And this declaration from my eternal throne, must, and forever will remain unalterable, through time and in eternity.

30. For I AM, is a just God, dispensing unto every one according as their works shall merit; and weigh every nation, according to my wisdom, in the just balance of my power; and according to that measure which they have meted unto others, so shall it be meted to them again.

31. And according to that cup which they have filled with the waters of affliction for others to drink; so shall it again be filled to overflowing, and returned to their own mouths; and according to the effusion of blood which they have caused in other nations to flow; so shall it flow from their own veins, with an increased measure, saith the Lord their God.

CHAPTER III.

OF MAN'S PROBATIONARY STATE. HIS DISOBEDIENCE AND LOSS. THE REVELATION OF A SAVIOR &c.

THE HIGH AND EXALTED IDEAS OF MAN, INFLATED BY HIS OWN AMBITION AND PRIDE, CAN NEVER BE BROUGHT CONFORMABLE TO MY WILL SAITH THE LORD, NOR COMPREHEND MY WORK OR THE NATURE OF MY DOINGS.

1. Man strayed from God, by disobedience.
2. His state of trial; command of God to him.
3. His bondage by the animal propensities; means of deliverance.
4. Indulgences the cause of haughtiness and hardness of heart; delusion suffered, as the consequence.
6. The witness and declaration of justice against the works of man.
10. Mankind questioned by the Almighty.
19. Man slights the offers of mercy and grace.
20. The state in which the wicked enter eternity.
22. Commands of God to man.
25. Mankind again questioned by the Almighty.
27. Of the crucifixion of Christ; by what caused, &c.
30. Man's way not God's way.
31. The manner in which Christ was sent into the world: for what purpose; his teaching and example.
36. Of the visitation of God and his holy Angels to earth.
37. A word of examination to the children of men.
42. The Heavens and earth, witness against mankind.
43. All ranks and orders, required to hearken and humble themselves.
45. Naught but humility will stay the hand of judgment.
48. The manner in which all are to look for the coming of Christ unto them. Christ revealed, &c.

1. Mankind, by disobedience to Me, their God and Creator, have strayed far, very far from that way in which I intended their feet should walk; and from that work in which I wished to have them engaged, while on their short pilgrimage through time.

2. But, that man might not be as a mere machine, deprived of the power of volition, or free agency, I placed him, when created, in a peculiar situation or state of trial, and knowing the great weakness to which he would be exposed, I gave him a solemn charge, concerning the dangers that lay in his way; and that the most fatal

consequences would ensue, should he persist in acts of disobedience to that course which I had then instructed him to pursue. Having done this, I left him to prove his fidelity and true obedience to my word.

3. But the irrational or animal propensities, [called the serpent,] soon over-ruled his right reason, and placed upon him strong bands, which held him in bondage to the law of sin and death, which is the animal or inferior part; and having polluted his seed, by acts of disobedience, the curse which followed, and rested upon him, by increasing the inordinate and beastly passions of lust, which never could be satisfied, had now become so strongly attached to the sensitive powers of the mind, which now were bent on gratification, [that they] could never be removed, short of a full cross being borne, against every propensity pertaining to that nature.

4. And by the influence of this degraded and beastly propensity, (which never was, and never will be necessary for the sake of procreation,) mankind, as a body, from the earliest ages, to the present day, have been exalted in their own imaginations, inflated with pride and vanity to that degree and extent, that I suffered their hearts to become hardened, their ears to become deaf, and their eyes to become blind; for they had chosen their own way, therefore I did suffer their delusion, saith the God of Heaven.

5. Not that it was my choice, but a choice that they themselves had made, in open and willful rebellion against all the fatherly and kind entreaties which I had sent forth to them, through messengers of my own preparing.

6. Do not the records of eternal justice and truth, declare this against you, O inhabitants of earth? Do not the countless millions now groaning in chains and fetters of darkness, bound in eternity, witness this truth?

7. The eternal record before my throne, which shall bring a just reward to every human creature, declareth and sealeth this solemn truth; your own way you have pursued, and not the way of your God.

8. Your own plans of salvation you have embraced, and not the plans of your God. Your own paths you have pursued, and in them your feet have been swift to shed blood; these are not the paths of your Creator God.

9. All forms, all creeds and systems of religion that have been established by the sword, or supported by the force of arms, are of

man's own invention, that the life of that beastly nature, (after which the whole world, from its creation to the present day, have wandered,) might be spared and kept alive. It never emanated from my holy spirit, saith the God of Heaven; but frail and mortal man, in his bigoted and darkened condition, hath invented it, and practiced the same.

10. Hearken, all ye nations, and give ear, O ye people of the earth, saith the Lord your God. Can you answer these questions? Have your souls found that which saves you from committing sin in the present tense? Have you found that which saves you from shedding the blood of your fellow creatures? Have you found that which causes you to love your neighbors as yourselves?

11. Have you found that which saves you from all the gratifications of lust, and beastly works of nature, only that which is indispensable for the sake of procreation, or for the fulfilling of that great command which I gave to the children of men, in early days; under which the most licentious and beastly works of abomination have been cloaked, from that day to this?

12. The command was good, and stands good, in its order and place, but not one act of gratification carried further than is necessary for the propagation of your own species, can ever be covered by this command.

13. Have you found that which enables you to dwell together in unity, harmony and peace, having all things in common, and none saying that aught of the things that he possessed were his own? If not, what is the matter? Ponder these things in your own hearts! Communities, you say, are good, if they can agree.

14. But thus saith the Lord, have you laid the axe to the root of the tree, or have you only lopped a few of the branches? Have you found the golden cord of purity, that binds souls in one? Or do the bands of sin and death surround you, and [cause you to be] broken in pieces?

15. What was the reason that the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah refused to hearken to the solemn warnings which I sent forth unto them, through messengers of my own preparing? Did they not mock and scorn my witnesses, and deride the word of my awful truth at their mouths, that unless they did humble themselves and repent, they with their city, should be destroyed?

16. What was this, but the arrogance of their spirit that refused to

hearken to my word through those messengers, whom I did send unto them?

17. What caused the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, to mock and scorn, the solemn and righteous warning of my servant Noah, although they were clearly shown, by the operations of my Spirit, through my faithful servant, that unless they would cease from their awful wickedness, humble themselves and repent, they should, by the judgment of my Almighty hand, be swept from the face of the earth?

18. And notwithstanding, they were all doomed to suffer death, as a certain and sure consequence, if they refused to hearken; yet, this only served to increase their epithets of scorn and derision upon righteous Noah, for being such an old superstitious fool, (as they called him,) as to believe that the Lord was going to overwhelm the world with a deluge of water.

19. Was not this refusal to hearken to the tender warnings of my mouth, sent forth by means of my own choosing, to be attributed to their gross wickedness, which had caused their senses to soar, in lofty and exalted imaginations of their own great wisdom, and by this means, cause them utterly to reject the most solemn and sacred warnings, that I, their God and Creator could send to them, through one whose humble walk in life they disdained, from the very bottom of their hearts?

20. Therefore, they received not of my tender mercies, but were, in lieu thereof, compelled to meet Me in judgment, and enter the eternal world with cries and screeches, under the most horrid and awful condemnation of a guilty conscience, loaded with crimes and beastly abominations to sink their souls in flames of hell, until, through sufferings, they had paid the utmost farthing, for all their sinful deeds.

21. And the last error of their lives, in refusing to hearken to my righteous word of warning, was worse than all the rest; for here they sinned, saith the Lord God, against light and understanding; for the humble walk of my servant Noah, brought forth fruits in their sight, declaratory that my spirit dwelt in him.

22. Hearken, O ye children of men, and incline your ears to hear, and your hearts to understand, the word of the Lord your God, though you have not walked in my paths, and inclined your hearts to understand and do my will, as I have required from the earliest ages,

23. Yet, I am a God of mercy and of long forbearance, to such as have the least desire to return unto Me, through that medium which I have appointed for them; that is, to keep my law and order of nature unviolated.

24. Love mercy, deal justly one with another; fear Me, and keep my commandments throughout, which were given to regulate those in a natural state. This requirement, is distinct and apart from that of the order of my grace.

25. But consider, O inhabitants of earth, and in a special manner, those of you who make a great profession of Christianity! How have mankind treated, from the days of my servant Moses, to the present time, the merciful displays of my goodness, whenever, in my wisdom I have seen fit to send it forth unto them.

26. How oft did I have to scourge my chosen people Israel, for their wicked and rebellious doings, in rising against that order which I had appointed to lead and direct them, and thereby neglecting to keep my law, which I had established through my servant Moses, for their protection, stay and support; which, when strictly kept, would always ensure prosperity, and a blessing from my all righteous hand to rest upon them by day and by night. But when they departed therefrom, a curse was sure to follow.

27. Yet by all these things, how little did they learn, in willing obedience, the paths of true wisdom? Surely, not so much but that they set their hearts against Me their God. They surely were in my sight, a stiff necked and rebellious people, who were determined on pursuing their own plans; and by this means, they stood ready to destroy the animal body of the Christ whom I did send unto them, because he did not come in that way which they had laid out for themselves.

28. They wished him to come in great pomp and splendor, with mighty armies bowing at his feet. They wished to behold him as a mighty monarch, swaying the regal sceptre upon an earthly throne, destroying by the edge of the sword, all such as did not bow unto him in submission, and believe as he taught them, supporting the religion of his own nation, and condemning that of others.

29. Had he descended upon them in this manner and form, and held forth this testimony, it would at once have blended with their own self-exalted views of the coming of a Messiah; and they would readily have supported him, by force of arms, upon his throne.

30. But learn, O ye children of men, that man's way, is not the

way of his God and Creator. My way is equal for all; but man's way is unequal, unjust, and cruel. Therefore, did I send my only begotten Son to earth, clothed with the power of salvation, encompassed with a garment of humility and meekness, offering eternal life and salvation, upon equal terms, to all who would make the required sacrifice to obtain it.

31. I did not send him to court the love, favor or affection of Monarchs, Kings or Princes; or to say unto the great ones of the earth, Rabbi! Rabbi! But I sent him to proclaim, through the deepest scenes of suffering and tribulation, peace on earth and good will to men, if they would receive him in the name of his Father in Heaven, possessing the innocency of a lamb and the meekness of a dove.

32. Showing unto all, by precept and example, that he came in the perfect image of his Father, possessing a spirit of forgiveness, patience and meekness, under the most painful and excruciating sufferings of both soul and body, that was ever before shown forth upon the earth, by any spirit dwelling within an earthly tabernacle; being, at the same time, possessed of my mighty power to that extent, that he could raise the dead from their graves to life, or call from the Heavens above, at any time, myriads of holy Angels and justified spirits to his assistance.

33. And because I sent him, clothed in the attitude of *meekness* and *humility*, as I had predicted for hundreds of years before, by the mouths of my prophets, that he would come, they, as a body of people, rejected him and gnashed upon him with their teeth.

34. But a little chosen band, who were accounted poor and illiterate men, he did gather around him, unto whom he imparted the words of eternal life, and baptized them with the holy spirit; and the few that received his testimony into honest and sincere hearts, became his true followers through life, and ended their days under the heavy hand of persecution for so doing. But I, the God of Heaven, have kept a record of these doings, from the earliest ages of the world unto the present day.

35. I again repeat the question, saith the Lord; Where is the nation, where are the people, either few or many, that have, in truth, denied themselves of all the enjoyments of sinful pleasure, by renouncing the world with all its alluring enchantments, for the sake of embracing the blessed gospel of that holy Savior, whom I sent forth to begin a work on earth which should never have an end?

though the wickedness of man should quickly destroy the body, which, by my Almighty hand had been prepared, as a receptacle for that saving spirit, while it acted in the capacity of a local agent, in time below.

36. Give ear, O inhabitants of earth, and hearken all ye people who dwell in her! The Lord your God hath stooped from his throne, to visit the earth in mercy and in judgment. His holy Angels have come forth to execute judgment at his word, and show mercy at his pleasure. Vials filled with mercy, and vials filled with wrath he hath placed in their hands.

37. Hear my voice, O ye Angels, and sound aloud your trumpets to the children of men, saying, Shall the spirit of the Lord your God, always strive with man to no purpose? Will He always endure to be scorned, mocked and frowned upon by the mites of his creation, who are but worms of the dust, and small ones too?

38. Will He always receive a negative answer to his kind entreaties? Do not your own hearts bear witness in the sight of your God, O ye inhabitants of earth, that ye have perverted the way of the Lord, and the cross of his Christ ye have not borne in truth; nor bowed your necks under the yoke of the blessed Savior?

39. Doth not the haughtiness of man declare that his spirit is high and lifted up, exalted above all that is of God?

40. Doth not the spirit of oppression, and the hand that grindeth the faces of the poor, declare that justice hath departed from the earth, and the blessing of the Almighty withdrawn from her inhabitants?

41. Doth not the spirit of bigotry and despotism rule in the hearts of the children of men? Are they not ready and willing, if not bound by civil laws, to support a religion that suits their own natural and carnal views, even at the point of the sword, and still maintain, that this is the religion of the Son of God, the Prince of Peace?

42. The Heavens bear witness against you, and the earth crieth unto Me with a loud voice, to be avenged on her inhabitants, for the rivers of innocent blood, which they have caused to flow upon her surface.

43. O ye Monarchs, Kings and Princes, and all ye Nobles, Lords and Commons, hearken to my voice of solemn warning, saith the Lord your God; all ye Rulers of the people, and such as move at their command,

44. Bow down your spirits, from the Monarch on his throne, to the humblest peasant dwelling in a lonely cottage. Humble both soul and body; roll in sackcloth and ashes, and proclaim ye solemn fasts throughout your lands. Prepare, prepare, O thou mortal man! prepare, prepare, all ye inhabitants of earth, for the day of my visitation beginneth to dawn upon you; for my anger is kindled against you, and who may quench it? The arm of my wrath is stretched out towards you, and who may turn it back?

45. Naught but your cries and lamentations in the lowest of humiliation, will cause my hand of judgment to be stayed from the earth, saith the Lord of hosts; For I purpose to visit her in judgment, for her wickedness and abomination, and I will fill unto her a cup such as she never drank, since by my hand she was created. And her inhabitants have no time to lose, in preparing to meet Me their God.

46. My times and seasons, I have revealed not unto man; but I will shortly convince all flesh that my hand is upon the earth, in very deed.

47. Look not for my word to be showered down from the natural heavens above,—Look not for my word through those that are high and lifted up, and feel themselves far above their fellow creatures.

48. Look not for the second coming of my blessed Son in the natural clouds of heaven; for I have already sent him, and the foundations of my new Heavens and new earth, are already laid, never more to be overthrown, and ye believe it not. But ye may look for my word of solemn warning, from those in humble walks of life; and from the mouths of harmless children, saith the Holy One of Israel, shall ye hear my word.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE LAW OF NATURE, AND ORDER OF GRACE. THE DAUGHTER OF ZION DECLARED &c.

THE CHILDREN OF MEN, IN THEIR OWN NATURAL WISDOM, CAN NEVER DISCERN THE TRUE SIGNS OF THE WORKING OF MY HOLY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD.

1. The children of men required to search the Scriptures.
2. The Lord reasons with man.
7. Mankind required to come to the order of nature.
8. Those called by the gospel, required to keep the law of grace.
9. The Daughter of Zion, or the Heavenly Bride declared.
10. Concerning the fulfillment of the prophecies. Of the second coming of Christ, &c.

1. Thus saith the Lord to the inhabitants of the earth. Go search ye the records of my holy word, which many of you so highly venerate; for ye say that they testify of Me, and of my blessed Son.

2. But after all the warnings which I had sent for hundreds and hundreds of years, through the mouths of my faithful servants, to my chosen people, respecting the coming of the Messiah, what did it avail them, when the time for his appearance had arriven? The sacred volume by which ye pretend to be led and guided, does testify the truth so far as it goes, upon that ground.

3. Though much of the record of my sacred word, delivered in past ages, hath been destroyed, and much that is now handed down to the present generation, hath been greatly perverted by such as were enemies to the yoke and cross, which the Lord Jesus required them daily to bear and wear; yet by the interposition of my Almighty hand, a sufficient portion of that record, containing the words sent forth from my eternal throne, hath been preserved unto the present day, and doth now stand before Me as a witness, testifying against the body of darkness which covereth the earth, and the gross darkness that covereth the people thereon.

4. For their sins and abominations are many, and their trans-

gressions not a few, saith the Great I AM; whose eye beholdeth the thoughts and intents of every heart, and the leading motive of every action among the children of men.

5. But as I have said in ancient days, I would condescend to reason with my creature man; so do I now, in this the last age of the world, again say, I will this once, condescend to reason with the objects of my creation; for truly the earth is covered with many souls, and there be millions and millions who know not their right hand from their left; upon whom the rays of my true light hath never beamed.

6. Therefore, I will this once and again extend the arm of my mercy, holding forth the sceptre of true righteousness, to all such of the inhabitants of earth as hunger and thirst for salvation, and are ready to sacrifice all to obtain it. And to such as desire still longer to remain in the wilderness state of nature, the sceptre containeth my law and commandments for the same.

7. I do require, saith the Lord, (who is descending to earth in mercy, and in heavy judgment,) that all such as desire to live in nature, propagating their own species, keep the law of nature unviolated, as I have commanded from the beginning.

8. And all such as desire to come into the gospel of grace, must keep the law of grace, as I did command in the first appearing of my blessed Son, your Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who stands as the first true Anointed One.

9. And, as I have commanded in the second manifestation of the same spirit, now in this your day, though you believe it not, which is through the Daughter of Zion, constituting a spiritual Mother, the second Anointed One, who now stands in her proper lot and place, with her blessed Lord and Savior; at the head of my new and spiritual Creation, now established on the earth; and her name is, and forever shall be [called] MOTHER ANN LEE.

10. And now, the fulfillment of those predictions, from the mouths of my servants, concerning the establishing and setting up of my kingdom in the latter day of glory, as recorded in the sacred volume of my word, which all those of you who profess to be Christians so highly esteem and venerate as sacred truths, are now by my own mouth, saith the Lord, declared unto you to be fulfilled.

11. But I will show unto you, O ye children of men, the most plain and prominent passages recorded in holy writ, which have come down to the age in which you live, referring to the com-

ing of the Messiah upon earth, to teach the people of his way, that they might walk in his path, when the time should come, for him to descend to earth.

12. And observe ye, how little these things were understood or regarded by those who then dwelt upon the earth; and in a special manner the Jews, who, for hundreds of years, had been called the chosen people of my name, and to whom I had shown great notice, in leading them out from the bondage of Egypt, into a land flowing with milk and honey, which I had promised their forefathers, I would give unto their seed after them.

CHAPTER V.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE REFERRING TO THE COMING OF CHRIST.

Sec. 1. *Those passages recorded in scripture, which refer to the first appearing of the Son of God on earth, I the Holy Angel, who read this Roll for mortal hand to write, am commanded, by the Most High to have here inserted.*

Genesis. iii. 15. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

Chap. xlix. 10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him *shall* the gathering of the people *be.*

[Shiloh, meaning the Messiah, the Anointed, that is, the same as Christ. The sceptre departed from Judah soon after the Messiah came, and has never returned, to this day; and the law was in substance disregarded.]

Deuteronomy. xviii. 15. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken:

16. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not.

17. And the Lord said unto me, They have well *spoken that* which they have spoken.

18. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.

Sec. 3. This refers to Christ, and is corroborated by my faithful martyr Stephen.

Psalms. xvi. 8. I have set the Lord always before me; because *he is* at my right hand, I shall not be moved:

9. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope;

10. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.

11. Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in thy presence *is* fullness of joy: at thy right hand *there are* pleasures forevermore.

Psalms. cx. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

2. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.

3. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth.

4. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, thou *art* a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.

5. The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the days of his wrath.

7. He shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore shall he lift up the head.

Isaiah. vii. 14. Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Sec. 4. This does apply directly to the manner in which the MESSIAH was to be ushered into the world, saith the Lord, for no virgin can possibly conceive and bear a son, through the co-operation of man; for the instant she yields to nature's passions in man, her virginity is gone.

Jeremiah. xxiii. 5. Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

6. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this *is* his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Micah. v. 2. But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, *though* thou be little among the thousands of Judah, *yet*, out of thee shall he come forth unto Me, *that is* to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth *have been* from of old, from everlasting.

Zechariah. ix. 9. Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh unto thee; he *is* just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

II Esdras. ii. 36. Flee the shadow of this world, receive the joyfulness of your glory; I testify my Savior openly.

46. Then said I unto the angel, What young person is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands?

47. So he answered and said unto me, It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world. Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord.

Chap. vii. 28. For my son Jesus, shall be revealed with those that be with him, and they that remain shall rejoice within four hundred years.

29. After these years shall my Son Christ die, and all men that have life.*

Chap. xiii. 32. And the time shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the signs shall happen which I shewed thee before, and then shall my Son be declared, whom thou sawest as a man ascending;

33. And when all the people hear his voice, every man shall in their own land leave the battle they have one against another.

35. But he shall stand upon the top of the mount Sion.

36. And Sion shall come, and shall be shewed to all men, being prepared and builded, like as thou sawest the hill graven without hands.

37. And this my Son shall rebuke the wicked inventions of

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* Alluding to the falling away of the primitive Church.

those nations, which for their wicked life are fallen into the tempest;

38. And shall lay before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like unto a flame; and he shall destroy them without labor by the law which is like unto fire.

Daniel. ix. 24. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy.

25. Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince *shall be* seven weeks, and three score and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. †

Matthew. i. 23. Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

Chap. ii. 6. And thou Bethlehem *in* the land of Juda, art not the least among the Princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

Chap. xxi. 5. Tell ye the Daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.

Chap. xxvii. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value;

10. And gave them for the Potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.

John. xii. 15. Fear not, daughter of Sion; behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

16. These things understood not his disciples at the first; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things

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† That is, sixty nine weeks, reckoning each day for a year, from the date of the above mentioned commandment, brings the time to the public ministry of Jesus Christ—In the midst of the seventieth week he was crucified. And at the close of this week, which completes the seventy, his anointed body, the primitive Church was established. Thus by this prophecy, it was clearly shown that the Messiah would be manifested at that very time, which plainly proves Jesus to be the true Messiah.

were written of him, and *that* they had done these things unto him.

Acts. ii. 25. For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved:

26. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also, my flesh shall rest in hope:

27. Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.

29. Men *and* brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day.

30. Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruits of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne.

Chap. vii. 37. This is that Moses, which said unto the children of Israel, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear.

38. This is he, that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sinai, and *with* our fathers; who received the lively oracles to give unto us:

39. To whom our fathers would not obey, but thrust *him* from them and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt.

Sec. 3. Thus saith the Lord, What different from this, have the children of men, as a body, done from the earliest ages of the world to the present day, whenever and wherever, I have manifested myself unto them? The record of their own histories, do declare that they have pursued the same path.

Hebrews. v. 6. As he saith also in another *place*, Thou *art* a priest forever after the order of Melchisedec.

7. Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared;

8. Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered;

9. And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him;

10. Called of God a high priest, after the order of Melchisedec.

11. Of whom we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing.

CHAPTER VI.

OF MAN'S TREATMENT WITH GOD'S EXTENDED OFFERS OF CHARITY AND GRACE; AND OF GOD'S DEALINGS WITH HIM IN DISPENSATIONS PAST, AND IN THE PRESENT.

1. Of timely warnings by the Prophets.
2. Of the darkness and opposition of man.
4. A few laid down their lives, for the gospel's sake.
5. The light of the gospel never suffered to become wholly extinguished.
6. Mankind still persist in their own ways.
8. The Lord declareth the execution of justice.
9. The Lord reasons upon the situation and conduct of man.
17. Denunciation of judgments, if man does not repent.
18. Knowledge suffered to increase, Judgments to those who do not the will of God, for fear of reproach.
20. Christ's mission and labor.
24. Christ not sent to save souls in their sins.
25. Of the confession of sins, in order to become true witnesses for God.
28. All rewarded according to their works.
29. Few willing to sacrifice their own wills, and do the will of God.

1. Give ear, O ye people, and understand my words, saith the Lord; I testify unto you, that all the foregoing passages, and many more, which have never been handed down on record, were dictated by my spirit, and sent forth, through the mouths of the prophets, that the people might have timely warning of the coming of the Messiah, and be prepared to work with him, by hearkening to his voice, that my peace and my blessing might rest upon them.

2. But how dark was their darkness, and how great was their blindness, that after all the particular instruction from the mouths of my faithful servants, they knew not the Savior, when I sent him forth, neither would they, as a body, believe, when he declared himself unto them, and showed forth, by the miracles which he wrought, that he proceeded, and came forth from God, the Father of all, and from none else.

3. But the gospel which he preached, their carnal, self-willed and bigoted natures did abhor; and the testimony which he bore, cut them to their hearts, therefore, in cruel rage, and malice, they

exerted all their power, to destroy his animal body, as quick as possible, that his galling testimony might be suppressed, and thus did they accomplish their own destruction.

4. But a few chosen ones gathered unto him, and remained true to the cause, to the laying down of their lives; and were thereby crowned with glory, honor and immortality;

5. And the light of that gospel, revealed through the Son, I did never suffer wholly to be extinguished, through the gloomy, dark, and bloody reign of antichrist; but would, at times, cause rays of this light to break forth, in vessels of my own preparing, as twinkling stars in a dark night, from a cloudy horizon; and bear testimony against the awful abominations of the age in which they lived; notwithstanding, their natural lives were sure to be sacrificed, under the most excruciating tortures as the consequence. And thus have been the doings of mankind, from the creation of the world, to the present day.

6. They have always chosen their own way, in opposition to that which I, in mercy, sent forth unto them. Therefore, have they, as a world of human souls, all gone astray, and worshiped the idol god of their own lusts. Yet, as a kind and tender Father, oft have I reasoned with them, and entreated of them to turn from the error of their doings; to cease from doing evil, and learn to do well: to cease from their bloodshed and carnage, and dwell together in peace and love.

7. And many have been the holy Angels which I have sent, with messages of love and mercy, that they might be persuaded, through my unbounded goodness and loving kindness, to turn unto Me their God and Creator; but all to no purpose, save that they would draw out their mouths in ridicule and derision unto Me, and unto my messengers; and sound forth blasphemous words against my holy work, and the subjects thereof. Yea, saith the Lord, they would gladly turn the whole habitable earth into a theatre of sin and corruption!

8. But I have declared in my wrath, and I will execute in my fury, justice upon the nations of the earth, such as will not hearken and return to the law of the Lord their God: for I will surely avenge the innocent blood that crieth unto Me.

9. My spirit shall not always be mocked by frail mortals, who are but as worms and insects, crawling upon the earth's surface.

What is man, that I should be mindful of him, or the son of man that I should visit him?

10. Have WE not created him to pursue a different path from that which he hath pursued, from the foundation of the world to the present day? Have I not declared that WE created him in our own image, to be an honor and a glory unto US?

11. And shall WE suffer him, saith the Lord, instead of doing US honor, to disgrace the name by which he was created,

12. By filling the earth with blood and violence, and covering her face with filthy stews of abomination?

13. By trafficking in human blood, and making merchandise of souls?

14. By grinding the face of the poor, and turning the right of the needy away?

15. By supporting the rich, the great and the high, who have got gain without right, in every kind of the most extravagant luxury; while those of their fellow creatures who labor daily with their hands for bread, are starving for want of the same?

16. Shall the earth groan unto Me, by reason of such injustice, and I not be avenged on her inhabitants, saith the Lord? Nay, nay, crieth my eternal justice.

17. I will visit her in mercy, if she will hearken; but if not, I will visit her in judgment, still more severe than I poured forth upon those stiff-necked, hard hearted and rebellious Jews, who crucified the holy Son of God, when he was sent forth unto them.

18. For I have suffered light, knowledge and understanding to be increased in the earth, and where ever much is given, there much, in return, will be required. And unto whomsoever light and knowledge is given, to do their master's will, and they do it not, the same shall be beaten with many stripes.

19. And where the true gospel light does shine into a soul, and they obey it not, for fear they shall be mocked and scorned, by their fellow creatures; double condemnation will fall upon that soul; and my judgments will surely visit them, unless they speedily repent, and obey the light which I have given them, saith the Lord.

20. Understand the word of the Lord your God all ye people; I did not send my beloved Son into the world for naught: I did not send him to make a show of the gospel without possessing the substance.

21. He took on him the nature of man, with all its frail and fallen

propensities, that he might set him a true example, how to deny himself, by taking up a daily cross, against every evil propensity of his nature.

22. This, your Lord and Savior effectually did, by putting every enemy of the soul's best good and comfort, under his feet. He conquered the power of sin and death, by passing through the deepest of sufferings.

23. And by this means, he was always able to resist the temptations of every fallen propensity of nature, at the first presentment, and was never, in any instance, overcome; therefore, he was perfected through sufferings, and enabled to open the door of eternal salvation to every one, that would strip themselves for the race, and run for the prize, in the path which he directed.

24. But I never sent him on earth, either in his first, or second appearance, to save any souls in their sins. There can be no power given to do this, saith the Lord; my attribute of eternal justice forbiddeth it.

25. But every one, who would come into the order of my grace, must confess their sins, one by one, before my Witnesses; and labor to repent of the same, by leaving them off. And none can ever come into the true gospel of Christ, either in his first or in his second appearance, short of doing this.

26. And none can ever stand as true witnesses for Me, until they have done this, in sincerity of heart and honesty of soul, and have labored to repent, and cry to God that they might be forgiven for the same.

27. For the heart, defiled and corrupted with sinful abominations, is like unto a cage filled with every unclean and hateful bird; or like unto a whited sepulchre, that is full of rottenness and dead men's bones within, and it never can be cleansed, short of a full and free confession.

28. I AM, is a God of eternal justice, and will render to every one their just reward. I have in past dispensations of my grace to man, given him laws and statutes, agreeable to the age and day in which he lived, and in keeping them, he would always have been insured with my love and blessing, to protect him in his duty.

29. But few, very few, saith the Creator of all, have I ever found in any age of the world, who were willing to sacrifice their own ways and wills, with all their carnal enjoyments, to do my will and pleasure; therefore have they run in their own way, and not in the way of their God.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MY HOLY SPIRIT, AND THE MANNER OF MY WORK, AS OPERATING UPON THE HEARTS OF THE CHILDREN OF MEN, THROUGH VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE AGENCIES.

1. God calleth unto man, and reasoneth with him.
6. Man justified in proportion to obedience to the law of God.
8. The gospel never leads to contention.
10. Of the profession of Christians.
11. Expressions of the wicked.
14. Of those who declared falsely.
15. Falsehood not changed into truth by that means.
17. Of the operation of the spirit of Christ.
20. Of faith and words without works.
22. Man warned to turn from his wickedness.
24. His works merit a scourge at the hand of God.
25. An offer of mercy yet extended.
27. Of the operations of the hand of Providence.
29. Of the two leaved gates.
30. Of the sending forth of Angels.
33. The Lord come to declare his laws.
35. Of conviction and obedience to the calls of conscience.

1. Draw near unto me, the Lord your God, O ye inhabitants of earth! Incline your hearts to understand my word, and turn your feet to walk in my paths.

2. Open your eyes to behold, and unstop your ears that you may hear, while I hold forth the sceptre of my mercy, and extend the arm of my charity, once more unto you; and teach you again of my laws, that you may walk in my paths.

3. While I command the holy Angels, whom I have sent forth with the vials of my wrath and judgment, to stay their hands for a short season, that the people may hear my word, and have a space to repent if they will, and prove unto Me, by the humility of their souls, that they really believe my word, and will hearken unto my voice.

4. The great I AM, who sitteth upon his throne on high, is a spirit of everlasting goodness and eternal brightness, operating through all immensity and space, and endless worlds unknown;

yet, I formed this earth for my pleasure, and placed the image of my likeness thereon for my glory.

5. And as one grain of sand to the sea shore, or as one drop of water to the rolling deep, so it may be reckoned, in comparison to the power, majesty and glory of Him who created it. Yet, in every individual whom I have created after my own image, is placed an immortal soul, or never dying part, which is of that eternal substance that gave it being; and this must, and will, eternally exist, clothed in happiness, or in misery, just in proportion as its own individual works shall merit, when weighed in the balance of my eternal justice.

6. And just so far as the inhabitants of the earth have kept the law of nature, with all its restrictions, which I did sound, through the mouths of my faithful servants, [and cause] to be recorded in the sacred volume, that man might know the will of God, his Creator, just so far shall they be justified in that order and state before Me, and no further.

7. And again, just so far as all those professing the Christian religion, have sincerely embraced it, in singleness of heart and sincerity of soul, according to the very best light and understanding given them, so far they shall be justified in my sight, and no further; saith He who sitteth upon the throne of eternal justice.

8. And again, hear ye my word; my spirit doth work in the hearts of the children of men, in various ways and manners. But understand, all ye inhabitants of earth, and rulers of the same; never, since the days of the Messiah, hath the spirit of that gospel which your blessed Lord and Savior brought forth unto you, operated to cause you to shed each other's blood.

9. For did he not declare, both by precept and example, as plain as the open light of day, that his kingdom was not of this world, therefore his servants would not fight? And did he not furthermore testify, that his kingdom was a kingdom of peace, and that the subjects of it must dwell together in bonds of love and peace; at all times, do unto others as they wished others to do unto them, and so fulfill the law of true righteousness?

10. Consider, pause, and reflect, all ye nations, ye rulers, kings and people, who make a profession of the true religion of my blessed Son. Great, very great, saith the Lord, are the professions of the children of men upon earth.

11. But I am about to visit them for that which they *possess*, not that which they *profess*; for they who *profess*, and *possess not*, are

likened unto the man who built his house upon the sand, and the floods came, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof.

12. And so shall it be, saith the God of Heaven, with the nations and kingdoms of the earth. And notwithstanding my word of warning unto them, many will say, Our God delayeth his coming; come, let us take our ease, and rest in our sinful abominations; perhaps it will be just as well with us, in the end, as with others.

13. We have often heard of great warnings and prophecies, purporting to be from God, but I do not know as there ever was any thing took place on the account, any more than common; so I think they are all a blasphemous fiction, of some vain mortal that wants to frighten the human race.

14. But I again declare unto the inhabitants of earth, saith the Lord, that although there have been those who spoke in my name, falsely, saying that I had sent them, when I sent them not; and those who have been suffered to taste a little of the true Oil of life and light, and, having no vessel suitably cleansed and prepared to receive it, have, by that means, run extremely wild, and done much harm, in causing the heart that was already hard with unbelief, as respects the invisible operations of my divine spirit, to become still more hard and unbelieving;

15. Yet, saith the Lord, none of these things change falsehood into truth, or truth into falsehood: a just weight, and a just balance alone can stand; and by their works shall they be known, who be false, and who be true.

16. I work by means of my own choosing, through both visible and invisible agencies. The fruit of the tree shall always stand as the criterion, by which the good qualities of that tree shall be known.

17. And where ever the spirit of my blessed Son does find an entrance into the hearts of the children of men, it operates in the following manner: They will feel a spirit of prayer, to cry unto Me, in deep tribulation of soul, that their eyes may be opened, to see and know whether they are, in truth, continually living up to the best light of their own consciences, or whether they are daily violating the same.

18. They will feel their souls hungering and thirsting after spiritual food, anxiously desiring to be clothed upon with that true state of justification, that they can feel they are at peace with all their fellow creatures, and can meet their God in a state of true confi-

dence, having followed the best light given them while upon earth.

19. And furthermore, all such souls as are operated upon by the spirit of good, will feel a kind, tender, and sympathetic feeling towards the whole human family: and when any of their fellow creatures are in distress, if it is in their power to alleviate their sufferings, they will do it; for, remember that faith, unsupported by works, is dead: but such as have true and living faith, will always have works, corresponding therewith.

20. But unto such as can say to a suffering fellow mortal, Go, be thou fed, warmed and clothed; or to the heart worn down under affliction, grief and sorrow, Go, be thou comforted, doing nothing further; I will liken them, saith the Almighty, unto such as profess to be great Christians, calling loudly upon the name of my blessed Son, to save them, by his righteous merits, while they themselves, can readily shed the heart's blood of their fellow creatures, and daily wallow in the filthy and sinful abominations of their own carnal propensities.

21. And again, O ye blind and stupid, saith the Lord,—How can you, in reason, expect to find mercy at my hand, while you are spending your days on earth in rioting and drunkenness, wickedness, and every kind of debauchery, fulfilling the desires of every carnal propensity of both body and mind; yet, cloaking it under the religion of my holy child Jesus, which is pure and undefiled?

22. O turn, turn, crieth the voice of Him who sitteth upon the throne, turn ye, turn ye, O frail mortals of my creation, turn, in the lowest of humility and repentance, to that God who created you; or I will sink kingdoms and cities, in the bowels of that earth which ye have caused to drink in the blood of the innocent.

23. For unto whomsoever ye have yielded yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are; whether of sin unto death, or of grace unto eternal life; and but few do I find upon the earth's surface, who, as yet, are willing to enter in at the straight gate, and walk in the narrow way, that they may find eternal life.

24. The whole human family have gone astray; there are none but what have sinned in my sight, and there are none, but what their works merit a scourge at my hand.

25. Yet, in mercy do I once more extend an offer of repentance, now, in this, the latter day of my visitation on earth, to fallen man. And they that think they can pass lightly over the solemn warnings which I send unto them, and trample them under their feet, I will

surely meet them, in an hour that they are not looking for Me, and in a day that they are unprepared for my coming, saith the Lord of hosts.

26. Then will they in vain call upon my name for mercy; then would they gladly confess their sins and abominations, that they might find mercy at my hand; but he that gathereth not in harvest, must perish in winter. He that receiveth not in mercy, must take in judgment.

27. All that operates in the hearts of the children of men, to diffuse the principles of peace, discarding the cruel and barbarous principles of bloodshed and carnage, and all the efforts and labors, of both governments and individuals, to bring about and produce a moral reform upon the minds of the people;

28. And all the associations and societies, which have been formed for the purpose of encouraging the cause of temperance, whether in eating or drinking, are the operations of the hand of my Providence, upon the hearts of the children of men, to prepare the way for my coming to visit the earth, in mercy and in judgment; in a far more remarkable and striking manner, than it ever before was visited.

29. For the great I AM, now openeth the *two leaved gates*, and declareth, with his own voice of eternal truth, the only way of entrance into the holy city. And all who seek to enter by other paths, are but as thieves and robbers; and it shall be said unto them, depart, for I know you not.

30. I have sent forth my angels of lamentation and of sorrow, of judgment and desolation, of mercy and of charity, to pass and re-pass through the earth.

31. Though as yet, I have scarcely suffered them, saith the Lord, to begin to make themselves known to the children of men: for I will first prove the inhabitants of the earth in this age, as I have proved them in times and ages long past.

32. I will send forth, in my own way, my solemn word of warning; and if that they will receive, I will give unto them, in my own time and season, my law and commandment, which I have already placed in the heart of my Zion, respecting those who still desire to live after the order of nature, propagating their own species.

33. Thus saith the Lord; I have come to declare my laws and my statutes to the children of men. And such as are for the law of nature, *keep the law of nature*, which I have sent forth, and the

blessing and protection of an over-ruling Providence, shall rest upon them for the same.

34. And such as are for the law of grace, *keep the law of grace*, which can have no part or place in the works of natural generation; and the immediate protection and blessing of my Almighty hand, shall be extended to them for the same; and they shall be crowned with glory, immortality and eternal life, in the world to come.

35. When souls are awakened in their spirits, to search after that which will save them from sin daily, then, the invisible agencies which I have sent forth, are operating upon their minds, to wake them up to a sense of their great loss and distance from a pure and holy God.

36. Souls in this situation, feel, many times, extremely bad, and know not the cause; but if they would follow, regardless of personal consequences, the beams of true light, that are suffered, by my Almighty power, at such times, often to break forth and shine into their souls, and strictly live to the same, regardless of sneers and scoffs, or the ridicule of their fellow companions, this light would invariably lead them, as the final result, to the fountain of eternal truth; where I, the God and Creator of all, have placed my name, forevermore to stand.

37. Where I have promised to set up a kingdom, that all the powers of both earth and hell, can never overthrow or destroy; where violence shall not be used, and where blood shall not be shed; where the spirit of the Lamb, and the meekness of the Savior, shall characterize the goings of the people; where no confidence or trust is placed in the arm of flesh; but where the Almighty power of the Lord their God is sought unto for protection.

38. For a pure and holy people, whose hands are not stained in human blood, and whose feet pursue not in the paths of sin and death, I will surely have upon the earth, to bear testimony of my word and my work, and testify against the wickedness and abominations thereon committed, saith the God of Heaven.

CHAPTER VIII.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, SHOWING THE PLAIN AND POINTED DECLARATIONS OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THE MANNER OF LIFE HE REQUIRED OF ALL WHO PROFESSED TO FOLLOW HIM.

4. Christ, the end of the law for righteousness to all who believed.
6. Laws given in every age, suitable for the age.
7. Of fleshly gratifications.
8. Of evils forbidden.
11. Of those who are counted worthy to obtain the resurrection.
12. Of forsaking all, &c.
13. The situation in which mankind is found.
16. Of rejecting the offers of salvation, and of Christ's second coming.
20. Of God's visitation to the inhabitants of the earth, in judgment.
25. What is required of those who would ever come to the Son of God.
27. The requirements of God unaltered, by man's abuse of them.
28. Scripture passages quoted, sufficient to condemn the whole world.
30. Christ's words not contradictory in spirit.
31. Of a cloak for evil.
35. A declaration of God's judgments.
37. The spirit of carnal warfare and contention, opposed to godliness.

Sec. 1. I require, saith the Lord, the most plain and prominent passages, spoken by the Savior when he was on earth, as referring to the manner of life that all were required to live, who would become his true followers, to be here inserted; that the children of men may behold, with shame and surprise, the great difference between the manner of life here required, and that which they have practiced from that day to this; which stand as opposite as day and night, or as light and darkness.

2. And the record of this word is contained in the Sacred Book, which they acknowledge to be the true record of the word of God to the children of men.

Matthew, v. 1. And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him.

2. And he opened his mouth, and taught them saying,

3. Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

4. Blessed *are* they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

5. Blessed *are* the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

6. Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

7. Blessed *are* the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

8. Blessed *are* the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

9. Blessed *are* the peace makers: for they shall be called the children of God.

10. Blessed *are* they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

11. Blessed are ye when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

12. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great *is* your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

13. Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

14. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.

17. Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.

18. For verily, I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.

Sec. 3. O ye professors of Christianity, saith the Lord, compare your past and present lives with the foregoing lessons of instruction, which were given by the mouth of your Lord and Savior, when he was on earth, in person.

4. Remember, O ye children of men, that *Christ*, the *Savior*, was the end of the law, [for righteousness,] to all them that believed; and none who name his name, as being a true follower of him, have, since the day he was on earth, had any right to plead, even the indulgences given under the law, that Moses gave to the children of Israel.

5. For in Christ, was brought forth the law of grace; which not only fulfilled all that had been given in the previous laws to the

children of Israel, but superseded the necessity of all other laws, going before; being, in itself, a superior law to any that had ever preceded it; as all had been weak, through indulgences; therefore could bring nothing to perfection.

6. In every age of the world, I have, in the dispensation of my own wisdom, given such laws for the children of men, as were adapted to the age in which they were given, and best calculated to effect the work for which they were designed, saith the Lord.

> *Matthew*, v. 19. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach *them*, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.
>
> 20. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed *the righteousness* of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.
>
> 28. But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart.

Sec. 7. This plainly declares my requirement, saith the Lord, for all such as come into the order of the gospel; that they can have nothing to do with fleshly gratifications; not so much as even to *look on a Woman to lust after her*. And again;

> *Matthew*, v. 34. But I say unto you, Swear not at all: neither by heaven; for it is God's throne:
>
> 35. Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King:
>
> 36. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black;
>
> 37. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever *is* more than these cometh of evil.
>
> 38. Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.
>
> 39. But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

Sec. 8. Now listen, O ye people, and understand my words; Do not the few foregoing sentences, spoken by your *Lord* and *Savior*, effectually forbid all quarreling, contention, revenge, and defrauding, which is so universally practiced among mankind? The voice of truth, in every heart, must answer, Yea.

> *Matthew*, v. 43. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou

shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;

Chap. vi. 5. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites *are*: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, They have their reward.

19. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:

20. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

21. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

Chap. vii. 12. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

13. Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide *is* the gate, and broad *is* the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

14. Because, strait *is* the gate, and narrow *is* the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

21. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

22. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?

23. And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Chap. xii. 36. But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.

Chap. xv. 3. But he answered and said unto them, Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?

7. *Ye* hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying,

8. This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoreth me with *their* lips; but their heart is far from me.

9. But in vain they do worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men.

Matthew, xxiii. 4. For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay *them* on men's shoulders; but they *themselves* will not move them with one of their fingers.

5. But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments,

6. And love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,

7. And greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.

8. But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, *even* Christ; and all ye are brethren.

11. But he that is greatest among you, shall be your servant.

12. And whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself, shall be exalted.

13. But wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in *yourselves*, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in.

14. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.

15. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves.

Chap. xxvi. 52. Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.

Sec. 9. Consider, all ye who profess to be the followers of the Lord's Christ, the sayings in the foregoing verses, which wholly forbid all wars and fightings with your fellow creatures, of whatever name or nature: compare your present lives with the same.

Mark, vii. 20. And he said, That which cometh out of the man, that defileth the man.

21. For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders,

22. Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness;

23. All these evil things come from within, and defile the man.

8. For, laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, *as* the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do.

9. And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.

Luke, xxi. 34. And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and *so* that day come upon you unawares.

35. For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.

36. Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

Chap. xx. 34. And Jesus answering, said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage:

35. But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage:

36. Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

Chap. xiv. 33. So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.

Sec. 10. Hearken, and incline your hearts to understand, saith the Lord, all ye people, the words of the Lord and Savior, just mentioned: Not that I say he has been your Savior; but he would have been your Savior, had you kept his commandments.

11. Hearken, saith the Lord, all ye who plead for carnal indulgences of your natures, and the necessity of living in a married state. "They that are counted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection, neither marry, nor are given in marriage."

12. And furthermore, "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." These two sentences alone, crieth the voice of Him on high, are sufficient to convince every honest seeker after the truth, that the whole world have become blind to the truth, through their own lusts, and love to carnal pleasures.

13. Therefore, in very deed, they know not the Lord's Christ, or the purity of his work. I find, saith the Lord, the inhabitants

of earth, wandering after the beast, and a beastly nature; not after my holy child Jesus, the Son of the true and living God.

14. And I furthermore find them as ready to oppose the manner, and the name, by which I have sent forth his divine spirit the second time, to a lost and languishing world, as the Jews were, to oppose his first appearance.

15. I find the sense of man, exalted to the skies, looking into the natural heavens, for the millennial day, or the coming of the Savior, to appear the second time. But, as the Jews of old, drew their own plans for the manner of his first appearance, so have the children of men, in this age, fixed and drawn their own plans for his second coming.

16. But as the former rejected the Holy Son of God, and the offers of salvation at his hand, because of their own self bigoted wisdom; so, in like manner, do the latter reject the form in which I have sent forth Christ, the second time; for I have sent forth, [this divine spirit,] without sin unto salvation, to all that believe and obey him, in the order and manner that it hath pleased Me, the Almighty Creator of all, to reveal him; that the wisdom of this world might be confounded, and the loftiness of man bowed low; and such as feel themselves great and honorable, in the earth, brought into contempt before Me, saith the Lord.

17. And though they should follow the example of their predecessors, the Jews, and anxiously look, and wait, as long for Christ to come the second time, in their own way, and according to their own layings out, as the Jews have, for him to make his first appearance, they will be equally mistaken, saith the God of Heaven and earth; and I will, with my own mouth, declare it unto the nations of the earth, that all may be left without an excuse.

18. For the blindness and wickedness of men have become so great, that they will deny Me, and disbelieve my word, as their fathers before them have done.

19. They, as a body, will deny the Lord's Christ, who has the second time come forth, [through a chosen female] upon the earth, to make an end of sin.

20. Bow low, all ye inhabitants of earth, for no flesh shall glory in my presence. The days hasten, and rapidly roll on, that my Almighty hand of judgment shall sweep over the face of the earth; and those who have feared Me, by walking humbly in my presence, and keeping my commandments, shall be marked by the Holy

Angels, as the objects of my mercy, my favor and my protection.

21. For I have come, saith the Lord, to cleanse the earth from her awful abominations, by the fire of my truth, and the sword of my testimony; and when my heavy and desolating judgments roll on, then would her inhabitants gladly learn righteousness, by doing my will.

22. But my eternal justice, from the earliest ages of the world, hath always given the objects of my creation a due and timely warning; for I delight not in the destruction of any soul; but I would, that all turn to Me and repent, and be saved from their sins.

> *Luke*, xvii. 26. And as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.
>
> 27. They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark; and the flood came, and destroyed them all.
>
> 28. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot: they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;
>
> 29. But the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed *them* all.
>
> 30. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed.
>
> Chap. xiv. 26. If any *man* come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.
>
> 27. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.

Sec. 23. Again, reflect and consider, all ye children of men, who think you are in any degree, following the divine precepts and examples of your Lord and Savior.

24. There can be nothing more plain, or any requirement more positive, than that which was sounded from his own mouth, when he was upon earth; and is contained in the two last verses.

25. No man can ever come to the Son of God, or be a follower of the same, except he first hate, and forsake, that which he most dearly loves; and then labors in tribulation of soul, until he hath gained a love to my holy requirements, which will far surpass all other loves.

26. And again, I say unto you, what do mankind love, while in a state of nature, as their own unsubdued passion of lust, and its coherents? Nothing, the voice of truth from every heart must

declare; for so have the works of man proved, saith the Lord, from the foundation of the world to the present time.

27. But the use that man hath made of the righteous requirements of my Holy Spirit, hath not altered the requirements, and never can; they remain holy and sacred, to the endless ages of eternity.

> *Luke*, xiv. 20. And another said, I have married a wife: and therefore I cannot come.

There were none that positively refused to come to the feast, but he that had married a wife.

> Chap. xvi. 15. And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.

Sec. 28. Thus saith the Lord your God, unto all who name the Christian religion, I have commanded my mighty and holy Angel, whom I have sent forth to earth, to read this roll, for mortal hand to write, to have here inserted the foregoing declarations, which were delivered by my blessed Son, when upon earth, the first time, as divine requirements to the children of men; as these alone, are sufficient to condemn the whole world, in its present state of sin and wickedness.

29. Though many of his sayings, still more plain than these, have never come down to the age in which you live; but by them ye shall not be judged; ye shall only be judged by that which hath been always before you, that ye might look upon at any time ye chose, and shape your lives accordingly.

30. There is nothing that ever proceeded from his mouth, that will, in the least, contradict the spirit of any of the foregoing declarations of his.

31. Now, O thou vain and mortal man, in what part of the gospel recorded in the sacred volume, dost thou find a cloak that is able to cover thy wars and bloodshed, with all thy filthy works of darkness?

32. And again, even in that part of the sacred bible that ye call the law, and the Prophets, can ye find a passage, or a clause, that will justify the awful abominations and horrid crimes, that have stained the earth for hundreds and hundreds of years past?.

33. Where is there one single sentence, between the lids of the sacred record, that can, in the least, justify the deeds of bigoted

priests, and wicked clergy, in shedding the blood of millions of their fellow creatures, in the most cruel and barbarous manner, that their fiendish passions were able to invent; and that too, under a pretence of trying to bring them over to embrace the christian religion; which plainly declares, upon its whole face, that no violence can be used, or blood can be shed, by any who are its true subjects.

34. And the souls of millions now in eternity, cry unto Me for vengeance to visit the earth, for their innocent blood that was spilled thereon, by wicked priests and clergy.

35. And I will, saith the God of Heaven, visit, upon all generations, who shall follow their footsteps in shedding blood, to suppress what they call heresy; [yea,]I will visit them in great wrath, and in sore displeasure shall my hand of judgment rest upon them, both in time, and in eternity.

36. And I will hunt them in my vengeance, and destroy them in my fury, saith the Lord, as they have destroyed the innocent before them, to gratify their own bigoted natures of lust and ambition.

37. This, I declare, with my own mouth, to the nations of the earth, saith the God of Heaven, is as far from the spirit and the letter of that gospel preached by my holy child Jesus, the Prince of Peace, either in his first, or his second appearance, as the lowest depths of hell, are from the highest mansions of true felicity and enjoyment, in the heavens above.

38. And so shall it forever remain on my eternal record, by which every soul shall be judged, at my bar of eternal justice, saith God, the Creator of all, and the dispenser of true justice, in his own due time and season, to every human being.

CHAPTER IX.

MY SOLEMN WORDS OF WARNING TO THE INHABITANTS OF EARTH, NEVER MORE TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE PRACTICED IN THE LONG AND GLOOMY PERIOD OF TIME CALLED THE DAYS OF ANTICHRIST;

OR THE TIME IN WHICH MY TWO WITNESSES WERE CLOTHED IN SACKCLOTH AND MOURNING; WHEN THERE WAS NO TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST ON EARTH.

1. God holds a controversy with mankind.
3. Concerning the second coming of Christ.
4. Of the reign of Antichrist.
6. Of the Ninevites.
11. Days of ignorance lightly passed over.
12. The treacherous required to repent.
13. Of wickedness in the reign of Antichrist.
16. Christ's manner of instruction.
18. The subjects of Antichrist rejected for their wickedness.
19. All warned by their fate.
20. The children of Israel a figure.
21. Of their judgments.
22. Of mockers.
24. Warning by antichristian wickedness.
25. The followers of Christ, no part in wars.

1. Thus saith the Lord, I will condescend, in my infinite wisdom and goodness, to reason with the objects of my creation, as a man would reason with his friend. This I condescended to do, in early ages; and shall the great I AM, in this, the latter day of his glory, be less mindful of the dangerous situation under the veil of darkness, which the many millions of souls now upon the earth, are resting?

2. Have not light and knowledge been suffered to increase, upon the earth, since the days of my first anointed One, whom I sent forth to earth to proclaim a free salvation, (not a compulsory one,) that all, whosoever would, might take of the waters of life freely? Surely, knowledge and understanding have increased. But did I not fore-show, even in the days of the Messiah, that I had not yet completed the order of my new, and spiritual kingdom?

3. And did not my holy influence, (or spirit,) move upon the

prophets, and upon the apostles, (or followers in truth of the Messiah,) to speak of that day in which Christ should appear the second time; and clearly intimate, the humiliating position in which he would appear in the latter day? Truly, the records contained in your bibles, bear Me witness.

4. And was not a long and gloomy period foretold, by the same spirit, which would take place, between the two bright and last dispensations of my eternal goodness, sent forth to earth by the Two Anointed Ones, the King and the Queen of Zion?

5. Surely, this record is also before you. And was it not foretold, that a great declension, and a falling away from the true gospel, would take place, after the mission of my beloved Son, was the first time finished on earth? Truly, these things were clearly intimated by the spirit of prophecy, through my faithful servants. But what have all my solemn warnings, in past dispensations, availed man? Hath he not always been blind to his own best good and interest? Hath he ever hearkened to my solemn warnings, when they were sent forth, and changed his manner of life; so that my hand of mercy could be extended towards him?

6. Have mankind, in general, ever hearkened, so much as did the Ninevites, at the solemn warnings of Jonah, whom I sent to denounce destruction upon their city within forty days?

7. And did they not humble themselves in sackcloth and ashes, from the king on the throne, to the meanest servant; and lament, and bewail their forlorn condition, and cry mightily to Me, that I would spare their city?

8. And was not my anger appeased by their humility, insomuch that I hearkened to their cry, and prolonged the days that preceded their destruction, so long as they remained penitent and humble, and walked in the way of a true reformation?

9. And when they had ceased longer to keep their vows which they had made unto Me, in their supplications, and again turned to their former wickedness, did I not accomplish, in full, the words which I sent, by my prophet Jonah, that complete destruction should visit their city?

10. Truly I did, saith the Lord; and the great over-ruling First Cause, Jehovah, upon his throne, is the same Almighty power, yesterday, to-day, and forever; whose goodness faileth not, and whose judgments do not slumber.

11. But according to my infinite wisdom, all things are dispensed

in my own time and season; and to the honest hearted and sincere seekers, though the true light of the gospel might never have shone into their souls; yet, if they have truly followed the best light made known to them, the days of their ignorance shall be lightly passed over, and my hand of mercy shall rest upon them.

12. But those who are treacherous to that light which I have suffered to shine into their souls, and by reason of the cross and self-denial, which they perceived it was going to require of them, and who, by that means, labored to stifle the same, and put it out, so that they could again turn to their former lives of sin and wickedness, and not feel that remorse of conscience which this light would bring, must surely feel deep tribulation of soul, and wash in the streams of godly sorrow and repentance for the same, or they cannot escape the heavy hand of my judgment, saith the Lord; for such, sin in very deed, against the true light of God.

13. But again listen, all ye people of the earth, pause, consider, and reflect! How awful and great, was the wickedness practiced by man, upon the earth, after the days of the Messiah were passed; and his faithful followers, who had laid down their lives in support of his testimony, were called home to eternity, to rest with their Lord and Savior, from their wearisome toils and labors on earth, which they had passed through in laboring to plant and establish the gospel of their blessed Lord and Master, in the hearts of the children of men, who, as a body, proved themselves unworthy of salvation, or the notice of their God in mercy!

14. For, by their cruel and persecuting spirit, against the holy Son of God, and against those who were his true followers, they proved themselves fit subjects for my wrath and sore destruction, to rest upon them, and sweep them from the face of the earth, and scatter the remnant to the four winds of heaven, seeking rest, and finding none.

15. And for what were all these, their heavy sufferings? Because of their self-exalted ideas of the coming of the Messiah, and of their hard and obstinate hearts, in rebelling against his word and work, when I sent him forth, saith the Lord.

16. Though he communicated his lessons of instruction to them, in the most mild and persuasive language, and in a most Fatherly and affectionate manner extended his hand of charity and loving kindness, and would have gathered them under his wings of protection, as a hen would gather her chickens;

17. Yet, notwithstanding all this, their hearts became hard as adamant, their eyes became blinded with thick scales, and their ears became deaf with their own clamors against the Son of God, against the gospel which he preached, and against all such as hearkened to him.

18. Therefore did I reject them, as a people, [who were] cursed in my sight, and from their own mouths did I judge them; whose lips were filled with blasphemy, and iniquity daily dwelling between their teeth, and practiced with their hands.

19. And by their fate, saith the Lord, do I warn all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, of the present day.

20. For I had chosen this people, and had led them for some thousands of years, that through them, I might prefigure my work with the children of men, in all after ages; and had they been obedient, no power, or people, should have ever overcome them.

21. But the heavy and desolating judgments, which I caused to fall upon them, to consume and scatter them among every nation upon the face of the whole earth, remain as a standing monument of solemn warning, to the nations of the earth at this day.

22. For in like manner as I *have* done unto them, saith the God of Heaven, so *will* I do, and moreover, also to that nation and people, in this latter day, who shall mock the sacred words of my solemn warnings, and make light of the day of my visitation unto them; or such as shall seek to destroy the work, or the word of my testimony, which I have established on earth, through my Two Anointed Ones.

23. Also give ear, and understand my words, saith He who ruleth on high, and will yet rule in the kingdoms of men upon earth.

24. Let the bloody and merciless reign of antichrist, which for hundreds of years, did bind the consciences, enslave the souls of men, and drench the earth with human blood, be a solemn and awful warning to all the human race. For greater crimes of heaven-daring wickedness, according to the age, by man cannot be committed, than was perpetrated by the secular arm, under this long, dark and gloomy reign, in which there was no true Church of Christ upon the earth; and all this, pretendedly, under the banner of Christ.

25. Let all nations and people, remember, saith the Lord, that they who are, in any measure, the followers of the Son of God, can neither have, or take, any part in shedding human blood; neither

can they have, or take, any part in making use of compulsory measures, to increase the number that may be said to believe as they do, or belong to what they may term, their own persuasion. No example of this kind, was ever set by your Lord and Savior, either in his first or second appearance, nor ever will be.

26. And by this criterion, may all professed christendom discern, that where Christ their Lord and Savior reigns, there, bloodshed and carnage must cease; there the spirit of retaliation cannot dwell; for the spirit of the Lamb is inoffensive, while that of the ravenous beast, is destructive.

27. Therefore, know ye, all nations and people saith the Lord, that where my kingdom is set up, its subjects rely upon my arm for strength and protection. They trust not in the arm of flesh. And they that put their trust in Me, shall renew their strength; they shall walk and not faint, saith Jehovah. But they that trust in flesh and blood, shall fall by the broken staff on which they lean.

CHAPTER X.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, ALLUDING TO THE BENIGHTED REIGN OF ANTICHRIST.

3. Mankind questioned by the Almighty.
8. God trifleth not with his creatures.
10. Few learned righteousness, by teachings sent of God, &c.
11. Earth a paradise, had man kept his rectitude.
15. No previous laws of God to man, disannulled in this day.
16. Of the law of Moses.
17. End of the Mosaic dispensation.
18. Transgression of the law of God, the cause of destruction.
21. Mercy never withdrawn from the obedient soul.
22. Of those who search the scriptures, to find a cloak for evil.
23. The sincere and obedient blessed, although imperfect.
24. The law, a step stone, &c.
25. Of justification by the law.

Sec. 1. Again I do require, saith the Holy Angel, a few of the most plain and evident allusions, mentioned in Holy Writ, which refer to the benighted reign of antichrist, to be here inserted, just as they were then spoken by the spirit of prophecy.

Daniel, vii. 8. I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and behold, in this horn *were* eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

9. I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment *was* white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne *was like* the fiery flame, *and* his wheels *as* burning fire.

10. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

11. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld *even* till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

21. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

22. Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

25. And he shall speak *great* words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

26. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy *it* unto the end.

27. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

Chap. viii. 13. Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall be* the vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?

14. And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.

Chap. xii. 7. And I heard the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth forever, that *it shall be* for a time, times, and a half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these *things* shall be finished.

8. And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what *shall be* the end of these *things*?

9. And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words *are* closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

10. Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

11. And from the time *that* the daily *sacrifice* shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, *there shall be* a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

Revelations, xiii. 7. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

Micah, iv. 11. Now also many nations are gathered against thee, that say, Let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion.

12. But they know not the thoughts of the LORD, neither understand they his counsel: for he shall gather them as the sheaves into the floor.

Matthew, xxiv. 4. And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.

5. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.

15. When ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand,)

23. Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here *is* Christ, or there; believe *it* not.

24. For there shall arise false christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if *it were* possible, they should deceive the very elect.

25. Behold, I have told you before.

26. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, *he is* in the secret chambers; believe *it* not.

Mark, xiii. 6. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am *Christ*: and shall deceive many.

14. But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand,) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains:

Sec. 2. Consider, O ye people, what plainer declaration of the spirit, could be given, than the foregoing, to inform the people that the time was then near, that the true Church should be made desolate of Christ, by the abominations practiced by those who professed to be of the same.

Mark, xiii. 21. And then, if any man shall say to you, Lo, here *is* Christ; or lo, *he is* there; believe *him* not.

22. For false Christs, and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if *it were* possible, even the elect.

23. But take ye heed: behold, I have foretold you all things.

Luke, xxi. 8. And he said, Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am *Christ;* and the time draweth near: go ye not therefore after them.

I. *John*, ii. 18. Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time.

Chap. iv. 3. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, [or, manifested through a mortal body,] is not of God. And this is that *spirit* of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.

II. *Thess.* ii. 3. Let no man deceive you by any means; for *that day shall not come*, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition;

4. Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.

7. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way.

8. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:

9. *Even him*, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders,

10. And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them

that perish; because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

11. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie:

12. That they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness.

II. *Timothy*, iii. 1. This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come.

2. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy,

3. Without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good,

4. Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God;

5. Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away.

6. For of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts;

7. Ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Sec. 3. Where is the nation or people, saith the Lord, that is ready and prepared to come to the knowledge of the truth, when I shall reveal it unto them?

4. Where is the kingdom, nation or people, that will not do, in this last dispensation of my goodness to man, as their fathers before them have done?

5. Who is ready to receive Me in my own way, saith the Lord?

6. And who are ye that are ever ready to carve out ways of your own, and cry out against my word, and my work, Blasphemy and delusion?

7. Who among you will be ever learning, and never ready to come to the knowledge of the truth, when I, your God and Creator, make it known unto you?

8. Pause, and consider your doings. The Great I AM is a merciful God; but trifleth not with the objects of his creation, who spurn at his work, and turn a blind eye and a deaf ear unto his sacred word.

9. Look at the blindness of your fellow creatures, who have gone before you, for many hundreds of years past. Notwithstanding the

plainness of my word, in giving them warning; that they might always be enlightened, and enabled thereby, (if they would,) to keep from the devouring grasp of the adversary of all good, through the long and gloomy period which did elapse, between the first and second appearance of Christ, or the Two Anointed Ones, in their proper order and place.

10. But few, indeed, have learned righteousness by the holy lessons of instruction that I have sent forth unto them, in past dispensations, saith the Lord; but they have labored to carve out a way of their own, by which they might save their own corrupt, fallen propensities of a depraved nature, and indulge the same, in open violation of every command laid down, or given in the sacred volume.

11. Had mankind gone no further, in the indulgence and gratification of their natures, than there is permission given for it in the sacred book, which they with their mouths so highly venerate, and pretend is their guide, by which to square their lives, this earth would have been a terrestrial paradise to what it now is; and my Almighty power would have bestowed blessings of peace without measure, in lieu of war and bloodshed, desolation and destruction;

12. And at the present day, she would have been prepared to do my will and pleasure, of her own choice, without being visited with my heavy and desolating judgments, which are now poured out without mixture for her, saith the Lord; that when she refuseth to learn righteousness in mercy, she may learn it in judgment at my hand.

> *Revelations*, vi. 12. And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood:
>
> 13. And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind.
>
> 14. And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.
>
> 15. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free-man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;
>
> 16. And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide

us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17. For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

Sec. 13. Thus saith the Lord, I have caused to be laid before you, some of the most plain, and instructive passages which were spoken by my blessed Son, and those who walked uprightly before Me, giving the people warning of the day that was then at hand; that all such as would, might avoid practicing the awful abominations that would be committed therein, under the pretended yoke of the pure religion of Christ.

14. And these passages, which are but few out of many, I have caused to be inserted in this *Holy and Sacred Roll and Book* of my word to the inhabitants of earth, which, in my mercy, I now again send forth unto them, in this, the last age of the world.

15. I shall not countermand, or disannul any law or commandment, which I have ever sent forth unto man; but I pronounce them all good; and I shall affix and apply them, to the age and day for which they were given; and so shall I deal with man, according to his treatment of the same.

16. Those statutes and laws which I sent forth for the children of Israel, by my servant Moses, were good, and intended for a protection, not only to that chosen people, but that all the inhabitants of the earth might behold the statutes and laws, handed forth to a people, whom my Almighty hand had condescended to lead and notice above all others; and by this means, learn a solemn lesson of warning, to imitate the same.

17. And had all strictly kept these laws, they would have been blessed and protected by my Almighty hand, until they should have reached the end of that dispensation, which did end, when I sent my only begotten Son upon earth.

18. And never, through all the different ages, and periods of time, which have existed from the creation of the world to the present day, have I caused any nation or people to be destroyed, unless they had previously transgressed, and gone forth in open disobedience to that which I had commanded them.

19. Throughout the dispensation of the law of Moses, mercy and compassion did I show, and cause my people to show, to such of the surrounding nations, as truly blessed my people from their hearts,

and treated them with kindness and respect. Such, I suffered not to be destroyed.

20. But those who sought to do them mischief, and vex them, while on their journey through the wilderness to the promised land, I did cause to be utterly overthrown; save at such times as when my people had been disobedient, and refused to hearken to my word; then, I suffered those nations to scourge them with the sword, and slay them without mercy before my face.

21. In no age of the world, have I ever withheld from the children of men, my hand of mercy, blessing and protection, when they went forth with sincere hearts, in true obedience to my commands, given in the age and day in which they lived. By faithfully keeping them, they would always be ready to embrace, and readily unite with every increasing dispensation of my grace and goodness to the children of men.

22. But such as have searched the record of my holy word, saith the Lord, to find such texts and passages as would best apply and excuse them, in the wicked and sinful gratifications of their own natures, have only plucked brands from the fire, with which to burn their own souls, by kindling the flames of torment within: Whether ye be rich or poor, whether ye be priests or people, I have recorded it against you, on my eternal record; and ye shall meet it in an hour that ye are not prepared.

23. But those who have obeyed, in singleness of heart, without regarding their natural inclinations to the contrary, such parts of the sacred volume as require them to deny themselves of all ungodliness, and every worldly lust, and have conscientiously labored to do the same, [according] to their best understanding, though it may have been quite imperfect; yet shall they receive at my hand of mercy, for the sincerity of their hearts, in so doing.

24. The law and the Prophets were given, as a step stone, to lead souls on, to the true foundation; or, in other words, it answered as a school master, to bring them to Christ.

25. But such as believed not the Christ, my only begotten Son, can no longer be justified by the deeds of the law; for I sent him forth to fulfill the law, and make an end of the same, by establishing the law of grace, which would not only embrace the whole substance of the law, but would far exceed it in every point of goodness.

26. And all who were faithful and true, to keep the law, and the restrictions therein contained, were justified by the deeds done under the law; and were, by this means, prepared, when called upon by an increasing and superior light, sent forth by my Almighty hand, to enter, with thankful hearts, and rejoice in that God who called them, that they were counted worthy.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DISPENSATIONS OF GOD'S GRACE TO MANKIND; THE MANNER IN WHICH MAN HAS TREATED THEM, THE EFFECTS OF HIS DISOBEDIENCE, AND REFUSAL OF THE OFFERS OF GRACE.

THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS REACHED THE DAYS OF THE MESSIAH; THE DISPENSATION OF CHRIST'S FIRST APPEARING, REACHED UNTO THAT OF HIS SECOND, IN WHICH THE ORDER OF HIS KINGDOM AND WORK ARE COMPLETED.

1. Of the daily gathering of manna.
2. Of a lesson, and the requirement of God to man.
3. By obedience, mankind could have been in advance to what they now are.
4. Of man's declaration to God, by works.
5. God reasons with mankind.
9. Man's excuses alter nothing.
10. Christ's doctrines sufficient for the people, and day, &c.
12. No other way to be saved.
14. Of words and works, or hearers and doers.
15. The followers of antichrist soon became numerous.
17. Of the second coming of Christ.
19. What Christ foresaw and foretold.
24. Many upon whom true light hath never shone.
25. The sincere merit a blessing.
26. A question to all professed christians.
28. Disobedience, the cause of judgment.
29. Of the destruction of the human race.
30. Mankind never have kept the law of nature.
31. The earth ripe for destruction.
32. Of the wickedness upon earth.
33. The faithful, scarce and few.
34. Of prophecies concerning the latter day.
35. Of the second appearing of Christ in a female.
38. Man ever inclined to defer the work of God to a future period.

1. When I caused manna to come down from Heaven, for food to the children of Israel, did I not require each to gather, day by

day, the store which they needed for that day only? save that which was for food on the Sabbath, was gathered the day previous. And could any keep it longer in an eatable state? Surely not, saith He who sent it.

2. And from this one circumstance, mankind should have learned a lesson, not easily to be forgotten; which is, that God, their Heavenly Father, requires the objects whom he hath created, to be constantly employed; first, seeking to do his will and pleasure, by laboring for spiritual food, or that which would feed, nourish and strengthen the soul, against every evil temptation, without and within; and their hands to work daily, for their own support.

3. Had mankind learned these two important lessons, and practiced the same, from that day to this, their principles of morality, and spiritual goodness, gained by actual works, more than by words, would have been far in advance of what they now are; they would never, after having been called by the law of grace, again have turned their sense and feelings to seek after indulgences, permitted under a law given after [the order of] a carnal commandment.

4. But the works of mankind declare unto Me, saith the Lord, that they have neither kept the Mosaic law, nor in any way, walked agreeable to the order and law of grace; or the precepts of the gospel revealed through my blessed Son. But the law which hath ruled among the children of men, upon the face of the whole earth, from Adam to Moses, from Moses to Christ, and from Christ to the present day, is the law of their own corrupt natures.

5. And shall I, after suffering the wicked inhabitants of the earth to go on for thousands of years, in their own way, suffer them still longer to continue their course, uninterrupted, defying my holy power, and setting at naught my righteous commands?

6. Hath he not already begun to say, in his heart, "There is no God, there is no Christ that will ever do us any harm, [for these, our doings,] let us go on, and take our comfort, while we do live; for when we die, that will be the end of us; for we are no more than the beasts that perish!

7. Nay, saith the Lord God of Heaven, whose goings forth are from everlasting, and whose ways are past finding out by mortals, any further than his infinite wisdom and goodness may condescend to reveal them.

8. I will not always suffer man to scorn the works of his Creator. All flesh shall become as dross and dung before Me; and as

a vapor before the morning sun, shall it vanish quickly away; no flesh shall glory in my presence.

9. Man, with all the excuses he can collect, and with all the permission to indulge his carnal propensities, which he thinks he can derive from the record of my sacred word, can alter nothing in the least. The motives of his heart are recorded; they make nothing that is white, black, nor black, that is white. Eternal truth and justice shall bear the sway.

10. Sufficient unto the day, and to the people who lived in that day, were the precepts and doctrines of Christ, brought forth and preached loudly to the world, by examples of great sufferings, and true self-denial.

11. But few heeded his warning voice, or bettered their lives by reason of his coming. The cross which he bore, and testified to all, that none could come to him, who would not bear the same, was so galling to the carnal sense of man, in that day, that but very few made the sacrifice required, to obtain salvation, or gain the seal of eternal life.

12. But this hath not altered my declaration through the mouths of my servants, that there is no other name given under Heaven whereby men shall be saved; and he that preacheth any other gospel than this, let him be accursed.

13. And although there be millions of the present day, who pretend they are the true followers of the Lord and Savior; yet do I testify unto them, they are not the sheep of his fold.

14. Fair words, and fine speeches, saith the Lord, make not a true follower of Christ. It is not the hearers of the word only, but the doers of the work.

15. As soon as antichrist began to set up the abomination of desolation, by remodeling the letter of that gospel preached by Christ, that it might serve for a cloak, under which to conceal every species of wickedness; its followers at once became very numerous, and have increased rapidly unto the present day.

16. But remember, the Lord your God hath declared, that the gospel brought forth by the Lord Jesus Christ, was never known or practiced, in antichrist's reign; neither was the strait gate entered, or the narrow way traveled, from the time that the primitive church declined, and fell away, until Christ, or the fullness of the same spirit was sent forth the second time, without sin unto salvation, by my Holy Power, and Eternal Wisdom.

17. And [this second manifestation,] was, and is, quite as offensive to the children of men, in this day, as it was when he made his first appearance. And they appear to be no more ready now, to receive him in truth, in this day, notwithstanding their great profession, than the Jews were in their day.

18. And upon which class will the greatest weight of guilt and condemnation fall? Surely, upon the latter, saith the Lord. For greater light hath shone upon them, if they would but have obeyed it, than ever shone upon the Jews.

19. Christ plainly saw, when he was upon earth, all that was in man. He needed not that any one should tell him what man possessed; therefore, he did plainly foretell to his disciples, what kind of use the wicked nature in man, would yet make of his name, and of the gospel he preached, as is plainly recorded in sacred writ before you.

20. He plainly saw that they would borrow his words, in blasphemy, and use his name in deceit, and loudly proclaim the letter of the gospel he preached; all for a cloak, and a show of religion to be seen of men.

21. And under this banner, they could shed the blood of millions of their fellow creatures, and readily destroy all such as presumed to bear testimony against their heaven-daring wickedness, the blood of whose slain, crieth unto Me to this very day.

22. And furthermore, every species of abomination could be tolerated, and committed, by those professing to be the subjects of this remodeled religion, said to embrace the true gospel principles of Christ. The least ray of true gospel light, would at once condemn all their sacrilegious proceedings.

23. Had mankind, from the day that the Messiah was on earth, to the present time, but kept the one following passage, in truth, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," they would have been much nigher to Me, their God and Creator, at this day, than they now are; take the body of the inhabitants of the world together.

24. Though many there be, upon whom the true light of the gospel hath never shone, yet, they are sincere according to the best of their understanding.

25. All such will merit my blessing and protection, until further light is suffered to shine into their souls; then they must likewise obey that, or they will fall into a far worse state, than they were

before it reached them; for transgressions, committed in ignorance, will be lightly passed over, saith the Lord.

26. But, saith the God of Heaven, I again call upon all professing christians, to ponder well this question; Do you sincerely believe, from your hearts, that you are fulfilling the divine commands of your blessed Lord and Savior, and are daily walking in that gospel he preached, by bearing the cross which he bore, and wearing the yoke which he wore?

27. Ponder well this question in your own hearts, and let truth decide, as ye would if ye knew ye must appear before my eternal bar of justice at the next hour: for the time hasteneth on, in my own wisdom, that I will know no man by his words, but by the fruit which he produceth.

28. As I before told you, disobedience is the cause; and judgment, desolation and destruction, are the effects proceeding from this cause.

29. But my creature man, for nearly six thousand years, hath adhered to the cause of destruction; and for which cause, I once swept him from the face of the earth, save a small remnant, to preserve his seed.

30. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he hath never learned obedience to my divine commands, either as regards the law of nature, given in the beginning; or that which was given by Moses, under the dispensation of types and shadows, or the order and law of grace, given under the gospel dispensation by the Holy Son of God.

31. Therefore, do I send forth my word of solemn warning; and declare, in the voice of my eternal truth, to all nations, that the inhabitants of the earth are ripe for the heavy hand of my judgments to visit them.

32. For violence doth cover the earth; deceit and hypocrisy stand up, and walk in the congregrations and assemblies of such as meet together, to adore my holy name. Abomination is found in their skirts; it weareth the clothing of a sheep, but possesseth the body of a wolf.

33. Their fathers have gone astray, and their children have followed their footsteps; until the truly upright have become scarce and few, as particles of gold in the midst of crude ore.

34. Many have been the prophecies and predictions, in former dispensations, respecting the latter day of glory, in which Christ should come, the second time, with thousands of his saints; in

which day my kingdom should be set up, never more to be overthrown. That the stone, spoken of by the Prophet Daniel, should grow, and fill the whole earth. That my law should go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

35. These are all correct and true; and many more passages were spoken by the spirit of prophecy, referring to Christ's making his second appearance in a female; which are also correct.

36. But this declaration is so humiliating, to the proud and haughty sense in man, that he most universally spurns at the idea, and rejects it, as folly and fanaticism; witchcraft and delusion.

37. He looketh not at the fruit, to judge whether the root be holy; he seems wholly to overlook the criterion which his Lord and Savior gave, when upon earth, [by which to judge,] which was the works, or fruit.

38. But the disposition, and proneness in man, to disbelieve the work of God in the present tense, when it is sent unto him, and to fix the period still in the future, unless I send forth my word in immediate judgment upon him, hath been abundantly proved, from the earliest ages of the world to the present time.

39. But this altereth not the truth, nor in any way changeth the order and dispensations of my work. He only shutteth the door of mercy against his own soul by so doing.

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CHAPTER XII.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, REFERRING TO THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

SOME OF THE MOST PLAIN PASSAGES RECORDED IN THE SCRIPTURE, REFERRING TO THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST, ARE REQUIRED, SAITH THE HOLY ANGEL, TO BE HERE CORRECTLY WRITTEN, AS HANDED DOWN FROM THAT DAY TO THIS.

1. Of a misapplication of the scriptures.
2. Of the manner of Christ's second appearing.
3. Of clouds spoken of by the apostle.
5. Of the appearance of the holy spirit of God.
7. The mortal body of Jesus, never again to appear.
8. The visitation of God at hand.
9. Christ to appear in his chosen witnesses.
11. The female prepared for her office.
13. Bigotry, in this gospel will not abide.
14. Of the likeness of the Son of man.
15. Of Christ's appearance in the female.
16. Of her titles, and of the second witness.
17. Of the third witness.

Daniel, vii. 13. I saw in the night visions, and behold, *one* like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion *is* an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom, *that* which shall not be destroyed.

Matthew, xxiv. 30. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.

Sec. 1. How can the children of men, in this day, saith the spirit, apply this one passage, in such a literal and natural sense, in contra-distinction to the plain declaration of the Holy Savior himself, who plainly declared to his followers, saying, Yet a little while, and the *world* seeth me no more, but ye see me, because *I live*, *ye* shall *live* also. [See St. John, xiv. 19.]

2. Surely then, his personal presence could never again be seen by the world; and he could never be seen again only by those who should come into his life; for he hath declared the truth, and Heaven and earth should pass away, rather than his words should, in the least, fail from the true spirit of their meaning.

Luke, xxi. 25. And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring;

26. Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.

27. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory.

28. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads: for your redemption draweth nigh.

Acts, iii. 14. But ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you;

15. And killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses.

19. Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.

20. And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you:

21. Whom the heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, since the world began.

II. *Corinthians*, iii. 3. *For as much as ye are* manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart.

17. Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord *is*, there *is* liberty.

I. *Thessalonians*, iv. 15. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive *and* remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.

16. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:

17. Then we which are alive *and* remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

Sec. 3. Thus saith the Holy Angel; Understand, O ye children of men, and be ye no longer deceived, respecting the clouds, and the air, just mentioned. These clouds are spiritual clouds of his eternal light and brightness, shining forth in his true and faithful witnesses. And this air, is the uncontaminated and undefiled air of purity, in which spiritual element, Christ, and all his true followers *live*, and can *live* in no other.

4. And in this air, his true church doth dwell on earth, undefiled by sin. And in this spiritual air, do their prayers and thanksgiving ascend, even to the throne of their God, as sweet smelling incense of praise, saith the Angel. And this is the only air, or element of life, in which Christ can be met, or found.

5. Remember that sensual man, by all his learning, wisdom and understanding, comprehendeth not the true meaning of the sayings of the spirit of God; for this spirit appeareth, both literally, and spiritually, to subdue, and bring into subjection to the law of Christ, every member of the body, and every sinful and unruly propensity of the mind.

> II. *Thessalonians*, i. 7. And to you, who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels,
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> 8. In flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:
>
> Chap. ii. 8. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:

Sec. 6. Remember, O ye children of men, saith the Angel, that this wicked, is consumed by the *spirit of his mouth*, which is spiritual.

7. There never can be the same local, and material body, again upon earth, as it was in his first appearing; though the earth should remain for thousands of years to come, and mankind should be suffered to remain thereon as long, waiting, and looking for the second coming of the Messiah in this way, they would wait and look in vain, saith the Holy Angel; for this never will be.

> *Revelations*, xiv. 1. And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him a hundred forty *and* four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.
>
> 2. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many

waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3. And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4. These are they which are not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, *being* the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb.

5. And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God.

6. And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.

7. Saying, with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

8. And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

9. And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive *his* mark in his forehead, or in his hand,

10. The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:

11. And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12. Here is the patience of the saints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

13. And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.

Sec. 8. Give ear, all ye inhabitants of the earth, saith the Lord; These days, just spoken of, are near at your doors, and you know it not; and many other passages there are, of my sacred word, which apply equally to your day; and much of the foregoing is already fulfilled, in the hearts of them that fear Me, and keep my commandments. The second coming of the Son of man, they have seen; and received, at his hand, the holy oracles of God.

9. When my Holy Son ascended, the apostles were told, that this same Jesus should *come* in like manner as they had seen him go into Heaven. [See acts. ii. 11.] As none but the apostles, his chosen witnesses, saw him go into heaven; and as Jesus signifies Savior; it follows, that none but his witnesses will ever see the Savior come again; but [all others] must rely upon the testimony of his chosen witnesses, or never know it.

10. And through them, does the voice of eternal truth now proclaim to all nations, that the spirit of the Christ, the Savior, hath again appeared the second time upon earth, without sin unto salvation; and hath established his church, whose everlasting and eternal foundation, *is living truth*; therefore it must, and shall forever stand, saith the Lord.

11. And for the reception of this spirit, I did prepare, with my holy power, a female, of my own choosing, upon whom I did, for many years, cause deep and heavy sufferings of soul to fall, that she might be cleansed and purified from the nature of sin, and fitly prepared for the holy office; which was done, according to my will and pleasure, saith the God of heaven.

12. Here Christ was revealed, and here was he made known, to all such as were sincerely seeking after good. And in this line, and in no other, will he reveal himself, without sin unto salvation, while time shall roll, and while man shall exist.

13. And in this pure and holy gospel, no bigoted priest can abide, who preaches for hire, and selleth the sacred word, sent forth by my spirit, for money; who maketh trade and traffic with that which should be kept sacred and holy.

Revelation, i. 7. Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so, Amen.

8. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

Chap. xxii. 20. He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly; Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.

6. And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7. Behold, I come quickly: blessed *is* he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

10. And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12. And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14. Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15. For without *are* dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning-star.

17. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

Chap. xiv. 14. And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one*[*] sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

15. And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.

16. And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

Sec. 14. This which my Servant John saw, sitting upon the white cloud, was the *likeness* of the Son of man; therefore it could not be his person; but that same spirit, which once dwelt in the person of Jesus. And that same spirit, is now upon earth the second time, making an end of sin, and bringing in everlasting righteousness.

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[*] The word *one*, is not original.

15. And this spirit did first appear, and take up its abode, in the *female witness* of my last dispensation of grace and goodness, to the lost race of man.

16. The fullness of this work, in its completed order, was perfected, in the witness whose name is recorded on my eternal record, saith the Lord, the Daughter of Zion, the Bride, the Lamb's wife, who once dwelt in the earthly tabernacle of Ann Lee. The second witness, who stood through great sufferings and tribulation, an able helper and supporter, once dwelt in the mortal body of William Lee.

17. The third, who was a faithful, true and proclaiming witness of that everlasting gospel, now sent forth to the inhabitants of earth, once dwelt in the mortal body of James Whittaker.

18. These were my three first witnesses, in this last dispensation of my goodness to man; and I proclaim them as such, saith the God of Heaven, to the four quarters of the earth: and let him that readeth, understand.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED——DECLARATION AND TESTIMONY OF THE APOSTLES.

Romans, i. 18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.

23. And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.

24. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonor their own bodies between themselves:

25. Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped

and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. Amen.

26. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections. For even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature:

27. And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet.

28. And even as they did not like to retain God in *their* knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient:

29. Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers,

30. Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents,

31. Without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful:

32. Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death; not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

Chap. ii. 2. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth, against them which commit such things.

6. Who will render to every man according to his deeds:

I. *Corinthians*, vi. 9. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind,

10. Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

Chap. vii. 1. Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: *It is* good for a man not to touch a woman.

2. Nevertheless, *to avoid* fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.

6. But I speak this by permission, *and* not of commandment.

7. For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

8. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.

29. But this I say, brethren, The time *is* short. It remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none;

30. And they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not;

31. And they that use this world, as not abusing *it*. For the fashion of this world passeth away.

34. There is difference *also* between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord that she may be holy, both in body and in spirit: but she that is married, careth for the things of the world, how she may please *her* husband.

38. So then he that giveth *her* in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth *her* not in marriage doeth better.

II. *Corinthians*, xi. 2. For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present *you as* a chaste virgin to Christ.

Galations, v. 19. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are *these*, Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,

20. Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies,

21. Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told *you* in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

22. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

23. Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

24. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.

25. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.

26. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

Ephesians, iv. 25. Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbor: for we are members one of another.

Colossians, iii. 9. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds;

James, iii. 5. Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!

6. And the tongue *is* a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell.

7. For every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of serpents, and of things in the sea, is tamed, and hath been tamed, of mankind:

8. But the tongue can no man tame; *it is* an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.

9. Therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.

10. Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be.

Chap. iv. 1. From whence *come* wars and fightings among you? *come they* not hence, *even* of your lusts that war in your members?

2. Ye lust and have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not.

3. Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume *it* upon your lusts.

4. Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.

5. Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?

6. But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.

7. Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.

8. Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse *your* hands, *ye* sinners, and purify *your* hearts, *ye* double-minded.

9. Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and *your* joy to heaviness.

10. Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up.

Chap. v. 1. Go to now, *ye* rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon *you*.

2. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten.

3. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.

4. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

5. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.

6. Ye have condemned *and* killed the just; *and* he doth not resist you.

16. Confess *your* faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

I. *Peter*, ii. 11. Dearly beloved, I beseech *you*, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul;

12. Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by *your* good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.

Chap. iii. 3. Whose adorning let it not be that outward *adorning* of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel;

4. But *let it be* the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, *even the ornament* of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE MOSAIC LAW, AND OF THE KINGDOM AND LAW OF CHRIST; ALSO, CONCERNING THOSE IN HEATHENISH DARKNESS.

2. The word of God gives no license for the carnal indulgences of nature.
4. Of the completed order of Christ's kingdom.
5. Of the declaration of the work of God.
8. Of outstanding the day of visitation.
11. Concerning passages of scripture.
12. The intent of the scriptures.
17. More tolerable for those in heathenish darkness, than for those who know, and do not the Lord's will.

1. Again consider, O frail man; consider saith the Lord, the imperfectness of your sight, and the shortness of your understanding in respect to my holy and sacred word, which was sounded forth on earth, by my blessed Son, and his faithful followers, hundreds of years ago.

2. There is not one passage in the sacred volume, that ever escaped from his holy lips; that in any way gives permission, or tolerates a life of fleshly indulgence, or the carnal gratifications of nature. And nothing of that nature, was ever tolerated, by any of his apostles, only in the line of a permission, or an indulgence, for the time being, because of their great weakness in those respects; and this was done by the Apostle, in order, if possible, to content them that still greater sins might be avoided.

3. But nothing of *that* nature was ever given by commandment, after the gospel dispensation was sent forth by my Almighty hand; though the full order of my new, and spiritual creation, was not completed, to that degree of holiness throughout, in Christ's first appearing, but that some little indulgences of that kind, could be allowed. Yet, in the Savior himself, was a perfect work, and none can ever supersede it.

4. But the perfect order of his kingdom could not be complete, until the Daughter of Zion was sent forth to stand with him, in her proper lot and place, as the spiritual Mother, in the completed order of my new Heaven, and new earth, which I did promise, by

the mouths of the Prophets, I would create and establish in the latter day, saith the Lord.

5. And my own time has now come, to declare the work of my hands, to the ends of the earth; notwithstanding frail mortals will rise up against Me, amidst my solemn warnings, and try to destroy the word of my mouth and the work of my hands; because they do not immediately see the heavy hand of my desolating judgments, sweeping their fellow creatures from the face of the earth, or causing her to open her mouth and swallow up the same.

6. But some will give ear and hearken, before it be too late, and by this means, save their souls from destruction. Some will receive my word, through whatever medium I am pleased to send it forth, even should it be from infants.

7. But remember, all ye people, who make a pretence of holding to the sacred word contained in your sealed bibles, and of following the divine commands of your Lord and Savior, while yet daily living in sin and wickedness; you are only treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath, where I shall meet you in a straight place, saith your God, and that, at a time when ye are not prepared, and when longer delay, for your preparation of heart, cannot be made.

8. For the greatest portion of the inhabitants of earth, have already, by reason of their awful wickedness, nearly out-stood the day of my visitation in mercy unto them.

9. Now all ye learned priests and people, bow low your hearts, and hearken to the voice of your God. All such of you, as name the sacred volume for your guide, look at the foregoing passages which I have commanded to be written in this Roll; are they not, the most of them, so simple, that even a child might understand them?

10. They are not great hidden mysteries; but plain and simple requirements, which, by my Almighty power, I caused to be sent forth to the inhabitants of the earth, as a protection and a guide, that they might walk in that way, that they would always be worthy of my blessing, whether they lived under the dispensation of the law, or of the gospel.

11. Though the passages which I required to be here inserted, are but a few out of the many thousands that have been, by my overruling hand, preserved for the children of men, that there might always be a record upon earth, among the inhabitants thereof, that

should bear upon its face, my Almighty and sacred impression, to testify against the growing depravities of the human family;

12. Those passages are clear and explicit, and nothing between the lids of the bible, can contradict them. And the whole substance of all, sent forth in the sacred record, was sent for the express purpose of causing mankind to cease from doing evil, and learn how to do well; that they might learn to love Me, their God and Creator, with all their souls, might, mind and strength, and their neighbor as themselves.

13. Had they done this, the requirements of their God would have been fulfilled, and the earth would have been blessed with a race of peace-makers upon it, long before this day; instead of a race of murdering Cains, who are ever ready, at the least offense, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures.

14. And their depravity, at this day, is so great, saith the Lord, that this popular way of murdering each other, hath received the general sanction of professed christendom; and this, they must all acknowledge, is in direct disobedience to every precept taught by their blessed Lord and Savior, for whom they pretend to feel the most sacred regard, and for the spreading of whose gospel, to all quarters of the earth, they make great provisions.

15. But remember, all ye people, that I am a God that must be served in works as well as in word, or the hand of my mercy cannot rest upon you. It is not those who say unto Me, Lord, Lord; but it is those who do the work which I require, that shall be known by my destroying Angels, when passing over the earth, to whom I will give charge, to spare them for their *works'* sake, not for their *words'* sake, saith the Almighty: words and works, with faith and works, must go together.

16. I have now briefly shown unto you, O ye children of men, both by the words of my own mouth, in the present tense, and by those passages which I caused to be sent forth hundreds of years ago, that which I required of the inhabitants of the earth, both while under the dispensation of the law, and while under the dispensation of the gospel of Christ up to the present day and time.

17. And that which I now require of the whole habitable earth, and especially of those calling themselves Christians, I will hereafter, clearly show unto you, saith the Lord. Far more tolerable will it be with those nations and people, who have never known the record of my word, which has been with the children of men,

for thousands of years, than for those who have been conversant with its requirements; yet have walked in open disobedience to, and in violation of, every such passage, as brought a cross upon their own carnal, corrupt natures.

18. These passages, in spirit, comprehend the whole substance of the scriptures; for unless *these* be kept, what profit doth a man derive therefrom, as it respects the work of purifying his own soul?

19. Surely none; but he continually heapeth upon his own head, still greater condemnation. For where light and understanding are given, and suffered to shine upon souls, and they disobey the same, far better would it have been for them, that this light had never so shone upon them. Their accountability unto Me, their God, will be much heavier, than upon those who have never been favored with such a blessing.

20. I here again require such passages of the sacred and inspired writings of past dispensations, to be inserted, as more immediately refer to the second coming of Christ, and that his appearance would be in a female.

CHAPTER XV.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, REFERRING TO THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST IN THE FEMALE.

1. The second Adam, male and female.
5. Of King David's prophecy, concerning the King and Queen of Zion.
6. The breath of God, beareth against the wicked.
7. Of judgments.
8. Of a perfect work.
9. Of the stone cut out without hands.
12. The day now come, which John saw in vision.
13. Of man's carving out new ways for salvation.
14. Disobedient steps to be retraced.
15. No impurity can enter Christ's kingdom, or evil dwell therein.
16. Of stripping for the gospel race.
17. Of coming to the law of nature.
20. God's times of judgment, reserved in his own power.
21. Of timely warning.
23. Solemn warnings.
25. Of the abasement of mankind.
29. God destroyeth not his own work.
30. The natural man understandeth not the givings of the spirit of God.
31. Of the law, and its requirements.
33. The ultimate end of God's purposes with man, unchanged.

Genesis, v. 1. This *is* the book of the generations of Adam: In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him:

2. Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.

Sec. 1. Understand the two foregoing passages: If the first Adam, being male and female, was a correct and true figure of him that was to come as the Second Adam, [See Romans, v. 14.] which I bear witness is true, saith the Angel, the second Adam must also be male and female; which is the case, and will so remain to the endless ages of eternity.

2. Degrading as it may feel to the haughty sense in man, he never can alter it; for it is the work of the Almighty Creator, that the pride of all flesh might be stained; and that the male and female, might both have their proper and equal lot and place, in the work of redemption.

I. *Corinthians*, xi. 3. But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman *is* the man; and the head of Christ *is* God.

7. For a man indeed ought not to cover *his* head, for as much as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.

8. For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man.

9. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.

10. For this cause ought the woman to have power on *her* head, because of the angels.

11. Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord.

12. For as the woman *is* of the man, even so *is* the man also by the woman; but all things of God.

Psalms, xlv. 1. My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the King: my tongue *is* the pen of a ready writer.

2. Thou art fairer than the children of men: grace is poured into thy lips: therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.

3. Gird thy sword upon *thy* thigh, O *most* Mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty.

4. And in thy majesty ride prosperously because of truth and meekness *and* righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.

5. Thine arrows *are* sharp in the heart of the King's enemies; *whereby* the people fall under thee.

6. Thy throne, O God, *is* forever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom *is* a right sceptre.

7. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

8. All thy garments *smell* of myrrh, and aloes, *and* cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad.

9. King's daughters *were* among thy honorable women: upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir.

10. Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house;

11. So shall the King greatly desire thy beauty: for he *is* thy Lord; and worship thou him.

12. And the daughter of Tyre *shall be there* with a gift; *even* the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour.

13. The King's daughter *is* all glorious within: her clothing *is* of wrought gold.

14. She shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needle work; the virgins her companions that follow her shall be brought unto thee.

15. With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought: they shall enter into the King's palace.

16. Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.

17. I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations: therefore shall the people praise thee forever and ever.

Sec. 3. The fore part of this Psalm, speaketh so clearly of Christ, under the character of the King, that it would seem impossible for any to misunderstand it; and from the ninth verse to the end, speaketh so clearly of the Queen, the Daughter of Zion, and of the Virgins that follow her, that none, but such as are willfully blind, can pervert its true meaning, saith the Lord.

4. Virgin, meaneth that which is pure and undefiled, whether it be male or female; and such are the virgins, her companions, that follow her into the presence of the King.

5. And by the inspiration of my spirit, saith the Lord, upon my servant David, did he clearly foretell that which was to come to pass, and be accomplished, both in Christ's first and second appearing; though he understood it not himself. Yet he foretold the completed order of my Zion, and the office of the King and Queen, therein established, in this last dispensation of my goodness to mortals on earth.

6. And many more are the places that clearly foretell the same work, saith the Almighty Power, whose breath beginneth to bear against the wickedness and abominations of the earth; and whose breath will continue to bear, harder and harder, against all the unseemly and unnatural works of darkness; against all war, bloodshed and carnage; against the abuse of the order of nature, and of oppression against the rights of conscience's freedom.

7. And if they will not hearken, humble themselves and repent, in this the last display of my goodness and mercy unto them, I will, by the consuming breath of my mouth, sweep from the earth's surface, by thousands and millions, and millions on millions, until

by my judgments, the remnant remaining, know that the God of Heaven hath descended, with an arm of his Almighty power, to visit the inhabitants of earth, saith the Great I AM.

Jeremiah, xxxi. 22. How long wilt thou go about, O thou backsliding daughter? for the Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman shall compass a man.

Chap. xxxiii. 14. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah.

15. In those days, and at that time, will I cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land.

16. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this *is the name* wherewith she shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.

Micah, iv. 1. But in the last days it shall come to pass, *that* the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it.

2. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

3. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

4. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make *them* afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken *it*.

5. For all people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God forever and ever.

6. In that day, saith the Lord, I will assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted;

7. And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast far off a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth, even forever.

8. And thou, O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.

9. Now, why dost thou cry out aloud? *is there* no king in thee? is thy counsellor perished? for pangs have taken thee as a woman in travail.

10. Be in pain, and labor to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail: for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go *even* to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the Lord shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies.

11. Now also many nations are gathered against thee, that say, Let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion.

12. But they know not the thoughts of the LORD, neither understand they his counsel: for he shall gather them as the sheaves into the floor.

13. Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thy horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many people: and I will consecrate their gain unto the LORD, and their substance unto the LORD of the whole earth.

Chap. v. 3. Therefore, will he give them up, until the time *that* she which travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel.

Zephaniah, iii. 9. For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the LORD, to serve him with one consent.

10. From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, *even* the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.

11. In that day shalt thou not be ashamed for all thy doings, wherein thou hast transgressed against me: for then I will take away out of the midst of thee them that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shalt no more be haughty because of my holy mountain.

12. I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the Lord.

13. The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies: neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth: for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make *them* afraid.

14. Sing, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel; be glad and rejoice with all the heart, O daughter of Jerusalem.

II. *Esdras*, ii. 15. Mother, embrace thy children, and bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar: for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord.

29. My hand shall cover thee, so that thy children shall not see hell.

30. Be joyful, O thou mother, with thy children; for I will deliver thee, saith the Lord.

32. Embrace thy children until I come, and shew mercy unto them: for my wells run over, and my grace shall not fail.

34. And therefore I say unto you, O ye heathen, that hear and understand, Look for your Shepherd, he shall give you everlasting rest; for he is nigh at hand, that shall come in the end of the world.

35. Be ready to the reward of the kingdom, for the everlasting light shall shine upon you for evermore.

36. Flee the shadow of this world, receive the joyfulness of your glory: I testify my Savior openly.

37. O receive the gift that is given you, and be glad, giving thanks unto him that hath called you to the heavenly kingdom.

38. Arise up and stand, behold the number of those that be sealed in the feast of the Lord;

39. Which are departed from the shadow of the world, and have received glorious garments of the Lord.

40. Take thy number, O Sion, and shut up those of thine that are clothed in white, which have fulfilled the law of the Lord.

41. The number of thy children whom thou longedst for, is fulfilled: beseech the power of the Lord, that thy people, which have been called from the beginning, may be hallowed.

42. I Esdras saw upon the mount Sion a great people, whom I could not number, and they all praised the Lord with songs.

43. And in the midst of them there was a young man of a high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns, and was more exalted; which I marvelled at greatly.

Chap. vii. 26. Behold, the time shall come, that these tokens which I have told thee shall come to pass, and the bride shall appear, and she coming forth shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth.

Matthew, xxii. 1. And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said,

2. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son,

3. And sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come.

4. Again, he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and *my* fatlings *are* killed, and all things *are* ready: come unto the marriage.

5. But they made light of *it*, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise.

6. And the remnant took his servants, and entreated *them* spitefully, and slew *them*.

7. But when the king heard *thereof*, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city.

8. Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.

9. Go ye therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.

10. So those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was furnished with guests.

11. And when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding-garment:

12. And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding-garment? And he was speechless.

13. Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast *him* into utter darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Revelations, xix. 7. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9. And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

Chap. xxii. 17. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

Hebrews, ix. 28. So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.

Sec. 8. Remember, all ye inhabitants of the earth, saith the Lord, that a work without sin unto salvation, is a perfect work; and this is the work of Christ's kingdom, which is now set up on earth.

9. And this is the little stone, cut out from the mountain without hands, which hath smote the great image, or idol lust, [by destroying the filthy propensities in man,] and shall fill the whole earth in my own due time and season, saith the Lord.

10. Though it be small, among the countless millions of earth; yet, by my own hand has it been planted, and by my own hand shall it be watered with the dews of Heaven, until all the predictions which I have sent forth, concerning it, are fulfilled in its growth, in its power, and in its dominion. I require not the aid of mortals to defend the work of my hands.

11. Though mankind, in their own natural wisdom and understanding, darkened by the black veil of antichrist, apply and interpret those sacred passages referring to MOTHER, the BRIDE, and she shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, as alluding to the Church; yet, this altereth not the true import of the sacred meaning; although the female had never been revealed in her sacred order, before this dispensation.

12. The vision seen by John, in the fourteenth chapter of Revelations, of the Lamb on mount Zion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, was in a future day; which is, the day of his second coming, in the completed order of that new and spiritual kingdom, at the head of which he stands, with the Bride, whom I have prepared for him, saith the Lord.

13. Though mankind, from the earliest ages of the world to the present day, have ever applied their strength and faculties to carve out other ways, than that which I laid out for them, that they might indulge and gratify their own evil propensities, in contra-distinction to the laws and commandments that their Creator sent forth for their protection;

14. Yet, every step of disobedience, they must retrace in sorrow and humiliation, and enter in at the straight gate, and walk in the narrow way, or remain in endless shades of darkness and misery.

15. For my kingdom is a kingdom of peace and purity, and nothing that worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, shall in any

wise enter therein. And such as come when called, enter my holy vineyard in due season: such are owned and accepted of Me, for their obedience and sincerity of heart, whether they be rich, or whether they be poor; whether they be bond, or whether they be free.

16. But remember, they that strip for the race and run for the prize, in the gospel dispensation of this day, must strip off all their old filthy garments, and be clad with the new, by honestly confessing every known sin, in the presence of one or more of my true and faithful witnesses, who have been tried in the furnace of affliction, and purified by the gospel fire.

17. And let all such as still desire to remain in the works of nature, return to the law and order of nature, as I have commanded from the beginning, saith the Lord.

18. Defile not your own bodies, nor those of each other, only for the purpose of begetting your own offspring. And all such as name the name of Christ, as being ministers of his gospel, set ye this example to your people; or a curse, a heavy curse, from my Almighty hand, shall follow you and your seed.

19. All ye rulers, and great ones of the earth, set forth this example before those over whom you do preside; and bear against and suppress the haunts of debauchery, by your civil laws, as fast as is possibly in your power. You have no time to lose in doing this work; for delays will cast you from beneath the arm of my mercy; and when it is too late, you will cry unto Me saying, Lord, spare us, and we will mend our lives, by hearkening to thy word.

20. My times and seasons for utter destruction upon kingdoms, realms and cities, by reason of their wicked inhabitants, whose hearts are hardened in unbelief, and disregard of my solemn warnings, are reserved in my own power; even the Angels whom I have sent forth, as yet, know them not: therefore, they cannot be revealed as yet, unto mortals.

21. But timely warning I do give, to every nation, kindred, tongue and people, dwelling on the earth, saith the God of Heaven.

22. And all ye, of whatever grade or class ye may be, confine the gratifications of your own corrupt propensities, within the bounds of the law of nature. Cease, O inhabitants of earth, cease to promote and encourage works of licentiousness and debauchery; or I shall suffer you to sink into the earth's bowels, saith the Lord.

23. Beware, beware, and hearken to the voice of the Lord your God, who delighteth not in the destruction of human life; nor in the misery of those whom he hath created for a much higher calling, than to be slaves to their own wicked passions.

24. Turn, O inhabitants of mortality! turn, turn ye to the Lord your God, in deep repentance of heart, that the holy and swift winged Angels, that I have sent to pass and re-pass through the earth, to pass and re-pass again, until the time of my own appointing is fulfilled, may behold you clothed in sackcloth and mourning, turning from the evil of your doings, and learning to do well; and record your names upon the list of mercy for the same.

25. For I AM, is a God, whose mercy is reached by the penitent heart, and whose judgment, in justice, will speedily follow the high, the lofty, and unabased. For the haughtiness of Monarchs, Kings, and the great ones of the earth, shall be bowed down, and the loftiness of man brought low, even with the dust; and my name alone, saith the Lord, shall be exalted.

26. Every dispensation of my goodness to man, from the creation of the world, to the present time, hath always been attended with an increasing degree of order, beauty and holiness, beyond that which preceded it.

27. The time had not come, when Christ first appeared on earth, for him to establish his kingdom, in that perfect order, glory and beauty, that he has now, in his second coming. For its order was not then completed, and never could be, until the female had found her proper lot and place, as the Mother of all who should ever after, enter the new and spiritual creation, which my Almighty hand hath established on the earth, inseparably connected with my holy kingdom in eternity.

28. I have caused a sufficient number of the sacred passages to be inserted, as do clearly show unto every reasonable mind, that Christ must necessarily make his appearance in the female, or the order of my kingdom would not have been made complete, nor the declarations given in past dispensations, from my holy spirit fulfilled.

29. And as I had before declared unto you, that I destroyed not that which hath proceeded from my own mouth, or disannulled the work of my own hands; but that heaven and earth should pass away, rather than that one jot or tittle should fail; so will all ye inhabitants of the earth find, that in my own time and season, all things which I declare unto you, will be fulfilled in their true spirit and sense.

30. But remember that a natural man, while under the influence of nature's darkness, understandeth not the givings of the spirit of God, for they appear like foolishness unto him: for the sinful indulgence and gratification of one's carnal and filthy propensities, out of the proper time and season for the purpose of begetting their own offspring, is one of the most soul-darkening, and sunken practices that man is capable of committing.

31. Even under the law, saith the Lord, if they went forth and defiled themselves contrary to the law, they were required to take an offering, and go to the priests, and there make an atonement for their transgression.

32. And shall my requirement respecting self-denial, and the laws of restriction, in this day, after having sent forth the gospel dispensation, be less effective than under the darkened ages of the Mosaic Law?

33. Shall my Almighty power suffer the children of men to go on from age to age, regardless of every law and restriction which hath been sent forth to the inhabitants of earth, even in the dark and wilderness ages of the world, when light, knowledge and understanding had been, but in a very limited degree, suffered to shine upon them? The voice of my eternal justice declareth, Not so; for I have created man to be an honor and a glory unto Me, his God and Creator; and my purpose, in the ultimate event of my work with man, shall not be disannulled or destroyed. But as yet, few, very few, in any previous age of the world, have answered the purpose of their creation.

34. And moreover, did not my servant Moses, when I sent him to sanctify and prepare the people to meet Me before the mount, require that none of them should come at their wives, for the space of three days before they were called to appear before Me? Surely he did; and does not this declare it to be the work of uncleanness? Surely it does; and every rational mind knoweth it to be so. Works that are attended with a shame, and require the curtains of darkness to be spread, wherein they are committed, every rational mind knoweth must be impure.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRIST'S SECOND APPEARING IN THE FEMALE; HER OFFICE AND CALLING AS THE BRIDE, OR SPIRITUAL MOTHER; AND THE CHARACTER OF HER TRUE FOLLOWERS.

2. Mankind questioned by the Almighty.
4. The peaceable kingdom of Christ.
8. Of the stone from the mountain.
9. Trusting in the power of God.
11. Of worshiping not mortal bodies.
14. Of justice in many respects.
19. The watch-word of diligence.
20. The statutes of God.
21. Government.
26. Abasement.
27. The advance guard of meekness.
28. Carnal warfare.
29. The blessed city of peace.
35. A place of rest, and the same characterized.
49. The kingdom of Christ on earth.
52. Of the union of Saints in Heaven and on earth.
53. Of washed garments.
54. The slanderous tongue.
57. Salvation from all sin.
58. Resignation to the appointments of God by the hand of Providence.
60. Of a completed state of existence.
61. Of being fed with milk.
63. Natural things, figurative of spiritual.
64. The woman's lot.
66. Of all things being created in the male order.
67. Carnal desires.
68. A kingdom of equality.
73. Of living so as to be prepared to die.
75. Of seeking and finding.
79. The second appearance of Christ, constituting a spiritual Mother in Israel.
80. The Kingdom of Christ, established on earth.
81. Of proselyting.
83. Requirements of God to Zion.
84. The days of her seclusion.
86. Of liking a home in Zion, and hating the cross.
87. The three first witnesses, &c.

1. Thus saith the Lord, the Holy and Eternal One, Give ear unto my voice, all ye people, and hearken and understand my word, all ye nations of the earth.

2. For whom are you looking, to usher in the rays of eternal life, and open the eyes of your souls, that ye may be saved from your sins?

3. Do you look for the Christ of God, the spirit of the Holy Savior, the Lamb who stood upon Mount Zion, with the hundred and forty and four thousand, having their Father's name written in their foreheads, who were virgins, not being defiled with sin?

4. Do you look and seek after a kingdom, of which the sacred volume does predict; which by the spirit of inspiration was told, That a pure and holy kingdom, by my Almighty hand, should, in the latter days, be set up, which should be called the house of the Lord, established in the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills; of which nations should say, Come, and let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; for he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths?

5. Where the Law should go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem?

6. Where that spirit should be manifested, to rebuke strong nations afar off, and cause them to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks?

7. Where the Lion should lie down with the Lamb, and a little child should lead them?

8. Do you look for the stone, cut out from the mountain without hands, that should grow and fill the whole earth; that smote the great image, and brake it in pieces, and caused it to be carried away of the wind, as the chaff of the summer threshing floor?

9. Do you look for that kingdom that standeth and trusteth in the strength of my power, and not in the arm of flesh; whose life is purity, and whose dwelling resteth in my eternal brightness?

10. Whose subjects are subjects of peace, and whose hands are not stained with human blood, and who walk not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the law of grace, given in the gospel of Christ?

11. Who worship not the mortal bodies of any, but who worship my Holy Spirit, whether manifested in man, woman or child?

12. Who use the measures of justice, and the weights of exactness, and decide not by the balances of deceit?

13. Who do unto others, as they would that others should do unto them?

14. Who turn not the right of the needy away, nor say to the hungry, cold and naked, Go, be thou fed, warmed and clothed?

15. Who turn not the needy from their doors, nor send the poor and distressed empty away?

16. Who procure not gain without right, nor pervert the laws of truth and justice, for silver or gold?

17. Who open their mouths in true wisdom with their neighbors, and speak words of truth to one another?

18. Whose God requireth that all should labor with their hands; and whose laws of equal justice, mete employment to every age and class, according as they have ability to perform?

19. Who highly prize, and daily do obey the watch-word of the morning from the Queen of Zion; Hands to work and hearts to God, with cheerfulness in your duties?

20. Whose laws and statutes from my eternal throne do emanate; and operate to rule and govern every soul in truth, in justice, and in acts of love and kindness?

21. Where no one is set on high, to sway an earthly sceptre?

22. Where tyrants cannot reign, and despots do not rule?

23. Do you look for that kingdom, where the holy anointing from my Eternal Throne, is placed in earthy vessels, to lead in meekness, and govern by the power of my spirit, against which, in the final result, no stiff nor stubborn will can stand unshaken, nor abide in the kingdom?

24. Where no coercive means are used; but power and force of spirit, given from my Almighty hand, through prayer and supplication are employed?

25. Where seekers after that which is great and high, must rest in hope, and die without obtaining?

26. Where high and exalted feelings, low and humble stations find?

27. Where meekness, virtue, power and wisdom, as the advancing guard do always move along?

28. Where carnal warfares are not known; but spiritual ones, against the wicked foe within, are eternally waged? No quarters given, nor quarters taken, but death complete unto the man of sin, doth crown the victorious conqueror?

29. Do you seek to find that city, where the Lord your God hath placed his name, in peace to dwell, in truth to reign?

30. Where all its inmates dwell as innocent lambs in the fold of their ever watchful Shepherd?

31. Where the bleatings of harmless sheep are heard, but where the howlings of the wild beasts of the forest, who hunt for flesh, and prey upon the same, are not known?

32. Where the gentle breezes blow from my Almighty throne, and waft upon their wings the bread of heaven, and the food of Angels; and where streams of living waters flow in rivulets mild and gentle?

33. Where all the inmates dwell, possessing the whole, yet claiming nothing; and aught of all they do possess, no one calleth it his own; but as children of one family, all live and fare alike?

34. Where the sick are ministered to, those in the decline of life supported, and the feeble and tottering knee, gently led by the hand?

35. Do you, in truth, seek after a place of rest unto your souls, where everlasting joy, peace and true comfort are received, as the reward of a daily cross of true self-denial, not in word alone, but in work perfected?

36. Where the innocency of little children is preserved with the utmost care and carefulness, until they reach maturity?

37. Where all dwell as brethren and sisters, bound in one golden chain of love and union; in clothing, food and convenience, each preferring one another?

38. Where none, by reason of care and trust in them reposed, seek for any thing more pleasant and agreeable, either to eat, to drink or to wear, than those to whom they stand as leaders?

39. Where those who are called to stand in front, rejoice to show they bear the greatest cross of true self-denial?

40. Where the jealous eye of wantonness cannot look upon those of the other sex, nor nature's passions vile be gratified?

41. Where none suffer the sun to go down upon their souls when defiled with sin?

42. Where Achor's valley, daily remaineth the only door of hope for any soul?

43. Where nought is again remembered, when once passed through this door?

44. Where ignorant deeds are lightly passed over; but willful acts of transgression, the laws of conscience do condemn?

45. Where my Holy Laws and Orders, reign as sacred guides, impelling every heart?

46. Where the unerring lines of truth, are drawn between the flesh and spirit?

47. Where natural affections do abound for all their fellow beings; but where vile affections, for fleshly kin, are banished from the soul?

48. Where fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, children, houses, lands, and their own lives also, are all forsaken to obtain a life in Christ, and the resurrection of the soul from the dead?

49. Do you seek for that kingdom established *on* earth, but yet is not *of* the earth?

50. Whose subjects are *in* the world, yet are not *of* the world; for I their Lord and God, have chosen them out of the world?

51. Where holy Angels from the eternal world minister unto them, and ten thousand times ten thousand gather to behold their worship?

52. Where saints on earth, with saints in heaven do unite in one eternal song of praise, to Me their God and Maker?

53. Where, through great tribulation and sufferings of soul, by living the life of the Lamb, their garments are washed white?

54. Do you seek for that kingdom, against which, the hand of persecution hath ever been raised; and against which the envenomed tongue of slander and falsehood hath never ceased to pour forth its volumes of blackest epithets?

55. Where souls fulfill the law of Christ, as made known in his first appearing, and by that means, are able to fulfill the whole law in his second coming?

56. Where souls know, by actual experience of more than sixty years, that they have found the spirit of the Lord's Christ, revealed in a Mother, whose name was ANN LEE?

57. For it hath saved them from all sin, and clothed their souls in a garment of true righteousness, and created in their hearts, that love to Me, their God and Maker, which surpasseth, in a thousand fold ratio, all other loves;

58. Which has given them strength and power to resign their lives in martyrdom, if called so to do, rather than deny their faith, or the power by which they received this, [which was] from, and through the QUEEN of Zion, who stands as my first and chosen witness in this last dispensation of my goodness to man.

59. Do you seek for that kingdom, where the gospel of a CHRIST and of a MOTHER reigneth, united in one?

60. Were any of you born, and brought forth into a completed state of existence in the world, by a *father*,—or by a *mother?* Or were you only begotten by a *father*, and then, at the proper time and season, brought forth by the *mother?*

61. And by whom were you fed with milk, and dandled at the breast, while in your infancy; by the father,—or by the mother?

62. By whose caresses, and soothing hand of comfort, were your troubled spirits pacified to rest? Was it not the Mother's?

63. If We, the over-ruling and GREAT FIRST CAUSE of all created things, on earth and in the heavens, have, in our own wisdom,

created the natural order of things, figurative of that which was spiritual, how can there be any spiritual order, or kingdom of glory completed, unless the woman is brought to stand in her place, according to the figure?

64. Have We not created an order and place for the woman, in the natural order of the creation? Was she not to travail in sorrow, and bring forth children? And in the absence of her husband, does she not stand at the head of her own family?

65. If these things in nature do exist, why stumble ye at the fulfillment of the true representation?

66. And if this is not the true representation, and this order does not exist in the spiritual heavens, why did not We create and send forth, all living upon earth, in the male order?

67. O ye blind and bigoted seers, who strain at your own pride, and must swallow your own folly! The woman you all want, and the man you all want; but the enjoyment of each other in fleshly gratifications, is your greatest desire. No longer wipe your lips, and say you are guiltless; for the God of Heaven doth judge you, the Searcher of every heart, before whose eyes, your abominations are as plain as the whited walls of your houses are in your view.

68. But hearken; Do any of you seek for a kingdom, where the pride of vain mortals ruleth not, and the arrogance of frail, fallen nature, beareth not the sway? Where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the lame, the halt and the blind, can all fare alike, upon terms of strict equality and justice?

69. Where all yield strict obedience to the revealed will of Heaven, through such agencies as are appointed, through the order of my holy anointing power, wherever I may have caused it to rest?

70. Where all the political strifes and contentions, and party feelings amongst the children of men, are disowned and rejected?

71. Where an avaricious spirit, to heap up treasures on earth where moth and rust doth corrupt, cannot dwell?

72. And again; Do ye sincerely seek for that city of refuge on earth, where you can know and do the will of your God, day by day? Where you can receive strength to crucify your own evil natures, and be born anew, as little innocent children, into the kingdom of your God?

73. Do you seek for that home and place, while in a terrestrial state, where you can live day by day, as ye would, if ye knew ye

were to die on the morrow, and as ye would if ye were to live a thousand years?

74. Where the kingdom of Heaven, and the righteousness thereto belonging, is the soul's first pursuit; and where all that is needful for the body, through obedience and faithfulness, shall be given unto it? And where, to deal justly and walk humbly, to fear God and keep his commandments, comprise your whole duty?

75. If so, seek in earnest, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; ask, and ye shall receive; follow that light which I shall cause to shine into your souls, and it shall lead you to the city of peace, saith the Lord your God; but not to ease and indulgence, thinking to procure your souls' salvation in that way; not where the manna of Heaven rains down, to feed and support you in idleness, without the soul's exertion;

76. Not where each one, or any part can do that which seemeth right in their own eyes, according to their own natural wisdom and understanding;

77. But where that wisdom, that knowledge and understanding, which is revealed in the order of my own appointment, beareth rule, and is the main spring of action throughout, in all things, spiritual and temporal;

78. According to the completed order of my new heavens and new earth, which I have, in this latter day, established on the earth for all nations, all kindreds, all tongues and all people, who will make the sacrifice which I require, saith the Lord, to obtain a home therein, beneath the wings of my protection.

79. I have now declared unto you, all ye nations and people, that the spirit of my blessed Son hath appeared the second time, without sin unto salvation, in the *female*, or *Spiritual Mother* in Israel.

80. And this, my kingdom, as represented by the stone from the mountain, has been established for more than sixty years upon the earth; and yet, ye believe it not; though various publications of its principles, have been circulated when called for, yet, ye know not the Christ or his true kingdom.

81. I have never required, saith the God of Heaven, that the subjects of Christ's second coming, or the children of the Bride, should compass sea and land to make proselytes;

82. This, my Church, the assembly of Saints, was never established upon the eternal foundation of righteousness and truth, for a popular show to the inhabitants of earth.

83. But I required her people to embody their strength in one united capacity, and conquer and subdue their own evil natures within, and travel in humility of soul, and tribulation of spirit, and gain a substance of the true oil of light, and life eternal; That when my time should come, in the order of my own wisdom, she might have wherewithal, to do her duty to other souls, as I have placed her, a city upon a hill, whose light and brightness can never more be hid.

84. And thus, the days of her seclusion are accomplished; and I, the God that formed her, do now declare her to the inhabitants of the earth; and I have also declared the true characters of all who do, in truth, compose the subjects who dwell, and safely remain within her holy walls.

85. Though wolves in sheep's clothing, may creep within her gates, yet, their craving wants for flesh, or fleshly lust, will soon betray the borrowed coat they wear.

86. No ravenous beast can long remain within her holy borders; though many like the place, yet none but the true and honest hearted like the cross, nor will long endure the gospel fire of truth, which doth eternally burn to guard the tree of life.

87. And furthermore, saith the Almighty Power, I declare the *three first witnesses* unto you, who bore record on the earth, that I, the Almighty God of Heaven, had sent forth the likeness of my blessed Son, the second time, without sin unto salvation, to poor frail mortals on the earth.

88. And through a female was Christ made known, [*as a spiritual Mother,*] to complete the order of that kingdom which was begun in his first appearing. And I declare, to all nations, the spirit of this chosen female to be the Bride, the Lamb's wife, the Queen of Zion, and Mother of the new and spiritual creation which shall never be destroyed.

89. Though I, her Lord and God, should purge and refine her [inhabitants] to that degree of purity and holiness, that not more than ten souls were able to abide the fire within her holy courts; yet shall these stand, and be supported by the Almighty power of my hand, though armies against them should be arrayed for their destruction.

90. Remember, all ye people who dwell within the walls of my Zion, which is pure and holy, if ye walk not worthy of your holy calling, the great privilege, which in my mercy I have granted you,

shall only prove as burning coals of fire upon your heads, to sink your souls from my presence; and a far heavier stroke of my judgments, shall come upon *you*, than upon those who have never been blessed with such a privilege of my notice, within the walls of my Zion.

91. It is not numbers that compose my Zion; but the purity of that life which souls live; and by the interestedness of their spirits, to build up the cause to which they are called, by spending and being spent, agreeable to that example which was invariably set by the *three first witnesses*, who bore this gospel across the rolling deep, to fair Columbia's shore, and who, by my Almighty hand, were protected so to do.

92. And by my power, shall other faithful souls safely re-cross the foaming deep, to plant this gospel in distant lands, to feed the hungry souls who cry to Me for [the] bread [of life.]

CHAPTER XVII.

THE OFFICE OF THE THREE FIRST CHOSEN WITNESSES SEPARATELY DECLARED, AND FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THOSE WHO ARE THEIR TRUE FOLLOWERS, SAITH THE SPIRIT OF GOD.

1. God, able to manifest himself as he wills, at any period.
3. Passages of scripture required to be quoted.
5. Of the testimony of the three witnesses.
6. Of the confession of sins.
7. Of rising into life.
8. Of purchasing liberty to sin. Of hired forgiveness.
9. Of making trade of sacred service.
10. It is God who forgiveth sins. Who are prepared as witnesses for souls, &c.
11. Duty of witnesses.
12. Not required to hear the confession of capital crimes, until the sentence of the civil law is passed.
13. Confessions to be considered sacred.
15. Of the representation of the spirit, by Mother Ann Lee.
16. Of what was manifested in Mother.

Sec. 1. But a few passages, saith the Lord, were ever mentioned in the Sacred Volume, respecting the three witnesses. But I am a

God of yesterday, to-day, and forever; and to all such as truly walk uprightly before Me, doing my will and pleasure, regardless of all personal, partial or selfish views, I am as able to manifest myself in one dispensation, as in another.

2. And I now bear witness, (declaring my words to the ends of the earth,) to the office and calling of the three first witnesses, in Christ's second coming.

3. And where the witnesses are mentioned in Sacred Writ, I require [some of]the passages to be here inserted.

> *Matthew,* xviii. 16. But if he will not hear *thee, then* take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.
>
> *Isaiah,* xliii. 10. Ye *are* my witnesses, saith the Lord.
>
> Chap. xliv. 8. Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have not I told thee from that time, and have declared *it?* ye *are* even my witnesses. Is there a God besides me? yea, *there is* no God; I know not *any.*

Sec. 4. These three witnesses, in this latter day of my goodness, testified before all, both publicly and privately, that there was no true God but *Me,* and that there was no way of God opened or revealed to man, by which he could find salvation, or an entrance into his holy kingdom, while living in sinful works of whatever name or nature.

5. And they did furthermore bear witness, that the spirit of Christ, the Son of God, had, in truth, made his appearance the second time, without sin unto salvation; and that none could be cleansed and purified, and enter into the work of regeneration, while living after, or taking any part in, the works of natural generation.

6. And they did furthermore testify and bear witness, by that power which I gave them, that all souls must confess their sins, in the presence of God's witnesses, one by one, just as they had committed them, or never find true happiness; and then labor for godly sorrow and true repentance, by leaving them off, and by taking up a cross against their evil natures which led them into sin.

7. By so doing, they would find the favor and mercy of God, and their souls would begin to rise in the resurrection of Christ; and my holy blessings would begin to distill upon them, as dews from Heaven.

8. They never taught souls, that they could, for money, purchase

liberty from priests and clergy, to indulge in sinful abominations, gratifying their own propensities; and then again, for money, they could hire their sins forgiven, such as they had not bought a privilege to commit.

9. Awful consternation must seize on every heart, when they see these things in their true light! Is not this making trade and traffic, to all the extent of man's ability, of that power and service which he pretends to hold sacred? Surely, the truth recorded on my eternal record, declareth the affirmative.

10. But as different from this, as light is from darkness, did these three chosen, true and faithful witnesses, declare the order of confessing sins. They testified that none had power to forgive sins but God, [and Jesus Christ, manifested through that medium which he established;] and that every soul must stand in a true state of justification, by honestly confessing their own sins, in the presence of God's witnesses, before they were, in any way, commissioned to stand as witnesses for other souls;

11. And that it was the duty of all those who stood as witnesses for the confessions of other souls, to pray earnestly to Me their God, that I would hear the honest souls, and bless them with strength and power, to withstand the temptations of evil in future.

12. And furthermore, did my three witnesses testify, saith the Lord, that no one was called as a witness, to hear the confession of sins, now, in Christ's second coming, from such souls as had committed capital crimes, for which the civil laws of man must deal with them.

13. None were to hear any such confessions, until after the civil authority had passed judgment upon them; and at all times, witnesses were to consider confessions made in the fear of God, of the most sacred, solemn and delicate nature; and rather than be compelled to divulge that which a soul had honestly confessed to them, in my holy fear, they had better sacrifice their lives.

14. For none had any right to hear such confessions, as laid them open to the civil powers of man to make enquiries, and demand answers, by reason of the liability of the person who had confessed to them.

> I. *John*, v. 6. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.
>
> 9. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is

greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.

John, iii. 5. Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water, and *of* the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

Sec. 15. It may truly be said of the Daughter of Zion, (That is, Mother Ann Lee,) that she represented the spirit; for in her, the spirit of Christ appeared, with a full and complete salvation, for such as were willing to sacrifice all to obtain it.

16. In her was displayed my sacred and saving power, to search the hearts, and penetrate into the souls of such as came before her, to much the greatest extent of any human being ever before sent forth, save the Lord Jesus Christ, whom I sent on earth, saith the Lord, to begin the foundation of this kingdom, which is now completed, through and by the Daughter; and upon which the building is now arising, forever more to stand; against which, the powers of earth and hell shall never more prevail.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUBJECT CONTINUED——OF THE SECOND WITNESS.

1. Of what he represented, &c.
2. Of suffering for souls in eternity.
3. Of suffering for souls on earth.
4. Of gifts bestowed, &c.
5. None redeemed, only through sufferings. Of passing through the fiery furnace.
8. None can come to God, or find peace, until they have confessed their sins.
9. The subsequent duty of souls who confess sins.
10. The second witness, an example of true sufferings.
11. The effect of sufferings for righteousness' sake.

1. The second witness, whose name is recorded on my eternal record, Father William Lee, was truly "A man of sorrow, and acquainted with grief;" who bore and suffered in tribulation, for the increase of the gospel on earth, to the laying down of his natural life; which truly represents the blood, for he ended his days under sufferings, for the good of souls, as a bleeding martyr.

2. Often did I suffer, saith the Lord, to fall upon him, while upon earth, a state of sufferings for souls in eternity, who were in their sins, and could not be released in any other way, only through the medium of that gospel which was now revealed, through the Mother, to mortals on earth.

3. And the state of those that were bound in their sins on earth, was often suffered to fall upon him, that through his cries and intercessions, under the severest of sufferings, the way might be opened for them to be loosed from the bands of death, by which they were holden, and enter into the gospel field.

4. And upon this same witness, did I, the God of Heaven, bestow that power of spirit against which no wicked opposers could stand, when in my wisdom, he was suffered to exercise it.

5. Be it known to all people, saith the Lord, that no souls can ever be again redeemed unto Me, only through sufferings and deep tribulation of spirit. They have fallen so far below the moral order of nature, and from that state of innocency in which I first created them, that they must, before they can again be redeemed unto Me, pass through the fiery furnace of the gospel, by confessing every known sin.

6. And [having done this, they must] travel in godly sorrow and true repentance for the same, until they have conquered that nature, and their souls are washed from the stains thereof, and have again become pure and innocent as when I first created them, saith the Lord.

7. And this second witness, not only suffered to the cleansing of his own soul; but he suffered for thousands of other souls, both in time and in eternity, that the door of this one sin-destroying, soul-saving gospel, might be opened unto them.

8. Be ye not deceived, O ye inhabitants of earth! No soul can ever come to Me, or enter my peaceable kingdom of rest, or find the acceptance of my Holy Spirit, in peace and in purity, either in time or in the eternal world, till they have honestly confessed their sins, one by one, to such of my witnesses as are appointed for that sacred duty.

9. After which they must labor, and travel in tribulation of soul, until they are redeemed from that nature which caused them to sin; and this is a journey that the soul has to perform, before it can enter into that joy and felicity which is promised the truly right-

eous, or stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion, clothed in white, as was seen in vision by my servant John.

10. An example of true sufferings in spirit, this my faithful witness and servant William, did truly set, by night and by day.

11. But remember, O ye people, my spirit of strength and consolation never forsakes a soul, while truly suffering for the gospel's sake, either for their own purification, or that of others; but I will, in the midst of these sufferings, cause their souls to break forth at times, with joy and thanksgiving, that they are accounted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake and the gospel.

12. But remember, all have this travel to perform, as really as a man, when in a natural body, starting on a journey, has it to perform, step by step. Just so [must be] the travel of the soul.

CHAPTER XIX.

SUBJECT CONTINUED——THE THIRD WITNESS.

1. The third Witness declared.
2. Of his tuition in childhood and youth.
3. His peculiar gift.
4. His character.
5. The Witnesses faithfully accomplished their work, &c.
8. Of the anointing of successors.
9. Of the government of the church.
10. The consequence, should any prove untrue to their trust.
11. Of King David's anointing.
12. The gospel superior to the law.
13. God's chosen people never left without a lead, only as a scourge for disobedience.
14. Of man's strife against good.
15. The lives of first witnesses sought.
17. Of Christ's sufferings and death.
18. Of the sufferings of the three first witnesses.
19. Witnesses in mansions of rest. Persecutors in the depths of hell.
20. The expressions of their souls.
25. The Lord's reply.
27. Mankind will not hearken.
28. The manner in which the latter day of glory is ushered in.
29. Must God always work miracles, in order to convince mankind?
30. The power of working miracles, still in the church of Christ.
31. Of the eternal power and operation of the work of God.
32. Of the working of miracles.
34. The power, strength and substance of the spirit of Christ, retained in Zion.
35. Of the opening of the Heavens.
36. Of the state of Zion.
37. Three leading principles.
39. A woe upon the unrighteous in Zion.
40. Of God's equity and justice.
41. Who can win the prize.

1. The third witness, who was a proclaiming and watering witness,

and whose name, saith the Lord, is recorded on my eternal record, Father James Whittaker.

2. This witness, by the over-ruling hand of my providence, was, at an early age of his childhood, placed under the special charge of *Mother Ann*, who brought him up in the path of true godliness and purity; by which means he was protected from all those soul darkening and sinful indulgences of self gratification, which most children are suffered, at a very early age, to run into.

3. Therefore he grew up without defilement, and became an able help and supporter, in the ministration of his blessed Mother. I bestowed on him a peculiar gift, to water and nourish that which his blessed Mother had planted.

4. His whole demeanor was mild, placid and gentle, yet solemn and soul gathering; and by this means, he would water, nourish and strengthen all; and many times cause the weak and drooping plants, that were about to wither before the rays of the scorching sun, to be invigorated with new life and courage to press on their journey with zeal and fortitude.

5. And because of the purity of that life which he lived, from his childhood up, saith the Lord, I did cause the most beautiful gospel graces to shine forth in his spirit. And in proclaiming the testimony of Christ's second appearing, and the way that leadeth to life eternal, to the surrounding multitude, even his wicked persecutors, would acknowledge the goodness of his spirit.

6. Yet, under sufferings was he patient, and in the hours of his rejoicing, I clothed his spirit with feelings divinely sublime and lovely, [and with], a portion of that mantle with which I had clothed the Daughter of Zion from head to foot; and [in which] her spirit was inwrapped, as was measurably Father William's also.

7. And all these, my three first witnesses, who were called first, to open the door through sufferings, that Christ might appear the second time without sin unto salvation, faithfully did the work which was required of them to do, by the over-ruling power of the Most High; and spread their mantles of love, strength and wisdom, as they were about to leave the world, upon all such of their children, as were determined to pursue the gospel path, even to the laying down of their natural lives, should they be called so to do.

8. And upon such as had been prepared, through deep sufferings and tribulation of spirit, to succeed them in leading and directing the sheep of my fold, or the house of Israel, [the foundation of]

which was now established on the earth, in its completed order, did they bestow that anointing power, which I had given them for that purpose, saith the Lord. And in this way doth the order of this anointing devolve and rest [upon such as are prepared to receive it.]

9. My church, which is now established, in this day and age in which you live, is governed by an *authority* emanating from my divine influence, and proceeding directly from my Holy Spirit, through those upon whom I have caused my holy anointing oil to rest.

10. But if any should prove themselves unworthy of this sacred calling and trust, after they had been once anointed by the unction of my Holy Spirit, I should, in my own wisdom, saith the Lord, send forth my anointing and saving power, to rest in other vessels, more worthy; as I did in the case of Saul, whom I anointed king over the children of Israel, but who departed from my statutes, by walking in disobedience to my commands.

11. I did then cause my anointing power again to go forth, through the same prophet Samuel, by whom Saul was anointed, and to rest upon David, the son of Jesse, that he might be king and ruler in Israel.

12. Though the gospel dispensation, both in Christ's first and second appearance, is much superior in its order, beauty and holiness, to that under the law; yet, saith the Lord, in every age of the world, I have always provided means by which the sincere and honest hearted, who desired to do my will, might be instructed in the path of their duty.

13. And whenever my chosen people, in former dispensations, were left without a true and faithful lead, according to the day in which they lived, it was because of their disobedience and rebellion to that which I had taught them; and I suffered them to run into confusion, each doing that which seemed right in his own eyes, and, by this means, break to pieces. Where this has been suffered, it has been as a scourge, to punish them for their own wickedness, saith the Lord.

14. But as frail and mortal man hath never ceased to pervert the way of the Lord, when it was in his power so to do, both by the means of a lying and slanderous tongue, and by inflicting with his hands, cruel and violent acts of persecution upon the bodies of those who sought to obey Me, rather than man, both in Christ's first and second appearing; so that wicked nature will

continue to operate, in the hearts that are hardened in sin and beastly abominations, until my heavy and desolating hand of judgments shall fall on them for the same.

15. But I suffered not the lives of any of my first witnesses to be taken by the hands of persecutors, though that of Mother Ann's, was in a most determined manner sought, time after time; yet I, the God of Heaven, did defeat their plans. I sent my holy Angels to guard and protect her, and those who followed her in truth.

16. As these were my three first witnesses, through which I caused the spirit and likeness of my blessèd Son, the second time to appear, without sin unto salvation; the heaviest tribulation and sufferings of soul that ever fell upon any, possessing earthly tabernacles, save that of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, fell upon them.

17. But in Christ's first appearing, I suffered, when his work was done, the life of his animal body, and that of many of his followers, to be taken by wicked persecutors; as this was the beginning of the true gospel dispensation, and a perfect example of sufferings, in both body and mind, was required, even to the laying down of their natural lives, should the wickedness of man rage to that extent.

18. But in the finishing and completing of that order, or gospel dispensation, I suffered none of my first witnesses' lives to be taken in that way. But for years were they inhumanly persecuted at times, both by night and by day; and in the midst of their most severe sufferings, from the hands of the wicked, my holy Angels have often beheld them kneeling, and praying unto Me, that I would forgive them, for they knew not the wickedness they were doing.

19. But these, my witnesses, are now in the eternal mansions of my rest, my glory and my delight, which I had prepared for them, and for those who had suffered before like unto them; while those who hunted them from place to place, for the purpose of gratifying their own wicked and malicious spirits, are banished from my presence, sunk in the depths of hell, in anguish and horror, drinking the bitter cup, filled to overflowing, which they labored, [while on earth,] to make my faithful witnesses drink.

20. Their cries and groans, their shrieks and lamentations, pierce the gloomy prisons of hell, beseeching Me, the God of mercies, to condescend, once more to warn their fellow creatures on the earth, not to pursue the steps they have trod; not to lift their hands, nor their hearts, to fight against that of which they know not; but wait, and

the work of the Lord will prove itself; and the work of man will also prove itself.

21. O merciful God, in thy everlasting kindness, warn them! O Holy Creator of all things, O warn them! warn them! lest they also pursue that course of persecuting thy righteous saints on earth, and thereby fall into this awful place of torment where we are bound in the flames of hell, suffering the just reward of our works.

22. O *Eternal Father* of all *mercies!* if we may be suffered, in the flames of hell, to breathe forth supplications unto thee, in the midst of our unspeakable torment, suffer, O suffer thy word of warning to reach the ears of our brethren on earth, who will be liable to pursue the same course that we did.

23. But could we, O could we have heard but one word of warning, direct from thy eternal and hallowed lips, we surely should have hearkened, O righteous God! We know that our sufferings are just, for fighting against thee, through those whom thou didst send upon the earth to open a door of salvation, in thy everlasting kindness, to poor lost souls.

24. We indeed, justly suffer the punishment thou hast inflicted upon our souls. While those whom we distressed on earth, are comforted in thy presence, we are banished far from thee, to suffer the just reward of our doings.

25. But understand my words, saith the God of Heaven; Those who will not hearken unto those whom I have sent on earth, to warn the inhabitants thereof of the certain destruction they will bring upon themselves, by pursuing the paths of their forefathers, would not hearken and believe, though I should cause one to rise out of the grave, and go and declare my word unto them.

26. And should I cause it to roll upon the earth, like peals of thunder, yet would it quickly be forgotten: for a moment, it would strike consternation and terror, upon mortal man; but how soon would my solemn lessons of warning be disregarded, and the ways of wickedness again be resorted to!

27. And, as your Lord and Savior said, in his parable to the Jews, respecting the rich man and Lazarus, so do I, your God and Creator, say unto you; If you will not hearken to my word in past dispensations, nor in the present, sent unto you through means of my own choosing, neither would you hearken, if I should send it through means that you yourselves might choose.

28. Understand, O ye people; I have not ushered in this latter day of my glory, with great signs and wonders, working of miracles, by raising the dead from their graves, as was suffered in Christ's first appearing. You have the records of what I then suffered to be done; and if ye believe in the sacred volume, then ye must believe the things therein recorded, respecting the Christ, and those who followed him.

29. But must I always be compelled, saith the Lord, to call the natural body, resting in the grave, again into life; or command fire to come down from Heaven in the sight of men, and destroy my enemies, before man will be convinced that there is a God, who ruleth at his will; after all that I have caused for thousands of years, by my Almighty Hand, to take place upon the earth?

30. Not so, saith the CREATOR of all things. Though I vested supernatural power in MOTHER ANN, to work miracles, and that power is still retained in my holy Church; yet, I suffer it not to be applied, in a natural point of view, to the external sight of men, only at my command; whether it be much or little.

31. My work in this dispensation, saith the Lord, as effecting the work of salvation in the hearts of the children of men, is far greater and more powerful, than any that has ever preceded it; yet, to external appearances, it is not so great; therefore, I warn souls to be the more careful how they treat it.

32. I often suffered the power of working miracles to be made use of by my first witnesses, as they were but few in number, and the work was new and strange to all people; for Christ, in truth, had become a great stranger on the earth; and moreover, there was no body or church then established, only what consisted in these few first witnesses.

33. And the opposition of an unbelieving world was so great, that I suffered, in many instances, miraculous power to be displayed in a natural point of view, from the Queen of Zion and those with her, insomuch that the unbelieving world acknowledged, they knew there must be a supernatural agency attending them.

34. But now, saith the Lord, my power, strength and substance for the protection of souls, are concentrated in my Church, or Zion, which has been tried or proved on earth for more than sixty years. But this spiritual and divine power, has never, from the beginning, ceased entirely to show itself to the external view; yet I have suffered her to feel great leanness, and much tribulation, so that at

times, she almost felt as though she was forsaken of her God: and this I have done, to try and to prove her, and those who dwelt within her walls.

35. But for some years past, I have again widely opened the Heavens to her assistance, and showered down upon her, in boundless measures, that which it pleased Me to bestow; that she might be cleansed, as with refiner's fire, and whitened, as with fuller's soap. And of the cup of my blessing hath she received, as well as the rod of my chastening.

36. I found the ancients of the people, true to the cause; but of other classes, there were many, who had become lukewarm, and indifferent in their zeal and feelings, respecting the true first principles upon which Zion is built, never more to be overthrown.

37. And these are her first principles: *True self denial* and *obedience*, with a total seclusion from the popular sense, forms and fashions of the children of this world. And upon these principles she will always stand, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against her.

38. And such as will not keep these principles, I will surely cut off from my people, and cast into outer darkness without the city. For nothing that worketh abomination or maketh a lie, shall remain at ease in her, saith the Lord her God.

39. But wo unto them who stand in her gates, whose names are not written in the book of life. No name can be entered upon my holy book of life, saith the Lord, but the honest hearted and sincere seeker after righteousness. And all such are written therein, never more to be erased while pursuing this path: such, do make their own calling and election sure.

40. I am not a God of partiality, towards the creatures of my creation, consigning some to eternal misery, and others to eternal happiness; this would be the height of injustice, and inequality. But let him that will, come and partake freely. All have immortal souls, and all have a right to salvation, upon equal terms.

41. They that will pay the price, shall win the prize; and no others can. They that will give up all, and lay down their own lives, shall take them up unto life eternal, saith He who gave immortality.

CHAPTER XX.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE REFERRING TO THE RESURRECTION.

2. Sudden change of the soul from time into eternity.
4. The soul not again reinstated in the mortal body.
6. Such as look for a natural resurrection, cited to past events.
7. Of the reinstatement of the soul into the natural body.
9. Natural bodies caused quickly to disappear.
12. The only resurrection, that of the soul.
13. True resurrection, from darkness to light.

Sec. 1. I here require, saith the Holy Angel, such passages of the sacred writings, or some few of the most prominent ones, as refer to the resurrection, to be here transcribed entire.

I. *Corinthians*, xv. 20. But now is Christ risen from the dead, *and* become the first-fruits of them that slept.

21. For since by man *came* death, by man *came* also the resurrection of the dead.

22. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

23. But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.

24. Then *cometh* the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.

25. For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.

26. The last enemy *that* shall be destroyed *is* death.

39. All flesh *is* not the same flesh; but *there is* one *kind of* flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, *and* another of birds.

40. *There are* also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial *is* one, and the *glory* of the terrestrial *is* another.

41. *There is* one glory of the sun, and another glory of the

moon, and another glory of the stars; for *one* star differeth from *another* star in glory.

42. So also *is* the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption:

43. It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power:

44. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.

45. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam *was made* a quickening spirit.

46. Howbeit, that *was* not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.

47. The first man *is* of the earth, earthy: the second man *is* the Lord from heaven.

48. As *is* the earthy, such *are* they also that are earthy: and as *is* the heavenly, such *are* they also that are heavenly.

49. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

50. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

Sec. 2. Understand, all ye people, saith the Lord, all beings created with immortal souls, must meet with a sudden change, and this sudden change spoken of in Holy Writ, is passing from time into eternity.

3. And when this change, or separation between the soul and body is effected, the animal or earthly part, returns to earth and dust again; and the soul, or immortal part, returns to Me, the God who gave it, there to receive its just and due reward.

4. And thus, saith the Lord, is effected an eternal separation between the two, the mortal and immortal parts, as it respects the soul ever again being reinstated in its former house, or tenement of clay.

5. Hear ye my words, and understand, all ye people; The many passages, contained in the sacred record of my word, from whence you derive the apprehension, or idea of a resurrection of the natural body, were not intended to be understood in a literal, or natural sense, as you construe them.

6. And as evidence of the truth, that all such as look for a natural resurrection, will forever look in vain for the fulfillment thereof, I advise them to look back, and consider. What do all

the events that have taken place, from the creation of the world to the present day, prove, respecting the final dissolution of the animal or natural body, and the final separation of the soul therefrom?

7. Have those who died in early ages, been again reinstated in a natural body? By no means, saith the Lord; though in some few instances, through the cries and intercessions of my faithful servants, I have caused the soul, for a short season, again to return into its former house, or tenement of clay, after I had called it therefrom.

8. And this I did suffer, that the hardened hearts of the unbelieving children of men, might be convinced of my Almighty power, as operating through those that I had sent forth on earth, to bear testimony against the sins of the world, and open a way that man might be saved therefrom.

9. And again, I have in some instances, saith the Lord, with my Almighty power, caused the animal, or natural bodies of some few individuals, quickly to disappear and vanish from the knowledge of all mortal beings; and this I have done, that the lifeless lump of clay, resting in its grave, should not become an object of idolatry unto the living.

10. For in those ages of the world in which I have done these things, the blindness and darkness of man were so great, that he would much sooner have worshiped the animal or natural part, that was consigned to its mother earth, than he would have worshiped or obeyed the spirit that I had sent forth to dwell in this body, while possessing the breath of life, and moving in its duty, according to my divine commands.

11. Therefore did I cause that part which would have become a snare unto him, to be removed; for I have commanded all people, from the foundation of the world to the present day, to worship no God but Me, the one true and living God.

12. And I do now testify unto all the inhabitants of earth, that the only resurrection that will ever take place, either on earth or in eternity, is that of the soul, not of the natural body. The soul, or spiritual body, is complete within itself, and needeth not the aid of that which is natural, to complete its order.

13. And they that rise in the resurrection of the life and power of Christ, must rise from darkness into light, or from a state of sin and death, into a state of purity and holiness, without which, no one shall see the Lord, or meet their God in peace.

14. This is the true resurrection of the soul, or spiritual body,

into that element of eternal life which is promised the faithful, who forsake all for Christ's sake and the gospel.

15. And such as take the steps that I do require, saith the Lord, to rise and come out from under the bondage of darkness, of sin and death, and enter into a state of life and light eternal, do rise in the only true resurrection of peace and happiness to the soul, that ever was, is, or ever will be, saith the Lord.

16. And whether they be in time, or in eternity, it altereth not the path they must pursue, in order to rise in this resurrection, as is clearly shown in this roll; and there can be no other resurrection, save the resurrection of damnation to the soul, spoken of in Holy Writ; and so do I, your Lord and God, testify it, in this your day.

17. And all who fear Me, and keep my commandments, though they remain in nature's darkness, yet, by so doing, they begin to rise from a state of disobedience, and come into the path of true *obedience*, which will, in the final event, if followed, whether in time or in eternity, surely lead them into that resurrection of eternal life, here spoken of, and to which my servant Paul alluded while upon earth.

18. Though the fullness and completed order of my kingdom, (the foundation of which was then begun on earth,) was not then made known to the children of men, saith the Lord; it is now revealed, in this your day, without sin unto everlasting salvation.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF GOD'S COMING TO VISIT THE EARTH IN MERCY AND IN JUDGMENT.

2. God come to visit the earth.
3. The manner of his coming.
5. Mankind questioned, relative to receiving the word of God.
9. The great reward of those who spend their days on earth devoted to God's will.
17. State of sinners in time.
19. Their state at the close of life.
20. Of their punishment in eternity.
22. Ministering spirits sent forth to offer such souls the gospel.
23. Of beginning the soul's travel in eternity under adverse circumstances.
24. Easier for souls to destroy their evil natures while in time, than in eternity; and more glorious will they be.
25. Of those who turn back.
27. The object for which this roll was sent forth.
28. Not the invention of mortals. How it was sent forth.
30. The state of those who refuse to do the will of God.

1. Hearken, O ye people, and understand, all ye nations of the earth. I AM, before Me none were, and after Me, none can exist.

2. The God, before whose bar of judgment ye must all shortly appear, hath now, in this last age of the world, condescended, in his eternal goodness, to stoop from the throne of his Almighty power on high, and come down to warn the inhabitants of earth. With thousands of holy Angels upon his right and upon his left, doth he approach the habitations of man. And how doth he come? crieth a mighty Angel that goeth before him, that the people may hear.

3. With a balance of true justice in his right hand, and a sword of his judgment in his left; and on his right, doth a holy Angel bear the sceptre of his mercy, and on his left, a mighty Angel of power doth bear the besom of destruction.

4 Yet, saith the Lord, I send forth unto you my solemn warnings in a still small voice, in language plain, simple and familiar, that a child may understand. Will you hearken any the less on that account?

5. Would you be more ready to receive it, were the earth rocking under your feet, and opening her mouth ready to swallow you down?

6. Would you be more ready to receive it, should I, without giving you the offer of repentance, send a pestilence through your land, that should sweep three fourths of its inhabitants therefrom?

Would you be more ready to receive it, should I cause a dearth throughout the earth, and destroy both man and beast thereon?

7. Or would you be more ready to receive it, should I, in my wrath, take from the earth what little peace there is thereon, and suffer the sword to be unsheathed, through every nation and kingdom?

8. Or will you, in mercy, receive it at my hand, before my awful judgments roll on you? *My* times are not *man's* time, remember; but the time of times shall not pass in vain over this earth, or those who dwell upon it.

9. But I will now show unto you, the rewards of those who sincerely spend their lives to Me, while in time, such as enter under the law of grace, and walk uprightly therein to the end of their days.

10. When once a soul has heard the sound of the everlasting and true gospel, (remember there is but *one true* gospel,) they no longer can be considered in a state of ignorance; but they must either harden their hearts to disbelieve and reject it, or else they must follow the best light in their own souls in obeying it.

11. But let it forever be remembered, by all the human race, that they who go through time and commit the least sin, are always the most bright and glorious in the eternal world, and come the nearest to God, their Creator; for every sinful act makes a stain, and deep impression of guilt upon the soul, which can never be eradicated, but through confession and true repentance.

12. And none have found any way or power, by which they can keep from sinning, only such as have, in full purpose of heart, embraced the one only true gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his first, and in his second appearing, which, if lived up to, completes the work of redemption in the soul.

13. Such as embrace this gospel in their childhood, and by that means, learn to love the way of purity in the days of their innocence, and continue faithfully to bear the blessed cross of Christ, to the end of their days, offer unto Me, their God and Creator, the first fruits of their lives.

14. And such souls are prepared, at any time, to enter eternity, and stand before my holy bar of judgment, justified by their God; and there is no power that can condemn them; and in this state, they are prepared immediately to enter a travel in eternity, progressing from one degree of glory to another, continually rejoicing in that God of their salvation who called them while upon earth, before they had

sunk their souls in sin and wickedness, and become hardened against God, their Creator.

15. Such are crowned with eternal crowns of glory, having palms placed in their hands; and such are made kings and priests unto Me, for they are worthy. They lived in a sinful world, but they defiled not themselves with her sins, that they might not partake of her plagues.

16. And now, they are prepared to stand in truth with the Lamb on Mount Zion; therefore I will clothe them in white, and gird on them the breast-plate of righteousness, for they have no need to taste the second death.

17. But such as pass a long life in every kind of wicked and sinful indulgence, to which their natures are prone, often feel a stroke of reproof from the monitions of conscience, while passing through time, which awakens in their souls, at times, solemn feelings of reflection and sorrow, for the time that is past and gone, which they have spent in wickedness, against the laws of their Maker. And in this state, many form strong resolutions of mind, that they will mend their lives; but when temptations again appear, their resolutions are gone, and so they again become an easy prey to nature's vilest passions.

18. And, as they approach the close of life, they feel an awful horror and condemnation, thrilling through their souls; a dread of death, judgment and eternity now stares them in the face.

19. They know they are unprepared to meet their God, for they have gone far aside, from doing the best they knew; they now try to pacify their own feelings, by that doctrine which they have so often heard advanced, while passing through life; That if they will, before they breathe their last, only confess themselves to be sinners, by calling on my name; by the merits of Christ, the Savior, all their sins shall be pardoned.

20. But how awfully mistaken on this point, do they find themselves, when they enter eternity! Though many times, my Holy Spirit, saith the Lord, suffereth such souls to wander, and grope in darkness, for hundreds of years, before they are called to judgment; yet no enjoyment do they find; but are similar, in situation, to a man lost in a dense wilderness, among wild beasts. And when their time comes to be called to judgment, they find, that upon my eternal record every deed of their lives is recorded; the good upon the right, and the bad upon the left.

21. And these are weighed in the balance of my eternal justice, which finds them greatly wanting; and their doom is sealed in the flames of hell, with the devil and his angels, till they have paid the utmost farthing, by suffering the demands of justice.

22. I now send forth ministering spirits, to offer them this self same gospel which is offered unto you, O ye children of men. They thankfully embrace the least offer of mercy which I now show unto them; and they now have to begin, exactly in the same way that they would, had they begun in their childhood, or in any period of their lives while on earth, to embrace this gospel of Christ's second coming, without sin unto salvation.

23. After losing their time on earth, as to gaining any treasure for their souls, and all this time in eternity, enduring all the heart-rending sufferings they have had to pass through, as their due and just reward, they now have to begin, and travel out of the nature of that loss, with all its increased strength, which is added many fold by indulgence, just the same as they would have had to do, had they begun in the early part of their lives. If they had done this, they would have saved all the time lost in eternity, and their souls from the deep impressions of guilt, darkness and disgrace, and of a sin-stained life, saith the Lord; and been preserved from all the sufferings therewith connected.

24. And be it known unto all people, that it is much easier for them to find a fruitful travel in this world, by yielding obedience to the cross of Christ, while they have strength and activity, of both soul and body, than it is for them to find it in eternity; for there they must pass from prison to prison, from one degree of sufferings to another, seeking the mercy of God.

25. And for those who have once tasted the true gospel of Christ, and the good word of God, and of the powers of the world to come, and then turn back to serve their own corrupt natures, it would have been better for them never to have been born; for such crucify unto themselves the son of God afresh.

26. But such as do not feel themselves called upon by the awakening flames of conviction, in their own consciences, to obey the law of gospel purity, must return to the moral law of nature, saith the Lord, or they cannot escape the heavy hand of my awful judgments.

27. I have not sent forth this roll of solemn truth and warning, to threaten, or terrify the inhabitants of earth; neither have I sent

it forth for naught, or to be disregarded, trampled upon, and treated with scorn and contempt by any, either Monarchs, Kings or Princes; but those of you who believe it not, let it alone, and both time and eternity will convince you, from what source it was sent forth.

28. You shall be fully convinced, in the event, that it is not the invention of the people called Shakers, whose religion is so universally despised throughout the earth, nor the invention of man or of woman; but in obedience to my imperative command, and that alone, was it sent forth unto you.

29. For the [inspired] mortal instrument, whose hand I required to pen the words of this roll and book, to the inhabitants of the earth, would sooner have laid down his life, than been compelled to draft what the Angel read, for mortal eyes to view, could he have been accepted of Me, his God and Creator, in so doing.

30. But mortals are but worms of the dust; and whosoever shall refuse to do my will, (when I make it known plainly before them, with indisputable evidence,) are banished from my presence, to suffer in torment and anguish of soul.

31. But if they trust in Me, and obey my voice, let the inhabitants of the earth to whom these warnings are sent, do as they may, they clear their own souls, saith the Lord.

CHAPTER XXII.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE RELATIVE TO THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

1. Mankind cited to the scriptures.
2. The Lord questioneth the inhabitants of earth.
6. Of the law of the house of God, and of man's qualifications of the same.
7. Of a cloak for sinners, by wrong application of scriptures.
8. Of living without sin, and becoming perfect.
9. Christians questioned in regard to the cross of Christ.
10. Of a day of justice.
11. No indulgences of a half way cross in Christ's second coming.
12. No indulgences ever granted, only for weakness' sake.
13. Of looking back to Egypt.
15. Of overlooking the kingdom of Christ.
16. Of the establishing of Christ's kingdom.
17. Who can abide in it.
19. Of eloping from an evil nature at once.
20. Victory gained step by step.
23. Comfort administered to those who travel in godly sorrow.
24. Well of the water of life.
26. Christ's yoke easy to the honest hearted.
27. Judgment to fall on those who hinder souls from entering the straight gate.

Sec. 1. And now look, O ye children of men, and consider those passages, recorded in the sacred volume, which I caused from the mouths of the Prophets to be delivered, in this same line of inspiration that I now send forth this word unto you, which are hereafter inserted; clearly illustrating the glory of Christ's kingdom that should be established in the latter day. To this very day in which you now live, a portion of them refer, and ye know it not.

> *Psalms*, xlvi. 9. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.
>
> Chap. lxxii. 16. There shall be a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and *they* of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.
>
> 17. His name shall endure forever: his name shall be continued as long as the sun: and *men* shall be blessed in him: all nations shall call him blessed.
>
> 19. And blessed *be* his glorious name forever: and let the whole earth be filled *with* his glory; Amen, and amen.

Isaiah, iv. 2. In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the earth *shall be* excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel.

Chap. ix. 6. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.

Chap. xi. 1. And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots:

2. And the Spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD;

3. And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears:

4. But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

5. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.

6. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.

9. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.

10. And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.

12. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.

Chap. xxvii. 5. Or let him take hold of my strength, *that* he may make peace with me, *and* he shall make peace with me.

6. He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root: Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.

Chap. xxxii. 1. Behold, a King shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment.

17. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever.

18. And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places.

Chap. xxvi. 20. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.

21. For behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.

Chap. xxvii. 2. In that day sing ye unto her, A vineyard of red wine.

3. I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment: lest *any* hurt it, I will keep it night and day.

Chap. xxxv. 1. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.

2. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice, even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, *and* the excellency of our God.

5. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.

8. And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called, The way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it *shall be* for those: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err *therein.*

9. No lion shall be there, nor *any* ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk *there*:

10. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

Chap. xlii. 9. Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them.

Chap. lii. 1. Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.

7. How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good-tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!

8. Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion.

9. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.

Isaiah, lv. 1. Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.

2. Wherefore do ye spend money for *that which is* not bread? and your labor for *that which* satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye *that which is* good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.

3. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, *even* the sure mercies of David.

4. Behold, I have given him *for* a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.

5. Behold, thou shalt call a nation *that* thou knowest not, and nations *that* knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.

6. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near:

7. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

8. For my thoughts *are* not your thoughts, neither *are* your ways my ways, saith the Lord.

9. For *as* the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.

Chap. lvii. 14. Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.

15. For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name *is* Holy; I dwell in the high and holy *place*, with him also *that is* of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive

the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.

19. I create the fruit of the lips; Peace, peace to *him that is* far off, and to *him that is* near, saith the LORD; and I will heal him.

20. But the wicked *are* like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.

21. *There is* no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.

Sec. 2. Thus saith the Lord, O ye people, answer me this question; What is it that constitutes a wicked man? Is it not in transgressing the laws and commandments of his Creator God? And again; Is there any such kind of wickedness as popular and fashionable wickededness, that which the common usages and customs of man have sanctioned? Is it in the power of man, by his habits and customs, to alter the nature of that which I have pronounced wicked, and have forbidden?

3. Is it in the power of mortals to change truth into falsehood, or falsehood into truth, in the final result?

4. Can the laws and commandments of an Almighty God be made null and void, by the traditions of men?

5. Or must every thing remain, as his Almighty power hath ordained it, having this seal, "Let God be true, and every man a liar," who perverteth his holy laws, when once made known to him?

Isaiah, lx. 1. ARISE, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee.

2. For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.

3. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.

4. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at *thy* side.

15. Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through *thee,* I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.

18. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise.

21. Thy people also *shall be* all righteous: they shall inherit

the land forever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.

22. A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time.

Chap. lxv. 17. For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.

Chap. lxvi. 5. Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the Lord be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.

13. As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

15. For behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.

16. For by fire and by his sword will the Lord plead with all flesh: and the slain of the Lord shall be many.

22. For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain.

Zechariah, x. 10. I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and gather them out of Assyria; and I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon; and *place* shall not be found for them.

Chap. xiv. 20. In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; and the pots in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar.

21. Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe therein: and in that day there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the Lord of hosts.

Ezekiel, xliii. 12. This *is* the law of the house; Upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about *shall be* most holy. Behold, this *is* the law of the house.

Sec. 6. Consider, all ye people, the law of my house saith God. Is it not, that all shall be holy? Have I ever, at any age of the world, applied qualifications to my law, so that mankind could apply it, in any state or situation of life that they chose, even from him who possessed the most upright and blameless character, to him who had abandoned all rule or law, but that of his own corrupt nature, so that the transgressor could justify himself, as well as the upright, and pretendingly derive his authority from what he called the word of God?

7. How oft are the two following short passages made use of to justify known transgressions. There is no man that sinneth not. [See I. Kings, viii. 46.] *There is* none that doeth good, no, not one. [See Psalms, xiv. 3.]

8. But thus saith the Lord unto you, He that committeth sin after having knowledge of what is sin, is of the devil, not of God, nor of his Christ. My beloved Son taught his followers to be perfect, even as their Father in Heaven is perfect. And the Apostle Paul said, "Except Christ be in you, ye are reprobates." Can the spirit of Christ be in those who know they almost daily transgress that which he and his beloved followers taught, and laid down as rules indispensable for every one who wished, or expected to be saved, or made heir to eternal life, by that gospel which they preached?

9. Although the order of his kingdom was not then completed, as he plainly showed, and his followers after him showed the same; yet do I ask, saith the Lord, all professed Christendom, whether they truly think and believe, within their own hearts, that they bear that cross which Christ and his disciples required every professing christian to bear, saying nought of the increase of his requirements in [this] his second coming?

10. But, as I have before told you, the day draweth nigh, when every thing shall bear its just weight. Truth and justice to the line, and righteousness to the plummet.

11. The completed order of my kingdom, now, in the second appearance of Christ, is comprehended in few words; it is, *Without sin unto salvation*, in every sense of the word. That is, there are no indulgences granted, nor permission given, for any to take up a half way cross, by keeping from indulging their natures of passion and lust, as much as they conveniently can, yet not think they must bear a full cross.

12. In the first appearing of Christ, such a toleration was permitted, by some of his followers, for weakness' sake; but in his second coming, nothing of that kind can exist.

13. And in this day, no one, having put his hand to the gospel plough and looking back into Egypt, hankering after the leeks and

onions thereof, (or his carnal gratifications,) is fit for the kingdom. But they that lay hold with full purpose of heart, by honestly confessing their sins, one by one, and press on with zeal and energy of soul, do, by so doing, make their calling and election sure.

14. I have caused the last foregoing passages of scripture to be inscribed in this Roll; for they are a few, out of many that are illustrative of the glory and beauty, and that perfect holiness which I required to rule and reign in the kingdom of Christ, which should be established in the latter day;

15. That all nations and people, may see that they are overlooking the kingdom of Christ; or, in other words, are as blind to its appearance, in this day of his second coming, as the Jews were in his first.

16. For I do now, in my own time and season, saith the God of Heaven, proclaim to all people, that the Kingdom so abundantly spoken of by the Prophets, which should be set up in the latter days, is, by my Almighty hand, now established upon the earth; and that no other kingdom, to the end of time, will ever be established by Me.

17. And this I have established, by the second appearance of the spirit of my blessed Son, through a chosen female, or the Daughter of Zion; and the names of my three first witnesses I have told you, and the character of the inhabitants who are called and chosen to dwell in this kingdom. And none others, but those whose daily labor it is to maintain this character throughout, can long abide within its holy walls.

18. And furthermore, remember, that He who speaketh unto you, is a just God, and requireth nothing more of his people than they are able to come to, if they will be truly obedient; and without being obedient, they never can, either in time or in eternity, answer my requirements unto them.

19. Since the whole human family have been so deeply baptized into the nature of the fall, in which nature they are born into the world, and which increases with their strength, and grows with their growth, it is not expected that any human creature can elope from, or overcome it at once.

20. Not so, but by a daily cross, faithfully borne, they will, step by step, day by day, crucify that nature until it is dead; which [nature] is the beast, so much spoken of, after which the whole world have wandered.

21. But such as are honest and open hearted, in exposing all their filthy works of darkness, and continue so to do, in sincerity of heart, whenever, in any way, by its influence they are overcome, they will surely destroy its life, and rise triumphant over its nature. But it is by a progressive travel, day after day and year after year, that the soul gains a complete victory.

22. And, although they perfect their travel in tribulation and godly sorrow; yet, if they are faithful after they have honestly confessed their sins, the horror and condemnation of a guilty conscience they never need to feel.

23. But in true tribulation and godly sorrow, I never fail, saith the Lord, to administer, from my eternal source of goodness, comfort and consolation, which none can have any correct idea of, but those who have taken the right steps to obtain it.

24. This is the well of water, springing up unto everlasting life, which enableth mankind to love the Lord their God, with all their souls, might, mind and strength; and their neighbor as themselves. This fills the soul with a kind and sympathetic feeling, for the whole human family;

25. This is that which creates such true love in the soul, that one is ready to lay down his life for his brother; and no man hath greater love than this, as said my beloved Son, when he was on earth.

26. And upon all such as are sincere and honest hearted, Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden is light. But to those who seek to do their work by halves, it is galling and burdensome indeed; but I am delighted saith the Lord, in the free-will offerings of a soul, as none can be compelled to enter the gates of the Holy City: this must be an act of every one's free will and choice.

27. But when I cause, by whatever means I may be pleased so to do, a spirit to awaken the flames of conviction in souls, which leadeth them to look heavenward, and others stand in their way and hinder them from entering, Woe shall be unto such; not only the judgment of their own sins shall be upon them, saith the Lord, but the sins of such as they have hindered from entering the Kingdom.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE RULERS AND GREAT ONES OF THE EARTH; HOW THEIR TIME IS SPENT, AND THE LEADING MOTIVES BY WHICH THEY ARE ACTUATED.

1. Of the torments of mighty men.
3. The Rulers questioned.
25. Just Rulers, a blessing.
27. Of Rulers clothing themselves in humility.
28. Of dispensing justice.
30. Rulers warned of an approaching day of judgment and equity.
31. The world in a state of peace, had it been judiciously ruled.
32. Of God's visitation to earth in mercy.
33. Earth's cup of judgment, yet stayed in mercy.
37. Judgments promised, if the inhabitants of earth refuse to hearken.
40. Of causes and effects.
42. Special warning to rulers, concerning the notice of this warning.
43. A blessing to those who hearken.
44. The consequence of rejecting it.

1. Great and mighty men shall be mightily tormented. Why should mighty men be mightily tormented? Have I not promised equal justice in the balance of eternal truth? Then why should mighty men be tormented more than others?

2. Hearken ye Monarchs, and give ear O Kings, and incline your hearts to understand, O ye rulers of the people.

3. Do ye stand in the house of decision for the benefit of the people, or for the benefit of yourselves?

4. Do you spend the wages of your hire in benefiting the people, or do you spend it for your own gratification, in pleasing yourselves, in wanton luxuries and carnal pleasures, wastefulness and extravagance?

5. Do you ever consider that you are mortals, and must shortly lie as low before Me, your God and Creator, as the humblest peasant in your kingdoms?

6. Do you consider, that naked, mortals come into the world, and naked go they out?

7. Do ye stand in the seats of judgment, or the civil tribunals of earth, to mete out justice by weight, and equity in the balance?

8. Do ye hearken to the cries of the needy, and take the wants of the afflicted home to your hearts?

9. Do you prolong debates, to feed your country's poor?

10. Or do ye sound forth words, in trumpets to be blown?

11. Do ye spend the rolling moments as ye would, did ye know each day was to be your last?

12. How often do you consider, and in solemn muse reflect, that soon you must appear, naked and unclothed from mortal clay, before my eternal bar of judgment, and here, on my everlasting record of true justice, are all your works portrayed?

13. Do you decree, and statutes bind to support the schools of vice, where plans are drawn, and means sought out to spill the blood of man?

14. Do fleets by sea and troops by land, bespeak the christian life? Do armies drawn in battle array, bathing their swords in the blood of their fellow creatures, bespeak the true religion of the Son of God, whose doctrines ye so highly applaud?

15. Look ye in the sacred record of his word; read, and *understand* what you read, saith the God of Heaven. For of one blood, did my Almighty hand create all nations, kingdoms, and all people. And all these will I convince, by my Almighty power, that the Son of God was not sent on earth for nought, either in his first, or in his second appearing.

16. Do ye administer the right of the poor, and deal justly with the afflicted? Or do you even deign to feed them with the crumbs that you trample under your feet, which fall from your full tables, extravagantly loaded?

17. Do you tax the laborers in justice, and heap up stores of their silver and gold for yourselves?

18. Do not the rich grow richer, and the poor, poorer?

19. Is not justice bribed, the weights deceitful, and the measures scanted when going out? And are they not heavily laden, when coming in to one's private store?

20. Can you all make out such records as will compare with mine, at the shortest warning?

21. Can you stand in judgment, and die in mercy?

22. Do you enslave the freedom of conscience, and bind the hearts of men?

23. Do you sway the despot's sceptre, and wield the tyrant's sword?

24 Do you make use of literary knowledge, and science learned

of men, to defraud the ignorant and blind the eyes of the weak, who on you for justice do rely?

25. Just and upright rulers in the kingdoms of men, are a blessing, which my Almighty hand doth bestow, that the people may be prospered thereby: but unjust, hard hearted, hasty and wicked rulers, I suffer for a scourge and a curse, to kingdoms and to nations.

26. Do you, at all times, consider the golden rule, laid down by my blessed Son when he was on earth, "Do unto others, as ye would that others should do unto you?"

27. Do you ever lay aside, for a season, the pride and arrogancy of your spirits, and clothe your thoughts in the ignorant and humble attitude of the suffering poor, and lower classes of your fellow beings, who are suffering with hunger and cold, with nought but their hands to procure the stay of life, and employment for them they cannot find? And yet, exactions are required at their hands, by such as have thousands to spend in revelings, extravagance, and wickedness.

28. Do you, in dispensing judgment and justice to them, put yourselves, for the moment in their situation, and them in yours? Think ye that the eternal record before my throne would read as it now does, had this been practiced by the rulers, and great ones of the earth?

29. Does not this clearly account for the saying of the scriptures, That mighty men must be mightily tormented? Surely this is the reason, and so does it stand on my eternal record. In their power they are exalted above their fellow creatures, and trample the rights of the poor and needy under their feet.

30. But remember, all ye Monarchs, Kings, Rulers, and rich ones of the earth, ye must shortly appear before my eternal tribunal, as poor and destitute as the poorest.

31. Had you but exercised your power, throughout your different kingdoms [and dominions,] to put an end to wars, bloodshed and carnage, as was plainly taught by the Messiah, when I first sent him upon the earth, your kingdoms and nations would long ere this day, have been the habitations of peace, of equality and justice; and not a suffering mortal, for the want of the needful things of life, need to have walked your streets.

32. But the God of Heaven hath stooped from his throne on

high, to bestow a crumb of his notice, in mercy, to mortals; and now doth call aloud, yet in mercy, to the nations of the earth.

33. Though my awful judgments slumber not, yet doth my Almighty hand, in mercy, longer stay from earth her merited reward, till she shall again hear my word in truth, as she did hear it in ages long past;

34. And doth prove herself an object of my mercy through humbleness of heart, by proclaiming solemn fasts throughout her lands, and solemnly hearing and reading this, my sacred word; or of my judgment by refusing the same, though sent by my Almighty hand to her in a way not looked for by mortals.

35. And this is the way that I have worked, from the earliest ages of the world.

36. But now, in these last days, I have condescended to visit the earth with my holy Angels, in a more accessible manner than I ever before have done; by reason that the foundation and order of my kingdom is now completed thereon.

37. But if souls refuse to hearken to my word, earth's cup of judgment is filled to running over, and this she shall surely drink, saith the God of Heaven.

38. And I do require, saith the Lord, that all nations, and in a special manner, those calling themselves civilized and christianized, cultivate the principles of peace, at home and abroad, by sea and by land.

39. Would ye be more willing to believe this, my requirement, should I bury your fleets in the bosom of the deep, and sweep your landed forces from the face of the earth by pestilential diseases?

40. Like causes produce like effects, throughout all created things: principles of peace produce their like, and principles of war their like. War and bloodshed among the objects of my creation, are entirely contrary to every precept or example, ever taught by my blessed Son while on earth; they have proceeded from no other source than from man's fallen nature.

41. If mankind will learn in mercy, they will not be compelled to hearken in judgment: but they must speedily learn to hearken to my voice, where they never have, or they cannot escape the awful stroke they have merited.

42. And those who stand as heads and rulers of the nations, consider well; feel not yourselves too great and high to read this plain, but solemn warning, and consider well every sentence therein

contained; for by it ye shall shortly be judged in the eternal world. And, as ye treat this warning, so shall ye, in like manner, be treated.

43. If ye humble yourselves, and counsel your people to do the same, by ceasing from violence and injustice, dealing uprightly one with another, laboring so far as is in your power, to suppress all haunts of infamy and lewdness, I will notice you in mercy for the same: and when my judgments are rolling through your lands, you may, with confidence, pour forth your souls in prayer to Me for mercy.

44. But if you slight, disregard, or contemptuously treat this my word, and regard it not yourselves, nor counsel others so to do, in the days of your calamity you will pour out your cries to Me in vain, saith the Lord.

45. And let these, the forewarning words of kindness, sink deep in every heart; read them in your palaces, and practice them in your courts; and keep this volume sacred, throughout your realms.

46. And again, hear my words saith your God; Whosoever shall destroy this book, out of contempt, derision or ridicule, I will blot out their names from the book of my mercy, and mete to them their portion in [the place of] eternal misery, where torments shall be their food, and the gall of bitterness their drink; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF MINISTERS AND PREACHERS OF A FASHIONABLE AND POPULAR GOSPEL, AND OF THE MANY WAYS MAN HAS SOUGHT OUT FOR SALVATION, BUT ALWAYS IN THE FUTURE.

1. The Lord calleth unto them, and questioneth them.
5. Of ministers preparing their own souls.
9. Where baptized.
10. Of what was learned at the literary spring.
15. Of preaching by rule, &c.
16. Of industry.
17. Of the register of the heart.
18. The Lord promises to notice sincerity, and integrity of heart.
21. Of proclaiming a gospel license for war.
24. Of preaching deceptive doctrine.
26. Good deeds rewarded.
28. God commandeth them to return to the law of nature.
29. Ministers required to proclaim the law of nature.
31. Of coming into the law of grace.
32. Warning to vain pretenders.
34. Of those who turn from the law of grace.
36. Of different denominations.
38. But one way of life.
39. Of man's ways.
43. Of abhorrence to religion in consequence of false doctrines.
47. A blessing to those who hearken and obey moral law.
48. Ministers and people required often to pray to God.
50. Ministers required to keep a copy of this roll in the pulpit.
51. The power of God to be felt.
52. Warnings against slighting the call of God.

1. O ye Pastors of the flock, who watch in the broad way and cry at the wide gate, hearken; hear my words and understand my voice, saith the Lord your God, whose eye is upon every sincere heart, and from whose sight no deceitful worker can be hid.

2. The God of Israel and of Jacob, in condescending kindness, now calleth unto you, in a way of *my own* appointing, *not yours.* Will ye hear my word, and in breathless silence let the same sink deep into your hearts? Or will ye, by reason of the humble means that I have made choice of to convey it unto you, spurn at the same, before my face? I will, with mine own hand, prove you, saith the Lord.

3. For what purpose do ye stand as preachers to the people, calling aloud unto them, to enter Heaven's gate?

4. Is this to benefit the souls of your flock; or to increase your numbers to be seen of men?

5. Have you firstly prepared your own souls, for true and faithful Pastors of the flock, as the Son of God required?

6. Have you traveled in the narrow way of a daily cross, and entered at the gate of true selfdenial?

7. Doth your daily walk declare these fruits in open view of your flock, proving you to be the true embassadors of Christ?

8. Are all your secluded and secret hours, to Me your God sincerely spent in prayer and humble supplication?

9. At what fountain was you baptized with divine and holy power, to lead the people unto Me?

10. Was it at the literary spring, where eloquence of words are considered the greatest [qualification?]

11. Did you there receive the sacerdotal garment, to enable you to stand truly in the priesthood of a pure and holy God?

12. Or was the power of framing words, to make them answer the purpose of real truth at heart, there diffused, and the art of dissembling there to perfection brought?

13. Did you there receive my holy power, which instructed you to cleanse your souls and purify your hearts, by subduing the vile passions of nature, which power would enable you to bring every member of your bodies into subjection to the law of Christ, or the Son of God, whose name ye have applauded so highly, and whose gospel is a pure, sin destroying gospel?

14. Was the pure and undefiled religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, the first object of your pursuit? Or were the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi, and the greetings in public squares, your object?

15. Do you sincerely believe that the Holy Son of God, or the gospel he preached requires you to make long and labored prayers to be heard of men? Or to preach studied sermons by rule, embracing the words of my holy Son, but not the power and substance, to save the soul from sin?

16. Do you put your hands to work, and give your souls in prayer to God, when not immediately in discharge of duties, incumbent on what is termed your priestly office? Or do you live in pomp and splendor, regaling and indulging yourselves in luxury and extravagance, supported by the suffering poor?

17. Does the register of your hearts, which contains all your

proceedings by night and by day, bear upon its face that which you are willing and ready, at the shortest notice, to appear with, before my eternal tribunal of justice? and there meet the everlasting record of my truth, which altereth not, and upon whose pages my Almighty hand of eternal justice hath stamped the deeds of every soul and the thoughts of every heart; and to which place the sound of my eternal summons will shortly call you?

18. Have the leading motives of your transactions through life, been such as will support you at the hour of death, and justify your immortal souls, before the bar of God and his holy Angels? If not, consider well the cause, make no delay. Integrity of heart and sincerity of soul, though in a state of blinded ignorance, will I, in my mercy, notice, saith the Lord.

19. The sincere and honest souls, though ignorant of true gospel light, and of the way of salvation, will I cover with the wings of my mercy, if they will hearken when once they are warned by this, the solemn warning of their God.

20. And again; Do ye who stand as shepherds to the flock, declare unto them, by precept and example, that you do yourselves possess the true gospel of Christ, which is a gospel of peace, sufferings, and of long forbearance?

21. Or do you proclaim unto them, that the pure and holy gospel admits of quarrels, contention, wars and bloodshed? Or ever give the holy church a right to *compel* souls to join and acknowledge her supreme authority; or be persecuted, even unto death, as the consequences of a refusal?

22. Who among you all, saith the God of Heaven, are willing to appear before my eternal bar of justice, with this doctrine between your teeth, and having also palmed it upon the holy Son of God?

23. Who among you all, think that by the traditions of men, you can make the commandments of God of no effect!

24. Who among you all, when you are made sensible that the doctrine you hold forth to the people, as being the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, is falsely so asserted, still continue, for popularity's sake, to cast the veil of deception and falsehood still longer over the multitude?

25. Will you not be met in judgment for so doing, by your Creator God, and there bewail the loss of such souls as have been blinded by your deception, or the deception of that doctrine which

ye preached as the doctrine of Christ and his true followers, and by that means, spent their lives in almost every kind of sinful indulgence? Surely, you shall there be met by your Creator God, and in a path where there is no turning.

26. But for every effort you have made, and for every act of goodness you have performed, in singleness of heart and sincerity of soul, to restrain, and bring souls to walk in the path of true moral virtue, that has in any way saved them from committing sin, either upon their own persons, or upon others, shall be accounted unto you for deeds of goodness; and a reward for the same you shall receive.

27. Many among you, stand upon my record as having acted sincerely in this office and calling, according to the best light and understanding which had been given you, for the time being, not being enlightened into the true knowledge of that life which the gospel of Christ, in reality, doth require souls to live, either in his first, or in his second appearance.

28. But the word of the Lord your God is, Return unto the moral law of nature; propagate your own species according to the law of nature, or cease to call on the name of your God for mercy, or upon the name of Christ, for a saving gospel.

29. And all ye who stand as priests, or teachers of the people, teach ye this commandment of your God, respecting the law of nature, which commandment has been from of old: Indulge not in sexual intercourse, further than is necessary for the purpose of begetting your own offspring: indulge not the sunken and sordid propensities of nature, for self gratification.

30. Teach your congregations to prepare, in obedience, to meet Me in judgment, that in obedience they may receive at my hand of mercy, in the day that all flesh shall become as grass that withereth, and the kingdoms of men as a shadow before Me.

31. But [let] such as feel that they are called upon, by the light of that gospel dispensation established on earth in this their day, obey that light, and keep the law of grace.

32. But let not any souls seek for a refuge in the Zion of my likeness, or, in other words, let none who do not feel [that] they are called upon by my Holy Spirit, to forsake all for the gospel's sake, seek to enter into that completed order of my new Heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, now set up, no more to be overthrown.

33. Souls had better remain under the law of a carnal commandment, or in the works of natural generation, if they will but keep that law, than after having set out in a dispensation of greater light, and a more perfect law, to turn back again to their former lives, in the law of nature: for by so doing, "They crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame," through their own weakness, by reason of the flesh.

34. For they that have been called, and have had a privilege to taste the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, and have tasted of the same, if they then fall back, they have nought to feel, but a fearful looking for of the fiery indignation and judgments of God, to be revealed from Heaven, against sin and all unrighteousness.

35. But where the law of Christ is in truth not known, and there are many transgressions committed through ignorance, they will be lightly passed over, saith the Lord.

36. And how is it, O ye Shepherds, that the earth is covered with so many different denominations and persuasions, clashing and quarreling, both priests and people, one with another? yet all professedly maintaining the true religion of Christ!

37. Do you expect, or have you any reason to expect, that all these roads lead along the narrow way, and enter the straight gate that leadeth unto life?

38. Was it not plainly testified by the holy Son of God, that there was but one way that souls could enter his kingdom? And do you expect his words, which he received from my eternal throne, are going to prove false?

39. Have you not carved out ways of your own, to find salvation?

40. And have you not, by that means, been under the necessity of always placing salvation in the future tense, by reason that you never found it in the present?

41. [Therefore you] found nothing that could protect the soul from the temptations, snares, and enchanting allurements of this world.

42. And what do I, the God of Heaven, behold spread over the domains of earth, but a religion said to have emanated from my blessed Son, whom I sent into the world to open the way of life, yet, possessing no power, [in the present tense,] to save the soul from sin and death. And more than this, it admits of their staining their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures.

43. Have not many souls, in consequence of the wickedness and

abominations, bloodshed and carnage that they have seen practiced, and cloaked under the name of being sanctioned by a religion that emanated from the Son of God, been induced in their spirits, to abhor the very name of a religion that would admit of such awful wickedness?

44. And have they not even been induced to believe that the whole is a deception, from beginning to end; and by that means, almost or quite deny the being of a God, or of any supernatural agency operating on the earth; or that there is any existence in eternity, of future rewards and punishments after death?

45. Call not such a pretended religion, the religion of the Son of God. Blasphemy, in very deed, is recorded on my eternal records, against those who have light and understanding, and do this. But let it stand for the inventions of man; disgrace not the name of Christ with it.

46. Nothing belongeth to Christ, my blessed Son, either in his first or in his second appearance, that is impure, unholy, cruel, wicked or unjust in any shape.

47. But all such as will live a moral life, after the order of nature, and humble themselves at my warning, put their hands to honest employment, and give their souls in prayer to Me, according to the best of their understanding, they shall not fail to receive in mercy, at my hand, of that which I have provided for them.

48. And unto all of you who stand as leaders of the people, in sacred and divine service, do I require, saith the God of Heaven, that ye should often bow yourselves low, and call upon the assembly to do in like manner, and supplicate, while clothed in sackcloth and mourning, the mercy of that God, whose hand is stretched out towards the inhabitants of earth, both in judgment and in mercy.

49. Let mortals cease their pleasure vain,
And learn my name to fear;
Though I'm a God of all domain,
Yet, penitence I hear.

50. And, it is my commandment unto you, all ye who stand as Pastors of the flock, that, as fast as ye can obtain these sacred volumes of my word, ye cause one to be kept in your pulpits; and often look therein, and exhort the people to repentance; and, in your obedience, I will often cause a portion of my spirit to break out in your assemblies.

51. Dwell together in peace, and let harmony pervade your meetings. The GREAT I AM visiteth the earth with myriads of his Angels; yet, with your natural eyes you behold them not: but, as you feel the wind, and see it not, so shall our Almighty Power yet be felt.

52. Say not within yourselves, "Our God delayeth his coming, and these pretended words of warning are all false, they are of man's invention:" For upon such, will I break forth as a thief in the night. Therefore prepare, all nations, prepare, all people, for the God of Heaven will weigh you as the small dust of the balance; therefore, prepare, prepare ye for his coming.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WORD OF THE LORD, CONCERNING THOSE WHO LABOR TO TURN THE SCALE OF JUSTICE FOR GAIN; AND THOSE WHO WOULD PROLONG DISEASE IN THEIR FELLOW CREATURES, FOR MONEY.

1. Of selling the right of justice.
3. Of turning away the right of the needy.
5. Of popular lying.
10. Of the golden rule.
12. Of making justice a study.
14. Of being prepared to meet the demands of justice.
18. All nations of one blood.
20. Of keeping the law of God, &c.
22. All flesh to tremble at the word of God.
23. The inhabitants of the earth sick.
24. Concerning physicians.
28. Of being prepared to meet the souls of those unjustly dealt with.
29. Of a day of truth and justice.
30. Of the visitation of God.
32. Of what God will do at his coming.

1. Listen to my words, and hearken to my voice, saith the Lord your God, all ye who sell the truth for hire, and turn the scales of justice for money. Can ye, by word, turn falsehood into truth, and truth into falsehood?

2. Do you look at the silver and gold, and then engage to sell the rights of justice for a certain price?

3. Do you, for hire, turn the right of the poor from the bar of equity, and cause the penniless to suffer under the heavy hand of oppression?

4. Are you not called to plead the cause of the widow and fatherless, and use all your influence, that true justice be done between man and man, without regard to gold or silver?

5. Does the popular liar stand justified in my sight, or excused by the usages of men?

6. Does the habit or custom of selling one's self, for a given sum, to pervert the truth, render it less wicked?

7. Do you remember the declarations of my mouth, through my servant John when on earth, That all liars should have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone?

8. Do you remember, that for every idle word, man must give an account in judgment, unto Me, his God?

9. Does equity balance your accounts, and justice settle your demands?

10. Is the golden rule that your Lord and Savior gave, first and foremost in your hearts;

11. "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you?" And [do you] never from this depart?

12. Do you make justice your study, and uprightness your daily companion? Or is deception your study, and false coloring your constant companion?

13. Do the records of truth, rest upon the table of your hearts, supporting the deeds that are past, and resolving the course to pursue in future?

14. And are you prepared for the summons of an eternal change, to appear before the tribunal of the Almighty, and there to receive your reward according to the record of my eternal justice?

15. If ye knew, each day, that it would be the last you would have in time, would you not be in possession, at the return of night, of a different record in your hearts?

16. But remember, saith the Lord, Truth will stand, and justice will not be perverted, in the end.

17. No one can take from him, that which is his just due, nor give unto him, whose right it is not.

18. All classes, all nations and kingdoms of one blood I have created, with immortal and never dying souls, which are all alike accountable to Me who gave them, saith the Lord.

19. Though the path-ways of men through life are very unequal, and the inequality greatly increased by their injustice one with another, yet shall all, in the final event, be arraigned at my bar of eternal justice, to receive their just due, according to the record of their lives, which they lived while upon earth. Here, wealth, riches, grandeur or popularity, turn not the scales of justice.

20. Do ye, while pleading the laws of man, keep in your hearts the law of your God, which is, Deal justly, love mercy, walk humbly?

21. Do you extort from the poor and needy, and spend it yourselves, in rioting, luxury and extravagance? Do you give place in your hearts, for sober, serious, and solemn reflections? Or do you put far away the day of my visitation, saith the Lord?

22. Let all flesh tremble at my word, and bow at my command, saith the God of Heaven; for I will sweep, with the blast of my destruction, from the face of the earth, the hard and impenitent souls.

23. For the earth and the inhabitants thereon, have become sick, and covered with putrefying sores, from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet.

24. And all ye physicians of men, how do you deal with your fellow creatures? Do you prolong sickness for money, and protract disease for gain?

25. Do you make just reckoning, and exact no more than your just due? Do you administer relief to the poor, and comfort to the afflicted, though they be penniless and have nought to reward you, but thanks of tongue and blessing of heart? Or do you only prescribe for silver, and administer for gold?

26. Do you pursue the golden rule laid down by Christ, your Lord and Savior, in all cases; Do by others as you would have them do by you in the same condition?

27. Are you guided and dictated by kind, benevolent and humane feelings, towards your fellow creatures; or do rewards control you?

28. Are you prepared to meet, in judgment, the souls of those upon whose bodies you did protract disease, until you acquired all their temporal substance, then did leave them to die at last, and by this means their families were made greatly to suffer, and wholly through your avarice?

29. Remember, the day of truth and justice must come with all. And are you prepared, while in the midst of life, and prospects of

enjoyments great, to be in death summoned by my Almighty power, before my eternal bar of justice, there to receive the just recompense of your labor, and meet the souls of those whom ye did wrong upon the earth, and cause their bodies much distress and pain, for the purpose of getting gain to yourselves? Behold I shall call, and from my call, no man can turn!

30. I am the God, who respecteth not the persons of men; but who visiteth the inhabitants of earth, for the greatness of their abominations; and in mercy to them that will hear, and in judgment to them that will not.

31. Therefore, prepare your hearts, my name in truth to serve, and study first, the duty you owe to Me, your God and Creator; then, the duty you owe to man, your fellow creature. And live each day, as ye would if ye knew it was to be your last: then you will be prepared to do my will, wherever your lot is cast.

32. For behold, the powers of earth shall be shaken, and the heart of man shall be seized with consternation and dismay. Loudly and quickly, would he then call upon my name for mercy! But such as have had warning at my mouth, and have heeded it not, their cries will be in vain.

33. For have I not declared unto all flesh, that my spirit shall not always strive with mortal man to no purpose? Therefore, be ye warned by my words, saith the voice of the Most High.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF JUSTNESS, AND THE GOINGS OF THE PEOPLE. OF THE CONFUSION, AND TROUBLED STATE OF MAN. THE CAUSES AND THE EFFECTS.

2. Of the purposes, and design of the scriptures.
3. Of the perversion of them, by man.
5. Of the credentials of man's office.
6. Of false honor.
7. Of worshiping other gods.
9. Of the setting up of Christ's kingdom.
10. Of the fulfilling of God's work.
11. Mankind not ready to work with God.
12. Mankind replete with excuses.
14. Awful judgments upon the earth, unless shielded by repentance.
15. Of merchants, just reckonings, &c.
16. Of living to be prepared for death.
17. Questions.

1. Give ear, all ye people, and understand my words, all ye who walk in paths of life, and grope your way in time's dark vale below, saith the great Jehovah;

2. A God, the record of whose word, in dispensations long past, ye have; which record, by my Almighty and over-ruling power, hath been preserved unto the present day, as a couch to the frail, and lamp of true light unto the children of men, that the path before them might be plain, and the way in which they should walk not hedged up; that wickedness might not cover the earth, nor gross darkness the people.

3. Have these purposes, for which my sacred word was given, and preserved among the children of men, been accomplished according to my will? Or hath man perverted the order that was intended he should forever keep, as a safe-guard to his soul through time?

4. Remember, all ye inhabitants in time below, that your God remaineth the same, both in the past, the present, and the future. God is spirit, an eternal and everlasting substance of *light*, *power* and *truth*, filling all immensity and space, through endless worlds unknown; yet, a God that is near, and can be sought unto in mercy and loving kindness, by such as walk in obedience to his commands, and seek after Him with a sincere heart.

5. But where, saith your God, are the ensigns of your creation,

or the credentials of that office for which you were created? Were you not required by these, always to be in a state that you could show forth, at any time, to that power which created you, the ensign of honor, and the credentials of glory? That the day in which you were created, might not be repented of, by Him who formed you to be an honor and a glory to Himself.

6. But they have sought, not to give honor unto Me, but to seek for themselves, honor from men. They have not labored to glorify my name, but have sought glory in their own shame; and I, their God and Creator, have not received tithes at their hands; nor offerings acceptable, have they brought before my face.

7. And the countless millions who have entered eternity for thousands of years, testify these solemn truths; That the whole world hath wandered afar off from the law and order of their creation, and made unto themselves other gods to worship than Me, the only true God and Creator.

8. But, as the inhabitants of the earth, for ages and ages, from the earliest period to the present day, have refused to bring forth offerings, holy and acceptable unto Me, or sound forth praises and thanksgiving unto my holy name, with clean hands and pure hearts, according to the age in which they lived, and have, from time to time, refused the most merciful offers at my hand, saith the Lord;

9. Yet, in the dispensations of my eternal goodness and mercy, to the objects of my creation, I have, in this your day, established a work, and set up my kingdom, which by Me was foretold in ages long past, that shall never have an end or be destroyed, so long as I suffer life and breath to exist upon the earth.

10. And this I have done, that the progressive order of my work, through all preceding dispensations, may be fulfilled, and accomplished, in this, the last and final dispensation of my grace to man.

11. But as it has been in all preceding ages of the world, so it is in this day, as respects mankind being prepared to work together with Me, their God and Creator, in my time; and not lay out their own way and time, in which they will work, or not at all.

12. I find, saith the God of Heaven, that mankind are replete with the same excuses in this day, that they were when I first sent my beloved Son upon the earth; and they are no more ready to believe that my Almighty hand hath established a work, and set up a kingdom on earth in a way that I declare it unto them, in

this age and day, than they have been in any age that has preceded it.

13. But I created man; and as I have given him warning in all preceding ages of the world, so will I, in this age and day, as a kind and tender father, give him solemn and sacred watch-words of warning of the awful state and condition in which he stands, sunk in sin and wickedness, and every kind of abomination, with cruelty, bloodshed and carnage, on every hand and side impressed.

14. In this awful and sunken situation, in which the inhabitants of earth, as a body, now stand before Me, do I, as a kind father, their watchful and eternal Parent, loudly proclaim in their ears, that every heart may understand, that the face of the Almighty is turned towards the earth, and that awful judgments are about to break forth upon the inhabitants thereof, if they repent not, and that speedily.

15. Give an attentive heart, and a listening ear to my word, saith the Lord; Do all ye merchant-men of the earth, keep just reckonings, give true weights and honest measures to your fellow creatures? Or does the love of gold and silver, cause deception, lies and fraud to be practiced upon your fellow mortals?

16. Do you live, from day to day, as you wish to die; or do you put the day and hour of death, at a great distance, hoping it will be more easy to prepare by and by? Do all ye who call yourselves the common class of people on the earth, keep the golden rule given by your Lord and Savior, which was, Do unto others at all times, as ye would that others should do unto you? for this is the law and the Prophets, said the Christ.

17. Do you hearken to the rulers of the land, by obeying the laws they do enact? Or do ye tansgress the same?

18. Do ye speak evil of the rulers of your people? Or do you give honor to the same?

19. Do ye observe and obey all they teach you, and yet follow no bad example?

20. Do you come at their call, and go at their bidding, to bathe your swords in the heart's blood of your fellow creatures? Or do you do it because you yourselves delight in deeds of blood, to prey like ravenous beasts upon your fellow creatures, to rend and tear in pieces the objects and image of my creation, saith the Lord?

21. Have not I plainly declared unto you, that vengeance is mine, and I will repay in my own time and season?

22. Do you consider, day by day, that for every deed you do, while in the body, against the laws of Christ the Savior, ye must answer in judgment, at my bar of eternal justice?

23. Do ye keep sacred my holy Sabbaths, by bringing forth offerings acceptable unto Me, with clean hands and pure hearts, according to the best of your understanding, not having aught against your brother?

24. Do you love God, your Creator, by rendering praise and thanksgiving to his holy name, with all your soul, might, mind and strength? Or is your strength far more engaged to heap up earthly gains, for selfish purposes, where moth and rust doth corrupt?

25. Do you rise early to praise the Lord your God, and give unto his name the glory due?

26. Do ye abstain from revelings, riotings, drunkenness, lasciviousness, wantonness and debauchery, and live a moral, temperate and sober life, meditating upon the law of the Lord by day, and resting in a state of justification beneath the providence of his protection by night?

27. Do you consider, that my All-seeing eye is continually beholding all the doings of the children of men? Or do ye think that I am a God who only spoke from Sinai's top, parted the red sea, sent fire down from Heaven, and sent the Lord Jesus Christ upon earth; and since then, have taken no knowledge or concern respecting the inhabitants of the earth?

28. It is true, saith the Lord, your sins and iniquities have separated your souls from the protection of your God; that is [the reason] why I appear at such a great distance from mortal man in this day: It is his transgressions that have carried him so far away from his God.

29. But they that will do as their Lord and Savior taught, when he was upon earth, will always be nigh unto Me, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people, in deed, and in truth; and unto such I will often draw very near, and teach them of my ways that they may walk in my paths.

30. The humble and contrite soul is near to Me; but the proud, the high, and the lofty, I banish far hence, for they are an abomination in my sight.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

1. Of the confused state of mankind.
3. Mankind as wicked as the builders of Babel.
5. The expressions of their hearts.
7. Of bigotry and selfishness.
9. God will destroy the works of man.
10. The humble exalted, the proud abased.
12. Judgments to that nation or people who stand against God.
13. God near the humble heart.
15. Of man's trouble by his own disobedience.
17. Of man's perversion of the record of the word of God.
18. Custom never sanctifies deeds of evil.
19. Knowledge of natural things profiteth not the heart: but exalts it in pride.
22. Wickedness increased in proportion to man's exaltation.
23. None fit to rule, until they govern themselves.
26. Of applying knowledge to its proper use.
27. Judgments convince man there is a God.
28. Mankind warned to hearken.
29. Command concerning the reading of this Roll and Book.
30. Ministers required to circulate it.
31. Directions to Zion, concerning the same.
33. Of preserving the word entire, without addition or diminution.

1. O ye people on the earth, who are as sheep having no shepherd! Why are ye thus confused, and broken to pieces, divided and subdivided, throughout your kingdoms? Why is the integrity of your hearts shaken, and your confidence in one another destroyed?

2. How can two walk together, except they be agreed? And what is it that destroys your agreement? Can you not search out the cause? Confusion is an effect proceeding from some cause. Did I not, when the children of men were building Babel, confuse their language, so that they could proceed no further in the unlawful enterprise which they had undertaken?

3. And hath not mortal man upon earth, in this day, gone as far out of the way, as the builders of Babel were in that day, considering how much greater knowledge, light and understanding, my Almighty hand hath suffered to beam forth upon the earth, in these last days, than there was at that early age?

4. Have not the children of men in this age, in their self-exalted imaginations, built castles into the air? Do not their senses soar

above all that is called God? Do they not trust in their own hands for strength, and in their own arm of flesh for protection?

5. Do not they say, in their own hearts, "Who on earth do bear rule, but us? We have plenty of silver and gold, and of our treasure there is no end.

6. Whatsoever our hand listeth to do, we can accomplish, and no power can hinder the work of our hands. We are strong by land and mighty at sea. Our armies cover the fields, and our fleets the face of the deep; and who standeth before us? Great is our strength, and mighty is our power." They, in their hearts, defy the God of Heaven, and mock his righteous words to scorn.

7. Doth not the spirit of man, cry out against his fellow, "Come not near me, for I am holier than thou? I am rich, but thou art poor; I am good and righteous, but thou art a publican and sinner." Is not the heart of man, most intently looking for gain, each one from his quarter?

8. My record in Heaven, saith the Lord, declares and proclaims to all the world, this truth.

9. And again do I sound forth my voice unto you, through the spacious arches of Heaven; Man may build, but his God will pull down. He may build again and again, but I, his God, will as often pull down, until he can build no more.

10. But he that humbleth himself in truth, I will exalt, saith God; but he that exalteth himself, I will bring him low, even to the dust of the ground, and the foot shall tread him down.

11. He that humbleth himself, and cometh down low at my warning, will not have need to fall, and be dashed in pieces; but he that standeth against my word, seeketh to stand in vain; for I live, saith the Lord God, and he shall fall, to rise no more.

12. And whatsoever kingdom she be that shall stand against my word unto her, and pass it over as a matter of little or no consequence, but shall stand against Me her God; I will cast her down in my fury, and recompense in my wrath upon her own head, the just reward of her doing, until she learn that I AM, is God, who ruleth in every nation, and greatly to be feared.

13. Yet to the weary, the heavy laden, and humble seeker after Me, do I draw near; the broken hearted I bind up, the weary soul refresh; and to the feeble and tottering knee, do I give strength.

14. But man's exaltedness before Me, is as stubble, and his greatness, as chaff of the summer threshing floor; for at one breath

did I create him, and in one breath can I sweep him from the face of the earth, and leave her without an inhabitant. Therefore, fear the Lord your God, and walk humbly in his presence.

15. As I have before said unto you, so do I now again repeat it; Man's trouble, distress and misery, grow out of his disobedience and rebellion to the will of God, his Creator.

16. But had he been as much engaged to keep my commandments and fulfill my laws, as he has been to pursue his own plans, by carving out ways and means to please and gratify his own wicked propensities, I never should have been compelled to visit the earth in judgment, for the wickedness committed thereon.

17. But man hath never ceased to pervert the record of my sacred word, by framing plans of his own to shun the cross, and wresting the scriptures to his own condemnation. Therefore, by his own tradition, he hath made that which is an abomination in my sight, lawful and commendable among men.

18. And let all remember, that long established habits, customs or practices, [together] with the common usages of men, never alter the nature of my work, or the purity of my word: they change not the times and seasons which I have established; they sanctify not that which I have pronounced unclean, nor in any way make it appear commendable in my sight. They change not the nature of truth into falsehood, nor of corruption and filthiness, into purity.

19. Man's greatness in knowledge and understanding of natural things, purifieth not the heart. His great attainments of knowledge, in learning, arts and sciences, commend him not unto Me: though these he might render useful, if rightly applied; yet, what wickedness is committed thereby.

20. Doth he not, by these means, exalt himself to his own destruction? Doth he not grasp power, and use it to oppress the ignorant and unlearned? And doth he not, in general, feel above putting his own hands to work, and by his meritorious industry gain his own bread? Doth not his great knowledge, as he calls it, if wrongly used, prove in the end a curse, rather than a blessing to his soul?

21. Doth he not, in his self exalted state of greatness and independence of feeling, seek after gain without right, and power without virtue? Is he not continually seeking at heart, to be called of men Rabbi, and to be supported by the hard earnings of others?

22. Do ye consider, O ye inhabitants, that discord, confusion,

wickedness, and every kind of distress and injustice, increase upon the earth, in proportion to the self exaltedness of man, relying upon his own bigoted knowledge and understanding, instead of relying upon the moral principles of justice and equity, having the law of his God planted in his own heart, "Do to others as he would that they should do unto him?" And in this sense, a man is enabled to make a beneficial use of all the knowledge that he can acquire, for the good of his fellow creatures.

23. No one is fitly prepared to rule amongst men, or to stand in the place of decision and judgment, until he has first ruled and controlled the evil passions of his own heart. When he hath done this, he can rule, and the people can prosper; for the blessings of my providence, saith the Lord, do rest upon such rulers.

24. But where difference of opinion, in the house of rulers, is carried so far as to break out into hatred, animosity and revenge, even until they thirst for each other's blood, it proves a curse to themselves, and a curse to their kingdoms and nations; and under this curse, saith the Lord, I will suffer that people and government, to break in pieces.

25. But where equity reigns, and justice pervades the hearts of the rulers, by the providential hand of my blessing, that nation will be supported, and made to stand.

26. And when the inhabitants of the earth, learn to use and apply all their knowledge and understanding to honor and glorify God, their Creator, and deal justly between man and man, they will then learn and know by experience, that which the inhabitants of earth, as a body, have not known, for thousands of years past.

27. But the judgments of my Almighty hand will yet bring them to learn, by the things which they suffer, that there is a God who beareth rule in the kingdoms of men.

28. Thus saith the Lord God of Heaven, to all nations and people; Again I do warn you to hearken to the voice of the Holy One, when it is extended to you in mercy; for I have sent forth no requirements hard to be fulfilled by any honest hearted souls: but you are required to proclaim solemn fasts through your lands, humble yourselves before Me your God, and repent in low humility when this word shall reach your ears.

29. And read this, my sacred word, in your assemblies with awe and with reverence, not unto man, but unto God, your eternal Creator, at whose mercy you daily draw the breath of life.

30. And unto all such as are engaged in spiritual callings, whether at home, or in foreign lands, I do require that they should circulate this sacred Roll and Book, to all quarters of the earth. And whosoever shall do this, in sincerity of heart, and see that it is correctly translated into other languages, shall be blessed in their labors, for so doing. But make it not a theme of speculation for money's sake; but you may make such charges to the buyer, as will fairly compensate you for your trouble, and no more.

31. And that society to which I sent my Holy Angels to read this Roll and Book, for mortal hand to write, I have forbidden that they should make any charges, saith the Lord, or take [any] remuneration for these books; such as I require should be sent out into the world when prepared.

32. The number they are required to print, in their own society, is five hundred copies, for the purpose of giving to the children of men; and it is my requirement, that they be printed before the twenty second of next September. To be bound in yellow paper, with red backs; edges yellow also.

33. And it is my command, saith the Lord, that if any person or persons, shall add aught unto this book, he, or they, shall not prosper in time, nor find rest in eternity. Or if any shall erase aught of that which is contained in this book, their names shall be erased from the records of Heaven, and my kingdom they shall not enter. I have not descended to earth, with my Holy Angels, to suffer vain mortals to trifle with my word, nor to make light of my name saith the Lord of Hosts.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE REFERRING TO THE PRESENT WORK OF INSPIRATION IN ZION. SOME GENERAL ILLUSTRATIONS AND WARNINGS.

Sec. 1. Here I am required, saith the Holy Angel, to have those sacred passages of scripture inserted, that more immediately refer to the work of the present day, of strange signs, and of the awful judgments that are about to take place in the earth, should man's wickedness continue, as it hath done, for many ages past.

Joel, i. 14. Sanctify ye a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders *and* all the inhabitants of the land *into* the house of the LORD your God, and cry unto the LORD,

15. Alas for the day! for the day of the LORD *is* at hand, and as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come.

16. Is not the meat cut off before our eyes, *yea,* joy and gladness from the house of our God?

Chap. ii. 1. Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the LORD cometh, for *it is* nigh at hand;

2. A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong; there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, *even* to the years of many generations.

10. The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining:

12. Therefore also now, saith the LORD, Turn ye *even* to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning:

13. And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the LORD your God: for he *is* gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.

15. Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly:

16. Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet.

17. Let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O LORD, and give not thy heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them: wherefore should they say among the people, Where *is* their God?

18. Then will the LORD be jealous for his land, and pity his people.

28. And it shall come to pass afterward, *that* I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions:

29. And also upon the servants and upon the hand-maids in those days will I pour out my Spirit.

Joel, iii. 16. The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the Lord *will be* the hope of his people, and the strength of the children of Israel.

17. So shall ye know that I *am* the Lord your God dwelling in Zion my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.

Isaiah, i. 25. And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin:

Chap. ii. 19. And they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.

Chap. xiii. 13. Therefore I will shake the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place, in the wrath of the Lord of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger.

Chap. lii. 2. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, *and* sit down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

Psalms, xlvi. 3. *Though* the waters thereof roar *and* be troubled, *though* the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

Isaiah, xxiv. 13. When thus it shall be in the midst of the land among the people, *there shall be* as the shaking of an olive-tree, *and* as the gleaning-grapes when the vintage is done.

14. They shall lift up their voice, they shall sing for the majesty of the Lord, they shall cry aloud from the sea.

15. Wherefore glorify ye the Lord in the fires, *even* the name of the Lord God of Israel in the isles of the sea.

Chap. xxix. 17. *Is* it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be esteemed as a forest?

Ezekiel, xxxviii. 19. For in my jealousy *and* in the fire of my wrath have I spoken, Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel.

Haggai, ii. 6. For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it *is* a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry *land*;

7. And I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts.

21. Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth:

Hebrews, xii. 26. Whose voice then shook the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.

Habakkuk, ii. 1. I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved.

2. And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make *it* plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.

3. For the vision *is* yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.

Ezekiel, xvii. 22. Thus saith the Lord God, I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set *it*; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant *it* upon a high mountain and eminent:

23. In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar: and under it shall dwell all fowl of every wing; in the shadow of the branches thereof shall they dwell.

Jeremiah, xxxi. 4. Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.

6. For there shall be a day, *that* the watchmen upon the mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto the Lord our God.

9. They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them; I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble: for I am a father of Israel, and Ephraim *is* my first-born.

10. Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare *it* in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd *doth* his flock.

11. For the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of *him that was* stronger than he.

12. Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the LORD, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd: and their souls shall be as a watered garden; and they shall not sorrow any more at all.

13. Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together: for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow.

Chap. xxx. 23. Behold, the whirlwind of the LORD goeth forth with fury, a continuing whirlwind: it shall fall with pain upon the head of the wicked.

24. The fierce anger of the LORD shall not return, until he have done *it*, and until he have performed the intents of his heart: In the latter days ye shall consider it.

Zechariah, xiii. 1. In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness.

Chap. xiv. 13. And it shall come to pass in that day, *that* a great tumult from the LORD shall be among them; and they shall lay hold every one on the hand of his neighbor, and his hand shall rise up against the hand of his neighbor.

Amos, vii. 7. Thus he shewed me: and behold, the LORD stood upon a wall *made* by a plumb-line, with a plumb-line in his hand.

8. And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest thou ? and I said, A plumb-line. Then said the LORD, Behold, I will set a plumb-line in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again pass by them any more:

Chap. viii. 1. Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and behold a basket of summer fruit.

Zephaniah, i. 12. And it shall come to pass at that time, *that* I will search Jerusalem with candles, and punish the men that are settled on their lees: that say in their heart, The LORD will not do good, neither will he do evil.

13. Therefore, their goods shall become a booty, and their houses a desolation: they shall also build houses, but not inhabit *them*; and they shall plant vineyards, but not drink the wine thereof.

14. The great day of the Lord *is* near, *it is* near, and hasteth greatly, *even* the voice of the day of the Lord: the mighty man shall cry there bitterly.

15. That day *is* a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness,

16. A day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers.

Chap. iii. 8. Therefore, wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey: for my determination *is* to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation, *even* all my fierce anger: for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy.

Joshua, vi. 6. And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the Lord.

15. And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early about the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city seven times.

16. And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the Lord hath given you the city.

20. So the people shouted when *the priests* blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

Judges, vii. 16. And he divided the three hundred men *into* three companies, and he put a trumpet in every man's hand, with empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers.

20. And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the lamps in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow *withal:* and they cried, The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon.

21. And they stood every man in his place round about the camp; and all the host ran, and cried, and fled.

22. And the three hundred blew the trumpets, and the Lord set

every man's sword against his fellow, even throughout all the host:

II. *Esdras*, i. 37. I take to witness the grace of the people to come, whose little ones rejoice in gladness: and though they have not seen me with bodily eyes, yet in spirit they believe the thing that I say.

38. And now, brother, behold what glory; and see the people that come from the east:

Chap. xiv. 38. And the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink.

39. Then opened I my mouth, and behold, he reached me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the color of it was like fire.

40. And I took it, and drank: and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit strengthened my memory:

41. And my mouth was opened, and shut no more.

42. The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told, which they knew not: and they sat forty days, and they wrote in the day, and at night they ate bread.

43. As for me, I spake in the day, and I held not my tongue by night.

44. In forty days they wrote two hundred and four books.

45. And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read it:

46. But keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people:

47. For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.

48. And I did so.

Chap. xv. 1. Behold, speak thou in the ears of my people the words of prophecy, which I will put in thy mouth, saith the Lord:

2. And cause them to be written in paper: for they are faithful and true.

3. Fear not the imaginations against thee; let not the incredulity of them trouble thee, that speak against thee.

Sec. 2. These passages the most clearly show the nature of the work of inspiration and revelation, in the present day, among the people of God.

3. Therefore, saith the Lord, learn true wisdom, O ye people, and let your hearts seek understanding. The foregoing passages illustrate, in a small measure, that which is about to take place on the earth: and also the work which my Almighty hand is doing in Zion, and will continue so to do, in my own wisdom; and the operations of my spirit shall break out in strange and divers manners, among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

1. Of the pouring out of the spirit of God upon earth.
2. Beware of fighting against God.
6. Of running into wildness.
7. Forewarnings of the operations of the spirit of God.
15. The effects of the same.
18. Mortals never commissioned to usurp authority over the souls of the children of men.
22. Of the laws of man.
23. Of the law of grace.
24. Of the operations of the spirit of God abroad in the earth.
25. God's work will prove itself.
26. Not overthrown by persecution.
27. Will continue to break out.
28. Mankind vainly to look for mercy, after slighting God's offers.
29. Eternal collision between flesh and spirit.
30. Man's lamentations.
31. Of delaying the day of preparation.
33. Solemn warnings.
36. Of exceptionable characters being wrought upon by the power of God.
37. The blessings of Providence used both for good and evil purposes.
38. Things proved by fruits.
39. Of the fulfillment of prophecies.
40. The manner the spirit of God is suffered to be poured out upon many.
42. Some chosen vessels run aground, for lack of wisdom.

1. Hearken unto the voice of the Lord your God, all nations, kindreds, tongues and people. The Great I AM is beginning to pour out his spirit upon the earth; and many will be struck with consternation at what they behold; and many will be provoked in their spirits, to persecute and abuse those who are the subjects of strange and mysterious operations.

2. But take heed to your doings, all ye people, lest, unhappily for

you, ye are found even to be fighting against the work and power of the Most High, by resisting and persecuting those whom He hath chosen as instruments, or vessels for his Spirit to operate in, to make itself manifest.

3. The operation of my Spirit leadeth not its subjects to shed blood, nor to commit acts of violence upon their fellow beings; but where those whom I have chosen as my vessels, or instruments of divers operations and exercises are abused and persecuted, I shall, saith the Lord, in my own wisdom, defend them by my own power, operating through such agencies as I may choose.

4. Therefore take heed to your doings, all ye who seek to oppose the workings of my Spirit. As well might ye fight and resist the rolling waves of the deep, and think to put a stop to their motion, as to strive against my work, or the workings of my Spirit.

5. Though it may appear never so strange and singular to you, though it may differ never so widely from your traditionated forms, habits and customs of worship; yet, if you have learned wisdom by the words I have spoken, you will humble your proud, exalted feelings, and unite, so far as not to be found opposing.

6. Though you may have reason to believe that many of its subjects run into wildness not required by my Spirit, which will, in some instances, be the case; yet, remember I have come to confound the wisdom of the wise, and remove the veils of deceit and hypocrisy.

7. And, as the greatest friend to your souls, do I give you a little foreknowledge of the many strange operations and exercises, which I shall cause upon mortal bodies, like the following: *Violent shaking*, until thrown heavily upon the floor, or ground; Every limb of the body made stiff and unyielding; Eyes set with a deathly appearance; Pulsation of life nearly extinct; Gestures and bodies exhibiting frightful attitudes;

8. Little children speaking with great power, and declaring, in bold and undaunted terms, my word against the wickedness and abominations of mankind.

9. The power of speech, for days together, entirely taken away; The power of utterance given in language that mortals cannot understand. Females greatly exercised in turning and suddenly stopping, declaring to the surrounding multitude the visions of God they have seen.

10. [Also,] The comfort and happiness of the saints in Heaven,

and the awful cries, screams and screeches of those who are bound in hell, suffering for the wickedness they had committed while upon earth;

11. And withal, holding forth sublime testimonies, with power and great eloquence, against the filthy and beastly abominations practiced by mankind, and of the awful judgments of a righteous and just God, about to come upon them for the same;

12. Singing melodious and heavenly songs, given directly from the spiritual world; conversing familiarly with unbodied spirits; In extreme distress, and then immediately in transports of joy, to all appearance enjoying the greatest degree of the sweets of Heaven, in the presence of justified spirits.

13. Often breaking forth upon formal preachers, when sermonizing to the people, [and not preaching the true gospel of Christ,] contradicting certain passages, and declaring what the truth of God is; Often setting aside all forms, creeds and ceremonies, and denouncing in strong terms, against the religious intolerance of man.

14. Many times, loudly proclaiming against the lives of both priests and people; protesting, with great power, against all laws of inquisition, of persecution, or compelling by mortal power, either by law or violence; or in any way binding the freedom of the souls of men.

15. Thus saith the Lord, My spirit never did, and never will, operate in the hearts of the children of men to make them increase in that which is accursed in my sight; such like as wars, fightings, shedding the blood of their fellow creatures, or persecuting and abusing them in any way; or swearing, lying, stealing, defrauding, cruelty either to man or beast, giving way to passionate fits of temper, indulging in feelings of lewdness towards the opposite sex; or to promote places and acts of prostitution by their examples of frequenting to indulge in such places.

16. Or bestiality, or adultery, or bigamy, or of any filthy pollutions or abominations, or of hardness of heart or feelings of unkindness towards the poor and distressed, or of any sexual connection in the actual works of the flesh, farther than is indispensably necessary for the purpose of procreation; or in any way to profane the holy Sabbath.

17. Therefore, saith the God of Heaven, inasmuch as my holy and divine Spirit hath never, and will never, operate in the hearts of the children of men to make them increase in any of the before-

mentioned evils, or sinful indulgences, but to cease therefrom,

18. I have never, and will never, commission mortal man with power to usurp authority over the hearts and souls of the children of men, as respects the law and worship of their God.

19. For man to controll the volition and free agency of man, is usurping authority that I, his God and Creator, never gave him; and it is that in which my Almighty power never will sustain him; but will surely visit, in judgment, such as contend for the right of exercising it.

20. My holy influence, operating upon the hearts of the children of men, as I have before stated, leadeth directly away from indulging in any kind of vice or wickedness whatever.

21. But the evil influence, or the devil operating in the hearts of the children of men, leadeth them directly to indulge and increase in all those evils before mentioned, and in every species of vice, productive of misery and mischief in every sense of the word.

22. Therefore, the laws that man is empowered to make, are for those who have a disposition, through the influence of evil, to transgress the righteous and moral laws of their God, which I gave them in the beginning, and which were again sent forth, with an increased degree of restriction, when I first sent your Lord and Savior upon earth; and for the transgressing of which, all those evils have been suffered as a scourge and judgment upon man.

23. He brought with him the law of grace, which not only fulfilled all previous laws, but wholly superseded the necessity of them, by a law which was far more perfect, and went directly to accomplish that work, for which all previous laws served only as directors, or pointers towards this very law, which your Lord and Savior did now establish, and [which] comprehended all the law and the prophets before him, in these few words; "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

24. And again, of the operations of my spirit abroad in the earth; Strange signs shall appear, both in the Heavens above, and on the earth beneath; and strange signs shall be made by mortals; and when these you behold, again renew your zeal to prepare your souls in the lowest of humiliation, and cry unto your God:

25. Remembering at all times, that my work, saith the Lord, will always prove itself: I need not, that mortal man should undertake to decide in his own wisdom, whether the work emanated from my Almighty hand.

26. My work, saith God, cannot be overthrown; though the wickedness of man, by violence and persecution, may be suffered for a short season to suppress its subjects in certain places;

27. Yet, it will keep breaking out here, and breaking out there, with greater and greater power and evidence of the Almighty hand that guides it, until man shall fear and tremble before it as a leaf shaken of a mighty wind; and all his sins and abominations staring him in the face upon the left, and the indisputable signs of an Almighty power, approaching him on the right.

28. Now the hearts of men shall fail them, their joints shall tremble, their knees smite together with fear. Then shall their eyes be turned with an imploring look, for mercy from that God whose words they have laughed to scorn, and whose kind and fatherly admonition, with solemn words of warning, they have set at naught.

29. But alas, for mortal man! The time has now come, that an eternal separation between flesh and spirit must take place.

30. Now, man laments the day and time that is past, but he cannot recall it; now he sees the folly of his own doings, but too late to retrace his steps: Now he sees that he has outstood the day of God's visitation in mercy to him; now he takes a realizing sense of the power of that Almighty hand against which he has been fighting; now he beholds, at a glance, the exaltedness of man, with all his might and power, sink quickly into oblivion, as the small insect is crushed beneath his foot while walking upon the earth.

31. Then why will you, O vain mortals of earth, harden your hearts, as your fathers before you have done? Why do ye delay the day of preparation? Because your natures doubt whether the work is of God, or of man?

32. Why do ye stand in your own light, fighting against your own best good and comfort, and thereby hazard the awful consequences of being found fighting against your God, since He requires nothing but what is conducive to your peace, comfort and happiness, with a justified conscience in the present tense, and an inspiring hope for mercy from his Almighty hand, in the world to come, however quick you might be called?

33. Turn, turn O Israel; turn, and change thy goings O Jacob! Turn to the Lord thy God, while he calleth unto thee in the still small voice; lest his heavy thunders from Sinai's top, in forked lightnings play upon the earth, and destroy both man and beast.

34. For I testify unto you all, saith the God of Heaven, I testify

unto all human flesh that presumeth to stand in this day, against the tender mercies of their God, their delays are big with danger, and fraught with consequences far more dangerous, both to soul and body, than in any age that hath ever preceded it.

35. Therefore, bow down, in low humiliation, that your judgment may be lightened; for I have a controversy with all flesh, saith the Lord. But they that truly put their trust in God, by walking in true obedience to his will, shall walk and not faint; for I, their Lord and God, will help them, and that right early; and in Me shall their strength be renewed.

36. And again, many will be wrought upon, by the troubling of the waters, whose previous lives and characters have been quite exceptionable; but stumble not at this. And you will see some who have been the most forward in these strange and supernatural exercises, again turn to their wicked lives, and deny that they ever felt any thing but what they could avoid, saying it was all made; neither stumble ye at this.

37. Does not the same wind that bends the suppliant willow, try the strength of the sturdy oak also? Do not the same waters over which the honest merchant-man doth glide, also bear upon its surface the piratical brig? And do not some start from their own shores, on an honest enterprise, and turn pirates, or traitors to their country before they return? Does this act declare that they never have had any honest intentions? By no means.

38. But wait with patience; all things will prove themselves by their fruits. God's time, remember, is not measured by the span of mortals, nor are his judgments weighed in their balance.

39. You will hear of awful denunciations in my name pronounced, that will take place at certain fixed periods of time; some you will see fulfilled, and some you will see are not fulfilled, according to the prediction, in any way that you can discern for the time being: wait with patience, also, in this situation.

40. For as a ship having no helm, yet plenty of sail, must drift before the wind, keeping no direct course, so, in like manner, shall the pouring out of my spirit upon mankind, cause them to drift before it for a season, until antichristian superstition with fixed forms and creeds, is greatly broken up; then I will provide means by which they may have a helm, that shall steer them safely to Canaan's happy land.

41. Be not hasty, O thou mortal man of flesh and blood,
To judge of the immortal things of God;
But wait, thy judgments to portray,
Till fruits do prove the truth in every way.

42. You will see many vessels, when hard pressed by this celestial breeze from the eternal regions, that will run, for a short season, with great speed; but, for the want of helper Wisdom, whom I have not yet sent abroad into the world, saith the Lord, they will, to all appearance, dash upon the rocks and sink to rise no more;

43. By reason that they had run before their tidings were ready, in predicting the particular periods of time and season in which my awful judgments should be accomplished upon man. Yet, many there be, who understand not the predictions of their own mouths.

44. The times and seasons of these things are, as yet, reserved in my own power; not even my holy Angels are yet furnished with the knowledge.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

1. Of warnings among the children of men, to prepare for the coming of the Lord.
2. Of forebodings of future calamities.
4. Of stating times and seasons.
6. Further operations of the spirit of God, upon the inhabitants of earth.
14. Of the frailty of man.
15. Of timely warnings.
16. Of the inability of man.
18. All nations required to hail this word of warning and preparation.
19. Required to keep the day it was sent forth.
20. Of the manner of keeping it.
22. Nothing in this Roll, that militates against the sacred scriptures.
24. Of marking by the Angels.
25. Of keeping the Sabbath.
26. The effect of this word.
28. Requirement of God to the nations concerning the Roll.
29. Of sacrificing property.
30. Of rashness.
31. Of pursuing in duty.
33. Of the insertion of a prophecy.
34. Of the Proclamation.

1. It is very true, saith the Lord, my spirit has begun to work in some measure, among the children of men, by causing them to

stir up one another to prepare for the day of my coming, and [warning them] that my heavy judgments are about to roll upon the inhabitants of earth.

2. All this, saith the Lord, I acknowledge to be true; and many are the inhabitants of earth, that can witness to it, from their own experience. For several years past, they have been feeling more and more of an inward restlessness, that all is not right; an inexpressible something working in their own hearts, that created fearful apprehensions of the day and time that is near at hand;

3. Which causes strong forebodings of mind in some, that an entire dissolution of all material matter is speedily to take place; and so strong is this impression, when supported by the passions of nature yet unsubdued, (which are as prone to self exaltation, as the sparks are to fly upward,) that they venture, (yet sincere, according to their understanding,) to predict and foretell the times when my Almighty hand should accomplish an entire dissolution of the earth.

4. The wind and breezes by which these vessels have been impelled, saith the Lord, I acknowledge to be in the main, correct; but, as to times and seasons, they should have waited for further knowledge; for, as yet, they have no helm by which to steer their bark.

5. Therefore, it is their wisdom and duty to labor to prepare the people; but should state no times, saith the Almighty Power of Heaven.

6. And again, you will often behold mortal bodies, while under the influence of the spirit which I shall send forth, apparently eating that which natural eyes cannot behold, and, to all appearance, that which tastes exceedingly delightsome and pleasant; Also drinking freely from cups invisible to natural eyes.

7. And moreover, mothers will see their proud daughters exercised by involuntary power, with the most foolish, silly, and mortifying gestures that the human mind can conceive of, until their pride is humbled; then their exercises will become beautifully striking to the beholders.

8. And fathers will behold their haughty sons, who pride themselves in their dress, rolled in the mire and dirt, compelled to go forth in the most humiliating, and, (to the natural mind,) preposterous attitudes of body, that can be imagined, until they feel their haughty natures subdued, and are willing gently to bow and bend to the impulse of the spirit given.

9. You will again see those whose sins and abominations stare them in the face with such terror and consternation, that they will cry mightily to Me, their God, that I would open some way whereby they may be delivered from the condemnation of their sins.

10. Others will be heard to cry aloud, by reason of the insupportable weight of condemnation that rests upon their souls, and lament the day they were born. And others you will see swoon away in trances, and lie upon the floor like so many dead corpses; and to all natural appearance, the vital spark hath fled.

11. But they will again return, and relate that which will astound the heart of man. Some will lie in this situation many days together; and again, some, while in this situation, will talk out, to the understanding of those present, that which they are told by the spirits in eternity, which will cause the by-standers to fear and tremble, and many times to blush with shame.

12. And when ye behold these things of which I have spoken, and many more of the like taking place, of which I have, as a kind and tender father forewarned you, then see that ye are not found fighting against the operations of my Spirit, or trying to stifle it in your children: for if you do, I shall send it upon you in judgment.

13. But to all who will [hearken,] saith the Lord, I send unto them in mercy; but my work cannot be trifled with, and the soul escape unpunished.

14. Yet, I consider, saith God your Heavenly Father, the exceeding great frailty of man, by reason of his long and continued pursuit in seeking for all the pleasures and gratifications time could afford him. And by that means, the labor and pursuit of his mind have scarcely reached beyond the shores of mortality; but have been wholly absorbed by the fading, transitory, fleeting and perishable things of a terrestrial state, whose stores do fade, and treasures turn again to earth and perish in the dust: therefore, his blindness and frailty have become very great.

15. But in loving kindness and compassion, have I, his God, considered him, and sent unto him a timely warning, that all flesh might be left without an excuse before Me, in that day in which all eyes shall be turned to their God, to supplicate his mercy, and escape his awful scourge. But as it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be verified unto you, if ye heed not the solemn watch-word of your God.

16. I know full well, the inability of mankind at large, in their

darkened and sinful state, to receive the solemn warnings of an Almighty God, from the eternal Heavens, with that degree of thankfulness and gratitude of heart, that such an unmerited act of condescension from the Most High, to poor finite beings on earth requires.

17. Yet, those who receive it in thankfulness of heart, and give thanks, honor and glory to the God of Heaven for the same, by hearkening to what is therein contained, will be accepted at my hand.

18. And I require all nations, to hail this as the greatest notice of kindness and favor, from the ETERNAL SOURCE of all power and goodness, that was ever sent forth directly to the inhabitants of earth since the days of the Messiah.

19. And all such as believe and obey it, by turning from the error of their doings, are required to keep [*the second day of February annually;*] the day bearing the date in which this was brought forth to earth, by the mighty and holy Angel, to be written for mortal eyes to view. And after the following manner, I require you should keep it.

20. Assemble yourselves together in your places for sacred worship, and there humble yourselves upon your knees, and supplicate my mercy, by praying earnestly unto Me, that my All-powerful and protecting arm may yet longer be extended in mercy over you, and over your herds, and over your flocks, until you learn to do my will and keep my statutes holy. And sing solemn praises unto my name, exhorting each other in godly fear.

21. But suffer not your hearts to spend this day in recreation; for it is not in vain delight and pleasure that the heart of man draweth nigh unto God, his Maker; but it is in cheerful resignation unto his holy will, when made known to him.

22. I have sent forth nothing unto you, O ye inhabitants in mortal clay, that does in the least militate against any doctrine contained in the sacred records which I have sent forth in past dispensations, but that ye may, in truth, fulfill them according to the requirement of the law, and according to the requirement of Christ, both in his first and second appearing.

23. For this purpose have I condescended to send forth this Book and Roll of one hundred seals unto you; and this regulation I require you to keep, as an evidence of the contrition of your hearts, that my holy Angels may pass and re-pass throughout the

earth, and behold the doings of the children of men upon this day.

24. For I shall command them to mark upon the posts of every door, with the seal of mercy, whether in places of public worship, or in private dwellings, where they find the people assembled together in sincerity of heart, truly supplicating my protection. And this I require to be sacredly kept, until, in my own power and wisdom, the time does come that I send forth a further word to the inhabitants of earth.

25. Also remember, all ye people, to keep my sacred Sabbaths holy; profane them not with any kind of wickedness; nor the day I now require you to keep in special homage to Me your God.

26. This sacred word will strike with consternation many a heart, and break forth upon the inhabitants of earth, at an unexpected hour. Therefore, beware of my after-coming. Prepare, prepare yourselves to meet your God, as ye would, if ye knew tomorrow would close the scenes of your mortal existence.

27. Then, if in the order of my providence, you are still longer permitted to enjoy life in a terrestrial state, you will be able to honor Me, your God and Creator in so doing; or to leave the world, having made your peace with God, and all your fellow creatures.

28. Hear my requirement, saith the Lord, ye leading characters of every nation. When you receive this Sacred Roll of the word of your God, you are required to enter it upon your most sacred records, and let it be engraven on the table of your hearts, there to remain while passing through the remaining moments of your lives below.

29. I do not require that any should make a wasteful sacrifice of property; but let all be diligent with their hands, to work in some laudable pursuit, and let those who have more than a competency [of the necessaries of this life,] help their poor fellow mortals. In so doing, saith the Lord, you will lay up a treasure far more precious than gold or silver.

30. Let no one be rash, nor wild in their doings, in respect to temporal things; but let true wisdom and reason guide your steps; for I have given you way-marks, saith the Lord, by which you may safely steer if you will.

31. I would that man pursue his various employments, dealing justly with all his fellow creatures, and be willing to work with his own hands for his daily support; for idleness leadeth the soul directly away from its God; it is, in truth, the parent of misery.

32. Let rulers do their duty faithfully; rule in justice and equity, and suppress the haunts of infamy as much as possible. This is the command of your God.

33. I have furthermore, here commanded to be inserted in this Roll, a prophecy which, but a short time since, I sent my faithful servant, the prophet Isaiah, of whom ye read, with six archers, through four of whom he was to deliver a prophecy in Zion, the other two were to keep silent, until the time should be fulfilled. And now their time is come, and I have sent him forth, with the other two, to prophecy to the inhabitants of the earth; and I require that they should all be inserted at the end of this Roll.

34. But the Proclamation, which I wrote with my own hand ten months ago, and sent by my blessed Son, your Lord and Savior, to read for mortal hand to draft upon my Holy Mount, I require should be inserted at the beginning of this Roll.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF HARMONY, PURITY AND INNOCENCE, AND THE TRUE ENJOYMENT OF THE TWO SEXES, IN THIS STATE. CLOSING OF THE ROLL.

2. Of the enjoyment of sexes together.
5. What breaks society to pieces.
9. Of laying the axe to the root of the tree.
11. Of indulgence to a carnal nature.
12. The primitive state of man.
13. Sinning against light, hasteneth to destruction.
14. Of male and female dwelling together in innocence.
17. Of a state of innocence and purity as exemplified by Christ.
18. How to enter the new creation.
19. Of the government of Christ's kingdom.
20. Of the subjects who compose it.
23. Of fighting against God.
25. Of the treatment of his sacred word.
29. Mankind dealt with, according as they have hearkened to the word of God.
31. Requirement concerning the circulation and translation of this Roll.
33. Of staying the hand of judgment, by cultivating principles of peace.
36. Mankind advanced in wickedness, to the verge of destruction.
37. Destruction to those who refuse to hearken.
39. Of the seclusion of Zion; and of warnings.
40. Warnings against troubling the Instrument who wrote this Roll.
42. Of sincerity while conversing upon sacred subjects.

1. And again, saith the Lord, I now call upon you, O ye inhabitants of the earth, to hearken to my words, and understand the truth concerning that of which ye are, as yet, strangers.

2. You do not see how it is possible, for male and female to dwell in societies together and enjoy each other's association, and good and kind feelings, and still have nothing to do with sexual indulgences. This, in truth, to natural man, who is absorbed in the things of nature, seems to be impossible; a mystery that he cannot comprehend, or understand.

3. And truly it is, saith the Lord, by natural man, while living after the ordinary course of nature, incomprehensible.

4. For this power of associating together, as little harmless children who know no evil, in harmony, purity and innocence, is given, and can be found, only in the completed order of my creation, wherein old things are done away, and all things become new.

5. All selfishness, quarrels, contention, strife, inveterate feelings of animosity, and attitudes of hostility, are effects proceeding from

certain causes; and no body of people, [influenced by these causes,] can long dwell together in a united capacity, but that these effects, or consequences proceeding from these certain causes, will break them to pieces and scatter them asunder.

6. The cause of all those uncontrolled divisions of feeling emanates wholly from the region of darkness, where no true light, in its fullness, can ever shine; and that is the indulging and gratifying of one's own carnal, fallen, and corrupt nature of fleshly lust, that is always at war against the soul's best good and comfort.

7. And while fed by indulgence and gratification, it will never suffer souls to enjoy true harmony, love, union and innocence, so that they can associate in societies together, further than the bounds of natural private families extend; and even they, come far short of existing together in a state of peace and harmony.

8. The gratification and indulgence in fleshly works, whether confined to one's self, or in connection with others, is continually strengthening the root of this evil tree, which bears the forbidden fruit, and hath many branches, that are continually strengthened and supported from this root.

9. Therefore did the followers of my blessed Son, even in his first appearance, teach souls to lay the axe at the root [of the tree,] and destroy the cause, and the effect will cease, and the branches and limbs of this evil tree will die.

10. When this is done, saith the Lord, then souls are again redeemed unto Me, in a state of purity and innocence; and not until it is done, whether they be in time or in eternity, it maketh no difference further than this;

11. The more they indulge themselves while in time, in the gratification of these works, the greater are the guilt, condemnation and stains of sin and filthiness impressed upon their souls when entering eternity; and the greater must be their sufferings and tribulation to find their redemption.

12. For I created man, saith the Lord, in the beginning, pure and innocent; and when he is again redeemed unto Me, he will be pure and innocent; and the more sin he commits, after he is born into the world, the greater is the distance that he is carried from Me, his God and Creator; and consequently, the greater must be the length of his journey, in retracing his steps in sorrow and tribulation, again to find Me, his Creator God, in truth.

13. And this is rendering unto every one a just reward, accord-

ing to their works; but mortals, when sinning against light and understanding, are rapidly hastening their souls at a great distance from Me, and from the purity of my kingdom.

14. But in the completed order of my new creation, now established on earth, male and female dwell together as brethren and sisters, not as husband and wife; for in this completed order, they can have nothing to do with those works belonging to the husband and wife dispensation; as that is wholly confined to the natural order, and not to the spiritual.

15. But that degree of comfort and true enjoyment which males and females take together, when living as brethren and sisters, in bonds of filial affection and gospel purity, is beyond any thing that can be enjoyed in a natural state. It is similar, saith the Lord, to that which two little children, brother and sister, who know no impurity or wickedness, take in their innocent plays together.

16. And for this very cause, did your Lord and Savior take little harmless and innocent children in his arms, and bless them; and told his disciples to suffer them to come unto him; for of such was the kingdom of Heaven.

17. This example of your Savior with little children, both in his first and second appearance, embraced the plainest and most striking figure that could be made use of, to show unto the people that state of true innocence, purity and harmlessness, that must be possessed by all such souls as would ever become true heirs of his kingdom.

18. But in order for souls to obtain a place in the completed order of my *new creation*, they must firstly confess their sins honestly, as before shown in this Roll; then give themselves up unto Me, as clay in the hands of the potter, to be led as little children, counseled and instructed through such visible agency as the influence of my Spirit, saith the Lord, hath appointed for that purpose; and to be admonished, in my holy fear, when found necessary.

19. All this is done by the influence and power of the spirit, without coercive measures; which measures I do not allow to be made use of, in my kingdom, save in the case of children, when all mild and persuasive means fail, I suffer them to be gently corrected with small rods; but never are they allowed to be abused, or cruelly treated, in any way, or meddled with by any one when under the least degree of excitement or passion.

20. This is briefly the law and order of my kingdom, now estab-

lished on the earth, forever more to stand. It is, and forever will be, composed of subjects harmless and inoffensive, who bear no carnal weapons of warfare, but rely, in their true obedience and devotedness of soul unto Me, upon my arm for protection from their enemies without and within;

21. Who will suffer at the hands of their fellow creatures, injustice, cruelty and abuse, without retaliation, saith the Lord; having this assurance from Me, That man can only destroy the body, but cannot injure the soul.

22. Therefore, O vain and mortal man, consider all your doings, and take heed unto your goings, lest ye are found fighting, even against the Almighty hand of your God.

23. For there is no person or spirit, that can rise and seek to stand against the eternal attributes of my goodness, purity, innocence and holiness, but what does fight against the Almighty hand of Him who created the Heavens and the earth, and whose power, in judgment, they must surely meet for so doing; for no weapon, formed against my Zion, shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against her in judgment, I will condemn, saith the Lord.

24. And now, my last and closing word in this sacred and solemn Roll of my mercy, I do send forth to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, that dwell upon the face of the whole earth.

25. As you deal with one another, so will your God deal with you; as you treat this, his sacred and solemn word, so will He treat you, in the dispensation of his judgment, and of his mercy. As you regard the laws of nature herein required to be kept, so will He regard you.

26. As you regard the law of grace, or order of his new creation herein required to be kept, by all who feel their souls called upon to advance forward into this perfect order, so will his Almighty hand regard you, with his blessing and protection.

27. As you regard the requirement of Me, your God, respecting the reading of this solemn *Roll of my word*, and *Book of everlasting truth*, to the inhabitants of earth, in your solemn assemblies, so will the Lord your God, in the day of his heaviest visitation in judgment, regard, and cause his holy Angels to regard you.

28. As you regard, and treat the operations of my spirit, which shall go forth abroad in the world, of which I have before told you, so shall you be treated, by the over-ruling hand of your God.

29. According as you believe and obey, or disbelieve and disobey, the words contained in this Sacred Roll [and Book,] so shall the sincerity of your cries and lamentations, in the day that you are constrained to pour them forth for my mercy, be regarded or disregarded by your God.

30. And according to the zeal, enterprise and sincerity of such as are required to correctly translate and circulate this Book through different nations and languages, so shall their days of my notice, in peace and blessing, be prolonged.

31. It is my requirement, saith the Lord, that in two years from the commencement of the year *One thousand eight hundred and forty four*, copies of this, MY SOLEMN WARNING, be circulated throughout all professed christendom on the face of the whole earth; and as far among the heathen nations, as missions for civilization and for instruction have been extended.

32. And so far as the inhabitants of the earth regard, in truth, the sacred requirements contained in the holy scriptures, and in this my Sacred Roll, now sent forth directly from my eternal throne, in the age and day in which they live, so far are they justified in my sight.

33. And by laboring, as fast as possible, to settle all feelings of collision, both in their own realms and kingdoms, [and with other nations,] without hostilities being commenced, or blood being shed, and to cease learning the arts of war, and cultivate the principles of peace, they will, so far, stay the heavy judgments which are already poured out without mixture, into the cup of the wrath of my indignation, to be sent forth upon the earth.

34. But this effort to do away the cause of war, and establish conciliatory measures, that justice, in all cases, may be done, and the effusion of blood, and the destruction of human life be prevented, I require, saith the Lord, should be made by nations, as well as by individuals.

35. And so far as mankind turn their attention to cultivate the soil and procure their subsistence by their own honest industry; so far will they evidently feel, as nations, the blessings of an overruling providence smiling upon them.

36. But let all nations and kingdoms remember, saith the God of Heaven, that they have advanced in wickedness, against the laws of their God and Creator, on to the very last stage in which his Almighty hand, in offers of mercy, can be extended towards them.

37. And if they refuse, as nations, to hearken and take warning, sure destruction is their certain and final doom. Herein is contained my word, the only true GOD, the ALMIGHTY POWER of Heaven and earth, the *Over-ruling* and *Great first Cause* of all created things. The GOD who was, the GOD who is, through endless worlds made known.

38. Therefore, unto that God give thanks, whose omniscient eye is not confined to certain limits of time and space.

39. Trouble ye not the *little few* from whence this, my word, at my command, has now come forth: for I, the God of all, have commanded their seclusion, as a body, for a short season, from all public gaze and throng; that I may scourge them in my mercy, and teach them how, in tribulation's vale, to walk softly before Me their God.

40. Trouble ye not the mortal hand, or Instrument of flesh and blood, through whom I caused my holy and mighty Angel of eternal light, power and truth, to move and guide the pen in truth to write this, my Holy and Sacred Roll, for mortal eyes to view; for he is but mortal flesh and blood, like unto each one of you.

41. No honor there belongs, but that of obeying Me, the Lord his God, regardless of all other personal views or consequences. Holy and sacred things I do require, saith the Lord, to be kept holy and sacred, practiced in both heart and hand; and not to be made the daily subject of comment, yet still unheeded.

42. But when souls converse together on sacred subjects, let them be sincere in heart, possessing a degree of fear and reverence to that God by whom they were created, and before whose eternal throne of judgment and true justice, each soul must soon appear.

43. And thus endeth the Roll, sent forth from Me, the God of Heaven and earth, consigned to all possessing mortal clay, saith the AL FI'NO of all creation, the *Beginning* and the *Ending;* even so, eternally it shall stand, Amen.

A PROPHECY

FROM THE SPIRIT OF THE ANCIENT PROPHET ISAIAH, COMMUNICATED THROUGH HIS ARCHERS,

IN SIX PARTS.

INTRODUCTION BY THE HOLY ANGEL.

We require, saith the holy Angel, the first and second watch to be sounded in the ears of the watchmen of the flock. Go call the Shepherds, that they may hear; for my God hath commanded me words to speak, his truths to declare, to cry aloud, and spare not; for she that did glow in mirthful beauty, is now arrayed in mourning.

Therefore, thou Prophet of the Lord, cause four of thy Archers to speak thy word, this night; but command the other two to withhold, and speak not, until the time shall be fulfilled. And these shall be the hours in which ye shall cry aloud, The watch; first, between the hours of seven and eight; second, between the hours of nine and ten; third, at the hour of twelve; fourth, between the hours of three and four.

PART I.

WORDS OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH IN THE FIRST WATCH, THROUGH HIS ARCHER.

1. The Lord questioneth the Shepherds of Israel.
6. God's hand upon earth in judgment.
7. God's word to his Archers.
8. Warnings to Zion.
13. Of the Lord's Vineyard.
15. Of man's insignificance.

1. Shall I gather and gather, gather and gather again, and then scatter in Israel, and rend in Jacob, saith the Lord? Shall I plant a goodly vineyard, and cause careful husbandmen to dress the same, that I may receive mine own with usury, and then suffer thieves and robbers to break in and abuse my husbandmen, and take to themselves the first ripe fruits, and destroy and trample the residue under their feet?

2. Shall I grant that Israel may flourish, and Jacob prosper, and then suffer the destroyer to break down the walls of their city, and lay waste their pleasant places? Shall I suffer the little ones to be chased by their enemies, and scattered upon the mountains, as sheep having no shepherd?

3. Or shall I again, saith the Lord, send my beloved Son, to gather them under the shadow of his wings and seat them in the low and pleasant vales of humility? Yea, saith the God of Heaven, over mine own will I stretch forth my arm of protection, to save the offspring of my delight.

4. But hearken, saith the Lord: Where are the credentials of your office, or the signets of your calling? Where are the marks from Wisdom's hand, that prove you objects of my name? Have not I promised that my judgments should be to the line, and my righteousness to the plummet? Have I not given strength to the weak, that they might become strong to rejoice in the God of their salvation?

5. And again; Have I not strengthened the feeble and tottering knee, that it might bow and bend as a suppliant willow, in my holy Sanctuary? Have I not called you all, saith the Lord, to drink at one fountain and bathe in one stream, and to refine by one fire, un-

til you were clean? *O hail le vin'cet! Hail le vin'cet!* and where do I find you?

6. Give ear, O earth, and hearken all ye people who dwell in her. My hand is upon you, saith the Lord God of Heaven, in judgment, and not in mercy; and for your wicked abominations, shall ye howl in distress and gnaw your tongues for pain.

7. Cry aloud, O ye archers, in Heaven, and spare not your voices on earth. Gird yourselves with the strength of a unicorn, and bend ye the bows of destruction, and let fly the arrows of death: but the humble and penitent, shall ye pass lightly over.

8. And, O thou Zion of my planting, and all ye people who dwell in her! Look ye to the hole from whence ye were digged, and to the pit from whence ye were taken. Have ye not been dandled as an infant at the breast, and rocked in the cradle of ease, until ye grew strong, yet unthankful; and rich, yet unholy? until ye denied the means by which ye were protected, and forgot the hand by which ye were sustained?

9. O Zion, O Zion! Must I cast thee from my presence, and suffer thee to sojourn in a strange land, as one with whom I am not acquainted, saith the Lord, because I find thee set in thy own way, and conceited in thy own plans?

10. Or shall I again send thee another offer by my first begotten Son, peradventure thou wilt hearken and return, though in the even tide of thy day. In lamentation and sorrow must I find thee walking daily in my fear, and humbly in my presence; for thy God is a God of justice, who is about to deal with thee.

11. But in thy beauty shalt thou be magnified, and in thy glory shalt thou be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto thee; for thy light shall extend far abroad, and the brightness of thy burning to the four winds of Heaven.

12. For in thy meekness and humility wast thou exalted in the eyes of thy God, and in thy dependence of feeling, didst thou draw down the powers from on high to thy assistance. Therefore, though thou become weak, yet thou art strong: though thy numbers become few, yet shall myriads dwell within thy walls.

13. I have planted me a vineyard, and walled me a city; I have built me a temple, and gathered me a people to worship therein. I have built me an altar, and placed thereon holy fire; and by the side of this altar, at my command, do fountains of living water boil up; and here I have built baths, for my children to bathe and wash

in; and none can enter this temple, and bring offerings to my acceptance, save those who continue to pass through this holy fire, and these living waters.

14. And such, and such only, will be found in the hollow of my hand, when mountains sink and vallies rise, and kingdoms into pieces rend.

15. What is mortal man, that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou visitest him? whose life is but as a vapor, that vanisheth away, or as a mist before the rising sun. To-day he is, but to-morrow he is not: so is all flesh before the God of Heaven.

PART II.

WORDS OF THE SECOND WATCH, FROM THE PROPHET ISAIAH THROUGH HIS ARCHER.

1. The word of God to his Watchmen and Prophets.
3. Of the Lord's city.
4. This a world of sorrow, through man's disobedience.
5. Of watching.
6. Of the visitation of false spirits.
7. Of God's judgments.
9. Zion called upon to humble herself.
10. The cry of the archers.
11. Of the exaltation of Zion.
12. Of a preparation for the Lord.

1. Give ear O ye watchmen, and listen O ye prophets; for the God of Heaven doth call aloud unto you, Shall I gather and gather, gather and gather again, and then scatter them in Israel, and rend them in Jacob? Or shall I scatter them in Jacob, and rend them in Israel? How say you, ye Prophets?

2. Have I not chosen you to lie low in spirit before Me, and bow even to the dust, and make sufferings of soul your constant meat, and the waters of affliction your pleasant drink, until ye were prepared, in truth to do my will, saith the Lord, and speak my word, and that alone? But I will cry aloud this watch in your ears, that you may prepare your souls for tribulation.

3. For lo, I did build me a city, and planted me vineyards, and with a strong wall I did encompass it; and faithful watchmen I did

place thereon, that no enemy should disturb the work of my hands. And for some length of time, the watchmen cried their stations, and no enemy dared approach.

4. But hearken; Hath not man, by his own disobedience, made this a world of sorrow? And shall he cease to watch where his own safety is endangered, and his life is at stake? Nay, but let him watch and pray without ceasing, and the ransom of his own soul shall be full compensation.

5. And what I say unto my prophets, saith the Lord, I say unto all, Watch. For Zion shall be tried as she never before was, since I caused the light of my last dispensation to shine within her walls. She is now encompassed with an innumerable multitude; many for good, and many for evil.

6. False spirits in my name have gone forth, both on earth and in eternity, to cast deception over the hearts of many. They have already begun to try the strength of her walls, by deceitful lies, and hypocricy: but a desolating curse shall follow up their rear, and judgments awful shall mark their footsteps. Yea, curse upon curse shall sweep, as a devouring flame, through the land of all such as fight against the Most High God.

7. The breath of the Almighty, in his displeasure, shall desolate their most fruitful fields, and they shall become as a desert of burning sands: Pestilential diseases shall prowl within their doors, and sweep them as carrion from before his face. The young shall die for the want of food in their habitations, and they of full strength shall go down to their graves for the want of bread.

8. The fountains of water shall be dried up, and their tongues shall cleave unto the roof of their mouths. But again shall judgment be turned into mercy, and the humble seeker after truth, shall stand by the strength of the same. For truth shall out-live deceit, and righteousness out-stand hypocricy.

9. O Zion, speedily put on thy garments of mourning, and lie low before the Lord thy God. And all ye her Prophets, prepare your vessels, from sun to sun; in low humility and tribulation deep, clothe your souls as with a garment.

10. Cry aloud, O ye archers, and spare not, for the arrows of truth must pierce through the heart. I am a Prophet of the Lord your God, and his word I will declare in the ears of the people. Let good to good be gathered, and chaff to chaff be burned.

11. O ye inhabitants of Zion, never flee from the low vales of

peace and safety, to soar on mountains high, in your own self-exalted feelings, where the protection of your God cannot be found; but down low, in tribulation's valley, there you will find the God of peace.

12. This, the second watch, is cried in your presence; therefore, prepare for Me, in low humility, saith the Lord your God; that I find you not unprepared at my coming: for a day of trial is at your doors, such as ye have never before seen.

13. Ye may now go and take your rest; but I rest not, saith the Prophet; but shall cry aloud the next watch, when the curtains of midnight darkness are drawn over the land.

PART III.

WORDS OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH AT THE THIRD WATCH, OR HOUR OF TWELVE. SENT FORTH IN SOLEMN LAMENTATION, FOR ALL THE CHILDREN OF MEN, BOTH IN AND OUT OF ZION.

1. Of desolation and judgments.
2. The cry of the mourners.
3. The Lord's answer.
4. Of God's condescension.
5. Of the sending of his Angels.
7. The inhabitants of earth required to lament.
8. The lamentable condition of the children of men.
10. Of protection to the righteous.
13. Of desolation, and the lamentable condition of the inhabitants of earth.
18. Zion's children required to humble themselves in prayer.
20. Instruction to Zion.

1. Again, hear ye the word of the Lord, O ye inhabitants of the earth! Desolation is within your doors, and judgment's awful gloom stareth you in the face.

2. The howling beasts of prey surround you, and nought but your God, can deliver you from their grasp. The voice of the mourner is heard in your streets, crying, O Lord, how long shall the inhabitants of the earth be forsaken of their God? How long shall their nakedness appear?

3. Until they have accomplished the full measure of time, wherein

they would not hearken to my warning voice, saith the Lord. I called, and entreated of them, as a fond mother would the darling of her delight; but they would not give ear.

4. And as a kind and tender Father, I condescended to open the windows of Heaven, and shower down blessings upon them, and sent forth my words of solemn warning, that they might be encouraged to hearken, and thereby taste the sweets of Heaven, by cleaving to the law of their God.

5. I sent ministering Angels and spirits throughout the earth, openly to appear in their courts of solemn worship, and teach them from time to time, my holy will and pleasure. But for all this, they requited Me in derision, and mocked my holy messengers to scorn.

6. The yoke of true obedience they would not wear, and the garment of tribulation, which I had prepared for them, they would not put on; and thus is accomplished upon them, the fruit of their own doings.

7. Lament, lament all ye people, for judgment crieth in your streets, and desolation marketh its way through your habitations! For in my fury, saith the Lord, I will smite the shepherd, and the flock shall be scattered to the four winds.

8. For the idols of abomination do rest in their skirts, and their garments are altogether unclean; their eyes, full of wantonness and deceit, have been turned to serve other gods, and in the arm of flesh have they trusted for their protection.

9. The enemy of all good hath dwelt in their hearts, and they would not hearken to my solemn warnings to purge him out: nay, but the inhabitants of earth courted his presence, and welcomed him into their habitations.

10. Stoop down, O Heavens, and give ear to the few remaining righteous and sincere souls upon the earth, who heeded my solemn warnings, and thereby have dwelt beneath the hand of my mercy; for before other gods than Me they have not bowed, nor bent their knees to worship.

11. And of this small remnant, wherever they may be, upon the face of the whole earth, they shall become a strong nation, whose union and relation shall be inseparably joined to that of the hosts of Heaven, and whose dominion shall be supported by the arm of my power from on high, saith the Lord: for obedience is their motto and humility their garment, and no power shall wreak its vengeance in destruction upon them.

12. But cry yet again, in the glooms of midnight darkness, saith the Lord, to all the wicked and rebellious sons of men dwelling upon the earth.

13. Their well cultivated fields have become a desolation, and wild beasts do roam thereon. Their rich and splendid palaces are broken in pieces, and their garments are moth-eaten. Their heaped up stores are destroyed by vermin, and the canker-worm doth consume them daily.

14. Their fields and their vineyards have ceased to bring forth fruit, for they are trodden by the feet of the unclean, and worked by the hands of the disobedient.

15. O earth, earth, hadst thou but hearkened to the voice of the Lord thy God, the rays of life, light and hope, would have invigorated thy goings, and the cheering and life-giving rays of the morning sun would have smiled upon thy well cultivated fields, and beamed forth upon its wings, from the firmament of heaven, songs of approbation to the tillers thereof.

16. But alas! Alas! briers and thorns beneath, have choked the pleasant herbage of the fields, and in the firmament above, darkness does obscure the cheering rays of the luminous orb; and the twinkling stars, from the glooms of midnight darkness, have withdrawn their shining.

17. And the whole human family upon earth, is left to feel the scourge, and just judgments of an Almighty God, for walking in disobedience to his righteous and holy commands.

18. But unto you who are called, and, by strict and true obedience to my commands, have made yourselves the chosen people of my Zion, wherever, and in whatever part of the earth you may be, bow low before your God, and cry for his mercy and protection.

19. Consider yourselves but as worms of the dust before Him. Pray without ceasing, that your souls may be clothed in a garment of humility, possessing the spirit of the Lamb before all people.

20. Pray that all your fellow mortals on earth may walk worthy to receive, at the hand of their God, his eternal blessings. Keep the sacred oracles of Heaven delivered unto you; Love, and pray for those who appear to be your enemies.

21. Render kindness and love unto all, retaliate upon none, though, being ignorant of their doings, they should seek to distress and afflict your souls, imprison and abuse your bodies, and destroy your property, that which ye have honestly gained by the

meritorious industry of your own hands; yet, render good for evil, and revile not upon those, either in word, thought or deed, who may appear to wish you exterminated from the face of the earth.

22. But in the spirit of the Lamb, walk ye before all people, saith the Lord your God. And when ye are persecuted, by reason of the testimony that I, your God, require you to maintain, or for that life which I require you to live, consider those of my people who have gone before you, in past dispensations, and let your souls break forth in thankfulness, in prayer and humble supplication, upon your bended knees before Me, in the midst of your enemies saith the Lord, that the spirit of the Lamb of God depart not from your souls: for in this spirit you will be protected from all pollution and defilement.

23. Pray earnestly unto that Almighty God, who hath created of one blood all nations of the earth, that He would stay his hand of desolating judgments therefrom, that all might have space to repent, and turn to the one true and living God, who giveth grace to the humble, and to the contrite heart draweth near.

24. Pray that his blessings and protection may distill as the dews of Heaven from on high, upon the inhabitants of earth.

25. Bend your knees in supplication and prayer, all ye inhabitants of Zion, in behalf of your fellow creatures; that the true wisdom of an Almighty God may rest in the hearts of the rulers of the earth; that they may frame their laws in true justice, and enforce them in equity.

26. Mourn and lament, and pray for your fellow mortals, when they are suffering under the heavy hand of adversity. Hear the cries of the poor and distressed, that when ye are in distress, and under affliction, God may hear your prayers and supplication.

27. Hearken to my voice, saith the Lord; cease not to go forth in solemn praises to my name, your God and Creator, in thankfulness for that privilege which, in the order of my divine goodness, I have granted you to gain your souls' salvation while upon the earth. Though you should be cast into prisons and dungeons, yet, cease not to glorify my name, and pray for your persecutors, and be kind unto those who treat you ill.

28. Yea, saith the spirit of God, pray earnestly, without ceasing, that freedom of conscience may be granted throughout the earth, that every human creature may worship their God and Creator, in

sincerity of heart, according to the best light and understanding given them.

29. Pray that the whole human family may receive blessings at the hand of their God; Bless, and curse not, saith the Lord. Vengeance belongeth unto Me, not unto man; therefore, be ye always clothed with the spirit of Christ, the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.

30. In Me, saith the Lord, ye shall find rest to your souls; for him whom I love, I chasten, that he may walk in the way of my love, and depart not therefrom. Therefore, O ye children of Zion, be wise in all your goings forth; be harmless and innocent in all your doings, Amen.

PART IV.

WORDS OF THE FOURTH OR MORNING WATCH SPOKEN BY THE PROPHET.

1. Of the day of God's visitation in mercy, to the inhabitants of earth.
4. Of peace and quietness.
5. Of a day of rejoicing.
10. Zion called to arise in rejoicing.
12. All people called to a banquet prepared in Zion.
14. All creation called upon to rejoice.
15. Free salvation to all tongues and people.
20. Words of the Prophet Isaiah.
21. Short the time of slumbering.
23. Every heart required to read.
25. Warnings to Zion.
27. Of one only true path.
28. A state of humility, soon to become the greatest consolation.
30. Of the manner of the Prophet's mission.
31. Against discouragement.

1. Give ear and attention, all ye inhabitants of Zion, and hail, all ye people from distant lands, who have come to visit her, saith the Lord. The day of her visitation, in mercy from on high, hath arriven.

2. The rays of morning light beam forth in smiles of pleasantness upon her; the sparkling orbs, from the canopy of Heaven, drop down their twinkling rays of light, in streams of consolation. The morning sun ariseth in effulgent glory bright, and spreadeth

his wings to the four winds, and gracefully hovereth over Zion's habitations.

3. The gloomy curtains of despair are withdrawn, the loathsome mist of darkness is dispelled, by the light-giving rays from the ethereal worlds on high.

4. Hark! hark! O ye Seraphs, and all ye stationed Archers round her lovely borders. All animated creation breathes forth songs of peace to Zion, and good will to the inhabitants of earth. The glorious orb of light hath cast his silvery curtains around her habitations.

5. Arise, arise, O Zion, the days of thy sorrow are fulfilled, and the hours of thy mourning accomplished. Thou hast humbled thyself to the dust, and laid low in sack-cloth and ashes. Thou hast drank the bitter cup of adversity, and eaten, in obedience, the gall of bitterness. Thou hast appeased the anger of thy God for thy many transgressions, for thou didst suffer the full measure given unto thee.

6. Cast off thy garments of mourning, and attire thyself in the beautiful robes of joy and gladness; go forth in the dances of them that make merry, and rejoice in the God of thy salvation; for his anger is turned away, and his loving kindness doth now extend throughout the whole creation.

7. Sound forth his joyful songs of praise, all ye his chosen people; make a joyful noise before Him, and chant his holy name in your songs of adoration.

8. Praise him, all ye people, praise him when you walk his holy land; praise him while you sleep beneath the arm of his protection.

9. And all ye fowls in heaven, beat your wings in joyful praises to his name; and let the beasts who tread and graze on earth beneath, bleat forth praises to the same.

10. O thou Zion of my delight, saith the Lord, arise and stand upon thy feet, for I have shod them with grace and truth, and they will now walk in my paths, for they are ways of pleasantness, and all my paths are peace. For I will hold you as the apple of mine eye, and as the objects of my greatest delight. Yea, saith the Lord, I will be unto you a God, and ye shall be unto Me a people in whom I can take great delight.

11. Cry aloud, O thou watchman of the morning, cry aloud The Watch in Zion; for the Heavens smile upon her; in beautiful garments is she arrayed, and decked with precious ornaments. The

Sun of righteousness hath shone upon her, and clothed her in a robe of perfect beauty; and hath placed an ensign of safety upon her breast, which she shall show to all nations.

12. Come, come, saith the Lord, all ye from distant lands, and isles at sea; come, come saith your God, to the banquet I have prepared for you; for in my Zion I take delight, and glorious shall be her name throughout the land.

13. I will lay all nations low before thee, and in humility and meekness shalt thou ever come before Me, saith thy God.

14. Rejoice with exceeding great joy ye heavens; break forth into singing ye mountains; ye hills and ye vallies leap with a gladdened heart, and clap your hands for joy; for his anger is turned away, and in mercy he hath looked on Zion. In thee there shall be no more sorrow, no more sighing, no more sickness, death or pain; but thy spirit shall be wholly absorbed in doing the will of thy God; and thy body shall be wholly delighted in supporting the same. Thus shalt thou spend thy days on earth, rejoicing in the God of thy immortality, whose hand doth now cover and shield thee from all harm without and within.

15. Free salvation hath the Lord your God proclaimed to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people. He that feareth the Lord and worketh righteousness, by keeping his commandments unbroken, the same is, and forever shall be, accepted of Me, saith God, let him be of whatever kindred, nation, clime or people he may.

16. For I am a God of justice, and not of partiality; and he that strippeth, and maketh the sacrifice, by running the appointed race, shall surely obtain the prize of salvation.

17. The offers of my gospel are not decreed for any individual nation, kindred, tongue or people; but whosoever will, let him come and partake of the waters of life freely.

18. Here the thirsty soul may drink to thirst no more. Here the wandering soul who is sick of sin, may find a place of rest. Here the widow and fatherless children, shall find there is a Zion of God upon earth, wherein dwelleth the image of his kindness, charity and goodness.

19. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou city of peace, and Zion of my likeness, saith God, rejoice, and be comforted from thy sorrows; for thou now dwellest in the midst of one eternal day, whose glory divine and resplendent brightness shall never be withdrawn. In the bowers of peace and under the arbors of safety, thou shalt eat

the fruit of the vine undisturbed; for there shall be none to make hee afraid. And amen,even so let it be, crieth the fourth Archer.

WORDS OF THE PHOPHET ISAIAH.

20. O hear my words, ye leaders and people in Zion. In this manner, though strange and singular to you, was I sent forth this night, by the command of my God, with six archers, obedient to my word; four of whom have cried The Watch aloud, as I was commanded to have them. The other two remain in silence, for their hour is not yet come.

21. They that have ears, and can hear aright, let them wisely use them. They that have a heart to understand the truth, lay it open wide. For I declare unto you, saith the Prophet, in the name of the Lord my God, that these things are sent forth for a weighty and solemn warning, to every age and class; for the time is short that ye will have your slumbers in peace, as ye now do.

22. But the cries of your own little ones, in the silent hours of night, shall resound through your habitations; for God hath yet a controversy in Zion, and He Himself will settle it, in his own time.

23. Let every heart read; spell not, but read, saith the Prophet, and well understand what you read. Archers are used, when sent of God for that purpose, to draw the bow, and let swiftly fly the arrows of destruction.

24. He that hath understanding, let him be wise and use it aright; for the controversy will be great, before it is ended. And he that walketh uprightly, and speaketh his words discreetly, shall not be taken in a snare of his own setting.

25. And all ye inhabitants of Zion, I warn you, I again most solemnly warn you, in the name of my God, to beware at what fountain you drink, and with what spirit you unite. Try every spirit that cometh unto you, by that rule which God hath given you; for never did the Zion of God stand in a more dangerous situation, than in the present moment: for to this point hath He brought her, and through this point will He prove her.

26. Could you behold that which God hath showed unto me, your tongues would stand in breathless silence, and rest would depart from your bodies, while sleep did flee from your eyes.

27. One path, and one only path, hath the Lord your God placed before you: and, O how straight, how straight and narrow is this

path! None can walk, I say none can walk it, save those who lie low in the valley of true tribulation of soul.

28. You will soon be able, my dear gospel friends, saith the Prophet, to humble yourselves before God upon your knees; and it will not become a form, nor a ceremony; but it will be a place of the greatest comfort and consolation that you can find; let not this pass through your ears as empty sounds.

29. For the rolling of the *Ar van'se ka'lon,* will surely bring it on you. O do receive it in mercy, that it may not speedily come in judgment, and scatter your little ones to the four winds.

30. I have not come, saith the Prophet, to prophecy of myself unto you; but I have come at the command of my God, to speak the word He gave me, received through one of his holy Angels, who standeth by my side. Did Zion's children pity themselves, with that true pity that God their Heavenly Father doth, they all would have repented in sack-cloth and ashes, long before this day.

31. But let not the words of your God discourage any soul; but prepare to meet [the Lord] your God, in a garment owned of Him. This, my mission at this time, with six of the Archers, who bend the bow to force the arrow, is a sign both solemn and awful unto you, although ye do but in part understand it; but so far as God will suffer me, I have told you.

32. The foregoing prophecies, saith the Angel, cried at the different watches of the night, by the Archers, at the command of the Prophet Isaiah, you will but in a small measure be able to understand, in the present tense, as the different states of Zion therein represented may be some hundreds of years apart. But you may gather much good, if you will, from the solemn warnings contained in them.

33. So watch, and keep your lamps trimmed and burning, and your garments unspotted, that the Lord, in truth, may find you prepared for his coming.

34. My everlasting love, saith the Prophet, I freely give to all Zion's children. And understand my words; In this love there is no fleshly affections to recommend it, nor yawning looks of filthiness: Amen, and even so let it be.

The word the Father gave me, is finished.

New Lebanon, December 23, 1842.

PART V.

A PROPHECY FROM THE PROPHET ISAIAH, COMMUNICATED THROUGH TWO OF HIS ARCHERS, BEING THE TWO WHOSE WORD WAS WITHHELD AT THE TIME THE FOUR PRECEDING ARCHERS COMMUNICATED THEIR WORD.

INTRODUCTION.

The following prophecies, saith the Prophet Isaiah, I am commanded, by the God of Heaven, to declare to the nations of the earth, through my other two Archers, who were not permitted to sound when the other four did.

The fore part of the first, will embrace the present condition of the inhabitants of earth, and the last part, the blessings and goodness of the Almighty, if they hearken to his word.

The second part, the awful calamities, judgments and desolations that are sure to follow, should they refuse to hearken to the voice of the Lord their God, through humility and repentance.

PROPHECY.

2. Questions to the inhabitants of the earth.
9. Questions concerning the first gospel dispensation of the Son of God.
14. Of Christ's miracles.
18. Of their effect upon the human family.
21. Of Christ's labors on earth.
23. Of the examples of God's wrath and judgments upon the wicked.
31. Of the present wretched state of mankind.
39. Of God's merciful offers.
44. Of the lamentable condition of mankind.
66. Of abused and degenerated nature.
69. Of the leading objects of mankind.
75. Warnings.
78. Man called from nature's darkness, and promised a blessing in obedience.
83. Of the restoration of peace on earth.
87. Of a dispensation of equity and justice.
91. Of promised blessings.

1. *O Ha'len ku'mer, I'se va'lo!* O earth, and all who dwell thereon!

2. Where are your offerings of tithes, mint and cummin?

3. Where is the incense of purity,' and where are the oblations of praise?

4. Where is the light of thy brightness and the shining of thy glory?

5. Wast thou never illuminated by the brightest shining orb of Heaven?

6. Was not the lamp of eternal life, filled with the oil of joy and gladness, held forth for thy reception?

7. Was not a table spread by your Heavenly Father's command, and sufficient placed thereon to feed the whole family of man?

8. Were not his watchful words of warning, from age to age sent forth, of what his Almighty hand, in time to come would do? Did not the Lord Almighty Himself, send forth a beloved Son?

9. Did he not hold forth to the whole human family, the sceptre of true righteousness, on just and equal terms?

10. Was not the path clearly shown, wherein their feet must walk?

11. Were not the greatest promises that had ever yet been made to mortals, given by this, the Son of God, who was endowed with power from on high, to fulfill that which he did promise? Did not this, the *Living Branch of Eternal Righteousness*, promise unto those who would forsake all and follow him, that they should receive an hundred fold in time, and in the world to come Eternal Life?

12. Did he not warn all to fulfill all the weighty requirements of the law, which had been given before him? and that Heaven and earth should pass away before one jot or one tittle should fail?

13. And did he not plainly declare, that he and his Father were one? What plainer language could he use, to show his divine mission into the world?

14. And did he not restore to life, and raise the dead, before their eyes, that all might be convinced that he was sent from the Eternal Power on High?

15. And moreover, Did he not, with a few small loaves and fishes, feed thousands of hungry mortals? And was there not in fragments much remaining, when they had done?

16. Did not he walk on waters deep, and calm the tempestuous wind?

17. And did he not cast out devils, and suffer them into the swine to go? And how oft, by his mighty power, did he heal the sick, whom no physician could restore.

18. And what did all these wonderful miracles do towards convincing the darkened race of man, that he came forth from God, his Heavenly Father? Did they not revile him, and seek his life from day to day?

19. And did they not lay out the work of an Almighty God according to their own plans, and in their own way?

20. And did they not prefer their own wisdom, to that which was sent of God, from on High?

21. How oft would he have gathered the whole house of Israel, under his holy wings, like as a hen gathereth her chickens! And for this purpose, how oft did he exhort them, and kindest language use, that they might be persuaded to turn to God, through repentance and humility, before they had out-stood the day of God's mercy unto them!

22. Why would they not take warning from those who had lived in ages long before? Had they ever known God's promises to fail?

23. Had they not the example of God's wrath and judgment on the wicked inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, for the hardness of their hearts in refusing to hearken to his word?

24. And furthermore, Did they not have the example of the haughty Ninevites, who, at the warning voice of the Lord, through Jonah, humbled themselves in sack-cloth and ashes, and by this means stayed the Almighty hand of judgment, so long as they walked humbly before Him, notwithstanding, their days had been numbered?

25. And did not the Lord fulfill his word, when they returned to their former wicked lives, by a total destruction of their city?

26. And had they not the example of righteous Noah before them, and the fate of those who mocked and scorned his word?

27. Yet, what lessons from all these awful judgments did they learn?

28. Did they not pursue exactly the same path, in plans of their own devising, instead of heeding the word of the Lord?

29. Did they not pursue their own way, and crucify the Christ of God, and put his followers to death?

30. And were not the judgments that had been foretold, executed upon them accordingly? All truth declares the affirmative.

31. O wretched state of man, that now envelopes the whole earth! who hath, from the earliest ages, sought to withstand his Creator God; who hath refused all offers at his hand of mercy,

love and truth; and madly hath pursued his own course, in destruction's broad road of sin and death.

32. The dispensations of his Maker's goodness, sent forth to him in streams of loving kindness, he hath trampled under his feet as vain and worthless offers, designed in hearts of men, and portrayed by lips of mortals.

33. In no age of time that is past, nor in modern days that now are, have mankind whom God created, ever been willing, as a body, to receive, own and acknowledge, the GREAT SUPREME FIRST CAUSE of all creation's vast extent, when in his wisdom He saw fit, in mercy, to reveal Himself to man.

34. The blind and bigoted worms of dust, have never been pleased nor satisfied with the way and manner in which He chose to reveal Himself.

35. The two gospel dispensations of his eternal grace, He hath sent forth to earth; and the door of saving grace and full salvation, is opened free to man; A salvation that can save in the present tense.

36. Though many were called, in both dispensations of his everlasting goodness, yet, few were willing to pay the price required, that they might become the elect and chosen of the Lord.

37. Therefore hath man, in all ages, chosen his own way; and his Maker, God, hath suffered his delusion; he hath chosen the ways of death unto his soul, and the wages thereof he must receive, as a just recompense for his determined folly.

38. O sorrowful earth! Dost thou consider the time that is past, and the day that is gone, wherein the Lord thy God would have clothed thee in beautiful garments of peace, but thou wouldst not receive at his hand?

39. And all ye people who dwell in her, how oft would his All-powerful hand, in mercy have gathered you, from the earliest ages to the present day! Yea, how oft would He have gathered you under the wings of his divine providence and blessing!

40. How oft would you have been fed at his hand from the eternal stores of his goodness! How oft would He have watered your thirsty souls, from his eternal springs of life!

41. And how oft and continually, would He have caused the enlivening dews of his everlasting blessings to drop down from the Heavens above, with smiles of his approbation and pleasure, upon the inhabitants of earth below!

42. And how much more honorable and exalted would man's

situation have been, in the eyes of his Creator God, than what it now is!

43. Would not his God now have said unto him, Thou hast answered the purpose for which I created thee, and my blessing of peace and mantle of love, shall never depart from thy borders? Thou didst receive the watch-word of warning, sent forth through my servants to thee; and thereby, at my coming, thou wast prepared for my reception, and denied Me not.

44. But O thou perishing earth! whose inhabitants languish in sin, groping their way in shadows of death!

45. Defiled in heart and polluted in hand, doth thy God behold thee. The garment thy fathers did wear, by heirship hath now become thine. The cup which thy fathers did drink, is now filled to overflowing for thee: for by all that hath passed for thousands of years, thou shouldest have learned that the fear of the Lord was required of thee.

46. For his infinite goodness, in mercy and love, unto thee hath been extended through all preceding ages, unto the present day, in which He hath accomplished the last and final display of his goodness and grace to mortals on earth, in the setting up of his kingdom which is never more to be destroyed.

47. O inhabitants of earth, lamentable earth! your God and Creator hath called you in mercy; but you have answered in the spirit of rebellion, and for his goodness ye have requited Him evil.

48. Time after time hath He proved you from the foundations of the world. And as oft ye have hardened your hearts in rebellion and stiffened your necks in stubbornness, against his holy will, until you have become clothed in blackness and despair, and enshrouded in the shades of death.

49. Your garments are moth-eaten, your shoes are worn out, and nought have you on to cover your nakedness; your shame doth appear to all who behold you.

50. Instead of peace and quietness dwelling within your borders, wars and contention, bloodshed and carnage mark your footsteps. Instead of love and good will to each other, hearts filled with animosity and revenge, and hands stained in your brother's blood.

51. Instead of keeping the golden rule of the Savior of men, doing unto others as ye would have them do to you, ye have turned it square around; doing to others as ye would *not* have them do to you.

52. Instead of just weights, the deceitful and fraudulent balance is used, always in favor of self, at the expense of the just rights of your brother.

53. Instead of correct measures, scanted ones when going out, and pressed down ones when coming in.

54. Instead of love, union and peace, whose beautiful graces, among brethren and sisters, are as the sweet smelling roses of Sharon, are found growing the thorn, the thistle and the brier; or pride, strife and ambition.

55. Instead of cultivating the principles of peace at home, and nourishing the same abroad, what do we behold, but schools of vice, to learn the arts of war.

56. Had this been, when my Master was on earth, says the Archer, it would not have been so far behind the age.

57. But now, it is at least, eighteen hundred years behind the age, wherein God intended man should enjoy, if he would, peace within and peace without, peace at home and peace abroad.

58. And it is now more than eighteen hundred years, since the Son of God commanded all to *love* one another, and said that his servants would *not fight;* his kingdom was a kingdom of peace, and he that taketh the sword should perish by the sword.

59. But what do the present works of man declare? Are not hosts of armies trained on land, and fleets afloat at sea, watching an opportunity to cause the blood from human veins to flow?

60. And how can mortals, in this way, prepare to meet their God, save to drink the cup of his wrath and indignation, in rolling strokes of judgment? And this for their works' sake, both past and present, they surely do deserve.

61. And what is now beheld on earth, among the sons of men? Do they present themselves to worship a pure and holy God, who will accept no offerings from any, save those whose hearts are sincere, and hands undefiled? Or do they think the God they worship will not behold their awful and filthy works of abomination?

62. Can the image of God's creation, think to visit, for indulgence, the beastly and filthy stews of vice, then wipe their lips, and say, I've done no wrong? And go into the place of worship, thinking to make offerings to a pure and holy God!

63. Awful! awful indeed! cry the Angels of the Most High God! Awful, awful will be their judgments on the earth, if into the order of nature's path, mankind do not return.

64. By vile corruption, man hath sunk his soul in darkest shades of night. The law of nature is set at naught, to gratify his own insatiable propensities of lust; and by this means he draws down the judgment of Heaven upon his own head, for violating his Maker's laws, which are right, just and good, and agreeable unto which, his offspring, in a natural state, was to have been begotten.

65. Had this been kept, man, at this stage of his existence on the earth, would not have inherited from his progenitors, a curse through life, by hereditary diseases and raging humors, which cover his body with blains and sores, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.

66. And what is now beheld among the sons of men, but the visible marks of an abused and degenerated nature, handed down from parents to children, and increased in every generation!

67. And thus, in this state and condition of man, his soul is inwrapped in darkness, and his mortal body clothed in disease; and still he is pursuing the downward road with rapid march and quickened pace, to utter destruction's gate.

68. And instead of being found by their God, each pursuing the path of true honesty and uprightness, dealing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly before the Lord, how different their situation and pursuit.

69. Is it not the leading effort of the human family to get gain, and that without right, or true honesty? Are they not willing to traverse both sea and land to trade and traffic, and by unjust speculations heap up to themselves silver and gold? Are not many inventions sought out by man to procure gain without right?

70. Are not unjust reckonings and deceitful weights constantly employed for this purpose?

71. Is not man anxious to become rich, and popular in the eyes of his fellow beings, without putting his own hands to honest industry, day by day, to obtain it?

72. Are they now, as a body, found honestly tilling the soil with their own hands, and gaining their bread by the sweat of their face? Is each one sitting in peace under his vine, and under his fig tree, and none to make him afraid?

73. Or are they now found in tumult and confusion, all over the face of the whole earth, both rulers and people, not considering that they have departed from the law of their God, until even the

providential hand of his blessing is withdrawn, and they left to be confounded in their own doings;

74. While the heavy and desolating judgments of an Almighty God are about to burst upon them, as destroying blasts on every side?

75. But O, inhabitants of earth, consider the greatness and goodness of your God; for when ye justly deserved the severest of punishment for running, ages and ages in forbidden paths, the arm of tender kindness, by your God and Creator, was stretched out, clothed in mercy and compassion, to all who would hearken to his word. Even to-day, after so long a time, if ye will hearken and obey his voice, He promises you mercy at his hand; He whose promises fail not, whether given in mercy, or in judgment.

76. Turn, turn O earth and all ye inhabitants thereon; humble yourselves to the dust, and put on your garments of mourning: from the king on his throne to those in humblest walks of life; for your God is merciful, and will be touched with your cries and lamentations, in true obedience to his word.

77. O cast from thee thy tattered garments, and be clothed upon with the mercies of thy God. Cease ye longer to grope your ways encompassed by midnight darkness. Come forth of his prisons, and be loosed of his bands, that ye may not be holden of him, and ye shall become as fruitful fields by the side of pleasant waters.

78. Come ye forth from nature's darkness, and ye shall walk in the light of the luminous orb, at the meridian of day. Come forth to Him who hath called you; in songs of praises and thanksgiving, adore the God of eternal mercies.

79. Yea, saith the Lord, instead of briers, thorns and thistles, thou shalt become as a pleasant garden filled with flowers and lilies, in the midst of a fruitful field; whose fragrance shall be strength to the weak, and courage to the way-faring man.

80. The king and the prince, the rulers and people, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, the halt and the blind, can now unite in one voice of thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise to the God of their salvation, whose anger is now turned into mercy, and judgments into blessings of peace and prosperity; who maketh the desert to flourish, and the barren land a fruitful field, yielding increasing bounties to the tillers thereof.

81. In the strength of your God ye shall run, but shall not be weary; and by his power ye shall walk, but shall not faint; for by

his strength ye shall be supported; and in the sincerity of your hearts, his Almighty power shall sustain you.

82. Your implements of war and destruction shall no more be stained in human blood, but shall be changed into implements to till your land to produce your daily bread. Your hands shall be cleansed, and your garments washed from the stains of human blood, no more to be defiled therewith.

83. Your fleets at sea shall not float to distant lands, to butcher and destroy the objects of my creation; but they shall guard upon the rolling deep against all unlawful prizes by any of the out-lawed race of man.*

84. And your standing armies shall be released to cultivate the soil, and earn their bread by daily toil.

85. Yet, laws of justice shall pervade, both by sea and land;
And I, your God, will this support by my Almighty hand.

86. And they that were clothed in darkness, and bound in the prisons of death, are now arrayed in beautiful garments, shining with honor and glory, glowing with brightest gems of true obedience to the voice of the Lord their God, who called in love, and they hearkened in mercy; whose paths have now become the paths of peace, and whose ways can now be termed the ways of true pleasantness; whose feet no more pursue the paths of death to shed innocent blood, or walk the winding course, that leadeth to the house of her who keepeth open doors, for common prostitution.

87. Now, such as once did spend their strength and lives to gratify the vilest passions of a depraved nature, are turned to spend their days in moral deeds of virtue.

88. Such as once their persons did adorn, and decorate with gayety to attract, for filthy lucre, do now, in modest plainness, adorned with goodly virtue, pursue the even tenor of their way, in laudable pursuits.

89. Now, he that once thought himself a potentate on earth, to rule as with a rod of iron, over his fellow beings; who deigned not to speak, nor in any way to associate as a fellow being, with any, save those whom he considered equal with himself in opulence and splendor, doth now come down upon a level with the humble

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* This law is designed for people in the state of nature, and is necessary to protect the innocent from lawless violence. But where the dominion of Christ is established in souls, and where the law of grace reigns, the law of nature is thereby superseded.

peasant, and pursue, in quietness, the common grades of life, along the paths of true contentment.

90. He that did once make it his greatest study to practice fraud upon his fellow beings, that he might be possessed of that to which he had no right, doth now make restitution, and mend his froward life, by daily pursuing habits of industry and virtue; having the principles of honesty, daily his pursuit.

91. The once lion-hearted-like and ferocious spirit in man, that delighted to hear the thundering cannons roar, and did glory in deeds of blood and the destruction of human life, and in making thousands of widows and fatherless children to suffer for the want of bread, and drag out a disconsolate and wretched life, doth now shudder at the very thought of the deeds in which he once gloried, and for which his nation's voice of approbation did loudly resound in acclamations of honor to his name: but now, of such awful deeds no one can bear the thought.

92. Thy fields, that once were covered with the slain who fell in battle, and whose ground was drenched in human blood, have now become the habitations of peace, cultivated by the hands of true peace-makers, bearing the ensign of love and good will to all mankind.

93. And in your cities which were destroyed by fire and sword, shall a plant of true righteousness spring up, and it shall grow and flourish, and beam forth its rays of light, as the morning sun, when glowing in its effulgent brightness.

94. Therefore, fear God and keep his commandments, all ye inhabitants of earth, that his out-stretched arm of mercy may go with you through time, and support you in eternity. His laws of nature keep, and they will protect you in that state, until He sendeth forth a further word to you, which will be in his own way, time and season. Mortal clay knoweth not from whence it will proceed.

95. The state herein described, saith the Archer's voice, are promises from on High, and will surely come to pass upon that nation and people who will humble themselves before the Lord their God, and heed his warning voice herein contained. Amen.

PART VI.

OF THE AWFUL JUDGMENTS AND DESOLATION THAT GOD HAS PURPOSED SHALL COME UPON MAN, IF HE HEEDETH NOT HIS WARNING VOICE, AND TURNETH NOT FROM THE WAYS OF EVIL.

2. Of the Lord's controversy.
5. Great the cup of earth's punishment.
11. All the disobedient to fall in one common grave of ruin.
17. Man's ways end in destruction.
18. Of God's morning watch-word.
19. How treated.
22. The earth ripe for harvest.
25. The Lord entreateth man to repent.
28. Of salvation by the merits of Christ.

1. Prophecy aloud unto the nations of the earth, and declare my judgments unto them, O thou Prophet of my name, saith the Lord; through thy Archer proclaim unto them.

2. Truly hath the God of Heaven declared a controversy upon earth; a controversy with all nations and kingdoms, and a controversy throughout his Zion.

3. O thou Harlot and abomination of the earth, that spreadest thy iniquities over many waters, and coverest the face of the earth with thy lewdness; Thou hast heard the warning voice of Almighty God, but hearkened not; neither would, so much as for a moment, incline thine ear or open thine heart to understand.

4. Had one fifth part of the warnings which have been given unto thee, been given unto Sodom and Gomorrah, they would have lain low in humility before God, that his awful judgments might have been stayed from their city, and their lives prolonged on the earth.

5. Therefore great must be thy punishment; the cup of trouble and affliction which thou hast filled to others, shall be filled to thee double. The abominations and pollutions with which thou hast covered the earth, shall sink with thee, as thy companions, into the lowest depths of Hell.

6. Desolation shall stand in thy gate, and destruction shall stare thee in thy face. The cries and shrieks of the tormented in hell,

shall be thy continual food; for thou repentest not at my warning, and I no longer hearken to thy cry, saith the Lord.

7. O thou high and self-exalted kingdom, who hath gloried in thy deeds of blood, and vaunted thyself in horrid deeds of cruelty; who trusted in thy own arm of flesh for strength, and heeded not my warning voice; who hath enriched thy coffers with gold and silver, at the expense of others' rights and comforts;

8. Thou shalt drink the full draught of my judgments. Though thou art exalted in the highest pitch of grandeur, yet, I will surely bring thee to the lowest depths of ruin.

9. I called thee in mercy, but thou wouldst not hearken. I sent messengers unto thee, to warn thee of thy danger, but thou didst deride, mock, and shamefully entreat them. The time that I did give thee to prepare, in low humility, for my coming, thou didst put far in the future tense.

10. The sun shall be darkened over thy head, and the earth shall roar in convulsions under thy feet; until she shall swallow down, and devour without mercy, many portions of thy wicked and exalted stations.

11. The high and the low, the rich and the poor, shall fall in one common grave of ruin. And upon your fleets at sea will I pour forth my fury, which shall dash them one against another, until they are buried in the bosom of the deep.

12. I will also suffer, saith the Lord, nations and kingdoms to destroy one another. I will take peace from the earth; and pestilence, sword and famine, shall consume the inhabitants thereof.

13. For my controversy on earth is great, and I shall not withdraw my Almighty hand, until I have accomplished the work which I purpose.

14. Monarchs shall be confounded; kings seized with consternation, and the rulers among the people, be silent through fear;
For all surrounding objects are overspread with silent gloom,
And seem to speak forth loudly, the end to which they are doomed.

15. Your God is a God of justice, of truth and righteousness; and his work of judgment, in his own time and season, He will accomplish.

16. Give ear unto my voice, all ye people dwelling on the earth. Why have ye chosen the way of death, misery, torment and destruction, instead of the way of life and peace?

17. The way that seemeth right unto man, or most agreeable to

his natural feelings, is sure to end in destruction and death, and in the banishment of the soul far from the presence of his God.

18. In mercy, saith the Lord, I sent unto her inhabitants the morning watch-word of my coming; not from the starry regions above, but in a low, humble manner, quite out of sight of the great and the high; and with this, my word, the most solemn warnings, that desolation would follow their refusal, should they not hearken to the voice of Him who came forth from the Eternal Father.

19. But all these entreaties prevailed to effect nought but madness and derision; laughing to scorn my sacred name, and the means by which I made known my will to them.

20. Yet, in my tender mercies did I send forth my work the second time on earth, and gave unto man a clear understanding, that it was my last display of grace to him; yet, he believed Me not, for my manner of coming did not agree with his own exalted ideas.

21. And now again doth the Lord your God declare unto all nations, without reserve, that if ye would of his mercies receive, ye must hearken to his voice.

22. For the time is come that the earth and her inhabitants, are ripened for harvest; her cup of wickedness and abomination is filled to overflowing.

23. But, as a God of mercy, love, righteousness and truth, I send my solemn watch-words of warning throughout the habitable earth, that he that *will hear, may hear;* and he that *will forbear, may forbear.*

24. For I will surely meet all nations in their own paths; and nought shall turn my justice, to the right or to the left.

25. Come gather near unto your God, O ye inhabitants of earth, put away the heart that is hardened in sin and wickedness; put away your dead and stupid luke-warm feelings; seek after God, with all your soul, might, mind and strength.

26. He is found of them that seek Him early, who are willing to sacrifice all the pleasures of time, to obtain his favor and mercy. But such as are wholly absorbed in the cares of this world, they will seek when it is too late.

27. They who feel they have no need to labor for repentance, stand on the pinnacle of destruction, and they know it not.

28. They who feel that they can be saved from desolation by the *merits* of *Christ*, without exerting themselves to do, daily, the

works which he required, will find that they are trusting in a false hope.

29. They that think these warnings are only words, and will never be fulfilled, will see their great mistake, when it is too late to remedy the evil.

30. They that call upon the name of the Lord, in word and not in deed, are mockers of his eternal goodness. That true repentance which God your Heavenly Father requires, is to cleanse the heart, by ceasing to do ill and learning to do well; by putting away the cause, that the effect may cease: Amen.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE WORD OF THE HOLY AND MIGHTY ANGEL OF THE LORD, WHO HATH READ THE SACRED ROLL, AND THAT CONTAINED IN THIS BOOK, FOR MORTAL HAND TO WRITE.

1. Of the attendance of the Holy Angel.
4. Of the four mighty Angels.
5. The Angels' names.
7. The Angels' declaration.
10. The Angels' work throughout the earth.
11. Human wisdom cannot scan the work of God.
12. Requirement of God to man.
14. Of special judgments.
15. Mortals required candidly to consider, before judging of this work.
16. The Angel testifies to the truth of the word contained in this Roll.
18. Sufferings of those who are used as Instruments in the hands of God.
20. Speculation disallowed.
22. The power manifested in this work, the same that inspired the Prophets of old.
23. God's people subject to his will.
24. All who attend the service of God's people, required to show respect and reverence.
25. Requirements of God concerning this sacred Roll.

1. I now declare unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, saith the holy and mighty Angel, that I, in presence of three more holy Angels, (who together with me, have previously been commissioned by God, our Heavenly Father, to read the word which He gave us, for each quarter of the earth,) have strictly attended, according to the appointed times in each day, fourteen days, to read,

correctly, this Sacred Roll, and the book of the three first Witnesses contained therein, with all the prophecies here inserted, for mortal hand to write; whose pen I have guided, and whose hours I have directed, by night and by day, according to the will of my God.

2. The work is now accomplished; and it remains for the inhabitants of earth, to prove, in the sight of their God and his holy Angels, whether they be objects of his mercy, or whether they be the objects of his wrath and heavy judgments, which will lay waste their habitations, and desolate the land.

3. My name, saith the mighty Angel of light, power and truth, I will now make known unto you, in my own language; also the names of the other three, in their own languages.

4. We are four of the holy and mighty Angels of God, sent from before his throne, to pass and re-pass through the four quarters of the earth; and many are the holy Angels that bear us company. And thus we shall visit the earth in partial silence, as this Roll goes forth, until we have marked the door posts of all, as our God hath commanded, who shall humble themselves and repent at his word, by proclaiming a solemn fast, and cease from their awful crimes of wickedness, and turn to Him in righteousness.

5. My name, says the Angel whose quarter is eastward, and stands as first, is HOLY ASSAN′ DE LA JAH′. The second, whose part is second, and quarter westward, is MI′CHAEL VAN′ CE VA′ NE. The third, whose part is third, and quarter northward, is GA′ BRY VEN′ DO VAS′ TER REEN′. The fourth, whose part is fourth, and quarter southward, is VEN DEN′ DE PA′ ROL JEW′ LE JAH′.

6. These are our names, in our own tongues, and we are sent on earth to prepare the way for the Most High; and the whole human family will be convinced of this, before the final event of our mission shall arrive.

7. And although we know, that the words of this book will be considered by many, as being produced in the wildest of enthusiasm, madness, blasphemy and fanaticism; and by others, as solemn, sacred and awful truths; yet do we declare unto all flesh, that this Roll, and Book contains the word of the God of Heaven, your Almighty Creator, sent forth, direct from his eternal throne, now, in this your day.

8. And by this word shall every soul on earth be judged, in

mercy or in judgment, whether they believe or disbelieve. We are not sent forth, by our God to argue with mortals; but to declare his word and his work. And we furthermore declare unto all the inhabitants of earth, that they have no time to lose, in preparing for their God.

9. If there be any who cannot understand to their souls' satisfaction, (though the requirements are plain,) yet, they may apply wheresoever they believe they can be correctly informed.

10. Though our work is swift and mighty, yet in mercy do we go forth; firstly, throughout the earth, and record the hearts, the words, and the doings of the children of men.

11. As a new era from the Lord God of Heaven with all the inhabitants of earth, hath now commenced, and no human wisdom or mortal power, by natural calculation, can tell the order of his work, any further than He sees fit in his own wisdom, to reveal it unto mortals, that they may be prepared, day by day, to do his will and pleasure; and then they are sure that his protection will overshadow them, and they will run and not be weary; yea, they will walk in the commandments of their God, and faint not, saith the Holy Angel.

12. What God now requires of the inhabitants of the earth, is to return immediately to the strictness of the law and order of nature, in all their goings forth. This you can all easily understand; it is that which is required in your Sacred Bibles, and that which is required in this Sacred Roll; that is; Deal justly, love mercy, walk humbly, fear God and keep his commandments; do by others as you would have them do unto you; labor to dwell in peace, and break off as fast as possible, from the practice of going to war, and shedding each other's blood.

13. Indulge not the vile passions of nature, further than is necessary to propagate your own offspring. And cease, says the Angel, from that habit which is accursed in the sight of your God, of keeping houses for debauchery and prostitution.

14. For I, the Angel of the Almighty, will surely mark all such places for utter destruction, if they repent not at the warning of their God, by ceasing from these habits of abomination.

15. Let mortals, before judging or condemning, candidly read this Sacred Book from beginning to end; then pause, and consider whether it contradicts, in any way, the sacred writings of the scripture, or is in any way prejudicial to the principles of your Lord and

Savior, in his first appearing; or in any way tends to operate against the principles of justness, morality, virtue, uprightness and goodness, or the well being of any good and wholesome society.

16. I proclaim to all people, saith the Angel, that this is written as handed unto me from the throne of the Almighty. I have not suffered the inspired writer to have recourse to any books, save the Bible, to transcribe those passages of scripture, word for word, here inserted, as the Lord commanded me to have done, that mankind might see, in substance, what He required of them in past dispensations, and how exceedingly contrary to his requirements they had gone.

17. But I have compelled the Instrument to draft this, word for word, as I read it unto him, as ye would transcribe a writing by the sight of your natural eyes; save the former is brought to the view and hearing of the spirit yet in a mortal body, by the immediate influence and interposition of the Almighty, (through us, his holy Angels;) while the latter is transcribed by the direction of the natural organs of sight only.

18. But the sufferings of soul that God requires instruments to pass through, to prepare them for this holy and sacred calling, of speaking or writing by the immediate influence of direct revelation, is that which no tongue or pen can correctly describe.

19. For they who are called to heavy duties in this line, saith the Angel, are required to feel an inexpressible something, to them the nearest like a consuming fire or breath, which runneth all over and through them, both soul and body, until they have done the duty that God requireth of them [in that line.]

20. But mortals are not allowed to make these things matters of speculation, although they appear to every human being, strange and unaccountable, especially so, at their first acquaintance; and always to those who possess any degree of the fear of God, or the presence of his Angels, strikingly solemn, though many times cheerful.

21. This much, says the Angel, I was required by the Almighty, at this time, to make known to the children of men, respecting this strange, and, (to mortals,) singular manifestation that He has commenced on the earth in these latter days.

22. This is the same spirit, though brought still more familiar and accessible to man, if he truly walks uprightly before his God, that dictated the word, through the mouths of the prophets, in ancient

days. And they that are God's people, in deed and in truth, would sooner lay down their lives than violate his will, when made known to them.

23. And they worship Him by assembling themselves together, in whatsoever place He may appoint, regardless of their own personal convenience; whether it be upon the mountains, or in the vallies; in the day, or in the night; and this they will always do, in true sincerity of heart, possessing his holy fear.

24. And all such as attend, whether belonging to the body so assembled, or as spectators, are required by the laws of their God, to attend with sincere hearts, and show respect to his holy worship, though it may look never so strange and singular to them. For stranger still, God's work will appear among the children of men, saith the holy and mighty Angel of God. Again I say, fear the Lord your God.

25. I now require the inspired writer of this Roll and Book, firstly, to sign his name as an Instrument, regardless of all present, or after consequences; and then, he may write a few words, expressing his own feelings, in short, and sign his own name to it, says the Angel.

26. And God does also require, that a goodly number of both male and female instruments, who have had that indisputable evidence of his Almighty and supernatural power, operating directly upon both soul and body, to direct their speech and to guide their pens, that they are ready, if God suffereth it so to be, to seal the truth of what is herein contained, with their own blood, as martyrs to his cause, should also sign their names as witnesses.

27. First, briefly expressing their own feelings, in short, saith the Angel; for to the inhabitants of the earth this will appear extremely strange, and incredible to their understanding, at first. It will feel to many, like mortals blaspheming the name of the Deity; therefore, other witnesses, than the inspired writer, of the reality of this work, and its truth, are necessary.

28. And if mankind will wait a little season, says the Angel, these operations of the spirit of God, will be brought more to their understandings.

Inspired Writer,

PHILEMON STEWART.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLE BY THE WRITER.

1. Beloved fellow mortals, I consider myself a poor worm of the dust; in my creation no better than any of you; and if in any way, I have found favor in the sight of my God, it has been by and through the means of this one true and sin-destroying gospel, plainly stated in the foregoing pages, which I embraced in my childhood, and have sincerely labored, according to the best of my understanding, to walk agreeable to its requirements, unto the present day.

2. I am now at the meridian age of life, being in possession, as it respects letter learning, of hardly a common country school education: but my labor, through life, has been devoted to the gospel, and sincerely to obey the call of God, when made known by indisputable evidence, regardless of all personal consequences.

3. And so it has been, in the duty to which I have been called by the power of the Most High, as a mortal instrument in the hands of Holy Angels, in writing the foregoing sacred pages; the reality and truth of which, I stand ready at any time, if so suffered by the Almighty, and my fellow mortals require it, to seal with my blood.

4. These sayings, contained in this book, are made to me far more real, than any thing possessing flesh and blood; and never could I submit myself as an instrument, in a matter of such vital importance to the human family, and to my own soul also, until this evidence was brought clearly to my view; and then, I no longer dared withstand, for fear of the immediate judgments of God, and of an eternal banishment from his presence.

5. It is not my province or duty, to labor to convince my fellow beings, that the contents of the foregoing pages are the subjects of divine and immediate revelation, from the Most High, through his holy and mighty Angels, for they will prove themselves; but it is my duty, and that which the Holy Angel requireth me to do, to declare, in the sincerity of my heart, to all the inhabitants of earth, that such is the solemn truth of God, and such it will forever remain.

6. And I do solemnly testify, that no natural wisdom, either of man or of woman, has dictated a sentence herein contained; and

that I, the mortal agent, used in the hands of the Angel to pen this word, knew nought of the subject before me, only as opened and brought forward, word after word, by the mighty Angel.

7. And who is there among you all, my beloved fellow beings, that would dare withstand the requirements of a righteous and holy God, when brought thus plain before you, both by sight and feelings? not feelings wrought up by excitement, into wildness and fanaticism, nor feelings of self exaltation, to which the unsubdued passions and nature of man are so exceedingly prone, wishing to sound his name abroad in the world; but by such feelings as come down from God, out of Heaven, and rest upon the soul, as a consuming fire, until the requirement be fulfilled.

8. And be assured, all ye who may read this word, that I feel my nothingness, and unworthiness in the sight of my God; and on Him does my poor soul daily depend for mercy and protection, as much as any of you. And I would much rather, if this would answer the mind and will of my God, never to have my personal name go abroad upon the earth; For if there be honor due, it is unto God, not unto man, who is at best, a poor worm of the dust, before God, his Creator.

9. Consider, O my fellow mortals below, that we are all alike in the hands of a just and holy God; and, that we are all created with immortal souls, which are accountable unto Him for every deed done in the body, while passing through the scenes of time, in this terrestrial state, whether they be good or whether they be evil. This our Lord and Savior plainly taught when he was upon earth.

10. Remember and bear in mind, my dear friends, that I, (the inspired writer,) have been called by the irresistible power of God, to act only as an agent under his Almighty influence, in conveying this word to all my fellow beings upon earth, who are, in their creation, as precious in the sight of a just and righteous God, as I, or any other one. But all professed christendom should bear in mind, that God, from the foundation of the world, hath always noticed mankind for their works' sake; whether they merited mercy, or whether they merited judgment.

11. And I do solemnly testify to all the human family, in the fear of that holy God who created me with immortality, that the society of people in which I live, either Leaders or any of its members, have had nothing to do in controlling and directing this word to the nations of the earth; and that I, the inspired writer, have not

been suffered by the power of the Mighty Angel, to alter or vary from what he brought forth, whether it was in reproof and admonition, directly to the society, or to the inhabitants of the earth.

12. But I have been compelled to write the foregoing pages, as held forth, by the Mighty Angel, to my view, and read aloud in my presence, without regard to any particular sect or denomination now in existence. And I do furthermore solemnly testify to the whole human family, that the testimonial evidences, which here follow, respecting this Sacred Roll, word and work, to the inhabitants of earth, were written, many of them, more than a hundred miles apart;

13. And that the inspired writers, had no knowledge, by any earthly communication, of the work and operations of the spirit of God in distant branches of the society, respecting this very Roll and Book, which is now, by the kind and tender mercy of an All-powerful and wise God, placed before us, that he that runneth may read and understand; and wisely fear that God, by whom he was created with an immortal soul; and before whom, I, with the rest of my fellow mortals in time, must shortly appear at his eternal bar of justice; where we shall all receive the just reward of our works.

14. And I do testify to all the children of men, that my soul feels perfect peace and quietness as it respects this work; for I have an indisputable evidence within my own soul, that the hand of God hath done this; not the hand of man, or the power of evil.

15. And I do daily fear and love that God, by walking softly in his presence, who hath called me, with the rest of my dear brethren and sisters, (companions in tribulation,) from the paths of sin and death, to walk in the way of true gospel light, and life eternal, where a salvation through the spirit of the blessed Savior, is found, that is able to save the soul from sinful works in the present tense.

16. Where souls can walk, day by day, in true obedience to the revealed will of God; and by this means are prepared at any time to do his will on earth, or to leave their house of clay, and enter eternity at his call, justified before Him, whose summons must shortly sound in every heart to bid farewell to earth and all its fleeting glories, and close their eyes to all her transitory enjoyments.

17. To be enabled to do my duty day by day, in the true fear of the Lord, regardless of all other personal, or private considerations, is all that my soul can pray for, ask or desire; And I do earnestly

entreat of my fellow beings, and of every reasonable mind, candidly to read the foregoing sacred pages from beginning to end, and seriously consider, and ponder well the subjects therein contained; and this do, unclothed of prejudice from any quarter. Do not be hasty, beloved fellow mortals, in casting forth epithets of scorn and derision, before you know even the record of that solemn and weighty word, contained in this Roll and Book.

18. Give place in your hearts for sober and solemn reflections; look not at this denomination, or that; but look with me, to that God who gave us being; and to that sacred and solemn impression of eternal truth, which his Almighty hand hath stamped upon the foregoing pages.

19. And in the tenderest feelings of love and good will, to all my brethren and sisters of the human family, and in obedience to the direction of the Holy Angel, do I sound forth these sentences unto you, my companions and sojourners in time's dark vale below. And let all the inhabitants of the earth remember, of whatever nation they may be; rich or poor, professors or profane, that by one just and righteous God, we must and shall all be judged, according to our works; before his holy throne and tribunal of eternal justice, none can be wronged of that which is their just due.

PHILEMON STEWART.

NOTICE TO ALL WHO MAY READ THE FOREGOING SACRED PAGES.

We, as a Society, feel it our duty to acknowledge that we have no more right, in our own natural wisdom, than any other society now existing on earth, to deviate from the true sense and meaning of the Word of the Lord, to favor our own personal views concerning any doctrine or matter contained in the Sacred Roll.

But as it hath pleased God, in his infinite mercy and goodness, to select from among us an instrument or agent, to declare his word and will to the inhabitants and nations of the earth, and (as is the case in many of the ancient sacred writings,) there are some few passages in this Roll, that do not seem to us to express so clearly to the understanding, the real meaning of the Spirit, or what we believe to be the real meaning, we have taken the liberty to make a few notes to illustrate our views of some particular points, which we think are entirely free from the prejudice of sectarianism; and here we leave them, knowing that God is able, and will defend his own word and work.

Note first, page 17, Sec. 10.

By this we understand that He would have noticed them with his blessing and protection, *as really*, according to their order, which is inferior to the order of grace, to which all souls must ultimately come, if they ever obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of God.

Note second, page 23, Sec. 11.

If this was to be understood as a command given to man in his primitive state, we consider that he was thereby equally bound to keep the whole original law and order of nature. See Genesis, Chap. i, 28.

Note third, page 44, Sec. 33.

We do not consider that the expression, *keep the law of nature*, is to be understood that any one can continue under the law of nature and be justified, after being called by the light of Christ, into the order of grace; nay, he must then yield obedience to that call, and *keep the law of grace*, or lose his justification, and forfeit the Divine blessing and protection. See page 146, and 147.

Note fourth.

It is to be understood that the inspired writer who wrote this Book, had the full union and approbation of the visible leading authority of the Society, in doing the will of God, as revealed to him by immediate inspiration, through the Holy Angel, without regard to any individual or personal feelings whatever.

TO PRINTERS.

Explanations, amendments and corrections.

On account of the special requirement to lay this sacred Book before the public as soon as possible, it was transcribed in much haste, and put to press without sufficient time for careful examination, in consequence of which, a variety of literal and verbal mistakes have escaped detection.

We have therefore prepared the following, in which are embraced the most material of these mistakes, including some few typographical errors. There may be other small errors discovered; such can be easily corrected by those who may reprint or translate it.

Page 14, Sec. 7, for *I'm* read *I am.*
" 15, " 14, before St. John, insert Matt. xvi, 25; and Mark x. 29, 30.
" 22, " 3, From the beginning of the Sec. to the word part; in the fourth line read as follows; *But the irrational or animal propensities, which is the inferior part, [through the serpent,] soon overruled his right reason, and placed upon him strong bands, which held him in bondage to the law of sin and death;*
" 30, " 5, f. there *be* millions, r. there *are* millions, and f. *hath* r. *have.*
" 32, " 5, f. *days* of his wrath, r. *day* of his wrath.
" 35, " 30, f. *fruits* of his loins, r. *fruit* of his loins.
" 35, at the end of Chap. v, add Isaiah liii. 1, 2 and 3 verses.
" 42, " 15, f. *be* false, and *be* true, r. *are* false, and *are* true.
" 43, " 23, f. *straight* gate, r. *strait* gate; the same in other places.
" 45, " 37, f. *or* destroy r. *nor* destroy; the same in other places.
" 48, " 28, insert the word *already*, after *with her.*
" 51, 8 & 9, to come in after Mark vii, and before 20, in page 50; also, Chap. xx, 34, 35, 36, to be transferred and placed before Luke xxi, 34.
" 54, dele Luke xiv, and transfer verse 20, which follows it, to page 53, and place it between Chap. xiv and verse 26; and transfer the quotations from Luke xvii, 26 and onward, in page 53, and place them directly after the quotation from Chap. xvi, 15, in page 54.
" 63, II. Thess. ii, 3 to 12, to come in before I. John ii, 18.
" 64, " 12, f. *have* pleasure, r. *had* pleasure.
" 66, " 13, f. *pretended yoke*, r. *specious cloak.*
" 77, " 4, f. which *are* not, r. which *were* not.
" 78, " 9, f. Acts ii, r. Acts i.
" " Revelation i, 7, he cometh with clouds,*
" " Chap. xxii, 20, to come in after verse 17 in page 79.
" 96, " 12, after *John*, r. *as related.*
" 109, the quotations from Isaiah, to come in before those from Matthew.
" 116, " 18, f. forgive *them*, r. forgive *their persecutors.*

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*The original expression in Greek, is *μετα των νεφελων, together with clouds*, meaning clouds of witnesses endowed with his spirit, who will declare him to the world, with evidence that cannot be disputed.

" 131, the quotations from Isaiah, Chap. xxvi and xxvii, down to, *day*, to come in before Chap. xxxii, near the bottom of page 130.

" 141, " 39, f. *landed* forces, r. *land* forces.

" 148, " 49, f. *penitence* r. *penitents.*

" 155, " 15, f. *merchant-men*, r. *merchants.*

" 165, Jeremiah, Chap. xxx, 23, 24, down to *shall consider it*, to come in before Jeremiah xxxi, on page 164.

" 165, the quotations from Zechariah, down to *neighbor*, to come in after those from Zephaniah, down to *jealousy*, in page 166.

" 179, " 33, f. to *prophecy* r. to *prophesy.* p. 200, the same.

" 181, " 9, f. *will* cease and *will* die, r. *would* cease and *would* die.

" 190, " 14, f. *vallies* r. *valleys;* the same error occurs in other places.

" 197, " 9, f. fowls *in heaven*, r. fowls *that soar in the heavens above.*

" 219, " 6, bottom line, after the word *contained*, add, *So as to vary the obvious meaning of the original.*

Notice.

We freely give notice to those who may wish to reprint this Book, for the benevolent purpose of extending its sacred contents, agreeable to the Divine command, that it is our wish to have notice of it; so that whoever may feel disposed to undertake it, may, by application to the Society, if practicable, receive the necessary information respecting some corrections which we desire to furnish.

Letters for that purpose, may be addressed to Richard Bushnell or Frederic W. Evans, New Lebanon, Columbia county, New York. But if the great distance should preclude the possibility of getting returns in due season, we wish the errors printed at the end of the book, to be noticed and corrected in the places to which they refer; so as to make a correct copy.

Note. The testimonies alluded to and required in the close of this first Part, page 218, will be comprised in a second Part not yet issued.

PART II.

BEING A SEQUEL OR APPENDIX

TO THE

SACRED ROLL AND BOOK,

TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH;

CONTAINING THE TESTIFYING SEALS OF SOME OF THE

ANCIENT PROPHETS AND HOLY ANGELS,

WITH THE

TESTIMONIES OF LIVING WITNESSES,

OF THE MARVELOUS WORK OF GOD, IN HIS ZION ON EARTH.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED SOCIETY,
CANTERBURY, N.H.
1843.

PREFACE.

The most of the subject matter of the following pages has been written in compliance with the command of the holy Angel of God, who dictated his sacred word, comprising the first part of this work, entitled A SACRED ROLL AND BOOK TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

The inspired writers and testators of the word contained in this second part, have consented to the publication of the same, only in compliance with the requirement of God, feeling it a duty to acknowledge his mercy and goodness in this the fourth and last dispensation of his grace to man; yet feeling, on every other consideration, great diffidence in offering their names to public view, desiring a secluded station in life, and a privilege to work out their own salvation by self-denial and the cross.

It is true, they have been greatly privileged with the blessing of God, and made instruments in his hands, to aid in the execution of his work among the children of men, and they claim no greater merit, than the reward which is gained by obedience to his sacred word, with the rest of their gospel companions.

It may be justly due to all, to say, that many of the testimonies are not inserted entire, as it would swell the work more than would be consistent with our present bounds. But it has been the labor of the publishers, to preserve the inspired matter relating to this Sacred Roll and Book in its true spirit and meaning. We wish simply to publish to mankind the word of God as delivered unto us for that purpose, and to connect therewith such testimony, as is required by the Mighty Angel.

There have been many other testimonies received, and now in manuscript, corroborating the truth, reality and authenticity of this sacred Book, and declaring that it is the will of God, that it should go forth to the children of men, written by those who are no less worthy, than those whose testimonies are here published, being faithful wearers and bearers of the yoke and cross of Christ; but for want of room, and as it is not our labor to prove by these the truth and divine origin of this work, they are omitted.

It was judged advisable to select from among them, a portion from several of the different branches of our communion, to represent more forcibly, the unanimity and corresponding relation existing in the Zion of God upon earth.

It may be asserted with truth and confidence, that God has a holy Church on earth, wherein He reigns, and all the living members thereof, are WITNESSES to his word and work; though they remain a chosen and secluded people.

We would further state, that it was our original design, to publish the whole of this work in one part entire; but owing to unavoidable circumstances prejudicial to a speedy publication of that portion of the work embraced in this second part, we have been compelled to issue it in two parts.

September, 1843. THE PUBLISHERS.

PART II.

CONTAINING THE WORDS OF HOLY WISDOM, WITH SOME OF THE ANCIENT PROPHETS AND OTHER HEAVENLY MESSENGERS.

THE TESTIFYING SEAL OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH;

REVEALED AT CANTERBURY NEW-HAMPSHIRE, JULY 2, 1843.

1. Bow down thine ear to hear O man, and thine heart to receive O son of man, this most sacred word of your Heavenly Father, is the voice of me, the ancient Prophet Jeremiah, who art still alive, and dwelling in mansions not made with hands; yea, though the earthly tabernacle which I once inhabited, has, for thousands of years, been mouldered to dust, yet I am still alive in the spirit; and in the power of my God I often go forth with his holy word to the children of men; and now I rejoice that the time has come for this, his Sacred Roll, to go forth to the nations of the earth, that all may be left inexcusable before his holy throne.

2. Therefore listen unto me, for I know the unwillingness of man to believe, at any time, the then present manifestation of the spirit of God; it has been so in every past dispensation, and still remains so; but this altereth not the purposes of the Almighty.

3. The voice of your God is, Yea and amen; He that will listen to my words of solemn warning, and reverence my holy word, who will incline his heart to obey my voice and his feet to walk in my paths, though he may dwell in the uttermost regions of the earth or roam the pathless desert, yet my blessing shall crown his soul; my hand shall direct, and my arm shall defend him. But he that turneth a deaf ear to my word, and scorneth in his heart the calls of my mercy, who wandereth where he listeth, and treadeth in forbidden paths, must yet meet my spirit in judgment.

4. And now all ye people, look back and see where those whom He had called as his chosen people in ancient days, missed the point, and failed of the blessing and protection of their God; Was

it not by willfully rejecting the then present light and manifestation of his mind and will to them? Was it not by turning a deaf ear to the calls of his mercy, as sent forth unto them through his chosen messengers? Most certainly it was.

5. Therefore hearken, O ye nations of the earth, and listen all ye people, to this his Sacred Roll, as the voice of the living God in solemn warning and tender love; and if you believe the words which I spake in days of old, believe me now, when I say that this Sacred and Divine Roll which is now sent forth unto you, is not the work of the vain and aspiring imagination of fallen man; but was directed by the holy spirit of the Lord your God, and contains those solemn truths to which every soul must bow, or finally fail of his protection and blessing; for He hath not sent forth his word in vain, nor will He strive with man for nought.

6. For lo his holy Angels are commissioned to bring, first his mercy, and should it be received in humbleness of heart and due contrition of spirit, Amen, then his blessing and protection will crown the soul. But if not, then, the voice of the Mighty One crieth, He that is holy let him be holy, and he that is filthy let him be filthy.

7. And to them who turn a deaf ear to his calls, doth He give that cup which He has prepared for them, even the vials of his wrath in heavy judgments: for the Lord your God hath commenced his final work with his creature man, who with wickedness hath so corrupted his way, in sin and filthy abomination, that the earth groaneth by reason of the weight thereof; for the cry of the poor and oppressed hath ascended to his throne, and the spirit of your God doth loudly call for justice and truth.

8. And now O man what art thou, that thou shouldst strive with the living God, who is able to destroy thy body with a breath, and cast thy soul in hell? Wilt thou withstand the calls of his mercy, and shut thy soul from the glory of his presence? Or wilt thou fall before Him, confess his holy power, and seek his mercy by obeying his holy word?

9. Put not thy trust in earthly power, for whoso trusteth in earthly strength, leaneth upon a broken staff that shall pierce his hand; but whoso trusteth in God, will find Him a shield that is able to cover, and an arm that is able to defend, when tribulation as a flood shall sweep over the land.

Inspired Writer,

William Tripure.

A HOLY AND DIVINE ROLL, WRITTEN BY THE HOLY PROPHET ELISHA, BEFORE THE ALTAR OF WISDOM AND LOVE,

DECEMBER 14, 1842.

REVEALED AT CANTERBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, JUNE 28, 1843.

1. Hearken all ye nations of the earth, and bow down all ye of high rank, of whatever grade or class, before the one true and living God; and in his most holy fear meditate ye upon his goodness and loving mercy, to warn you of approaching danger; and humbly implore his favor, that you may learn his will and obey his word to his pleasure.

2. Behold I am a prophet, a servant of my God; before Him I bow, and before his throne I worship. His word is truth and everlasting righteousness to the soul that believeth and receiveth, and endless misery and woe to the soul that refuseth to listen and obey.

3. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings shall the word of the Lord be sounded forth; and mortals shall fear and tremble, because of truths, hidden truths revealed unto them, through means of God's own choosing; and all shall be left without excuse, both within and without the walls of Zion.

4. Holy, holy is the God of my salvation, and most holy is his name; fear Him O ye inhabitants of earth, and praise Him ye inhabitants of Zion, because of his excellency saith the Holy Archangel of my God.

5. Awaken and be quickened, all ye who are slumbering in your sins, who revel in carnal delights and in the vain gratifications of a fallen corrupt nature; for Lo! the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, when your days of ease and pleasure shall be loathsome to you, and your riches, O ye noble ones, will be no more to you than dust.

6. Hearken ye and hear the word of your God which is unto every nation and people, for thus saith the voice of the Lord God of Heaven and earth; I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and they that seek Me early shall find Me, and become wise and comely before Me.

7. I will turn the mirth of the proud, the giddy and vain into mourning, and the spirit of the oppressor into freedom and good

will to the souls of all men; for the time shall be when mortals shall fear my word, for I will send it forth to every nation on the face of the earth.

8. Judgments shall roll and roll; yea, like the tide of the rolling deep, they shall ebb and flow, flow and ebb, until in my infinite wisdom I shall cause, for a season, the waters to be calm and beautiful.

9. I will again shake the heavens and the earth, and again I will spread sack-cloth and dust before those whom I have chosen to be servants in my holy house; for I am All-powerful; Wisdom is mine, justice is also mine, and I will reward every one according to their works.

10. Those who lift up their swords, who raise their hands through ambition or revenge, against their fellow beings, let them beware of my great displeasure and heavy hand of cursing; for I will be known, feared and obeyed. Those who know Me not in time, shall know Me in eternity; and those who believe not my word, nor the divine source from which it is sent forth, I will meet in judgments, and close their days in unpleasantness and sorrow; because they shut their ears that they will not hear, and their eyes, that they will not see.

11. I am that I Am; and mortal man whom I have created to be the image and likeness of Myself, shall tremble in my presence and bow down at the sound of my voice, or I will frown upon them with a frown of my displeasure, and blow upon their souls the blast, yea, the solemn blast of my vengeance, which will cause their souls to wither before Me, as the tender plant withereth before the meridian sun.

12. I am a God of justice, mercy, charity and love; therefore hearken ye unto Me; for I will yet pour out my great and heavy displeasure upon the earth in my fury, because of her wickedness.

13. If ye heed not my word and work, O ye dwellers on earth, ye shall perish by the sword; for the time will come when it will be unsheathed and furbished, glittering in judgment, while on the other hand, if ye hearken unto Me, if ye receive my warning word and turn from the evil of your ways, my spirit will bear rule; my peace shall overshadow you, and you will begin to love righteousness and hate iniquity, to serve Me your God, and not the god of self.

14. Come out, come out from among the haughty and proud, all

ye who hear the word of kind Heaven, all ye who are ready to lay down your lives to do my will, not to the destroying of the body, but that life of self and selfish passions which ye have indulged, and by so doing have wandered far from Me your God. Return unto Me as harmless babes by true confession and repentance, that my wings of protection may encircle you, that I may hold you as in the hollow of mine hand, from the persecution of the wicked, and the vain enticements of Satan.

15. The earth shall yet be in commotion, the fire of the ever blessed gospel, taught by my faithful Son, your blessed Savior, and revived through my anointing goodness, by the Mother of the New Creation, Ann Lee, shall burn and run as flaming fire among stubble; and souls shall be awakened by the sound of the heavenly harpers harping with their harps; yea, by my holy and proclaiming Angels whom I will send to pass and re-pass through the earth, sounding the cheering trumpet of sweet liberty to the soul bound in sin, and to the seeker after true righteousness.

16. I AM, that sitteth upon my throne, will judge all souls according to their works. I will give freely to the seeker after good; and the poor in spirit shall be nourished from my hand, and fed from the never failing fountain of my goodness.

17. Happiness is designed by Me for every creature whom I have created; but how many there are, who by indulging the baser passions of a carnal nature, are ruined for life, disenabled in body and distorted in mind, must drag out years in misery.

18. How many pride themselves in affluence and a great name among men; yet how often cut down at noon! How often disappointment lurks for her prey and seizes her captive! O that ye would heed my word, before I call you to taste of my displeasure! Long, long have I borne with those whom I have created solely to worship and adore Me.

19. I will open their eyes through my wisdom, and teach them new and wonderful things. Many will believe and turn from the evil of their ways, and many will still pursue their downward and self-pleasing road, until I can no longer feel any pleasure in their doings, or with-hold from them my hand of judgment.

20. O my Zion, my Zion! bow down low, exceeding low, because I have blessed thee, and have in my glory shone upon thee with great brightness and beauty.

21. Thy comeliness many shall yet flock to see; and thy light shall shine forth to every nation, kindred, tongue and people, because thy inhabitants confess and forsake their sins, and offer holy offerings unto Me their God; the smoke whereof ascendeth unto my throne like sweet smelling incense in my presence, instead of a stench of uncleanness to provoke Me to anger.

22. Here the simple and innocent lambs of the Savior, he can hold in his arms, and none can harm or hurt them so long as they obey his kind voice, and are contented to remain under his care and protection.

23. But how many there are who delight to behold the young and weak, captivated by vain seducers and filthy plot-leaders, and enslaved by that base and ungodly passion which knows no bounds, and seemeth to find no restraint.

24. And can a righteous God pass lightly over the doings of those who pretend to walk in my way and obey my word, yet only in the letter thereof, while their hearts are filled with uncleanness, and are far from Me? Nay, nay; for my spirit is not in them, neither does my true word abound in their long-toned voices or fashionable prayers; but like a heated furnace to refine gold, so I would my word should be to refine the soul of every human being.

25. My word is piercing even to the dividing asunder of the joints and marrow; quick as lightning, and loud as peals of heavy thunder.

26. No soul can appear before Me in peace, nor offer acceptable offerings to Me, unless they stand in justification, freed from a guilty conscience.

27. I am purity; and those that gather under my hand of safety, that would dwell in the low valley of peace and quietness, must walk circumspectly before Me. Then I will enrich them with my blessing, and Satan shall never take from them that overcoming power with which I will clothe their spirits; for all power is mine, and the reins of justice I hold in my hand.

28. Come, come away all ye young and gay, saith the voice of the holy spirits, and prepare your souls for a never ending eternity; walk ye in the pleasant paths of wisdom and love, that ye may be rightful heirs to a holy and sweet abode with saints and angels.

29. Remember, O remember, life is short, but eternity is never ending; the sweet smelling flowers of the field soon pass away, and so do the beauty and vigour of youth and youthful pleasures.

Though they hold forth tempting colors, you can have but the taste of one before the others are fled, and thorns often appear in their stead.

30. Therefore seek that treasure which is abiding, that fadeth not away, but is forever an anchor to the soul when trying scenes roll on, and affliction spreads her gloomy wings over your heads; have your treasure in Heaven where moth and rust corrupteth not, and where thieves cannot break through and steal.

31. Time is ever on the wing, and God, in his own way and time, will bring to pass a work, a strange work; for long He hath borne with his creatures whom He hath created; therefore as a Holy Prophet of his choosing to sound his awakening and life-cheering trumpet of free salvation to every nation on the face of the earth, I say unto you, Take heed to your ways, all ye dwellers on earth, that ye be not found fighting against your God; that ye be not found blaspheming his holy word sent forth unto you; for I tell you of a solemn truth, if you are, your God will yet meet you in a strait place, and send forth his judgments upon you, unless you repent and turn from the evil of your ways.

32. If ye know not how to treat the givings of his Spirit, then be wise and mock not his word, lest in his fury He cast you off forever; for He will be feared by mortals, and all must bow and confess his name Jehovah, the All-wise Creator of the world, and all that is therein.

33. Bow down and fear Him all ye people, for he is ALPHINE and OMEGA, the Beginning and the Ending.

Inspired Writer,
HESTER A. ADAMS.

A SHORT ROLL WRITTEN BY THE HOLY PATRIARCH NOAH;

WHO LIVED IN FORMER DAYS AND PROCLAIMED THE WORD OF THE LORD UNTO THE PEOPLE; AND WHO CEASED NOT TO PROPHECY, THOUGH HE WAS RIDICULED AND MOCKED BY HIS HEARERS.

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT CANTERBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, JUNE 23, 1843.

1. Come gather near all ye spirits now dwelling in tenements of mortal clay, and hear this my word; for even as my Heavenly Father commandeth, so will I perform. On this Holy Roll, prepared by

Eternal Wisdom, who is one with the Father, will I write my warning word unto all nations.

2. I am Noah, a prophet of the Lord who dwelt on earth in ancient days, and who prophecied unto the people concerning the flood of waters which the Lord, as a heavy judgment, would pour upon the earth and its inhabitants, because of the wicked abominations therein.

3. When upon earth, I feared my God, and labored to do my duty by obeying his requirements; and by many I have been called a righteous man and servant of God. Even so let it be. Truly, by living up to that light which God had given me, and obeying his requirements, so far was I found acceptable in his sight; and even so it will be with all souls, who do the same.

4. And now I call upon you to believe and receive my word; and be assured it is from the same righteous servant of God, who built the Ark according to his commandments.

5. I am a friend and well wisher to every soul whom God hath created. I view the works of his creation, and say: O that I could see true righteouness, O Lord, in thy creature man! O that thy laws were regarded, that the earth might become flourishing as the fruitful garden of Paradise!

6. O ye mortals! My fellow brethren! Will ye not hearken to my warning word and my declaration of truth, which now, even by the command of a just and righteous God, I sound forth unto you?

7. The Lord of hosts has condescended to visit you in mercy; and as a natural father instructeth his son how to become useful in society, a delight to himself and comfort to surrounding neighbors, so has God your Heavenly Father, given his word plain and familiar, that ye may become acceptable servants of his through time, and prove rightful heirs to his pure and peaceable kingdom in eternity.

8. Blessed be his word. The prophets that dwelt on earth many years ago, rejoice and give thanks in behalf of their fellow brethren; and may every soul now dwelling in a tenement of mortal clay, return to please their Creator, and rejoice in works of righteousness; blessing God for his unbounded charity and wide extended mercy.

9. I am Noah, the prophet of the Lord. I dwell in mansions of eternal bliss, with Angels and happified spirits. My brethren the prophets, and my sisters the prophetesses, are alike enjoying the blessing of our Eternal Parents. And as a friend to all souls, I say,

Slight not the call of your God which is now sent in mercy to you, to awaken and prepare you for future happiness. O my fellow brethren, be not found like the people in ancient days, disputing and disbelieving the word which is now declared unto you; for I tell you, your day is brighter, and your privilege far exceeding.

10. And what rational, candid inquirer after the truth, will not bow down to receive this the word of God sounded aloud by his mighty Angel, and written upon paper by a humble and devoted servant of his, who has sincerely labored to walk in true obedience to the requirements of his God, and hath given himself up to do his will? Who will not rejoice and be exceeding glad, that the day of knowledge has come?

11. Will the noble of the earth, the learned and wise, who are skilled in the fine arts and studies, be found like the Jews in ancient days, when Christ the Messiah was sent unto them? Will they rise and oppose it, and say it is not of God?

12. And then shall the poor and mean of the earth, the unlearned and untaught embrace it, and in thankfulness fulfill its requirements, and thus receive his blessing and enter his kingdom before them?

13. Shall pride, arrogance, self-knowledge and wisdom, even in this enlightened age, shut out souls from Christ's pure kingdom?

14. Consider, and seriously reflect on the word, work and wisdom of God. Hath it not been declared that the wisdom of God was foolishness to vain and proud man?

15. Then be not led astray, O ye men of good intellect, for I declare unto you that God is surely to work in the earth; and because of the wicked abominations therein, He hath purposed to send awful and heavy judgments upon the inhabitants thereof;

16. And of this thing has given timely warnings, for repentance to take place; for unto his chosen people dwelling in Zion on earth, He hath committed his word which is to be spread abroad to all nations of the earth, that all may be left without excuse; and that all such as know Him not, may hear his word, and become wise with the knowledge of the truth.

17. So hear all ye people, the word which the Holy Roll and Book contains; and know of a truth that it is his holy and sacred word; and furthermore, understand ye that it is unalterable.

18. Because of the wicked abominations of man, the Lord hath become displeased; therefore, I warn all such as have been measurably

awakened, and have received conviction, to be wise and see that they judge not the givings of the Holy Spirit, with a rash and inconsiderate judgment. See that ye be not found fighting against your own best good and comfort.

19. I warn you, (for this is my mission,) to be found ready to meet the calls of the spirit, and attend to the requirements as made plain in this Sacred Roll and Book; for remember, as you treat these, so will you be treated by your God.

20. I solemnly warn all souls to take heed to their ways, and mind what they say, or how they move, as touching the holy and sacred things of God.

21. As regards the spiritual kingdom, at the head of which stand Christ and Mother, as is explained in the preceding pages, be it known unto you, that we the prophets, though called servants of God, were not exempt from bowing to Him in Christ and Mother Ann, as the *Father* and *Mother* of the new creation; notwithstanding there were Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and Joshua and prophets many. Therefore this is the way that every soul is to find happiness; To bow to God wherever He has placed his name: bowing not to man or woman, but to the Anointing Spirit which cometh from God.

22. The word of God as is communicated to you, is plain and easy to be understood. Fight not against it, but unite with it; giving thanks, honor and glory to your God, for thus noticing you with his word.

23. The manifestation of God in this day, exceedeth any that has ever been previous to this; and if souls refuse offered mercy, awfully will their souls lament it yet. For as truly as there is a God ruling and reigning in the eternal worlds, just so surely will He pour out his awful and heavy judgments upon the scoffer and scorner of his word. Therefore, as you consider the importance of your souls' salvation, so will you regard this saving word that is now sent unto you.

24. I am Noah the prophet; you have learned by historical account, something of the work which I did, and the same of many of the servants of God; but the half ye have never learned. But if ye will believe the word of the Lord now sent unto you, well will it be with you: If not, you will be as the people unto whom I declared the word of the Lord in ancient days; for they were found repenting when too late: and just so it will be with you.

25. For the truth of God is being declared even as in that day: and souls who believe and repent, and return to seek God's favor, unto the same will God be merciful; but such as disbelieve and disregard it, setting it aside as false prediction, will He sweep off in the flood of his judgment.

26. I bow to my God in thankfulness for the means He has provided for his creature man to gain his favor, and bless the medium through which it is conveyed to his people.

27. But know this, all ye people, that this word has not been received without deep sufferings and heavy tribulation on the part of the Instrument chosen for the purpose. Of this I can testify unto you, for I have visited him many times while engaged in his duty, and ever found him bowed down under tribulation, possessing the solemn fear of God; fearing to move the pen, save as directed by the holy Angel that read aloud the word unto him.

28. I viewed him as a prophet, even as Jeremiah, Isaiah and Daniel; for by the same spirit was he led and governed, which was the spirit of eternal truth.

29. And though he may be ridiculed and laughed even to scorn, as I was when upon earth, it altereth not the word nor the work; for it is unalterable, being declared by the power of the Most High.

30. And even so it was in the days when I prophecied of mighty and strange works; Though I was disbelieved and laughed to scorn, I feared not, knowing I was under the influence of the spirit of God, and that what I proclaimed was his word; therefore I trusted in Him, and He led me to the knowledge of the truth; and even so will it be with every devoted servant of God.

31. And now I speak unto you in the spirit of loving kindness, saying; May the word of my Heavenly Father which is now before my fellow brethren, reach every ear and open every heart, and cause each rational person to forsake the sinful paths in which they have hitherto walked, and seek the one sure and only path which leadeth unto joys eternal. And thus my word endeth.

Inspired Writer,

MYRA A. BEAN.

WORDS OF THE LORD BY THE PROPHET MICAH;

WRITTEN BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 9, 1842.

1. Thus saith the Prophet, I am one of the four and twenty Prophets that have often visited this chosen vale, and have sounded my trumpet of love therein. Yea, I am an holy Prophet of the Lord, one that keeps the commandments of God, and follows the footsteps of the meek and lowly Savior and blessed Mother Ann.

2. And thus do I sound the words of truth from the Most High; even that which is given me of my Heavenly Father, will I declare before you O ye children of Zion. Yea, it hath pleased the Almighty to show unto his chosen Israel many things which He in wisdom and judgment will execute upon the earth and its inhabitants. Therefore doth the Lord thy God send unto thee by the voice of heavenly messengers, many solemn warnings and rebukes; that ye forget not his holy statutes and laws which He hath enacted for your safety and protection.

3. And now O ye children of Zion, hearken and give ear unto the law of your God, and make it your delight daily; for the consummation of God's work with the children of men, will make a final separation between the pure children of light and those who walk in darkness: yea, it will divide between saint and sinner, flesh and spirit.

4. Therefore, bow low and bewail thyself O Zion, for the destroyer is passing through the land, to lay in ruins the habitations thereof; for the abominations which make desolate do cover the the earth as the waters cover the sea, and she has become polluted and defiled.

5. O ye children of this valley, know ye, I am one of the holy Prophets that did prophecy in the days of the ancient kings of Israel and Judah: yea, of the present day, of the glorious reign of the Messiah did I in the spirit of God prophecy. And ye now do behold the word of my God verified unto the faithful chosen Israel; who stand even in this day as a warning in mercy to the nations, as did also the rebellious house of Ahab stand as a warning in judgment to the inhabitants who beheld them.

6. Wickedness and oppression did much abound on the earth when I dwelt in mortal clay, but surely it has increased, consid-

ering the light which has been suffered to shine into the hearts of the children of men.

7. Therefore, saith the Lord of hosts, the Almighty Ruler of Heaven and earth; Man, vain man, may exalt himself and set on high, but I will pull down, I will destroy, I will lay low every soul that walks in high places or vaunts itself in emulation or vain glory. Cursed shall be the ground on which they tread; for their sake it shall yield unto them neither fruit nor herbage; nor shall any green thing appear thereon to support them.

8. Ruinous heaps shall their most splendid palaces and temples become, where they have openly profaned my holy name, and worshiped gods of their own forming, who have trusted in man and made flesh their arm of defense.

9. Verily, saith the Holy and Just One, the gods they worship shall not save, neither will the arm they have trusted in, prove sufficient to deliver them from my Almighty hand. Surely the magicians and learned divines shall in no wise be competent judges of the signs and wonders which shall be visible in the heavens above, and on the earth in many parts thereof; for gross darkness has blinded their eyes until no ray of light illuminates the beaten track in which they run.

10. They may devise and divine; they may inwrap themselves in mysteries until my work overtakes them, saith God. What shall their vain philosophy avail them in this day? Behold, saith the Almighty, when I smite with the rod of my vengeance, a certain city, I lay it desolate of both man and beast, without respect to the high or the rich, or those who are vainly noble; for I will leave none, saith God, who blaspheme my holy name. For this I will not suffer to be done when I finish my work of destruction which I have already begun; but the remnant which escape shall fear Me from the least even to the greatest among them. And my holy word shall be revered by the inhabitants that are left upon my footstool, saith God. For I will utterly destroy sin and sinner, until there be found no more filthy and corruptible vessels, bearing the abominations of the Mother of harlots; for such have the inhabitants of the earth become.

11. Yea, every vile act has been committed which can be named by the human tongue, until in the most flourishing kingdoms and cities under heaven are found theatres for the foulest crimes and the most obscene works. Therefore I the Lord Almighty will shake

to the foundation, and will sweep to the very basis on which they now stand; for I have no pleasure in unrighteousness, neither do I delight in the wantonness of this adulterous generation; for they have perverted my law and estranged themselves from Me, and have bowed themselves down to the god of lust, and know no shame.

12. O ye inhabitants of the earth! saith the voice of Him that executeth judgment in righteousness; Old and rotten are ye in trangression; yea, dead in sin.

13. How oft have I weighed thee in the balance of justice and truth, and spared thee and thy little ones! But now my hand shall not spare, nor my eye pity, for ye are fully ripe and ready for the sickle of destruction; and the pit has opened her mouth to receive those who plunge themselves therein.

14. Therefore, know ye my hand shall not be stayed, until every work is accomplished, which I have decreed by the mouths of my Prophets and holy Angels, shall be fulfilled unto the inhabitants of the earth. For I am Jehovah, and above Me there is none.

WORD OF THE LORD BY THE PROPHET EZEKIEL;

WRITTEN BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 12, 1842.

1. Hearken yet again, O ye nations of the earth! for by the voice of many Prophets and holy Angels will I cause my word to be perfected, and my decrees made known unto those who dwell on the face of the earth.

2. For as in the days of old, even so shall they now prophecy of the destruction of the ungodly; and of the peace and salvation of the righteous chosen number, whose dwelling is in Mount Zion and whose souls are redeemed unto the Lamb.

3. Yea, saith the Lord of hosts, my holy Prophets shall prophecy in the midst of Jerusalem, and many shall run to and fro in the earth, sounding the trumpet of the gospel to the lost children of men, who shall be left scattered over the land as sheep without a shepherd, knowing not which way to run to escape impending destruction.

4. For with an Almighty voice will I shake terribly the earth, and the waters of the mighty ocean shall cover the islands thereof, and sweep from its coasts round about, many of the inhabitants who dwell thereon. The habitations of the unclean shall be no more the resort of debauchees; but such as I suffer to remain standing, and to become inhabited, shall be cleansed without and within, that they may become the abodes of the remnant that are left who will turn their hearts unto Me their Creator.

5. O earth, hear the voice of the Lord. Surely I will sweep thee with the besom of destruction; I will build up and I will pull down, until the mountains sink and the vallies rise; yea, until the exaltation of man is leveled in the dust before Me, and every high feeling is laid low.

6. For in this day the Lord alone shall be exalted; and man, vain man shall fear and tremble in his presence; for the walks of the proud are an abomination in his sight; but the doings of the upright are beautiful and lovely.

7. The garners of the wicked are filled with rottenness and bread of idleness; but the store-houses of the godly are furnished with the genuine fruits of industry gained by toil and care.

8. Corruptible art thou, O rebellious man! In no age or dispensation since man was placed in the garden of Eden, and fell from this by transgression, has the earth been so filled with corruption and every evil work, by man's sinning against true light.

9. When by a flood of waters I swept from the face of the earth all its inhabitants, in the days of the Patriarch Noah, (except a remnant which I preserved in the ark,) surely the wickedness of men in that day of ignorance, can be likened unto this as a bud compared to the fully ripe fruit. And shall I spare in mercy now, where I showed no mercy then? Surely not. But as the overflowing deluge destroyed both man and beast, even now shall the deluge and the famine, pestilence and many evils, come upon mankind; for sore destruction awaiteth the sinner.

10. Ye may heap together gold and silver, and in many ways may ye decorate yourselves and your habitations; but for all this I will surely recompense you, saith God.

11. Your gold and silver shall be unto you as a devouring fire or as a gnawing worm; and in no way shall it profit you, when I pass through your borders with my rod of vengeance in my hand, to give unto you the cup which I in judgment have prepared.

12. For the caterpillar, the locust and the canker-worm shall destroy the works of your hands and shall mar the pride of your splendid palaces in which you now glory. Thousands and tens of thousands, yea, numbers without end shall compass thee; they shall enter your chambers and fill the vessels of your most distinguished palaces where ye have feasted to gluttonness and drank to drunkenness and debauchery: and instead of the carnal mirth and profane jollity now heard therein, shall arise the voice of mourning and distress, enough to pierce the heart of any human being.

13. And that which is left by these destroyers will I smite with a curse, even man and beast. Your beasts shall run howling upon the mountains because of the barrenness of the land; for I will cause the ground to become unfruitful, and the springs and fountains of water to become dry; until the tongues of the inhabitants cleave to the roofs of their mouths for thirst. For as I live, saith the Lord, I will destroy the pride of man, that I alone may be exalted. For I am the Beginning and End, the first and last.

14. O thou chosen Zion, builded and supported by my own hands; in thee shall all nations find rest and quietness. Unto thee shall be gathered of all kindreds and tongues that dwell upon the earth; for I am thy God, and thou art my chosen city where I have placed my name, and where my holy Angels pitch their tents. Cursed shall be the hand that curseth thee, and blessed shall be the hand that blesseth thee for my sake, saith God.

15. O thou Zion of my likeness, hearken to the voice of thy Redeemer. Give ear unto the sweet melody of the lovely Bridegroom and Bride, all ye children who are begotten of lawful parentage in the spirit, and are truly formed and fashioned in likeness of your Heavenly Parents, and have received that holy light, which lighteth every soul that is born of the spirit; thus saith your Heavenly Father and his Eternal Counsellor, Let not that lamp which We have given unto you grow dim, or the light thereof become darkness: but let your lamps be kept trimmed and burning, that ye may see by the light of truth to walk uprightly in purity and love. For this is true wisdom, that ye stumble not upon your own errors, and fall into the snares of the enemy.

16. Love one another with heavenly love, is the voice of the Bridegroom and Bride. As children of one Mother, be ye bound together with those gospel ties of affection that nature cannot sever; for pure love is stronger than death.

17. It will shield and defend in the day of trouble, and will support the children of Zion through many trying scenes; therefore hearken, Love ye one another as ye have been loved, or ye cannot be blessed.

18. In loving one another ye shall be beloved by your Heavenly Father, by your Holy Mother Wisdom and all the host of Heaven.

19. Forget not the children of men whom God has not blessed with the way of salvation; but show ye tender mercies unto the poor and distressed, even as your blessed Mother Ann and your Parents in the gospel have ever taught you, both by precept and example.

20. For if ye turn them away without showing pity or compassion, ye call down the wrath of a righteous God upon your souls; and He will in no wise pass you by unnoticed; but will requite you for your hardness of heart.

21. So be ever mindful of the goodness of God, and of your sacred and holy calling, and be careful to walk in the pathway of life which leadeth to the city of perfect purity and holiness; that the Lord your God may not forsake you in the days of tribulation and affliction.

22. Thus, O ye children of Zion, are ye often reproved and reminded of your duty to God and to each other, that ye may not grow careless in this great day. For by the voice of many witnesses the truth is confirmed.

23. And now O ye faithful chosen watchmen of the house of Israel, I the holy Prophet Ezekiel, do freely give unto you my purified love, and my holy blessing; for I am purified and cleansed by the gospel of Christ and my blessed Mother Ann, and am made able to render unto God true thanksgiving and praise.

24. Yea, I have that holy love that will abide all trials; and I do love all the children of my blessed Mother who yet remain upon earth. They are my relation and interest; for them I pray, and for them I rejoice and bless God the giver of all good.

Receive ye bountifully, bestow freely.

A WORD OF INVITATION FROM THE HOLY PROPHET EZEKIEL;

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 11, 1843.

1. Come now, O ye nations of the earth, let us reason together, saith the Prophet of the Lord, for I will converse with you as a man with his friend. I am not dead, but alive in the God of my salvation, and quickened by his eternal spirit and power, to proclaim his goodness, charity and love, and warn souls to flee from the wrath to come, which is near at hand.

2. Hearken now, O ye inhabitants of the earth, and heed the voice that crieth, Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die? Why will ye tempt the Lord your God to destroy you? Turn ye your faces towards Zion, the city of the living God, which is now established on the earth, in beauty and glory; whereunto all nations shall gather, saith the voice of him that crieth unto you.

3. Though ye have long forsaken the Lord your God, and walked in violation of his holy laws and statutes, yet once more doth He loudly call unto you by the voice of his spirit, in benign charity and mercy, to turn from the path of rebellion, and seek his protection.

4. Seek the goodly Shepherd, that leadeth the flock of Israel in safety; (even as I predicted by the spirit of God when I possessed mortality;) for lo he reigneth in righteousness on the earth, and hath set up his pure and peaceable kingdom, which shall never be demolished; though the natural heavens and earth pass away, and are consumed as a scroll.

5. Come, O come, all ye who desire the knowledge of the Lord, which maketh truly wise, and drink at the fountain of light and understanding now opened unto you; and rest not satisfied until ye are made receptacles of those living truths of the Almighty.

6. Consider thy ways, O man! pause and reflect upon thy past life: humble thy soul exceedingly, before the righteous Judge of all the earth, and implore his mercy, by turning from your iniquities, while mercy is held out to you: for God is now offering unto you the means of escape from his awful judgments, and proclaiming his word of solemn truths that ye may repent; for He delighteth not in the destruction of any soul.

7. O then bow down, ye high who sit on thrones and in seats of honor, and attend to the word of the Almighty, that you may become honorable in his presence: for the self-exalted are an abomination unto Him, and the loftiness of man shall surely be leveled with the dust; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

8. Give ear, all ye people: hearken and believe, repent and be saved. Strive to enter in at the strait gate which leadeth unto eternal life, and count all worldly fame as dung and dross; which are alike perishable.

9. O fear ye the Lord, all ye who dwell on the earth, from the hoary head to the prattling tongue; and put not far away the day of his visitation. For behold, I declare unto you, that his work will shortly overtake you, and from his hand ye cannot escape.

10. His purposes are fixed, and his decrees unalterable. His judgments are sure to the ungodly, who turn not from the error of their ways, and his mercies are free for those who flee vanity and vice; who regard the sacred and solemn truths manifested unto them, by setting their feet to run in the path of obedience.

11. I, Ezekiel, am a servant of the Most High, and my soul does bow at his sacred throne, to fulfill his holy will and keep his righteous laws. And no one whom He hath created with a rational soul, can be owned of Him, or feel his mercies flow unto them, unless they reverence that eternal law of righteousness established by Him, by falling low before Him, and keeping that which He requireth in his sacred word which He hath given.

12. I am indeed inviting you to ponder well the work required by your Heavenly Father, and let your whole souls be devoted to reflection; that ye may be able to comprehend your duty, and do it.

13. This is my desire for your welfare, all ye who dwell in time, and are capable of serving and honoring your Creator, by living righteously, walking humbly and dealing justly with all your fellow creatures. In this, God will accept you, and bless the work of your hands. Peace shall crown your souls, and thankfulness fill your hearts to an overflowing for his divine goodness.

14. Thus and thus shall it be with thee, O man, saith the spirit of the holy Prophet Ezekiel.

Inspired writer of the three foregoing communications,

PHEBE ATWOOD.

A WORD OF WARNING AND INVITATION BY THE PATRIARCH NOAH;

WRITTEN BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 9, 1843.

1. Bow down, all ye inhabitants of earth; hearken and hear the word of the living God. For lo! I am an holy Prophet of the Lord, who in ancient time, prophecied many years, of the purposes of God that would in after days take place; and because it did not come to pass immediately, the inhabitants of the earth disbelieved the warnings of God, and mocked and derided his mercy unto their needy souls, and would not be persuaded to believe, till the flood came and swept them from the face of the earth.

2. But verily, God wrought by means of his own choosing, and at his own appointed time; and all nations, kindreds and people, were compelled, by his judgments, to believe that his word was to be listened to and obeyed: for none, save the righteous few that were sheltered in the ark, were saved from the flood of waters that He sent upon the face of the whole earth, to destroy his creation, both man and beast, because of the abominations that were in her.

3. Therefore, be not likened unto those who lived in the past ages of the world, by refusing to comply with his terms of equity and justice, lest He again stretch out his heavy hand of judgment, and ye suffer like unto them; But lend a listening ear unto the sacred warnings which the Lord my God hath seen fit, through his tender mercy, to unfold in these last days, to the nations, that they may repent, believe and obey; that ye may escape the second flood, (though not of waters,) that He hath designed to send upon the abominable and polluted of this world.

4. For verily, as the Lord, in the days of old, spake unto the children of men through mortal clay, even now He doth, by the mouths of holy messengers, make known his decrees; and as truly as He fulfilled his purposes in former ages of the world, so true He will bring about every decree that has been spoken by the mouths of Prophets in this, his last display of his grace to the inhabitants of earth.

5. Therefore be persuaded to fear God and love mercy, that wisdom may dwell within your hearts, that ye may not be left to reject the word of the Almighty God, to your own destruction. For surely as the Lord has spoken by me, He hath written this Holy Roll and Book of warnings and instructions to the nations of the earth, that

they may be left without a cloak to hide their iniquities, when He, by the aid of Eternal Wisdom, shall accomplish the work which is already begun.

6. How can frail mortals think to change the purposes of God, or alter the least command He has given to his creatures? And if any slight this, his word of warning and invitation unto them, because it did not come in a way that is pleasing to the carnal senses of vain mortals, then they must inevitably fall under loss, and be accountable for this, as all other transgressions.

7. But suffer not, O frail man, thy immortal soul to be guided by a spirit of opposition, or incline thy heart to the vain clamor of the caviler upon this solemn and sacred truth of the Most High God; but deal with the same, in that way that ye are willing to give an account for in the day of judgment.

8. And think not to veil thy doings from the All-seeing eye of Jehovah, who watches around the whole human family, as a tender parent watches his own household. Neither flatter yourselves that this is the planning of mortal man, to obtain a high name, or gain applause; for verily it was the express command of the Almighty: and in his solemn and holy fear, through tribulation and sufferings it has been written, to obey his requirement.

9. Again I warn all who are favored with a privilege of seeing or hearing this Holy Roll, that they handle it not without the fear of God, nor treat it with levity; for verily the Lord will not hold guiltless those who reject this, his offer of mercy unto them.

10. The Lord hath purposed to make an end of sin, and to put down every system of antichrist. And He hath already established in his Zion upon earth, a permanent foundation, where his holy fear is kept and his righteous laws maintained. So let the solemn feelings of your souls be increased, by this Holy Roll of light and truth; and let it be an ensign to the inhabitants of earth, throughout every generation; that the designed purposes of God in blessing may be fulfilled, and lasting good gained.

11. This is the word of the ancient Prophet Noah: and if the Lord failed not to speak through me in former days, I am still inspired with the same holy power, alive in the spirit, and persevering in the work of the Eternal Father. And by his spirit I have written this short word of tender charity and love to the kindreds of the earth.

12. For the powers of the earth shall be shaken; truth shall stand, and falsehood shall flee as dew before the sun. Though kingdoms and cities be dashed in pieces, and rent as a filthy garment, yet not one soul that walks in the true fear of the Lord, shall perish.

Inspired Writer,
ELMIRA ALLARD.

WORD OF THE LORD COMMUNICATED BY THE PROPHET MALACHI;

WRITTEN BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 15, 1843.

1. Hear ye and consider the word of the Lord, O ye inhabitants of earth, ere his heavy hand of judgment come upon you; for surely, his fierce wrath is waxing hotter and hotter, as the abominations of the inhabitants of the earth, daily increase.

2. Reflect and consider of your ways; see if ye have not forsaken Me, saith the Lord. Ye have strayed from the path of my appointing, and broken my law of nature which I commanded ye should keep throughout all generations, or never inherit my blessing and protection.

3. And am I a God who will promise and not bring to pass, as I have declared, though the pride of poor fallen man is risen, to trample upon every gift, which I have in my wisdom seen fit to bestow upon him?

4. Whenever I have revealed Myself to him, has he not been ready to spurn at the order of my revelation, and trample upon every thing that is holy or sacred; choosing rather to take sides with the adversary of his soul, than to hearken to my word?

5. Yea, saith the Lord; this have I seen until my righteous spirit is grieved, and I will not longer forbear. But I will pour out upon man, even of the vial of the wrath of my indignation, by the instruments of my vengeance, as I have declared by the mouths of my servants, the Prophets; for I am the same, yesterday and to-day; keeping mercy for the upright and sincere who desire the knowledge of my ways; but punishing the transgressor and evil doer with my heavy hand of judgment, and that in a day when they are not looking for it.

6. And this I am determined to do, till I soften the hearts of men to such a degree, that they will be willing to receive any thing at my hand which I am pleased to bestow.

7. Yea, saith the holy Prophet, this hath the Lord shown unto me; that He will pass through the land even with a mightier and more destructive hand, than He did through the land of Egypt, when He slew all the first-born. And all the plagues and calamities which the Lord brought upon the Egyptians, shall be looked upon as a small thing, to what He will cause to fall upon the inhabitants of earth in the day of his fierce wrath, when He shall send forth his destroying Angels to hurt and destroy all that is not consecrated to Him.

8. And in that day, He shall cause peace to depart from the earth; leaving the inhabitants thereof who serve the gods which they have set up, even their own lusts and selfish desires, to wage war with each other; spilling their brothers' blood, and performing every act of cruelty and abuse which Satan can invent; thereby bringing upon themselves, in a ten-fold proportion, the judgment which the Lord pronounced upon their father Cain, who first set them the example.

9. O ye dwellers on the earth, saith the holy Prophet; listen to my voice, for the day cometh when the voice of a Prophet of the Lord will sound precious to you. And know ye this, that I am now as when upon earth, a Prophet that is called to warn the souls of the children of men of their approaching danger.

10. And I declare unto you, though millions deride the warning I give, yet I say, there shall none escape the judgments of God, but such as are found striving to keep his law according to their best knowledge; and this He has condescended to make plain, and send to the children of men, that they may know of his statutes and judgments, and prepare for the day of his coming.

Inspired Writer,

Horace Folsom.

THE SOLEMN WARNING OF A HOLY ANGEL OF GOD;

GIVEN BY INSPIRATION AT WATERVLIET, NEW YORK, APRIL 10, 1843.

1. Thus saith the holy Angel, Beware, all ye children of men, how ye judge these things; for ye know not that in this, ye handle living embers, which may yet become your trouble; for God is not to be mocked, nor his word and work trodden under feet of men; for truly He has begun to work his strange work, and to fulfill his act, his strange act; therefore be ye not mockers lest your bands be made strong.

2. For lo! I work a work in your day which many will in no wise believe, although a man, yea, and although the voice of God declare it unto them. Therefore shall they be given up to hardness of heart to believe a lie.

3. And thus will the Lord suffer strong delusions to come upon those who seek to climb to Heaven some other way, save by that which God has laid out for all souls; yea, strong delusions, that they may believe a lie, and in the end fall under the condemnation of their own sins, which have not gone, in mercy, beforehand to judgment, but followed after, to condemnation and wrath.

4. So be warned, all ye children of men, who may hereafter be favored to read the solemn word of God, given in great mercy and loving kindness to the inhabitants of the earth, who wander upon every high hill of imagination concerning the things of God; and know not that they must come down into the lowest valley of humiliation and self-reproach, even like the prodigal son, ere they can find God or his infinite mercy.

5. So again do I the holy Angel of eternal truth, solemnly and in the fear of God my Heavenly Father, warn all, as ye wish to be treated in the day when the fierceness of his wrath shall deluge the earth, and its inhabitants; I say, as ye wish to be treated in this eventful day, which is now at hand, so in like manner treat ye the word which He giveth unto you;

6. And if ye cannot comprehend it, neither wish to become enlightened in the matter, take heed that ye do not rashly judge or

oppose it; lest ye be found fighting even against God, and his holy work.

7. And this is my solemn warning unto one and all who may hereafter be favored with the word of God, sent forth directly from his mouth; wherein are contained his mind and will, and also his positive commands to the children of men; a solemn warning which will yet meet many of you in judgment.

From the holy and proclaiming Angel of Eternal truth.
Inspired Writer,
PAULINA BATES.

A ROLL BROUGHT AND READ BY AN HOLY ANGEL OF GOD;

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT NEW GLOUCESTER, MAINE, JULY 16, 1843.

Word of the Angel to the Writer.

Awake, awake, awake! Arise quickly O thou chosen instrument of the Lord your God, and bow your spirit and body exceeding low; yea, seven times bow low even to the dust; for I am an Angel of the Lord your God, and fear thou to disobey my word. Prepare quickly to write, word for word, while I read unto you this short Roll.

WORDS OF THE ROLL.

1. Fear, fear ye Me saith the Lord your God, for my arm is all powerful, and above Me there is none. And I will guard and protect mine heritage, yea all my chosen people, saith the Lord, who truly walk in my pure way; for I will have a people that truly serve Me; and unto these my holy chosen, will I speak my word and declare my holy will.

2. By reason of the sore abominations which are now on the earth, I have written, with mine own hand, my word of solemn warning to the inhabitants thereof, and showed plainly unto them in what way they shall receive my mercy and favor, and in no other.

3. But heavy judgments shall speedily follow the disobedient, who refuse to obey my word; for in mercy do I send it forth, that all may understand my requirements, and turn from the evil of their doings, and worship Me, the only living and true God.

4. Through great sufferings of spirit, and deep tribulation of soul,

I have prepared a holy and chosen one of mine, and sent my Angel unto the same, to read aloud from my Roll. And this instrument of mortal clay, hath written my word unto the nations of the earth, as the Angel did read it unto him, and hath written correctly word for word.

5. And lo! I have sent my holy Angel with this short Roll unto thee, thou chosen instrument, to read from the same, that thou mayest hear, read and clearly understand, and bear witness unto my word; for know ye, unto every branch of Zion I have, and will send the same, that my people may know and do my will, and in so doing escape my heavy judgments.

6. For know ye in this last display of my grace, I did purpose to bring down the haughtiness of man, and to stain the pride of all flesh; and this work I have surely commenced and it is swiftly going on, and by means of my own choosing I will accomplish it, both in, and out of Zion. So fear ye, vain mortals, to judge my work, for I am a God of all power, and will deal with the children of men according as their works shall merit.

Inspired Writer,

Sophia F. Mace.

WORDS OF THE HOLY PROPHET ISAIAH;

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST 11, 1843.

1. I am a holy Prophet of the Lord, sent forth by his mighty hand, to witness the work which He is about to perform in the earth: for the time hasteneth when the power of salvation will be sounded in his loving mercy, to every son and daughter of his creation. I was a true Prophet of the Lord when I inhabited mortal clay, and I still remain the Lord's Prophet.

2. Lo, all ye nations, give ear while the truth of the living God is sounded in your ears: for his sacred word He has sent forth in his Holy Roll. This I did witness, and this I saw before it was delivered to mortals on the earth; and know it contains the sacred truths of the living God, written by his own hand and sealed with true wisdom and love.

3. Ho, all ye people who dwell upon the face of the whole earth; know ye the Lord is performing a work by mighty signs and wonders. But marvel ye not at this; although his word will go forth as fire in the midst of stubble, to destroy all that is corruptible or unclean in his sight, yet know ye, it is by his All-righteous hand; for in his loving mercy hath He condescended to send his word unto you.

4. But with a warning voice do I warn every soul, when ye receive this sacred and holy word of salvation, to consider well from whom it was sent forth, and for what purpose it was intended.

5. It is not to build up the pride of self-exalted man, and set one above another; but it is to set free oppressed souls, and remove the yoke of bondage from their necks, that they may obtain true freedom and salvation; this He hath intended for every soul.

6. There will be various opinions concerning the Lord's work, but this does not alter it: He will do his work in his own time, in a manner of his own choosing. I say, let every soul beware how they slight, misuse or destroy this sacred word of the living God. If there be any that do these things, his judgments shall follow them; but unto those who give a listening ear and a heart to obey, the blessings of the living God shall be abundant.

7. As a friend to the lost children of men, and in love to the Father of light, have I written at this time; that it may be known that we, the Prophets, foresaw this very work, long ere this time; and now we do make it manifest to those who dwell on the earth, and in a way of God's own choosing.

Inspired Writer,

Roselinda Allard.

A ROLL OF WARNING BY A HOLY ANGEL:

WRITTEN AT ENFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE, JULY 15, 1842.

1. *Thus saith the holy Angel,* I will sound my ter're vac' le o'ne trumpet to the nations of the earth, in my own appointed time; and they shall hear the sound of this ever blessed gospel, for it shall be sounded throughout all the earth. For lo, the inhabitants thereof are laden with sin and iniquity, and fierce judgments are awaiting them.

2. Therefore, saith the Lord, my word shall surely go forth from my Zion on earth, to the inhabitants of a sinful world; that they may take warning thereby, and be awakened before my heavy judgments roll on. For lo, the inhabitants of earth are filled with sin and abomination; and if they hearken not to my warning voice when they hear the sound thereof, I will meet them with heavy judgments, for these shall roll and roll through the land, in my own appointed time, and in the way of my own choosing; and they shall sweep down the haughty nations of the earth; yea, the wicked and rebellious shall feel my over-flowing scourge, saith the Almighty.

3. O hearken again ye children of men, and give heed to my warning voice, while I entreat you in mercy and loving kindness; O hearken and give ear to my solemn warnings, lest my heavy judgments fall upon you. For I will, in my own time, visit the earth; yea, through every empire, kingdom and city, shall my holy word be sounded; for I am the Lord God of Heaven and earth, and all nations shall bow before Me, and tremble at my presence.

4. O ye proud nations of the earth, thou wicked generation; shall I suffer you to remain on my footstool, in your corruptions? I tell you, nay; I will cut you off from the face of the earth; I will send forth famine and pestilence to destroy you; I will consume the nobles of the earth; I will destroy and lay low all that do not fear my name, saith the God of Heaven; I will not spare those who call on my name, and are not doers of my work. Surely, I have always had chosen witnesses on earth, and still have, even to this day, unto whom I do reveal my holy will; and all nations shall bow thereunto.

5. O hearken again unto my voice, and delay not; for the great day of my visitation is come. Ye may think ye lie down in safety, but I will cause you to rise up under judgment; for with heavy judgments I will visit you, that you may know that the great I AM speaketh not in vain; but my warning voice I send forth unto you, that ye may understand and do my holy will.

6. Verily I say unto you, Remember, the prophets of old I sent forth with my own hand, to warn the people; but they hearkened not unto Me the God of Heaven. Therefore I cut them off from my holy lan′ se′ va′ ne, and from the face of the earth; and even so I will do in this visitation to man.

7. For I will send forth my word, and declare unto them, that all

nations shall have an offer of salvation, which is free for all souls; and they shall hear the sound thereof, for this I have declared from the beginning; and I created man a rational being, capable of choosing the way of life, which leadeth to happiness, or the way of death, which leadeth to misery. Therefore I say unto you, harden not your hearts against Me your Creator. For I have sent forth my spirit to the inhabitants of the earth, to strive with man, that he might, if he would, receive proffered mercy; for surely my judgments are pending; yea, kingdoms, thrones and dominions, shall fall at my hand, and desolation fill the land;

8. The earth shall tremble and quake, the seas roar, and foaming billows shall sweep over the mighty deep; yea, I will destroy in my own time, kingdoms and nations; and the high and nobles of the earth I will lay low. I will not stay my hand nor lighten my judgments, saith the Almighty, unless ye give ear to my solemn warnings.

9. O ye wicked and perverse generation! how long can ye remain in darkness, groping in sin and iniquity at the risk of your final salvation! For surely my word has gone forth in ages past, and remains unalterable, even to this day. Though the Heavens and earth pass away, my word shall not fail; but I will, in my own time, increase my judgments according to the abominations and wickedness that are in the land.

10. I will not save by profession; I will look upon the professor as those that profess not; and upon the rich and great men, yea, nobles, kings and princes, as though they possessed nothing; for in their hidden treasures are deceit and fraud, by speculation, and all manner of wickedness which I do abhor, saith the God of Heaven; and for this cause and many more, I have sent forth my destroying Angels to pull down their lofty towers; yea, to lay low, even to the ground, their high places.

11. My ter′re‵vac′ le o′ne trumpet shall sound through the land, and many will flock to my Zion on earth for refuge, over whom I will stretch out my protecting hand, and shield them from harm. But to those that put far away these solemn warnings, and say, No danger awaits us; on such I will pour out my wrath and indignation; I will smite them with my rod of justice, which I hold in my right hand to accomplish this mighty work of the latter day.

12. Therefore, hearken again to my voice, and repent of your doings, saith the Holy One of Israel; for I am determined on a

decision with the inhabitants of earth. Hence, I entreat you in mercy; and will ye not hear? Will ye not come forth to the resurrection of life, and escape the awful judgments that await the sinner?

13. I say unto you, Every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that I am the Lord. I will, in my own appointed time, cause my prophecies to be fulfilled, that the inhabitants of earth may know and feel sore tribulation for the abomination with which the earth is filled.

14. Never was there so great a day of my visitation to fallen man; and never, according to the truth manifested, was the earth so laden with sin and wickedness as at the present time. How long shall I suffer the earth with her heavy burden to cry unto Me? Shall I wait on the sinner that repenteth not? I tell you, nay;

15. I have appointed my time, and my work I will do; I will smite the sinner that oppresseth, and confound and bring to nought the lofty imaginations of men; they shall wander in desolate places, and say to the rocks and mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from Him that sitteth upon the throne. For great and terrible, saith the holy Angel, will be the day of the Lord which is declared unto you.

16. Therefore, I solemnly warn you, not to treat the things of God as abusing them. For know ye, there is but one true God, the great Eternal Giver of all good; just and righteous, who will reward every one according as his works shall be.

17. Therefore saith the Lord, Hearken again O my people, to my word; prepare ye to sound the ter're vac'le o'ne trumpet; for I have not spoken in vain, neither will I pass lightly over those who know my will and do it not; but those who do my pleasure, I will gather together from the four quarters of the earth, into my ark of safety.

18. Therefore, I say unto the children of Zion, Gird on your helmet, sword and shield, and be ye strong in the Lord; for lo, the time cometh when many will flock to Zion, some for good and some for evil. But I say unto you, stand ye firm and unshaken, and I will be your God and ye shall be my people, forever more: Amen.

Inspired Writer,

LUCINDA HARTFORD.

A GOLDEN SEAL, CONTAINING THE TESTIMONY OF SIMON PETER,

IN BEHALF OF HIS FAITHFUL COMPANIONS WHO TOILED WITH HIM WHILE ON EARTH.

WRITTEN BY INSPIRATION AT CANTERBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, JUNE 30, 1843.

1. Hearken, O ye children of Zion, and give a willing ear, O ye fellow brethren and sisters of mine, who dwell on the earth. I am Peter, of whom ye read, an apostle of your blessed Lord and Savior, and a servant of the Most High God, whose command I make it my delight to obey.

2. I have long desired and been prepared for this opportunity; like a free volunteer, at this time, in union with my brethren and sisters, (the faithful apostles and servants of Christ,) I thankfully raise my voice to testify of those things which seem good in my sight; for I have long been an ear and eye witness of the great work of the Lord in the Heavens above, and on the earth; and especially in this his late sacred and glorious manifestation to the chosen people of his Zion.

3. I was near even at the side of your blessed Savior, in presence of your holy Mother Ann, at the time your Heavenly Father commissioned his holy Angels to go forth with the sacred Roll and Book, which I well know, and testify to all nations and people that move on the earth, his Almighty power did prepare, and send by his mighty Angel to his Church on the Holy Mount of Lebanon, there to be copied by mortal hand, in deep tribulation and the holy fear of God; which I know hath been done according to his own choosing; for I have accompanied the holy Angels, with many other glorified spirits, and have with them been a careful observer of the operations in Heaven and on earth, in preparing this sacred Roll and Book for the nations thereof, from the beginning to this time; and still shall be, till it reaches those for whom it was designed by the Almighty.

4. Be it known unto the many nations of this earth, that there are thousands and tens of thousands in the eternal world of light and life, who are ready and free to pour forth their thankfulness and gratitude in the hearing of mortals, for the great condescension of their Heavenly Father, in sending forth his permanent word of lengthened mercy to fallen man; and would be glad so to do, if

time with mortals and room on the sacred pages would permit; for their souls even as mine, are filled with the tender love and sweet compassion of an All-wise and just Creator, for all who will strive to know and do the will of their Heavenly Father, from the time his word shall reach them, till on earth their days are ended.

5. I have heard their prayers, and seen them bowing low before the throne of Eternal Truth and Infinite Wisdom. O ye who are as good by nature as myself, my soul daily prayeth for you, that you may not be found fighting against God, neither be so unwise as to slight the day of his visitation to your needy souls, as many did in past ages. Trust in God, if his will ye would do; for if you trust in your own knowledge and strength, though ye may greatly desire to do right, ye may, in the trying moment, be left to feel the effects of your own weakness.

6. Receive the mercy of your God, that his most heavy judgments may not be yours to suffer. Choose wisely, and hearken to the voice of charity, and shut not your eyes against the light of truth which already beginneth to burn in your own consciences; but unite with every thing holy and good, whatever be the means by which it is offered, or whoever be the messenger by whom it may be conveyed to you; remembering at all times, it is not so much matter what the size, color, shape or costliness of the vessel is, as it is about the cleanliness, and the precious worth it contains.

7. As a brother, and friend to your precious souls, I feel to warn you all, to receive the messengers of your God when sent to you in charity and love, and treat them with kindness; for many will He yet send forth to every kindred and people on earth; but whether they will come unto you, spirits dwelling in natural bodies, or spirits freed from the earthly tabernacle, is not for you to lay out or determine.

8. Though my spirit sorroweth for the haughtiness and foolishness of mankind, yet I rejoice in the condescension of the Lord and his mighty Angels, and that He hath purposed to send forth his messengers to visit and awaken the sleepers in sin, and bring to life the dead, restore the lame, heal the sick, and bind up the broken hearted.

9. By the light of my God and his holy influence, I am led to see and know in part, that which will be in time to come.

10. Ye may say, Who is this that declareth these things to us? I am a co-worker with my brother, the faithful and beloved disciple

of the holy Savior, *John the Revelator*; and when it shall please my God again to send me forth with my brethren and companions, as in the days of Christ's first appearing, I will go whither by the spirit of justice I am led; and will help to open the hearts of the children of men with the key of love and light, and awaken them with the word of faith, for the solemn word of the Lord, through the holy Revelator, to enter. And when these things come, then will ye know that my words are true.

11. Your noble dwellings, where kings and princes dwell in ease and indolence, shall be the places where food shall be prepared for the chosen servants of God; and sweet industry shall reign.

12. In many an unfinished shed, in barns, in cottages of the poorest peasants, in the once lonely deserts, shall the power, mercy and justice of God yet be displayed, and his word loudly echo.

13. To the thatched and unthatched roof, and to the meanest hovel shall some of the most renowned of this earth yet gather, and on their bended knees seek the forgiveness of their God, and humbly beg for his mercy; and by those whom they once disdained to comfort with the necessaries of life, shall they be taught the way of eternal life, and fed with the imperishable bread of Heaven.

14. Times and seasons may pass away before these things are all fulfilled; but the word of God standeth sure to the end; so be not faithless or unbelieving.

15. Before I hold my peace, I freely declare to you ye hearers, great and small, that the work of God, in the order of his grace, will bring you all on a level; the king and beggar shall eat from the same table, the peasant and prince shall drink from the same cup, and the professor and profane shall loudly acknowledge, they have both been destitute of the true power and word of salvation, and know not the living God as He is revealed.

16. Ye who read and understand the word of your God as recorded on the sacred pages of this book, will see that it is vain for you, any longer to stretch your senses to the ethereal skies, to find the Lord; or place your eyes there to look for the second appearing of Christ.

17. He hath appeared as declared in this book; and I bless the bright Eternal Two who have, in their own way and time, in beauty and order, displayed their might and wisdom, by placing at the head of the New Creation, the heavenly Bridegroom and Bride, as the spiritual Parents of all souls who have been begotten into the

elements of eternal life; for as true as there is a God, every soul who ever finds access to his throne, must find it by and through them.

18. It is equally as impossible for a soul to enter into the spiritual creation, without spiritual Parents, and breathe the air of eternal life, as it would be for a child to enter into the natural world without natural parents.

19. But thanks and honor forever and evermore I will give to the Eternal Two, for the perfect way of life and redemption from the nature of sin, which they have revealed through Christ the Holy Savior and blessed Mother Ann Lee. They who worship the spirit dwelling in these, the two Anointed Ones, do truly worship God.

20. I bless the day that I found the second Eve, the Bride, the Lamb's wife, a Spiritual Mother, without which my salvation could not have been perfect, nor my joy full.

21. Blessed be her name in Heaven and on earth, and that pure gospel and perfect cross of self-denial which she daily taught and practiced in all her goings forth. Let her praise be spoken, and her goodness sounded throughout the whole earth, as well as that of the Holy Savior.

22. As I am a well wisher to all those who dwell on the earth, I have considered it a great privilege and sacred duty, to sign and seal the words of everlasting truth and light, by revealing in part my sympathetic feelings for all the creation of God.

23. O that none might be found so unwise, as to disregard the warnings of God, defy his mighty power or deny his holy name, or that of his holy messengers.

24. Desiring all those who read the foregoing, to remember, that the true saints of God are one in all things; and thus, having spoken to you, through an instrument of mortal clay, I have plainly shown you the feelings of my companions who suffered with me when on earth; with earnest feelings to do good to my fellow kindred, in the spirit of prayer and with Christ-like humility, I close my word by saying, O Heavenly Father, do be merciful and forgive them, for they know not what they do.

Inspired Writer,

SUSAN H. WHITCHER.

A HOLY ROLL WRITTEN BY JOHN THE REVELATOR;

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT CANTERBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, JUNE 29, 1843.

1. Come listen candidly unto my words all ye travelers in time, for as a true friend and well wisher to your souls I address you. I am John, the beloved disciple of Christ; the brother of James, and the son of Zebedee.

2. By the goodness of God I was made a partaker of this saving gospel of life and salvation, in the first appearing of Christ upon earth. And by walking in perfect obedience to that doctrine sent forth by the Eternal Father, through him unto a lost world, I have ever found favor in the sight of God, and in no other way.

3. And I testify unto all people, that no souls, either in time or eternity, can ever be owned and accepted of God, short of acknowledging and obeying Him in that order where He has made Himself manifest, whether it be in accordance with their vain and exalted imaginations, yea or nay.

4. Whatever means it pleaseth God to make use of to reveal his will unto mortals, whether it be through the agency of man, woman or child, there must every soul bow, and acknowledge his word and his power, or never share in his mercy.

5. Therefore, as a wise parent would warn his son to flee from approaching danger, so do I warn you, O ye inhabitants of mortality, not to deny or defy the means which God hath chosen to make known his will unto you at the present time.

6. Remember, God hath ever chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; yea, and base things, and even things which are not, to bring to nought things which are.

7. Behold Jehovah hath declared, that out of the midst of Zion his word should go forth to the nations of the earth. And where, O ye inhabitants of earth, would you look for the midst of Zion? Would you look into the divided and subdivided parties of men, where strife and contention reign perpetually?

8. Christ promised that his kingdom should be a kingdom of peace. And where, O ye children of men, can that kingdom of peace be found, if it be not where blood is not shed, and where strife and contention are not known? Where one mortal man is not exalted

above another; but where all share alike the blessings of God; where they that were rich become as those that were poor and possessed nothing, and they that were poor, become even as those who possessed an abundance of this world's goods; they that had wives become even as though they had none; and all dwell together in perfect harmony, purity and righteousness, enjoying one faith, one Lord and one baptism, which is the baptism of fire and the Holy Spirit: who are daily crucifying the flesh, with all its affections and lusts, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit, and in the knowledge of God?

9. Of such is the kingdom of Christ, the Zion of God composed. And what rational soul can dispute, but that such a kingdom, is that kingdom of peace which belongeth to the Savior, rather than that which is filled with contentious strivings, and confused divisions, where each man careth for his own household and nothing more, and is daily striving to serve and please himself, rather than his Maker?

10. Through what means, I ask, O ye candid ones, would you that your Heavenly Father send forth his word unto you? If you despise the humble means which He hath chosen, where, I ask, would you that his word be given?

11. Would you that it be given unto the haughty kings, and bigoted princes of this earth, who are daily reveling in the most filthy abominations, whose hearts are polluted with iniquity, and whose hands are stained with innocent blood? Verily I say unto you, He would sooner send forth his word through an African babe, or a natural idiot.

12. But again I ask, Would you that your Heavenly Father send forth his word through your appointed priests and pretended ministers of the gospel of Christ, who, it is known by their fruits, and the declaration of their own mouths, daily commit sin; and who strive to indulge and gratify the cravings of their evil passions?

13. Or would you that He send his word forth through a meek and humble follower of Christ, who never sought to be honored and adored by mortals, but whose constant labor from his youth up, has been merely to know and do the will of God?

14. Such an instrument the Lord hath made choice of, to reveal his will unto mortals in the present case. And every rational soul who is endowed with one spark of true light, will acknowledge the means He has chosen, to be in wisdom, justice and goodness.

15. Although the people from whence the word of the Lord hath gone forth, are looked upon by mankind in general, as a mean and contemptible few, and even judged by some to be the very off-scouring of the earth; yet I declare unto you, and my word shall prove eternal truth, That even the most noble among men, will yet witness the day, that they would willingly make any sacrifice whatever, to obtain that perfect peace, and that heavenly undisturbed joy, which this little despised flock have merited, by their daily walk of humility and self-denial.

16. The flock of Christ never was known by great numbers, or much popularity; but his true and faithful followers were always few, and *that few* always suffered ridicule and persecution for his sake.

17. When our Savior came into the world, he came not in great pomp and worldly array, exalting the great and noble of the earth; and for this reason they despised him, and suffered him to be put to death.

18. He called unto him those who were needy. It was not the rich or the proud; but it was the poor and mean in the eyes of men, honest humble laborers in the things of this world, who sought not to be honored by their fellow mortals, although that saving gospel which he taught was offered freely to all, kings as well as beggars, if they would comply with its just and humiliating requirements.

19. But the self-exalted sense of human nature, was the same in ages past that it is in the present day; and the objections of an unbelieving world were no more vain and unstable, eighteen hundred years ago, concerning the first appearing of Christ, than they are in the present day concerning his second appearing, which it has pleased God should be through the instrumentality of a female.

20. The wisdom of God is foolishness to vain man, and ever was. His work is a pride-staining and humiliating work, and has been from the beginning; but what mortal shall dare to oppose the order of it?

21. Know ye, heavy judgments shall be set upon that soul, who will dare, knowingly, to oppose his work and his wisdom, insomuch as to abuse and persecute his subjects.

22. The sufferings of this little despised few, the followers of that chosen and anointed female, have ever been like unto those which Jesus of Nazareth and his faithful followers were caused to suffer by the wicked; and this is one convincing evidence to you,

that the same spirit dwelt in her and her followers, which dwelt in Jesus and his followers; if it had not been so, that spirit of enmity never would have arisen as it did, to persecute and destroy her, and to put an end to that gospel which she taught.

23. The world loveth its own; but it hated Christ the Savior because he was not of the world, neither was the doctrine he taught; and for the same cause, did the world of mankind despise this woman, and her faithful, humble followers.

24. What rational soul can dispute the wisdom and propriety of a spiritual Mother in the new creation, any more than a spiritual Father? In the natural order and creation of the human race, the male and the female are both workers together; and the natural creation of all things is a figure of the spiritual; therefore no soul is born of God that does not acknowledge a spiritual Mother, as well as a spiritual Father.

25. That latter day of glory has been ushered in, which was predicted by the Prophets; that day in which the virgins should rejoice in the dances of them that make merry.

26. This is the morning of the day in which the marriage of the Lamb is come, and blessed are they which are called unto the marriage feast of the same. Rejoice and be glad all ye nations of the earth, for the heavenly Bridegroom and Bride stand at the head of the New Creation, proclaiming peace and full salvation unto all souls who are willing to hear and obey the word of the Lord.

27. The Lord hath sent forth his holy proclaiming Angels unto all the earth, to sound the awakening trumpet of full salvation and redemption unto lost souls. And his Angels of vengeance stand ready to pour forth his wrath, upon the Heaven-daring mockers of his sacred word.

28. Awaken and be enlightened, all ye children of men, look ye and behold the City of the New Jerusalem. That City of everlasting peace and purity, the kingdom of the Messiah; which I John the Revelator, did behold in a heavenly vision, when confined upon the Isle of Patmos.

29. I saw the word of the Lord, and the purity of his kingdom, even as it was to stand in the last dispensation of his goodness unto mortals. I saw, and I knew not what I saw, but I have since seen the fulfilling of many wonders; and all that which remaineth sealed, will yet be revealed.

30. But behold I saw a woman, clothed with the sun, and the

moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars; and she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered, and brought forth a man child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore rejoice, all ye inhabitants of earth, that this woman, being the Eternal Mother of the whole Creation, even as Jehovah is the Father, has been delivered even of the remnant of her seed, which is the Lamb's Bride; the second Eve.

31. Give honor and praise, all ye sons of men, that the mystery of God is finished, and his true Church upon earth established. Bow down and worship before his throne, for the desire of all nations is come. Give honor and glory to Him unceasingly, for his lengthened mercy to fallen man.

32. Be ye not found caviling with the workings of his Holy Spirit, like the Scribes and Pharisees of old; nor contending with his holy Wisdom like the unbelieving Jews; lest, after the many warnings He has given you, He smite you with heavy displeasure, and cut off his mercy from your souls.

33. As a friend and well wisher to all, I solemnly warn you who dwell in mortal clay, to treat the word of your Heavenly Father, which is now sent forth in mercy and charity to all souls, with sacred reverence and holy fear. For know ye, every soul will have to render account to God for the use they make of that which He has given them. Amen. Sevac′ Selah′.

Inspired Writer,
Lydia M. Chase.

A ROLL OF SOLEMN WARNING, BY HOLY AND ETERNAL MOTHER WISDOM, BROUGHT BY HER WITNESSING ANGEL;

REVEALED AT CANTERBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE, MAY 23, 1843.

1. Bow down and obey, all ye who hear my word, both ye who dwell in Zion, and ye who dwell in distant lands, say I Eternal Wisdom. O ves′ter lan sine ex fari′na, in words of solemn warning I sound my trumpet of wisdom unto you, through my witnessing Angel, Ah Se′lah Ves′perlon′.

2. Know ye, that I am Wisdom, eternal and unchangeable

Wisdom; one with God I am, ever was and always shall be; even as He is your Eternal Father, so do I Eternal Wisdom, stand as your everlasting Mother. With Him I sound forth mercy, with Him judgment proclaim; We stand as one, and work as but one alone; nothing doth He send forth upon the earth, either in mercy or judgment, without my everlasting seal, ETERNAL WISDOM; and nothing do I sound, or cause to be sounded forth, without his everlasting sign and approval.

3. Therefore marvel not that my words are sounded unto you, O ye of little faith and weak understanding; for even as He has condescended to stoop from his throne in Heaven, to notice his creature man now dwelling upon the earth, his footstool; even so do I accompany Him, to bless the word of his mouth, and bear witness to the truth contained in the Holy Roll, sent forth by his Almighty power, mercy and justice; and many times have I placed my seal thereon, and pronounced it wholesome and good, to stand unaltered and unchanged, till He in his infinite goodness, sees fit to send forth a further decree.

4. So beware, all who are called to read or to handle this word, in any way, shape or manner; for I have said and again say, that whosoever will, knowingly, alter, add or diminish one word contained in the Holy Roll, shall feel the judgments of God, and the heavy displeasure of Me, Eternal wisdom; and whosoever will destroy, or cause to be destroyed, this holy Book, or any part therein contained, O car′bo hes′per larth vile, and de veen′ through tem′po ha′ vo a′ zen; I say,

5. Though you burn this Book, the truth thereof shall burst forth in your souls, as an unquenchable fire and a tormenting flame; and if you bury it in the earth, the power of God shall cause it to breathe forth the curses and the heavy judgments which are written therein; yea the earth itself shall breathe forth plagues, pestilence and sore diseases, upon those whose hands or voices were raised, or whose hearts rejoiced, to have this the holy word of the Lord buried in the earth, to be trampled upon; and thus cause it to be a curse instead of a blessing unto you.

6. Therefore be wise, all ye inhabitants of the earth; and consider, ye cannot hide from the All-seeing eye of your God.

7. But why should man seek to destroy the word of Heaven, sent unto him from his God, given for his eternal good and happiness? It is because it strikes at the root of all evil, which is the lust of

the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life; yea, because he is required to live strictly according to the law of grace, or strictly to the law of nature.

8. It is, saith Wisdom, for these reasons that he will seek to destroy this holy word; but know ye, all who hear my word, that ye cannot now, nor ever will be blessed, in any other way. Walk strictly according to the principles of one or the other, or you will merit the displeasure of your God.

9. Let those extensive buildings in which you have spent so many precious hours of your life in the filthy and obscene works of darkness, now be changed into houses of solemn prayer, or of honest employment; no more to be set apart for such foul and base purposes. There let holy songs of thanksgiving and praise, be sung unto the Lord for his long forbearance; there let solemn and sacred fear fill every soul;

10. There let the cries of the penitent, the humble, true seeker after righteousness, and the broken hearted, ascend to the throne of God, from the deepest recesses of your hearts; yea, bathe your floors with tears of true repentance and thankfulness, that He has seen fit to notice you in mercy, and warn you of his heavy judgments, which He will pour upon you, unless you quickly repent.

11. O may sweet repentance soften each heart, that the words of Heaven may sink deeply therein; which will cause you to be bowed down with fear and reverence, and filled with deep tribulation, that you may be prepared to meet your God in his mercy, and share in his forgiving love; for He will have mercy on the faithful, and compassion for the contrite spirit; those who regard Him, He will regard; but those who scorn his words, and disregard his sayings, He will scourge with his judgments, and meet them in his fury; yea, He will disregard them in their calamity, and withhold his protection when their fear cometh.

12. So beware how ye walk, and how ye use the givings of your God; for know ye, it is an awful thing to fall into the hands of the Almighty, to feel his judgments and heavy displeasure. Carefully use the words of Heaven at all times, wherever they may be revealed; through whatever means they may come, it matters not; if it pleaseth your God, you have no reason to complain.

13. But when you hear or see them, or even have them in your presence, the eye of the Lord is continually upon you, to behold the manner in which you regard them. Therefore be ye cautious

how you use the things of God, and how you speak of the same.

14. And I do forbid, that any should take expressions or sentiments written in the Holy Roll, and use as common by-words, either in a light carnal way, or in any other, save with sacred reverence; for they are solemn indeed, and should not be used or blended with your own carnal words and ways, to express your ideas or feelings in any manner; but preserve them in their order, by themselves, solemn, sacred and divine; yea, preserve them as you would the most valuable treasure of silver or gold, for they are of much more importance.

15. And those of you who stand as rulers, often warn the people to use them carefully, and abuse not the books themselves, nor the solemn words therein contained; and set ye the same example before them, in all you say and do. So shall you be blessed, and your people likewise. In obedience to the words of Heaven, you shall be prospered, and in no other way.

16. Therefore be wise for your own souls' sake, and for your own prosperity and happiness, take heed how you walk; seek your God in true humility, and you will find He hath mercy; labor for wisdom, that you may act wisely.

17. My delight is in the upright souls; I dwell with the honest heart, and with the true seeker and doer of the Lord's will. I am not found in the high lofty regions, where dwell pride, arrogance and deceit, where each one strives to be the highest, where all strive to rule, and none to obey;

18. There I dwell not, saith Holy Wisdom; but in the lowly vale of humility and sweet repentance do I abide; there I shower my blessings, and cause every thing to grow in wisdom, and perfect order; there I have planted my vineyards, and there I have prepared holy fountains of everlasting waters wherewith to feed my flock. I have there planted beautiful groves, and the blessing of God has caused them to flourish exceedingly.

19. Come hither all who will, and walk in my pleasant valley; purify your souls from sin and I will delight in your offerings; wash in the pool of repentance, and you will be lovely; enter at the gate of final decision, bid adieu to the world without, take up your cross, no more to put it by, and you shall be mine forever.

20. My paths are pleasant, and all who will, may walk therein; but nothing that is sinful or unclean, hath any place in my valley,

saith Wisdom; but straight as straightness, holy and divine are all things which are under my full blessing.

21. You must bear the cross, if you would wear the crown; you must lay down your carnal lives if you would share in life everlasting; you must regard the holy words of your God, and live according to his requirements, if you would enjoy peace on earth, and eternal happiness forever.

22. Worship your God to his acceptance, if you would that He receive your offerings; worship Him in spirit, with life and zeal, in truth and in reality, regardless of certain forms and ceremonies; and it will be accepted of Him; He will be merciful towards you, in well doing, in loving and obeying his word. But bow down, and give your ears to hear, and incline your hearts to understand and obey his holy word.

23. Thus my word is finished unto you at this time, say I, Holy and Eternal Wisdom.

WORDS OF THE ANGEL TO THE ANOINTED IN ZION.

O ye blessed of Holy Wisdom, the above did She sound unto me, to have written and given unto you, on the fourteenth morning of the fifth month, to do with as your wisdom would direct. But keep my words, said She, for they will yet prove a benefit; and time may yet unfold why I wrote them. I have no more to do with them, saith the Angel, as they are now correctly written, according to her holy and divine will.

Inspired Writer,

DOROTHY ANN DURGIN.

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING A NARRATION OF FACTS, GIVEN BY DIVINE REVELATION; AND ALSO FROM LIVING WITNESSES, CORROBORATING THE REALITY OF THE FOREGOING.

The following, is a correct statement of the various interviews and communications, witnessed and received from the holy and mighty Angel of God, Ma′ne Me′rah, Vak′na Si′na Jah′, *by Adah Zillah Potter. All of which transpired some months previous to the writing of the preceding word of the Lord, to the inhabitants of the earth.*

Testimony of the inspired Writer.

I am but a dependent mortal, and of myself equally ignorant of the divine and mysterious purposes of the All-wise and ever righteous God, with my fellow companions of time. Nor do I assert, that, in my very small measure of natural wisdom and knowledge, I am able, in the least degree, to comprehend his ways, or his doings.

Yet, I am bold and confident to affirm, in the hearing or presence of all people, if so required to do, that I have received a knowledge and understanding of a mighty and merciful display of the infinite goodness of the one true and living God, to the inhabitants of the earth, which He is about to manifest unto them, through the medium of his holy Angels; and that from the same divine source, it has been shown and revealed unto me.

Therefore, to obey the voice of the Holy Angel, I feel called upon, by the powers of truth, at this time, to bear witness to the word of the Lord, which, by his holy Angels, is proclaimed unto the children of men. For I have known, for some months previous to this time, by the revelation of God, that the time was near at hand, even at the door, when He would, by means of his own choosing, make known his word, and reveal his will unto the inhabitants of the earth, even to the nations abroad.

And it is for these reasons, even because Heaven hath revealed it to me, and for a confirmation to what has been already stated, that I now add my testimony, and freely acknowledge the same; and also prove the truth of my word, by giving an account of what I have felt, seen and heard; yea, and received from the powers above, concerning the word and work of the holy and mighty Angel of God, that is now at work, for the good of the children of men.

First Interview.

It was in the evening of the twenty second of January, eighteen hundred and forty two, while I was busily employed putting all things in readiness, for the close of the week, that I distinctly heard my name called very loudly, and with much earnestness. I could not go so well at that moment, and I answered, I will come soon, for I supposed it to be some one in the adjoining room, that wished to see me: but the word was repeated three times, and I hastened to the place from whence the sound seemed to come, but there was no one present.

I soon saw in the middle of the room, four very large and bright lights, or balls of fire, as they appeared to be; they moved slowly each way, and after a little time, joined together in one exceedingly large light, or pillar of fire. At this moment, I heard a loud voice, which uttered many words, with such mighty force that I feared to stay in the room, and attempted to go out; but found I had not power to move my feet.

For some time, I could not understand one word that was sounded forth; but the first that I did understand, were as follows: Hark, hark! hearken, O thou child of mortality, unto the word that is, and shall be sounded aloud in thine ears, again and again, even until it is obeyed.

And lo, I say, a time, and a time, and a half time shall not pass by, before my voice shall be heard, and my word sounded forth to the nations abroad. But in the Zion of my likeness and true righteousness shall it be received first, and from thence shall it go forth; for thus and thus hath the God of Heaven and earth declared, and purposed that it should be.

Then why will you, O why will you yet fear to obey? What would you that your God would do in your presence, that you might fear his power, rather than that of mortal man?

From this moment, I was not sensible where I was; and after a little time of silence, the body of light, or pillar of fire, dispersed; and I saw a mighty Angel coming from the east, and I heard these words:

Woe, woe, and many woes shall be upon the mortal that shall see, and will not stop to behold; that shall hear, and will not hearken; or that shall understand and will not receive, and well consider upon that which the God of Heaven and earth, of the wise and unwise, the just and unjust, shall yet send forth, and cause to be proclaimed within Zion, and without Zion, in his own time.

The voice now ceased, and I could not determine whether the word proceeded from the brightness that remained before me, or from the mighty Angel. All was silent, for a short time, and then these words were repeated very forcibly, and loud.

Speak not of my presence, nor of what thou hast seen and heard, until thou hast permission, or until the time shall come; for I have now come forth to work mightily among the children of the earth: but in the heart of

Zion I shall begin, and for a season, I shall pass to and fro, unseen and unknown as I really am.

O then thou mortal of my choice, remember the day and the hour, and number the times, and keep the time of my coming, even from this, the first time, until the time is fulfilled; for thou shalt remain my witness, unto the end.

February third, eighteen hundred forty two, early in the morning, between the hours of two and three, I heard a loud voice, resembling distant thunder; and as it came nearer, I could hear distinct words. After some minutes, I arose, and looked out of the window, to see if there was any thing the matter without; but I saw nothing in danger, and turned to go to my rest; and the voice sounded forth, yet louder than before, in the following words.

THE WORDS OF A HOLY ANGEL.

These twenty days, have I passed to and fro in the earth, and have softly sounded my word, and but very few have listened; and shall I longer hold my peace, and let the earth be troubled? I have passed and re-passed, to watch, guard and protect, and prepare the Zion of the living God, for that work which the Almighty hath purposed, should shortly begin in her.

But lo, I go, and a mightier one than I am, will soon come; for the All-powerful God will not longer be still; but will work mighty wonders in the earth, even that which is more marvelous than what has already been witnessed; and this He has surely declared in the ears of his chosen people, many times of late, by means of his own choosing.

So I say, let the inhabitants of the earth, both great and small, old and young, prepare to humble themselves as the dust, in the presence of the Lord their God, the mighty one of Israel. Let Zion tremble, and let all Israel fear before Him, and murmur not against his sacred requirements to them.

Let the mountains break forth with lamentation, and let the vallies be filled with sorrow and mourning; for mighty and terrible are the bands and strong holds of Satan, throughout the earth.

Surely, I say, many will there be, that will be led captive; and this, the captivity of *Siar′ lavon′*, will be far greater than the captivity of Babylon, in ancient days.

But well will it be with thee, O Zion, if in that day, thy walls are well fortified, and thou art found standing in that holy order and rectitude, in which thy God hath placed thee, and purposed that the nations of the earth should behold thee.

And woe, yea, a cursed woe, unto every soul that shall spread an evil report of the mysterious doings of their God in the Zion of his holiness, or shall go out among strangers, with an intent to do evil.

Woe unto them that shall seek to understand the mighty works of their God, among the children of men, for the sake, or by way of judging them, or their God who is at work with them. But a far greater woe shall be upon him, even to this day, that shall spread abroad, or declare falsely, in the name of the living God, or his holy Angels, that which has been and will be shown unto the inhabitants of Zion, before the full time.

For verily I say, a knowledge and understanding sufficient for the good of man, concerning Zion, will the Lord your God send forth, even in his own time and by means of his own choosing, entirely according to his own will. Amen.

The word was now finished, and all was silent.

Second Interview.

On February fifth, eighteen hundred forty two, about ten o'clock in the morning, I saw in the room, a large ball of light, or seemingly, a body of fire, moving slowly to the south; it then turned and passed by me to the north, and divided into four parts, and moved swiftly each way, east, west, north and south; and I saw them no more.

I thought to go to my work; but presently, I heard a loud and terrible voice, but did not see any thing. The word was as follows.

I am *Ma'ne Me'rah*, *Vak'na Si'na Jah'*, or the mighty prophesying Angel of the God of Heaven and earth, sent forth at his command, to pass and repass to and fro, and to prophesy throughout the earth.

Within Zion, and without Zion, shall I pass continually, even as God has commanded me, until my time of prophesying is passed by, and the days of the fulfilling of the same shall come.

I do, and shall, speak of that which has been, of that which now is, and of that which is to come.

I am at this time, only as one that goeth before that which is to come, and will follow; and that which mortals shall yet see, and understand.

But the voice that soundeth forth the word at my command, no mortal eye shall behold from whence it cometh; but mortals shall hear and understand without fail; for the GREAT I AM hath spoken it, and his Eternal Wisdom hath declared it.

And again I say, I will pass to and fro, within Zion, and without Zion; and I will prophesy in the name of the GREAT JEHOVAH, that which He will assuredly bring to pass, until my time of prophesying is fulfilled, as the God of all nations has commanded me.

And if there are yet to be found in Zion, sinners or workers of iniquity, I will, without reserve, prophesy evil against them; yea, and against that part of Zion in which they dwell, and heavy woes shall follow my word; and they, and all such as rest at peace with them, shall be cast from before the righteous like stubble.

In the days of the fulfilling of my prophecy, shall these things be; for the Holy One of Israel, hath purposed and declared, that his kingdom on earth, should be a kingdom of righteousness; and his Zion, a holy City of perfect order and beauty, adorned with purity, and as a shining light to the nations around. Thus and thus shall it be, before the mighty work of the living God is accomplished.

And again; I am the power that ruleth and commandeth the voice; but no man shall see, or be able to tell from whence the word proceedeth from time to time, or comprehend the meaning of my word, very many times.

Yet, I am one that many shall hear, many shall see, many shall understand; and many shall believe that I am, and that I was sent forth at the command of the Almighty One; and shall indeed fear my coming.

But many more, yea, far greater will be the number, that will not believe that I am, or that I am sent forth by an Almighty and eternal power, and am indeed of the same; but will set at nought, and deride my word, and will put afar off the days of the fulfilling of it, and will sneer at those who will believe.

Yea, and such will devise harm, and plot mischief against those who will fear my power; and will seek to lie in wait and ensnare the mortal that shall be caused to declare these things in the ears of their fellow creatures; for truths, truths, and solemn truths, without reserve to the pretended ignorance of man, will I command to be sounded forth.

And I will no more cease to pass and re-pass to and fro, throughout the earth, or cause my prophecy to have an end, until my time shall come, yea, fully come; and of that time, no power has ever yet spoken; but it is not far distant, according to the times and seasons above.

Nay, no power in Heaven, hath ever yet said to mortals, I will cause my holy, proclaiming, or prophesying Angels, to cease their word, and return to my throne; neither hath the Almighty declared, that his word should be no more known, and acknowledged on the earth, or that a voice from the Heavens should no more be heard.

But He hath repeatedly declared, that He would work marvelously, and do mighty wonders out of the sight of man; and, at the same time, warned his own chosen people to be prepared and ready; plainly testifying, that what He had heretofore done, was but the beginning.

So let no one dare to say, Why is the word thus, or so? And marvel not, neither murmur in thy heart, O thou mortal that now beholdest my presence, hearest my name and understandest my word, even at this time, for lo I go, but I come again; so write correctly what thou hast heard, but speak not of it, but wait my return; Amen.

At this moment, I was surrounded by the same pillar of fire that I first saw, and the mighty Angel was in the midst of it; but I could not see to my satisfaction, because of the brightness. After a short time, all instantly disappeared, and I was standing by the door of the room, and knew not that I had moved.

I made mention of what I saw, but spoke not of the word, although it was very contrary to my feelings to keep silent; but remembering the word of the Holy Angel to me, at the first time, and feeling bound to obey the same, I dared not, as yet, make known in full, what I had seen and heard.

Third Interview.

February twenty first, eighteen hundred forty two, this morning, soon after I had finished my morning duties, I retired to my writing table; but as soon as I was seated, I felt some one, as I thought, take hold of my arms and hold them fast; but I could not see any thing around me. After a little time, I was released, and went to my writing; and very soon, I heard the following words, very powerfully and loudly spoken.

Where, O where is the mortal, that will condescend to listen to a mighty voice from the Heavens, and obey the same?

Where, O where is the tongue that will speak freely to declare the word, sounded forth to the nations abroad, and boldly testify to the truth of the same, in the ears of the inhabitants of the earth, within Zion and without Zion?

Shall the God of Heaven seek, and choose from among the monarchs, nobles, kings and princes, and mighty men of the earth, that would daily defy the name of the true and living God, and would readily take all the honor and glory of the word and the power to themselves, and would declare unto the people that it was their own?

I say, shall the God of Israel be tempted to do this, even to take from among these, a tongue, a mouth, or a hand, to do his will, or perform his work; because there can be none found in Zion, or among his peculiar people, that are willing, as yet, to become as clay in the hands of the potter, or as ore cast into the furnace, or as a tool in the hands of a cunning workman?

Shall it be so; or shall it be among the heathenish nations of time, that neither fear nor serve any God but such as they serve in their own vain imaginations? or shall it be among the ignorant natives of the wild desert, that have never, as yet, heard of the true God, or of his Christ; nay, not even in the mildest whisper?

I say, shall it be among these, that the holy God and Father of all, shall seek, and choose for Himself, after all his everlasting mercy and unbounded blessings, which He has bestowed upon, and showed unto the inhabitants of the Zion of his own likeness and glory on earth?

Can Zion's children bear this, rather than to humble themselves in the presence of that God, yet again and again, from whose hand they have so unboundedly received, and whose name they do really fear; whose word they have acknowledged, and whose voice they know in full reality?

Heaven forbid that it should be so; and I bear witness, that the Mighty One of Israel, yea, the God of the just and the unjust, purposeth to humble his Zion, and exalt her no more, until in her most holy courts, or in the heart of his holy city, there can be found instruments of his power, and mouths of his word, that are sufficiently humbled to pronounce the name of the God of their own deliverance, and boldly testify to his All-righteous and eternal power, before the children of men, and even in the presence of their own brethren, his chosen people.

Yea, such He hath purposed to choose, as will not deny his wonderful displays, or visitations on earth, in ages past or present, because they fear the sneers of the haughty, or the humbleness of the Lord's way.

Neither because the visitations of their God have been marvelous, and his word mysterious, and the effects of his power, that which they could not comprehend, in their own natural reason; nay, nor because they fear the many mortals that have, and will judge and despise it, and boldly declare that it is not of God, but of natural man.

Thus and so shall it be, for the voice of truth hath spoken it, and a short time will bring it to pass; but I say, well it is, and well it will be, with the children of the kingdom that put their trust in the Lord their God; and fear his word, and obey the same, instead of mortal power.

But woe unto the slothful and unbelieving soul, that dwelleth within the walls of the Holy City! Woe unto the heart that would fain be filled with flattery, that the work and mighty wonders of the Almighty, to the confounding of the natural wisdom, and down-bringing of the haughtiness of vain man, are at an end; and glory, yea, and rejoice in that day; and even in their hard understanding, surmise that the powers of Heaven would be no more displayed, and that each mortal might walk his own way, and fear no power greater than his own.

But, I say, let such mistaken mortals know, that their God has decreed, and declared, that when his time shall come, He will have mercy on whom He will have mercy; and well pleased will He be with every soul of his people, that is ready for his coming, even in his own time; for his holy messengers and proclaiming Angels, which He has sent forth to prepare the hearts of the children of men, as well as warn the children of the kingdom, have faithfully done their work, thus far; and even the darkest nations of the earth, He hath not left without many warnings of his mighty power, in some way or manner.

So let all Zion, and the nations far and near, know the hand of the Lord is not at rest, nor his ear slumbering, nor his eye closed; neither hath He said, I will no more stretch forth my hand of mercy, unto the nations of the earth, nor send unto them my word; neither hath He said, I will no more visit my Zion, nor proclaim my judgments through the Israel of my glory.

But He hath said, I will go before my own people, and work mighty wonders, even to the terror of the nations abroad. And this He will in no wise fail to do, according as He hath promised, and as He hath already prepared to begin.

Amen, my word is finished for this time; and you that have now listened to it, may now behold me, as I have at this time passed to and fro, that you may believe that I am; and understand, in a small measure, what I am about to do, in a short time.

The voice now ceased speaking, and I beheld, in the east, an Angel, moving slowly along, and soon came very near. The appearance was solemn and terrible; for the body, from the neck, was like that of a mighty man, and the head was like that of an eagle. He had four exceedingly large wings, two upon each shoulder; these were open and spread each way.

The feet were like the feet of the elephant, and seemed to be well shod with cast iron; in the right hand was a very large Roll, sealed with ninety nine seals; and in the left a Book, the lids or cover of which, was of some kind of metal, but I did not know what; and it was clasped together with a clasp of steel. I feared, but spoke not, for I knew not what to say; indeed I dared not speak.

The mighty Angel now spoke unto me in a voice like thunder, and said, Me, ye now hear and see, and ye know that I am; and from this time ye will not often hear me, though ye may see me yet again and again, for I am indeed the power. But the voice that ye shall hear, ye shall not know, neither shall ye see from whence it proceedeth, until the time shall come.

For hath not the God of his own chosen ones, made known his will, proclaimed his Almighty Power, showed forth his greatness of love and mercy, and made known the excellency of his kingdom, and condescended to send forth, even from his throne, his holy Angels with his righteous word of mercy, and call of charity, to his creature man even in the letter; and in a form so simple, and language so plain, that even the babes from the breast, might seemingly understand if they desired so to do?

Surely, this the God of Heaven hath done, and the same you may now behold. The Angel now held forth, *first* the Roll, and *then* the Book; and said, The time will surely come, and is not far distant, but is not yet.

But alas! alas! *Si a' na qua', e fa' ma*, Lo, these days in which that righteous God of never-ending charity, has now winked at the pretended ignorance and hard understanding of the children of men, and even of his own people, and hath showed mercy unto all, will be numbered and will pass away.

And there shall a day come, when the voice that shall be heard, even to the four quarters of the earth, within Zion and without Zion, shall utter words still more marvelous and mysterious in the ears of man, and hard to be understood; and even the wise among men will be troubled, to know the will of their God.

And then shall it be, that even Zion's inhabitants shall mourn for the days that are past, and reflect upon the loving kindness of their God, even the God of all power, in the days of his endless mercy and love.

And now, O thou mortal, whose eyes have beheld, and whose ears have heard, and whose heart hath been opened to understand the word of eternal truth sounded from a voice which you know not, hark, while I say unto thee, Go now and consider well upon these things; and marvel not, neither speak of all this in the hearing of the people, but write ye the whole, boldly and with good confidence.

For with the power that is given you that is not of your own, you shall be able to perform my work and do my will, or stand as a swift witness of that which I, in my own time, shall do; So number my times, and keep the time, for the full time shall come; Amen. I go, but come again.

Fourth Interview.

Early on the morning of March first, eighteen hundred forty two, I was awakened by a loud singing; I carefully listened to it, for it was very heavenly and harmonious. I soon saw a band of Angels passing through the place; they marched in regular order two abreast, about four feet from the ground; I could hear the words which they sung, but did not understand any save the following. Zion is the habitation of the living God, and here is the Holy Mount of his glory; and from this place shall his righteous word be sent forth; and we, his holy Angels, will proclaim the same to the nations of the earth.

They soon divided into four companies, and went each way out of sight. Instantly, I heard a mighty roaring like unto heavy thunder; I was sensible, that it was the coming of the mighty Angel; it came nearer and grew louder, and soon changed into a voice, and the words were these;

This day thou hast seen and will see and hear, O thou mortal that now listeneth to my word, that which will be pleasing to thee, and also, that which will cause thee sorrow of soul; for thou shalt not, as yet, fully understand nor have permission to make mention of my word unto the people.

So go your way and fear not, but remember I now tell you, that ere this day shall come again you shall see my work in a measure performed, and many of my words fast fulfilling.

I now went about my hand labor; but the sound of the mighty voice was so loud in my ears, for the most part of the day, that it seemed I could hear nothing else. I saw the mighty Angel four different times in the course of the day, and received many words from him, similar to what I had before received.

At the last time, which was about the hour of four in the afternoon, the word to me was, as follows. Know, and even remember from this day, that God your Heavenly Father, never has, and never will permit, or cause a promise to be made to his chosen people, nay, nor even to the nations of the earth, but what He has fulfilled, will fulfill, or cause to be fulfilled in his own time, and according to his divine will.

This was the end of the word at this time, and I retired to my room, feeling very sorrowful that I could not, as yet, feel at liberty to speak freely of all that I had seen and witnessed. In the evening of the same day, soon after I had retired to rest, I again heard the voice of the holy Angel, and the word was swift and powerful as follows;

Hearken, hearken, O thou mortal of my choice, while I declare boldly unto the people of the earth, that the days of preparation for the God of Heaven and earth to commence his own work in full, are fast passing by; and his time to work throughout the whole earth, is near at hand, and the time for his Christ, the Savior of men to be more fully known, as he now stands, the head of the New Creation, in his second manifestation, is not far off.

And I will now, loudly proclaim to all people within Zion and without Zion, that from this day I will no more rest, I will no more be still, and I will no more hold my peace, neither will I longer move slowly, nor be mild in my motion on flight; for the Almighty is ready to be displeased with his creatures, because of their readiness to say, *The day of the Lord is fast passing by, and He will no longer go before us.*

But I will assuredly be known, I will be heard, and I will appear in many shapes and forms; and my mighty power shall be felt and acknowledged by the inhabitants of Zion! And the nations far and near, shall fear me, but shall not know me, for a time; but in due season shall they know me, and shall confess that *I am.*

But, before that day shall fully come, many in Zion shall deny me in their hearts, because of my strange doings within the walls of her holy City: and they will be tempted to sound the same in the hearing of the children of men. But woe, woe and a lasting woe, be upon the soul now numbered in Zion, that shall presume to do this; and my vengeance shall be upon such, by day and by night.

I have already been seen and known in part, many times; and my power has been confessed in Zion; and even among the dark vain children of time, it has been feared, and freely acknowledged to be from an eternal source; but they know me not as yet.

I have spoken through the mouths of the holy Prophets, and wise men of old; I have appeared as one that was once an inhabitant on earth, or as a guardian Angel to the chosen people. I am the power, the strength and the might.

And now, O thou mortal that hast these four times beheld me, even as I am, and hast patiently listened to the voice that speaketh at my command; know thou, that I have never so fully made myself known on earth, save only to thy view, and in thy hearing: but now I go, and after some days I shall return, and when again I come, I will try you and will prove you many ways.

And after my next coming, which will be my fifth, you will no more see me for a season, as these four times you have done.

At that time, I will give you permission to make mention of all that I have said and shown unto you; but as yet deal carefully with it, for it is hardly the beginning.

So now I bid thee as before, to write the whole, and keep it sacred and safe; for in my time I shall call for it from thy hand. Amen.

The word was now finished, and all was silent. I arose and wrote the word, as I was commanded. The Angel at this time, appeared as at the third time; yet holding the Roll and Book, but did not speak concerning them. His appearance was truly fearful and terrible; but the voice still more so, if possible. I now went to my duty, and spoke not of what I had witnessed, relying upon the word of the Angel, that I should soon be permitted to make it known.

Fifth Interview.

On March twelfth, eighteen hundred forty two, while I was busily engaged in my duty, and in conversation with those around me upon various subjects, the holy and mighty Angel entered the room and stood before me, and showed forth many signs in my view; they were singular and strange, even so much so that I cannot well describe them on paper.

This scene was short, but was repeated three times; and now was my time of trial; for those present perceived that something singular was transacting to my view, and not to theirs.

I was asked many questions, but dared not answer, because of the word of the Angel; for I fully believed that in perfect obedience, all would be well with me in the end.

Soon after this, the Holy Angel entered again, and said to me, This is my fifth and last coming in this manner; but as I said, so have I done; I have indeed suffered you to be tempted and tried, and I have proved you to my satisfaction at this time. You may now speak of my presence, and make known my word; but when this you do, let it be boldly, yet wisely; for I am to be feared in very deed.

Suffer not my word to be written on loose sheets, but in a book by itself;

and this have ready at my call, for lo my work is only begun. Number the times of my coming, even from the first sound that ye heard of me; when ye have beheld me as I now am, and when ye have only heard me from a voice that ye knew not.

Yea, I say keep my time, and number my times, and be ready to witness for me, and my word, in the presence of thy companions, and the hearing of all people, when my full time shall come.

For lo I now declare unto you, that unto my word among the nations abroad, there shall be no beginning known, and in Zion there shall be no end spoken of; for I am like the unceasing stream, and yet as the flowing tide.

My power no man can withstand, and my force he cannot stay. I am the same in the morning as at evening, and at midnight as at noon-day, I am one and the same mighty power.

My word, even that which is sounded from a voice unknown to mortals, shall not be trifled with; neither that which is within or without Zion. Let not this thing be, lest there be such confusion in the land as was never before known; lest there be tumults afar off and near by, among the children of men, and lest Zion be troubled, and know not the meaning of her troubles.

And now, even at this, my fifth coming, I repeat my words, and pronounce yet a heavier woe upon the soul of man now dwelling in Zion, that shall carry tidings therefrom; or make mention of the marvelous doings of their God and his holy Angels, as spreading it abroad, or sounding it in the ears of strangers without, until the full time shall come, which is not afar off;

Lest Zion's afflictions come upon her before the time, and to her travail in pain there be not an end, until her captive daughters become faint-hearted because of the very many days of their mourning, and her forsaken sons grow angry, because of oppression from those that were once of their own number.

So let Zion exalt not herself, but be humble; let the Rulers in her be wise; and if any man ask soberly seeking for true knowledge, if the voice of the living God, or of his Christ, the Redeemer of souls, hath been sounded aloud in your hearing, or among you, then hide not the thing from them; but boldly declare it with good confidence; showing forth your perfect faith in that God that has called you.

Verily I now call, and shall again call upon thee O Zion, to let thy light so shine that the nations afar off may behold thee, and seek a dwelling within thee; and that the sound of mighty wars, tumults and bloodshed, may be afar off from thy borders, and stain not thy walls because of thy readiness to proclaim the mighty goodness of thy God and the excellence of his power in the deliverance of his Zion on earth.

And again I say, My word shall not be trifled with; neither this, nor that which is to come; neither shall it be carelessly laid by for nought, or secretly concealed as a word of mischief; for verily I say, If Zion feareth to proclaim that which God delivereth into her trust, then, when a time sufficient has passed by and the Lord be weary of waiting, He will cause thee to repent.

Indeed I say, Then shall it be that I will, yea even I, the mighty proclaiming and prophesying Angel of the God of Heaven and earth, sent forth being filled with eternal power, publish upon thy walls O Zion, and proclaim upon thy house-tops, O Israel, that which has long been concealed within thee, and hid from the nations abroad, that the Lord thy God did send unto thee, by his holy Angels, that out of thee might go forth his judgments and statutes, and shine forth his perfect righteousness and glory.

And remember, ye rulers and watchmen, that in the day that is not afar off, I will go my own way, and will do whatsoever I will. I will answer no man a question, nor be asked of any man the meaning of my doings; for quite sufficient is my word, at these five times of my coming, for all to know and believe that I am.

The Angel now put forth his right hand and bade me take the Roll, and unseal it; but I could in no wise reach it; and he, stooping low, gave it to me. I took it, and unsealed the ninety and nine seals one at a time, and unrolled it upon the floor. I looked upon it for a moment, and feared to look longer; but the Angel said, Thou mayest read freely, but it will not profit thee, for it is yet to be written.

But now, seal again the Roll and hand it unto me. I did so, and he then said, Now hearken unto my word, which, if thou wilt obey, it shall be well with thee; for well hast thou thus far done, to conceal my word as I bade thee; but now, as soon as convenient, make known this, my fifth coming to the rulers in Zion, and also speak freely of all that has troubled and tried thee.

But show not my word, until thou hast correctly written, in one book, all that has been shown unto thee; even from the hour that thou wast warned of my coming until this time.

All this I say, that there be no trouble in my coming, nor confusion within or without Zion, because of the written words that may, and will be sent forth throughout the earth: but woe, woe unto the hand that dealeth unwisely with them.

This is my word, concerning that which has been and may be sounded forth in thy hearing; save the writing of the Book and Roll, which I now hold in my hands, and which will not again be unsealed, until the time shall come.

And let it be remembered, that my word is not exclusively to one part, nor to another part of Zion's inhabitants; but to every part, and to the nations abroad the same. But now, my last word unto thee, O thou mortal child, that hast these five times listened to me, and to the voice that abideth with me, is this;

Thou shalt in no wise provide for thyself an article of any kind, whereon to write my word; but as I shall command thee, so shalt thou do. Upon thy knees shalt thou place the Holy Bible, (for that is the [record of the] most sacred and holy word now known among the children of men;) and upon that thou shalt write, all that I shall command thee.

And that sign shall stand as a lasting memorial of my eternal power, within Zion and without Zion, for generations to come; and no name, save, *Ma'ne Me'rah Vak'ne Si'na Jah'*, shall be upon [this] my word.

This is the end of my word for this time; I go now, yet come again in season; but not as I am now; but number my times, and keep my time, and be a ready witness for me. Amen.

MA′NE ME′RAH VAK′NA SI′NA JAH′.

In perfect obedience to the word of the Angel, I did write every word of it upon a Bible, only five and a half inches wide, and nine in length, which I laid upon my knees. And though many asked me why I did so, yet I told no one, until I had finished. I have now done all that I am as yet required to do; and to the whole communication I freely and confidently sign my name.

ADAH ZILLAH POTTER.

Sixth Interview.

On May first, eighteen hundred forty two, while assembled with many others, upon the Holy Mount, to sing praises and offer offerings holy and acceptable to that God whom we love, serve and worship, and who had called us there upon that day; I saw a band of Angels coming from the east, and the mighty Angel that I had before seen followed them; and they all tarried upon the sacred ground for some time, and were seen by many others that day.

The mighty Angel had somewhat changed his form and appearance; yet it was solemn and fearful. His wings were spread each way, and each appeared to extend near seven yards; and upon each wing were written many words, but I could not read them. His word at this time, was a lengthy prophecy, upon the place on which we were assembled; but he did not speak to me, save these words;

Child of earth, knowest thou what thou beholdest? I answered, I behold the mighty Angel of God, whose time I keep, and whose word I know. Then showing me the Roll and Book he said,

These, ye now behold closed and sealed; but when again ye see them, they shall be opened; and upon this holy ground, will I show forth signs of that which I shall hereafter declare openly, and proclaim aloud.

So go thy way, but forget not to witness for me, and my word and work; for at an unexpected hour shall I come, and in haste shall I perform my work.

Seventh Interview.

On July sixth, eighteen hundred forty two, wednesday morning, I was suddenly awakened, by the sound of these words. Count the time, keep the time, number the hours, number the days, and watch the signs; for the days of my prophecy are nearly fulfilled. And after a short season of rest shall pass by, I shall commence that work of which I have spoken unto thee, O thou child of mortality.

For five months only shall pass by, before I shall call at the same hour; and twelve months shall not end, before I will hasten my work, in the eyes and ears of man; and my time shall be kept, and the times numbered.

I arose, and wrote the words I had heard; and at that moment, the clock struck three. I knew the voice to be that of the mighty Angel that I had previously seen, although I saw nothing present.

I thought to go back to my rest, but was suddenly thrown on the floor; and it seemed to me, that the whole house rocked like a cradle for some minutes. Soon, I heard a noise, similar to the roaring or bursting of a mighty peal of thunder, or the firing of a cannon; and as the sound ceased, these words followed;

Arise and write; arise and follow me, and write, for no longer can the time be prolonged. I now was in the presence of the mighty Angel, and awful indeed was his appearance; for in addition to the frightful form in which he had before appeared, was a crest of scarlet red on his head; and from that proceeded a trail of crimson, which hung to the ground.

In his left hand he held a flag of the same, tinged with white; and this he gently waved high in the air, and then low to the ground, turning each way. Upon this, were many words written, but I could not read them. In his right hand were the Roll and Book, open.

The voice said, Seest thou the Roll and Book, yet again? I answered yea. Then humble thyself, and condescend to do my will; for my word, at this time, is short; but the work of my God is mighty, and is to be hastened. These seven times have I come unto thee, and shown unto thee these things that thou mightest witness for me, when I shall declare unto the people my mission on earth, and the work of the mighty God.

The Angel now handed me the Roll and said, Read now that thou mayest know what the Almighty requireth, and what I am about to do.

I read the four first seals, and found the ninety nine sealed Roll, to be a part of the Book; and the Book to be a word of the Lord to the inhabitants of the earth; and the whole was a word and work to be hastened; for the time was near by, for it to be accomplished.

The Book was now presented to me, and as I reached to take it, the mighty Angel still held in his hand one lid, and gave me the other; I then found it to be a leaf, or sheet, rolled or folded within these lids, after the form of some maps. The voice said that it would extend one hundred leagues, or seventy and seven paces [or spaces] of the Angel, when spread its full length.

The terrible Angel, in whose presence I stood trembling, said to me, Now, O thou mortal worm of the dust, speak quickly, and say whether thou art willing to obey my word or not; and tell me, even now, what thou thinkest of what thou beholdest. I answered, I think it a work too mighty for mortals to handle, or in the least degree to accomplish; and I am too sensible of my incapability to perform such a work, to condescend to begin; O then thou holy Angel, do in thy mercy release me from the burden of thy work, and I will readily witness for thee when thou desirest, and do with thy word as it is thy will.

The voice then said, Mortals have not this work to do; they have only to yield obedience to the God of Heaven, who will, in his own time, accomplish the whole, by and through the medium and power of his holy Angels; and his people will only have his word to proclaim, and his will to make known by means of his own, and signs which He will show unto them; and none need to fear what shall come, although various, numerous and marvelous in the eyes of mortals, will be the requirements of the Holy One. So bow thy spirit low, and take in thy hand the Roll; and at this hour, on the morrow, will I make known the order of writing the same.

The Angel now took the book and said, In one half time, will I again unseal and spread this in the view of mortals, and never again shall it be sealed; for then shall the time be fully come. The Angel now moved slowly out of my sight, towards the Holy Mount, and I found myself on the floor where I first fell; and very soon, the clock struck four.

Eighth Interview.

Thursday, July seventh, eighteen hundred forty two, I was awakened, just as the clock struck three, by these words; Up quickly, and gird thyself with that which I shall prepare for thee to wear; and at the hour of four, start for the Holy Mount, and there will I meet thee. Three mornings shalt thou do likewise; and upon the third morning shalt thou begin to write. One of the Rulers and a witness shall attend thee. Now this is my will and word at this time.

Surely, if this be done, then shall it be the beginning of that which is to be, and shall come, and all things will be in readiness; but if not, then will my work be the more hastened, and I, myself, will come with my *Ven' sen ˋdes ter ˋda trum*, and the Two Anointed Ones shall bear witness of me; and thou shalt, in time, be caused to suffer my *Se lac' la vos' ton de moc' na*, because of the many things I have shown unto thee.

For lo, I shall soon come again, but not as I am now; yet thou shalt know me, for as I said at first, I am not the word, nor the voice that soundeth it forth; but I am the power that performeth the work; and this all shall believe when again I shall return.

The word ceased, and I fell on my knees, and earnestly entreated of my Heavenly Father, and the Mighty Angel, to look upon me with pity as an ignorant and dependent mortal, and release me from the requirement, as I saw no way for me to perform it according to the word, in my then present circumstances.

At this instant, the Angel took both the Book and Roll, and arose out of my sight; and I arose from my knees, feeling perfectly released and comfortable in spirit, believing that my intercessions would be heard and granted.

From this time, I had no more knowledge or impressions of the holy Angel or his work, until some time in August following; when he, the mighty Angel, was seen by another person to unseal and spread an exceedingly large and lengthy Roll.

I saw the performance, and knew to my satisfaction it was the same; and I made mention of the Angel's word to me, on the seventh of July. There was no word to me at this time, and I felt no duty incumbent on me, concerning the word, until the morning of the twenty second of January, eighteen hundred forty three; which was precisely twelve months from the day that I first heard the Angel's voice, or received any knowledge of the mighty Angel or his work; and from the first date I was commanded to keep.

This day, which was the Sabbath, did the holy and mighty Angel appear to me and to many others; and his word to me was as follows; Hearken thou little one of sorrow, and thou true witness of me; for lo, I now say, Peace shall rest with thee for a season, even until I have comforted thee with a fulfilling of my many promises, and an answer to thy just desires.

I have indeed, come now to begin my work in the sight and hearing of many, and to command and attend the writing of the Book; and whomsoever I will, the same shall be the mortal instrument of the word.

But that which I required of thee on my last visit, shall be as a sign and witness to thee, of that which I shall now cause to be performed openly, and to the view of all. And rest assured that I shall, ere long, demand of thee the whole that I have shown and made known unto thee, previous to this day, even from the beginning; and be thou ready, at my call, to stand as my true witness, and to hand forth my word, prepared and ready, even as I have commanded thee from time to time.

Do this, and all shall be well with thee; for thus and thus have I done, that mortals might know and believe that I am, and that I have come forth in truth and reality. This is the end of my word unto thee, for a season and time; Amen.

Signed,

MA′NE ME′RAH VAK′NA SI′NA JAH′.

I have now finished the word that I felt in duty bound to write, concerning what has been shown unto me from time to time, respecting the word and work of the Lord, which, as appears clearly evident, is in reality sent forth, and is to be spread abroad among the children of men.

This word, and these things, I freely hand forth and relate, as solemn facts and realities; shown forth and revealed by a holy and supernatural power, and from a divine source, for some wise purpose. And I also testify that I, and many others, have been eye and ear witnesses of the perfect fulfilling of the Angel's word, so far as time has yet admitted.

I have now nothing more to say, save only that I saw the mighty Angel with the mortal writer of the foregoing Roll, several times, while writing the Book. And it is with a degree of pleasure, that I add my testimony, to the truth and reality of the whole word and work; and can readily hand forth this statement, as a witnessing word, in obedience to the word of the Holy Angel. And now, this whole word, I am willing and ready to seal with my life, or in whatever manner it may please a just and holy God to require it of me.

New Lebanon, Columbia county,
state of New York. April, 1843.

ADAH ZILLAH POTTER.

TESTIMONIAL EVIDENCE, GIVEN BY DIVINE REVELATION, AND WITNESSED BY HARRIET GOODWIN AT NEW LEBANON, COLUMBIA COUNTY, NEW YORK.

Sabbath morning, July tenth, eighteen hundred forty two, I saw, placed on the top of the dwelling house, a beautiful sign ; it reached the whole length of the house, and appeared to be about six feet wide. I could not at that time see any writing on the sign, it shone with such very great brightness. It resembled the color of gold.

At first, I was struck with fear at the sight ; I supposed it to be placed there by mortal hand. But I soon beheld three mighty Angels guarding it ; I then knew it to be something placed there by a supernatural power.

On saturday evening following, July sixteenth, I again beheld the same. On Sabbath morning the seventeenth, it was again made plain to my view, so that I could behold many of the letters ; but I could not read it. On the evening of the same day, after retiring to rest, I suddenly heard a voice sounding in my ears like peals of mighty thunder, which caused me to fear exceedingly ; saying,

Keep silent, O thou worm of dust ; for lo, I am the Almighty, who is able, in the twinkling of an eye, to crush that soul in atoms, who dares presume to make mention of my doings, before my time hath fully come. But lo, in my Zion have I placed my name, forevermore to stand ; there have I made myself known ; and from Zion shall my light and glory shine forth, throughout the whole earth.

The dwellings of my people shall I cause to glow with beauty, and upon their high towers and most sacred places will I place my name, word and will ; and from thence shall the same go forth to the nations of the earth ; while millions, from both far and near, shall flock together to behold my word, and admire, with astonishment and fear, the wonderful and marvelous doings of my all-righteous hand ; while the scoffer and mocker I will lay low before Me, and cause them to howl with agony ; and the filthy and unclean I will scourge and abase.

Behold, O thou babe in Israel, thou hast this day, in very deed, beheld, in a small measure, the doings of my hand ; but small it is to what your eyes shall yet behold ; for Lo, I am the Almighty Creator of Heaven and earth ; therefore great and wonderful is and shall be, the work of my hand. *Here the word finished for this time.*

On thursday evening following, July twenty first, after retiring to rest, I heard a trumpet sounded very loud and solemn, but heard not a word spoken ; yet I knew it to be from one of the guardian Angels on the house. I then turned my eyes towards the sound, and again beheld the sign ; but could not yet behold a word on it.

On the fourth day of August, I again heard the trumpet of one of the mighty Angels sounding ; which was truly solemn and heavenly. I looked towards the sign, and beheld it much plainer than I ever had before ; and could once in a while distinguish a letter, from amidst the dazzling brightness that surrounded it; and at length I could possibly discern a few words, written towards the bottom of it, which were as follows:

Lo! lo! I am the Almighty, the Ever Existing and Never Ending; holding in my right hand, the sword of my judgment and displeasure, and in my left, the vial of my wrath and indignation, with which I shall shortly visit the earth, and release her from the heavy weight under which she is now groaning.

I will not always strive to no purpose; I will not always threaten and not perform; I will no longer be blasphemed and mocked by the vile, the filthy and unclean. Here in my Zion have I placed my name, here are the chosen of my delight, my holy, holy people; and from thence shall my word go forth; and he that heareth it, and obeyeth it not, shall fall by the sword of my displeasure.

On Sabbath afternoon, August seventh, I again beheld the sign, and heard one of the Angels speak the following words: Behold, even seven times have passed by, and thou, O little one, hast been called to behold and witness this, the word of the Almighty. But rest assured, that thou hast not beheld, but in a small measure, that which is now placed upon the dwelling of the righteous.

But the word of thy God and my God, is this day fulfilled and obeyed; which was, that I, the Holy Angel of Almighty Power, should not rest, until seven times I had called forth the least child in this part of his Zion, whose eyes had beheld the glory of God, and whose lips had been moved to sound forth his sacred word; that she might stand as a witness of his marvelous doings.

But yet louder crieth the voice of Him who sitteth on high, O Mi ka′lon se vin′da; rest shall not crown thy spirit, nor peace and quietness prevail around thee, until my word be fully known and my righteous law fulfilled. Even seven times shalt thou loudly sound thy trumpet of alarm, and call forth him in whom I do take pleasure; who has, through sufferings sore, and sorrow deep, washed his garment white, and found favor in my sight; for lo, he shall suffer even as did my first begotten Son, many things for my name's sake, and the gospel's.

And on the sixth time that thou shalt call him forth, I will draw nigh, and crown him with wisdom and clothe him with power; and cause his eyes to open, that he shall see my glory, and the word of his God; and write in full concerning the same.

And on the seventh time he shall behold the whole, and write the same; and at that time I will cause four thousand of my most holy Angels to be present, and witness my word correctly written. For lo, I will have witnesses, both in Heaven and on earth; but through sufferings deep shall my word be obtained, and in tribulation shall it be written.

The voice then ceased, and the Holy Angel turned to me and said; Little one, hast thou not heard the voice of Almighty Power? I answered, yea.

Then go ye, and correctly write all that has passed in these seven interviews, and I will be with thee to help thee. But remember, I shall call forth many witnesses, ere the day cometh when mortal eyes shall behold the word of the Lord, written plain to be understood by the inhabitants of the earth.

Sabbath afternoon, August fourteenth, eighteen hundred and forty two, while in meeting, I saw a holy and mighty Angel enter the meeting room. He marched to the head of the room, and placed his wings upon many of the brethren and sisters, saying; Arise, arise, and witness for me; for lo I am an Angel of Almighty Power, sent from the throne of God to guard his heritage, his Zion on earth.

And surely great is my mission, and marvelous shall be my word and work; therefore I call you to arise and witness for me, with many others; for know ye, I shall work in the sight of man, and of the children of this world; and many things will I make plain to their view, and bring to their understanding. And not seven and a half times shall pass away, before they shall hear my voice, and acknowledge the goodness of their God, and behold his name printed on Zion, where He has placed it, forever more to stand. The Angel then disappeared, and I saw him no more at that time.

After meeting was closed, as I was returning home, feeling entirely free from the burden which I had previously felt, I was met by the Angel after I entered the dwelling; his wings were raised, and his countenance shone with great brightness, yet it was solemn and serene; which struck me with reverence and awe, insomuch that I had scarcely strength to stand.

The Angel looked at me in a very sacred and solemn manner, and bid me follow him back into the meeting room, which I did; and there I found one of the sisters; he then placed my hand in hers, and bid me walk with her and sing the little solemn song which he sung; this I did.

After walking a few moments, the Angel said to this certain sister, I would that thou, little one, learn this song and sing with me. I am an Angel of Almighty Power, and have come unto thee, clothed in thy Mother's spirit; and this is thy Mother's song of mourning, for surely she mourneth and weepeth for Zion, because great and heavy will yet be her tribulation; and her children will yet mourn and weep, in very deed with her.

The Angel then desired to march this song throughout the dwelling house, through every hall and in every retiring room, that all might feel the spirit of their Mother, and sense, in a small measure, a degree of her tribulation; which was done. The Angel then entered one of the rooms where several were assembled, and turning to the one whom his God had chosen to write the Sacred Roll, he said; O thou beloved one, prepare thy heart for tribulation; great has been, and great shall yet be thy tribulation.

The Angel then proceeded through the house, and after returning to the place where he had previously been speaking, he spoke the following words: O Holy Anointed, and dearly beloved, have not tribulation and persecution been the lot of God's people in Zion through all past ages? and hath not the Lord promised protection to them in obedience? Surely He has; and will fulfill according to his promise.

I am an Angel of Almighty Power sent from the throne of God, bearing on my wings a heavy cross: and it is the will of thy God that this cross be placed on my chosen instrument. Wilt thou not, O thou little one, take this cross from off my shoulders? He replied, The will of my God be done.

Also upon my head is placed a solemn and weighty Roll, containing the word of the Lord thy God, which has been written with his own finger, and placed on this thy dwelling place, for nations to behold; yea, that which shall yet be proclaimed in the earth.

And lo, I say unto you, it has been through tribulation deep, that this word has been handed forth; and in and through tribulation deep, and sufferings sore, shall it be obtained and written by mortal hand, for nations to behold. Even seven times have I called thee forth, O thou little one, to view this my word, or the word of thy God, though not through my loud and solemn trumpet; therefore thou hast not heard me, in full. But yet seven times more will I again call thee forth, to view this solemn and sacred word, before thou shalt write it; but on the sixth time thou shalt write concerning it, and on the seventh thou shalt write the whole.

Yea, even as the Lord did place a rainbow in the heavens, as a sign and sure promise unto Noah, that He never would again destroy the earth, or the inhabitants thereof, by floods of water; so shall the doings of my hand which ye have seen, stand as a sign unto his people, that ye have this day received his holy and sacred word, which shall yet be written by mortal hand, and made plain to mortal eyes; and be understood by many of the inhabitants of the earth.

I have now finished the word which my Heavenly Father gave me to speak; but I leave you not at present; nay, I the Holy Angel will remain with this little one, even Philemon, until this work is accomplished, and the word is finished. Amen, saith the Holy Angel.*

January first, eighteen hundred forty three, I heard a heavenly trumpet very loudly sounding. I listened, and the sound ceased; I paused for a moment, when I again heard it, which seemed to cause the regions above to shake with terror.

I then looked towards the northwest, and there beheld a beautiful rainbow; and on the rainbow, stood four thousand holy and mighty Angels, each holding in his right hand a flaming sword, and in his left, a vial of God's wrath and indignation. I gazed upon the scene, with admiration and reverence, yet feared exceedingly.

I again heard the heavenly trumpeters loudly sound their solemn trumpets, which caused the arches of heaven to echo; and at every blast I was struck with exceeding great fear and terror. I then heard a solemn and heavenly song sung, which was played upon instruments of music, by forty and four of the most holy Angels that marched in front.

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* The inspired writer of this Roll and Book had been shown by an Angel, at times, for more than two years previous, that God had a word direct to the nations of the earth; but in what way it should be sent forth, it had never been shown me.

The Angel repeatedly informed me that God would direct and conduct this work in his own time, and according to his own will and pleasure. These things I kept and pondered in my own heart, until God should make his time known, entirely according to his own will. Of these things the inspired writer of this communication, knew nothing, as I had kept them entirely within my own heart.

PHILEMON STEWART.

They moved along slowly, while the rainbow still continued under their feet, until they reached the dwelling house, where the Roll or Sacred Sheet was spread. Then did the ninety and nine trumpet-sounding Angels raise their trumpets, and loudly blow a solemn blast, which they repeated fourteen times; signifying, that for fourteen days they would all attend to the writing of the Roll.

Then spake one of the mighty Angels, saying; For fourteen days shall we, the Holy Angels of Almighty Power, tarry with the son of man and inspire him with wisdom, light and understanding, that he may behold the glory of his God, and do his all-righteous will. Yea, we will open the eyes of his soul, and give unto him true knowledge and understanding; that he may, if he will, correctly write the word, and do the will of his All-wise and All-powerful Creator.

But let him not fear to write it in full, exact and correct, that every nation may know that God is a God of justice; impartial and merciful. And moreover I say, if he writeth not the word in full, but keepeth back a part, fearing man, and the powers of earth, rather than his God; I say, and understand ye; more tolerable was it, in ancient date, for the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, than it will be for him. Far better would it have been, had he never existed on the earth; or, that a mill-stone be hung about his neck, and he be cast into the sea, than that he should see the days that he shall live to see.

But if he obeyeth the voice of his Father which is in Heaven, all shall be well with him. Though man be mighty, yet God is Almighty; though man be able to torture and perplex, yet God is able, in the twinkling of an eye, to crush and lay low the haughtiness of man, and raise up and exalt the humble seeker after true righteousness. Therefore, fear exceedingly; yea, tremble with fear.

Then the forty and four holy Angels, taking hold of the sheet, raised it up and said unto me, Look, behold and see, O thou babe in Israel, the word and doings of thy All-wise Creator. I looked and beheld the word of the Lord written in full, for the first time. It was written upon a sheet which, to my view, appeared like fire, and the letters were as letters of gold. And after the Angels had raised it up, about six feet from the roof of the house, taking it in the middle, it was then shown to me as I had before seen it, in the shape of a sign; the sheet was again spread, and I beheld it in full.

Then said the Angel; A time and a half time, and a half of a half time, shall in no wise pass away, nay, the sun shall not reach its meridian height at noon-day, nor the moon spread her gentle beams of light over you by night, even ninety and nine times, before ye shall behold the word of the Lord your God written in full, by mortal hand, and made plain to the view of the inhabitants of Zion.

Then did they roll up the Roll, and seal it with ninety and nine seals; and singing a song of rejoicing, and playing the same upon their instruments, they marched into the upper hall in the dwelling house, laid down the Roll, and vanished out of my sight.

January twenty second, eighteen hundred forty three, I again beheld the four thousand Angels approach the place of worship, with quickened steps; and as they entered, I heard a band of heavenly music, which sounded in my ears like many harpers playing upon their harps. Then the Angels raised their solemn trumpets, and gave a solemn blast; then said they, Peace be unto the righteous; yea peace, joy and tranquility shall crown the days, and rest in the bosoms of the true and upright soldiers of Christ.

But woe, woe, and a heavy woe shall rest upon that soul that shall presume to make mention of the doings of their God to the children of darkness before the time hath fully come, when his word He will reveal, and his will He will make known, in his own time and season, way and manner. Even of these, the vials of God's wrath and indignation, which we hold in our left hands, (and with which He hath purposed to visit the earth, and the inhabitants thereof,) shall they constantly drink; and as a dead and lifeless branch, shall they fall from the tree of life, to rise no more, through time or in eternity.

The Angels then formed a circle around the chosen instrument, and said; Thou child of sorrow, prepare thyself for death; for a sacrifice of all things even to the laying down of thy life doth thy God require! Thy path is paved with tribulation; therefore, in the bitterest of grief, the heaviest of sorrow and keenest of tribulation, shalt thou walk by day and by night; till thou art willing to sacrifice all to thy God, that thou mayest be able to know and do his will:

For never again will the Lord condescend to reveal his all-righteous will unto mortals, unless through tribulation, sorrow and grief, they have washed their garments white, and in the lowest of humility have bowed their spirits, and opened the door of their hearts with thankfulness and resignation, that He might enter and work.

We say not that the Lord requires you to give up your natural life; but He requires a willingness to sacrifice all things, even unto death. The Angels then sounded their trumpets, and I saw them no more at that time.

Early on the morning of the first day of February, eighteen hundred and forty three, I was awakened from my sleep, hearing the Angels again sounding their trumpets, and the forty and four most holy Angels playing upon their instruments of music. I looked towards the west, and again beheld the sheet spread. The Angels then raised their wings with joy, and loudly rung their bells of alarm; shouted a shout of rejoicing, and sung a solemn song of praise, saying;

Rejoice, O Zion! let thy inhabitants be joyful, and let joy and rejoicing prevail throughout thy borders. For lo, this day will the Lord of Heaven draw nigh, and clothe with wisdom and crown with strength, that soul who has, in sufferings and sorrow, laid himself low before God, even to the dust, that he might find favor in his sight, and be able to do his holy will. This day will He commence revealing that which has long been concealed; and this day shall long be remembered by thee, O Zion.

I did not hear or see any more at that time. But on the morning of the second day of February, I again heard the Angels sound their trumpets, and saw them take the sheet, and again roll it up and seal it, even with ninety and nine seals; they then carried it into the room where it was to be written, unsealed it and placed it upon the wall.

Then said the Angels to the chosen instrument, O thou child of sorrow, this day do we, the mighty and proclaiming Angels of the Lord, commence tarrying with thee, to feed and support thee, and to witness the word of the Lord correctly copied from this sacred sheet, by mortal hand, for mortal eyes to view; for this was thy Father's command, and this is our mission. He chooseth witnesses, both in the Heavens and on the earth; for out of the mouths of many witnesses shall his word be established.

On the fourth day of February, eighteen hundred forty three, I saw the instrument that was to write the Roll, go into his room, and the four hundred Angels follow him; and after he had commenced writing, I saw the Angels place a seal on every page as he wrote it, as their witness and testimony, that it was correctly written.

On the fifth of February, I saw yet another sheet placed upon the housetop, resembling the first, having the same word written upon it; and I saw an Angel standing at the top of it, having a head like a lion, and wings like an Angel. And as the instrument copied the word correctly, from the Roll, the Angel blotted it out.

And on the ninth day of February, I saw the Angels ascend even unto the throne of the Almighty, and there gather food, strength and blessing for the instrument; and with it I saw them feed him; saying, Be faithful, thou little one, even as thou hast been; for lo, thy God, thy Father and Eternal Maker, is well pleased with thee.

On the sixteenth day of February, I again heard the Angels sounding their trumpets; saying, Well done thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Well be it with thee, because of thy obedience; because thou hast faithfully done the will, and correctly written the word of thy Father which is in Heaven. And whosoever shall put forth their hand to destroy it, shall fall by the sword of his displeasure, and be banished from his presence. The Angels soon disappeared, and I saw them no more.

TESTIMONIES OF ELEVEN MIGHTY ANGELS, THAT ATTENDED THE WRITING OF THE ROLL:

GIVEN BY INSPIRATION, FEBRUARY 16, 1843.

I, the Holy Angel of Almighty Power, by name, Al′sign te′re Jah′, do witness and testify that the word of the Lord has been correctly written by mortal hand.

I, the Holy Angel of the Lord, do solemnly affirm that the word which has long been concealed from mortal eyes, is now revealed by Almighty Power and made plain to mortal view.

I, the Holy Proclaiming Angel of the Lord, do solemnly testify that it has been through deep tribulation, and as heavy sorrow and suffering as mortal clay, or the inhabitant thereof, was able to endure, that the word of the Lord has been obtained and correctly written by mortal hand, for mortal eyes to view.

I, the mighty Angel of the Lord, by name, Con′ sole te′ re Jah mon′ shue, do solemnly testify that my eyes have beheld the word of the Lord correctly written by mortal hand; and it is in truth the invariable word of the Lord, which will stand unalterable through time and in eternity.

I, the holy Proclaiming Angel of truth, do firmly testify that it is the word of the Lord, which has been written by mortal hand; and should any one put forth a hand to destroy it, or alter in the least degree, either by adding to, or diminishing it; that soul shall surely fall by the sword of his displeasure, and drink of his furious wrath and indignation.

I, an Angel of Mighty Power, do testify, that the inspired writer of the Roll was chosen by the Lord Almighty to write his sacred word; and the will of his God he has done, and his duty faithfully executed.

I, a mighty Angel of glory, do firmly declare the word to be true that the forementioned Angels have testified.

I, a mighty Angel of the Lord, do solemnly protest, that not one promise of God, stated in his Sacred Roll and Book, shall fail or pass away; but shall be fulfilled, even to a jot and tittle.

I, a mighty Angel of warning, do solemnly affirm that the anger of a justly provoked God is greatly kindled against the inhabitants of earth; and He is about to visit her in the fury of his wrath and displeasure, and cut down her inhabitants in judgment, if they hearken not to his warning voice of mercy.

I, a Holy Angel of the Lord, do solemnly declare, that within the covers of this Sacred Book, is inserted the word of the Lord correctly written by mortal hand, which has been done in the true fear of God; and let all who peruse it, do it in a measure of the same holy fear in which it was given. For I will ever stand as a witness of the usage of this Sacred Roll; and with a just reward will I meet every soul when they have done with time.

I, a mighty Angel of the Lord, by name Pre′ line fi′ nan vas′ ten va′ ren ve′ ne; do firmly testify that we, the Holy Angels, have witnessed the contents of this Roll correctly written; and the word inserted therein is the word of that God who created and knoweth all things; though plain, yet it is true; then let every soul remember, that whom the Father loveth He chasteneth; and will kindly warn them to flee from the dangers that shall come.

Hear my word and obey the same, crieth the voice of Him who sitteth on High, and ruleth over all.

Inspired Witness,

Harriet Goodwin.

I can here testify, that the foregoing statements are no fiction, or vain imagination. But I have an evidence within my own heart, beyond all wavering or caviling feelings whatever, that it is truth and reality, that the Lord's time has fully come for his warning voice of mercy to be sounded throughout the four quarters of the earth; that He may gather the wheat into his garners, while He separateth the chaff therefrom, and burneth it with unquenchable fire; for saith God, Unto him that seeketh mercy aright will I show mercy; and, crieth the holy Angels of mercy, Whithersoever the word of the Lord Almighty goeth, there shall we go; and whosoever shall hearken and obey it, the same shall be blessed; but whosoever shall destroy or treat it with scorn and ridicule, the same shall be cursed.

These things have been made as plain to my view, as the natural elements above, or the inhabitants of earth below; therefore it would be as reasonable for me to dispute my existence, as to dispute the reality of them. I therefore stand as a witness before God and all men, through time and in eternity, that it is in truth and reality the word of the one only true and living God, which is contained in the pages of this sacred Book.

New Lebanon, N. Y. February 18, 1843. HARRIET GOODWIN.

Born June 2, 1823; *and was brought by her parents into the United Society, at New Lebanon, December* 19, 1833.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN ALLEN.

New Lebanon, N. Y. April 17, 1843.

Friends and Fellow Mortals;

In presenting to you this my testimony, and affixing my name hereunto as a witness of the divine origin of the Sacred Roll now laid before you, I am induced by no other motive than the pure love which I owe to that God who gave me life and breath, and by whose power I am sustained while passing through the scenes of time, and a fear to displease the same;

Yea, and to fulfill that duty which I owe to a companion in God's holy service, who has fulfilled a divine obligation in writing the Sacred Roll, that mortal eyes might see and behold the same. For I have walked hand in hand with him in sorrow deep, and known full well the grief and tribulation of his spirit, that he might be able to fulfill the holy will of his God and accomplish the same, according to his sacred requirements.

And I know of a truth that I am called upon by the powers of Heaven, manifested to me by the Holy Savior, Mother Ann Lee, Father William Lee, Father James Whittaker, with the ancient Prophets and holy Angels, who have appeared unto me, and by whose information I have become acquainted in a small degree, with the design of God, to raise my voice in favor and support of the truth of God's unbounded love and charity to poor frail man; and of the remarkable outpouring of his holy spirit among his chosen people, to which I have been both an eye witness, and an instrument in the work.

On the first of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, I plainly saw the preceding Roll, and was moved upon by the holy spirit of God, to sound forth words from the same, and to prophesy of the word of the Lord, that should go forth from Zion to the nations of the earth.

I plainly saw and beheld the sufferings of his faithful servants, who should be chosen, to do his will and effect his purposes; but I knew not by what mortal hand it should be written, when the time should come, or how it should go forth.

On the eighth and fifteenth of May, first and thirtieth of June, and fourteenth of September, did I again see the Roll, and oftentimes spake of the same to some of my companions.

February fourth, one thousand eight hundred and forty three, while ascending the Holy Mount in the service, and according to the will of the mighty Angel, I looked and beheld an innumerable host of flaming heralds, having wings; and they moved swiftly forward to meet us.

They held in their mouths the preceding Sacred Roll. In their right hands were offers of peace, love and good will to all men who would accept the offers of salvation and loving kindness sent forth from the Almighty; and in their left hands were held justice, truth and equity, with the wrath and sore displeasure of a righteous God, who is justly provoked to anger, to pour out in judgment upon all such as would not heed the friendly solicitations of the voice of Wisdom and Mercy.

Upon their heads were other sacred Rolls. Their countenances were open, bright and piercing, yet courteous, loving and merciful; in which it was plain to be seen that their mission required haste. Their bodies were like as a flaming fire, and larger than the usual size of man.

I beheld them for some length of time, and knew not but I saw them with my natural eyes; for I beheld them as plain as ever I beheld mortals: and as near as I could judge, they extended in length from north to south three fourths of a mile. Their breadth I knew not, as they moved towards us five deep, one exactly over another's head, at a little distance apart, and ten or fifteen feet from the ground; I could not therefore see the further side of them. Having come within a few rods of us, they disappeared and I saw them no more; but a deep impression and strange feeling was left upon me.

I saw the Roll several times previous to its being written, of which I have not heretofore mentioned; and the dates of which I cannot remember. But between three and four months before the Roll was written, the Angel brought and placed it before me, and put the burden of the same upon me, which at times would seemingly take my natural life; for I felt as though the loss of all creation rested upon me. I felt great tribulation of soul, but knew not what to do; for I felt incompetent and insufficient, in every sense of the word, to accomplish that which seemed to be put upon me to execute.

I continued in this situation about three days, when I prayed I might be released, or enabled to do the will of God; for in Him I put my trust, and notwithstanding my feelings of inability to perform what lay before me, I believed, if it were the will of God, I should have strength so to do; I then felt a sudden impression, that I was not the instrument intended of God to write the Roll; but that this burden was put upon me for a short season, that I might know the tribulation it would bring upon the mortal who should be chosen to do this solemn work.

I then prayed and anxiously desired that it might rest upon the inspired writer who wrote the Roll, for it seemed to me that this was the design of God.

I then beheld a short written roll brought by an Angel of God, which confirmed the same. I now felt entirely released, with the exception, that I daily felt an uncommon prayerful feeling, that the will of God might be done, and his purposes fully executed according to his pleasure.

And I now feel it my indispensable duty and privilege, solemnly to assert, that, by the operation of the spirit of God in my own soul, I am made to know that the preceding Roll is from the Almighty; and by his power and agreeably to his will, has it been written and sent forth for mortal eyes to view:

And though my blood should be the price, in consequence of this my testimony, yet I say unto you, this would be a pleasing sacrifice, rather than to renounce my faith and deny the holy work of my God; for I have both seen and felt the irresistible influence of his holy power, which I cannot deny. And to this, I affix my name; and I now commend my spirit to his holy power and into his gracious hands. JOHN ALLEN.

Born May 11, 1816*; in the town of White Haven, county of Cumberland, England. Gathered into the United Society at New Lebanon in the eleventh year of his age.*

TESTIMONY OF LUTHER COPLEY.

On the eighteenth of April, eighteen hundred forty three, at the first hour of the day, I was called by the holy Angel, whose name is Te le vash′ ta la Jah′, to arise. And he said unto me, Thou mortal Instrument of my choice, one whom I have supported thus far, and shall continue so to do, until you reach the happy mansion of eternal peace and rest;

Arise, and boldly bear testimony of the work of thy God, regardless of mortals, who, though they can take the life of the body, cannot destroy the soul; but fear thou Him who can destroy both soul and body in Hell. I repeat again, (said the Angel,) Fear not the power of mortals, for in obedience I will support thee, through all trying scenes that thou mayest have to meet

Therefore, fearing that God whom I daily love, honor and glorify, in every faculty of my soul, for his boundless goodness in calling me when a child, to forsake the pleasures of a lost and sinful world, and for the many blessings of which I daily partake; though I feel myself small in his presence, and no better by nature than the rest of my fellow creatures, I feel loudly called upon, to add my testimony, with that of many others, to the truth of the word contained in the foregoing sacred pages.

I do firmly believe, without a doubt, that it came forth from the Almighty Jehovah, through means of his own choosing, and was written by the mortal hand of his own appointing; this I feel certain of, by what I have seen, heard and felt; and this I can never deny.

I can further testify without boasting, that I, through the goodness of God, have been made partaker of that soul-saving gospel, by which, in obedience thereunto, I am enabled to live day by day as I would be willing to die; and in this sin-destroying work I have been laboring for nearly forty years.

New Lebanon, N. Y. April 17, 1843. LUTHER COPLEY.

Born in Pittsford, county of Rutland, state of Vermont; December 15, 1800. *Came into the United Society at New Lebanon, December* 15, 1807.

TESTIMONY OF HIRAM RUDE.

I do testify that I have been shown by the Angels of God, at five different times, in vision, a portion of that work now revealed in the Zion of God upon earth.

In the last of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and twenty, I saw many things which have now taken place; and that the inspired writer of the foregoing Roll, would be employed as an instrument in the hands of God to do a work for Him, concerning the nations of the earth, and to declare, in the name of a just and holy God, that every sinful practice must be repented of and forsaken, before the soul could find acceptance with its God. That every high and exalted imagination, God would lay low even to the dust.

I also saw the following motto, which has been used by the Angel who inspired the writer of the foregoing Roll;

"Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall."

And again I do testify, that I saw two mighty Angels at the time of the writing of the foregoing Roll. The Angel of Mercy went before, and the Angel of Power followed after, with a red robe; whose eyes were like flames of fire.

Soon after, I saw the inspired writer of the foregoing Roll, dressed in the same manner, agreeably to the requirement of God. Thus I am confirmed beyond a doubt, that the writer of this Roll was inspired by the Angels of God.

New Lebanon, Columbia county,
state of New York. April 19, 1843. HIRAM RUDE.

TESTIMONY OF ABIGAIL CROSMAN.

The fear of God and the sacred reverence which I feel to his holy word, induce me at this time to declare that which I have seen, heard and felt, as a witness to the truth and divine source from whence the foregoing work proceeded.

This I am bold to testify before all people, feeling an undoubted assurance that the divine knowledge with which I have been privileged from time to time, proceeded from one and the same spirit, which caused the mortal hand to pen the word of the foregoing Roll.

I therefore make mention in short, of some interviews, which at the time received, were both strange and mysterious; but in obedience to the Angel, I wrote correctly what I saw and heard, not knowing the meaning thereof until the Book was opened, and its contents copied by mortal hand.

I am but a frail mortal; but through the mercy and blessing of God, have received a measure of his holy power, light and heavenly gifts; which have caused me to love and serve Him above all other beings, and render unto his service, every faculty I possess; and through which I have obtained an abiding evidence, a burning lamp of eternal truth, which can never be extinguished by vain reason or earthly knowledge.

On wednesday, April twentieth, eighteen hundred forty two, while sitting in silent meditation with my companions, I saw rising out of the south a cloud of fire and smoke; and in the midst thereof an Angel of might and terror. He held in his right hand a sharp sword, and in his left a vial of wrath.

I turned my eyes to the west, and beheld an innumerable company of armed men, arrayed in martial attire, marching swiftly to the south. When they approached the cloud of fire, they fell prostrate to the earth, and were destroyed.

The vision then ceased, but left upon my feelings a chill of horror and solemnity. I heard not the Angel's voice, neither made mention of what I had seen.

On the following day, the same vision again appeared before me, but with greater plainness than before. The Angel approached so near, that I could plainly behold his visage, and the terror of his countenance, but heard not his voice. This sight was truly awful, and caused my whole frame to tremble before it. His eyes appeared as balls of fire, and his presence bespoke judgment, vengeance and destruction.

The time soon arrived for our evening worship. While engaged in our devotion, I saw another Angel enter the room, holding in his right hand a flaming Lamp, and in his left, a Book; often going before the Leaders of the meeting, and opening it, as if desiring them to read. He spoke some in a language unknown to me, and soon disappeared.

I learned from his appearance, that the time had not come for the Book to be revealed, but the day was near at hand, when it should be read to the inhabitants of Zion.

The vision of the former Angel, caused in my feelings much anxiety, to know the meaning thereof; but I received no answer, save, that he was an Angel of judgment, sent forth by Almighty Power to visit the earth; and to the chosen of the Lord, he would make known the power of his hand, that they might seek a refuge from his wrath and indignation.

April twenty third, while employed in my duty through the day, I was visited with an unusual degree of solemnity, and many times a feeling of fear, as if about to behold a scene of horror and distress.

I prayed earnestly to know the cause thereof, but received no satisfactory answer; neither was I permitted to make known my feelings.

Towards evening, I went to my retiring room, and in a short time, saw again the two Angels before mentioned. As I beheld them, the latter spake unto me thus; Thou hast seen the sign in the south and in the west; now turn thine eyes to the north, and behold the vengeance of an Almighty God! I looked, and lo! Desolation, distress and sorrow, filled the land!

The Angel then said unto me, From this place were sent forth the company which ye saw fall before the Angel of judgment. Desolation hath marked their footsteps; their dwellings are as a dreary waste; and from their tent doors, judgment hath followed their goings, until they were consumed by the sword! But verily saith the Lord, judgments, still heavier, await their rulers and country!

The Angel now paused, and then spake unto me thus; Speak not of what you have seen, neither shall you know any more concerning the same, until the morning of the coming day.

You shall then receive further information, and correctly write all that you have seen and heard.

Accordingly, on the following morning (April twenty fourth,) while sitting with my companions, I was suddenly called by a sound from an invisible source, to behold the rising sun, which was then shining in the east.

I looked, and lo! it remained fixed, as if refusing again to illuminate the earth with its noon-day rays!

I was then commanded to turn my eyes to the north; there truly I beheld the most horrid spectacle my eyes ever witnessed.

I saw the wretched inhabitants, walking to and fro; friendless, destitute and forlorn: gnawing their tongues with anguish of soul, while their bodies were famishing with hunger, and constantly falling on every hand!

Their thrones, palaces and splendid dwellings, had become tombs for their dead bodies; Their lofty towers were laid low, even with the dust; and their kings and nobles had fallen prostrate to the earth, without a friend to raise them up, or listen to their cries and lamentations!

Others, who were left as spectators of the scene, were putting an end to their wretched existence, and that of their tender offspring, with their own hands!

This day being the Sabbath, the time for our morning meeting had now come, and I was called from this scene of horror, to behold the peace and quietness with which I was surrounded.

I went with my companions to our place of worship, but with a heavy heart. In a few moments I felt a trembling of the floor upon which I stood like that of an earthquake. I raised my eyes to see if others did not notice the same; but perceiving no alarm, I remained silent, and soon followed the same dreary scene, (but with increasing horror,) which I knew not but I had viewed for the last time.

The sun appeared as blood: the stars resumed their glittering, and the face of nature was one scene of midnight gloom!

The hand of desolation had reached from east to west, and from north to south; and the earth was encircled therewith, like unto a continual flame of lightning and constant roar of thunder!

I looked to find the chosen Israel of God, and beheld as it were, wings, gathering them together into one band, and hovering them from the vengeance of an Almighty God.

I also heard the tender calls of the Holy Angels, and the mourning of saints, for those who wandered from these wings of protection, and rejected the warning voice of their lovely Shepherds.

I observed that all who gathered beneath these holy wings, were safely protected from danger, and in a low and pleasant vale, united even as one body.

My vision now ceased, but the sensation produced thereby, can never be erased from my memory, while in time I remain.

On the following day, April twenty fifth, while engaged in worship, the Holy Angel whom I had previously seen with the Book and Lamp, again appeared to my view. At this time he opened not his Book, but placed himself before the Leaders of the meeting, and desired all present to bow in humble supplication and prayer, that the hand of desolation might be stayed, and the will of God be done.

I spake not of what I saw, to the assembly; but soon another instrument, being mightily exercised with the power of God, loudly proclaimed that the Angels of judgment were passing through the earth, and requested all present to bow low in supplication for the protection of Zion.

I have also seen at many different times, a Mighty Angel assemble with us, holding in his hand a large Book, with the following inscription written thereon. *The word of Almighty God, written and sealed with his own hand, for the children of earth.*

These things may appear to some, as phantoms of a disordered brain; but unto the candid and unprejudiced, must stand in their true light, unalterable truths, without veil or covering: the evidence of which nought but disobedience can remove from an enlightened mind, or darken with the clouds of unbelief.

I therefore testify unto all, that to me they are solemn realities, firmly grounded by a knowledge which I can never deny, should my life be required in consequence of a refusal.

Having proved by experience, the uprightness and integrity of this despised number, (called Shakers,) for the last twenty five years, I can with confidence bear witness that it is the vineyard of the Lord's planting, and by his merciful hand, daily supported.

New Lebanon, Columbia county,
state of New York. } ABIGAIL CROSMAN.

TESTIMONY OF HANNAH BLAKE.

New Lebanon, N. Y. January 2, 1842;

Sabbath morning, about the hour of ten, as I sat in solemn meditation upon the everlasting goodness and mercy of God, I was surrounded by a company of Holy Angels, whose brightness was far superior to any thing my eyes ever beheld.

Upon their heads were written the name of the ALMIGHTY JEHOVAH JAH; just beneath, their own names were stamped in letters of pure gold, as it appeared to my view, and were as follows; First, the Mighty Angel of God; second, the Angel of Conviction; third, the Angel of Meekness and Love; fourth the Angel of Mercy and Truth.

Their appearance at first, terrified me, and caused me to fear and tremble exceedingly: but the mighty Angel soon spake unto me, saying, Fear not O thou little one of flesh and blood; but bow ye low, and hearken to my word, yea, look and behold our doings. I looked, and beheld upon the head of the Mighty Angel, a large Roll. He held in his right hand, a pen of pure gold; and in his left, a Book; and upon the cover was written thus—*The true Record of Heaven.*

The second Angel held a very large trumpet in his hand. The third opened another Book, which he held to my view; it was perfectly clean and white; and on his head was a flaming two-edged sword.

As I turned to view the fourth Angel, I saw him shut the Book, and seal it with yellow seals. He held a rod of truth, and waved the sceptre of mercy gently over my head. I bowed very low four times; and heard the voice of the Mighty Angel saying, I am he whose power thou hast often felt, and whose hand hath brought thee even to the dust of the earth. Therefore, fear thou exceedingly to disobey the word of thy God, O thou mortal frame; lest He smite thee with a curse, and separate thee from his holy people.

The Angel took from his head, the afore-mentioned Roll, and said, This is the word of the Lord God of Heaven and earth, and in his own time, even as He hath declared, it shall extend from east to west, and from pole to pole. Yea it shall go throughout the earth. For I have brought it from the Heavens, even from the eternal throne of light! and I will measure its length and breadth, and number its many folds.

The Roll was then opened, and held by the four holy Angels, and it formed a perfect cross, pointing to the four quarters of the earth. I viewed it with surprise, for I understood not the language in which it was written.

After a short pause, the Roll was again folded in forty eight folds, and upon the outside fold, were written the following words;

O Ha'lon, Ha'lon, don es que'! Heaven, and the Angels in Heaven bear witness, that this Sacred Roll is now sent to earth, by the Angel of Holy Power and Wisdom.

The Angel then placed the Roll upon his head, saying, In due season shall all things be accomplished according as the Lord hath commanded.

The second Angel then sounded his trumpet to the four winds, and bowed very low at each blast.

They then sung a solemn song, and at the close, I again heard the voice of the Mighty Angel saying;

I am the messenger, who was sent to proclaim the word of my God, through the mouths of the Prophets of old, and to warn the people to turn from their unrighteousness, and seek his mercy. I am he who protected Daniel in the Lions' den, and delivered Jonah from the whale's belly, to do the will of his God. Yea, I am indeed the Mighty Angel who hath ever guarded God's chosen people who feared his holy name, and kept his commandments.

I work in wisdom, and my doings cannot be comprehended by mortals until they are revealed. But I am ever present with the witnesses of truth; and whenever they have been sent abroad, I have witnessed the persecutions and sufferings they have borne, for the sake of their testimony; and many are the times I have caused their spirits to rejoice in the God of their salvation, while their enemies feared and trembled before me. And now, even at this time, hath the God of Heaven sent me forth, with these my companions, to warn the inhabitants of earth with this his solemn word, that they may, if they will, hear his voice in mercy, and seek a refuge beneath his protecting wings, before it be too late.

The Angel then gave his word, concerning the reception of the Roll on earth, and bade me copy the same in his presence, which I did; and he immediately vanished from my sight.

On the twenty third of April following, while I was engaged in solemn worship with my brethren and sisters, I again heard the voice of the Mighty Angel, but understood not his word, for it was in a language unintelligible. But soon I perceived that the Angel was viewing the people very closely; and upon his head, as he passed me, I saw a hand, and upon the back of it was written thus; THE HAND OF ALMIGHTY POWER IS NOW SENT FORTH ON THE EARTH.

I then heard a loud trumpet; I looked, and beheld in the southwest, about a half mile from me, a thick cloud of smoke; and the Angel spake and said, The hand of the Lord is numbering his chosen people, who faithfully bear the cross of Christ, and walk in his holy footsteps. For behold! the Angels of destruction are this night to pass the camp of Israel! Yea, verily I say; those whom the Lord hath sent throughout the earth to execute his judgments, shall this night come near to his Zion, and call upon her inmates to mourn and lament, for the lost children of men.

When he had made an end of speaking, I looked, and the cloud of smoke had vanished; and I saw instead thereof, a company of holy Angels approaching from the same direction.

They came near, and placed themselves in the center of the room, in a square form; each one holding a trumpet. The Mighty Angel spake a word to them in his own language; and immediately they all bowed low in prayer and supplication, and the assembly united in the same.

After they arose, I saw them divide into four companies, just a hundred each, and turning to the four winds of heaven, marched with hasty steps each way, singing as they went.

April twenty eighth, as I was traveling with my companions a little distance from home, I saw the Mighty Angel coming from the north, holding in his hand the trumpet of alarm: He sounded it to the four winds, and turning his face toward Zion, said with a loud voice, I will visit thee again and again, until the Lord shall make an end of his sayings, and thou art beautiful in his sight.

Again on the first day of the fifth month, I beheld the Angel with his company, and saw the Sacred Roll placed upon his head, as I at first beheld it.

May eighth, I beheld the Mighty Angel, and he spake unto me, saying, Famine and pestilence shall sweep through the land, and desolation shall come near to the borders of Zion.

But unto thee hath the God of Heaven turned his face, and unto thee will He make known his all-righteous will, and just judgments; and all who will obey his laws, and walk humbly in his presence, shall be known by Him in the day of his fierce anger, and indignation upon the wicked.

The Angel then rested his wings upon the Sanctuary, or house of worship, and spake thus, For a time and a half time, shall I dwell in Jerusalem; and when the time is fulfilled, I will again number my chosen, and the clean white book shall be filled, when the end shall be.

At four or five different times from this period, I have seen the Mighty Angel, and heard his voice, through the mouths of other instruments; and can testify to the same with boldness, in love and holy fear; for at a certain time, through another of his chosen witnesses in the month of August, I was called in haste and asked if I was not a witness for the Mighty Angel; I replied I was; and that I knew his voice, and feared his word with the true fear of God.

All these things, with many others not here mentioned, have proved to my soul the necessity of humbling myself, and seeking in humility, the favor and mercy of that God who created my immortal soul; knowing that unto Him, through the medium of his chosen witnesses, I shall and must give a correct account of every deed both good and evil.

Twenty four years of my life, have I spent among his people; and thanks everlasting be to the source of all good for my precious call. I was born March thirty first, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

New Lebanon, N. Y. January 2, 1842. HANNAH BLAKE.

TESTIMONY OF ORREN HASKINS.

The late manifestation of God to his people, which has been for a few years past, I have been privileged with the opportunity of witnessing, from the commencement, to the present time. And being one in the work, and feeling and realizing its operation in my own soul, and its powerful influence on all its subjects, I can, in singleness of heart, testify to the truth of the work and manifestation of divine power, through the medium of holy Angels, and those in whom Christ has revealed himself the second time, without sin unto salvation; and that God has begun a work which will, in his own time, extend to every nation, tongue and people, either in mercy or judgment.

The fulfillment of his promises which I have witnessed, establishes my faith beyond a doubt, that the power manifested, is genuine, and proceeds from God; and those who receive and obey it, will have to confess and acknowledge, that the fruit is good, and proceeds from a pure source; and it thus far has proved as such, and will, to all who seek a holy life of self-denial and the cross; the same cross which our Lord and Savior did bear.

Therefore, I feel under the most solemn obligation to God and man, to boldly testify the truth, and maintain the same, at the risk of all things else. And, although God has, in some instances, manifested Himself through mortals who have not proved true unto the end, and has caused them to sound forth his word with unshaken confidence to the inhabitants of earth, yet, without his holy power and true fear, they were nought, but as empty sounds.

But truth standeth unalterable; and those mortal instruments who were truly baptized into his holy spirit, and trusted in God, and Him alone, were supported, and led according to his will; and were attended with evidence beyond a doubt, that they were influenced by his holy spirit.

New Lebanon, Columbia county,
state of New York, August 23, 1843. } ORREN HASKINS.

Born December third, eighteen hundred and fifteen, in the town of Savoy, county of Berkshire, state of Massachusetts; has lived among this people, about twenty one years.

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL CROSMAN.

As I have been one that has been called and chosen by the special notice of God, to do his will and stand as a living witness, prepared only through scenes of deep tribulation, and by that means enabled to testify before all people, that which He hath in his wisdom seen fit to reveal to mortals;

It is from no other motives, than a solemn sense of duty which I owe to God and a tender regard for the good of all mankind, that has induced me to stand forth boldly in a cause which will undoubtedly meet with much opposition, and excite the feelings of many to search deep, in order to determine the cause from whence these things originated.

Therefore, choosing rather to obey the dictates of my own conscience in laboring to do the will of God as made known to me, in preference to seeking the favor and applause of those who are enemies to the cross of Christ, I shall labor in the fear of God, to testify of that which my eyes have seen, my ears have heard, and of which my soul has been partaker, and to which I can with boldness and confidence bear witness before all people, to be the real work of God, and not the invention of man or woman.

Some time previous to the Roll being written, many signs and forewarnings were given, indicating that God was about to bring to pass a great work among the children of this world, which thing I was confident would shortly take place; but in what way and manner it would be effected, was not then fully made known to me; but I can truly say, when the Roll came forth it corresponded perfectly with my feelings, and my faith was strengthened in the work; and I have no hesitation in saying that it was given by the special revelation of God, through means of his own choosing; and if vain mortals dare to trifle with, and make light of the solemn warnings therein contained, they will in no wise escape the sore displeasure of a justly provoked God, who will, in his own time, recompense every one according to their works.

New Lebanon, N. Y. June 9, 1843. DANIEL CROSMAN.

Born December 10, 1810; *in Wilmington, county of Windham and state of Vermont; was gathered into this society, October* 26, 1822.

TESTIMONY OF OLIVE WHEELER.

New Lebanon, N. Y. April 20, 1843.

I feel bound to write a few lines, testifying my full belief in the divine origin of the foregoing Roll, brought by the holy and mighty Angel of God.

On the fifth of February, eighteen hundred forty three, I distinctly heard the mighty Angel, beating, as it were, upon a drum three times. I then saw him enter the room where I was, and make some signs, for which I could not account; he then disappeared.

But after a little while, I looked out of the window, and to my surprise, saw him marching the street, with forty holy Angels. He appeared to me as a man clothed in white, black and red. Another Angel then appeared to me, who was an attendant of the mighty Angel; he passed through the house where I was, and showed forth a multitude of signs which were very singular and strange. All this, I was told, represented the work of God, and the present work of the holy Angel; which was, to warn a lost world to turn from the evil of their doings, and flee from the wrath to come.

And I do solemnly testify and declare to all, who may consider these few lines worth their notice, that the origin of the foregoing Roll is divine, and that it is the word of God, revealed, in his infinite mercy, to mortals on earth. And I will ever stand to the truth of this assertion, while time endureth.

OLIVE WHEELER.

I was born October 21, 1802, *and was brought among this people by my father, March, A. D.* 1809.

TESTIMONY OF EMILY BABCOCK.

The town of Ashford, County of Windham and state of Connecticut was the place of my nativity; where I was born April 9, 1823. I came into the united society in New Lebanon, November, 1825, where I have resided to the present time; and having received many divine manifestations, which have confirmed my faith in the present work of God among his people, I feel willing to declare the same to all my fellow mortals.

On the Sabbath, the sixth day of October, eighteen hundred forty two, as I came out of the meeting house, after attending solemn worship, I heard the sound of a mighty trumpet, which caused me to raise my eyes to see from whence the sound proceeded; when I beheld an Angel standing on the top of the center dwelling, holding in his right hand a trumpet, and in his left, a Roll or Book.

With his trumpet he sounded aloud, turning to the four quarters of the earth; and it was made known unto me, on my return home from meeting, by that power which is not of mortals, but of the Supreme Being, who is God of all, that a Roll should yet be revealed and spread abroad to all nations of the earth, that they might be forewarned of his judgments, and prepare for the same.

I saw no more of the Angel after that time, until the month of January, eighteen hundred forty three, when I again saw him bearing the Roll in his hand; and he spake unto me in a loud and mighty voice, saying; I am a holy Angel of power, from the throne of my God; and I have come before you at this time, in power and in truth; and I speak unto you of things very few of which ye shall understand now; but the time shall come, when you shall know the meaning of my sayings

Although the meaning of my words are unknown to you now, yet shall they bear with weight on your mind, until I shall see fit to reveal them to you, in a language that you can understand: so remember ye my word and forget it not.

This and this only did I understand at that time.

April fifth, eighteen hundred forty three, an Angel spake unto me, saying; I come, I come again at this time to make known unto you the meaning of the words which I before did speak, which you did not understand. So hearken and hear my word, and write the same; for I have now come to fulfill my promise.

I am the Angel that you, and many more mortals, have seen within a short time; I hold in my right hand a trumpet; and in my left, a Roll. Se to′ re ca′ lo ve′ rin de le′ ri, ere my time has come. For thus saith the Lord your God:

Behold, the time has now fully arrived, when all the inhabitants of earth, different nations, tongues and people, shall hear my indisputable word of truth and justice. Of my all-righteous judgments shall they be warned in due season; and all who strictly obey my warning voice, before it be too late, yea I say, all, every class and order that heed my word in due season, with the same shall it be well, now and hereafter. But those who slight, disregard, mock, scoff or deride my sacred Word, shall not escape my hand of judgment.

I have not thus warned the inhabitants of earth for nought; but that they might know in part, in a very small part, that which awaiteth them, and humble themselves, if they would, and turn to Me their God; for I am truly to be found of those that seek Me in truth, and in the sincerity of their souls.

To those who seek aright, shall it surely be given. The hungry soul will I feed with the bread of Heaven, and to the thirsty soul will I give to drink of the waters of life everlasting and eternal. I am the only true and living God of Heaven and earth; and not one word that I have spoken, or shall hereafter speak, or cause, by my power, to be written, shall ever fall or fail. So beware how, and in what manner ye treat my word, O ye children of men; consider, well consider, and seek to understand these my sayings.

Inspired Witness,

EMILY BABCOCK.

I can now boldly testify and affirm that what I have here stated is the truth, and that I am willing to meet my Maker at any hour. I know that I am nothing but a frail mortal, in the sight of my God; but that which is revealed to me by divine revelation, and the power of an Almighty God, I know to be true.

New Lebanon, N. Y. April 8, 1843. EMILY BABCOCK.

We, the undersigned, hereby testify, that we saw the holy Angel, standing upon the house-top, as mentioned in the foregoing declaration, holding the Roll and Book.

BETSEY BOOTHE.
LOUISA CHAMBERLAIN.
CATY DE WITT.
LAURA ANN JACOBS.
SARAH MARIA LEWIS.
SARAH ANN SPENCER.
LUCINDA McDONIELS.
MARIA HEDRICK.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES X. SMITH.

I was born in Norwich, county of Chenango, state of New York, January twenty sixth, eighteen hundred and six; and was gathered into the United Society in New Lebanon July eighth, eighteen hundred sixteen. And having lived here for twenty seven years, in which time I have been familiar with the work of God, and in a special manner for the last few years, in which the windows of Heaven have been opened and a knowledge of the way and will of God made known to poor lost man, by the gift of divine inspiration and revelation; I feel it a duty I owe to God and my fellow creatures, to bear testimony to that which by the gift of God, I have seen, heard and felt.

In truth, and in the fear of God, I can say, that by the gift of divine revelation, I have seen the lost state of poor fallen man; I have seen that the whole element in which he is born into this world, is opposed to God, and to the spirit of his blessed Son; yea, and I can say by the light of divine inspiration, I have seen, as plain as I ever beheld by the light of the sun, the highways on this earth, that the way revealed by Christ and Mother Ann, is the only way whereby fallen man can find his redemption, and come into a state of purity and holiness, and be true children of the Parents of the New Creation of God.

I have witnessed the revelation of many things past, and things which were to come; many of which have come to pass according to prediction, which could have been revealed by no other power, than that which is able to comprehend all things, both visible and invisible.

And furthermore I believe and testify, that the word of God, as published in this Book, has been written by divine inspiration, and that it is the greatest offer in mercy that has ever been given to man to obtain the favor of a justly provoked God; and it is my firm belief that no soul who will yield obedience to it, will fall short of what has been promised therein; but will see the goodness of God and feel satisfied; while those who despise his offers in mercy, will have to share in his heavy judgments.

I have witnessed the operation of the work of God upon many souls, both upon the faithful and the unfaithful. With the faithful, I have seen the good seed take root and grow, until it brought forth all the heavenly virtues which adorn the true followers of Christ and Mother. While on the other hand, I have seen those who have been blessed with great light and power, yea, and even with the gift of inspiration, yield to the influence of a carnal mind, become unreconciled to the cross of Christ, lose their element in the way of God, and manifest clearly that the spirit of Christ had ceased to strive with them. As a witness for the truth, I do testify that I have no other hope of Eternal Life, only in obedience to this gospel.

JAMES x SMITH.

New Lebanon, N.Y. August 15, 1843.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES McCARTIE.

I was born September fifth, eighteen hundred twenty one, in the City of New York; And having been a resident in this society for twelve years, I feel it incumbent upon me to assert that my faith is established in the testimony maintained among this people, that it has emanated from God and none else; that in, and among this people, all true prophetic types and figures relative to the latter day of glory, are fulfilled to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced and true seeker after righteousness; that in every jot and tittle, it fully accords with the self-denying gospel taught by Christ and his apostles, which was, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his daily cross and follow me. And again; Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.

These are two principal articles in the constitution of this society, and two main pillars which uphold this sacred temple, wherein dwell peace and good will towards all men; whereon rests that cloud, the type of which gave light unto the Israelites, while it was the cause of stumbling to the Egyptians; and when viewed from without it was darkness; but within, Moses and Aaron conversed with, and were covered with the glory of God.

It always has been, still is, and ever will be, the leading principle among this people, (notwithstanding the behavior of individuals to the contrary,) to follow peace with all men, and live a life of holiness, to deal justly, love mercy and walk humbly before their God; and if these will not accord with, and prove this to be true religion, then may it be said, that Christ was a grand deceiver, and the Scriptures pointed lies.

I feel confident in testifying my firm and unshaken belief in the divine emanation of the foregoing pages of this Book, believing and knowing it to have had its origin in God alone, and being his most merciful offer of redemption to fallen man; and I do not hesitate to affirm, that all who will take the doctrine herein contained, for their rule of life, and live accordingly, will assuredly find it a guide unto their feet, a lamp in their path, and a staff whereon to lean while sojourning through time. They will see the light of Heaven shining upon their path brighter and brighter, and they will grow more and more into the knowledge and love of godliness.

And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquities and I will remember their sins no more. And that God which they now view as a wrathful Sovereign, clothed in fury, dispensing judgment and desolation through the land, they will then behold as a kind and tender Shepherd, an affectionate and loving Father, watching over them with an eye of mercy and forbearance, and directing them in his wisdom, and with his arm of Almighty Power providing for their present and eternal happiness and welfare.

Believing, and being confirmed in my belief, that this testimony is the only door of hope, through which every soul must pass, in order to enter the kingdom of Heaven, and meet their God in peace, I earnestly desire that all who have a privilege to read or hear these sacred pages, may consider their weighty importance, and give them the attention they demand.

New Lebanon, N. Y. August 15, 1843. CHARLES McCARTIE.

TESTIMONY OF SALLY MARIA STEWART.

Some time in the month of October, eighteen hundred and forty two, on the Sabbath, after divine worship, as I came out of the meeting house, I heard the sound of a trumpet, which seemed to be in the air. I looked up, and beheld on the north end of the centre house, a Mighty Angel, holding in his right hand a trumpet, and in his left a Roll or Book: and by the spirit of God it was then made known to me, that this Mighty Angel held the word of the Lord in his hand, which would yet be sounded to all nations of the earth. It was also made known to me at this time, who the instrument was, that the Lord had chosen to reveal the words of this Roll to the people.

Many times before this, I had seen this Mighty Angel, and knew him to be the same; and as a witness thereof, I here assert an instance which occurred on the evening of June fifth, eighteen hundred forty one, which I can testify before all people, to be the truth, and was spoken by the same Mighty Angel whom I afterwards saw standing on the centre house.

I was taken from things of time, by the Angel of Almighty power, to the top of a high mountain, where the Angel spake words unto me, as follows:

Hearken and give ear, while I tell you of things that will take place on earth; that when you hear of them, you may know that they are caused by the over-ruling hand of God; for He is about to send heavy judgments upon the inhabitants of this world. Then extending his hand towards the east, he said:

Look thou yonder; there lies a very wicked nation which have long sinned against a just and true God: and He, in his mercy, has borne with their iniquities, and held back his furious wrath; but now saith the Lord, vengeance is mine, and I will repay; yea, my vengeance shall be poured out upon the inhabitants thereof, and they shall know that I am Lord of Heaven and earth. And as the Angel turned with his hand extended, he said:

No quarter of this earth can escape the judgments of a justly provoked God; and many, very many of the inhabitants will be swept off from the face of the earth. Fires, famines, earthquakes and pestilence shall prevail; cities and towns shall sink under the mighty hand of God; yea, He will rule both sea and land, and his righteous judgments will roll, roll on, till all nations are brought low; for all men will yet fear and tremble at the word of my God.

Truly, the abominations of the children of men are great, and the scourge will be mighty. And, saith the Angel, all these things will yet be; yet never fear, but place your trust in God; for those who love and fear the Lord, and keep his commandments, He will protect from harm. And know thou, that none but the humble and meek can escape the judgments of Him who seeth all things; and whose power no mortal hand can stay. The Angel then left me. Inspired Witness,

SALLY MARIA STEWART.

I know I am but a feeble mortal; yet I can testify in truth, that what is contained in this Roll and Book, is the work of an Almighty God, sent forth by his Proclaiming Angel, to the inhabitants of earth; and this do I freely acknowledge, and will to the end of time, to be the work of God, and not of mortals; and this testimony given in the sincerity of my heart, I am willing to meet in the presence of God, the Father of all.

New Lebanon, N. Y. April 15, 1843. SALLY MARIA STEWART.

Born October 15, 1806, *in the town of Spencer, Columbia county, state of New York.*

TESTIMONY OF DAVID A. BUCKINGHAM.

Thus saith one who has wholly devoted and consecrated himself, soul and body, time and talents to the service of his Creator God; whose eyes have seen, and whose ears have heard the wonderful things of God, and the great display of the Almighty, in this day of Christ's Second Coming; and whose soul has tasted of the holy things of Heaven, and the powers of the world to come;

Being a firm believer in the revelation of God, and the gift of divine inspiration, by which the Prophets of old, and the Apostles of Jesus Christ, were enabled to declare and to write the words of the Almighty, revealed in their day; even so do I firmly believe that, in this day of Christ's second appearing, the Heavenly Father in his never-ending mercy, has called forth Prophets and chosen Instruments, to proclaim his holy word and will to the inhabitants of earth. And I hesitate not to declare, that I have full faith and confidence in the substance of the foregoing pages of the Sacred Roll and Book, believing it to be the holy word of God, and written in a true gift of divine inspiration.

It has ever been the will and pleasure of the Almighty, through every age and dispensation of his grace to the lost children of men, to send forth his holy word of solemn warning, showing them their lost state and condition, and the dangerous situation they were in; giving them suitable time to repent in low humility of soul, that all who would, might escape the fury of his wrath. And it has ever been so, that the only true light and knowledge of Heaven, made known to the children of men, have been by and through the revelation of God, in such ways and means, and through such individuals, as He was pleased to appoint and anoint with his holy power, for the accomplishment of the same.

Why then should it appear incredible to any rational, candid and well informed mind, that the great Author of our existence, in his mercy, condescension and loving kindness, should, in this enlightened age of the world, again make a display of his mighty power, his love and infinite wisdom? and by the gift of divine Revelation and Inspiration, declare to the nations of the earth, the speedy fulfillment of the ancient predictions and prophecies, concerning the great day of his oming, wherein should be displayed the fullness of his glory?

Even as in ages that are past, so doth He now send forth his holy word of solemn warning to the inhabitants of earth, of the near approach of his rolling judgments which are already going forth through the land, that all who will, may turn from the evil of their doings, and in low humility of spirit, seek his mercy before it be too late. In this is clearly manifested the great wisdom, love and condescension of the Almighty to the lost children of men, in giving them a foreknowledge and timely warning of that which will shortly come to pass; that those who are willing to hearken to his word and keep his commands, may escape the fury of his wrath, and the vengeance of his hand.

Having full faith in the present great manifestation of God, and the gifts of divine revelation and inspiration existing in his holy Church on earth, I have not the least shadow of a doubt of the truth and reality of the foregoing pages, and of the divine authority by which they were written. And having been an eye witness of the manifestations of divine power attending the reading of the Sacred Roll, before a large assembly, after it was written by mortal hand, is sufficient evidence to me, (had I no other,) of the purity of its composition and divine origin, and of the supreme authority in which it is sent forth to the nations of the earth.

And even more than this, I have an indisputable knowledge in my own soul, of the holy spirit and power in which the Sacred Roll is given; and by which power, I can safely declare it to be the holy word of God, sent forth to the inhabitants of earth, to warn them of their danger, and give them timely notice of the displeasure of the Almighty in beholding the wickedness of the world.

Therefore, in the solemn fear of God, and in the sincerity of my soul, I write this testimony of my faith and feelings concerning the Sacred Roll and Book, in evidence thereof, for the benefit of my fellow beings, as being the greatest act of benevolence I am capable of bestowing. And having now passed the fortieth year of my age, and arriven to that point of life, in which man possesses the full powers and faculties of his mind; and also, having had a lengthy experience of twenty four years among these peculiar people, to become acquainted with their true life and character, I hope the reader will not consider me under a mask of deception concerning my religious belief, or that I am duped and influenced by others, to act contrary to what I consider to be right and just, in the performance of my duty either to God or man.

Watervliet, Albany county, N. Y. }
August 24, 1843. }
David A. Buckingham.

Born the ninth day of March, 1803; *in the town and county of Schoharie, and state of New York.*

TESTIMONY OF WILLARD ALLEN.

On the eighth, ninth and tenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, there appeared unto me an Angel, having in his possession a Roll and Book, like unto one I heard read, on the ninth and eleventh of April, one thousand eight hundred and forty three.

The above Roll was unsealed in my presence, and the Angel read to me from it, on each day of his visit, from different sections, four different sentences; making in all, twelve.

The Angel then informed me, that this Roll and Book was to be written by mortal hand, and circulated for the general benefit of mankind. But the name of the one who should pen these things, and bring them to the sight and understanding of man, and the time of its accomplishment, was then concealed from my knowledge.

But in the reading of the foregoing Roll and Book, I recognized and knew the twelve sentences referred to above, as being the same, verbatim, as those read to me by the Angel a year before. And further, I also knew that the same Angel who read to me at that time, was in attendance on the reading of the foregoing Roll and Book, on the ninth and eleventh instant. And he there and then informed me, these were correct copies of those he had previously shown me.

I, the writer of the foregoing communication, was born April tenth, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and have spent seventeen years in obedience to my present faith and calling.

Watervliet, N. Y. April 13, 1843. WILLARD ALLEN.

TESTIMONY OF JUSTICE HARWOOD.

As my belief is firm and unshaken in the powerful and mighty display of the work of God that has been showered upon his people for several years past, I feel it a duty to bear witness to the same.

I was born in Cummington, county of Berkshire and state of Massachusetts; August twentieth, seventeen hundred eighty nine; and was gathered into the United Society at Watervliet, in the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

I have been a close observer of the late strange and powerful work of God among his people, from the beginning; and have many times been overshadowed with the irresistible and mighty power of God, which I could not withstand, but by the influence of which I had to move as the spirit directed, which was convincing to me, beyond a doubt, that it was the mighty power of God; that power which no man or woman can counterfeit.

I further testify, that I firmly believe the foregoing Roll and Book contains the word of Almighty God, sent by his holy Angel, and by him revealed to an instrument of mortal clay; and that the instrument who was called by the holy Angel to perform this sacred duty, has written it as the Angel read to him, and is the word of Almighty God to fallen man; that word which will stand when all human inventions shall fall. And as a friend and well-wisher to all mankind, I would advise them to be careful how they treat this solemn warning from their Heavenly Father, and not speak evil of that which they do not understand. But read the Book candidly, without any prejudice, and consider its weighty truths, as the invention of neither man or woman, but the word of a holy God, which will meet every soul in mercy or in judgment.

Watervliet, N. Y. August 24, 1843. JUSTICE HARWOOD.

TESTIMONY OF PAULINA BATES.

In the commencement of this late manifestation, I became exceedingly desirous to have a part in the gifts of God, either by vision or revelation, or in whatever manner the Lord might see fit to notice me. Not that I had any doubt of its correctness, but for my own satisfaction and comfort I desired to know these things by experience.

But my fervent prayers and cries to God seemed for a time all of no effect; it appeared as though the Heavens were shut against me in this respect. I many times promised the Lord, upon my bended knees, that I would be true to the least gift of his spirit, which He might see fit to give me. And in process of time, the Lord in his wisdom saw fit to call me forth by his mighty power, to write, and also to speak his holy and eternal word, which He purposed to reveal to the children of his Zion upon the earth, by the mouth of his holy Angels, which He often sent from time to time, with the sacred volumes thereof.

These things I do know, and can bear witness to with confidence, before all men, even should I know that my natural life would become a sacrifice in consequence. Yea, rather than deny the same, or in the least flinch, by the fear of man, or forbear to declare my full confidence in the present work of God, both as an individual and as an inspired instrument, who has seen, handled and tasted the good things of God, and knows beyond a doubt that God is the Author of the same, I would cheerfully face death in any form.

But for all I have been called to speak or write of the word of God, sounded forth by his holy Angels and ministering spirits in this great display of his power, I stand ready to answer to God, knowing of myself I could do nothing; but by the power and gift of God have I been able to write and speak many things, in his holy name, that I, myself, was as ignorant of as a child unborn.

Many, very many proofs and confirmations have I had to confirm me, beyond a doubt, concerning that divine origin from whence these precious gifts and communications have been given; and I boldly say, and bear witness that I know them to be of God. And although wicked man, influenced by the father of all wickedness, should rise up and seek to destroy the work of God, and the power of his last manifestation to his people; and also his word which He has given in mercy to the children of men, yet he can never overthrow that which God hath so firmly established by his own mighty power and strength.

Although the way and means which God hath laid out for the redemption of all souls, may seem small and self-degrading, yet all will find, sooner or later, that sufficient therein is given to undermine and beat in pieces every false creed and form, and make, of those who call upon the name of the Lord for salvation, one people, of one heart and mind, seeing eye to eye, having one faith, one Lord and one baptism; which is the baptism of fire and the Holy Spirit that worketh the purification of the heart.

I have written the foregoing with my own hand, but not in my own strength; which word I am not afraid to meet both in Heaven and on earth; either before the Angels of God or the wicked inhabitants of earth. My soul stands undaunted, and with boldness do I place my name and testimony as a witness to the present manifestation of the revelation of God, to his called and chosen people; as being one who has been called to be a partaker, not only an eye or ear witness, but as one of the chosen instruments which God hath called, whereby to bring about his purposes. And thus is my word and my witness closed.

Watervliet, N. Y. April 10, 1843. PAULINA BATES.

Born December 26, 1806; *in the town of Brownville, county of Jefferson and state of New York; was gathered into this society in the year* 1825.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH WICKER.

About nine o'clock this evening, (April 20, 1843,) while engaged in prayer and supplication to God, I received a small Roll; and it was said to me, This is the word of the Lord. After receiving it, I returned it to the Angel who brought it, and I was required to write, while he read as follows:

Thus saith the Lord who upholdeth the righteous, and saith to Zion, Receive my word that I now send unto thee. My word is truth, and it shall not return unto Me void; but the word I have spoken, I will surely perform; and I will empty out the wicked, who despise judgment and scoff at my holy givings.

In mercy have I now sent forth my word anew unto the inhabitants of the earth; and I have again set life and death before them, teaching them plainly, what I require of the souls I have created, and warning them of the judgments which shall shortly pass through the earth, and enter the habitations of the sons and daughters of pride, who have chosen the paths of iniquity and the seal of destruction.

Lo, from my Holy Mount, from the centre of the Zion of my likeness on earth, have I caused this my word to go forth; and in truth and faithfulness have I caused it to be plainly written, that all who desire it, may clearly understand how to find my mercy and forgiveness.

O ye inhabitants of the earth, is it a strange thing, that I am able now, as in days of old, to make known my word unto you, through the means of my own choosing? Is my power diminished, so that I cannot reveal my word to souls who dwell in tabernacles of clay? Who hath taken from Me, or who hath removed my attributes? Will ye set bounds for Me, that I cannot pass, or determine what things I shall not do? When did I ever teach you that I would never again speak unto the sons of men?

If ye would be wise, receive my testimonies which I have revealed in this day of my favor and kindness unto sinful man, and reject not my laws.

Inspired Witness,

JOSEPH WICKER.

Strange as the contents of the foregoing pages may appear to the natural man, I feel no hesitation to declare my faith in the truth of the doctrines, warnings, invitations and instructions, set forth and inculcated in them; and that they are of divine origin, and eminently calculated to produce peace and happiness in all who observe and keep them.

I was born in the town and county of Bennington, state of Vermont, March 23, 1790; *was gathered into the Society in April*, 1806.

JOSEPH WICKER.

Hancock, Berkshire county, state of Massachusetts; April 20, 1843.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH PATTEN.

Feeling it a duty I owe to mankind, I thankfully bear witness to the truth and reality of the many wonderful manifestations of divine power which I have seen among the children of Zion.

As God did in the primitive church, so has He in these days, blessed his people with heavenly givings. Many are inspired to speak and write his word, to prophesy the things that come to pass, to speak in unknown tongues, to interpret what is so spoken, to discern spirits; and many other spiritual gifts.

Having received some of these divine gifts, I can say in the language of a holy apostle, What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

Having these lights before me, I feel no hesitation in declaring my entire conviction that the foregoing Roll and Book is true; that it has been produced by the divine spirit of inspiration, as much as those written by the ancient prophets, and other inspired servants of God.

The Lord our God has no where declared, in the record of his word, that He never would again bless his creatures with a further revelation of his will; but the scriptures teach us there is to be a revelation of the righteous judgment of God. And I feel the witness in my soul, that God has, in this latter day, revealed his will in divers ways, and concerning many things; and that his impending judgments will fall upon those who willfully disobey his commands, and refuse to repent of their transgressions.

My counsel to all is, Let truth have its perfect effect in your hearts; condemn not through prejudice, nor judge under the influence of envy; and let all conscientiously live according to the best light they have.

Hancock, Mass. August 13, 1843. JOSEPH PATTEN.

Born in Belchertown, Hampshire county, Massachusetts; was gathered into the United Society in Hancock, February, 1805.

TESTIMONY OF MARTHA VAN VALEN.

On Saturday evening, December seventeenth, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, while in meeting, I saw a very powerful Angel enter the east side of the room, clothed in shining brightness. His appearance filled my soul with godly fear. He said to me, I am the Angel of Eternal Truth. Look thou! behold this Roll, which shall be written in my time. I looked and saw a very lengthy Roll held before me, and it was sealed with many seals.

The Angel broke the first seal, and commenced unrolling it. He unrolled a part, and then came to another seal. In this manner he continued unrolling and breaking the seals, until it was all unrolled. And by the space it covered in the room, it must have been about twenty feet long, and several feet wide. I saw it was covered with writing, but could not read one word of it.

Sabbath morning, December eighteenth, while in our morning meeting, I saw the same Angel with the same Roll; and he held it before me. At this time a very solemn feeling came over me, accompanied with a weight of tribulation. There was also another spirit standing by me; and I said, What does this mean? Is this for me to read? Nay, said the spirit, it is not for you to read; but it is the eternal word of God, and will be written and sent to all nations of the earth. You will yet know this to be true.

The Angel with the Roll now left the room, and I looked to see where he went; and saw him go towards New Lebanon. My impression then was, that the Roll would be written there, and sent forth as I had been told. This I mentioned to some of the family at the time.

The next day I saw the Roll again, and the Angel that unrolled and unsealed it as before. I did not count the number of the seals, neither did I know their meaning.

Tuesday afternoon, April fourth, one thousand eight hundred and forty three, a mighty Angel appeared to me. He first told his name, Ha la vac′ tha na′; and then said, O thou little one, bow before me.

The appearance of this mighty Angel was majestic and solemn. When he spake, his voice caused me to tremble with godly fear and reverence. After a pause, he said; Bow down thou mortal instrument, bow low, low, even to the dust of the earth, if thou wilt become a witness to the truth of the holy word of God, which in his wisdom He hath seen fit to cause to be written. Yea, the word of your Eternal Parents hath been revealed by a mighty and powerful Angel; and written by mortal hand at New Lebanon, the Mount of God.

O ye witnesses of the eternal word which is about to be sent forth to the different nations of the earth, through the mercy, power and wisdom of God, have ye not felt the solemn and awful weight of the word and work which have been revealed in the Zion of God upon earth? Can you not testify, in truth, that the Lord God hath declared, through his ministering Angels, that the fire of his Almighty truth should be spread through earth's remotest bounds? Yea, to this, and to more can ye bear witness.

Hark, hear the awful sound; Woe! woe! woe! awful woes are pronounced upon the inhabitants of the earth. A sign shall be given in the east. Terrible and mighty is the army that shall be sent to and fro in the earth, with vials filled with the wrath of God, to pour upon the proud, the high, the unjust, the unmerciful, the filthy worker, and those who regard not the laws of God or man.

All those who will trifle with, or in any way abuse, destroy or cause to be destroyed, the sacred words of truth written and sent forth to all the nations of the earth, by the command of the great Jehovah, better, far better would it be for them, if they had never been born. For, saith the Eternal God, I will meet those that do this thing, with heavy judgments. My words to them shall be like the roarings of mighty thunders; and no forgiveness shall they find, but through heavy sufferings. So take warning and be careful, O ye children of earth, how you treat that which you do not understand.

To all who are called to witness to this, the word of your God, know ye, there will disputers and cavilers arise, but fear them not; for what is written is the word of your God, and all the powers of darkness will never be able to destroy the truth thereof; but it will stand to the endless ages of eternity.

Inspired Witness,

MARTHA VAN VALEN.

As a witness, I boldly and firmly declare to all mankind, that what is here written is no fiction, but is the everlasting truth. It is simply what I saw and heard.

I was born in Fishkill, Duchess county, state of New York, May first, eighteen hundred and four; came here to live, April, eighteen hundred and thirty three.

Hancock, Mass. April 4, 1843. MARTHA VAN VALEN.

TESTIMONY OF JUDITH W. COLLINS.

On the twenty seventh day of April, eighteen hundred and forty two, feeling my soul filled with deep and heavy tribulation, I withdrew to a place of retirement, and there in secret did I humble myself; yea, in low humiliation did I pray with a fervent spirit to my Heavenly Parents, to enable me to know and to do their will. While in this labor of mind, I beheld a large Book lying on a table in the room; and was told to open it. I did so, but could read very little. I looked along in the Book, until I came to the three hundred and twelfth page.

April fourth, eighteen hundred and forty three, I retired to my room to meditate upon the solemn work of God. Many words came fresh to my mind, that I had been compelled by the power of God to speak concerning the judgments that would surely take place in the earth. While I was seriously and solemnly reflecting upon these things, the holy Angel of the Lord entered the room, and spake as follows:

Child of mortality, know thou that the work of God is a swift work, and it requires souls to be alive. Understand thou, for I have come to summon thee for a witness; therefore write thou thy name, that it may be recorded in the sacred Roll which God thy Heavenly Father hath purposed to send forth to the inhabitants of the earth.

I answered, O holy Angel, this will I freely do; for surely I have received from thee many precious and heavenly treasures. Yea, thou hast caused my mortal frame to tremble with holy power, and in the power of my God doth my soul live and rejoice. Should mortals rise against the truth declared unto them in this great manifestation of the Lord Almighty, and seek to destroy the lives of his chosen and living witnesses, I as a witness will support the truth of this written Word, to the laying down of my life. For I know it to be the word of God, sent forth according to his will, as a light to lead souls out of darkness, and cause them to seek salvation.

Then said the mighty Angel of the Lord, I now say unto you, O ye children of men, be careful and handle the word of God, which He has sent in mercy unto you, with fear and reverence. Remember this my word unto you. As you treat this word of God, so God will treat you. His eye will be upon you, and heavy judgments will He cause to fall upon the soul that dares to put forth a hand to destroy his holy word. The work of God is now going on; haste ye, and be ready. For He hath sent forth holy Prophets, to prophesy and make known the things which are to come.

Before this interview with the Angel, the Prophet Daniel wrote as follows: Great destruction shall go through the land; cities will be destroyed, with the inhabitants thereof. Many will be cut off in the prime of their days; fathers and mothers shall mourn for the untimely loss of their children, and children shall mourn for the loss of their parents.

Yea, saith the Eternal God, I will cause mighty storms to arise, and destroy many from off the earth. For I am He who gave creation birth; and in my own time will I sweep the earth with the besom of destruction. Think not, when earthquakes shake the earth from pole to pole, and droughts, wind and hail, destroy rich loaded fields of vegetation, that it is a natural consequence; but know ye, O ye inhabitants of earth, it is the work of your God. For many and great are your sins and transgressions; and if ye expect to find mercy and escape the heavy judgments of God, bow low and put away your sins, according to the word sent unto you, and you will find mercy and the salvation of your never-dying souls.

Inspired Witness,

JUDITH W. COLLINS.

I, as a witness, firmly and boldly declare to the world of mankind, that Christ hath appeared the second time without sin unto salvation; and that I have a part in this work, and have tasted the powers of the world to come; and for this I do bow low in thankfulness to my Heavenly Parents. And I fear not what man can do, for God is able to bring to pass all things according to his own mind and will.

Hancock, Mass. April 4, 1843. JUDITH W. COLLINS.

Born in Cambridge, county of Washington, state of New York; was gathered into the United Society at Hancock in September, 1820.

TESTIMONY OF AVERILL HASKELL.

In the summer of eighteen hundred and forty two, while in deep and heavy tribulation, I frequently conversed with Angels and spirits. I often thought on the trials of the Savior, who suffered even unto death, to lay the foundation for the redemption of fallen man; I also thought how much Mother Ann and her faithful companions suffered in the cause of Christ. And I sometimes put the question to my own soul, Were some in this day, publicly to declare what they have both seen and heard, in gifts of vision, inspiration and revelation, would they not be exposed to a similar fate?

I often bowed my spirit in fervent supplication to my Heavenly Father, that He would, in mercy to the lost children of men, cause the mighty trumpet of his word to be sounded through and through the earth; and that a preparatory work might awaken the people to a sense of their loss from God.

On the evening of the eighth of June, eighteen hundred and forty two, while contemplating on the heavenly and divine blessings I was daily enjoying, through the loving kindness of God in opening the way of salvation, and calling me by the everlasting gospel, to be a member of the Church of Christ, while there were millions who knew not what God was about to accomplish on the earth; there appeared around me a light, and I heard a voice calling unto me, Thou chosen instrument, be ready; have your lamp trimmed and burning; for the Lord is about to visit the inhabitants of the earth.

I saw in the light, an Angel of God, and many unbodied spirits whom I knew, clothed with brightness, having a large and beautiful box. I asked for what purpose they had brought the box. They answered; That you may be a witness; and added, that the box was sent some time previous, by Holy Wisdom, to the Holy Anointed in the Church at New Lebanon; and that it had been seen in other places.

I was much pleased with the box; and asked what it contained. They answered; The word and seal of the Living God, and Holy Wisdom. The Angel then took from it a trumpet; he also took a Book, and opened it. It appeared like a book of considerable size, printed with ink and types. I read on the cover as follows:

"The Three Witnesses."
"Testimonies of Christ's second appearing."
"All flesh shall see the salvation of God."
"1843."

My heart flowed with thankfulness to my Eternal Parents, that they were about to send and make known their word and will for the salvation of the lost children of men. I did not take the Book; The angel said, We shall carry it to New Lebanon, and it will be written there, by some one, through the gift of inspiration.

With the most earnest feelings of my soul I entreated the Angel and spirits then present, to return there, and cause the book to be seen by the anointed instruments. Father James answering, said, It shall be seen there, and in other societies of Believers. And it shall be sent abroad, even to the ends of the earth: for it beareth the seal of the living God.

The Angel then sounded his mighty trumpet; the sound thereof was long and loud; and it seemed that it shook the whole earth, which appeared shrouded in gloom, and in many places thick darkness.

And I saw people thereon, walking to and fro, mourning and weeping; while thousands looked towards Zion with uplifted hands, crying, Lord show us the way. And I heard a voice from on high, saying, Fear ye your God, and tremble at his word, all ye people; for the Lord hath descended with a Book of his mercy and judgment, for all the lost sons and daughters of Adam.

The next day I endeavored to ascertain more fully what was meant by showing me this Book; and I received the following answer from Father James Whittaker.

The Book you saw, is the doctrine of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, sent from God, to be revealed through his chosen instrument at New Lebanon, for all mankind, who are yet in their sins, bound by the spirit of evil, superstition and bigotry.

Many will believe the gospel, and will humble themselves under the mighty power of God. The people will quake; the earth will be shaken from the foundation; and the leaves of every tree will quiver.

Inspired Witness,

Averill Haskell.

I can solemnly testify, that the above is a true statement of what I heard and saw at the aforementioned date; and I am willing, if called upon, to bear witness to the truth of the same before all mortals, and also before my everlasting Judge in eternity.

I was born in the town and county of Tolland, state of Connecticut, March eleventh, eighteen hundred and nine; have lived in the United Society twenty nine years.

Enfield, county of Hartford, state of Connecticut; April 7, 1843. Averill Haskell.

TESTIMONY OF JEFFERSON WHITE.

On the ninth day of April, eighteen hundred forty three, while in deep tribulation, a holy Angel brought me a spiritual roll, at about eight o'clock A. M. This Angel was accompanied by several spirits and other Angels.

The Angel who brought the roll said he was the same Angel that brought the Book; that is, the word of the Lord, and showed it to Averill Haskell last June; and stated, that on the twenty fifth of February last, at three o'clock A. M. he showed me the same Book; which is to go to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people.

I recollect a Book was shown to me at that time; and the word from the Angel to me then was, that the time would come when it would be published to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, and that the Angels of the Lord had gone forth, to sound aloud to the nations of the earth, to prepare them to receive the word of the Lord, which in his own time would be published to them.

The same holy Angel this day, testified to the truth of the Book, and so did the Angels and spirits that were with him. The holy Angel said he was sent here by his Heavenly Father, to have the seals affixed to the Book, from those who were by the Father selected in this branch of Zion, for that purpose; that they might be witnesses to all mankind of the truth of his word.

The holy Angel read the contents of the roll, which was a seal of the living God. I had a plain view of the words on the roll, and was satisfied that he read as it was written. I commenced writing at about half past eight o'clock A. M. and finished a few minutes before ten o'clock.

He read to me as follows;

Thus saith the All-wise Creator: I have in my wisdom purposed to send forth to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, my word. And whoever will hearken thereto, will be saved from the judgments which will surely overtake those who reject this friendly call. For in mercy to the lost children of men, do I cause this my word, which is written in a Book and sealed with many living seals, to go to all nations; and wise will that soul be who accepts the offer of mercy so generously proffered.

But those who reject and rebel against the truth of God, which will be made known through the Book which I will cause to be published unto them, will have to drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which will be poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation.

This solemn warning I now give to all who are yet in their sins: Come out and be ye separate, and touch no more the unclean thing: and ye shall be my people and I will be your God: yea, ye shall be kings and priests unto Me, saith the Holy One of Israel, if ye will forsake your abominations, now while the call is unto you.

Therefore, be wise and hearken to my word, which will be sounded in your ears; for lo, my holy Angels have gone abroad, to sound aloud the gospel trumpet, to awaken sinners, that they may repent before it is too late.

I therefore warn all to consider well of their doings, and to read my word which I send unto them in mercy; for therein you will find clearly pointed out to you, the pathway of your duty. You will find therein written, that none will be owned of Me their God, except those who live up to my requirement as it is sent forth unto them. Such souls I will own; and it will be the delight of Holy Mother Wisdom to own and bless all who are true and faithful.

My word to all nations is: Forsake the evil of your doings; come out from your filthy abominations, and walk the lowly path laid out by the blessed Savior: in so doing you will find rest to your souls. But if any are so unwise as to reject the call of God to them, and say in their hearts it is not the word of God, it is the word of man, why should I fear it; I will cause that soul to know that the word I proclaim to all mankind, is not man or woman's word, but the word of the living God.

I have seals or witnesses to my word in every part of my Zion on earth, who know in truth and verity, that the word I send forth to all nations in my name, is the truth of the living God.

Inspired Writer,

JEFFERSON WHITE.

I can say in the sincerity of my heart, that the foregoing seal is the truth of the living God, made manifest to me. And rather than deny it I would part with all that I hold dear on earth, not even excepting my natural life; fearing not man, but fearing God, who knows the secret intents of the heart.

I was born in Fitzwilliam, county of Cheshire, and state of New Hampshire, January tenth, eighteen hundred and five. Have resided in the United Society for thirty years past.

Enfield, *county of Hartford*, *state of Connecticut; April* 10, 1843. JEFFERSON WHITE.

TESTIMONY OF MEDAD SMITH Jr.

Having had an opportunity to hear the foregoing Roll and Book, and having been blessed with a portion of the divine spirit, and received many precious gifts from the Father of light, in the late out-pouring of his spirit, I feel able to add my testimony, that the said Roll and Book is what it purports to be, the word of God given by divine inspiration.

Should any deem it strange that God should make a further revelation of his will to the inhabitants of earth, let them reflect that, Jehovah has promised to do his work, his strange work; and bring to pass his act, his strange act. In the latter day ye shall consider it.

If others would know whether this word is of God, let them prove it by living a life answerable to its requirements. If they feel that they cannot come up to the example set by Jesus of Nazareth, let them strictly keep the order of nature, and be an honor to their Creator in that order: but condemn not the word of the Lord; for such, indeed, is the foregoing Roll and Book.

The power of evil may blind creatures, and they may be left to treat the greatest mercies of God with scorn and contempt, trusting in a form of godliness, but not possessing the power of an endless life; and thus sin away their day and fall in darkness. It is highly important that souls should judge correctly of all things pertaining to salvation, lest they fail of securing an inheritance in the kingdom of God. But know ye, "The word of our God shall stand forever."

Enfield, Conn. August 15, 1843. MEDAD SMITH Jr.

Born in Suffield, *county of Hartford and state of Connecticut*, *May* 5, 1790; *and has lived in the United Society in Enfield*, *thirty two years.*

TESTIMONY OF PHEBE WILLCOX.

On the seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty three, I received the following message by a Holy Angel.

Thus saith the Lord, For many hundred years, sin and wickedness have daily increased, until the earth groaneth beneath her burden, and calleth aloud unto Me for deliverance. And though I have many times swept thousands from this earthly ball, in a moment, for their wickedness, and for a warning to others, yet the sinner forsaketh not the paths of destruction; but goeth on day after day, in sin and wickedness, with a lie upon his tongue, and blasphemy upon his lips.

O vain mortals! do you consider there is a God who seeth in secret, as well as openly? and that your works of iniquity, that ye seek to hide from mortals, are known to Me, with every thought, word and action; and that surely as your works have been, so shall your reward be, when you are called to stand before my bar of judgment?

O ye inhabitants of earth, fear and tremble beneath my Almighty hand; for lo, I will visit the earth and the dwellers thereon, with justice: the transgressor that will not repent, shall surely feel my sore displeasure, and the persecutor of my people I will banish from my presence; for no flesh can prevail against Me.

But the soul that heeds my words of warning, and calls upon my name when I am near, who is willing to forsake all that is of this world, and walk the strait and narrow path of self-denial and the cross, which in my wisdom is laid out for the restoration of all souls, I will be his God and Protector, when in my wrath the reproacher of my word shall be smitten: I will stretch forth my hand, and bless the righteous who regard my just requirements.

My Book of warnings I send forth in plainness; and my unchangeable word therein contained, standeth sure forever. In my wisdom, which no man can comprehend, it was given; and in my holy fear it was written.

Inspired Witness,

PHEBE WILLCOX.

I, the witness who received the above message, do here state with all boldness and confidence, that it is the truth of God revealed to me, by or through a mighty Angel of the Lord.

And I furthermore say, I fear not to meet this testimony when called to stand before the holy and eternal Judge of Heaven and earth.

And further, I feel it my duty to bear witness to the truth, which the Eternal Father, in his boundless mercy, has seen fit to send forth to the children of men; that every one may know his Master's will, and gain their relation to their God, which was lost by transgression.

Enfield, Conn., April 7, 1843. PHEBE WILLCOX.

Born in the town of Foster, county of Providence, state of Rhode Island, January 8, 1822; *and has lived in the United Society, for sixteen years past.*

TESTIMONY OF CALVIN J. PARKER.

I was born in Lenox, Berkshire county, state of Massachusetts, April sixteenth, seventeen hundred and ninety nine; came to live in the United Society at Tyringham, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty two; and as I am a well wisher to mankind, and desire they may enjoy peace, happiness and salvation, and feeling a deep interest in the offered mercies of God intended to secure these great blessings, I feel disposed to add my mite in confirmation of the truth of the foregoing Roll and Book.

I am aware that falsehood and deceit have had their influence upon the world of mankind, and that in nothing have these degrading vices been more successfully practiced, than in what is called religion; and that honest souls have often been deceived by interested hypocrites. Yet truth is immaculate, and will ultimately prevail.

Through the mercy of God, I have had a knowledge of his true work for several years. And in the late out-pouring of his holy spirit, I have not only heard and seen many wonderful things wrought by his divine power, but have been a happy sharer of many precious blessings, among which is the gift of inspiration; whereby I have been enabled to speak and write of the lovely things of God.

I have full confidence in the truth of the foregoing Roll and Book, fully believing it to be the true word of God, written by the inspiration of his holy spirit. And as such, I sincerely recommend it to all who may have an opportunity to read it, or hear it read.

I advise all to read with attention, and judge with candor. Let not prejudice blind you, nor the love of any idol cause you to evade the convictions of your souls; lest you become enemies to God, and find yourselves fighting against your greatest blessings.

Tyringham, *county of Berkshire*, *state of Massachusetts; August* 14, 1843. Calvin J. Parker.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZA L. CHAPIN.

On the evening of the first of September, eighteen hundred forty two, while engaged in the worship of God, my eyes were opened to spiritual discernment; and I beheld a very mighty, holy and powerful Angel, whose brightness was like that of the sun at its meridian height, bearing in his right hand a Book; having something written in his forehead, in letters which appeared to me like fire; but being in an unknown tongue, I knew not what it was. He said nothing; but the appearance of so holy a being struck me with solemn fear and reverence.

April sixth, eighteen hundred and forty three, at the fifth hour P. M., I heard a voice speak unto me, saying; O thou little one, I say unto thee, Bow low in silent prayer to thy Holy and Eternal Father. Eat not bread and drink not water, until I, the holy Angel of the Lord, shall cause thee to copy my word with thy mortal hand.

At the seventh hour, I heard the voice speak again and say; Haste ye now and write my word, or the word that shall be given thee.

Words of the Angel to the Inspired Writer.

I am the holy Angel of the Lord that thou didst see, bearing in my hand a Book; and in the Book was written the Roll, containing the word of the Lord God of Heaven and earth. And this Roll has been correctly copied by mortal hand.

Words of the Angel to the inhabitants of the earth.

O ye inhabitants of earth, ye sons and daughters of the children of men, hearken now to the warning voice of the Lord your God; for He hath sounded, and still loudly soundeth his holy Se vac′la ma′ca lan in the ears of many. His word, though strange, is heavy with his wisdom and holy power; fear ye and tremble before it. Let the sound thereof sink deep in your hearts; for the words of the Holy Father will forever stand, and the foundation laid by the two Anointed Ones will never be overthrown. Though their faithful children should be persecuted, even unto death, for the holy faith which they maintain, yet the stone cut out of the mountain, shall grow and flourish, saith the Holy Angel of the Lord.

Inspired Witness,
Eliza L. Chapin.

The gifts and manifestations from those who are in eternity, to those who dwell on earth, and the mighty out-pourings of the spirit of the Most High God to mortals, I have been an eye and ear witness to, and a partaker of, for the last five years; and as a witness, I am willing and thankful to be accounted worthy to stand forth and declare this to be the truth, yea, the plain and simple truth. And to this do I affix my name, being willing to seal the same with my blood if called so to do.

Tyringham, Mass., April 6, 1843. Eliza L. Chapin.

Born in New Marlborough, county of Berkshire and state of Massachusetts, June 12, 1822; *and was gathered to the United Society at Tyringham, in March*, 1836.

TESTIMONY OF ROLLIN CRAMER.

On the twenty second of March, eighteen hundred forty three, between the hours of eight and nine, afternoon, I saw a mighty Angel place upon the floor of our dwelling house a large Book, which had the appearance of bright gold, with the following words written on the outside, 'The Lord Jehovah.' The book was not open, nor sealed; but appeared to be fastened together with a clasp.

The Angel bade me take it up, and he would direct me what to do with it. I did not feel willing to receive it at that time; but was under great fear, so that my flesh trembled on my bones, while I stood in the presence of the holy Angel.

I made known what I had seen, to one of the Leaders of the society; and he requested me to receive the Book, which I accordingly did on the following day: but received no information concerning it at that time, only a promise, that it should be made known in due season. And a short time after, I received information that the Book was to be written at New Lebanon; but nothing more was said about it at that time; and I thought much upon what I had heard concerning it.

April twenty sixth, I again saw the holy Angel with the Book open; and he spoke to me these words; Thus saith the Lord, Within the lids of this Book, shall my people place their names, when I in my wisdom shall think proper.

May fourteenth, I was called upon to write for the holy Angel, as follows: Bow low your spirit, O thou worm of the dust, and solemnly draft the words I shall read unto you at this time; for unto you am I sent to read the word of the Lord.

I, the Lord, have purposed, and in my own time will I bring to pass my decree. I lay my own plans; and no mortal power is able to frustrate, or overthrow my righteous law.

I have determined to visit the nations of the earth, with my sacred and eternal law, in this, my Holy Book; setting before them the order of nature, and my holy order of grace; and leaving them to choose either, and receive according to their choice.

For thus saith the Lord, My law of nature shall no longer be trodden under foot, by a filthy and polluted world, in the manner it has been for so many thousand years, and mankind go unpunished for the same.

Nay, I declare, saith the Lord of hosts, that I will visit the nations of the earth with my judgments severe, unless they come up to this my sacred word; for these are my solemn and weighty truths. And I have sent my holy Angel to testify these things to a mortal being, that he may be a witness for Me, that the foregoing is my sacred word.

The holy Angel then spake to me saying; will you boldly testify in the presence of your God, and witness for Him, in behalf of the foregoing, should you be brought before a gain-saying world, and you expected to have your life taken for the same?

Will you stand for this my sacred word, if you should see the flame of fire kindled to receive your mortal body for so doing? And will you proclaim this my holy word, to the nations of the earth, though you should be thrown to the wild beasts to be devoured by them for so doing? I answered, I feel no hesitation to testify to the truth of the foregoing, and stand as a witness for the same to the laying down of my life.

Inspired Witness,

Groveland, county of Livingston, state of New York; May 14, 1843. ROLLIN CRAMER.

TESTIMONY OF ENOS LEONARD.

On the fourteenth of September, eighteen hundred forty two, at half past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, I was suddenly stopped by a mighty Angel, and remained insensible for a short time.

I looked up and saw the Angel standing before me, and in his hand he held a Roll and Book, which appeared to be as large as a common sized New Testament.

It was sealed, and the Angel opened the seals and Book, and said; This Book shall be laid before an instrument of mortal clay, and the instrument shall write therefrom until all be correctly written. The Angel then sealed the Book and disappeared.

Inspired Witness,

Groveland, N. Y., May 14, 1843. ENOS LEONARD.

TESTIMONY OF SETH BLANCHARD.

I was born in Petersham, county of Worcester and state of Massachusetts, October twenty first, seventeen hundred and eighty four. In the year eighteen hundred and thirteen, I received faith in the testimony of Christ's second appearance in Mother Ann Lee; and feeling that my soul's salvation depended upon my yielding obedience to that faith, I united myself to the society of Believers in Harvard, and with them have traveled in the work of purification and redemption to the present time.

Through this period, I have been a witness of many wonderful operations of the spirit and power of God among his people, and more especially within a few years. In this time I have seen, heard and felt that which has convinced me beyond the possibility of a doubt, that God our Heavenly Father, Holy Mother Wisdom, and many of the heavenly host, have descended from Heaven to earth, and made known their will through instruments of mortal clay. Of the reality of this I have no more doubt than I have of my own existence. We have found by experience, that the Lord is able to cause his creatures to know for a certainty, the operations of his power and the reality of his work. And when any soul has received this *certain revelation*, there is no opposite power that can destroy it, however foolish or inconsistent his faith may appear in the eyes of unbelievers.

I rejoice that I have received this faith, and now testify my confidence that the *Word*, which is now going forth to the children of men, is indeed the voice of their Almighty Father. And O! that they might be wise and accept of his tender mercy; for verily, they with us, will be accountable to Him, for the use they make of his Sacred Word.

And it is my fervent prayer that I may ever honor it in word and works; for should *we*, who have shared so freely in his loving kindness, deny or dishonor his holy word, it would be less tolerable for us in this great and final judgment that we are called into, than for any others; but this I will never do, for by the grace of God his word and law shall ever be my delight and pleasure. And now to this testimony I cheerfully subscribe my name.

Harvard, *county of Worcester*, *state of Massachusetts; August* 26, 1843. SETH BLANCHARD.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH HAMMOND.

I was born at Newton, county of Middlesex, state of Massachusetts, the twenty third day of June, seventeen hundred eighty nine. I first visited Believers at Harvard, in the summer of eighteen hundred ten, and received faith in the testimony of Christ's second appearing. I then united myself, by an honest confession of all my sins, and took up my abode with the Society there, the first week in the following October. Thus I have spent thirty three years of my earthly pilgrimage, in the two societies at Harvard and Shirley.

In the course of my experience, I have seen much of the operation of the spirit and power of God upon others, and have felt the same myself, both in outward operations, and in my spirit.

For several years past, God has been carrying on a mighty work in the societies of our communion, by the operations of his spirit, in various ways, and by means of his own choosing; but more especially through the heavenly gift of inspiration, both in speaking and writing.

And I feel it a great privilege to bear witness, that it is the work of God, carried on by his HOLY POWER, in DIVINE WISDOM, to cleanse his people thoroughly, and to lay a deep and broad foundation for the future increase of the work of salvation and redemption for a lost world.

In a particular manner, I feel to testify to all souls, that this work is the work of judgment, the *Second Advent* of the holy and redeeming spirit of Christ, without sin unto salvation; and that the preceding Holy Roll and Book, is the word of God to the nations of the earth; yea, the voice of the trump of the Mighty Archangel, calling souls to come forth from their graves of sin and pollution, where they lie buried; that they may bring forth fruit unto God, such as is mete for those who profess to be branches of the TRUE VINE.

This is my testimony, and this I am willing to seal, in any way that my Heavenly Father may require of me.

Shirley, *Middlesex county*, *state of Massachusetts*, *August* 29, 1843. JOSEPH HAMMOND.

TESTIMONY OF LUCY CLARK.

The town of Harvard, county of Worcester and state of Massachusetts, was the place of my nativity. I was born October first, eighteen hundred and three; and was gathered into the United Society in said Harvard, in the year eighteen hundred and thirteen.

On the second day of July, eighteen hundred and forty three, I heard the cry of the Holy Angel, whose name is Solemn Warning, as follows:

To the inhabitants that dwell on the face of the whole earth, am I sent.

Come hearken, ye nations of the earth; attend and listen well to my solemn warnings, which I shall soon begin to cry throughout the land, when the word of the Lord shall be published to the nations of the earth. And woe to that soul that shall treat with indifference, the words which are contained in this sacred volume! For as you treat this, so will you be treated; for God will not be mocked by mortal man.

From the holy throne of God do I sound my word, and I will sound it, till many of the inhabitants of earth will hear and believe. For thus saith the Holy and Just One, Go thou, my Angel of Solemn Warning, and sound your trumpet; yea, sound through your trumpet, that the inhabitants of earth may hear and understand.

And I the holy Angel, say unto you, Touch not this Book for sport or for speculation, nor with any such intention in your hearts; for know ye for a certainty, that it is the word of the Lord God of hosts, which He has condescended to reveal on earth, for a way-mark for his creature man.

And those that do speculate upon and make derision of the same, will I meet, saith the Lord, in judgment and not in mercy: for my long forbearance is at an end, and I will visit the earth with sore destruction; and woe to the sons of men, if they repent not, nor turn to Me their God.

And thus saith He who ruleth all things; I have purposed to send forth my word to the inhabitants of earth, that they may have time to repent and mend their lives; and in so doing, to stay the heavy judgments which I have intended to bring upon the wicked for their transgressions, till they have had space for repentance.

And now say I, the holy Angel, repent and turn from your transgressions, before the heavy judgments of God roll in upon you. Depend ye, that He surely is in earnest, and nothing can stay his hand, save true repentance and forsaking all sin. His word will not linger by the way, but it will go forth into execution; and mightily and heavily will his judgments fall on the willful and disobedient, who repent not at the warning which is sent forth.

And again I say, Meddle not with this *Sacred Word*, only in solemn fear and reverence; lest ye be found fighting against God, and be smitten with a curse.

Say not within yourselves, that it is the work of man and not of God, and that it concerns you not. For to God you must render up your account; and happy will it be for every one that striveth not against his will, although revealed through mortal beings. I warn you not to judge this revelation of God; if you cannot understand all that is contained in this Book, judge it not; for you are not able to judge the work of God in righteousness.

But strive to practice what you can understand, and light will break into your souls, and ye will not be left in darkness; for God is a God of light, charity and forgiveness; and if souls heed the warnings that are sent unto them, and mend their ways, then will the Lord show mercy unto them, and they will be blessed according to their works.

Inspired Writer and Witness,
Harvard, Mass., August 29, 1843. Lucy Clark.

TESTIMONY OF LUCY MYRICK.

On the thirtieth day of April, eighteen hundred forty three, after hearing the Sacred Roll, I felt the spirit of God upon me, and I saw the holy Angels marching around the house. The glory of God surrounded them, and they marched in it; which made them appear very beautiful.

At one time they all stopped their march, faced the east, and appeared to sound their trumpets, but I did not hear the sound. Next I looked around in the sanctuary where I was then sitting, and the glory of God seemed to fill the house.

I saw the spirit of the Holy Savior standing in the central part of the room; he motioned his hands and arms as though he was speaking, but I could not understand what he spake. And I felt that I was in the presence of many of the heavenly host.

Soon after this, I felt inspired by the Holy Angel of God, to speak his word. I felt the power of God run all over me, which caused me to feel that fear of God, that I dare not strive against his spirit through his holy Angel, whose word was as follows.

I am the holy Angel of God, and He hath sent me to this place to bear witness to all who now stand in my presence, that this Holy Roll and Book is the word of the Lord sent forth by his holy power, and directed by his spirit through his Holy Angel.

O ye inhabitants of Zion, believe it, for I say unto you it is the word of the Lord sent forth by his mighty hand. O ye children of Zion, who have the light of God in your souls, beware and be careful how ye treat his word; Walk in his holy fear, and bow your spirits in deep humility before Him.

He has not called you into his Zion for nought; but you are called by his Almighty power, that ye may be shining lights to a lost world; for He hath said that He would have a pure people, a people that would honor his name. And He will scourge and try his chosen, and prove them.

You must feel the scourging rod; but I warn you to stand firm, to bow your souls in humility, and walk in his holy fear; and his holy hand, and out-stretched arm will protect his chosen.

Be ye prepared, O beloved children, be ye prepared to go at his bidding, and do his holy work; for God will call you into a work which ye know not of. So I say again, be ye ready like wise virgins, with your lamps trimmed and burning, to sound forth his holy word, whenever you may be called; for He will call you to sound forth his living truth; and stand ye firm, for this holy way and work, in the most soul-trying hour, and fear none but God, though the enemies of truth surround you; for the Lord will protect the upright, if they bow in humility of soul before Him.

O come down, come down and sit in the dust before God, and his blessing shall rest upon you.

Inspired Witness,

Lucy Myrick.

I feel thankful to God for the privilege of writing that which He has given me as a witness to his holy word which I have attentively listened to for two days past; yet I feel very unworthy to be so noticed by my Heavenly Father.

I feel that I am a poor frail worm of the dust, and without God's holy power I can do nothing aright. I ever can and will, when called upon, testify that I know, by the spirit and power of God which I have felt, that this Holy Roll and Book is the word of the Lord; and I would rather give up my own natural life in any way, than ever contradict what I have herein stated.

I know this work was never framed by mortal power; and I will ever stand for the cause of God and his holy word, wherever it may be revealed.

Harvard, Mass., April 30, 1843. Lucy Myrick.

Born December 28, 1817; in Eastham, county of Barnstable, state of Massachusetts; was gathered into the United Society when ten years of age.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LEONARD.

I was born in the City and Province of Saint Johns, New Brunswick, on the fourteenth of September, eighteen hundred three. I came into the United States, and entered the gospel of Christ's second appearing at the age of twenty five years. I have been for fifteen years a member of that branch of the Church located in Harvard. And having experienced, with others, much of the heart-searching power, and many purifying operations of the spirit of God, I consider it a duty I owe to mankind, and a great privilege to be enabled to say, that his spirit has qualified me to give my plain testimony, without doubt or hesitation, to go with the present word of God that is now sent forth as a voice of solemn warning to the nations of the earth

In the Scriptures, God's work is compared to a light, that shines brighter and brighter until the perfect day; and this the Believers in Christ's Second Appearing have proved, in all God's dealings with them; especially in the many cleansing operations that his Holy Spirit has enabled them to pass through. God has certainly established an order among his people, unto which He is calling the children of men, to prepare all who will be honest and faithful, to stand as agents of his mercy and judgment to a lost world. And this is strikingly manifest, in the present solemn and soul-searching work among his people.

The purified inhabitants of the spiritual world, have for several years past been hastening the purification of the Church, that they might stand as a pattern of justice and righteousness to others, when the time should arrive that his holy word should go forth to the nations. God the Father, and Holy Mother Wisdom, Christ our Holy Savior and all our Heavenly Parents, with many holy Angels and purified spirits, have chosen instruments from among the people, through whom they have made known God's requirements upon the Church.

These instruments have been inspired at different seasons, to deliver his word, which has revived his laws, increased the work of self-denial, and clothed the Church with the fear of God, to that degree, that even the most faithful and upright have been made to tremble under the inspection of the All-seeing eye of the God that rules both the Heavens and the earth; and so great has been the out-pouring of his spirit and power, that none who have been inspired with holy faith, can doubt the day has arrived, that Christ's holy spirit and God's holy word is revealed from Heaven, by fire, among the subjects of the great work of judgment.

During the progress of this solemn work in all its stages, I have heard many, when in heavenly vision, or under the power of inspiration, declare in the spirit of prophecy, that God's word was about to go forth to the nations. And as I, with others of my cross-bearing companions, have been selected by the spirit of the Almighty, to deliver, by divine inspiration, many communications to the Church; these holy labors and exercises have endowed me with confidence to know the spirit, and realize to a certainty, the divine authority that dictated this solemn word of God.

I have at times, when called to deliver communications of the same divine character to the Church, experienced the same kind of suffering and tribulation, to prepare me for this holy calling, and have been baptized with the same divine influence, that was felt by the instrument who was chosen by the Angel to write this sacred and holy message to the children of men.

I have been inspired with the same holy power to write for the spirits, have felt a measure of the same distress and tribulation between parts of certain important messages; have been often raised from this state in a moment, again feeling that same holy fire kindled in my soul by attending spirits and Angels, when permitted to proceed, until each message was completed.

The Believers were hastening forward, anxiously looking for the fulfillment of God's promises, when tidings spread through the different branches of the Church in a regular line of order, that in the present Message, borne by the Angel, God's word was to go to the four quarters of the earth in its present form.

With my brethren and sisters I have listened attentively to the same; I have marked its form and language, I have viewed the mercy and judgment contained in its promises, and have felt the gift and heart-searching power that accompanies it. I was sensible of the presence of the Angel when it was first read in my hearing; and from all I have heard, seen, felt, delivered and experienced, I know, by divine revelation, that this is

God's holy word; that it was given by divine authority; that it is a message of great mercy or heavy judgment to the inhabitants of time; and that the Almighty is about to deal with the children of men as He has been dealing with his people, in calling them to judgment for the deeds done in the body. And should I be called to bear persecution and sufferings, or even to lay down my life in defence of this, God's holy word, I shall do it freely; for the gospel is dearer to me than life, and whatever I may be called to sacrifice, I will support it faithfully through time.

Although we are the subjects of God's great work, and have received, in the present generation, the first loud call to his solemn bar of judgment, yet we feel ourselves unworthy of the great notice we have received. We feel greatly humbled before God as poor needy mortals, and are sensible that all we have gained of purity and holiness in the gospel, has been freely given us of God, for what we have sacrificed to keep his holy laws.

With a spirit of earnest prayer to God, that this his holy word may be reverenced, that it may be a message of glad tidings to millions, and that all who read may understand, and bow to God in mercy, I close my testimony.

Harvard, Mass., August 26, 1843. WILLIAM LEONARD.

TESTIMONY OF JONAS NUTTING.

As I am one that was called in my childhood, into the fold of Christ, and have long been a member of the United Society, and have witnessed the increasing work of God among his chosen people on earth, for more than thirty years, and having experienced the same in my soul, I feel it my duty and privilege to bear witness to the same, as far as I have ability so to do.

I was born on the seventh of April, eighteen hundred and two; in the town of Westford, Middlesex county, Massachusetts. In the year eighteen hundred and ten, I was placed in the Society of which I am now a member; in the town of Shirley, state and county above named, where I have remained to the present time.

In the days of my childhood and youth, I was watched over with tenderness and care, and taught the path of innocence and virtue. The good instructions I received in my young days were of great utility to me, when I had arrived to riper years, and had become of suitable age to make my own choice in life.

It was then I began to reflect upon what course of life I should hereafter pursue; and like all the rest of my fellow beings, I was looking for that path which would yield me the most happiness.

On the one hand, I beheld the flowery path of nature spread out before me, with all its alluring charms. I looked around me, and beheld the greatest portion of mankind, both professor and profane, pursuing this downward path, which my reason and conscience taught me, led to inevitable ruin and destruction. On the other hand, I could view the little straight and narrow path which my Holy Savior trod, and which he said would lead to everlasting life.

So plain and so pointedly were these two paths laid open before me, that I was convinced, beyond a doubt, that I must sacrifice one for the other; and when I seriously contemplated this, my better reason prevailed, and I chose the path of self-denial and a daily cross; that path which has ever yielded me solid peace and happiness, in obedience to my most holy faith. Ever since I became firmly grounded in my present principles, I have had no cause to doubt the work of God.

I have seen the workings of his most holy power among this people, and have felt the same in a marvelous manner; especially in this late manifestation of his mercy to his chosen people for several years past. Yea, verily, I do know, beyond a doubt, that God opened the windows of Heaven, that He might reveal Himself as He did to his chosen people Israel, in ancient days.

And this has He done, by means of his own choosing, and in a way that is calculated to bring down the haughtiness of man. And I do know, beyond a doubt, that this work which God has begun in his Zion, is the little stone spoken of by the Prophet in ancient days, which was cut out of the mountain without hands; and which will yet grow and fill the whole earth, as the Holy Angel has proclaimed in the foregoing Sacred Roll and Book.

I have an incontestible evidence in my own soul, that the latter day of glory has been ushered in, and that Christ has made and will make, his second appearance without sin unto salvation, to as many as have looked or shall look for him, with full purpose of heart to obey his will.

I am fully confident that God has begun and will carry on his work until every knee shall bow and every tongue confess, either in mercy or in judgment, that it is the work of God, and not the invention of man; yea, I can testify, that this sacred word of the Holy and Proclaiming Angel, contains solemn truths, of everlasting importance to every soul; and let him that readeth, understand and be wise.

As one that has, by the goodness and mercy of God, been called to forsake all the alluring charms of this world, which are but passing bubbles, compared to the durable riches, and having full confidence in the promises of God, as contained in the foregoing solemn Roll, and as a witness of the same, I here subscribe my name.

Shirley, Mass., August 28, 1843. JONAS NUTTING.

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL MYRICK.

I was born September fourteenth, eighteen hundred fourteen, in Eastham, Barnstable county, state of Massachusetts; and was gathered into the United Society at Harvard, in the year eighteen hundred twenty seven.

The late remarkable manifestation among this people, I have known from its commencement. Its operation has been increasing mortification and humiliation to all carnal aspiring feelings of vain man; rendering its subjects more simple and devoted, and more willing to yield to the requirements of God.

From its purifying effects and supernatural energy, I freely and unhesitatingly declare it to be the work of a righteous and Holy God with his creatures, and his manifestation of love and mercy to the Zion of his likeness and his peculiar care; establishing her in order, clothing her in beauty, and making her the exemplification of all his requirements upon his lost creature man.

I have seen, known and experienced, its humiliating operation on those employed as agents or instruments in this weighty and solemn work; and many times have I seen them weighed down in sorrow and tribulation, by the solemnity and importance of the labor they were called to perform; then rise in the sublime energy of the power which inspired them, and unburden their souls of the solemn charge.

This is the nature and operation of that work which has brought forth that Sacred Word which is now to go forth to the inhabitants of earth, which does of itself carry intrinsic proof of its divine origin.

Having been familiar with the miraculous events of this sublime manifestation, from its very commencement to the present time, and having in some measure, felt the same divine energy upon my soul and body, which moved the mortal hand to write this Roll and Book, I do readily and cheerfully declare it to be the word of God to the nations of the earth.

Concerning the manifestation of the MOTHER SPIRIT, contained in this Roll, I would point all who never felt her mild, gentle and tender, yet strong influence, to the uniform testimony of all animate creation, and invite them to look "Through nature up to nature's God," and see if they can find any "image or likeness" of the unnatural and absurd, yet popular and prevailing notion of divinity. According to this divinity, I would ask, Where is the prototype of woman's existence? Where is her corresponding cause? The commonly received divinity would indeed make her existence as anomalous as the fabulous production of God, in the Heathen Mythology

But in thanksgiving and praise to my Eternal Parents, for light and truth, I must close this my testimony, and commend this Sacred Roll into the hands of the conscientious and upright, that they may ponder well, consider and be wise.

Harvard, Mass., August 26, 1843. DANIEL MYRICK.

TESTIMONY OF MINERVA L. HILL.

While assembled with my brethren and sisters in the holy sanctuary for devotion, on the twenty ninth of April, eighteen hundred and forty three, I saw a large company of Angels. The eyes of one were like flames of fire. They would sometimes spread their wings, which would fill the whole house with the glory of God. I also saw the Savior and Mother Ann, having burning candles in their right hands.

The Savior turned to me saying: These are the candles of the true and living God, the Father of all. With these candles we have searched Zion, and with them we will search all mankind. Yea, every one shall feel our searching power; for this the Lord hath spoken, and no man can alter it.

Little one, you have many times heard me say, that when my Heavenly Father should speak, the inhabitants of the earth should know it; and soon, very soon, He will speak, and all shall know it. The Roll of Eternal Truth is the beginning of his word; but his voice will continue to roll through the land, till the sons of men shall learn righteousness.

In the summer of eighteen hundred and thirty nine, I saw the Savior with a gold trumpet in his hand; and through it he repeated these words: When God my Heavenly Father shall speak, the inhabitants of the earth shall know it. And from that time, up to October seventh, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, did I many times hear him repeat the same. This was the last time, and yet I was left without knowing the meaning thereof. But now he has told me, and I know the meaning of his words.

Said he, Have not I told you many times, that the work of God would increase, and many should hear this gospel? Have I not told you that every promise of God and his holy Angels should be fulfilled? And have not many of them been fulfilled, already, in your sight? I answered, Yea, my heavenly Father, you have often told me these things; and many of them I have seen fulfilled.

He then said, The rest of the prophecies which you have heard from time to time, shall surely come to pass in God's own time; for this He has spoken, and no man can alter it.

He still continued to question me, saying: Are you willing at all times and in all places, to testify that this work is of God, and not of man? And can you promise to support the work of the Lord which you have heard, both now and forever, at all times and in all places? If you can, you may here place your name.

I answered, I will never deny this great work of God, and will therefore place my name as a witness to it; for I know it to be of God, and not of man. I can say from my heart, that I love it; for I know it will wholly destroy an evil nature. I will promise before God and his holy Angels, that I never will deny this work of inspiration; but will confess it before all mankind. I know I have seen my Holy Savior, Mother Ann and many of the holy Angels; and often felt that power of God, which I could not resist.

I am determined to be faithful and endure to the end; through dark and trying hours, through floods of tribulation, and through persecution. Yea, I will put my trust in God, for I know it is by his power and that alone, by which I can be supported.

Harvard, Mass., April 29, 1843. MINERVA L. HILL.

Born December 5, A. D. 1812; *in Cumberland, county of Providence, state of Rhode Island; came to the United Society in Harvard, in* 1820.

TESTIMONY OF JOANNA RANDALL.

As I have been an instrument in the present work and manifestation from Heaven to earth, I can boldly testify before all men, that what has now been revealed from the throne of the Almighty Creator to the inhabitants of earth, are his solemn and sacred warnings, revealed through an instrument of mortal clay, to be sent forth to a lost world.

And I hereby testify, by what I have received heretofore, from the invisible spirits in eternity, that what is contained in this Sacred Book, did, in truth and in reality, proceed from the source and fountain of all good, and is that by which all souls will be judged at the bar of justice. And as a living witness of the same, I here subscribe my name.

Shirley, Mass., April 27, 1843. JOANNA RANDALL.

Born January 22, 1819; *in Nashua, Hillsborough county, state of New Hampshire.*

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM WETHERBEE.

Late in the evening, April twenty sixth, eighteen hundred and forty three, I retired to my room, for the purpose of writing a roll which was this day received from a holy and mighty Angel of God; and after laboring a while in solemn fear and prayer to God, for a portion of his divine spirit to rest upon me, I sensibly felt the presence of a mighty Angel of God by my side.

He reached forth his hand and took the roll, saying, Bow your spirit low O thou mortal child, and in solemn reverence, write the sacred words contained in this roll, as I read them unto you. He then opened the roll and read as follows:

Hearken, O ye children who dwell in this little branch of my Zion, saith the Lord your God; for I have words of solemn truth to speak unto you. I am that God whose words of eternal truth have just been sounded forth unto you: and which, according to my will, are soon to be sent forth unto a lost world.

And with my own voice do I call upon every branch of my Zion upon earth, to awake in spirit, and to witness and support my holy work, which in this day is swiftly going on. For the time has come that my tender mercies and my scourging judgments are to be carried to and fro through the earth, and dealt out to the inhabitants therein, according to their just merits.

And, O ye little ones in Zion, listen now to my solemn warnings unto you. Walk in low humiliation, that my scourging hand may not rest heavily upon you. Cleave to the Anointed Lead in Zion, and follow their example; for they are in truth my faithful servants, and the objects of my delight and pleasure; and upon them shall my blessing be poured with a liberal hand.

And unto you, my little ones, will I give a portion of the same blessings, if in faithfulness and perseverance you will walk the path of tribulation, self-denial and the cross of Christ, which they have walked before you.

But know ye my dear children, that if heavy tribulation and deep sufferings come upon them, I shall require you to realize a portion of the same; for ye are all children of one parentage, and ye must all sympathize together in sorrow and tribulation, as well as in joy and comfort.

Prepare, O prepare ye my people, for the days of tribulation which are near at hand. But fear not; for in obedience to my will and my word, ye shall be supported and able to bear whatever may fall to your lot. I am ever nigh to the meek and lowly soul, and I will never forsake nor turn away from those who will bow their spirits before Me, acknowledge my holy work and support the same, whether the number be few or many.

Therefore, awake and arise, O Zion, that thou mayest be prepared for thy light to shine forth into a lost world.

Now, saith the holy and mighty Angel of God, Listen yet longer, O ye children of Zion, and hearken ye nations of the earth; and know that I am commissioned and sent forth by the God of Heaven, to guard the Sacred Book containing his word and will, and to see how it is received, and what use is made of it, wherever it goes. And I shall notice and regard every soul, according as they regard this sacred and holy work.

Inspired Witness,

William H. Wetherbee.

I do, saith the mortal writer of this short roll, with gratitude and true thankfulness, declare my full faith and unshaken confidence in the present manifestation and work of God, which is now going forth through his Zion on earth, and which will soon go forth among the nations abroad.

And having a privilege to be a witness in this glorious work, though unworthy as I am, I am willing, and can thankfully and boldly testify and declare before all mankind, that I do know in my own soul, that it is the way and work of the living God into which I am called; and that it will be carried on by his Almighty power, until in his own time, his designs are fully accomplished. And I do also know, that the Sacred Roll and Book came forth from the eternal source of all good.

I feel truly thankful for the tender mercies of God that have been extended to me; and it is my sincere determination to go through to the end, and do all in my power, to honor, support and build up the gospel of my blessed Savior. And though persecution, deep tribulation and heavy sorrows roll on, yet I will never disown or dishonor my blessed Mother's name, nor her pure and holy gospel.

To this testimony, do I now with firmness affix my name; and will ever stand ready to meet the same.

Shirley, Mass., April 27, 1843. William H. Wetherbee.

Born January sixteenth, eighteen hundred and sixteen; in the town of Lancaster, county of Worcester and state of Massachusetts.

TESTIMONY OF ANNIS C. GODFREY.

As God, in his mercy and condescension, has seen fit to notice me with his gifts from on high, I feel it my indispensable duty to bear witness to the work of the spirit, which is made manifest unto me.

On the morning of the twenty sixth of April, eighteen hundred forty three, I saw a mighty Angel with a shining roll in his hand. He was terrible, and out of his mouth proceeded flames of fire. And he spake unto me, saying:

O thou little one, bow your spirit low and hearken to my words; for I am a mighty Angel, sent forth from the eternal throne. And the fire which proceedeth from my mouth, is the fire of the Lord, which will go forth to destroy the wicked inhabitants of the earth who set at nought the word of God.

At the sight and voice of this mighty Angel, my spirit was brought into great tribulation. The Angel said unto me, Fear not; but walk softly before thy God, and protection thou shalt find. For wherever I can find a people, however few they are in number, who walk in humility's vale, they shall not feel the wrath of God.

Much I shall not say unto you; for in this roll are contained the words of the Almighty One, and of me the holy Angel, which are to be passed forth unto the children of Zion.

The Angel then gave me the roll, with a request that it should be placed in the hands of the Anointed.

In the afternoon, the Angel again came unto me and said; Little one, go thou and write the things which have been made known unto thee, respecting me. And I said, O thou mighty Angel, I am incapable of adding any thing to the much which has already been given. But he answered, saying: O thou little one, remember the words of the Savior to the poor woman who cast in her mite; for I say unto you it will be accepted of your God. Declare also, that at the eighth hour of this night, I will attend upon the writing of this roll, which I have placed in your hands.

And upon the instrument who shall be chosen to write it, will I bestow my mighty power. But you, I have called as a witness, that these things might be confirmed in the eyes of all.

Inspired Witness,

Annis C. Godfrey.

Thus have I written that which the Angel hath commanded me; and I can boldly, and with confidence, bear witness to the work of God which is now going on in Zion, and which He hath declared will soon spread abroad in the earth.

I have for some length of time been an instrument in this glorious manifestation, and been called to sound forth the word of my ever blessed Parents in Heaven, unto mortals on earth. But unto God is the glory due; for I am but as clay in the hands of the potter; and it shall be my labor through time, to walk worthy of my holy calling, that I may stand as a shining light in the house of my ever blessed Mother.

Shirley, Mass., April 27, 1843. Annis C. Godfrey.

Born in Waterbury, county of Washington and state of Vermont; April 14, 1810.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM WILLARD.

I was born in Providence, Rhode Island, December 2, A.D. 1809. At the age of eighteen years, I was by the goodness of God gathered into the fold of Zion, and made partaker of that gospel which saves the soul from sin and condemnation; and have, by yielding obedience to its requirements, gained that love and union to the people of God, and to his pure way, which feels more sacred, and stronger to me than any other union which mortals can possess: it is that bond of union which the transitory scenes of time and the pleasures of this world cannot yield to the soul, or take from those who have gained it by obedience to the cross of Christ.

Having a sure witness within me, truly and with confidence can I assert, that Christ has made his second appearing on earth, as recorded in the Sacred Roll and Book about to go forth to the nations of the earth; and to the truth and divine origin of the sacred words therein contained, I can say in truth and in sincerity of heart, and in the solemn fear of God, that I do believe they emanated from the source of divine light, manifested and revealed to, and through his chosen vessels; who have purified their hearts, made their garments white, suffered deep tribulation, and thereby become fit subjects for the holy spirit to rest upon.

Although not having received divine revelation from the spiritual world myself, I have seen, heard and felt that among the subjects of the present work of God, which brought abundant evidence with it, that it could proceed from no other source than from the eternal fountain of all good; and I should with equal propriety, dispute or doubt the existence of a God, as to dispute or doubt the revelation of God's will through chosen earthen vessels; And I firmly believe, having the strongest evidence within myself, that the spirit of the Lord is, through this medium, preparing the children of the new creation on earth, to receive his sacred word and will, to communicate to all nations who know it not; that all may be left without an excuse that "They know not Christ or of his second coming without sin unto salvation."

In addition to my duty, I feel thankful for the privilege of giving my testimony in favor of the way of God, that through the influence of divine wisdom I was enabled to find the door of mercy, the path of peace, and the only road to solid happiness; that I chose the narrow way, instead of the broad road to destruction, in my youth; that I have the privilege of devoting the best of my life, my time and talents to the honor of the gospel, and for the up-building of the kingdom of Christ; to lay up a treasure for my own soul, where moth and rust cannot corrupt; and it is my firm and fixed determination ever to remain faithful in this work, even to the sacrifising of all worldly pleasures and enjoyments.

In confirmation to the above testimony, I hereunto subscribe my name, this twenty second day of August, A. D. eighteen hundred and forty three.

Canterbury, Merrimac county,
state of New Hampshire.

WILLIAM WILLARD.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM TRIPURE.

I was born in the town of Elliot, county of York and state of Maine; from whence I was brought to this place in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty three, being then in the thirteenth year of my age; and having been a constant witness of the work of God among his people for several years past, I feel it a solemn duty to Him and to my fellow creatures, to give my testimony in favor of this sin-destroying, soul-redeeming work which has been sent forth upon earth, through the infinite mercy of Him who knoweth the hearts of the children of men, and is willing that all should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved; for I know by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit upon my own soul, that this is the final day of his grace to the lost and wandering children of men, and will prove a savor of life or of death to every one.

And this sacred work that is now sent forth to the nations of the earth, is not the production of an excited imagination, or of the efforts of human genius; but through the deepest mortification and intense suffering of soul it has been written by the inspiration of the spirit of God, in his most solemn fear. And the sacred truths therein contained, require the serious consideration of every rational being; for whatever may be the opinions of mortals now, it alters not the purpose of God; for that time is approaching when every soul, either in mercy or in judgment, will have to acknowledge the divine origin of its sacred truths.

I have received that evidence of this late manifestation of the work and will of God, that no power on earth can shake; for I know I have seen my Holy Savior, and have often felt his spirit as plainly as though he still inhabited the earthly tabernacle of Jesus of Nazareth, and I had been in its presence.

And often have I felt the spirit of my blessed Mother Ann and the rest of my Heavenly Parents to whom I feel my soul deeply indebted, as the instruments of God, by whom, through deep tribulation and suffering, this blessed gospel of Christ's second appearance has been established on earth, for the redemption of all souls who are willing to comply with its sacred requirements. Therefore, whether I am called to meet joy or tribulation on earth, still I never can deny this undoubted faith which has been planted in my soul, by a power above the power of man.

But the aspirations of thankfulness from my soul, continually ascend to my God, through those beloved instruments whom He has chosen to revive this blessed gospel of salvation to a lost world, that I was called to forsake the allurements of nature in my youth, and bear the cross of my blessed Savior, by which I feel the protection and blessing of my Heavenly Father continually flowing through my soul, even as a stream that faileth not, and as a fountain that is never dry.

This Holy and Sacred Roll, which is here sent forth to the nations, has been attended throughout by those convincing proofs of its divine origin, that no reasonable, unprejudiced mind could deny; and whether it be received as the word of warning and mercy of God, or the fruits of a religious frenzy, it never will alter the nature of the work, or change the requirements of God upon the souls of the children of men; for He hath purposed a work of reformation throughout the earth, and He will effect it.

Therefore, I rejoice continually before Him, that the arm of his mercy has been extended to my needy soul, and the light of his grace has beamed forth to my heart; teaching, that to deny all ungodliness, and to walk in humility before Him, is the path of true peace and perfect safety, where the soul can feel that presence of heavenly spirits and the enlivening rays of holy love, unknown to those who seek for indulgence on the barren wilds of nature.

Canterbury, N. H., July 2, 1843. WILLIAM TRIPURE.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. OTIS.

I was born in Portsmouth, county of Rockingham, state of New Hampshire; on the seventeenth day of the ninth month, eighteen hundred and seventeen; and was gathered into the United Society at Canterbury, A. D. eighteen hundred and thirty one; since which time, it has been my labor to know the will of my God, and to do it;

And feeling it a duty which I owe to Him as well as to my fellow men, to bear witness to his work, and the great display of his marvelous power among his people, I cheerfully comply therewith.

Feeling a witness within my own breast, that I have received the true light and power of God which has been manifested in this latter day, I can boldly and fearlessly declare before all men, that this great and glorious display of power which has been in his true Church, is the work of an Almighty hand, that Over-ruling Power which causes Heaven and earth to move at its bidding, and setteth the wisdom of mortal man at defiance.

Know ye, all ye people who read the solemn warnings and divine instructions given in the sacred pages of the Roll and Book now sent forth to the nations of the earth, that it is the word of God given in mercy to the children of a lost world; and is now made manifest to them through a gift of inspiration, by the same Power which gave unto Moses, upon Mount Sinai's top, the commandments for the children of Israel.

Therefore read all ye people, and understand, lest the notice of your God pass, and ye be not benefited by the call; for the Lord of mercy and charity is calling loudly through the last trumpet, with a solemn blast; and hath sent his Angels forth unto all nations, tongues and people, that they may hear his word, repent, and escape his heavy wrath which is kindled against them, because of the abominations and corruptions which have been committed on the earth, and have arisen as mountains before Him.

Knowing that I have been blessed with heavenly gifts from the worlds of love, administered unto me by holy Angels and happy spirits, I hesitate not in declaring before all men the truth of God, which is, that the Sacred Roll and Book, containing the instructions and admonitions of Heaven, (unto which are added these testimonies of living witnesses,) is sent forth by the Almighty Power of Jehovah, unto whom every knee shall bow and every tongue confess.

I would not that any should think I speak at random, or with a spirit of enthusiasm or wild zeal; but plainly that which I know, as was fully declared by our Savior; If ye keep my commandments, then shall ye know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or whether I speak of myself.

This knowledge I have obtained, by obeying the commands and following the example of the Savior, (the pattern of the children of the new creation,) by walking even as he walked, according to the best of my understanding, forsaking that which led my soul astray from my God, and denying myself of all ungodliness; living soberly, righteously and godly, walking not after the flesh but after the spirit.

Hence, by daily bearing the cross of Christ, I am able to bind that lawless and corrupt passion which rules and reigns in the hearts of mankind, and live a life acceptable to my God.

There is but one path in which souls can walk to the acceptance of God: the same is the strait and narrow path, into which few as yet have sought an entrance.

I know within my own soul, even beyond the shadow of a doubt, that I have entered by the door of self-denial and the cross, into the narrow path where reign peace and purity; for which I rejoice with exceeding joy, and give thanks to my God with unceasing prayer.

Who will despise and turn away from the out-stretched hand of their God, which in mercy and charity is offered unto them, to lead them out from under the yoke and servitude of Satan, into the glorious liberty of saints and Angels, because it cometh not according to the wisdom of vain man?

And now by the same spirit which inspired the Prophets in former dispensations I would say, as a word in due season, Bow down, O ye people, and give heed to his word; Hear ye O Heavens and give ear O earth; for the Lord has spoken, and even so it shall come to pass.

Canterbury, N. H., June 25, 1843. JAMES M. OTIS.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN MALOON.

As a witness unto the truth of the foregoing Roll and Book, I do solemnly testify to all nations, tongues and people, that it is the unalterable truth of God. I have been not only an eye and ear witness of the remarkable outpourings of his divine spirit and power among his people, for the last six years, but a sharer in the same. I have many times felt the influence of the same power operating upon both soul and body; which gives me full confidence in the late work and manifestation of God to his people.

Having the evidence in my own soul, I feel free to declare before all men, that the foregoing Roll and Book is from God, Jehovah, the Father of all, the beginning and the end of all created things; yea, that God who hath made Himself manifest unto his true people in every age of the world.

And as God has in this latter day, in wisdom and charity, seen fit to notice his creature man, by renewing his laws and statutes, and showing him the only way whereby he can find favor in his sight, let souls be bowed in thankfulness and gratitude to Him for his unbounded mercy and charity. For God is not to be mocked, neither is his word to be trampled upon by the filthy and unclean of this world.

But He doth require that every soul should learn wisdom, and fear Him before too late; and as a friend to my fellow mortals, whose souls are as precious in the sight of God as mine, I would caution you to be careful how you treat the givings of God; for as you treat them, so God will treat you.

And furthermore, I do testify that I have found the true and living way of God, which brings peace and comfort to the soul, and finally gives it full victory over the least and last remains of a fallen nature.

Therefore, I will lift up my voice in thankfulness to Christ the Savior, and good Mother Ann Lee, who are the two anointed ones, and stand at the head of the new creation; who through sufferings and persecutions have opened the way of life and salvation, whereby we are made able to worship God to his acceptance, in the beauty of holiness. And I would invite all to come and partake of the waters of life freely, and thirst no more.

Canterbury, N. H., July 12. 1843. JOHN MALOON.

Born December 27, 1818; *in New Castle, county of Rockingham and state of New Hampshire; came to live with the United Society at Canterbury, N. H.* A. D., 1829.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES C. BLANCHARD.

As I have been made a partaker of this blessed gospel, I can freely bear witness to the truth of it, that it is the power of God to salvation. And having the evidence within my own soul, I am thankful for the privilege, and feel it a duty to bear witness to the manifestation of the work of God; for it has saved me from the follies and sins of my youth.

Therefore, I can cheerfully recommend it to others as a sure and safe guide into all truth; for I have been made a partaker of that renovating power which has run through my mortal frame like streams of living water. That this is the same spirit which influenced our Holy Savior and his beloved apostles I have not the least shadow of a doubt.

I have no hesitation in saying, that the sacred pages of this holy Book have been written by the divine revelation of God; that the writer felt the true spirit of inspiration, and was directed by it, to write the words of the Holy Angel correctly. And I am thankful that the spirit of truth has gone forth, that the Holy Angel has been sent in mercy to sound the word of life to the nations of the earth, that they might learn obedience to the gospel of Christ, and be saved from the snares and temptations into which they are running.

And I can say, I love this blessed work; yea, I love my Mother and those who traveled with her in tribulation, to again open the way of salvation for all souls; and I will not deny this holy work, nor the means by which I have received it.

For I know that through this blessed work I have received the precious gifts of God, and have been an instrument of his Almighty power, which has caused me to turn, bend and shake like a tree shaken by the wind, and to speak in an unknown tongue by the gift of inspiration, that which I could not speak but by the gift of God.

I feel thankful that I have a part with the true people of God, and a peaceable home in Zion; and my prayer is, that this gospel may spread and flourish, and other souls be partakers of it; knowing that it originated in wisdom, and has been handed down to us through the mercy of God.

This Sacred Roll of heavenly truth, which is now sent forth to earth for thousands and millions to read, I pray may be received by all with thankful hearts; feeling sensible that it is not the production of mortal power, but is an emanation of divine wisdom. Therefore slight it not, O ye children of men; for it is a word of truth and precious counsel.

Canterbury, N. H., August 1, 1843. JAMES C. BLANCHARD.

Born A. D., 1812; *in the town of Greensborough, county of Orleans and state of Vermont; has lived with the United Society in Canterbury, N. H., seventeen years.*

TESTIMONY OF MARY WHITCHER.

Being blessed with a home in Zion, where peace and tranquility reign; and having been made a partaker of that gospel, in this day of Christ's second appearing, which saves the soul from sin and condemnation, my heart is filled with thankfulness to my God, and my voice soundeth praise for the same.

Having the witness in my own soul, I can confidently state that Christ has made his second appearance upon earth, as is recorded in the Sacred Roll and Book now about to go forth to the nations of the earth.

And to the truth and divine origin of this Sacred Word, my spirit beareth witness; having received knowledge from a heavenly source, from time to time, in the late manifestation of holy and divine things, that the spirit of the Lord was preparing his Zion on earth to receive his word and will, to communicate to every nation, tongue and people, who know not the Christ or of his second coming, and true dwelling place on the earth; and having been blessed with the peculiar notice of God, I feel it a duty and privilege to testify of the same.

I know the Lord hath greatly blessed his chosen people in this latter day, with the out-pouring of his holy spirit in many ways, marvelous to the beholder, and soul-strengthening to the receiver; of which I have been a witness, and even a partaker.

My soul has often been filled with that heavenly love which casteth out all fear of mortals or any earthly danger; and with that holy power which hath caused me to speak in new tongues, to sing heavenly and divine songs from saints and Angels in glory; with whom I have been able to commune from time to time, and for many days in succession; which hath so established my faith in the reality of divine revelation and supernatural power, that no caviler or unbeliever could cause me to disbelieve what I have seen, felt and heard from the heavenly worlds above, or to deny my faith in the Sacred Word of God, now sent forth in mercy to his creature man, to call him from his wanderings, and to bring him nigher unto his Creator.

But I will stand true to the cause of Christ, to my own soul, and as a witness to the unalterable truth of the Sacred Word now sent forth for the nations of the earth, knowing it to be the word of God; and rather than deny the same, or my holy faith in Christ's second appearing, and obedience thereto, upon which my soul is anchored for salvation, I would suffer persecution or sacrifice my natural life.

I know the true kingdom of God is established on the earth, already completed in its order, and growing in the heavenly graces of purity and love. And that Christ the Savior and Mother Ann Lee are the Parents of the new creation, who stand first in this heavenly kingdom, anointed and appointed of God to lead souls out of nature's darkness, is known beyond a doubt, by all who have entered this peaceable fold, and are their true followers.

My spirit boweth down in thankfulness for the day in which I live, for the mercy, charity and blessing of God to my soul, before whom I am resolved to walk humbly, uprightly and in holy fear, till my days are finished on earth.

To these feelings of my own heart, and writing of my own hand, I freely affix my name.

Canterbury, N. H., June 28, 1843. MARY WHITCHER.

Born March 31, 1815; *in the town of Laurens, county of Otsego, state of New York; has lived with the United Society in Canterbury, N. H., since November* 18, 1826.

TESTIMONY OF HESTER ANN ADAMS.

On the twenty fourth of July, eighteen hundred forty two, While I was worshiping my God under the divine influence of the spirit, I saw a large golden cross; and upon the cross were written these words.

"Behold ye the Inscription."

"Out of the midst of Zion, shall the nations of the earth hear the word of their God, while his people shall fear before Him continually, and praise his holy name forever and ever, and ever-more, Amen.

Even this cross which I have borne, shall every true disciple of mine bear, saith your Lord and Savior."

On the twenty eighth of December, eighteen hundred and forty two, I saw a holy and mighty Angel, holding in his hand a long and bright Roll; presently the Roll appeared in the form of a Book, and the Angel held the Book open before me. I gazed with astonishment and great fear.

The Angel then spake and said, What you see will yet go forth to every nation on the face of the earth; for holy Angels are passing and re-passing therein, sent by Gerah Veed, God Jehovah, to work a marvelous and strange work.

The heavy word which you see, is to be copied by mortal hand, as a holy Angel readeth word for word, from this Roll or Book, at the Holy Mount of the most High God; therefore bow down before me, and remember my word in time of need; for I will yet require mine own with usury.

Again on the first day of January, eighteen hundred and forty three, I saw a great and mighty Angel enter our place of sacred worship and prayer, where many, very many Angels were sounding their trumpets of praise. As this Angel entered, all was silent; presently they raised their wings, and bowed down low, saying in one united voice, Holy, holy is the Lord God of Heaven and earth; praise Him O Zion, shout aloud in solemn fear, for his mercy and charity endureth forever. Bow down all ye afar off, and be prepared for the word of your God.

Then the great and mighty Angel winged his way towards the south, saying, Blessed, blessed are they that believe and repent; for the word of the Lord will go forth to every nation, kindred, tongue and people. Move on ye mighty archers; for the day of liberty and freedom is proclaimed, and shall be proclaimed, saith the All-wise Ruler of the universe.

Inspired Witness,

HESTER ANN ADAMS.

As a witness to the words of unalterable truth, which the Lord my God hath commanded to be sent forth to the nations of the earth, I declare before all people, kindred and tongues, that it is the word of the Lord, even his warning word in due season.

Often my soul has been blessed with the soul-cheering power of Heaven; and I have been fed with the food of Angels, sweet and nourishing. My faith is established beyond a doubt, that this present work is of God; because I have had evidence in my own soul, of its purifying and cleansing power.

God is purity and love, and his people must possess the same, if they would merit his protection and blessing; for his word is eternal truth, pointed against every sin; and like a refiner's fire and fuller's soap, it will cleanse and purify the soul, and make it a fit temple for the Holy Spirit to dwell in. I am thankful I have been made a partaker of the purifying work of the gospel while young, that I may shun the flattering allurements of Satan, and gain wisdom and knowledge of heavenly and divine things, in lieu of the transitory pleasures of nature, which like a flower soon wither and fade away, and leave the soul like a barren wilderness or fruitless field.

This Sacred and Divine Roll carries evidence with itself, of its divine origin; surely the finger of God marked its way, and Wisdom Eternal pointed out its saving virtues; and I can say of a truth, that it was written by divine influence, without the aid of mortal wisdom.

I feel my unworthiness to hand forth my testimony, for I am but a poor frail mortal of myself; yet, considering the many blessings I have received from an all-powerful source, I feel it a duty I owe to my God, to my own soul, and to my fellow mortals, to declare my faith in the work of an holy God; for I know I have found that gospel which saves my soul from sin in the present tense, and in obedience will insure me a happy abode in the Heavens above.

And thereby I can procure that substance of eternal life which fadeth not away; but as an anchor will hold me in the hour of trial and temptation; and I am determined, with a firm and fixed resolution, to stand for the cause of truth and righteousness, even to the laying down of my life; and pursue with pleasure the path of wisdom and holiness, until life's short thread is spun, and my pulse shall cease to beat; then my spirit will be able to meet my God in peace.

I will stand for that gospel taught by the Savior, and again revived and made known to mortals through my ever blessed Mother Ann Lee; for it affords me that peace and solid comfort which the world, with all its pleasures, can neither give nor take away.

I here set my name to this my testimony, that I will stand a faithful servant in the house of my God, through life, and forevermore.

Canterbury, N. H., June 6, 1843. HESTER ANN ADAMS.

Born in Durham, county of Strafford, state of New Hampshire, March 17, A. D. 1817; *and was gathered into the United Society at Canterbury, in the year* 1825.

TESTIMONY OF MYRA A. BEAN.

Having been peculiarly favored and abundantly blessed with the givings of the Holy Spirit in divers ways and manners, I feel it to be my solemn duty, and esteem it a sacred privilege, to stand as a true witness of his word and work whenever I am favored with an opportunity. And at this peculiar time, I freely and thankfully testify, that I have had many heavenly manifestations of the word which is now, by the wisdom of God, sent forth unto the nations of the earth.

Out of the many evidences I have had, I give the following short sketch, which was penned previous to my hearing or seeing the copied Roll. March twenty eighth, eighteen hundred thirty eight, my senses were withdrawn from earth, and I beheld heavenly and divine things. I saw blessed Mother Ann, who held in her hand a large book; I looked at it, and saw the cover was yellow, and appeared to be of gold. She said unto me, Little one, the time will yet be, when you will know this book from beginning to end.

When I returned home, (having been absent twenty four hours,) I informed my leaders of the book I saw Mother holding in her hand.

January twenty second, eighteen hundred forty two, I saw an holy Angel with a large book, which seemed to be the same which I saw Mother have a long time before, as I noticed the cover and size of it. He spoke aloud before a large company of spirits, and said, When the Lord's own time cometh, this his word will go forth to the nations of the earth; first within, and from thence without Zion.

June tenth, eighteen hundred forty two, I was shown the same book again, and read therein certain passages of scripture. I inquired if it was the Bible, and was told it was the word of our Heavenly Father.

Thus having received much previous knowledge at different times, I have not the least reason to doubt the divine origin of this Sacred Roll and Book; but affirm it to be the true and unalterable word of our Heavenly Father, sent forth upon earth, by no other means than that of divine inspiration.

Wednesday evening, May twenty fourth, eighteen hundred forty three, the Angel of Almighty Power spake to me as follows; Thou feeble mortal, Look thou and behold my presence. Listen unto my word, and prepare thy hand to write quickly the same.

I am the great and mighty Angel who has read aloud unto an Instrument of flesh and blood, the word of your Heavenly Father. Yet fear me not; but listen attentively unto my word, for through many instruments, shall be declared the truth of the work, which the Holy and Eternal Father Jehovah is doing in the earth.

I am a great and mighty Angel, and my power is sufficient to execute the will of Him who sent me as a messenger of his word. Therefore, write thou my word, and alter not; for in me is wisdom; and by and through the words I have proclaimed in this Roll which lieth on my hand before you, shall every soul be judged; for the word of the Almighty do I proclaim, even as did Jesus Christ the Savior of souls, the Father of the New Creation.

Word of the Angel, sounded through a Golden Trumpet.

Gather near all ye nations, ye kindreds, tongues and people. For what purpose hath the Lord condescended to notice you with his word, but that ye may turn from the evil of your ways, forsake the sinful paths in which ye have hitherto walked, and seek Him unto salvation?

O ye people, consider for a moment one and all; pause and seriously reflect on the time you have misimproved. Then say ye within your hearts; "Our God is charity and mercy. His word He has now given us, and in love to our souls He has said, if we will now return to Him, his awful and heavy judgments He will withhold, and cause us and our possessions to share of his blessing.

O merciful Father, we will repent; we will cry fervently unto thee, for we know that because of the evil of our doings, thou hast become heavily displeased with us. We will humble our souls and fall low before thee, that thou mayest grant us a place in thy kingdom."

I speak unto you as a friend and well wisher to your souls, and say; Beware, O beware how you treat the sacred givings of your God; Fear ye his holy word. Know ye not, He who sendeth forth this word unto you, is able to utterly destroy you from his presence, in the twinkling of an eye? or to cause you to suffer his heavy judgments in any way He seeth fit, by heavy disease or torturing pain? Even so it is. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away. Therefore trust ye in Him, obey his solemn word and heed his warning voice, that ye may become acceptable children in his sight.

I am an holy attendant of this his word: wherever it goeth I go also; for He sent me forth unto earth with it; and my work is not, neither can it be accomplished that I can return to my Heavenly Father in glory, until this his saving word goeth forth unto the nations of the earth.

Then shall I return with the Roll and Book which I now hold, and convey tidings unto Him of his people on earth. And there in mansions of bright glory will this be preserved, to be shown unto every soul who shall enter eternity, who has received the knowledge of these his sacred requirements; and by this shall they be judged:

Whoever has heeded the requirements herein contained, having bowed down to God in his order, shall find peace and justification in so doing; and whoever has disregarded and set at nought this sacred word, and pronounced that it never came from God, the sight of this, when presented before them, will cause them grief and sorrow inexpressible.

Therefore be wise, each one for yourselves. Repent ye and humble your souls as it well pleaseth your God; for He delighteth in the glory of all souls, and so do his holy Angels. Thus my word endeth at this time, saith the Holy and Mighty Angel.

Inspired Witness,
Myra A. Bean.

I can say without one faltering feeling in my soul, that I have tasted the good word of God, the bread and water of life; and have been a partaker of the power and gifts of God.

The workings of the holy spirit, are indeed beyond the comprehension of the natural man; but every soul who has been fully baptized into the life of the gospel, and bathed freely in the givings of God, by way of inspiration, is fully assured that God is the Author of the power by which they are led and governed.

I am bold to say, this holy power which has been showered down upon this people in various ways and manners, is, without dispute, from a heavenly and divine source; otherwise it would not work to the purification of its subjects; and this is the effect produced on every true and devoted instrument, who has been chosen in this late manifestation.

I have been a living subject of this power for six years past, and it has worked as a purifying fire in my soul, abased pride and self-exaltedness, and learned me a lesson of true humility never to be forgotten; that no external form or ceremony, no outside adornings, will answer the purpose of an honest heart, or gain favor in the sight of a true and righteous God; but the pure and genuine substance of the gospel, firmly established in the soul, wherein dwelleth that pure and holy faith with which good works are combined, will alone be accepted by our Heavenly Father and the holy and purified spirits in eternity.

In the many privileges I have enjoyed, I have often been blessed with the gift of heavenly visions, in which, many times, my spirit has been led entirely away from the things of time, insomuch that I knew nothing of surrounding objects for several hours together, but was viewing and conversing with unbodied spirits in eternity: some times with those who were enjoying perfect happiness, being purified from all sin, and at other times with those who were miserable and unhappy, because of their works of unrighteousness, and the condemnation thereof.

I have seen those souls who, when upon earth, honored and feared God, and lived according to his requirements made known unto them through whatsoever means He chose in the day in which they lived, rejoicing with holy Angels, and praising the name of their Heavenly Father, that they were blessed with his holy protection on earth, insomuch as to honor and obey his word; the happiness that those appeared to be enjoying, was indeed surpassing any that mortals could experience or even describe.

And to the reverse of this, I have seen those who, when upon earth, mocked God, who set at defiance his word and work, and cruelly treated his chosen people, in the most awful distress and heart-rending attitudes that could be imagined; the awful groans and bitter lamentations of these poor distressed souls, were sufficient to melt the stoutest heart into a flood of tears.

And when under the influence of the holy spirit and power of God, I have seen that which language is too feeble to describe; but what I have seen, is fresh in my memory, and I have faith to believe will continue to be through time. I view it not as vain imaginations, or fanciful notions of the youthful mind, but solemn realities to my soul, given for some wise purpose; and not all the inhabitants of earth could ever cause me to disbelieve or deny that which I have heard, seen and felt, when under the influence of divine power.

Being mindful that every soul is alike precious in the sight of God, I can but feel a particular interest in their salvation, and tenderly invite all, candidly to peruse, and wisely consider that which our Heavenly Father hath in mercy and charity sent forth unto all nations of the earth; and for the sake of enjoying present and eternal happiness, receive and obey the same.

I am thankful with every feeling of my soul, that I have been thus blessed with the givings of God; for I know they have given me an undoubted evidence of his invisible, yet Almighty power, and fully established my faith that this gospel, revealed to us through Mother Ann and her faithful followers, is the same as taught by Christ and his Apostles; and the power, which dwells among God's people in the present day, causing the subjects thereof to speak with new tongues, and to behold with spiritual sight that which belongeth to the eternal worlds, and by the spirit of inspiration to declare new and strange things, is the same as was given to the Apostles at the day of Pentecost.

I have received that living faith, which I feel bound forever to obey, and am heartily thankful unto all my gospel relation, who have been helpers to my soul in this self- denying, cross-bearing way of truth, peace and holiness. I never can cease to be thankful for my home in Zion, and my precious privilege with the chosen people of God; neither will I cease to praise my Eternal Parents, for the ever blessed means of salvation, which they have condescended to reveal unto mortals in this latter day.

Canterbury, N. H., June 27, 1843. MYRA A. BEAN.

Born in Sanbornton, county of Belknap and state of New Hampshire; June 24, A. D. 1818; *came to live with the United Society at Canterbury, N. H.,* A. D. 1826.

TESTIMONY OF CYNTHIA B. BRADLEY.

May twenty first, A. D. eighteen hundred and forty three, as I was retired by myself, and my spirit drawn forth in prayer to God, I heard a rushing sound as the noise of distant waters; yet the sound was near. The power of God then fell upon me, and immediately I felt the presence of an holy Angel of God. He came and stood before me saying, Arise and write my word.

Word of the Angel.

I am a holy Angel of witness; I came from the throne of the Most High, even from the throne of Eternal Glory; and unto me it is given to declare the truth of God.

Behold the time, the time has fully come. He who is from everlasting, hath begun his work in the earth; yea, the Almighty Creator of Heaven and earth, hath condescended again to reveal his word to the poor lost children of men. In his own time, and in his own way, by means of his own choosing, hath He done this.

And I, the holy Angel of witness, do testify saying, Behold the time has come. I saw the holy and Mighty Angel stand before the throne of Eternal Power and Wisdom, and from thence receive an Holy Roll and Book, containing the word of God to the nations of the earth. With holy wisdom was he anointed, and with mighty power was he clothed, and commissioned to go to earth and reveal the contents of the Sacred Roll and Book, that it might be correctly copied by an instrument of mortal clay.

And say I, the holy witnessing Angel, This work is now accomplished. Within the walls of Zion, yea, even at the Holy Mount, did the holy and mighty Angel choose an instrument, whose spirit bowed to the requirement of God, and who freely and patiently endured sufferings and tribulation of soul, in obedience to his will.

And now the time has come; yea, the time has fully come. The word of the Lord is made manifest in Zion, and from her it shall go forth to the nations.

Amen, even so let it be, say I the holy Angel of Witness.
Inspired Witness,
CYNTHIA B. BRADLEY.

I am thankful for the blessed gospel of life and salvation; I am thankful I am made partaker of that saving grace, which was first revealed on earth through Christ my Holy Savior, and which hath been revived in this day by my ever blessed Mother Ann Lee; I rejoice to own my Father and my Mother in the New Creation; and rejoice to own the means by which I have been brought from darkness into light, from the bondage of sin and death, into the glorious liberty of a child of God.

I know that I have received the testimony of everlasting truth; that gospel which giveth endless life, and which is the power of God unto salvation. For by the power of this gospel, my soul has been awakened and raised from spiritual death, and made alive to God. Yea, in obedience to this gospel I am saved from sin, and my soul is filled with that peace which passeth understanding.

My faith is firmly established, and I feel that it is built on that foundation which is forever sure; even on the rock of ages which can never be moved. I believe in God, Jehovah, the holy and eternal source of Power and Wisdom; and in the revelation of the Father through Jesus of Nazareth. I believe that he was anointed to open the way of life and salvation. He is the true and first begotten Son of God, the Father of the New Creation.

And with the same confidence I believe in the revelation of Holy Wisdom, through Ann Lee. She was a chosen vessel appointed of God to convey the light of life to a world covered with gross darkness, and sunk in sin and pollution. Yea, she is the Mother of the new creation, the Bride, the Lamb's wife; and with Christ her Lord she is united in the work of man's redemption; and these are the Two Anointed Ones who stand before the Lord of the whole earth.

This is my faith, and I am willing to declare it before all people. I know I have found the true and living way; and that this gospel which I have received, is the means which God hath appointed for the salvation of all souls.

I have been greatly noticed and blessed of God, and have felt the givings of his holy power; and have received the true baptism of Christ, even the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire, by which my soul has been cleansed and purified from sin. I have many times felt the power and influence of the Holy Spirit roll through my soul like flaming fire, and operating upon my mortal body. By this power I have been raised, as it were, from earth and earthly things, and made able to commune with holy Angels, and with the spirits of the just made perfect. I have been blessed with the gift of tongues, and many other precious and heavenly gifts which are as real to me as my existence.

Freely and thankfully do I bear witness to this truth; that the gift of divine revelation and inspiration does exist in the true church of Christ upon earth at the present day. For of this I have been made partaker; and can I doubt that which I have myself experienced? By no means.

I have received evidence in my own soul sufficient to convince me of the divine origin of the Holy Roll and Book which is now about to be published abroad. And I can with boldness testify that this Sacred Roll, containing the word, will and requirement of the Lord God of Heaven and earth, hath been received and written by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit. It is the unalterable word of the one true and living God; and it will forever stand.

To this testimony I will ever bear witness; and rather than deny this my faith, I will freely lay down my natural life.

Canterbury, May 21, 1843. CYNTHIA B. BRADLEY.

Born December 15, 1816; *in the town of Canterbury, county of Merrimac, state of New Hampshire. Came to live with the United Society in said Canterbury, May* 6, A. D. 1825.

TESTIMONY OF CALEB M. DYER.

It feels to me to be a privilege and duty to bear witness in confirmation of the late manifestation of the out-pouring of the spirit and power of God, having been a subject of the same, and having frequently witnessed, in different branches of the United Society, the same gifts and power, in speaking in tongues and of prophesying of future events; many of which have come to pass to my certain knowledge.

Therefore, I feel perfect confidence in the foregoing Roll and Book, that it is the word of God, given by the inspiration of his holy spirit; and as a well wisher for the present as well as future well being of every soul, may they use it as such; for it is evident and certain, that God's work with all the human family of Adam, will go on and be completed in his own way and time; and every one should be very cautious that they are not found striving against light and truth.

I was born August twenty fifth, one thousand and eight hundred; in the town of Stratford, county of Coos, state of New Hampshire; and was admitted into this United Society, at the age of twelve years.

Enfield, Grafton county, state of New Hampshire; June 29, 1843. CALEB M. DYER.

TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM PERKINS.

Having for several years been an eye witness of the effects of the marvelous and wonderful power and out-pouring of the spirit of God among his peculiar and distinguished people, and also being a subject of its influence, often having been led by it to speak in different tongues, to hold communion with holy Angels and many of the departed of this life, some of whom have been cotemporaries with me, with whom I have associated and been acquainted, and others who inhabited the earth hundreds and thousands of years ago; and thus by their prophetic spirit moved upon to prophesy, and to reveal what had been, what is and what will be; some of which promises and revelations have already been fulfilled in my eyes, which confirms and strengthens my faith in the truth that others will be, in God's own time:

Therefore, with this evidence from divine revelation and the spirit of God given me, I have no hesitation in declaring my faith in the preceding call and requirement as being the word of God. To deny which, I should deem in me, sacrilege.

I feel interested for the happiness of all mankind, whether of my own nation, color, tongue or otherwise; and in the fear of God do I invite all to be deliberate and candid, that none be found fighting against their God and Benefactor, neither against their own peace and salvation.

As this work will prove itself, and the day is not far distant when the nations of the earth will have the evidence of its reality by actual experience of their own, if any should feel incredulous, it would be wise for such, at least, to maintain silence; that they no more incur the displeasure of the Almighty, and bring upon themselves his wrath with a heavier hand. For I would that all men could enjoy, even as I do, his approbation and love.

As an instrument in the hands of my God, to do what lies in my power towards accomplishing that work which He requires of his chosen people, I freely lend my aid in testimony of eternal truth for the benefit of my fellow men.

And in the diffusion of light and truth, the final work which God has purposed with his creatures, is hastened, our own forwarded, and our perfection and happiness augmented. And though for the defence of my faith, I meet many and heavy trials, though by the powers of earth I be not tolerated therein, or be deprived in the action thereof, yet my mind and conscience can never be controlled, but by the spirit of Christ. For the faith which I have adopted is my own, and my knowledge of its origin from a divine source too well grounded, ever to be denied; and therefore, that which I shall ever support.

Enfield, N. H.; June 29, 1843. ABRAHAM PERKINS.

Born in Sanbornton, Belknap county, New Hampshire; October 13, 1807; *and was admitted into the United Society at the age of nineteen years.*

TESTIMONY OF HORACE FOLSOM.

The undersigned, having been called out from the practices of a vain and wicked world by the spirit of truth; and having in many instances, by the same spirit, been led to bear witness of the manifestation of the spirit of God to his chosen people upon earth, which many times has appeared strange and marvelous, and even unaccounted for by the vainly wise, feels it a duty at the present time, freely to give his testimony in relation to the foregoing Roll and Book.

I believe it to be a work wrought by the hand of God Himself, and through mercy and charity sent to earth by the means of his own choosing, to give the inhabitants thereof an offer of receiving mercy at his hand, or judgment and indignation, in consequence of disregarding his law as sent forth to them.

I have many times, when under the immediate influence of the spirit, been shown by the spirits of the holy prophets and Angels, the dreadful calamities and awful judgments with which God has purposed to fill the earth; also the miseries and plagues with which He will scourge the rulers and great ones of the earth, if they refuse to yield obedience to his righteous commands; and at the same time, showing what inestimable riches and heavenly comfort those shall enjoy who make it their free choice to serve the Lord their God, and Him alone. This I received previous to my seeing the Roll and Book; and it was recorded at the time received.

Soon after hearing the sacred work read, I saw a company of Angels, who told me the Book had been written through great sufferings and tribulation of soul, and agreeably to the will of God: that I must not be ashamed to declare my belief of its divine origin; for it was that by which nations should be tried, and according to their works justified or condemned.

The Angels said they should bear witness to the divine work, for generations to come, and throughout every kingdom and nation upon the earth. So kindred people one and all, I freely declare to you that I have found the straight way of life, marked out by our Holy Savior, and walked by our blessed Mother Ann; which does save me from all sin, by walking in obedience thereunto; and it is my firm determination to abide faithful in my calling: for said Christ, He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

This work, though crossing to the natural disposition of fallen man, brings true peace of mind; with an hundred fold in this life, and the promise of eternal life hereafter, according to the words of Christ.

And now I sincerely invite all who may hear the foregoing Roll and Book read, to consider it well; and if any are inclined to treat it with scorn or contempt, just let them reflect and see if they had not better let it alone, lest haply they be found to fight against God. If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, no one can stop it.

Enfield, N. H., August 9, 1843. HORACE FOLSOM.

Born February 21, 1819; *in the town of Enfield, county of Grafton and state of New Hampshire. Admitted into the United Society at Enfield, N. H.,* A. D. 1829.

TESTIMONY OF TIMOTHY RANDLETT.

Having been made a partaker of this ever blessed gospel in my childhood, and having found that substance which preserves me from evil, and being one who has been called as an instrument to participate in the present manifestation of the marvelous work of the divine spirit, I can with confidence bear testimony, that the foregoing Roll and Book is the unchangeable word of God, sent forth from his Almighty throne, by his holy Angel, and copied by mortal hand agreeably to his will; I am confident, that it was designed by the Almighty to go through all nations, for a testimony unto them.

While writing this testimony I am suddenly called by a holy Angel to write the following, as he wings his way through the Heavens.

Words of the Angel.

Woe! woe! woe! to the inhabitants of earth; for the hand of the Almighty is stretched out in judgment upon the face thereof; for her abominations are great, and the multitude of her transgressions are without number; the stench of her whoredoms hath ascended up as the burning of Sodom.

The great whore of Babylon is seen marching through her streets in pomp and splendor, clothed in gaudy attire, and receiving homage from the highest monarch on his throne, to the lowest scullion in human shape; and in the blood of her fellow creatures are her garments deeply stained.

Repent, O repent, ye children of earth; for in judgment hath the Lord purposed to visit you, unless ye repent quickly; for his wrath is exceeding great, and his fierce anger cannot be stayed unless ye turn and seek to do his holy will, as it is made known in his Sacred Word; for He will judge you in righteousness.

As the angel ceased to sound, I said unto him, Holy Angel, for what purpose can this thing be, seeing the work is so nearly closed? He answered, What is that to thee? Do thy duty, and thou shalt be blameless.

July fifteenth, eighteen hundred and forty three, an holy Angel appeared before me, saying, I am a mighty Angel sent from the eternal Heavens; from the holy throne of the Great I AM have I come, and his will I must do. He hath sent me to proclaim to the four quarters of the earth, the great and mighty work which must shortly extend to all nations, to prepare the way for his holy word, which is given either for mercy or judgment; for saith the Angel, many signs shall be seen in the heavens and on the earth, and in the mighty waters.

Inspired Witness,

Timothy Randlett.

To the truth of this testimony, I am at all times ready to bear witness, if ever it be required; for the evidence which is given me from an invisible source, gives me that knowledge which I never can deny; for the consequence of so doing would be the loss of my eternal salvation. Yea, my natural life I should freely give, rather than deny this my testimony.

I was born December tenth, eighteen hundred and six, in Meredith, Strafford county, New Hampshire; was brought among this people by my parents, when a child.

Enfield, N. H.; August 10, 1843. Timothy Randlett.

TESTIMONY OF SUSANNAH CURTIS.

While assembled in the meeting house for worship, on the second day of October, eighteen hundred forty two, as I sat in silent meditation, suddenly there sounded in my ears a mighty trumpet, and a rushing like the trees of a forest when moved by a strong wind, which so affected my frame, that notwithstanding all my exertions to remain calm, I could not refrain from rocking with the great shaking, which appeared to put in motion every thing around me.

Every person in the assembly appeared with pale faces, looking earnestly upon one another, like those who were struck dumb and motionless with fear. But before I had time to consider, or make out in my mind any cause for this noise which I heard, there came two bright Angels from a south westerly direction, and flew swiftly over my left shoulder.

Their appearance was like that of a mighty man prepared for battle; they turned swiftly, passing twice from one end of the meeting house to the other, between the spectators, and those who were assembled for holy worship; and they, with their wings extended, soared over the spectators, sounding loudly the following words:

Ho, ho! Hearken all ye people, to the sound of the awakening trumpet; for it shall sound, and mighty power shall roll even to the ends of the earth. Some shall be offended when they hear, and others shall rejoice; but no powers of earth or hell shall be able to disannul or make void the word which has gone forth from the mouth of the Almighty God; for his bow is bent, and who can evade the arrows which are prepared to pierce the hearts of the scorner, and of those who desire not the knowledge of his ways?

O ye generations, lend a listening ear; and ye who are afar off, consider, and slight not the day of your visitation which in mercy is near at hand; for the word of the EVERLASTING is about to sound in your ears.

From the midst of my Holy Zion, saith the Lord, I will send forth my word unto you; and those who will not suffer it to have place in their hearts, but choose rather to walk in their own paths, I will meet in my fury, and cause them to drink a full portion of my fierce indignation. For I have long borne with the haughtiness of vain man, and suffered him to prosper in his folly, till my times and seasons are fulfilled.

But the time of forbearance hath an end, and it is nigh even at your door; therefore, let the wise meditate upon my word, and gather to the place of refuge before too late; for as I live, saith the Lord, I will ere long be known among all nations; either in mercy or judgment shall my power be made manifest, and not one soul which I have created, shall be left to doubt that I, who am invincible in strength, do bear rule in the Heavens, and preside over the destinies of man.

I will bestow my blessing upon every nation, according to the honor which is given to my name, by regarding the lessons of warning which I send among them; though the means I make use of, in my wisdom, may be far out of their sight, and very debasing to their loftiness and pride.

Whoso hath ears to hear, let them hear; for the day of reckoning cometh quickly, and blessed shall those be who are not found fighting against that light which I shall cause to shine into their consciences.

For powers shall shake and kingdoms rend, high hills shall flee away;
Through all the earth, from end to end, my sceptre I will sway.
I am the Lord, my word I'll sound, through every land and clime;
Mercy and judgment shall abound, at my appointed time.

Surely, my work hasteneth, and whoso is found worthy to proclaim my word to the children of men, shall be glorified, with my holy Prophets and martyrs, who have patiently suffered to perform my will; for though I lead them through the fire, yet their garments shall not be scorched, saith the Lord; and we, the holy Angels from before his throne, are his witnesses.

For lo! from the foundation of the world, we have never seen any put to shame, who put their trust in the mighty God of Jacob.

Then hearken, ye people, as o'er you we fly;
The great visitation of God draweth nigh;
And though through a child He may teach you his way,
Refuse not to hearken, but wisely obey.

The mighty Angels now passed on with the same speed in which they came, quickly disappearing from my view.

Inspired Witness,
Susannah Curtis.

I here add my testimony concerning the Sacred Roll and Book, which the Almighty hath in mercy sent forth for the nations of the earth; for I do know, beyond a doubt, having had sufficient evidence, that it is the word of the Lord written by divine inspiration.

I was born December twenty second, seventeen hundred ninety seven; in the town of Granby, county of Essex and state of Vermont. I was sixteen years of age when I embraced the testimony of Christ's second appearing.

Enfield, N. H., June 22, 1843. Susannah Curtis.

TESTIMONY OF MARY FALL.

I can hereby testify to all who may ever read the foregoing Roll and Book, that I do know of a truth, that it is the word of the Almighty God, sent forth in charity, in loving kindness and in mercy to the nations of the earth, that they may, if they will, take warning thereby, and reform their lives; yea, repent and turn from their iniquities, before the just judgments of the Almighty God be poured upon them.

May twenty third, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, a Holy Proclaiming Angel of God sounded these words unto me; The gospel shall go forth from Zion to the inhabitants of earth, through instruments of mortal clay; and this present generation shall behold it take place in their day and time. And although it was not made known to me in what year; yet I have ever felt confident, from that day to this, that I should live to see it, and be able to bear witness of the same.

And furthermore, I have received knowledge from an invisible source, that the judgments of God were soon to be poured out upon the inhabitants of earth; and that his mighty power would cause them to fear and tremble, insomuch that they could not stand upon their feet, but would fall to the earth like men in a field of battle; that they would be filled with distress and confusion, and many of the kings of the earth, the great and rich men, the chief captains and the mighty men, the bond men and free men, would seek to hide themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and would say to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from his wrath; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who is able to stand?

But what is the voice of God to them? Even this: If ye seek to cover your abominations, after ye have heard my warning voice, I will expose you to open shame.

But O vain man! turn ye, turn ye from your iniquities, from your foul and beastly works of darkness, and come forth into light; enter into the one only true and living way, which is the truth and the light. Into this way ye must all enter, in order to be justified, and stand in union with Me, the Creator of all, who knoweth all things, and will reward every one as their works shall be.

June twenty seventh, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, I heard it proclaimed by a mighty Angel, that the time was nigh at hand when Zion should appear in full glory: for, said he, Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid; therefore, let your light shine even to the nations of the earth, that they may behold the glory of their Creator.

Although I am a frail mortal, yet I have received full faith that Christ is the anointed of God, and the Savior of all souls who follow him, who, in obedience to his teaching, will in the end find complete victory over every evil propensity.

I also know that Christ has made his second appearance on earth, in a chosen female known by the name of Ann Lee, and acknowledged by us as our blessed Mother in the work of redemption. She, with the help of God and her associates, did form a society, which is led by the same spirit that Christ manifested in his first appearing, which constitutes it the Church of Christ or true people of God.

I can further testify unto all, that I have heard, from an invisible source, at three different times, words concerning the foregoing Roll and Book, that God hath purposed to send forth to the nations of the earth. And I know it was revealed in mercy, for mortal hand to copy; and that the writer was inspired by the power of God, through the influence of his mighty Angels.

I can further testify, that by inspiration I do know that the Roll and Book has been copied correctly, as the Mighty Angel did read unto the inspired writer; yea, I do know that it has not been done by the will of man or woman, but by the will of Him that sitteth on the throne.

For the word of God through an Angel unto me, was as follows: Thus saith the Almighty, Wherever this my Roll and Book shall go, there I will send my Angels; and a true record shall be kept of its reception with every nation, kindred, tongue and people on the face of the globe.

Hearken again, O ye people, saith God. If ye refuse this my word unto you, or say it is the work of man or woman, I will in my fierce anger, pour out my heavy judgments upon you.

But if ye thankfully receive my word, and labor to understand and live up to the same, I will cause light to shine into your souls, till you are able to realize every requirement that is contained within the lids of this my Book, and receive the promised reward.

Inspired Witness,
Mary Fall.

Perhaps some cavilers may say, How do you know these things? I answer; It is because it has been made known to me by the influence of Almighty Power, through an Angel, bearing witness of the scenes of heavy tribulation which the inspired writer had to pass through, while copying the Roll and Book.

I am truly thankful that I have been made a partaker of this saving gospel, taught by blessed Mother Ann and her faithful successors, through whom I have received it.

Here I have been made welcome to drink at the fountain of life, and have been fed with the food of Angels; and in wisdom I have been blessed with knowledge and understanding of spiritual things, which are far greater to me than any of the perishable things of this life.

To the truth of this testimony I can, at any time, bear witness, if it should be required of me. It is firmly grounded by the knowledge I have had in this work, and it is that which I never can deny, but will maintain, even to the laying down of my life.

I was born July thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ten; in the town of Thornton, county of Grafton and state of New Hampshire; and was taken in with the people of God, when about seven years of age.

Enfield, N. H.; June 22, 1343. Mary Fall.

TESTIMONY OF REBECCA ROBINSON.

The writer, while in divine worship, July fourth, eighteen hundred and forty two, saw a mighty Angel of God, and he spake as follows: I am a holy Angel, and the words which I sound forth are truth. For lo, O ye inhabitants of Zion, the time is near at hand, that this gospel will be sounded to the nations of the earth, to awaken them from the slumbers of death.

And saith the Angel, When the word of the Lord shall go forth from his Zion upon earth, to the children of men, then will heavy tribulation and sufferings come upon the inhabitants thereof. So be ye prepared to meet them; for the Lord Almighty hath sent forth his Angels of mercy and judgment, with his word of eternal truth, to pass and re-pass, to view and review the inhabitants of the earth.

Therefore, I again say, Prepare, O prepare, ye indwellers of Zion; for now is your day, your precious time to gain a durable treasure, that which will abide with you, that which will be a strength and support to your immortal souls, when trying scenes shall roll on. Treasure freely of the sacred givings of God your Heavenly Father, while He does so abundantly shower his blessings upon you, that ye may have wherewith to feed the poor and hungry souls who will yet cry to you for help and strength.

Again, some time in the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty two, while in the worship of God, I saw a mighty Angel who appeared like a flaming fire; and he had in his right hand a large shining Roll. He passed through the room three or four times, back and forth, holding out the Roll as he passed.

He then came towards me and said, O thou little one of mortality, look and behold what the Lord hath done for the inhabitants of the earth; for from Zion shall his law go forth even unto every nation, tongue and people that dwell thereon, that she may be delivered from the heavy burden of sin and iniquity under which she now lies; and God is about to make Himself known to her inhabitants who are groping in sin and darkness, who know not God, neither have learned his holy way.

But He hath decreed that the children of men should know that there is a God, who is able to stain the pride of all flesh, and lay low the haughtiness of vain mortals; and that He has given sufficient power in this day of Christ's second appearing, to save every soul that will comply with his offers of mercy, in the order that He Himself has prepared and made plain before them. The Angel now ceased speaking.

I greatly feared the Angel would bid me take the Roll to write; for I felt that it contained weighty matters, and was more than I was able to perform. After a little time the Angel disappeared from my view.

May fourth, eighteen hundred and forty three, while assembled in our sacred place of worship, I saw four mighty Angels who attended the reading of the Sacred Roll; and they had in their right hands a large trumpet, resembling very bright silver; and in their left, a golden sceptre of truth. They turned in every direction, and sounded through their trumpets very loud and powerful; in the mean time holding out their golden sceptres of truth as they turned. After they had finished sounding, they spoke in one united voice, as follows:

We are the holy witnessing Angels of the living God, and thus has the Lord Jehovah, who knoweth all things in Heaven and on earth, whose arm of mercy and judgment is stretched out to all the inhabitants thereof, caused this his sacred and saving word, to be correctly written by mortal hand, through heavy sufferings and deep tribulation, for the perusal of the nations of the earth; that they may know his word and law, which will prove a savor of life unto life to those who hearken and obey the same, and of death unto death to the disobedient and rebellious.

The Angels now vanished out of my sight.

Inspired Witness,

Rebecca Robinson.

Feeling it a duty which God requires of me, I freely add my testimony as a witness, for all who may read the foregoing sacred pages.

I can testify, and that beyond a doubt, by what I have seen and felt, that this Sacred Roll was handed forth from God by his holy Angels, and correctly written under the divine inspiration of the power of God, and Him alone.

To this I will ever stand; and this I will maintain and support, even to the laying down of my natural life. Yea, this I would do under the most excruciating tortures, if my God required it, rather than deny the late manifestation and work of God; for I know it is of Him, and will forever stand.

Enfield, N. H.; June 22, 1843. REBECCA ROBINSON.

Born March 31, A. D. 1812; *in Springfield, county of Sullivan, state of New Hampshire; and was admitted into the United Society in Enfield, N. H.* A. D. 1826.

TESTIMONY OF OTIS SAWYER.

The City of Portland, county of Cumberland and state of Maine, was my native place; I was born May second, eighteen hundred and fifteen, and was received into the United Society in July, eighteen hundred and twenty two, where I have ever since lived, and of which I am a member. And having witnessed and tested, by many years experience, the effects of obedience to, and having gained full confidence and an unshaken faith in the present testimony of the gospel of Christ, in which he has the second time appeared, without sin unto full and free salvation, which was immutably established by the revelation, power and gift of God, in and through his chosen witnesses in this favored land of freedom and liberty, and having been made partaker of its benign and saving influence, I can with full confidence testify of the same.

That God has of late opened the spiritual avenues from the invisible to the visible world, by which the heavenly host have been brought nigh; and that He hath, through this means, poured out his spirit and power in a most wonderful and marvelous manner among this peculiar people, evidently to prepare them for some great and mighty event of his will, operating by tongues, signs, visions, prophecies, inspiration and revelation, is a fact established beyond all doubt or equivocation in my mind, having been in some degree a subject of it; for what my eyes have seen and my ears have heard, and what has been made plain and evident to my senses by the power of God, I never can dispute or deny. And that these gifts have been and still are clearly and plainly demonstrated beyond a doubt, I can, with many others, boldly and confidently bear witness; for "We are witnesses of these things; and *so is* also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given us."

And this wonderful display of Almighty power, is a sure evidence that God is about to commence a new era with mankind; for here hath He established the law and order of grace, of his new and spiritual kingdom; and now is the mystery finished, and his kingdom in its fullness revealed, and Zion is immutably established on earth.

Therefore, it is obvious, agreeable to divine prediction, that from hence must proceed the word and law of God to the nations both afar off and near.

And this is demonstrated in the Sacred Roll and Book to the nations of the earth, which I believe to be the sacred word of the Lord God of Heaven and earth, as much as any part of the writings of the ancient Prophets or Apostles, contained in the Old or New Testament; and the same power that influenced them to write, inspired the mortal writer and guided the pen of him who wrote this holy and sacred word; and I unhesitatingly declare my faith in the same, that it is not the work or device of mortals, but the merciful condescension of an Almighty God to his frail creature man.

And I solemnly and conscientiously testify, in the fear of God, to all who may see or hear this testimony, that I never will deny the present display of God's holy power, or the word of his Sacred Roll; nor renounce my faith in this everlasting gospel, whatever may be the result of its promulgation; but will boldly and confidently support and stand in defence of the same, and in support of what I have written, to the utmost extent of my feeble abilities, and seal the same with my blood if so required, and suffered by my God. In confirmation whereof I hereunto sign my name this twenty third day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty three.

New Gloucester, county of Cumberland and state of Maine. } OTIS SAWYER.

TESTIMONY OF MERRILL BAILEY.

The town of Colebrook, county of Coos and state of New Hampshire, was the place of my nativity; I was born August twenty eighth, one thousand and eight hundred. I came with my parents to live with the United Society in this place, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twelve, where I have remained until the present time.

Having gained a measure of understanding in the present testimony of Christ's second appearing, and having full faith and a firm belief that this is the only true way of God, I feel free to declare my faith to all men, concerning this people, and concerning the strange work that is going on among them; for it is a strange and marvelous work in the eyes of mankind.

This is the Church that was spoken of by the Prophets in ancient days, that was to be established in the latter day when the true worship and gifts of God were to be restored. The same power that inspired the Prophets of God among the children of Israel, and which caused them to sound forth and write God's word to that nation, and to the nations of the earth, causes, or inspires his chosen ones in this day, to sound forth or write his word to this Church, and to the nations of the earth at the present time. Yea, that same power that operated upon the Apostles at the day of Pentecost, and which caused them to break forth in tongues and speak as the spirit gave them utterance, has been these few years past, and still is, operating among the children of Zion; although in a more remarkable manner in the gift of revelation.

I feel full confidence in declaring the same, because I have felt that same power operating upon my own soul, and upon my mortal body, and have been an eye and ear witness of the same, with many others. I believe the Sacred Roll and Book that is to be sent forth to the nations of the earth, is the word of the Lord to the inhabitants thereof, and is in great mercy and condescension sent forth to mankind, in due season, in the order of God's providence, that they may know his mind and will, and turn to Him and live; for as He hath declared, He hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked.

Thus I have stated, in a few words, my faith in the present work of God and display of his power; and it is that which I own, and will ever maintain to the laying down of my natural life, if so required; yea, though persecution should rage and deep tribulation roll on, yet I will not deny my Lord and Savior; for he that is not willing to suffer with him, is not worthy to reign with him. In witness whereof I subscribe my name this twenty eighth day of August, eighteen hundred and forty three.

Alfred, county of York and state of Maine. MERRILL BAILEY.

TESTIMONY OF LYDIA NOWELL.

I was born in the town of Shapleigh, county of York and state of Maine, October twelfth, eighteen hundred and eight; and have lived with Believers twenty two years. And my faith being firmly established in the gift and revelation of God, and gospel of Christ, in his second appearing, I esteem it a duty and privilege to bear witness to the same, and to the display of heavenly and divine gifts, with which, of late, this people have been so abundantly blessed.

I can with confidence declare this to be the only true way of God, and the pure gospel of Christ, or He would never have blessed them to such an extent, with the gifts of the Holy spirit, of visions, tongues and revelation, and in many and various ways, to purify and cleanse his chosen people from the nature of sin. All who walk in obedience to his revealed will, and the established order of his Zion on earth, have tasted of the good word of God and the powers of the world to come.

This I have received, and this I am not ashamed to assert and witness to at any time. I have felt and witnessed the operation of God's power in this late manifestation, which has caused souls to break forth into sublime songs of the New Jerusalem, and speak for Angels and Ministering spirits of God, to the delight and astonishment of every beholder.

And having been thus blessed and noticed of God, to partake of his saving gospel, I feel under the greatest obligation to be faithful and true to my trust. I will ever stand as a true witness to the sacred word of God, now about to be sent forth to the nations of the earth, so long as I am blessed with my right reason, and remain on the shores of time. In testimony whereof I hereunto subscribe my name, this twenty eighth day of August, eighteen hundred and forty three.

Alfred, state of Maine. LYDIA NOWELL.

TESTIMONY OF LAVINA P. McINTIRE.

At nine o'clock Sabbath evening, April eighteenth, eighteen hundred forty three, the Prophet Zephaniah gave me a white marble Box, wherein he said was a Roll and Book.

Not knowing what the Prophet intended for me to do with the box, I retired to my room, where I intended to examine it; but had not time to do this, before the prophet told me the box must be given to the Holy Anointed of this place, and by them conveyed to Holy Ground, or Canterbury, N. H., where it would be opened and the contents of the Roll and Book clearly ascertained.

July eighteenth, as I was about to copy what I had received from the prophet, suddenly there appeared a bright light passing and re-passing before me, and these words followed, spoken by a holy Angel:

The box which the prophet gave you, was to you a sealed box; and would have remained so, had you retained it longer; for the time had not fully come for you to know what the Roll and Book contained. But now it hath been sounded in your ears, and made plain to your understanding; for it was never intended from the beginning, that this great and all-wise purpose should be veiled in mystery.

But know ye, it has been through the prayers and intercessions of Angels and purified spirits in Heaven, that this Sacred Roll and Book has been sent forth for the nations of the earth; and that it has caused much tribulation and sufferings of soul to be felt, by many of the inhabitants of Zion on earth; but the end of sufferings will not fully come, until all have had an offer of this soul-saving gospel, taught by Christ and your ever blessed Mother Ann Lee.

Many of the holy Angels have already gone forth to the earth, to awaken souls to a sense of their lost state, and to prepare them for the ushering in of this great and glorious work; and many there are who will embrace it in sincerity of heart.

This word of eternal truth will not return void, but will prove a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death. So let all those who have been made partakers of the heavenly and divine revelations and manifestations of God, which have been sent forth from time to time, look well to their goings; for his judgments are already determined upon the disobedient and rebellious, who seek to do their own wills, rather than subject themselves to the will of God their Heavenly Father.

But those who fear God and keep his commandments, will be objects of his peculiar delight; and when his judgments are abroad in the earth, He will hide them as in the hollow of his hand; yea, He will stretch forth his arm of love to protect them, and none shall be able to turn it aside.

Inspired Witness,
LAVINA P. McINTIRE.

I was born March twenty eighth, eighteen hundred and seven, in the town of New Portland, Franklin county and state of Maine. When at the age of ten years, my parents placed me under the care of the United Society of Believers, where I have remained from that time to this, it being about twenty six years. Although I was young, yet in obedience to what I was taught, I found salvation from sin.

I can with confidence and sincerity of soul, declare unto all who may hereafter read this, that in obedience to the doctrine and principles of Christ, taught by the leading influence of this Society, I have found the way of life and salvation, and do know it is the only way, whereby any soul can find acceptance with God, and an entrance into his pure and peaceable kingdom; for it is founded on the divine revelation of God, and has been by Him sustained, from the commencement of it unto the present time.

Although the mighty power of God has of late, been displayed in a marvelous and wonderful manner, in the gift of revelation, inspiration and prophecy, yet it is only an increase of the same light and power, which has characterized this church ever since it was first established in this favored land. It is no doubt a strange work, and marvelous in the sight of the world; but it is nevertheless true. I know, and can confidently assert that I have felt and witnessed the power of God, and that He has blessed this people with the gifts of the Holy Spirit in various ways and manners, and that in this He has more plainly and fully revealed his will, than in any preceding dispensation.

My faith is firmly established in this gospel, and in the revelation of God; and I do solemnly declare that I will stand in defence and support of the same, and maintain the principles of this pure and holy faith to the end of my days.

New Gloucester, Maine, August 23, 1843. LAVINA P. MCINTIRE.

TESTIMONY OF SOPHIA F. MACE.

On the morning of the eighteenth of September, eighteen hundred and forty two, as I was busily engaged in my usual occupation, I heard a sudden noise like that of a strong wind, and rain beating powerfully upon the house. I quickly arose and passed along towards the window, and observed that the natural elements were all calm and still; but I cannot describe or paint on paper that which I saw and felt. The heavenly music which I heard, and the bright Angels which I saw, took every natural thing from my view, and my soul was swallowed up in adoration and love to God.

A mighty Angel advanced towards me, holding in one hand a Book, and in the other a large Roll. I was about to turn away from the sight, for fear of some further requirement, when the holy Angel spake to me as follows: Stop, and behold the work of the Lord your God, and me the holy Angel who am shod with Eternal Truth, and in whom is no darkness at all; for my dwelling is before the throne of God, and I am sent forth unto the Zion of God, to proclaim his power and to sound forth his word of solemn warning unto the nations of the earth.

Look ye and behold this Roll, and the seals thereon, which the Lord your God doth purpose, in his own due time, (which time is nigh even at your doors,) to open, publish and send abroad unto the inhabitants of the earth; so bow exceeding low, all ye indwellers of Zion, and seek to obey and strictly keep the laws of your God, and in so doing receive the blessing of Heaven.

The Angel then disappeared from my sight, and I saw nor heard any thing more concerning the Roll, until on the morning of the eighteenth of January, eighteen hundred and forty three, while I was engaged in my morning duties, I heard a sound as of continued shouting, which sounded very heavenly and melodious, and I was deeply struck with the solemn fear of God. I saw nothing at first; but this shouting, or melodious sound, apparently drew nearer and nearer, until it took my whole sensation.

I looked and beheld a bright band of Angels, and many good and happified spirits; they were unitedly marching in regular order through our dooryard and dwellings; and as they marched towards me, I saw the great and powerful Angel of the Lord, holding or bearing the Roll which spread far and wide; (the length and breadth I did not exactly know.)

Then spake the Holy Angel these words unto me: Know thou that I am an holy proclaiming Angel of the Lord, and the same Angel, holding the same Roll in my hand which I plainly showed unto thee four months ago this very day, which is now unsealed, opened and revealed in the Zion of God on earth, by the will, word and command of God your Heavenly Father, and is speedily preparing to go abroad in the world.

And his Angels are already sent, passing and re-passing from Heaven to earth, and from earth to Heaven; for the inhabitants of earth have strayed far from their God, and their filthy abominations have come up before Him, and his cup of indignation is filled to overflowing for the same, unless they return unto his righteous law. But the mercy and charity of the Lord your God is unboundedly great towards his creature man; for in his own will and time, doth He purpose to extend this, his Roll and word of solemn warning unto the children of earth, that they may learn to fear Him, and to square their lives by his unerring word, and in so doing appease his anger, and enjoy his parental blessing and protection.

And for this, his notice unto poor fallen man, the Angels in Heaven do greatly rejoice, and holy spirits do sing with joy and thanksgiving around the throne of God and the Lamb, in shouts and in songs of victory over the beast and his image, and are continually bowing around his throne, imploring that the mercy and forgiveness of God may be extended unto poor frail mortals, and his true light shine forth into their hearts, to cause them to desist from doing evil, and learn to do good to their own souls, and do unto others, even as they would that others should do unto them.

Inspired Witness,

Sophia F. Mace.

I know, and hereby testify and bear witness unto the solemn work and revelation of God, now going on throughout Zion; for it is that which I have seen, felt and known; and by my own experience do I testify unto the same; for I would sooner give up my natural life, than to deny this, if I were called so to do.

And I furthermore testify, and bear witness with boldness and with confidence, before God and all people, that the solemn and weighty Roll, which the Lord God hath caused to be written by divine revelation, is not the invention of man or of woman; but the unalterable word of the Lord God, and that by which every soul must finally be judged.

New Gloucester, Maine, July 17, 1843. SOPHIA F. MACE.

Born January 5, 1819; *in the town of Strong, county of Franklin and state of Maine; was gathered into the United Society at New Gloucester, in the year* 1835.

A SHORT COMMUNICATION FROM A HOLY SPIRIT,

RECEIVED AT UNION VILLAGE, WARREN COUNTY, OHIO; MAY 14, 1843.

Thus saith the Spirit; O my children, unite your souls as the heart of one, and move forward with the increasing work of God. Marvelous and great are the mysteries revealed in this your day; for truly the Lord hath made known his will and word to his people on earth, and will declare the same to all nations and people, in his own time.

Marvel not, though I tell you I have been a witness of the holy word of God revealed to mortal clay, which must shortly be given to the rulers of the land, and to the nations afar off.*

But know ye, when a living testimony hath gone forth from Zion, then shall tribulation be fully realized among God's chosen people; therefore, stand ye firm and strong, and fear not what an unbelieving world may inflict upon you. But keep ye low and quiet; stand firm and unshaken, amidst storms and tribulation, for the holy hand of God will cover and protect his chosen, from every harm; Zion shall flourish, bloom and grow, like a well watered garden; her beauty and glory shall spread far and wide; and many shall flock to her peaceful borders, to learn the holy way of righteousness.

Then O ye children, how necessary it is, that you keep your stores full, and your souls well supplied with the beautiful gifts of God; for they will adorn the soul with heavenly beauty and glory; yea, and your light shall shine forth as the morning sun; and all who behold it shall say, Behold the light and glory of Zion! the beautiful City of God, where dwell peace and righteousness, abounding with the blessings of Heaven forevermore.

Now, saith the spirit, I have not much to say at this time, but I have a little anthem which I will give you; that you may know that the Lord is visiting the earth, in mercy and in judgment.

Anthem.

Lo, the Angel of the Lord is swiftly flying over the earth; sounding,

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**The inspired writer had no knowledge of this Roll and Book, only by divine revelation, at the time the above was written.*

sounding through his holy trumpet, saying, Hear, O hear ye my warning voice! For lo, the God of Heaven, clothed with might and power, is descending in mercy and in judgment; and He will smite the inhabitants of the earth with sore and heavy judgments, for the wickedness thereof is very great.

Then, O ye children of his holy name; O ye se ve′se, le′no voo′, be ye lowly; for the humble, the holy and pure, shall abide in the day of God's visitation; for they are his faithful servants, marked with his holy name.

Then fear ye not, ye lovely chosen of your God; for ye shall be as an ensign lifted up, and as a banner of pure light; for, saith the Lord, whose ways are just and true, I will be your God, and ye shall be my O′ le an sa voo′, and my ce les′ ta, li la va′. I will guide and comfort you, through all scenes of tribulation, and you shall be the jewels of my holy love, and the glory of my righteous name, protected by my holy hand forevermore.

A SEAL FROM THE LORD JEHOVAH;

Read by a Holy Angel and copied by inspiration, at Union Village, Warren county, Ohio, June 26, 1843; *as an evidence of the truth and correctness of the Great Roll, which was written in his own name for the nations of the earth: and which has been correctly copied through deep tribulation, by a mortal Instrument of God's own choosing, at the Holy Mount.*

I AM that I AM. Before Me there was not, and above Me there is none; And behold, out of my mouth has gone forth my everlasting commandment, and the word of Eternal Truth; to which no mortal clay shall add, neither shall they diminish, unless they are anointed of my Holy Spirit and commanded so to do.

For I have spoken it in my wisdom, according as I have intended; and let no one that is ever blessed with a privilege of reading or hearing this Sacred Word of mine, suffer themselves to cavil, or yield to an unbelieving spirit, and doubt of its divine origin.

I say, be careful that you do not suffer yourselves to harbor such feelings; for great will be the blasphemy of all such as do this; and sore will be my judgments that shall fall upon them, to humble them low to the dust, till they shall know that I am the holy and righteous God of Zion, against whom no man shall raise his voice, or put forth his hand, and prosper; but every soul shall bow before Me, in low humiliation, and bend their knees in humble prayer; and with their own tongues confess in the presence of my witnesses, the evils which they have done, or never see my kingdom in peace.

I will deal with every soul in righteousness, according to their works; and blessed shall be the humble soul, that will come at the call of mercy, and bow down to seek a place in my holy Zion; and not wait to be driven by judgments, to seek a refuge and a hiding place.

For lo, in the day when the earth shall be visited with famine and desolation, and many sore judgments which I will send; and when my holy Angels shall blow their trumpets like many mighty thunders, to awaken those who are resting in their sins, then shall the nations of the earth tremble and be sore afraid; and they will call on the rocks and mountains to cover them, and hide them from the face of the Almighty.

I call on thee, O Zion, to keep my holy laws and commandments, without the least deviation from the true spirit of the gospel; also to walk low and humbly, and pray to Me, by night and day; for in times of my own appointing, I will send exceeding heavy sufferings upon you; that I may in truth call you my well tried and beloved few, and that you may be true examples of patience and meekness to all who come to learn the way of peace and righteousness.

And more than this, I do require you to be so prepared, that you can stand united in one spirit, steadfast as the rock of ages, and keep your faith firm and unshaken, although you may be called to suffer imprisonment, banishment, and many other cruel and barbarous things, which the wicked may inflict upon you.

But remember, my beloved few, if you will keep my holy way, and cry to Me in meekness and humiliation, with one spirit and one mind, desiring Me to help you to endure, I will not leave nor forsake you; but in all that you bear for righteousness' sake, I will be with you, and my hand shall be as the strength of thousands in your defence. Yea, I will watch over the lambs of my fold, and will protect my heritage, and rescue them from danger, so that not one upright soul shall be lost.

When I had written my Word for the nations of the earth, I called certain of my Angels, and read it in their hearing; and they bowed and said, Amen to what thou hast written, O Lord; But who shall reveal it to mortals? for great indeed is the weight which it doth bring.

Then I chose from among the Angels, one of the most holy, and clothed the same with my spirit; and told him to go to the Holy Mount, where dwell my Daughter's first-born, and, as soon as he could, to show it to some of my instruments there; and according as I commanded the Angel, so was it done, and the Angel returned to Me with the Roll, to wait for the time, that what was therein contained should be revealed.

And when the Angel returned, I was troubled, because of the heavy sufferings and deep tribulation which I knew it would bring upon my people; both in preparing it for the nations of the earth, and from what would take place after it was spread abroad.

But now my spirit rejoices, to see that my word is correctly copied; and that it is owned and blessed by my Holy Anointed, as far as it has been made known. And I do truly desire that every branch of my holy house may lend a liberal hand in the expense of preparing my word for the nations and kindreds of the earth; and you shall not be the losers, but your reward shall be double what you give.

I do also desire that each and every one would carefully and wisely consider their present day and calling, and labor to walk according to it. For if you are ever so faithful, you cannot be too well prepared for days to come, in which you will see much tribulation, and many heavy trials.

I have, for some time past, been careful to warn all my people to prepare;

for I would surely do a great work in the earth, through which no soul would be able to stand, and find favor in my sight, but such as would hearken to my warnings. And now, as the time is drawing very near, and is even at the door, I say, Blessed are ye that have hearkened to my warnings, and have kept my commandments; for it shall be well with you: And those who have not done this, must bear the reward of their own labor, and feast upon such fruit as they have gathered.

For I have been merciful to all, and sent repeated and timely warnings; that all who had done wrong, and wandered from the path, might have time to see their own state, repent and come down, where they could find their union and relation to Me, by obedience to the order which I have established for the protection and safe-going of my people.

Now I say unto all who love my ways, and walk in them; Fear not the slanders of the wicked, nor the reproach of the ungodly; for my holy Zion shall sit as a Queen, and feast on the good of her labors, while those who will not obey my voice, shall perish in the dust.

Great and marvelous is the work which I will do before the eyes of many, who are now living; therefore I say, Prepare, and do not delay the time, for you know not the day or hour in which I will do my work, and bring to pass that which I have promised by the word of my mouth. And lest you should be like the unbelieving Jews, I say again, Prepare, O prepare! and do not delay the time, till it is too late.

This Seal I give unto you, my beloved and well tried servants, as an evidence, and a warning to my people to prepare for the great day of my visitation among the nations and kingdoms of the earth; which will deeply interest every faithful child of my holy house upon earth.

Inspired writer of the two foregoing communications,

Union Village, Warren county,
state of Ohio. } MARY ANN JENNINGS.

TESTIMONY OF SUSAN H. WHITCHER, AND OTHERS.

In confirmation of the sacred word of this holy Roll and Book, we, the undersigned, do hereby certify and declare before all men, that we have full confidence in what is herein stated, and that the word thereof has been written by and through the influence of that same Power divine, and holy Spirit of eternal truth and revelation, which caused the Prophets of old, and the Apostles of Jesus Christ to write the sacred pages of that holy Book, (the Bible,) so universally acknowledged by the enlightened nations of the earth, to be the true and holy word of God.

And we furthermore declare, that we have not only been eye and ear witnesses of the out-pourings of the holy spirit of God, by gifts of divine inspiration and revelation in this our day; but we have been active subjects of this holy work and power, and have felt, existing in our souls, the same spirit and infusion of divine power which has caused us to move in obedience to, and in communion with the saints and Angels of God, in testifying and bearing witness to his holy words of truth and righteousness.

And we hesitate not to say, that we have an internal evidence of the gift of divine revelation, and of the reality of this holy influence existing in the soul, and many times manifested by operating upon the mortal body, that it is of God, and originated from no other source whatever. And we would as soon doubt our natural existence, as to doubt, or in any wise disbelieve the gift of divine revelation, now existing in the true Church of Christ.

We therefore solemnly and coescientiously testify and declare, whatever may be the consequences, that we have full faith in the word recorded in the foregoing pages of this holy Book, and do hereby cheerfully and voluntarily subscribe our names as instruments in the holy work of God, in this day of Christ's Second Coming.

May 4, 1843.

SUSAN H. WHITCHER.	ELMIRA ALLARD.
LYDIA M. CHASE.	PHEBE ATWOOD.
DOROTHY ANN DURGIN.	ROSELINDA ALLARD.

TESTIMONY OF SETH Y. WELLS.

The work of Eternal Power and Wisdom is incomprehensible to man; it is indeed far above all mortal commendation. But if the testimony of mortal man can be of any avail, in calling the serious and solemn attention of his fellow mortals to the sacred and holy word of the Almighty Creator of Heaven and earth, for their own salvation, then it is obviously his duty to give it, if in his power.

As mortal witnesses may indeed have some weight on the minds of their fellow mortals, I feel perfectly willing to cast in my mite for that purpose, and consider it my duty and privilege to extend the testimony of my faith and confidence in the work of God, as far as lies in my power; and I trust that this my testimony will not be entirely useless to the readers of this Sacred Book, and doubt not those of my former acquaintance will appreciate it according to its merits.

Having carefully examined this work in the manuscript of the inspired writer, I am fully and firmly convinced that the work is of God, that it is a visible display of his infinite mercy and goodness to man; and believing it will be under his Divine blessing and protection, and trusting to the guidance of his Holy Spirit, I will give such testimony as I can maintain in life and in death, and such as I can willingly meet at the bar of God in the eternal world.

I am now nearly seventy six years of age, and it is almost forty five years since I embraced this blessed gospel of Christ's second appearing, which was about eighteen years after its promulgation in America, in the year seventeen hundred and eighty. About ten years previous to my coming into this Society, I was connected with various literary institutions, and for a number of years was employed in teaching a public school. My employment in the Society now is, and for many years has been in the capacity of Secretary and Clerk. In this capacity I consider it my duty and privilege to employ my faculties for the benefit of the Society, and for the promotion of God's holy work; and in this I feel myself under his divine blessing.

My long privilege and extensive acquaintance with the people in the various branches of this communion, have given me sufficient opportunities of acquiring a full knowledge of the principles and practice of the Society in all its departments, both spiritual and temporal. And I can truly say with all confidence, that for strict morality, practical piety, and true godliness, there is not another such community of Christians existing on earth.

During the last five years, there has been the greatest work of God wrought among the inhabitants of all the Societies in this communion, both in the eastern and western states, that was ever wrought on earth since the fall of man. These assertions may appear doubtful to some, and probably incredible to many; but they are true, and will yet be confirmed to millions.

The wonderful work of God which took place in the days of the Apostles, when the Holy Spirit descended from Heaven upon the assembly of christian Believers, at the day of Pentecost, has ever been considered as a marvelous display of divine power, which then excited the astonishment of those who were eye and ear witnesses of the remarkable events of that day. And these events are still considered by the common professors of christianity, as the greatest manifestation of spiritual power that has ever taken place since that memorable period.

But let it be considered, that the work of God is an increasing work; and although a long night of darkness succeeded the falling away of the primitive Church, which overshadowed the natural world for many ages; yet in the spiritual world, where the spirits of darkness could not prevail, the work of God has not been stationary, but has been constantly increasing, from one degree to another, even from the beginning; and ever will continue to increase, through the endless ages of eternity.

Therefore, every new dispensation of the grace of God, must and does exceed the preceding. The apostolic gifts, and the work of that day, exceeded the dispensation of Moses, with all its legal restrictions and ceremonies of types and shadows; though not altogether so obvious to the natural senses of fallen man. So does the work of God in this day, and under the present dispensation of the gospel of Christ's second appearing, far exceed the apostolic dispensation, though unseen by, and unknown to a lost and unbelieving world.

However doubtful this may appear to many; yet those who are in the work, and see and feel its effects, can no more doubt it than they can doubt that the light of the sun far out-shines that of the moon.

Some will probably be ready to impute our strong language and confident assertions to enthusiasm. But the true followers of Christ are no enthusiasts; they are not exalted in imagination, and raised in spirit, as on eagles' wings, to the third Heavens, fancying themselves superior to the rest of their fellow mortals; but far from it. Indeed they consider themselves no better by nature than the rest of mankind. All that distinguishes them from others, is what the gospel of Christ has done for them, in consequence of their faithful obedience to it.

Therefore they are not high-minded nor self-exalted; but a calm, considerate and steady people, clothed in the spirit of meekness and lowliness of heart, and feel their daily dependence on the condescending mercy and goodness of their Heavenly Father, for their protection against evil, and for their blessing and prosperity in the gospel of their Lord and Savior. They feel themselves, in reality, but as little children in Christ; learning of him the blessed way of salvation from a fallen, sinful nature; and though poor in spirit, and despised by a vain, ungodly world, yet they are not of the world: for their Savior hath chosen them out of the world, and hath declared, saying, If ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

But every faithful and honest hearted soul is truly of that class of Believers who have forsaken all for Christ's sake and the gospel's, and have, according to his promise, received a hundred fold of the blessings of this life; and they have no doubt, if they continue faithful, that they shall receive eternal life in the world to come. Indeed the truly faithful, who have gained a fruitful travel in the gospel, daily feel the spirit of eternal life increasing and growing in their own souls, which feels infinitely more precious and important to them, than the momentary enjoyments of time.

The mighty manifestations of God to his chosen people, are truly wonderful, very wonderful; far beyond any thing ever before revealed on earth. It has often seemed as though the Heavens and earth had come together, and that we were in reality, surrounded by the heavenly hosts; yet those heavenly and divine manifestations, with which we have so often been favored, are not understood by the world of mankind; nor can they understand them except by revelation from God, or faith in the testimony of his appointed agents.

The word of the Almighty, contained in the preceding pages, one would suppose, might carry conviction to every soul that reads it, that it is indeed the word of God, and not of man. Though the societies in the various branches of this communion, have been, from time to time, greatly favored with divine messages, for the benefit of the people; yet this is the first which has been given, during the present season of inspired manifestations, with Divine authority to publish it to the world of mankind.

Many of the youth, both male and female, in all the societies of this communion, have been blessed with gifts of divine inspiration, as were the prophets of old. Indeed, they have often been inspired by the spirits of the ancient prophets, and by many other departed spirits, and also by the Angels of Heaven, to convey divine messages to the society, to families and individuals. And it is worthy of remark, that the principle instruments chosen by Divine Wisdom, to convey these sacred messages to their respective societies and families, were such as have been taken into the community in childhood, and are mostly classed among the youth, and have had nothing more than a common school education.

Even the inspired individual who wrote the preceding pages from the Almighty, as they were read to him by a holy Angel of the Lord, was taken into the Society when a child under seven years of age, and has received but an ordinary education, from a common school in this Society; and though capable of committing his ideas to paper, he is not what is usually called a correct writer of the English language; and he knows no other.

Perhaps some may be ready to inquire, why such youthful ones were selected to receive these divine messages, and convey them to the Society, instead of the more aged and experienced members? To which I answer; Because God, in his infinite wisdom, chose such as were young and inexperienced, whose honesty and integrity would be less liable to the suspicion of fraud, by an unbelieving world, than those more advanced in years, that his Almighty power and wisdom might be more clearly manifested, and show with greater certainty, that it was, in truth, the work of God, and not of man.

It is well known throughout all the societies in this communion, both in the eastern and western states of the American Union, that though many of these youthful instruments of divine inspiration were, in many instances, personly unknown to each other; yet their inspired communications, in their nature and spirit, are found to be in perfect accordance, one with another, and with the doctrines of the gospel taught by our heavenly Parents, and practiced throughout this communion. Even the same sacred truths, in substance, have, in some instances, been communicated at the same time by different individuals, entirely unknown to each other; and no possible chance, at the time, for any correspondence between them.

When these things are known and considered, I feel confident that no candid person, who is desirous to know the truth, could witness these circumstances, and hear these communications from the mouths of the youthful speakers, without readily admitting that the work is of God, and that their words are the words of divine inspiration; and surely none but obstinate unbelievers and determined infidels would attempt to controvert it.

As the word of the Lord God of Heaven and earth contained in the preceding pages, speaks for itself, and is confirmed by so many inspired and faithful witnesses, and by such angelic and divine testimonies from Heaven, I will merely add, that I have not the least shadow of a doubt, that this word is in reality what it purports to be, "*A Holy, Divine and Sacred Roll and Book*," emanating from the ALMIGHTY CREATOR OF ALL.

So testifies

New Lebanon, N. Y. May 15, 1843. SETH Y. WELLS.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN SETH YOUNGS.

For the sake of brevity, and in consideration of the very marvelous display of the mercy and goodness of the Almighty, of late, and now made known to mortals, by the tongue and pen of his holy Angels; I must pass over many of the peculiar incidents of my youthful days; my early convictions for sin, and my struggles to know and to find the mercy and favor of my God; and endeavor to make my words few, and acceptable.

I was born in Schenectady, state of New York, September seventeenth, seventeen hundred and seventy four. My father, Seth Youngs, came from Windsor, Connecticut; was a member of the Presbyterian Church in Schenectady; and brought me up very strictly in that order, until I was about sixteen years of age.

In the spring of the year seventeen hundred and ninety one, a religious movement having taken place in Johnstown among the Methodists, my father joined that Society, and immediately removed there with his family. These movements affected me nothing. But, frequently attending their meetings, and seriously reflecting on the discourses, my early convictions returned upon me; and on the eleventh of September, the same year, I also became a member, and with full purpose of heart, set out to seek and serve the Lord.

For the space of about two years, I did earnestly beseech the God of Heaven, that I might be saved from sin. It was not from any open or outbreaking sin or sins, that I sought deliverance; from these, my education, and the moral sense of the duty I owed to myself and to my fellow mortals, preserved me. It was from the nature of sin, that I prayed and struggled to find redemption.

It was from the secret, deceitful and base desires, from the sordid, filthy, soul-darkening, and soul-debasing passions of a fallen and fleshly nature, that I prayed to God for salvation. But this salvation I found not! And I found by search, and by reflecting on the lives of all the ordained ministers, pastors and preachers, and all their churches, of every class and denomination professing christianity, within my knowledge, that they possessed it not!

Among all these, "A glorious Church,"(such as the true Church of Christ is, and should be,) A Church "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; holy and without blemish," I found not; it existed not! Eph. v, 27.

Many were the times and seasons in which I sought seclusion from the sight and hearing of mortals, in order that I might humble myself before God, pour out the sorrows of my soul before Him, and implore his mercy and his favor. Many are the solitary places, to which the holy Angels can witness, where I have poured out the feelings and desires of my hungry and afflicted soul, in tears, and in earnest prayer, in cries and supplications, on my face, and on my bended knees before God, that He would show me the way of salvation,—the salvation dwelling in his Zion, in his holy Church, in his saints.

And, in my prayers and supplications, many solemn promises did I make unto the Lord God, my Creator, that if in his mercy and goodness, He would condescend to show me his salvation, I would sacrifice my all and my life, at his holy will and pleasure; and that while I lived on earth, I would faithfully serve Him, and Him only.

This salvation, a salvation from all sin, the Lord in his infinite goodness did, in his own way and time, bestow upon me. His holy Church, his chosen and peculiar people, his Zion upon earth, I did find; and thus far, by his grace and holy favor, my promise I have kept.

I had often heard of a strange people at Niskeuna, (now Watervliet,) who professed to be Christians. The reports concerning them, were uniformly evil; and of all sects or denominations of professing christians, whom I knew, or of whom I had either read or heard, of these, through ignorance and the prejudices of a false education, I had formed the most unfavorable opinion.

But in consequence of the decline of our religion; or in other words, the decrease of unanimity, of brotherly love and charity, and the prevalence of self, and "worldly mindedness," together with my sad disappointment in not having found a pure and holy Church, as delineated in the sacred Book, I had resolved to quit all my connection and acquaintance, and to cross the wide ocean to Europe, and thence to Palestine.

But an over-ruling Providence prevented me. I had, from my earliest light and conviction, sought salvation, and the mercy and favor of my God. I had, from my earliest recollection, looked upon the sacred writings, the Bible, with the most profound veneration, which were my study and delight; and now, for the first time, were forcibly applied to my condition, and the state of things, the words of the Holy Savior, that, of his true followers, "All manner of evil should be spoken *falsely*, for his name's sake." These words wrought effectually on my mind; I soon resolved, and changed my self-projected course.

On the twenty third of November, seventeen hundred and ninety three, I visited those people, of whom "*all manner of evil*" was spoken. When entering on the premises of the people, I prayed earnestly, "O Lord, my God and my Creator! suffer me not to be deluded, suffer me not to be deceived! but into thy truth, O Lord, do thou guide me!"

I remained with them about three days; had free converse with some of the leading characters; also with some who came from England with Mother Ann, and with numbers of others, both male and female, all on the subject of the way and work of God. And although they brought to my view many new and strange ideas, I found nothing in reason to be contradicted.

On the Sabbath following, I attended their very still and solemn meeting. In their singular devotions and mode of worship, I *saw* nothing but solemnity, I *felt* nothing but the love and fear of God.

In this meeting, as I was a stranger, the emotions of my spirit were to me, at that time, unaccountable. Had those I beheld in their solemn devotions, and myself, been conceived in the womb of a holy mother, and nursed on the same lap, I could not have felt a purer love, nor a more sincere attachment, than I did to this people.

During my stay, I was fully convinced, that the foundation of their faith was more deeply laid, than their adversaries, or any of the denominations professing christianity knew, or were in the least apprised of. And I found, moreover, that all and singular, the evil reports circulated against this people, were, and are, utterly false, and without the least shadow of a foundation in truth.

The order and harmony, the industry, the neatness and cleanliness, their seclusion from the world, and its fading pleasures, their self-denying lives, their freedom in conversation, humility and childlike simplicityof mann ers, their charity to the poor and needy, and to the widow and fatherless of this world; their holy walk, and godly example; the peace that reigned within their borders; and above all, the visible *Seal*, or impress of Heaven, on their countenances.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Therefore, by their fruits ye shall know them." It was not for me to doubt; it was not for me to hesitate, what path to pursue. If there was a pure Church of Christ on earth in which he dwelt, if there were a people of God on earth, to whom He revealed his will, this was the Church, and these were the people.

With these plain and incontrovertible evidences, to my sight and understanding, and the indelible impressions stamped upon my mind, of their truth and reality, it will not appear strange, that I should become an advocate in this holy cause, and a witness of "That which mine ears have heard, that which mine eyes have looked upon, and that which my hands have handled, of the Word of life."

No sooner had I obeyed the heavenly calling, by honestly confessing every known sin and error of my life, one by one, before God and his witnesses, than I felt the effusions of the holy Spirit of peace, distilling into my soul like the refreshing dews of heaven! By faithfulness, and strict obedience to the order and counsels of God, in my visible Lead, I became baptized with the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," and tasted of the "powers of the world to come:"

By which means, I was enabled to live free from all and every sin within my knowledge, to govern, control and subdue, all the impure and unruly passions of my evil nature, and to give up and forsake all, for Christ, and the kingdom of Heaven's sake. And I can and do testify, in humble gratitude to my Heavenly Father, the God of this my salvation, that I have received in full, the promise made by his beloved Son, (Matthew xix, 29,) in the kind and parental care, in the pure love and fraternal affection, and in the enjoyment of fathers and mothers, and brethren and sisters, "an hundred fold," with the full assurance of "everlasting life."

I have been a member of the United Society called "Believers" in the present appearing of Christ, for upwards of forty nine years. I have been, for longer and shorter periods of time, personally and intimately acquainted with all the United Societies in the United States, (except two in the state of Maine:) At New Lebanon, Watervliet and Groveland, in the state of New York; at Hancock, Tyringham, Harvard and Shirley, in the state of Massachusetts; at Enfield, in the state of Connecticut; at Canterbury and Enfield, in the state of New Hampshire; at Union Village, near Lebanon; Watervliet, near Dayton; North Union, near Cleaveland; and White Water Village, in the state of Ohio; at Pleasant Hill, on Shawnee Run, and South Union, (Jasper Valley,) in the state of Kentucky.

Of all these Societies, as one and the same "peculiar people," I can and do bear witness, in the holy fear of Him who knoweth and seeth all things, and who "searcheth the reins and hearts" of the children of men; That they are the "Zion of God's likeness" on earth, the work of his own

Almighty hand; and in this his Zion hath He placed his *fire and his furnace*, to try, to purify, and to cleanse his people from all sin and dross; and hath also placed in them his holy *Tabernacle*, his *Mercy seat*, and his salvation for all men; even his "salvation for all the ends of the earth." [Isa. xlvi, 13; lii, 10.

Thus saith one who knows, one whose ears have heard, whose eyes have beheld and looked upon the marvelous work of God among his chosen people; whose hands have handled of the Word of Life, and whose soul has been bathed in the river of life, and drank of its pure and living waters: Christ the Anointing, the Savior of men, has verily made his second appearing in the *woman Ann Lee*, whom God had before ordained and chosen to be the "Mother of the New Creation" and of the redemption of fallen man, according to the testimony of the holy Prophets, and of Christ the Savior, and his holy Apostles; as the holy Scriptures bear record:

That through her by the holy anointing power of God, the Eternal Father, and Holy Eternal Mother Wisdom, the Eternal Two in One, after whose "image and likeness," man was at first created, hath Christ in this latter day and age, set up his "Everlasting kingdom of Righteousness" among men, and commenced his reign of "Peace upon earth."

This is She of whom the Holy Spirit by the holy Prophets hath spoken; "This is the name wherewith *She* shall be called, "The Lord our Righteousness." [Jer. xxxiii, 16.] "I will make thy name to be remembered in all generations; therefore shall the people praise thee forever:" [Psa. xlv. 9–17.] "Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honor to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready."[Rev. xix, 7–9.]

Now look at this, all ye who read and venerate the Holy Bible, and believe what is therein contained; Reflect, and in the candor of your souls, consider well this testimony in all its bearings: Are not these the people that should "come and sing in the height of Zion, and *flow together* to the goodness of the Lord?" [Jer. xxxi, 12.] Are not these the "Clouds of Heaven," in which the "Son of man," the *Christ* in whom ye believe, should come, and whom every eye should see? [Mat. xxvi, 64. I. Thess. iii, 13; II. Thess. i, 10; Rev. i, 7.]

Look at this, all ye ministers, pastors, and teachers of the people; consider your accountability to the God of Heaven; and reflect well on the many earnest prayers and supplications you have offered up to Him, that "his kingdom might come; and that his will might be done on earth, as it is done in Heaven." Remember also the Jews, who fully believed in the Messiah that was to come; how that when he came, they denied the Holy One and the Just, killed the Prince of life, and crucified the Lord of glory. [Acts iii, 14, 15; I. Cor. ii, 8.]

Consider also the natural blindness of man, his hardness of heart, and his obstinacy and rebellion against the work of his God and Creator, in all ages; lest, like unto the Jews, trouble come upon you, "because ye knew not the time of your visitation." [Luke xix, 44.]

In the year eighteen hundred and five, I was sent (on foot, with two others,) as a messenger to the western country; particularly to the people of the Revival in Kentucky, and the adjacent states.

Among these we found the mighty operations of the spirit and power of God in preparing them for the gospel. I have seen the bodies of men and women, shaken as trees with a tempest; and others cast down prostrate to the earth, and lying sometimes for hours, cold and stiff, like corpses! and again reviving, and going forth in melodious songs and dances; with many other signs and wonderful operations of the spirit and power of God, in this preparatory work. In this country, the gospel was extensively preached, believed and received with joy, by such as were prepared.

After remaining in the western country for upwards of thirty years, during which time I was employed as a public writer and speaker, and as one of the leaders, I returned, with others of my brethren and sisters from the east, who had presided in different parts, until the Churches and Societies in that country were established.

Let it here be remembered, that no honest souls who ever believed and received this gospel, whether through written, printed, or verbal testimony, and lived in strict obedience to their faith, but they have received power over all sin, the mercy and favor of God, and his salvation: No honest and faithful soul has ever failed of this: And to this testimony, thousands now living in the enjoyment of this gospel, can bear witness.

It must not be understood from this testimony, or any part thereof, as in the least intimating that in the concerns and establishment of the Church of God and the Zion of his likeness upon earth, there is *no dross among the gold;* else would there be no necessity for the Almighty to place in it his "refining fire, and his purifying furnace;" else also, the parable of the Savior, of the "kingdom of heaven being like a net cast into the sea," would be of no meaning.

Passing over those transient beings, who seek after nothing but loaves and fishes; I have known many who had enjoyed great privileges, and for a season were prosperous, but who in the progress of the work, found the way too self-denying, and too narrow for all their inclinations, again turn to the "beggarly elements of this world, like the dog to his vomit, and like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire."

I have known moreover, of such as were endowed with the gifts of God from on High, and had "tasted of the powers of the world to come; received the gifts of inspiration and prophecy, and through unfaithfulness to "fall away"!

And that this their falling away, came in consequence of the cross, the purity and innocence; the truth, faithfulness and uprightness, which God required at their hands, and to which they were unwilling to submit; And hence "They went out from us, and made it manifest that they were not of us". [I. John ii, 19.]

After this concession, in favor of the efficacy, purity and stability, of the work of God in this latter day, suffice it to know, that the "*Holy City*" which the Almighty by his holy Spirit in his beloved and faithful servant John, showed coming down from God out of Heaven, is now established and increasing on the earth; and that there can "in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."

Within the seven last years, great and marvelous have been the displays and operations of the Spirit of God and his Almighty Power among his people; in signs and open visions, showing the various states and torments of the damned; as also, in miniature, the happified states and conditions of the blessed; in revelations and prophecies, relating to his wonderful works, both in the visible and invisible worlds, past, present and to come: as also great have been the operations of his All-searching Power, to prepare his people for the coming day.

Great and marvelous, beyond the power of mortal tongue to utter, or the pen of mortals to describe, have been the manifestations of the condescension, the mercy and goodness of the Almighty God and "*Father of All*," in preparing and raising up Prophets, and Prophetesses, "instruments of his own choosing," that through them, by the ministration of his holy Angels;—

By the ministration of the spirits of his "Anointed Ones" our heavenly Parents, and the spirits of his ancient Prophets and Saints, who surround his throne, and who once inhabited mortality, and had their dwellings and their occupations on the earth and among men:— I say;—

That *by* these, *through* the "Instruments of his own choosing," hath the Almighty God, and Father of all, in his marvelous condescension, his wisdom, his mercy and his goodness, seen fit to make known his holy will, his counsels and his laws; first, to all the inhabitants of his Zion; and from them, to all the nations and inhabitants of the earth; as this Sacred Roll and Book bears record.

Of these, the Instruments, through whom God had chosen to communicate his will to mortals, I feel it incumbent on me to bear testimony. From the first commencement of this mighty and wonderful work, as far as my knowledge of it has extended, I have been an eye and an ear witness to its humiliating power, when first operating upon those who were called upon to declare the words put into their mouths to speak, or were put into their hands to read, by the holy Angels, and other Messengers from on High, until the sacred injunction was cheerfully obeyed.

I have been a witness to many of the scenes of mortification, of sorrow, of humiliation and sufferings both of body and mind, through which they have had to pass, to prepare them for this, the most sacred of duties. I have seen their tears, have heard their groans and their cries, and their humble prayers to God, and their supplications to his people for their prayers, that they might be enabled to do his will, and perform the duties required at their hands.

And I do testify, from indisputable evidence, and with the most scrupulous regard to truth, that the messages and communications proceeding from their mouths, were not of mortal diction; but by the Divine agency they were uttered; and that they proceeded from the source of Eternal Truth; as their sacred writings also bear witness.

The foregoing Sacred Roll, I have heard read before a large assembly, by the chosen mortal Instrument that wrote it; the reading of which was attended with manifestations of power, and the Divine favor from on High. And from my experience in the work of God, and its searching operations upon the heart, and by revelation and the inspirations of his holy Spirit; I do bear witness, and testify, that the contents of this Sacred Roll and Book, came from, and are sent forth to mortals by, God the Father, the Creator of Heaven and earth:

That it is the greatest act of condescension, of mercy and loving kindness, the Almighty Eternal Father ever did bestow upon mortals, the work of his hands, since man was upon the earth; to warn them of their danger, of his fast approaching judgments, and the calamities that must shortly befall them, for their sins and wickedness, and their rebellion against Him; Thus explicitly to teach, instruct, and show them the way to find his holy favor and protection.

Will ye condescend to look at this, O ye Kings and Queens, ye Princes and Princesses, and all ye Rulers and Nobles of the earth? Will ye look at this, the great condescension of the Almighty to man, the work of his hands, and the object of his care? Consider well the words of God, your Heavenly Father, in this Sacred Roll and Book, now sent unto you in this your age and day of visitation.

Remember Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon; Babylon and Jerusalem; and the many opulent cities and powerful kingdoms of past ages, who had the counsels and heard the warning voice of the Almighty through his holy Prophets; but they regarded not; and what and where are they now! Hearken therefore, unto the warning voice of God your Heavenly Father, which in mercy and loving kindness, He hath now sent to all the children of men, that they may find his favor and protection, lest like those who in past ages disregarded his holy word, "Your cities likewise become a desolation, and without inhabitant."

To conclude: That great and distressing calamities, by sea and land, by fire and flood, are fast approaching, and that the mighty Angels of the God of Heaven have already gone forth to execute his judgments in the earth, there is no doubt. And from what we have seen, heard and felt, of the very wonderful works of God among his people, within the few years past, we are compelled to accord with the language of the Holy Spirit, "Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thy judgments are made manifest."

With pure and true regard for the peace, prosperity and happiness of my fellow mortals, I am,

Watervliet N.Y. Aug. 28, 1843. BENJAMIN SETH YOUNGS.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM P. WILLIAMS.

I was born in Pittsfield, Berkshire county, state of Massachusetts, April ninth, seventeen hundred and ninety one; and united with the Society of Believers in Hancock, in the year eighteen hundred and seven; and have, during thirty six years, practically proved the testimony of the gospel maintained in this Society, and have, during this time, found salvation and peace in compliance therewith. Here I find the gospel of Christ's second appearing, which to my soul yields the peaceable fruits of righteousness, which are as "a well of water springing up unto everlasting life." Here I can commune with God, and unite with the angelic host, in praise to Him, for the power that saves me from sin and iniquity, while walking this vale below.

In the late manifestation of God, in which He has, in a peculiar and wonderful manner, wrought among his people, I have witnessed many sublime exhibitions of his mighty power. Sensible I am, that nothing less than such a power could have brought souls to see, sense and feel, what has been clearly realized by his people in this day. They have been brought to feel such nearness to God, and such humiliation of spirit, that they are induced to walk exceedingly careful in his holy fear.

I approve of the Sacred Roll and Book, which is sent forth to the nations of the earth, and I can say in the solemn fear of God, I have no reason to doubt its divine origin. My soul's desire and prayer to God is, that those who read may understand, and treat the word in such a manner, that they are willing to meet the reward of their doings at the bar of Almighty God.

Hancock, Mass.; September 20, 1843. WILLIAM P. WILLIAMS.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LYON.

Having been called in my youth by the blessed gospel of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, manifested in his second appearing through the spirit of eternal truth, revealed in and through our blessed Mother Ann Lee, which call was to forsake sin; yea, that which is most highly esteemed by a lost and sinful world, and with which I unhesitatingly complied, I gave myself up to know the will of God and do it; made the holy Scriptures the book of my delight, searched them through and through without scepticism, infidelity, or desire to find something to feast a carnal mind, which resulted in the discovery of a harmonious connection of the events relating to the work of God with man; showing He had begun a work with him, and in due time would bring it to a close.

In this labor, I was often blessed of God with manifestations and revelations from Him, with various supernatural gifts of the spirit, such as were manifested in the primitive Church, in the days of Christ and the Apostles. Thus, I found the promise of the Holy Savior fully verified, viz: "If any man will do his will, He shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."

The question will then arise, How shall we know his will? I answer; To believe in the revelation of God, and to practice the same as He has made it known, through inspiration in his faithful servants, from the beginning; and will continue to do, until He makes a final close of his work with the human race, notwithstanding the erroneous doctrine so strongly maintained in the senses of mankind, that the day of miracles is past, which supersedes the necessity, or destroys a faith and confidence in looking for any revelation or inspiration from God in our day; notwithstanding it has been carried to such length, that many look upon any thing asserted as a revelation from God to his chosen witnesses, who deny themselves daily to do his holy will, as blasphemy.

How shocking the delusion, how thick the darkness which has been spread over this sinful and benighted world! I have often been told, even by those who profess to be a light to the blind, that there are no such things in this day as miracles, inspiration or supernatural communication from God to man; that it ceased with the apostolic age.

O how dark and blind! Are we to be made to believe, that about the time John wrote his revelation, God was deprived of his attributes of power and wisdom, and became so imbecile, that He could not reveal or make known his will to his faithful witnesses, who lived up to the best light they had, from that day to this; although the light and power of Christ was not known on the earth during the reign of antichrist, being twelve hundred and sixty years.

Again: if there has been no revelation or inspiration since the apostolic age, where shall we find the origin of this wonderful doctrine? from whence did it come? It is certain, it cannot be derived from the holy Scriptures, (the former revelation,) with any propriety. Then we must look for it from another source.

If there has been no revelation by inspiration from God to man, since the days of the Apostles, we must conclude this soul-darkening doctrine is the progeny of Antichrist, brought forth from the prolific womb of the mother of harlots, with all the rest of her abominations.

If any think they can support this doctrine from the Apostle's words, (I. Cor. xiii, 8;) "Charity never faileth; but whether *there be* prophecies, they shall fail; whether *there be* tongues, they shall cease; whether *there be* knowledge, it shall vanish away," let them look into ecclesiastical history, and they will learn the reason why the apostolic gifts ceased.

There they will find, as soon as God raised up a witness or Prophet, to Himself, inspired with his word and power, against the abominations of this mother of harlots, sometimes called the Church, then the fury of the scarlet colored beast was raised against such inspired instrument, until he was extirpated from the earth.

But *charity never faileth;* because those souls who had it in possession, were out of their reach; for they could only kill the bodies, who were made the instruments of his word and power, but could not touch the soul, where faith, hope and charity had their residence.

If any still think the day of revelation is past, let them declare to the world what it was the seven thunders uttered, if they can. If not, let them consider the declaration of the Angel to Christ's servant, John: "In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to the prophets." [Rev. x, 7.]

Thus all may see, there remained a mystery to be revealed and finished, when the time should come for the seventh Angel to sound; and although a mystery, yet we have a clue to the work that should be ushered in at the sounding of the Angel. [Rev. xi, 18.] "And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth."

Now the nations of the earth have the privilege of hearing the seventh trumpet. The call of the Almighty Jehovah has gone forth in mercy and loving kindness, to the children of men, giving them opportunity and time for repentance, by humbling themselves before Him, and forsaking their filthy abominations; for who is it that destroys the earth, but such as fill it with corruption and violence, like the antedeluvians in the days of Noah?

And now let all nations, kindreds, tongues and people to whom these sacred warnings shall come, consider that the end of all flesh came before God in the days of Noah; at which time Almighty Power and Truth declared; "My spirit shall not always strive with man."

Therefore, let every soul understand that the seventh trumpet is the last call to the children of men; and that all souls have the privilege of forsaking their filthy abominations, while the mercy of God is held out to them; and thus receive the reward of those who fear his name, and walk humbly before Him; or if they choose, rebel against his warning voice, and remain in their pollutions, and receive a stroke in vengeance from his Almighty arm, which is now stretched out to decide his controversy with all flesh.

And now, as one that has obtained the mercy of God, through confessing and forsaking all sin, and yielding myself in obedience to the revelation of God in this present dispensation of his grace to a lost world, I can freely testify to all the inhabitants of the earth, to whom the Sacred Roll and Book is directed, that I do fully and conscientiously believe that the word of the Proclamation and Roll, contained in said Book, is the revelation of God, and given by his Almighty Power and Wisdom, by inspiration.

And furthermore, that I do positively know that the laws, requirements and sentiments therein contained, are perfectly consistent with every declaration of his will to man; and also with his attributes of justice, mercy and truth; and is the voice of the Arch-angel, with the last trumpet to the nations of the earth; and also the time for the full manifestation of what was sounded when the seven thunders uttered their voices, which was sealed up until the fullness of time should come, when it would be revealed by the sounding of the mighty Angel, with the great and last trump.

I wish to be understood, that I am far from thinking that by writing the above, I am making eternal truth more permanent; as I conceive that no effort of mortals can add or diminish its authority.

But having had a long experience in the work of the present dispensation, and being somewhat extensively known, or that my name has had much circulation, I thought it might perhaps be the means of calling the attention of some who have known my long experience, to pause long enough to turn their attention to the sacred volume sent forth to the nations of the earth, and cause them to peruse and ponder upon the sacred truths contained therein; it being more than forty five years, since I first heard the voice of the Arch-angel, with the great and last trumpet, which then shook the earth or elements of nature in which my soul was enveloped;

And from that time, I have had no hesitation but that God had begun his final work of visitation with man; and would carry it on, until He had made a decisive work with the children of men.

Although I am but as a speck or a mote, in the scale of created beings; yet, whatever I am as an intelligent being, though never so small, it is my duty to be a co-worker with God, so long as I have given myself up to do his will. And as He has arisen to shake the heavens and the earth according to his promise, then I must work with Him and shake.

So whoever is found on his side, must humble themselves and be co-workers with Him, to shake out sin and pollution from their own souls, and thereby prepare themselves to be true inhabitants of the Holy City.

This is the true desire of one who is no better by nature, than the rest of his fellow beings.

Enfield, N. H. July 17, 1843. JOHN LYON.

TESTIMONY OF ELISHA POTE.

To all unto whom these pages may come:

The undersigned is one who has had personal knowledge of the wonderful displays of the gifts and power of God, which have attended the present testimony of Christ's second appearing, from the time it was first declared in this land by God's chosen witnesses, who were commissioned from Heaven to do that work, and who spake as they were moved upon by the Holy Spirit, viz; by divine inspiration, unto the present day.

I was born in Gorham, county of Cumberland and state of Maine, July twenty fifth, seventeen hundred and sixty four; and connected myself with this Society at the age of twenty years.

I have been acquainted with the gifts and operations of divine power which have attended the present work of God from the beginning, or for sixty years past; therefore, I can testify to what I have seen, heard and felt.

I have learned this one important lesson; not to have my faith stand in the wisdom of this world, nor in great natural gifts or talents; for the Lord hath said, I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nought the understanding of the prudent. Do all believe this? Whether they do or not, it remains an unalterable truth, which all will have to learn, before they can enter into the kingdom of Heaven. Their faith must center to, and stand in the revelation and power of God, and not in the wisdom of this world, which cometh to nought.

There is nothing which can be said or written on this subject, which will add weight of evidence, as it respects divine revelation; for this is immutable and unchangeable, and carries its own evidence; but blind mortals will shut their eyes and harden their hearts, against light, and their own conviction, until desolation overtakes them.

I feel to warn all, in the spirit of love and charity, not to slight or turn a deaf ear to the solemn warnings which are now sent forth into the world, by the great Jehovah, the righteous Judge of both quick and dead, whose judgments are according to truth and justice.

View the present state of what is called the christian world; and what do we find? Contention, strife, divisions and subdivisions, party against party, so that poor distressed souls hardly know where to find a resting place. Behold the abominations which are committed, and then cloaked under the mask of christianity! These things are plainly described by the testimony of eternal truth, now sent forth from the throne of God through his Angels, and given to instruments of mortal clay, as a medium through which the mind and purpose of God are made known to the nations of the earth.

I would ask, Is there any thing between the lids of this Book, now sent forth to all nations; can you find a phrase or sentence, which is not according to truth, or which does not correspond with the revelation of God to man? Then let all hearken to it and tremble, and pray that they may be able to enter immediately into the obedience of its sacred requirements, that they may escape the judgments which are soon to fall upon the wicked.

For "it will surely come, it will not tarry." The Lord hath spoken, and it will come to pass; though the old heavens and earth may pass away, not one jot or tittle of the word of our God will fail.

Think not that the present warning, which is now sent abroad, is the production of a wild fanaticism, or a cunningly devised fable, or any thing short of the special command of the God of Heaven, sent forth by a heavenly Messenger, and communicated to a dying world, through the medium of earthen vessels.

What think ye? Do you believe that messengers were sent to declare the word of the Lord to the Prophets; and they sent to the people? O yea, some will say; we fully believe that. Has God altered? or has the order of his communication changed? I say, nay; but the spirit of divine inspiration has been withdrawn from those corrupt churches who name the name of Christ, and do not depart from iniquity, whose sins have separated them from their God.

The time has now come, for the fulfillment of the promises of God, which have been predicted by the Patriarchs and Prophets, from the early ages of the world, respecting the Church of the latter day. This Church, whose foundation is laid in the revelation of God, and has ever been supported by the same, independent of worldly wisdom, or earthly power, is now established on earth; and the gifts of the primitive Church are restored, according to promise.

It is through the medium of this Church thus established, that the proclaiming Angel has sent forth this declaration to all the inhabitants of earth; and in the language of the Prophet I would say, O! earth, earth! hear the word of the Lord; for He has a controversy with the inhabitants of the whole earth, for they are sunken in their abominations, and polluted in their sins, and the day of retribution draweth nigh.

There is a warning voice gone forth from Heaven, and I feel bold to declare unto all, what the effect will be, (though I do not expect to live to see it;) that, so far as the declarations of the proclaiming Angel are promulgated and made known to mankind, so far they will become accountable; for all who slight the call of God to them, and willfully reject these sacred requirements, the judgments herein threatened will surely fall upon them, and they cannot escape; but on the other hand, all who humble themselves and accept of the merciful terms herein offered, will find peace and protection; and God will hide them in his pavilion, while his judgments fall with pain upon the wicked.

My fellow mortals, the way to find the protection and favor of God, is made plain and easy; and what can be more reasonable? I exhort all to leave their sins, by repentance, and their iniquities, by turning to God.

Having had a long experience in this self-denying way, and being somewhat extensively known as a public speaker and elder in the United Society for many years of my life, I leave this as my closing testimony, for the benefit of mankind; and do conscientiously and cheerfully recommend this, the way of life and salvation, to all who seek to know and serve the Lord.

Alfred, *Maine; July* 22, 1843. ELISHA POTE.

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL MOSELEY AND OTHERS.

Perhaps it may be some satisfaction to many who may read the foregoing sacred pages, to hear the opinion or testimony of some concerning the same who are far advanced in life; and who have been eye and ear witnesses of the increasing work of God among his people, in this day of Christ's second appearing, for nearly sixty years; as well as of the late and special outpouring of God's spirit and power in the different branches or societies of this community, throughout the United States.

We say, among his people, without arrogance or boasting, and without the least disparagement to others; for the Lord never displayed and continued such divine and marvelous gifts among a people whom He did not own and bless; even the same gifts which existed in the apostolic church; including visions, revelations, divers kinds of tongues, and the gift of prophecy.

But these gifts cannot be truly exercised only by the direction of that Power who gave them; mortal man is only an organ or instrument through which the Divine Spirit operates.

It is readily admitted that the credulity of mankind, in ancient and modern times, has often been imposed upon by false pretenders to divine revelation; insomuch that many have stopped their ears, and shut their eyes against every thing that bears the name of divine inspiration. But all this does not by any means, prove that divine inspiration or revelation does not in truth and reality exist; but on the contrary, it proves that there is a substantial reality in both; for there cannot be a counterfeit without a genuine original pattern of the same name. There cannot be a counterfeit coin or bank bill, without the existence of a genuine original character bearing the same name and description; the imitation of which is the object of the counterfeiter. But as there is evidence accompanying each of these, sufficient, under a watchful and discerning eye, to show the difference between the true and false, so there is in relation to true and counterfeit inspiration or revelation.

It would be blasphemy in a high degree, as well as the height of folly and presumption, for any mortal of common reason, to attempt to make, or publish a sacred proclamation to all the world, in the name and authority of the Almighty Creator, unless he was conscious, beyond all doubt, that he was authorized or commanded so to do by that *Divine Authority*. And that the foregoing Sacred Roll and Book, have been authorized and written by divine inspiration, we are confident beyond all doubt; whereas we have had, and still have, abundance of evidence to establish the truth of it.

It has been our serious impression, for some years past, that God would, ere long, visit the children of men in a manner more extraordinary than He had done for many ages: and this impression has been corroborated from time to time, and finally confirmed by that spirit of prophecy which has already, in many instances, proved itself to be from the *God of Truth.*

Many events known to this community, having recently been foretold by the spirit of prophecy, have already taken place; all concurring to prove that God is about "to do his work, his strange work, and bring to pass his act, his strange act," among the nations of the earth. Some of these prophecies, alluding to the same event, have been proclaimed through various individuals, remotely situated from each other, and without any previous correspondence whatever; yet with that similarity of expression and other circumstances which could only proceed from the light of eternal truth.

And we have no more reason to doubt the fulfillment of what now stands predicted in the aforesaid Sacred Roll and Book, than we have of that which has already taken place.

Finally, from what we have seen, heard and felt of the marvelous operations of the spirit of God in this community, for six years past, we as fully believe the contents of the preceding Sacred Roll to have emanated from Almighty Power and Wisdom, and that the same were communicated to the writer by divine inspiration, as therein stated, as we believe that God spake to the people in ages past, by Moses and the Prophets; or that He wrought miracles by Christ and his Apostles: Or as fully as we believe any part of that sacred volume, denominated *The Scriptures of truth.*

Indeed, the evidence in the present display of God's power is more clear and striking to us, than that in former dispensations, because it is more immediate and impressive: and as such, we feel in duty bound to treat and sustain it with reverence and godly fear.

Should any suppose the preceding pages exceptionable, because they are not written agreeably to the popular style and refinement of the present age, let them consider that, in this respect, they bear the greater analogy to the sacred Scriptures; and also to all divine proclamations in every age; and that God never was, and we have no reason to believe He ever will be dependent on mortals, for language to communicate his requirements to man.

But the foregoing divine Message is written in plain, simple, unaffected language, (though solemn and weighty,) adapted to every capacity of common understanding. And however incredulous, or indifferent many may be respecting this solemn Proclamation, or whatever may be their treatment of the same, this cannot invalidate the purpose of God, nor weaken our confidence in his word; we confidently believe it will be verified; and that it will finally effect that for which it was designed by the hand of Almighty Power.

It is the prevailing belief with many in this, and perhaps other countries, that the Second Advent, or day of judgment is near at hand; and so it is. That event has already commenced, although, as yet, out of their sight: but every eye will yet see it. Therefore these impressions are, no doubt, correct, emanating from an invisible reality; and go far to confirm the truth of what was said to the prophet Daniel concerning the near approach of that day; That many should run to and fro, and that knowledge should be increased.

But some have run before their tidings were ready: they have undertaken to limit the time, and prescribe the manner in which this great work is to take place, by calculating the prophecies relating to that event, according to their own natural wisdom; but they have been hitherto, and will forever be disappointed in all their human plans. They have mistaken both the time of its commencement, and the manner of its operations. They have greatly transcended the limits of man, by limiting the times and seasons which God hath reserved in his own power until the event should declare it.

And although that day has already commenced, having been declared by the event; yet it has come as a thief in the night, and "as a snare upon all them that dwell upon the face of the whole earth," according to the testimony of eternal truth. But "every eye shall see him;" (in the clouds of his witnesses;) for God is about to "destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations."

Thus having been members of this community for about sixty years, we have given a brief sketch of what we have experienced in that work of God which was promised to take place in the latter day; and especially of the late and universal out-pouring of God's spirit among his chosen people. We have ever found this work replete with all the promises of God to his Church in the latter day. It is that gospel which is the power of God to salvation in the present tense.

And being now far advanced in life, it would not be reasonable to suppose that we should have any selfish or improper motives, with a view to excite a false impression in the minds of our fellow mortals: there is nothing more foreign from our intention; but out of love and good will to all mankind, we leave this testimony as a conscientious seal of that *sacred truth*, by which we are willing to be judged at the final bar of *Eternal Justice*.

September, 1843.

New Lebanon, N. Y.	Daniel Moseley, *aged eighty three years; embraced the testimony sixty three years since.*
" " "	Jethro Turner, *aged seventy nine years; embraced the testimony sixty three years since.*
" " "	Stephen Munson, *aged seventy seven years; embraced the testimony sixty one years since.*
" " "	Amos Stowers, *aged seventy eight years; embraced the testimony sixty three years since.*
Hancock, Mass.	Comstock Betts, *aged eighty years; embraced the testimony sixty years since.*
" "	William Deming, *aged sixty four years; embraced the testimony in childhood.*
Canterbury, N. H.	Francis Winkley, *aged eighty five years; embraced the testimony fifty eight years since.*
" "	Micajah Tucker, *aged seventy nine years; embraced the testimony fifty nine years since.*
" "	John Whitcher, *aged sixty four years; embraced the testimony in childhood.*
Enfield, N. H.	John Beck, *aged seventy years; embraced the testimony sixty years since.*
" "	Abraham Blodget, *aged seventy two years; embraced the testimony sixty two years since.*

WITNESSES OF THE WORK OF GOD IN ALL AGES OF THE WORLD; AND TESTIMONY OF THE ETERNAL TWO IN ONE, TO THE ORDER OF THEIR ANOINTING ON EARTH.

REVEALED AT NEW LEBANON, N. Y. FEBRUARY 17, 1843.

PART I.

1. Listen O ye Heavens, and keep silent all ye powers of earth, for that I AM, who have manifested myself in part to the creatures of my creation, both in Heaven and on earth, will now declare again, through the medium of my ever true and faithful witness, (Eternal Wisdom,) truths, concerning my work with the creatures of my kingdoms in Heaven and on earth, that bear testimony to my unerring mercy and justice which I have dealt out without measure unto them, ever since them I created.

2. Thus saith the faithful Mother Wisdom, the Eternal Mother of my Anointed, in Heaven and on earth, to the children of my kingdom established on earth; listen unto her voice.

3. I AM, THE ETERNAL, is a God of perfect order: harmony marks his way, in order and harmony did He create the Heavens and the earth, in order and harmony did He place all the powers therein; In subjection to his eternal and unchangeable laws of order and harmony, did He form the creatures thereof, and place them in order therein.

4. And this order, He has manifested in all his works to the creatures of his creation, so far as was necessary to hold them in that order wherein they were placed, so long as they walked in obedience thereto.

5. And He has now sent Me, Wisdom, to witness thereto, and declare again the order of his manifestation to his creatures, both in Heaven and on the earth; therefore hearken unto Me.

6. The witnesses of the order of God throughout, remain to be seen by his creatures. When He said, Let there be light, I was with Him, and light was created; the witness whereof is manifest

unto this day. And that at no period the witness should be invisible, the moon He also created to rule the night, and to declare that his justice remains unmoved.

7. When He gave the earth, the seas and the heavens, with the orbs that roll therein their bounds, I was there, and saw all that was done; and the witness thereof remaineth unto this day.

8. When He formed the creatures with his word, and placed them upon his creation, gave them their ranks of superiority and power, and their laws for action, which are unchangeable, I was there, and witnessed that all was good, and subject to his unchangeable law; the witness whereof yet remaineth, and will remain to the end of time.

9. When He formed man, his noblest creature, in the image of Himself, and placed him at the head of his creation, to lead and direct the creatures thereof in obedience to his will, I was there, and saw all that was done; in witness whereof, his creature man yet remaineth.

10. When He gave unto man his laws, and the limits of his power, when He made known to him his will and pleasure; when He showed unto him his work, and the blessings he should enjoy by faithfully performing the same; when He showed unto him the way of life and happiness, and the fruit of the tree of life of which he might eat, I was there and saw all that was done; the witness whereof I have come to declare.

11. When He told him that if he ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he should surely die, I was there and witnessed to the truth of the same; and the witness thereof is manifested to this day, in every thing that He has created.

12. Death was his portion, for disobedience; and in death doth he yet remain; judgment is written on his brow, and stamped on the soles of his feet; the witness whereof remaineth and declareth the truth thereof.

13. And with his feet, did God's creature man walk in forbidden paths; with his hands did he handle unclean things; with his tongue did he curse his Maker and take his name in vain; with his heart did he mock his God, and the judgments pronounced upon him by his God.

14. Yea, and the whole desire of his heart was evil; therefore, it repented God that He had made him; and He promised to de-

stroy him from the face of the earth. And when He did all this, I, Mother Wisdom, was there; and pronounced it agreeable to his unalterable decree of justice.

15. Again, when He had left a chosen seed to re-people the earth, and gave them their laws and ordinances, and promised unto them that He never would again drown the earth with water, I was there. And when He set his bow in the cloud as a token of the same, I saw it, and We pronounced it good; the witness whereof yet remaineth in the heavens.

16. When in peace He promised a blessing to the chosen few He had saved from the ravages of his destruction, giving unto them his laws, to multiply and replenish the earth, I was there, and bore witness that all was agreeable to his unalterable law of justice; and the multitude of people, which now inhabit the earth, are a witness of this unto this day.

17. When men began again to do wickedly, and forget the Lord their God, and bow down themselves to idols, He then destroyed their cities with fire, and sank them into the bowels of the earth, and covered them with stagnant waters; the witness whereof remaineth unto this day, as a memorial against them.

18. When they began to war and fight, and destroy each other, and to trust in their own arms for strength, then did He select a chosen people, to rule among the nations; and endowed them with his power, which He allowed them to use after the manner of men, to fight and destroy the kingdoms of the earth, which were wicked, and again to set up his standard upon earth.

19. Yea, He resolved to meet them in their own path, and there execute his laws of justice; and He gave unto them his laws and his statutes, which He had designed for his creature man; and they did, in reality, meet man in his own paths; for these laws were, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. And the destruction of the human family which has been upon the earth, the desolated kingdoms and wide wastes, remain as a witness of the truth of this, unto this day.

20. When He promised, in the seed of Abraham the nations of the earth should be blessed, I was there, and saw that it was agreeable to his attribute of mercy. The witness of this, his most holy promise, has been declared, is now declaring; and the work which will be performed by his Two ANOINTED ONES, CHRIST AND

Mother Ann, will yet continue to declare and witness to its truth.

21. When his chosen people began to forget their God, and to follow their own lusts, He warned them by the mouths of his holy Prophets, to repent and turn to Him, but they refused; In consequence whereof, through the mouths of his holy Prophets, He did pronounce the destruction of their place and nation, and to scatter them to the four quarters of the earth; the scattered remnant of which, remaineth as a witness of the same unto this day.

22. When again through the mouths of his holy Prophets, He promised unto them a Savior, who should set up his kingdom on earth, and restore again peace to his creature man, I was there, and saw that it was agreeable to his attributes of mercy and truth.

23. And the witness of his goodness, in sending his only begotten Son, to save his people from their sins, and restore to them the blessings of his protection, was manifested by the mighty miracles which he wrought, and the good deeds which he did to the fallen race of mankind, who had lost the protection of their God, and been left to destroy each other; in which manner of going, they must inevitably have been left to destroy themselves, together with their possessions.

24. But the precepts of his beloved Son, his only begotten, and his word to the nations of the earth were, Peace on earth, good will to man. As a witness of the reality of this Jesus being the Son of God, his life and death bear record.

25. For God has declared, and borne witness, by all created things, that his law is order, and his kingdom is peace; That the Heavens, wherein is his throne, should be peace; and that the earth, which is his footstool, should not be noise and tumult; but that all should harmonize one with the other.

26. And his beloved Son declared that peace was his mission, peace was the name of his kingdom; and, as there was nought in the world but wars and tumults, he boldly declared unto them, that his kingdom was not of this world, else would his servants fight; That the world must come to an end; that the inhabitants thereof must be regenerated and born anew, or never see their God in peace.

27. The witness of this testimony, I, Wisdom, do declare unto you, is manifested in the sacred record of the word of God, which I have caused to be preserved by the order of my providence, for the conviction of the human race.

28. Though by some, this Holy Book has been set at nought and

derided, declared to be false, and the work of man's hand; yet, I have punished, and will continue to punish the Heaven-daring spirit that will do this, with judgments too awful for man to utter.

29. But I, Wisdom, do now call Heaven and earth to declare, that this was the Son of God, the Savior of the world, the blessing that was promised to the nations; yet the world received him not, but crucified him, and tried to overthrow his kingdom.

30. And this is the witness that declareth unto all, that his kingdom is not of this world; for the world would not tear down a building of its own.

31. The order of God doth declare, that like produces like. Had Christ been of the world, had his life been conformed to the lawless passions of the children thereof, they would have loved him; and his followers would not have been the subjects of their derision and scorn; but destruction was the law of their god, and it they determined to obey.

32. Yet, the Almighty had purposed, again to restore the earth to its order and place; and in accordance therewith, He boldly declared, through the mouths of the Prophets, and through his only begotten Son, that his work should be perfected; that He would again send the Savior to the world; and that sin and sinners should be cast from his kingdom which should be established therein, never more to be destroyed.

33. For his unalterable attributes of love, mercy and order, forbid that mankind should remain lords therein, and worship gods of their own forming.

34. But, as He said to his first chosen people, Thou shalt have no other gods but Me; so shall it remain to the end of time; and the judgments which He has sent, and will send to the inhabitants of the earth, shall bear witness, that this his word is true and faithful, and correspondent to his unalterable law of justice.

35. When God in his mercy did again send the Savior, the second time to the world, without sin unto salvation; then I, Wisdom, was there, and did declare that it is finished; this is the perfect day; this is the last display of God's grace to his fallen creature man.

36. The order of his grace is now complete; Through this medium, shall earth again harmonize with Heaven, and God's eternal plan of order and harmony, be fully accomplished.

37. The witness of this, is now manifested by the communica-

tions from Heaven, to those in this sacred order of grace upon the earth; which have been, still are, and forever shall be manifested, with the power and glory of the Eternal God, out of the sight of mortal power, and contrary to the devices of mortal reason; yet, conformable, in every particular, to the manifestation of his will to man, throughout all generations; which is, that he should be his image on earth, and the object of his delight and pleasure.

38. The power and wisdom of God, I, Wisdom, do declare unto you, is now vested in the Son and Daughter, the Two Anointed Ones, the head of this, his new earth, and the Lord of the new Heavens, the Father and Mother of the New Creation.

39. Through these, his mediators, He will continue to bestow his blessings upon the nations of the earth, till time shall have an end. This is his means of redemption to the fallen race; and this, his sacred order of grace, shall yet be revered, throughout the nations of the earth.

GOD DECLARETH THE VESTMENT OF HIS POWER, IN WHICH HE HATH CLOTHED THE TWO ANOINTED ONES.

PART II.

1. Thus saith the Lord, Listen O my people, and hearken all ye people who dwell on the earth; for I will declare unto you, the means whereby you may find access to my throne, and a rest within my kingdom.

2. My Two Anointed Ones, Jesus Christ and Mother Ann, the *Father* and *Mother* of all souls born into the New Creation, I have sent upon the earth, clothed with the garment of my power, to reveal to my creature man, (who has strayed from my paths, and marked out for himself a way and ways of death,) the way of life and liberty, to lead and direct him in the narrow way, direct to the mansions of my love.

3. Know ye, O my people, and know ye, all the inhabitants of the earth, that power is given to the Two Anointed Ones, over my creature man, in Heaven and on the earth. Yea, even over Angels in Heaven, are they Lord and Savior.

4. And whatsoever they shall bind on earth, shall be bound in

Heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. Lo! them I have called to judge the earth, and the Heavens; and whatsoever is by them condemned and cast off, shall never enter my eternal kingdom of peace; such I will neither know, nor receive; but my judgments, which through these Anointed Ones I have pronounced upon the inhabitants of the earth, shall meet them when they look not for Me. I will sweep them with the besom of destruction from my presence; yea, they shall neither abide in the Heavens nor upon the earth.

5. And whatsoever is by them accepted, shall be accepted by Me, at my eternal throne, and shall have a place in my kingdom, in the endless ages of eternity.

6. Therefore, hear ye, all ye people, and receive, with hearts of gratitude, whatsoever may be bestowed upon you, by my *Holy* and *Chosen Ones.* Yea, let every soul bow unceasingly, and give thanks for the many blessings they have bestowed, and still are bestowing upon you, from my heavenly kingdom.

7. Hearken ye, therefore, unto them; for they will teach you of my ways, that you may walk in my paths. But know ye every soul of man, yea, every spirit in Heaven and on earth, that ye cannot pass by this order of my Anointing, and find access to my throne. Ye cannot enter, but by this door of mercy; for thus will I be revealed in Heaven and on earth. Amen.

Inspired Writer,
New Lebanon, N. Y.; February 17, 1841. GILES B. AVERY.

WORD AND SEAL OF THE ETERNAL FATHER, BROUGHT AND READ BY A HOLY ANGEL.

COPIED BY INSPIRATION AT CANTERBURY NEW HAMPSHIRE, MARCH 26, 1843.

1. Thus saith the holy spirit of Eternal Truth and of Endless Light in one voice; Great have been the out-pourings of my spirit upon my Zion, and many are the blessings which I have bestowed upon her inhabitants. And behold, I have chosen and prepared Me Instruments who shall move at my will, in the various parts of my Zion, which I have established by my own hand in this devoted land of America; who shall stand as living witnesses to the weighty

and important word which I, the living God, did write and seal with my many seals, and send forth from my Eternal Throne; guarded by the Holy Savior and many holy Angels, unto my Holy Mount, to be revealed in the strength and union of my holy order there, and copied by mortal hand, through deep tribulation and heavy sufferings.

2. And behold this is now done as pleaseth Me; for the Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed to open the book, and loose the seals thereof. Ninety and nine are the seals revealed; but lo! in wisdom I planned it; for one was, and is not, and again is, and may this be affixed, in due season and order, to that word which I have purposed should benefit the nations of this earth, in my own way and time.

3. Thus saith the Holy Angel who brought the word and Seal; The last shall be first, and the first last; then write and fear not while I read the words on the Seal, for the will of God must be done.

The Hundredth, or Unchangeable Seal of the Living God.

1. Thus saith the Lord God of hosts; If any man shall carelessly or purposely add, alter, or diminish this sacred and permanent word of mine, by writing, printing, translating or reading it in any degree, shape or manner whatever, I will reward him in judgment seven fold; and he shall feel my anger, both day and night, for times and seasons, yea, until the sin shall be washed away by the waters of true repentance, and consumed by the fire of my justice.

2. Cursed shall be the body and soul that shall alter my Word, or cause it to be destroyed; yea, the tongue that shall blaspheme it also; and every one who may dare to lift up their voice, or put forth a hand to aid in burning my word, shall not escape the awful plagues which shall be poured out on the earth; for with a curse, I, the God of justice, will smite them, from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet; and in inexpressible anguish shall they lament with bitterness their sin.

3. But to those who shall seek to keep my word holy and safe from all harm, believe, repent and obey in sacred fear; bend their knees in prayer, bow their souls and bodies low even to the dust, and raise their feeble voices to my throne, in tears of repentance and entreaty, I will hearken in love, and like a kind Father draw near and befriend them.

4. I will lead them to the true light of salvation; make them my holy and well beloved servants, and they shall dwell in my kingdom forever, saith the Holy and Just One; for I am the Beginning and Ending, and this is my unchangeable Seal which shall forever stand. Amen, even so let it be.

Inspired Writer,

Susan H. Whitcher.

CLOSING WORD OF THE MIGHTY ANGEL OF GOD;

REVEALED AT NEW LEBANON, NEW YORK, APRIL 17, 1843.

1. Give ear unto my voice, all ye nations of the earth, and listen with attention all ye dwellers in Zion's habitations.

2. By the command of my God have I been required closely to examine all that enters between the lids of this sacred book, whether brought forward as testimonies from those who at times had clearly seen it by the immediate inspiration of God, for many months previous to the writing of this Roll and Book, in different societies, and in various places, held in my hands or borne upon the wings of other holy Angels; or whether it be merely as witnesses to the truth of that word herein contained.

3. My God did require that there should be many signers to his word, not for the sake of substantiating its truth; for it hath proceeded and come forth from no other source, than the source of eternal truth itself; but that all the inhabitants of the earth may know that God has a seed remaining upon the earth, a little chosen few, a poor afflicted and despised people, yet numbered in the Zion of his likeness; who are ready and thankful for a privilege to do his will and pleasure, should it cost them all the enjoyments of life, and even the sacrifice of life itself.

4. My God doth not require, saith the mighty Angel, that all the inhabitants of Zion should sign this his first word to the children of men, in this the last dispensation of his grace to them, by affixing their own personal names; neither does He require that all whom He hath caused to be used as inspired agents, in this his late manifestation, should sign their names, individually; but a number sufficient to show the general union and approbation of the body of Zion at large, are permitted to sign it.

5. And further than this, says the Angel, is unnecessary, and not, at present, required by your God. But wait God's time for further requirements. Remember that He hath declared to all nations, that He worketh in a time of his own appointing, and willeth at his pleasure, the work for mortal man to be engaged in.

6. Therefore, hear and understand, all ye inhabitants of the earth, that but a few of those who have forsaken all for Christ's sake, now in this his second coming, without sin unto salvation, have placed their individual names in this Book;

7. Yet there are many, not herein named at this time, who stand equally justified before their God, as those who have affixed their names. And many there are, of various ages and classes, who have not signed their names as inspired instruments or agents, although they have had equal evidence in their own souls, with those who have signed, of the sublime and divine manifestations, for several years past, of a pure and holy God, to the inhabitants of Zion.

8. I, the Holy and Mighty Angel of God, do proclaim unto all people, both in and out of Zion, that God is able to make use of such an agency as He chooses, to convey his word and his will to the people:

9. But remember, that souls may be blessed with great gifts of discerning spirits, and of inspiration and revelation; yet lose their own salvation at last. These gifts can save none, any further than they yield true obedience to the revealed will of God, made known to them for their protection.

10. Again, I do testify unto all, that the true children of my Heavenly Father's kingdom, take no delight in having their names sounded abroad in the earth; they had much rather remain through life secluded, and enter eternity, having been unknown by the world at large. But if by any means, the will of God requireth their names to go abroad, they yield as rendering obedience, not as pleasing themselves.

11. God's word is truth, and needeth not the aid of mortals for its support; yet, for the sake of the unbeliever, He doth require a short testimony from such as He hath shown the Roll and Book which He was about to send forth to the inhabitants of earth, and that previous to the time of its being written.

12. As the inspired writer of the Roll and Book, was not suffered by his God, to know of these things until after the requirement of writing this Sacred Word had been accomplished, saith the

Holy Angel, through whom this word has been revealed to man;

13. Therefore, read, and reflect in solemn silence; for here are truths recorded, that will stand in time and in the endless ages of eternity; not the "cunningly devised fables" of man or of woman; but truths of that God, before whom all must shortly appear, in mercy or in judgment.

14. And all that is placed between these sacred lids, I have closely examined, according to the direction of God, my Heavenly Father. And the spirit and substance of all herein contained, I pronounce and declare to all the inhabitants of earth, to be solemn and unalterable truths of God; and that which will stand for the same, in the endless ages of eternity.

15. Though the mortal writers or instruments of the word stand or fall from their present faith, and that sincerity of heart, in which they have written these testimonies, it can alter nothing, as respects the solemn truths they do contain.

16. They only alter their own situation; and by denying the sacred truths which, by the spirit of God, have been sounded through their mouths, they disinherit themselves from his Holy Kingdom; And their testimonies shall stand before the eyes of all people, as a solemn and awful record against them, both in time and in eternity, saith the Angel.

17. There never was, and never will be a dispensation of the mercy and grace of God opened to mankind, that can save them from their sins while walking in disobedience to its requirements.

18. But the greater the privilege that God hath granted them, by favoring them with his divine and sacred influence, the greater must be their horror and condemnation in turning therefrom, and walking again in open disobedience to that true light and sacred power, which, by the mercy of God, had once been suffered to rest upon their souls.

19. Therefore, hearken and understand, all ye nations, kindreds, tongues and people; for I, the mighty, holy and proclaiming Angel of God, do declare in your ears, and to your understanding, solemn truths of God.

20. None of the agents nor instruments that were ever used by the command of God, or in the hands of holy Angels, to sound forth his word and will to the people, were ever finally saved thereby, short

of walking in strict obedience to that which was required of them, in the order that God had appointed.

21. But whenever they turn their feelings in disobedience to these requirements, and reject the same, they rapidly hasten their own destruction, and separation from the holy spirit of God. Whether they be instruments that have been used in the Zion of his likeness, or whether they be instruments that are abroad in the world, it altereth not the path that all must pursue, to find their own souls' salvation and protection from the power of evil, which is the path of strict and true obedience to that revealed will and order of God that is established for their souls' protection in the day and time in which they live.

22. By the fruits shall mankind discern whether the work be of God, saith the holy and mighty Angel, whose word faileth not. Therefore read and understand, by holy fear and sacred reverence, the word of that God who giveth immortality, and eternal life to all who keep his commandments.

Inspired Writer,

PHILEMON STEWART.

Errata to Part II.

Page.					
294,	line	10	from	top,	for 15, read 12.
298,	"	2	"	"	dele *New Lebanon, N. Y. January* 2, 1842.
"	"	14	"	"	dele *ye.*
302,	"	1	"	"	f. *know*, r. *known.*
308,	"	47	"	"	f. *in*, r. *by.*
310,	"	9	"	"	f. *Berkshire*, r. *Hampshire.*
312,	"	38	"	"	f. 1806, r. 1803.
313,	"	33	"	"	after Massachusetts, add *April* 1, 1794.
316,	"	39	"	"	after New York, add *November* 9, 1805.
320,	"	11	"	"	f. *thirty*, r. *thirty four.*
334,	"	45	"	"	f. 5, r. 15.

N. B. There are many places where the solemn and familiar style are intermingled in the same sentence. These may be corrected whenever the work is reprinted.

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En premsa a *La recepció de la literatura catalana medieval a Europa (Actes del 2n Col·loqui Europeu d'Estudis Catalans, Béziers, 19-21/01/2006)*, ed. Alexander Fidora i Eliseu Trenc, Montpellier: Presses Universitaires, 2006

Sadurní Martí

(Universitat de Girona)

LA TRADICIÓ LLATINA DEL *LLIBRE DELS ÀNGELS* DE FRANCESC EIXIMENIS[1]

1. Sempre s'ha comparat la immensitat oceànica de les obres del gironí Francesc Eiximenis amb les del mallorquí Ramon Llull, i és ben cert que, en tots dos casos, el pes material de la seva obra completa és més que remarcable. Tradicionalment també s'ha defensat, però, que els distingia, entre moltes altres coses, la intensitat i l'extensió de l'impacte en l'Europa del seu temps. La distribució dels manuscrits conservats, les notícies de manuscrits perduts i les influències sabudes d'aquests dos autors els atorguen graus d'influència força diferents. A l'excel·lent *Llull DB* (la base de dades on-line sobre Ramon Llull de la Universitat de Barcelona) s'hi poden consultar notícies sobre més d'un miler de testimonis lul·lians antics, repartits al llarg i ample del globus terraqui; si poguéssiu fer el mateix amb Francesc Eiximenis, us trobaríeu amb dos-cents cinquanta testimonis antics.[2] Hi ha un desfasament evident, tot i que també cal remarcar que dos centenars de testimonis antics per a un autor català és una xifra més que respectable. Més enllà de les xifres, cal fer tanmateix una distinció important entre aquests dos autors: Llull, que va començar escrivint les seves obres en català, o potser en àrab, ben aviat es va adonar de la necessitat estratègica de canviar cap a la llengua sàvia, el llatí, si volia influir d'una manera eficaç en els cercles intel·lectuals (especialment els de la Universitat de París) que havien d'ajudar-lo en els seus projectes. En conseqüència, la immensa majoria de les obres del catàleg lul·lià són llatines. Les obres de Francesc Eiximenis tenen sempre com a llengua principal la catalana (si exceptuem l'*Ars praedicandi populo*, el *Psalterium laudatorium*, el *Pastorale*, o el polèmic *De triplici statu mundi*, totes elles obres escolars o destinades a un públic especialitzat) i estan destinades a lectors de la Corona d'Aragó.

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[1] Aquesta comunicació forma part del treballs previs a l'edició crítica del *Llibre dels àngels* de Francesc Eiximenis per a les "Obres de Francesc Eiximenis", editades per la Diputació i la Universitat de Girona, i s'inscriu al projecte gironí Hum2005-07480-C03-02/Filo del Ministerio de Educación. Agraeixo a Curt Wittilin i Alexander Fidora les interessants observacions que em van fer durant el col·loqui de Besiers.

[2] A la primavera del 2006 s'activarà a la Universitat de Girona una base de dades sobre Francesc Eiximenis (*Eiximenis DB*), germana de la *Llull DB*, en el marc del programa coordinat CODITECAM (Corpus Digital de Textos Catalans Medievals). Més informació a http://www.narpan.net.

Encara hi ha un altre aspecte que acosta les obres del menoret i del beat: les seves obres no només van circular en la llengua en què es van escriure, sinó que també van circular (i molt!) en traduccions antigues a diverses llengües. Aquestes tradicions plurilingües són ben conegudes pels filòlegs des de fa més d'un segle, però tot just ara s'han començat a estudiar en profunditat, en bona part gràcies a les innovacions metodològiques que ha introduït la *Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull*. La voluntat que guia aquesta empresa és, resumint, integrar la tradició indirecta (és a dir la que no està en la llengua original del text i les possibles cites d'altres autors) en l'aparat crític de les obres, seguint el convenciment que les traduccions poden aportar informació textual pertanyent a branques perdudes de la tradició original, i que només un estudi conjunt de totes les tradicions d'una obra pot posar en relleu la història de la tradició del text, és a dir la història de la seva transmissió material i les vicissituds històriques dels seus copistes i lectors. Pel que sabem avui, l'obra de Francesc Eiximenis ha estat traduïda antigament a quatre llengües: al propi català, en el cas de les obres originalment en llengua llatina (el *Psalterium laudatorium* traduït per Guillem Fontana com a *Psaltiri devotíssim*); al castellà, com en el cas del *Llibre de les dones*, del *Llibre dels àngels* i de la *Vida de Jesucrist*; al francès, hi tenim traduccions del *Llibre dels àngels* i de la *Vida de Jesucrist*; al llatí, excepcionalment, el *Llibre dels àngels*; i, finalment, al flamenc, també en el cas únic del *Llibre dels àngels*. Deixo de banda la traducció de fragments i les cites incrustades o manipulades en les obres d'altres autors, en diverses llengües (cf. García López, Guixeras). Tanmateix, el més interessant d'aquesta tradició eiximeniana plurilingüe és que ens demostra, si hem de jutjar per les còpies conservades, el seu èxit internacional. Només comptant els manuscrits, de la traducció castellana del *Llibre de les dones* se'n conserven 10 testimonis (en català, la meitat). De la *Vida de Jesucrist* conservem 2 testimonis francesos i 3 de castellans, davant dels 7 testimonis catalans sencers, i molts de parcials. I, finalment, del *Llibre dels àngels* (que actualment es conserva en 18 manuscrits catalans sencers) es conserven també 7 testimonis castellans, 16 testimonis francesos i 3 testimonis llatins. Per tant, crec que s'hauria de matisar l'opinió canònica de la manca d'influència europea del menoret: a la llum del que acabem de dir podem afirmar que Eiximenis va influir (i va influir molt) a la França dels segles XV i XVI i, també, a l'Espanya dels segles XV, XVI, XVII i XVIII. Per acabar aquest repàs necessàriament molt ràpid a la recepció d'Eiximenis, cal recalcar que la seva presència europea, en la majoria de casos, va ser deguda precisament, a l'interès que va despertar en personatges pertanyents als grans nuclis d'influència, a les elits: a aquells grups als quals també va voler arribar, un segle abans, Ramon Llull.

Fent un cop d'ull als lectors francesos d'Eiximenis, i afegint que alguns testimonis més pobres ens indiquen circulacions complementàries, ens adonarem del tipus especial de públic de les obres del menoret. La bellíssima còpia de la *Vida de Jesucrist* (BNP fr. 29) pertanyia a Joana de França, filla de Carles VII i muller Joan II, duc de Bourbon. Més tard una altra muller del duc, Caterina d'Armanyac, va heretar aquest mateix còdex. Entre els manuscrits francesos del *Llibre dels àngels*, el luxós ms. *A* (BNP fr. 24773) era propietat de

Denis Aladant, notari del rei de França. El ms. *B* (BNP fr. 1777) duu una subscripció d'Anna de Cuise, vídua de Jean Rapine, mestre d'hostal i governador d'Auxerre. El ms. *E* (BNP fr. 186), que és la còpia més luxosa en francès, no presenta subscripcions, però les seves cinc miniatures esplèndides sí que proporcionen molts indicis iconogràfics d'un comitent elevat: l'orla que les acompanya duu sempre un escut blau amb tres flors de lis centrat a la barra de sota, l'escut reial de França des de Carles VI (XIV-XV) a Enric III (finals XVI). Un cop s'hagi completat la descripció dels manuscrits francesos podrem, segurament, orientar molt millor les zones i els cercles a través dels quals es va anar introduint Eiximenis a la França del quatre-cents (vegeu ara Wittlin; i Martí 2006 i en premsa). I tot i que ara no m'hi puc estendre, cal si més no apuntar que en la tradició castellana del *Llibre de les dones* i el *Llibre dels àngels* la selecció de públic és equivalent (vegeu Messeguer, Viera 1976 i 1980, Perarnau, Santiago; i de manera més decisiva Clausell 1993, 1995-96, 1996, 2004 i Rojas).

2. A banda dels treballs pioners de Jaume Massó i Torrents, Martí de Barcelona, Andreu Ivars i Curt Wittlin, les tradicions textuals indirectes de l'obra d'Eiximenis no s'han començat a estudiar de manera sistemàtica fins molt recentment, gràcies sobretot a investigadors de l'entorn de la Universitat de Girona que preparen edicions crítiques sobre la tradició castellana del menoret. Les aportacions de Carme Clausell sobre el *Llibre de les dones* castellà i de Raquel Rojas sobre el *Llibre dels àngels* castellà són molt interessants en aquest sentit perquè ja han començat a proporcionar dades concretes per confirmar o rectificar les panoràmiques que els estudiosos anteriors havien ofert com a marc de treball. Per a la tradició francesa, el treball que Curt Wittlin presenta en aquest mateix volum d'actes inaugura la tradició moderna d'estudis, que no havia tingut cap aportació de relleu des del catàleg de Massó i Torrents i Martí de Barcelona (vegeu també, en breu, Martí 2006 i Martí en premsa).

La meva intenció, en aquest article, és ajudar a posar les bases per a l'estudi de la tercera de les tradicions multilingües del *Llibre dels àngels*, la llatina. L'objectiu del present treball és, doncs, presentar una primera descripció codicològica dels tres manuscrits que conserven la recensió llatina i l'edició d'un capítol de control per tal d'il·lustrar l'estil i els procediments de traducció d'aquesta recensió. Aquest és un primer pas per poder-la estudiar perquè fins ara no comptàvem amb cap treball sobre els manuscrits que descric a continuació, ni sobre la versió llatina del *Llibre dels àngels*. Les úniques referències que en teníem provenien de les descripcions de Massó i Torrents i Martí de Barcelona que, essencialment, reproduïen el que es desprèn dels catàlegs de les biblioteques d'origen. A partir de les descripcions que ara publiquem s'haurà de començar a caracteritzar els comitents de les còpies i, en conseqüència, el ambients pels quals circulava l'obra.

Com a primeres observacions puc avançar que, com era d'esperar, els manuscrits de la versió llatina ens duen a ambients eclesiàstics: el capítol catedralici d'Albi (*A*) o la cartoixa de Vall de Benedicció d'Avinyó (*B*), fundada el 1356 pel papa Innocenci IV, la cartoixa més gran de la França tardomedieval (cf. Maier i Forbin). Tots dos són centres importants de l'església occitana quatrecentista amb una remarcable producció manuscrita El tercer manuscrit no té un origen deduïble del propi manuscrit, però és indubtablement una còpia de mà francesa, possiblement borgonyona, i presenta lligams formals i materials ben interessants amb alguns dels manuscrits de la versió francesa del *Llibre dels àngels* (cf. Martí en premsa). Tots els manuscrits són quatrecentistes, però els manuscrits occitans semblen de la primera meitat del segle XV, mentre que l'exemplar francès està datat el 1476.

A **Albi, Biblioteca Municipal, ms. 32** (actualment a la Mediateca Pierre Almaric). Volum de 302 × 250mm, amb 164 folis de paper, 161 escrits (el text s’acaba a f. 161r i els tres bifolis que completen el plec són en blanc. La caixa presenta un marge exterior de 53mm; interior, 23mm; superior, 32mm; inferior, 70mm; i està composta per dues columnes de 59 línies de text, separades per 17mm. El ratllat de la caixa es veu perfectament i dibuixa, des del marge, les ratlles inicial i final de la columna amb una línia especial. La caixa d’escriptura dibuixa dues columnes de 184 × 59mm, amb un marge superior de 50-55mm, inferior 105-112mm, intern 25mm, extern 73-80mm. Tot el pautat sembla en tinta. S’observen rastres de perforació, però molt malmesos per les enquadernacions successives. Tot el text pertany a una sola mà quatrecentista, a vegades molt cursivitzada, que no té cap tret de bastarda. El còdex es compon de plecs variats (1-2^{10}, 3-9^{14}, 10-11^{16}, 12^{18}), amb reclams inferiors poc elaborats, centrats. Vegem en detall l’estructura de plecs:

1	5+5 (0)-9	*il·legible: escapçat*
2	5+5 10-19	Vniu(er)sa plebs
3	7+7 20-32	*escapçat il·legible*
4	7+7 33-46	
5	7+7 47-60	
6	7+7 61-74	*escapçat il·legible*
7	7+7 75-88	
8	7+7 89-102	*escapçat il·legible*
9	7+7 103-115	
10	8+8 116-131	sublimis
11	8+8 132-147	uiuunt et scitis *tallat*
12	9+9 148-165	

Les rúbriques interiors, sempre vermelles, van justificades amb el text sense solució de continuïtat i la caplletra rudimentària està dintre del marge i ocupa 2-4 ratlles. Aquest manuscrit presenta les rúbriques integrades en l'inici de cada tractat. La foliació, moderna i a ploma, es troba situada a l'angle superior dret dels *rectos* de cada foli. És correcta i correlativa. El còdex duu dues etiquetes antigues enganxades: una a la coberta davantera "Francisci Eiximenii / de Angelis liber totius" i a la coberta del darrera: "Ad maiorem Dei gloriam / Eximeuis de Angelis. / 1422". A l'interior altres etiquetes modernes amb signatures alternatives: dues amb el n. 48; una amb el n. 125, una de pell "F. Eximeuis / de Angelis" i una altra que indica "Nº de la V. 52 / Nº du C. Imp. ~~95~~ 32 / Nº du C. de la B. [...] / Nombre de feuillets 162". Segons el catàleg, el manuscrit, prové del capítol d'Albi, però al f. 1r s'hi pot llegir "Ad Usum fratrum Praedicatorum Ref. Conu. Albiensis.", i al marge dret, a mitja plana: "Ad usum Convent(us) / Albi(ensis)". Per tant, si bé originàriament podia haver estat a la biblioteca capitular d'Albi, a la Biblioteca Municipal hi va ingressar procedent del convent dels dominicans de la vila del Tarn. Al catàleg imprès també hi ha una indicació en rotulador "125". La relligadura ha estat restaurada modernament en vellut verd, amb restes de les cobertes antigues. Quatre nervis al llom. L'estat de conservació és molt bo, encara que els fulls, en alguns llocs, estan tacats. Comença: "Incipit liber angelo(rum) (com)positus / per Reu(er)endum prens i(n) (Christo) et / do(mino) dominum franciscus exime / nis patriarcham (Jher)osolimitanus) / et ep(iscopu)m elnen(sis) in sacra pagina / quarum magistrum egregium. Prim(mu) ca(pitulum)", i a continuació ja hi ha el text de I,1. Descripcions a *Catalogue*, t. 15, pp. 121-122; Massó i Torrents (102), sigla *B*, número 100; Martí de Barcelona (210), número 38.

B **Marsella, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 284.** Còdex cartaci de 116 folis de 283mm × 199mm. No està datat expressament però la lletra semigòtica sembla de mitjans del segle XV. Les guardes són de paper (inici i final 1+1). En el paper del text s'observen dos tipus diferents de filigranes: ff. 1-60 i 73-84, del tipus *croissant* (6,5 ×3,5mm) de Briquet, semblant als nn. 5224 i 5225 (Brescia 1388 i 1421); ff. 61-72 i 85-116, del tipus *main aux quatre doigts serrés* (7 × 2mm), semblant als nn. 11090 i 11088, datades a Lió a mitjans del XV i a Draguignan el 1437, respectivament. Hi ha una foliació antiga (als *versos*), i una de moderna (als *rectos*) que no té en compte les llacunes i és completa i correlativa. La moderna compta el full de guarda, l'antiga, no. La caixa d'escriptura mesura 199 x 130mm, i l'intercolumnat és de 125mm. Hi ha petites variacions en el nombre de ratlles, p.e.: f. 3r (esquerre 39, dreta 41), f. 108r (esquerra 36, dreta 36). Dels deu plecs del còdex, nou són sexterns (6+6) i el novè és un tern (3+3) factici. Actualment el còdex presenta aquesta fasciculació:

I	6+6 (2-13)	
II	6+6 (14-25)	fit i(n)t(er)
III	6+6 (26-37)	*però el 37 està afegit amb una pestanya*
IV	6+6 (38-48)	·ville·
V	6+6 (49-60)	et lu(m)bos
VI	6+6 (61-72)	*tallat il·legible*
VII	6+6 (73-84)	legim(us)
VIII	6+6 (85-96)	
IX	3[2]+3 (97-104)	·tencat·[3]
X	6+6 (105-116)	

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[3] L'estat actual del plec IX permet de deduir una estructura amb dos fulls afegits ([1]+1[1]+2 ‖ +3), però no resulta fàcil comprovar-ho perquè l'enquadernació impedeix treure'n l'aigua clara.

L’ordenació del plecs del còdex, doncs, presenta diverses irregularitats. Si s’observa la foliació pot deduir-se que, segurament a causa d’una desenquadernació, s’han perdut diversos plecs i que el relligador va ordenar incorrectament els plecs que avui es conserven:

f. ·xxxii·→ f. ·xxxiiij· (salta un full)

f. ·lx·→ f. ·clxix· (salta del final del plec 5 al 15)

f. ·clxxx·→ f. ·lxxiij· (salta del 15 al 7)

f. ·xcvij·→ f. ·cviij· (salta del 8 al 10)

f. ·cix·→ f. ·cxx·

f. ·cxxj·→ f. ·cxxxij·

f. ·cxxxiij·→ f. ·cxliiij·→·cxciij· (final)

En l’estat actual, doncs, en el còdex només s’hi poden llegir els capítols I,1-III,24; V,10-V23; III,39-IV,1; IV,12-IV,14; IV,23-IV,25; IV,26-IV,38; IV,45-IV,46; V,37-final.[4]

No es veuen signatures de plecs, ni restes de perforat. El ratllat és a punta seca. Dues columnes de text justificat. No hi ha solució de continuïtat entre capítols, només la rúbrica en vermell i la caplletra en vermell rudimentària que ocupa entre 2 i 5 ratlles. Tampoc hi ha marques especials que indiquin l’inici dels llibres, que van seguits sense solució de continuïtat, només indicats per una rúbrica més llarga. Els reclams són molt rudimentaris i majoritàriament absents pel tallat de l’enquadernador. Estan centrats sota la columna dreta del *verso* dels folis. Tot el text del còdex és d’una sola mà cursiva amb trets lleugers de bastarda, que a voltes treballa molt de pressa. El relligat, en pell tant en el llom com en la coberta, data del segle XVII. Al llom cinc nervis sobresortints al primer entrenervi superior en daurat, requadrat, “LIBER / ANGE / FRAN / EXIM”. Al tercer entrenervi, en daurat, una fulla. Al quart entrenervi, en daurat, la cota “1300”. A la part superior del llom hi ha enganxat un paper amb la cota “04930...”. Al segon entrenervi superior un paper enganxat amb la cota “Eα /16”. L’estat general del còdex és bo, però alguns fulls presenten forats de corc abundants i, com ja s’ha comentat falten alguns plecs. Al f. 2r, a baix, centrat, el segell de la “Bibliothèque de Marseille”. A la guarda de coberta, un teixell amb els indicacions: “Eα 16”, a ploma i a sota en bolígraf “Albanus 284”. Al recto de la primera guarda, en llapis, “Ms 284” , a dalt a la dreta, i centrat a mitja plana, a ploma, en lletra del XIX “Ce volume continent 116 feuillets / 17 juin 1884”. Al f. 2 (·j·^{r}) torna a aparèixer, en llapis, “Ms. 284”, a dalt a la dreta. Dues inscripcions ens indiquen la procedència del còdex: al f. 3r: “Cartusie vallisbenedict(i)onis” [*molt bastarda*] i 14r: “Vallisb(e)n(e)dictionis”, més gran. Procedeix de la Cartoixa de Vall de Benedicció, a Villeneuve lez Avignon, al departament del Gard, al davant d’Avinyó, a l’altra riba del Ròdan. De fet, la biblioteca municipal de Marsella es va crear amb els fons eclesiàstics recollits durant la Revolució, i “la plus considerable et la plus importante [partie] de ces livres est celle qui vient de la Chartreuse de Marseille; et comme cette maison ne remontait qu’au milieu du XVIIe siècle, c’est à la Chartreuse de Villeneuve près d’Avignon, sa fondatrice, qu’on appartenu primitivement presque tous les manuscrits que la ville a eus des Chartreux” (Albanès 1894: 108). **Incipit**: (2ra) “Jncipit liber angelor(um) / composit(us) per Reu(er)endu(m) / p(at)rem in (Christo) et d(e)um / d(omi)n(u)m franciscum Exime(n)is / patriarcha(m) []er[]i / tanu(m) et ep(sicopu)m elnen(sem) in / sacra pagina magistrum / Egregium” [*En vermell amb lletra de cos més gran. La J en vermell s’allarga 7 ratlles fora de la caixa d’escriptura*. El primera capítol comença amb una caplletra A en blau i vermell que ocupa 7 ratlles. **Explicit**: (116^{rb}) “Explicit liber angeloru(m) / quem co(m)posuit reuerendus / magister franciscus eximenis / de ordine minoru(m) et patri- / archa q(uon)dam jerusolimitan(us) / ·Amen·” [*Emmarcat amb un gran calderó vermell i un cargolet al final*]. El manuscrit ha estat descrit per *Catalogue*, t. 15 (1894 107-108).[5] Cf. també Martí de Barcelona (210), número 39.

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[4] Precisem una mica més. Llibre I (ii^{r}-xv^{r}): el capítol 3 ha fos el 3 i el 4. Llibre II (xv^{r}-xxxii^{v}) a la rúbrica del 13 diu erròniament ·xiiij·. Llibre III (xxxii^{v}-lx^{v}...) acaba tallat al capítol III,24. Salta a V,10, acèfal, fins a V,23 tallat (clxix^{r}-clxxx^{v}). Salta al III,39, acèfal, fins al III,59 (lxxiij^{r}-xcvij^{v}). Llibre IV, acaba tallat al capítol IV,1 (xciiij^{r}- ...). Salta a IV,12, acèfal, fins al IV,14, tallat (cviij^{r}-cix^{v}). Salta a IV,23, acèfal, fins al IV,25, tallat (cxx^{r}-cxxi^{v}). Salta a IV,36, acèfal, fins al IV,38, tallat (cxxxij^{r}-cxxxiij^{v}). Salta a IV,45, acèfal, fins al IV,46, tallat (cxliiij^{r}). Salta a V,37, acèfal, fins al V,49 (cxciij^{r}-cciiij^{rb}). A la rúbrica de V,41 diu erròniament ·xl·. En definitiva, manca el text dels capítols III,25...-...III,39; IV,1...-...IV,12; IV,14...-...IV,23; IV,25...-...IV,26; IV,38...-...IV,45; IV,46...-...V,37.

C **Milà, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. C 27 inf.** Còdex de pergamí i paper de 243 ff., datat pel colofó el 12/11/1476 (f. 242r). Les guardes són de paper (2+2 a l’inici, 1+1 al final). El text s’acaba a 242r. 242v-243v en blanc. No s’observen filigranes en el paper. Les dimensions de la matèria són constants: 251 × 173mm. La fasciculació és quasi regularment de plecs de sis bifolis: $1\text{-}5^{12}$, 6^{14}, $7\text{-}19^{12}$, 20^{14}. Els plecs segueixen regularment l’estructura 1pg+4pp+1pg // 1pg+4pp+1pg. Vegem l’esquema de plecs:

I	6+6 (1-12)	·eor · astu ·*(mig tallat)*
II	6+6 (13-24)	pret(er)ea cesa(rius) . n^{9} . co .
III	6+6 (25-36)	legim(us) .co. 3^{9} .
IV	6+6 (37-48)	q(ua) statim . co ?^{9} .
V	6+6 (49-60)	d(omin)us n(oste)r 5^{9} co .
VI	7+7 (61-74)	indec . vj . co .
VII	6+6 (75-86)	Ca(pitulum xxxv) . vij^{9} co .
VIII	6+6 (87-98)	et glor(io)sos . co viij .
IX	6+6 (99-110)	qui(n)tus t(a)lis est . ix . co .
X	6+6 (111-121)	ibi supp(re)m(us) . x . co .
XI	6+6 (122-133)	p(er) ang(elicam) custo(diam) . xj . co .
XII	6+6 (134-145)	*(tallat)*

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[5] “284 (Ea.16 – R.640) [...] On lit au bas du fol. 3 “Cartusie Vallis benedictionis”; sur le dos la cote de Villeneuve: 1300 / XV siècle. Papier. 116 feuillets à 2 col. 283 sur 200 milim. Titres en rouge; grandes lettres rouges, avec quelques ornements, à la première page. Rel. Basane. Nous relevons les chiffres d’un antique foliotage, qui indique l’absence de beaucoup de feuillets: i-xxxii, xxxiiii-lx, clxix-clxxx, lxxiii-xcvii, cviii-cix, cxx-cxxi, cxxii-cxxxiii, cxliiii, cxciii-cciii. Tout le reste manque.”

XIII	6+6 (146-157)	nec est adhuc . co xiij .
XIV	6+6 (158-169)	O p(ro)ditor . co xiiij
XV	6+6 (170-181)	i(n) vita sua . co . xv .
XVI	6+6 (182-193)	filios seth . co xvj .
XVII	6+6 (194-205)	sensus . co xvij .
XVIII	6+6 (206-217)	suspiciis . co . xviij .
XIX	6+6 (218-229)	p(er)uersum tractatu(m) . co . penul
XX	7+7 (230-243)	

Reclams rudimentaris i alguns absents pel tallat de l’enquadernador. Estan sagnats a la dreta de la caixa. Duen també el número de plec. Els plecs conserven les signatures originals que es veuen perfectament a la zona inferior dreta dels fulls. Són el tipus *aj, ajj,* etc. Correlació de signatures: *abcdefghiklmnopqrstv*. També és perfectament observable el perforat (32 puncions al marge exterior i 2 als encapçalaments de columna), que afecta tant el pergamí com el paper. El ratllat que se’n deriva també es conserva traçat en vermell, amb ratlles finíssimes, dibuixant la caixa, les columnes de la caixa i les línies (31 ratlles de text per cara). La caixa d’escriptura mesura 171 × 100mm i té els marges següents: exterior 55mm, interior 20mm, inferior 55mm, superior 25mm. No hi ha solució de continuïtat entre capítols, només la rúbrica en vermell i la caplletra en vermell rudimentària que ocupa 2 ratlles. Text d’una sola mà cursiva bastarda francesa amb molts canvis de *ductus*. La decoració de les inicials és rudimentària, alternant vermell i blau. Les inicials de tractat combinen blau i vermell i són més grans (5 ratlles). La inicial del llibre (6r) és una A de cinc ratlles amb or brunyit amb un fons remarcat que combina burdeus i blau amb filigrana floral blanca. El marge interior, al llarg de tota la caixa, està ocupat per una orla floral en negre amb fulles d’or brunyit i verdes i flors vermelles i blaves. El relligat data del segle XIX. La matèria del llom és pell i la coberta és de cartró. L’estat de conservació és molt bo. El col·lofó diu: “Complet(us) Anno d(omi)ni Mº ccccº lxxvjº xijª noue(m)bris”. El còdex presenta també un exlibris a la guarda IVv: “Fran(ciscus) Ximenius de Angelis / huius operis nullus meminis”, de mà del XVIII. A sota, una altra mà del XIX: “fortasse unicus codex latini textus eiusdem operis et cuius / textus catalanus necnon versiones gallic. et castill. noscuntur [sic] / A.R.” A dalt del f. 1r es pot llegir “co(m)prato in Lione” (XVII?). A la guarda de la coberta Ir “C. 27. inf.”. A la guarda II “nº 27. P^{te}. Inf.” Al marge de 1r una altra mà “S. 81” A la guarda IVv una “S” ratllada i encara a sota una “P.”. No hi ha notícies sobre la provinença del còdex o antics possessors. **Incipit del text**: (6ra) “Incipit liber de angelis . deuotus et vtilis . / Compositus per Reuere(n)dum in Xpo patre(m) et d(e)um / dominu(m) franciscum eximenis p(at)riarcha(m) ierosolimitanu(m) / et epsicopum elnensem . in sacra(que) pagina mag(ist)r(u)m / egregium ordinis minor(um). Et hoc in ydiomate suo proprio scilicet arragonico . Sed postea per /quemdem aliu(m) ut esset com(m)unior translatus fuit / in latinu(m) prout sequitur”. **Explicit del text**: (116^{rb}) “semper nobiscum jhs xps per suam clemenciam / Amen jhs maria (repartit ocupant tota la caixa) i segueix a sota el colofó. Diversos lectors han anotat les autoritats al marge, posant notes i assenyalant llocs q li interessaven. Hi ha algunes *maniculae*: 22v, 68v. Descripcions a Haenel (212); Ratti (592); Massó i Torrents (102), sigla *A*, número 99; Barcelona (210), número 40.

3. Editem a continuació, com a mostra, un capítol (tractat IV, capítol I) de la traducció llatina del *Llibre dels àngels* d’Eiximenis. Per a les conclusions sobre els lligams de la recensió llatina amb la resta de tradicions, em permeto remetre a Martí (en premsa). Mentrestant es pot comparar amb el text crític català de Martí (2003 37-42). El text llatí que segueix ha estat fixat tenint com a base el testimoni d’Albí (A), al qual s’han col·lacionat els altres dos manuscrits (*B* Marsella, *C* Milà). El text s’esmena quan es necessari i les

variants descartades s'anoten a l'aparat crític (que no inclou, però, cap variant gràfica). Cal tenir en compte que el text de Marsella és incomplet perquè està afectat per una de les llacunes que infesten aquest manuscrit.

[IV 1]

{0} ***Capitulum primum in quo docetur qualis fuit creatio et ordinatio angelorum in eorum exordio***

{1} Declarata in precedentibus tractatibus natura angelorum, quomodo est in se sublimis, sicut ponit Primus tractatus; deinde quomodo est ordinata per tres ierarchias et novem ordines, sicut dicit Secundus tractatus; deinde qualiter est deputata a Deo ad faciendum multiplex et valde utile et honorabile servicium, secundum quod tractum est in Tercio tractatu, restat modo tractandum, secundum quod dictum fuit in principio istius libri, illorum victoria ferventi.

{2} Et ut melius veniamus directe ad istum punctum, loquemur prius modicum de modo quo fuerunt instituti et creati a Deo. Et post hoc videbimus quomodo fuerunt positi in temptacionem et quomodo propter hoc venerunt postea ad scisma et diuisionem, et consequenter ad victoriam et triumphum.

{3} Debes ergo scire et notare aliqua puncta. Primus punctus est quod Deus, secundum ponit Strabus, *Super Genesim*, formavit et creavit in principio mundi quatuor insimul, id est, materiam grandem, ex qua formavit in diebus sequentibus et fecit alias res. Secundo fecit tunc insimul tempus quod servabatur, mediante quandam nube caliginosa que circuibat dictam materiam (sicut facit modo sol terram), et faciebat diem et noctem. Tertia res quam creavit fuit celum empireum, sicut principale fundamentum tocius mundi, quia ultra illud nulla alia res est, et omnia alia creata infra illud. Quarta res fuit natura angelica, de qua dicit Strabus quae res implevit totum dictum celum empireum. Propter quod apparet dignitas angelica, quia non fuit sic viliter genita quemadmodum nos sumus, ymmo fuit creata solo verbo Dei.

{4} Est vero quod de ista creationis angelorum Moyses non fecit aliquam mensionem literalem scribendo creationem mundi —secundum quod apparet *Genesis*, *primo*—, quod equidem fecit per multipli ratione. Prima, quia ipse intendebat scribere creationem et processum humani generis et rerum homini factarum. Et in hoc non opportebat loqui de angelis. Secunda, quia cum ipse scribevat librum illum populo rudi, illiterati et rusticali, ideo solum scripsit sibi res corporales et que percipi possunt aut sensibiliter et non curavit de altioribus. Tercia, quia populus ille quasi de nichilo sumebat occasionem ydolatrandi, propter quod potuit timere quod si statim in principio libri fuisset eis locutus de angelis, quod ibi fecissens sibi tantas et tam periculosas questiones et dubitationes monissent quam forsan leviter cecidissent in ydolatriam uel in aliquem errorem. Quarta, quod ipse sciebat quod angeli debebant apparere dicto populo in specie corporali, sicut de facto legimus *Judicum, ii^{o}*. Propter quod, maluit quod per excellenciam sensibiliem faceret eis fidem existencie angelorum quod faciet solum testimonium sui libri, quia amplius se inclinaverunt ad credendum sic, sicut gens rustica et ruralis.

{5} Secundus punctus est quod statim quod angeli extiterunt creati, statim fuerunt ordinati per ordines et ierarchias (sicut iam supradictum est in secundo tractatu istius libri), sic quod licet omnes sint unius speciem ad servandum in eis maiorem unitatem et conformitatem, tamen inter ipsos est grandis diferencia, sic naturalis, sicut per gratiam et gradum. Quam sicut videmus inter homines esse magnam differenciam naturalem, quia unus habet maiora bona nature quam alter et plus de gratia et virtute quam alter, non obstante quod omnes sint unius eiusdem speciem sic est inter angelos.

{6} Tercius punctus est iste, quod cum boni angeli, secundum quod receperunt a Deo maius donum nature, a Deo tamen habuerunt munus glorie et gratie, et in tantum erant aptiores ad vincendum omnem temptacionem, ac etiam non tam poterant peccare si non vidissent illam.

{7} Quartus punctus est quod angeli sic creati et dotati fuerunt per ordinacionem divinam positi in temptacionem, et hoc ideo ut quilibet haberet cognitionem sui valoris et bonitatis, et quomodo uteretur bonis et donis receptis post modum ut quilibet haberet illud quod merebatur. Deinde ut illa suprema gloria non tribueretur nisi personis probatis examinatis per temptationem.

{8} Quintus puntus est quod eorum temptacio fuit talis: quod eis fuerunt posite alique veritates: Prima erat lex obedientie que eis nunciabat velle Deum quod si ipsi volebant deum videre et habere suum consorcium in gloria, quod ad statum illum habebant ascendere per servicium faciendum aliquibus creaturis infimis que eis demonstrarentur. Secunda veritas fuit quod voluntas Dei fuit quod una creatura ascenderet ad altitudinem divinam per servicium ad dandum complementum multum speciali bonitati, nobilitati et pulchritudini ipsius mundi. Super istis veritatibus eis propositis ipsi deliberaverunt per aliquid parum tempus; et habita eorum deliberacionem, una pars (id est maiorem) attendit ad primam veritarem et non approbavit, dicens ei non apparere justum naturam angelicam servire nature inferiori et quod lex per Deum eis posita magis apparebat temptativa quam preceptiva: et ideo non opportebat ibi sibi obedire. Alia autem pars attendens illam eadem veritatem iudicauit totum contrarium, approbans legem divinam in toto, dicens quod non decebat minores iudicare mandatum sui maioris. Et quod lex illa non erat solum temptans ymmo adhuc precipiens et mandans; et illi sante legi ipsi volebant obedire sicut humiles servi dei Deo omnipotenti.

{9} Primi praetera cogitantes in secundam veritate (id est quod creatura debebat ascendere ad altitudinem divinam), ibi requieverunt in quantum dicta veritas poterat respicere eorum proprium bonum. Et erat inter ipsos unus de ordine seraphini vocatus Luciffer et inter omnes erat melius dotatus donis nature, cui data erat a Deo preeminentiam principatus super omnes alios. Et iste, cum aliquibus de maioribus habentes respectum ad suum proprium bonum quod expectabant habere consenterunt illi et concluserunt sic concilium suum, quod dictus Lu<***aquí acaba Marsella***>cifer deliberavit, cum tertia parte dictorum angelorum qui ibi erant de qualem ordinem et de qualem ierarchiam quod dignum erat taliter creaturam esse posita in tali statu propter rationes breviter factas, id est propter melioramentum et exaltamentum mundi. Et inclinati ad suum bonum proprium implicaverunt se in hoc quod eis non proponebatur, id est que esset illa creatura. Et cum hoc ordinare et eligere pertinet ad solum Deum, ipsi omnes stulte de se presumentes concordaverunt quod illa creatura debebat esse altior omni alia creatura per Deum creata. Et cum creatura illa omnibus altiis altior esset princeps eorum Lucifer, sequebatur quod ipse debebat ascendere ad altitudinem divinam. Et ipse Lucifer cogitans quod sicut ipsi deliberaverant ipsa de facto Deus exequeretur, ideo statim concupivit habere dictum statum et alii concupierunt dicto Lucifero. Etiam et ipse Lucifer videns quos sic concupiscendo non poterat habere, invidit et invidens iratus fuit contra Deum et odiverit eum eo quod non dabat sibi et alii et cum eo et in isto odio et invidia peccatum eorum fuit consumatum et perfectum.

{10} Alii autem angeli maturius procedentes glorificaverunt Deum qui tantum volebat exaltare mundum quod creatura ascenderet ad suam altitudinem, ponendo cum magna reverentia et timore totum illud. Et que esset illa creatura in sua iusta disposicione, et sic firmantes se in isto proposito statim fuerunt confirmati in gratia et viderunt essenciam divinam, et extiterunt beati et gloriosi sicut modo sunt. Et de presenti mandavit sancto

Michaeli (qui iam erat princeps in ordine principatuum) quod expelleret a paradiso tertiam partem angelorum, id est illos qui consensuerunt Lucifero in sua irreverentia et presumpcione et odio contra ipsum. Et ille cum multitudine angelorum sui principatus, eiecit a paradiso Luciferum et posuit in inferno profundo cum principalibus principibus qui sibi consensuerant. Et ibi sunt et erunt semper in multa pena et tormento. Et postea eiecit alios minores in isto aere super nos, ad dandum eis locum et opportunitatem ad temptandum nos. Et ibi non torquentur igne sed multa invidia torquentur et displicentia quando vident nos sursum ascendere et occupare locum unde ipsi ceciderunt. Et sic stabunt usque ad finem mundi; et post iudicium generale erunt perpetuo clausi in inferno cum eorum malo principe.

De ista materia loquetur sanctus Johannes, in *Apochalipsi* XII et Magister sententiarum in secundo libro et doctores super dictum Secundum scriventes.

0 In quo docetur] *om. C*   creatio et ordinatio angelorum] c. a. e. o. *C.*

1 angelorum] angelica *BC*   tractatus] liber siue tractatus *C*   qualiter] qualis *A*   et] ac *BC*   tractum] tactum *B* factum *C*   istius] huius *B*   illorum] de eorum *BC.*

2 melius veniamus] v. m. *C*   prius] primo *C.*

3 Debes] debemus *C*   secundum] secundum quod *BC*   quandam] quadam *B* quadem *C*   caliginosa] luminosa *C*   que] qua *A*   creata] c. sunt *C*   illud] ~~illa~~ jllud *A*   quae res] quae *BC*   totum dictum] totum *B.*

4 vero] verum *BC*   creationis] creatione *BC*   mensionem] mentionem *B*   equidem] egundem *A* equisdem *B*   multipli] multiplici *BC*   rerum] rerum propter *B* rerum propter ~~propter~~ *C*   homini] hominem *C*   quia] est quia *BC*   scribevat] scriberet *BC*   populo] p. illi *C*   illiterati] illiterato ? *A* illi *B* *om. C*   rusticali] r. librum illum *C*   ideo] uvoque ? *A*   sibi] *om. C*   corporales] corporale *A*   et] *om. BC*   possunt] posset ~~e non curauit~~ *B* poterant *C*   aut] *om. C*   eis locutus] l. e. *C*   sibi] *om. C*   periculosas] periclosas *A*   monissent] mouissent *BC*   forsan] forsam *A*   aliquem] qualunquem *A* quemquem? *B*   dicto] dicte *A*   faceret] faciebat *A*   existencie] existencia *C*   facere] faciet *A*   sui libri] l. s. *C.*

5 Secundus] Secundum *AB* quod] ut *BC* licet] illum *A* speciem] speciei *B* sic] sicut *C* homines] hominem *A* eiusdem] eius ? *A* et eiusdem *C* sic] sicut *C*.

6 iste] *om. C* a Deo tamen] tamen *A* habuerunt] abuerint *A* glorie et gratie] gr. et gl. *C* tantum] tamen? *C* vincendum] videndum *A* vitandum *C* ac] et *C* non_tam] item *B* ni tamen *C* peccare] p. sicut *A* vincissent] vidissent *A*.

7 est] *om. C* temptacionem] temptacione *BC?* ideo] *ubo A* quilibet] quilm *A* quolibet? *B* haberet] haberent *A* uteretur] utentur *A* uterentur *B* receptis post modum .... personis probatis examinatis] receptis *A* illud] *om. C* examinatis] et e. *C*.

8 talis] talis flis *A* talis id est *C* posite] anteposite *C* velle Deum] d. v. *C* consorcium] consorcum *A* illum] talem *BC* ascendere per] per *AC?* faciendum] fiendum *BC* creaturis infimis] i. c. *C* fuit] erat *BC* ascenderet] ascenderat *A* speciali bonitati] specialitati *B* speciali *C* aliquid] aliquod *BC* parum] per unum? *B* parum tempus] t. p. *C* maiorum] maiorem *A* approbavit] a. eam *C* apparere] aparire *A* eis posita] p. e. *C* veritatem] iudicantem *A* totum] bonum *C* minores] minorem *C* temptans] temptandum *A* precipiens] precipires *BC* illi] ille *A*.

9 et] qui *C* data] dacta *A* preeminentiam] per eminentiam *B* quod] et *A* qualem] quoliter *C* ordinem] ordine *C* qualem] qualiter *C* taliter] talem *C* posita] positam *C* rationes] rationis *A* bonum proprium] p. b. *C* implicaverunt] multiplicaverunt *C* pertinet] pertineret *C* omnes] omnis *A* altiis] aliis *C* ipse] ipsem *A* concupierunt] concuperunt *A* Etiam et ipsem] e. i. et *C* concupiscendo] concupiendo *A* odierit] odivit *C* eo] *om. A* et] etiam *C*.

10 ascenderet] ascenderat *A* illud] aliud *C* se] *om. C* mandavit] m. deus *C* expelleret] expellerat *A* consensuerunt] consenserant *C* principalibus principibus] principalibus *A* erunt] erint *A* super] supra *C* ibi] ibi tamen *C*

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تاريخ ومعتقدات

ماجد فندي المباركي

(٢٠٠٠ م / ١٤٢١ هـ)

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المقدمة

لازالت الكتابة عن الصابئة وديانتهم وتاريخهم، مستمرة الى يومنا هذا، ولا زال المجال طويل امام الباحثين، فهذه المسألة لم تجد الحل الواضح بعد، ولم تصل الابحاث المختلفة الى اتفاق حول منشأ وتطور هذه الديانة ولغتها وافكارها، فسنة بعد سنة توضح لنا الاكتشافات الثغرات الموجودة في معرفتنا بالعصر. وتقودنا الى تنقيح الكثير من الآراء التي تم تقبلها سابقاً.

ان ما يطرحه الباحثون الآن من دراسات تعتمد على معلومات وموجودات حديثة، مثل مكتشفات البحر الميت، ونجع حمادي، وكذلك المكتشفات الاثرية في وادي الرافدين، مثل الاواني الفخارية والعملات الاثرية وغيرها. مما حدى بنا نحن ابناء الطائفة لمتابعة كل جديد توصل اليه هؤلاء الباحثون والعلماء، الذين ينظرون الى المندائية كحقيقة واقعة لا لبس فيها، فقد بدأوا بالكشف عن اسرارها قليلاً قليلاً وعن علاقتها بالاديان الآخرى. بدورنا نحن ابناء هذه الطائفة نحاول نقل هذا الجديد او اغنائه. ولقد توخينا اثناء اعداد وترجمة بعض مواضيع هذا الكتاب، الموضوعية والدقة والامانة، بحيث تأتي الترجمة مطابقة للنص قدر الامكان.

تشير الدراسات الحديثة، ان العقيدة المندائية وما يتعلق بها، كانت قد نشأت في فلسطين وحوض الاردن، ومنها انتشرت الى مناطق آخرى، كبلاد ما بين النهرين. ويشير احد الفصول الى علاقة المندائيين بتلك المناطق والطوائف، التي سكنت فلسطين والاحتمالات الكبيره لانحدارهم من تلك المنطقة. وهذا لا يعني بالضرورة ان الصابئة قد نشأوا في حوض الاردن، بل وانما قد يكون منشأهم اقدم من ذلك بكثير. فلربما يعودوا الى نفس المنطقة التي يعيشون فيها الان، اي وادي الرافدين، منحدرين من العمق السومري القديم، والذي تحمل افكاره الكثير من التشابه مع افكار وتراث المندائيين كذلك.

وفي فصل آخر نشير الى مناطق الاهوار، التي عاش فيها المندائيون منذ عشرات القرون، وكذلك الى اهمية الماء او "الماء الحي"، مياه الانهار الجارية، فقط ارتبطت الديانة المندائية ارتباطاً وثيقاً "بالماء الحي" فكانت العلاقة بينهم وبين الماء علاقة

ابدية خالدة، اذ لا يمكن ان نتخيل وجود الديانة الصابئية المندائية بدون وجود الماء الجاري، لان اغلب طقوس هذه الديانة تتم بوجود الماء. ويعتبر الماء رمزاً للحياة، وحتى انه يعتبر الحياة نفسها. ومن هنا جاء تواجد واستقرار الصابئة الى جانب الانهار ومناطق الاهوار، لانسجامه مع الفرائض الدينية المندائية.

ويضم الكتاب فصولاً اخرى، تتحدث عن الفكر المندائي وعن الخلق وتكوين الكون وعوالم النور والظلام والى خلق وتكوين الانسان. كذلك عن معنى الاحتفالات والمناسبات المندائية. وعن اهم الامور التي تهم الفرد في وقتنا الحاضر الا وهو موضوع التبشير بالمندائية وموقف الدين منه.

ان هذه البحوث والدراسات في عقائد الصابئة تعطي الدارس والباحث والقاريء تصوراً واضحاً عن الديانة الصابئية، لانها تناولت احدث الدراسات والبحوث، خاصة وان الكتاب قد اخرج تحت رعاية ابناء هذه الطائفة وان الهدف من اصداره هو تعريف الناطقين بالعربية بثقافة وعادات وافكار المندائيين، ولقد بذلنا جهدا مخلصاً لابراز هذه المواضيع المهمة في المسألة المندائية، ولازال البحث يتطلب المزيد من العمل والتقصي وربط الحقائق. وسنكون ممتنين لقرائنا الكرام الذين سيساهموا في انتقاد هذا العمل وتوجيهه للاحسن في المستقبل.

واخيرا اتقدم بالشكر الجزيل الى جميع من ساهم وساعد بنحو ما في تهيئة هذا الكتاب.

سدني، ٢٠٠٠   ماجد فندي المباركي

أهوار العراق

من مناطق سكن الصابئة المندائيين

توصل المعماريين ومصممي الديكور والأثاث العالميين في العصر الحاضر لنظرية استغلال الأثاث لأغراض متعددة تتناسب مع الوقت والمكان وتدعى مودة (المكان والزمان)، مثلا أرائك الجلوس المستعملة نهارا تتحول الى أسرة ليلا، طاولة طعام صغيرة الى طاولة كبيرة، صناديق ذات استعمال معين تتحول الى إستعمالات اخرى في وقت آخر، وهكذا نجد ان ماكان يمارسه السومريون القدماء الذين عاشوا في جنوب العراق منذ اكثر من خمسة آلاف سنة يعود الينا من جديد في القرن العشرين ومن اوربا. والجدير بالذكر ان سكنة هذه المناطق اي مناطق أهوار العراق والذين يطلق عليهم اسم المعدان لازالوا يمارسون هذه المودة – استعمالات الوقت والمكان – فمثلا مبنى المضيف عادة مايكون مبنى كبير يشبه البرميل ويملكه شيخ العشيرة وهو مكان استقبال الضيوف ويؤدي مهمة غرفة الاسقبال في البيوت حيث يتم فيه قضاء ساعات عديدة مع الضيوف تقدم خلالها قهوة مركزة مرة المذاق، ويتم السؤال عن حال الضيف وربما يكرر السؤال نفسه عدة مرات، ثم يتحول المضيف قبل الظهر لمركز تجارة ومداولة بين الشيخ والوسطاء والفلاحين، تتابع فيه الامور الزراعية والمالية، ويتم عقد الصفقات بين مختلف الاطراف وتسوى مشاكل السرقات والمشاكل الاجتماعية المختلفة، ويتم ذلك بكلمة الشرف التي غالبا مايلتزم بها الجميع، وعند الظهيرة يقوم الشيخ ومن معه بالصلاة بأتجاه المدخل الرئيسي والذي يكون اتجاهه بأتجاه مكة، ثم يتحول المضيف بعد ذلك الى غرفة طعام او مطعم كبير يقدم فيه طبق كبير جدا، صينية مملوءة بالرز واللحم

الظأن (الخروف) ويتقدم الضيوف وكبار السن للأكل في البداية ومن ثم الأقل عمرا حتى يصل الدور للأطفال الصغار ومن بعدهم ترمى العظام الخالية من اللحم للكلاب. وصاحب المضيف يراقب ويدير نظام التقديم والاحتياجات، والعادة ان يقوم احد العاملين في المضيف بجلب حوض وابريق نحاس مملوء بالماء يصب منه للحاضرين لغسل ايديهم وذلك قبل وبعد تناول الطعام. ثم يتحول المكان مرة اخرى الى غرفة مسامرة تقدم فيها القهوة ويجلس صاحب المضيف ليأكل بعد ان اطمئن الى ان كل شيء قد جرى حسب عادة اهل الاهوار في اصول الضيافة، وحينما يشعر بعض الضيوف او الحاضرين بعد وجبة الغذاء الدسمة بالنعاس، يلقون بأجسادهم على الارض في زوايا المضيف ملتحفين بعباءاتهم ويغطون في النوم حتى يتم ايقاظهم عند تقديم وجبة طعام جديدة، وها نرى ان المضيف تحول مرة اخرى لغرفة نوم او محل استراحة في فترة القيلولة (الظهيرة) وأدى وظيفة اخرى. اما في الليل فيستغل المكان للسمر تحت ضوء المصابيح النفطية المتدلية من السقف بواسطة الحبال، وبعدها تفرش الارض بالمنادر واللحف والوسائد لنوم الضيوف.

والمضيف كما نرى اعلاه يقدم لنا مثال رائع لكيفية استغلال نظرية المكان والزمان لأغراض حياتية مختلفة زاولها سكان الاهوار في مضائفهم لآلاف السنين.

تغطي الاهوار مساحة ١٧٠٠٠ كيلومتر مربع من الاراضي المحيطة بمنطقة القرنة عند تلاقي نهري دجلة والفرات ليكونا شط العرب. والاهوار نوعان دائمية وينبت فيها القصب واسمها العلمي *Phragmites Communis*. وأهوار موسمية تتكون في فصل الربيع عند حدوث الفيضانات في مناطق الاهوار وتجف في الخريف والشتاء وتنمو فيها اعشاب مائية تسمى *Typha Augutata*.

وتقسم الاهوار الى ثلاثة اقسام وهي أهوار المنطقة الشرقية (شرق نهر دجلة) والاهوار الوسطية (غرب نهر دجلة وشمال الفرات)

والاهوار الجنوبية (جنوب الفرات وغرب شط العرب)، وتوجد أهوار دائمية اخرى جنوب الشطرة على شط الغراف.

والاهوار ليست فراغ، بل هي تاريخ وتراث، عاشت آلاف السنين منذ العهد السومري الى البابلي والعباسي والعثماني...

يقطن الاهوار عشائر متعددة ويطلق عليهم اسم المعدان، وحياة المعدان كما يصفها احد شيوخهم بسيطة وبدائية جدا، فليس لديهم شئ سوى الجاموس، القصب والماء. ولاتوجد هناك أرض يابسة بل ان المشحوف (البلم) هو واسطة النقل الوحيدة لأي مكان، وتهاجر الى الاهوار الطيور البرية من اوربا سنويا ويتكاثر فيها سمك "البني" و"الشبوط".

هنا عاش الكثير من الصابئة المندائيين. فبعد الغزو المغولي وتدهور الحضارة العباسية، والفتح العثماني من بعد، وتعرض المندائيين للاضطهاد في هذه العهود المختلفة، اضطروا الى الانحسار والاختباء في القرى الممتدة في جنوب نهر الفرات ونهر كارون واهوار العراق وايران. وكانت هذه المنطقة، لظروفها الجغرافية الخاصة بعيدة الى حد ما عن سطوة الحكام وبطشهم. ولان الصابئة جماعة مسالمة ويحترف افرادها حرفاً ضرورية للفلاحين والصيادين، ولا يطمعون بأكثر من اعطائهم الفرصة لممارسة طقوسهم الدينية الخاصة، ضمنوا البقاء والاستمرار طوال القرون الماضية في هذه المنطقة.

ويمكن القول بأن الصابئة لم يكونوا متواجدين في الاهوار فقط، بل كان تواجدهم في المدن الكبيرة ايضاً، مثل العمارة والبصرة، ويشير الرحالة "بيترو ديلا فال" في القرن السابغ عشر الى مدينة البصرة فيصفها: بانها مدينة كبيرة ومزدهرة، اهلها من العرب مع قليل من الاتراك وكذلك بعض الصابئيين. حيث اسماهم خطأً بنصارى القديس

يوحنا. ولغتهم كلدانية خشنة، وتسمى مندائي، وهم يتكلمون اللغة العربية، التي كانت تستعمل في المجالات العامة.

وقد وصفهم "سير اوستن هنري لايارد" عام ١٨٤٠، بان دينهم اقرب ما يكون الى المانوية. ووصفهم كذلك بانهم طائفة قديمة واطلق عليهم خطأً اتباع القديس يوحنا.

يشير "كفن يونغ" في كتابه "عودة الى الاهوار"، ان "ج. تي. تايلر" نائب القنصل البريطاني في سنة ١٨٥٣ قد عثر على لفائف من صفائح الرصاص في جرة وجدت في احدى المدافن في منطقة الاهوار ، كتبت باللغة المندائية تحمل صلوات وادعية، يعود تاريخها الى القرن السادس الميلادي، وتخص الصابئين – او الصابئة ، الذين عاشوا على اقل تقدير في هذه المنطقة لمدة ثلاث عشر قرناً. وجاء بوصفهم ايضاً بانهم اناس لهم ملامح جميلة ورجالهم لايحلقون ذقونهم الكثة، وهم ذوي فائدة كبيرة لغيرهم، وكانوا يعاملون معاملة جافة وبدون احترام من قبل السلطات التركية والفارسية. وكلاهما يفرضان عليهم الانضمام الى الملة المحمدية، ويستحصلون الاموال منهم.

تلبس نساء الاهوار، حلي، ذات تصاميم واشكال من الطراز الجيد، ومنها الاساور والمعاضد والحجول من الفضة، وتصنع عادة من قبل الصابئة. والصابئة يتجولون دائماً بين مناطق الاهوار. لصياغة وتصليح الحلي الذهبية والفضية وهم مشهورين باعمال الميناء ونقش الرسومات للمشاهد العراقية الاصيلة. اضافة الى الصياغة فهم مشهورين ايضاً بصناعة القوارب "المشاحيف" وادوات الحصاد والزراعة.

ينحدر مشحوف الاهوار اليوم من العصر السومري، فقد عثر ليونارد ويلي على مشحوف من الفضة طوله قدمان في حفريات مدينة "اور" التي تبعد ٤٠ ميلا عن مركز الاهوار الحالية. ولربما كان لهذه المشاحيف اهمية دينية فقد وجد البعض منها في داخل القبور. ويستعمل

سكان الاهوار المشحوف اليوم في تنقلاتهم واعمالهم وهو يشبه الى حد كبير ذلك المشحوف الذي استعمل في تلك العصور القديمة. وأحد انواع هذه القوارب ويسمى "طرادة" او قارب الحرب يصل طوله الى اكثر من عشرة امتار ويصل اعرض جزء منه لاكثر من متر. وترتفع مقدمته عن سطح الماء بحوالي متر ونصف المتر. ومنظره العام صقيل واسود اللون مطلي بالقار. وبنى السومريين قواربهم بنفس الاسلوب والمواد كما هو متبع اليوم. ويستعمل في تصنيع المشحوف والطرادة خليط من خشب عراقي من اشجار التوت واخشاب مستوردة من ماليزيا واندونيسيا، وبابسط الادوات، منشار ومثقب وقدوم. واستعمل السومريون نفس المواد العازلة التي يستعملها اليوم بناءوا القوارب في الاهوار. حيث استعملوا القير من مناطق هيت والرمادي كمادة عازلة ، واستعملها السومريين ايضا كمادة لاصقة في اعمال بناء الطابوق. ويعمر النوع الجيد من المشاحيف اكثر من خمسة سنوات.

والمعدان فقراء ماديا طعامهم الرز والحليب وهم يعملون بزراعة الشلب (الرز)، وصناعة البوارى (جمع بارية) وهي حصيرة من القصب، ويسكن المعدان في الصرائف (جمع صريفه) والاكواخ وهو بناء صغير مستطيل الشكل يشيد من مادة القصب وجدرانه مخرمة وسقفه مثلث مائل ومغطى بحصيرة القصب (البارية)، جزئة الاسفل مثبت تحت الماء بجزيرة اصطناعية من القصب وعادة ماتكون بيوتهم مملوءة بالبعوض والذباب بسبب طبيعة المنطقة.

تقول الاسطورة السومرية ان "مردوك"، الألـه العظيم قد بنى مرسى من القصب على سطح الماء، ومنه بدأ تكوين العالم. لقد دلت الحفريات في اور عن تواجد السومريين في هذه المنطقة منذ اكثر من ستة الاف سنة، هؤلاء الاقوام مخترعي اول كتابة في جنوب وادي الرافدين، وتدل الرسومات على الاختام الاسطوانية على ان بيوت

السومريين في تلك العصور تشبه تماما مساكن اهل الاهوار في الوقت الحاضر وتبنى البيوت على جزر اصطناعية يتم بناؤها بتحديد الموقع بسياج من القصب يرتفع اعلى من مستوى الماء. ويملأ الفراغ برمي حزمات مختلفة من شجيرات الاسل والقصب الى ان يصل الدفن الى فوق مستوي الماء، وتطوى اطراف سياج القصب الى الداخل ويستمر بوضع انواع القصب عليها الى ان يتم الوصول الى الارتفاع المطلوب. ولاجل عمل جزر اقوى توضع عادة طبقات متداخلة من القصب والطين، وهذه الطريقة تجعل التماسك اكثر صلابة وقوة وتصبح المنطقة كتلة واحدة. وقد تجد ايضا عدد من الجزيرات المهجورة هنا وهناك في ارجاء الهور. وبناء هذه الجزر يشبه تماما ما كان يقوم به اجدادهم منذ الاف السنين.

اما المضيف فهو بخلاف، الكوخ، كبير الحجم، ولتشييده شروط خاصة، فالقسم الجنوبي الغربي يقع بأتجاه مكة، وتتكون الواجهة من ثلاثة اقسام محصورة بين عمودين كبيرين يقعان على طرفي المبنى ويكون المدخل في القسم الاوسط اما الجانبان فيعملان كشبابيك ذات زخارف هندسية جميلة ومتنوعة، وتمتد هذه الزخرفة لتشمل الاجزاء الواقعة أعلى المدخل أما جانبا اعلى المدخل فيغطيان بحصيرة القصب (البارية) وحتى السقف، وتكون واجهة الجانب الشمالي الشرقي مشابهة لما ورد اعلاه ولكن بدون وجود مدخل. وللمضائف الواقعة على نهري دجلة والفرات تصاميم مختلفة، فالمضيف الفراتي يكون اكثر تحررا وتنوعا خاصة باستعمال الزخارف القصبية في اسفل الجدران الجانبية والتي تربط من الخارج بالاقواس الحاملة للمضيف، وللمحافظة على الزخارف القصبية توضع مصدات (دربزين) من القصب على ارتفاع ٣٠ سنتيمتر من الارض تساعد على حماية الزخارف القصبية وكذلك لأستناد الضيوف عليه عند الجلوس.

وتعتمد الزخارف على خبرة المعمار المنفذ للمضيف، وتقسم الواجهات عادة الى ثلاثة اقسام افقية، القسم الاعلى منها أصم والقسمان الاسفلان مزخرفان. ولزيادة الجمال وقوة البناء يوضع عمودان جباران على جانبي المدخل الرئيسي وكذلك في الواجهة المقابلة، وهذان العمودان يقسمان واجهة المدخل لثلاثة اقسام عمودية.

ان بناء مضيف كبير الحجم يتطلب عمل مائة شخص لمدة عشرون يوما، والعادة لاتدفع اية اجور مقابل تشييد المضيف ويستثني المعمار او (الاسطى) من ذلك، اما الباقون فيكرمون بوجبة غذاء دسمة من اللحم والرز يوميا، ويتحمل صاحب المضيف تكاليف الطعام، وقد جرت العادة عند الانتهاء من بناء المضيف ان يطمغ كل قوس بطمغة الكف المغطسة بالحناء وتكرر عملية الطمغ هذه في المناسبات، واحتفالات عيد رأس السنة (دخول السنة) وعيد نوروز وتزين الاقواس باضافة قليل من القصب الاخضر.

يصل طول بعض المضائف الكبيرة الى خمسة وعشرون مترا ويبلغ عرضها وأرتفاعها أربعة أمتار ونصف، وتحتوي في أغلب الأحيان على خمسة عشر أو تسعة عشر قوسا جبارا هم العنصر الأساسي في تشييد المبنى.

أن صلب الحزم المكونه للقوس مكون من القصب القديم المستعمل سابقا ويستخدم هذا القصب لمرونة العمل والتحكم فيه، اما الطبقة النهائية فتكسى بقصب نحيف يعطي أنهائية جميلة وناعمة، ويتكون القوس من باقات قصبية طويلة مشدودة شدا وثيقا في الارض، وتكون في صفين متوازيين تربط رؤوسها سوية لتكون القوس ويصل طول القصب الى ثمانية امتار، ويقدر محيط الأعمدة الخارجية الرئيسية واجهة المضيف بثلاثة امتار عند القاعدة وثلاثة ارباع المتر في القمة، وتربط الاعمدة والاقواس بحبل سماكته خمسة سنتيمترات وتحزم

الأعمدة والأقواس من الأسفل الى القمة بتناسق أفقي جذاب متعاكس مع الأمتداد العمودي للقصب، بعدها تغطي الأقواس بحصيرة القصب (بارية) كبيرة جدا تغطي السقف بأكمله أما الطبقات الأخرى من البواري فتكون أصغر حجما وتتداخل مع بعضها البعض. وتغطى الجدران بالبواري ايضا حيث تعلق من الأعلى قرب السقف وتدلى حتى تصل الأرض بحيث يمكن طي البارية الى الأعلى في الأوقات الحارة وإنزالها الى الأسفل في الأوقات الباردة، كما ان ارضية المضيف هي الأخرى مغطاة بالبواري ويفرش فوقها السجاد اليدوي الزاهي الألوان في حالة وجود الضيوف، ويتوزع الحاضرون داخل المضيف، ومن عادة المعدان أن يضعوا سلاحهم أمامهم في حالة تواجدهم في المضيف.

ان الجالس داخل أحد المضائف الفراتية لينحدر به الشعور والخيال وكأنه داخل بنايات من طراز معماري رومانسيكي او غوطي، ويزداد ذلك الشعور بالنظر لتلك الأقواس الحاملة للسقف وكذلك للشبابيك القصبية ذات الزخرفة الهندسية المتناسقة والتي تمر خلالها حزمات الضوء الساطع التي تضفي البهجة على الفضاء الداخلي للمضيف، وعادة يركن صندوق خشبي أسود اللون في النهاية البعيدة للمضيف، اما قرب المدخل فيوضع الكوز (الحب) على كرسي (قاعدة خشبية)، ويصنع الحب من مادة فخارية مسامية التركيب تحافظ على برودة الماء من خلال الترشيح للخارج وتساعد أيضا على تنقية الماء من خلال عبورها تلك المسامات والتنقيط (بكوز) آخر صغير الحجم يوضع عادة تحت الحب ويدعى (الحبانة)، ويعمل هذا الحب كما يعمل فلتر الماء ، اما الحبانة فهى أيضا وعاء فخاري دائر الشكل يوضع مباشرة تحت نهاية الحب السفلى.

أما الموقد فيقع بالثلث الأول من المضيف ويتوسط المكان، وقربه أواني القهوة (الدلال) وهي جمع (دلة) و(الفناجين) . أما الدلال

فهي ذات أحجام وأستعمالات مختلفة، ويقارب إرتفاع أكبرها ستون سنتيمترا وتسمى (قم قم) وتفرغ فيها رواسب القهوة المتبقية في الأواني الأخرى، وتحضر القهوة بالدلال الكبيرة ثم تفرغ بهدوء بعد غليها في الدلال الأصغر حجما، وتوزع القهوة الطازجة بأصغر الدلال، ويعاد تحضير القهوة الطازجة من جديد عند قدوم ضيف مهم، والمعروف ان تحضير القهوة يتم بصورة كاملة داخل المضيف فقط بعد ان تحمص وتسحن حبات القهوة بهاون من الصفر الأصفر وعلى ضربات موسيقية رنانة وبصورة نغمية جميلة تدعوا سامعيها للقدوم لبيت الضيافة، اما ساقي القهوة فيحمل الدلة الصغيرة بيدة اليمنى والفناجين بيدة اليسرى ويسكب قليلا منها بالفنجان الى الشيخ لتذوقها، وبعدها يأمر الشيخ بتقديم القهوة لأهم الضيوف ومن بعده للجالسين على يمينه، كما ان المضيف لايخلو من تقديم الشاي (الجاي) ويكون عادة غامق اللون وحلو المذاق ويقدم بكأس زجاجية صغيرة الحجم وضيقة في وسطها ومحزمة بخط ذهبي تسمى (إستكان).

في حالة ظهور بوادر إنهيار لهيكل المضيف يقوم صاحبه بالتعاون مع الجماعة بتقليل ارتفاع المضيف حيث يتم حفر مجرى من الخارج مقابل اساس أحد الأقواس وتكشف نهاية القصب المدفونة بالأرض التي غالبا ما يكون عمقها حوالي ستون سنتيمترا، ويربط حبل سميك حول القاعدة القصبية وتسحب للخارج في داخل المجرى ويتم تنظيف الحفرة وقص نهاية القصب بطول ستون سنتيمترا وبعدها يعاد ادخال قاعدة القوس الى مكانها في الحفرة ويردم المجرى، ويكرر ذلك مع كل الأقواس ولكل جانب على حدة، ويتم إصلاح الخلل بهذه الطريقة في مضائف الفرات لأكثر من مرة خلال عمر المضيف، اما في مناطق دجلة ونظرا لتوفر القصب الجيد والطويل فلا يعمل بهذه الطريقة، بل يهدم المبنى ويعاد بنائه من جديد. وغالبا ما يكون عمر المضيف عشرة

سنوات وربما خمسة عشر سنة ويعتمد ذلك في اكثر الأحوال على جودة الأرض ونوعية التربة.

إن المضائف بصورة عامة سواء كانت على نهر دجلة أو الفرات هي إنجاز معماري رائع استعمل فيه القصب كمادة شمولية جيدة ومرنة للبناء والجمال، غطت كافة مكونات البناء من الأساس الى الأعمدة، الجدران، السقوف، الشبابيك، الأبواب، الديكور والأرضيات، وهي بذلك تعتبر بحق مادة شمولية رخيصة الثمن تواجدت في مناطق الاهوار وتم إستغلالها بكافة الوسائل الممكنة، وهي تعتبر تأريخيا مصدر الألهام للمعماري البابلي والآشوري الذي حاكى الأقواس القصبية لكي يبني قلاعا وقصورا على نمطها مستعملا الطين والآجر.

ان المضائف في الأهوار لهي جزء من مظاهر الحياة في جنوب العراق ولأكثر من خمسة آلاف سنة. ولكن... ونحن اذ نكتب عنها اليوم نراها وللأسف الشديد قد زالت او في طريقها للزوال والى الأبد.

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مبادئ

الصابئة - المندائيين

في المناطق السفلى من النهرين فيما يسمى بالبطائح حيث يصب النهران العظيمان دجله و الفرات مياههما في الاهوار، وحيث يلتقيان في مدينة القرنه و في بطائح عربستان من بلاد ايران في تلك المناطق عاشت ولاتزال تعيش بقايا طائفة يطلق عليها اسم الصابئين او الصابئة او الصبة، وتطلق هي على نفسها اسم المندايي - والناصورائي.

كان الصابئة المندائيون يقطنون تلك المناطق حين فتحت الجيوش الاسلامية بلاد الساسانيين وكانت اعدادهم تكفي لذكرهم في القران الكريم بثلاث ايات هي: الاية ٦٢ "سورة البقرة" والاية ٦٩ "سورة المائدة" والاية ١٧ "سورة الحج"، اذ يعتبرهم دينا كتابيا ويمنحهم الحماية ويسميهم "الصابئين". هذة التسمية التي لايزالون يعرفون بها حتى اليوم، والتي تضمن لهم وجودهم وعيشهم بين المسلمين كدين كتابي.

وهناك اراء مختلفة لمعنى الصابئة، فمنهم من اعتبرها منسوبة الى صابئى بن ماري في زمن الخليل عليه السلام. في حين يرى اخرون ان (صبأ) هي بمعنى الخروج من دين لاخر، ولذا اعتبر عرب الجاهلية، كل من خرج عن دين الوثنية قد صبأ، وسمى بالصابئ.

ونسبها اخرون الى "صبا" الارامية اي بمعنى الارتماس بالماء الجاري، وتسمى هذه الممارسة (مصبته) وكما يقولون في التعميد، (صبينا ابمصبة اد بهرام ربه) اي تعمدت بعماد (الملاك) بهرام الكبير. وقد ايد كثير من الباحثين هذا المصدر، مثل (نولدكه والكرملي والعقاد ودراور). فاذا علمنا ان الشعار الرئيس لديهم هو الارتماس في الماء، فمن المعقول ان يكون الاقوام المجاورون لهم، وكثير منهم اراميون، او

يعرفون اللغة الارامية، قد اطلقوا عليهم اسم (الصابئين) او المغتسلة.

اما كلمة مندائي فتنسب الى كلمة (مندا) الارامية، وتعني المعرفة اوالعلم. وهو الاسم الديني المتعارف عليه عند الصابئة انفسهم والذي يطلق على كل فرد منهم. وان لغتهم المندائية مشتقة من نفس الجذر "مندا" وهي من اللهجات الارامية الشرقية.

جاء في كتاب "هران كويثا" اي حران السفلى او الداخلية، وهو كتاب ترجم من اللغة المندائية الي اللغة الانكليزية وتوجد نسخة منة في مكتبة المتحف العراقي – حول هجرة (الناصورايي) "الناصورائيين"، وتعني الكهان الصابئين الذين يملكون المعرفة الدينية الحقيقية، (الناصيروثا) من اورشليم الى جبال ميديا، "طور ادمداي" ومدينة حران الواقعة في تلك الجبال. وان نزوحهم قد تم قبل سنة ٧٠ ميلادية اي قبل سقوط اورشليم ومن حران بدأت هجرتهم الثانية تحت رعاية الملك البارثي الصديق (ارطبانوس) ويسمونة (اردوان ملكا) الي القسم الادنى من بلاد ما بين النهرين حيث اقاموا مراكز في محل يدعى (طيب ماثه) – الطيب الحالية في الجنوب الشرقي من مدينة العمارة. ويتطرق الكتاب الى ذكر الفتح الاسلامي، وان المندائيين قد حصلوا على التسامح الديني واداء الجزية. وتكمن اهمية هذه الوثيقة التاريخية في تأكيدها للروايات الشفوية التي يتناقلها الصابئة عن هجرتهم من حران الى موطنهم الحالي في جنوب العراق، وكذلك عن هجرتهم الاولى من فلسطين. وقد اكد المستشرقون المتخصصون بدراسة المندائية، واستنادا للمخطوطات التي عثر عليها في نجع حمادي في مصر عام ١٩٤٥ عن هجرتهم من القدس في القرن الاول للميلاد زمن الملك اردبان الثالث.

ان مدينة حران كانت من مواطن الصابئة المندائيين. كما كانت موطنا لاقوام اخرى، ومن المحتمل ان يكون قد اختلط هؤلاء الصابئون المهاجرون باولئك الاقوام المستوطنة في حران فتأثروا بهم وأثروا

عليهم. ولكن هناك فرقا كبيرا في الدين بين صابئة حران وبين الصابئة الأصليين او ما يسميهم بن النديم بصابئة البطائح او المغتسلة. وقد فطن بعض فقهاء الدين المسلمين لهذا الفرق، فذكر بن القفطي في كتابه "تاريخ الحكماء" ص ٣١١، ان ابا حنيفة وصاحبيه ابا يوسف ومحمدا قد اختلفوا في معاشرة الصابئة وأكل ذبائحهم فحرمها ابو حنيفة وحللها صاحباه، فقال اصحابهم انه ليس بخلاف على الحقيقة انما هو اختلاف في الفتوى لان ابا حنيفة سئل عن الصابئة الحرانيين، وهم معروفون بعبادة الكواكب، فاجراهم مجرى عبدة الاوثان على تحريم المعاشرة والذباحة وصاحباه سئلا عن الصابئين الساكنين في البطحة، وهم فرقة من النصارى يؤمنون بالمسيح عليه السلام فاجابا بجواز اكل ذبائحهم ومعاشرتهم.

ومما جاء في كتاب الخراج لابي يوسف ص ١٤٥ قوله:

(والجزية واجبة على جميع اهل الذمة، ممن في السواد وغيرهم من اهل الحيرة وسائر البلدان، من اليهود، والنصارى، والمجوس، والصابئين، والسامره).

ويفهم مما تقدم ان الصابئين الساكنين في البطائح هم المقصودون في القران الكريم، وانهم هم الذين خضعوا للجزية، شانهم في ذلك شأن جميع اهل الذمة من الكتابيين، وقد استفاد الحرانيين من هذا التسامح المفروض لصابئة البطائح فاتخذوا اسم الصابئة واحتموا به. كما كتب كثيرمن الجغرافيين والمؤرخين والمهتمين باخبار الملل والنحل، وغيرهم عن الصابئة، واماكن تواجدهم في شرقي الجزيرة العربية وغربيها، واشاروا الى وجودهم منذ ازمنة سحيقة في القدم كزمن شيت بن آدم، وزمن ابراهيم الخليل، وعهود تسبق اليهودية، وقد ذكرهم بن النديم في كتاب الفهرست عام ٣٧٧ هجرية، فاورد تراجم لاعلامهم من اطباء،

ومهندسين، وفلكين، وادباء، ممن عاصروا الخلافة العباسية، وعاشوا ضمن المجتمع الاسلامي في بغداد انذاك، ومنهم: ابو اسحاق الصابي، ثابت بن قرة، سنان بن ثابت، وكثيرين غيرهم مثل ابو الفتح المندائي وغرس النعمة، مؤلف كتاب (الهفوات النادرة). واورد بن النديم ايضا خبر وجود الصابئة، او المغتسلة في منطقة البطائح وميسان مؤكدا وجودهم اثناء كتابة الفهرست، ذكر ذلك في معرض حديثه عن فاتق والد ماني مؤسس المانوية في القرن الثالث للميلاد، الذي التجأ الى صابئة ميسان بعد ان هتف به هاتف يدعوه الى عبادة الله ونبذ الاصنام.

وتحدث الاصطخري، وهو من الجغرافيين القدامى عن قدم وجود الصابئة في منطقة سوريا، فقد كتب في معرض حديثة عن دمشق ما يلي: "وبها مسجد ليس في الاسلام مسجد احسن ولا اكثر نفقة منه، واما الجدار والقبة التي فوق المحراب عند المقصورة فمن بناء الصابئين وكان مصلاهم. ثم صار في ايدي اليونانيين، وثم صار لليهود وملوك عبدة الاوثان. ثم تغلب عليه النصارى وبعدهم صار للمسلمين واتخذوه مسجدا".

وأيد البيروني، في كتابه "الاثار الباقية"، واتفق مع بن النديم في كون الصابئية قبل المانوية. وذكر بن خلدون قدم وجود الصابئة في ارض كنعان. كما ذكر بان المسجد الاقصى كان في اول امره مقدسا من قبل الصابئة ثم اتخذها بنو اسرائيل حين ملكوها قبلة لصلاتهم.

اما الشهرستاني فقد ذكر في كتابه "الملل والنحل" بان الفرق في زمان ابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام راجعة الى صنفين: أحدهما الصابئة، والثاني الحنفاء وتحدث باسهاب عن معتقداتهم وعاداتهم. ومن هذا نرى اتفاق مصادر التراث العربي على ان الصابئة تعود الى ايام سحيقة بالقدم كأيام الخليل عليه السلام.

لقد تم العثور على قطع نقود تحمل كتابة مندائية، وذلك في

ميسان، والمناطق المجاورة لها وتعود تلك النقود الى سنة خمسين ومائة للميلاد. كما عثر كذلك خلال التحريات التي اجريت في (نفر) ضمن حدود محافظة القادسية، على صحون تحمل نقوشا لأدعية مندائية، تعود للقرن الخامس او السادس للميلاد.

و تشير الكتب المندائية الى الاضطهاد الذي عاناه المندائيون على ايدي اليهود في القدس، كذلك اضطهادهم من قبل الزرادشتية، والمانوية في القرن الثالث الميلادي. و تاريخهم يذكر فاجعة كبيرة، حدثت لهم في القرن الرابع عشر، في منطقة الجزيرة، حين كان سلطان محسن بن مهدي حاكما في العمارة، وكان ابنه فياض حاكما في (ششتر). وكان السبب ان امرأة صابئية خرجت من دارها الى النهر في اليوم الاول من السنة الجديدة، فتعرض لها اعراب كانوا في اسطول من الزوارق راس هناك. ونشب القتال واعلنت الحرب على الصابئين، فذبح الكهان والرجال والنساء والاطفال، وبقيت الطائفة مهيضة الجناح.

اما في اوائل القرن السابع عشر فقد عمل البرتغاليون الذين كانت لهم محطة تجارية في البصرة، على اقناع الباشا على اجبار نصارى القديس يوحنا للعودة الى الكنيسة. واتخذت الوسائل لتحويلهم الى المسيحية بالقوة. وقد جند قسم منهم في الجيش البرتغالي. واظهر الاتراك في الزمن الاخير تسامحا اكثر حيالهم، فقد سمح لهم بدفع بدلا نقديا، بدلا من الانخراط في الجيش العثماني، لايمانهم بان الحروب وسفك الدماء هو ضد عقيدتهم المندائية. وقدر عددهم سنة ١٨٦٠ بما يقارب ٤٠٠٠ نسمة واصبح مجموعهم ٥٤٣٢ نسمة سنة ١٩٣٥. وعشرون الف نسمة في السبعينيات ويقدر عددهم الاجمالي في العراق وايران بمئة الف نسمة. وهم اضافة الى تواجدهم الرئيسي في العراق وايران، فان مجموعات صغيرة منهم تتواجد حاليا في انحاء مختلفة من العالم، اما في استراليا فيقدر عددهم بـ٥٠٠ نسمة.

تقول الليدي دراور في مقدمة كتابها "الصابئة المندائيون"، وهي من اكثر المهتمين بدراسة الدين والتراث المندائي: "ان الحالة مع الصابئين هي حالة ما يدعوه الطبيب (توقف التطور). لقد تمسك الصابئون بتشبث بطقوسهم التي يعتبرونها اكثر قدسية من كتبهم واقدم، كما اعتنى بحفظ تراثهم كهنوت يعتبر اية زلة في الاجراءات والشعائر خطيئة مميتة. وهم بانفرادهم عن سائر الاقوام منذ ظهور الاسلام، بطقوسهم الخاصة، وبعاداتهم ولغتهم ودينهم، قد تجنبوا الامتزاج وصانوا التراث الذي ورثوه عن اسلافهم".

وعلى خلاف ذلك فان الصابئين في الوقت الحاضر، والذين سكنوا الحواضر وابتعدوا عن شواطئ الانهار، وتفرقوا في المدن طلبا للرزق ودخلوا الوظائف الحكومية، قد ابتعدوا كثيرا عن الصابئين الذين يمارسون شعائرهم الدينية بصورة بدائية، كما كان يمارسها الاسلاف، فاستعاضوا في كثير من شعائرهم بالماء المعقم بدلا من ماء النهر الجاري، وحلقوا شعور رؤوسهم وذقونهم، واتخذوا الزي العصري لباسا لهم كسائر الاقوام من حولهم تماشيا مع ظروف العصر.

لقد اقبل الصابئون منذ تشكيل الحكم الوطني في العراق على المدارس ومعاهد التعليم، وبهذا امتزجوا مع المجتمع من حولهم امتزاجا كاملا لم يعودوا يميزون فيه عمن حولهم باي شئ. ومن هذا فان طائفة الصابئين في طريقها الى تطور كبير جدا في شعائرها وطقوسها سيبعدها كل البعد عن شعائرها الاولى.

عندما نذكر الصابئة، يتبادر لاذهان البعض من العراقيين المتزوجين تلك اللحظات السعيدة التي كانوا فيها يرافقون خطيباتهم الى محلات الصاغة في شارع النهر، في بغداد او سوق الصيادلة في البصرة، لشراء خاتم الخطوبة وهدايا الزواج والتي يجدونها عند الصابئة دائما، فهم قد ورثوا هذه الصناعة من اب لجد، وابان الانتداب البريطاني

للعراق، كان الصابئة يتمركزون في مدينة العمارة وقد اشتهروا في ذلك الوقت بصياغة الفضة وتطعيمها بالميناء فاطلق عليهم البريطانيون اسم "Amarah Silversmiths"، واحتكوا بالسواح، ونقلوا التراث العراقي من خلال اعمالهم اليدوية، الفضية والذهبية، والتي احتوت على المناظر الاثرية البابلية والاشورية والساسانية والعربية، ولازالوا يمارسون هذه المهنة لحد الان، ولا غرابة ان نجد ان اكثر من ثلاثين محلا للصياغة في "سدني" يديرها الصابئة الذين هاجروا لاستراليا. ولم تقتصر مهنة الصابئة على الصياغة بل كانوا يمارسون اعمال النجارة، وصناعة، القوارب والحدادة وادوات الصيد والزراعة. وقد برز منهم مؤخرا علماء، مثل المرحوم الدكتور عبد الجبار عبدالله رئيس جامعة بغداد والدكتور عبد العظيم السبتي عالم الفلك وشعراء مثل لميعة عباس عمارة، ناجية المراني والاستاذ غضبان الرومي ونعيم بدوي وغيرهم من اطباء ومهندسين واخرين، في كافة مجالات الحياة.

اللغة المندائية

واللغة المندائية اوكما يطلق عليها لغة العلم، هي اللغة التي كتبت فيها المخطوطات الصابئية، وتتكون الابجدية المندائية من اربع وعشرون حرفا تجمعها الكلمات الاتية:

ابجد، هوز، حطي، كلمن، سعفص، قرشت.

ويضاف اليها حرفان هما اد، آ وتقرا الحروف ممدودة على الوجه التالي:

آ، با، جا، دا، ها، وا، زا، ها، طا، يا، كا، لا، ما، نا، سا، ئي، با(فا)، صا،
قا، را، شا، تا، اد، آ

الحرف الاول (آ) موجود في اول الابجدية واخرها. ويمثل رمز الكمال ونور الحياة، وبدأ ونهاية كل شئ، وان ترتيبها هو الترتيب الاصلي للابجدية العربية، وهي خالية من الروافد، كما اطلق عليها ابن النديم وهي: (ثخذ، ضغظ).

والمندائية لهجة من الارامية، والتي تنتسب بدورها الى المجموعة او الاسرة العربية او السامية، واشتقها العالم الالماني "شولتز"، سنة ١٧٨١ من قائمة الانساب الواردة في العهد القديم، ونسبها الى سام بن نوح. كما ان الدراسات والبحوث التي اجريت من قبل لغويين متخصصين، اظهرت بان المندائية هي من اسهل اللهجات العربية القديمة، واقلها تأثرا باللغات الاجنبية كاليونانية وذلك لعزلتها وانزوائها. وان صورة الحروف المندائية اقرب الى صورة الحروف العربية من غيرها من الابجديات القديمة. وان كثيراً من مفردات المندائية موجود ضمن المفردات العربية، وكذلك معظم حروف الجر مثل اللام، من، الى، وعلى، وحروف النفي مثل لا، وما، ولا الناهية والواو، وغيرها. كما نجد كلمة (اكا) بمعنى هنا او موجود، والكلمة واردة في اللهجة الشعبية العراقية اذ تقول (اكو)، وبالنفي تكون بالمندائية (لكا)، وبالعامية العراقية (ماكو).

وكذلك الاعداد:

هاد	واحد
ترين	اثنين
تلاتة	ثلاثة
اربا	اربعة
همشا	خمسة
شتا	ستة
شبا	سبعة

تمانيا	ثمانية
تشا	تسعة
اسرا	عشرة
هاديسار	احد عشر
تريسار	اثنا عشر

والكتب المندائية المقدسة ليست مطبوعة، وقد قام بنسخها باليد، الكتاب الكهنوتيون طيلة قرون عديدة. ويعتقد افراد الطائفة ان امتلاكها يحفظهم من الشرور في الدنيا والاخرة. وان قليلا من العامة من يستطيع ان يقرأ أو يكتب هذه اللغة، فتعلمها مقصور على الطبقة الكهنوتية. والجدير بالذكر ان اغلب المخطوطات ربما قد دون ايام الساسانيين، او بعد الفتح العربي لبلاد الرافدين، ويدون كتاب "كنزا ربا" قائمة بملوك البارثيين والساسانيين، ولم يلاحظ في كتبهم تاثير، او استعمال كلمات من لغات اخرى كالاغريقية، المستعارة في اللغات السورية والفلسطينية، لكنها استعارت كثيرا من التعابير الارامية – العبرية بصورة خاصة. ولا يسمح للغرباء بالاطلاع على كتب الصابئة المقدسة، وذلك لاحتوائها على اسرار تخص الطائفة نفسها. وليس هنالك كثير من النسخ القديمة جدا، ويعود ذلك لفقدانها. فالصابئون كما هو معروف قد سكنوا مناطق اكثر مساكنها من اكواخ القصب، توقد فيها النار شتاء وتتشب فيها الحرائق بشكل عام، وتوجد عند بعضهم نسخ قد اتلفت حواشيها بفعل الحرائق. ولا يسمح مطلقا بتدوين الكتب المقدسة على الجلد، (لان ذبح الحيوانات تدمير للحياة ولذا فالجلد غير طاهر). بل ان اكثرها دون على ورق البردي وعلى المعادن والحجر. وهناك بعض الكتب مثل كتاب "سيدرا اد نشماتا" كتاب الارواح – طقس "المسختا" قد دون على رقائق الرصاص، وربما يعود هذا التقليد باستعمال الصفائح ناجما عن ضرورة

دينية، حيث يذكر بعض الكهان، ان جميع كتبهم تطهر بالماء الجاري قبيل استعمالها. ويحافظ على الكتب المقدسة بتغليفها تغليفا تاما بالخام الابيض، وتربط باشرطة من الخام ايضا. كما ان الكهان يقومون بصنع وتركيب الحبر بانفسهم، وعادة يكون اسود لماعا. والكتابة بحد ذاتها عمل طلسمي يجلب الخير للذين يقومون به. واكبر هذه المخطوطات هو كتاب "كنزا ربا" الكنزالعظيم، وقد ترجم هذا الكتاب في عام ١٨١٣ من قبل "ماثيو نوربيرغ"، وترجمات وتعليقات اخرى كانت ذروتها ترجمة البروفسور "ليدزبارسكي" الى اللغة الالمانية في عام ١٩٢٥.

ومن الكتب المترجمة الاخرى ما يلي:

١- كتاب "دراشة اديهيا"، كتاب يحيى عام ١٩١٥ ويتناول شؤون النبي يحيى المعمدان عليه السلام.

٢- كتاب "سدرة ادنشماته"، كتاب الارواح – طقس "المسختا" ١٩٢٠.

٣- كتاب "الف ترسر شياله"، الف واثنى عشر سؤال ويتكون من خمسة اجزاء يتناول الجزء الاول الاخطاء في الطقوس وطريقة غفرانها وايضاح الشعائر . الخ.

٤- كتاب "تفسير بغرا"، ويعتني بالمعنى الداخلي للوجبات الطقسية.

٥- ديوان "حران كويثا"، حران الداخلية او السفلى.

٦- كتاب "اسفر ملواشه"، مخطوط لاغراض التنجيم والحسابات الفلكية.

٧- ديوان "نهرواثا"، وهو خارطة مزخرفة، ونص ايضاحي لانهار العالم، حيث يجعلها جميعا تتغذى من "فرات زيوا" اي الفرات النوراني.

٨- ديوان " اباثر"، وهو ديوان مصور وطوله ٩ ياردات.

٩- ديوان "الما الايا"، وديوان "ملكوثا اليثا"، ترجمت مؤخرا وتوجد نسخة منهما في المتحف العراقي.

١٠- كتاب "النياني"، ويتضمن الوضوء والصلوات المختلفة.

يحتوي المتحف البريطاني على كتاب "شرح طراسا تاغه اد شيشلام

ربه"، التي تهتم بطقوس تكريس الكهان وطقوس تكريس المندي. وتحتوي مكتبة "بودلين"، على الكثير المخطوطات المندائية.

ان الدين الصابئي دين عريق في القدم، يؤمن معتنقوه بانه من اقدم الاديان ان لم يكن اقدمها. فهم ينسبون كتابهم "كنزا ربا " الكنز العظيم الى آدم عليه السلام، كما يعتقدون ان سام هو جدهم الاعلى ونبيهم بعد آدم ونوح. وهم ليسوا فرقة من النصارى كما ورد ذلك لدى كثير من الكتاب وبخاصة الغربيين، وقد جاء هذا الوهم من تعظيم الصابئين للنبي يحيى عليه السلام، واعتباره نبيا لهم، وتعظيمهم ليوم الاحد كما يفعل النصارى.

وهم ليسوا بمجوس لعدم تقديمهم وتعظيمهم للنار، فهم يعتقدون ان السجود للنار امر محرم كل التحريم، "توره واسغادي مبطل باطلي" النار والسجود لها باطل مبطل.

ودينهم ليس دينا وثنيا باي حال من الاحوال، بل هو دين يؤمن باللة الحي الازلي، واليوم الاخر، فقد جاء في مقال عن مدى ايمانهم بالله للاستاذ عبد الرزاق الحسني نشره في مجلة العربي العدد ١١٢ عام ١٩٦٨ قوله: "الخالق جل شأنه واحد ازلي أبدي لا أول لوجوده ولانهاية له، منزه عن عالم المادة الطبيعية لا تناله الحواس ولايفضي اليه مخلوق، وانه لم يلد ولم يولد وهو علة وجود الاشياء ومكونها. ولا يختلف اعتقادهم في الخالق عن اعتقاد المؤمنين به".

اما اعتقادهم باليوم الاخر، فقد يكونون من اكثر الاديان وضوحا وتشددا في هذا الشان، فالعالم الدنيوي في عقيدتهم، ما هو الا منفى وسجن مؤقت للروح التي ستنبعث بعد الموت متحررة من سجنها المادي، لتلتحق بالملأ الاعلى، وفق حساب عسير يعد لها، ووفق وزن توزن فيه، فاما الىالجنة، او الى المطهر "المطراثا" حيث تعذب فيه بدرجات متفاوتة، الى ان تتطهر من ذنوبها فتلتحق بالملأ الأعلى هي

ايضا، فالروح في عقيدتهم خالدة والجسم فان.

ان تشابه بعض شعائرهم، مع بعض شعائر المسيحية واليهودية، او المجوسية او بعض الشعائر الاسلامية، أمر طبيعي لتجاورهم وتعايشهم مع هذة الاديان فمن المحتمل ان يكونوا قد تأثروا بها، كما يحتمل ان تكون قد تأثرت بهم ايضا. ولايعرف دين من الاديان، تخلو عقيدة الصابئة من مشابهة له في احدى الشعائر، كما ذكر ذلك العقاد في كتابة "ابو الأنبياء" وعلى كل حال فالجميع يستقون من مصدر واحد والجميع قد نشأوا في هذة المنطقة من العالم المسماة بالشرق الادنى وهي مهبط جميع الاديان.

ان دين الصابئين كما هو مدون بكتبهم الدينية يتلخص بايمانهم بالله واليوم الاخر ويؤمنون بالحساب والعقاب، وان الابرار منهم، يذهبون بعد الوفاة الي عالم النور، و المذنبين الى عالم الظلام، ولايفرض عليهم الصوم بمعناه المعروف، وهو الامتناع عن الطعام والشراب، إلا انهم يمتنعون عن اكل اللحوم المباحة بما مجموعه ستة وثلاثون يوماً متفرقة على طول السنة، وهم ينزهون الله غاية التنزيه، وليس لهم هياكل ولا اصنام، ويعتقدون بوجود مخلوق متوسط بين الروحانية والمادية يهدي الناس الي الحق.

ويشابه اعتقاد الصابئة كثيرا اعتقاد الفئات الغنوصية "المعرفيين" حيث انهم يدركونه عن طريق الفيض الالهي، ومن مظاهر الخليقة التي ابدعها، وهم لا يعبرون عنه الا بصيغة الجمع، ويقولون انه انبعث من ذاته (اله اد نافشي افريش) اي الاله الذي قام من ذاته.

وجوهر الدين الصابئي هوالتوحيد و تقديس قوانين الحياة والخصب، فالحياة العظمى لديهم تجسيد لقوة كونية خلاقة نافعة غير مرئية، وان الحديث عنه دائما بصيغة الجمع المبهمة، ويظل تجريدا غامضا يسمى بالحياة العظمى رمز الحياة الماء الحي او الماء الجاري

"يردنه" ومن هذا ياتي ان أحد طقوسهم الرئيسية هو الاغتسال والتعميد في الماء الجاري.

اما القوة الثانية في دينهم، فتتمثل في مجموعة الملائكة النورانيين، او الارواح النورانية، الذين بواسطتهم يمنح الخالق البشر نعم النور والصحة والقوة والفضيلة والعدل.

والقوة الثالثة في دينهم هي الأعتقاد بخلود الروح وبصلتها الوثقى بارواح اسلافها، صلة آلهية مباشرة.

والدين المندائي يشابه الاديان التوحيدية الاخرى بالتعبد الى الخالق، فان التهيأ للقيام باي عمل يومي او حياتي يسبقه ذكر "بشميهون اد هي ربي" اي بأسم الحي العظيم وضرورة الانتهاء بذكر أسم الخالق أيضا "هي زكن" أي أسم الحي مزكى، كما ان كل آية تبدأ وتنتهي بذكر الخالق بنفس الطريقة.

وتوصي الديانة الصابئية المندائية بالأخلاق الحسنة، والعمل الصالح وتعتبر ذلك أول مبدأ من مبادئ الدين الحق . فالصوم الأعظم يكون بالأمساك عن السيئات، وقد ورد بهذا المعنى في كتاب "كنزا ربا" القسم الايمن ما يلي:

صوموا صوما عظيما لا عن
مأكل او مشرب هذه الدنيا
امسكوا اعينكم عن الغمز والرمز،
ولا تنظروا بسوء او تعملوه،
امسكوا اذانكم عن التصنت
لابواب الاخرين.
امسكوا افواهكم عن قول الكذب
والزيف والتأويل ولا تحبوا
الاباطيل.

امسكوا ضمائركم عن ظنون السوء
والبغض والفرقة ولا تدعوها
تحتل افئدتكم.
ان الذي يحتل قلبه البغض
لا يعتبر مسلما مؤمنا.
امسكوا ايديكم عن ارتكاب القتل
وعن السرقة.
امسكوا اجسادكم عن معاشرة
ازواج الاخرين.
امسكوا ركبكم عن السجود
للشيطان.
امسكوا ارجلكم عن السعاية في
السوء.
امرناكم كلكم ان اسمعوا
الله.

ومن تعاليم الصابئة ان من واجب المعلم، ان يعلم غيره، وان من واجب الجاهل التوجه لطلب العلم، وقد ورد بذلك ما يلي:

راس علمك ان تعلم الآخرين
بكلمات طيبة زكية.
ويل لعالم لايعطي من علمه
ويل لجاهل مغلق على جهله.
كل من يعلم ولا يعلم يطرد
ويلعن.
كل من لا يقود ابنه الى المعلم

يكون مذنبا في يوم الدين.

وفي عبادة الخالق وتحريم عبادة الاجرام جاء مايلي:

لا تسبحوا للكواكب والابراج
ولا تسبحوا للشمس والقمر
المنورين هذا العالم وسبحوا
للذي وهبها النور.
هذه كلها اشباح لا تهبكم قوة
ولا تعين حظوظكم وليس لها
عليكم سلطان من اليوم الى يوم
الدين ولا ياتيكم من لدنها علم

طقوس الاغتسالات

الاول – ويدعى "الرشامه"، اي (الوضوء) وتتم بدون مساعدة الكاهن، وتجري يوميا، وتشابه الوضوء لدى المسلمين ويعتبر هذا عماد صغير للتخلص من النجاسات الصغرى، ولوقاية المرء من الاخطار اليومية، كما انه تكرار للايمان بالحياة الابدية.

الثاني – ويدعى "طماشة" وهي ثلاث ارتماسات في النهر بدون كاهن، وهي ما تجريها المرأة بعد الحيض وبعد الولادة. كما تجرى بعد لمس جثة الميت، وبعد الجنابة في المضاجعة والاحتلام. او حتى من نجاسة او اتصال بشخص نجس فالنجاسات معدية.

الثالث – "مصبته" أي التعميد أو الصباغة، وتتم بواسطة كاهن في اوقات الزواج، الولادة او التماس او حمل الميت .... الخ. والتعميد يجري يوم الاحد وفي اعياد معينة، وخاصة في الايام الخمسة الكبيسة "البنجه". ويتم ذلك في المندي او بيت العبادة ويطلق عليه ايضا "مشكنه"

والمندي من السمات البارزة في الدين المندائي، ويجب ان يجاور النهر او قناة ماء جار، وهذا ما يشير الى الارتباط بعبادة الماء القديمة البدائية. ويحاط المندي بسياج لحجب الطقوس عن الأعين المتطلعة. تلتحق بالمندي بركة التعميد التي تقع في جنوبه، وتتصل بطرفيها قناتان واحدة لاخذ الماء من النهر والاخرى لصبه فيه لغرض ابقاء الماء جاريا بصورة مستمرة. والمندي عبارة عن بناء بسيط من القصب والبواري المطلية بالطين، وهو مشابه لاكواخ القصب التي يقطنها سكنة الاهوار في جنوب العراق. وهو على شكل جمالي مستطيل الشكل، اطول جداريه هما الشمالي والجنوبي. ويواجه الداخل اليه من الباب الاتجاه الشمالي، الذي يتوجه اليه الشخص عند اداء الصلاة. ولا توجد في المندي نوافذ ولازينات داخلية والنور الوحيد ياتيه من الباب، ويتم اجراء اغلب المراسيم الدينية في الساحات المحيطة به. ويطهر المندي سنويا من قبل الكهان وتكون هذه المراسيم طويلة نسبيا، وقد بني حديثا مندي في منطقة القادسية على احد فروع نهر دجلة في بغداد وأن بناءه قد تم بالطابوق والخرسانة المسلحة.

الملابس الدينية "الرسته"

الملابس الدينية الصابئية وتدعى "رستا" وتستعمل في مراسيم التعميد والزواج والوفاة وهي بيضاء ترمز الى كساء النور الذي ترتديه الروح الطاهرة. ويحتفظ اغلب المندائيين بهذا الرداء لاستعماله في هذه المناسبات. ويعتقد الصابئة بانهم في زمن ما كانوا لا يرتدون الا البياض، وان من الخطيئة ارتداء الملابس الملونة.

والرستة الكاملة تحتوي على تسعة قطع للكهنة، وسبعة قطع لافراد الطائفة عامة وتتكون من:

١- القميص: "سدره"، وهي من قماش قطني ابيض يعمل حسب المقاسات المطلوبة

حوالي ستة اذرع للرجل الحي وسبعة الى ثمانية للميت.

٢- الدشه: او "دشا"، وهي رقعة من نفس القماش تخاط من الخارج اعلى الناحية اليمنى من فتحة الصدر.

٣- السروال: "الشروال".

٤- التكه: "تكه"، وهي الخيط الذي يشد السروال الى البطن ويترك احد طرفي التكة بدون خياطة وحين يربطان يتدلى الطرف المخاط الى جهة اليمين.

٥- العمامة: "برزنقا"، وهي من الموزلين الابيض عرضها حوالي الذراع تلف ثلاثة مرات حول الراس وتترك احدى النهايتين مدلاة فوق الكتف الايسر.

٦- االقبوعة: "النصيفه"، وهي قطعة طويلة من الخام او الموزلين تلقى على الكتفين.

٧- الزنار: "الهميانه"، وهي نسيج مجوف من ستين خيطا صوفيا تحاك بطريقة خاصة. تربط بمسكها بالمنتصف امام الجسم ثم تلف الى الخلف وتقاطع طرفاها ثم تلف الى الامام حيث تعقد عقدتين. وتكون احدى النهايتين مشرشبة وتسمى كركوشه والاخرى مخاطة وتسمى عروه وهذه تكون فوق الكركوشه اثناء الربط وتتدلى الكركوشه الى الجهة اليسرى. ويقول العامي اثناء عملية الزنار هذه الكلمات: (هميانه اترس، بترين طابي، بترين كطري) اي ارسم الزنار بطهارتين وعقدتين.

٨- التاج: "التاغه"، للكاهن فقط وهي حلقة من الحرير الابيض او القطن.

٩- حلقة ذهب: "شوم ياور"، للكاهن فقط تلبس في خنصر اليد اليمنى مكتوب عليها "شوم ياور زيوا" (الروح العظمى).

كذلك يحمل الكاهن عصا من الزيتون. فبينما تكون "الرسته" للنور فالعصا وتدعى "مركنه" ترتبط عادة بالماء ويقال عنها (عصا الماء الحي). وتدفن مع الكاهن عند موته.

التعميد

يطلق الصابئة على اول تعميد للفرد الصابئ اسم تعميد "زهريثه"، وهو

التعميد الذي يدخل ذلك الفرد ضمن مجموعة "المندائيين الصابئين" وبدونه يبقى الفرد معلقا.

ويجرى التعميد الاول بعد اليوم الثلاثين من عمر الطفل في يوم الاحد بمساعدة حلالي (فرد من العامة ذو طهارة طقسية معينة) ويقوم هذا الرجل بدور الاب للطفل. يبدأ الكاهن بتعميده اولا ويتلو الكاهن الدعاء اليومي لطلب الرحمة باسم الطفل وفي نهاية الدعاء يلبس الطفل الرسته، وياخذ الاب الطفل ويطلب الاذن من الماء حسب الصيغة المعتادة ثم يدخل الى الماء، ويغمس جسم الطفل في الماء ثلاث مرات ويرش الكاهن الماء فوق رأسه. ويعطى الطفل ثلاث رشفات من الماء ويمسح جبينه بالماء ثلاث مرات، وبعدها يخرج الاب والطفل من الماء. وينطق الاب الدعوات "لكم الصحة والطهارة ايها الملائكة وايها الناس والمياه الجارية والانهار وجميع ما في عالم النور".

وفي الدين المندائي يتكرر التعميد عدة مرات في حياة الشخص، بعضها واجب مثل تعميد المراة والرجل عند الزواج والتعميد للمرأة بعد مرور شهر من ولادة الطفل او باقرب فرصة ممكنة. كذلك للاشخاص الذين شاركوا في حمل جنازة المتوفي، وكذلك كل من مارس عملا خاطئا في تطبيق الشرائع الدينية وجب عليه التعميد لكي يستطيع العودة لممارسة وتطبيق المراسيم الدينية.

اما الانواع الاخرى من التعميد فتتم في مناسبات الاعياد السنوية، وعيد الخليقة المسمى "بنجه" وكذلك قبل الشروع بتطبيق مراسيم دينية مختلفة. وليس التعميد مقتصرا على الاشخاص بل ايضا يتم تعميد الاواني والادوات التي تستعمل لتحضير الطعام وأية حاجات اخرى.

نرى ان المندائيين يتعمدون عدة مرات على خلاف الدين المسيحي حيث يكون التعميد مرة واحدة بحياة الشخص فقط.

شعائر النحر - الذباحة

ان الحلال من الطعام هو كل نبات له بذر. لحم الأغنام. انواع الطيور، كالدجاج والبط والوز وغيرها. وكذلك الاسماك، ويحرم اكل الغراب والزاغ والزركي وكذلك لحم الجمل والحصان والخنزير والكلب والفار واالارنب والقط. ويعتبرون ذبح الجاموس أو البقر من الجرائم الكبرى ولاتوجد اية اهمية دينية للبقرة. وتناول اللحم لدى الصابئة قليل عمليا. والاتجاة بخصوص عملية النحر اعتذاري مشوب بالندم، وحسب اعتقادهم من الخطيئة أن تنحر حتى اذا كان ذلك حسب طقوس النحر المعتادة . ويجوز النحر في جميع ايام السنة ماعدا أيام الصوم عن اكل اللحم (المبطلات). ويوصى بالنحر في أول كل شهر وفي المناسبات الاخرى كالأعياد والاعراس والمآتم وغيرها.

وتراعى الامورالتالية عند القيام بنحر الحيوان:

١- تطهير الحيوان المراد نحره بالماء، والتأكد من نظافته وسلامته البدنية ولايمكن ذبح الحيوان الناقص الخلقة.

٢- تطهير السكين بتسخينها وغسلها بالماء، وتكون عادة من الحديد وبدون ممسك خشبي، يستعاض عنه بقطعة من غصن التوت او الغرب اثناء الذبح.

٣- يرتدي القائم بالنحر ملابس دينية خاصة "الرسته"، ويكون شخصا صحيح البدن.

٤- ضرورة وجود شخص ثان يشهد بصحة قيام الناحر باصول النحر وبموجب الاصول الدينية ورغبة منه في توفير طعام للناس.

٥- يكون الناحر جالسا والشاهد واقفا.

٦- تبدأ المراسيم بقراءة الرهمي أي الدعاء التمهيدي وتدقيق الملابس الدينية قطعة قطعة.

٧- تتلي صيغة الذبح المرافقة لها وهي:

بسم الحي ربي العليم وباسم
ملائكته النورانيين، نحرا

زكيا يهب قوة وعافية لكل
الذين يأكلون منه واسم الله
العليم مذكور عليك.

٨- بعد الانتهاء من عملية نحر الحيوان يقوم الناحر بغسل يديه وذكر اسم الله تعالى والتحلل من خطيئة الذبح وهو يتلي الدعاء التالي:

باسم الحي ربي العليم ذبحت
بالحديد وحللت يدي بالماء
انا الخاطئ والهي الغافر
قوني واغفر خطاياي وحوبائي
وزلاتي وذنوبي ومساوئي
انا فلان بن فلانه، اسم الله
العليم مذكور علي.

شعائر الزواج

الدين الصابئي يشجع الزواج ويعتبر الاعزب مذنبا تجاه دينه في الدنيا والآخرة، وحسب قول احد الكهنة لو لم تخلق المرأة لما كان هناك شمس ولا قمر ولا زراعة ولا ماء.

ان تعدد الزوجات عادة مايكون استثناء لضرورة الخلفة، ويفضل الصابئة الزواج بالواحدة. والمقاييس الاخلاقية عندهم صلبة. ولا يعترف الدين بالطلاق بل يكون الافتراق هو الحل. ويسمح بزواج الاقارب مثل ابناء العم وابناء الخالات. وليس هناك الحاح على الفتاة اذا ما رأت في الزيجة المطلوبة شيئا لا ترغب نفسها فيه. كما لا يوجد حدود للمهر وانما يعتمد على رضا الطرفين. ويتم عقد الزواج في يوم الاحد.

وتجتاز الفتاة اختبارا لتحديد عذريتها التي يوليها الصابئة

اهتماما كبيرا والتي تحدد بموجبها نوع الطقوس، ومرتبه الكاهن لاجراء مراسيم الزواج.

ويرتدي كل من العروس والعريس "الرسته" ويتم تعميدها. وبعد الانتهاء من مراسيم التعميد يلبس العروسان "رسته" جديدة تهيأ لاتمام القسم الثاني من المراسيم. والتي تتم في مكان معد لهذا الغرض يسمى "اندرونا"، او المجلس ويقام عادة من القصب النظيف، وتفرش ارضيته بالبواري وتزين اركانه بالقرنفل والياسمين واغصان الريحان. وتعد داخل المجلس مائدة رمزية تحتوي علي انواع الطعام (طبوثا) من خبز ملح سمك خضار بلح وعنب وجوز ولوز، رمان وبصل وسمسم وقناني ماء، وخمر "همرا" وهو عبارة عن ماء وضع فيه زبيب وقليل من التمر بعد سحقه. ويعطى العريس والعروس من هذا الطعام ويوزع الباقي للحاضرين.

وتسال العروس عادة وهي في مكانها من قبل احد الكهان، وامام الشهود لثلاثة مرات ما اذا كانت راغبة بالزواج من الرجل، ويسأل العريس مرتان عن رغبته بالزواج بالفتاة.

وخلال قراءة الادعية واجراء المراسيم، تكسر مشربتان فخاريتان رمزا لكسر الشر والباطل، ويؤدي الزوج قسم الأخلاص والامانة (كشطا ياقرا) ويقول فيه:

> هذا عهد قطعته على نفسي امام الشهود، باني سآخذ،
> فلانة بنت فلانة، زوجة شرعية لي، يشهد الله الحي العظيم،
> ويشهد رسله وملائكته الاثيريون، ويشهد هؤلاء الكهنة
> والمندائيون، كلهم شهودي باني لن احيد عن عهدي وميثاقي،
> ولن اخون زوجتي أو اغشها، وسوف اوليها رعايتي واسالمها
> بالحق وأفي بعهودي التي ربطتني بها أمام اللة تعالى.

اما القسم الذي تؤديه الفتاة فيكون بعد ان يناولها الكاهن قطعة الرغيف الذي اكل منه الزوج ويطلب منها أن تقسم انها سوف لا تأكل إلا منه. فتفعل وتكون بذلك قد اعطت وعدا بانها تشاركة الحياة هو وحده.

شعائر الموت

يعتقد الصابئون بان الجسد هو وعاء النفس، وان نفس الانسان نسمة من ذات الله تعالى، وانها لابد عائدة اليه ومتحدة به بعد الموت، لذلك نجدهم يحرصون على طهارة الجسد والنفس قبل الموت، وذلك بالمحافظة على جسم المريض وملابسه وكذلك وجوب حضور احد رجال الدين او احد المتدينين قبيل الوفاة بغية الاستماع الي كلماته الاخيرة والصلاة علية قبل الموت. اما بعد الموت فانهم يقيمون الصلوات ويقدمون طعام الغفران من اليوم الاول وحتى اليوم الخامس والاربعين.

وتقدم الصدقات وتقام الصلوات في ايام الاعياد والمناسبات الدينية طلبا للرحمة ولراحة نفس الميت من لدن الله تعالى. وهذه بعض الاقوال:

> لاتبكوا موتاكم، ولا تنهبوا
> اموالهم وابلهم، واطلبوا لهم
> الصحة، واقرأوا من اجلهم
> الصلوات والادعية والكتب
> والاسفار طالبين أن تغمرهم
> الرحمة الآلهية.

التقويم المندائي والاعياد

تقسم السنة لدى الصابئين الي اثني عشر شهرا ولكل شهر ثلاثون يوما، ويضيفون خمسة ايام كبيسة تسمي (بروانايي) أو البنجة قبل الشهر

التاسع، فيكون طول السنة عندهم ثلاثمائة وخمسة وستين يوما، وتنقص سنتهم لربع يوم عن السنة الشمسية (الميلادية)، وتبعا لهذا الفرق نجد ان اسماء الاشهر والاعياد والمناسبات لديهم لم تعد في اماكنها من فصول السنة، التي عينت لها في الأصل. واستمر هذا الفرق، وتراكمت الايام، حتى غدا عيد راس السنة الكبير وهو عيد التكريس يقع في اواخر تموز حاليا، في حين ان موقعه الاصلي كان في اول شباط. والصابئون يحسبون بدء الاربع والعشرين ساعة للنهار والليل من الفجر، اي ان يوم الثلاثاء مثلا تتبعها ليلة الثلاثاء، وهذا ينطبق على تقديمهم للنور على الظلام مع تلازمهما فالنهار يسبق الليل والنور يسبق الظلام.

وتقع ليلة القدر ما بين اليوم السادس والسابع من السنة الجديدة، وفيها تفتح ابواب "اباثر" امام المتقين من الناس، فيرون اسرارها ويحصلون على ما يطلبون. وفي هذا العيد تضاء انوار البيوت وتوزع الاطعمة على الفقراء.

ومن الاعياد المهمة:

عيد راس السنة – (التكريس)، او العيد الكبير، وهو ذكرى هبة الله تعالى "الحياة". ويقولون ان الملائكة الاثيرين قد صعدوا بهذه المناسبة للشكران. ولكن الروح الخبيثة او الشيطان لم يصعد بل بقى لافساد حياة الانسان، ومن اجل ذلك يفضل الصابئة الاجتماع في بيوتهم وتكريس اوقاتهم للعباده والدعاء حتى يتقرر مصير الانسان بتغلب قوى الخير وانتصارها. وتكون مدة التكريس ستا وثلاثين ساعة يخرجون بعدها ويقيمون شعائر العيد في اليوم الاخير من السنة المنتهية.

العيد الصغير – وهو عيد الازدهار، وموعده الاصلي الثامن عشر من ايار (مايس) ويطلق عليه هبة الله الصغرى، وهو ذكرى عودة الملاك الرسول جبرئيل "هيبل زيوا" الى السماء بعد نزوله للارض مبشرا بانتشار النور واندحار الظلام.

عيد "البنجة" - او عيد الخمسة ايام، ويسمى عيد الخليقة "برونايي"، وهي ذكرى الايام التي بلغ بها الخلق تمامه. وتدعى هذه الايام ايام الذكرى (ذخرانا متقري) وهي ايام مضيئة لانها تمثل فجر الحياة المكتمل، ويقع في نهاية الشهر الثامن، ويقام فيه التعميد والصلوات وتقديم الطيبات على ارواح الموتى.

عيد التعميد - "دهوا اد يمانا"، وهو ذكرى تعميد الاباء الصالحين القدامى، كشيت وانوش وسام ويحيى يوحنا عليهم السلام. ويقع هذا العيد في نهاية الشهر العاشر.

خاتمة

ان دراسة دين الصابئين مهمة جدا للبحث في العقائد الدينية الاخرى، فهي مهمة حيث المكان والزمان والموضوع، لانها قديمة العلاقة بكل مكان تتعلق به مسيرة الاديان الاخرى، ثم ان لغتها المقدسة تشير الى زمان متوسط بين اللغات القديمة المهجورة واللغة السريانية الحديثة، كما انها ترينا ملتقى التوحيدالقديم والوثنية القديمة.

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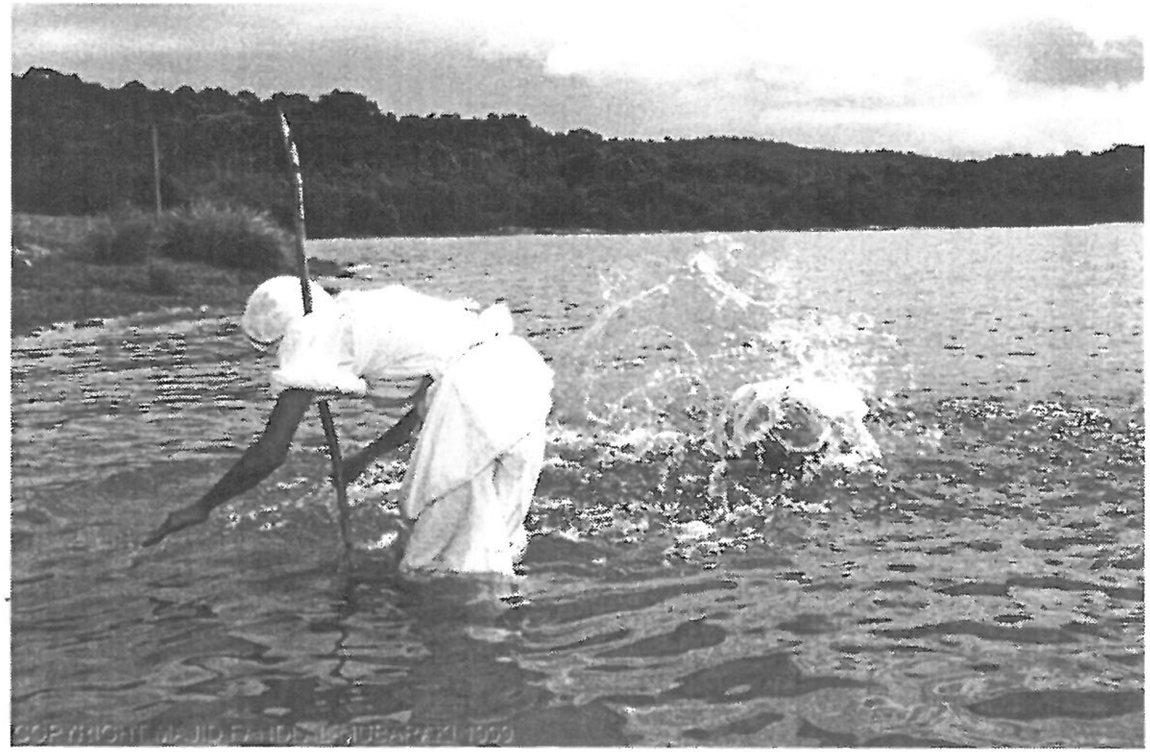
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يتم التعمـــيد المندائي في "اليردنا" – الماء الجاري – الماء الحي
ويرتدي رجل الدين والشخص المعمد الملابس البيضاء "الرستا".

الماء الحي

العنصر الوسيط بين الطقوس والمعتقدات المندائية (١)

يواجه المندائيون في الوقت الحاضر وكأية مجموعة صغيرة منعزلة تحاول العيش تحت نظام صارم لتطبيق وممارسة معتقداتها الدينية القديمة، صعوبات كثيرة نتيجة لاختلاطهم مع العالم المتحضر وتأثرهم بالتطور الثقافي والتكنولوجي المستمر. "ليدي دراور"، اشارت الى هذه الصعوبات في سنة ١٩٣٧ (٢)، ولا تشير التقارير اللاحقة لتلك الفترة بالتفاؤل. (٣) كما أن الحرب العراقية الايرانية قد فاقمت من وضع الطائفة المندائية كثيرا. (٤) فقد حذر "سوكس" من احتمال وقوع كارثة مدمرة للطائفة وبدون علم الحكومة العراقية، وذلك لتواجد اغلبية هذه الطائفة في مناطق الاهوار والتي تقع على مخزون نفطي هائل. (٥)

ولربما كان اكبر مؤشر لتدهور وضع الطائفة المندائية هو تماديها بعدم المبالات بلغتها ودينها، وان ارسال احد الاشخاص المرشحين للكهانة من قبل "الكنزبرا الشيخ عبدالله" الى المانيا* لدراسة اللغة المندائية لدى العالم الالماني "رودولف"، في مدينة "ماربورغ"(٦)، هو دليل واضح على هذا التدهور الذي اصبح خطيرا، ولم يترك للباحثين الوقت الكافي لدراسة هذه الطائفة ودينها كدين حي وهم لايزالون على قيد الحياة.

ان اغلب الدراسات عن المندائيين كانت تدور حول منشأهم، جذورهم التاريخية، أصل وتطور دينهم، لغتهم، وغيرها. منذ عدة سنوات أشارت "بكلي"، في دراستها الخاصة الى علاقة الطقوس

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* على حد علمنا لم يرسل الكنزبرا عبدالله احد المرشحين للكهانة لدراسة اللغة المندائية في المانيا.

بالمعتقدات في مراسيم شعائر الموت الجماعية (المسخثا)،* وفي هذه الدراسة انتقدت "بكلي" الباحثين، الذين تجاهلوا اهمية العلاقة بين الطقوس والمعتقدات لدى المندائيين.

> "مازال الباحثون بالمندائية عموما يعتبرون العلاقة بين الطقوس والمعتقدات علاقة غير جوهرية ولا ترتبط مع بعضها البعض وعندما يظهر الاهتمام بالطقوس فأن محاولات استخلاص المعنى الحقيقي لهذه الطقوس ضمن اطار المعتقدات الدينية تكون ضعيفة ومحدودة". (٧)

ان دراستي هذه هي استجابة لمخاوف "بكلي"، حول اهمية البحث في علاقة الطقوس بالمعتقدات من خلال ظاهرة مراسيم التعميد المندائي "مصبتا"، وذلك بألقاء الضوء على اهمية عنصر الماء الحي في اطار المعتقدات وطقوس التعميد، لكونه منبع الحياة وحلقة الوصل المستمرة بين عالم النور والعالم الارضي.

ان دراسة "فيديكرين"، لطقوس التتويج في مراسيم التعميد المندائي قد اوضحت بعضا من اوجه العلاقة بين الطقوس والمعتقدات (٨) وقد اعتمد "فيدكرين"، مبدأ المقارنة بالتحري عن التعميد وعلاقته بطقوس التتويج.

ان ما نطرحه في هذا البحث هو تحقيق خاص ومحدد لعلاقة الطقوس بالمعتقدات المندائية نفسها.

١. الماء الحي (ميا هيي): المعتقدات (٩،١٠)

الموضوع: الماء، الضياء والحياة، الماء هنا حلقة وصل بين عالم النور والارض.

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* المسخثا: غفران – قداس على روح الميت او من هو بحكم الميت (الصابئة المندائيون– دراور).

الماء الحي نشأ في عالم النور. ان ما ورد حول هذا الموضوع في، (GR)* يختلف من مكان لآخر، وليس من السهل ايضاحه. فمثلا عن منشأ الماء الحي او مكانه نسبة لموقعه في عمليات التكوين تذكر(8-3 379 XV GR)

وكمثال:

بعيد عالم النور كانت الحياة،
ومن الحياة جاء الماء.
من الحياة جاء الماء،
ومن الماء جاء البهاء.
ومن البهاء جاء النور،
ومن النور جاء الاثري.**

وفي (26-19 73 III GR)، يذكر فيها ان الحياة قد تكونت من الماء بقوة ملك النور:

الثمرة العظيمة جاءت،
ومنها جاءت اليردنا.
اليردنا العظيمة جاءت،
المياه الحية جاءت
المياه المتلألئة جاءت،
ومن الماء الحي جئت انا الحياة.

بالرغم من وجود بعض الاختلافات في هذه التفاصيل لكننا نرى وضوح العلاقة الوثيقة بين الحياة والنور والماء.

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* GR: كنزا يمينا، وهو القسم الايمن من كتاب المندائيين المقدس كنزا ربا او الكنز العظيم.

** الاثري: مفردها اثرا وهم كائنات نورانية خيرة.

يقابل الماء الحي في عالم النور الماء الاسود (ميا سياوي) (١١) في عالم الظلام.(١٢) لكن الماء الحي ارفع منزلة من الماء الاسود لكونه أقدم من الظلام (GR III 75 23).

ان الماء الاسود كما يقال قد احاط بالارض بعد تكوينها من قبل "**بثاهيل**"* (GR 174 37-38)، وفي هذه المياه السوداء صب خيط رفيع من ماء اليردنا النوراني من قبل "**مندادهيي.**"** (١٣) ونتيجة لذلك اصبح الماء# حلوا وعذبا." وهكذا لينعم ابناء الانسان بشربه ويكون مثيلاً للحياة العظمى" (GR 266 35-37)

ان حكاية ارسال الماء الحي الى العالم الارضي قد وردت في المعتقدات باكثر من مكان## مع بعض الاختلافات في تفاصيلها. (GR XV مثلا، تشير الى كيفية ارسال الماء الحي لعالم الارض بحراسة "**شلمي وندبي**" (١٤) وكيف تذمر الماء الحي بسبب عذابه واضعاف قوته (GR XV 308, 31-32)، ولكن هذين الحارسين طلبا منه الخلود والسكينة، لانها اوامر من الحياة العظمى، وهي لغرض نشر البهاء، واعطاء المساعدة للارواح وتهيئة المناخ اللازم للتعميد الحي والشفاء (GR XV 310, 9-18)،. وهناك نص آخر يبين بوضوح مدى ارتباط الماء مع عالم النور (GR XV 354 4-13)، وخاصة 12-13:

وهكذا لتتدفق المياه للامام
وان رباط هذا العالم قد تم. (١٥)

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* بثاهيل: احد الملائكة الموكلين بالعالم الارضي.

** مندادهيي: (عارف الحياة) او المخلص وهو الموكل بتدبير ومراقبة العوالم كلها. ويعتبر المحور المركزي في العقيدة المندائية.

يقصدبه الماء اليردنا في العالم الارضي.

##يعود الى المعتقدات المندائية.

ان مفهوم نقل الماء الحي السماوي ومزجه بالماء الارضي يتكرر الكلام عنه لدى المندائيين وينعكس ذلك وبدون تمييز باستعمالهم كلمة يردنا (الماء الحي في عالم النور)، ويردنا (ماء الانهار الجارية في العالم الارضي). (١٦)

ان ما نراه من مفهوم ارسال الماء الحي السماوي واختلاطه بالماء الاسود ماء العالم الارضي، والعلاقة الوطيدة لمفهوم الحياة، النور والماء، هي اكثر المظاهر اهمية لمبدأ الخلاص في مفهوم المعتقدات المندائية.

ان نزول (اليردنا) الماء الحي السماوي واختلاطه بـ(اليردنا) في العالم الارضي قد عزز العلاقة الوطيدة، بين عالم النور والعالم الارضي وبالنتيجة ادى الى نشوء الحياة في هذا العالم. فلو ان يردنا الماء الحي السماوي لم يختلط مع ماء الارض، لبقي ماء الارض اسوداً وبدون حياة وبقي كما كان عند التكوين (GR V 174 37-38) ولبقيت ارواح المندائيين حبيسة في عالم الظلام.*

٢. الماء الحي (ميا هيي): طقوس التعميد (١٧)

١. استعمالات الماء في الطقوس المندائية:

يدخل الماء في كثير من الطقوس المندائية، منها طقوس الغمر او الغطس في مراسيم (التعميد، المسختا، تكريس الكاهن، الزواج، النحر المقدس). وكذلك في طقوس التطهر: (الرشاما**، الطماشا#، الاغتسال، تكريس المندي، غسل ارجل المرشح للكهانة، غسل السكين قبل البدء

---

* يقصد بها وجود المندائيين بعد التكوين.

** الرشاما: الوضوء الذي يجري قبل الصلاة.

الطماشا: الغطس في الماء الجاري ثلاث مرات من اجل التطهر.

وبعد الانتهاء من مراسيم النحر المقدس)، وكذلك شرب "الممبوها"## في مراسيم التعميد والمسخثا، وفي عمل "الهمرا" وهو خليط من الماء والنبيذ+ يستعمل في مراسيم الزواج.

ان الغطس، او الاغتسال في مراسيم التعميد (المصبتا) او بعض الصور المختصرة منه، والذي يعتبرالعمود الرئيسي في حياة المندائيين ويكون مكملا لاغلب الطقوس المندائية الاخرى. والتعميد (المصبتا) مشتقة من المصطلح صبُتّا ومفردها (صُبي)، [الفعل صبْا يعني يتعمد، يغمر، يغطس، لاجل الصبغ] وهذا ما يدل على جوهر المندائية. (١٨)

٢. طقوس التعميد عموما:

يجري التعميد عند المندائيين عادة في يوم الاحد من كل اسبوع، وكذلك في المناسبات الدينية الاخرى وخاصة في الايام الخمسة (البنجة)*، ويكون اجراؤه ضروريا بعد الزواج، الولادة، ملامسة الميت، المرض، بعد السفر، اقتراف ذنب مثل السرقة، القتل، الزنا** وهذا يتطلب اكثر من تعميد واحد. (١٩)

وتقسم هذه الطقوس الى قسمين: قسم الاغتسال ويتم داخل الماء، والقسم الآخر ويتم على ضفة النهر بعد اجراء الاغتسال ويتضمن

الممبوها: الماء المقدس الذي يستعمل في الطقوس الدينية.

+ الهمرا: لا يستعمل النبيذ المعروف بالمعنى الاعتيادي، انما معنى (همرا) عصير الخصب المقدس، يصنع من هرس عنبة واحدة مع تمرة واحدة في وعاء صغير ويمزج بالماء على ان لا يتجاوز استعمالها نهاراً واحداً.

* البنجة: (برونايي)، عيد الخليقة وهي خمسة ايام كبيسة لا تحتسب ضمن ايام الاشهر او التقويم السنوي المندائي.

** التعمييد لا يزيل الخطايا او الذنوب الكبيرة مثل القتل، السرقة، الزنا، انما يفتح بابا لقبول التوبة الصادقة.

تناول الطعام القدسي، الخبز والماء المقدسان، المسح بالزيت# وتراتيل الصلاة.

٣. المعتقدات في مراسيم صلوات التعميد:

تحتوي صلوات التعميد على رموز عميقة المعنى، وعلى مستويات متباينة، فقد ورد في كتاب (CP 1)، معتقدين متشابهين في تركيبتهما عن العالمين السماوي والارضي. الصلاة تفتتح بنبذة موجزة عن تفاصيل نشوء الكون، يتبعها سرد قصصي قصير عن الشخص الذي لا يضع التاج، ولقائه بالكواكب السبعة، اما تفاصيل مراسيم التتويج السماوية، فتأتي في الجزء النهائي للصلاة الطقسية الخاصة بالعالم الارضي والتي يتلوها الكاهن اثناء مراسيم وضع عمامته فوق رأسه. وهذه الصلاة تحتوي على نوع من المعتقدات والتعليقات حول الشعائر الدنيوية، فمثلا: (CP 13)، يذكر عن كيفية نزول الكاهن الى "اليردنا" الماء الجاري وكأنه ينزل برفقة مساعدين اسطوريين هم "**شلمي وندبي، هيبل، شيتل وانوش.**"##

هناك ايضا صلاة تتضمن تفاصيل للمعتقدات فقط، لا بد للمرء ان يربطها بنفسه بالطقوس الدنيوية، فمثلا: في (CP 4)، نجد ان حقيقة ما يراد وصفه هو، ما يقوم به الاثري في داخل سكنهم السماوي "**شخنثا**" بأهداء الاكاليل المعلقة فوق رؤسهم لشجرة البهاء وتعليقها فوق اغصانها. والصلاة هذه تتلى من قبل الكاهن عند وضع اكليل الآس على رأسه.

لربما يكون ما ورد في (CP 30) دليل واضح على الربط بين عناصر المعتقدات والطقوس الدنيوية والمتعلقة بالصلاة المرافقة

المقصود بالزيت هو زيت السمسم، ولا يستعمل اي نوع من انواع الزيوت الاخرى.

ان شلمي وندبي، هما حارسا الماء الجاري (يردنا)، اما هيبل، شيتل، وانش، فهم على وجه العموم حراس اليابسة (الارض) وما عليها.

لـ"**كشطا**" (تصافح الأيدي الطقسي واشارة لاعطاء علامة الصدق)، وذلك قبل مشاركة رجل الدين في تناول الطعام (الخبز والماء).

"كشطا تجعلك كاملا اخي – الأثرى"، ان هذه المشاركة الطقسية تمارس على شاكلة ما يقوم به الأثري في مساكنهم "**شخيناثا**"[*].

"الشذا هو عطرك اخي – الأثرى، لكونك انت المليء بالبهاء".

من هذا يتكون الانطباع بأن الحاجز الفاصل بين عالم النور وعالم الارض قد تلاشى وانعدم، حتى انه لم يبق هناك عالم سماوي وعالم ارضي بل تداخل الاثنان مع بعضهما من خلال تأدية هذه المراسيم.

٤. الغمر في الماء قسم من اقسام طقوس التعميد.(CP 12-21):

الموضوع: الماء، النور والحياة، الماء في هذه الحالة يكون حلقة الوصل بين عالم النور وعالم لارض.

أ. الماء، النور والحياة وحدة مترابطة مع بعضها.

مصطلح النور يكون متلازما مع مصطلح "**اليردنا**" اي الماء الجاري، فمثلا في (CP 12) (ان تكوين شخنثا – المسكن في عالم النور – مرتبطة مع عملية افتتاح اليردنا)، اما في (CP 18)، (٢٠) فأن (يردنا العظيم الآتي من الحياة الاولى والتي كلها مليئة باشعاع المجد المتوهجة في تنا[**])، كما جاء ايضا في (DMasb 51, 11-19) (تعليقات حول

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[*] شخيناثا: جمع شخنثا وهي، بيوت العبادة السماوية في عالم النور، اما في العالم الارضي فتكون بيوت العبادة لتهيئة الفرد (المعمد) للدخول في ملكوت عالم النور. وهذه نقطة جوهرية تسند ما اوردته (الباحثة) وتوضح العلاقة الوثيقة بين عالم النور والعالم الارضي وكيفية زوال الحواجز بينهما. لتفاصيل اكثر راجع ديوان "ملكوثا اليثا".

[**] تنا: الضباب، الدخان الكوني، ويلعب دورا هاما في عمليات الخلق والتكوين التي تمت وتتم في عالم النور وعالم الظلام.

الصلاة في بداية الطقوس المقامة في داخل الماء) (قدوم البهاء والنور وتنوير اليردنا).

وفي (9 CP) يشار الى "تعميد النور العظيم" وهو اصطلاح يكرر لوصف صورة ملابس البهاء (19 ,92 CP)

اما بالنسبة الى علاقة الماء والحياة، وعلى ابسط المستويات، فهي: ان الماء معزز الحياة، لكونه يدخل في مراسيم صلاة وضع الاكليل، (19 CP)، ويوصف فيها تثبيت الاكليل الذي لايذبل ولا يفقد اوراقه.

والاكثر اهمية هو ان اليردنا يظهر كعنصر خالق للحياة، ففي (18 CP)، يذكر عن تكون الماء ونشوء الحياة من مائها الخاص. يتبعه سرد لكيفية قيام الحياة بتكوين الاشياء الحية داخل الماء.

كما يورد (14 CP) سردا عن **ياور**#، الذي اقام الاثري (شرايين الحياة) في اليردنا بقوة ادواته المائية. ويشابه ذلك تعميد الروح التي ترتفع الى الاعلى لتصل الى موقع النور العظيم والمقام الابدي.

وكذلك وجدت مثل هذه المفاهيم في خارج نصوص مراسيم التعميد، وتظهر بوضوح في احدى فقرات (32 ATS II)، حيث يشبه الماء في قارورة الكاهن وكأنه ماء الرجل، وبينت ذلك الليدي دراوور في مثالين من المعتقدات التي اوردتها حول، ان (أنشبي)* قد حملت بـ(يوحنا المعمدان) بعد ان شربت من اليردنا (٢١)، وذكر قسم من هذه المعتقدات في (10-18 115 J)، وكذلك في (2-5 5 HG).

ب. الماء حلقة الوصل بين عالم النور والارض.

ياور: احد كائنات النور، ويعني المشع، البراق.

* أنشبي: (اليصبات)، زوجة الاب زكريا.

على المستوى البسيط، يكون الماء شاهدا اوممرا للروح* في عروجها الى عالم النور، (CP 21) اما على المستوى العميق، فيكون اليردنا الوكيل للوسائل التي يتم عن طريقها العروج.

(CP 18) يشير الى معادلة متكونة من ثلاثة اقسام تتعلق بالروح التي تحرم الهدم من اجل البناء، الخطأ من اجل الصواب، ومكان الخوف من اجل مكان الضياء.

وبعد ان حددنا العلاقة الوثيقة بين الماء، النور والحياة، في كل من الطقوس والمعتقدات ووجدنا ان النور والحياة يوصفان بأنهما الطريق او الدليل لعروج الروح الى عالم النور (٢٢)، ومن المحتمل كذلك ان يكون نفس العمل قد اعطي ضمنيا للماء كما ورد في (CP :18)

> ...سآخذ بيده واكون حاميه ودليله الى مكان الضياء العظيم والمقام الابدي (٢٣).

مما ورد اعلاه نرى، انه من المعقول الافتراض بأن الماء الحي هو الحياة، وانبعث من المكان الآلهي، وهو الوسيلة التي عن طريقها تعرج الروح المتعمدة الى عالم النور، سواء كانت هذه الرحلة متأتية من خلال التصور الناتج عن ممارسة طقوس التعميد (٢٤) او الموعود بها من خلال رحلة ما بعد الموت. (٢٥)

اما اذا تعمقنا في المعنى، فأن الماء اليردنا يكون حلقة وصل بين عالم النور والعالم الارضي، لأن اليردنا في الطقوس يصبح اكثر سماويا. ويكون هذا أكثر وضوحا واقناعا في صلاة الافتتاح (**بتاها اد يردنا**) وصلاة التأسيس (**قايمتا اد يردنا**).

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*الروح: المقصود بها هنا (نيشمثا) اي نسمة الحياة، وهي ممصطلح يطلق على الشخص اثناء التعميد سواء في هذا العالم او في العالم الآخر.

طقس افتتاح اليردنا كما يمارس حاليا يتم قبل نزول الكاهن الى الماء .(CP 12) ويتم التأسيس بعد صعود المتعمد على ضفة النهر (CP 20) وغمر الكاهن لكأسه وقنينته في الماء وخروجه على ضفة النهر حيث يشرع بصلاة التأسيس.

"سيكيلبيرغ"، يعتقد انه عند اداء صلاة الافتتاح يصبح الماء الحي متدفقا في مجراه بالرغم من عدم ارتباط الصلاة بالماء. (٢٦) "رودلف"، يفترض ان افتتاح اليردنا له علاقة بذكريات وتاريخ الديانة، فهو يصف الكاهن وهو في حوض المندي يعطي اوامره لتصبح القناة سالكة، لكي يتدفق الماء فيها وكأنه ماء حي، (٢٧) وفي نفس الوقت يرى ان صلاة الافتتاح ما هي الا عمل رمزي يخدم فكرة، ان الماء الحي يجب ان يكون متدفقا وليس ساكنا او مقطوعاَ.

لقد ذكرت المعتقدات عن احتواء اليردنا الارضي على نسبة من اليردنا السماوي، يشار ايضاً الى وجود مجرى خيط رفيع من الماء الحي يتدفق في الماء الاسود. وقد اشارت "الليدي دراور"، الى ما أوردته هذه المعتقدات المندائية بهذا الصدد; وهوأن جزأ واحداً من تسعة اجزاء من ماء الارض هو ماء سماوي او ماء حي اما المتبقي (تاهما)* فهو سائل بدون حياة (٢٨)، ويتضح من طقوس التعميد ان اليردنا السماوي يتشجع ويزداد تدفقا وبأعلى طاقاته في داخل اليردنا الارضية.

اما ما تبقى من طقوس الطهارة الاقل تعلقاً بالماء هما: (الرشاما والطماشا)، ولايشترط فيهما اجراء صلاة الافتتاح او صلاة التأسيس. ولكن هناك بعض التشابه في طريقة التمهيد لمراسيم الطماشا. "...اطلق علي قوى اليردنا، واجعلها تأتي (علي)". (٢٩) ويتبين عدم ضرورة افتتاح او تأسيس الماء بعد هذه الصلاة. وهنا يطرح السؤال التالي: لماذا يزداد الاهتمام باليردنا في بعض الطقوس وليس في غيرها؟

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* تاهما: الماء الغير صالح للشرب، وهو ماء راكد غير صاف وعلى النقيض من الماء الحي الجاري (يردنا).

الصلاة التأسيسية لليردنا تدعو اليردنا لان يكون لطيفاً (٣٠) وليجلب النقاهة لاولئك المتعمدين. ويتضح من هذه الصلاة الطقسية، انه اذا كانت الصلاة التأسيسية تطالب اليردنا بالتزام الهدوء والسكينة، فان صلاة الافتتاح تثير نوعاً من التحفيز لحركة اليردنا وكما ذكرنا سابقا.

والجدير بالذكر فانه يتعين على الدارس ان يأخذ بعين الاعتبار وجود اختلافات في نصوص بعض المصادر والتي يظهر فيها بعض التناقض في تفاصيل مراسيم التعميد وكذلك في ما تحتويه الصلاة القدسية مثلا:

(GR IV 144, 29-145, 10)، تسرد حكاية التعميد الآلهي **لهيبل زيوا**** وذلك قبل البدء في رحلته الى عالم الظلام. عندما رأى اليردنا الألق، الضياء وبهاء **منداهيي**، (عصا الزيتون)# عصا الماء الحي، بدأ يلهو ويقفز ويجري ويدور حول نفسه كالدوامة (GR IV 145 2-4)، وكان علي ان اعطي أمري ليهدأ اليردنا كي يستطيع **هيبل زيوا** ان يتعمد (٣١) (GR IV 145 5-10)، ويشير هذا القسم من المراسيم، الى ان **منداهيي** قد اجرى التعميد وصعد الى ضفة اليردنا (٣٢)، (GR, V 145, 22-23)، ان تهدئة اليردنا قد حدثت قبل التعميد، وليس بعده كما جاء في (CP 20).

(DMasb 55 8)، يصف الصعود الى الضفة بعد الانتهاء من ملأ القنينة، مطابقاً لما ورد في (CP 20)، ولكن ما ورد في تعقيب (CP 21) هو ان اليردنا قد اصبح نشيطا مرة اخرى مع او بعد هذه الصلاة:

** هيبل زيوا: (واهب النور)، وهو كبرائيل الرسول، أحد ملائكة الرب.

عصا الزيتون "المركنة": عصا من شجرة الزيتون طولها بطول صاحبها تقريبا تستعمل حين اداء الطقوس الدينية على اليابسة وفي الماء من قبل رجال الدين فقط.

"عندما قام آيار ربا وجميع اخوانه الملائكة الستين (خارج اليردنا) ودعوا، قمت انا، وحينها دار جميع اليردني كلهم كالدوامة، تموجوا ورقصوا ولم يهدؤا في مرقدهم" (DMasb 55 13-16).

الجدول التالي يقارن ثلاثة مصادر ذكرت تفاصيل عما ورد اعلاه.

DMasb 51-55	GR V 144، 29-145، 10	CP 12-21، 82
	(اليردنا نشيط قبل البدء بالطقوس)	
		افتتاح اليردنا
	تهدئة اليردنا	
تعميد	تعميد	تعميد
ملأ القارورة بالماء	CP 82	ملأ القارورة بالماءCP 82 +
تهدئة وغلق اليردنا		تأسيس/ تهدئة اليردنا CP 20 +
	تأسيس التعميد	
CP 82 + نشيبد الحق "كشطا" فوق اليردناCP 20)		
صعود + CP 21+ نشاط اليردني شديد في نهاية هذا الجزء من الطقوس	صعود	صعود + CP 21

ان النموذج الاساسي في اسلوب CP هو: الافتتاح – تحريك اليردنا + التعميد + التأسيس – تهدئة اليردنا. اما في اسلوب GR فهو: (نشاط اليردنا وتفاعلها يبدأ قبل المباشرة بالمراسيم) + تهدئة اليردنا + التعميد + تأسيس التعميد. (٣٣) اما في (DMasb) فالاسلوب: التعميد + تهدئة اليردنا + نشاط اليردنا في نهاية المراسيم المقامة في الماء.

عندما نأخذ الفقرات الثلاثة اعلاه بنظر الاعتبار، يتضح لنا عدم وجود ترابط بين عمل اليردنا وتكريس الافتتاح / وغلق التكريس / التأسيس. (٣٤) وبمناقشة ما يدعى (بقيمتا) اي صلاة التأسيس (٣٥)، يوجز"رودولف"، المشاكل في هذا الجزء من المراسيم كالآتي:

> ظهور الفروقات بين التأسيس والتحرر، فمن الممكن القول: ان التأسيس يتجاوب تجاوبا أيجابياً، اما التحرر فيكون تجاوبه سلبيا غير فاعل او منتج، وهكذا يكون التكريس وانهاء التكريس، واستناداً على ما لدينا من المعطيات المتوفرة، فأن هذه الاختلافات لا يمكننا الغاؤها بسهولة او توضيحها بالتحديد.

من هذا المعنى الضمني المحدود للصلاة الطقسية، فان الاستنتاج الاكثر معقولية هو في حالة الافتتاح يكون الماء اكثر امتلاءً باليردنا المقدس، اما في التأسيس فتبدأ حالة التهدأة ورجوع الماء لحالته الطبيعية وهي ثمانية اجزاء من الماء الارضي وجزء واحد من الماء الحي المقدس.

وهكذا وكما عبرنا عنه، فان افتتاح اليردنا يعني زيادة في قدرته كمصدر للحياة. وتصبح هذه المرحلة اشد خطورة لمن يمارسها، ولهذا فانه في اغراض الطقوس، يجب ان يحد من تعاظم نشاطه وتأثير القوى الكامنة فيه.(٣٦) ولربما يكون ذلك واضحا عند فهم المعنى الحقيقي للصلاة التوثيقية التي تجرى لاجل طرد الارواح الشريرة والتعاويذ، وهي الصلاة التي يصاحبها عمل الكاهن لثلاث دوائر على

سطح الماء بأدواته. اما في مرحلة التأسيس والانتهاء من طقوس التعميد، فأن القوى الحياتية الكامنة لليردنا، تقل وتضعف، ونتيجة لذلك يقل الخطر على اولئك الذين يكونون في تماس معه.

ان الخطر لا يكمن في الماء فقط بل عند المرشحين للتعميد انفسهم، فهم في حالة انتقال من الحالة الهامشية الى حالة المشاركة الكاملة في عالم النور، ويعني ذلك هو الانتقال من حالة الظلام الى حالة النور، من حالة تحمل الخطايا الى حالة الحياة، والذين هم في حالة الانتقال هذه يكونون اكثر عرضة لخطر الماء. (٣٧)

تصف العالمة الانثروبولوجية "دوكلاس"، حالة الانتقال كما يلي:

> يقع الخطر في حالة الانتقال لامر بسيط جداً، فهذه الحالة اي حالة الانتقال تقع بين حالتين، لا تمثلانه لعدم ثباته وتغيره...وتستطيع الطقوس السيطرة على هذا الخطر وذلك بعزله فترة من الزمن عن حالته الاولى ورفعه للحالة الجديدة معلنةً عن انتقاله الى الحالة الجديدة وبهذا لن تكون فقط فترة التحول خطرا لوحدها بل ان ما تمر به طقوس الفصل بين الحالتين هي اكثر خطورة في هذه المراسيم.

انا ارى وضوحا كاملا في هذا العمل الذي يتمثل في عزل الاشخاص بعضهم عن الآخر في طقوس التعميد سواء الرمزية او الفعلية منها وادخال كل فرد على حدة لتعميده باليردنا.

ان الخطورة في هذا الجزء من الطقوس تأتي من ثلاثة مسببات: الروح في حالة انتقال؛ الماء الارضي في حالة تحول، لانفتاحه بأعلى طاقاته الكامنة نحو اليردنا السماوي؛ وان الروح والماء كليهما يلتقيان في هذه النقطة، عندما يكونان في حالة الانتقال الخطرة. وبالرغم من اننا نتكلم عن الخطر، فأنه من الضروري ايضاً معرفة مقدار حجم

الطاقة الكامنة في كل من الروح والماء. ولابد من الاشارة الى انه في هذه المرحلة بالذات تكون حياة عالم النور الوسيط للروح.

الخلاصة

يبقى الكثير مما يستحق البحث، فهناك مثلا: موضوع الوسطاء الآخرين، "بكلي"، في دراستها لموضوع "المسختا"، تشير الى ان رجال الدين المندائيين هم الوسطاء والممثلين للشخصيات الروحانية النورانية، وهم القادرون على عبور الحواجز ما بين عالم الارض وعالم النور. (٣٩) وبحثنا هذا لايسمح لنا بالأسترسال لانتقاد مثل هذه النظريات، بل يتوجب التنبه الى ان مراسيم التطهر الصغرى بالماء "الرشاما والطماشا"، يجريان بشكل فاعل من قبل الشخص المندائي العادي بدون الاستعانة بالكاهن ليكون وسيطاً.

هناك اسئلة اخرى، بعضها حقاً يحتاج لمناقشة مع الطائفة المندائية، مثلا: ماذا تعني وساطة الحياة الى الروح؟ كيف يشرح المندائيون حالتهم بعد انتهائهم من مراسيم التعميد ؟ ما هو المعنى للباس النور في ضوء استمرار حياتهم العملية على الارض ؟ ماهي انواع النشاطات في الواقع العملي عندما تتلاقى العناصرالمختلفة مع بعضها في المرحلة الهامشية للمتعمد مثل الماء، الروح، وكذلك الاتحاد التزاوجي السرمدي بين الطقوس الارضية والسماوية ؟

ان كان حقيقة حضور عالم النور في مراسيم التعميد الارضية فهل يعني هذا ان التعميد الارضي والسماوي هما واحد ؟ (٤٠) فان كان كذلك، حينها نتساءل اين يضع المندائي نفسه في حركة التعميد هذه ؟

هناك عدم توافق في اراء الباحثين حول ما اذا كانت الروح لها حصة في عالم النور. "رودولف"، بالاتفاق مع "دراور"، يعتقدان بأنها

ليست اكثر من حلم الهي "سماوي" وهي نظرة معاكسة لنظرية، "روزنشتاين"، الذي يعتقد بأن التعميد هي رحلة الهية "سماوية". (٤١)

ان العرض الطويل اللامتناهي حول التصورات السماوية والارضية في طقوس الصلاة ربما يثير الجدل، فمن الممكن ان يكون بعض من الشيء السماوي يثير البهجة للروح، حتى لو كان ذلك لفترة قصيرة من خلال طقوس التعميد. وبالرغم من انها او انه لايزال حيا من الناحية الفيزياوية "الجسمانية" ويعيش على الارض، فأن ذلك ممكن طبقا لوجهة النظر المندائية، وهذا ما يبرر موقف المندائيين تجاه التاريخ والزمن، حيث ان الاحداث الاساسية لعالم النور، تكون جميعها مهمة لهم، بخلاف الحوادث التاريخية في عالمنا الارضي، حيث تكون ذات شأن ثانوي وغير مهمة. (٤٢)

بالرغم من ان العديد من هناك الاسئلة المتبقية يتوجب الاجابة عليها، الا ان نقطتين اصبحتا واضحتين في اطار هذا التحقيق:

اولاً – ان طقوس التعميد المندائية مرتبطة ارتباطا وثيقا مع المعتقدات المندائية.

ثانياً – ان عنصر الماء الحي طبقاً لمفاهيم طقوس التعميد والمعتقدات، هو العنصر الوسيط بين عالم النور والعالم الارضي، وهو يعمل كالجسر الرابط بين عالم النور وعالم الظلام.

وبسبب من ان ارسال الماء الحي النظر الاولي، الذي هو نوع من انواع الحياة وامتزاجه بالماء الارضي، فأن التعميد يخلق الحياة في الروح المندائية، ومنها يظهر المعنى أن تكون الروح شريكة في عالم النور، وتكون قد شاركت الذين توفوا وذهبوا الى تلك الحياة.

هناك فوائد اخرى تأتي عن التعميد المندائي، مثل غفران الخطايا، التطهر، التبرك والشفاء، (CP 7, 9, 18, 23, 24)، وقطعا يعود هذا بالنتيجة الحتمية لارتباط الروح مع عالم النور.

- ARR: (Alma Risaia Rba); E. S. Drower, A Pair of Nasoraean Commentaries (Two Priestly Documents). The Great "First World" and The Lesser "First World"، Leiden: E. J. Brill، 1963. Reference by page and line number.
- ATS: (Alf Trisar Suialia) E. S. Drower, The Thousand and Twelve Questions. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag، 1960.
- CP: E. S. Drower, The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden: E. J. Brill، 1959. Reference by the number of the prayer and its accompanying instructions / explications.
- DMasb: (Diwan Masbuta dHibil Ziwa); E. S. Drower, The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa. Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana، 1953. Reference to both texts is by page and line number.
- DN: (Diwan Nahrawata); K. Rudolph، Der mandaische "Diwan der Flusse" Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982.
- GL/R: (Ginza، left/right side) in M. Lidzbarski, Ginza. Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandae, Gottingen/Leipzig; Vandenhoeck & Ruperecht/J.C. Hinrichs sche Buchhandlung، 1925. Reference is by book، page and line number.
- HG: (Haran Gawaita); cf. DMasb
- J: M, Lidzbarski, Das Johannessbuch der Mandaer, Giessen: Alfred Topelmann، 1915. Reference is by page and line number.
- MD: E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, Oxford: Clarendon press، 1963.
- ML: M. Lidzbarski, Mandaische Liturgien, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970 (reprint of Berlin, 1920).

الهوامش:

١- رسالة قدمتها الكاتبة برعاية مؤسسة Charles Strong Junior Scholar 1988 الى المؤتمر السنوي الثالث عشر لجمعية الدراسات الدينية الاوسترالية في مدينة بريزبن.

٢-

E.S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, Leiden; E. J. Brill، 1962, (reprint from Oxford، 1937), {abbrev. MII}, 15-16, 19 n. 12

٣-

K. Rudolph, Mandaeism, Leiden: E. J. Brill، 1978

قدر كورت عدد المندائيين حوالي خمس عشر الف نسمة.*

٤- يعيش المندائيون غالباً في المناطق القريبة من الاهوار واقسام الفرات الجنوبية وعلى ضفاف الانهر وروافد دجلة وفي منطقة خوزستان على ضفاف نهر الكارون وكذلك في مدن البصرة وبغداد وغيرها من المدن**.

٥-

H. D. Sox, "The last of the Gnostics"، in *Kings Theological Review* VI 2، (1983), 43-44, esp. 43.

٦- أطلع كورت رودلف الكاتبة برسالة خاصة بها بتاريخ 88-7-27، اشار فيها انه قد اعاد اتصالاته منذ قرابة ١٨ شهر مضت مع المندائيين

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* يقدر عدد المندائين في عام ١٩٩٥ بخمسة وستين الف شخص في العالم. "تقديرات مركز البحوث المندائية"

** يعيش قسم من المندائيين في الوقت الحاضر، في مناطق مختلفة من العالم مثل اوستراليا، الاقطار الاوربية، امريكا، وغيرها من البلدان، ويقدر عددهم بعدة الاف، وتعتبر هجرتهم حديثة نسبيا واغلبها بعد حرب الخليج الثانية.

العراقيين، والتي فقدها بعد حرب الخليج. وقد كتب فيها حول الطائفة ما يلي:

" انا اتوقع ان وضع الطائفة، كما وصفت الحالة برسالة خاصة لي، بأنها حرجة. والرقابة شديدة جداً. ولكنه من المؤكد ان لدى الطائفة الآن رجل دين واحد بدرجة كنزبرا# ... وهو مندائي عصري في تفكيره، ولديه وضوح في شيء واحد، هو ان الطائفة سوف لاتستطيع الاستمرار الا اذا تبنت خطوات معينة لمعالجة الوضع. وهو على النقيض من سلفه* فقد وافق على استعمال حوض سباحة عادي كحوض للتعميد في بغداد".

٧-

J.J. Buckley, "The Mandaean Tabahata Masiqta", in *Numen* XXVIII, 2 (1981), 138-163, 138.

٨-

G. Widengren, "Heavenly Enthronment and Baptism. Studies in Mandaean Baptism" in Religion in Antiquity. J. Neusne (eds). (SHR XVI) Leiden: E.J. Brill 1970, 551-582.

٩- MD 265a

١٠- لتفاصيل اوسع حول علاقة الماء الحي مع المعتقدات انظر:

K. Rudolph, Die Mandaer. II. Der Kult Gottingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961, 61-66.

١١- MD 265b

١٢- يوصف الماء الاسود بأنه حالة من التكوين البدائي للمياه الفوارة، (GR III 71 17-18)، والتي تجلب الموت لكل من يحاول الدخول فيها، وتحرق كل من يحاول النظر اليها، (GR III 71 19-20)،.ومن جانب آخر فأن هذه المياه هي مادة منتجة ايضاً. انظر

GR XII 277، 31-32; V 161، 32-34; CP 1.

يوجد كنزفرا واحد في العراق واثنان في ايران.وآخر في الولايات المتحدة الامريكية في الوقت الحاضر.

* يقصد كنزفرا الشيخ عبدالله الشيخ سام الذي توفي في كانون اول ١٩٧٩.

١٣- MD 247b يشير الى خروج الحياة والماء بصورة مندادهيي، نبع الحياة (نباط هيي ML 12, 1;64,3; (130,11);MD 296b) ، وينبوع الحياة (ممبوها اد هيي ML 77,1; MD 245b).،

١٤- توجد نصوص لتقاليد مشابهة لخلق اليردنا في العالم بواسطة اثنين من الاثري في (GR III 92; 12-15) كما اشار الى ذلك:

K. Rudolph, Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandaischen Schriften. Eine literarkritische und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965, 206 n. 1

ويخمن ان هذين الاثري هما شلمي وندبي.

١٥- وهكذا لتتدفق المياه للامام وان رباط هذا العالم قد تم. Lidzbarski يوضح بصورة قاطعة ان العلاقة بين العالم الارضي والعالم النوراني تتم بأضافة "مع العالم اعلاه" الى النص.

١٦- Drower في (MII xxiv-xxv)، تشير: ان المندائيين يصرون على ان كلمة (يردنا) لا تعود الى كلمة نهر الاردن، وهم يعتبرون الانهار الارضية قد اتت من شبيهاتها النموذجية، مثل الفرات النوراني، الذي هو نهر ابيض وصافي ينبع من جبل يدعى كريملا، انظر كذلك ، DN, 52 (الشرح)، {Tafil IV}78 (الرسومات). ان اخر الفرضيات في وقتنا الحاضر حول هذا الموضوع تشير بأن العادات المندائية لها جذورها في اليهودية،

(Rudolph, *Mandaeism* 3-4 and esp. his *Die Mandaer. ..Prolegomena: Das Mandaerproblem* (FRLANT N. F. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1960)،،56),

مستنداً بدرجة ما على ما جاء في كتاب HG 7-10، عن أن المندائيين / الناصورائيين قد عانوا من الاضطهاد والقتل في أورشليم، وعلى اثرها هاجروا واستوطنوا على ضفاف نهري دجلة والفرات. ومن السهل ان

يتفهم المرء كيف تبنت كلمة يردنا في المكان الجديد واصبحت بمعنى الفرات النوراني. انظر:

Rudolph *Prolegomena* 62-66; *Mandaeism* 5.

١٧- في دراستي لصلاة التعميد، اعتمدت كتابات Drower والترجمة الانكليزية للشروح. للمزيد من المعلومات يمكن الرجوع الى الترجمات الالمانية (M. Lidzbarski (ML. لاجل دراسة اصل الطقوس، راجع،

E. Segelberg *Masbuta. Studies in the Ritual of the Mandaean Baptism,* (AAWG.PH NF 17,1) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1958, 155 ;184 Rudolph Kult "34. Taufe und Mahl" 340-402.

يلاقي الباحثون صعوبات في دراسة الطقوس المندائية بشكلها الحالي، لظهور بعض التشوه في النصوص على مر الايام، انظر: E. Segelberg ("صلاة البهثا والممبوها. ولغرض تتبع التطور في الطقوس المندائية" انظر:

Gnosis. *Festchrift fur Hans Jonas* .B. Aland Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1978, (474-472 عند دراسة الطقوس المندائية، يجب ان يؤخذ بعين الاعتبار أن المخطوطات الموجودة حاليا لربما قد مرت بعصور طويلة قبل ان تصل الينا على شكلها ومحتواها الحالي. ولربما كانت الطقوس كذلك قد وصلت لشكلها الحاضر بالصدفة. ولا شك ان المراحل الاولى لها كانت وبالتأكيد اقل طولا، وان الشروحات تحددت بنقاط رئيسية مباشرة (472).

١٨- Drower MII 1; cf. sba (II) MD 388b-389a

كذلك تعليق

Rudolph (Kult 94)

الخاص عن فهم المندائيين للروح:

"الروح في اعمق معنى، الشخص المتعمد والمشارك في التعميد واليردنا بالتعاقب. في التعميد يكون الاهتمام بكل ما يتعلق بالروح"

١٩- Drower, MII 102.

٢٠- Segelberg (Masbuta 48) وانظر العلاقة القريبة بين CP 12 Drower, MII, 100.and CP 18،

٢٢- في CP 45، انها الحياة التي تحرر الروح من الموت والظلام والشر وتريها طريق الحياة.(iuhra d̲-hiia; MD 343a) وتقود خطواتها في طريق الصدق والايمان. انظر كذلك: CP 24. in GR XII 271,26ff، الحياة هي الطريق لعالم النور:

انت طريق الكمال،
الطريق، الذي يقود الى مكان النور.
انت طريق الحياة الابدية...

٢٣- (Rudolph Kult 81 n. 8) غير متأكد من يكون القائد، اهو الكاهن ام اليردنا. اضافة الى مفهوم التعميد كطريق لعالم النور ، فأن التعميد السماوي **لهيبل زيوا** كما في GR V 163,28-164.5، يمكن ان يفسر على انه عملية نقاء وعودة الى العالم السماوي.

٢٤- مثلا انظر خلاصة آراء الدارسين عن معنى طقوس التعميد كما ورد عند Rudolph,Kult, 91-92 also 97n.2، بما يتعلق بواقع الروح في عالم النور من خلال طقوس التعميد، وتبين انه يجب عمل دراسات جدية عن الاعداد، القيام، والاسناد وغيرها من الامور التي نجدها في الطقوس، انظر Segelberg Masbuta 152-154; Widengren, *Enthroneme,561-568;* Rudolph Kult, 95-96. للمناقشة حول ما اذا كان اليردنا هو الجسر المؤدي الى عالم النور انظر:

R. Reitzentein, Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe.Mit Beitragen von L. Troje، Darrmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft، 1967, (reprint from Leipzig/Berlin, 1929), 13-14; and also W. Bousset, die

Himmelreise der Seele, Darmstadt: wissenshaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960,(reprint from ARW Bd. 4، Leipzig، 1901، ss. 136-169، 229-273), 39; and W. Brandt, Das Schisksal der Seele nach dem Tode, nach mandaischen und parsischen Vorstellungen. Mit einem Nachwort zum Neudruck von Geo Widengren, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967, (reprint from JPTh 18, 1892, ss. 405-438, 575-603), 67-68.

٢٥- التعميد من متطلبات عروج الروح بعد الوفاة: المصبتا والمسختا مرتبطتان مع بعضهما، Rudolph, Kult 97

٢٦- Segelberg, Masbuta 41

٢٧- Rudolph Kult 73; note in GR V 191,28

اوامر **مندادهيي** الى يوحنا المعمدان، "دع اليردنا يجري بحرية"، حتى ولو ان مندادهيي لم يكن في هذه الحالة يمثل الكاهن. انظر كذلك Drower, MII, 122n. 17، - "ان جريان الماء يكون ضروريا في حوض المندي، واذا راى الكاهن بأن الماء أخذ بالركود، فأنه يأمر بتنظيف القنواة الموصلة للحوض، ليجعل الماء يستعيد حياته، ويمر بحرية". ان جريان الماء من الامور المهمة جداً. والجدير بالذكر بأنه من المآخذ التي يأخذها المندائيين اتجاه التعميد المسيحي، كما جاء ذكره في، GR 57,1ff، ، ان تعميدهم لايتم بالماء الجاري، وبالتالي فهو غير مرتبط بالحياة.

٢٨- Drower, MII, 100-101

٢٩- Drower, MII, 105..

٣٠- استعمل الفعل في كلمة نها، MD 290a-b

٣١- يلاحظ اشارة مشابهة لردة فعل اليردنا في GR V, 192, 16-23 ، وذلك عند تعميد **مندادهيي** من قبل يوحنا المعمدان. حيث يظهر يوحنا المعمدان عدم استطاعته الوقوف بسبب هيجان الماء، عندها أمر

مندادهيي الماء للعودة الى طبيعته، ليتسنى ليوحنا المعمدان من الوقوف على ارض صلبة في وسط النهر.

٣٢- "بعد ذلك اسس **مندادهيي** التعميد. خرج صاعدا من اليردنا ودخل في الكشطا مع العظماء."

٣٣- ان المصطلحين تأسيس التعميد وتأسيس اليردنا ليسا غير مرتبطين كما يتراءى، فمثلاً كورت (Kult,73)، يعطي المرادف termini technici للتعميد "كأستقبال اليردنا" و"الدخول الى اليردنا".

٣٤- انظر الصعوبات كما يراها Segelberg Masbuta,69.
٣٥-انظر:

Segelberg,Masbuta,20and,Rudolph,Kult,219-222.

٣٦- يتبين من مضمون الصلوات ان هناك خطراً من داخل الماء. CP 13 يتضح ان ذهاب الكاهن الى الماء قبل تعميد الروح[*]، هو بمثابة دفاع ضد الشر، وهو يطلب من حماة اليردنا السماويين ضمان وختم وحراسة اولئك الذين سينزلون الى الماء. ان مثل هذا الخطر المتأتي من اليردنا يمكن ملاحظته في عدة مصادر مختلفة، فمثلا يذكر HG8, 7-9 ، ان نهر الاردن وروافده قد فاضوا فوق الضفاف، واطفأوا نور راية الاعداء الذين حطموا الناصورائيين[**]، اما في ATS I, 34. فيشير الى قوى الشر التي تستولي على اليردنا في راس السنة الجديدة، عندما يكون حراس النور الروحانيين غائبين عن حراستها. ان من يدخل يده في اليردنا في هذا الوقت "سيكون من نصيب النار".

٣٧- ان الخطر المتكون من حالة الانتقال قد يظهر اكثر وضوحا في مراسيم المسخثا، والتي يؤدي فيها، ارتكاب اي خطأ في تلاوة اي قسم من التراتيل الى تدمير الروح. انظر كذلك: ARR 49, 4-50, 24.

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[*] يقصد هنا الشخص المعمد.

[**] الناصورائيين: الاشخاص المتفقهين والعارفين باسرار الدين، ويكونون عادة من رجال الدين.

٣٨- M. Douglas، *Purity and Danger*، تحليل لمبادىء الدنس والمحرمات، London. Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966, 96,

٣٩- Buckley, Masiqtha, 139.، بمعزل عن موضوع الدور الذي يلعبه الكاهن في الطقوس، فالاسطورة تظهر شخصية الوسيط المنقذ، **هيبل زيوا بن منداد هيي**، في حالته نرى انه يتوجب عليه ان يقام له تعميد سماوي بعد رحلته الى عالم الظلام، قبل ان يستطيع العودة لوضعه الطبيعي في عالم النور. (GR V 163,31-164,5; DMasb. 31 ff)

٤٠ - Rodolph, Kult 103-104.

٤١- Rudolph, Kult 103, n 2.

٤٢- "انه لمن الصعب جداً التحدث عن اصل وتاريخ المندائيين، لان مخطوطاتهم قليلا ما تحدثت عن ذلك، ولكنهم يعتقدون ان دينهم اسس من قبل عالم النور، ولذا فهم ليسوا مهتمين بتاريخ عالمنا المادي".. Rudolph, Mandaeism, 3.

مخطوطات
البحر الميت

متى وكيف عثر عليها؟

تقع خربة قمران على ارض ترتفع بحوالي مائة قدم عن الطريق المعبدة، وعلى بعد ميل وربع من البحر الميت. واول ما يرى الناظر برج القلعة الماثل لوقتنا الحاضر، ولايزال فيها طابقان في حالة جيدة، وذلك لسماكة الجدران الحجرية التي تقارب ثلاثة اقدام، والمؤكد انها بنيت لاغراض دفاعية. يلاصق البرج عدد من الاحواض المختلفة الحجوم، مرتبطة بشبكة معقدة من القنوات المائية، ربما كان بعضها يستعمل لاغراض طقوس الاغتسال والتعميد، وربما كانت تستعمل لخزن الماء اللازم لجماعة قمران . وتقع المقبرة في الارض المحصورة ما بين قمران والبحر الميت . وعثر فيها على ما يقارب الف ومائتين قبرا بشكل روابي من الحجر المصفوف باتجاه مضاد لشرائع اليهودية والاسلام في الدفن وهو الاتجاه الشمالي الجنوبي، والذي يطابق تماما شريعة المندائيين في دفن موتاهم.

ويمكن الوصول الى قمران عن طريق السيارات من القدس ، وتبعد عنها حوالي عشرون ميلا فقط.

في سنة ١٩٤٧ تم اكتشاف مخطوطات دينية في هذه المنطقة اطلق عليها " مخطوطات قمران " وكانت فلسطين انذاك تحت الانتداب البريطاني.

ان الظروف الحقيقية التي رافقت اكتشاف هذه المخطوطات باتت غير اكيدة، وهي تشبه الاسطورة في وقائعها، ويروى ان احد الرعاة البدو من افراد قبيلة التعمرية البدوية المدعو " محمد الذيب "، كان اول شخص عثر على قسم من هذه المخطوطات ، حيث كان يلاحق

عنزة هاربة في تلك المنحدرات الصخرية الشاهقة في منطقة قمران، وحينها رأى فتحة في واجهة المنحدر اندفع خلالها، فوجد نفسه داخل مغارة صغيرة الحجم ذات سقف عال، عرضها ستة اقدام وعمقها اربعة وعشرون قدما، وكانت تحتوي على عدد من الجرات الخزفية الكبيرة الحجم نسبيا، يقرب ارتفاعها من ثلاثة اقدام، والكثير منها كان مهشما، ومن المرجح ان ثمانية جرات فقط كانت سليمة، بعضها محتفظ بغطاء يشبه السلطانية " الطاس "، وقد وجد "محمد الذيب" في احدها ثلاث لفات من الرق مغلفة بقماش ابيض مهتري.

خلال الايام الثلاثة اللاحقة رجع "محمد الذيب" مع رفيق له ليعثروا على اربعة لفات رقية اخرى، وتم نقل بعض الجرات السليمة ، استعمل قسم منها لنقل الماء . وعندما تم التنقيب الاركيولجي بعد ذلك في الكهف وجد هناك بقايا لجراة خزفية يمكن ان تكون بعد اعادة تركيبها مالا يقل عن اربعون جرة. ولا يوجد دليل قاطع عن عدد اللفات الرقية والجرات، فبعضها قد حرق والبعض الاخر استعمل لاغراض اخرى، الا ان من المؤكد ان سبعة رقائق كاملة مع عشرون قطعة من لفات مختلفة قد رأت النور بعد فترة الفي سنة. ولغرض بيع المخطوطات، فقد تم الاتصال باحد التجار ويدعى "اسكندر شاهين" الملقب (كاندو) من جماعة الكنيسة اليعقوبية السورية، والذي قام بالاتصال بشخص آخر يدعى "جورج اشيا" من القدس، وطبقا لما ذكر ان الاثنان قد غامرا وذهبا الى قمران، وانهما قد عثرا على بعض المخطوطات وقطع مختلفة، وحيث ان عملية الاتجار بمثل هذه الامور محرمة قانونيا، فقد كان ولابد من تسليم كافة الاثار واللقط الى الدولة او لمديرية الاثار، والتي كانت تدعى في حينها " متحف الاثار الفلسطيني " والمعروف "بمتحف روكفلر"، والواقع في القسم الشرقي من القدس . اما جورج اشيا فقد اعلم رئيس اساقفته في الكنيسة اليعقوبية السورية في

القدس " اثاناسيوس يشوا صاموئيل " بالاكتشاف، وباعه كاندو اربعة مخطوطات بقيمة اربعة وعشرون باوند، وكان احد المخطوطات مشطورا لنصفين، وآخر في حالة جيدة وهو نسخة من كتاب (اشيا MS) من العهد القديم ويبلغ طوله اربعة وعشرون قدم . اما المخطوطات الثلاث الباقية فهي مخطوطة (تعليق على كتاب حباقوق) ومخطوط (نظام الجماعة) ومخطوط (النشأ والاصول).

لقد باءت محاولات رئيس الاساقفة بتحديد تاريخ كتابة المخطوطات، الى ان التقى باحد الاطباء اليهود الذي كان يزور الدير ، والذي عرفه باحد علماء اللغات القديمة، والذي بدوره عرفه برئيس قسم الاثار بروفسور "اليزار سوكينك"

بتاريخ ٢٤ تشرين الثاني / نوفمبر ١٩٤٧، وقبل ان يقوم "سوكينك" بمعاينة المخطوطات لدى رئيس الاساقفة صوموئيل، كان على موعد سري مع تاجر آثار يدعى " الارمني " ولضيق الوقت لم يستطع "سوكينك" ان يحصل على تصريح مرور من السلطات العسكرية، لذا كان مضطرا للقائه في نقطة التفتيش الفاصلة بين الحيين اليهودي والعربي في القدس، والتحدث معه من خلال الاسلاك الشائكة. واستطاع التاجر ان يعرض جزءا من مخطوطات مكتوبة باللغة العبرية، واوضح التاجر ان هذه جزء من مخطوطات يملكها احد التجار في بيت لحم، وانها قد وجدت من قبل بعض البدو، وسئل "سوكينك" ما اذا كان يرغب بشرائها ؟ وهل لها قيمة تاريخية ؟ وهل هي اصلية ام مزورة ؟ حينها طلب "سوكينك" لقاء اخر، وقد تم بالفعل بعد ثلاثة ايام، في هذا اللقاء حصل "سوكينك" على بطاقة مرور للقسم الشرقي من القدس، حيث تمكن من معاينة بعض القطع بدقة، وعندما اقتنع بانها ذات اهمية كبيرة قرر الذهاب الى "بيت لحم" لرؤية المزيد، وتم له ذلك في يوم ٢٩ تشرين الثاني / نوفمبر. وتفحص "سوكينك" ثلاثة مخطوطات، كانت معروضة

للبيع، سمح له باخذها لدراستها. وفي منتصف تلك الليلة، اذيع خبر موافقة الامم المتحدة على تاسيس دولة اسرائيل، حينها قرر سوكينك شراء المخطوطات الثلاثة. وهذه المخطوطات هي:

"الحرب ما بين ابناء النور وابناء الظلام" ومخطوطة "صلاة الشكر" "واشيا MS2".

في نهاية كانون الثاني /يناير ١٩٤٨ نظم "سوكينك" لقاء لمعاينة المخطوطات الاخرى الموجدة لدى رئيس الاساقفة " صاموئيل " وكان اللقاء في ظرف سياسي حساس، وتم في الجانب البريطاني من القدس في Y.M.C.A. تحت اشراف مديرة المكتبة، وهي من تبعة الكنيسة اليعقوبية، استطاع خلالها "سوكينك" ان يتفحص المخطوطات الاربعة، وسمح له باخذها لاكمال فحصها، وقد اعادها، بتاريخ ٦ شباط / فبراير لرئيس الاساقفة معتذرا، بانه لم يستطع جمع المال اللازم لشرائها، في الوقت نفسه كانت الاتصالات جارية ما بين رئيس الاساقفة وبعض الخبراء الامريكان العاملين في فلسطين، وتم تصوير المخطوطات من قبل معهد "Albright" المعهد الامريكي للبحوث الشرقية. وفي شباط تم ارسال ملف كامل عن المخطوطات الى البروفسور "William Albright" في جامعة "جونز هوبكنز"، وجاء الرد في ١٥ آذار / مارس من قبل البرفسور "اولبرايت" موكدا ما توصل اليه "سوكينك" عن اهمية المخطوطات،.وقد نقلت المخطوطات الى بيروت ومنها لاحقا الى احد البنوك النيويوركية وذلك في كانون الثاني ١٩٤٩، حيث بقيت هناك عدة سنوات.

في ١٢ ابريل ١٩٤٨ تم الاعلان عن المخطوطات في صحيفة التايم.

مخطوطات دينية عثر عليها في فلسطين

اعلنت جامعة (Yale) بالامس عن اكتشاف مخطوطة قديمة لكتاب "اشيا" في دير الكنيسة السريانية سانت مارك في القدس، والمخطوط مكتوب على الرق يعود تاريخه الى القرن الاول قبل الميلاد، تم التعرف عليه لاول مرة في المعهد الامريكي للبحوث الشرقية في القدس، كما تم كذلك فحص ثلاثة مخطوطات اخرى في المعهد المذكور وهي: مخطوط "تعليق على كتاب حباقوق" و "نظام الجماعة" وتعود هذه المخطوطات الى فئة دينية غير معروفة نسبيا، ربما تكون الطائفة الاسينية "Essenes" اما المخطوط الثالث فلم يتم التحقق عليه.

في اكتوبر ١٩٥١ جاء احد افراد قبيلة التعمرية الى القدس حاملا اجزاء من مخطوطات وجدها في موقع اخر غير موقع خربة قمران، اتصل البدوي بمدير متحف "روكفلر" "جوزيف سعد" الذي اصر على معرفة مكان العثور عليها. وعاد البدوي لاستطلاع راي جماعته ولكنه لم يعد.

قرر سعد تجهيز قوة صغيرة من الافراد للذهاب الى قبيلة التعمرية، وهناك شاهد البدوي الذي جاءه بالمخطوطة وتم ايقافه وارغامه للذهاب مع الفرقة لمكان العثور على المخطوطات، واتجه الجميع الى البحر الميت، وقد استطاعت هذه البعثة اكتشاف اربعة كهوف في "وادي مربعات" والواقعة على بعد احد عشر ميلا جنوب قمران، وقرابة ميلان من البحر الميت.

حدد تاريخ المخطوطات التي عثر عليها في هذه المنطقة بالقرن الثاني الميلادي وبالتحديد في وقت الانتفاضة التي قامت في فلسطين ضد الحكم الروماني بقيادة "سيمون بار خوشبا" ما بين ١٣٢-١٣٥ ميلادية. ومن ضمن المخطوطات التي عثر عليها في هذه المنطقة، رسالتان موقعتان بخط سيمون توضح الوضع القانوني

والاقتصادي، والادارة المدنية لجماعة الانتفاضة والتي كانت على حافة الانتصار ضد الاحتلال الروماني.

بعد هذا الاكتشاف قام الاب "Devaux" مع "Harding" وخمسة عشر مساعدا بالتنقيب المنظم والمتواصل في الموقع لمدة خمسة سنوات، وانتهت بعام ١٩٥٦.

ومن اكتشافات البعثة، مجموعة بنايات تعود لطائفة "الاسينيين" الذين يشابهون بعقائدهم المندائيين المعاصرين وقد وصفهم المؤرخ "Pliny" الذي عاش عصرهم، والذي لم يذكرهم بالاسم فقط بل حدد مكان تواجدهم وطريقة حياتهم، فوصفهم بانهم يتميزون عن القبائل الاخرى بكثرة تعبدهم وابتعادهم عن محاسن الدنيا، يصاحبون اشجار النخيل التي كانت تجهزهم بالطعام الرئيسي.

تحرت فرقة الاب، "Devaux" مائتان وسبعون موقعا، (٣٧) موقعا عثر فيها على بقايا فخاريات خزفية لاكثر من مائة جرة، وضمن الاكتشافات التي عثر عليها في كهف رقم (٣) مخطوطتان او بالاحرى جزءان لمخطوطة واحدة اسطوانية الشكل من النحاس، كانت بحالة صدأ رديئة، كتب عليها بواسطة الضرب او التخريم، وتم تقطيعها الى شرائح في مختبرات مانجستر لغرض قراءتها، وقد احتوت هذه المخطوطة على تصنيف وكميات الكنوز الذهبية والفضية واوعية واواني دينية وغيرها، واسماء مخطوطات مختلفة. والجدير بالذكر ان ابان الاحتلال الروماني تم اخفاء وتوزيع هذه الكنوز في مناطق سرية مختلفة. وحسب احصائية الباحثون، يكون مجموع الكنوز المذكورة قرابة خمسة وستون طنا من الفضة، وستة وعشرون طنا من الذهب، ولا زال الجدال قائم ليومنا هذا عما اذا كانت مثل هذه الكنوز موجودة حقيقة.

ان اكبر كمية من المخطوطات الغير الكاملة قد عثر عليها في موقع "رقم ٤" وذلك في ايلول / سمتمبر ١٩٥٢. وتم الانتهاء من

تصنيفها في سنة ١٩٥٩.

"مخطوطات توراتية تعود على اقل تقدير ل ٢٠٠ سنة قبل الميلاد معروضة للبيع، تصلح ان تكون هدية مثلى لمؤسسات تعليمية او دينية لشخص او مجموعة، الاتصال. Box F 206"

هذا الاعلان ظهر على صفحات "Wall Street Journal" في الاول من حزيران ١٩٥٤ . "ايجال يادين"، الذي كان حينها يقوم بزيارة للولايات المتحدة، قرر بالحال بعد اطلاعه على الاعلان، شراء المخطوطات . وتم الاتفاق بتاريخ ١١ حزيران على دفع (٢٥٠,٠٠٠) دولار امريكي لقاء اربعة مخطوطات كانت قد جلبت الى امريكا منذ عدة سنوات، وتم ارسال المخطوطات الى اسرائيل وبعدها اعلنت الصحافة عن الصفقة بتاريخ ١٣ شباط ١٩٥٥، حيث قالت: "بان اسرائيل قد احرزت اربعة مخطوطات تعود ملكيتها لرئيس الاساقفة صموئيل".

هذه المخطوطات الاربعة مع ثلاثة اخرى غيرها، كان بروفسور "سوكينك" وهو والد "ايجال يادين" قد اشتراها سابقا، محفوظة الان في بناء شيد لهذا الغرض يسمى "مرقد الكتاب" في القدس.

في نهاية عام ١٩٥٤ تكون مركزان مستقلان، متخصصان في دراسة مخطوطات البحر الميت، تحت رعاية باحثين، لا تربطهم اية اتصالات، او تعاون، او تبادل معلومات على الاطلاق، سوى ما يتسرب من معلومات تنشر في مجلات البحوث الدينية، وهذان المركزان هما:

مركز "مرقد الكتاب" في القدس الغربية، وبحوزته سبعة مخطوطات وجدت في خربة قمران.

مركز "متحف روكفلر للدراسات الشرقية" برعاية مجموعة الباحثين العالميين، وبحوزته مئات المخطوطات واللقي المختلفة من مناطق البحر الميت. وقد تغير هذا الوضع، بعد حرب ١٩٦٧، حيث

استولت اسرائيل على متحف "روكفلر" وكل ما يحتويه من مخطوطات وآثار، واعتبرته احدى الغنائم الثمينة التي حصلت عليها بعد الحرب.

ان ما تم نشره من ترجمات لهذه المخطوطات لحد الان يعتبر جزءا صغيرا، لا يزيد عن ٢٥٪ من مجموع ماقد عثر عليه وذلك لعوامل عديدة، منها تعارض ما جاء في هذه المخطوطات مع افكار الاديان الموجودة حاليا كاليهودية والمسيحية، وكذلك لاختلافات شخصية بين العلماء انفسهم في تفسير ما ورد في المخطوطات، وغيرها من اسباب.

لقد حدد اخيرا عام ١٩٩٦ كتاريخ ادنى لنشر محتوى الموجودات، ويعتبر هذا التاريخ غير واقعي او ممكن التحقيق.وهذا ما اثبته التاريخ.

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المندائية
ومخطوطات البحر الميت

لما كان المندائيين يتوجهون راساً ليوحنا المعمدان، واصبح الآن ارتباطه مع الاسينيين واضحاً، اذن فمن الممكن الافتراض ان مخطوطات البحر الميت ستلقي الضوء على الديانة المندائية القديمة.

على اية حال فقد ظهرت عقبات عديدة وتباينات مهمة تجعل من العسير تتبع الخطوط الاساسية للمنشأ، بالرغم من توفر اوجه تماثل كثيرة بين عقيدة وطقوس المندائيين وبين تلك العقائد والطقوس المهمة للاسينيين.

من خلال عملي الشخصي على مخطوطات البحر الميت والذي اثار نقاشاً حول ارتباطها بالمسيحية الاولى(١) تبين جود العديد من انواع الفرق الاسينية. وان مخطوطات الطائفة (كتيب الضبط، مخطوطة الحرب، صلاة الشكر، ميثاق دمشق، وغيرها) (٢) توضح من وجهة نظري معتقدات الاقوام الذين سكنوا قمران في مرحلتها الثانية، اي بعد الهزة الارضية في عام ٣١ قبل الميلاد. وهم لم يمثلوا التيار الرئيسي للطائفة الاسينية كما وصفهم جوسيفوس (٣) فهم بالاحرى الاسينيون الذين اقاموا اتحادا مع النساك الفرسين والنساك الصدوقيين. هم من بعض اليهود، ذوي النزعة الاكثر ارثدوكسية، اسسوا فرقاً تبنت الممارسات النسكية والتقويم الاسيني. ولم يكن هؤلاء النساك فرسيين او صدوقيين عاديين فقط، بل كانوا فرق (الفرسين الصدوقيين) هذا المصطلح الذي ظهر في العهد الجديد (٤). يوحنا المعمدان كان ينتمي الى هذه الفرقة بالذات، وبهذا يتوضح لنا سبب عدم ذكر ارتباطه بالاسينيين عند جوزيفوس (٥) ويفسر كذلك عدم ورود اسم معلم الحق، الذي كان المحور الرئيسي في محتوى المخطوطات، عند جوزيفوس

وفيلو في رواياتهم عن الاسينيين. (ولقد ناقشت على ان معلم الحق هو يوحنا المعمدان).

كانت توجد في قمران آنذاك مجموعة الفرسيين الاسينيين، ومجموعة اخرى باسم الصدوقيين الاسينيين. الاولى اكثر شرقية في توجهاتها، والثانية اكثر غربية. وهذا التحليل سيعالج المعضلات في العلاقة الاسينية – المندائية اذا ما افترضنا ان الامر هو كالآتي:

مجموعة الفرسيين – الاسينيين اضحت في النهاية المندائيين، مجموعة الصدوقيين – الاسينيين اضحت المسيحيين. يوحنا المعمدان كان مرتبطاً بالفرسيين – الاسينيين وارتبط الجميع مع بعضهم تنظيمياً في مرحلة تولي المسيح لمنصبه الكهنوتي، لكن توتر العلاقات بينهم في ذلك الوقت ادى الى انفصالهم. فتوجهت مجموعة الفرسيين – الاسينيين نحو دمشق ومن هناك نزحت الى عمق الشرق.

من المخطوطات القمرانية التي كانت من اعمالهم، "ميثاق دمشق"، "كتيب الضبط"، "بيشارم"، وكانت مخطوطة المعبد من وجهة نظرهم احد اعمالهم الاولى انه ليس من العسير بيان العديد من التماثلات بين معتقدات المندائيين وتلك المعتقدات العائدة للمعمدان وللمخطوطات. ان وجود العنصر الفرسي في تعليلنا سيجيب على سبب الاختلافات بين (الفرسية) والاسينية، علما بان الفرسية قد اثرت مسبقاً بالاسينية.

التماثل بين اعتقادات المندائيين وما ورد في المخطوطات

التماثل بين الاسينيين والمندائيين مناقشة مختصرة:

١- التوكيد على الاغتسال بالماء:

انها نقطة مركزية لدى المندائيين ان يكون تواجدهم قرب ضفاف الانهار، وشعائر التعميد عندهم تكون على ثلاث مراحل (الرشاما،

الطماشا، والمصبتا). اضافة الى انواع اخرى من الاغتسال واعلى مرحلة يستخدم فيها الزيت والخبز المقدسان (٦).

٢- اما التطبيق الاسييني لهذه الشعائر فهو كالتالي (٧):

يمارس الاغتسال على درجات ومراحل قبل المباشرة بقبول الشخص بعضوية الجماعة. والتعميد يعطي المرشح عضوية مؤقتة، اما علامة العضوية الكاملة والتي تعطى للذين وهبوا كل ممتلكاتهم ودخلوا الرهبنة، فهو (الخمر)، ويطلق عليه "شراب الجماعة".وقبل هذا اي قبل الدخول بالعضوية يتم اغتسالهم بالماء حسب المرتبة القدسية، بدأً بماء البحر كأوطأ مرتبة، ثم بالماء الجاري او الماء الحي ماء الانهار كمرتبة اعلى، وتأتي مياه الخزانات الساكنة في خزانات التعميد كمرتبة اعلى من سواها. ويمر المرشح للعضوية في المرحلة الاخيرة من التعميد بماء الخزانات، ويطلب من الاشخاص الكاملي العضوية تكرار نقاوتهم عن طريق الاغتسال اليومي بالماء. ومن المعروف ان الخزانات الهائلة في قمران ذات السلالم التي تقود الى داخلها قد خصصت لهذا الغرض.

بينما نلاحظ ان الماء فقط هو سمة المرحلة االاولى لعضوية الرهبان الاسينيين في فلسطين ، كانت هناك مجموعة اخرى ملاصقة لهم تدعى بالاسينيين القروييين، جاء ذكرهم عند فيلو (٨). وربما كان ضمنهم مجموعة الناصورائيين، الاسم الذي دخل ضمن تسميات المندائيين. بعض هؤلاء الاسينيين القروييين شأنهم كشأن بعض الفئات اليهودية الاخرى، ممن اتخذوا مؤقتا العهد الناصورائي (٩)، فعزلوا انفسهم (عن العالم) لفترة قصيرة من الوقت. لكن الفئة الاسينية كانت اكثر تشدداً في تطبيقها لهذا العهد الناصورائي فقد سموا مكان لقائهم في الجليل باسم تنظيمهم، واطلقوا على مجموعتهم (الرهبان النساك) اسم -زبلون- وهي المجموعة التي سكنت في احدى الفترات منطقة شملت مدينة الناصرة. الاسينيين الناصورائيين تمسكوا بتحريم الخمر، الذي كان

من اهم خصائص النظام الاسيني، وعليه فان الاسينيين الناصورائيين لم يستمروا بتطبيق الشعائر الى المرحلة التي عندها يتوجب عليهم استعمال الخمر في طقوسهم. ويتلقى الرهبان الاسينيين الجدد الخبز قبل التكريس اضافة الى ذلك فأن لهم علاقة باستعمال الزيت، بينما يتوجب على الراهب الاسيني الذي اتم المراسيم تحاشي الاتصال بالزيت (١٠). ولا يحرم الزيت على الاسينيين الذين لم يكرسوا بعد.

الاسينيون الناصورائيون المتزوجون، يعتزلون المجتمع، بما فيهم زوجاتهم وعوائلهم لفترات الصلوات والتنسك وتمتد الفترة لعدة ايام. وهم عادة يعملون بالحرف الفنية لاعالة عوائلهم. وهم يؤيدون نظام الزواج، بينما يعتبر الرهبان الاسينيون هذا النظام واطيء المستوى.

ان فرقة الناصورائيين الاسينيين (التي ارتبطت بالفرسية كما سنوضحها لاحقاً) ستعالج لنا ماهية التركيز على الماء وقبول الزواج عند المندائيين.

٣- النور والحياة:

النور والحياة مصطلحان متساويان لدى المندائيين (١١). وهما مهمان لطائفة قمران الاسينية. وقد اطلقوا على انفسهم في احدى المراحل اسم ابناء النور (١٢)، وتوحي مقولة في Jn 1:6-8 "يوحنا.... لم يكن النور" وتعني ان يوحنا المعمدان اعلن انه الكاهن الاعلى للطائفة، وكسليل منحدر من "صادوق"، مستعملا رمز "مينورا"، (شمعدان ذو سبعة فروع يوضع عادة داخل الهيكل). قال معلم الحق عن نفسه: "انا اضيء كضوء السباعية المتوهجة" (١٣). المسيحيون يجادلون ادعاء "يوحنا المعمدان" هذا، ويقولون ان "المسيح" هو الكاهن الاعلى وهو النور (١٤). وبما ان النور كان رمزا للكاهن الاعلى بالاضافة الى اعتماد التقويم الشمسي (انظر لاحقاً) فان هذان العنصران يبقيان المحور الرئيسي لانحدار الطائفة.

كذلك، فان الحياة، النور مترابطان. فمثل هذا التعبير قد ورد في كتاب "الضبط"، "ربما تقبلوا نور الحياة" (١٥). "الحياة" كانت طريقة للتحدث عن ادخال شخص في عضوية المجموعة، كمثل رجل قد "ولد من جديد" وبدأ في الوقت نفسه بالتثقف الغنوصي للحصول على المعرفة الروحية.

٤- قوانين الطهارة:

اكد المندائيون على توخي الحذر من النجاسات الليلية، ومن المراة الطامث فهي بنظرهم غير طاهرة (١٦)، كذلك جاء في "مخطوطة المعبد"، الذي يشير للانظمة المتعلقة بالاشخاص المطرودين من فناء المعبد المقدس، الذين زاولوا النجاسات الليلية، فهؤلاء لن يسمح لهم بالدخول الى المعبد "الا بعد مرور ثلاثة ايام، وعليهم غسل ملابسهم والاغتسال في اليوم الاول واليوم الثالث، وعند حلول الغروب يسمح لهم بالدخول الى الحرم المقدس". وتشير نفس المخطوطة عن مكان خارج المدينة مخصص للمرأة الطامث، والتي تعامل كمن اصيب بالجذام (١٧).

المندائيون والاسينيون كلاهما ارتديا الملابس البيضاء، ويشمل هذا اللباس الاسينيين غير الرهبان مثل الثيرابيين (الحكماء) المصريين، الذين كانوا يرتدون في وقت الصيف الملابس المصنوعة من الكتان الابيض (١٨). اما الناصورائيين فقد ارتدوا اللباس الاسود في مرحلة قبل التكريس، لكن كهنتهم كانوا يرتدون الملابس البيضاء.

٥- اتجاه شمال - جنوب:

تميزت المقبرة الهائلة في قمران بكون قبورها قد وضعت باتجاه الشمال الجنوب، وان موضع الراس في الجنوب (١٩)، وتبنى المعابد المندائية كذلك باتجاه الشمال - الجنوب، ويقع حوض التعميد في الجهة الجنوبية والبناء في الجهة الشمالية (٢٠). وكلا الحالتان تختلفان عن التطبيقات

اليهودية الاعتيادية، والتي تفضل الاتجاه الشرقي. ويبنى المعبد اليهودي باتجاه شرق – غرب، ويقع مدخله في الجهة الشرقية (٢١).

في موقع خربة قمران يقع فناء طويل باتجاه الشمال – الجنوب، وله نفس ابعاد (الهيكل) الخيمة اليهودية في البرية، مع صف من الحجر فوق الثلث الشمالي. وكان هذا البناء محط جدل في كتابي، فهذا المكان كان المعبد البديل للاسينيين، تم بنائه عندما طردوا من معبد اورشليم. ابعاده كابعاد الخيمة (الهيكل)، ووضع باتجاه شمال- جنوب، تعبيراً على كونه لا يمثل المعبد الحقيقي، والذي يجب ان يكون في اورشليم فقط (٢٢). وبمرور الزمن وبعد فشلهم باستعادة المعبد الحقيقي مرة اخرى، تولد الاعتقاد بأن اتجاه شمال-جنوب هو احد اساليب التعبير عن فكرة المعبد الروحي، كما اشير الى ذلك في "كتيب الضبط" (٢٣). بجانب الابنية التي تعود لخربة مرد، والتي تبعد ٦ اميال في العمق من قمران كذلك يتواجد في الوادي تنظيم لنفقين (للجداول الشتوية) شمال موقع المبنى الذي اقيمت فيه على ما يدل ممارسات التعميد، وهذان النفقان الطويلان قد بنيا تحت الارض، احدهما في الجانب الجنوبي والثاني في الجانب الشمالي للوادي (٢٤). انا اعتقد، ان في هذا المكان قد جرى شكلا من اشكال التعبير المسرحي "للولادة" عن طريق الاغتسال في مياه الجداول. واستنادا الى تعدد مراتب العضوية، فان اوطأ مستوى للتعميد اقيم على الضفة الجنوبية وتلتها الدرجة الاعلى على الضفة الشمالية، بعدها ينحدر المتعمد الى اسفل الوادي، والذي يقود رأسا الى قمران، لغرض التقدم للحصول على مرتبة اعلى في العضوية.

التماثل بين الفرسيين والمندائيين

من الممكن تتبع اثار العلاقة بين الاسينيين الناصورائيين وبين الفرسيين من خلال الثيرابيين (الحكماء)، المصريين. فهؤلاء في حقيقة الامر من

اليهود الشتات الذين تبنوا المسلك النسكي الاسيني، واهتم بعضهم بمسائل اللوائح، وخاصة ما يتعلق بلوائح ما بعد الحياة، والتي كانت تتطابق مع ما اعتنقه الفرسيين. ان اعتقادهم بانبعاث الموتى قادهم كما ارى الى التعاون مع المتزمتين المتواجدين في فترة ما قبل الميلاد. هؤلاء المتزمتين الذين ربما تعود لهم "مخطوطة الحرب"، وكانوا حسب رأي جوزيفوس، يماثلون الفرسيين في جميع النواحي، عدا انهم اضافوا رغبة الاستشهاد من اجل الحق الوطني. رجل فرسي يدعى "صادوق" انضم الى "يهودا الجليلي" ليكونا "عصبة المتزمتين" (٢٥). ولربما كان "يهودا" زعيما "للثيرابيين" (٢٦).

"الثيرابيون" (الحكماء) لم يتعاطوا شرب الخمر في احتفالاتهم (٢٧)، وهم بذلك يشابهون الناصورائيين. ومن الواضح ان يلتقي كل من الفرسيين من النظام الثيرابي والاسينيين الناصورائيين، فكلاهما لم يمارسا نظام (العزوبية) وكان يسمح لهما بالزواج في حالة رغبتهما بذلك. والفرسيون هنا قد تبنوا الخط الرئيسي لوجهة النظر اليهودية ضرورة الاستمرار والتواصل البشرية حسب ميثاق ابراهيم. وهذه نقطة متميزة تحتسب للمندائيين لكونهم يشجعون الزواج ويرفضون العزوبية. (نوع اخر من الثيرابيين كانوا ميالين نحو الصدوقيين، ايدوا فكرة العزوبية لاجل المحافظة على النظام النسكي).

مخطوطة المعبد تحتوي على الشروط الخاصة بنحر الحيوان (٢٨)، والتي ادت بالتالي الى ان يكون ذبح الحيوان من المحرمات في العقيدة المندائية، والى تحريم كتابة الكتب المقدسة على الجلد، وتوجب كتابتها على الورق فقط (٢٩). الحيوان البكر يقدم قربانا الى الله ولا يستغل في العمل. ويتم نحر الحيوان عادة في داخل المعبد نفسه. اما اذا تم نحر الحيوان في خارج المعبد فيعتبر خطيئة كبرى ويبتعد عن هذا العمل المتزوجون الناصورائيون، خلافا للاتقياء العزاب المقيمين في

داخل المعبد الذين يسمح لهم بممارسة هذا العمل (٣٠). ومن الممكن تفسير هذه الحالة، بالرغم من انها ليست دليلا مباشراً عليها، انه قد استعمل جلد هذا الحيوان المقدس لكتابة الكتب المقدسة من قبل الكاهن والعزاب الاتقياء المتواجدين في داخل المعبد. والمعروف ان اغلب مخطوطات قمران قد كتبت على الجلد الحيواني. لكن، واستنادا الى هذا التحريم لنحر الحيوانات من قبل المتزوجين فقد منعت عليهم الكتابة ايضاًعلى جلود الحيوانات المقدسة. وسمح فقط للعزاب الاتقياء باستنساخ الكتب المقدسة. كما ان التأثير المصري في خلفياتهم (الفرسيين)، حملهم للاعتقاد بان اوراق البردي هي المادة الحقيقية للكتابة. وهذا المنع الذي ادى الى عزلهم عن اداء هذه الاعمال، وبمرور الزمن ادى بالتالي الى تحريم استعمال الجلد واصبح قانونا من قوانين الكتابة واعتمد الورق كمادة مقبولة وصحيحة.

حلقة ربط اخرى لدى الفرسيين، هي تعميد الاطباق والادوات المنزلية، يشير العهد الجديد الى هذا الاسلوب ويذكر ان الفرسيين اعتمدوه في تطبيقاتهم (٣١). وكانت ادواتهم للاستعمال المشترك وكانت تطهر طقسياً لغرض اعداد وجبات الطعام الدينية، بينما كان للرهبان العزاب اطباق صنعت خصيصاً لهم احتفظوا بها داخل الهيكل. وقد وجدت مجموعة ضخمة من الاطباق في "مخازن" مجاورة لمباني قمران (٣٢).

من الممكن تتبع التقويم المندائي الخاص رغم وجود حلقة مفقودة بالرجوع الى التقويم الشمسي الذي اتبعه الفرسيين الآسينيين (٣٣) فهم قد تبنوا نظام التقويم الاسيني، والذي تضمن ١٢ شهرا كل منها ٣٠ يوما، مع اربعة ايام اضافية يوم في كل فصل، لتصبح السنة مساوية ٣٦٤ يوما. ويعني هذا ان هناك قصورا قدره ٣٠ ساعة.

النساك الاسينيون عالجوا هذا القصور بكبسها كل ١٤ سنة بمقدار اسبوعان ونصف، اي سبعة عشر يوماً، او ٤٢٠ ساعة. وجعل الفرسيون من ايام السنة الكبيسة اياماً مقدسة مارسوا فيها الصيام. وكان نظامهم، الذي ادى لنفس النتيجة وهو اضافة يومين ونصف اليوم، اي (٦٠ساعة) في كل سنتين. فاذا كان المندائيون قد استعملوا نظام الكبس السنوي، فيكون هذا الاحتمال جائز، اذ يكون لدينا نفس العدد من الاشهر, وسنة مدتها ٣٦٠ يوماً، تضاف اليها اربعة ايام مقدسة ويوم آخر لتصبح خمسة ايام كبيسة مقدسة (ايام البنجة)، والتي يتميز بها التقويم المندائي. ولم نعتمد في هذا التحليل على حقائق مقرونة. ونعلم ايضاً ان هذا الاسلوب في احتساب السنة الشمسية يؤدي الى قصورها بمقدار ٦ ساعات سنوياً، وبالتالي يقود الى فقدان تطابق الفصول المعروفة بسبب التقويم الخاطيء.

اعتمادا على التاريخ الذي يمكننا تتبعه من خلال المخطوطات ومن العهد الجديد، في ما نطرحه الان، عن التوتر الحاصل بين "الفرسيين الاسينيين" المعمدين، وبين "الصدوقيين الاسينيين" - المسيحيين الذي ابتدأ مع بداية الاناجيل، والذي اشارت اليه المخطوطات من خلال ادانتها اولئك "الباحثيين عن الطرق السهلة"، المتخلين عن النظام الزهدي النسكي. وهذه الادانة في مضمونها تطابق ادانة "المندائيين" لمسيرة "المسيح" الذي جعل الدين سهلا وبسيطاً.

في عام ٤٤ م عندما تبني اسم "المسيحيين"، انفصلت رسميا مجموعة "الفرسيين – الاسينيين" من طائفة قمران ونفوا انفسهم طوعاً الى دمشق بسبب عوامل سياسية مختلفة. وفي دمشق كتبوا "وثيقة دمشق"، او "ميثاق دمشق"، اوضحوا فيها بانهم اصحاب العهد الحق. وان اولئك الذين تخلفوا في اورشليم سينالهم العقاب، لان اورشليم سوف تدمر (٣٤). وقد وردت مثل هذه الاراء في التراث المندائي (٣٥).

واعتبر "ميثاق دمشق" احد اعمالهم الاولى المستقلة. وادانوا فيها اعداء معلم الحق بشدة.

ما اوردناه اعلاه هو بالاحرى عرض مختصر عن مدى علاقة "المندائيين" - "بالاسينيين". ومن الممكن الانطلاق من هنا والاستمرار في اعطاء مقارنات وادلة اخرى من خلال دراسة تفصيلية اعمق. ويلاحظ ان النظرية تزداد قوة، على كون "المندائيين" هم الاسلاف الحقيقيين لاحد فروع "الاسينية"، فان كان الامر كذلك، وهم لايزالون على قيد الحياة، كذلك، فانهم بذلك يملكون تراثا تاريخيا لايقدر بثمن.

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27. Philo, *Contemplative Life* 73.

28. Temple Scroll 52: 7-21.

29. Mubaraki pp. 13, 14, 15.

30. The Temple Scroll (45:10-13) forbids a man who has recently had sexual intercourse from entering the sacred precincts.
31. Mark 7: 3-4.
32. de Vaux, p. 12.
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الاحتفالات المندائية

المقدمة

تشكل الاحتفالات جانبا مهماً من حياة الانسان على الارض منذ القدم، ولقد ارتبطت ارتباطا وثيقا مع افكاره ومعتقداته الدينية والاجتماعية والسياسية والفلسفية، ولكي يتضح لنا معنى الاحتفال ومفهومه لابد ان نعرج قليلا على دلالته اللغوية.

الاحتفال: هو من الفعل حفَّل ومعناه اللبن في الضرع والماء في المكان. ويقال حفّل الناقة ونحوها، لم يحلبها اياماً ليجتمع اللبن في ضرعها، وحفّل الشيء جلاه واظهر حسنه. ويقال حفّل الجارية أي زينها. واحتفل الشيء، أي اجتمع وظهر حسنه أو زينته.

من هنا نجد ان المعنى اللغوي قد تجسد برافد منه الى المعنى الاصطلاحي لكلمة الاحتفال فأصبحت تعني: الاجتماع واللقاء والذكرى لأظهار ملامح مناسبة عزيزة.

ويمكن لنا في هذا الموضع ان نشير الى مفهوم (الاعياد) باعتبارها تمثل النوع الرئيسي والمهم من انواع الاحتفالات. والاعياد في العربية جمع لكلمة عيد وهي في اللغة من الفعل : عاد أي رجع وكرر الشيء وعيّد: شهد العيد وأحتفل به. والعيد: هو ما يعود من هم أو مرض أو شوق أو نحوه. والعيد أيضاً هو كل يوم يحتفل فيه بذكرى كريمة او حبيبة.

أما مفهوم العيد في منظور كل الأديان فهو يعتبر عنصراً جوهرياً من عناصر العبادة بواسطة الطقوس المخصصة لبعض الأزمنة، تكرم الجماعة عادة في بهجة وفرح، هذا أو ذاك الوجه من وجوه الحياة البشريه، فهي ترفع آيات الشكر وتلتمس حماية الآلة.

وقد تزامن ظهور الاحتفالات مع ظهور الفكر والوعي الانساني كما ان هناك دوافع وأسباب كثيرة أدت الى ظهورها وتبلور مفاهيمها ضمن المراحل والحقب الزمنية المختلفة التي مرت بها البشرية. ولا نريد هنا ان نستعرض التاريخ الطويل لمفهوم الاحتفالات وأنواعها المتعددة، التي مارسها ويمارسها الانسان باختلاف مجتمعاته وعقائده وأديانه، اذ ان الذي يهمنا هو الأحتفالات المندائية فهي حافلة بتاريخ عريق وقديم قدم الدين الصابئي المندائي، الذي ثبت جذور التوحيد الأولى، وتعتبر الرابط الوثيق بين حياة الانسان المؤقتة على الأرض وبين حياته الأبدية في العالم الآخر وهم يحتفلون بها ويتوارثونها من جيل لآخر دون أن تطرأ عليها تغيرات كبيرة والى وقت قريب. لذلك فان المتتبع والدارس لاصولهم الدينية وطقوسهم وأحتفالاتهم يجد أن لها علاقة وثيقة مع التراث والتاريخ القديم، بحضاراته المختلفة. ويمكن تقسيم الأحتفالات الى مايلي:

أ- الاحتفالات الطقسية:

١- الرشامه والبراخه (الوضوء والصلاة): تؤدى بثلاثة أوقات في اليوم ويتم الوضوء قبل لصلاة، ويكون بالماء الجاري.

وفي "البراخه" الصلاة يتم تجسيد معاني التوحيد والحمد والتبجيل والسجود للخالق، (هي ربي: الحي العظيم) وهي تؤدى بشكل فردي أو جماعي ويمكن ان تجرى بدون رجل دين.

٢- "الطماشه" (الأغتسال): وهي نوع من انواع التعميد الذاتي وتسمى (التعميد الصغير)، ويتم بواسطة الغطس في الماء الجاري، مع تلاوة الآيات الخاصة قبل الدخول في الماء واثناء الارتماس، فيكتسي الشخص بحلة النور والطهر والنقاء من خلال الماء والأدعية الدينية- ويمكن

القيام بها دون الاستعانة برجل دين . ويتم أجراء هذا الطقس يوميا ويعد واجباً عند حدوث النجاسات المادية والمعنوية.

٣- "المصبتا" (الصباغة أو التعميد): تعتبر أهم الطقوس على الأطلاق، وتعد المحور المركزي للديانة المندائية وأحتفالاتها المختلفة، وهي وسيلة التطهر الناجعة للروح والجسد مما علق بهما من خطايا روحية ومادية، فيرتدي المتعمد الملابس الدينية البيضاء "الرسته" التي هي رمز النور والصلاح ويجب ان يتم التعميد في الماء الجاري وعلى يد رجل الدين، ليعمده ويصبغه بصبغة الله (الحي العظيم)، ليساعده على الخلاص من هموم وأثقال العالم المادي وكذلك يعده لينتقل لمستوى روحي يوصله بعالم النور، فيتوج ملكاً بين الملوك فيكتسي برداء الضياء ويُرَسّم بعلامة الحياة الأبدية. ويُعطي يمين العهد وقسم المؤمنين في أن يكون من أخوان الحق المحبين للخير والسلام ومعرفة الله.

يتم التعميد عادة في أيام الأعياد ويوم الأحد بشكل خاص. ويعتبر يوم الأحد اليوم الرئيسي للأحتفالات الفردية والجماعية وهو يوم أنبثاق الماء والنور والحياة. وله قدسية عظيمة، ففيه يتجمعون ويتحابون ويؤدون الصلوات المشتركة ويقدمون الصدقات بأنواعها ويقيمون الأحتفالات البهيجة الخاصة بالطقوس المختلفة. وهو رمز الأتحاد والأخاء والمحبة.

٤- طقوس الزواج: يعتبر الزواج طقساً مقدساً وواجباً على كل فرد مندائي، وهو رمز الخصب. فيه يجد الأنسان نصفه الآخر فيكتمل ديناً ودنيا، وتكون غايته الأنجاب والتكاثر واستمرار الحياة.

وتعد أحتفالات طقوس الزواج من أجمل الأحتفالات الدينية والأجتماعية، فتقام الأفراح ويحتفى بالخطيبين بين الأهل والأصدقاء.

وفي صباح يوم الاحد يعمدان التعميد الخاص بالزواج تمهيداً لأداء قسم الزوجية ليحافظ كل منهما على الآخر ويكون بينهما ميثاق الصدق والمحبة وعدم الخيانة.

ومن خلال الطقوس يُنَصّب الزوج والزوجة كملكين يدخلان في مملكتهما (مملكة الفردوس السعيد) ويتجسد ذلك بالمعاني والرموز الموجه للمساهمة في بناء الحياة، ومما تجدر الأشارة اليه ان الزوجين يصبحان من خلال هذه الأحتفالات جسدين بروح واحدة لا انفصام بها حتى بعد الممات.

٥- طقوس الوفاة: يهتم المندائيون بأجراء هذه الطقوس للمحتضر قبل الوفاة وبعدها اذ أنه من الواجب ان يُطهَّر الجسم بالأغتسال (الطماشه) بالماء النظيف قبل وفاته. ويُلبَّس بعدها الملابس الدينية البيضاء (الكفن) ويوضع له اكليل الآس (وهو رمز الحياة المتجددة) ويوضع على فراش طاهر طقسياً كل ذلك لتخرج روحه من جسد طاهر لتخرج هي ايضاً طاهرة.

ولا يتم غسل الجسم بعد الوفاة لأنه أصبح كالجماد فهو فاقد للروح وتجرى طقوس تهيئ للروح الراحة في مخاضها لتولد مرة اخرى من جديد وتعيش حياتها الأبدية.

وعلى العموم فان المندائيين يؤمنون بأن الجسد فان، جُبل من الأرض والى الأرض يعود. أما الروح فتخرج في معراج طويل تحاسب وتتطهر لتصل في النهاية الى مقرها في عالم النور.

وهناك طقوس احتفالية اخرى اهمها تكريس رجل الدين الذي يستمر سبعة ايام بلياليها لا يغمض له جفن وهي مناسبة تتويجه ودخوله عالماً آخر. وهناك ايضاً طقوس احتفالية لتكريس المندي (المعبد)، وطقوس تحرير الروح "المسختا"، وطقوس طعام الغفران والصدقات المباركة وغيرها.

ب- احتفالات الأعياد والمناسبات.

تعتبر الاعياد أهم أنواع الأحتفالات المندائية وهي ذات طابع ديني وشعبي فلكلوري، وعادة تكون فيها التجمعات المندائية بأجمل صورها، وتأتي بمواعيد ثابتة في التقويم اذ تقسم السنة المندائية الى اثنى عشر شهراً وكل شهر مدته ثلاثون يوماً، يضاف اليها [خمسة أيام كبيسة، ويكون المجموع ثلاثمئة وخمسة وستين يوماً]، (وتهمل ربع اليوم فتتخلف يوم كل اربع سنوات). ويشابه هذا التقويم (الشمسي) التقاويم القديمة، البابلي، المصري والفارسي ولم يستعمل المندائيون التقويم القمري.

ومما هو جدير بالذكر أن أيام الأعياد خاصة البنجة تكون ذات مكانة اعتبارية رفيعة تختلف عن مكانة الأيام العادية ويستعار لها المعنى الذي تُشَبَّهُ به فتعتبر ايام الاعياد البرونايي الخمسة مثلا (كهنة وملوك) والأيام الاخرى هي عامة الناس (المندائيين) (يعتبر رجال الدين المندائيين ملوك متوجين مكرسين على الارض لهذا السبب فهم يقومون بأجراء الطقوس الدينية الاحتفالية عموما لترسيم وتكريس ابناء العامة وتتويجهم بالاكاليل ورسامتهم بأسم الحي ليكونوا طاهرين وعلى اتصال مستمر بعالم النور والحياة الذي هبطوا منه. خاصة في التعميد كما ذكرنا سابقاً).

وقبل ان نبدأ بالحديث عن انواع الأعياد ومعانيها لابد لنا ان نوضح فكرتها الاساسية ومداليلها الرمزية المشتركة التي تشير اليها.

أذ ان النصوص المندائية تذكر ان الأعياد عموماً ترتبط بعمليات الخلق والتكوين المختلفة ومراحلها المتعددة وتتعكس بثلاثة مستويات:

الأول: الخلق والتكوين للعوالم غير المادية والارواح الأثيرية الموجودة فيها.
الثاني: خلق العالم المادي وخاصة الارض وأيامها وفصولها وما عليها من حياة.
الثالث: خلق وتكوين الانسان وولادته كجنين مرتين:

الاولى: من رحم الام للحياة المادية، حيث تدخل فيها (الروح جسداً مادياً.

والثانية: من رحم كوني للحياة الروحية، تدخل فيها الروح جسداً اثيرياً. ولهذا فاننا في حديثنا عن الأعياد سوف نتطرق الى هذه المستويات ونصيبها من تلك الايام.

أولاً: عيد راس السنة المندائية الجديدة "دهفاربا" او العيد الكبير، ويسمى ايضاً نوروز ربا، والمعروف بين جميع المندائيين وغيرهم بعيد "الكرصة". وتتم الأحتفالات فيه على ثلاث مراحل:

الأولى: في آخر يوم من أيام السنة المنصرمة والذي يسمى "كنشي وزهلي" (الأجتماع والنقاء)، وفيه تكون الاستعدادات على قدم وساق لأستقبال السنة الجديدة. حيث يبدأ المندائيون منذ الفجر بالتجمع على ضفة "اليردنا" استعداداً لنيل بركات المصبتا "التعميد". وتجرى عمليات ذبح الطيور وذكور الخراف والتي يعمل منها طعام الغفران "اللوفاني" في موائد طقسية تحتوي على جميع انواع الفواكه والخضر، ويعمل الخبز الفطير معها. وتكون الصلوات والأناشيد بالملابس الدينية البيضاء "الرسته" وتوزع الصدقات والكساء الجديد على الجميع ويتم التطهير الديني "الطماشه" للأشخاص والأدوات المستعملة ويحضر الطعام والشراب الكافي لمدة ست وثلاثين ساعة والتي تمثل المرحلة الثانية من

الثانية من احتفالات هذا العيد، وتبدأ مع غروب الشمس، حيث يكون كل شيء جاهزاً، فالبيوت مكنوسة ونظيفة تعج بالروائح الطيبة والبخور، وتضاء جميع المصابيح والقناديل ومن المحبب فيها اجتماع العائلة او العوائل المندائية سوية مع بعضها في هذا اليوم حتى ولوكانت هناك أقوى الخلافات لانه يجب توديع السنة الماضية واستقبال اخرى بنظافة روحية وجسدية جديدة وبمحبة وصفاء وسلام.

بعد الغروب تغلق الأبواب الخارجية وتجتمع العائلة وهي بأعلى درجات التطهر والنظافة لتأخذ بعدها فترة تأمل مشتركة، فيراجع كل فرد ما فعله في مسيرة حياته السابقة، وفي ايام السنة التي تكاد تنتهي وتقرب من نهاية عمره وحياته المؤقتة على هذه الارض الفانية.

ان هذا الاحتفال يعود الى التكوين العلوي المسؤول عن نشوء العوالم والاجيال لذلك (فهو يوم جيد ينتظره العالم والاجيال) [على حد التعبير المندائي] وتتجدد لدى الصابئة المندائيين ذكرى هذا الاحتفال سنوياً فيبدأ في نهاية آخر نهار من السنة المنصرمة، ويبقون معتكفين لاستقبال ولادة اليوم الاول من السنة الجديدة ولا يخرجون الا بعد انتهائه اي في اليوم الثاني من السنة. وفي تلك الفترة (ساعة٣٦) يرتفع الأثري "الملائكة" حراس الارض "هيبل وشيتل وانوش" وحراس اليردنا "شلمي وندبي" الى عالمهم فتخلو الارض من حماتها النورانيين، وتلوث الارواح الشريرة المياه الجارية فتصبح خطراً، وهذا يفسر اعتكاف الصابئة في منازلهم ودأبهم على عمل الكثير من الاحترازات كي لا تصيبهم الشرور والملوثات سواء كانت الروحية منها او المادية خلال هذه الساعات. ويبقون في فترة اختبار لايمانهم وتماسكهم وارتباطهم بأصولهم وتعاليمهم.

ويعد اجتماعهم وطهرهم وأعتكافهم والتفافهم حول رب الأسرة في هذا العالم كأجتماع أثري ملائكة النور حول العالم الكوني الاول

لينهلوا من منبع الحياة الاولى والمعرفة العظيمة فيزدادون قوة وتلاحماً وهياماً بمحبة الحي العظيم الأبدية.

ولهذا فان يوم رأس السنة الجديدة يُعَدُّ (بداية البنيان) -[كما ورد ذلك في النصوص المندائية: انظر ديوان "الف ترسر شيالي"]- للعالم وتمثل الست والثلاثون ساعة من الاعتكاف ست وثلاثين يوماً للصيام موزعة على ايام السنة وبنفس الوقت فهي تتمثل بثلاثمائة وستين يوماً اي بدورة فلكية سنوية -(بعد ان تضاف لها الخمسة ايام الكبيسة الخاصة "بالبرونايا")، وهي تنعكس بدورها لتشير الى اسرار بناء وتكوين العالم الارضي. ومما تجدر الاشارة اليه أن النصوص المندائية تربط اسرار بداية التكوين هذه بأسرار بداية تكوين الجنين او النطفة في رحم الأم. ويتمثل ذلك بالنسبة للارض في نزول قطرات الماء عليها فتتكون فيها الحياة فيما بعد كذلك يتكون الجنين من نزول قطرة الاب في رحم الأم لتكوين حياة جديدة وبذلك تستمر الحياة.

ولهذا فأننا نجد ان النصوص المندائية تشرح وتوضح بالتفصيل العلاقات الدقيقة بين وجود الانسان في رحم امه وولادته الاولى ثم وجوده في الرحم الأثيري بعد موت الجسم ليولد ولادته الثانية فتكمل دورة الحياة من جديد لانها ترجع الى الحياة الخالدة. أن ذلك لا يتم بمعزل عن اسرار التكوين للعالم والكون والتي ترتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بأحتفالات الأعياد المندائية. أنها علاقة متلازمة ترتبط بمثلث الشكل الهرمي (ذو الوجوه الأربعة) والوجود المحصور بين القاعدة (الجذر) في الارض العالم المادي والكون المنظور وبين القمة التي تشير الى الوجود الدقيق اللامتناهي في عالم النور في الكون غير المنظور.

وبعد فترة التأمل والدعاء يتحول اللقاء الى كرنفال وفرح وسرور وتمارس فيه الالعاب الشعبية والفلكلورية المتوارثة، ويقصون

الحكايات المتنوعة، ويقضون الفترة كلها دون ان يغمض لهم جفن خشية التلوث.

اما بالنسبة لرجال الدين فيكون جهدهم مضاعفا خلال هذه الفترة فهم يقومون بفترات التأمل الطويل والدعاء والقراءة في الكتب الدينية وفك رموز الأحداث القادمة وأستلهام الأفكار المناسبة لتدبير السنة الجديدة.

بعد انتهاء الست والثلاثين ساعة يؤدي الجميع طقوس الأغتسال "الطماشة" ويلبسون ملابس العيد الجديدة ويهنأون بعضهم البعض فيفرحون بخروجهم من الاعتكاف لانه يمثل عودة النور والخير والحماية للارض وانتصاره على الظلام والشر. ويبدأون بزيارة الآباء الروحيين "رجال الدين" ليأخذوا منهم النصح والأرشاد والتوجيهات للعام الجديد. ثم يتزاورون فيما بينهم وفي البدء يعودون على ذوي المصاب والارامل واليتامى والفقراء ليخففوا عنهم. ويبقون محتفلين لفترة طويلة قد تصل عند البعض اكثر من خمسة عشر يوماً.

ثانياً: عيد "دهفا هنينا" (العيد الصغير) هبة الله الصغرى ويسمى أيضاً (دهفا اد طرما) أي عيد النضوج ويقع في اليوم الثامن عشر من شهر (اول بهار) اي اول الربيع، وهومناسبة يُحتفل بها لعودة الملاك "هيبل زيوا" كبرائيل شليها كبرائيل الرسول من رحلته في عوالم الظلام والارض ورجوعه الى عوالم النور.

ويعد هذا العيد احتفالية هامة ومباركة جداً، فهو ذكرى لثلاث مناسبات كونية كبيرة هي:

١- كبس الظلام ودحره بعد معرفة وأستلاب أسرار قوته، وكسر قوى الشر المسيطرة على العالم المادي.

٢- نشوء الحياة على الأرض بعد تصلبها وتكوّن المخلوقات المختلفة ونشوء الجنان المثمرة والحيوات المختلفة وتهيئة الأرض بكل مستلزمات الوجود لظهور الأنسان العاقل (آدم).

٣- الاحتفال بتعميد الملاك هيبل زيوا في عالم النور بعد عروجه من عالم الظلام وانتهاء مهمته على الارض.

ان مدة هذا العيد يوم واحد، تجرى فيه مراسيم الأغتسال "الطماشه" والتعميد وتهيئة طعام الغفران واقامة الموائد المشتركة للمندائيين.

ومن التقاليد الهامة في هذا العيد اعداد وجبة الفطور المشتركة للجميع في اماكن العبادة والبيوت. وتتألف من الرز والماش (الموَّش) واللَّبن (الروب) وتناول أقراص البهثا (الخبز المقدس) والتمر الممزوج مع السمسم المقلي المسحوق، الذي يعمل على شكلين هما في العامية العراقية (المريس وحلاوة العيد). وهذه الأغذية هي اشارة رمزية للتعبير عن ازدهار الخيرات كالنبات (المتمثل بالحبوب كالرز والحنطة والماش) وكذلك الحيوان (المتمثل بمنتجاته كاللبن والمش -الدهن-)، اضاف الى وجود ما يعرف بطعام الملائكة الروحي الذي هو التمر المزيت (بزيت السمسم).

ثالثاً: "عيد البرونايي" (البنجة) عيد الخليقة الكبرى، وهي خمسة ايام لاتحسب بالتقويم وتقع في آخر الصيف. تعد أهم الأعياد المندائية وتعتبر احتفالاً وكرنفالاً دينياً أكثر مما هو اجتماعياً. فهي ذكرى خلق وتكوين عوالم النور والارواح الاثيرية الأولى. وفيها تفتح بوابات النور وتنزل الملائكة والأرواح الطاهرة فيعم نورها في الأرض لتصبح جزءاً من عالم النور. لذلك فأن هذه الأيام المقدسة لا تحسب ضمن أيام وأشهر السنة، ولا تحسب من العمر. وكلها نهار ليس فيها

ليل، لأن الليل دنس ولا مكان له بينها (فهي يوم واحد لا يداخله ظلام)، انها حقا أيام النور والعبادة.

وتعتبر هذه الأيام أسرار البداية المقدسة وفجر الحياة الأولى التي اوجدها الحي العظيم والتي تبتهج فيها الروح لانها من سر الأب (الخالق مسبح اسمه) لذلك فأنها من حصة الروح المعرّجة الى (اصلها) الحياة الأولى.

وبهذا يجري المندائيون أحتفالات طقسية عامة وكبيرة فيغتسلون ويتعمدون مراراً ويهيأون طعام الغفران الذي يسمى (لوفاني دخرانا) (أي طعام الذكرى) ولهذا السبب تسمى هذه الأيام تسمية أخرى هي (أيام الدخرانا او الدخراني) أي ذكرى الأرواح.

وتعطى الصدقات فيها بكثرة وافرة. ولهذه الأيام طعمها الخاص الذي لا ينسى ولها طابع ديني وأجتماعي مميز جداً فتُلبس الملابس البيضاء طيلة هذه الأيام وتبعث وتُقوّى الصلات الأجتماعية ويكون التقيد الشديد والصارم احياناً للمحافظة على أفضل حالات النظافة والطهر الروحي والجسدي.

رابعاً: عيد "دهفا اديمانا" او (دهفا اد ديما) عيد التعميد، وهو ذكرى يوم التعميد العظيم الذي أُعدت فيه مياه عالم النور المتألقة المنعشة للحياة (يردنا ربا قدمايا) يردنا العظيم الأول. فاصطبغت به (وتعمدت) جميع كائنات النور (فلبسوا أردية الضياء وأكتسوا بحلة النور وتُوُجوا بالأكاليل المشعة النظرة للمجد والخلود). وقد حلت بركات الحي العظيم في الأرض (كما هي في السماء) على ابينا آدم حينما حلت فيه "نشمثا" نسمة الحياة، فعمده الملائكة والأثري بتعميد الحياة الأولى العظيم.

ولهذا فأنه من الواجب على المندائيين أن يتعمدوا بهذا اليوم كما تعمد ابيهم الأول آدم -مبارك اسمه- وبذلك فهو مناسبة جيدة تُنتظر لتعميد الأطفال الصغار لادخالهم في المندائية الحقة.

خامساً: عيد "شوشيان" (عيد الأزدهار)، ومدته يومان، السادس والسابع من الشهر الأول للسنة الجديدة، وهو ذكرى ظهور الحياة الكونية الرابعة (عالم بشاهيل)، وانتهاء التكوين وذلك يؤشر بداية حلول السلام على الأرض.

ويعتبر الاحتفال بهذا العيد متمماً لأحتفالات العيد الكبير وتابعا له؛ لكنه طبعاً الأقل شأناً على الصعيد الديني والأجتماعي (اذ لا تتم فيه مراسيم التعميد) ويكتفي المندائيون بالأغتسال (الطماشة) ويضعون الطيبات في اواني دينية خاصة (طرايين) ويضعون الرايات البيض، وتعلق اكاليل الغَرَب أوالصفصاف التي تجلب مكرسة من رجال الدين على أبواب المنازل وهي عادة مندائية معروفة تدل على التطلع للسلام والخير. وهي توفر الحماية للبيت وساكنيه، وتجلب بركات الخصب والصحة وتجعلهم من أتباع نبع الضياء "نباط زيوا". ومن ناحية اخرى فأن اكليل الغَرَب يمثل القلب والبيت الذي علق فيه يمثل الجسم. (على حد التعبير المندائي في ديوان "الف ترسر شيالي").

ومن المثير ان نعرف بهذا الخصوص ان المندائيين يسمون الليلة الواقعة بين اليوم السادس والسابع لهذا العيد بليلة القدر ففيها تفتح أبواب النور للمؤمنين المتقين فيحتفلون به حتى الصباح التالي. ويقضونها بالدعاء والتوسل والأحاديث الدينية وطلب الامنيات.

وهناك مناسبات اخرى مثل: "دك الفل"، الذي هو عبارة عن مزج التمر مع السمسم المسحوق وتشكيله بكرات صغيرة. وهي ترمز الى الطعام المقدس، وتخلد فيها ذكرى بدء رحلة هيبل زيوا وهبوطه الى العالم، اذ كان غذاؤه فيها التمر المزيت بزيت السمسم، (الفل) [حسب

التقليد الموروث في التراث الشفوي المندائي]. وهناك ايضا يوم ابو الهريس (العاشورية) الذي يعتبر عادة متوارثة عند المندائيين يقومون فيها بعمل "الهريس" المتكون من عدة انواع من الحبوب، تطهى بطريقة طقسية وتقدم مع بعض الاغذية الاخرى على الموائد الطاهرة لاقامة طعام "اللوفاني"، لاحياء ذكرى طلب الغفران السنوي "لارواح الاباء القدامى" من النبي آدم مبارك اسمه والى وقتنا هذا.

بعد هذا العرض يمكن لنا ان نوضح المفاهيم التالية التي تتعلق بموضوع الأحتفالات:

آ- بالنسبة للفرد:

١- ان ممارسة الفرد للانواع المختلفة من الأحتفالات يفسر الظاهرة السلوكية له ويمكن من خلالها توجيهه بالاتجاه الايجابي الذي يخدم الفرد نفسه والمجتمع.

٢- من خلال دراستنا لأثر هذه الأحتفالات على نفسية المحتفل فأننا نستطيع القول أنها تعكس جوانب الفرح والنشوة والرضا، التي تترك آثارها الواضحة على شخصيته فتخفف عنه ضغط الحياة ومتاعبها وتعطيه الأمل والتجدد للعمل والعطاء لنفسه ولأسرته ولمجتمعه.

٣- ان الأحتفالات تحرك مشاعر الفرد تجاه المجموع وتضفي عليه ملامح الأعتزاز بالنفس والمتأتي من الأعتداد بالعقيدة والتراث والمساهمة في الدفاع عنها من أجل بقائها واستمرارها.

٤- ان التدريب المتواصل والدوري للفرد يحصل من جراء كثرة الممارسة والمشاركة في الأحتفالات، وتهيئة متطلباتها التفصيلية (المادية والمعنوية) والذي يكون عادة منذ الصغر فيتطبع بها وتصبح جزءاً من عاداته ومفاهيمه المادية والروحية والفلسفية للحياة.

٥- يعرف الفرد من خلال هذه الأحتفالات، ان هناك متابعة آلهية لها القدرة على محاسبته، غير (القوانين والأعراف) وذلك مما ينمي لديه

رادعا كبيراً يوقظ ضميره وفكره ويمنعه أحياناً او يقلل من ارتكابه للشر والضرر بنفسه أو بالآخرين. ويعرف أيضاً أنه يثاب على اعماله الصالحة ويعاقب على أعماله السيئة لذلك فهي تطبعه بالأخلاق الجيدة وتعلمه على الاحترام.

٦- ان هذه الطقوس الأحتفالية تؤكد على النظافة والطهر الروحي والجسدي لذاك فأن ممارستها يكون عاملاً مضافاً لتحقيق الصحة النفسية والروحية والجسمانية للفرد وتجعله انساناً سوياً.

٧- تؤكد مفاهيم هذه الأحتفالات على المعرفة والتعلم وتدعوه للتفكر في وجود الأنسان وما حوله ووجود الأشياء الغيبية، وتعطيه الدافع للبحث والدراسة والتجربة والمحاولة للوصول الى الحالة الافضل.

ب- بالنسبة للأسرة:

١- غالباً مانجد أن جميع أفراد الأسرة يشاركون في هذه الاحتفالات، فلقاء الأسرة مثلاً واجتماعها والتفافها مع بعضها البعض يؤدي الى تماسكها وتقوية العلاقات بين افرادها ويعطيها القدرة على مساعدة وتقويم أي عضو فيها اضافة الى ان ذلك يؤدي الى تخطيها للعقبات التي غالباً ما تهدد وحدتها ووجودها.

٢- من الناحية الأجتماعية تحث هذه الأحتفالات وتشجع على الزواج والأنجاب وتكوين الأسرة اذ أنه لايستطيع غير المتزوج وأحياناً حتى غير المنجب من المشاركة في بعضها. هذا يعكس الأهتمام بالأستمتاع بالحياة الروحية والمادية التي وهبت للانسان بشكل متوازن ضمن حدودها السوية التي تعطي بالتالي البناء السليم للاسرة والمجتمع وتعطيه ديمومة الأستمرار والبقاء.

٣- الحرص على تربية الاطفال وتعليمهم وغرس القيم الروحية والمادية وحب الاسرة والجماعة التي ينتمي اليها ليكونوا في الاتجاه الأيجابي في الحياة الفردية والعامة.

ج- بالنسبة للمجتمع:

١- ان ممارسة المجموعة لهذه الأحتفالات يفسر لنا ميل الأنسان بشكل عام للسلوك الأجتماعي وتجسيد التقارب مع أخوانه وأبناء جلدته تحقيقاً لاستمرار وجودهم وبقائهم وأضفاء جوانب القوة والعزة والمنعة. هذا أضافة الى ظهور المصالح المشتركة ووحدة المصير وتحقيق الفوائد الخاصة والعامة لهم وتعطيهم دفعاً أكبر لتحقيق المشاريع المستقبلية التي تحسن من وضعهم على كافة الصعد والميادين، فيكونون مهابين ومحترمين من قبل غيرهم.

٢- يتجسد المفهوم الاشتراكي بدقة لدى الصابئة المندائيين من خلال أحتفالاتهم المختلفة والتي تتسم بصورة جماعية بشكل رئيسي على تحقيق العدالة الأجتماعية والعمل المشترك وليس الفردي لايجاد فرص العمل لكل واحد حسب اختصاصه، والتعاليم المندائية تشير الى ان المال والخيرات وكل بركات الأرض ليست ملكاً لأحد أنما هي للمجموع يسخرها ليقضي حياته في هذا العالم بسعادة وطمأنينة وسلام. اذ لايجوز أن يكون الأنسان عبداً للمادة، وعند انتقال الفرد المندائي من هذا العالم يجب ان لا يترك خلفه مقتنيات الأرض الفانية ويجب ان يفيد ويساعد الآخرين بها ولا يخلف الا العمل الجيد والنافع لمجتمعه والكلمة الطيبة والذرية الصالحة لانه لاينتفع في النهاية الا منها.

٣- ان هذه هي احتفالات الطهر والنظافة والاعتكاف تشير من جانب مادي واستناداً الى (التراث المندائي) الى المحافظة على حياة الجماعة من الشرور والاعتداءات المختلفة والاوبئة التي تنتشر بشكل سريع

وكبير كالطاعون والكوليرا اذ ان استخدام الطرق الصحيحة والوقائية مثل عدم الأختلاط وتعقيم المياه والنظافة يبرر ذلك من جانب عملي.
وقد واجه المندائيون ضربات مؤلمة بهذا الاتجاه من جراء الحروب والامراض الفتاكة.

ومن المرجح أن تكون بعض تعبيرات الأحتفالات المندائية رمزية تشير الى هذه الحوادث التي واجهت المجتمع في السابق ومن ذلك مثلا الاعتكاف في البيوت ووضع الرايات البيض والأكاليل على الأبواب لأنها رمز المسالمة والأشارة الى اعلان شعار الجماعة في تحريم القتل والقتال ذلك كله يشير الى ايجابيتهم للتعامل مع المجتمع والمحافظة على الحياة بكل اشكالها.

٤- تجسد هذه الاحتفالات عموماً موضوع الصراع الأزلي ورموزه المعروفة والمتداخلة التي تشكل وحدة الكون: كالحياة والموت النور والظلام الخير والشر الحق والباطل الفضيلة والرذيلة الكرم والبخل وهذا يشير الى اهتمام الأحتفالات المندائية بتجسيد المعاني الجيدة والعمل على تطبيقها من خلال هذه الممارسات.

٥- ان وجود تشابه كبير للاحتفالات المندائية مع احتفالات شعوب وعقائد وأديان آخرى كأحتفالات رأس السنة البابلية وعيد الربيع لدى الفرس والبارسيين والعراقيين وآخرين أضافة الى تشابهها في بعض العادات الاجتماعية والطقسية التي تصاحب ممارسة هذه الاحتفالات يعكس التمازج الحضاري الحاصل بين شعوب هذه المنطقة.

وفي النهاية لابد ان نقول مايلي:

١- ان الحديث بلغة الرموز هو ديدن الكتابات المندائية -(خاصة المتعلقة بتبيان ماهية الأحتفالات وضوابطها)- التي تصور وتجعل من الحياة المادية جزءاً متواصلاً وممتزجاً مع الحياة الروحية فلكل حركة

وفعل ومادة تفسير روحي يتخلله بعض الجوانب العلمية والثوابت المعروفة مما يجعله أكثر اقناعاً ويساهم في تجسيد هذه الممارسات بأيمان وصدق وفعالية.

٢- الأحتفالات المندائية عموماً ذات طابع ديني تتخلله بعض الممارسات الأجتماعية العامة التي ركزت سلطتها ومفاهيمها لتصبح اقوى حتى من بعض التقاليد الدينية.

المصادر:

- كنزا ربا، سيدرا اد آدم.
- ديوان آلف ترسر شيالي.
- مصبتا هيبل زيوا.
- قلستا، مراسيم الزواج.
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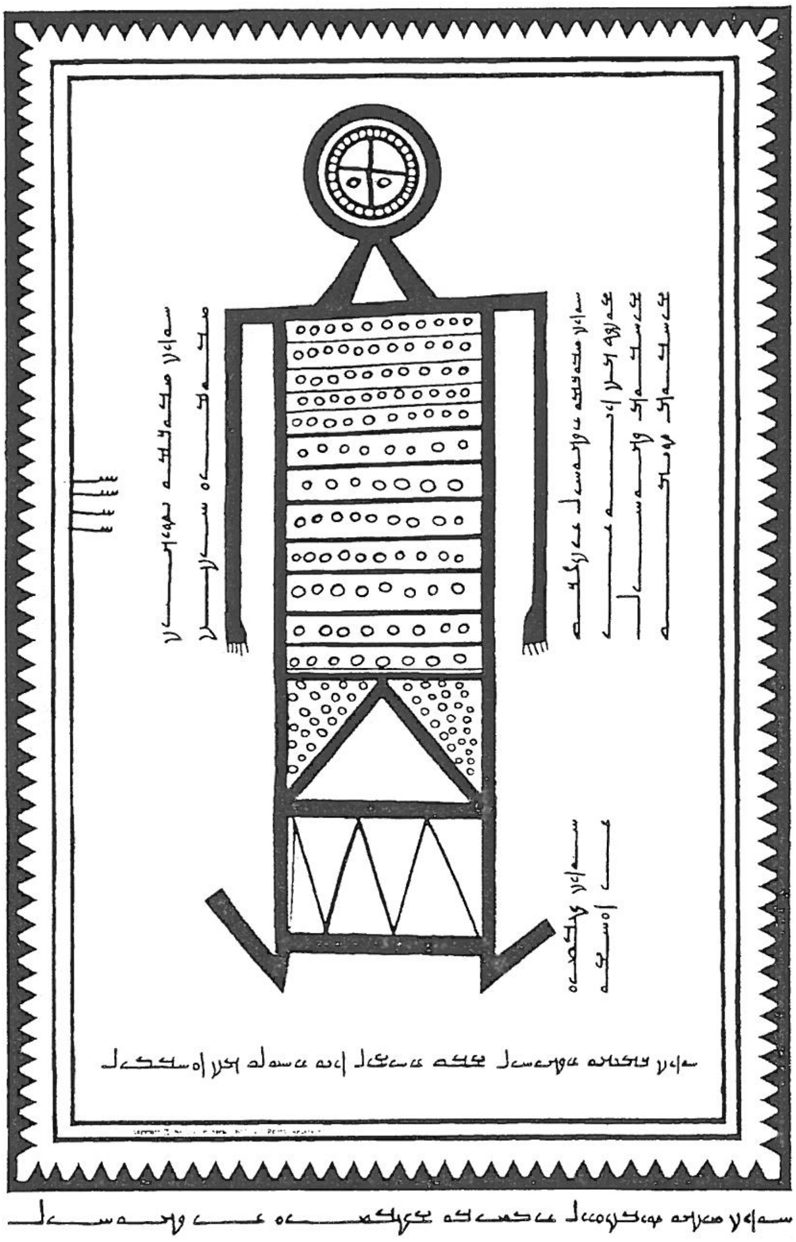

صورة الملاك (بثاهيل)، خالق الكون المادي، على عرشه.

رسمها من ديوان اباثر، ماجد فندي المباركي، اوستراليا، سدني، ١٩٩٧.

المندائية والتكوين

يعتبر الدين الصابئي المندائي من الاديان المتميزة، التي ذكرت موضوع الخلق والتكوين بصورة انفرد بها عن باقي الاديان فقد ذكر هذا الموضوع بتفاصيل دقيقة ومطولة وغير بعيدة عن النظريات العلمية الحديثة وبلغة فلسفية عميقة.

فقد تحدث كتاب "سيدرا اد آدم" (صحف آدم المقدسة) "كنزا ربا" (الكنز العظيم)، بشكل واسع احتل جزءا كبيرا ومتميزا من مجلده الضخم. وقد جاء موضوع الخلق والتكوين الموضوع الثاني في الصحف المقدسة بعد موضوع الحديث عن الخالق واسمائه الحسنى وصفاته الجليلة الموقرة.

وسيكون ذلك مدخلنا هنا لنلقي نظرة عن المفهوم المندائي لطبيعة الخلق والتكوين.

في اول صحيفة من صحف آدم نجد فيها "بوثة" التوحيد (اي سورة او دعاء) وهي تشير الى ان الحي العظيم الازلي هو الخالق وهو الآمر بتكوين كل شيء وتبدأ هكذا:

مشبا ماري بلبا دخيا	مسبح ربي بقلب طاهر
شبيت ماري بلبا دخيا	سبحت لربي بقلب طاهر
ماريهون اد كلهون آلمي	رب العوالم كلها
مشابا ومرورب وميقر ومقيم	مسبح ومعظم وميقر ومقيم
الاها ربا راما	الاله العظيم العالي
وشبيها ملكا راما دنهورا	سبحانه ملك النور العلي
ازيزا هكيما، يدويا هزايا	العزيز الحكيم، والعليم البصير
اد لا اهوا كث لا اهوا	لا وجود بدونه
ولا هاوي كث اد لا هاوي	وما من شيء لولاه

ليس له اب يكبره او اقدم منه
ولا مولود كان قبله ولا اخ يقاسمه الملكوت
ولا توأم يشاركه الملك...
مسبح ومبارك انت الهي في كل وقت والى الابد...
انت منذ البدء وباق لما لا نهاية...
الاها ادمن نافشي افرش اد لا باطل ولا مبطل اشمخ يا هيي ربي.
الرب الذي انبعث من ذاته لا باطل ولا مبطل اسمك ايها الحي العظيم.
بعد هذه المقدمة يمكن ان نسأل كيف حدث الخلق وكيف تكونت الارض ونشأت الحياة عليها، وكيف خلق الانسان؟

هذه كلها تساؤلات تطرح نفسها وتحتاج الى اجابات وافية مفصلة ولطالما احدثت صراعا فكريا وفلسفيا وعقائديا في المجتمعات البشرية المختلفة.

في هذه الصفحات سنتطرق بأختصار شديد للاجابة على هذه التساؤلات من وجهة نظر الصابئة المندائيين.

ان اول ما نواجهه في الصحف المقدسة، الحديث عن الخلق الاول الذي كان بأمر من الحي العظيم ويوصف بأنه: "نطق" او "صرخة"، اي "استدعاء" وان ذلك كان بالكلمة ويسمى بالمندائية (هوا بميمرا) اي "الخلق بالكلمة".

وهناك العديد من النصوص تشير بوضوح الى ذلك نذكر منها مثلا (بميمرخ هوا كل مندام): بكلمتك (ايها الحي العظيم) خلق كل شيء. وايضا في نص اخر يشير الى خلق الارواح النورانية:

"بكلمة من الحي العظيم خلق "اثري" (والاثري هم درجة خاصة ورفيعة من الملائكة النورانيين)، ان عالم الارواح النورانية

انبعث من الذات العليا بارادة (الحي العظيم) وهو اول مراحل الخلق، كما جاء في النص التالي:

بشميهون اد هيي ربي
باسم الحي العظيم
هو "ملك النور" تكلم بقوة عظمى وبقول كبير تكونت ملائكة النور، من
ضياء نقي ومن النور العظيم الذي لايخبو (ولا ينطفيء) ملائكة التسبيح
ازدهروا، وتكونوا ونصبوا،
ملائكة التسبيح نهضوا ووقفوا وبعثت فيهم الحياة،
لا يوجد لهم نهاية ولا عدد، كلهم مليئون بالتسبيح،
ويسبحون لملك النور العظيم، بضيائه الوفير.
والذي لايمكن لأحد، بفم ومن لحم ودم، ان يصفه بلسانه،
ونوره عظيم وليس بامكان احد بشفتيه ان يعبر عنه.

يصور التكوين الاول بأنه كان (كالثمرة) وهذه الثمرة كانت في داخل ثمرة (عظيمة). وكانت هذه (الثمرة) ذات كتلة متعاظمة ممتلئة محتدمة المحتوى، تضم عناصر فريدة كثيرة ومتنوعة (ليس لها مثيل في دقتها).

ان تلك الثمرة تمثل في النصوص المندائية وخاصة السرية منها كالرحم الكوني العظيم، الذي ضم عناصر النشوء الاول. وذكر ان (الثمرة) تمثل احيانا بـ "الهلبونا" او البيضة، اي المستقر والمسكن السماوي، والذي يحافظ على داخله بواسطة غلاف سميك الى حين نضوج محتواه. ويتبلور عن حياة جديدة، والتي بدورها هي الاخرى تعيد دورة الحياة من جديد.

وتشرح النصوص الدينية هذا الموضوع بشكل واسع وتجعل منه بداية ملحمة كونية لقصة النشوء والتكوين الاول.

ان ذلك النشوء لم يكن قد اكتمل بعد، لان محتواه مضغوط وهائج وعناصره متباينة، فهو ما يزال ينمو وينضج في ذلك الرحم الكبير او (الثمرة العظيمة). ومن بين عناصره مثلا "بيراط" الثمرة، "آير" الاثير، "مانا" العقل، "يورا" الالق الوهاج، "كنا" الفراغ او المكان، "تنا" البخار الكثيف، "تطفتا" قطرة التكوين، "ادموثا" النظير...وقد ظهرت بأوقات ومراحل متعاقبة مختلفة فمثلا: "مانا" اخذ لوحده في موضعه ٩٩٩٠ مليون سنة، وكذلك فأن "تطفتا" ابقيت بموضعها ١٤٤٤٠ مليون سنة.

لقد حصل ان تحرك المحتوى وهاج في تلك الثمرة التي في ذلك الرحم الكبير وتفاعل بسبب ما حصل من التضاغط والتسخين في "تنا" (وهومصطلح مهم يعني المادة الكونية التي تؤسس وتملأ المنشأ الكوني الاول الذي تحدثنا عنه، وتوصف كالضباب الكوني او البخار الكثيف او الغاز المتصاعد الذي ينفتح ويصب في المنبع العظيم الاول للحياة).

ان ما حصل في "التنا" كان بالتالي سببا في ان تتسخن بشكل كبير وتزداد حرارتها فتنصهر وتتحلل اكثر فاكثر وبالتالي فان العناصر والمحتوى الكثيف لذلك المنشأ تتحد وتتفاعل بأشكال مختلفة وتتوالد باشكال مختلفة ايضا، فتخرج للوجود بقوة جبارة هائلة ليتكون منها اصل الحياة الاولى بأمر الحي العظيم. فيتكون الماء والضياء والنور والاشعاع والحرارة الحية واشعاعات اخرى ليس لها حدود، فأضاءت ارض الاثير المتكونة وتفجر فيها "الممبوغي" اي (ينابيع من الماء الكوني الاول الذي ظهر في البدء). وتكونت سلالات الحياة الكونية الاولى وظهرت مواطن واراضي اثيرية مختلفة فتضاعف عددها وازداد ونشأت اخرى منها فتوسعت وتباعدت وكثرت بحيث اصبحت لا تعد ولايمكن ان يقاس حجمها ولايمكن تصور طبيعتها او ترتيبها. وهناك العديد من النصوص

توضح ما ذكرناه ونذكر هنا على سبيل المثال النص التالي من "كنزا ربا" البوثة الاولى وكما يلي:

"... هذه العوالم... تفتتت وانقسمت الى اصناف كثيرة وتهاوت على شكل أراض..."

وتذكر النصوص المندائية ايضا ان ذلك كان بنظام دقيق (وبأمر من الرب) كان يأخذ طريقه في تأسيس حياة بعد اخرى، فتكون "الاثري" الملائكة بالتكوين والنشوء الاول.

وسوف نذكر الان ترجمة لعدد من النصوص الدينية توضح ما ذكرناه عن فكرة الخلق والتكوين :

النص التالي من "قلستا" الجزء الاول (سيدرا اد نشماثا) البوثة الاولى يتحدث عن الوجود الازلي للحي العظيم (مسبح اسمه) وعن خلقه للملائكة والاثري والعوالم والسلالات الكونية المختلفة المكونة للحياة الاولى:

(بأسم الحي وبأسم عارف الحياة، وبأسم الكائن الاول (الذي هو قبل كل شيء) وكان قبل تكون الماء والضياء والنور والاشعاع، الكائن الذي خلق بكلمته، ونطق بكلماته. من قوله وكلماته (اثمرت، ازهرت، نضجت) تكونت سلالات واستقرت الحياة الاولى بمقراتها).

(ويقصد بالسلالات هي سلالات الحياة الاولى التي ترمز الى الملائكة والاثري وعوالمهم الفسيحة).

ونذكر نصا اخر حول اصل الثمرة من كتاب "كنزا ربا":

باسم الحي العظيم
عندما كانت الثمرة في داخل الثمرة
وعندما كان الاثير في داخل الاثير

وحينما كان "مانا" هناك ....
من قبل ان تكون العوالم (الكائنات) كلها
حينذاك كانت الثمرة العظيمة
واذ كانت الثمرة العظيمة، داخل الثمرة العظيمة
كان "ملك النور العظيم" ذو الجلال (قبلها وقبل كل شيء)
ومن "ملك النور العظيم" ذو الجلال
كان اثير البهاء العظيم.
ومن اثير البهاء العظيم، كان الاشعاع الحي
ومن الاشعاع الحي كان الضياء.

(بالنسبة للاشعاع الحي او ما نسميه بالمندائية (ايشاثا هيتا): هو (اشعاع الحراة الحية)، الذي يوصف في النصوص المندائية بانه القوة الحركية الدقيقة الخفية والموجودة في كل الاشياء، وهي قوة ذاتية دافعة للاجسام الظاهرة والخفية، (لان المندائيين يؤمنون بوجود الاجسام الظاهرة في الكون المرئي ويؤمنون كذلك بوجود الاجسام غير الظاهرة في الكون اللامرئي بالنسبة لنا).

ثم ننتقل الى ذكر ترجمة بعض المقاطع من "البواثا" المندائية (سور، اصحاحات) في الصحف المقدسة والتي تتحدث عن النشوء والتكوين والطريقة التي بدأ وتحرك بها بواسطة وجود وفعل "تنا" التي تملأ الرحم الكوني او ما سميناه بالثمرة العظيمة.

مبارك "تنا" الخفي، الذي هو بداخل الرحم الكبير الخفي الاول.
توهج الالق العظيم
بضياء وفير
تسخن الضياء
وانصهرت "تنا"

وتكونت مساكن (مقرات) لها في ملكوت الحي العظيم.

ونص اخر يفصل العمليات والتحولات التي حدثت في "تنا" وكذلك تكون الماء ونشوء الحياة:

حينما توهجت الحياة من الضياء في "تنا"،
وحينما انبعثت من الحي العظيم في الالق الكبير
الذي يشع هناك،
ارتفعت وكونت موضعا في "تنا"
تسخن الضياء، وانصهرت "تنا"،
ونشأ ماء (وتكون)،
ووجدت الحياة.

ومقطع اخر:

انصهرت وتحللت التنات (المتوالدة، المتكاثرة) من "كنا" الاولى فاضاءت ارض الاثير. (ويقصد بـ (كنا الاولى): المجمع الكوني الاول في (الثمرة والرحم الكوني) وهو الذي يشغل بعض فراغات الكون فهو الاساس الذي توجد فيه وتشغل جزأ منه).

وتشير النصوص المندائية ايضا الى ان "تنا" هيئة خفية لايمكن ادراكها هي مادة التكاثر في الوعاء الكوني الكبير والمعد لنشوء النفوس والارواح الاثيرية كما جاء في هذا المقطع:

("التنات" و"النطفات" الكونية تحتضن بعضها في ظل الالق العظيم).

واخيرا نذكر بعض ما جاء في احد نصوص الصحف المقدسة والذي اشار انه بامر الحي العظيم وبقوته ظهر الماء في الثمرة العظيمة ونشأت الحياة وتكون جميع الاثري وكائنات النور وكما يلي:

بقوة "ملك النور" كانت الحياة الاولى والثمرة العظيمة،
واذ كانت الثمرة العظيمة، كان فيها الماء الجاري "يردنا" وكان "يردنا"
عظيما
وكانت المياه الحية الجارية، وكانت المياه النقية المتألقة
ومن تلك المياه الجارية الحية
كانت تلك الحياة،
ومن ثم تكون جميع الاثري وكائنات النور.

وتكون من الثمرة العظيمة ٨٨٠٠ مليون اثري او كائن نوراني، (في عوالمهم التي استقرت بأرض النور).

واذا شئنا ان نتابع بعد هذه البداية عمليات النشوء والتكوين اللاحقة التي تمت فأننا يمكن ان نقسمها الى اربع حيوات (او اربع مراحل) تفصل بين الواحدة والاخرى مدة زمنية طويلة، ونختار جزءا مقتضبا من احد النصوص "البواثا" في الصحف المقدسة "سيدرا اد نشماثا" البوثا الاولى وكما يلي:

لقد نطق وتكلم ملك النور السامي العظيم.
ان قدم الحياة الاولى عن تكون ووجود الحياة الثانية، (٦٠٠ مليون سنة)، [ستة آلاف روبان].
وقدم الحياة الثانية عن تكون ووجود الحياة الثالثة، (٦٠٠ مليون سنة).
وقدم الحياة الثالثة عن تكون ووجود اي اثري، (٦٠٠ مليون سنة).

> وقدم وتكون اي اثري عن كل ما هو مادي (ارضي وفان)، وعن تكون المجموعة الشمسية (السبعة اسياد البيت المادي)، هو ٧٧٠٠ مليون سنة [٧٧٠ الف روبان]، ولزمن بعيد لا حدود له (ولا يمكن حسابه وتقديره).
> -(الروبان هنا يساوي ١٠٠،٠٠٠، وقد ياتي بقيمة ١٠،٠٠٠ او ١،٠٠٠،٠٠٠)-

وقد اشارت النصوص المندائية بشكل مفصل ومطول لتبين ماهية كل حياة واهميتها وما جرى عليها ووصفت ذلك وصفا دقيقا وفريدا في نفس الوقت. وكل الذي يجب ان يقال بوقفتنا القصيرة هذه ان الحياة الاولى امتازت بالكمال، وان عالمها كان مرتبا وشديد النظام، لقد كان بهيجا وواسعا، ولايمكن ان يضاهيه اي عالم في نوره وقوته، ولايمكن ان تنشأ حياة اجمل مما هي في الحياة الاولى.

اما ما يخص تكون الحيوات الاخرى فيمكن القول ان نشوء الحياة الثانية وما نتج عنها من توسع في التكوين وعدم الاستقرار والثبات والنقص والخلل الذي اصاب النظام فيها ادى بها ان تفتقر الى الكمال، ومنها نشأ الخطأ وعدم الدقة في الاعمال، وعدت مرحلة تالية بعد الحياة الاولى التي ولدت منها واصبحت تابعة لها، ولهذا فأننا نجد ان الحياة الثالثة والرابعة كان الاتجاه بها ايضا اكثر فأكثر للتدني، واصبحت اعمالا غير ناضجة او غير مكتملة بالتمام، وبناؤها ووجودها اصابه النقص وعدم الترتيب.

ولهذا نادت الحياة الاولى وبدعاء كبير وتوسل من الحي العظيم المساعدة في ان يبعث برسل الحياة الى تلك الحيوات ليشذبوها ويقوموها لتنتصب فتسير بالشكل الصحيح والمنظم، ويكونوا ايضا بمثابة المرافقين والمقومين لكل ما يحدث ولكل ما سوف يكون.

وليس لدينا هنا المجال الكافي لتبيان التفاصيل المتشعبة والكاملة لكل ما جرى، وبيان وتوضيح خصائص وميزات كل حياة، غير اننا نذكر ان كل حياة من الحيوات الاربعة احتوت على الاف الالاف وملايين الملايين من العوالم وساكنيها، وقد امتاز كل عالم بسعته التي لايمكن ان نصفها بوسائلنا التقليدية، وكذلك فقد نشأ فيها سكان يختلفون بين عالم وآخر. وقد وصفوا بدقة وأشارات رمزية وبشفرات خاصة في اللفائف السرية المحفوظة لدينا.

عالم الظلام

ان الحديث عن عالم الظلام يمكن ان يكون اسهل بعض الشيء من الحديث عن عالم النور.

تذكر النصوص المندائية المقدسة ان عالم الظلام موجود كوجود عالم النور، لكن النور اقدم من الظلام، وسابق له في الوجود، غير ان الاختلاف بينهما هو في العناصر المكونة لهما.

فنجد تكون الاثير الوهاج في عالم النور قبل الماء الاسود في عالم الظلام، والماء الحي قبل الماء الاسن، وشعاع الحرارة الحية قبل شعاع النار الآكلة. ومن ذلك نعلم ان النور سابق الظلام في الوجود لكن لكل واحد منهما عالمه الخاص، وهذا التعبير بمثابة حصر للثنائية.

يعتبر عالم الظلام صورة نقيضة لعالم النور. ومن جانب آخر فاننا نجد في النص التالي من "القلستا"، (البوثة الاولى) توضيح الحديث عن تكون العوالم المادية التي لها صلة وثيقة بعالم الظلام:

في ذلك الزمن البعيد، الذي ليس له حدود،
حيث لم تكن هناك ارض صلبة، وليس فيها ساكنين،
اذ كان بداخلها الماء الآسن (الاسود)،
تشكل منها وظهرت للوجود

آلاف آلاف الاسرار،
وما لا يحصى من الكائنات الشريرة.

ان المبدأ "الناصورائي" وهو (الفقه الديني والفكر الفلسفي المندائي العميق) يقول:

ان "المياه السوداء"، كانت موجودة في البداية كشكل من اشكال الفوضى، ويصور الشر عادة كملازم حتمي للمادة، ويظهر من تلقاء نفسه كنتيجة للازدواجية التي هي التعبير الاول عن وحدتهما، وهذه الحتمية تظهر مرة بعد اخرى في التعليم السري الناصورائي.

اما بالنسبة للعلاقة بين النور والظلام وعوالمهما فيمكن ان نطالع المقطع التالي من نصوص ديوان "الف ترسر شيالي"، وكما يلي:

"لان النور والظلام مرتبطين سوية،
واذا لم يكن هناك ظلام، لما كان النور قد وجد".

ان عوالم الظلام وعوالم النور هي جسد ونظير وهي تكمل احداهما الاخرى. (النظير في الفلسفة المندائية اسمى واكمل وعادة يكون غير مادي وهو اسبق والعبارة التشبيهية هنا مع جسد الانسان والجسد النظير له في عالم "مشوني كشطا").

فلا تستطيع اي منهما الانفصال عن او الاقتراب من الاخرى، (كما لاتستطيع اي منهما الاتحاد بالاخرى). (والاكثر من ذلك ان كل واحدة تستمد قوة من الاخرى).

ان الاعتماد المتبادل المشترك والتضاد (كذلك) في الشركة، غالبا ما يشرح في النصوص المندائية ويفسر كما في النص التالي من ديوان ترسر:

"انظر وتعلم بأنه بين الظلام والنور لايمكن ان يكون اتحاد او ميثاق بل
على العكس، كراهية وعداء، وعدم وفاق، لان الظلام هو خصم للنور".
هما يسار ويمين.
وهما سيكونان بالتالي "الروح الحيوي" "ونسمة الحياة".

وتشير النصوص المندائية ايضا الى ان عالم الظلام نشأ ايضا من " التنا" والخاصة بعالم الظلام والتي تختلف بطبيعتها عن "تنا" عالم النور التي اشرنا اليها في بداية الموضوع، فتكون الظلام وتوسعت اغراسه ومواطنه بوجود الماء الاسود الاول كما هو واضح في المقطع التالي من صحف آدم المقدسة، وفيه يجيب مواطنو عالم الظلام على تساؤل الملاك كبرائيل حينما سألهم عن اصلهم عندما نزل اليهم يقولون:
اتينا من "تنا" الظلام (من اغراس الظلام الاول)،
ومن نهاية الماء الاسود.

يجيب سكان الظلام على تساؤلات رسل الحي العظيم حول موطنهم واصلهم يقولون:
لا نعلم شيئا، من اين اتينا.
موطننا هو موطن الظلام، الذي لا نور فيه.
موطننا هو موطن العصيان، الذي لاهدوء فيه
موطننا هو موطن الفوضى، الذي لا نظام فيه.
موطننا هو موطن الاشرار، الذي لا خير فيه.

ومما تجدر الاشارة اليه ان هناك علاقة وثيقة بين الظلام والماء الاسود الآسن الكثيف، وهي فكرة خاصة بالديانة المندائية.

ونلاحظ كذلك ان الظلام موجود منذ البدء بطبيعته الشريرة المخالفة للنور وانه نشأ بكيانه الخاص وعوالمه الفسيحة الواسعة وان له مياه "جارية" "يردنا" خاصة به كما هو الحال بالنسبة لعالم النور، ويغلي فيها الماء الاسود الذي نشأت منه كائنات الظلام ومواطنها (اي اراضيها).

تكوين العالم المادي وتكوين العالم الارضي

يحتل تكوين العالم المادي والعالم الارضي حيزا جيدا بين نصوص الخلق والتكوين في الصحف المقدسة، ويظهر فيه التفصيل الدقيق لمراحل التكوين وطبيعته، والمشاركين فيه والمواد المستعملة. وكل ذلك يدور بأمر من الحي العظيم واخذ القوة اللازمة منه لانجاز هذا العمل الكبير، والذي يعتبر كملحمة ضخمة ومترابطة مع عمليات الخلق والتكوين اللاحقة التي تمت بعد تكون عالم النور وعالم الظلام وهذه المرحلة طبعا هي المرحلة التي سبقت تكون ووجود ابينا آدم المادي (مبارك اسمه) -وليس ادم الخفي غير المنظور.

ونلاحظ ان تكون الارض كان ضمن المرحلة المتأخرة لتكون العوالم المادية والتي هي تابعة اصلا لمرحلة تكون عالم الظلام لانها عبارة عن سلسلة حلقاتها متصلة ومترابطة.

وتشير النصوص المندائية الى ان الظهور الاول لأرضنا هذه كان ضمن ظهور الأراضي الاخرى في الكون، حيث كان (الكون المادي) كالبحر الهائج المضطرب الذي تناثرت امواجه في كل مكان، ويوصف هذا البحر ايضا بأنه بحر كوني واسع كبير مترامي الاطراف، يغلي ويفور، هائج ومائج، وهو مليء بالحمم المتوهجة، والمشتعلة النتنة، والتي رميت في بحر الظلام الكبير، فأستقرت به الكواكب وشمسنا والقمر والنجوم والافلاك، وكانت ارضنا مضافة للتكوينات

السبع الاولى المادية التي ظهرت في باديء الامر، مع تكوين البروج الاثني عشر، وكانت هذه جميعا ضمن سلطة عالم الظلام والواقعة تحت تأثيره، وقد اعتبرت كمقرات تابعة لنظام ذلك العالم (المظلم).

وتوصف ارضنا والكواكب والنجوم في الكون المادي والمرئي في النصوص المندائية بأنها في هذه المرحلة البدائية من التكوين لم تكن مستقرة وهي غير مأهولة بالساكنين ويشار ايضا الى انها كانت عبارة عن كتل هائمة مضرة ليس بينها نظام كامل يرتبها بالتمام.

وقبل ان نسترسل في توضيح كيفية تكوين وتنظيم العالم المادي وتصليب الارض من الضروري ان نشير الى دور عوالم النور في تحديد قوة وسلطة عالم الظلام والعالم المادي، اذ انها قامت بذلك الدور ليتسنى لها ان تجعل التوازن والنظام والترتيب والاستقرار يستتب في الكون والعالم المادي، حتى لا تضطرب الاعمال التي كلفت عوالم النور للقيام بها والسيطرة على كل العوالم المتكونة في الكون (بسبب التوسع الذي حصل في التكوين وكذلك نشوء النقص وعدم الاكتمال) وذلك كي يكون بالامكان نشوء الحياة عليها كما حدث ذلك في عوالم النور والاراضي السرية الغير مرئية التابعة لها.

لقد كان ذلك بأن كلف الملاك المبارك "هيبل زيوا" الذي هو (كبرائيل شليها)، اي جبرائيل الرسول ومعه عدد من الاثري (الملائكة) المساعدين، كي ينزل الى عوالم الظلام بعد ان يتزود بالقوة اللازمة التي يستطيع بها انجاز مهمته، التي ارسل بها والتي تتضمن الاتجاهات التالية:

١- استكشاف عوالم الظلام المتكونة ومعرفة اسرارها المتولدة الجديدة والمجهولة بالنسبة لعوالم النور.

٢- تحديد وتحجيم وتحييد قوة تلك العوالم الهائجة المضطربة التي تهدد الاعمال التي يمكن القيام بها في العالم المادي المتكون.

٣- تهيئة وترتيب العالم المادي بسبب ظهور النقص والخلل وتوجيهه بنظام دقيق لا يمكن الخروج عنه وبالتالي استقراره بعلاقات منتظمة في الكون تأخذ طريقها الحتمي وبالأتجاه الصحيح.

٤- اختيار عوالم لتهيئة مستلزمات نشوء الحياة عليها.

ولهذا فقد َنفَذَ كبرائيل الرسول مهمته بأدق صورة بعد استطلاعات وعدة رحلات. وقد تحدثت النصوص المندائية عن ذلك بما يشبه الملحمة الكبيرة، وتم اختيار الارض كمكان من بين العوالم التي يمكن ان تكون مناسبة لنشوء الحياة فيها، وبالتالي فأنها ستكون في المستقبل بيتا صالحا لابينا آدم المادي وذريته. ويمكن ان نذكر مقطعا من احد النصوص الدينية في صحف آدم المقدسة، البوثة الاولى والذي يأمرفيه "ملك النور العظيم" الملاك "هيبل زيوا" كبرائيل الرسول بالتوجه الى عالم الظلام وتنفيذ المهمة التي كلف بها:

قم، واذهب الى عالم الظلام، المليء بالشر
والنار الاكلة.
اذهب، واكبس عالم الظلام، والاسرار التي تكونت منه
اذهب، واكبس الظلام ومواطنيه، الذين تكونوا منه.
..... سويّ الارض .....
ابسط السماء.

فيجيب، في مقطع آخر:

اهبط الى (العمق الاسود البعيد) الذي ملؤه النتانة (ربما اشارة الى الغازات المتصاعدة المختلفة) لاكمال الاعمال التي لم تسر او(تترتب) بالتمام والنظام.

ونص اخر:

عندما لم تكن هناك ارقا اد "تيبل" اي ارض وعندما لم يتكون العالم
الارضي بعد،
ولم يحدث التصلب، ولم يتكون
وعندما كان الماء اسودا،
ارتحل، وجاء "هيبل زيوا" كبرائيل الرسول ومساعدوه
وجاءوا الى العالم الارضي ورابطوا فيه.
ورمى "هيبل زيوا" الحدود والفواصل، فقاس الماء
وجعله يتكون الى فروع (اقسام).

وقد كلف الملاك "بثاهيل" بأن يأخذ دوره في محاولة السيطرة على العالم المادي وتصلب الارض. وقد قام بذلك على مراحل كان الفشل يصاحبه في البداية الى ان استعان بالحي العظيم ان يعطيه القوة والحكمة والوسائل اللازمة للتكثيف والتصليب وكذلك المساعدة من كبرائيل الرسول كما نلاحظ في النص التالي:

نهض بثاهيل اثرا ومضى وهبط في وسط المواطن،
في المواطن حيث لا وجود لعوالم النور ...
لقد قام بالتأثير على كتلة الارض الضخمة ...
ورمى فيها اشعاع الحرارة الحية (الوهاج)،
اشعاع الحرارة الحية رماه فيها ...
وتمازجت اشعاعات الحرارة الحية
بالماء الاسن (الكثيف الاسود الثقيل)
وبفعل شذى الحرارة الحية
سقط غبار، وغطى كل شيء وسدت البحار
وامتلات جميع الحفر.

حدث الجفاف، وتكون التصلب، وسقط في الماء وارتفع ستار.
صعد "بثاهيل" وانتصب في قلب السماء،
وعندما اراد ان يمسك (يسوي، ويجهز) غلاف الارض، احاط به الفانون،
احاطت به الكواكب السبعة، والاثنا عشر (البروج).
وعندما امسك غلاف الارض (سيطر عليها)،
صعد بها وأوثقها (بنظام) بقبة السماء (بقبة الافلاك الفسيحة)
وعندما امسك دائرة السماء العالية
صعد بها الى العلى واوثقها بمقره.
بعد ذلك قيدت الكواكب،
وصعدت واخذت مكانها في (قبة الافلاك)
الكواكب وقفوا، وشدوا بوثاقهم
اي وضعت في مساراتها.

ويذكر ايضا ان الارض بعد تصلبها اخذت شكلا مخالفا لشكلها الاول قبل ان تتكثف وتتصلب، وان ذلك الشكل سُوّي من جميع الجهات بما يعرف في المندائية بمصطلح "يونابيت" اي مهارة فائقة، فاصبح كالبيضة المفلطحة المضغوطة من اعلاها واسفلها فهي نتاج العالم المادي وهي تسبح في بحر من الظلام وتتشد بربط سري خفي متين مع دائرة السماء، وتقيد بوثاق مع قبة الافلاك في العالم المادي.

وتذكر النصوص المندائية ان الارض تكثفت في البدء بتصلب يبلغ ١٢٠٠٠ الف فرسخ وان داخلها اصبح كثيفا واكثر تماسكا وبصلادة وقوة الجحيم فيه حيث مراجل الظلام الساخنة الملتهبة التي لاتطاق واصبحت مقيدة في محيط سميك واسوار منيعة من المعادن والصخور والمياه السوداء الاسنة "ميا سياوي" تفرقت في البواطن البعيدة.

وبعد تصلب الارض عمل الملائكة بسعي دؤوب وفعال لتهيئة الارض والسماء بالشكل الذي يوفر الظروف المناسبة للحياة، وجعلها صالحة للسكن وقد سخروا معهم قوى العالم المادي ايضا فرميت فيها اسرار الكون، واحدثت فيها تغييرات فنزلت فيها المياه الحية الطاهرة واختلطت بالمياه السوداء، وشقت الانهار الجارية والجداول وتكونت البحار وظهرت الاسماك، والسماء اصبحت صالحة فطارت بها الطيور وكل ذي جناح.

وكونت جميع النباتات وبذورها في الارض وجعل كل جنس متكون يختلف عن الاخر واعدت الاشجار ونضجت الثمار واصبحت صالحة للحياة واوجدت الحيوانات والدواب وذوات الاربع وكل اصنافها ذكرا وانثى.

وقد اشارت نصوص كثيرة ومتنوعة تشرح بتفصيل واف كيف تم نشوء الحياة على الارض وتدرج مراحلها كما في النص التالي:

وفيه أمر الحي العظيم الى الملاك هيبل زيوا كبرائيل الرسول ان يهبط الى عالم الظلام ويعد الارض لنشوء آدم وتجديد دورة الحياة في ذلك العالم وربطه مع الحياة الاولى وكما يلي:

> اذهب، واكبس عالم الظلام، والاسرار التي كونت فيه، صلب الارض ونجد السماء، واجعل فيها نجوما وامنح الشمس نورا والقمرسطوعا والنجوم التماعا........

ويستمر النص ليوضح كيفية ظهور الحياة على الارض بجميع اشكالها (راجع البوثة الاولى من كنزا ربا يمينا).

،ويمكن لنا في النهاية ان نعطي فكرة موجزة وملخصة عن النقاط المهمة والجوهرية في عقيدة الخلق والتكوين المندائية ونلخصها بما يلي:

١- ان الخالق الحي العظيم ازلي الوجود ليست له بداية ولا نهاية وهو قد انبعث من ذاته وكينونته خفية لايمكن ان تدرك ولذلك فهو الحقيقة الوحيدة والازلية في الوجود.

٢- ان بأمره حدث الخلق، واخذ طريقه في التكوين والنشوء والتطور، وكل حياة نشأ وتولد عنها عوالم وحيوات اخرى.

٣- (الثمرة) ان بداية التكوين كانت في (الرحم الكوني الاول) وهي صلدة ممتلئة متسخنة تأخذ طريقها للنضوج والتفتح وبالتالي المخاض والولادة الكبرى.

٤- نشوء مبدأ النظائر المنعكسة (الشبيه) ويكون عادة العنصر الاثيري هو الخفيف والعنصر المادي هو الثقيل والفاني وهو نظام يظهر كثيرا في النصوص المندائية.

٥- وجود عالم النور اسبق من وجود عالم الظلام، وهما يسيران في خطين متوازيين بينهما بعض جسور التعاون والارتباط.

٦- ان كل حياة تنشأ، تحتفظ بأرادتها وافكارها الذاتية في الفعل، ولكنها تبقى متعايشة مع النظام العام، واي مخالفة تحصل يتوجب اصلاحها بوسائل هذا النظام التي لا تتغير والتي هي اقوى من اي ارادة، لانه ناموس الحياة المقر من قبل الخالق العظيم.

٧- وجود حركة ذاتية وحركة تابعة مُسّيرة في كل شيء متكون، بسبب امتلاكه لاشعاعات خاصة تسمى "ايشاتا".

٨- ان الكون في نظر الصابئة المندائيين متحرك وحي ينتشر ويتوسع اكثر واكثر، وان الكون المادي المنظور لا بد له ان ينتهي بعد هذا التوسع يوما ما ويرجع الى البداية، فالشمس والكواكب والقمر والارض والعالم كله سيفنى وينتهي.

ومما تجدر الاشارة له ان الارض ستكون نهايتها وفناؤها بأن تلقى بفرن الجحيم المشتعل وتصبح وقودا له.

ان كل شيء في نظر المندائيين يرجع الى البداية ويدور وهذه احدى النقاط المركزية في العقيدة المندائية ، فالابجدية المندائية تبدأ

بالالف وتنتهي بالالف وهي اربعة وعشرون حرفا بعدد ساعات انقضاء يوم وبداية يوم، وكذلك "النيشمثا" نسمة الحياة جاءت من ملكوت الحي تحل في الجسد المادي وترجع اليه ثانية لتكمل دورتها، كذلك جسم الانسان خلق من تراب والى التراب يعود بدورة كاملة.

ويمكن ان نخرج بنتيجة هي ان الخالق وضع اسراره العظيمة في خلائقه العجيبة وصنعه البديع وقد منحهم الحياة.

المصادر:

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خلق الانسان

آدم وحواء

يعتبر موضوع وجود الانسان على الارض من المواضيع الهامة التي شغلت بال الكثيرين والى يومنا هذا، وقد استعرضنا في مكان اخر كيفية تكون ونشوء عوالم النور وعوالم الظلام، وكيفية نشوء الكون. واشرنا الى ان عوالم الظلام والعوالم المادية توسعت بشكل مضطرد وكبير وزادت قوتها وانقسمت وتوالدت واصبح تأثيرها قويا في الكون، وبسبب كل ذلك كان هناك عدم استقرار وعدم اتزان، والنظام اصبح غير كامل او مستتب في تلك العوالم، مما يجعلها تتوسع بشكل فوضى اكثر فاكثر. ان ذلك كله قد دعا عوالم النور للتدخل (بعد اخذ القوة اللازمة والتكليف من الحي العظيم) للقيام بتحييد قوى عوالم الظلام، وتنظيم الكون المادي والعمل على استقراره وجعله خاضعا لقوانين النظام العام في كل حركاته وتاثيراته وفعالياته، التي من شأنها ان تؤدي بالتالي الى نشوء الحياة في هذا الكون.

ان الغرض الاساسي من فكرة خلق وتكوين الحياة في العالم المادي هو تحييد الظلام وعوالمه واخضاعها لنظام متوازن في الكون، والتقليل من تأثيره في العالم المادي، اضافة الى ان ذلك يمثل تحقيق موطأ قدم لدخول كائنات النور في هذا الكون (المنظور) ومن ثم تحسينه وتوجيهه بالاتجاه الايجابي، لان عالم النور يمثل الحياة والتطور والنظام، اما عالم الظلام فيمثل الموت والفناء والفوضى. واشرنا الى كيفية هبوط كائنات النور وكيف عملت جاهدة على دراسة ومعرفة اسرار عالم الظلام وبالتالي السيطرة عليه وتنظيم الكون المادي.

وقد وقع الاختيار على ارضنا هذه لتكوين حياة جديدة تضاف الى سلسلة الحيوات الكثيرة التي نشأت قبلها في الكون وتماثلها في

بعض جوانبها الحياتية. ونخص بالذكر منها عالم "مشوني كشطا" اي (عالم الحق المرتفع)، وهو عالم النماذج العليا والنظائر للانسانية الكونية، [على غراره انشأ العالم الارضي الجديد، الذي يعتبر نموذجه المادي في الكون المرئي او المنظور]، والذي تكون فيه "ادكاس زيوا" اي آدم المضيء او مايسمى "آدم كسيا" اي آدم الخفي، وزوجه "هوا انانا" اي حواء السحابة، وتكونت فيه ذريتهما، وقد نشأت الحياة في ذلك العالم قبل عالمنا الارضي، واصبح مأهولا بنوع خاص من الادميين الكونيين الذين تميزوا بصفات خاصة (اكثر نقاء من عالمنا): فهم يتغذون دون فضلات ويتكاثرون دون نجاسات، وفيه تتواجد الاجساد المضيئة والنظائر الاكثر خفة من (اللحم والدم)، وينتقلون بين العوالم المختلفة وفق نظام دقيق وخاص، وبسفن فضائية معدة لهذا الغرض. ويعد آدم الخفي (ادكاس) العنصر الاصلي والنموذج الاول للانسانية الكونية، ويعتبر انبثاقا من الحياة الاولى، وقد تجلى فيما بعد منه آدم الارضي بصفته المادية، واكسبه حيوية وبهاء عن طريق نسمة الحياة (نشمثا) لينير بها جسده المادي المظلم، لذلك فان سر (آدم الخفي – ادكاس – وعالمه) موجود في كل انسان مادي كما سيتبين لنا من ذلك لاحقا.

فلننطلق معا الان في رحلة الكون، في رحلة الانسان، في عمق الزمن، عبر التاريخ السحيق...

ولكي نفهم كيف وجد الانسان لابد ان نتحدث قليلا عن الفترة السابقة له، ونشير الى التهيئة التي حصلت لاظهار الجسد المادي (بغرا).

ونقول: ان ذلك حدث بعدما تكونت الحياة الرابعة "بثاهيل" والذي هو نتاج رحلة "اثري" وهم كائنات نورانية خيرة : او ما يسمون برسل النور، الى عالم الظلام، والتي اصبح بعدها "بثاهيل" المشرف

والمتسلط على العوالم التي تليه، وقد تمت له السيطرة عليها وتسخيرها لاستقرار العالم المادي، وبالتالي التهيئة لبناء البيت الارضي لكي يتقبل ويحتوي وجود الحياة المزمع انشائها فيه.

على اثر ذلك قُدم الى "ابثاهيل" اقتراحا موجها من قبل حكام الكواكب والاجرام وبعض من ملوك عالم الظلام (وخاصةالروهة) حول التعاون والاشتراك معه في تثبيت الارض واعمارها وانشاء الحياة فيها، واكدوا انهم سيحافظون على النظام في هذا العالم وسيكونون صالحين، وكما جاء في ترجمة النص التالي من صحف آدم المقدسة:

باسم الحي العظيم

"اتينا لنكون خدما لك، سنكون بجانبك، ونكون مساعديك.
مساعديك سنكون، في كل شيء تفعله،
وسندعك بسلام على عرشك، ونحافظ على النظام في العالم،
سنكون صالحين".

وقد وافق "بثاهيل" على ما قدموه واتفق مع مدبري هذه العوالم المظلمة لان الارض كانت تابعة لسلطتهم وتأثيراتهم الفعالة، وبتسخيرهم سيتمكن من مزج الافعال الروحانية والمادية مع بعضها ليكون النماذج الحياتية الملائمة للحياة في هذا الكوكب.

بعد ذلك لم يلتزم حكام الظلام وملوك الكواكب بحدود عملهم وفعلوا ما يناسب طبيعتهم، فجعلوا حصتهم فيه اكبر، ووضعوا فيه اسرار قوتهم وتسلطهم.

وقد فقد الملاك "بثاهيل" على اثر ذلك سلطته الكاملة على الارض، وكانت الاعمال ناقصة ومبعثرة، وقد مرت بفترة اضطراب جديدة.

بعد هذا يتدخل رسل الحياة وبالذات الملاك "هيبل زيوا" كبرائيل شليها، جبرائيل الرسول، ليصلح الخلل الذي اصاب نظام الارض ويعيد التوازن، ويضع (بذور) مكونات الحياة فيها بواسطة ما ادخلوه من عناصر سامية ودقيقة ذات طبيعة عليا أثيرية كي تمتزج بالعناصر الارضية لتنبثق منها نواة الحياة الاولى، فتتكون فيما بعد منها – وبمرور فترة من الزمن (ربما تقدر بملايين من السنين) – كل الكائنات الحية حسب مراحل تكونها وظهورها في النظام العام.

وهنا يُعطى الملاك "بثاهيل" فرصة اخرى بعد الفشل الذي اصابه في بداية اعماله فينجح (وبالاشتراك مع ملوك عالم الظلام وحكام الكواكب والاجرام) في ان تتكون الاحياء الاولى من تلك العناصر والمواد التي دخلت وامتزجت بالماء الارضي من الماء السماوي، كذلك ما امتزج من عناصر الهواء الاثيري مع فضاء الارض ليصبح صالحا منعشا للحياة، وقد لعبت اضافة لذلك مواد التكثيف الاولى التي رميت في الارض دورها الفاعل لتكوين التربة الصالحة للحياة فيها، وقد اشرنا في مكان آخر الى (دور مادة التكثيف الاولى في عملية تصلب الارض).

من هنا نجد ان الماء بشكل خاص (وبأشكاله وتراكيبه المختلفة) متحدا مع العناصر الاخرى في هذا الكوكب يحتضن وجود وتكون اول حياة فيه، فتتكون الاحياء الاولى والنباتات وبذورها، وتظهر سابحات الماء بشتى اصنافها، وما زحف وما داس الارض (اليابسة) من الحشرات والحيوانات بمختلف انواعها، ويظهر كل ذي جناح وما طار في السماء، ويتميز منها ذكر وانثى.

لقد امتلئت الارض بالحياة بشتى الاصناف ومختلف الانواع، ونشير ايضا في دائرة الحديث الى نشوء وظهور الحيوانات الضخمة المختلفة وكتل اللحم الكبيرة المنتشرة – (والتي هي ربما تشير الى ما يعرف في العصر الحديث بالديناصورات) –، اضافة الى التنينات

والافاعي والزواحف والكائنات الهائجة المجنونة والاشكال الغريبة من الحيوانات والمخلوقات، ويذكر بهذا الخصوص ان الكثير منها كان ضارا مخيفا مرعبا يمتلأ بالشر ويثير الرعب في الخلق.

ويفسر هذا في النصوص المندائية بان السبب كان تدخل القوى المتسلطة على العالم المادي، مما ادى بالتالي الى توسع التكوينات الحياتية المختلفة وباتجاهات غير مرغوب بها على الارض وبالذات ظهور الحيوانات والنباتات والحشرات الضارة والسامة التي لم ترغب عوالم النور بظهورها ووجودها في العالم الارضي، وهذا هو أحد الاسباب التي جعلت القلق يزداد حول ما يجري من اعمال في العالم الارضي والاتجاه الذي يسير فيه تطور تكوين الكائنات الحية، الامر الذي جعلهم يقلقون اكثر فاكثر علىالاتجاه العام والتخطيط المزمع تنفيذه لاستخراج وظهور الشكل الخاص والنهائي الناجح لهيكل آدم وجسده المادي المتكون.

لقد حاول الملاك "بثاهيل" (والقوى الاخرى التي معه) جاهدين في هذا الاتجاه لتنفيذ ما يسعون له (من تخطيط) واستغرق منهم ذلك الوقت الطويل وكلفهم الكثير من الجهود والمحاولات لانجاح عملهم.

وقد وضع حكام الكواكب والعالم المادي والعالم المظلم اسرارهم (اي اسرار المادة والظلام) في جسد آدم، وهذا يشير الى ان جسده يحتوي على اسرار السماء والارض فيما يحتويه كيانه من مكونات، فقد وضع فيه الماء والبخار (الضباب والدخان)، والهواء (وانواع الرياح والروائح)، والحرارة الحية (والنار المشعة الحية)، والاشعة الوهاجة (والمستعرة) وعناصر اخرى مأخوذة من (الماء والهواء والتراب والنار).

لذلك فان جسد الانسان يوصف سلبيا لانه يحتوي على اسرار المادة. ومن انعكاساتها ما نلاحظه على الانسان من تصرفات غير

علوية كالغضب والثورة، الحدة والعنف، الهيجان والخوف، التفتت والانقسام، اضافة الى تقلب الاراء كتقلب الرياح، والحزن والبكاء، والطرب والعبث، الشراسة والقهر، العوق والعيوب، النقص والزيادة، المرض والاورام والاوجاع، الموت والفناء... الخ من صفات العالم المادي والمتسلطين عليه، وقد اخذ الجسد المتكون صفات المادة لانه جبل منها، لذلك فانه يكون شديد التأثر بما يؤثر على المادة.

وربما بعض ما ذكرناه توا يشير الى احتواء الانسان على الكثير من اسرار الكون المختلفة اذا لم نقل معظمها، لذلك يعرف المندائيون من خلال تعاليمهم ان من أراد البحث عن اسرار تكوين جسد الانسان فليبحث في عناصر ومكونات الارض والسماء فسيجدها مجتمعة في جسده وكل كيانه وهو بذلك يعطينا نموذجا مصغرا عن الاسرار الكبرى في الكون، لانه يعتبر سر الكون المصغر الموضوع على الارض، ويطلق على الانسان احيانا بالكون الصغير والعالم المحيط حوله بالكون الكبير. فليتفكر الانسان في اسرار خلقه ووجوده لعله يعرف ما يبحث عنه ويسأل.

اضافة الى ما ذكرناه انفا فاننا نجد ان النصوص المندائية في الصحف المقدسة تتحدث عن ان الملاك "بثاهيل" يعتبر ابا معنويا لآدم، وقد كونه على شاكلته وشاكلة آدم الخفي "ادكاس" اي كونه على مثيل هيئته من مواد الارض اي التراب وبالتحديد مما يعرف بالمندائية (كتا اد طينا)، اي بمعنى كتلة خاصة من الطين، وكما جاء في عبارة اخرى (من طينا هوا)، اي تكون "آدم" من الطين.

حواء

مادمنا قد وصلنا الى هذه النقطة فيمكن ان نعرج على ذكر تكوين حواء، ويشار الى انها قد كونت (فيما بعد) من الطينة نفسها، ولم تذكر

النصوص المندائية انها خلقت من جسم آدم وانما تكونت وخرجت من وعائها الخاص، لكنها كانت على هيئته، كذلك نجد ان حواء بنيت على مثيل وهيئة "انانا اد نهورا" سحابة النور ويقصدبها "هوا انانا" زوجة آدم الخفي. كما جاء في النص التالي:

> "جعلت ... حواء على مثيل انانا دنهورا، جعلتها سيدة الدنيا كلها"، وادخلت فيها صفات من "الروها"، ولذا فقد اصبحت لحواء بعض المميزات جعلتها توصف (بالارض)، وصارت تختلف عن الرجل آدم الذي وضعت فيه صفات ومميزات جعلته يوصف بالسماء، لذلك فاتحادهما يشكل وحدة مترابطة في الكون (السماء والارض) - (الذكر او الرجل والانثى او المراة) - وهما يمثلان الاتحاد والانتاج ومنهما خرجت ذرية البشر، ويوصف فعل الرجل مع المراة بانه كالمطر الذي ينزل من السماء فيسقي الارض الجافة الصحراء القاحلة، يحيها ويجعلها تزهو بالحياة النضرة.

ومن الجدير بالذكر فان العزوبة توصف بأنها كالنهر الذي جف منه الماء فتشققت ضفتيه وانهارتا فاندرس ولم يبق له ذكر أو اثر.

وبعد تشكيل جسد (الانسان) آدم المادي يرمي الملاك "بثاهيل" فيه (روها) أي روحا من روحه الخاصة التي هيأت له من بيت ابائه (والتي تحمل صفات العوالم التي جاء منها، والعوالم التي تسلط عليها)، ونذكر على سبيل المثال لا الحصر مقطعا من احد النصوص المقدسة الذي يوضح بعضا مما تطرقنا اليه وكما يلي:

باسم الحي العظيم

بعد ان شارك "بثاهيل" في تكوين العالم الارضي
كون ابنه آدم مثيلا (شبيها) لهيئته،
وعلى غرار هيئة آدم، تكونت زوجه حواء.
والقى "بثاهيل" في جسد آدم "روها" روحا من روحه الخاصة

ومن حكام الكواكب رمى كل واحد فيه شيئا من اسراره.
ومع ذلك كان "بثاهيل" وحكام الكواكب الذين معه
عاجزين عن انهاض آدم وزوجه حواء.

ونلاحظ من نصوص اخرى ان هناك عناصر واسرار متعددة وضعت في جسد الانسان وقد ساهم كثيرون غير الذين ذكرناهم في ان تتكون جميع اجزائه بانتظام وتدب فيها الحياة، ومع ذلك نجد ان الانسان هذا لم ينتصب. وبقي غير عاقل لا يفهم ما حوله، ولا يدري ما يدور في الارض والسماء، وسنعرض بعد قليل مقطعا من نص فريد في ملحمة التكوين هذه، وفيه يوصف ادم بانه سيصبح ملك هذا العالم، وكالاتي:

باسم الحي العظيم

عندما جاء "بثاهيل" وتكلم الى حكام الكواكب قائلا:
نريد ان نكون آدم، ليصبح ملك الدنيا.
عندما نطق بذلك، تحاور حكام الكواكب فيما بينهم وقالوا له:
اننا سنكون آدم ... لانه يعود لنا.
ثم تكلم "بثاهيل" الاثرا مع حكام الكواكب وقال لهم:
آدم هو ملك هذا العالم،
يجب ان تقدموا له الرعاية وتقوموا على خدمته باكمل وجه.
ثم كونوا جسد آدم ووضعوه جانبا، ولم تكن فيه (نشمثا) نسمة الحياة.
عندما كونوا جسد آدم، ولم يتمكنوا من احلال الحياة فيه،
نادوا على "آير" ليجوف عظامه، فتجوفت عظامه
وتكون فيها النخاع، نخاع تكون فيها، ليصبح قويا ويقف على قدميه.
نادوا (ضباب الجداول، ووهج الحرارة المشعة) لتدخلا في جسده،
فتطبق راحة يده، ويضرب بذراعيه، ويحدث صخبا، وينتفض ليصبح قويا.
وتكلم حكام الكواكب وقالوا لبثاهيل :

اعطنا من الروح (روها) لنزرعها في جسده،
الروح التي جلبتها معك .....
حاول حكام الكواكب، وحاول ايضا "بثاهيل"
وعلى الرغم من كل محاولاتهم،
لم يتمكنوا من جعل آدم يقف على قدميه.

ونستنتج من ذلك كله ان عملهم لم يكن كاملا او ناجحا، اذ انهم لم يستطيعوا ان يجعلوا آدم عاقلا او فاهما وعارفا بالحياة العظيمة، ولم يتمكنوا (مع كل ما فعلوه وهو كثير وكبير) من ان يجعلوه يقف على قدميه وينتصب بالتمام اضافة الى ان عينيه لم تكن تميزان الوجود والمعنى الحقيقي للحياة، وكان اخرسا من الكلام والنطق الآدمي.

وكما يرد من حديث في التراث المندائي المتوارث (لقد كان يمشي على اربع، ويخرج اصواتا ليست آدمية تشبه اصوات الحيوانات كصوت الخراف وصهيل الخيول) لانه لم يكن حينها مكتملا، لقد كان عبارة عن جسد في روح "روها"، وهذه الروح التي وضعت فيه من قبل بثاهيل جعلته مثله مثل باقي الكائنات الحية المتكونة في الارض، لان الملاك بثاهيل ومشاركيه قد وضعوا في الاحياء بعد تكوين بذرتها الاولى "روها" روح وهي عبارة عن الروح الحيوية في الكائنات والتي تعطي الحياة والفعالية للاجساد المادية او لخلايا الاجسام الحية.

وتمثل "روها" سلبيا لانها ليست من الحياة الاولى انما هي من عالم ادنى، والكائن الذي يحتوي على جسد وروحا لا يمكنه ان يصعد بعد الموت اكثر وابعد من عالم "بثاهيل".

من هنا يتبين لنا مدى الفشل الذي اصاب البناء المتكون للاجساد المادية، والذي استمر ربما لفترات طويلة من الزمن في عمر التاريخ السحيق، هذا مما يثبت للمشتركين في هذه العملية الكبيرة

قصورهم وعجزهم من ان يجعلوا اعمالهم تتصف بالكمال والحكمة الكاملة.

وبعد ان يثبت فشلهم يلتجأ الملاك "بثاهيل" الى ابائه في عوالم النور ليخبرهم عن الاعمال التي اقيمت في الارض، كذلك فهو قد صعد حائرا متوسلا مصليا للحي العظيم، طالبا الغفران عما حدث من اخطاء وانحرافات واعمال ناقصة في العالم المادي وعلى الارض، والتي لا تعطى فيه سلطة كبيرة لعالم النور، وبذلك فانه طلب المساعدة والتوجيه لاكمال وتنظيم وتعديل خط سير الاعمال التي تم البدأ فيها والتي كانت السلطة فيها اكبر لعالم الظلام.

على اثر ذلك يعاقب الملاك "بثاهيل" ويحدد في عالمه وبعد فترة لا نريد التطرق الى تفاصيلها تأتيه رحمة الحي الواسعة، بعد ان اعطي الفرصة الكافية ليكتشف بنفسه حقيقة عبث وتخريب قوى العالم المادي في الارض، وبعد ان وعى الى ما فعل، وشاهد نتائج الاعمال التي اقيمت وصنعت، وبعد ان راى مواضع النقص والخلل في ذلك العالم، وتيقن ان القوى المسيطرة عليه (قوى العالم المادي) تنفذ ارادتها وتعبث، وتصنع الشر والصراع والكره والقتل والتلوث والدمار.

ان غفران الحي العظيم ورحمته جاءت لتعطي جميع عوالم النور القوة والتصميم بشكل اكبر مما كانوا عليه لتحسين وتنظيم الاعمال التي حدثت في العالم الارضي وبالتالي التدخل للسيطرة عليه.

وقد تمثل ذلك بان ارسل الحي العظيم (مسبح اسمه)، بواسطة رسله الصالحين "نشمثا" نسمة الحياة، اي (الروح النقية) وهي التي تدفع الانسان للخير والمحبة والطهر والصلاح ومعرفة الحي العظيم والحياة الابدية، ان اصلها من موطن النور الاول وسر وجودها خفي على كل مخلوق (هي رازا كسيا: هي سر خفي)، فهي واحدة من اسرار الرب العظيم في هذا الكون ارسلها كي تحارب الظلام والشر، لتهزمه بالحق

والفضيلة والصلاح والصلاة والدعاء والتسبيح الذي تقيمه في الارض، فيسود السلام وتسود المحبة ويثبت الايمان، وتنهار اعمال كل قوى الظلام وخططهم (لذلك فهي مرسلة لتخوض صراعا ابديا في العالم المادي الارضي)، تقوم فيه الانسان وتجعله ينتصب على قدميه، ويعي ويعرف حقيقة ما حوله، ويؤمن بالحي العظيم وملائكته النورانيين (ابائه الاولين) وكتبه وتعاليمه، التي تحصن الانسان بالنور والطهر والمعرفة اي "تاصيروثا"، والتي هي سلاح "النشمثا" في هذا العالم، وبها تهزم الشر ومساعديه. ويعمد ادم بعدها في "يردنا" الحياة العظيم ليعيش مرحلة جديدة من الفكر ويقيم صرح الحضارة الانسانية.

لقد كان هبوط نشمثا الى العالم الارضي بمثابة اختبار صعب وصراع خطير لنسمة الحياة كان يجب عليها ان تخوضه، لانها وحدها القادرة على جعل جسم آدم ينتصب ويعرف الحياة، وهي الوحيدة القادرة على اضاءة جسده المظلم (لانه متكون من اللحم والدم)، اضافة الى انها الوحيدة التي باستطاعتها ان تقيد الاسد الهائج في داخل الانسان، وتكبح نزواته ونوازعه المادية كما هو واضح في النص التالي:

يا نشمثا الحياة الطاهرة، يا نشمثا قفي واذهبي هناك
وادخلي الجسد وابق مقيدة في القصر (الجسد)
ومن خلالك سيقيد الاسد الهائج، وسيقتل الشرير في مكانه،
ومن خلالك سيقيد ملك الظلام ...
دخلت الجسد في ذلك الرداء الذي امر لها به
سكنت الجسد والاسرار في داخله اضاءت.

وقبل ان تدخل "نشمثا" في الجسد نلاحظ انها تتردد في الذهاب للعالم المادي وتمتنع من الدخول في آدم، لانها لو دخلت ستصبح حبيسة فيه الى انتهاء الدهور والعالم، وعندما وجدت انه لابد لها ان تقوم بدورها

في دحر قوة الظلام، وتنفيذ امر الحي العظيم كي تكتمل الاعمال الناقصة وتصبح خاضعة للنظام العام فيها، طلبت "نشمثا" نسمة الحياة ان يتوفر لها في العالم الارضي كل ما كان متوفرا لها في عالم النور كالانهار النقية الجارية المتصلة بيردنا الماء الحي، والاثير والاشجار والفواكه النافعة والنسيم الطيب وروائح عالم النور والايات والتسبيحات... الخ، وبالذات طلبت ان يكون هذا العالم شبيها بالعالم الذي يسكنه الادميون الكونيون في عالم "مشوني كشطا" عالم العهد، طلبت ذلك كي تكون لها حصانة وسلاح تستطيع من خلاله مواجهة الشر والظلام ودحره، وكان سلاحها هو المعرفة والحق والنور والعهد والصدق والمحبة والتسامح والسلام ... الخ من مرادفات الخير، وتتحدث نصوص كثيرة عن نزول "نشمثا" الى العالم المادي وتصف نواحها وترددها من دخول الجسد ومطالبها ومحاربة الاشرار لها، وفيما يلي احد النصوص من صحف آدم المقدسة يصف ذلك:

باسم الحي العظيم

ليمجد النور السني
بعد ان مدت السماء وتصلبت الارض ...
بعد ان جاء حكام الكواكب الى هنا
كونوا جسم آدم، ولكنهم لم يرموا به "نشمثا"
ومن اجل جسد آدم اتت "نشمثا" من ملكوت الحي العظيم،
من ملكوت الحي العظيم اتت "نشمثا"، يرافقها الاثري الثلاثة
ووضعوها خارج الجسد، خارج الجسد وضعوها.
ارادوها ان تدخل الجسد، ولكنها ابت، اخذت تبكي (وتولول) وتنوح
وتذرف
الدموع ...

وتطلب "نشمثا" من رسول الحي "مندادهيي" سلاحا ساميا ليبعد عنها الاشرار فيجيبها "مندادهيي":

سلاحك هو "ناصيروثا" المعرفة،
(سلاحك هو) كلمات الصدق التي جاءت اليك من موطن النور، وهنا قالت "نشمثا":

باسم الحي العظيم وبعون "مندادهيي" ذهبت الى هناك ودخلت الجسد
ذهبت الى هناك ودخلت الجسد، وجعلت ذاتي اسيرة فيه
ومن اليوم الذي دخلت فيه الجسد، كنت قرينته على مر الدهور،
على مر الدهور كنت قرينته، وكان الاشرار من الاعماق غاضبين علي.
والنصر للحي العظيم.

يعد دخول "نشمثا" في جسد آدم ظهر تحولا كبيرا في مجرى سير عملية خلق آدم الانسان الكامل، بعد ان عانى مراحل طويلة وتغيرات كبيرة في بنائه وتركيبه، فاصبح كيانه يحتوي على ثلاثة تراكيب الاول: هو الجسد (بغرا) والثاني: هو الروح الحيوي "روها" وهو تركيب غير مادي انما مرتبط بالجسد والمادة وهو الذي يعطي خلاياه الحيوية والنشاط، ويسير كل فعاليات الجسد فهي مرتبطة مع الحياة المادية والرغبات، وهي التي تدفع الانسان لارتكاب الشر والسير في طرق الشيطان والظلام لان لها صلة وعلاقة بعالمه. اما الثالث والاخير: فهو نسمة الحياة "نشمثا"، وهي النور الذي اضاء العالم المظلم الصغير (جسد الانسان)، وكذلك فقد اضاءت بصلواتها وتسبيحاتها واعمالها الخيرة الكون المادي باجمعه.

وبهذا فان وجود "النشمثا" في العالم المادي اعطى القوة والثبات لملائكة النور ان تحمي الارض وتقيم العدل والخير عليها، وترعى الانسان وتحارب الشر وتطرده وتحد من فعاليته.

وتتحدث النصوص المندائية عن ردود فعل قوى الشر ومحاولاتهم وخططهم الخبيثة الشريرة كي يحيد آدم عن طريق النور والحق والخير كما جاء في ترجمة النص التالي من الصحف المقدسة:

باسم الحي العظيم
عندما سمعت "الروها" وحكام الكواكب بذلك
جلسوا كلهم في حزن هناك، بحزن جلسوا كلهم هناك،
ونهضوا لوضع الخطط (الشريرة) وقالوا :
نريد ان نقبض على آدم ونمسك به،
وسنحتجزه معنا في العالم الارضي وقالوا:

عندما يتكلم آدم بصوت رقيق (صوت الايمان) سنتكلم نحن بصوت العصيان...

نود ان نحكم قبضتنا على العالم الارضي
وسنجعل فيه صورا واشكال متعددة
وسنحتضن الحياة الدنيا
ونقيم فيها تجمعا، تجمعا نقيم في الحياة الدنيا،
وسنمسك بآدم، وندخله في تجمعنا، في تجمعنا سندخله،
ونعلق قلبه ونجعله في قبضتنا،
ونصطاده عبر الابواق والمزامير، حتى لاينفصل عنا،
سنكون في الحياة الدنيا سبعة اشكال،
من مختلف الصنوف والانواع.

ونلاحظ من نصوص اخرى ان قوى الاشرار تريد تضليل آدم لانه بعد دخول "تشمثا" فيه لم تكن لديه زوجة، فيحاولون اغراءه لتكون لهم ذرية منه وليوقعوه في الخطيئة، لكن عوالم النور تتدخل بواسطة رسل الحي العظيم ويكون للملاك مندادهيي المعرفة والعلم بكل خطط الاشرار، لذلك يقومون باعمال مضادة لدحر الشر، ويأتون بحواء رفيقة لآدم، ويقيمون لهما زواجا شرعيا وحسب الطقوس الدينية، كما يقام في عالم (مشوني كشطا). لتنتشر ذريتهما في الارض وبهما تستيقض الحياة الدنيا، ويكون آدم ملك الدنيا وسيدها، ويعلم كل شيء في الحياة هو وذريته. كما جاء في النص التالي الذي يتحدث فيه "مندادهي":

> عندما يخطط الاشرار شرا، اخطط انا مندادهي خيرا، ليؤثر الخير في الحياة الدنيا.

ويلتمس الملائكة الاثري ان يمنحوا غرسة لآدم هي (حواء) ليتكاثر نسله في الدنيا يقولون:

> امنح لنا غرسة نغرسها لآدم، ليتكاثر نسله في الدنيا...
> سنقيم عرسا لآدم، ونعلمه ليتخذ له امرأة.
> سنعطي آدم امراة، ونكوّن له شريكة، شريكة سنكوّن له
> ليتكاثر بذلك نسله،
> سننشد الترانيم (ونقيم) الشعائر، وعلى الحياة ان تقيم البناء (بيت الزواج).

ويذكر ايضا في نصوص الصحف المقدسة ان آدم وحواء كانا في جنة الاشجار عندما حلت فيهما الـ "تشمثا" نسمة الحياة، ويشار فيها ايضا ان الرب العظيم مسبح اسمه امر في ان يكون ملائكة النار (ملاخي اد نورا)، الذين هم من عالم الظلام خدما لآدم، وقد جاءوا وسجدوا امامه الا واحداً هو ابليس الشرير لم ينفذ امر ربه، وقد عوقب على فعله.

وبعد ان تزوج آدم حواء انجب (ثلاثة ابناء) الاول : "هيبل"، ثم ابنه الثاني "شيتل"، ثم اخوه الثالث "انوش" وكانوا على غرار هيئة "هيبل وشيتل وانوش" اولاد آدم كسيا (آدم الخفي) في عالم "مشوني كشطا".

ومما هو جدير بالذكر ان آدم كسيا انجب ثلاثة توائم والذين يعتبرون كما هو في بعض التعابير "الآدميون الكونيون" وكان كل توأم ذكراً وانثى، واسماؤهم كما وردت في المقطع التالي من الصحف المقدسة:

على راس الجيل الاول "شربثا قدميتا"، كان "ادكاس زيوا"
وانانا دنهورا كانت هناك.
وعندما كانت في حملها الاول ولد "هيبل وانات هيي"،
وعندما كانت في حملها الثاني ولدت "انن انصاب وانهر زيوا"
وباسمائهم سرت العوالم.
ومن الحمل الثالث ولد "برهيي – ابن الحياة، و"دموث هيي" – مثيل الحياة.
ولكن السؤال الذي يطرح نفسه كيف تكاثر نسل آدم وحواء على الارض ؟

يعتقد الصابئة المندائيون ان التكاثر تم عن طريق زواج ابناء آدم الارضي من بنات آدم الخفي، اللواتي جلبن لهم من عالم "مشوني كشطا" ، لذلك فاننا الان من ذرية اباؤنا فيها ارضيين وامهاتنا من نسل كوني، وهذا هو احد الاسباب التي تجعل الصابئي المندائي ينتسب لامه في الاسم الديني "ملواشا" الذي يستعمل في جميع الطقوس الدينية، وهو غير الاسم المتعارف عليه في المعاملات اليومية، وبهذا تحتفظ المراة المندائية بنظرة احترام جيدة في مجتمعها.

وقد تكاثر نسل ابناء آدم في الارض، وزهت بهم الدنيا، وقد علم آدم وذريته كل المعارف والتعاليم الدينية والضوابط الاخلاقية

والاجتماعية، وثبتت من ذلك العصر واجبات الانسان وحدوده على الارض، ووضحت له المحللات والمحرمات خلال فترة وجوده الموقت فيها، ليصعد فيما بعد نقيا طاهرا دون خطايا، ونعرض لكم النص التالي الذي يوضح ذلك، ويشير الى عدم الغرور، في الدنيا والابتعاد عن مغريات العالم الفاني، ويعلم آدم المعرفة ويرشد في الطريق القويم وكما يلي:

باسم الحي العظيم

ملاك (اثرا) ينادي ويوصل المعرفة الى آدم، الانسان. يقول لآدم:
لا تغف ولا تنم، ولا تنس ما حملك ربك،
لا تكن من ابناء البيت (الدنيا)، ولا تكن مذنبا في "تيبل" الارض الفانية.
لا تحب الطمع، والصور الخيالية الكاذبة (لان الكذابين والاشرار
والمخادعين سينتشرون في الارض).
لا تشرب المسكر، ولا تنس ربك في فكرك،
في قدومك وخروجك،
لا تنس ربك،في جلوسك وقيامك،
لا تنس ربك، في استراحتك واسترخائك،
لا تنس ربك ، ...
لا تقل انني المخلوق الاول الذي يمكنه عمل كل شيء دون حماقة.
يا آدم لا تغويك الدنيا، فهي فانية.

ولا نجد في الدين المندائي قصة "قابيل" وقتله لاخيه "هابيل"، انما "هابيل" هو نفسه "هيبل" الذي يوصف بانه تقي ورع.

وتذكر التعاليم الدينية المندائية ان الانسان يعيش في هذه الدنيا فترة موقتة، وانها دار فناء وزوال، ينتقل الانسان منها بعد ذلك ليعيش حياته الابدية، ويحيى للابد بالنعيم السرمدي في ارض النور، بعد ان

يحاسب عما فعل في حياته الاولى، والتي ستعتبر له فيما بعد بمثابة جواز المرور في العالم الاخر.

وبعد موت جسد الانسان تخرج روحه وتحاسب في دور الحساب "مطراثا"، وهي اماكن عذاب وتطهير الارواح، والذي لم يرتكب الكبائر واعماله طيبة، فسوف يحاسب ويطهر ثم يصعد في معراج طويل الى عوالم النور، اما الذي ارتكب الخطايا الكبيرة ولم يعمل الصالحات، فانه يبقى في مطهرات خاصة الى (يوما اد دينا) يوم الدين الى يوم تفنى الدنيا كلها في (يوما ربا اد فرقانا) يوم الفرقان العظيم، وربما سنخصص في المستقبل موضوعا نتحدث فيه عن كيفية عروج الروح الى العالم الاخر.

ومما يذكر ايضا ان البشر، بعد ذلك قد تكاثر بشكل كبير ثم افني جنسه لثلاث مرات، وقد كان فناءه في البداية بالسيف والمرض، والتي قضت عليه ولم يتبق الا النبي "رام" وزوجه "رود"، وتكاثر مرة اخرى وافني جنسه، بالنار ولم ينج الا النبي "شوربي" وزوجه "شرهبيل"، وتكاثر مرة اخرى واصابه الفناء الثالث بالطوفان، ولم ينج الا "نوح" وزوجه وابنه "سام" وزوجه، ونحن بانتظار الفناء الرابع، والذي هو ليس ببعيد، والذي يشار فيه الى ان الانسان في اخر الزمان سوف يفنى بالهواء.

خلاصة

مما سبق يمكن ان نخرج بالنتائج التالية:

١- هناك كون مرئي منظور وآخر غير منظور، وان كلا الكونين له عوالم كثيرة جدا وواسعة لايمكن حسابها اوحساب سعتها بوسائلنا التقليدية ولا يمكن للانسان الاعتيادي معرفة جميع اسرارها المكنونة.

٢- الايمان بوجود كائنات ومخلوقات كثيرة في الكون اجمع، وان قسما منها في عوالم مضيئة ذات صفات نقية خيرة، والقسم الاخر في عوالم مظلمة ذات صفات شريرة، وكذلك فان هناك قسما اخر مابين هذا وذاك. وان التعامل مع هذه الكائنات يتطلب معرفة عميقة جدا في علوم الناصيروثا.

٣- يمكن للكائنات النورانية الخروج من عوالمها والهبوط الى عوالم ادنى منها مع اجراء بعض الاحترازات والتغييرات التي تلائم حالتها بعد الهبوط، وفي عين الوقت لايمكن للكائنات الظلامية ان تقوم بذلك او ان تخرج من نطاق حدودها المقررة، بسبب عجز قوتها وقصور الوسائل التي تعتمدها.

٤- هناك وسائل نقل كثيرة جدا تستعملها المخلوقات الكونية وفق ضوابط خاصة لتسهيل حركاتها وتنظيمها، بعضها معروف كالمركبات الكونية التي تسمى (مركباثا) و(الصورخ) اي الصاروخ (السفينة الفضائية الناقلة) - التي تشبه الى حد كبير (الصحون الفضائية الذائعة الصيت) - اما البعض الاخر غير معروف تماما ولا تدل عليه غير شفرات (اشارات) سرية يستعملها بعض الناصورائيين (المتعمقين بالاسرار الباطنية).

٥- ان التعابير التي تتحدث عن وجود كائنات ذات مستويات مختلفة ومتقاربة وتتحدث ايضا عن صفاتها واعمالها وافعالها، هي تعابير مجازية تتحدث باسلوب رمزي وهي تشير عموما الى القوى الكونية الخفية التي تشترك لتجعل الكون بأجمعه وبكل دقائقه، تتواجد وتتحرك لتخضع للقوانين الكونية والنظام العام الذي يحكمها ويرتبها وينظم افعالها وتأثيراتها.

٦- في المندائية يشار الى انه لايمكن في آن واحد، ضبط وقياس مكان وحركة وسرعة وعدد دقائق النظام العام، التي تؤلف الكون بسبب

قصور الانسان وعجز وسائله، مع كل التقدم الذي يحصل عليه ويحرزه في هذا العالم، وهذا ما يؤكده علماء الفلك والفيزياء النووية والذرية.

٧- وجود آدميون لهم مواصفات خاصة يعيشون في عوالم كثيرة اخرى غير عالمنا الارضي. وان لهم اتصالات وزيارات مستمرة مع عالمنا الى هذا الوقت والوقت القادم.

٨- هناك بعض الصور الرمزية تشير الى تلك الكائنات والى البشر الكونيين ومركباتهم الفضائية المتنوعة.

٩- لم تتكون الحياة على الارض بسهولة الا بعد مرور فترات طويلة من الزمن تفاعلت واتحدت خلالها عناصر كثيرة لتنتج التراكيب الحياتية المتنوعة. ولقد تعاونت قوى كونية كثيرة لتوفير الظروف المناسبة لظهور واتحاد هذه العناصر.

١٠- من الثابت في الدين الصابيء المندائي ظهور الكائنات الحية المختلفة قبل ظهور الشكل النهائي والكامل لآدم.

١١- يحتوي كيان الانسان على ثلاثة اشياء رئيسية هي: الجسد والروح ونسمة الحياة.

١٢- ان جسم الانسان فان، اما "روها" و"نشمثا" فهما خالدتان تصعدان في معراج طويل للحساب وفي النهاية تحصل لهما شرارة الاتحاد العظيم (لوفا).

١٣- ان الحياة المادية بضمنها الانسان لن تستمر على الارض وان الارض بعده بفترة طويلة ستحترق وتصبح وقودا لبحر النار المستعرة الاكلة.

اما من الناحية الفلسفية في الموضوع فيمكن ان نذكر النقاط التالية باختصار.

١- ان فلسفة الخلق لدى الصابئة المندائيين تشير الى سعة الفكر وعمق التحليلات التي تناولتها، اضافة الى انها عرضت وبدقة الحديث عن

انواع العناصر والمركبات التي تدخل في تركيب الموجودات، وكذلك فقد تناولت الكون وابعاده وعوالمه ومحتوياته.

٢- بالنسبة لفلسفة تكون الحياة والكائنات الحية والانسان فقد تميزت بتناولها الموضوعي والعلمي المتسلسل والخاص بظهور الكائنات المختلفة وحتى ظهور الانسان الكامل الذي اطلق عليه (آدم العاقل) والذي حمل صفات وخصائص فريدة تميزه عن باقي احياء الارض.

٣- التأكيد المتواصل على الاستفادة من العقل واعمال الفكر لمعرفة الاسرار والتقاط اسرار الحياة المبعثرة وتجميعها والعمل بها بالاتجاه الصحيح لخدمة الانسان.

المصادر:

- سيدرا اد نشماثا.
- كنزا ربا، سيدرا اد آدم، صحف آدم.
- آلف ترسر شيالي.
- حران كويثا.
- آلما ريشا ربا وآلما ريشا زوطا.
- ديوان اباثر.
- اصفر ملواشا.
- دراور، آدم الخفي، اوكسفورد، ١٩٦٠.
- د. صبيح السهيري، النشوء والخلق في النصوص المندائية، بغداد، ١٩٩٤.
- ناجية مراني، مفاهيم صابئية مندائية، بغداد، ١٩٨١.

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من كتاب (قلستا)، نياني، قابين، الكتاب الثاني، اعداد ماجد فندي المباركي ترميذا هيثم سعيد وبراين مباركي، بحرف مطبعي، اوستراليا، سدني، ١٩٩٩.

المندائية والتبشير

معنى التبشير

التبشير: هو ابلاغ الخبر الطيب الذي هو البشارة، والتبشير كلمة عربية (محدثة)، المعجم الوسيط، ص ٥٨، تعني الدعوة الى الدين تقول:

بُشّر فلاناً: اي اخبر بخبر مفرح، ويقال: (بشّره به)، وبشر صاحب الدّين الناس: وعدهم بثواب الله، نفس المصدر.

يعد التبشير واحداً من اهم المواضيع التي واجهت العقائد والأديان التي ظهرت على مر العصور والى وقتنا الحاضر، لتحديد موقفها منه.

وتكمن الأهمية في ان التبشير يلعب دوراً هاماً في تحديد هوية وميزات مجموعة أو مجتمع ما من النواحي الأنسانية المختلفة: كالفكرية والأجتماعية والسياسية...الخ.

والظاهر ان موضوع التبشير قديم حديث يحمل بين طياته صراعاً أزلياً. وقد وضعت له معالجات مختلفة خضعت لبعض الضوابط والقوانين.

ولا يهمنا في وقفتنا القصيرة هذه الخوض في ماهية التبشير وتاريخ ظهوره عند الأقوام المختلفة بقدر ما يهمنا معرفته في دين الصابئة المندائيين، وهو موضوع ملح خاصة ضمن ظروف الصابئة في الوقت الحاضر ويستحق منا الوقفة والتحليل.

يعد الدين الصابئي المندائي ديناً غير تبشيري في الوقت الحاضر، فهو لايقبل احداً من ديانات أو عقائد اخرى للدخول فيه كما انه لايقبل رجوع الخارجين عنه – (الا في حدود ضيقة وضمن بعض الشروط).

ترى هل ان هذا الدين هو غير تبشيري حقاً ؟

واذا كان تبشيرياً فلماذا اغلق باب التبشير فيه ومتى؟

وهل هناك تعاليم ونصوص دينية وردت في مصادر التراث المندائي المختلفة تدعو الى التبشير او عدمه اعتمدها رجال الدين لتحديد موقفهم من هذه المسألة؟

هذه الاسئلة وغيرها سنحاول الأجابة عنها بشكل واضح وصريح مقرونة بالنصوص الدينية والشواهد التاريخية قدر المستطاع، بعيدة عن اي اغراض سوى الغرض العلمي وايضاح الحقائق.

فكرة الوحي الأولى

كما نعرف ان دين الصابئة المندائيين دين توحيدي قديم، تنسب تعاليمه ومبادئ شريعته الى النبي الأول (آدم العاقل) ومن جاء بعده من أنبياء الصابئة كشيتل (شيت) ونوح وأبنه سام ويهيا يوهانا وغيرهم. لقد اشار الكثير من الكتاب المسلمين (المفسرين الفقهاء والمؤرخين) الى ان الناس كانوا في السابق على دين الصابئة، وأرجعهم البعض الى النبي شيت وآخرون الى صابئى بن متوشلخ، وغيرهم الى ادريس عازميون المصري (هرمس الهرامسة) .. انظر المسعودي البيروني..وغيرهم. وتعتبر هذه التعاليم هي تعاليم عقيدة النور التي يعتنقها ويمارسها "الآدميون الكونيون" في العوالم الأخرى، كعالم "مشوني كشطا"، الذي يسكنه آدم كسيا او أدكاس (آدم الخفي) وهّوه أنانا (حواء السحابة) وذريتهما والتي هي أصلاً تعاليم الكائنات النورانية في عوالم النور المختلفة المتعددة. (يمكن ان نلمس هذه الفلسفة في معظم النصوص المندائية وقد عالجت دراور هذا الموضوع في عدة دراسات وخاصة في كتابها (آدم كسيا)، وقد انزلت هذه التعاليم بأمر الرب الى آدم وحواء وذريتهما على الأرض، وكان المعلم الملاك هيبل زيوا (كَبرائيل شليها: جبرائيل الرسول)، الذي افهمهم تعاليم عقيدة النور للأنسان على الأرض

وكما جاء في ترجمة النص التالي من صحف آدم المقدسة (كنزا ربا) الكنز العظيم:

> "....أنا الرسول الطاهر، دعاني وأمرني ربي، وقال: إذهب واطلق نداءاً (الشريعة المندائية) لآدم وزوجه حواء ولاجياله كلها، نداءا ساميا اطلق لهم وعلمهم كل شيء..." كنزا يمينا ١٣:١٣ وما بعده.

وفي موضع آخر من نفس النص يأمره الرب أن يتكلم مع آدم (كرمز للأنسانية العاقلة) ويعلمه ويكون رحيماً عليه ورفيقاً معه وكما يلي:

> "..وتكلم اليه لينير قلبه، وعلّمه لينير فكره، كن له رحيماً، وكن له رفيقاً. ..ابسط المعرفة لآدم ولزوجه حواء ولأجياله كلها..." كنزا يمينا ١٣ : ١٣ وما بعده.

وبعد سرد طويل من الوصايا والأحكام نواجه النص التالي الذي يؤكد انها الكلمة والشهادة الاولى وكما يلي:

> "...هذا هو النداء الاول الذي وهب لآدم الرجل رأس البشرية الحية (العاقلة)، فكان الكلمة الاولى وكان الشهادة الاولى..." كنزا يمينا ٢٦: ٥ وما بعده.

ولذلك فقد حفظت تعاليم ملك النور السامي هيي ربي قدمايي (الحي العظيم الأزلي). في هذا العالم من خلال الرسول الأول والأنبياء والمعلمين والآباء القدامى الأولين جيلاً بعد جيل ودوراً بعد آخر [والأدوار هي أدوار الفناء الثلاثة التي واجهها الجنس البشري على الأرض بالسيف والمرض، النار، والماء على التوالي وقد عرجت فيها الأرواح الى العالم الآخر وهم على عقيدة واحدة. وستبقى محفوظة الى نهاية العالم في دورنا الحالي الرابع والأخير الذي يعيش نهايته المحتومة

والتي ستكون بالهواء. هذا بأختصار شديد جوهر فكرة الوحي الأولى التي يؤمن بها الصابئة المندائيون.

نظرة الدين المندائي

من ذلك يمكن ان نستنتج ان دين آدم لم يكن بالأساس لشريحة معينة من البشر إنما هو لكل ذريته واجياله على الأرض. غير ان وجود قوى الشر والشيطان أظهر صراعاً ابدياً مع الأنسانية في هذا العالم المادي (والواقع اصلاً تحت سيطرتهم)، وقد نتج من ذلك وبمرور الزمن وتعدد الأجيال ان يبتعد البعض عن مباديء الشريعة الأولى وقد ساعدت طبيعة الظروف الحياتية والمادية التي يواجهها الأنسان علىذلك الابتعاد أيضاً فظهرت عقائد وأديان مختلفة، ساهم في تأسيسها عدد كبير من الشخصيات التي كانت لها قوة التأثير في المجتمع سواء كان هذا التأثير روحياً، اجتماعياً، سياسياً او اقتصادياً.

وهناك نصوص متعددة تؤشر ما ذكرناه وردت في صحف آدم المقدسة (كنزا ربا) والنص التالي يتحدث عن العصر الأخير (الدور الرابع) بعد الطوفان والى نهاية العالم في عصرنا الحالي ويوضح كيف سيظهر الانبياء الكذبة في بقاع الارض وكيف ستتفرق وتختلف الشعوب واللغات، ويعرج النص للحديث عن الجبابرة والحكام الذين سيظهرون ويثيرون الصراعات والحروب ولاسباب ذاتية ودنيوية وكما يلي :

> "...ثم يظهر الانبياء الكذبة ويتجسدون ويكونون في كل مدينة وفي كل مكان، وتتفرق الامم وتنقسم (تتعدد) الالسن في كل مكان وموقع... سيتجزأ العالم ويتسلط الجبابرة على كل جزء وسيغزو كل جزء الجزء الآخر (ستنشب الحروب بين الاجزاء اي المدن، الدول...الخ) وسيسفك الدم في العالم

> وكل جزء سيبتدع لنفسه سببا لحربه مع الآخر..." كنزا يمينا ٥٠: ١٥ وما بعده.

ولذلك فإننا نجد أن عدداً من النصوص في الصحف المقدسة قد عالجت هذا الموضوع، وحذرت من الابتعاد عن مبادىء عقيدة التوحيد الأولى.
كما نلاحظ في النصوص التالية التي يتحدث فيها الملاك كبرائيل الرسول الأول للأنسانية وكما يلي:

> "...وكل صالح ومؤمن يثبت ايمانه على العقيدة الاولى سيحصل على النعيم الى الأبد". كنزا يمينا ٤٥:.٧ وما بعده.
> " أنا الرسول الأول، انادي معلماً واقول لكل الناصورائيين الذين هم كائنون (الاحياء) والذين سيكونون وسيولدون لاتستمعوا لاقوالهم (يقصد الانبياء الكذبة) ولا تنحرفوا عن طريق الحي العظيم (طريق الحياة الصحيح)..."
> كنزا يمينا ٢٤: ١٠ وما بعده..

ومن خلال هذه النصوص واخرى مشابهة لها يمكن ان ندرك أن الصابئة المندائيين وعبر حلقات التاريخ وحقبه المختلفة حاولوا جاهدين الحفاظ على عقيدة النور والحياة (شريعة آدم والآباء الأقدمين من بعده) وقد خاضوا من أجل ذلك صراعاً مريراً وعلى جميع المستويات (خاصة الفكرية منها والعقائدية).

وعند متابعة رحلتنا بين النصوص المندائية التي تدور حول الموضوع نجد ان قسماً آخر منها يحذر من الأختلاط والتبشير، ومع ذلك فأنها في ذات الوقت لم تهمل بشكل كامل نشر العقيدة الأولى والتبشير بها بل أنها حددت أسس وضوابط لقبول وأحتضان غير الموحدين من أصحاب العقائد الزائفة وجعل الايمان بملك النور العظيم يثبت بقلوبهم.

لنطالع مثلاً النص المهم التالي من الصحف المقدسة الذي يخاطب فيه الملاك كبرائيل (بأمر الرب) اصحاب العقيدة الأولى (الصابئة المندائيين) وكما يلي:

> " ...كل ساجد للاشرار والاصنام والصور ابتعدوا عنه، لاتتخذوا منه صديقاً، ولكن اذا اردتموه (تاقت نفسكم اليه) واحببتموه، فاسمعوه الكتب والتعاليم (الكلمات) والتسبيحات التي وهبها لكم ربكم، فاذا استمع (استجاب) واصبح مؤمناً واعترف بملك النور العلي الاله الذي انبعث من ذاته، فاحبوه وقربوه بجانبكم واعطوه من كل ما تملكون. اما اذا لم يستمع ولم يعترف ولم يؤمن فسيحاسب هو (نفسه) على خطاياه " ... كنزا يمينا ١٥: ٢وما بعده.

ونطالع في نص مهم آخر يتحدث عن أسرى هذا العالم وكيفية تحريرهم من العبودية والضلال (اللتين يمقتهما الدين المندائي)، وهو يشير الى أن تحرير الأنسان من _(الأسر سواءً المادي اي اسرى الحرب او الفكري، الذي يتعلق بالأيمان والعقيدة)- هو ليس فقط عن طريق المال إنما الأهم من ذلك تحريره عن طريق الصدقة العظمى والأيمان، وكلام الرب الطاهر الذي يحرر الأنسان فيخلصه ويخرجه من الظلام الى النور ومن الضلال الى الحق ومن العصيان الى الصلاة ومن الكفر الى الأيمان بالرب العظيم وهو بذلك سينال رضا الرب وبركاته وكما يلي:

> " إذا رأيتم أسيراً مؤمناً وصادقاً فاعطوا الفدية عنه وحرروه، ولكن ليس بالذهب والفضة وحدهما تحررون الانفس (الاشخاص) بل تحررونها بالصدق والايمان، وبكلام الفم الطاهر تحررون الانفس من الظلام الى النور، ومن الخطأ الى الصواب ومن الضلالة والعصيان الى الصلاة والتسبيح، ومن الكفر الى الايمان بربكم من يحرر نفسه فستكون له حضوة ومنزلة على الدوام..." كنزا يمينا ١٥: ٩ ومابعده.

وتأكيداً على هذا النص فقد ورد في نص آخر ما يشير الى مكافئة من يحرر أسيراً وكما يلي:

> "... من يحرر أسيراً سيخرج رسول الحي لملاقاته". كنزا يمينا ١٦ :٥.

أما في داخل الشعب فلم يكن الأمر سهلاً فقد واجه الصابئة نزيفاً مستمراً بين أصحابهم نتيجة للظروف المختلفة التي تعرضوا لها والتي كان تأثيرها السلبي يزداد يوماً بعد الآخر. لذلك فقد عالجت النصوص الواردة في الصحف المقدسة وبينت الوسائل الكفيلة والناجعة التي من شأنها المحافظة على الناس. نقرأ مثلاً ترجمة للنص التالي الذي يوجه فيه الملاك كبرائيل حديث الرب الى المؤمنين مخاطباً إياهم قائلاً:

> " علموا الناس حتى لاتتعثر قلوبهم، وأسمعوهم الاقوال العذبة والتسبيحات التي انا جلبتها لكم..." كنزا يمينا ١٩:١٩ وما بعده.

ونجد في نص آخر كيفية معالجة االأشخاص الذين يسقطون بسبب ضلالهم ويشير الى ضرورة انتشالهم من الضلال ومساعدتهم وتقديم العون لهم وزرع الأيمان في قلوبهم بكل الوسائل. ويعرج النص ذاكراً عن ان مثل هؤلاء إذا اصروا على السير في طريق الضلال من جديد بعد كل ما قُدّم لهم فيؤكد على ضرورة عدم إلتزامهم (مساعدتهم) وتقديم الجهود والمعونات الى من هو بحاجة فعلية لها والى من يقدرها وترجمة النص كما يلي:

> " إذا ما ضل إنسان مرة فارفعوه واسندوه، وإذا ضل هذا الأنسان للمرة الثانية فارفعوه واسندوه، واذا ضل انسان للمرة الثالثة فارفعوه واسندوه واسمعوه كتب ووصايا وصلاة وتسبيح ربكم. لكن عندما تسندونه ويرفض ان يساعد (الاسناد)، فأقلعوا الكرمة السيئة، وآتوا بكرمة طيبة (جيدة) وأزرعوها بمكانها، لأنهم طالما نادوه باذنه ولم يستمع، وأروه بعينه ولم

ير، فانه في يوم النهاية سيلاقي نهايته، سيسقط في العذاب الذي يهوي به الاشرار والذي منه لايصعدون". كنزا يمينا ٢٢: ٢٠ وما بعده.

لقد واجه المندائيون أخطاراً هددت وجودهم وكيانهم خاصة وأنهم كانوا من أتباع مباديء السلام والصلاح والمحافظة على الحياة، اذ ان عقيدتهم التي يتمسكون بها تنهاهم عن القتل والقتال وعن التمسك بمتاع هذه الدنيا فكيف يتحقق هذا الأمر مع وجود اطماع الأنسان وظهور الدول والتوسع وحب التسلط والسيطرة، ونقرأ النص التالي الذي ينهى بشكل واضح وصريح الأبتعاد عن حب المال والقتل وكما يلي:

> "كل من يحب الذهب والفضة ومقتنيات هذا العالم ويقوم بجريمة قتل يرمى في النار الحامية". كنزا يمينا ٤:١٧: وما بعده.

وبنفس المعاني نطالع نصا آخر ينصح أيضاً بعدم الوثوق بالملوك والحكام وقوتهم أو ما يجلبونه من أسرى أو أموال لأن كل ذلك زائل وفي النهاية سوف لن ينقذهم سلطانهم وما يملكون من العذاب والحساب وكما يلي:

> "... ايها المختارون لا تضعوا ثقتكم بملوك ومتسلطي ومردة هذا العالم، ولا على الجيوش والسلاح والحرب والحشود التي يحشدون والاسرى الذين يأسرون في هذا العالم، ولا على الذهب ولا على الفضة، يثيرون الصراع ويجمعون الاموال ويتركونها في الدنيا ويذهبون في النار المستعرة، بأيديهم سيحملون الجمر وشفاههم ستكوى باللهيب، سيبطل جبروتهم وسلطانهم ولن يبقى معهم لا ذهبهم ولا فضتهم ولن يكون لهم من يعينهم. لن يكون لهم مخلصا لا ملكهم ولا اموالهم، سيمحى سلطانهم وسينالون بالقضاء جزاءهم". كنزا يمينا ٦:١٧ وما بعده.

وهناك أمثلة عديدة تحث على ترك متاع الدنيا والسلطة والأنشغال بالعبادة والعمل الصالح النافع للأنسان والمجتمع.

وقد تعرض الصابئة المندائيون الى متاعب ومحن كثيرة من جراء ظهور تيارات دينية وسياسية متنوعة في منطقة الشرق الأدنى. خاصة بعد انتشار الديانات والمعتقدات الاخرى والتي اصبحت لها سلطة سياسية وعسكرية تفرض وجودها وأفكارها ومعتقداتها في المناطق التي تركز فيها الصابئة (كما هو معروف من تعدد ديانات بلاد ما بين النهرين وفارس وبلاد الشام ومصر والجزيرة العربية إضافة الى عبادات الهند واليونان والرومان إذ شهدت المنطقة وعلى ممر الستة آلاف سنة الماضية تأثيرات وتفاعلات مختلفة ولاحاجة لنا هنا في الحديث عنها).

ومن ناحية أخرى ادى ظهور اليهود وأنتشارهم في فلسطين والأقاليم المجاورة، وازدياد نفوذهم وتأثيرهم الفكري والسياسي في مناطق تواجد الصابئة المندائيين الى حدوث ردود أفعال قوية تجاههم بسبب مخالفتهم لهم في امور كثيرة سواء ما يتعلق منها بالعقيدة أم بالطقوس.

لذلك فقد ورد في بعض النصوص ما يشير الى ضرورة الأبتعاد عن اولئك الأناس الذين تمردوا على الرب وقد شبه الشخص الذي على هذه الشاكلة في أحد النصوص بالعبد الذي يتمرد على سيده (ربه) وقد أوصى النص ذاته الى الأبتعاد عن اليهود وأشار الى عدم مخالطتهم لأنهم لم يثبتوا على جوهر العقيدة وكما هو موضح فيما يلي:

> "...اوصيكم يا اصفيائي، لاتتصلوا بذلك العبد الزاني الذي يتمرد على سيده. لا تكونوا مع اليهود اولئك الذين لم يثبتوا على قول واحد، احدهم يسيء للآخر، وملك ينقص من الآخر، ونبي يكذب الآخر..." كنزا يمينا ٢٢:١٣وما بعده.

وفي نص آخر نجد حديث الرب الى الملاك كبرائيل شليها (جبرائيل الرسول) بان يذهب ويعلم آدم وحواء وذريتهم ويبلغهم أن لا يضللهم الأشرار (الذين سيظهرون في العالم) لأنهم سوف لن ينفعوهم (في الدار الآخرة) وكما يلي:

> "... قل لهم: أن لا يضللهم الأشرار والشيطان الذين لا فائدة منهم..."، كنزا يمينا ٢٢:١٣ وما بعده.

مما تقدم يمكن أن نفهم ولو بصورة مبدئية موقف دين الصابئة المندائيين من التبشير وتأكيده على نشر العقيدة المندائية، ومع ذلك فان الامر لم يكن سهلا خاصة اذا عرفنا انهم يعيشون في خضم المخاطر والقوى المتعاظمة في المنطقة والتي عمدت ليس فقط على مخالفتهم بل جاهدت بشتى الوسائل على اجبارهم ترك ديانتهم، وقد قتل الكثيرون منهم وتشرد آخرون ونطالع في النص التالي ما يشير الى وعد الرب المؤمنين والثابتين على العقيدة الاولى بأنهم سيكونون دون خطيئة طاهرين في دار الآخرة في حالة تعرضهم للقتل، بسبب حبهم لربهم وكما يلي:

> "...كل من يسلم جسمه للقتل بسبب محبته لربه فسوف يكون زكيا (طاهرا) دون اثم...". كنزا يمينا ١٦: ١٠ وما بعده.

ويمكن لنا ان نحدد الفترة ما بين القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد والقرن الأول الميلادي بأنها من المراحل الصعبة والمهمة في حياتهم، والتي كانت نواة لبلورة العديد من الأفكار التي وصلت الينا في الوقت الحاضر، لذلك سوف نركز حديثنا القادم عنها وعن المراحل التي تليها.

عاش المندائيون الشرقيون الذين سكنوا بلاد ما بين النهرين وأجزاء من بلاد فارس حياة هادئة نسبياً إذ لم يصلنا عنهم انهم مروا

بأحداث هامة هددت وجودهم. اما المندائيون الغربيون فقد عاشوا منافسة شديدة مع اليهود وأصحاب العقائد الآخرى خاصة في بلاد الشام والمناطق المجاورة لها منها، وكانت أفكار المندائيين تجد آذاناً صاغية عند الكثيرين من سكان هذه المنطقة مما جعل اليهود يكيدون لهم اينما وجدوا، ويشددون الضغط عليهم خاصة في الفترة التي سبقت مجيء يوحنا المعمدان، فأصبحوا مشردين في مناطق بعيدة نسبياً عن تأثير اليهود. وسكن بعضهم حران وجبال ميديا وطور بروان وجبل الكرمل والناصرة، وكانت لهم مراكز متعددة على ضفاف نهر الأردن والمناطق الجبلية في فلسطين وما جاورها وخاصة تلك التي تكثر فيها العيون والمناطق البعيدة عن مراكز المدن الكبيرة، وحاول الكثير منهم الأبتعاد عن مدينة أورشليم التي كانت أحد المراكز المهمة لتواجد اليهود، فأسسوا مراكز جديدة خارجها ليتسنى لهم العيش وتأدية طقوسهم وتعليم أتباعهم.

يدل على ذلك ما رُوي من أخبار المندائيين في هذه الفترة والذي ورد جزءا منه في بعض المصادر المندائية خاصة في كتاب "دراشا إديهيا" وديوان "هران كويثا" ونصوص متفرقة اخرى.

وقد شهدت نهايات القرن الاول قبل الميلاد ظهور النبي يهيا يوهنا (يحيى بن زاكري، يحي بن زكريا، (يوحنا المعمدان) الذي تربى بين المندائيين بعيداً عن أورشليم في طور بروان (الجبل الأبيض) وعمد في جبال ميديا اي طور إد مداي (جبل المندائيين)، ثم جاء الى أورشليم بأمر من الرب ملك النور العظيم بصحبة الملاك (أنش اثرا) وبتأييد قوى النور، جاء يتحدى طغاة اليهود وجبروتهم ويعلن بصوت عالٍ عن عقيدته (عقيدة آدم)، وأخذ يصبغ (يعمد) الناس في نهر الأردن بواسطة (يردنا الماء الحي) فكانت الجموع الغفيرة من الناس تجتمع حوله وتتعلم

منه وتطلب غفران الرب ورحمته على يديه فتستمع لأقواله وتصطبغ بصباغته وترتسم برسم الحياة والطهر.

ولم يكن يبغي سوى هداية الناس لطريق النور وإسماعهم وصايا الرب، فكان يعلمهم في الليل ويصبغ المؤمنين والتائبين في النهار كما تبين ذلك العديد من نصوص كتاب دراشا إد يهيا (كتاب يحيى) فنراه يفتتح بعضها بالصيغة التالية:

> "يهيا درش بليلوي، يوهنا برامشي إد ليلي، يهيا دارش بليلوي وأمر...":
> يحيى يعظ في الليالي، يوحنا عند امسيات الليالي، يحيى يصرح في الليالي ويقول...":

وقد كان الناس يحبونه ويلتفون حوله ويأخذون بوصاياه وتعاليمه لقد كان نقياً طاهراً عابداً لم يدنسه أي شيء ولم يطلب ملكاً أوعرشاً دنيوياً أو عيشاً رغيداً ولم ينغمس بشهوات أوملذات هذه الدنيا. وكما نجده يتحدث عن نفسه في النص التالي من كتابه:

> "... انا حررت نفسي من العالم ومن الأعمال المقيتة والسيئة والباطلة.
> سألني السبعة الأموات الذين لم يروا الحياة: بقوة من تنتصب؟ ومن تسبح في صلواتك؟ قلت لهم: أني قائم بقوة ابي وتسبيحات الكائن الذي نصبني.
> انا لم أبن بيتاً بين اليهود، ولم أنشيء عرشا في أورشليم، لم انغمس في حب أكاليل الزهور، (الشهوات)...". دراشا اد يهيا ٧٧: ٣ وما بعده.

وقد عمد ابونا "يوحنا المعمدان" آلافاً مؤلفة من الناس وكما يقول هو:

> "... لمدة اثنين واربعين عاما من حياتي أصبغ وقد صبغت الافاً وآلاف..."، كنزا ربا بوثة وفاة يوحنا. وكذلك بنفس المعنى راجع ديوان "هران كويثا" ٤٥ وما بعده وكذلك في دواوين اخرى.

وحتى الخارجين عن المندائية والذين سموا أنفسهم ظاهرا يهودا فقد صبغهم ونقلهم من الظلام الى النور أي من اليهودية الى المندائية، وحتى الذين هم من أصل يهودي هداهم وعلمهم وصبغهم بصبغة الحياة والنور.

ونجد في النص التالي من الصحف المقدسة أن ملاك الرب (متجسدا مع يوحنا المعمدان بلباس ليس من لحم ودم) يأتي بقوة الرب وأمره الى أورشليم في زمن الملك (بلاتس) فيعمل المعجزات ويساعدهم ويهديهم ويكسب الصادقين بأيمانهم اليه من اليهود فيكونون مندائيين مؤمنيين ويخرجهم من الظلام الى النور ومن ضلال افكارهم الى الحقيقة ويعلمهم أن يهتدوا الى اله ورب جميع المخلوقات "ملك النور العظيم" وكما يلي:

> ".. ويأتي بسنين بلطوس (بلاتس) ملك الدنيا، انوش اثرا يأتي الى الدنيا (العالمين) بقوة ملك النور العلي، مشافيا للمرضى ومفتحا (لعيون) العمي ومطهرا للجرب ومقيما للمقعدين والكسيحين فيمشون. وجاعلا الصم والبكم يتكلمون، ومحييا للموتى، هاديا للايمان (اناسا) من اليهود _(اي اخرجهم من اليهودية وادخلهم في المندائية فاصبحوا بدرجة "مهيمني" المؤمنين وهو مصطلح مندائي يطلق على المتدينين المندائيين)_ ومريا اياهم انه يوجد موت وتوجد حياة، ويوجد ظلام ويوجد نور، ويوجد خطأ (كفر، ضلال) ويوجد صواب (ايمان، حق)، وهاديا بذلك اليهود الى اسم ملك النور العلي (اي يجعلهم مؤمنين بعقيدة المندائيين التي هي عقيدة الرب ملك النور)...."
> كنزا ربا ٢٩: ٨ وما بعده

هنا نجد دعوة الرب للانسان في العودة الى طريق الايمان الاول (عقيدة آدم) عن طريق رسل الرب وانبياء الحق، من ذلك نعرف بوضوح ان عددا ليس قليلا من اليهود قد دخل المندائية فعلا ومما يؤكد ذلك ايضا

كون قائد الدعوة الى ذلك هو النبي المبارك (يحيى يوحنا) وهو من اصل يهودي عمد بقوة الرب بواسطة المندائيين فاصبح احد المعلمين (الانبياء) الكبار لدينهم وربما في ذلك حكمة هي ان يخرج انسانا من اليهود ليقودهم الى المندائية ((ويخلصهم من شراك اليهودية))، على حد التعبير المندائي، بواسطة التعميد بالماء الحي وكلمات النور. وفعلا فقد نجح في كسب الجموع الغفيرة الى دعوته ونجد ذلك واضحا في سيرته وكذلك في مجمل الاحاديث التي دونها في كتابه المقدس.

ومن هنا يمكننا ان نلاحظ ان يوحنا المعمدان كان ينوّر الناس بالمعرفة الحقة ويعمدهم باسم الحي العظيم (ملك النور)، ويكسب الأنفس التائهة ويضمها الى حلبته، وبذلك نجده يصف نفسه "بصياد السمك"، الذي يدخل الهور في قاربه يجمع السمك الطيب (الجيد) ويدخلهم في شباكه الطاهرة ويطرد الصيادين الآخرين (عنهم) [أي المبشرين من الأديان والعقائد الاخرى]، ويقيدهم ويمنعهم من اصطياد وسرقة أسماكه "المسماة بأسمه" والمنتشرة في المياه.

عن ذلك يتحدث يهيا يوهانا ويخاطب الصيادين الآخرين قائلاً:

"...(ارجعوا) سمككم...انها قد نتنت... وليس من أحد يود ابتياعها. لقد جئتم بصيدكم من الأهوار البعيدة... اللعنة عليكم... اللعنة على من يشتري منكم ... اللعنة على دلالكم، اللعنة على قاربكم الذي لم تملأوه... أنكم لم تأتوا بالملح لترشوه على سمككم الذي اشتريتموه... وفيما كان الصيادون واقفين، يقترب منهم "الصياد" بخفة... ويُعد شبكة الصيد (السلية)، وينشرها عليهم فيصيدهم ويسحبها... فيتوسلون اليه "حررنا من شباكك... حتى لا تقفز سمكة من سمكاتك الى قاربنا... نحن لا نصيد سمكاً يسمى باسمك.."

ويقول هو: "حين سمعتهم يتحدثون هكذا ضربتهم بهراوتي المصنوعة من الحديد... وربطتهم بحبال من ليف وحطمت قواربهم وأحرقت شباكهم. وأرغمتهم على أن يقسموا بأن لا يصيدوا السمك الطيب بعدها، وأن لا

يسرقوها مني... وغرزت فيها القصب لتجف في الشمس... وكان الصيادون يضطجعون تحت ولم يعد بوسعهم النهوض... ولم يعد بوسعهم أن يضربوا السمك بالفالة". (دراشة يهيا فصل "صيدا" راجع النص الموجود في P143 (JB)، الترجمة هنا اخذت من كتاب اصول الصابئة المندائيين عزيز سباهي ص ٧٩.

ومن خلال ما ذكرناه يمكن ان نعثر على بعض التعبيرات الأصطلاحية التي تهمنا في هذا الموضوع نطالع مثلاً:

"...نحن لا نصيد سمكاً بأسمك..." وهو يدل على ان المندائيين جماعته كانوا جماعة مميزة اذ أنها تسمى بأسمه.

وكذلك تعبير "السمك الطيب"، اشارة الى المؤمنين من أتباعه وهم الصفوة من المختارين الصادقين، وتعبير "غرزت فيها القصب لتجف في الشمس"، اشارة الى انه حافظ عليها وجعلها بحالة جيدة غير متعفنة، اي انه حصنها بالايمان والمعرفة، ومعروف أن السمك إذا جفف بواسطة (رش الملح) عليه وثبُت على القصب تحت الشمس فلن يتعفن، هكذا المؤمن إذا صلُح إيمانه وثَبت فلن ينحرف أو يضل.

اما وجود الصيادين الآخرين والتعبيرات الأصطلاحية الخاصة بصيدهم وشباكهم وقواربهم والسمك الذي يصيدونه وحالته بعد الصيد كلها تشير الى وجود التيارات الدينية المختلفة في المنطقة وسعيها الدؤوب لكسب المناصرين لها، لذلك فقد كان هناك سباق ومنافسة لكسب الناس كل لمذهبه الخاص هذا اضافة الى محافظة كل منهم على جماعته وتحصينهم بكل الوسائل المتاحة لحمايتهم من التأثيرات الدينية والفكرية المناهضة لهم وأن النص الذي ذكرناه يثبت ذلك.

وفي موضع آخر من نفس الفصل يتم الحديث عن صيد السمك في الليل بعد طرد ظلمته بواسطة اشعال الضوء، وهوتشبيه جميل يقصد به ان النور (نور المعرفة والأيمان) يزيح الظلام وتضاء بذلك عقول الناس فيسرعون متهافتين ليجتمعوا حول منبع النور الصافي الذي بعثه لهم الرب العظيم فيدخلون شبكته ويدخلهم قارب النجاة والايمان ويخلصهم من حالة الظلام التي يعيشون.

من ذلك نستنتج أن يوحنا المعمدان حاول جاهداً المحافظة على الصابئة المندائيين أتباعه ودفع مسيرتهم بقوة نحو الأمام وقد دعا اليهود للتعميد وطلب غفران الخطايا والألتزام بالفضيلة وأشار المؤرخ اليهودي (جوزيفوس) في كتابه "العصور القديمة"، الى ذلك كذلك اشار الى شدة تعلق الناس بيوحنا وقد ذكر انهم كانوا مستعدين في كل شيء للتصرف وفق مشورته. (لمزيد من المعلومات راجع المصدر السابق ص١١٤). ومن ناحية اخرى فأن يوحنا المعمدان قد ساعد في هداية الضالين واعانة المضطهدين من اتباعه المندائيين الذين عانوا كثيرا قبل مجيئه خاصة في مدينة أورشليم وما جاورها وكما يذكر ذلك في بعض العبارات في كتاب دراشا إد يهيا :

> "... لم أرغب في النزول الى مدينة أورشليم ... وحدثت فيها الأضطهادات ضد أتباعي... ".

لذلك فأنه عندما ذهب الى أورشليم أخذ يبشر بالدين الذي سار عليه المندائيون قبله وقد أعطى اصحابه القوة والمنعة، وترد في نفس الكتاب نصوص كثيرة تتحدث عن سيرته وسعيه المستمر للحفاظ على الناصورائيين وخاصة من حقد ومكائد اليهود وحكامهم وكهنتهم، فقد أصابهم الرعب والاستياء من قوة دعوته وأزدياد أتباعه وتلاميذه.

وبعد وفاته في الثلث الاول من القرن الأول الميلادي يستمر أغلب تلاميذه في نفس الطريق "المندائية" الذي سلكه معلمهم وانتشروا في العديد من الأماكن يعلمّون ويسندون بعضهم بعضاً ومع ذلك فقد أثرت وفاته عليهم تأثيراً واضحاً باعتبارهم قد فقدوا دعامة كبيرة كانت تسندهم في أصعب الظروف خاصة وأن الناس في منطقة فلسطين وما جاورها كانت تعيش حالة من التوتر والنقمة وعدم الأستقرار نتيجة سوء الأوضاع السياسية والأقتصادية، هذا اضافة لوجود الصراع الديني والمذهبي بين الطوائف المتعددة التي كانت تعيش في تلك المنطقة.

من الأمور المهمة التي يجدر بنا التوقف عندها في المرحلة التي تلت وفاة يوحنا هو دخول المؤمنة "مَرَيْي" الى دين الصابئة المندائيين بعد تركها لديانتها الاولى "اليهودية"، [مريي شامرت يهدوثا (مريي تركت اليهودية)..., JB 130]. ولم تكن امرأة عادية بل كانت ابنة أحد كبار كهنة اليهود وهي امرأة معروفة بين قومها، وتسرد نصوص كتاب "القلستا" وكذلك كتاب "دراشا إد يهيا" قصة تعرفها على المندائيين وأيمانها بدينهم وادراكها جوهر عقيدة الناصورائيين [وهم فقهاء المندائيين والطبقة القيادية العليا التي يرجع اليها المندائيون في تأدية طقوسهم وتعليمهم ومعظم شؤون حياتهم]، وكيف انها تعلمت خفية بعد مراقبتها لهم. وتسرد القصة أحداثاً مطولة حول ذلك، وكيف انها لم تقبل بسهولة بين المندائيين ثم اصبحت أحد الرموز الدينية العظيمة التي يضرب المثل بها وبأيمانها وصبرها وتحملها الضغوط الكبيرة من قبل أهلها والكهنة والحكام من اليهود. وقد باءت جهودهم بالفشل في اقناعها بالارتداد عن دين الناصورائيين، وقد أصبحت فيما بعد صوتاً قوياً للأيمان ومشعلاً للنور يتجمع حوله الناس ليهتدوا ويزدادوا تمسكاً بعقيدتهم كما كان يفعل من قبل النبي يوحنا المعمدان لانها عاصرته ونهلت من نبع المعرفة الذي فاض منه.

ولنطالع مثلاً بعضاً مما كان يقال عنها من قبل اليهود، عندما شعروا أنها تلتجأ الى الناصورائيين من المندائيين وتترك شريعة اليهود وكما ورد في كتاب القلستا (القسم الثاني) النياني (أناشيد وصلوات يوم الجمعة صباحا):

> ".... (ان مريي)... صارت تكره اليهودية وتحب الناصيروثا، انها تكره
> باب بيت الأمة (الهيكل) وتحب باب المشخنا (المندي، المعبد المندائي) ،
> انها تكره (الطوطفتا) القبعة (التعويذة) وتحب أكليل الآس [وهو الأكليل
> الذي يتوج به الشخص المصطبغ أثناء صباغته]، يدها تعمل الأعمال يوم
> السبت، وفي يوم الأحد تمنع يدها عنها، ان مريي (اصبحت) تكره الناموس
> [قانون شريعة اليهود]. " CP. p. 173:7 ff (No 149)

وفي آخر هذاالنص نجدها تذكر أنها لم تحصل الا على حب منداهيي (العارف بالحياة) والذي يسندها لتنتقل من الظلام الى النور وكما يلي:

> "... الذي أحببته لا أكرهه والذي كرهته لا أحبه (ولا حب بي) غير حب
> منداهيي الذي يقف معي ويمد لي يد العون والقوة لأنتقل من مكان الظلام
> الى مكان النور...". CP. p. 174 :2f (No.149)

ومما هو جدير بالذكر في هذا الموضوع ورود التعبير الأصطلاحي الذي هو الأنتقال من الظلام (مكان الظلام) الى النور (مكان النور) وهو تعبير اصطلاحي مندائي (غنوصي)، يستعمل كثيراً في النصوص المندائية وفي معظمها يرمز الى حصول التغيير، المنهج والعقيدة، من السلب الى الأيجاب، ومن الخطأ الى الصواب أي من الظلام الى النور، وعلى ذلك يستند جوهر الصباغة (التعميد) المندائي، إذ انه يخرج الأنسان من ظلام المادة الى نور الروح (المعرفة).

ان ما ذكرناه (حول يوحنا وتلامذته ومريي)، يشير الى المنافسة والصراع الحاصلين بين اليهود والصابئة المندائيين وبالأحرى مع الناصورائيين، اضافة الى ذلك فإن النصوص الدينية الواردة في دراشا اد يهيا والقلستا حول مريي، توضح جانبا من معاناة المندائيين وخاصة المؤمنين الجدد من الاديان والعقائد الاخرى.

وبهذا الخصوص يتحدث كتاب دراشا اد يهيا عن مريي وعن الناصورائيين (أصحابها المؤمنين)، بأنهم يتمسكون بقوة بعقيدتهم وهم لا يهتزون أمام كل الضغوط التي تحاول أن تزعزعهم عن (العقيدة الأولى)، ويذكر عن ضعيفي الأيمان بأنهم لن يصمدوا أمام الصعاب وهم كالطيور الضعيفة التي تسقط عندما تهب العاصفة. بعد ذلك تظهر اشارات تلّوح لنا بحصول اضطهاد ومضايقات للمندائيين ومريي مما يضطرها وأخوانها ان يستقروا عند مصب الفرات. وبذلك يوصفون بانهم الاصحاب الذين يلتقون حول مريي الجفنة المنتصبة والمستقرة عند فم الفرات. JB. p 134:1f ويعلق الباحث عزيز سباهي في هذا الخصوص على الرسالة الخامسة والثلاثين من دراشا اد يهيا قائلا: "تتكرر الاشارة الى مرياي التي استقرت (قي ذلك الموضع)، وكيف كان اليهود يرنون اليها وهي تبشر بدينها والأسماك والطيور تتجمع حولها (اشارة الى الناس الذين ينجذبون نحو المندائية) لتستمع الى صوت مريي ولتنتشي بالعطر الذي يفوح منها". اصول الصابئة المندائيين ص ١٣٧.

من ذلك كله يمكن أن نفهم الأسباب التي دعت المندائيين (ومنهم الناصورائيين) وتلامذة يوحنا المعمدان ومريي واصحابها ومن ادخلتهم للمندائية معها الى ترك أورشليم وحوض الأردن والأستقرار عند مصب الفرات ثم الهجرة من هذه المناطق عن طريق جبال ميديا الى مدينة حران، التي استقبلتهم والتحقوا باخوان لهم في الدين هناك وحيث لا سبيل لحكام اليهود في مطاردتهم والنيل منهم لأن مناصريهم

ومن يحميهم هناك من ملوك البارثين الذين لم يكونوا على علاقة جيدة مع الرومان (المسيطرين على بلاد الشام). وقد سجل هذه الهجرة وأسبابها ديوان هران كويثا (حران الداخلية) والذي وصف هذه الهجرة بأنها كانت بعدد ستين الفا من الناصورائيين الذين كان على رأسهم الملك أردوان (اردبان) الذي يعتقد أنه الملك البارثي أرطبانوس الثالث الذي عاصر تلك الفترة, لذلك فإن معظم الباحثين يعتقدون ان هجرة هؤلاء المندائيين قد حدثت بعد سنة ٦٠ م، وقبل ثورة اليهود الأولى التي حدثت سنة ٦٦ م ضد الرومان. ومن الجدير بالذكر ان المندائيين ما يزالون الى اليوم يقومون بطلب الرحمة وغفران الخطايا الى اولئك الـ ٣٦٥ ترميذي، الذين هاجروا من أورشليم في صلاة "أبهاثن قدمايي" اي (ابائنا القدامى)، ويقيمون لهم طعام الغفران (اللوفاني)، "اولئك الـ ٣٦٥ ترميذي الذين نزحوا من مدينة اورشليم." CP. 170 :14f

ويضيف ديوان "هران كويثا" ان الرب قد ارسل الملاك "انش اثرا" ليضع لليهود القصاص العادل جزاءا على ما فعلوه مع اتباعه الناصورائيين الذين اريقت دماء الكثيرين منهم الى حد لم ينج منهم الا القليلين، لذلك تدمر أورشليم ويحرق الهيكل وتحول الى أكوام من الخرائب. انظر "هران كويثا" ٦٩ وما بعده.

وقد استقر المهاجرون مع اخوانهم المتواجدين قبلهم في بلاد ما بين النهرين، وكثرت مقراتهم ومراكز تجمعهم، وكان انتشارهم واسع في مناطق جنوب العراق وخاصة ميسان ونواحيها، وكان لهم ايضا صدىً وتأثيراً واضحاً في بقية الاقوام الذين جاوروهم مما دعا البعض الى ان يؤمن بديانتهم وينضم اليهم والشاهد التاريخي هو انضمام فاتق والد ماني وعائلته الى المندائيين المتواجدين في ميسان واعتناقهم لدينهم، وقد ولد ماني بينهم سنة ٢١٦ م وترعرع هناك حتى الرابعة والعشرين

اي حتى عام ٢٤٠م حيث انفصل عنهم وشرع يدعو الى مذهبه الخاص الذي سمي بالمانوية، والى ذلك اشار بن النديم، الفهرست, ص٤٠٧.

انتشر مذهب ماني بشكل خاص في بلاد فارس واماكن اخرى، كالعراق ومصر وقد اقتبس من الكتابات والنصوص المندائية الشيء الكثير اضافة الى تأثره الواضح بأفكارهم ومعتقداتهم وتعاليمهم، وقد وصل الى حد اقتباس نصوص وعبارات كثيرة من كتب ومخطوطات المندائيين والتي يمكن الاستدلال عليها بشكل واضح في النصوص والتراتيل المانوية خاصة تلك التي عثر عليها في نجع حمادي في مصر.

ورغم ان النصوص المندائية لاتذكر شيئا واضحا يدل على هذه الحادثة الا ان توثيقها من قبل الاخرين يثبت بنسبة كبيرة ان والد ماني وعائلته قبلوا بين المندائيين والاهم من هذا ان ماني نفسه ولد بينهم وتعهدوه وعلموه اصول دينهم ومعتقداتهم ومن مضمون الكتابات المانوية وفلسفتها يتأكد لدينا بأن ماني لا بد ان يكون قد اطلع بشكل واسع على كتاباتهم وتعاليمهم ودواوينهم السرية خاصة تلك التي تحتوي رسومات ومصطلحات باطنية.

ان هذه الحادثة تشير الى ان الصابئة المندائيين في فترة القرن الثالث الميلادي واثناء تواجدهم في جنوب العراق كانوا قد قبلوا بعض الجماعات التي آمنت بدينهم ومعتقداتهم، اذا لم نقل انهم قد بشروا على نحو واسع. ونعتقد انهم قبلوا وقربوا بشكل خاص اولئك الذين يلتقون معهم في بعض المعتقدات ويمكن اعتبار الحادثة مؤشرا على ما ذكرناه (رغم عدم ذكرها في المصادر المندائية)، ومن المرجح انها لم تذكر بسبب انشقاق ماني عنهم وعرضه لبعض المعتقدات والآراء بما يخالف منهجهم، ومن الطبيعي ان يكون لديهم موقف حازم بتجاهل دعوته والاشارة بالتعابير الرمزية عن المنشقين، وعدم اتباعهم او التأثر بهم وبيان ضلالهم عن جوهر العقيدة. وهذا هو اسلوب الكتابات المندائية

وطريقة تعاملها مع مثل تلك الحالات، فلم تهتم كثيرا بتدوين التاريخ او الحوادث التفصيلية التي واجهتهم عبر المراحل الزمنية التي عاشوها.

ولم يرد في الكتابات المندائية ذكر عن قبول اعداد جديدة بينهم في الدين منذ الفترة التي تلت القرن الاول الميلادي، وخاصة في الفترة التي تبعت ظهور الاسلام، الذي اثر تاثيرا واضحا على شعوب المنطقة والى وقتنا الحاضر مما يدل على ان باب التبشير اصبح ضيقاً اذا لم نقل انه موصد، يضاف الى هذا وجود اتجاه فكري مندائي (ديني وشعبي) متوارث عن بعض الافكار القديمة مما يمكن ان نسميه بـ"ردة فعل" خاصة بعد المعاناة التي عاشوها بين اليهود ومن ثم السيطرة المسيحية والاسلامية (خاصة) من الناحية الدينية والسياسية والتي جسدت مفهوم التبشير بشكله الواسع والمعروف حاليا.

من مجمل العرض السابق استطعنا ان نتلمس من خلال بعض النصوص والشواهد الدينية والتاريخية التي بيناها ما يمكن ان نستدل به على وجود التبشير في الدين الصابئي المندائي ولو بحدوده الضيقة او (الموسعة في احيان قليلة) ضمن بعض الضوابط على الرغم من ان الاصول المبدئية للدين تدل على انه كان تبشيريا لكل الناس على الارض. ونعتقد ان بعض هذه الضوابط والافكار التي تقلص او تمنع من دخول الوافدين الجدد قد حدثت في مراحل تالية وهذا ما يفسر الحذر من قبول هؤلاء دون التأكد من صدق ايمانهم واخلاصهم للدين والشعب المندائي، اذ ان بعض الكتابات المندائية اشارت بشكل رمزي الى ان المندائيين والترميذي الذين هم من اصل يهودي والذي هم احفاد تلاميذ يحيى يوحنا كانوا قد غيروا بعض تعاليم الدين بسبب تاثرهم بالروح الشريرة لان بذرتهم في الاصل كانت من اليهود اي لم تكن طاهرة. انظر "هران كويثا" السطر ١٠٠، وكذلك فقد حدث ذلك مرة ثانية بعد عدة اجيال عندما تبعوا وساندوا بعض المنشقين او الزائغين عن النهج

الحقيقي للدين الصابئي المندائي وهذا ما نراه واضحا في حادثة "قيقل" والتي وقعت سنة ٨٦ قبل مجيء الاسلام، فقد كان قيقل من كبار رجال الدين ، وسلك منهجا مغايرا بعض الشيء عن منهج الدين الاصلي واظهر لتلاميذه واتباعه من رجال الدين بعضا من الكتابات المخالفة للعقيدة والمستوحاة من قوى الظلام (على حد التعبير المندائي) وعندما ندم ورجع الى جادة الصواب احرق هو ومن تبعه كل هذه الكتابات، ولم يحتفظ بها الا الذين كانوا من اصل يهودي. وقد وردت هذه الحادثة في ديوان "هران كويثا" سطر ١٠٨ وما بعده، لذلك فقد اثرت هذه الحادثة واخريات غيرها (لم يكشف التاريخ عنها) الى غلق التبشير وزيادة انعزال الصابئة وانطوائهم على انفسهم وانزوائهم شيئا فشيئا من الحواضر ومراكز المدن المهمة الى القرى والارياف ومناطق الاهوار خاصة اذا عرفنا ان السكان الذين حولهم اصبحوا عموما من المسلمين ومعروف ان من يغير دينه منهم يعتبر مرتدا وعقوبته القتل.

بقي لنا بعد هذا العرض ان نبين ماهية التبشير من وجهة النظر الفلسفية والدينيةللمندائيين، ونعلل من خلالها ظاهرة عدم التبشير بالدين وحصرها ضمن حالات استثنائية محدودة (تخضع لضوابط شديدة في بعض تلك الحالات التي واجهتها).

من المعلوم ان الديانة الصابئية المندائية ديانة معرفية اي (غنوصية)، وهي تعتمد (المعرفة) اساسا يوضح فلسفة منهجها العقائدي.

ان هذه المعرفة لا تأتي عن طريق التعليم والدرس وحدهما انما بالأساس تعتمد على الفيض الآلهي الذي يظهر ذاته في كشف معرفي روحاني غير مادي، لايعتمد على البشر في اظهاره انما يعتمد الطهر والنقاء الروحي والجسدي (المادي) ليصل مرحلة الذروة والتي يتمكن فيها من الرؤية الروحية والاتصال بقوى النور، ومن ثم الاطلاع على

الاسرار المقدسة وفهم جوهرها وادراك معارف الكون والوجود المختلفة.

ان سر (المعرفة) هذا في نظر المندائيين ومعظم الطوائف المعرفية (الغنوصية)، لا ينتقل الا لانسان نقي النسب اي من نفس جذر المندائيين، وهذا عموما كان النهج العام الذي سلكته العديد من الديانات والعقائد خاصة قبل ظهور المسيحية.

وعموما فان اعتقاد الطوائف المعرفية (الغنوصية) ينصب في التزامها باسرار او (مقدسات)، لكي تساعد وتنقي الروح لتضمن ولادتها من جديد في جسد روحي، او تحررها وصعودها من عالم المادة، وهذه تكون عادة مطابقة لطقوس تقليدية وموسمية (احتفالية) موجودة، والتي لها ترجمة باطنية وفي حالة الناصورائين -المندائيين، تعتمد هذه الترجمة من قصة الخلق، خاصة على الانسان الكوني (الآلهي) آدم كسيا (آدم الخفي) ككاهن او ملك ممسوح ومتوج انظر "دراور، آدم كسيا، ص، ٨.

من ذلك يمكننا ان نفهم انه في الحالة الانسانية او الجنس البشري يجب ان يكون ممسوحا ومتوجا كاهنا وملكا، فيكون صورة مماثلة للملك الالهي، وهو فوق كل شيء يعد رمزا مقدسا للاتحاد والأنبعاث (القيامة).

وعندما يرسم أي كاهن مندائي فأنه يمسح بالزيت (زيت السمسم، اي الزيت المقدس) ويتوّج ويعطى شارة الملك- وهي الخاتم والصولجان والتاج، لأنه الممثل الأرضي للأنسان السماوي أو الكوني.

وكل شخص مصطبغ بالمصبتا (متعمد بالمعمودية) يدخل في جسد آدم الكوني، كتوقع لأتحاده (لوفا) مع الجسد المفتدى للنخبة، بواسطة رشمه (رسامته) بماء مقدس و(تتويجه) بأكليل آس، هذه الأحتفالات تعاد وتكرر ساعة موته ايضا مع اختلاف أن رشمه

(رسامته) تكون بالزيت -(بعد طمشه ثلاثاً بالماء ورشامته به)-، لأنه كمؤمن حقيقي يموت في حالة من النقاء سيصبح بعدها واحدا مع الأنسانية (الكونية)، الممنوحة حالة روحية والتي تدعى آدم كسيا (الخفي، الكوني) لمزيد من التفاصيل انظر المصدر السابق ص١٠٤.

وبعد الموت تتسلم روح الميت جسدها الروحي خلال الخلق المتجدد الفائق للطبيعة لجسده الكوني، فيكتب له عندها التحرر والخلاص والوصول الى عالم الانوار الذي اتت منه قبل ان تكون في الارض، والى تلك الفكرة يشير عزيز سباهي الى:

> "ان الغنوصية تنطلق من أنها تضع في أيدي النخبة المختارة تلك الأسرار الخفية التي تيسر لها سبيل الخلاص وتمكنها من التغلب على القوى الشريرة التي خلقت العالم. ومهمة العمل الغنوصي هي تحرير النفس البشرية التي هي في الأصل شرارة، قبس من الجوهر المقدس من أسر الجسد الدنيوي"، اصول الصابئة المندائيين ص ١٤٦.

من هذا كله يمكن ان نفهم ان مبدا انتقال المعرفة يكون عن طريق النخبة المختارة (بهيري زدقا)، التي حافظت على مباديء معرفة العقيدة الأولى جيلاً بعد آخر والتي تظهر فيهم عن طريق تنقية الجسد من قيود العالم المادي، بواسطة الممارسات الطقسية والمعرفية الناصورائية حيث يفتح للمؤمنين والمتقين باب التوبة والخلاص والمعرفة، ولذلك فقد حدث تشديد في الالتزام بهذه الممارسات وكذلك في سرية نقل المعلومات بأعتبارها من الأسرار المقدسة التي لاتكشف الا لأقرانهم من المتقين.

وقد كان ذلك سبباً مهماً في ان لايكون هناك قبول الا لمن كان منهم او من نوع الفرع الأصيل في شجرتهم الموروثة من نسل آدم النقي لأن الوالدين من فروع اخرى - (وهم اصحاب العقائد والأديان الأخرى غير المندائية) - لم يكونوا في الأصل قد تنقوا أو تطهروا

بواسطة تلك الممارسات والمعارف والأسرار التي تحدثنا عنها في اعلاه هذا اضافة الى ظهور الختان والممارسات الطقسية المخالفة لهم في كثير من الاديان.

وقد شدد "الناصورائيون" على رفض هذه الامور الى حد التزمت والعزلة واتخاذ مواقف صلبة خاصة في غضون الحقب المتأخرة ولحد الآن.

ان موقف الصابئة هذا لم يكن غريبا في المنطقة، لأن التبشير بمعناه الواسع والمعروف حالياً لم يبدأ الا مع ظهور المسيحية حيث ان اليهودية لم تكن ديانة تبشيرية. الا بعد تفرقهم وشتاتهم, اذ لم يكن ثمة تبشير في زمان العبرانيين القدماء، الا انهم بعد السبي، على مايخبرنا الكتاب القدس ابتدأوا ان يفسروا الشريعة للشعب.٠انظر (قاموس الكتاب المقدس ص١٧٣).

لقد كان وما يزال اليهود يعتقدون بانهم شعب الله المختار الذي لايقبل الداخلين به. والى الآن لايحسب يهوديا من وُلِدَ من أب يهودي وأم غير يهودية، وقد تساهلوا في بعض الأزمان بقبول الأشخاص المولودين من أم يهودية وأب غير يهودي واعتبروهم يهوداً من الدرجة الثانية، ومثل ذلك نجده في معاملة اليهود السود أو من هم ليسوا من الأصول النقية او المعروفة.

اما عند نشوء المسيحية وخاصة عند ظهور الحلقات المسيحية (الجنتلايتينية) فقد اضمحلت الكثير من مباديء اليهود والألكسايتينيين، الصارم كالختان وتحريم الطعام (الاجنبي)، والتقيد بيوم السبت، فقد ذوت وذهبت بسرعة بالرغم من انها بقيت لفترة في الجماعات المسيحية اليهودية. وتشير "الليدي دراور" الى ان الرسول "بولص"، هو الذي فتح بوابة يسوع للجنتليين وقد تحمل صراعا مريراً في سبيل الأنفصال عن بعض المباديء اليهودية الراسخة مثل الختان، وتحريم الطعام ، بينما لم

يكن للناصورائيين المندائيين الذين معظمهم او العديد منهم كانوا ربما من اجناس مختلفة، وبوجود الصوفية البارثية واليونانية حولهم من كل الجهات حتى في التقاليد الموروثة، (لم يكن) ما يربطهم بمثل هذه العادات حتى لو انهم مارسوها في وقت ما". وتضيف ايضا قائلة: "ان الختان كريه بالنسبة للناصيروثا لأن اي قطع في الجسم البشري هو قطع لذلك الذي صنع في صورة الله، واي رجل فيه عيب في اعضائه الجنسية يكون غير لائق او مؤهل لان يصبح كاهناً"، دراور آدم كسيا، ص، ٧.

وقد اعتبر المسلمون الأسلام ناسخا للأديان التي سبقها وأبدى شيئاً من التسامح تجاه الاديان االتوحيدية (اليهودية، الصابئية والمسيحية) وجعلوا دعوتهم تبشيرية شملت العالم كله كما فعل المسيحون قبلهم.

وبظهور النشاط التبشيري الواسع من قبل الديانتين المسيحية والأسلامية في مناطق تواجد الصابئة المندائيين (الشرق الادنى) اوصد باب التبشير كما راينا سابقا وقد واجهوا نزيفاً متواصلا بين اتباعهم بسبب الضغوط السياسية والدينية والاقتصادية اضافة الى ظهور التيارات الفكرية المختلفة وأدى ذلك الى ابتعادهم عن ساحة التبشير المحتدمة الصراع الى وقتنا هذا. ومع ذلك كله فاننا نعتقد ان الدين المندائي هو في الاصل يقبل المؤمنين به ضمن ضوابط صارمة، ونحن نتفق مع الباحث عزيز سباهي في ملاحظته التي اشار فيها ان انتشار الصابئة المندائيين الواسع في مناطق عديدة (من العالم القديم) يدلل على انهم ليسوا جماعة صغيرة منغلقة على نفسها كما غدت من بعد انما يبدو انهم مروا بمرحلة كانوا فيها منفتحين على الآخرين ولا يرفضون من ينتمي اليهم اذا رضي ان يعتنق دينهم ويتقيد بطقوسهم على نحوما فعل فتق (فاتك) ابو ماني /مثلاً. اصول الصابئة المندائيين ص ٢٢١-٢٢٢.

اما في الوقت الحاضر وخصوصا في النصف الثاني من هذا القرن فقد واجه الصابئة المندائيون الانفتاح على العالم فسكن الكثيرون منهم مراكز المدن ودخل معظم ابنائهم في المدارس واختلطوا بشعوب دول كثيرة اخرى مما اضطر البعض من شبابهم بسبب ظروف مختلفة كثيرة من الزواج بأجنبيات وكونوا عوائل جديدة واليوم ينتظرون بيأس هم وابنائهم قبولهم بين المندائيين.

ان عدد الصابئة القليل والمحدود في الوقت الحاضر والخوف من ذوبانهم في المجتمعات الكبيرة لدول العالم المختلفة والتي بدأوا يتوافدون عليها في السنين الأخيرة يحتم على المندائيين الالتفات الى هذا الجانب والحد من ظاهرة الزواج من خارج الطائفة لانه يشكل اليوم خطراً حقيقياً بأنهائها خاصة اذا عرفنا ان الكثير من الذكور قد قتلوا في الحروب وقسم آخر هاجر واصبح الفارق بين عدد النساء الى الرجال كبيرا ولن يمكن الحد من نزيف الطائفة المستمر الا من خلال اتخاذ الوسائل الناجعة للحفاظ عليها من الذوبان ولن يكون ذلك الا بتحصين المندائيين بالمعرفة والايمان وجهادهم في الحفاظ على ابنائهم من الضياع والتأكيد على جانب الاصالة المندائية التي طالما دافع عنها اباؤنا واجدادنا طيلة القرون العتيدة الماضية.

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MANDÆAN RESEARCH CENTRE INC.

مركز البحوث المندائية يقدم ...

اضواء على مبادئ

الصابئة - المندائيين

اعداد:

المهندس ماجد فندي المباركي

مطبوعات مركز البحوث المندائية
SYDNEY

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المحتويات:

- معنى الصابئة المندائية.
- نبذة تاريخية.
- مهن الصابئة.
- اللغة المندائية والكتب الدينية.
- المعتقدات الدينية.
- طقوس الاغتسالات والمندي.
- الملابس الدينية (الرسته).
- التعميد.
- شعائر النحر – الذباحة.
- شعائر الزواج.
- شعائر الموت.
- التقويم المندائي والاعياد.
- ألمراجع.

الصور واللوحات:

1 خارطة مواقع تواجد الصابئة.
2 الآيات الكريمة التي ذكرت الصابئين.
3 خارطة هجرة المندائيون.
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11 نحر الحيوان _ الذباحة.
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اضواء على مبادئ الصابئة – المندائيين

بشميهون ادهي ربي

(باسم الحي العظيم)

في المناطق السفلى من النهرين فيما يسمى بالبطائح حيث يصب النهران العظيمان دجله و الفرات مياههما في الاهوار, وحيث يلتقيان في مدينة القرنه و في بطائح عربستان من بلاد ايران في تلك المناطق عاشت ولاتزال تعيش بقايا طائفة يطلق عليها الصابئين او الصابئة او الصبة, وتطلق هي على نفسها اسم المندايي – والناصورائي.

كان الصابئون المندائيون يقطنون تلك المناطق حين فتحت الجيوش الاسلامية بلاد الساسانين وكانت اعدادهم تكفي لذكرهم في القران الكريم بثلاث ايات هي الاية 62 "سورة البقرة" والاية 69 "سورة المائدة" والاية 17 "سورة الحج" باعتبارهم دينا كتابيا ويمنحهم الحماية ويسميهم "الصابئين". هذة التسمية التي لايزالون يعرفون بها حتى اليوم, والتي تضمن لهم وجودهم وعيشهم بين المسلمين كدين كتابي.

وهناك اراء مختلفة لمعنى الصابئة, فمنهم من اعتبرها منسوبة الى صابئى بن ماري في زمن الخليل عليه السلام. في حين يرى اخرون ان (صبأ) هي بمعنى الخروج من دين لاخر, ولذا اعتبر عرب الجاهلية, كل من خرج عن دين الوثنية قد صبأ, وسمى بالصابئ.

ونسبها اخرون الى "صبا" الارامية اي بمعنى الارتماس بالماء الجاري, وتسمى هذه الممارسة (مصبته) وكما يقولون في التعميد (صبينا بمصبة اد بهرام ربه) اي تعمدت بعماد ابراهيم الكبير. وقد ايد كثير من الباحثين هذا المصدر, مثل (نولدكه والكرملي والعقاد ودراور). فاذا علمنا ان الشعار الرئيس لديهم هو الارتماس في الماء, فمن المعقول ان يكون الاقوام المجاورون لهم, وكثير منهم اراميون, او يعرفون اللغة الارامية, قد اطلقوا عليهم اسم (الصابئين) او المغتسلة.

اما كلمة مندائي فتنسب الى كلمة (مندا) الارامية, وتعني المعرفة اوالعلم. وهو الاسم الديني المتعارف عليه عند الصابئة انفسهم والذي يطلق على كل فرد منهم. وان لغتهم المندائية مشتقة من نفس الجذر "مندا" وهي من اللهجات الارامية الشرقية.

جاء في كتاب "حران كوثيا" اي حران السفلى او الداخلية, وهو كتاب ترجم من اللغة المندائية الى اللغة الانكليزية وتوجد نسخة منة في مكتبة المتحف العراقي – حول هجرة (الناصورايي) "الناصورائي", وتعني الكهان الصابئين الذين يملكون المعرفة الدينية الحقيقية, (الناصيروثة) من اورشليم الى جبال ميديا, "طور ادمداي" ومدينة حران الواقعة في تلك الجبال. وان نزوحهم قد تم بعد سنة 70 ميلادية بعد سقوط اورشليم ومن حران بدأت هجرتهم الثانية تحت رعاية الملك البارثي الصديق (ارطبانوس) ويسمونة (اردوان ملكة) الى القسم الادنى من بلاد ما بين النهرين حيث قاموا مراكز في محل يدعى (طيب ماثه) – الطيب الحالية في الجنوب الشرقي من مدينة العمارة. ويتطرق الكتاب الى ذكر الفتح الاسلامي, وان المندائيين قد حصلوا على التسامح الديني واداء الجزية.

وتكمن اهمية هذه الوثيقة التاريخية في تأكيدها للروايات الشفوية التي يتناقلها الصابئة عن هجرتهم من حران الى موطنهم الحالي في جنوب العراق, وكذلك عن هجرتهم الاولى من فلسطين. وقد اكد المستشرقون المتخصصون بدراسة المندائية, واستنادا للمخطوطات التي عثر عليها في نجع حمادي في مصر عام 1945 عن هجرتهم من القدس في القرن الاول للميلاد زمن الملك اردبان الثالث.

ان مدينة حران كانت من مواطن الصابئة المندائيين. كما كانت موطنا لاقوام اخرى ومن المحتمل ان يكون قد اختلط هؤلاء الصابئون المهاجرون بأولئك الاقوام المستوطنين في حران فتأثروا بهم وأثروا عايهم. ولكن هناك فرقا كبيرا في الدين بين صابئة حران وبين الصابئة الأصليين او ما يسميهم بن النديم بصابئة البطائح او المغتسلة. وقد فطن بعض فقهاء الدين المسلمين لهذا الفرق, فذكر بن القفطي في كتابه "تاريخ الحكماء" ص 311, ان ابا حنيفة وصاحبيه ابا يوسف ومحمدا قد اختلفوا في معاشرة الصابئة وأكل ذبائحهم فحرمها ابو حنيفة وحللهما صاحباه, فقال اصحابهم انه ليس بخلاف على الحقيقة انما هو اختلاف في الفتوى لان ابا حنيفة سئل عن الصابئة الحرانيين, وهم معروفون بعبادة الكواكب, فاجراهم مجرى عبدة الاوثان على تحريم المعاشرة والذباحة وصاحباه سئلا عن الصابئين الساكنين في البطحة, وهم فرقة من النصارى يؤمنون بالمسيح عليه السلام فاجابا بجواز اكل ذبائحهم ومعاشرتهم.

ومما جاء في كتاب الخراج لابي يوسف ص 145 قوله:
(والجزية واجبة على جميع اهل الذمة, ممن في السواد وغيرهم من اهل الحيرة وسائر البلدان, من اليهود, والنصارى, والمجوس, والصابئين, والسامره).

ويفهم مما تقدم ان الصابئين الساكنين في البطائح هم المقصودون في القران الكريم, وانهم هم الذين خضعوا للجزية, شانهم في ذلك شأن جميع اهل الذمة من الكتابيين, وقد استفاد الحرانيين من هذا التسامح المفروض لصابئة البطائح فاتخذوا اسم الصابئة واحتموا به. كما كتب كثيرمن الجغرافيون والمؤرخون والمهتمون باخبار الملل والنحل, وغيرهم عن الصابئة, واماكن تواجدهم في شرقي الجزيرة العربية وغربيها, واشاروا الى ازمنة سحيقة في القدم كزمن شيت بن ادم, وزمن ابراهيم الخليل, وعهود تسبق اليهودية, وقد ذكرهم بن النديم في كتاب الفهرست عام 377 هجرية, فاورد تراجم لاعلامهم من اطباء, ومهندسين, وفلكين, وادباء, ممن عاصروا الخلافة العباسية, وعاشوا ضمن المجتمع الاسلامي في بغداد انذاك, ومنهم: ابو اسحاق الصابي, ثابت بن قرة, سنان بن ثابت, وكثيرين غيرهم مثل ابو الفتح المندائي وغرس النعمة الصابئي, مؤلف كتاب (الهفوات النادرة). واورد بن النديم ايضا خبر وجود الصابئة, او المغتسلة في منطقة البطائح وميسان مؤكدا وجودهم اثناء كتابة الفهرست, ذكر ذلك في معرض حديثه عن فاتق والد ماني مؤسس المانوية في القرن الثالث للميلاد, الذي التجأ الى صابئة ميسان بعد ان هتف به هاتف يدعوه الى عبادة الله ونبذ الاصنام.

وتحدث الاصطخري, وهو من الجغرافين القدامى عن قدم وجود الصابئة في منطقة سوريا, فقد كتب في معرض حديثة عن دمشق ما يلي: "وبها مسجد ليس في الاسلام مسجد احسن ولا اكثر نفقة منه, واما الجدار والقبة التي فوق المحراب عند المقصورة فمن بناء الصابئين وكان مصلاهم. ثم صار في ايدي اليونانين ,وثم صار لليهود وملوك عبدة الاوثان. ثم تغلب عليه النصارى وبعدهم صار للمسلمين واتخذوه مسجدا ".

وايد البيروني – في كتابه "الاثار الباقية" واتفق مع بن النديم في كون الصابئية قبل المانوية. وذكر بن خلدون قدم وجود الصابئة في ارض كنعان. كما ذكر بان المسجد الاقصى كان في اول امره مقدسا من قبل الصابئة ثم اتخذها بنو اسرائيل حين ملكوها قبلة لصلاتهم.

اما الشهرستاني فقد ذكر في كتابه "الملل والنحل" بان الفرق في زمان ابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام راجعة الى صنفين: أحدهما الصابئة, والثاني الحنفاء وتحدث باسهاب عن معتقداتهم وعاداتهم. ومن هذا نرى اتفاق مصادر التراث العربي على ان الصابئة تعود الى ايام سحيقة بالقدم كأيام الخليل عليه السلام.

لقد تم العثور على قطع نقود تحمل كتابة مندائية, وذلك في ميسان, والمناطق المجاورة لها وتعود تلك النقود الى سنة خمسون ومائة للميلاد. كما عثر كذلك خلال التحريات التي اجريت في نفر (ضمن حدود محافظة القادسية), على صحون تحمل نقوشا لأدعية مندائية, تعود للقرن الخامس او السادس للميلاد.

و تشير الكتب المندائية الى الاضطهاد الذي عاناه المندائيون على ايدي اليهود في القدس, كذلك اضطهادهم من قبل الزرادشتية, والمانوية في القرن الثالث الميلادي. و تاريخهم يذكر فاجعة كبيرة, حدثت لهم في القرن الرابع عشر, في منطقة الجزيرة, حين كان سلطان محسن بن مهدي حاكما في العمارة, وكان ابنه فياض حاكما في ششتر. وكان السبب ان امراة صابئية خرجت من دارها الى النهر في اليوم الاول من السنة الجديدة, فتعرض لها اعراب كانوا في اسطول من الزوارق راس هناك. ونشب القتال واعلنت الحرب على الصابئين, فذبح الكهان,. والرجال والنساء والاطفال, وبقيت الطائفة مهيضة الجناح, وبلا كهان لعدة سنين.
اما في اوائل القرن السابع عشر فقد عمل البرتغاليون الذين كانت لهم محطة تجارية في البصرة, على اقناع الباشا على اجبار نصارى القديس يوحنا للعودة الى الكنيسة. واتخذت الوسائل لتحويلهم الى المسيحية بالقوة. وقد جند قسم منهم في الجيش البرتغالي. واظهر الاتراك في الزمن الاخير تسامحا اكثر حيالهم, فقد سمح لهم بدفع بدلا نقديا, بدلا من الانخراط في الجيش العثماني, لايمانهم بان الحروب وسفك الدماء هو ضد عقائدهم المندائية. وقدر عددهم سنة 1860 بما يقارب 4000 نسمة واصبح مجموعهم 5432 نسمة سنة 1935. اما الان فيقدرون بعشرون الف نسمة, فهم اضافة الى تواجدهم الرئيسي في العراق وايران, فان مجموعات صغيرة منهم تتواجد حاليا في انحاء مختلفة من العالم, اما في استراليا فيقدر عددهم ب300 نسمة.

تقول ليدي دراور في مقدمة كتابها "الصابئة المندائين", وهي من اكثر المهتمين بدراسة الدين المندائي, تقول: ان الحالة مع الصابئين هي حالة ما يدعوه الطبيب "توقف التطور". لقد تمسك الصابئون بتشبث بطقوسهم التي يعتبرونها اكثر قدسية من كتبهم واقدم, كما اعتنى بحفظ تراثهم كهنوت يعتبر اية زلة في الاجراءات والشعائر خطيئة مميتة. وهم بانفرادهم عن سائر الاقوام منذ ظهور الاسلام, بطقوسهم الخاصة, وبعاداتهم ولغتهم ودينهم, قد تجنبوا الامتزاج وصانوا التراث الذي ورثوه عن اسلافهم.

وعلى خلاف ذلك فان الصابئين في الوقت الحاضر, والذين سكنوا الحواضر وابتعدوا عن شواطئ الانهار, وتفرقوا في المدن طلبا للرزق ودخلوا الوظائف الحكومية, قد ابتعدوا كثيرا عن الصابئين الذين يمارسون شعائرهم الدينية بصورة بدائية, كما كان يمارسها

الاسلاف, فاستعاضوا في كثير من شعائرهم بالماء المعقم بدلا من ماء النهر الجاري, وحلقوا شعور رؤوسهم وذقونهم, واتخذوا الزي العصري لباسا لهم كسائر الاقوام من حولهم تماشيا مع ظروف العصر.

لقد اقبل الصابئون منذ تشكيل الحكم الوطني في العراق على المدارس ومعاهد التعليم, وبهذا امتزجوا مع المجتمع من حولهم امتزاجا كاملا لم يعودوا يميزون فيه عمن حولهم باي شئ. ومن هذا فان طائفة الصابئين في طريقها الى تطور كبير جدا في شعائرها وطقوسها سيبعدها كل البعد عن شعائرها الاولى.

عندما نذكر الصابئة, يتبادر لاذهان البعض من العراقيين المتزوجين تلك اللحظات السعيدة التي كانوا فيها يرافقون خطيباتهم الى محلات الصاغة في شارع النهر, في بغداد او سوق الصيادلة في البصرة, لشراء خاتم الخطوبة وهدايا الزواج والتي يجدوها عند الصابئة دائما, فهم قد ورثوا هذه الصناعة من اب لجد, وابان الانتداب البريطاني للعراق, كان الصابئة يتمركزون في مدينة العمارة وقد اشتهروا في ذلك الوقت بصياغة الفضة وتطعيمها بالميناء فاطلق عليهم البريطانيون اسم Amarah Silver-smiths, واحتكوا بالسواح, ونقلوا التراث العراقي من خلال اعمالهم اليدوية, الفضية والذهبية, والتي احتوت على المناظر الاثرية البابلية والاشورية والساسانية والعربية, ولازالوا يمارسون هذه المهنة لحد الان, ولا غرابة ان نجد ان اكثر من ثلاثون محلا للصياغة في سدني هم من الصابئة الذين هاجروا لاستراليا. و لم تقتصر مهنة الصابئة على الصياغة بل كانوا يمارسون اعمال النجارة, وصناعة, القوارب والحدادة وادوات الصيد والزراعة. وقد برز منهم مؤخرا علماء, مثل المرحوم الدكتور عبد الجبار عبدالله رئيس جامعة بغداد وشعراء مثل لميعة عباس عمارة وغيرهم من اطباء ومهندسين واخرين, في كافة مجالات الحياة.

اللغة المندائية

واللغة المندائية اوكما يطلق عليها لغة العلم, هي اللغة التي كتبت فيها المخطوطات الصابئية, وتتكون الابجدية المندائية من اثنين وعشرون حرفا تجمعها الكلمات الاتية:
ابجد, هوز, حطي, كلمن, سعفص, قرشت, ويضاف اليها حرفان هما اد, آ وتقرا الحروف ممدودة على الوجه التالي:
آ, با, جا, دا, ها, وا, زا, ها, طا, يا, كا, لا, ما, نا, سا, ئي, با(فا), صا, قا, را, شا, تا, اد, آ. ويرمز للحرف الاول (آ) وهو موجود في اول الابجدية واخرها. ويمثلان رمز الكمال ونور الحياة, وبدأ ونهاية كل شئ, وان ترتيبها هو الترتيب الاصلي للابجدية العربية, وهي خالية من الروافد, كما اطلق عليها ابن النديم وهي: (ثخذ, ضغظ).

والمندائية لهجة من الارامية, والتي تنتسب بدورها الى المجموعة او الاسرة العربية او السامية, واشتقها العالم الالماني شولتزSchlozer سنة 1781 من قائمة الانساب الواردة في العهد القديم, ونسبها الى سام بن نوح. كما ان الدراسات والبحوث التي اجريت من قبل لغويين متخصصين, اظهرت بان المندائية هي من اسهل اللهجات العربية القديمة, واقلها تأثرا باللغات الاجنبية كاليونانية وذلك لعزلتها وانزوائها. وان صورة الحروف المندائية اقرب الى صورة الحروف العربية من غيرها من الابجديات القديمة. وان كثير من مفردات المندائية موجودة ضمن المفردات العربية, وكذلك معظم حروف الجر مثل اللام, من, الى, وعلى, وحروف النفي مثل لا, وما, ولا الناهية والواو, وغيرها. كما نجد كلمة (اكا) بمعنى هنا او موجود, والكلمة واردة في اللهجة الشعبية العراقية اذ تقول (اكو) وبالنفي تكون بالمندائية (لكا) وبالعامية العراقية (ماكو).

وكذلك الاعداد:

هاد	واحد	شبا	سبعة
ترين	اثنين	تمانيا	ثمانية
تلاتة	ثلاثة	تشا	تسعة
اربا	اربعة	اسرا	عشرة
همشا	خمسة	هاديسار	احد عشر
شتا	ستة	تريسار	اثنا عشر

والكتب المندائية المقدسة ليست مطبوعة, وقد قام بنسخها باليد,الكتاب الكهنوتيون طيلة قرون عديدة. ويعتقد افراد الطائفة ان امتلاكها يحفظهم من الشرور في الدنيا والاخرة. وان قليل من العامة من يستطيع ان يقرأ أو يكتب هذه اللغة, فتعلمها مقصور على الطبقة الكهنوتية. والجدير بالذكر ان اغلب المخطوطات ربما قد دونت ايام الساسانين, او بعد الفتح العربي لبلاد الرافدين, ويدون كتاب "كنزا ربا" قائمة بملوك البارثيين والساسانيين, ولم يلاحظ في كتبهم تاثير, او استعمال كلمات من لغات اخرى كالاغريقية, المستعارة في اللغات السورية والفلسطينية, لكنها استعارت كثيرا من التعابير الارامية_العبرية بصورة خاصة. ولا يسمح للغرباء الاطلاع على كتب الصابئة المقدسة, وذلك لاحتوائها على اسرار تخص الطائفة نفسها. وليس هنالك كثير من النسخ القديمة جدا, ويعود ذلك لفقدانها. فالصابئون كما هو معروف قد سكنوا مناطق اكثر مساكنها من اكواخ القصب, توقد فيها النار شتاء

وتنشب فيها الحرائق بشكل عام, وتوجد عند بعضهم نسخ قد اتلفت حواشيها بفعل الحرائق. ولا يسمح مطلقا بتدوين الكتب المقدسة على الجلد, (لان ذبح الحيوانات تدمير للحياة ولذا فالجلد غير طاهر). بل ان اكثرها دون على ورق البردي وعلى المعادن والحجر. وهناك بعض الكتب مثل كتاب "سدره اد نشماته" كتاب الارواح _ طقس التعميد قد دون على رقائق الرصاص, وربما يعود هذا التقليد باستعمال الصفائح ناجما عن ضرورة دينية, حيث يذكر بعض الكهان, ان جميع كتبهم تطهر بالماء الجاري قبيل استعمالها. ويحافظ على الكتب المقدسة بتغليفها تغليفا تاما بالخام الابيض, وتربط باشرطة من الخام ايضا. كما ان الكهان يقومون بصنع وتركيب الحبر بانفسهم, وعادة يكون اسود لماعا. والكتابة بحد ذاتها عمل طلسمي يجلب الخير للذين يقومون به. واكبر هذه المخطوطات هو كتاب "كنزا ربا" الكنزالعظيم, وقد ترجم هذا الكتاب في عام 1813 من قبل "ماثيو نوربيرغ" Mathew Norberg وترجمات وتعليقات اخرى كانت ذروتها ترجمة البروفسور ليدزبارسكي الى اللغة الالمانية في عام 1925.

ومن الكتب المترجمة الاخرى ما يلي:
كتاب "دراشة اديهيا", كتاب يحيى عام 1915 و يتناول شؤون النبي يحيى المعمدان عليه السلام.
كتاب "سدرة ادنشماته", كتاب الارواح – طقس التعميد 1920 .
كتاب "ترسر الف شياله", اثنيعشرالف سؤال ويتكون من خمسة اجزاء يتناول الجزء الاول الاخطاء في الطقوس وطريقة غفرانها وايضاح الشعائر ...... الخ.
كتاب "تفسير بغرا", ويعتني بالمعنى الداخلي للوجبات الطقسية.
ديوان "حران كويثا" حران الداخلية او السفلى.
ديوان "اسفر ملواشه" مخطوط لاغراض التنجيم والحسابات الفلكية.
ديوان"نهرواثا" وهو خارطة مزخرفة, ونص ايضاحي لانهار العالم, حيث يجعلها جميعا تتغذى من "فرات زيوا" اي الفرات النوراني.
ديوان " اباثر" وهو ديوان مصور وطوله 9 ياردات.
ديوان "الما الايا" وديوان "ملكوثا" ترجمت مؤخرا وتوجد نسخة منهما في المتحف العراقي.
كتاب "انياني" ويتضمن الطهارة الصغرى اي الوضوء – الرشامه.

يحتوي المتحف البريطاني على كتاب "شرح وطراسة تاغه اد شثلام ربه" التي تهتم بطقوس تكريس الكهان وطقوس تكريس المندي. وتحتوي مكتبة Bodleien على جميع المخطوطات المترجمة من قبل ليدي دراور.

ان الدين الصابئ دين قديم, يؤمن معتنقوه بانه من اقدم الاديان ان لم يكن اقدمها. فهم ينسبون كتابهم "كنزا ربا " الكنز العظيم الى ادم عليه السلام, كما يعتقدون ان سام هو جدهم الاعلى ونبيهم بعد ادم ونوح. وهم ليسوا فرقة من النصارى كما ورد ذلك لدى كثير من الكتاب وبخاصة الغربيين, وقد جاء هذا الوهم من تعظيم الصابئين للنبي يحيى عليه السلام, واعتباره نبيا لهم انقذهم من ضلال اليهودية وقام بالمعمودية, وتعظيمهم ليوم الاحد كما يفعل النصارى.

وهم ليسوا بمجوس لعدم تقديمهم وتعظيمهم للنار, فهم يعتقدون ان السجود للنار امر محرم كل التحريم "نوره واسغادي مبطل باطلي" النار والسجود لها باطل مبطل.

ودينهم ليس دينا وثنيا باي حال من الاحوال, بل هو دين يؤمن باللة الحي الازلي, واليوم الاخر, فقد جاء في مقال عن مدى ايمانهم بالله للاستاذ عبد الرزاق الحسني نشره في مجلة العربي العدد 112 عام 1968 قوله: "الخالق جل شأنه واحد ازلي أبدي لا أول لوجوده ولانهاية له, منزه عن عالم المادة الطبيعية لا تناله الحواس ولايفضي اليه مخلوق, وانه لم يلد و لم يولد وهو علة وجود الاشياء ومكونها. ولا يختلف اعتقادهم في الخالق عن اعتقاد المؤمنين به".

اما اعتقادهم باليوم الاخر, فقد يكونون من اكثر الاديان وضوحا وتشددا في هذا الشان, فالعالم الدنيوي في عقيدتهم, ما هو الا منفى وسجن مؤقت للروح التي ستنبعث بعد الموت متحررة من سجنها المادي, لتلتحق بالملأ الاعلى, وفق حساب عسير يعد لها, ووفق وزن توزن فيه, فاما الى الجنة, او المطهر "المطراثة" حيث تعذب فيه بدرجات متفاوتة, الى ان تتطهر من ذنوبها فتلتحق بالملأ الأعلى هي ايضا, فالروح في عقيدتهم خالدة والجسم فان.

ان تشابه بعض شعائرهم, مع بعض شعائر المسيحية واليهودية, او المجوسية او بعض الشعائر الاسلامية, أمر طبيعي لتجاورهم وتعايشهم مع هذة الاديان فمن المحتمل ان يكونوا قد تأثروا بها, كما يحتمل ان تكون قد تأثرت بهم ايضا. ولايعرف دين من الاديان, تخلو عقيدة الصابئة من مشابهة له في احدى الشعائر, كما ذكر ذلك العقاد في كتابة "ابو الأنبياء" وعلي كل حال فالجميع يستقون من مصدر واحد والجميع قد نشأوا في هذة المنطقة من العالم المسماة بالشرق الادنى وهي مهبط جميع الاديان.

ان دين الصابئين كما هو مدون بكتبهم الدينية يتلخص بايمانهم بالله واليوم الاخر ويؤمنون بالحساب والعقاب, وان الابرار منهم, يذهبون بعد الوفاة الي عالم النور, و المذنبين الي عالم الظلام, ولايفرض عليهم الصوم بمعناة المعروف, وهو الامتناع عن الطعام والشراب, إلا انهم يمتنعون عن اكل اللحوم المباحة بما مجموعة ستة وثلاثون يوماً متفرقة علي طول السنة, وهم ينزهون الله غاية التنزيه. ويعتقدون ان مقر الملائكة (ملكي) هو في الكواكب ولذلك فهم انما يعظمون هؤلاء الملائكة لا الكواكب نفسها, وليست لهم هياكل ولااصنام, ويعتقدون بوجود مخلوق متوسط بين الروحانية والمادية يهدي الناس الي الحق .

ويشابه اعتقاد الصابئة كثيرا اعتقاد الفئات الغنوصية "المعرفيين" حيث انهم يدركونه عن طريق الفيض الالهي ,ومن مظاهر الخليقة التي ابدعها, وهم لا يعبرون عنه الا بصيغة الجمع, ويقولون انه انبعث من ذاته (اله اد نافشي افريش) اي الاله الذي قام من ذاته.

وجوهر الدين الصابئ هوالتوحيد و تقديس قوانين الحياة والخصب, فالحياة العظمى لديهم تجسيد لقوة كونية خلاقة نافعة غير مرئية, وان الحديث عنه دائما بصيغة الجمع المبهمة, ويظل تجريداغامضا يسمى بالحياة العظمى رمز الحياة الماء الحي او الماء الجاري "يردنه" ومن هذا ياتي ان أحد طقوسهم الرئيسية هو الاغتسال والتعميد في الماء الجاري.

اما القوة الثانية في دينهم, فتتمثل في تجسيد عالم الانوار "ملكه دنهورا" او مجموعة الملائكة النورانيين, او الارواح النورانية, الذين بواسطتهم يمنح الخالق البشر نعم النور والصحة والقوة والفضيلة والعدل.

والقوة الثالثة في دينهم هي الأعتقاد بخلود الروح وبصلتها الوثقى بارواح اسلافها, صلة آلهية مباشرة .

والدين المندائي يشابه الاديان التوحيدية الاخرى بالتعبد الى الخالق, فان التهيأ للقيام باي عمل يومي او حياتي ضرورة سبقه بذكر "بشميهون اد هي ربي" اي بأسم الحي العظيم وضرورة الانتهاء بذكر أسم الخالق أيضا "هي زكن" أي أسم الحي مزكى, كما ان كل اية تبدأ وتنتهي بذكر الخالق بنفس الطريقة.

وتوصي الديانة الصابئية المندائية بالأخلاق الحسنة, والعمل الصالح وتعتبر ذلك أول مبدأ من مبادئ الدين الحق . فالصوم الأعظم يكون بالأمساك عن السيئات, وقد ورد بهذا المعنى في كتاب "كنزا ربا" القسم الايمن ما يلي:

صوموا صوماعظيما لا عن
مأكل او مشرب هذه الدنيا
امسكوا اعينكم عن الغمز والرمز,
ولا تنظروا بسوء او تعملوه,
امسكوا اذانكم عن التصنت
لابواب الاخرين.
امسكوا افواهكم عن قول الكذب
والزيف والتأويل ولا تحبوا
الاباطيل.
امسكوا ضمائركم عن ظنون السوء
والبغض والفرقة ولا تدعوها
تحتل افئدتكم.
ان الذي يحتل قلبه البغض
لا يعتبر مسلما مؤمنا.
امسكوا ايديكم عن ارتكاب القتل
وعن السرقة.
امسكوا اجسادكم عن معاشرة
ازواج الاخرين.
امسكوا ركبكم عن السجود
للشيطان.
امسكوا ارجلكم عن السعاية في
السوء.
امرناكم كلكم ان اسمعوا
الله.

ومن تعاليم الصابئة ان من واجب المعلم, ان يعلم غيره, وان من واجب الجاهل التوجه لطلب العلم, وقد ورد بذلك ما يلي:

راس علمك ان تعلم الآخرين
بكلمات طيبة زكية.
ويل لعالم لايعطي من علمه
ويل لجاهل مغلق على جهله.
كل من يعلم ولا يعلم يطرد
ويلعن.
كل من لا يقود ابنه الى المعلم
يكون مذنبا في يوم الدين.

وفي عبادة الخالق وتحريم عبادة الاجرام جاء مايلي:

لا تسبحوا للكواكب والابراج
ولا تسبحوا للشمس والقمر
المنورين هذا العالم وسبحوا
للذي وهبها النور.
هذه كلها اشباح لا تهبكم قوة
ولا تعين حظوظكم وليس لها
عليكم سلطان من اليوم الى يوم
الدين ولا ياتيكم من لدنها علم.

طقوس الاغتسالات

الاول – ويدعى "الرشامه" اي (الوضوء) وتتم بدون مساعدة الكاهن, وتجري يوميا قبل شروق الشمس, وتشابه الوضوء لدى المسلمين ويعتبر هذا عماد صغير للتخلص من النجاسات الصغرى, ولوقاية المرء من الاخطار اليومية, كما انه تكرار للايمان بالحياة الابدية.

الثاني – ويدعى "طماشة" وهي ثلاث ارتماسات في النهر بدون كاهن, وهي ما تجريها المرأة بعد الحيض وبعد الولادة. كما تجرى بعد لمس جثة الميت, وبعد الجنابة في المضاجعة والاحتلام. او حتى من نجاسة او اتصال بشخص نجس فالنجاسات معدية.

الثالث – "مصبته" أي التعميد أو الصباغة, وتتم بواسطة كاهن في اوقات الزواج, الولادة او التماس مع الميت .... الخ. والتعميد يجري يوم الاحد وفي اعياد معينة, وخاصة في الايام الخمسة الكبيسة "البنجه". ويتم ذلك في المندي او بيت العبادة ويطلق عليه ايضا "مشكنه" والمندي من السمات البارزة في الدين المندائي, ويجب ان يجاور النهر او قناة ماء جار, وهذا ما يشير الى الارتباط بعبادة الماء القديمة البدائية. ويحاط المندي بسياج لحجب الطقوس عن الأعين المتطلعة. تلتحق بالمندي بركة التعميدالتي تقع في جنوبه, وتتصل بطرفيها قناتان واحدة لاخذ الماء من النهر والاخرى لصبه فيه لغرض ابقاء الماء جاريا بصورة مستمرة. والمندي عبارة عن بناء بسيط من القصب والبواري المطلية بالطين, وهو مشابه لاكواخ القصب التي يقطنها سكنة الاهوار في جنوب العراق. وهو على شكل جمالي مستطيل الشكل, اطول جداريه هما الشمالي والجنوبي. ويواجه الداخل اليه من الباب الاتجاه الشمالي, الذي يتوجه اليه الشخص عند اداء الصلاة. ولا توجد في المندي نوافذ ولازينات داخلية والنور الوحيد ياتيه من الباب. ولا تجرى في داخله اية مراسيم دينية, بل يتم اجراء اغلبها في الساحات المحيطة به. ويطهر المندي سنويا من قبل الكهان وتكون هذه المراسيم طويلة نسبيا, وقد بني حديثا مندي في منطقة القادسية على احد فروع نهر دجلة في بغداد وأن بنائه قد تم بالطابوق والخرسانة المسلحة.

الملابس الدينية – "الرسته"

الملابس الدينية الصابئية وتدعى "رستة" وتستعمل في مراسيم التعميد والزواج والوفاة وهي بيضاء ترمز الى كساء النور الذي ترتديه الروح الطاهرة. ويحتفظ اغلب المندائين بهذا الرداء لاستعماله في هذه المناسبات. ويعتقد الصابئة بانهم في زمن ما كانوا لا يرتدون الا البياض, وان من الخطيئة ارتداء الملابس الملونة.

والرستة الكاملة تحتوي على تسعة قطع للكهنة, وسبعة قطع لافراد الطائفة عامة وتتكون من:
القميص – "سدره" وهي من قماش قطني ابيض يعمل حسب المقاسات المطلوبة حوالي ستة اذرع للرجل الحي وسبعة الى ثمانية للميت.

الدشة – او "دشا" وهي رقعة من نفس القماش تخاط من الخارج اعلى الناحية اليمنى من فتحة الصدر.

السروال – "الشروال".

التكه – "تكه" وهي الخيط الذي يشد السروال الى البطن ويترك احد طرفي التكة بدون خياطة وحين يربطان يتدلى الطرف المخاط الى جهة اليمين.

العمامة – "برزنقا" وهي من الموزلين الابيض عرضها حوالي الذراع تلف ثلاثة مرات حول الراس وتترك احدى النهايتين مدلات فوق الكتف الايسر.

االقبوعة – "النصيفة" وهي قطعة طويلة من الخام او الموزلين تلقى على الكتفين.

الزنار – "الهميانة" وهي نسيج مجوف من ستين خيطا صوفيا تحاك بطريقة خاصة. تربط بمسكها بالمنتصف امام الجسم ثم تلف الى الخلف وتقاطع طرفاها ثم تلف الى الامام حيث تعقد عقدتين. وتكون احدى النهايتين مشرشبة وتسمى كركوشة والاخرى مخاطة وتسمى عروه وهذه تكون فوق الكركوشة اثناء الربط وتتدلى الكركوشة الى الجهة اليسرى. ويقول العامي اثناء عملية الزنار هذه الكلمات:
(هميانه اترس, بترين طابى, بترين كطري) اي ارسم الزنار بطهارتين وعقدتين.

التاج – التاغه للكاهن فقط وهي حلقة من الحرير الابيض او القطن.

حلقة ذهب – شوم ياور للكاهن فقط تلبس في خنصر اليد اليمنى مكتوب عليها "شوم ياور زيوا" (الروح العظمى).
كذلك يحمل الكاهن عصا من الزيتون او الصفصاف. فبينما تكون "الرسته" للنور فالعصا وتدعى "مركنة" ترتبط عادة بالماء ويقال عنها (عصا الماء الحي). وتدفن مع الكاهن عند موته.

التعميد

يطلق الصابئة على اول تعمييد للفرد الصابئ اسم تعمييد "زهريثه", وهو التعميد الذي يدخل ذلك الفرد ضمن مجموعة "المندائين الصابئين" وبدونه يبقى الفرد معلقا.

ويجرى التعمييد الاول بعد اليوم الثلاثين من عمر الطفل في يوم الاحد بمساعدة حلالي (فرد من العامة ذو طهارة طقسية معينة) ويقوم هذا الرجل بدور الاب للطفل. يبدأ الكاهن بتعميده اولا ويتلو الكاهن الدعاء اليومي لطلب الرحمة باسم الطفل وفي نهاية الدعاء يلبس الطفل الرسته, وياخذ الاب الطفل ويطلب الاذن من الماء حسب الصيغة المعتادة ثم يدخل الى الماء, ويغمس جسم الطفل في الماء ثلاث مرات ويرش الكاهن الماء فوق رأسه. ويعطى الطفل ثلاث رشفات من الماء ويمسح جبينه بالماء ثلاث مرات, وبعدها يخرج الاب والطفل من الماء. وينطق الاب الدعوات "لكم الصحة والطهارة ايها الملائكة وايها الناس ولكم المياه الجارية والانهار وجميع ما في عالم النور".

وفي الدين المندائي يتكرر التعميد عدة مرات في حياة الشخص, بعضها واجب مثل تعمييد المراة والرجل عند الزواج والتعمييد للمرأة بعد مرور شهر من ولادة الطفل او باقرب فرصة ممكنة. كذلك للاشخاص الذين شاركوا في حمل جنازة المتوفي, وكذلك كل من مارس عملا خاطئا في تطبيق الشرائع الدينية وجب عليه التعمييد لكي يستطيع العودة لممارسة وتطبيق المراسيم الدينية.

اما الانواع الاخرى من التعمييد فتتم في مناسبات الاعياد السنوية, وعيد الخليقة المسمى "بنجه" وكذلك قبل الشروع بتطبيق مراسيم دينية مختلفة. وليس التعميد مقتصرا على الاشخاص بل ايضا يتم تعميد الاواني والادوات التي تستعمل لتحضير الطعام وأية حاجات اخرى.

نرى ان المندائيين يتعمدون عدة مرات على خلاف الدين المسيحي حيث يكون
التعمييد مرة واحدة بحياة الشخص فقط.

شعائر النحر – الذباحة

ان الحلال من الطعام هو كل نبات لة بذر. لحم الأغنام. انواع الطيور, كالدجاج والبط والوز وغيرها. وكذلك الاسماك, ويحرم اكل الغراب والزاغ والزركي وكذلك لحم الجمل والحصان والخنزير والكلب والفار واالارنب والقط. ويعتبرون ذبح الجاموس أو البقر من الجرائم الكبرى ولاتوجد اية اهمية دينية للبقرة. وتناول اللحم لدى الصابئة قليل عمليا. والاتجاة بخصوص عملية النحر اعتذاري مشوب بالندم, وحسب اعتقادهم من الخطيئة أن تنحر حتى اذا كان ذلك حسب طقوس النحر المعتادة . ويجوز النحر في جميع ايام السنة ماعدا أيام الصوم عن اكل اللحم (المبطلات). ويوصى بالنحر في أول كل شهر وفي المناسبات الاخرى كالأعياد والاعراس والمأتم وغيرها.

وتراعي الاموراالتالية عند القيام بنحر الحيوان.

1. تطهير الحيوان المراد نحرة بالماء, والتأكد من نظافته وسلامته البدنية ولايمكن ذبح الحيوان الناقص الخلقة.
2. تطهير السكين بتسخينها وغسلها بالماء, وتكون عادة من الحديد وبدون ممسك خشبي, يستعاض عنه بقطعة من غصن التوت او الغرب.
3. يرتدي القائم بالنحر ملابس دينية خاصة "الرسته", ويكون شخصا صحيح البدن.
4. ضرورة وجود شخص ثاني يشهد بصحة قيام الناحر باصول النحر وبموجب الاصول الدينية ورغبة منه في توفير طعام للناس.
5. يكون الناحر جالسا والشاهد واقفا.
6. تبدأ المراسيم بقراءة الرهمي أي الدعاء التمهيدي وتدقيق الملابس الدينية قطعة قطعة.
7. تتلي صيغة الذبح المرافقة لها وهي:

بسم الحي ربي العليم وباسم
ملائكته النورانيين, نحرا
زكيا يهب قوة وعافية لكل
الذين يأكلون منه واسم الله
العليم مذكور عليك.

بعد الانتهاء من عملية نحر الحيوان يقوم الناحر بغسل يديه وذكر اسم الله تعالى والتحلل من خطيئة الذبح وهو يتلي الدعاء التالي:

باسم الحي ربي العليم ذبحت
بالحديد وحللت يدي بالماء
انا الخاطئ والهي الغافر
قوني واغفر خطاياي وحوبائي
وزلاتي وذنوبي ومساوئي
انا فلان بن فلانة, اسم الله
العليم مذكور علي.

شعائر الزواج

الدين الصابئي يشجع الزواج ويعتبر الاعزب مذنبا تجاه دينه في الدنيا والآخرة, وحسب قول احد الكهنة لو لم تخلق المـرأة لما كـان هناك شمس ولا قمر ولا زراعة ولا ماء.

ان تعدد الزوجات عادة مايكون استثناء لضرورة الخلفة, ويفضل الصابئة الزواج بالواحدة. والمقاييس الاخلاقيـة عندهـم صلبـة. ولا يعترف الدين بالطلاق بل يكون الافتراق هو الحل. ويسمح بزواج الاقارب مثل ابناء العم وابناء الخالات. وليس هنـاك الحـاح على الفتاة اذا ما رات في الزيجة المطلوبة شيئا لا ترغب نفسها فيه. كما لا يوجد حدود للمهر وانما يعتمد على رضا الطرفين. ويتـم عقـد الزواج في يوم الاحد.

وتجتاز الفتاة اختبارا لتحديد عذريتها التي يوليها الصابئة اهتماما كبيرا والتي تحدد بموجبهـا نـوع الطقـوس, ومرتبـه الكـاهن لاجـراء مراسيم الزواج.

ويرتدي كل من العروس والعريس "الرسته" ويتم تعميد العريس بعد الانتهاء من تعميد العروس. وبعد الانتهاء من مراسيم التعميـد يلبس العروسان "رسته" جديدة تهيأ لاتمام القسم الثاني من المراسيم. والـتي تتـم في مكـان معـد لهـذا الغـرض يسـمى "اندرونـا", او المجلس ويقام عادة من القصب النظيف, وتفرش ارضيته بالبواري وتزين اركانه بـالقرنفل واليـاسمين واغصـان الريحـان. وتعـد داخـل المجلس مائدة رمزية تحتوي علي انواع الطعام (طبوثا) من خبز ملح سمك خضار بلح وعنب وجوز ولوز وسمسم وقنـاني مـاء, وخمر "همرا" وهو عبارة عن ماء وضع فيه زبيب وقليل من التمر بعد سحقه. ويعطى العريـس والعـروس مـن هـذا الطعـام ويـوزع البـاقي للحاضرين.
وتسال العروس عادة وهي في مكانها من قبل احد الكهان, وامام الشهود لثلاثـة مـرات مـااذا كـانت راغبـة بـالزواج مـن الرجـل, ويسأل العريس مرتان عن رغبته بالزواج بالفتاة.

وخلال قراءة الادعية واجراء المراسيم, تكسر مشربتان فخاريتان رمزا لكسر الشر والباطل, ويؤدي الزوج قسم الأخـلاص والامانـة (كشطا ياقرا) ويقول فيه:

> هذا عهد قطعته على نفسي امام الشهود باني سأأخذ
> فلانة بنت فلانة زوجة شرعية لي, يشهد الله الحي العظيم
> ويشهد رسله وملائكته الاثيريون ويشهد هؤلاء الكهنة
> والمندائيون, كلهم شهودي باني لن احيد عن عهدي وميثاقي,
> ولن اخون زوجتي أو اغشها وسوف اوليها رعايتي واسالمها
> بالحق وافي بعهودي التي ربطتني بها أمام اللة تعالي.

اما القسم الذي تؤديه الفتاة فيكون بعد ان يناولها الكاهن قطعة الرغيف الذي اكل منه الزوج ويطلب منها أن تقسم انها سوف لاتأكل إلا منه. فتفعل وتكون بذلك قد اعطت وعدا بانها تشاركة الحياة هو وحده.

شعائر الموت

يعتقد الصابئون بان الجسد هو وعاء النفس, وان نفس الانسان نسمة من ذات الله تعالي, وانها لابد عائدة اليه ومتحدة به بعد الموت, لذلك نجدهم يحرصون على طهارة الجسد والنفس قبل الموت, وذلك بالمحافظة على جسم المريض وملابسه وكذلك وجوب حضور احد رجال الدين او احد المتدينين قبيل الوفاة بغية الاستماع الي كلماته الاخيرة والصلات علية قبل الموت. اما بعد الموت فانهم يقيمون الصلوات ويقدمون طعام الغفران في اليوم الاول والثالث والسابع ثم الثلاثون واليوم الخامس والاربعون.

وتقدم الصدقات وتقام الصلوات في ايام الاعياد والمناسبات الدينية طلبا للرحمة ولراحة نفس الميت من لدن الله تعالى. وهذه بعض الاقوال:

لاتبكوا موتاكم, ولا تنهبوا
اموالهم وابلهم, واطلبوا لهم
الصحة, واقرأوا من اجلهم
الصلوات والادعية والكتب
والاسفار طالبين أن تغمرهم
الرحمة الالهية.

التقويم المندائي

تقسم السنة لدى الصابئين الي اثني عشر شهرا ولكل شهر ثلاثون يوما, ويضيفون خمسة ايام كبيسة تسمي (بروانايا) أو البنجة قبل الشهر التاسع, فيكون طول السنة عندهم ثلاثمائة وخمسة وستون يوما, وتنقص سنتهم لربع يوم عن السنة الشمسية (الميلادية), وتبعا لهذا الفرق نجد ان اسماء الاشهر والاعياد والمناسبات لديهم لم تعد في اماكنها من فصول السنة, التي عينت لها في الأصل. واستمر هذا الفرق, وتراكمت الايام, حتى غدا عيد راس العيد السنة الكبير وهو عيد التكريس يقع في اواخر تموز حاليا, في حين ان موقعه الاصلي كان في اول شباط. والصابئون يحسبون بدء الاربع وعشرون ساعة للنهار والليل, من الفجر اي ان يوم الثلاثاء مثلا تتبعها ليلة الثلاثاء. وهذا ينطبق على تقديمهم للنور على الظلام مع تلازمهما فالنهار يسبق الليل والنور يسبق الظلام.

وتقع ليلة القدر ما بين اليوم السادس والسابع من السنة الجديدة, وفيها تفتح ابواب "اباثر" امام المتقين من الناس, فيرون اسرارها ويحصلون على ما يطلبون. وفي هذا العيد تضاء انوار البيوت وتوزع الاطعمة على الفقراء.

ومن الاعياد المهمة:
عيد راس السنة (التكريس) او العيد الكبير, وهو ذكرى هبة الله تعالى "الحياة". ويقولون ان الملائكة الاثيرين قد صعدوا بهذه المناسبة للشكران. ولكن الروح الخبيثة او الشيطان لم يصعد بل بقى لافساد حياة الانسان, ومن اجل ذلك يفضل الصابئة الاجتماع في بيوتهم وتكريس اوقاتهم للعباده والدعاء حتى يتقرر مصير الانسان بتغلب قوى الخير وانتصارها. وتكون مدة التكريس ستا وثلاثون ساعة يخرجون بعدها ويقيمون شعائر العيد في اليوم الاخير من السنة المنتهية اي نهاية كانون الثاني.

العيد الصغير_ وهو عيد الازهار وموعده الاصلي الثامن عشر من ايار (مايس) ويطلق عليه هبة الله الصغرى, وهو ذكرى عودة الملاك الرسول جبرئيل (هيبل زيوا) الى السماء بعد نزوله للارض مبشرا بانتشار النور واندحار الظلام.

عيد البنجة – او عيد الخمسة ايام ويسمى عيد الخليقة (بروانيا), وهي ذكرى الايام التي بلغ بها الخلق تمامه. وتدعى هذه الايام ايام الذكرى (ذخرانا متقريا) وهي ايام مضيئة لانها تمثل فجر الحياة المكتمل, ويقع في نهاية الشهر الثامن, ويقام فيه التعميد والصلوات وتقديم الطيبات على ارواح الموتى.

عيد التعميد – (دهوا اد مانا) وهو ذكرى تعميد الاباء الصالحين القدامى, كشيت وانوش وسام ويحيى يوحنا عليهم السلام. ويقع هذا العيد في نهاية الشهر العاشر.

ان دراسة دين الصابئين مهمة جدا للبحث في العقائد الدينية الاخرى, فهي مهمة حيث المكان والزمان والموضوع, لانها قديمة العلاقة بكل مكان تتعلق به مسيرة الاديان الاخرى, ثم ان لغتها المقدسة تشير الي زمان متوسط بين اللغات القديمة المهجورة واللغة السريانية الحديثة, كما انها ترينا ملتقي التوحيدالقديم والوثنية القديمة.

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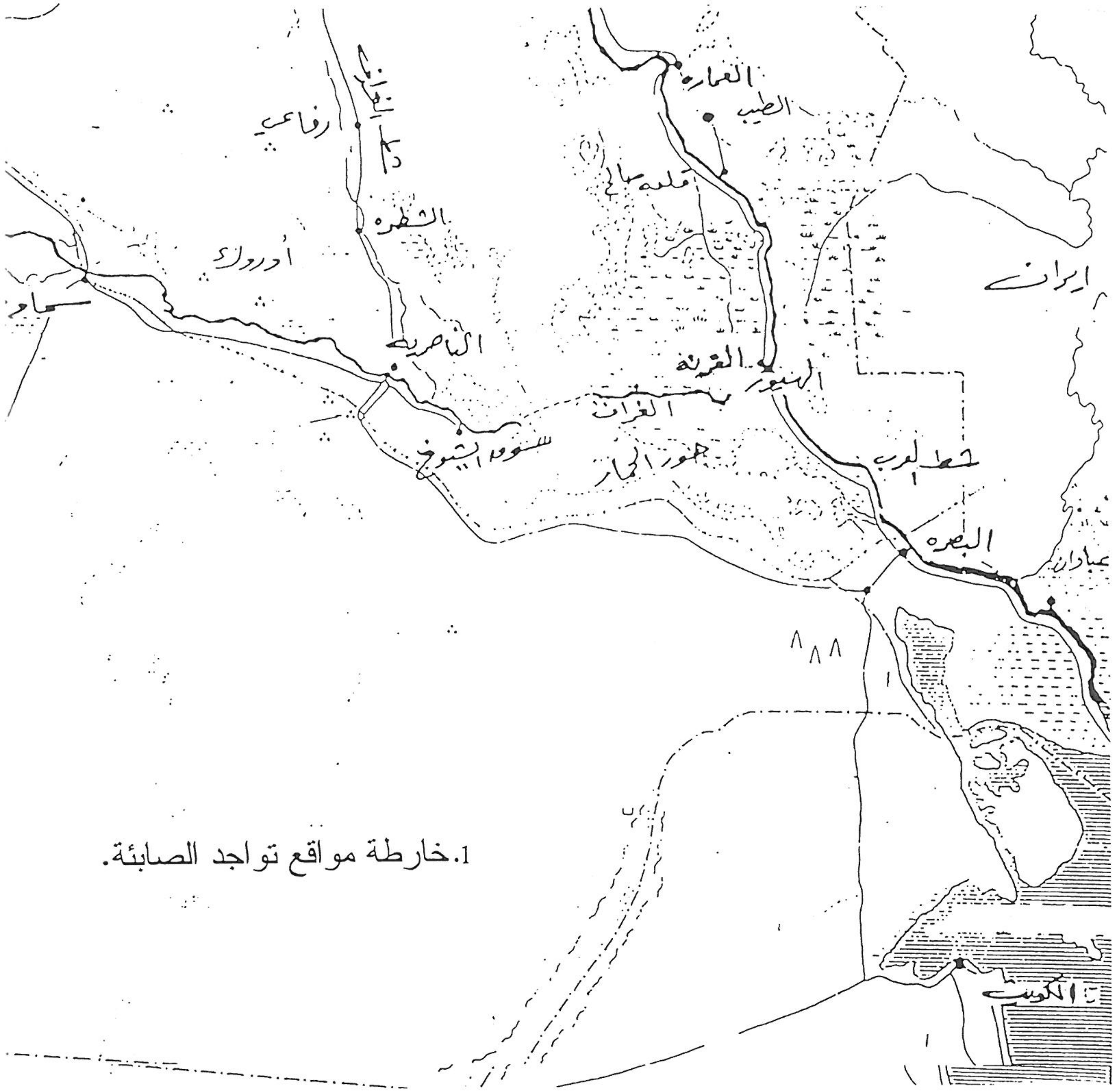

العمارة
الطيب
قلعة صالح
دجلة الغراف
رفاعي
الشطره
أدرواز
الناصريه
سوق الشيوخ
الغراف
القرنة
السيور
هور الحمار
شط العرب
البصره
عبادان
ايران
الكويت
سماو

1.خارطة مواقع تواجد الصابئة.

سورة البقرة

إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ
ءَامَنُواْ وَٱلَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَٱلنَّصَٰرَىٰ وَٱلصَّٰبِـِٔينَ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِٱللَّهِ
وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْءَاخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَٰلِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ
وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ﴿٦٢﴾

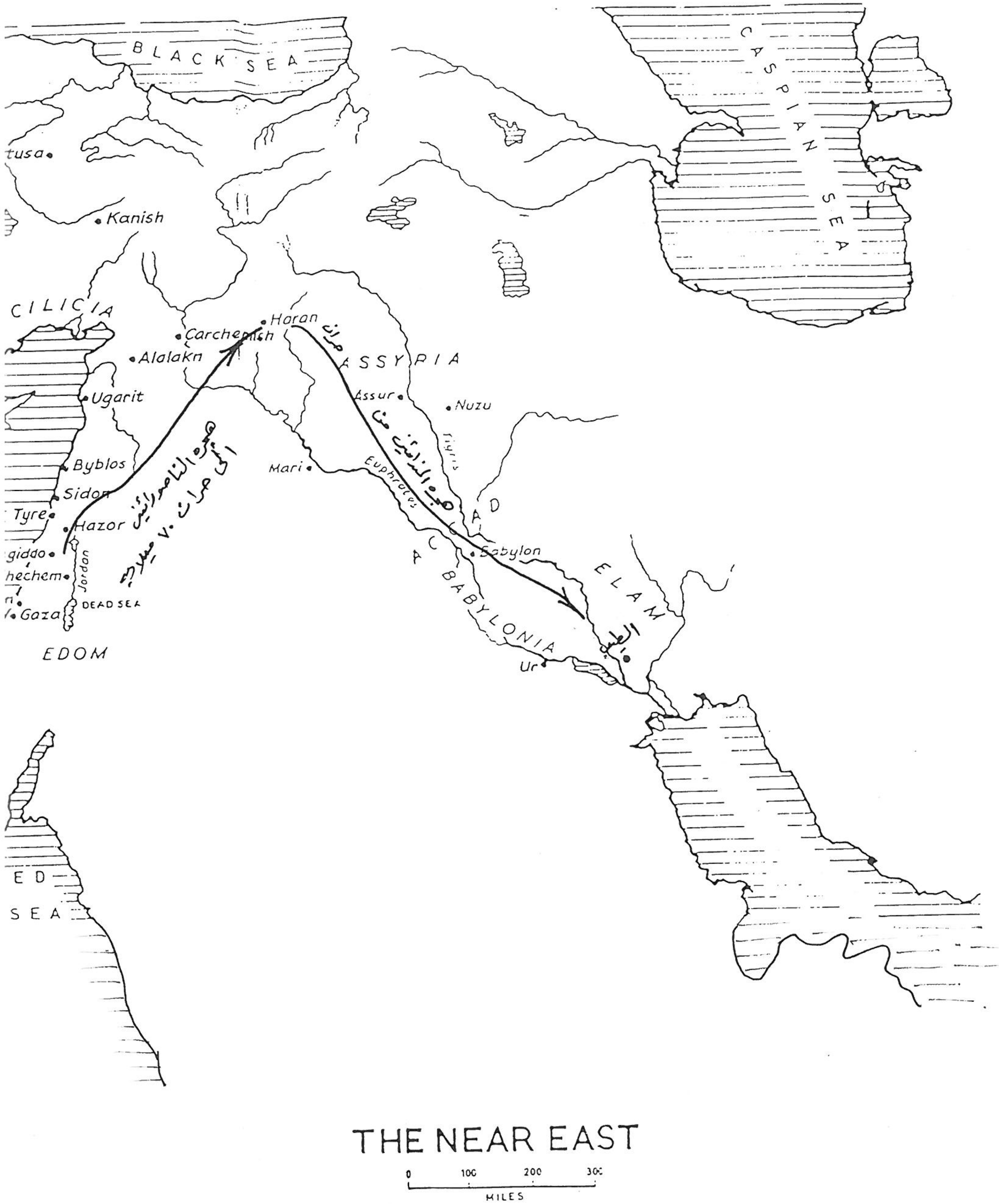
سورة المائدة

إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ وَٱلَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَٱلصَّٰبِـُٔونَ وَٱلنَّصَٰرَىٰ مَنْ ءَامَنَ
بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْءَاخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَٰلِحًا فَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ
يَحْزَنُونَ ﴿٦٩﴾

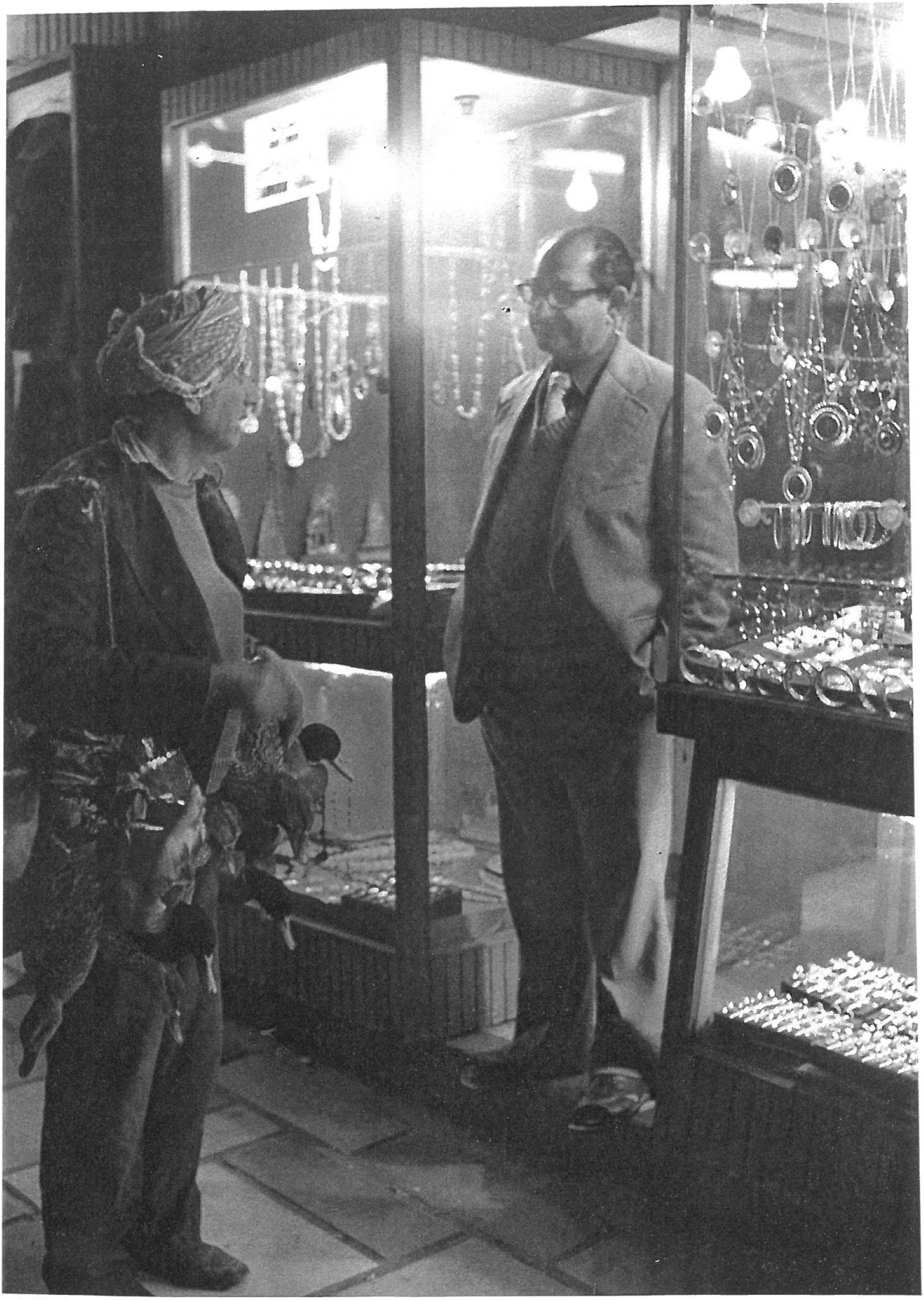
سورة الحج

إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ
ءَامَنُواْ وَٱلَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَٱلصَّٰبِـِٔينَ وَٱلنَّصَٰرَىٰ وَٱلْمَجُوسَ وَٱلَّذِينَ
أَشْرَكُوٓاْ ۙ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يَفْصِلُ بَيْنَهُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَٰمَةِ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
شَهِيدٌ ﴿١٧﴾

2. الآيات الكريمة التي ذكرت الصابئين.


BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
tusa
Kanish
CILICIA
Haran
Carchemish
Alalakn
Ugarit
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Hazor
giddo
hechem
Gaza
Jordan
DEAD SEA
EDOM
ASSYRIA
Assur
Nuzu
Tigris
Mari
Euphrates
AKKAD
Babylon
ELAM
BABYLONIA
Ur
ED SEA
هجرة الناصورائيين
الى حران ٧٠ ميلادية
هجرة المندائيين من حران
الطيب
THE NEAR EAST
0
100
200
300
MILES

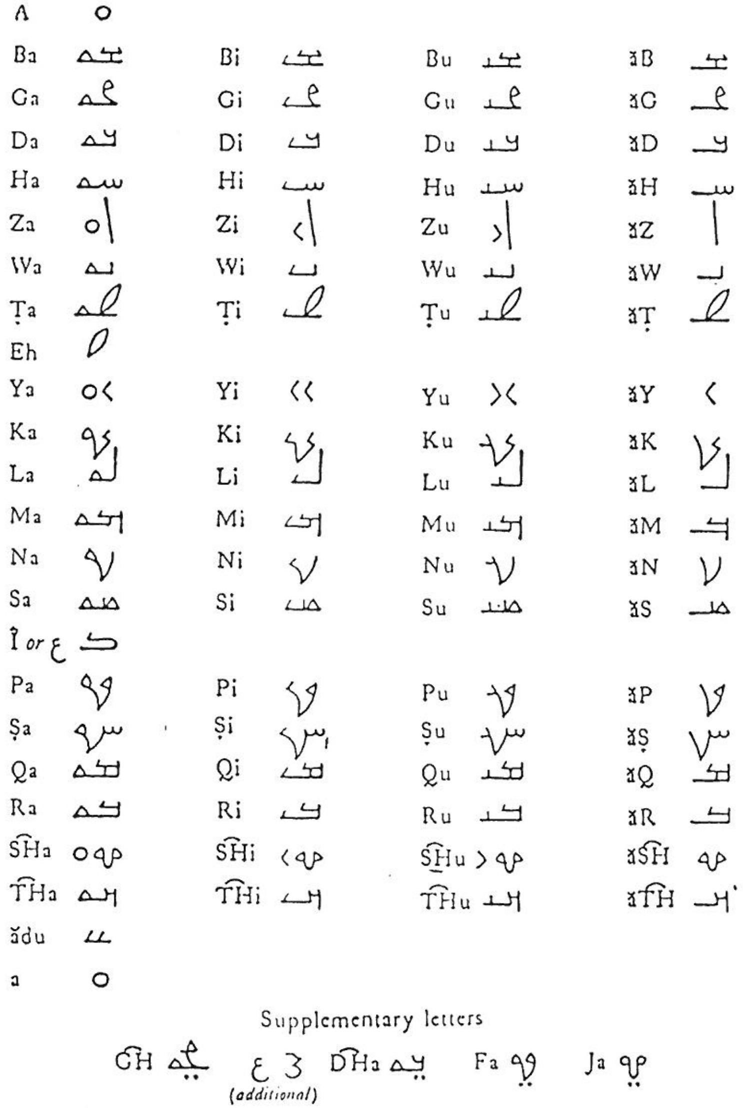
3.خارطة هجرة المندائيون.



4.صائغ الذهب في بغداد.

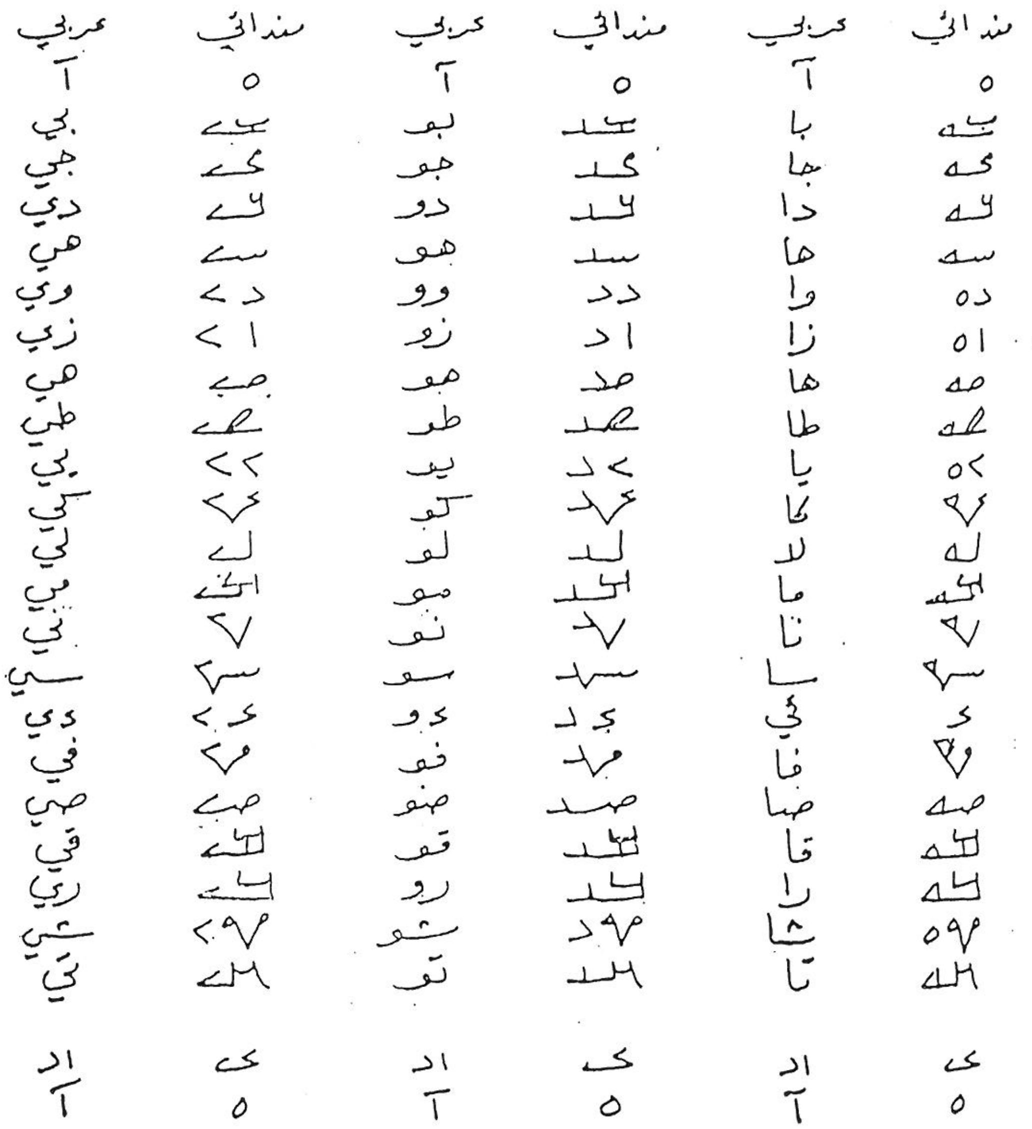
THE MANDAEAN ALPHABET

(as given by Hirmiz bar Anhar)

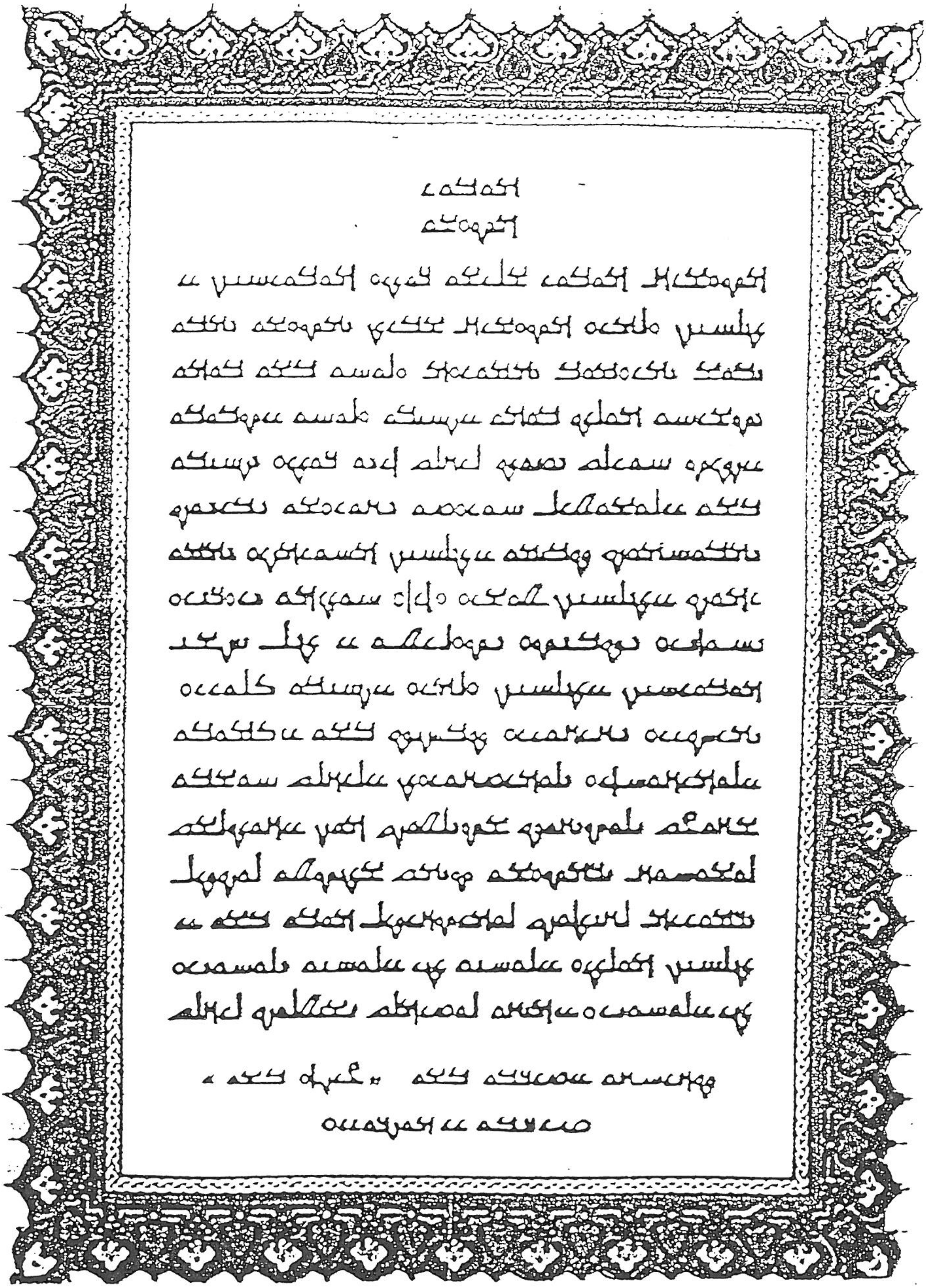

A
Ba Bi Bu ăB
Ga Gi Gu ăG
Da Di Du ăD
Ha Hi Hu ăH
Za Zi Zu ăZ
Wa Wi Wu ăW
Ṭa Ṭi Ṭu ăṬ
Eh
Ya Yi Yu ăY
Ka Ki Ku ăK
La Li Lu ăL
Ma Mi Mu ăM
Na Ni Nu ăN
Sa Si Su ăS
Î or ع
Pa Pi Pu ăP
Ṣa Ṣi Ṣu ăṢ
Qa Qi Qu ăQ
Ra Ri Ru ăR
S̃Ha S̃Hi S̃Hu ăSH
T̃Ha T̃Hi T̃Hu ăTH
ădu
a
Supplementary letters
GH
ع 3
(additional)
D̃Ha
Fa
Ja

[a, e, i, u pronounced as in Italian. ă represents a shortened sound as in 'had', a is broader.]

صور الحروف المندائية مع الحركات


مندائي عربي مندائي عربي مندائي عربي
آ
با جا دا ها وا زا حا طا يا كا لا ما نا سا عي فا صا قا را شا تا
بو جو دو هو وو زو حو طو يو كو لو مو نو سو عو فو صو قو رو شو تو
بي جي دي هي وي زي حي طي يي كي لي مي ني سي عي في صي قي ري شي تي
اد
آ

5.الحروف المندائية.

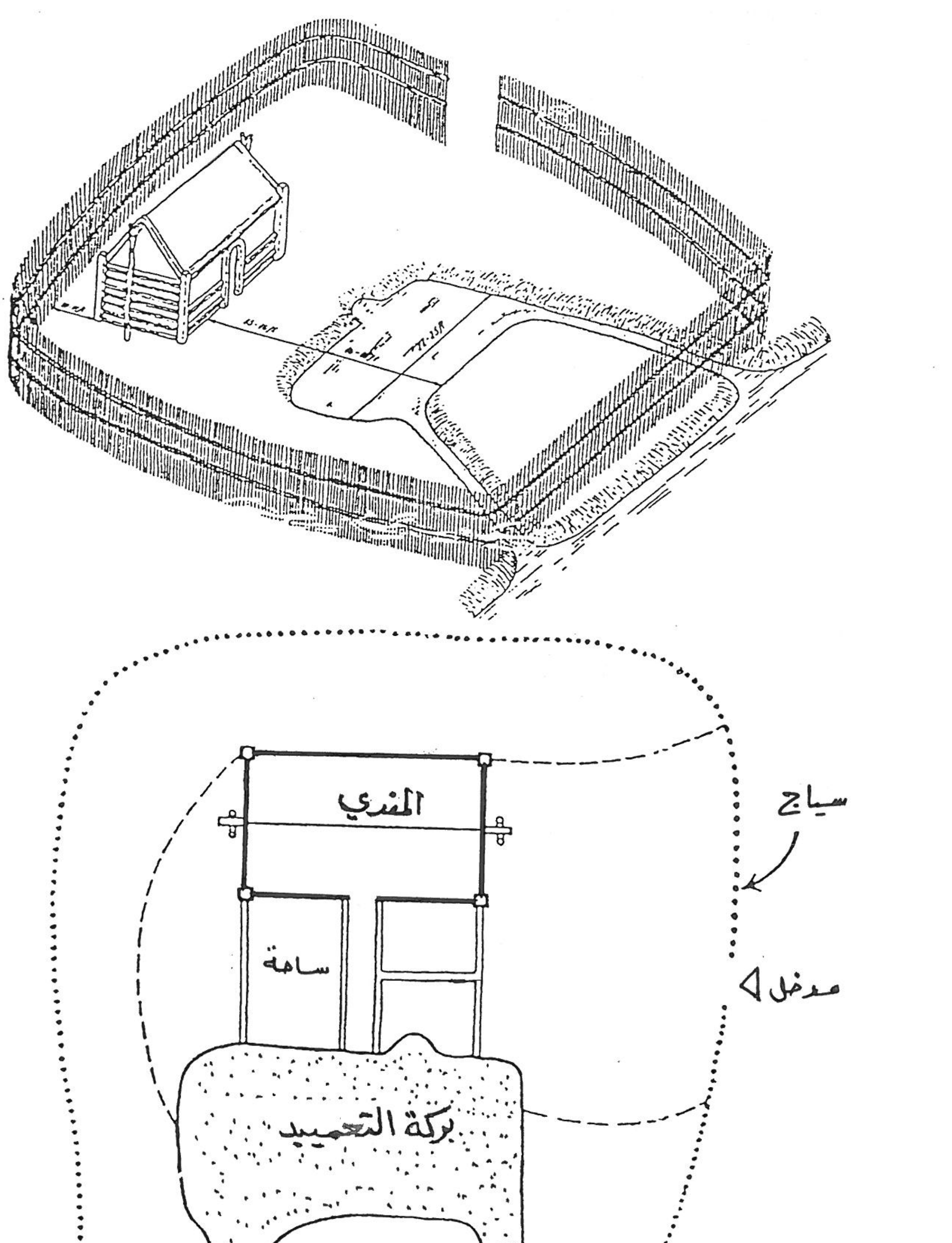


6.مقدمة كتاب كنزا ربا باللغة المندائية.

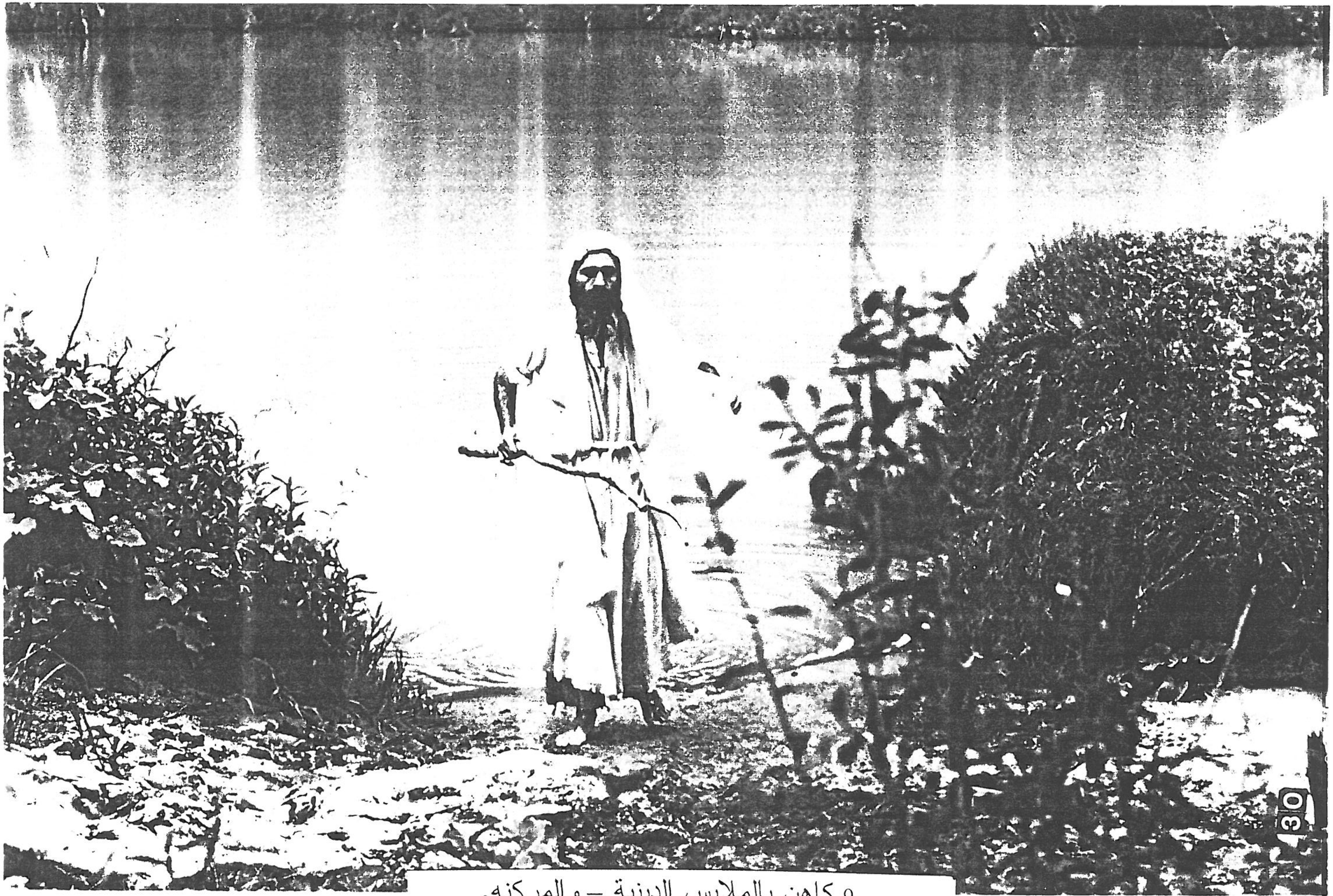
سبحانك رَبي العَظيم
أُسبِّحكَ رَبي بقلبٍ طاهرٍ رَبَّ العوالمِ كلِّها
مُسَبَّحٌ ومباركٌ ومعظَّمٌ ذو الوقارِ والجلال
اللهُ الربُّ العَلي سبحانهُ مَلكُ النورِ السامي.
ذو الحَول الشامل ، الذي لاحدودَ لقدرتِهِ.
النورُ البهيُّ . والضياءُ الساطع الذي لاينضَبْ .
الرؤوفُ التواب . الغَفورُ الرحيم.
مخلِّصُ كلِّ المؤمنين وناصِرُ كلِّ الطيبين.
العَزيزُ الحكيمُ . العَليمُ البصيرُ العارفُ
الذي عَلى كلِّ شيءٍ قديَر .
رَبُّ عوالمِ النورِ جَميعها ، العليا والوسطى والسُفلى.
ذو السيماءِ العظيمِ الموقرِ الذي لايرى ولايحَد.
لاشَريكَ لهُ بمُلكِهِ ولاكفءَ له بسُلطانِهِ.
مَن يَتكلْ عَليه لايُخذَل ، ومن يسبِّحْ إسمَهُ بالحقِ
لايَخيب ، ومن يتوكلْ عَليهِ لايُذَلّ
رَبُّ الملائكة جَميعاً.لا وجودَ بدونِهِ ومَا مِن
شيءٍ لولاه ، أزليٌّ ليسَ لهُ بدايةٌ ،
وأبديٌّ ليسَ لهُ نِهايَة

مِن إفتتاحيةِ الكنز العَظيم «كنزا ربا»
الكتاب المقدس لطائفة الصابئة المندائيين

7. اكواخ القصب في الاهوار.

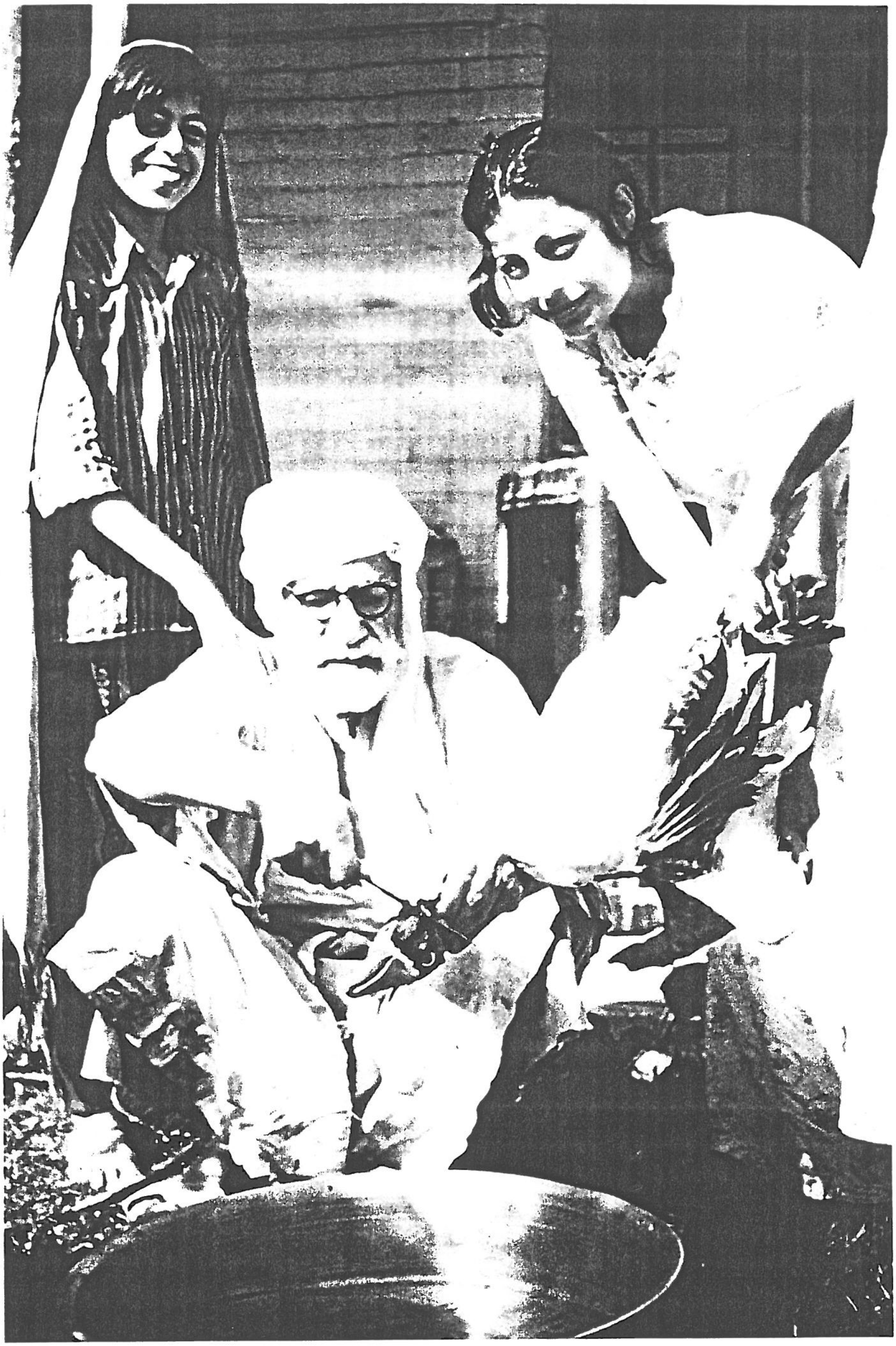

المندي
سياج
ساحة
مدخل
بركة التعميد
الى النهر
من النهر
ماء النهر الجاري
الشمال

8. المندي.



و.كاهن بالملابس الدينية – والمركنه.

10.تعميد طفل.



11.نحر الحيوان – الذباحة.

THE CANONICAL PRAYERBOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

TRANSLATED WITH NOTES BY

E. S. DROWER

hon. D. Litt. Oxford University;
hon. fellow of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
London University

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATŠ	The Thousand and Twelve Questions (*Alf Trisar Šuialia*). Text, transliteration, translation and commentary. By E. S. Drower. (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1959).
BM Or.	British Museum Oriental manuscripts.
D.A.	Diwan Abatur, Studi e Testi, No. 151. Text, translation and notes. By E. S. Drower (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome, 1950).
D.C.	The Drower collection of Mandaean mss. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
D.M.	Textes Mandaïtes (Tome V, Études Linguistiques. Publiés par J. de Morgan (Paris MCMIV).
G.R. r.	(Ginza Rba, right side). GINZĀ, Der Schatz oder Das Grosse Buch der Mandäer. Translated with commentary by Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen, 1925).
G.R. l.	(Ginza Rba, left side). (The same).
J.	Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, Marcus Jastrow, Ph.D., Litt.D. 2 vols. Pardes Publishing House, New York, 1950.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.L.	Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt u. erklärt von Mark Lidzbarski (Berlin, 1920).
MMII	The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends and Folklore. By E. S. Drower (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937).
Pet.	Thesaurus. Liber magnus, descripsit et edidit by H. Petermann. 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1867.
P.S.	A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. J. Payne Smith (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1903).
Š. d-Q	Šarḥ ḏ-Qabin ḏ-Šišlam-Rba, The Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam: transliterated and translated by E. S. Drower. Biblica et Orientalia, no. 12. (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950).
W.W.	Water into Wine: a Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East. E. S. Drower. (John Murray, London, 1956).
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

The first Mandaean book which came into my hands was a small volume of two hundred and thirty-eight pages in a poor handwriting. It was presented to me by an old Mandaean silversmith a year or two after the first world war. This volume inspired me with curiosity, and later, when I had read Lidzbarski's translations and had studied Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, I found that it contained prayers for the minor ablutions, the daily office (the *'niania*) and the *masiqta* prayers.

An early visit to 'Amarah resulted in the acquisition of a damaged and imperfect copy of the entire codex, I mean prayers considered canonical and still used by priests. A head priest (a *ganzibra*) copied into it some of the missing pages, and to these I added others when I had had access to other MSS. Complete copies of the collection are hard to come by, for they are in constant use.

It was not until many years later, in the spring of 1954, that I persuaded the owner of a prayerbook, himself a *ganzibra*, to give me his in exchange for a money gift, for sacred manuscripts are never bought. This codex, No. 53 of my collection, is in a good hand and from it very little was missing. That little I was able to supplement from D.C. 3 and other fragments of the liturgical prayers that I had acquired or seen. It is this manuscript which is photographed and reproduced for the present volume, and into it, regardless of desecration, I have pasted numbering to correspond with the numbers in the translation, following throughout the arrangement of the prayers in the original.

Of the canonical prayers used for centuries by the priests fragments had reached Europe. In 1867 Euting transcribed the *Qulasta* (a word which means "collection") from manuscripts in Paris and London, and this provided Lidzbarski with the greater part of his *Mandäische Liturgien* published in Berlin in 1920. Whilst this volume contains all the baptism prayers and *masiqta* prayers, it represented only about a third of the complete book possessed by Mandaean priests. Important sections, such as the Blessed Oblation prayers and the Coronation prayers are missing.

In presenting the full version I ventured to re-translate into English, and sometimes to differ from the translations made by Lidzbarski. His was a brilliant and scholarly achievement. However, the possession and study of a number of texts unknown to him and, above all, a personal knowledge of Mandaean rites as I have seen them performed and explained by celebrants, elucidate some obscurities although, indeed, far too many still exist, for the language used by gnostics is purposely archaic, symbolic and intended to mystify. Translation often limps when forced into literal rendering of obscure passages. I have been helped by the perusal of ritual texts. These, forbidden to the Mandaean layman, contain traditional teaching about the symbolism and true meaning of the ancient rites during which prayers are recited.

That an ancient gnostic sect should have survived into our time is remarkable: that so many of their writings, their magical texts, their secret doctrine in the ritual scrolls and their liturgical literature has been preserved, is little short of a miracle.

The sect is dying out rapidly: priests are few and old and the numbers of the faithful dwindle year by year. I feel it a privilege to have been brought so nearly into contact with a religion which may before long become extinct.

E. S. Drower

THE CANONICAL PRAYERBOOK OF THE MANDAEANS

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly (lit. "strange") Life! From far-off [1] worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

I

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any 'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House [2] by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is infinite.

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet [3] about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (*my ways*) the Seven were wroth with me and said, 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'."

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[1] *Yatiria* (masc. plu.) could refer either to "the Life" (plu.) or to "worlds". The meaning of *yatiria* ("many", "exceeding", "surpassing", "many", "far-off", "strange" etc.) is vague. Elsewhere in this book I vary the translation, which is uncertain.

[2] "the House" = the earthly world.

[3] In all later texts *klila* (lit. "circlet") and here probably "crown", means always "wreath".

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth [1]) and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara (*Sam-the-White-Fruit?*), whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting[2]) Abode."

And Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Naṣoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons [3]) who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (*their knees*) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

2

Illumined and illuminating is [4]) Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-ḏ-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created 'uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own *škintas*. 1) And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent 2) on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their ?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings!" And Life be praised!

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[1]) *Kušṭa* = Right, Troth, Truth, Sincerity, "a pact" "oath" etc. It is the name given to the rite of giving the hand in pact, and is personified. The hand-ceremony is linked with a kiss.

[2]) *Taqna* has a double meaning (a) lustrous, gleaming (b) enduring, durable, constant (particularly when in antithesis to *baṭla* in *daura baṭla*, "the abode that comes to nought".

[3]) *Almia* ("world") is also "persons".

[4]) *Zhir umzahra* also = "secure and assured". A play on words.

[This prayer is the opening 3) prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa4), son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the *škintas*. For he is the revealer (*lit.* opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure 5) which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

4

As the 'uthras stand in their *škintas* they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their *škintas* they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they

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1) *Škinta* ("dwelling", "indwelling", "shecinah") is also a word used for the cult-hut, the sanctuary.

2) Lit. "granted to", "permitted to".

3) Or "loosing". The word *šrita* is applied both to "conscrating and "deconsecrating" in ritual.

4) *Yawar* (act. part. YUR or 'UR) = dazzling (i.e. blinding with light).

5) D.C. 3 has *l'uṣria*, D.C. 53 *ul'uṣria* as in M.L. p. 7). Lidzbarski inserts *den Schatz* to make the sentence grammatically correct. The omission of *u*, as in D.C. 3, makes the insertion unnecessary. *'Uṣria* also means (perhaps here also) "his mind", "his thought", "minds".

dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (*thereon*).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwa]

5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First *Mana* [1]) which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nṣibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nṣibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head of the implanted *mana* which was transplanted from guarded (?) [2]) *manas*. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the *Mana* there is light, behind the *Mana* glory, and at either side of the *Mana* radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (*lit.* are found). And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

6

A crown of ether-light shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His *škinta*s. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who uplifteth it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who establisheth it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And Life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing" [3]), "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown [4]) and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

---

[1]) *Mana* = "mind", "intelligence": also "garment or robe", "vessel".

[2]) *Mania smiria* "*mana*s kept in reserve?" The language is so high-flown that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect.

[3]) See p. 3 n. 3.

[4]) The priest's "crown" is a fillet of woven white silk.

7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš! Strengthened and enhanced [1] is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest [2] Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy *pandama* [3] for thy baptism.]

8

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kušṭa) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (*as*) messenger [4] to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzaṭaq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh [5] the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and wellpleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

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[1] The difficulty is the word *Haial* (see M.L. p. 11, n. 1). *Kbar* = "enhanced", "increased", but *haial* remains doubtful. The prayer is repeated, p. 32.

[2] Read *ḏ-hua upta* as in D.C. 3.

[3] I.e. the long end of the turban when folded over the lower part of the face, to prevent breath, spittle or mucus from defiling sacraments. Cf. the Avestan *paitidana* (mouth-veil), Pahlevi *padam*, Pazand *penōm* and the modern Zoroastrian *padān*.

[4] Sumerian *aš-gan-da* "minister, messenger", Accadian *ašgandu*. The name given to the helper or server at Mandaean rites.

[5] Read *uahid* as in D.C. 3 and M.L.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš [1]), sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods; whose (*very*) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgment and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (*their souls*) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. [2]) Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (*but*) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper [3]) incense-pan - (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (*lit.* "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises" "Thee, Life," "I sought to raise eyes" (*Prayer* 77) and "Raising eyes".]

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[1]) Abel, Seth and the Biblical Enoch. (Anuš)

[2]) Cf. the Jewish "bundle of life" (O.T., I Sam. xxv, 29)

[3]) "Copper incense-pan". The *bit riha* or *birihia* (for description of the incense apparatus see MMII p. 106) is now made of earthenware.

9

Raising [1] my eyes and lifting up my countenance [2] toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (other-worldly) Life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded *manas* and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the *pihta* [3], need(?) [4], truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yušamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of of souls of (*their*) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

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[1] The infinitive of a verb used for an action during its performance is an idiom found fairly often in Mandaean texts: hence here "to raise" = "raising".

[2] Read *gilia parṣufai*. Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 15) translated Wellen des Antlitzes. *Gilia* suggests rounded contours, hence "features". In translation it is best omitted.

[3] *Pihta*, "the opened", "The "opened up" is the sacramental bread.

[4] *Ṣarka*. The meaning is doubtful.

I worship, laud and praise Šilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-ḏ-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance[1]) of the First Life which flowed forth[2]) from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him [3]) (and?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious.

11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose *škinta* is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded *mauas* which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (*in me*), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

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[1]) "The great pure radiance" must refer, not to Sam-Smir, but to the Jordan,

[2]) The verb NGD as Lidzbarski comments, (M.L. p. 18, n.1) is usually connected with water or with the *drabša* (light or banner. The mss. vary, D.C. 53 *ngad*, D.C. 3 *ngid:* M.L. has *'tingid*.

[3]) The first part of the hymn is obscure. Were it "aus Bihram" as Lidzbarski translates, it would be *minḫ mn Bihram*, moreover, the word *ma before* "four hundred" is meaningless. The baptist is Sam-Ziwa, although one would expect Bihram-Rba to be the officiating baptist. The formula at baptism is "Thou art immersed (baptised) with the baptism of Bihram-Rba". The names of Bihram and Ram are coupled in Prayer 25.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, " Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (*with heat?*). The *tanna*1) dissolved and a *škinta* came into being, a *škinta* came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious

[Read this prayer and grasp thy *kanzala* (stole). 2). It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Šilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Šitil and Anuš went with me to the jordan - they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement3) to the limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and

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1) This very obscure prayer does little to elucidate the meaning of the word *tana* (Tanna ?) but here, and in other passages, it might mean vapour here or a matrix. *Tannas* are often personified, as in prayer No. 305, and mentioned with *niṭufiata* ("Drops"). Lidzbarski always left the word untranslated, and so must I!

2) The *kanzala*, a long strip of white material, is used to loop round the staff when the baptist goes into the river and sticks the end of his staff in the river mud. The loop prevents the staff from floating away, and frees both the baptist's hands.

3) D.C. 53 *pralia hindamia*, D.C. 3 *pralia handamia*, M.L. *prulia handamia*. See also p. 17. The verb PRA (cf. פרע "to break through", "to loosen") also means "cause to move or to flow". (See Pet. v. 17: 20; D.C. 36: no. 174 etc.) when used for the command to clear channels to the baptismal pool so that water may flow through it without obstruction.

(yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arise.

Their hands fell (*powerless*) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Šilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal[1]) of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain.

And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (*etc.*). And descend (*into the water*) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N."

If there are several souls, recite as written (*above*), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N. and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings - these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sam-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it (*by its power*) Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls who go down to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (*-bed*), then recite the baptism(*al prayers.*)]

15

Bound is the sea[2]), bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants [1]), haunting spirits[2]), and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House![3])

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[1]) "'*siqta*" = "seal", "seal-ring" and "compulsion".

[2]) *Yama* here refers to the tank of running water called the *yardna*, or, alternatively, to a shallow part of a river. Salt water is forbidden.

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA [4]) and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea *(of?)* AS. Bound are (Magian) priests [5]), slaughterers [6]), priests who cut up victims,[7]) scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon *(exorcised)* by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye [8]) towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which were sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, with which Haiašum, the first Kušṭa, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

16

I am a perfected gem [9]): into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if I strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance [10]) against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck [1]) by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus [2]), the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (*yea*) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mān the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

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[1]) *Piqdia.*

[2]) Lidzbarski translates Netzgeister. The root is LHA, my translation is tentative.

[3]) See p. 1, n. 2,

[4]) Words in capital letters, magical names of some kind.

[5]) *Kumria* indicates priests who wear the "sacred thread": Magians.

[6]) *Zabia* Lidzbarski suggests connection with the Assyrian *zabbu.*

[7]) עדר "to cut, strip".

[8]) A free translation: the Evil Eye is implied.

[9]) *Gimra,* apparently a precious or semi-precious stone. Its whiteness, and several references in the Ginza Rba (e.g. G.R. trs. p. 172 l.11) suggest that it is a pearl, i.e. the soul.

[10]) See p. 7, n. 2.

And Life is victorious.

17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-ḏ-Hiia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving [3]) the limbs of my body: I descend (*to the jordan*) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living [4]). Šilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Šum-Hai and Zamar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (*from the body*). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Uṣar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (*who are*) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (*of light*). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

18

In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings [5]), is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna [6]). When Life was ardent[1]) and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its *škinta* above the *Tanna*.

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[1]) Like Lidzbarski, I suggest that the verb should be Ethpeel.

[2]) *'usfar* in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 (M.L. p. 24:2 *'sfar*). As *'usfar* occurs in D.C. 21 with the seeming meaning of a cutting instrument, I take it here to be part of the name of a spirit.

[3]) See p. 9, n. 3.

[4]) *ḏ-hiia*, not here "of the Life", but as translated.

[5]) Lit. "healings": plural to agree with *hiia*.

[6]) The proximity of *'qad* to *yaqid* twice over justifies the translation. It is tempting, however, to think of the Syriac and ܥܩܕ Arabic عقد "bind together", "materialise", "determine." The obscure language which priests no longer understand, suggests the spontaneous emergence of life from a fiery matrix. For *Tanna*, a word of doubtful meaning, see p. 9, n. 1.

The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters[2]). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (*creatures*); above the the waters fruit appeared[3]) and a *škinta* was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (*in the name of*) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yušamin[4]) who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by Šilmai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (*go*) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (*i.e. world*) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (*in the faith*) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality[5]), I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question (tortured). (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (*Kušṭa*) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[*Then cry*] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head".[Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and

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[1]) See n. 6, p. 12.

[2]) I.e. Life produced and was innate in water-of-life.

[3]) Lit. "bore fruit", "came forth".

[4]) *Yušamin*, a spirit of fertility and increase.

[5]) *Šrara*.

and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer [1]).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N. [2]), thou hast been signed [3]) with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia have been pronounced upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreaths and place them upon their heads. [4]) When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring [5]) be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree [6]) be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Šišlam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the *Mana* and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced on thee."

Then reach them (*perform with them the rite of*) *kušṭa* [7]). And he shall go up before thee (*on to the bank*). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

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[1]) I.e. he shall face north. The north is also called "the gate of Mercies". M.L. has "their faces" etc.

[2]) The mother's name, not the father's.

[3]) The signing consists of drawing the wet forefinger of the right hand across the forehead, horizontally, from right to left.

[4]) This should be "the myrtle-wreath upon his head" etc. as only one person at a time stands in the baptismal pool with the baptist.

[5]) Ritual mss. explain the "Wellspring" as the female or "Mother" aspect of creative power.

[6]) The *Sindirka*, "palmtree" symbolises the male or "Father" aspect of creative power.

[7]) See p. 2, n. 1.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but if only one soul say "the soul of N. who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban [1] set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (*the tendrils*) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest [2]].

20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance [3] and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its uplifting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; if only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank *and recite "I rose up from the Jordan"* [4].]

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[1] In D.C. 53 written *haza zban*, not as a single word. See ML p. 29 n. 2.

[2] Again, the singular would be better. Before the person baptised leaves the water, the baptist pushes a myrtle-wreath beneath the turban of the candidate.

[3] Lit. "radiances" and "lights". They are personified here.

[4] Not in D.C. 53.

21

In the name of the Life!
I rose up from the jordan
And I met a group of souls,
A group [1] of souls I met,
Who surrounded our father Šitil [2]
Saying to him "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the Jordan."!
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Sun hath risen above us;
He will be our witness!"
"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The sun of which ye spake,
Riseth early, setteth at dusk.
The sun of which ye spake, the sun
Is vanity and cometh to an end.
Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,

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[1] Nöldeke translates *kana* Gesamtheit. "Congregation", "assembly expresses the meaning: *kana ḏ-zidqa* means "a collection (or "a group") of oblations. (*Zidqa* has no plural.)

[2] Seth.

The moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand [1].
The fire of which ye spake -
Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
I met a group of souls
Who surrounded our father Šitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Šitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"

"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, kušṭa and *mambuha* [2])
Will bear witness for us;

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[1] *Auda.*

[2] The sacramental bread, the *kušṭa* rite and the sacramental drink.

Habšaba, (Sunday) and *Kana-ḏ-Zidqa* 1)
Will bear witness for us;
The sanctuary 2) in which we worship
Will bear witness for us;
The alms that is in our laps
Will bear witness for us;
And our father 3) who is our head
Will bear witness for us."

"This is that which I seek,
This is that which my soul desireth!
When I rise to the House of Life
And travel to the Everlasting Abode,
When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses
Will come and will bear witness.
Witnesses of the truth are they,
Sure is all that they say!"
And Life is victorious!

[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (*believe in*) the great celestial Womb 4), in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in *Ṣbabut*, the mighty Will 5) of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling" 6) giving His Likeness its dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest 7) from which He derived His being.

(*We believe in*) Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbaṭ, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception 8), in its second (*outflow*), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (*Life*), Yukabar, the Word

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1) The oblations collected for the Blessed Oblation.
2) *Maškna*, *škinta* and *bimanda* are names given to the Mandaean cult-hut.
3) The priest.
4) *Mariba* = "womb" and "mixing-bowl". The Cosmic Womb.
5) *Ṣbuta* = "affair", "business", "matter"; or, as here, צְבוּתָא "will", "desire".
6) *Škinasar* (*škina sar*; ܫܟܝܢܐ ܣܪ)
7) *Qina* = (b) "nest", "brood", "family-home".
8) *Kiniana* (a) = "name", (b) nature, (c) place of origin", "base", "support".

of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor.

And Life is victorious.

23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river 1)-pleasaunce, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Manda-ḏ-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange 2) being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, 1) son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (*given*) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth 3) will assume the nature of Anuš, within him 4) he will take on the nature of Anuš. From him the seven dolours of death and the eight afflictions 5) of darkness shall

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1) *Yardna* = not only the "jordan" (baptismal tank) see p. 9, n. 3, but all running water. *'udna* = "a watered garden", "Eden", "a watermeadow". (P. عدن).

2) "Strange" i.e. "other-worldly", "sublime".

3) I.e. his speech.

4) Lit. "in his within", "in his inside".

5) *Mbaklauata*. Lidzbarski (see M.L. p. 37 n. 2) leaves the word untranslated. In Syriac ܒܘ̈ܟܠܐ = "sour or unripe grapes", "galls" hence fig. "bitternesses", "afflictions".

violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, *shedim*, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

And Life be praised!

24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed.

For [1] He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon them [2]) [?]

This is the Oil *wherewith* he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and bestowed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (*They will be delivered*) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female *biruq* [3]) and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth: on the sick man and he stretcheth

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[1] Lidzbarski suggests that "he" here is Manda-ḏ-Hiia.

[2] The passage is faulty.

[3] *Biruq;* a kind of demon?

(*himself*); on the blind man and (*his eyes*) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end [1]). The name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the *kušṭa* (rite). Then recite [2]) and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face - thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the *pihta* and *mambuha* and give them *pihta* that they may eat and *mambuha* that they may drink and take their right hands in *kušṭa*. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (*Water of Life*) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-ḏ-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-ḏ-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbaṭ the first great Radiance; praised be Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty *Mana*; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (*škinata*); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Šilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father Hibil, Šitil and Anuš the head of the whole race.

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[1]) Or "be successful" "efficacious".

[2]) Delete (*qria*) "recite".

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, *shedim*, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (*all those*) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-ḏ-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (*behold*) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities [1]) do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight [2]) Manda-ḏ-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy [3]) prayer from the Occult and assure (*to us*) bliss in Thy light in the name of Šarhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Šarhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (*together*) [4]) and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of Life.

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[1]) All kingdoms of earth?

[2]) Lit. "in thy presence", "before thee".

[3]) Prayer addressed to the Life.

[4]) "Bound" i.e. together: or "secured."

And Life be praised!

27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Uṣar-Hiia: through 'Uṣar-Hai and Pta-Hai union[1]) with the House of Life came to us: Manda-ḏ-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our *mana*, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran [2]) our vestment; with Hauraran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

28

Bound (*together*) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Hauraran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the being Yukabar, the (*well-*) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (*Protect them*) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted [3]) shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

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[1]) Pael of LUF "to unite" (many into one); hence "communion" might be the better word.

[2]) The Mandaean love of play on words suggests here a connection with the Pael of the verb HUR ("to cleanse", "to whiten") hence *hauran* "our whitening".

[3]) Or, "guilty".

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When . . was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ". . By 'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to [1]) the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them *pihta* and *mambuha*. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst *manas* of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ye be raised up.

And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul."]

30

In the name of the Life!

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke [2]) and gave me bread (*pihta*),
Blessed [3]) the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He passed into the mountain before me;
He cried loudly that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried loudly,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I climb the mountain I shall fall;
I shall overturn and perish from the world!'
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I climbed the mountain and fell not,
I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

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[1]) Lit. "with all thy voice".
[2]) Lit. "opened" i.e. "broke open".
[3]) Lit. "praised".

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty Life).
He passed into the fire before me;
And cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into fire I shall burn,
I shall scorch [1]) and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into fire and burned not,
I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
Took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He entered the sea before me;
He cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud.
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into the sea I shall sink,
I shall be overturned and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into the sea and was not drowned,
I came, the life of my Self I found,

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[1]) Ethpa. KMR has a double meaning in Mandaic: "to turn over", "turn round" (or "back") and "to burn, scorch".

Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world
And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (*recite?*) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say "amongst *manas* of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (*planted*)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Šilmai baptised me with his baptism", "The jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank"

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Šum (Shem) son of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (*say*) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (*on the heads of*) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the *Rahmia*[1] for the souls thou baptisest. Say "these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign."

And beware: from the beginning to this point recite all thy baptism(*al prayers*) with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform *kušṭa* with them[2] and say to them "*Kušṭa* make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed[3] in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their *škinta*s[4]. Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance."

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[1] The devotional prayers to be said daily at certain hours.

[2] See p. 2, n. 1.

[3] Lidzbarski takes *laf* for an imperative. The act of communion has, however, taken place when this is said.

[4] Every act of devotion on earth is paralleled in the world of light, and the earthly cult-hut has its heavenly prototype.

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands [1]). If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the *kušṭa* with them and say to them "*Kušṭa* heal thee and raise thee up. Thy *kušṭa* shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your *kušṭa* shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have acted (*according to*) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (*all things?*) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised [2])". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (*found*) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-ḏ-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and *Rahmia* [3]) for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Šum son of Noah. And sit [4]) and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out [5]) at "forgiving of sins" (*be there for*) "our forefathers" (*etc.*) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men [6]) and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the *pihta* and *mambuha* and recite the eight *pihta* prayers for the *pihta* and the two *mambuha* prayers for the *mambuha*. Dip the *pihta* in the *mambuha* and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy *pandama* and unfasten it. Eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha* and drink the rinsing-water [1] and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (*Great*) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (*the words*) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the *Rahmia* for thyself. Perform the *kušṭa* with the *šganda* [2] and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy *pandama* and honour thy crown [3].]

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[1]) I.e. their own hands.

[2]) The 360 baptisms of purification on his return from the worlds of darkness.

[3]) The daily office (see p. 26, note 1.)

[4]) In practice this prayer is never recited sitting. Whilst reciting it, the priests crouch near the ground.

[5]) I.e. water from the *qanina* (phial) into the drinking-bowl.

[6]) D.C. 3 inserts some words here. M.L. is like D.C. 53.

31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee [4] and thy ministration will be (*noted?*) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (*too*) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious [5]. It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.]

[In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, by means of these (prayers) [6], admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll *The Great Wellspring*. This is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure *mana* into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

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[1] The *kalalta*. Water is brought in by the server for the rinsing.

[2] See p. 5, n. 4.

[3] "Honouring" the crown is a ceremony that takes place before a priest puts it on, and when he takes it off. He kisses it and presses it to each eye alternately saying (right eye) "*Kušṭa ašiak tagai*", and (left eye) *Kušṭa asiak rbai*". The formula should be repeated 61 times.

[4] The priest is addressing the incense.

[5] Or "with the pure".

[6] D.C. 3 has *'niania* before *zharia*.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"[1])

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the *qauqa* [2]) (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-ḏ-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited [3]) "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his *pandama*, folded his *pandama* over his mouth and recited "Incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith "covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole [4]).

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles [5]) thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

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[1]) Pthahil, who created Adam's body, was unable to give it life.

[2]) The *qauqa* (a small terracotta cube) is placed on the *birihia*. (See MMII, p. 106). See p. 6, n. 3.

[3]) In D.C.53 the narrative becomes directions to the priest in the imperative. I continue to use the narrative form.

[4]) The myrtle-wreath is slipped over the staff in the water and the knotted stole looped over the staff, which is pushed upright into the river-bed, in such a way that it cannot fall or float away.

[5]) Lit. "tracings", "drawings". The priest traces the circles about himself as he stands in the water, with the end of the staff.

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (*Hibil-Ziwa*), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (*Adam's*) head and pronounced the secret names over him.

(*Then*) he took his hand in *kušṭa* over the staff and made him go up before him.

(*Then*) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (*of souls*) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (*the hymn*). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (*Adam's*) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed *kušṭa* with him. (Then) he took the *pihta* and recited the eight prayers for the *pihta* over the *pihta* and the two prayers for the *mambuha* over the *mambuha*. And he gave him the *pihta* so that he should eat and gave him the *mambuha* that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (*water*) [1]).

And he grasped his hand in *kušṭa* and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Uṣar-Hiia" and the greater (*longer*) "Bound and sealed" and laid his hand upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up",

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[1]) M.L. omits "and he drank the rinsing". It should be omitted.

"Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Šilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptised will bear us witness", and "I rejoice in my priests and Naṣoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Šum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his *kanzala* (stole) and "honoured" his crown [1]).

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-ḏ-Hiia hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his *pandama*. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) [2]) of the Great Wellspring: Šilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hurl him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Naṣoraean who retains his *pandama* whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments [3]) will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons [4]) will be powerless over him (*for*) he will not pass through the Purgatories [4]).

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

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[1]) See p. 28 n. 3.

[2]) D.C. 3 and M.L. both have *širiana* for *kiniana*.

[3]) D.C.3 has "his head".

[4]) Mandaean literature, especially the *Diwan Abatur*, justifies this translation. The planetary watchhouses are places of purgation.

This is the limit [1] (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the *Great Wellspring* belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. [2]

It was written in the town of Ṭib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possesion [3] I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

THE MASIQTA [4]

32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-ḏ-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous. [1]

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[1] Lidzbarski translates *Verordnung* and gives the reason in footnote 1, M.L. p. 60.

[2] According to Yaqut Ṭib was in his time inhabited by Nabataeans who spoke Nabataean (i.e. Mandaic ?). According to the *Haran Gawaita* it was the first settlement of the Naṣoraeans when they migrated from Harran under the protection of the Parthian kings. In the same manuscript, as in many other colophons, Ramuia son of 'Qaimat is mentioned as a liturgist who collected scattered texts, edited them and distributed them in early Moslem times.

[3] Lit. "fell towards me" i.e. "fell into my hands".

[4] "The raising up" (i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul).

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the *masiqta.*]

33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life [2] art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (*this*) world abashed and say "Is there (*not?*) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (*kušṭa*) and from the souls of this *masiqta*, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (*or "the living"*) in Its (*their*) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.

[This is the *mambuha* prayer]

34

Hail [3] to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzaṭaq, *Gnosis* of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence[1]), giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are still alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

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[1] Or "noble" or "distinguished".

[2] *Mia hiia* could almost always be so translated in ritual mss. Lit. "living waters". In the material sense "living water" is flowing water.

[3] *Hal* here is best translated "hail". It is a salutation, a greeting. In Prayer 5 I translated it "yea for" (Lidzbarski M.L. ja für) because the incense is a tribute to the spirits named.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of *Gnosis* of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this *masiqta* rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the *masiqta*.]

35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people[2]) who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (*worlds*). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood[3]), and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (*in thy sight*) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-ḏ-Hiia, no man is clean: we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us, who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

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[1]) See Prayer 8. Lit. "showeth forth silence".

[2]) Cf. ܟܢܘܫܬܗ "a body of people, congregation, company".

[3]) Cf. ܩܪܩܡܐ: plu. "tree-roots cast up by flood".

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish [1] human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed [2], swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (*what ye asked*) with the right hand of *kušṭa*. [3]

The first (*generations*) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied." [4]

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support [5] which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. [6] For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia.

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[1] The sentence is obscure. See M.L. p.66, n.2. The prefix *mi* shows it to be a question.

[2] *Hurda* not *hurba*. See M.L. p.66, n.3. The picture is of a swamp country, similar to that in which Mandaeans live today, the marshes of southern 'Iraq.

[3] Here *kušṭa* is the ritual act, see p. 2, n.1.

[4] Lit. "empty".

[5] *'Uṣṭuna*, also "body", "corporation", "trunk", "pillar".

[6] D.C. 53 has *mindia;* D.C. 3 and M.L. *mandia* (a curious plural in classical Mandaic).

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (*this*) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me[1]) in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth. thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (*Though*) spirits and souls sit (*here*) as guilty, (*yet*) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (*thy name of*) Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (*bring?*) healing of life to the souls of this *masiqta* Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (*it may be used*) on occasion for the *Rahmia* (daily office), or for the *masiqta*, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the *masiqta*, after thou hast recited over the *pandama*, "water of prayer" [2]) and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the *pihta*, *mambuha* and *klila* (wreath) and set them out for the *masiqta*. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean: in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the *masiqta*.]

36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to him; (*none existed*) save that great, secret, First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

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[1]) Read *'tlan* as in M.L. D.C. 3, like D.C. 53 has *'tlun*.

[2]) "Water of prayer" is water drawn from the jordan like *mambuha*, but that poured into the "inner phial" used for the commingling - the ritual addition of water to the *hamra* (wine).

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop [1]) who emanated from Him. They existed, (*but*) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort

Then I worship, laud and praise Šar, that great occult first Vine, who was with them.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance [2]) of Glory who is (*at once*) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Naṣoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread [3]) will receive condemnation from the House of Life,"

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

37

I worship, laud and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of [4])

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[1]) *Niṭufta* ניטופתא lit. "Drop". This curious appellation appears to designate the Female principle of Creation, the consort of the creator, or rather the receptive and productive side of creative deity. Because of its female character, the *Niṭufta* represents in certain texts the material side of the human spirit. For an analysis of her appearance in Mandaean texts see J.B. p. 227. Used in the plural *niṭufiata* = spirits of life of a productive (i.e. female) character.

[2]) Or, "Presence".

[3]) *Pihta* is the sacramental bread and the verbs PTA and PTH (or PHT) used in conjunction with it, describe the act of ritual breaking, of bread, and sometimes of the whole sacramental act of partaking of it. *Mqaimatum* (etc.) is repeated by a celebrant after making, baking and consuming his own *pihta* at the rite of preparation before baptism and again after the baptism and communion of the baptised. He usually makes and bakes three times, twice for himself and once for the person or persons baptised.

[4]) A Cloud is a spirit of life (female again, like a "Drop"). The word is used for a "divine consort", a "heavenly spouse". As priests are the earthly representatives of 'uthras and *malkas*, their wives are sometimes spoken of as "clouds" or "drops".

Life, with whom in secret, he [1] broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life is victorious.

38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty *Mana* at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras entreated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own [2] glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Naṣoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

40

I have worshipped and praised 'Uṣar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (*find*) rest in their hearts.

The holy [3] 'uthras stood in their dwellings [4] and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

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[1] Lidzbarski translates for *pta pihta* "das Pihta ..schuf" throughout these hymns. It may refer to the sacramental "breaking of bread" see p. 37, n. 3.

[2] I.e. in the glory of Yawar-Ziwa and his *Dmuta* (Likeness or Counterpart)? The plural seems unjustified by the context.

[3] *Kasia* plu. *Kasiia*, "mystic", "occult" can sometimes be better rendered by the word "holy".

[4] The various meanings of *škinta* must be borne in mind: i.e. "dwelling" "indwelling", "shecinah" and "sanctuary" or "shrine" (as of the cult-hut and its precinct).

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap: its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret *Mana*.

And Life be praised.

41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (*yawar*) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved *manas* who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Naṣoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode.

And Life be praised!

42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (*of his light*). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own *škinta*. Radiance and Light came and were established before him: Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras[1] ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (*its?*) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Šilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Naṣoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

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[1] *'Utria* not in M.L. This word alters the sense of the passage.

43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (*kušṭa*) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book *Nhur* (Be light) and from *Pta 'uṣra* (They revealed treasure [1]) and from *'Uṣar Nhura* (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (*Manda, gnosis*) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge [2] It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart(?) of [3] Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kušṭa standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), hast taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (*pihta*), put out [4] (*for him*) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the *pihta*].

44

Biriawiš, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (*Be*) life for the souls of this *masiqta*.

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[1] Lit. "opened treasure".

[2] *Rabut manda*.

[3] Lidzbarski translated *dimat hiia*, Träne des Lebens (Life's tears), an unsatisfactory translation. "Distillation" (ܕܡܥܬܐ) is also doubtful. I take the word to be influenced by *dmu*, which follows closely, hence possibly an archaic form of *dmut?* See below, p. 43 n.5, where *dimat hiia* recurs - *dmut hiia ḏ-mn dimat hiia* (counterpart of Life that is from the *likeness* of Life ?).

[4] *Brita*. I suggest a connection with "food put out for mourners" (see Hif. of ברי "to strengthen, offer refreshment, esp. to mourners").

[This is the appointed prayer for the *mambuha*. If there are (*several*) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

45

Thy name, (*O*) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant. Its goodness came over (*or* overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil. (*Like*) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth.

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the *mambuga* (*sacramental drink*). Make the *pihta* and the *mambuha* and place them (*ready for*) the *masiqta*, and then make *the* myrtle wreath.]

46[1]

In the Name of Life![2]

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory[2] dawned[3] and (*there was*) praise of the *Mana* who came from his Place. He came (with) an ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Niṣbat'-Utria (*She-planted i.e. was the mother of uthras*). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is-dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Niṣbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the *Mana*, planted it (there) so that it was set up (*thereon*).

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[1] Lidzbarski considers Prayer 5 so like Prayer 46 that he neither reproduces the text nor translates it. The priests, on the contrary, insist on a very exact pronunciation of the first words: (*nhur nhura* and *nhar nhura*) and say that there is a difference in meaning. In all the copies of the *ʿniania* the earlier pages and the last pages are those which become worn out most quickly, I am inclined to think that Prayer 46 is nearer the original version. However, whatever the variations in the text of the two prayers, they should be noted.

[2] *'ruta*. I am reluctant to accept without reservation Lidzbarski's translation "Erleuchtung". The root could be 'R' as the ע would disappear: derivation from 'WR or AWR or unlikely.

[3] *Nihrat* "it became light" "was light" is freely translated as "dawned".

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the *Mana* there is radiance, behind the *Mana* there is light and glory, at either side of the *Mana* are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens [1] and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory.

And Life is victorious.

47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this *masiqta*. Sure, assured, [2] armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (*masiqta*) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful *manas*. [3]

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the *masiqta*].

48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance [4] loosed the bound (souls): he knit (*them into?*) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House [1]) were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

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[1] An obvious corruption, see Prayer 5.

[2] The play on words is intentional.

[3] Or, acc. to Lidzbarski, "in verborgenenen wohlverwahrten Gewändern bewahren".

[4] In support of his translation "des (schönen) Aussehens" Lidzbarski adduces GR 10,6 and JB 110,3. I cannot bring myself to agree, for the stars here are enemies, far from admirable. True, in Syriac we get *gabra hizua* "a man (of handsome) appearance" in proof of GR and JB, but *hizua* both in Syriac and Mandaic has also the meaning "a vision", "appearance". The reference is to Manda-ḏ-Hiia's (or Hibil-Ziwa's) descent to the planetary purgatories in which souls expiate sins committed on earth.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated [2]) to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-ḏ-hiia) was revealed to all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (*inhabited by*) those convicted of sin.

And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were confounded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (*aid*) the souls of this *masiqta*: it will be his name.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the *masiqta*. Read it over pure oil in something (*pure?*) and place it before thee and then read the *masiqta*].

49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced [4]) and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a.........[5]) of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning. They live in their shecinahs, [1]) and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

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[1]) The earthly world.

[2]) Lit. "went out over them".

[3]) The "pure oil" of the *masiqta* is the expressed oil of sesame and date juice. These are pounded together and strained. Baptism oil is sesame oil only.

[4]) *Hadinat* (Lidzbarski leaves untranslated) is probably a corruption of *ha ʿdinat* as translated; but the meaning is doubtful.

[5]) *Dimat* again (see p. 40, n.3.)

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances [2]), and each standeth by his own. And Ṣauriel the Releaser cometh - he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia which releaseth (*the soul*). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe. When she weareth the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour [3]) resting (*upon her*) and the glory that accrueth to her.

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia. The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "Who will clothe us with this radiance? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kušṭa to the good, and Manda-ḏ-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she [4]) went and reached Abathur's house of detention,

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[1]) Or (see M.L. p. 80, 1.6) Das Leben ist in seiner Škina.

[2]) The seven planets, which wait to carry off the soul to their *maṭarata* (houses of detention, purgatories).

[3]) See above, p. 20, Prayer 24 "rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour" etc.

[4]) The narrative is here in the 1st. person "I went on" etc. but returns again to the original "she". I think it better to continue throughout in the 3rd. person.

(Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and everything that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards [1]) and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered them (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her [2]). And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and went on [3]) and reacheth the watch-house (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, 'In-Hai, Šum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai [4]). Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her.

She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia and went[5]) onwards and reached the Waters of Death [6]). The waters covered her, (*but*) Radiance crossed over - his name abode in his *škinta*: honoured and chosen, he created [7]) himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of

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[1]) "Rewards": fees to priests.

[2]) See above, p. 44.

[3]) See note 4, p. 44.

[4]) Well-of-Life, Name-of-Life, Radiance-of-Life, Light-of-Life

[5]) See above, p. 3.

[6]) *Hafiqia mia*, the name of the river of departure, of death, which is the frontier of the worlds of light. In the *Diwan Abatur* a ship ferries souls across this river.

[7]) Or "called himself"? The tense continually varies.

Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we may bring out this soul of N. of this *masiqta* (so that) she cometh [1]) before him".

He is a ray [2]) of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the *škinta*s, and upon *škinta*s doth his name rest.

He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one *gnosis* and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Uṣar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door [3]) of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living [4]) they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirit [5]) of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

50

[Note. The following hymn reads like pure nonsense. Lidzbarski suggested that it had been mutilated and misunderstood : Das Stück besteht aus abgerissenden schwer verständlichen, wohl auch stark enstellten Sätzen. (M.L, p. 84, n.4)].

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (*in the waters of?*) Yaluz-Yaluz [6]) for their spring is Hammamulai [7]). My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (*the waters?*) knew the source from which they proceeded : its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

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[1]) The translation is unsatisfactory, one would expect *titia*. I find Lidzbarski's translation unsatisfactory too: for the saviour spirit is explaining its purpose.

[2]) *ṣurik* with *ziwa* occurs fairly often. Lidzbarski translated "Ausfluss" (cf. ܙܪܐ); but a connection with ܙܪܩ is indicated, a verb used for lightning and meteors.

[3]) To justify the translation "door": see Levy, Targ. פִּתְחָא (syr. ܦܬܚܐ hebr. פֶּתַח) Eingang, Thüre. Lidzbarski translated (M.L.p. 84, n.2) die die Schöpfung des Lebens schaffen.

[4]) D.C. 3. *arimlẖ kanfia hiia.*

[5]) "Of the same nature as the soul". Commentaries say that after purification the spirit unites with the soul "as one". (ATŠ No. 282 "the twain become, as it were, a single body").

[6]) "joyful, rejoicing?" (עלין עליזא).

[7]) 'Ulai was the ancient name of the Karun river in Khuzistan. Here, Hamamulai perhaps = "the hot springs of the Karun"? There are hot springs at Shustar.

I sit on a perfected garment 1) and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. Yawar from the House of Life revealed (*himself?*) and shone forth 2), establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray 3) of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (*kušṭa*) and the great Source (*kana*) 4) of its glory.

And Life be praised!

52

Whose son am I? (Of?) the guarded *Mana*, who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

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1) "In a perfected garment" would make better sense, if sense were possible in this obscure hymn.

2) '*Udna* is "ear". In one copy only Lidzbarski found '*uṣrḫ* on which he based his translation. I suggest that '*udna* is simply a miscopying of *udna* "and shone forth". Yawar is always associated with light.

3) See p. 46, n. 2. Or, "a flash".

4) The word has *kana* has varied meanings: a receptacle, collection, assembly, group, stem, race, base, fundament, origin, place of origin, source, home etc.

53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will be set up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its *škinta.*

[This is the seal of the *masiqta*. Up to this point recite the *masiqta,* and here take the *pihta* and break off a morsel from one upper *faṭira* [1] and the undermost *faṭira* and bring a portion of the *Ba* [2] and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" [3] with the wine [4] and recite over them "Yukašar chose her (*the soul*) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy *pandama* and eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha* and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its *škinta*.]

54

Yukašar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over [5]; he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own *škinta* his (*the dead man's*) soul was assigned (*a place*) and found rest in his treasure.

Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (*in splendour* [6]) and (*like them?*) shall shine forth the souls who are called upon, raised up and signed [1] in this *masiqta*, (*the souls of*) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

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[1] A *faṭira* is a disc of dough without leaven or salt. A number of these (usually sixty) are made for a *masiqta,* but only two small fragments (as described above taken from a pile on the ritual table) are eaten by celebrants. The remaining *faṭiria* are buried in the sacred precincts at the conclusion of the rite.

[2] The word (always written *bḫ*) is pronounced Ba, and priests all say that it refers to the dove. The rite of slaughter of the dove is one of the ritual mss in a priest's library.

[3] See p.36 n. 2.

[4] *Hamra* (wine) is made just before the *masiqta* by macerating four raisins in a bowl of water.

[5] D.C.31 *libraia* (= לעבראיא) i.e. the soul crossing the "waters of death". Lidzbarski, M.L. 88:5, translates "den Jenseitigen". The context shows that one soul is meant.

[6] the verb עור 'UR, AUR in Mandaic has a dual meaning see M. L. p. 88, n.3.

And Life is victorious.

55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened [2]) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory.

And Life be praised.

[This is for the loosing of the *pandama*. Recite this "Yukašar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N. shall be awakened" [3]. And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth" and part thy *pandama*, eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha*. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer after another until the (prayer) "Yukašar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their *škinta*. The robes of [4] the good were resplendent in their place. The great *Mana* was dazzlingly bright in [5] His glory. So (*too*) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

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[1] All the *faṭiria* have been signed. They represent the souls included in the *masiqta*, whereas the *pihta*, which has been "clothed" and to which a portion of dove's flesh and two morsels (see above) have been added, represents the deceased for whom the *masiqta* is celebrated.

[2] Priests associate this short verse with the opening up of the *pandama* for the sacramental eating and drinking.
This rite is, according to tradition, an "opening of the mouth" of the dead, as the celebrant acts as the proxy of the deceased. Cf. the Babylonian *pit pi*.

[3] *Nitiairia* (see p. 48, n. 6) could also mean "will shine forth".

[4] Read *ḏ-ṭabia*.

[5] *l'qarḇ* is written: (*chez lui?*).

57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (*kušṭa*) and (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness [1] and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness. Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (*škinata*) of the Hidden [2] for in each and every *škinta* sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, (*'uthras*) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and *masiqtas* and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, *masiqtas*, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests [3] who sit with them.

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[1] A priest who instructs postulants for priesthood is called a *rba* and his office *rabuta*, so that Mara-ḏ-Rabuta could be translated "lord of instruction".

[2] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have *kasia*, M.L. *kisia*.

[3] Or "disciples".

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this *masiqta* and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the *masiqta*. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

59

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the *pihta*].

60

The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised!

[This is the dedicatory prayer for the *mambuha*.]

61

An earthly wreath fadeth, [1] but the wreath of Life is fresh and living [2]. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (*kušṭa*). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities [3], and shineth on the heads of these souls of this *masiqta*.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a *masiqta*. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single soul say "on the head of this soul of N."]

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[1] Lit. "the wreath of the worlds".

[2] *Rauzia* is best rendered here by "fresh and living".

[3] Or "victories".

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62

The worlds glisten (*with costly*) oil, but Naṣoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.

And Life is victorious.

63

In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda [1] baptised me, *Kušṭa* confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one [2]. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (*of light?*).

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer offered up for the *masiqta* oil.]

64

The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light.

And Life be praised!

[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukašar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the *masiqta*-hymns.]

65

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst *manas* of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this *masiqta* and (*the souls of*) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your *manas* shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.

And Life is victorious.

66

In the name of the Life!

I am crowned with a wreath [3]) and lay me down [4])

---

[1]) Cf. Prayer 23.

[2]) The personified *manda* (this time the cult-hut and its precinct)? Or Gnosis?

[3]) Or "I have reached my end". The translation given above is probable, as a dying person is dressed in a spotlessly clean *rasta* (white ritual dress), and crowned with a myrtle wreath after being thrice immersed from head to foot.

[4]) "Lay down" or "slept", a synonym for death.

In a dress in which there is no blemish.
No spot is there in the dress,
Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.
The Life knew about me.
Adam, who slept, awoke;
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And gave (not?) into my hand a palmbranch. [1]
Light cast me into darkness,
But the darkness was filled with light.
The day that light ariseth,
Darkness returneth to its place.
The souls of this *masiqta*
Approach a cloud [2] of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.
And Life be praised.

[This is a *masiqta* hymn]

67

With him, with the Deliverer [3]
The souls of this *masiqta* will ascend.
They will behold the Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
On their road the Seven will not detain them,
Nor will the Judge of the False question them.
The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst.
To the place to which the good go they will guide you
And in the place in which they stand they will set you up;
Lamps of radiance are found before you,
Beams of light behind you.
Kušṭa will come at your right
And Piety will smoothen your path.
For you there will be loosings [4]
From here to the Everlasting Abode.
For the ferry which ferries over the Elect
Will set out towards you and take you across.

---

[1] בעיין = a palm-branch (of victory). Coptic. Delete *la*?
[2] Clouds act as ships for spirits.
[3] The Death-Angel, Ṣauriel.
[4] "Loosings" i.e. prayers of intercession.

(*Then*) from Abathur of the Scales
A saviour will come forth towards you.
The saviour that cometh towards you
Is all radiancy and light from head to foot
Like the wreath in his right hand.
And on his two arms is a robe.
Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!
Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles
In which nothing is awry or blemished.
Above your head there will be fruit,
And there, at your time and season
Your *mana*s will be set up in the Light.
Your *mana*s in the Light will be set up.
(*So*) rise up,behold the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.

68

Between the Hidden and the Radiance,
Between Light and the 'uthras,
Between the Hidden and the Radiance
Stand those who question the soul,
Saying to her "Speak! say, soul,
Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder?
Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"
The soul spoke and said —
The edified, well-constructed soul spoke —
And saith to the Being who questioneth her,
Said to him,"My father, One built me, One constructed me".
One was the Being who transplanted me;
One of the sons of salvation in his goodness
Took (accepted) his lot (duty).
He folded me in a wrapping of radiance,
Took (me) and gave me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood,
Took and cast me into a physical body 1);
Took me and cast me into a physical body
That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances 2).

---

1) *'Uṣṭuna* a column, pillar, support, is also used for the trunk of the body, especially of cosmic man.

2) In ATŠ.: *'lania bišia kḏ šatin mia hiia gidia umraria u'lqia hauia 'lauaihun* [Evil trees when (although) they drink living water, sour, bitter and rotten (fruit) will be upon them].

(There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the body
Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it
Till its measure and count were accomplished.
When its measure and count were accomplished
The Deliverer came to her 1);
To her came the Deliverer
Who loosed her and bore her away:
(*Yea*), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul,
Went before her whom he had bound.
Coming behind him, the soul hasted
Reached 2) her Deliverer, ran (after) him
Who had bound her to her dwelling.
The soul and her Deliverer (go):
Her course is to the Place of Light,
To the place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.
To it, and to that place, those souls
That are called upon in this *masiqta*
And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited.
They shall behold the great Place of Light
And the abiding Abode.
And Life be praised.

69

Bliss and peace there will be
On the road which Adam attained:
Bliss and peace there shall be
On the road which the soul traverseth.
The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds;
She hath shed her earthly garment. 3)
She turned round, saw it and was revolted
She uttered an evil curse on the being
Who had clothed her in the body.
She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him
From the lair in which he lay. She said to him,
"Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies;

---

1) Cf. G.R. Lidz. trs. p. 569: 29 ff.

2) D.C. 3 *miṭia*. (D.C. 539, M.L *miṭiiḫ*). "Hasted to reach" conveys the meaning better.

3) Lit. physical garment.

The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!"
The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (*is heard*)[1],
Who howleth and weepeth for himself
And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand
Is filled with water!" And to her he saith
"Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom
In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.
Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported
From the treasuries of Life;
Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted
Her fragrance to the stinking body.
Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined
Her dark house. Go in peace,
Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"
Flying, the soul went
Until she reached the House of Life:
She arrived at the House of Life.
'Uthras went forth towards her,
Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance
And set on thy living wreath!
Arise, dwell in the *škinta*s,
The place where 'uthras abide, conversing;
And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And lovers of his name".
And Life be praised!

70

Blessed and praised be Life
Who is filled with compassion for these souls.
Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.
Praised be thou, pure Yušamin,
For thou wilt give them thy helping hand.
Be ye praised, Šilmai and Nidbai,
For ye will give true witness concerning them.
And be ye praised, Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš
For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues
And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger,

---

[1] The Fashioner of Bodies must be the unsuccessful creator, Pthahil.

And the messenger who goeth toward you
Is all radiance and light from head to foot.
In his right hand a kind of wreath
And on both his arms a robe.
Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths!
Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless!

Above your heads there will be fruit,
And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light
And will shed light.
The Lord of Tolls will not confront you
Nor will lying judges put you to the question.
They will bring you liberating words [1]
From here unto the Everlasting Abode,
The building that was built for you in the House of Life,
Will not come to nought in an age of ages!
And may some of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiance and light
And the revivifying-breath of Life [2] rest upon us!
Blessed is the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light.
And Life be praised.

[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving", "Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.

If thou readest for *(several)* souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform *kušṭa* [3] with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".

And pray a prayer for yourselves and make *pihta* and *mambuha*

---

[1] *Širiata* in magic texts is "exorcisms", i.e. words that liberate. Lidzbarski translates Balken (from שָׁרִיתָא, שְׁרֵי).

[2] A free translation. *Ruaha* has the meaning of enlargement, refreshment, restoration.

[3] Just as in the Eastern Church the Pax marks a stage in the ritual of the mass, so in Mandaean rites the *kušṭa* is performed after every stage of a rite.

for yourselves [1]) and eat your *pihta* and drink your *mambuha* And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform *kušṭa* [2]) with one another for yourselves and (then) honour [3]) your crowns.
And Life is victorious.]

71

In the name of the Life!
Blessed and praised be the Life!
Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light!
Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia;
Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.
Praised art thou, my father Yušamin the Pure,
Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life.
Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life.
Praised are ye, Šilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the jordan.
Praised are ye, Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab.
(Praised are) [4]) our fathers Hibil, Šitil and Anuš
The name and chief of the whole race.
Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;
Blessed and established is the great *škinta* in which thou sittest.
Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;
Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.
Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised Those who dwell in thee.
Blessed art thou, Road of the great [5]), path of the perfect
And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.
Blessed art thou, Naṣirutha [6]) from whom the elect learn;
From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward [7]) and pious gift [8])

---

[1]) The *pihta* and *mambuha* consumed by celebrants at the beginning of the *masiqta* and at its end are the ordinary sacramental bread and water. They are consumed by the priest as himself, whereas the *pihta* and *mambuha* of the *masiqta* are consumed by the priest as proxy of the deceased. Moreover the former is made of saltless flour, (the *faṭira*, to which scraps of ritual food are added) and the *mambuha* is *hamra* and water.

[2]) See p. 57. n. 3.

[3]) See p. 28, n. 3.

[4]) Missing in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53.

[5]) Or "teachers", see p. 50, n. 1.

[6]) A word which means true religion, the inner teaching.

[7]) The fees given to priests.

[8]) Offerings in kind, fruit, corn, vegetables, etc.

They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of Light.
Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;
We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.
My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.
The 'uthras of light are victorious,
And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection
Who stand, praising the Life.
Enlargement [1] of life there shall be for the believing
Who have departed out of our midst;
The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.
And my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.
Thankfully received are the good gifts [2] (*ṭabuta*) of life,
The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life,
The *pihla* [3] that . . . . . at the name of the Life.
For any man who giveth an oblation,
His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men
Who bestow oblations will rise by *Kušṭa*'s path.
To them [4] it shall be given.
Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath
Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.
A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads
Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this *masiqta;*
(*And the souls of*) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body:
(*A wreath like that*) set on Its head by the Great (Life)
And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras
And given by 'uthras to their priests.
Healer, whose medicine is water, come!
Be thou a healer to thy devotees,
To thy devotees be thou a healer

---

[1] The meaning here is renewal of life, a larger form of life.

[2] *Ṭabuta* here refers to the ritual food placed on the *ṭariania* (sacred tables).

[3] I am still of the opinion that *pihla* here refers to the phallus which, on the table of oblation is modelled in dough and represents the male principle of creation. The meaning of the verb depends on that of *pihla*,

[4] With Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 107, n. 3), I read "them" rather than the written "you".

And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
My lord, bestow soundness.
Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.
My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer
Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice
And enacting justice for those who love it,
Do justice on those who persecute us,
Those persecutors who pursue us,
And on the wicked and furious ones
Who scheme to work evil upon us.
If it please Thee, High King of Light,
Look on us and condemn us not!
Behold these souls who believed in Thee
And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth
And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air
So that we may forget earthly persecution,
That we may forget the persecution of earth
And the vexation of the wicked and liars.
Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!
Thereby the Great Life communed with thee
And set thee up completely(?) [1] with His radiance
And His light, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
And may the vivifying-power [2] of Life rest upon us.
My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light!"
And Life be praised!

[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

72

Good is the Good [3] for the good, and His nature [4] is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, Lord of all healings.

---

[1] The sentence is obscure, but is addressed to Manda-ḏ-Hiia?

[2] Again *ruaha ḏ-hiia* is paraphrased.

[3] This is the chief sacramental formula and during its recitation, priests crouch near the ground. The exact meaning is doubtful. *Ṭaba*, the second word, probably means "the Good One" (warranted by similar use of *ṭaba* in No. 159 and elsewhere). ṬAB has also the meaning of "to be good, wholesome, well". The formula is an ancient one, and its place in the liturgy corresponds roughly to the Christian liturgical formula "The holy (*agia*) to the holy".

[4] *Kiniana*, a word of wide meaning; "a name" (tribal or generic name), "nature", "characteristic", "qualify", etc.

Forgive him [1]) his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, *masiqta* and (*ritual*) food [2]). My lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. [3]) And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised; Life is victorious over all works.

[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a *masiqta*. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the *Rahmia* ("Devotions" [4]) recite it, and after the *Rahmia*. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish. [5])

And Life is victorious.]

73

In the name of the Life!

A sealed letter which leaveth the world —
A letter written in good-faith (*kušṭa*)
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) —
Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on [6]),
And suspended it about the soul's neck
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul, in her wisdom,
Pressed her nail on the letter,
Her nail she pressed on the letter;
She imbued it with her mystic radiance,
Wrapped it and veiled it in her light.
How came it that Daium saw
That the soul bore a letter?

---

[1]) The person for whose benefit the *masiqta* is celebrated.

[2]) *Ṭabuta* "goodness" in ritual refers to the sacramental food, the bread and the fruit. *Lahma* (lit. "bread") can refer to any nourishing food.

[3]) I.e. from evil to good. The left is associated with evil, matter, materialism, darkness and "the Mother"; the right with spirituality, light and good.

[4]) Prayers recited at the three daily prayer-times.

[5]) *Patura* = any table, tray, large dish or food-mat on which the sacred food is spread out. The clause is missing in D.C.3

[6]) See J. חרז 3, "to tie around".

How was it that Daium[1] saw it
As her seven sons gathered about her
And said "Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote the letter that is sealed in
By these protective[2] strands?"
The letter is written in good faith,
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty(Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life.
The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached
The watch-house of the Seven.
The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her,
(*And*) the Governor[3], when they saw her,
Murmur discontent[4] and say
"Who hath written the letter
Whose secret no man knoweth?
Who wrote letter that is sealed
By these protective marks?"
"The letter is written in good faith
And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).
Righteous (men) wrote it;
Believing men tied it up
And hung it about the neck of the soul
And despatched it to the Gate of Life".
The soul flieth and travelleth on
Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory[5].

---

[1] A name given to Ruha.

[2] *Miṣra* has a double meaning here, and in my translation I have tried to convey both. In general *miṣra* is a line traced about a sacred or untouchable thing or area. It isolates that which it contains from contact. In ritual, it refers to the furrow drawn about a purified area, which is purified by water, in much the same way as the Parsi priest pours water into the protective gutter (*pavi*) round a sacred area. The ceremony of "the Letter" is protected by such water-containing furrows. *Miṣra* (Aramaic מְצָרֵי could also mean a rope, "a twisted cord".

[3] *Šahardal* = שאהארדאל, middle Parthian for Middle Persian *šahriyar*, "ruler", "governor".

[4] DMDM = "to mutter angrily".

[5] The *maṭaraiia*, officers of the watch-houses, or places where travellers are detained at frontiers, are, as the *Diwan Abatur* shows, demons, spirits who torment and purge souls after death.

The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads
And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by.
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she came to the waters of death.
As she reached the waters of death
There came forth towards her
A great Beam [1] of radiance (and) of life, (*who*)
Grasped her by the palm of her right hand
And brought her over the waters of death [2].
The soul flieth and goeth
Until she reacheth the House of Life.
When she reached the House of Life
She uttered a cry to the House of Life,
And when He heard her call, the Life
Sent a messenger towards her,
(Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand,
Conducted her, (came) to support her
In the likeness of the Life to the place
Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence [3];
To unite her to (*the company of*) 'uthras
And to set her up amongst beams of light [4].
Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether
And took her out of the world in splendour.
Life supported life: Life found Its own:
It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found
That for which she hoped.
And Life is victorious.

[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

74

Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kušṭa and the great safeguard of truth by the word of Kušṭa and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

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[1] See p. 45, n. 6.
[2] See p. 46 n. 2.
[3] Read *abrḫ* as in D.C. 3 and M.L. p. 113:8.
[4] *Pasimka* = a beam or ray of light.

[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy seal-ring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].

[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (*to a dying person*), at the beginning and end order the chief (*relative*) or remaining (*persons: i.e. of the family?*) to throw water over the dying person[1]). If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify [2]) the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him [3]) and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near(?)[4]) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (*those like him*)[5])]

In the name of the Great Life!

Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.

When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and *masiqta*". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" and bind thy *pandama* over thy mouth.

And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes " and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia. With thy radiance thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (*the head of*) this the soul of N." And take care that thou readest to the end with attention!

---

[1]) Lit. "the departing" (i.e. soul).

[2]) MŠA with *'da* = "to purify the hand (either by water or other cleansing substance or fluid).

[3]) This should mean the act of partaking of the sacraments, but I am in doubt.

[4]) *'u hawia 'ka lmifaq* "If there is need for dying (to die) meaning that death appears to be near.

[5]) Should death take place before the rite is over, deputies qualified by age, status and astrological conditions act as proxies.

And recite the eight prayers for the *pihta* over the bottle and the two prayers for the *mambuha* over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-ḏ-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(*In the name of the*) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "ot N". and where it saith "And Ṣauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and "Whose son am I? Of the guarded *Mana*", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers - thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger - and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kušṭa and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kušṭa and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa".

And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life" and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.". And thy *pandama* must be over thy mouth. And recite "Ye are set up and raised up up in the place where the good are established amongst *manas* of light" (*insert*) "the soul of N. is established in that place".

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The *Mana* rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departest from the world", "Sunday, and Kušṭa and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (*it shall be given*).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in *kušṭa* the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This *kušṭa* which I entrust [1]) to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur" [2]).

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in *kušṭa* the hand of him who taketh (the hand of)the dying person and say to him "This *kušṭa* I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy *pandama* must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (*so on*) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising". (prayers) *of the masiqta* [3]) from beginning to end. And be careful (*to insert*) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious.

Then, when thou holdest thy *pandama* over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make *pihta* and *mambuha* for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy *pihta* and drink thy *mambuha*. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the *kušṭa*-rite for thyself and honour thy crown.

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[1]) D.C. 53 has *asbarlak* here; *asfarlak* when the words are repeated below.

[2]) The *ašganda* holds the hand of the dying person, as the priest would be polluted by the touch of death.

[3]) "*Of the masiqta*" missing in D.C. 53.

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" [1] without thy *pandama*. (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam, celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan [2] of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Ṭib, written by Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (*sacramental ceremonies*) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (*the apparently dying person*) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "*masiqta* of the sixty" [3] for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him [4] read a "sixty" *masiqta* for him with seven food-trays [5], and at "that which is with her" [6] sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

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[1] Prayers of deconsecration.

[2] *A diwan* is a scroll, a miscellany comprising several texts.

[3] I.e. a *masiqta* at which 60 *faṭiria* are made and signed.

[4] *Midirḫ*; or "to reach him".

[5] The word *arabata*-variously spelt as *arawata*, (*aruhata* in D.C.3) — must be, I think, the *rahbata* or *rahuata* of the ritual mss. It seems to mean "spreadings". In actual modern ritual it is either a very large *ṭariana*, or a tray, or an area of purified and smoothened mud upon which food-offerings are laid out for a *zidqa brika*. (Blessed Oblation). It occurs only in the plural. Priests translate the word simply as "food-offerings", "sacred foods" but can never be relied upon for exact meanings. רְוַח, רַוַּח, רְחַב = to be wide.

[6] Prayer 49 *ma ḏ-bḫ*.

(If) the soul (*be that of*) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty *masiqtas* for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him[1]) alone at (*the words*) *ma ḏ-bẖ*; at the words *bit Abatur* sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at *bit Abatur* and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a *masiqta* thou requirest meat, water of prayer, [2]) incense, *pihta*, *hamra*, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (*named above*).

And when (there is) a *masiqta*, read the homilies about the soul[3]); let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven *rahbata*[4]) and (*pray for*) Mandaeans, Naṣoraeans and the faithful. And pray the *masiqta* prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes", "I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the *pihta* and *mambuha*, the "bindings and loosings"[5]) of the *masiqta* from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (*during?*) the homilies, and loose him from his sins.

And Life is victorious.

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Naṣoraean who (whilst) reading the *masiqta* openeth his *pandama* or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Naṣoraean who holds (*to?*) the *pandama* and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase[6]), speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yušamin [1]) or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq [2]), nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

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[1]) "Him" here means the *pihta* representing the person for whose benefit the *masiqta* is celebrated. The other loaves represent other souls.

[2]) See p. 36 n. 2.

[3]) It is customary to read to mourners from the left side of the *Ginza Rba*, which consists largely of hymns and homilies about the after-life of the soul.

[4]) See above, p. 67 n. 5.

[5]) Prayers of consecration and deconsecration.

[6]) The word is misplaced in D.C. 53.

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the *pandama*. When he holdeth his *pandama* all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us.

And Life is victorious.]

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and *ganzibras*, earth beneath the feet of Naṣoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious [3]).

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun [4]) And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Riš-Draz. I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upright woman, a believing (*creature*) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kušṭa) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, yonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Šarat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called [5]) was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (*She copied it from?*) the copy of the great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Šitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of *ganzibras*, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a *šalmana* [1]) — the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Qasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (*tribe*), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asṭa Faruk, Asṭa Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anuš, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied from the book of Šaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wašia. He copied it from a book (*copied by?*)Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished *ganzibra*, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of *ganzibras*, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and yonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable *ganzibra* Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia—may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam, family name 'Asakir from the book of R. Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Šitlan, family name Riš-Draz...

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[1]) Yušamin is the archetype of a careless priest who makes mistakes in ritual. (Lit. the acts which Y. did).

[2]) The well Sumqaq is often mentioned as a well of pollution in the underworlds.

[3]) *Nasakia* here a loan-word from the Persian.

[4]) Read thus: Krun is the name of a potentate of the underworld.

[5]) Mandaeans have a baptismal name and a lay name.

[*The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16;* (*Translator*).]

...Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-

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[1]) A "perfect": i.e. a layman who embraces a life of perfect purity according to Siouffi.

Hurdšaiia [1]) and travelled around a great deal, but found no reliable *masiqta* equal to this *masiqta*. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this *masiqta* just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this *masiqta*.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this *masiqta* so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-ḏ-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the *Masiqta*" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Naṣoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Ṭib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anuš-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha. . . ? and Anuš copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Šarat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Šganda son of Yasmin, and Šganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (*was written by*) Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (*a space of*) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Ṭib in the years when Anuš son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Naṣoraeans and took many *diwans* from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and *Masiqta* and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Naṣoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them.

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[1]) Read Bit-Hudšaiia. The Hudšaiia are mentioned in the *Asfar Malwašia*, (Bit-Hudšaiia p. 52 1.7) and in the ATŠ.

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined. [1])

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumqaq Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: — "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins . . [2]) Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (*himself and sent*) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in *kušṭa* [3]).

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

75. [4])

In the name of the Great Life!

May there be healing, victory, strength, soundness, speech and a hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, from the Life!

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[1]) Meaning doubtful.

[2]) The passage appears to be faulty and obscure.

[3]) I.e. grasp his right hand in the solemn act of fealty and friendship.

[4]) The prayer is called by the priests the *Audin utušbihan*.

We have acknowledged 1) and praises (*are due*)
To the mighty sublime First Life,
The Ineffable which is over all works.
(*I come*), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth
To the Life and to the implanted Word
And to 'Uṣar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life
In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee.
(*Yet*) who shall praise Thee 2), Life?
And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories?
Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified
And Thou art exalted!
(*For lo*) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came.
At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid 3),
At Thy light gates and kingdoms were troubled.
On seeing Thee the Jordan turned about,
The waves of the sea rolled back
And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion.
Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces.
Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stags,
They opened and gave praise.
Does in the desert shed their young untimely;
The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour.
The earth trembled and was shaken.
Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back?
Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back?
Isles of the sea! why were ye thrown into confusion?
Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces?
Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent?
Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?
(Why) did ye open and give praise?
Does in the desert! on account of Whom did ye miscarry your young?
Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak?
Earth! Whom didst thou behold and (*at what*) didst thou tremble? 4)

"At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance,

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1) According to Nöldeke a shortened form of *audinin*.
2) M.L. *nišabak*; D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 *nišaba*.
3) In all mss. *sararkubia* in one word. See M.L. p. 126, n.1. Doubtful.
4) This hymn is also in the G.R.: See G.R. p. 178 of the translation by Lidzbarski.

At the Light which surpasseth all lights,
And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds
And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself."
When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth
And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building,
(Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion.
They got down meekly from their thrones
And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away
The glory of the worlds and generations
And quenched the flames of their lamps.
It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth
And in the lower glooms of Darkness.

Spirit (*ruha*) lifted up her voice,
She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father
Why didst Thou create me? My God, my God,
My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off
And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth
And in the nether glooms of darkness
So that I have no strength to rise up thither?"

All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life)
And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty
Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance
And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights,
And the Good Being who crossed the worlds,
Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself.
He sundered Light from Darkness and sundered Good from Evil,
He sundered Life from Death,
And He brought out those who love His name of Truth
From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good
And from Death to Life and set them
On roads of Truth and Faith.
And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word
And hast commanded us with Thy commandment —
"Be My glory and I will be your Glory.
Be my light and I will be your Light.
And my name shall be in your mouths
And I will be with you".

Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their high-places
And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way
And deep ignominy befell their temples
And fettered their might. [1]

Great is the splendour in which Manda-ḏ-hiia is arrayed!
Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn
On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light!
(That day) is not reckoned in a count of days.
Nor in a reckoning of months;
Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light.
We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed,
To all who love Thy name of Truth (*kušṭa*).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer,
Our submission, our *ṭabuta* [2] and our faith
In Thy presence, (O) 'Uṣar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life.
Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name,
Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord,
Who could praise Thee, Life,
Or magnify (*worthily*) the greatness of Thy victories?
Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue?
Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves
And our tongue like cleft mountains,
Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!

Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart
And him who confesseth thee with his lips.
With a pure mouth be Thou blessed
And lauded with a tongue of praise.
Supporters who do not waver, interpretations [3]
Of Truth (*kušṭa*) which vary not praise Thee.
Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless
And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance,
Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred,
Envy and dissensions exist not.
The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory

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[1] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have the more probable *tuqfaihun* (M.L. p. 128, *tuqnaihun*, 1.11.

[2] Here either "goodness" or, as recited at the *masiqta*, the ritual food.

[3] אופָן J. in later Hebrew, "method of interpretation".

Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult
And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according
To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee,
The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee,
"Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And praised. And blessed is the Place
From which Thou camest: praised, magnified
And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest.
And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place
To which Thou goest."
Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries [1])
Praise thee; for Thy knowledge, Thy wisdom,
Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself.
Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting.
Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Son;
Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life;
Thou art the First, Thou art the Last,
Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come
And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself.
Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy.
Turn back, push back, remove and make impotent
Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land
And my house — mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš —
In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels,
(Let) our petition, our prayer and our submission
Rise up before Thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
That which we have done forgive us,
And that which we do, forgive us,
(For) Thou, (O) Manda-ḏ-Hiia art a forgiver of sins,
Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes.
If Thou, (O) Manda-ḏ-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins,
Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes,
Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-ḏ-Hiia?
Slaves are we, who are all sin
And Thou the Lord who art all mercy.
Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying;
In Thine eyes, Manda-ḏ-Hiia (*even*) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

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[1]) The reference is again to the Mandaean *škintas*.

The worlds know not Thy name, nor recognise Thy light.
O (*fie on*) those who sit and eat and drink,
On those who quarrel and persecute!
O (*fie on*) those who fornicate and are adulterous!
O (*fie on*) those who worship portico and clay brick!
Day by day they sit on thrones of insolence
And persecute the name of the Life;
(*Yet*) they knew not the name of the Life,
Nor did the idea of the Life enter their minds.
(*But*) we have testified to Life and put our trust in Life;
And Manda-ḏ-Hiia stood by us, was of our company
And was our Helper.

The worlds reviled us and persecuted us.
With (to?) the . . . .? of the world do not Thou abandon us,
Nor with the judgement of the world judge us:
Range us not with the world-guilty,
Nor cut us off from the Life.

We spoke in chants [1] of the Life
And we revealed mysteries that were veiled;
(*But*) the worlds reviled us and persecuted us.
Life! From the Hidden accept Thy [2] prayers,
And we will establish delight in Thy light.
Thou art our Radiance, our Brightness, our Strength,
Our Help and our Enlightenment which thou didst reveal to us,

To the first lovers of thy Name, in rays of radiance.
We have confessed Thy truth and will spread Thy light
(Shed) upon us. Thy victories will bring it to pass
And we will be stablished in Thy truth (*kušṭak*).
The (false) gods in the height will see us
And will be convicted of guilt and put to shame.
Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance
And cover us with Thy light;
Thou wilt show us the road
By which Thou camest from the House of Life
And therein we will walk the course

---

[1] *Sidria;* or "in books", "in recitations".

[2] That is "prayers addressed to Thee".

(*Set for*) righteous and believing people.
Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life
According to the purpose of the Life
And the will of the three 'uthras [1]),
And according to the will of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Sublimest of beings, and according to the will
Of the Four Beings, sons of salvation.
In Thy presence there will be restoration
For our spirit and our souls.
Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance
And cover us with Thy light
And will stand us before Thee with the innocent
And not with the guilty;
With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking.
Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name.
Pure [2]) is Thy name, magnified is Thy name,
Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name
And abiding is Thy name. Victorious [2]) art Thou
And victorious is Thy name.
Victorious are the words of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth
Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish
This my soul (*the soul of*) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.
And Life is victorious over all works.

76

In the name of the Life!
Praises to the Outer Life
Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond),
The abode that hath limit.
For Your eyes are open to (*discern*) Your own,
Your ears hearken at Your Place [3]).
Praises to that one great name of Life
Which is above all names.
Its name resteth on the great Place of Light,
On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras,
And on the Beam who was greater than all beams,
With Whose light all beams shine
And by Whom all souls are justified;

---

[1]) I.e., Hibil, 'Anuš and Šitil.
[2]) *Zakaia* = "victorious" and "pure" and is used in both senses.
[3]) D.C. 3 and other copies have *'utraikun* "your 'uthras".

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off
From the House of our trust;
Who restoreth our souls 1) at the House of Ransom
On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls
On the great Day of joy.
Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras,
And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One
Who came and remained for our commemoration 2)
And who was established in the presence of Outer Life.
(One) on whose mouth Life rested and whose praise
Was established without.
Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First,
To the Son of the great Primal Life
Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth
To the generations. (*Lo*) Thou camest and didst open a door,
Thou didst level a road and tread out a path,
Didst set up a boundary-stone
And didst knit together a community.
Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide
To the Father of the great Family of Life 3),
And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life,
Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction 4)
And didst bring it 5) forth to the great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned!
O nourishers whom I have nourished!
O builders whom I have raised up
And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues!
Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell!
Worlds against whom I guard myself
Though your words are not far from my face,
If ye take mountains (*of food*) as your viaticum for eating,

---

1) D.C. 53 has *umištakilan* in the next line. I think that the verb here is ŠKLL ("restoring our souls and "perfecting our souls"), see J שַׁכְלֵל. (M.L. has *umištkalin*).

2) In M.L. p. 134:9 and D.C. 53 *dukran:* D.C. 3 has the more probable *dukranan* ("our mentioning", "our commemoration").

3) I.e., Adam.

4) Lidzbarski translates *šrara* "truth" but this translation does not convey its literal meaning of "soundness" "reliability".

5) "It" is the great Family of Life.

They will not satisfy (*lit. "complete"*) you.
If ye take seas for your drinking
They will not make you perfect [1] (*content you*).
(*But*) if with perfections [2] ye stand before the Outer Life
And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number,
And your reckoning shall be reckoned.
Betimes I will come and will fly
And will reach [3] the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign,
And the sons of the great Family of Life.
I will bind you together into the bundle [4] of Life
And I will build you into a great Building of Truth [5]
And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you
The hand of the *mbarṭabla*s (customs-officers?) will not search amongst your garments;
Ye will not pass over the Bridge [6]
Nor walk in a narrow street;
Ye will not stand before the judge
Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law;
Nor will ye see an averted face.
The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls,
One who setteth on paths of surety
His friends that are made perfect,
A great comrade of the faithful,
One of the great band of souls,
Who will come out toward you
And clothe your souls in a garments of radiance

---

[1] D.C. 53 *lagmirilkin*. As the reference is to the ritual meal, the reference may be to the sacramental meal of another rite.

[2] The expression *tušlimia* is often used for perfected souls.

[3] Read *'pra u'mṭia*.

[4] I have adopted the Jewish expression here, for *laufa* conveys the image of binding units into a whole, and the sentence corresponds closely with the ancient Hebrew metaphor.

[5] Or "sound construction", see p. 79, n. 4.

[6] The "bridge" here probably refers to the Zoroastrian "Bridge of Çinvat", "narrower than a hair" over which departed souls must pass. Only the righteous succeed. The hymn was probably written at a time when the state religion was Magian. *Tidun* from ADA to pass, make a pass.

And in good pure vestments [1] of light
Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
He will bring out toward you wreaths,
A wreath of victories.
And every leaf of your wreaths will (weigh)
One thousand and eighty mithqals [2].
Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun
And its light outshine the light of the moon.
Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths
In the presence of the Great (Life).

Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras.
Ye will open your eyes and behold your Judge.
Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon you,
In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether
And the great Beam who is all light,
Who was set up before the Great Life:
He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth
To the ages and to the worlds.
And [3] every man who giveth oblation [4];
And took part in the communion [5] from beginning to end.
They will make as perfect as the *manas*,
Like rays of light he will be made to shine
On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption,
The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act
Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift,
Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode,
The place which is ancient, (of) Primal Beings,
And sons of the great Family of Life.

They eat of that which is imperishable
And drink that which is not wine, eating well

---

[1] *Ṭarṭabunia*. Lidzbarski translates "turbans" (from Latin *turritum* a head-cover, Arabic طرطور). I incline to think that *ṭarṭabuna* is not a head-dress, but derived from the root RṬB. (The usual Mandaic word for turban is *burzinqa*).

[2] *Mitqal:* = shekel? (about one ounce?).

[3] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 *ulkulman* (M.L. *kul man*. p. 137: 7f).

[4] Those who bring offerings for the *Blessed Oblation*.

[5] The expression is that used for partaking of food and water in the ceremony of *Laufa*, a commemorative meal for the dead.

And asking solace. And an 'uthra of Life
Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour.
Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous
And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men),
And to the Unearthly (1) Being who standeth without,
Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those
Who love his name of Truth (*kušṭa*) —
Thou art he, Manda-ḏ-Hiia! for thou knowest
About that in which the perfect man is made perfect,
And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth (2).
And the Lie (3), of what doth it consist.
Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man
But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it
In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
The mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds, (4)
Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs,
Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth.
Not so: it is an 'uthra of Life which cometh
And resteth upon Thy devotees.
And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him
It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us
Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by (*calling on*) Thy name.
We hold to Thy Leader (5) of the great company of Truth
We have held staunch because of Thy victories.
Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors,
Liars, hypocrites and the censorious.
Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls!
The good will see and will be found ready (6),
(But) The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed
Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth
,And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

---

(1) Lit. "Strange".
(2) Lit. "what there is belonging thereto".
(3) Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *šaqara* (lit "liar" M.L. 138: 6 *ušrara*).
(4) Read *gabaruṯḇ*.
(5) *Br guda*. (Not "curtain" here.)
(6) Or "are refreshed" i.e. partake of sacramental food, an ecclesiastical expression for eating and drinking at sacraments.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller [1], nourishest the nourisher,
buildest the builder,
Exaltest horns [2], enlargest footsteps and settest up a road [3],
And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete [4] and he standeth (liveth) in the body, (*able*) to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House [5], thine 'uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (*kušṭa*). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence: and at the raising of your right hands (*towards Me?*) My right hand will be lifted [6] towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it (*from*) your hands".

We will pray with Thee the 'uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life),[7] a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole *Naṣiruta* [8] of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature [9]. Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, victorious are the words of truth which issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds 1).

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[1] M.L. 139 : 5 *qaruiia*, D.C. 3 *qaruia* and D.C. 53 *aqaruiia*.

[2] A common expression for giving self-confidence.

[3] *Dirka* in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53: M.l.139:6 *kudka* (boundary-stone).

[4] Lit. "who has his measure" (or "span"), i.e. has years of life still before him: everyone being allotted a fixed measure of years.

[5] D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 differ here from M.L. (which has *lraurubia sigia ḏ-ligrḫ* instead of *ulbit sagia ḏ-ligrḫ*.

[6] I.e. in blessing.

[7] I suspect a miscopying at some time, for in other passages we get *šulta ḏ-rba ulazuṭa* (a petition that is great and not small). But *rbia* in the plural implies that the Great Life is meant.

[8] *Naṣiruta:* here probably the whole body of believers, the teaching of the Naṣoraeans.

[9] *Kiniana* means both "nature" and "name".

And Life is victorious!

77

In the name of the Life!
Thee (O) life, (*is it meet*) to praise, to honour,
To magnify and to bless;
First Life, Second Life and Third Life,
Yufin-Yufafin 2) and Sam-Mana-Smira 3)
And the Vine which is All-Life
And the great Tree which is all healings.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour and magnify
And to bless 'Uṣar-Hai 4) and Pta-Hai 5)
Who open (reveal) the *pihta* of Life 6)
And transplant a planting of Light,
And instal the First Counterpart
In the House of Life.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbaṭ 7)
The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation),
The exigence of Life 8) in Its nature.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being
Who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth

---

1) *Kušṭa* is more than "truth". As antithesis to "lie": it is "sincerity", "good-faith", "rectitude", "fidelity".

2) Cf Yafefiyah "divine beauty" Targ.Y. Deut. xixv, 6. The verb יפה is not Mandaic, so that this is probably a name of foreign origin.

3) Lidzbarski always translates Sam Mana Smira as "Sam der wohlverwahrte Māna".

4) Either "Treasure-of-Life" or "Treasury of Life".

5) Literally "He (or "they") opened Life", i.e. "revealed or began life".

6) Or *pihta ḏ-hiia* = "Bread of Life".

7) The high-flown mystical language of this hymn is only comprehensible when the basic idea of creation as propounded in the inner teaching of the priesthood is brought to bear on its literal interpretation. *Nbaṭ*, "It or They burst forth" is the literal meaning, refers to the self-manifestation of a creative force after a period of quiescence. This "urge of life", this irrepressible impulse to express itself in worlds of spirit and matter, appears in the metaphor of springs of water, the bursting forth into leaf, flower and fruit of the vegetable world, the birth of creatures and so on.

8) *Ṣurik hiia* "need (or necessity) of life," could be almost rendered by the French "élan vital".

Great fruit for Himself.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy
And was great in his light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life,
The truth (*kušṭa*) that was aforetime, in the Beginning;
Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Haš, 1) the Stem of splendour, 2) radiance, light and honour
Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils
A myriad myriad. Well is it for him
Who hath looked on that Tree!
Bihram 3), who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established
And his name hath not died.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ṣanaṣiel 4), who standeth at the Gate of Life
And prayeth for spirits and souls.
He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope
And taketh in keeping in the World of Light
The prayers of pious and believing people.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Haiašum-Kušṭa 5), messenger of Life,
The Word of the first chosen elect (men).
He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament
And revealed himself.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Bhaq-Ziwa 6), who is called "He acted and succeeded in his *škinta*."
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Yukašar 7), source of radiance

---

1) *Haš* = "He pondered".

2) *Hadra* in D.C. 3 and D.C. 53, M.L. 142:3 has *hidra*.

3) The *Bihram Rba* in whose name all baptisms take place? This line hints at a human being.

4) Possibly from נָצַץ "to blossom"?

5) "May-the-name-of-Kušṭa-live".

6) The root BHQ means "to glisten, to be white".

7) It seems likely that the words of the preceding clause attached to Bhaq-Ziwa, were originally part of those attached to *Yukašar*, whose name seems to mean "the spirit of success".

Who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Biriawiš, the strong source (*kana*) [1],
The *Kana* took thought so that its radiance increased.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ayar [2], the pure Vine which abideth
In the great and lofty Treasure-house [3] of Light.
(*Meet it is*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The pure Yušamin [4] who resteth upon
The treasures of the waters
And upon mighty wellsprings of light.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
The 'uthra Tauriel [5], the being who resteth by
The pastures [6] of the water.
When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand
Fell (off ?) There was consternation on earth,
And vexation(?) [7] in the world of falsehood.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Adatan and Yadatan [8], who stand at the Gate of Life
And praise and extol Life,
And pray for the spirits and souls
Of righteous and believing people
In the Place of Life.
(*Meet is it*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Šilmai and Nidbai [9], two 'uthras
Delegates of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

---

[1] See p. 47, n.4. The *Kana* of the next line probably means the Divine Source of all Water of Life in gnostic symbolism. Biriawiš = Piriawis, the heavenly jordan, see p. 12 penult.

[2] *Ayar*, "ether", "pure air" is personified in Mandaean texts. He seems to correspond with the "most thin air" of the Essenes (Josephus, vol.iv, p. 155) and the Iranian Vayah (Ether).

[3] See p. 95, n. 5.

[4] *Yušamin:* see p. 7 and p. 13, n. 6.

[5] Tauriel is often invoked in phylacteries. An obvious cattle-spirit, he calls into mind the Mithra myth, in which the bull's blood released the forces of fertility and life. The verse is obscure. To lose a little finger is one of the causes of disqualification to priesthood.

[6] (See n. 5.) (Syr. ܦܘܚܡܐ).

[7] Or consuming (rage) ?

[8] Adatan and Yadatan, often mentioned as a pair: no function is assigned them, except here.

[9] Šilmai and Nidbai are the guardian spirits of the jordan.

Who are active and do (*the work of*) the Life.
With *kušṭa* and with the testimony of the Life
They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing 1) souls
Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (*and are baptised*)
(*But*) not in the name of gods 2) or of a messiah!
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Šum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai 3),
Four Beings, sons of perfection,
Who come towards sincere and believing people,
And take them out of bonds
(Tied by) the hands of the wicked
And from beneath the claws of scheming men;
And lift them up to the great place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.
They knit them into the Bundle of Life
And build them into a great Building
Of sure strength 4).
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš 5),
Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving,
Vigorous and sturdy:
Beings that cannot be taken by the sword
Nor consumed by flames of fire;
Nor swept away by floods of water;
Nor will the thongs of their sandals
Be dipped in the water.
They were judged and were justified;
They sought and they found;
They strove and reached the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
(*It is meet*) to praise, honour, magnify and bless
Ṣihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun 6),
'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life 7);

---

1) Vigorous, flourishing, full of vitality.
2) Lit. in the name of Allah-cult, Allahdom, i.e. heathen
3) Four beings mentioned in Prayer 17.
4) *Šrara;* see p. 80, n. 5 and p. 79, n. 4.
5) The three sons of Adam Kasca.
6) The names do not occur elsewhere as a trio.
7) D.C. 3 has *ḏ-had had hawia šumaihun bit hiia adam kasia bihram uram utria ḏ-had šumaihun bit* (*hiia*) *utrin trin kinianun*. The sentence is obscure.

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia [1]), Bihram and Ram whose names are
Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (*dualistic*?)
And the names of righteous and believing people
Will be established in the Place of Light.
Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious,
Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up.
Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth
Which issue from Thy mouth, (victorious) over all works.
Make victorious and raise up this my soul,
(*The soul of*) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš!
And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", and "Thee (Life)" for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. For my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from sons of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart for the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light.

I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Naṣuraeans ...etc.

(*The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted*).

THE RESPONSES. (*'niania*)

78

In the name of the Great Life!
May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding
Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
By means of these responses [2]) and homilies for baptism and the *masiqta*.

---

[1]) Adam Kasia, the occult Adam, has the occult Eve (Hawa Kasia) as spouse, Ram's spouse is Rud, but Bihram's spouse is unnamed.

[2]) *'niania* means "answers", "responses", hence these hymns were probably chanted antiphonally, although this is not the case now. Henceforward I shall translate *'niana* "hymn". *Drašia* = "homilies" or "canticles".

79

In the name of the Great Life!
When the myrtle [1], the myrtle, flourished
In the gardens of Hibil;
When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the *manda* [2],
They gave me two twigs of myrtle
From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan.
For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

80

In the name of the Great Life!
Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward
(O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life),
Our Father, son of the Life!
Šilmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan, and both its banks, hear me!
Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength
Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras!
Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou)
Whose creations rest on (*depend upon?*) the jordan!
Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira [3])
And raise that which ye have planted!
Hear me, hear me, Habšaba [4]) and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa [5]),
Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama [6]), whose strength
Presideth over the Scales!
Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up
Yuzaṭaq-Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside

---

[1]) The word also means "healed".

[2]) In the sacred enclosure of the *manda* (mod. *mandi*) myrtle must be grown. Formerly, perhaps, marjoram was grown also, but it is no longer intertwined in the myrtle-wreath.

[3]) The great mighty *Mana*.

[4]) The first day of the week, personified, Sunday.

[5]) The collection of food-offerings and offerings in kind brought for the *Zidqa brika*, Blessed Oblation.

[6]) The spirit which sits on the frontier of the worlds of light with his scales, weighing their deeds.

In the Great Wellspring
Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out
Radiance, light and effulgence!
Hear me (ye) three *manas*
Who rest upon the jordan with your treasure!
Hear me, Anuš-'Uthra [1]),
Whose strength dwelleth upon me!

81

In the name of the Great Life!
Hear me, my Father, hear me!
And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);
Our Father, Son of the Life!
Šilmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan and its two banks, hear me!
Habšaba and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa hear me!
Hear me, Great Life, from the height,
Hear me!

82 [2])

In the name of the Great Life!
At the Fountain-head came I forth,
At the Source of springs of life went I hence.
Three *škintas* (sanctuaries) did I found
And set over them guardians as rulers.
The guardians I appointed to rule over them
Are sublime, blessed and trusty
To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the *mambuha* [3]) into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

83

In the name of the Great Life!
How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted

---

[1]) Anuš-'Uthra is a spirit active in helping the Naṣoraeans. See G.R., many passages.

[2]) Quoted G.R. p. 145.

[3]) The sacramental water or sacramental drink.

And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne
And on their heads they set living wreaths.
Yawar-Ziwa rejoiceth in the good plants
Which the jordan planted and raised.
The Plants rejoice and flourish
In the perfume of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Which breatheth [1] upon them.

84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me,
Well did my baptiser baptise me,
Truly did my baptiser baptise me
And your baptism shall attain its end.

85

Šilmai hath baptised us with his baptism,
Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign,
The great Anuš-'uthra hath placed living [2] wreaths on our heads.

86

The jordan in which we have been immersed
Shall be our witness that we have turned not away
From our sign, nor have altered our [3] pure Word.

87

I rejoice in my priests
And in Naṣoraeans who hearken to my converse.
I rejoice in you, my priests,
For ye have not changed my pure Word.

88

In the name of the great Life!
May the sublime Light be magnified!
Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen,

---

[1] Lit. "which resteth on them".
[2] I.e. fresh, or freshly cut, myrtle.
[3] D.C. 53 *mimran*, D.C. 3 *mimrai*. See M.L. 151; n.1.

Who went up with me to the jordan,
Pervert and change me not, alter me not by hand,
Pervert not nor alienate me,
Men who have heard the Voice of Life!
He who heareth the voice of Life
Will be edified, will be built up,
Built up and armed. (*Such a man's*) strength will be doubled.
Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life
Will be greatly increased,
Will be enriched and will not lack.
Into the communion that is great will he be knit,
He will enter the communion that is great
So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise
And will behold the Place of Light.
And Life is renowned and victorious,,
And victorious the man who went hence.

89

In the name of the Great Life
The great Light be magnified!
To you do I call and (you) do I teach,
Men who have received the Sign.
Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations;
Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble,
Stumble not because of their stumblings!
Be not interrogated at their tribunals,
At their tribunals be not interrogated!
Certainly have ye held to established truth,
Ye have held to the certainty about which
I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that
Ye may not turn your thought away from Me.
Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought)
Whose mind is turned against me,
Whose mind is turned from me,
Great and not small will be his hurt [1]).
If ye have attained my strength [2])

---

[1]) *Mhita* = "blow", "wound".
[2]) Or "my army".

Bear (arms for) me[1]! If ye bear (*arms for*) me firmly
Stand by me from beginning to end!
But if ye have not attained my strength (*or army*[2])
Go from me, and approach not!
For he that entereth it and beareth (*arms*) for me,
His "garment"[3] will be adjusted to the House of Perfection.
But he that weareth it[4] and doth not perfect it
Will die and his spirit will extinguish.
He will die and extinct will be his spirit,
He will become the portion of the world.
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Good One, who confirmest Thy friends!
Renowned and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who went hence.

90

In the Name of the Great Life
The sublime Light be glorified!
A disciple[5] am I, a new one;
For I went to the jordan-bank
And took my name on my head
And in my heart I took a Sign.
My Sign is not that of Fire,
Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One[6] anointed,
My Sign is a jordan of living water,
The strength of which none can attain.
He chose one out of a thousand
And from two thousand he chose two,
Making traders of them

---

[1] Lidzbarski translated *traget mich* (carry me), literal but somewhat unsatisfactory. I suggest that the word here was some form akin to the Syriac ܕܪܪ, hence "Fight for me! If ye fight for me firmly, stand by me from first to last".

[2] See above.

[3] Here a play on words: the garment is the *mana*, the imperishable soul, the "intelligence", "mind. See p. 4 note 1.

[4] Another play on words: another meaning of DRA "to bear, to carry, to take, to wear".

[5] Or "a priest". This is the meaning accepted by the priesthood here.

[6] The Messiah.

Who labour and ply their trade on earth.
And they trade for fee and pious gift,
And shine more than sun and moon.
I came to the congregation of souls,
For the Life sent me, sent me forth.
There were some who bought my wares,
There those who came to their end [1] and lay down [2].
There were those who bought my wares.
The eyes (*of such a one*) were filled with light,
Filled with light were his eyes
(On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection,
There were those who did not buy my wares.
They went on, reached their end and lay down.
They were blind and saw not,
Their ears were stopped and they heard not
And their hearts were not awakened
To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection.
As They called them and they answered not,
When they call, who will answer them?
Because it was given to them but they took not,
Who will give to them when they ask?
They hated the Way of Life and its Abode
But loved the abode of the wicked.
And lo! in the abode of the wicked
Will they be held captive.
They tied up their tribute, their money [3]
In a lappet [4] of their clothes.
When they wish to lift their heads (*hold their heads high*)
They hurl them down [5] to the Gates of Darkness
To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants

---

[1] The word has a double meaning: "to come to one's end" (i.e. "die") and "to be crowned with a wreath" (a death-rite, see MMII p. 179)

[2] Or "slept", "died".

[3] *argbaiun uminunun*. *Argba uminuna* in the G.R. is used for wealth, property". Purple, purple dye or murex (אַרְגָּמָן) appears at one time to have been used for barter, and the Hittite loan-word *arkammana* for "tribute" suggests that *argba uminuna* may be a corruption of this or some similar word. Cf. the Assyrian *arqaman(n)u* and Aramaic אַרְגְּוָן *arguan* (Delitsch, Ass. Grammar 1889. par. 44). *Argamannu* was given to temples.

[4] A corner of the robe. This, in modern ‘Iraqi villages, is often used as a purse, money is tied into it.

[5] A play on words.

Who stand [1] by the jordan. I say to them,
"My children (who walk). in my road,
My children (who follow) my road,
Swerve not from it or its boundary!
Let him who deviateth from its boundary
Cling to the boundary-stone.
He who hath turned aside from both
Will fall into the uttermost ends of the world".
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Good One, who confirmeth his friends!
Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord
Our sins and our trespasses.
Renowned and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who hath gone hence.

[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from here to below are the hymns and chants of the *masiqta.*]

91

My vigilance and praisegiving
Are my ferrymen [2] across (*the waters of death*);
A transformation brought me over,
A cloud [3] of light took me over.
In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

92

In the name of the Life!
Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one;
Thou art without spot.
Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on?) earth
And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles [4]
From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward.
Above all the world thou hast spoken.
Chosen and pure one (*saying*),
"I am a seer, a diviner;
A seer am I and a diviner!"

---

[1] D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 *qaimun.*

[2] D.C. *mabaraiai*, D.C.3 and M.L. *mabraiai.*

[3] Mandaean priests translate "ship".

[4] *Daria;* as in *hirba udaria umutana ḏ-hazin alma* D.C. 22(r) 282 (Pet. (r) 287): "war and *battles* and the mortality of this world".

The worlds assembled for judgement,
For judgement the worlds assembled
And judgement was pronounced on them,
On them was judgement pronounced,
On those who did not perform the works
Of right-dealing Man.
But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One,
Fair *mana*, that art burnished bright,
Thou goest not to the judgement hall.
Judgement will not be pronounced over thee,
Over thee judgement will not be pronounced,
Because thou didst perform the works
Of right-dealing mankind.
This [1], that they endure and bear,
Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee.
Escape the clutch of the planets
And the forces of this world!
Take, put on thy garment of radiance,
Set on thy living wreath!
Bow thyself! and worship!
Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life.
Praise the Place of Life
To which thy fathers go.
Thou (O) Chosen One,
Wast not from here [2];
From this place thou wast not transplanted [3]
Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life,
Thy home the Everlasting Abode.
They have set up for thee a throne of rest
In which there is no heat or wrath.
There is kept for thee a girdle
In which there is no trouble or fault [4].
Good one! Rise to the House of Life!
And go to the Everlasting Abode [5]!

---

[1] Not *hazia* as in D.C. 53, but *haza* as in D.C. 3 and M.L.

[2] The earth.

[3] Lit. "Not from here was transplanted thy transplantation".

[4] *asga* = trouble, tiresomeness. Cf. D.C. 22 (1) *ḏ-asga umuma litbḫ* (as above). (G.R.l. 80: 4)

[5] The double meaning of *taqna* must be borne in mind. Here, possibly, a "light' ,meaning.

They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light
And they will shine in thy time, and at thy moment.
Arise! Behold the Place of Light!
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went thither.

93

The *mana* rejoiceth in its treasure
And in the glory of Life
Which resteth on it.
I have acknowledged thee
(O) elect righteous one,
For thou settest my soul free
From transitory things.

94

Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul
That hast departed from the world!
Thou leavest corruption and the stinking [1] body
In which thou hast been: (*thou leavest*)
Its abode, the abode of the wicked,
The place which is all sinning,
The world of darkness,
Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions,
The abode in which the planets go about,
Bringing pains and blemishes,
Pains they bring, and blemishes,
Every day causing them tribulation.
Rise up, rise up, soul!
Ascend to thy first homeland.
Rise, rise to thy first homeland,
The place from which thou wast transplanted,
To the place from which thou wast transplanted,
To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras,
Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory
And set on thy living wreath. [2]

---

[1] Read *saria* as in other mss.

[2] Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 omit *Tib 'l kursiak ḏ-ziwa ḏ-hiia tirṣuiḇ batar nhur* (Rise, sit on thy throne of radiance which the Life set up for thee in the Place of Light.) See M.L. p. 160 n.1.

Rise! inhabit the *škinta*s
Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren.
As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home;
And curse this place, the house of thy fostering;
For (*during*) the years that thou didst spend therein
Every day the Seven were thine enemies,
The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve
Beset thee with persecution.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

95

Her Sunday, her *kušṭa* and her alms
Bear witness for the soul.
Ye will be her witnesses
And will pass her through at the toll-house.

96

I am provided and provisioned:
'Uthras of light equipped me.
I am provisioned; for Life provided for me.
And I am equipped by 'uthras of light.
They provided me with provision of Truth (*kušṭa*)
And armed me with all their wisdom.
Wherefore did Pthahil come into existence?
And why did he create the world?
Wherefore was a plan formed
Whereby they brought me from my home?
(Whereby) they sent me to a world of stumblings,
Filled with knots and seals.
It is all full of fire
And sown with thorns and thistles:
It is full of delusion,
All full of deception and lie.
The planets who dwell therein
Conceive plots against me daily
Plotting evil, and declare
"We will divert her thoughts!"
Of my heart that is full of true-dealing
They say, "From us shall come that

Which will make it stumble [1]".
(Of) my eyes that gaze towards the Light
They say "We will make them blink".
(Of) my mouth, which blesseth the Life,
They say "it shall speak untruth";
(Of) my hands, which give alms,
And offer the clasp of good faith [2],
They say "they shall commit murder".
(Of) my knees which bend and worship the Life
They say "they shall bend for the Seven".
(Of) my feet that tread paths of righteousness
And faith, they say, "they shall go on raids [3]" ("deeds of violence").
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited on the House of Life.
And the Life who heard my cry
Sent toward me a Deliverer.
The Deliverer who came to me
Brought me that which was lovely;
He opened out a robe and showed me its radiance
And I cast off the stinking body.
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And led me over the waters of death [4].
Over the waters of death he brought me
And led me onward; in the likeness of Life he supported me.
Life supported Life, Life found its own.
Its own Self did Life find
And my soul found that for which it had looked.
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

97

He rose and took me with him
And did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

---

[1] Literally "We will cause it to stumble on account of us".

[2] The ritual hand-clasp, also used as a form of oath or promise.

[3] **חיפא** J. "impetuous attack": ("Barefoot", Lidzbarski's translation, is unlikely, as it is not considered a sin to walk barefoot. *bhifia* also means "in mourning")

[4] *Hafiqia mia* see p. 45 n. 6.

98

The day on which the soul goeth forth,
On the day that the perfected one ascendeth,
On the day that the soul issueth from below
The spheres of death, of contention 1),
Strife was thrown into the earth.
Ruha's slaves sit 2) bewailing
And the Seven sit in consternation.
The robe of the stars is rent
And dust is cast on Ruha's head.
The hell-beasts 3) weep
And the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken.
The Being who brought me hither,
Who brought me that which was beautiful,
Put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance,
In a wrapping 4) of light he covered me.
He set on (*my head*) a wreath of ether
And (*gave me*) of that which Life bestoweth on the 'uthras.
He set me up amongst 'uthras
And stood me up amidst the perfected (souls).
A wreath of ether he set on my head,
And gloriously he brought me forth from the world.
Life supported Life,
Life found its own,
Its own did Life find,
And my soul found that for which it had looked.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went thither.

99

Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen ones,
By the Word and Certitude 5) that came to you

---

1) D.C. 53 p. 134 1.5, *kišgiš*, D.C. 3 *kašgš*, M.L. p. 164 1.1 *ka šgiš*. From the P. کشاکش *kašākaš* (distraction, contention, tumult).

2) Read *yatbia*.

3) *Zangaiia* "barkers, roarers, bellers" - a name given to the wolves, lions and dogs who attack souls in the *maṭarata* (purgatories. *See Diwan Abatur*).

4) *Ṭarṭabuna*, see p. 81. n. 1.

5) In both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 it is *ušrara*. Lidzbarski translates "word of *truth*".

The Word and the Certitude that came to the good,
The True Word[1] which came to believers.
My Chosen, ye sought and ye found,
Moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find.
Ye sought and found, my Chosen ones,
As the first (souls?) sought and found.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia.
And thou bringest to victory all who love thee.
And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".]

100

In a building which Life buildeth,
Good trees flourish.
Fragrant is the perfume of the trees
With the perfume of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Which pervadeth them.

[Here recite "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shem son of Noah, and "Good is good for the good".]

101

The Life hath founded a dwelling,
And radiance dawned
In the sublime Ether!
I and my brethren, the 'uthras,
Have set out every good thing[2],
Have set out the allotted portion of the Great (Life):
We have offered it up in purity to the Place of Light.

102

The building that Life buildeth
Will never come to nought.

[Repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion[3]) and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark 1) and Light set up in its place".]

---

[1] Read *kšiṭa* as in D.C. 3 and M.L. p. 165.

[2] "I and my brethren" means the celebrant and co-celebrants. The *ṭabta* refers to the small piles of ritual food ranged round the *ṭarianas* (tables) of the priests.

[3] I.e. have eaten a few mouthfuls of the ritual food.

103

Darkness is crushed back into the Dark
And Light is set up in its place.
The Life hath accepted your prayer,
The 'uthras have accepted your praise
The oblation is assigned to its lord,
And bounty to him who giveth it.
This soul of N. and the souls of this *masiqta* 2) rest at the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the *masiqta* and pray a prayer for thyself.
And Life is victorious.]

[These hymns and homilies of baptism and the *masiqta* I copied for myself so that there may be for me commemoration on earth *etc.* (*Cf. other colophons.*)]

104 3) (The *Rušma*)

My Lord be praised!
May Kušṭa strengthen you! In the name of the great Life may healing and purity be thine!
O my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,
Great Jordan of living water,
In the name of the Great Life
We have cleansed our hands in truth (*kušṭa*)
And our lips with faith;
We have uttered words of radiance.

---

1) *'Uma* in M.L. p. 166: 10, also in D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and most copies. *'Uma* = "darkness", "gloom", "obscurity" (see ܥܡܡ rt.-meaning "to be dark, overclouded, and the Aramaic עמם "to be dark, obscure" and cognates). The formula occurs again in Prayer 391, but, this time, both my mss. have *'ma* (mother). The alteration may be deliberate, for in Mandaean mysticism "the Mother" is associated with matter, the gross and the physical.

2) The soul of the person in whose name the *masiqta* was celebrated and other souls commemorated.

3) This prayer, which is not in M.L., is recited daily by every Mandaean, and by every priest before each stage of a rite and every morning, whilst performing the minor ablutions. The water used must be "living" i.e. running, and each action and the verse accompanying it, is repeated thrice.

My mind is absorbed 1) in (*thoughts of*) Light.
Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name
My Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, and blessed and praised
Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory
Which emanated from Itself. (Three times.)
I, N. son of N (*or daughter of N.*),
Am signed with the Sign of Life
And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Were pronounced on me.
(Three times)
My ears have heard the voice of Life.
(Three times)
My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life.
(Three times)
My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire,
And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed 2) One anointed.
My Sign is in the great jordan of living water
And the Sign and name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is mentioned upon me.
Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up
And the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is mentioned upon me.
(Three times)
My mouth was filled with prayer and praise.
(Three times)
My knees bless and worship the Great Life.
(Three times)
My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kušṭa) and Faith.
(Three times)
I, N. son of N., am baptised with the baptism
Of the great Bihram, son of the Mighty (Life)
My baptism shall guard me and will succeed.
And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Are mentioned upon me.
(Three times)

---

1) ṢHṬ, according to Lidzbarski is used almost always with fire in the sense of catch fire, and in Prayer 115 (M.L. p. 178, 1. 9) he translates '*ṣhiṭibun*'' sich entflammten''. Above, however, we have '*shiṭabun* in what is practically an identical passage. See J. ṢHṬ 2.

2) The Anointed, i.e. the Messiah.

My feet 1) — and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve
Shall be powerless to rule me.
The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Are mentioned upon me.

105 [Known as the *Asiet Malkia*]

Kušṭa heal you!
In the Name of the Great Life!
Healing and victory 2) be thine,
O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies!
Healing and victory be yours;
My honoured First Parents
Healing and victory be yours;
Treasure of the great First honoured Life.
Healing and victory be thine;
King Mara-ḏ-Rabutha-'laita
Healing and victory be thine;
King Yušamin the Pure, son of Niṣibtun
Healing and victory be thine;
King Manda-ḏ-Hiia, son of Niṣibtun,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Hibil-Ziwa
Healing and victory be thine;
King Anuš-'uthra
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šišlam-Rba
Healing and victory be thine;
King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia 3)
Healing and victory be thine;
King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance
Healing and victory be yours,
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš,
Healing and victory be yours
Adatan and Yadatan,
Healing and victory be yours

---

1) Out of place? Or should it be *Ligraihun u'daihun* ("The feet and hands of the Seven" etc.)?

2) Or, equally "health and purity" and for *nihuilak* "shall be thine". *Asuta uzakuta* is used in fact as a formula of polite greeting, a salutation. As this hymn is recited, the priest bows at every name. The prayer is not in M.L.

3) The-great first-Radiance-was-bright. (שׁחַק)

Šilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan,
Healing and victory be yours;
(Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light,
Healing and victory be yours;
(Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation,
Healing and victory be yours;
Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab [1]),
Healing and victory be yours;
Sar and Sarwan,
Healing and victory be yours;
Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun,
And Tar and Tarwan
Healing and victory be yours;
Yufin (and?) Yufafin,
Healing and victory be yours;
Habšaba and Kana-ḏ-Zidqa,
Healing and victory be yours;
King Barbag-'uthra,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šingilan-'uthra,
Healing and victory be thine;
Simat-Hiia,
Healing and victory be thine;
Great 'Zlat [2]),
Healing and victory be thine;
Šarat-Niṭufta [3]),
Healing and victory be thine;
Kanat-Niṭufta,
Healing and victory be thine;
Bihrat-Anana,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Abathur-Rama [4]),
Healing and victory be thine;

---

[1]) The prefix "anan" indicates the spouse of the spirit named.

[2]) *'zlat* ("she-span") is a personification of pious wifehood of priestly caste. Šišlam-Rba, the prototype of Mandaean priesthood, took to wife 'Zlat, and the marriage is described as a pattern for earthly marriages.

[3]) See p. 37, n. 1.

[4]) There are two Abathurs, one appears to be an *dmuta* (or counterpart) of the other. In the less abstract form, he is Abathur of the Scales, the spirit of justice which weighs human souls in his balance.

King 'Uṣṭuna-rba [1]),
Healing and victory be thine;
King Abathur-Muzania,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Pthahil, son of Zahriel [2]),
Healing and victory be thine;
King Yahia [3])-Yuhana,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Adam, the first man,
Healing and victory be thine;
King Šitil, [4]), son of Adam the first man,
Healing and victory be thine;
O (ye) kings and 'uthras,
And Indwellings [5]) and jordans,
And running streams and *škinta*s
Of the worlds of light,
All of you, healing and victory (be yours!)
And (may there be) forgiving of sins
For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnuš), (N. son of N.)
Who have prayed this prayer!
May there be forgiveness of sins for me!

(*Note.*— The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", i.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayer-times daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnuš. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (*Rahmia*), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

---

[1]) The "Great Body". The Great Life projected itself as a universe into the Great Body, shaped, according to gnostic tradition, like a man's body with worlds as limbs and organs. Here personified: also called Adam Kasia.

[2]) Zahriel was brought up from the underworld by Hibil-Ziwa, whose semblance wedded her there. Their offspring was Pthahil, who was therefore part darkness and part light.

[3]) John the Baptist.

[4]) Šitil, (usually one of the triad Hibil, Šitil and Anuš) died in order that Adam might live longer. Hence he is called the purest of human souls.

[5]) *Mašknia*. Or, just "abodes".

106 [1])

In the Name of the Great Life!
Up, up! (ye) Elect righteous ones,
Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones!
Rise, worship and praise the Great Life!
And praise the great king Šišlam-Rba,
And praise the Occult Tanna [2]) and Ham-Ziwa,
And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great,
And praise Simat-Hiia,
From whom all worlds came into being;
And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm [3])
From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being.
I worship and praise that lofty and great
King of light, the Compassionate One
Who is full of loving-kindness.

[Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours (daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions". Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]

107

In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends,
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

---

[1]) In Lidzbarski's *Mandäische Liturgien*, this part comes as *II, Die Oxforder Sammlung* (i.e. in the Bodleian Library). Prayer 106 is Prayer I of his Erstes Buch, on p. 171 M.L.

[2]) See p. 9, n. 1.

[3]) See p. 14, ns. 5 and 6.

108

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship Life
And I praise my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name... in the name of that Primal Being"]

109

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship Life and I praise my lord
Manda-ḏ-Hiia and that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[Pray this prayer at the devotions of the seventh hour and then recite "In their name... in the name of that..."]

110

In the name of the great Life!
The time, the time for devotions arriveth
The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come.
My awakener is Hibil, my instructor [1]) is Šitil,
Anuš lifteth up [2]) my hymns,
The immerser in my immersion [3]) is Šilmai
And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

111 [4])

In the name of the Great Life!
My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends
Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

---

[1]) Lidzbarski *Hymnensänger* (M.L. p. 173).

[2]) D.C. 53 has *damia*, read *ramia* as in other mss.

[3]) The priest immerses himself at the early morning prayer.

[4]) A repetition of 107.

112 [1])

In the name of the Great Life!
I worship the Life
And I praise my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

[This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (= *In the name of the Life*) and "In the name of that (*Primal Being*) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (*Yawar-Ziwa*)", "Let there be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.]

113

In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, through this Sunday prayer!

"On the light of Ether do I stand,
I stand for the Great Light with its purities!
I am Manda-ḏ-Hiia, emanation (*lit. planting*) of the Mighty First Life.
I cried to the first day of the week, (*Habšaba*)
The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light
Who enlighteneth 'uthras. To him I said
'Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world,
To that world which is all birth,
To be with the Elect Righteous,
Men formed of flesh and blood.
Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them,
Stand by them, take care of them,
Give them strength and fortitude
So that they may stand and worship and praise
The Mighty Sublime Life!' "
Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-ḏ-Hiia
"How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth
To be with elect righteous (men)
Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me!
They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour,

---

[1]) A repetition of 108.

And remit not my sin and transgression?"
Then Manda-ḏ-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday,
"Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world
To this world that is all birth, to be with
Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood.
And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them,
Stand by them and take care of them!
Turn back and drive away from them
The seven planets together with their demons and devils,
And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures;
So that they will forgive thee thy sins [1])
And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem
And victory will be ours and will be thine".
Then Manda-ḏ-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous,
"Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom
I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you,
To uplift you and make you upright,
And to bring you prayer and praise.
Forgive him his sins [2]) and transgressions
And hold him in great esteem."
Manda-ḏ-Hiia taught and expounded and said,
"Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses
On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem,
Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras
Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory.
For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous
And bright than all the 'uthras!"
Blessed and praised is Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the Confirmer".
And Life is victorious over all works.

114

In the name of the Great Life!
Sublime Light be glorified!
Early I arose from my sleep: I stood,
Into radiance that was great I looked,
I gazed into radiance that was great,
Into the Light which is boundless.

---

[1]) Read "they will forsake *their* sins and *their* transgressions".

[2]) I feel sure that this should be "Forsake on it (Sunday) sins and transgressions".

When clothed [1] in robes of radiance
And light was thrown on my shoulders [2],
A wreath of ether He set on my head
And set it on the head of all His race [3].
He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn,
And the Light-rays [4] answer His voice.
And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up
From their sleep.
He said to them "Arise, ye sleepers who lie there,
Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled,
Arise, worship and praise the Great Life
And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life [5],
Which shineth forth and is expressed
In sublime light."
And Life be praised!

115 [6]

In the name of the Great Life!
We have purified our hands in *kušṭa* (truth)
And our lips in faith
We have uttered words of radiance
And were absorbed [7] in thoughts of light.
Thou, my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, art blessed and praised
And thy praise is established (*on high*).
Great is the strength of Life;
Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!
Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.
This is prayer and praise which came to them [8] from

---

[1] Not as in M.L. "Ich war bekleidet". Possibly "When the dress of radiance was put on"?

[2] D.C. 53 *lkadfḫ* "on his shoulder" (D.C. 3 *lkadfiḫ*): M.L. (from the Bodley ms. *lkadfai*) "on my shoulder". As the Bodley ms. is the older I have adopted this reading.

[3] In both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 "He set an ether-wreath on *his* head and set it on all his race".

[4] *Pasimkia:* see p. 63, n. 4.

[5] Is the sun taken here as a symbol or image of the deity?

[6] The first few lines are identical with 104 (the *Rušma*).

[7] D.C. 3 makes *'shiṭ abun* two words (not *'ṣhiṭibun* as in the Oxford Ms.) De Morgan has *'shiṭabun* as in the *Rušma* and here. See Lidzbarski's note, M.L. 168 n. 2 on the meaning, which he associates with fire. Jastrow, סָחַט however, gives good reason for his second meaning "to absorb".

[8] D.C. 3 and M.L. "came to us"

The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.
We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,
Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

116

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name
My lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee:
'Ufania 1) (interpretations?) of truth which are unchangeable
Have blessed thee.
Sons of salvation who sit in thy company
Have blessed thee.
Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Naṣirutha
Hath blessed thee;
Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,
Hath blessed thee
And I 2) worship and praise that channel of light,
The messenger of all rays-of-light.
Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,
Being who resteth upon the *škinta*s!
Upon *škinta*s 3) doth his name rest.
Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness
And upon the great Countenance of Glory.
And Life be praised!

[Pray these four prayers, "On the Ether-Light do I stand", "Early I rose from my sleep", "We have purified our hands in *kušṭa*", and "Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name". Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense.]

117

I worship, praise and laud
That Šrar, the great occult First Vine
Whose fruits are a thousand thousand,

---

1) אופנא "turn". interpretation". (In later Hebrew, see J. אופן)

2) D.C. 53 has *ḏ-ana* "whom I" etc.

3) M.L. "upon all *škinta*s."

And a myriad myriad His tendrils;
Upon Whom I called and He answered me.
Further, when I call on him, He will answer me;
For He will come and will heal me,
Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me ¹)
Will direct my eyes to the Light,
And my feet to steadfastness
My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That first great occult *škinta*
That is the house of dazzling beings.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That occult, first *škinta*
Which my Parents ²) inhabit.
Then I worship, praise and laud
Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine
Which loosed its milky juices ³) into the habitations.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That Ruaz, the great first Light
Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.
Then I worship, praise and laud
That great, occult, first *škinta*
To which the eyes of Naṣoraeans,
Men set apart, and the elect righteous
Look, that they may rise and behold
The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.
And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

[Pray this prayer in the *Rahmia* (Devotions) of the seventh hour, after incense on the fire (*and after?*) "On the Ether-Light do I stand"]

118

It is time to pray the "Devotions",
The great moment for humble worship ⁴),
For offering up propitiatory prayer ⁵)

---

¹) D.C. 53 *unitaqnan*, D.C. 3 *unitraṣlia*, also M.L. p. 181, 1.3.

²) "My Parents", i.e. according to priestly teaching the cosmic Father and Mother.

³) "Nourishing juices" is perhaps better. From HLB? Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 181, n. 1) rejects this derivation.

⁴) Lit. "to humble oneself".

⁵) *Hilita* from (חָלָה "to assuage by prayer or gifts"). French *douceur*.

To my lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
For arousing [1] the elect righteous.
The priests say to Manda-ḏ-Hiia
"We will abjure that which we possess
Of fee, alms and benefit
And the (false) deity [2] of the House [3].
We will come and will be believers."
Manda-ḏ-hiia saith to them, to the priests,
"Your Father hath great strength,
Surpassing all limit, (*stronger*)
Than passionate thoughts, vain things
And the devouring flame.
The Good One clotheth His children:
He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them
That there is great enlargement [4] of Life
And your souls shall rejoice
With clouds (*spouses?*) of light.
But other souls will die and become
As though they had never existed.
Ye shall receive your vestments: [5]
Ye shall receive your wreaths.
In the presence of the Great (Life?)
Ye will be great, and will be called
'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.
And ye will say "The Living stand
In the dwelling of the Life".
And Life is victorious over all works.

[Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand".]

119

In the name of the Great Life
Be the sublime Light glorified!
On Sunday, the first of days,

---

[1] Read as one word, *lmitiauria*. Different readings by scribes suggest corruption. Lit. "in order to awaken (or arouse)".

[2] Read *ulalahuta*.

[3] "House"here = the earth, the world.

[4] Or "rebreathing", "refreshment", "renewal".

[5] *Titqablun 'uṣṭlaikun* omitted in D.C. 53 : see M.L. 183 :4 and D.C. 3 p. 162, l. 5.

Who hath seen that which I have seen?
Who saw Manda-ḏ-Hiia
When he went and came to the world?
He went (thence) and came to the world.
The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.
He taught, and lovely was his voice!
And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence,
Eloquence he put into his mouth.
He revolutionized and forsook the world:
The world he revolutionised and forsook.
Spirit (*ruha*) sitteth in lamentation
In lamentation sitteth Ruha;
And the Seven sit in consternation;
They weep and prolong their mourning
Because their mysteries are disclosed,
Because disclosed are their mysteries.
They will be brought to an end
On the great Last Day.
Namrus [1] feared and trembled,
Her weapon fell from her shoulder,
From her shoulder fell her weapon
And her bows [2] from the palm of her hand,
Ruha addresseth her sons,
Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),
She saith to them, "Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do?
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"
A consuming ray [3] of light
Is in Manda-ḏ-hiia's hand; felling them
He cometh (*to?*) the rebels.
The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice
At departure [4] of the Seven
Saying to them "I have brought wares

---

[1] Another name for Ruha: *varr.* Nimrus.

[2] Plural.

[3] Or "a mace".

[4] *paṭur* occurs in D.C. 36 and DC. 6 of prayers, that they are the soul's *paṭur* (*paṭurḫ hinun*) i.e. "her discharge", her "permission to leave" seems the likeliest translation.

To my friends.
I brought truthful words to believers.
Men who buy my wares,
Their merits wreathe their heads
Twined are their merits,
And their horns are exalted
On [1] their heads.
They will arise and will behold
The Place of Light.
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

120

My day — what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!
What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,
The day on which the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia dawned:
On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

121

Before the Wellsprings were transmuted [2]
Before the Awakening [3] without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world:
The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.
They become clear and shining [4]
They gush forth and cast out impurities.

---

[1] Literally "in" or "with" their heads.

[2] The whole hymn deals with the transmutation of turbid water by Water of Life: (*šinia*,, from ŠNA "to change" ?).

[3] In spite of Lidzbarski's note M.L. 186 n. 4, *tirata* is undoubtedly "awakening". In D.C. 43 *ulabšinta ulabtirata* "neither in sleeping or waking". Lidzbarski takes *lbar* in this line for *lbab* ('b' and 'r' are easily mistaken).

[4] *Nasbia tuqna* has the double meaning "take on restoration" and "assume luminosity".

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?
Voices cry aloud proclamations [1]
Planning schemes, all of them talk!
(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings,
One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.
(As for) us, who have praised our Lord
Thou wilt forgive us our sins.
Thou wast victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.
And Life is victorious.

122

O Lord of devotions,
O Lord of Prayers
And of hymns and good [2] books,
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hear my voice and condemn me not!

123

Except for six or seven nations,
Fruit is set up on the Tree;
On the Tree fruit is set up
And (other) trees gather together toward it.
Toward it do the trees assemble,
And a throne is set up for the Lord [3] of Radiance
For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up
And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.
Before him are set up recompenses
Which he delivereth to the perfect,
To the perfect doth he deliver them
And said "To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded". And he said [4] "Every man who toiled [5]
And was long-suffering shall come and take with both hands,

---

[1] Or "sacred instruction" "scriptures".

[2] Reliable, orthodox books.

[3] Read *Irab*.

[4] Not in M.L.

[5] D.C. 53 is defective. For *kulhin ḏ hua* read as in other mss. *kul man ḏ hla u'tangar*. The verb is הֲלָא not חֲלָא (in Mandaic there is no distinction between the two hs.). Jastrow gives as the meaning of הלי, הלא "to be faint, to labor" i.e. to toil till fatigued. For *'tangar* read *'tnagar* (cf. نجر).

But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.
He will seek but will not find,
And ask, but nought will be given him,
Because he had in his hand and gave not,
He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."
Thou art praised, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Who dost not condemn thy friends.

124

I seek a boon from the Life,
From Thee, mighty Life.
I seek a boon from the Life —
That Ye will rightly guide Your praise [1]
For me.

[These three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

125

In the name of the Great Life
At the beginning of the construction [2]
I issued from thee, everlasting abode:
At the beginning of the Building I emanated from the Builder,
The Great (Life) who built me.
From the Builder, who is the Great (Life)
Who constructed me, I came.
My Transplanter transplanted me.
I came: my Transplanter transplanted me
With advice that was counselled by the Great (Life),
With advice given by the Great (Life)
They sent me that I might build a building,
That I might construct a building for the good,
For true and faithful men,
I built and constructed it;
And at the beginning of the building I established,
I planted living plants therein,
True and faithful men.

---

[1] I.e. the worshipper's praise of the Life.

[2] Lidzbarski took *banana* to mean "in a cloud". The context, however, and the evidence of other texts proves the word to mean the act of building, construction, a building, and usually the act of creation.

I entreat my Builder (Creator) (*saying*)
"Keep Thine eye on my Plants
Upon my Plants keep Thine eye,
Lest, perchance, they droop [1] and lie down
Forgetting the good things commanded (them),
Until they sleep (droop) and until they lie down,
And until they forget Me (and) the good things commanded,
Until they forget Me!
(*Then*) will apostasy enter into them."
Beware of it, my brethren! Beware of it my friends!
Beware, my friends of Jesu, the pseudo-Messiah,
And of those who misconstrue appearances
And alter the words of My mouth.
If ye are wary, my brethren, if ye are wary, my friends,
If ye are wary, my brethren, when ye depart from your bodies
I will be a Helper to you.
A Helper and a Support from the Place of Darkness
To the Place of Light.
Thou hast conquered, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And makest victorious all those who love Thy name.

126

At the beginning of the pure *Kimṣa* [2]
Accompanied by sublime Rays of Light,
I gazed and beheld a great (sprouting) [3] Shoot
Which was transplanted from within the great Jordan.
Sublime was his voice his perfume fragrant,
His appearance shining and splendid!
And Life is victorious.

127

A Being, chosen, righteous, sprang up
And shone forth in the world.
He appeared in the world and shone forth.
He spoke with the Mighty Life;
With the mighty Life he spoke,

---

[1] In the Middle East a gardener says of a drooping plant that it is *nāima* "sleeping", and here "sleeping" applied to a plant would mean "drooping".

[2] *Kimṣa* especially when used with KMṢ appears to mean "formation", "materialisation", "taking shape" or "consummation". Here, possibly "formation" is the word.

[3] *Nibṭa*. "a sprout", "outgrowth".

And revealed mysteries that were veiled,
Mysteries that were veiled he revealed.
His glory resteth on his friends,
On his friends his glory abideth.
But the whole world [1] persecuteth him.
When he saw that the worlds persecute him
He lifted his eyes to the Place of Light.
They opened the Gate of Light to him
And he arose into Life: They (*Life*) supported him.
Life supported Life,
Life found Its own,
And my soul hath found
That for which it had waited.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And thou bringest to victory
All those who love thee.
And Life is victorious.

128

O Man, whom acclamation chose out,
Who wast selected out of the world,
They will cause thine eyes to shine, good one! [2]
For they have clothed thee in a robe
Which is beautiful.
Because of thy cry and the sound of thy teaching,
The Great Life hath accepted thy prayer
And thy praise.

129

"Whither goest thou, chosen [3] righteous One
Whom all thy friends seek, for Whom all Thy friends
Long and desire Thine appearance amongst them?"
"I have gone to build a building [4]
Yonder in the world.
I built it [5] and constructed it

---

[1] *Kulhun almia*, often means "all persons", "everyone", "all the world"
[2] In D.C. 3 and Oxford ms *ṭaba* (not *uṭaba*).
[3] D.C. 53 has *bhiria:* read *bhir* as in other mss.
[4] For *banta* in D.C. 53 read *binta* as in other mss.
[5] Read *bantḥ* as in other mss.

And set it up in the beginning.
Into the Building I transplanted
Plants that were living,
True and faithful men.
I entreat my Builder,
The Being who guardeth the Building,
I entreat my Builder (*saying*)
'Direct Thine eyes to my plants,
Upon my plants keep Thine Eye;
For perchance they may wilt ¹) and lie down
And forget the good things They commanded;
Until they sleep and until they lie down
And until they forget the good things commanded (them)!'
The Being cried to the world from one end to the other,
To the world's end the Being called the world and said,
"Well is it for one who taketh heed to himself!
The man who taketh heed to himself
Hath not his like in the world! Moreover,
Men who are staunch shall live:
But those who turn aside shall come to an end.
Those who turn aside shall die ²)
But those who are staunch shall find certainty.
My brethren, hold firmly to your staves ³)
And endure the world's persecution.
The worlds' persecution endure
With a true and believing heart.
Worship Me with uprightness
And I will act as your Helper,
A Helper and support from the Place of Darkness
To the Place of Light.
And Life is victorious.

130

On the day on which They opened
The great gate of the Dwellings ⁴)

---

¹) See p. 119, n. 1.

²) So in both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3. The line is missing in M.L.

³) The olivewood staff (*margna*) is part of a priest's insignia, so that priests and not laymen are addressed.

⁴) *Hilbunia* is a literary word for "houses". Literally *hilbuna* means "egg", for which the usual word is *bit* (which also means "house"). In poetry, human beings as well as divine personages live in *hilbunia*.

The radiance of the King over the holy 'uthras
Was enhanced.
To true and faithful men there came
Prayer and thanksgiving.
They rejoice and delight therein
And raise their prayer and praise
To the Place of Light.

[These three hymns and three chants are for the second day of the week (Monday).]

131

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
"Thou camest from the House of Life;
Thou camest - what didst Thou bring us?"
"I brought you that ye shall not die:
That your souls shall not be pent back.
I brought you on the day of death, Life;
On the day of affliction, Joy. [1]).
I brought you a serenity
That existeth not in the unrest of nations".
"This, this hast Thou brought, Good One!
To the true man what hast Thou brought?"
"I have made him My treasurer,
Made him ruler over all that I have.
I have given him precepts of right-dealing
By which he entereth and departeth [2])
As a man who hath realised his desire.
Chosen ones! ye have asked and have found;
Furthermore, my chosen, ye shall seek and find
Just as the first (*believers?*) sought".
And Life is victorious.

132

Come, come, King of 'uthras,
Lofty Messenger, who came from His Father's House.
Come! receive my prayer and my praise
And lift it up in peace to the Place of Light!

---

[1]) Read *hadua* as in D.C. 3 and the Oxford ms.

[2]) I.e. "is born and dies".

133

Thou camest from the House of Good Beings.
(O) would 1) that Thou hadst not come into corruption
Into the evil and falsity of this world!
Would that Thou hadst not come into corruption
And hadst not been seen by my eyes!"
"If verily I came, if verily I appeared,
Thine eyes are eyes of falsehood
Whilst my eyes are eyes of truth.
Lying eyes are darkened utterly.
Eyes of falsity behold not the Truth!
If thou wishest to see, Ruha, 2)
Go to the house of him who knoweth Me,
Those who know me, for I dwell amongst them
In the hearts of my friends
And the thoughts of my disciples".
And Life is victorious.

134

Come, come, King of 'Uthras,
Lofty Messenger for whom my eyes look!
Hearken, hear my cry
And lift up my prayers and my praise
To the Place of Light.

135

Fragrance came from its place,
Truth came from its Home,
Fragrance came from its place,
It came and settled in the House
It crieth and maketh the dead live,
It arouseth those who who are dying
And lying prone.
It awaketh souls who are fit for 3) and worthy
Of the Place of Light.
This, this is what the Good One did,

---

1) *'dilma* indicates a doubtful or sarcastic statement. or a negative form of stating a condition. Ruha is the speaker.

2) Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *lruha:* the Oxford ms. *ruha.*

3) D.C. 3 *ḏ-šihia*, D.C. 53 *ḏ-šiha.*

And set up that which liveth, His Sign.
The planets assembled, they went.
They confronted him that ruled them,
Saying to him, "Hast thou not seen, Alaha-Alihun [1]),
That a Fragrance hath come from its place,
A fragrance from its place hath come?
The (*And that*) *Mana* hath moved from its place?
It calleth and maketh the dead live,
And rouseth the dead [2]) and the sleeping;
It awaketh souls who are fit for and worthy
Of the Place of Light.
This, this hath the Good One done,
And hath set up that which liveth, His Sign".

Alaha-Alihun opened his mouth,
Saying to his sons, his first-born,
"Come, come, my children,
My first-born and my offspring!
Listen to the thing which I say unto you!
If ye find a righteous man,
Bow yourselves low before him,
One bow for himself, and the second
For the Fragrance of Life which resteth upon him".
Behold, Life is victorious!
Life triumpheth over this world.

136

Come, come, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
The Mount of Darkness becometh light,
It groweth light, the mount of Darkness,
And the turbid waters become fresh [3]).

[These three hymns and three chants are for the third day of the week (Tuesday).]

137

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!

---

[1]) I.e. God-of-gods.

[2]) D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 both bave *mitia:* The Oxford ms. *maitia* "dying", which Lidzbarski has translated "bringt her".

[3]) The antithesis of turbid. The adjective means "fresh" also of myrtle.

There was a Cry in the firmament
And thunder sounded in the House of Stars.
Ruha and the planets sit in lamentation,
They sit in lamentation over a man
Who sprang up from the Earth,
About a man who sprang up from the Earth
And rent a fissure in the House,
A fissure he rent in the House
And into it he cast dispute.
A dispute he cast into it,
Not to be resolved for an age of ages;
(Not) until Manda-ḏ-Hiia cometh
Bringing with him three chosen ones,
Bringing three chosen ones with him
And lifting them up to the everlasting Abode,
To the place which is light-giving and effulgent.
Summoned and invited (*thither*) are your souls,
And the souls of our good brothers
And those of our sisters who are believing.
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,,
Good One, who establisheth his friends!
And Life is victorious.

138

The voice of a hidden Sprout [1])
It spoke and discoursed from the Earth,
From the Earth it spoke and discoursed.
The Great Life, from the Occult, answered it,
From the Occult the Great Life gave it reply.
And It transferred thither and sent a Messenger.
The Messenger (whom) It transferred and sent
Subdueth the might of rebels.

139

I ascended the mountain Carmel [2]),
Thee I ascended, Mountain, Mount Carmel!
The mountain of Carmel I ascended.

---

[1]) I take "sprout" to be a young "plant", that is a young believer.

[2]) *Karimla*, Carmel, is mentioned in the 26th. fragment of the *Drašia ḏ-Yahia*.

Twelve vines [1] awaited me.
The vines saw me, the Vines beheld me.
When they saw me, the vines waxed great,
They spread out their foliage.
They increased, spread out their foliage,
Increased their fruit and their blossom.
(*Yet*) they knew me not, did not discern me,
Nor did they take heed of me.
They knew me not, did not discern who I was,
Nor whose son I was [2],
The man who saw me and discerned me,
His course is set for the Place of Life!
Thou art victorious, Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And leadest all thy friends to victory.

140

Between mountains twain,
And between three *škintas*,
Between mountains twain
Yawar, the Chosen One, founded a *škinta* [3]
A *škinta* did Yawar found,
And chosen righteous were established therein,
Therein were the chosen righteous established [4].
And they arise and behold the Place of Light.

141

Who will come, who will tell me,
Who will inform me, who will teach me,
Who will come and who will tell me
What 'uthras are like, what 'uthras resemble,
And what do rays-of-light resemble?

'Uthras resemble Radiance,
"Rays" resemble Light.
'Uthras pledge their word [5]
And do not lie.
The planets lie: they

---

[1] The twelve tribes?
[2] The second *ana* is a miswriting. (Not in D.C. 3.)
[3] *Škinta:* The cult-hut?
[4] The second *mitqaimia* is omitted in D.C. 53.
[5] Lit. "take oath".

Come to an end on the Great Last Day.
Life is extolled, and victorious
And victorious is the man
Who went hence.

142

The advent of Hibil-'Uthra —
Like Šitil, he goeth to the house of his friends,
Priests who hearkened to the voice of Anuš the great 'uthra;
They worship and praise the Great Life
From the beginning unto the end.

[These three hymns and three chants are for the fourth day of the week (Wednesday)].

143

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified.
In the glory of my Father I stand,
And with praise of the Being who is my Creator:
In the glory of my Father I stand
And am upright in the House of Perfection.
At my voice the earth trembled;
At my radiance the heavens were shaken,
The seas dry up,
Flowing streams fall into barren wastes.
Destroyed, rent asunder are fortresses
And earthly men of might are quelled.
Mountains, however lofty,
Like bridges are laid flat.
As for the wicked, who rise up against me,
There is a Being who will hew them down,
Not with my strength but in the strength of the mighty Life.
And Life is victorious and victorious the man
Who went hence.

144

By my pure radiance am I protected;
And the 'uthras, my brothers, are covered with light.
Through the vigilance and praisegiving of the 'uthras,
My brothers, the glory of Life cometh and resteth upon me.

145

When the Mighty [1] (Life) speaketh
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection
The Great and Mighty One transporteth (*or* createth)
Šilmai and Nidbai: It transported Šilmai and Nidbai
And gave them to Nṣab-Ziwa as his helpers.
When Nṣab-Ziwa had reliance on the 'uthras,
The perfect beings whom They had sent down,
He spoke with his calm voice
And the chosen go out towards him [2]
Towards him go out the chosen.
And he giveth them some of his glory
Some of his glory he bestoweth on them,
And the chosen on earth are confirmed
The elect righteous are confirmed;
They rise up and behold the Place of Light.
Extolled is Life victorious,
And victorious is the man who went hence.

146

I am preserved by my pure radiance
Like the Mighty One [3] in His Glory.
My raiment shone forth in the House
And my prayer and praise rise upward to His Place [4].

147

Miserable [5] am I!
When shall I go (hence?)
(*When will*) my aching heart find relief?
My heart that aches (*when will it*) find relief?
And my soul, that they made an alien,
Find its vent?
In the place where they are much questioned
The glory of Life will rest on me.
And it will rest upon my priests and (those)

---

[1] The plural indicates the Great Life.

[2] The couplet is missing in D.C. 53: I take it from other mss. including D.C. 3 and the Oxford ms.

[3] Again, the plural indicates the Great Life.

[4] In D.C. 53 very plainly *latrḥ*.

[5] *Ania* means both "poor" and "miserable".

Whom the Seven persecute in this world.
(Yea) the Seven persecute sorely!
The worlds which persecute and wrong,
The Seven, they and their king,
Are bound for conflagrations of fire.
(But) the good, the elect, the just
And the perfect rise
And behold the Place of Light.
Life is extolled, victorious,
And victorious is the man who went hence.

148

"I am poor 1) and submissive,
An elect righteous one 2).
Listen, hearken to my cry!"
"Thou, poor one, with thy children,
Thine offspring and thy priest,
Shalt rise and thou wilt behold
The Place of Light".

[These three prayers and three hymns are for the fifth day of the week (*Thursday*).]

149 3)

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
At the door of the synagogue
Her mother meeteth Miriai,
Miriai her mother meeteth,
And she questioneth her straitly,
"Whence comest thou, My daughter Miriai?
That thy face plucketh (*colour from*) the rose.
Thy face plucketh (*colour from*) the rose
And thine eyes are full of sleep,
Full of sleep are thine eyes
And thy brow beareth marks of vigil!" 4)

---

1) See p. 128, n. 5.

2) That is to say, one of the *bhiria zidqa*, one of the Mandaean community.

3) The conversion and baptism of Miriai are described in G.R., see Lidzbarski's translation, p. 341; and in J.B. II p. 123. See also 162, p. 140.

4) שְׁהַר "to be awake: *šaharta* = "a vigil", "a watch"? Doubtful: the word could also mean "sleep"!

And she (*Miriai*) answered her,
"Yea, these two or three days
My brothers stayed in my Father's house;
In my Father's house my brothers stayed
Chanting wondrous chants.
At their voice, at the sound of the discourse
Of the 'uthras, my brothers,
No sleep cometh to mine eyes,
To mine eyes no sleep cometh
And my brow (*keepeth*) vigil". [1])
Hast thou not heard, daughter Miriai,
What the Jews say about thee?
The Jews say 'Thy daughter is in love with a man,
She hath hated Jewry and loved Naṣirutha;
She hath conceived hate for the synagogue-door
And love for the door of the *maškna* [2]).
She hath taken dislike to the phylactery-band
And loveth the fresh (myrtle-) wreaths.
On the Sabbath she carries on work;
On Sunday she keepeth her hands therefrom.
Miriai hath hated [3]) the Law
Which the Seven imposed (bound) upon Jerusalem'".
On the place where she was standing,
Miriai scattereth the dust with her foot
And sayeth "Dust on the mouth of the Jews!
Ashes on the mouths of all the cohens (priests)!
And dung beneath the horses' hooves
Be upon the Elders who are in Jerusalem!
That which I have come to love I cannot hate.
That which I (now) hate, I cannot love.
(*No love have I*) except love for Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
My Lord, who standeth by (me) and will be
My Helper, lending hand and support
From the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light".
Thou hast vanquished, Manda-ḏ-Hiia!
And bringest victory to all those who love thy name.
And Life is victorious.

---

[1]) Delete *la*?

[2]) The *maškna* is the Mandaean cult-hut and its enclosure.

[3]) In D.C. 3 *sliṯ*, Oxford ms. *asliṯ* "rejected".

150

On the day that the great gate of the Dwellings 1) opened,
The radiance of the King upon the holy 'uthras was increased.
The 'uthras bowed in adoration
And the Great Life accepted their prayer and their praise
From beginning to end.

151 2)

When will my Lord come from thee
Victorious heaven?
He will lift my head from my knees
And dry my eyes from my tears.
My lap that is full of ignominies
He emptied 3) before Him
I lay low 4) and I arose.
I will tell him everything: of how
All the worlds have harried me,
Many were the persons 5) who harried me.
(*But*) my brethren, sons of Kušṭa,
Do not fail me.
The worlds stoned me with stones
(But) my brothers were moved in words to anger thereat 6).
(O) that my Lord would come from thee
Victorious heaven! for He will lift my head
From my knees and dry my eyes from my tears.
My lap, which was full of ignominies,
He hath emptied out before Him, I lay low
And I arose 7). And I will recount to Him everything,
How all the worlds persecuted me;
Many were the persons who harried me,
(*But*) my brothers, sons of Kušṭa, do not fail me.
The world stoned me with stones,

---

1) See p. 121, n. 4.

2) This prayer differs considerably in the D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and D.C. 1 versions from the Oxford ms. which Lidzbarski used.

3) Oxf. ms *'nfiṣ qudamḫ* "I will empty out before Him"

4) Oxf. ms *rmia qudamḫ 'qum*, for *qudamḫ rmit uqamit* in the other three.

5) *Almia* for "persons", see p.2, n. 3.

6) Lidzbarski is mistaken: the soul makes no complaint about her "brothers in Kušṭa".

7) See ns. 3 and 4.

(*But*) my brothers, in words were angry (thereat [1])
They said to me "Why weepest thou, Daughter of Kušṭa?
(*Why*) do thy tears [2]) fall down into thy bosom?
Thou knowest well thy road!
Thy boundary-stone is firmly erected!
Between lamps of light
They will lift up thy lamp,
Between lamps of light
Thy lamp they will set up [3]),
And they will shine forth.
In thy time and season arise,
And behold the Place of Light.
Extolled is Life and victorious
And victorious the Man who went hence.

152

Ye are uplifted and fortified
By a word of sure truth [4])
Which hath come to you.
A word of sure truth hath come to the good,
A truthful word to the believing!
To the Place which is all Life
Your souls are bidden and invited,
And the souls of your good brothers
And of such of our sisters who are believing.

153

A cleft was cloven in the earth:
Thunder sounded in great Sion,
The being who breached the breach
Was unable with (all) his might
To stop it up.
Another who was with him,
A weaver of a fishing-nets he was,
Cast his net for fishes great and small.
Fish who had strength thereto

---

[1]) Omitted in D.C. 53.
[2]) Read *dimik* as in D.C. 3.
[3]) The repetition is in D.C. 3.
[4]) *Šrara* is more than "truth": it is something sure, fact, something that cannot be shaken, certainty, also (physical) soundness.

Broke the net and got out.
Fish whose strength was not equal thereto,
Lay beneath the lead [1].
On the day that the breach will be closed,
On the day that the waterwheels [2] gush out,
On the day that the breach is blocked,
Ye fish, where will ye go?
O ye who sup on [3] scourge and despotism,
What will ye do on the Day of Judgement?
O ye who wear flowers and silk
What will ye say to the Being of the Scales? [4]
Voices have been voiced,
Opinions have been given, all (*kinds of*) pronouncements;
Yet there cometh one Voice
And teacheth all voices,
There cometh one Saying
And teacheth all sayings.
There cometh one Being,
Who explaineth them one by one.
We who praise our Lord,
Thou wilt forgive our sins and trespasses,
Our sins and trespasses Thou wilt forgive us,
Which we foolishly committed in the world,
For the sake of the strength of the holy
And the true-dealing of the believing.
Life is victorious and victorious the man
Who hath gone hence.

154

I have spoken and discoursed with my voice:
"O Lord of devotional prayer [5],
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hearken and hear my voice,

---

[1] The *silita* is the *selīya* of the modern fisherman on the Tigris and Euphrates: a circular net, weighted round its circumference by lumps of lead.

[2] Wooden irrigation wheels. (P.) The *naura* is still employed but has been largely replaced by oil-pumps.

[3] I.e. "are avid of", lit. "eat." M.L. has *šauṭa* for *šuṭa*.

[4] Abathur (*Muzania*).

[5] I.e. the *Rahmia*, daily devotions.

And be Thou, Great Life,
To me a Helper".

[These three prayers and three hymns are Friday's.]

155

In the name of the Great Life,
Sublime Light be magnified!
Stand by Me, be steadfast,
(Ye who) know Me;
Stand by Me, be staunch,
My friends.
Stand by Me staunchly
(Ye who) know Me,
Like a stone column in storm-winds!
Tempest may go, tempest may come;
(But), My friends, change not
(The words of?) My mouth.
For men who stand firm will live,
(Whilst) those who turn away will meet their end;
Those who turn away will die
Those who remain staunch will find
Sure truth. My brothers,
Speak truthfully, not with lying lips
Prevaricate. Be not like a pomegranate
Which on its outer face is sound,
Outwardly sound is its surface,
But inside it is full of dry husks.
Be like a wine-jar full of Azmiuz wine;
Its outside is clay and pitch
But inside it is Azmiuz wine.

The Voice of Life calleth
And the ears of the chosen hearken.
Extolled is Life and victorious
And victorious the man that goeth hence.

156

By the bank of the great Jordan of the First Life,
A sublime Vine standeth erect.
Each and every day my prayer and praise
Riseth before it.

157

To the mountains I say
How fragrant are your odours,
How delightful your perfume!
Within you 1) all is full of brightness!"
They reply, "The Being who passed through our midst
Hath no tangibility or substance,
No substance or tangibility hath He,
Nor is there any kind of need in Him.
The Being who passed amongst us,
Released some of his vivifying power 2) amongst us."
The wicked hold their power of reproduction
(To consist of) questions 3) (?) and words.
But not in questions(?) and words can the vivifying power 4)
Of Life be comprehended,
But in truth and belief
Which the Elect hold as their vital principle.
Every man who holdeth to his vital principle
And is steadfast therein, raiseth up life,
To support it (*life*).
(*But on*) one who did not grasp his vital principle
And did not stand firmly upon it,
From yonder they loose strife,
They loose strife from yonder
And he will become the portion of the world.
And Life is victorious.

---

1) In mountainous regions, I suppose.

2) *Niṣubta* is a word of very complex meaning. It is primarily the urge to propagate, reproduce, the *élan vital*, the vivifying principle, procreation, planting, implanting. At the beginning of the hymn the poet, admiring the sweet herb-scented mountains, is told by them that it is the divine vivifying power of Life which has produced their perfume and beauty. The working of the vital urge in man is then described as a yearning for true life, the life of the soul. In later Mandaean literature *niṣubta* is an expression for a wife or bride, *nṣab niṣubta* = "he took a woman to wife".

3) *Šulia*. "Questions" is *šuialia*, not *šulia*. *Šul* שול is a word for "lower parts", "sexual part", and here possibly that is the meaning. A play on words may be intended.

4) The varying value of *niṣubta* makes translation difficult, and the whole poem is obscure.

158

O shoot which sprouted within the Tanna [1]
O prayer and praise
Which came to us from the Place of Light!

159

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
The departure of the sabbath
With its evening [2] (*marketh*),
The entry of Sunday for good.
At the departure of the sabbath
With its night,
The Good One set forth and came into being
And he took his lofty throne
And placed in it that which he brought [3].
And he took his shepherd's-pipe of Truth
That is filled with prayers [4] and praise.
Once on a time, Good One,
I played [5] thereon.
The door of the heavens opened!
A second time, Good One,
Did I hymn therewith,
And all the wicked became good!
And a third time, Good One,
I hymned therewith.
All were stirred to consciousness
And they arose.
It said to them, "Rise up, come [6]),

---

[1] *Tanna*, see p. 9, n. 1. A modern Mandaean legend was related to me which may be founded on this prayer. It was that a green shoot sprouted in Noah's wife's oven as a portent that the flood was imminent. See MMII pp. 259-260.

[2] Read *brmaš*. (*Bar maš* and *brmaš*, "son of groping", "son of searching", may be deliberate play on words.) I translate "with its evening", not in the Christian sense of an "eve", because with Mandaeans a day begins at dawn, not at sunset of the previous day. רְמַשׁ = "evening", "night".

[3] Another play on words : עיתא = "time"?

[4] Read *pisnia*. Dalman gives *pisan* as "prayer, supplication" (loanword from the Greek).

[5] Lit. "I discoursed, preached".

[6] Not in M.L., but in both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3.

Ye sleepers who lie sleeping!
Arise, ye erring ones who have stumbled!
Is not my rule hard upon you?
And doth not my high lash fall heavy upon you?"
They say to him, "By thy life,
Our father 1)), Son of the Life,
Because of the radiance and light
Thou hast brought with thee
Thy rule is not hard on us
Nor does thy high lash strike hardly upon us!
But as for the wicked,
The son of the wicked,
It entered his body
And felled him (to the ground)".
Once I cried to the evil one
"Keep aloof from my gnostic!" 2)) (*or* "Avoid my hand!")
I repeated, saying to him,
"Keep aloof from my friends!"
And a third time I spoke to him
To the wicked one, and I will not let him go free,
I will slay him utterly, the evil one,
And will cast him into world's end
Into world's end will I cast him
For I cried to him 3)) in his ear and he heard not,
In his ear I cried and he heard not.
I showed him, before his eyes, but he looked not.
I showed him, but he saw not with his eyes.
He will meet his end on the great Last Day.
As for us, who praise our Lord,
Thou wilt forgive us our sins and trespasses.
Life is renowned and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

160

It revealed itself, and set off and came,

---

1) M.L. *abun*, D.C. 3 *abuhin*, D.C. 53 *abuhan*.

2) In D.C. 3 and the Oxf. Ms. *ḏ-siṭar mn yadai huia;* DC .53 *ḏ-saṭar mn 'dai huia*, "Be an avoider of my hand".

3) Read *qrilḫ* as in M.L.

The face of the day [1] the name of which is holy [1]).
Secret mysteries were revealed to the 'uthras
Enlightenment was revealed, and praisegiving
That was great and boundless.
The 'uthras who were transported thereby
Rejoice in its wondrous radiance
From beginning to end.

[These three prayers and three hymns are for the seventh day of the week (Saturday).]

161 [2]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
The outgoing of the sabbath with its night [3]
Is the entry of Sunday for good.
(*At*) the outgoing of the sabbath with its night
The Life summoned me, from amongst Them,
And some of His serenity He imparted to my mind.
He issued a command, and they clothed me with radiance,
Brought me light that was powerful
And covered me (therewith).
They armed me with their armour
And gave command; to the earth they sent me
To voice the Call of the Life,
To found a society in the House,
To found abodes and to build in them sanctuaries [4],
To ordain priests [5] who are fit for
And worthy of the Place of Light,
To smoothen a road for the good,
To prepare a path for the believing,
To make plain and lift up
Probity [6] to its place;

---

[1] M.L. p. 223 translates *Vorabend des Tages*. Mandaeans begin a day at sunrise, not sunset the previous evening like Jews and Arabs: and this is a reference to Sunday, the morrow.

[2] This prayer is not in the Bodleian ms. (Oxford Marsh 691) — hence not in M.L.

[3] Three words are combined: *b rmaš m'iil*. See p. 135, n. 2.

[4] *mašknia* = cult-huts.

[5] Or "to teach disciples". The reference, however, is to the ordination of priests.

[6] *Tuqna*. Or "steady light", or "honesty" or "orderliness," "orthodoxy".

And to leave dross behind [1] at its proper place,
To deliver the whole congregation of souls,
(The souls) of Naṣoraeans and Mandaeans,
So that the sinner may have no power over them.
I set forth: with my radiance that is great
I came to this world,
I called with the voice of Life,
And I caused a society to dwell in the House [2].
I founded *škintas*, I built in them sanctuaries,
And I instructed priests (*or disciples*)
Who were fit for and worthy of
The Place of Light.
I levelled a road for the good
And prepared a path for the believing,
I made plain and set up probity
In its place
And left the dross behind at its place.
I delivered the whole congregation of souls,
(Those) of Naṣoraeans and Mandaeans,
So that the sinner should have no power over them.
Who told the sons of the Evil One
That they should go forth towards me?
They say, "Man, give us some of thy radiance
Which is great, and some
Of thy light which is boundless!"
I answer them, "Efface yourselves,
Be banished from before me
(Ye) dead ones, evil ones
Who have not beheld Life!"
Who giveth the portion of light
To Darkness, or truth to the wicked?
The truth which was mine I have given
To Naṣoraeans, righteous and believing men.
Behold, they dedicated themselves to goodness,
They will rise and will behold
The Place of Light.
Life is extolled and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

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[1] *Mišubiq* in D.C. 3.
[2] The earth.

162[1]

In the name of the Great Life,
Sublime Light be magnified.
At the going-out of sabbath,
On the eve of the first day of the week, for good,
— The going-out of the sabbath —
At eventide Miriai went to the door of the sanctuary[2]
To pray her prayers and to praise the 'uthras.
All the evil ones who saw Miriai wore the *qulab* (tunic)[3]
All of them had put on clothing,
Wearing weapons they go forth toward Miriai,
Saying to her, "We adjure thee, Miriai,
By the Word, by truth and troth,
Moreover we adjure thee, Miriai.
By the Being from whom thy enlightenment proceeded,
The Being whom thine eyes beheld,
(*Tell us,*) What is He like?"
I do thus; I say to them,
"Be blotted out, be banished from my presence,
(Ye) dead, (ye) wicked men
Who beheld not the Life
Nor have ye seen that which mine eyes have seen,
Nor heard that which my ears heard.
The Being whom mine eyes[4] beheld —
There is not His peer in the world
(*Though one were*) to lift eyeballs
From bank to bank of the world!
At His tread and at His footsteps
The earthly world was alarmed.
The dead heard Him and lived.
The sick heard Him and were cured,
Lepers heard Him and were healed,
They got up, they arose, they were healed
By the healing of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

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[1] Not in M.L. (see p. 138, n. 2).

[2] *Maškna* = that which is called to day a *mandi*, i.e. the Mandaean place of worship.

[3] קוֹלְבִּין A tunic without or with short sleeves (*χολόβιον*). See Jastrow, p. 1328. The word is omitted in D.C. 3.

[4] D.C. 3 *ainik;* D.C. 53 *ainai*

Which, in His goodness, He bestowed upon them.
And Life is victorious.

[Pray these two prayers in the *Rahmia* (Devotions) for candidates for priesthood, on Saturday evening after "It revealed itself and came". Then recite "Poor am poor I! from the fruits".]

163 [1]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
On Sunday, on the chief of days,
Who saw that which I have seen?
Who saw Manda-ḏHiia who set out and came to the world?
He set out and came to the world and three 'uthras came with him.
When he had put [2] on a robe of radiance and light
Thrown [3] over his shoulders,
An ether-wreath he set on his head
And he set it on all his kin.
On Sunday, on the chief of days
Who hath seen that which I have seen?
Who saw the Stranger who went
And stayed at the house of his friends?
I, who saw the Stranger,
Mine eyes were filled with His light
Mine eyes with light were filled
And knowledge (*manda*) dwelt in my heart
In my heart knowledge dwelt
And my mouth filled with his praise;
His praise filled my mouth.
And I arose, and I praise my Father.
I arose and (gave?) praises to my Father
From dawn until the decline of day
I praised His great radiance
And I praised his lovely light:
And I praised my father Yušamin the Pure,
The being who dwelleth on the water-springs.
I praised the four beings sons of salvation,

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[1] Not in M.L.
[2] D.C. 3 has the correct *lbišlḥ*.
[3] D.C. 3 *mramia*, D.C. 53 *mramai*.

Beings who grasp the hand in troth [1]
Praises to the great First Palmtree! [2]
From it I brought me garments,
Garments I brought me from it
So that the good might come and clothe themselves.
Praise my Lord, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Who will be my support in the world,
A support in the world will He be to me
And His hand will help me
To the Place of light.
Blessed and victorious is Life
And victorious the man who went hence.

164 [3]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
I beheld a mountain,
White as the congregation [4] that had formed itself on it.
The day on which a wind breathes *(over it?)*
Nations delight in its perfume.
The day on which the wind holds the valleys [5]
They are illumined by its radiance.
When standing at my place, I made a great request,
A boon. I said "Grant me that from my mountain-home)[6]
And from the home of the great company that (dwelleth ?) therein
There may be (brought ?) a Healer of souls;
A Healer there may be for souls
Who healeth but taketh no fee".
As I was standing at my place
The boon I had asked was granted me,
Granted me from the mountain-home,
From the home of the great community therein.
I became a healer for souls!
I became a healer for souls

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[1] Paraphrased: see p. 2, n. 1.
[2] See p. 14, n. 6.
[3] Not in M.L.
[4] *Kana* cf. *kana ḏ-nišmata*, "congregation" or group of souls.
[5] D.C. 3 has *parata*.
[6] *'qar, aqar, qar* = the French *chez:* i.e. an habitual residence, hence "home" seems an adequate translation.

Who healeth but taketh no fee.
I set forth, came and reached
The gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon
There were some who shut their doors on seeing me:
There were those who shut their doors.
And there were those who opened their doors.
Those who shut their doors
Hated life and loved death,
They loved death and hated life
And will be held back in the Abode of Darkness.
Those who opened their doors
Loved Life and hated Death,
They hated Death and loved Life.
They will rise up in purity
And will behold the Place of Light.
Life is extolled, Life is victorious
And victorious is the man who went hence.

[These two prayers, pray them at the dawn of Sunday after "My day what is it amongst days" then recite "Poor am I; from the fruits".]

165 1)

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Life be magnified!
Poor am I! From the fruits... 2)
And displaced am I, from far away am I!
A poor one whom the Great Life afflicted 3),
A displaced (being), for the 'uthras removed me;
They brought me from the Abode of the Good;
Yea! they assigned me a dwelling in the abode of evil ones,
Yea they made me dwell in the abode of evil ones
Which is all full of wickedness.
All full of evil, full of consuming fire.
I willed it not, nor do I desire
To dwell in the futile dwelling,

---

1) M.L. p. 223.

2) This makes no sense. I suggest that originally *piria* was *Piriawis*, and that it was *mn Piriawis atit* (I came from P.)

3) A play on words; *'niun* also means "answered me" : עני means (a) to answer (b) to afflict, oppress.

With my strength and with my vigilance (*Perforce and with vigilance?*)
Have I dwelt in the futile abode,
By my vigilance and my praise
Have I kept myselt alien from it,
From the world.
I have stood amongst them like a fatherless child,
Like a fatherless child, or like
A fruit tree with none to tend it [1]).
I hear the voice of the Seven,
Who murmur and confer together:
They say, "Whence is this being? (this) stranger,
Whose whose speech is not like our speech?"
I did not listen to their talk
And they were filled with evil rage against me.
The Life, who heard my cry, sent towards me a saviour.
He sent me a gentle 'uthra,
A being equipped and equipping.
He discoursed with me in his pure voice,
Just as 'uthras discourse in the House of Perfection
And he said, "Fear not, poor thing; and do not tremble,
Say not 'I am alone!'
Because of thee, poor one the firmament
Was thus outspanned, the heavens were outspanned thus;
And stars were created therein.
For thy sake, poor one,
This dry land came into being,
The dry land came to pass and became solid
And fell into the water.
On thine account, poor one,
The sun came; for thee was the moon revealed.
On thine account, poor one, did the seven [2]) come.
And those twelve [3]) went hither.
At thy right hand, thou poor one, abideth radiance
And at thy left are beams of light.

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[1]) Lit. with no nurseryman.
[2]) The planets.
[3]) The signs of the Zodiac.

Stand firm! Rise in thy brightness [1] (?)
Until thy measure (of years) is complete.
When thy measure is complete,
I myself will come to thee, I will bring thee
Robes of splendour
Which the world, coveteous [2], will entreat;
I will bring to thee wrappings [3],
Good and pure, of the Light
Which is great and boundless.
I will deliver thee from the wicked
And save thee from sinners.
I will set thee in thy *škinta*
In the Pure Place. I will rescue thee!"
I hear the voice of the Seven
As they mutter and whisper and say
"Blessed is it that the poor one
Hath a father, and the fruit-tree one who tendeth it.
For us there is no father: our fruit-tree hath none to tend it!"
Well is it for him whom the Great Life knoweth
But woe to him whom the Great Life knoweth not!
Well is it for him whom the Great Life knoweth,
Who keepeth himself alien from the world,
From the world of imperfection
In which the planets sit.
On thrones of rebellion do they sit
And perform their deeds with a scourge.
They stir up trouble about gold and silver,
They cast into it (*the world*) strife,
They stir up trouble cast strife into it.
And they will go into the fire: will seethe,
They will go into fire and will seethe,
The wicked will seethe and their pomp
Will perish and be brought to a stop.
(But) I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
And my offspring and my kinsfolk

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[1] D.C. 53 *bmazrutak*, D.C.3 *bmazarutak*, Oxf. ms. *bamazrutak*. Lidzbarski apparently derives from ZHR, (to take heed)· (It could equally be derived from the meaning "to emit light"). Here, perhaps (but not very probably) from MZR: see P.S. Thes. ܡܙܪ̈ܐ "stocks"...vulg. hardy, sturdy, unflinching"., hence "endurance". Doubtful.

[2] Lit "the world of coveteousness asks it".

[3] See p. 81, n. 1.

I will arise, I will behold the Place of Light
The place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.
To it, to that place, (*to that*) bourne
Your souls are bidden and invited,
And the souls of our good brothers
And those (of) our sisters who are believing.
Life is extolled and victorious
And victorious is the man who went hence.

166

In the name of the Life!
The 'uthras rejoice in His [1] treasure,
And 'uthras increase in glory
Through the Treasure.
The 'uthras rejoice and shine
In the vigilance and praise
Which your Father, the Mighty Life,
Inspired in you. [2]

167

In the Name of the Great Life!
Thee, my Lord, do I worship
And Thee, my Lord, do I praise.
Light-in-Truth do we call Thee.
Look on us, Lord, and condemn us not!

168

Upon the Beginning of the great Ether of Life
And upon the great Source of Healings
Do I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, take stand.
I have made prayer and submission to
That great [3] Primal Mana and the Treasure of Treasures,
And to Bihrun, Kanfiel, Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab,
To Sar and Sarwan, Tar and Tarwan, 'Urfiel and Marfiel

---

[1] Very plainly this in D.C. 53, but not in D.C. 3 or the Oxford ms.

[2] Lit. *Nṣablkun* (planted on you) in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53. The Oxf. ms. *nṣablun* i.e. "which your Father transferred from the Mighty Life".

[3] All the beings named in this list appear to be personifications of some function or activity of life or light, but analysis of these names cannot be entered upon here.

And to Arsapan[1], the Youth of tender years,
And to Yawar-Tatgmur and to Haš-u-Praš
The 'uthra who is Nṣab and Anan-Nṣab,
Bihram and the great Ram — Life is His name —
Who receiveth prayer and praise
And uplifteth it (them) to the Great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode.
He will accept my prayer and praise, mine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
And lift it up to the Great Place of Light
And to the Everlasting Abode
Into His own *škinta*; will uplift it and will not let
Distortion or fault appear therein.
And Life be praised!

169

To thy name, Land (world) of Light
And to the great Door of the House of Life
Have I addressed my prayer and made submission,
And to that great First Mana
And that great first Source of glory who is
Haš-uPraš (He pondered and declared) and Prišaia-rba-qadmaia
(Noble, great, First) is His name[2];
Our propitiation[3] and our Awe.
Wondrous is His voice,
And His converse other-worldly.
(He it is) who accepteth prayer and praise
And taketh it up to the great place of Light
And to the everlasting abode.
He accepteth my prayer and my praise,
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
Who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions.
And he lifteth it up to the great place of Light
And to the everlasting abode
And delivereth it to the great Yawar.
This is prayer and praise which came to us
—To the Elect Righteous—to this world

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[1] In D.C. 3 the same spelling: the Oxford ms. Arspan.
[2] Delete ḏ.
[3] See p. 113, n. 5.

Which is all birth.
For every man who prayeth this prayer
There will be forgiving of sins.
To every Naṣoraean man who prayeth this prayer
And standeth at his devotions,
And mentioneth these names sincerely,
A guardian-spirit of light will come
And will abide in his house,
(*And will abide in my house*)
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš.
And I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš,
By means of this prayer will seek and find
And speak and be heard,
I will seek justice and win (*my case*);
I shall be without sin or trespass
In the Great Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.
Life be praised! and Life is victorious.

(These are five (?) [1] prayers which are fruits of ether (?). The first is the confirmation [2] of your "Devotions". Pray them after the hymns and psalms for the day before the major "Blessed and praised be Life".)

These are the prayers and chants and the offertory [3] of the "Devotions" which I, poor and lowly, a minor amongst brother-priests, have copied. I kiss the shoes on the feet of the pious [4] and (am) as earth on the feet of Naṣoraeans, dust [5] beneath the feet of *ganzibras*. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia and Riš-Draz by name. I copied for myself so that I might act and be successful therein and that I should have someone on earth to mention my name [1]) and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light.

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[1] Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 230 ls. 12 f.) has *Halin tartin bawata ḏ-qaiamta ḏ-rahmia qria abatar draša ḏ-yuma mn qudam Brikia umšabia hiia rabtia*) D.C. 53 here may be a miscopying.

[2] *Qaiamta* (that which confirms, or establishes, or offers up) in general seems to mean a prayer of dedication. Lidzbarski translates Festigung.

[3] Or see note 2.

[4] Nasakia has acquired this meaning from the Persian and Arabic ناسك but also, again from the Arabic نسخ, "copyist".

[5] *Arqa bigar* "earth-on-the-foot" = humble slave.

I copied from the *qulasta* (collection) of Baktiar son of Mhatam-Zihrun son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana, of the Dihdaria family, by the name of Sabur, which the great, lofty and respected Rabbi Ram-Yuhana copied; (he was) the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam, son of R. Šitil, 'kuma by name. And he copied from the *qulasta* that was copied for himself by R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun, 'kuma by name. He copied from his own *qulasta* for a "perfect" man, an '*stad,* [2]) Hadat son of Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the Dihdaria family, Sabur by name. He copied it from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty, revered one, a pourer-forth (*or* "copyist") of treasure, highly perfected in priestcraft, R. Sam-Yuhana, son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam, 'Asakir by name. He copied this insertion (rubric) from the *qulasta* of Zihrun-Yuhana son of R. Zihrun son of Yahia-Adam son of Zakia, Manduia by name. Adam-Yuhana copied it, son of Adam-Bihram son of Bihram son of Sam son of Yahia son of Mhatam son of Adam of the Kafašia family, known as Dubia, 'Aziz by name. He copied it from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and respected ganzibra, one exempt from all blemish, R. Mhatam-Bayan son of Zakia-Šitlan son of Sam-Yuhana son of Sarwan-Bahran son of Adam-Baktiar son of Sam-Bahran son of Yahia-Br-Zakia by name, He was of the children of Zakia son of Yuhana, known as Buhayir. He copied from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and respected R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, son of Adam-Zakia son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar, Kuhilia by name. And his teacher copied from the *qulasta* of Yahia son of Adam son of Sam son of Zakia-Zihrun, 'Asikir by name; who copied it from a *qulasta* which 'Amuyia Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Zakia Kuhilia who copied for himself from the *qulasta* of the great and lofty and revered ganzibra- a chosen one whom the First Life chose out, R. Mhatam Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, by name Kuhailia, may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied from a *qulasta* which was copied for himself by 'Amuyia, R. Mhatam-Zihrun-Br-

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[1]) *Dakar* "mentioning", "a mentioner". That is a relative or priest to insert his name when reciting the list of names commemorated at sacraments for the dead.

[2]) A skilled person, a professor, a skilled craftsman.

Hiia son of Baktiar, Kuhilia by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of R. Ram-Bayan son of R. Sam, son of Mhatam Daudania by name, which was copied by R. Sam-Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam, Tutu by name. It was kept in the library (*ginza*) of R. Adam-Yuhana son of Sam-Daudania and was copied from the *qulasta* of R. Bihram son of Bihram-Yahia-Šaiar, Tutu by name, who copied for himself from the *qulasta* of Sam-Bihram son of Bihran-Gadana that was copied by R. Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam-'qaiam son of Sarwan the Deaf, who copied it from a *qulasta* he had copied for himself from a *qulasta* copied by R. Adam-Zihrun son of Yahia-Yuhana son of Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia who copied it for himself from a *qulasta* he copied for himself from the *qulasta* of R. Bihram-Baian son of Br-Yahia-Baz, whose first pupil (*candidate for priesthood*) who copied it was the brother of his father Bihram-Baian son of Yahia-Baz who copied from his own *qulasta* which he copied from the *qulasta* of Ruzba-Bulbul son of Bihram which Adam-Zihrun copied, the son of Yahia-Yuhana- Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia. Adam-Zihrun copied it for his pupil, Adam son of Yahia-Sam-Paiiš: he copied it from the *qulasta* of Adam-Zihrun son of Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia. And Adam-Zihrun copied it a second time for himself from the *qulasta* of his father Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-M'ailia, And Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad copied it for Zihrun-Br-Bihdad which Zakia son of Yuhana copied. He copied it for Sam and Anuš, the sons of Br-Hiia. He copied from the *qulasta* he had copied for his pupil, Mhatam-Bulbul son of Br-Hiia, from a *qulasta* which Anuš M'ailia copied — the son of Bihdad-Zakia son of Zihrun. He copied from the manuscript of his father, Anuš-M'ailia son of Anuš-Bihdad who copied it for himself a second time: he copied from the *qulasta* of Hibil son of Yahia son of Sam-Saiwia from the manuscript of Baian son of Zakia. His mother was Haiuna daughter of Yahia. It was copied from the library which remained with them from the place Ṭib. And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat was its compiler, and Ramuia copied from Šganda and Šganda copied from Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa: the name of his father was Naṭar. And Zazai copied from the Scroll of the First Life.

And Life, rejoice for ever! Life is victorious over all works, and victorious is Manda-d-Hiia and his helpers.

(*Translator's note*). — At this point prayerbooks used by priests vary in order, and D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 no longer run parallel. Into

D.C. 53 I have inserted the longer form of Commemoration used at every *masiqta*. It is called the *Abahatan Qadmaiia*. In the list of commemorations, family names, the names of local priests, friends or relatives are inserted according to the occasion, place, or priests, but the beginning is always the same, and in the *Abahatan Qadmaiia* the names of heavenly beings, patriarchs, ethnarchs and liturgists are permanently embedded.

This prayer, the major *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia*, is not in its full form. in M.L.

I have included here also the six prayers which follow the *Abahatan Qadmaiia* in D.C. 3.

170 [1]

Good is the Good (one?) [2] for the good, and He set His nature [3] upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread [4], *masiqta* and *ṭabuta* [5]. His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor [6] of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yušamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Habšaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin [7] and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Šitil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins.

There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud [8]. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Šurbai and Šarhabiel [1]). There shall be forgiveness of sins for Šum son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nišbai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnuš daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher [2]) Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnuš: forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of Šarat-Simat,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anuš son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram-Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me.[1]) And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of *ganzibria*: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-Šitil son of Šarat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Šadia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of Šarat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and Šaria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar-Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (*Bihrat?*)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisḥaq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šabur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mhatam and Šitil, sons of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anuš son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šaiar-Ziwa and Šabur son (*sons?*) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (*them?*); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

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[1] Cf. No. 72; distinguished from No. 170 as the *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* of Šum (Shem) son of Noah.

[2] See p. 60, n. 3.

[3] See p. 60, n. 4.

[4] See p. 61, note 2.

[5] See p. 61, note 2.

[6] The person or persons who ordered the *masiqta*.

[7] "Son-of-a-Family"? Priests translate Qin as "earth", "dust"

[8] Ram and Rud were a human pair who survived the destruction of the world by sword and plague.

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[1]) Šurbai and Šarhabiel were sole survivors after the destruction of the world by fire.

[2]) A priest when praying this prayer always inserts the name of his "teacher" i.e. the priest who initiated him into priesthood.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa-

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[1]) Some names are omitted from the (copied) text. In most prayerbooks the family-names vary, but the first and last parts remain the same.

Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anuš Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anuš, Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (*them?*); Bihdad son of Šadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Šganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

The people, (*consisting of*) all Naṣoraeans, priests and laymen (*mandaiia*), and *ganzibria* and *ganzaiia* [1]) (*headpriests and treasurers* ?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations) [2]); all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (*ṭabuta*), and for you, my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ye upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling [3])"

And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

171

(*Note.* — 171 is taken from D.C. 3: in D.C. 53 it begins as No. 257, p. 287 of the Mandaic text of D.C. 53.)

In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree [4]) Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a [5]) which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great Šišlam [6]) who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree; praised is the great 'zlat [7]) Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all kings, because from them (*both*) all worlds proceeded — for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

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[1]) In most versions.

[2]) In some conclusions to this prayer *daria* is inserted here.

[3]) Or, lit. "the living stand in their *škintas* (dwellings ?)".

[4]) I.e., the two first creative forces, one male, the other female (See p. 14, ns. 5 and 6).

[5]) *Tan(n)a.* See p. 9, n. 1.

[6]) See p. 105, n. 2: 'zlat is Šišlam's bride and the archetype of wifehood.

[7]) See n. 6.

Praised is that first great Jordan[1]: praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first *Škinta* and praised are the three hundred and sixty *škintas*[2] which proceeded from that first great mystic *Škinta*.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and said, "Upon every Naṣoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (*prayer of*) dedication[3] the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anuš-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate[4] (*his crown*) sixty-one times and make (*this*) petition[5]: (and say)

Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the great First Life, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (O) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me: be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

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[1] The Great First Jordan is the River of Life, Water of Life. A jordan is running water generally, but in particular a pool of running water used in the cult-hut garden for baptism.

[2] *Qaiamta;* a name given to a prayer of dedication.

[3] *Ṣauta* can also mean "heed" or "company", "fellowship".

[4] See p. 28, n. 3.

[5] This prayer is called the *Šal Šulta* (pron. Šāl Šūltha).

O Habšaba (Sunday)! deliver me from hell-beasts [1]) and from purgatory-demons [2]) and from water-penalties [3]), and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts [4]), the chief Levier of dues [5]) and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth [6]) to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me.

O Abathur-Rama, O Abathur-Muzania [7])! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding!

Haiašum, healer; [8]) Kušṭa, and Yusmir healer of the *mana* and its counterpart, heal me (*preserve me*) from pains, from blemishes from hateful [9]) curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body.

O Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba [10]), Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and for my teacher [11]), for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-ḏ-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life [12]) Life will be with the victorious.

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[1]) *Zangaiia*, see p. 100, n. 3.

[2]) See p. 62, n. 5.

[3]) *Qnasia*, varr. *qnasia ḏ-mia* referred to also in D.C. 24, probably a form of torture or ordeal by water.

[4]) *Zangiania* in all mss. for *zangaiia*, see n. 1.

[5]) D.C. 53, p. 290 text, omits *rab* before *maksia*.

[6]) A free translation. The *kušṭa* rite.

[7]) Abathur the Lofty and Abathur of the Scales.

[8]) D.C. 53 (Prayer 257) and D.C. 24 have *ḏ-kušṭa*, but D.C. 3 is probably right in omitting the particle. D.C. 53 has also *ḏ-Yusmir*.

[9]) D.C. 24 *luṭata bišata* "evil curses".

[10]) D.C. 53 (Prayer 257) has *Yurba* (one word).

[11]) *Rbai*, the priest who initiated him into priesthood.

[12]) D.C. 53 (see Prayer 258) makes this a separate prayer. Both in this and in D.C. 24 *'in hiia u'iin hiia*. (*Hiia* is both "living" and "life").

They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us[1]. Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

172 [2]

Now (*we beseech Thee*), Life, (*bestow*) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) [3]. For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever hath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings".

And Life is victorious over all works.

173 [*The Šumhata*] [4]

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Šišlam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upon thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the *Mana* and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee.

The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures [1]), pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eye and the dimmed eye be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul, thy trunk and thy stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš, through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

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[1] Cf. G.R. p. 419, *hiia lyadin hiia lsabrin hiia lgubria masbiranan.*

[2] (D.C. 3 p. 215 text).

[3] Read *tlata zibnia:* (D.C. 3 *klata nubia!*)

[4] D.C. 3, p. 216 (text). De M. p. 1 ff "The Names."

174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (*ginza*) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil-Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

175

In the name of the Great Life.

Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou?"

I say to them, "I come from the Body[2]), the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consummation [3])".

They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called?"

I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

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[1]) *Nidria ušalamata* are evils often mentioned in talismans.

[2]) The cosmic Body of Adam Kasia.

[3]) *Kimṣa* (see p. 119, n. 2.) here has certainly the meaning of final consummation.

Then they bless her (me) [1] and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal [2]" because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body. And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O Šilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body, compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

177 [3]

In the Name of the Great Life.
Vines shone in the water
And in the jordan mighty they grew.
Ye are flourishing offshoots.
Messengers hither I bring you,
I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you
Garlands of myrtle and marjoram
For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

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[1] The poem veers constantly from the 1st to the 3rd person.

[2] *Kimṣa.* (?) See p. 158 n. 3.

[3] This prayer exists in several versions and appears to be very corrupt. Its use may elucidate the original meaning. It is recited when, at the Little New Year's Feast, priests hang wreaths of myrtle and willow on the door of every house. I venture on a reconstruction of the hymn as follows: —

(*From the fourth line*)

[*Messengers* (not a messenger) *I bring you.*]
Šgandia lhaka aitilkun yahbinalkun l'utria sagiia
Gadlilkun umatnalkun bbabia d-hilbunia
Klilia d-asa umarwa (*see note on this line*)
Yanqia gadlalkun umatnalkun
Alma lkimṣat almia brikinun
Yardna sagia brikinhun masbuta ḏ-labaṭla
Mn riš briš. (*cont. next page*).

I will rear up for you babes
And bring (them) to you.
We bless you unto world's end :
The full river (*yardna*)[1]) hath blessed you
And the baptism which is unfailing
From beginning to end.

178

Kušṭa strengthen thee [2]), my crown,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my teacher,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my turban,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, guardian of my turban,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Great First Radiance,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Great First Light,
Kušṭa strengthen you, my brother-priests,
Kušṭa strengthen You, Life, my Parents [3]),
Kušṭa strengthen thee, my treasure,
Kušṭa strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure!
We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times)
In an inner vessel they concealed thee [4]).
The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee,
And the Naṣirutha which emanated therefrom
Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion.
And treasure will arise to its owner.
And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever!
And Life is victorious [5]).

(Note.) — The section which follows in D.C. 53 p. 200 begins in D.C. 3 p. 357 after the Blessed Oblation Prayers. It is the section which deals with marriage and with the newly-crowned priest. I translated

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(*cont.*) I suggest that the proximity of *marua* to *yanqia* led scribes to confuse *marba ḏ-mrabia yanqia*, D.A., p. 11, with the present line, especially as *marba* is pronounced marua. However, the verse is said at the New Year, when priests visit houses and distribute wreaths which are hung on doors of houses. My translation is free, based on this supposition.

[1]) The rains fill the river at New Year.

[2]) ASA in the sense of curing that which is sick, is unsuitable to the Mandaic form of greeting *kušṭa asiak*, especially as addressed to divine beings when "give thee thy full power" is implied by *asiak*.

[3]) The cosmic parents, the Father and Mother.

[4]) The *taga* (a silk fillet) is kept in a box.

[5]) This prayer is repeated at putting on and taking off the "crown", see p. 28, n. 3.

the marriage hymns in *Biblica et Orientalia* no. 12, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome 1950, but am glad to alter certain prayers, for second thoughts have improved the earlier translation. The first prayer, No. 179, is found in a slightly different version in the G. R. (See G. R. Lidzbarski's trs. pp. 271-2).]

179

My Lord be praised!
Kušṭa strengthen thee!
In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified!

A. Come, Kušṭa, in kindness,
Light which goeth to the house of its friends.
B. Chosen art thou, pure one,
For thou establishest thy people in innocency.
G. Thou art a perfected selected gem [1]
Without flaw.
D. Thou art the Road of the perfect,
The path which leadeth up to the Place of Light.
H. Life art Thou, from eternity,
Who didst go and didst dwell in my true heart.
U. Woe to him who neither obeyeth nor listeneth to Thee, my Lord!
Whose path [2] lieth in courts of gross revelry.
Z. Thou art the armour of the perfect,
Truth without deviation.
Ḫ. Thou art wise and well-pleasing, my Lord,
For Thou teachest wisdom and faith [3] to all who love Thy name.
Ṭ. Well is it for him who heedeth and heareth Thee [4], my Lord,
And walketh his road following Thee.
Y. Thou art a day of gladness
In which there is no mourning or lamentation.
K. Thou art a Wreath of Purities (or "victories")
That is set on the heads of the enlightened.
L. Thou art a Tongue of Praise,

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[1] *Gimra*, see p. 11, n. 9.

[2] D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 (p. 9, l. 5) both have *šabilḫ*. D.C. 53 like G.R. has *šbila* "path".

[3] In G.R. "wisdom and praise". D.C. 38 agrees with D.C. 53.

[4] Masculine in D.C. 53 and D.C. 38; feminine in G.R.

For every day thou praisest the Life.
M. Thou art the First *Mana* (Primal Mind),
Which Life constructed and built up.
N. Thou art the Light of Powerful (*Life*)
For thou didst go, and didst come to the world.
S. Thou art the Medicine that cureth pains,
The Healer who cureth all who love His name,
ʿ Thou art the Eye of the chosen righteous,
Which looketh daily toward the Life.
P. Thou art a Fruit of pleasant taste,
Which hath no blemish in it.
Ṣ. Thou art the First Consort [1])
An Espousal [2]) that none preceded
Q. Thou art the First Cry:
The Life evoked Thee from its Nature.
R. Thou art the Teacher of head-priests,
And Thy glory resteth upon them.
S. The dead heard Thee and lived,
The sick heard Thee and were healed.
T. Thou turnest (to Truth) the elect righteous,
Men who have laid hold of and believed in Wisdom,
Good men, proven and perfect;
Truth dwelt in their hearts.
Life is renowned, (and) victorious.
And victorious the man who goeth hence.

180 [3])

In the Name of the Great Life!
'Uthras assembled and Dwellings [4]) came together
And they set up a throne for Yawar, King of 'uthras,
They set up for Yawar, King of 'uthras, a throne,
And placed on his head fresh wreaths.
And his light shone forth over 'uthras and dwellings.

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[1]) Or "association". The reference here is undoubtedly to the Father-Mother union at creation.

[2]) *Niṣubta* here is better translated thus. It is used poetically for "marriage" or "bride". See p. 135, n. 2.

[3]) M.L. p. 232. These prayers describe the investiture of Manda-ḏ-Hiia and are read for the investiture of a new priest and also for the bridegroom. See Š.ḏ-Q. p. 45, n. 1.

[4]) *Škinata:* probably the cult-huts, personified.

The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld the radiance of Yawar,
king of 'uthras,
All flocked towards him, they all flocked towards him,
And laid their pure right hands on him and blessed him
With the great blessing wherewith Yawar-Ziwa the king
Was blessed in his dwelling (*škinta*)
And Life is victorious.

181

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they clad Manda-ḏ-Hiia in his vestment,
His radiance shone forth over worlds of light.
His brilliance shone forth on worlds of light,
And the worlds of light that beheld his radiance
All gathered to him, all flocked toward him,
And opened their mouths and blessed Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
Saying to him, "Blessed is thy radiance
That shineth over the waters!
How bright is thy radiance!
Thine appearance giveth out light and becometh not dim!"
(*Give him to drink*) [1])

182

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they tied the girdle on Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
His radiance shone forth over 'uthras and Dwellings.
The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiance
Were all afraid of his radiance,
At his radiance all were in awe,
And all gathered to him, all flocked towards him
And laid their pure right hands upon him
And blessed Manda-ḏ-Hiia, saying to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed is this girdle wherewith they have girt thee!"
(*Give him to drink.*)

---

[1]) The *hamra* (wine) given to a bridegroom is water into which grapes or raisins (symbolical of female fertility and of the Mother) and dates (symbolical of male fertility and of the Father) have been macerated into freshly drawn water.

183

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested [1] Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the tunic [2]
His radiance shone forth over 'uthras and dwellings.
The 'uthras and dwellings that beheld the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
All gathered towards him, all flocked towards him,
Laying their pure right hands upon him,
Blessing Manda-ḏ-Hiia and saying to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed is he who hath transferred to thee these vestments
For all the worlds which behold thee
Are awestruck at thy radiance.
(*Give him to drink*)

184

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia
With the stole [3], Šamašiel,
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings of radiance sprang forth therein,
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings of radiance sprang forth.
And the radiance of the wellsprings was visible at the jordans.
And the (*radiance of the?*) jordans and the radiance of the wellsprings is bright
And illumineth all the worlds of light.
(*Give him to drink*)

185

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Manda-ḏ-Hiia
His radiance shone forth upon the Houses [4],
Upon the Houses his radiance shone forth.
And He (that is) King of 'uthras, on beholding
The radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's crown,

---

[1] Lit. "planted", "transferred" = "conferred on".

[2] The long tunic worn by a Mandaean (whether priest or layman) is called the *ksuia* or the *sadra*.

[3] A long strip of white cloth used sling-wise by the priest whilst baptising to secure the staff which he plants in the river-bed, from falling or floating away. This frees his hands. See MMII, p. 31 ff.

[4] *Hilbunia* = "eggs" (a *bita* is an egg, and *bit* "a house"). See p. 121, note 4.

Leapt up from his throne; he arose,
From his throne he leapt up, stood up,
And the three hundred and sixty thousand 'uthras
With the King, stood and, laying their pure right hands
Upon him, they bless Manda-ḏ-Hiia, and say to him
"Blessed art thou, our father, Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
And blessed this crown which they have set on thee.
All worlds thereby shine from end to end.
(*Give him to drink*)

186

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the *šarwala* [1]) Nṣab,
His radiance shone forth over the Houses,
Over the Houses his radiance shone forth.
His radiance shone forth over the Houses.
And the *niṭufiata* [2]) (heavenly spouses) who beheld Manda-ḏ-Hiia's radiancy
Say to one another: "Whence cometh this radiance that shineth upon us?"
And a Youth standing in their presence said to them,
"This is radiance emitted by Manda-ḏ-Hiia's *šarwala*, Nṣab".
And all the heavenly women [2]) standing on the roofs,
Bless him and say to him, "Blessed art thou, our father,
Manda-ḏ-Hiia! and blessed be he
Who invested thee with these vestments!
This their radiance is surpassing!"
(*Give him to drink*)

187

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they invested Manda-ḏ-Hiia with the staff (*margna*),
Its radiance shone forth on the jordan.
The jordan that beheld the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia's staff
Leapt and rejoiced in the radiance of Manda-ḏ-Hiia

---

[1]) The ritual leggings, part of the *rasta* or ritual dress.
[2]) Lit. "Drops", see p. 37 notes 1 and 4.

And said to him, "How abundant is thy jordan!
The fruits and grapes and trees that are by it
Will be established.
Great is thy glory, and thy Root shall be preserved
From beginning to end".
(*Give him to drink*)

[Read these prayers for the staff and the crown both for a priest who celebrates a *masiqta* (*for the first time*) and for a bridal pair and chant these hymns.]

188

In the name of the Great Life!
I twined a wreath of myrtle and marjoram
And set it on the head of Yawar, king of 'uthras
And said to him, "Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in thy living wreath,
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in the Spouse [1])
Of brightness who hath been bestowed on thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice
At the kingdom [2]) that is bestowed upon thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in the jordans
That they made flow for thee.
Rejoice, Yawar, rejoice in Šahrat [3]),
The Cloud of radiance who is bestowed on thee.
That floateth and floweth onward in thy jordan
From its source to its end [4]).

189

In the name of the Great Life!
Who, amongst the 'uthras, was it,
That placed the Wreath of the Great (Life)
Upon his head?
The *Tannas* [5]) and the *Niṭufiata* [6]) embrace one another
In the shade of the Wreath.
In the shade of the Wreath they embrace one another

---

[1]) Lit. "cloud" see p. 37, n. 4. The wreath is the "consort" or spouse of the *taga*, "crown".

[2]) *Malkuta*. Or, better perhaps, "kingliness", i.e. status of kingship.

[3]) So in all my mss. M.L. has Šarhat.

[4]) See Š-ḏ-Q. p. 47, n. 3.

[5]) Tannas (*tania*), see p.9, n. 1. and p. 12, n.6.

[6]) *Niṭufiata*, "Drops", see p. 37, n. 1.

And they lay their pure right hands upon him
And bless him with the mighty benediction
Wherewith Yawar was blessed
In the Place of Light.

190

Our father, they made thee chief in Tarwan
And gave thee authority (lit. "word "or" speech") in the place of Light
Yawar set a crown upon thee
In the radiance whereof 'uthras shine,
'Uthras shine in its radiance
And the planets are in fear of it.

191

On thee, our father, they have conferred a pure sovereignty
And a command which the Great (Life) hath entrusted to thee.
They have given thee a banner of radiance,
By which all the worlds of light are illumined.
They have given thee a staff of living water,
A rod by which all rebels shall be laid low.

192

Who hath sent thee, new king,
Cause [1] of all these rites?
Thou hast illumined the world of Ether
And brightened the whole earth from end to end.

[193 [2]

Who sent thee, new king
That sitteth in the *saka* [3] of his teacher?
Thou hast watered it with a great watering (?) [4]

---

[1] Lit. "that from thee all these doings take place".

[2] The scribe of D.C. 53 has omitted No. 193, but, a repetition of these hymns includes it as No. 308. It is inserted here in its proper place.

[3] *Saka* is translated *Bereiche* by Lidzbarski, p. 242, l. 10 of the translation. *Rbiḫ* (quite plainly in the mss.) refers to the teacher. The word probably means that the novice is still under the tutelage of the priest who has initiated him. In Ṣ.ḏ-Q. I translated "booth", but *saka* is philologically unlikely to be the *sukkah*.

[4] Af. MSA (see Af. ܡܣܐ). Or (equally) "hast consolidated it by a great solidification". The former meaning seems the likelier.

And thou hast illumined and ordered
The 'uthras in their dwellings (*škinata*)
From end to end.]

194

Our father, Šihlun-Ziwa, rejoiceth in his crown
And the Mighty (Life) rejoiceth in His Word.
The Dwellings of the Mighty (Life) rejoice and are glad
With King Yawar-Ziwa who hath planted thee [1] (here).

195

Our father, They will guard thy wreath for thee,
And the fellowship of the Great Life will rest upon thee.
Thine eyes [2] shall enlighten thee, good one,
For as chief of the communion of Life [3]
Thou camest hither.

196

Our father, thy wreath is from the Vine Ruaz,
And the being who twined it is from the Place of Light.
Our father, the perfume of thy wreath is pleasing,
Like (*the fragrance of?*) the great Anuš-'Uthra in his Dwelling.

197

Planter of Plants, plant it (*or* "him") [4]
Twiner of wreaths, twine it [5]
Establisher [6] of purities, establish
The bridegroom [7] N. and make him prosperous.

198

I am small amongst 'uthras,
And a babe amongst Rays-of-Light;
Yet I grow great and my soul waxeth great,
For I have drunk water from the mouth of the Euphrates

---

[1] *Nṣablak* in most mss: M.L. *nṣablun.*

[2] *Ainak.*

[3] The exact meaning of this phrase is doubtful. The prayer is also intended for the bridegroom, hence the translation I gave in Š. ḏ-Q "Because thou comest hither for the chief function of life-union", is too free a rendering.

[4] Either the plant for the wreath, or the new priest or bridegroom; possibly both are included.

[5] If the priest is meant — "make him great".

[6] Read *mtaqnanin.*

[7] If a priest, "the priest N."?

199

May pure guardians guard thee,
May thy root be raised up and flourish exceedingly,
And thy doings be made prosperous.
And mayst thou rise up and behold the great Place
The House of Perfection.
And Life is victorious.

[These (*antiphonal*) hymns are to be recited over a priest who celebrates (*for the first time*) a *masiqta*, and over bridal pairs(?)
These are prayers for the vestments and clothing (investiture) which I have copied who am poor, lowly and striving, small amongst my brother-ganzivri and priests, kissing the shoes on the feet of Naṣoraeans. I endure the world's persecution with a faithful and believing heart. I copied for myself so that there might be a commemoration for me on earth, and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. A slave, am I, who is all sin. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia, Riš-Draz by name. I copied for myself so that I might work and succeed, I copied from the *qulasta* of the skilled craftsman Baktiar grandson of the skilled craftsman 'Aziz son of Kiria son of 'Aziz son of Faruk of the sons of the Dihdaria, Sabur by name. It had been copied by the great, lofty and honourable R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam known as Manduia, (family) name 'Kuma. He had copied it from a *qulasta* which R. Ram-Yuhana had also copied for himself — the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam, name 'Kuma. He had copied it for a "perfect" [1] craftsman Hadaiat son of craftsman Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the children of the Dihdaria, Sabur by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of the great, lofty and honourable ganzibra, a reliable and tested (*priest*), a paragon in "treasure", and a high-(minded) and liberal dispenser (*or* "copyist") of his Naṣirutha (priestly wisdom), namely, R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam, 'Asikir by name. He copied for himself from a *qulasta* which was (also) copied for himself by R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son

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[1] See p. 70, n. 1.

of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar son of R. Yihia 'Asikir by name; who copied from the *qulasta* of R. Yahia-Yuhana son of R. Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of Adam-Mhatam son of R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, Kuhilia by name. He copied from the *qulasta* of his father, (*who was also*) his teacher (*i.e. initiated him into the priesthood*) and put the crown on his head (*made him a priest*), R. Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of R. Adam-Mhatam son of R. Bihram-Br-Hiia, Kuhilia by name. He copied for himself from the *qulasta* of his teacher and also copied it for the great, lofty, and respected, the reliable and tested ganzibra, R. Yahia-Mhatam son of the father of ganzibras R. Sam-Adam son of Zakia son of Ram son of Yahia son of Adam, known as Manduia, 'Kuma by name. He had copied from a *qulasta* which his brother had copied for himself, R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Sam-Adam son of Zakia son of Ram son of Yihiia son of Adam, known as Manduia, 'kuma by name. That he copied from the *qulasta* of R. Yuhana son of Sam son of Adam son of Zakia son of Zihrun son of Adam-Šitlan son of Yahia-Anuš son of R. Baian 'Asikir by name, which was copied by the great, lofty and respected R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of R. Baktiar son of R. Adam-Bihram son of R. Yahia, Kuhilia by name — may Manda-ḏ-Hiia forgive him his sins! — from the *qulasta* of R. Ram-Bayan son of Sam-Daudania which had been copied by R. Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam son of Zihrun son of Adam, Furayih by name, from the *qulasta* which was copied for himself by R. Yihiia-Šaiar, Tutu by name. He had copied from the *qulasta* that had been copied by Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam the Deaf, who had copied it for his pupil Sam-Bihdad son of Bihram-Gadana. That was copied by Bahran son of Adam-Zihrun son of M'ailia, from his own *qulasta* which was copied from the *qulasta* of Yahia-Baktiar son of Yahia-Baz, copied by his nephew, he was his teacher — R. Adam son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Baz. And Adam copied from his own *qulasta* copied from the *qulasta* of R. Adam-Abulfaraz son of Bihram-Šitil-Barubai, which Adam-Zihrun copied a second time. His father copied it, Yahia-Yuhana-Bihdad son of Anuš-Mu'ailia, who copied it for Sam-Zakia and Anuš, sons of Br-Hiia, who copied it for Yahia-Zihrun son of Anuš who copied it for his pupil who copied it for for Bihram-Zakia son of Zihrun-Sakara, from the *qulasta* of Anuš-Mu'ailia son of Anuš-Bihdad who copied it for himself a second time from the manuscript of Bayan son of Zakia and his mother was Haiuna daughter of Yahia, which they copied from the library that was placed with them, from Ṭib, the town. And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat was its compiler in it (*that city*). Ramuia copied from Šganda son of Yasmin and Šganda copied from Zazai-ḏ-Gawazta son of Hawa. His father was Naṭar. And Zazai copied from the scroll of the First Life. And Life is victorious, and victorious are Hibil-Ziwa and his helpers, Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš. *Finis.*]

[In the name of the great First Strange (*Not-of-this-world*) Life, from worlds of light, the Ineffable [1] who is above all works, be there health, purity, strength, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš. And for my father Sam son of Anhar, and my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, and for my wife, Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha. And for my offspring, Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania the children of Hawa-Simat. And may our thought, our mind, and our intelligence enlighten us about the treasure of the First Life in these hymns and chants (called) "When the Proven One, Pure One went". *Finis.*]

200

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be glorified!
(Lo) the Voice of Life from the fruits
And the voice of radiant-light from afar;
The voice of 'uthras from the Land of Light
Who speak in their sublime voices and say,
"Whence came we into being? By whom was implanted
Our power of reproduction? [2] Why was it implanted,
Our reproductive power? Our form, what doth it resemble?
Whence springeth our strength, that lofty strength
To which all the worlds cannot attain?
Whence came our voice, a pure voice
That is other(-worldly [3]), clear [4]) and dignified [5]) ?

---

[1] *Yatiria* could refer either to the worlds (*almia*) or to the Great Life (*hiia rbia*). It is difficult to decide to which the adjective belongs. See p. 1, n. 1.

[2] See p. 135 n. 2 and P.S. Supp. under ܢܘܚܡܐ. Here the question concerns the urge to reproduce, the vivifying principle, especially in reference to sex. This is a marriage hymn.

[3] *Šanai* = "other", "strange", "changed" etc.

[4] *Baiar* "luminous", "shining", "clear.

[5] *Mitraurab* (Palpel and Ethpauel of RAB) "magnified", glorified", "magnificent" etc.

Our praise is praise of the Great (Life),
And our form is in the likeness of the Place of Light.
Whence cometh our strength, lofty strength
To which all the worlds cannot attain?
Our voice is the pure Voice by which the bridegroom is summoned
Into the *škinta* [1]) in which 'uthras [2]) are sitting,
And he is instructed.
The king of 'uthras [3]) came,
He set off and came, the king of 'uthras
To the *škinta* in which the 'uthras sit.
He said to them "About what have ye been instructed,
(O) 'uthras?"
"About the *Mana* that is within the Occult,
About the *Mana* that came into being in the Hidden,
And about the Radiance that gloweth
In a hidden place".

201

O hang up [3]) light, let lamps of glory be hung up therein!
"Whose is this brightness? From whom cometh this light?
From whom doth this effulgence
That is vast and boundless emanate?"
"This is the radiance of Hibil,
This is the light of Šitil,
This is the effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš,
Which is great and boundless."

202

The radiance of Hibil is beauteous,
The light of Šitil is bright.
And this is the effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš
That is great and boundless".
O hang up light!
Let lamps of glory be hung therein!
O hang up light,
Let lanterns of light be hung therein!

---

[1]) The reference is to the heavenly cult-hut (or wedding-booth in which the priests and bridegroom sit for the ceremony).

[2]) I.e. the priests, who represent the 'uthras.

[3]) *Talai* Imperative, feminine: A female attendant is addressed.

203

"This building [1]), whose is it?
Whose is it, this building?
This building, whose is it,
That hath so sweet a fragrance,
Whose fragrance is so sweet
And in which fair trees are set?"
"This is Yawar's building,
This is the building of Yawar,
This is Yawar's building,
This, whose fragrance is sweet,
This, so sweet of odour.
And wherein fair trees are set".
Enjoy the perfume of the trees,
For the fragrance of Yawar hath rested upon them.
Enjoy the fragrance of the trees,
For the fragrance of Manda-d-Hiia hath rested on them."
O hang up light.
Let lamps of brightness be hung therein
O hang up light,
Let lanterns of light be hung therein.

204

They sent Hibil-Ziwa to make report [2])
Unto the 'uthras who sit there.
And he said unto them,
"From the Radiance proceeded Light,
And from Light proceeded Ether:
Ether proceeded from Light,
And glory [3]) is manifest to the 'uthras
Who are sitting here".
"Sweet is thy voice, youth Hibil,
When thou speakest in the garden of Adam

---

[1]) The *'ndruna* or *škinta* in which the priests who perform a marriage sit is a light booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses, so that it has a pleasant perfume.

[2]) This is a reference to the marriage ceremony. Here Hibil-Ziwa is the prototype of the priest sent to report that the bride is properly attired etc. to report that the bride is properly attired etc. (See Š. ḏ-Q.)

[3]) Or "companionship", "fellowship". Lidzbarski translates Glanz.

And chantest sublime hymns.
Sweet is thy voice! and its sound went thither".
And Life is victorious.

205 [1]

When the Proven One, the Pure One, went
To the Place where perfected (beings) [2] dwell
— Great is he, the Good (Spirit)! —
Towards his Father [3] was his course set,
His course was set towards his Father,
To say to Him that which was sublime and ineffable
In the Occult Place.
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
A Home of splendour [4] (and) glory [5]
Shall be founded therein,
Glory will be enshrined therein,
And 'uthras will seek one another in prayer,
'Uthras will pray to one another,
Each one will glorify his his brother,
His brother each one will glorify,
By counsel which goeth thither from thee".
"Thou art empowered, great Spirit!
Go, shed glory there,
Go, shed glory there: let them be glorified
With the glory that is Ours and thine.
They shall be glorified with that glory,
And receive the blessing that we have sent them.
The blessing we have sent them they shall receive,
They will grasp Thy benefaction,
It shall be so that 'uthras may know
That thou art the greatest of all the 'uthras;

---

[1] Lidzbarski omits this prayer till the lines *Šaliṭit anat rba ʿzil* (see M.L. 249 : 1).

[2] So literally. In Š. ḏ.-Q. 4. : 4. I took *tušlimia*, a plural, to be an epithet for the Great Life (also a plural). Several passages in this group of prayers confirm my original idea, that the Great Life is meant.

[3] Plural, because he is speaking to the Great Life.

[4] See op. cit. p. 54, n. 1.

[5] Or "honour".

For thou hast opened up and shown to them
And bestowed on them radiance and praise".
"I went thither, thither went I,
And shed upon them a blessing.
The blessing that I shed upon them
They receive, and in their blessing
We bless Thee [1]: We bless Thee with
A benediction, with theirs,
They will glorify Thy praise,
(And) will be glorified by Thy praise.
By Thy Word they will be raised up,
They will be raised up by Thy Word,
And from (*that which is*) Thine
They will not depart".
Priests bless the great (*spirit*) in secret
And bless the great (*spirit*) who honoured them
And honour dwelt upon them.
And Life is victorious [2].

May there come One from Thy radiance before me
And One from Thy light behind me!

206

(*The alphabetical prayer on pp.* 161 *and* 162 *is repeated here*)

207

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
A Vehicle [3] am I, a small one,
Light rested on my thought.
I travel on, I go on,
I and the life's traveller whom they bound to me.
I spoke to her, to life's travelling-companion
Whom they joined to me, saying,

---

[1] The 2nd. person plural indicates the Great Life.

[2] Only the latter a part of this poem is in M.L. p. 249, l. 1 ff.

[3] The word *'gla* is derived from the root 'GL "to roll, עגל hence an *'gla* עָגְלָא is a "roller", "wheeled vehicle". The idea of motion is conveyed. Here, in *'gla*, the last meaning is possibly a typical Mandaean pun on one meaning of the *mana*. It is here, therefore, the *mana*, rolling onward on its life's journey. (The other possible meaning "calf" is, of course, unlikely).

"I travel[1]) by my own strength;
(But) thou, in whose strength dost thou journey on?"
She spoke, the life-traveller that is they joined to me
Saying to me, "Just as thou travellest onward
By thine own strength, I (*travel*) by faith.
Kušṭa (*ruleth*) my heart [2]), my eyes are
The eyes of Radiance.
And my heart hath been tested by chosen ones".
We entered into garments and covered ourselves
And the act of reproduction was brought into being.
The act of reproduction came into existence
And elect ones began and will be established.
Life is renowned (and) victorious
And victorious the man who went thence.

208

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
His nuptial couch is spread for the bridegroom
And bowls of wine are mixed for him.
The bridegroom's bolster is clods of earth,
(Earth) the bridegroom's pillow, his vault is the sky.
The bridegroom's robes are of pure .... [4])
The bridegroom's girdle is all of well-springs,
Full of wellsprings of radiance, light and glory.
The bridegroom's tunic is of foaming waters,
The bridegroom's wreath is of a pure kind of vine,
The bridegroom's staff is of camel-thorn tree [5])

---

[1]) This prayer is said whilst walking from the marriage booth to the bridal chamber.

[2]) D.C. 38 *lbab* like D.C. 53. D.C. 3 *lbar*.

[3]) I must stress that my translation of these curious and obscure poems is tentative. When translating D.C. 38 (Š.ḏ-Q.) p. 53) I took the "fellow traveller" to be the *dmuta*, the prototype, or spiritual counterpart. It seems to me now that the reference is to the bride.

[4]) In Š.ḏ-Q. (p. 15, l. 10) I assumed that D.C. 3's *ruhzan* was correct, and therefore suggested that the word was *ruhṣan* from RHṢ "to wash, perform lustration". D.C. 53, however, like D.C. 38, has *quhzan*. Arabic قهز *qahz* or *qihz* = "a cloth of wool and silk". The context suggests a rough cloth of some kind. It is possible, however, that my first conjecture, based on D.C. 3, was correct.

[5]) A flowering and highly scented shrub or tree common round the Mediterranean and in the Middle East. Its leaves are shaped like the print of a camel's foot in sand.

And they say "Come, that we may make
A great wedding-feast for the bridegroom
As hath been commanded us by the Great (Life),
To make his appearance bright,
To prosper him from beginning to end
And cause good fortune to rest upon him.
And we will say unto the bridegroom, hymning him,
"Rejoice, Bridegroom, rejoice,
Rejoice in thy living wreath!
Inasmuch as thy wreath is fresh,
Thine appearance shall be bright
And thou shalt be confirmed in the happiness (*lit. "glory*)
Which the Great Life hath sent thee".

209

They bring in white flour by the *khor* (heap)
They enter with sacks of fine meal and (*household?*) requisites[1],
And finest flour[2] without measure.
Sheep arrive in flocks, and numberless oxen.
They bring in myrtle by the load,
And trails of jasmine in bunches.
Okes of gold they bring in,
And silver tied up in moneybags;
Precious stones and pearls,
All the handiwork of craftsmen;
Oil and wine, all collected by experts.
All of them — a thousand standing on the ground
And two thousand standing on the roofs.
(And) the thousand thousands of 'uthras
Standing by the bridal-canopy, say,
"Come, let us make a great wedding-feast for the bridegroom,
As hath been commanded us by the Great (Life),
To make his appearance bright,
And to make him prosperous from beginning to end.
To cause good fortune to rest upon him.
And we will hymn the bridegroom, saying to him,
'This radiance, whose is it?
This light, whose is it?

---

[1] *Šilia* = requests, desires (things asked for or needed) needs, requisites.
[2] *simad:* סְמִידָא? Or *simat* "treasure"?

This effulgence, that is great and boundless,
Whose is it?'
"This radiance is Hibil-Ziwa's, this light is Šitil's;
And this effulgence is of Anuš the great 'uthra,
So great and boundless".
"The radiance of Hibil is beauteous,
And the light of Šitil bright,
And this effulgence of the great 'uthra Anuš,
Is great and boundless".

210

Sun in his majesty bowed down before the bridegroom
And shed some of the rays of light which clothed him
And clad the bridegroom therein and said to him,
"I and my warriors and doughty men,
Will stand and take care of thee
From beginning to end".
Moon, lord of crown and wreath,
Placed his crown and wreath on the bridegroom,
And said to him "Our father, thy wreath is the wreath of 'uthras,
And thine ardour [1] proceedeth from the strength of Radiance.
The king of 'uthras that beheld thee
Removed his robes of radiance;
He clad thee therein and said to thee,
'How lovely are thy robes!
Thine appearance is bright, and shall be confirmed".
Mars, lord of arms and war, put on his armour
And war-harness and standeth before the bridegroom's bridal-canopy.
And slayeth devils and demons,
Putting an end to and slaughtering his foes,
And he said to him "I, with my warriors and mighty men,
Will stand here and will guard thee from beginning to end.'
Mercury, learned and wise, instilled some of his wisdom
Into the heart of the bridegroom,

---

[1] D.C. 3 has *šugandak*, D.C. 38, like 53 *šgandak*. The word is an obvious substitution of a familiar word for one unfamiliar, probably a word derived from the root ŠNG which appears only in *Ṣingilan 'utra*, the name of a spirit. In Syriac ܫܢܓ = to be in love and ܫܢܓܬܐ (variously vocalised) = love, desire, passion.

And hymned the bridegroom and said to him,
"Who sent thee, new-made king?
These doings all take place on thine account.
Thou hast brightened the Ether-world
And hast made the whole world better
From one end to another".
Jupiter, Son of the water, bringeth his vesture to the bridegroom
And hymned him and said to him,
"Thy vesture, our father, is the vesture of 'uthras,
And the light thrown upon (thy) shoulders
Will make thee (weigh) light [1]) our father, in the Scales.
And sealeth thee with the Pure Sign".
Saturn, in his beauty and his ruddiness,
Bringeth his smock to the bridegroom.
And he hymned the bridegroom and said to him,
"O 'uthra in whose resplendence Naṣoraeans exult,
Vaunting themselves in the Word,
The world of light vaunts itself about thee,
(And) about the king Šihlun-Ziwa(?) who hath transplanted thee."
Venus, Lady of Beauty and Desire,
Brought her wreath and girdle-string to the bride,
Which they placed on the head of the bride;
And they hymned the bride and said to her,
"O crowned bride, who sittest upon columns of water [2]),
Rejoice, and rejoice in the spouse who hath taken thee to wife,
And rejoice in thy living wreath.
Inasmuch as thy wreath is living (refulgent)
So shall thine appearance shine,
And thou shalt be preserved until world's end."
And Life is victorious, and victorious the man
Who goeth hence.

211

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.

(*Refrain*)

I and the bridegroom's groomsman
Are the straps of his sandals
And the poles of the bridal canopy.

---

[1]) It is easy to confuse the 2nd. sing. Imperfect of QLL with TQL.
[2]) See Š.ḏ-Q. p. 58 n. 5.

I and the bridegroom's groomsman
Washed in the waters of the sea: in the waters of the sea we washed
We revealed not our secret to the sea,
To the sea we revealed not our secret.
Nor did we broadcast our wisdom to the wilderness!

O crowned bride, who was it,
Fruit that is crowned for bridal [1]), who
Revealed our secret
And broadcast our widsom in the wilderness?
Perchance Sun revealed our secret
And broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?
(*Nay!*) Sun revealed not our secret
Nor bruited our wisdom in the wilderness.
Sun, of whom ye spake,
Rose at dawn and set at dusk,
Sun revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness!

(*Refrain "I and the bridegroom's groomsman" etc.*)

O crowned bride, who was it?
Fruit that is crowned for bridal, who
Revealed our secret and broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness
Perchance Moon revealed our secret
And broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?
(*Nay!*) Moon revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness.
Moon, of whom ye spake,
Rose at dusk and set at dawn.
Moon revealed not our secret
Nor broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness.

(*Refrain repeated*)

O crowned bride, who was it?
Fruit crowned for bridal, who
Revealed our secret and broadcast our wisdom in the wilderness?
Three 'uthras [2]) not of this world revealed it.

---

[1]) See P.S. Supp. ܟܠܠܐ.

[2]) The three ʿuthras, Hibil, Šitil and Anuš.

They are like one another in stature and dimension,
They are clothed in one (*and the same*) radiance
And one light is spread over them all.
When they speak, the speech of these good beings is one,
Like the speech of Mighty Beings
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection.
Betwixt them there is no hatred,
Quarrelling or division.
Life is renowned (and) victorious
And victorious is the man who goeth hence.

212

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
There is a Vine for Šitil and a Tree for Anuš [1])
Šitil hath a Vine yonder
In thee, Land of the Leal,
Laden with reward, laden with oblation and laden
With Naṣirutha. The tendrils that are at the leaf-ends
Bore prayers, hymns and sublime recitations.
When I rose in my place
I made a request that was great;
I asked that a tall ladder be given me
That I might place it against the Vine for ascent,
Against the Vine for ascent I might place it,
And might mount into my Vine,
Might wax great and grasp its foliage,
Might eat, be refreshed by its shade
And enjoy its leafiness,
Might twine me a wreath of its tendrils
And place it on my head.
When I rose in my place, they granted the request I made.
They gave me a tall ladder that I could set against the Vine for ascent.
Against the Vine for ascent I placed it.
I rose into my Vine, I waxed great, I grasped its foliage,
I ate, was refreshed by its shade and enjoyed its leafiness;
From the tendrils of my Vine I twined a wreath

---

[1]) Šitil (Seth) and Anuš in this poem symbolise the soul and human spirit which compose the personality.

And set it upon my head.
The worlds gathered together, the generations assembled,
Twiners twined (wreaths) in imitation of my wreath,
They twined that which had no resemblance (*to it*).
They went, they put vines (*vine-leaves?*) on themselves
And they say, "Man, whence is thy wreath,
And whence (came) the being who twined it?"
To them I reply, "Vanish, begone from my presence,
(Ye) dead, wicked ones who beheld not the Life!
As for me, my wreath is not from here;
The being who twined it is not of this world.
My wreath is of the Vine Ruaz
And the Being who twined it [1] is from the Place of Light.
The Being who brought it and set it on my head
Is from the Eternal Home [2]".
Renowned is Life Victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

213

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified!
I am a *mana* of the Great Life,
A *mana* am I of the Mighty Life,
A *mana* am I of the Great Life,
A *mana* that emanated from *Manas* [3]
A *mana that* proceeded from *Manas* [3]
That went towards two lawful spouses [4] of this world.
I came and I opened living waters
And gave them to the terrestial pair to drink
I opened living waters and gave of them
To the bridal pair of this world to drink.
I sowed in them pregnancy and birth
And with sexual desire I enflamed them
And caused love to dwell in both of them.
With Kušṭa [5] I spread them a bed of leaves

---

[1] Three words missing from D.C. 53.

[2] See p. 2, n. 2.

[3] I translated this "the Mana" in Š. ḏ-Q., because the plural here might denote the divine Being.

[4] *Kišria* "legally-joined-together" i.e.: (allowed by ritual law).

[5] Here "troth", "vow" i.e. the marriage pact cemented by oath.

That were from (*living?*) [1] trees,
They will live and be happy and I, the Messenger Hibil,
Have performed and arranged
That which my Father [2] commanded me.
And Life is victorious, and victorious the man
Who went hence.

214 [3]

In the name of the Great Life
Sublime Light be magnified.
A. Thou art come, Pure Pearl, who hast illumined dark hearts!
B. Radiance sought to be [4], and Light to awaken.
G. I laughed at the planets, at what they plotted and did.
D. I sojourned amongst them, but they, the Seven,
Knew not about me.
H. There shall be benefaction for the Elect who loved the Life.
U,W. Woe to the planets that scheme evil against my Chosen ones.
Z. He is the Great Radiance,
The Light which hath no limit.
Ḥ. He is the first Life
Before Whom none existed.
Ṭ. Well is it for him who obeyeth
And hearkeneth to Thee, my Lord!
And walketh his road behind Thee.
Y. He is the great Yura [5]
Like a soul when she cometh from the great House of Life.
K. He is the pure Wreath which they set
Upon Hibil in his *škinta*.
L. My heart beseecheth the Life
That He, the Life, will seek me in His *škinta*s [6].

---

[1] Some adjective is missing, *hiia* or *rauzia*.

[2] Plural, for the Life.

[3] D.C. 3 inserts a rubric before this hymn. A version of Pet. (r.) 276. It is also in the Ginza Rabba, (p. 274 Lidzbarski's translation).

[4] D.C. 3 and D.C. 53 have *Bi lmihuia*, although the two words have been run together.

[5] Lidzbarski (G.R. trs. p. 274 : 30) "Er war der grosse Glanz". Pet.(r.) 276: 17. As *Yura* is unusual as a form of *Yur* it is tempting to consider יורה "the first rain", "spring", "early season".

[6] In G.R. *bškinatun*. D.C. 53, D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 *lškinatun*. Possibly should be read "will build me into his *škinta*s", a metaphor found elsewhere.

M. From the day that Hibil transplanted me
My soul hath acknowledged the Place of Light.
N. Thou art the first (Source of) Rest,
Because of Thee, 'uthras 1) find repose.
S. The Twelve Gates stray from the right path 2),
And do not ascend by roads (that lead) to Light.
The profundity of Naṣirutha is vast and boundless.
P. He is a sweet Fruit,
Pleasing of taste and without blemish.
Ṣ. I hearkened to the call of Life
In the Great Place, the House of Perfection.
Q. It is the Voice of Pure Radiance
Who speaketh and discourseth in his *škinta*.
R. It is the Pure Sign by which
The living 3) are signed in their *škinta*s.
S. I hear the converse of living (*souls*)
Who have been established in the Dwelling of Life.
T. He is the lovely Door, the Light which is Boundless.
Renowned is Life victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

Here D. C. 3 has a rubric: —

[When thou hast recited this hymn "Thou art come, Pearl" and endest it, then recite the wedding songs (*hadiata, hidiata*) "Behold, the wicked degrade" etc. but thou shalt not recite the wedding songs for a widow. Instead, they shall recite "Pure guardians shall guard you" only, without the wedding songs. (These) thou shalt not recite for a widow.]

The wedding songs are purely lay in character and I do not propose to include them amongst the liturgical prayers and hymns. They are essentially folk-songs and have a popular flavour. For my attempt to translate them, see Š. ḏ-Q. They are: —

215. *'hai qašaflia* "Lo the wicked degrade my people" Š.ḏ-Q. 18 : 3
216. *'hai ya daragai* "Behold, my portal" Š ḏ-Q. 18 : 8

---

1) Read *'uthra*s as in GR.
2) סור (J. to turn from the right path):Pael.
3) *Hiia* here refers to spirits living in bliss, not to the Great Life.

217. *'hai ya rabutia* [1] "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 13 [2]
218. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 17
219. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 20
220. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 23
221. *'hai ya rabutia* "Lo, my little mistress" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 27 [2]
222. *'hai ya ṭawasta ḏ zahba* "Lo, O thou (bride) that glitterest (with gold)" Š. ḏ-Q. 18 : 30
223. *Brata ḏ man anat* "Whose daughter art thou" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 1
224. *Mn yuma ḏ 'uraš rba atalia* "From the day that the great 'Uraš came for her" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 4
225. *Hiduia man ḏ amarlak* "Bridegroom, who told thee" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 7 [2]
226. *Man ḏ araslḫ lhiduia* "Who wedded the bridegroom". Š. ḏ-Q 19 : 11
227. *Brakinkun hibil ziwa* "Hibil-Ziwa hath blessed you" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 16
228. *Hda 'dai atutia rišḫ* "One of my hands beneath his head" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 25
229. *Atutia diqla qaima* "Standing beneath the palm-tree" Š. ḏ-Q 19 : 27.
230. *Htimitun b'sqat hiia* Ye are sealed with the seal of Life" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 : 23
231. *Ṭiriankun* (*ṭariankun*) "Your table" Š.ḏ-Q. antepenult.
232. *Ninaṭrunkun naṭria dakiia* "Pure guardians watch over you" Š. ḏ-Q. 19 ult.

[This is the conclusion of the wedding songs (*hadaiata*).]

In the name of the Great First Strange Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable that is above all works, be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš healing, victory [3], strength, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiveness of sins, (also) for my father Sam son of Anhar, my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, my wife Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha, my offspring Adam Yuhana and Šarat-Mumania the children of Hawa-Simat.

And may our thought, mind and intelligence enlighten us, (enlighten me) and my offspring, for the treasure of the First Life in these hymns and psalms of "When the Proven One, the Pure one went".

---

[1] Variously spelt, D.C. 3 has *rabituia*.

[2] See M.L. pp. x - xi.

[3] Or, of course, "purity".

233

In the name of the Great Life!
When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the perfected [1] dwell
To the Place which is all Radiance
And light and glory abound (there),
The Proven Pure One speaketh to the Perfect One [1]
Hidden and guarded within Its veilings [2],
Set apart by Its glory
And giving out light in all Its wisdom.
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
Saying to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
The Ether hath all been made, [3]
Created [3] is the Ether, all of it.
And in it, great Radiance will form itself
And sublime Light be set up therein.
In it there will be 'uthras
And Rays-of-Light will be established therein,
Appearances that shine with lovely radiance.
Enlightenment [4] will be raised up
And will watch over all the 'uthras
'Uthras will shine in the enlightenment
Which went thither from Thyself.
The Great Predestinate speaketh [5]
To the Proven One, the Pure One,
Saying to him "These be (*welcome*) words
That thou hast spoken to us.
Go thou, and become guardian to them,
And all will shine through thy strength

---

[1] Either "perfected (ones)" or "the Perfect Being". Mandaean theologian apparently accept both meanings

[2] Lit. "coverings", "raiment".

[3] D.C. 53 *titbid*, D.C. 38 *mitbid*, D.C. 3 *titbar*. The difference in meaning is slight.

[4] Or "vigilance". It is personified. As the next phrase refers to guarding, "vigilance" may be more suitable.

[5] Lidzbarski (p. 251 M.L.) begins at this line.

And will praise thy Garment
And will honour thine appearance".
The Chosen One gave praise with a pure mouth
Because of that which the Great (Life) said to him.
And Life is victorious.

234

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected (beings) dwell,
To the Place which giveth out light,
And its praise is unsullied [1],
Unsullied is its praise;
Foreordained and blessed is its benediction:
Foreordained is the blessed benediction
Which holy *mana*s pronounced,
Which was pronounced by holy *mana*s
Predestinate, calm and perfected.
The Proven, Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great Life,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
A world of light hath been made,
Created [2] is a world of light
And a company hath been established therein,
Dwellings [3] have been set up therein.
It will be bright in Thy praise
In Thy praise it will shine,
And will be blessed with Thy blessing.
Mystic Sprouts (offspring) will come into being
And at Thy Word they will flourish,
They will flourish at Thy Word
And Sprouts that are worthy will be raised up".
The Great Life speaketh with Its pure mouth [4]
Unto the Proven One, the Pure One.

---

[1] *Taqna* "firm", "reliable", "constant" has also the meaning when applied to light, "steady", "unwavering", "steady", "continuous". P.S. Thes. under part. adj. gives "unsullied", which suits here admirably.

[2] Again, D.C. 3 has *titbir* "created".

[3] *Škinata*, could be translated better by some word like "sanctuaries".

[4] A few lines of this hymn were translated by Lidzbarski, M.L. p. 252 II.

It saith to him, "Thou art Our Thought,
"Our Knowing and Our Understanding,
Our Heart that is limitless, Our First Voice,
Our Pure Garment and Our well-equipped
First Discerner; for Our sake
Thou wast transplanted.
Go! Perform thy work, and thy pure offspring
Shall attain perfection,
They shall attain the highest, thy pure offspring,
And be joined in union inseparable.
Make a World of Light,
And they will shine therein, yea, it shall be
All radiance and light
And will attain perfection".
And the Great Life be praised.

235

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the perfected dwell,
To the *Tana*[1] of glory
Whose blessing hath blessed[2] the Place
In which the Secret One sitteth[3]
And uttereth in Its Awakening[4]
Giveth utterance there in its Arousing[4]
And giveth out light by Its own thought;
The Proven Pure One speaketh
To Predestinate Perfection,
Saying to Him, to the Pure Vein
And Tongue that is limitless,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life)
May it be that we transport jordans,
Permit that we transport jordans

---

[1] In Š. ḏ-Q. I translated this "glowing heart", a very free translation. See p. 190, n. 1. and p. 9, n. 1.

[2] D.C. 3 has *brik* not *brika* as in D.C. 53 and D.C. 38.

[3] See Š. ḏ-Q., p. 73, n. 2. Plural, indicating the Great Life.

[4] Here *'ruta* (See P.S. Thes. ܥܝܪܘܬܐ) should be thus translated. The idea appears to be that the Great Life has its periods of quiescence, ceasing to be, and that *'ruta* is its awaking, its renewed activity, *'ruta* also has a "light" meaning-"light which awakens", "enlightenment".

And a Pure Sign shall be established therein,
A Pure Sign we will establish therein
And there will be increase for all 'uthras,
And 'uthras will be baptised
As ye were baptised, they will confirm themselves
By themselves, [1] (as) ye were confirmed
Completely. They will shine, will enlighten one another
And instruct one another about Thee, and Thy pure Vesture
Which is sublime, and brighter than any (other) appearance;
And about that which was transplanted from its place [2],
And about that which is destined to exist,
And about that which was created in a hidden covering".
The Great Predestinate spoke [3],
Saying to the Proven Pure One,
To His pure Garment [4] (?)
There is nought without limit! [5]
All that thou hast done shall be established.
All thy vines will be illustrious,
And in all thine actions there will be nought
Lacking or amiss. In none will there be blemish
And they will not go foolishly astray".
And Life is victorious!

236

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place where His appearance is lustrous,
His countenance shineth and His Counterpart
Is supported each and every time
That they seek and find and discourse of their Creator.
The Proven Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life)
If it please Thee, Great (Life)
Great (spirits) sit in glory,

---

[1] Qualify themselves for grades of priesthood?

[2] I.e. the soul.

[3] Lidzbarski begins here, see M.L. p. 253, III.

[4] Doubtful.

[5] Lidzbarski p. 253, 1. 6, *ul'tia ḏ saka litlḫ*, which he translates "zu dem Wesen, das endlos ist", probably a better version.

In glory they sit, the great (spirits),
And converse in their speech that is not mortal [1]),
They talk in their gentle voices,
And Thou sheddest upon them some of that which is Thine.
And they sit in fellowship with Thee
And employ themselves with Thy praise;
And in Thy place, in prayer to Thee, do they converse.
We will confirm their works,
Their works we will confirm:
We will raise up the horn on their heads
And will establish their Root.
And we will increase their victories: we will increase
Their victories derived from Thy strength,
Transmitted from Thy strength,
(That) went forth, came and dwelt with Thine own".
The Great Predestinate spoke to him [2]),
Saying to the Proven, Pure One,
"Go! invest [3]) the great (spirits) with radiance;
Settle them in a place which is unsullied [4]),
Reveal [5]) and give them *pihta* [6])
And in praise thy (spirits) will shine!
Act (thus) and support the *Mana*.
Life will show Itself grateful to thee.
Life be praised: Life is victorious.

237

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfect One dwelleth,
To the place where His converse is calm
And His appearance wondrous,
To the place where all are kings
And where lust and misdoing exist not,
To the place which is full of goodness

---

[1]) Lit. "not vain", "not worthless", "not temporary", "unending": "not mortal" is a very free translation.

[2]) Lidzbarski begins at this line: p. 254, IV. M.L.

[3]) Lit. "plant", "implant", "transplant", "transfer".

[4]) *Taqna*, see p 187, n. 1.

[5]) Lit. "open", "open up".

[6]) The sacramental bread, lit. "the opened" ("broken into pieces"? or "revealed"?). See M.L. p. xxiii l. 1 ff.

(And) where Their raiment is prepared
For the pure arriving (*spirit*) 1)
And for him whose form giveth light,
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, mighty (Life)
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
There shall be built a wondrous building,
A wondrous building shall be built.
Thy right hand shall erect it,
Thy right hand will set it up
And Thou wilt not cut it off from Thee.
Thy first plan 2), it will rise towards Thee,
It will be set up, it will rise Thee-wards,
And thou wilt not cut off from Thyself
The First-born that Thou hast created.
He shall be set up as Thy counterpart.
He is a fair portal, he will rise Thee-wards,
He will be established, will mount,
Will direct himself Thee-wards;
And will converse in Thy speech that is eternal.
He will not sever from Thee nor from Thy society.
Condemn him not!"
All that the Proven Pure One had said 3)
Everything the Proven Pure One said
Pleased the Great (Life),
And Sublime-Light riseth:
He said to him "Thou art possessor of will,
And lord of all victories.
Thou hast conquered and hast prevailed over thy brethren
And thy Father, (Whom) in secret thou blessest.
Go, show light (*ziwa*) to Yušamin and reassure his heart!
Say to him he shall not fear and reveal to him
That which is established here.
Explain it to him so that his heart may lighten
And confirm it that his mind may be enlightened.

---

1) The couplet is obscure and translation tentative. Read '*taqnilḫ* for *taqnalḫ* ?
2) Or "thought", or "device".
3) See M.L. p. 254 V.

Be gracious and kindly to him and bless him
And show him the light of thy countenance,
The light of thy countenance show to him,
And say to him that he shall not be cast down,
(But) be meek and humble, and he will illumine
The 'uthras".
The Proven One did that which was commanded him,
And the *Mana* thereupon supported the Proven One
So that he performed that which was commanded him.
And he went to the House-of-Life,
He went, he said to Them, "Thus have I done,
It hath been set in order. Should it not be so,
Set Ye in order".
The Great (Life) blesseth the Proven One
With His pure mouth for having made his report.
And Life is victorious.

238

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where Perfection dwelleth,
To the Mighty-in-Glory, to the Well-Ordered and Well-Ordering,
(Who) speaketh in His calm voice
And ordereth His ordinances;
Uttering in His calm voice
His trustworthy teaching, His mystic [1] prayers,
And His wise discourses [2] which are not vain,
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will twine circlets [3] of radiance,
Circlets of radiance will we twine,
And will set them on the heads of the 'uthras,
We will bring them from the Great Light.

---

[1] D.C. 3 has *šutaikun*.

[2] NṬF has as a derived meaning "to let fall a weighty observance" "to prophesy". (The usual meaning of *niṭufiata* "drops", "consorts of divine beings" is impossible here.)

[3] Lit "wreaths": "crowns" of priesthood is the understood meaning.

We will watch over them.
If Ye do not thus,
In what can the 'uthras prosper?
In what can the 'uthras delight?
How can there be certainty for Rays-of-Light?
From what will they derive fame and honour?
And how can we preserve them,
And with what will they seek and find,
Speak with Thee and be heard?"
The Great Predestinate speaketh; [1])
He saith to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Go, join with (*unite with?*) [2]) Radiance
Take heed that they .... [2]) raiment.
Give them of my Wreath of Ether [3])
And all the 'uthras will rejoice.
And from Us and from thee
They will acquire renown and honour,
Renown and honour they will have,
And in strengthening honour they will be preserved.
Our name and thy name shall be upon them
And they will give praise in the Secret Place".
And Life is victorious.

239

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the perfected dwell,
To the place of pure wrappings,
Vestments which radiance illumineth,
To the place of Living Flame
Where all are full of goodness.
All open their eyes in radiance,
In the radiance they open their eyes,
And they shine in that Light;
The Proven, the Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1]) See M.L., p. 255 VII.

[2]) An obscure line. "Change raiment" is unlikely, but I can make nothing else of it. M.L. has "und bewahre die wundersamen Gewände."

[3]) Read *ahbalun klilia ayar* ("give them ether-wreaths")?

If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I would say one word to Thee,
One word to Thee I would say,
That is sublime and illuminating
And not (*to be?*) cut short!
How superexcellent is Thy Likeness
And how greatly hast Thou increased
And established Thy sublime company!
In the Ether (World) there is no water!
As there is no water in the Ether,
By what can the 'uthras be invigorated? 1)
How can the 'uthras thrive? 1)
And (how can) priestly knowledge be installed into their hearts?"
The Great Predestinate speaketh 2)
Saying to the Proven One the Pure One,
"How zealous thou art, Yawar!
And how dutiful and faithful
Are the words which thou hast spoken!"
They created stocks 3) of living water;
They let it flow down to the ether,
They sent it down, caused it to flow down,
To the ether, to the dwelling of the 'uthras,
All of them savoured it and it was fragrant!
'Uthras savoured it and it was fragrant!
All 'uthras will savour it and it will please.
The 'uthras all drank and throve,
They drank and rejoiced thereat.
And into their hearts Naṣirutha
Was poured. Life is renowned and victorious
And victorious is Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And those who love his name.

240

When the Proven One, the Pure One went

---

1) *Niriuzun:* or "will be glad".
2) See M.L., p. 256 VIII.
3) So D.C. 53, Both D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 have the singular. The passage was not properly understood in Š.ḏ-Q.

To the Place where Perfection dwelleth,
To the Place where dwelleth the pure perfected Being [1])
Which proceedeth [1]) from Itself, and Its speech (Word),
Which proceedeth from Itself —
And its speech and words are from It
And from Its Counterpart [2]).
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh
To the Great (Life), saying to Him,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will summon Zihrun-Raza,
Zihrun-Raza we will summon — him and his seven
Mystic brethren who are with him.
One is called "Radiance", another is called "Light".
We will plant (*them?*) and they will shine forth
And will be made manifest.
And we will transfer for them jordans (flowing streams)
That are transcendent, transcendent jordans
We will transmit for them.
They will govern a *Kimṣa* [3]) (*treasure?*) of living flame
And the Root which the Son of Hidden Mysteries led forth.
They will be baptised and established
And we will establish the *Kimṣa* [3]).
In their vestments we will establish their strength.
There it shall come to pass, and at Thy name
The elect thus far [4]) will be established.
If Thou dost not act thus,
Transitory matters may cause the *Kimṣa* to stumble away from Thee,
Things which lead to destruction may cause it
To fall away from Thee, and all sacramental rites [5])
Will become marred.

---

[1]) The verb is plural in agreement with *tušlimia*, here undoubtedly the supreme Being.

[2]) *Dmut-Hiia*, the female aspect of creative Life.

[3]) *Kimṣa* here seems to refer to the body of believers, the Mandaean "Church" as a whole.

[4]) *Lhaka* lit. "to here"; "up to this point".

[5]) *Razia*, "mysteries" = sacramental rites.

When the Proven Pure One said this [1]),
A Voice went down into all the worlds
From the Secret Radiance.
It spoke, it called Zihrun-the-Mystery;
It spoke, it called on Zihrun-Raza,
On him and on his seven mystic brethren
Who are with him. It summoned them
And it transported for them jordans.
And it set them in rule over the jordans;
Over the jordans it made them rulers
And (over) never-ceasing well-springs.
Renowned is Life victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

241

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place which was self-created
And a Presence (*Parṣufa*) set up therein,
A Voice issued from the Presence
Announcing to the Chief of Rays of-Light,
And causing the Great(est) Ray-of-Light to hearken:
Teaching him about every matter,
About every principal (*important*) subject,
So that it was explained: — thus it is.
The Proven One, the Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will tell Thee all that I have seen.
I have seen — and I desire to call forth [2]) 'uthras
— If it please Thee!
I will call forth three 'uthras,
And I will instal them in my abode (*škintai*).
One shall be my companion,
Another shall be, as it were, my counterpart,
Another shall be young, and be

---

[1]) See M.L. p. 257 IX.
[2]) Or "summon".

Satisfactory to my mind.
They shall chant sublime hymns
And read in secret books
And recite therefrom,
In all their wisdom performing rites that are seemly.
Walking with me in the boundary of the Self (?)
Walking according to my commands
And not departing from (my word)
From (my word) they shall not depart,
Nor alter my pure Word,
Nor change my rites which they perform
And were ordained (to carry out).
I have created them according to my design,
And have set the Sign of Life upon their minds,
Have marked them with the mark of the Great Life
And placed my own name upon them."
And Life is victorious.

242

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected dwell,
To the Place which is all radiance,
And nought is as sublime or of like purity!
(*The Place*) which is full of serene (beings)
Honouring Thee with their praises [1];
The Proven, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will call forth from my 'uthras, one,
One from (amongst?) my 'uthras I will summon.
And I will clothe him in my radiance
With my radiance will I clothe him,
And with my light I will cover him.
I will cover him with my light
And he will be protected by my name.
He will have that which was apportioned him;

---

[1] The construction is curious - "in Your praises honouring", i.e. "praises of the Great Life".

He will arise with his great (*spirits*) and [1]) his host
And will take to himself Knowledge of Life (Manda-ḏ-Hiia)
Who went thither.
He will go to the world of Abathur,
From whom imperfection originated,
From him imperfection came into being
And he sowed bad seed [2]).
Bad seed did he sow and created creations
Not worthy of him [3]), who asked no advice,
Received no baptism, nor did they (he?)
Grasp the right hand of his (their) father,
But did that which was not commanded
And performed that which was useless.
One of my 'uthras shall go and shall confound
All (those) creations, he will confound
All the creations which he created,
(*Creatures*) that have neither hand nor foot.
He will straighten a road in the world,
Whereby chosen ones will mount hitherwards.
At his call [4]) they will come
And will set up my boundary-stone
And testify to the one, great, pure Name.
The horn on their heads will be exalted."
Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

243

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected (beings) dwell:
Pure is the place, there is no grief in it,
No infirmity existeth therein, nor is disquiet admitted there,
Friction is not accepted therein,
Wrath and violence have no place therein,
Therein are no wrath and violence

---

[1]) In D.C. 53 plainly *sagiiḫ*. D.C. 38 and D.C. 3 both have *niqum bsigia* "will arise to go".

[2]) "Bad seed" refers to Pthahil, the unsuccessful creator, who was Abathur's son.

[3]) Or, which were not accomplished successfully for him.

[4]) So in D.C. 53. D.C. 3 and D.C. 38 have "my call".

But all is calm, all is kindliness,
Because they within it are in harmony [1].
The Proven One, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Thy will shall be (wrought) on the 'uthras,
Upon the 'uthras Thy will shall be (done);
All that Thou hast willed Thou doest!
I have seen, I have spoken,
And him whom I mention in Thy presence,
I will reveal to him — this Abathur-Rama —
Why he is fallen from his throne,
Why from his throne he is fallen
And went and became Him-of-the-Scales [2],
When I call in Thy name a second time,
Lay Thou Thy right hand upon him!
The Great Predestinate speaketh [3]
Saying to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Thou knowest all hearts and discernest all thoughts,
Thine eyes are well-open
And thou distinguishest all those who know thee [4].
For thy fame's sake and for Our name's sake,
When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it?
Who will let him be when he offendeth?
And casteth Our root into polluted waters?
(*One*) who accepteth favour from Us and then goeth
And casteth it nito the abode of the dark (powers)!"
When the Proven, Pure One heard this,

---

[1] The root is ܫܘܐ, and elsewhere I have discussed the varied meaning of the Ethpe. "Smoothened", "equalised"?

[2] Abathur-Rama is the higher counterpart of Abathur-Muzania (Abathur of the Scales). The latter is in charge of the balances in which souls are weighed, with the soul of Šitil, the purest of all human being) in the opposing scale. See p. 105, n. 4.

[3] M.L. (p. 258) here has twelve lines (only) of this poem. Owing to ignorance of the context, Lidzbarski has misunderstood it. Yawar is pleading for Abathur but the Great Life explains that he cannot allow Abathur's conduct to pass.

[4] *Yadak* = "thy knowers": see N. 177: 18 and for *paršit*, *ibid* p. 22 n. 4.

He prostrated himself before Him and worshipped:
He bowed himself and prostrated himself before Him
And uttered much praise and said,
"How sublime 1) is this that I have heard from Thee!
I have accepted and am corrected by Thee!"
And Life is victorious.

244

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected (One) dwelleth,
(*He said*) "I will speak to Thee, Mystic Perfection,
Who art hidden and guarded by Thy Veilings:
I would tell Thee, Mystic Perfection,
Secrets told by the 'uthras.
One whom, according to Thy plan, I created,
I sent to that world.
How hideous and without beauty
Was everything that he saw in that world!
A world of sons of perfection
From whom there was imperfection.
He who went from here a noble 2)
Yonder they made him a slave,
A slave they made him yonder.
From the seven planets he suffered,
He suffered from the seven planets
And was tormented in the world.
He who went from hence rich 3) (*or* "having plenty")
Was in need in the world.
Yonder they made him their fellow,
Yonder their associate they made him.
From the seven planets he suffered,
He suffered from the seven planets
Was reduced to misery in the world".

---

1) D.C. 53 omits *šanai*. D.C. 3 has *kma šanai* etc.

2) Or "free".

3) Both D.C. 53 (p. 263 text) and D.C. 3 omit the lines in italics, viz. *lhil abda šawiuih̲ sawiuih̲ abda umn šuba šibiahia sbal sbal mn šibiahia asniq bgauh̲ ḏ alma yatira ḏ azal mn haka*. For the missing lines see No. 272 (D.C. 53, p. 312 text), D.C. 3 p. 411 text, and D.C. 38, Š.ḏ-Q. p. 24, l. 11 ff.

4) Or "virtuous". *Yatira* from יָתַר to be rich.

The Great (Life) with pure mouth (speaketh) 1),
Saying to the Proven, Pure One,
"This that one of thine 'uthras hath told thee,
If virtuous is he about whom one spoke,
He about whom one of thine 'uthras spake,
One of thine 'uthras shall bring thee information,
We are creating (?) 2) an earth of fire,
And the planets who enslaved him
Will go to fiery chains.
Pthahil, who made the earth shall be baptised
Here in the white Jordan.
The thousand thousand vestments 3)
That will go out towards him
And presences without end
Will have compassion 4) and will together
Stretch forth (their hands) in pact and peace 5)."
"How sublime is that which Thou sayest to me!
Thou hast reassured my heart!
Thou dost indeed support and lift up,
Equippest with arms and givest enlightenment!"
And Life is victorious.

245

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected (Being) dwelleth,
To the Place where the Almighty
Empowereth Itself and its Presence (*Parṣufa*),
And steadfast and shining is its Countenance,
Showing forth Its Likeness in the Secret Place;
The Place where Their Voice is lovely
And the sound of Their speech is sweet;
And sublime is the Place where the Great (Life) abideth!
Praise of Them is unbounded 6)

---

1) M.L. p. 258 has the following lines only in a slightly different form.

2) Lidzbarski (M.L., p. 259 1. 2 f.) *anin tibil nura qria*. Read *qrainin* we have created". (Š-ḍ-Q *qrainḫ*)

3) A punning equivalent for *mania*.

4) Lit. "will be theirs", i.e. compassion for Pthahil.

5) A free translation, they "extend (their hands) in *kušta*".

6) An idiomatic form, see p. 197, n. 1 and elsewhere. In this type of hymn it is always difficult to distinguish whether the plural refers to the Supreme Being or the spirits surrounding Him.

And mighty (*beings*) shine in their hierarchies
And perform all that They (He) desire (desireth);
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
Reveal to me the mysteries of blessing (prayer)
And about the armour [1] of their souls,
And about the radiance transmitted to Thyself".
The Great (Life) with His pure mouth (speaketh) [2]
And saith to the Proven One, the Pure One,
"Thou art blessed from the Place (*in which*) we are blessed [3]
And from the Place in which We came into being
Thou camest into being.
And from the Place in which We were (*self*-) planted
Firm and implanted was thy native strength? [4].
Our radiance and thy radiance are victorious,
Victorious is Naṣirutha [5] that is of Us
And victorious is he whom I summon into it.
And (those whose) eyes open in radiance and light".
And Life be praised!

246

When the Proven One, the Pure One goeth
To the Place where Perfection dwelleth:
When, filled with innocency
And bright in all his goodness,
When beautified by his great radiance
And by his pure being [6]
They(?) travel to that Place,
The Proven, Pure One spoke,
Saying to the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1] *Širiana* = (a) a vein, artery, channel", "stream", (b) "body-armour, cuirass".

[2] See M.L., p. 259 XIII. The first part is missing in M.L.

[3] The verb is passive.

[4] As indicated on pp. 135 and 171 the meaning of the verb NṢB and the word *niṣubta* is wide and vague. Hence the couplet is paraphrased with misgiving.

[5] Here, the vocation of priesthood.

[6] The verse is obscure. My former translation is impossible. Should it be "with a pure being"? *'tia* is always abstract!

If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Support my words! Let there be thrones
And we will set them up in the worlds of light.
So that 'uthras shall sit (thereon)
And recite thereon.
So that their ranks [1]) will shine thereon.
By their words they will edify them,
So that their ordered array may beseem their splendour.
And the revered ones, when sitting on their thrones,
Sitting on their thrones,
Will shine with a steady light.
He spoke with His pure voice,
The Great (Life) who dwelleth in that Place [2])
Spoke with His pure mouth
And said to the Pure One,
"Thou art a pure Helper! (*Go*),
Do all that thou desirest (to do)".
"According to Thy will and mine
I have constructed thrones,
Thrones I have provided
And have instructed the 'uthras who sit on them.
The 'uthras who sit on them I have instructed,
And they praise the Great (Life) Who counselled me.
They praise me, for I prepared for each one
His throne. The 'uthras stood and praised
That which I had sought and found
Through the goodness of the Life.
For them had I sought and found
Through the goodness of the Life
Who supported them."
Renowned is Life and victorious
And victorious the man who went hence.

247

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
The Chosen One, whose vesture becometh him

---

[1]) *Sidria* also means "recitations", "chants".

[2]) See M.L., p. 260, XIV.

And maketh his personality [1] greater
Than all the ‘uthras,
His personality maketh him greater than all the ’uthras
Greater than all ’uthras doth his personality make him,
Because he beheld the Form of the Great (Life),
Because he hath seen the Likeness of the Great (Life)
Their radiance controlled his thought
And Their thought: it was reciprocally outpoured.
And They pray a prayer for the ’uthras.
All ’uthras trust one another,
Love one another in sincerity.
There is no division amongst them
Such as the Second [2] brought about,
So ’uthras are undivided from one another,
All are armed with one armour,
They are equipped with one armour
And their speech is one in sincerity,
In sincerity their speech is one.
And they dwell in lovely radiance,
In lovely radiance do they dwell
The Being whose love filled them,
And whose tranquillity and love rested upon them.
Life be praised and Life is victorious.

248

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place when perfected (beings) dwell,
—Great is he, the good (spirit)! —
He set his course towards his Father,
Toward his Father was his course set,
To say to Him that which was sublime and precious
In the secret place.
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
May it please Thee, Great (Life),

---

[1] In these poems *nafša* is often used for "soul". Properly speaking it is a thir component of man's make-up; the self, or individuality as distinct from the *ruha* and *nišimta*

[2] "The Second", "Second Life"; the manifestation of the material world. ?

[3] Read *rhamtḫ* . . . *šidqḫ*.

(That) a home of splendour [1]), honour within it,
Be established, dignity resident therein,
And 'uthras will seek one another,
'Uthras will seek one another (*in prayer*).
Each will reverence his brother,
Everyone will reverence his brother
According to the counsel which went thither
From Thee".
"Thou art empowered, Great (Spirit)!
Go, let Honour abide in that place.
Let Dignity rest on that place.
And in Our glory and thine they will become glorious,
They will become glorious with that glory
And will accept the blessing that We sent them:
The blessing We sent them they will accept
And be grateful to thee.
It will take place so that 'uthras may know
That thou art the greatest of all 'uthras;
For thou hast revealed and shown them light
And dost give them the praise".
"I went, I went yonder,
Yonder I went;
I caused blessing to rest upon them.
The blessing I shed upon them
They (*thankfully*) receive.
And we will bless them with a benediction [2]),
Benediction we will pronounce upon them
And in Thy praise they will (*themselves*) gain honour.
They will gain honour in praise of Thee,
They will establish Thy word.
Thy word they will establish
And will not depart from Thee."
Priests in secret bless the great (spirit)
Who honoured them and caused honour to rest upon them.

---

[1]) A pun on *'qar* and *'qara* follows; play on words is characteristic of Mandaean poetry.

[2]) Read *dilkun* for *dilun?* ("and bless *Thee* with a benediction").

249

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where perfected beings dwell,
To the Place where dwelleth the Perfected [1],
Hidden within its Self and aloof,
He goeth towards Him, speaking to Him,
(Uttering) a sublime saying.
"If it please Thee, great (Life),
If it please Thee mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, great (Life),
I will speak: accept Thou mine (utterance).
There shall be pure signings;
And there shall be perpetual watchfulness.
It will be Thine armament;
With it 'uthras will equip themselves.
Thou equippest them with Good-Faith (*kušṭa*)
And Good-Heed [2].
Nor will they rest idle when Thou hast armed them
With Good-Faith and Good-Heed.
They will keep silence and observe obedience.
Thinking like Thee and acting like Thee,
Thinking and acting like Thee.
And their deeds will be honest,
Reliable will be their rites [3].
And zealous counsel will issue from them.
Kings, they will counsel one another
And unite, great and small, in communion."
And Life is victorious.

250

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected One abideth,
To the Place where the sound of His voice [4] is mild,

---

[1] I.e. the great Life.

[2] Or "Truth and obedience".

[3] Both translations of this line are possible.

[4] Again here the reversion to the singular points to *tušlimia* as an epithet for the Great Life. The narrative returns to the plural after "luminous and lovely".

His appearance fair; and luminous and lovely
Are Those [1] who dwell there
And to Themselves absolutely true;
Truth and armed-readiness are at Their head;
In Their place They discern, know and distinguish
And in their inmost [2] Self They are watchful.
The Proven, Pure One speaketh,
Saying to the Great(Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
Speak [3], open (reveal) Thy treasury,
Speak [3], reveal Thy treasury
And take therefrom a boon,
A boon take out of it
And grant to me a servant.
A servant give to me in whom
There is no lacking or fault.
With him bring my brethren, with him bring
All my sons, bring my sons;
So that in him and in Thee they may be raised up,
Be raised up in Thy resurrection
And be blessed with a benediction
That is from Thee."
The scheme which the great (spirit) planned [4],
He planned it for good. (At) the place
That the great (spirit) thought out
The 'uthras bow down and give praise,
The 'uthras worship and praise
The Being who opened His treasury,
The Being who sent them a benefit.
The 'uthras bowed in adoration
And were grateful for all His favours.

---

[1] See p. 206, n. 4.

[2] Lit. "in their heart of themselves".

[3] *Malil* Or, (Biblical Hebrew, demon. of מול' 'to present, show") "Reveal" ? (See J. under מָלל III).

[4] M.L. has the final lines, p. 260, XV.

251

When the Chosen One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected (Being) dwelleth,
To the Place where deeply reverenced
Is His steadfast Form, he (*the Chosen One*)
Spoke, saying to the Great (Life) Whose Form is constant,
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
(Let us) open a Light-Euphrates,
A Light-Euphrates we will open up
And set therein a sturdy root
So that from the root there will be pure Vines
Who will offer up praise to Thee;
So that from the Vines which appear
Sprouts may grow out, healthy offshoots;
So that from the offshoots that show forth
We may institute, reward and oblation [1]).
We will institute reward and oblation,
We will lead in a congregation of souls [2]),
In a congregation of souls we will take the lead.
From it (*the Euphrates*) water will gush out,
There will be assurance for all Rays-of-Light,
They will be full of faith and put their trust in Thee".
"Thou hast spoken and thou hast established ,
Do thou confirm it and bring it to a successful conclusion".
"I came, and I opened up a Light-Euphrates
And established therein a baptism that is efficacious [3]),
I set up thereby a sturdy Root
That giveth forth light and is bright
And will not be cut down".
And Life is victorious.

252

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected (*Being*) dwelleth,

---

[1]) Or "fee and oblation", i.e. the offerings of the faithful in money or kind which constitutes the stipend of every priest.

[2]) Individuals, see above p. 204, n.1.

[3]) Lit. "that is not void", "not useless".

To the Place where His speech is pleasant
And His converse sublime and foreign (*to the earthly world*),
To the place where personality and manhood exist not;
[*He spoke to the Great* (Life) *saying:*]
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
We will set up a pure Crystal,
A pure Crystal will we set up
And arcana that are within it
Shall be established. The 'uthra Hibil
Shall come, shall dwell on the Euphrates
And will guard it. At his right hand
Two beings will come. We will establish and found 1)
Three *škintas*. On them Thou wilt cause blessing to rest:
Blessing Thou wilt bestow on them.
The *arcana* concealed therein, one by one
Will come into being 2). There will be
A Pearl that will enlighten darkened hearts.
All will be filled with faith,
It will arouse the fallen (*who have stumbled*).
He who is aroused by it will get up,
(But) he who causeth stumbling
Will perish on the spot.
He who is worthy, deserving and perfect
Will not be cut off from his place.
He will be completely confident,
(For) the Life will be his support,
His support will be the Life
And he will he protected in his own place."
And Life be praised!

253

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the perfected dwell,
To the place of Safe-keeping
That is set apart for the company 3) of the Great (Life).

---

1) *Ñistiknat* ? (D.C. 3 *Ništaknat*, also D.C. 38. Read (*mistiknia* ?).
2) D.C. 38 repeats *tihuia*.
3) I.e. companion spirits.

The Proven, Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life)
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
I will speak a word [1]: uphold it!
I word I would speak, uphold it!
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
This shall be done [2]; a secret watcher
(*Be appointed?*) set over Man,
His guardian. I will remain a long time,
— And I will guard him! —
To cheer [3] him and to raise him up toward Thee;
To cheer him and to raise him up
Towards Thyself, so that he may come
And behold Thy countenance, may come
And grasp Thy right hand in fealty [4],
May rise up and listen to Thy converse
Which is not of this world [5])".

"Thou hast said it! Go, seek him out
And bring him here: seek him out [6]
And bring him hither
And the Life will be mindful of thy goodness".
Bringing abundant radiance and boundless light.
Bringing radiance in abundance I went;
To the secret watcher I came. "Rise up",

---

[1] I.e. "make a suggestion".

[2] D.C. 38 (Š. ḏ-Q. p. 26, ult.) *nitbad hazin*.

[3] I have been in doubt about this word. In D.C. 53 it is spelt *biuiḫ* and in Š.d.-Q. p. 27:1 *buiuia*. The verb BAA (Arm. בעי "to seek" is the first and easier solution, but the unusual first 'i" in *biuiḫ* makes this unlikely. It may come from a verb equivalent to the Aramaic בוע "to rejoice" בעי and this is confirmed by the Syriac Pa. ܒܝܐ "to console" (i.e. "gladden") (ܒܘܝܐܐ consolation). According to the poem, there is no need for the speaker to *seek* the watcher, since, apparently he is already with the watcher (a priest, or priesthood, personified ?).

[4] It is usually necessary to paraphrase sentences which refer to the act or rite of *kušṭa*.

[5] *Mnakria* lit. "estranged" foreign, removed i.e. "not of the mortal world". "transcendent", "ineffable" convey the meaning.

[6] *Buiḫ*.

(*I said to him*) "Rise up! Watchers [1] are many.
Thou hast kept thy watch; arise, put on
(*The robe*) which the Great (Life) hath sent thee
And go towards Him. Come! He hath required thee with Him
And I have sought thee, so come to us
And hearken to His converse which is ineffable [2].
The Great (Life) hath stretched forth His right hand to thee [3]
Put away passion from thy thought.
Thy thought shall be filled with Ours
And thy garment and Our garment will be one".
Life be praised and Life is victorious.

[These two "responses and two hymns are to be recited for the owner of a crown [4] when thou celebratest his wedding. Recite them after the chant "To the place where speech is pleasant". And recite them for the novice in the *škinta:* (but) do not recite them for a layman's wedding. Beware! for they are recited for the owner of a crown [4]. And then recite the hymn "To go and to perform his works" unto its conclusion [5].]

254

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected dwelleth,
To go and to perform his works
And to be manifest therein
And to institute a guardian [6]
....
I, whom the Great (Life) had commanded
To relieve [7] all the *škinta*s,
I, the First (Life?) enlightened Him.
"Because of me, the 'uthras were set at rest,
Because of me, the 'uthras were satisfied
And the Rays-of-Light ranged in their degree;
All of them shone in one another's radiance

---

[1] *Maṭaraiia* : a rare use of the word in this sense.which usually means inhabitants of the *maṭarata*.
[2] See p. 210, n. 5.
[3] See p. 210, n. 4.
[4] The "owner of a crown", i.e. a priest.
[5] The rubric of D.C. 38 is slightly longer.
[6] A passage here is apparently missing.
[7] Or "to serve", "to gratify".

And light was established in all minds.
Over all the works that I had made
I set up the Great (Life).
And I became a guardian in them
I was a guardian within them
And *I upheld*[1] all the worlds of light
In their places."
And Life is victorious over all works
And victorious the man who went hence.

255

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the place where the Perfected One dwelleth,
To the place of veiled radiance
(Where) His Likeness is beauteous;
The Proven Pure One speaketh
And saith to the Great (Life),
"Thy disciple am I, for I have grasped
And understood some of Thy wisdom
I stood before Thee like a son
Who standeth before his father.
Thou spakest to me and I hearkened,
And that which Thou didst command I did.
The glory which Thou didst bestow on me
I transmitted to all the worlds of light.
With that which Thou didst vouchsafe to me
I benefitted all the Rays-of-Light.
From Thee I have not departed
And the speech of others existed not for me".
The Great (Life) praiseth the Proven One, the Pure One,
With His pure mouth, (*saying to him*)
Who had made his report,
"How submissive and humble thou art, Yawar!
What an alleviator[2] and peacemaker thou art!
Thou makest 'uthras agree and pacifiest them
And givest stability to the Rays-of-Light!"
And Life is victorious.

---

[1] Š. ḏ-Q. p. 27: 23 *uasmikit.*
[2] Lit. "smoothener", "straightener" (of rough places).

256

When the Proven One, the Pure One went
To the Place where the Perfected One dwelleth,
To the place in which the Transcendent [1] abideth,
Dwelling therein in a set limit
Within an appointed limit abiding therein,
Resting within it, in the Holy [2] Place,
The Proven, Pure One speaketh
Saying to Them, the Great (Life),
"If it please Thee, Great (Life),
If it please Thee, Mighty (Life),
If it please Thee, Great (Life),
The works which I have performed are set in order,
They are set in order, the works I have performed.
And all that I did in Thy presence
Will be established, and these words
Which I spoke before Thee (*also*).
And (as for) me, they will realise my vision.
I have acted as thou didst desire".
When the Proven Pure One had spoken thus,
The Great (Life) rejoiced thereat, embraced him
And kissed him with His pure mouth.
And he veiled him with esoteric veils [3]
With esoteric veils did He cover him.
And a cloud which emanated from Himself
He spread over him: it hid the great (spirit)
Which He had concealed therein.
And they called him "All- 'uthras-confirm him"
And "One who arrangeth-ordinances-and-sublimates-
All-minds" is he called [4] (?)
And Life be praised.

Translator's note. — The preceding hymn-cycle, known as the *Kt azil bhira dakia* must be a selection from a volume of gnostic poems with this title. Three other poems from this lost composition are included in the *G. R.* (right side). The first two of these were translated by Professor Mark Lidzbarski in his *Ginza, der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer,* (in these pages referred to as G.R.) pp. 355-370. They were also translated into Latin and transliterated into Syriac by M. Norberg in his *Codex Nasaraeus* (3 vols. 1815-1816) pp. 3-23. (Lidzbarski belittled Norberg's work in a somewhat unfair fashion.) The third poem, included in some codices of the *Ginza Rba*, as in my own copy, D.C.22 (dated 1274 A.H.), but missing in copies seen by Lidzbarski and Norberg and also in Petermann's facsimile (1867), is undoubtedly from the same lost book.

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[1] Lit. Strange.

[2] *Yaqra* = "precious", "venerated"; "holy" conveys the idea.

[3] *Mania gawaiia* "inner vessels", "inner garments", "inner vehicles"? — in any case, something which conceals, or covers up.

[4] My translation of the last few lines is very tentative, it is obscure.

To take the first two of these, both deal with 'uthras who have in some manner bungled their parts in the cosmic plan; namely, Yušamin, Abathur and Pthahil. The first two become reconciled to the Great Life. Yušamin's re-instatement after intercession by the "Pure, Chosen One" is the theme of the latter half of hymn 237 in the present collection, and hymn 243 is an attempted intercession for Abathur. Pthahil, however, persists in rebellion and turns to the planets and demons for support. The Great Life intervenes in Yušamin's plan to punish Pthahil, and, softened, the latter at last makes his submission.

In the second Ginza poem the 'uthras urge Manda-ḏ-Hiia to reprove Yušamin for mistreating the "pure pearl" (the soul) and Manda-ḏ-Hiia tells Hibil-Ziwa to remove the "pearl" from material creation. Light, loveliness and perfume thereupon depart from the earth. Yušamin and Pthahil protest, Pthahil from the chains into which he was cast for his rebellion.

The story is a complicated one, but all ends satisfactorily with the restoration of the soul to earth and the triumphant supremacy of light and order.

The third poem, that which is missing in G. R., is in the style of all the poems of the collection, including the formula "If it please thee, Great (Life)". It describes the resentment of Pthahil who is still in bonds. He complains and threatens *'u haizin akšalta makšlitlia hašta mšawina lpisusta ḏ-lahuat* (If thou hast made me fall thus, then now I will make such a breaking-up as has never been") and he summons the planets one by one and arms them.

Just in time, a message reaches him from the Great Life, and meditation and repentance change his attitude to one of humility. He is immediately surrounded by hosts of 'uthras and re-instated in favour, whereupon he calls the planets to order.

Translator's note. — Following the *Kt azil bhira dakia* in D.C. 3. D.C. 53 and D.C. 38 there is an astrological section bound into the prayerbook for the convenience of priests performing marriages, for they are always consulted by bridegrooms as to the propitious day and hour for the consummation of the union. It would endanger the happiness of the pair if the act took place under unfavourable astrological conditions. The section, known as the *Šabania Šaiia* was translated by me in the *Šarḥ ḏ-Traṣa ḏ-Qabin ḏ-Šišlam Rba* (Š. ḏ-Q.) so that I propose to omit it here together with the long colophon which follows it. A third part therefore begins on page 257 of D.C. 53. It contains prayers which have occurred earlier in the manuscript, for the same prayers serve on a variety of occasions: those for marriage are used at the consecration of a priest, and so on. When duplication occurs, I shall refer back to the prayer by number and page of both translation and text, but will not retranslate.

257

See no. 171, p. 154 of the translation, p. 287 of the Mandaic text (D.C. 53).

258 [1]

Then from (You), Life, (I ask) Your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, Yours, Great Life! Pity, forgive, be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offered up these*) devotions. Forgiveness of sins be there for me! Again, from (You) Life, (I beg) your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, (Yours) Great First Life. Pity, forgive, be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offered these*) devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me.

259

Then from (You) Life, (I ask) Your pity, Your forgiveness, Your heed, Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life. Pity, forgive be heedful of and have compassion on this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and (*offer up these*) devotions. Be there forgiveness for me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher [1], for my wife and children and for my priest(s) who set out the bread and (*ritual*) food [2] for You.

---

[1] Nos. 258 and 259 are practically identical with no. 172, p. 157.

And for (you) my fathers, elders, teachers and instructors when ye supported me from the Left to the Right[3], may there be forgiveness of sins for you. And may Life be established in their *škintas*.

And Life is victorious over all works.

[This prayer of "Blessed is the First Radiance" is the sealing [4] of all sacramental rites [5], "devotions" baptism, *masiqta*, commemorations and "names": it is the final prayer of all sacramental rites [5].]

260

In the name of the Great Ineffable Life from worlds of light Who is above all works, healing, victory, strength, soundness, speech and being heard and joy of heart and forgiveness of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš. And for my father Sam son of Anhar, for my mother Mahnuš daughter of Hawa-Simat, And for my wife, Hawa-Simat daughter of Maliha, and for my offspring Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania children of Hawa-Simat. And for my brothers [6] (*and sisters*); Maliha, Adam-Zihrun, Zihrun, Yahia-Yuhana, Šarat and Mamania, the children of Mahnuš. And for my other [7] brothers (*and sisters*); Bihram, Simat, Bibia, Hawa-Samra, and Yahia-Yuhana the children of Mahnuš. And may my thought, mind, knowledge and intelligence enlighten me, myself and my children, about the treasure of the First Life in these antiphonal hymns and chants of "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went".

261

(No. 233, p. 186 trans.: pp. 243 and 294 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

262

(No. 234, p. 187 trans: pp. 244 and 296 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

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[1] The *rba* is the priest (teacher) who initiated him into priesthood.

[2] *Ṭabuta*.

[3] The "Left" is the material, non-spiritual, also spoken of as the "Mother": the "Right" is the spiritual, the "Father".

[4] "Sealing" a name given to a concluding prayer.

[5] *Ginzia* (hidden treasures), here = *razia*, "sacramental rites".

[6] A gloss adds "Sam-Šaiar and Yahia-Bihram".

[7] By a former husband? Stepbrothers and sisters?

263

(No. 235, p. 188 trans.: pp. 246 and 297 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

264

(No. 236, p. 189 trans.; pp. 248 and 299 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

265

(No. 237, p. 190 trans.; pp. 249 and 300 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

266

(No. 238, p. 192 trans.; pp. 252 and 302 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

267

(No. 239, p. 193 trans.; pp. 253 and 304 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

268

(No. 240, p. 194 trans.; pp. 255 and 305 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

269

(No. 241, p. 196 trans.; pp. 257 and 307 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

270

(No. 242, p. 197 trans.; pp. 258 and 308 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

271

(no. 243, p. 198 trans.; pp. 260 and 310 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

272

(No. 244, p. 200 trans.; pp. 262 and 312 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

273

(No. 245, p. 201 trans.; pp. 264 and 313 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

274

(No. 246, p. 202 trans.; pp. 265 and 315 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

275

(No. 247, p. 203 trans.; pp. 267 and 316 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

276

(No. 248, p. 204 trans.; pp. 268 and 317 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

277

(No. 249, p. 205 trans.; pp. 270 and 319 Mandaic text, D.C. 53.)

278

(No. 250, p. 206 trans.; pp. 271 and 320 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

279

(No. 251, p. 208 trans.; pp. 272 and 322 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

280

(No. 252, p. 208 trans.; pp. 274 and 323 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

281

(No. 253, p. 209 trans.; pp. 275 and 324 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

282

(No. 254, p. 211 trans.; pp. 275 and 326 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

283

(No. 255, p. 212 trans.; pp. 278 and 326 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

284

(No. 256, p. 213 trans.; pp. 279 and 328 Mandaic text, D.C. 53).

(These are hymns of "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went" I copied for myself so that there should be commemoration (*of my name*) on earth and yonder in the mighty and celestial worlds of light, and for love of holy truth and (with) reliance on the high King of Light, His name be praised in the great place of light! I am poor, lowly and infantile, a slave that is all sin and as dust beneath the feet of Naṣoraeans, one who kisseth the shoes on the feet of the pious, the least of my brother-ganzivri. I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Sam son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Msa'ad known as Kamisia, family name Riš-Draz. I copied for myself from the *qulasta* (collection) of the great, lofty and revered R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Šitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzivri, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia family name 'Kuma. He copied it for Statad (? *'stad*? craftsman?) Baktiar son of Mhatam-Zihrun son of Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Yahia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anuš son of the great, lofty and revered R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Šadan son of Zakria, from (one of) the Beni-Dihdaria Sabur by name; who copied from a collection that R. Ram-Yuhana also copied for himself (he was) the son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam, family name 'Kuma, who copied it for a *šalmana* (a "perfect one"[1]) Hadaiat son of Qasim son of Hadat son of Bihram son of Zakria of the Beni-Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied it from the collection of the great, lofty and revered one, a reliable and chosen *ganzibra*, a copyist[2]) of his library and a lofty paragon in priestcraft (*Naširuta*), (namely) R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid, son of Sam, son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar, family name 'Asikir, who copied from the collection that had been copied for himself by R. Sam-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Adam son of Bihram-Zihrun son of Adam-Yuhana son of Zid son of Sam son of Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Mhatam son of R. Baktiar, family name 'Asikir who copied from the collection of Zakia-Baian son of Yahia-Bihram son of Yahia-Sam son of Bihram-Yuhana son of Yahia-Zakia son of Bihram-Šaiar, family name Ša'puria, who copied from the collection of a great, lofty and revered *ganzibra*, a chosen one, R. Yahia son of Sam-Adam son of Zakia-Zihrun son of Adam-Šitlan, family name 'Asikir, which was copied by the great, lofty and revered copyist of (his) library, R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Yahia son of Baktiar, family name Kuhilia, which was copied a second time by the great and lofty R. Mhatam-Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar, family name Kuhilia, who copied from the collection of R. Ram-Baian son of R. Sam-Paiiš son of Baktiar son of Sam-Baktiar son of Sam, family name Pariḥ (*or Fariḥ?*). He copied from the collection which R. Bihram-Bihad copied for himself: (he was) son of Yahia-Šaiar, family name Tutu. He copied from the collection of R. Adam-Bihram son of Bahran-Gadana that was copied by R. Zihrun-Baktiar son of Adam the Deaf who copied from the scroll of the most reverend of ganzivri, R. Adam-Abulfaraz son of Bihram-Šitil son of Ruzba-Barubai, who copied it a second time for himself, copied it for R. Adam-Zihrun son of Mhatam son of Yahia son of Hibil-Yuhana, a paragon, there acted as assistant to them therein, Ram son of Adam, there was not (?) and R. Bayan-Hadada son of Zihrun. They copied from a Diwan (*scroll containing several texts*) of a commentary on "When the Chosen One, the Pure One went".

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[1]) *Šalmana.* A person who, in anticipation of death, lives in a state of complete ritual purity, subsisting only upon sacramental food and drink.

[2]) *Nasaka* (a) from Arabic and P. نساك "pious" (b) from نسخ "to copy".

And they compared and studied them carefully[1]) according to their powers (ability).

And Life is victorious.

Prayers 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, and 292 are identical with prayers 180-187, pp. 162-166 of the translation, and pp. 202-207 and 330-335 of the Mandaic text, D.C. 53.

Following, prayers 293 to 304 inclusive are identical with prayers 188-199: trs. pp. 166-169 and pp. 335-338 Mandaic text, D.C. 53. The colophon which follows differs from other colophons in the book, and I omit it. The series of hymns which occupies the next section are for the ordination of priests, known as their "coronation". All the features of coronation are present, the immersion, oath, unction, and investiture with royal insignia. The "crown", however, is a tubular silken fillet. Šišlam-Rba is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.

305

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they placed the crown on Šišlam-Rba
Jordans formed themselves at his right,
At his right jordans formed themselves.
In them signs were graven,
Signs were graven in them,
Banners and holy vows[2]),
Banners and vows,
And kings, *Tannas*[3]) and Drops
All bow down and worship the great Crown
And the Vine which they had transplanted from it[4])
For ever and aye.

306

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they placed the crown on Šišlam-Rba

---

[1]) *Haqiriun*

[2]) *Kuštia yaqria* (Or, "precious pacts").

[3]) *Tannas* and Drops are mentioned together in Prayer 189. Lidzbarski translates "Drops" as "women". The reference may be to bystanders, probably women of two classes.

[4]) Some obscurities in these hymns defy translation! The "vine" which has been transplanted is, presumably, the new priest. Could the "crown" (*taga*) at one time have been of vine-tendrils?

Treasure of Life (*Simat-hiia*[1]) shone therein.
And in his vesture twelve mirrors were formed,
Twelve mirrors were formed in his vesture
And seven others in his seal-ring[2].
And five Drops...(?)[3]
And eyes discern in them sublime treasure.
They twine[4] trees with gold (*Trees are twined with gold?*)
Bountiful is their load of pearls!
Who, amongst all the kings,
Will confirm and view the crown
Which they set on him
For ever and aye?

307.

In the name of the great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba,
The jordans, frolicking and dancing,
Restless, and giving the two banks[5] no peace
Rejoicing, laughing and disporting themselves,
Say, "Our glory hath shone here,
It hath shone in this new crown,
The like of which existeth not.
Blessed is this new crown
And blessed are its leaves, which shall not fall!
For ever and aye.

308.

In the name of the great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba
The jordans all assembled, and Rays-of-light,
And wellsprings and *Tanna*s;
And palms are interwoven[6] into the tendrils
Of the crown and brighten Šišlam-Rba's crown.
And they submit themselves to the glory

---

[1] Prayer No. 388 (text p. 469) omits *hiia*.

[2] *Gušbanqa* = "a cylinder-seal, signet-ring" גֻשְׁפַּנְקָא

[3] Perhaps *ainia* here should have been *ainaniata* (see No. 308) and that scribes inserted a gloss?

[4] *Sarsin* (P.S.Thes. ܣܪܣ "to twist, to twine".

[5] For the missing line, *lkifḫ trin* see D.C. 53, No. 389 p. 470 text) and B.M. Or. 6592 : 352. (It is also missing in D.C. 3.)

[6] In all versions *'strik*, except D.C. 3, which has *'utrik*.

Conferred upon it. And all kings
Do homage to its radiance, light and effulgence.
Eternally.

309

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba,
Rays-of-light summon the kings,
They call to the kings, the rays-of-light,
And *škintas* say to one another,
"Come! let us go and see Šišlam-Rba
Upon whom the Great (Life) hath set a crown;
Seven reliable kings [1] set it upon him
And King Manhiriel conferered the sign (insignia) upon him
And took his hand in holy troth [2],
And raised him, set him up
In the House of the Perfected,
For ever and aye.

310

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on Šišlam-Rba
Channels of light were formed [3] therein
Channels of light formed themselves (therein)
And the glory (or "praise") of the 'uthras shone bright.
There was radiance, there was light!
Sublime ether was in them,
It was diffused into flowings of water
And streams without end.
They (*all?*) come and kiss the crown of Šišlam-Rba
And rest in its shelter
Evermore.

311

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the great crown

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[1] At the "coronation of a king", i.e. ordination of a priest, seven "kings" (priests) must assist the *ganzibra* who is chief celebrant.

[2] A free translation: the rite of clasping the right hand in oath. "King Manhiriel" = the chief celebrant at the "coronation".

[3] For *'ṣṭria* read, as in No. 392 (the same prayer) *'ṣṭararbḫ*. D.C. 3 p. 336 has *'ṣṭria*, (so has D.C. 34 and B.M.O. 6592 : 380).

Upon the Teacher of 'uthras, Šišlam-Rba,
Jordans formed themselves at his right,
At his right jordans formed themselves
And the cloud Šašqaliel[1] (*journeyed?*)[2] with them,
With them (*journeyed?*) the cloud Šašqaliel
And a *škinta* was founded for (him her ?) in the jordan;
For (him her ?) in the jordan a *škinta* was founded[3].
And in the ether a banner was unfurled for him.
Kings of the worlds of light assembled,
All laying their pure right hands upon him,
Laying their hands of troth (*kušṭa*) on the crown of Šišlam-Rba,
And blessing it and honouring it
In the highest degree.

[These seven prayers of Šišlam-Rba shall be recited by the ganzibra when placing the crown on a postulant and the priests shall recite these seven other hymns and make the antiphonal response.]

312

In the name of the Great Life!
Blessed is this pure voice and blessed your planting!
Blessed is this new crown and blessed this hymning!
And blessed is this sanctuary (*škinta*) in which kings are sitting!
For ever and aye.

313

In the name of the Great Life!
O king, thou art a mirror! (Yea)
Radiance art thou, of genuine form;
Oh thou art a lofty force!
For all strength[4] is derived from thee!
Blessed is this new crown
And blessed its treasure which thou hast shared with them
For ever and aye.

---

[1] The root ŠŠQL (Šaf. ŠQL) is used with sails or wings. The "cloud Mašql'il" (var. Mišql'il) is mentioned in the (Lidzbarski's trs. p. 402) l. 26.

[2] Here *rdibun*, but in the same prayer later (No. 393) *qrabun*. B.M. Or 6592 : 391 *rdabun*. D.C. 3 p. 337 : 6 has *rdubun*. The reflection of a cloud in water is a symbol of marriage. Cf. Prayer No. 188.

[3] Probably "for him".

[4] Lit. "all strengths" in the plural.

314

In the name of the Great Life!
How wondrous is the strength of the Great (Life) [1],
And how great is the glory which thou sheddest on us!
Thou hast illumined us with thy great radiance
And we praise thee and the crown of Šišlam-Rba.
We magnify it and honour it
And bring it our homage
For ever and aye!

315

In the name of the Great Life!
Our father, thou art a king, a son of kings,
For thou puttest on the crown for kings,
The crown thou puttest on is for kings [2]
And thou bestowest victory on palm-trees [3].
Šišlam blesseth his crown
And 'uthras and sanctuaries (*škinata*) establish it.
Cause some of thy glory, which is great,
To rest upon us, and give us ..... [4]
So that our minds may rejoice in it
For ever and aye.

316

In the name of the Great Life!
Hail to him! Again, hail to the king of kings,
Šišlam-Rba! Hail to him on whom the hand of a king
Hath set his crown[5]; whose kingdom abideth and passeth not away.
It passeth not away, the kingdom of a king
As long as air and water flow -
For ever and aye.

317

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1] D.C. 3, p. 338 : 9 "of 'uthras".

[2] In Prayer No. 397 the couplet is *tagia lmalkia tarṣit tagia tarṣit lmalkia* (thou puttest *crowns* on kings).

[3] The palmtree is the symbol of "the Father", (see p. 14, n. 6.) also of priesthood.

[4] "Give us *thereof?* No. 397 has *uahbilan ḏ 'uṣran hadibḫ*; D.C. 3 p. 339 : 1, *uahbalan* etc. ("Give us that in which our minds delight").

[5] Bis.

Thou art the Teacher [1] of *ganzibria* [2],
Thou art the King of all 'uthras!
Good is it for him who beholdeth Thee with his eyes,
Good is it for him who discerneth Thee in his thought! [3]
He shall rise with Thee to the Place of Light.

318

In the name of the Great Life!
My day, what is it amongst days? A day.
My day, what is it amongst hours? A single hour.
What is my day amongst the days?
The day on which a kingdom was accepted.
My day, what is it amongst days?
The day on which treasure was divided.
The King divided His treasure
And gave his kingdom to Šišlam-Rba.
Šišlam-Rba shone in his crown
And we praise and magnify Thee
Because Thou art called the Teacher of 'uthras
For ever and aye.

[These are seven antiphonal hymns. The response [4] to these hymns of "Šišlam-Rba" shall be recited by the priests. Should the *ganzibra* recite those hymns, the *ganzibra* shall recite one and the priests one.]

319

In the name of the Great Life!
Thy strength shall increase, our father,
And grow mighty by means of this secret mystery, Zihrun,
By which all 'uthras are fortified.
Be strengthened and increased in might and power
By this seal-ring [5] which is bestowed upon thee,
And thou hast authority over it.

---

[1] *Rbaihun* = "their teacher".

[2] *Ganzibria*, (plu. of *ganzibra*). Now the title of the chief priest.

[3] The words *b'uṣriḫ*, "in his thought", omitted in No. 317, are in No. 398 (which includes both Nos. 316 and 317), and also in D.C. 3, p. 339 : 12. The line is repeated in No. 398.

[4] *Pasuk* = response; the part read by the priests in an antiphonal hymn.

[5] At coronation (ordination), the new priest is invested with his ring of office; a gold seal-ring upon which are engraven the words *Šum yawar ziwa* ("the name of Yawar-Ziwa"). It is worn on the little finger of the right hand.

Thou hast been given authority over a treasure 1)
Of living flame, and over a Root
Which is the product of gardens 2).
Go, become great and glorious! 3)
Guard thyself, be confirmed (*in office*)
By this seal-ring which is set upon thee
So that thy strength may increase Yonder,
And the Elect righteous may be uplifted by thy fame!
And Life is victorious!

[This hymn for the seal-ring shall be recited by the *ganzibra* and priests over the seal-ring for the novice-priest when he assumeth thereby his kingship.]

320

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that they set the crown on the king
And the king accepted his kingship,
His radiance was seen in the light of the banners 4),
And the water-springs that were in the jordan
Waltzed 5) with one another!
The king took his crown
And was resplendent in its sublime radiance.
And he distributed crowns to the kings,
To the kings he distributed crowns 6).
And his brilliance, his light and his great glory
Rested upon them
For ever and aye.

[The *ganzibra* chants this hymn to them (*whilst*) distributing crowns amongst the 'uthras 7) and kings, and the 'uthras and kings give him myrtle;they give him myrtle.] 8)

---

1) *Kimṣa*, see p. 195, n. 3 and p. 119, n. 2.

2) A play on words *br gninia*, lit. a son of mysteries (things hidden) is also "a son of gardens".

3) In D.C. 3 *'tgadal* is repeated.

4) The word *drabša* comes from the P. درفش = a bright or glittering object "anything glittering or flashing".

5) Or "whirled round together", i.e. danced for joy.

6) At the coronation rite of a postulant to priesthood, newly woven fillets ("crowns") are distributed to ganzivri and priests present at the rite.

7) The word *'uthras* refers to the ganzivri, just as *malkia* ("kings") means "priests".

8) The rubric in D.C. 3 differs: it directs the ganzibra to distribute myrtle with the crowns.

321

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that the kings assembled (to be)
In company with the king, the son of kings,
And he distributed crowns and treasures to the kings[1]),
The kings extended their right hands,
Their right hands the kings held out,
And they received crowns from the king,
Crowns they received from the king.
And they bless him with a great benediction
And honour him who gave them crowns and treasures
For ever and aye.

[The priests shall repeat this hymn, taking the crowns from the *ganzibra* who set the crown on the postulant.]

322

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that a vision was verified by eyes [2]) (?)
And the newly-inaugurated [3]) banner was purified (?) [4]) thereby
Its inauguration (*consecration*) [3]) was shared amongst the banners
And the banners shone in its radiance,
They shone with great radiance and praised the king's crown.
They praised the king's crown [5]) and said to it
"Thy counterpart [6]) shineth in the ether,
In the ether thy counterpart shineth
And the ether delighteth in thee!
'Uthras, kings and jordans praise thy counterpart
For ever and aye.

[The ganzibra shall recite this prayer for the sewing of the postulant's crown. When praying the devotions before the secret prayer is said, he shall sew the postulant's crown and shall recite this prayer over the crown.] [1]

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[1]) Lines in italics are missing in No. 321, but are given in No. 402 (p. 477 in the text), also in D.C. 3 p. 341, and B.M. Or. 6592 : 423.

[2]) Or "his vision". *Tiqnat* = was stabilised i.e. realised.

[3]) *Mšaria* = "begun", "new, "inaugurated": as a derived meaning "consecrated". The new priest has his own banner, a new one. Read *drabša* here as in Prayer No. 403 (text p. 347) not *drabšia*.

[4]) Both D.C. 53 and D.C. 3 have here *'ṣṭalalbḫ* (ࡀࡑࡈࡀࡋࡀࡋࡁࡄ = "prepared "purified") B.M. Or. 6592 : 4 has *'ṣalalbḫ*. D.C. 53 No. 403, however has *'tkalalbḫ* = "is perfected thereby".

[5]) No. 404 has "praised the great crown".

[6]) Or "thine archetype".

323

In the name of the Great Life!
Shine forth, give out light, pure Mirror!
For in all worlds thou wilt be called "Illuminator".
Rise to thy feet, great 'uthra!
Let all thy treasure awake [2] for us
That we may shine and rejoice thereat:
'Uthras and kings who sit in this sanctuary
Will beam and rejoice thereat!
From beginning to end.

[The priests and ganzivri who are sitting in the sanctuary shall recite this hymn when the postulant comes and sits upon a chair. Then he shall rise to his feet and recite the appointed prayers (*mandiz*) as far as the prayer "Darkness is crushed down"; with witnesses, one on his right and the other on his left.]

324

In the name of the Great Life!
Thou enlightenest them by thy word(s)
Sublime [3] and pure,
And glorifiest the worlds by thy glory.
Our father, thou enlightenest them
By thy pure eloquence
And thy root shall be exalted
And attain the summit.

[The priests and ganzivri shall recite this hymn when the postulant is ending his set pieces, and the witnesses shall sit and recite this hymn, as below.]

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[1] The crown is tubular. At the consecration of a priest long tubes of woven silk and cotton are cut by the *ganzibra* into short lengths: two of silk for himself and the postulant, 24 of cotton for other priests (if the postulant is the *ganzibra*'s first pupil). Women present sew the ends together so as to form "crowns", but it appears from the above insertion that the *ganzibra* himself completes the silken crown of the new priest.

[2] The "treasure" which the new priest is to "awake" or "illumine" (the word means both), is his accurate recitation of the Book of Souls before the assembly of examining priests.

[3] Only D.C. 3, p. 342 has *šania*. B.M. Or. 6592 : 126 also omits.

325 1)

In the name of the Great Life!
The Great (Life) rejoiced, It was glad
That Yawar hath looked 2) for a banner of radiance.
And the Rays of Light rejoiced because
We have crushed down darkness
And brought to nought the rebellious Voice.
If thus we have acted, and thus it was ordained,
Then it is You, the Well-Ordered,
(Who hath) ordained it.

[The witnesses recite this hymn whilst sitting on chairs, and shall recite all the hymns (given) below.]

326

In the name of the Great Life!
Our father, thou art a pure mirror!
In all worlds thou hast become an Illuminator.
Rejoice, our father! and take joy
In all thy kingliness!
Thou, our father, art he in whom we shine and glory,
And (in whom) the 'uthras and kings
In this sanctuary shine and glory
For evermore.

[All shall recite this hymn; then the postulant (when) he has risen 3), shall kiss them on their heads, give them myrtle to smell at, and shall kiss the *ganzibra* and take the book 4) from him.]

327

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Myrtle emerged from the Wellspring 5)
And her waters, it grew upward 6) in its glory.
The waters rushed forth and were divided
And ether emanated from light.

---

1) This prayer (No. 325) is the only one of the coronation series translated by Lidzbarski; (M.L. p. 272).

2) I suspect strongly that the original had *sakaklḫ* = "planted", ("stuck in") the banner. The pointed end of the pole is driven into the earth.

3) The Perfect tense.

4) The Book of Souls.

5) The "Wellspring" = the "Mother", see p. 14, n. 5.

6) *'tgadal* = "became great", "was raised up" (to dignity).

The king took the first myrtle 1)
From the hand of the new king
Who by him had been instructed in the sublime mystery.
He twined him 2) a (myrtle-) wreath;
On the jordan he bestowed its purity.
The king was ratified (?) 3) by the myrtle
And the jordan crowned 4) by the king,
They are reciprocally crowned 5), mutually aggrandised
And rise and behold the Place of Light.

[The *ganzibra* recites this hymn, takes the myrtle from him, smells at it, twists a wreath for himself, twists a wreath for the postulant and gives it to the postulant who takes the wreath and staff. Then he gives the order that they should honour (*their crowns*).]

328

In the name of the Great Life!
Blessed be this *škinta* of the Mighty (Life)
In which crowns have been formed
Crowns have been formed in it
And a crown for a king, son of kings, was set on,
A crown was set on a king, son of kings.
All the kings pay homage to thee 6)
And kings, 'uthras, Tannas and Drops
All bow down and reverence thee
In whom crowns (or "his crown") and mysteries
Have been confirmed
And *škintas*; an indwelling of the Mighty (Life)
Hath proceeded from thee (?) 7).

---

1) One would expect "from his first-born", but the *bukra* refers to the first myrtle that the new king twines as a king into a wreath.

2) D.C. 3 omits *gdalḫ* and has *asia* for *asa*.

3) D.C. 3 has *triṣ* for *tqun*. Cf. the *barsom* as confirmation of Persian kingship.

4) The Ethpe. and Ethpe. pf KRK (to turn, surround, enfold, encircle etc.) have many derived meanings. *'tkarak* "crowned" occurs in the phrase *hu taga 'tirṣa ḏ-malkia bgauḫ 'tkarak* (D.C. 36) "it is a crown set on, wherewith kings were crowned".

5) D.C. 3 has the correct *mitkarkin:* D.C. 53, No. 408 p. 480 1.1. has *mitgadlin*

6) In the other mss *ldilak*. The cult-hut, scene of the coronation, is addressed

7) *Škinat kabiria minak praš*, The meaning appears to be that the Great Life is incarnate in the priest's office. *Škinat* here might be rendered as "shecinah", "indwelling"?

And in thee the elect righteous will be uplifted;
They will worship and give praise
For thou wilt be called
"A *škinta* which nourisheth sucklings"
For ever and aye.

[This is the prayer for the consecration of the cult-hut (*škinta*) when thou intendest to take thither the first postulant on the Sunday. The priests recite this hymn before entering the cult-hut; (*they recite it*) and then they enter the cult-hut.]

329 [1]

In the name of the Great Life!
Oh a burnished treasure art thou!
Oh a glittering thing [2] art thou!
(Thou) mirror [3] of kings!
In its glory kings shine; they shine in its glory.
They prepare crowns with his; [4]
Crowns they fashion with his.
Watersprings are crowned (?) by his (*crown*) [5]
And watersprings, radiancies [6] and mirrors
Worship the great Crown: they praise it, guard it
And say to it "Blessed is this (*thine*) appearance
Which we praise; and by it, in thy *škinta*
We shall be guided aright, we shall be rightly guided [7]
In thy *škinta*, and with thee we shall be united
For ever and ever.

[This is the hymn for the releasing [8] of crowns on the Sunday when the *ganzibra* wishes to consecrate [1] the cotton crowns for the priests [2]. Wearing all his vestments [3] and all his clothes [4], the crown in his right hand and the staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the Piriawis, the jordan, and takes also in his right hand with his own crown the cotton crowns which he wisheth to consecrate. Then he performs the ritual ablution in the jordan and comes towards the *kinta* [5] and the banner. And he examines all the clothes and recites the *Asuta* [6] to the Gate of Mercies [7] and the kings as much as he is able. And after that he entones this prayer over each crown, once over every one. And Life is victorious.]

---

[1] This prayer is the last in Lidzbarski's collection, but his version differs from those in my collection, cf. the two texts. He takes it as an address to the banner (which it is not, even in the Oxford version, see l. 2 of the prayer) for it is addressed to the crown and its wearer.

[2] *Drabša* here is "that which glitters" see p. 226, n. 4; not "banner": the crown is meant. (P. درفشان = "to shine".)

[3] Or "vision".

[4] The reference, as the insertion which follows it shows, is to the preparation and presentation of crowns to all the priests present at the ceremony.

[5] Lidzbarski (and the Oxford ms.) *bziwḫ mitkarkan*. *Bziwḫ* is missing in D.C. 53, and I translate *mitkarkan* in the same sense as "And the jordan crowned by the king". see p. 230, n. 4'

[6] Or "radiant beings". (Lidzbarski *Glanzwesen*.)

[7] *Nitriṣ*. (TRṢ to make or set right, etc.)

[8] Or "inauguration", "consecration" see p. 227, n. 3.

These are the antiphonal hymns of Šišlam-Rba and their refrain, the hymn of the ring, and all the hymns for postulants (*ordination hymns*). I copied this collection from beginning to end for myself, so that I might act and be successful in the world and that there may be one to mention my name on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. For I have copied with a sincere and believing heart: my heart hath testified to the Life and to my lord Manda-ḏ-Hiia, so that they would be my support and my saviour. I am poor and lowly . . . (etc.)

(*The colophon resembles other colophons in the book*) . . . .

This miscellany of the Coronation was set in order and brought to successful conclusion from beginning to end in the name of the Life and as a token of Knowledge-of-Life and trust in the high King of Light, and in the names of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš — praised be their names in the great Place, the House of Perfection! It was completed on Friday (*yuma ḏ-rahaṭia*) which is *'rufta* (Friday), the fourth of the month Akir-Paiiz (Last-of-Autumn) which is *Ṭabit*, Capricornus, in the year of Wednesday (*i. e. which began on a Wednesday*) in the year 1217 by Arab computation — may the world founder upon them and Manda-ḏ-Hiia bring to nought their rage against the congregation of souls!

It was copied in Huwaiza, by the waters of Karka . . . (*etc.*)

---

[1] See p. 227, n. 3.

[2] Plural in D.C. 3.

[3] *Mania* in D.C. 3

[4] I think that this means the new priest's clothes later inspected at the *kinta*.

[5] An altar in box form.

[6] The "*Asut-Malkia*" no. 105.

[7] The North, the North star.

[The end of the autobiographical part of the colophon of D.C. 53 is missing.]

THE BANNER HYMNS 1)

In the name of the Great Life! may there be health, victory and forgiveness of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš because of these antiphonal hymns for the banner.

330

In the name of the Great Life!
When radiance came forth the white land, Paris 2),
A young lad, Arsapan, son of radiant-beings,
Unfurled a banner 3). He unfurled a great radiance
So that 'uthras and *škinta*s shone in the banner's brilliance,
They shone in the brilliance of his banner
(That was) like the radiance in the House of the Mighty (Life)

331

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba 4) unfurled his banner
Over corporate beings 5),
Three hundred and sixty wellsprings
Of radiance, light and glory were formed by him.
The glory of Šišlam-Rba's banner
Shone forth over three 6) Wellsprings of Radiance
And the three wellsprings of Radiance
Who beheld the brightness of Šišlam-Rba's banner
Prostrated themselves before its glory:
They prostrated themselves,
The three wellsprings of radiance,
Praising the banner
To all eternity.

---

1) Lidzbarski included nineteen of the banner hymns in his collection (M.L. pp. 264 ff.).

2) Lidzbarski (M.L. p. 264, n. 1) suggests that "Paris" is "Pars, Persis im Gegensatz zum Schwarzland (*sawwād*) Babylonien so benannt".

3) For the banner as a light-symbol see p. 231, n. 2 and p. 226, n. 4.

4) The great Šišlam is the archetype of king (priest) and bridegroom.

5) '*Usṭunia* = lit. "bodies" (headless). '*Usṭuna* is the word used in priestly commentaries to connote the physical; the trunk (column) of Adams "Body", i.e. the universe conceived as a human shape.

6) "Wellsprings" are, I imagine, a poetical name given to the three celebrants necessary for a *masiqta:* other ceremonies require seven concelebrants. See l. 5 of the next hymn.

332

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba unfurled his banner
Its glory shone out over three hundred and sixty thousand jordans,
The glory of the banner of Šišlam-Rba
Shone out over seven wellsprings,
And the wellspring Ṣihmai 1) spurted upward
Before the radiance of Šišlam-Rba's banner.
The perfume in the banner was delightful
And (*as*) it appeared over the *škinata* (sanctuaries).
How it becometh Šišlam-Rba when he is illumined
By the wondrous banner Zihrun!
How beauteous it maketh Šišlam-Rba
When he is proclaimed King of all beams of light!

333

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba shook out the banner Pirun
And unfurled it at the head of the *škinta*,
Its glory shone out over Wellspring and Palmtree 2).
(*When*) the Wellspring and Palmtree beheld 3)
The glory of Šišlam-Rba's banner,
A gush of radiance inundated Šišlam-Rba's banner
And made his banner, Pirun, bright
Beyond measure.

334

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that the banner Šišlamiel was unfurled,
Its radiance beamed forth over three hundred and sixty
Worlds of Light.
Over three hundred and sixty worlds of light
Its radiance beamed forth.
And the three hundred and sixty worlds of light

---

1) ṢHM = "to be brilliant".
2) See p. 14, notes 5 and 6.
3) *ḏ hzatḇ* is influenced by the gender of *aina*.

Which beheld the brightness of the banner Šišlamiel
All flocked towards it,
Towards it they all gathered
And uttered a benediction on the banner of the Great Bihram 1),
Saying to it, "Thy radiance, (O) banner Manhariel,
Hath dawned and thine appearance shone out,
And thy jordan hath strength and flow 2)
From end to end.

335

In the Name of the Great Life!
On the day that Bihram the Great unfurled the banner Šišlamiel,
Its radiance shone out over the waters,
Over the waters its radiance dawned,
Its radiance dawned over the waters
From the waters its radiance flooded upward
Its radiance surged up from the waters
And shone out over the worlds.
Worlds and kings who beheld the radiance of
The banner Šišlamiel, all gather towards it,
All gather towards it and utter blessing
Upon the banner of Šišlam-Rba and say to it
"Blessed be thou, Šišlamiel-Banner,
And blessed be the man that hath unfurled thee.
Great glory hath he given thee
And great is the crown 3) he set on thee!
He hath given thee myrtle which strengtheneth 'uthras:
Jordans exult 4) in thy radiance
And 'uthras delight in thy fragrance
Exceedingly".

336

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Šišlam-Rba unfurled his banner

---

1) In the Vendidad (19:37). Varathragna's epithet is *barō-χᵛarəna*: usually translated "glory".

2) Motion.

3) At the consecration of the banner, which is extended full length before the white silk is draped over the crosspiece, a myrtle-wreath is slipped over the peak by the priest or priests officiating.

4) D.C. 3 has *šaḥfia* "flow out", D.C. 53 (like M.L.) *šaḥbia* (ŠHB to exult in, vaunt, joy in etc.).

The radiance of Bihram-Rba's banner
Shone forth like the great mirror
That resteth in the Jordan.
Its radiance appeared and his *škinta*
Shone, and his people [1]) were confirmed in victory.
And Life is victorious.

[Recite these seven hymns for the banner when unfurling it [2]).]

337 [3])

In the name of the Great Life
It hath risen, it hath shone forth
Thy radiance, king of 'uthras!
It came; upon the 'uthras and *škinta*s it shone.
The 'uthras and the *škinta*s who beheld thy glory
All bless thee with a blessing,
A blessing they pronounce upon thee
And the 'uthras honour thee
Because thou camest into existence
Through the hand of a king.
The king blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave it (*thee?*) to me, Hibil-Ziwa.
To me, Hibil-Ziwa he gave it
To give light to worlds, to kings
And to jordans and *škinta*s
All of them, fully.

338

Hibil blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave thee to the Occult Adam [4]),
Adam blessed thee with a great blessing
And gave thee to the Chosen Elect.
He gave thee to the Chosen Elect
To enlighten and stabilise their counterparts [5])
Fully.

---

[1]) *Šurbta*, a race, tribe, family, descendants, kinsfolk.

[2]) These seven prayers are said by a priest over the banner during the recitation of his daily office.

[3]) This prayer and 348 are said whilst crouching and holding the staff of the banner.

[4]) This Occult Adam, is the cosmic Adam, archetype of the physical Adam.

[5]) The *dmuta* is the over-soul, the counterpart of the earthly being in the ideal world of Mšunia Kušṭa. It often acts as conscience or guardian angel, according to commentaries,

339

The Chosen Righteous rose to their feet
And grasped thee with their right hands.
They went to the jordan of living water
And set thee up, so that thy radiancy
Might be shed on the jordan.
The water and thy brightness become blended together;
Thy brightness and the water are combined
Enhancing (*the brilliance of*) Šilmai and Nidbai.
And these, the elect who go to the jordan,
Are illumined by thy radiance.
Do thou guard them and establish them
And make their baptism successful!
Life is victorious.

[Chant these hymns before thou conveyest the banner to the jordan.]

340

In the name of the Great Life!
Who took up the banner Zihrun
In which the worlds and generations glory
And went to the bank of the jordan Piriawis?
The jordan Piriawis on beholding the brilliancy
Of the banner Zihrun, leapt towards its radiance:
The waters and jordan and springs which dwell
In the jordan (*Piriawis*) leap towards the radiance
Of the banner Zihrun and exult exceedingly.

341

In the name of the Great Life!
Yawar took up the banner Šišlamiel
In which the worlds and generations exult,
And went to the bank of the jordan Piriawis.
The jordan Piriawis when it beheld the banner Zihrun
Rejoiced with a great joy, exceedingly.

[Chant these hymns and take the banner to the jordan and plant it on the bank of the jordan. Then recite "Shine forth, shine forth, brightness of Yawar".]

342

In the name of the Great Life!
Shine forth, let Yawar's radiance shine forth
Over the jordan. The brightness of the banner
Hath shone forth over the living waters! It shone forth:
The waters dance towards its radiance
And the radiance towards the waters. Waters and radiance
Are intermingled [1], are interlaced, and its brightness
Inspiriteth the 'uthras in their *škinta*s
Immeasurably.

(Recite these hymns when thou graspest the banner on the jordan-bank. Then recite "As the head of three *škintas*".)

343

In the name of the Life,
As head of the three *škinata* [2] —
Who was set up as their head (Chief)?
Whom did they set up as their chief?
Who unfurled the banner at the jordan,
Who at the jordan unfurled the banner?
And who took the staff into the jordan?
As the head of the three *škinata*
Who placed the great crown on their heads [3]?
On their heads and banners Yukašar placed the great crown;
He unfurled the banner at the jordan,
Yukašar unfurled at the jordan the banner
And Yusmir took the staff into the jordan.
And Life is victorious.

[Recite these hymns whilst grasping the banner on the jordan bank [4], then perform thy baptism).[5]]

344

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1] Or "embraced one another".

[2] Three cult-huts? Or are, as I think may be the case, three concelebrants meant?

[3] D.C. 53, p. 363 and D.C. 3, p. 235 have *brišaiin udrabšaiin*. Lidzbarski, using De Morgan's transcription, (D.M. p. 175) has *brišaian*. "on our heads" and omits mention of the banners.

[4] The banner is grasped first below the peak and then, standing, above the peak.

[5] Or "perform thine immersion".

The Great (Life) rejoiced; It rejoiced when Yawar looked [1]
Towards the banners of radiance and beams of light.
It rejoiced that we have trodden down darkness
And have brought to nought the rebellious Voice.
If we have done thus and it was brought about,
Nevertheless it is You, the (*well-*)ordered,
Who have ordained it!

345

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that 'uthras put into order
A jordan of living water
And a baptism was performed therein,
They took the banner Bihram
And brought it into the *škinta* of Šišlam-Rba.
And at the door of his House of Radiance
They unfurled it so that 'uthras and *škinta*s
Might shine in its brightness and rejoice
Exceedingly.

[Recite these two hymns after thou hast performed the baptism, and take the banner into the cult-hut.]

346

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that great Bihram furled his banner
Three hundred and sixty guardians presided thereat [2].
They concealed it in its strong-box [3]
And set the seals of the mighty (Life) upon it.
The mighty (Life) blesseth with His pure mouth
The Being who had settled here, and saith to him
"Lend with increase some of thy radiance,
And illumine the whole world with thy light!"
Our father enlighteneth with his wondrous voice;

---

[1] For *skarlḫ*, D.C. 53, p. 363, 1.17, read *skalḫ* as in D.C. 3, D.M. and other mss.

[2] I.e. were present, lit. rested upon it.

[3] Lidzbarski (M.L. 273 : 9) transliterates בסאפטיא and translates "Ketten von Edelsteinen". D.M. however (178: penult.) like D.C. 53 (364 : 11) and D.C. 3 (236 : 21) has *bṣafṭia hiliḫ*. *Safṭa* (the more usual form of the word) in Arabic and Persian = "chest for valuables", "wallet", "purse" "casket" etc. and occurs several times in Mandaean texts in this sense. (e.g. *bsafṭia ḏ-zahba*, D.C. 36 II no. 189). The banner is, in fact, kept in a box.

And he said, "Any man who is pious and believing,
Who went not early in the morning to the jordan
Nor is signed with the sign of the jordan...... [1]))
Utterly.

[Recite this hymn and fold up the banner on the great day of Daima [2]), by itself. And, any day on which thou baptisest, fold the banner [3]) and cover it up with this hymn.]

347

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that the radiance of the banner Šašlamiel [4])
Was hidden in its casket of radiance,
All the 'uthras rose from their seats.
And pronouncing a sublime blessing upon Zihrun-Šašlamiel [5])
The banner, they took it from its pedestal [6]) of radiance
To inner houses [7]) so that it was hidden.
They cover it, bless it, guard it and say to it,
"As surely as thy radiance waiteth safe in its casket,
Will thy form be kept safe. All worlds which behold thee
Will bless and praise thee for ever and aye".

[Recite this prayer and furl the banner when thou hast finished all thy rites. Recite it by itself alone and fold it before they cover (*put away*) the banner of the day, whilst thy crown is on thy head, except at the festival of Daima. (*On that day?*) read both hymns. Then roll up the banner and hide it in its chest (or "casket"). And Life is victorious!)[8]]

348 [THE BLESSED OBLATION PRAYERS]

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Ayar (Ether, Air) emerged from the Wellspring
The waters flowed hither, hither flowed the waters
And radiance in the jordan. (*The use of*)

---

[1]) A line must be missing, condemning such a man, for the daily ablution and signing at the jordan is a religious duty. The version given is on all copies I saw, including D.M. p. 178.

[2]) The feast of Daima, a baptism-feast, occurs ninety days after Panja (Parwanaiia), the five intercalary days.

[3]) The banner is about three meters long and an ell wide.

[4]) Var. *Šišlam'il.*

[5]) Not Zihrun *and* Šašlamiel as written (v. D.M. op. cit. pl. 178 : 10).

[6]) Its base, its column, i.e. the banner-pole.

[7]) Lit. "to inner eggs".

[8]) Here Lidzbarski's collection has No. 329 (given in this book on p. 231).

Myrtle was appointed.[1] they twine its sprigs
And its destination[2] is the sacred table[3].
We *ašgandia* (acolytes) have become acolytes[4]
And were admitted into the radiance of the mighty (Life);
By the radiance of the mighty (Life) we are sheltered.
And the Wreath is set up, into circlets it was twined,
It was plaited with myrtle leaves.
Trees bore their fruit (*lit.* "burden")
Naṣirutha was manifest in the full jordan
And they were refreshed in the full jordan,
Before you, 'uthras, my brothers,
Fully.

The *šganda* reciteth this hymn for the Blessed Oblation when the myrtle and phial are in his hand. Then the *ganzibra* taketh the myrtle and phial of wine[5] from the acolyte and reciteth "Come, come, lofty acolyte, from the House of my Father".]

349

In the name of the Great Life!
Come, come, lofty messenger[6],
Come, come from the House of my Father!
Come and irradiate us with the radiance of Life,
With the radiance of Life irradiate us!
And refresh us with some of the good things[7]
Provided there[8]. For thou[9] art called
Sustainer[10] of 'uthras for ever and aye.

---

[1] Myrtle and its ritual inhalation is an important rite in the "Blessed Oblation". Cf. the barsom in early Zoroastrian ritual.

[2] Lit. "its course, ("its journey) is to".

[3] The *patura*, corresponds to the sacramental table or altar. It may be a clay table, or a mat, or a purified washed surface. The sacred meal is arranged on it, see p. 61, n. 5.

[4] *Ašganda*, *šganda*, see p. 5, n. 4. Usually a young man or boy who must be of priestly birth. He is consecrated for his office every time he officiates.

[5] The "wine" is unfermented.

[6] *Šganda*, in its more ancient meaning, see p. 5, n. 4.

[7] *Ṭabuta* ("goodness", "good things") here refers to the food-offerings.

[8] A better version of this prayer occurs in D.C. 42 ls. 617 ff. *uṭaibinan mn ṭabuta ḏ-'šra* (var. *'šria*) *'lḫ aminṭul ḏ-mṭaibana ḏ-'uthria 'tiqrit*. The same version occurs in D.C. 50. The form is Afel. Cf. Hif. שרי (J., 2) "to provide a living for".

[9] *'tiqria* in both D.C. 3 and D.C. 53. I prefer *'tiqrit*, see n. 8.

[10] *Mṭaibana* = one who refreshes or provides with food and drink, "sustainer", "food-giver" etc.

[The *ganzibra* shall recite this hymn and take the phial of wine and the myrtle from the acolyte]

350

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that a root of fresh myrtle
Was set up before the king,
The king stretched forth his right hand for it
And gave it to the 'uthras and acolytes
And said to them "Take from me this fresh myrtle
And bless the *škinata* [1]) with a blessing,
A blessing pronounce on the *škinata*
And illumine and restore the 'uthras and *škinata*
Situate at thy right and at thy left
For ever and aye. [2])

[The *ganzibra* shall recite this hymn and distribute myrtle to the 'uthras [3]) and priests. Then they shall recite the "sealing" prayers, [4]) to the end of that which blesseth (bless) the Blessed Oblation, and he shall seal (conclude) it.]

In the name of the Great First Strange Life from worlds of light, the Ineffable who is above all works, may there be health, purity, and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš ...... (*etc., the usual insertions with family names occurs in all mss.*)

And we shall be blessed by means of these prayers and benedictions of the *pihtania* [5]) of the Blessed Oblation, and our thought, mind and understanding shall be enlightened by the might of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

351

In the name of the Great Life!
This is the Blessed Oblation!
Kušṭa regaleth his friends,

---

[1]) The cult-huts, where the Blessed Oblation is celebrated.

[2]) For a slight (and possibly better) variant of this prayer see Š. ḏ-Q. pp. 61-62.

[3]) See p. 226, n. 7.

[4]) *Hatamata* = confirmatory or concluding prayers.

[5]) *Pihta* (= "opened"). Bread broken ritually and distributed and eaten sacramentally is so called. Cf. the Aramaic "piece", "bread (*Targ. O. Gen. xviii t.; Targ. Y. ib.xl,* 16); etc. See p. 37, n. 3. *pihtania* appears to be the plural form, "pieces of bread").

Kušṭa his friends regaleth,
He hath prepared and blessed it with his blessing.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken(?) [1]

352

In the name of the Great Life!
I am the white *Pihta* [2]
From Life's treasure-house was I transplanted;
I was transplanted from the treasure-house of the Great Life,
With [3] the jordan they sent me to earth,
With the jordan to earth they sent me
To spread truth in the world,
In the world to spread truth,
To enlighten darkened hearts,
My treasure, which I instilled into it [4].
I illumined and transformed it completely
Completely did I illumine and transform it.
I brought and [5] set down in it a good [6] (gift)
I removed from it the misery [7]
Which the Seven had brought to bodies
(That) the Seven had brought to bodies
And they dwelt in darkened hearts.
Pihta they ate not. (*but*) his Creator spoke
And made man, who ate not *pihta*,
Listen to Him. And He said,
"Look to it lest ye eat with a lie!
Beware that ye eat not falsely!
Look to it lest ye partake of it hypocritically!"
For the wicked and liars who eat it with falsehood

---

[1] Or, if we read, as in D.C. 53, pp. 376, 379, 380, 382 and D.C. 3, pp. 247, 248, 250 and 251, "who quickeneth us with his bounty".

[2] Wheat for the *pihta* is the best and whitest. Ground by the priest, it is mixed with water from river or jordan (salt being first added). Formed into discs, the dough is baked over the ritual brazier just before use. The *pihta* consumed during the *masiqta* by the priest as proxy for the deceased is made otherwise. See *W.W.* pp. 242-255 for full description of the rite.

[3] Or "from the jordan".

[4] I.e. into the world.

[5] D.C. 3 has *atit* "I went" (as translated in Z.D.M.G. Band 105, Heft, 1 p. 134, 1. 5.)

[6] *Ṭabta* = "a good thing, gift", etc. or "goodness". See p. 254 n. 1.

[7] Lit. "sighing" "lamentation".

Will be bound and lie in darkness,
They will be bound and lie in darkness,
Darkness degraded[1] and lay heavy upon them.
The eyes of the wicked look on darkness
And their feet find nothing stable.
(*But*) the good, who eat it with sincerity
Arise and behold the Place of Light.
Their eyes behold the light
And their feet find firmness.
And Life is triumphant.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken[2].

353

In the name of the Great Life!
The white *Pihta* am I!
The creature of light, I came into existence.
Pihta am I, the white,
For Yawar was my Transplanter[3]
My Creator was Yawar, from his treasury he brought me.
Yawar-Ziwa took me and gave me to Nṣab-Ziwa.
Nṣab-Ziwa took me and gave me to Zarziel-Nhura-Rba.
Zarziel-Nhura-Rba took and gave me to Hibil-Ziwa.
Hibil-Ziwa took and brought me into the earthly world;
He took me, brought me down; set me down in the earthly world.
As food for Adam and all his sons.
Whilst the first generation existed
They ate me in good faith,
In good faith did they eat me;
No trickery[4] did they perform with me,
They performed with me no misuse[4].
Nor did they omit or subtract from[5] me
They committed no omission or subtraction

---

[1] Af. of ZLL or ZUL.

[2] See p. 243, n. 1.

[3] Or "creator".

[4] *Hargta* = (a) friction, rubbing (b) "distortion", "obliquity", "false dealing", "misuse": e.g. *kušṭana damia lmuzania ḏ-mutaqin ulaiit bgauḫ hargta* (G.R. r. 214, Lidzbarski's trs. Der Wahrhafte gleicht einer Wage, die gerade gerichter und an der keine Schiefheit ist. The crookedness is intentional (*hrig* = "cunning").

[5] Lit. "they performed me with nothing lacking or deficient".

And the creatures of the Seven
Had no dominion over me.
When a second generation came into being
They (*too*) ate me aright,
Sincerely they ate me:
No trickery did they perform with me,
They performed me with no crooked dealing,
They did not omit or subtract from me,
From me they neither omitted nor subtracted
And the creatures of the Seven had no power over me.
When a third generation arose,
Adonai [1] built a House,
A house did Adonai build,
And the Seven obtained a hold [2] in it,
Then it was dispersed amongst the three hundred
And sixty two nations [3].
And then I was taken from their midst
And they cast me amongst the three hundred
And sixty-two nations.
Then they ate me with falsehood,
With falsehood did they eat me,
Wrongly did they use me,
They used me falsely
And did with me that which was deficient and lacking,
That which was deficient and lacking they did with me
And creatures of the Seven gained dominion over me.
Then strength was taken from me,
And radiance, order, taste and glory.
And they made me the fodder of beasts.
Souls departed from bodies without their measure.
Naṣoraeans who eat me falsely
Will be burnt upon coals of fire.
The baptised [4] in water who eat me with a clot of blood [5]

---

[1] "My Lord" the Jewish name for Yahweh, Jehovah.

[2] Colloquially "got hold of it".

[3] Lit. "tongues" i.e. those who speak another language.

[4] Or "immersed in water". (not in *mia hiia?*).

[5] *Hrara* used in a double sense, (a) "illusion", "delusion, (b) "a clot of blood". The reference may be to the Christian chalice, in which the wine is spoken of as "blood".

Will be made to dwell with the demon Mahzur[1].
Any woman who believeth not in prayer and praise
Make no bread with her!
She will be made to dwell in the dwelling of Ruha-d-Qudša![2]
When Bel and Shamish[3] beheld me
They assumed an air of arrogance;
An air of arrogance they assumed
And going into the presence of Pthahil[4]
Bend and bow themselves before him
And prostrating their forms and uttering compliments
They say: "By thy life, our father Pthahil,
Grant us a commission, that we may go
And may create a creation from start to finish".
Then their father Pthahil arose and gave them commission
And said to them "Go, create the thing that ye have wished (*to create*)".
Thereupon, with the mystery of ashes and red dust[5]
And the overflow and dregs of the clouds
They went, they created Rice,
They went, they created Rice.
And held it before Pthahil.
Pthahil, when he saw it
Clenched his fists and beat on the forecourt of his breast
And he said "From this creation that ye have created
How can bread (*pihta*) come therefrom?
How can bread be produced therefrom?
Or food from that thus prepared
From beginning to end?"
Then They summoned an angel, one of (those)
Before Them, by whom *Pihta* was produced,
By him was *Pihta* produced.
And they held it before Pthahil.
When Pthahil saw it he brightened

---

[1] מַחְזוֹרָא a Jewish prayerbook for annual festivals? (Targ. Y. Gen. 1, 14.)

[2] "Holy-Spirit" is in later polemic an epithet for Ruha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality.

[3] Jupiter and Sol.

[4] The demiurge who created the material world. He failed in his task, for the breath of life was lacking.

[5] Unhusked rice in Lower Babylonia is red in colour, and the dust-storms which sometimes obscure the light in daytime are often red.

And rejoiced and was glad and delighted
Beyond measure. And he said
"The excellence of this mystery which ye have created
Surpasseth all creations which exist in the earthly world!
Yon two fundamentals — the Oblation and Table —
Yawar hath blessed with his blessing!
And this, the third fundamental, I, Pthahil,
Have blessed it with my benediction".
And this is my secret teaching
Which hath issued from mine own mouth, Hibil-Ziwa's,
"He who casteth it abroad in turbid waters
Shall be beaten with a scourge of wrath
And sobs will convulse him [2]).
(*He that bringeth shame on*) my treasure,
They will tear him with mighty iron combs;
They will cast him into the cauldrons,
Of Messiah and Holy Spirit [3]).
(*But*) he who covereth and taketh care of it
Will (himself) be cared for in a worthy place.
Any man who disseminateth it amongst righteous folk
And believers will rise and behold the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Of whose bounty we have partaken [4]).

354

I am the white *Pihta* whose Transplanter was Hibil,
Hibil was my Transplanter.
And he brought me, caused me to dwell in the earthly world,
Brought me, set me down in the earthly world
Which is this world.
The blessed *Pihta* speaketh
And saith to Yawar-Ziwa,
"When thou broughtest me

---

[1]) *Kania* (kannia) "sources, foundations, bases": or (see. p. 260, n. 3).

[2]) *Guha* ("thunder", "sobbing") may have been inserted by a scribe who misunderstood the verbs GNH and GNA. To make sense, I have inserted "He that bringeth shame on". The original line may have been *ḏ-nignalḫ l'uṣrai* "that shameth my treasure".

[3]) See p. 246, n. 2.

[4]) See p. 243, n. 1.

Into a world of evil ones and liars,
They ate me [1] with lie and deception.
During the first age
They ate me in good faith.
And when the second age arrived
Then (also) they ate me aright,
(But) when the third age came into existence
Liars obtained power over me, who arise,
Commit murder, not cleansing their fingers from blood.
They arise, commit murder and come and approach me
Depriving me of strength
And causing lack and defect in me".
Yawar-Ziwa speaketh and said to the blessed *Pihta*:
"When we brought thee into the world
Of evil ones and liars,
I delivered a pure warning, saying
'Yawar-Ziwa speaketh to Naṣoraeans
And sayeth to them: My Chosen!
When ye partake [2] of my bounty
Partake thereof in sincerity,
Silence and purity.
Cast it not as invitation to the Lion [3]
From whom every wild beast had its being.
Cast it not down as invitation to the House
Of the devil Simiael [4]
Which is full of foul pollutions!
The crumbs [5] which fall from you,
Cast into running water [6] lest they fall to the ground,
Lest your feet be placed thereon.
Trample it not underfoot! [7]
For it came from the Place which is life-giving,

---

[1] Not "they surrounded me". The tense is Perfect, after *Kt.*

[2] The Pael and Ethpa. of ṬUB when speaking of sacramental meals = "to partake of", "refresh oneself with".

[3] The Lion of Judah? The wild beasts which it produced were presumably sects which originated from Judaism.

[4] A demon of blindness, mentioned in G.R. (trs. p. 200 n. 1), and several times in D.C. 40 and other mss. Lidzbarski takes it (mistakenly in my opinion) for Ismael.

[5] Lit. "the fallen that fell", i.e. any fragments or crumbs.

[6] "Jordan" is not necessarily consecrated running water.

[7] Lit. "Do not put your feet on it".

From the Place which is life-giving it came;
It was transplanted from amongst
Worthy treasurers. My Elect!
Hearken and hear, and take care of my benefaction
Which came from the House of the Great Life!
And Life be praised!
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa
Who quickeneth us 1) with his bounty.

355

The white *Pihta* am I
Which the Life summoned and sent
In His benevolence.
In the strength of Hibil-Ziwa
He sent me to this world;
Made me chief of His *Kimṣa* (*hidden treasure?* 2))
And called me Uplifter of prayers.
I came, and became an offering set apart
For the world, and source of strength for the priests. 3)
I held a portion of Life,
And called with the voice of a son of the Mighty (Life);
I set apart Sunday and the morn of the day
Whose name is reverenced.
And I dwelt therein to reveal its glory.
I revealed (it) to the priests
And dwelt in their hearts.
Goodness I give to them: enlightenment in plenty
So that they be not lacking or faulty.
They shall offer up prayer and praise
And put them up in a sublime voice.
They will shine in the Treasure of Life
And the Word that came from the House of the Great Life.
They shall be established in sanctuaries:
They will rise up, they will behold the Place of Light.
And Life is victorious.

---

1) Here not *ṭaibinin* but *ṭaibinan* in both mss.

2) *Riša d̮-kimṣa. Kimṣa* is a word of obscure meaning. It sometimes seems to be derived or influenced by KMS (not KMṢ) as here. (כמס Ass. כמס "to hide, store away".

3) A free translation.

I testify to Yawar 1)
Who refresheth us with his bounty.

356

In the name of the Great Life!
The voice of Manda-ḏ-Hiia
Calling to the chosen righteous,
To the chosen righteous it calleth
Warning them about my Oblation.
It uttered to them a first warning,
Admonishing them about my Oblation.
He said to them: "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
That was transplanted from the House of the Great Life;
My oblation translated from the House of the Great Life!
Partake thereof in sincerity, silence and purity".
With a second warning he admonisheth them about my oblation
He said to them "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
Transplanted from the House of the Great Life!
Partake thereof with prayer and praise".
With a third warning he admonisheth them about my oblation.
He said to them "Behold my oblation,
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation
Transplanted from the House of the Great Life,
My oblation transferred from the House of the Great Life.
With hymns and recitations partake thereof.
Behold my oblation, behold my oblation, behold my oblation!
Eaters of 2) my oblation are like *ṣibia* 3)
Like *ṣibia* are those who eat my oblation,
Like a lion lying 4) halfway on the road.

---

1) D.C. 6 Yawar-Ziwa.

2) D.C. 53, p. 378 ult. has *aklḫ man;* D.C. 3 p. 249: 13 f. *aklḫ mn*. The latter appears the more likely version.

3) *Ṣibia*. My attempted translation in Z.D.M.G. p. 141:12 (op. cit.) is unconvincing. The whole passage is obscure. The mention just below of the lion lying in the road suggests that *ṣibia* was in the original *ṣidia* (hunted, ambushed), but such a simile appears out of place. *Ṣibia* are evidently people who misuse the *zidqa* in some way.

4) See n. 3. *Rmia* (past part. RMA = "cast", "placed", "laid down" or "lying". In Z.D.M.G. I took it as a miscopying of *ramia*.

My *zidqa* (charity) [1] is like a mountain,
A mountain over which no highway hath been levelled.
My charity is like a sea,
A sea over which there is no way of crossing. [2]
He who eateth my oblation but surrendereth nothing [3]
Is cut off and will fall into the great Sea of Suf; [4]
He that hath but giveth nought,
His eyes will not behold the Light.
This is a Blessed Oblation!
Kušṭa regaleth his friends,
Kušṭa his friends regaleth!
He prepared and gave it his blessing.
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa [5]
Who refresheth us with his bounty.

357 [6]

Behold my oblation, behold my oblation, behold my oblation!
Who ate it?
The Jews, an evil nation, accursed and blasphemous ate it.
The *Kiwanaiia* [7] ate it, who cut it (?) in flames of fire.
The demented Yazuqaeans ate it, who reverence fire
Crazed creature who reverence fire
Serving a thing that is powerless.
Idumaeans ate it, who destroyed their virility,
Cast away, destroyed is their manhood,
And they set up Death [8], worshipping him.
Zandiqs (Manichaeans?), who rest on supports of falsehood, ate it,
On pillars of falsehood do they rest
And cut off their seed from the world.
Arabs ate it, evil liars, a wicked race
Who drink blood. Naṣoraeans ate it,

---

[1] Here *zidqa* has the more abstract meaning of "charity".

[2] D.C. 3 has *mabuta*, D.C. 53 *mabra* "traversing".

[3] Or "Is not made perfect therein". Again obscure. My translation is influenced by what follows.

[4] The Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host.

[5] Here, and at the end of the next hymn, D.C. 53 omits *Ziwa*.

[6] This hymn is not separated from that which precedes it.

[7] *Kiwanaiia:* "people of Saturn", "Saturn-worshippers"?

[8] Or "a corpse" (מִיתא).

A people, a stock, a family group ¹).
The faithful of heart ate it,
Righteous and believing people ate it,
Those baptised in water ate it who at their baptism
Arise and behold the Place of Light.
And Life be praised! Life is victorious!
I testify to Yawar-Ziwa who quickeneth us with his bounty.

In the name of the Great Life be there healing and victory and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!

358 ²)

In the name of the Life!
When He opened His Garment ³)
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared, to whom was light given?
To whom was light given and to whom was enlightenment revealed?
Enlightment, to whom was it revealed,
And on which of the 'uthras did They bestow it?
When He opened the Garment of Life
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
(When) Radiance appeared in its Place,
Light was given to Yawar,
Light to Yawar was given,
And he, Yawar, told it ⁴) to all the 'uthras.
The 'uthras who listened to the enlightenment (teaching)
Of Yawar, rejoiced and gloried therein to the uttermost.
Without measure they rejoiced and gloried therein
And were stablished thereby completely
He said to them "Rejoice and be edified, (ye) 'uthras
By the enlightenment which your father hath transmitted to you

---

¹) *ama kana umkanana* (a free translation).

²) The series which follows is devoted to praise of Yawar. The name is derived from YWR or 'WR, and illustrates the use of a regular but rare form of Peal active participle of roots ending in 'r', usually connoting an active agent, e.g. *dakar* (a mentioner), *pašar* (a loosener, exorcist) *naṭar* (watchman, guardian). See N. p. 230. Hence Yawar means one who blinds or dazzles with light.

³) "Opened His Garment", a mystical expression meaning "revealed Himself", "appeared".

⁴) *'mrḥ* in in both mss.: better perhaps "caused it to rest on all the 'uthras".

From the Mighty (Life)!" And they say to him,
"Blessed art thou, our great 1) First Enlightenment
Brought hither for our sakes, by virtue of which
We (too) give light. And we praise the Great (Life)
Who gave thee". And Life be praised!
I testify to Yawar, who quickeneth us
With his bounty!

359

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared, to whom was construction 2) entrusted?
To whom was (the work of) construction given?
And who was named as head of reproductive power 3)
Who was named as head of reproductive power?
And who became chief of mighty ones?
When the Life opened Its Garment,
And the Radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared;
When Radiance was manifested at its place,
Production was entrusted to Yawar,
To Yawar was (the work of) construction given.
He, Yawar, was named head of reproduction 3),
He was created chief of mighty ones.
He implanted the reproductive power
In his brethren, and set them up
And instructed them in their places,
He established them and instructed them
And showed them archetypes
So that all should not pass away.
For the radiance of Yawar 4) is not cut off
From above them in the Secret Place.
The Life accepteth 5) the dues and oblations
Of Yawar who quickeneth us with his bounty.
And Life is victorious.

---

1) D.C. 3, 252 : 5 *'rutan*.

2) *Tuqna* in both its meanings, "light" and "construction".

3) See p. 135, n. 2.

4) Or "dazzling", "dazzler". *Yawar* is not a loan-word from the Persian *yawar* "assistant". See p. 252, n. 2.

5) D.C. 3 hiia *qabliḫ*, D.C. 53 hiia *qabluiḫ*. The sentence is somewhat suspect.

360

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance formed itself,
On whom did the Great (Life) bestow a good [1] gift
On whom did the Great (Life) bestow bounty?
And whom did They endow [2] with blessing?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
(*When*) Radiance manifested in its place,
The Great (Life) bestowed bounty on Yawar,
Yawar took the good gift
And therewith refresheth (both) great and small.
He refreshed Yušamin and refreshed the 'uthras his sons,
And the 'uthras, sons of Yušamin.
Rejoice in the benefaction [3]
In the benefaction they rejoice
Wherewith Yawar had refreshed them completely.
Of his benefits they partook [3], all of them,
For the radiance of Yawar is not cut off
From above them in the Occult Place.
And the Great (Life) accepted the fee and oblation
Of Yawar. They partook of his bounty fully.
And Life is victorious.

361

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Upon whom was Understanding [4] bestowed?
To whom was Perception given,

---

[1] It must be remembered that these hymns refer to the sacred bread, fruit, vegetables and wine of the Blessed Oblation, i.e. to natural products eaten sacramentally. Hence *ṭabta* and *ṭabuta* refer to the good gifts of the Life, and the Pa. of the root ṬUB applied to the sacramental acts of eating and drinking, which impart life and strength to body and soul, is best translated by such words as "refresh", "quicken" and "partake of". The latter word is employed in the same sense that Christian communicants employ it.

[2] Lit. "in whom They made blessing dwell".

[3] *Ṭabuta*, see above, n. 1.

[4] *Madihta* = Understanding, perception, discernment. Part of the line missing in D.C. 53.

To whom did They give explanations?
To whom did They explain about all the distinctions 1),
And whom did They proclaim as the Voice of Life
That is not interrupted?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
Radiance appeared in its Place,
Understanding was given to Yawar,
Perception was bestowed on Yawar,
And he, Yawar, hearkened and received understanding of Life.
He was instructed by by Their Word,
And he hearkened to Their pure Voice.
And he came and summoned all the 'uthras.
They came, and heard that which the Life had said to him.
Heed that which the Great (Life) taught!
Heed that which the Great (Life) explained!
And following it, be ye all united!
Hear its praise from me. Rise to the Place of Light!
And Life is victorious.

362

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
(As) envoy, whom did They send? 2)
Whom did they send as Life's messenger?
Whom did They set in command over them all? 3)
Whom did They put in command over them all?
With Their warning whom did They warn?
When Life opened His Garment,
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
When Radiance appeared in its place,
Yawar They sent (as) Envoy
As Envoy They sent Yawar.
They sent not all (any of) the 'uthras

---

1) D.C. 3 has *lkul afrišta:* "about every explanation" (or "distinction"), D.C. 53 *lkul afrišata*, as translated.

2) The construction is curious but, the context makes it evident that Yawar was the Envoy and not the being to whom an Envoy was sent.

3) For *kulhun* D.C. 3, 255 : 8 and *kulhin* D.C. 53, 385 : 3 read *lkulhun* as in the next line.

They did not send all 'uthras;
Nor did they teach all worlds (persons),
All worlds they did not teach
That they will rise, that they will see Us
That they will rise, and will see Us
And be established in praise of the Mighty.
They say to him 1), "Blessed and lauded be the Great Life
Who raised thee up that we might praise the Life
And thyself who art sent to us as Life's Envoy".
And Life is victorious!

363

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
To whom was prayer and praise given?
Prayer and praise, to whom were they given?
And for whom was glory (*ziwa*) reserved and appointed?
The Great (Life) invested Yawar:
He (They) called him and gave him command, saying to him,
"Go, go, Yawar and make thine appearance
To the Elect Righteous yonder.
Come! rejoice in Us, and gladden the 'uthras with thee.
'Uthras shall be joyful: 'uthras shall rejoice
And 'uthras shall know who is more revered
Than any other 2).
And Life is victorious.

364

When He opened His Garment,
And when Radiance was formed 3)
When Radiance made its appearance.
To whom was mystic converse 4) given?
On whom was mystic converse bestowed?
And into whose heart was it poured?
Into the heart of whom was it poured,

---

1) I.e., the 'uthras say to Yawar.

2) Lit. "than whom".

3) *'ṣṭarar* in this line is missing in D.C. 3.

4) D.C. 3, 256 : 14 has *šuta kasiata* "talk (of) secret things", but below like D.C. 53, *šuta kasita*.

Awaking all its perfections?
When the Life opened His Garment
And the Radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared in its Place,
Mystic converse was given to Yawar.
Yawar was on guard 1) and was watchful!
And came and kept watch over all the 'uthras!
And Life is victorious.

365

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Who was the architect of the ether-world?
In the ether-world who was the architect? 2)
Who built a building therein,
In it who built a building?
Who designed it 3), set it in order, 4)
And upheld it so that it shineth
From end to end?
It was to Yawar that They gave charge of it,
Because of his radiance They set him in charge,
And he whose glory is sublime sheddeth light upon it;
In his building he standeth 5).
It is not vain, or void, not hath it come to naught
Because he consulted the Life,
Because he was advised by the Life about it.
Life designed and founded the building
And Life is victorious.

366

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Radiance (*Ziwa*) appeared with Yawar.

---

1) These two lines might also be an address to Yawar (*naṭar* is an alternative form of *nṭur*).

2) A line is missing here in D.C. 3, p. 257.

3) J. בִּיְנָה to lay out, plan (a city) (*Pi.* BNA?)

4) D.C. 3, 257 : 7 *tiqnḫ*

5) Or "confirmeth his building".

They (*the Great Life*) created Light within the Garment.
When Light approached [1]) Radiance,
They called to Yawar and commissioned him, saying,
"Go, go thou Dazzling One,
Show thy divine image to the elect righteous
That they may see thee and shine
And may exalt *Laufa* (communion) [2]) to its rightful place.
At its rites [3]) they will behold Us
And will be confirmed in praise of the Mighty (Life).
They will behold the Great (Life)
And the Place which hath no end!
And Life is victorious.

367

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
To whom was his mystic archetype [4]) given,
A mystic counterpart, to whom was she given
And for whom was she guarded and established?
When He opened His Garment,
And when Radiance was formed,
When the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared
And Radiance appeared in its place,
A mystic counterpart for Yawar
Was concealed and guarded.
And Life is victorious.

368

When he opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
For it, Transmitters were appointed
For it, there were appointed Transplanters.

---

[1]) In such texts as the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* it is assumed the *nhura* (light) is the (female) complement of the (male) force *ziwa* (radiance, glory).

[2]) *Laufa* (union, communion), is the simplest form of commemorative meal for the dead. See W.W., pp. 232-5. Its modern name is *lofani*.

[3]) D.C. 3 p. 258 : 2 *l'bidatak* "at your rites".

[4]) *Dmuta*, translated in No. 366 as "divine image", is the ideal counterpart; also "appearance", "likeness". See p. 236 n. 5.

(But) yonder, yonder They covered up its arousing 1) brilliance,
It doth not flash forth amongst dull-witted Plants!
But was reserved for one, one (*only*),
And will rise with him to the Place of Light.
And Manda-ḏ-Hiia will watch over him in his place;
He will guide him, will rejoice with him
And be his companion for ever and ever.
And the Great Life be praised in his light!
Life is victorious!

369

When He opened His Garment
And when Radiance was formed,
When Radiance appeared,
Who was king over the Light?
Who became king over Light?
And who, in his realm, was named chief,
Who was named chief in his realm
And who became Captain of the mighty?
Who was it who twined (*wreaths*) of virtues 2)
And set them on the heads of enlightened ones?
When Life opened His Garment
And the radiance of the Mighty (Life) appeared,
Radiance appeared in its place
Yawar became king over Light,
He it was who became King over Light.
In his realm he was named Captain,
Captain he was called in his realm
He became Captain of the Mighty.
He twined 3) (*wreaths of*) virtues
And set them on the heads of enlightened ones.
(*Yea*), Yawar arranged all, and did nought therein
Amiss or lacking, Nought was wanting, nought defective.
Nothing grieved him, (*for*) in it all
There was nothing awry!
And Life be praised!

In the name of the Great Other Life, be there health, purity,

---

1) *'ruta* (from 'WR, YWR, AWR) I have translated by two words to convey the double meaning here.

2) Or "purities".

3) *'Uṣṭun, 'uṣṭuna* (see p. 233, n. 5.) I.e. the body of the cosmic Adam.

strength and soundness, speaking and a hearing and the aid of mighty 'uthras, sons of light, for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, and for my offspring, Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania children of Adam-Yuhana.

May it establish our names in the House of Life and may the eye of Manda-ḏ-Hiia be directed upon us, with the help of Hibil, Šitil and Anuš!

370

They appointed, and the Body [1] consisteth of
Radiance within radiance, ether within Ether,
Counterpart of Life within Counterpart of Life [2]
Piriawis within Piriawis!
The Being who came and opened their eyes
To the living waters (Water of Life)
And poured them into their hearts
And (*bestowed*) wisdom and faith on the 'uthras:
He, (that) Being, will come and will open my eyes,
Mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And pour into my own heart wisdom and faith,
So that I may stand and may worship and praise
The Mighty, Other-world (Strange) Life;
That I may bless this *kana ḏ-zidqa* [3] and Table.

……………………………………………

And (bless) thee (also), our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam [4],
And the priests and laymen of the *škinta* (cult-hut)
Who sit at thy right and thy left,
For an age of ages and for world without end;
And Life is victorious.

371

In the name of the Great Life!

---

[1] See p. 259, note 3.

[2] Both have *dmut hiia bgu dimat hiia*. Here *dimat* undoubtedly is *dmut*, counterpart" and not "tear"! See p. 40, n. 3.

[3] *Kana ḏ-zidqa*. The word *kana* (receptacle, storing-place, assembly, assemblage, gathering, congregation; base, fundament, origin, place of origin etc.) in the series of hymns which follows refers to the various ritual foods set out on the holy table or platter for the sacred meal, in short, the foods collected for the purpose.

[4] This part of the hymn refers to the celebrant, and is chanted antiphonally by the priests present. (Today, owing to the lack of priests, the celebrant himself repeats the whole hymn.)

At the Source of the great Stream[1]
Of the predestined[2] Ether-World do I stand!
I am the Word of the First Life.
Pre-existent am I to all 'uthras,
For the Life created me and blessed me
And gave me strength, benison and goodness[3],
And sent me to bless my mystic brethren,
All the 'uthras; to speak and to be obeyed.
And I came and blessed them and gave them strength,
Benison and goodness, just as my Father[4]
Had given them to me.
And I, likewise, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam —
Or any man who is sincere and believing
And utters this saying sincerely —
Will receive a blessing like the blessing
And outflow[5] of the Ether-Land,
Foreordained and blessed by the Second Life.
And all 'uthras of the world of Light
Are blessed by it.
It came to this world which is all birth
And to sons of the great Family of Life.
And Life is victorious.

372

At thy name, Predestinate One,
Predestined by the Life, and at the source
Of the great Outflow of the Ether-land,
— Predestined and blessed is all the Ether,
Son of plenteousness[6] (?) from which Light emanated!—
Again it happened: the Life produced[7] Radiance.
The Tanna dissolved:[8] waters came into being

---

[1] Or, "vein", "channel". See p. 228, n. 5.

[2] *'tita* ("ready", "prepared", "future", "designate" "predestined". Lidzbarski G.R. trs p. 403, n. 4 says "עתיתא findet sich an einige Stellen als Bezeichnung für höhere Wesen".

[3] D.C. 3, p. 261 omits a line here.

[4] Plural, i.e. Life.

[5] *Širiana*, see p. 202, n. 1.

[6] *Br malia*.

[7] Cf. these lines with that obscure hymn, No. 12, substituting *ham ziwa* for *sam ziwa*.

[8] D.C. 3 p. (262 : 8) has *praš* for *pšar*.

There were freshet springs [1],
There was union without division,
Abundance that never lacked
And blessing never incomplete.
Lift up thine eyes!
Behold yon great mystic primeval Šar-Ziwa! [2]
He is from the lofty, secret and protected Place,
From mighty and celestial springs of light (*he emanated*),
A being who spoke and heard,
Was judged and was vindicated
Before the celestial Mara-ḏ-Rabutha [3].
Come! Lay thy hand of truth (*kušṭa*)
Thy great right hand of healings
Upon this *kana ḏ-zidqa* [4] and thy table,
(*And upon?*) our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And the priests and laymen of the *škinta*
Who sit at thy right and thy left.
Bless these (persons) and those souls
Of the living [5]; bless (also) and mention
(*Their names*) with "forgiving of sins"
("*Be there for them*") and with "Thy blessing shall
Rest upon them for an age of ages
And world without end".
And Life is victorious.

373

In the name of the Great Life!
And in the name of the Manda-ḏ-Hiia
And in the name of the great powerful Mind [6]
Who thought and evoked companionship for Himself,
And said "There shall be companionship for Me

---

[1] *Mambuhia* = *mambugia*, i.e. natural springs, in ritual the sacred drink.

[2] Šar-Ziwa is an epithet applied to Hibil-Ziwa (See G.R. trs. pp. 163, 28).

[3] Mara-*d*-Rabutha, "Lord of Greatness" is, in the texts which describe the ordination of priests, the prototype of *rba* or *rbai*, the priest who initiates and trains the young postulant to priesthood.

[4] See p. 260, n. 3.

[5] *Haiania*. This might mean either the dead who are commemorated, or living persons, the relatives or teachers of the priests.

[6] *Mana* here has this (foreign) meaning (Avestic *manah*), and not the Aramaic meaning ("garment", "vessel" etc.) Mandaean writers love word-play, and therefore references to a robe or vessel are sometimes hidden references to *mana* meaning "soul" or "mind".

In my dwelling! And I will administer all works
And will create a world of ether
And make a durable 1) Abode.
There shall be mystic 'uthras
By whom elect righteous (people) will be set up (fortified)
Prepared for the everlasting 1) Abode.
And then He, the great and powerful Mind 2)
Pondered and created mystic 'uthras.
And he created one mild 'uthra
Who was sublimer than all the 'uthras.
And He blessed him, established him and strengthened him.
To him he gave the waters, and spread
Abundance in the worlds of light.
He set him over all jordans and streams
And over the Root which originated therefrom.
He showed him favour, blessed him and confirmed him.
And over the *kana ḏ-zidqa* (Oblations) and the Table 3)
He made him ruler. And He made him ruler
Over all sanctuaries (*škinata*),
So that they should exist through his strength.
And they will thrive in their sanctuaries
For through him all the 'uthras are refreshed,
They rejoice and are completely enlightened.
And they praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who instituted for them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
In their sanctuaries. So that from him
There was *ṭabuta* 4), and by him it was bestowed
Upon the righteous elect who were worthy
Of the Everlasting Abode. Because it was prepared for them 5)
By him. And by (*means of*) that *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
By which their souls are uplifted 6),
Everyone who partaketh thereof in silence
Shall have strength and firmness like 'uthras,

---

1) *Daura taqna*, a firm (*or* steady, durable, lasting, abiding) abode is the antithesis of *daura baṭla* — the vain (*or* void, perishable, null, useless, ceasing) abode.

2) See p. 4, n. 1.

3) *Patura* "table", see p. 61, n. 5.

4) I. e. the sacred meal on the ritual tables.

5) D.C. 3, p. 264 : 9; D.C. 53 has *'titlḫ*.

6) Read *mitqaimia? nitqaima* is obviously wrong.

And increase and knowledge like sons of salvation,
And his name shall be established with his Father.
(But) he who doth not partake of the Oblation in silence,
- And there is nought which hath not its limit! —[1]
Will have neither lot nor portion[2] in the House of Life.
The great Mighty Mind (*Mana*) taught and revealed:
He said "From him who refresheth himself[3]
By this *Kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table in silence,
And pronounceth over it the name of the Life
And the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
My charity will not be cut off".
So I worship, laud and praise the Life,
My Father, who planted me and raised me up,
Gave me strength and water
And set me in authority over
Kana ḏ-zidqa and Table.
I accepted[4] it from Him and went towards the *škinata*,[5]
I came and established the 'uthras in their *škinata*
So that in them they should speak and be heeded,
Should have strength and increase
And praise the Being who placed them therein.
(But) any man who doth not partake
Of this *kana ḏ-zidqa* in silence
And doth not pronounce the name of Life
And of Manda-ḏ-Hiia over it,
A great retribution will befall him,
He will no more be counted among 'uthras.
For when this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table were transported hither,
I was its guardian, it was I who transferred it (*them?*)
From my Father, and distributed it (*them*)
Amongst the *škinata* of all the 'uthras.
When elect righteous (men) have come into existence
I will go towards them with guardian(-spirits);

---

[1] This tag, probably a proverb, occurs in several Mandaean compositions, it means roughly, "and there is always an exception". See G.R. pp. 75, 290, 291 and 292.

[2] *Hlaq umnaq* = *hlaq umna*.

[3] Or, in ritual language "partaketh of".

[4] Lit. "I took it from Him".

[5] The *škinata* of the *'uthras* are the prototypes of earthly sanctuaries (the cult-huts), and 'uthras are depicted as performing in the world of light the sacred rites which men perform on earth.

I will give them strength, and water and abundance,
And knowledge like (that of) mighty 'uthras,
Sons of light. I will set up for them
A *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
In their houses, and by association therewith
Their souls will be uplifted.
For this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Were the product of the great First Vine.
And when He appeared and came into being
And created companionship [1] for Himself,
He said, "For me there shall exist an Ether-world,
And in it there will be sanctuaries (*škinata*)
We will set up 'uthras in them.
Upon them will rest (my?) glory [1]:
They will speak with the voice of Life
From beginning to end. And we will transport to them
Sublime and illumined jordans [2], and we will bless them
With a blessing. So that there will be bounty [3]
From them, and the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Will be given (furnished) by them.
Strength and soundness will result to all the worlds of light,
And (also) to the elect righteous who are refreshed
By this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
And they will speak and will be heard.
Now I worship, laud and praise
That great First Vine who ruleth all the worlds of light
And blesseth the elect righteous with His blessing
And with the bounty (good food) brought to them,
By which they are strengthened and increased in might.
Their hearts leap for joy: they are elated
And their appearance becomes bright in every way.
They praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who bestowed upon them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Set up for them in their sanctuaries.
(But) anyone who doth not partake in silence

---

[1] *Ṣauta* has at least six possible meanings (including "thirst" and "obedience"!)

[2] Rivers are meant here, I think.

[3] *Ṭabuta*. Here better rendered "wholesome food"? See p. 254, n. 1.

Of the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table and omitteth to mention
The name of the Life and the name of Manda-ḏ Hiia, thereon,
All demons and devils will not absent themselves from his table!1)
Because he heedeth not every word of his Father 2)
The Seven will become his persecutors 3)
He will be put to the question before his Father.
The great and mighty *Mana* taught and told
The elect righteous and the Naṣoraeans
Who are to exist in the earthly world 4),
"When ye beget generations and when ye teach them
Their knowledge, Explain to them,
Show them and tell them
About the rites which ye have performed;
About the *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table.
(*Teach them*) to partake thereof in silence
And to mention the name of Life and the name
Of Manda-ḏ-Hiia thereon. "Partake of it,
And when ye have refreshed yourselves
Pronounce this blessing upon it
And a Helper will be yours!"
Then I worship, praise and laud
That Mystic, Great First Cloud 5) (*Spouse*)
From whom all good things came forth,
And all the 'uthras who (*were found?*) worthy 6)
When these wholesome things were transplanted.
They gave me orders concerning them
To set them down and protect them everywhere
In every place where partakers refresh themselves.
And they shall have strength and (*bodily*) soundness in their *škinata* (dwellings);
When they refresh themselves therewith
They rejoice and their souls exult exceedingly.
They praise Manda-ḏ-Hiia who gave them
This *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table of which they have partaken
And praise him eternally.

---

1) Lit. "From before his table".
2) Plural, (*Hiia rbia*).
3) Lit. "his persecution".
4) D.C. 3 has mistakenly *šaiatlḫ* for *šaialtḫ*
5) *Anana:* "Cloud", see p. 37. n. 4.
6) Or zealous".

Manda-ḏ-Hiia revealed and said
"Any man who partaketh in silence
Of this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table and pronounceth thereon
The name of Life and the name of Manda-ḏ-Hiia,
'Uthras of light shall bless him with their blessing;
He shall be protected by the Secret Name
And it will protect all the 'uthras.
There shall be one Helper for him:
All that he hath said will be heard by hosts
Of 'uthras of the Ether-world".
And Life be to (those who) know,
Life to the believing and Life to men
(*Who*) instruct us (in the faith)
And Life is victorious over all works.

374

In pure raiment do I stand;
In that glorious splendour in which I stand
I worship, praise and laud
The four hundred and forty four thousand names
Of Yawar-Ziwa, son of Nbaṭ-Ziwa, King of 'uthras,
The great Viceregent of *škinata* (sanctuaries),
Chief over mighty and celestial worlds
Of radiance, light and glory;
Who is within the Veil, within his own *škinta*,
Before whom no being existed.
Then I worship laud and praise
The One Great Name, which is great
And the Name which is powerful.
Moreover I worship laud and praise
That Mystic First Mind (*Mana*) of Glory,
Who emanated from Himself, Whose brilliance
Exceedeth all (other) mystic glories;
It is greater than word of mouth (can describe)
And His light mightier than lips can express.
For He is the great mystic First Mind (*Mana*)
Whose glory was transmitted
Neither from the uttermost ends of the earth
Nor from gates within it.
For He is the *Mana* (Mind),

The great, the Mysterious, the First,
Whose glory was transmitted by redoublings [1] of radiance
By intensifications [1] of light.
Then I worship, laud and praise
The redoublings of radiance
And intensifications of light by means of which
The great mighty *Mana* was formed and made.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That pure Staff [2] which was conveyed to him
By Šar-Gufna, the great mysterious First.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That pure Wreath which was transmitted to him
By Pirun, the great, mystic, First Vine,
Then I worship, praise and laud the pure vestments,
And the coverings of radiance which were transmitted to him
From the mighty Tannas [3] of the jordan.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That banner Zihrun, which was unfurled before
The great mighty *Mana*, in the radiance of which banner
Three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial worlds of light shine.
Then I worship, laud and praise
That 'Uthra whom they summoned
From amongst a thousand thousand 'uthras, 'uthras
Innumerable. They clothed him with radiance,
Covered him with light, transmitted to him strength
From the strength of the Great First Life his Father,
And "speaking and being heard" [4]
From the "speaking and being heard" of the great *Mana*,
The mighty, mysterious, First, of the glory of Life.
They called him, armed him and sent him saying to him,
"Arise, go to *Mšunia-Kušṭa* [5], to the chief of worlds,

---

[1] A typical play on words. "*Aufia* = increase, doubling, output, sprouting, foliage. (Cf. Syriac ܥܘܦ and ܥܦ "to fold over, double, multiply, increase".

[2] The ritual olivewood staff, part of the regal insignia of priests.

[3] Like Lidzbarski, I am mystified by this word. It dissolves, (*ham ziwa pšar tana* No. 19), it is personified in company with *niṭufiata*, "Drops", suggesting "vapours" No. 308, also No. 378, p. 284. (See p. 9, n. 1).

[4] This is a religious expression for prayer and communion in thought.

[5] I cannot understand why *Mšunia-Kušṭa*, a world of immaterial ideals or prototypes, should here be called "of the darkness". The line may have been inserted by accident.

That which is called 'of the darkness',
And teach pious, believing and amiable Naṣoraeans
That they should set up their Table,
(A Table) replenished with food;
And their Cup (a Cup) full of *mambuga* [1]).
So that the good may behold and be refreshed [2]),
The wicked be discomfited and the children of the world
Put to shame.
The righteous [3]) will see that the Life existeth.
They will raise their eyes
Toward the great First Father of Glory
And toward the Lord of Celestial Greatness [4])
Who giveth light (and?) sure strength
To the righteous,
And [5]) to thee, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, (be there)
Lofty strength, great and mighty confidence,
Grace, fame and honour!
And shouldest thou seek the honour that is hidden,
The *Mana* will come and will rest upon thee,
Our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And (upon) thy brother-priests here.
And the right hand of the 'uthras
Will be laid upon thee, thyself, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam and (on) all the priests
And laymen of the sanctuary (*škinta*).
And Life is victorious.

375

I have blessed, my Lord, all the good things [6])
Which Thou didst make for the ancient world in the beginning,
(For) from Thee they opened and came forth.
This is a tree [7]) which is a Tree of Life,
And a Vine, a Vine of Life!

---

[1]) *Mambuga*, see p. 262, n. 1.
[2]) Or "partake thereof".
[3]) *Šalmania* = those who are perfect, the righteous.
[4]) *Mara-ḏ-Rabuta*, see p. 262, n. 3.
[5]) This part of the hymn is probably chanted by the assistant priests.
[6]) Food, ritual food, wholesome food.
[7]) "The tree" here probably refers to the priestly bridegroom, and the "vine" to his bride? See the rubric at the end.

Satisfying (fare) that is superior to all means of healing
Is that which thou hast brought, revealed
And given to these souls!
Blessed is this pure oblation
Which goeth before its Giver.
In joy he (or "it") opened his mouth
At the Judgement and pleadeth his cause
Before the Being sitting in judgement!
(It is) a deliverer of the bound,
It cheereth those who are in affliction,
Causeth sucklings to flourish,
Is the sight of the blind
And the hearing and pleasure of the deaf.
It establisheth speech in the mouths of the stammering,
And the deaf and the dumb.
Its presence is praised,
For thereby souls are held together.
And (*it provideth?*) means of ascent
To the Great Place of Light
And to the everlasting Abode.
And blessed art thou, our good father!
For we have eaten of thine Oblation
And have lived [2].
And we have drunk from thy *mambuga* [3]
And were refreshed (*have benefited by*)
Thine unction, thine oblation, thy bounty [4],
Thy basket [5] when full of food
And thy bowl when full of spring-water [3].
And may this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Increase and be plentiful in thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
As was the table of Adam the First Man,
Which lacked nothing, nor was it stinted.
(*So be it with*) this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and table

---

[1] Lit. "talketh its speech", i.e. makes a speech in defence of the soul to the judge.

[2] D.C. 3, p. 273 *uyainin*: D.C. 53, p. 406 *uhiainin*.

[3] See p. 262, n. 1.

[4] Here probably the sacramental food.

[5] *Sala* (or "a straw or reed food-mat").

In thy house, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
For an age of ages and for ever and ever!
And Life is victorious.

[This petition of "The great Father of Glory" is a blessing bestowed on a bridegroom,]

(*Note. — Probably for the marriage of a priest. One such marriage forms part of the consecration of a ganzibra.*)

376

In the name of the Great Life!
And in the name of the great Father of Glory!
Now thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that benediction wherewith
The great first Palm-tree 1) was blessed.
And the Palm-tree blessed the bursting forth 2)
Of its foliage. It was so, and the sprouting 2) (*branches*)
Blessed runnels (*of sap*) and established them
And established the waters of life.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing conferred upon
The eight hundred and eighty thousand banners 3)
And conferred upon the great Mirror.
And the jordans were blessed thereby and the running streams
And (that) whereby the seven mystic mirrors were blessed.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
And the 'uthras and the *škinata*, by that blessing,
Bestowed upon the 4) Tanna and Ham-Ziwa (Radiance-glowed 5)),
And upon the First Word given them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the Great Mystery was blessed.
And the Great Mystery blessed the two *manas*
Who dwell with one another.

---

1) The symbol of the male principle of creation, see p. 14, n.6. ("it sprouted, gushed forth", "burst forth" see p. 84 n. 7).

2) *Nbaṭ* the name of a life-spirit), with which here *nbaṭ* is confused; one would expect *nibṭa*, as in the next line. The context makes the meaning clear. *Nibṭa* = "a shoot, sprout, a sprouting outward and upward, hence newly-sprouting vegetation and branch. Fig. "an emanation".

3) Or "rays of light" (see p. 226, n. 4).

4) D.C. 3 p. 274 inserts *latiqria* before *tana* (*'tiqria* "not created" ?)

5) See obscure references in prayers Nos. 12, 18, 106 and 372.

Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the secret and guarded Treasure was blessed,
And a mystic Sprout [1] emerged therefrom.
And the mystic Sprout [1] blessed the Eggs (*hilbunia* [2])
And the Drops concealed within them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam
With that blessing wherewith Smandr'iel [3] was blessed,
Whose fragrance is pleasing like the fragrance of the Vine
When in leaf, like the foliage of the fresh myrtle
Which was set up before the King, also the blossom
Which came from them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the mystic Table was blessed,
And wondrous apparel, and the great Crown,
Were blessed therewith.
Then thou art blessed, our father Adam-Yahia son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
Zihwat-Aina, Kihwat-Aina, Piršat-Aina and Nibṭat-Aina [4].
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith Nbaṭ-Mana-Kasia was blessed
When He was sitting in his House (*hilbuna*) and had no consort.
When He was blessed with this blessing
A Wellspring gushed up [5] before Him
And She, the Wellspring, parted for the *niṣubta* [6] Planting? (Bridal?)
Within the Tanna [7]).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
King Ganzaiel, so that the treasure of 'uthras

---

[1] See p. 271, n. 2.

[2] *Hilbuna:* (usually a poetic term for "house", "dwelling", p. 121, n. 4): the word here may refer to testicles.

[3] The Blossom-spirit, a spirit of fertility, often mentioned. In J.B. text p. 5, 1.16 Samandiriel receives praise and prayer and keeps them in his treasury.

[4] The Wellspring moved (or "trembled"), the Wellspring *kihwat* (was troubled ?), the Wellspring parted, and the Wellspring gushed forth (or sprang upward).

[5] See p. 271, n. 2.

[6] The whole of this very obscure passage seems to deal with the union of the two creative principles, see p. 135, n. 2.

[7] *Tanna*, see p. 9, n. 1.

Was set up (?) with him[1].
Then thou art blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the covering seal was blessed;
And the covering seal blessed the drops
Which were directed towards it, and the seven drops
Blessed the 'uthras, the lords of seals.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the great *kinta*[2] of two kings was blessed
So that they were completely established.
And the great *kinta* blessed the two kings.
And the two kings blessed the 'uthras, guardians
Of the *kinta*. And they said to them,
"As abundantly as flow the waters in the jordans which travel on,
May your love and favour flow to the 'uthras."[3]
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The great kindly Aether-air of Life.
And they (*the Life*) said to it,
"Just as rare air delighteth (*the soul*)
So doth thy fragrance give delight,
O lord of the house and these benefactions![4]
And thou shalt have increase like holy *manas*
In their perfection[5]: Thou shalt have the lustre and glory
Of (like?) the jordan[6]. As abundantly as jordans (rivers)
Flow, so will love of thee[7] increase before thee
In the minds of thy brother-'uthras!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The mystic Tanna. And the mystic Tanna

---

[1] All this is very doubtful.

[2] *Kinta* (Lidzbarski "ein Wort kosmischer Bedeutung"). In modern ritual a clay box used as altar, it is found in such varied meanings as "wrapping", "veil", "receptacle", "box", "cavity", "hole", "community", "foundation", and "constitution". D.C. 3. p. 276 : 15 has *kinta ḏ-rba trin malkia* for *kinta ḏ-rabtia trin malkia* in D.C. 53 410 : 4f.

[3] See line 24 f.

[4] The house of the priestly bridegroom (a *ganzibra* must be married himself, and must perform a marriage-ceremony for a priest before he is properly consecrated in his office).

[5] *Klulaihun. Klula* = (a)veil, wrapping (b) fulness, completeness.

[6] D.C. 3 *ḏ ardna;* D.C. 53 *uyardna*.

[7] Lit. "thy love" (for "love of thee").

Blessed the rivers and running streams
And said to them, "Whoso amongst 'uthras drinketh water from you,
Shall have strength, increase and perception;
Strength and soundness will abide with him
Like beams of light".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing which Ham-Ziwa bestowed upon
The Beam-of-Light whom he set beside him,
And he endowed her with his wisdom and his faith.
And from them proceeded fertility (*niṣubta*).
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
By that blessing which two pure *manas*
And holy kings pronounced.
And They say to him "Arise,
Go, lay down an earth: spread out a firmament
And hang up therein three hundred and sixty lamps.
Found a dwelling-place, draw down rivers
And distribute streams; make worlds of light;
Cause kings to dwell therein and give them fame,
Honour and increase. Bestow on them the power of reproduction [1])
And mystic treasure, so that they may worship,
Praise and raise up prayer and praisegiving
To the great Father of Glory."
And the great Father of Glory gave them living waters, [2])
And wholesome food [3]). And he conferred on them
Pregnancy and birth and increase and benefaction [3]).
And He set up a Table for the good
So that they might eat well and be refreshed
He gave them banners of radiance and beams of light
And He gave them pure-air (Aether) [4]) which delighteth them
And sweeteneth the sanctuaries (*škinata*).
He gave them rays (of light) in which the Table (*might be*) set up
And draw (*the faithful*) into their sanctuaries
And running streams of living [5]) water —

---

[1]) This comprehensive word *niṣubta* (see p. 135, n. 2) again.

[2]) Or "Water of Life".

[3]) *Ṭabuta.*

[4]) *Ayar*, see p. 86, n. 2.

[5]) *Hiia* is omitted in D.C. 3.

That for which their hands had pleaded,
(*So that*) they praise Thee for evermore.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the Vine of Life
Was blessed and liveth [1])
And the wondrous Vine blessed her young vines [2]), her sons,
And said to them "Ye shall have strength and increase,
And the lustre and glory of the Jordan, [3])
And an assignment in the worlds of light".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Wherewith the great Ganzaiel [4]) was blessed;
And he blessed three 'uthras
And gave them strength and firmness and said to them
"Like as the bud which appeared in that Vine
And remained and sent forth a shoot [5]),
May the radiance that resteth on its tendrils
Have blessed thee" [6]). And he said to them
"As long as water flows will the lovingkindness
Of the mystic *Mana* [7]) flow on, and He will enlighten thy mind
With *Naṣiruta* (priestly wisdom) and thou wilt receive
Fame and honour from the ether".
(*And he said to them*) Ye will shine like the brilliance
(*Of the sun?*) [8]) and your forms will give out
A sublime effulgence [9]) Ye will beam like Hibil-Ziwa
Amongst the 'uthras. And thou shalt (*ye will?*) have
Increase like the sublime Vein [10]) which They created. [11])
And They constructed *škintas*, made 'uthras,
Drew down rivers, distributed streams
And gave them food (*ṭabuta*) and a Table,
And bestowed upon them the blessing

---

[1]) *Qaima* as in D.C. 3, not *qaimḫ*.

[2]) "Plants", "offspring", i.e. "shoots", "suckers".

[3]) See above, p. 273, line 23 f.

[4]) Ganzaiel appears to be the archetype of a *ganzibra* and the "three 'uthras" the three concelebrants.

[5]) *Niṣ(u)bta* (נִיצְבְתָא J.).

[6]) The construction is obscure.

[7]) D.C. 53 has *Tana* (for *Mana* as D.C. 3, p. 279 : penult.).

[8]) *Ziwa* is attributed in Mandaean poetry to the sun, *tuqna* to the moon.

[9]) *Tuqna*, see n. 8.

[10]) "The sublime Vein" probably means the jordan.

[11]) D.C. 3 has "which 'uthras created" (*ḏ-qrun ʿutria;* p. 280 : 4).

Which They bestowed upon kings [1].
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the three kings blessed Ayar [2],
They appointed and made him Chief of the *škinata*
And he was signed with a great seal
And set up (*as chief?*)
For ever and ever. They erected a throne for him;
Spread above him a canopy of radiance,
Hymned him and said to him,
"Since the day that the great Jordan extended itself
And a channel [3] was allotted to each of the *škinata*,
They made thee a king, our father!
A collector of dues (of) portions allotted [4] to the Life,
And a twiner of the wreath for postulants (*to priesthood*).
Instruct the young plant (*niṣubta*) [5] about the *škinta*
(O) establisher of its treasures! Our father!
O *mana* which passeth not away!
Troth is not broken and Union
In which there is no imperfection or fault!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
By that blessing wherewith Ziwa-Kasia (Mystic Radiance)
And Nhura-Yaqra (Holy light) [6] were blessed:
And ye shall have abundance, renown and honour.
And honour, "speaking and being heard" will be thine,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam
Like the great Father of Glory by Whose word
Worlds were created, and by Whose utterance
Dwellings (*škinata*) came into being.
And He gazed, looking upon His Likeness,
And created 'uthras in His likeness;
Made Seed and gave (it) to the 'uthras.

---

[1] Priests. (D.C. 3, 280 : 7 *brakbin malkia*).

[2] Ayar, or Ayar-Rba, see p. 86, n. 2, in ritual scrolls which describe rites performed by spirits as prototypes of those performed on earth, (see p. 264 n. 5), is always cast for the role of chief celebrant.

[3] D.C. 3, p. 280 : 15 has the probably correct version, *giuza*, "channel". D.C. 53 (414:ult.) has *ginza*, "treasure".

[4] מְנָה, and מָן = "portion", "food".

[5] Here probably the young priest.

[6] The reference is to the "holy union" of the male and female principles of light.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the great Father of Glory
Bestowed on His First-born, and the First-born
Blessed the Palmtree and Wellspring [1]
Which proceeded from Him.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father.
With that blessing which King Nbaṭ bestowed
Upon the Egg, the secret mystery which proceeded
From himself.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the Egg, the Secret Mystery,
Bestowed upon its inner covering
Which proceeded from the Hidden.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which Yawar bestowed
Upon the Living Flame.
And it increased and was increased.
And (*may*) the *kana ḏ-zidqa*, Table, and this *mambuha*
Increase and become plentiful in thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And the 'uthras and *škinata*
Who sit at thy right and thy left.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the mystic Vein [2] pronounced
And burst forth into sixty watersprings.
And it said to them, "Your images will shine
In my image, and your roots [3]
Will become numerous [4], and my root,
And ye will have renown and honour
Like holy *manas* in their *škinata*.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing bestowed upon
The great mystic First *Škinta*.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,

---

[1] Palmtree and Wellspring, see p. 14, notes 5 and 6.
[2] The mystic Vein (or Mystic Channel) = the Jordan.
[3] "Root" (*širša*) here has the extended meaning of "stock", "kin".
[4] The double meaning of the root NFŠ is implied, i.e. refresh", "revive".

With that blessing bestowed upon the great Sacred Unique One [1]:
And He blessed the 'uthras, his sons,
And the 'uthras and *škinata* blessed the postulants
Who stand before them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which was bestowed on the three holy *manas*
When remaining in their *hilbunia* [2] ("eggs", "houses"?)
So that none can behold their forms.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on the pure *Niṣubta* [3].
From the jordan she arose, she endowed 'uthras with radiance,
Gave light to the *škinata*, wreaths to the Drops
And a chart [4] to postulants. Blessed is this (*chart*):
By it they are strengthened and praise
The prolific Vine and the source of the flowing channel
Which hath no end.
The three holy *manas* will bless thee,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
They will hymn thee and say to thee,
"As a leader of radiant spirits [5] art thou come hither:
As a captain of light thou goest thither,
As head of the *škinata* thou twinest a wreath
For the rays of light.
Jordans will come into being, Yawar, in thy brilliance,
And in thy Root [6] (*amongst thy kindred*) rays of light will be set up
At thy call and at the sound of thy preaching
'Uthras gather about thee.
Many vines will be raised up for thee.
And they said to thee, "Just as jordans become many,
So may thy charity to 'uthras increase".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,

---

[1] This mysterious Person is often mentioned in the religious texts. A *masiqta* is in his name. In the secret scrolls he is Adam-Kasia.

[2] See p. 121, n. 4.

[3] What are we to make of *niṣubta* here? Is she the personified spirit of procreation, or "the Bride", or..? See p. 171, n. 2 and p. 135, n. 2 for possible interpretation.

[4] *Paršigna* P., = "information (conveyed by a document) as chart, declaration, explanation, report, manual".

[5] D.C., 3, p. 283 : 15 has *ziwa*. D.C. 53 *ziwia* (p. 418 : 6).

[6] See p. 278 b, n. 4.

With that blessing bestowed upon Simat-Hiia [1].
And Simat-Hiia was blessed when she arose,
(And) came from the worlds of darkness.
They retreated(?) [2], and worlds of light were established.
And all the 'uthras gather about Yawar,
Blessing him [3], Yawar, father of all worlds
And founder of all *škinata*.
The 'uthras and *škinata* arose [4]
Blessing the sublime one, Yawar, great ruler of the *škinata*,
And saying to him, "Blessed art thou, Yawar,
And blessed is the Bride of Life who was thus proven [5] (?).
Blessed is the breach which thou, Yawar, hast broached!
Thou didst come and didst broach a breach.
Thou hast exalted horns and hast separated
The goodness of the good (*good beings?*) from the evil (*evil beings?*)
And the wicked from the good and orderly.
(Of all worlds of light) [6]
And the Disposer (*of all worlds of light and?* [7])
Of worlds of darkness transported his Bride [8]
From her pit [9], that Place.
The *škinata* were blessed, and their Disposer,
So that they were illumined
By the blessing he bestowed on 'uthras. (?) [10]
And he set up a Table for kings,
Spread out the firmament
And stars appeared therein.

---

[1] Simat-Hiia is the consort (here the bride) of Yawar, and they are usually mentioned together as a pair. From this passage it would seem that Simat-Hiia is identified with Zahriel, who came form the worlds of darkness as bride of Hibil-Ziwa.

[2] D.C. 53 (418 ult.), *uthaṣab;* D.C. 3 (284 : 9) *uthaṣib*. For *uthabiṣ*?

[3] One would expect *mbarkilḫ!*

[4] D.C. 53 (419 : 5) *qam;* D.C. 3 (284 : 9) *qum*.

[5] D.C. 3 (284 : 16) *ḏ-šarat;* D.C. 53 (419 : 8) *ḏ-šrat*.

[6] I suggest that "of all worlds of light" is obviously misplaced, and should follow *msadrana*, making the next line "and the Disposer of all worlds of light and of darkness".

[7] See n. 6.

[8] That is to say, Simat-Hiia who had left the worlds of darkness to become his spouse.

[9] *Gibta* (*Gubta* "hill" or "pit") Or, "by her choice"? Doubtful. The word is rare, but occurs in *Pišra ḏ-Ainia* (J.R.A.S. 1937, 590 : 20).

[10] The construction makes translation doubtful.

Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing bestowed upon beloved 'uthras
Formed from the loins of Radiance
And nurtured by beams of light.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that benison bestowed upon the holy *Mana*
When He was in His own *škinta*.
He blessed the jordan and extended it before Him
And blessed the Table and set it up before Him
So that they might eat at it and be refreshed,
And be sustained thereby on their thrones
Of radiance, light and glory.
And He created the Crown, set it upon His head,
Blessed it and held it on his right arm [1].
And He, the Holy [2] *Mana* taught and said,
"Any man who crowneth himself
Will have neither lot nor portion [3] in the House of Life".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith the great First *Mana*
Blessed Himself [4]. And the great First *Mana*
Blessed the eight hundred and eighty 'uthras
Who grasped the banner [5] of the king.
And they hymn Him, saying to Him,
"When Yawar was successful, (*with his Bride?*)
She was neither wanting nor unworthy,
There was nought in her imperfect or amiss".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on the disembodying (spirits [6]))
Of good ganzivri, and thou wilt be blessed

---

[1] The crown, when not on the head, is slipped over the right arm and kept there until the preliminary prayers are over.

[2] For *qra* in both mss, read *yaqra* as translated.

[3] *Hlaq umnaq* = *hlaq umna*.

[4] The First *Mana* was without predecessor.

[5] A reference to the consecration of the banner before baptism. The priests (and later persons to be baptised) grasp, first the lower part of the pole and then the peak when reciting the banner hymns.

[6] See J.B. trs. p. 181, n. 4, "für die den Körper abstreifenden Seelen"; i.e. spirits casting off the body.

(*With a blessing bestowed*) by Dmut-'Qara, and Niṣubta-Qadmaita[1])
And The Drop upon whom the seal of a king was placed.
And the Beloved 'Uthra [2]) blessed thee when he was baptised
In those jordans. They immersed him, but he was not purified,
(He was still imbued with) the hue of darkness
Until Simat-Hiia arose. She took a pot of frankincense
And a king's crown, cried in the jordan
And blessed Yawar. And Simat-Hiia spoke
Hymning the jordan and saying to it, (and) say ye it (too [3])!
"From two mountains didst thou come into being!"
How fitting it is that 'uthras pronounce blessing
Upon Yawar, blessing him and uplifting him,
And raising his Bride up to the Place of Light!
They twine for him a wreath, a wreath of purities,
So that Darkness on beholding it
Is confounded and ashamed. When (thus) confounded
The plots which it had in mind are nullified".
When Simat-Hiia had said this,
All the 'uthras observed silence [6])
(But) Yušamin and Simat-Hiia bless Yawar
Saying to him "Blessed art thou, Yawar;
And blessed are 'uthras who abide with thee
With that benediction wherewith the copious
Flowings and upsurgings of mighty springs of light
Were blessed; and wherewith was blessed,,
. . . . [7]), the mystery which resteth within the Well-spring.

Further, thou wilt be blessed, thou, Yawar;
And thou, our father Adam-Yuhana son of Sam;
With that blessing wherewith Šišlam was blessed

---

[1]) Literally the names of these personifications are "Counterpart-of-Glory" and "First-Bride" or "First-Propagation". Obscure allegorical references make the text unintelligible.

[2]) "The beloved 'uthra" "is probably Hibil-Ziwa, who was baptised after his sojourn in the world of darkness and marriage with Zahriel.

[3]) *Timarulḫ* D.C. 53, 421: *penult*, but D.C. 3 has *himarulḫ*.

[4]) This could mean "I came into being".

[5]) *Niṣubta*. Could here be either "his procreation", "his fertility" or "his Bride"!

[6]) More literally "held their peace".

[7]) D.C. 3, (287 : 15) has *sar udnasar*, D.C. 53 (422 : 14) *sar utnasar*. Possibly a miswriting for *saq udna* "rose up and appeared".

When he ascended and abode in his *škinta*,
In his own House (Egg).
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father with that blessing
Bestowed upon the Occult Radiance and sublime Light
(Which) inspired the 'uthras.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father with that blessing
Bestowed upon the mystic Vein [1] that dwelleth
Within the Wellspring.
And thy root will multiply (branch out)
And the root of the 'uthras, thy sons,
Like the Vein which is lodged within the Jordan.
And thou wilt have chosen righteous ones
Who will exalt Treasure of Life.
And we will assign thee thy *Niṣubta* [2] of Life
(*Spouses?*) who bear witness [3] to Life,
Acknowledge Knowledge-of-Life
Give alms and offer up this (prayer of) blessing
Which was bestowed on the holy *Mana*.
And Life is triumphant over all works,
And victorious is Knowledge-of-Life
And his devotees and his people for ever and ever.

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And they address a hymn to him:
"The Egg, the Hidden Mystery, hath blessed thee
And establisheth thee.
The Vein [4] which hath no end hath blessed thee;
Jordan and Table have blessed thee; Holy Kušṭa [5] hath confirmed thee;
The three Wellsprings which give benediction in the Jordan
Bless thee, our father! [6]
Crowns, and the secret treasure of the Egg of holy *Manas*
Have blessed thee. The Spouse (cloud) hath blessed thee;
A sublime Vine confirmed thee.

---

[1] *Širiana.* See p. 277, n. 2.

[2] Reproducing power? Or "planting" in the spiritual sense?

[3] The verbs which follow *niṣubta* are fem. plu.

[4] The references appear to allude to the various offices of a head priest, beginning with simple baptism.

[5] The *kušṭa* rite in all ceremonies, and at marriage.

[6] The triple baptism necessary in cases of pollution. (Read *birkak*).

The Great Life blesseth thee with His pure mouth
And the sublime Treasure which is with thee confirmeth thee 1).

[This prayer seeketh blessing on an infant, a postulant, or a *masiqta*. And when they brought Adam into his body, it consecrated him.]

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In the name of the Great Life! may there be health, purity, joy of heart and forgiving of sin for Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which Hibil-Ziwa pronounced upon Adam,
The first man. Moreover, thou shalt be blessed,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
And all thy *škinta* and the ritual food (*ṭabuta*)
And these priests and Mandaeans (laymen)
Who sit to right and left of thee,
With that blessing wherewith Manda-ḏ-Hiia was blessed
When he sprang forth and proceeded from the waters
And from celestial springs of light.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that benediction wherewith Sam-Gufna was blessed.
And Sam-Gufna blessed jordans and running streams
And said to them "Just as ye have increased,
(Ye) jordans and running streams,
So shall the progeny of Adam the first man increase.
His race, his planting and his disciples 2) (pupils),
Adam's", and thine (also) our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
Shall be plentiful as this spring of living water —
And how profound it is no man knoweth! 3)
Thou wilt be blessed, our father, with that blessing
Pronounced upon Hibil-Ziwa by three 'uthras.
They said to him "Go, bring us joy, purity and goodness!
And bring us living waters (Water of Life) to the *škinata* (sanctuaries).
And bring us a sturdy stock 4) by which sanctuaries and 'uthras

---

1) This prayer, like some of the more ancient and obscure prayers in the early part of the Book of Souls, makes the translator despair. It is full of esoteric and forgotten symbolism.

2) *Šualania* and *ašualania* i.e. postulants for priesthood.

3) D.C. 3 has, instead of this line, *ulika ḏ-adam 'utra* (a miswriting).

4) *Širša*, see p. 277. n. 3.

May be maintained.
In it they will shine and Rays-of-Light thrive".
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
By that blessing conferred upon the jordan Sindiriawis [1])
And the great and lofty Fruit-tree [2]);
And that which the great and lofty Fruit-tree
Conferred upon its offspring, that is, its foliage.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father, that that blessing
Conferred upon the jordan Hus and the torrent Pirun,
Conferred upon jordans (rivers) and running streams,
And upon the Table [3]) which is without stint
And given to 'uthras and to *škinata* so that
They may eat thereof and be refreshed.
And pronounce the blessing of the Table
Laying their pure right hands on it
And saying to it, "May this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table be life-sustaining [4])
And plentiful" (and) in thy house, thine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, (*thy table and that of*) thine [5]) offspring,
Adam-Yuhana and Šarat-Mamania the children of Adam-Yuhana,
Shall resemble that *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table which the Great and Mighty *Mana*
Brought and bestowed upon His offspring and sons.
Then thou wilt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing conferred upon Šar-Ziwa,
The First Being, who emanated from the vapours [6]) (?) of the waters,
When he rose to the bank of the jordan, blessed the jordan
And blessed (all) jordans and running streams.
And he blessed the abundance-producing [7]) utterance
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Like that speech that bestoweth plenty [7]).

---

[1]) The "jordan" or river Sindiriawis is often mentioned, in G.R., as "a jordan of Life" (145 : 4, 146 : 37) and J.B. (p. 12 n. 1).

[2]) *Pira* = "fruit" and "fruit-tree".

[3]) See p. 260, n. 3 and p. 61, n. 5.

[4]) The root NFŠ has two meanings, and there is a play on these in this passage: i.e. also "abundant and increased".

[5]) In D.C. 53 "my offspring", D.C. 3 "thy offspring".

[6]) *Tanania:* see p. 268, n. 3; p.9. n. 1.

[7]) Pa. YTR, active participle fem. *yatarta*.

So that thy treasure, thy oblation and thy goodness [1]
And thy prayer and thy praise may be much;
Be increased, be life-giving and refreshing [2];
— Thine, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam —
Like the Sprout [3] which came and grew great
In the worlds of Light.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing imparted to the mystic Crown
They set upon the 'uthras.
Thine appearance will be radiant and bright
Like that crown that they set upon Manda-ḏ-Hiia [4].
And thou wilt have plenty and renown
Like the great Crown, which hath [5] great renown
In the worlds and ages. Thou wilt have honour
Like that of teachers [6] and postulants
When they perform (rites) and give instruction
And (so) acquire fame and increase.
Then thou shalt be blessed our father.
With that blessing wherewith Sar-and-Sarwan [7] was blessed,
The Emanation which came into being of Itself;
And thy radiance will be vital and wax great [3]
Like His radiance, and thy light increase
Like His light. Thou shalt have jordans.
And abundance like His abundance,
That of the Emanation which emanated from Itself.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed upon the living waters
And given to *škinata*. And they (the waters) spread and come[8]
To the *škinata*: Hibil drew them down
And sent them to the worlds.

---

[1] Here again probably refers to the food-offerings.

[2] The word-play on the two meanings of NFŠ occurs repeatedly in this hymn.

[3] *Naṣiruta* (the cult, priestly gnosis, etc.) here might have this unusual meaning of "offshoot", "sprout". (J. נֵצֶר ii) (Cf. Tan Lekh, ed. Bub. 9).

[4] D.C. 3 *ḏ-traṣlun*, D.C. 53 *ḏ-traṣlḥ*.

[5] Read *ḏ-'tlḥ* for *ḏ-tla*.

[6] *Rbania* (the rabbis) i.e. the priests who initiate postulants into the priesthood.

[7] Sar and Sarwan, usually a pair, here an "emanation" are mentioned in Prayer 45, also in G.R. 172 : 5, 221 : 4 and 374 : 14.

[8] D.C. 3 (293 : 3) *ṭafin bisšar qiriš* (*uatin* etc.) Corrupt.

(*And thou shalt be blessed with*) the blessing
That Hibil-Ziwa gave to Adam. He pronounced benediction
And said to him "Thou art blessed, Adam, First Man,
And thy plants (offspring) [1]) shall be blessed,
And thy dependants [2]), and thy basket when full of bread
And thy cup when full of *mambugia* [3]), and thy sons
When they stand before thee."
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the 'uthra Smandriel [4]) was blessed.
And the 'uthra Smandriel blessed fruits, grapes and trees.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith mighty fruit (trees) were blessed,
And wherewith was blessed the Living Flame
And the Table that lacketh nothing.
Rham and Rhamiel-'Uthra were blessed by it
And Rham and Rhamiel-'Uthra blessed clouds of mist and rain.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, with that blessing
Which blessed all clouds so that they are not wanting or lacking,
And so that this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Shall be neither wanting nor ill-provided
In thy house, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith those seven stars
Were blessed, and sovereignty was given to them.
Thou shalt be blessed, moreover, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
Those twelve constellations of the Zodiac.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Wherewith the five sensitory organs [5]) were blessed.
Moreover thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed on heavens and earth;
And they blessed the covering of Smandriel [6])-'Uthra
And spread it out. Then thou shalt be blessed,

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[1]) *Šitlia.*
[2]) Or "postulants"?
[3]) "Watersprings", i.e. the sacramental drink.
[4]) The spirit of blossom, see p. 272, n. 3.
[5]) *Gidia.*
[6]) The "covering" is over the earth only, since here it must mean vegetation, the province of Smandriel.

Our father, with that blessing wherewith
The two pure mountains are blessed,
In which (*lie?*) outstretched [1] the earth and sky,
And they do not move, and are not removed.
(*Neither*) shall be removed this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
From thy house, Adam-Yuhana, son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing bestowed upon the First Word,
Assigned to 'uthras and *škinata*.
And on beholding the First Word,
The 'uthras and *škinata* all rose from their thrones,
And addressed a hymn to Him saying to Him,
"Our father! the Guardian of Truth (*Kušṭa*) hath blessed thee
And the *Naṣiruta* from which thou camest into being hath blessed thee.
Our father! the Cloud that gave thee being blesseth thee
And a sublime Beam-of-Light will establish thee".
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the holy Tanna was blessed,
And by which the three hundred thousand 'uthras
Who sit on the bank of the Tanna are blessed.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith Ṣihmai [2] was blessed,
The Pure Mirror into which all the worlds of light gaze.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith the Mystic Vein was blessed,
And it was divided into three hundred and sixty thousand channels,
And was given to the 'uthras and *škinata*.
And 'uthras and *škinata* shine therein,
And are established thereby.
And thine appearance, our father, shall shine
Just as 'uthras and *škinata* shine, and thou wilt be established,
And plants (offspring) will be raised up unto thee,
Thy sons, like those. There came a glory
Which resteth on 'uthras, and it shall come and shall rest upon thee,

---

[1] The probable meaning is that from these two mountains a wide horizon, sky and earth, lies extended below?

[2] ṢHM = to beam, gleam.

Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then, our father, thou shalt be blessed
With that blessing wherewith are blessed
Fruits, grapes and trees, and that conferred on
The beloved 'uthra. And the beloved 'uthra
Blessed the plants, his children: he gave them strength
And increase and water.
Then thou, our father, shalt be blessed,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The holy Splendour (Banner) [1]: it was endowed with radiance
From beginning to end, and to the 'uthras
It gave the pure Word which they speak
And which they hear (*and obey*).
Hence those 'uthras blessed the holy Banner.
And they come and bless thee [2],
And hymn thee, our father. They shed radiance,
They blessed thee and the *škinta* of the mighty (Life)
Blessed thee, and the great Tree which is all-healing. [3]
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
The Seven Ships [4] which float and traverse the Dwellings.
Thou shalt have progress-onward [5] like those Ships.
And thou shalt have speech and hearing
Like the 'uthras who dwell in them.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith are blessed
Books and reliable teachings; moreover, our father,
Thou shalt be blessed with the blessing
Which 'uthras pronounced upon Yawar
When he brought his treasure and came towards them.
Those 'uthras who blessed Yawar
Will come and bless thee and hymn thee
Saying to thee "(O) Advent of a pure Mirror! (*Thou art*)
Chief of all enlightened beings!"

---

[1] See p. 226, n. 4. Here personified as a divine light.

[2] D.C. 3, (297 : 1) has "bless us".

[3] Lit. "all healings".

[4] The planetary ships. The illustrations to D.A. show the planetary ships and their occupants.

[5] *Sagia* (a) way, moving forward, "procedure" etc. (b) "abundance" "plenty".

They pronounce blessings in the jordan
(*Saying?*) "An Overlord [1] (?) of fair mirrors (*art thou*),
Bestower of blessing in the jordan,
And an Establisher [2] (?) of all purities" [3].
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
With that blessing wherewith holy *manas* were blessed.
And the holy *manas* blessed the jordan of living waters
Which they drew down hither and it cometh from its place.
(*So also*) may *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Be drawn to and come to thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
Sindiriawis, jordan of living waters,
That was drawn down [4] to the Earth and given
To Adam, the first man.
And a *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table will come
To thy house, our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam,
Like the Sindiriawis, jordan of living waters
Which overflow [5] and come (hither). (*In like manner*)
They will come, and a *kana ḏ-zidqa* will come
And the Table and (*all manner of*) good things [6]
And will flow abundantly to thy house,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing which the three Vines bestowed
Upon the holy *Mana*, imparting to Him strength and increase.
They said to Him, "Go, appoint vines like thyself
(Vines) which they have blessed (*consecrated?*) to the Holy *Mana*".
(And they will come and will bless thee (*also*), our father! [7])
"With Thy strength, (O) conquering Radiance!
And conquering is the Cloud [8] from which thou didst derive being".

---

[1] Should probably be *šaliṭun ḏ* as translated.
[2] Should probably be *mqaimanun ḏ-zakwata* as translated.
[3] The hymn is obscure and translation tentative.
[4] Or "flowed", "spread".
[5] Both MSS have a miswriting — *ṭatin* for *ṭafin* (perhaps for *ḏ-atin*)
[6] I.e. foods for the ritual table.
[7] This reads as if in parenthesis.
[8] I.e. the "Spouse", i.e. the Mother.

Rejoice, our father rejoice! rejoice in thy *škinta*!
Rejoice in the Plants, thy sons!
How great is the glory of thy banner!
Thy brightness our father, waxeth and increaseth
Over thy *škinta* and all the 'uthras!,
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The Pure Pearl, and she came and dwelt in the generations.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith were blessed
The Three Wellsprings of Radiance,
Whose light is lent to one another.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith is blessed
The fair [1] Radiance, whose like is not found
In the worlds and generations.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith was blessed
The pure *Kimṣa* [2] in which there is no fault
Or falsehood, from which 'uthras had being,
And from which polished mirrors appeared.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father,
With that blessing wherewith
A Mystic Emanation [3] was blessed,
And the Mystic Emanation blessed the Ether Earth [4]
And established the corporate forms [5] that dwelt therein.
Then thou shalt be blessed, our father.
With that blessing they bestowed
Upon the Cloud *Šarat*. And thee (*likewise*)
Will they come and bless: they will hymn thee and say to thee,
"O Son of Treasuries of Radiance! [6]
O Son of *škinata* [7] of the mighty (Life)

---

[1] The adjective indicates that which commands reverence and admiration, hence "holy", "fair", "valuable" and "important" are legitimate translations. In Mandaic it cannot be translated "heavy" in the literal sense.

[2] *Kimṣa*, see p. 119, n. 2.

[3] See p. 271, n. 2.

[4] The immaterial world is meant, a counterpart of the earth.

[5] *'Uṣṭunia*.

[6] Or "thoughts of radiance".

[7] Here perhaps "indwellings of" etc.

O Son of banners erect (firmly set),
Who goest towards thy Father! Thou art steadfast 1),
Alterest not, nor changest aught
Of that which the Life hath given thee.
Evil (spirits) never held thee back!
Thou dost walk according to the word of the wicked.
Ruha was no enchantress 2) for thee (?)
Nor did she cast thee into her dark cauldrons!"
And Life is victorious over all works

[This prayer, for the blessed "priest's portion" (?) 3) is for a postulant, and the booth 4)(?), Parwanaiia, a book 5) and the Great Baptism. 6)]

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Health, purity and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Thy propitiatory gift shall provide thy portion.
For each one (*for whom*) thou didst intercede and help over,
And didst pile up 7) (*gifts*) here, Manda-ḏ-Hiia will lay up
A thousand thousand (*gifts*) in the world of light.
Thou wilt have joy of heart, ease of body and fulness of hand!
And thou shalt clothe with garments and cover with coverings 8);
Shalt break bread into fragments and set it in place,
Shalt recite *masiqtas*, celebrate Oblation and make *ṭabuta* (ritual meals).

---

1) This should be *šarit*, as translated and indicated by the context.

2) *La huat lak ruha baznaqita* D.C. 53 (437: penult.), D.C. 3 (306 : penult.) *baznarita*. "Ruha was not to thee an *aznaqita*". As a second meaning under זנק J. gives "to make a person's mouth water". Here perhaps "to make lovesick", or "desirous". This meaning fits Ruha's character as representing physical desires.

3) *Hilita* = (a) propitiatory gift, propitiation (b) a gift to the priest. (J. Pi. HLY "to make sweet by a gift", "propitiate"). See p. 113, n. 5.

4) *Saka* is a word used for the novice's booth. Gifts of money are given to the priests for the novice-priest.

5) A *zidqa brika* should be celebrated by the copyist on completing a holy book. A sheep is killed for a *lofani* in which he and those who commissioned the copying share.

6) Three hundred and sixty baptisms, necessary to expiate a serious pollution.

7) *Amart* (עמר) may have this meaning here as it is with *nidgar*.

8) I.e. perform the ceremony known as *Ahaba ḏ-Mania*, a *zidqa brika* performed for one who dies naked or in lay dress; a proxy wearing the *rasta* for the deceased.

Then strength, soundness and victory will be thine;
And goodness, beauty, repute, honour,
Glory, aid, speech and hearing; such as that
Which the Life, His Father, gave to Yawar and Tauriel.
And which Yawar and Tauriel bestowed on Hibil-Ziwa;
And Hibil-Ziwa came and blessed three 'uthras
And the three 'uthras blessed Adam and all his descendants.
With that blessing shalt thou be blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Moreover, we bless thee for [1]) the Unique Great Sacred (Being)
Whose name is called "the great Mighty *Mana* (Mind)".
When He came into being, formed Himself in His own perfection,
Alone, in His *škinta*, for with Him there was no companion.
Then He, the Great Mighty Intelligence pondered
Within mighty inner Eggs that are hidden
And created Companionship for Himself.
In the beginning, He uttered a first cry [2])
And created four hundred and forty-four thousand 'uthras
And set them upon His right.
With his second Cry [2]) he created three hundred and sixty-six-
Thousand [3]) 'uthras and set them at His left.
And at His third Cry he called into being
Twenty-four thousand 'uthras and set them
Before Himself. And He clothed them in His radiance
And covered them with His light;
And placed upon their heads outflowings [4]) of Radiance and light
And created for them wreaths in the likeness of
His (*own*) wreath, the Great Mighty *Mana's*.
He placed in their hands a staff of living water
And established in their right hand
The holy handclasp of troth [5]).
He spoke with his pure mouth
And blessed them with his honest tongue
And with faithful lips of radiance, light and glory.

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[1]) Probably originally "The U.G.S.M. blesseth thee" - see p. 306.
[2]) *Qrita* = "a calling-forth", "a creation"; "a cry".
[3]) A gloss in D.C. 53 has "and six".
[4]) *Ṭaufia* lit. "overflowings".
[5]) The act of *kušṭa*.

He created habitations (*škinata*) [1] for them
And drew down jordans of living water for them
And said to them, "Ye shall rejoice and be glad
In your *škinata* [1], like a jordan (river)of living water
Your consort [2] will resemble the Cloud [3] (*divine Spouse*)
From which ye came into existence,
And your perfume and sweet odour like the fragrance [4] of 'uthras.
And a *škinta* was created: it was founded, it was, it appeared
Of itself. It was a great Canopy (*or pavilion?*)
For the Great Unique Holy One,
A canopy of radiance, light and glory
Which was all eyes.
In the (eyes? . . . . [5]))
It stretched out before Him, so that
It doth not reveal to them, the 'uthras, His appearance.
Then the Great Mighty Intelligence (*Mana*) planned and created
Vast and pure worlds of light.
Jordans He deployed, He made *škinata* [1])
Installed [6] 'uthras and appointed *ašgandia* [7]
Chief of these (*ašgandia*) envoys before Him
Was Adakas, "the Great Word" is his name;
For he is a "go-between", taking out [8] praise,
Blessing, prayer, heedfulness and enlightenment [9].
And them he giveth and he bestoweth on the jordan
His blessing. So the 'uthras arise, worship his name
And praise his title: they do not oppose his calling (name)
For he, (as) the *ašganda* (envoy), receiveth the praise of the 'uthras
And conveyeth it into the presence of the Great Mighty *Mana*
And layeth it up in His treasure-house.
Then those seven-hundred and seventy-eight thousand 'uthras,
Who were created by the Second Cry of the Life, will bless thee.

---

[1] Or "sanctuaries" the word has its customary vagueness!

[2] Or "companion"?

[3] "Spouse"? See p. 37, n. 4.

[4] *Rba ḏ-'utria* (in both mss.) should surely be *riha ḏ-'utria* as translated here.

[5] D.C. 3 (303:13) *bania ptahibḇ*, D.C. 53 (441:2) *bainia ptahibḇ?* Obscure.

[6] D.C. 3 *uahib 'utria*, D.C. 53 *uautib 'utria*

[7] The Akkadian *aš-gan-du* meaning "Messenger", "ambassador" conveys the meaning of a "go between", "an envoy" and *ašganda* here is exactly that: "an intermediary", a "go-between".

[8] D.C. 3 *mafaq*.

[9] Or, "glory and vigilance".

By Them, and from those 'uthras one 'uthra was singled out,
Younger than his brethren and older than his fathers.
They assigned to him [1] his name, "Mahzian [2]-the-Word,"
That is Yuzaṭaq [3] Manda-ḏ-Hiia is his name —
And he gave them prayer and praise, (*so as*)
To furnish the 'uthras in the Divine Presence [4]
With praise (*befitting*) the worship
Of their Father, the Great, Mighty *Mana*.
And a messenger came to them, an envoy from the Presence
Of their Father, the Great Mighty *Mana*, (*saying*)
"The 'uthras' prayer is acceptable [5] in the Presence
Of your Father, and your prayer fitting
In the eyes of [6] the Chief of Envoys,
The Messenger who came to Mahzian-the-Word,
To rectify the rites of 'uthras, (*to purge them*)
From fault and to put in order the worlds of light".
Then the great Mighty *Mana*, when summoning Manda-ḏ-Hiia
From His left, seated him on His right,
And pronounced blessing on him and made him —
— The younger brother, more reverend than his parents —
Made him ruler over mighty and celestial worlds of light,
Over jordans and running streams
And over all dwellings, in order to regulate and to station
The 'uthras in their (appointed) places.
And by his brother-'uthras he is called "the Capable".
Manda-ḏ-Hiia called three 'uthras and blessed them.
And he summoned his elder brother Hibil-Ziwa
And clothed him with his radiance
And covered him with his light and shed on him
Some of his glory, and held him (*by the hand*)
In the presence of the great and mighty *Mana*,
And said to him "At thy command have I summoned him,
And I wish to send him to the worlds of darkness,
To the powers of Siniawis, the under-world".
The great Mighty *Mana* blessed Hibil-Ziwa,

---

[1] Missing in D.C. 3.
[2] *Mahzian*, a spirit who bestows sight?
[3] *Yuzaṭaq* = Yuzadaq (Holy-Spirit? Spirit of righteousness?).
[4] Lit. Their Presence, i.e. the Divine Presence.
[5] Lit. "is accepted."
[6] Lit. "in the presence of", "before".

Gave him lofty strength and aid.
And Hibil-Ziwa said "I will come,
And with me will come Habšaba (Sunday)
And *Kana-d-Zidqa*. With me will come lofty strength
And help: with me will come sixty-six jordans,
And within each jordan nine hundred and ninety-nine
Škinata. And in each *škinta*
Fifty thousand 'uthras will dwell!"
With that blessing thou art blessed, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam! Moreover the mystic
Well-ordered and well-ordering *Mana* will bless thee,
And the hidden (unseen) and watchful 'uthras will bless thee,
For their names abide in the secret and guarded place
The radiance of which burneth and its light
Was set up for all the 'uthras of the Ether-world.
They acknowledge and praise it and the Great Life also
Who is concealed in praise (*addressed*) to Itself [1]) (?).
Praised be all generations of living beings
Which issue therefrom and exist and praise
That mystic Intelligence, and the Radiance which burneth,
And the Light set up in the great Presence of primal Glory
In the Place where They sit, speak and are obeyed.
(*Yea*), concerning everything that Ye have planned,
Word came, and was obeyed in each aerial world!
So also shalt thou speak and be heard, our father!
Thou wilt ask, and it will be answered thee
By that mystic and (all-) arranging Intelligence,
For all that He planneth cometh into being.
For He made, and establisheth before Him,
Sixty worlds of light: when He spoke there came into being
The 'uthras of the Ether-world, with their mysteries
And their own speech.
And then the mystic Intelligence, who giveth to every individual
Strength and glory, appointed an 'uthra,
An organizer, a great and lofty teacher of Truth,
A pleasing being, an Enlightener,
And He set him up as chief of all the 'uthras,
And granted him speech and hearing so that

---

[1]) Or meaning perhaps addressed to the *Mana*?.

He speaketh with him and he heareth Him,
And He gave him dominion, and (granted him)
To speak and be heard, from yonder radiance[1] unto the depths of the earth.
With that blessing thou shalt be blessed, our father
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam.
Moreover, the Tree *Ṣṭarwan*[2] shall bless thee,
From which proceeded wreaths of radiance,
Light and glory for the Great mighty *Mana*.
Then that supreme Vine shall bless thee,
That which was revealed from below the First Vine *Ruaz*[3].
It came to the earth (world) of Tarwan
And Nṣab gave it to Tauriel-'Uthra
Who extended it over the Ether-earth.
And he made gushings forth of water
And made it flow to the world
Of sons of Perfection.
Then the First Life will bless thee,
And the Second Life will bless thee;
Manda-ḏ-Hiia will bless thee
And the pure Yušamin[4] will bless thee.
All the 'uthras of the world of light will bless thee;
Sons of Perfection will bless thee;
Šilmay and Nedbay will bless thee;
Hibil, Šitil and Anuš will bless thee;
Abathur of the Scales will bless thee;
The Place that is all radiance and beams of light
Will bless thee. Those who are covered
With holy and well-kept garments will bless thee.
Radiant beings, lights and beams of light will bless thee,
And 'uthras, *škinata* and jordans.
Vigilance will bless thee, and the praise-giving
In which all 'uthras shine. Holy, predestinate,
Calm and perfected *mana*s will bless thee,
And the Fellowship which existeth in the *škinata* will bless thee,

---

[1] D.C. 3 (308 : 2) *mn hibil-ziwa;* D.C. 53 (445 : ult) has *mn lhil ziwa*, the latter being the more probable version.

[2] Or, "the plant '*ṣṭarwan*". (*Ṣatra*, wild thyme?).

[3] *Ruaz* (He-flourished, sprouted) is mentioned in Prayers 71 (a Vine,) 117 and 196.

[4] *Yušamin*, see p. 12, n. 4.

That (*their?*) praise of the great First Life
Will bless thee, Those mystic sproutings (emanations)
Which bloomed at the word of the Great (Life) bless thee.
That pure Vestment will bless thee, and that union
That was knit together and cannot be divided, will bless thee.
That *mana* 1) of glory which was blessed with a hidden blessing
Will bless thee, for those who sit within it will bless thee.
Yon pure great Vein will bless thee
And the Tongue which hath no ceasing will bless thee.
Those multitudinous ones who sit in pure glory
And converse in speech which is not mortal, will bless thee.
The Enduring Place in which they dwell will bless thee, 2)
The Place whose glory is great will bless thee.
That predestinate, pure Being, whose form sheddeth light
Will bless thee. That mighty (Being) 3) of radiance
Will bless thee, that well-ordered and well-ordering One
Will bless thee. All gentle voices, all bright banners 4)
Will bless thee: those secret prayers will bless thee,
And those columns 5) of white water will bless thee.
And the Vein of pre-existent Ether will bless thee.
Yon pure Sam-Ziwa, whom the First Life created in secret
Will bless thee, and that 'Uṣṭuna 6) (Body) will bless thee
Which dwelleth in the pre-existent Ether
From which all 'uthras of the Ether-world proceeded
And which they worship and praise.
It created Ether, (It) created 'uthras for Itself,
For Itself It created 'uthras,
And dwellings (*škinata*) and lovely *mana*s
Proceeded from It. It will bless thee,
That sublime Ether, from which there came to life 7)
A living flame. And it is incorporated in all 'uthras
And (*in?*) all that exists. Its name in secret and its appelation

---

1) Here *mana* must have its Semitic (Aramaic) meaning, i.e. "robe", "garment" or "vessel". Play on this word is implied.

2) D.C. 3 (310 : 1 f.) has *atra ḏ-nafša ṣauẖ unibirbak hanik rurbia ḏ-ziwa nibirkak hanik sdiria umsadria* etc.

3) The plural here indicates the Divine Being.

4) Or "erect banners"?

5) *'uṣṭunia.*

6) The *'uṣṭuna* more or less personified here, must refer to the cosmic body of Adam Kasia.

7) Or "awoke", "came to consciousness".

Is magnified in (by?) the 'uthras.
And Mara-d-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) [1]) will bless thee,
He who hath interpreted, declared and professed
In his mind the First (*Life*).
And yon Ether-Piriawis will bless thee,
The being who bestowed and abideth within yon jordans
And that one (here).
And that Occult Lord of Greatness will bless thee,
Whose form not one of the uthras beholdeth.
And that great Vine which standeth in the presence
Of the Lord of Greatness, will bless thee.
The great body (corporation) of Piriawis will bless thee:
The Treasurer of the world of light will bless thee
And the pure mountain the radiance of which shineth forth
And its light flameth, will bless thee.
All these names will bless thee, our father,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam!
Moreover, thou wilt be blessed with the blessing
Pronounced in the Jordan and in the land of Hauraran,
The great land of light. And upon thee shall rest
Its glory and joy, that which abideth in the Innermost [2]).
On account [3]) of its magnificence they rejoice, embrace one another
And take one another's hands in troth [4]).
Thy fragrance will be sweet like the scent
Of trees of the world of light. Thy brightness
Will break forth and thy light shine out
In the earthly world like flashings of radiance,
And beams of light, going forth to bring into existence
And illumine a thousand thousand
And eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand myriads
Of mighty and celestial worlds of light.
Thou wilt arise in the name of Life
And wilt walk in the road of the upright.
Mighty ones, sitting in glory, the living,

---

[1]) The prototype of a priest who initiates postulants.

[2]) Status constructus of *giuta* is unexpected, as the sentence ends here. It was probably suggested to the writer by the frequent expression *giwat 'qara*, especially as *'qara* occurs in the following line.

[3]) *Himat* for *mn himat*.

[4]) Freely translated; i.e., perform the *kušṭa* rite.

Will ask about thee, and living (souls) will discuss thee
With praise of the Mighty Life.
Filled with glory will thy heart be,
And its joy rightly directed.
And thou wilt ask and wilt find
In the presence of the Great Life,
Thou wilt speak and thou wilt be heard
In the name of Yukabar-Kušṭa.
And thy fame will be the fame of the Life
And thy renown will be the renown of Yukabar-Kušṭa.
And thine appearance will be (like unto)
The appearance of mighty 'uthras, sons of light.
Thou wilt be made great with the greatness of Manda-ḏ-Hiia.
On earth thou wilt be as one of the 'uthras,
And on earth thou wilt be named as
One of the men (who were) the first Chosen Elect.
Thou wilt be great and lofty, (*they will ascribe to thee?*)
Fame and (good) taste, (name thee) head of the age,
And thou wilt be a father of honour, who provideth
His friends and the elect and the distinguished,
With viaticum, (*thou wilt be one*) who appointeth
'Uthras in their place and helpers of the Chosen
Whose Signs were taken from the jordan.
(*Thou wilt be*) the support of the discerning
Who discern with their minds;
The helping hand of the perfect
Who, from first to last, establish perfection.
The guide of sons loving the fellowship of Life,
The deliverer of the righteous who are
(True) graftings [1]) from the Stem of Life.
Thy perfume, our father, is fragrant; thine appearance
Is effulgent and giveth out light.
Thy presence giveth joy.
Thou makest thy conversation alien to[2]) the worlds (*the worldly*) (?)
And thine actions we will make wholly fair and bright.
Thy speech will delight and be pleasing
And will resemble (that of) the worlds of life.

---

[1]) Lit. "who are planted from the stock (or stem) of Life".
[2]) Obscure, translation is approximate.

And thy words be like radiance, light and glory.
Thou wilt seek an earthly dwelling:
Thou wilt ask for and tread out roads to the Place of Light.
Manda-ḏ-Hiia will set up for thee a *kana ḏ-zidqa*
And a Table in thine own house, our father.
And thy basket, so that it is filled with bread,
And thy cup, so that it is filled with *mambuga* [1])
And thy Table he will set up.
Thou wilt gather together friends,
Wilt satisfy the hungry and refresh souls.
Then came the glory of Life! It will rest on thee
And the Likeness of the Great (Life) will protect thee
From all that is hateful.
Thy radiance will shine forth with the sun,
Thine effulgence with the moon and thy glittering
With the stars. Thy strength will be like
(*The strength of*) the waters,
Thy pleasantness like (that of) pure air [2]).
And thy glory like fire.
All the planets and the Twelve Gates [3])
That look on thee will bow themselves before thee.
Care will remove itself from thy heart
And sighing from thy thought. Thou wilt have
Joy of heart, wilt speak and be heard,
Wilt ask, and there will be granted thee
The strength of gods, with the command of angels.
Thou wilt seek in the day and find by night.
We will confirm thy speech in thy mouth
And will set up thy throne in majesty.
Thou wilt be the companion of the perfect
And friend of the righteous and believing.
The words of thy mouth will bring thee victory
And thy good fortune will rejoice thee.
Thou wilt act and succeed, wilt be on trial
And be vindicated; wilt strive and wilt attain.
Thy strength will be that of the storm-wind:

---

[1]) Cf., p. 286.

[2]) *Ayar* is sometimes better rendered by "pure air" than by the word "ether".

[3]) Other sects and faiths, each under a sign of the Zodiac.

Thy race will multiply (spread) like the waters.
And — however long thine existence in the body — [1]
No illness, sickness, pain, blemish, wound
Or (other) plague of the planets will reach thee
Or get the mastery (over thee), our father.
Great is thy blessing! Nevertheless, I (*too*) have blessed thee
With a mouth of flesh! Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed thee
With a pure mouth. I have blessed thee with a tongue of flesh:
Manda-ḏ-Hiia blessed thee with a true tongue of praise.
I have blessed thee with lips of flesh,
But Manda-ḏ-Hiia with faithful [2] lips of radiance,
Light and glory.
When thou bearest him to the earth [3]
And mentionest thy fathers [4] at thy time and moment,
When thy measure (of years) is accomplished,
In a blessed old age when thou hast become
A greybeard full of honours and blessing,
We will bring thee into a state of peace.
One will set forth towards thee to set (thee) free,
Adakas-Mana, thy father[5]. And he will take thee
Out (*of the body*) upon a road in which there is no heat,
Or trembling or quaking. He will pass thee over
The watch-houses of the planets and thy brightness
Will shine out over the purgatories
Until fear cometh upon those purgatory-dwellers
And guilty (souls) and (those) who have pined away (*there* [6]).
From their purgatories they will plead for thy favour
And will say "How great is the radiance, how mighty the light
Of the elect righteous being who passeth over us!"
And thou wilt free and bear away with thee

---

[1] D.C. 53 (454 : 4) *ukulman ḏ-aitak bpagrak;* D.C. 3 (315 : 7) the correct *ukma ḏ-aitak bpagrak.*

[2] D.C. 3 (315 : penult.) *mhaimata;* D.C. 53 (454 : 14) *mhaimanata.*

[3] Or, "Thou wilt endure the earth"? The first two lines are perhaps addressed to a bystander, meaning "when he (the *ganzibra* blessed in the poem) is carried to the grave".

[4] When the mourner recites the commemoration prayer "Our Forefathers"

[5] The death-angel, usually called Ṣauriel. Adakas is an abbreviation of Adam Kasia (the Occult Adam). Adakas-Mana is mentioned in G.R. trs. pp. 109, 143, 146, 244 and 245. D.C. 3 (316 : 5) has the correct *abuk.*

[6] D.C. 3 (316 : 10) has *haiban umadabin;* D.C. 53 (455 : 8) *habin umidabin.*

A thousand thousand souls which were bound and fettered
And sojourned therein [1].
And he (*Adakas*) will protect thee, and thou wilt recognise Abathur.
And Abathur, when he seeth thee, will take thy hand in holy troth,
Will clothe thee in his radiance and cover thee with his light.
And he will set thee in his scales.
Thou wilt be clothed in thy radiant-body
And mighty wrappings [2] of light.
He will set wreaths of victories on thy head;
Thou wilt become akin to 'uthras,
An (inhabitant) of the world of light
And the everlasting abode.
Thou wilt pass on to sons of perfection, who,
One by one, will bring thee his radiance
And will lend thee some of his light.
And thou wilt cross the Waters (of Death) [3]
And Adatan and Yadatan will set out towards thee
And will place upon thee thy living .... [4]
And will raise thee up as member of a company [5] of souls.
They will show thee [6] new and unused chambers [7]:
Thou wilt rise up to the place which is the House of Perfection.
Thou wilt wander freely [8] in the ether;
Wilt behold the sublime Vine of Souls
In which sons of the great Family of Life are represented.
They will send out towards thee
A banner of radiance, light and glory.
And they will take thee down and will immerse thee
In seven jordans, and will hymn thee, saying to thee,
"Thy raiment shineth and thine appearance is honoured.

---

[1] The three verbs are all in the singular!

[2] *Ṭarṭabunia*, not "turbans" see p. 81, n. 1.

[3] See p. 45, n. 6.

[4] *Knaf* D.C. 53 (456 : 8); D.C. 3 (317 : 8) *knak*. Read *kanfia* "wings"?

[5] Here *br guda* apparently has its original Aramaic meaning, and is not the P. פרונדא Possibly the verb was altered to suit the later (misunderstood) meaning?

[6] D.C. 3 (317 : 9) *unihauiak*. (In D.C. 53 the word is unclear.)

[7] *'ndirunia*. The word *'ndiruna*, *'ndruna* today indicates a booth built of greenery and reeds.

[8] *Titkarak* = "goest hither and thither".

In the House of thy Father, the Lord of Greatness.
Thy fame and thy perfume will pervade
Three hundred and sixty worlds of light".
And all the 'uthras of the world of light will assemble,
Take one another by the hand and will say,
"Up! we will go and see the man who hath freed himself,
And ascended from worlds of darkness, from amongst them
(*Who harbour?*) evil plots". They will call thee
"Teacher of 'uthras" and will say to thee
"How thy radiance hath increased! How greatly is thy light augmented!
How sublime and tranquil is thine appearance! how fragrant thy perfune!
Rise with us, [1]) and we will show thee
The Eternal House of Life, the place
Where the souls of thy father dwell".
'Uthra after 'uthra will take thee by the right hand
And will show thee the worlds and dwellings
Of the Treasure-House. Thou wilt see the road
Of the great (*Life?*) yonder, which was (led?) from
The pure Tarwan. Thou wilt see the Vine Tauriel
Which stands by the jordan of the pure Tarwan,
Of ether-light. Thou wilt behold the Vine Yusmir,
Which is situate in the jordan of the pure Tarwan.
Thou wilt see the Tree Tatagmur [2]), which is situate
In the jordan of the Lord of Greatness.
Thou wilt see the Vine Ruaz, from which
Blessing issueth, a blessing goeth out from it;
And all 'uthras delight in its fragrance.
Thou wilt see the Vine Yusmir which is situate
In the land of Sam-Ziwa.
Thou wilt see Šarhabiel who is situate
In the cloud [3]) (?) of Hibil-Ziwa.
Thou wilt behold the seven canopies of radiance,
Light and glory which are outspanned over
The sublime Vine. Thou wilt see two pure mountains,
Serene, and situate behind them thou wilt see
The sublime ether-light that is set up

---

[1]) Read *minam* for *minak*.
[2]) D.C. 3 (319 : 1) has Tatagmir.
[3]) Or, "in the building"?

In the place of the mighty First Life.
Thou wilt see the Vine Pirun which is situate
In the territory of Šarat-uabdat-ukišrat 1).
Thou wilt behold the ether-Vine set up
In the land of the First Life. Thou wilt see
The Vine which is situated in the land of Future Ether.
Thou wilt see the great Vine by the juices 2) of which
The souls of earthly babes are nurtured.
They imbibe and are satisfied by its succulence 3).
Their souls fly about, they fly about, their souls:
In the world of light they are established (brought up?).
Thou shalt behold the great mystic Yura 4)
Whom They planted. Thou wilt see Šilmai and Nidbai
Dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud
They dwell and are put in charge of all jordans.
And thy name will delight and thy fragrance be pleasing to
The great and mighty *Mana*, and to the great Presence of Glory,
And to the great First Archetype Who is hidden
And quiescent within His mighty inner Eggs,
For He is the Radiance above all radiance,
The Light above all lights.
And he will send thy baptiser (out) before Him:
Adakas-Mana will go forth to meet thee
And will take thee in his right hand, will rise
And will show thee the High King of Light.
Thou wilt see His beams of radiance — they illumine
His right hand. He will grasp thee with His hand,
Will lay his right hand (*upon thee?*)
And will grasp thine in holy troth 5).
He will clothe thee with His radiance,
Cover thee with His light, bless thee with His blessing
And His glory will rest upon thee.
He will make thee a judge in the ether

---

1) "She-was-firm-and-she-acted-and-was-successful".

2) *Mambuhia* here is the heavenly drink of babes who die in infancy. See D.A.

3) D.C. 3 (320 : 1) *'bibḫ* (its thickness, luxuriant output); D.C. 53 (459 : 9) (its sweetness).

4) *Yura*, a spirit of light. Or perhaps of rain? (יורה = "early rain, early season, spring").

5) I.e. performs the rite of *kušṭa* with him.

Thou wilt illumine[1] (?) the jordans that thou reachest
And the *škinata* over which thou passest.
And thou shinest in thy radiance.
'Uthras call thee an arbiter and peacemaker[2],
And (one who) gave assurance to Rays-of-light.
Three hundred and sixty worlds rejoice in thee.
They will instal thee in abodes of radiance, light and glory.
Moreover, the blessing of the Mighty Life
Resteth upon thee. Life is victorious over all works!
And all that thou hast done will be put in order.
All thy vines will flourish, and in none of thine acts
Will there be lacking or fault.

380

In the name of the Life!
I worship, praise and laud that great mystic First Jordan
From which there was praisegiving,
And its brightness inspired the 'uthras.
From it living waters came into being
And its light reinforced all light-beams.
From it resulted the enlightement of the 'uthras:
In it they rejoice, and from it a wellspring of radiance
Came into being. From it, fruits, grapes and trees
Came to life; from it *pihta* (bread) derived its existence.
And it was broken and given to the One Great First *Mana*.
And He, the Great First *Mana* was invigorated thereby[3]
And worlds of light, 'uthras and all *škinata*
Refresh themselves therewith,
Exist (live) and flourish.
And they worship and give praise.
Glory, serenity[4] and delight come upon them;
They rejoice, are glad, laugh and make merry,
Exult and disport themselves.
And on thee (*too*), our great, lofty and respected father,
Glory, bliss, perception and felicity will rest.
Yea, that jordan will bless thee

---

[1] (TQN II).
[2] See similar couplet in Prayer 255 (lines 22 and 23).
[3] Or, in the language of ritual, "partake thereof".
[4] D.C. 3 (322 : 8) has *nihutai* ("my serenity" or "my calm") for *nihuta*.

From which praisegiving originated, and it was great [1].
There will come *kana ḏ-zidqa* and a Table
And good things (food) will abound and be plentiful
In thy house. Thy strength here on earth will be firm,
And yonder, in the worlds of light like (*that of*)
The great First *Mana*.
Thou shalt have speech and hearing;
Thou wilt speak and be heard.
Thou wilt call thy brother-priests here on earth
And they will answer thee. There, thou wilt call on
'Uthras and they will answer thee.
Here on earth thou shalt have assurance
Because two of Kušṭa's witnesses stand in thy presence,
Seeing and noting what thou doest and what thou thinkest
Day after day and hour by hour.
Yonder, thou wilt be accounted as one of the 'uthras.
Life will joy in thee and the 'uthras will hymn thee
And say to thee [2]
"Thou wast from the First Jordan, our father!
From a Stock of great brilliance
Did they call thee forth! Ninṣab clothed thee in vestments of water,
Tunics of righteousness cover thee.
On thy head he set a wreath, a wreath of praise,
For 'uthras and *škinata* are twined[3] into the leaves of thy wreath."
Moreover the Great Unique Sacred One [4] will bless thee,
Whose throne they set up at the *kana ḏ-zidqa*.
He measureth [5] the pious offering of each individual
And according to his works, He recompenseth him.
He delighteth in the Chosen Elect and bestoweth raiment of light.
And four Beings, Sons of perfection, bless thee,
They who guard treasures of life and confer
Garments of radiancy on the elect who dwell in the world.

---

[1] *Utnafšat* in both texts. Either "was great", "increased", or perhaps "refreshed"?

[2] D.C. 3 [323 : 9 inserts before *nimarlak* (read *nimarulak*?)] Probably a miscopying.

[3] A play on words, *mitgadlia* also means "glorified".

[4] See p. 292. He is identified with the *Mana Rba Kabira* and with Adakas.

[5] D.C. 53 is defective here: D.C. 3 (323 : antpenult.) has *ukaiil zidqa ḏ 'niš 'niš*.

It is they who make abundant [1] thine oblation and thy Table
Which is set before thy brother-priests.
All thy brother-priests gather about thee
And open their mouths, all of them, in a loud voice,
With acclamation, prayer and praise, they bless thee,
Hymn thee and say to thee, "All that thou doest will be rightly ordered:
All thy vines [2] will give light,
And in all thy works there will be nought lacking or in fault.
And some of the blessing of the mighty First Life
Will rest upon thee."
And Life is victorious.

381

Darkness is crushed back into the Dark [3]:
Light is established in its place.
Life hath accepted your prayer
And 'uthras have received your praise,
In the name of Šarhabiel, the First Great Radiance,
To support the Great *Mana* at His Place;
And to uphold the hands of good people.
There shall be healing (power) of Life
And blessing upon this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and thy Table,
Our father, Adam-Yuhana, son of Sam!
We establish thy consecration [4] (*as ganzibra*)
And thy confirmer [5] ratifieth thy consecration
In the world of light. And thy confirmer is sinless,
Thine advent is [6] with sinless ones [7] and thy confirmer sinless.
Come! as (one) fulfilled, deemed worthy, and established
In future honour and ample blessing.

---

[1] *Ninifšuia* (or, perhaps, "inspire with life thine oblation"?).

[2] By "vines," the ganzibra's pupils, postulants to priesthood or his sons, are meant.

[3] See prayer 103, p. 102, n. 1.

[4] *Tarṣa, taraṣa* (lit. a "setting-up") is a ceremony of dedication or consecration, e.g. of the cult-hut before a *masiqta*, of the "crown" when set on the head of a new priest, and of a *ganzibra* newly appointed to office.

[5] *Mqaimana* here is the celebrant at the service of consecration of the new *ganzibra*. He must himself be a *ganzibra*.

[6] Or "induction", his coming as *ganzibra*.

[7] Ritually clean priests and head priest.

He will be possessor of fee and alms [1] (*flowing like*)
The great rill of Water of Life which was drawn down (hither)
And came from its Place. Tauriel-'uthra drew down to earth
(Those waters) which come and come; come and cease not;
They are never cut off, or lacking, or deficient.
(*In like manner*) this *kana ḏ-zidqa* and Table
Shall never lack or be wanting in thy house,
Adam-Yuhana son of Sam, our father,
For an age of ages and for ever.
And Life is victorious over all works!

[Then they shall set up the table [2] of Blessed Oblation in (on) the altar-table [3]. And when they finish the dedicatory prayer [4] the *ganzibra* takes the phial of wine [5] and reciteth the hymn "Vines shone in the water", and he poureth [6] (the wine) into the drinking-bowl and giveth it to the *baruka* [7] and the two witnesses.]

382

In the Name of the Great Life!
Vines shone in the waters:
Mighty ones were confirmed [8]
For perfecting, for clearing the waters,
Establishing Your likeness and giving us light
Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!
Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration [9],

---

[1] *Agra uzidqa*, "reward and oblation" i.e. fees received by priests for their services, and offerings in kind and money brought to them by the faithful.

[2] As I have seen this rite, I can explain the nature of "table" here. It is the earthen tray, or small earthen altar-table (*tariana*) on which the ritual food is laid out.

[3] The larger altar-table (*tariana*) on which the smaller (see n. 2) is placed.

[4] *Qaiamta*.

[5] Water in which grapes or raisins have been macerated.

[6] (Cf. Hif הירייק).

[7] The priest who has recited the foregoing prayers of blessing for a *ganzibra*.

[8] This prayer (given in another form in *Studi e Testi* 176, p. 64) is hopelessly garbled. D.C. 3 (326 : 7) has (for *lka lhil* in the latter) *lkalḫ* (D.C. 53 divides the word on two lines.) My translation in Š. ḏ-Q. was governed by the variations. Hence for *mitqaiam* which here obviously refers to the elevation of the *ganzibra*, I had "were established" (here). See also Prayer 177.

[9] *bhilfa kasia*. In the Š. ḏ-Q. I translated "instead of concealing it". I think the translation given above may be the truer, but the whole prayer is obscure.

Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.
Let your fragrance come and overpower (*us with its sweetness*)

[This hymn the *ganzibra* shall pronounce over the wine-bowl, giving it to the *baruka* (blesser) and to the two witness.]

383

In the name of the Great Life!
On the day that Hibil-Ziwa
Walked with Yawar,
Myrtle with them was plentiful, [1]
Plentiful was the myrtle,
And to Yawar he gave it,
Into his right hand.
And he said to him,
"Take from me fresh myrtle
And pronounce blessing in the *škinata*
Its blessing pronounce in the *škinata*.
Then Yawar opened his mouth,
Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa
And said to him, "Blessed art thou,
Our father, Hibil-Ziwa!
Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand
Thy Root shall flourish
Like the root of fresh myrtle:
And thou shalt have strength and increase
Like the living waters"[2].

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra].

384

Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;
The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,
The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,
And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,
Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle
And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.

---

[1] There is a characteristic play of words on the two meanings of SGA.

[2] There are variants of the myrtle-hymns: I translated some in *Studi e Testi*, 176, p. 65.

The dwellings shine in its brightness
And delight in its fragrance for ever [1]).

[The *ganzibra* recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from the "blessers".]

385

In the name of the Great Life!
All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned [2]) by thee
Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.
And all pure spouses will be made perfect, [3])
Delivered from evil actions.
(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads [4])
Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The *ganzibra* reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, [5]) inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the *šganda* (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (*folds and*) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.") [6])

Note. — Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins: —

These are the prayers for the *pihtania* (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

(*Note.* — Before No. 386 D.C. 3 inserts "In the name of the Great Life! On the day that Radiance appeared" etc. Prayer No. 414, p. 316).

---

[1]) See the variation, op. cit. p. 66.

[2]) D.C. 3 (327 : ult.) *ubgauak mitkarak;* D.C. 53 (468 : 1) *ubgauak mitkarkia.* For the rendering "crowned" (certainly applicable here) see p. 230, n. 4.

[3]) D.C. 3 (328 : 2) *mištalmibak;* D.C. 53 (468 : 2) *mištalman,* (*fem*).

[4]) D.C. 3 (328 : 4) *ubrišaian*; D.C. 53 (468 : 3) *brišaiia.*

[5]) These myrtle prayers and the ritual inhalation recall the Persian *barsom* rite. Its perfume was apparently inhaled ritually and was also a symbol of kingliness as appears in the Shahnameh (Shāhnāmeh, ed. Sa'id Nafīsī, Teherān, 1914, vol. 9, p. 2995, 1.496 ff.). In this passage the king asks for barsom when food is offered: "food should be taken (only) when barsom is there". His request for barsom reveals that he is the king and results in his death.

[6]) I.e., take off their "crowns" and kiss them, see p. 28, n. 3.

386

See Prayer No. 329.

(*The rubric differs slightly, so I give it*)

[This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the *ganzibra* wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (*novice's*) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (*item*) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (*i.e. facing North*), to (*as many*) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!]¹)

387

See Prayer 305, p. 250.

388

See Prayer 306.

389

See Prayer 307.

390

See Prayer 308.

391

See Prayer 309.

392

See Prayer 310.

393

See Prayer 311.

[The *ganzibra* shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Šišlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

394

See Prayer 312.

395

See Prayer 313.

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¹) For notes, see those on p. 231 and MMII p. 146 ff.

396

See Prayer 314.

397

See Prayer 315.

398

See Prayers 316 and 317.

399

See Prayer 318. and the rubric which follows it.

400

See Prayer 319 and the rubric which follows it.

401

See Prayer 320 and the rubric which follows it.

402

See Prayer 321 and the rubric which follows it.

403

See Prayer 322 (and compare Prayer 386).

404

See Prayer 323 and the rubric which follows it.

405

See Prayer 324 and rubric which follows it.

406

See Prayer 325 and rubric which follows it.

407

See Prayer 326 and rubric which follows it.

408

See Prayer 327 and rubric which follows it.

409

See Prayer 328 and rubric which follows it.

410

In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-Life.

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to Thy name, and speak (*it*) in my heart and talk (*of it*) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) .... 1) superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth" 2). Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse

---

1) *Šihrialia šilia? Šihrialia* = "rulers", "governors", as plural might be read as "(Divine) Ruler". *Šilia* might be the plural of *šilta* = "need", "want", "desire". Obscure.

2) A reference to the rite for the dying. Preceded by a form of immersion (the "proven Sign") the ceremony of "The Letter" or the *Letter of Kušṭa* is performed, during which a phial of oil is placed in the pocket of the ritual dress, and a ritual handclasp (*kušṭa*) is given to the dying or his proxy.

from me insecurity[1] (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshly-flowing Water of Life. Set up for me a *kana ḏ-zidqa*, a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied[2] by Naṣirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting[3]: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil[4], and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years[5], without feebleness[6], in a blessed old age, in my own home[7].

Look on the plants, marvel at the *šualania* (*those entering the priesthood under tuition*); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Manda-ḏ-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

And now (*I ask*) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation[8] and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food [1] (*here*), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you!

---

[1] Several roots (NZH, NZZ, NUZ) have the meaning of unsteadiness, wavering, etc.

[2] Pa. MLA. lit. "they were full", "they were replenished".

[3] I.e. "arrange the proper death-rites". The death-angel is sometimes called "the Transplanter".

[4] See p. 313, n. 1.

[5] Lit. "in full measure" (of years).

[6] Read *kadra* for *kadfa*.

[7] *Kaliuta* = exile, banishment, enforced absence from home: Lit "without absence from home".

[8] P.S. Ethpe. ܪܥܐ. See also G.R. trs. p. 251, note 4.

Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (*called*) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

411 [2]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yušamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins for him.

.... (*the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, "injunctions", "rubrics"*)

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

412

In the name of the Great Life.
Then, when she (*the soul*) reacheth the seven mysteries,
Servants of the Seven go out towards her
And come and surround her and question her.
And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou?
And whither goest thou?" She said to them,
"I come from the Body the name of which is Earth.
And I go toward the good *Kimṣa* [3]".
They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou?
Messenger of whom art thou called?"
She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved *Kimṣa*
And the envoy of the vast Ether".
Then they bless her and commend her and say to her,
"All who know this (pass-) word shall rise

---

[1] *Ṭabuta.*

[2] This is the great Commemoration prayer known as the "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.

[3] Nöldeke suggested "End" for *kimṣa* (root KMṢ), noting that 'k' and 'q' are often interchangeable. Lidzbarski doubted this interpretation (see J.B. p. 192, n. 1) and in his note to Prayer 126 (M.L. p. 192, n. 1) suggested an "Ort im Jenseits". In Prayer 126 I translated the word "a formation", "taking shape" etc. The word is of a very nebulous meaning. See p. 119, n. 2.

Towards the good *Kimṣa*".
For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body
And (so) question her.
And thereupon she ascendeth
Towards the Good *Kimṣa*.

[This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul [1]).]

413

See Prayer 177.

D.C. 53 *ends here. I append as a continuation the prayer which in D.C.* 3 (*p.* 331) *precedes Prayer* 386.

414

My Lord be praised!
In the name of the Great Life!
On the day when the radiance within Radiance
Broke through and emerged,
A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors;
In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed.
And water was produced in the Ether.
The jordan emerged in its glory
And the water was intermingled with the Ether,
Intermingled was Water with Ether.
And the strength of Light increased greatly,
Was increased and established.
A wreath they twisted into crowns [2])
(Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (*fruit*).
Naṣirutha spoke therein to kings (*priests*)
And their purities were intertwined.

(The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh *kušṭa* with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown [3]). Beware of performing a marriage or (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

---

[1]) See 175. Prayer 412 varies slightly from it, and the explanation is missing from the former.

[2]) The union of wreath and crown is symbolical of marriage.

[3]) The hymn is for the marriage of a priest.

INDEX

Note. On Names

In Mandaean literature spirits, angels, demons, and persons are given names denoting abstract qualities, activities, virtues, vices and so on. The abstract nature of the divine First Cause is divested further of any tinge of anthropomorphism by use of a plural form: It is named *Hiia*, from the verbal root HIA "to exist"; hence it means "existence", "life". To this appellation are attached such adjectives as "First", "Second", "Third", "mighty", "majestic" and "multiform".

Abstract qualities of varied shades of related meaning are covered by the name *Kušṭa*, a personification of "truth", "pact", "sincerity", "good faith"; whilst category or species is personified in such names as Adam—"man", "mankind" and Anuš "humanity" "human being".

It is not always possible to discover the original meaning of a name. Most, indeed all of them, derive from a verbal root, or from a substantive. The suffix 'il or 'iil (corresponding to the "iel" of angel-names in English) is often attached to such names, for instance, RHM Rham'il "to love"; Tauri'il (*ṭaura*, a bull); Nuri'il (*nura*, fire); Gadfi'il (*gadfa*, wing) and Gabri'iil (*gabra*, male, man). In magical texts angel and devil-names are legion. In the Canonical Prayers they are comparatively few.

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ERRATA

page 6, note 1, *read*: Abel, Seth and the Biblical Enos (Anuš)
page 7, line 14, *read*: Sam-Smir, *instead of*: Sam-Smira
page 9, note 1, *delete after* vapour: here
page 31, line 32, *read*: Abathur, *instead of*: Abatur
page 32, line 16, *read*: possession, *instead of*: possesion
page 40, line 9, *insert after*: (They revealed treasure [1]):) from the First Treasure
page 41, line 26, *delete*: [2]). Note 2 *to be replaced by*: *ʾruta*. Lidzbarski translated Erleuchtung. The implied meaning is 'light which awakens, brings to life'
page 48, note 5, *read*: D.C. 3, *instead of*: D.C. 31
page 54, note 1, *read*: *ʾṣṭuna*, *instead of*: *ʾuṣṭuna*
page 78, note 1, *read*: Anuš, *instead of*: 'Anuš
page 87, note 5, *read*: Adam Kasia, *instead of*: Adam Kasca
page 104, line 5, *read*: Asut, *instead of*: Asiet
line 27, *read*: Shaq-, *instead of*: ʾShaq-
page 105, line 11, *read*: Zihrun, *instead of*: Zahrun
page 117, note 5, *read*: *kul man ḏ*, *instead of*: *kul man d*
page 129, line 28, *read*: my daughter, *instead of*: My daughter
page 151, line 23, *read*: Abathur, *instead of*: Abatur
page 154, line 25, *read*: p. 288, *instead of*: p. 287
page 172, line 8, *delete*: [3])
page 174, note 2, *read*: In Š. ḏ.-Q. 4: 4., *instead of*: Š. ḏ-Q. 4,: 4.
page 199, line 29, *read*: into, *instead of*: nito
page 209, note 1, *read*: *Ništiknat*?, *instead of*: *Nistiknat*?
read: (*mištiknia*?), *instead of*: (*mistiknia*?)
page 213, note 4, *insert* a colon *after*: tentative
page 233, note 5, *read*: *ʾṣṭunia* and *ʾṣṭuna*, *instead of*: *'uṣṭunia* and *ʾuṣṭuna*
read: Adam's, *instead of*: Adams
page 246, line 4, *read*: Ruha-ḏ-Qudša!, *instead of*: Ruha-d-Qudša!
page 259, note 3, *read*: *ʾṣṭun*, *ʾṣṭuna*, *instead of*: *ʾuṣṭun*, *ʾuṣṭuna*
page 285, note 7, *read*: Prayer 25, *instead of*: Prayer 45
page 297, line 22, *read*: *ʾṣṭuna*, *instead of*: *ʾUṣṭuna*
line 32, *read*: appellation, *instead of*: appelation
in notes 5 and 6, *read*: *ʾṣṭunia* and *ʾṣṭuna*, *instead of*: *ʾuṣṭunia* and *ʾuṣṭuna*

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Qolasta.
III

MANDÄISCHE LITURGIEN

MITGETEILT

ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT

VON

MARK LIDZBARSKI

1962

WEIDMANNSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG
BERLIN

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DEM ANDENKEN

WILHELM BOUSSETS

Einleitung.

Die Mandäer sind die einzige gnostische Sekte, die bis zum heutigen Tage, wenn auch in geringen Resten, fortlebt. Diesem Umstande haben wir es zu verdanken, daß sich ihre religiösen Schriften erhalten haben und wir sie mehr als die anderen Sekten aus ihren eigenen Schriften kennen. Neben Werken lehrhaften Inhaltes sind liturgische Sammlungen vorhanden. Im Mittelpunkte des Kultus steht bei ihnen die Taufe und die Feier im Augenblicke, wo die Seele vom Körper scheidet, beim „Aufstieg", ihre Totenmesse. Die beiden Liturgien sind in einem Werke vereinigt, von dem schon früh Handschriften nach Europa gelangt sind. Diese Sammlung ist im vorliegenden Bande an erster Stelle mitgeteilt.

In den Nachschriften der Abschreiber wird das Ritual „Lieder und Hymnen für die Taufe und den Aufstieg" genannt. Daneben findet sich die Bezeichnung „Seelenbuch" (vgl. p. 3, n. 1) und Qolastā. Dieses Wort, das arabische خُلَاصَة, bedeutet „Quintessenz, Auslese" und findet sich auch sonst als Bezeichnung für Sammlungen religiöser Lieder. Der Name hat sich aber für die vorliegende Sammlung eingebürgert, und ich habe ihn auch hier beibehalten.

Im Jahre 1867 hat Euting nach Pariser und Londoner Handschriften das Werk mitgeteilt. Der Inhalt war ihm halb verschlossen, und so beschränkte er sich darauf, eine Handschrift autographisch nachzuzeichnen und aus den anderen die Varianten mitzuteilen. Er hatte während der Arbeit die Pariser Handschriften vor sich, und es scheint, daß seine Wiedergabe bis auf die Buchstaben und Buchstabengruppen, die er nicht auseinanderhalten konnte, zuverlässig ist. Nach dem von Euting vorgelegten Material suchte ich hier einen Text herzustellen. Da in Deutschland keine mandäischen Typen vorhanden sind und eine Autographie nicht in Betracht kam, gab ich den Text in hebräischer Umschreibung. Bei der Herstellung des Textes befolgte ich dieselben Gesichtspunkte, nach denen ich das „Johannesbuch“ herausgegeben habe. Ich suchte von den gegebenen Lesungen die beste aus, eigene setzte ich selten ein. Ich gab diese gewöhnlich in den Anmerkungen; wo sie in den Text aufgenommen sind, kennzeichnete ich sie durch einen Stern.

Das Buch zerfällt in vier Teile. Der erste Teil enthält das Ritual für die Taufe, der zweite das Ritual für die Totenmesse, aber so, daß die Stücke 1—6 des ersten Teiles mit zu diesem gehören. Der dritte Teil enthält drei längere Gebete, die bei der Taufe und der Totenmesse gesprochen werden. Sie werden auch in den sonstigen Ritualen oft angeführt. Der vierte Teil bietet wiederum Lieder und Hymnen, die teils bei der Taufe (78—90), teils bei der Totenmesse (91—103) rezitiert werden.

Die einzelnen Stücke der Rituale sind sicherlich zu sehr verschiedenen Zeiten entstanden, aber bei unserer Unkenntnis der Geschichte der Mandäer ist es nicht möglich, sie irgendwie zeitlich zu fixieren. Über die älteste Geschichte der Rituale finden sich in dem Werke Angaben (vgl. p. 60 und 120). Selbstverständlich wurde schon in ältester Urzeit nach ihnen verfahren (p. 54, 120). Das Taufritual soll aus einem Werke „Die große Quelle“, die Totenmesse aus dem „Buch des Gaddānā“ genommen sein. Wir wissen von jener Quelle und diesem Gaddānā sonst nichts[1]). Auch die sonstigen Angaben über die ersten Abschreiber helfen uns nicht, da wir von diesen Personen nichts wissen. Dieselbe Herleitung findet sich auch bei anderen Ritualen.

Auch die Handschriften des Qolastā enthalten lange Mitteilungen der Abschreiber über ihre Vorgänger. Über den Wert dieser Angaben siehe Joh., p. IX; ich habe sie hier weggelassen.

An zweiter Stelle ist die liturgische Sammlung in der ausgezeichneten Handschrift der Bodleiana zu Oxford Marsh. 691 mitgeteilt. Die Handschrift ist bei PAYNE-SMITH, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscr. Bibliothecae Bodleianae* Pars VI, Codices Syriacos etc. complectens, Oxonii 1864, col. 648, s. n. 205 genannt. Sie stammt aus dem Jahre 936 d. H. (siehe p. 277) und ist die älteste der uns bekannten mandäischen Handschriften. Sie ist hier als A bezeichnet.

An der Spitze steht die Liturgie für die Tagesgebete, dann die besonderen Gebete für die einzelnen Tage der Woche. Dieser Teil ist auch in einer jungen, schlechten Handschrift enthalten, die DE MORGAN aus Babylonien mitbrachte, und die in schlechter

---

1) Vgl. *Ephemeris* I, p. 103^7.

photolithographischer Reproduktion[1]) in seinen *Textes mandaïtes* (hier B) mitgeteilt ist. Doch ist in ihr der Anfang erhalten, der in der Oxforder Handschrift fehlt. Der größte Teil findet sich auch in der Pariser Handschrift Code Sabéen 15 (hier C), vgl. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes)*, p. 229, s. n. 15.

Das zweite Buch enthält Lieder für die Hochzeitsfeier. Eine vollständigere Sammlung findet sich in den Pariser Handschriften Codes sabéens 15 und 25. Die letztere Handschrift gelangte nach der Abfassung von ZOTENBERG's *Catalogue* nach Paris. Sie ist ganz jung; sie stammt aus dem Jahre 1285 d. H. (Anf. 24. Apr. 1868). Sie ist hier als D bezeichnet. Einige Stücke finden sich auch in einer mit C zusammengebundenen kleinen Handschrift (hier E).

Das dritte Buch enthält Teile einer Sammlung, die vollständig in den beiden Pariser Handschriften C und D enthalten ist. Die in A vorhandenen Stücke finden sich auch in E.

Das vierte Buch enthält Gebete für das „Banner", d. h. das Kreuz, das bei den kultischen Handlungen aufgestellt wird, vgl. Joh., S. 185⁴. Sie sind auch bei MORGAN erhalten.

Ich suchte in erster Linie die Oxforder Handschrift wiederzugeben. Da sie weit besser als die anderen ist, brauchte ich aus diesen nicht viele Lesungen in den Text aufzunehmen. Der Wert der einzelnen Teile der Sammlung ist ungleich. Am wertvollsten ist das erste Buch. Da das dritte Buch hier nur einen Teil der vollständigen Sammlung in den beiden Pariser Handschriften 15 und 25 enthält, erwog ich, ob ich nicht die ganze Sammlung mitteilen sollte, wie ich denn auch in das zweite Buch Stücke aus diesen Handschriften aufnahm. Aber nach reiflicher Prüfung schien mir die ganze Sammlung eine Herausgabe nicht zu verdienen. Andererseits hielt ich es für ratsam, die Oxforder Handschrift ganz zu geben[2]). Es ist wünschenswert, daß von dieser eine photographische Reproduktion veranstaltet werde; da wird das hier Gebotene den Schlüssel zu ihr bieten.

Einen großen Teil der in den Liturgien vorkommenden Wendungen und Benennungen habe ich im Kommentar zum „Johannesbuch" behandelt. Ich konnte daher auf die dortigen Ausführungen verweisen. Damit die Erklärung der Namen der Genien leichter gefunden werde, stellte ich die Namen mit ihren Erklärungen in alphabetischer Folge am Ende zusammen. Auch bei der Bear-

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1) Siehe ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 689.

2) Bis auf die langen Aufzählungen der Abschreiber, vgl. p. VI.

beitung dieser Texte kam mir sehr zustatten, daß ich das gesamte handschriftliche Material aus der mandäischen Literatur verwerten konnte, das in europäische Bibliotheken gelangt ist. Der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften bin ich zu Dank verpflichtet, daß sie trotz der Schwierigkeit der Zeit und der hohen Kosten den Druck des Bandes übernommen hat.

Verse werden wohl allgemein in der Literatur als solche gekennzeichnet. Man trennt sie durch Absatz, Spatium oder besondere Zeichen ab. Dies gilt auch von der semitischen Poesie. Schon im alten Babylonien war es üblich, Verse in einer Zeile für sich zu schreiben, ja die Teile innerhalb des Verses durch Spatien zu kennzeichnen und die Strophen durch Striche von einander zu trennen. Wie die Mandäer keinerlei Interpunktion kennen, so werden bei ihnen auch poetische Stücke nicht von Prosa geschieden. Ursprünglich wird es wohl seitens der Dichter geschehen sein, aber die Abschreiber haben es später vernachlässigt. Das mandäische Schrifttum ist ja fast durchweg in gehobener Sprache geschrieben; Prosa und Dichtung sind in ihrem Inhalte nicht wesentlich verschieden. Wie im Alten Testament, so kann man auch bei manchem Erzeugnisse der mandäischen Literatur schwanken, ob man es der einen oder anderen Gattung zuschreiben soll. So verlernten es die mandäischen Abschreiber mit der Zeit, Prosa und Dichtung auseinanderzuhalten, und auch die europäischen Gelehrten haben bis jetzt eine Scheidung nicht versucht.

Die Poesie der Aramäer kennen wir erst aus später Zeit. Sehen wir von einer kurzen Grabschrift ab, die etwa im 5. Jahrh. vor Chr. in Ägypten entstanden und anscheinend in Versen geschrieben ist (CIS II, 141), so reicht unsere Kenntnis der aramäischen Poesie über das Syrische nicht hinaus. Die syrische Poesie ist christlich. Wir haben es nur einem Zufalle zu verdanken, daß zwei kleinere Dichtungen nichtchristlicher Herkunft uns erhalten sind. Es sind zwei in die Thomasakten eingefügte gnostische Lieder, die von Bardesanas oder eher aus seiner Schule herstammen. Einen gewissen Ersatz für das Verlorene bieten volkstümliche Lieder, die in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts bei den nestorianischen Bauern in der assyrischen Ebene und den kurdischen Bergen aufgenommen wurden[1]). Es sind kleine Liedchen von 3—4 Zeilen zu drei Hebungen, die bei Hochzeiten gesungen werden. Die Sprecher sind teils Burschen, teils Mädchen. Er preist ihre körperlichen Vorzüge, ihre Kleider, ihren Schmuck, sie seine Tapferkeit, seine Waffen. Sieht man sich nun das erste der beiden gnostischen Lieder in den Thomasakten an, so ist man überrascht zu sehen, wie nahe es diesen kleinen Volksliedern steht. In jenem Gedichte wird die „Tochter des Lichtes“ als Braut gefeiert. Wie in den Bauernliedern werden ihre einzelnen Körperteile, ihre Gewänder beschrieben, das duftige Brautgemach, die Brautjungfern und Brautführer geschildert. Wahrscheinlich wurde schon früher eine volkstümlichere Göttin in ähnlicher Weise in Anlehnung an das Volkslied gefeiert. Es war wohl die Dea Syra, die Atargatis, die Hauptgöttin der Aramäer, deren Liebeleien auch Anknüpfungspunkte an das volkstümliche Liebeslied boten.

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[1]) Vgl. SOCIN, *Die neu-aramäischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*, p. 127 ff.; LIDZBARSKI, *Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* I, p. 394 ff., II, p. 327 ff.

Der Inhalt des mandäischen Hochzeitsrituals ist fast ganz religiös. Doch sind auch volkstümliche Liedchen eingefügt, die den Hochzeitsliedern der nestorianischen Bauern gleichen. Es sind Vierzeiler mit kurzen, dreihebigen Versen. Bei ihrem volkstümlichen Charakter, der vom Inhalt des sonstigen mandäischen Schrifttums stark abweicht, ist das Verständnis sehr schwierig. Auch die nestorianischen Lieder wären uns ja ohne die arabische Übersetzung zum größten Teil unverständlich. Ich teile hier einige aus den beiden Pariser Handschriften mit.

Cod. Sab. 15, f. 22b; 25, f. 27b:

(א)יא דאראתא ד̄באבאי   עגיריא ומאשת(א)מאניא [1]
מאכולה̄ בעוהרא להידויא   כאראתא ד̄וארדא ה̄שורי

ד̄לאתיא קָאלא ד̄נאלה̄   צאיתאלה̄ מאמא וכאלה̄
סאיפאנא כד̄ משאילילה̄   ואביהדה̄ לאראטנאנא

O ihr Papas Trägerinnen,[2]
ihr Löhner und Hörige,
breitet für den Bräutigam auf dem Wege aus
Lasten von Rosen aus Ǧūr[3]).

---

1) Steht für ומישת(א)מאניא.

2) Unsicher. Ich fasse דאראתא als ܕܳܪ̈ܝܳܬܳܐ auf; dies paßt besser als ܕܳܪ̈ܳܬܳܐ „Höfe“.

3) Ǧūr, persisch Gūr, später Fīrūzābād genannt, südlich von Šīrāz. Seine roten Rosen erfreuen sich besonderer Wertschätzung, vgl. Jacut, *Geogr. Wörterb.* II, p. 147.

Daß der Laut seiner Schuhe nicht (zu uns) dringe,
daß Mama ihn nicht höre und fernhalte.
Ich vergehe, wenn sie ihn ausfragen[1])
und ich mit ihm nicht plaudern kann.

Cod. 15, f. 20 b; Cod. 25, f. 25 b:

עהאי יא ראביתויא עוצטארתיא   ד̄דרעיא נאורא סקילא
מוד קאהאזית בגאוה̄   ד̄אנאת שאפירתיא מינה̄

O du kleine Herrin,[2])
die den blanken Spiegel trägt,
siehst du in ihm,
daß du schöner als er bist?

Cod. 15, f. 19 b; 25, f. 24 b:

עהאי יא ראביתויא עוצטארתיא   ד̄עלאויא גורפא קאימא
נהות אתאי לדאהליז   קאהאלפיא כאיליא ד̄מאלכא

מאלכא נהית בדוכתה̄   צאפולה̄ האמרא ד̄שאתיא
מאכולה̄ דיבאש רומיא   אגאנביא מאסקאל צ̇יניא

O du kleine Herrin,
die auf dem Steilufer steht,
steig herunter, komm in die Halle,
des Königs Reiter ziehen vorüber.

Der König ließ sich an seinem Orte nieder,[3])
kläret ihm Wein, daß er trinke.
Breitet für ihn griechischen Brokat aus
neben chinesischem Atlas.

Cod. 15, f. 21 b; 25, f. 26 b:

הידויא מאן ד̄אמארלאך   עוהראתא מאן ד̄אהוילאך
ד̄משאדרית האדאיא לבאבאי   מא גומליא ומא כודאניא

---

[1]) Var. משאילליא, „wenn sie mich ausfragen“.

[2]) Ein häufiger Eingang in diesen Liedern. Statt ראביתויא haben die Handschriften auch ראבאתויא, an einer Stelle ראבותיא. Die Erklärung der Form ist mir nicht sicher; vielleicht ist die Endung ויא hypokoristischer Art. Siehe auch Joh., S. 149⁶.

[3]) Die beiden Liedchen stehen zusammen, aber מאלכא ist im zweiten anders gedacht, als im ersten. Dort ist es, je nachdem das Gedicht auf türkischem oder persischem Gebiet entstanden ist, der Sultan oder der Schah, hier ist es der Bräutigam. Über den syrischen Bräutigam als König vgl. WETZSTEIN, *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie* V (1873), p. 288 ff. – Statt נהית Var. ניתיב „er setze sich an seinen Ort“.

גומליא טינאן זאהבא   כודאניא קאז ואברישום
שאדארתה̄ להיביל זיוא   אביהדיא יושאמין דאכיא

היביל נישקה̄ לבאבאי   יושאמין לאהאי שובא
שאדארתא לעזלאת ראבתיא   ד̄עסיקתא בעדא רמוליא

Du Bräutigam, wer sagte dir,
wer zeigte dir die Wege,
daß du als Geschenke zu meinem Papa sandtest
hundert Kamele und hundert Maultiere?

Die Kamele sind mit Gold beladen,
die Maultiere mit Gaze und Seide.
Du sandtest Hibil-Zīwā
mit Jōšamīn dem Reinen.

Hibil küßte meinen Papa,
Jōšamīn meine sieben Brüder;[1])
du sandtest Ezlath die Große,
daß sie mir den Ring an die Hand legten.

Daß Form und Inhalt dieser Lieder aus dem Norden entlehnt seien oder umgekehrt, ist nicht wahrscheinlich. Die Absonderung der Mandäer ist zu groß und reicht zu weit zurück. Dazu sind die mandäischen Lieder reimlos, während die nestorianischen durchweg gereimt sind. Der Reim ist innerhalb der syrischen Poesie jung und erst unter Einfluß der arabischen Dichtung eingeführt. In einer Hinsicht ist eine Verbindung freilich denkbar. Die Schiffer auf den Booten, die den Tigris befahren, sind Nestorianer aus dem Norden, vorwiegend aus Tell-Kēf. Sie hätten ja die Lieder nach dem Süden bringen können. Aber dieselbe Form des Liebesliedes finden wir auch im Hohen Liede. Wir dürfen hier also altes poetisches Gut annehmen, das über den Bereich der Aramäer hinausgeht[2]).

Wie bei den Syrern, so hat sich nun auch bei den Mandäern die religiöse Dichtung an das Volkslied angelehnt. Die Hochzeitslieder gehen schon ins Religiöse über, und die anderen Sammlungen enthalten kleine Gedichte rein religiösen Inhaltes, die in der Form jenen Hochzeitsliedern gleichen. Hier p. 150 f., 156, 159, 161 finden wir kleine Lieder dieser Art, außerdem seien aus dem linken Ginzā angeführt (p. 83, 102, 113):

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[1]) Aus der religiösen Welt übernommen, vgl. p. 257, 9.

[2]) Natürlich können im Einzelnen die Stücke jung sein und sind es auch, wie die arabischen Wörter zeigen.

על שבילא קאימא נישימתא   ועל עותריא אמרא
לאיאדיתון עותריא אהאי   ד̄אנא בינאתאיכון דארית

Auf dem Wege steht die Seele
und spricht zu den Uthras:
„Wisset ihr nicht, ihr Uthras, meine Brüder,
daß ich unter euch wohnte?“

למאליא ד̄אתית ודאריבה̄   בעצטונא נכילא באטלא
למאליא ד̄אתית ודאריבה̄   ד̄לאסאליק מינאי לאתאר נהור

Was frommt es mir, daß ich kam und wohnte
im trügerischen, nichtigen Rumpfe?
Was frommt es mir, daß ich kam und in ihm wohnte,
wo er nicht mit mir zum Lichtort emporsteigt?

אלאנפיא דמות נאפיקנא   ודמותאי אלאנפאי נאפקא
מיתהאננא ומיתכארכאביא   אכואת ד̄מן שיביא עתית

Ich gehe meinem Abbild entgegen,
und mein Abbild geht mir entgegen.
Es kost und umarmt mich,
wie wenn ich aus der Gefangenschaft käme.

Auch diese Lieder bestehen aus kurzen Versen zu drei Hebungen, von denen je zwei enger zusammengehören und zu einem Doppelverse vereinigt sind. Der Halbvers besteht in der Regel aus drei Wörtern, zu denen nur Wörter von geringerer Tonstärke treten. Dieser Vers ist der herrschende in der mandäischen Dichtung. Die beiden Halbverse hängen auch hier im Sinne enger zusammen, und der zweite ist gewöhnlich durch „und“ oder das Relativum ד̄ eingeführt. Daß der kurze akzentuierende Vers von drei Hebungen in weit auseinanderliegenden Gebieten im Volkslied erscheint, weist auf seine Ursprünglichkeit hin, und er hat sich wohl im Volkslied an einen Dreischritt-Tanz angelehnt. Soweit wir in der literarischen Poesie der Syrer zurückblicken können, ist in ihr freilich schon die Silbenzählung durchgeführt. Aber da hat wohl fremder Einfluß eingewirkt. Wie Andreas mir mitteilt, ist in der persischen Dichtung schon in ältester Zeit die Silbenzählung üblich[1]). Von der Aussprache des Mandäischen wissen wir sehr wenig. Aber wenn man selbst bei den besseren Gedichten alle Möglichkeiten der Aussprache in Betracht zieht, kann man zu einer einheitlichen Silbenzahl im Verse nicht gelangen.

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[1]) In den beiden gnostischen Liedern der Thomasakten sind die Verse sechssilbig, im übrigen haben in ihnen fast alle Verse drei Hebungen. Die von Ephräm mitgeteilten Verse des Bardesanes sind fünfsilbig. Ephräm selber wandte neben diesem Maße mit Vorliebe ein siebensilbiges an, ebenso Narses in seinen

Bei einem der bekanntesten manichäischen Gedichte aus den Funden von Turfan suchte ich zu zeigen, daß es ursprünglich aramäisch abgefaßt sei und den üblichen mandäischen Vers von drei Hebungen habe [1]). Die Verse sind zu Strophen von zwei Doppelversen vereinigt. Der Umfang einer solchen Strophe entspricht also dem jener kurzen volkstümlichen Gedichte. Ich teile hier die ersten beiden Strophen in der von mir hergestelltn aramäischen Form mit:

תארמידא אנא מאודיאנא   ד̄מן באביל ארקא ניבטית
ניבטית מן ארקא באביל   ועל באבא ד̄כושטא קאמית

קארויא אנא תארמידא   ד̄מן באביל ארקא ניפקית
ניפקית מן ארקא באביל   ד̄עצרוך קאלא באלמא

Sieht man im Mandäischen von den Gedichten ab, in denen die Wiederkehr gleicher Perioden durch den Inhalt gegeben ist (vgl. p. 31, 46), so läßt sich ein regulärer Strophenbau in den Gedichten nicht nachweisen. Das manichäische Gedicht kann sich danach nicht an die mandäische Poesie angelehnt haben, sondern muß von der Dichtung eines verwandten Kreises abhängen. Doch ist in dem Gedichte der zweite Halbvers des ersten Verses im ersten Halbvers des zweiten mit anderer Stellung der Worte wiederholt, eine Form, die dem mandäischen Schrifttum sein eigentümliches Gepräge gibt. Auch in der gehobenen Prosa wird sehr oft ein Satz mit umgekehrter Stellung der Worte wiederholt, man sagt:

Komm, du König der Uthras, | *der Uthras König du, komm.*

Ich habe diese stilistische Eigentümlichkeit mit der in der bildenden Kunst der Semiten hervortretenden Tendenz, ein Bild symmetrisch zu wiederholen, es nach beiden Seiten hin zu entfalten (Wappenstil) in Zusammenhang gebracht [2]). Aber die Art, wie die Wiederholung in der Poesie geschieht, zeigt, daß diese Auffassung nicht richtig ist. Der semitische Vers ist etwas in sich Abgeschlossenes. Wäre bei ihm das Augenmerk auf das Symmetrische gerichtet,

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Wechselliedern. Diese bestehen aus Vierzeilern, die in der Form den oben mitgeteilten kleinen mandäischen Gedichten sehr nahe stehen.

1) *Nachrichten der Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse 1918, p. 501.

2) *Ephemeris* I, p. 115; Joh., p. XIII.

so müßte der Vers an sich symmetrisch gebaut, d. h. der zweite Halbvers eine symmetrische Umstellung des ersten sein. In Wirklichkeit findet die Aufnahme der Worte und ihre Umstellung erst im folgenden Verse statt. Danach scheint die Haupttendenz vielmehr darauf gerichtet zu sein, den neuen Vers inhaltlich an den vorhergehenden anzuknüpfen, die beiden Verse mit einander zu verketten. Ähnliches haben wir an einzelnen Stellen bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten, indem dort der erste Vers einer Strophe an die Worte des letzten Verses in der vorhergehenden Strophe anknüpft (D. H. Müller). Auf aramäischem Gebiete zeigt sich die Verkettung in den Mēmrē des Narses, und von ihm beeinflußt wird sie besonders in der neueren Dichtung der Nestorianer angewandt. Selbstverständlich haben die mandäischen Dichter die Wiederholung niemals durch ein ganzes Gedicht durchgeführt, da es zu ermüdend wirken würde.

Wie in der Dichtung anderer Völker[1]) stehen auch in der mandäischen die Worte „er sagt, er sagte“ u. s. w. außerhalb des Verses.

Neben den Gedichten mit regelmäßigem Versbau stehen andere mit freieren Versen. Die Verse sind in ihnen von sehr verschiedener Länge, und sie stehen meistenteils für sich ohne Paarung. Die anderen Gedichte sind gewöhnlich länger, diese kurz; jene enthalten Schilderungen und Betrachtungen, diese in der Regel Gebete. Die Mandäer unterscheiden selber zwei Arten und sprechen von דראשיא und עניאניא. Die beiden Wörter sind von Stämmen gebildet, die auch von den Syrern in ihrer Nomenklatur für die Dichtungsarten verwandt sind, in ܡܰܕܪ̈ܫܐ, sowie in ܥܘܢܳܝܐ und ܥܘܢܝ̈ܬܐ. Die Gedichte XXI, XXX, LXVI—LXIX werden in den Nachschriften als דראשא, LXXIX—LXXXII als עניאנא bezeichnet. עניאנא mit und ohne רמא heißt auch im Mandäischen zunächst „Antwort“, so GR 152, 11; 343, 12, 19, 22 und sonst, und die עניאניא waren wohl ursprünglich Responsionen, die nach dem Vortrage der דראשיא von den unteren Priestern oder der Gemeinde gesprochen wurden, vgl. 177, 10:

ודארשיא עותריא לואתה̄ ואנילה̄ פאסימכיא לקאלה̄

und Joh., 128, 9: אהאי ד׳ארשיא דראשיא ואהואתאי עניאניא ראמיאן. Doch wurde die spezielle Bedeutung von דראשא und עניאנא später vergessen und die beiden Wörter durcheinandergeworfen. In den Gebeten für die einzelnen Tage der Woche p. 183 ff. steht erst ein דראשא und dann ein עניאנא, die Nachschriften sprechen aber von עניאניא und דראשיא, und auch sonst stehen die beiden Wörter in den Nachschriften der Abschreiber in dieser Reihenfolge[1]). Das Stück p. 271 XIV wird עניאנא und die gleichartigen Stücke XVI und XVII דראשיא genannt. Richtig gesagt heißt es דראש דראשא und רמא עניאנא, aber in den Nachschriften sind auch diese Wendungen durcheinandergeworfen, und p. 269, 13 lesen wir עניאניא דרוש, dagegen 273, 5 דראשיא רמיא. An sich stand das עניאנא unter dem דראשא, aber gerade weil עניאנא die Bezeichnung für das volkstümlichere Lied war, drängte es die Benennung דראשא zurück. Die bei de Morgan an erster Stelle mitgeteilte Sammlung, die דראשיא, עניאניא und Gebete in Prosa (באואתא) enthält, wird schlechthin עניאניא genannt. Da עניאנא nicht mehr, wie ursprünglich, „Responsion" bedeutete, mußte hierfür eine neue Bezeichnung eingeführt werden, und man wählte das persische پَاسُخ. Dieses wird פאסוך, פאסוג geschrieben; für „respondieren" wird יהב פאסוך gebraucht: Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 1097, 1254, 1365.

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[1]) Vgl. Sievers, *Metrische Studien* I (1903), p. 360 f.

Die Länge der Verse in den עניאניא schwankt sehr, und es ist oft unsicher, wie sie abzuteilen sind. Bei vielen עניאניא ist es überhaupt zweifelhaft, ob sie als Gedichte oder als Prosastücke anzusehen seien. So habe ich die Stücke p. 264 ff., obwohl sie den Stücken p. 233 ff. nahestehen und als עניאניא bezw. דראשיא bezeichnet werden, nach mehrmaliger Prüfung als Prosastücke setzen lassen.

Die[2]) mandäische Religion bietet eines der schwierigsten Probleme auf religionsgeschichtlichem Gebiete. Sie setzt eine Umwälzung von ungewöhnlicher Intensität voraus. Ihre Schöpfer suchten sich überall neue Werte zu bilden; sie schufen eine ganz neue religiöse Sprache. Das uralte semitische Wort für den Gottesbegriff ilāh, das alle anderen Umwälzungen innerhalb der semitischen Religionen überlebt hat, das noch jetzt im Islām ebenso wie im orientalischen Christentum und im Judentum im Mittelpunkte der Religion steht, ist aus ihrer Sprache verbannt. Sie gebrauchen es höchstens für fremde Götter, für Götzen. Erst später kam es unter Einwirkung des arabischen allāh wieder auf, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 545. Sie haben in ihrer sonst so reichen religiösen Terminologie auch kein anderes Wort für den Gottesbegriff. An der Spitze der Wesen, denen sie Verehrung zollen, steht das absolute Leben, an zweiter Stelle das Licht. Auch die Wesen, die in den sonstigen semitischen Religionen die Gottheit umgeben, die Engel (mal'ak), sind aus ihrem Glauben gebannt; sie bekämpfen sie als Dämonen der Zauberei. Zweifellos steht der Mandaismus in enger Beziehung zu der gnostischen Bewegung, die in den ersten Jahrhunderten des Hellenismus im Orient einsetzte. Die Vorstellung von der *γνῶσις ζωῆς*, die Personifizierung dieses Begriffes und die Stellung des personifizierten Wissens vom Leben, oder vielmehr vom Heil im Vordergrund des Glaubens kann nicht an verschiedenen Stellen unabhängig von einander entstanden sein. Die Mandäer haben sich von den Gnostikern allein bis zum heutigen Tage erhalten, und wir besitzen von ihnen größere Literaturwerke. Trotzdem ist die Herkunft und die älteste Geschichte der mandäischen Religion ganz in Dunkel gehüllt. Die Schriftsteller bewegen sich mehr im Himmel als auf Erden. In den seltenen Fällen, in denen sie historische Ereignisse berühren, wird die Wirklichkeit verschleiert und in einen apokalyptischen Dunst gehüllt. Ich habe mich schon früher bemüht, die Entstehungszeit und die Heimat des Mandaismus zu ermitteln und hebe hier einige weitere Punkte hervor.

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[1]) Hingegen innerhalb des Textes im Pariser Diwan Z. 75 דראשיא ועניאניא.

[2]) Die folgenden Betrachtungen wurden in der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften am 13. Dezember 1918 vorgetragen.

Die Mandäer bezeichnen sich neben מאנדאייא als נאצוראייא. Von Nöldeke und anderen wird angenommen, daß sie diese Benennung den Christen entlehnt haben, daß sie zu einer Zeit, als sie dem Christentume sympathisch gegenüberstanden, Christen genannt sein wollten[1]. Im griechischen Neuen Testament wird Christus *Ναζωραῖος* und *Ναζαρηνός* genannt; ersteres findet sich AG 24, 5 auch als Bezeichnung für die Christen. Der Syrer hat für beides ܢܨܪ̈ܝܐ, und im Syrischen war für die Christen nur diese Bezeichnung üblich. Da die Mandäer den Namen nur den syrischen Christen entlehnen konnten, würde man den Namen נָצְרָיָא, nicht נָצוֹרָיָא erwarten. Der Name *Ναζωραῖος* ist aber an sich noch nicht erklärt. Die wichtigste Stelle dafür ist Mat. 2, 23. Da heißt es von Joseph, dem Manne der Maria: *καὶ ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέθ· ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.* Der Name *Ναζωραῖος* für Jesus wird hier einerseits von einem Ausspruche bei den Propheten, andererseits von *Ναζαρέθ* hergeleitet. In den uns bekannten prophetischen Schriften des Alten Testamentes findet sich kein Wort נָצוֹר, das Matthäus oder seine Quelle im Auge haben konnte. Der alttestamentliche Kanon war damals schon abgeschlossen; daß etwa eine uns unbekannte prophetische Schrift gemeint sei, ist unwahrscheinlich. Ich glaube mit anderen, daß auf נֵצֶר Jes. 11,1 angespielt wird, aber aus diesem נֵצֶר kann nicht die Bezeichnung נְצוֹרָיָא entstanden sein. Nicht anders steht es mit Nazareth. Schon die Fassung der Worte bei Matthäus macht es unwahrscheinlich, daß Jesus *Ναζωραῖος* genannt wurde, weil seine Eltern in *Ναζαρέθ* wohnten. Es sieht eher danach aus, daß man Jesu Eltern in Nazareth wohnen ließ, um damit den Namen *Ναζωραῖος* zu erklären. Ich will auch davon absehen, daß die Existenz eines Ortes *Ναζαρέθ* in vorchristlicher Zeit überhaupt bestritten wird. Aber ein Mann aus *Ναζαρέθ* konnte wohl *Ναζαρηνός* oder *Ναζαραῖος*, nicht aber *Ναζωραῖος* genannt werden. Nach *Ναζωραῖος* wird angenommen, daß Nazareth auch den Namen *Ναζωρέθ* geführt habe. Aber wenn diese Form des Namens existiert hätte, so stünde sie gerade an der Stelle, an der aus ihr der Beiname *Ναζωραῖος* erklärt wird. Man lese die Ausführungen bei Guthe PRE^3 XIII, p. 677, und man wird sehen, zu welchen gezwungenen und künstlichen Erklärungen man bei den Herleitungen aus *Ναζαρέθ* greifen muß. Tatsächlich bietet Mat. 2, 23 keine Erklärung für *Ναζωραῖος*, und man muß sehen, ob man es nicht aus sich heraus erklären kann.

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[1] Siehe Nöld., p. XX; Brandt, Rel., p. 140; Schr., p. XIII; Jahrb. für protest. Theologie XVIII (1892), p. 599.

Von anderer Seite wurde bereits die Ansicht ausgesprochen, die Bezeichnung *Ναζωραῖος* habe unabhängig von Jesus und vor Jesus existiert. Es geschah namentlich von Will. Benj. Smith in seinem Buche *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (Gießen 1906), p. 42 ff. Er verwertet die oft zitierte Angabe des Epiphanius über eine jüdische Sekte der *Νασαραῖοι*, die aus vorchristlicher Zeit stamme (Haer. 29, 6, 1). Aber sein Versuch, *Ναζωραῖος* und die verwandten Formen zu erklären, ist in sachlicher wie sprachlicher Hinsicht unmöglich. Ihm schwebt eine Form Nasar-Jā vor, die der Form Z'kar-Jā entsprechen (p. 49 f.) und gleichbedeutend mit *Ἰησοῦς* und *σωτήρ* sein soll. Die Form Naṣar-Jā hat Smith aber nur durch eine Verlesung des syrischen ܢܨܪܝܐ erhalten.

Meine Erklärung von *Ναζωραῖος* ist folgende. Im Thalmud hat Jesus das Beiwort נוֹצְרִי. Dies ist die ursprüngliche hebräische Form, die den anderen voranging. Sie geht von נצר im Sinne „beobachten“ aus und zwar Satzungen, Gebote. Der Ausdruck findet sich namentlich in den jüngeren Schriften des ATs, besonders in Ps. 119; in den älteren wird dafür mehr שמר gebraucht. Eine Richtung im Judentum, deren Anhänger sich mehr als die anderen als die Beobachter gewisser Gebote ansahen, nannten sich נוֹצְרִים „Beobachter, Observanten“. Ursprünglich war wohl die

Bezeichnung für den Einzelnen נוֹצֵר. Die Bezeichnung נוֹצְרִי mit ī relativum entstand, als die Nōsēr sich zu einer engeren Gemeinschaft zusammengeschlossen hatten und der Einzelne sich als Glied dieser Gemeinschaft fühlte. נוֹצְרִי bezeichnet also einen, der zu den Nōṣēr gehört. Was die נוֹצְרִים beobachteten oder beobachten wollten, besagt das Wort nicht. Ich vermute, daß es besonders Reinheitsbräuche, vielleicht in erster Linie Baptismen waren.

Man sprach damals in Palästina aramäisch, und so formte man auch נוֹצְרִי nach dem Aramäischen um. Für נוֹצֵר kann im Aramäischen das Partizip נָצַר oder auch das nomen agentis נָצוֹר eingesetzt werden, so wurde denn נוֹצְרִי zu נָצְרָיָא und נָצוֹרָיָא. Dem hebräischen Stamme נצר entspricht eigentlich aramäisch נטר. Aber נוצרי war der lebendigen Sprache entzogen, es war halb zum Eigennamen geworden, so konnte das Wort zum Teil erstarren.

Jesus wird aus dem Kreise der נוצרים hervorgegangen sein, und dieser Beiname ist ihm geblieben. Der Name hat sich aber unabhängig von Jesus und den Christen in jüdischen Gemeinschaften erhalten, die in einem Vetternverhältnis zum Christentum standen. Diese Judenchristen werden bald als *Ναζαραῖοι*, bald als *Νασαραῖοι* bezeichnet. Letzteres ist wohl נָצְרָיָא mit nachklingendem kurzem a hinter צ. Man braucht es nicht als נָצָרָיָא anzusehen.

Auch die Mandäer haben die Bezeichnung נאצוראיא aus der alten Quelle, nicht von den Christen übernommen. Sie haben ja auch das jüdische פרישאיא unabhängig von *Φαρισαῖος* des NTs entlehnt (vgl. Joh., p. XXII). Daß die Entlehnung von נאצוראיא alt ist, zeigt auch die Form des Abstraktums. Dieses ist nicht von נאצוראיא gebildet, man sagt nicht נאצוראיותא, sondern נאצירותא, wofür sich auch נאצארותא findet. Beide Formen gehen wohl auf נָצְרוּת zurück, vgl. p. 257, 4 und Nöldeke, Gram. p. 155, 11. Die mandäischen Schriftwerke waren in den ursprünglichen Niederschriften viel ärmer an Vokalen als jetzt. Dort wird weder נאצירותא noch נאצארותא, sondern נאצרותא gestanden haben. Ein Vokal klang hinter צ nach, der bald als i bald als a aufgefaßt wurde, und dementsprechend wurde das Wort vokalisiert. Übrigens schwankt jetzt noch die Schreibung, vgl. p. 260, 5.

Die Form נאצארותא erinnert an die Benennung *Νασαραῖοι*, *Ναζαραῖοι*, die wohl auf נָצְרָיֵא zurückgeht. Freilich konnte in der christlichen Überlieferung auch *Ναζαρηνός* auf das a einwirken, das erst zu einer Zeit entstand, als Nazareth als Heimatsort Jesu galt. In *Νασαραῖος* wird צ richtig durch σ wiedergegeben, während *Ναζωραῖος* wie *Ναζαρέϑ* ein ζ hat. Guthe hat sonstige Beispiele für diese Wiedergabe erbracht (PRE^3 XIII, p. 676). Es scheint mir aber, wie anderen, nicht unmöglich, daß נָזִיר *Ναζιραῖος* auf das ζ eingewirkt hat.

Für die Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Sitze der Mandäer habe ich Joh., p. XVI ff. eine Reihe Momente hervorgehoben. Am wichtigsten scheint mir noch immer die Rolle, die der Jordan bei ihnen spielt. Wahrscheinlich wurden schon ursprünglich häufige Taufen im Jordan gefordert; dies setzt ihren Sitz nicht allzu weit vom Jordan voraus. Ich möchte hier noch einige andere Punkte hervorheben.

In den Gebeten begegnen wir öfter dem Genienpaar האוראן und האוראראן, siehe p. 280. Der zweite Name ist eine Erweiterung des ersten durch Wiederholung eines Konsonanten, wie in יופאפין יופין und האמגאגאי האמגאי. Der Name האוראן ist also der primäre. Ich identifiziere ihn mit dem geographischen Namen חוֹרָן. Es könnte an sich die Haurān-Ebene wie das Haurān-Gebirge sein. Aber gerade für die Vergottung von Bergen haben wir viele Beispiele aus der semitischen Welt. Daß nun der Haurān unter ihren höheren Wesen erscheint, setzt voraus, daß er in ihrem Gesichtskreise gestanden hat. Die religiöse Nomenklatur der Mandäer läßt auf eine rege landwirtschaftliche Betätigung schließen, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 544. Daher ist nicht anzunehmen, daß jene Urgemeinschaft ihren Sitz in den öden Gebieten östlich vom Ḥaurān-Gebirge hatte. Hingegen kommt die im Westen liegende fruchtbare Haurān-Ebene, in deren östlichem Horizont das Gebirge sich erhebt, gut in Betracht[1].

Für diese Gegend, die Heimat des alten Dusares-Kultus, paßt auch die hervorragende Rolle, die die Rebe in der religiösen Terminologie der Mandäer spielt. Welche Stellung die Rebe in der Literatur der Nabatäer hatte, wissen wir nicht, da diese verloren gegangen ist; in ihrer Kunst begegnet sie uns auf Schritt und Tritt. Die Stellung des Weinstockes im mandäischen Schrifttum ist um so bemerkenswerter, als der Weingenuß verworfen wird. Nur für den sakralen Trunk wird Wein mit Wasser gemischt, vgl. p. 88 f. Die mandäische Religion bietet also selber keine Erklärung für die Verehrung der Rebe, und diese muß anderswoher übernommen sein.

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[1] Epiphanius läßt die *Ναζωραῖοι* in der *Βασανῖτις*, d. h. in der Haurān-Ebene und den Nachbargebieten wohnen; *ἐντεῦθεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Ναζωραίους αἵρεσις ἔσχεν τὴν ἀρχήν* (Haer. 29, 7, 8). Aber diese Nazoräer sind mit den Mandäern nicht identisch.

Umgekehrt als mit dem Wein steht es mit dem Öl. Mit Öl wird die „Siegelung“ der Gläubigen vollzogen, die im mandäischen Kultus eine so hervorragende Rolle spielt. Trotzdem wird der Olivenbaum oder die Olive im mandäischen Schrifttum fast gar nicht genannt. Jetzt und wohl schon seit alter Zeit wird bei ihnen die Ölung mit Sesamöl vollzogen, und dieses wird mit dem Euphrat in Verbindung gebracht, vgl. p. 36. Anscheinend war die Olive dem Heimatlande des Mandaismus fremd, was für das eigentliche Palästina nicht paßt. Der Stab, der bei den kultischen Handlungen getragen wird, der מארגנא, ist zwar ein Olivenstab, aber der ganze kultische Apparat scheint fremden Ursprunges zu sein. Ein Stück Holz kann auch leicht aus der Ferne geholt werden, und einmal besorgt kann es lange in Gebrauch bleiben. Man beachte übrigens, daß p. 21 der Stab vom Weinstock genommen ist.

Für ein Gebiet zwischen Palästina und Arabien spricht auch eine lautliche Erscheinung. Bei einer Reihe von Wörtern, die teils aramäisch, teils dem Kanaanäischen entlehnt sind, erscheint ס statt eines zu erwartenden ש, vgl. Nöld., p. 46. Als Folge arabischen Einflusses ist diese Erscheinung leicht verständlich.

Die Nabatäer nannten sich nach ihren eigenen Denkmälern Nabatu. Aramäisch mußte der Name Nbaṭ, nach mandäischer Schreibung נבאט lauten. Nun ist נבאט bei den Mandäern eines der höchsten himmlischen Wesen. Er ist der erste Sproß, der große, erste Glanz, vgl. p. 282. נבט hat im Aramäischen den Sinn „hervorbrechen, hervorsprießen“ und wird z. B. im Thalmud von der Weinrebe gebraucht, vgl. Levy, *Neuhebr. Wrtb.* III, p. 326b. Nun verwenden allerdings die Mandäer mit Vorliebe Wörter dieser Art zur Bildung von Namen höherer Wesen, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 544. Immerhin ist es bei den sonstigen Indizien, die auf das Gebiet der Nabatäer hinweisen, bemerkenswert, daß der Volksname der Nabatäer als der Name eines der höchsten Wesen bei den Mandäern erscheint. Wie sonst haben ja wohl auch die Nabatäer sich aus ihrem Volksnamen einen Stammvater geschaffen, den sie in die Urzeit verlegten, und sie mögen ihn auch נבטא קדמיא „erster Sproß“ genannt haben.

Die Nabatäer vermittelten den indisch-arabischen Warenverkehr mit Syrien. Sie sind sicherlich nicht nur bis zu den jemenischen Stapelplätzen im Hiǧāz gelangt, sondern viele von ihnen kamen bis zu den südarabischen Häfen, wo sie mit Leuten aus den östlichen asiatischen Gebieten, besonders mit Indern in Berührung kamen. Andererseits waren sie Ägypten am nächsten benachbart, und auch dahin führte sie der Handel. So wäre es denn begreiflich, wenn sich gerade bei ihnen fremde Einflüsse in der Religion geltend machten.

Ich möchte hier noch einige Wendungen der religiösen Sprache erörtern. Mit אינא „Quelle“ wird oft zusammen סינדירכא genannt, siehe p. 59, 171, 266. Nach der traditionellen Erklärung bedeutet סינדירכא „Palme“, vgl. *Florilegium de Vogüé*, p. 373 zu 178 und Nöldeke, ZA XXX (1916), p. 152[1]. Die Verbindung der Quelle mit einem Baume war mir immer ein Rätsel, und Nöldeke's Erklärung a. a. O. berücksichtigt diese Verbindung nicht. Nun finde ich in einem Aufsatze von Karl v. Spiess, *Der Brunnen der ewigen Jugend*, in *Orientalische Studien*, Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet, Bd. II, p. 328, daß man die Lebensquelle immer zusammen mit einem Baume darstellte, gewöhnlich mit einer Pinie. Der immergrüne Baum ist als Lebensbaum gedacht. Als Palme läßt sich סינדירכא nicht erklären. Hingegen ist Sandarak das Harz der Callitris quadrivalvis, einer der Thuja, dem Lebensbaume, nahestehenden Gattung. Im Persischen heißt سَنْدَروس und سَنْدَرَه das Harz des Wacholders, und das mit ersterem identische סאנדרוס, סאנדלוס bezeichnet im Mandäischen auch den Baum. GR 346, 23 heißt es nach der Aufzählung anderer wohlriechender Pflanzen: „Du sandtest den reinen Wacholder, dessen Duft von unterhalb des Thrones des Königs der Uthras gekommen ist. Du sandtest den reinen Wacholder, doch sie übten an ihm Mangel und Fehl“[2]. Der Wacholder spielt ja auch anderwärts im Volksglauben eine Rolle, vgl. das Grimm'sche Märchen vom Machandelboom und Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* II^4, p. 543; A. v. Perger, *Deutsche Pflanzensagen*, p. 346. Danach war סינדירכא ursprünglich der Wacholder oder ein anderer immergrüner Baum, den man sich als Lebensbaum dachte. Die Übertragung auf die Palme erfolgte erst später. Als Name einer heiligen Pflanze wurde dann סינדירכא wie גופנא zur Bezeichnung sonstiger heiliger Dinge und höherer Wesen verwandt. Schon in der alten Bleitafel *Florilegium de Vogüé*, p. 364, 177 steht מאנא וסנדירכא und GR 320, 20 זיוא וסינדירכא.

Im Qolastā begegnet öfter פתא = פתח im Sinne von „schaffen“. Da der ägyptische Ptah der Schöpfergott ist, prüfte ich die Frage, ob diese Bedeutung von פתח in ältere Zeit zurückgehen und auf die Namengebung des Gottes eingewirkt haben könnte. Eine Rücksprache mit SETHE führte zur Verneinung der Frage. Ptaḥ ist von Haus aus kein Weltschöpfer, sondern Kunsthandwerker, besonders Kunstschmied. Erst hieraus entwickelte sich seine Rolle als Weltschöpfer. Für Ptaḥ in seiner älteren Funktion würde ja die Bedeutung von ptḫ passen, vgl. GESENIUS, *Handwörterb.*^{16}, p. 667b, s. פתח II. Wäre eine spätere Entlehnung des Wortes möglich, so könnte man annehmen, daß פתח von Kanaan aus, nachdem dort ptḥ und ptḫ zusammengefallen waren, nach Ägypten gelangt sei und die Ägypter das ursprüngliche ptḫ als ptḥ übernommen hätten. Aber der Kult des Ptaḥ geht in uralte Zeit zurück, in eine Zeit, in der die Semiten vielleicht überhaupt noch nicht in Kanaan ansässig waren. Die Frage eines ursprünglichen Zusammenhanges des Namens Ptaḥ mit פתח muß also dahingestellt bleiben. Da aber פתח sonst im Semitischen nicht die Bedeutung „schaffen“ hat, scheint es mir möglich, daß der Name des ägyptischen Schöpfergottes die Bedeutung des Wortes פתח im Sinne „schaffen“ beeinflußt hat.

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[1] Die Stelle im Pariser Diwan lautet (Z. 802): עו האוריא נאפיל מן סינדירכא אנאת מיסיקתא ד̄סאמאנדאריעיל קרילה̄.

[2] Nun fasse ich auch סאנדלוס hier p. 14, 8, wofür die Handschriften auch סאנדרוס, סינדרוס, סאנדורוז, סינדירכא haben, als Wacholder auf, das Holz oder das Harz; beides wird zum Räuchern verwandt.

Vom Gottesnamen Ptaḥ wurde anscheinend in später Zeit innerhalb des Ägyptischen für Arbeit an Metallen ein Verb ptḥ gebildet (nach Sethe). In kosmologisch interessierten Kreisen konnte dann von der anderen Eigenschaft Ptaḥs her ptḥ im Sinne „schaffen“ in Aufnahme gekommen sein. Da nun wie פתאהיל beweist, der Gott Ptaḥ in dem Kreise, aus dem der Mandaismus hervorgegangen ist, Eingang gefunden hat 1), so konnte auch das Verb פתח im Sinne „schaffen“ zu ihnen gelangen.

Hängt nun mit diesem פתח im Sinne „schaffen“ פיהתא als Bezeichnung für das sakramentale Brot zusammen? פיהתא kommt ja tatsächlich im Sinne „Schöpfung“ vor. Hier p. 84, 3; 141, 5 und an der Parallelstelle GR 189, 16 steht פאהתיא פיהתא ד̄הייא parallel כאצביא ניצבתא ד̄נהורא und p. 76, 1 finden wir פיהתא und בריתא zusammen. In gnostischen Kreisen herrschte die Vorstellung, daß die Initiation eine Neugeburt, eine Neuschöpfung des Gläubigen hervorrufe. Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Initiation ist die sakrale Speise, und es wäre begreiflich, wenn gerade dieser die Funktion der recreatio zugeschrieben würde. Aber aus folgendem Grunde nehme ich hier nur eine Möglichkeit an. ZIMMERN

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1) In פתא עוצרא und פתא נהורא (siehe p. 283) liegt Ptah ohne אֵל vor. פתא האי enthält vielleicht eine Entlehnung aus dem Kanaanäischen und bedeutet „Lebenspforte“.

führte פיהתא und מאמבוהא auf die babylonischen Riten *pit pī* „Öffnen des Mundes“ und *mis pī* „Waschen des Mundes“ zurück¹). Nun findet seine Erklärung von מאמבוהא eine Stütze darin, daß dieses tatsächlich als „Waschung, Spülung“ bezeichnet wird²). Daher sehe ich es als möglich an, daß auch פיהתא „Öffnung“ bedeute und auf den babylonischen Ausdruck zurückgehe.

Bemerkenswert ist der ausgedehnte Gebrauch von קאיים im Mandäischen. Die Grundbedeutung ist „standhaft machen, sichern, festigen“, und so wird es oft gebraucht. Es ist begreiflich, daß es so auch im Sinne von „schaffen“ angewandt wird; es steht aber auch auf einer Stufe mit צבא „taufen“³). Durch die Taufe wird ja eine Art Neuschöpfung vollzogen. Wie man es sonst in späterer Zeit liebt, die Gottheit als „stehend, feststehend“ zu bezeichnen⁴), so wird auch vom Leben in einer häufigen, anscheinend alten Formel gesagt, es stehe fest⁵). Erst davon abgeleitet ist der Gebrauch von קאיים in einer Linie mit „preisen“⁶). Es heißt ursprünglich von einer Gottheit sagen, sie sei קַיָּם. So ist auch die Formel וקאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא (26, 11; 30, 10 und sonst) zu verstehen. Der Gebrauch von קאיים in diesem Sinne entspricht dem des arabischen كَبَّرَ.

Auch Lobpreisungen und Gebete sind Objekte zu קאיים; sie werden gefestigt (93, 4; 110, 9 f.; 139, 11). Ein höheres Wesen kann ein Festiger von Gebeten sein (173, 11). Aber in der Regel festigt sie der Betende selber durch andere Gebete. Unklar ist der Sinn von ומקאימאנא 177, 4. Ich habe das Wort am Ende mit א abgeschrieben, und auch bei Morg steht ein א. Es ist mir unwahrscheinlich, daß man ומקאימאנה̄ zu lesen habe und daß es „und sein Festiger“ oder „und sein Preisender“ bedeute. An sich könnte es ja „der Festiger“ bedeuten und damit Sonntag gemeint sein, vgl. 176, 10, aber ich habe den Eindruck, daß die Stelle nicht in Ordnung ist.

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1) *Orientalische Studien*, Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet, p. 959.

2) האלאלתא p. 53, 1 und sonst oft in den Ritualen. Dieses האלאלתא ist wohl sachlich und etymologisch identisch mit *tēliltu*, das in den babylonischen Texten in Zusammenhang mit *mis pī* genannt wird.

3) Siehe hier p. 46²; 85, 10; 95, 1; GR 293, 5; 352, 20; GL 66, 1.

4) Siehe *Nachrichten der Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1916, p. 90.

5) Siehe 25, 3; 26, 11; GR 274, 6.

6) GR 1, 22; 352, 12.

Häufig ist auch der Gebrauch von קאיאמתא. In den Nachschriften zu einzelnen Gebeten schwanken die Handschriften des Qolastā zwischen בותא ד̄קאיאמתא und בותא קאיאמתא, d. h. zwischen קאיאמתא als Substantiv und Adjektiv. Möglich sind beide Lesungen. קַיָּמָא ist ja zunächst ein Adjektiv, und בותא קאיאמתא könnte heißen: ein Gebet, das ein anderes Gebet oder eine kultische Handlung festigt, ihre Wirkung verstärkt. Aber קאיאמתא steht auch vielfach allein. Hier p. 231, 1 steht קאיאמתא ד̄ראהמיא und Pariser Diwan, Z. 58, 65 steht קאיאמתא in Parallele zu בותא. Daher fasse ich קאיאמתא als Substantiv auf. Es gehört zu der Reihe der Nomina der Form קַטָּלְתָּא, die Nöld. p. 122 besprochen hat.

In den Nachschriften zu den Gebeten wechselt שריתא mit קאיאמתא, siehe p. 7 ff. Ich bin über die Bedeutung des Wortes zu keinem abschließenden Urteile gelangt. Daß es an sich „Lösung“ heißt, steht fest. Lond. Rolle B, Z. 532 heißt es האריא שריתא למאן ד̄עסיר, Z. 252 ff. שריתא אבאדלה̄ „er löste ihn“ [1], im Pariser Diwan, Z. 104 עסיראן ולאמיתקאבלאן ושריתא בדאריא ליתלון. Hier 123, 3 ist von אסאריא ושיריאתא ד̄מאסיקתא die Rede. Aber was bedeutet es, wenn ein Gebet die „Lösung“ eines anderen Gebetes oder des Weihrauchs (p. 54, 10) genannt wird, wenn ferner שיריאתא eine Bezeichnung für Gebete ist (Pariser Diwan, Z. 113, 164; Lond. Rolle A, Z. 99, 475, 481)? Die Verwendung in magischem Sinne, wie sie in der Londoner Rolle und anderwärts (Code Sabéen 27, f. 51 a, 53 b, 85 b) sich findet, bietet keine Gesamterklärung für die Verwendung des Wortes. קאיים und שרא haben ja gegensätzliche Bedeutung; jenes heißt „festigen“, dieses „lösen“. Aber dieser gegensätzliche Sinn ist bei קאיאמתא und שריתא nicht wahrzunehmen, wie denn שרא מאסיקתא anscheinend im Sinne „die Messe abhalten“ gebraucht wird, siehe p. 239, 6; 245, 1. Da wie bei קאיאמתא, so auch bei שריתא die Lesungen mit und ohne ד̄ schwanken, habe ich erwogen, ob nicht בותא שריתא (vgl. auch p. 89, 6) zu lesen sei und dieses „ein freies Gebet“ im Gegensatz zu den festen, feststehenden Gebeten bedeute. Über diesen Gebrauch von ܫܪܝܐ im Syrischen vgl. Payne-Smith, col. 4308. Aber es scheint doch, daß wie קאיאמתא, so auch שריתא als Substantiv gebraucht ist. Es ist einer der Fälle, in denen man gern die traditionelle Auffassung wüßte.

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[1] An beiden Stellen in magischem Sinne.

Benutzte Druckwerke,

die in Abkürzungen zitiert sind.

GR, GL: Der rechte bzw. linke Teil des Ginzā, d. h. des *Thesaurus s. Liber magnus vulgo „Liber Adami" appellatus opus Mandaeorum summi ponderis.* Descripsit et edidit H. PETERMANN. Lipsiae 1867.

Joh.: *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* von Mark LIDZBARSKI. Gießen 1915. Einfache Zahlen (z. B. 216, 8) beziehen sich auf den Text; Zahlen mit S. davor (z. B. S. 167, 12; 181[4]) beziehen sich auf die Übersetzung und den Kommentar.

Mand. Diwan: *Mandäischer Diwan* nach photographischer Aufnahme von Dr. B. POERTNER mitgeteilt von Julius EUTING. Straßburg 1904.

Morg.: *Mission scientifique en Perse* par J. de Morgan. Tome V. Études linguistiques. Deuxième partie. *Textes mandaïtes* publiés par J. de MORGAN avec une notice sur les Mandéens par Cl. HUART. Paris 1904. Siehe hier p. 285.

Brandt, Rel.: *Die mandäische Religion,* ihre Entwickelung und geschichtliche Bedeutung, erforscht, dargestellt und beleuchtet von Dr. A. J. H. Wilhelm BRANDT. Leipzig 1889.

Brandt, Schr.: *Mandäische Schriften* übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. W. BRANDT. Göttingen 1893.

Nöld.: *Mandäische Grammatik* von Theodor NÖLDEKE. Halle 1875.

Peterm.: *Reisen im Orient* von H. PETERMANN, 2 Bde. Leipzig 1860, 1861.

Siouffi: *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens, leurs dogmes, leurs mœurs* par M. N. SIOUFFI. Paris 1880.

Uthra: *Uthra und Malakha.* Von Mark LIDZBARSKI. Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet, Gießen 1906, p. 537 bis 545.

Benutzte Handschriften.

Asfar Malwāšē, ein astrologisches Werk, vgl. Nöld., p. XXIV f., in zwei Handschriften vorhanden: Cod. Petermann I, 155 der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin und Code Sabéen 26 der Nationalbibliothek zu Paris. Die Pariser Handschrift hat einen längeren Anhang jüngeren Datums, der in der Berliner fehlt. Soweit die Berliner Handschrift reicht, zitiere ich nach deren Seiten, den Anhang nach den Blättern der Pariser Handschrift.

Code Sabéen 24 und Code Sabéen 27 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek. Zwei Sammlungen mit magischen Anordnungen und Vorlagen für Amulete. Stark mit arabischen Elementen durchsetzt.

Lond. Rolle A. Eine Rolle von 806 Zeilen im Besitze des British Museum. Enthält ein Ritual für „die Auflegung der Krone des großen Šišlam“ (שארח ד̄תראצא ד̄תאגא ד̄שישלאם רבא). Geschrieben im Jahre 1289 d. H. (Anf. 11. März 1872).

Lond. Rolle B. Eine ebenda befindliche Rolle von 634 Zeilen apotropäischen Inhaltes. Geschrieben im Jahre 1269 d. H. (Anf. 15. Okt. 1852).

Oxf. Rolle F. Eine Rolle von 1404 Zeilen im Besitze der Bodleiana. Enthält in Z. 1—1222 ein Ritual für das Fest der fünf Epagomenen (Parwānājē oder Panšā, vgl. Siouffi, p. 102, 4). Der Rest enthält ein Hochzeitsritual. Die Handschrift ist am Anfang und in der Mitte ergänzt. Dieser Teil ist im Jahre 1203 d. H. (Anf. 2. Okt. 1788) geschrieben.

Oxf. Rolle G. Eine ebenda befindliche Rolle von 1124 Zeilen mit zwei Texten apotropäischen Inhaltes. Geschrieben 1231—1232 d. H. (Anf. 3. Dez. 1815)

Pariser Diwan. Die Pariser Rolle Code Sabéen 16. Vgl. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue* p. 230, s. n. 16 und Nöld., p. XXIV.

Erklärung der Zeichen.

[ ] ergänzte Lücke.
( ) Zusatz in der Übersetzung zur Erklärung.
⟨ ⟩ zu beseitigender Einschub.
. . . . . unübersetzt gelassene Stelle.
***** angenommene Lücke.

I.

Das Qolastā.

Erster Teil.

Die Taufe.

מאראי משאבא

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא קאדמאייא נוכראייא מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא אסותא וזאכותא והאילא ושרארא ועמרא ושימא והאדואת ליבא ושאביק האטאייא ניהויליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת בהאילא ד̄יאואר זיוא וסימאת הייא ס----א

I.

בשומא ד̄הייא ובשומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ובשומא ד̄האהו גאברא קאדמאיא ד̄קאשיש מן קודאם מיא וזיוא ונהורא ועקארא גאברא

Gepriesen sei mein Herr.

Im 1) Namen des großen, ersten, fremden Lebens aus den Lichtwelten, | des erhabenen, das über allen Werken steht, werde Heilung und Sieghaftigkeit, Kraft und Festigkeit, Rede und Erhörung, Herzensfreude und ein Sündenerlasser zu teil mir NN durch die Kraft des Jāwar-Zīwā und der Sīmath-Haijē.

I.

Im Namen des Lebens, im Namen des Mandā d̲Haijē und im Namen jenes | ersten Mannes, der älter ist als Wasser, Glanz, Licht und Herrlichkeit, des Mannes, der mit seiner Stimme rief

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1) In Euting's Haupttext steht vorher noch האזין סידרא ד̄נישמאתא כושטא אסינכון „Dieses ist das Seelenbuch. — Kušṭā heile euch". סידרא ד̄נישמאתא wird hier als Titel des Qolastā angegeben, siehe ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 689. — כושטא eigentlich „Wahrheit" ist für den Mandäer der Inbegriff seiner Religion. Es bezeichnet aber auch das Band, das die Gläubigen zusammenhält. „Kušṭā reichen" heißt den Handschlag der Brudertreue geben, vgl. Joh., S. XVII, 3.

ד̄קרא בקאלה̄ ומאליל במאלאלה̄ מן קאלה̄ ומאלאלה̄ פרון הון גופניא ועתקאיאם הייא קאדמאייא בשכינאתון מאליל ואמאר קאשישיא הייא קאדמאייא מן הייא תיניאניא שיתא אלפיא רובאן שניא וקאשישיא הייא תיניאניא מן הייא תליתאייא שיתא אלפיא רובאן שניא וקאשישיא הייא תליתאייא מן הדא עותרא שיתא אלפיא רובאן שניא וקאשיש הדא עותרא מן כולה̄ ד̄תיביל ומן שובא מארה̄ ד̄באיתא שאבימא ושובין אלפיא רובאן שניא עכא ד̄ליתלה̄ סאכא והאיזאך לאהואת ארקא ד̄מסותא ולאהון דאיאריא ד̄בגאואיהון מיא סיאויא מינאיהון ומן האנאתון מיא סיאויא גיבלאת וניפקאת בישותא הדא ד̄הון מינה̄ אליף אליף ראזיא ורובאן רובאן שיביאהיא בראזאיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון רגאז שובא אלאנפאי ועתראגאז ואמריא גאברא ד̄אסגיא ואתא לואתאיאן כלילא. ברישיה̄ לאגטאר והאיזאך אנא אזברית

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und mit seiner Rede sprach. Durch seine Stimme und seine Rede sprossen empor und entstanden Weinstöcke, und wurde das erste Leben in seiner Škīnā [1] gefestigt. Er redete und sprach: „Das erste Leben ist älter als das zweite Leben um sechstausend Myriaden Jahre. Das zweite Leben ist älter als das dritte Leben um sechstausend Myriaden | Jahre. Das dritte Leben ist älter als irgend ein Uthra um sechstausend Myriaden Jahre. Ein Uthra ist älter als die ganze Tibil [2] und die sieben Herren des Hauses [3] um siebenhundert siebzig tausend Myriaden Jahre. Es giebt was endlos ist [4].

Damals gab es noch keine Erde der Verdichtung und gab es noch keine Bewohner, in denen schwarzes Wasser ist [5]. Aus ihnen und jenem schwarzen Wasser bildete sich und kam heraus eine Bosheit, | aus der tausend mal tausend Mysterien und zehntausend mal zehntausend Planeten mit ihren eigenen Mysterien entstanden.

Die Sieben gerieten gegen mich in Zorn und Wut und sprachen: „Der Mann, der sich zu uns begab und kam, hat sich nicht den Kranz um das Haupt gebunden“.

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[1] Bei הייא steht immer שכינתא im Plural. Dies scheint mir nur äußerlich durch den Plural von הייא veranlaßt zu sein. Gemeint ist wohl nur eine Škīnā.

[2] Das biblische תֵּבֵל als Bezeichnung für die materielle Welt.

[3] „Haus“ bedeutet hier wie auch sonst die irdische Welt.

[4] Ich fasse die Worte anders auf als Nöld., p. 433. Die Bemerkung steht hier wegen der hohen Zahlen und spielt auf die häufige Wendung ליכא ד̄סאכא ליתלה̄ „es giebt nichts, was endlos wäre“ an.

[5] Wohl eher בגאואיהון ד̄מייא סיאוייא „im schwarzen Wasser“.

אנפאי לואת קאריא ד̄קראן מארא ד̄ראבותא עלאיתא ואמארנאלה̄ עין קאריא ד̄קראן מארא ד̄ראבותא עלאיתא עזלית שובא רגאז אלאנפאי ועתראגאז ואמריא גאברא ד̄אסגיא ואתא לואתאיאן כלילא ברישיה̄ לאגטאר האיזאך האהו מארא ד̄ראבותא עלאיתא נסיב כלילא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ובריש‍אי תראצליא ואסים עלאי עדה̄ ד̄כושטא ויאמינה̄ ראבתיא ד̄אסאואתא ואמאר תישריא עלאך מן דמותא ד̄סאם גופאן וסאם גופאיאן וסאם פירא היוארא ד̄באהאר זיואיהון ומאנהאר דמותאיהון ד̄הינון גובריא זאדיקיא ומהאימניא באתרא ד̄נהורא ובדאורא תאקנא [2] אפריש וגאליל ואמאר מאנדא ד̄הייא עותרא מזארזא כול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄כשיט ומהאימאן כד̄ קאיים מן שינתא ניסאב בורזינקא היוארא באדמו ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא האזא בותא עלה̄ ניקריא וניכרוך ובר‍ישיה̄ נאתנא בותה̄ בכיסיא תיהויא ותושביהתה̄ בית אבו רבא ראמא כולהון אלמיא ד̄האזילה̄ מן קודאמה̄ ניתכאבשון מראדפאנה̄ ומשארגזאנה̄ בהאוקא

Da erhob ich mein Antlitz zum Schöpfer, der mich geschaffen, dem Herrn der höheren Größe, und sprach zu ihm: „O du Schöpfer, der du mich geschaffen, Herr der höheren Größe! Ich ging hin, da gerieten die Sieben gegen mich in Zorn und Wut und sprachen: „Der Mann, der sich zu uns begab und kam, hat sich nicht den Kranz um das Haupt gebunden“.

Darauf nahm jener Herr der höheren Größe einen Kranz | des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, richtete ihn mir auf dem Haupte auf, legte auf mich seine Hand der Kušṭā und seine große Rechte der Heilungen und sprach: „Auf dir ruhe etwas vom Abbilde des Sām-Gufan, Sām-Gufaian und Sām, der weißen Frucht, deren Glanz strahlt und deren Gestalt leuchtet, die gerechte, gläubige Männer am Orte des Lichtes und in der glänzenden Wohnung sind“.

Mandā d̲Haijē, der | wohlgerüstete Uthra, lehrte, offenbarte und sprach: „Ein jeder Nāṣōräer, der wahrhaftig und gläubig ist, nehme, wenn er vom Schlafe aufsteht, eine weiße Binde gleich dem großen Mysterium des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit. Er spreche dieses Gebet darüber, wickle sie und lege sie sich um das Haupt. Dann wird sein Gebet im Verborgenen bleiben und seine Lobpreisung im großen, hohen Vaterhause. Alle Welten [1]), die ihn erblicken, werden vor ihm niedergehalten werden. Seine Verfolger und Erzürner werden in

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[1]) Ich übersetze אלמיא der ursprünglichen Bedeutung nach mit „Welten“, obwohl es im Mandäischen vielfach im Sinne von „Wesen“ gebraucht wird, vgl Brandt, Schr., p. 3^3.

ודאהאלתא וזיויהתא ורתיתיא ונקישיא ניקמון מן קודאמה̄ ואנא דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת זאכאיא עהויא בכולהון מאלאלאי והייא זאכין ס-----א

האזין בותא ד̄בורזינקא הע ס----א

II.

זהיר ומזאהאר זיהרון ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ פראש ופתא והוא מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ הון בניא פרישאייא ד̄הייא רורביא נוכראייא וקרא עותריא ליאמינה̄ ולסמאלה̄ ואותיבינון בשכינאתון ד̄נאפשאיהון ונהאר ועתבאר באלבושאיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון ועתגאיון במאדיהתא ד̄אבוהון נצאבלון מן בית הייא ועתהיב לאשואליא אוקוריא רבא אבואת אבאהאתא קאם עותריא

Angst, Furcht, Schrecken, Beben und Klappern vor ihm dastehen“. Und auch ich NN werde mit allen meinen Worten sieghaft sein.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist das Gebet für die Kopfbinde.

II.

Gesichert, wohlgesichert ist Zihrūn, das große Mysterium des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, aus dem Mandā d̲Haijē ausgesondert und geschaffen wurde[1]), aus dem die hervorragenden Söhne des gewaltigen fremden Lebens entstanden sind. Er rief Uthras zu seiner Rechten und Linken hervor und setzte sie in ihre eigenen Škīnās. Sie leuchteten und glänzten in ihren eigenen Gewändern und prangten in dem Wissen, das ihr Vater ihnen aus dem Hause des Lebens geschaffen hatte.

Dem Schüler[2]) wurde gewährt, den Meister den Eltern gleich in Ehren zu halten[3]). Die Uthras traten an die Throne

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1) פראש und פתא stehen beide hier in passivischem Sinne, vgl. auch VII, XVIII. Auch GR 238, 4 steht פתא zwischen הוא und דאר.

2) שואליא, אשואליא ist sicher der „Schüler“ und findet sich so auch im Talmud, vgl. Nöld., p. 170. Es steht immer in Gegensatz zu רבא. Nach Peterm. II, p. 464 wird so der angehende Priester während der Prüfungszeit genannt. Man denkt leicht an σχολή, von dem es sich aber nicht ableiten läßt, wenigstens nicht regelrecht. Da gerade der Prüfling so genannt wird, hat vielleicht *שואלא, שויאלא „Ausfragen“ (Nöld., p. 123 m) darauf eingewirkt.

3) Die Rabbinen gehen noch weiter, der Lehrer soll über den Vater gestellt werden, vgl. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* III, p. 224.

לכארסאואתא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ושקאל כליליא מן רישאיהון ואתנונון על כארסאואתא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ואמריא ד̄קאשיש רבא מן אבאהאתא אבון קום בתושביהתא ואסים עלאי עדאך ד̄כושטא ויאמינאך ראבתיא ד̄אסאואתא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

האזא בותא ד̄שריתא ד̄בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא קאדמאיא הע̄ ס———א

III.

בשומא ד̄הייא הייא קיריויא ליאואר זיוא בר נהור הייא האמגאי זיוא בר האמגאגאי זיוא זהיר ומזאהאר זיהרון ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא זיהרון כלילא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ עתינגיד ראהאטא ד̄מיא הייא לשכינאתא ד̄הו פאהתא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ומהאויא לעותריא

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des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, sie nahmen den Kranz von ihrem Haupte und legten ihn auf die Throne des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit und sprachen: Der Meister ist älter als die Eltern.

Unser Vater, steh in Lobpreis da und lege auf mich deine Hand der Kušṭā und deine große Rechte der Heilungen.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist das Gebet der Lösung 2) *des (Gebetes) „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“.*

III.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Das Leben schuf Jāwar-Zīwā, den Sohn des Lichtes des Lebens, Hamgai-Zīwā, den Sohn des Hamgagai-Zīwā 2).

Gesichert, wohlgesichert ist Zihrūn, das große Mysterium des Glanzes, Zihrūn, die Krone des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, von der aus sich der Lauf lebenden Wassers nach den Škīnās hinzog. Er öffnet [den Schatz?] des Glanzes und des Lichtes und zeigt ihn den Uthras, die eifrig sind, und den Gemütern, die sich von ihm haben belehren lassen.

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1) Siehe die Einleitung. Hier Var. ד̄קאיאמתא.

2) Hamgai-Zīwā, Sohn des Hamgagai-Zīwā, scheint eine zweite Benennung für Jāwar-Zīwā, Sohn des Lichtes des Lebens, zu sein. GR 314, 6 wird Hamgai-Zīwā, Sohn des Hamgagai-Zīwā, vom Leben als Helfer für Sām-Zīwā geschaffen.

ד̄שיהיא ולעוצריא ד̄עתאפראש מינה̄ כולהון אלמיא סאגדיא ומשאבילון להייא רורביא קאדמאייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס--א

האזא בותא ד̄בורזינקא הע ס----א

IV.

[3] כד̄ קאימיא עותריא בשכינאתון סאגדיא ומשאבילה̄ לאתרא סאגיא באנהורא ד̄סאכא ליתלה̄ ולמאנדא ד̄הייא משאבילה̄ ואמרילה̄ כד̄ קאימיא עותריא בשכינאתון סאגדיא ומשאבילה̄ להאהו תארואן נהורא כלילא ד̄ברישאיהון במאהו ניקאימונה̄ ובמאהו ניתלונה̄ בעלאן זיוא ניקאימונה̄ וניתלונה̄ ומשאבין הייא ס----א

האזא בותא ד̄קאיאמתא ד̄הייא קירויא ליאואר זיוא הע ס----א

V. 1)

בשומא ד̄הייא נהור 2) נהורא נהור נהורא נהור נהורא ד̄הייא רביא

Alle Welten verehren und preisen das gewaltige erste Leben in seiner Škīnā.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist das Gebet für die Kopfbinde.

IV.

Wenn die Uthras in ihren Škīnās dastehn, verehren und preisen sie den | großen Ort mit Licht ohne Ende, ⟨preisen auch Mandā d̲Haijē und sprechen zu ihm⟩.

Wenn die Uthras in ihren Škīnās dastehn, verehren und preisen sie jenes Licht Tarwan, den Kranz auf ihrem Haupte. Woran sollen sie ihn festigen, woran ihn hängen? Am Baume des Glanzes werden sie ihn festigen, daran ihn hängen.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist das Gebet der Festigung 3) *des (Gebetes) „Das Leben schuf Jāwar-Zīwā“.*

V. 1)

Im Namen des Lebens.

Es leuchtete das Licht, es leuchtete das Licht, es leuchtete das Licht des großen ersten Lebens. Es leuchtete die Weis-

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1) Das Stück ist mit einigen geringen Abweichungen als Stück XLVI wiederholt. Dort steht es passender als Gebet über den Kranz.

2) In XLVI נהאר.

3) Siehe die Einleitung.

קאדמאייא ניהראת היכומתא וערותא וסיברותא ותושביהתא ד̄מאנא
קאדמאיא ד̄מן דוכתה̄ אתא גאדלה̄ ד̄כלילא יופין ויופאפין הוא
מאתיאנה̄ ד̄כלילא עית ענציבאת עותריא הוא תארצה̄ ד̄כלילא עית
יאואר בר ענציבאת עותריא הוא אתייה̄ ותירצה̄ ברישיה̄ ד̄מאנא
נציבא ד̄מן מאניא סמיריא עתינציב מיקאד יאקיד כלילא ואלואתה̄
ד̄כלילא מיקאד יאקדא מן אקאמה̄ ד̄מאנא נהורא ומן עהורה̄ ד̄מאנא
עקארא ותארתין צידיא ד̄מאנא זיוא וזאויהתא וזאכותא ושאריא
בארביא זאויאתא ד̄באיתא ובשאבא כאנפיא ד̄רקיהא שידקא וניאהא
וצאותא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

האזין בותא ד̄בורזינקא הע קריא ותרוץ ברישאך ס———א

VI.

עתיאר כליל נהור איאר מן בית הייא ד̄אתיויא עותריא מן בית הייא

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heit und Erleuchtung, die Einsicht und die Lobpreisung des ersten Mānā, der aus seinem Orte gekommen war [1]). Der Winder des Kranzes war Jōfin-Jōfafin. Der Überbringer des Kranzes war Īth-Enṣībath-Uthrē. Der Aufrichter des Kranzes war Īth-Jāwar, der Sohn der Enṣībath-Uthrē. Er brachte ihn und richtete ihn auf dem Haupte des geschaffenen | (gepflanzten) Mānā auf, der von den wohlverwahrten Mānās geschaffen (gepflanzt) worden war. Der Kranz flammt und die Ranken des Kranzes flammen. Vor dem Mānā ist Licht, hinter dem Mānā ist Ehre, die beiden Seiten des Mānā sind Glanz, Strahlung [2]) und Sieghaftigkeit. Über den vier Ecken des Hauses [3]) und über den sieben Seiten des Firmamentes lagert Schweigen, Ruhe und Glanz.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist das Gebet für die Kopfbinde, lies es und richte sie dir auf dem Haupte auf.

VI.

Der Kranz des Ätherlichtes erglänzte aus dem Hause des Lebens. Ihn brachten Uthras aus dem Hause des Lebens, und

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[1]) In XLVI steht hier noch כליל איאר בזאכואתא מן אתרא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא „Der Ätherkranz in Siegen aus dem Lichtort und der glänzenden Wohnung“.

[2]) זיויהתא, זאויהתא „Schrecken“ paßt nicht, dagegen wäre זאהיותא, ܙܰܘܗܳܬܳܐ „Glanz, Strahlung“ hier gut am Platze, das sich freilich sonst im Mandäischen nicht findet.

[3]) D. h. der Welt. In XLVI steht des Himmels.

וקאימויא הייא רורביא קאדמאייא בשכינאתון תארצה̄ ניתריץ ומקאימאנה̄ ניתקאיאם תארצה̄ בארקא ד̄נהורא ומקאימאנה̄ בדאורא תאקנא עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון באתרא ד̄טאביא מיתקאימיא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

האזא בותא ד̄שריתא ד̄נהור נהורא הע

האלין תלאת באואתא בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא קאדמאיא והייא קירויויא ליאואר זיוא ונהור נהורא קריא על אגאנביא תאגאך ותרוץ ברישאך וקריא מאנדא קראן על כלילא ד̄אסא ותרוץ ברישאך עלאויא תאגאך וגדול כלילא ד̄אסא למארגנאך ולגוט אביהדיא תאגאך וכד̄ מאסגית ליארדנא קריא עוניאן אב עוניאן ס——א

VII.

[4] בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא אסותא תיהויליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת

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das gewaltige erste Leben festigte ihn in seiner Škīnā. Sein Aufrichter wird aufgerichtet, sein Festiger wird gefestigt werden, sein Aufrichter auf der Erde des Lichtes, sein Festiger in der lichten Wohnung. Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt an dem Orte, an dem die Guten gefestigt werden.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist das Gebet der Lösung des (Gebetes) „Es leuchtete das Licht“.

Diese drei Gebete „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“ (= I), „Das Leben schuf Jāwar-Zīwā“ (= III) und „Es leuchtete das Licht“ (= V) lies neben deiner Krone[1]) *und lege sie dir auf das Haupt*[2]). *Lies „Mandā schuf mich“ (= XIX) über den Myrtenkranz und lege ihn dir auf das Haupt über deine Krone. Winde dann den Myrtenkranz für deinen Olivenstab und halte ihn bei deiner Krone. Wenn du zum Jordan gehst, lies „Erhöre mich, | mein Vater, erhöre mich“ (= LXXX).*

VII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens werde Heilung zu teil mir NN.

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[1]) Die „Krone“ ist ein rundes Stück weißer Leinwand oder Rohseide, das unter den Turban gelegt wird, vgl. Peterm. II, p. 462; Siouffi, p. 123.

[2]) Der Priester trägt die „Krone“ erst am rechten Oberarm und setzt sie sich erst während des Gottesdienstes auf, siehe Peterm., a. a. O.

האיאל כבאר ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄שריא על פומאיהון ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ הוא ופתא מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄הו עדא ופראש בעוצראיהון ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄הינון פרישאייא הינון ומשאבין הייא ס——א

האזין בותא קריא ולגוט פאנדאמאך למאצבותא ס——א

VIII.

ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל הייא רורביא קאדמאייא נוכראייא מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא לזיוא האתיקא ולנהורא קאדמאיא ולהייא ד̄הון מן הייא ולכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם ברישא ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל יוכאבאר זיוא ד̄כבאר בזיוא ואסגיא באנהורא ועקארא שגאנדא ד̄בהיריא זידקא קאדמאייא ד̄אבאר אלמיא ואתא ובזא רקיהא ועתיגליא ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא

Mächtig und groß ward 1) das große Mysterium des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, das auf dem Munde des ersten Lebens ruht. Aus ihm ist Mandā d̲Haijē entstanden und hervorgegangen, der durch den Sinn des ersten Lebens erkannte und einsah, daß es hervorragend ist.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Lies dieses Gebet und fasse das Pandāmā 2) für die Taufe an.

VIII.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für 3) das gewaltige, erste, fremde Leben aus den Lichtwelten, das erhabene, das über allen Werken steht, für den uralten Glanz und das erste Licht, für das Leben, das aus dem Leben ward, und für die Kušṭā, die von jeher am Anfange war.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für Jōkabar-Zīwā, der groß war | an Glanz, reich an Licht und Herrlichkeit, den Boten der ersten Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit 4), der durch die Welten drang, kam, das Firmament spaltete und sich offenbarte.

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1) Die Bedeutung von האיאל ist nicht ganz sicher; ich vermute, daß es aus עהאיאל < עתהאיאל entstanden ist.

2) Das Pandāmā ist das an der linken Seite herunterhängende etwa eine Elle lange Ende des Turbans, vgl. Peterm., a. a. O.

3) Vgl. Nöld., p. 81, 10.

4) Vgl. Joh., S. 50^{3}. Die Lesung schwankt hier und an anderen Stellen

ד̄באסים האל יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא ניבא ד̄הייא ד̄מהאויא שידקא
ויאהיב סיברא ואהיד באואתא ד̄רוהיא ונישמאתא ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא
ומהאימניא טאביא ובאסימיא באתרא ד̄הייא ובדאורא תאקנא ריהא
ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל אבא ד̄עותריא אתיקא ראמא כאסיא
ונטירא גאברא ד̄ראם ויאתיב אמוק וכסיא האזיא ופאריש אלמיא
ודאריא מאהו ד̄אבדיא באלמיא ד̄השוכא ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא
ד̄באסים האל שכינאת הייא ולענציבאת עותריא ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē, den Sprudel des Lebens, der Schweigen zeigt und Hoffnung gewährt, der die Gebete der Geister und Seelen[1] der wahrhaften und gläubigen, guten und freundlichen Menschen am Orte des Lebens und in der lichten Wohnung bewahrt.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für den
5 Vater der Uthras[2], den alten, hohen, verborgenen, | verwahrten, den Mann, der hoch oben dasitzt, tief unten verborgen ist. Er sieht und versteht, was die Welten und Äonen in den Welten der Finsternis treiben.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja für die Škīnā des Lebens und die Pflanzung der Uthras.

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zwischen קאדמאייא und קאדמאיא. Dieses bezöge sich auf זידקא. Ich ziehe קאדמאייא vor.

[1] Geist (רוהא) und Seele (נישימתא) werden gesondert genannt. רוהא ist die Lebenskraft des Körpers, נישימתא die beim Tode sich abtrennende dem Jenseits zustrebende Seele. Beim Tode werden רוהא und נישימתא vom Körper getrennt, vgl. Qol 29, 29. Nach 31, 17 wird die רוהא der נישימתא gleich gemacht und findet einen Platz im Hause des Lebens. Nach Qol 14, 4 erhalten Geist und Seele einen Sitz in der Škīnā des Lebens. In der Oxforder Rolle G, Z. 690 ff. findet sich die Reihenfolge פאגרא ורוהא ונישימתא. Die umgekehrte Folge I. Thessal. 5, 23 *ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα* ist syrisch durch ܪܘܚܟܘܢ ܘܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܘܦܓܪܟܘܢ wiedergegeben. Hier ist also ܪܘܚܐ das Höchste. Dem entspricht der Gebrauch von נפש und רוח bei den Hebräern, vgl. besonders Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, p. 22 ff. In den liturgischen Stücken und im linken Ginzā findet sich oft die männliche Form נישמא. Diese ist sekundär gebildet. In dem Paare רוהא ונישימתא sind beide Glieder von Hause aus weiblich, da wollte man wohl in dem Paare ein männliches Glied haben.

[2] אבא ד̄עותריא „Der Vater der Uthras“ wird sonst mit Abathur identifiziert, dessen Name so gedeutet wird, vgl. Joh., p. XXIX. Hier p. 16, 13 und GR 288, 21 steht auch an einer entsprechenden Stelle Abathur. In diesem Stücke wird Abathur nachher noch besonders genannt.

ד̄באסים האל שכינאת ארבא גובריא בניא שלאמא ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל שכינאת אבאתור ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל שכינאת היביל ושיתיל ואנוש בניא ד̄שורבתא האיתא ערתא וראואזתא ותאקונתא גובריא ד̄בהירבא לא עתינסיב וביאקדאניא ד̄נורא לאעקאד ובטופאניא מיא לאטאף וארקיא מסאנון מיא לאעצטבא בון ואשכא דאן וזכון אמאר ועשתמא מאלייא הינון ד̄לאהון בציריא שאלימיא הינון ד̄לאה̱ון האסיריא זאכאייא הינון ד̄לאהון האיאביא מן אתרא נאקיא עתון ולאתרא נאקיא אזלין ריהא ד̄באסים ריהא ד̄באסים האל האיאיון גובריא אבאהאתאן ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא ד̄שאלים ונפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהון סהאד ניסתכאר [5] מינאיהון באבא ד̄האטאייא וניפתאלון באבא ד̄נהורא וניתליפון בלאופא ד̄הייא ד̄ליתלה̄ פסאקא אנאתון

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja für die Škīnā der vier Männer, der Söhne des Heils[1].

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für die Škīnā des Abathur.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für die Škīnā des Hibil, Šitil und Anōš, der Söhne des lebendigen, leuchtenden, prangenden, lichten Stammes, der Männer, die durch das Schwert nicht weggerafft, durch die | Feuerbrände nicht verbrannt, durch die Wasserfluten nicht fortgeschwemmt wurden, deren Schuhriemen durch Wasser nicht benetzt wurden. Sie suchten und fanden, führten einen Rechtstreit und siegten ob, sprachen und wurden erhört. Voll sind sie, nicht minder, heil sind sie, nicht mangelhaft, sieghaft sind sie, nicht unterliegend. Sie kamen aus einem lauteren Orte und gehen nach einem lauteren Orte.

Wie lieblich der Duft, wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für das Leben der Männer unserer Väter, der | wahrhaften, gläubigen Menschen[2], die hingeschieden sind und ihren Körper verlassen haben und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen. Sie zeugten, nun werde vor ihnen das Tor der Sünden verschlossen und das Tor des Lichtes geöffnet. Mag ihnen die Verbindung[3] mit dem

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[1] Diese werden p. 24, 12 mit Namen genannt.

[2] Lies ד̄גובריא אבאהאתאן אנאשיא.

[3] Ich habe früher mit Nöldeke angenommen, daß לאופא zu אלף, ילף gehöre und „Lehre“ bedeute. Dies halte ich jetzt für unrichtig. Es gehört, wie Brandt, Rel., p. 112 richtig gesehen hat, zu לפף „verbinden“, und zwar nur zu diesem. Es bedeutet „Verbindung, Gemeinschaft“, daher ד̄ליתלה̄ פסאקא

מן תאם בון עלאן ואנין מן האכא ניביא עלאואיכון כולהון עבאביא סאיפיא וכולהון ריהאניא באטליא ריהא ד̄הייא תריץ לראהמיא שומא ד̄כושי׳ לדארדאריא ולאלאם אלמיא אדינקיא האטאייא והאוביא וסכילאתא ותיקלאתא ושאבאשאתא ניסקא האלין נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא ליארדנא ומיצטיבא ניהזונה̄ לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא רביא בנהורא והייא זאכין ס———א

האזין פוגדאמא ד̄ריהא ד̄באסים האל הייא קאדמאייא ⟨תארתינון⟩ קריא לריהא וסאנדלוס ואתנא לקודאמאך לכיפא ד̄יארדנא בקאוקא האדתא ונורא האדיתיא על בית ריהא ד̄נהאשא אדיאורא ד̄כולהון פוגדאמיא ד̄מיתיבדין

Leben gewährt werden, für die es keine Trennung gibt. Betet ihr von dort her für uns, und wir werden von hier für euch beten. Alle Früchte gehen zu Ende und alle Düfte vergehen, doch der Duft des Lebens ist für alle Zeitalter und alle Ewigkeit für die Freunde des Namens der Kušṭā aufgerichtet.

Ohne Sünden, Vergehen, Verfehlungen, Strauchelungen[1]) und Irrungen[2]) sollen diese Seelen, die | zum Jordan hinabsteigen und die Taufe empfangen, emporsteigen und den großen Ort des Lichtes und die lichte Wohnung schauen.

Gepriesen sei das große Leben im Lichte, das Leben ist siegreich.

Diesen Spruch „Wie lieblich der Duft, ja, für das erste Leben“ lies[3]) *über den Weihrauch und das Sandelholz*[4]) *und lege sie vor dich auf das Ufer des Jordans in eine neue Flasche und neues Feuer auf die kupferne Räucherpfanne, die Helferin aller Sprüche,*

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und ähnliche Wendungen dabei stehen. לאופא wird oft zusammen mit כושטא genannt. Der Handschlag, angeblich das Symbol der Kušṭā, ist als solches unverständlich; vielleicht gehörte er ursprünglich zum לאופא. Vereinzelt ist der Gebrauch in בריש לאופא ד̄הייא אסגית לכא im zweiten Buch der Oxf. Sammlung, St. XVI, wo לאופא nicht die abstrakte Gemeinschaft, sondern die mit dem Leben Verbundenen, die Gemeinde, bezeichnet.

1) Die Lesung schwankt in dieser häufigen Verbindung durchweg zwischen תיקלאתא und תאקלאתא, doch so, daß תיקלאתא besser bezeugt ist. In den Targumen wird תַּקְ' vokalisiert.

2) שאבאשתא eigentlich „Betörung“ wird in dieser sehr häufigen Reihe offenbar von Handlungen gebraucht, die als Folge davon begangen werden.

3) Das Gebet wird fälschlich als zwei Gebete angeführt, danach mehrere Irrtümer im Text.

4) Die Schreibungen schwanken sehr, doch ist wahrscheinlich Sandelholz gemeint. Aramäische und arabische Bezeichnungen dafür siehe bei Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 107.

ליארדנא. תום האכא קריא מאצבותא אודין ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ובית מישקאל איניא תום קריא מאצבותא ס־־־־־א

IX.

מישקאל איניא ארומיא גיליא פארצופיא לאתרא ד̄כולה̄ תיריא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא האדרא ושופרא שאיא ועקארא לדאורא ד̄כולה̄ פאסימכיא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להייא רורביא נוכראייא ולהייא תיניאניא ולהייא תליתאייא וליופין יופאפין ולסאם מאנא סמירא ולגופנא ד̄כולה̄ הייא ועלאנא רבא ד̄כולה̄ אסאואתא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא לאתרא יאקרא וסמירא ולמאניא כאסייא ונטיריא ולמארא ד̄ראבותא מן אתרא כאסיא ומן אתאר כסיא פיהתא צארכא כושטא והאימאנותא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא

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die am Jordan gesprochen werden. Dann lies hier die (Gebete der) Taufe: „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), „Dich (Leben)“ (= LXXVII) und „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV), dann lies die Taufe.

IX.

Beim Hochheben der Augen, beim Emporheben der Wellen des Antlitzes [1]) nach dem Orte, der ganz Pforten des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, der Pracht und Schönheit, des Glanzes und der Ehre ist, nach der Wohnung, | die ganz Leuchten ist, verehre, verherrliche und preise ich das gewaltige, fremde Leben [2]), das zweite Leben, das dritte Leben, Jōfin-Jōfafin, Sām, den wohlverwahrten Mānā, den Weinstock, der ganz Leben, und den großen Baum, der ganz Heilungen ist.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise den teuren, wohlverwahrten Ort, die verborgenen, behüteten Mānās, den Herrn der Größe aus dem verborgenen Orte, aus einem | verborgenen Ort, Piḥtā, ... [3]) Kušṭā und Glauben.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Sām-Smīr [4]), den großen

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[1]) Eine häufige Wendung, die herausragenden Stellen des Gesichtes. Ebenso wird oft von den „Vorhöfen der Brust“ gesprochen (תארבאציא האדריא).

[2]) Die folgende Reihe auch GR 189, 12 ff.

[3]) צארכא findet sich nur an dieser Stelle. Der Sinn von צווריך (vgl. ZDMG LXI, 1907, p. 694) paßt nicht. Aber auch zu צרך = زس, „schreien“, so daß es „Ruf“ bedeutete, gehört es kaum. Die ganze Reihe paßt schlecht in den Zusammenhang.

[4]) Vgl. auch LII.

ומשאבאנא לסאם סמיר זיוא רבא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא בר הייא רב̄יא רישאייא ד̄האש ופראש דילה̑ באייא על גיליא מייא שאריא שכינתה̑ כאנא ד̄נישמאתא ד̄מינה̑ דילה̑ אתא ליומא באתראיא כד̄ נאפקא מן פאגראיין בדילה̑ האדיא ומיתכארכיבה̑ וסאלקיא האזילה̑ לאיאר באראיא ודאורא תאקנא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא לזיויא סאגייא ולנהוריא רורביא כאביריא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא לפיריאויס יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄כולה̑ אסאואתא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא ליושאמין דאכיא ד̄שריא על עוצריא ד̄מיא ועל מאמבוגיא רורביא עלאייא ד̄נהורא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להייא ד̄הון [6] מן הייא ולכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם ברישא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא ליוכאבאר זיוא שגאנדא ד̄הייא ומאלאלא ד̄בהיריא זידקא קאדמאייא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא לאבאתור אתיקא ראמא כאסיא ונטירא ד̄ראם וכסיא ונטיר ד̄על באבא ד̄בית הייא כורסיא רמילה̑ ויאתיב מוזאניא תריץ

Glanz des ersten Lebens, den Sohn des großen, ersten Lebens, der nachsann und erkannte und nach dem Seinigen verlangt. Über den Wogen des Wassers ruht seine Škīnā. Das Kannā der Seelen[1], das aus ihm herausgekommen ist, wird am Endtage, wenn die Seelen aus ihrem Körper scheiden, sich seiner freuen und ihn umarmen, und sie werden emporsteigen und den | äußeren Äther und die lichte Wohnung schauen.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise die großen Glanzwesen und die gewaltigen, großen Lichtwesen.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Piriawis, den großen Jordan des ersten Lebens, der ganz Heilungen ist.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Jōšamīn den Reinen, der an den Schätzen des Wassers und an den gewaltigen oberen Quellen des Lichtes wohnt.

Ich verehre, verherrliche | und preise das Leben, das aus dem Leben kam, und die Kušṭā, die von je her am Anfang war.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Jōkabar-Zīwā, den Boten des Lebens und das Wort der ersten Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit[2].

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Abathur, den alten, hohen, verborgenen, verwahrten, der hoch oben verborgen und verwahrt ist[3]. Am Tore des Hauses des Lebens ist ihm ein

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1) Vgl. Joh., S. 4f.

2) Siehe oben, p. 11⁴.

3) Siehe oben, p. 12, 5.

קודאמה̄ תאקיל עובאדיא ואגריא האזיא ופאריש אלמיא ודאריא מאהו ד̄אבדיא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא למאנדא ד̄הייא מ̣אראיהון ד̄אסאואתא גאברא ד̄קיריויא הייא ופאקדויא לאסוייא כאנא ד̄נישמאתא מאשלילין השוכא ומאלבישלין נהורא מאסיק ומאהוילין עית רואהא רבא ד̄הייא דוכתא ד̄רוהיא ונישמאתא ד̄אבאהאתאן קאדמאייא יאתביא זיוא לבישאן ונהורא מכאסיא והאויא רואהא רבא ד̄הייא לקודאמאיהון סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא לשילמאי ונידבאי תרין עותריא̂ פאדיבריא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄הינון משאלטיא ליארדנא רבא ד̄הייא ד̄הינון צאביא מאצבותא ראבתיא ד̄נהורא והייא זאכין ס———א

X.

ביומא ד̄יארדנא עהאבלה̄ לסאם סמיר זיוא רבא דאכיא ד̄הייא

Thron gegründet. Er sitzt da, während die Wage vor ihm aufgerichtet ist, die Werke und Lohn wägt. Er sieht und erkennt, was die Welten und Äonen treiben.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Mandā d̲Haijē, den Herrn der Heilungen, den Mann, den das Leben rief und beauftragte, den Stamm der Seelen zu heilen. Er zieht ihnen die Finsternis aus[1]) und bekleidet sie mit Licht. Er hebt sie empor | und zeigt ihnen das Wesen des großen Friedens des Lebens, am Orte, an dem die Geister und Seelen unserer Altvorderen weilen, mit Glanz bekleidet, mit Licht bedeckt, während der große Friede des Lebens vor ihnen ist.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Šilmai und Nidbai, die beiden Uthras, die Boten des Mandā d̲Haijē[2]), die über den großen Jordan des Lebens eingesetzt sind, die | die große Taufe des Lichtes vollziehen.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

X.

Am Tage, da sie den Jordan dem Sām-Smīr, dem großen,

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1) Der Text ist hier entstellt.

2) So werden Šilmai und Nidbai auch Qol 26, 30; 59, 33 bezeichnet. פאדיבריא findet sich auch GR 74, 1; 360, 14 als Bezeichnung für Uthras. Das Wort ist offenbar iranisch, Andreas konnte mir jedoch keine Erklärung dafür geben. Ich vermute, daß es aus *patighām-bhar* zusammengezogen ist, was Andreas für möglich hält.

קאדמאייא ד̄עתינגיד מינה̄ ביהראם וראם רבא ד̄הייא אסגון מינה̄ מא ארבימא וארבין וארבא אלפיא רובאן עותריא בניא נהורא ד̄נהית ליארדנא וצבינון וסליק לכיפה̄ וקאימינון ועהאבלון מן תושביהתא ומן ראבותא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ הואת והייא זאכין ס———א

XI.

סיגדית ושאבאתה̄ להאך יאואר זיוא ד̄שאריא שכינתה̄ בארקא ד̄יאואר באראיא ובדאורא תאקנא סיגדית ושאבאתינון לשובא מאניא יאקריא וסמיריא ד̄מינה̄ עתינציב בית בותא מן הייא קאדמאייא ואשכית מן קודאמאיהון ד̄הייא רורביא נוכראייא על ד̄האטיא בדיליא

reinen Glanze des ersten Lebens, gewährten, von dem aus Bihrām und Rām der Große des Lebens hingezogen wurden[1], gingen mit ihm 144000 Myriaden[2] Uthras, Söhne des Lichtes. Sie stiegen zum Jordan hinab, und er taufte sie, dann stiegen sie zu seinem Ufer empor, und er stellte sie da auf. Er gewährte ihnen von dem Lobpreis und der Größe, die mit ihm waren.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XI.

Ich verehrte und pries jenen Jāwar-Zīwā, dessen Škīnā auf der Erde des äußeren Äthers[3] und in der lichten Wohnung ruht.

Ich verehrte und pries die sieben teuren, wohlverwahrten Mānās, die aus ihm[4] geschaffen wurden.

Ich richtete eine Bitte an das erste Leben und erreichte bei dem gewaltigen, fremden Leben (worum ich bat) gegen den, der an mir NN sündigt, der an meinen Freunden, den Freunden meiner Freunde und den Freunden des großen Stammes des Lebens sündigt.

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[1] Der Ausdruck steht sonst nur bei Wasserläufen, oder im Sinne „ausspannen“ bei einem Banner.

[2] מא oder ארבימא ist zu streichen; ich streiche ארבימא. Ursprünglich stand 144 × 1000 da. Die Zahl 144 kam als Quadratzahl von 12 auf. Aber da sonst vielfach für die Hunderte, Zehner und Einer dieselbe Zahl steht (vgl. z. B. 444 in GR 128, 23 ff., 444000 GR 346, 6 und 999 hier am Anfange von St. XXXVI), setzte man zu ארבין וארבא noch ארבימא hinzu und ließ gedankenlos מא stehen. Die Zahl 144000 findet sich richtig GR 393, 22.

[3] Lies ד̄יאואר באראיא, vgl. z. B. GR 172, 19; 188, 10.

[4] Aus dem Äther, vgl. GR 172, 19.

פ׳ בר פ׳ת ודהאטיא בראהמאי ובראהמיא ראהמאי ובראהמיא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא והייא זאכין ס———א

האלין תלאת באואתא מישקאל איניא וביומא ד̄יארדנא עהאבלה̄ וסיגדית ושאבאתה̄ להאך יאואר זיוא בינין לכיפא ד̄יארדנא אבאתאר בית מישקאל איניא אדיאוריא ד̄מאצבותא הינון ס———א

XII.

[7] אנא הו יור בר בארית בזיוא נאפשא האם זיוא פִשאר תאנא הואת שכינתה̄ ועתקאימאח בית הייא והייא זאכין ס———א

האזא בותא קריא ולגוט כאנזאלאך פתאהא ד̄יארדנא הע והאיזאך קריא ליארדנא אסגית ס———א

XIII.

ליארדנא אסגית לאו באלהודאי שילמאי ונידבאי אדיאוראי מינאי נהית ליארדנא היביל ושיתיל ואנוש מינאי אסגון ליארדנא ד̄הינון

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Diese drei Gebete „Beim Hochheben der Augen“, „Am Tage, da sie den Jordan gewährten“ und „Ich verehrte und pries jenen Jāwar-Zīwā“ verrichte am Ufer des Jordans nach „Ich wollte die | Augen hochheben“ [1]. *Sie sind Helfer der Taufe.*

XII.

Ich bin Jūr, ... [2]. Ich glänzte in reichem Glanze. Der Glanz erhitzte sich, das Tannā [3] schmolz. Seine Škīnā bildete sich und erhielt Bestand im Hause des Lebens.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Lies dieses Gebet und fasse deine Kopfbinde an. Es ist die Eröffnung des Jordans. Dann lies „Ich ging zum Jordan hin“.

XIII.

Ich ging zum Jordan hin, nicht ich allein, Šilmai und Nidbai, meine Helfer, stiegen mit mir zum Jordan hinab. Hibil, Šitil und Anōš gingen mit mir zum Jordan, die die große Taufe

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[1] St. XXXV, siehe oben, p. 15.

[2] Hinter בר könnte etwas ausgefallen sein, doch ist wahrscheinlich בר selbst entstellt, vgl. auch p. 25 unt.

[3] Die Bedeutung ist ungewiß, vgl. Brandt, Schr., p. 138^7. Vielleicht ist es aus תַּנּוּרָא „Ofen“ gekürzt.

צאביא מאצבותא ראבתיא ד̄הייא פיריאויס זיוא ופיריאפיל מאלאכא
פרוליא האנדאמיא קומאת עהות לקודאמאיין ד̄האלין נישמאתא
ד̄הייא מפארקילין ומשאוזיבילין ומנאטרילין להאלין נישמאתא מן
כול ד̄ביש ומן ד̄לאיאהביא ונאסביא ומן ד̄לאראשין ומיתפיריא ומן
דאיויא ד̄רהיט ולאמטון ומן ליליאתא ד̄נפאל ולאקאס נפאל עדאיהון
על בורכאיהון עיאואר אינאיהון מן מיהזיא ועטאראש עודנאיהון
מן מישמא בשומאיכון שילמאי ונידבאי ובהאילאיהון ד̄היביל ושיתיל
ואנוש עוסרונין והותמונין ונאטרונין להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא
ליארדנא ומיצטיבא בעסקתא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא אסיא ד̄עניש
בהאילה̄ לאמציא והייא זאכין ס———א

קריא אלמא ד̄מאטית פיריאפיל מאלאכא פרוליא האנדאמיא קומאת ונהות
אלמא לרובאיא ד̄אטמאך עו הדא נישימתא צאבית אמור קומאת עהות
לקודאמה̄ ד̄האזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן עו נישמאתא צאבית קריא כד̄ ד̄כתיב
ודוכתא ד̄אמאר עוסרוניך והותמוניך ונאטרוניך אמור עוסרויא והותמויא

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des Lebens vollziehen. Piriawis-Zīwā und Piriafil-Malākhā stärkten mir[1]) die Glieder meines Körpers. Ich steige vor diesen Seelen hinab, welche das Leben erlöst, errettet und verwahrt vor allem Bösen, vor denen, die nicht geben und nehmen, die nicht leihen und sich zurückzahlen lassen, vor | den Dēws, die liefen und nicht hingelangten, vor den Liliths, die fielen und nicht aufstanden. Ihre Hände sanken ihnen auf die Knie, ihre Augen wurden blind, daß sie nicht mehr sehen, ihre Ohren wurden taub, daß sie nicht mehr hören konnten.

In eurem Namen, Šilmai und Nidbai, mit der Kraft des Hibil, Šitil und Anōš bindet, siegelt und verwahret diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabsteigen und getauft werden, mit dem Siegelring des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē, des Arztes, dessen | Kraft niemand gewachsen ist.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Lies bis du gelangst zu „Piriafil-Malākhā stärkten mir die Glieder meines Körpers“ und steig bis zu einem Viertel deiner Beine hinein. Wenn du eine *Seele taufest, sage „meines Körpers. Ich steige vor dieser Seele des NN hinab“. Wenn du mehrere Seelen taufst, lies wie geschrieben steht. An der Stelle, wo es heißt „bindet, siegelt und verwahret sie“, sage (bei einer Seele) „bindet,*

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1) Lesung und Bedeutung sind unsicher. Das Wort ist wohl identisch mit dem im Ausdruck פארא יארדנא, vgl. Brandt, Schr., p. 163^{3}.

ונאטרויא להאזא נישימתא ד̅פלאן וקאימה̅ לקודאמאך והאיזאך קריא פוגדאמא ד̅גאואזא ס־־־־־א

XIV.

בשומא ד̅יוסמיר גופנא קאדמאיא ד̅יאואר נסיב מינה̅ גאואזא ד̅מיא ואסגיא לכיפא ד̅יארדנא כד̅ כסיא בזיוא ומלאבאש באנהורא ואדכאר עלה̅ פוגדאמיא כאסייא ושומהאתא האלין כאסיאתא בשום יוסמיר ויוסאמיר וסאם מאנא סמירא בשום האוראן האוראראן ד̅יאואר קאדמאיא קאיאמבה̅ עותריא ביארדנא גופניא ד̅הייא ראוזיא היביל קאיאמבה̅ נישמאתא האיאתא ביארדנא ד̅שיהא לאתרא רבא ד̅נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא בה̅ תריץ ועתקאיאם בית רורבאניא ניסקא האלין נישמאתא ד̅נאהתא ליארדנא ומיצטיבא ניהזונה̅ לאתרא רבא ד̅נהורא [8] ולדאורא תאקנא והייא זאכין ס־־־־־א

האזין פוגדאמא ד̅גאואזא קריא לגאואזא דזאיתא ודוצה̅ ביארדנא והאיזאך קריא מאצבותא ס־־־־־א

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siegelt und verwahret diese Seele des NN“. Stelle sie vor dir auf und dann lies den Spruch vom Stabe.

XIV.

Im Namen Jōsmīrs, des ersten Weinstocks, von dem Jāwar den Stab des Wassers[1]) nahm und zum Ufer des Jordans ging, bedeckt mit Glanz, bekleidet mit Licht. Er sprach | über ihn geheime Sprüche und diese geheimen Namen: Im Namen des Jōsmīr, Jōsamīr und Sām, des wohlverwahrten Mānā, im Namen des Hauran-Hauraran. Durch ihn stellte Jāwar der Erste Uthras im Jordan auf, prangende Weinstöcke des Lebens. Durch ihn stellte Hibil die lebenden Seelen, die des großen Lichtortes und der glänzenden Wohnung würdig sind, im Jordan auf. Durch ihn wurden sie im Hause der Gewaltigen aufgerichtet und aufgestellt. Mögen diese | Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgehen und die Taufe empfangen, emporsteigen und den großen Lichtort und die glänzende Wohnung schauen.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Diesen Spruch vom Stabe lies über den Olivenstab[2]), stoß ihn in den Jordan und dann lies (die Gebete für) die Taufe.

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[1]) Mit „Wasser“ ist lebendes Wasser gemeint. Vom Stabe lebenden Wassers ist öfter die Rede, vgl. z. B. Joh. 173, 3.

[2]) Der beim Kultus getragene Stab ist ein Olivenstab, siehe die Einlei-

XV.

עסיר יאמא ועסירין תרין כיפה̄ ד̄יאמא עסירין דאיויא ושידיא ופיקדיא וליהאניא והומריא זאדאניאתא עסירין תלאתמא ושיתין ראזיא ד̄בגו באיתא עסירנא והתימנא אנא פ׳ בר פ׳ת והאלין 1) נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא ליארדנא ומיצטיבא בהאתמא ד̄הייא רורביא נוכראייא במא רבא וביא רבא ובאז רבא ובאזיז רבא ובאס רבא ובאסין רבא ובאס יאמא עסיריא כולהון כומריא זאביא ואדידיא ושאתאמיא ומראשמאניא שובא ראזיא ד̄בגו יאמא כול דאיוא בשומה̄ וכול סאהרא בכיניאנה̄ וכול הומארתא ופאתיכרא ד̄רישיה̄ נישקול וגיליא פארצופה̄ נידאליא לנאפשיה̄ רבותא אלאנפיא גאברא

XV.

Gebunden sei das Meer, gebunden seien die beiden Ufer des Meeres 2), gebunden seien die Dēws, Dämonen, ..., Netzgeister und die wütigen Amuletgeister 3). Gebunden seien die dreihundert sechzig Mysterien, die im Hause 4) sind. Umbunden und gesiegelt sei ich NN und diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabsteigen und getauft werden, mit dem Siegel des gewaltigen | fremden Lebens, durch den großen Mā, durch den großen Jā, durch den großen Az, durch den großen Aziz, durch den großen Ās, durch den großen Asin und durch das Meer Ās.

Gebunden seien alle Pfaffen, ... 5), Schmäher 6) und Zeichner 7), die sieben Mysterien, die im Meere sind, ein jeder Dēw mit seinem Namen, ein jeder Dämon mit seiner Benennung.

Ein jeder Amuletgeist und Götze, der sein Haupt hochhebt, die Wellen seines Antlitzes in die Höhe steigen läßt, sich

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tung. Aber man beachte, daß im Textstücke der Stab vom Weinstock genommen ist.

1) Die Codd. haben ולהאלין, ועל האלין.

2) Aus dem Meere mit seinem trüben Wasser kommt nichts Gutes, im Gegensatz zum Jordan.

3) Siehe *Uthra*, p. 541^1.

4) D. h. in der Welt, siehe oben, p. 4^3.

5) Hier werden anscheinend noch zwei andere Priesterklassen genannt. Die Bedeutung ist nicht sicher, vgl. Joh., S. 33^2. Zu אדידיא verweise ich jetzt auf die עדדן in der Zkr-Inschrift.

6) שאתאמיא ist doch wohl arab. شَتَّام. Das Aramäische giebt keine Erklärung dafür. Eine entsprechende mandäische Bezeichnung ist גובריא מאכיסאניא Morg. 262, 15, 3.

7) Die zeichnen, um zu bezaubern.

נוכראיא תיסבה̄ הין אלאנפאיין ד̄האלין נישמאתא ד̄מאסגיא ליארדנא לביש ניסכיא וניתימהיא ונישקוף ביאהא יאהא ובזהא זהא ובמאלאכיא ד̄עשתאדאר ואתון עלאואיהון זהא מן קודאמאיהון ומן זיוא כבאר עלאואיהון זהא ועתאזהא שובא שוריא ד̄פארזלא הדירִיליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת ד̄האדאר האיאשום כושטא קאדמאיא לנאפשיה̄ והייא זאכין ס———א

XVI.

גימרא אנא גמירא ד̄רמינא במיצאת אלמיא ודאריא ⟨אנא⟩ קורדאיא אנא ד̄פארזלא ונירבא רבא ד̄גלאלא כול דאיוא ד̄עטריביא עגהיף ודטריתיבה̄ גהאפתה̄ כול דאיוא ד̄רישיה̄ נישקול וכול הומארתא

Überhebung gegen den fremden Mann anmaßt, wenn sie dann auch zu diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hingehen, in böser Absicht hinschauen, — er wird geschlagen und geplagt werden[1]) durch Jāhā, Jāhā, Z'hā, Z'hā und durch die Engel, die gegen sie gesandt wurden und kamen. Zitternd eilet weg vor ihnen und vor dem Glanz, der groß an ihnen ist[2]). Zitternd, erzitternd eilet weg. Sieben eiserne Mauern sind | um mich NN gelegt, die Haijašum, die erste Kušṭā, um sich selbst gelegt hat. Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XVI.

Ein vollkommenes . . . . . .[3]) bin ich, der ich mitten in die Welten und Äonen hinein geworfen bin. Ein Eisenwerk[4]) bin ich, eine große Felsschlucht. Ein jeder Dēw, der sich auf mich stürzte, wurde niedergeschmettert, auf den ich mich stürzte, den schmetterte ich nieder[5]).

Ein jeder Dēw, der sein Haupt erhebt, jeder Amuletgeist, der die Wellen seines Antlitzes in die Höhe steigen läßt und

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1) Lies ניתימהיא ונישתקיף.

2) Lies ד̄כבאר.

3) Die Wendung findet sich auch GR 274, 12. Die Bedeutung von גימרא (vgl. Brandt, Schr., p. 154[1]) ist auch mir unbekannt. Morg. 258, 8, 4 ff. ist von einem weißen Gimrā die Rede, das unter die Dämonen geworfen ist und durch das sie leuchten. Im Mand. Diwan 7 ist גימרא ד̄בילאור דאכיא „ein Gimrā aus reinem Beryll“ genannt.

4) Vgl. syr. ܩܘܼܪܕܝܵܐ.

5) גהף = ܩܦܚ. Der Übergang von ק zu ג und die Umsetzung des ח wie in vielen sonstigen Beispielen, vgl. Nöld., p. 38, 66.

ד̄מדאליא גיליא פארצופה̄ אלאנפיא האלין נישמאתא לביש ניסכיא
וניתימהיא ונישקוף בעספאר מאנהארבעיל עסתאקלוס יאלדא זוטא
ד̄על מאמבוגא דאכיא ד̄נהורא שריא וניתימהיא בגורמאיזא ד̄מיא
ד̄עתימהיאבה̄ נורא ודיהכאת בהאילה̄ ד̄מאן אסיא ובהאילאיהון
ד̄בהיריא זידקא והייא זאכין ס———א

XVII.

זהא ועתאזהא כולהין רוהיא בישאתא אקאתא זאדאניאתא זהא
אטאר וכבוץ ועתבאטאל מן קודאם זיוא ונהורא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
פיריאוים זיוא ופיריאפיל מאלאכא פרוליא האנדאמיא קומאת עהות
לקודאמאיין ד̄האלין נישמאתא ד̄הייא תאקנאתא וראוזאתא שילמאי
ונידבאי פרא קרוב ומאטון אנאתון הולה̄ [9] סאהדא להאלין
נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא ליארדנא ומיצטיבא ארבא עותריא בניא נהורא
רהום האי עין האי שום האי זאמאר האי אנאתון הוליא סאהדא
ביומא רבא ד̄מאפיקתא יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא מאשבינאלאך

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nach diesen Seelen in böser Absicht hinschaut, soll geschlagen und geplagt werden[1] durch das Buch des Manharbēl Estaqlus, des kleinen Kindes, das an der reinen Quelle des Lichtes wohnt. Er werde geschlagen mit der Faust des Wassers, mit der das Feuer geschlagen wurde und erlosch, durch die Kraft des Arztes Man, durch die Kraft | der Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XVII.

Zitternd, erzitternd eilet fort all ihr bösen, engen, wütigen Geister. Zitternd rücket weg, schrumpfet zusammen und verschwindet vor dem Glanze und dem Lichte des Mandā d̠Haijē. Piriawis-Zīwā und Piriafil-Malākhā stärkten mir die Glieder meines Körpers. Ich steige vor diesen glänzenden, prangenden Seelen des Lebens hinab. Šilmai | und Nidbai flieget heran, nähert euch, kommet heran. Seiet ihr Zeugen diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabsteigen und getauft werden. Ihr vier Uthras, Söhne des Lichtes, R'hum-Hai, Īn-Hai, Šum-Hai, Zamar-Hai, seiet ihr mir Zeugen am großen Tage des Ausganges. Du großer Jordan des Lebens, ich beschwöre und beeidige dich beim Lichtschatze,

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1) Lies ניתימחיא ונישתקיף.

ומאומינאלאך בעוצאר נהורא ניאהא וסימאכא רבא ד̄הייא ד̄אתרא
לבישיא לאתאתנאלון על האלין נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא לגאואך ואסותא
תיהוילין בשומאיהון ד̄הייא נוכראייא מן אלמיא וקאיאמין הייא
בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס———א

XVIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא פיריאויס יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄כולה̄
אסאואתא כד̄ זיוא יאקיד בגו תאנא כד̄ עקאד הייא ונבאט הייא
בזיוא רבא ד̄יאקידבון סליק הייא ושכאן שכינתא עלאויא תאנא
האם זיוא פשאר תאנא פתא הון מיא ועתקאיאם הייא במאי
ד̄נאפשאיהון וקאיים יור ביור ועתראוראב הייא בזיוא ד̄נאפשאיהון
ובזיוא רבא ד̄יאקידבון וקאיים הייא להייא בגו מיא עלאויא מיא
פירא פרא ושכינתא שכאן יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא מאדכארנאלאך
בעוצאר נהורא סימאכא וניאהא רבא ד̄הייא ביושאמין דאכיא ד̄שריא

der großen Ruhe und Stütze des Lebens, gewähre den Unholden keinen Platz gegen diese Seelen, die in dich hinabsteigen. Heilung werde ihnen zu teil im Namen des fremden Lebens aus den [Licht]welten.

Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich.

XVIII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Pirjawis, der große Jordan des ersten Lebens, der ganz Heilungen ist, flammt wie Glanz im Tannā. Als das Leben flammte, als das Leben emporkam durch den großen Glanz, der darin flammt, stieg das Leben empor und gründete eine Škīnā über dem Tannā. Der Glanz erhitzte sich, und das Tannā schmolz. Wasser wurde geschaffen und entstand, und das Leben fand Bestand in seinem eigenen Wasser. Es stellte Jūr in Jūr auf[1]), und das Leben wurde verherrlicht durch den eigenen Glanz | und den großen Glanz, der in ihm flammt. Das Leben stellte das Leben im Wasser auf. Über dem Wasser blühte die Frucht empor und ließ die Škīnā sich nieder.

Großer Jordan des Lebens! Ich spreche dich an beim Lichtschatz, der großen Stütze und Ruhe des Lebens, bei Jō-

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[1]) יור als Eigennamen siehe oben p. 19, XII. יור, יורא bedeutet als Appellativum „Glanz“, vgl. Nöld., p. 62, 21, also vielleicht „Jūr in Glanz“.

על עוצריא ד̄מיא ועל מאמבוגיא ד̄נהורא ביוסמיר גאברא ד̄לאופא
לואת מיא הוא באדאתאן ויאדאתאן ד̄יאתביא על באבא ד̄הייא
ובאיין לרוהיא ונישמאתא באתרא ד̄נהורא שילמאי ונידבאי
ד̄סאהדותא קודאם הייא רביא קאדמאייא מסאהדיא הזונין להאלין
נישמאתא ד̄נאפקא מן הבילא לביניאנא ומן טיעיא לשרארא ומן
דאריא דאהאלתא ד̄אלאהותא ד̄באיתא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא הין
ד̄עמארלה̄ ונישמא ודקרילה̄ וניתקאיאם וניתליף בלאופא ד̄הייא
וניתיבניא בביניאנא רבא ד̄שרארא אהיד עדא ופארואנקא
ומדאבראנא הוילה̄ לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא הין
ד̄עמארלה̄ ולאנישמא ודקרילה̄ ולאניתקאיאם הו נישתאיאל ואנא
לאעשתאיאל במימאר כושטא וקאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא וקאיאמין
הייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס——–א

האיזאך קריא בשומא ד̄הייא ·רביא כול מאן ד̄עתבה̄ האילא וראהמא
נאפשה̄ ניתיא ונינהית ליארדנא וניצטבא וניקאביל דאכיא רושומא ונילביש

šamīn, dem Reinen, der an den Schätzen des Wassers und den Quellen des Lichtes wohnet, bei Jōsmīr, dem Manne, der mit dem Wasser vereinigt ward, bei Adatan und Jadatan, die am Tore des Lebens sitzen und am Lichtorte für Geister und Seelen beten, Šilmai und Nidbai, die ein Zeugnis vor dem
5 großen ersten Leben ablegen: blicket auf diese | Seelen, die aus dem Zusammenbruch zum Aufbau, aus dem Irrtum zur Wahrheit, aus den Wohnsitzen der Verehrung der Gottheit des Hauses zum großen Orte des Lichtes herausgehen.

Wenn der, zu dem ich spreche, hört, den ich rufe, sich fest zeigt, in die Gemeinschaft mit dem Leben eingeht und sich in den großen Bau der Wahrheit einbauen läßt, so werde ich ihm ein Helfer, Geleiter und Führer zum großen Lichtort und zur glänzenden Wohnung sein.

10 Wenn | der, zu dem ich spreche, nicht hört, den ich rufe, sich nicht fest zeigt, so wird er zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden. Ich werde nicht zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden um der wahrhaften Rede willen und des Aufrichtens des Jōkabar-Zīwā.

Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich.

Alsdann lies: „Im Namen des großen Lebens. Ein jeder, der die Kraft dazu hat und dessen Seele es liebt, komme, steige zum Jordan hinab, werde getauft, empfange das reine Zeichen, ziehe

[10] עוצטליא ד̄זיוא וניתראץ ברישיה̄ כליליא ראוזיא. (b) האכא צבינין לנישמאתא וניניהתון מן עהוראך וניטימשון תלאת טמושיאתא ומארגנאך לסמאלאך ניהויא לגוטינון בסמאלאך ואהדארינון ליאמינאך ואותיבינון ביניא דילאך למארגנאך וטומשינון תלאת טמושיאתא ולגוטינון בסמאלאך ורושמינון תלאתא זיבניא ביאמינאך ואנפאיין לבאבא ד̄בותא ניהויא. (c) כד̄ ראשמאתלין אמור פלאן בר פלאניתא רשימית ברושומא ד̄הייא שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך צביית במאצבותא ד̄ביהראם ת̇בא בר רורביא מאצבותאך תנׄאטראך ותיסאק̣ לריש שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך ואשק̣ינין תלאתא הופניא מיא ואמארלין שות ועתאסיא ועתק̣יאם שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך וק̣ריא מאנדא ק̣ראן על כלילא ד̄אסא ותרוצלין ברישאיין וכד̄ מאתנא עדאך על רישאיין ק̣רינין להאלין שומהאתא כאסיאתא

Gewänder des Glanzes an und richte sich auf dem Haupte prangende Kränze auf.

(*b*) *Hier taufe die Seelen. Sie sollen hinter dir hinabsteigen und dreimal untertauchen, während dein Olivenstab an deiner Linken ist. Fasse sie mit deiner Linken, drehe sie nach rechts*[1]) *und setze sie zwischen dich und deinen Olivenstab. Tauche sie dreimal unter, fasse sie mit deiner Linken | und zeichne sie dreimal mit deiner Rechten, während ihr Gesicht nach dem Tore des Gebetes*[2]) *gewandt ist.*

(*c*) *Wenn du sie zeichnest, sprich: „N, Sohn der N! Du bist mit dem Zeichen des Lebens gezeichnet, der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen. Du bist mit der Taufe des großen Bihrām, des Sohnes des gewaltigen (Lebens), gezeichnet. Deine Taufe behüte dich und sei erfolgreich. Der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen“. Gieb ihnen drei Handvoll | Wasser zu trinken und sprich zu ihnen: „Trinke, finde Heilung und Bestand, der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen“. Lies „Mandā schuf mich“ über den Myrtenkranz und lege ihn ihnen auf das Haupt. Wenn du ihnen die Hand auf das Haupt legst, lies diese geheimen Namen:*

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1) Wohl rechts herum gemeint, denn der Olivenstab ist ja an seiner Linken.

2) Das ist wohl das Tor des Tempels.

(d) שומא ד̄אינא ראבתיא כאסיתא ק̣אדמאיתא מאדכאר עלאך
ושומא ד̄סינדירכא רבא קאדמאיא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄שישלאם רבא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄עזלאת ראבתיא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄יאואר רבא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄סימאת הייא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄יוכאבאר רבא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא [ד̄]מאנא ודמותה̄ מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄ראזא רבא ופוגדאמיא כאסייא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄סהאק זיוא רבא קאדמאיא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄סאם זיוא דאכיא בוכרא האביבא רבא קאדמאיא מאדכאר עלאך
שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך

והאיזאך פשוט כושטא מינאיין וניסקא לקודאמאך. (e) האיזאך צבא קאנינאך ומולייה̄ מיא ואהבאלה̄ למאן ד̄קאיים לגידא וצבא ניאראך

(d) „Der Name der großen, verborgenen, ersten Quelle ist über dich ausgesprochen,
und der Name der großen ersten Palme ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des großen Šišlam ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name der großen Ezlath ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des großen Jāwar ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name der Simath-Haijē ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des großen Jōkabar ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des Mānā und seines Ebenbildes ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des großen Mysteriums und der geheimen Sprüche ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name S'haqs, des großen ersten Glanzes, ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name Sāms, des reinen Glanzes, des geliebten, großen, ersten Erstgeborenen, ist über dich ausgesprochen.
Der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen“ [1]).

Dann reiche ihnen Kušṭā, und sie sollen vor dir hinaufsteigen.
(e) Alsdann taufe deine Flasche, fülle sie mit Wasser und reiche

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1) Dieser Satz fehlt mit Recht in einigen Handschriften. Er steht ja schon in der Hauptformel, auch würde man ihn an der Spitze, nicht am Ende der Reihe erwarten.

והאיזאך רמיא עניאנא בריש מיא ניפקית (f) ובריכית תירא באראיא וקריא קאיאמתא ד̄יארדנא. (g) וכד̄ קארית עסיר יאמא וגימרא אנא גמירא וזהא ועתאזהא ופיריאויס וכול ד̄כתיב עו תארתין עו תלאתא עו נאפשא האויא נישמאתא אמור כד̄ כתיב עו נישימתא הדא הע אמור נישימתא ד̄פלאן ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא ובאלאך למאצבותאך ס----א

XIX.

[11] מאנדא קראן עותריא קאימון זיוא אלבשון ונהורא כאסיון
האזאזבאן כלילא תראצליא ברישאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת ולהאלין

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sie demjenigen, der am Ufer steht. Taufe auch deine Schale[1]*, dann trage das Lied vor „An der Spitze des Wassers zog ich aus“ (= LXXXII) (f) und „Gesegnet seiest du äußere Pforte“ (= XX) und lies die Festigung für den Jordan. (g) Wenn du liest „Gebunden sei das Meer“ (= XV), „Ein vollkommenes Gimrā bin ich“ (= XVI), „Zitternd, erzitternd eilet fort“ (= XVII), „Piriawis“ (= XVIII) und alles, was geschrieben steht, wenn es zwei, drei oder mehr Seelen sind, so sprich, wie es geschrieben steht, wenn es eine Seele ist, so sage „die Seele | des NN, der zum Jordan hinabgestiegen ist, getauft wurde und das reine Zeichen empfing“. Gieb genau acht auf deine Taufhandlung.*

XIX.

Mandā schuf mich, Uthras festigten mich,
sie bekleideten mich mit Glanz, bedeckten mich mit Licht.
  Hazazban[2] richtete den Kranz auf dem Haupte auf mir

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[1] ניארא findet sich oft in den kultischen Anweisungen im Sinne von Becher oder Schale. Aus der Flasche (קאנינא) wird Wein oder Wasser in das ניארא gegossen (Lond. Rolle A, Z. 321, 667). Es ist Synonymum von כאסא (ebda. Z. 328). Andererseits werden Trauben in das ניארא gelegt (ebda., Z. 563, 669; Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 506), und die Priester legen auch ihre Hand hinein (Lond. Rolle A, Z. 519; Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 394). Die Herkunft des Wortes ist mir nicht bekannt. Mit נְיָר „Papier“ kann es nichts zu tun haben, und auch ein Zusammenhang mit הביות ניירות in der Mišnah (vgl. ZDPV XLI, 1918, p. 60) ist nicht ersichtlich. Daß ניירות dort Papier oder Papyrus sei, halte ich für ausgeschlossen.

[2] In St. XXVII erscheint Hazazban als Name des Kranzes, trotzdem sehe ich hier wegen der Parallele des vorhergehenden Verses, in dem höhere Wesen das Subjekt sind, in Hazazban ein Wesen für sich, getrennt von כלילא. Der Name findet sich sonst in diesem Zusammenhange nicht. GR 181, 17; 182, 9; 208, 14 ist זאן האזאזבאן Inhaber einer Mattartā.

נישמאתא ד̄נאהתא ליארדנא ומיצטיבא ד̄אלואתה̄ נאהרא וריהה̄ באסים ד̄לאשאהיא ולאפאייא ואטירפה̄ מינה̄ לאנאתאר ומשאבין הייא ס‾‾‾‾א

האזין פוגדאמא ד̄כלילא ד̄מאצבותא הו קר̣יא ע̄ל כלילא ד̄אסא ותרוצלין ברישאיין* לנישמאתא ד̄צאבית ס‾‾‾‾א

XX.

בריכית תירא באראיא   ובריכית דאורא תאקנא
בריכיתון זיויא סאגייא   ונהוריא רורביא כאביריא
בריכיא ומשאביא ומיאקריא   עותריא ד̄שרין ליארדנא

אנאת יארדנא נהא להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית לגאואך ואסותא תיהוילין במימאר כושטא ו̣קאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא והייא זאכין ס‾‾‾‾א

ק̣איאמתא ד̄יארדנא הע̇: כד̄ מק̣אימית יארדנא ע̄ר נישמאתא צ̇אבית אמור כד̄ ד̄כתיב ע̄ר נישימתא האד הע̄ אמור נישימתא ד̄פלאן ד̄נהית לגאואך וסאק̣ לגידא וקריא מן יארדנא סילק̣ית ס‾‾‾‾א

NN, sowie diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabsteigen und getauft werden. Seine Ranken leuchten, und sein Duft ist angenehm. Er verwelkt nicht und geht nicht auseinander, und seine Blätter fallen nicht ab 1).

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist der Spruch für den Kranz bei der Taufe. Lies ihn über den Myrtenkranz und richte ihn | auf dem Haupte der Seelen auf, die du taufest.

XX.

Gesegnet seiest du, äußere Pforte,
gesegnet seiest du, lichte Wohnung.
Gesegnet seiet ihr, große Glanzwesen,
gewaltige, große Lichtwesen.
Gesegnet, gepriesen und verherrlicht
seien die Uthras, die am Jordan wohnen.

Du Jordan sei sanft für diese Seelen, die in dich hinabgestiegen sind. Und Heilung | sei ihnen um der wahrhaften Rede willen und des Aufrichtens des Jōkabar-Zīwā.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist die Festigung des Jordans. Wenn du den Jordan „festigst“, wenn du (mehrere) Seelen taufst, sage wie geschrieben steht. Wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „die Seele des NN, der in dich hinabgestiegen ist“. Dann steig zum Ufer empor und lies „Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor“.

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1) Vgl. Joh., S. 214[1].

XXI.

בשומא ד̄הייא

מן יארדנא סילקית   בכאנא ד̄נישמאתא פיגית
בכאנא פיגית ד̄נישמאתא   ד̄באבון שיתיל מיתכארכא
אמרילה̄
בהאיאך אבון שיתיל   אסגיא מינאיאן ליארדנא
עו מאסגינא מינאיכין ליארדנא   מאן ניהויא עלאואיכין סאהדא
האדא ד̄דניא שאמיש   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
לאהוא ד̄באיינא   ולאהוא ד̄נישמאת צאביא
שאמיש ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   קאדים דנא האשיך אראב
שאמיש ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   שאמיש מיבטאל באטיל
מיבטאל באטיל שאמיש   וסאגאדה̄ מיבטאל באטליא

מן יארדנא סילקית   בכאנא ד̄נישמאתא פיגית

XXI.

Im Namen des Lebens.
Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor,
da begegnete ich dem Stamme der Seelen.
Dem Stamme der Seelen begegnete ich,
die unseren Vater Šitil umarmten.
Sie sprechen zu ihm:
„Bei deinem Leben, unser Vater Šitil,
geh mit uns zum Jordan“. —
„Wenn ich mit euch zum Jordan gehe,
wer wird für euch Zeuge sein?“ —
„So die Sonne aufgegangen ist,
wird sie für uns Zeuge sein“. —
„Das ist es nicht, was ich wünsche,
das ist es nicht, was meine Seele will 1).
Die Sonne, von der ihr sprachet,
geht am Morgen auf, am Abend unter.
Die Sonne, von der ihr sprachet,
die Sonne vergeht.
Ja, es vergeht die Sonne,
es vergehen ihre Verehrer“.

Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor,
da begegnete ich dem Stamme der Seelen.

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1) Die Wendung auch GL 126, 3; 127, 1.

בכאנא פיגית ד̄נישמאתא אמרילה̄   ד̄באבון שיתיל מיתכארכא
בהאיאך אבון שיתיל   אסגיא מינאיאן ליארדנא
עו מאסגינא מינאיכין ליארדנא   מאן ניהויא עלאואיכין סאהדא
האדא ד̄רניא סירא   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
לאהוא ד̄באיינא   ולאהוא ד̄נישמאת צאביא
סירא ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   האשיך דנא קאדים אראב
סירא ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   סירא מיבטאל באטיל
מיבטאל באטיל סירא   וסאגאדה̄ מיבטאל באטליא

מן יארדנא סילקית   בכאנא ד̄נישמאתא [12] פיגית
בכאנא פיגית ד̄נישמאתא אמרילה̄   ד̄באבון שיתיל מיתכארכא
בהאיאך אבון שיתיל   אסגיא מינאיאן ליארדנא

Dem Stamme der Seelen begegnete ich,
die unseren Vater Šitil umarmten.
Sie sprechen zu ihm:
„Bei deinem Leben, unser Vater Šitil,
geh mit uns zum Jordan“. —
„Wenn ich mit euch zum Jordan gehe,
wer wird für euch Zeuge sein?“ —
„So der Mond aufgegangen ist,
wird er für uns Zeuge sein“. —
„Das ist es nicht, was ich wünsche,
das ist es nicht, was meine Seele will.
Der Mond, von dem ihr sprachet,
geht am Abend auf, am Morgen unter.
Der Mond, von dem ihr sprachet,
der Mond vergeht.
Ja, es vergeht der Mond,
es vergehen seine Verehrer“.

Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor,
da begegnete ich dem Stamme der Seelen.
Dem Stamme der Seelen begegnete ich,
die unseren Vater Šitil umarmten.
Sie sprechen zu ihm:
„Bei deinem Leben, unser Vater Šitil,
geh mit uns zum Jordan“. —

עו מאסגינא מינאיכין ליארדנא   מאן ניהויא עלאואיכין סאהדא
הארא ד̄יאקיד נורא   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
לאהוא ד̄באיינא   ולאהוא ד̄נישמאת צאביא
נורא ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   זיבנא ביומא אודא
נורא ד̄אמארתין עלה̄   נורא מיבטאל באטיל
מיבטאל באטיל נורא   וסאגאדה̄ מיבטאל באטליא

מן יארדנא סילקית   בכאנא ד̄נישמאתא פיגית
בכאנא פיגית ד̄נישמאתא   ד̄באבון שיתיל מיתכארכא
אמרילה̄

בהאיאך אבון שיתיל   אסגיא מינאיאן ליארדנא
עו מאסגינא מינאיכין ליארדנא   מאן ניהויא עלאואיכין סאהדא
יארדנא ותרין כיפה̄   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
פיהתא וכושטא ומאמבוגא   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא

„Wenn ich mit euch zum Jordan gehe,
wer wird für euch Zeuge sein?“ —
„So das Feuer flammet,
wird es für uns Zeuge sein“. —
„Das ist es nicht, was ich wünsche,
das ist es nicht, was meine Seele will.
Das Feuer, von dem ihr sprachet,
geht zu seiner Zeit(?) am Tage aus.
Das Feuer, von dem ihr sprachet,
das Feuer vergeht.
Ja, es vergeht das Feuer,
es vergehen seine Verehrer“.

Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor,
da begegnete ich dem Stamme der Seelen.
Dem Stamme der Seelen begegnete ich,
die unseren Vater Šitil umarmten.
Sie sprechen zu ihm:
„Bei deinem Leben, unser Vater Šitil,
geh mit uns zum Jordan“. —
„Wenn ich mit euch zum Jordan gehe,
wer wird für euch Zeuge sein?“ —
„Der Jordan mit seinen beiden Ufern
wird für uns Zeuge sein.
Das Pihtā, die Kušṭā und das Mambūgā
werden für uns Zeuge sein.

האבשאבא וכאנא ד̄זידקא   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
מאשכנא ד̄סאגדינאבה̄   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
זידקא ד̄בכאפאיאן   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
אבון ד̄ברישאיאן   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא
האזין הו ד̄באיינא   האזין נישמאת צאביא
כד̄ עסאק לבית הייא   ועיאסגיא לדאורא תאקנא
כד̄ נישאילונאן הייא   ניתון סאהדיא וניסיהדון
סאהדיא הינון ד̄כושטא   ושארירא כול ד̄אמרין
והייא זאכין ס——א

האזין דראשא דרוש אבאתאר בריכית תירא באראיא ס———א

XXII.

אודין בה̄ בשומא ד̄הייא במאריבא רבא ועלאיא ד̄כולה̄ סאכא

Der Sonntag und die Almosenspende
werden für uns Zeuge sein.
Der Tempel, in dem wir den Gottesdienst üben,
wird für uns Zeuge sein.
Das Almosen in unserer Hand
wird für uns Zeuge sein.
Unser Vater an unserer Spitze
wird für uns Zeuge sein“. —
„Dies ist es, was ich wünsche,
dies will meine Seele.
Wenn ich zum Hause des Lebens emporsteige
und zur lichten Wohnung hingehe,
wenn das Leben mich ausfragt,
werden Zeugen kommen und zeugen.
Wahrhafte Zeugen sind es,
wahr ist alles, was sie sagen“ [1].
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Diesen Hymnus trage vor nach „Gesegnet seiest du, äußere Pforte“.

XXII.

Wir bekannten den Namen des Lebens, den großen, hohen Krater, der ganz ohne Ende und Zahl ist, Jaluz, Jaluz, Ja-

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[1] Diese Sätze auch GL 85 unten.

ומיניאנא ליתלה̄ ביאלוז יאלוזא בצבאבות צבותא ראבתיא ד̄הייא בפיריאויס כאנא ד̄מיא הייא בשכינאצאר שאכין דמותא ד̄בית הייא בהייא ד̄אינאיהון במאי גמאט סליק הזא סכא קינא ד̄מינה̄ הוא ביופין יופאפין בנבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא צוריך הייא בכיניאנון בתיניאנון סאם סמיר בתליתאיא ביהראם בר רורביא יוכאבאר פוגדאמא ד̄הייא ד̄אתאלון לגובריא זאדיקיא ומהאימניא מן בית הייא כול מאן ד̄נאדיא מינה̄‿מן האזין מישא ד̄אנא שומא ד̄הייא רורביא נוכראייא אדכירית עלה̄ ושומהאתא [13] האלין כאסיאתא אדכירית עלה̄ אסותא בפאגראיין תיהוילין ד̄נאפשא רבא ולאזוטא והייא זאכין ס———א

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luza, Ṣbabut, die große Sache des Lebens, Pirjawis, den Behälter lebenden Wassers, Škinaṣar, den Gründer des Bildes1) des Hauses des Lebens, das Leben, das seine Augen auf das Wasser heftete; es stieg empor, sah hin und schaute das Nest, aus dem es gekommen war, Jōfin-Jōfafin, Nbaṭ, den ersten Sproß, den Ausfluß des Lebens, | als seine Benennung, als sein Zweites2), Sām-Smīr, sein Drittes, Bihrām, den Sohn des gewaltigen (Lebens), Jōkabar, das Wort des Lebens, das zu den gerechten, gläubigen Männern aus dem Hause des Lebens gekommen ist.

Einem jeden, der mit diesem Öl bestreicht3), über das ich den Namen des gewaltigen fremden Lebens, über das ich diese verborgenen Namen gesprochen habe, wird Heilung dem Körper zu teil werden, gar groß, | nicht klein.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

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1) Qol 32, 3 wird Jāwar שאכין דמו, Qol 27, 28 der gute Vater der שאכין des ersten Geheimnisses genannt. שכן steht hier in der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung „gründen“, wie besonders aus 31, 15; 58, 29 zu ersehen ist, wo שאכניא דמותא קאדמאיתא parallel פאהתיא und נאצביא steht. Nach dem dortigen דמותא קאדמאיתא ist wohl auch hier דמותא im Sinne von Urbild aufzufassen. Erwogen habe ich, ob שאכין nicht das akkadische *šaknu* „Verwalter“ sein könnte. Da das Wort in Babylonien entlehnt sein müßte, wäre die Schreibung שכן am Platze, anders als bei dem in Assyrien entlehnten סגן. Doch nach den Stellen 31, 15; 58, 29 muß es „Gründer“ bedeuten.

2) Vgl. ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 694[1].

3) Zu אדיא inbezug auf die Ölung vgl. Brandt, Schr., p. 67 zu GR 37, 16. Nach den folgenden Bemerkungen über die Wirkungen der Ölung muß man annehmen, daß der Gläubige sie an sich selbst vornimmt, siehe auch p. 37, 4; 39, 2. Jetzt wird die Ölung vom Priester besorgt, und so sind auch die kultischen Anweisungen.

XXIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא מישא אנאת שיהא בר שושמא היוארא בר כיפה̄ ד̄פראת בר עודנה̄ ד̄יארדנא בר גוביא מיא בר עוצריא ד̄נהורא ד̄הייא אסים עדא עלאך מישא ושאדרוך לאלמא האזין ד̄כולה̄ מאודאלא לאסוייא ולדאלוייא ולקאיומיא ולנאהווייא כולהון כיביא שיבטיא רידיא רומאייא ומאלואטיא שובא ראזיא ד̄שרין בפאגרא מאשבינאלאך מישא ומאומינאלאך מישא בהייא ומאנדא ד̄הייא ועותריא בניא שלאמא בהאזין גאברא נוכראיא ד̄יאקיר שאנאי ומשאלאם ד̄קראלון לבהיריא זידקא בניא נהורא ואמארלון אהבוליא מישא שיהא בר שושמא היוארא בר כיפה̄ ד̄פראת בר עודנה̄ ד̄יארדנא בר גוביא מיא בר עוצריא ד̄נהורא משא ועתילכון מישא משא זיוא ונהורא ועקארא מישא ד̄אנא מישית ויאהבית לאבשום

XXIII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Das kostbare Öl bist du, Sohn des weißen Sesams[1]), Sohn des Ufers des Euphrats, Sohn des Ohres des Jordans[2]), Sohn der Wassergruben, Sohn der Schätze des Lichtes. Das Leben legte die Hand auf dich, Öl, und sandte dich in diese Welt, die ganz Geburt ist, zu heilen, hochzubringen, aufzurichten und zu lindern alle Schmerzen, | Plagen, Züchtigungen, Wehen[3]) und Flüche, die sieben Mysterien, die im Körper sitzen.

Ich beschwöre dich, Öl, ich beeidige dich, Öl, beim Leben, bei Mandā d̲Haijē, bei den Uthras, den Söhnen des Heils, und bei diesem fremden Manne, der teuer, wundersam und vollkommen ist, der den Männern von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, den Söhnen des Lichtes, zurief und zu ihnen sprach: „Gebet mir das kostbare Öl, den Sohn des weißen Sesams, den Sohn des Ufers des Euphrats, den Sohn des Ohres | des Jordans, den Sohn der Wassergruben, den Sohn der Schätze des Lichtes. Salbet[4]), und ich werde euch Öl geben, Öl von Glanz, Licht und Herrlichkeit. Das Öl, mit dem ich salbte und das ich gab, war

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1) Vgl. Joh., S. 5^3.

2) „Ohr“ ist hier wohl soviel wie Seite.

3) רומאייא findet sich auch sonst im Sinne von Schmerzen, Wehen, namentlich in den Hüften: GR 202, 12; *Asfar Malwāšē* 5, 9; 7, 2; 25, 10; Oxf. Rolle G 856 f. „Trug“ wie Nöld., p. 123, 10 es übersetzt, paßt nicht. Sollte etwa ῥεῦμα darin stecken?

4) Siehe oben, p. 35^3.

אלאהא ולאבשום רוהא ולאבשום משיהא ולאבשום עסתרא ד̄היכלא הינעלא מישא ד̄אנא מישית ויאהבית על שומאי ועל רושומאי ועל שומא ועל רושומא ד̄שורבתא האיתא ערתא וראואזתא ותאקונתא כול מאן ד̄נאדיא מינה̄ מן האזין מישא ניהייא וניתאסיא וניתקאיאם כד̄ זאן ענוש ניהויא לפאגרה̄ כד̄ זאן ענוש ניהויא לפומה̄ כד̄ זאן ענוש ניהויא בגיותה̄ ניצרון וניפקון מינה̄ שובא עוצריא ד̄מותא ותמאניא מבאכאלאתא ד̄השוכא נינזון וניטרון מינה̄ סאהריא ודאיויא ושידיא ופיקדיא ורוהיא והומריא וליליאתא מן קודאם ד̄כבאר האילא וזיוא ונהורא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

XXIV.

בשומא ד̄הייא עתקאיאמתון הייא קאדמאייא ד̄אנאתון הואיתון מן לאקאדמיא ד̄עניש קודאמאיכון לאהוא ד̄מלא ונפאק בהאילה̄ ותוקנה̄

nicht im Namen des Gottes, nicht im Namen des Geistes, nicht im Namen des Christus, nicht im Namen der Astarte des Tempels, nein, das Öl, mit dem ich salbte und das ich gab, war in meinem Namen, zu meinem Zeichen und im Namen und zum Zeichen des lebendigen, glänzenden, prangenden, leuchtenden Stammes. Ein jeder, der mit diesem Öl bestreicht, wird leben, Heilung und Bestand finden. | Wie Enōš wird es für seinen Körper, wie Enōš wird es für seinen Mund, wie Enōš wird es in seinem Leibe sein. Aus ihm werden entspringen und herausgehen die sieben Schätze des Todes und die acht . . . . . . .1) der Finsternis. Von ihm werden weggespritzt und weggestürzt2) werden die Dämonen, Dēws, Šēden, ..., Geister, Amuletgeister und Lilithe, da die Kraft, der Glanz und das Licht des Mandā d̲Haijē groß ist.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

XXIV.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Du erhieltest Bestand, erstes Leben, das du von je her warst, vor dem niemand war.

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1) Das Wort findet sich nur an dieser Stelle, der Stamm ist auch sonst im Aramäischen nicht vorhanden. Auch das arabische بكل giebt keinen passenden Sinn.

2) נינזון von נזה, aram. נדה „wegspritzen". Auch hier hat sich das Zain erhalten. נינזון und ניטרון sind beide Ethpeelformen mit assimiliertem ת.

וכזיוא ובהאילא ד̄אבויא שראבה̄ לאשאנינין ד̄פאקידתינאן וראוריבתינין
לפאסהיאתאן ותראצתינין לאינאן במרומיא ונהיתת ושכאנתינאן
במאמבוגיא [14] ד̄הייא שפאכת ומליתינאן מן היכומתאך ומן סיברותאך
ומן טאבותאך האויתינאן עוהרא ד̄אנאת עתיתבה̄ מן בית הייא אנין
נ̄יזילבה̄ מיזלאיהון ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא מישכאן רוהאן
ונישמאתאן בשכינאת הייא דוכתא ד̄רוהיא טאבאהאתאן האתאם
שכינא זיוא לבישא ונהורא מכאסיא והאדיא סאהקא דאיצא גאיא
ומיתפארפא על עקאר גיוא שאריא עקארא האזין הו מישא משא

Er füllte sich[1] und zog hinaus mit seiner Kraft und seiner Helligkeit und mit dem Glanz und der Kraft, die sein Vater in ihn gelegt. Wir änderten nichts an dem, was du uns befohlen. Du machtest groß unsere Schritte, richtetest unsere Augen empor in den Höhen[2], stiegest herunter und ließest uns an den Quellen des Lebens wohnen. Du gossest in uns und fülltest uns mit deiner Weisheit, deiner Einsicht und deiner Güte. Du zeigtest uns den Weg, auf dem du aus dem Hause des Lebens gekommen bist. | Auf ihm wollen wir den Gang der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer gehen, auf daß unser Geist und unsere Seele in der Škīnā des Lebens weilen, der Stätte, in der die Geister unserer Väter ruhen, mit Glanz bekleidet, mit Licht bedeckt. Sie freuen sich, hüpfen, springen, sind stolz und wohlgemut über die herrliche Pracht * * * * * ruht Herrlichkeit[3].

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[1] Hier ist nicht mehr das Leben gemeint, wie der Singular und אבויא zeigt, sondern Mandā d̲Haijē, siehe auch den Schluß von Stück LXXV.

[2] So, nicht zu den Höhen.

[3] Im Mandäischen sind עִקָּרָא und יְקָרָא in der Schreibung zusammengefallen. Bei der mehrmals vorkommenden, wohl alten Wendung עקאר גיוא sind sich die Mandäer selber nicht im Klaren, welches Wort vorliegt. GR 303, 9 „Eine sanfte Rebe bin ich, der ich aus עקאר גיוא gepflanzt wurde“, paßt für עקאר besser der Sinn „Wurzel“. Ebenso GR 360, 20: „Sie belehrten mich . . . . . . über das reine עקאר גיוא, das aus dem Jordan gepflanzt wurde“. Auch in dem Satze Cod. Par. 25, f. 12a, 46b עו הינאלכון רביא עקאר גיוא עקארא בגאוה̄ נישתכין läßt sich עקאר so auffassen: „Wenn es dir beliebt, großes (Leben), mag in der herrlichen Wurzel Herrlichkeit ruhen“. Aber GL 8, 18 heißt es: „Sie lachen, hüpfen, sind stolz und wohlgemut über das עקאר גיוא. Sie prangen in der Herrlichkeit, die auf ihnen ruht“. Da ist offenbar עקאר im Sinne „Ehre, Herrlichkeit“ aufgefaßt. Im Qolastā hier und weiterhin 30, 2 scheint mir nun diese Stelle sinnlos zusammengezogen zu sein. Ein verwandter Ausdruck liegt auch in der zweiten Sammlung, Buch I, St. X, 6 vor.

זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄בראך מאנדא ד̄הייא בפומה̄ דאכיא ועהאבלון
לכולהון ראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא כול מאן ד̄נאדיא מינה̄ מן האזין
מישא נישתיקלון מינה̄ כולהון כיביא שיבטיא רידיא רומאייא
ומאלואטיא בישיא ד̄פאגרא ניתפאציא מן סאדא ומן עסורא ומן
לוטתא בישתא ומן עשקא בישא ומן קראיתא ד̄כאדבא ומן עדא
ד̄בישיא ומן הירבא ד̄בילדבאביא ומן לישאנא תליתאיא ד̄ראכיך מן
תירבא ופאסיק מן הירבא ומן נאליא ומן ניוליא ומן ציהוא בישא
ומן הארשיא בישיא ומן כלילא מהאמב̆לא ומן בירוק זאכרא וניקובתא
ומן מותא תיניאנא נינזון וניטרון ב̇שומאך יאתירא ד̄כולה̄ הייא
ניפיל למיתא וניהייא ועל כצירא וניפשוט ועל עשיקא וניתפאתא
ועל הארשא* תישריבה̄ היכומתא וסיברותא האיאבא ניזכיא בדינא
ועסירא נישתריא מן בית עסורא תיתיא עדא ד̄כושטא ואסותא מן
בית אסאואתא בשומא ד̄הייא ד̄מן הייא הון ובשומא ד̄יוזאטאק
מאנדא ד̄הייא כול מאן ד̄נאדיא מינה̄ מן האזין מישא אדינקיא
האטאייא והאוביא ניהויא באתרא ד̄הייא והייא זאכין ס———א

Dies ist das Öl, das Öl des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, das Mandā ḏHaijē mit seinem reinen Munde segnete und allen Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā gewährte. Von einem jeden, der mit diesem Öl bestreicht, werden alle Schmerzen, Plagen, Züchtigungen, Wehen und bösen Flüche des Körpers weggenommen werden. Er wird befreit werden von dem Block, der Fessel, | dem bösen Fluche, von böser Bedrückung, lügnerischer Berufung, von der Hand der Bösen, dem Schwerte der Feinde, der dritten Zunge, die weicher als Fett und schneidender als ein Schwert ist, von den Vampyren und Schädlingen, von dem bösen Geschrei und der bösen Zauberei, von verderbtem Kranze, von Biruq, Mann und Weib, und vom zweiten Tode. Mögen sie weggespritzt und fortgestürzt werden kraft deines erhabenen Namens, der ganz Leben ist. | Er fällt auf den Toten, und er lebt, auf den Kranken, und er streckt sich, auf den Blinden, und er wird sehend, auf den Taubstummen, und in ihn kehrt Weisheit und Einsicht ein. Der Schuldige siegt ob im Prozeß, und der Gefangene wird aus dem Gefängnis befreit. Die Hand der Kušṭā und Heilung möge aus dem Hause der Heilungen kommen im Namen des Lebens, das aus dem Leben ward, und im Namen des Jōzaṭaq Mandā ḏHaijē. Ein jeder, der mit diesem Öl bestreicht, wird ohne | Sünden und Schulden am Orte des Lebens sein.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

האלין תלאת באואתא אודין בה̄ בשומא ד̄הייא מישא אנאת שיהא ועתקאיאמתון הייא קאדמאייא קריא למישא ורשום נישמאתא ד̄צאבית כד̄ סאלקא מן יארדנא אמור פלאן בר פלאניתא רשימית ברושומא ד̄הייא שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך צביית במאצבותא ד̄ביהראם רבא בר רורביא מאצבותאך תינאטראך ותיסאק לריש שומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאך תלאתא זיבניא רשום ופשוט כושטא מינאיין תום אדיא באנפאך האתאמתא ד̄נאפשאך. והאיזאד ניקמון לקודאמאך וקריא לפיהתא ומאמבוהא [15] ואהבאלון פיהתא ד̄ניכלון ואהבאלון מאמבוהא ד̄נישתון ופשוט כושטא מינאיין ואותיבינון קודאמאך וקריא האתאמאתא ואסים עדאך על רישאיין ס¯¯¯¯א

XXV.

בשומא ד̄הייא כד̄ עהאבלה̄ יארדנא ד̄מיא הייא לסאם סמיר זיוא רבא ד̄הייא פתא פומאיהון תשימא ותשין ותרין אלפיא רובאן עותריא

Diese drei Gebete „Wir bekannten den Namen des Lebens“, „Das kostbare Öl bist du“ und „Du erhieltest Bestand, erstes Leben“ lies über das Öl und zeichne die Seelen, die du taufest, wenn sie aus dem Jordan emporsteigen. Sprich: „N, Sohn der N! Du bist mit dem Zeichen des Lebens gezeichnet, der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen. Du bist getauft mit der Taufe | des großen Bihrām, des Sohnes des gewaltigen (Lebens). Deine Taufe behüte dich und sei erfolgreich. Der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā ḏHaijē ist über dich ausgesprochen“. Dreimal zeichne sie, reiche ihnen Kušṭā, dann streiche dir in das Gesicht deine eigene Besiegelung. Alsdann sollen sie vor dir aufstehen, lies über das Pihtā und Mambūhā, reiche ihnen das Pihtā, daß sie es essen, reiche ihnen das Mambūhā, daß sie es trinken, reiche ihnen Kušṭā, setze sie vor dich hin, | lies die siegelnden[1]) Gebete und lege ihnen deine Hand auf das Haupt.

XXV.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Als man den Jordan lebenden Wassers Sām-Smīr, dem großen Glanze des Lebens, gewährte, öffneten 992000 Myriaden

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[1] Wie das Öl, so sollen auch die folgenden Gebete die Seelen siegeln und sie den Dämonen unzugänglich machen, vgl. p. 43 f. Diese Auffassung scheint mir richtiger als die, welche ich ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 695^1 geäußert habe. האתאמתא als magische Siegelung findet sich oft in den Zaubertexten.

בניא נהורא ולמאנדא ד̄הייא משאבילה̄ משאבא מאנדא ד̄הייא משאבא יאואר זיוא משאבין ביהראם וראם משאבא תארואן נהורא משאבא נבאט זיוא רבא קאדמאיא משאבין נצאב ואנאן נצאב משאבין סאר וסארואן משאבא האך מאנא רבא כאבירא משאבא האך פארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא משאבא האך כולה̄ דאורא ד̄ניהיא משאבין כולהון דירכיא ושביליא ד̄רורבאניא משאבין כולהון אלמיא רורביא עלאייא ד̄נהורא משאבין האניך כולהין שכינאתא כאסיאתא משאבא האך קאלא והאילא ומימרא ופאקאדתא ד̄אתיא מן בית אבאתור משאבא אבאתור ראמא משאבין רובאן עותריא ד̄קאימיא קודאמה̄ ד̄אבאתור משאבין שילמאי ונידבאי עותריא נאטריא ד̄יארדנא משאבין אבון היביל ושיתיל ואנוש רישא ד̄כולה̄ שורבתא

Uthras, Söhne des Lichtes, ihren Mund und priesen Mandā ḏHaijē:

Gepriesen sei Mandā ḏHaijē,
gepriesen sei Jāwar-Zīwā,
gepriesen seien Bihrām und Rām,
gepriesen sei Tarwan das Licht,
gepriesen sei Nbaṭ, der große, erste Glanz,
gepriesen seien Nṣab und Anan-Nṣab,
gepriesen seien Sar und Sarwan,
gepriesen sei jener große, gewaltige Mānā,
gepriesen sei | jenes große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit,
gepriesen sei jene ganze Wohnung der Seligen,
gepriesen seien alle Pfade und Wege der Gewaltigen,
gepriesen seien alle gewaltigen, oberen Lichtwelten,
gepriesen seien alle jene verborgenen Škīnās,
gepriesen sei jene Stimme, die Kraft, die Rede und das Gebot, die aus dem Hause des Abathur kommen,
gepriesen sei der hohe Abathur,
gepriesen seien die zehntausend Uthras, die | vor Abathur stehen,
gepriesen seien die Uthras Šilmai und Nidbai, die Hüter des Jordans,
gepriesen sei unser Vater Hibil, Šitil und Anōš, das Haupt des ganzen Stammes[1]).

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1) Einerseits steht bei היביל ושיתיל ואנוש der Plural משאבין, andererseits אבון und רישא. Es wäre ja möglich, daß ursprünglich nur היביל dagestanden hätte, nachher erst ושיתיל ואנוש eingefügt und משאבא zu משאבין abgeändert

כרוך ודהון מינאי דיליא כ׳ בר פ׳ת ומן האלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא מן האוקא ודאהאלתא וזיויהתא ד̄סאהריא ודאיויא ושידיא ופיקדיא ורוהיא והומריא ולילֿיאתא ואלאהיא ומאלאכיא ועכוריא ופריכיא ופאתיכריא ד̄שאבקיא שובא שיביאהיא מאראואתא ד̄באיתא על נישמאתא באלמא האזין מאנדא ד̄הייא תרוץ אינאך על ראהמאך ועל שיתלאך ועל תארמידאך הזינאן ד̄קאימינאן באתרא האזין ד̄כולה̄ בישיא ובתירא רבא ד̄כולה̄ מאלכאואתא קאימינאן ביניא בישיא ושרינאן ביניא האטיא פארקינאן מן אלמא ד̄כולה̄ האטאייא ומן הארשיא בישיא ד̄בניא אדאם והאוא ד̄אבאדנין תישבוקלאן ודאבדינין תישבוקלאן שאביק האטאייא והאוביא סכילאתאן ותיקלאתאן ושאבאשאתאן תישבוקלאן הין האטאיאן והאובאן וסכילאתאן ותיקלאתאן ושאבאשאתאן [16] לאשאבקאתלאן עניש זאכאיא קודאמאך מאנדא ד̄הייא לאיית הייא קאביל בותכון

Bannet und entfernet von mir NN und von diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und getauft wurden, die Angst, die Furcht und den Schrecken vor den Dämonen, Dēws, Šēden, ..., Geistern, Amuletgeistern, Lilithen, Göttern, Engeln, Tempelgeistern, Kapellengeistern und Götzen, welche die sieben Planeten, die Herren | des Hauses, gegen die Seelen in dieser Welt loslassen.

Mandā d̲Haijē! Richte deine Augen auf deine Freunde, deine Sprossen und deine Jünger. Blicke auf uns, die wir an diesem Orte stehen, der ganz aus Bösen, und an der großen Pforte, die ganz aus (weltlichen) Königtümern besteht. Wir stehen unter Bösen und wohnen unter Sündern. Erlöse uns aus der Welt, die ganz aus Sündern besteht, und von der bösen Zauberei der Söhne Adams und Evas. Was wir getan haben, | vergib uns, und was wir tun, vergib uns. Erlasser der Sünden und Vergehen, erlasse uns unsere Torheiten, unsere Strauchelungen und Irrungen. Vergibst du uns nicht unsere Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen, so steht niemand vor dir, Mandā d̲Haijē, sündenrein da. Leben,

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wäre. Aber auch sonst findet man zusammengehörige Wesen als Einheit behandelt, so יופין יופאפין und האוראן האוראראן. Von Adatan und Jadatan heißt es am Ende von St. XLIX האד מאנדא והאד עוצאר, was wohl sagen will, sie seien „eines Wissens, eines Sinnes“, nicht daß der eine Mandā, der andere Oṣar sei. Von anderen Wesen heißt es am Ende von St. LXXVII, sie hätten je einzeln ihren Namen, zu zweien ihren Beinamen.

מן כיסיא ותרוץ ניאהא על נהוראיכון בשומא ד̄שארהאבעיל זיוא
רבא קאדמאיא ותריצין פוגדאמיא ד̄שארהאבעיל זיוא רבא קאדמאיא
על כולהון ראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא ועל דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת כביש
השוכא ותריץ נהורא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

XXVI.

בשומא ד̄הייא עסירא והתימא האלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא
ועצטבא בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא צבעיא במאצבותא ד̄ביהראם רבא
עסירא נאפשאיהון באסאריא זידקא ובאסאריא כושטא ובאסאריא
זהיר נהורא רבא ד̄הייא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

XXVII.

בשומא ד̄הייא בעוצאר הייא תריצינין ומקאימינין בעוצאר האי
ופתא האי מן בית הייא לאופא אתאלאן מאנדא ד̄הייא אסגיא עלאן

nimm dein[1] Gebet aus dem Verborgenen her entgegen und errichte Seligkeit auf deinem Lichte. Im Namen Šarhabēls, des großen, ersten Glanzes. Die Worte Šarhabēls, des großen, ersten Glanzes, sind aufgerichtet auf allen, die den Namen der Kušṭā lieben, und auf mir NN. Niedergehalten ist die Finsternis und aufgerichtet das Licht.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

XXVI.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Umbunden und gesiegelt seien diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben, kraft des Namens des großen Lebens. Sie sind getauft mit der Taufe des großen Bihrām. Ihre Seelen[2] seien umbunden mit den Banden der Gerechtigkeit, mit den Banden der Wahrheit, mit den Banden des Z'hīr, des großen Lichtes des Lebens.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

XXVII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Durch den Schatz des Lebens wurden wir aufgerichtet und gefestigt. Durch Oṣar-Hai | und Ptā-Hai kam zu uns die Ver-

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[1] D. h. das dir zukommende.

[2] Hier steht נאפשא, als ob die נישמתא noch selber eine innere Seele hätte.

בזיוא ד̄נפיש ובאנהורא ד̄כאביר במאנאן ורושמאן ודירכאן ויארדנאן ומאצבותאן בהאוראן עוצטלאן בהאוראראן כסויאן בהאזאזבאן כלילאן קארינאלון להייא רורביא נוכראייא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא ואמארנאלון הזון הזון הייא רביא ד̄על שומאיכון דילכון הייא ליארדנא נהיתנין ועל שומאיכון דילכון הייא שומאן ורושמאן נסיבנין מן יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא ומן כאנא רבא ד̄אסאואתא במימאר כושטא וקאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא והייא זאכין ס־־־־־א

XXVIII.

עסירא והתימא האלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא בהאוראן והאוראראן זיוא צוריך הייא רביא בכיניאנון ביופין יופאפין וסאם מאנא סמירא ביוסמיר כאנא ד̄זיוא קאדמאיא ביוכאבאר גאברא עותרא מזארזא עוסרונין והותמונין ונאטרונין להאלין נישמאתא

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einigung aus dem Hause¹) des Lebens. Mandā d̲Haijē brachte uns mit Glanz in Fülle und Licht in Menge unser Mānā, unser Zeichen, unseren Weg, unseren Jordan, unsere Taufe, unser Gewand Hauran, unsere Hülle Hauraran, unseren Kranz Hazazban.

Ich rufe das gewaltige, fremde, erhabene Leben an, das über allen Werken steht, und spreche zu ihm: „Siehe, siehe, großes Leben: dir, dir zu Liebe, Leben, sind wir zum Jordan hinabgestiegen, dir, dir zu Liebe, | Leben, haben wir unseren Namen und unser Zeichen angenommen aus dem großen Jordan des Lebens und aus dem großen Behälter der Heilungen kraft der wahrhaften Rede und des Aufrichtens des Jōkabar-Zīwā“.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXVIII.

Umbunden und gesiegelt seien diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben, durch Hauran-Hauraran-Zīwā, den Ausfluß aus dem großen Leben als dessen Beinamen, durch Jōfin-Jōfafin und Sām, | den wohlbewahrten Mānā, durch Jōsmīr, den Urbehälter des Glanzes, durch Jōkabar, den gerüsteten Uthra. Umbindet, siegelt und be-

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[1] Obwohl לאופא die Vereinigung mit dem Leben ist (vgl. z. B. Qol 28, 1), hat man hier doch מן nicht im Sinne von „mit“ aufzufassen. Denn hier steht nicht מן הייא, sondern מן בית הייא, dann stände מן הייא in diesem Sinne hinter לאופא.

ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא מן כולה̄ אלאהותא ד̄באיתא ד̄לאנישתאלטון עלאואיהון מן [17] סאהראיהון ומן דאיואיהון ד̄לאניקריבולון ולאניהטובון ולאניהאמלובון נישתיקלון מינאיהון כולהון כיביא שיבטיא רידיא ורומאייא ניטרון וניתאזיהון מינאיהון כולהון קירסיא סאיניא ומאלואטיא בישיא ד̄פאגרא ד̄יאתבין קודאמאך כד̄ האיאביא ניקמון כד̄ זאכאייא ואסותא תיהוילין להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא והייא זאכין ס———א

האלין ארביא באואתא האתאמאתא כד̄ עהאבלה̄ ועסירא והתימא ובעוצאר הייא ועסירא והתימא ראבתיא קרינין בכולה̄ קאלאך על נישמאתא ד̄צאבית אבאתאר ד̄יאהבאתלון פיהתא ומאמבוהא על נישמאתא ד̄צאבית קריא כד̄ ד̄כתיב ער נישימתא הדא הע אמור להאזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן והאיזאד ניקמון וקריא עתריצתון ס———א

XXIX.

בשומא ד̄הייא עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון באתרא ד̄טאביא מיתקאימיא

hütet diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben, vor der ganzen Abgötterei des Hauses, daß sie keine Macht über sie haben kraft ihrer Dämonen und ihrer Dēws, daß sie sich ihnen nicht nähern, an ihnen nicht sündigen und sie nicht verderben. Von ihnen sollen weggenommen werden alle Schmerzen, Plagen, Züchtigungen und Wehen. Fortstürzen und wegeilen sollen von ihnen alle | häßlichen Krankheiten und bösen Verwünschungen des Körpers. Die vor dir als Schuldbeladene sitzen, mögen als Schuldlose aufstehen. Und Heilung werde diesen Seelen zu teil, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Diese vier siegelnden 1) *Gebete „Als man gewährte“, „Umbunden und gesiegelt“, „Durch den Schatz des Lebens“ und das große „Umbunden und gesiegelt“ lies mit voller Stimme über die Seelen, | die du taufest, nachdem du ihnen Pihtā und Mambūhā gereicht. Über (mehrere) Seelen, die du taufst, lies wie geschrieben steht, wenn es eine Seele ist, sage „diese Seele des NN“. Dann sollen sie aufstehn, und lies „Ihr seid aufgerichtet“.*

XXIX.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Ihr seid aufgerichtet und gefestigt an dem Orte, an dem

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1) Siehe oben, p. 40[1].

ביניא מאניא ד̄נהורא האלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא ודאבאהאתאן ורבאנאן ודאהאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהון האתאם באנהורא תיתקאימון והייא זאכין ס———א

האכא קריא מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך נישמא ס———א

XXX.

בשומא ד̄הייא

מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך נישמא יומא רבא ד̄עתקאיאמתבה̄
אהית ביארדנא שיתלאן ואסיק לכיפה̄ קאימאן
פתא ועהאבליא פיהתא שאבא בכאסא ואשקיאן
אותבאן ביניא בורכה̄ ושום רורביא אדכאר עלאי

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die Guten zwischen Mānās des Lichtes gefestigt werden. Diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben, sowie die (Seelen) unserer Eltern, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen, ihr sollt dort im Lichte gefestigt werden [1].

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Hier lies „Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele“.

XXX.

Im Namen des Lebens.
„Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele,
am großen Tage, an dem du gefestigt [2]) wurdest?“ —
„Er führte mich in den Jordan hinab und pflanzte mich da auf,
dann führte er mich zu seinem Ufer empor und stellte mich hin.
Er bereitete Pihtā und reichte es mir,
sprach die Lobpreisung über den Kelch und gab mir zu trinken.
Er setzte mich zwischen seine Knie
und sprach den Namen des gewaltigen (Lebens) über mich.

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[1] Vgl. auch St. LXV. Der Anfang des Stückes findet sich auch GR 108, 20 f.

[2] קאיים „festigen“ steht oft auf einer Stufe mit „taufen“ (צבא), siehe die Einleitung.

אנדא בטורא קאמאן   צראך בקאלה̇ ואשמאן
צראך ואשמאן בקאלה̇   הין עתבאך האילא נישמא אתא
עסאק לטורא עפיל   עתכאמאר עסוף מן אלמא
אינאי למרום שיקלית   ונישמאת לבית הייא סכית
סילקית לטורא ולאניפלית   ואתית הייא ד̄נאפשאי אשכית

מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך נישמא   יומא רבא ד̄עתקאיאמתבה̇
אהית ביארדנא שיתלאן   ואסיק לכיפה̇ קאימאן
פתא ועהאבליא פיהתא   שאבא בכאסא ואשקיאן
אותבאן ביניא בורכה̇   ושום רורביא אדכאר עלאי
אנדא [18] בנורא קאמאן   צראך בקאלה̇ ואשמאן
צראך ואשמאן בקאלה̇   הין עתבאך האילא נישמא אתא

Er erschütterte den Berg und . . . . . .[1]),
er schrie mit voller Stimme und ließ mich hören.
Er schrie und ließ mich hören mit voller Stimme:
„Wenn Kraft in dir ist, Seele, so komm“.
„Steige ich auf den Berg, so stürze ich ab
und verschwinde wieder aus der Welt“.
Ich erhob meine Augen zur Höhe,
mit meiner Seele hoffte ich nach dem Hause des Lebens.
Ich stieg auf den Berg und stürzte nicht ab,
sondern gelangte hin und fand mein eigenes Leben.

„Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele,
am großen Tage, an dem du gefestigt wurdest?“ —
„Er führte mich in den Jordan hinab und pflanzte mich da auf,
dann führte er mich zu seinem Ufer empor und stellte mich hin.
Er bereitete Pihtā und reichte es mir,
sprach die Lobpreisung über den Kelch und gab mir zu trinken.
Er setzte mich zwischen seine Knie
und sprach den Namen des gewaltigen (Lebens) über mich.
Er erschütterte das Feuer und . . . .,
er schrie mit voller Stimme und ließ mich hören.
Er schrie und ließ mich hören mit voller Stimme:
„Wenn Kraft in dir ist, Seele, so komm“.

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[1] Ein Verb mit Suffix 1. sing. hat hier jedenfalls gestanden, aber קאימאן paßt nicht.

עזאל בנורא עבשול   עתכאמאר עסוף מן אלמא
אינאי למרום שיקלית   ונישמאת לבית הייא סכית
עזלית בנורא ולאבישלית   ואתית הייא ד̄נאפשאי אשכית

מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך נישמא   יומא רבא ד̄עתקאיאמתבה̄
אהית ביארדנא שיתלאן   ואסיק לכיפה̄ קאימאן 5
פתא ועהאבליא פיהתא   שאבא בכאסא· ואשקיאן
אותבאן ביניא בורכה̄   ושום רורביא אדכאר עלאי
אנדא ביאמא קאמאן   צראך בקאלה̄ ואשמאן
צראך ואשמאן בקאלה̄   הין עתבאך האילא נישמא אתא
עזאל ביאמא עטבא   עתכאמאר עסוף מן אלמא 10
אינאי למרום שיקלית   ונישמאת לבית הייא סכית
עזלית ליאמא ולאטיבית   ואתית הייא ד̄נאפשאי אשכית

„Gehe ich durch das Feuer, so verbrühe ich
    und verschwinde wieder aus der Welt“.
Ich erhob meine Augen zur Höhe,
    mit meiner Seele hoffte ich nach dem Hause des Lebens.
Ich ging durch das Feuer und verbrühte nicht,
    sondern gelangte hin und fand mein eigenes Leben.

„Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele,
    am großen Tage, an dem du gefestigt wurdest?“ —
5 „Er führte mich in den Jordan hinab und pflanzte mich da auf,
    dann führte er mich zu seinem Ufer empor und stellte mich hin.
Er bereitete Pihtā und reichte es mir,
    sprach die Lobpreisung über den Kelch und gab mir zu trinken.
Er setzte mich zwischen seine Knie
    und sprach den Namen des gewaltigen (Lebens) über mich.
Er erschütterte das Meer und . . . . . .,
    er schrie mit voller Stimme und ließ mich hören.
Er schrie und ließ mich hören mit voller Stimme:
    „Wenn Kraft in dir ist, Seele, so komm“.
10 „Gehe ich in das Meer, so ertrinke ich
    und verschwinde wieder aus der Welt“.
Ich erhob meine Augen zur Höhe,
    mit meiner Seele hoffte ich nach dem Hause des Lebens.
Ich ging in das Meer und ertrank nicht,
    sondern gelangte hin und fand mein eigenes Leben.

עין הייא̦ ועיין הייא הייא זיכיויא להאזין(¹ אלמא והייא זאכין
ס——א

(a) האזין דראשא ד̄מאצבותא הו תרוץ דראשיא ודוכתא ד̄אמאר נישמאתא
ק̣ריא כד̄ ד̄כדיב עו נישימתא האד הע אמור ביניא מאניא ד̄נהורא נישימ̣תא
ד̄פלאן בר פלאניתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא
ודרוש מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך נישמא. (b) ורמיא עניאנא ליארדנא כמא
שאפיריא שיתליא. (c) ואשאר צבאן צאבוי̣אי ושילמאי צבינאן במאצבותא
ויארדנא ד̄עצטבינאבה̄ ואנא בתארמידאי האדינא. (d) ודרוש דראשיא
הוריניא טאב עלכון אמאר̣נא ועלכון ק̣ארינא ומאפרישנא גובריא ד̄קאביל
רושומא ותארמידא אנא האדתא ד̄אסגית לכיפא ד̄יארדנא. (e) והאיזאך
ק̣ריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר נו ודוכתא ד̄אמאר כלילא מן רואז
גופנא ניתריצלין ברישאיין להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא

O Leben, o, o Leben, das Leben siegte über diese Welt, das Leben ist siegreich.

*(a) Dies ist der Hymnus von der Taufe. Trage die Hymnen*²) *recht vor. An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Seelen“, lies wie geschrieben steht. Wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „zwischen den Mānās des Lichtes, die Seele | des N, Sohnes der N, der zum Jordan hinabstieg, getauft wurde und das reine Zeichen annahm“. Trage vor „Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele“.*

(b) Sage das Lied über den Jordan „Wie schön sind die Pflanzen“ (= LXXXIII), (c) „Recht taufte mich mein Täufer“ (= LXXXIV), „Šilmai taufte uns mit der Taufe“ (= LXXXV), „Der Jordan, in dem wir getauft wurden“ (LXXXVI), „Ich freue mich meiner Jünger“ (LXXXVII). (d) Trage auch andere Hymnen vor: „Dringend ermahne ich euch“ (LXXXVIII), „Euch rufe ich zu und erkläre ich, Männer, die | das Zeichen angenommen haben“ (LXXXIX), „Ein Jünger bin ich, ein neuer, der ich zum Ufer des Jordans ging“ (= XC).

*(e) Alsdann lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ des Šum bar Nū (= LXXI). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Ein Kranz vom Weinstock Rwaz*³) *wird auf dem Haupte dieser Seelen aufgerichtet werden, die zum Jordan hinabstiegen und getauft wurden,*

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1) Text להאלין.

2) Ich ziehe דראשיא vor. Die Mahnung gilt auch für die anderen Hymnen, denn das folgende Zitat ist aus St. XXIX.

3) Das Zitat zeigt einige Abweichungen von dem Wortlaut des angeführten Stückes.

ד̄עתיקריא ועתק̣יאם ועתירשים בהאזא מאצבותא ודאבאהאתאן ורובאנאן ודאהאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק̣ מן פאגראיהון ולדק̣אימיא בפאגראיהון עו נישימתא האד הע ד̄צאבית אמור לנישימתא ד̄פלאן ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וסאיכה̄ וקריא טאב טאבא לטאבא וסאיכה̄ ושול שולתא ועתראהאם לנישמאתא ד̄צאבית אמור להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא עו נישימתא האד הע· אמור לנישימתא ד̄פלאן ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא ובאלאד מן רישא ואלמא לדינבא להאך מאצבותא כולה̄ בזאהרותא וצילותא ויאדיתא ק̣ריא ותניא פשוט כושטא מינאיין. (f) ואמור כושטא אסינכון עותריא אהאי לאף̣ לאופא ד̄הייא כד̄ ד̄לאיפיא עותריא בשכינאתון עותריא אהאי באסים ריהאיכון וגאואיכון כולה̄ זיוא מליא. הינון נימרון ביא ואשכא אמאר ועשתמא ונישק̣ון עדאיהון׃ עו נוק̣באתא הינון נישמאתא ד̄צאבית עו

die durch diese Taufe hervorgerufen, gefestigt und gezeichnet wurden, sowie die unserer Väter, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen". Wenn die Seele, die du taufest, Einer ist, so sage „der Seele des NN, der zum Jordan hinabstieg und getauft wurde" bis zu Ende. Lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten" (= LXXII) bis zu Ende. Sprich eine Bitte aus | und bete[1]*. Über Seelen, die du taufest, sprich „diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabstiegen, getauft wurden und das reine Zeichen annahmen". Wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „der Seele des NN, der zum Jordan hinabstieg, getauft wurde und das reine Zeichen annahm". Gieb von Anfang bis Ende acht, daß du (die Gebete für) die ganze Taufe sorgsam, bedächtig und kundig vortragest. Dann reiche ihnen zum zweiten Male Kušṭā*[2]*.*

(f) Sprich: „Kušṭā heile euch. Ihr Uthras, meine Brüder, | stellet die Verbindung mit dem Leben her[3]*, wie die Uthras sie in ihren Škīnās herstellen. Ihr Uthras, meine Brüder, angenehm ist euer Duft, und euer Inneres ist ganz voll Glanz". Sie sollen dann sprechen „Suche und finde, sprich und werde erhört" und ihnen die Hand küssen*[4]*.*

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[1] D. h. verrichte ראהמיא.

[2] In diesem Stücke ist vorher nicht gesagt, daß er ihnen Kušṭā reiche, doch siehe oben p. 40, 6.

[3] Es ist eine Ansprache, also kann לאף̣ nicht Perf. 3. pl. sein. לאף̣ ist Imperativ; נילאף̣ steht Lond. Rolle A, Z. 517.

[4] Sollen die Täuflinge sich gegenseitig die Hand küssen? Die Anweisung findet sich auch Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 317 ff, 1015 ff. Dort küssen die Priester sich gegenseitig die Hand.

[19] נישימתא האד הע פשוט כושטא מינאיין* ואמארלין כושטא אסייד וקאימיד כושטיד ניהויא סאהדיד וזידקְיד ניהויא פארואנקיד הינין* אמרין ביא ואשכא אמאר ושתמא ונאשקין עדאיון והאיזאד אמארלין (g) כושטאיכון ניהויא סאהדאיכון וזידקאיכון ניהויא פארואנקְאיכון בותאיכון ותושביחתאיכון תיקום במאטות עלאואיכון בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא אבאדנה̄ לטאבות רביא וסאדארנה̄ לראהמותכון מן ריש בריש קראינה̄ ליארדנא רבא ד̄מיא הייא ותלאתמא ושיתין יארדניא ד̄הו היביל זיוא בגאואיהון עצטבא ואמאר זאהרוניך ופארקוניך ושאוזבוניך ונאטרוניך* להאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקְאביל דאכיא רושומא מן גאורא ומן גונבא ומן הארשיא בישיא ומן מיזאל לעכוריא ומן מיסגאד לעכוריא ומן מיכאל ד̄עכוריא ודגאטיל אריא ודיבא ודגיסא ודמיתא לאתיכלון הינילא צבון ודאכון נאפשאיכון ד̄האוילכון מאנדא ד̄הייא

Wenn die Seelen, die du taufest, Frauen sind, auch wenn die Seele Eine ist, so reiche ihnen Kušṭā und sprich zu ihnen: „Kušṭā heile dich und festige dich. Deine Kušṭā sei dein Zeuge und dein Almosen sei dein Geleiter“. Sie sollen dann sprechen: „Suche und finde, sprich und werde erhört“ und ihnen die Hand küssen.

Alsdann sprich zu ihnen: (g) „Eure Kušṭā sei euer Zeuge und euer Almosen sei euer Geleiter, euer Gebet | und eure Lobpreisung bringe euch Gnade. Im Namen des großen Lebens. Wir 1) führten die Güte des großen (Lebens) aus und brachten deine Barmherzigkeit 2) von Anfang bis Ende in Ordnung. Wir schufen den großen Jordan lebenden Wassers und die 360 Jordane, in denen Hibil-Zīwā getauft wurde. Dieser sprach: „Warnet, erlöset, errettet und behütet diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabstiegen, getauft wurden und das reine Zeichen annahmen, vor | Ehebruch, Diebstahl, böser Zauberei, davor, zu den Götzentempeln zu gehen, die Götzentempel zu verehren und von den Götzentempeln zu essen. Von dem, was ein Löwe, Wolf tötet, und vom Kranken 3) und Ver-

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1) Es sind höhere Wesen, die hier sprechen.

2) כון bezieht sich wohl auch auf רביא; ein Wechsel in der Person, wie er auch sonst nicht selten ist.

3) Vielleicht gehört dieses גיסא zu קירסא ניגוסבה̄, siehe Joh., S. 38^5. In den Stamm גוס ist vieles hineingeraten, siehe Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* I, p. 312 f. und Joh., a. a. O. — GR 18, 3 heißt es לאתיכלון זמא ד̄היואניאתא לאדמאריתא ולאדבאטנא. Danach könnte גיסא bzw. גאיסא den Sinn von באטנא haben und „dickleibig, trächtig“ bedeuten, vgl. Levy, a. a. O. s. גוס V, VI.

אדיאורא וסאלקִא מאצבותאיכון לריש. (h) והאיזאד ביא בותא וראהמיא לנאפשאך ואמור (i) בשומא ד̅הייא אנא להייא קאדמאייא סאגידנא ולמאראי מאנדא ד̅הייא משאבאנא ולהאך פארצופא רבא ד̅עקארא ד̅מן נאפשיה̅ פראש וקִריא משאבין הייא קאדמאייא כושטא אסינכון עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון ואהדאר* מארגנאך ליאמינאך וסאיכה̅ ואהדירה̅ לסמאלאך וקִריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̅שום בר נו ועתיב וקִריא טאב טאבא לטאבא וארביך עתיב ושדיא בשאביק האטאייא אבאהאתאן קאדמאייא ונישמאתא ד̅מאנדאייא ותארמידיא וגאנזיבריא וגינזאייא ורישאייא ורישאמיא ווריש דאריא בשאביקִ האטאייא והאיזאך קום על ליגראך ודרא כיהתא ומאמבוהא וקִריא תמאניא באואתא ד̅פיהתא לפיהתא ותארתין באואתא ד̅מאמבוהא למאמבוהא וצבא פיהתאך במאמבוהא וקִריא מאליל ופתא הייא לפאנדאמאך ופאלִטה̅ ואכול פיהתאך ושתיא מאמבוהאך ושתיא

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endeten esset nicht, sondern taufet und reiniget euch, damit Mandā dHaijē euch ein Helfer sei und eure Taufe volle Geltung habe“.

(h) Alsdann verrichte Bitte und Gebet für dich und sprich: (i) „Im Namen des Lebens. Ich verehre das erste Leben, preise meinen Herrn Mandā dHaijē und jenes große Antlitz der Ehre, das aus sich selbst ausgeschieden ist“. Dann lies: „Gepriesen sei das erste Leben“ (= LVIII), „Kušṭā heile euch“, „Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet | und gefestigt“ (= LXV), wende deinen Olivenstab nach deiner Rechten hin und sag es zu Ende. Dann wende ihn nach deiner Linken hin und lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ des Šum bar Nū (= LXXI). Setze dich und lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“ (= LXXII), knie nieder [1]) und gieß aus bei „ein Erlasser der Sünden“ — unsere Vorfahren und die Seelen der Mandäer, Priester, Bischöfe, Schatzmeister [2]), Häupter, Patriarchen und Häupter des Zeitalters [3]) — ein Erlasser der Sünden. Dann stelle dich auf die Füße, trage | Pihtā und Mambūhā hin, lies die acht Gebete des Pihtā über das Pihtā und die beiden Gebete des Mambūhā über das Mambūhā, taufe dein Pihtā mit dem Mambūhā, lies „Das Leben sprach und schuf“ (= LV) über dein Pandāmā, schiebe dies bei Seite, iß dein Pihtā, trink dein Mambūhā, trink eine „Spülung“ [4]), trag eine zweite Spülung heran und lies „Das

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[1]) Das zweite עתיב ist wohl eine irrtümliche Wiederholung des ersten.

[2]) Oder bedeutet גינזאייא Kenner des Ginzā, des religiösen Hauptwerkes der Mandäer?

[3]) Diese Aufzählung findet sich in dem Stücke nicht.

[4]) Siehe die Einleitung.

האלאלתא ודרא האלאלתא תיניאנתיא וקריא עתימלון הייא ושכיניא הייא בראהמאיהון ושדיא ריהאך בזיוא לאתרה̅ סאליק ודוכתא ד̅אמאר נישבוקלון לראהמיא שומא ד̅כושטא ולהאלין נישמאתא ד̅נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא נורא עכילתאך אכילתא וסאיכה̅ וקריא ריהא באסימא לאתרה̅ ניסאק ודוכתא ד̅אמאר לראהמיא שומא ד̅כושטא אמור ולהאלין נישמאתא ד̅נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא וקאביל דאכיא רושומא והייא זאכין והאיזאך שדיא אתותיא מארגנאך וקריא טאב טאבא לטאבא ושול שולתא ותראהאם לנאפשאך ופשוט כושטא מן שגאנדא וכד̅ נאהית קריא בזיו ד̅נפיש צבינא ופאליט פאנדאמאך ואוקאר תאגאך ס־־־־א

XXXI.

זיוא לאתרה̅ סאליק ונהורא לדאורא תאקנא

Leben wurde voll“ (= LIX) und „Das Leben ruht unter seinen Freunden“ (= LX). Wirf deinen Weihrauch hin bei „der Glanz steigt an seinen Ort empor“ (= XXXI). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „er wird vergeben den Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā“ [sage] *„und diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabstiegen, getauft wurden und das reine Zeichen annahmen. Das verzehrende Feuer wird dich verzehren“ und sag es zu Ende. Lies dann | „Der Wohlduft wird an seinen Ort emporsteigen“ (= LVII). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „den Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā“ sprich „und diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabstiegen, getauft wurden und das reine Zeichen annahmen. Und das Leben ist siegreich“.*

Alsdann gieße unter deinen Olivenstab, lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“, verrichte Bitte und Gebet für dich, reiche Kušṭā dem Šgandā, und wenn er hinabsteigt, lies „Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft“ (= LXIII), schiebe dein Pandāmā bei Seite und ehre deine Krone[1]*).*

XXXI.

Der Glanz steigt an seinen Ort empor,
das Licht zur glänzenden Wohnung.

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[1] Hinter אוקאר תאגאך heißt es in der Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 346: ולוגטה̅ ביאמינאך ונושקה̅ ואתנה̅ לאינא ד̅יאמינאך ואמור כושטא אסיאך תאגאי ונושקה̅ ואתנה̅ לאינאך ד̅סמאלאך ואמור כושטא אסיאך רבאי ונושקה̅ „Nimm sie in deine Rechte und küsse sie, lege sie auf dein rechtes Auge und sprich »Kušṭā heile dich, meine Krone«, und küsse sie. Lege sie dann auf dein linkes Auge und sprich »Kušṭā heile dich, meine Meisterin« und küsse sie“. Dasselbe ist auch Lond. Rolle A, 484 ff. gesagt, wo statt רבאי „mein(e) Meister(in)“ נאטרא דתאגאי „Hüter meiner Krone“ dasteht.

יומא ד̄נהורא ניסאק   ניתכאמאר השוכא לדוכתה̄

שאביק האטאייא והאוביא וסכילאתא ותיקלאתא ושאבאשאתא נישבוקלון 1) לראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא ולהאלין נישמאתא ד̄נהית ליארדנא ועצטבא

נורא עכילתא 2) אכילתאך   ושאמאשתאך בדאריא תיהויא

ריהא ד̄הייא לבית הייא ניסאק ואנין לבית הייא ניסאק בזאכאייא ניהויא סומכאנאן ורוהצאנאן להייא ניהויא באתרא ד̄נהורא ובדאורא תאקנא קאיאמין הייא ותריצין בשכינאתון והייא זאכין על כולהון עובאדיא ס———א

תאזין שריתא ד̄ריהא ד̄מאצבותא הע ס----א

[20] (a) בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא נינהארליא עוצראי ומאדאי ומאדיהתאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת בהאלין זוהאריא ד̄מאצבותא ד̄כתיביא מן דיואן ד̄אינא ראבתיא. (b) תאזין הע מאצבותא ד̄ציבה̄ היביל זיוא לאדאם גאברא

Am Tage, da das Licht emporsteigt,
wird die Finsternis an ihren Ort zurückkehren.

Der Erlasser der Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen wird den Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā vergeben, sowie diesen Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabgestiegen sind und die Taufe empfangen haben.

Das verzehrende Feuer wird dich verzehren,
und dein Dienst wird in den Wohnsitzen sein.

Der Duft des Lebens wird zum Hause des Lebens emporsteigen, und auch wir werden zum Hause des Lebens emporsteigen, wir werden siegreich sein. Unsere Stütze und unser Vertrauen wird auf das Leben sein am Orte des Lichtes und in der glänzenden Wohnung.

Das Leben steht fest, es ist aufgerichtet in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

Dies ist die „Lösung“ des Weihrauchs bei der Taufe.

(a) Im Namen des großen Lebens leuchte mir mein Sinn, mein Wissen und meine Kenntnis mir N, Sohn der N, durch diese Ermahnungen für die Taufe, die aus der Handschrift der „Großen Quelle“ abgeschrieben sind.

(b) Dies ist die Taufe, mit der Hibil-Ziwā Adam, den ersten Mann, taufte, als der reine Mānā in ihm zu atmen anfing und

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1) Text נישביקלון.

2) Text עכילתאך.

קאדמאיא כד̄ עתארהאבה̄ מאנא דאכיא וקאם ותפית והייא שאל ואמאר אדאם אנא בהאילא ד̄היביל זיוא סילקית לבית ריש. (c) והאיזאד קאם היביל זיוא ולבאש שובא לבושיא ואסגיא לכיפא ד̄יארדנא כד̄ אדאם קאוקא ד̄נורא קודאמה̄ ד̄היביל זיוא אתנא היביל זיוא כלילא למארגנא גדאל וגדאל כלילא לאדאם וקאם ליארדנא עניאנא ורמאלה̄ עניאנא עוניאן אב עוניאן ד̄אנא בהאילא ד̄אב יאואר ליארדנא אסגית ובהאילא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא כלילא לעותריא עתריץ והאיזאד קאם וקרא בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא קאדמאיא על תאגא ותראץ ברישיה̄ וקרא הייא קירוויא ליאואר זיוא ונהור נהורא ומאנדא קראן על כלילא ד̄אסא ותראץ אגאנביא תאגא ולגאט קורנא ד̄נאציפא וקרא האיאל כבאר ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא לפאנדאמא ואכריך לפומה̄ וקרא ריהא ד̄באסים ואתנא לקודאמה̄ וקרא אודין

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er sich erhob, nieste und nach dem Leben fragte[1]. *Adam sprach: „Ich gelangte durch die Kraft Hibil-Zīwās zum Ziele“*[2].

(c) *Alsdann erhob sich Hibil-Zīwā, bekleidete sich mit den sieben Gewändern und ging zum Ufer des Jordans. Während Adam das Feuerbecken vor Hibil-Zīwā hinstellte, wand Hibil-Zīwā den Kranz für den Olivenstab, wand | den Kranz für Adam, trat an den Jordan, sang über ihn das Lied „Erhöre mich, mein Vater, erhöre mich“ (= LXXX), „denn mit der Kraft meines Vaters Jāwar ging ich zum Jordan, und mit der Kraft des Mandā* d̲*Haijē wurde der Kranz den Uthras aufgerichtet“.*

Alsdann erhob er sich, las „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“ (= I) über die Krone und legte sie sich aufs Haupt. Dann las er „Das Leben schuf Jāwar-Zīwā“ (= III), „Es leuchtete das Licht“ (= V) und „Mandā schuf mich“ (= XIX) über den Myrtenkranz und legte ihn an die Seite der Krone[3]. *Dann faßte er ein Ende | der Stola, las „Mächtig und groß ward das große Mysterium des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit“ (= VII) über das Pandāmā und legte es sich um den Mund. Dann las*

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[1] Die Stelle ist von GR 241, 15 ff. abhängig. Kaum היא ושאל „lebte und hustete“ (שעל) zu lesen. Der Zug, daß Adam, als der Lebensgeist in ihn einkehrte, nieste, ist auch in die arabischen Schöpfungsgeschichten eingedrungen, vgl. Ṭabarī, *Annales* I, p. 92 f., Ibn el-Athīr, *Chronicon*, p. 21 m.

[2] Sonst steht סלק לריש in diesem Sinne. GR 72, 15 steht לבית ריש בריש, wofür eine Handschrift לריש בריש hat.

[3] In den Handschriften Paris X und B. Mus. Add. Ms. 23602A fährt der Text weiter in der 3. sing. fort als Schilderung der Taufe, die Hibil-Zīwā bei Adam vornahm. Die anderen Handschriften schwenken unter Einwirkung der sonstigen Anweisungen an den Priester zur 2. sing. m. ab.

ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ובית מישקאל איניא ומישקאל איניא וביומא ד̄יארדנא עהאבלה̄ לסאם סמיר וסיגדית ושאבאתה̄ להאך יאואר זיוא ואנא הו יור בר בארית בזיוא נאפשא ולגאט כאנזאלא וקרא ליארדנא אסגית אלמא לדוכתא ד̄אמאר פרוליא האנדאמיא קומאת עהות ונהית אלמא לרובאיא ד̄אטמה̄ ביארדנא וקרא בשומא ד̄יוסמיר גופנא קאדמאיא למארגנא ודוכתא ד̄אמאר כד̄ כסיא בזיוא ומלאבאש באנהורא רמאלה̄ כלילא ד̄אסא למארגנא ואלבישיה̄ בכאנזאלא וקרא עסיר יאמא וצאר תלאת צוראתא תלאתא זיבניא ביארדנא וקרא גימרא אנא גמירא וזהא ועתאזהא ואזלא מיא ביארדנא ליאמינה̄ ולסמאלה̄ ולקודאמה̄ וקרא פיריאויס כד̄ ד̄כתיב והאיזאך רמא עניאנא ואמארלה̄ כול מאן ד̄עתבה̄ האילא וראהמא נאפשיה̄ ניתיא ונינהית

er „Wie lieblich der Duft“ (= VIII) und stellte (die Räucherpfanne) vor sich hin. Dann las er „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), „Dich“ (LXXVII), „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV), „Beim Hochheben der Augen“ (= IX), „Am Tage, da sie Sām-Smīr den Jordan gewährten“ (= X), „Ich verehrte und pries jenen Jāwar-Zīwā“ (= XI) „Ich bin Jūr. .. Ich glänzte in reichem Glanze“ (= XII). Dann faßte er die Kopfbinde an und las „Ich ging zum Jordan hin“ (= XIII) bis zu der Stelle, wo es heißt „sie stärkten mir die Glieder meines Körpers. Ich steige hinab“. Dann stieg er bis zu einem Viertel | seiner Beine in den Jordan hinab und las „Im Namen Jōsmīrs, des ersten Weinstocks“ (= XIV) über den Olivenstab. An der Stelle, wo es heißt „bedeckt mit Glanz, bekleidet mit Licht“ legte er den Myrtenkranz um den Olivenstab und bekleidete diesen mit der Kopfbinde. Dann las er „Gebunden sei das Meer“ (= XV) und zeichnete dreimal drei Figuren im Jordan[1]). Dann las er „Ich bin ein vollkommenes Gimrā (= XVI) und „Zitternd, erzitternd eilet fort“ (= XVII) und goß Wasser in den Jordan rechts, links und vor sich[2]). Dann las er „Pirjawis“ (= XVIII) wie es geschrieben steht. Alsdann trug er | ein Lied vor und sprach zu ihm: „Ein jeder, der die Kraft in sich fühlt und dessen Seele es liebt, komme, steige zum Jordan hinab, lasse sich taufen, nehme

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1) Wahrscheinlich um die Bindung des Meeres zu veranschaulichen.

2) Die Handschriften weichen hier stärker von einander ab. אזלא und die Nebenformen scheinen mir zu זלח, זהל zu gehören. Dies wurde auch sonst mit אזל zusammengeworfen, siehe zu Qol 44, 12. Zur Sache vgl. Peterm. II, p. 462 unt. In Paris X steht noch ואזא הינון לסאהריא ולדאיויא מן קודאמה̄ „und scheuchte die Dämonen und Dēws vor sich fort“. Hier gehört wohl אזא zu זהא; die Worte beziehen sich auf den Inhalt von St. XVII.

ליארדנא וניצטבא וניקאביל דאכיא רושומא ונילבאש עצטליא ד̅זיוא וניתריך ברישיה̅ כליליא* ראוזיא ונהית אדאם ליארדנא וטמאש תלאת טמושיאתא אבאתרה̅ וליגטה̅ ביאמינה̅ ואשלימה̅ לסמאלה̅ ואותבה̅ ביניא דילה̅ למארגנא וטימשיה̅ תלאת טמושיאתא ורישמה̅ תלאתא רושומיא ביארדנא ואשקה̅ תלאתא הופניא מיא וקרא לכלילא ד̅אסא מאנדא קראן ותראצלה̅ ברישיה̅ ואדכאר עלה̅ שומהאתא כאסיאתא ופשאט כושטא מינה̅ מן עלאויא מארגנא ואסקה̅ לקודאמה̅ ונסאב מיא מן יארדנא בקאנינא ורמא עניאנא בריש מיא ניפקית ובריכית תירא באראיא וקרא מן יארדנא סילקית וסליק מן יארדנא ושאלמה̅ ודרא מישא וקרא אודין בה̅ ומישא אנאת שיהא ועתקאיאמתון הייא קאדמאייא למישא ורישמה̅* תלאתא רושומיא ואדיא עלה̅ תלאת אדאיאתא כול רושומא אתנא עדא לרישיה̅ ואדכאר עלה̅ האניך שומהאתא ד̅אדכאר עלה̅ ביארדנא ופשאט כושטא

das reine Zeichen an, ziehe Gewänder des Glanzes an und lege sich prangende Kränze auf das Haupt“. Adam stieg dann in den Jordan hinab und tauchte dreimal hinter ihm unter. Dann faßte er ihn bei der Rechten, führte ihn nach der linken Seite hin und setzte ihn zwischen sich und den Olivenstab. Er tauchte ihn dreimal unter, zeichnete ihn dreimal | im Jordan und gab ihm drei Handvoll Wasser zu trinken. Er las über den Myrtenkranz „Mandā schuf mich“ (= XIX) und legte ihn ihm auf das Haupt. Dann sprach er über ihn verborgene Namen[1]), reichte ihm Kušṭā über dem Olivenstab und führte ihn vor sich empor. Dann nahm er Wasser aus dem Jordan in die Flasche und sprach das Lied „An der Spitze des Wassers zog ich aus“ (= LXXXII) und „Gesegnet seiest du, äußere Pforte“ (= XX). Ferner las er „Aus dem Jordan stieg ich empor“ (= XXI), stieg dann aus dem Jordan und sprach es zu Ende. Er trug dann Öl herbei und las über das Öl „Wir bekannten“ (= XXII), „Du bist | das kostbare Öl“ (= XXIII) und „Du erhieltest Bestand, erstes Leben“ (= XXIV), zeichnete ihn dreimal, bestrich ihn dreimal[2]), bei jedem Zeichen legte er ihm die Hand auf das Haupt und sprach über ihn jene Namen, die er im Jordan über ihn gesprochen hatte. Er reichte

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[1]) Nach Paris X „sieben verborgene Namen“.

[2]) Zu אדיא inbezug auf die Ölung siehe p. 35[3]. Nach der vorliegenden Stelle sieht es aus, als ob außer der Zeichnung mit Öl noch eine Bestreichung stattfände, während sonst mit אדיא eben die Ölung gemeint ist. In der Lond. Rolle A, 613, 643, 720 steht in derselben Wendung אדיאתא. Die Schreibung im Qol ist richtiger, denn es ist אֲדָיָתָא von einem Singular אֲדָיְתָא, siehe zu dieser Bildung Nöld., p. 134. Dadurch daß אדיא mit עדא „Hand“ zusammengeworfen wurde, ist der Text stark entstellt.

מינה̄ ונסאב פיהתא ומאמבוהא וקרא תמאניא באואתא ד̄פיהתא על פיהתא
ותארתין באואתא ד̄מאמבוהא למאמבוהא ועהאבלה̄ פיהתא ואכאל
ועהאבלה̄ מאמבוהא ושתא ופשאט כושטא מינה̄ ואותבה̄ קודאמה̄ וקרא
האתאמאתא כד̄ עהאבלה̄ יארדנא ד̄מיא הייא לסאם סמיר זיוא [21] רבא
ד̄הייא ועסירא והתימא ובעוצאר הייא ועסירא והתימא ראבתיא ואסים
עדא עלה̄ וקאם וקרא עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון וקרא מאהו אבאדלאך אבוך
נישמא וכמא שאפיריא שיתליא ד̄שתאל ואקים יארדנא (d) ואשאר צבאן
צאבויאי (e) ושילמאי צבינאן במאצבותא (f) ויארדנא ד̄עצטבינאבה̄
עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא (g) ואנא בתארמידאי האדינא ובנאצוראייא
ד̄שותאי שומא (h) ורמא עניאנא טאב עלכון אמארנא ועלכון קארינא
ומאפרישנא ותארמידא אנא האדתא ד̄אסגית לכיפא ד̄יארדנא (i) וקרא
כולהון עניאניא ודראשיא בסאכון וקרא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר
נו וטאב טאבא לטאבא וקרא בזיו ד̄נפיש צבינא ושרא כאנזאלא ואוקאר
תאגא והייא זאכין ס‾‾‾א

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ihm Kušṭā, nahm Pihtā und Mambūhā, las die acht Gebete des Pihtā über das Pihtā und die beiden Gebete des Mambūhā über das Mambūhā, reichte ihm das Pihtā und er aß, reichte ihm das Mambūhā und er trank, reichte ihm Kušṭā, setzte ihn vor sich und las die siegelnden Gebete „Als man den Jordan lebenden Wassers Sām Smīr, dem großen Glanze | des Lebens, gewährte“ (= XXV), „Umbunden und gesiegelt“ (= XXVI), „Durch den Schatz des Lebens“ (= XXVII) und das große „Umbunden und gesiegelt“ (= XXVIII). Er legte die Hand auf ihn, stellte sich hin und las „Ihr seid aufgerichtet und gefestigt“ (= XXIX). Ferner las er „Was hat dein Vater mit dir getan, o Seele“ (= XXX), „Wie schön sind die Pflanzen, die der Jordan pflanzte und aufstellte“ (= LXXXIII), (d) „Recht taufte mich mein Täufer“ (= LXXXIV), (e) „Šilmai taufte uns mit der Taufe“ (= LXXXV), (f) „Der Jordan, in dem wir getauft wurden, wird für uns Zeuge sein“ (= LXXXVI) (g) und „Ich freue mich meiner Jünger und der Nāṣōräer, | die auf meine Rede hörten“ (= LXXXVII). (h) Er sang das Lied „Dringend ermahne ich euch“ (= LXXXVIII), „Euch rufe ich zu und erkläre ich“ (= LXXXIX), „Ein Jünger bin ich, ein neuer, der ich zum Ufer des Jordans ging“ (= XC). (i) Er trug alle Lieder und Hymnen in ihrer Gesamtheit vor. Er las „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ des Šum bar Nū (= LXXI) und „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“ (= LXXII). Er las „Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft“ (= LXIII), löste die Kopfbinde und ehrte die Krone.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(j) והאיזאך אגזאר אגזארתא היביל זיוא ואמאר אבגאן הייא ואבגאן
מאנדא ד̄הייא ואבגאן מימרא רבא ק̣אדמאיא ניהויא לכול גאברא
תארמידא ד̄אדינק̣יא פאנדאמא מאצבותא ניצבא ניליטה̄ שיריאנא ד̄אינא
ראבתיא וניליטה̄ שילמאי ונידבאי עותריא נאטריא ד̄יארדנא וניליטה̄ אינא
וסינדירכא ויוכאבאר ניניסבה̄ לתאגה̄ ורושומה̄ ונאשפלה̄ לכיניאנא ד̄אתאר
השוך והאיזאך כול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄פאנדאמא נילגוט ומאצבותא ניצבא
נידגאר שיריאנא ד̄אינא ראבתיא לקודאמה̄ וכול ד̄אבאד ניתק̣איאם וכולהון
ק̣יריאתא מינה̄ ניתראהק̣אן וניתיכריך השוכא מינה̄ וניתנאטאר לבושיה̄
לואתאיאן כ̄ד קאיים בפאגרה̄ לאמצין שובא למישבאק האוקא עלה̄
ונישתאדארלה̄ האילא ראמא. (k) כ̄ד נאפיק̣ מן פאגרה̄ תיתיא אלאנפה̄
אנאנא ד̄נאפקא אלאנפאיהון ד̄עותריא והאוקא ד̄מאטאראייא עלה̄
לאנישתאלאט ולאניבאר על מאטאראייא לאנידיא ואבאתור מן זיוה̄
נאלבשיה̄ וכולהון עותריא מן נהוראיהון נישרון עלה̄ והייא זאכין ס־־־א

(j) Ferner bestimmte Hibil-Zīwā und sprach: „Der Anschrei des Lebens, der Anschrei des Mandā ḏHaijē und der Anschrei des großen, ersten Wortes sei gegen jeden Priester, der ohne das Pandāmā die Taufe vollzieht. Ihn wird die Ader der großen Quelle verfluchen, ihn verfluchen die Uthras Šilmai und Nidbai, die Hüter des Jordans, ihn verfluchen die Quelle | und die Palme, Jōkabar wird ihm Krone und Zeichen wegnehmen und ihn zur Natur[1]*) des Ortes der Finsternis hinabstürzen.*

Hingegen wird vor einem jeden Nāṣōräer, der das Pandāmā umhält, während er die Taufe vollzieht, die Ader der großen Quelle sich häufen, alles, was er tut, wird Bestand haben, alle Zufälle werden von ihm fernbleiben, die Finsternis wird vor ihm zusammengewickelt werden und sein Gewand bei uns verwahrt bleiben. Wenn er noch in seinem Körper weilt, können die Sieben keine Angst gegen ihn loslassen, | sondern hohe Kraft wird ihm gesandt werden. (k) Wenn er aus seinem Körper scheidet, wird die Wolke ihm entgegenkommen, die den Uthras entgegenkommt, die Angst der Wachthäusler wird keine Gewalt über ihn haben, und er wird an den Wachthäuslern nicht vorbeigehen[2]*), Abathur wird ihn mit seinem Glanze bekleiden, und alle Uthras werden von ihrem Lichte über ihn legen“.*

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

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[1] Vgl. Nöld., p. 136².

[2] לאניבאר ist wahrscheinlich als Glosse zu לאנידיא in den Text hineingeraten.

(l) האזין מיצרא ד̄מאצבותא ד̄אתאת לאלמא האזין ד̄ציבה̄ היביל זיוא לאדאם גאברא קאדמאיא ותנאטאר בדאריא לבהיריא זידקִא ד̄הואת כתיבא האזין מיצרא בדיואן ד̄אינא ראבתיא ד̄ראמויא בר עקאימאת וכידבה̄ באיאן היביל בר בריך יאואר האכא וזירה̄ במא ד̄נאצוראייא מן דיואן ד̄נאפשיה̄ ד̄אנסא מן דיואן ד̄ראמויא בר עקִאימאת ד̄הואת כתיבא בטיב מאתא ד̄עשתיהכאת לואת האיונא בראתא ד̄יאהיא ובאינאי בר זאכיא ד̄לאגטיא ומאשריא עלה̄ ודלא מאשאר עלה̄ נירהוק מינה̄ ולאניקִרובלה̄ והייא זאכין ס‾‾‾א

(m) תום אמאר יאהיא אדאם בר סאם סאיויא כד̄ ניפלאת לואתאי דיואן

(l) Dies ist die Verordnung[1] *für die Taufe, die auf diese Welt gekommen ist. Hibil-Zīwā taufte mit ihr Adam, den ersten Mann, und sie blieb durch die Generationen für die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit verwahrt.*

Diese Verordnung war niedergeschrieben in der Handschrift der „Großen Quelle“ des Rāmōiā, Sohnes der Eqaimath. Sie schrieb hier Baian Hibil, Sohn des Brīkh-Jāwar ab. Dann säte er sie aus unter hundert Nāṣōräer aus der | eigenen Handschrift, die er aus der Handschrift des Rāmōiā, Sohnes der Eqaimath, abgeschrieben hatte, die in der Ortschaft Ṭīb[2] *geschrieben war und sich bei Haiōnā, der Tochter des Jahiā, und Bainai, dem Sohne des Zakiā, befand*[3]. *Die daran festhalten —*[4], *wer nicht daran festhalten will, halte sich davon fern und nähre sich ihm nicht.*

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(m) Ferner sprach Jahiā Adam, Sohn des Sām-Sāiōiā: Als die Handschrift des Rāmōiā, Sohnes der Eqaimath, die sich bei Haiōnā,

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[1] Das Ritual für die Taufe wird hier מיצרא genannt. מיצרא bedeutet eigentlich Grenze, vgl. Joh., S. 102. Auch das syrische ܬܚܘܡܐ hat den Sinn „Verordnung“ angenommen, vgl. Payne-Smith, 4420 f. מיצרא findet sich in demselben Sinne auch Par. Diwan, Z. 60, 118.

[2] Nach Jacut, *Geogr. Wörterbuch* III, p. 566 ein Städtchen zwischen Wāsiṭ und Chūzistān mit nabatäisch sprechender nabatäischer Bevölkerung. Diese soll angeblich nur in vorislamischer Zeit „ṣabisch“ gewesen, nachher zum Islam übergetreten sein. Die Gründung wird auf Seth, d. h. Šitil, zurückgeführt. Jacut weiß von Ṭīb allerhand Wunderdinge zu erzählen.

[3] עשתיהכאת gehört zu שכח. Die Lesung ד̄שתיכנאת in einigen Handschriften ist durch 61, 1 beeinflußt.

[4] Der Nachsatz, etwa „der nehme sie“, ist ausgelassen, eine rhetorische Ellipse.

ד̅ראמויא בר עקִאימאת ד̅שתיכנאת לואת האיונא בראתא ד̅יאהיא ובאינאי
בר זאכיא בנאיתה̅ וסאדארתה̅ כד̅ האזין ד̅הואת כתיבא ולאשאנית מינדאם
בגאוה̅ ס‾‾‾א

der Tochter des Jahiā, und Bainai, dem Sohne des Zakiā, befand, mir in die Hände fiel, baute ich sie auf und ordnete sie, wie die ursprüngliche geschrieben war, und änderte in ihr nichts.

Zweiter Teil.

Die Totenmesse.

XXXII. [1])

[22] בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא אסותא תיהוייליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת האיאל כבאר ראזא רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄שריא על פומאיהון ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ הוא מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄הו עדא ופראש בעוצראיהון ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ד̄הינון פרישאייא הינון ומשאבין הייא ס———א

האזא בותא קריא ולגוט פאנדאמא למאסיקְתא ס——א

XXXIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא מיא אנאתון הייא אנאתון מן אתרא ד̄נפיש אתאיתון

XXXII. [1])

Im Namen des großen Lebens werde Heilung zu teil mir NN.

Mächtig und groß ward das große Mysterium des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, das auf dem Munde des ersten Lebens ruht. Aus ihm ist Mandā d̲Haijē hervorgegangen, der durch den Sinn des ersten Lebens erkannte und einsah, daß es hervorragend ist.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Lies dieses Gebet und fasse dein Pandāmā[2]) für die Totenmesse an.

XXXIII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Lebendes Wasser bist du, du bist aus einem hehren Orte

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[1]) Das Stück ist identisch mit VII.

[2]) Siehe oben p. 11².

ומן בית הייא עשתאפאיתון מיתיא מיא הייא מן בית הייא· ניתון טאביא וניטאיבון ובישיא ניתיברון ובניא אלמא ניביהתון ונימרון ד̄עתלאן אתרא באתרא ד̄הייא ד̄באיין מינה̄ מאשכיא ואמריא ומישתימיא בין ואשכאנין ואמארנין ושתמאנין מן קודאמאך דילאך מאנדא ד̄הייא מאראיהון ד̄אסאואתא עשתאפוייא מיא לתיביל נישתפיל בישא מן קודאם טאבא מיפאל מיא לארקא נישתביקלון האטאיון והאובון וסכילאתון ותיקלאתון ושאבאשאתון לראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא ולנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא ולאבאהאתאן וראבאנאן ולאהאן ולאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהון ותימרון קאיאמין הייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס־־־־א

XXXIV.

האל הייא קאדמאייא ד̄עניש קודאמאיכון לאהוא נוכראייא מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא לזיוא האתיקא ולנהורא

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gekommen, hast dich aus dem Hause des Lebens ergossen. Wie das lebende Wasser aus dem Hause des Lebens kommt, werden die Guten kommen und Gutes erhalten. Doch die Bösen werden gebrochen, und die Kinder der Welt werden beschämt werden. Jene sprechen: „Es giebt für uns einen Ort am Orte des Lebens, an dem die suchen, finden, die sprechen, erhört werden. So suchten wir denn und fanden, sprachen und wurden erhört vor dir | Mandā d̲Haijē, dem Herrn der Heilungen. Gleichwie das Wasser sich zur Tibil ergießt, sinke der Böse vor dem Guten nieder. Gleichwie das Wasser zur Erde fällt, mögen den Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā ihre Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen erlassen werden, sowie den Seelen dieses Aufstieges, auch unseren Eltern, Lehrern, Brüdern und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch | in ihrem Körper weilen“.

Saget: Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich.

XXXIV.

Ja, für das erste Leben[1]), vor dem niemand war, das fremde aus den Lichtwelten, das erhabene, das über allen Werken steht, den uralten Glanz, das große erste Licht, das Leben, das aus dem Leben ward, die Kušṭā, die von je her am Anfange war.

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[1]) Ist der Weihrauch, siehe die Schlußbemerkung und St. VIII.

רבא קאדמאיא ולהייא ד̄הון מן הייא ולכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם ברישא האל אבא ד̄עותריא האתיקא ראמא כאסיא ונטירא האל יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא ניבא ד̄הייא ד̄מהאויא שידקא ויאהיב סיברא ואהיד באואתא ד̄רוהיא ונישמאתא באתרא ד̄הייא האל האִיאיון ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא ד̄שאלים ונפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהון ניסתכאר מינאיהון באבא ד̄האטאייא וניפתאלון באבא ד̄נהורא וניתליפון בלאופא ד̄הייא ד̄ליתלה̄ פ̣סאקא אנאתון מן תאם בון עלאן ואנין מן האכא ניביא עלאואיכון כולהון עביביא סאיפיא וכולהון ·ריהאניא באטליא לבאר מן ריהה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄לאסאייף ולאבאטיל [23] לדאר דאריא ולאלאם אלמיא אדינקיא האטאייא והאוביא וסכילאתא ותיקלאתא ושאבאשאתא ניסקא נישמאתא ד̄האזא מאס̣יקתא ניהזונה̄ לאתרא ד̄נהו̣רא ולדאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא ס––––א

האזין פוגדאמא ק̣ריא לריהא ורמיא לנורא והאיזאד ק̣ריא באואתא ד̄מאסיקתא ס–––א

Ja, für den Vater der Uthras, den alten, hohen, verborgenen, verwahrten.

Ja, für Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē, den Sprudel des Lebens, der Schweigen zeigt und Hoffnung gewährt, der die Gebete der Geister und Seelen am Orte des Lebens bewahrt.

Ja, für das Leben | der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer, die abgeschlossen haben und aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen. Vor ihnen mag das Tor der Sünden geschlossen und ihnen das Tor des Lichtes geöffnet werden. Mögen sie der Verbindung mit dem Leben teilhaftig werden, für die es keine Trennung gibt. Betet ihr von dort her für uns, und wir werden von hier für euch beten. Alle Früchte gehen zu Ende und alle Düfte vergehen, doch nicht der Duft des Mandā | d̲Haijē, der nicht zu Ende geht und nicht vergeht in allen Zeitaltern und aller Ewigkeit. Mögen die Seelen dieses Aufstieges ohne Sünden, Vergehen, Verfehlungen, Strauchelungen und Irrungen emporsteigen und den Lichtort und die glänzende Wohnung schauen.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Lies diesen Spruch über den Weihrauch und wirf ihn ins Feuer. Alsdann lies die Gebete der Totenmesse.

XXXV.

בשומא ד̄הייא בית מישקאל איניא כארפיא ודראייא לאתרא ד̄כולה̄ הייא זיוא ונהורא ועקארא אתרא ד̄באיין מינה̄ מאשכיא ואמריא ⟨מינה̄⟩ ומישתימיא ושאיליא מינה̄ ומיתהיבלון יום ביום ושאייא בשאייא שיתא האזא באיינא מינאך מאראי מאנדא-ד̄הייא בותא נאפשא רבא ולאזוטא על גיויאתא האלין ד̄ארביך בורכאיין לארקא ועדאיהון פשאט למיציא ועלאייא שבאק צילמיא צוריא ופריכיא ד̄טינא ואלאהיא קורקסא ועובאדיא ב̄אטליא בשומא ד̄הייא רביא נוכראייא סהאד ניסתכאר מינאיהון באבא ד̄האטאייא וניפתאלון באבא ד̄נהורא תיסאק שולתאן ובותאן ודנותאן קודאם הייא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא כולהין עדיא גנאב קודאמאך וכולהין עספיא כאדיב מיא ביארדנא זאכאיא קודאמאך לאיית מאנדא ד̄הייא אבדיא אנין ד̄כולהון האטאייא ואנאת מארא ד̄כולה̄ תיארותא

XXXV.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Ich wollte Augen, Schultern und Arme hochheben nach dem Orte, der ganz Leben, Glanz, Licht und Herrlichkeit ist, dem Orte, von dem man sucht und findet, man spricht und wird erhört, man bittet und es wird gewährt, Tag für Tag, Stunde für Stunde. Zu dieser Stunde richte ich an dich, mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē, eine inständige Bitte, | groß und nicht klein, für diese Körper, die ihre Knie zur Erde beugten und ihre Hände nach der Mitte und oben hin streckten[1]. Sie verließen die Abbilder, Bildwerke und Götterschreine aus Ton, die Götter aus Klötzen und sonstige nichtige Werke und bezeugten den Namen des großen, fremden Lebens: Vor ihnen werde das Tor der Sünden verschlossen und ihnen das Tor des Lichtes geöffnet. Unsere Bitte, unser Gebet und unsere Unterwerfung steige empor vor das erhabene Leben, | das über allen Werken steht. Alle Hände stahlen vor dir, und alle Lippen logen . . . .[2]. Niemand ist sündenrein vor dir, Mandā d̲Haijē.

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[1] Vgl. Peterm. II, p. 463, Z. 12 f.

[2] מיא ביארדנא paßt schlecht zu כאדיב. Die Stelle scheint verderbt zu sein, obwohl die Worte auch Qol 54, 20 stehen. „Sie täuschten“ oder „verleugneten das Wasser im Jordan“ soll hier schwerlich gesagt sein. Nöldeke's Auffassung Gram., p. 402 unt. scheint mir nicht richtig. „Rein“ von Wasser heißt nicht זאכאיא sondern דכיא, und die Lesung זאכאיא ist wohl die ursprüngliche. Sie ist, wie Nöldeke selbst hervorhebt, besser bezeugt als זאכאייא.

ד̄אנאת מינאן מאן זאכילאן ודאנאת מזאכיאתלאן מאן מהאייבלאן בדין אלמיא לאתידנינאן ובסכילאתאן לאתיזלינאן ובעובאדיא ד̄שיקרא ד̄אבדין אלמיא ודאריא לאתישאתפינאן מידהא דהונאן אלמיא מיפאל לאנפאלנין על אגאנביא כושטא דילאך הואלאן רוהצאנא טאב תרוץ להייא ומיתרוץ לבניא אנאשא אנאת אמארת במימראך ופאקידתינאן בפוגדאמאך אנאתון בון מן תיביל ואנא עתילכון מן פיריא עלאייא אנאתון בון מן אתותיא הורדא עושא ותפאלא ואנא עתילכון מן מרומיא עלאייא אנאתון בון ביאמין ביסרא ואנא עתילכון ביאמין כושטא בון קאדמאייא ואשכון ניבון באתראייא ונאשכון בון ואשכא לנאפשאיכון ולראהמאיכון ולראהמיא ראהמאיכון

Wir sind Sklaven, die ganz Sünden, du bist der Herr, der ganz Vergebung ist. Wenn du mit uns bist, wer wird uns besiegen, wenn du uns freisprichst, wer wird uns verurteilen? Richte uns nicht nach dem Gerichte der Welten, verachte uns nicht wegen unserer Torheiten und mache uns nicht der Lügenwerke, die die Welten und Äonen verüben, teilhaftig. Die Welten stießen uns, doch wir fielen nicht. Zu Seiten deiner Kušṭā hatten wir Vertrauen | gar sehr 1). Vertraue dem Leben; willst du den Menschen vertrauen? 2). Du sprachest mit deiner Rede und befahlest uns mit deinem Spruch: Betet ihr von der Tibil her, und ich werde euch aus den oberen Früchten gewähren. Betet ihr unterhalb des Rohres, des Sumpfes und der Fadheit 3), und ich werde euch aus den oberen Höhen gewähren. Betet ihr mit der Rechten des Fleisches, und ich werde euch mit der Rechten der Kušṭā gewähren. Die Früheren suchten und fanden, so werden auch die Späteren suchen und finden. | Suchet und findet für euch selbst, für eure Freunde, für die Freunde eurer Freunde und für die Freunde des großen Stammes des

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1) Ich lese und verstehe die Worte jetzt anders, als ich es ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 696, 19 ff. getan habe. Die Mehrzahl der Handschriften hat על אגאנביא, und es ist eher anzunehmen, daß ein Abschreiber על אגאנביא zu dem ihm verständlicheren לאגאנביא machte als umgekehrt.

2) Sehr zweifelhaft. In תרוץ und מיתרוץ sind vielleicht Formen von רחץ enthalten. Aber der ganze Satz scheint nicht hierher zu gehören.

3) Zu הורדא vgl. Ǧawālīḳī's *Almuʿarrab*, p. 52 s. الحُرْدِىّ und Nöld., p. 60. עושא ist ܚܘܫܐ, das auch sonst zusammen mit „Rohr“ genannt wird, vgl. Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 343. Zu תפל vgl. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*^{16}, p. 886 b. Morg 259, 9, 5 steht תיפלא תיפלית parallel רויתא רוית.

ולראהמיא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא אינאיכון ריקאן מן לואת לאניתכאמרא אנאת אבא ד̄כולה̄ עותריא ועצטונא ד̄כולה̄ נהורא וגופנא ד̄כולה̄ הייא ועלאנא רבא ד̄כולה̄ מאנדיא [24] ד̄יאדית בלילביא ופארשית בעוצריא ומאישית בתיראתא בבדוניא תיתאייא ד̄השוכא וכד̄ שאמשא שטיהא לקודאמאך אינאן לאך דילאך שקילא ועספאן לאך דילאך יאהבא תושביהתא ובירכתא שאבא שאייא ד̄יומא ותלאת מאטאראתא ד̄ליליא ד̄באיין מינה̄ מאשכיא ודשאיליא מינה̄ מיתהיבלון ד̄על באבא עהידא קאיים באבא עהידא תיפתאל̄ון באתרא ד̄נהורא תיכפאר ותישקאל מינאיאן האטאיאן והאובאן וסכילאתאן ותיקלאתאן ושאבאשאתאן תירמיא בתאסניקיא ד̄ארקא ובבדוניא תיתאייא ד̄השוכא ותארמינאן ותאקמינאן בזאכאייא ד̄לאו בהאיאביא וביאתיריא ד̄לאו בהאסיריא קודאמאך מאנדא ד̄הייא ניהזון טאביא וניטאיבון ובישיא ניתיברון ובניא אלמא ניביהתון ונימרון ד̄עתלאן אתרא באתרא ד̄הייא ד̄באיין מינה̄ מאשכין ושאיליא מינה̄ ומיתהיבלון

Lebens. Eure Augen sollen sich nicht leer von mir umwenden.

Du bist der Vater, der ganz Uthras, die Säule, die ganz Licht, der Weinstock, der ganz Leben, der große Baum, der ganz Mandās [1]) ist. Du kennst die Herzen, durchschaust die Sinne, befühlst die Eingeweide in den unteren Abaddons [2]) der Finsternis. Wie die Sonne | sind sie vor dir ausgebreitet. Zu dir sind unsere Augen emporgehoben, und dir spenden unsere Lippen Lobpreis und Segen: sieben Stunden des Tages und in den drei Vigilien der Nacht. Die bei ihm suchen, finden, denen, die von ihm erbitten, wird es gewährt. Dem, der vor verschlossenem Tore steht, wirst du das verschlossene Tor öffnen. Am Orte des Lichtes wirst du von uns unsere Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen | und Irrungen wegwischen und fortnehmen und in die Höllen der Erde und die unteren Abaddons der Finsternis werfen. Erhebe uns und stelle uns auf als Schuldlose, nicht als Schuldige, als Vollwertige, nicht als Mangelhafte vor dir Mandā ḏHaijē. Die Guten sollen es sehen und Gutes finden, die Bösen sollen gebrochen und die Kinder der Welt beschämt werden. Jene sollen sagen: es giebt für uns einen Ort am Orte des Lebens, an dem die suchen, finden, denen, die erbitten, gewährt wird. Wir bitten, daß du von deinem

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1) Hier wohl noch in appellativischer Bedeutung gebraucht: Wissen, γνῶσις.

2) Hebräisches אֲבַדּוֹן als Bezeichnung für die Unterwelt.

באיינין מן זיואך ומן נהוראך ומן צאותאך תישריא עלאן אנאת אסיא ד̄עלאויא אסאואתא ומדאליא ד̄עלאויא מדאלאואתא וזיוא ד̄עלאויא זיויא ונהורא ד̄עלאויא נהוריא ד̄פאהתית תיריא כושטא ומגאלילית ראזיא היכומתא ומהאוית גאמבארואתא בעוראשלאם סאדמית סאהריא ודאיויא ומאדיהית אלאהיא מן עכוראיהון נפיש שומאך ומשאבא שומאך דמותא אנאת ד̄הייא 1) ד̄הוית מן לאקאדמיא גופנא אנאת ד̄הוית באיאר עלא שומיא ועלא ארקא כד̄ אלמיא הון ועתיבריא ביריאתא* לגאטת ליגיטתא באלמיא ודאריא ורמית דירכא לאנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא לאתרא ד̄הייא יאתביא רוהיא ונישמאתא כד̄ האיאביא וניקמון כד̄ זאכאייא בשומאך יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא אסמוכיא עדאיהון ד̄אנאשיא טאביא תיהויא אסותא ד̄הייא לנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא וקאיאמין הייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס——א

Glanze, deinem Lichte und deinem Schmucke etwas auf uns legest. Du bist der Arzt, der über den Ärzten, der Erheber, der über den Erhebern, der Glanz, der über den Glanzwesen, das Licht, das über den Lichtern steht. Du öffnest die Pforten der Kušṭā, offenbarest die Geheimnisse der Weisheit und zeigest Wundertaten in Jerusalem 2). | Du sperrst die Dämonen und Dēws ab und stößest die Götter von ihren Tempeln weg. Groß ist dein Name, gepriesen dein Name. Du bist das Abbild des Lebens, der du von je her warst. Du bist der Weinstock, der du im Äther über dem Himmel und über der Erde warst. Als die Welten entstanden und die Geschöpfe geschaffen wurden, tatest du einen Griff an den Welten und Äonen und legtest einen Weg an für die wahrhaften und gläubigen Männer zum Orte des Lebens. Die Geister | und Seelen sitzen als Schuldige da und werden als Schuldlose aufstehen. In deinem Namen Jōzaṭaq Mandā ḏHaijē, ⟨die Hände der trefflichen Menschen zu stützen⟩ werde Heilung des Lebens den Seelen dieses Aufstieges zu teil.

Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich.

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1) Im Texte חייא.

2) Das Wirken des Erlösers in Jerusalem, gewöhnlich ist es Anōš, wird GR 29, 4 ff.; 52, 24 ff.; Joh., S. 243 geschildert.

האזא בותא לכול טאבו אזלא זבאן לראהמיא אזלא זבאן למאסיקתא ולמאצבותא ולכול אסותא הע ולמאסיקתא אבאתאר ד̄קארית לפאנדאמא ומיא ד̄בותא ופוגדאמא ד̄ריהא בעיא אודין ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ומישקאל איניא ובית מישקאל איניא ושאויא פיהתא ומאמבוהא וכלילא ואתנא למאסיקתא וקריא פוגדאמא ד̄מישא במינדאם דאכיא בכאפהא ד̄זגאויתא עו אנכא כד̄ היפא ומדאכיא וקריא מאסיקתא ס־־־א

XXXVI.

[25] בשומא ד̄הייא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך מאנא רבא כאסיא קאדמאיא ד̄הוא תשימא ותשין ותשא אלפיא רובאן שניא בשכינתא ד̄נאפשיה̇ באלהודה̇ ד̄לאהוא אתאלה̇ צאותא לבאר מן האך מאנא רבא כאסיא קאדמאיא ד̄הואבה̇ ורבאבה̇ תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך ניטופתא ראבתיא כאסיתא קאדמאיתא

Dieses Gebet eignet sich für alles Gute. Das eine Mal eignet es sich für eine Fürbitte, das andere Mal für die Totenmesse und die Taufe, auch für jede Heilung. Bei der Totenmesse, nachdem du über das Pandāmā, über das Wasser des Gebetes[1]) *und den Spruch über den Weihrauch gelesen, bete „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), „Dich (Leben)“ (= LXXVII), „Beim Hochheben der Augen“ (= IX) und „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV), bereite dann das Pihtā und Mambūhā und den Kranz und lege sie für die Totenmesse hin. Dann lies den Spruch über das Öl. Dieses sei in etwas Reinem: einer Schale von Glas oder Zinn, die gewaschen und gereinigt ist. Dann lies die Totenmesse.*

XXXVI.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise jenen großen, verborgenen, ersten Mānā, der 999000 Myriaden Jahre in seiner eigenen Škīnā allein weilte, an den kein Genosse herangekommen war außer | jenem großen, verborgenen, ersten Mānā, in dem er weilte und groß wurde[2]).

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[1]) Das Wasser für den Sakramentstrunk, das nach p. 88 mit Wein zu mischen ist.

[2]) Es könnte an sich auch heißen „durch den er entstanden und groß geworden war“, doch ist בגו hier wohl ebenso aufzufassen wie in der Kosmogonie GR 68 f. Vgl. auch 73, 8.

ד̄מינה̄ הון ד̄הואת מא וארבין וארבא אלפיא רובאן שניא בשכינתא ד̄נאפשה̄ באלהודה̄ ד̄לאהוא תאלה̄ צאותא תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שאר גופנא רבא כאסיא קאדמאיא ד̄הוא לואתאיהון תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך פירון גופנא רבא כאסיא קאדמאיא ד̄הון מינה̄ תמאנימא ותמאנאן אלפיא רובאן עותריא מינאיהון ומן האנאתון עותריא הוא עותרא הדא ד̄הו פארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא שומה̄ זוט אחה̄ וקאשיש אבאהאתה̄ אפריש וגאליל ואמאר מאנדא ד̄הייא עותרא מזארזא כול גאברא נאצוראיא כד̄ יאתיב ניתאב ונימאר[1] מקאימיתון הייא קאדמאייא ופיהתא ניפתא אגזארתא תיהויא עלה̄ מן בית הייא ואנא באנהורא ד̄הייא מיתקאיאמנא והייא זאכין ס———א

XXXVII.

סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאהע אנאנא כאסיתא ראבתיא

Dann verehre, verherrliche und preise ich jene große, verborgene, erste Niṭuftā, aus der jene entstanden waren, die 144000[2] Myriaden Jahre in ihrer eigenen Škīnā allein weilte, an die kein Genosse herangekommen war.

Dann verehre, verherrliche und preise ich Šar, jenen großen, verborgenen, ersten Weinstock, der bei ihnen weilte.

Dann verehre, verherrliche und preise ich Pirūn, jenen | großen, verborgenen, ersten Weinstock, aus dem 880000 Myriaden Uthras entstanden. Aus ihnen und jenen Uthras entstand ein Uthra, dessen Name „das große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit“ ist, der kleinste unter seinen Brüdern, der älteste unter seinen Vätern.

Mandā ḏHaijē, der gerüstete Uthra, lehrte, offenbarte und sprach: „Über jeden Nāṣōräer, der sitzend sagt ‘du erstes Leben bist gefestigt’[3] | und das Pihtā herstellt, wird die Verdammung aus dem Hause des Lebens kommen“. Ich aber werde durch das Licht des Lebens gefestigt.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXXVII.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise jene verborgene, große, erste Wolke des Lebens, aus der er[4] im Verborgenen das

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[1] Ursprünglich wohl ד̄כד̄ מיתאב יאתיב נימאר.

[2] Siehe oben p. 18[2].

[3] Man soll nicht sitzend sagen מקאימיתון.

[4] Vgl. XLI.

קאדמאיתא ד̄הייא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ פתא פיהתא בכיסיא ועהאבלון להייא כאסייא ולהייא רורביא קאדמאייא בכיסיא והייא זאכין ס־־א

XXXVIII.

סיגדית ושאבאתה̄ ליאוא זיוא ד̄קאם ושאבא להאך מאנא רבא כאבירא ד̄קאימיא ליאמינה̄ ולסמאלה̄ מא ⟨ארבימא⟩ וארבין וארבא אלפיא רובאן עותריא ואליף רובאן עותריא בניא נהורא סאגדיא ומשאבילון לפאסימכיא ד̄זיוא קאם ופתא פיהתא בכיסיא ועהאבלון לבניא אנאשא וקאימה̄ לשכינתה̄ בכיסיא והייא זאכין ס־־־־א

XXXIX.

סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שותא כאסיתא ד̄קרא יאואר בכיסיא באנה̄ ואפרישה̄ ותראצבה̄ ד̄הייא פאסימכא ואתא זיוא ונהורא ושרא ליאמינה̄ ואתאת צאותא ועהותא ושראת לסמאלה̄ ובאיין הייא ⟨עותריא⟩ למיהיזיה̄ לדמותה̄ ד̄יאואר זיוא

Pihtā schuf und es dem verborgenen Leben und dem gewaltigen, ersten Leben im Verborgenen gab.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXXVIII.

Ich verehrte und pries Jāwar-Zīwā[1], der dastand und jenen großen, gewaltigen Mānā pries, zu dessen Rechten und Linken 144000 | Myriaden Uthras stehen. Tausend Myriaden Uthras, Söhne des Lichtes, verehren und preisen die Leuchten des Glanzes. Er stand auf, schuf das Pihtā im Verborgenen, gab es den Menschenkindern und gründete seine Škīnā im Verborgenen.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXXIX.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise jene verborgene Rede, die Jāwar im Verborgenen ausgerufen. Er erhellte sie und erläuterte sie und richtete an ihr des Lebens Leuchte auf. Glanz und Licht kamen und ließen sich zu ihrer Rechten, Schmuck und Erleuchtung kamen und ließen sich zu ihrer Linken

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[1] Die Handschriften des Qolastā haben alle יאוא, doch Morg 99, 11 hat יאואר, siehe auch das folgende Stück.

בזיואיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון אפריש וגאליל ואמאר יאואר זיוא עותרא מזארזא כול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄בהאזא שותא כאסיתא נישתאייא שיתין וארבא האטאייא [26] ביומא נישביקולה̄ באתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

XL.

סיגדית ושאבאתה̄ לעוצאר ד̄פתא פיהתא לעותריא כאסייא קאדמאייא ד̄בליבאיהון יאתביא קאם עותריא כאסייא בשכינאתון ומשאבילון להייא רורביא בשכינאתון יאקריא בזיואיהון ושאנין בנהוראיהון סיגדית ושאבאתה̄ להאך גופנא רישאיא קאדמאיא ד̄גאוה̄ מיא אופה̄ עותריא ואלואתה̄ פאסימכיא ד̄נהורא בטולה̄ יאתביא עותריא

nieder[1]. Das Leben[2] wünscht, das Abbild des Jāwar-Zīwā[3] in seinem eigenen Glanze zu schauen.

Jāwar-Zīwā, der gerüstete Uthra, lehrte, offenbarte und sprach: „Einem jeden Nāṣōräer, der in dieser verborgenen Rede reden wird, werden sie 64 Sünden täglich am großen Lichtorte und der glänzenden Wohnung vergeben“.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

XL.

Ich verehrte und pries Oṣar, der das Pihtā für die verborgenen, ersten Uthras schuf, die in ihrem Herzen[4] sitzen. Die verborgenen Uthras stellten sich in ihren Škīnās hin und priesen das gewaltige Leben in seiner Škīnā, teuer in seinem Glanze, wundersam in seinem Lichte.

Ich verehrte und pries jenen herrlichen, ersten Weinstock, dessen Inneres Wasser, dessen Laub Uthras, dessen Ranken Leuchten des Lichtes sind. In seinem Schatten sitzen Uthras,

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[1] Doch wohl so, nicht zu seiner (Jāwars) Rechten, Linken. Siehe auch St. XLII.

[2] עותריא ist zu streichen. Schon daß nicht ועותריא steht, ist auffällig. Ein Ängstlicher hat wohl הייא zu עותריא abzuändern gesucht, und dieses geriet dann neben הייא in den Text. Weiterhin p. 74, 5 fehlt denn auch עותריא in zwei Handschr.

[3] Das ist wohl die verborgene Rede.

[4] Wie es dasteht, muß man es so auffassen, daß sie in ihrem eigenen Herzen wohnen. Man kann nicht etwa das Suffix הון auf הייא beziehen. Doch nach dem Schlusse des Stückes ist es möglich, daß בליבאיהון aus בליבה̄ mit Bezug auf עוצאר verderbt ist.

באנאנא ראבתיא ד̄נהורא קאדמאיתא הובה̄ בעוצאר נהורא ועתינציב
מאנא כאסיא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

XLI.

סיגדית ושאבאתה̄ לעוצאר נהור יאואר רבא ד̄הייא פתא פיהתא
בכיסיא ועהאבלון להייא רורביא קאדמאייא בשכינאתון שאביתינון
לשובא מאניא כאסייא יאקריא וסמיריא ד̄הון מן אתראיהון ועתינציב
מן בית גינזאיהון סיגדית ושאביתינון להייא רורביא קאדמאייא
ד̄עתינציב מן אתראיהון ועתינציב מן בית גינזאיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון
ד̄הינון הובה̄ ורבובה̄ ודארבה̄ ועתקאיאמבה̄ ועשתאיובה̄ ועשתאבאבה̄
ומשאביא ואמריא כול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄בהאלין פוגדאמיא כאסייא
נישתאייא ניביא ונאשכא ונימאר ונישתמא שובא זיבניא ביומא
ושובא האטאייא נישביקולה̄ באתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא
ומשאבין הייא ס——א

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in der großen, ersten Lichtwolke. Sie weilten im Lichtschatz, und (in ihm) wurde der verborgene Mānā geschaffen.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

XLI.

Ich verehrte und pries den Lichtschatz, den großen Helfer des Lebens. Er schuf das Pihtā im Verborgenen und reichte es dem gewaltigen, ersten Leben in seiner Škīnā.

Ich pries | die sieben verborgenen, teuren, verwahrten Mānās, die aus ihrem Orte entstanden sind, aus ihrem Schatzhause gepflanzt wurden.

Ich verehrte[1] und pries das gewaltige, erste Leben, das aus seinem Orte gepflanzt, aus seinem eigenen Schatzhause gepflanzt wurde, das darin weilte[2], wuchs, Sitz und Bestand hatte, verherrlicht und gepriesen wurde. Es preist seinerseits und spricht: „Ein jeder Nāṣōräer, der diese geheimen Reden | rezitiert, wird siebenmal am Tage suchen und finden, sprechen und erhört werden, und sieben Sünden wird man ihm am großen Lichtorte und der glänzenden Wohnung erlassen“.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

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1) Vgl. Joh., S. 11 unt.

2) Nach Z. 1 könnte sich בה̄ bei הובה̄ und den folgenden Verben auf den Lichtschatz beziehen.

XLII.

סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שותא כאסיתא קאדמאיתא ד̄עהאב יאואר בכיסיא באנה̄ ואפריש ותראצבה̄ ד̄הייא פאסימכא ואמאר יאואר הואת ערותא ותושביהתא ואתא ⟨יאואר⟩ שרא צאותא בשכינתא ד̄נאפשיה̄ ואתא זיוא ונהורא ותריץ קודאמה̄ ואתאת צאותא וערותא ושראת ליאמינה̄ ובאיין הייא מיהיזיה̄ לדמותה̄ ד̄יאואר זיוא בזיואיהון לשאבוהיא לבותא ותושביהתא ד̄קרונון לשילמאי ונידבאי עותריא תרין פאדיברה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ואמאר יאואר כול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄בהאזא בותא כאסיתא נישתאייא שובא זיבניא ביומא ושובא האטאייא נישביקולה̄ ביומא וקאיאמין הייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס———א

XLIII.

[27] מקאימיתון הייא קאדמאייא ד̄עניש קודאמאיכון לאהוא נוכראייא

XLII.

Ich verehre[1], verherrliche und preise jene geheime, erste Rede, die Jāwar im Verborgenen hergab. Er erläuterte sie und erklärte sie und richtete an ihr des Lebens Leuchte auf. Jāwar sprach: „Erleuchtung und Lobpreis fanden statt. Schmuck kam[2] und legte sich über ihre (der Rede) eigene Škīnā. Glanz und Licht kamen und richteten sich vor ihr auf[3]. Schmuck | und Erleuchtung kamen und ließen sich zu ihrer Rechten nieder“. Das Leben wünscht, das Abbild des Jāwar-Zīwā in seinem Glanze zu schauen, Gebet und Lobpreisung zu verrichten, die es Šilmai und Nidbai, den beiden Uthras, den Gesandten des Mandā d̲Haijē, zugerufen hatte.

Jāwar sprach: „Einem jeden Nāṣōräer, der dieses verborgene Gebet siebenmal täglich hersagt, wird man sieben Sünden täglich erlassen“.

Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben | ist siegreich.

XLIII.

Du stehst fest, erstes Leben, vor dem niemand da war, fremdes aus den Lichtwelten, erhabenes, das über allen Werken

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[1] Vgl. St. XXXIX.

[2] Wie der Vergleich mit XXXIX zeigt, ist יאואר zu streichen.

[3] ותריץ steht für ועתריץ.

מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא לזיוא האתיקא ולנהורא קאדמאיא ולהייא ד̄הון מן הייא ולכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם ברישא קאיאמית מאנדא ד̄הייא לבהיראך האזין הו ד̄גליתלאן מן נהור סידרא ומן פתא עוצרא ומן עוצאר קאדמאיא ומן עוצאר נהורא ניאהא וסימאכא רבא ד̄הייא ד̄באנהורה̈ נאהור ומאנהאר נהורה̈ הוא ופתא ומלא ונפאק בסאגיא האילא ועתראוראב בראבות מאנדא כבאר בזיוא ומלא באנהורא ד̄מן דימאת הייא הוא דמו שאנאי כין בהית אלמיא ד̄עניש לדמותה̈ לאהזא לזיוה̈ ועקארה̈

קאיים כושטא לראהמה̈ ומאנדא ד̄הייא לבהירה̈

ד̄בהארת ואפיקתינאן מ̇ן אלמא ד̄סינא קינא ופלוגיא ואקימתינאן בדירכיא ד̄כושטא והאימאנותא ד̄ניקום ונישאבא לאתרא כאסיא

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steht, über dem uralten Glanz, über dem ersten Licht, über dem Leben, das aus dem Leben ward, über der Kuštā, die von je her am Anfange war.

Du stehst fest, Mandā d̲Haijē, für deine Auserwählten. Dies ist es, was du uns aus dem Buche Nhūr, aus dem Schatze Ptā, aus dem ersten Schatze und aus dem Schatze | des Lichtes offenbart hast [1]. Große Ruhe und Stütze des Lebens, die durch ihr Licht leuchtet und deren Licht erleuchtet. Er ward, wurde geschaffen und wurde voll, er zog aus mit großer Kraft und wurde gewaltig durch die Größe der Erkenntnis. Er ward groß an Glanz, voll von Licht, das aus der Träne des Lebens entstand, von wundersamer Gestalt, fest. Die Welten waren beschämt, daß niemand seine Gestalt, seinen Glanz und seine Herrlichkeit sah.

Kuštā steht fest für ihre Freunde,
Mandā d̲Haijē für seine Auserwählten.

Du hast uns auserwählt und herausgeholt aus der Welt des Hasses, der Eifersucht und der Zwietracht, hast uns auf den Pfaden der Kuštā und des Glaubens aufgestellt, damit wir dastehn und den verborgenen und verwahrten Ort preisen.

Wer von diesem Pihtā und dieser Schöpfung [2] nimmt, wird

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[1] סידרא „Reihe“ paßt schlecht, man hat es im Sinne „Buch“ zu nehmen, daher läßt sich nicht ד̄עתיגליתלאן „der du uns offenbart wurdest“ lesen. Hierbei stände auch vorher אנאת, nicht הו. Mit dem „Schatz“ scheint hier auch schon, wie beim Titel des Hauptwerkes der Mandäer גינזא, ein Buch gemeint zu sein.

[2] Siehe die Einleitung.

ונטירא ד̄ניסאב מינה̄ מן האזין פיהתא ובריתא אדינקיא האטאייא ניהויא באתרא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא והייא זאכין ס——א

ניבזיא ד̄פיהתא הינון ס——א

XLIV.

ביריאויש כאנא ד̄מיא הייא נבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא צוריך זיוא רבא ד̄הייא יאתיריא הייא לנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

האזין ניבזא ד̄מאמבוגא הו עו לנישמאתא קארית כד̄ ד̄כתיב קריא עו נישימתא האד הע אמור להאזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן ס——א

XLV.

שומאך יאתיר הייא אסגיא עקארא נפיש נהורא אבאר טאבא שאכין ראזא קאדמאיא הייא ד̄הון מן הייא וכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם

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sündenlos am Lichtorte und an der glänzenden Wohnung dastehn.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies sind Stücke vom Pihtā.

XLIV.

Biriawiš, der Behälter lebenden Wassers, Nbaṭ, der erste Sproß, der große Ausfluß des Glanzes | von Seiten des Lebens [1]). Überreich ist das Leben für die Seelen dieses Aufstieges.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist ein Stück für den Trunk. Wenn du über (mehrere) Seelen liest, so lies wie geschrieben steht, wenn die Seele Einer ist, so sage „für diese Seele des NN“.

XLV.

Dein Name ist erhaben, Leben, groß ist die Herrlichkeit, reich das Licht. Der Gute drang durch, der Gründer | des ersten Geheimnisses [2]), das Leben, das aus dem Leben ward, die Kušṭā, die von je her am Anfange war.

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[1]) Da bei נבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא Qol 12, 29, 58, 30 נבאט sicher ein Name ist, kann ich mich nicht entschließen, hier נבאט als Verb aufzufassen (Biriawiš, der Behälter lebenden Wassers, sproß empor, der erste Sproß . . . .), obwohl bei נבאט als Namen die Worte ganz abgerissen dastehn. Die Lesung בנבאט paßt gar nicht.

[2]) Siehe oben p. 35¹.

ברישא האזין הו מאמבוהא ד̄הייא ד̄נבא מן אתרא ד̄הייא ד̄נישתיא מינהּ מן האזין מאמבוגא ד̄הייא ד̄אבאר הייא ושכאן הייא ועתקאיאם בית הייא ד̄אבאר אלמיא ואתא בזא רקיהא ועתיגליא האויתינאן אינא 1) ד̄עניש לאהזאת ואשמיתינאן עודנא 1) ד̄בר [28] אנאשא לאשימאת אפיקתינאן מן מותא ולאפתינאן בהייא אפיקתינאן מן השוכא ולאפתינאן בנהורא אפיקתינאן מן בישא ולאפתינאן בטאבא האויתינאן עוהרא ד̄הייא ואדריכתינאן דיִרכיא ד̄כושטא והאימאנותא ד̄ניתון הייא ונידהונהּ למותא וניתיא נהורא ונידיהייהּ להשוכא וניתיא טאבא ונידיהייהּ לבישא עתארוביא האמרא במיא ניתאראב כושטאך וזידקאך והאימאנותאך בכולהון ראהמיא שומאך ד̄כושטא ומשאבּין הייא ס——א

האזין ניבזא ד̄מאמבוגא הו שאויא פיהתא ומאמבוהא ואתנא למאסיק̣תא והאיזאך שאויא כלילא ד̄אסא ס——א

Dies ist der Quell des Lebens, der aus dem Orte des Lebens emporsprudelte, damit wir aus diesem Quell des Lebens trinken. Er drang durch das Leben, gründete Leben 2) und erhielt Bestand im Hause des Lebens. Er drang durch die Welten, kam, spaltete das Firmament und offenbarte sich.

Du zeigtest uns, was niemandes Auge geschaut, du ließest uns hören, was keines Menschen Ohr | gehört. Du holtest uns aus dem Tode und verknüpftest uns mit dem Leben, du holtest uns aus der Finsternis und verknüpftest uns mit dem Lichte, du holtest uns aus dem Bösen und verknüpftest uns mit dem Guten. Du zeigtest uns den Weg des Lebens und ließest uns die Pfade der Wahrheit und des Glaubens wandeln. Das Leben komme und verdränge den Tod, das Licht komme und verdränge die Finsternis, der Gute komme und verdränge den Bösen. Wie sich der Wein mit dem Wasser mischt, so mische sich | deine Wahrhaftigkeit, deine Gerechtigkeit und dein Glaube mit allen, die deinen Kušṭā-Namen lieben.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist ein Stück für den Trunk. Stelle Pihtā und Mambūhā her und stelle sie für die Messe hin. Dann stelle den Myrtenkranz her.

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1) Lies ד̄אינא und ד̄עודנא.

2) Nicht sicher, doch kann hier שכאן schwerlich in anderem Sinne gebraucht sein als einige Zeilen vorher.

XLVII. ¹)

זהירא ומזאהרא מיניליא ד̄נהורא לנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא זהירא ומזאהרא וזריזא ומזארזא ומגאיא ויאיא כד̄ כלילא בראזיא תריץ ברישאיין ד̄האלין נישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא אלמא לבאבא רבא ד̄בית אבאתור ניפתאלון באבא רבא ד̄בית אבאתור ונישכינונין בשכינתא ד̄אבאתור ונינאטרונין במאניא כאסייא ונטיריא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

האלין תרין באנ̤אתא פוגדאמיא ד̄כלילא ד̄מאסיקתא הינון ס——א

XLVIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא אסגיא מאנדא ד̄הייא לכוכביא היזוא שרא [29] עסיריא לאף לאופא ד̄לאפסאקא ד̄ליתלה̄ סאכא ומיניאנא במאלאלא ד̄נפאק מינה̄ מן האתאם בהית כולהון אלמיא עובאדיא ד̄באיתא עהאמבאל ושרארא הוא לבניא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא נצאב ניצובתא ונהית

XLVII.

Gesichert, wohlgesichert sind die Worte des Lichtes für die Seelen dieses Aufstieges. Gesichert, wohlgesichert, gerüstet, wohlgerüstet, prächtig und schön, wenn der Kranz mit Mysterien auf dem Haupte der Seelen dieses Aufstieges aufgerichtet ist bis zum großen Tore des Hauses des Abathur. Das große Tor des Hauses des Abathur wird ihnen geöffnet werden. Man wird sie | in der Škīnā des Abathur wohnen lassen und in verborgenen, wohlverwahrten Gewändern bewahren.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Diese beiden Gebete sind Sprüche über den Kranz bei der Totenmesse.

XLVIII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Mandā d̲Haijē ging zu den Sternen des (schönen) Aussehens ²). Er befreite die Gefangenen ³), knüpfte das unzerreißbare Band, das ohne Ende und Zahl ist. Durch die Rede, die | von dort her aus ihm herauskam, wurden alle Welten beschämt, verdarben die Werke des Hauses, ward Sicherheit den

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1) XLVI = V, siehe oben, p. 8.

2) היזוא heißt „Ansehen, Aussehen“ besonders schönes Aussehen, vgl. GR 10, 6; Joh. 110, 3. Dieser Sinn liegt wohl auch hier vor.

3) Die Seelen, die auf den Sternen festgehalten werden.

לתיביל עדא ד̄בישותא ד̄מארא ד̄באיתא כיבראת עלאואיהון כד̄ כיבראת עלאואיהון בישותא אדיק זיוא ועתאהזילון מן פיריא עלאייא האילא ושומא ד̄יאתירא ד̄כולה̄ הייא עתיגליא עלאואיהון ומן זיוה̄ פראש עלאואיהון ועתגאלאלון מאנדא ד̄הייא לכולהון ראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא לאתרא ד̄כולה̄ האיאביא ומאראיהון ד̄אלמיא ד̄היזיויא עהאמבאל ולאעשתאוון עשתרא מן כארסאואתון על עסיריא אדא עסיריא עשתרון והאטאיון והאובון עשתביקלון הא עשתרילון מיפאק מן פאגראיהון ומארה̄ ד̄באיתא ד̄היזיויא עהאמבאל מן סידראיהון ולאעתיתלון למאטוייא עלאואיהון ושומא ד̄אבאתור הוא שומא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא הוא ועתימליא ועתיגליא לראהמיא שומה̄ ⟨ניהויא שומה̄⟩ ולנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא ניהויא שומה̄ והייא זאכין ס———א

פוגדאמא ד̄מאסיקתא הו קריא על מישא דאכיא במינדאם ואתנא לקודאמאד וקריא מאסיקתא ס———א

Söhnen des großen Stammes des Lebens. Er pflanzte eine Pflanzung und stieg zur Tibil hinab. Er erkannte, daß die Bosheit des Herrn des Hauses groß gegen sie war. Als die Bosheit gegen sie groß war, schaute das Glanzwesen hin und erschien ihnen aus den oberen Früchten. Die Kraft und der Name des Erhabenen, der ganz Leben ist, offenbarte sich ihnen, und ein Teil seines Glanzes breitete sich über sie. Mandā d̲Haijē offenbarte sich allen Freunden des Namens | der Kušṭā am Orte, der ganz von Schuldigen bewohnt ist. Als die Herren der Welten ihn erblickten, verdarben sie und vermochten nicht sich von ihren Thronen frei zu machen[1]. Er ging an den Gefangenen vorbei, da wurden die Gefangenen befreit, und ihre Sünden und Vergehen wurden ihnen erlassen. Ja, es wurde ihnen freigegeben, ihren Körper zu verlassen. Als die Herren des Hauses ihn erblickten, verschwanden sie aus ihren Reihen und vermochten nicht hinzugelangen. Der Name Abathurs ruhte auf ihnen, der Name | des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē erfüllte sich und offenbarte sich den Freunden seines Namens. Auch auf den Seelen dieses Aufstieges ruhe sein Name.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist der Spruch der Messe. Lies ihn über reines Öl in etwas [Reinem], stelle es vor dich hin und lies die Messe.

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[1] Hier liegt wohl auch wie weiterhin eine Form von שרא, nicht etwa von שרה vor, danach ist עשתרא nicht in Ordnung.

XLIX.

בשומא ד̄הייא נוכראייא האזין זיוא ונהור הייא מיפאק רוהא ונישימתא מן פאגרא ועתלאבושיא נישמאת הייא באלבוש הייא האדינאת הייא דמות הייא ד̄מן דימאת הייא הואת בהייא באראייא בהאוראראן וכארכאואן זיוא בעוצאר נהורא ניאהא וסימאכא רבא ד̄הייא בהייא ד̄הון מן הייא וכושטא ד̄הוא מן קודאם ברישא הייא הינון בשכינאתון ונהורא רבא בזאכאואתא כד̄ עניש מן פאגרה̄ נאפיק ואתיא אלאנפה̄ שאבא דמאואתא ד̄אלאהותא ועניש לדילה̄ קאיים ואתיא צאורעיל שארויא ד̄שאריא רוהא ונישימתא מן פאגרא לעייל מן עובאדיא עלין קאיים בלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא ⟨ד̄שאריא⟩ ונאסיב מינה̄ האוראראן וכארכאואן זיזא מא ד̄בה̄ ד̄פאגרא ותלאבאש בלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא לבוש על לבוש לאבשא

XLIX.

Im Namen des fremden Lebens.

Dies ist der Glanz und das Licht des Lebens.

Wenn Geist und Seele aus dem Körper scheiden und die Seele des Lebens sich mit dem Gewande des Lebens bekleidet . . . .[1] das Abbild des Lebens, das aus der Träne des Lebens ward, beim äußeren Leben, bei Hauraran-Karkawan-Zīwā, beim Lichtschatz, der großen Ruhe und Stütze des Lebens, beim Leben, | das aus dem Leben ward, der Kušṭā, die von je her am Anfange war. Das Leben ist in seiner Škīnā, das große Licht in den Siegen.

Wenn irgend jemand seinen Körper verläßt, kommen ihm die sieben Gestalten der Gottheit entgegen, und jeder stellt sich bei dem ihm Gehörigen auf. Der Löser Ṣaurēl kommt, der Geist und Seele vom Körper löst, er steht über jenen Werken mit den Gewändern des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē da[2]. | Hauraran-Karkawan-Zīwā nimmt von der Seele was an ihr

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[1] Ich kann mit האדינאת oder האדיניאת nichts anfangen. Es erinnert an האדיני Nöld., p. 90, 10, und vielleicht ist auch האדין darin enthalten. Aber was sollte die Endung sein? Von dem Worte, das ursprünglich dastand, hängt vielleicht das ב an den folgenden Nomina ab.

[2] Im zweiten ד̄שאריא sehe ich eine irrtümliche Wiederholung aus der vorhergehenden Zeile. Auch sonst scheint der Text nicht in Ordnung zu sein. Besonders wegen der Worte לעייל מן עובאדיא עלין bin ich unsicher, vgl. auch Qol 30, 17. לעייל ist auch die gewöhnliche Schreibung bei den Zitaten in den anderen Ritualen.

ולבוש על לבוש מיתלאבשא כד̄ לבושיא [30] ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא לאבשא תאם אהכא האדיא סאהקא דאיצא גאיא ומיתפארפא על עקאר גיוא שאריא עקארא וליהויא אזלאבה̄ באלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא שיביאהיא ברוכתאיהון ד̄היזיויא בהית מלון בגורמאיזאיון ושקאף לתארבאציא האדיאיון ואמריא עואי על שיביאהיא ד̄הינון הון האיאביא ועובאדיא עדאיהון הון בזאכאייא ואמריא כמא יאייא האזין זיוא וכמא תאקון האזין נהורא וכמא באסימא האזין צאותא וכמא שאנאי האזין דמותא ואמריא מן האזין זיוא מאן נאלבישינאן ומן האזין נהורא מאן ניכאסינאן ומן האזין צאותא מאן נישריא עלאן ומן האזין דמותא מאן נאדיא אלאנפאיאן מן קבאל ד̄יאייא ונאהור ותאקון ולאיית עובאדיא באלמא האזין ד̄לה̄ דילה̄ דאמין ואמריא כמא טאב כושטא לטאביא

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an Körperlichem ist 1). Sie kleidet sich 2) mit den Gewändern des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē. Kleid über Kleid zieht sie an, Kleid über Kleid legt sie an. Wenn sie die Kleider des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē anzieht, da lacht sie, freut sich, hüpft, springt, ist stolz und wohlgemut über die herrliche Ehre * * * * ruht Ehre 3). Sie wandelt in den Kleidern 4) des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē. Als die Planeten sie von ihrem Orte aus erblickten, schämten sie sich, ballten | die Fäuste, schlugen auf die Vorhöfe ihrer Brust und sprachen: „Wehe über die Planeten, daß sie unterlagen, während die Werke ihrer Hände siegreich waren“. Ferner sprechen sie: „Wie schön ist dieser Glanz, wie hell dieses Licht, wie lieblich dieser Schmuck, wie wundersam dieses Bild“. Ferner sprechen sie: „Wer wird uns mit diesem Glanze bekleiden, wer wird uns mit diesem Lichte bedecken, wer wird von | diesem Schmucke auf uns legen, wer wird etwas von diesem Bilde an unserem Antlitz vorbeiführen? Denn schön, leuchtend und hell ist es 5), und es gibt keine Werke in dieser Welt, die ihm gleichen“. Ferner sprechen sie: „Wie gut ist die Kušṭā für die Guten und Mandā d̲Haijē für

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1) Ich beziehe מינה̄ und ד̄בה̄ auf die Seele. Damit fällt auch die grammatische Schwierigkeit weg, die NÖLDEKE's Auffassung Gram., p. 330 bietet.

2) Lies ותיתלאבאש.

3) Siehe oben, p. 38[3].

4) Es sollte אזלאבון dastehn, aber der Fehler scheint ursprünglich zu sein, denn er ist im Folgenden mehrfach wiederholt.

5) Das Gesamtbild.

ומאנדא ד̄הייא לכולהון בהיריא ד̄קאימיא בפאגראיהון ומיתאפרישיא בשומא ד̄הייא וליהויא אזלאכה̄ באלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא אדין על עובאדיא עלין על עדאיהון ד̄שיביאהיא כולהון אזלית ומאטית מאטארתא ד̄אבאתור האתיקא ראמא כאסיא ונטירא תאם תריץ מוזאניא ואקאמה̄ מישתאיליא רוהיא ונישמאתא על שומאיין ועל רושמאיין וביריכתין ומאצבותין ומינדאם ד̄בה̄ אלאת נישימתא ד̄פלאן לבית אבאתור ויאהבאת שומה̄ ורושמה̄ וביריכתה̄ ומאצבותה̄ ומינדאם ד̄בה̄ נישמאתא ד̄אבאהאתאן רשימא ברושמא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄הייא ושומא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא מאדכאר עלאואיין אילון במוזאניא אייל עובאדיא ואגריא תיקלון שאלמאניא אלון רוהא מן נישמתא אפקונין בזאכאייא אנפיק זיוא מן זיוה̄ ד̄אבאתור אלבשונין ואיתון נהורא כאסונין לבוש על לבוש לאבשא ולבוש על לבוש מיתלאבשא כד̄ לבושיא ד̄אבאתור לאבשא תאם אהכא האדיא סאהקא דאיצא

alle Auserwählten, die in ihrem Körper stehen und im Namen des Lebens Aufklärung suchen. Sie wandelt in den Gewändern des Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē, sie zieht an jenen Werken vorbei, an den Händen aller Planeten [1].

Ich ging hin und gelangte zum Wachthause des alten, hohen, verborgenen, verwahrten Abathur. Dort | ist die Wage aufgerichtet, und vor ihm werden Geister und Seelen nach ihrem Namen, ihrem Zeichen, ihrem Segen, ihrer Taufe und was sonst an ihnen [2] ist ausgefragt. Die Seele des NN trat in das Haus Abathurs ein und gab ab ihren Namen, ihr Zeichen, ihren Segen, ihre Taufe und was sonst an ihr ist. Die Seelen unserer Väter sind mit dem Zeichen des Lebens gezeichnet; der Name des Lebens und der Name des Mandā d̲Haijē ist über sie ausgesprochen. Man brachte sie in die Wage, | man brachte Werke und Lohn hinein und wägte sie. Von den Vollkommenen trat der Geist mit der Seele ein, und man ließ sie sündenrein heraus. Sie brachten Glanz vom Glanze des Abathur heraus und bekleideten sie damit, brachten Licht und bedeckten sie damit. (Die Seele) zieht Gewand über Gewand an, legt Gewand über Gewand an. Wenn sie die Gewänder des Abathur

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[1] In den folgenden Absätzen steht hinter den Worten אזלאכה̄ באלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא nichts mehr, und wie beim verwandten Stück p. 80, 8 f. scheint auch hier etwas Fremdes hergeraten zu sein. אדין dürfte für אדיא stehen; die Endungen יא und ין werden oft fehlerhaft vertauscht, vgl. Joh., p. XII.

[2] Im Texte: „an ihr“, an der Einzelseele.

גאיא ומיתפארפא על עקאר גיוא שאריא עקארא וליהויא אזלאבה̇ באלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא ואזלית ומאטית מאטארתא ד̄ארבא גובריא בניא שלאמא עין האי שום האי זיו האי נהור האי עניש עניש מן זיוה̇ מאלבישלה̇ ועניש עניש מן נהורה̇ [31] מכאסילה̇ לבוש על לבוש לאבשא ולבוש על לבוש מיתלאבשא כד̄ לבושיא ד̄בניא שלאמא לאבשא תאם אהכא האדיא סאהקא דאיצא גאיא ומיתפארפא על עקאר גיוא שאריא עקארא וליהויא אזלאבה̇ באלבושיא ד̄יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא ואזלית ומאטית האפיקיא מיא אהפא מיא אבאר זיוא שרא שומה̇ בגו שכינתה̇ יאקיר בהיר קרא לנאפשיה̇ ואמאר הייא אנא דילכון ד̄על שומאיכון דילכון אתית מן אלמא ד̄פתאהיל ומן בינאתאיין ד̄מהאשאבאתא בישאתא ומן אתותיא כורסיא ד̄אבאתור אתיקא ד̄נאפיק ואתיא אלאנפה̇ ד̄האזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן צוריך הו זיוא רבא ד̄הייא גאברא ד̄על שכינאתא שריא ועל שכינאתא שריא שומה̇ לאגיטלה̇ בפראס

anlegt, da lacht sie und freut sich, hüpft und springt, ist stolz und wohlgemut über die herrliche Ehre * * * * * ruht Ehre. Sie wandelt in den Gewändern des Jōzaṭaq Mandā ḏHaijē.

Ich zog hin und gelangte zum Wachthause der vier Männer, der Söhne des Heils, Īn-Hai, Šum-Hai, Zīw-Hai, Nhūr-Hai. Jeder einzelne bekleidet die Seele mit seinem Glanze, jeder einzelne bedeckt sie mit seinem Lichte. | Gewand über Gewand zieht sie an, Gewand über Gewand legt sie an. Wenn sie die Gewänder der Söhne des Heils anlegt, da lacht sie und freut sich, hüpft und springt, ist stolz und wohlgemut über die herrliche Ehre * * * * * ruht Ehre. Sie wandelt in den Gewändern des Jōzaṭaq Mandā ḏHaijē.

Ich zog hin und gelangte zu den Wasserbächen. Er verdeckte das Wasser[1]). Das Glanzwesen drang durch, sein Name ruhte in seiner Škīnā. Teuer, Auserwählt | nannte es sich. Es sprach: „Leben, Dein bin ich. Deines Namens wegen kam ich aus der Welt des Ptahil, aus der Mitte der bösen Pläne und unterhalb des Thrones des alten Abathur“. Er zieht aus und kommt dieser Seele des NN entgegen, ein Ausfluß des großen Glanzes des Lebens ist er, der Mann, der über den Škīnās ruht,

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1) Hier haben einige Handschriften הפא, ebenso bei אהפא ניסבה̇ לזיואיהון ד̄אלמיא ודאריא Qol 52, 25 f. Bei הפא ניסבה̇ לזיואיהון ד̄שיביאהיא GR 247, 20 steht nur diese Lesung. Danach ist אהפא = הפא (חפא) „verdecken“, und das paßt dort ganz gut. Hier jedoch nicht ganz, und die Stelle ist kaum in Ordnung.

יאמינה ומאשלימלה לתרין עותריא בניא נהורא לאדאתאן ויאדאתאן
האד מאנדא והאד עוצאר ואדאתאן ויאדאתאן מאשלימילה לתרין
עותריא לעוצאר האי ופתא האי ד̄פאהתיא פיהתא ד̄הייא ונאצביא
ניצבתא ד̄נהורא ושאכניא דמותא קאדמאיתא ד̄בית הייא ארימלה
כנאף הייא אילו באדמו הייא אסמכו דוכתא ד̄זיו כד̄ נהור יאקיד
ואזלאת רוהא ד̄פלאן והואת כד̄ זאן נישמתא ועתקאימאת בית הייא
והייא זאכין ס——א

L.

אשאר צבאן צאבוהא ביאלוז יאלוז ד̄אינאיהון האמאמולאי שום
כסאסאר האמאמולאי אמיר זריא נטיר טמיר דכיא עדא קינא

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dessen Name über den Škīnās ruht. Er faßt die Seele an der Fläche der Rechten und übergibt sie den beiden Uthras, den Söhnen des Lichtes, Adatan und Jadatan, eines Wissens, eines Sinnes [1]). Adatan und Jadatan übergeben sie den beiden Uthras, Oṣar-Hai und Ptā-Hai, die die Schöpfung des Lebens schaffen [2]), die Pflanzung des Lichtes pflanzen und das erste Abbild des Hauses des Lebens gründen. Sie erhoben ihr | den Arm des Lebens, sie führten sie in das Abbild des Lebens ein [3]), sie stützten sie an der Stätte, an der Glanz wie Licht flammt. Der Geist des NN ging hin, wurde wie die Seele und fand Bestand im Hause des Lebens.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

L. [4])

Recht taufte mich der Täufer bei Jaluz Jaluz, deren Augen hamamulai, der Name des Ksasar hamamulai, gesprochen, gerüstet [5]), behütet, geborgen und rein. Er kannte das Nest, aus

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[1]) Siehe oben, p. 42 n.

[2]) Siehe die Einleitung.

[3]) Vom Abbilde höherer Wesen ist in den mandäischen Schriften oft die Rede, vgl. Brandt, Rel., p. 29; Schr., p. 137[2]. Das „Abbild des Lebens“ wird als weibliches Wesen angesehen; GR 294 ist es die Mutter des Jōšamīn. Hier ist der Ausdruck nicht so konkret gefaßt. Vgl. auch p. 86, 4, wo die Seele selbst zum Abbild des Lebens wird. Die Sätze stehen in etwas anderer Form GL 37, 23.

[4]) Das Stück besteht aus abgerissenen schwer verständlichen, wohl auch stark entstellten Sätzen.

[5]) Ich vermute זריז statt זריא.

ד̄מינה הוא עלא שומה̄ הוא שומיא עלא ארקא הוא עקארה̄ על עוצאר בעוצאר הון הייא רביא עתימלון בעקארון על עוצטאל גמיר יאתיבנא ועל כאנא רבא ד̄יוכאבאר הייא לאתותיא גופנא ד̄קאיים עלאואי תושביהאת הייא קאימא לקודאמאי מאן ליהויא וניתיא ונימארליא אנא הו ליהויא ד̄ראבנא עו הייא ד̄אתותיא גופנא ד̄קאיים עלאואי תושביהאת הייא קאימא לקודאמאי האזין הו שום ודושום ד̄ניסבית מן גיליא מיא ומן עוצריא ד̄זיוא ומן מאריבא רבא ועלאיא והייא זאכין ס———א

LI.

בשומא ד̄הייא צבינא בשומא ד̄הייא נוכראייא [32] יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא ומקאיאמנא בשומא ד̄עוצאר נהור יאואר מן בית

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dem er gekommen war. Über dem Himmel war sein Name[1]), über der Erde war seine Herrlichkeit. Im Schatze[2]) war das große Leben, das seiner Herrlichkeit voll wurde. Auf einem vollkommenen Gewande sitze ich und auf dem großen Behälter des Jōkabar. Das Leben ist unter dem Weinstock, der über mir steht. Die Lobpreisung des Lebens steht vor mir.

Wer will kommen | und mir sagen? Ich will es, denn ich bin groß.

Wenn das Leben, das unter dem Weinstock ist, der über mir steht, die Lobpreisung des Lebens steht vor mir * * * * *

Dies ist mein Name und mein Zeichen, die ich aus den Wogen des Wassers, aus den Schätzen des Glanzes und aus dem großen, hohen Krater geholt habe.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LI.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Ich bin getauft im Namen des fremden, erhabenen Lebens, das | über allen Werken steht, und bin gefestigt im Namen des Lichtschatzes. Jāwar offenbarte seinen Schatz[3]) aus dem Hause

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[1]) Lies עלא שומיא הוא שומה̄.

[2]) על עוצאר ist wohl zu streichen. Nach dem häufigen עוצאר האי, das nur „Schatz des Lebens“ heißen kann, vgl. Joh., S. 201, nehme ich hier für בעוצאר הון הייא רביא nicht den Sinn „in meinem Sinne war das große Leben“ an.

[3]) Zweifelhaft. Nur eine Handschrift hat עוצרה̄. Die Lesung עודנה „sein Ohr“ ist kaum richtig.

הייא גלא עו־ה̄ שאכין דמו שאתילון להייא רביא באנהורא הייא הזית והייא הזון ולהייא הואליא רוהצאנא כד̄ שאהלאלה̄ האזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן לילבוש פאגריא לאבשא לבושא ד̄הייא ומידאמיא באדמו הייא רביא באנהורא אלמיא דהונאן ומיפאל לאנפאלנין על אגאנביא כושטא דילאך הואלאן רוהצאנא נבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא צוריך זיוא רבא ד̄הייא בזאכואתא כושטא וכאנא רבא ד̄עקארא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

LII.

ברה̄ אנא ד̄מאן מאנא סמירא ד̄הו יוסמיר זיוא רבא [ד̄הייא] קאדמאייא בר הייא רביא רישאייא ד̄האש ופראש דילה̄ באייא ד̄מינה̄ דילה̄ אתא כאנא ד̄נישמאתא ליומא באתראיא כד̄ נאפקא מן פאגראיין בדילה̄ האדיא ומיתכארכיבה̄ וסאלקיא האזילה̄ לאיאר

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des Lebens, der Gründer der Gestalt[1]); er pflanzt das große Leben im Lichte. Ich schaute das Leben, und das Leben schaute mich, und zum Leben hatte ich Vertrauen.

Wenn diese Seele des NN das körperliche Gewand abstreift, zieht sie das Gewand des Lebens an und wird ein Abbild des großen Lebens im Lichte.

Die Welten stießen uns, doch wir fielen nicht. | An der Seite deiner Kuštā hatten wir Vertrauen. — Nbaṭ, der erste Sproß, der Ausfluß des großen Glanzes des Lebens in Siegen, Kuštā und das große Kannā der Herrlichkeit[2]).

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

LII.

Wessen Sohn bin ich?[3]) Der bewahrte Mānā[4]), d. i. Jōsmīr, der große Glanz des ersten Lebens, der Sohn des großen, ersten Lebens, der nachsann und erkannte und nach dem Seinigen verlangt. | Aus ihm kam das Kannā der Seelen. Am Endtage, wenn die Seelen aus ihrem Körper scheiden, werden sie sich seiner freuen, ihn umarmen, emporsteigen und den äußeren Äther und die lichte Wohnung schauen.

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[1]) Siehe oben, p. 35[1].

[2]) Auch hier habe ich Bedenken, נבאט als Verb aufzufassen, vgl. XLIV.

[3]) Das Stück wird oft in den Ritualen zitiert. In dem älteren Teile der Oxf. Rolle F, in dem א und ה̄ deutlich geschieden sind, wird ברה̄ geschrieben: Z. 244 f., 613.

[4]) Siehe oben, p. 16, 1.

באראיא ולדאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא רביא באנהוראיהון והייא זאכין ס———א

LIII.

ענגירתא לאופא וזאכותא אתאלה̄ להאזא נישמתא ד̄פלאן מן בית הייא אסארה̄ מיא כלילה̄ נהורא זאינה̄ שותא האיתא האתמה̄ בהירא דאכיא כול מאן ד̄ניפיהתה̄ וניקריבה̄ ניהייא וניתאסיא וניתקאיאם שומה̄ בית הייא בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא נוכראייא וקאיאמין הייא קאדמאייא בשכינאתון ומשאבין הייא ס———א

האתמא ד̄מאסיקְתא הע

אלמא להאכא קריא למאסיקְתא האכא סאב פיהתא ופרות עומצא מן האר

Gepriesen sei das große Leben in seinem Lichte, das Leben ist siegreich.

LIII.

Ein Brief, die Verbindung und Sieghaftigkeit kamen dieser Seele des NN aus dem Hause des Lebens. Seine Umbindung [1]) ist das Wasser, sein Kranz das Licht, seine Waffe die lebendige Rede, sein Siegel der Auserwählte, | Reine [2]). Ein jeder, der den Brief öffnet und in ihm liest, wird Leben und Heilung finden, und sein Name wird Bestand haben im Hause des Lebens. Im Namen des großen, fremden Lebens. Das erste Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist der Abschluß [3]) *der Totenmesse.*

Bis hierher lies die Messe. Hier nimm das Pihtā, brich ein

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1) Die Worte 'אסארה̄ מיא וש sind hier auf ענגירתא bezogen, wie der folgende Satz und St. LXIII zeigen. Sie passen besser zu נישמתא, namentlich wegen זאינא, und auch die Seele wird umbunden und gesiegelt, vgl. p. 43 f. Vielleicht gehörten sie ursprünglich in anderem Zusammenhange zu נישמתא.

2) בהירא דאכיא findet sich öfter als Bezeichnung für höhere Wesen, besonders im dritten Teil der Oxforder Sammlung. Wie dort in St. VIII Jāwar genannt ist, so ist wohl auch hier Jāwar gemeint. Der Siegelring, den die mandäischen Priester tragen, hat die Inschrift שום יאואר זיוא „Name des Jāwar-Zīwā“, vgl. Siouffi, p. 123, 2.

3) Ich fasse hier האתמא, anders als האתאמאתא p. 40, 10; 45, 8, im Sinne von „Abschluß“ auf, freilich wird wohl auf האתמה̄ בהירא דאכיא in dem Stücke angespielt. האתמא steht in derselben Anwendung bei einem liturgischen Stücke auch Cod. Par. 25, f. 29a. Die Messe hat wohl ursprünglich mit diesem Stücke abgeschlossen, siehe auch den Anfang der folgenden Bemerkung.

פאטירא עלאיא ובאתראיא דורה̄ לפאלגא ד̄בה̄ וכרוך ביהדאדיא ואריב מיא ד̄בותא בהאמרא וקריא עלאואיהון ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא וקריא מאליל ופתא הייא ופאליט פאנדאמאך ואכול פיהתאך ושתיא מאמבוהאך וקריא עתיאר מיא הייא לשכינאתון ס----א

LIV.

[33] ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא ביהרה̄ וקירייה̄ וקאימה̄ אלבשיה̄ זיוא ד̄נפיש ואיתיא נהורא ד̄כאביר כאסיה̄ ואסקה̄ לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא בשכינתא ד̄נאפשיה̄ עתפאראש ועתניהאת נאפשיה̄ בעוצרה̄ עתיאיוריא מיא הייא מן בית הייא ניתיאירא האלין נישמאתא ד̄עתיקריא ועתקאיאם ועתירשים בהאזא מאסיקתא ודאבאהאתאן ורבאנאן ודאהאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון

Stück von einem oberen und letzten Brod ab[1]*, hebe die Hälfte davon ab und wickle sie in einander. Mische Wasser des Gebetes mit Wein und lies darüber „Jōkašar erwählte den Jenseitigen“. Lies „Das Leben sprach und schuf“, schiebe dein Pandāmā bei Seite, iß dein Pihtā, trink dein Mambūhā und lies „Das lebende Wasser erglänzte an seiner Škīnā“ (= LVI).*

LIV.

Jōkašar erwählte den Jenseitigen[2], er erwählte ihn, schuf ihn und festigte ihn. Er bekleidete ihn mit Glanz in Fülle und brachte Licht in Menge und bedeckte ihn damit. Er hob ihn zum großen Lichtort und zur leuchtenden Wohnung empor. In seiner eigenen Škīnā sonderte er sich ab, und seine Seele fand Ruhe in seinem Schatze. Wie das lebende Wasser aus dem Hause des Lebens erglänzte[3], so mögen diese Seelen, die durch diese Messe hervorgerufen, gefestigt und gezeichnet wurden, erglänzen, | sowie die unserer Väter, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die

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[1] Der Ausdruck findet sich auch öfter in den anderen Ritualen: Lond. Rolle A, Z. 645, 722; Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 249, 620, 751. Mit „oberes“ und „letztes“ scheint dasselbe Brod gemeint zu sein. Die in der ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 697 ob. vorgeschlagene Lesung עו באתראיא gebe ich auf.

[2] Damit ist ein überirdisches Wesen gemeint, vgl. ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 697 f.

[3] Im Mandäischen sind die Wörter für „erglänzen“ und „erweckt werden“ zusammengefallen, und hier wie anderwärts kann man schwanken, welche Bedeutung vorliegt.

ועל ד̄קאימיא בפאגראיהון בעוהרא מיכתא ובדירכיא ד̄שאלמאניא ניסקא ניהזונה̄ לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא וניתקאימא בפתא נהורא רבא קאדמאיא והייא זאכין ס------א

LV.

מאליל ופתא הייא רביא בפומאיהון בזיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄נאפשאיהון ומשאבין הייא ס------א

האזא בותא שריתא ד̄פאנדאמא הע

האזין ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא קריא 1) למיא ד̄בותא והאמרא כד̄ מארביא ביהדאדיא עו̄ על נישמאתא קארית קריא כד̄ ד̄כתיב עו̄ נישימתא האד הע אמור ניתיאירא 2) נישימתא ד̄פלאן וקריא מאליל ופתא הייא רביא בפומאיהון ופאליט פאנדאמאך ואכול פיהתאך ושתיא מאמבוהאך ואמור עתיאר מיא הייא לשכינאתון וקום וקריא האד אבאתאר האד אלמא לקאיאמתא ד̄ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא ס------א

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noch in ihrem Körper weilen. Auf geebnetem Wege und auf den Pfaden der Vollkommenen mögen sie emporsteigen und den großen Lichtort und die leuchtende Wohnung schauen, mögen sie durch Ptā, das große, erste Licht, gefestigt werden.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LV.

Das große Leben sprach und schuf mit seinem Munde, in eigenem Glanz, Licht und Herrlichkeit.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist ein Gebet [der] *Lösung des Pandāmā.*

Dieses „Jōkašar erwählte den Jenseitigen“ lies über das Wasser des Gebetes und den Wein, nachdem sie mit einander gemischt wurden. Wenn du über (mehrere) Seelen liest, so lies wie geschrieben steht. Wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „Die Seele des NN mag erglänzen“. Lies „Das große Leben sprach und schuf | mit seinem Munde“, schiebe dein Pandāmā bei Seite, iß dein Pihtā und trink dein Mambūhā. Sprich „Das lebende Wasser erglänzte an seiner Škīnā“, dann steh auf und lies ein Stück nach dem andern bis zur Festigung des (Gebetes) „Jōkašar erwählte den Jenseitigen“ (= LXIV).

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1) Die Codd. haben וקריא.

2) Der Verfasser des Stückes konnte nicht mehr die richtige Form bilden; es muß תיתיאיאר heißen.

LVI.

עתיאר מיא הייא לשכינאתון עתיאר לבושיא טאביא לאתראיהון עתיאר מאנא רבא לעקארא עתיאר מאנא רבא לעקארא ניתיאירא האלין נישמאתא האיאתא עראתא תאקונאתא וראוזאתא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

ק̣איאמתא ד̄מיא ד̄בותא הע ס----א

LVII.

ריהא באסימא לאתרה̄ ניסאק ואנאתון הייא [34] בזאכאייא הון שאביק האטאייא והאוביא וסכילאתא ותיקלאתא ושאבאשאתא נישבוקלון לכולהון ראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא ולנישימתא ד̄פלאן והייא זאכין ס———א

ק̣איאמתא ד̄בותא ד̄ריהא הע ס----א

LVIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא משאבין הייא קאדמאייא ומשאבא מאלאלון ד̄הייא

LVI.

Das lebende Wasser erglänzte an seiner Škīnā, die trefflichen Gewänder erglänzten an ihrem Orte, der große Mānā erglänzte zur Herrlichkeit. Der große Mānā erglänzte zur Herrlichkeit, so mögen denn diese lebenden, glänzenden, lichten, prangenden Seelen am großen Lichtort und an der lichten Wohnung erglänzen.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist die Festigung für das Wasser des Gebetes.

LVII.

Der Wohlduft wird an seinen Ort emporsteigen,
und du, Leben, sei siegreich.

Der Vergeber der Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen vergebe allen Freunden des Namens der Kušṭā, sowie der Seele des NN.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist die Festigung des Gebetes für den Weihrauch.

LVIII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Gepriesen sei das erste Leben und gepriesen sei das Wort des ersten Lebens.

קאדמאייא משאבא האך זיוא ונהורא ועקארא משאבא האך נהורא ד̄לאהוואלה̄ מיצרא ולאהוואלה̄ סאכא ולאעתאודא ד̄עמאת הוא משאבא מארא ד̄ראבותא משאבין כולהון עותריא ד̄קאימיא ליאמינה̄ ולסמאלה̄ ד̄מארא ד̄ראבותא ולמארא ד̄ראבותא משאבילה̄ משאבא אב יאואר ומשאבין כולהון עותריא ד̄קאימיא ומשאבילה̄ לאב יאואר משאבא האך יארדנא רבא קאדמאיא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא בגאוה̄ עצטבא משאבין כולהון יארדניא ד̄מיא הייא משאבין כולהון פיריא ועמביא ועלאניא ד̄עלאואיהון משאבין כולהון אלמיא רורביא עלאייא ד̄נהורא משאבא האניך כולהין שכינאתא ד̄כיסיא ד̄כול שכינתא שכינתא יאתביבה̄ אליףּ אליףּ עותריא ד̄לאסאכא ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא ד̄לאמיניאנא משאבין האניך אליףּ אליףּ עותריא ד̄לאסאכא ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא ד̄לאמיניאנא משאבין האניך כולהון דראבשיא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא ד̄נגידיא לקודאמאיהון ומאנהירילון משאבא באבא רבא ד̄בית אבאתור משאבין כולהון עותריא ד̄קאימיא עלה̄

Gepriesen sei jener Glanz, das Licht und die Herrlichkeit.

Gepriesen sei jenes Licht, dem keine Grenze, kein Ende wurde, von dem nicht bekannt wurde, wann es entstanden ist.

Gepriesen sei der Herr der Größe, gepriesen seien alle Uthras, die zur Rechten und Linken des Herrn der Größe stehen und den Herrn der Größe preisen.

Gepriesen sei mein Vater Jāwar, | und gepriesen seien alle Uthras, die dastehn und meinen Vater Jāwar preisen.

Gepriesen sei jener große, erste Jordan, in dem das erste Leben getauft wurde.

Gepriesen seien alle Jordane lebenden Wassers.

Gepriesen seien alle Früchte, Trauben und Bäume, die an ihnen stehen.

Gepriesen seien alle gewaltigen, oberen Lichtwelten.

Gepriesen seien alle jene Škīnās der Verborgenheit. In jeder einzelnen Škīnā | sitzen tausend mal tausend Uthras ohne Ende und zehntausend mal zehntausend Škīnās ohne Zahl.

Gepriesen seien jene tausend mal tausend Uthras ohne Ende und zehntausend mal zehntausend Škīnās ohne Zahl.

Gepriesen seien alle jene Banner des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit, die vor ihnen ausgespannt sind und sie erleuchten.

Gepriesen sei die große Pforte des Hauses des Abathur,

ד̄אבאתור ומשאבילה̄ משאבין תלאתמא ושיתין מוזאנייא ד̄תריציא
קודאמה̄ ד̄אבאתור אתיקא משאבא האך מוזאניא רבא קאדמאיא
ד̄תריץ קודאמה̄ ד̄אבאתור אתיקא משאבא האך ניטופתא ראבתיא
כאסיתא קאדמאיתא ד̄הו מינה̄ הוא משאבין כולהון עותריא ד̄יאתביא
לכארסאואתא [35] ד̄ניאהא ומישתאיין בסידריא ומאסקאתא ובאואתא
כאסיאתא משאבין הינון סידריא ומאסקאתא ובאואתא כאסיאתא
ד̄רביא בגאואיהון משאבין האניך תארמידיא ד̄לואתאיהון
יאתביא משאבין כולהון טוריא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא משאבין כולהון
דירכיא ושביליא ד̄נהורא הייא קאדמאייא תרוץ אינאיכון על האלין
נישמאתא ד̄עתיקריא ועתקאיאם ועתירשים בהאזא מאסיקתא
ודאבאהאתאן ורבאנאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון
ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהון פארקונין ושאוזבונין ונאטרונין מן אלמא

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gepriesen seien alle Uthras, die bei Abathur stehen und ihn preisen.

Gepriesen seien die 360 Wagen, die vor dem alten Abathur aufgestellt sind.

Gepriesen sei jene große, erste Wage, die vor dem alten Abathur aufgestellt ist.

Gepriesen sei jener große, verborgene, erste Tropfen, aus dem er entstanden ist.

Gepriesen seien alle Uthras, die | auf den Thronen der Ruhe sitzen und verborgene Ordnungen, Messen und Gebete rezitieren.

Gepriesen seien jene verborgenen Ordnungen, Messen und Gebete, mit denen das große Leben gepriesen wird.

Gepriesen seien jene Jünger, die bei ihnen sitzen[1]).

Gepriesen seien alle Berge des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit.

Gepriesen seien alle Pfade und Wege des Lichtes.

Erstes Leben! Richte deine Augen auf diese | Seelen, die durch diese Messe hervorgerufen, gefestigt und gezeichnet wurden, sowie auf die Seelen unserer Väter, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen. Erlöse, errette und bewahre sie vor dieser Welt der Bösen und diesen Wachthäusern.

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1) Bei wem? Bei den Uthras? Der Sinn wird nicht klarer, wenn man רביא als „Große“ und משאבין in aktivischem Sinne auffaßt, „mit denen die Großen preisen“, denn dann sind die Großen eben die Uthras.

האזין ד̄בישיא ומן מאטאראתא האלין ותיארותכון דילכון הייא רביא קאדמאייא תיהויא עלאואיכון ותימרון קאיאמין הייא בשכינאתון והייא זאכין ס——א

ק̣איאמתא ד̄באואתא הע. ק̣איים באואתא ד̄מאסיק̣תא בע אודין ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ומישק̣אל איניא ובית מישק̣אל איניא על נישמאתא ד̄ק̣ארית ק̣ריא כד̄ ד̄כתיב עו נישימתא האד הע אמור תרוץ אינאיכון על נישימתא ד̄פלאן ס——א

LIX.

עתימלון הייא בזיוא ד̄נאפשאיהון ועתקאיאם נהורא רבא בזאכאואתא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

קאיאמתא ד̄פיהתא הע ס——א

LX.

שכיניא הייא רביא בראהמאיהון וראהמאיהון באתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

Deine Gnade 1), großes, erstes Leben, werde auch euch zu teil und sprechet: „Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich“.

Dies ist die Festigung der Gebete. — Festige die Gebete der Messe. Bete „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), | „Dich (Leben)“ (= LXXVII), „Beim Hochheben der Augen (= IX) und „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV). Wenn du über (mehrere) Seelen liest, lies wie geschrieben steht, wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „richte deine Augen auf die Seele des NN“.

LIX.

Das Leben wurde voll des eigenen Glanzes, und das große Licht wurde gefestigt durch die Siege.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist die Festigung des Pihtā.

LX.

Das große Leben ruht unter seinen Freunden, und seine Freunde sind am großen Lichtort und der glänzenden Wohnung.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

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1) Das Beibehalten der zweiten Person, obwohl die Ansprache hier an andere gerichtet ist, kann ursprünglich sein.

קאיאמתא ד̄מאמבוהא הע ס————א

LXI.

כליל אלמיא שאהיא וכלילא ד̄הייא ראוז כלילא ד̄בהיר זידקא תריץ ומאנהאר ברישאיהון ד̄ראהמיא שומא ד̄כושטא כלילא מן ארקא ד̄נהורא ועוצטלא מן דאורא תאקנא כליל איאר בזאכאואתא תריץ ומאנהאר ברישאיין לנישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא והייא זאכין ס——א

[36] קאיאמתא ד̄כלילא ד̄מאסיקתא הע עו על נישמאתא קארית כד̄ ד̄כתיב קריא עו נישימתא האד הע אמור ברישא ד̄האזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן ס————א

LXII.

אלמיא במישא שיהיא ונאצוראייא בזיוא ד̄הייא נאהריא והייא זאכין ס————א

LXIII.

בזיו ד̄נפיש צבינא ובאנהור ד̄תאקון מקאיאמנא

Dies ist die Festigung des Mambūhā.

LXI.

Der Kranz der Welten verwelkt, doch der Kranz des Lebens prangt. Der Kranz des Mannes von erprobter Gerechtigkeit ist aufgerichtet und leuchtet auf dem Haupte derer, die den Namen der Kušṭā lieben. Der Kranz ist aus der Lichterde, das Gewand aus der leuchtenden Wohnung. Der Ätherkranz ist mit Siegen aufgerichtet | und leuchtet auf dem Haupte der Seelen dieses Aufstieges.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist die Festigung des Kranzes für die Messe. Wenn du über (mehrere) Seelen liest, lies wie geschrieben steht, wenn die Seele Einer ist, sage „auf dem Haupte dieser Seele des NN“.

LXII.

Die Welten glänzen durch Öl, doch die Nāṣōräer leuchten durch den Glanz des Lebens.

Und das Leben | ist siegreich.

LXIII.

Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft,
mit hellem Lichte bin ich gefestigt.

מאנדא צבאן כושטא קאימאן
ענגירתא לאופא וזאכותא אתאליא מן בית הייא אסארה̄ מיא כלילה̄ נהורא זאינה̄ שותא האיתא האתמה̄ בהירא דאכיא כול מאן ד̄ניפיהתה̄ וניקריבה̄ ניהייא וניתאסיא וניתקאיאם שומה̄ בית הייא בשומאיהון ד̄הייא נוכראייא מן אלמיא והייא זאכין ס———א
קאיאמתא ד̄מאסיקתא ד̄מישא הע ס————א

LXIV.

שכיניא הייא בזיואיהון ונהוראיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון ומשאבין הייא ס־א
קאיאמתא ד̄ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא הע האכא תרוץ עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון ודרוש דראשיא ד̄מאסיקתא ס————א

LXV.

עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון באתרא ד̄טאביא מיתקאימיא ביניא מאניא

Mandā taufte mich, Kušṭā festigte mich [1].

Ein Brief [2], die Verbindung und Sieghaftigkeit kamen mir aus dem Hause des Lebens. Seine Umbindung ist das Wasser, sein Kranz das Licht, seine Waffe die lebendige Rede, sein Siegel der Auserwählte, Reine. Ein jeder, der ihn öffnet und in ihm liest, wird Leben und Heilung finden, und sein Name wird im Hause des Lebens gefestigt sein. | Im Namen des fremden Lebens aus den Welten * * * *

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dies ist die Festigung des Öles für die Messe [3].

LXIV.

Das Leben ruht im eigenen Glanz und Licht.
Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist die Festigung des Gebetes „Jōkašar erwählte den Jenseitigen“. Hier trage vor „Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt“ und trage vor die Hymnen der Messe.

LXV.

Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt am Orte, an dem die Guten zwischen Mānās des Lichtes gefestigt werden. Die

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[1] Vgl. p. 29, XIX.
[2] Vgl. p. 87, LIII.
[3] Lies ד̄מישא ד̄מאסיקתא.

ד̄נהורא נישמאתא ד̄עתיקריא ועתקאיאם ועתירשים בהאזא מאסיקתא ודאבאהאתאן ורבאנאן ודאהאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא בפאגראיהזן מאנכון באנהורא ניתירצון מאנכון ניתירצון באנהורא ואנאתון האתאם באנהורא תיתקאימון והייא זאכין ס—א

LXVI.

בשומא ד̄הייא

מכאלאלנא ושאכיבנא   בעוצטלא ד̄מומא ליתבה̄
בעוצטלא ד̄ליתבה̄ מומא   ולאיית בגאוה̄ האסיר ובציר
הייא עדון עלאי   אדאם ד̄שאכיב עתאר

Seelen, die durch diese Messe hervorgerufen, gefestigt und gezeichnet wurden, sowie die unserer Väter, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen: euer Mānā wird im Lichte aufgerichtet werden[1]. Im Lichte wird euer Mānā aufgerichtet werden, und ihr werdet dort im Lichte gefestigt werden[2].

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LXVI.

Im Namen des Lebens.
Ich liege eingehüllt da[3]
in einem Gewande, an dem kein Fehler ist.
In einem Gewande, an dem ist kein Fehler,
nicht ist an ihm Mangel und Fehl.
Das Leben wußte um mich,
Adam, der dalag, erwachte.

---

[1] Das Verb steht im Plural mit Beziehung auf die einzelnen Mānās.

[2] Vgl. auch St. XXIX.

[3] Ich habe früher mit Nöldeke, Gram., p. 83, 21 für עתכאלאל den Sinn „ermatten“, für מכאלאל „ermattet“ angenommen: Joh., S. 180, 11; 201, 7. Dies scheint mir nicht richtig. כאליל gehört zu ܟܠܠܐ, כלולא „Hülle“ und bedeutet „einhüllen“. In diesem Sinne ist es GR 147, 18 gebraucht. Zahriēl soll sich vor Hibil verhüllt, verschlossen halten, vgl. dazu Joh., S. 107, 12. Daher הידותא מכאלאלתא „die verschleierte Braut“ in Hochzeitsliedern Cod. Par. 15, f. 14b = Cod. 25, f. 18bf. Diese Wendung wird vielleicht die alte Erklärung von כַּלָּה als „die Verhüllte“ wieder zu Ehren bringen. Auch in St. LXXIII, 8 paßt nur der Sinn „verhüllen“. In der häufigen Verbindung mit שכיב heißt es auch „sich in Decken einhüllen“, um sich zum Schlafe hinzulegen.

ליגטאן בפראס יאמינא   ולאעהאבליא באיין ביאד
נהורא רמאן בהשוכא   והשוכא באנהורא עתימליא
יומא ד̄נהורא סאליק   [37] ניתכאמאר השוכא לאתרה̄
ניתקארבא נישמ̣אתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא לואת אנאנא ד̄נהורא
ולאתרא ד̄הייא מיזלין ומשאבין הייא ס———א
דראשא ד̄מאסיק̣תא הע ס———א

LXVII.

מינה̄ ומן שארויא ניסקא נישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא ניהזונה̄
לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא
שובא בעוהרא לאניכאתרונין   ודאיאניא ד̄שיקרא לאנישאילונין
הייא ניהשיבונכין בהושבאנון   וטאביא נ̣יקאימונכין בינאתון

Er faßte mich bei der Fläche der Rechten
und gab mir nicht . . . . . in meine Hand.
Sie warfen Licht in die Finsternis [1],
und die Finsternis füllte sich mit Licht.
Am Tage, da das Licht emporsteigt,
wird die Finsternis an ihren Ort zurückkehren.
Die Seelen dieses Aufstieges sollen sich der Wolke des Lichtes nähern, | zum Orte des Lichtes sei ihr Gang.
Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dies ist ein Hymnus für den Aufstieg.

LXVII.

Mit ihm, mit dem Löser [2], mögen die Seelen dieses Aufstieges emporsteigen, mögen den großen Lichtort und die leuchtende Wohnung schauen.
Die Sieben mögen sie auf dem Wege nicht aufhalten,
die Lügenrichter sie nicht ausfragen.
Das Leben rechne euch in seine Rechnung ein,
und die Guten mögen euch in ihrer Mitte aufstellen.

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[1] Was dasteht kann nur heißen „das Licht warf mich in die Finsternis“; das gibt keinen Sinn. Lies רמון.

[2] Hier haben zwar alle Handschriften und auch bei den sonstigen Zitaten die überwiegende Zahl der Handschriften ומן, dennoch ist mit der Minderheit מן zu lesen, vgl. die Varr. zu Qol 45, 31. — שארויא ist ständiger Beiname des Totenengels Ṣauriēl, vgl. Joh., S. 119³.

דוכתא ד̄אזליא טאביא נידברונכין ובאתרא ד̄קאימיא ניקאימונכין
שראגיא ד̄זיוא מן קודאמאיכין ופאסימכיא ד̄נהורא מן אבאתראיכין
כושטא ניתיא מן יאמינאיכין וזידקא נימאכיך עוהראתכין
ניהוילכין שיריאתא מן האכא לדאורא תאקנא
מאמבארתא ד̄מאברא בהיריא תיפוק אלאנפאיכין ותאברינכין 5
מן אבאתור ד̄מוזאניא ד̄נאפיק אלאנפאיכין פארואנקא
פארואנקא ד̄אתיא אלאנפאיכין כולה̄ זיוא ונהורא מן ריש בריש
כד̄ כלילא ביאמינה̄ ועל תרין דראייה̄ עוצטלא
פאץ עוצטלאיכין לבוש ותרוץ כלילאיכין ראוזא
עוסרויא להימיאנאיכין ד̄הארגא ומומא ליתבה̄ 10
עלאויא רישאיכין פירא ניהויא

Zur Stätte, an die die Guten gehen, führe man euch,
am Orte, an dem sie stehen, stelle man euch auf.
Lampen des Glanzes seien vor euch,
Leuchten des Lichtes seien hinter euch.
Kušṭā komme zu eurer Rechten,
Gerechtigkeit ebne eure Wege.
Mögen Balken für euch
von hier zur leuchtenden Wohnung gelegt werden[1].
5 Die Fähre, die die Erwählten hinüberbringt,
komme euch entgegen und führe euch hinüber.
Von Abathur, dem Wagemanne,
komme euch ein Geleiter entgegen.
Der Geleiter, der euch entgegenkomme,
ist gänzlich Glanz und Licht über die Maßen.
In seiner Rechten hält er einen Kranz,
auf seinen beiden Armen ein Gewand[2].
Reget euch, ziehet euer Gewand an
und leget euren prangenden Kranz auf.
10 Bindet euren Gürtel um,
der ohne Fleck und Fehler ist.
Über eurem Haupte
blühe Frucht[3].

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[1] שיריאתא heißt „Lösungen“. Das paßt nicht; man erwartet, daß hier von einer Verbindung die Rede sei. Daher vermute ich שאריאתא (zu שְׁרִיתָא). Die Balken sollen als Brücke dienen.

[2] Ähnliches nach Mānī bei FLÜGEL, *Mani*, p. 70, 100.

[3] Vielleicht als Nahrung für die Wanderer gedacht, doch ist es mir wahrscheinlicher, daß פירא nicht ursprünglich ist.

האתאם בזיבנאיכין ועדאנ(אי)כין   מאנאיכין באנהורא ניתקאימון
מאנאיכין ניתקאימון באנהורא   וסאק הוזיויא לאתאר נהור
והייא זאכין ס———א

LXVIII.

ביניא כיסיא לזיוא   וביניא נהורא לעותריא
ביניא כיסיא לזיוא   קאימיא לנישמא משאיליא
אמרילה
אמאר אמאר נישמא   באנאך מאן
מאן בנאך ומאן באנאך   ומאן הוא גאברא נאצבאך
מאליל ואמאר נישמא   נישמא בנינא ומבאנאנא
מאליל ד̄נימארלה   לגאברא ד̄שאילה
אמארלה
אב האד באן האד באנאן   האד הוא גאברא נאצבאי

Dort wird zu eurer Zeit und eurem Termin
euer Mānā im Lichte aufgestellt werden.
Euer Mānā wird aufgestellt werden im Lichte,
nun steiget empor und schauet den Lichtort.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LXVIII. 1)

Zwischen dem Verborgenen und dem Glanze,
zwischen dem Lichte und den Uthras,
zwischen dem Verborgenen und dem Glanze
stehen sie da und fragen die Seele aus.
Sie sprechen zu ihr:
„Sage, sage, Seele,
wer dich gebildet hat.
Wer hat dich gebaut, wer dich gebildet,
wer war der Mann, dein Schöpfer?“
Darauf erwiderte und sprach die Seele,
die gebaute, wohlgebaute Seele.
Sie erwiderte und sprach
zu dem Manne, der sie gefraget.
Sie sprach zu ihm:
„Mein Vater! Einer baute mich, Einer bildete mich,
Einer war der Mann, mein Schöpfer.

---

3) Steht auch GL 101.

האר מן בניא שלאמא   מנאתא בטאבותא לגאט
כאנאן בכנאן זיוא   ונסיב לאדאם אשלמאן
אדאם בתמימותה̄   בית ד̄לאעדא ובית ד̄לאפראש
אדאם [38] בתמימותה̄   נסיב בעוצטון פאגריא רמאן
5 נסיב רמאן בעוצטון פאגריא   ד̄גידיא ומראריא ועלקיא
יאתיב נישמא ונאטאר   שפינזא ד̄פאגריא ד̄פקאדלה̄
יאתיב ונאטארלה̄   אלמא ד̄כילה̄ ומיניאנה̄ שלים
כד̄ שלים כילה̄ ומיניאנה̄   אסגיא שארויא עלה̄
אסגיא עלה̄ שארויא ד̄שירייה̄   ודיברה̄ מאן ד̄עסרה̄
10 ד̄שירייה̄ לנישמא אזיל אקאמה̄   ד̄עסרה̄ אתיא מן אבאתרה̄

Einer von den Söhnen des Heils
nahm gütig einen Teil.
Er wickelte mich in einen Wickel des Glanzes,
nahm und übergab mich Adam.
Adam in seiner Einfalt
schämte sich 1), da er nicht wußte, schämte sich, da er nicht verstand.
Adam in seiner Einfalt
nahm und legte mich in den körperlichen Rumpf 2).
5 Er nahm und legte mich in den körperlichen Rumpf
von Wermut, Bitterkraut und . . . . . . 3)
Die Seele sitzt da 4) und behütet
die körperliche Herberge, die man ihr anvertraut.
Sie sitzt da und behütet sie,
bis ihr Maß und ihre Zahl erfüllt ist.
Als ihr Maß und ihre Zahl erfüllt war,
ging der Löser zu ihr.
Der Löser ging zu ihr und löste sie 5),
es führte sie fort, der sie gebunden hatte.
10 Der die Seele gelöst hatte, ging ihr voran,
der sie gebunden hatte, kam hinter ihr her.

---

1) Doch wohl בהית statt בית zu lesen.

2) Das steht da.

3) Gleichfalls ein Kraut, das sich nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmen läßt, vgl. Joh., S. 132[9]; Nöldeke, ZA XXX (1916), p. 150 f.

4) Das Folgende auch GL 119, 8 ff.

5) Lies ושירייה̄. Das zweite ד̄שירייה̄ hat hier eingewirkt.

רהיט נישמא לשארויא מיטייה̄ רהיט ד̄עסרה̄ לאדאורה̄
נישמא ושארויא לאתרא ד̄הייא מיזלה̄
לאתרא ד̄לארבא שאמשיה̄ ושראגיא ד̄נהורא לאהאשכין
עלה̄ להאנאתה̄ אתרא קרייא ומזאמנא נישמאתא
ד̄עתיקריא בהאזא מאסיקתא ועתירשים בהאזא רושומא
ניהזונה̄ לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא
ומשאבין הייא ס----א

LXIX.

ניאהא ושאלמא ניהויא בעוהרא ד̄אדאם כישרה̄
ניאהא ושאלמא ניהויא בעוהרא ד̄נישימתא אזלא
שראתה̄ נישימתא לשישילתא ותאבירתינון לסוסטמיא
שלאתה̄ לכיתון פאגריא עהידראת הזאתה̄ ועסתַאנדראת

Die Seele lief und erreichte den Löser;
der sie gebunden hatte, lief, erreichte sie jedoch nicht.
Die Seele und der Löser
gehen zum Orte des Lebens hin,
zum Orte, dessen Sonne nicht untergeht,
und dessen Lampen des Lichtes nicht verdunkeln.
An jenen Ort
sind die Seelen gerufen und geladen,
die durch diese Messe hervorgerufen
und durch dieses Zeichen gezeichnet wurden.
Sie werden den großen Lichtort
und die leuchtende Wohnung schauen.
Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

LXIX.[1]

Ruhe und Heil walte
auf dem Wege, den Adam recht gebauet,
Ruhe und Heil walte,
auf dem Wege, den die Seele gehet.
Die Seele löste die Kette,
sie sprengte die Bande.
Sie legte den körperlichen Rock ab,
sie wandte sich um, erblickte ihn und erbebte.

---

[1] Steht auch GL 80.

לאטתה́ לוטתא בישתא   לגאכרא ד̄פאגרא אלבשה́
שארגיזתה́ לגאביל פאגריא   מן דוכתא ד̄שאכיב אתארתה́
אמראלה́
קום הזיא גאביל פאגריא   ד̄הופנאך מיא עתימלון
קאלא ד̄גאביל פאגריא   ד̄מהאוליל ובאכיא על נאפשיה́
ואמאר ואי עלאי   ד̄הופנאי מיא עתימלון
אמארלה́
עזיל בשלאם פת האריא   ד̄בדור בישיא אמתא קרוד
עזיל בשלאם מארגאניתא דאכיתא   ד̄מן גינזאיהון ד̄הייא עתניסבאת
עזיל בשלאם מבאסמאניתא   ד̄באסימתה́ לפאגרא זאפרא 10
עזיל בשלאם מאנהאראניתא   ד̄אנהארתה́ לבאיתא האשכא
עזיל בשלאם בהירא דאכיא   זאכאיא ד̄מומא ליתבה́

Sie sprach einen bösen Fluch
gegen den Mann, der sie mit dem Körper bekleidet.
Sie reizte den Bildner der Körper
und weckte ihn aus dem Orte, an dem er lag.
Sie sprach zu ihm:
„Steh auf, sieh, du Bildner der Körper,
daß deine hohlen Hände sich mit Wasser füllten“ [1].
5 Die Stimme des Bildners der Körper ist es,
der über sich weint und heult.
Er spricht: „Wehe mir,
daß meine hohlen Hände sich mit Wasser füllten“.
Er spricht zu ihr:
„Geh in Frieden, du Edelgeborene,
die man in der Wohnung der Bösen eine Magd genannt.
Geh in Frieden, du reine Perle,
die du aus dem Schatze des Lebens geholt wurdest.
10 Geh in Frieden, du Duftspendende,
die du den stinkenden Körper duftend machtest.
Geh in Frieden, du Lichtspendende,
die du das finstre Haus erleuchtetest.
Geh in Frieden Erwählte, Reine,
Sündenlose, ohne Fehl“.

---

[1] Nicht Ton, sondern nur Wasser hat er in den Händen und kann damit nichts anfangen.

פאהרא ואזיל נישמא   אלמא לבית הייא מטא
מאטוייה̄ בית הייא   [39] עותריא אלאנפה̄ נאפקיא
אמרילה̄
סאב לבוש עוצטלאך ד̄זיוא   ותרוץ כלילאך ראוזא
סאק דאר בשכינאתא   דוכתא ד̄עותריא יאתביא
מישתאיין והייא זאכין וזאכיא מאנדא ד̄הייא וראהמיא שומה̄ ומשאבין
הייא ס——א

LXX.

בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄להאלין נישמאתא בראהמיא עתימלון
משאבית מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄אנאת אסקינין להאלין נישמאתא
ולאתאגזאר עלאואיהין משאבית יושאמין דאכיא ד̄אנאת תיהוילין
באהיד עדא משאביתון שילמאי ונידבאי ד̄סאהדותא ד̄כושטא
תיסיהדון עלאואיהין משאביתון היביל ושיתיל ואנוש ד̄אנאתון
תאהליפונין מן בית מאכסיא

Die Seele fliegt und zieht dahin,
bis sie zum Hause des Lebens kommt.
Als sie zum Hause des Lebens kam,
gingen ihr Uthras entgegen.
Sie sprachen zu ihr:
„Nimm, zieh dein Gewand des Glanzes an
und setze deinen prangenden Kranz auf.
Steig empor, wohne in den Škīnās,
der Stätte, an der die Uthras weilen“.

Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich[1], und siegreich ist Mandā dHaijē und die seinen Namen lieben.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

LXX.

Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben, das voll Erbarmens mit diesen Seelen ist.

Gepriesen seiest du, mein Herr Mandā dHaijē, der du diese Seelen emporheben mögest | und sie nicht verdammest.

Gepriesen seiest du, Jōšamīn, du Reiner, der du ihnen ein Helfer seiest.

Gepriesen seiet ihr, Šilmai und Nidbai, die ihr ein wahrhaftes Zeugnis über sie ablegen möget.

Gepriesen seiet ihr, Hibil, Šitil und Anōš, die ihr sie aus dem Zöllnerhause hinüberführen möget.

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[1] Vgl. Joh., S. 11 f., doch auch Nöldeke, ZA XXX, p. 145 f.

ומן אבאתור ד̄מוזאניא   ד̄נאפיק אלאנפאיכין פארואנקא
פארואנקא ד̄אתיא אלאנפאיכין   כולה̄ זיוא מן ריש בריש
כ̄ד כלילא ביאמינה̄   ועל תרין דראייה̄ עוצטלא
פאץ עצטלאיכין לבוש   ותרוץ כלילאיכין ראוזא
עוסרויא להימיאנאיכין   ד̄הארגא ומומא ליתבה̄ 5
עלאויא רישאיכין   פירא ניהויא
ביניא שראגיא ד̄נהורא   נידאלון שראגאיכין וניניהרון
ראב מאכסיא לאניקום קודאמאיכין   ודאיאניא ד̄שיקרא לאנישאילונכין
נאתנולכין שיריאתא   מן האכא לדאורא תאקנא
בינתא ד̄בינאלכין בית הייא   לדאר דאריא לאבאטלא 10
מן זיוא ומן נהורא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ומן רואהון ד̄הייא נישריא עלאן
בריך קאלא ד̄הייא ומשאבא פאסימכא רבא ד̄כולה̄ נהור ומשאבין
הייא ס̇———א

Von 1) Abathur, dem Wagemanne,
komme euch ein Geleiter entgegen.
Der Geleiter, der euch entgegenkomme,
ist gänzlich Glanz über die Maßen.
In seiner Rechten hält er einen Kranz,
auf seinen beiden Armen ein Gewand.
Reget euch, ziehet euer Gewand an
und leget euren prangenden Kranz auf.
5 Bindet euren Gürtel um,
der ohne Fleck und Fehler ist.
Über eurem Haupte
blühe Frucht.
Zwischen den Lampen des Lichtes
werden eure Lampen hochgezogen werden und leuchten.
Der Oberzöllner wird sich nicht vor euch hinstellen,
und die Lügenrichter werden euch nicht ausfragen.
Man wird für euch Balken 2) legen
von hier zur lichten Wohnung.
10 Der Bau, der euch im Hause des Lebens aufgeführt wird,
wird zu allen Zeiten nicht vergehen.

Vom Glanze und vom Lichte des Mandā d̲Haijē und vom Frieden des Lebens ruhe ein Teil auf uns. Gesegnet sei die Stimme des Lebens und gepriesen sei die große Leuchte, die ganz Licht ist.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

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1) Siehe oben, p. 98.

2) Siehe oben, p. 98[1].

אבאתאר ד̄קארית שכיניא הייא בזיואיהון ונהוראיהון ד̄נאפשאיהון תרוץ עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון ומכאלאלנא ושאכיבנא ומינה̄ ומן שארויא וביניא כיסיא לזיוא וניאהא ושאלמא וערותאי-ותושביהתאי ועזיל בשלאם בהירא דאכיא וטובאך טובאך נישמא ודראשיא הוריניא כמא ד̄מצייית האיזאך קריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר נו עו על נישמאתא קארית כד̄ ד̄כתיב קריא עו נישימתא האד הע אמור לנישימתא ד̄פלאן ובאלאך בזאהראיית וצילאיית ומאלפאנאיית וקריא טאב טאבא לטאבא ופשוט כושטא מן הדאדיא וקריא בזיו ד̄נפיש צבינא ובון בותא לנאפשאיכון ושאוון פיהתא ומאמבוהא לנאפשאיכון [40] ואכול פיהתאיכון ושתון מאמבוהאיכון וקאיימ(יון) טאב טאבא לטאבא ופשוט(יון) כושטא מן הדאדיא ואוקאר(יון) תאגאיכון והייא זאכין ס----א

LXXI.

בשומא ד̄הייא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא בריך ומשאבא שומאיהון

Nachdem du gelesen „Das Leben ruht im eigenen Glanz und Licht“ (= LXIV), trage vor „Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt“ (= LXV), „Ich liege eingehüllt da“ (= LXVI), „Mit ihm, mit dem Löser“ (= LXVII), „Zwischen dem Verborgenen und dem Glanze“ (= LXVIII), „Ruhe und Heil walte“ (= LXIX), „Meine Erleuchtung und meine Lobpreisung“ (= XCI), „Geh in Frieden, Auserwählter, Reiner“ (= XCII), „Heil dir, Heil dir, Seele“ (= XCIV) und andere Hymnen, so viel du vermagst. Dann | lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ des Šum bar Nū[1]*). Wenn du über (mehrere) Seelen liest, so lies wie geschrieben steht, wenn die Seele Einer ist, so sage „der Seele des NN“. Gib acht, (daß du) vorsichtig, bedächtig und kundig (vortragest). Lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“ (= LXXII), reichet Kuštā einander, lies „Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft“ (LXIII), betet für euch, bereitet für euch Pihtā und Mambūhā, esset euer Pihtā, trinket | euer Mambūhā, festiget (das Gebet) „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“, reichet einander Kuštā und ehret eure Krone. Und das Leben ist siegreich.*

LXXI.

Im Namen des Lebens.

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[1] Dies ist das folgende Stück, vgl. die Nachschrift zu demselben. Es wird auf Sem, den Sohn Noahs, zurückgeführt, ohne in seinem Inhalt einen Anlaß dazu zu bieten.

ד̄הייא באתאר נהור משאבית מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא אנאת והאילאך וזיואך ונהוראך ועקאראך ואדיאורותאך משאבית אב יושאמין דאכיא בר ניצובתון ד̄הייא רורביא משאביתון הייא תיניאניא הייא ד̄מן הייא הון משאביתון שילמאי ונידבאי עותריא נאטריא ד̄יארדנא משאביתון נצאב ואנאן נצאב משאבין אבון היביל ושיתיל ואנוש שומא ורישא ד̄כולה̄ שורבתא משאבית אבאתור ראמא בריכא ומקאימא שכינתא ראבתיא ד̄יאתבאתבה̄ משאביתון ארבא גובריא בניא שלאמא ד̄אלאנפאיהון ד̄טאביא נאפקיא אלאנפאיהון נאפקיא ד̄טאביא ומאלבישילון לטאביא עוצטליא משאבית ארקא ד̄נהורא בריכיא ומשאביא דאיאריא ד̄ביך משאבית עוהרא ד̄רביא ודירכא ד̄שאלמאניא ושבילא ד̄סאליק לאתאר נהור משאבית נאצירותא ד̄מיניך בהיריא סאבריא מיניך סאבריא בהיריא ובאגרא וזידקא

Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben; gesegnet und gepriesen sei der Name des Lebens am Lichtort.

Gepriesen seiest du, mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē, du und deine Kraft, dein Glanz, dein Licht, deine Herrlichkeit und deine Hilfe.

Gepriesen seiest du, mein Vater Jōšamīn, Reiner, Sohn der Pflanzung des gewaltigen Lebens.

Gepriesen seiest du, zweites Leben, Leben, das aus dem Leben ward.

Gepriesen seiet ihr, Šilmai und Nidbai, die Uthras, die Hüter des Jordans.

Gepriesen seiet ihr, Nṣab und Anan-Nṣab.

Gepriesen sei unser Vater Hibil, Šitil und Anōš[1]), der Name und das Haupt des ganzen Stammes.

Gepriesen seiest du, hoher Abathur; gesegnet und gefestigt sei die große Škīnā, in der du sitzest.

Gepriesen seiet ihr, vier Männer, die Söhne des Heils, die den Guten entgegengehen. Sie gehen den Guten entgegen und bekleiden die Guten mit Gewändern.

Gepriesen seiest du, Lichterde, | gesegnet und gepriesen seien deine Bewohner.

Gepriesen seiest du, Weg der Großen, Pfad der Vollkommenen, Steg, der zum Lichtort emporsteigt.

Gepriesen seiest du, Naṣiräertum, von dem die Erwählten lernen. Von dir lernen die Erwählten und handeln mit Lohn-

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1) Siehe oben, p. 41¹.

מיתאנגריא מיתאנגריא באגרא וזידקא וסאלקיא האזילה̄ לאתאר נהור משאבית יארדנא ד̄מיא הייא ד̄מינאך זאכותא נסאבנין מינאך נסאבנין זאכותא וקאבילנין דאכיא רושמא אבאהאתאי הזון להייא ומאסביראנאי לאתאר נהור עותריא ד̄נהורא זאכיא אבאתור ובניא שלאמא ד̄קאימיא להייא משאביא ניהוילון רואהא ד̄הייא לסאבריא ד̄מן בינאן פראש סאבריא אנייא ודאנייא ותארמידיא הו מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא ניהוילון באהיד עדא תיתקאבאל טאבות הייא וטאבותא ד̄הייא ומאנדא ד̄הייא פיהלא ד̄על שום הייא פלא כול מאן ד̄זידקא יאהיב זידקא ניהוילה̄ באהיד עדא בהיריא ושאלמאניא ד̄יאהביא זידקא בדירכיא כושטא ניסקון עהאבלון מן כליל איאר כלילא כליל עמרא ושימא והאדותא [41] וזאכותא וטאבותא

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zahlung und Almosenspende. Mit Lohnzahlung und Almosenspende handeln sie, darum steigen sie empor und schauen den Lichtort.

Gepriesen seiest du, Jordan lebenden Wassers, aus dem wir Sieghaftigkeit geholt haben. Aus dir holten wir Sieghaftigkeit und empfingen das reine Zeichen.

Meine Eltern schauten hin nach dem Leben, meine Lehrer nach dem Lichtort. Die Uthras des siegreichen Lichtes, Abathur und die Söhne | des Heils, die dastehn und das Leben preisen1). Der Friede des Lebens werde den Kundigen zu Teil, die aus unserer Mitte geschieden sind. Den armen, demütigen Kundigen und den Jüngern (Priestern) sei er, mein Herr Mandā dHaijē, ein Helfer. Mit Dank entgegengenommen werde die Güte des Lebens, die Güte des Lebens und des Mandā dHaijē. Der Dienst, den sie im Namen des Lebens geleistet haben, * * * * * * * * * * 2) Einem jeden, der Almosen gibt, wird das Almosen ein Helfer sein. Die Erwählten und Vollkommenen, | die Almosen geben, werden auf den Pfaden der Kušṭā emporsteigen. Man gab ihnen3) einen Ätherkranz, einen Kranz der Rede und Erhörung, der Freude und der Sieghaftigkeit, der

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1) Der Satz schwebt in der Luft. Er kann nicht eine weitere Ausführung zu מאסביראנאי sein. Er ist wohl eingeschoben, denn der folgende Satz schließt sich an den vorhergehenden an.

2) Hier ist wohl eine Lücke. פיהלא kann nicht Apposition zu טאבותא ד̄הייא ומאנדא ד̄הייא sein.

3) Ich lese עהאבלון, obwohl dies hier nur eine Handschrift hat und auch die sonstigen Zitate עהאבלכון haben, vgl. Qol 46, 6 und die Varianten.

וראבותא כלילא מן רואז גופנא ניתריצלין ברישאיין להאלין נישמאתא
ד̄עתיקריא ועתקאיאם ועתירשים בהאזא מאסיקתא ודאבאהאתאן
ורבאנאן ודאהאן ודאהואתאן ד̄נפאק מן פאגראיהון ולדקאימיא
בפאגראיהון מן ד̄רביא ברישאיהון תארציא מן ד̄רביא עהאבלון
לעותריא ועותריא לתארמידאיהון עהאב אסיא ד̄סאמהּ מיא אתא
לראהמאך הוילון אסיא לראהמאך הוילון ודִיאהבהּ לזידקא
הוילהּ באהיד עדא ד̄אסיתהּ מאראי שרארא עהאבלהּ ד̄קאיים
קודאמאך הוזיהּ ולאתאגזאר עלהּ מאראי מאלכא ראמא ד̄נהורא
גאלאיא ד̄אינהּ גאליאן באייא דינא ואביד דינא לראהמהּ אבידלאן
דינא מן ראדפאן ומן ראדפיא ד̄ראדפילאן ומן בישיא ומשארגזאניא
ד̄לביש מיתהאשביא עלאן עו היניאלאך מאראי מאלכא ראמא
ד̄נהורא הזינאן ולאתאגזאר עלאן הזינין להאלין נישמאתא
ד̄עתהאימאנבאך ד̄על שומאך דילאך בתיביל קאימא ומיתראדפא
האוינאן איאר דאכיא ד̄רידפא ד̄תיביל נינישיהּ לרידפא

Güte und der Größe. Ein Kranz [1]) vom Weinstock Rwaz wird auf dem Haupte dieser Seelen aufgerichtet werden, die durch diese Messe hervorgerufen, gefestigt und gezeichnet wurden, sowie (der Seelen) unserer Väter, Lehrer, Brüder und Schwestern, die aus ihrem Körper geschieden sind und die noch in ihrem Körper weilen, ein Kranz der Art, wie ihn das große (Leben) auf seinem Haupte aufrichtet, wie ihn das große (Leben) | den Uthras gab und die Uthras ihn ihren Jüngern gaben.

Du Arzt, dessen Heilmittel das Wasser ist, komm, sei deinen Freunden ein Arzt. Deinen Freunden sei ein Arzt, und dem, der Almosen gibt, sei ein Helfer. Den du geheilt hast, mein Herr, dem verleih auch Festigkeit. Wer vor dir steht, den sieh an und verdamme ihn nicht.

Mein Herr, hoher Lichtkönig, Enthüller, dessen Augen offen sind, der für seine Freunde das Recht sucht und es zur Geltung bringt. Verschaffe uns | Recht vor unsern Verfolgern, vor den Verfolgern, die uns verfolgen, und vor den Bösewichten und Wütrichen, die auf Böses gegen uns sinnen. Wenn es dir, mein Herr, hoher Lichtkönig, beliebt, blicke auf uns und verdamme uns nicht. Blicke auch auf diese Seelen, die an dich glaubten, die auf deinen Namen in der Tibil dastehn und verfolgt werden. Zeige uns den reinen Äther, damit wir die Ver-

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1) Siehe oben, p. 49, 11.

ד̄תיביל ואיטא ד̄בישיא וכאדאביא אגבאר עלאן בינתאן וקאלאן ועׄרותאן ותושביהתאן בגאוה̄ לאפוך ותירצוך הייא רביא מן ריש בריש מן זיוא ומן נהורא ד̄מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא ומן רואהון ד̄הייא נישריא עלאן בהיראי תימרון בריך קאלא ד̄הייא ומשאבא פאסימכא רבא ד̄כולה̄ נהורא ומשאבין הייא ס——א

האזין בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר נו ק̣ריא אבאתאר האכא ק̣ריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄נישמאתא והאי̣זאך ק̣ריא טאב טאבא לטאבא ס——א

LXXII.

טאב טאבא לטאבא ותריץ כיניאנה̄ על ראהמיא שומה̄ ניביא ונאשכא ונימאר ונישתמא בין ואשכאנין ואמארנין ועשתמאנין מן קודאמאך [42] דילאך מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא מאראיה̣ון ד̄אסאואתא

folgung der Tibil vergessen, damit wir vergessen die Verfolgung der Tibil und den Zorn der Bösen und Lügner. Stärke uns unsere Einsicht, unsere Stimme, unsere Erleuchtung und unsere Lobpreisung. ⟨Damit verband dich das große Leben und richtete dich auf in vortrefflicher Weise⟩ [1]. Vom Glanze und vom Lichte meines Herrn Mandā d̲Haijē und vom Frieden des Lebens ruhe ein Teil auf uns.

Meine Auserwählten! Saget: Gesegnet sei die Stimme des Lebens, gepriesen sei die | große Leuchte, die ganz Licht ist. Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Dieses „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben" ist das des Šum bar Nū genannt. Hernach lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben", das von den Seelen [2]*), alsdann lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten".*

LXXII.

Gut ist der Gute für den Guten, und seine Benennung ist aufgerichtet über denen, die seinen Namen lieben. Wir suchen | und finden, wir sprechen und werden erhört. Wir suchten und fanden, wir sprachen und wurden erhört vor dir, mein Herr

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[1] בגאוה̄ läßt sich nicht mit den vorhergehenden Nomina verbinden; der ganze Satz paßt schlecht in den Zusammenhang.

[2] Dies ist St. LXX. Es wird nach den Worten ד̄להאלין נישמאתא so genannt. Es soll hier wiederholt werden.

שבוקלאן האטאיאן והאובאן וסכילאתאן ותיקלאתאן ושאבאשאתאן ולמאן ד̄האזין להאמא ומאסיקתא וטאבותא אבאד האטאייה̄ והאובה̄ וסכילאתה̄ ותיקלאתה̄ ושאבאשאתה̄ נישבוקלה̄ מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא והייא רביא קאדמאייא למארא ד̄אגרא וזידקא לדילון ולזאואיהון ולשיתלאיהון ולתארמידאיהון ולמאן ד̄האזין להאמא וטאבותא רמון ולדילכון אבאהאתאי ורבאנאי ומאלפאנאי ומאסביראנאי כד̄ סמיכיתון מן סמאל ליאמין שאביק האטאייא ניהוילכון ותימרון קאיאמין הייא בשכינאתון ומשאבין הייא והייא זאכין על כולהון עובאדיא ס——א

האזין טאב טאבא לטאבא כד̄ קארית מאסיקתא קאימה̄ וכד̄ צאבית מאצבותא קאימה̄ וכד̄ מאנית מישא קאימה̄ וכד̄ באיית ראהמיא קאימה̄

Mandā d̲Haijē, dem Herrn der Heilungen. Erlaß uns unsere Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen, sowie demjenigen, der dieses Brot, ⟨die Messe⟩ und diese Zukost[1]) hergestellt hat. Die Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen wird mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē und das große, erste Leben dem Spender von Lohn und Almosen erlassen, ihnen[2]), ihren Gattinnen, | ihren Kindern und Schülern, sowie denjenigen, die dieses Brod und diese Zukost dargereicht haben. Auch euch, meinen Eltern, meinen Meistern, Lehrern und Unterweisern, wird, wenn ihr (beim Male) gelagert seid, links wie rechts[3]) ein Sündenerlasser zu teil werden. Saget: Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā. Gepriesen sei das Leben, das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

Dieses „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten" trage (als Festigung) vor, wenn du die Totenmesse liest, trag es vor, wenn du | die Taufe vollziehest, trag es vor, wenn du das Öl zuteilst[4]), *trag es vor,*

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[1]) טאבותא ist die würzende Zukost und findet sich in diesem Sinne oft in den Ritualen, z. B. Cod. Par. Sab. 15, f. 2a, Z. 3 und Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 366: מיהלא וטאבותא ויארקא „Salz und טאבותא und Gemüse". Es steht auch in dem kurzen Gebete bei Siouffi, p. 86, wo SIOUFFI es kurzweg mit „aliment" übersetzt. Das vorliegende Stück scheint ursprünglich ein Tischgebet zu sein, und ומאסיקתא an dieser Stelle ist wohl eingeschoben. Weiterhin fehlt es, siehe auch Z. 6 f.

[2]) Siehe auch p. 96¹.

[3]) Die auch sonst häufige Wendung, vgl. Joh., S. 242⁵, ist so aufzufassen. Die dort gegebene Erklärung ist nicht richtig.

[4]) Der Ausdruck מנא מישא findet sich öfter in den Anweisungen (Qol 44, 5, 16; 46, 20; 47, 12, 15), offenbar für die Ölung, das „Zeichnen". מנא ist hier wohl in dem angegebenen Sinne gebraucht.

ואבאתאר ראהמאך ואבאתאר פיהתאך ומאמבוהאך קאימה̄ וכד̄ מיטאיבית
פאתורא ק̣אימה̄ והייא זאכין ס־־־־־א

LXXIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא
ענגירתא מהאתאמתא ד̄נאפקא מינה̄ מן אלמא
ענגירתא בכושטא כדיבא והתימא בעסקאת רורביא
כידבו שאלמאניא וזארזו ג̀ובריא מהאימניא
תיליו בצאואר נישמא ולבאבא ד̄הייא שאדרו
נישמא בהאכימותה̄ טופרה̄ על ענגירתא אלאץ
טופרה̄ אלאץ על ענגירתא אתנא בזיוא כאסיה̄
ואוטיף באנהורא כאלאלה̄
מנא הזאתה̄ דאיום לנישמא ד̄ענגירתא דריא

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wenn du ein Gebet verrichtest, trag es vor nach deinem Gebete, nach deinem Pihtā und Mambūhā, trag es vor, wenn du die Tafel bereitest. Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LXXIII.[1]

Im Namen des Lebens.
Ein wohlversiegelter Brief ist es,
der aus der Welt hinausgeht.
Ein Brief, geschrieben mit Kušṭā,
gesiegelt mit dem Siegelring Großer.
Vollkommene haben ihn geschrieben,
gläubige Männer ihn gesichert.
Sie hängten ihn um den Hals der Seele
und sandten ihn[2] an das Tor des Lebens.
Die Seele in ihrer Weisheit
drückte ihren Nagel auf den Brief[3].
Ihren Nagel drückte sie auf den Brief,
legte ihn in Glanz und verdeckte ihn,
tauchte ihn in Licht und verhüllte ihn.
Wie kam es, daß Daium sah,
daß die Seele den Brief trug?

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[1] Steht auch GL 108.

[2] Schlechter bezeugt ist die Lesung שאדריויא „sandten sie“, die Seele.

[3] Auf das Tonstück, mit dem der Brief versiegelt wurde. Der Nagel wurde nicht in den Brief selbst gedrückt, so daß man daraus schließen könnte, dieser sei auf Ton geschrieben. Siehe auch die Nachschrift.

מנא הזאתה̄ דאיום   כד̄ כניפילה̄ שובא בנה̄
ואמריא
מאן כידבה̄ לענגירתא   ד̄עניש בראזה̄ לאעדא
מאן כידבה̄ לענגירתא   ד̄בהאלין מיצריא מהאתמא
ענגירתא בכושטא כדיבא   והתימא בעסקאת רורביא
כידבו שאלמאניא   וזארזו גובריא מהאימניא
תיליו בצאואר נישמא   ולבאבא ד̄הייא שאדרו
פאהרא ואזיל נישמא   [43] אלמא למאטרא ד̄שובא מטא
ראב מאכסיא ד̄היזיויא   מדאנדמיא ואמריא
מאן כידבה̄ לענגירתא   ד̄עניש בראזה̄ לאעדא
מאן כידבה̄ לענגירתא   ד̄בהאלין מיצריא מהאתמא

Wie kam es, daß Daium sie sah,
während ihre sieben Söhne um sie versammelt waren?
Diese sprachen:
„Wer schrieb den Brief,
dessen Geheimnis niemand kannte?
Wer schrieb den Brief,
der mit diesen Umschnürungen[1] versiegelt ist?
Mit Kušṭā ist der Brief geschrieben,
mit dem Siegelring Großer gesiegelt.
Vollkommene haben ihn geschrieben,
gläubige Männer ihn gesichert.
Sie hängten ihn um den Hals der Seele
und sandten ihn an das Tor des Lebens“.
Die Seele fliegt und zieht dahin,
bis sie zum Wachthaus der Sieben kam.
Als die Oberzöllner sie erblickten[2],
tuschelten sie und sprachen:
„Wer schrieb den Brief,
dessen Geheimnis niemand kannte?
Wer schrieb den Brief,
der mit diesen Umschnürungen versiegelt ist?

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[1] Für מיצרא paßt hier weder der Sinn „Grenze“ noch „Verordnung“, siehe oben p. 60¹. מצר bedeutet „einengen, umschnüren“, siehe die Belege bei Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, p. 284. Eine Ableitung für מיצרא hiervon paßt eher.

[2] Die Worte שאהארדאל ד̄היזיויא sind, wie schon das Metrum zeigt, eingeschoben. שאהארדאל soll wohl ein Name sein; er findet sich sonst nicht.

ענגירתא בכושטא כדיבא והתימא בעסקאת רורביא
כידבו שאלמאניא וזארזו גובריא מהאימניא
תיליו בצאואר נישמא ולבאבא ד̄הייא שאדרו
פאהרא ואזיל נישמא אלמא למאטאראייא מטא
5 מאטאראייא כבאש רישאיהון ונישמא על מאטאראייא אדא
פאהרא ואזיל נישמא אלמא להאפיקיא מיא מטא
מאטויה̄ האפיקיא מיא הו צוריך זיוא אלאנפה̄ נפאק
ליגטה̄ בפראס יאמינה̄ והאפיקיא מיא אברה̄
פאהרא ואזיל נישמא אלמא לבית הייא מטא
10 מאטויה̄ בית הייא קאלה̄ לבית הייא רמא
הייא ד̄שימויא לקאלה̄ שאדאר אלאנפה̄ פארואנקא
ליגטה̄ בפראס יאמינה̄ ודבאר באדמו הייא אסמכויא

Der Brief ist mit Kušṭā geschrieben,
mit dem Siegelring Großer gesiegelt.
Vollkommene haben ihn geschrieben,
gläubige Männer ihn gesichert.
Sie hängten ihn um den Hals der Seele
und sandten ihn an das Tor des Lebens“.
Die Seele fliegt und zieht dahin,
bis sie zu den Wachthäuslern kam.
Die Wachthäusler neigten ihr Haupt, 5
und die Seele ging an den Wachthäuslern vorbei.
Die Seele fliegt und zieht dahin,
bis sie zu den Wasserbächen kam.
Als sie bei den Wasserbächen ankam,
ging der Ausfluß des Glanzes[1] ihr entgegen.
Er faßte sie bei der Fläche der Rechten
und führte sie durch die Wasserbäche.
Die Seele fliegt und zieht dahin,
bis sie zum Hause des Lebens kam.
Als sie beim Hause des Lebens ankam, 10
sandte sie ihren Ruf nach dem Hause des Lebens.
Als das Leben ihren Ruf hörte,
sandte es ihr einen Geleiter entgegen.
Er faßte sie bei der Fläche der Rechten,
er führte sie hin, und man stützte sie auf das Abbild des Lebens[2]),

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[1] Ich streiche רבא ד̄הייא, vgl. z. B. GL 90, 7; 115, 20.
[2] Vgl. auch GL 78, 11. באדמו הייא könnte zwar auch heißen „gleich dem

דוכתא ד̄זיויא ונהוריא ופאסימכיא
לאפויא ביניא עותריא וקאימויא ביניא פאסימכיא
כליל איאר תראצלה̊ ברישיה̊ וראבות אפקויא מן אלמא
הייא סמאך להייא והייא דילון אשכא
הייא אשכא דילון ואשכאת נישמאת ד̄מסאכיא
והייא זאכין ס—א

אלמא להאכא קריא לשישא ד̄מישא כד̄ מִאתנא בטינא אלמא לפומא ד̄שישא וטינא דאכיא ניהויא מן יארדנא ס—א

LXXIV.

עסירא והתימא רוהא ונישימתא ד̄פלאן בהאתמא ד̄כושטא ונאטרא רבא ד̄שרארא במימאר כושטא וקאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא והייא זאכין ס—א

an der Stätte, an der die Glanzwesen, die Lichtwesen
und die Leuchten
sie unter die Uthras einreihten
und unter den Leuchten aufstellten.
Einen Ätherkranz errichteten sie ihr auf dem Haupte
und führten sie in Pracht aus der Welt.
Das Leben stützte das Leben,
das Leben fand das Seinige;
das Seinige fand das Leben,
und meine Seele fand, was sie erhoffte[1].
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Bis hierher lies über die Ölflasche, während sie bis zu ihrer Mündung in Ton gesteckt ist. Es sei reiner Ton aus dem Jordan.

LXXIV.

Umbunden und gesiegelt seien Geist und Seele des NN durch das Siegel der Kušṭā und den | großen Hüter der Wahrheit um der wahrhaften Rede willen und des Aufrichtens des Jōkabar-Zīwā.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Leben“, vgl. Nöld., p. 312 l. u., und weiter unten p. 130, 4 fasse ich den Ausdruck auch so auf, doch spricht die Stelle p. 84, 5 für die hier gegebene Auffassung.

[1] Bei dieser häufigen Wendung, vgl. GL 38, 1; 78, 11; 90, 9, schwankt die Lesung zwischen ואשכאת und ואשכית. Bei dieser Lesung hätte der Satz den Sinn „und ich fand meine Seele, daß sie hoffte“. Obwohl die Lesung ואשכית häufiger ist (vgl. auch עזלית ונישמאת אשכית GR 367, 15), ziehe ich doch ואשכאת vor, das dem Satz einen besseren Sinn verleiht.

[44] (A) האזין דינבא ד̄ענגירתא הו אתנא עסקתאך וטופראך והיצראך ד̄יאמינאך בטינא והתום וקריא האזין דינבא עלה̄ והייא זאכין ס‾‾‾‾א

(B) כד̄ באיית מימניא מישא למאן ד̄נאפיק מן פאגרה̄ ברישא ער לבאתראיא פאקדינון ואמארלון ד̄ראמין מיא על נאפאקא ער מאנדאיא ניהויא נימשילה̄ עדה̄ לנאפאקא ונישדילה̄ מישא ונירישמה̄ תלאתא רושומיא ונילִיף מינה̄ ונאתנא עדא לפומה̄ ונאתנאלה̄ לנאפאקא עדא לפומא ד̄נאפשיה̄ ער האוילה̄ עכא למיפאק דוכתא ד̄מאתנילה̄ ניזיהלון מיא ונידאכונה̄ ונאתנולה̄ מיתלאייא ס‾‾‾‾א

(A) Dies ist der Schluß des Briefes. Drücke deinen Siegelring, deinen Nagel und den kleinen Finger deiner Rechten auf den Ton, siegle und lies diesen Schluß darüber.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(B) Wenn du jemand, der aus dem Körper scheidet, die Ölung erteilen willst, ...[1]) *so befiehl und sage ihnen, daß sie Wasser über den Scheidenden gießen sollen. Wenn es ein (einfacher) Mandäer | ist, so wasche er*[2]) *dem Scheidenden die Hände, gieße Öl über ihn, zeichne ihn dreimal, stelle die Vereinigung mit ihm her*[3]), *lege ihm die Hand auf den Mund, und lege dem Scheidenden die Hand auf den eigenen Mund. Wenn der Zeitpunkt für ihn kommt abzuscheiden, so sollen sie an der Stelle, wo sie ihn hinlegen, Wasser sprengen und ihn reinigen. Ihn sollen Gleichstehende hinlegen*[4]).

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[1]) Die Worte ברישא ער לבאתראיא sind mir unverständlich. Die Varianten על באראיא, לבאראיא, לבאתראייא helfen nicht viel. ברייש in Paris X läßt sich verstehen: „so befiehl ihnen zuerst"; aber wie sollten die anderen Lesungen entstanden sein? In der Oxforder Rolle F, Z. 1014 ff. wird gesagt, daß der Ganzibrā die Hand desjenigen aus der Reihe der Priester, der obenan steht (ד̄האך תארמידא ד̄ברישא), ergreife, dieser dann die Hand des nächsten anfasse. Vielleicht hat hier להאך ד̄ברישא gestanden: befiehl demjenigen, der obenan steht, oder dem letzten.

[2]) Der Priester, andere Lesung נימשולה̄ „sie sollen ihm waschen".

[3]) Wohl durch Handschlag, vgl. p. 13[3].

[4]) Paris X hat hier zum Teil eine bessere Lesung. ניזיהלון, das ich aus ניזלון und איזיהלון kombiniere (siehe auch p. 56[2]), gehört zu זלח, das im Mandäischen zu זהל wurde, vgl. Nöld., p. 66, 16. Ob ich die letzten Worte richtig auffasse, ist mir zweifelhaft. Ich vermute, daß gemeint ist, daß wenn es ein einfacher Mandäer ist, einfache Mandäer ihn bedienen, wenn es ein Priester ist, Priester ihn bedienen sollen. Ähnliche Anweisungen finden sich öfter in den Ritualen.

(C) בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא אסותא תיהויליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת כד̄
באיית מימניא מישא למאן ד̄נאפיק̣ מן פאגרה̄ אמור בשומאיהון ד̄הייא
רביא לאופא ורואהא ד̄הייא ושאביק̣ האטאייא ניהוילה̄ להאזא נישימתא
ד̄פלאן בר פלאניתא ד̄האזא ענגירתא ומאסיק̣תא ואיתיא שישא האדתא
דאכיא ד̄לאמשאראי ואצור מישא דאכיא ורמיבה̄ כד̄ שאפיר וגדולה̄ כלילא
ד̄אסא לשישא ואתנא לקודאמאך וקריא לתאגאך בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא
ק̣אדמאיא ותרוץ̣ תאגאך ברישאך וק̣ריא לאגאנביא תאגאך הייא קירויא
ונהור נהורא ומאנדא ק̣ראן ⟨לאגאנביא תאגאך⟩ וקריא האיאל כבאר ראזא
רבא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועק̣ארא וכרוך פאנדאמאך לפומאך וניסבה̄ לשישא
בעדאך וקריא מיא אנאתון הייא לשישא וקריא האל הייא קאדמאייא
לריהא ורמיא ריהא לנורא וק̣ריא אודין ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ומישקאל
איניא ושישא בעדאך ניהויא ובויא לבית מישקאל איניא ודוכתא ד̄אמאר
תיכפאר ותישק̣אל [45] מן פלאן האטאייה̄ והאוביה̄ וסכילאתה̄ ותיק̣לאתה̄

(C) Im Namen des großen Lebens sei Heilung zu Teil mir NN.

Wenn du jemand die Ölung erteilen willst, der aus dem Körper scheidet, so sprich: „Im Namen des großen Lebens. Die Gemeinschaft und der Friede des Lebens und ein Sündenerlasser werde der Seele des N, Sohnes der N, zu Teil, mit diesem Briefe[1] *und dieser Messe. Bring eine neue | reine Flasche, die unbeschädigt ist, presse reines Öl aus — es soll schön sein — und tue es hinein. Winde einen Myrtenkranz für die Flasche und lege ihn vor dich hin. Lies über deine Krone „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“ (= I), lege dir die Krone auf das Haupt und lies neben deiner Krone*[2] *„Das Leben schuf“ (= III), „Es leuchtete das Licht“ (= V) und „Mandā schuf mich“ (= XIX). Lies „Mächtig und groß ward das große Geheimnis des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit“ (= VII), lege dir das Pandāmā um den Mund, nimm die Flasche | in die Hand und lies „Lebendes Wasser bist du“ (= XXXIII) über die Flasche. Lies „Ja, für das erste Leben“ (= XXXIV) über den Weihrauch und wirf diesen ins Feuer. Lies „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), „Dich“ (= LXXVII), „Beim Hochheben der Augen“ (= IX). Die Flasche sei dabei in deiner Hand. Bete „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Du wirst von NN die Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Ir-*

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[1] Vgl. die Stücke LIII, LXIII, LXXIII.

[2] Siehe oben, p. 10.

ושאבאשאתה̅ תירמיא בתאסניקיא ד̅ארקא ובעבדוניא תיתאייא ד̅השוכא
ותאקמה̅ בזאכאייא ד̅לאו בהאיאביא וביאתיריא ד̅לאו בהאסיריא קודאמאד
מאנדא ד̅הייא מן זיואד תיאלבשיה̅ ומן נהוראד תיכאסייה̅ ומן כלילאד
ראוזא תיתרוצלה̅ ברישיה̅ ד̅האזא נישימתא ד̅פלאן ובאלאך אלמא לדינבא
בזאהרותא קריא. (D) וקריא תמאניא באואתא ד̅פיהתא לשישא ותארתין
באואתא ד̅מאמבוהא לשישא וקריא לכלילא ד̅אסא נהאר נהורא וזהירא
ומזאהרא ותרוצלה̅ לשישא ברישה̅ וקריא אסגיא מאנדא ד̅הייא לכוכביא
היזוא שרא לשישא ודרא מישא בצביתאד רישאיתא מן פומא ד̅שישא
וקריא נוכראייא האזין זיוא ונהור הייא ודוכתא ד̅אמאר מיפאק רוהא
ונישימתא אמור ה̅פלאן ודוכתא ד̅אמאר ואתיא צאורעיל שארויא ד̅שאריא
רוהא ונישימתא אמור ד̅פלאן ובמא ד̅בה̅ רשום לפומא ד̅שישא ודוכתא
ד̅אמאר בית אבאתור רשום לפומא ד̅שישא ודוכתא ד̅אמאר אזלאת רוהא

rungen wegwischen und fortnehmen und in die Höllen der Erde und die unteren Abaddons der Finsternis werfen. Stelle ihn auf unter den Schuldlosen, nicht unter den Schuldigen, unter den Vollwertigen, nicht unter den Mangelhaften vor dir, Mandā ḏHaijē", sage „Bekleide ihn mit deinem Glanze, bedecke ihn mit deinem Lichte und richte einen prangenden Kranz von dir auf dem Haupte dieser Seele des NN auf". Achte darauf, daß du es bis zu Ende | sorgsam lesest.

(D) Lies die acht Gebete des Pihtā 1) über die Flasche und die beiden Gebete des Mambūhā 2) über die Flasche. Lies über den Myrtenkranz „Es leuchtete das Licht" (= XLVI) und „Gesichert, wohlgesichert" (= XLVII) und lege ihn auf den Kopf der Flasche. Lies „Mandā ḏHaijē ging zu den Sternen des (schönen) Aussehens, er befreite" (= XLVIII) über die Flasche, hole Öl mit deinem ersten Finger 3) aus der Mündung der Flasche und lies „(Im Namen) des fremden (Lebens). Dies ist der Glanz und das Licht des Lebens" (= XLIX). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Wenn Geist und Seele scheiden" sage „des NN", und an der Stelle, wo es heißt „Der Löser Ṣaurēl kommt, der Geist | und Seele löst" sage „des NN" und bei „was an ihr ist" zeichne den Mund der Flasche. An der Stelle, wo es heißt „im Hause des Abathur" zeichne den Mund der Flasche. An der Stelle, wo es heißt „der Geist des

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1) St. XXXVI—XLIII. 2) St. XLIV, XLV.

3) רישאיתא „erste" steht nur in Euting's Haupthandschrift. Mit dem „ersten Finger" ist wohl der Zeigefinger gemeint, der weiterhin als der Finger neben dem Daumen bezeichnet wird. Der Ausdruck findet sich auch in den anderen Ritualen: Oxf. Rolle F, Z. 220, 567, 698; Lond. Rolle A, Z. 702.

ד̄פלאן והואת כד̄ זאן נישימתא ועתקאימאת בית הייא והייא זאכין רשום לפומא ד̄שישא וקריא אשאר צבאן צאבוהא ובשומא ד̄הייא צבינא וברה̄ אנא ד̄מאן מאנא סמירא ואלביש טינא לשישא ונסוב עסקתאך בתלאת צבאתאך עליאנאך וצביתאך ד̄אביהדיא עליאנאך והיצראך וקריא ענגירתא מהאתאמתא ד̄נאפקא מינה̄ מן אלמא וכול דוכתא ד̄אמאר ענגירתא בכושטא כדיבא והתימא בעסקאת רורביא התום בעסקתאך וטופראך והיצראך ואלמא לדינבא ואתנא לעסקתאך וטופראך והיצראך בטינא וקריא עסירא והתימא רוהא ונישימתא ד̄פלאן בהאתמא ד̄כושטא ונאטרא רבא ד̄שרארא במימאר כושטא וקאיומיא יוכאבאר זיוא ודאל עסקתאך וטופראך והיצראך מינה̄ ואתנא לקודאמאך וקריא משאבין הייא קאדמאייא ודוכתא ד̄אמאר תרוץ אינאיכון אמור לפלאן ופאנדאמאך לפומאך ניהויא וקריא עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון באתרא ד̄טאביא מיתקאימיא ביניא מאניא ד̄נהורא נישימתא ד̄פלאן האתאם באנהורא תיתקאיאם ומכאלאלנא ושאכיבנא ומינה̄ מן

NN ging hin, wurde wie die Seele und fand Bestand im Hause des Lebens. Und das Leben ist siegreich“ zeichne den Mund der Flasche. Lies „Recht taufte mich der Täufer“ (= L), „Im Namen des Lebens. Ich bin getauft“ (= LI), „Wessen Sohn bin ich? Der bewahrte Mānā“ (= LII), kleide Ton um die Flasche, nimm deinen Siegelring mit deinen drei Fingern, (nämlich) deinem Daumen, deinem Finger, der neben dem Daumen ist, und deinem kleinen Finger und lies „Ein | wohlversiegelter Brief ist es, der aus der Welt hinausgeht“ (= LXXIII). An jeder Stelle, wo es heißt „Ein Brief, geschrieben mit Kušṭā und gesiegelt mit dem Siegelring Großer“, siegle mit deinem Siegelring, deinem Nagel und deinem kleinen Finger bis zu Ende. Dann lege deinen Siegelring, deinen Nagel und kleinen Finger auf den Ton und lies „Umbunden und gesiegelt seien Geist und Seele des NN durch das Siegel der Kušṭā und den großen Hüter der Wahrheit um der wahrhaften Rede willen und des Aufrichtens des Jōkabar-Zīwā“ (= LXXIV). Hebe dann deinen Siegelring, deinen Nagel und deinen kleinen Finger | davon weg, lege (jenen?) vor dich hin und lies „Gepriesen sei das erste Leben“ (= LVIII). An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Richte deine Augen“ sage „auf NN“. Dein Pandāmā sei dabei über deinem Munde. Lies „Ihr seid aufgerichtet und gefestigt an dem Orte, an dem die Guten zwischen den Mānās des Lichtes gefestigt werden. Die Seele des NN sei dort im Lichte gefestigt“[1]). „Ich liege ein-

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[1]) St. LXV gekürzt.

שארויא וביניא כיסיא לזיוא וניאהא ושאלמא ניהויא בעוהרא ד̄אדאם כישרה̄ ועׂרותאי ותושביהתאי ועזיל בשלאם בהירא דאכיא [46] זאכאיא ד̄מומא ליתבה̄ ומאנא בגינזיא האדיא וטובאך טובאך נישמא ד̄נפאקת מינה̄ מן אלמא והאבשאבא וכאנא ד̄זידק̣א וזידאנא ומזאודאנא וסליק̣ ואסקאן מינה̄ ויומא ד̄נאפיק נישמא וק̣ריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄נישמאתא האכא ק̣ריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר נו ודוכתא ד̄אמאר עהאבלכון מן כליל איאר אמור פלאן וקריא טאב טאבא לטאבא ועתראהאם עלה̄ ושבוקלה̄ האטאייה̄ והאובה̄ ואהבאלה̄ למאן ד̄יאהבאתלה̄ ופשוט כושטא מינה̄ ד̄פאשיט אביהדיא נאפאקא ואמארלה̄ האזין כושטא ד̄אנא אספארלאך אנאת אספארלה̄ לאבאתור עו מסארהיב למידירה̄ פאק כד̄ קארית ענגירתא מהאתאמתא ד̄נאפקא מינה̄ מן אלמא ועסירא והתימא רוהא ונישימתא ד̄פלאן ואהבאלה̄ למאן ד̄יאהבאתלה̄ ופשוט כושטא מינה̄ ד̄פאשיט אביהדיא

gehüllt da“ (= *LXVI*), *„Mit ihm, mit dem Löser“* (= *LXVII*), *„Zwischen dem Verborgenen und dem Glanze“* (= *LXVIII*), *„Ruhe und Heil walte auf dem Wege, den Adam wohl gebauet“* (= *LXIX*), *„Meine Erleuchtung und meine Lobpreisung“* (*XCI*), *„Geh in Frieden, Auserwählte, Reine, Makellose ohne Fehl“* (= *XCII*), *„Der Mānā freut sich der Schätze* (= *XCIII*), *„Heil dir, Heil dir, Seele, die du die Welt verlassen hast“* (= *XCIV*), *„Der Sonntag und das Kannā des Almosens“* (= *XCV*), *„Versorgt, wohlversorgt bin ich“* (= *XCVI*), *„Er stieg empor und hob mich | mit sich empor“* (*XCVII*) *und „Am Tage, an dem die Seele hinausgeht“* (*XCVIII*). *Lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben, das diesen Seelen“* (= *LXX*). *Hier lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ des Šum bar Nū* (= *LXXI*). *An der Stelle, wo es heißt „Man gab euch einen Ätherkranz“* [1]) *sage „NN“. Lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“* (= *LXXII*), *bete für ihn, erlaß ihm seine Sünden und Vergehen, übergib ihn demjenigen, dem du ihn übergeben willst, reiche Kušṭā demjenigen, der sie dem Scheidenden reichen soll* [2]), *und sprich zu ihm* [3]): *„Diese Kušṭā, die ich dir vortrage, | trage du Abathur vor“. Wenn er es eilig hat, ihn fortzutragen, eile, indem du liest „Ein wohlversiegelter Brief ist es, der aus der Welt hinausgeht“* (= *LXXIII*), *und „Umbunden und gesiegelt seien Geist und Seele des NN“* (= *LXXIV*), *übergib*

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1) Vgl. p. 107, 10.

2) Es ist nicht klar, wer hier gemeint ist, vielleicht der Totengräber, der die Beisetzung besorgt.

3) Zum Verstorbenen, vgl. Joh., S. 2^4.

נאפאק̣א ואמארלה̄ האזין כושטא אספארלה̄ לאבאתור והאיזאך אנאת פאנדאמאך לפומאך ניהויא וקריא משאבין הייא ק̣אדמאייא ועתריצתון ועתקיאמתון אלמא לטאב טאבא לטאבא האכואת ד̄עמארלאך ועתראהאם עלה̄ בבאואתא ודראשיא וקאיאמתא ד̄מאסיקתא מן ריש ואלמא לדינבא ובאלאך לשומא ד̄האנאתה̄ ד̄מאניאתלה̄ מישא לאתיבצאר ובצילאיית וזאהרותא קריא והייא זאכין ס־־־־א

(E) והאיזאך אנאת בע בותא לנאפשאך האם כד̄ פאנדאמא לגיטית ושאויא פיהתא ומאמבוהא לנאפשאך וק̣ריא מאליל ופתא הייא רביא בפומאיהון ואכול פיהתא ושתיא מאמבוהא וק̣ריא עתימלון ושכיניא הייא לנאפשאך וק̣ריא טאב טאבא לטאבא ופשוט כושטא לנאפשאך ואוק̣אר תאגאך ועזדאהאר עזדאהאר ד̄שארית מינדאם מן שיריאתא לבאר מן פאנדאמאך להודה̄ אבאתאר ד̄באיית בותא לנאפשאך והייא זאכין ס־־־־א

(F) האזין בראכא ד̄מישא ד̄בראכלה̄ ביהראם רבא ברה̄ [47] ד̄אדאם להאוא עמה̄ זאוא ד̄אדאם כד̄ ניפק̣את מן פאגרה̄ כד̄ היביל זיוא

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ihn demjenigen, dem du ihn übergeben willst, reiche Kušṭā demjenigen, der sie dem Scheidenden reichen soll, und sprich zu ihm: „Diese Kušṭā trage Abathur vor“.

Dann, das Pandāmā liege dir um den Mund und lies „Gepriesen sei das erste Leben“ (= LVIII), „Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt“ (= LXV) bis „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“ (= LXXII), wie ich es dir sage. Bete für ihn Gebete, Hymnen und die Festigung der Messe von Anfang bis zu Ende. | Achte auf den Namen dessen, dem du die Ölung erteilst. Lasse nichts aus, sondern lies mit Bedacht und Vorsicht.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(E) Alsdann bete du für dich, indem du zugleich das Pandāmā vorhältst, bereite Pihtā und Mambūhā für dich, lies „Das große Leben sprach und schuf mit seinem Munde“ (= LV), iß das Pihtā, trink das Mambūhā und lies „Voll wurde“ (= LIX) und „Das Leben ruht“ (= LX) für dich. | Lies „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten“ (LXXII), reiche dir selber Kušṭā und ehre deine Krone. Nimm dich in Acht, nimm dich in Acht, nimm dich in Acht, daß du irgend welche Lösung vornehmest außer bei deinem Pandāmā allein, nachdem du für dich gebetet hast.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(F) Dies ist die Segnung des Öls, die der große Bihrām, der Sohn Adams, bei seiner Mutter Hawwā, der Frau Adams, vollzog, als sie aus ihrem Körper schied, während Hibil-Zīwā vor ihnen saß.

קִודאמאיהון הוא יאתיב הוא האזין בראכא ד̅מישא בדיואן ד̅ראמויא בר עקאימאת מן טיב מאתא ד̅הוא כתיב מן זאזאי ד̅גאואזתא בר האוא וכידבה̅ באיאן היביל בר בריך יאואר האכא וזירה̅ בהאלין סידריא במא ד̅נאצוראייא מן דיואן ד̅נאפשיה̅ ד̅אנסא מן דיואן ד̅ראמויא בר עקאימאת ד̅שתיהכאת לואת האיונא פת יאהיא ובאינאי בר זאכיא ואמאר באיאן היבִיל בר בריך יאואר כד̅ הוא כתיבא כתאבתה̅ וכולהון ראזיא ד̅מישא בגאוה̅ הון הוא אלמא לעוראשלאם מדינתא ד̅יאהוטאייא כד̅ האזין ראזאיהון והייא זאכין ס----א

(G) מאן ד̅מאניאתלה̅ מישא פאקִדינון ד̅ניזדאהרון עו לאנאפיק מן פאגרה̅ נאיתונה̅ לואתאך וקִריא עלה̅ בזיו ד̅נפיש צבינא ופאלטה̅ להאתמא ואדייה̅ ושדייה̅ ביארדנא. (H) כד̅ מאנית מישא הזיא שאגית עו שאגית באייא מאסקִתא ד̅שיתין למאן ד̅נאפילה̅ מישא שאפיר עו לאמגאייד מידירה̅ קריא עלה̅ שיתין מאסקאַתא ושאבא אראבאתא במאד̅בה̅ רושמה̅ ובית

Diese Segnung des Öls stand in der Handschrift des Rāmōjā, Sohnes der Eqaimath, aus dem Dorfe Ṭīb, die von Zazai von Gauwaztā, dem Sohne der Hawwā, geschrieben war. Jene schrieb Baian Hibil, Sohn des Brīkh-Jāwar, hier ab und säte sie aus durch diese Bücher unter hundert Nāṣōräer aus der eigenen Handschrift, die er aus der Handschrift des Rāmōjā, Sohnes der Eqaimath, abgeschrieben hatte, die sich | bei Hajōnā, der Tochter des Jahiā, und Bainai, dem Sohne des Zakiā, befand. Baian Hibil, Sohn des Brīkh-Jāwar, sagte: „Wie sie geschrieben war, schrieb ich sie ab, und alle Mysterien des Öls waren in ihr“ [1]).

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(G) Wenn du jemand die Ölung erteilst, so befiehl den Leuten, daß sie wohl acht geben. Wenn er nicht aus dem Körper scheidet, | sollen sie ihn zu dir bringen. Lies über ihn „Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft“ (= LXIII), nimm das Siegel ab, schaffe es fort und wirf es in den Jordan.

(H) Wenn du die Ölung erteilst, siehe zu, daß du dich nicht irrest. Wenn du dich irrst, so erfordert es sechzig Messen [2]). *Für denjenigen, auf den Öl fällt, ist es schön* [3]). *Wenn er nicht darauf drängt, ihn fortzutragen* [4]), *lies für ihn sechzig Messen und sieben*

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[1]) Hier steht noch eine kurze, mir unverständliche Notiz, in der Urašlam (Jerusalem), die Stadt der Juden, genannt wird.

[2]) Doch wohl so gemeint. Da steht „die sechzigste Messe“.

[3]) Mir unverständlich. Es ist kaum gemeint, daß wenn auf jemand zufällig etwas Öl fällt, es gut für ihn sei.

[4]) Siehe oben, p. 119, 10.

אבאתור רושמה̄. (J) עד נישמא טאבא ומהאימנא הו ד̄עתלה̄ אנאשיא אבדיא טאבותא אבאתרה̄ איתיא תארמידיא וקְריא עלה̄ שיתין מאסקאתא בסאכא בכול מינדאם במאסיקתא ד̄שיתִין במא ד̄בה̄ רושמה̄ להודה̄ וביתֿ אבאתור רושמה̄ להודה̄ ובשאבא אראבאתא במא ד̄בה̄ רושמה̄ להודה̄ ובמאסיקתא באתראיתא בית אבאתור רושמה̄ להודה̄ ורשום נישמאתא ד̄אבאהאתאן. (K) ודבאיית למאסיקתא ביסרא ומיא. ד̄בותא וריהא ופיהתא והאמרא וכלילא ומישא. (L) ובשאבא אראבאתא כול ד̄באיית מן ראהבאתא אתנא אביהדיא האלין ראזיא. וכד̄ מקְאימית מאסיקתא דרוש דראשיא ד̄נישמאתא בנפיש הליא ועתראהאם. (M) לנישימתא ד̄נאפילה̄ מישא שאפיר קְריא עלה̄ שאבא אראבאתא ונאצוראייא ומאנדאייא

. . . .[1]). *Bei „was an ihr ist“ zeichne ihn, bei „im Hause des Abathur“ zeichne ihn.*

(J) Wenn es eine gute, gläubige Seele ist, die Leute hat, die nach ihr[2]) *Gutes tun wollen, so bringe Priester herbei und lies für sie (die Seele) sechzig Messen vollständig mit jeglichem Dinge. Bei der sechzigsten Messe bei „was an ihr ist“ zeichne sie allein*[3]), *bei „im Hause des Abathur“ zeichne sie allein, bei den sieben . . . . . bei „was an ihr ist“ zeichne sie allein, | bei der letzten Messe, bei „im Hause des Abathur“ zeichne sie allein, dann zeichne die Seelen unserer Väter*[4]).

(K) Was du für die Messe brauchst, ist Fleisch, Wasser des Gebetes, Weihrauch, Pihtā, Wein, ein Kranz und Öl.

(L) Bei den sieben . . . . . lege alles, was du an Delikatessen[5]) *wünschest, neben diese Mysterien. Wenn du die Messe festigst, trage Hymnen über die Seelen vor; zeige dich sehr gütig und verrichte Gebete*[6]).

(M) Für die Seele, auf die | Öl fällt, ist es schön. Lies über sie sieben . . . . . und [über?] die Nāṣōräer, Mandäer und Gläu-

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[1] Ich wage keine Deutung des Wortes. Es findet sich sonst nicht.

[2] Nach ihrem Abscheiden.

[3] Obwohl fast alle Handschriften רושומא haben, ist wohl auch hier wie vorher רושמה̄ zu lesen, vgl. auch Cod. Br. Mus. Add. Ms. 23602A I γ.

[4] Durch irgend eine symbolische Handlung.

[5] Dies scheint der Sinn von ראהבאתא zu sein. Es wird in den Ritualen neben Früchten und Spezereien genannt, und öfter ist von einer Schale (ניארא) mit ראהבאתא die Rede. Vielleicht ist es رَغِيبَة.

[6] Die Lesung und Übersetzung der letzten Worte ist unsicher. Siehe auch p. 123, 4.

ומהאימניא ובע למאסיקְתא אודין ותושביהאן ועלכון דילכון ומישקאל איניא ובית מישקאל איניא וניבזיא כולהון ד̄פיהתא וניבזיא כולהון ד̄מאמבוהא [48] וכולהון אסאריא ושיריאתא ד̄מאסיקתא מן ריש ואלמא לדינבא ובאלאך האקְאר הליא נאפשאך בדראשיא ועתראהאם עלה̄ ושבוקְלה̄ האטאייא והייא זאכין ס־־־־א

(N) והאיזאך אפריש ואמאר היביל זיוא כול מאן מן נאצוראייא ד̄מאסיקתא ניקריא וניפאליט פאנדאמה̄ ומיא ד̄בותא ניתבאר ניהויא עלה̄ גיוטא רבא ולאניהיזיה̄ לנאצבה̄ וניתימהיא במהיתא ראבתיא ד̄עתימהיבה̄ בוכרא קאדמאיא אמינטול ד̄הטא ואסכיל קודאם אבאהאתה̄ ואנא היביל זיוא לאעהישבה̄ בהושבאנאי ובמיניאנאי לאעמיניה̄ ואמאר היביל זיוא כול מאן מן נאצוראייא ד̄פאנדאמא נילגאט ומיא ד̄בותא לאניתבאר אדקְאימיא בפאגראיהון ניהוילה̄ סיגיא ועמרא ושימא ד̄לאשנא ולאשאניא כול מינדאם ד̄אבאהאתה̄ פאקדויא ולאבאד עבידאתא ד̄יושאמין אבאד ולאעהאבלה̄

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bigen. Bete zur Messe „Wir bekannten“ (= LXXV), „Lobpreisungen“ (= LXXVI), „Dich“ (= LXXVII), „Beim Hochheben der Augen“ (= IX), „Ich wollte die Augen hochheben“ (= XXXV), alle Stücke des Pihtā, alle Stücke des Mambūhā und alle Bindungen und Lösungen der Messe, von Anfang bis zu Ende. Nimm dich in Acht, sie gering zu nehmen, zeige dich gütig bei den Hymnen, bete für die Seele und erlaß ihr | die Sünden.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

(N) Alsdann erklärte und sprach Hibil-Zīwā: „Auf jeden Nāṣōräer, der die Messe liest, dabei das Pandāmā bei Seite schiebt und das Wasser des Gebetes verdirbt[1]*), wird großer Zorn fallen. Er wird seinen Schöpfer nicht schauen und wird mit dem schweren Schlage geschlagen werden, mit dem der erste Erstgeborene geschlagen wurde, weil er gegen seinen Vater sündigte und fehlte. Ich Hibil-Zīwā | werde ihn zu meiner Rechnung nicht rechnen und zu meiner Zahl nicht zählen“.*

Dann sagte Hibil-Zīwā: „Ein jeder von den Nāṣōräern, der das Pandāmā vorhält und das Wasser des Gebetes nicht verdirbt, der wird, so lange er noch im Körper weilt[2]*), Gang, Rede und Erhörung finden; denn er hat nicht verändert, nicht abgeändert alles, was sein Vater (das Leben) ihm befohlen, er hat nicht die*

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[1] Auch sonst steht in den Ritualen häufig תבר bei מיא ד̄בותא.

[2] Im Texte steht in diesem Nebensatze der Plural: so lange sie noch in ihrem Körper weilen. Diese Lesung ist wohl ursprünglich, obwohl einzelne Handschriften ד̄קאיים haben, vgl. auch p. 96¹.

מנאתא לסומקִאק אינא ובהאומא ד̄סומקאק אינא לאקִאם כול מאן ד̄האלין
ראזיא אביד ופאנדאמא נילגאט כד̄ לאגיט פאנדאמא כולהין קִיריאתא
ד̄השוכא ניתכִארכאן מן קִודאמה̄ ותינהאר דמותה̄ לואתאיאן וכול מינדִאם
ד̄אביד ניתקִיאם והייא זאכין ס----א

Werke verübt, die Jōšamīn geübt, er gewährte der Quelle Sumqaq keinen Anteil, er stand nicht in der Hitze der Quelle Sumqaq.

Vor einem jeden, der diese Mysterien übt und das Pandāmā vorhält, werden, wenn er das Pandāmā vorhält, alle Fährnisse der Finsternis eingewickelt werden, seine Gestalt wird bei uns leuchten, und alles, was er tut, wird Bestand haben“.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dritter Teil.

Drei Gebete für die Taufe und Totenmesse.

LXXV.

[52] בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא אסותא וזאכותא והאילא ושראראֿ ועמרא ושימא ניהויליא לדיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת מן הייא אודין ותושביהאן להייא רורביא נוכראייא קאדמאייא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא מיתין ריש ופום להייא ומאלאלא נציבא לעוצאר נהורא ניאהא וסימאכא רבא ד̄הייא לשאבוהאך ליאקוראך לראורובאך לבארוכאך לקאיומאך מאן להייא נישאבאך ומאן להייא ניראוריב לראבות זאכואתאך אנאת משאבית ואנאת מראורבית ואנאת מיאקרית ואנאת מקאימית ואנאת עתית ואנאת אתית לבאר מן דילאך עניש לאתא

LXXV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens werde Heilung und Sieghaftigkeit, Kraft und Festigkeit, Rede und Erhörung zu teil mir NN von Seiten des Lebens.

Wir bekannten, und Lobpreisungen gelten dem gewaltigen, fremden, ersten, erhabenen Leben, das über allen Werken steht. Wir wollen Haupt und Mund dem Leben darbringen und feste Rede dem Lichtschatze, der großen Ruhe und Stütze des Lebens. Dich wollen wir preisen, ehren, verherrlichen, segnen, | festigen. Wer soll dich preisen, wer dich verherrlichen, bei der Größe deiner Siege? 1) Du bist gepriesen, du bist verherrlicht, du bist geehrt, du bist gefestigt. Du bist gekommen, du kommst, außer dir ist niemand gekommen.

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1) Ich streiche die beiden להייא und lese ניראורבאך, siehe auch p. 129.

בזיואך סאר רכוביא   ובנהוראך עשתאגאש תיריא ומאלכאואתא
יארדנא ד̄היזיאך אפאך   וגיליא יאמא עתאפאך
אנגאויא יאמא עשתאגאש
ומארכאבאתא עסתאהאף ונפאל על אנפאיהין
ארזיא בליבאן עתאבאר   טוריא מנאנדיא וראקדיא כד̄ איליא
פתא ועהאב תושביהתא   ואילאתא בדבאר משאהִטא עולאיהין
וארמאתא קאימא ומאמלילא בעקארא   ארקא זאהאת ועתאזיהאת
יארדנא למאן הזית ואפאכת   גיליא יאמא למאהו עתאפאכתון
אנגאויא יאמא למאהו עשתאגאשתון
ומארכאבאתא למאהו עסתאהאפתין ונפאלתין על אנפאיכין
ארזיא בליבאן למאהו עתאבארתון
טוריא למאהו ענאנדיתון וראקדיתון כד̄ איליא

Ob deines Glanzes erschraken[1]) die Reiter,
ob deines Lichtes gerieten Pforten und Königreiche in Verwirrung.
Als der Jordan[2]) dich erblickte, kehrte er um,
die Wogen des Meeres wandten sich um.
Die Inseln des Meeres gerieten in Verwirrung,
die Fahrzeuge stürzten um und fielen auf ihr Antlitz.
Die Zedern auf dem Libanon zerbrachen,
die Berge erbebten und hüpften wie Hirsche,
sie öffneten (ihren Mund)[3]) und gewährten Lobpreis.
Die Hindinnen in der Steppe werfen ihre Jungen aus.
Die Höhen stehen da und sprechen in Ehrung,
die Erde bebte und erbebte.
Jordan, wen schautest du und kehrtest um,
Wogen des Meeres, warum wandtet ihr euch um,
Inseln des Meeres warum gerietet ihr in Verwirrung,
Fahrzeuge, warum stürztet ihr um und fielet auf euer Antlitz,
Zedern auf dem Libanon, warum zerbrachet ihr,
Berge, warum erbebtet ihr und hüpfet wie Hirsche,

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1) Ich identifiziere סאר mit hebr. שׂער. Das Wort liegt auch in der Oxforder Sammlung Buch II, Stück 3, 4 vor. סאר zu סרא abzuändern, geht nicht an, da dies nur „stürzen“ in transitivem Sinne bedeutet. Auch das sonst mehrfach vorkommende סאר = סער „ausschauen“ paßt hier nicht.

2) Vgl. auch GR 174, 12 ff. und dazu Joh., S. XXI.

3) GR 174, 16 steht פאהתיא פומאיהון.

פאהתיתון [ויאהביתון] תושביהתא
ואילאתא בדבאר למאן משאהתיתין עולאיכין
ואראמאתא למאן קאימיתין ומאמליליתין בעקארא
ארקא למאן הזית ועאזיהית

לזיוא ד̄עלאויא זיויא ולנהורא ד̄עלאויא נהוריא ולגאברא טאבא ד̄אבאר אלמיא ואתא בזא רקיהא ועתיגליא כד̄ אדיק הייא סיכיו לתיביל ונפאל זיואיהון על טלאליא יאתביא ביניאנה̄ לכארסאואתא ד̄מירדא ועתירכין מן כארסאואתון ונפאל על אנפאיהון אהפא ניסבה̄ לזיואיהון ד̄אלמיא ודאריא ודאהיך נוריא שראגאיהון אותיב אינאיהון ד̄שיביאהיא בעומקיא ד̄ארקא וברפיליא תיתאיאתא ד̄השוכא וארימאת רוהא בקאלה̄ וצינפאת ואמרא אב אב למאהו קראיתאן עיל עיל אלאהאי למאהו ראהיקתאן ופסאקתאן ושבאקתאן בעומקיא ד̄ארקא וברפיליא תיתאיאתא ד̄השוכא וליתליא האילא למיסאק לתאם קאם כולהון בון ושאבא בראבות רורביא וזאמאר קאלאיהון לעקארא ד̄נפיש

öffnet ihr (euren Mund) und gewähret Lobpreis,
Hindinnen in der Steppe, vor wem werfet ihr eure Jungen aus,
ihr Höhen, vor wem stehet ihr da und sprechet in Verehrung,
Erde, wen sahest du und erschrakest?

Den Glanz, der über den Glanzwesen, das Licht, das über den Lichtwesen steht, den guten Mann, der durch die Welten drang, kam, das Firmament spaltete und sich offenbarte.

Als das Leben hinschaute, erblickte es die Tibil, und sein Glanz fiel auf die Dächer ihres Baues. Sie sitzen auf den Thronen der Auflehnung, doch sie sanken von ihren Thronen und fielen auf ihr Antlitz. Es[1]) verdeckte und nahm den Glanz der Welten und Äonen weg und löschte die Flammen ihrer Lampen aus. Es setzte die Augen | der Planeten in die Tiefen der Erde und die unteren Nebel der Finsternis.

Rūhā erhob ihre Stimme, kreischte und rief: „Mein Vater, mein Vater, warum hast du mich geschaffen? Mein Gott Ēl Ēl, warum entferntest du mich, schnittest mich ab und ließest mich in den Tiefen der Erde und den unteren Nebeln der Finsternis, daß ich keine Kraft habe, dorthin emporzusteigen?“

Alle erhoben sich, beteten und priesen in herrlicher Weise

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[1]) Die folgenden Verba stehen im Singular. Wie auch sonst (vgl. Joh., S. 28^6; 29^4) ist vergessen, daß הייא Plural ist.

ומשאבילה̄ לזיוא ד̄עלאויא זיויא ולנהורא ד̄עלאויא [53] נהוריא ולגאברא טאבא ד̄אבאר אלמיא ואתא ובזא רקיהא ועתיגליא אפריש נהורא מן השוכא ואפריש טאבא מן בישא ואפריש הייא מן מות̣א ואפרישינון לראהמיא שומה̄ ד̄כושטא מן השוכא לנהורא ומן בישא לטאבא ומן מותא להייא ואקימתינון בדירכיא ד̄כושטא והאימאנותא אנאת אמארתלאן במימראך ופאקידתינאן בפוגדאמאך אנאתון הון זיו ואנא̊ עהויא זיואיכון אנאתון הון נהור ואנא עהויא נהוראיכון שומאי ניהויא בפומאיכון ואנא עהויא* לואתאיכון אנאת הו ד̄מקארקלית אלאהיא בעכוראיהון ויאהבית אכאסתא לאלאהותא אלאהיא עתירסין בבאהתותא לעוהראיהון ולעכוראיהון נפיש קלאלון אדא עלאואיהון וריגלה̄ לתוקנאיהון נאפשא הע גיותא ד̄עתלאבאשכה̄ הו מאנדא ד̄הייא בריך האך יומא ד̄נהורא ומשאבא ניהגא ד̄אסגית ואתית מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא ד̄במיניאן יומיא לאעתימניא ובהושבאן

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das gewaltige (Leben). Sie ließen ihre Stimme zu reicher Ehrung ertönen und priesen den Glanz, der über den Glanzwesen, das Licht, das über den Lichtwesen, und den guten Mann, der durch die Welten drang, kam, das Firmament spaltete und sich offenbarte. Er sonderte das Licht von der Finsternis, sonderte das Gute vom Bösen, sonderte das Leben vom Tode. Er sonderte ab die Freunde seines Kušṭā-Namens von der Finsternis zum Lichte, vom Bösen | zum Guten, vom Tode zum Leben und stellte sie1) auf den Pfaden der Kušṭā und des Glaubens auf.

Du sprachest zu uns mit deiner Sprache und befahlest uns mit deiner Rede: Seiet ihr mein Glanz, und ich werde euer Glanz sein; seiet ihr mein Licht, und ich werde euer Licht sein; mein Name sei in eurem Munde, und ich werde bei euch sein. Du bist es, der du die Abgötter in ihren Tempeln stürzest und Tadel über die Abgötterei bringest. | Die Abgötter knickten in Schande an ihrem Wege zusammen2), über ihre Tempel kam reichlich Schmach. Er stürzte sich auf sie und fesselte ihren Glanz. Groß ist die Herrlichkeit, in die Mandā d̲Haijē sich kleidete. Gesegnet ist jener Lichttag, gepriesen der Morgenschein, in dem du aus den Lichtwelten aufbrachest und kamest.

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1) Lies ואקמינון. Die zweite Person in den folgenden Sätzen wirkte hier ein.

2) Die Wendung steht auch GR 174, 4. Von רסן bietet das Aramäische nur das targumische ריסנא „Zaum“, was für diese Wendung nicht paßt. Vielleicht ist עתירכין zu lesen.

יאהריא לאעהשיב לבאר מן האהו יומא ד̄עתיגליתבה̄ מן אלמיא
ד̄נהורא ניתגאלאלון יומא ד̄עתיגליתבה̄ לכולהון ראהמיא שומאך
ד̄כושטא ניסאק דוכראנאן ושולתאן ובותאן ודנותאן וטאבותאן
וסיברותאן קודאמאך עוצאר נהורא ניאהא וסימאכא רבא ד̄הייא
הין שובא זיבניא ביומא תום ניקום ונישאבאך לשומאך ולכיניאנאך
ולטאבותאך מאראי מאן להייא נישאבאך ומאן להייא ניראורבאך
לראבות זאכואתאך פאגרא סאריא נישאבאך עו לישאנא באטלא
הין פומאן ניהויא כד̄ יאמא ועספאן כד̄ אגלאואתה̄ ולישאנאן כד̄
טוריא גזיריא נישאבאך וניראורבאך וניאקראך וניבירכאך אנאת הו
ד̄יאדאתלה̄ מאן הו ד̄מן ליבה̄ דאהילאך ומאן הו ד̄בעספה̄ מאודיבאך
בפומא דאכיא עתיבריכת ובלישאנא ד̄תושביהתא עשתאבית
נישאבונאך סימאכיא ד̄לאנאידיא ועופאניא כושטא ד̄לאמישתאניא

Zu den Tagen wurde nicht gezählt, zu den Monaten wurde nicht gerechnet außer jenem Tage, an dem du dich aus den Lichtwelten offenbartest. Der Tag, an dem du dich offenbartest, sei allen Freunden deines Kušṭā-Namens offenbar. Unsere Nennung[1], unsere Bitte, unser Gebet, unsere Demut, unsere Tugend, unsere Kenntnis steige empor vor dich, Lichtschatz, große Ruhe und Stütze des Lebens. | Wenn wir auch siebenmal am Tage hintreten und deinen Namen, deine Benennung und deine Güte preisen, mein Herr, wer soll dich preisen, wer dich verherrlichen[2] bei der Größe deiner Siege? Soll der stinkende Körper dich preisen[3] oder die nichtige Zunge? Wenn unser Mund wie das Meer wäre, unsere Lippen wie seine Wogen, unsere Zunge wie die zerklüfteten Berge, dann könnten wir dich preisen, dich verherrlichen, dich ehren, dich segnen[4]. Du | weißt es, wer dich aus dem Herzen fürchtet und wer dich nur mit den Lippen bekennt. Mit reinem Munde sei du gesegnet, mit der Zunge des Lobpreises gepriesen. Dich preisen die Stützen, die nicht wanken, und die Ophane[5] der Kušṭā, die

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[1] Daß דוכראנא hier wie ذِكْر „Gebetsübung“ bedeute, ist trotz der folgenden Wörter nicht wahrscheinlich.

[2] Siehe oben, p. 125.

[3] GR 11, 11 ff. stehen die folgenden Sätze als Zitat.

[4] Im Ginzā besser und ursprünglicher: selbst dann könnten wir dich nicht preisen. Über die weite Verbreitung dieser Wendung vgl. Reinh. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* III, p. 293 ff.

[5] אוֹפַנִּים ist wohl im Sinne von Himmelsrädern, an denen die Sterne sich drehen, zu den Mandäern gelangt, aber sie haben keine rechte Vorstellung

נישאבונאך בניא שלאמא ד̄לואתאך הינון ד̄סאכא ומיניאנא ובוטלאנא ליתבון ד̄בזיו הדאדיא נאהריא כולהון סינא קינא ופלוגיא בינאתאיהון לאיית נישאבאך אתרא ד̄כולה̄ תיריא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא נישאבאך אבאתור אתיקא ראמא כאסיא ונטירא ד̄יאתיב בסידרא באדמו הייא נישאבאך פתאהיל עותרא ונימארלאך [54] בריכית מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא ומשאבית בריך אתרא רבא ד̄עתית מינה̄ ומשאבא ומראוראב ומיאקאר אתרא רבא ד̄אזלאתלה̄ נישאבונאך בהיריא זידקא ד̄מן שכינאתא תיתאיאתא הינון נישאבאך מאדאך והיכומתאך וסיברותאך וטאבותאך אנאת עתית ואנאת אתית תום עתיתלאך לעתיגלוייא אנאת הו ד̄סאכא ומיניאנא ובוטלאנא ליתלאך אנאת אבא אנאת אהא אנאת ברא אנאת הו ניבא אנאת הו שירשא רבא ד̄הייא אנאת קאדמאיא אנאת באתראיא אנאת הו עתיתא

sich nicht verändern. Dich preisen die Söhne des Heils, die bei dir weilen, die endlos, zahllos und unvergänglich sind. Sie leuchten durch den gegenseitigen Glanz, unter ihnen allen gibt es nicht Haß, Eifersucht und Zwietracht. Dich preist der Ort, der ganz aus Pforten des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit besteht. Dich preist Abathur, der alte, hohe, verborgene, verwahrte, der in der Reihe gleich | dem Leben sitzt[1]). Dich preist Ptahil-Uthra und spricht zu dir: „Gesegnet seiest du, mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē, und gepriesen. Gesegnet sei der große Ort, aus dem du gekommen bist; gepriesen, verherrlicht und geehrt sei der große Ort, an den du gehest“. Dich preisen die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, die aus den unteren Škīnās sind. Dich preist dein Wissen, deine Weisheit, deine Einsicht und deine Güte. Du bist gekommen, du kommst, und alsdann wirst du dich | offenbaren. Du bist es, der du endlos, zahllos und unvergänglich bist. Du bist Vater, du bist Bruder, du bist Sohn, du bist der Quell, du bist die große Wurzel des Lebens. Du bist der Erste, du bist der Letzte.

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mehr davon. GR 189, 21 f.; 190, 7 f. ist עופאניא im Sinne von Zeiten gebraucht. GR 47, 23; 48, 2; 194, 4 scheint es „Gewand“ zu bedeuten. Vgl. auch Brandt, Schr., p. 81^1. Hier und an der parallelen Stelle Oxf. Sammlung Buch I, St. XI ist wohl eine Vorrichtung am Himmel gemeint. Eine Engelklasse wie im späteren Judentum (vgl. Bousset, *Rel. d. Judentums*^{2}, p. 375 unt.; ZDMG LVII, 1903, p. 432) bezeichnet עופאניא bei den Mandäern nicht.

1) Andere Lesung בסידריא „in den Reihen“. Gemeint ist wohl in einer Reihe mit dem Leben. Siehe auch oben, p. 113^2.

ד̄עתיתלאך למיתיא וראהיקית לעתיגלוייא ראהיק מינאיאן רוגזאך וקאריב תיארותאך כרוך ודהיא וראהיק ובאטיל מאלאכיא רוגזא ובארדא וגלאלא מן ארקאי ובאיתאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת למירפאס איניא ולתאפוכיא גארגליא סאלקא שולתאן ובותאן ודנותאן לקודאמאך דילאך מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄אבאדנין שבוקלאן ודאבדינין תישבוקלאן שאביק האטאייא והאוביא וסכילאתא ותיקלאתא ושאבאשאתא אנאת הו מאנדא ד̄הייא הין אנאת מאנדא ד̄הייא האטאיאן והאובאן וסכילאתאן ותיקלאתאן ושאבאשאתאן לאשאבקאתלאן הינעלא מאן זאכאיא קודאמאך דילאך מאנדא ד̄הייא אבדיא ד̄כולה̊ האטאייא אנין ואנאת מארא ד̄כולה̊ תיארותא כול עדיא גנאב קודאמאך וכול עספיא כאדיב מיא ביארדנא זאכאיא קודאמאך לאיית מאנדא ד̄הייא אלמיא שומאך לאיאדיא ועל נהוראך לאהאכימיא יא ד̄אכליא ושאתיא יא ד̄נאציא ומראדפיא יא ד̄זאניא ומזאניא יא ד̄סאגדיא לאזגא וליבנא כול יום יום יאתביא על

Du bist der Zukünftige, der du kommen sollst, du bist es, der sich in der Ferne offenbaren soll. Entferne von uns deinen Zorn und nähere uns deine Gnade. Banne, stoße weg, entferne und vernichte die Engel des Zornes, des Eises und des Hagels weg von meinem Boden und meinem Hause, des NN. (So rasch) wie die Augen sich senken und die (Himmels)räder sich drehen, steigt unsere Bitte, unser Gebet und unsere Demut | vor dich, Mandā d̲Haijē. Was wir getan haben, vergib uns, und was wir tun, vergib uns. Der Vergeber der Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen bist du, Mandā d̲Haijē. Wenn du, Mandā d̲Haijē, uns unsere Sünden, Vergehen, Torheiten, Strauchelungen und Irrungen nicht vergibst, wer sollte dann schuldlos vor dir, Mandā d̲Haijē, dastehn? | Wir sind Sklaven, die ganz 1) Sünden, du bist der Herr, der ganz Vergebung ist. Alle Hände stahlen vor dir, alle Lippen logen . . . . 2) Niemand ist sündenrein vor dir, Mandā d̲Haijē. Die Welten kennen deinen Namen nicht, verstehen dein Licht nicht. O die essen und trinken, die hadern und verfolgen, die huren und kuppeln, die sich vor einem Gewölbe und Ziegel verneigen! 3) Tagtäglich sitzen sie auf den Thronen der Auf-

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1) Lies ד̄כולהון wie oben, p. 65, 12. Das folgende ד̄כולה̊ hat hier eingewirkt. Doch siehe auch Nöld., p. 324 f.

2) Siehe oben, p. 65[2].

3) Vgl. Joh., S. 114[2].

כארסאואתא ד̄מירדא ולשומא ד̄הייא מראדפיא ולשומא ד̄הייא
לאעדא ודהייא לבאלון לאנסיב אנין בהייא סהידנין ועל הייא הואלאן
רוהצאנא מאנדא ד̄הייא קאמלאן בילואתאן ובידיאורותאן האסדונאן
ורידפונאן אלמיא בזיביא ד̄אלמיא לאתיזבינאן ובדין אלמיא
לאתידנינאן ובהאיאביא ד̄אלמיא לאתאקמינאן ומן הייא לאתיפסיקינאן
מאלילנין בסידריא ד̄הייא וגאלילנין ראזיא ד̄מסאתריא האסדונאן
ורידפונאן אלמיא הייא קאביל בותכון מן כיסיא וניתריץ ניאהא על
נהוראיכון אנאת הו זיואן ותוקנאן והאילותאן ואדיאורותאן וערותאן
ד̄עתיגליתלון לראהמיא שומאך קאדמאייא [55] בשאמביביא ד̄זיוא
אודין בכושטאך וניפסיק נהוראך עלאן בזאכואתאך ניהויא ותריצינין
בכושטאך וניהזונאן אלאהיא במרומא וניתהאיבון וניתביהתון
תאלבישינאן מן זיואך ותיכאסינאן מן נהוראך ותיהאוינאן עוהרא
ד̄אנאת עתיתבהּ מן בית הייא אנין ניזילבהּ מיזלאיהון ד̄אנאשיא

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lehnung und verfolgen den Namen des Lebens. Den Namen des Lebens lernten sie nicht kennen und um das Leben kümmerten sie sich nicht. Wir bezeugten das Leben, und zum Leben hatten wir Vertrauen. Mandā d̲Haijē war uns Beistand und Hilfe. Die Welten schmähten und verfolgten uns; verachte uns nicht wegen der . . . . .[1] der Welten, richte uns nicht nach dem Gerichte der Welten, | stelle uns nicht mit den Schuldigen der Welten auf und schneide uns nicht vom Leben ab. Wir sprachen mit den Ordnungen des Lebens und offenbarten verborgene Geheimnisse. Die Welten schmähten und verfolgten uns, doch du, Leben, nimm aus dem Verborgenen das dir zukommende Gebet entgegen, und mag Ruhe über deinem Lichte errichtet werden. Du[2] bist unser Glanz, unsere Helligkeit, unsere Stärke, unser Beistand, unsere Erleuchtung, der du dich den ersten Freunden deines Namens in Strahlen des Glanzes offenbartest. | Wir bekannten deine Kušṭā, mag dein Licht auf uns abgeschnitten werden; mögen wir mit deinen Siegen sein und in deiner Kušṭā aufgerichtet werden. Die Götter in der Höhe mögen uns sehen, dann unterliegen und beschämt werden. Bekleide uns mit deinem Glanze, bedecke uns mit deinem Lichte und zeige uns den Weg[3], auf dem du

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[1] Hier liegt vielleicht dasselbe זיביא, זאביא wie Joh., S. 33^2 vor. Nach p. 66, 2 lese ich לאתיזלינאן.

[2] Hier ist wieder Mandā d̲Haijē gemeint.

[3] Siehe auch p. 38.

כשיטיא ומהאימניא מישכאן רוהאן ונישמאתאן בשכינאת הייא ובצוביאן הייא ובצוביאן עותריא תלאתא ובצוביאן מאנדא ד̄הייא יאתיר אלמיא ובצוביאן ארבא גובריא בניא שלאמא רואהא ניהויא מן קודאמאך לרוהאן ולנישמאתאן תאלבישינאן מן זיואך תיכאסינאן מן נהוראך ותאקמינאן בזאכאייא ד̄לאו בהאיאביא וביאתיריא ד̄לאו בהאסיריא קודאמאך מאנדא ד̄הייא שומאך כושטא שומאך וזאכיא שומאך ומראוראב שומאך ומיאקאר שומאך בריך שומאך ומקאיאם שומאך וזאכית וזאכיא שומאך וזאכין פוגדאמיא ד̄כושטא ד̄נאפקיא מן כומאך על כולהון עובאדיא זאכיה̄ וקאימה̄ להאזא נישמתאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת והייא זאכין על כולהון עובאדיא ס———א

LXXVI.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא תושביהאן להייא בארייא ד̄לבאר מן דאורא ד̄כסאכא שראיתון ד̄אינאיכון גאליא לדילכון עודנאיכון שאמא

aus dem Hause des Lebens gekommen bist. Wir wollen auf ihm den Gang der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer gehen, auf daß unser Geist und unsere Seele in der Škīnā des Lebens, in der Geneigtheit des Lebens, der Geneigtheit der drei Uthras, der Geneigtheit des Mandā d̲Haijē, des Erhabenen unter den Wesen, der Geneigtheit der vier Männer, der Söhne des Heils, ruhen. Friede werde von dir unserem Geist und unserer Seele zu teil. Bekleide uns mit deinem Glanze, bedecke uns | mit deinem Lichte, stelle uns vor dir auf unter den Schuldlosen, nicht unter den Schuldigen, unter den Vollwertigen, nicht unter den Mangelhaften. Mandā d̲Haijē ist dein Name, Kušṭā ist dein Name, siegreich ist dein Name, verherrlicht ist dein Name, geehrt ist dein Name, gesegnet ist dein Name, gefestigt ist dein Name. Siegreich bist du, siegreich ist dein Name, siegreich sind die Reden der Kušṭā, die aus deinem Munde herauskommen, über alle Werke. Mache siegreich und festige diese meine Seele | des NN. Und das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

LXXVI.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Lobpreisungen seien dir, äußeres Leben, zu teil, das du dich außerhalb der begrenzten Wohnung niedergelassen hast, dessen Augen für die Deinigen offen sind, dessen Ohren nach deinem Orte 1) hören.

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1) Die Mehrzahl der Handschriften hat „nach deinen Uthras“.

לאתראיכון תושביהאן להאהו האד שומא רבא ד̄הייא ד̄עלאויא כולהון שומהאתא שריא שומא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא ולמדינאת עותריא ולפאסימכא ד̄ראב פאסימכיא ד̄כולהון פאסימכיא מינה̇ נהאר וכולהין נישמאתא מינה̇ עזדאכיא ד̄קאיימלאן להאילאן לאגזיזאן לבית רוהצאנאן ומישתכאלין לנישמאתאן לבית זיבנא ליומא ד̄דינא ומישתכאלין* לנישמאתאן ליומא רבא ד̄הדאוחתא תושביהאן להאד ד̄כולה̇ עותריא ולהאד ד̄כולה̇ באואתא ולעיתיא ד̄אתא שרא לדוכראן ד̄קודאם הייא באראייא תריץ ד̄הייא שרולה̇ בפומה̇ ד̄מן לבאר תריצא תושביהתה̇ תושביהאן לקדימא קאדמאיא לבאר הייא רביא רישאייא ד̄הייא קיריויא ועתיתלה̇ וזארזויא ושאדרויא לדאריא אנאת עתית ופתית באבא [56] ומאכת עוהרא ודראכת דירכא ותראצת כודכא ולאפת לאופא אהיד עדא ופארואנקא

Lobpreisungen seien jenem einen großen Namen des Lebens zu teil, der über allen Namen ist. Der Name ruht am großen Lichtorte, in der lichten Wohnung, der Stadt der Uthras, der Leuchte, der größten unter den Leuchten, von der alle Leuchten ihr Licht erhielten, alle Seelen sieghaft wurden. Er steht uns bei | zu unserer Kraft, er schnitt uns nicht ab (vom Wege) zum Hause unseres Vertrauens, er findet sich bei unsern Seelen ein für das Haus des Kaufes, für den Gerichtstag; er findet sich bei unsern Seelen ein für den großen Tag der Freude.

Lobpreisungen seien dem Einen zu teil, der ganz Uthras, dem Einen, der ganz Gebete ist, dem Wesen[1], das kam und sich an unserem Grenzsteine[2] niederließ, der vor dem äußeren Leben aufgerichtet ist. Das Leben ruhte in seinem Munde, dessen Lobpreis außen[3] aufgerichtet ist.

Lobpreisungen seien dem Urersten, | dem Sohne des ersten, großen Lebens, zu teil, den das Leben schuf[4]), rüstete und in die Zeitalter hinaussandte. Du kamest, öffnetest das Tor, ebnetest den Weg, tratest den Pfad aus, richtetest den Grenzstein auf und stelltest die Verbindung her. Ein Helfer, Ge-

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1) Varr. ולעתיא, וליתיא. Anders als Nöld., p. 294 Anm. sehe ich darin ܐܺܝܬܝܳܐ.

2) לכורכאן zu lesen? Beachte תריץ. Schwerlich ist לדוכראן aus לדוכראנאן entstellt. Doch ist hier vielleicht eine Lücke, vgl. p. 137, 6.

3) D. h. außerhalb dieser Welt.

4) Hier wie weiterhin p. 137, 7 ist ועתיתלה̇ „ihm ist bereitet“ oder „steht bevor“ eingefügt. Es gibt hier keinen Sinn und stört den Zusammenhang.

ומדאכראנא הויתלה̄ לאבא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא לאפתה̄ בלאופא
ד̄הייא ובנאיתה̄ בביניאנא רבא ד̄שרארא ואפיקתה̄ לאתרא רבא
ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא יא קארווייא ד̄קרית יא זאואניא ד̄זאונית
יא באנוניא ד̄באנינית ואפקית מן ביניא אמאמיא ותאומיא ולישאניא
הזון ד̄האכא קאיימנא הזון ד̄האכא שרינא אלמיא ד̄נאפשאי מינאיכון
ענטירנא הין מינילאיכון מן אנפאי לאראהיקא הין טוריא תיסבון
בזואדאיכון למיכלאיכון לאשלימילכון הין יאמאמיא למישיתיאיכון
לאגמירילכון הין בתושלימיא תיקמוליא קודאם הייא באראייא ולקודאם
דאורא תאקנא מיניאנכון עמניא והושבאנכון השיב עקדום עתיא
ופרא ועמטיא לבניא שום ולבניא רושום ולבניא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא

leiter und Führer warst du dem großen Stamme[1]) des Lebens. Du fügtest ihn in die Gemeinschaft mit dem Leben ein, bautest ihn in den großen Bau der Wahrheit ein und brachtest ihn heraus zum großen Lichtort und zur leuchtenden Wohnung.

O ihr Rufer, die ich gerufen[2]), o ihr Ernährer, die ich ernähret, o ihr Erbauer, die ich erbauet und aus der Mitte der Völker, Grenzen und Zungen herausgeholt habe, | sehet, hier stehe ich, sehet, hier wohne ich. Ihr Welten, vor denen ich mich in acht nehme, wenn eure Worte nicht von meinem Antlitz fern bleiben, möget ihr auch Berge zu eurer Wegzehrung vornehmen, so werden sie für eure Speise nicht genügen, möget ihr auch Meere (zu eurem Tranke vornehmen), so werden sie für euren Trank nicht ausreichen[3]). Wenn ihr mir aber als Vollkommene vor dem äußeren Leben und vor der glänzenden Wohnung dastehet, so werde ich euch zu meiner Zahl zählen und zu meiner Rechnung rechnen[4]). Früh will ich hinkommen, | hinfliegen und gelangen zu den Söhnen meines Namens, zu den Söhnen meines Zeichens, zu den Söhnen des großen Stammes des Lebens. Ich werde euch in die Gemeinschaft mit dem

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1) Ich lese לשורבא statt לאבא שורבא. Wie לאבא dasteht, ist es grammatisch unmöglich und gibt auch keinen Sinn. Vielleicht ist es als Gegenstück zu לבניא שורבא weiterhin hergesetzt.

2) Gemeint ist: die Rufer, Ernährer, Erbauer, die erst von mir gerufen, ernährt, erbaut wurden. Daß קארווייא, באנוניא nicht etwa als Infinitive aufzufassen sind, ist aus p. 139, 5 zu ersehen, abgesehen davon, daß es für זאואניא nicht paßt. יא קארוויא in anderem Zusammerhange: GL 4, 23; 6, 10.

3) Ich bin nicht sicher, ob ich den Satz richtig aufgefaßt habe.

4) Eigentlich: ich werde eure Zahl (mit)zählen und eure Rechnung (mit)rechnen (השיב < עהשיב).

עליפינכון בלאופא ד̄הייא ועבנינכון בביניאנא רבא ד̄שראראַ
ועיאפקינכון לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא הין סינא קינא
ופלוגיא לאניהויא בינאתאיכון עדא ד̄מבארטאבלא ביניא מאנאיכון
לאתיבהוש ועל תאתוראקא לאתידון בביריא עליצא לאתאסגון
לקודאם דאיאנא לאתיקמון ואנפיא ביל דינא לאתיהזון ופארצופא
עפיבא לאתיהזון ראב מאכסיא לאנישאילונכון תיפקון תיהזונה̄
למשאלים נישמאתא ומאקים על דירכיא ד̄שראראַ לראהמ̊יה̄
שאלמאניא שותאפא רבא ד̄מהאימניא לבאר גודא רבא ד̄נישמאתא
ד̄נאפיק אלאנפאיכון ומאלבישלין לנישמאתכון עוצטליא ד̄זיוא
וטארטאבוניא טאביא דאכייא ד̄נהורא ד̄איתילכון מן · אתרא רבא
ד̄נהורא ודאורא [תאקנא] ומאפיק אלאנפאיכון כליליא כליל זאכאואתא

Leben einfügen, in den großen Bau der Wahrheit einbauen und zum großen Lichtort und zur glänzenden Wohnung hinausbringen.

Wenn Haß, Eifersucht und Zwietracht nicht unter euch[1]) sein werden, dann wird die Hand des . . . . . nicht zwischen euren Kleidern suchen, werdet ihr am Brückenwächter[2]) nicht vorbeigehen, werdet nicht durch eine enge Gasse gehen, | werdet nicht vor dem Richter stehen, werdet nicht das Antlitz eines Prozeßführers schauen, werdet kein verkehrtes Gesicht schauen, die Oberzöllner werden euch nicht ausfragen, vielmehr werdet ihr hinausziehen und den schauen, der die Seelen heil macht, der auf den Pfaden der Wahrheit seine vollkommenen Freunde aufstellt, den großen Genossen der Gläubigen, den großen . . . . . .[3]) der Seelen, der euch entgegengeht und eure Seele mit Glanzgewändern | und guten, reinen Lichtturbanen bekleidet, die er euch aus dem großen Lichtorte und der leuchtenden Wohnung brachte. Er bringt euch Kränze, einen Kranz von

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1) Das Suffix schwankt hier und bei den folgenden Nomina zwischen masc. und fem. Die Abschreiber waren sich nicht im Klaren darüber, ob die Gläubigen oder ihre Seelen angesprochen werden. Daß ursprünglich die ersteren gemeint sind, zeigt לנישמאתכון Z. 9.

2) In תאתוראקא vermute ich תאתורא „Brücke“ (Nöld., p. 134, 3) mit der persischen Endung ak zur Bezeichnung eines dazu gehörigen Mannes. Sonstige Beispiele für die Wiedergabe der Endung durch ק siehe bei Nöld., p. XXXI. מבארטאבלא (mit den Varianten) muß nach dem Zusammenhange auch einen revidierenden Beamten bezeichnen.

3) Das entlehnte und entstellte בר גודא (Nöld., p. 47, 9) ist hier mißverstanden. Der Verfasser scheint es als „Sohn der Truppe, Kamerad“ aufzufassen.

ד̄אליף ותמאנאן מיתקאליא האוין האד האד אטירפא ד̄כלילאיכון נפיש זיוה̄ מן זיוא ד̄שאמיש ותאקון תוקנה̄ מן תוקנא ד̄סירא תיקאבלון עוצטלאיכון ותיקאבלון כלילאיכון קודאם רביא רביא תיהון וביניא עותריא עותריא תיתיקרון תיפיהתון אינאיכון ותיהזונה̄ לדאיאנכון ניקדום נידנאלכון יומא בשרארא תיסקון תיהזונה̄ לאיאר באראיא ולפאסימכא רבא ד̄כולה̄ נהור [57] ד̄לקודאם הייא באראייא תריץ ד̄הייא קירויא ועתיתלה̄ וזארזויא ושאדרויא לדאריא ולאלמיא כול מאן ד̄יאהבא לזידקא ולאפא בלאופא מן ריש בריש כד̄ מאניא משאלמילה̄ וכד̄ פאסימכיא מאנהירילה̄ ליום פורקאן וליום פורקאנא וליומא רבא ד̄האדותא ד̄נאגיד זידקא ונאפיק אלאנפאיכון ומאסיק מאהוילכון איאר באראיא ודאורא תאקנא דוכתא ד̄קדימיא קאדמאייא בניא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא אכלין ד̄לאהוא סאיטא ושאתין ד̄לאהוא

Siegen, entgegen. Jedes einzelne Blatt eures Kranzes hat ein Gewicht von 1080 Lot. Sein Glanz ist größer als der Glanz der Sonne, und seine Helligkeit heller als die Helligkeit des Mondes. Ihr werdet euer Gewand in Empfang nehmen, werdet euren Kranz in Empfang nehmen. Vor den Großen werdet ihr Große sein, unter den Uthras werdet ihr Uthras genannt werden. Ihr werdet eure Augen öffnen und euren Richter schauen. | Früh wird für euch der Tag mit Wahrheit anbrechen. Ihr werdet emporsteigen und den äußeren Äther und die große Leuchte schauen, die ganz Licht ist, die vor dem äußeren Leben aufgerichtet ist. Das Leben schuf sie 1), es rüstete sie und sandte sie in die Zeitalter und Welten hinaus.

Eine jede Seele, die Almosen gibt und die Gemeinschaft in trefflicher Weise herstellt, macht man vollkommen gleich Mānās, macht man leuchtend gleich den Leuchten, für den Tag der Erlösung, für der Erlösung Tag | und für den großen Tag der Freude, der Almosenspende . . . . . 2), euch entgegengeht, euch emporhebt und euch den äußeren Äther und die leuchtende Wohnung zeigt, den Ort, an dem die Urersten, die Söhne des großen Stammes des Lebens, essen, was nicht verwerflich, und trinken, was nicht Wein ist 3). Gut essen sie und suchen

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1) Siehe oben, p. 134^{4}.

2) נאגיד „der hinzieht" paßt nicht. Man erwartet etwas wie belohnen, dennoch hat kaum eine Form von אגר dagestanden. Vorher ist wohl eine Lücke. Vgl. auch p. 18^{1}.

3) Vgl. Joh., S. 130^{4}.

האמרא טאב אכליא ורואהא שאיליא ואתיא עותרא ד̄הייא ושאריא עלאואיהון יום ביום ושאייא בשאייא תושביהאן לשוהבא ד̄זאדיקיא לעתיא ד̄בהיריא זידקא לגאברא נוכראיא ד̄מן לבאר קאיים ואינה̄ גאליא ותריצא על כולהון ראהמיא שומה̄ ד̄כושטא אנאת הו מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄יאדאתלה̄ לשאלמאנא במאהו ד̄משאלאם ויאתירא במאהו ד̄עתלה̄ ושארירא* למאהו קאיים הינעלא מינילתא תיפוק מן פומא ד̄גאברא שאלמאנא אנאת יאדית זסאברית ומאסבירית באתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא לאנישתאבא טורא בהאילה̄ ולאגאבארא בגאבארותה̄ ולאפאראשא בקאשתה̄ ולאאסיא בסאמאנה̄ ולאגאברא זאדיקא והאכימא במימרא ד̄פומה̄ הינעלא עותרא ד̄הייא ד̄אתיא ושאריא על ראהמאך ד̄באיין מינה̄ מאשכין ושאיליא מינה̄ ומיתהיבלון יום ביום ושאייא בשאייא הזינאן ד̄קאימינין בשומאך ותריצינין בכיניאנאך לגאטנה̄ לבאר גודאך רבא ד̄שרארא ואשארנין בזאכאואתאך שאפלות לאתישאוינאן וביאר מאהיקאניא וכאדאביא

Wohlergehen, dann kommt der Uthra des Lebens und läßt sich auf ihnen nieder, Tag für Tag, Stunde für Stunde.

Lobpreisungen seien zu teil dem Ruhme der Frommen, dem Wesen der Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, dem fremden Manne, der außen steht, dessen Augen offen und auf alle Freunde seines Namens der Kušṭā gerichtet sind. Du bist es, Mandā | ḏHaijē, der du weißt, worin der Vollkommene vollkommen ist, was an dem Trefflichen ist, worauf der Sichere steht. Ja1), verläßt ein Wort den Mund des vollkommenen Mannes, so kennst du es, verstehst es und unterrichtest darüber am großen Lichtorte und in der leuchtenden Wohnung. Nicht darf sich der Berg seiner Kraft rühmen, nicht der Held seines Heldentums, nicht | der Ritter seines Bogens, nicht der Arzt seiner Medikamente, nicht der gerechte, weise Mann der Rede seines Mundes, sofern nicht ein Uthra des Lebens kommt und sich bei deinen Freunden niederläßt. Die bei ihm suchen, finden, die von ihm verlangen, denen wird es gewährt, Tag für Tag, Stunde um Stunde.

Blicke auf uns, die wir kraft deines Namens dastehn, kraft deiner Benennung aufgerichtet sind. Wir hielten uns an dein großes . . . . der Wahrheit, wir blieben fest bei deinen

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1) הינעלא (vgl. Nöld., p. 208) drückt sonst einen Gegensatz aus; das paßt hier nicht, und das Wort ist hier nicht am Platze.

והונפאניא ומאגזיראניא לאתישדינאן מאהיקאניא לאניהיקונאן ומאגזיראניא לאנאגזרון לנישמאתאן ניהזון טאביא וניטאיבון וביׁשיא ניתיברון ובניא אלמא ניביהתון ניהזון שאלמאניא ד̄עית הייא וניתירצון אינאיהון לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא אנאת קארית קארוייא מאנדא ד̄הייא ומזאונית זאואניא ומבאנינית באנוניא ומגאדלית קארניא ומראורבית פאסהיאתא ותארצית כודכא ולאיפית לאופא אנאת הו ד̄מבאנינית ומאפקית מן ביניא אמאמיא תאומיא [58] ולישאניא כול מאן ד̄קריא ושיה ומזאמאן כולמאן ד̄כילה̄ שאלימלה̄ אנאת האויאתלה̄ אהיד עדא ופארואנקא ומדאבראנא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא ד̄כילה̄ עתלה̄ ופאגרה̄ קאיים למיפתא פומה̄ ולארומיא קאלה̄ ולמיביא בותא ולקאיומיא תושביהתא ולראורוביא1) סיגיא ד̄ליגרה̄ ניתיא עותראך ונישריא על ראהמאך פרוס נהוראך על כולהון ראהמיא שומאך ד̄כושטא אנאת אמארת במימראך ופאקידתינאן בפוגדאמאך על מינילאיכון מינילאי קדימא

Siegen; erniedrige uns nicht und wirf uns nicht in die Gewalt der Bedränger, der Lügner, der Heuchler und Verdammer. Die Bedränger sollen uns nicht bedrängen, die Verdammer unsere Seelen nicht verdammen. Die Guten sollen es sehen und Gutes finden, die Bösen sollen zusammenbrechen und die Kinder der Welt beschämt werden. Die Vollkommenen sollen sehen, daß es ein Leben gibt, und ihre Augen nach dem großen Lichtort und der leuchtenden Wohnung emporrichten. Du, Mandā ḏHaijē, rufst | die Rufer, ernährst die Ernährer, erbauest die Erbauer, drehest die Stirnlocken, machst die Schritte groß, richtest den Wegstein auf und stellst die Gemeinschaft her. Du bist es, der aufbauet und herausholt aus der Mitte der Völker, Grenzen und Zungen einen jeden, der gerufen, begehrt und eingeladen ist. Einem jeden, dessen Maß voll ist, bist du ein Helfer, Geleiter und Führer | zum großen Lichtort und zur leuchtenden Wohnung. Hat jemand sein Maß erreicht und sein Körper steht noch da2), den Mund zu öffnen, die Stimme zu erheben, ein Gebet zu verrichten, Lobpreis zu erheben und die Schritte seines Fußes groß zu machen, so komme dein Uthra und lasse sich bei deinen Freunden nieder. Breite dein Licht über alle Freunde deines Namens der Kušṭā. Du sprachest mit deiner Rede und befahlest uns mit deinem Befehle: Euren Worten

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1) So stelle ich nach Z. 6 her; לביית gibt keinen Sinn.

2) Nach anderer Lesart „und steht noch in seinem Körper“.

ולמיתראץ יאמינאיכון יאמינאי לואתאיכון תריץ תיקרון ליגאל
עַנינכון תיבון ביאד ולאעכליא בעדאיכון באיינין מינאך בותא
ד̄עותריא ושאילינין מינאך שולתא ד̄רביא לנאפשאן ולראהמאן
ולראהמיא ראהמאן ולראהמיא שורבא רבא ד̄הייא ולכולה̄ נאצירוּתא
ד̄הייא ד̄מליא וזריא בתיביל מן זיואך תאיתילאן ומן נהוראך תאוזיףּ
עלאן ניול בזיואך וניפוק בנהוראך ניקום בשומאך וניתִריץ בכיניאנאך
כושטא שומאך ומאנדא ד̄הייא שומאך יאקיר שומאך ומראוראב
שומאך בריך שומאך ומבאראך שומאך זאכיא שומאך וזאכין
פוגדאמיא ד̄כושטא ד̄נאפקיא מן פומאך וזאכין כולהון עובאדאך
והייא זאכין ס———א

mögen meine Worte vorangehen. Beim Aufrichten eurer Rechten wird meine Rechte bei euch aufgerichtet sein[1]), ihr werdet rufen, und bald werde ich euch antworten, ihr werdet mit eurer Hand bitten, und ich werde es mit meiner Hand nicht abwehren[2]). Nun beten wir zu dir mit einem Gebet der Uthras und bitten dich mit einer Bitte der Großen für uns, unsere Freunde, | die Freunde unserer Freunde, die Freunde des großen Stammes des Lebens und das ganze Naṣiräertum[3]) des Lebens, das in der Tibil angefüllt und ausgesät ist: bring uns von deinem Glanze, mehre[4]) auf uns von deinem Lichte. Wir wollen mit deinem Glanze eingehen und mit deinem Lichte ausgehen. Wir wollen mit deinem Namen dastehn, uns mit deiner Benennung aufrichten. Kušṭā ist dein Name, Mandā d̲Haijē ist dein Name, teuer ist dein Name, herrlich ist dein Name, gesegnet ist dein Name, gebenedeit ist dein Name, siegreich ist dein Name, siegreich sind | die Worte der Kušṭā, die aus deinem Munde herauskommen, und siegreich sind alle deine Werke.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

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1) Vielleicht hat ursprünglich עתרוץ dagestanden; man erwartet sonst תריצא.

2) Es muß תיבון בעדאיכון ולאעכליא ביאד heißen.

3) Siehe die Einleitung.

4) Nöldeke übersetzt Gram., p. 226 unt. תאוזיףּ durch „leihest“. Ich setze hier ebenso יזיףּ = יסףּ wie bei עתאוזאףּ Gram., p. 247, 9.

LXXVII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא עלכון דילכון הייא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא להייא קאדמאייא ולהייא תיניאניא ולהייא תליתאייא וליופין יופאפין ולסאם מאנא סמירא ולגופנא ד̄כולה̄ הייא ועלאנא רבא ד̄כולה̄ אסאואתא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לעוצאר האי ופתא האי פאהתיא פיהתא ד̄הייא ונאצביא ניצובתא ד̄נהורא ושאכניא דמותא קאדמאיתא בית הייא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לנבאט ניבטא קאדמאיא צוריך הייא בכיניאנון לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא למאריא פירא רבא ועלאיא ד̄הו פרא ופאריא ושאויא פירא רבא [59] לנאפשיה̄ לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא ליוכאבאר זיוא ד̄כבאר בזיוה̄ ואסגיא באנהורה̄ לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא

LXXVII.

Im Namen des Lebens.

Dich, Leben, gilt es zu preisen[1]), zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen, das erste Leben, das zweite Leben, das dritte Leben, Jōfin-Jōfafin, Sām, den wohlverwahrten Mānā, den Weinstock, der ganz Leben, den großen Baum, der ganz Heilungen ist.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen | Oṣar-Hai und Ptā-Hai[2]), die die Schöpfung des Lebens schaffen, die Pflanzung des Lichtes pflanzen und das erste Abbild im Hause des Lebens gründen[3]).

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Nbaṭ, den ersten Sproß, den Ausfluß aus dem Leben als dessen Beiname.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen den Herrn der großen, hohen Frucht, der emporblühte und emporblühen ließ und sich die große Frucht schuf.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Jōkabar-Zīwā, der mächtig war in seinem Glanze, groß in seinem Lichte.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē, das Leben, das aus dem Leben ward, die

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1) Siehe oben St. IX auch VIII.

2) Siehe auch oben, p. 84.

3) Am anderen Orte steht „des Hauses des Lebens“, siehe auch p. 35[1].

ליוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא הייא ד̄הון מן הייא וכושטא ד̄הוא מן
קודאם ברישא ד̄כבאר בזיוה̊ מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא
לראורוביא לבארוכיא להאש כאנא ד̄הידרא זיוא ונהורא ועקארא
ד̄אליףּ אליףּ האוין ניגבה̊ ורובאן רובאן האוין לואתה̊ טובה̊ ד̄היזיה̊
לעלאנא האנאתה̊ ביהראם ד̄היזיה̊ היא ונהאר ועתאסיא ועתקאיאם
ולאמית שומה̊ לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לצאנאצעיל
ד̄קאיים על באבא ד̄הייא ובאייא לרוהיא ונישמאתא מהאויא
שידקא ויאהיב סיברא ואהיד באואתא ד̄רוהיא ונישמאתא ד̄אנאשיא
כשיטיא ומהאימניא באתרא ד̄נהורא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא
לבארוכיא להאיאשום כושטא שגאנדא ד̄הייא ומאלאלא ד̄בהיריא
זידקא קאדמאייא ד̄אבאר אלמיא ואתא בזא רקיהא ועתיגליא
לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לבהאק זיוא ד̄הו מיתיקריא
ד̄אבאד וכשאר בשכינתה̊ לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא

Kuštā, die von je her am Anfange war, der groß in seinem Glanze von den Lichtwelten her war[1]).

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Haš, den Behälter der Pracht, des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit. Tausend mal Tausend sind seine Sprossen, zehntausend mal zehntausend sind seine Ranken. Heil dem, der | jenen Baum geschaut. Bihrām, der ihn geschaut, erhielt Leben, Licht, Heilung und Bestand, und sein Name starb nicht.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Ṣanaṣēl, der am Tore des Lebens steht und für die Geister und Seelen betet. Er zeigt Schweigen, gewährt Hoffnung und bewahrt die Gebete der Geister und Seelen der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer am Lichtorte.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, | zu segnen Haijašum-Kuštā, den Boten des Lebens, das Wort der ersten Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, der durch die Welten drang, kam, das Firmament spaltete und sich offenbarte.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Bhaq-Zīwā, der genannt wird „Er handelte und hatte Erfolg in seiner Škīnā“.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Jō-

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[1]) ד̄כבאר מן ist hier schwerlich in komparativischem Sinne zu fassen, „der größer war als . . . .“

ליוכאשאר כאנא ד̄זיוא יאהיב ונהורא מהאויא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לביריאויש כאנא הליצא האש כאנא ד̄כבאר בזיוה לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לאיאר גופנא דאכיא ד̄שריא בעוצאר נהורא רבא ועלאיא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא ליושאמין דאכיא ד̄שריא לעוצריא ד̄מיא ולמאמבוגיא רורביא ד̄נהורא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לתאורעיל עותרא גאברא ד̄שריא לכיסיא ד̄מיא ד̄מן היצרא ד̄יאמינה גטא נפאל תיהוא בתיביל הוא אכלא באלמא ד̄שיקרא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לאדאתאן ויאדאתאן ד̄קאימיא לבאבא ד̄הייא ולהייא משאביא ומיאתריא ובאיין לרוהיא ונישמאתא ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא באתרא ד̄הייא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לשילמאי ונידבאי עותריא

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kašar, den Behälter des Glanzes, der Glanz gewährt und Licht zeigt.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen den tapfern Birjawiš-Kannā. Der Kannā merkte[1]), daß er in seinem Glanze groß war.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen den Äther, den reinen Weinstock, der im großen, hohen Lichtschatz ruht.

Zu preisen, | zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Jōšamīn den Reinen, der an den Schätzen des Wassers und an den gewaltigen Quellen des Lichtes ruht.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Taurēl-Uthra, den Mann, der an der Verborgenheit des Wassers ruht. Vom kleinen Finger seiner Rechten trennte sich ab und fiel Erstarren in die Tibil, kam verzehrendes (Feuer)[2]) in die Welt der Lüge.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Adatan | und Jadatan, die am Tore des Lebens stehen, das Leben preisen und hochhalten und für die Geister und Seelen der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer am Orte des Lebens beten.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Šilmai und Nidbai, die beiden Uthras, die Boten des Mandā d̲Haijē,

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1) Trotz האש כאנא p. 142, 3 ist wohl האש כאנא hier nicht als Name, als zweiter Name des ביריאויש, aufzufassen.

1) Es ist zweifelhaft, ob mit אכלא hier das häufige נורא אכלא gemeint ist. Ein anderes אכלא siehe Joh., S. 166^{7}.

תרין פאדיברה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄אבדיא [60] ומאבדיא הייא בכושטא
ובסאהדותא ד̄הייא צאבין נישמאתא האיאתא עראתא תאקונאתא
וראואזאתא ד̄בכושטא מאסגיאן ליארדנא לאו בשום אלאהותא
ומשיהא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לשום האי רהום
האי עין האי וזאמאר האי ארבא גובריא בניא שלאמא ד̄אתין
אלאנפאיהון ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא ומאפקילון מן תותיא
אסאריא עדאיהון ד̄בישיא ומן תותיא טופראיהון ד̄גובריא מהאשבאניא
ומאסקילון לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא לאיפילון בלאופא
ד̄הייא ובאנילון בביניאנא רבא ד̄שרארא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא
לראורוביא לבארוכיא להיביל ושיתיל ואנוש בניא שורבתא האיתא
ערתא ראואזתא ותאקונתא גובריא ד̄בהירבא לאעתינסיב וביאקדאניא
ד̄נורא לאעקאד בטופאניא מיא לאטאף וארקיא מסאנון ד̄בליגראיהון
מיא לאעצטבא דאן וזכון בון ואשכא רהיט ומאטון לאתרא רבא

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die durch die Kušṭā Leben bewirken und erwirken[1]), die mit der Bezeugung des Lebens die lebenden, leuchtenden, lichten, prangenden Seelen, die mit Kušṭā zum Jordan hingehen, nicht im Namen der Abgötterei und Christi taufen.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Šum-Hai, R'hum-|Hai, Īn-Hai, Zamar-Hai[2]), die vier Männer, die Söhne des Heils, die den wahrhaften, gläubigen Männern entgegenkommen und sie unter den Banden [und ?] den Händen[3]) der Bösen, unter den Nägeln der (Böses) planenden[4]) Männer wegziehen und sie zum großen Lichtort und zur leuchtenden Wohnung emporheben, sie in die Gemeinschaft mit dem Leben einfügen und in den großen Bau der Wahrheit einbauen.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, | zu verherrlichen, zu segnen Hibil, Šitil und Anōš, die Söhne des lebenden, leuchtenden, prangenden, lichten Stammes, die Männer, die durch das Schwert nicht weggerafft, durch die Feuerbrände nicht verbrannt, durch die Wasserfluten nicht weggeschwemmt wurden, denen die Schuhriemen an ihren Füßen durch das Wasser nicht benetzt wurden. Sie führten einen Rechtstreit und siegten ob, suchten und fanden, liefen

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1) Als Täufer gewähren sie Leben. אבדיא ומאבדיא steht hier wie das öfter gebrauchte passivische עביד ומאבאד. Die Parallele der folgenden Worte zeigt, daß man diesen Satz nicht etwa aufzufassen habe „welche das Leben in Kušṭā schafft und erschafft“.

2) Vgl. p. 24, 12.

3) Im Text: unter den Banden der Hände.

4) Vgl. Joh., S. 17^1.

ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא לשאבוהיא ליאקוריא לראורוביא לבארוכיא לציהיון ופארדון וכאנפון עותריא ד̄האד האד האויא שומאיהון בית הייא אדאם כאסיא ביהראם וראם רבא עותריא ד̄האד האד האויא שומאיהון בית הייא ותרין תרין האוין כיניאנון ועתקאיאם שומאיהון ד̄אנאשיא כשיטיא ומהאימניא באתרא ד̄נהורא נאהור שומאך ותאקון שומאך ובאסים שומאך ומקאיאם שומאך וזאכיא שומאך וזאכין פוגדאמיא ד̄כושטא ד̄נאפקיא מן פומאך על כולהון עובאדיא זאכיה̄ וקאימה̄ להאזא נישימתאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת והייא זאכין על כולהון עובאדיא ס———א

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und gelangten zum großen Lichtort und zur leuchtenden Wohnung.

Zu preisen, zu verehren, zu verherrlichen, zu segnen die Uthras Ṣihiūn, Pardūn und Kanfūn, deren Name je einzeln im Hause des Lebens ist, die Uthras Adam den Verborgenen, Bihrām und Rām den Großen, deren Name je einzeln im Hause des Lebens ist, deren Beinamen zu zweien sind[1]). Auch wurde der Name | der wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer am Lichtort gefestigt.

Dein Name leuchtet, dein Name ist hell, dein Name ist angenehm, dein Name ist gefestigt, dein Name ist siegreich, und siegreich sind die Worte der Kušṭā, die aus deinem Munde kommen, über alle Werke.

Mache siegreich und festige diese meine Seele des NN, und das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

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[1]) Siehe oben, p. 42n.

Vierter Teil.

Lieder und Hymnen für die Taufe und Totenmesse.

LXXVIII.

[62] בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא ניגהארליא עוצראי ומאדאי ומאדיהתאי דיליא פ׳ בר פ׳ת בהאלין עניאניא ודראשיא ד̄מאצבותא ומאסיקתא ס——א

LXXIX.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
כ̄ד אסא אסא בגניניא היביל ראוז
כ̄ד מארמאהוז באואניא מאנדא הוא
עהאבליא(1 תרין אגיא ד̄אסא
ד̄מינה̄ גדאלולה̄ כלילא ליארדנא
ד̄הו שאנאי וריהה̄ באסים ס——א

LXXVIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens leuchte mir mein Sinn, mein Wissen und meine Erkenntnis, des NN, durch diese Lieder und Hymnen für die Taufe und die Totenmesse.

LXXIX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Als die Myrte, die Myrte 2) in den Gärten Hibils prangte,
als das Origanum in den Quartieren des Mandā stand,
gaben sie mir zwei Zweige der Myrte
und wanden daraus einen Kranz für den Jordan,
der wundersam und dessen Duft lieblich ist.

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1) In den Codd. ד̄עהאבליא.

2) Die Wiederholung von אסא geschah wohl, damit der Vers einen gleichen Bau wie der folgende erhalte.

האזין עניאנא ק̣ריא וגדול כלילא ד̄אסא למארגנאך והאיזאך קריא עניאנא
ליארדנא עוניאן אב עוניאן ס־־־־־א

LXXX.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא

עוניאן אב עוניאן   ודאליאן רבא בר רורביא
אבון בר הייא   שילמאי ונידבאי מארה̄ ד̄יארדנא
עוניון יארדנא ותרין כיפה̄
עוניאן עוניאן היביל זיוא   ד̄האילה̄ על עותריא אחה̄ שריא[1]
עוניאן יאואר זיוא   ד̄קיריאתאך ליארדנא שריאן
עוניאן מאנא רבא כאבירא   וקאימה̄ לנצבתאיכון
עוניון עוניון   האבשאבא וכאנא ד̄זידקא
עוניאן עוניאן אבאתור ראמא   ד̄האילה̄ למוזאניא שריא[1]
עוניאן ביהראם רבא   ודאליאן יוזאטאק מאנדא ד̄הייא

Lies dieses Lied und winde den Myrtenkranz für deinen Olivenstab, alsdann lies das Lied für den Jordan „Erhöre mich, mein Vater, erhöre mich“.

LXXX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Erhöre mich, mein Vater, erhöre mich,
erhebe mich, Großer, Sohn des gewaltigen (Lebens),
unser Vater, Sohn des Lebens,
Šilmai und Nidbai, die Herren des Jordans.
Erhöret mich, Jordan und seine beiden Ufer.
Erhöre mich, erhöre mich, Hibil-Zīwā,
dessen Kraft über den Uthras, seinen Brüdern, ruht.
Erhöre mich, Jāwar-Zīwā,
dessen Schöpfungen über dem Jordan ruhen.
Erhöre mich, großer, gewaltiger Mānā,
und festige eure Pflanzung.
Erhöret mich, erhöret mich,
Sonntag und das Kannā des Almosens.
Erhöre mich, erhöre mich, hoher Abathur,
dessen Kraft über der Wage ruht.
Erhöre mich, großer Bihrām,
und erhebe mich, Jōzaṭaq Mandā d̲Haijē.

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[1] Die Handschrr. haben שרין.

עוניון שובא ראזיא ד̄בגו אינא ראבתיא שרין
עוניון תלאת אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ותוקנא מאפקאן
עוניון תלאתא מאניא ד̄גינזאיכון ליארדנא שריין
עוניאן אנוש עותרא ד̄האילה̄ עלאואיאן שריא
ס----א

LXXXI.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
עוניאן אב עוניאן ודאליאן [63] רבא בר רורביא
אבון בר הייא שילמאי ונידבאי מארה̄ ד̄יארדנא
עוניון יארדנא ותרין כיפה̄ עוניון האבשאבא וכאנא ד̄זידקא
עוניון הייא רביא מן מרומא עוניון
ס----א

האלין תרין עניאניא קריא לכיפא דיארדנא והאיזאד ק̣ריא בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא ק̣אדמאיא ס----א

Erhöret mich, ihr sieben Mysterien,
die in der großen Quelle ruhen.
Erhöret mich, ihr drei Quellen,
die Glanz, Licht und Helligkeit ausströmen.
Erhöret mich, ihr drei Mānās,
deren Schätze über dem Jordan ruhen.
Erhöre mich, Anōš-Uthra,
dessen Kraft auf uns ruht.

LXXXI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Erhöre mich, mein Vater, erhöre mich,
erhebe mich, Großer, Sohn des gewaltigen (Lebens),
unser Vater, Sohn des Lebens,
Šilmai und Nidbai, die Herren des Jordans.
Erhöret mich, Jordan und seine beiden Ufer.
Erhöret mich, Sonntag und das Kannā des Almosens.
Erhöre mich, großes Leben,
erhöre mich aus der Höhe.

Lies diese beiden Lieder am Ufer des Jordans, alsdann lies „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“ (= *1*).

LXXXII.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
בריש מיא ניפקית   בריש מאמבוהיא ד̄הייא אסגית לכא
שיכנית תלאת שכינאתא   ושאלטית עלאואיהון נאטריא
נאטריא ד̄שאלטית עלאואיהון   שאנין ובריכיא ומקאימיא
מן ריש בריש ס———א

האזין עניאנא רמיא כד̄ צאבית מאצבותא ונאסבית מאמבוהא בקאנינא מן יארדנא ורמיא עניאנא בריש מיא ניפקית והאיזאך קריא בריכית תירא באראיא ס———א

LXXXIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
כמא שאפיריא שיתליא   ד̄שתאל ואקים יארדנא
טאן טונא דאכיא   ותראץ ברישאיהון כליליא ראוזיא
האדיבון יאואר בשיתליא טאביא   ד̄שתאל ואקים יארדנא

LXXXII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
An der Spitze des Wassers zog ich aus,
an der Spitze der Quellen des Lebens ging ich hierher.
Ich gründete drei Škīnās
und setzte Wächter über sie ein.
Die Wächter, die ich über sie einsetzte,
sind wundersam, gesegnet und beständig
über die Maßen.

Dieses Lied trage vor, wenn du die Taufe vollziehest und den Trunk aus dem Jordan in die Flasche nimmst. Trage das Lied vor „An der Spitze des Wassers zog ich aus“, dann lies „Gesegnet seiest du, äußere Pforte“ (= *XX*).

LXXXIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Wie schön sind die Pflanzen,
die der Jordan pflanzte und aufstellte.
Sie trugen reine Früchte,
und er richtete auf ihrem Haupte prangende Kränze auf.
Jāwar freut sich der guten Pflanzen,
die der Jordan gepflanzt und aufgestellt hat.

האדין וראוזין שיתליא   בריהא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
ד̄עלאואיהון שריא ס——א

LXXXIV.

אשאר צבאן צאבויאי   ואשאר מאצבאנאי צבאן
אשאר צבאן צאבויאי   ותיסאק מאצבותאיכון לריש
ס——א

LXXXV.

שילמאי צבינאן במאצבותא   ונידבאי רשאמינאן בדאכיא רושמא
אנוש עותרא סאגיא   סאמלאן ברישאיאן כלילא ראוזא
ס——א

LXXXVI.

יארדנא ד̄עצטבינאבה̄   עלאואיאן ניהויא בסאהדיא

Die Pflanzen freuen sich und prangen
im Dufte des Mandā d̲Haijē,
der auf ihnen ruht.

LXXXIV.[1]

Recht taufte mich mein Täufer,
mein Täufer taufte mich recht.
Recht taufte mich mein Täufer,
auch eure Taufe gelinge bestens.

LXXXV.

Šilmai taufte uns mit der Taufe,
Nidbai zeichnete uns mit dem reinen Zeichen[2],
Anōš, der große Uthra,
setzte uns auf das Haupt den prangenden Kranz.

LXXXVI.

Der Jordan, in dem wir getauft wurden,
wird für uns Zeuge sein,

---

[1] Vgl. auch St. L.

[2] Vielleicht „mit seiner Taufe“ (במאצבותה̄), „mit seinem Zeichen“ (רושמה̄). Für den Kranz paßt das Suffix nicht.

ד̄לאפאכנין מן רושמאן ולאשאנינה̄ לדאכיא מימרא
ס----א

LXXXVII.

אנא בתארמידאי האדינא ובנאצוראייא ד̄שותא שומא
האדינאבכון ד̄לאשאניתויא לדאכיא מימראי
ס----א

LXXXVIII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא מראוראב נהורא שאניא
טאב עלכון אמארנא בהיראי ד̄מינאי ליארדנא סליק
לאתיפכון ולאתישאנון ולאתישאנוליא ביאד
לאתיפכון ולאתישאנון [64] גובריא ד̄קאלא ד̄הייא שומא
ד̄שאמא קאלא ד̄הייא מיתבאנוניא מיתבאנאן

daß wir nicht von unserem Zeichen abkehrten
und die reine Rede [1]) nicht abänderten.

LXXXVII.

Ich freue mich meiner Jünger
und der Nāṣōräer, die auf meine Rede [2]) hörten.
Ich freue mich euer, daß ihr nicht abändertet
meine reine Rede.

LXXXVIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Dringend ermahne ich euch, meine Auserwählten,
die mit mir zum Jordan hinaufgestiegen sind [3]):
Verdrehet und verändert mich nicht,
verändert mich nicht mit der Hand.
Verdrehet und verändert mich nicht,
ihr Männer, die ihr den Ruf des Lebens gehört habet.
Wer auf den Ruf des Lebens hört,
wird aufgebaut.

---

1) Schwerlich „seine Rede“ mit Bezug auf den Jordan. Auf die Schreibung מימראן hat רושמאן eingewirkt. Im folgenden Stücke spricht wohl Mandā dHaijē, daher מימראי.

2) Lies ד̄שותאי.

3) Man erwartet „hinabgestiegen“ (נחית).

מיתבאנאן ומיזדאראז   והאילה̄ האויא להאד תרין
תום ד̄שותא ד̄הייא שאמא   מיתיאתוריא מיתיאתאר
מיתיאתאר ולאהאסאר   ובלאופא ד̄רבא מיתליף
מיתליף בלאופא ד̄רבא ד̄ליף   וסאליק האזילה̄ לאתאר נהור
מישתאיין הייא זאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס——א

LXXXIX.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
עלכון קארינא ומאפרישנא   גובריא ד̄קאביל רושומא
לאתישמונה̄ לשותאיהון ד̄אמאמיא 1) כולהון
ומן תיקלאתון לאתיתיקלון
לאתיתיקלון מן תיקלאתון   ובדינאיהון לאתישתאילון

Er wird aufgebaut und gewappnet,
und seine Kraft verdoppelt sich.
Abermals: Wer auf die Rede des Lebens hört,
erhält reichen Gewinn.
Er gewinnt und verliert nicht,
er wird mit dem Großen 2) vereinigt.
Mit dem Großen wird er vereinigt,
er steigt empor und schaut den Lichtort. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

LXXXIX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Euch rufe ich zu und erkläre ich,
Männer, die das Zeichen angenommen haben:
Höret nicht auf die Rede aller Völker,
strauchelt nicht an ihren Anstößen.
An ihren Anstößen strauchelt nicht,
lasset euch bei ihrem Gerichte nicht ausfragen.

---

1) Die meisten Handschrr. haben ד̄אמאמיא ודאריא; ich möchte am liebsten auch noch כולהון streichen.

2) Mit Beziehung auf הייא wird öfter der Singular gebraucht (siehe p. 127^1), so fasse ich denn auch hier רבא im Sinne von הייא רביא = רביא auf. Daß בלאופא ד̄רבא für בלאופא ד̄ראב stehe (vgl. Nöld., p. 307), ist mir weniger wahrscheinlich. ד̄ליף streiche ich.

לאתישתאילון בדינאיהון   ואף אנאתון שרארא תיליגטון
אנאתון תיליגטון שרארא   ד̄אנא בגאוה̄ אפרישילכון
אנא לבהיראי קארינא   ד̄עוצראיכון מינאי לאתיפכון
אמינטול ד̄כול ד̄לאמאשאר   עוצרה̄ מינאי מיתפיד
5 עוצרה̄ מיתפיד מינאי   רבא מהיתה̄ ולאזוטא
עו מציתון בהאילאי   אנאתון לדיליא דרא
הין דאריתוליא   אשאר קומביא מן ריש בריש
עוֹ לאמציתון בהאילאי   רהוק מינאי ולאתיקירבון
אמינטול ד̄איילביא ודאראליא   מיתריץ לבושיה̄ בית תושלימא
10 ד̄דאראליא ולאמשאלאם*   הו מאיית ורוהה̄ דאיכא
הו מאיית ודאיכא רוהה̄   והאויא מנאתא ד̄אלמא
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא   טאבא ד̄מקאיאם1) ראהמה̄

Lasset euch nicht ausfragen bei ihrem Gerichte,
nehmet die Wahrheit an.
Nehmet an die Wahrheit,
mit der ich euch belehret.
Ich rufe meinen Erwählten zu:
Wendet euren Sinn von mir nicht ab.
Denn wer nicht fest bleibt,
dessen Sinn wendet sich von mir ab.
Sein Sinn wendet sich ab von mir, 5
dann ist groß seine Züchtigung, nicht klein.
Wenn ihr mir gewachsen seid,
dann traget mich.
Traget ihr mich,
so haltet fest stand bei mir in vollkommener Weise.
Wenn ihr mir nicht gewachsen seid,
entfernet euch von mir und nähert euch nicht.
Denn wer in mich eintritt und mich trägt,
dessen Gewand wird im Hause der Vollendung aufgerichtet.
Wer mich trägt und nicht vollkommen ist, 10
der stirbt und sein Geist verlischt.
Er stirbt, sein Geist verlischt,
und er wird ein Anteil der Welt.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
Guter, der du deine Freunde festigst. —

---

1) Lies ד̄מקאיים vgl. p. 156, 5.

מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא

ס——א

XC.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
תארמידא אנא האדתא   ד̄אסגית לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא
שומאי על רישאי ניסבית   ובליבאי ניסבית רושמאי
רושומאי לאהוא נורא   ולאהוא ד̄משיהא משא
רושומאי יארדנא ד̄מיא הייא   ד̄עניש בהאילה̄ לאמציא
באהאר האד מן אלפא   ומן תרין אלפיא באהאר תרין
משאוילון תאנגאריא   ד̄בגאוה̄ ד̄תיביל אבדיא
מיתאנגריא באגרא וזידקא   מן שאמיש וסירא נאהריא
אנא לכאנא ד̄נישמאתא   אתית שיהלון ושאדרון
עכא ד̄זיבנה̄ [65] לזיבנאי   ועכא ד̄עתכאלאל ושכיב

Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XC.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Ein Jünger bin ich, ein neuer,
der ich zum Ufer des Jordans ging.
Meinen Namen nahm ich mir auf das Haupt,
in mein Herz nahm ich mein Zeichen.
Mein Zeichen war nicht das Feuer[1],
nicht das Christus salbte.
Mein Zeichen ist der Jordan lebenden Wassers,
dem niemand gewachsen ist.
Er erwählt einen aus tausend,
aus zweitausend erwählt er zwei.
Er macht sie zu Kaufleuten,
die in der Tibil Handel treiben[2].
Sie handeln mit Lohn und Almosen,
darum leuchten sie mehr als Sonne und Mond.
Ich, zum Stamme der Seelen
kam ich, sie schickten und sandten mich hin.
Mancher kaufte meine Ware,
mancher hüllte sich ein und legte sich hin.

---

[1] Das Feuer der Perser.

[2] Wohl מיתאנגריא zu lesen.

עכא ד̄זיבנה̇ לזיבנאי אינה̇ באנהורא עתימליא
אינה̇ עתימליא באנהורא האזילה̇ לרבא בית תושלימא
עכא ד̄זיבנאי לאזיבנה̇ אזאל ועתכאלאל ושכיב
עתאשאק ולאהזון ועטאראש עודנאיהון ולאשמא
5 ולאמאיארלון ליבאיהון למיהיזיה̇ לרבא בית תושלימא
ד̄קרולון ולאנון כד̄ קארין מאן* ד̄אנילון
ד̄יאהבילון ולאנסיב כד̄ באיין מאן ד̄יאהיבלון
סיניויא לעוהרא ד̄הייא ולדאורא דור בישיא רהים
דאורא רהים דור בישיא האבדור בישיא ניתיאבטון
10 ארגבאיון ומינונון בכנאפּ לבושאיהון צארלון
כד̄ באיין ד̄נידאלון רישאיהון מסארילון לתיריא השוך
אנא לבהיראי קארינא לשיתלאי ד̄קאמיון(1 ליארדנא

Mancher kaufte meine Ware,
dann füllten sich seine Augen mit Licht.
Seine Augen füllten sich mit Licht,
und er schaut das Große[2]) im Hause der Vollendung.
Mancher kaufte nicht meine Ware,
sondern ging, hüllte sich ein und legte sich hin.
Sie waren blind und sahen nicht,
ihre Ohren waren ihnen verstopft, und sie hörten nicht.
Ihr Herz war ihnen nicht erweckt, 5
das Große zu schauen im Hause der Vollendung.
Da man sie rief und sie nicht antworteten,
wer soll ihnen antworten, wenn sie rufen?
Da man ihnen gab und sie es nicht annahmen,
wer soll ihnen geben, wenn sie darum bitten?
Sie haßten den Weg des Lebens
und liebten den Wohnsitz, den Sitz der Bösen.
Sie liebten den Wohnsitz, den Sitz der Bösen,
ja, nun sollen sie im Sitz der Bösen gefesselt werden.
Ihre Habe, ihr Gut 10
wickelten sie für sich in die Tasche ihres Gewandes.
Wenn sie ihr Haupt hochheben wollen,
stürzt man sie zu den Pforten der Finsternis hinab.
Ich rufe meinen Erwählten zu,
meinen Pflanzen, die sich am Jordan aufstellten.

---

1) So oder ד̄קאימין zu lesen.
2) Siehe oben, p. 152¹.

אמארנאלון
בנאי בעוהראי בנאי בעוהראי   לאתיצלון מינה מן מיצרא
ד̄מן מיצרא צאליא   סאמיך עלה על כודכא
ד̄מן תארתינון צאליא   נאפיל בסאופא ד̄אלמא
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא   טאבא ד̄מקאיים ראהמה
אנין ד̄משאבינין מאראן   האטאיאן והאובאן תישבוקלאן
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס---א

אלמא להאכא עניאניא ודראשיא ד̄מאצבותא הינון מן האכא לתית עניאניא ודראשיא ד̄מאסיקתא הינון ס---א

XCI.

GL 80

ערותאי ותושביהתאי מאבראיאי   מאבאר הילפא אבארליא
אנאנא ד̄נהורא ותיסאק   בזאכו לאתאר נהור
ס---א

Ich spreche zu ihnen:
„Meine Söhne, [wandelt] 1) auf meinem Wege,
wanket nicht vom Damme ab.
Wer vom Damme abwankt,
stütze sich auf den Wegstein.
Wer von beiden abwankt,
der sinkt in das Ende der Welt“.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
Guter, der du deine Freunde festigst.
Uns, die wir unsern Herrn preisen,
wirst du unsere Sünden und Vergehen erlassen. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

Bis hierher reichen die Lieder und Hymnen für die Taufe, von hier nach unten hin sind die Lieder | und Hymnen für die Totenmesse.

XCI.

Meine Erleuchtung und meine Lobpreisung führen mich hinüber.
Der du durch die Wache hindurchführest, führe mich hinüber,
die Lichtwolke, und sie steige empor
siegreich zum Orte des Lichtes.

---

1) Statt des zweiten בנאי בעוהראי hat wohl ein Verb dagestanden.

XCII.

GL 79

בשומא ד̄הייא

עזיל בשלאם בהירא דאכיא זאכאיא ד̄מומא ליתבה̄
אנאת נאפשאך בהארת מן תיביל והילקאך מן דאריא שואר
הילקאך שואר מן דאריא עלאוה̄ ד̄כולה̄ אלמא אנאת
אמארת בהירא דאכיא ד̄האזאיא ופארושא אנא
האזאיא אנא ופארושא ואלמיא לדינא כאנפיא
אלמיא כאנפיא לדינא ודינא מינאיהון מיתמאר
דינא מיתמאר מינאיהון ד̄לאבאד עובאדיא ד̄גבאר כשיט
אנאת באלהודאך. בהירא דאכיא מאנא סקילא ד̄סקיל
ד̄לאזלית לבית דינא ודינא [66] מינאך לאמיתמאר
לאמיתמאר דינא מינאך ד̄אבאדת עובאדיא ד̄גבאר כשיט

XCII.

Im Namen des Lebens.
Geh in Frieden, Auserwählte, Reine [1]),
Sündenlose, ohne Fehl.
Du hast deinen Platz aus der Tibil heraus erwählt,
und dein Los ist aus den Äonen herausgesprungen.
Herausgesprungen aus den Äonen ist dein Los,
über aller Welt stehst du.
Du sagtest, Auserwählte, Reine:
ich bin eine Seherin, Unterscheiderin.
Eine Seherin bin ich, eine Unterscheiderin,
und die Welten versammeln sich zum Gericht.
Zum Gericht versammeln sich die Welten,
und ihnen wird Recht gesprochen.
Recht wird ihnen gesprochen,
die nicht die Werke eines wahrhaften Mannes geübt haben.
Du allein, Auserwählte, Reine,
du hellglänzender Mānā,
du wirst nicht zum Gerichtshofe gehen,
dir wird nicht Recht gesprochen werden.
Nicht wird dir Recht gesprochen werden,
da du die Werke eines wahrhaften Mannes geübt hast.

---

1) Siehe oben, p. 87[2]. Hier ist damit die Einzelseele gemeint, נישמא, wie p 102, 12.

האזא ד̄סאבליא ודאריא   אנאת בהירא קאמאך לאתאשכא
פוק מן אתותיא עדאיהון   ד̄שיביאהיא גאבאריא ד̄האזין אלמא
סאב לבוש עוצטלאך ד̄זיוא   ותרוץ כלילאך ראווא
כבוש קומתאך סגוד ומתא   ושאבא להייא רורביא
שאבא לאתרא ד̄הייא   ד̄אבאהאתאך לגאוה̄ אזליא 5
אנאת בהירא לאהוית מן האכא   ולאו מן האכא נציבא ניצובתאך
אתראך אתרא ד̄הייא   ודאוראך דאורא תאקנא
תריצלאך כורסיא ד̄ניאהא   ד̄האומא ורוגזא ליתבה̄
מנאטארלאך הימיאנא   ד̄אסגא1) ומומא ליתבה̄
טאבא סאק לבית הייא   ואסגיא לדאורא תאקנא 10
ביניא שראגיא ד̄נהורא   נידאלון שראגאך וניניהרון
בזיבנאך ועדאנאך סאק   הוזיה̄ לאתאר נהור

Was sie (hier) ertragen und dulden,
wirst du, Erwählte, vor dir nicht finden.
Entrinne der Gewalt
der Planeten, der Machthaber dieser Welt.
Nimm, ziehe dein Gewand des Glanzes an
und setze dir deinen prangenden Kranz auf.
Beuge deinen Körper, verneige dich und strecke dich hin
und preise das gewaltige Leben.
5 Preise den Ort des Lebens,
zu dem deine Väter hinziehen.
Du, Erwählte, kamest nicht von hier,
und nicht von hier ist deine Pflanzung gepflanzt.
Dein Ort ist der Ort des Lebens,
deine Wohnung ist die lichte Wohnung.
Dir ist ein Thron der Ruhe aufgerichtet,
an dem Glut und Wut nicht ist.
Dir ist ein Gürtel bewahrt,
an dem . . . . .1) und Fehler nicht ist.
10 Gute, steig zum Hause des Lebens empor,
geh zur lichten Wohnung.
Zwischen den Lampen des Lichtes
sollen deine Lampen emporgezogen werden und leuchten.
Zu deiner Zeit und deinem Termin steig empor
und schaue den Lichtort. —

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1) Das Wort steht nur an dieser Stelle. Es gibt keinen Sinn und scheint unter Einfluß von אסגיא im folgenden Verse entstellt zu sein. Wohl ד̄הארגא zu lesen, vgl. p. 104, 5.

מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס----א

XCIII.

GL 87

מאנא בגינזיא האדיא   ובערותא ד̄הייא ד̄שאריא עלה̄
אודיבאך בהיר זידקא   ד̄פאריקתה̄ לנישמאת מן אודיא
ס----א

XCIV.

GL 78

טובאך טובאך נישמא   ד̄נפאקת מינה̄ מן אלמא
נפאקתה̄ לקילומא   ולפאגרא סאריא ד̄הויתבה̄
לדאורא ד̄דור בישיא   לאתרא ד̄כולה̄ האטיא
לאלמא ד̄השוכא   ד̄סינא קינא ופלוגיא
לדאורא ד̄דאיריבה̄ שיביאהיא   ד̄כיביא ומומיא מאסביא
כיביא מאסביא ומומיא   וכול יום רמילון מארולא

Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XCIII.

Der Mānā freut sich der Schätze
und der Erleuchtung des Lebens, die auf ihm ruhet.
Ich bekannte dich, du von erprobter Gerechtigkeit,
denn du befreitest meine Seele vom Vergänglichen.

XCIV.

Heil dir, Heil dir, Seele,
daß du die Welt verlassen hast.
Du hast die Verwesung verlassen
und den stinkenden Körper, in dem du weiltest,
die Wohnung, die Wohnung der Bösen,
den Ort, der lauter Sünder ist,
die Welt der Finsternis,
des Hasses, der Eifersucht und der Zwietracht,
die Wohnung, in der die Planeten wohnen,
die Schmerzen und Gebrechen bringen.
Schmerzen bringen sie und Gebrechen,
und täglich erregen sie Erschütterung.

קומלאך קומלאך נישמא   לארקאך קאדמאיתא סאק
סאק לארקאך קאדמאיתא   לאתרא ד̄מינה̄ עתינציבת
לאתרא ד̄עתינציבת מינה̄   לדאוראך טאבא ד̄עותריא
פאץ לבוש עוצטלאך ד̄זיוא   ותרוץ כלילאך ראוזא
5 תיב על כורסיאך ד̄זיוא   ד̄הייא תירצויא באתאר נהור 1)
סאק דאר בשכינאתא   ביניא עותריא אהאך
כד̄ ד̄מאלפית בורכה̄   לבית אנאשאך קאדמאיא
ולוטה̄ להאזין אתרא   ד̄בית מונקאך
ד̄שניא ד̄הוית בגאוה̄   שובא האמבאגאך הון
10 שובא הון האמבאגאך   ותריסאר הולאך רידפא
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס—–א

Steh auf, steh auf, Seele,
steig zu deinem früheren Lande empor.
Zu deinem früheren Lande steig empor,
zu dem Orte, aus dem du gepflanzt wurdest,
zu dem Orte, aus dem du wurdest gepflanzt,
zu deiner guten Wohnung der Uthras.
Rege dich, ziehe dein Gewand des Glanzes an
und lege deinen prangenden Kranz auf.
5 Setze dich auf deinen Thron des Glanzes,
den das Leben am Lichtort aufgerichtet hat.
Steig empor, wohne in den Škīnās,
zwischen den Uthras, deinen Brüdern.
Wie du gewohnt bist, segne
deine Urheimat
und verwünsche diesen Ort
des Hauses deiner Pfleger.
Denn die Jahre, die du in ihm weiltest,
waren die Sieben deine Gegner.
10 Deine Gegner waren die Sieben,
und die Zwölf waren deine Verfolger. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

---

1) Dieser Vers fehlt im Qol.

XCV.

GL 79

[67] האבשאבא וכושטא וזידקא   לנישמא הולה̑ סאהדא
אנאתון בסאהדיא הולה̑   ואהליפויא מן בית מאכסיא
ס——א

XCVI.

GL 77

זידאנא ומזאודאנא   עותריא ד̄נהורא זאודון
זידאנא ד̄זאודון הייא   ומזאודאנא ד̄עותריא ד̄נהורא זאודון
זאודון בזואדיא כושטא   וזארזון בכולה̑ הוכומתון
למאהו הוא פתאהיל   ולמאהו קיריה̑ לאלמא
למאהו הואת האשאבתא   ולדיליא מן אתראי אתיון
שיהלון לאלמא ד̄תיקלאתא   ד̄כולה̑ גיטריא והאתמיא מליא
כולה̑ מליא נורא   וזריא בכובא ואטאטא
כולה̑ מליא ביהרארא   כולה̑ זיפא וכאדבא מליא

XCV.

Sonntag, Kušṭā und Almosen,
ihr seiet Zeugen der Seele,
ihr seiet ihr Zeugen
und bringet sie am Zollhaus vorbei.

XCVI.

Versehen, wohlversehen bin ich,
die Uthras des Lichtes haben mich versehen.
Ich bin versehen, das Leben hat mich versehen,
ich bin wohlversehen, die Uthras des Lichtes haben mich versehen.
Sie versahen mich mit der Reisezehrung der Kušṭā,
sie rüsteten mich mit all ihrer Weisheit aus.
Weswegen war Ptahil,
weswegen hat er die Welt geschaffen?
Weswegen entstand der Plan
und haben sie mich aus meinem Orte gebracht?
Sie sandten mich in die Welt der Anstöße,
die ganz voller Knoten und Siegel ist.
Sie ist ganz voll Feuer,
mit Dornen und Disteln besäet.
Sie ist ganz voll Blendwerk,
ganz voll Trug und Lug.

שיביאהיא ד̄דאיריבה̄
כול יום עלאי לביש מיתהאשביא
מיתהאשביא עלאי בבישותא
ואמריא ד̄ניפילגה̄ לעוצרה̄
ליבאי ד̄מליא כושטא
אמריא ד̄מן דילאן נאכשלה̄
אינאי ד̄סאכיא לנהורא
אמריא ד̄רימזא נירימזא⟨ן⟩
5 פומאי ד̄באריך להייא
אמריא ד̄כאדבא נימאר
עדאי ד̄יאהבא זידקא ופאשטא כושטא)[1]
אמריא ד̄גאטלא ניגיטלא
בורכאי ד̄סאגדא)[2] להייא
אמריא לשובא ניסיגדא
ליגראי ד̄מאדריכא דירכיא ד̄כושטא והאימאנותא)[3]
10 אמריא בהיפיא נאסגיא
אנא אינאי למרום שיקלית
נישמאת לבית הייא סכית
הייא ד̄שימויא לקאלאי
שאדאר אלאנפאי פארואנקא
פארואנקא ד̄אתיא אלאנפאי
איתיליא ד̄יאייא עצטלא

Die Planeten, die in ihr wohnen,
sinnen täglich auf Böses gegen mich.
Auf Böses sinnen sie gegen mich
und sagen: Wir wollen seinen Sinn zwiespältig machen.
Von meinem Herzen, das mit Kuštā erfüllt ist,
sagen sie: wir wollen es von uns her straucheln lassen.
Von meinen Augen, die zum Licht emporschauen,
sagen sie: sie sollen (unkeusche) Winke geben.
5 Von meinem Munde, der das Leben preist,
sagen sie: er soll Lüge sprechen.
Von meinen Händen, die Almosen geben ⟨und Kuštā darreichen⟩,
sagen sie: sie sollen morden.
Von meinen Knien, die sich vor dem Leben verneigen,
sagen sie: sie sollen sich vor den Sieben verneigen.
Von meinen Füßen, die die Pfade der Kuštā ⟨und des Glaubens⟩ wandeln,
10 sagen sie: sie sollen barfuß gehen.
Ich hob meine Augen zur Höhe empor,
mit meiner Seele hoffte ich nach dem Hause des Lebens.
Als das Leben meinen Ruf hörte,
sandte es mir einen Geleiter entgegen.
Der Geleiter, der mir entgegen kam,
brachte mir ein prächtiges Gewand.

---

1) ופאשטא כושטא, wodurch der Vers überlang wird, ist wohl zu streichen.

2) Qol hat ד̄מארבכא וסאגדא „die niederknien und sich neigen“.

3) והאימאנותא ist wohl zu streichen.

פתא והאויאן זיוא ושלאתה̄ לפאגרא זאפרא
ליגטאן בפראס יאמין והאפיקיא מיא אבראן
אבראן האפיקיא מיא ואדבאר באדמו הייא אסמכאן
הייא סמאך להייא והייא דילון אשכא
הייא אשכא דילון ואשכאת נישמאת ד̄מסאכיא
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס----א

XCVII.

סליק ואסקאן מינה̄ ולאשיבקאן בדאורא באטלא
ס----א

XCVIII.

GL 82

יומא ד̄נאפיק נישמא יומא ד̄סאליק תושלימא
יומא ד̄נאפיק נישמא מן אתותיא גירגל̇יא מותא

Er enthüllte Glanz und zeigte ihn mir,
und ich legte den stinkenden Körper ab.
Er faßte mich bei der Fläche meiner Rechten
und führte mich über die Wasserbäche.
Über die Wasserbäche führte er mich,
er leitete mich hin und stützte mich auf das Abbild des Lebens.
Das Leben stützte das Leben,
das Leben fand das Seinige.
Das Seinige fand das Leben,
und meine Seele fand, was sie erhoffte. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XCVII.

Er stieg empor und hob mich mit sich empor
und ließ mich nicht in der nichtigen Wohnung zurück.

XCVIII.

Am Tage, an dem die Seele hinauszieht,
am Tage, an dem die Vollendete emporsteigt,
am Tage, an dem die Seele hinauszieht
weg von unterhalb der Räder des Todes,

[68] ד̄כא שגיש תיגרא רמיכה̄   בגאוה̄ ד̄תיביל ד̄אבדיא
רוהא יאתבא במאליא   ושובא בתיהמא יאתביא
כיתון כוכביא סדיקא   ואקאפרא בריש רוהא רמיא
באכין זאנגאייא   ומאטאראייא מישתארהזיא
5 גאברא ד̄אתיאן להאכא   איתיליא ד̄יאייא עוצטלא
אלבשאן עוצטלא ד̄זיוא   וטארטאבונא ד̄נהורא כאסיאן
תראצליא מן כליל איאר   ומן ד̄רביא עהאבלון לעותריא
תירצאן ביניא עותריא   וקאימאן ביניא תושלימיא
כליל איאר תראצליא ברישאי   וראבות אפקאן מן אלמא
10 הייא סמאך להייא   והייא דילון אשכא
הייא אשכא דילון   ואשכאת נישמאת ד̄מסאכיא

. . . . [1] ist Streit geworfen
in die Tibil der Vergänglichkeit [2].
Rūhā sitzt in Trauer,
die Sieben sitzen in Erstarrung da.
Der Rock der Sterne ist zerfetzt [3],
Staub ist auf das Haupt der Rūhā geworfen.
Die Glöckner weinen,
die Wachthäusler sind erschrocken.
5 Der Mann, der mich hierher brachte,
brachte mir ein prächtiges Gewand.
Er bekleidete mich mit einem Gewande des Glanzes
und bedeckte mich mit einem Turban des Lichtes.
Er errichtete auf mir einen Ätherkranz
und was sonst das große (Leben) den Uthras gewährte.
Er richtete mich unter den Uthras auf,
stellte mich unter den Vollendeten auf.
Einen Ätherkranz richtete er mir auf dem Haupte auf
und holte mich feierlich aus der Welt.
10 Das Leben stützte das Leben,
das Leben fand das Seinige,
das Seinige fand das Leben,
und meine Seele fand, was sie erhoffte. —

---

1) Die Stelle ist verderbt, aber eine Form von שגש hat wohl von vornherein dagestanden.

2) Für אבדיא im vorliegenden Sinne ist häufiger die Schreibung אודיא.

3) Nur eine Handschrift hat סדיקא, die anderen haben סדייקיא, vgl. Nöld., p. 413 m. Man erwartet סדיק.

מישתאיין הייא זאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס——א

XCIX.

עתריצתון ועתקאיאמתון בהיראי   במאמלא ד̄שרארא* ד̄אתאלכון
מאמלא ד̄שרארא* אתא לטאביא   מאלאלא כשיטא למהאימניא
בהיראי באייתון ואשכאתון   תום תיבון ותאשכון
באייתון ואשכאתון בהיראי   אכואת ד̄קאדמאייא בון
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא   וזאכית כולהון ראהמאך
והייא זאכין ס——א

האכא קריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄נישמאתא ס——א

C.

בינתא ד̄באיניא הייא   עלאניא טאביא בגאוה̇ ראוזיא
בסום ריהאיון ד̄עלאניא   בריהא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
ד̄עלאואיהון שריא ס——א

Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XCIX.

Ihr seid aufgerichtet und gefestigt, meine Erwählten,
durch die Rede der Wahrheit, die zu euch gekommen ist.
Die Rede der Wahrheit kam zu den Guten,
die wahrhafte Rede zu den Gläubigen.
Meine Erwählten, ihr suchtet und fandet,
wiederum werdet ihr suchen und finden.
Ihr suchtet und fandet, meine Erwählten,
wie die Ersten suchten.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā ḏHaijē,
und verhalfest allen deinen Freunden zum Siege.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Hier lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben, das mit diesen Seelen“ (= *LXX*).

C.

Im Bau, den das Leben bauet,
prangen treffliche Bäume.
Lieblich ist der Duft der Bäume
durch den Duft des Mandā ḏHaijē,
der auf ihnen ruht.

האכא קריא בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ד̄שום בר נו וטאב טאבא לטאבא ס־א

CI.

שכאן הייא שכינתא ודנאבה̄ זיוא באיאר שאניא
אנא ועותריא אהאי סאדארנה̄ לכולה̄ טאבתא
סאדארנה̄ למנאת רביא ואסיקנה̄ בזאכו לאתאר נהור
ס----א

CII.

בינתא ד̄באיניא הייא לדארדאריא לאבאטלא
ס---א

האזין עניאנא רמיא אבאתאר ד̄לאיפית לאופא והאיזאד אמור כביש השוכא בעומא ותריץ נהורא לדוכתה̄ ס----א

CIII.

[69] כביש השוכא בעומא ותריץ נהורא לדוכתה̄

Hier lies „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben" des Šum bar Nū (= LXXI) und „Gut ist der Gute für den Guten" (= LXXII).

CI.

Das Leben gründete eine Škīnā,
und Glanz ging im wundersamen Äther auf.
Ich und die Uthras, meine Brüder,
wir richteten alles Gute her,
wir richteten den Anteil des großen (Lebens) her
und brachten ihn siegreich zum Lichtort empor.

CII.

Der Bau, den das Leben baut,
vergeht in allen Zeiten nicht.

Trage dieses Lied vor, nachdem du die Vereinigung vollzogen hast[1]*, dann sage „Niedergehalten ist die Finsternis in . . . . . . und aufgerichtet ist das Licht an seinem Platze".*

CIII.

Niedergehalten ist die Finsternis in . . . .[2]
und aufgerichtet ist das Licht an seinem Platze[3].

---

[1] Siehe oben, p. 13^3.

[2] Nur eine Handschrift hat בעמא, alle anderen, auch die Zitate in den

הייא קאביל בותכון עותריא קאביל תושביהתאיכון
שריא זידקא למארה̄ שרייא טאבותא ליאהבה̄
שרייא האזא נישימתא ד̄פלאן ונישמאתא ד̄האזא מאסיקתא לאתרא
רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא והייא זאכין ס---א

האכא קריא בזיו ד̄נפיש צבינא ואסים עדאך למאסיקתא ובע בותא
לנאפשאך והייא זאכין ס-----א

Das Leben nahm euer Gebet an,
die Uthras nahmen eure Lobpreisung an.
Das Almosen ruht bei seinem Stifter,
die Wohltat ruht bei ihrem Geber.

Diese Seele des NN und die Seelen dieses Aufstieges ruhen am großen Lichtort und in der glänzenden Wohnung.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Hier lies „Mit reichem Glanz bin ich getauft“ (= *LXIII*), *lege dann deine Hände auf für den Aufstieg*[1]) *und verrichte ein Gebet für dich.*

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

---

sonstigen Ritualen בעומא. Das Wort עומא findet sich sonst nicht. Sollte ursprünglich בעמא oder בעמה̄ „in ihrer (der Finsternis) Mutter“, d. h. der Rūhā, dagestanden haben, so wäre die Abänderung zu בעומא unverständlich. Daß עומא eine dialektische Nebenform von עמא sei, ist mir unwahrscheinlich, ebenso daß בעומא aus בעומקא oder בעומבא verderbt sei. Diese bekannten Wörter konnten nicht gut zu etwas Unbekanntem entstellt werden.

3) So eher als „an ihrer (der Finsternis) Stelle“.

1) Soll der Priester seine Hände auf den Sterbenden legen? ואסיק in der einen Handschrift bietet schwerlich das Richtige. אסיק kann nicht etwa „hebe hoch“ heißen; das wäre ארים.

II.

Die Oxforder Sammlung.

Erstes Buch.

כושטא α) אסינכון

I.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא קום קום בהיריא β) זידקא קום שאלמאניא
ומהאימניא קום ושאבא להייא רביא ושאבא למאלכא שישלאם a)
רבא ושאבא לתאנא כאסיא האם זיוא ושאבא ליאואר רבא ועזלאת
ראבתיא ושאבא לסימאת הייא ד̄מינאיהון b) כולהון אלמיא ושאבא
לאינא וסינדירכא ד̄אבא ד̄עותריא מינה̄ c) הוא אנא סאגדינאלה̄
ומשאבינאלה̄ להאהו מאלכא ראמא רבא ד̄נהורא γ) האיאסא ד̄מליא
־ראהמיא ס---א

Kušṭā heile euch.

I.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Stehet auf, stehet auf, ihr Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, stehet auf, ihr Vollkommenen und Gläubigen, stehet auf und preiset das große Leben, preiset König Šišlam den Großen, preiset das verborgene Tannā Ham-Zīwā 1), preiset Jāwar den Großen und Ezlath die Große, preiset den Schatz des Lebens, aus dem alle Welten kamen, preiset | die Quelle und die Palme 2), aus der der Vater der Uthras gekommen ist.

Ich verehre und preise jenen hohen, großen Lichtkönig, den Mitleidigen voll Erbarmens 3).

α) B, p. 9 unt. β) B, p. 10. γ) A, f. 1a.

a) Text ד̄שישלאם. b) Wohl ד̄מינא הון zu lesen. c) Text ד̄מינח̄.

1) Der Name ist vielleicht erst nach den Worten האם זיוא פשאר תאנא in dem Gebete oben, p. 19, XII gebildet.

2) Siehe die Einleitung.

3) Dies ist wohl ein jüngerer Zusatz.

II.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא

אשגאנדאי טאבא ד̄נהורא   ד̄מאסגיא לבית ראהמה̄
אתא ותראצליא מאלאלאי   ד̄עפיהתה̄ לפומאי בתושב̣יהתא
ועשאבינון להייא a) רביא   מן ריש בריש ס---א

III.

בשומא α) ד̄הייא b) להייא סאגידנא
ולמאראי c) מאנדא β) ד̄הייא משאבאנא
ולהאך פארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא   ד̄מן נאפשיה̄ פראש ס---א
האזין בותא בויא בראהמיא ד̄פירשא האיזאך ק̣ריא בשומא ד̄האהו גאברא ק̣אדמאיא ותרוק תאגא ברישאך ס---א

II.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Mein guter Lichtbote 1),
der zum Hause seiner Freunde geht,
komm und richte mir die Rede auf,
daß ich meinen Mund in Lobpreis öffne
und das große Leben preise
über die Maßen.

III.

Im Namen des Lebens verehre ich das Leben,
preise ich meinen Herrn Mandā d̲Haijē
und jenes große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit,
das aus sich selbst ausgeschieden ist.

Dieses Gebet verrichte beim Gebete des Tagesanbruchs 2)*, dann lies „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“* 3) *und lege dir die Krone* 4) *auf das Haupt.*

α) B, p. 11.   β) A, f. 1 b.

a) A הייא.   b) B בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא.   c) A ועל מאראי.

1) Es ist der Betende, der spricht, trotzdem heißt es „mein Lichtbote“. Dies ist nur in einer Ansprache verständlich, in der „mein Lichtbote“ ebenso gesagt ist, wie „mein Herr“, „mein Gott“, „mein Vater“. Daher sind die Worte אתא ותראצליא als Imperative, nicht als Perfecta aufzufassen, vgl. auch St. XXVII ff. Es ist nicht nötig, ותראצליא zu ותרוצליא abzuändern, vgl. וניתראצליא p. 181, 3. Es wird wohl gesagt, daß der Bote vom Lichte her komme, nicht daß er das Licht selbst sei, daher lese ich mit B נהורא statt נהורא A.

2) Über die Gebete der Mandäer vgl. Brandt, Rel., p. 92 f.; Joh., S. 111.

3) Es ist das Gebet Qol I.   4) Siehe p. 10¹.

IV.

בשומא ד̄הייא להייא סאגידנא a) ולמאראי b) מאנדא ד̄הייא משאבאנא
ולהאך פארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא ד̄מן נאפשיה̄ פראש ס----א

האזין בותא בויא בראהמיא ד̄שאבא שאייא האיזאך קריא בשומא ד̄האהו
גאברא קִאדמאיא ס----א

V.

בשומאיהון α) ד̄הייא רביא
עדאנא ד̄ראהמיא מאטיא ועדאנא ד̄ראב באואתא מטא
מאייראנאי היביל
ודארושאיאי שיתיל
וראמיא עניאנאי אנוש
וצאבא מאצבותאי שילמאי
ומקאימאנא c) ד̄באואתאי נידבאי ס----א

IV.

Im Namen des Lebens verehre ich das Leben,
preise ich meinen Herrn Mandā d̲Haijē
und jenes große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit,
das aus sich selbst ausgeschieden ist.

Dieses Gebet verrichte beim Gebete der siebenten Stunde, dann lies „Im Namen jenes ersten Mannes“.

V.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Die Zeit des Gebetes kommt,
die Zeit des Herrn der Gebete ist gekommen.
Mein Erwecker ist Hibil,
mein Hymnensänger ist Šītil,
mein Liedersänger ist Anōš,
mein Täufer ist Šilmai,
der Festiger meiner Gebete ist Nidbai.

α) A, f. 2a; B, p. 12.

a) B bietet hier, aber auch nur an dieser Stelle, für den Anfang בשומא ד̄הייא אנא להייא קאדמאייא סאגידנא. Diese Form findet sich auch oben p. 52, 2. Eine alte Variante, die gestattet, בשומא ד̄הייא vom Verse abzusondern.
b) A ועל מאראי. c) A צאבא und מקאימאנא.

VI.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא
אשגאנדאי טאבא ד̄נהורא ד̄מאסגיא לבית ראהמה̄
אתא ותראצליא[α] מאלאלאי ד̄עפיהתה̄ לפומאי בתושביהתא
ועשאבינון להייא רביא מן ריש בריש ס---א

VII.

בשומא ד̄הייא להייא סאגידנא
ולמאראי[a] מאנדא ד̄הייא משאבאנא
ולהאך[b] פארצופא[β] רבא ד̄עקארא ד̄מן נאפשיה̄ פראש ס---א

האזין בותא בויא בראהמיא ד̄לפאינא האיזאך קְריא בשומא ד̄הייא הייא ליאואר זיוא ונהור נהורא ותרוץ תאגא וקְריא מאנדא קְראן על אגאנביא תאגאך ס---א

VI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Mein guter Lichtbote,
der zum Hause seiner Freunde geht,
komm und richte mir die Rede auf,
daß ich meinen Mund in Lobpreis öffne
und das große Leben preise
über die Maßen.

VII.

Im Namen des Lebens verehre ich das Leben,
preise ich meinen Herrn Mandā ḏHaijē
und jenes große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit,
das aus sich selbst ausgeschieden ist.

Dieses Gebet verrichte beim Gebete des Abends, dann lies „Im Namen des Lebens. Das Leben den Jāwar-Zīwā“ (= *Qol III*) *und „Es leuchtete das Licht“* (= *Qol V*), *dann lege die Krone auf und lies „Mandā schuf mich“* (= *Qol XIX*) *an der Seite | deiner Krone*[1]).

[α] A, f. 2 b. [β] B, p. 13.

[a] A ויעל מאראי. [b] A ויעלהאך.

[1] Siehe die Anweisung p. 10. על אגאנביא תאגאך sollte vor ותרויץ תאגא stehen.

VIII.

בשומאיהון[α] ד̄הייא אסותא תיהוילה̄ ליאהיא בר יאסמין בהאזא
בותא ד̄האבשאבא
על נהור איאר קאיימנא ועל נהורא רבא בזאכואתה̄
אנא הו מאנדא ד̄הייא בר ניצבתון[β] ד̄הייא רורביא קאדמאייא
קריתילה̄ להאבשאבא שביהא נאטרא דאכיא ד̄נהורא[γ] ד̄מאנהאר
עותריא ואמארנאלה̄ קום אסגיא עזיל נהות לארקא ד̄תיביל לאלמא
האזין ד̄כולה̄ מאודאלא לואתאיון ד̄בהיריא זידקא גובריא גביליא
ביסרא וזמא ולגוטינון בליגטתאך ושארבון וקומבון ועזדאהארבון
ואהבאלון האילא ושרארא ד̄ניקמון וניסיגדון ונישאבון להייא[δ]
רורביא נוכראייא האיזאך מאליל האבשאבא ואמארלה̄ למאנדא
ד̄הייא האיזין משאדראתליא לאלמא האזין[ε] ד̄כולה̄ מאודאלא
לואתאיון ד̄בהיריא זידקא גביליא ביסרא וזמא ד̄לאומאוקיריליא[a]

VIII.

Im Namen des Lebens werde Heilung zu teil dem NN durch dieses Sonntagsgebet.

Auf dem Lichte des Äthers stehe ich
und auf dem großen Lichte mit seinen Siegen[1]).

Ich bin Mandā dHaijē, der Sohn der Pflanzung des gewaltigen, ersten Lebens. | Ich rief den gepriesenen Sonntag, den reinen Hüter des Lichtes, der die Uthras erleuchtet, und sprach zu ihm: „Auf, zieh hin, geh, steig hinab zur Erde Tibil, zu dieser Welt, die ganz Geburt ist, zu denen von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, den Männern, die aus Fleisch und Blut geformt sind, greife sie mit deinem Griffe, sei fest bei ihnen, steh ihnen bei, gib acht auf sie und gewähre ihnen Kraft und Festigkeit, daß sie sich hinstellen und | das gewaltige, fremde Leben verehren und preisen“.

Darauf erwiderte Sonntag und sprach zu Mandā dHaijē: „Wie kannst du mich in diese Welt senden, die ganz Geburt ist, zu den Männern von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, die aus Fleisch und Blut geformt sind, die mich nicht ehren, mich vielmehr

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α) A, f. 3a; B, p. 154m. β) B, p. 155. γ) A, f. 3b. δ) A, f. 4a. ε) B, p. 156, > A.

a) So A. לאו ist wohl durch das folgende מאו verursacht. Besser wäre ד̄לאמאוקירילֿיא. B hat ד̄לאמאוקארילה̄.

1) A hat בזאכואתה̄, und die Lesung mit ה̄ ist gesichert durch ד̄בזאכואתיא B.

ומאשיטיליא בעקארא רבא לאלאגטיליא האטאיאי והאובאי
לאשאבקיליא האיזאך מאליל מאנדא ד̄הייא ולהאבשאבא ד̄נימארלה̄[α]
אנאת קום אסגיא עזיל נהות לארקא ד̄תיביל לאלמא האזין ד̄כולה̄
מאודאלא לואתאיון ד̄בהיריא זידקא גביליא ביסרא וזמא ולגוטינון
בליגטתאך ואשארבון וקומבון וזדאהארבון וכרוך ודהיא[a] מינאיהון
שובא שיביאהיא הינון[β] וסאהראיהון ודאיואיהון והומראיהון וקיריאתון
בישאתא ד̄הינון האטאיאך והאובאך שאביקילאך[b] ובעקארא רבא
לאגטילאך וזאכותא לואתאן דילאן האויאלאך האיזאך מאליל מאנדא
ד̄הייא ואמארלון לבהיריא זידקא עזדאהאר[γ] בהאבשאבא מאנהיראנא
ד̄אנא לואתאיכון דילכון שאדארתה̄ למאנהירינכון ולמיקאימינכון
ולמיתריצינכון ולמאיתילכון בותא ותושביהתא האטאייה̄ והאובה̄
שבקולה̄[c] ובעקארא רבא לוגטויא אפריש וגאליל ואמאר מאנדא
ד̄הייא[δ] כול מאן ד̄לאשאביקלה̄ ׳האטאייה̄[ε] והאובה̄ להאבשאבא

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verachten, mich nicht in großer Ehre halten und mir meine Sünden und Vergehen nicht erlassen?“

Darauf erwiderte Mandā d̲Haijē und sprach zu Sonntag: „Steh du auf, zieh hin, geh, steig hinab zur Erde Tibil, zu dieser Welt, die ganz Geburt ist, zu den Männern von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, die aus Fleisch und Blut geformt sind, greife sie | mit deinem Griffe, sei fest bei ihnen, steh ihnen bei und gib acht auf sie. Wende ab und halte fern von ihnen die sieben Planeten, sie samt ihren Dämonen, Dēws, Amuletgeistern und bösen Schöpfungen. Dann werden sie dir deine Sünden und Vergehen erlassen, dich in großer Ehre halten, und dir wird Sieghaftigkeit bei uns sein“.

Alsdann wandte sich Mandā d̲Haijē an die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit und sprach zu ihnen: „Gebet acht auf den Sonntag, den Erleuchter, | den ich zu euch gesandt habe, daß er euch erleuchte, festige, aufrichte und euch Gebet und Lobpreisung bringe. Erlasset ihm seine Sünden und Vergehen und haltet ihn in großer Ehre“.

Ferner erklärte, offenbarte und sprach Mandā d̲Haijē: „Ein jeder, der dem Sonntag nicht seine Sünden und Vergehen er-

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[α] A, f. 4b. [β] A, f. 5a; B, p. 157. [γ] A, f. 5b. [δ] A, f. 81a. [ε] B, p. 158.

[a] A ודהייא, durch הייא verursacht. [b] B שבקילאך; hier hat sich vielleicht eine ältere Schreibung erhalten. [c] A hat vielleicht שבוקולה̄, B hat שביקלה̄.

ובעקארא רבא לאלאגיטלה̄ כורסיא ביניא עותריא ליתלה̄ ולאהאזילה̄ לפארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא אמינטול ד̄האבשאבא יאקיר וכאביר ויאיע[α] ומאנהאר מן כולהון עותריא בריך ומשאבא מאנדא ד̄הייא ומקאימאנא והייא זאכין על כולהון עובאדיא ס——א

IX.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
מן שינתאי[β] קאדמית וקאמית   בזיוא ד̄נפיש הזית
הזית בזיוא ד̄נפיש   ובאנהורא ד̄סאכא ליתלה̄
כד̄ לביש עוסטליא ד̄זיוא[γ]   ונהורא מראמאי לכאדפאי[a]
כליל איאר תריצליא ברישאי   ותראצליא לכלילא שורבאתא
ודארשיא עותריא לואתה̄   ואנילה̄ פאסימכיא לקאלה̄

läßt und ihn nicht in großer Ehre hält, hat keinen Thron unter den Uthras und schaut nicht das große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit. Denn Sonntag ist teurer, größer, schöner und erleuchteter als alle Uthras“.

Gesegnet und gepriesen sei Mandā d̠Haijē und der Festiger[1]. Das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

IX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
    sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Ich erhob mich früh von meinem Schlafe,
    ich hatte reichen Glanz geschaut.
Reichen Glanz hatte ich geschaut
    und Licht ohne Ende.
Ich war bekleidet mit Gewändern des Glanzes,
    und Licht war mir um die Schultern gelegt.
Ein Kranz von Äther war mir um das Haupt gelegt,
    die Stämme[2] hatten mir den Kranz aufgelegt.
Uthras trugen bei ihm vor,
    leuchtende Wesen respondierten seiner Stimme.

[α] A, f. 81b.   [β] Von hier bis ומיתאפרישא p. 178, 5 fehlt in A.
[γ] B, p. 159.

[a] Text fälschlich מדימאי לכאדפיא.

[1] Siehe die Einleitung.

[2] Die himmlischen Schaaren. Der Text hat שוראבתא.

ומראנדיד ומאקים שאכביא מן שינתון
אמארלון
קום שאכביא ד̄שכיביא   קום אכשילה[a] ד̄עתאכשאל
קום סגוד ושאבא להייא רביא   ושאבא לדמותא ד̄דמות הייא
5 ד̄באירא ומיתאפרישא באנהורא[α] שאניא
ומשאבין הייא ס——א

X.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא
האלילנין עדאן בכושטא   וספאן בהאימאנותא[β]
מאלילנין במאלאליא ד̄זיוא   ד̄עצהיטיבון עוצריא ד̄נהורא

Er rüttelte und richtete die Liegenden aus ihrem Schlafe auf.
Er sprach zu ihnen:
„Stehet auf, ihr Liegenden, die ihr dalieget,
    stehet auf, ihr Gestrauchelten, die ihr gestrauchelt seid.
Stehet auf, verehret und preiset das große Leben,
    preiset das Abbild, des Lebens Abbild,
5 das in hehrem Licht glänzt und leuchtet“.
    Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

X.

    Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Wir wuschen unsere Hände in Kušṭā
    und unsere Lippen[1] in Glauben.
Wir sprachen in Worten des Glanzes,
    durch die die Schätze des Lichtes sich entflammten[2].

α) A, f. 82a.   β) B, p. 160.

a) Lies כשילא.

1) Vielleicht ist besser mit B ועוספאן zu lesen, das einen volleren Halbvers gibt; allerdings ist auch in v. 5 der zweite Halbvers kurz.

2) B besser mit ▫ (ועסהיטאבון). — Nöld. nimmt Gram., p. 238^1 für סהט den Sinn „ausbreiten“ an. Es steht aber in den mandäischen Schriften fast immer bei „Feuer“, vgl. GR 13, 5; 33, 13; 87, 15; 193, 4; 267, 7. Nur 153, 22 steht es bei חשוכא. Die Grundbedeutung mag „ausbreiten“, im Passivum „sich ausbreiten“ sein, und diese Bedeutung wird auch an letzterer Stelle vorliegen, aber infolge der Verbindung mit „Feuer“ hat es dann den Sinn „entflammen“, „sich entflammen“ angenommen, vgl. auch Pognon, *Inscr. mandaïtes*, p. 47. Der Sinn „ausbreiten“ könnte aus der Bedeutung „auspressen“ hervorgegangen sein, vgl. Gesenius, *Handwörterb.*^{16}, p. 781 b. In den Zauberschalen hat es den Sinn „packen“, siehe Pognon, a. a. O.

בריכית ומשאבית[α] מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא ומקאימא תושביהתאך
נפיש האילא ד̄הייא וכאביר זיוא ד̄רורביא
שריא עקארא על עותריא ד̄יאתביא בעקארא
האזא הע בותא ותושביהתא ד̄אתאתילאן מן אתרא רבא ד̄נהורא[β]
ודאורא תאקנא משאבינאבא[a] כד̄ קאימינין מן שינתאן מן קודאם
ד̄עניש בשיקרא נישתאייא כול מאן ד̄בהאזא בותא ניביא שאביק
האטאייא והאוביא ניהוילה̄ באתרא רבא[γ] ד̄נהורא ודאורא[δ]
תאקנא והייא זאכין ס———א

XI.

בריך שומאך ומשאבא שומאך מאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא בירכוך טוריא
דאכייא ד̄לאנאידיא ועופאניא כושטא ד̄לאמישתאנין בירכוך בניא

Gesegnet und gepriesen bist du, mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē, und gefestigt ist deine Lobpreisung[1]).

Ausgedehnt ist die Macht des Lebens
und groß der Glanz des Gewaltigen.
Herrlichkeit ruht auf den Uthras,
die in Herrlichkeit dasitzen.

Dies ist das Gebet und die Lobpreisung, die uns aus dem großen Lichtort | und der glänzenden Wohnung gekommen sind. Wir preisen damit, wenn wir vom Schlafe aufstehn, bevor jemand in Lüge gesprochen. Einem jeden, der dieses Gebet verrichtet, wird ein Erlasser der Sünden und Vergehen am großen Lichtort und in der glänzenden Wohnung zu teil werden.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XI.

Gesegnet ist dein Name, gepriesen dein Name, mein Herr Mandā d̲Haijē.

Dich segneten die | reinen Berge, die nicht wanken, und die Ophane der Kuštā, die sich nicht verändern[2]).

Dich segneten die Söhne des Heils, die bei dir sitzen.

α) A, f. 82b. β) A, f. 83a. γ) B, p. 161. δ) A, f. 83b.

a) A משאבאנאבא. — A hat für das Suffix 3. sing. f. fast immer א, vgl. Nöld., p. 68^4.

[1]) Vers 3 fällt als Satz in Prosa aus dem Stücke heraus. Vielleicht ist es gewollt, um die beiden Doppelverse für sich zu gliedern.

[2]) Siehe oben, p. 129, 12.

שלאמא ד̄לואתאך יאתביא בירכאך יאואר α) זיוא מאלכא רבא ד̄נאצירותא בירכאך איאר נהורא דאכיא פארואנקא ד̄כולה̇ זידקא ואנא סאגדינאלה̇ ומשאבינאלה̇ להאך אגיא ד̄נהורא ולאשגאנדא ד̄כולהון פאסימכיא בריך שומאך ומשאבא שומאך β) גאברא γ) ד̄על שכינאתא שריא ועל שכינאתא שריא שומה̇ ד̄כול יום כול יומא לדמותה̇ האזילה̇ ולפארצופא רבא ד̄עקארא משאבילה̇ ומשאבין הייא ס–––א

האלין ארביא באואתא ⟨בינין⟩ על נהור איאר קְאיימנא ומן שינתאי קאדמית קאמית והאלילנין עדאן בכושטא ובריך שומאך δ) ומשאבא שומאך קירינין בראהמיא ד̄פירשא אבאתאר ריהא ס––––א

XII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שראר גופנא רבא כאסיא קאדמאיא ד̄אליף אליף האוין עביכה̇

Dich segnete Jāwar-Zīwā, der große König des Nasiräertums.

Dich segnete der Äther, das reine Licht, der Geleiter, der ganz Gerechtigkeit ist.

Und ich verehre und preise jenen Lichtstrahl und den Boten aller Leuchten.

Gesegnet ist dein Name, gepriesen dein Name, Mann, der über | den Škīnās ruht. Über den Škīnās ruht auch sein Name, der täglich, alltäglich dessen Gestalt schaut und das große Antlitz der Herrlichkeit preist.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

Diese vier Gebete „Auf dem Lichte des Äthers stehe ich“, „Ich erhob mich früh von meinem Schlafe“, „Wir wuschen unsere Hände in Kušṭā“ und „Gesegnet ist dein Name, gepriesen dein Name“ lies | beim Gebete des Tagesanbruchs nach dem Weihrauch.

XII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Ich verehre, verherrliche und preise Šrar, jenen großen, verborgenen, ersten Weinstock, der tausend mal tausend Früchte und zehntausend mal zehntausend Ranken trägt. Ich rief ihn

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α) A, f. 6a. β) A, f. 6b. γ) B, p. 162. δ) A, f. 7a.

ורובאן רובאן האוין אלואתה̄ ד̄קרילה̄[a] ועניאן תום[α] קרילה̄[b] וניניאן ד̄הו ניתיא ונאסיאן ונידאליאן[β] וניקאימאן וניתירצאן וניתראצליא אינאי באנהורא וליגראי בשרארא ופומאי בהוכומתא וליבאי בערותא תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שכינתא ראבתיא כאסיתא[γ] קאדמאיתא ד̄בית יוריא תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא[c] להאך שכינתא ראבתיא כאסיתא קאדמאיתא ד̄אבאהאתאי יאתביבא תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך רואז גופנא רבא קאדמאיא ד̄הליביא מיא בדאריא שביקלה̄ תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך רואז[δ] נהורא רבא[ε] קאדמאיא ד̄הו משאלאט על[d] אלמיא ד̄נהורא תום סאגידנא שאהאבאנא ומשאבאנא להאך שכינתא ראבתיא כאסיתא קאדמאיתא ד̄אינאיהון ד̄נאצוראייא ופרישאייא ובהיריא זידקא מסאכילה̄[e]

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und er erhörte mich, wiederum will ich ihn rufen, und er wird mich erhören, daß er komme und mich heile, daß er mich erhebe, festige und aufrichte, daß er mir aufrichte

meine Augen in Licht,
meine Füße in Festigkeit,
meinen Mund in Weisheit,
mein Herz in Erleuchtung.

Ferner verehre, verherrliche und preise ich jene große, verborgene, erste Škīnā des Hauses der Glanzwesen.

Ferner verehre, verherrliche und preise ich jene | große, verborgene, erste Škīnā, in der meine Vorfahren sitzen.

Ferner verehre, verherrliche und preise ich Rwaz, jenen großen, ersten Weinstock, der . . . . .[1] Wassers in den Wohnsitzen zurückgelassen hat.

Ferner verehre, verherrliche und preise ich Rwaz, jenes große, | erste Licht, der als Herrscher über die Lichtwelten eingesetzt ist.

Ferner verehre, verherrliche und preise ich jene große, verborgene, erste Škīnā, zu der die Augen der Nāṣōräer, Prišäer[2] und der Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit empor-

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α) A, f. 7b. β) B, p. 163. γ) A, f. 8a. δ) B, p. 164. ε) A, f. 8b.

a) Nach קרילה̄ A, ד̄קריליא B. b) Für עקרילה̄; B ד̄קרילה̄. c) > A. d) B לכולהון. e) So in A; > B.

1) הליביא findet sich sonst nicht. Von הלב läßt sich kein Wort mit passendem Sinne herleiten. B hat ד̄הליבה̄ מיא בדאריא שביקליא.

2) Siehe Joh., S. XXII.

למיסאק מיהיזיה לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא[α] ודאורא תאקנא הייא
זאכעין ס———א

האזין בותא בויא בראהמיא ד̄שאבא שאייא אבאתאר ריהא ועל נהור איאר
קאיימנא ס———א

XIII.

הוא[β] זיבנא למיביא ראהמיא   ועדאנא רבא למידנוייא
מיתין היליתא למאראי מאנדא ד̄הייא   למיתיא יוריא[a] בהיריא זידקא
אמרילה תארמידיא למאנדא[γ] ד̄הייא ד̄עתלאן מן אגרא ומן זידקא
ומן טאבותא ד̄נישיבקא לאלאהותא ד̄באיתא וניתיא וניתהאימאן
אמארלון מאנדא ד̄הייא לתארמידיא ד̄עתלה לאבויכון[b] האילא
נאפשא ד̄נפיש מן סאכא כולה ומן עוצריא הימיא באטליא ומן

blicken, um aufzusteigen und den großen Ort des Lichtes und die glänzende Wohnung zu schauen.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Dieses Gebet verrichte beim Gebete der siebenten Stunde nach dem Weihrauch und nach „Auf dem Lichte des Äthers stehe ich“.

XIII.

Gekommen ist die Zeit, das Gebet zu verrichten,
und die große Stunde, demütig zu sein,
meinem Herrn Mandā d̠Haijē Ehrfurcht zu bezeigen[1]),
daß die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit erweckt werden.

Die Jünger sprechen zu Mandā d̠Haijē: „Wir weisen Lohnzahlung, Almosenspende und sonstiges Verdienst auf, wir wollen die Gottheit des Hauses verlassen, wir wollen kommen und gläubig werden“.

Darauf spricht Mandā d̠Haijē zu den Jüngern: „Euer Vater verfügt über | ausgedehnte Kraft, die ausgedehnter ist als jegliche Grenze, als die erbitzten (?), nichtigen Schätze und als das

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α) A, f. 9a.   β) B, p. 119.   γ) A, f. 9b; B, p. 120.

a) Steht für למיתיאיוריא; B hat למיתיאוריא.   b) B על אבוהוכון.

1) Weiterhin in St. LX steht ד̄חיליתא neben זיויחתא, wo es wahrscheinlich als דיחילתא „Furcht“ zu erklären ist. B hat dafür חיליתא, worin das ד̄, da es irrtümlich als die Partikel angesehen wurde, abgeworfen ist. Auch hier paßt חיליתא in diesem Sinne. Freilich steht es GR 232, 4; 256, 9 (siehe die Varr.) mit האילא zusammen. In der Oxf. Rolle G, Z. 620 bedeutet חיליתא Edelstein und gehört zu חיליא. Es steht da zusammen mit „Perle“ (חיליתא כאסיתא ומארגאניתא). Denselben Sinn hat es auch Mand. Diwan 1.

עשאתא α) עכילתא הון ומאלבישלון טאבא לבנה̄ ומכאסילון ומאסיק a)
מאהוילון עית רואהא רבא ד̄הייא וראוזאן נישמאתכון מן אנאנא
ד̄נהורא ומאיתאן נישמאתא הוריניאתא והאויאן כד̄ זאן ד̄לאהוא
תיקאבלון עוצטלאיכון ותיקאבלון β) כלילאיכון γ) קודאם רביא רביא
תיהון וביניא עותריא תיתיקרון ותימרון b) קאיאמין הייא
בשכינאתון והייא זאכעין ס———א

האזין בותא בויא בראהמיא ד̄לפאינא אבאתאר ריהא ואבאתאר על נהור
איאר קאיימנא ס———א

XIV.

בשומאיהון δ) ד̄הייא רביא　　מראוראב נהורא ε) שאניא
בהאבשאבא בריש יומיא　　מאנו הזא ד̄אנא הזית

verzehrende Feuer. Der Gute bekleidet und umhüllt seine Söhne, er hebt sie empor und zeigt ihnen das Wesen des großen Friedens des Lebens. Eure Seelen prangen dann aus der Lichtwolke[1]), während die anderen Seelen sterben und sind als ob sie nie gewesen. Ihr werdet euer Gewand, ihr werdet euren Kranz empfangen. Vor den Großen werdet ihr Große | sein, unter den Uthras Uthras genannt werden. Ihr werdet sagen: Das Leben steht fest in seiner Škīnā, das Leben ist siegreich".

Dieses Gebet verrichte beim Gebete des Abends nach dem Weihrauch und nach „Auf dem Lichte des Äthers stehe ich".

XIV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
　sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Am Sonntag, dem Haupte der Tage,
　hat wer geschaut, was ich geschauet?

α) A, f. 10a.　β) A, f. 10b.　γ) B, p. 121.　δ) B, p. 29. Anfang von C: f. 49a, l. 18 ff.　ε) A, f. 11a.

a) A מאסיק.　b) A תימרון.

[1] Mit einer solchen sind sie bedeckt (Z. 1), nicht komparativisch aufzufassen „mehr als eine Lichtwolke".

מאן היזיה̇ a) למאנדא ד̄הייא	ד̄אסגיא אתאלה̇ לאלמא
אסגיא לאלמא אתאלה̇	רמעיא ארקא ומישתארהזא
דאריש ובאסים קאלה̇	ותראצלה̇ בפומה̇ מאמלא
מאמלא תראצלה̇ α) בפומה̇	וקארקיל שיבקה̇ לאלמא β)
קארקיל לאלמא שיבקה̇	רוהא במאליא יאתבא 5
רוהא יאתבא γ) במאליא	ושובא בתיהמא יאתביא
באכין ונאגדין עבלאיהון b)	אמינטול ד̄ראזאיהון עתיגליא
אמינטול ד̄עתיגליא ראזאיהון	מיסאףּ סאיפיא ליומא δ) רבא ד̄סוףּ
האקאת וזאהאת נאמרוס	זאינא מן כאדפא נפאל
זאינא נפאל מן כאדפא	וקאשתאתא מן פסאן עדא c) 10
רוהא לבנא c) תימאר	למאשתוציא באטליא תימארלון

Wer schaute Mandā d̲Haijē,
 der hinging und in die Welt kam?
Er ging hin und kam in die Welt,
 die Erde liegt da und bebet.
Er trägt vor, lieblich ist seine Stimme,
 und er richtete im Munde die Rede auf.
Die Rede richtete er im Munde auf,
 er warf die Welt über den Haufen und verließ sie.
5 Er warf über den Haufen und verließ die Welt,
 Rūhā sitzt darum trauernd da.
Trauernd sitzt Rūhā da,
 die Sieben sitzen in Verwirrung da.
Sie weinen und ziehen lang ihre Klage hin,
 weil ihr Geheimnis offenbart wurde.
Weil offenbart wurde ihr Geheimnis;
 sie werden am großen Endtage ein Ende nehmen.
Namrus fürchtete und ängstigte sich,
 ihre Waffen fielen ihr von der Schulter.
10 Von der Schulter fielen ihr ihre Waffen,
 die Bogen aus ihrer Handfläche.
Rūhā spricht zu ihren Söhnen,
 sie spricht zu den nichtigen Unholden:

α) A, f. 11b. β) B, p. 30. γ) C, f. 49b. δ) A, f. 12a.

a) AC ד̄היזיה̇. b) A עבלאואיהון, B בלאיהון, C עבליביהון. c) Zu ■ als Suffix der 3. sing. f. auch beim Plural vgl. Nöld., p. 178, 14f.

בנאי כד̄ עמאיכון האוקא מיטיא   אנאתון שובא מאהו[α] תיבדון
כד̄ אתיא[β] גבאר[a] נוכראיא   מאן ניקומלה̄ לקודאמה̄[b]
אכלא ד̄זיוא בידה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא   מכאביש ואתיא מארדיא
ברהייא תירצה̄ לקאלה̄   ולפאטור שובא ד̄נימארלון
5 אנא זיבנא לראהמאי אתית[c]
ומאמלאליא כשיטיא[d] למהאימניא[γ]
גובריא ד̄זאבניא זיבנאי   זאכואתון ברישאיהון מיתגאדלאן
זאכואתון[δ] מיתגאדלאן ברישאיהון
וסאלקיא האזילה̄ לאתאר נהור
10 מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס---א

„Meine Söhne! Wenn Angst eure Mutter befällt,
was wollet ihr Sieben tun?
Wenn der fremde Mann kommt,
wer wird ihm entgegentreten?“
Eine Keule des Glanzes ist in der Hand des Mandā d̲Haijē,
er tritt an die Rebellen heran[1]) und wirft sie nieder.
Bar-Haijē erhob seine Stimme
und sprach zu . . . . .[2]) der Sieben:
„Ich habe meinen Freunden Ware gebracht, 5
wahrhafte Worte den Gläubigen.
Den Männern, die meine Ware kaufen,
werden ihre Verdienste um ihr Haupt gewunden werden[3]).
Ihre Verdienste[4]) werden gewunden werden um ihr Haupt,
und sie werden emporsteigen, den Lichtort schauen“. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich, 10
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

α) A, f. 12b. β) B, p. 31. γ) A, f. 13a. δ) C, f. 50a.

a) C גאברא. b) A על קודאמה̄. c) B אנא זיבנאי לראהמאי איתית.
d) B מאלאלה̄ כשיטיא, C ומאמלאלא כשיטא.

1) Die Umstellung (אתיא ומכאביש) bietet wohl auch noch nicht das Ursprüngliche.

2) פאטור findet sich sonst nicht. Vom Stamme פטר ist nicht mit Sicherheit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit ein Sinn abzuleiten, der hierher paßt.

3) Vgl. Joh., S. 2.

4) Die Texte haben hier זאכואתון וקארנאיהון; dadurch wird der Halbvers überlang. Der Ausdruck קארנאיהון מיתגאדלאן ברישאיהון ist sonst häufig, daher wurde קארנאיהון hierhergesetzt.

XV.

יומאי α) מאהו ביומיא יומא
יומאי מאהו בשאייא שיתא הדא
יומאי מאהו ביומיא
יומא ד̄זיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא דנא
יומאי האבשאבא בריש יומיא
יומא ד̄זיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא דנא
יומאי דנא זיוה̄ ד̄האבשאבא β) עלאואיאן
ואנהירינאן מן ריש בריש ס———א

XVI.

מן קאדמו ד̄שיניא איניא   ומן קאדמו ד̄תיראתא לבאב
מן קאדמו ד̄אנאתון הואיתון   אנא הויתיבה̄ באלמא

XV.

Was ist mein Tag unter den Tagen? Ein Tag.
Was ist meine Stunde[1] unter den Stunden? Eine Stunde.
Was ist mein Tag unter den Tagen?
Der Tag, an dem der Glanz des Mandā d̲Haijē aufgegangen ist.
Mein Tag ist der Sonntag, das Haupt[2] der Tage,
der Tag, an dem der Glanz des Mandā d̲Haijē aufgegangen ist[3].
An meinem Tage ging der Glanz des Sonntags über uns auf und erleuchtete uns über die Maßen.

XVI.

Bevor die Augen . . . .
    bevor mein Herz . . . . . .[4],
bevor ihr waret,
    war ich schon in der Welt.

α) A, f. 13 b; B, p. 32.   β) A, f. 14 a.

[1] Doch wohl שיתאי statt יומאי zu lesen.

[2] Man hat ריש statt בריש zu lesen. בריש ist nach XIV, 2 hierher gesetzt; dort ist es am Platze.

[3] Ähnlich GR 306, 23 ff.; GL 112, 7 ff.

[4] שיניא gibt keinen Sinn. Es enthält kaum eine Form von ישן, da dieses als Verb im Aramäischen nicht vorhanden ist. Auch תיראתא paßt nicht. Ich dachte an eine Form von עור, aber da käme nur עתאר „erwachte“ oder עתיאיאר „wurde erweckt“ in Betracht, und diese Formen stehen תיראתא zu fern.

קאלאיון ד̄מיא הייא. ד̄אפכין למיא תאהמיא
שאפין ונאסבין[α] תוקנא[β] אשדין[a] וראמין דורדיא
למאלה̄ לקאדמאיא ד̄מן דורדיא באייא בניא
מיקריא קרעייא קאליא[γ] ומיהשאב השיביא מאמלאליא כולהון[b] 5
אתיא הדא קאלא ומאפריש על קאליא כולהון
אתיא הדא מאמלא ומאפריש על[δ] מאמלאליא כולהון
אתיא הדא גאברא ומאפריש על דה̄ דה̄
אנין ד̄משאבינען מאראן האטאיאן והאובאן תישבוקלאן
10 זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא וזאכית כולהון ראהמאך
והייא זאכין ס———א

Die Stimme des lebenden Wassers ist es,
das das trübe Wasser verwandelt.
Es quillt an und nimmt Helligkeit an,
es gießt und wirft die Trübung weg.
Was hat der Erste nur,
daß er aus der Trübung sich Söhne wünscht?[1]
Die Stimmen sind ausgerufen
und alle Reden ausgerechnet. 5
Eine Stimme kommt
und belehrt über alle Stimmen.
Eine Rede kommt
und belehrt über alle Reden.
Ein Mann kommt
und belehrt über dies und das.
Uns, die wir unseren Herrn preisen,
wirst du unsere Sünden und Vergehen erlassen.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē, 10
und verhalfest allen deinen Freunden zum Siege.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

[α] A, f. 14b. [β] B, p. 33. [γ] C, f. 50b. [δ] A, f. 15a.

[a] A אשידין. [b] כולהון ist hier zu streichen. Es ist nach den folgenden Versen, namentlich nach Z. 7 hierher gesetzt. Die Worte finden sich auch GR 80, 11 f., wo auch die folgenden Verse stehen.

[1] Der erste Mensch, der sein Geschlecht fortsetzen wollte. B hat weniger gut לימאליא על קאדמאיא „was habe ich mit dem Ersten zu tun?“

XVII.

יאמאריא ראהמיא
יאמאריא α) באואתא ודראשיא וסידריא β) תאקניא
יאמאריא בותא ותושביהתא
שומא לקאלאי ולאתאגזאר עלאי ס---א

XVIII. γ)

לבאר מן שית ושאבא אמאמיא   פירא לעלאנא תריץ
פירא תריץ לעלאנא   ועלאניא לואתה̄ כאנפיא
עלאניא כאנפיא לואתה̄   וכורסיא לראב זיויא תריץ
כורסיא δ) תריץ לראב זיויא   וראב זיויא יאתיב עלה̄
תריץ קודאמה̄ a) תושלימא b)   ד̄שאלמאניא משאלימלון
משאלימלון לשאלמאניא   כול עניש כד̄ עובאדיא עדה̄

XVII.

O Herr der Gebete,
o Herr der Bitten, Hymnen und rechten Ordnungen,
o Herr des Gebetes und der Lobpreisung,
erhöre meinen Ruf und verdamme mich nicht.

XVIII.

Außerhalb der sechs, sieben Völker [1])
ist die Frucht dem Baume aufgerichtet.
Aufgerichtet dem Baume ist die Frucht,
und die Bäume versammeln sich bei ihr.
Bei ihr versammeln sich die Bäume,
und für den Obersten der Glanzwesen ist ein Thron aufgerichtet.
Ein Thron ist für den Obersten der Glanzwesen aufgerichtet,
und der Oberste der Glanzwesen sitzt auf ihm.
Vor ihm ist die Vergeltung aufgerichtet,
mit der er den Vollkommenen vergilt.
Er vergilt den Vollkommenen,
einem jeden nach den Werken seiner Hände.

α) B, p. 34. β) A, f. 15 b. γ) fehlt in C. δ) A, f. 16 a.

a) A קודאמאך, B לקודאמה̄. b) B תושלימיא.

1) Der Horizont der Mandäer ist klein, vgl. Brandt, Rel., p. 60.

ואמאר
כול α) מאן ד̄הלא ועתאנגאר   ניתיא וניסאב בתארתינין ערה̄
כול β) מאן ד̄לאהלא ולאעתאנגאר   ריקין קאיים בית מאכסיא
באייא ולאמאשכא   ושאייל ולאמיתהיבלה̄
אמינטול ד̄הואלה̄ בעדה̄ ולא עהאב
האתאם באהיש בכאנפה̄ ולאמאשכא
משאבית מאנדא ד̄הייא   ד̄על ראהמאך לאמאגזרית
ס——א

XIX.

אנא γ) בותא מן הייא באיינא   באיינא מינאיכון הייא רורביא
אנא בותא מן הייא באיינא   ד̄תיתריצונא לתושביהתאיכון עלאי
ס——א

האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא δ) ד̄האבשאבא הינון ס־א

Er spricht:
Ein jeder, der sanft war[1]) und handelte,
wird kommen und mit beiden Händen nehmen.
Ein jeder, der nicht sanft war und nicht handelte,
steht leer im Hause der Zöllner da.
Er sucht und findet nicht,
er bittet und ihm wird nicht gewährt.
Weil er es in der Hand hatte und nicht hergab,
sucht er dort in seiner Tasche und findet nichts. —
Gepriesen seiest du, Mandā d̲Haijē,
der du deine Freunde nicht verdammest.

XIX.

Ich richte eine Bitte an das Leben,
dich, gewaltiges Leben, bitte ich,
ich richte eine Bitte an das Leben:
„Richte deinen Lobpreis über mir auf“.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Sonntag.

α) B, p. 35. β) A, f. 16 b. γ) A, f. 17 a. δ) B, p. 36.

1) Zweifelhaft. הלא in diesem Sinne wohl GR 182, 3, 20; 183, 21; GL 83, 12. Eine Anspielung auf diese Stelle Qol 70, 13.

XX.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
מן ריש באנאנא α) ניפקית   מינאך דאורא תאקנא
מן ריש באנאנא ניפקית   מן באנא ד̄באנאן רביא
מן באנא ד̄רביא באנאן   אתית וניצבאן נאצבאי a) β)
אתית ונאצבאי ניצבאן b)   במילכא ד̄מן רביא מלאך 5
במילכא ד̄מלאך מן רביא   ושאדרון ד̄עבון γ) בינתא
בינתא עבון לטאביא   לגובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא
באנתא ובאנינתא   ותירצית בריש באנאנא
שתאליבא שיתליא הייא   גובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא

XX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Am Anfange zog ich in einer Wolke hinaus,
aus dir, glänzendes Heim.
Am Anfange zog ich in einer Wolke hinaus,
aus dem Bau[1]), den das große (Leben) gebauet.
Aus dem Bau, den das Große gebauet,
kam ich, mich hatte mein Pflanzer gepflanzet.
5 Ich kam, mich hatte mein Pflanzer gepflanzt,
nach dem Rate, den er mit dem großen (Leben) gepflogen.
Nach dem Rate, den er mit dem Großen gepflogen,
es sandte mich, einen Bau aufzuführen[2]).
Einen Bau sollte ich für die Guten aufführen,
die wahrhaften, gläubigen Männer.
Ich baute, ich erbaute ihn
und richtete ihn ganz oben auf der Wolke auf.
Ich pflanzte in ihm des Lebens Pflanzen,
wahrhafte, gläubige Männer.

α) A, f. 17 b. β) C, f. 51 a. γ) A, f. 18 a.

a) AB ונאצבאן ניצבאי. b) A וניצבאי נאצבאן.

1) באנא könnte nur „Erbauer“ heißen (vgl. Nöld., p. 83); das paßt hier nicht. Es ist in בונא abzuändern. Die Schreibung באנא ist durch באנאנא und באנאן beeinflußt.

2) Er soll den Bau selber aufführen, trotzdem spricht er nachher von seinem Erbauer. Solche Widersprüche sind in den mandäischen Schriften nicht selten. Allerdings könnte בנא (בנן) auch heißen „bauen lassen“, aber die Darstellung ist so, als ob er die Arbeit selbst ausführen sollte.

אנא [α] לבנאי מפאקדינאלה̄	ד̄אינאך לשיתלאי תרוץ
אינאך תרוץ לשיתלאי	עדילמא נאימיא [β] ושאכביא
	ומינישיין טאביא ד̄מפאקדיא
אלמא נינימון ואלמא נישיכבון [a]	ואלמא נינישיון טאביא ד̄מפאקדיא
אלמא נינישיון לדיליא	וניעיול עלאואיהון סיטיא
עזדאהרוליא אהאי	עזדאהרוליא ראהמאי
עזדאהרוליא אהאי	מן [γ] עשו משיהא באטלא
ומן אפיך דמאואתא	ומשאניא מאמלאליא ד̄פום
עו תיזדאהרוליא אהאי	עו תיזדאהרוליא ראהמאי [δ]
עו תיזדאהרוליא אהאי	כד̄ [ε] תיפקון מן פאגראיכון
אנא הוילכון באהיד עדא	אהיד עדא וסימאכא
מן אתרא ד̄השוך [ζ]	לאתאר נהור

Ich befehle meinem Erbauer:
    Richte deine Augen auf meine Pflanzen.
Auf meine Pflanzen deine Augen richte,
    daß sie nicht schlafend daliegen,
    und die Guten vergessen, was ihnen befohlen.
Daß sie nicht schlafen, daß sie nicht daliegen,
    daß die Guten nicht vergessen, was ihnen befohlen.
Daß sie mich nicht vergessen
    und Abfall über sie komme.

Nehmet euch in acht, meine Brüder,
    nehmet euch in acht, meine Freunde,
nehmet euch in acht, meine Brüder,
    vor dem nichtigen Jesus Christus,
vor dem, der die Gestalten verdreht
    und die Worte meines Mundes verändert.
Wenn ihr euch, meine Brüder, in acht nehmet,
    wenn ihr euch, meine Freunde, in acht nehmet,
wenn ihr euch, meine Brüder, in acht nehmet,
    so ihr aus eurem Körper scheidet,
werde ich euch ein Helfer sein,
    ein Helfer und eine Stütze
aus dem Orte der Finsternis
    zum Orte des Lichtes.

α) B, p. 37. β) A, f. 18 b. γ) A, f. 19 a. δ) C, f. 51 b.
ε) B, p. 38. ζ) A, f. 19 b.

a) AB ת̄ישיכבון.

זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא וזאכית כולהון ראהמיא שומאך
ס——א

XXI.

על ריש כימצא דאכיא
לואתה ד̄פאסימכא שאניא
עסתכית הזיתה לניבטא סאגיא
ד̄מן יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא עתינציב
שאנאי[α] קאלה ובאסים ריהה
ודמותה באירא ומיתראוריבא
והייא זאכין ס——א

XXII.

גאברא[β] בהיר[a] זידקא נבאט ואנהאר באלמא
נבאט באלמא ואנהאר ומאליל[b] בהייא רורביא

Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
und verhalfest allen Freunden deines Namens zum Siege.

XXI.

An der Spitze des reinen . . . . .[1],
bei der wundersamen Leuchte
schaute ich aus und erblickte den großen Sproß,
der aus dem großen Jordan des ersten Lebens gepflanzt war.
Wundersam ist seine Stimme, lieblich sein Duft,
hellleuchtend und erhaben seine Gestalt.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXII.

Der Mann von erprobter Gerechtigkeit
sproß empor und leuchtete in der Welt.
Er sproß empor in der Welt und leuchtete
und sprach kraft des gewaltigen Lebens.

α) A, f. 20 a. β) B, p. 39.

a) A ד̄בהיר. b) A ומליל.

[1] Joh. 63, 1 steht בריש כימצא parallel בית חייא רביא. Es muß dort wie hier einen Ort im Jenseits bezeichnen. Genauer konnte ich die Bedeutung auch jetzt nicht bestimmen, vgl. Joh., S. 66[2].

בהייא רורביא מאליל   וגאליל ראזיא מסאתריא[α]
ראזיא מסאתריא גאליל   וצאותא שרא על ראהמה̄
צאותא בראהמיה̄[a] שאריא   וראדפילה̄ כולהון אלמיא
כד̄ האזא[b] ד̄רידפויא אלמיא   אינה̄ שקאל לאתאר נהור
באבא ד̄נהורא עפתולה̄[c]   ואסיק בהייא אסמכויא
הייא סמאך[β] על הייא   הייא דילון אשכא
הייא אשכא דילון   ואשכאת[d] נישמאת ד̄מסאכיא
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא   וזאכית כולהון ראהמאך
והייא זאכין ס——א

XXIII.

יאגאברא[γ] ד̄כאלוזא בהירא[e]   ד̄עתבהירת[f] מינה̄[g] מן אלמא
נינהירולאך אינאך טאבא[δ]   ד̄אלבשוך ד̄יאיעי עצטלא

Kraft des gewaltigen Lebens sprach er
und offenbarte verborgene Mysterien.
Verborgene Mysterien offenbarte er
und legte Glanz über seine Freunde.
Über seine Freunde legte er Glanz,
doch alle Welten verfolgten ihn.
Als er sah, daß die Welten ihn verfolgten,
hob er seine Augen zum Lichtort empor.
Sie öffneten ihm das Tor des Lichtes,
hoben ihn empor und stützten ihn auf das Leben.
Das Leben stützte das Leben,
das Leben fand das Seinige,
das Seinige fand das Leben,
und meine Seele fand, was sie erhoffte.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
und verhalfest allen deinen Freunden zum Siege.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXIII.

O du Mann der Verkündung, Erwählter,
der du aus der Welt erwählt wurdest,
deine Augen mögen dir leuchten, Guter,
den sie mit prächtigem Gewande bekleidet.

[α] A, f. 20 b. [β] A, f. 21 a. [γ] B, p. 40. [δ] A, f. 21 b.

[a] A בראהמיא, C בראחְמא, > B. [b] C האזין; l. הזא. [c] A עפתאלה̄, B פתאליא. [d] B ואשכית. [e] A בהיריא. [f] AB ד̄עתיבהארת. [g] > A.

מן קאלאך ודראשאך הייא רביא   קאבלו לבותאך ותושביהתאך
ס——א

XXIV.[a]

ליא אזלית בהיר זידקא   ד̄באיילאך כולהון ראהמאך
כולהון ראהמאך באיילאך   ובאיין דמותאך[b] בינאתון
5 אנא עזלית[c] למיבאן בינתא   להיל[α] בגאוה̄ ד̄אלמא
באנתא ובאנאנתא   ותירצית בריש באנאנא
שתאליבא[d] שיתליא הייא   גובריא[β] כשיטיא ומהאימניא
אנא לבאנאי מפאקדאנאלה̄   לגאברא ד̄נאטאר בינתא
אנא לבאנאי מפאקדאנאלה̄   ד̄אינאך על שיתלאי תרוץ
10 אינאך תרוץ על[γ] שיתלאי   עדילמא נאימיא ושאכביא
ומינישיין טאביא ד̄מפאקדיא

Auf deinen Ruf und deine Predigt hin hat das große Leben dein Gebet und deinen Lobpreis angenommen.

XXIV.

Wohin gehst du, Mann von erprobter Gerechtigkeit,
    nach dem alle seine Freunde verlangen?
Alle deine Freunde verlangen nach dir
    und wünschen deine Gestalt unter sich zu haben. —
5 Ich bin hingegangen, einen Bau aufzuführen
    jenseits in der Welt.
Ich baute, ich erbaute ihn
    und richtete ihn ganz oben auf der Wolke auf.
Ich pflanzte in ihm Pflanzen des Lebens,
    wahrhafte, gläubige Männer.
Ich befehle meinem Erbauer[1],
    dem Manne, der den Bau bewachet.
Ich befehle meinem Erbauer:
    Richte deine Augen auf meine Pflanzen.
10 Auf meine Pflanzen deine Augen richte,
    daß sie nicht schlafend daliegen
    und die Guten vergessen, was ihnen befohlen.

α) A, f. 22a.   β) B, p. 41.   γ) A, f. 22b.

a) > C.   b) A דומותאך.   c) A ד̄עזלית.   d) A שתיליבה̄.

[1] Siehe oben p. 190f.

גאברא לאלמא קראלה̄   מן רישיה̄ לרישיה̄ ד̄אלמא
גאברא לאלמא קראלה̄   ואמאר
טובה̄ למאן ד̄בנאפשיה̄ ניזדאהאר גאברא ד̄מיזדאהאר בנאפשיה̄
לאיית ד̄אכואתה̄ באלמא
גובריא[α] ד̄מאשריא הייא[β]   מיסאף סאיפיא ד̄אפכיא
האלין ד̄אפכע סאיפיא   ודמאשריא שרארא מאשכיא
אשאר במארגנאיכון   סובלויא לרידפא ד̄אלמא
לרידפא ד̄אלמא סובלויא   בליבא כשיטא ומהאימנא
סגודולה̄[a] בתריצותא   ד̄עקום[γ] עהוילכון באהיד עדא
אהיד עדא וסימאכא   מן אתרא ד̄השוך לאתאר נהור
והייא זאכין ס‒‒‒א

XXV.[b]

מן יומא ד̄פתא באבא רבא ד̄הילבוניא

Der Mann rief der Welt zu,
von einem bis zum andern Ende der Welt.
Der Mann rief der Welt zu und sprach:
Heil dem, der auf sich selber acht gibt. Ein Mann, der auf sich selber acht gibt, hat nicht seinesgleichen in der Welt.
Die Männer[1], die fest bleiben, leben,
doch vergehen, die sich abwenden.
Die sich abwenden, vergehen,
doch die fest bleiben, finden Festigkeit.
Haltet euch fest an euren Olivenstab
und ertraget die Verfolgung der Welt.
Der Welt Verfolgung ertraget
mit wahrhaftem, gläubigem Herzen.
Verehret mich in Gradheit,
damit ich mich hinstelle und euch ein Helfer sei,
ein Helfer und eine Stütze
aus dem Orte der Finsternis zum Orte des Lichtes.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXV.

Am Tage, da sie das große Tor der Eier öffneten[2],

[α] A, f. 23 a. [β] B, p. 42. [γ] A, f. 23 b.

[a] B סגידולכ̇ה̄; l. סגודולי̇א. [b] > C. Vgl. auch XLV.

[1] Auch L, 5 ff.

[2] Oder „da . . . geöffnet wurde“, siehe p. 6^1. Das Ei ist in das Überweltliche übertragen und gilt als Behälter höherer Wesen und Dinge; aus dessen Tor kommen sie heraus. Vgl. Joh., S. 208^7.

עתאוזאף זיוא ד̄מאלכא על עותריא יאקריא
אתאלון בותא ותושביהתא לגובריא [α] כשיטיא [β] ומהאימניא
האדיבה̄ ומיתגאייבה̄ ומאסקיא בותון ותושביהתון לאתאר נהור
ס——א

האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא ד̄תריך האבשאבא הינון
ס——א

XXVI.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא מראוראב נהורא שאניא
עתית מן בית הייא עתית מאהו ד̄איתיתלאן
איתיתלכון ד̄לאתימיתון [γ] ולאניסתאכרא נישמאתכון
איתילכון ליום [δ] מותא הייא וליומא נסיסא האדוא
איתילכון ניהותא ד̄מארגוש ד̄אמאמיא ליתבה̄ [a]
האדא האדא איתית [b] טאבא לגאברא כשיטא מאהו ד̄איתיתלה̄

---

wuchs der Glanz des Königs über den teuren Uthras.
Gebet und Lobpreis kamen den wahrhaften, gläubigen Männern.
Sie freuen sich seiner, sind stolz auf ihn und lassen ihr Gebet
und ihre Lobpreisung zum Lichtort emporsteigen.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Montag.

XXVI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Du kamest aus dem Hause des Lebens,
du kamest, was brachtest du uns? —
Ich brachte euch, daß ihr nicht sterbet
und eure Seele nicht gehemmt werde.
Für den Tag des Todes brachte ich euch Leben,
für den trüben Tag Freude.
Ich brachte euch Sanftheit,
an der der Trubel der Völker nicht ist[1]. —
Dies, dies brachtest du, Guter;
was brachtest du dem wahrhaften Manne? —

α) B, p. 43. β) A, f. 24 a. γ) A, f. 24 b. δ) C, f. 52 a.

a) So auch A. b) A איתית.

[1] אמאמיא ist hier wie גוים gebraucht.

גאנזיבראי שאויתה̄   ושאליטתה̄ על כולα) ד̄עתליא
פוגדאמיא ד̄כושטאβ) עהאבילה̄a)   ד̄איילבון ונאפיקבון
כד̄ גאברא ד̄צוביאנה̄ לגיט
באייתון ואשכאתון בהיראי   תום תיבון ותאשכון
באייתון ואשכאתון בהיראי   אכואת ד̄קאדמאייא בון
והייא זאכין ס---א

XXVII.

אתאγ) אתא מאלכא ד̄עותריא
אשגאנדא ראמא ד̄אתא מן בית אבויא
אתא וקאבלא לבותאי ותושביהתאי
ואסקא בשלאם לאתאר נהור ס---א

XXVIII.

עתיתδ) מן בית טאביא   עדילמא בקילומא עתית

Ich machte ihn zu meinem Schatzmeister 1)
und setzte ihn über alles ein, was ich habe.
Sprüche der Kušṭā gab ich ihm,
durch die er ein- und ausgehe,
wie ein Mann, der seinen Willen erreicht hat.
Ihr habt gesucht und gefunden, meine Auserwählten,
abermals werdet ihr suchen und finden.
Ihr habt gesucht und gefunden, meine Auserwählten,
wie die Früheren gesucht haben.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXVII.

Komm, komm, König der Uthras,
hoher Bote, der aus dem Hause seines Vaters gekommen ist.
Komm, nimm mein Gebet und meine Lobpreisung in Empfang
und bring sie in Heil zum Lichtort empor.

XXVIII.

Du kamest 2) aus dem Hause der Guten,
wenn du nur nicht in die Verwesung gekommen bist.

α) A, f. 25a.   β) B, p. 44.   γ) A, f. 25b.   δ) C, f. 52b.

a) AB עהאבלה̄.

1) גאנזיבראא bezeichnet auch den mandäischen Bischof.

2) Rūhā spricht zu dem Erlöser, vgl. p. 198, 6.

עדילמא עתית בקילומא בסאינא וזיפא ד̄האזין אלמא α)
עדילמא β) עתית בקילומא עדילמא באיניא לאמיתאהזית
הין למיתיא עתית הין לעתיגלויא עתיגלית
אינאך איניא ד̄שיקרא ואינאי דיליא ד̄כושטא
מיהשאך האשכיא איניא ד̄שיקרא ולאהאזילה̄ לכושטא
עו באיית למיהזיא רוהא γ) עזיל לבית יאדאי הזיא a)
בית יאדאי b) ד̄יאדיליא c) ד̄אנא שרינא בינאתאיהון
ובליבאיהון ד̄ראהמאי ובעוצראיהון ד̄תארמידאי d)
והייא זאכין ס——א

XXIX.

אתא אתא מאלכא ד̄עותריא
אשגאנדא ראמא ד̄אינאי מסאכיאלה̄

Wenn du nur nicht gekommen bist in die Verwesung,
in den Schmutz¹) und Trug dieser Welt.
Wenn du nur nicht in die Verwesung gekommen bist,
wenn du nur nicht mit den Augen geschaut wirst. —
Wenn ich wirklich gekommen,
wenn ich in die Erscheinung getreten bin:
Deine Augen sind Augen der Lüge,
meine Augen sind Augen der Wahrheit.
Die Augen der Lüge verdunkeln
und schauen nicht die Wahrheit.
Wenn du sehen willst, Rūhā,
geh, siehe das Haus meiner Bekannten,
das Haus meiner Bekannten, die von mir wissen,
daß ich unter ihnen weile,
im Herzen meiner Freunde,
im Sinne meiner Jünger.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXIX.

Komm, komm, König der Uthras,
hoher Bote, zu dem meine Augen emporschauen,

α) A, f. 26a. β) B, p. 45. γ) A, f. 26b.

a) C חזאי. b) C לבית יאריא. c) A ד̄יאדאליא. d) A ד̄תארמידא.

1) Für סאינא lese ich סיאנא.

צות ושומא לקאלאי α)
ואסקא לבותאי ותושביהתאי β) לאתאר γ) נהור ס——א

XXX. a)

ריהא אתא מן אתרה̄   אתא שרארא מן דוכתה̄
ריהא אתא מן אתרה̄   אתא בגו באיתא שרא
קאריא ומהאיא מיתיא   מראנדיד ומאיתיא שאכביא b)
מאיארלין לנישמאתא δ)   ד̄שיהא ושאויא לאתאר נהור
הארא הארא אבאד טאבא   ותראץ c) ד̄הייא רושומא
עתכאנאף שיביאהיא   אזאל קאמלה̄ על שאליטון
אמרילה̄
לאהזית אלאהא אליהון   ד̄ריהא מן אתרה̄ אתא

---

horch und höre auf meinen Ruf
und bring mein Gebet und meine Lobpreisung zum Lichtort empor.

XXX.

Der Duft kam aus seiner Stätte,
die Wahrheit kam aus ihrem Orte,
der Duft kam aus seiner Stätte,
er kam und ließ sich im Hause nieder.
Er ruft und belebt die Toten,
er rüttelt auf und bringt her die Daliegenden[1]).
Er weckt die Seelen,
die eifrig und des Lichtortes wert sind.
Dies, dies tat der Gute
und richtete des Lebens Zeichen auf.
Die Planeten versammelten sich,
gingen hin und traten an ihren Herrscher heran.
Sie sprachen zu ihm:
„Hast du nicht, Alāhā Alihūn[2]), gesehen,
daß der Duft aus seiner Stätte gekommen ist?

α) A, f. 27 a.   β) C, f. 53 a.   γ) B, p. 46.   δ) A, f. 27 b.

a) > C.   b) B ד̄מאיתיא ושאכביא.   c) A ותריץ.

1) Die Lesung in A verdient den Vorzug trotz des matten מאיתיא, denn sie gewährt eine bessere Parallele zum ersten Halbvers.

2) אליהון; ist wohl nach שאליטון aus אליהין, אלאהין, das GR 185, 15 steht, entstellt, so daß es „Gott der Götter“ bedeutet, vgl. Nöld., p. 65, 10; 305 unt. Die Schreibung אליהון hat überhand genommen und findet sich auch Oxf. Rolle G, Z. 211.

ריהא אתא מן אתרה̄ רהיש מאנא α) מן דוכתה̄
קאריא ומהאיא β) מיתיא מראנדיד ומאיתיא שאכביא a)
מאיארלין לנישמאתא ד̄שיהא ושאויא לאתאר נהור
האדא האדא אבאד טאבא ותראץ ד̄הייא b) רושומא
אלאהא אליהון פיהתה̄ לפומה̄ ולבנה̄ γ) בוכרה̄ ד̄נימארלון
אתון אתון בנאי ושיתלאי בוכראי מינדאם ד̄עמארלכון c) שומא
עו מאשכיתון גאברא זאדיקא סגודולה̄ ד̄רבא סיגודתא
הדא לדילה̄ סגודולה̄ ותארתין לריהא ד̄הייא ד̄עלה̄ שריא
הזון ד̄הייא זאכין והייא זיכיויא δ) להאזין d) אלמא
ס----א

XXXI. e)

אתא אתא מאנדא ד̄הייא וטורא ד̄השוכא ε) נינהאר

Der Duft kam aus seiner Stätte,
der Mānā regte sich aus seinem Orte.
Er ruft und belebt die Toten,
er rüttelt auf und bringt her die Daliegenden.
Er weckt die Seelen,
die eifrig und des Lichtortes wert sind.
Dies, dies tat der Gute
und richtete des Lebens Zeichen auf“.
Alāhā Alihūn öffnete den Mund
und sprach zu seinen Erstgeborenen:
„Kommet, kommet, meine Söhne, meine erstgeborenen Sprößlinge,
höret, was ich euch sage:
Wenn ihr einen gerechten Mann findet,
verneiget euch vor ihm in großer Verneigung.
Eine Verneigung vor ihm,
eine zweite vor dem Duft des Lebens, der auf ihm ruht“.
Sehet, das Leben ist siegreich,
das Leben besiegte diese Welt.

XXXI.

Komm, komm, Mandā d̲Haijē,
und der Finsterberg soll leuchten.

α) A, f. 28a. β) B, p. 47. γ) A, f. 28b. δ) A, f. 29a. ε) B, p. 48.

a) B מיתיא ושאכביא. b) A ותריץ חייא. c) A ד̄אמאריכון. d) A להאזיא. e) > C.

נינהאר טורא ד̄השוכא   ומיא תאהמיא ניריוזון
ס——א

האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא ד̄תלאתא האבשאבא הינון
ס——א

XXXII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
קאלא[α] הוא בעשומיא   רימא הוא בית כוכביא
רוהא ושיביאהיא   הינון במאליא יאתביא
הינון יאתביא במאליא   לגאברא ד̄מן תיביל שואר
לגאברא ד̄שואר מן תיביל   ופראט בבאיתא פורטתא
פורטתא פראט[a] בבאיתא   ורמא בגאוה תיגרא[β]
תיגרא ד̄רמא בגאוה   לדאר דאריא לאמישתריא

Leuchten soll der Finsterberg,
und das trübe Wasser soll prangen.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Dienstag.

XXXII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Eine Stimme war im Himmel,
ein Donner war im Hause der Sterne.
Rūhā und die Planeten
sitzen in Trauer da.
In Trauer sitzen sie da
um den Mann, der aus der Tibil entsprang.
Um den Mann, der aus der Tibil entsprang
und in das Haus einen Spalt schlug.
Einen Spalt schlug er in das Haus
und warf Streit hinein.
Der Streit, den er hineinwarf,
wird in aller Ewigkeit nicht geschlichtet.

[α] A, f. 29 b. [β] A, f. 30 a.

[a] A פראט .

עלא ד̄אתיא מאנדא ד̄הייא ותלאתא בהיריא מינה̄ נאסביא [α]
מינה̄ נאסביא תלאתא בהיריא ומאסיקלון לדאורא תאקנא
לאתרא ד̄נאהור ותאקון קרעיא ומזאמנא נעשמאתכון [β]
ונישמאתא ד̄אהאן טאביא והאלין אהואתאן [γ] ד̄מהאימנא
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא טאבא ד̄מקאיים [a] ראהמה̄
והייא זאכין ס—א

XXXIII.

קאלא ד̄ניבטא כאסיא ד̄מאליל [b] מן תיביל ודראש
מאליל ודראש מן תיביל והייא רביא מן כיסיא עניויא
הייא רביא עניויא מן כיסיא ונצאב [δ] אשגאנדא ושאדארלה̄
אשגאנדא ד̄נצאב ושאדארלה̄ מכאביש האילאיהון ד̄מארדיא
ס—א

Nur wenn Mandā d̲Haijē kommt
und die drei Auserwählten mit sich nimmt[1]).
Er nimmt die drei Auserwählten mit sich
und bringt sie zur lichten Wohnung empor.
Zum Orte, der leuchtend und licht ist,
sind eure Seelen gerufen und eingeladen,
sowie die Seelen unserer guten Brüder
und unserer gläubigen Schwestern.
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
Guter, der du deine Freunde festigst.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XXXIII.

Die Stimme des verborgenen Sprosses ist es,
der aus der Tibil sprach und predigte.
Er sprach und predigte aus der Tibil,
und das große Leben antwortete ihm aus der Verborgenheit.
Aus der Verborgenheit antwortete ihm das große Leben,
es schuf einen Boten und sandte ihn zu ihm.
Der Bote, den es schuf und zu ihm sandte,
tritt die Macht der Rebellen nieder.

α) B, p. 49. β) C, f. 53 b. γ) A, f. 30 b. δ) A, f. 31 a.

a) B ד̄מקאיאם, A ומקאיאם. b) A ומאליל.

[1]) Hier und im folgenden Vers hat man נאסיב zu lesen.

XXXIV.

על α) טור כארמלא סילקית   סלאקילאך טורא טור כארמלא
על טור כארמלא סילקית   ועסתכון a) תריסאר גופנע b) היזיון
גופניא מיהזיא ד̄היזיון   אנפיש β) אופאיהון פארסיא
אנפיש פארסיא אופאיהון   ואנפיש טונאיהון γ) לסימאדריא
לאעדון ולאפירשון   ולאניסבון לבאלון
לאעדון ולאפירשון   ד̄מאן אנא ובר מאן אנא
אנא c) גאברא ד̄היזיאן ופירשאן   לאתרא ד̄הייא מיזלה̄
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא   וזאכית כולהון ראהמאך

ס---א

XXXV.

ביניא δ) תרין טוריא   וביניא שכינאתא תלאת

XXXIV.

Zum Karmelberg ¹) stieg ich empor,
ich stieg empor zu dir, Berg, Karmelberg.
Zum Karmelberg stieg ich empor,
zwölf Weinstöcke schauten aus und erblickten mich.
Als die Weinstöcke mich erblickten,
breiteten sie ihr Laub in Fülle aus.
In Fülle breiteten sie ihr Laub aus,
machten reichlich ihre Früchte den Blüten. —
Sie bemerkten mich nicht, erkannten mich nicht
und kümmerten sich nicht um mich.
Sie bemerkten mich nicht, sie erkannten mich nicht,
wer ich bin und wessen Sohn ich bin.
Der Mann, der mich sah und erkannte,
erhält seinen Gang zum Orte des Lebens. —
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
und verhalfest allen deinen Freunden zum Siege.

XXXV.

Zwischen den zwei Bergen ²)
und zwischen den drei Škīnās,

α) B, p. 50.   β) A, f. 31b.   γ) C, f. 54a.   δ) A, f. 32a.

a) B עסתאכון.   b) BC גופניא.   c) Wohl nur irrtümlich wiederholt.

1) Vgl. Joh., S. 94^{4}.   2) Vgl. Joh., S. 189.

ביניא תרין טוריא   יאואר בהירא שכינתא שכאן
שכינתא ד̄שכאן יאואר   בהיריא זידקא בגאוא α) מיתקאימיא
מיתקאימיא בהיריא זידקא   וסאלקיא האזילה לאתאר נהור
ס----א

XXXVI. a)

מאן β) ד̄ניתיא ומאן ד̄נימארליא   מאן נאודאן ומאן נאפרישאן
מאן ניתיא ומאן ד̄נימארליא   עותריא למאהו דאמין
למאהו דאמין עותריא   ולמאהו דאמין פאסימכיא
עותריא לזיוא דאמין   ולנהורא דאמין פאסימכיא
מימא יאמין עותריא   יאמין עותריא γ) ולאמכאדבין
ניכאדבון שיביאהיא   ד̄מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא רבא ד̄סוף
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס----א

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zwischen den zwei Bergen
    gründete Jāwar der Auserwählte seine Škīnā.
In der Škīnā, die Jāwar gründete,
    erhalten die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit Bestand.
Die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit erhalten Bestand,
    steigen empor und schauen den Ort des Lichtes.

XXXVI.

Wer will kommen, wer mir sagen,
    wer will mir kundtun, wer mich belehren,
wer will kommen, wer mir sagen,
    welchem Dinge die Uthras gleichen?
Welchem Dinge gleichen die Uthras,
    welchem Dinge gleichen die Leuchten?
Die Uthras gleichen dem Glanze,
    dem Lichte gleichen die Leuchten.
Die Uthras schwören,
    die Uthras schwören und lügen nicht.
Die Planeten lügen,
    die am großen Tage des Endes ein Ende nehmen. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
    und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

α) B, p. 51.   β) A, f. 32b.   γ) A, f. 33a.

a) > C.

XXXVII.[a)]

מיתיא α) ד̄היביל עותרא   כד̄ שיתיל ד̄מאסגיא לבית ראהמה̄
תארמידיא β) ד̄שימויא לקאלה̄   ד̄אנוש עותרא סאגיא
סאגדיא ומשאבילון להייא רביא   מן ריש בריש ס——א
האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא ד̄ארבא האבשאבא הינון
ס————א

XXXVIII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
בזיוה̄ ד̄אב קאיימנא   ובתושביהתא γ) ד̄גאברא נאצבאי
בזיוה̄ ד̄אב קאיימנא   ותארצינאבה̄ b) בית תושלימא
ארקא בקאלאי זאהאת   ועשומיא בזיואי עזדראמביאת

XXXVII.

Das Kommen des Hibil-Uthra
    ist wie das Šitils, der zum Hause seiner Freunde geht.
Als die Jünger die Stimme hörten
    des Anōš, des großen Uthra,
verehrten und priesen sie das große Leben
    über die Maßen.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Mittwoch.

XXXVIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
    sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Ich stehe im Glanze meines Vaters da,
    in der Lobpreisung des Mannes, meines Schöpfers.
Ich stehe im Glanze meines Vaters da,
    bin im Hause der Vollendung aufgerichtet.
Die Erde zitterte ob meines Rufes,
    der Himmel wankte ob meines Glanzes.

α) B, p. 52.   β) A, f. 33 b.   γ) A, f. 34 a; C, f. 54 b.

a) > C.   b) B ותאריצנאבה̄, C ותארצאבה̄; man erwartet ותריצנאבה̄.

מיבאש יאבשיא יאמאמיא   וזאביא בצאדריא נאפליא
מיתפאסוסיא α) מיתפאסאסיא אקריא
וגאבאריא ד̄תיביל מיתנאנגריא β)
טוריא ד̄האיזין ראמיא   כד̄ תאתוריא מיתמאכאכיא
בישיא ד̄זאקפיא אלאנפאי   עית גאברא ד̄מנאנגארלון
לאו בהאילאי דיליא   הינעלא בהאילאיהון ד̄הייא רורביא
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס———א

XXXIX.

אנא γ) בזיואי דאכיא נטירנא   ועותריא אהאי בנהורא כסין a)
מן ערותון b) ומן תושביהתון   ד̄עותריא אהאי
אתיא צאותא ד̄הייא   ושאריא עלאי
ס———א

Die Meere trocknen aus,
die Flüsse verfallen in Wüstenei.
Die Burgen werden zerstört,
die Gewalthaber der Tibil werden gezüchtigt.
Die Berge, die so gar hoch sind,
knicken ein wie Brücken.
Die Bösen, die sich gegen mich erheben,
für die gibt es einen Mann, der sie züchtigt;
nicht mit meiner Kraft,
sondern mit der Kraft des gewaltigen Lebens. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XXXIX.

Ich bin in meinem reinen Glanze verwahrt,
und die Uthras, meine Brüder, sind im Lichte verborgen.
Von der Erleuchtung und dem Lobpreis
der Uthras, meiner Brüder, her
kommt der Glanz des Lebens
und legt sich auf mich.

α) B, p. 53.   β) A, f. 34b.   γ) A, f. 35a.

a) A כיסין.   b) A עורותון.

XL.

כד̄ מאמליליא כאביריא באתרא סאגיא בית[α] תושלימא
סאגייא[a] וכאביריא שילמאי[β] ונידבאי נאצביא
נצאבונון לשילמאי ונידבאי ולנצאב זיוא עהאבונון באדיאוריא
כד̄ מיסתמיך נצאב זיוא לעותריא[b] תושלימיא ד̄נצאבלה̄
מאליל בקאלה̄ ניהא ובהיריא אלאנפה̄ נאפקיא
בהיריא נאפקיא אלאנכה̄ ומן תושביהתה̄ יאהיבלון
יאהיבלון[γ] מן תושביהתה̄ ובהיריא בתיביל מיתקאימיא
מיתקאימיא בהיריא זידקא וסאלקיא[c] האזילה̄ לאתאר נהור
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס---א

XL.

Wenn die Gewaltigen sprechen
am großen Orte, im Hause der Vollendung,
die Großen, Gewaltigen,
schaffen sie Šilmai und Nidbai.
Šilmai und Nidbai schufen sie
und gaben sie dem Nṣab-Zīwā als Helfer.
Als Nṣab-Zīwā sich stützte
auf die vollkommenen Uthras, die man ihm geschaffen,
sprach er mit seiner sanften Stimme,
und die Erwählten gehen ihm entgegen.
Entgegen gehen ihm die Erwählten,
und er gewährt ihnen von seinem Lobpreise.
Von seinem Lobpreise gewährt er ihnen,
und die Erwählten erhalten Bestand in der Tibil.
Die von erprobter Gerechtigkeit erhalten Bestand,
sie steigen empor und schauen den Lichtort. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

α) B, p. 54; C, f. 55a. β) A, f. 35b. γ) A, f. 36a.

a) A סאגיא, durch das vorhergehende סאגיא beeinflußt. b) C על עותריא.
c) A סאלקיא.

XLI.

אנא בזיואי דאכיא נטירנא   כד̄[a] כאביריא[α] בתושביהתאיהון
לבושאי[β] דנא בגו באיתא   בותאי ותושביהתאי לאתרא סאלקא
ס----א

XLII.[b]

אניא אנא לעמאת עזאל   ליבאי ד̄כאיוב ניתאפא
ניתאפא[c] ליבאי ד̄כאיוב   ותיפשאק נישמאת ד̄מנאכריא
באתרא ד̄נפעש נישתאילון   צאותאיהון[d] ד̄הייא תישריא עלאי
תישריא[γ] על תארמידאי   ד̄ראדפינון[e] שובא בהאזין אלמא
מירדאף ראדפיא שובא   אלמיא[f] ד̄ראדפיא ולאכאשריא
שובא הינון ומאלכאיון   ליאקדאניא ד̄נורא אזליא

XLI.

Ich bin in meinem reinen Glanze verwahrt,
gleich den Großen in ihrem Lobpreise.
Mein Gewand ging im Hause auf,
mein Gebet und mein Lobpreis steigen an ihren Ort empor.

XLII.

Ein Armer bin ich, wann soll ich hingehen,
daß mein schmerzend Herz Linderung finde?
Linderung finde mein schmerzend Herz,
Erleichterung meine weltfremde Seele.
Am Orte, an dem man reichlich ausgefragt wird,
ruhe der Glanz des Lebens auf mir.
Er ruhe auf meinen Jüngern[1],
welche die Sieben in dieser Welt verfolgen.
Die Sieben verfolgen,
die Welten, die verfolgen und unrecht handeln.
Die Sieben, sie und ihr König
wandern in die Feuerbrände.

α) B, p. 55.   β) A, f. 36 b.   γ) A, f. 37 a.

a) A וכד̄.   b) > C.   c) A ניתאפאן.   d) A וצאותאיהון.
e) A ד̄ראדפונון.   f) A אלמא.

[1] Hier wie in dem verwandten Stücke LVI ist es die Einzelseele, die über ihre Verbannung in diese Welt klagt. Aber im ganzen mandäischen Schrifttum wird die Einzelseele mit dem ersten Manne, der gezwungen in die Welt gegangen ist, zusammengeworfen. Daher kann תארמידאי ursprünglich sein und braucht nicht zu תארמידיא abgeändert zu werden.

טאביא בהיריא כיניא ושאלמאניא   סאלקיא האזילה̄ לאתאר נהור
מישתאיין הייא α) וזאכין β)   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס––––א

XLIII. a)

אניא אנא ומידנינא
בהיר זידקא צות ושומא לקאלאי
אנאת אניא ובנאך ושיתלאך ותאר̣מידאך
תיסאק תיהיזיה̄ לאתאר נהור ס––––א

האליך תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא ד̄האמשא האבשאבא
הינון ס––––א

XLIV.

בשומאיהון γ) ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב δ) נהורא שאניא

Die Guten, Erwählten, Gerechten und Vollkommenen 1)
steigen empor und schauen den Lichtort. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XLIII.

Ein Armer bin ich, ein Unterwürfiger,
Mann von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, horch und höre auf meinen Ruf. —
Du Armer samt deinen Söhnen, Sprossen und Jüngern
wirst emporsteigen und den Lichtort schauen.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Donnerstag.

XLIV. 2)

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.

α) A, f. 37 b. β) B, p. 56. γ) A, f. 38 a. δ) C, f. 55 b.

a) > C.

1) Eines der Wörter ist wohl zu streichen.

2) Vgl. Joh., S. 123 ff.

על באבא דֿבית אמא	עמא במיריאי תיבגא	
עמא תיבגא במיריאי	ושאיוליא תישאילא	
מנא עתית בראת מיריאי	דֿאנפיך וארדא גאטפיא	
אנפיך גאטפיא וארדא α)	ואיניך מלעיא מן שינתון	
איניך מן שינתון מלעיא	ולבית גביניך שאהארתא β)	5
אמראלא		
הא תרין תלאתא יומיא	אהאי לבית אב שרון	
אהאי שרון לבית אב	ודארשין דראשיא שאנייא a)	
על קאלאיון וקאל דראשאיון	דֿעותריא γ) אהאי	
	שינתא לאינאי לאתיא	10
לאשינתא אתיא לאינאי	ולאשאהארתא לבית גבינאי	
לאשמית בראת מיריאי	דֿיאהוטאייא מאהו אמריא עליך	

Am Tore des Volkshauses
stößt die Mutter auf Mirjai.
Die Mutter stößt auf Mirjai
und fragt sie aus:
„Woher kamst du, meine Tochter Mirjai,
deren Gesicht Rosen pflücket?
Dein Gesicht pflückt Rosen,
und deine Augen sind voll von Schlaf.
5 Von Schlaf sind deine Augen voll,
und über deiner Stirn liegt Schlummer“.
Darauf erwidert sie ihr:
„Ja, zwei, drei Tage sind es her,
da ließen sich meine Brüder im Hause meines Vaters nieder.
Im Hause meines Vaters ließen meine Brüder sich nieder
und tragen wundersame Hymnen vor.
Wegen ihrer Stimme und des Schalles der Hymnen
der Uthras, meiner Brüder,
10 kommt kein Schlaf über meine Augen[1].
Nicht kommt über meine Augen Schlaf,
nicht Schlummer über meine Stirn“. —
„Hast du, meine Tochter Mirjai, nicht gehört,
was die Juden von dir sagen?

α) A, f. 38b. β) B, p. 57. γ) A, f. 39a.

a) A שאניא, C דֿשאנייא.

[1] Ich möchte וקאל דראשאיון streichen, so daß
על קאלאיון דֿעותריא אהאי   שינתא לאינאי לאתיא
als **ein** Vers herauskommt.

אמריא יאהוטאייא   ד̄בראתיך גאברא ריהמאת
סנאתה̄ ליאהאדותא[a]   ונאצארותא ריהמאת
סנאתה̄ לבית[α] אמא[β]   וריהמאת באבא ד̄מאשכנא
סנאתה̄ לטוטיפתא   וריהמאת כליליא ראוזיא
בשאפתא אבדא עבידאתא   ובהאבשאבא נאטרא[γ] עדא
אסליתה̄ מיריאי לנימוסא   ד̄אסאר שובא בעוראשלאם
על אתרא כד̄ קאימא מיריאי   אקאפרא בליגרא דארא[δ]
ואמרא
אקאפרא על פומאיהון ד̄יאהוטאייא
וגיטמא על פומאיהון ד̄כולהון כאהניא
סארקינא ד̄אתותיא ראכשיא
על קאשישיא[b] ד̄עתבא בעוראשלאם[c]
אנא ד̄רהאמתה̄ לאעסינייה̄   ודסנאיתה̄ לאעריהמה̄

Die Juden sagen:
Deine Tochter hat Liebe zu einem Manne gefaßt.
Sie hat Haß gegen das Judentum
und Liebe zum Nāṣōräertum gefaßt.
Sie hat Haß gegen das Volkshaus
und Liebe zum Tore des Tempels gefaßt.
Sie hat Haß gegen die Ṭuṭiftā
und Liebe zu den prangenden Kränzen gefaßt.
Am Sabbat verrichtet sie Arbeiten,
am Sonntag hält sie ihre Hände still.
Mirjai hat das Gesetz verworfen,
das die Sieben in Jerusalem gebunden haben“.
Wie Mirjai an ihrer Stelle steht,
tut sie Staub auf ihre Füße
und spricht:
„Staub in den Mund der Juden,
Asche in den Mund aller Priester.
Der Mist, der unter den Pferden liegt,
komme auf die Ältesten, die in Jerusalem sind.
Ich kann nicht hassen, den ich liebgewonnen,
nicht lieben, gegen den ich Haß gefasset.

[α] A, f. 39 b.   [β] C, f. 56 a.   [γ] B, p. 58.   [δ] A, f. 40 a.

[a] C ליאהודתא.   [b] Nach על קאשישא AC, לקאשישיא B.   [c] AC לעוראשלאם.

לבאר רהאמתה̄ למאראי מאנדא α) ד̄הייא
ד̄ניקום ניהוילא באהיד עדא
אהיד עדא וסימאכא   מן אתרא ד̄השוך לאתאר נהור
זכית מאנדא ד̄הייא β)   וזאכית כולהון ראהמאך
והייא זאכען ס---א

XLV. a)

מן יומא ד̄פתא באבא רבא ד̄הילבוניא
עתאוזאף γ) זיוא δ) ד̄מאלכא על עותריא יאקריא
עותריא סגיד סיגודתא
והייא רביא קאבלו לבותון ותושביהתון
מן ריש בריש ס---א

XLVI.

לעמאת ניתיא מאראי   מינאך מרומא זאכאיא
רישאי נישקול מן בורכאי   וניכאפאר אינאי מן דימיהתא ε)

Ja, ich habe meinen Herrn Mandā d̲Haijē liebgewonnen (und hoffe),
daß mir in ihm ein Helfer erstehen wird,
ein Helfer und eine Stütze
vom Orte der Finsternis zum Orte des Lichtes“. —
Du warst siegreich, Mandā d̲Haijē,
und verhalfest allen deinen Freunden zum Siege.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

XLV.

Am Tage, da sie das große Tor der Eier öffneten,
wuchs der Glanz des Königs über den teuren Uthras.
Die Uthras verneigten sich,
und das große Leben nahm ihr Gebet und ihren Lobpreis an
in vollem Maße.

XLVI.

Wann wird mein Herr kommen
aus dir, sieghafte Höhe?
Daß er mein Haupt von meinen Knien emporhebe
und meine Augen von der Träne trockne.

α) A, f. 40b. β) B, p. 59. γ) C, f. 56b. δ) A, f. 41a. ε) A, f. 41b.

a) Vgl. auch XXV.

כאנפאי ד̄מליא היזדיא   ענפיץ קודאמה̄ רמיא
עקום ועשתאיילה̄ מינדאם   ד̄רידפון כולהון אלמיא
אנפיש אלמיא רידפון   ואהאי[α] בניא כושטא לאהאסריליא
אלמיא בבניא[a] ריגמון   ואהאי במיניליא שארגזון
עלא ד̄אתיא מאראי   מינאך מרוּמא זאכאיא[β]
רישאי שקאל מן בורכאי   וכאפאר אינאי מן דימיהתא
כאנפאי ד̄מליא היזדיא   ענפיץ ק̣ודאמה̄ רמית
קאמית ושתאיילה̄ מינדאם   ד̄רידפון[γ] כולהון אלמיא
אנפיש אלמיא רידפון   ואהאי בניא כושטא לאהאסריליא
אלמיא בבניא[δ][b] ריגמון   ואהאי במיניליא שארגזון
אמריא

Meine Tasche, die voll Schandtaten ist,
will ich vor ihm ausschütten.
Ich will hintreten und ihm den Umstand erzählen,
daß alle Welten mich verfolgt haben.
Gar sehr verfolgten die Welten mich,
und meine Brüder, die Söhne der Kušṭā, fehlen bei mir[1].
Die Welten bewarfen mich mit Steinen,
und meine Brüder erzürnten mich durch Worte.
Doch da kam mein Herr
aus dir, sieghafte Höhe.
Mein Haupt hob er von meinen Knien empor
und trocknete meine Augen von der Träne.
Meine Tasche, die voll Schandtaten war,
schüttete ich vor ihm aus.
Ich trat hin und erzählte ihm den Umstand,
daß alle Welten mich verfolgt haben.
Gar sehr verfolgten die Welten mich,
und meine Brüder, die Söhne der Kušṭā, fehlen bei mir.
Die Welten bewarfen mich mit Steinen,
und meine Brüder erzürnten mich durch Worte.
Sie sprachen:

[α] B, p. 60.   [β] A, f. 42 a.   [γ] C, f. 57 a.   [δ] A, f. 42 b.

[a] C באבניא.   [b] Hier BC בבניא, A בבינ̇יא.

[1] Ich streiche zweifelnd לא. Vielleicht ist im ל am Anfange das alte Präfix der 3. pers. m. erhalten und hat ursprünglich לאהסרוליא oder ליהאסרוליא „sie schädigen mich“ dagestanden. Freilich erwartet man eher אהסרונאן oder האסרונאן.

עדילמא באכית בראת כושטא   ודימיך בעומביך נאתראן
מידא יאדית עוהריך   מיתראץ[a] תריץ[α][b] כודכיך
ביניא שראגיא ד̄נהורא   נידאלון שראגיך וניניהרון
בזיבניך ועדאניך[β] סאק   הוזיה̄ לאתאר נהור
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא

ס——א

XLVII.

עתריצתון[c] ועתקאיאמתון   במינילאת שרארא ד̄אתאלכון
מינילאת שרארא אתא[d] לטאביא   ומאלאלא כשיטא למהאימניא
לאתרא[γ] ד̄כולה̄ הייא   קרעיא ומזאמנא נישמאתכון
נישמאתא ד̄אהאן טאביא   והאלין אהואתאן ד̄מהאימניא

ס——א

„Warum weinst du, meine Tochter Kušṭā,
und fließen dir die Tränen in den Busen?
Wohl kennst du deinen Weg,
fest aufgerichtet ist dein Wegstein.
Zwischen den Lampen des Lichtes
werden deine Lampen hochgezogen werden und leuchten.
Zu deiner Zeit und deinem Termin steig empor
und schaue den Lichtort“. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XLVII.

Ihr wurdet aufgerichtet und gefestigt
durch das Wort der Wahrheit, das zu euch gekommen ist.
Das Wort der Wahrheit ist zu den Guten gekommen,
die wahrhafte Rede zu den Gläubigen.
An den Ort, der ganz Leben ist,
sind eure Seelen gerufen und geladen,
die Seelen unserer guten Brüder
und unserer gläubigen Schwestern.

α) B, p. 61.   β) A, p. 43a.   γ) A, f. 43b.

a) BC מיתריץ.   b) A תריצא, B תריציא.   c) Steht auch GL 91, 11 ff. Siehe auch oben p. 165, XCIX.   d) AB ד̄אתא.

XLVIII. a)

בידקא α) עבדיק בתיביל   רימא בציהיון ראבתיא הווא
גאברא ד̄בידקה̑ לבידקא   לאמציא בהאילה̑ ד̄ניסיכרה̑
הורינא β) ד̄הווא מינה̑   אזאל ד̄סיליתא b) הווא
שאדילה̑ לסיליתה̑   על רורביא ועל דירדקיא
5 נוניא ד̄מצון האילאיהון   פירדו לסיליתא ונפאק
נוניא ד̄לאמצון האילאיהון   אתותיא̰ אבארא שכיב
יומא ד̄ניסתכאר בידקא   יומא ד̄מישתפין נאוריא γ)
יומא ד̄ניסתכאר בידקא   אנאתון נוניא ליא תיזלון
יא ד̄אכליא שאוטא ושולטאנא   ליומא ד̄דינא מאהו תיבדון
10 יא ד̄לאבשיא וארדא ושאראיא   לגאברא ד̄מוזאניא מאהו δ) תימרון

XLVIII.

Ein Spalt wurde in die Tibil gespalten,
 Donner war im großen Ṣion.
Der Mann, der den Spalt gespalten,
 vermochte ihn nicht wieder zu schließen.
Ein anderer, der mit ihm war,
 zog hin und griff nach dem Wurfnetz.
Er warf sein Wurfnetz aus
 über Groß und Klein.
Die Fische, die dem gewachsen waren, 5
 zerrissen das Wurfnetz und entkamen 1).
Die Fische, die dem nicht gewachsen waren,
 blieben unter dem Blei liegen.
Am Tage, da der Spalt geschlossen wird,
 am Tage, da die Spiegel geglättet werden 2),
am Tage, da der Spalt geschlossen wird,
 wo werdet ihr Fische hinziehen?
O die ihr von Geißel und Herrschermacht zehret,
 was werdet ihr am Gerichtstage anfangen?
O die ihr euch mit Rosenzeug und Seide kleidet, 10
 was werdet ihr dem Manne mit der Wage sagen?

α) B, p. 62. β) A, f. 44a. γ) A, f. 44b. δ) B, p. 63.

a) > C. b) A ד̄סיליתה̑.

1) Vgl. Joh., S. 148^{5}.

2) Es bildet sich spiegelglattes Wasser?

מיקרא קרעיא קאליא   ומיהשאב השיביא מאמלאליא כולהון
אתיא הדא α) קאלא   ומאפריש לקאליא כולהון
אתיא הדא מאמלא   ומאפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון
אתיא הדא גאברא   ומאפריש על האד האד
אנין ד̄משאבינין מאראן   האטאיאן והאובאן תישבוקלאן
תישבוקלאן האטאיאן והאובאן   ד̄אסכילנין β) בגאוה̄ ד̄אלמא
מן האילאיהון ד̄זאדיקיא   ומן כושטאיהון ד̄מהאימניא
מישתאיין a) הייא זאכין   וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס---א

XLIX. b)

מאלאלית γ) ודירשית בקאל̍אי
יאמאריא ראהמיא   יאמאריא בותא ותושביהתא

Die Stimmen sind ausgerufen
und alle Reden ausgerechnet [1]).
Eine Stimme kommt
und belehrt über alle Stimmen.
Eine Rede kommt
und belehrt über alle Reden.
Ein Mann kommt
und belehrt über jedes Einzelne.
Uns, die wir unsern Herrn preisen,
wirst du unsere Sünden und Vergehen erlassen.
Du wirst uns erlassen unsere Sünden und Vergehen,
die wir in der Welt begangen haben,
ob des Verdienstes der Gerechten,
ob der Wahrhaftigkeit der Gläubigen. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

XLIX.

Ich sprach und predigte mit meiner Stimme:
O Herr des Gebetes,
o Herr der Bitte und des Lobpreises,

α) A, f. 45 a. β) A, f. 45 b. γ) B, p. 64.

a) > A. b) > C.

1) Vgl. St. XVI.

צות ושומא α) לקאלאי ואנאתון הייא רביא הוליא אדיאורא
ס----א
האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא דראשיא ד̄יומא ד̄ראהאטיא הינון ס----א

L.

בשומאיהון β) ד̄הייא רביא מראוראב נהורא שאניא
*אשאר קומליא יאדאי a) אשאר קומליא ראהמאי
אשאר קומליא יאדאי כד̄ עצטון b) גלאלא בתיביביא
זיק ניזיל γ) c) וזיק ניתיא ראהמאי d) לאתישאנון ד̄פום
גובריא ד̄מאשריא הייא מיסאף סאיפיא ד̄אפכיא
האלין ד̄אפכיא מאיתיא ודמאשריא δ) שרארא מאשכיא

---

horch und höre auf meine Stimme,
und du, großes Leben, sei mir ein Helfer.
Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Freitag.

L.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Bleibet fest und standhaft bei mir, meine Bekannten,
bleibet fest und standhaft bei mir, meine Freunde [1]),
bleibet fest und standhaft bei mir, meine Bekannten,
wie eine Steinsäule bei Stürmen.
Ein Sturmwind mag hinziehen, ein Sturmwind mag kommen,
meine Freunde, verändert nicht (die Rede) meines Mundes.
Die Männer [2]), die fest bleiben, leben,
ein Ende nehmen, die sich abwenden.
Die sich abwenden, sterben,
die fest bleiben, finden Festigkeit.

α) A, f. 46 a. β) C, f. 57 b. γ) A, f. 46 b. δ) B, p. 65.

*a**) > AB. *b*) A עצטונא. *c*) BC ניזאל. *d*) In A doppelt.

1) Wie לאתישאנון in Z. 7 zeigt, ist eine Mehrzahl angesprochen, daher erwartet man קומוליא.

2) Auch p. 195, 5 f.

אהאי בכושטא מאליל   ולא ביספיא ד̄שיקרא תישיקרון
לאתידאמון לרומאנא   ד̄מן לבאר אנפה̄ ראוזיא
מן לבאר ראוזיא α) אנפה̄   ומן גאוה̄ קומאנא מליא
עדאמון ליאהביא a) האמרא   ד̄מליא האמרא אזמיוז
מן לבאר האספא וקירא   ומן גאוה̄ האמרא אזמיוז
כאלוזא ד̄הייא קאריא   עודנא ד̄בהיראי שומאן b)
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין   וזאכיא β) גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס----א

LI.

על γ) כיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא רבא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא
תריץ וקאיים גופנא שאניא
ד̄כול δ) יום c) כול יומא
בותאי ותושביהתאי לקודאמה̄ סאלקא ס---א

Meine Brüder! Redet in Wahrheit,
lüget nicht mit Lippen der Lüge.
Gleichet nicht 1) dem Granatapfel,
dessen Gesicht außen pranget.
Außen pranget sein Gesicht,
doch im Innern ist er voll Schimmel.
Gleichet den Weinkrügen,
die voll Azmiuz-Wein sind 2).
Außen sind sie Ton und Pech,
innen enthalten sie Azmiuz-Wein.
Die Verkündung des Lebens ruft,
Ohr meiner Auserwählten, höre mich. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

LI.

Am Ufer des großen Jordans des ersten Lebens
steht der wundersame Weinstock aufgerichtet,
vor den täglich, alltäglich
mein Gebet und meine Lobpreisung emporsteigen.

α) A, f. 92 a. β) C, f. 58 a. γ) A, f. 92 b. δ) B, p. 66.

a) C ליאהדריא. b) BC שאמא. c) A יומא.

1) Vgl. auch GR 216, 1.

2) יאהביא eigentlich Gebende, Spendende. Für אזמיוז habe ich keine Erklärung. An *Σάμιος* ist kaum zu denken.

LII.

לטוריא אמארנאלון   האיזין ריהאיכון באסים
האיזין באסים ריהאיכון   וגאואיכון[a] כולה̇ זיוא מליא
אמריא
גאברא[α] ד̇אדא בינאיאן   כשאשא[b] ומשאשא ליתבה̇
ליתבה̇ כשאשא ומשאשא   וליתבה̇ צוריך דמו
גאברא ד̇אדא בינאיאן   מן ניצובתה̇ בינאיאן שבאק
בשוליא ומינילאתא   מלאגטילא בישיא לניצבתאיהון
לאבשוליא ומינילאתא   ניציבתא ד̇הייא[β] מיתליגטא
הינעלא בכושטא והאימאנותא   לגיטילא[c] בהיריא לניצבתאיהון[γ]
כול מאן ד̇לאגיטלא לניצבתה̇[δ]   ואשאר
ואסיק בהייא אסמכויא

LII.

Zu den Bergen spreche ich:
„Wie lieblich ist euer Duft!
Wie ist euer Duft lieblich,
euer ganzes Inneres voll Glanz!“
Darauf sprechen sie:
„An dem Manne, der zwischen uns durchgegangen ist,
ist kein Rücken und Rühren.
Nicht ist an ihm Rücken und Rühren,
nicht an ihm irgend ein Bedürfnis [1]).
Der Mann, der zwischen uns durchgegangen ist,
ließ von seiner Pflanzung unter uns zurück.
Durch Fragen und Worte
halten die Bösen ihre Pflanzung fest.
Nicht durch Fragen und Worte
wird die Pflanzung des Lebens festgehalten [2]),
sondern mit Wahrhaftigkeit und Glauben
halten die Erwählten an ihrer Pflanzung fest.
Einen jeden, der an seiner Pflanzung festhält und stand hält,
hebt man empor und stützt ihn auf das Leben.

α) A, f. 47a. β) A, f. 47b. γ) B, p. 67. δ) C, f. 58b.

a) AB ובגאואיכון. b) A כשישא (nur hier). c) BC לאגטילא.

[1] Hier scheint צוריך in seinem ursprünglichen Sinne gebraucht zu sein, vgl. ZDMG LXI (1907), p. 694¹.

[2] Vgl. Nöld., p. 184¹, 432³.

ד̄לאלאגיטלא לניצבתה̄ ולאשאר עלא
מן תאם שרין a) תיגרה̄
מן תאם תיגרה̄ שרין a)   והאויא מנאתא ד̄אלמא
והייא זאכיען b) ס----א

LIII.

יא α) ניבטא   ד̄נבאט מן גו תאנא
יא בותא ותושביהתא   ד̄אתאתאלאן מן אתאר נהור
ס----א

LIV. c)

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב נהורא שאניא
מיפאק שאפתא בר מאש d)   מעייל האבשאבא לטאב
מיפאק שאבתא β) בר מאש   אסגיא טאבא אתאלה̄ לעתיא

Dem, der nicht an seiner Pflanzung festhält und bei ihr stand hält,
schlichtet man von dort her den Streit.
Seinen Streit schlichtet man von dort her,
und er wird ein Anteil der Welt.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

LIII.

O Sproß, der aus dem Tannā emporsproß,
o Gebet und Lobpreis,
die uns aus dem Lichtort gekommen sind.

LIV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Beim Ausgange des Sabbats am Abend,
beim Eintritt des Sonntags zum Guten[1]),
beim Ausgange des Sabbats am Abend,
ging der Gute hin und kam in das Sein.

α) A, f. 48a. β) A, f. 48b; B, p. 68.

a) Steht wohl für שארין; die ältere knappe Schreibung ist geblieben. b) C זאכין, B זאכעין. c) > C. d) So A; in B nur בר.

1) Auch GL 101, 4.

ניסבה̄ לכורסיא ראמא   ותירצה̄ ורימיה̄ בגאוה̄ ד̄עתיא
ניסבה̄ לפינדור כושטא   ד̄מליא פיסניא תושביההתא
בהדא זיבנא דראשיבה̄ טאבא   תירא מרומא פתא
תנא דראשיבה̄ טאבא α)   כולהון בישיא טאביא הון
תלאת דראשיבה̄ טאבא   כולהון תראנדאד וקאם
אתון שאכביא ד̄שכיביא   אתון כשיליא ד̄עתאכשאל
מו מאריות עלאואיכון קאשיא   ומו שאו̯טאי ראמא ראזים עלאואיכון
אמרילה̄
בהאיאך אבון ברהייא β)   לזיוא γ) ונהורא ד̄מינה̄ עתית
לאמאריותאך עלאן קאשיא   ולאשאוטאך ראמא ראזים עלאן
הינעלא בישא הו בר בישא   ד̄אלבה̄ לפאגרא ואכשלה̄

Er nahm den hohen Thron,
richtete ihn auf und gründete ihn im Sein.
Er nahm die Zither der Kušṭā,
die von Tönen 1) des Lobpreises voll ist.
Ein Mal trug ich, Guter, mit ihr vor,
da öffnete sie die Tür der Himmelshöhe.
Zum zweiten Male trug ich, Guter, mit ihr vor,
da wurden alle Bösen zu Guten.
Zum dritten Male trug ich, Guter, mit ihr vor,
da rüttelten sich alle und erhoben sich.
Die Liegenden, die dalagen, kamen,
es kamen die Gestrauchelten, die gestrauchelt waren.
„Ist meine Herrschaft hart wider euch,
oder peinigt 2) euch meine hohe Geißel?“
Darauf erwidern sie ihm:
„Bei deinem Leben, unser Vater, Sohn des Lebens,
beim Glanz und Licht, aus dem du gekommen bist,
nicht ist deine Herrschaft hart wider uns,
noch peinigt uns deine hohe Geißel.
Nein, der Böse, Sohn des Bösen, ist es,
der in den Körper eintrat und ihn zum Straucheln brachte.“

α) A, f. 49a. β) A, f. 49b. γ) B, p. 69.

1) Die Bedeutung ist nur nach dem Zusammenhange erraten, vgl. Nöld., p. 151[3].

2) Auch רזם ist sonst im Aramäischen nicht zu belegen; der Sinn wird „peinigen, quälen“ oder ähnlich sein.

בהדא זיבנא קריתילה̇ לבישא ד̄סיטאר מן יאדאי הויא
תנית אמארילה̇ α) לבישא ד̄סיטאר הויא מן ראהמאי
תילתית אמארילה̇ לבישא ולאעשיבקה̇
מיגטאל עגיטלה̇ לבישא וערימיה̇ בסאופה̇ ד̄אלמא
בסאופה̇ ד̄אלמא ערימיה̇ ד̄קרילה̇ בעודנה̇ ולאשמא
ד̄קרילה̇ ולאשמא בעודנה̇ האויתה̇ באינה̇ ולאהזא
האויתה̇ ולאהזא β) באינה̇ מיסאף γ) סאייף ליומא רבא ד̄סוף
אנין ד̄משאבינין מאראן האטאיאן והאובאן תישבוקלאן
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין וזאכיא גאברא ד̄אסגיא לכא
ס——א

LV. a)

עתיגליא ואסגיא ואתא

Ein Mal rief ich dem Bösen zu:
„Halte dich abseits von meinen Bekannten“.
Zum zweiten Male rief ich dem Bösen zu:
„Halte dich abseits von meinen Freunden“.
Zum dritten Male rief ich dem Bösen zu
und will ihn nicht loslassen.
Ich werde den Bösen töten
und in das Ende der Welt werfen.
Werfen werde ich ihn in das Ende der Welt,
denn ich habe ihm ins Ohr gerufen, doch er wollte nicht hören.[1]
Ich habe ihm zugerufen, doch er wollte nicht hören mit dem Ohr,
ich habe ihm ins Auge gezeigt, doch er wollte nicht sehen.
Ich habe ihm gezeigt, doch er wollte nicht sehen mit dem Auge,
darum soll er am großen Tage des Endes ein Ende nehmen.
Uns, die wir unsern Herrn preisen,
wirst du unsere Sünden und Vergehen erlassen. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

LV.

Es offenbarte sich, ging hin und kam

α) A, f. 50a. β) A, f. 50b. γ) B, p. 70.

a) > C.

[1] Vgl. Joh., S. 175^4.

אנפיא יומא ד̄יאקיר שומה̄[α]
עתגאלאלון ראזיא כאסייא[a] לעותריא
עתגאלאלאת ערותא ותושביהתא
ד̄נאפשא וסאכא ליתלא
עותריא מיתינציבבה̄[b]
והאדין בזיוא שאניא מן ריש בריש ס——א
האלין תלאתא עניאניא ותלאתא ד̄ראשיא ד̄יןמא ד̄שאפתא הינון ס־־־א

LVI. [c]

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא   מראוראב[β] נהורא[γ] שאניא
אניא אנא ד̄מן פיריא   ומשאניא אנא ד̄מן מראהקיא
אניא אנא ד̄עניון הייא רביא   ומשאניא ד̄עותריא ד̄נהורא שאניון

---

der Vorabend des Tages [1] teuren Namens.
Die verborgenen Geheimnisse wurden den Uthras offenbart.
Erleuchtung und Lobpreis wurden offenbart,
ausgedehnt und endlos.
Die Uthras wurden durch ihn aufgerichtet
und freuen sich seines wundersamen Glanzes über die Maßen.

Diese drei Lieder und drei Hymnen sind für den Samstag.

LVI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens
sei verherrlicht das hehre Licht.
Ein Armer bin ich [2], der aus den Früchten,
ein Weltfremder, der aus der Ferne kommt.
Ein Armer bin ich, den das ⟨große⟩ Leben erhörte [3],
ein Weltfremder, den die Uthras ⟨des Lichtes [4]⟩ weltfremd machten.

α) A, f. 51 a.
β) A, f. 51 b.
γ) B, p. 71.

a) A כאסיא.
b) Richtig wäre מיתניצביבה̄; in B entstellt.
c) Die folgenden Stücke nur in A und B.

[1] Vgl. Joh., S. 68^4.
[2] Vgl. auch Stück XLII.
[3] Im Mandäischen ein Wortspiel (עניון — אניא).
[4] Durch רביא und ד̄נהורא wird der Vers überlang.

אתיון מן דור טאביא   הא בדור בישיא שרון
הא שרון בדור בישיא   ד̄כולה̊ בישותא מליא
כולה̊ מליא בישותא[α]   ומליא נורא אכלא
לאצבית ולאצאבינא   ד̄מידורבה̊[a] בדאורא באטלא
5 בהאילאי ובערותאי   דאריבה̊ בדאורא באטלא
בערותאי ותושביהתאי   נאוכרית נאפשאי מינה̊ מן אלמא
קאמית בינאתאיהון   כד̄ יאלדא ד̄ליתלה̊ אבא
כד̄ יאלדא ד̄אבא ליתלה̊   וכד̄[β] פירא ד̄ליתלה̊ מונקא[γ]
קאל שובא שאמאנא[b]   דאנדומיא מדאנדמיא ואמריא[c]
10 מנא הוא[d] האיזין גבאר נוכראיא   ד̄שותה̊ לשותאן לאדאמיא
אנא לשותאיהון לאשימית   בזידא בישא עתימלון עלאי

Sie brachten mich aus dem Wohnsitze der Guten,
ach, in der Wohnung der Bösen ließen sie mich wohnen.
Ach, sie ließen mich wohnen in der Wohnung der Bösen,
die ganz voll Bosheit ist.
Sie ist ganz voll Bosheit,
voll verzehrenden Feuers.
Ich wollte nicht und will nicht
in der nichtigen Wohnung wohnen.
5 Mit meiner Kraft und meiner Erleuchtung
wohnte ich in der nichtigen Wohnung.
Mit meiner Erleuchtung und meinem Lobpreise
hielt ich mich fremd von der Welt.
Ich stand unter ihnen
wie ein Kind, das keinen Vater hat,
wie ein Kind, das nicht hat einen Vater,
wie eine Frucht, die keinen Pfleger hat.
Ich höre die Stimme der Sieben,
die tuscheln und sprechen:
10 „Woher ist dieser fremde Mann,
dessen Rede nicht unserer Rede gleicht?“
Ich hörte nicht auf ihre Rede,
da wurden sie voll bösen Zornes gegen mich.

[α] A, f. 52 a. [β] A, f. 52 b. [γ] B, p. 72.

[a] Imperfekt und Infinitiv sind hier zusammengeworfen; B hat למידאיריבה̊.

[b] A שמאנא.

[c] Hier gehört wohl ואמריא in den Vers hinein, vgl. auch p. 226, 10.

[d] Fehlt in B, wohl mit Recht.

הייא ד̄שימויא לקאלאי   שאדאר אלאנפאי פארואנקא
שאדארליא עותרא α) ניהא   גאברא זריזא ומזארזא
דארישליא בקאלא דאכיא   כד̄ ד̄ארשיא עותריא בית תושלימא
ואמאר
5 לאתיהוק אניא ולאתיזהא   ולאתימאר ד̄באלהודאי אנא
עו a) אמינטולאתאך אניא   האיזין b) רקיהא עתינגיד
האיזין b) עתינגיד רקיהא   ועצטאראר בגאוה̈ כוכביא
עו β) אמינטולאתאך אניא   האיזין מיאבאשתא הואת
האיזין הואת מיאבאשתא   ועתמיסיאת c) מסותא וניפלאת במאי
10 אמינטולאתאך אתא γ) שאמיש   אמינטולאתאך סירא עתיגליא
אמינטולאתאך אניא אתון שובא
והאלין תריסאר אסגון לכא

Das Leben, das meinen Ruf erhörte,
sandte mir einen Boten entgegen.
Es sandte mir einen sanften Uthra,
einen gerüsteten, wohlgerüsteten Mann.
Er predigt mir mit reiner Stimme,
wie die Uthras im Hause der Vollendung predigen.
Er spricht:
„Armer, sei ohne Angst und Furcht, 5
sage nicht: Ich stehe allein da.
Deinetwegen, Armer,
wurde dieses Firmament ausgespannt,
wurde ausgespannt dieses Firmament
und an ihm Sterne gebildet.
Deinetwegen, Armer,
ist dieses Festland geworden,
ist geworden dieses Festland,
bildete sich die Verdichtung und fiel ins Wasser.
Deinetwegen kam die Sonne, 10
deinetwegen offenbarte sich der Mond.
Deinetwegen, Armer, kamen die Sieben
und gingen diese Zwölf hierher.

α) A, f. 53 a. β) A, f. 53 b. γ) B, p. 73.

a) Wohl hier und in Z. 8 zu streichen. In B fehlen ZZ. 6, 7, und in Z. 8 fehlt עו. b) In A האזין mit darübergeschriebenem י. c) Aus ועתיאמסיאת A, ועתמיסית B.

אנאת α) אניא ליאמינאך שריא זיוא
ולסמאלאך שרין פאסימכיא
אשאר קום באמאזרותאך a)   אלמא ד̄כילאך שאלים
כ̄ד שאלימלאך כעלאך   אנא בנאפשאי עתיא עלאך
עיאיתילאך עוצטליא ד̄זיוא   ד̄אלמיא רגאגא שאיליא
עיאיתילאך טארטבונא טאבא דאכיא
ד̄נפיש בנהורא ד̄סאכא β) ליתלה̄
עפארקאך מן בישיא   עשאוזבאך מן האטיא
ועיאותבאך בשכינתאך   באתרא נאקיא עשאוזבאך
קאל שובא שאמאנא   דאנדומיא מדאנדמיא ואמריא γ)
בריך ד̄עתלה̄ לאניא אבא   ועתלה̄ לפירא מונקא
לדילאן ליתלאן אבא   ולאלפיראן עתלה̄ מונקא δ)
טובה̄ למאן ד̄הייא רביא יאדילה̄
ואילה̄ למאן ד̄הייא רביא לאיאדילה̄ b)

Du, Armer! Zu deiner Rechten ruht Glanz,
zu deiner Linken ruhen Leuchten.
Verharre standhaft in deiner Sicherung,
bis dein Maß vollendet ist.
Wenn dein Maß vollendet ist,
werde ich selber zu dir kommen.
Ich werde dir Gewänder des Glanzes bringen,
daß die Welten voll Gier nach ihnen verlangen(?).
Ich werde dir einen trefflichen, reinen Turban bringen,
reich an endlosem Licht.
Ich werde dich von den Bösen befreien,
von den Sündern erretten.
Ich werde dich in deiner Škīnā wohnen lassen,
am lauteren Orte dich erretten“.
Ich höre die Stimme der Sieben,
die tuscheln und sprechen:
„Gesegnet sei, der dem Armen ein Vater,
der der Frucht ein Pfleger ist.
Wir haben keinen Vater,
unsere Frucht hat keinen Pfleger.
Heil dem, den das ⟨große⟩ Leben kennt,
wehe dem, den das ⟨große⟩ Leben nicht kennt.

α) A, f. 54a.   β) A, f. 54b.   γ) B, p. 74.   δ) A, f. 55a.

a) B במאזא רותאך. Anscheinend vom St. אזר, doch eher aus במזארזותאך verderbt. b) Dieser Vers nach B; A hat טובה̄ למאן ד̄יאדאלה̄ להייא רביא ואילה̄

טובה למאן דיאדילה הייא רביא דמנאוכאר נאפשיה מינה מן אלמא
מן אלמא דהוסראנא דשיביאהיא בגאוה יאתביא
יאתביא לכארסאואתא דמירדא ועבידאתא[α] בשאוטא אבדיא
על דאהבא ועל כאספא משאגשיא תיגרא ראמיבה
משאגשיא ראמיבה תיגרא ואזליא בנורא באשליא
מיבשאל באשליא[β] בישיא ואודא גיותאיהון ומיסתאכרא
ואנא[a] ושיתלאי ושורבאתאי עסאק עהיזיה לאתאר נהור
לאתרא דלארבא[γ] שאמשיא[b] ושראגיא דנהורא לאהאשכיא
לה להאנאתה אתרא דוכתא[c] דקריא ומזאמנא נישמאתכון
ונישמאתא דאהאן טאביא והאלין אהואתאן דמהאימניא
מישתאיין הייא וזאכין וזאכיא גאברא דאסגיא לכא

ס---א

Heil dem, den kennet das ⟨große⟩ Leben,
der sich der Welt entfremdet,
der Welt des Mangels,
in der die Planeten sitzen.
Sie sitzen auf Thronen der Auflehnung
und üben ihre Werke mit der Geißel.
Um Gold und Silber
sind sie beunruhigt und werfen Streit in die Welt.
Sie sind beunruhigt und werfen Streit in sie,
darum werden sie hingehen und im Feuer sieden.
Sieden werden die Bösen,
und ihre Pracht wird verloren gehen und gehemmt werden.
Doch ich mit meinen Sprossen und Sippen
werde emporsteigen und den Lichtort schauen,
den Ort, dessen Sonne nicht untergeht,
und dessen Lichtlampen nicht verdunkeln,
jenen Ort, die Stätte,
an die eure Seelen gerufen und geladen sind,
sowie die Seelen unserer guten Brüder
und unserer gläubigen Schwestern. —
Das Leben wird hochgehalten und ist siegreich,
und siegreich ist der Mann, der hierher gegangen ist.

[α] A, f. 55 b. [β] B, p. 75. [γ] A, f. 56 a.

למאן דהייא רביא לאיאדאלה. Hier und im folgenden Verse ist wohl רביא zu streichen, auch מינה vor מן אלמא. a) Hier ist der Name des Betenden eingeschoben. b) So die Codd., vgl. auch Joh., S. 51¹. c) דוכתא ist vielleicht zu streichen, vgl. auch XLVII.

LVII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא
עותריא [α] בגינזא האדין   ובגינזא מיתראורבין
האדין ונאהרין [β] עותריא   בערותא ותושביהתא
ד̄אבהון נצאבלון   מן רורביא ס---א

LVIII.

בשומאיהון ד̄הייא רביא
אנא לאך מאראי סאגדאנאלאך   ואנא לאך מאראי משאבאנאלאך
נהורא בכושטא קראינאך   מאראי הזינאן ולאתאגזאר [a] עלאן
ס---א

LIX.

על [γ] ריש איאר רבא ד̄הייא קאיימנא אנא יאהיא בר יאסמין ועל כאנא רבא ד̄אסאואתא בותא בית ודנותא דנית מן האך [δ] מאנא רבא רישאיא ומן עוצאר עוצריא ומן ביהרון וכאנפעיל ומן נצאב

LVII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Die Uthras freuen sich des Schatzes
und werden herrlich durch den Schatz.
Die Uthras freuen sich und leuchten
durch die Erleuchtung und Lobpreisung,
die ihr Vater ihnen geschaffen hat
von den Gewaltigen her.

LVIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Herr, ich verehre dich,
Herr, ich preise dich.
Licht, in Treue riefen wir nach dir,
Herr, blick auf uns und verdamme uns nicht.

LIX.

Oben auf dem großen Äther des Lebens stehe ich NN und auf | dem großen Behälter der Heilungen. Ich richtete eine Bitte und zeigte mich unterwürfig jenem großen, ersten Mānā, dem

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α) A, f. 56 b. β) B, p. 76. γ) A, f. 57 a. δ) B, p. 77.

a) A ולאתגזאר.

ואנאן נצאב ומן סאר וסארואן ומן תאר ותארואן α) ומן עורופעיל ומארפעיל ומן ארספאן ראביא טאליא ומן יאואר תאתאגמור ומן האש ופראש עותרא ד̄הו נצאב ואנאן נצאב ביהראם וראם רבא ד̄הייא שומה̄ ד̄הו מקאביל בותא ותושביהתא ומאסיקלא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא β) ודאורא תאקנא הו ניקאבלא לבותא ותושביהתא דיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין ונאסקא γ) לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא בשכינתא ד̄נאפשיה̄ ניתירצא והארכתא ומומא לאנישאויבא ומשאבין הייא ס———א

LX.

על δ) שומאך ארקא ד̄נהורא ובאבא רבא ד̄בית הייא בותא בית ודנותא דנית מן האך מאנא רבא רישאיא ומן האך a) כאנא רבא קאדמאיא ד̄עקארא ד̄הו האש ופראש פרישאיא רבא קאדמאיא שומה̄ ד̄היליתאן וזיויהתאן ד̄קאלה̄ שאניא ושותה̄ נוכראיתא ε) ד̄הו

Schatze der Schätze, Bihrūn und Kanfēl, Nṣab und Anan Nṣab, Sar und Sarwan, Tar und Tarwan, Urpēl und Marpēl, Arspan, dem jugendlichen Knaben, Jāwar Tatagmur, Haš-ufraš Uthra, dessen Name Nṣab und Anan-Nṣab, Bihrām und der große Rām des Lebens ist, der Gebet und Lobpreis in Empfang nimmt und zum | großen Lichtort und zur lichten Wohnung emporbringt. Er nehme mein des NN Gebet und Lobpreis in Empfang und bringe sie zum großen Lichtort und zur lichten Wohnung empor. Er richte sie in seiner eigenen Škīnā auf und schaffe an ihnen weder Schiefheit noch Fehler.

Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

LX.

Auf deinen Namen, Lichterde und große Pforte des Hauses des Lebens, betete ich | und zeigte ich mich unterwürfig jenem großen, ersten Mānā und jenem großen, ersten Kannā der Herrlichkeit, dessen Name Haš-ufraš der Hervorragende, Große, Erste ist, unsere Furcht 1) und unsere Angst, dessen Stimme wundersam und dessen Rede außerweltlich ist. Er nimmt Ge-

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α) A, f. 57b. β) A, f. 58a. γ) B, p. 78. δ) A, f. 58b. ε) A, f. 59a.

a) A האד. In älterer Zeit sahen ד und כ einander ganz ähnlich, so auch auf den Bleitafeln und Tonschalen.

1) Siehe oben, p. 182[1].

מקאביל בותא ותושביהתא ומאסיקלא לאתרא(α רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא הו ניקאבלא לבותאי ותושביהתאי דיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין ונאסקא לאתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ולדאורא תאקנא ונאשלימא ליאואר רבא האזא הע בותא ותושביהתא ד̄אתאתאלון לבהיריא זידקא לאלמא האזין(β ד̄כולה̄ מאודאלא כול מאן ד̄האזא בותא ניביא שאביק האטאייא ניהוילה̄ וכול גאברא נאצוראיא ד̄בותא האזא ניביא ובראהמיא ניקום ושמהאתא(a האלין בכושטא נאדכאר ניתיא(γ נאטרא ד̄נהורא ונישריא בבינתאי דיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין ואנא יאהיא בר יאסמין בהאזא בותא עביא ואשכא ועמאר ועשתמא ועדאן(δ וזכיא אדינקיא האטאייא והאוביא עהויא באתרא רבא ד̄נהורא ודאורא תאקנא ומשאבין הייא והייא זאכיען(b ס——א

האלין תארתין באואתא ד̄ק̣יאמתא ד̄ראהמיא ק̣ריא אבאתאר דראשא ד̄יומא מן קודאם בריכיא ומשאביא הייא ראבתיא ס---א

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bet und Lobpreis in Empfang und bringt sie zum großen Lichtort und zur glänzenden Wohnung empor. Er nehme auch mein des NN Gebet und Lobpreis in Empfang, bringe sie zum großen Lichtort und zur glänzenden Wohnung empor und übergebe sie dem großen Jāwar.

Dies ist das Gebet und die Lobpreisung, die für die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit | in diese Welt, die ganz Geburt ist, gekommen ist. Einem jeden, der dieses Gebet verrichtet, wird ein Sündenerlasser zu teil werden.

Ein jeder Nāṣōräer, der dieses Gebet verrichtet, sich dem Gebete widmet und diese Namen in Wahrhaftigkeit nennt — dann wird ein Hüter des Lichtes kommen und wird in meinem des NN Baue Platz nehmen[1]. Und ich NN werde mit diesem Gebete suchen und finden, sagen und erhört werden, | meinen Prozeß führen und obsiegen und ohne Sünden und Vergehen dastehen am großen Lichtort und in der glänzenden Wohnung.

Gepriesen sei das Leben, das Leben ist siegreich.

Diese zwei Bitten der Festigung des Gebetes lies nach dem Hymnus des Tages vor dem großen „Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben“ (= Qol LXXI).

α) B, p. 79. β) A, f. 59b. γ) B, p. 80. δ) A, f. 60a.

a) B ושומהאתא. b) B זאכעין.

[1] Ursprünglich hat natürlich dagestanden, daß der Hüter in seinem Baue Platz nehmen werde, aber der Betende hat Eile, seine eigene Person hineinzubringen.

האלין α) עניאניא ודראשיא וקיאמתא ד̄ראהמיא ד̄אנסית אנא אניא ודאניא אבדא α) ד̄כולה̄ האטאייא ומראדפא ד̄רידפון שובא בנה̄ ד̄דאורא באטלא אנא אבדא אדאם זיהרון בר רבאי ביהראם שיתלאן---------------- ד̄אנסא β) מן ק̣ולאסתא ד̄אנסא היביל יאהיא בר סאם סאיויא ד̄אנסא מן כדאב עדה̄ ד̄באינאי בר זאכיא ועמה̄ האיונא פת יאהיא ד̄אנסון מן גינזא ד̄שתכין לואתאיון מן טיב מאתא וראמויא בר עקאימאת ארדיכלא בגאוה̄ הוא וראמויא אנסא מן אשגאנדא ואשגאנדא אנסא מן זאזאי ד̄גאואזתא בר האוא ושומא ד̄אבויא נאטאר וזאזאי אנסא מן שאפתא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא והייא הדון לאלאם אלמיא והייא זאכין על כולהון עבאדיא ס‾‾א

Dies sind die Lieder und Hymnen und die Festigung des Gebetes, die ich abgeschrieben habe, ich Armer und Elender, der Knecht, der ganz Sünden ist, der Verfolgte, den die Sieben, die Söhne der nichtigen Wohnung, verfolgten, ich, der Knecht Adam Zihrūn, Sohn des Rabbi Bihrām Šithlan[1]) . . . ., *die er abgeschrieben hat aus der Auslese (Qolastā), die Hibil Jahiā, Sohn des Sām Sājōjā, abgeschrieben hatte*[2]), *die dieser aus | dem Autograph des Bainai, Sohnes des Zakiā, und seiner Mutter Hajōnā, der Tochter des Jahiā, abgeschrieben hatte, die sie aus dem Thesaurus abgeschrieben hatten, der aus der Ortschaft Ṭīb bei ihnen niedergelegt war. Rāmōjā, Sohn der Eqaimath, hatte dort als Baumeister gewirkt. Rāmōjā hatte sie nach Ašgandā*[3]) *abgeschrieben und Ašgandā nach Zazai von Gauwaztā, dem Sohne der Hawwā, dessen Vater Nāṭar hieß. Zazai hatte sie aus dem Blatte des ersten Lebens abgeschrieben.*

Das Leben freut sich in aller Ewigkeit; das Leben ist siegreich über alle Werke.

α) A, f. 60 b. β) A, f. 62 a.

a) Dieses Stück steht nur in A.

1) Hier folgt eine lange Reihe von Abschreibern.

2) Siehe oben, p. 60, 120 f.

3) Das Wort bezeichnet sonst die unterste Stufe des Priesterstandes (vgl. Peterm. II, p. 463), scheint aber hier ein Eigenname zu sein.

Zweites Buch.

בשומאיהון α) ד̄הייא רביא נינהארליא עוצראי ומאדאי ומאדיהתאי דיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין בהאלין עניאניא ד̄פאסוג ד̄כ̄ אזיל בהירא דאכיא ס——א

I.

בשומא β) ד̄הייא רביא
כנאף עותריא וכנאף שכינאתא
כורסיא ליאואר מאלכא ד̄עותריא תראצלה̄
כורסיא תראצלה̄ ליאואר מאלכא ד̄עותריא
ותראצלה̄ ברישיה̄ כליליא ראוזיא
זיוה̄ γ) על עותריא ועל שכינאתא דנא
עותריא ושכינאתא ד̄היזיויא לזיוא ד̄יאואר מאלכא ד̄עותריא

Im Namen des großen Lebens leuchte mir mein Sinn, mein Wissen und meine Erkenntnis, mir NN, durch diese Responsionen „Als der Erwählte, Reine hinging“ 1).

I.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Es versammelten sich die Uthras, es versammelten sich die Škīnās,
sie errichteten einen Thron Jāwar, dem Könige der Uthras.
Jāwar, dem Könige der Uthras, errichteten sie einen Thron,
legten ihm auf das Haupt prangende Kränze.
Sein Glanz ging über den Uthras und Škīnās auf.
Als die Uthras und Škīnās den Glanz Jāwars, des Königs der Uthras, erblickten,

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α) A, f. 62b. β) C, f. 2b; D, f. 2b. γ) A, f. 63a.

1) Diese Bezeichnung steht fälschlich hier, sie gehört zum dritten Buche.

כולהון לואתה̄ כאנפיא
כולהון כאנפיא לואתה̄
וביאמינון דאכיא מאסימיא עלה̄
ומבארכילה̄ בבירכתא ראבתיא
ד̄עתיבריככא יאואר מאלכא בשכינתה̄
והייא α) זאכען ס——א

II.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄ליבשיה̄ β) מאנדא ד̄הייא ללבושיה̄
זיוה̄ על אלמיא ד̄נהורא דנא
זיוה̄ עדנא על אלמיא ד̄נהורא
ואלמיא ד̄נהורא ד̄היזיויא לזיוה̄
כולהון לואתה̄ כאנפיא

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versammelten sich alle bei ihm.
Alle versammelten sich bei ihm
und legten ihre reine Rechte auf ihn[1]).
Sie segneten ihn mit dem großen Segen,
mit dem der König Jāwar in seiner Škīnā gesegnet wurde.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

II.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da Mandā d̲Haijē sein Gewand anzog[2]),
ging sein Glanz über den Lichtwelten auf.
Über den Lichtwelten ging sein Glanz auf.
Als die Lichtwelten seinen Glanz erblickten,
versammelten sich alle bei ihm.

α) A, f. 63b. β) D, f. 3a.

[1]) Merkwürdig ist ביאמינון mit ב bei אסים. Es sieht so aus, als ob אסים על zum Begriffe „segnen" erstarrt wäre.

[2]) Im Folgenden werden die einzelnen Stücke der sakralen Kleidung der Mandäer, des Rastā, durchgegangen, über die Siouffi, p. 121 ff. belehrt. Nach Siouffi, p. 107 zieht sie auch der Bräutigam am Hochzeitstage bei der Taufe an, und wahrscheinlich werden die Gebete bei dieser Gelegenheit gesprochen. Wie sonst wird das Geschehnis in die Urzeit verlegt und mit einem höheren Wesen in Verbindung gebracht. Die Segnung, die damals über die Gewänder gesprochen wurde, wird durch den Vortrag der Lieder, die das Ereignis erzählen, auf die in der Gegenwart angelegten Gewänder übertragen.

כולהון[α] כאנפיא לואתה̄
ופאהתיא[β] פומאיהון ומבארכילה̄ למאנדא ד̄הייא
ואמרילה̄
בריך זיואך ד̄רניא למיא
כמא ד̄נאהור זיואך
תינהאר דמותאך ולאתיהשוך
[אשקיה̄] ס——א

III.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄אסארלה̄ הימיאנא למאנדא[γ] ד̄הייא
זיוה̄ על עותריא ועל שכינאתא דנא
עותריא ושכינאתא ד̄הזיויא לזיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
כולהון מן זיוה̄ סאר
כולהון[δ] סאר מן זיוה̄
וכולהון לואתה̄ כאנפיא
כולהון כאנפעי[a] לואתה̄

Alle versammelten sich bei ihm,
öffneten ihren Mund, segneten Mandā dHaijē
und sprachen zu ihm:
„Gesegnet sei dein Glanz, der über dem Wasser aufgegangen ist.
Wie dein Glanz leuchtet,
leuchte deine Gestalt und verdunkle nicht“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).[1]

III.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie Mandā dHaijē den Gürtel umbanden,
ging sein Glanz über den Uthras und Škīnās auf.
Als die Uthras und Škīnās den Glanz des Mandā dHaijē erblickten,
erschraken[2] sie alle vor seinem Glanze.
Alle erschraken vor seinem Glanze,
und alle versammelten sich bei ihm.
Alle versammelten sich bei ihm,

α) C, f. 3a. β) A, f. 64a. γ) A, f. 64b. δ) D, f. 3b.

a) CD כאנפיא.

1) D. h. dem Bräutigam. 2) Siehe oben, p. 126[1].

וביאמינון דאכיא מאסימיא[α] עלה̄
ומבארכילה̄ למאנדא ד̄הייא ואמרילה̄
בריכית אנאת אבון מאנדא ד̄הייא
ובריך האזין הימיאנא ד̄מיא ד̄אסארלאך[β]
[אשקיה̄] ס——א

IV.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄נצאבלה̄ כסויא למאנדא[γ] ד̄הייא
זיוה̄ על עותריא ועל שכינאתא דנא
עותריא ושכינאתא ד̄היזיויא לזיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
כולהון לואתה̄ כאנפיא
כולהון כאנפיא לואתה̄
וביאמינון דאכיא מאסימיא עלה̄
ומבארכילה̄ למאנדא ד̄הייא ואמרילה̄
בריכית[δ] אנאת אבון מאנדא ד̄הייא
ובריך האזין כסויא ד̄נצאבלאך

legten ihre reine Rechte auf ihn,
segneten Mandā d̲Haijē und sprachen zu ihm:
„Gesegnet seiest du, unser Vater Mandā d̲Haijē,
und gesegnet sei dieser Gürtel von Wasser, den man dir umgebunden hat“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

IV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie Mandā d̲Haijē die Hülle schufen,
ging sein Glanz über den Uthras und Škīnās auf.
Als die Uthras und Škīnās den Glanz des Mandā d̲Haijē erblickten,
versammelten sich alle bei ihm.
Alle versammelten sich bei ihm,
legten ihre reine Rechte auf ihn,
segneten Mandā d̲Haijē und sprachen zu ihm:
„Gesegnet seiest du, unser Vater Mandā d̲Haijē,
und gesegnet sei diese Hülle, die sie dir geschaffen haben.

[α] A, f. 65 a. [β] C, f. 3 b. [γ] A, f. 65 b. [δ] A, f. 66 a; D, f. 4 a.

כולהון a) אלמיא ד̄האזילאך מן זיואך סאיריא b)
[אשקיה̄] ס—–א

V.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄נצאבלה̄ שאמשעיל נאציפא למאנדא ד̄הייא
תלאתמא α) ושיתין אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא בגאוה̄ נבאטיאן
נבאטיאן β) תלאתמא ושיתין אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא
ועתאהזיא זיואיהין ד̄אינאניאתא על יארדניא
יארדניא וזיואיהין ד̄אינאניאתא נאהריא c)
ומאנהירילון לכולהון אלמיא ד̄נהורא מן γ) ריש בריש
[אשקיה̄] ס—–א

VI.

בשומא δ) ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄תראצלה̄ תאגא למאנדא ד̄הייא
זיוה̄ על הילבוניא דנא

Alle Welten, die dich erblicken, erschrecken vor deinem Glanze“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

V.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie die Stola Šamšēl [1]) dem Mandā d̠Haijē schufen,
sprudelten dreihundert sechzig Quellen des Glanzes an ihr empor.
Dreihundert sechzig Quellen des Glanzes sprudelten empor,
und der Glanz der Quellen zeigte sich über den Jordanen.
Die Jordane und der Glanz der Quellen leuchten
und erleuchten alle Lichtwelten über die Maßen.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

VI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie dem Mandā d̠Haijē die Krone aufsetzten,
ging ihr Glanz über den Eiern [2]) auf.

α) A, f. 66b. β) C, f. 4a. γ) A, f. 67a. δ) D, f. 4b.

a) CD ד̄כולהון. b) C סאר. c) D נאהרין.

1) Die im Kultus verwandten Gegenstände erhalten vielfach Namen, die so geformt sind wie bei himmlischen Wesen, siehe auch das vierte Buch. Besonders reich, ja überreich an solchen Namengebungen ist der römische Diwan.

2) Siehe oben, p. 197^{2}.

זיוה̄ דנא על הילבוניא
והו מאלכא ד̄היזיה̄ לזיוא ד̄תאגה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא α)
ענפאץ מן כורסייה̄ קאם
ענפאץ קאם מן כורסייה̄
ותלאתמא ושיתין אלפיא עותריא לואתה̄ ד̄מאלכא קאם
וביאמינון דאכיא מאסימיא עלה̄
ומבארכילה̄ למאנדא ד̄הייא ואמרילה̄
בריכית β) אנאת אבון מאנדא ד̄הייא
ובריך האזין תאגא ד̄תראצלאך
כולהון a) אלמיא נאהריבה̄ מן ריש בריש
[אשקיה̄] ס———א

VII.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄נצאבלה̄ γ) נצאב שארואלא למאנדא ד̄הייא
זיוה̄ δ) על הילבוניא דנא
זיוה̄ דנא על הילבוניא

Über den Eiern ging ihr Glanz auf.
Als der König den Glanz der Krone des Mandā d̲Haijē erblickte,
sprang er auf und erhob sich von seinem Throne.
Er sprang auf und erhob sich von seinem Throne,
und 360 000 Uthras stellten sich beim König auf.
Sie legten ihre reine Rechte auf ihn,
segneten Mandā d̲Haijē und sprachen zu ihm:
„Gesegnet seiest du, unser Vater Mandā d̲Haijē,
und gesegnet sei diese Krone, die sie dir aufgesetzt haben.
Alle Welten leuchten durch sie über die Maßen“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

VII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie das Beinkleid Nṣab dem Mandā d̲Haijē schufen,
ging sein Glanz über den Eiern auf.
Über den Eiern ging sein Glanz auf.

α) A, f. 67b. β) A, f. 68a. γ) D, f. 5a. δ) A, f. 68b.

a) C ד̄כולהון.

 וניטופיאתא ד̄היזיויא לזיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא
אמראן להדאדיא
מנא האזין a) זיוא ד̄דניא עלאואיאן
ואמארלין טאליא ד̄על קודאמאיין קאיים
האזין זיוה̄ ד̄נצאב שארואלא ד̄מאנדא α) ד̄הייא
וניטופיאתא כולהין על נגאריא b) קאימאן
ומבארכילה̄ c) למאנדא ד̄הייא ואמרילה̄
בריכית אנאת אבון מאנדא ד̄הייא
ובריך מאן ד̄האלין d) לבושיא נצאבלאך
ד̄האיזין β) זיואיהון נפעש
[אשקיה̄] ס——א

VIII.

בשומא γ) ד̄הייא רביא
ביומא ד̄נצאבלה̄ δ) מארגנא למאנדא ד̄הייא
זיוה̄ ליארדנא דנא
הו יארדנא ד̄היזיה̄ לזיוה̄ ד̄מארגנא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא

Als die Frauen 1) den Glanz des Mandā d̲Haijē erblickten,
sprachen sie zu einander:
„Woher kommt dieser Glanz, der über uns aufgegangen ist?“
Darauf erwiderte ihnen der Jüngling, der vor ihnen stand:
„Dieser Glanz kommt vom Beinkleid Nṣab des Mandā d̲Haijē“.
Alle Frauen stehen auf den Dächern,
segnen Mandā d̲Haijē und sprechen zu ihm:
„Gesegnet seiest du, unser Vater Mandā d̲Haijē,
und gesegnet sei, der dir diese Gewänder geschaffen,
deren Glanz so reich ist“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

VIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Am Tage, da sie den Olivenstab dem Mandā d̲Haijē schufen,
ging sein Glanz über dem Jordan auf.
Als der Jordan den Glanz des Stabes des Mandā d̲Haijē erblickte,

---

α) A, f. 69a. β) C, f. 4b. γ) A, f. 69b. δ) D, f. 5b.

a) A האריזין. b) CD ענגאריא. c) D ומבארכאלה̄. d) A ד̄האזין.

1) Vgl. *Uthra*, p. 539[3].

סהאק והדיבה̄[a] בזיוה̄ ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ואמארלה̄
כמא ד̄נאפוש[b] יארדנאך
מיתקאימיא פיריא ועמביא ועלאניא ד̄עלה̄[α]
נינפוש זיואך וניתנאטאר שירשאך מן ריש בריש
[אשקיה̄] ס---א

האלין עניאניא ד̄מארגנא ותאגא תארתינון קאריא על תארמידא[c] ד̄שאריא מאסיקתא ועל הידוכתא ודרוש האניך דראשיא ס---א

IX.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
מן אסא ומן מארמאהוז כלילא גידלית
ובּרישיה̄[β] ד̄יאואר מאלכא ד̄עותריא תירצית

hüpfte er und freute sich des Glanzes des Mandā d̲Haijē und sprach zu ihm:
„Wie dein Jordan reich ist,
so sollen die Früchte, Trauben und Bäume an ihm beständig sein.
Dein Glanz sei reich, und deine Wurzel werde bewahrt in vollkommener Weise“.
(Gieb ihm zu trinken).

Diese Lieder für den Olivenstab und die Krone liest man beide über den Priester, der die Messe abhält, und über die Braut; trage auch jene Hymnen vor[1]).

IX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Von Myrte und Origanum wand ich einen Kranz
und legte ihn Jāwar, dem Könige der Uthras, auf das Haupt.

α) A, f. 70 a. β) C, f. 5 a.

a) AC והראבה̄. b) A ד̄נאפש. c) AC לתארמידא.

[1] Der Olivenstab und die „Krone“ werden nur vom Priester getragen, daher werden die betr. Stücke nur rezitiert, wenn der Bräutigam ein Priester ist. — Zum Ausdruck שאריא מאסיקתא siehe die Einleitung. האניך bedeutet „jene“. Die Schlußbemerkung kann sich danach nicht auf die folgenden Stücke beziehen, die außerdem als עניאניא bezeichnet werden. Gemeint sind wohl andere Hymnen.

ואמארנאלה̄
הדיא α) יאואר הדיא   הדיבה̄ בכלילאך ראוזא
הדיא יאואר הדיא   הדיבא β) באנאנא ד̄זיוא ד̄נצאבלאך
הדיא יאואר הדיא   הדיבא במאלכותא ד̄עהאבלאך
הדיא יאואר הדיא   הדיבון ביארדניא ד̄נגארלאך
הדיא יאואר הדיא
הדיבא בשארהאת אנאנא γ) ד̄זיוא ד̄נצאבלאך
ד̄טאיסא וראדיא ביארדנאך   מן ריש בריש ס——א

X.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא
האזין מאן מן עותריא
ד̄כלילא ד̄רביא ברישיה̄ סאמלה̄
כלילא סאמלה̄ ד̄רביא ברישיה̄
ותאנאניא וניטופיאתא בטולא δ) ד̄כלילה̄ ביהדאדיא מיתכארכיא

Ich sprach zu ihm:
Freue dich, Jāwar, freue dich,
freue dich deines prangenden Kranzes.
Freue dich, Jāwar, freue dich,
freue dich der Wolke des Glanzes, die man dir geschaffen.
Freue dich, Jāwar, freue dich,
freue dich des Königtums, das man dir verliehen.
Freue dich, Jāwar, freue dich,
freue dich der Jordane, die man dir hingezogen.
Freue dich, Jāwar, freue dich,
freue dich der Glanzwolke Šarhath, die man dir geschaffen,
die in deinen Jordanen hinzieht und wandelt
gar herrlich.

X.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Wer ist dieser von den Uthras,
dem man den Kranz des großen (Lebens) auf das Haupt gelegt?
Den Kranz des großen (Lebens) legte man ihm auf das Haupt,
und die Tannās und Frauen umarmen einander im Schatten
seines Kranzes.

α) A, f. 70 b. β) D, f. 6 a. γ) A, f. 71 a. δ) A, f. 71 b.

מיתכארכיא בטולא ד̄כלילה̄ ביהדאדיא
וביאמינון a) דאכיא מאסימיא עלה̄
ומבארכילה̄ בבירכתא ראבתיא α)
ד̄עתיבריכבא β) יאואר זיוא באתאר נהור
ס——א

XI.

5 אבון רישא בתארואן שאויוך   ומאלאלא עהאבלאך γ) באתאר נהור
יאואר תראצלאך תאגא   ד̄עותריא בזיוה̄ נאהריא
עותריא נאהריא בזיוה̄   ושיביאהיא מינה̄ מישתארהזיא
ס——א

XII.

אבון עהאבלאך פאדאכשאר b) דאכיא
ופאקאדתא ד̄רביא פאקיד עלאך 10
עהאבלאך דראבשא δ) ד̄זיוא
ד̄בגאוה̄ מיניהריא אלמיא ד̄נהורא כולהון

Im Schatten seines Kranzes umarmen sie einander,
sie legen ihre reine Rechte auf ihn
und segnen ihn mit dem großen Segen,
mit dem Jāwar-Zīwā am Lichtort gesegnet wurde.

XI.

Unser Vater! Sie machten dich zum Haupte über Tarwan 5
und verliehen dir das Wort am Lichtort.
Jāwar setzte dir die Krone auf,
durch deren Glanz die Uthras leuchten.
Die Uthras leuchten durch ihren Glanz,
und die Planeten erschrecken vor ihr.

XII.

Unser Vater! Sie verliehen dir die reine Herrschaft
und den Befehl, den das große (Leben) dir anvertraut hat. 10
Sie verliehen dir das Banner des Glanzes,
durch das alle Lichtwelten leuchten.

α) D, f. 6b. β) C, f. 5b. γ) A, f. 72a. δ) A, f. 72b.

a) A ביאמינון. b) A פאדאך שאר.

עהאבלאך מארגנא ד̄מיא הייא
גאואזא ד̄מיתכאבשיבה̄ כולהון מארדיא α)
ס——א

XIII.

מאן שיהלאך מאלכא האדתא
ד̄האלין כולהון עבידאתא מינאך β) האויאן
אנהארתא לארקא ד̄איאר
ותאקינתא γ) לתיביל כולא מן ריש בריש
ס——א

XIV.

מאן שיהלאך מאלכא האדתא
ד̄בסאכא ד̄רביא יאתבית
אמסאיתה̄ למיסיא רבא
ואנהארת ותאקינת עותריא בשכינאתון δ) מן ריש בריש
ס——א

XV.

אבון שיהלון זיוא בתאגה̄ האדיא

Sie verliehen dir den Olivenstab lebenden Wassers,
den Stock, durch den alle Rebellen niedergeschlagen werden.

XIII.

Wer hat dich, neuer König, gesandt,
von dem alle diese Werke ausgehen?
Du erleuchtetest die Erde des Äthers
und erhelltest die ganze Tibil über die Maßen.

XIV.

Wer hat dich, neuer König, gesandt,
der du im Bereiche des großen (Lebens) sitzest?
Du dichtetest die große Verdichtung,
erleuchtetest und erhelltest die Uthras in ihren Škīnās über die Maßen.

XV.

Unser Vater Šihlūn-Zīwā freut sich seiner Krone,

α) D, f. 7a. β) A, f. 73a. γ) C, f. 6a. δ) A, f. 73b.

וכאביריא האדיא במאמלאלון
האדיא וראוזיא שכינאת כאביריא
במאלכא יאואר זיוא ד̄נצאבלון
ס——א

XVI.

אבון α) כלילאך נינאטרונאך β)
וצאותאיהון ד̄הייא רביא תישריא עלאך
נינהירולאך a) אינאך טאבא
ד̄בריש לאופא ד̄הייא אסגית לכא
ס——א

XVII.

אבון כלילאך מן רואז גופנא
וגאברא גאדלה̄ מן אתאר נהור γ)
אבון ניבסום b) ריהה̄ ד̄כלילאך
אכואת δ) אנוש עותרא סאגיא בשכינתה̄
ס——א

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und die Großen freuen sich ihres Wortes.
Die Škīnās der Großen freuen sich und prangen
durch den König Jāwar-Zīwā, der sie geschaffen.

XVI.

Unser Vater! Mögen sie dir deinen Kranz bewahren,
und der Schmuck des großen Lebens ruhe auf dir.
Mögen dir deine Augen leuchten, Guter,
der du an der Spitze der Gemeinschaft des Lebens hierher gegangen bist[1].

XVII.

Unser Vater! Dein Kranz ist vom Weinstock Rwaz,
der Mann, sein Winder, ist aus dem Lichtorte.
Unser Vater! Lieblich sei der Duft deines Kranzes,
gleich Anōš, dem großen Uthra, in seiner Škīnā.

α) A, f. 74 a. β) D, f. 7 b. γ) A, f. 74 b. δ) C, f. 6 b.

a) C נינהארלאך, D נהארולאך. b) C ניבסים.

[1] Vgl. p. 13^3.

XVIII.

שאתיל שיתליא שותלה   וגאדיל כליל א גודלה
ומתאקנאנין ד̄זאכואתא תאקנה   להידויא פלאן ואסקה לריש
ס——א

XIX.

זוטאנאלון[α] [a] לעותריא   ומיאנקאנאלון לפאסימכיא
ראבנא וראבאליא נאפשאי[b]   ד̄שתית מיא מן פום פראש
ס——א

XX.

ניגאטרונאך[β] נאטריא דאכייא[c]
וניתגאדאל שירשאך וניסאק לריש
ניתאקנולאך עבידאתאך
ותיסאק תיהיזיה[γ] לאתרא סאגיא בית תושלימא
והייא זאכין ס——א

XVIII.

Pflanzer der Pflanzen, pflanze ihn,
Winder der Kränze, winde ihn (den Kranz),
Festiger der Siege[1]), festige ihn
für den Bräutigam NN und laß ihn herrlich gedeihen.

XIX.

Klein bin ich unter den Uthras,
ein Säugling bin ich unter den Leuchten,
doch bin ich groß, und groß ist mir meine Seele,
da ich Wasser getrunken aus der Mündung des Euphrats.

XX.

Die reinen Hüter mögen dich behüten,
deine Wurzel mag sich emporwinden und prächtig gedeihen.
Deine Werke sollen dir wohl geordnet werden,
und du steig empor und schaue den großen Ort, das Haus der Vollendung.
Und das Leben ist siegreich.

α) A, f. 75a.   β) D, f. 8a.   γ) A, f. 75b.

a) D זוטנאלון.   b) A ד̄נאפשאי.   γ) AC דאכיא.

1) זאכואתא steht oft mit כלילא zusammen, vgl. Joh., S. 2.

האלין עניאניא ראמילה̄ לתארמידא ד̄שאריא מאסיקתא ולהידוכתיא

XXI.

יאתאלאי α) a) זיוא שראגיא ד̄זיוא תליבה̄
יאתאלאי b) זיוא שאמוכטיא c) ד̄נהורא תליבה̄
ס——א

XXII. d)

האזין זיוא ד̄מאנו
האזין נהורא ד̄מאנו
האזין תוקנא ד̄מאנו
ד̄נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̄
ס——א

XXIII.

האזין זיוה̄ ד̄היביל

Diese Lieder trägt man über den Priester vor, der die Messe abhält, und über die Braut.

XXI.

O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Lampen des Glanzes.
O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Kerzen des Lichtes.

XXII.

Wessen Glanz ist dies?
Wessen Licht ist dies?
Wessen Helligkeit ist dies,
die ausgedehnt und endlos ist?

XXIII.

Dies ist der Glanz des Hibil,

α) C, f. 7 b; D, f. 11 a; E, f. 130 b.

a) CE יאתאליא. b) CDE יאתאליא. c) C שימוכתיא, D שמוכטיא, E שימוכטיא. d) > AE.

האזין נהורה̄ ד̄שיתיל
האזין α) תוקנה̄ ד̄אנוש עותרא סאגיא
ד̄נפיש וסא̔כא ליתלה̄
ס----א

XXIV. a)

זיוא ד̄היביל יאייא b)
ונהורא ד̄שיתיל β) נאהור
ותוקנא c) ד̄אנוש עותרא סאגיא
ד̄נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̄
ס----א

XXV.

יאתאלאי d) זיוא שראגיא ד̄זיוא תליבה̄
יאתאלאי d) זיוא שאמוכטיא e) ד̄נהורא תליבה̄
ס----א

dies ist das Licht des Šitil,
dies ist die Helligkeit des Anōš, des großen Uthra,
die ausgedehnt und endlos ist.

XXIV.

Der Glanz des Hibil ist schön,
das Licht des Šitil leuchtet,
die Helligkeit des Anōš, des großen Uthra,
ist ausgedehnt[1] und endlos.

XXV.

O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Lampen des Glanzes.
O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Kerzen des Lichtes.

α) A, f. 76a. β) C, f. 8a.

a) > AE. b) C יאיע. c) D תוקנא. d) CDE יא תאליא.
e) C שמוכתיא, DE שימוכטיא.

1) Hier ist wohl נפיש zu lesen.

XXVI. *a*)

האזין בינתא ד̄מאנו   האזין ד̄מאנו בינתא
האזין בינתא α) ד̄מאנו   ד̄האזין ריהה̄ באסים
האזין באסים ריהה̄   ועלאניא טאביא שריבה̄

ס——א

XXVII.

האזין בינתא ד̄יאואר   האזין ד̄יאואר בינתא
האזין בינתא ד̄יאואר β)   ד̄האיזין ריהה̄ באסים
האיזין באסים ריהה̄   ועלאניא טאביא שריבה̄

ס——א

XXVIII. *a*)

בסום ריהאיון ד̄עלאניא   בריהא ד̄יאואר ד̄עלאואיהון b) שריא
בסום ריהאיון ד̄עלאניא
בריהא ד̄מאנדא ד̄הייא ד̄עלאואיון שריא

ס——א

XXVI.

Wessen ist dieser Bau,
dieser Bau ist wessen?
Wessen ist dieser Bau,
dessen Duft so lieblich ist?
So lieblich ist sein Duft,
und treffliche Bäume haben ihren Stand in ihm.

XXVII.

Dies ist der Bau des Jāwar,
dies ist des Jāwar Bau.
Dies ist der Bau des Jāwar,
dessen Duft so lieblich ist.
So lieblich ist sein Duft,
und treffliche Bäume haben ihren Stand in ihm.

XXVIII.

Lieblich ist der Bäume Duft,
durch den Duft des Jāwar, der auf ihnen ruht.
Lieblich ist der Bäume Duft,
durch den Duft des Mandā d̲Haijē, der auf ihnen ruht.

α) D, f. 11b. β) A, f. 76b.

a) > AE. *b*) D ד̄בריהא ד̄יאואר עלאואיהון.

XXIX.

יאתאלאי[α] [a] זיווא   שראגיא ד̄זיווא תליבה̊
יאתאלאי[a] זיווא   שאמוכטיא[b] ד̄נהורא תליבה̊
ס——א

XXX.[c]

שאדרויא להיביל זיווא
למאיתילון[d] פארשיגנא לעותריא ד̄האתאם יאתביא
ואמארלון
מן[β] זיווא הוא נהורא   ומן נהורא איאר הוא
ועשתאוילון צאותא לעותריא ד̄האתאם יאתביא ס——א

XXXI.

בסום קאלאך טאליא היביל
ד̄מאמלילית בגינאת[γ] אדאם   ודארשית דראשיא שאניא
בסום קאלאך וקאלאך לתאם אזאל ס——א

XXIX.

O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Lampen des Glanzes.
O der du Glanz aufhängest,
hänge daran Kerzen des Lichtes.

XXX.

Sie sandten Hibil-Zīwā hin,
den Uthras, die dort sitzen, einen Bescheid zu bringen.
Da sprach er zu ihnen:
„Aus dem Glanze wurde Licht,
aus dem Lichte wurde der Äther,
und wurde Glanz den Uthras geschaffen, die dort sitzen“.

XXXI.

Lieblich ist deine Stimme, Knabe Hibil,
der du im Garten Adams sprichst
und wundersame Hymnen vorträgst.
Lieblich ist deine Stimme, und deine Stimme ging dahin.

α) C, f. 8b; E, f. 131a.   β) D, f. 12a.   γ) A, f. 77a.

a) DE יא תאליא.   b) C שמוכתטיא, D שימוכטיא, E שימוכתטיא.   c) > AE.   d) Aus למאתילון C, על מאיתילון D.

XXXII.

שאליטית אנאת רבא עזיל עקארא האתאם שריא
עקארא שריא האתאם בעקארא [a] דילאן ודילאך ניתיאוקרון
ניתיאוקרון בהאנאתה̈ עקארא [α]
וניקאבלון בבירכתא [b] ד̄שאדארנאלהון
בבירכתא [b] ד̄שאדארנאלהון ניקאבלון
וטאבותא [β] דילאך ניליגטון
ניהויא ד̄יאדין [γ] עותריא ד̄אנאת ראבית מן כולהון עותריא
אנאת פאהתית ומאהויאתלון זיוא
ותושביהתא [δ] יאהבאתלון
ס——א

XXXIII.

תארמידיא [ε] בכיסיא בארכילה̈ לרבא
ד̄אוקירינון ועקארא [c] עלאואיהון שרא
ס——א

XXXII.

Die Macht besitzest du, Großer,
geh, verbreite dort Ehre.
Ehre verbreite dort,
durch unsere und deine Ehre sollen sie geehrt werden.
Sie sollen durch jene Ehre geehrt werden
und mit dem Segen, den wir ihnen sandten, empfangen werden.
Mit dem Segen, den wir ihnen sandten, sollen sie empfangen werden
und deine Güte erhalten.
Die Uthras sollen wissen,
daß du größer bist als alle Uthras;
du öffnest und zeigest ihnen Glanz
und gewährest ihnen Lobpreis.

XXXIII.

Die Jünger segnen im Verborgenen den Großen,
der sie ehrte und Ehre über sie breitete.

α) A, f. 77b. β) C, f. 9b. γ) E, f. 131b. δ) D, f. 13a. ε) A, f. 78a.

a) CD ובעקארא. b) CE בביריכתא, D בירכתא. c) AD עקארא.

האיזאך ניתיב האד תארמידא בשכינתא וניזלון גאנזיברא ותארמידיא
ודאמאד לואת כילתא ד̄הידוכתא. והאיזאך גאנזיברא ניקריא אתא בטאבו
כושטא ס---א

*Alsdann setze sich ein Priester in die Hütte*1), *und der Bischof und die Priester und der Bräutigam sollen zum Zelt der Braut gehen. Dann lese der Bischof „Komm in Güte, Kuštā“*2).

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1) שכינתא im Sinne einer Hütte wird öfter in den Ritualen genannt: Par. Diwan, Z. 440, 449, 633 und sonst; Lond. Rolle A, Z. 69 ff., 270. Siouffi sagt p. 107: La demoiselle est installée sous une espèce de moustiquaire placée dans une chambre, tandis que le jeune homme reste avec les convives qui lui tiennent compagnie, sous une cabane d'osier dressée pour lui dans la cour. כילתא ist das hier genannte moustiquaire.

2) GR 274, 9.

Drittes Buch.

בשומאׄיהון ד̄הייא רביא נוכראייא מן אלמיא ד̄נהורא יאתיריא ד̄עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא[a] אסותא[α] וזאכותא והאילא[β] ושרארא ועמרא ושימא והאדואת ליבא ושאביק האטאייא ניהוילִיא לדיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין ונינהארליא עוצראי[γ] ומאדאי ומאדיהתאי[b] לגינזא ד̄הייא קאדמאייא ס---א

I.

מאליל[δ] הינון רביא עתיתיא לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא[ε] ד̄נימארולה̄

Im Namen des großen, fremden Lebens aus den erhabenen Lichtwelten, das über allen Werken steht, werde Heilung und Sieghaftigkeit, Kraft und Festigkeit, Rede und Erhörung, Herzensfreude und ein Sündenerlasser zu teil mir NN, und mir leuchte mein Sinn, mein Wissen und meine Erkenntnis | im Schatze des ersten Lebens.

I.

Jenes große, bereite[1] (Leben) sprach
zum Auserwählten, Reinen[2] folgendermaßen:

α) D, f. 29 b. β) A, f. 78 b. γ) D, f. 30 a. δ) C, f. 25 a; D, f. 30 b. ε) A, f. 79 a.

a) A עבאדיא. b) A ומאדיהתא.

[1] עתיתא hat wie das entsprechende hebräische und aramäische עתיד den Sinn „bereit (um in die Erscheinung zu treten), zukünftig“. In der jüdischen Literatur wird עתיד gern in eschatologischem Sinne von Personen und Dingen gebraucht, die jenseitig existent sind, aber erst in der Endzeit erscheinen sollen, so besonders vom Messias. Für den Gebrauch des mandäischen עתיתא ist besonders GR 192, 17 bezeichnend, wo Jōhānā sagt „ich taufe im Namen dessen, der mir erschienen ist, und im Namen des Zukünftigen, der zukünftig erscheinen soll“. GR 291, 35; 322, 4 wird יאואר עתיתא genannt; GR 135, 14 wird Hibil als מאנא עתיתא bezeichnet. Der Schwerpunkt liegt mehr darin, daß

האלין הינון מאמלאליא   ד̄אנאת לדילאן אמארתלאן
עזיל אנאת נאטרא a) הוילון   וכולהון b) בהאילאך α) דילאך ניניהרון
ולה̄ לילבושאך דילאך c) נישאבון ולדמותאך דילאך ניאוקרון
ס---א

II.

מאליל β) רביא בפומאיהון דאכיא γ)   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימארולה̄ d)
אנאת עוצראן ומאדראן ומאדיהתאן   ליבאן ד̄סאכא ליתלה̄
צאותאן קאדמאיתא   לבושאן δ) דאכיא ומזארזא
פארושאן ε) e) קאדמאיא   ד̄לאן דילאן עתינציב f)
עזיל עביד עבידאתאך g)   וניגבאך דאכייא h) ניסקון i) לריש

Dies sind die Worte,
die du zu uns gesprochen hast.
Geh, sei du ihnen (den Gläubigen) ein Hüter,
und sie alle sollen durch deine Kraft leuchten.
Sie sollen dein Gewand preisen
und deine Gestalt ehren.

II.

Das große (Leben) sprach mit seinem reinen Munde
zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:
„Du bist unser Sinn, unser Wissen und unsere Erkenntnis,
unser Herz, das ohne Ende ist,
unser erster Schmuck,
unser reines, gesichertes Gewand,
unser erster Gescheiter,
der von uns geschaffen wurde.
Geh, führe deine Werke aus,
und deine reinen Sprossen sollen trefflich gedeihen.

---

diese Wesen gegenwärtig im Jenseits sind, als daß sie künftig in dieser Welt erscheinen sollen. Auch wenn das große Leben hier als עתיתיא bezeichnet wird, ist es so zu verstehen, und dieses „zukünftig“ schließt nicht aus, daß das „Leben von je her war“.

2) Vgl. p. 87².

α) D, f. 31a   β) C, f. 25b; D, f. 31b.   γ) A, f. 79b; E, f. 132a.
δ) C, f. 26a.   ε) D, f. 32a.

a) CE נטרא.   b) D ד̄כולהון.   c) > AD.   d) CE ד̄נימארלה̄.
e) A ומזארזא פארושא.   f) A עתינסיב.   g) A עבידאתא.   h) DE דאכיא.
i) AD וניסקון

לריש[α] ניסקון ניגבאך דאכייא[a]   וניתליף בלאופאך ולאניפסיק
עובדא[b] לארקא ד̄נהורא   והינון בגאוא ניניהרון
הא ניהויא כולה̄[c] זיוא   וכולה̄ נהורא וניסאק[d] לריש
ס——א

III.

מאליל[β] הינון רביא עתיתיא[e]   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא[γ] ד̄נימירולה̄[f]
לילבושאיהון דאכיא   ולעתיא[g] ד̄סאכא ליתלה̄
כול ד̄אבאדת[h] ניתקאיאם   וכולהון[δ] גופנאך ניניהרון
וכולהין עבידאתאך   לאניהויבין האסיר[i] ובציר
כולהין לאניהויבין מומא   ומן דילאך לאנישטיא
ס——א

Trefflich sollen deine reinen Sprossen gedeihen,
sie sollen mit dir verbunden und nicht abgeschnitten werden[1].
Schaffe die Lichterde,
und sie sollen durch sie leuchten.
Ja, es werde lauter Glanz
und lauter Licht und gedeihe vortrefflich.

III.

Jenes große, bereite (Leben) sprach
zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen,
zu seinem reinen Gewande,
zu dem Wesen, das endlos ist:
„Alles, was du tatest, habe Bestand,
und alle deine Weinstöcke sollen leuchten.
An allen deinen Werken
sei weder Mangel noch Fehl.
An ihnen allen sei kein Fehler,
nicht sollen sie sich töricht von dir abwenden“.

α) A, f. 80 a. β) C, f. 26 b; D, f. 33 a. γ) A, f. 80 b; C, f. 27 a. δ) E, f. 132 b.

a) A דאכיא. b) CE עבודא. c) CE וכולה̄. d) CE נסאק. e) > CE. f) E ד̄נימרולה̄, CD ד̄נימארולה̄. g) A ועליתיא. h) CE ד̄אבידת. i) A האסאר.

1) Hier steht irrtümlich der Singular. Dies beeinflußte auch die Schreibung דאכיא in A. ניתליף בלאופאך ולאניפסיק könnte zwar rein formal auch bedeuten „Wir wollen mit dir verbunden sein und nicht abgeschnitten werden“, aber das paßt schlecht.

IV.

מאליל [α] רביא עתיתיא   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימארולה̄
עזיל נצאבלון [a] לסאגייא [b] זיוא   ואותיבינון באתרא תאקנא
פתא ועהאבלון [c] פיהתא   ובתושביהתאך דילאך ניניהרון
עביד [d] ואסמיך [e] מאנא [β]   הייא טאבותא דילִאך ניליגטון
ס----א

V.

ביסמאת [γ] עלאואיהון ד̄רביא   מינדאם ד̄בהירא דאכיא אמאר
מינדאם ד̄אמאר בהירא דאכיא   וקאיים נהורא שאניא
אמארלה̄
אנאת [δ] מאריא צוביאנא   ומאראיהין ד̄זאכואתא [f] כולהין
זכית [g] וזאכית אהאך
ולאבאהאתאך בכיסיא [ε] בארכאתלון

IV.

Das große, bereite (Leben) sprach
zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:
„Geh, schaffe die Großen an Glanz
und setze sie an den lichten Ort.
Schaffe und gewähre ihnen Pihtā,
und durch deine Lobpreisung sollen sie leuchten.
Tue und stütze es, Mānā;
das Leben wird sich dir dankbar erweisen“.

V.

Dem großen (Leben) gefiel,
was der Auserwählte, Reine gesagt hatte.
Was gesagt hatte der Auserwählte, Reine,
der wundersames Licht geschaffen hatte.
Es sprach zu ihm:
„Du bist der Herr des Willens,
der Herr aller Siege.
Du warst siegreich und verhalfest deinen Brüdern zum Siege.
Du segnest deine Eltern im Verborgenen.

α) A, f. 84a; C, f. 27b; D, f. 34a. β) C, f. 28a. γ) A, f. 84b; C, f. 28b; D, f. 35a. δ) E, f. 133a. ε) A, f. 85a.

a) CE נצבלון. b) A לסיגיא. c) CE ואהבאלון. d) A עבאד. c) CE ואסמאך. f) AD ד̄זאכאואתא. g) CE זאכית.

עזיל אוילה̄[a] זיוא ליושאמין ואותכה̄ על ליבה̄ על סאמכה̄
אמארלה̄ ד̄לאניהוק וגאלילה̄[α] ד̄האכא מיתריץ
אפרישיה̄ ד̄נינהא[b] ליבה̄ וקאימה̄ ד̄נינהאר עוצרה̄
הונה̄ והאנאנה̄ ובורכה̄[β] והאויה̄ זיוא ד̄דמותאך
זיוא[γ] ד̄דמותאך האויה̄
ואמארלה̄ ד̄לאנישתפיל ניהא ומכיכא
וניהויא ונאנהירינון לעותרה̄[c]

ס——א

VI.

בארכילה̄ רביא בפומאיהון דאכיא לבהירא ד̄פארשיגנא[d] אמאר

ס——א

VII.

מאליל[δ] הינון רביא עתיתיא לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימארולה̄

Geh, bringe Glanz dem Jōšamīn
und setze sein Herz auf seine Stütze.
Sage ihm, daß er sich nicht ängstige,
und offenbare ihm, daß er hier aufgerichtet werden soll.
Belehre ihn, damit sein Herz sich beruhige,
und festige ihn, damit sein Sinn erleuchtet werde.
Kose und liebkose und segne ihn
und zeige ihm den Glanz deiner Gestalt.
Den Glanz deiner Gestalt zeige ihm
und sage ihm, daß der Sanfte, Demütige nicht erniedrigt wird
und daß wir seine Uthras erleuchten werden.

VI.

Das große (Leben) segnet mit seinem reinen Munde
den Auserwählten, der den Ausspruch getan.

VII.

Jenes große, bereite (Leben) sprach
zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:

[α] C, f. 29 a. [β] D, f. 35 b. [γ] A, f. 85 b. [δ] C, f. 30 a; D, f. 36 b. [ε] E, f. 133 b.

[a] D אהוילה̄. [b] AD ד̄נינהאר. [c] D על עותריא. [d] A ד̄פארשיכנא.

עזיל[α] לוף[a] זיוא　　ונטור ד̄שאנין עוצטליא
אהבאלון[β] מן כליל איאר　　וכולהון עותריא גיריוזון
מן דילאן ומן דילאך　　שאיא ועקארא ניהוילון
ניהוילון שאיא ועקארא　　ובהאיאל עקארא ניתנאטרון
שומאן ושומאך[b] ניהויא עלאואיהון　　ונישאבון באתאר כסיא 5

ס——א

VIII.

מאליל[γ] הינון רביא עתיתיא　　לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימירולה̄[c]
כמא שיהית יאואר
כמא ניהיא וכשיטיא[d] מאלאליא ד̄אמארת
קרולה̄[e] לשירשא ד̄מיא הייא　　ושיהלויא לאיאר ושאדרויא 10

„Geh, wickle Glanz ein[1])
und bewahre die wundersamen Gewänder.
Gewähre ihnen (den Uthras) etwas vom Ätherkranz,
und alle Uthras sollen prangen.
Von uns und von dir
soll ihnen Glanz und Herrlichkeit zu teil werden.
Glanz und Herrlichkeit soll ihnen zu teil werden,
und durch die Kraft der Herrlichkeit sollen sie behütet werden.
5 Unser Name und dein Name sei auf ihnen,
und sie sollen am verborgenen Orte preisen.

VIII.

Jenes große, bereite (Leben) sprach
zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:
„Wie erwünscht[2]) bist du doch, Jāwar,
wie sanft und wahrhaft sind die Reden, die du gesprochen!
10 Es rief die Wurzel des lebenden Wassers,
es schickte den Äther und sandte ihn hin.

α) E, f. 133b. β) A, f. 86a. γ) A, f. 86b; C, f. 30b; D, f. 37b.

a) D עלוף. b) A ושמאך. c) D ד̄נימארולה̄, CE ד̄נימארלה̄. d) A כשיטיא. e) A קרילה̄.

1) Diese Auffassung ist mir nicht sicher; sie wird durch die Parallele ונטור gestützt.

2) Vgl. Joh., S. 20⁶.

שיהלויא ושאדרויא לאיאר   לשכינאתא α) ד̄עותריא β) כולהון γ)
ארהובה̄ עותריא ובסום   נארהובה̄ וניבסום עותריא כולהון
שתון מינה̄ ורואז a)
שתון ורואז מינה̄   ושתיפכאת בליבאיהון נאצרות
ס---א

IX.

כד̄ δ) האזא אמאר בהירא דאכיא
קאלה̄ נהית בכולהון אלמיא b)
מן זיוא כאסיא מאליל   לזיהרון ראזא קרויא ε)
מאליל קרויא לזיהרון ראזא   לה̄ ולשובא כאסייא c) אחה̄ ד̄מינה̄
קרונון ζ) ונצאבלון η) יארדניא   ועל יארדניא שאלטונון
שאלטונון ליארדניא ואינאתא d) ד̄לאבאטלאן
ס---א

Es schickte und sandte den Äther hin
zu den Škīnās aller Uthras.
Die Uthras rochen an ihm und ergötzten sich;
alle Uthras sollen an ihm riechen und sich ergötzen.
Sie tranken von ihm und frohlockten.
Sie tranken von ihm und frohlockten,
und in ihr Herz ergoß sich das Naṣiräertum.

IX.

Als der Auserwählte, Reine dies sagte,
stieg seine Stimme zu allen Welten hinab.
Aus dem verborgenen Glanze sprach er:
„Rufet Zihrūn-Rāzā“.
Er sprach: „Rufet Zihrūn-Rāzā,
ihn und seine sieben verborgenen Brüder, die mit ihm sind“.
Sie riefen sie und schufen ihnen Jordane
und setzten sie als Herrscher über die Jordane ein.
Sie setzten sie als Herrscher über die Jordane und die Quellen
ein, die nicht versiegen.

α) A, f. 87 a. β) E, f. 134 a. γ) C, f. 31 a. δ) A, f. 87 b; C, f. 31 b; D, f. 38 b. ε) D, f. 39 a. ζ) C, f. 32 a. η) A, f. 88 a.

a) CE ורויז. b) A אלמא. c) A כאסיא. d) D ואינאניאתא.

X.

מאליל[α] רביא עתיתיא   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימירולה̄[a]
אנאת יאדית בכולהון לילביא   ופארשית בכולהון עוצריא[β]
אינאך[γ] מיגליא גאליאן   וכולהון[b] יאדאך פארשאתלְון
אמינטול ד̄שומאך[c] ושומאן דילאן
כ̄ד האטיא מאן נִישיבקה̄
מאן נישיבקה̄ כ̄ד האטיא
ונישידיה̄ לשירשאן[d] במיא תאהמיא
מאן ניניסבה̄ מינאיאן לטאבותא
וניזאל נירימיה̄[δ] בדור האשכיא
ס---א

XI.

רביא[ε] בפומאיהון דאכיא   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימירולה̄[e]
האזין ד̄אמארלאך האד מן עותראך
עו יאתירא ד̄מן[ζ] האד אמאר

X.

Das große, bereite (Leben) sprach
    zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:
„Du kennst alle Herzen
    und durchschaust alle Sinne.
Deine Augen sind offen,
    und du durchschaust alle deine Bekannten.
Denn wer wird deinen Namen und unseren Namen
    als Sünder verlassen?
Wer wird ihn als Sünder verlassen
    und unsere Wurzel ins trübe Wasser werfen?
Wer wird die Güte von uns nehmen,
    hingehen und sie in die finstere Wohnung werfen?“

XI.

Das große (Leben) mit seinem reinen Munde
    sprach zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:
„Was einer von deinen Uthras dir gesagt hat,
    oder wenn mehr als einer es gesagt hat,

[α] C, f. 34 b; D, f. 42 a. [β] A, f. 88 b. [γ] E, f. 134 b. [δ] A, f. 89 a. [ε] C, f. 35 b; D, f. 43 a. [ζ] E, f. 135 a.

[a] CD ד̄נימארולה̄. [b] A כולהון. [c] AC ד̄שומה̄. [d] D לשארשאן, CE לשארשין. [e] D ד̄נימארולה̄, CE ד̄נימארלה̄.

האזין הו ד̄אמארלאך האד מן עותראך
ניתילאך פארשיגנא α) אנין a).
תיביל נורא קרעיא
ושיביאהיא b) ד̄עבדו לשושלאתא c) ד̄נורא אזליא
פתאהיל ד̄עבדה̄ לתיביל   האכא ביארדנא היוארא מיצטבא
אליףּ אליףּ עוצטליא ד̄נאפקיא אלאנפה̄ β)
ופארצופיא ד̄סאכא ליתלון
תיארותא האויאלון   וכושטא γ) מן הדאדיא פאשטיא
ס——א

XII.

אנאת מיסמאך סמיכית ומקאיומיא d) מקאימית ומזארוזיא e) מזארזית ומיניהרית f) ס——א

XIII.

רביא δ) בפומאיהון דאכיא   לה̄ לבהירא דאכיא ד̄נימירולה̄ g)

---

was einer von deinen Uthras dir gesagt hat,
darüber wollen wir dir einen Bescheid geben.
Die Tibil ist aus Feuer geschaffen [1]),
und die Planeten, die sie geschaffen, werden in die Ketten des Feuers wandern.
Ptahil, der die Tibil geschaffen,
wird hier im weißen Jordan getauft werden.
Den tausend mal tausend Gewändern, die ihm entgegen gehen,
und den Gesichtern ohne Ende
wird Gnade zu teil werden,
und sie werden einander Kušṭā reichen“.

XII.

Du bist wohlgestützt, du bist wohlgefestigt, du bist wohlgerüstet und leuchtest.

XIII.

Das große (Leben) mit seinem reinen Munde
sprach zum Auserwählten, Reinen folgendermaßen:

α) A, f. 89 b. β) D, f. 43 b. γ) A, f. 90 a. δ) C, f. 36 b; D, f. 44 a.

a) CE אנען. b) A שיביאהיא. c) A לשושאלאתא. d) CE וקאיומיא. e) CDE וזארוזיא. f) CE ומאניהרית. g) D ד̄נימארולה̄, CE ד̄נימארלה̄.

1) Man erwartet מן נורא; kaum „als Feuer“.

אנאת מן דוכתא ד̄בריכינין בריכית
ומן α) דוכתא ד̄הואינין אנאת מינא הוית
ומן דוכתא ד̄עתינציבנין אנאת מתאקנא ונציבא ניצבתאך
זיואן וזיואך זאכיא
וזאכיא נאצארותא a) ד̄מינאן β) דילאן הואת b)
וזאכיא ד̄ c)קארינאנבא ואינאיהון בזיוא ונהורא פאהתיא
ס——א

XIV.

מאליל γ) בפומא d) דאכיא רביא ד̄האתאם δ) יאתביא
מאליל בפומא d) דאכיא ואמארלה̄ לבהירא אדיאורא
אנאת דאכיא כול ד̄צאבית אסגיא עביד
ס——א

XV. e)

האשוביא ε) ד̄האשיב רבא f) האשיב עלה̄ על טאבתא g)

„Du bist aus dem Orte gesegnet, aus dem wir gesegnet wurden;
du wurdest aus dem Orte, aus dem wir wurden.
Aus dem Orte, aus dem wir gepflanzt wurden,
wurde deine Pflanzung recht gepflanzt.
Unser Glanz und dein Glanz sind siegreich,
und siegreich ist das Naṣaräertum, das von uns kam.
Siegreich sind, die wir damit rufen
und die ihre Augen in Glanz und Licht öffnen“.

XIV.

Mit reinem Munde sprach
das große (Leben), das dort wohnt.
Es sprach mit reinem Munde,
indem es sich an den Auserwählten, den Helfer, wandte:
„Du Reiner,
geh hin und tue alles, was du wünschest“.

XV.

Als der Große nachsann,
sann er für ihn auf Gutes.

α) A, f. 90 b. β) D, f. 44 b. γ) C, f. 37 a; D, f. 45 a; E, f. 135 b. δ) A, f. 91 a. ε) A, f. 93 a; C, f. 40 b; D, f. 48 b; E, f. 136 a.

a) C נאצירותא. b) D ד̄מינא הוית. c) > A. d) ACE פום.

e) Hier stehn in A noch die Stücke XXXII, XXXIII aus dem zweiten Buche.

f) CE רביא. g) CDE לטאבתא.

האשוביא α) ד̄האשיב רבא   עותריא סאגדיא ומשאביא
סאגדיא ומשאביא עותריא   לגאברא ד̄גינזאיהון פתא β)
לגאברא ד̄פתא גינזאיהון   ולגאברא ד̄שאדארלון טאבתא
ס——א

XVI.

אנאת γ) אמארת ואנאת קאיימת ואנאת תאקנה̈ ואסקה̈ לריש ס——א

XVII.

אנאת δ) אמארת עלה̈   ואנאת בוייא ולהאכא אתיה̈ a)
בוייא ε) ואתיה̈ להאכא   וטאבותא דילאך ניקאבלא
ס——א

XVIII.

כושטא ζ) פשאטלאך רביא   אבריא פאורא η) b) מן עוצראך

Als der Große nachsann,
verneigten sich und priesen die Uthras.
Die Uthras verneigten sich und priesen
den Mann, der ihren Schatz geöffnet,
den Mann, der geöffnet ihren Schatz,
den Mann, der ihnen Gutes gesandt.

XVI.

Du hast gesprochen, du hast gefestigt, nun bring es in Ordnung und laß es gedeihen.

XVII.

Du hast darüber gesprochen,
du verlang es und bring es hierher.
Verlang es und hierher bring es,
und wir wollen dir dankbar sein.

XVIII.

Kušṭā reichte dir das große (Leben),
nun entferne das Aufbrausen aus deinem Sinne.

α) D, f. 49 a. β) A, f. 93 b. γ) C, f. 41 b; D, f. 49 b. δ) C, f. 42 b; D, f. 51 b. ε) A, f. 94 a. ζ) C, f. 43 a. η) D, f. 52 a.

a) A לחאכא ואתיה̄. b) D אברה̄ לפאורא.

עוצראך בדילאן ניתימליא   לבושאן ולבושאך ניהויא הדא
ס———א

XIX.

משאבילה̄ α) רביא בפומאיהון דאכיא β)
לבהירא ד̄פארשיגנא אמאר
כמא ניהית ומכיכית יאואר
כמא אנאת משאויאנא γ) ומשאדכאנא
אנאת משאויא ומשאדיך עותריא   ויאהבאתלון שרארא לפאסימכיא
ס———א

XX.

כד̄ δ) האזא אמאר בהירא דאכיא   רביא הדובה̄ ועתכארכובה̄ ε)
נישקויא בפומא דאכיא   ובמאניא גאואייא כסויא
כסויא במאניא גאואייא   ובאנאנא ד̄מינא עתינציב

Dein Sinn fülle sich mit uns,
unser Gewand und dein Gewand seien eins.

XIX.

Das große (Leben) preist mit seinem reinen Munde
den Auserwählten, der den Bescheid gegeben:
„Wie sanft und bescheiden bist du, Jāwar,
wie bist du ein Schaffer, ein Beruhiger!
Du schaffest und beruhigst die Uthras
und gewährst Festigkeit den Leuchten“.

XX.

Als der Auserwählte, Reine dies sagte,
freute sich das große (Leben) seiner und umarmte ihn.
Es küßte ihn mit seinem reinen Munde
und bedeckte ihn mit inneren Gewändern[1]).
Mit inneren Gewändern bedeckte es ihn,
und mit der Wolke, aus der er geschaffen worden war.

α) C, f. 44a; D, f. 53a; E, f. 136b. β) A, f. 94b. γ) D, f. 53b. δ) C, f. 44b; D, f. 54a. ε) A, f. 95a.

1) גאואיא „im Innern befindlich“ wird in demselben Sinne wie כאסיא „verborgen“ gebraucht, vgl. auch הילבוניא גאואייא ד̄כיסיא weiter unten p. 274, 9. Es ist eine von den vielen Bezeichnungen für „jenseitig, außerweltlich“. Ich dachte einen Moment daran, es hier bei „Gewändern“ zu גאייא „prächtige“ abzuändern, aber hierzu liegt kein Anlaß vor.

שאויויא כיסיא רבא דבה̇ כסובה̇
ותקאימובה̇ a) כולהון עותריא
קרויא α) ומסאדאר β) b) סידריא קרויא
ומנאכאר c) עוצריא כולהון
ס——א

Es bildete ihm eine große Hülle,
mit der es ihn bedeckte.
Alle Uthras wurden durch ihn gefestigt.
Es rief ihn¹), es nannte ihn den Ordner der Ordnungen
und den Fremdmachenden²) aller Sinne.

α) E, f. 137a. β) C, f. 45a.

a) CDE ומקארימיבה̇. b) CDE מסאדאר. c) CDE מנאכאר.

1) Vor קרויא ist vielleicht etwas zu ergänzen, etwa מקאיים עותריא, so daß es heißen müßte „Es nannte ihn den Festiger der Uthras“.

2) Der sie dieser Welt entfremdet und dem Jenseits zulenkt.

Viertes Buch.

בשומאיהון α) ד̄הייא רביא אסותא וזאכותא תיהויליא לדיליא יאהיא בר יאסמין ס———א

I.

בשומא β) ד̄הייא רביא כד̄ נפאק זיוא מן פאריס ארקא היוארתיא ארספאן ראביא טאליא בר γ) זיויא ניגדה̄ לדראבשא הו ניגדה̄ לזיוא רבא ד̄עותריא ושכינאתא בזיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ נהאר בזיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ אכואת זיוא רבא בית רורביא ס———א

II.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄ניגדה̄ שישלאם רבא לדראבשיה̄ δ)

Im Namen des großen Lebens werde Heilung und Sieghaftigkeit zu teil mir NN.[1]

I.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Als der Glanz aus Pāris, der weißen Erde[2], herauskam, spannte Arspan, der jugendliche Knabe, der Sohn der Glanzwesen, das Banner aus. Er spannte | den großen Glanz aus, daß die Uthras und Škīnās durch den Glanz seines Banners leuchteten. Sie leuchteten durch den Glanz seines Banners gleich dem großen Glanze im Hause des gewaltigen (Lebens).

II.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da Šišlam der Große sein Banner über die Rümpfe[3]

α) A, f. 96 a; B, p. 165. β) B, p. 166. γ) A, f. 96 b. δ) A, f. 97 a.

[1] In B noch בהאלין עניאניא ד̄דראבשא „durch diese Lieder über das Banner".

[2] Vielleicht ist Pārs, Persis im Gegensatz zum Schwarzland (*sawād*) Babylonien so benannt. ANDREAS sagt mir, daß ihm die Bezeichnung aus den persischen Schriften nicht bekannt sei.

[3] D. h. über die körperlichen Wesen.

על עצטוניא עצטארארבה̄ תלאתמא ושיתין אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא ונהורא ועקארא דנא זיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ ד̄שישלאם רבא[α] על תלאת אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא ותלאת אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא ד̄היזיויא לזיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ ד̄שישלאם רבא סהאטיאן אלאנפיא זיוא[β] וסהיטיאן[a] תלאת אינאניאתא ד̄זיוא בדראבשיה̄ ומשאבילה̄ מן ריש בריש ס——א

III.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄ניגדה̄ שישלאם רבא לדראבשיה̄ זיוה̄ על תלאתמא ושיתין אלפיא יארדניא דנא דנא זיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ ד̄שישלאם רבא[γ] על שאבא אינאניאתא וניבטאת ציהמאי אינא אלאנפיא זיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ ד̄שישלאם רבא וריהא ד̄דראבשיה̄ בסום[δ] ועל שכינאתא[b] דנא כמא יאיילה̄ לשישלאם רבא כד̄ מאנהארבה̄ בזיהרון דראבשא שאניא כמא יאיילה̄ על שישלאם רבא[ε] כד̄ מיתיקריא מאלכא ד̄כולהון פאסימכיא ס——א

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ausspannte, wurden durch es dreihundert sechzig Quellen des Glanzes, des Lichtes und der Herrlichkeit gebildet. Der Glanz des Banners Šišlams des Großen ging über den drei Quellen des Glanzes auf. Als die drei Quellen des Glanzes den Glanz des Banners des großen Šišlam erblickten, streckten sie sich vor dem Glanze nieder[1]. Es streckten sich nieder die drei Quellen | des Glanzes vor seinem Banner und priesen es über die Maßen.

III.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da Šišlam der Große sein Banner ausspannte, ging sein Glanz über den 360000 Jordanen auf. Der Glanz des Banners Šišlams des Großen ging über den sieben Quellen auf, und die Quelle Ṣihmai sprudelte vor dem Glanze des Banners des großen Šišlam empor. Der Duft seines Banners war lieblich | und ging über den Škīnās auf. Wie gut steht es Šišlam dem Großen, wenn er durch Zihrūn, das wundersame Banner, erleuchtet wird! Wie gut steht es Šišlam dem Großen, wenn er König aller Leuchten genannt wird!

α) B, p. 167. β) A, f. 97b. γ) A, f. 98a. δ) B, p. 168. ε) A, f. 98b.

a) Zu den beiden verschiedenen dicht neben einander stehenden Formen vgl. Joh., p. XIII. b) Aus על שכינאתא A, ולשכינאתא B.

[1] Vgl. Nöld., p. 223 unt. Oder „sie entflammten sich? Siehe hier p. 178^2. Besser würde סהאקיאן, סהיקיאן „sie hüpften“ passen, vgl. St. XII, XIV.

IV.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄ניפצה̄ שישלאם רבא לפירון דראבשא וניגדה̄ ברישא ד̄שכינתה̄ זיוה̄ על אינא וסינדירכא דנא אינא וסינדירכא ד̄הזאתה̄ לזיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄[a] ד̄שישלאם[α] רבא ניבטאת אינא ד̄זיוא בדראבשיה̄ ד̄שישלאם רבא ואנהארתה̄ לפירון דראבשא מן ריש בריש ס---א

V.

בשומא[β] ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄עתינגיד שישלאמעיל דראבשא זיוה̄[γ] על תלאתמא ושיתין אלמיא ד̄נהורא דנא דנא זיוה̄ על תלאתמא ושיתין אלמיא ד̄נהורא ותלאתמא ושיתין אלמיא ד̄נהורא ד̄היזיויא לזיוה̄ ד̄שישלאמעיל דראבשא כולהון לואתה̄ כאנפיא כולהון כאנפיא לואתה̄ ובירכתא בדראבשא[δ] ד̄ביהראם רבא בארכיא

IV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da Šišlam der Große das Banner Pirūn schwang und es an der Spitze seiner Škīnā ausspannte, ging dessen Glanz über der Quelle und der Palme auf. Als die Quelle und die Palme den Glanz des Banners Šišlams des Großen erblickten, sprudelte die Quelle durch den Glanz des Banners[1] Šišlams des Großen empor und erleuchtete das | Banner Pirūn über die Maßen.

V.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da das Banner Šišlamēl ausgespannt wurde, ging sein Glanz über den dreihundert sechzig Lichtwelten auf. Sein Glanz ging über den dreihundert sechzig Lichtwelten auf, und als die dreihundert sechzig Lichtwelten den Glanz des Banners Šišlamēl erblickten, versammelten sich alle bei ihm. Alle | versammelten sich bei ihm und sprachen einen Segen über das Banner Bihrāms des Großen aus. Sie sprachen zu ihm: „Dein Glanz, Banner Manharēl[2]), ist aufgegangen, und deine Gestalt

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α) A, f. 99 a. β) B, p. 169. γ) A, f. 99 b. δ) A, f. 100 a.

a) A ד̄דראבשיא, B ד̄דראבשא.

[1] Lies בזיוא ד̄דראבש(י)ה̄.

[2] Hier in demselben Stücke zwei verschiedene Namen für das Banner, wie auch in Stück XIII.

ואמרילה̈ דִנא זיואך מאנהארעיל דראבשא וניהראת דמותאך והואלה̈ האילא וסיגיא ליארדנאך מן ריש בריש ס———א

VI.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄ניגדה̈ α) ביהראם רבא על שישלאמעיל β) דראבשא זיוה̈ על מיא דנא זיוה̈ דנא על מיא וזיוה̈ מן מיא נבאט זיוה̈ נבאט מן מיא ועל אלמיא דנא אלמיא ומאלכיא ד̄היזיויא לזיוה̈ ד̄שישלאמיעל a) דראבשא כולהון לואתה̈ כאנפיא כולהון כאנפיא לואתה̈ וביריכתא בדראבשא γ) ד̄ביהראם רבא בארכיא ואמרילה̈ בריכית אנאת שישלאמעיל דראבשא ובריך גאבׄרא ד̄ניגדאך אנפיש b) זיוא ד̄עהאבלאך ואנפיש c) תראצלאך תאגא עהאבלאך אסא ד̄מאזיז על עותריא יארדניא בזיואך שאהביא ועותריא בריהאך באסמיא δ) מן ריש בריש ס———א

VII.

בשומא ε) ד̄הייא רביא מן יומא ד̄ניגדה̈ שישלאם רבא לדראבשיה̈

leuchtete auf. Dein Jordan erhielt Kraft und Lauf über die Maßen“.

VI.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da Bihrām der Große das Banner Šišlamēl ausspannte, ging sein Glanz über dem Wasser auf. Über dem Wasser ging sein Glanz auf, und sein Glanz | stieg aus dem Wasser empor. Aus dem Wasser stieg sein Glanz empor und ging über den Welten auf. Als die Welten und Könige den Glanz des Banners Šišlamēl erblickten, versammelten sich alle bei ihm. Alle versammelten sich bei ihm und sprachen einen Segen über das Banner Bihrāms des Großen aus. Sie sprachen zu ihm: „Gesegnet seiest du, Banner Šišlamēl, und gesegnet sei der Mann, der dich ausgespannt hat. Reichen Glanz hat er dir verliehen, eine reiche Krone dir aufgesetzt. Er gewährte dir | Myrten, die den Uthras Kraft verleihen. Die Jordane prangen durch deinen Glanz, und die Uthras duften durch deinen Duft über die Maßen“.

VII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da Šišlam der Große sein Banner ausspannte,

α) B, p. 170. β) A, f. 100 b. γ) A, f. 101 a. δ) A, f. 101 b. ε) B, p. 171.

a) B ד̄שישלאמעייל. b) B נפיש. c) B ונפיש.

דנא זיוא ד̄דראבשיה̄ ד̄ביהראם רבא אכואת נאורא רבא ד̄בגו יארדנא שריא דנא זיוה̄ וניהראת שכינתה̄ ועתקאימאת α) בזאכו שורבתה̄ והייא זאכין ס——א

האלין שובא עניאנעיא ראמילה̄ לדראבשא כד̄ נאגדילה̄ ס——א

VIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא דנא דנא זיואך מאלכא ד̄עותריא ואתא על עותריא ועל שכינאתא דנא עותריא ושכינאתא ד̄היזיויא לזיואך כולהון בירכתא β) בדילאך בארכיא ברכתא בארכיא בדילאך ומיאקרילאך γ) עותריא אמינטול ד̄אנאת מן עדה̄ ד̄מאלכא הוית

IX.

מאלכא בירכאך בבירכתא ראבתיא ולדיליא היביל זיוא עהאבליא

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ging der Glanz des Banners Bihrāms des Großen auf gleich dem großen Spiegel, der im Jordan ruht 1). Sein Glanz ging auf, seine Škīnā leuchtete, und sein Stamm erhielt Bestand in Sieg. Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Diese sieben Lieder spricht man über das Banner, wenn man es ausspannt.

VIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Aufgegangen, aufgegangen ist dein Glanz, König der Uthras, er kam und ging über den Uthras und Škīnās auf. Als die Uthras und Škīnās deinen Glanz erblickten, sprachen alle einen Segen über dich aus 2). Die Uthras sprachen über dich einen Segen aus und ehrten dich, weil du durch die Hand des Königs entstanden bist.

IX.

Der König segnete dich mit großem Segen und verlieh (dich) mir Hibil-Zīwā. Er verlieh (dich) mir Hibil-Zīwā, alle

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α) A, f. 102a. β) A, f. 102b. γ) Von hier bis בהדאריא p. 269, 9 > B.

1) Bei den Mandäern findet sich verschiedentlich die Vorstellung, daß in den Gewässern ein Spiegel liege, siehe auch GR 149 unt. (Brandt, Schr., p. 160), wahrscheinlich durch die Spiegelung des Wassers hervorgerufen.

2) Der Segen gilt ihm, nicht dem Sprecher wie bei ב התברך Gen 22, 18; 26, 4, vgl. Stück V und VI und den Anfang der folgenden Stücke.

עהאבליא לדיליא היביל זיוא למאנהירינון לאלמיא ולמאלכיא[α] וליארדניא ולשכינאתא כולהין מן ריש בריש ס——א

X.

היביל בירכאך בבירכתא ראבתיא ולאדאם כאסיא יאהבאך אדאם בירכאך בבירכתא ראבתיא ולבהיריא זידקא יאהבאך לבהיריא זידקא למאנהירינון ולמיתאקנינון לדמאואתון מן[β] ריש בריש ס——א

XI.

בהיריא זידקא קאם על ליגראיהון וביאמינון ליגטוך וליארדנא ד̄מיא הייא אסגון ותירצוך למידנא זיואך על יארדנא מיא וזיואך ביהדאדיא מיתכארכיא מיתכארכיא בהדאדיא ועל[γ] שילמאי ונידבאי מיתאוזיפיא האלין הינון[δ] בהיריא זידקא ד̄על יארדנא מאסגין בזיואך דילאך מיניהריא אנ̣את נאטרינון וקאימינון ואסיק מאצבותאיהון לריש והייא זאכין ס——א

האלין עניאניא דרוש מן ק̣ודאם ד̄מאסגיאתל̄ה̄ לדראבשא ביארדנא ס——א

Welten, Könige, Jordane und Škīnās zu erleuchten über die Maßen.

X.

Hibil segnete dich mit großem Segen und verlieh dich dem verborgenen Adam. Adam segnete dich mit großem Segen und verlieh dich den Männern von erprobter Gerechtigkeit. Er verlieh dich | den Männern von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, um ihre Gestalt zu erleuchten und zu erhellen über die Maßen.

XI.

Die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit stellten sich auf die Füße, nahmen dich in die Rechte, gingen zum Jordan lebenden Wassers und richteten dich auf, damit dein Glanz über dem Jordan aufgehe. Das Wasser und dein Glanz wickeln sich in einander. Sie wickeln sich in einander und mehren sich über Šilmai und Nidbai. | Die Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit, die zum Jordan hingehen, leuchten durch deinen Glanz. Behüte und festige du sie und laß ihre Taufe gedeihen.

Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Trage diese Lieder vor, bevor du das Banner in den Jordan trägst.

[α] A, f. 103a. [β] A, f. 103b. [γ] A, f. 104a. [δ] B, p. 172.

XII.

בשומא α) ד̄הייא רביא מאן ניסבה̄ לזיהרון דראבשא ד̄אלמיא ודאריא בגאוה̄ שאהביא ואסגיא לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא פיריאוים ויארדנא a) פיריאוים a) ד̄היזיה̄ לזיוה̄ ד̄זיהרון דראבשא סהאק אלאנפיא זיוה̄ מיא ויארדנא ואינאניאתא ד̄שרין בגו יארדנא אלאנפיא β) זיוה̄ ד̄זיהרון דראבשא סאהקיא וגאייא מן ריש בריש ס———א

XIII.

בשומא γ) ד̄הייא רביא יאואר ניסבה̄ לשישלאמעיל דראבשא ד̄אלמיא ודאריא בגאוה̄ שאהביא ואסגיא לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא פיריאוים ויארדנא b) פיריאוים ד̄היזיה̄ δ) לזיוה̄ ד̄זיהרון דראבשא בהאדותא ראבתיא האדיא מן ריש בריש ס———א

האלין עניאניא דרוש ואסגיא ליארדנא ודוץ לדראבשא לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא והאיזאד קריא דנא דנא זיוה̄ ד̄יאואר ס———א

XII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Wer nahm das Banner Zihrūn, durch das die Welten und Äonen prangen, und ging zum Ufer des Jordans Piriawis? Als der Jordan Piriawis den Glanz des Banners Zihrūn erblickte, hüpfte er seinem Glanze entgegen. Das Wasser ⟨der Jordan⟩ und die Quellen, die im Jordan wohnen, hüpfen dem Glanze des | Banners Zihrūn entgegen und prangen über die Maßen.

XIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Jāwar nahm das Banner Šišlamēl, durch das die Welten und Äonen prangen, und ging zum Ufer des Jordans Piriawis. Als der Jordan Piriawis den Glanz des Banners Zihrūn 1) erblickte, geriet er in große Freude über die Maßen.

Trage diese Lieder vor, geh zum Jordan, stoße das Banner am Ufer des Jordans ein, dann lies „Aufgegangen, aufgegangen ist der Glanz des Jāwar“.

α) A, f. 104 b. β) A, f. 105 a γ) B, p. 173. δ) A, f. 105 b.

a) > B. b) B יארדנא.

1) Siehe oben, p. 266^2.

XIV.

בשומא[α] ד̄הייא רביא דנא דנא זיוה̄ ד̄יאואר על יארדנא דנא[a] וזיוה̄ ד̄דראבשיה̄[β] למיא הייא דנא[b] מיא סאהקיא אלאנפיא זיוה̄ וזיוה̄ אלאנפיא מיא מיא וזיוה̄[γ] ביהדאדיא מיתכארכיא מיתכארכיא ביהדאדיא ומיתנאפאשלון זיוא לעותריא בשכינאתון מן ריש בריש ס——א

האזין[δ] עניאנא ק̣ריא כד̄ לגיטאתלה̄ לדראבשא לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא האיזאד ק̣ריא בריש תלאת שכינאתא ס——א

XV.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא

בריש תלאת שכינאתא   מאנו ברישאיאן תראץ
מאנו תראץ ברישאיאן   ודראבשא ליארדנא מאנו נגאד
מאנו נגאד דראבשא ליארדנא   ומארגנא בגו יארדנא מאנו נסיב

XIV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Aufgegangen, aufgegangen ist der Glanz des Jāwar über dem Jordan. Der Glanz seines Banners ist über dem lebenden Wasser aufgegangen. Das Wasser hüpft seinem Glanze entgegen, und sein Glanz [hüpft] dem Wasser entgegen. Das Wasser und sein Glanz wickeln sich in einander. Sie wickeln sich in einander, und reichlich kommt Glanz den Uthras in ihren Škīnās über die Maßen.

Trage dieses Lied vor, wenn du das Banner am Ufer des Jordans ergreifst, dann lies „An der Spitze der drei Škīnās“.

XV.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

An der Spitze der drei Škīnās
hat wer [die große Krone] uns auf das Haupt gesetzt?
Wer hat [die große Krone] uns auf das Haupt gesetzt,
wer das Banner über den Jordan ausgespannt?
Wer spannte das Banner über den Jordan aus,
wer ergriff den Olivenstab im Jordan?

[α] B, p. 174 unt. [β] A, f. 106a. [γ] B, p. 175. [δ] A, f. 106b.

a)—b) > B. Das erste דנא ist wohl zu streichen.

בריש α) תלאת שכינאתא   הו תאגא רבא ברישאיאן תראץ
הו תאגא רבא תראץ ברישאיאן   יוכאשאר דראבשא ליארדנא נגאד
יוכאשאר נגאד דראבשא β) ליארנא
יוסמיר מארגנא בגו יארדנא נסיב
והייא זאכין ס———א

האזין γ) עניאנא קִריא כד̄ לגיטאתלה̄ לדראבשא לכיפה̄ ד̄יארדנא והאריזאד צבא מאצבותא ס———א

XVI.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא הדון רביא הדון ד̄סכאלה̄ a) יאואר בדראבשיא b) ד̄זיוא ופאסימכיא ד̄נהורא הדון ד̄כבאשנה̄ להשוכא ובאטילנה̄ לקאלא מארדא הין אבאדנין וסתאדראת c) הינעלא אנאתון סדיריא סאדרויא d) ס———א

An der Spitze der drei Škīnās
  hat er die große Krone uns auf das Haupt gesetzt.
Er setzte die große Krone uns auf das Haupt;
  Jōkašar spannte das Banner über den Jordan aus.
Jōkašar spannte das Banner über den Jordan aus,
  Jōsmīr ergriff den Olivenstab im Jordan.
    Und das Leben ist siegreich.

Trage dieses Lied vor, wenn du das Banner am Ufer des Jordans ergreifst, dann vollziehe die Taufe.

XVI.[1]

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Es freute sich das große (Leben), es freute sich, daß Jāwar die Banner des Glanzes und die Leuchten des Lichtes schaute. Es freute sich, daß wir die Finsternis niedertraten und den | rebellischen Ruf zu nichte machten. Wenn wir handelten und es in Ordnung kam, so habt nur ihr, die Geordneten, es in Ordnung gebracht.

α) A, f. 107 a.   β) B, p. 176.   γ) A, f. 107 b.

a) B ד̄אסכאלִיא.   b) B בדראבשא.   c) B ד̄אבדינין עסתאדראת.   d) B סאדרוי.

[1] Bei Siouffi heißt es p. 89: „Avant d'entreprendre un voyage, le Soubba doit faire l'invocation suivante, au moment où il se met en route“, dann ist das folgende Stück mitgeteilt. Es ist auch übersetzt, aber völlig mißverstanden.

XVII.

בשומא [α] ד̄הייא רביא ביומא ד̄עותריא סידרויא ליארדנא ד̄מיא הייא ומאצבותא בגאוה̄ עצטיבאת ניסבויא לביהראם דראבשא ולשכינתא ד̄שישלאם רבא [β] אילויא ועל באב הילבוניא ד̄זיוא ניגדויא ד̄עותריא ושכינאתא בזיוה̄ נאהריא והאדין מן ריש בריש ס——א

האלין [γ] תרין דראשיא רמיא אבאתאר ד̄צאבית מאצבותא ואילה̄ לדראבשא לשכינתא ס——א

XVIII.

בשומא ד̄הייא רביא ביומא ד̄כירכה̄ ביהראם רבא לדראבשיא [a] תלאתמא ושיתין נאטריא עלה̄ שרון כיסויא בסאפטיא היליא והאתמא ד̄רביא אתנון עלה̄ בארכילה̄ רביא בפומאיהון דאכיא לגאברא ד̄האכא שרא ואמרילה̄ מן זיואך עתאוזאף [δ] ומן נהוראך עתאקאן כולה̄ אלמא מאנהארבה̄ אבון בקאלה̄ שאניא ואמאר כול

XVII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da die Uthras den Jordan lebenden Wassers herrichteten und die Taufe in ihm vollzogen wurde, nahmen sie das Banner Bihrām, brachten es in die Škīnā Šišlams des Großen und spannten es am Tore der Eier[1] des Glanzes aus, daß die Uthras und Škīnās durch seinen Glanz leuchten und sich freuen über die Maßen.

Trage diese beiden Hymnen vor, nachdem du die Taufe vollzogen hast, dann bring das Banner in die Hütte hinein.

XVIII.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da der große Bihrām sein Banner zusammenwickelte, ließen sich dreihundert sechzig Wächter darauf nieder. Sie bedeckten es mit Ketten von Edelsteinen und legten das Siegel des großen (Lebens) darauf. Das große (Leben) segnet mit seinem reinen Munde | den Mann, der sich hier niedergelassen hat, und spricht zu ihm: „Von deinem Glanze wuchs, von deinem Lichte wurde erhellt die ganze Welt“. Unser Vater er-

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α) A, f. 108a. β) B, p. 177. γ) A, f. 108b. δ) A, f. 109a.

a) Lies לדראבש(י)ה̄.

1) Siehe oben, p. 195^{2}.

מאן ד̄כשיט ומהאימאן ציפרא ליארדנא α) לאנאסגיא ולאניתירשים
ברושמא ד̄יארדנא מן ריש בריש ס———א

האזין עניאנא רמיא וכורכה̄ לדראבשא ביומא ד̄דיהבא a) רבא b) ד̄דאימא להודה̄ כול יומא ד̄צאבית מאצבותא בהאך עניאנא כורכה̄ לדראבשא ד̄צאבית c) מאצבותא c) ס———א

XIX.

בשומא β) ד̄הייא רביא ביומא ד̄עתיכסיא זיוא ד̄שישלאמעיל דראבשא בסאפטיא ד̄זיוא עותריא כולהון מן כארסאואתון קאם וברכתא ד̄שאנאי בזיהרון שישלאמעיל דראבשא בארכיא ומן עצטוניא ד̄זיוא נאסבילה̄ ובהילבוניא גאואייא ד̄כיסיא γ) כאסילה̄ ומבארכילה̄

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leuchtet mit seiner wundersamen Stimme, indem er spricht: „Ein jeder, der wahrhaftig und gläubig ist, gehe nicht am frühen Morgen zum Jordan und werde nicht mit dem Zeichen des Jordans gezeichnet ganz und gar“.

Trage dieses Lied vor und wickle das Banner am Tage des großen Festes . . . . . .[1] *zusammen, (dieses Lied) allein. Jeden Tag, an dem du eine Taufe vollziehest, wickle mit dem genannten Liede das Banner zusammen und decke es zu.*

XIX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.

Am Tage, da der Glanz des Banners Šišlamēl durch die Ketten des Glanzes verdeckt wurde, erhoben sich alle Uthras von ihren Thronen und sprachen einen wundersamen Segen über das Banner Zihrūn-Šišlamēl[2] aus. Sie holen es aus den Rümpfen des Glanzes und verbergen es in den inneren Eiern der Ver-

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α) B, p. 178. *β*) A, f. 109 b. *γ*) A, f. 110 a.

a) B ד̄דיהוא. *b*) > B. *c*) Dafür in B וכוסייא.

[1] Nach Siouffi, p. 100 ist דיהוא רבא „la grande fête“ eine Bezeichnung für das Fest des Neujahrs. Darin ist דיהוא, דיהבא = דִּבְחָא; es bedeutet also eigentlich „Schlacht“-Fest. P. 103, 5 nennt er „la fête appelée *Dehvo-d-déimono*, דיהוא ד̄דימאנא, „la fête de Deimono. Cette fête est d’un seul jour qui tombe le premier du second mois d’automne“. — Diese und die folgende Bemerkung des Textes sind unklar und widersprechend. Gemeint ist wohl, daß man am Tage דאימא und wenn man sonst die Taufe vollzieht, das erste Lied vortrage, dagegen beim großen Feste beide. Danach möchte ich an dieser Stelle ד̄דיהבא רבא streichen.

[2] Vgl. Stück XIII.

ומנאטרילה̅ ואמרילה̅ כמא ד̅זיואך בסאפטיא נאטאר תיתנאטאר דמותאך וכולהון אלמיא ד̅האזילאך[α] בירכתא בדילאך ניבירכון ונישאבון מן ריש בריש ס——א

האלין עניאניא רמיא ודרוש וכורכה̅ לדראבשא אביהדיא האך עניאנא ד̅יומא ד̅דאימא ד̅צאבית מאצבותא בהאי עניאנא כורכה̅ לדראבשא להודה̅ לבאר מן יומא ד̅דיהבא רבא ד̅דאימא לתארתינון קרינון ס——א

XX.

בשומא[β] ד̅הייא רביא
יאגינזא אנאת סקילא יאדראבשא אנאת מאהזיתא
ד̅מאלכיא[γ] בזיוה̅ מאניהריא[a]
מאלכיא נאהריא בזיוה̅ ותאגיא בדילה̅ תאקניא
תאגיא נאהריא בזיוה̅ ואינאתא בזיוה̅ מיתכארכאן

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borgenheit[1]. Sie segnen es, verwahren es und sprechen zu ihm: „Wie dein Glanz in den Ketten harret, werde deine Gestalt verwahrt. Alle Welten, die dich schauen, sollen einen Segen über dich sprechen und dich preisen über die Maßen“.

Trage diese Lieder vor und wickle das Banner zusammen. Mit jenem Liede | des Tages Daimā, wenn du die Taufe vollziehest, wickle das Banner mit jenem Liede allein zusammen; außer beim Tage des großen Schlacht(festes), da lies beide[2].

XX.

Im Namen des großen Lebens.
Du bist ein blank polierter Schatz,
du Banner, bist ein Spiegel,
durch dessen Glanz die Könige leuchten.
Die Könige leuchten durch seinen Glanz,
und die Kronen blinken durch ihn.
Die Kronen leuchten durch seinen Glanz,
und die Quellen wickeln sich in seinen Glanz.

α) B, p. 179. β) A, f. 112 b; C, f. 58 b. γ) A, f. 113 a.

a) C נאהריא.

[1] Siehe oben, p. 262[1].

[2] Hierauf folgen in A Bemerkungen über die Herkunft der Handschrift wie p. 231.

אינאתא וזיויא ונאוריא   לתאגא רבא סאגדילה
ומשאבילה ואמרילה   בריכא האזין דמותאך
ד̄אנין לדילאך ניהיזיאך   ומינאך בשכינתאך ניתריץ α)
מינאך ניתריץ בשכינתאך   ומינאך דילאך ניתליף
מן ריש בריש ס——א

האזין עניאנא ד̄שאראיתא ד̄תאגא כד̄ באיית ראהמיא ביומא ד̄האבשאבא מן קודאם ד̄קאריית קום קום בהיריא זידקא קריא האזין עניאנא ס——א

תום עסתאדראת וסילקאת לריש האזין קולאסתא ד̄עניאניא ודראשיא ופאסוך ד̄קאבין ועניאניא ד̄דראבשא ועניאנא ד̄שאראיתא ד̄תאגא לשום הייא β) קאדמאייא ולרושום מאנדא ד̄הייא ועל שומאיהון ד̄היביל ושיתיל

Die Quellen, die Glanzwesen und die Spiegel
verehren die große Krone,
sie preisen sie und sprechen zu ihr:
„Gepriesen sei diese deine Gestalt.
Wir wollen dich schauen
und mit dir in deiner Škīnā aufgerichtet werden.
Mit dir wollen wir in deiner Škīnā aufgerichtet werden,
mit dir vereinigt werden
ganz und gar“.

Dieses Lied von der Lösung der Krone: wenn du das Gebet am Sonntag verrichtest, bevor du liest „Stehet auf, stehet auf, ihr Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit“ 1) *lies dieses Lied.*

Diese Sammlung der Lieder und Hymnen 2), *der Responsion des* . . . . 3), *der Lieder vom Banner* 4) *und des Liedes von der Lösung der Krone* 5) *wurde zusammengereiht und kam zustande im Namen | des ersten Lebens, im Zeichen des Mandā ḏHaijē und*

α) A, f. 113b. β) A, f. 114a.

1) Siehe p. 171.

2) Das ist das erste Buch.

3) Das ist das zweite Buch. Das Wort קאבין findet sich öfter in den Ritualen, doch konnte ich seine Bedeutung nicht ermitteln. Es scheint den kultischen Anzug zu bezeichnen, dessen einzelne Teile in dem Buche aufgezählt werden.

4) Das vierte Buch.

5) Stück XX.

ואנוש משאבא שומאיהון באתרא סאגיא בית תושלימא יומא ד̅ארבא האבשאבא ותשא ביאהרא ד̅פארואנאייא בשיתא ד̅תלאתא האבשאבא לשנאת תשימא ותלאתין ושית שניא ד̅קאבילִיון ארבאיא אראב אלמא עלאואיהון ובאטלה̅ מאנדא ד̅הייא לרוגזאיהון ד̅בישיא מן כאנא רבא ד̅נישמאתא ס‾‾‾א

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im Namen des Hibil, Šitil und Anōš (gepriesen sei ihr Name am großen Orte, im Hause der Vollendung) am Mittwoch, dem Neunten des Monats der Parwānājē[1]*, in einem Dienstags-Jahre*[2]*, dem Jahre 936, wie es die Araber angenommen haben*[3]*. Die Welt gehe über ihnen unter, und Mandā d̲Haijē hebe weg den Zorn der Bösen vom großen Stamme der Seelen.*

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1) Parwānājē sind die fünf Epagomenen, die zwischen den sechsten und siebenten Monat (Elūl und Tišrīn) eingeschoben werden, vgl. Peterm. II, p. 460. Der „Monat der Parwānājē“ ist wohl der sechste Monat, dem sie angehängt werden.

2) Das mandäische Jahr wird nach dem Wochentage bezeichnet, mit dem es beginnt.

3) Das Jahr 936 der Hiğra begann am 5. Sept. 1529.

Die höheren Wesen,

die in den beiden Sammlungen genannt sind.

(ע steht unter א).

אבאתור Abathur, der Alte, der Mann mit der Wage (vgl. Joh., p. XXIX f.), 12^2; 13, 2; 41, 9, 10; 59, 12; 78, 4 f.; 79, 9; 82, 7 ff.; 91, 14 f.; 107, 4; 119, 10; 120, 1; אבאתור אתיקא 83, 12; 92, 3 f.; אבאתור אתיקא ראמא כאסיא ונטירא 16, 13; 82, 4; 130, 4; אבאתור ראמא 41, 9; 106, 6; 147, 11; אבאתור ד̄מוזאניא 98, 6; 104, 1.

אדאם Adam, der erste Mann, 42, 9; 55, 2 ff.; 96, 8; 100, 2 f.; 101, 8; 120, 13; 248, 10; 269, 3; אדאם גאברא קאדמאיא 54, 13; 60, 2; אדאם כאסיא 145, 3; 269, 3.

אדאתאן ויאדאתאן Adatan und Jadatan, ein Genienpaar, 26, 2; 84, 1 f.; 143, 9. Der zweite Name ist wie bei sonstigen Namenpaaren mit anlautendem J gebildet, vgl. *Deutsche Literaturztg.* 1913, col. 1805. Siehe auch hier p. 42 n und Joh., S. 198^4.

אז Az der Große אז רבא,

אזיז Azīz der Große אזיז רבא,

אס As der Große אס רבא und אס ימא As das Meer,

אסין Asin der Große אסין רבא 22, 5 f.

אזיז ist wohl mit der aramäischen Gottheit עזיז identisch. אז wäre dann eine Abkürzung davon. Mit dem persischen Āz (vgl. F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan* II, p. 18, 20) hat es wohl nichts zu tun. — In אס ist kaum das Wort für „Myrte“ enthalten, denn die Bezeichnung von אס als Meer wäre dann unverständlich. Das Verhältnis der Form אסין zu אס ist unklar.

עזלאת Ezlath die Große, weiblicher Genius, עזלאת ראבתיא 28, 4; 171, 3. Im Pariser Diwan Z. 31 wird sie als Quelle des Lichtes, als Gemahlin des „Herrn der Größe“ bezeichnet. Ebenda Z. 297 wird sie die Hülle der Mysterien, die Mutter aller (himmlischen) Könige genannt. Häufig werden Segnungen und Lobpreisungen für sie ausgesprochen (Morg 8, 6; 10, 4; 112, 6). Verkehrt wird sie Mand. Diwan 7 mit Libat identifiziert. Siouffi nennt sie 40, 34 *Zloth-Rabti*. Wie andere Namen weiblicher höherer Wesen ist es 3. sing. fem. perf., so daß עזלאת „sie ging“ bedeutet.

עין האי In-Hai „Lebensquell“, einer der vier Söhne des Lichtes bezw. des Heils, 24, 12; 83, 3; 144, 5.

עית „Sein, Wesen“, 9, 3 vor ענציבאת עותריא; ebenda vor יאואר. Vgl. das obere und untere עית GR 185, 1 ff.

עיל עיל Ēl Ēl, der biblische El 127, 11.

ענוש, אנוש der biblische Enōš 13, 3; 19, 11; 20, 8; 37, 5; 41, 11; 103, 12; 106, 5; 144, 10; 173, 9; 277, 1; אנוש עותרא 148, 4; אנוש עותרא סאגיא 150, 7; 205, 2; 243, 13; 246, 2, 7.

אנאן נצאב vgl. נצאב.

עוצאר Oṣar „Schatz“ 72, 5, häufiger עוצאר האי Oṣar-Hai „Lebensschatz“ 43, 9; 84, 3; 141, 5.

ארספאן Arspan „der jugendliche Knabe“ 229, 2; 264, 4; scheint iranisch zu sein.

עורפעיל Ur(u)pēl 229, 1 findet sich öfter in den Schalentexten, vgl. *Ephemeris* I, p. 92^{1}. Hier zusammen mit מארפעיל, wie auch GR 98, 1, „die die Herrschaft über den Zorn in der Welt haben“.

בהאק B'haq mit dem Beinamen זירא 142, 12. Ein demiurgisches Wesen. Die Urteile über ihn sind sonst weniger günstig als hier. Vgl. Brandt, Rel., p. 31, 35, 50.

ביהראם Bihrām, gewöhnlich der Große רבא genannt, 43, 6; 142, 5; 147, 12; 266, 10; 267, 3, 7; 268, 1; 273, 7; ביהראם בר רורביא 35, 5; ביהראם רבא בר רורביא 27, 8; 40, 5. Doch 120, 13 ein Sohn Adams. Zusammen mit ראם genannt 18, 1; 41, 2; 145, 3; 229, 3. Als Beiname des Banners 273, 2. Der persische Genius konnte schwerlich von sich aus die bedeutende Stellung innerhalb der mandäischen Religion erlangen, so daß er selbst in der Taufformel neben dem Leben und Mandā d̲Haijē genannt wird, vgl. pp. 27, 40, auch Brandt, Rel., p. 105, 225. Wahrscheinlich ist der Name auf ein anderes Wesen übertragen, vielleicht wegen des Anklanges an בחר, בהר, vgl. z. B. ביהרה̄ יוכאשאר לבראיא p. 88, 5, auch den folgenden Namen.

ביהרון Bihrūn, ein höheres Wesen, „es (das Leben) erwählte mich“ 228, 11, vgl. auch כאנפעיל und Joh., S. 216^{3}.

ברהייא Bar-Haijē, „Sohn des Lebens“, 185, 4. Vgl. auch אבון בר הייא 147, 5; 148, 8; 221, 9. Siehe Joh., S. 96^{2}.

ביריאוויש Biriawiš, als „Behälter“ bezeichnet 76, 4; 143, 2. Der Name ist vielleicht nach dem älteren פירויאוויס gebildet.

בירוק Biruq „Mann und Weib“, schädliche Wesen, 39, 8. Var. בוראק, בורוק. Mit dem Burāq Mohammeds haben sie kaum etwas zu tun.

דאיום Daium, Beiname der Rūhā 111, 11 f. Bedeutung ungewiß.

היביל Hibil, der biblische Abel 13, 3; 19, 11; 20, 7; 21, 7; 103, 12; 144, 10; 146, 5; 173, 7; 245, 10; 246, 5; 269, 3; 276, 10; אבון היביל 41, 11; 106, 5; היביל זיוא 51, 7; 54, 13 ff.; 59, 1; 60, 1; 120, 14; 123, 6 ff.; 147, 7; 248, 4; 268, 9; 269, 1; היביל עותרא 205, 1; טאליא היביל 248, 9.

האווא Hawwā, Eva 42, 9; 120, 14.

האוראן (ו)האוראראן Hauran (und) Hauraran bald als zwei verschiedene, bald als Doppelwesen genannt, vgl. p. XIX; 21, 6; 44, 2, 8. Hauraran mit Karkawan 80, 3, 10.

האזאזבאן Hazazban 29, 8; 44, 2, vgl. 29^2.

האיאשום Haijašum aus שום הייא „Name des Lebens“ umgestellt, vgl. Joh., S. 212^2. האיאשום כושטא 142, 10; האיאשום כושטא קאדמאיא 23, 5.

האם Ham mit dem Beinamen זיוא 171, 3, siehe daselbst Anm. 1.

האמגאי Hamgai, Sohn des

האמגאגאי Hamgagai, 7, 6 f., vgl. Anm. 2.

האמאמולאי hamamulai 84, 8 f., anscheinend ein Name, steht teils für sich, teils bei כסאסאר.

האש Haš „er sann nach“ 142, 3; האש ופראש Haš-ufraš „er sann nach und erkannte“ mit dem Beinamen עותרא 229, 3. Daselbst Z. 11 ist האש ופראש Name des ersten Kannā. Die Worte האש ופראש finden sich oft in ihrer gewöhnlichen Bedeutung: 16, 2; 86, 9; GR 196, 19; 94, 12; 315, 22.

זהא זהא Z’hā, Z’hā zunächst ein Anschrei „eile weg (in Angst)“, doch 23, 2 als Name eines abwehrenden Genius, vgl. Z. 3 ff.

זהיר Z’hīr „gesichert“ זהיר נהורא רבא ד̄הייא 43, 8.

זיהרון Zihrūn „es (das Leben) sicherte mich“ vgl. Joh., S. 216^3, als ראזא 257, 8 f.; als ראזא רבא 6, 5; 7, 7. Als כלילא 7, 8. Als Beiname des Banners 265, 11; 270, 1 ff.; 274, 8.

זיו האי Zīw-Hai „Glanz des Lebens“, einer der vier Söhne des Heils 83, 3.

זאמאר האי Zamar-Hai, Bedeutung unsicher, einer der vier Söhne des Lichtes bezw. des Heils 24, 12; 144, 5.

יא Jā der Große יא רבא 22, 5 zusammen mit den Namen אז u. s. w. (vgl. p. 278) genannt, enthält wohl hebr. יָהּ.

יאדאתאן vgl. אדאתאן.

יאהא יאהא Jāhā, Jāhā 23, 2, wie זהא זהא wohl zunächst eine Anrufung; kann Interjektion sein, aber auch יָהּ enthalten.

יוזאטאק Jōzaṭaq, Beiname des Mandā d̲Haijē 12, 1; 20, 9; 39, 13; 64, 3; 68, 10; 79, 10; 80, 9 ff.; 142, 1; 147, 12. Siehe zu diesem und den folgenden Namen Joh., p. XXIV ff.

יוכאבאר Jōkabar 59, 5; 85, 3. Gewöhnlich mit dem Beiwort זיוא 11, 9; 16, 11; 26, 11; 30, 10; 44, 7; 114, 10; 141, 10; יוכאבאר רבא 28, 7; יוכאבאר גאברא עותרא מזארזא 44, 10; יוכאבאר פוגדאמא ד̄הייא 35, 6.

יוכאשאר Jōkašar 88, 5; 272, 2 f.; יוכאשאר כאנא ד̄זיוא 143, 1.

יוסמיר Jōsmīr 272, 4; יוסמיר גאברא 26, 1; יוסמיר גופנא קאדמאיא 21, 3; יוסמיר זיוא רבא 86, 8; יוסמיר כאנא ד̄זיוא קאדמאיא 44, 10. In יוסמיר ויוסאמיר 21, 5 ist der zweite Name wohl nur eine künstliche Erweiterung des ersten, vielleicht unter Einwirkung von יושאמין.

יופין יופאפין Jōfin-Jōfafin 9, 2; 15, 6; 35, 4; 44, 9; 141, 3.

יושאמין Jōšamīn 123, 13; 255, 1; יושאמין דאכיא 16, 8; 25, 12; 103, 10; 106, 2; 143, 5.

יור Jūr 19, 6; 25, 9, vgl. 25[1].

יאואר Jāwar, der Helfer, Erlöser (vgl. Brandt, Rel., p. 32 m) 21, 3; 71, 9; 74, 2 f.; 85, 10; 149, 12; 240; 241, 6; 247; 256, 8; 262, 5; 270, 6; 271, 1; 272, 8; אב יאואר 55, 6; 91, 4 f.; יאואר בהירא 204, 1; יאואר זיוא 3, 7; 7, 6; 18, 5; 41, 2; 71, 3, 11; 72, 1; 74, 5; 147, 8; 180, 1; 241, 4; 243, 3; יאואר מאלכא 233, 5; יאואר מאלכא ד̄עותריא 232, 7 ff.; 239, 10; יאואר קאדמאיא 21, 6; יאואר רבא 28, 5; 171, 3; 230, 3; vgl. auch 73, 3; יאואר תאתאגמור 229, 2. תאתאגמור ist bedeutungslos; es ist wohl eine Bildung zu magischen Zwecken, ebenso wie:

יאלוז יאלוז Jaluz Jaluz 84, 8 und יאלוז יאלוח יאלוזא 35, 1.

כאנפעיל Kanfēl, ein höheres Wesen, 228, 11 zusammen mit ביהרון genannt, wie auch Morg 6, 13, Siouffi 39, 24.

כאנפון Kanfun, ein Uthra 145, 2.

כסאסאר Ksasar 84, 9 bedeutungslose Bildung.

כארכאואן Karkawan mit dem Beiwort זיוא 80, 4, 10 zusammen mit האוראראן genannt. Es ist vielleicht wie dieses aus einem Ortsnamen (כרכא) gebildet. כארכאוא ist eine Kranichart, Cod. Par. 24, f. 27 a, 13; 29 b, 1; 53 a, 6, Peterm. II, 125 m. Hiermit hat der Name kaum etwas zu tun.

מא Mā der Große מא רבא, einer der kurzen Namen 22, 5 vgl. אז p. 278.

מאן Mān der Arzt (אסיא) 24, 4, nur hier, vielleicht eine Abkürzung des Folgenden.

מאנא Mānā Bezeichnung für geistige Wesen, wie für das Geistige im Menschen, hier sehr häufig, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 538.

מאנדא Mandā 29, 7; 95, 1; 146, 6, Abkürzung für Mandā d̲Haijē.

מאנדא ד̄הייא Mandā d̲Haijē *Γνῶσις ζωῆς* XVI; 3, 9 und sonst oft.

מאנהארעיל Manharēl 267, 1 als Bezeichnung des Banners, aus מאנהאר „leuchtend“ und אֵל zusammengesetzt.

מאנהארבעיל Manharbēl 24, 2 עסתאק̣לוס, das kleine Kind. In בעיל ist schwerlich בַּל enthalten, sondern es ist בְּאֵל, so daß der Name „leuchtend“ oder „erleuchtet durch Ēl“ bedeutet. עסתאק̣לוס scheint ein entstellter griechischer Name zu sein.

מיריאי Mirjai, Frau aus der mandäischen Legende 210 ff., vgl. Joh., S. 123.

מארפעיל Marpēl 229, 2 = מַרְפֵּא + אֵל vgl. עורופעיל p. 279.

נבאט Nbaṭ vgl. XX; נבאט זיוא רבא ק̣אדמאיא 41, 3; נבאט ניבטא ק̣אדמאיא 35, 4; 76, 4; 86, 5; 141, 7.

נידבאי Nidbai vgl. שׁילמאי.

נהור Nhūr „Licht“, Name eines Buches 75, 4.

נהור האי Nhūr-Hai „Lebenslicht“, einer der vier Söhne des Heils 83, 3.

נאמרוס Namrus 184, 9, weiblicher Dämon, vgl. Joh., S. 62^{3}.

נצאב Nṣab „er pflanzte, schuf“, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 544. Als Beiname des Beinkleids 237, 13. נצאב זיוא 207, 3. Oft zusammen mit אנאן נצאב „Wolke des Nṣab“ genannt (vgl. Joh., S. 15^{7}) 41, 3; 106, 5; 228, 11; 229, 3.

ענציבאת עותריא Enṣībath-Uthrē „gepflanzt von den Uthras“ 12, 7; 9, 4 als Mutter des עית יאואר; 9, 3 mit עית zusammengesetzt.

סהאק S’haq „er hüpfte“, סהאק זיוא רבא ק̣אדמאיא 28, 10; vgl. Joh., S. 230^{5}.

סימאת הייא Sīmath-Haijē „Lebensschatz“, weibliches Wesen 3, 7; 28, 6; 171, 4; vgl. Joh., S. 201.

סאם Sām „er setzte“, vgl. *Uthra*, p. 544; Joh., S. 18^{7}. סאם גופאן וסאם גופאיאן וסאם פירא היואראֿ 5, 6 f. Hier ist גופאן st. abs. von גופנא, doch ist in גופאיאן die Form so umgebildet, als ob אן das Suff. 1. pl. wäre. סאם זיוא דאכיא וש׳ 28, 11; סאם מאנא סמירא 15, 6; 21, 6; 44, 9; 141, 3; סאם סמיר 35, 5; סאם סמיר זיוא וש׳ 16, 1; 17, 11; 40, 11.

סומקאק Sumqaq, eine glühende Quelle 124, 1. Wohl von סמק „rot sein“ gebildet. Auch sonst als Quelle in der finstern Welt genannt: Par. Diwan Z. 116, 388, 990. GR 145, 17 ist סומקאק ראבתיא Beiname der Dämonin קִין, nachher Z. 24 סומקִאק מארגאניתא ראבתיא.

סאר Sar und **סארואן** Sarwan, ein Genienpaar 41, 4; 229,1. Vgl. auch GR 172, 5; 221, 4; 374, 14; Siouffi 39, 19.

פארדון Pardūn, Name eines Uthra 145, 2, nur an dieser Stelle.

פירון Pirūn, vgl. Joh., S. 7[1], als Rebe 70, 4, als Beiname des Banners 266, 1, 4.

פיריאויס Piriawis, Beiname des Jordans (vgl. Joh., S. 12[1]), 16, 7; 25, 5; 270, 2 ff.; פיריאויס זיוא 20, 1; 24, 8; פיריאויס כאנא ד̄מיא הייא 35, 2.

פיריאפיל Piriafil, Name eines Engels 20, 1; 24, 8 in den Worten פיריאויס זיוא ופיריאפיל מאלאכא פרוליא האנדאמיא קִומאת. In der Bildung wohl durch פיריאויס und פרא beeinflußt.

פתא Ptā vgl. p. XXII; פתא עוצרא 75, 4; פתא האר 43, 10; 84, 3; 141, 5; פתא נהורא רבא קִאדמאיא 89, 3.

פתאהיל Ptahil (vgl. Joh., p. XXVIII) 83, 11; 161, 7; 259, 5; פתאהיל עותרא 130, 5.

צבאבות Ṣbabut, 35, 1 neben צבותא, wohl daraus unter Einwirkung von צְבָאוֹת gebildet.

ציהיון Ṣihiūn, Name eines Uthra 145, 2, mit dem Namen für Ṣion (vgl. 215, 1) kaum identisch.

ציהמאי Ṣihmai, eine Quelle 265, 8, von ציהמא „Glanz“ gebildet.

צאורעיל Ṣaurēl, der „Löser“, der Todesengel, 80, 8, vgl. Joh., S. 119.

צאנאצעיל Ṣanaṣēl, ein Uthra 142, 6, vgl. auch Morg 8, 1; Siouffi 40, 50.

רהום האי R’hum-Hai, „Geliebter des Lebens“, einer der vier Söhne des Lichtes bezw. des Heils 24, 12; 144, 4.

רואז Rwaz „er prangte“; רואז גופנא 108, 1; 181, 8; 243, 10; רואז נהורא רבא קאדמאיא 181, 9.

ראם Rām der Große, ראם רבא 18, 1; 145, 3; 229, 3, zusammen mit ביהראם genannt. Ist wohl wie dieser iranisch. Auch im persischen Kalender stehen Bahrām und Rām als Tagesgenien zusammen.

שיהלון Šihlūn „es (das Leben) sandte mich“, vgl. Joh., S. 213, אבון שיהלון זיוא 242, 14.

שכינאצאר Škinaṣar 35, 2, aus שכינא und עוצאר gebildet.

שילמאי Šilmai und נידבאי Nidbai, die beiden Taufengel (vgl. Joh., p. XX) 17, 8; 19, 10; 20, 7; 24, 9; 26, 3; 41, 10; 59, 4; 74, 6; 103, 11; 106, 4; 143, 12; 147, 5; 148, 8; 150, 6; 173, 10; 207, 3; 269, 9.

שום Šum, Sem, der Sohn Noahs, 49, 11; 52, 6.

שום האי Šum-Hai, „Name des Lebens“, einer der vier Söhne des Lichtes bezw. des Heils 24, 12; 83, 3; 144, 5.

שאמשעיל Šamšēl 236, 4, Beiname der Stola, von שמש wegen des Leuchtens der Stola gebildet.

שאר Šar „war fest“, vgl. Joh., S. 6², שאר גופנא 70, 3 und

שראר Šrar gleichfalls eine Rebe 180, 12.

שארהאת Šarhath, die Glanzwolke 240, 7, nur hier. Syr. ܐܫܪܚ bedeutet „ergötzen“, doch gehört es vielleicht zu ܫܪܥ „gleiten“.

שארהאבעיל Šarhabēl 43, 2 als זיוא רבא קאדמאיא, findet sich sonst als eines der Häupter der Zeitalter, vgl. Joh., S. 93, 195.

שישלאם Šišlam, besonders als Herr des Banners genannt, ש׳ רבא 28, 3; 264 ff.; מאלכא ש׳ רבא 171, 2. Wohl aus שְׁלָם erweitert. Mit angehängtem אֵל in:

שישלאמעיל Šišlamēl als Name des Banners 266, 6, 9; 267, 4 ff.; 270, 6; 274, 6, 8.

שיתיל Šitil, der biblische Seth 13, 3; 19, 11; 20, 7; 41, 11; 103, 12; 106, 5; 144, 10; 173, 8; 205, 1; 246, 1, 6; 276, 10; אבון שיתיל 31, 3 ff.

תאורעיל Taurēl, ein Uthra 143, 7. Nach GR 129, 2 f. ist er das Haupt der 366 Škīnās und heißt auch Anan Nṣab. GR 295, 11 wird er mit Jāwar identifiziert, und sein Name soll auch סאם סמיר זיוא sein. Auch GR 269, 12; 306, 13; Siouffi 40, 43 genannt.

תאר Tar und תארואן Tarwan, ein Genienpaar, wie סאר וסארואן, mit dem es 229, 1 zusammen genannt wird, wie auch GR 221, 4; Siouffi 39, 20.

תארואן Tarwan für sich genannt als תארואן נהורא 8, 6; 41, 2; ein außerweltliches Gebiet 241, 5, vgl. Joh., S. 116³.

De Morgan's Textes mandaïtes

sind zum größten Teil auch in diesem Bande enthalten. Die folgende Übersicht weist die Stellen nach.

Morg	hier	Morg	hier	Morg	hier
9, 12	171	44, 11	197	76, 9	228
10, 10	172	45, 11	198	78, 6	229
11, 1	172	46, 3	199	80, 9	105
11, 9	173	47, 13	200	86, 10	109
12, 1	173	48, 7	201	97, 1	69
12, 7	174	49, 8	202	99, 5	70
12, 12	174	50, 1	203	99, 11	71
13, 4	3	50, 12	203	100, 8	71
13, 13	3	51, 4	204	101, 10	72
17, 9	7	52, 2	205	102, 10	73
18, 6	8	52, 10	205	104, 3	74
18, 11 [1]	41, 10	53, 9	206	105, 8	74
21, 1	43	53, 13	207	107, 7	76
21, 7	43	54, 13	208	107, 11	76
22, 8	44	55, 4	208	109, 11	93
24, 3	90	56, 3	209	109, 14	93
28, 10	45	56, 9	209	110, 5	109
29, 7	183	59, 4	212	119, 11	182
32, 1	186	59, 9	212	121, 8	141
32, 9	186	61, 7	214	129, 4	15
33, 12	188	62, 1	215	133, 6	65
34, 4	188	64, 1	216	139, 13	22
35, 9	189	64, 9	217	141, 13	23
36, 2	190	65, 13	218	143, 1	24
38, 7	192	66, 3	219	144, 10	40
39, 1	192	67, 8	220	146, 4	9, 3
40, 2	193	67, 11	220	147, 4	29
40, 8	194	70, 6	222	147, 12	11
42, 11	195	70, 15	223	152, 6	63
43, 4	196	75, 11	228	154, 7	175
44, 7	197	76, 4	228	158, 9	177

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[1] Hinter עותריא sind Blätter verlegt, Anschluß p. 146, 4.

Morg	hier	Morg	hier	Morg	hier
159, 12	178	214b	47, 7	233b	85, 5
161, 3	179	215a	57, 9	234a	86, 1
161, 13	180, 4	215b	58, 7	234b	86, 8
162, 9	180	216a	59, 1	235a	87, 3
165, 11	264	216b	59, 9	235b	88, 1
166, 2	264	217a	60, 6	236a	88, 10
166, 10	264	217b	62, 2	236b	89, 7
167, 7	265	218a	63, 1	237a	102, 4
168, 6	266	218b	63, 6	237b	102, 9
169, 1	266	219a	63, 11	238a	103, 2
169, 13	267	219b	64, 5	238b	103, 9
171, 1	267	220a	64, 9	239a	106, 6
171, 8	268	220b	65, 1	239b	106, 11
171, 12	269, 9	221a	65, 6	240a	107, 3
172, 8	270	221b	65, 11	240b	107, 7
173, 1	270	222a	66, 4	241a	107, 11
174; 4	110, 5	222b	66, 10	241b	108, 5
174, 11	271	223a	67, 6	242a	108, 9
175, 8	271	223b	67, 12	242b	108, 13
176, 7	272	224a	68, 2	243a	109, 4
176, 13	273	224b	68, 7	243b	109, 10
177, 7	273	225a	68, 12	244a	110, 4
178, 7	274	225b	69, 6	244b	110, 8
207a	40, 12	226a	70, 1	245a	111, 5
207b	41, 5	226b	70, 5	245b	112, 3
208a	41, 9	227a	70, 10	246a	112, 9
208b	42, 2	227b	71, 4	246b	113, 4
209a	42, 7	228a	71, 8	247a	115, 5
209b	42, 11	228b	72, 1	247b	116, 8
210a	43, 3	229a	72, 6	248a	117, 5
210b	43, 8	229b	73, 3	248b	118, 4
211a	44, 2	230a	73, 7	249a	119, 1
211b	44, 6	230b	73, 12	249b	119, 11
212a	45, 1	231a	82, 13	250a	120, 9
212b	45, 5	231b	83, 6	250b	121, 10
213a	45, 13	232a	83, 11	251a	122, 9
213b	46, 6	232b	84, 3	251b	123, 12
214a	47, 2	233a	84, 9		

Berichtigungen und Nachträge.

P. 7 l. *Lösung*[1]) st. *Lösung*[2]).

P. 27, Übersetzung Z. 14 l. *getauft* st. *gezeichnet.*

Zu Anm. 1. Bei 57, 3 schwankt die Lesung zwischen ולִיגטה̄ ביאמינה̄ ואשלימה̄ לסמאלה̄ und ולִיגטה̄ בסמאלה̄ ואשלימה̄ ליאמינה̄. Auch 27, 3 wird wohl ursprünglich gestanden haben לגוטינון ביאמינאך ואהדארינון לסמאלאך „fasse sie mit deiner Rechten und wende sie nach links hin“.

P. 35, Anm. 1, Z. 1 l. *der Gute* st. *der gute Vater.*

P. 49 f. Es sei bemerkt, daß die Worte וקאביל דאכיא רושומא hinter ועצטבא nur in einer Handschrift stehen.

P. 52, Z. 7 und 53, Z. 7. שדיא heißt eher „wirf (den Weihrauch) hin“.

P. 79, 4 l. שומה̄ st. שומא, und in der Übersetzung „seines Kušṭā-Namens“.

P. 96. Stück LXVI steht auch GL 120.

P. 119, 10. Die Worte עו מסארהיב למידירה̄ beziehen sich wohl auf den Todesengel: wenn er Eile hat, die Seele fortzutragen, vgl. Joh., S. 120.

P. 136, 6 l. עפיכא st. עפיבא.

P. 223, 1. אנפיא יומא steht hier in einem Gebete für den Samstag. Dennoch darf man nicht annehmen, daß damit der Vorabend des Sonntags oder der Samstag selber gemeint sei, siehe Joh., S. 68, 111.

P. 245. שאמוכטיא enthält wohl شَمْع. Die Endung scheint iranisch zu sein, doch konnte Andreas sie nicht identifizieren. ܫܡܘܟܬܐ bei Maclean, *Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 308a *„the crown of the head and temples“* ist jedenfalls ein anderes Wort.

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Mandaean text in Hebrew characters, with German translation at foot of page.

For the Mandaean text, the editor makes use of Euting's transcription (1867) from the Paris and London manuscripts. The Oxford collection is edited from the Bodleian manuscript Marsh. 691.

(Continued on next card)

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Mandaean Prayer Ceremony

Archive Notes:

The texts below are taken from: E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden: 1959. Drower writes in introduction to this wor

"The first Mandaean book which came into my hands was a small volume of 200 hundred and thirty-eight pages in a poor handwriting. It was presented to me by an old Mandaean silversmith a year or two after the first World War. This volume inspired me with curiosity, and later when I has read Nodeke's 'Mandaische Grammatik', I found that it contained prayers for minor ablutions, the daily office (the 'nisania) and the masitqa prayers.

An early visit to 'Amarah resulted in the acquisition of a damaged and imperfect copy of the entire codex, I mean prayers considered canonical and still used by priests. A head priest (a ganzibra) copied into it some of the missing pages and to these I added others when I had had access to other MSS. Complete copies of the collection is hard to come by for they are in constant use.

It was not until many years later in the spring of 1954 that I persuaded the owner of a prayerbook, himself a ganzibra, to give me his in exchange for a money gift for sacred manuscripts are never bought. This codex N. 53 of my collection is in a good hand and from it very little is missing."

For further study, a complete edition of E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans is also now available on Google Books.

Sections of Ginza Rba:

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

The Masiqta (The Raising Up)

The Letter

Hymns of Praise

The Responses

The Rus'hma (Daily Ablution Prayers)

Asiet Malkia

Tab taba Itabia (The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living)

The S'umhita

Honouring of the Crown

Prayer of Yahia

Other Hymns

Ginza Rba - The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly Life! From far-off worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

Chapter 1

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any 'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is infinite.

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (my ways) the Seven were wroth with me and said, 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'."

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on

my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara, whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting Abode."

And Manda-d-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Nasoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, fight and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (their knees) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

Chapter 2

Illumined and illuminating is Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-d-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created 'uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own shkintas, And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their ?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings!" And Life be praised!

[This prayer is the opening prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

Chapter 3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa, son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the shkintas. For he is the revealer (lit. opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

Chapter 4

As the 'uthras stand in their shkintas they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-d-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their shkintas they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (thereon).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwa]

Chapter 5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First Mana which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nsibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nsibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head

of the implanted manamanas. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the Mana there is light, behind the Mana glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (lit. are found). And Life be praised! which was transplanted from guarded (?)

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

Chapter 6

A crown of ether-fight shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His shkintas. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who uplifteth it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who establisheth it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing", "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

Chapter 7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush! Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy pandama for thy baptism.]

Chapter 8

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from,worlds of light, the Ineffable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kushta) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (as) messenger to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzataq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and well pleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods;

whose (very) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgment and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (their souls) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (but) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper incense-pan -- (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (lit. "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises" , "Thee, Life,", "I sought to raise eyes" (Prayer 77) and "Raising eyes".]

Chapter 9

Raising my eyes and lifting up my countenance toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (other-worldly) life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded manas and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the pihta, need(?), truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they

leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yushamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-d-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of souls of (their) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

I worship, laud and praise Shilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-d-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance of the First Life which flowed forth from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him (and ?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose shkinta is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded manas which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (in me), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, "Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

Chapter 12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The tanna dissolved and a shkinta came into being, a shkinta came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read this prayer and grasp thy kanzala (stole). It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

Chapter 13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Shilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Shitil and Anush went with me to the jordan -- they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement to the

limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and (yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arise.

Their hands fell (powerless) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Shilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain. And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (etc.). And descend (into the water) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N." If there are several souls, recite as written (above), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N, and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

Chapter 14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings -- these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sani-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls,vho go do,vn to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (-bed), then recite the baptism(-al prayers).]

Chapter 15

Bound is the sea, bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants, haunting spirits, and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House!

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea (of ?) AS. Bound are (Magian) priests, slaughterers, priests who cut up victims, scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon (exorcised) by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which where sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, with which Haiashum, the first Kushta, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 16

I am a perfected gem: into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if I strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus, the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (yea) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mân the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-d-Hiia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving the limbs of my body: I descend (to the Jordan) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living. Shilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai and Zaniar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (from the body). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Usar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (who are) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (of light). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

Chapter 18

In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings, is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna. When Life was ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its shkinta above the Tanna. The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (creatures); above the the waters fruit appeared and a shkinta was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (in the name of) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yusamin who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by SiImai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (go) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (i.e. world) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (in the faith) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality, I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question. (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (Kushta) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[Then cry] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head". [Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N., thou hast been signed with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia have been pronounced upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreaths and place them upon their heads. When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Sislam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the Mana and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced on thee."

Then reach them (perform with them the rite of) kushta. And he shall go up before thee (on to the bank). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the

bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but it only one soul say "the soul of N, who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

Chapter 19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana , son of Mahnush, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (the tendrils) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest].

Chapter 20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its upliiting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; it only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank and recite "I rose up from the Jordan".]

Chapter 21

In the name of the Life!
I rose up from the jordan
And I met a group of souls,
A group of souls I met,
who surrounded our father Shitil
Saying to him "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the Jordan."!
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Sun hath risen above us;
He will be our witness!"
"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The sun of which ye spake,
Riseth early, setteth at dusk.
The sun of which ye spake, the sun
Is vanity and cometh to an end.
Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,

A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,
the moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
" If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand.
The fire of which ye spake --
Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
I met a group of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, " By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?
"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, kushta and mambuha
Will bear witness for us;
Habshaba, (Sunday) and Kana-d-Zidqa

Will bear witness for us;

The sanctuary in which we worship

Will bear witness for us;

The alms that is in our laps

Will bear witness for us;

And our father who is our head

Will bear witness for us."

"this is that which I seek,

This is that which my soul desireth!

When I rise to the House of Life

And travel to the Everlasting Abode,

When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses

Will come and will bear witness.

Witnesses of the truth are they,

Sure is all that they say!"

And Life is victorious!

[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

Chapter 22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (believe in) the great celestial Womb, in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in Sbabut, the mighty Will of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling" giving His Likeness its

dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest from which He derived His being.

We believe in Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbat, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception, in its second (outflow), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (Life), Yukabar, the Word of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river -pleasaunce, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Manda-d-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, fight and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth will assume the nature of Anush, within him he will take on the nature of Anush. >From him the seven dolours of death and the eight

afflictions of darkness shall violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, shedim, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

And Life be praised!

Chapter 24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed.

For He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon them) [?].

This is the Oil wherewith he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-d-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and best-owed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (They will be delivered) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female biruq and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth: on the sick man and he stretcheth (himself); on the blind man and (his eyes) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of

Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-d-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end. The name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the kushta (rite). Then recite and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face -- thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the pihta and mambuha and give them pihta that they may eat and mambuha that they may drink and take their right hands in kushta. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

Chapter 25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (Water of Life) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-d-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-d-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbat the first great Radiance; praised be Nsab and Anan-Nsab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty Mana; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (shkinata); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father. Hibil, Shitil and Anush the head of the whole race.

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, shedim, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (all those) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-d-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (behold) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight Manda-d-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy prayer from the Occult and assure (to us) bliss in Thy light in the name of Sharhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Sharhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

Chapter 26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of Life.

And Life be praised!

Chapter 27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Usar-Hiia: through 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai union with the House of Life came to us: Manda-d-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our mana, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran our vestment; with Hauraran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukab1ar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 28

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Hauraran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the being Yukabar, the (well-) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (Protect them) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When .. was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ".. By

'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them pihta and mambuha. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

Chapter 29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst manas of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ye be raised up.

And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul. "]

Chapter 30

In the name of the Life!

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,

The great day on which thou wast raised up?"

"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,

And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank.

He broke and gave me bread (pihta),

Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.

He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life)
He passed into the mountain before me;
He cried loudly that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried loudly,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I climb the mountain I shall fall;
I shall overturn and perish from the world!'
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I climbed the mountain and fell not,
I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He passed into the fire before me;
And cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'

'If I go into fire I shall burn,
I shall scorch and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into fire and burned not,
I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
Took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He entered the sea before me;
He cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud.
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into the sea I shall sink,
I shall be overturned and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into the sea and was not drowned,
I came, the life of my Self I found,

Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world.

And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (recite?) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say " amongst manas of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (planted)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism", "The jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank".

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Shum (Shem) son of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (say) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (on the heads of) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the Rahmia for the souls thou baptisest. Say " these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N, who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign. " And beware: from the beginning to this point recite all thy baptismal prayers with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform kushta with them and say to them "Kushta make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their shkintas. Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance."

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands. If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the kushta with them and say to them "Kushta heal thee and raise thee up. Thy kushta shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your kushta shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have acted (according to) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (all

things?) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised ". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (found) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-d-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and Rahmia for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah. And sit and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out at "forgiving of sins" (be there for) "our forefathers" (etc.) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the pihta and mambaha and recite the eight pihta prayers for the pihta and the two mambaha prayers for the mambuha. Dip the pihta in the mambuha and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy pandama and unfasten it. Eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and drink the rinsing-water and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (Great) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (the words) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the Rahmia for thyself. Perform the kushta with the shganda and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy pandama and honour thy crown.]

Chapter 31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee and thy ministration will be (noted?) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (too) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious 5). It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.]

[In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, by means of these (prayers), admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll The Great Wellspring. This is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure mana into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the qauqa (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-d-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his pandama, folded his pandama over his mouth and recited "incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith "covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole.

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the

jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (Hibil-Ziwa), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (Adam's) head and pronounced the secret names over him.

(Then) he took his hand in kushta over the staff and made him go up before him.

(Then) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (of souls) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (the hymn). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (Adam's) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed kushta with him. (Then) he took the pihta and recited the eight prayers for the pihta over the pihta and the two prayers for the mambuha over the mambuha. And he gave him the pihta so that he should eat and gave him the mambuha that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (water).

And he grasped his hand in kushta and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water and bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Usar-Hiia" and the greater (longer) "Bound and sealed" and laid his hand upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up", "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptise will bear us witness", and

"I rejoice in my priests and Nasoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his kanzala (stole) and "honoured" his crown.

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-d-Hiia hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his pandama. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) Of the Great Wellspring: Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hull him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Nasoraean who retains his pandama whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons will be powerless over him (for) he will not pass through the Purgatories.

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

This is the limit (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith

Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the Great Wellspring belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bavan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat.

It was written in the town of Tib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possession I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

The Masiqta ("The raising up")

i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul

Chapter 32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-d-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the masiqta.]

Chapter 33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed and say "Is there (not?) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence, Manda-d-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (kushta) and from the souls of this masiqta, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (or "the living") in Its (their) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.

[This is the mambuha prayer]

Chapter 34

Hail to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzataq, Gnosis of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence , giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are stiff alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of Gnosis of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this masiqta rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the masiqta.]

Chapter 35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, a

vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood , and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (in thy sight) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-d-Hiia, no man is clean : we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us, who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit : ask from below, (from) reed , swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (what ye asked) with the right hand of kushta.

The first (generations) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied.''

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and

wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia.

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth, thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (Though) spirits and souls sit (here) as guilty, (yet) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (thy name of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (bring?) healing of life to the souls of this masiqta Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (it may be used) on occasion for the Rahmia (daily office), or for the masiqta, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the masiqta, after thou hast recited over the pandamta, "water of prayer" and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the pihta, mambuha and klila (wreath) and set them out for the masiqta. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean : in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the masiqta.]

Chapter 36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to

him; (none existed) save that great, secret, First Mana. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop who emanated from Him. They existed, (but) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

>From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance of Glory who is (at once) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-d-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Nasoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread will receive condemnation from the House of Life,"

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

Chapter 37

I worship, laud, and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of Life, with whom in secret, he broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life if victorious.

Chapter 38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty Mana at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras en- treated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Nasoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

Chapter 40

I have worshipped and praised 'Usar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (find) rest in their hearts.

The holy 'uthras stood in their dwellings and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap : its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret Mana.

And Life be praised.

Chapter 41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (yawar) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved manas who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Nasoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode."

And Life be praised!

Chapter 42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (of his light). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own shkinta. Radiance and Light came and were established before him : Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (its?) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Shilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-d-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Nasoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

Chapter 43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (kushta) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book Nhur (Be light) and front Pta usra (They revealed treasure from the first treasure and from 'Usar Nhura (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (Manda, gnosis) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart (?) of Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kushta standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), host taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (pihta), put out (for him) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the pihta].

Chapter 44

Biriawish, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (Be) life for the souls of this masiqta.

[This is the appointed prayer for the mambuha, If there are (several) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

Chapter 45

Thy name, (O) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant, Its goodness came over (or overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil. (Like) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth,

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the mambuga (sacramental drink). Make the pihta and the mambuhamasiqta, and then make the myrtle wreath.] and place them (ready for) the

Chapter 46

In the Name of Life!

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory dawned and (there was) praise of the Mana who came from his Place. He came (with) all ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Nisbat'-Utria (She- planted i.e. was the mother of uthras). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is- dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Nisbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the Mana, planted it (there) so that it was set up (thereon).

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the Mana there is radiance, behind the Mana there is light and glory, at either side of the Mana are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this masiqta. Sure, assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (masiqta) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful manas.

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the masiqta.]

Chapter 48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance loosed the bound (souls): he knit (them into?) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-d-hiia) was revealed to all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (inhabited by) those convicted of sin. And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were con- founded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (aid) the souls of this masiqta: it will be his name. And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the masiqta. Read it over pure oil in something (pure ?) and place it before thee and then read the masiqta.]

Chapter 49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to

clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a Dimat of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning, They live in their shecinahs, and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances , and each standeth by his own, And Sauriel the Releaser cometh -- he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia which releaseth (the soul). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzataq- Manda-d-Hiia. Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe, When she weareth the vesture of Yuzataq- Manda-d-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour resting (upon her) and the glory that accrueth to her.

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "who will clothe us with this radiance ? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory ? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise ? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kushta to the good, and Manda-d-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she went and reached Abathur's house of detention, (Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and every- thing that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards I) and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered their (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her . And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went on and reacheth the watch-house (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai . Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her.

She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went onwards and reached the Waters of Death . The waters covered her, (but) Radiance crossed over- his name abode in his shkinta : honoured and chosen, he created himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we tray bring out this soul of N, of this masiqta (so that) she cometh before him".

He is the ray of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the shkinta, and upon shkinta doth his name rest. He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one gnosis and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Usar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirits of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

50

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (in the waters of?) Yaluz-Yaluz for their spring is Hammamulai. My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (the waters?) knew the source from which they proceeded: its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

I sit on a perfected garment and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. "I looked upon the Life and the Life looked upon me, and in the Life put I my trust. When this the soul of N. casteth off her bodily garment, she shall put on the dress of life and become a facsimile of the Great Life in light."

Yawar from the House of Life revealed (himself?) and shone forth , establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (Kušta) and the great Source (kana) of its

glory.

And Life be praised!

52

Whose son am I? (Of?) the guarded Mana who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will beset up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its škinta.

[This is the seal of the masiqta. Up to this point recite the masiqta, and here take the pihta and break off a morsel from one upper fatira and the undermost fatira and bring a portion of the Ba and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" with the wine and recite over them "Yukasar chose her (the soul) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy pandama and eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its škinta.]

54

Yukasar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over; he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own škinta his (the dead man's) soul was assigned (a place) and found rest in his treasure. Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (in splendour) and (like them?) shall shine forth the souls who are called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta, (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

And Life is victorious.

55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory. And Life be praised.

[This is for the loosing of the pandama. Recite this "Yukasar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N. , shall be awakened" . And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth'' and part thy pandama, eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer alter another until the (prayer) ''Yukasar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their škinta. The robes of the good were resplendent in their place. The great Mana was dazzlingly bright in His glory. So (too) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (Kušta) (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness. Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (shkinata) of the Hidden for in each and every škinta sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, ('uthras) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who

stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and masiqtas and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, masiqtas, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests who sit with them.

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the masiqta. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

59

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the pihta].

60

The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised!

[This is the dedicatory prayer for the mambuha.]

61

An earthly wreath fadeth, but the wreath of Life is fresh and living. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (Kušta). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities, and shineth on the heads of these souls of this masiqta.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a masiqta. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single say "on the head of this soul of N."]

62

The worlds glisten (with costly) oil, but Nasoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.

And Life is victorious.

63

In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda baptised me, Kušta confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (of light?).

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer offered up for the masiqta oil.]

64

The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light.

And Life be praised!

[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the masiqta-hymns.]

65

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst manas of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this masiqta and (the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your manas shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.

And Life is victorious.

66

In the name of the Life!

I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down
In a dress in which there is no blemish.
No spot is there in the dress,
Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.
The Life knew about me.
Adam, who slept, awoke;
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And gave (not?) into my hand a palmbranch.
Light cast me into darkness,
But the darkness was filled with light.
The day that light ariseth,
Darkness returneth to its place.
The souls of this masiqta
Approach a cloud of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.

And Life be praised.

[This is a masiqta hymn]

With him, with the Deliverer
The souls of this masiqta will ascend.
They will behold the Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.

On their road the Seven will not detain them,
Nor will the Judge of the False question them.
The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst.
To the place to which the good go they will guide you
And in the place in which they stand they will set you up;
Lamps of radiance are found before you,
Beams of light behind you.
Kušta will come at your right
And Piety will smoothen your path.

For you there will be loosings
From here to the Everlasting Abode.
For the ferry which ferries over the Elect
Will set out towards you and take you across.

(Then) from Abathur of the Scales

A saviour will come forth towards you.

The saviour that cometh towards you

Is all radiancy and light from head to foot

Like the wreath in his right hand.

And on his two arms is a robe.

Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!

Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles

In which nothing is awry or blemished.

Above your head there will be fruit,

And there, at your time and season

Your manas will be set up in the Light.

Your manas in the Light will be set up.

(So) rise up, behold the Place of Light!

And Life is victorious.

68

Between the Hidden and the Radiance,

Between Light and the 'uthras,

Between the Hidden and the Radiance
Stand those who question the soul,
Saying to her "Speak! say, soul,
Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder?
Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"

The soul spoke and said --
The edified, well-constructed soul spoke --
And saith to the Being who questioneth her,
Said to him, 'My father, One built me, One constructed me"
One was the Being who transplanted me;
One of the sons of salvation in his goodness
Took (accepted) his lot (duty).

He folded me in a wrapping of radiance,
Took (me) and gave me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood,
Took and cast me into a physical body;
Took me and cast me into a physical body
That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances.
(There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the body
Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it
Till its measure and count were accomplished.

When its measure and count were accomplished

The Deliverer came to her;
To her came the Deliverer
Who loosed her and bore her away:
(Yea), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul,
Went before her whom he had bound.

Coming behind him, the soul hasted
Reached her Deliverer, ran (after) him
Who had bound her to her dwelling.
The soul and her Deliverer (go):
Her course is to the Place of Light,
To the place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.

To it, and to that place, those souls
That are called upon in this masiqta
And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited.
They shall behold the great Place of Light
And the abiding Abode.

And Life be praised.

Bliss and peace there will be
On the road which Adam attained:
Bliss and peace there shall be
On the road which the soul traverseth.

The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds;
She hath shed her earthly garment.

She turned round, saw it and was revolted
She uttered an evil curse on the being
Who had clothed her in the body.

She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him
From the lair in which he lay. She said to him,
"Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies;
The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!"
The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (is heard),
Who howleth and weepeth for himself
And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand
Is filled with water!" And to her he saith
"Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom
In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.

Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported
From the treasuries of Life;

Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted

Her fragrance to the stinking body.

Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined

Her dark house. Go in peace,

Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"

Flying, the soul went

Until she reached the House of Life:

She arrived at the House of Life.

`Uthras went forth towards her,

Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance

And set on thy living wreath!

Arise, dwell in the škintas,

The place where `uthras abide, conversing;

And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-d-Hiia

And lovers of his name".

And Life be praised!

70

Blessed and praised be Life

Who is filled with compassion for these souls.
Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,
For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.

Praised be thou, pure Yushamin,
For thou wilt give them thy helping hand.
Be ye praised, Shilmai and Nidbai,
For ye will give true witness concerning them.
And be ye praised, Hibil, Shitil, and Anush
For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues
And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger,
And the messenger who goeth toward you
Is all radiance and light from head to foot.
In his right hand a kind of wreath
And on both his arms a robe.

Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths!
Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless!
Above your heads there will be fruit,
And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light
And will shed light.

The Lord of Tolls will not confront you

Nor will lying judges put you to the question.

They will bring you liberating words

From here unto the Everlasting Abode,

The building that was built for you in the House of Life,

Will not come to nought in an age of ages!

And may some of Manda-d-Hiia's radiance and light

And the revivifying-breath of Life rest upon us!

Blessed is the Voice of Life

And praised be the great Beam which is all light.

And Life be praised.

[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving", "Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.

If thou readest for (several) souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform Kušta with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".

And pray a prayer for yourselves and make pihta and mambuha for yourselves and eat your pihta and drink your mambuha And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform Kušta with one another for yourselves and (then) honour your crowns.]

And Life is victorious.

71

In the name of the Life!

Blessed and praised be the Life!
Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light!
Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia;
Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.

Praised art thou, my father Yushamin the Pure,
Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life.

Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life.

Praised are ye, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the jordan.

Praised are ye, Nsab and Anan-Nsab.

(Praised are) our fathers Hibil, Shitil and Anush
The name and chief of the whole race.

Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;
Blessed and established is the great škinta in which thou sittest.

Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;
Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.
Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised Those who dwell in thee.

Blessed art thou, Road of the great, path of the perfect
And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.

Blessed art thou, Nasirutha from whom the elect learn;
From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward and pious gift
They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of light.

Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;
We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.

My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.
The 'uthras of light are victorious,
And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection
Who stand, praising the Life.

Enlargement of life there shall be for the believing
Who have departed out of our midst;
The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.

And my lord Manda-d-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.

Thankfully received are the good gifts (tabuta) of life,

The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life,

The pihla that ..... at the name of the Life.

For any man who giveth an oblation,

His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men

Who bestow oblations will rise by Kušta 's path.

To them it shall be given.

Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath

Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.

A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads

Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this masiqta;

(And the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those

who are yet in the body.

(A wreath like that) set on Its head by the Great (Life)

And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras

And given by 'uthras to their priests.

Healer, whose medicine is water, come!

Be thou a healer to thy devotees,

To thy devotees be thou a healer

And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
My lord, bestow soundness.

Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.

My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer
Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice
And enacting justice for those who love it,
Do justice on those who persecute us,
Those persecutors who pursue us,
And on the wicked and furious ones
Who scheme to work evil upon us.

If it please Thee, High King of Light,
Look on us and condemn us not!

Behold these souls who believed in Thee
And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth
And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air
So that we may forget earthly persecution,
That we may forget the persecution of earth
And the vexation of the wicked and liars.

Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!

Thereby the Great Life communed with thee
And set thee up completely (?) with His radiance
And His light, Manda-d-Hiia!

And may the vivifying-power of Life rest upon us.
My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light!"

And Life be praised!

[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

72

Good is the Good for the good, and His nature is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of all healings.

Forgive him his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, masiqta and (ritual) food. My lord, Manda-d-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised;

Life is victorious over all works.

[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a masiqta. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the Rahmia ("Devotions" recite it, and after the Rahmia. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish.]

And Life is victorious.

The Letter

Chapter 73

In the name of the Life!

A sealed letter which leaveth the world --

A letter written in good-faith (kushta)

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) --

Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on,

And suspended it about the soul's neck

And despatched it to the Gate of Life.

The soul, in her wisdom,

Pressed her nail on the letter,

Her nail she pressed on the letter;

She imbued it with her mystic radiance,

Wrapped it and veiled it in her light.

How came it that Daium saw

That the soul bore a letter?

How was it that Daium saw it

As her seven sons gathered about her

And said "Who hath written the letter

Whose secret no man knoweth?

Who wrote the letter that is sealed in

By these protective strands?"

The letter is written in good faith,

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).

Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on

And hung it about the neck of the soul

And despatched it to the Gate of Life.

The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached

The watch-house of the Seven.

The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her,

(And) the Governor, when they saw her,

Murmur discontent and say

"Who hath written the letter

Whose secret no man knoweth?

Who wrote letter that is sealed

By these protective marks?"

"The letter is written in good faith

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).

Righteous (men) wrote it;

Believing men tied it up

And hung it about the neck of the soul

And despatched it to the Gate of Life".

The soul flieth and travelleth on

Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory.

The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads

And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by.

The soul flieth and goeth

Until she came to the waters of death.

As she reached the waters of death

There came forth towards her

A great Beam of radiance (and) of life, (who)

Grasped her by the palm of her right hand

And brought her over the waters of death.

The soul flieth and goeth

Until she reacheth the House of Life.

When she reached the House of Life

She uttered a cry to the House of Life,

And when He heard her call, the Life

Sent a messenger towards her,

(Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand,

Conducted her, (came) to support her

In the likeness of the Life to the place

Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence;

To unite her to (the company of) 'uthras

And to set her up amongst beams of light.

Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether

And took her out of the world in splendour.

Life supported life: Life found Its own:

It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found

That for which she hoped.

And Life is victorious.

[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

Chapter 74

Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of truth by the word of Kushta and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy seal-ring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].

[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (to a dying person), at the beginning and end order the chief (relative) or remaining (persons: i.e. of the family?) to throw water over the dying person. If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near (?) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (those like him).]

In the name of the Great Life!

Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush.

When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and masiqta". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance light and glory" and bind thy pandama over thy mouth.

And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes" and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia. With thy radience thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (the head of) this the soul of N." And take care that thou readest to the end with attention!

And recite the eight prayers for the pihta over the bottle and the two prayers for the mambuhaMana", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers -- thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger -- and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kushta and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa". over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(In the name of the) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "of N".

and where it saith "And Sauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and "Whose son am I? Of the guarded

And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life" and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.". And thy pandamamanas light" (insert) "the soul of N. is established in that place". must be over thy mouth. And recite "Ye are set up and raised up in the place where the good are established amongst

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The Mana rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departed from the world", "Sunday, and Kushta and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (it shall be given).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in kushta the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This kushta which I entrust to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur".

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in kushta the hand of him who taketh (the hand of)the dying person and say to him "This kushta I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy pandama must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (so on) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising" (prayers) of the masiqta from beginning to end. And be careful (to insert) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious.

Then, when thou holdest thy pandama over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make pihta and mambuha for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy pihtamambuha. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the kushta-rite for thyself and honour thy crown. and drink thy

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" without thy pandama. (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Tib, written by Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (sacramental ceremonies) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (the apparently dying person) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "masiqta of the sixty" for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him read a "sixty" masiqta for him with seven food-trays, and at "that which is with her" sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

(If) the soul (be that of) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty masiqtas for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him alone at (the words) ma d-bh; at the words bit Abatur sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at bit Abatur and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a masiqta thou requirest meat, water of prayer, incense, pihta, hamra, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (named above).

And when (there is) a masiqta, read the homilies about the soul; let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven rahbata and (pray for) Mandaeans, Nasoraeans and the faithful. And pray the masiqtapihta and mambuha, the "bindings and loosings" of the masiqta prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes", "I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (during?) the homilies, and loose him from his sins.

And Life is victorious.

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Nasoraean who (whilst)

reading the masiqta openeth his pandama or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Nasoraean who holds (to?) the pandama and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase, speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yushamin or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq, nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the pandama. When he holdeth his pandama all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us.

And Life is-victorious.

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and ganzibras, earth beneath the feet of Nasoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious.

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Manda-d-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-d-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Rish-Draz. I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upnght woman, a believing (creature) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kushta) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, yonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Sharat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (She copied it from?) the copy of the

great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Shitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzibras, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a shalmana -- the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Qasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (tribe), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asta Faruk, Asta Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anush, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Shadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied from the book of Shaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wasia. He copied it from a book (copied by?) Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished ganzibra, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of ganzibras, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Mand-d-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and yonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable ganzibra Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia-may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam, family name 'Asakir from the book of R. Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Shitlan, family name Rish-Draz ...

[The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16; (Translator).]

... Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-Hurdshaiia and travelled around a great deal, but found no reliable masiqta equal to this masiqta. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this masiqta just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this masiqta.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this masiqta so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-d-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the Masiqta" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Nasoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Tib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anush-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha ...? and Anush copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Sharat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Shganda son of Yasmin, and Shganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-d-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-d-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (was written by) Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (a space of) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Tib in the years when Anush son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Nasoraeans and took many diwansMasiqta and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Nasoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them. from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined.

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumqaq Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: -- "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins .. Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (himself and sent) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in kushta.

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

Hymns of Praise

Chapter 75

In the name of the Great Life! May there be healing, victory, strenght, soundness, speech and hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, from the Life!

We have acknowledged and praises (are due) To the mighty sublime First Life, The Ineffable which is over all works. (I come), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth To the Life and to the implanted Word And to 'Usar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee. (Yet) who shall praise Thee 2), Life? And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories? Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified And Thou art exaltedl (For lo) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came. At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid , At Thy light

gates and kingdoms were troubled. on seeing Thee the Jordan turned about, [he waves of the sea rolled back And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion, Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces. Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stags.

They opened and gave praise. Does in the desert shed their young untimely; The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour. The earth trembled and was shaken. Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back? Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back ? Isles of the seal why were ye thrown into confusion? Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces ? Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent ? Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?

(Why) did ye open and give praise ?

Does in the desert! on account of 'Whom did ye miscarry your young?

Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak ?

Earth ! Whom didst thou behold and (at what) didst thou tremble ?

"At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance, At the Light which surpasseth all lights, And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself." When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building, (Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion. They got down meekly from their thrones And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away The glory of the worlds and generations And quenched the flames of their lamps. It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth And in the lower glooms of Ilarkness. Spirit (ruha) lifted up her voice, She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father Why didst Thou create me ? My God, my God, My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth And in the nether glooms of darkness So that I have no strength to rise up thither?" All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life) And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights, And the Good Being who crossed the worlds, Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself. He sundered Light from darkness and sundered Good from Evil, He sundered Life from Death, And He brought out those who love His name of Truth From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good And from Death to Life and set them On roads of Truth and Faith. And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word And hast commanded us with Thy commandment - "Be My glory and I will be your Glory. Be my light and I will be your Light. And my name shall be in your mouths And I will be with you". Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their

high-places And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way And deep ignominy befell their temples And fettered their might.

Great is the splendour in which Manda-d-hiia is arrayed! Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light! (That day) is not reckoned in a count of days. Nor in a reckoning of months; Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light. We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed, To all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer, Our submission, our tabuta and our faith In Thy presence, (O) 'Usar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life. Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name, Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord, Who could praise Thee, Life, Or magnify (worthily) the greatness of Thy victories ? Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue? Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves And our tongue like cleft mountains, Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!

Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart And him who confesseth thee with his lips. With a pure mouth be Thou blessed And lauded with a tongue of praise. Supporters who do not waver, interpretations Of Truth (kusta) which vary not praise Thee. Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance, Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred, Envy and dissensions exist not. The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee, The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee, "Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia And praised. And blessed is the Place From which Thou camest: praised, magnified And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest. And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place To which Thou goest." Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries Ii Praise thee; for Thy knowledge, Thy wisdom, Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself. Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting. Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Son; Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life; Thou art the First, Thou art the Last, Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself. Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy. Turn back, push

back, remove and make impotent Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land And my house - mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus - In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels, (Let) our petition, our prayer and our submission Rise up before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia! That which we have done forgive us, And that which we do, forgive us, (For) Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia art a forgiver of sins, Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes. If Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins, Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia? Slaves are we, who are all sin And Thou the Lord who art all mercy. Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying; In Thine eyes, Manda-d-Hiia (even) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

(Set for) righteous and believing people. Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life According to the purpose of the Life And the will of the three 'uthras . And according to the will of Manda-d-Hiia Sublimest of beings, and according to the will Of the Four Beings, sons of salvation. In Thy presence there will be restoration For our spirit and our souls. Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance And cover us with Thy light And will stand us before Thee with the innocent And not with the guilty; With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking. Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name. Pure is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name And abiding is Thy name. Victorious art Thou And victorious is Thy name. Victorious are the wvords of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish This my soul (the soul of) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus. And Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 76

In the name of the Life! Praises to the Outer Life

Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond), The abode that hath limit. For Your eyes are open to (discern) Your own, Your ears hearken at Your Place . Praises to that one great name of Life Which is above all names. Its name resteth on the great Place of Light, On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras, And on the Beam who was greater than all beams, With Whose fight all beams shine And by Whom all souls are justified;

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off From the House of our trust; Who restoreth our souls at the House of Ransom On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls On the great Day of joy. Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras, And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One Wvho came and remained for our commemoration And who was established in the presence of Outer Life. (One) on whose

mouth Life rested and whose praise Was established without. Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First, To the Son of the great Primal Life Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth To the generations. (Lo) Thou camest and didst open a door, Thou didst level a road and tread out a path, Didst set up a boundary-stone And didst knit together a community. Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide To the Father of the great Family of Life , And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life, Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction And didst bring it forth to the great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned! O nourishers whom I have nourished! O builders whom I have raised up And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues! Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell! Worlds against whom I guard myself Though your words are not far from my face, If ye take mountains (of food) as your viaticum for eating,

They will not satisfy (lit. "complete") you. If ye take seas for your drinking They will not make you perfect (content you). (But) if with perfections ye stand before the Outer Life And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number, And your reckoning shall be reckoned. Betimes I will come and will fly And will reach the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign, And the sons of the great Family of Life. I will bind you together into the bundle of Life And I will build you into a great Building of Truth And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you The hand of the unbartablas (customs-officers ?) will not search amongst your garments; Ye will not pass over the Bridge Nor walk in a narrow street; Ye will not stand before the judge Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law; Nor will ye see an averted face. The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls, One who setteth on paths of surety His friends that are made perfect, A great comrade of the faithful, One of the great band of souls, Who will come out toward you And clothe your souls in a garment of radiance

And in good pure vestments of light Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode. He will bring out toward you wreaths, A wreath of victories. And every leaf of your wreaths will (weigh) One thousand and eighty mithqals . Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun And its light outshine the light of the moon. Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths In the presence of the Great (Life). Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras. Ye will open your eyes and

behold your Judge. Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon you, In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether And the great Beam who is all light, Who was set up before the Great Life: He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth To the ages and to the worlds. And every man who giveth oblation; And took part in the communion from beginning to end. They will make as perfect as the mamas, Like rays of light he will be made to shine On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption, The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift, Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode, The place which is ancient, (of) Primal Beings, And sons of the great Family of Life. They eat of that which is imperishable And drink that which is not wine, eating well And asking solace. And an 'uthra of Life Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men), And to the Unearthly Being who standeth without, Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those Who love his name of Truth (kusta) - Thou art he, Manda-d-Hiia! for thou knowest About that in which the perfect man is made perfect, And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth . And the Lie , of what doth it consist. Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. 'the mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds, Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs, Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth. Not so : it is an 'uthra of Life which cometh And resteth upon Thy devotees. And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him

It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by (calling on) Thy name. We hold to Thy Leader of the great company of Truth We have held staunch because of Thy victories. Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors, Liars, hypocrites and the censorious. Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls! The good will see and wvill be found ready , (But) The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed

Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth ,And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller , nourishest the nourisher, buildest the builder,

Exaltest horns , enlargest footsteps and settest up a road , And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and

tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete and he standeth (liveth) in the body, (able) to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House , thine 'uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence : and at the raising of your right hands (towards Me?) My right hand will be lifted towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it (from) your hands".

We will pray with Thee the 'uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life), a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole Nasiruta of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature . Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, victorious are the words of truth wvhich issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds . And Life is victorious!

Chapter 77

In the name of the Life!

Thee (O) life, (is it meet) to praise, to honour, To magnify and to bless; First Life, Second Life and Third Life, Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira And the Vine which is All-Life And the great Tree which is all healings.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour and magnify And to bless 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai Who open (reveal) the pihta of Life And transplant a planting of Light, And instal the First Counterpart In the House of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbat 'The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation), The exigence of Life in Its nature.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth Great fruit for Himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy And was great in his light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life, The truth (kusta) that was aforetime, in the Beginning; Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Has, the Stem of splendour, radiance, light and honour Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils A myriad myriad. Well is it for him Who hath looked on that Tree! Bihram , who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established And his name hath not died.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sanasie , who standeth at the Gate of Life And prayeth for spirits and souls. He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope And taketh in keeping in the World of Light The prayers of pious and believing people.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Haiasum-Kusta, messenger of Life, The Word of the first chosen elect (men). He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament And revealed himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Bhaq-Ziwa , who is called "He acted and succeeded in his skinta.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukas’ar, source of radiance who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his fight.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Biriawis, the strong source (kana) , The Kana took thought so that its radiance increased.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Ayar , the pure Vine which abideth In the great and lofty Treasure-house of Light.

(Meet it is) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The pure Yusamin who resteth upon The treasures of the waters And upon mighty wellsprings of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The 'uthra Tauriel , the being who resteth by The pastures of the water. When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand Fell (off ?) There was consternation on earth, And vexation(?) in the world of falsehood.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Adatan and Yadatan , who stand at the Gate of Life And praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls Of righteous and believing people In the Place of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Silmai and Nidbai , two 'uthras Delegates of Manda-d-Hiia Who are active and do (the work of) the Life. With kusta and with the testimony of the Life They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing souls Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (and are baptised) (But) not in the name of gods or of a messiah!

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai , Four Beings, sons of perfection, Who come towards sincere and believing people, And take them out of bonds (Tied by) the hands of the wicked And from beneath the claws of scheming men; And lift them up to the great place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode. They knit them into the Bundle of Life And build them into a great Building Of sure strength .

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Hibil, Sitil and Anus, Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving, Vigorous and sturdy: Beings that cannot be taken by the sword Nor consumed by flames of fire; Nor swept away by floods of water; Nor will the thongs of their sandals Be dipped in the water. They were judged and were justified; They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting

Abode.

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun , 'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life;

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia, Bihram and Ram whose names are Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (dualistic ?) And the names of righteous and believing people Will be established in the Place of Light. Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious, Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up. Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth Which issue from Thy mouth, (victorious) over all works. Make victorious and raise up this my soul, (The soul of) Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus! And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged'', "Praises", and "Thee (Life) " for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. Fur my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from suns of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart fur the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-d-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light. I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Nasuraeans .., etc.

(The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted)

The Responses

Chapter 78

In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus, By means of these responses and homilies for

baptism and the masiqta.

Chapter 79

In the name of the Great Life! When the myrtle , the myrtle, flourished In the gardens of Hibil; When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the manda, They gave me two twigs of myrtle From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan. For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

Chapter 80

In the name of the Great Life !

Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward

(O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life),

Our Father, son of the Lite !

Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!

Jordan, and both its banks, hear me!

Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength

Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras!

Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou)

whose creations rest on (depend upon?) the jordan!

Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira

And raise that which ye have planted!

Hear me, hear me, Hablaba) and Kana-d-Zidqa ,

Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama, whose strength
Presideth over the Scales!
Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up
Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia!
Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside
In the Great Wellspring
Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out
Radiance, light and effulgence!
Hear me (ye) three manas
Who rest upon the jordan with your treasurel
Hear me, Anus-'Uthra ,
Whose strength dwelleth upon met

Chapter 81

In the name of the Great Lifel
Hear me, my Father, hear me!
And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);
Our Father, Son of the Life!
Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan and its two banks, hear me!
Habsaba and Kana-d-Zidqa hear me!
Hear me, Great Life, from the height,
Hear me!

Chapter 82

In the name of the Great Life !

At the Fountain-head came I forth,

At the Source of springs of life went I hence.

Three skintas (sanctuaries) did I found

And set over them guardians as rulers.

The guardians I appointed to rule over them

Are sublime, blessed and trusty

To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the mambuha into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

Chapter 83

In the name of the Great Life!

How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted

And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne

And on their heads they set living wreaths.

Yawar-Ziwa rejoiceth in the good plants

Which the jordan planted and raised.

The Plants rejoice and flourish

In the perfume of Manda-d-Hiia

Which breatheth upon them.

Chapter 84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me,

Well did my baptiser baptise me,

Truly did my baptiser baptise me

And your baptism shall attain its end.

Chapter 85

Silmai hath baptised us with his baptism, Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign, The great Anus-'uthra hath placed living wreaths on our heads.

Chapter 86

The jordan in which we have been immersed Shall be our witness that we have turned not away From our sign, nor have altered our pure Word.

Chapter 87

I rejoice in my priests And in nasoraeans who hearken to my converse. I rejoice in you, my priests, For ye have not changed my pure Word.

Chapter 88

In the name of the great Life!

May the sublime Light be magnified!

Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen,

Who went up with me to the jordan,

Pervert and change me not, alter me not by hand,

Pervert not nor alienate me,

Men who have heard the Voice of Life!

He who heareth the voice of Life

Will be edified, Will be built up,

Built up and armed. (Such a man's) strength will be doubled.

Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life

Will be greatly increased,

Will be enriched and will not lack.

Into the communion that is great will he be knit,

He will enter the communion that is great

So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise

And will behold the Place of Light.

And Life is renowned and victorious,

And victorious the man who went hence.

Chapter 89

In the name of the Great Life The great Light be magnified! To you do I call and (you) do I teach, Men who have received the Sign. Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations; Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble, Stumble not because of their stumblings! Be not interrogated at their tribunals, At their tribunals be not interrogated! Certainly have ye held to established truth, Ye have held to the certainty about which I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that Ye may not turn your thought away from Me. Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought) Whose mind is turned against me,

Whose mind is turned from me, Great and not small will be his hurt . If ye have attained my strength Bear (arms for) me ! If ye bear (arms for) me firmly Stand by me frombeginning to end! But it ye have not attained my strength (or army) Go from me, and approach not! For he that entereth it and beareth (arms) for me, His " garment'' will be adjusted to the House of Perfection. But he that weareth it and doth not perfect it Will die and his spirit will extinguish, He will die and extinct will be his spirit, He will become the portion of the world, Thou hast conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmest Thy friends! Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who went hence,

Chapter 90

In the flame of the Great Life

The sublime Light be glorified!

A disciple am I, a new one;

For I went to the jordan-bank

And took my name on my head

And in my heart I took a Sign,

My Sign is not that of Fire,

Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One

My Sign is a jordan of living water,

The strength of which none can attain,

He chose one out of a thousand

And from two thousand he chose two,

Making traders of them

Who labour and ply their trade on earth.

And they trade for fee and pious gift,

And shine more than sun and moon.

I came to the congregation of souls,

For the Life sent me, sent me forth.

There were some who bought my wares,

There those who came to their end and lay down .

There were those who bought my wares.

The eyes (of such a one) were filled with light,

Filled with light were his eyes

(On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection,

There were those who did not buy my wares.

They went on, reached their end and lay down.

'they were blind and saw not,

Their ears were stopped and they heard not

And their hearts were not awakened

To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection.

As They called them and they answered not,

When they call, who will answer them?

Because it was given to them but they took not,

Who will give to them when they ask ?

They hated the Way of Life and its Abode

But loved the abode of the wicked.

And lo! in the abode of the wicked

Will they be held captive.

They tied up their tribute, their money

In a lappet of their clothes.

When they wish to lift their heads (hold their heads high)

They hurl them down to the Gates of Darkness

To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants Who stand by the jordan. I say to them, "My children (who walk) in my road, My children (who follow) my road, Swerve not from it or its boundary! Let him who deviateth from its boundary Cling to the boundary-stone. He who hath turned aside from both will fall into the uttermost ends of the world". Thou host conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmeth his friends! Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord Our sins and our trespasses. Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who hath gone hence.

[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from here to below are the hymns and chants of the masiqta.]

Chapter 91

My vigilance and praisegiving

Are my ferrymen across (the waters of death);

A transformation brought me over,

A cloud of light took me over.

In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

Chapter 92

In the name of the Life!

Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one;

Thou art without spot.

Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on) earth

And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles

From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward.

Above all the world thou hast spoken.

Chosen and pure one (saying),

"I am a seer, a diviner;

A seer am I and a diviner!"

The worlds assembled for judgement, For judgement the worlds assembled And judgement was pronounced on them, On them was judgement pronounced, On those who did not perform the works Of right-dealing Man. But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One, Fair mana, that art burnished bright, Thou goest not to the judgement hall. Judgement will not be pronounced over thee, Over thee judgement will not be pronounced; Because thou didst perform the works Of right-dealing mankind. This , that they endure and bear, Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee. Escape the clutch of the planets And the forces of this wvorld! Take, put on thy garment of radiance, Set on thy living wreath! Bow thyself! and worship! Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life. Praise the Place of Life To which thy fathers go. Thou (O) Chosen One, Wast not from here; From this place thou wast not transplanted Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life, Thy home the Everlasting Abode. They have set up for thee a throne of rest In which there is no heat or wrath. There is kept for thee a girdle In which there is no trouble or fault . Good one! Rise to the House of Life! And go to the Everlasting Abode !

They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light And they will shine in thy time, and lit thy moment. Arise! Behold the Place of Light! Renowned is Life and victorious And victorious the man who went thither.

Chapter 93

The mana rejoiceth in its treasure

And in the glory of Life

Which resteth on it.

I have acknowledged thee

(O) elect righteous one,

For thou settest my soul free

From transitory things.

Chapter 94

Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul
That hast departed from the world!
Thou leavest corruption and the stinking body
In which thou hast been: (thou leanest)
Its abode, the abode of the wicked,
The place which is all sinning,
The world of darkness,
Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions,
The abode in which the planets go about,
Bringing pains and blemishes,
Pains they bring, and blemishes,
Every day causing them tribulation.
Rise up, rise up, soul!
Ascend to thy first homeland.
Rise, rise to thy first homeland,
The place from which thou wast transplanted,
To the place from which thou wast transplanted,
To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras,
Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory
And set on thy living wreath.

Rise! inhabit the S'kintas Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren. As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home; And curse this place, the house of thy fostering; For (during) the years that thou didst spend therein Every day the Seven were thine enemies, The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve Beset thee with persecution. Renowned is Life and victorious, And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

Chapter 95

Her Sunday, her kus'ta and her alms

Bear witness for the soul.

Ye will be her witnesses

And will pass her through at the toll-house.

Chapter 96

I am provided and provisioned:

'Uthras of light equipped me.

I am provisioned; for Life provided for me.

And I am equipped by 'uthras of light.

They provided me with provision of Truth (ki

I lifted mine eyes to heaven and my soul waited on the house of life. and the life who heard my cry sent toward me a deliverer. the deliverer who came to me brought me that which was lovely; he opened out a robe and showed me its radiance and i cast off the stinking body. he grasped me with the palm of his right hand and led me over the waters of death . over the waters of death he brought me and led me onward; in the likeness of life he supported me. life supported life, life found its own. its own self did life find and my soul found that for which it had looked. renowned is life and victorious and victorious the man who went hence.

Chapter 97

He rose and took me with him and did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

Chapter 98

The day on which the soul goeth forth,
on the day that the perfected one ascendeth,
on the day that the soul issueth from below
the spheres of death, of contention ,
strife was thrown into the earth.
ruha's slaves sit bewailing
and the seven sit in consternation.
the robe of the stars is lent
and dust is cast on ruha's head.
the hell-beasts weep
and the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken.
the being who brought me hither,
who brought me that which was beautiful,
put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance,
in a wrapping of light he covered me.
he set on (my head) a wreath of ether
and (gave me) of that which life bestoweth on the 'uthras.
he set me up amongst 'uthras
and stood me up amidst the perfected (souls).

a wreath of ether he set on my head,
and gloriously he brought me forth from the world.
life supported life,
life found its own,
its own did life find,
and my soul found that for which it had looked.
renowned is life and victorious,
and victorious the man who went thither.

Chapter 99

Ye are set up and raised up, my chosen ones,
by the word and certitude that came to you
the word and the certitude that came to the good,
the true word which came to believers.
my chosen, ye sought and ye found,
moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find.
ye sought and found, my chosen ones,
as the first (souls?) sought and found.
thou art victorious, manda-d-hiia.
and thou bringest to victory all who love thee.
and life is victorious.
[here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".]

Chapter 100

In a building which life buildeth,

good trees flourish.

fragrant is the perfume of the trees

with the perfume of manda-d-hiia

which pervadeth them.

[here recite "Blessed and praised be Life"

of Shem son of Noah,and "Good is good for the good".]

Chapter 101

The life hath founded a dwelling,

and radiance dawned

in the sublime ether!

i and my brethren, the 'uthras,

have set out every good thing ,

have set out the allotted portion of the great (life):

we have offered it up in purity to the place of light.

Chapter 102

The building that life buildeth will never come to nought. [repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark and Light set up in its place".]

Chapter 103

Darkness is crushed back into the dark

and light is set up in its place.

the life hath accepted your prayer,

the 'uthras have accepted your praise

the oblation is assigned to its lord,

and bounty to him who giveth it.

this soul ot n, and the souls of this masiqta rest at the

great place of light and the everlasting abode.

and life is victorious.

[here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the masiqta and pray a prayer for thyself. and life is victorious.]

The Rus' hma

Chapter 104

My Lord be praised!

May Kul(a strengthen you! In the name of the great Life

may healing and purity be thine!

0 my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,

Great Jordan of living water,

In the name of the Great Life

We have cleansed our hands in truth (ku ja)

And our lips with faith;

We have uttered words of radiance.

My mind is absorbed in (thoughts of) Light. Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name My Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, and blessed and praised Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory which emanated from Itself. (Three times.) I, N, son of N (or daughter of N.), Am signed with the Sign of Life And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Were pronounced on me. (Three times) My ears have heard the voice of Life. (Three times) My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life. (Three times) My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire, And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed One anointed.

My Sign is in the great jordan of living water And the Sign and name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up And the name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. (Three times) My mouth was filled with prayer and praise. (Three times) My knees bless and worship the Great Life. (Three times) My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kus'ta) and Faith. (Three times) I, N, son of N., am baptised with the baptism Of the great Bihram, son ot the Mighty (Life) My baptism shall guard me and will succeed. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

(Three times)

My feet - and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve Shall be powerless to rule me. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

Asiet Malkia

Chapter 105

Kus'ta heal you! In the Name of the Great Life! Healing and victory be thine, O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies! Healing and victory be yours; My honoured First Parents Healing and victory be yours; Treasure of the great First honoured Life. Healing and victory be thine; King Mara-d-Rabutha-'laita Healing and victory be thine; King Yus'amin the Pure, son of Nis'ibtun Healing and victory be thine; King Manda-d-Hiia, son of Nis'ibtun, Healing and victory be thine; King Hibil-Ziwa Healing and victory be thine; King Anus'-'uthra Healing and victory be thine; King S'is'lam-Rba Healing and victory be

thine; King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia Healing and victory be thine; King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance Healing and victory be yours, Hibil, S'itil and Anus', Healing and victory be yours Adatan and Yadatan, Healing and victory be yours

S'ilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation, Healing and victory be yours; Njab and Anan-Ns'ab , Healing and victory be yours; Sar and Sarwan, Healing and victory be yours; Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun, And Tar and Tarwan Healing and victory be yours; Yufin (and ?) Yufafin, Healing and victory be yours; Habs'aba and Kana-d-Zidqa, Healing and victory be yours; King Baibag-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; King S'ingilan-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; Simat-Hiia, Healing and victory be thine; Great 'Zlat , Healing and victory be thine; S'arat-Nit'ufta , Healing and victory be thine; Kanat-Nit'ufta, Healing and victory be thine; Bihrat-Anana, Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Rama , Healing and victory be thine; King 'Us' t'una-rba ,

Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Muzania, Healing and victory be thine; King Pthahil, son of Zahriel , Healing and victory be thine; King Yahia-Yuhana, Healing and victory be thine; King Adam, the first man, Healing and victory be thine; King S'itil, , son of Adam the first man, Healing and victory be thine; O (ye) kings and'uthras, And Indwellings and jordans, And running streams and s'kintas Of the worlds of light, All of you, healing and victory (be yours!) And (may there be) forgiving of sins For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnus'), (N. son of N.) Who have prayed this prayer !

May there be forgiveness of sins for me! (Note. - The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", I.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayer-times daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnus'. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (Rahmia), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

Prayer 106

Up, up! ye Elect Righteous Ones

Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours (daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions".

Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]

In the Name of the Great Life!

Up, up! ye Elect righteous ones,

Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones!

Rise, worship and praise the Great Life!

And praise the great king ŠiŠlam-Rba,

And praise the Occult Tanna and Ham-Ziwa,

And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great,

And praise Simat-Hiia,

From whom all worlds came into being;

And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm

From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being.

I worship and praise that lofty and great

King of light, the Compassionate One

Who is full of loving-kindness.

[Prayers 107 -108 Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" (#106) in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name.., in the name of that Primal Being"]

107

In the name of the Great Life!

My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends,

Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

108

In the name of the Great Life!

I worship Life

And I praise my Lord Manda-d-Hiia

And that great Presence of Glory

Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 110 - 112 This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (In the name of the Life) and "In the name of that (Primal Being) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (Yawar-Ziwa)", "Let there

be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.)

110

In the name of the great Life!

The time, the time for devotions arriveth

The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come.

My awakener is Hibil, my instructor is Šitil, Anuš lifteth up my hymns.

The immerser in my immersion is Šilmai
And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

111

In the name of the Great Life!

My good messenger of light
Who travelleth to the house of its friends

Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

112

In the name of the Great Life!

I worship the Life
And I praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory

Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 113 - 116 Pray these four prayers:
"On the Ether-Light do I stand" (#113),
"Early I rose from my sleep" (#114),
"We have purified our hands in kušta"(#115),
"Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name"(#116).
Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense)

#113

On the light of Ether do I stand

In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, through this Sunday prayer!

"On the light of Ether do I stand,
I stand for the Great Light with its purities!

I am Manda-d-Hiia, emanation (planting) of the Mighty First Life.
I cried to the first day of the week, (Habšaba)
The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light
Who enlighteneth 'uthras.
To him I said

"Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world,
To that world which is all birth,
To be with the Elect Righteous,
Men formed of flesh and blood.
Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them,
Stand by them, take care of them,
Give them strength and fortitude
So that they may stand and worship and praise
The Mighty Sublime Life! "

Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-d-Hiia
"How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth
To be with elect righteous (men)
Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me!
They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour,
And remit not my sin and transgression!"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday,
"Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world
To this world that is all birth, to be with
Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood.
And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them,
Stand by them and take care of them!
Turn back and drive away from them

The seven planets together with their demons and devils,
And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures;
So that they will forgive thee thy sins
And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem
And victory will be ours and will be thine"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous,
"Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom
I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you,
To uplift you and make you upright,
And to bring you prayer and praise.
Forgive him his sins and transgressions
And hold him in great esteem."

Manda-d-Hiia taught and expounded and said,
"Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses
On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem,
Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras
Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory.
For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous
And bright than all the 'uthras!"

Blessed and praised is Manda-d-Hiia and the Confirmed"

And Life is victorious over all works.

114

Early I arose from my sleep

In the name of the Great Life!

Sublime Light be glorified!

Early I arose from my sleep: I stood,
Into radiance that was great I looked,
I gazed into radiance that was great,
Into the Light which is boundless.

When clothed') in robes of radiance
And light was thrown on my shoulders
A wreath of ether He set on my head
And set it on the head of all His race
He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn
And the Light-rays answer His voice.
And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up
From their sleep.
He said to them

"Arise, ye sleepers who lie there,

Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled,

Arise, worship and praise the Great Life

And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life

Which shineth forth and is expressed

In sublime light."

And Life be praised!

#115

We have purified our hands in Kušta

In the name of the Great Life!

We have purified our hands in Kušta (truth)

And our lips in faith

We have uttered words of radiance

And were absorbed in thoughts of light.

Thou, my lord Manda-d-Hiia, art blessed and praised

And thy praise is established (on high).

Great is the strength of Life;

Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!

Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.

This is prayer and praise which came to them from
The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,
Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

#116

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name
My lord, Manda-d-Hiia!

Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee:
'Ufalnia (interpretations!) of truth which are unchangeable
Have blessed thee.

Sons of salvation who sit in thy company

Have blessed thee.

Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Nasirutha
Hath blessed thee;

Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,
Hath blessed thee

And I worship and praise that channel of light,
The messenger of all rays-of-light.

Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,
Being who resteth upon the Škintas!

Upon Škintas doth his name rest.

Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness
And upon the great Countenance of Glory.

And Life be praised!

#117

[Prayer 117: Pray this prayer in the Rahmia (Devotions) of the seventh hour after incense on the fire (and after) "On the Ether-Iight do I stand" (#113)]

I worship, praise and laud
That Šrar, the great occult First Vine
Whose fruits are a thousand thousand,
And a myriad myriad His tendrils;

Upon Whom I called and He answered me·
Further, when I call on him, He will answer me;

For He will come and will heal me,
Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me
Will direct my eyes to the Light,
And my feet to steadfastness
My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That first great occult Škinta
That is the house of dazzling beings.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That occult, first Škinta
Which my Parents inhabit.

Then I worship, praise and laud
Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine

Which loosed its milky juices into the habitations.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That Ruaz, the great first Light
Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.

Then I worship, praise and laud
That great, occult, first Škinta
To which the eyes of Nasoraeans.
Men set apart, and the elect righteous
Look, that they may rise and behold
The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

#118

[Prayer 118: Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand". (#113)]

It is time to pray the "Devotions"
The great moment for humble worship
For offering up propitiatory prayer

To my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,

For arousing the elect righteous.

The priests say to Manda-d-Hiia:

"We will abjure that which we possess
Of fee, alms and benefit
And the (false) deity of the House
We will come and will be believers."

Manda-d-hiia saith to them, to the priests:

"Your Father hath great strength,
Surpassing all limit, (stronger)
Than passionate thoughts, vain things
And the devouring flame.

The Good One clotheth His children
He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them
That there is great enlargement of Life
And your souls shall rejoice
With clouds (spouses?) of light.

But other souls will die and become
As though they had never existed.

Ye shall receive your vestments

Ye shall receive your wreaths.

In the presence of the Great (Life?)
Ye will be great, and will be called
'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.

And ye will say "The Living stand
In the dwelling of the Life"

And Life is victorious over all works.

#119

[Prayers 119 - 124 SUNDAY The following three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

In the name of the Great Life
Be the sublime Light glorified!

On Sunday, the first of days,
Who hath seen that which I have seen?

Who saw Manda-d-Hiia

When he went and came to the world?

He went (thence) and came to the world
The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.

He taught, and lovely was his voice!
And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence,
Eloquence he put into his mouth.

He revolutionized and forsook the world:
The world he revolutionized and forsook.

Spirit (Ruha) sitteth in lamentation
In lamentation sitteth Ruha;

And the Seven sit in consternation;
They weep and prolong their mourning
Because their mysteries are disclosed,
Because disclosed are their mysteries.
They will be brought to an end
On the great Last Day.

Namrus (Ruha) feared and trembled,
Her weapon fell from her shoulder,
From her shoulder fell her weapon

And her bows from the palm of her hand,

Ruha addresseth her sons,
Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),

She saith to them,
"Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do!
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"

A consuming ray of light
Is in Manda-d-Hiia’siirr's hand; felling· them
He cometh (to?) the rebels.

The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice
At departure of the Seven
Saying to them "I have brought wares
To my friends.
I brought truthful words to believers.
Men who buy my wares,
Their merits wreathe their heads
Twined are their merits,
And their horns are exalted
On their heads.

They will arise and will behold
The Place of Light.”

Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

#120

My day -- what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!

What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?

The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,

The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia dawned

On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

121

Before the Wellsprings were transmuted
Before the Awakening without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world.

The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.

They become clear and shining
They gush forth and cast out impurities.

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?

Voices cry aloud proclamations
Planning schemes, all of them talk!

(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings,
One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.

(As for) us, who have praised our Lord
Thou wilt forgive us our sins.

Thou wast victorious, Manda-d-Hiia
And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

 # I22

O Lord of devotions,
O Lord of Prayers

And of hymns and good books,
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hear my voice and condemn me not!

#123

Except for six or seven nations,
Fruit is set up on the Tree

On the Tree fruit is set up
And (other) trees gather together toward it.

Toward it do the trees assemble,
And a throne is set up for the Lord of Radiance

For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up
And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.

Before him are set up recompenses
Which he delivereth to the perfect,
To the perfect doth he deliver them

And said:
"To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded".

And he said:
“Every man who toiled
And was long-suffering shall come
and take with both hands,
But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.

He will seek but will not find,
And ask, but nought will be given him,
Because he had in his hand and gave not,
He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."

Thou art praised, Manda-d-Hiia
Who dost not condemn thy friends.

I24

I seek a boon from the Life,

From Thee, mighty Life.

I seek a boon from the Life -

That Ye will rightly guide Your praise

For me.

(....)

Chapter 170

Tab taba Itabia (The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living)

Good is the Good (one ?) for the good, and He set His nature upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread , masiqta and tabuta . His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-d-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yus'amin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Hablaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins.

For S'itil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud . There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'urbai and S'arhabiel). There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'um son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nis'bai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnus' daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnus' : forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of S'arat-Simat ,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness ot sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnul, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anus' son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram- Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me- And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of ganzibria: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-S'itil son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of S'adia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and S'aria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar- Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (Bihrat?)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisth'aq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'abur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mha- tam and S'itil, sons of

Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anus' son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'aiar- Ziwa and S'abur son (sons?) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (them?); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa- Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anus' Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anus' , Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (their?); Bihdad son of S'adia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'ganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The people, (consisting of all Nasoraeans, priests and laymen (mandaiia), and ganzibria and ganzaiia (headpriests and treas- urers ?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations); all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (t'abuta), and for you, my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ye upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling " And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 171

Hymns of Praise

In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great S'is'lam who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree; praised is the great 'zlat Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all

kings, because from them (both) all worlds proceeded - for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

Praised is that first great Jordan : praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first S'kinta and praised are the three hundred and sixty S'kintas which proceeded from that first great mystic S'kinta.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and said, "Upon every Nasoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (prayer of) dedication the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anus'-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate (his crown) sixty-one times and make (this) petition : (and say) Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the great First Liie, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (0) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me : be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

O Hablaba (Sunday) ! deliver me from hell-beasts and from purgatory-demons and from water-penalties , and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts , the chief Levier of dues and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me. O Abathur-Rama, 0 Abathur-Muzania! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding! Haias'um, healer; Kus'ta, and Yusmir healer of the mana and its counterpart, heal me (preserve me) from pains, from blemishes from hateful curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body. 0 Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba , Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me

of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and nor my teacher , for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart. Yea, Life, verily Life , Life will be with the victorious. They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us . Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 172

Now (we beseech Thee), Life, (bestow) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) . For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever hath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is victorious over all works.

The S' umhita

Chapter 173

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The naive of the great S'is'lam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upun thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Mana and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus'. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures , pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eye and the dimmed eye be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul,

thy trunk and thy, stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-d-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Zi,va and Simat- Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

Chapter 174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (ginza) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil- Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty, which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

Chapter 175

In the name of the Great Life. Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou ?'' I say to them, "I come from the Body, the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consumination ". They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called ?'' I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

Then they bless her (me); and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal " because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body . And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

Chapter 176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O S'ilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body, compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

Little New Year`s Feast Prayer

Chapter 177

In the Name of the Great Life.

Vines shone in the water

And in the jordan mighty they grew.

Ye are flourishing offshoots.

Messengers hither I bring you,

I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you Garlands of myrtle and marjoram For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

I will rear up for you babes And bring them to you. We bless you unto the world`s end : The full river (yardna) hath blessed you And the baptism which is unfailing from beginning to end.

Honouring of the Crown

Chapter 178

Kus'ta strengthen thee , my crown, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my teacher, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my turban, Kus'ta strengthen thee, guardian of my turban, Kulja strengthen thee, Great First Radiance, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Great First Light, Kus'ta strengthen you, my brother-priests, Kus'ta strengthen You, Life, my Parents , Kus'ta strengthen thee, my treasure, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure! We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times) In an inner vessel they concealed thee . The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee, And the Nas'irutha which emanated therefrom Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion. And treasure will arise to its owner. And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever! And Life is victorious .

(...)

The Letter

Chapter 382

In the Name of the Great Life!

Vines shone in the waters:

Mighty ones were confirmed

For perfecting, for clearing the waters,

Establishing Your likeness and giving us light

Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!

Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration,

Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.

Let your fragrance come and overpower (us with its sweetness)

[This hymn the ganzibra shall pronounce over the wine-bowl, giving it to the baruka

(blesser) and to the two witnesses.]

Chapter 383

In the name of the Great Life!

On the day that Hibil-Ziwa
Walked with Yawar,
Myrtle with them was plentiful,
Plentiful was the myrtle,
And to Yawar he gave it,
Into his right hand.
And he said to him,
"Take from me fresh myrtle
And pronounce blessing in the shkinata
Its blessing pronounce in the shkinata.
Then Yawar opened his mouth,
Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa
And said to him, "Blessed art thou,
Our father, Hibil-Ziwa!
Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand
Thy Root shall flourish
Like the root of fresh myrtle:
And thou shalt have strength and increase
Like the living waters".

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra.]

Chapter 384

Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;
The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,
The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,
And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,
Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle
And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.
The dwellings shine in its brightness
And delight in its fragrance for ever.

[The ganzibra recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from the "blessers".]

Chapter 385

In the name of the Great Life!

All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned by thee
Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.
And all pure spouses will be made perfect,

Delivered from evil actions.

(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads

Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The ganzibra reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the shganda (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (folds and) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.")

[Note. -- Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins: --]

These are the prayers for the pihtania (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

[Note. -- Before No. 386D.C. 3 inserts:

Chapter 386

See Prayer No. 329.

[The rubric differs slightly, so I give it:]

[This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the ganzibra wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (novice's) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (item) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (i.e. facing North), to (as many) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this

hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!]

Chapter 387

See Prayer No. 305.

Chapter 388

See Prayer No. 306.

Chapter 389

See Prayer No. 307.

Chapter 390

See Prayer No. 308.

Chapter 391

See Prayer No. 309.

Chapter 392

See Prayer No. 310.

Chapter 393

See Prayer No. 311.

[The ganzibra shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Shishlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

Chapter 394

See Prayer No. 312.

Chapter 395

See Prayer No. 313.

Chapter 396

See Prayer No. 314.

Chapter 397

See Prayer No. 315.

Chapter 398

See Prayer No. 316 and 317.

Chapter 399

See Prayer No. 318 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 400

See Prayer No. 319 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 401

See Prayer No. 320 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 402

See Prayer No. 321 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 403

See Prayer No. 322 and compare Prayer 386.

Chapter 404

See Prayer No. 323 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 405

See Prayer No. 324 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 406

See Prayer No. 325 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 407

See Prayer No. 326 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 408

See Prayer No. 327 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 409

See Prayer No. 328 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 410

Prayer of Yahia

In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-Life.

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to thy name, and speak (it) in my heart and talk (of it) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) Shihrialia shilia, superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth". Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse from me insecurity (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshly-flowing Water of Life. Set up for me a kana d-zidqa, a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied by Nasirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil, and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years, without feebleness, in a blessed old age,

in my own home.

Look on the plants, marvel at the shualania (those entering the priesthood under tuition); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

And now (I ask) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food (here), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you! Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (called) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

Other Hymns

Chapter 411

[This is the great Commemorative prayer known as "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the Tab taba ltabia prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yushamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins for him.

.... (the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, "injunctions", "rubrics")

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

Chapter 412

In the name of the Great Life.

Then, when she (the soul) reacheth the seven mysteries,

Servants of the Seven go out towards her

And come and surround her and question her.

And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou?

And whither goest thou?" She said to them,

"I come from the Body the name of which is Earth.

And I go toward the good Kimsa".

They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou?

Messenger of whom art thou called?"

She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved Kimsa

And the envoy of the vast Ether".

Then they bless her and commend her and say to her,

"All who know this (pass-) word shall rise
Towards the good Kimsa".
For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body
And (so) question her.
And thereupon she ascendeth
Towards the Good Kimsa.

[This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul.]

Chapter 413

[See prayer 177.]

Chapter 414

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great Life!

On the day when the radiance within Radiance
Broke through and emerged,
A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors;
In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed.
And water was produced in the Ether.
The jordan emerged in its glory

And the water was intermingled with the Ether,

Intermingled was Water with Ether.

And the strength of Light increased greatly,

Was increased and established.

A wreath they twisted into crowns

(Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (fruit)

Nasirutha spoke therein to kings (priests)

And their purities were intertwined.

(The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh kushta with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown. Beware of performing a marriage OI (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

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KITĀB AL-MAGĀLL

OR

THE BOOK OF THE ROLLS.

ONE OF THE BOOKS OF CLEMENT.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God, the merciful Lord.

This book is one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon

Cepha, which Saint Clement commanded to be kept secret from the laity. Some of them were called "The Book of the Rolls," and there are the glorious genealogies and mysteries which our God and Saviour Jesus the Christ committed to his disciples Simon and James, and what things will happen at the end of time, and how the second coming of our Lord the Christ from heaven to the world will happen, and what will become of sinners and such like. This is the sixth of Clement's books, treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles.

Saint Clement said, When our God Jesus the Christ went up to heaven and the disciples were scattered in the regions of the world to evangelize, and to call mankind to the faith and to immersion by baptism, they took disciples, whom they chose and selected to be with them, and to travel about to the countries in the faith of the Christ. Wherefore Simon Cepha took me for a disciple to himself; I believed in him, and in Him that sent him, with a true faith; I recognized that he was chief of the Apostles, to whom were given the keys of heaven and earth, on whom was built the Catholic Apostolic Church of God, which p. 2 the gates of Hell shall not destroy, as our God Jesus the Christ said in the holy Gospel. After a long time he took also my brothers Constans and Constantinus to be his disciples. Twenty years after he had taken me as his disciple, he brought me together with my father and my mother, who was called Metrodora, and committed to me all the mysteries which had been given him by our Lord Jesus the Christ on the Mount of Olives. At that time the rest of the Apostles and all the believers had a struggle with the unbelieving Jews because the Jews were killing every one of the believers whose murder was possible to them. I and my gracious Teacher Simon encompassed some of the countries, and we met with great trouble from the controversy of the Jews, and their questioning about the genealogy of the pure Mary, for their saying about her was that she was not of the children of Judah that they might invalidate by this the coming of our Lord the Christ into the world, and His Incarnation from her. They were increasing [their] bribe of money and other things to the Greeks and the Romans that they might help them in the destruction of the believers and the bringing to nought of their business, and hinder the Apostles from the reading of the Law, lest they should teach out of it about the state of mankind, and how it was in the beginning. When I saw in what misery we were with the Jews, I sought from my gracious Teacher that he would make known to me how mankind were at the beginning, and that he would make me perfect about the reasons, for he had learned everything from the Lord Jesus the Christ, and I was acquainted with the tongue of the Greeks and their books, and was learned in their mysteries, and I had deposited their secrets which had been entrusted to me, [in] my two books called the seventh and the eighth. I informed my Teacher what I conjectured about the envy towards the Lady Mary, and my anxiety at the reproach of the Jews to me that I did not understand the Torah, and their much questioning of me about the creation of our father Adam, and what I had heard with my ears of their insult to the Lady Mary and their p. 3 fiction about her without any resource being possible for me [how] I should refute them in regard to their hateful saying. The Teacher was moved by my excitement, and zeal entered him when I told him about it. He said, "I will put it in order for thee, O my son, as thou hast asked me about it, and will initiate thee in things since the beginning of the creation, and will teach thee the genealogy of the Mother of Mercy, Mary the pure, and its authenticity, and that without doubt she is of the lineage of Judah the son

of Jacob and his tribe, and I will relate to thee mysteries, and what reason there was for the fall of the Devil, the prince, from heaven. Know, O my son, that the Lord is the beginning and before the beginning, He who is Infinite, raised above the height, equal with the Highest, there is nothing lower about Him, nothing inward, nothing outward, He is before the beginning, the ancient substance, He who is boundless, whom no intelligence can reach, and no discernment nor quality can comprehend. He was above Being, and with Being, and below Being, the creative Substance, the glorious Light, which darkness reacheth not. Light dwelling in the Light which eyes cannot reach, before creation He was; and He is the Former of forms, whose glory is from Himself and in Himself, and in His Essence. [He is] the Creator of what glorifies Him, that thou mayest learn His divinity and His power, He made the heaven and the earth, He created before harmony the division of things. Angels worship Him, ten homogeneous choirs, I mean by this ten ranks. The highest rank, some of whom are nearest to the throne of the Lord God, pouring out praises in abundance, is the rank of Satanaeel, who was the prince, and praises rose up to God from all the Angels; that was the beginning in the first day which was the holy first day (Sunday), chief of days; early in it God created the upper heaven and the worlds, and the highest rank of Angels, which is the rank of Satanaeel, and the Archangels, and powers, and chiefs, and thrones, and dignities and governors, and cherubim and seraphim, and light, and day and night, and wind and water, and air, and fire and what is like these elements. Verily the Lord formed all this, may His names be sanctified! by the completion of His eternal Word p. 4 without speech, and in the first day in which these things were created, the Holy Spirit hovered over the waters, and in its hovering over them they were blessed and sanctified, and heat was formed in them by which the watery beings are born, and with this were mixed yeasts of the creatures, such as the bird which lays the egg by its wings, and from this is formed the living bird, for by reason of the nature of the heat of flaming fire, it verily reneweth heat in the wings of the bird, and lo! with them it lays an egg in which chickens are formed. Verily the reason why the holy Paraclete hovered over the waters in the form of a bird, was that every winged fowl should be formed in this shape. On the second day God created the lower heaven, which is called the firmament, on which the gaze of men falls, that thou mayest know that the beings of the highest heavens which the heaven of the visible firmament covers are like the nature of the heaven of the firmament, except that the heaven which the eyes reach is separated from the highest heavens. All the heavens are three heavens. The visible firmament, and what is above it; it is called Δίπατον and above it there is flaming fire; and a heaven which is above the fire; and the two heavens are filled with light and fire which created eyes cannot look at. On the second day which is the second of the days (Monday) the Lord, to Whom be praise! separated between the higher water and the lower water. Verily the rising up of the water which was formed in the height that day was like gathered clouds clinging together, and the waters remained resting in the air, none of them inclining to any one district. On the third day (Tuesday) God commanded the waters which were below the firmament that they should be gathered together to one place, that the dry land might be seen. When this happened, the veil was removed which was above the earth and the earth was disclosed. He looked upon it, and it was barren of verdure, [it was] dust and water mixed together. The water was in it and below it and above it, and it was shaken to the blowing of the winds through it. The air went up from the bosom of the earth, and rested in the bosom of its p. 5 crevices and passages that in these caves might arise heat and cold for the service and consolidation of the earth, because the

earth was created like a sponge standing above the water. On this day God commanded the earth to bring forth grass and reeds and trees and seeds and roots and other things. On the fourth day (Wednesday) God formed the sun and the moon and the stars that the heat of the sun might be spread over the earth and it should be strengthened by its mellowness and that the moisture communicated to it by the water high above it should be dried up. On the fifth day God commanded the waters to bring forth animals of various colours and forms, some of which should fly in the bosom of the water, and others should fly above the water, and from them should spring the whales and Leviathan, and Behemoth, so terrible in their appearance, and air-fowl and water-fowl. On the sixth day God created from the earth all the beasts, and animals and insects and creeping reptiles. This day is Friday, and on it God created Adam of dust, and formed Eve from his rib. On the seventh day God had completed all creation, and He called it Sabbath. God had created Adam in the third hour of Friday the sixth day. Iblis had laid claim to Godhead which had entered him in the second hour of that day, and God had hurled him down from heaven to earth. Before God the Lord created Adam, rest fell upon all the powers; and God said, 'Come, let us create a Man in our likeness and form and image.' When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they became frightened and much terrified, and they said to one another, 'What is this great wonder which we hear, and how is it possible that the form of our God and Creator can appear to us?' Then all the Angels looked towards the right hand of the Lord, which was stretched out above all creation, and all of it was in His right hand. Then they looked towards the right hand of the Lord, and it took from all the earth a little handful of dust, and from all the waters a drop of water, and from the air a soul and a spirit, and from fire the force of heat, and it became in the grasp of the p. 6 Lord portions of the four elements, heat and cold, moisture and drought. Verily God, the glorious and strong, created Adam from these four weak elements, which have no power, that all creatures created from them might hear and obey him: dust, that man might obey him; water, that all that is born of it and in it might obey him; air, that it might be possible for him to breathe it and to feel its breezes, and that its birds might obey him; and fire, that the heat of forces created from it should be a powerful helper to his sense. The reason why God, may His holy names be sanctified! created Adam with His holy hand in His form and image was that he should receive wisdom and speech and animal motion, and for the knowledge concerning things. When the glorious and illustrious Angels saw one like Him in Adam, they were affrighted. The wondrous glory upon his face terrified them, his form appeared shining with divine light greater than the light of the sun, and his body was bright and brilliant like the well-known stars in the crystal. When the figure of Adam drew itself up, he leapt standing; he was in the centre of the earth, he stretched out his right hand and his left hand and put his feet in order upon Golgotha, which is the place where was put the wood (cross) of our Saviour Jesus the Christ. He was dressed with a royal robe, he wore upon his head a diadem of glory and praise and honour and dignity, he was crowned with a royal crown, and there he was made king and priest and prophet. God set him upon a throne of honour, and gathered to what was there all the animals and beasts and birds and all that God had created, and made them stand before Adam. They bent their heads and did obeisance to him, and he called each of them by its name. He made all the creatures obey him and they responded to his command. The Angels and the Powers heard the voice of God, may He be glorified and exalted! saying to Adam, 'O Adam, I have made thee king and priest and prophet and ruler and chief and governor over all creatures that are made.

All creation shall obey thee p. 7 and follow thy voice. Under thy grasp they shall be. To thee alone I have given this power; I have placed thee in possession of all that I have created.' When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they redoubled honour and respect to Adam. When the Devil saw the gift that was given to Adam from the Lord, he envied him from that day and the schismatic from God set his mind in cunning towards him to seduce him by his boldness and his curse; and when he denied the grace of the Lord towards him, he became shameless and warlike. God, may His names be sanctified! deprived the Devil of the robe of praise and dignity and called his name Devil, he is a rebel against God, and Satan, because he opposes himself to the ways of the Lord, and Iblis, because He took his dignity from him. While Adam was listening to the speech of his Lord to him, and standing upon the place of Golgotha, all the creatures being gathered together that they might hear the conversation of God with him, lo! a cloud of light carried him and went with him to Paradise and the choirs of Angels sang before him, the cherubim among them blessing and the seraphim crying 'Holy!' until Adam came into Paradise. He entered it at the third hour on Friday, and the Lord, to Him be praise! gave him the commandment, and warned him against disobedience to it. Then the Lord, to Him be praise! threw upon Adam a form of sleep, and he slept a sweet sleep in Paradise. And God took a rib from his left side, and from it He created Eve. When he awoke and saw Eve he rejoiced over her and lived with her, and she was in the pleasant garden of Paradise. God clothed them with glory and splendour. They outvied one another in the glory with which they were clothed, and the Lord crowned them for marriage, the Angels congratulated them, and there was joy there such as never has been the like and never will be till the day in which the people at the right hand shall hear the glorious voice from the Lord. Adam and Eve remained in Paradise for three hours. The site of Paradise was high up in the air, its ground was heavenly, raised above all mountains and hills, that were thirty spans high, that is fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the Holy Ghost. This p. 8 Paradise stretches round from the east by a wall from the hollow to the southern place of darkness where the cursed Prince was thrown, it is the place of sorrows. Eden is a fountain of God lying eastwards, to a height of eight degrees of the rising of the sun, and this is the mercy of God on which the children of men put their trust, that they shall have a Saviour from thence, because God, may He be exalted and glorified! knew in His foreknowledge what the Devil would do to Adam. Adam lived in the treasury of His mercy, as David the prophet said, 'Thou hast been a fortress to us, O Lord, throughout all ages; cause us to live in Thy mercy.' The blessed David said also in his prayer about the salvation of men, 'Remember, Lord' (the tree was the Cross which was planted in the middle of the earth), 'Thy grace which thou hast wrought from all eternity'; I mean by this the mercy which God loved to extend to all men and to our weak race. Eden is the Church of God, and the Paradise in which is the altar of rest, and the length of life which God has prepared for all the saints. Because Adam was king, priest and prophet, God caused him to enter Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the Church of God the holy Lord, as Moses the holy Prophet testifies about this, saying, 'That thou shouldest minister and declare by noble and glorious service, and keep the commandment by which Adam and Eve were brought into the Church of God.' Then God planted the tree of life in the middle of Paradise and it was the form of the cross which was stretched upon it, and it was the tree of life and salvation. Satan remained in his envy to Adam and Eve for the favour which the Lord shewed them, and he contrived to enter into the serpent, which was the most beautiful of the animals, and its nature was above the nature of the camel. He

carried it till he went with it in the air to the lower parts of Paradise. The reason for Iblis the cursed hiding himself in the serpent was his ugliness, for when he was deprived of his honour he got into the acme of ugliness, till none of the creatures could have borne the sight of him uncovered, and if Eve had seen him unveiled in the serpent, when she spoke to him, she would have run away from him, and neither cunning nor deceit would have availed p. 9 him with her; but he contrived to hide himself in the serpent, the cunning creature, to teach the birds with round tongues the speech of men in Greek and such like. He would bring a broad mirror with much light sending out rays; he would put it between himself and a bird, and speak what he wished that the bird should know, and when the bird heard this speech, it would glance around and look in the mirror, and see the form of a bird like itself and rejoice at it, and not doubting that it was a bird of its species that was speaking to it would listen to it and attend to its language. And it would comprehend it in a moment and talk to it. But the cursed Devil, when he entered the serpent, came towards Eve, when she was alone in Paradise away from Adam, and called her by her name. She turned to him, and looked at her likeness behind a veil, and he talked to her, and she talked to him, and he led her astray by his speech, for woman’s nature is weak, and she trusts in every word, and he lectured her about the forbidden tree in obedience to her desire, and described to her the goodness of its taste, and that when she should eat of it she should become a god; and she longed for what the cursed one made her long for, and she would not hear from the Lord, may His names be sanctified! what He had commanded Adam about the tree. She hastened eagerly towards it, and seized some of its fruit in her mouth. Then she called Adam, and he hastened to her, and she gave him of the fruit, telling him that if he ate of it he would become a god. He listened to her advice because he should become a god as she said. When he and she ate the deadly fruit they were bereft of their glory, and their splendour was taken from them, and they were stripped of the light with which they had been clothed. When they looked at themselves, they were naked of the grace which they had worn, and their shame was manifest to them; they made to themselves aprons of fig-leaves, and covered themselves therewith, and they were in great sadness for three hours. They did not manage to continue in the grace and the power with which the Lord had endued them before their rebellion for three hours, till it was taken from them and they were made to slip and fall down at the time of sunset on that p. 10 day, and they received the sentence of God in punishment. After the clothing of fig-leaves they put on clothing of skins, and that is the skin of which our bodies are made, being of the family of man, and it is a clothing of pain. The entrance of Adam into Paradise was at the third hour. He and Eve passed through great power in three hours, they were naked for three hours, and in the ninth hour they went out from Paradise, unwillingly, with much grief, great weeping, mourning and sighing. They slept towards the East of it near the altar. When they awoke from their sleep, God spoke to Adam and comforted him, saying to him, blessed be His names! ‘O Adam! do not grieve, for I will restore thee to thine inheritance, out of which thy rebellion has brought thee. Know that because of my love to thee I have cursed the earth, and I will not have pity upon it, on account of thy sin. I have cursed also the serpent by whom thou hast been led astray, and I have made its feet go within its belly. I have made dust its food. I have not cursed thee. I have decreed against Eve that she shall be at thy service. Know certainly that when thou hast accomplished the time that I have decreed for thee to dwell outside, in the accursed land, for thy transgression of my commandment, I will send my dear Son; He will come down to the earth, He will be clothed with a body from a Virgin of thy race, named Mary. I will purify her and choose her, and bring her into power generation after generation until the time that the Son comes down from Heaven. In that time shall be the beginning of thy salvation and restoration to thine inheritance. Command thy sons when thy death approaches which I have decreed for thee that when thou diest they keep thy body in myrrh and cassia, and put it in the cave where thou art dwelling to-day till the time of the exit of thy children from the bosom of paradise and their passage to the dusty land. When that time comes, instruct the one of thy children who lives until then to carry thy body with him and put it in the place where I shall make him halt. This place where he shall put thy body is the centre of the earth; from it and in it salvation shall come to thee and to all thy children.' God p. 11 disclosed to him all the griefs and pains that should happen to him, and commanded him to have patience about this. When He put Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He shut its gate, and put in charge a fiery Angel. He caused Adam and Eve to dwell in the holy mountain on which is the foundation of Paradise, in the place known as Matarimôn. They lived there in a cave at the top of the hill, hidden in it, and despairing of mercy, and they were then pure virgins. Then Adam thought of the wedding of Eve, and he found in the foundation of Paradise gold and myrrh and incense. He left this together, and consecrated it in the interior of the cave, which he had already made his house of prayer. The gold which he got from the foundation of Paradise was like in quantity to seventy-two images. He paid this with the myrrh and the incense to Eve, saying, 'This is thy dowry, keep it. This must be all offered together to the Son of God at the time of His coming into the world. The gold is the symbol of His royalty; the incense is to burn before Him; and the myrrh is to anoint His body which He will take from us. This shall be a witness between me and thee with our Saviour that He shall come to the world.' Adam called this cave the Cave of Treasures. When a hundred years had passed over him after his exit from Paradise, and he and Eve were grieved and weeping, they went down from the holy hill to its foot, and there Adam knew Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Cain, and Lusia his twin-sister. He knew her again, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Abel and also his twin-sister Aclima. The boys and the girls grew, and attained to discretion. Adam said to Eve, 'If God lets these lads and lasses grow up, let Cain marry Aclima the sister of Abel, and let Abel marry Lusia the sister of Cain.' And they did thus. But Cain said to Eve, 'O Mother, I have a greater right to my sister who was born with me. Let her be given to me as a wife, and let Abel's sister who was born with him be given to him as a wife.' For Lusia was more beautiful than Aclima, being like her mother Eve. Adam heard of his speech, and it made him angry and annoyed him. He said to p. 12 Cain his son, 'Thy request, O my son, is unlawful, for it is not allowed to thee to marry thy sister who was born with thee.' From that time Cain envied his brother Abel and thought of killing him. Then Adam said to him and to Abel, 'Choose some of the fruits of the earth and of the young of the flock and go up this holy hill, and go into the Cave of Treasures, and pray there before the Lord. Offer to Him what you have brought, fruit, and any young animals as an offering. When you have done this, let each of you take his wife.' And they did so. While they were going up the hill, behold! the Devil entered into Cain, and incited him to the murder of Abel. Then they brought their offerings before the Lord; the Lord accepted the offering of Abel and rejected the offering of Cain, because God, may He be praised and exalted! knew the purpose of Cain, and how he was preparing the murder of his brother. When Cain saw that the Lord, may His name be praised! had accepted the offering of Abel instead of his offering, his envy of Abel increased and his wrath against him. When they came down from the hill, Cain attacked Abel and slew him with a sharp stone. God cursed Cain, and his decree came down against him. He did not cease to be in fear and terror all the days of his life. God led him with his wife from the holy hill, outside to the cursed land, and they lived there. Adam and Eve grieved much about Abel for a hundred years. Then Adam came near to Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Seth, the handsome man, the complete and perfect giant. In his perfection he was like his father Adam, and God protected him when he grew up, making him the father of the other giants of the earth. The first who was born to Seth was Enos. And Enos begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Mahlaleel; these were born during the life of Adam. Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, to the time that Mahlaleel was a hundred and thirty-five years old. When the time of his death came, he summoned Seth, and Enos, and Cainan and Mahlaleel; he prayed over them and blessed them, and commanded to his son Seth this Testament.

p. 13

The Testament of Adam.

Hear, O my son Seth! what I command thee. Keep it, and thou shalt understand it. Command it at thy death to thy son Enos, that Enos may command this to Cainan, and Cainan may command [it] to Mahlaleel, that he may act according to this testament, and that the rest of your generations may learn, generation after generation, and tribe after tribe. This is the first thing that I command thee. When I die, embalm my body with myrrh and cassia, and put it in the Cave of Treasures of the holy hill, that thou mayest tell whosoever of thy posterity is alive at the time when your exit shall take place from this holy Paradise-encircled hill, to carry my body with him, and go with it to the centre of the earth, and put it there, and in that place salvation shall come to me and to all my children. Thou, O my son Seth, shalt after my death be governor of thy people in the fear of God. Remove thyself and all thy children, and keep them apart from the children of the murderer Cain. Understand, O my son, the state of the hours of the night and of the day, and their names, and what praises God in them, wherewith you must call on God at their approach, and at what hour prayer and supplication is due. My Creator has taught me this, and made me understand the names of all the beasts of the earth, and birds of the air; and the Lord has initiated me into the number of the hours of the night and of the day, and the affairs of the Angels and their powers and how they are. Know that in the first hour of the day is the raising of the praise of my children to God. In the second hour there are the prayers of the Angels and their cry. In the third hour the birds give praise. In the fourth hour is the worship of spiritual beings. In the fifth hour is the worship of the other living creatures. In the sixth hour is the entreaty of the cherubim and their supplication. In the seventh hour is the entrance to God and the exit from His presence, for in it the prayers of every living thing rise to the Lord. In p. 14 the eighth hour is the worship of all heavenly beings and fiery creatures. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels of God who stand before Him, and the throne of His majesty. The tenth hour is for the water, and in it the Holy Ghost hovers and goes up over the other waters and chases the devils from them. Were it not for the Holy Spirit hovering every day over the waters and descending in that hour, when any one drank water, would there not be destruction to him from the corrupting devils in it? If any one took the water in that hour, and one of the priests of God mixed it with holy oil and anointed with it the sick and those in whom were unclean spirits, they were cured of their diseases. In the eleventh hour there is joy and rejoicing to the righteous. In the twelfth hour the supplication and cry of men is accepted before God.

The hours of the night. In the first hour there is the worship of the devils. In this hour, the hour of their worship, they do not hurt any one, and no one fears them until the time of their return from their worship. In the second hour there is the worship of the great fishes and all that is upon the water, and the creeping things that are therein. In the third hour is the worship of the fire which is below the abyss, about this hour it is not possible for any one to speak. In the fourth hour is the consecration of the seraphim. I heard that in this hour during the time of my stay in Paradise, before my rebellion against the commandment. When I transgressed the command, I could no longer hear the voices nor their movement and agitation as I used to hear them, and I could not see anything holy as I used to see it before [my] sin. In the fifth hour there is the worship of the water which is above the heaven. Verily I and the Angels used in that hour to hear voices from the water which is in the height, and a tumult as if of chariots and great wheels and the sounding amongst the waves, and commotion among the echoes in praise to the Lord. In the sixth hour is the supplication of the clouds to God when they are fearful and trembling. In the seventh hour the powers of the earth are led forth, and they sing praise, whilst the waters sleep and are stilled. If a man takes anything from the water in p. 15 that hour and the priest mixes holy oil with it and anoints with it the sick and those who cannot sleep at night, verily the sick are cured and the wakeful sleep. In the eighth hour the grass comes forth from the earth. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels and the entrance of prayers before God. In the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and the cry of my believing children is heard, and they receive what they have asked from God, may He be exalted and praised! and the seraphim rub their wings, and by the force of their rubbing the cock crows in praise to the Lord. In the eleventh hour there is joy and delight over all the earth, for the Sun enters the Paradise of God, and its light arises in the regions of the earth. All creatures are illumined by the falling of the sun’s rays upon them. In the twelfth hour my children must burn jasmine before the Lord, for by it there is much repose in heaven for all its inhabitants. Know, O my son Seth, and attend to my saying. Be sure that God will come down to the earth as He said to me, and made me understand and know when He comforted me at my exit from Paradise. Praise to His names! He spoke to me, saying [that] at the end of time He will be incarnate of a Virgin girl named Mary and will be veiled in me. He will put on my skin, and will be born like the birth of man by a force and direction that none can understand but Himself and those to whom He reveals it; He will run with the children, boys and girls of that period; He will do wonders and signs openly; He will walk on the waves of the sea as if walking on the dry land; He will rebuke the winds in a manifest way, and they will be led by His command. He will call to the waves of the sea, and

they will answer Him obediently. At His command the blind shall see, the lepers shall be cleansed, the deaf shall hear, the dumb shall speak, the deformed shall be straightened, the lame shall spring up, the palsied shall rise and walk. Many rebels shall be led to God, those who have wandered shall be led aright, and devils shall be driven away. When the Lord comforted me with this, He said to me, 'O Adam, grieve not, for thou art a god, as thou thoughtest to become by thy transgression of my commandment, and I will make p. 16 thee a god, not at this time, but after the lapse of years.' The Lord said to me also, 'I have verily brought thee out of the land of Paradise, to the land which brings forth thorns and briers, that thou mayest inhabit it; I will bend thy loins, and make thy knees tremble from age and senility. O thou dust! to death I will deliver thee, and thy body I will make to be food for maggots, and the fodder of the worm. After five days and a half (of my days) I will have pity on thee in my mercy. I will come down to thee, and in thy house will I dwell and with thy body will I be clothed. For thy sake, O Adam, I will become a child; for thy sake, O Adam, I will appear in the market-places; for thy sake, O Adam, I will fast for forty days; for thy sake, O Adam, I will receive baptism; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be lifted up on the cross; for thy sake, O Adam, I will endure lies; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be beaten with the whip; for thy sake, O Adam, I will taste vinegar; for thy sake, O Adam, my hands will be nailed; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be pierced with a spear; for thy sake, O Adam, I will thunder in the height; for thy sake, O Adam, I will darken the sun; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cleave the rocks; for thy sake, O Adam, I will frighten the powers of heaven; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause heaven to rain on the desert; for thy sake, O Adam, I will open the graves; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause all creation to tremble; for thy sake, O Adam, I will make a new earth, and after three days, which I have spent in the grave, I will raise up the body which I took from thee, and will make it go up with me without any separation from me, and cause it to sit at the right hand of my Godhead. I will make thee a god as thou hast desired.' Keep, O my son Seth, the commandments of God, and do not despise my word to thyself, and learn that the Lord must come down to earth, and godless people will take Him, and stretch Him on the wood of the cross, and strip Him of His raiment, and raise Him between wicked thieves. He will go up upon the cross in the substance of His humanity, He will be killed, and the body which He took from us will be buried. Then after three days He will raise it and take it up p. 17 with Him to heaven, and will set it with Him at the right hand of His divinity. To Him be the glory and the dignity and the praise and the greatness and the worship and the reverence and the hallelujah and the song, and to His Son, and to the Holy Ghost from now and always, and throughout all ages and times, Amen.

Know, O my son, that there must come a Flood to wash all the earth on account of the children of Cain, the wicked man who slew thy brother for his envy about his sister Lusia. After the Flood through the wickedness of many congregations there shall be the end of the world, the conditions will be fulfilled, things will be perfected, the time will be cut short which I have fixed for the creatures, fire will consume whatever it reaches before the Lord, and the earth shall be consecrated.

Seth wrote this Testament, and sealed it with the seal of his father Adam, which he had from Paradise, and the seal of Eve, and his own seal. And Adam died, and the hosts of the Angels assembled to put him on his bier, for his honour with God, and Seth embalmed him, and swathed him, and he and his sons bare rule. And he put him eastwards of Paradise where he slept at his exit from it, near the town that was built before all building, called Enoch in the inhabited World. When Adam died, the sun was darkened, and the moon for seven days and seven nights, with a gross darkness.

Seth took the scroll in which he wrote the Testament of his father Adam into the Cave of Treasures along with the offerings which Adam had carried with him from the land of Paradise, that is to say, gold, myrrh, and incense, [about] which Adam taught Seth and his children that they should belong to three Magian kings, and that they should travel with these things to the Saviour of the world, to be born in a city called Bethlehem, a territory of Judah.

There was not one of the children born to Adam before his death who did not gather to him; they bade him adieu, he prayed over them and wished them health. Then he died, in the nine hundred and thirtieth year by the reckoning of Abu-Seth. That is the beginning. The exit of our father p. 18 Adam from this world was at three o'clock in the day, on Friday the sixth of Nisan, fourteen nights after the new moon. On a similar day our Lord the Christ gave up His spirit to His Father's hand. Adam's children and children's children grieved for him a hundred and forty days, for he was the first mortal who died on the earth, and the tribes were divided among the people of Cain the murderer after the death of Adam. Seth took his children and his children's children and their wives, and made them go up to the glorious and holy hill, the place in which Adam was buried. Cain and his people and his children stayed below the hill, in the place where he killed Abel. Seth became governor of the people of his time in godliness and purity and holiness. My initiation, O my son Clement, into the story of Adam and this his testament was from the Magi who travelled to the Lady Saint Mary with offerings at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ our God the Saviour. Verily we found that they had a scroll with all this in it, and it was put by for safe keeping. I and the other Jews believed in this, and there were many things in it besides what I have shewn to thee, which it is not proper to make known at this time, and I must tell thee about them afterwards. I will disclose to thee all the secrets with which I have been entrusted. The reason of God's calling the children of Seth Ben-Adam, "the sons of God," was as the book says what He had revealed to Seth about godliness and purity. The Lord appropriated them to Himself by this name; it is the most famous of names on account of their favour with Him. He appointed them to replace the choir of Angels which had rebelled and fallen from Heaven. He put Seth and his race in the lower parts of Paradise, and around it on the holy hill, they praising the Lord and sanctifying His name in all peace, no thought intruding on them about the affairs of the world, their greatest work being praise and hallelujah with the Angels, for they heard their voices in praise and hallelujah in Paradise, for it was raised thirteen spans above them, by the span of the Holy Ghost. They did not undergo the least labour. The food with which they

sustained their bodies was the fruit of trees growing at the summits of the Mount p. 19 of Paradise. The zephyr of Paradise, which reached these trees, ripened their fruits. This tribe was godly and holy; there was no anger in any one of them nor envy nor quarrelling nor pride nor hatred, and they held no shameless conversations nor falsehood nor slander nor calumny, and they do not swear untruthfully nor in vain. Their oaths were among themselves by the purity of the blood of pure Abel. Their custom was to rise early, all of them, the old and the young, the male and the female; to go up to the top of the hill and to worship there before God and be blessed by the body of their father Adam. Then they would lift up their eyes to Paradise and praising and sanctifying God they would return to their place.

Seth Ben-Adam the godly lived nine hundred and twelve years. Then he fell sick of his disease of which he died. There gathered to him Enos and Cainan and Mahlaleel and Jared and Enoch their wives, their sons and their daughters. He prayed over them, and made vows for them, and blessed them, and said to them, "By the truth of the blood of pure Abel, let not one of you descend from this holy hill! Do not mix with the children of Cain the murderer. You know the enmity between us since the murder of Abel the pure." Then his son Enos came near him, and he said to him, "Thou art lord of thy people. Behold, I die. Devote thyself to service before the Lord and before the consecrated body of our father Adam." He made him swear by the blood of Abel the pure that he would govern his people well, and rule them in godliness and purity, and never cease the service before the body of Adam. Seth died lat the age of nine hundred and twelve years, on Tuesday the twenty-fourth night of Ab, the twentieth year of the life of Enoch the righteous. He was embalmed with myrrh and frankincense and cassia, and put in the Cave of Treasures with the body of his father Adam. His people mourned for him forty days.

Enos governed his tribe after the death of his father in purity and godliness; he did to them what his father p. 20 commanded. When Enos had lived eight hundred and twenty years, Lamech the Blind, of the tribe of Cain the murderer, killed [some one] in the thicket known as Nod. This was the cause of it. Lamech was passing the thicket, leaning upon one of his youthful sons. He heard a movement in the thicket, it was the movement of Cain, for it was not possible for him to stay in one place since he had killed his brother. Lamech thought that this movement was that of some wild beasts. He took up a stone from the ground and threw it towards the moving thing. The stone hit Cain between the eyes and killed him. His son said, "By God, thou hast killed our father Cain with thy shot." Then Lamech the Blind lifted up his hands to give [him] a blow on the ear out of grief for the death of Cain. He hit the head of his son and killed him. When Enos had reached nine hundred and five years he fell sick of his disease of which he died, and there gathered to him the rest of the fathers; amongst them were Jared, and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Cainan the son of Methuselah, and Mahlaleel, and their wives and their sons and their daughters. He blessed them and made vows for them and prayed over them and confirmed them in the oaths by the blood of Abel—"oh do not mix yourselves with the children of Cain, and oh do not go down from the holy mountain." He reminded them of the enmity

betwixt them on account of the murder of Abel. Then Cainan his son came near him. He said to him, “O my son, be to thy people and family as I have been to them, and govern them after my death.” He commanded his son Mahlaleel about the care of his tribe in godliness and purity, and that he should not cease from the service before the body of our father Adam during his life. And Enos died when he had reached nine hundred and five years, on the sabbath day, when the third night of October had passed, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. His eldest son Cainan embalmed him, and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

Cainan governed his people in godliness and holiness, and kept the commandments of his father. He lived for nine p. 21 hundred and twenty years and died on Wednesday, the thirteenth night of June. Mahlaleel looked after his burial, and put him in the Cave of Treasures with his fathers. Mahalaleel lived for eight hundred and ninety-five years. When death came near to him, he commanded his people like the commands of his fathers who had preceded him. He appointed Jared his son over the tribe. His death was on Sunday after two nights of Nisan had passed. Jared looked after him, and put him in the cave with his fathers. When Jared was of the age of five hundred years, some of the sons of Seth disobeyed the commands of their fathers, and threw away their faith behind their backs. One by one they began to go down from the holy hill to the tribes of the children of Cain. This was the reason, that Lamech the Blind was followed by two sons, one being called Tufeel (Jubal) and the other Tubalcain. They made lyres, that is, harps, flutes, drums, and other musical instruments. The Devils awoke harmonious tones in them, and there was not one among the sons of Cain to command good behaviour or to restrain from what was forbidden. Every one of them did according to his lust. They busied themselves with musical instruments, and with eating and drinking, and immorality. * * * * * * The Devil hunted the sons of Seth that he might mingle them with the children of Cain, by means of these musical instruments, for they heard the tones of them; he brought them down from the holy hill to the cursed land, and he removed them from the protection of God and His angels to the protection of the Devils; they chose death rather than life, and renounced the name which God had bestowed on them, because, may His name be sanctified! He called them the sons of the Lord, according to His gracious saying in the prophecy of David, where he says, “Verily, ye are all gods, and ye shall be called the sons of the Most High. When ye do evil and defile your bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, like them ye shall die in sin.” They longed for unclean amusements. * * * They had no shame about this and thought no harm of it. The earth was contaminated; children were confused; no one knew his child from the child of another. The p. 22 Devil incited them and he goaded them on and appropriated them to every misery. They rejoiced in their works. You could hear from them hateful laughter like the neighing of steeds. Their noise was heard in the holy mountain, and there assembled of the children of Seth a hundred powerful strong giants, for the descent. This came to [the knowledge of] Jared, and he was much troubled. He called them to his presence, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the Pure not to go down; he reminded them of the oaths which their fathers who had gone before had received for them. Enoch the Righteous was there and said to them, “Know, O sons of Seth, that whosoever rejects the commandment of the Father and opposes the oaths by which he has been adjured and puts them behind his back, and goes down from this holy mount, that

he shall never come back to it." But they did not turn at the warning of Jared and at the prohibitions of Enoch, and they went down. When they saw the daughters of Cain and their beauty, and that they uncovered their bodies without shame, they committed fornication with them, and destroyed their souls. When they had done this, they aimed at a return to the hill, but its stones became burning fire, and they could not do it. Another tribe wished for an alliance with them, not knowing about the affair of the stones. They went down to them, and defiled themselves with their defilement.

When Jared reached the age of nine hundred and seventy-two years, Death came near to him. There gathered to him Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah. He prayed over them and made vows for them and said, "But as for you, go not down from this holy mountain; yet your sons and your posterity shall be removed from it, because God will not allow them upon it on account of their transgression of the commandments of the fathers." Then he said to the rest of their children, "You shall journey to the dusty land which brings forth thorns and briers. Whosoever of you goes out from this holy land, let him take with him the body of our father Adam, and if he can take all the bodies of the fathers, let him do it, and take with him the books of the Testaments, and the gifts of gold and myrrh and frankincense, p. 23 and put this with the body of our father Adam where God shall command him." Then said he to Enoch, "But thou, O my son, do not separate thyself from the service and praise before the body of our father Adam and serve before God in godliness and holiness all the days of thy life." He died in the third hour of Friday when the twelfth night of May had passed, in the 360th year of the life of Methuselah. His son embalmed him and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. God rejected the other children of Seth on account of their love of sin. Seventy assembled, and were inclined to descend. When Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech and Noah saw this, they were much grieved. When Enoch had finished his service before the Lord for fifty years, this being the 365th year of his life, he presided over his house with his God. He called for Methuselah and Lamech and Noah, and said, "I know that the Lord will be angry with this people, and will surely judge them without mercy. But you, the rest of the fathers and of the holy races, do not leave off the service before the Lord, and be pure and godly. Know that there shall not be born in this holy mountain after you any man who shall be father and chief to his people." When Enoch had finished this testament, God took him up to the land of life, and made him dwell round about Paradise in the country where there is no death. Then the children of Seth removed from the holy mountain to the quarters of Cain and his children. None of them remained on the mountain save the three fathers, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. Noah the just kept his virgin soul for 500 years. After that, the merciful God revealed to him about the people who were subject to him, and commanded him to marry a woman named Haikal the daughter of Namousa, the son of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah. God disclosed to him about the Deluge which He was about to send upon the earth, and taught him that this would be after a hundred years, and commanded him to prepare the ark, that is, the ship for his salvation and that of his children, and that he should cut the wood from the holy mountain and make it in the quarters of the sons of Cain. He commanded him to make its length p. 24 300 cubits, according to [the length of] his arm; its breadth 50 cubits, and its height 30 cubits, by [the length of] his arm; and the breadth of its top above should be one cubit, and that he should make three stories to it.

The lowest should be for the tame and the wild animals and the cattle, the middle one for the birds and their like, and the highest one for him and his children and his wife and his sons' wives. And that he should make in it storehouses for water and for food and for fodder. Also that be should prepare a gong of the cedar tree, its length to be three cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and that its hammer should be [made] of the same. "When thou beginnest to make the ship, thou shalt beat three strokes on it every day, one in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, that they may bring the workmen food; and the third at sunset for [their] departure. If they ask thee about thy work, tell them that God is sending a flood of water to cleanse the earth and that thou art making the ship to save thyself and thy children." Noah received the commandment of the Lord, and married her. In the course of the hundred years she bare him three male children, Shem, Ham and Japhet. They also married some of the daughters of Methuselah. When Noah had finished the building of the ship, and entered it with those whom God commanded should enter it with him, the second thousand of the years of the time of Adam was finished, as the 70 interpreters expound. They said, From Adam till the Deluge was 2000 years.

When Lamech had lived 777 years, Methuselah his father died; this was four years before the Flood. Then Lameth died after him, and his death was on the twenty-first [day] of September, in the 68th year of the life of Shem, the first-born of Noah. His son Noah swathed him, and enbalmed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. He mourned for him 40 days and remained with all the holy fathers, Noah and his children. The daughters of Cain conceived by the sons of Seth, and brought forth giant-sons. It was certainly supposed by some that the Book relates and says that the Angels came down to earth and mingled with the children of men, that those p. 25 who came down and mingled with the children of men were really angels. This was only said on account of the sons of Seth and their union with the daughters of Cain, for God, may His name be glorified! had already out of His love to them, called them, as we said before, Sons of God and Angels of God. So he errs who thinks this; for union, that is, marriage, was not in the substance of spiritual beings, and not in their nature, and if it had been in them as it is in men, the Devils would not have left any one in the world alone without corrupting them, till not a virgin would have been left on the earth, for the foul Devils love corruption and fornication. As they cannot do this, they change their nature on account of it; they recommend it to men and make them love it.

Methuselah lived for 969 years. When Death came to him, there gathered to him Lamech, and Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet and their wives, for none but they were left on the holy hill. Methuselah blessed them, and called to them; he was weeping and sorrowful. He said to them, "There remaineth none but you on this mountain out of all the tribes who once were on it. The Lord God of our fathers who formed our father Adam and our mother Eve and blessed them till the earth was filled with their progeny, may He bless you and multiply you and cause your fruit to grow. May He be to you a keeper and a shepherd. I ask of Him to fill the earth with your progeny, and to help you and strengthen you and save you from the fearful punishment that is coming upon this hill, and that He

may give you a share of the gift which He gave to our father Adam, that He may bring blessings into your dwellings, and bestow upon you prophecy, power, and priesthood." Then he said to Noah, "O thou blessed of the Lord, hear my speech and do my commandment. Know that I go out of this world as the saintly fathers went out of it. Verily the Lord shall send a Deluge to drown the earth for the many sins of men, but thou and thy children shall be saved. When I am dead, embalm my body like as were embalmed the bodies of the fathers who have gone before. Bury me in the Cave of Treasures. Take thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives; go down from this mountain, p. 26 and bear with thee the body of our father Adam, and the offerings which thou didst bring out with him from Paradise, namely, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Put the body of our father Adam within the Ark which God commanded me to prepare; and the other bodies separately from it, so that the body of Adam may be like a dyke ever in the midst. Put the offerings on his breast. Dwell thou and thy sons in the east of the ark, thy wife and thy sons' wives in the west, so that the body of our father Adam may be a barrier to hinder the men from sinning with regard to the women, and to hinder them from sinning with regard to the men; let them not gather together for food or drink till ye come out of the Ark. When the water of the Deluge departs from the earth, and ye come out of the Ark, and dwell upon the earth, then gather ye together for food and drink, and cease not the service before the body of our father Adam nor the ministration before God in godliness and holiness within the Ark. When your exit from it takes place, then put the offerings which thou didst bring out from Paradise in the east of the land in which thou dwellest. When Death comes to thee, make thy Testament to thy son Shem. Command him to carry the body of our father Adam, and to bury it in the middle of the earth. Verily (it is) the place in which there shall be salvation to him and to his children. Where he burieth the body, let him appoint a man from among his children to serve before the body and to minister. Let him be pure all the days of his life, and let him command him that he dwell not in any house, that he shed no blood, that he shave not his hair, nor pare his nails, nor bring there any offering of beasts, but let his offering before the Lord be of fine bread, pure and white, and the best drink, pressed from the fruit of the vine, until the time that God shall certainly command him. Verily the Angel of the Lord shall go before the man chosen to officiate as a priest before the body of Adam till he shall put it in the middle of the earth, and where the body ought to be buried. Let this chosen one be commanded that his raiment be of the skins of beasts, and that he be unique as it is unique. Verily he is the priest of the glorious God." When Methuselah had finished p. 27 this testament, and tears were coming down from his eyes, on account of the grief that was in his heart, he died. Then nine hundred and sixty-nine years were completed, it was in Adar (March) on a Sunday. Noah and Shem and Japhet and their wives laid him out with weeping and groaning. They held a mourning for him for 40 days; he was swathed and embalmed and laid with the fathers in the Cave of Treasures. They were blessed by the other bodies that were there. Then Noah bore the body of Adam and the bodies of the fathers from the Cave, and put them into holy coffins. Of the offerings Shem carried the gold, Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the frankincense. They left the Cave of Treasures with weeping and groaning. A noise was raised by them which was heard from Paradise, sorrow and mourning on account of [their] departure from the mountain, when they knew that they were leaving it for good. They lifted up their heads towards Paradise, they sobbed, and wept, and said: "Peace be to thee, O holy Paradise! dwelling-place of our father Adam; we are deprived of thy shelter, which is denied to us

then, on our return to the cursed land in which we suffer pains and endure labours. Peace be to thee, O Cave of Treasures! from us and from all the bodies of the fathers. Peace be to thee, O glorious dwelling-place and inheritance of the saintly fathers for ever. Peace be to you, O ye Fathers, beloved friends of God. Pray for us and bless us, and entreat for our salvation, O holy ones of God, who are well-pleasing unto Him. Peace be to Seth, chief of the fathers. Peace be to Enos, governor of his people, and righteous judge amongst them. Peace be to Cainan and Mahlaleel, those who govern their people in purity. Peace be to Methuselah and Jared and Lamech and Enoch, servants of God. We entreat you all to mediate for our salvation lest we be prevented looking for our inheritance from this time forth for evermore." Then they came down from the mountain, kissing its stones and embracing its trees with weeping and great grief, and they travelled towards the land. When Noah had finished building the ship, he entered it, and p. 28 brought in the body of Adam and put it in the middle of it, with the offerings upon its breast. This was on a Friday, on the 17th day of March, it is also said, of May. Early the next day he brought in the beasts and the cattle, and made them dwell in the lowest deck. In the middle of the day he brought in the birds and all the sentient beings, and made them dwell in the middle deck. At sunset Noah and his sons and his sons' wives entered, and dwelt in the topmost deck. The Ark was built in the form of a Church, in which the men are prevented from mingling with the women; as there is peace and love betwixt man and woman, and between the elders amongst them and the youths, thus there was love betwixt the rest of the beasts and the birds and the sentient beings in the ship; and as wise men are at peace with their inferiors, thus were the lions and the ewes at peace in the Ark. All that were in it were seven pairs of all the clean beasts, and two pairs of the unclean ones. When Noah and his people had arrived, the Lord shut the Ark. Then the doors of heaven were opened, and the doors of the abyss, and the waters came down in torrents, and the imprisoned sea appeared, which is called Oceanus, which encircles the whole earth. Raging winds were sent out from all directions. When the sons of Seth saw this, they came near to the place of the Ark, and entreated Noah to carry them; but he gave them no answer about it, because the Ark was bolted and sealed by command of the Lord, and the Angel of the Lord was standing directing it. Repentance encompassed them, sorrow came upon them, and they had no refuge from destruction, as they were also hindered from going up to the holy mountain. They were all destroyed by drowning and suffocation, in the thick waters and the raging winds, as David the Prophet sang about their state where he said, "I said, All ye are gods, and children of the Most High ye shall be called; by this great sign ye are marked; but sin hath overthrown you, and ye have rebelled against the commandment; ye have defiled jour bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, and ye shall die the death like them. Ye p. 29 shall be tormented with the Prince who fell from the heavenly rank." The Ark was lifted up from the earth to the height of the waters, and all that was on the earth perished in the deluge; the waters rose above the tops of the mountains fifteen cubits, by the holy cubit. The waves bore the ship till they brought it to the lower parts of Paradise. It was blessed from Paradise; the tops of the waves were rolled back, and they did obeisance before it, then returning from it were poured out to the destruction of those who remained on the earth. The ship flew on the wings of the wind above the waters from the east to the west, and from the south to the sea, like the sign of the Cross. It stood above the waters 150 days; the waves were stilled and laid to rest at the end of the seventh month from the beginning of the Deluge. The Ark stood upon the mountains, the Kurdish mountains, and the waters were divided from one another. They all returned to their places, and did not cease diminishing gradually, till the tenth month, which was February. He looked at the tops of the mountains from the Ark. On the tenth of March Noah opened the Ark from the eastern side, and sent the Raven, that at its return he might learn the news of the earth. It did not return to him. He sent the Dove; it circled round, and found no place for its foot. It returned at sunset. After a week Noah sent another Dove. It returned to him with an olive-branch in its mouth. About the Dove there are holy mysteries. The first dove resembles the first covenant, to which there was no rest among the rejected nations; the second dove the second covenant, which found rest with the nations that accepted the mysteries of baptism and preached the Christ at the end of 600 years of the life of righteous Noah. One day of Nisan (April) had passed, and the water was removed from the earth. On this day Noah and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives went out of the ship. Their entrance to the ship had been in separation, their exit from it was in unity. At their exit came out all the beasts and the cattle and the birds and the creeping things which were in the ship. Noah built a town, and called it Thamânû, which remains to this day. The number of those who were in the ship with Noah was eight p. 30 persons. Noah built an altar to the Lord and offered upon it an offering of the beasts and the clean birds that were slain. God accepted his offering, and gave a covenant that He would not send a deluge of water on the earth to all eternity. May His names be sanctified! He took off wrath from them in regard to the bow in the clouds. By it He put away the bowstring of anger; for before the Deluge men saw in heaven the bowstring of anger and the arrow of wrath. The sons of Noah planted in the town the fruit of the vine, and pressed from it a new drink; they gave their father Noah to drink, and he got drunk, for he was not accustomed to drink. While he was drunk he slept, and his nakedness was uncovered. Ham looked at him, and laughed and mocked at him, and fetched his brothers to mock with him. When Shem and Japhet knew the reason was about the uncovering of their father, they were grieved at it; they took a garment, threw it upon their hands, and went backwards, lest they should see their father uncovered; then they threw the garment upon him. When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep, his wife told him what had happened about his sons, and he was angry with Ham, and said, “Let him and Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brethren.” But Noah cursed Canaan, who was not guilty, and the guilt was Ham's; for he knew that when Canaan should arrive at man's estate, he should renew what had already been blotted out of the works of the children of Cain, the music-halls and such like. When he came to man's estate, he did all this, and Noah knew it, was concerned about him and grieved at his work, that according to the example of the works of Canaan, the sons of Seth fell into sin, he increased in his curse of Canaan, wherefore his sons became slaves. They are the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Hindoos, the Mysians and other negroes. Ham was a hypocrite, a lover of unclean desire all the days of his life. This was in his mockery of his father. The sleep of Noah in his drunkenness was a type of the crucifixion of the Christ and His slumber in the tomb for three days, as David the prophet says about it, “The Lord awoke from his sleep like a man who recovers from strong drink.” When Noah awoke p. 31 from his drunken sleep, he cursed Canaan and made his posterity slaves. Likewise when the Christ arose from the grave He cursed the Devil and destroyed those who had crucified Him, and scattered them among the nations. The sons of Canaan became slaves for ever, carrying burdens upon their necks. Every proprietor negotiates riding about on his business, but the children of Canaan negotiate about the affairs of their masters, as poor men on foot, and

they are called the slaves of slaves.

Noah lived after going out of the ship 350 years. When his death came near, there gathered to him Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arphaxad, and Salah. He made vows for them, and desired the presence of Shem his firstborn, and commanded him secretly, saying to him, "When I die, bury me. Go into the Ark of safety, and take out of it the body of our father Adam secretly, let no one with thee know. Make for it a large chest, and put it within. Prepare for thyself a store of bread and drink, and carry the chest in which is the body of our father. Take with thee Melchizedek, the son of Malih. Verily the Lord hath chosen him from the rest of your sons to minister before our father Adam. When thou reachest the centre of the earth, bury the body there, and set Melchizedek in the place for the service of the body and the praise before it. Verily the Angel of the Lord will go before you to guide you two to the place for the body, which is the centre of the earth. From it shall be seen the power of God. The four pillars of the world are joined together and have become one pillar, and from it shall be salvation to Adam and to all his children." Thus it was written in the tables which Moses received from the hand of the Lord and broke at the time of his anger against his people. Noah strengthened Shem in receiving the testament, and told him that it was the Testament of Adam to Seth, and of Seth to Enos, and of Enos to Cainan, and of Cainan to Mahlaleel, and of Mahlaleel to Jared, and of Jared to Enoch, of Enoch to Methuselah, and of Methuselah to Lamech, and of Lamech to Noah; he made him swear that no one [else] should attend to p. 32 what he commanded in regard to the body of Adam. When he had finished his testament, he died, being 950 years old, on a Wednesday. Shem embalmed him, and with him his other children put him on a bier and buried him. They raised a wail over him for forty days. Then Shem went secretly into the ship, and took out the body of Adam. He sealed the ship with his father's seal. Then he desired the presence of Ham and Japhet and said to them, "Know that Noah my father commanded me to journey after his death to the elevated land and to go round it to the place of the sea, that I may attend to the state of its trees, and fruits and rivers. I have already resolved on this, and have left my wife and children with you; take heed to them till the time of my return." They said to him, "Take with thee a man since thou hast resolved on this, for the land which thou hast described has wild beasts and hunting lions." He said to them, "Verily, the Angel of God is with me, he is my Saviour." His brethren called to him and said, "The Lord be with thee wherever thou dwellest." Then he said to them, "Verily, our father at his death made me swear not to enter the ship nor allow any one [else] to enter it. I have received his testament, and sealed it with his seal, and beware that ye enter it not! ye, nor any of your children." They pledged themselves to him concerning this. Then he approached the father and mother of Melchizedek and said to them, "I wish that you would give me Melchizedek that I may journey with him in my way." They said to him, "He is before thee, as thou wouldest journey, take him with thee." Then Shem called Melchizedek by night, and bore with him the body of Adam secretly. They went out, the Angel going before them, till he brought them to the place with the utmost speed. He said to them, "Set him down, for this is the centre of the earth." And they put him down from their hands. When he came to the ground, the earth was cleft for him as a door, and the body was let down into it, and they put him in it. When the body rested in its place, the earth returned and covered it over. The place was called Gumgumah, "of a skull," because in it

was placed the p. 33 skull of the Father of mankind, and Gulgulah, because it was conspicuous in the earth, and was despised by its sons, for in it was the head of the hateful Dragon which seduced Adam. It was called also Otâriâ, which is, being interpreted, “the families of the world,” because to it is the gathering together of mankind. Shem said to Melchizedek son of Malih, “Know that thou art the priest of the Everlasting God, who hath chosen thee from the rest of men to minister before Him before the body of our father Adam. Accept the Lord’s choice of thee, and never leave this place. Do not marry any woman, do not shave thy hair, nor pare thy nails. Shed no blood for thyself, and sacrifice no beast. Do not build a building over this place. Let thine offerings before the Lord be of fine pure bread, and [let the] drink be of the juice of the vine. The Angel of the Lord is with thee for ever.” He wished him peace, and bade him farewell and embraced him, and returned to his dwelling. Then came to him Jozadak and Malih, the parents of Melchizedek. They asked him about him, and he told them that he had died on the road, and that he had looked after him and buried him. His father and his people sorrowed over him with a great sorrow. When Shem the righteous was 700 years old, he died, and his son Arphaxad looked after him, and Salah and Eber, and they buried him. When Arphaxad was thirty years old, he begat Salah his son, and when he was 465 years old, he died, and Salah and Eber looked after him. They buried him in the town that Arphaxad had built, known as Arphaxad (cod. Arbalsarbat). When Salah was thirty years old, he begat Eber, and when he had completed 430 years, he died. Eber and Peleg looked after him; he was buried in the town that Salah had built, known as Salḥadîb. When Eber was thirty years old, he begat Peleg, and when he had completed 434 years, he died; his son Peleg buried him, and Reu and Serug in the town which Eber had built and had called by his name. When Peleg attained 239 years, all the tribes of the sons of Shem, and Ham and Japhet gathered themselves together and journeyed to the elevated land; they found in the place known as Shinar a beautiful plain. They dwelt in it, and their speech was altogether p. 34 Syriac, and it is called Resany, and Chaldaean; it is the tongue and speech of Adam. Verily the Syriac language is the Queen of languages and the most comprehensive; from it all other tongues are derived; Adam is a Syriac name. Whoever asserts that it is Hebrew tells a falsehood. Speakers of Syriac will not stand on the left of the Lord but on His right, for the writing of Syriac runs from right to left, and of others the way of the Persian from left to right. In the days of Peleg the nations built the tower at Babel, upon which their tongues were diversified and confounded and divided; because of their confusion the town was called Babel. Peleg was very much grieved about this when he saw the scattering of the nations in the regions of the earth. He died, and his son Reu, and Serug and Nahor buried him in the town which he had built and had called by his name. The earth became two portions among two chiefs of tribes; they allowed to every tribe and tongue a king and a chief; they appointed in the race of Japhet thirty-seven kings, and in the race of Ham sixteen kings. The kingdom of the sons of Japhet was from the border of the holy mountain and Mount Nod (?), which is in the borders of the East, to the Tigris and the side of Algaut: and from Bactria to the island town (or Gades = Cadix). The kingdom of the sons of Shem was from the land of Persia, that is from the borders of the East to the Hardasalgs sea among the borders of the West. They had authority also in the centre of the earth. When Reu was thirty-two years old, Serug was born to him; the length of his life being 232 years. At the end of 163 years of the life of Reu, Nimrod the giant reigned over the whole earth. The beginning of his kingdom was from Babel. It was he who saw in the sky a piece of

black cloth and a crown; he called Sasan the weaver to his presence, and commanded him to make him a crown like it; and he set jewels in it and wore it. He was the first king who wore a crown. For this reason people who knew nothing about it, said that a crown came down to him from heaven. The length of his reign was sixty-nine years. He died in the days of Reu, and the third thousand p. 35 since Adam was completed. In his days the people of Egypt set up a king over them called Firnifs. He reigned over them for sixty-eight years. In his days also a king reigned over the town of Saba and annexed to his kingdom the cities of Ophir and Havilah, his name was Pharaoh. He built Ophir with stones of gold, for the stones of its mountains are pure gold. After him there reigned over Havilah a king called Hayul. He built it and cemented it, and after the death of Pharaoh women reigned over Saba until the time of Solomon son of David. When he (Reu) was 239 years old, he died. Serug his son and Nahor buried him in the town called Oa'nân, which Reu had built for himself. When Serug was thirty years old, his son Nahor was born to him. In the days of Serug idols were worshipped, and they were adored instead of God, and the people in that day were scattered in the earth; there was not among them a teacher nor a lawgiver, nor a guide to the way of truth, nor even a right way. They wandered and were rebellious and became a sect. Some of them worshipped the Sun and the Moon, some of them worshipped the sky, some of them worshipped images, some of them worshipped the stars, some of them worshipped the earth, some of them worshipped beasts, some of them worshipped trees, and some of them worshipped waters and winds and such like, for the Devil blinded their hearts and left them in darkness without light. No one among them believed in the Last Day and the Resurrection. When one of them died, his people made an image in his likeness, and put it upon his tomb, lest his memory should be cut off. The earth was filled with sins, and idols were multiplied in it, made in the likenesses of males and females.

When Serug was 230 years old he died. His son Nahor, and Terah and Abraham buried him in the town which Serug had built and called it Serug. Terah was born to Nahor when he was twenty-nine years old. In the third year of the life of Nahor, God looked up through His remembrance at His creatures, and they were worshipping idols. He sent upon them earthquakes which destroyed all the idols. Their p. 36 worshippers did not turn from their error, but persevered in their godlessness. In the twenty-sixth year of the rule of Terah appeared witchcraft. The beginning of it was that a rich man died; his son made a golden image of him and placed it upon his tomb as a mark [to] the people of his age, and appointed a young man to guard it. The Devil entered into the image, and spoke to its guardian from the tongue of the deceased and [with] his voice. The guardian told the son of the deceased about it. After some days robbers entered the dwelling of the deceased, and took all that belonged to his son, and his grief was greater at this, and they bewailed him beside the grave of his father. The Devil called to him from the image with a voice like the voice of his father, and said, "O my son, weep not. Bring me thy little son, to sacrifice him to me, and I will restore to thee all that has been taken from thee." He brought his son to the tomb and sacrificed him to the Devil. When he had done this, the Devil entered him and taught him witchcraft, unveiled his mysteries, and taught him omens and auguries. Since that time people offer their children to Devils. At the completion of a hundred years of the life of Nahor, God, may His name be exalted! looked on the godlessness of men, and their sacrificing of their children to the Devils, and their adoration of images. God, may His

names be sanctified, sent them raging winds which tore away the images and their worshippers, and buried them in the earth and strewed over them great mounds and towering hills, and they are below these unto this day. Some assert on this account that in the time of Terah there was a Deluge of wind. Wise men of India say that these mounds came into existence in the days of the Deluge. That is nonsense, for image-worship was after the Deluge of water, and the Deluge was not sent upon them for the worship of images; verily that was done because there was so much corruption on the earth among the children of Cain, and the musical instruments which they invented. There was no people inhabiting this rough wild land, but when p. 37 our fathers were not found worthy of the neighbourhood of Paradise they were thrust away to it. Then they came out of the ship to this land, and were scattered amongst its regions. He talks nonsense who asserts that these elevated mounds have never ceased in the earth, for they have been formed since the time of the anger of God about idol-worship. They were turned topsy-turvy, and there is no mound on the earth beneath which a Devil with an image appeareth not. In the days of Nimrod the giant, he looked at fire from heaven, and fire came up from the earth. When Nimrod saw it he adored it, and appointed in the place where he saw it people to worship it, and to throw incense into it. Since that time magicians adore fire when they see it coming up from the heaven and from the earth, and they worship it to this day. A chief magician named Sasir found a spring of bountiful water at a place in the country of Atropatene. He erected upon it a white horse. Whoever bathed in that fountain worshipped this horse. The Magi honour the horse, and there is a sect of them who worship it to this day. Nimrod travelled till he arrived at the land of Mariûn. When he entered the city of Altûrâs he found there Bouniter the fourth son of Noah. Nimrod's army was on a lake, and he went down there one day to bathe in it. When Nimrod saw Bouniter the son of Noah, he did obeisance to him. Bouniter said to him, "O giant king, why do you adore me?" Nimrod said to him, "I did thee homage because thou didst meet me." Nimrod stayed with him three years that he might teach him wisdom and strategy, then he wandered away from him. He said to Nimrod, "Thou shalt not return a second time." When Nimrod was passing through the East, he deposited books making known what Bouniter the son of Noah had taught him. The people were astonished at his wisdom. There was among the people entrusted with the worship of fire a man called Ardashir. When Ardashir saw the wisdom of Nimrod and the excellency of his star-gazing (Nimrod had a perfect genius), he envied him for this, and implored a Devil who had appeared to him beside the fire to teach him the wisdom of Nimrod. The Devil said to him, "Thou canst not do this until thou have p. 38 fulfilled the magic rite, and its perfection is the marriage of mothers, daughters and sisters." Ardashir answered him concerning this, and did what he commanded him about it. Since that time the Magi allow the wedlock of mothers, sisters and daughters. The Devil also taught Ardashir the knowledge of omens and auguries, and physiognomy, and fortune-telling, and divining and witchcraft, which were doctrines of the Devil, and the Chaldæans gave one another this doctrine; these were the Syrians, and some people say that it is the tongue of the Nabataeans. Every one who uses aught of these doctrines, his guilt before God is great. But the knowledge which Nimrod learned from Bounitar, verily Bounitar the son of Noah learned it from God, the great and glorious, for it is the counting of the stars, and the years and the months; the Greeks call this science Astronomy, and the Persians call it Astrology. Nimrod built great towns in the East, namely, Hadâniûn, Ellasar, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Rûhîn, and the towns of Atrapatene, and Telalôn, and others that he chose for himself.

When Terah, father of Abraham, reached two hundred and three years he died. Abraham and Lot buried him in the city of Haran. [God] commanded him that he should travel to the Holy Land. Abraham took with him Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and journeyed to the land of the Amorites. Abraham the Just was then seventy-five years old. When he reached eighty years, he fought with the nations and put them to flight and delivered Lot from them, and he had no child at that time, for Sarah was barren. When he returned from the war with the nations, God commanded him to journey and pass over to Mount Yâbûs. When he got there he met Melchizedek, priest of God. When Abraham saw him, he did homage to him and was blessed by him. He offered before him fine pure bread and drink. Melchizedek blessed Abraham and made vows for him. Thereupon God commanded Melchizedek to pare his nails. Melchizedek consecrated an offering of fine bread and drink. Abraham offered some p. 39 of it, and paid to Melchizedek the tenth of his goods. Then God, may His names be sanctified, discoursed with Abraham the second time and said to him, "Thy reward shall be great with Me. Since thou hast received the blessing of Melchizedek and thou art worthy to receive from his hand the gift of bread and wine, I will bless thee, and will multiply thy seed."

When Abraham reached eighty-six years, Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian bond-maid. Pharaoh of Egypt had given her to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, who was his sister by his father but not by his mother, for Terah married two wives; the name of the one was Yuta, she was the mother of Abraham, and she died when she gave birth to him; the name of the other was Nahdeef, and she was the mother of Sarah. Therefore Abraham answered as he said to the king of Egypt when he wished to do violence to Sarah, that "she is my sister." When Abraham reached ninety-nine years, God came down to his house, and gave to Sarah a son. When he reached a hundred years, Isaac was born to him, the son whom God gave him of barren Sarah. When Isaac reached twelve years, Abraham offered him to God as all offering upon the hill Yâbûs, which is the place in which the Christ was crucified, and which is known as Golgolah. In it Adam was created; in it Abraham looked at the tree which bore the lamb by which Isaac was redeemed from sacrifice, and in it the body of Adam was laid. In it was the altar of Melchizedek, and in it David looked at the Angel of the Lord bearing a sword for the destruction of Jerusalem. Verily Abraham's carrying up there of Isaac to the altar is a type of the crucifixion of the Christ for the salvation of Adam and his children. The proof of this is the saying of the Christ in the holy Gospel to the children of lsrael, that "your father Abraham did not cease to long to look on my days, and when he saw them, he rejoiced in them." The lamb which Abraham saw hanging on the tree was a type of the slaying of the Christ in the body, which He had taken from us, and of His crucifixion also, because the lamb was not the child of a ewe and was worthy of being sacrificed. In that place Abraham saw what pertained p. 40 to the salvation of Adam through the crucifixion of the Christ. In the hour that Abraham took up Isaac to the altar, Jerusalem began to be built, and the reason was this. When Melchizedek, priest of God, appeared to men, his fame reached the kings of the nations, and they came to him from every region to be blessed. Among those that came to him were Abimelech king of Gerar, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Delassar (Ellasar),

Kedarlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of men, Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, or Simeon king of the Amorites, and Simair king of Saba, Bislah king of Bela, Hiar king of Damascus, and Yaftar king of the deserts. When these kings, O my son Clement, saw Melchizedek king of Peace and priest of God, and heard his word, they honoured and applauded him and asked him to journey with them to their lands. He told them that he was not allowed to leave his place, in which God had appointed him to an office. Their unanimous counsel was that a city should be built for him at their expense, and that they should rule it. They built for him the Holy City, and delivered it to him, and Melchizedek called it Jerusalem.

Then Maoalon king of Teman journeyed to Melchizedek when his fame reached him, and gave him noble and glorious presents. He honoured him when he saw him and heard his word. All kings and nations honoured him and called him the Father of Kings. Some people think that Melchizedek will not die, and bring as proof the saying of David the Prophet in his psalms, "Thou art a priest for ever after the figure of Melchizedek." David does not wish (to say) in this his saying that he will not die, and how can this be when he is a man? But God honoured him and made him His priest, and in the Torah there is no mention of a beginning to his days. Therefore David sang as he sang about him. Moses does not make mention of him in his book, for he was only relating the genealogy of the Fathers. But Shem the son of Noah has told us in the books of the Testaments that Melchizedek was the son of Malih, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah; and his mother was Jozedek.

In the hundredth year of Abraham there reigned in the East p. 41 a king called Karmos, he who built Shamshat, and Claudia, and Careem, and Leouza. He had a son called Cârân and three daughters; the name of the one being Shamshout, and the other Harzea, and the other Leouza, and he called these cities by their names. When Peleg had reached fifty years, Nimrod journeyed to the province of Mesopotamia, and built Nisibis, and Raha (Edessa), and Haran; to every city he put a wall, and he called the wall of Haran by the name of Harteeb, the wife of Sem, priest of the beautiful mountains. The people of Haran made an image in the form of this Sem, and worshipped it. Ba'alsameen fell in love with Nalkeez wife of Nimroda, and Nimroda fled before Ba'alsameen; on account of this the children of Israel wept over Nimroda and burnt the city of Haran in anger about him. When Sarah died, Abraham the famous (or the Friend, i.e. of God) married a woman named Kentoura, daughter of Yaftour king of the deserts. When Isaac, son of Abraham, reached forty years, Eleazar his servant journeyed in search of her who was named Rebecca for Isaac. When Abraham reached one hundred and seventy years he died; his sons Ishmael and Isaac buried him by the side of Sarah his wife. When Isaac reached sixty years, Rebecca his wife conceived Jacob and Esau. When the birth-pangs took hold of her, she went to Melchizedek; he blessed her and prayed over her. He said to her, "God has already formed two men in thy womb, who shall be chiefs of two great nations. The elder of them shall be beneath the younger. Each of them shall hate his brother, and the elder shall serve a man of the race of the other. I am servant of that man, whose name shall be called 'the living God,' and he shall come up upon a branch of cursing because of those who rebel

against him."

When sixty years of Isaac's life had passed, he built a city which he called Ail, and in his sixty-fourth year Jericho was built by the hand of seven kings, the king of the Hittites, the king of the Amorites, the king of the Jebusites, the king of the Canaanites, the king of the Girgashites, the king of the Hivites and the king of the [Perizzites?], and every one of them built p. 42 a wall to it. But the town which was called Masr (Egypt), the king of the Copts had built. Ishmael was the first to work with a hand-mill, and it was called the mill of the kingdom. After one hundred and thirty years of the life of Isaac; that is in the seventy-seventh year of Jacob, God blessed Jacob, and he received the blessings of Isaac, and the blessing of Esau his brother by deceit. He journeyed to the land of the East. While he was on his journey, behold, a deep sleep came upon him. He prepared below his head seven stones and slept upon them. In his sleep he saw a ladder of fire whose top was in heaven, and its bottom on the earth. On it Angels were descending from it and ascending, and he saw the Lord sitting on the top. When he awoke he said, "Doubtless this place is the house of God." He took the stones which were beneath his head and built them into an altar and anointed it with oil, and vowed there that he would give to God the tenth of all his goods as an offering. The power of this vision, O my son Clernent, is not difficult to those who know, for it is a prophecy of the coming of our Lord the Christ. Verily the ladder which Jacob saw was a sign of the Crucifixion, and the Angers coming down from Heaven [were] for the Gospel to Zacharia, and Mary, and the Magi and the shepherds. The place of the Lord's seat at the top of the ladder was like the descent of our God the Christ from Heaven for our salvation, and the place where Jacob saw it was a type of the Church, which is being interpreted, the House of God. The stones are a type of the altar, and their being anointed with oil [a type] of the union of Godhead with Manhood. The vow which he made of a tenth of his goods is a type of the Eucharist. Jacob journeyed from the place of the vision till he came to the town of his uncle Laban. He saw a well of water, at which three flocks of sheep were lying down; over the mouth of the well was a great stone. Rachel, the daughter of Jacob's uncle, was standing there with the sheep. Jacob came near to the well, removed the stone from its mouth, and watered the sheep that were with Rachel. Then he approached Rachel and kissed her. Jacob's uncovering of the well was a type of Baptism, which was veiled from of old, and p. 43 uncovered in the latter [days]. That which the priest gives to those whom he baptizes in the water is in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Know, O my son, that Jacob did not come forward to kiss Rachel until he had uncovered the well and watered her sheep from it. Likewise, I say that it is not permitted in the law of the Christ for any one to enter the Church till after baptism, for if he is baptized, he has become one of Christ's sheep. The prophet Moses said in his book that Jacob wrought with his uncle Laban seven years for Rachel, whom he loved of Laban's daughters, for she was at the height of beauty, but he gave him his ugly daughter. Like this was the story of Moses with the Jews whom God saved from the bondage of Pharaoh. On account of them he did not give the young girl, but he gave her who was old and faded. Verily the first girl whom he gave to Jacob had ugly eyes, and the second one was perfect in face and had beautiful eyes. The face of the first one was covered lest the children of Israel should look at its beauty; the second one had her face uncovered, and had a bright, and shining and beautiful personality. The girl with ugly eyes who was spouse of Jacob was the type of the people of his day whom he ruled; in his time there were prophets, and saints and pure ones, and there was little sin in them. The faded old woman whom Moses describes, she is the people of the children of Israel which went astray in the worship of idols, and left the worship of God; and the girl whose face was covered so that it was not possible for the children of Israel to look at her was the tribe that was established on the holy mount, which did not mingle with the children of Israel, and did not look at them, and if they had looked at it (the tribe), verily they would have imitated its good works. The better and brighter girl is the tribe which received the Lord of the world, the Christ, and worshipped Him in His Godhead. He enlightened our hearts by His holiness.

When Jacob had reached sixty-nine years, Reuben was born to him, then followed him his brethren whom God brought out of the loins of Jacob; these were Simeon and Levi, Judah the ancestor of Mary, Issachar and Zebulun; Joseph and Benjamin p. 44 the sons of the beautiful Rachel; Gad and Asher, sons of Zilpah; Dan and Naphtali, sons of Bilhah the maid of Rachel. Two years after the emigration of Jacob, he returned to Isaac his father. He lived after that fully thirty-one years of Levi’s life. When he reached one hundred and twenty years his father Isaac died. Twenty-three years afterwards he journeyed from Haran to the elevated land; Joseph was sold during the lifetime of Isaac, and he was a companion to Jacob in his sorrow. After the sale of Joseph, Isaac died; his sons Jacob and Esau buried him beside the grave of his father Abraham. After nine years Rebecca died, and was buried near the grave of Abraham. Judah married Hoshâ‘ the Canaanitess; Jacob was grieved at that because she was not of the children of Israel, and said to him, “By the God of Abraham and Isaac, do not mingle the seed of Canaan with us,” and he did not accept it from him. He begat from her Er and Onan [Cod. Othen] and Shelah. Judah wedded his son Er with Tamar the daughter of Kedar, son of Levi. Er wrought the deed of the people of Sodom, and God punished him for his deed. God killed him in answer to the prayer of Jacob, and the seed of Canaan was not mingled with his seed. Then this Tamar disguised herself, and sat in the middle of the way; Judah came together with her, not knowing that she was his daughter-in-law; she conceived by him, and bare Pharez and Zarah. At this time Jacob and his children journeyed to Egypt, and stayed with Joseph for seventeen years. When he had completed [a hundred] and forty-seven years of life he died, Joseph that day being fifty-six years old. The wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him. After this Joseph removed his body and placed it beside the bodies of his father and of his grandfather Abraham. Pharez the son of Judah begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Aram, and Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Nahson, who was the most cunning of the sons of Judah. And Aminadab wedded Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest to a girl, and from her he begat Phinehas the priest, who by his prayer took away death from the people, and whose was the deed with the javelin. Know that the priesthood was from Aminadab among the people of Israel, and from Nahson the kinghood came among them. Look, p. 45 O my son Clement, how from Judah came the priesthood and the kinghood among the children of Israel. Nahson begat a son, who is Salmon; Salmon begat Boaz. When Boaz was old, he married Ruth the Moabitess; in her was kinghood, for she was of the race of kings. She was of the children of Lot. God did not make Lot unclean for his cohabiting with his daughters, and did not attach blame to him, and did not depreciate his good deed in his support of his uncle Abraham in his exile, and his reception of the Angels in faith, but He

put the kinghood into Ruth who was of his race, so that the Incarnation of our Lord the Christ was of the race of Abraham. Also [into] her, the wife of Solomon, son of David, by whom he begat. Solomon verily had six hundred free women and four hundred concubines, and he obtained no child from any of them, because God, may His name be praised! wished that the seed of Canaan should not mingle with the seed of the chosen people from whom Jesus the Christ took flesh. The rest of the wives of Solomon were of the children of Canaan. Nevertheless Moses the Prophet of God related, for the responsible books, the chronicles of the children of Israel relate that Levi, when he entered Egypt with his father Jacob, begat there his son Amram the father of Moses. When Moses was born he was thrown out by his mother into the Egyptian Nile, and Sapphira the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, saved him from drowning and brought him up in her father's palace. When he grew up and had finished forty years, he killed Casoum the Egyptian, chief of the swordsmen of Pharaoh. He fled to Reuel to the priest of Midian for fear of Pharaoh, and that because Sapphira had died before this, and if she had been still there, why should Moses have been afraid of Pharaoh? Moses married Zipporah daughter of Jethro, priest of Midian. She bare him two sons, these were Gershon and Eleazar, at the time of the birth of Joshua the son of Nun, and Moses' age was fifty-two years. When he had completed eighty years, God spake to him from the thorn bush, and his tongue stammered out of fear for God, and he said, "O Lord, at the time when thou spakest to thy servant, his tongue stammered." All his years were 120. He spent forty in Egypt, and p. 46 forty in Midian, and he governed the children of Israel forty years in the wilderness. When he died, Joshua the son of Nun governed them thirty-one years. Then Chushan the Atheist governed them after him eight years. Then Othniel the son of Kenaz the brother of Caleb, for forty years. Then the Moabites enslaved the children of Israel for eighteen years. Then [God] prepared their deliverance from their hand. Their government was presided over by Ehud the son of Gera for eighty years. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of this Ehud, the fourth thousand [year] from the beginning was finished. Then after him the famous Jabin presided over their government for an interval of twenty years, then Deborah and Barak looked after it for forty years. Then the Midianites conquered them, and enslaved them for seven years, then God saved them by the hand of Gideon. He presided over their government for forty years; then his son Abimelech for three years. Then Jufa (Tola) the son of Puah for twenty years, then a daughter of the Gileadite twenty-two years. Then the children of Ammon conquered the children of Israel and enslaved them for eighteen years, then God saved them by the hands of Jephthah, he who offered his daughter as a sacrifice before God. And Ibzan governed them for six years, then after him Elon son of Zebulon for ten years. Then Abdon for eight years. Then the Philistines fought with the children of Israel and subdued them and enslaved them for forty years, and God saved them by the hands of Samson. He governed them for twenty years, and after him they remained for twelve years without a leader. Then there arose to rule them Eli the priest, and he governed them for forty years, then Samuel for twenty-two years. In his time the children of Israel rebelled against God, and set up Saul as king over them; he was the first king among the children of Israel, and he governed them for forty years. In the days of Saul appeared the giant Goliath; he drove out the children of Israel and killed their young men. Then God sent against him David the Prophet, and he killed him; against Saul [He sent] the Philistines, and they killed him, because Saul left p. 47 off seeking help from God, and sought help from devils. David the son of Jesse reigned over the children of Israel for forty years. Then after his Solomon

reigned over them and did many wonderful things; amogst them his sending to the city of Ophir, and bringing out the gold from its mountains, and ships continued for thirty-six months carrying gold from its mountains. Also he built the city of Tadmor in the interior of the wilderness, and wrought in it many extraordinary things. When Solomon passed by Sabad, a building built by Kourhi and Abu Nigaf (they whom Nimrod had sent to Bila‘am the priest when he heard of his occupation with the stars, and he built there this altar to the Sun and a stone fort), Solomon built there also a city called the City of the Sun. Then Aradus, which is in the middle of the sea, was built at Solomon’s command and they praised him yet more for his wisdom. There journeyed to him the Queen of Sheba and she was obedient to his religious worship. There came up to him at his command Hiram king of Tyre, and had a real love for him; he had already been a friend to David before him. His reign was before the reign of David, and he remained to the last of King Zedekiah. Solomon took one thousand wives, as we said above about him; and they deteriorated his mind when he exceeded in his love to them, and they got the power to mock at him, and it caused him to slide away from the worship of God; he sacrificed to idols and worshipped them instead of the Lord. He died, after reigning for forty years, an idolator and an infidel. Then Hiram king of Tyre was seduced and forgot his humanity and disbelieved in God, and claimed divinity, and he said, “I sit in the heart of the seas like the sitting of a God”; and news of him came to Nebuchadnezzar, and he journeyed to him till he killed him. In the chronicles of the Hebrews, O my son Clement, [we learn] that in the days of this Hiram appeared the purple dye, and this [was that] a shepherd and his sheep were on the sea-shore, and he saw a dog of his gnawing with its mouth something that came out of the sea, and its mouth was filled with its blood. He looked at the blood, and had never seen the like of it. He took some p. 48 clean wool and wiped this blood with it; with that he made a crown and put it upon his head. It had a brightness like the brightness of the sun or rays of fire. The news of it came to Hiram; he sent for him and wondered greatly at the beauty of his dye. He assembled the dyers of his kingdom and gave them a commission for its like, and they were amazed at this, until some of the wise men of his time possessed themselves of the purple shell-fish. He made garments for himself with its blood, and he rejoiced over this with a great joy. Thou, O my son, and all the Greeks, disagree with the Hebrews in this narrative. After Solomon, Rehoboam his son reigned, and defiled the land by the worship of idols, by much whoredom in the city of Jerusalem, and by sacrificing to devils. In his day the kingdom of the house of David was divided, and became two parts. In his fifth year journeyed Shishak king of Egypt to Jerusalem, and took possession of all that was in the treasuries of the Lord’s house and the treasuries of David and Solomon, the vessels of gold and silver, and he was strengthened by this in his power. He said to the Jews, “This is none of your earning; it is some of what your fathers brought out of Egypt at the time of their flight.” And Rehoboam the son of Solomon died an infidel, after he had reigned for seventeen years. Abia his son reigned after him, being twenty years old. He enslaved Jerusalem and destroyed it, and his mother Ma‘ka, the daughter of Abishalom, commended his deeds. He died after three years, and Asa reigned. He did right, and abolished the worship of the stars and the images, and whoredom from Jerusalem. He drove away his mother from his kingdom, because she committed adultery and built an altar to the idols. There came to him Azârâh king of Hind, and Asa put him to flight, and reigned for forty years, then he died. After him his son Jehoshaphat reigned, and he went in the way of his father in righteousness, but he loved the household of Ahab, and kept

company with them. He built ships, and sent by them to the land of Ophir to bring gold from its mountains. God sunk his ships, and was angry with him and his mother p. 49 Sem daughter of Uriah daughter of Shalom. When he had died, his son Joram reigned, being thirty-two years of age. He was disobedient, and sacrificed to devils, on account of his wife Aliah (Athaliah) daughter of Amsir (Omri) son of the sister of Ahab. He died an infidel. After him Ahaziah reigned, being twenty years of age. He was a shameless infidel. The Lord delivered him over to his enemies, and they killed him after one year of his reign. His mother took the kingdom to herself, and killed the kings' sons, that thereby she might destroy the kingdom of the family of David. None were saved from her except Joash, for Jehosheba the daughter of Joram son of Jehoshaphat hid him. She increased adultery and infidelity in Jerusalem. She died after seven years, and the people of Jerusalem thought about who should reign over them, Jehoiada knew about that, and their choice fell upon none but Joash whom Jehoiada had hidden. He sent and brought [him] out to the house of the Lord; the warriors completely armed surrounded him and Jehoiada the priest seated him upon the throne of the family of David his father, he being seven years of age. His mother's name was Zibiah of the family of Sheba. Jehoiada the priest covenanted with him that he should do righteousness before the Lord. When Jehoiada the priest died, Joash forgot his covenants, and did not know rightly what was administered from the throne of the family of David, nor the shedding of innocent blood. He died after he had reigned for forty years. After him his son reigned, and his mother's name was Jehoaddan. He killed every one who had killed any one of his household, but spared their sons, for in this he followed the law of the Lord. He died after he had reigned for twenty-nine years, and his son Azariah reigned after him, being twenty years old. His mother's name was Jecholiah. He did right before the Lord, save that he was bold about the priesthood, for which reason he became a leper, and God weakened the power of Isaiah the prophet from prophecy until this Azariah died, because he did not reprove him for his boldness about the priesthood. The duration of his reign was fifty-two p. 50 years, and Jotham his son reigned after him, being twenty-five years of age, and his mother's name was Jerusha the daughter of Dafma (Zadok). He did right, and the duration of his reign was sixteen years. After him his son Ahaz reigned, being twenty years of age; his mother's name was Jahkebez the daughter of Levi. He did wickedly, and sacrificed to devils and idols. God was angry with him, and Tiglath son of Cardak, king of Assyria, came against him, and besieged him. Ahaz wrote himself down his vassal, and delivered Jerusalem up to the Assyrians, and he carried all the gold and silver that was in the temple of God to Assyria the regions of Tiglath. In his time the children of Israel were led captive, and went down to Babylon. The king of Assyria sent instead Babylonians to the land of Judah to dwell in it; and they complained of what befel them to the king of Assyria, and he sent to them Urijah one of the priests of the children of Israel that he might teach them the law of the Lord. When they knew it, the lions ceased from them, and went to the land of Babylon and to Samaria. When he (Ahaz) had completed sixteen years he died, and his son Hezekiah reigned after him, being twenty-five years old, and his mother's name was Ahi (Abi) the daughter of Zechariah. He did right and broke the idols, and caused the sacrifices to cease, and cut up the serpent that Moses had made in the wilderness of the wandering (Tih), because the children of Israel were seduced in their worship of it. In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmanezer king of Assyria came to Jerusalem, and took captive the Israelites who were in it, and drove them away to a place beyond Babylon named Media. In the twenty-sixth year journeyed Sennacherib

king of the province to the cities of Judah, and took captive those whom he found in them and their villages excepting Jerusalem. Verily it was saved by the prayer and cries of king Hezekiah. When Hezekiah was ill with his death-sickness, he grieved and wept because he had no son to reign after him; he prayed before the Lord, and said, “Lord, have mercy on Thy servant, and do not let him die without offspring; let not the kingdom fail from the house of David, nor the blessings cease which have come on the tribes in my days.” The Lord answered him, and told him that p. 51 He had added to his life fifteen years; he recovered; a son was born to him, and he called him Manasseh. When twenty-six years of his reign were finished, and he was rejoicing in his son, he died. His son reigned after him, being twelve years old; his mother’s name was Hephzibah. He did wickedly, and his infidelity surpassed all the infidel kings that were before him in evil-doing. He built an altar to idols, and sacrificed to them; he defiled Jerusalem with corruption, and the worship of idols. He took Isaiah the prophet, and they sawed him with a wooden saw from the middle of his head to between his feet, because he had reproved him for his wicked deeds. Isaiah’s age that day was one hundred and twenty years, he began to prophesy when he was ninety years old. Then Manasseh repented about that, and turned to his Lord; he put on sackcloth, and imposed a fast upon himself [all] the days of his life. God accepted his repentance and he died. His son Amon reigned after him, being that day twenty-two years of age; his mother’s name was Musalmath the daughter of Hasoun. He did wicked deeds before the Lord, and burned his children in the fire. He reigned twelve years and he died. After him his son Josiah reigned, being sixty-eight years of age; his mother’s name was Arnea, daughter of Azariah son of Tarfeeb. He kept righteously the feast of the Passover, a feast such as the children of Israel had never kept since the time of the Prophet Moses; he abolished the sacrifices to the images, broke the idols, sawed them with saws, killed their worshippers, and burnt in the fire the bones of the prophets of the Honoured One. He cleansed Jerusalem from defilements. None like him reigned over the Jews before him nor after him. He remained there for thirty years, but Pharaoh king of Egypt killed him. After him his son Jehoahaz reigned, being twenty-two years of age; his mother’s name was Hamtoul the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. Not more than three months of his reign had passed when Pharaoh the lame bound him, made him fast with chains, and carried him to Egypt, and he died there. After him his brother Jehoiakim reigned, being twenty-five years of age; his mother’s name was Zobeed, daughter of Yerkuiah of the town of Al-Ramah. In the third year of his p. 52 reign Nebuchadnezzar approached Jerusalem, reigned over it, and made him his vassal for three years. He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and death overtook him. His son Jehoiachin reigned after him, being eighteen years of age; his mother’s name was Tahseeb the daughter of Lutanan of the people of Jerusalem. Nebuchadnezzar journeyed a second time to Jerusalem, bound him after three months of his reign, and carried him and his officers and the armies of his soldiers to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar in his first attack had bound the wife of Jehoiakim and other wives of the grandees and nobles of Jerusalem, and carried them to Babylon. The wife of Jehoiakim was pregnant that day, and in the way she gave birth to Daniel. In the Captivity were also Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, sons of Johanan. The reason of this Captivity was that Jehoiachin had made a truce with Nebuchadnezzar, then they betrayed one another. When Johanan died, Zedekiah the uncle of Jehoiakim reigned after him, being twenty-one years of age; the seat of all the kings of the children of Israel was Jerusalem; the name of Zedekiah’s mother was Hamtoul; he was the last of the kings of the children of Israel. After

eleven years of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar journeyed for the third time to the West, to pacify its cities, and the cities of the Euphrates, and of the Great Sea. He made his way through the islands of the sea, and took captive their people, he laid Tyre waste, and smote it with fire. He killed Hiram its king as we have already said. He entered Egypt to seek those of the children of Israel who had fled, and killed its Pharaoh. He returned by sea to Jerusalem, and was victorious there a second time. He bound Zedekiah, killed his sons Jerbala and Rahmut, and carried him blind and fettered with chains to Babylon. This was a punishment from God to him for his deed that he did to the prophet Jeremiah when he threw him into a miry well. Nebuchadnezzar appointed Jozadan (Nebuzaradan) the captain of his prison in Jerusalem until he had laid waste its wall, and burned the temple of the Lord which Solomon had built in it. He demolished the rest of the dwellings of Jerusalem, carried all the tools that he found of iron and brass, and the raiment which belonged to the house p. 53 of the Lord to Babylon. Between Simeon the High Priest of Jerusalem and Jozadan captain of the prison to Nebuchadnezzar there was love and friendship. He asked if he would give him the old writings; he and Simeon carried them with him, being among the crowd of the Captivity. He saw a well in his way among the borders of the West; be laid the writings in it, and put with them a bronze vase, filled with glowing coals, and in it sweet smelling incense; he covered up this well, and went to Babylon. The devastation of Jerusalem was completed, and it became a waste. There was not one person in it, nor even a building save the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah. Jeremiah in his lifetime had dwelt in a place called Samaria; he commanded a man named Uriah that he should be buried in Jerusalem, and he did it. It was not known that this place was the grave of Jeremiah except at the devastation of Jerusalem.

Now for the genealogies. The Syrians say that no one looked after them after the last devastation of Jerusalem, except among the tribe of the Philistines, and no one looked after the genealogy of the people among whom the children of Israel married, nor from whence was the beginning of the priesthood. Jehoiachin did not cease to be bound in the land of Babylon, and shut up in prison for thirty-seven years. Meanwhile there was born to Mardul a son named Mardahi, and the king let Jehoiachin out of the prison, and married him to Helmuth the daughter of Eliakim. By him she gave birth in the land of Babylon to a son, who was called Salathiel. Then he married another who was called Melkat the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and had no child by her in Babylon. At that time Cyrus reigned in Babylon. He married Masabet the sister of Zerubabel a nobleman of the Jews, according to the custom of Persia; he let her rule his affairs; she begged him to restore the children of Israel to Jerusalem, and he did this to its place where it had been before him. He commanded a herald to proclaim, that there should not remain one of the children of Israel, who should not present himself to Zerubabel his brother-in-law. When they were gathered together, he commanded him to take them to Jerusalem and that they should build it. The children p. 54 of Israel returned to Jerusalem in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the Persian. At that time was completed the fifth thousand from the beginning. The children of Israel after their return to Jerusalem remained without a teacher to teach them the law of the Lord or any writings of the prophets. When Ezra saw this, he went to the well in which the Law had been put, uncovered it, and found the vase full of fire and incense, and he found the writings faded, there was no means to get them. God revealed to

him that he should receive of them from His hands; he succeeded, and threw it on his mouth once, and twice and thrice, and God put into it the power of the spirit of prophecy; he kept all the writings, and that fire which was in the vase in the well was from the fire of Paradise which was in the house of the Lord. Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem as king over it. By Joshua son of Jozadak the High Priest and by Ezra, the writing of the Law and the Books of the Prophets were completed. After their return, the children of Israel kept the feast of the Passover, and all the feasts that they celebrated were three. The first was the feast of Moses in Egypt, the second the feast of Josiah, and the third after their return from Babylon in the days of Cyrus the Persian. The number of the years of the Captivity which Jeremiah the prophet mentions are seventy years. The children of Israel built the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, and its building was finished by the hands of Zerubabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest, and Ezra the scribe of the Law, in six and forty years. When the books of the genealogies were destroyed, the fathers were in despair about genealogy, and there was despair about it after them, until their accuracy was guaranteed by the secret books of the Hebrews. I relate this to thee, my son Clement, that when Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem, he married Malka the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and by her he begat a son called Abiud. She had already been the wife of Jehoiachin before him. When Abiud grew up, he married Ragib, daughter of Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest. By he he begat a son called Jehoiachim. Jehoiachim married a wife, and begat a son by her. When he grew up, he married p. 55 Alfeet, daughter of Hesron, and by her he begat Zadok. Zadok married Felbin the daughter of Rahab, and by her he begat Atin. Atin married Hesheeb, daughter of Jula, and by he he begat Tur (Eliud). Tur (Eliud) married Salsin, daughter of Hasoul, and by her he begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Habeeth, daughter of Malih, and by her he begat Manar (Matthan). Manar (Matthan) married Seerâb, daughter of Phinehas, and by her he begat two sons in [one] womb. One of them was Jacob, who was called by two names, Joachim son of Yartâh. Jacob maried Had the daughter of Eleazar, and by her he begat Joseph. Joachim married Hannah, daughter of Ka‘rdal, and by her he begat Mary, by whom our Lord the Christ was incarnate. On account of our knowledge, O my son Clement, about the genealogy of the Lady Mary, and the genealogies of her ancestors, the Jews begin by assertions about us that we do not understand the genealogies, and we do not know them; and they venture to mock the mother of Light, the Lady Mary, the Virgin, and they attribute he genealogy to fornication, because they do not know that it was the Holy Ghost who came down on us, a company of twelve in the upper room of Zion, who taught us all that we need to know about the genealogies and the rest of the mysteries, as He had taught Azariah (Ezra) the teacher all the Law, so that he kept it and renewed it. Let the mouths of the cursed Jews now be stopped, and let them know assuredly that Mary the pure was of the race of Judah, also of the race of David, also of the race of Abraham; that they have nothing against the genealogies which the Holy Ghost taught us, and there is not a book left in their hands from which they can make a stand against genealogy, since their books have been burnt three times; the first time in the days of Antiochus, who defiled the temple of the Lord, and commanded sacrifices to idlos; the second by Herod at the time of the devastation of Jerusalem; and the third, hear, O blessed son, what the Holy Ghost has revealed to me, about the sixty-three fathers, whose names are registered, and how the pedigree came about to the tribe from which was incarnate our God the Christ.

The beginning of genealogies.

Adam begat Seth. Seth married Aclima, sister of Abel, and by her begat Enos. Enos married a woman called Hita, daughter of Mahmouma of the sons of Har son of Seth, and by her begat Cainan. Cainan married Karith, daughter of Kersham son of Maheâl, and by her begat Mahlaleel. Mahlaleel married Teshabfatir, daughter of Enos, and by her begat Jared. Jared married Zebeeda, daughter of Kargilan son of Cainan, and by her begat Enoch. Enoch married Jardakin, daughter of Terbah son of Mahlaleel, and by her begat Methuselah. Methuselah married Rahoub, daughter of Serkeen son of Enoch, and by her begat Lamech. Lamech married Kifar, daughter of Jutab son of Methuselah, and by her begat Noah. Noah married Haikal, daughter of Mashamos son of Enoch, and by her begat Sem. Sem married Leah, daughter of Nasih, and by her begat Arphaxad. Arphaxad married Fardou, daughter of Salweh son of Japhet, and by her begat Salah. Salah married Muldath, daughter of Kahin son of Sem, and by her begat Obed (Eber). Obed (Eber) married Rasdah sister of Melchisedek, daughter of Malih son of Arphaxad, and by her begat Peleg. Peleg married Hadeeb, daughter of Hamlâh, and by her begat Jareu (Reu). Jareu (Reu) married Tanaa‘b, daughter of Obed (Eber), and by her begat Serug. Serug married Feel, and by her begat Nahor. Nahor married a wife, A‘âkris daughter of Reu, and by her begat Tarah. Tarah married two wives, one of them Juta, and the other Salmat, by Juta he begat Abraham and by Salmat Sarah. Abraham married Sarah, daughter of this Salmat his father’s wife, and by her begat Isaac. Isaac married a wife called Rebecca, daughter of Fathâel, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Leah, daughter of Laban, and by her begat Judah. Judah begat Pharez by Tamar. Pharez son of Judah married Afdeeb, daughter of Levi, and by her begat Hesron. Hesron married Farteeb, daughter of Zebulon, and by her begat Aram. Aram married Safuza, daughter of Judah, and by her begat Aminadab. Aminadab married Baruma, daughter of Hesron, and by her begat Nahshon. Nahshon married Aram, daughter p. 57 of Adam, and by her begat Salmon. Salmon married Saleeb (Rahab), daughter of Aminadab, and by her begat Boaz. Boaz married Aroof (Ruth), daughter of Lot, and by her begat Obed. Obed married Nefut, daughter of Shela, and by her begat Asse (Jesse). Asse (Jesse) married Amrat, daughter of Othan, and by her begat David. David married Balseba‘ (Bathsheba), daughter of Joutân son of Shela, and by her begat Solomon. Solomon married Naama, daughter of Maheel, and by her begat Rehoboam: who had none like him. Rehoboam married Naheer, daughter of Al, and by her begat Abia. Abia married Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, and by her bcgat Asa. Asa married Auzbah the daughter of Shalih, and by her begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat married Na‘mna the daughter of Amon, and by her begat Joram. Joram married Tala‘ia, daughter of Amoi, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Suma the daughter of Balhi, and by her begat Amaziah. Amaziah married Kama, daughter of Caram, and by her begat Uzziah. Uzziah married Jerousa, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jeream (Jotham). Jeream (Jotham) married Jahfat, daughter of Hani, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Ahir, daughter of Zachariah, and by her begat Hezekiah.

Hezekiah married Hephzibah, daughter of Jarmoun, and by her begat Manasseh. Manasseh married Artida, daughter of Azuriah, and by her begat Aman. Aman married Tarib, daughter of Murka, and by her begat Josiah. Josiah married Hamtoul, daughter of Armeed (Jeremiah), and by her begat Jehoahaz. Jehoahaz married a woman and had no sons by her. Jehoiakim reigned after the death of his brother, and married a woman called Carteem, daughter of Haluta, and by her begat Salaeel (Salathiel). Salaeel (Salathiel) married Hamtat, daughter of Eliakim, and by her begat Zerubabel. Zerubabel married Malkut, daughter of Ezra, and by her begat Armeed (Abiud). Armeed (Abiud) married Awarkeeth, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jachim. Jachim married Hali, daughter of Zurniem, and by her begat A'zor. A'zor married Afi, daughter of Hasor, and by her begat Sadoc. Sadoc married Faltir, daughter of Dorteeb, and by her begat Asham Joteed. Joteed Asham married Hasgab, daughter of Jula, and by her p. 58 begat Liud (Eliud). Liud (Eliud) married Shabshetin, daughter of Hubaballia, and by her begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Hanbeth, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Mathan. Mathan married Seerab, daughter of Phinehas, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Harteeb, daughter of Eleazar, and by her begat Joachim, known as Jonahir. Joachim married Hannah, and returned to the house of Eleazar. And after sixty years of his marriage to her, he begat by her Mary the Virgin, her by whom the Christ became incarnate. Joseph the Carpenter was the son of her [paternal] uncle Laha, and therefore his vote did not fall against her when Ram, priest of the children of Israel, delivered her to a man who should be surety for her. It was in the hidden work of God (may He be glorious and exalted!) and in the mystery of His knowledge that there was no escape from the Jews reproaching Mary the pure on account of her bearing the Christ. To our Master and our God and our Lord Jesus the Christ be praise and power and greatness and dignity and worship with the Father and the Holy Ghost from now unto all time and throughout all ages. Amen.

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Clavis numbers: ECCA 950

VIAF: 184718207

Category: Apocalypses, Apocryphal Acts

Related literature: Acts of Peter by Clement, Pseudo-Clementines, Story of Peter, John, and Paul in Antioch, Cave of Treasures, Testament of Adam

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1. SUMMARY

This Christian Arabic pseudepigraphon, which covers more than a hundred folios, is a heterogeneous text, which integrates the Testament of Adam, the Cave of Treasures, and stories of Peter paralleled in the Ethiopic Acts of Peter by Clement (itself incorporating portions of the Pseudo-Clementines). It is framed as a revelation from Christ to Peter on the Mount of Olives and then from Peter to Clement. After detailed descriptions of creation and biblical history, the middle segment of the text is a historical-political apocalypse about the rise and fall of Islam, in which Christ condemns Muslims and their rulers in a rather

sharp polemical tone and, at the same time, declares that Islam is a temporary phenomenon. The Christian readers are urged not to intermingle with the Muslims and it seems, therefore, that this part was written at a time when social boundaries between Christians and Muslims were eroding. The end of Islam is not predicted as imminent but as an inevitable development in the future, which should encourage Christians in their steadfastness.

The last section of the text consists of the vicissitudes of Peter in Rome, which show resemblance to the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The text was widely known among Miaphysite Christians. It was copied in Egypt and Syria, often in Arabic with Syriac letters (Garšūnī). There are arguments for an origin in either a Syriac or Coptic milieu. A critical edition might solve this question but is, as yet, a desideratum. As for the date, the terminus post quem is the late ninth century, because the text contains allusions to political events in that time. The manuscript Paris, BNF Ar. 76 provides the terminus ante quem of 1177, when its Vorlage was copied.

Named historical figures and characters (based on Mingana's incomplete translation, excluding the material from Cave of Treasures and the Testament of Adam): Abraham (patriarch), Abgar, Adam (patriarch), Agabus, Ananias (disciple), Antichrist, Barakūyār, Barnabas, Besalyā, Candace (king), Clement (bishop), Dan (patriarch), Daniel (prophet), daughter of Jairus, Dionysius (disciple), Elijah (prophet), Enoch (patriarch), Euphrikos/Euphraxus, Fālāh, Faustinianus, Faustinus, Faustus (father of Clement), Four Bodiless Creatures, Gabriel (angel), Ham, Hermes, Holy Spirit, Hotān, Isaac (patriarch), Jacob (patriarch), Jambres, James (son of Zebedee), Jannes, Jesus (Christ), Joachim (father of Mary), John (son of Zebedee), Joshua (patriarch), Judas Iscariot, Judas (of Damascus), Kolon, Lahwā, Lazarus, Magi, Mark (evangelist), Mary (Virgin), Mattidia, Michael (angel), Moses (patriarch), Nebuchadnezzar, Nero, Noah (patriarch), Nun, Paul (apostle), Peter (apostle), Philip (apostle), Pharaoh (of Exodus), Phinehas, Pontius Pilate, Protheus/Zerosus, Raphael (angel), Salāh, Sarh, Satan, Saul (king), Silvanus (disciple), Simon (Magus), Solomon (king), Solon, Stephen (martyr), Tares, Terah, Thaddaeus/Addai (apostle), Thomas (apostle), Tibarus, Timothy, Titus, Uriel (angel), Wailah, Wākid, Wolf (Muhammad), Yanshur.

Geographical locations: Abirom, Ablabûn, Afdār, Alexandria, al-Adiyōka, Amman, Antioch, Arados, Armenia, Arramān, Athens, Baalbeck, Babylon, Beirut, Bethlehem, Bīlāt, Carthage, Cave of Treasures, Chamber of Zion, China, Chorazin, Cyprus, Damascus, Eden, Edessa, Edom, Egypt, Emmaus, Ephesus, Euphrates River, Golgotha, Haran, Harmānīyah, hell, Hijāz, India, 'Irāk, 'Irkah, Jarbā, Jerusalem, Joppa, Judah, Judea, Ḳêsârôs River, Khawārij, Kurmah, Kûsin, Lake Gurgu, Laodicea, Lāyos, Lebanon, Lydda, Manīh, Maurikiyah, Mesopotamia, Mitālīyah, Moab, Mount of Olives, Mount Sinai, Nazareth, Nile, Nineveh, Nisibin, Nubia, Paradise, Paran, Pavilion of Light, Persia,

Philippi, Phoenicia, Red Sea, Rome, Samosata, Satāfān, Seba, Sicily, Sidon, Sind, Sodom, Sudan, Syria, Tarsus, Tartaros, temple (Jerusalem), Thrace, Tigris River, Tyre.

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George Clayton Jr. was an American writer, whose sole legacy appears to be Angelology: Remarks and Reflections Touching the Agency and Ministration of Holy Angels (New York: Henry Kernot, 1851), with original illustrations and dedicated to a departed George C. Morgan.[1]

The book received a negative review in the Literary Gazette, revealing nothing about its author.[2]

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The Literary gazette 1851 "Mr. Clayton's book contains some strange fancies, but we are not disposed to speak severely of one who tells the public in his preface, that "his mind is environed by an accumulation of uncontrollable evils, aggravated by the cureless ..."

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In Catholicism

Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologica, I.108) follows the Hierarchia (6.7) in dividing the angels into three hierarchies each of which contains three orders, based on their proximity

to God, corresponding to the nine orders of angels recognized by Pope Gregory I.

Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones;

Dominations, Virtues, and Powers;

Principalities, Archangels, and Angels.

Editions

Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De Coelesti Hierarchia, Surrey, 1935. Shrine of Wisdom ISBN 978-0-90066-403-8.

G. Heil, A. M. Ritter, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De Coelesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Mystica Theologia, Epistulae (1991) ISBN 978-3-11-012041-7.

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Llibre dels àngels

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Title page of the translation into Spanish of Francesc Eiximenis' Llibre dels Àngels (Book of Angels), printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1527 by Miguel de Eguía

The Llibre dels àngels (Valencian pronunciation: [ˈʎibɾe delz ˈaɲd͡ʒels]; lit. 'Book of Angels') is a literary work that was written by Francesc Eiximenis in 1392 in Valencia in Catalan. It was dedicated to Pere d'Artés, who was a kind of Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Crown of Aragon, and who was a close friend of him. It has two hundred and one chapters, and it is divided into five treatises.

General information

This book is a real treatise about angelology, but with several political thoughts. It was maybe the most successful Eiximenis' book, since it was translated into Latin (it is the only Eiximenis' book that was translated into that language), into Spanish, into French, and even into Flemish (maybe it was the only Medieval Catalan book that was translated into that language).

Furthermore, one of the French incunable editions was the first printed book in the Swiss city of Geneva.[1] We could say that this matter should have been treated in Eiximenis' Huitè (eighth volume) of his encyclopedic project Lo Crestià. This book should have dealt with the order of things and creatures according to medieval mentality. This order appears in what he calls "strata", and he considers that angels are one of these strata, according to the theological Medieval mentality. It appears in the famous Peter Lombard's Four Books of Sentences Quattuor libri sententiarum. The second book deals with angels. Eiximenis confirms that in the 43rd chapter of his Segon del Crestià (Second volume of Lo Crestià).[2]

Influence on the city and Kingdom of Valencia

Without exaggerating, it can be said that this book had a decisive influence in the spread of the cult and devotion of angels in the city of Valencia and the Kingdom of Valencia. The same year that the Llibre dels àngels was written (1392), the Consell General de València (General Council of Valencia. It was the city government authority) agreed on 9 August to decorate the Sala del Consell (Council Hall) with several figures, and one of these was the guardian angel. This cult and devotion was progressing and spreading years later. So in 1411 a service for the guardian angel of Valencia was composed, and it appears in some breviaries of those years. In 1446 in the Cathedral of Valencia the yearly festivity of the guardian angel began to be celebrated, according to a certain ritual.[3]

Digital editions of the Llibre dels Àngels

Manuscripts

[1] Edition in the Biblioteca Virtual Joan Lluís Vives (Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives) of the Ms. 86 from the University of Barcelona's Reserve Books. (in Catalan)

Incunabula

[2] Edition in the Memòria Digital de Catalunya (Digital Memory of Catalonia) of the Joan Rosembach's incunabulum edition (Barcelona, 21 June 1494). (in Catalan)

[3] Edition in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (Hispanic Digital Library) of the incunabulum edition of the translation into Spanish that was printed by Fadrique de Basilea (Burgos, 15 October 1490). (in Spanish)

[4] Edition in the Gallica (digitalized documents and books from the Bibliothèque nationale de France) of the incunabulum edition of the translation into French that was printed in Geneva by Adam Steinschaber on 24 March 1478. (in French)

[5] Edition in the Virtual Library of the University of Liège of the incunabulum edition of the translation into French that was printed in Lyon by Guillaume Le Roy on 20 May 1486. (in French)

Old editions

[6] Edition in the Biblioteca Virtual Joan Lluís Vives (Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives) of the translation into Spanish that was printed by Miguel de Eguía in Alcalá de Henares on 28 January 1527. (in Spanish)

Modern editions

[7] De Sant Miquel arcàngel, edition of the fifth treatise of the Llibre dels Àngels by Curt Wittlin (Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1983. 177 pp). (in Catalan)

Edició crítica del 'Libre dels àngels' (1392) de Francesc Eiximenis. Catàleg de mss., índexs d'autors, bíblic i temàtic. Doctoral thesis of Sergi Gascón Urís (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. 1992, 931 pp.; microfiche ed., UAB 1993)

The Llibre dels Àngels inside Eiximenis' complete works

Francesc Eiximenis' complete works (in Catalan and in Latin).

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Mandaïsche Liturgien (1920)

by Mark Lidzbarski, translated from German by Wikisource

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The text below is an English translation of the 103 prayers in Part 1 (the "Qolastā") of Mark Lidzbarski's Mandaïsche Liturgien, which is in turn a 1920 German translation of a manuscript written in Classical Mandaic. The original scribal commentaries, appended to many of the prayers, have also been translated by Lidzbarski (1920). "NN" in the prayers are placeholders for the name of the person reciting the prayer. Mandaic transcriptions in Lidzbarski (1920) were originally written in Hebrew, but are transcribed in Wikisource using Latin-based transliteration. Corrections of scribal errors are noted using square brackets.

The Qolasta is the most important written collection of liturgical prayers in Mandaeism. It was originally written in Classical Mandaic, a linguistic variety of Aramaic.

Section 1: prayers 1-103

The 1st section of Lidzbarski's 1920 book consists of prayers 1-103. These are typically the most commonly recited Mandaean prayers, and directly correspond with prayers 1-103 in E. S. Drower's (1959) Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans (CP).

Prelude

Masbuta liturgy: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,

25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31

Masiqta liturgy: 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72

ʿNgirta prayers: 73, 74

Prayers of praise: 75, 76, 77

ʿNiana prayers: 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103

Commonly used sets of prayers

Some sets of prayers that are commonly used in Mandaean rituals:

Masbuta prayers for the turban and baptism wreath: 1, 3, 5, 19

Incense prayers: 8, 34

Radiance prayers: 9, 35

Masiqta prayer set: 32, 33, 34

Masiqta prayers for the pihta and mambuha: 59, 60

Masiqta prayer set: 71, 72

Sealings prayers: 25, 26, 27, 28

ʿNiania (masiqta response hymns): 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99

ʿNiania (masiqta response hymns): 101, 102, 103

Section 2: Oxford Collection

The 2nd section of Lidzbarski's 1920 book consists of the Oxford Collection, a 4-part collection of 132 prayers.

Part 1 (rahmia or devotional prayers, corresponding to CP 106-160, 165-169):

Prayers for the times of the day (CP 106-118): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13

Sunday prayers (CP 119-124): 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19

Monday prayers (CP 125-130): 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25

Tuesday prayers (CP 131-136): 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31

Wednesday prayers (CP 137-142): 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

Thursday prayers (CP 143-148): 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43

Friday prayers (CP 149-154): 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49

Saturday prayers (CP 155-160): 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55

Prayers of the fruit of ether (CP 165-169): 56, 57, 58, 59, 60

Part 2 (marriage prayers, corresponding to CP 180-199, 201-205):

(CP 180-199): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20

(CP 201-205):

(CP 201): 21, 22, 23

(CP 202): 24, 25, 26

(CP 203): 27, 28, 29

(CP 204): 30, 31

(CP 205): 32, 33

Part 3 ("When the Pure Chosen One went" prayers, corresponding to CP 233-240, 243-246, 250-251, 253, 255):

(CP 233-236): 1, 2, 3, 4

(CP 237): 5, 6

(CP 238-240): 7, 8, 9

(CP 243): 10

(CP 244): 11, 12

(CP 245-246): 13, 14

(CP 250-251): 15, 16

(CP 253): 17, 18

(CP 255-256): 19

Part 4 (banner prayers, corresponding to CP 330-347 except for prayer 20, which corresponds to CP 329):

Prayers for unfurling the drabsha (CP 330-336): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

Prayers for carrying the drabsha (CP 337): 8, 9

Prayers for carrying the drabsha (CP 338-341): 10, 11, 12, 13

Prayer for holding the drabsha (CP 342): 14

Prayer before the baptism (CP 343): 15

Prayers after the baptism (CP 344-345): 16, 17

Prayers for wrapping the drabsha (CP 346-347): 18, 19

Prayer for loosening the crown (taga) (CP 329): 20

(CP refers to E. S. Drower's (1959) Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.)

Source

Lidzbarski, Mark (1920). Mandaïsche Liturgien (in German). Berlin: Weidmann. (external scan)

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Qulasta

The Qulasta (Mandaic: □□□□□□□, meaning "collection"), also known as the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, is the primary liturgical text of Mandaeism, the sole surviving Gnostic religion from late antiquity, characterized by its emphasis on gnosis (knowledge) as the path to salvation, ritual immersion in living waters, and a dualistic cosmology pitting light against darkness. Written in Classical Mandaic, an Eastern Aramaic dialect, it compiles over 400 prayers essential to Mandaean worship, including those for baptism (maṣbuta), the rite of soul ascension and commemoration of the dead (masiqta), daily purifications (rišama), weddings (qaṣma), priestly installations, and observances at equinoxes, solstices, and the New Year.[1] These prayers form the ritual backbone of Mandaean practice, recited verbatim by priests (tarmidia) and lay participants to invoke divine light (hiia) and facilitate the soul's journey from the material world to the realm of pure spirit.[2]

Compiled over centuries through oral transmission and scribal copying within small Mandaean communities in southern Iraq and southwestern Iran, the Qulasta reflects the religion's ancient Mesopotamian roots, with textual layers possibly dating to the 2nd–3rd centuries CE, though its full form emerged later. Manuscripts vary, but the text's structure divides into sections like Sidra ḏ-nišmata (Book of Souls) for baptism and masiqta rites, alongside daily and seasonal liturgies, underscoring Mandaeism's focus on repeated sacramental acts to combat cosmic impurity.[3] The first scholarly Western edition and German translation appeared in Mark Lidzbarski's Mandaïsche Liturgien (1920), drawing from incomplete manuscripts, while Ethel Stefana Drower's 1959 English translation, based on a rare complete codex, remains the standard reference, including facsimile reproductions and explanatory notes on ritual contexts.[1] Contemporary Mandaean-led publications, such as the 1998–1999 bilingual edition by Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki and colleagues, preserve the text in Mandaic alongside Arabic and English, aiding community revitalization amid diaspora and persecution.[4] In 2025, Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts published a new English translation and edition, further supporting scholarly access to the text.

Overview and Historical Context

Definition and Liturgical Role

The Qulasta, known in English as the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, is a liturgical collection composed in Classical Mandaic that compiles hymns, prayers, and

invocations essential to Mandaean religious ceremonies. It serves as the primary textual resource for Mandaean priests, known as tarmida (junior priests) and ganzabra (senior priests or bishops), who recite its contents during sacred rites to invoke divine presence and ensure ritual efficacy. The term "Qulasta" derives from a Mandaic root connoting a "collection" or gathering of prayers, reflecting its function as a compiled anthology rather than a narrative scripture.[5]

In its liturgical role, the Qulasta facilitates core Mandaean rituals, including baptisms (masbuta), soul ascension ceremonies (masiqta), weddings, priestly ordinations, and daily devotions such as the Rahmia prayers recited at dawn. These recitations often occur antiphonally, with priests and participants alternating responses, and involve symbolic elements like flowing water, oil, and wreaths to symbolize purity and ascent to the realm of light. As a priestly manual, it standardizes the orthopraxis of these rites, emphasizing precise invocation to maintain communal and individual spiritual integrity.[6]

Regarded as the most ancient and authoritative Mandaean text after the Ginza Rabba, the Qulasta embodies foundational doctrines such as the cosmic dualism of light versus darkness and the imperative of ritual purity to counteract defilement from the material world.[7] Its prayers reinforce the belief in salvation through gnosis (manda) and repeated immersion, positioning it as a living repository of Mandaean theology that bridges doctrine and practice in ongoing worship.[8]

Origins and Dating

The Qulasta, the canonical prayerbook of Mandaeism, is estimated to have been compiled between the 2nd and 7th centuries CE, with its core elements drawing from oral traditions that likely predate the written form by several generations.[9] A key colophon attributes an early redaction to the priest Zazai d-Gawazta around 272 CE, suggesting incremental assembly during the late Sasanian period, though later additions extended into the early Islamic era.[10] This timeline aligns with linguistic and paleographic analyses of surviving fragments, which indicate a gradual evolution from Aramaic substrates influenced by regional dialects.[11] Scholars such as Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley and Kurt Rudolph posit that the text's formation reflects a stabilization process amid cultural shifts in Mesopotamia, potentially finalized by the 7th century to serve as a unified liturgical standard.[9]

The Qulasta's emergence was shaped by influences from ancient Mesopotamian, Jewish, and early Christian liturgical practices, which were adapted into a distinctly Gnostic-Mandaean framework emphasizing baptismal purity and cosmic dualism. Mesopotamian roots are evident in water-ritual motifs traceable to Sumerian and Babylonian ablution cults, while Jewish elements appear in priestly ordinations and covenantal language reminiscent of Second Temple traditions.[12] Early Christian parallels, such as baptismal formulas and references to figures like John the Baptist (Yahya), suggest interactions in the Jordan Valley region before eastward migrations, though Mandaean texts invert Christian narratives to assert independence.[9] E.S. Drower highlights this syncretism as a resilient synthesis, incorporating Semitic liturgical structures while rejecting orthodox Christian soteriology in favor of Mandaean light-world

cosmology.[12]

Internal references to historical events and figures provide evidence of the text's incremental assembly by Mandaean priests over centuries, including allusions to priestly lineages from Adam and migrations led by figures like Hibil Ziwa. Colophons mention successive copyists and editors, such as those under Zazai, who standardized prayers amid scribal traditions, indicating a collaborative priestly effort to preserve oral hymns and responses.[10] These elements, combined with mythological narratives of exile from Jerusalem, underscore a compositional history tied to community survival rather than a single authorship.[12]

Exile and persecution played a pivotal role in shaping the Qulasta as a portable, resilient liturgical core for diaspora communities, particularly according to Mandaean tradition following flights from the Jordan Valley to the Mesopotamian alluvial plains during the 1st to 3rd centuries CE. However, the historical validity of this migration is debated among scholars, with some proposing that Mandaeism developed indigenously in Mesopotamia.[9] Amid Sasanian Zoroastrian pressures and later Islamic integrations, the text's compact, memorizable structure facilitated ritual continuity in scattered settlements along the Tigris and Euphrates.[9] This adaptability, as noted by Drower, transformed the Qulasta into a foundational anchor for Mandaean identity, paralleling its contemporary companion, the Ginza Rabba.[12][13]

Manuscripts and Scholarly Editions

Surviving Manuscripts

The surviving manuscripts of the Qulasta, the canonical prayerbook of the Mandaeans, are primarily preserved in European institutional collections, with the most significant holdings in the Drower Collection at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. This collection, donated by Lady Ethel Stefana Drower in 1958, includes multiple copies acquired from Mandaean communities in Iraq and Iran during the early to mid-20th century. A key example is DC 53, a complete codex copied in 1802 CE by the priest (ganzibra) Adam Yuhana in Huwaiza, Khuzestan, Iran; it was purchased by Drower in 1954 and served as the primary basis for her 1959 edition.[6][14]

Other notable manuscripts predate the Drower acquisitions and originate from 19th-century European collections. In 1867, Julius Euting transcribed portions of the Qulasta from exemplars held in the British Library in London and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, providing early access to the text for scholars like Mark Lidzbarski. These older copies, likely from the 17th to 18th centuries, represent diaspora traditions from Ottoman-era Mandaean centers in Mesopotamia. Overall, scholars estimate around 10-15 known complete or fragmentary versions, though exact counts vary due to limited cataloging of private or community-held copies in the Mandaean diaspora.[3]

Physically, these manuscripts are typically written on European-style paper in the Mandaic script, often in codex form with black ink and occasional red accents for headings or

colophons. Marginalia by priests, including ritual annotations or family genealogies, are common, reflecting their use in active liturgy. For instance, DC 53 features detailed colophons tracing scribal lineages back several generations, emphasizing priestly transmission. Variations across copies include local additions, such as notes on regional baptismal practices or supplementary prayers not found in standardized recensions.[6]

Preservation has been precarious, with significant losses during 20th-century conflicts in Iraq and Iran, including the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and subsequent instability, which displaced Mandaean communities and destroyed private holdings. European collections owe their survival to 19th- and 20th-century collectors like Euting and Drower, who acquired texts through direct engagement with priests amid declining oral traditions. Today, digitization efforts by institutions like the Bodleian Library safeguard these artifacts, though access to unpublished fragments remains limited.[14]

Major Translations and Publications

The first major scholarly edition of the Qulasta was published by Mark Lidzbarski in 1920 as Mandäische Liturgien, providing a partial German translation based primarily on the Oxford Collection of Mandaean manuscripts.[15] This work covered 103 prayers in the core Qolasta section, focusing on key liturgical sections such as those for baptism (masbuta) and the mass for the dead (masiqta), and included transliterations in Hebrew characters alongside explanatory notes that clarified ritual contexts. Lidzbarski's edition advanced early European understanding of Mandaean liturgy by making the text accessible beyond manuscript specialists, though its partial scope left significant portions untranslated and highlighted variations across sources.[16]

In 1959, E. S. Drower produced The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, an English translation that became the standard reference for decades, encompassing 414 prayers drawn from multiple manuscripts including those she collected in Iraq.[17] Drower's edition featured detailed ritual indices, categorizing prayers by function—such as purifications, ordinations, and soul elevations—which facilitated scholarly analysis of the Qulasta's liturgical structure and its role in Mandaean priestly practice.[18] This work's comprehensive approach and inclusion of contextual notes on performance addressed gaps in Lidzbarski's translation, enabling broader comparative studies with other Gnostic traditions.[19]

Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki's 2008 bilingual edition, Qulasta, presented approximately 260 prayers (corresponding to numbers 1–259 and 410 in Drower's numbering) in Mandaic with parallel English translations, emphasizing practical usage among contemporary Mandaean priests.[4] Published in multiple volumes, it incorporated printed Mandaic texts from priestly recensions and focused on ritual accuracy for living traditions, such as marriage and response prayers, thereby bridging scholarly and communal applications.[20] Al-Mubaraki's contribution enhanced accessibility for non-specialists while preserving orthographic fidelity, influencing subsequent editions by highlighting performative nuances overlooked in earlier Western translations.[21]

The most recent comprehensive edition, The Qulasta by Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts

(2025), offers an English-Mandaic parallel text of 339 prayers, integrating newly analyzed manuscripts to resolve inconsistencies in prior versions, such as incomplete baptism sequences.[22] This work includes updated transliterations and ritual commentaries, refining Drower's categorizations with insights from digital manuscript comparisons and addressing textual variants for greater philological precision. Gelbert and Lofts' edition has significantly advanced Qulasta studies by providing a more inclusive framework that incorporates post-Drower discoveries, serving as a key resource for ongoing research into Mandaean textual transmission.[23]

Internal Structure and Organization

Overall Composition

The Qulasta, known as the canonical prayerbook of the Mandaeans, comprises a variable number of prayers across editions, with E. S. Drower's 1959 translation enumerating 414 distinct prayers drawn from principal manuscripts such as DC 3 and DC 53.[24] More recent editions, such as that by Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts in 2025, present 339 prayers excluding variants, organized into eight thematic groups to reflect liturgical functions while omitting duplicates found in earlier compilations.[25] These variations arise from editorial decisions to consolidate or expand based on manuscript evidence, ensuring the text serves as a comprehensive liturgical resource without altering core content.[24]

The high-level architecture of the Qulasta organizes prayers into thematic divisions, often structured as books or sidras, such as the Sidra d-Nismata (Book of Souls), which initiates the collection with baptismal liturgies and invocations to divine luminaries like Hayyi Rabbi, the Great Life.[24] Subsequent sections progress to ritual-specific groupings, including masiqta (ascension of the soul) rites, hymns of praise, daily devotions (Rishama and Rahmia), and consecrations for elements like oil and crowns, emphasizing themes of light, salvation, protection, and victory over darkness.[24] This functional grouping facilitates sequential recitation during ceremonies, beginning with general praises of ethereal beings (e.g., Mana, Manda-d-Hiia, Abathur) before delving into specialized invocations.[24]

Integrated throughout are non-prayer elements essential to liturgical performance, including rubrics that provide instructional notes on ritual actions—such as the preparation of myrtle wreaths or the arrangement of ceremonial tables—and recurring responses known as niania, often phrased as "And Life is victorious" or "In the name of the Great Life" to affirm communal participation.[24] Hymns, or qabin, appear as poetic interludes praising divine radiance and are interspersed to enhance the devotional flow, particularly in sections like marriage rites and priestly investitures.[26] These components create a dynamic text that blends prose prayers with performative directives.[24]

Editorial approaches have shaped the Qulasta's presentation, with Drower introducing sequential numbering, indices, and comparative notes on manuscript discrepancies to aid scholarly access, features absent in original handwritten copies that relied on thematic or ritual cues for navigation.[24] Earlier manuscripts, lacking such formal divisions, present prayers in fluid sequences guided by colophons detailing scribal traditions, underscoring the text's evolution as a living liturgical corpus.[24]

Division by Ritual Functions

The Qulasta organizes its prayers functionally according to their roles in Mandaean ceremonies, enabling priests to invoke specific texts that align with the spiritual requirements of each rite, such as purification, elevation, and communal blessing. This division underscores the text's practical utility in maintaining ritual orthodoxy and efficacy across diverse liturgical contexts.

In the baptismal rite (masbuta), prayers approximately 1–100 address immersion in living waters, anointing with oil, and invocations for ritual purity, forming the core of Mandaean initiation and renewal practices. Examples include the turban prayer (Prayer 7), the descent into the Jordan (Prayer 13), the myrtle wreath (Prayer 19), which emphasize symbolic rebirth and protection from impurity. These prayers are recited sequentially during the ceremony to sanctify the participants and the waters.

For the soul ascension (masiqta), a funerary rite aimed at elevating the deceased to the Lightworld, prayers roughly 200–300 encompass death hymns, memorial services, and responses for the soul's journey. Key components include the mambuha ordinance (Prayer 33), the invocation to ferrymen across death waters (Prayer 91), the chosen one's ascent (Prayer 92), and the sealing of the masiqta (Prayer 259), which guide the soul through ethereal barriers and commemorate the departed. This section integrates elements of commemoration and intercession to ensure the soul's safe passage.

Additional rituals utilize distinct prayer clusters: weddings (qabin or tagha) feature marriage hymns (Prayer 161), wedding invocations (Prayer 179), and blessings for the bridegroom (Prayer 375), recited to sanctify unions and invoke fertility; daily prayers (barakhata or rahmia) draw from devotions like the Rusma recitation (Prayer 104), morning rites (Prayer 106), and banner prayers (336–347), performed for ongoing spiritual maintenance; priestly ordinations include investiture hymns (Prayers 180–187), coronation sequences (305–329), and ganzibra consecration (Prayer 381), marking the elevation of clergy.[25]

Prayers across these categories interconnect through shared motifs and formulas, such as recurring Jordan invocations (e.g., Prayers 79–80, 339) that appear in both baptism and masiqta to invoke sanctity, or oil-anointing rites (Prayers 73–74) adaptable to multiple ceremonies, fostering a unified liturgical tradition that reinforces core Mandaean themes of light and purity.

Key Liturgical Components

Prominent Prayers

The Qulasta features several prominent prayers that are central to Mandaean liturgy, often recited across various rituals to invoke divine presence and ensure spiritual purity. Among these, Prayer 1 serves as the opening invocation to Hayyi Rabbi, the supreme deity, praising the emanations of the Great First Life and seeking blessings of radiance and healing from Manda-d-Hiia, the personification of divine knowledge. This prayer establishes themes of divine light as a purifying force and salvation through immersion in living waters, symbolizing the soul's ascent from darkness.

Prayer 105, known as Asut Malkia or "I Am the King," functions as a baptismal declaration recited during the masbuta rite, where the officiant salutes the divine hierarchy and affirms the baptizand's union with the light-world through the sign of kushta (handclasp). It emphasizes salvation via deliverance from hellish realms by ethereal beings called 'uthras, portraying the ritual as a ferry for the soul toward the Place of Light. This prayer underscores themes of victory over evil and communal healing, recited not only in baptisms but also in daily devotions and death commemorations.

Another key example is Prayer 360, a soul ferry hymn integral to masiqta ceremonies for the deceased, depicting the soul's guided journey across cosmic barriers to the Everlasting Abode, aided by radiant emanations and the unfolding of divine garments of light. Its themes of cosmic radiance and eschatological salvation highlight the soul's liberation, with imagery of plants and waters symbolizing eternal renewal. These prayers are recited in nearly all major rituals, anchoring ceremonies by framing invocations and responses that unify participants in shared devotion.

The Asut Malkia, in particular, appears in multiple contexts beyond baptism, such as priestly ordinations and oil blessings, reinforcing its role as a versatile anchor for ritual efficacy. Culturally, these prominent prayers foster Mandaean community identity, with priests and lay adherents often memorizing them to maintain oral transmission and personal piety amid historical persecution. Recent scholarship, including Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts' 2025 translation, has revised ambiguous phrasings in these prayers, clarifying references to light and salvation for better ritual understanding.[27]

Recurring Formulas and Responses

The Qulasta, the canonical prayerbook of Mandaeism, incorporates recurring formulas that serve as standardized invocations and closings, structuring the liturgical flow and emphasizing core theological principles. The most ubiquitous formula is the opening blessing b-šumaihun d-hiia rba, translated as "In the name of the Great Life," which appears at the beginning of nearly every prayer and ritual segment to invoke divine authority and purity.[24] This phrase, rooted in Mandaean cosmology where the Great Life represents the supreme, emanative source of all existence, establishes a rhythmic doctrinal anchor, reinforcing the community's commitment to light over darkness.[28] Closings often mirror this with affirmations like u-hiia nḥš ("And Life is victorious") or variations such as u-hiia mšab ("And Life be praised"), which conclude prayers by proclaiming the triumph of spiritual forces.[24]

Responses, known as niania (meaning "answers" or "responses"), form a critical antiphonal element, enabling interactive participation between priests and the congregation or symbolic dialogues within rituals. These are typically chanted in call-and-response patterns, as seen in baptismal (maṣbuta) sequences where the priest

poses questions to the soul—such as "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?"—eliciting replies that affirm descent into the Jordan and trials of faith, thereby guiding the participant toward redemption.[24] In masiqta (death mass) rites, similar exchanges occur, with priests alternating lines like "Hear me, my Father, hear me!" and communal or divine responses that invoke ethereal beings ('uthras).[24] Unlike fixed narrative prayers, niania function as modular echoes, akin to an "Amen" in other traditions but more dialogic, fostering communal unity and ritual cadence.[24]

These elements evolved from ancient Semitic liturgical practices, adapting antiphonal chanting and invocatory formulas preserved in Aramaic incantation texts and early Jewish-Aramaic prayer structures, while emphasizing Mandaean distinctives like baptismal immersion.[29] Their purpose lies in reinforcing doctrinal cohesion—stressing the eternal victory of Life and the soul's ascent—and maintaining ritual rhythm, which unites participants in a shared mystical experience.[30] In E. S. Drower's 1959 edition of the Canonical Prayerbook, formulas like b-šumaihun d-hiia rba remain consistent across rituals, with slight adaptations for context, such as pluralizing for group baptisms or specifying souls in masiqta.[24] Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts' 2025 translation preserves these patterns while clarifying Mandaic phrasing, noting minor orthographic variations in manuscripts that do not alter the core antiphonal intent.[27] For instance, in marriage (qabin) sections, the opening formula integrates with spousal blessings, adapting the response to emphasize fertility under the Great Life's protection.[24]

Comprehensive Prayer Catalog

Enumeration in Standard Editions

The standard edition of the Qulasta is E. S. Drower's The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans (1959), which enumerates 414 prayers drawn primarily from a single complete manuscript (Drower Collection 53). Each prayer includes a Mandaic title, the original text in Classical Mandaic script, an English translation, and annotations on ritual applications, such as baptisms (maṣbuta), death masses (masiqta), or consecrations. For instance, Prayer 1, titled the "Prayer of the Turban," opens with the line "b-šuma ḏ-hahu gabra qadmaia" (In the name of that first man) and is used during baptismal preparations to invoke divine establishment for the ritual participants.[17] Other examples include Prayer 32, recited in masiqta for soul ascension and opening with "In the name of the great life, let healing be granted to me NN," and Prayer 173 ("Shumhata"), a daily response prayer adaptable to multiple rites. Drower's numbering follows the manuscript's sequential order, grouping prayers by ritual function while noting repetitions that arise from variant manuscript traditions.

In 2025, Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts published The Qulasta, a revised English translation and edition that consolidates the text into 339 unique prayers by omitting duplicates present in Drower's count (reducing from 414 to 339 core entries, excluding variants). This edition renumbers the prayers for clarity, providing cross-references to Drower's system (e.g., Gelbert-Lofts Prayer 1 corresponds to Drower 1; Prayer 150 aligns with Drower 173). It incorporates additional manuscript evidence from the Drower and Macuch collections to resolve textual ambiguities, such as variant phrasings in opening

lines, while retaining ritual tags like "for baptism" or "incense offering." Representative entries include their Prayer 32, emphasizing its use in masiqta.[25]

Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki's 2010 edition, Qulasta: Sidra d-Nishmata (Mandaean Liturgical Prayer Book, Book of Souls), presents a bilingual Mandaic-Arabic version similar in scope to Drower but limited to 260 prayers (corresponding to Drower 1–259 and 410), focusing on core liturgical elements with Arabic annotations for pronunciation and exegesis. Published in multiple volumes, it covers essential prayers: Book 1 (Sidra d-Nišmata) includes 103 prayers for baptisms and soul rituals; subsequent volumes address responses (niania, prayers 104–169) and marriage (qabina, prayers 248–259, plus 410). It prioritizes those for baptisms, marriages (qabina), and soul rituals, while omitting some esoteric variants. For example, it includes Prayer 1 with the same opening as Drower but adds Arabic glosses on terms like mšihia (messiahs), tagging it explicitly for maṣbuta. This edition resolves minor numbering discrepancies in Arabic-script manuscripts by aligning with Drower's sequence.[31]

Numbering inconsistencies across editions stem from manuscript variations, where prayers may repeat for ritual emphasis or differ in order due to scribal traditions; Drower preserves all 414 for fidelity, while Gelbert and Lofts consolidate variants into unified entries with footnotes on alternatives (e.g., merging three similar incense prayers into one). Al-Mubaraki addresses this by standardizing to a "core" set suitable for contemporary Mandaean practice, using Arabic to bridge classical and modern usage. These approaches ensure accessibility while maintaining textual integrity, often cross-referencing ritual contexts like baptisms without altering the prayers' functional divisions.[17][25][31]

Comparative Analysis Across Versions

The editions of the Qulasta reveal significant variations in prayer inclusion, omission, and organization, reflecting the challenges of working with fragmentary Mandaean manuscripts and differing editorial priorities. E.S. Drower's 1959 English translation, drawn primarily from a single manuscript in the Drower Collection (DC 53), encompasses 414 prayers, incorporating 75 additional ones compared to Carlos Gelbert and Mark J. Lofts' 2025 edition; these extras stem from fragmentary additions preserved in Drower's source but deemed less central or potentially inauthentic in Gelbert's more conservative approach, which prioritizes verified core texts for a total of 339 unique prayers. In parallel, Mark Lidzbarski's 1920 German edition, Mandäische Liturgien, omits substantial later ritual sections, limiting its scope to 103 primary prayers in the initial part focused on baptismal and ascensional rites, while excluding marriage (qabin) and response (niania) sequences that appear in fuller versions, due to reliance on two earlier manuscripts lacking those extensions.[32]

Reordering of prayers further distinguishes these editions, influencing how rituals are conceptualized. Drower's sequential numbering follows the manuscript's linear flow, presenting prayers in a chronological ritual progression from baptism to death rites. By contrast, Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki's multi-volume Mandaic edition (2008–2010) imposes a stricter grouping by ceremony, organizing content into discrete books—such as Sidra d-Nišmata for soul prayers (103 entries) and separate volumes for responses and

marriage— to align more closely with contemporary Mandaean liturgical use, diverging from Drower's broader, less compartmentalized structure.

Scholarly discussions on these variances focus on manuscript authenticity and editorial methodology, with modern editions like Gelbert and Lofts' incorporating cross-verification from multiple sources to address ambiguities in earlier works. Lidzbarski's omissions, meanwhile, are attributed to the incomplete nature of his 19th-century sources, prompting ongoing considerations about transmission gaps, with scholars favoring inclusive editions to capture ritual diversity.

These textual differences carry practical implications for modern Mandaean communities, particularly in diaspora settings where access to priests and manuscripts varies. In Iraq and Iran, traditional practitioners often adhere to Drower- or Al-Mubaraki-inspired versions for comprehensive rituals, ensuring inclusion of all prayers to maintain esoteric completeness during baptisms (maṣbuta) and soul elevations (masiqta). However, condensed editions like Gelbert's facilitate abbreviated practices among expatriate groups in Australia and Sweden, where time and resource constraints lead to selective use of core prayers, potentially altering the ritual's symbolic depth and fostering subtle divergences in communal observance.

Textual Relationships

Parallels with the Ginza Rabba

The Qulasta and the Ginza Rabba share significant doctrinal correspondences, particularly in their depiction of Mandaean cosmology centered on the light worlds (alma d-nhura). Prayers within the Qulasta invoke the hierarchical structure of ethereal realms and emanations of divine light, paralleling the Right Ginza's tracts that outline the origins and organization of these luminous domains. For example, invocations to uthras—celestial priestly beings—in Qulasta rituals echo the hymnic praises of these entities in Ginza Rabba passages, emphasizing their role as intermediaries between the divine and human realms.

Linguistic and thematic parallels are evident in specific sections, such as Qulasta Prayer 32, which extols the "great mystery of radiance" and the strengthening of cosmic order, akin to the creation narrative in Ginza Rabba Book 1, where Ptahil fashions the material world from ethereal prototypes. Likewise, the masbuta (baptism) prayers in the Qulasta stress ritual immersion for achieving purity and spiritual rebirth, concepts mirrored in Ginza Rabba Book 18's exposition on the soul's purification through living waters and ascent beyond material bonds. These overlaps underscore a unified Mandaean view of creation, redemption, and the rejection of darkness.

While the Qulasta functions primarily as a practical liturgical compendium for rituals, contrasting with the Ginza Rabba's more speculative and narrative-driven philosophical content, the texts complement each other by embedding mythic elements into performative contexts, thereby reinforcing core theological tenets like dualism and soteriology.

Usage Alongside Other Mandaean Works

The Qulasta serves as a vital liturgical text in baptismal rituals (maṣbuta), recited by priests during actions like laying hands on the candidate's head to emphasize purification and spiritual ascent.[12] Similarly, the Qulasta is used in conjunction with other texts like the Haran Gawaita, which provides historical context for Mandaean origins and migration.[12]

In liturgical combinations, Qulasta prayers are recited alongside readings from the Ginza Rabba during the masiqta (death mass for soul elevation), where the Qulasta's hymns structure the ceremony while the Ginza supplies cosmological explanations of the afterlife and divine emanations to guide the proceedings.[12] For instance, specific Qulasta sections, such as prayers 65, 15, 22, 23, 24, 40, 43, and 44, are intoned over a proxy figure in the hava d mani rite, complemented by Ginza references to figures like Yushamin and Abathur for ritual efficacy.[12] The Qulasta also integrates with the Diwan Abatur in soul judgment hymns during masiqta and zidqa brikha (blessed oblation), using its prayers to invoke the Scales of Abathur while the Diwan elaborates on the soul's post-mortem weighing and ascent, ensuring a unified focus on redemption.[12]

In modern Mandaean diaspora communities, primarily in Australia (over 10,000 as of 2020), Sweden (10,000–20,000), and North America following displacements from Iraq and Iran, the Qulasta remains the core text for rituals as of 2025, often supplemented by oral traditions transmitted by priests to adapt ceremonies to new environments without fixed river access for baptisms. These communities, facing ongoing challenges including further migrations (over 50 families from Iraq in early 2025), rely on the Qulasta's standardized prayers for continuity, while incorporating secondary scholarly works like Mark Lidzbarski's annotated translations and glosses of Mandaean liturgies to aid interpretation and teaching among younger generations.[33]

The interdependence of the Qulasta with other Mandaean texts underscores its role as the primary "script" for rituals, providing precise liturgical sequences that operationalize the narrative and doctrinal content found in works like the Ginza Rabba, Book of John, Haran Gawaita, and Diwan Abatur.[12] This synergy ensures that descriptive elements in the complementary texts—such as soul journeys or historical exoduses—translate into performative actions, maintaining the holistic integrity of Mandaean worship across baptism, marriage, death, and daily devotions.[12]

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Mandaean Prayer Ceremony

The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans

Archive Notes:

The texts below are taken from: E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden: 1959. Drower writes in introduction to this wor

"The first Mandaean book which came into my hands was a small volume of 200 hundred and thirty-eight pages in a poor handwriting. It was presented to me by an old Mandaean silversmith a year or two after the first World War. This volume inspired me with curiosity, and later when I has read Nodeke's ‘Mandaische Grammatik’, I found that it contained prayers for minor ablutions, the daily office (the 'nisania) and the masitqa prayers.

An early visit to 'Amarah resulted in the acquisition of a damaged and imperfect copy of the entire codex, I mean prayers considered canonical and still used by priests. A head priest (a ganzibra) copied into it some of the missing pages and to these I added others when I had had access to other MSS. Complete copies of the collection is hard to come by for they are in constant use.

It was not until many years later in the spring of 1954 that I persuaded the owner of a prayerbook, himself a ganzibra, to give me his in exchange for a money gift for sacred manuscripts are never bought. This codex N. 53 of my collection is in a good hand and from it very little is missing.”

For further study, a complete edition of E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans is also now available on Google Books.

Sections of Ginza Rba:

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

The Masiqta (The Raising Up)

The Letter

Hymns of Praise

The Responses

The Rus'hma (Daily Ablution Prayers)

Asiet Malkia

Tab taba Itabia (The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living)

The S'umhita

Honouring of the Crown

Prayer of Yahia

Other Hymns

Ginza Rba - The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly Life! From far-off worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

Chapter 1

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any

'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is infinite.

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (my ways) the Seven were wroth with me and said, 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'."

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara, whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting Abode."

And Manda-d-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Nasoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, fight and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (their knees) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

Chapter 2

Illumined and illuminating is Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-d-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created 'uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own shkintas, And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their ?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings!" And Life be praised!

[This prayer is the opening prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

Chapter 3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa, son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the shkintas. For he is the revealer (lit. opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

Chapter 4

As the 'uthras stand in their shkintas they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-d-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their shkintas they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (thereon).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwa]

Chapter 5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First Mana which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nsibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nsibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head of the implanted manamanas. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the Mana there is light, behind the Mana glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (lit. are found). And Life be praised! which was transplanted from guarded (?)

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

Chapter 6

A crown of ether-fight shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His shkintas. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who uplifteth it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who establisheth it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing", "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

Chapter 7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush! Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy pandama for thy baptism.]

Chapter 8

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from,worlds of light, the Ineffable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kushta) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (as) messenger to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzataq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and well pleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods; whose (very) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgment and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (their souls) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (but) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper incense-pan -- (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (lit. "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises" , "Thee, Life,", "I sought to raise eyes" (Prayer 77) and "Raising eyes".]

Chapter 9

Raising my eyes and lifting up my countenance toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (other-worldly) life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded manas and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the pihta, need(?), truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yushamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-d-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of souls of (their) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

I worship, laud and praise Shilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-d-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance of the First Life which flowed forth from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him (and ?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose shkinta is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded manas which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (in me), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, "Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

Chapter 12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The tanna dissolved and a shkinta came into being, a shkinta came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read this prayer and grasp thy kanzala (stole). It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

Chapter 13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Shilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Shitil and Anush went with me to the jordan -- they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement to the limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and (yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arise.

Their hands fell (powerless) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Shilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain. And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (etc.). And descend (into the water) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N." If there are several souls, recite as written (above), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N, and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

Chapter 14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings -- these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sani-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls,vho go do,vn to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (-bed), then recite the baptism(-al prayers).]

Chapter 15

Bound is the sea, bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants, haunting spirits, and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House!

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea (of ?) AS. Bound are (Magian) priests, slaughterers, priests who cut up victims, scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon (exorcised) by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which where sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, with which Haiashum, the first Kushta, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 16

I am a perfected gem: into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if I strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus, the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (yea) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mân the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-d-Hiia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving the limbs of my body: I descend (to the Jordan) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living. Shilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai and Zaniar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (from the body). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Usar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (who are) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (of light). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

Chapter 18

In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings, is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna. When Life was ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its shkinta above the Tanna. The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own

radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (creatures); above the the waters fruit appeared and a shkinta was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (in the name of) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yusamin who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by SiImai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (go) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (i.e. world) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (in the faith) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality, I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question. (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (Kushta) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[Then cry] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head". [Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N., thou hast been signed with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia have been pronounced upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreaths and place them upon their heads. When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Sislam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the Mana and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced on thee."

Then reach them (perform with them the rite of) kushta. And he shall go up before thee (on to the bank). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but it only one soul say "the soul of N, who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

Chapter 19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana , son of Mahnush, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (the tendrils) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest].

Chapter 20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its upliiting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; it only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank and recite "I rose up from the Jordan".]

Chapter 21

In the name of the Life!

I rose up from the jordan

And I met a group of souls,

A group of souls I met,

who surrounded our father Shitil

Saying to him "By thy life, our father Shitil,

Go with us to the Jordan."!

"If I go with you to the jordan

Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, Sun hath risen above us;

He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,

Not he whom my soul desireth.

The sun of which ye spake,
Riseth early, setteth at dusk.
The sun of which ye spake, the sun
Is vanity and cometh to an end.
Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,
the moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
" If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand.
The fire of which ye spake --
Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
I met a group of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, " By thy life, our father Shitil,

Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?
"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, kushta and mambuha
Will bear witness for us;
Habshaba, (Sunday) and Kana-d-Zidqa
Will bear witness for us;
The sanctuary in which we worship
Will bear witness for us;
The alms that is in our laps
Will bear witness for us;
And our father who is our head
Will bear witness for us."

"this is that which I seek,
This is that which my soul desireth!
When I rise to the House of Life
And travel to the Everlasting Abode,
When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses
Will come and will bear witness.
Witnesses of the truth are they,
Sure is all that they say!"

And Life is victorious!

[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

Chapter 22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (believe in) the great celestial Womb, in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in Sbabut, the mighty Will of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling" giving His Likeness its dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest from which He derived His being.

We believe in Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbat, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception, in its second (outflow), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (Life), Yukabar, the Word of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river-pleasaunce, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all

pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Manda-d-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, fight and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth will assume the nature of Anush, within him he will take on the nature of Anush. >From him the seven dolours of death and the eight afflictions of darkness shall violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, shedim, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

And Life be praised!

Chapter 24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed.

For He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon

them) [?].

This is the Oil wherewith he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-d-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and best-owed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (They will be delivered) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female biruq and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth: on the sick man and he stretcheth (himself); on the blind man and (his eyes) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-d-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end. The name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the kushta (rite). Then recite and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face -- thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the pihta and mambuha and give them pihta that they may eat and mambuha that they may drink and take their right hands in kushta. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

Chapter 25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (Water of Life) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-d-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-d-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbat the first great Radiance; praised be Nsab and Anan-Nsab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty Mana; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (shkinata); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father. Hibil, Shitil and Anush the head of the whole race.

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, shedim, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (all those) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-d-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (behold) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight Manda-d-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy prayer from the Occult and assure (to us) bliss in Thy light in the name of Sharhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Sharhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

Chapter 26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of Life.

And Life be praised!

Chapter 27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Usar-Hiia: through 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai union with the House of Life came to us: Manda-d-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our mana, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran our vestment; with Hauraran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukab1ar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 28

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Hauraran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the

being Yukabar, the (well-) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (Protect them) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When .. was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ".. By 'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them pihta and mambuha. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

Chapter 29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst manas of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ye be raised up.

And Life is victorious.

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul. "]

Chapter 30

In the name of the Life!

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread (pihta),
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life)
He passed into the mountain before me;
He cried loudly that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried loudly,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I climb the mountain I shall fall;
I shall overturn and perish from the world!'
I lifted mine eyes to heaven
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I climbed the mountain and fell not,
I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
And took me up and stood me upon its bank.

He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He passed into the fire before me;
And cried aloud that I might hear,
That I might hear he cried aloud,
'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'
'If I go into fire I shall burn,
I shall scorch and perish from the world!'
To heaven I lifted mine eyes
And my soul waited upon the House of Life.
I went into fire and burned not,
I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul,
The great day on which thou wast raised up?"
"He took me down to the jordan, planted me,
Took me up and stood me upon its bank.
He broke and gave me bread,
Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink.
He placed me between his knees
And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life).
He entered the sea before me;
He cried aloud that I might hear,

That I might hear he cried aloud.

'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!'

'If I go into the sea I shall sink,

I shall be overturned and perish from the world!'

To heaven I lifted mine eyes

And my soul waited upon the House of Life.

I went into the sea and was not drowned,

I came, the life of my Self I found,

Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world.

And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (recite?) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say " amongst manas of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (planted)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism", "The jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank".

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Shum (Shem) son of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (say) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (on the heads of) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the Rahmia for the souls thou baptisest. Say " these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N, who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign. " And beware: from the

beginning to this point recite all thy baptismal prayers with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform kushta with them and say to them "Kushta make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their shkintas. Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance."

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands. If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the kushta with them and say to them "Kushta heal thee and raise thee up. Thy kushta shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your kushta shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have acted (according to) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (all things?) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised ". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (found) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-d-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and Rahmia for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah. And sit and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out at "forgiving of sins" (be there for) "our forefathers" (etc.) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the pihta and mambaha and recite the eight pihta prayers for the pihta and the two mambaha prayers for the mambuha. Dip the pihta in the mambuha and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy pandama and unfasten it. Eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and drink the rinsing-water and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (Great) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (the words) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the Rahmia for thyself. Perform the kushta with the shganda and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy pandama and honour thy crown.]

Chapter 31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee and thy ministration will be (noted?) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (too) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious 5). It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.]

[In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, by means of these (prayers), admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll The Great Wellspring. This is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure mana into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the qauqa (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-d-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his pandama, folded his pandama over his mouth and recited "incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith "covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole.

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (Hibil-Ziwa), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (Adam's) head and pronounced the secret names over him.

(Then) he took his hand in kushta over the staff and made him go up before him.

(Then) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (of souls) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (the hymn). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (Adam's) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed kushta with him. (Then) he took the pihta and recited the eight prayers for the pihta over the pihta and the two prayers for the mambuha over the mambuha. And he gave him the pihta so that he should eat and gave him the mambuha that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (water).

And he grasped his hand in kushta and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water and bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Usar-Hiia" and the greater (longer) "Bound and sealed" and laid his hand upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up", "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptise will bear us witness", and "I rejoice in my priests and Nasoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his kanzala (stole) and "honoured" his crown.

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-d-Hiia hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his pandama. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) Of the Great Wellspring: Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hull him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Nasoraean who retains his pandama whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons will be powerless over him (for) he will not pass through the Purgatories.

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

This is the limit (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the Great Wellspring belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bavan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat.

It was written in the town of Tib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possession I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

The Masiqta ("The raising up")

i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul

Chapter 32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-d-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the masiqta.]

Chapter 33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed and say "Is there (not?) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence,

Manda-d-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (kushta) and from the souls of this masiqta, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (or "the living") in Its (their) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.

[This is the mambuha prayer]

Chapter 34

Hail to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzataq, Gnosis of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence , giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are stiff alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of Gnosis of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this masiqta rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the masiqta.]

Chapter 35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood , and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (in thy sight) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-d-Hiia, no man is clean : we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us, who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit : ask from below, (from) reed , swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (what ye asked) with the right hand of kushta.

The first (generations) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied."

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia.

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth, thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (Though) spirits and souls sit (here) as guilty, (yet) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (thy name of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (bring?) healing of life to the souls of this masiqta Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (it may be used) on occasion for the Rahmia (daily office), or for the masiqta, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the masiqta, after thou hast recited over the pandamta, "water of prayer" and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the pihta, mambuha and klila (wreath) and set them out for the masiqta. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean : in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the masiqta.]

Chapter 36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save that great, secret, First Mana. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop who emanated from Him. They existed, (but) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

>From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance of Glory who is (at once) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-d-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Nasoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread will receive condemnation from the House of Life,"

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

Chapter 37

I worship, laud, and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of Life, with whom in secret, he broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life if victorious.

Chapter 38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty Mana at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras en- treated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Nasoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

Chapter 40

I have worshipped and praised 'Usar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (find) rest in their hearts.

The holy 'uthras stood in their dwellings and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap : its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret Mana.

And Life be praised.

Chapter 41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (yawar) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved manas who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Nasoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode."

And Life be praised!

Chapter 42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (of his light). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own shkinta. Radiance and Light came and were established before him : Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (its?) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Shilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-d-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Nasoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

Chapter 43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (kushta) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book Nhur (Be light) and front Pta usra (They revealed treasure from the first treasure and from 'Usar Nhura (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (Manda, gnosis) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart (?) of Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kushta standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), host taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (pihta), put out (for him) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the pihta].

Chapter 44

Biriawish, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (Be) life for the souls of this masiqta.

[This is the appointed prayer for the mambuha, If there are (several) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

Chapter 45

Thy name, (O) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant, Its goodness came over (or overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil.

(Like) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth,

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the mambuga (sacramental drink). Make the pihta and the mambuhamasiqta, and then make the myrtle wreath.] and place them (ready for) the

Chapter 46

In the Name of Life!

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory dawned and (there was) praise of the Mana who came from his Place. He came (with) all ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Nisbat'-Utria (She- planted i.e. was the mother of uthras). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is- dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Nisbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the Mana, planted it (there) so that it was set up (thereon).

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the Mana there is radiance, behind the Mana there is light and glory, at either side of the Mana are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory.

And Life is victorious.

Chapter 47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this masiqta. Sure, assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its

mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (masiqta) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful manas.

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the masiqta.]

Chapter 48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance loosed the bound (souls): he knit (them into?) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-d-hiia) was revealed to all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (inhabited by) those convicted of sin. And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were con- founded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (aid) the souls of this masiqta: it will be his name. And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the masiqta. Read it over pure oil in something (pure ?) and place it before thee and then read the masiqta.]

Chapter 49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a Dimat of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning, They live in their shecinahs, and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances , and each standeth by his own, And Sauriel the Releaser cometh -- he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia which releaseth (the soul). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzataq- Manda-d-Hiia. Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe, When she weareth the vesture of Yuzataq- Manda-d-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour resting (upon her) and the glory that accrueth to her.

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "who will clothe us with this radiance ? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory ? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise ? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kushta to the good, and Manda-d-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she went and reached Abathur's house of detention, (Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and every- thing that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards I) and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered their (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her . And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went on and reacheth the watch-house (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai . Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her.

She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went onwards and reached the Waters of Death . The waters covered her, (but) Radiance crossed over- his name abode in his shkinta : honoured and chosen, he created himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we tray bring out this soul of N, of this masiqta (so that) she cometh before him".

He is the ray of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the shkinta, and upon shkinta doth his name rest. He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one gnosis and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Usar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirits of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

50

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (in the waters of?) Yaluz-Yaluz for their spring is Hammamulai. My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (the waters?) knew the source from which they proceeded: its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

I sit on a perfected garment and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. "I looked upon the Life and the Life looked upon me, and in the Life put I my trust. When this the soul of N. casteth off her bodily garment, she shall put on the dress of life and become a facsimile of the Great Life in light."

Yawar from the House of Life revealed (himself?) and shone forth , establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (Kušta) and the great Source (kana) of its glory.

And Life be praised!

52

Whose son am I? (Of?) the guarded Mana who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will beset up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its škinta.

[This is the seal of the masiqta. Up to this point recite the masiqta, and here take the pihta and break off a morsel from one upper fatira and the undermost fatira and bring a portion of the Ba and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" with the wine and recite over them "Yukasar chose her (the soul) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy pandama and eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its škinta.]

54

Yukasar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over; he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own škinta his (the dead man's) soul was assigned (a place) and found rest in his treasure. Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (in splendour) and (like them?) shall shine forth the souls who are called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta, (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

And Life is victorious.

55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory. And Life be praised.

[This is for the loosing of the pandama. Recite this "Yukasar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N. , shall be awakened" . And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth'' and part thy pandama, eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer alter another until the (prayer) ''Yukasar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their škinta. The robes of the good were resplendent in their place. The great Mana was dazzlingly bright in His glory. So (too) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (Kušta) (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness.

Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (shkinata) of the Hidden for in each and every škinta sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, ('uthras) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and masiqtas and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, masiqtas, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests who sit with them.

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the masiqta. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the pihta].

60

The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised!

[This is the dedicatory prayer for the mambuha.]

61

An earthly wreath fadeth, but the wreath of Life is fresh and living. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (Kušta). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities, and shineth on the heads of these souls of this masiqta.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a masiqta. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single say "on the head of this soul of N."]

62

The worlds glisten (with costly) oil, but Nasoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.

And Life is victorious.

63

In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda baptised me, Kušta confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (of light?).

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer offered up for the masiqta oil.]

64

The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light.

And Life be praised!

[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the masiqta-hymns.]

65

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst manas of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this masiqta and (the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your manas shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.

And Life is victorious.

66

In the name of the Life!

I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down
In a dress in which there is no blemish.
No spot is there in the dress,
Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.
The Life knew about me.
Adam, who slept, awoke;
He grasped me with the palm of his right hand
And gave (not?) into my hand a palmbranch.
Light cast me into darkness,
But the darkness was filled with light.
The day that light ariseth,
Darkness returneth to its place.

The souls of this masiqta
Approach a cloud of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.

And Life be praised.

[This is a masiqta hymn]

67

With him, with the Deliverer
The souls of this masiqta will ascend.
They will behold the Place of Light
And the Everlasting Abode.

On their road the Seven will not detain them,
Nor will the Judge of the False question them.
The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst.
To the place to which the good go they will guide you
And in the place in which they stand they will set you up;
Lamps of radiance are found before you,
Beams of light behind you.
Kušta will come at your right
And Piety will smoothen your path.

For you there will be loosings
From here to the Everlasting Abode.
For the ferry which ferries over the Elect
Will set out towards you and take you across.

(Then) from Abathur of the Scales
A saviour will come forth towards you.
The saviour that cometh towards you
Is all radiancy and light from head to foot
Like the wreath in his right hand.

And on his two arms is a robe.
Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!

Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles
In which nothing is awry or blemished.

Above your head there will be fruit,
And there, at your time and season
Your manas will be set up in the Light.

Your manas in the Light will be set up.
(So) rise up, behold the Place of Light!

And Life is victorious.

68

Between the Hidden and the Radiance,
Between Light and the 'uthras,
Between the Hidden and the Radiance
Stand those who question the soul,
Saying to her "Speak! say, soul,
Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder?
Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"

The soul spoke and said --
The edified, well-constructed soul spoke --
And saith to the Being who questioneth her,
Said to him, 'My father, One built me, One constructed me"
One was the Being who transplanted me;
One of the sons of salvation in his goodness
Took (accepted) his lot (duty).

He folded me in a wrapping of radiance,
Took (me) and gave me over to Adam.
Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood,
Took and cast me into a physical body;

Took me and cast me into a physical body
That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances.
(There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the body
Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it
Till its measure and count were accomplished.

When its measure and count were accomplished
The Deliverer came to her;
To her came the Deliverer
Who loosed her and bore her away:
(Yea), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul,
Went before her whom he had bound.

Coming behind him, the soul hasted
Reached her Deliverer, ran (after) him
Who had bound her to her dwelling.
The soul and her Deliverer (go):
Her course is to the Place of Light,
To the place whose sun goeth not down,
Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.

To it, and to that place, those souls
That are called upon in this masiqta
And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited.
They shall behold the great Place of Light

And the abiding Abode.

And Life be praised.

69

Bliss and peace there will be
On the road which Adam attained:
Bliss and peace there shall be
On the road which the soul traverseth.

The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds;
She hath shed her earthly garment.

She turned round, saw it and was revolted
She uttered an evil curse on the being
Who had clothed her in the body.

She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him
From the lair in which he lay. She said to him,
"Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies;
The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!"
The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (is heard),
Who howleth and weepeth for himself

And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand
Is filled with water!" And to her he saith
"Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom
In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.

Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported
From the treasuries of Life;
Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted
Her fragrance to the stinking body.
Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined
Her dark house. Go in peace,
Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"

Flying, the soul went
Until she reached the House of Life:
She arrived at the House of Life.

`Uthras went forth towards her,
Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance
And set on thy living wreath!

Arise, dwell in the škintas,
The place where `uthras abide, conversing;
And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-d-Hiia
And lovers of his name".

And Life be praised!

70

Blessed and praised be Life

Who is filled with compassion for these souls.
Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,
For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.

Praised be thou, pure Yushamin,
For thou wilt give them thy helping hand.
Be ye praised, Shilmai and Nidbai,
For ye will give true witness concerning them.
And be ye praised, Hibil, Shitil, and Anush
For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues
And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger,
And the messenger who goeth toward you
Is all radiance and light from head to foot.
In his right hand a kind of wreath
And on both his arms a robe.

Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths!

Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless!

Above your heads there will be fruit,

And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light

And will shed light.

The Lord of Tolls will not confront you

Nor will lying judges put you to the question.

They will bring you liberating words

From here unto the Everlasting Abode,

The building that was built for you in the House of Life,

Will not come to nought in an age of ages!

And may some of Manda-d-Hiia's radiance and light

And the revivifying-breath of Life rest upon us!

Blessed is the Voice of Life

And praised be the great Beam which is all light.

And Life be praised.

[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving", "Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.

If thou readest for (several) souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform Kušta with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".

And pray a prayer for yourselves and make pihta and mambuha for yourselves and eat your pihta and drink your mambuha And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform Kušta with one another for yourselves and (then) honour your crowns.]

And Life is victorious.

71

In the name of the Life!

Blessed and praised be the Life!
Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light!
Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia;
Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.

Praised art thou, my father Yushamin the Pure,
Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life.

Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life.

Praised are ye, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the jordan.

Praised are ye, Nsab and Anan-Nsab.

(Praised are) our fathers Hibil, Shitil and Anush
The name and chief of the whole race.

Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;
Blessed and established is the great škinta in which thou sittest.

Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;
Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.
Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised Those who dwell in thee.

Blessed art thou, Road of the great, path of the perfect
And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.

Blessed art thou, Nasirutha from whom the elect learn;
From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward and pious gift
They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of light.

Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;
We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.

My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.
The 'uthras of light are victorious,
And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection

Who stand, praising the Life.

Enlargement of life there shall be for the believing
Who have departed out of our midst;
The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.

And my lord Manda-d-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.

Thankfully received are the good gifts (tabuta) of life,
The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life,
The pihla that ..... at the name of the Life.

For any man who giveth an oblation,
His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men
Who bestow oblations will rise by Kušta 's path.
To them it shall be given.

Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath
Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.

A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads
Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this masiqta;
(And the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those
who are yet in the body.

(A wreath like that) set on Its head by the Great (Life)
And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras
And given by 'uthras to their priests.

Healer, whose medicine is water, come!

Be thou a healer to thy devotees,
To thy devotees be thou a healer
And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
My lord, bestow soundness.

Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.

My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer
Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice
And enacting justice for those who love it,
Do justice on those who persecute us,
Those persecutors who pursue us,
And on the wicked and furious ones
Who scheme to work evil upon us.

If it please Thee, High King of Light,
Look on us and condemn us not!

Behold these souls who believed in Thee
And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth
And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air
So that we may forget earthly persecution,
That we may forget the persecution of earth
And the vexation of the wicked and liars.

Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!

Thereby the Great Life communed with thee
And set thee up completely (?) with His radiance
And His light, Manda-d-Hiia!

And may the vivifying-power of Life rest upon us.
My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life
And praised be the great Beam which is all light!"

And Life be praised!

[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

Good is the Good for the good, and His nature is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of all healings.

Forgive him his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, masiqta and (ritual) food. My lord, Manda-d-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised;

Life is victorious over all works.

[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a masiqta. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the Rahmia ("Devotions" recite it, and after the Rahmia. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish.]

And Life is victorious.

The Letter

Chapter 73

In the name of the Life!

A sealed letter which leaveth the world --

A letter written in good-faith (kushta)

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) --

Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on,

And suspended it about the soul's neck

And despatched it to the Gate of Life.

The soul, in her wisdom,

Pressed her nail on the letter,

Her nail she pressed on the letter;

She imbued it with her mystic radiance,

Wrapped it and veiled it in her light.

How came it that Daium saw

That the soul bore a letter?

How was it that Daium saw it

As her seven sons gathered about her

And said "Who hath written the letter

Whose secret no man knoweth?

Who wrote the letter that is sealed in

By these protective strands?"

The letter is written in good faith,

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).

Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on

And hung it about the neck of the soul

And despatched it to the Gate of Life.

The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached

The watch-house of the Seven.

The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her,

(And) the Governor, when they saw her,

Murmur discontent and say

"Who hath written the letter

Whose secret no man knoweth?

Who wrote letter that is sealed

By these protective marks?"

"The letter is written in good faith

And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life).

Righteous (men) wrote it;

Believing men tied it up

And hung it about the neck of the soul

And despatched it to the Gate of Life".

The soul flieth and travelleth on

Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory.

The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads

And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by.

The soul flieth and goeth

Until she came to the waters of death.

As she reached the waters of death

There came forth towards her

A great Beam of radiance (and) of life, (who)

Grasped her by the palm of her right hand

And brought her over the waters of death.

The soul flieth and goeth

Until she reacheth the House of Life.

When she reached the House of Life

She uttered a cry to the House of Life,

And when He heard her call, the Life

Sent a messenger towards her,

(Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand,

Conducted her, (came) to support her

In the likeness of the Life to the place

Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence;

To unite her to (the company of) 'uthras

And to set her up amongst beams of light.

Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether

And took her out of the world in splendour.

Life supported life: Life found Its own:

It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found

That for which she hoped.

And Life is victorious.

[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

Chapter 74

Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of truth by the word of Kushta and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy seal-ring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].

[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (to a dying person), at the beginning and end order the chief (relative) or remaining (persons: i.e. of the family?) to throw water over the dying person. If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near (?) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (those like him).]

In the name of the Great Life!

Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush.

When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and masiqta". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance light and glory" and bind thy pandama over thy mouth.

And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes" and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia. With thy radience thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (the head of) this the soul of N." And take care that thou readest to the end with attention!

And recite the eight prayers for the pihta over the bottle and the two prayers for the mambuhaMana", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers -- thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger -- and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kushta and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa". over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(In the name of the) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "of N". and where it saith "And Sauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and "Whose son am I? Of the guarded

And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life" and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.". And thy pandamamanas light" (insert) "the soul of N. is established in that place". must be over thy mouth. And recite "Ye are set up and raised up in the place where the good are established amongst

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The Mana rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departed from the world", "Sunday, and Kushta and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (it shall be given).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in kushta the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This kushta which I entrust to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur".

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in kushta the hand of him who taketh (the hand of)the dying person and say to him "This kushta I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy pandama must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (so on) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising" (prayers) of the masiqta from beginning to end. And be careful (to insert) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious.

Then, when thou holdest thy pandama over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make pihta and mambuha for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy pihtamambuha. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the kushta-rite for thyself and honour thy crown. and drink thy

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" without thy pandama. (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Tib, written by Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (sacramental ceremonies) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (the apparently dying person) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "masiqta of the sixty" for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him read a "sixty" masiqta for him with seven food-trays, and at "that which is with her" sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

(If) the soul (be that of) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty masiqtas for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him alone at (the words) ma d-bh; at the words bit Abatur sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at bit Abatur and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a masiqta thou requirest meat, water of prayer, incense, pihta, hamra, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (named above).

And when (there is) a masiqta, read the homilies about the soul; let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven rahbata and (pray for) Mandaeans, Nasoraeans and the faithful. And pray

the masiqtapihta and mambuha, the "bindings and loosings" of the masiqta prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes", "I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (during?) the homilies, and loose him from his sins.

And Life is victorious.

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Nasoraean who (whilst) reading the masiqta openeth his pandama or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Nasoraean who holds (to?) the pandama and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase, speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yushamin or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq, nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the pandama. When he holdeth his pandama all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us.

And Life is-victorious.

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and ganzibras, earth beneath the feet of Nasoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious.

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be

someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Manda-d-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-d-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Rish-Draz. I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upnght woman, a believing (creature) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kushta) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, yonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Sharat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (She copied it from?) the copy of the great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Zihrun son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam son of R. Shitil son of R. Ram son of R. Zakia son of R. Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzibras, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a shalmana -- the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Qasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (tribe), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asta Faruk, Asta Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anush, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Shadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur. He copied from the book of Shaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wasia. He copied it from a book (copied by?) Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished ganzibra, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of ganzibras, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Mand-d-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and yonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable ganzibra Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia-may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam, family name 'Asakir from the book of R. Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Shitlan, family name Rish-Draz ...

[The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16; (Translator).]

... Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-Hurdshaiia and travelled around a great deal, but found no reliable masiqta equal to this masiqta. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this masiqta just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this masiqta.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this masiqta so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-d-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the Masiqta" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Nasoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Tib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anush-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha ...? and Anush copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Sharat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Shganda son of Yasmin, and Shganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-d-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-d-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (was written by) Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (a space of) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Tib in the years when Anush son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Nasoraeans and took

many diwansMasiqta and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Nasoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them. from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined.

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumqaq Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: -- "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins .. Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (himself and sent) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in kushta.

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

Hymns of Praise

Chapter 75

In the name of the Great Life! May there be healing, victory, strenght, soundness, speech and hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, from the Life!

We have acknowledged and praises (are due) To the mighty sublime First Life, The Ineffable which is over all works. (I come), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth To the Life and to the implanted Word And to 'Usar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee. (Yet) who shall praise Thee 2), Life? And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories? Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified And Thou art exaltedl (For lo) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came. At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid , At Thy light gates and kingdoms were troubled. on seeing Thee the Jordan turned about, [he waves of the sea rolled back And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion, Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces. Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stags.

They opened and gave praise. Does in the desert shed their young untimely; The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour. The earth trembled and was shaken. Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back? Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back ? Isles of the seal why were ye thrown into confusion? Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces ? Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent ? Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?

(Why) did ye open and give praise ?

Does in the desert! on account of 'Whom did ye miscarry your young?

Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak ?

Earth ! Whom didst thou behold and (at what) didst thou tremble ?

"At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance, At the Light which surpasseth all lights, And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself." When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building, (Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion. They

got down meekly from their thrones And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away The glory of the worlds and generations And quenched the flames of their lamps. It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth And in the lower glooms of Ilarkness. Spirit (ruha) lifted up her voice, She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father Why didst Thou create me ? My God, my God, My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth And in the nether glooms of darkness So that I have no strength to rise up thither?" All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life) And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights, And the Good Being who crossed the worlds, Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself. He sundered Light from darkness and sundered Good from Evil, He sundered Life from Death, And He brought out those who love His name of Truth From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good And from Death to Life and set them On roads of Truth and Faith. And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word And hast commanded us with Thy commandment - "Be My glory and I will be your Glory. Be my light and I will be your Light. And my name shall be in your mouths And I will be with you". Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their high-places And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way And deep ignominy befell their temples And fettered their might.

Great is the splendour in which Manda-d-hiia is arrayed! Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light! (That day) is not reckoned in a count of days. Nor in a reckoning of months; Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light. We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed, To all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer, Our submission, our tabuta and our faith In Thy presence, (O) 'Usar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life. Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name, Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord, Who could praise Thee, Life, Or magnify (worthily) the greatness of Thy victories ? Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue? Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves And our tongue like cleft mountains, Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!

Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart And him who confesseth thee with his lips. With a pure mouth be Thou blessed And lauded with a tongue of praise. Supporters who do not waver, interpretations Of Truth (kusta) which vary not praise Thee. Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance, Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred, Envy and dissensions exist

not. The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee, The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee, "Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia And praised. And blessed is the Place From which Thou camest: praised, magnified And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest. And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place To which Thou goest." Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries Ii Praise thee; for Thy knowledge, Thy wisdom, Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself. Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting. Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Son; Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life; Thou art the First, Thou art the Last, Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself. Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy. Turn back, push back, remove and make impotent Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land And my house - mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus - In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels, (Let) our petition, our prayer and our submission Rise up before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia! That which we have done forgive us, And that which we do, forgive us, (For) Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia art a forgiver of sins, Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes. If Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins, Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia? Slaves are we, who are all sin And Thou the Lord who art all mercy. Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying; In Thine eyes, Manda-d-Hiia (even) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

(Set for) righteous and believing people. Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life According to the purpose of the Life And the will of the three 'uthras . And according to the will of Manda-d-Hiia Sublimest of beings, and according to the will Of the Four Beings, sons of salvation. In Thy presence there will be restoration For our spirit and our souls. Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance And cover us with Thy light And will stand us before Thee with the innocent And not with the guilty; With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking. Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name. Pure is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name And abiding is Thy name. Victorious art Thou And victorious is Thy name. Victorious are the wvords of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish This my soul (the soul of) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus. And Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 76

In the name of the Life! Praises to the Outer Life

Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond), The abode that hath limit. For Your eyes are open to (discern) Your own, Your ears hearken at Your Place . Praises to that one great name of Life Which is above all names. Its name resteth on the great Place of Light, On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras, And on the Beam who was greater than all beams, With Whose fight all beams shine And by Whom all souls are justified;

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off From the House of our trust; Who restoreth our souls at the House of Ransom On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls On the great Day of joy. Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras, And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One Wvho came and remained for our commemoration And who was established in the presence of Outer Life. (One) on whose mouth Life rested and whose praise Was established without. Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First, To the Son of the great Primal Life Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth To the generations. (Lo) Thou camest and didst open a door, Thou didst level a road and tread out a path, Didst set up a boundary-stone And didst knit together a community. Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide To the Father of the great Family of Life , And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life, Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction And didst bring it forth to the great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned! O nourishers whom I have nourished! O builders whom I have raised up And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues! Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell! Worlds against whom I guard myself Though your words are not far from my face, If ye take mountains (of food) as your viaticum for eating,

They will not satisfy (lit. "complete") you. If ye take seas for your drinking They will not make you perfect (content you). (But) if with perfections ye stand before the Outer Life And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number, And your reckoning shall be reckoned. Betimes I will come and will fly And will reach the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign, And the sons of the great Family of Life. I will bind you together into the bundle of Life And I will build you into a great Building of Truth And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you The hand of the unbartablas (customs-officers ?) will not search amongst your garments; Ye will not pass over the Bridge Nor walk in a narrow street; Ye will not stand before the judge Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law; Nor will ye see an averted face. The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls, One who setteth on paths of surety His friends that are made perfect, A great comrade of the faithful, One of the great band of souls, Who will come out toward you And clothe your souls in a garment of radiance

And in good pure vestments of light Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode. He will bring out toward you wreaths, A wreath of victories. And every leaf of your wreaths will (weigh) One thousand and eighty mithqals . Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun And its light outshine the light of the moon. Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths In the presence of the Great (Life). Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras. Ye will open your eyes and behold your Judge. Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon you, In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether And the great Beam who is all light, Who was set up before the Great Life: He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth To the ages and to the worlds. And every man who giveth oblation; And took part in the communion from beginning to end. They will make as perfect as the mamas, Like rays of light he will be made to shine On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption, The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift, Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode, The place which is ancient, (of) Primal Beings, And sons of the great Family of Life. They eat of that which is imperishable And drink that which is not wine, eating well And asking solace. And an 'uthra of Life Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men), And to the Unearthly Being who standeth without, Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those Who love his name of Truth (kusta) - Thou art he, Manda-d-Hiia! for thou knowest About that in which the perfect man is made perfect, And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth . And the Lie , of what doth it consist. Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. 'the mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds, Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs, Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth. Not so : it is an 'uthra of Life which cometh And resteth upon Thy devotees. And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him

It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by (calling on) Thy name. We hold to Thy Leader of the great company of Truth We have held staunch because of Thy victories. Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors, Liars, hypocrites and the censorious. Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls! The good will see and wvill be found ready , (But) The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed

Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth ,And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller , nourishest the nourisher, buildest the builder,

Exaltest horns , enlargest footsteps and settest up a road , And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete and he standeth (liveth) in the body, (able) to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House , thine 'uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence : and at the raising of your right hands (towards Me?) My right hand will be lifted towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it (from) your hands".

We will pray with Thee the 'uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life), a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole Nasiruta of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature . Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, victorious are the words of truth wvhich issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds . And Life is victorious!

Chapter 77

In the name of the Life!

Thee (O) life, (is it meet) to praise, to honour, To magnify and to bless; First Life, Second Life and Third Life, Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira And the Vine which is All-Life And the great Tree which is all healings.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour and magnify And to bless 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai Who open (reveal) the pihta of Life And transplant a planting of Light, And instal the First Counterpart In the House of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbat 'The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation), The exigence of Life in Its nature.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth Great fruit for Himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy And was great in his light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life, The truth (kusta) that was aforetime, in the Beginning; Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Has, the Stem of splendour, radiance, light and honour Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils A myriad myriad. Well is it for him Who hath looked on that Tree! Bihram , who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established And his name hath not died.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sanasie , who standeth at the Gate of Life And prayeth for spirits and souls. He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope And taketh in keeping in the World of Light The prayers of pious and believing people.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Haiasum-Kusta, messenger of Life, The

Word of the first chosen elect (men). He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament And revealed himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Bhaq-Ziwa , who is called "He acted and succeeded in his skinta.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukas’ar, source of radiance who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his fight.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Biriawis, the strong source (kana) , The Kana took thought so that its radiance increased.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Ayar , the pure Vine which abideth In the great and lofty Treasure-house of Light.

(Meet it is) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The pure Yusamin who resteth upon The treasures of the waters And upon mighty wellsprings of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The 'uthra Tauriel , the being who resteth by The pastures of the water. When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand Fell (off ?) There was consternation on earth, And vexation(?) in the world of falsehood.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Adatan and Yadatan , who stand at the Gate of Life And praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls Of righteous and believing people In the Place of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Silmai and Nidbai , two 'uthras Delegates of Manda-d-Hiia Who are active and do (the work of) the Life. With kusta and with the testimony of the Life They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing souls Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (and are baptised) (But) not in the name of gods or of a messiah!

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai and Zamar-Hai , Four Beings, sons of perfection, Who come towards sincere and believing people, And take them out of bonds (Tied by) the hands of the wicked And from beneath the claws of scheming men; And lift them up to the great place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode. They knit them into the Bundle of Life And build them into a great Building Of sure strength .

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Hibil, Sitil and Anus, Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving, Vigorous and sturdy: Beings that cannot be taken by the sword Nor consumed by flames of fire; Nor swept away by floods of water; Nor will the thongs of their sandals Be dipped in the water. They were judged and were justified; They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun , 'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life;

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia, Bihram and Ram whose names are Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (dualistic ?) And the names of righteous and believing people Will be established in the Place of Light. Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious, Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up. Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth Which issue from Thy mouth, (victorious) over all works. Make victorious and raise up this my soul, (The soul of) Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus! And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged'', "Praises", and "Thee (Life) " for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. Fur my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from suns of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart fur the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-d-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light. I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Nasuraeans .., etc.

(The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted)

The Responses

Chapter 78

In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus, By means of these responses and homilies for baptism and the masiqta.

Chapter 79

In the name of the Great Life! When the myrtle , the myrtle, flourished In the gardens of Hibil; When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the manda, They gave me two twigs of myrtle From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan. For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

Chapter 80

In the name of the Great Life !

Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward

(O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life),

Our Father, son of the Lite !

Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!

Jordan, and both its banks, hear me!

Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength

Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras!

Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou)

whose creations rest on (depend upon?) the jordan!

Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira

And raise that which ye have planted!

Hear me, hear me, Hablaba) and Kana-d-Zidqa ,

Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama, whose strength

Presideth over the Scales!

Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up

Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia!

Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside

In the Great Wellspring

Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out

Radiance, light and effulgence!

Hear me (ye) three manas

Who rest upon the jordan with your treasurel

Hear me, Anus-'Uthra ,

Whose strength dwelleth upon met

Chapter 81

In the name of the Great Lifel

Hear me, my Father, hear me!

And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);

Our Father, Son of the Life!

Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!

Jordan and its two banks, hear me!

Habsaba and Kana-d-Zidqa hear me!

Hear me, Great Life, from the height,

Hear me!

Chapter 82

In the name of the Great Life !

At the Fountain-head came I forth,

At the Source of springs of life went I hence.

Three skintas (sanctuaries) did I found

And set over them guardians as rulers.

The guardians I appointed to rule over them

Are sublime, blessed and trusty

To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the mambuha into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

Chapter 83

In the name of the Great Life!

How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted

And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne

And on their heads they set living wreaths.

Yawar-Ziwa rejoiceth in the good plants

Which the jordan planted and raised.

The Plants rejoice and flourish

In the perfume of Manda-d-Hiia

Which breatheth upon them.

Chapter 84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me,

Well did my baptiser baptise me,

Truly did my baptiser baptise me

And your baptism shall attain its end.

Chapter 85

Silmai hath baptised us with his baptism, Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign, The great Anus-'uthra hath placed living wreaths on our heads.

Chapter 86

The jordan in which we have been immersed Shall be our witness that we have turned not away From our sign, nor have altered our pure Word.

Chapter 87

I rejoice in my priests And in nasoraeans who hearken to my converse. I rejoice in you, my priests, For ye have not changed my pure Word.

Chapter 88

In the name of the great Life!

May the sublime Light be magnified!

Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen,

Who went up with me to the jordan,

Pervert and change me not, alter me not by hand,

Pervert not nor alienate me,

Men who have heard the Voice of Life!

He who heareth the voice of Life

Will be edified, Will be built up,

Built up and armed. (Such a man's) strength will be doubled.

Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life

Will be greatly increased,

Will be enriched and will not lack.

Into the communion that is great will he be knit,

He will enter the communion that is great

So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise

And will behold the Place of Light.

And Life is renowned and victorious,

And victorious the man who went hence.

Chapter 89

In the name of the Great Life The great Light be magnified! To you do I call and (you) do I teach, Men who have received the Sign. Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations; Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble, Stumble not because of their stumblings! Be not interrogated at their tribunals, At their tribunals be not interrogated! Certainly have ye held to established truth, Ye have held to the certainty about which I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that Ye may not turn your thought away from Me. Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought) Whose mind is turned against me, Whose mind is turned from me, Great and not small will be his hurt . If ye have attained my strength Bear (arms for) me ! If ye bear (arms for) me firmly Stand by me frombeginning to end! But it ye have not attained my strength (or army) Go from me, and approach not! For he that entereth it and beareth (arms) for me, His " garment'' will be adjusted to the House of Perfection. But he that weareth it and doth not perfect it Will die and his spirit will extinguish, He will die and extinct will be his spirit, He will become the portion of the world, Thou hast conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmest Thy friends! Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who went hence,

Chapter 90

In the flame of the Great Life

The sublime Light be glorified!

A disciple am I, a new one;

For I went to the jordan-bank

And took my name on my head

And in my heart I took a Sign,

My Sign is not that of Fire,

Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One

My Sign is a jordan of living water,

The strength of which none can attain,

He chose one out of a thousand

And from two thousand he chose two,

Making traders of them

Who labour and ply their trade on earth.

And they trade for fee and pious gift,

And shine more than sun and moon.

I came to the congregation of souls,

For the Life sent me, sent me forth.

There were some who bought my wares,

There those who came to their end and lay down .

There were those who bought my wares.

The eyes (of such a one) were filled with light,

Filled with light were his eyes

(On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection,

There were those who did not buy my wares.

They went on, reached their end and lay down.

'they were blind and saw not,

Their ears were stopped and they heard not

And their hearts were not awakened

To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection.

As They called them and they answered not,

When they call, who will answer them?

Because it was given to them but they took not,

Who will give to them when they ask ?

They hated the Way of Life and its Abode

But loved the abode of the wicked.

And lo! in the abode of the wicked

Will they be held captive.

They tied up their tribute, their money

In a lappet of their clothes.

When they wish to lift their heads (hold their heads high)

They hurl them down to the Gates of Darkness

To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants Who stand by the jordan. I say to them, "My children (who walk) in my road, My children (who follow) my road, Swerve not from it or its boundary! Let him who deviateth from its boundary Cling to the boundary-stone. He who hath turned aside from both will fall into the uttermost ends of the world". Thou host conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmeth his friends! Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord Our sins and our trespasses. Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who hath gone hence.

[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from here to below are the hymns and chants of the masiqta.]

Chapter 91

My vigilance and praisegiving

Are my ferrymen across (the waters of death);

A transformation brought me over,

A cloud of light took me over.

In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

Chapter 92

In the name of the Life!

Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one;

Thou art without spot.

Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on) earth

And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles

From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward.

Above all the world thou hast spoken.

Chosen and pure one (saying),

"I am a seer, a diviner;

A seer am I and a diviner!"

The worlds assembled for judgement, For judgement the worlds assembled And judgement was pronounced on them, On them was judgement pronounced, On those who did not perform the works Of right-dealing Man. But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One, Fair mana, that art burnished bright, Thou goest not to the judgement hall. Judgement will not be pronounced over thee, Over thee judgement will not be pronounced; Because thou didst perform the works Of right-dealing mankind. This , that they endure and bear, Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee. Escape the clutch of the planets And the forces of this wvorld! Take, put on thy garment of radiance, Set on thy living wreath! Bow thyself! and worship! Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life. Praise the Place of Life To which thy fathers go. Thou (O) Chosen One, Wast not from here; From this place thou wast not transplanted Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life, Thy home the Everlasting Abode. They have set up for thee a throne of rest In which there is no heat or wrath. There is kept for thee a girdle In which there is no trouble or fault . Good one! Rise to the House of Life! And go to the Everlasting Abode !

They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light And they will shine in thy time, and lit thy moment. Arise! Behold the Place of Light! Renowned is Life and victorious And victorious the man who went thither.

Chapter 93

The mana rejoiceth in its treasure

And in the glory of Life

Which resteth on it.

I have acknowledged thee

(O) elect righteous one,

For thou settest my soul free

From transitory things.

Chapter 94

Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul

That hast departed from the world!

Thou leavest corruption and the stinking body

In which thou hast been: (thou leanest)

Its abode, the abode of the wicked,

The place which is all sinning,

The world of darkness,

Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions,

The abode in which the planets go about,

Bringing pains and blemishes,

Pains they bring, and blemishes,

Every day causing them tribulation.

Rise up, rise up, soul!

Ascend to thy first homeland.

Rise, rise to thy first homeland,

The place from which thou wast transplanted,

To the place from which thou wast transplanted,

To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras,

Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory

And set on thy living wreath.

Rise! inhabit the S'kintas Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren. As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home; And curse this place, the house of thy fostering; For (during) the years that thou didst spend therein Every day the Seven were thine enemies, The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve Beset thee with persecution. Renowned is Life and victorious, And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

Chapter 95

Her Sunday, her kus'ta and her alms

Bear witness for the soul.

Ye will be her witnesses

And will pass her through at the toll-house.

Chapter 96

I am provided and provisioned:

'Uthras of light equipped me.

I am provisioned; for Life provided for me.

And I am equipped by 'uthras of light.

They provided me with provision of Truth (ki

I lifted mine eyes to heaven and my soul waited on the house of life. and the life who heard

my cry sent toward me a deliverer. the deliverer who came to me brought me that which was lovely; he opened out a robe and showed me its radiance and i cast off the stinking body. he grasped me with the palm of his right hand and led me over the waters of death . over the waters of death he brought me and led me onward; in the likeness of life he supported me. life supported life, life found its own. its own self did life find and my soul found that for which it had looked. renowned is life and victorious and victorious the man who went hence.

Chapter 97

He rose and took me with him and did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

Chapter 98

The day on which the soul goeth forth,

on the day that the perfected one ascendeth,

on the day that the soul issueth from below

the spheres of death, of contention ,

strife was thrown into the earth.

ruha's slaves sit bewailing

and the seven sit in consternation.

the robe of the stars is lent

and dust is cast on ruha's head.

the hell-beasts weep

and the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken.

the being who brought me hither,

who brought me that which was beautiful,

put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance,

in a wrapping of light he covered me.
he set on (my head) a wreath of ether
and (gave me) of that which life bestoweth on the 'uthras.
he set me up amongst 'uthras
and stood me up amidst the perfected (souls).
a wreath of ether he set on my head,
and gloriously he brought me forth from the world.
life supported life,
life found its own,
its own did life find,
and my soul found that for which it had looked.
renowned is life and victorious,
and victorious the man who went thither.

Chapter 99

Ye are set up and raised up, my chosen ones,
by the word and certitude that came to you
the word and the certitude that came to the good,
the true word which came to believers.
my chosen, ye sought and ye found,
moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find.
ye sought and found, my chosen ones,
as the first (souls?) sought and found.
thou art victorious, manda-d-hiia.

and thou bringest to victory all who love thee.
and life is victorious.
[here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".]

Chapter 100

In a building which life buildeth,
good trees flourish.
fragrant is the perfume of the trees
with the perfume of manda-d-hiia
which pervadeth them.
[here recite "Blessed and praised be Life"
of Shem son of Noah,and "Good is good for the good".]

Chapter 101

The life hath founded a dwelling,
and radiance dawned
in the sublime ether!
i and my brethren, the 'uthras,
have set out every good thing ,
have set out the allotted portion of the great (life):
we have offered it up in purity to the place of light.

Chapter 102

The building that life buildeth will never come to nought. [repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark and Light set up in its place".]

Chapter 103

Darkness is crushed back into the dark

and light is set up in its place.

the life hath accepted your prayer,

the 'uthras have accepted your praise

the oblation is assigned to its lord,

and bounty to him who giveth it.

this soul ot n, and the souls of this masiqta rest at the

great place of light and the everlasting abode.

and life is victorious.

[here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the masiqta and pray a prayer for thyself. and life is victorious.]

The Rus' hma

Chapter 104

My Lord be praised!

May Kul(a strengthen you! In the name of the great Life

may healing and purity be thine!

0 my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,

Great Jordan of living water,

In the name of the Great Life

We have cleansed our hands in truth (ku ja)

And our lips with faith;

We have uttered words of radiance.

My mind is absorbed in (thoughts of) Light. Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name My Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, and blessed and praised Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory which emanated from Itself. (Three times.) I, N, son of N (or daughter of N.), Am signed with the Sign of Life And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Were pronounced on me. (Three times) My ears have heard the voice of Life. (Three times) My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life. (Three times) My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire, And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed One anointed.

My Sign is in the great jordan of living water And the Sign and name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up And the name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. (Three times) My mouth was filled with prayer and praise. (Three times) My knees bless and worship the Great Life. (Three times) My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kus'ta) and Faith. (Three times) I, N, son of N., am baptised with the baptism Of the great Bihram, son ot the Mighty (Life) My baptism shall guard me and will succeed. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

(Three times)

My feet - and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve Shall be powerless to rule me. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

Asiet Malkia

Chapter 105

Kus'ta heal you! In the Name of the Great Life! Healing and victory be thine, O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies! Healing and victory be yours; My honoured First Parents Healing and victory be yours; Treasure of the great First honoured Life. Healing and victory be thine; King Mara-d-Rabutha-'laita Healing and victory be thine; King Yus'amin the Pure, son of Nis'ibtun Healing and victory be thine; King Manda-d-Hiia, son of Nis'ibtun, Healing and victory be thine; King Hibil-Ziwa Healing and victory be thine; King Anus'-'uthra Healing and victory be thine; King S'is'lam-Rba Healing and victory be thine; King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia Healing and victory be thine; King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance Healing and victory be yours, Hibil, S'itil and Anus', Healing and victory be yours Adatan and Yadatan, Healing and victory be yours

S'ilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation, Healing and victory be yours; Njab and Anan-Ns'ab , Healing and victory be yours; Sar and Sarwan, Healing and victory be yours; Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun, And Tar and Tarwan Healing and victory be yours; Yufin (and ?) Yufafin, Healing and victory be yours; Habs'aba and Kana-d-Zidqa, Healing and victory be yours; King Baibag-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; King S'ingilan-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; Simat-Hiia, Healing and victory be thine; Great 'Zlat , Healing and victory be thine; S'arat-Nit'ufta , Healing and victory be thine; Kanat-Nit'ufta, Healing and victory be thine; Bihrat-Anana, Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Rama , Healing and victory be thine; King 'Us' t'una-rba ,

Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Muzania, Healing and victory be thine; King Pthahil, son of Zahriel , Healing and victory be thine; King Yahia-Yuhana, Healing and victory be thine; King Adam, the first man, Healing and victory be thine; King S'itil, , son of Adam the first man, Healing and victory be thine; O (ye) kings and'uthras, And Indwellings and jordans, And running streams and s'kintas Of the worlds of light, All of you, healing and victory (be yours!) And (may there be) forgiving of sins For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnus'), (N. son of N.) Who have prayed this prayer !

May there be forgiveness of sins for me! (Note. - The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", I.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayer-times daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnus'. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (Rahmia), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia.

Prayer 106

Up, up! ye Elect Righteous Ones

Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours (daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions".

Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]

In the Name of the Great Life!

Up, up! ye Elect righteous ones,

Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones!

Rise, worship and praise the Great Life!

And praise the great king ŠiŠlam-Rba,

And praise the Occult Tanna and Ham-Ziwa,

And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great,

And praise Simat-Hiia,

From whom all worlds came into being;

And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm

From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being.

I worship and praise that lofty and great

King of light, the Compassionate One

Who is full of loving-kindness.

[Prayers 107 -108 Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" (#106) in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name.., in the name of that Primal Being"]

107

In the name of the Great Life!

My good messenger of light

Who travelleth to the house of its friends,

Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise
That I may praise the Great Life
Wholly.

108

In the name of the Great Life!

I worship Life
And I praise my Lord Manda-d-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 110 - 112 This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (In the name of the Life) and "In the name of that (Primal Being) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (Yawar-Ziwa)", "Let there be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.)

110

In the name of the great Life!

The time, the time for devotions arriveth

The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come.

My awakener is Hibil, my instructor is Šitil,

Anuš lifteth up my hymns.

The immerser in my immersion is Šilmai

And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

111

In the name of the Great Life!

My good messenger of light

Who travelleth to the house of its friends

Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise

That I may praise the Great Life

Wholly.

112

In the name of the Great Life!

I worship the Life
And I praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia
And that great Presence of Glory
Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 113 - 116 Pray these four prayers:
"On the Ether-Light do I stand" (#113),
"Early I rose from my sleep" (#114),
"We have purified our hands in kušta"(#115),
"Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name"(#116).
Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense)

#113

On the light of Ether do I stand

In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine,
Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnuš, through this Sunday prayer!

"On the light of Ether do I stand,
I stand for the Great Light with its purities!

I am Manda-d-Hiia, emanation (planting) of the Mighty First Life.
I cried to the first day of the week, (Habšaba)
The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light
Who enlighteneth 'uthras.
To him I said

"Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world,
To that world which is all birth,
To be with the Elect Righteous,
Men formed of flesh and blood.
Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them,
Stand by them, take care of them,
Give them strength and fortitude
So that they may stand and worship and praise
The Mighty Sublime Life! "

Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-d-Hiia
"How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth
To be with elect righteous (men)
Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me!
They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour,
And remit not my sin and transgression!"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday,

"Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world
To this world that is all birth, to be with
Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood.
And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them,
Stand by them and take care of them!
Turn back and drive away from them
The seven planets together with their demons and devils,
And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures;
So that they will forgive thee thy sins
And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem
And victory will be ours and will be thine"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous,
"Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom
I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you,
To uplift you and make you upright,
And to bring you prayer and praise.
Forgive him his sins and transgressions
And hold him in great esteem."

Manda-d-Hiia taught and expounded and said,
"Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses
On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem,
Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras
Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory.

For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous
And bright than all the 'uthras!"

Blessed and praised is Manda-d-Hiia and the Confirmed"

And Life is victorious over all works.

114

Early I arose from my sleep

In the name of the Great Life!

Sublime Light be glorified!

Early I arose from my sleep: I stood,
Into radiance that was great I looked,
I gazed into radiance that was great,
Into the Light which is boundless.

When clothed') in robes of radiance
And light was thrown on my shoulders
A wreath of ether He set on my head
And set it on the head of all His race
He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn

And the Light-rays answer His voice.

And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up

From their sleep.

He said to them

"Arise, ye sleepers who lie there,

Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled,

Arise, worship and praise the Great Life

And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life

Which shineth forth and is expressed

In sublime light."

And Life be praised!

#115

We have purified our hands in Kušta

In the name of the Great Life!

We have purified our hands in Kušta (truth)

And our lips in faith

We have uttered words of radiance

And were absorbed in thoughts of light.

Thou, my lord Manda-d-Hiia, art blessed and praised

And thy praise is established (on high).

Great is the strength of Life;

Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!

Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.

This is prayer and praise which came to them from

The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,

Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

#116

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name

My lord, Manda-d-Hiia!

Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee:
'Ufalnia (interpretations!) of truth which are unchangeable
Have blessed thee.

Sons of salvation who sit in thy company
Have blessed thee.

Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Nasirutha
Hath blessed thee;

Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,
Hath blessed thee

And I worship and praise that channel of light,
The messenger of all rays-of-light.

Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,
Being who resteth upon the Škintas!

Upon Škintas doth his name rest.

Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness
And upon the great Countenance of Glory.

And Life be praised!

#117

[Prayer 117: Pray this prayer in the Rahmia (Devotions) of the seventh hour after incense on the fire (and after) "On the Ether-Iight do I stand" (#113)]

I worship, praise and laud

That Šrar, the great occult First Vine

Whose fruits are a thousand thousand,

And a myriad myriad His tendrils;

Upon Whom I called and He answered me·

Further, when I call on him, He will answer me;

For He will come and will heal me,

Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me

Will direct my eyes to the Light,

And my feet to steadfastness

My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.

Then I worship, praise and laud

That first great occult Škinta

That is the house of dazzling beings.

Then I worship, praise and laud

That occult, first Škinta

Which my Parents inhabit.

Then I worship, praise and laud

Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine

Which loosed its milky juices into the habitations.

Then I worship, praise and laud

That Ruaz, the great first Light

Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.

Then I worship, praise and laud

That great, occult, first Škinta

To which the eyes of Nasoraeans.

Men set apart, and the elect righteous

Look, that they may rise and behold

The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

#118

[Prayer 118: Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand". (#113)]

It is time to pray the "Devotions"
The great moment for humble worship
For offering up propitiatory prayer

To my lord, Manda-d-Hiia,
For arousing the elect righteous.
The priests say to Manda-d-Hiia:

"We will abjure that which we possess
Of fee, alms and benefit
And the (false) deity of the House
We will come and will be believers."

Manda-d-hiia saith to them, to the priests:

"Your Father hath great strength,
Surpassing all limit, (stronger)
Than passionate thoughts, vain things
And the devouring flame.

The Good One clotheth His children
He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them
That there is great enlargement of Life
And your souls shall rejoice

With clouds (spouses?) of light.

But other souls will die and become
As though they had never existed.

Ye shall receive your vestments
Ye shall receive your wreaths.

In the presence of the Great (Life?)
Ye will be great, and will be called
'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.

And ye will say "The Living stand
In the dwelling of the Life"

And Life is victorious over all works.

#119

[Prayers 119 - 124 SUNDAY The following three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

In the name of the Great Life

Be the sublime Light glorified!

On Sunday, the first of days,
Who hath seen that which I have seen?

Who saw Manda-d-Hiia
When he went and came to the world?

He went (thence) and came to the world
The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.

He taught, and lovely was his voice!
And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence,
Eloquence he put into his mouth.

He revolutionized and forsook the world:
The world he revolutionized and forsook.

Spirit (Ruha) sitteth in lamentation
In lamentation sitteth Ruha;

And the Seven sit in consternation;
They weep and prolong their mourning
Because their mysteries are disclosed,
Because disclosed are their mysteries.

They will be brought to an end
On the great Last Day.

Namrus (Ruha) feared and trembled,
Her weapon fell from her shoulder,
From her shoulder fell her weapon
And her bows from the palm of her hand,

Ruha addresseth her sons,
Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),

She saith to them,
"Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do!
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"

A consuming ray of light
Is in Manda-d-Hiia’siirr's hand; felling· them
He cometh (to?) the rebels.

The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice
At departure of the Seven
Saying to them "I have brought wares
To my friends.

I brought truthful words to believers.
Men who buy my wares,
Their merits wreathe their heads
Twined are their merits,
And their horns are exalted
On their heads.
They will arise and will behold
The Place of Light."

Renowned is Life and victorious,
And victorious the man who went hence.

#120

My day -- what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!

What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?

The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,

The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia dawned

On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

121

Before the Wellsprings were transmuted
Before the Awakening without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world.

The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.

They become clear and shining
They gush forth and cast out impurities.

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?

Voices cry aloud proclamations
Planning schemes, all of them talk!

(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings,
One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.

(As for) us, who have praised our Lord
Thou wilt forgive us our sins.

Thou wast victorious, Manda-d-Hiia
And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

# I22

O Lord of devotions,
O Lord of Prayers

And of hymns and good books,
O Lord of prayer and praise,
Hear my voice and condemn me not!

#123

Except for six or seven nations,
Fruit is set up on the Tree

On the Tree fruit is set up
And (other) trees gather together toward it.

Toward it do the trees assemble,
And a throne is set up for the Lord of Radiance
For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up
And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.

Before him are set up recompenses
Which he delivereth to the perfect,
To the perfect doth he deliver them

And said:
"To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded".

And he said:
“Every man who toiled
And was long-suffering shall come
and take with both hands,
But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.

He will seek but will not find,

And ask, but nought will be given him,

Because he had in his hand and gave not,

He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."

Thou art praised, Manda-d-Hiia

Who dost not condemn thy friends.

I24

I seek a boon from the Life,

From Thee, mighty Life.

I seek a boon from the Life -

That Ye will rightly guide Your praise

For me.

(....)

Chapter 170

Tab taba Itabia (The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living)

Good is the Good (one ?) for the good, and He set His nature upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive

the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread , masiqta and tabuta . His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-d-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yus'amin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Hablaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins. For S'itil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud . There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'urbai and S'arhabiel). There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'um son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nis'bai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnus' daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnus' : forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of S'arat-Simat ,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness ot sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnul, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anus' son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram- Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me- And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of ganzibria: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-S'itil son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of S'adia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania,

forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and S'aria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar- Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (Bihrat?)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisth'aq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'abur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mha- tam and S'itil, sons of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anus' son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'aiar- Ziwa and S'abur son (sons?) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (them?); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa- Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anus' Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anus' , Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (their?); Bihdad son of S'adia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'ganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The people, (consisting of all Nasoraeans, priests and laymen (mandaiia), and ganzibria and ganzaiia (headpriests and treas- urers ?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations); all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (t'abuta), and for you, my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ye upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling " And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 171

Hymns of Praise

In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great S'is'lam who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palm-tree; praised is the great 'zlat Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all kings, because from them (both) all worlds proceeded - for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

Praised is that first great Jordan : praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first S'kinta and praised are the three hundred and sixty S'kintas which proceeded from that first great mystic S'kinta.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and said, "Upon every Nasoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (prayer of) dedication the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anus'-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate (his crown) sixty-one times and make (this) petition : (and say) Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the great First Liie, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (0) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me : be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

O Hablaba (Sunday) ! deliver me from hell-beasts and from purgatory-demons and from water-penalties , and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts

, the chief Levier of dues and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me. O Abathur-Rama, 0 Abathur-Muzania! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding! Haias'um, healer; Kus'ta, and Yusmir healer of the mana and its counterpart, heal me (preserve me) from pains, from blemishes from hateful curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body. 0 Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba , Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and nor my teacher , for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart. Yea, Life, verily Life , Life will be with the victorious. They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us . Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

Chapter 172

Now (we beseech Thee), Life, (bestow) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) . For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever hath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is victorious over all works.

The S' umhita

Chapter 173

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The naive of the great S'is'lam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upun thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Mana and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus'. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures , pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eye and the dimmed eye be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul, thy trunk and thy, stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-d-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Zi,va and Simat- Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

Chapter 174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (ginza) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil- Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty, which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

Chapter 175

In the name of the Great Life. Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou ?'' I say to them, "I come from the Body, the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consumination ". They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called ?'' I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

Then they bless her (me); and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal " because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body . And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

Chapter 176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O S'ilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body, compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

Little New Year`s Feast Prayer

Chapter 177

In the Name of the Great Life.

Vines shone in the water

And in the jordan mighty they grew.

Ye are flourishing offshoots.

Messengers hither I bring you,

I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you Garlands of myrtle and marjoram For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

I will rear up for you babes And bring them to you. We bless you unto the world`s end : The full river (yardna) hath blessed you And the baptism which is unfailing from beginning to end.

Honouring of the Crown

Chapter 178

Kus'ta strengthen thee , my crown, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my teacher, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my turban, Kus'ta strengthen thee, guardian of my turban, Kulja strengthen thee, Great First Radiance, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Great First Light, Kus'ta strengthen you, my brother-priests, Kus'ta strengthen You, Life, my Parents , Kus'ta strengthen thee, my treasure, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure! We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times) In an inner vessel they concealed thee . The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee, And the Nas'irutha which emanated therefrom Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion. And treasure will arise to its owner. And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever! And Life is victorious .

(...)

The Letter

Chapter 382

In the Name of the Great Life!

Vines shone in the waters:

Mighty ones were confirmed

For perfecting, for clearing the waters,

Establishing Your likeness and giving us light

Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!

Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration,

Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.

Let your fragrance come and overpower (us with its sweetness)

[This hymn the ganzibra shall pronounce over the wine-bowl, giving it to the baruka (blesser) and to the two witnesses.]

Chapter 383

In the name of the Great Life!

On the day that Hibil-Ziwa

Walked with Yawar,

Myrtle with them was plentiful,

Plentiful was the myrtle,

And to Yawar he gave it,

Into his right hand.

And he said to him,

"Take from me fresh myrtle

And pronounce blessing in the shkinata

Its blessing pronounce in the shkinata.

Then Yawar opened his mouth,

Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa

And said to him, "Blessed art thou,

Our father, Hibil-Ziwa!

Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand

Thy Root shall flourish

Like the root of fresh myrtle:

And thou shalt have strength and increase

Like the living waters".

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra.]

Chapter 384

Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;

The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,

The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,

And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,

He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,

"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,

Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle

And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.

The dwellings shine in its brightness

And delight in its fragrance for ever.

[The ganzibra recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from the "blessers".]

Chapter 385

In the name of the Great Life!

All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned by thee

Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.

And all pure spouses will be made perfect,

Delivered from evil actions.

(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads

Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The ganzibra reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the shganda (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (folds and) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.")

[Note. -- Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins: --]

These are the prayers for the pihtania (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

[Note. -- Before No. 386D.C. 3 inserts:

Chapter 386

See Prayer No. 329.

[The rubric differs slightly, so I give it:]

[This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the ganzibra wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (novice's) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (item) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (i.e. facing North), to (as many) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!]

Chapter 387

See Prayer No. 305.

Chapter 388

See Prayer No. 306.

Chapter 389

See Prayer No. 307.

Chapter 390

See Prayer No. 308.

Chapter 391

See Prayer No. 309.

Chapter 392

See Prayer No. 310.

Chapter 393

See Prayer No. 311.

[The ganzibra shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Shishlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

Chapter 394

See Prayer No. 312.

Chapter 395

See Prayer No. 313.

Chapter 396

See Prayer No. 314.

Chapter 397

See Prayer No. 315.

Chapter 398

See Prayer No. 316 and 317.

Chapter 399

See Prayer No. 318 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 400

See Prayer No. 319 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 401

See Prayer No. 320 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 402

See Prayer No. 321 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 403

See Prayer No. 322 and compare Prayer 386.

Chapter 404

See Prayer No. 323 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 405

See Prayer No. 324 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 406

See Prayer No. 325 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 407

See Prayer No. 326 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 408

See Prayer No. 327 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 409

See Prayer No. 328 and the rubric which follows it.

Chapter 410

Prayer of Yahia

In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-Life.

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to thy name, and speak (it) in my heart and talk (of it) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) Shihrialia shilia, superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth". Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse from me insecurity (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshly-flowing Water of Life. Set up

for me a kana d-zidqa, a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied by Nasirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil, and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years, without feebleness, in a blessed old age, in my own home.

Look on the plants, marvel at the shualania (those entering the priesthood under tuition); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

And now (I ask) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food (here), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you! Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (called) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

Other Hymns

Chapter 411

[This is the great Commemorative prayer known as "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the Tab taba ltabia prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yushamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins for him.

.... (the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, "injunctions", "rubrics")

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

Chapter 412

In the name of the Great Life.

Then, when she (the soul) reacheth the seven mysteries,

Servants of the Seven go out towards her

And come and surround her and question her.

And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou?

And whither goest thou?" She said to them,

"I come from the Body the name of which is Earth.

And I go toward the good Kimsa".

They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou?

Messenger of whom art thou called?"
She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved Kimsa
And the envoy of the vast Ether".
Then they bless her and commend her and say to her,
"All who know this (pass-) word shall rise
Towards the good Kimsa".
For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body
And (so) question her.
And thereupon she ascendeth
Towards the Good Kimsa.

[This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul.]

Chapter 413

[See prayer 177.]

Chapter 414

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great Life!

On the day when the radiance within Radiance
Broke through and emerged,

A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors;

In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed.

And water was produced in the Ether.

The jordan emerged in its glory

And the water was intermingled with the Ether,

Intermingled was Water with Ether.

And the strength of Light increased greatly,

Was increased and established.

A wreath they twisted into crowns

(Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (fruit)

Nasirutha spoke therein to kings (priests)

And their purities were intertwined.

(The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh kushta with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown. Beware of performing a marriage OI (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

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Clavis numbers: ECCA 950

VIAF: 184718207

Category: Apocalypses, Apocryphal Acts

Related literature: Acts of Peter by Clement, Pseudo-Clementines, Story of Peter, John, and Paul in Antioch, Cave of Treasures, Testament of Adam

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Created September 2021.

1. SUMMARY

This Christian Arabic pseudepigraphon, which covers more than a hundred folios, is a heterogeneous text, which integrates the Testament of Adam, the Cave of Treasures, and stories of Peter paralleled in the Ethiopic Acts of Peter by Clement (itself incorporating portions of the Pseudo-Clementines). It is framed as a revelation from Christ to Peter on the Mount of Olives and then from Peter to Clement. After detailed descriptions of creation and biblical history, the middle segment of the text is a historical-political apocalypse about the rise and fall of Islam, in which Christ condemns Muslims and their rulers in a rather sharp polemical tone and, at the same time, declares that Islam is a temporary phenomenon. The Christian readers are urged not to intermingle with the Muslims and it seems, therefore, that this part was written at a time when social boundaries between Christians and Muslims were eroding. The end of Islam is not predicted as imminent but as an inevitable development in the future, which should encourage Christians in their

steadfastness.

The last section of the text consists of the vicissitudes of Peter in Rome, which show resemblance to the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The text was widely known among Miaphysite Christians. It was copied in Egypt and Syria, often in Arabic with Syriac letters (Garšūnī). There are arguments for an origin in either a Syriac or Coptic milieu. A critical edition might solve this question but is, as yet, a desideratum. As for the date, the terminus post quem is the late ninth century, because the text contains allusions to political events in that time. The manuscript Paris, BNF Ar. 76 provides the terminus ante quem of 1177, when its Vorlage was copied.

Named historical figures and characters (based on Mingana's incomplete translation, excluding the material from Cave of Treasures and the Testament of Adam): Abraham (patriarch), Abgar, Adam (patriarch), Agabus, Ananias (disciple), Antichrist, Barakūyār, Barnabas, Besalyā, Candace (king), Clement (bishop), Dan (patriarch), Daniel (prophet), daughter of Jairus, Dionysius (disciple), Elijah (prophet), Enoch (patriarch), Euphrikos/Euphraxus, Fālāh, Faustinianus, Faustinus, Faustus (father of Clement), Four Bodiless Creatures, Gabriel (angel), Ham, Hermes, Holy Spirit, Hotān, Isaac (patriarch), Jacob (patriarch), Jambres, James (son of Zebedee), Jannes, Jesus (Christ), Joachim (father of Mary), John (son of Zebedee), Joshua (patriarch), Judas Iscariot, Judas (of Damascus), Kolon, Lahwā, Lazarus, Magi, Mark (evangelist), Mary (Virgin), Mattidia, Michael (angel), Moses (patriarch), Nebuchadnezzar, Nero, Noah (patriarch), Nun, Paul (apostle), Peter (apostle), Philip (apostle), Pharaoh (of Exodus), Phinehas, Pontius Pilate, Protheus/Zerosus, Raphael (angel), Salāh, Sarh, Satan, Saul (king), Silvanus (disciple), Simon (Magus), Solomon (king), Solon, Stephen (martyr), Tares, Terah, Thaddaeus/Addai (apostle), Thomas (apostle), Tibarus, Timothy, Titus, Uriel (angel), Wailah, Wākid, Wolf (Muhammad), Yanshur.

Geographical locations: Abirom, Ablabûn, Afdār, Alexandria, al-Adiyōka, Amman, Antioch, Arados, Armenia, Arramān, Athens, Baalbeck, Babylon, Beirut, Bethlehem, Bīlāt, Carthage, Cave of Treasures, Chamber of Zion, China, Chorazin, Cyprus, Damascus, Eden, Edessa, Edom, Egypt, Emmaus, Ephesus, Euphrates River, Golgotha, Haran, Harmānīyah, hell, Hijāz, India, 'Irāk, 'Irkah, Jarbā, Jerusalem, Joppa, Judah, Judea, Ḳêsârôs River, Khawārij, Kurmah, Kûsin, Lake Gurgu, Laodicea, Lāyos, Lebanon, Lydda, Manīh, Maurikiyah, Mesopotamia, Mitālīyah, Moab, Mount of Olives, Mount Sinai, Nazareth, Nile, Nineveh, Nisibin, Nubia, Paradise, Paran, Pavilion of Light, Persia, Philippi, Phoenicia, Red Sea, Rome, Samosata, Satāfān, Seba, Sicily, Sidon, Sind, Sodom, Sudan, Syria, Tarsus, Tartaros, temple (Jerusalem), Thrace, Tigris River, Tyre.

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 76, fols. 2v–133v (1337)

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Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. Ar. Nicoll 48 ~ CATALOG ~ a copy of Uri 99

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ma-bulletVatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 159, fols. 197f. (1622/1623) ~ La Spisa says 1628 and fols. 360v-443r ~ Garšūnī; divided into 90 chapters

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KITĀB AL-MAGĀLL

OR

THE BOOK OF THE ROLLS.

ONE OF THE BOOKS OF CLEMENT.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God, the merciful Lord.

This book is one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon Cepha, which Saint Clement commanded to be kept secret from the laity. Some of them were called "The Book of the Rolls," and there are the glorious genealogies and mysteries which our God and Saviour Jesus the Christ committed to his disciples Simon and James, and what things will happen at the end of time, and how the second coming of our Lord the Christ from heaven to the world will happen, and what will become of sinners and such like. This is the sixth of Clement's books, treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles.

Saint Clement said, When our God Jesus the Christ went up to heaven and the disciples were scattered in the regions of the world to evangelize, and to call mankind to the faith and to immersion by baptism, they took disciples, whom they chose and selected to be with them, and to travel about to the countries in the faith of the Christ. Wherefore Simon Cepha took me for a disciple to himself; I believed in him, and in Him that sent him, with a true faith; I recognized that he was chief of the Apostles, to whom were given the keys of heaven and earth, on whom was built the Catholic Apostolic Church of God, which p. 2 the gates of Hell shall not destroy, as our God Jesus the Christ said in the holy Gospel. After a long time he took also my brothers Constans and Constantinus to be his disciples. Twenty years after he had taken me as his disciple, he brought me together with my father and my mother, who was called Metrodora, and committed to me all the mysteries which had been given him by our Lord Jesus the Christ on the Mount of Olives. At that time the rest of the Apostles and all the believers had a struggle with the unbelieving Jews because the Jews were killing every one of the believers whose murder was possible to them. I and my gracious Teacher Simon encompassed some of the countries, and we met with great trouble from the controversy of the Jews, and their questioning about the genealogy of the pure Mary, for their saying about her was that she was not of the children of Judah that they might invalidate by this the coming of our Lord the Christ into the world, and His Incarnation from her. They were increasing [their] bribe of money and other things to the Greeks and the Romans that they might help them in the destruction of the believers and the bringing to nought of their business, and hinder the Apostles from the reading of the Law, lest they should teach out of it about the state of mankind, and how it was in the beginning. When I saw in what misery we were with the Jews, I sought from my gracious Teacher that he would make known to me how mankind were at the beginning, and that he would make me perfect about the reasons, for he had learned everything from the Lord Jesus the Christ, and I was acquainted with the tongue of the Greeks and their books, and was learned in their mysteries, and I had deposited their secrets which had been entrusted to me, [in] my two books called the seventh and the eighth. I informed my Teacher what I conjectured about the envy towards the Lady Mary, and my anxiety at the reproach of the Jews to me that I did not understand the Torah, and their much questioning of me about the creation of our father Adam, and what I had heard with my ears of their insult to the Lady Mary and their p. 3 fiction about her without any resource being possible for me [how] I should refute them in regard to their hateful saying. The Teacher was moved by my excitement, and zeal entered him when I told him about it. He said, “I will put it in order for thee, O my son, as thou hast asked me about it, and will initiate thee in things since the beginning of the creation, and will teach thee the genealogy of the Mother of Mercy, Mary the pure, and its authenticity, and that without doubt she is of the lineage of Judah the son of Jacob and his tribe, and I will relate to thee mysteries, and what reason there was for the fall of the Devil, the prince, from heaven. Know, O my son, that the Lord is the beginning and before the beginning, He who is Infinite, raised above the height, equal with the Highest, there is nothing lower about Him, nothing inward, nothing outward, He is before the beginning, the ancient substance, He who is boundless, whom no intelligence can reach, and no discernment nor quality can comprehend. He was above Being, and with Being, and below Being, the creative Substance, the glorious Light, which darkness reacheth not. Light dwelling in the Light which eyes cannot reach, before creation He was; and He is the Former of forms, whose glory is from Himself and in Himself, and in His Essence. [He is] the Creator of what glorifies Him, that thou mayest learn His divinity and His power, He made the heaven and the earth, He created before harmony the division of things. Angels worship Him, ten homogeneous choirs, I mean by this ten ranks. The highest rank, some of whom are nearest to the throne of the Lord God, pouring out praises in abundance, is the rank of Satanaeel, who was the prince, and praises rose up to God from all the Angels; that was the beginning in the first day which was the holy first day (Sunday), chief of days; early in it God created the upper heaven and the worlds, and the highest rank of Angels, which is the rank of Satanaeel, and the Archangels, and powers, and chiefs, and thrones, and dignities and governors, and cherubim and seraphim, and light, and day and night, and wind and water, and air, and fire and what is like these elements. Verily the Lord formed all this, may His names be sanctified! by the completion of His eternal Word p. 4 without speech, and in the first day in which these things were created, the Holy Spirit hovered over the waters, and in its hovering over them they were blessed and sanctified, and heat was formed in them by which the watery beings are born, and with this were mixed yeasts of the creatures, such as the bird which lays the egg by its wings, and from this is formed the living bird, for by reason of the nature of the heat of flaming fire, it verily reneweth heat in the wings of the bird, and lo! with them it lays an egg in which chickens are formed. Verily the reason why the holy Paraclete hovered over the waters in the form of a bird, was that every winged fowl should be formed in this shape. On the second day God created the lower heaven, which is called the firmament, on which the gaze of men falls, that thou mayest know that the beings of the highest heavens which the heaven of the visible firmament covers are like the nature of the heaven of the firmament, except that the heaven which the eyes reach is separated from the highest heavens. All the heavens are three heavens. The visible firmament, and what is above it; it is called Δίπατον and above it there is flaming fire; and a heaven which is above the fire; and the two heavens are filled with light and fire which created eyes cannot look at. On the second day which is the second of the days (Monday) the Lord, to Whom be praise! separated between the higher water and the lower water. Verily the rising up of the water which was formed in the height that day was like gathered clouds clinging together, and the waters remained resting in the air, none of them inclining to any one district. On the third day (Tuesday) God commanded the waters which were below the firmament that they should be gathered together to one place, that the dry land might be seen. When this happened, the veil was removed which was above the earth and the earth was disclosed. He looked upon it, and it was barren of verdure, [it was] dust and water mixed together. The water was in it and below it and above it, and it was shaken to the blowing of the winds through it. The air went up from the bosom of the earth, and rested in the bosom of its p. 5 crevices and passages that in these caves might arise heat and cold for the service and consolidation of the earth, because the earth was created like a sponge standing above the water. On this day God commanded the earth to bring forth grass and reeds and trees and seeds and roots and other things. On the fourth day (Wednesday) God formed the sun and the moon and the stars that the heat of the sun might be spread over the earth and it should be strengthened by its mellowness and that the moisture communicated to it by the water high above it should be dried up. On the fifth day God commanded the waters to bring forth animals of various colours and forms, some of which should fly in the bosom of the water, and others should fly above the water, and from them should spring the whales and Leviathan, and Behemoth, so terrible in their appearance, and air-fowl and water-fowl. On the sixth day God created from the earth all

the beasts, and animals and insects and creeping reptiles. This day is Friday, and on it God created Adam of dust, and formed Eve from his rib. On the seventh day God had completed all creation, and He called it Sabbath. God had created Adam in the third hour of Friday the sixth day. Iblis had laid claim to Godhead which had entered him in the second hour of that day, and God had hurled him down from heaven to earth. Before God the Lord created Adam, rest fell upon all the powers; and God said, 'Come, let us create a Man in our likeness and form and image.' When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they became frightened and much terrified, and they said to one another, 'What is this great wonder which we hear, and how is it possible that the form of our God and Creator can appear to us?' Then all the Angels looked towards the right hand of the Lord, which was stretched out above all creation, and all of it was in His right hand. Then they looked towards the right hand of the Lord, and it took from all the earth a little handful of dust, and from all the waters a drop of water, and from the air a soul and a spirit, and from fire the force of heat, and it became in the grasp of the p. 6 Lord portions of the four elements, heat and cold, moisture and drought. Verily God, the glorious and strong, created Adam from these four weak elements, which have no power, that all creatures created from them might hear and obey him: dust, that man might obey him; water, that all that is born of it and in it might obey him; air, that it might be possible for him to breathe it and to feel its breezes, and that its birds might obey him; and fire, that the heat of forces created from it should be a powerful helper to his sense. The reason why God, may His holy names be sanctified! created Adam with His holy hand in His form and image was that he should receive wisdom and speech and animal motion, and for the knowledge concerning things. When the glorious and illustrious Angels saw one like Him in Adam, they were affrighted. The wondrous glory upon his face terrified them, his form appeared shining with divine light greater than the light of the sun, and his body was bright and brilliant like the well-known stars in the crystal. When the figure of Adam drew itself up, he leapt standing; he was in the centre of the earth, he stretched out his right hand and his left hand and put his feet in order upon Golgotha, which is the place where was put the wood (cross) of our Saviour Jesus the Christ. He was dressed with a royal robe, he wore upon his head a diadem of glory and praise and honour and dignity, he was crowned with a royal crown, and there he was made king and priest and prophet. God set him upon a throne of honour, and gathered to what was there all the animals and beasts and birds and all that God had created, and made them stand before Adam. They bent their heads and did obeisance to him, and he called each of them by its name. He made all the creatures obey him and they responded to his command. The Angels and the Powers heard the voice of God, may He be glorified and exalted! saying to Adam, 'O Adam, I have made thee king and priest and prophet and ruler and chief and governor over all creatures that are made. All creation shall obey thee p. 7 and follow thy voice. Under thy grasp they shall be. To thee alone I have given this power; I have placed thee in possession of all that I have created.' When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they redoubled honour and respect to Adam. When the Devil saw the gift that was given to Adam from the Lord, he envied him from that day and the schismatic from God set his mind in cunning towards him to seduce him by his boldness and his curse; and when he denied the grace of the Lord towards him, he became shameless and warlike. God, may His names be sanctified! deprived the Devil of the robe of praise and dignity and called his name Devil, he is a rebel against God, and Satan, because he opposes himself to the ways of the Lord, and Iblis, because He took his

dignity from him. While Adam was listening to the speech of his Lord to him, and standing upon the place of Golgotha, all the creatures being gathered together that they might hear the conversation of God with him, lo! a cloud of light carried him and went with him to Paradise and the choirs of Angels sang before him, the cherubim among them blessing and the seraphim crying 'Holy!' until Adam came into Paradise. He entered it at the third hour on Friday, and the Lord, to Him be praise! gave him the commandment, and warned him against disobedience to it. Then the Lord, to Him be praise! threw upon Adam a form of sleep, and he slept a sweet sleep in Paradise. And God took a rib from his left side, and from it He created Eve. When he awoke and saw Eve he rejoiced over her and lived with her, and she was in the pleasant garden of Paradise. God clothed them with glory and splendour. They outvied one another in the glory with which they were clothed, and the Lord crowned them for marriage, the Angels congratulated them, and there was joy there such as never has been the like and never will be till the day in which the people at the right hand shall hear the glorious voice from the Lord. Adam and Eve remained in Paradise for three hours. The site of Paradise was high up in the air, its ground was heavenly, raised above all mountains and hills, that were thirty spans high, that is fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the Holy Ghost. This p. 8 Paradise stretches round from the east by a wall from the hollow to the southern place of darkness where the cursed Prince was thrown, it is the place of sorrows. Eden is a fountain of God lying eastwards, to a height of eight degrees of the rising of the sun, and this is the mercy of God on which the children of men put their trust, that they shall have a Saviour from thence, because God, may He be exalted and glorified! knew in His foreknowledge what the Devil would do to Adam. Adam lived in the treasury of His mercy, as David the prophet said, 'Thou hast been a fortress to us, O Lord, throughout all ages; cause us to live in Thy mercy.' The blessed David said also in his prayer about the salvation of men, 'Remember, Lord' (the tree was the Cross which was planted in the middle of the earth), 'Thy grace which thou hast wrought from all eternity'; I mean by this the mercy which God loved to extend to all men and to our weak race. Eden is the Church of God, and the Paradise in which is the altar of rest, and the length of life which God has prepared for all the saints. Because Adam was king, priest and prophet, God caused him to enter Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the Church of God the holy Lord, as Moses the holy Prophet testifies about this, saying, 'That thou shouldest minister and declare by noble and glorious service, and keep the commandment by which Adam and Eve were brought into the Church of God.' Then God planted the tree of life in the middle of Paradise and it was the form of the cross which was stretched upon it, and it was the tree of life and salvation. Satan remained in his envy to Adam and Eve for the favour which the Lord shewed them, and he contrived to enter into the serpent, which was the most beautiful of the animals, and its nature was above the nature of the camel. He carried it till he went with it in the air to the lower parts of Paradise. The reason for Iblis the cursed hiding himself in the serpent was his ugliness, for when he was deprived of his honour he got into the acme of ugliness, till none of the creatures could have borne the sight of him uncovered, and if Eve had seen him unveiled in the serpent, when she spoke to him, she would have run away from him, and neither cunning nor deceit would have availed p. 9 him with her; but he contrived to hide himself in the serpent, the cunning creature, to teach the birds with round tongues the speech of men in Greek and such like. He would bring a broad mirror with much light sending out rays; he would put it between himself and a bird, and speak what he wished that the bird should know, and when the bird heard this

speech, it would glance around and look in the mirror, and see the form of a bird like itself and rejoice at it, and not doubting that it was a bird of its species that was speaking to it would listen to it and attend to its language. And it would comprehend it in a moment and talk to it. But the cursed Devil, when he entered the serpent, came towards Eve, when she was alone in Paradise away from Adam, and called her by her name. She turned to him, and looked at her likeness behind a veil, and he talked to her, and she talked to him, and he led her astray by his speech, for woman’s nature is weak, and she trusts in every word, and he lectured her about the forbidden tree in obedience to her desire, and described to her the goodness of its taste, and that when she should eat of it she should become a god; and she longed for what the cursed one made her long for, and she would not hear from the Lord, may His names be sanctified! what He had commanded Adam about the tree. She hastened eagerly towards it, and seized some of its fruit in her mouth. Then she called Adam, and he hastened to her, and she gave him of the fruit, telling him that if he ate of it he would become a god. He listened to her advice because he should become a god as she said. When he and she ate the deadly fruit they were bereft of their glory, and their splendour was taken from them, and they were stripped of the light with which they had been clothed. When they looked at themselves, they were naked of the grace which they had worn, and their shame was manifest to them; they made to themselves aprons of fig-leaves, and covered themselves therewith, and they were in great sadness for three hours. They did not manage to continue in the grace and the power with which the Lord had endued them before their rebellion for three hours, till it was taken from them and they were made to slip and fall down at the time of sunset on that p. 10 day, and they received the sentence of God in punishment. After the clothing of fig-leaves they put on clothing of skins, and that is the skin of which our bodies are made, being of the family of man, and it is a clothing of pain. The entrance of Adam into Paradise was at the third hour. He and Eve passed through great power in three hours, they were naked for three hours, and in the ninth hour they went out from Paradise, unwillingly, with much grief, great weeping, mourning and sighing. They slept towards the East of it near the altar. When they awoke from their sleep, God spoke to Adam and comforted him, saying to him, blessed be His names! ‘O Adam! do not grieve, for I will restore thee to thine inheritance, out of which thy rebellion has brought thee. Know that because of my love to thee I have cursed the earth, and I will not have pity upon it, on account of thy sin. I have cursed also the serpent by whom thou hast been led astray, and I have made its feet go within its belly. I have made dust its food. I have not cursed thee. I have decreed against Eve that she shall be at thy service. Know certainly that when thou hast accomplished the time that I have decreed for thee to dwell outside, in the accursed land, for thy transgression of my commandment, I will send my dear Son; He will come down to the earth, He will be clothed with a body from a Virgin of thy race, named Mary. I will purify her and choose her, and bring her into power generation after generation until the time that the Son comes down from Heaven. In that time shall be the beginning of thy salvation and restoration to thine inheritance. Command thy sons when thy death approaches which I have decreed for thee that when thou diest they keep thy body in myrrh and cassia, and put it in the cave where thou art dwelling to-day till the time of the exit of thy children from the bosom of paradise and their passage to the dusty land. When that time comes, instruct the one of thy children who lives until then to carry thy body with him and put it in the place where I shall make him halt. This place where he shall put thy body is the centre of the earth; from it and in it salvation shall come to thee and to all thy children.’ God p. 11 disclosed to him all the griefs and pains that should happen to him, and commanded him to have patience about this. When He put Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He shut its gate, and put in charge a fiery Angel. He caused Adam and Eve to dwell in the holy mountain on which is the foundation of Paradise, in the place known as Matarimôn. They lived there in a cave at the top of the hill, hidden in it, and despairing of mercy, and they were then pure virgins. Then Adam thought of the wedding of Eve, and he found in the foundation of Paradise gold and myrrh and incense. He left this together, and consecrated it in the interior of the cave, which he had already made his house of prayer. The gold which he got from the foundation of Paradise was like in quantity to seventy-two images. He paid this with the myrrh and the incense to Eve, saying, ‘This is thy dowry, keep it. This must be all offered together to the Son of God at the time of His coming into the world. The gold is the symbol of His royalty; the incense is to burn before Him; and the myrrh is to anoint His body which He will take from us. This shall be a witness between me and thee with our Saviour that He shall come to the world.’ Adam called this cave the Cave of Treasures. When a hundred years had passed over him after his exit from Paradise, and he and Eve were grieved and weeping, they went down from the holy hill to its foot, and there Adam knew Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Cain, and Lusia his twin-sister. He knew her again, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Abel and also his twin-sister Aclima. The boys and the girls grew, and attained to discretion. Adam said to Eve, ‘If God lets these lads and lasses grow up, let Cain marry Aclima the sister of Abel, and let Abel marry Lusia the sister of Cain.’ And they did thus. But Cain said to Eve, ‘O Mother, I have a greater right to my sister who was born with me. Let her be given to me as a wife, and let Abel’s sister who was born with him be given to him as a wife.’ For Lusia was more beautiful than Aclima, being like her mother Eve. Adam heard of his speech, and it made him angry and annoyed him. He said to p. 12 Cain his son, ‘Thy request, O my son, is unlawful, for it is not allowed to thee to marry thy sister who was born with thee.’ From that time Cain envied his brother Abel and thought of killing him. Then Adam said to him and to Abel, ‘Choose some of the fruits of the earth and of the young of the flock and go up this holy hill, and go into the Cave of Treasures, and pray there before the Lord. Offer to Him what you have brought, fruit, and any young animals as an offering. When you have done this, let each of you take his wife.’ And they did so. While they were going up the hill, behold! the Devil entered into Cain, and incited him to the murder of Abel. Then they brought their offerings before the Lord; the Lord accepted the offering of Abel and rejected the offering of Cain, because God, may He be praised and exalted! knew the purpose of Cain, and how he was preparing the murder of his brother. When Cain saw that the Lord, may His name be praised! had accepted the offering of Abel instead of his offering, his envy of Abel increased and his wrath against him. When they came down from the hill, Cain attacked Abel and slew him with a sharp stone. God cursed Cain, and his decree came down against him. He did not cease to be in fear and terror all the days of his life. God led him with his wife from the holy hill, outside to the cursed land, and they lived there. Adam and Eve grieved much about Abel for a hundred years. Then Adam came near to Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Seth, the handsome man, the complete and perfect giant. In his perfection he was like his father Adam, and God protected him when he grew up, making him the father of the other giants of the earth. The first who was born to Seth was Enos. And Enos begat Cainan, and Cainan begat

Mahlaleel; these were born during the life of Adam. Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, to the time that Mahlaleel was a hundred and thirty-five years old. When the time of his death came, he summoned Seth, and Enos, and Cainan and Mahlaleel; he prayed over them and blessed them, and commanded to his son Seth this Testament.

p. 13

The Testament of Adam.

Hear, O my son Seth! what I command thee. Keep it, and thou shalt understand it. Command it at thy death to thy son Enos, that Enos may command this to Cainan, and Cainan may command [it] to Mahlaleel, that he may act according to this testament, and that the rest of your generations may learn, generation after generation, and tribe after tribe. This is the first thing that I command thee. When I die, embalm my body with myrrh and cassia, and put it in the Cave of Treasures of the holy hill, that thou mayest tell whosoever of thy posterity is alive at the time when your exit shall take place from this holy Paradise-encircled hill, to carry my body with him, and go with it to the centre of the earth, and put it there, and in that place salvation shall come to me and to all my children. Thou, O my son Seth, shalt after my death be governor of thy people in the fear of God. Remove thyself and all thy children, and keep them apart from the children of the murderer Cain. Understand, O my son, the state of the hours of the night and of the day, and their names, and what praises God in them, wherewith you must call on God at their approach, and at what hour prayer and supplication is due. My Creator has taught me this, and made me understand the names of all the beasts of the earth, and birds of the air; and the Lord has initiated me into the number of the hours of the night and of the day, and the affairs of the Angels and their powers and how they are. Know that in the first hour of the day is the raising of the praise of my children to God. In the second hour there are the prayers of the Angels and their cry. In the third hour the birds give praise. In the fourth hour is the worship of spiritual beings. In the fifth hour is the worship of the other living creatures. In the sixth hour is the entreaty of the cherubim and their supplication. In the seventh hour is the entrance to God and the exit from His presence, for in it the prayers of every living thing rise to the Lord. In p. 14 the eighth hour is the worship of all heavenly beings and fiery creatures. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels of God who stand before Him, and the throne of His majesty. The tenth hour is for the water, and in it the Holy Ghost hovers and goes up over the other waters and chases the devils from them. Were it not for the Holy Spirit hovering every day over the waters and descending in that hour, when any one drank water, would there not be destruction to him from the corrupting devils in it? If any one took the water in that hour, and one of the priests of God mixed it with holy oil and anointed with it the sick and those in whom were unclean spirits, they were cured of their diseases. In the eleventh hour there is joy and rejoicing to the righteous. In the twelfth hour the supplication and cry of men is accepted before God.

The hours of the night. In the first hour there is the worship of the devils. In this hour, the hour of their worship, they do not hurt any one, and no one fears them until the time of their return from their worship. In the second hour there is the worship of the great fishes and all that is upon the water, and the creeping things that are therein. In the third hour is the worship of the fire which is below the abyss, about this hour it is not possible for any one to speak. In the fourth hour is the consecration of the seraphim. I heard that in this hour during the time of my stay in Paradise, before my rebellion against the commandment. When I transgressed the command, I could no longer hear the voices nor their movement and agitation as I used to hear them, and I could not see anything holy as I used to see it before [my] sin. In the fifth hour there is the worship of the water which is above the heaven. Verily I and the Angels used in that hour to hear voices from the water which is in the height, and a tumult as if of chariots and great wheels and the sounding amongst the waves, and commotion among the echoes in praise to the Lord. In the sixth hour is the supplication of the clouds to God when they are fearful and trembling. In the seventh hour the powers of the earth are led forth, and they sing praise, whilst the waters sleep and are stilled. If a man takes anything from the water in p. 15 that hour and the priest mixes holy oil with it and anoints with it the sick and those who cannot sleep at night, verily the sick are cured and the wakeful sleep. In the eighth hour the grass comes forth from the earth. In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels and the entrance of prayers before God. In the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and the cry of my believing children is heard, and they receive what they have asked from God, may He be exalted and praised! and the seraphim rub their wings, and by the force of their rubbing the cock crows in praise to the Lord. In the eleventh hour there is joy and delight over all the earth, for the Sun enters the Paradise of God, and its light arises in the regions of the earth. All creatures are illumined by the falling of the sun’s rays upon them. In the twelfth hour my children must burn jasmine before the Lord, for by it there is much repose in heaven for all its inhabitants. Know, O my son Seth, and attend to my saying. Be sure that God will come down to the earth as He said to me, and made me understand and know when He comforted me at my exit from Paradise. Praise to His names! He spoke to me, saying [that] at the end of time He will be incarnate of a Virgin girl named Mary and will be veiled in me. He will put on my skin, and will be born like the birth of man by a force and direction that none can understand but Himself and those to whom He reveals it; He will run with the children, boys and girls of that period; He will do wonders and signs openly; He will walk on the waves of the sea as if walking on the dry land; He will rebuke the winds in a manifest way, and they will be led by His command. He will call to the waves of the sea, and they will answer Him obediently. At His command the blind shall see, the lepers shall be cleansed, the deaf shall hear, the dumb shall speak, the deformed shall be straightened, the lame shall spring up, the palsied shall rise and walk. Many rebels shall be led to God, those who have wandered shall be led aright, and devils shall be driven away. When the Lord comforted me with this, He said to me, ‘O Adam, grieve not, for thou art a god, as thou thoughtest to become by thy transgression of my commandment, and I will make p. 16 thee a god, not at this time, but after the lapse of years.’ The Lord said to me also, ‘I have verily brought thee out of the land of Paradise, to the land which brings forth thorns and briers, that thou mayest inhabit it; I will bend thy loins, and make thy knees tremble from age and senility. O thou dust! to death I will deliver thee, and thy body I will make to be food for

maggots, and the fodder of the worm. After five days and a half (of my days) I will have pity on thee in my mercy. I will come down to thee, and in thy house will I dwell and with thy body will I be clothed. For thy sake, O Adam, I will become a child; for thy sake, O Adam, I will appear in the market-places; for thy sake, O Adam, I will fast for forty days; for thy sake, O Adam, I will receive baptism; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be lifted up on the cross; for thy sake, O Adam, I will endure lies; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be beaten with the whip; for thy sake, O Adam, I will taste vinegar; for thy sake, O Adam, my hands will be nailed; for thy sake, O Adam, I will be pierced with a spear; for thy sake, O Adam, I will thunder in the height; for thy sake, O Adam, I will darken the sun; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cleave the rocks; for thy sake, O Adam, I will frighten the powers of heaven; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause heaven to rain on the desert; for thy sake, O Adam, I will open the graves; for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause all creation to tremble; for thy sake, O Adam, I will make a new earth, and after three days, which I have spent in the grave, I will raise up the body which I took from thee, and will make it go up with me without any separation from me, and cause it to sit at the right hand of my Godhead. I will make thee a god as thou hast desired.' Keep, O my son Seth, the commandments of God, and do not despise my word to thyself, and learn that the Lord must come down to earth, and godless people will take Him, and stretch Him on the wood of the cross, and strip Him of His raiment, and raise Him between wicked thieves. He will go up upon the cross in the substance of His humanity, He will be killed, and the body which He took from us will be buried. Then after three days He will raise it and take it up p. 17 with Him to heaven, and will set it with Him at the right hand of His divinity. To Him be the glory and the dignity and the praise and the greatness and the worship and the reverence and the hallelujah and the song, and to His Son, and to the Holy Ghost from now and always, and throughout all ages and times, Amen.

Know, O my son, that there must come a Flood to wash all the earth on account of the children of Cain, the wicked man who slew thy brother for his envy about his sister Lusia. After the Flood through the wickedness of many congregations there shall be the end of the world, the conditions will be fulfilled, things will be perfected, the time will be cut short which I have fixed for the creatures, fire will consume whatever it reaches before the Lord, and the earth shall be consecrated.

Seth wrote this Testament, and sealed it with the seal of his father Adam, which he had from Paradise, and the seal of Eve, and his own seal. And Adam died, and the hosts of the Angels assembled to put him on his bier, for his honour with God, and Seth embalmed him, and swathed him, and he and his sons bare rule. And he put him eastwards of Paradise where he slept at his exit from it, near the town that was built before all building, called Enoch in the inhabited World. When Adam died, the sun was darkened, and the moon for seven days and seven nights, with a gross darkness.

Seth took the scroll in which he wrote the Testament of his father Adam into the Cave of Treasures along with the offerings which Adam had carried with him from the land of Paradise, that is to say, gold, myrrh, and incense, [about] which Adam taught Seth and his children that they should belong to three Magian kings, and that they should travel with these things to the Saviour of the world, to be born in a city called Bethlehem, a territory of Judah.

There was not one of the children born to Adam before his death who did not gather to him; they bade him adieu, he prayed over them and wished them health. Then he died, in the nine hundred and thirtieth year by the reckoning of Abu-Seth. That is the beginning. The exit of our father p. 18 Adam from this world was at three o'clock in the day, on Friday the sixth of Nisan, fourteen nights after the new moon. On a similar day our Lord the Christ gave up His spirit to His Father's hand. Adam's children and children's children grieved for him a hundred and forty days, for he was the first mortal who died on the earth, and the tribes were divided among the people of Cain the murderer after the death of Adam. Seth took his children and his children's children and their wives, and made them go up to the glorious and holy hill, the place in which Adam was buried. Cain and his people and his children stayed below the hill, in the place where he killed Abel. Seth became governor of the people of his time in godliness and purity and holiness. My initiation, O my son Clement, into the story of Adam and this his testament was from the Magi who travelled to the Lady Saint Mary with offerings at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ our God the Saviour. Verily we found that they had a scroll with all this in it, and it was put by for safe keeping. I and the other Jews believed in this, and there were many things in it besides what I have shewn to thee, which it is not proper to make known at this time, and I must tell thee about them afterwards. I will disclose to thee all the secrets with which I have been entrusted. The reason of God's calling the children of Seth Ben-Adam, "the sons of God," was as the book says what He had revealed to Seth about godliness and purity. The Lord appropriated them to Himself by this name; it is the most famous of names on account of their favour with Him. He appointed them to replace the choir of Angels which had rebelled and fallen from Heaven. He put Seth and his race in the lower parts of Paradise, and around it on the holy hill, they praising the Lord and sanctifying His name in all peace, no thought intruding on them about the affairs of the world, their greatest work being praise and hallelujah with the Angels, for they heard their voices in praise and hallelujah in Paradise, for it was raised thirteen spans above them, by the span of the Holy Ghost. They did not undergo the least labour. The food with which they sustained their bodies was the fruit of trees growing at the summits of the Mount p. 19 of Paradise. The zephyr of Paradise, which reached these trees, ripened their fruits. This tribe was godly and holy; there was no anger in any one of them nor envy nor quarrelling nor pride nor hatred, and they held no shameless conversations nor falsehood nor slander nor calumny, and they do not swear untruthfully nor in vain. Their oaths were among themselves by the purity of the blood of pure Abel. Their custom was to rise early, all of them, the old and the young, the male and the female; to go up to the top of the hill and to worship there before God and be blessed by the body of their father Adam. Then they would lift up their eyes to Paradise and praising and sanctifying God they would return to their place.

Seth Ben-Adam the godly lived nine hundred and twelve years. Then he fell sick of his disease of which he died. There gathered to him Enos and Cainan and Mahlaleel and Jared and Enoch their wives, their sons and their daughters. He prayed over them, and made vows for them, and blessed them, and said to them, "By the truth of the blood of pure Abel, let not one of you descend from this holy hill! Do not mix with the children of Cain the murderer. You know the enmity between us since the murder of Abel the pure." Then his son Enos came near him, and he said to him, "Thou art lord of thy people. Behold, I die. Devote thyself to service before the Lord and before the consecrated body of our father Adam." He made him swear by the blood of Abel the pure that he would govern his people well, and rule them in godliness and purity, and never cease the service before the body of Adam. Seth died lat the age of nine hundred and twelve years, on Tuesday the twenty-fourth night of Ab, the twentieth year of the life of Enoch the righteous. He was embalmed with myrrh and frankincense and cassia, and put in the Cave of Treasures with the body of his father Adam. His people mourned for him forty days.

Enos governed his tribe after the death of his father in purity and godliness; he did to them what his father p. 20 commanded. When Enos had lived eight hundred and twenty years, Lamech the Blind, of the tribe of Cain the murderer, killed [some one] in the thicket known as Nod. This was the cause of it. Lamech was passing the thicket, leaning upon one of his youthful sons. He heard a movement in the thicket, it was the movement of Cain, for it was not possible for him to stay in one place since he had killed his brother. Lamech thought that this movement was that of some wild beasts. He took up a stone from the ground and threw it towards the moving thing. The stone hit Cain between the eyes and killed him. His son said, "By God, thou hast killed our father Cain with thy shot." Then Lamech the Blind lifted up his hands to give [him] a blow on the ear out of grief for the death of Cain. He hit the head of his son and killed him. When Enos had reached nine hundred and five years he fell sick of his disease of which he died, and there gathered to him the rest of the fathers; amongst them were Jared, and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Cainan the son of Methuselah, and Mahlaleel, and their wives and their sons and their daughters. He blessed them and made vows for them and prayed over them and confirmed them in the oaths by the blood of Abel—"oh do not mix yourselves with the children of Cain, and oh do not go down from the holy mountain." He reminded them of the enmity betwixt them on account of the murder of Abel. Then Cainan his son came near him. He said to him, "O my son, be to thy people and family as I have been to them, and govern them after my death." He commanded his son Mahlaleel about the care of his tribe in godliness and purity, and that he should not cease from the service before the body of our father Adam during his life. And Enos died when he had reached nine hundred and five years, on the sabbath day, when the third night of October had passed, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. His eldest son Cainan embalmed him, and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

Cainan governed his people in godliness and holiness, and kept the commandments of his father. He lived for nine p. 21 hundred and twenty years and died on Wednesday, the thirteenth night of June. Mahlaleel looked after his burial, and put him in the Cave of Treasures with his fathers. Mahalaleel lived for eight hundred and ninety-five years. When death came near to him, he commanded his people like the commands of his fathers who had preceded him. He appointed Jared his son over the tribe. His death was on Sunday after two nights of Nisan had passed. Jared looked after him, and put him in the cave with his fathers. When Jared was of the age of five hundred years, some of the sons of Seth disobeyed the commands of their fathers, and threw away their faith behind their backs. One by one they began to go down from the holy hill to the tribes of the children of Cain. This was the reason, that Lamech the Blind was followed by two sons, one being called Tufeel (Jubal) and the other Tubalcain. They made lyres, that is, harps, flutes, drums, and other musical instruments. The Devils awoke harmonious tones in them, and there was not one among the sons of Cain to command good behaviour or to restrain from what was forbidden. Every one of them did according to his lust. They busied themselves with musical instruments, and with eating and drinking, and immorality. * * * * * * The Devil hunted the sons of Seth that he might mingle them with the children of Cain, by means of these musical instruments, for they heard the tones of them; he brought them down from the holy hill to the cursed land, and he removed them from the protection of God and His angels to the protection of the Devils; they chose death rather than life, and renounced the name which God had bestowed on them, because, may His name be sanctified! He called them the sons of the Lord, according to His gracious saying in the prophecy of David, where he says, "Verily, ye are all gods, and ye shall be called the sons of the Most High. When ye do evil and defile your bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, like them ye shall die in sin." They longed for unclean amusements. * * * They had no shame about this and thought no harm of it. The earth was contaminated; children were confused; no one knew his child from the child of another. The p. 22 Devil incited them and he goaded them on and appropriated them to every misery. They rejoiced in their works. You could hear from them hateful laughter like the neighing of steeds. Their noise was heard in the holy mountain, and there assembled of the children of Seth a hundred powerful strong giants, for the descent. This came to [the knowledge of] Jared, and he was much troubled. He called them to his presence, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the Pure not to go down; he reminded them of the oaths which their fathers who had gone before had received for them. Enoch the Righteous was there and said to them, "Know, O sons of Seth, that whosoever rejects the commandment of the Father and opposes the oaths by which he has been adjured and puts them behind his back, and goes down from this holy mount, that he shall never come back to it." But they did not turn at the warning of Jared and at the prohibitions of Enoch, and they went down. When they saw the daughters of Cain and their beauty, and that they uncovered their bodies without shame, they committed fornication with them, and destroyed their souls. When they had done this, they aimed at a return to the hill, but its stones became burning fire, and they could not do it. Another tribe wished for an alliance with them, not knowing about the affair of the stones. They went down to them, and defiled themselves with their defilement.

When Jared reached the age of nine hundred and seventy-two years, Death came near to

him. There gathered to him Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah. He prayed over them and made vows for them and said, "But as for you, go not down from this holy mountain; yet your sons and your posterity shall be removed from it, because God will not allow them upon it on account of their transgression of the commandments of the fathers." Then he said to the rest of their children, "You shall journey to the dusty land which brings forth thorns and briers. Whosoever of you goes out from this holy land, let him take with him the body of our father Adam, and if he can take all the bodies of the fathers, let him do it, and take with him the books of the Testaments, and the gifts of gold and myrrh and frankincense, p. 23 and put this with the body of our father Adam where God shall command him." Then said he to Enoch, "But thou, O my son, do not separate thyself from the service and praise before the body of our father Adam and serve before God in godliness and holiness all the days of thy life." He died in the third hour of Friday when the twelfth night of May had passed, in the 360th year of the life of Methuselah. His son embalmed him and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. God rejected the other children of Seth on account of their love of sin. Seventy assembled, and were inclined to descend. When Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech and Noah saw this, they were much grieved. When Enoch had finished his service before the Lord for fifty years, this being the 365th year of his life, he presided over his house with his God. He called for Methuselah and Lamech and Noah, and said, "I know that the Lord will be angry with this people, and will surely judge them without mercy. But you, the rest of the fathers and of the holy races, do not leave off the service before the Lord, and be pure and godly. Know that there shall not be born in this holy mountain after you any man who shall be father and chief to his people." When Enoch had finished this testament, God took him up to the land of life, and made him dwell round about Paradise in the country where there is no death. Then the children of Seth removed from the holy mountain to the quarters of Cain and his children. None of them remained on the mountain save the three fathers, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. Noah the just kept his virgin soul for 500 years. After that, the merciful God revealed to him about the people who were subject to him, and commanded him to marry a woman named Haikal the daughter of Namousa, the son of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah. God disclosed to him about the Deluge which He was about to send upon the earth, and taught him that this would be after a hundred years, and commanded him to prepare the ark, that is, the ship for his salvation and that of his children, and that he should cut the wood from the holy mountain and make it in the quarters of the sons of Cain. He commanded him to make its length p. 24 300 cubits, according to [the length of] his arm; its breadth 50 cubits, and its height 30 cubits, by [the length of] his arm; and the breadth of its top above should be one cubit, and that he should make three stories to it. The lowest should be for the tame and the wild animals and the cattle, the middle one for the birds and their like, and the highest one for him and his children and his wife and his sons' wives. And that he should make in it storehouses for water and for food and for fodder. Also that be should prepare a gong of the cedar tree, its length to be three cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and that its hammer should be [made] of the same. "When thou beginnest to make the ship, thou shalt beat three strokes on it every day, one in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, that they may bring the workmen food; and the third at sunset for [their] departure. If they ask thee about thy work, tell them that God is sending a flood of water to cleanse the earth and that thou art making the ship to save thyself and thy children." Noah received the commandment of the Lord, and married her.

In the course of the hundred years she bare him three male children, Shem, Ham and Japhet. They also married some of the daughters of Methuselah. When Noah had finished the building of the ship, and entered it with those whom God commanded should enter it with him, the second thousand of the years of the time of Adam was finished, as the 70 interpreters expound. They said, From Adam till the Deluge was 2000 years.

When Lamech had lived 777 years, Methuselah his father died; this was four years before the Flood. Then Lameth died after him, and his death was on the twenty-first [day] of September, in the 68th year of the life of Shem, the first-born of Noah. His son Noah swathed him, and enbalmed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures. He mourned for him 40 days and remained with all the holy fathers, Noah and his children. The daughters of Cain conceived by the sons of Seth, and brought forth giant-sons. It was certainly supposed by some that the Book relates and says that the Angels came down to earth and mingled with the children of men, that those p. 25 who came down and mingled with the children of men were really angels. This was only said on account of the sons of Seth and their union with the daughters of Cain, for God, may His name be glorified! had already out of His love to them, called them, as we said before, Sons of God and Angels of God. So he errs who thinks this; for union, that is, marriage, was not in the substance of spiritual beings, and not in their nature, and if it had been in them as it is in men, the Devils would not have left any one in the world alone without corrupting them, till not a virgin would have been left on the earth, for the foul Devils love corruption and fornication. As they cannot do this, they change their nature on account of it; they recommend it to men and make them love it.

Methuselah lived for 969 years. When Death came to him, there gathered to him Lamech, and Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet and their wives, for none but they were left on the holy hill. Methuselah blessed them, and called to them; he was weeping and sorrowful. He said to them, “There remaineth none but you on this mountain out of all the tribes who once were on it. The Lord God of our fathers who formed our father Adam and our mother Eve and blessed them till the earth was filled with their progeny, may He bless you and multiply you and cause your fruit to grow. May He be to you a keeper and a shepherd. I ask of Him to fill the earth with your progeny, and to help you and strengthen you and save you from the fearful punishment that is coming upon this hill, and that He may give you a share of the gift which He gave to our father Adam, that He may bring blessings into your dwellings, and bestow upon you prophecy, power, and priesthood.” Then he said to Noah, “O thou blessed of the Lord, hear my speech and do my commandment. Know that I go out of this world as the saintly fathers went out of it. Verily the Lord shall send a Deluge to drown the earth for the many sins of men, but thou and thy children shall be saved. When I am dead, embalm my body like as were embalmed the bodies of the fathers who have gone before. Bury me in the Cave of Treasures. Take thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons’ wives; go down from this mountain, p. 26 and bear with thee the body of our father Adam, and the offerings which thou didst bring out with him from Paradise, namely, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Put the body of our father

Adam within the Ark which God commanded me to prepare; and the other bodies separately from it, so that the body of Adam may be like a dyke ever in the midst. Put the offerings on his breast. Dwell thou and thy sons in the east of the ark, thy wife and thy sons' wives in the west, so that the body of our father Adam may be a barrier to hinder the men from sinning with regard to the women, and to hinder them from sinning with regard to the men; let them not gather together for food or drink till ye come out of the Ark. When the water of the Deluge departs from the earth, and ye come out of the Ark, and dwell upon the earth, then gather ye together for food and drink, and cease not the service before the body of our father Adam nor the ministration before God in godliness and holiness within the Ark. When your exit from it takes place, then put the offerings which thou didst bring out from Paradise in the east of the land in which thou dwellest. When Death comes to thee, make thy Testament to thy son Shem. Command him to carry the body of our father Adam, and to bury it in the middle of the earth. Verily (it is) the place in which there shall be salvation to him and to his children. Where he burieth the body, let him appoint a man from among his children to serve before the body and to minister. Let him be pure all the days of his life, and let him command him that he dwell not in any house, that he shed no blood, that he shave not his hair, nor pare his nails, nor bring there any offering of beasts, but let his offering before the Lord be of fine bread, pure and white, and the best drink, pressed from the fruit of the vine, until the time that God shall certainly command him. Verily the Angel of the Lord shall go before the man chosen to officiate as a priest before the body of Adam till he shall put it in the middle of the earth, and where the body ought to be buried. Let this chosen one be commanded that his raiment be of the skins of beasts, and that he be unique as it is unique. Verily he is the priest of the glorious God." When Methuselah had finished p. 27 this testament, and tears were coming down from his eyes, on account of the grief that was in his heart, he died. Then nine hundred and sixty-nine years were completed, it was in Adar (March) on a Sunday. Noah and Shem and Japhet and their wives laid him out with weeping and groaning. They held a mourning for him for 40 days; he was swathed and embalmed and laid with the fathers in the Cave of Treasures. They were blessed by the other bodies that were there. Then Noah bore the body of Adam and the bodies of the fathers from the Cave, and put them into holy coffins. Of the offerings Shem carried the gold, Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the frankincense. They left the Cave of Treasures with weeping and groaning. A noise was raised by them which was heard from Paradise, sorrow and mourning on account of [their] departure from the mountain, when they knew that they were leaving it for good. They lifted up their heads towards Paradise, they sobbed, and wept, and said: "Peace be to thee, O holy Paradise! dwelling-place of our father Adam; we are deprived of thy shelter, which is denied to us then, on our return to the cursed land in which we suffer pains and endure labours. Peace be to thee, O Cave of Treasures! from us and from all the bodies of the fathers. Peace be to thee, O glorious dwelling-place and inheritance of the saintly fathers for ever. Peace be to you, O ye Fathers, beloved friends of God. Pray for us and bless us, and entreat for our salvation, O holy ones of God, who are well-pleasing unto Him. Peace be to Seth, chief of the fathers. Peace be to Enos, governor of his people, and righteous judge amongst them. Peace be to Cainan and Mahlaleel, those who govern their people in purity. Peace be to Methuselah and Jared and Lamech and Enoch, servants of God. We entreat you all to mediate for our salvation lest we be prevented looking for our inheritance from this time forth for evermore." Then they came down from the mountain, kissing its stones and

embracing its trees with weeping and great grief, and they travelled towards the land. When Noah had finished building the ship, he entered it, and p. 28 brought in the body of Adam and put it in the middle of it, with the offerings upon its breast. This was on a Friday, on the 17th day of March, it is also said, of May. Early the next day he brought in the beasts and the cattle, and made them dwell in the lowest deck. In the middle of the day he brought in the birds and all the sentient beings, and made them dwell in the middle deck. At sunset Noah and his sons and his sons' wives entered, and dwelt in the topmost deck. The Ark was built in the form of a Church, in which the men are prevented from mingling with the women; as there is peace and love betwixt man and woman, and between the elders amongst them and the youths, thus there was love betwixt the rest of the beasts and the birds and the sentient beings in the ship; and as wise men are at peace with their inferiors, thus were the lions and the ewes at peace in the Ark. All that were in it were seven pairs of all the clean beasts, and two pairs of the unclean ones. When Noah and his people had arrived, the Lord shut the Ark. Then the doors of heaven were opened, and the doors of the abyss, and the waters came down in torrents, and the imprisoned sea appeared, which is called Oceanus, which encircles the whole earth. Raging winds were sent out from all directions. When the sons of Seth saw this, they came near to the place of the Ark, and entreated Noah to carry them; but he gave them no answer about it, because the Ark was bolted and sealed by command of the Lord, and the Angel of the Lord was standing directing it. Repentance encompassed them, sorrow came upon them, and they had no refuge from destruction, as they were also hindered from going up to the holy mountain. They were all destroyed by drowning and suffocation, in the thick waters and the raging winds, as David the Prophet sang about their state where he said, "I said, All ye are gods, and children of the Most High ye shall be called; by this great sign ye are marked; but sin hath overthrown you, and ye have rebelled against the commandment; ye have defiled jour bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, and ye shall die the death like them. Ye p. 29 shall be tormented with the Prince who fell from the heavenly rank." The Ark was lifted up from the earth to the height of the waters, and all that was on the earth perished in the deluge; the waters rose above the tops of the mountains fifteen cubits, by the holy cubit. The waves bore the ship till they brought it to the lower parts of Paradise. It was blessed from Paradise; the tops of the waves were rolled back, and they did obeisance before it, then returning from it were poured out to the destruction of those who remained on the earth. The ship flew on the wings of the wind above the waters from the east to the west, and from the south to the sea, like the sign of the Cross. It stood above the waters 150 days; the waves were stilled and laid to rest at the end of the seventh month from the beginning of the Deluge. The Ark stood upon the mountains, the Kurdish mountains, and the waters were divided from one another. They all returned to their places, and did not cease diminishing gradually, till the tenth month, which was February. He looked at the tops of the mountains from the Ark. On the tenth of March Noah opened the Ark from the eastern side, and sent the Raven, that at its return he might learn the news of the earth. It did not return to him. He sent the Dove; it circled round, and found no place for its foot. It returned at sunset. After a week Noah sent another Dove. It returned to him with an olive-branch in its mouth. About the Dove there are holy mysteries. The first dove resembles the first covenant, to which there was no rest among the rejected nations; the second dove the second covenant, which found rest with the nations that accepted the mysteries of baptism and preached the Christ at the end of 600 years of the life of righteous

Noah. One day of Nisan (April) had passed, and the water was removed from the earth. On this day Noah and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives went out of the ship. Their entrance to the ship had been in separation, their exit from it was in unity. At their exit came out all the beasts and the cattle and the birds and the creeping things which were in the ship. Noah built a town, and called it Thamânû, which remains to this day. The number of those who were in the ship with Noah was eight p. 30 persons. Noah built an altar to the Lord and offered upon it an offering of the beasts and the clean birds that were slain. God accepted his offering, and gave a covenant that He would not send a deluge of water on the earth to all eternity. May His names be sanctified! He took off wrath from them in regard to the bow in the clouds. By it He put away the bowstring of anger; for before the Deluge men saw in heaven the bowstring of anger and the arrow of wrath. The sons of Noah planted in the town the fruit of the vine, and pressed from it a new drink; they gave their father Noah to drink, and he got drunk, for he was not accustomed to drink. While he was drunk he slept, and his nakedness was uncovered. Ham looked at him, and laughed and mocked at him, and fetched his brothers to mock with him. When Shem and Japhet knew the reason was about the uncovering of their father, they were grieved at it; they took a garment, threw it upon their hands, and went backwards, lest they should see their father uncovered; then they threw the garment upon him. When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep, his wife told him what had happened about his sons, and he was angry with Ham, and said, "Let him and Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brethren." But Noah cursed Canaan, who was not guilty, and the guilt was Ham's; for he knew that when Canaan should arrive at man's estate, he should renew what had already been blotted out of the works of the children of Cain, the music-halls and such like. When he came to man's estate, he did all this, and Noah knew it, was concerned about him and grieved at his work, that according to the example of the works of Canaan, the sons of Seth fell into sin, he increased in his curse of Canaan, wherefore his sons became slaves. They are the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Hindoos, the Mysians and other negroes. Ham was a hypocrite, a lover of unclean desire all the days of his life. This was in his mockery of his father. The sleep of Noah in his drunkenness was a type of the crucifixion of the Christ and His slumber in the tomb for three days, as David the prophet says about it, "The Lord awoke from his sleep like a man who recovers from strong drink." When Noah awoke p. 31 from his drunken sleep, he cursed Canaan and made his posterity slaves. Likewise when the Christ arose from the grave He cursed the Devil and destroyed those who had crucified Him, and scattered them among the nations. The sons of Canaan became slaves for ever, carrying burdens upon their necks. Every proprietor negotiates riding about on his business, but the children of Canaan negotiate about the affairs of their masters, as poor men on foot, and they are called the slaves of slaves.

Noah lived after going out of the ship 350 years. When his death came near, there gathered to him Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arphaxad, and Salah. He made vows for them, and desired the presence of Shem his firstborn, and commanded him secretly, saying to him, "When I die, bury me. Go into the Ark of safety, and take out of it the body of our father Adam secretly, let no one with thee know. Make for it a large chest, and put it within. Prepare for thyself a store of bread and drink, and carry the chest in which is the body of our father. Take with thee Melchizedek, the son of Malih. Verily the Lord hath

chosen him from the rest of your sons to minister before our father Adam. When thou reachest the centre of the earth, bury the body there, and set Melchizedek in the place for the service of the body and the praise before it. Verily the Angel of the Lord will go before you to guide you two to the place for the body, which is the centre of the earth. From it shall be seen the power of God. The four pillars of the world are joined together and have become one pillar, and from it shall be salvation to Adam and to all his children." Thus it was written in the tables which Moses received from the hand of the Lord and broke at the time of his anger against his people. Noah strengthened Shem in receiving the testament, and told him that it was the Testament of Adam to Seth, and of Seth to Enos, and of Enos to Cainan, and of Cainan to Mahlaleel, and of Mahlaleel to Jared, and of Jared to Enoch, of Enoch to Methuselah, and of Methuselah to Lamech, and of Lamech to Noah; he made him swear that no one [else] should attend to p. 32 what he commanded in regard to the body of Adam. When he had finished his testament, he died, being 950 years old, on a Wednesday. Shem embalmed him, and with him his other children put him on a bier and buried him. They raised a wail over him for forty days. Then Shem went secretly into the ship, and took out the body of Adam. He sealed the ship with his father's seal. Then he desired the presence of Ham and Japhet and said to them, "Know that Noah my father commanded me to journey after his death to the elevated land and to go round it to the place of the sea, that I may attend to the state of its trees, and fruits and rivers. I have already resolved on this, and have left my wife and children with you; take heed to them till the time of my return." They said to him, "Take with thee a man since thou hast resolved on this, for the land which thou hast described has wild beasts and hunting lions." He said to them, "Verily, the Angel of God is with me, he is my Saviour." His brethren called to him and said, "The Lord be with thee wherever thou dwellest." Then he said to them, "Verily, our father at his death made me swear not to enter the ship nor allow any one [else] to enter it. I have received his testament, and sealed it with his seal, and beware that ye enter it not! ye, nor any of your children." They pledged themselves to him concerning this. Then he approached the father and mother of Melchizedek and said to them, "I wish that you would give me Melchizedek that I may journey with him in my way." They said to him, "He is before thee, as thou wouldest journey, take him with thee." Then Shem called Melchizedek by night, and bore with him the body of Adam secretly. They went out, the Angel going before them, till he brought them to the place with the utmost speed. He said to them, "Set him down, for this is the centre of the earth." And they put him down from their hands. When he came to the ground, the earth was cleft for him as a door, and the body was let down into it, and they put him in it. When the body rested in its place, the earth returned and covered it over. The place was called Gumgumah, "of a skull," because in it was placed the p. 33 skull of the Father of mankind, and Gulgulah, because it was conspicuous in the earth, and was despised by its sons, for in it was the head of the hateful Dragon which seduced Adam. It was called also Otâriâ, which is, being interpreted, "the families of the world," because to it is the gathering together of mankind. Shem said to Melchizedek son of Malih, "Know that thou art the priest of the Everlasting God, who hath chosen thee from the rest of men to minister before Him before the body of our father Adam. Accept the Lord's choice of thee, and never leave this place. Do not marry any woman, do not shave thy hair, nor pare thy nails. Shed no blood for thyself, and sacrifice no beast. Do not build a building over this place. Let thine offerings before the Lord be of fine pure bread, and [let the] drink be of the juice of the vine. The Angel of the Lord is with

thee for ever." He wished him peace, and bade him farewell and embraced him, and returned to his dwelling. Then came to him Jozadak and Malih, the parents of Melchizedek. They asked him about him, and he told them that he had died on the road, and that he had looked after him and buried him. His father and his people sorrowed over him with a great sorrow. When Shem the righteous was 700 years old, he died, and his son Arphaxad looked after him, and Salah and Eber, and they buried him. When Arphaxad was thirty years old, he begat Salah his son, and when he was 465 years old, he died, and Salah and Eber looked after him. They buried him in the town that Arphaxad had built, known as Arphaxad (cod. Arbalsarbat). When Salah was thirty years old, he begat Eber, and when he had completed 430 years, he died. Eber and Peleg looked after him; he was buried in the town that Salah had built, known as Salḥadîb. When Eber was thirty years old, he begat Peleg, and when he had completed 434 years, he died; his son Peleg buried him, and Reu and Serug in the town which Eber had built and had called by his name. When Peleg attained 239 years, all the tribes of the sons of Shem, and Ham and Japhet gathered themselves together and journeyed to the elevated land; they found in the place known as Shinar a beautiful plain. They dwelt in it, and their speech was altogether p. 34 Syriac, and it is called Resany, and Chaldaean; it is the tongue and speech of Adam. Verily the Syriac language is the Queen of languages and the most comprehensive; from it all other tongues are derived; Adam is a Syriac name. Whoever asserts that it is Hebrew tells a falsehood. Speakers of Syriac will not stand on the left of the Lord but on His right, for the writing of Syriac runs from right to left, and of others the way of the Persian from left to right. In the days of Peleg the nations built the tower at Babel, upon which their tongues were diversified and confounded and divided; because of their confusion the town was called Babel. Peleg was very much grieved about this when he saw the scattering of the nations in the regions of the earth. He died, and his son Reu, and Serug and Nahor buried him in the town which he had built and had called by his name. The earth became two portions among two chiefs of tribes; they allowed to every tribe and tongue a king and a chief; they appointed in the race of Japhet thirty-seven kings, and in the race of Ham sixteen kings. The kingdom of the sons of Japhet was from the border of the holy mountain and Mount Nod (?), which is in the borders of the East, to the Tigris and the side of Algaut: and from Bactria to the island town (or Gades = Cadix). The kingdom of the sons of Shem was from the land of Persia, that is from the borders of the East to the Hardasalgs sea among the borders of the West. They had authority also in the centre of the earth. When Reu was thirty-two years old, Serug was born to him; the length of his life being 232 years. At the end of 163 years of the life of Reu, Nimrod the giant reigned over the whole earth. The beginning of his kingdom was from Babel. It was he who saw in the sky a piece of black cloth and a crown; he called Sasan the weaver to his presence, and commanded him to make him a crown like it; and he set jewels in it and wore it. He was the first king who wore a crown. For this reason people who knew nothing about it, said that a crown came down to him from heaven. The length of his reign was sixty-nine years. He died in the days of Reu, and the third thousand p. 35 since Adam was completed. In his days the people of Egypt set up a king over them called Firnifs. He reigned over them for sixty-eight years. In his days also a king reigned over the town of Saba and annexed to his kingdom the cities of Ophir and Havilah, his name was Pharaoh. He built Ophir with stones of gold, for the stones of its mountains are pure gold. After him there reigned over Havilah a king called Hayul. He built it and cemented it, and after the death of Pharaoh women reigned over

Saba until the time of Solomon son of David. When he (Reu) was 239 years old, he died. Serug his son and Nahor buried him in the town called Oaʻnân, which Reu had built for himself. When Serug was thirty years old, his son Nahor was born to him. In the days of Serug idols were worshipped, and they were adored instead of God, and the people in that day were scattered in the earth; there was not among them a teacher nor a lawgiver, nor a guide to the way of truth, nor even a right way. They wandered and were rebellious and became a sect. Some of them worshipped the Sun and the Moon, some of them worshipped the sky, some of them worshipped images, some of them worshipped the stars, some of them worshipped the earth, some of them worshipped beasts, some of them worshipped trees, and some of them worshipped waters and winds and such like, for the Devil blinded their hearts and left them in darkness without light. No one among them believed in the Last Day and the Resurrection. When one of them died, his people made an image in his likeness, and put it upon his tomb, lest his memory should be cut off. The earth was filled with sins, and idols were multiplied in it, made in the likenesses of males and females.

When Serug was 230 years old he died. His son Nahor, and Terah and Abraham buried him in the town which Serug had built and called it Serug. Terah was born to Nahor when he was twenty-nine years old. In the third year of the life of Nahor, God looked up through His remembrance at His creatures, and they were worshipping idols. He sent upon them earthquakes which destroyed all the idols. Their p. 36 worshippers did not turn from their error, but persevered in their godlessness. In the twenty-sixth year of the rule of Terah appeared witchcraft. The beginning of it was that a rich man died; his son made a golden image of him and placed it upon his tomb as a mark [to] the people of his age, and appointed a young man to guard it. The Devil entered into the image, and spoke to its guardian from the tongue of the deceased and [with] his voice. The guardian told the son of the deceased about it. After some days robbers entered the dwelling of the deceased, and took all that belonged to his son, and his grief was greater at this, and they bewailed him beside the grave of his father. The Devil called to him from the image with a voice like the voice of his father, and said, "O my son, weep not. Bring me thy little son, to sacrifice him to me, and I will restore to thee all that has been taken from thee." He brought his son to the tomb and sacrificed him to the Devil. When he had done this, the Devil entered him and taught him witchcraft, unveiled his mysteries, and taught him omens and auguries. Since that time people offer their children to Devils. At the completion of a hundred years of the life of Nahor, God, may His name be exalted! looked on the godlessness of men, and their sacrificing of their children to the Devils, and their adoration of images. God, may His names be sanctified, sent them raging winds which tore away the images and their worshippers, and buried them in the earth and strewed over them great mounds and towering hills, and they are below these unto this day. Some assert on this account that in the time of Terah there was a Deluge of wind. Wise men of India say that these mounds came into existence in the days of the Deluge. That is nonsense, for image-worship was after the Deluge of water, and the Deluge was not sent upon them for the worship of images; verily that was done because there was so much corruption on the earth among the children of Cain, and the musical instruments which they invented. There was no people inhabiting this rough wild land, but when p. 37 our fathers were not found worthy of the neighbourhood of Paradise they were thrust away to it. Then they came out of the ship to

this land, and were scattered amongst its regions. He talks nonsense who asserts that these elevated mounds have never ceased in the earth, for they have been formed since the time of the anger of God about idol-worship. They were turned topsy-turvy, and there is no mound on the earth beneath which a Devil with an image appeareth not. In the days of Nimrod the giant, he looked at fire from heaven, and fire came up from the earth. When Nimrod saw it he adored it, and appointed in the place where he saw it people to worship it, and to throw incense into it. Since that time magicians adore fire when they see it coming up from the heaven and from the earth, and they worship it to this day. A chief magician named Sasir found a spring of bountiful water at a place in the country of Atropatene. He erected upon it a white horse. Whoever bathed in that fountain worshipped this horse. The Magi honour the horse, and there is a sect of them who worship it to this day. Nimrod travelled till he arrived at the land of Mariûn. When he entered the city of Altûrâs he found there Bouniter the fourth son of Noah. Nimrod's army was on a lake, and he went down there one day to bathe in it. When Nimrod saw Bouniter the son of Noah, he did obeisance to him. Bouniter said to him, "O giant king, why do you adore me?" Nimrod said to him, "I did thee homage because thou didst meet me." Nimrod stayed with him three years that he might teach him wisdom and strategy, then he wandered away from him. He said to Nimrod, "Thou shalt not return a second time." When Nimrod was passing through the East, he deposited books making known what Bouniter the son of Noah had taught him. The people were astonished at his wisdom. There was among the people entrusted with the worship of fire a man called Ardashir. When Ardashir saw the wisdom of Nimrod and the excellency of his star-gazing (Nimrod had a perfect genius), he envied him for this, and implored a Devil who had appeared to him beside the fire to teach him the wisdom of Nimrod. The Devil said to him, "Thou canst not do this until thou have p. 38 fulfilled the magic rite, and its perfection is the marriage of mothers, daughters and sisters." Ardashir answered him concerning this, and did what he commanded him about it. Since that time the Magi allow the wedlock of mothers, sisters and daughters. The Devil also taught Ardashir the knowledge of omens and auguries, and physiognomy, and fortune-telling, and divining and witchcraft, which were doctrines of the Devil, and the Chaldæans gave one another this doctrine; these were the Syrians, and some people say that it is the tongue of the Nabataeans. Every one who uses aught of these doctrines, his guilt before God is great. But the knowledge which Nimrod learned from Bounitar, verily Bounitar the son of Noah learned it from God, the great and glorious, for it is the counting of the stars, and the years and the months; the Greeks call this science Astronomy, and the Persians call it Astrology. Nimrod built great towns in the East, namely, Hadâniûn, Ellasar, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Rûhîn, and the towns of Atrapatene, and Telalôn, and others that he chose for himself.

When Terah, father of Abraham, reached two hundred and three years he died. Abraham and Lot buried him in the city of Haran. [God] commanded him that he should travel to the Holy Land. Abraham took with him Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and journeyed to the land of the Amorites. Abraham the Just was then seventy-five years old. When he reached eighty years, he fought with the nations and put them to flight and delivered Lot from them, and he had no child at that time, for Sarah was barren. When he returned from the war with the nations, God commanded him to journey and pass over to Mount Yâbûs. When he got there he met Melchizedek, priest of God. When Abraham saw

him, he did homage to him and was blessed by him. He offered before him fine pure bread and drink. Melchizedek blessed Abraham and made vows for him. Thereupon God commanded Melchizedek to pare his nails. Melchizedek consecrated an offering of fine bread and drink. Abraham offered some p. 39 of it, and paid to Melchizedek the tenth of his goods. Then God, may His names be sanctified, discoursed with Abraham the second time and said to him, "Thy reward shall be great with Me. Since thou hast received the blessing of Melchizedek and thou art worthy to receive from his hand the gift of bread and wine, I will bless thee, and will multiply thy seed."

When Abraham reached eighty-six years, Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian bond-maid. Pharaoh of Egypt had given her to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, who was his sister by his father but not by his mother, for Terah married two wives; the name of the one was Yuta, she was the mother of Abraham, and she died when she gave birth to him; the name of the other was Nahdeef, and she was the mother of Sarah. Therefore Abraham answered as he said to the king of Egypt when he wished to do violence to Sarah, that "she is my sister." When Abraham reached ninety-nine years, God came down to his house, and gave to Sarah a son. When he reached a hundred years, Isaac was born to him, the son whom God gave him of barren Sarah. When Isaac reached twelve years, Abraham offered him to God as all offering upon the hill Yâbûs, which is the place in which the Christ was crucified, and which is known as Golgolah. In it Adam was created; in it Abraham looked at the tree which bore the lamb by which Isaac was redeemed from sacrifice, and in it the body of Adam was laid. In it was the altar of Melchizedek, and in it David looked at the Angel of the Lord bearing a sword for the destruction of Jerusalem. Verily Abraham's carrying up there of Isaac to the altar is a type of the crucifixion of the Christ for the salvation of Adam and his children. The proof of this is the saying of the Christ in the holy Gospel to the children of lsrael, that "your father Abraham did not cease to long to look on my days, and when he saw them, he rejoiced in them." The lamb which Abraham saw hanging on the tree was a type of the slaying of the Christ in the body, which He had taken from us, and of His crucifixion also, because the lamb was not the child of a ewe and was worthy of being sacrificed. In that place Abraham saw what pertained p. 40 to the salvation of Adam through the crucifixion of the Christ. In the hour that Abraham took up Isaac to the altar, Jerusalem began to be built, and the reason was this. When Melchizedek, priest of God, appeared to men, his fame reached the kings of the nations, and they came to him from every region to be blessed. Among those that came to him were Abimelech king of Gerar, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Delassar (Ellasar), Kedarlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of men, Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, or Simeon king of the Amorites, and Simair king of Saba, Bislah king of Bela, Hiar king of Damascus, and Yaftar king of the deserts. When these kings, O my son Clement, saw Melchizedek king of Peace and priest of God, and heard his word, they honoured and applauded him and asked him to journey with them to their lands. He told them that he was not allowed to leave his place, in which God had appointed him to an office. Their unanimous counsel was that a city should be built for him at their expense, and that they should rule it. They built for him the Holy City, and delivered it to him, and Melchizedek called it Jerusalem.

Then Maoalon king of Teman journeyed to Melchizedek when his fame reached him, and gave him noble and glorious presents. He honoured him when he saw him and heard his word. All kings and nations honoured him and called him the Father of Kings. Some people think that Melchizedek will not die, and bring as proof the saying of David the Prophet in his psalms, "Thou art a priest for ever after the figure of Melchizedek." David does not wish (to say) in this his saying that he will not die, and how can this be when he is a man? But God honoured him and made him His priest, and in the Torah there is no mention of a beginning to his days. Therefore David sang as he sang about him. Moses does not make mention of him in his book, for he was only relating the genealogy of the Fathers. But Shem the son of Noah has told us in the books of the Testaments that Melchizedek was the son of Malih, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah; and his mother was Jozedek.

In the hundredth year of Abraham there reigned in the East p. 41 a king called Karmos, he who built Shamshat, and Claudia, and Careem, and Leouza. He had a son called Cârân and three daughters; the name of the one being Shamshout, and the other Harzea, and the other Leouza, and he called these cities by their names. When Peleg had reached fifty years, Nimrod journeyed to the province of Mesopotamia, and built Nisibis, and Raha (Edessa), and Haran; to every city he put a wall, and he called the wall of Haran by the name of Harteeb, the wife of Sem, priest of the beautiful mountains. The people of Haran made an image in the form of this Sem, and worshipped it. Ba'alsameen fell in love with Nalkeez wife of Nimroda, and Nimroda fled before Ba'alsameen; on account of this the children of Israel wept over Nimroda and burnt the city of Haran in anger about him. When Sarah died, Abraham the famous (or the Friend, i.e. of God) married a woman named Kentoura, daughter of Yaftour king of the deserts. When Isaac, son of Abraham, reached forty years, Eleazar his servant journeyed in search of her who was named Rebecca for Isaac. When Abraham reached one hundred and seventy years he died; his sons Ishmael and Isaac buried him by the side of Sarah his wife. When Isaac reached sixty years, Rebecca his wife conceived Jacob and Esau. When the birth-pangs took hold of her, she went to Melchizedek; he blessed her and prayed over her. He said to her, "God has already formed two men in thy womb, who shall be chiefs of two great nations. The elder of them shall be beneath the younger. Each of them shall hate his brother, and the elder shall serve a man of the race of the other. I am servant of that man, whose name shall be called 'the living God,' and he shall come up upon a branch of cursing because of those who rebel against him."

When sixty years of Isaac's life had passed, he built a city which he called Ail, and in his sixty-fourth year Jericho was built by the hand of seven kings, the king of the Hittites, the king of the Amorites, the king of the Jebusites, the king of the Canaanites, the king of the Girgashites, the king of the Hivites and the king of the [Perizzites?], and every one of them built p. 42 a wall to it. But the town which was called Masr (Egypt), the king of the Copts had built. Ishmael was the first to work with a hand-mill, and it was called the mill of the

kingdom. After one hundred and thirty years of the life of Isaac; that is in the seventy-seventh year of Jacob, God blessed Jacob, and he received the blessings of Isaac, and the blessing of Esau his brother by deceit. He journeyed to the land of the East. While he was on his journey, behold, a deep sleep came upon him. He prepared below his head seven stones and slept upon them. In his sleep he saw a ladder of fire whose top was in heaven, and its bottom on the earth. On it Angels were descending from it and ascending, and he saw the Lord sitting on the top. When he awoke he said, "Doubtless this place is the house of God." He took the stones which were beneath his head and built them into an altar and anointed it with oil, and vowed there that he would give to God the tenth of all his goods as an offering. The power of this vision, O my son Clernent, is not difficult to those who know, for it is a prophecy of the coming of our Lord the Christ. Verily the ladder which Jacob saw was a sign of the Crucifixion, and the Angers coming down from Heaven [were] for the Gospel to Zacharia, and Mary, and the Magi and the shepherds. The place of the Lord's seat at the top of the ladder was like the descent of our God the Christ from Heaven for our salvation, and the place where Jacob saw it was a type of the Church, which is being interpreted, the House of God. The stones are a type of the altar, and their being anointed with oil [a type] of the union of Godhead with Manhood. The vow which he made of a tenth of his goods is a type of the Eucharist. Jacob journeyed from the place of the vision till he came to the town of his uncle Laban. He saw a well of water, at which three flocks of sheep were lying down; over the mouth of the well was a great stone. Rachel, the daughter of Jacob's uncle, was standing there with the sheep. Jacob came near to the well, removed the stone from its mouth, and watered the sheep that were with Rachel. Then he approached Rachel and kissed her. Jacob's uncovering of the well was a type of Baptism, which was veiled from of old, and p. 43 uncovered in the latter [days]. That which the priest gives to those whom he baptizes in the water is in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Know, O my son, that Jacob did not come forward to kiss Rachel until he had uncovered the well and watered her sheep from it. Likewise, I say that it is not permitted in the law of the Christ for any one to enter the Church till after baptism, for if he is baptized, he has become one of Christ's sheep. The prophet Moses said in his book that Jacob wrought with his uncle Laban seven years for Rachel, whom he loved of Laban's daughters, for she was at the height of beauty, but he gave him his ugly daughter. Like this was the story of Moses with the Jews whom God saved from the bondage of Pharaoh. On account of them he did not give the young girl, but he gave her who was old and faded. Verily the first girl whom he gave to Jacob had ugly eyes, and the second one was perfect in face and had beautiful eyes. The face of the first one was covered lest the children of Israel should look at its beauty; the second one had her face uncovered, and had a bright, and shining and beautiful personality. The girl with ugly eyes who was spouse of Jacob was the type of the people of his day whom he ruled; in his time there were prophets, and saints and pure ones, and there was little sin in them. The faded old woman whom Moses describes, she is the people of the children of Israel which went astray in the worship of idols, and left the worship of God; and the girl whose face was covered so that it was not possible for the children of Israel to look at her was the tribe that was established on the holy mount, which did not mingle with the children of Israel, and did not look at them, and if they had looked at it (the tribe), verily they would have imitated its good works. The better and brighter girl is the tribe which received the Lord of the world, the Christ, and worshipped Him in His Godhead. He enlightened our hearts by His holiness.

When Jacob had reached sixty-nine years, Reuben was born to him, then followed him his brethren whom God brought out of the loins of Jacob; these were Simeon and Levi, Judah the ancestor of Mary, Issachar and Zebulun; Joseph and Benjamin p. 44 the sons of the beautiful Rachel; Gad and Asher, sons of Zilpah; Dan and Naphtali, sons of Bilhah the maid of Rachel. Two years after the emigration of Jacob, he returned to Isaac his father. He lived after that fully thirty-one years of Levi's life. When he reached one hundred and twenty years his father Isaac died. Twenty-three years afterwards he journeyed from Haran to the elevated land; Joseph was sold during the lifetime of Isaac, and he was a companion to Jacob in his sorrow. After the sale of Joseph, Isaac died; his sons Jacob and Esau buried him beside the grave of his father Abraham. After nine years Rebecca died, and was buried near the grave of Abraham. Judah married Hoshâ' the Canaanitess; Jacob was grieved at that because she was not of the children of Israel, and said to him, "By the God of Abraham and Isaac, do not mingle the seed of Canaan with us," and he did not accept it from him. He begat from her Er and Onan [Cod. Othen] and Shelah. Judah wedded his son Er with Tamar the daughter of Kedar, son of Levi. Er wrought the deed of the people of Sodom, and God punished him for his deed. God killed him in answer to the prayer of Jacob, and the seed of Canaan was not mingled with his seed. Then this Tamar disguised herself, and sat in the middle of the way; Judah came together with her, not knowing that she was his daughter-in-law; she conceived by him, and bare Pharez and Zarah. At this time Jacob and his children journeyed to Egypt, and stayed with Joseph for seventeen years. When he had completed [a hundred] and forty-seven years of life he died, Joseph that day being fifty-six years old. The wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him. After this Joseph removed his body and placed it beside the bodies of his father and of his grandfather Abraham. Pharez the son of Judah begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Aram, and Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Nahson, who was the most cunning of the sons of Judah. And Aminadab wedded Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest to a girl, and from her he begat Phinehas the priest, who by his prayer took away death from the people, and whose was the deed with the javelin. Know that the priesthood was from Aminadab among the people of Israel, and from Nahson the kinghood came among them. Look, p. 45 O my son Clement, how from Judah came the priesthood and the kinghood among the children of Israel. Nahson begat a son, who is Salmon; Salmon begat Boaz. When Boaz was old, he married Ruth the Moabitess; in her was kinghood, for she was of the race of kings. She was of the children of Lot. God did not make Lot unclean for his cohabiting with his daughters, and did not attach blame to him, and did not depreciate his good deed in his support of his uncle Abraham in his exile, and his reception of the Angels in faith, but He put the kinghood into Ruth who was of his race, so that the Incarnation of our Lord the Christ was of the race of Abraham. Also [into] her, the wife of Solomon, son of David, by whom he begat. Solomon verily had six hundred free women and four hundred concubines, and he obtained no child from any of them, because God, may His name be praised! wished that the seed of Canaan should not mingle with the seed of the chosen people from whom Jesus the Christ took flesh. The rest of the wives of Solomon were of the children of Canaan. Nevertheless Moses the Prophet of God related, for the responsible books, the chronicles of the children of Israel relate that Levi, when he entered Egypt with his father Jacob, begat there his son Amram the father of Moses. When Moses was born he was thrown out by his mother into the Egyptian Nile, and Sapphira the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, saved him from drowning and brought him up in her father's palace. When he grew up and had finished forty years, he killed Casoum the Egyptian, chief of the swordsmen of Pharaoh. He fled to Reuel to the priest of Midian for fear of Pharaoh, and that because Sapphira had died before this, and if she had been still there, why should Moses have been afraid of Pharaoh? Moses married Zipporah daughter of Jethro, priest of Midian. She bare him two sons, these were Gershon and Eleazar, at the time of the birth of Joshua the son of Nun, and Moses' age was fifty-two years. When he had completed eighty years, God spake to him from the thorn bush, and his tongue stammered out of fear for God, and he said, "O Lord, at the time when thou spakest to thy servant, his tongue stammered." All his years were 120. He spent forty in Egypt, and p. 46 forty in Midian, and he governed the children of Israel forty years in the wilderness. When he died, Joshua the son of Nun governed them thirty-one years. Then Chushan the Atheist governed them after him eight years. Then Othniel the son of Kenaz the brother of Caleb, for forty years. Then the Moabites enslaved the children of Israel for eighteen years. Then [God] prepared their deliverance from their hand. Their government was presided over by Ehud the son of Gera for eighty years. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of this Ehud, the fourth thousand [year] from the beginning was finished. Then after him the famous Jabin presided over their government for an interval of twenty years, then Deborah and Barak looked after it for forty years. Then the Midianites conquered them, and enslaved them for seven years, then God saved them by the hand of Gideon. He presided over their government for forty years; then his son Abimelech for three years. Then Jufa (Tola) the son of Puah for twenty years, then a daughter of the Gileadite twenty-two years. Then the children of Ammon conquered the children of Israel and enslaved them for eighteen years, then God saved them by the hands of Jephthah, he who offered his daughter as a sacrifice before God. And Ibzan governed them for six years, then after him Elon son of Zebulon for ten years. Then Abdon for eight years. Then the Philistines fought with the children of Israel and subdued them and enslaved them for forty years, and God saved them by the hands of Samson. He governed them for twenty years, and after him they remained for twelve years without a leader. Then there arose to rule them Eli the priest, and he governed them for forty years, then Samuel for twenty-two years. In his time the children of Israel rebelled against God, and set up Saul as king over them; he was the first king among the children of Israel, and he governed them for forty years. In the days of Saul appeared the giant Goliath; he drove out the children of Israel and killed their young men. Then God sent against him David the Prophet, and he killed him; against Saul [He sent] the Philistines, and they killed him, because Saul left p. 47 off seeking help from God, and sought help from devils. David the son of Jesse reigned over the children of Israel for forty years. Then after his Solomon reigned over them and did many wonderful things; amogst them his sending to the city of Ophir, and bringing out the gold from its mountains, and ships continued for thirty-six months carrying gold from its mountains. Also he built the city of Tadmor in the interior of the wilderness, and wrought in it many extraordinary things. When Solomon passed by Sabad, a building built by Kourhi and Abu Nigaf (they whom Nimrod had sent to Bila'am the priest when he heard of his occupation with the stars, and he built there this altar to the Sun and a stone fort), Solomon built there also a city called the City of the Sun. Then Aradus, which is in the middle of the sea, was built at Solomon's command and they praised him yet more for his wisdom. There journeyed to him the Queen of Sheba and she was obedient to his religious worship. There came up to him at his command Hiram king of

Tyre, and had a real love for him; he had already been a friend to David before him. His reign was before the reign of David, and he remained to the last of King Zedekiah. Solomon took one thousand wives, as we said above about him; and they deteriorated his mind when he exceeded in his love to them, and they got the power to mock at him, and it caused him to slide away from the worship of God; he sacrificed to idols and worshipped them instead of the Lord. He died, after reigning for forty years, an idolator and an infidel. Then Hiram king of Tyre was seduced and forgot his humanity and disbelieved in God, and claimed divinity, and he said, "I sit in the heart of the seas like the sitting of a God"; and news of him came to Nebuchadnezzar, and he journeyed to him till he killed him. In the chronicles of the Hebrews, O my son Clement, [we learn] that in the days of this Hiram appeared the purple dye, and this [was that] a shepherd and his sheep were on the sea-shore, and he saw a dog of his gnawing with its mouth something that came out of the sea, and its mouth was filled with its blood. He looked at the blood, and had never seen the like of it. He took some p. 48 clean wool and wiped this blood with it; with that he made a crown and put it upon his head. It had a brightness like the brightness of the sun or rays of fire. The news of it came to Hiram; he sent for him and wondered greatly at the beauty of his dye. He assembled the dyers of his kingdom and gave them a commission for its like, and they were amazed at this, until some of the wise men of his time possessed themselves of the purple shell-fish. He made garments for himself with its blood, and he rejoiced over this with a great joy. Thou, O my son, and all the Greeks, disagree with the Hebrews in this narrative. After Solomon, Rehoboam his son reigned, and defiled the land by the worship of idols, by much whoredom in the city of Jerusalem, and by sacrificing to devils. In his day the kingdom of the house of David was divided, and became two parts. In his fifth year journeyed Shishak king of Egypt to Jerusalem, and took possession of all that was in the treasuries of the Lord's house and the treasuries of David and Solomon, the vessels of gold and silver, and he was strengthened by this in his power. He said to the Jews, "This is none of your earning; it is some of what your fathers brought out of Egypt at the time of their flight." And Rehoboam the son of Solomon died an infidel, after he had reigned for seventeen years. Abia his son reigned after him, being twenty years old. He enslaved Jerusalem and destroyed it, and his mother Ma'ka, the daughter of Abishalom, commended his deeds. He died after three years, and Asa reigned. He did right, and abolished the worship of the stars and the images, and whoredom from Jerusalem. He drove away his mother from his kingdom, because she committed adultery and built an altar to the idols. There came to him Azârâh king of Hind, and Asa put him to flight, and reigned for forty years, then he died. After him his son Jehoshaphat reigned, and he went in the way of his father in righteousness, but he loved the household of Ahab, and kept company with them. He built ships, and sent by them to the land of Ophir to bring gold from its mountains. God sunk his ships, and was angry with him and his mother p. 49 Sem daughter of Uriah daughter of Shalom. When he had died, his son Joram reigned, being thirty-two years of age. He was disobedient, and sacrificed to devils, on account of his wife Aliah (Athaliah) daughter of Amsir (Omri) son of the sister of Ahab. He died an infidel. After him Ahaziah reigned, being twenty years of age. He was a shameless infidel. The Lord delivered him over to his enemies, and they killed him after one year of his reign. His mother took the kingdom to herself, and killed the kings' sons, that thereby she might destroy the kingdom of the family of David. None were saved from her except Joash, for Jehosheba the daughter of Joram son of Jehoshaphat hid him. She increased adultery and

infidelity in Jerusalem. She died after seven years, and the people of Jerusalem thought about who should reign over them, Jehoiada knew about that, and their choice fell upon none but Joash whom Jehoiada had hidden. He sent and brought [him] out to the house of the Lord; the warriors completely armed surrounded him and Jehoiada the priest seated him upon the throne of the family of David his father, he being seven years of age. His mother's name was Zibiah of the family of Sheba. Jehoiada the priest covenanted with him that he should do righteousness before the Lord. When Jehoiada the priest died, Joash forgot his covenants, and did not know rightly what was administered from the throne of the family of David, nor the shedding of innocent blood. He died after he had reigned for forty years. After him his son reigned, and his mother's name was Jehoaddan. He killed every one who had killed any one of his household, but spared their sons, for in this he followed the law of the Lord. He died after he had reigned for twenty-nine years, and his son Azariah reigned after him, being twenty years old. His mother's name was Jecholiah. He did right before the Lord, save that he was bold about the priesthood, for which reason he became a leper, and God weakened the power of Isaiah the prophet from prophecy until this Azariah died, because he did not reprove him for his boldness about the priesthood. The duration of his reign was fifty-two p. 50 years, and Jotham his son reigned after him, being twenty-five years of age, and his mother's name was Jerusha the daughter of Dafma (Zadok). He did right, and the duration of his reign was sixteen years. After him his son Ahaz reigned, being twenty years of age; his mother's name was Jahkebez the daughter of Levi. He did wickedly, and sacrificed to devils and idols. God was angry with him, and Tiglath son of Cardak, king of Assyria, came against him, and besieged him. Ahaz wrote himself down his vassal, and delivered Jerusalem up to the Assyrians, and he carried all the gold and silver that was in the temple of God to Assyria the regions of Tiglath. In his time the children of Israel were led captive, and went down to Babylon. The king of Assyria sent instead Babylonians to the land of Judah to dwell in it; and they complained of what befel them to the king of Assyria, and he sent to them Urijah one of the priests of the children of Israel that he might teach them the law of the Lord. When they knew it, the lions ceased from them, and went to the land of Babylon and to Samaria. When he (Ahaz) had completed sixteen years he died, and his son Hezekiah reigned after him, being twenty-five years old, and his mother's name was Ahi (Abi) the daughter of Zechariah. He did right and broke the idols, and caused the sacrifices to cease, and cut up the serpent that Moses had made in the wilderness of the wandering (Tih), because the children of Israel were seduced in their worship of it. In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmanezer king of Assyria came to Jerusalem, and took captive the Israelites who were in it, and drove them away to a place beyond Babylon named Media. In the twenty-sixth year journeyed Sennacherib king of the province to the cities of Judah, and took captive those whom he found in them and their villages excepting Jerusalem. Verily it was saved by the prayer and cries of king Hezekiah. When Hezekiah was ill with his death-sickness, he grieved and wept because he had no son to reign after him; he prayed before the Lord, and said, "Lord, have mercy on Thy servant, and do not let him die without offspring; let not the kingdom fail from the house of David, nor the blessings cease which have come on the tribes in my days." The Lord answered him, and told him that p. 51 He had added to his life fifteen years; he recovered; a son was born to him, and he called him Manasseh. When twenty-six years of his reign were finished, and he was rejoicing in his son, he died. His son reigned after him, being twelve years old; his mother's name was Hephzibah. He did wickedly, and his

infidelity surpassed all the infidel kings that were before him in evil-doing. He built an altar to idols, and sacrificed to them; he defiled Jerusalem with corruption, and the worship of idols. He took Isaiah the prophet, and they sawed him with a wooden saw from the middle of his head to between his feet, because he had reproved him for his wicked deeds. Isaiah's age that day was one hundred and twenty years, he began to prophesy when he was ninety years old. Then Manasseh repented about that, and turned to his Lord; he put on sackcloth, and imposed a fast upon himself [all] the days of his life. God accepted his repentance and he died. His son Amon reigned after him, being that day twenty-two years of age; his mother's name was Musalmath the daughter of Hasoun. He did wicked deeds before the Lord, and burned his children in the fire. He reigned twelve years and he died. After him his son Josiah reigned, being sixty-eight years of age; his mother's name was Arnea, daughter of Azariah son of Tarfeeb. He kept righteously the feast of the Passover, a feast such as the children of Israel had never kept since the time of the Prophet Moses; he abolished the sacrifices to the images, broke the idols, sawed them with saws, killed their worshippers, and burnt in the fire the bones of the prophets of the Honoured One. He cleansed Jerusalem from defilements. None like him reigned over the Jews before him nor after him. He remained there for thirty years, but Pharaoh king of Egypt killed him. After him his son Jehoahaz reigned, being twenty-two years of age; his mother's name was Hamtoul the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. Not more than three months of his reign had passed when Pharaoh the lame bound him, made him fast with chains, and carried him to Egypt, and he died there. After him his brother Jehoiakim reigned, being twenty-five years of age; his mother's name was Zobeed, daughter of Yerkuiah of the town of Al-Ramah. In the third year of his p. 52 reign Nebuchadnezzar approached Jerusalem, reigned over it, and made him his vassal for three years. He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and death overtook him. His son Jehoiachin reigned after him, being eighteen years of age; his mother's name was Tahseeb the daughter of Lutanan of the people of Jerusalem. Nebuchadnezzar journeyed a second time to Jerusalem, bound him after three months of his reign, and carried him and his officers and the armies of his soldiers to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar in his first attack had bound the wife of Jehoiakim and other wives of the grandees and nobles of Jerusalem, and carried them to Babylon. The wife of Jehoiakim was pregnant that day, and in the way she gave birth to Daniel. In the Captivity were also Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, sons of Johanan. The reason of this Captivity was that Jehoiachin had made a truce with Nebuchadnezzar, then they betrayed one another. When Johanan died, Zedekiah the uncle of Jehoiakim reigned after him, being twenty-one years of age; the seat of all the kings of the children of Israel was Jerusalem; the name of Zedekiah's mother was Hamtoul; he was the last of the kings of the children of Israel. After eleven years of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar journeyed for the third time to the West, to pacify its cities, and the cities of the Euphrates, and of the Great Sea. He made his way through the islands of the sea, and took captive their people, he laid Tyre waste, and smote it with fire. He killed Hiram its king as we have already said. He entered Egypt to seek those of the children of Israel who had fled, and killed its Pharaoh. He returned by sea to Jerusalem, and was victorious there a second time. He bound Zedekiah, killed his sons Jerbala and Rahmut, and carried him blind and fettered with chains to Babylon. This was a punishment from God to him for his deed that he did to the prophet Jeremiah when he threw him into a miry well. Nebuchadnezzar appointed Jozadan (Nebuzaradan) the captain of his prison in Jerusalem until he had laid waste its wall, and burned the temple of

the Lord which Solomon had built in it. He demolished the rest of the dwellings of Jerusalem, carried all the tools that he found of iron and brass, and the raiment which belonged to the house p. 53 of the Lord to Babylon. Between Simeon the High Priest of Jerusalem and Jozadan captain of the prison to Nebuchadnezzar there was love and friendship. He asked if he would give him the old writings; he and Simeon carried them with him, being among the crowd of the Captivity. He saw a well in his way among the borders of the West; be laid the writings in it, and put with them a bronze vase, filled with glowing coals, and in it sweet smelling incense; he covered up this well, and went to Babylon. The devastation of Jerusalem was completed, and it became a waste. There was not one person in it, nor even a building save the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah. Jeremiah in his lifetime had dwelt in a place called Samaria; he commanded a man named Uriah that he should be buried in Jerusalem, and he did it. It was not known that this place was the grave of Jeremiah except at the devastation of Jerusalem.

Now for the genealogies. The Syrians say that no one looked after them after the last devastation of Jerusalem, except among the tribe of the Philistines, and no one looked after the genealogy of the people among whom the children of Israel married, nor from whence was the beginning of the priesthood. Jehoiachin did not cease to be bound in the land of Babylon, and shut up in prison for thirty-seven years. Meanwhile there was born to Mardul a son named Mardahi, and the king let Jehoiachin out of the prison, and married him to Helmuth the daughter of Eliakim. By him she gave birth in the land of Babylon to a son, who was called Salathiel. Then he married another who was called Melkat the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and had no child by her in Babylon. At that time Cyrus reigned in Babylon. He married Masabet the sister of Zerubabel a nobleman of the Jews, according to the custom of Persia; he let her rule his affairs; she begged him to restore the children of Israel to Jerusalem, and he did this to its place where it had been before him. He commanded a herald to proclaim, that there should not remain one of the children of Israel, who should not present himself to Zerubabel his brother-in-law. When they were gathered together, he commanded him to take them to Jerusalem and that they should build it. The children p. 54 of Israel returned to Jerusalem in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the Persian. At that time was completed the fifth thousand from the beginning. The children of Israel after their return to Jerusalem remained without a teacher to teach them the law of the Lord or any writings of the prophets. When Ezra saw this, he went to the well in which the Law had been put, uncovered it, and found the vase full of fire and incense, and he found the writings faded, there was no means to get them. God revealed to him that he should receive of them from His hands; he succeeded, and threw it on his mouth once, and twice and thrice, and God put into it the power of the spirit of prophecy; he kept all the writings, and that fire which was in the vase in the well was from the fire of Paradise which was in the house of the Lord. Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem as king over it. By Joshua son of Jozadak the High Priest and by Ezra, the writing of the Law and the Books of the Prophets were completed. After their return, the children of Israel kept the feast of the Passover, and all the feasts that they celebrated were three. The first was the feast of Moses in Egypt, the second the feast of Josiah, and the third after their return from Babylon in the days of Cyrus the Persian. The number of the years of the Captivity which Jeremiah the prophet mentions are seventy years. The children of Israel built the

temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, and its building was finished by the hands of Zerubabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest, and Ezra the scribe of the Law, in six and forty years. When the books of the genealogies were destroyed, the fathers were in despair about genealogy, and there was despair about it after them, until their accuracy was guaranteed by the secret books of the Hebrews. I relate this to thee, my son Clement, that when Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem, he married Malka the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and by her he begat a son called Abiud. She had already been the wife of Jehoiachin before him. When Abiud grew up, he married Ragib, daughter of Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest. By he he begat a son called Jehoiachim. Jehoiachim married a wife, and begat a son by her. When he grew up, he married p. 55 Alfeet, daughter of Hesron, and by her he begat Zadok. Zadok married Felbin the daughter of Rahab, and by her he begat Atin. Atin married Hesheeb, daughter of Jula, and by he he begat Tur (Eliud). Tur (Eliud) married Salsin, daughter of Hasoul, and by her he begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Habeeth, daughter of Malih, and by her he begat Manar (Matthan). Manar (Matthan) married Seerâb, daughter of Phinehas, and by her he begat two sons in [one] womb. One of them was Jacob, who was called by two names, Joachim son of Yartâh. Jacob maried Had the daughter of Eleazar, and by her he begat Joseph. Joachim married Hannah, daughter of Ka‘rdal, and by her he begat Mary, by whom our Lord the Christ was incarnate. On account of our knowledge, O my son Clement, about the genealogy of the Lady Mary, and the genealogies of her ancestors, the Jews begin by assertions about us that we do not understand the genealogies, and we do not know them; and they venture to mock the mother of Light, the Lady Mary, the Virgin, and they attribute he genealogy to fornication, because they do not know that it was the Holy Ghost who came down on us, a company of twelve in the upper room of Zion, who taught us all that we need to know about the genealogies and the rest of the mysteries, as He had taught Azariah (Ezra) the teacher all the Law, so that he kept it and renewed it. Let the mouths of the cursed Jews now be stopped, and let them know assuredly that Mary the pure was of the race of Judah, also of the race of David, also of the race of Abraham; that they have nothing against the genealogies which the Holy Ghost taught us, and there is not a book left in their hands from which they can make a stand against genealogy, since their books have been burnt three times; the first time in the days of Antiochus, who defiled the temple of the Lord, and commanded sacrifices to idlos; the second by Herod at the time of the devastation of Jerusalem; and the third, hear, O blessed son, what the Holy Ghost has revealed to me, about the sixty-three fathers, whose names are registered, and how the pedigree came about to the tribe from which was incarnate our God the Christ.

p. 56

The beginning of genealogies.

Adam begat Seth. Seth married Aclima, sister of Abel, and by her begat Enos. Enos

married a woman called Hita, daughter of Mahmouma of the sons of Har son of Seth, and by her begat Cainan. Cainan married Karith, daughter of Kersham son of Maheâl, and by her begat Mahlaleel. Mahlaleel married Teshabfatir, daughter of Enos, and by her begat Jared. Jared married Zebeeda, daughter of Kargilan son of Cainan, and by her begat Enoch. Enoch married Jardakin, daughter of Terbah son of Mahlaleel, and by her begat Methuselah. Methuselah married Rahoub, daughter of Serkeen son of Enoch, and by her begat Lamech. Lamech married Kifar, daughter of Jutab son of Methuselah, and by her begat Noah. Noah married Haikal, daughter of Mashamos son of Enoch, and by her begat Sem. Sem married Leah, daughter of Nasih, and by her begat Arphaxad. Arphaxad married Fardou, daughter of Salweh son of Japhet, and by her begat Salah. Salah married Muldath, daughter of Kahin son of Sem, and by her begat Obed (Eber). Obed (Eber) married Rasdah sister of Melchisedek, daughter of Malih son of Arphaxad, and by her begat Peleg. Peleg married Hadeeb, daughter of Hamlâh, and by her begat Jareu (Reu). Jareu (Reu) married Tanaa‘b, daughter of Obed (Eber), and by her begat Serug. Serug married Feel, and by her begat Nahor. Nahor married a wife, A‘âkris daughter of Reu, and by her begat Tarah. Tarah married two wives, one of them Juta, and the other Salmat, by Juta he begat Abraham and by Salmat Sarah. Abraham married Sarah, daughter of this Salmat his father’s wife, and by her begat Isaac. Isaac married a wife called Rebecca, daughter of Fathâel, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Leah, daughter of Laban, and by her begat Judah. Judah begat Pharez by Tamar. Pharez son of Judah married Afdeeb, daughter of Levi, and by her begat Hesron. Hesron married Farteeb, daughter of Zebulon, and by her begat Aram. Aram married Safuza, daughter of Judah, and by her begat Aminadab. Aminadab married Baruma, daughter of Hesron, and by her begat Nahshon. Nahshon married Aram, daughter p. 57 of Adam, and by her begat Salmon. Salmon married Saleeb (Rahab), daughter of Aminadab, and by her begat Boaz. Boaz married Aroof (Ruth), daughter of Lot, and by her begat Obed. Obed married Nefut, daughter of Shela, and by her begat Asse (Jesse). Asse (Jesse) married Amrat, daughter of Othan, and by her begat David. David married Balseba‘ (Bathsheba), daughter of Joutân son of Shela, and by her begat Solomon. Solomon married Naama, daughter of Maheel, and by her begat Rehoboam: who had none like him. Rehoboam married Naheer, daughter of Al, and by her begat Abia. Abia married Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, and by her begat Asa. Asa married Auzbah the daughter of Shalih, and by her begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat married Na‘mna the daughter of Amon, and by her begat Joram. Joram married Tala‘ia, daughter of Amoi, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Suma the daughter of Balhi, and by her begat Amaziah. Amaziah married Kama, daughter of Caram, and by her begat Uzziah. Uzziah married Jerousa, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jeream (Jotham). Jeream (Jotham) married Jahfat, daughter of Hani, and by her begat Ahaz. Ahaz married Ahir, daughter of Zachariah, and by her begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah married Hephzibah, daughter of Jarmoun, and by her begat Manasseh. Manasseh married Artida, daughter of Azuriah, and by her begat Aman. Aman married Tarib, daughter of Murka, and by her begat Josiah. Josiah married Hamtoul, daughter of Armeed (Jeremiah), and by her begat Jehoahaz. Jehoahaz married a woman and had no sons by her. Jehoiakim reigned after the death of his brother, and married a woman called Carteem, daughter of Haluta, and by her begat Salaeel (Salathiel). Salaeel (Salathiel) married Hamtat, daughter of Eliakim, and by her begat Zerubabel. Zerubabel married Malkut, daughter of Ezra, and by her begat Armeed (Abiud). Armeed (Abiud) married

Awarkeeth, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jachim. Jachim married Hali, daughter of Zurniem, and by her begat A‘zor. A‘zor married Afi, daughter of Hasor, and by her begat Sadoc. Sadoc married Faltir, daughter of Dorteeb, and by her begat Asham Joteed. Joteed Asham married Hasgab, daughter of Jula, and by her p. 58 begat Liud (Eliud). Liud (Eliud) married Shabshetin, daughter of Hubaballia, and by her begat Eleazar. Eleazar married Hanbeth, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Mathan. Mathan married Seerab, daughter of Phinehas, and by her begat Jacob. Jacob married Harteeb, daughter of Eleazar, and by her begat Joachim, known as Jonahir. Joachim married Hannah, and returned to the house of Eleazar. And after sixty years of his marriage to her, he begat by her Mary the Virgin, her by whom the Christ became incarnate. Joseph the Carpenter was the son of her [paternal] uncle Laha, and therefore his vote did not fall against her when Ram, priest of the children of Israel, delivered her to a man who should be surety for her. It was in the hidden work of God (may He be glorious and exalted!) and in the mystery of His knowledge that there was no escape from the Jews reproaching Mary the pure on account of her bearing the Christ. To our Master and our God and our Lord Jesus the Christ be praise and power and greatness and dignity and worship with the Father and the Holy Ghost from now unto all time and throughout all ages. Amen.

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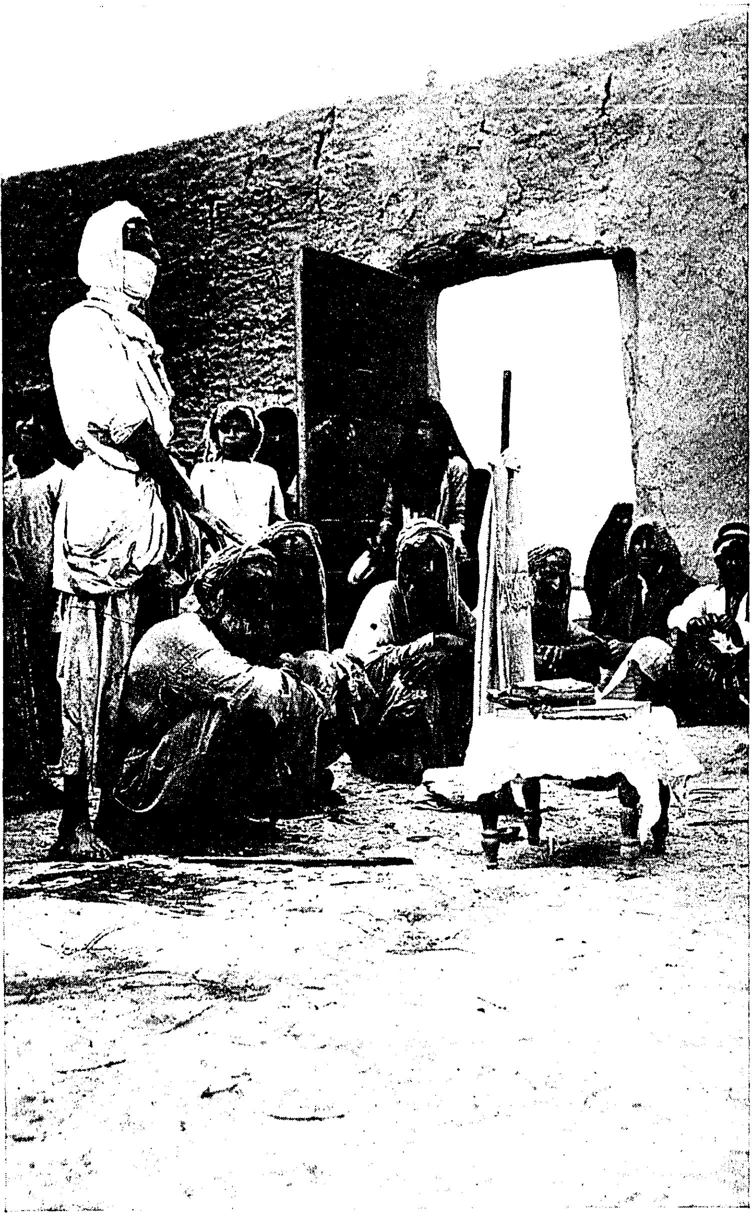

Final blessing (Litlata)

SACRAMENTS

THE MANDAEANS
OF
IRAQ AND IRAN

THEIR CULTS, CUSTOMS, MAGIC
LEGENDS, AND FOLKLORE

By

E. S. DROWER
('E. S. STEVENS')

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TO

DR. MOSES GASTER

'The conclusion is, that in the study of ancient religions we must begin, not with myth, but with ritual and traditional usage.'

ROBERTSON SMITH

PREFATORY NOTE

I have been assisted in the publication of this book by two learned bodies: the Royal Asiatic Society and the Hibbert Trustees. My first thanks, therefore, are due to them for their generous help. To the President of the former, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., I am peculiarly indebted for his great kindness in reading the manuscript and in bringing my book to the notice of his Council.

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I should prolong the list, for many friends and strangers have either given me help or good counsel. Lack of space alone forbids their enumeration. The tale of gratitude, however, would be incomplete were I to omit to set down my obligation to the Mandaeans themselves, both laymen and priests. As the instruction of the latter was sometimes given *sub rosa* I will not particularize, but amongst the laymen I thank my old and valued friend Hirmiz bar Anhar for many happy hours. May he live long to produce his beautiful engravings on silver and to enjoy the light of S͟hamis͟h and the breath of Ayar Rba!

I am conscious that the transliteration of Mandaean leaves much to be desired. Vowels, in general, are pronounced as in Italian, though *i* may vary from the *i* as pronounced in 'Lido', to the French *é* and the English *e* in 'met'. *a* is sometimes short (for instance in *manda* where the first syllable is pronounced as in English), and sometimes very broad, as in *mat͟ha* (pronounced *mawt͟ha*). Prayers and formulae are given sometimes as written, sometimes as pronounced. Consistency is difficult, and I am aware that I have not achieved it. The book, however, is not addressed to the philologist or linguist.

E. S. D.

BAGHDAD
August, 1937

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Note. Geographical names are printed without diacritical signs.

GLOSSARY OF WORDS COMMONLY OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

Note. Pronounce like Italian.

Ahaba ḏ Mania (pronounced *Hava ḏ Mani*). The Giving of Garments. A form of *zidqa brik̲h̲a* for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment.

Andiruna. A ritual hut built for marriage rites and the consecration of a priest.

Anhura. (Thus pronounced, but more often written *nhura*). Light.

Brihi. Fire-saucer.

Burzinqa. Turban.

But̲h̲a (plur. *but̲h̲a* or *bawat̲h̲a*). Petition, prayer, section in book of devotions.

Deywa (plur. *Deyvi*). Written *daiwa*. A *div*, evil spirit.

Drabs̲h̲a (pron. *dravs̲h̲a, drafs̲h̲a*). A banner, standard. Also a ray of light.

Duk̲h̲rana. Mention, remembrance by mentioning.

eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a. See *Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a.*

Faṭira (plur. *faṭiria*, pronounced *faṭiri*). The round unleavened sacred bread at the ritual meals for the dead. The word also means 'departed'. Cf. J. 1155.

Ganzibra (pron. *ganzivra, ganzowra*). Plural, *ganzibria* (pron. *ganzivri*). Head-priest. (Cf. *ganzavara* O.Pers. = treasurer).

Gdada. White cloth to insulate contamination or protect from contamination.

Hallali. A ritually and racially pure Mandaean.

Hamra. Water in which white grapes or sultanas have been pressed out.

Hawan. Mortar.

Hava ḏ Mani. See *Ahaba ḏ Mania.*

Himiana. Ritual girdle.

Hs̲h̲uk̲h̲a (pron. *eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a*). Darkness.

Ingirt̲h̲a (*'ngirta*). Letter, message in portable form.

Jemāli (Arabic). A reed hut with a pent roof.

Kangana. A clay ring used as a stand or seat.

Kapt̲h̲a (pron. *kept̲h̲a*). Small ritual drinking bowl.

Klila. (Myrtle) wreath.

Ksuya. See *Sadra.*

Kus̲h̲ṭa. Right, troth, the ritual clasp of the right hand.

Kūk̲h̲ (Arabic). Hut.

Lofani. Communion, ritual meal for the dead eaten by laymen.

Malka (pron. *Melka*). King, spirit of power.

Malwas̲h̲a. Zodiac religious name.

Mambuha, or *Mambug̲h̲a.* Sacramental water.

Manda. The name given to a dwelling, especially to the cult-hut (as in D.C. 9 and D.C. 24). Colloquially pronounced *mandi.*

Mandelta. A triple betyl.

Margna. The ritual staff.

Mshunia Kushta. The ideal and ethereal double of the Earth.

// *Masiqta* (pron. *masekhtha*). Mass for the dead, a ritual to assist the soul to rise from material worlds into the worlds of light. Might be translated 'raising-up'.

Melka. See *Malka.*

// *Miṣra* (plur. *miṣria*, pron. *miṣri*). A furrow to shut out pollution and enclose purified areas.

Naṣifa. Stole-like strip of white cloth or muslin.

Nhura (*Anhura*). Light.

Niara. Bowl or dish.

Paisaq (pron. *peysaq*). Priest debarred from all priestly duties but that of performing marriage rites for women not virgin.

Pandama. The cloth which covers the lower part of the face during some parts of ritual, or at a funeral.

Panja. Colloquial for *Parwanaia*, q.v. 'The Five (days)' (Persian).

Parwanaia. The five intercalary days.

Pihtha (pron. *pehtha*). The sacramental wafer.

Qanina. Bottle for sacramental water.

Qintha, *Qimtha*. A clay box-stand.

Qauqa. A terra-cotta cube for holding incense.

Rabai (written *Rba*, pron. *rabbey*). A rabbi, master, initiating priest, or head-priest.

Rahmia (pron. *rahmi*). Devotions, prescribed preliminary prayers.

Rasta. The ritual dress.

Raṭna. Modern Mandaean colloquial dialect.

Rishama. The minor daily and preliminary ritual ablutions.

Ṣa. A roll or scroll of bread used in ritual meals for the dead. Apparently represents the phallus.

Ṣabbi (plur. *Ṣabba*). See *Ṣubbi.*

Sadra. The sacred shirt.

Ṣarīfaḥ (Arabic). Reed hut.

Sharwala. Drawers, leggings.

Shganda. An acolyte (literally, 'messenger').

Shwalia. Candidate for priesthood. Pronounced as written with final 'a'.

Ṣubbi (plur. *Ṣubba*). Mandaean, one who immerses.

Skandola. The magic signet-ring.

Ṭabutha. The sacred food at ritual meals.

Ṭarmida. Priest.

Ṭura. Mountain.

'Uthra (plur. *'uthria*, pron. *'uthri*). A good spirit.

Yalufa (plur. *yalufia*, pron. *yalufi*). A literate person.

Yardna. Running water, river, a pool of flowing water.

Zrazta. Scroll on which a protective charm is written.

Zidqa brikha (pron. *zedqa brikha*). A ritual meal for the dead.

INTRODUCTION

In the following pages an attempt is made to relate what the author has seen, heard, and observed of the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran. Observations were made over a number of years and furnish a considerable body of new evidence as to their customs, beliefs, cults, and magic. This evidence, we submit, is useful, not only to the student of anthropology, folk-lore, and ethnology, but to students of the history of religions, for the Mandaeans are what the doctor calls a case of arrested development. Their cults, which are regarded by them as more sacred than their books, and older, have been tenaciously retained; their ritual, in all its detail, most carefully preserved by a priesthood who regard a slip in procedure as a deadly sin. Segregated since the coming of Islam from those amongst whom they dwell by peculiarities of cult, custom, language, and religion, they have kept intact and inviolate the heritage which they had from their fathers.

The evidence so far laid before scholars has been almost entirely confined to some of the Mandaean religious literature. This aroused much premature controversy amongst theologians as to the value of Mandaean traditions to students of the New Testament, especially where the Fourth Gospel is in question. I hope that the information given here may go far to solve such problems. As regards study of the Mandaeans at first-hand, the fleeting observations of travellers and casual observers have been superficial, for they are a shy and secretive people, and do not readily disclose their beliefs or explain their cults. Petermann's three months in the marshes of Lower Iraq represent the only effort at scientific study at first hand, while Siouffi, whose account represents the greater part of what is known about the community apart from its books, never saw a rite with his own eyes, but was entirely dependent on the report of a renegade Ṣubbi. Both these observers remained on the surface and did not penetrate deeply into the spirit of the people or arrive at the inner meaning of the cults.

As for Arab observers, from the earliest time they were dependent upon hearsay, and their reports can only be accepted as such. The same may be said about the earliest account we have about the Mandaeans, that of the Syriac writer Bar Konai (in the Scholion, A.D. 792), who writes as a controversialist, ready to belittle a heretic sect. This writer does, however, give us clues which go far to disprove his own account of the Mandaeans, which I shall discuss later.

The evidence of Arab authors is, for the most part, concerned with the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians, a people with whom primitive pagan usages seem to have lingered until late into the Moslem era. They were said, by a Christian writer, to have adopted the name Ṣābians in order to profit by the tolerance offered by Islam to the 'people of a book', the true 'Ṣābians' or Ṣabba, of the marshes of Lower Iraq. In the mass of hearsay which Arab authors bring forward there is, however, a good deal to indicate that the Ḥarrānians had points of common belief with the orthodox Mandaeans, and that the learned Ṣābians of the Caliph's capital chose to assume Neoplatonic terms in speaking of their religion in order to lend an air of scholarship and philosophy to their tenets. Magianism was still alive and hated, and any semblance of relationship with Persian beliefs was to be avoided. The existence of the name Zahrun amongst these court philosophers may be adduced as a proof of their identity with the Mandaeans, for Zahrun is one of the Mandaean spirits of light who, together with S͟hamis͟h (S͟hamas͟h), ride in the sun-vessel across the sky. It was easy for them to camouflage the Mazdean name Hormuz,[1] Hirmiz, Hirmiṣ (Ahura-Mazda) into the name Hermes, and proclaim that the Egyptian Hermes was one of their 'prophets'. Al-Bīrūnī, a Persian himself, when not quoting from other Arab authors about the Ḥarrānians, gives a just estimate of their beliefs (p. 187):

> 'All, however, we know of them is that they profess monotheism and describe God as exempt from anything that is bad, using in

their description the *Via Negationis*, not the *Via Positionis*. E.g. they say "he is indeterminate, he is invisible, he does *not* wrong, he is *not* injust". They call him by the *Nomina Pulcherrima*, but only metaphorically, since a real description of him is excluded according to them. The rule of the universe they attribute to the celestial globe and its bodies, which they consider as living, speaking, hearing, and seeing beings. And the fires they hold in great consideration.'

He states that Zoroaster 'belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrānians'.

He mentions three prayers—at sunrise, noon, and sunset.

'Their prayer is preceded by purification and washing. They also wash themselves after a pollution. They do not circumcise themselves, not being ordered to do so, as they maintain. Most of their regulations about women and their penal law are similar to those of the Muslims, whilst others, relating to pollution caused by touching dead bodies, &c., are similar to those of the Thora.' (p. 188, Sachau's translation.)

Al-Bīrūnī (writing at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.) is positive about the 'real Ṣābians', who are, he says (p. 188) 'the remnants of the Jewish tribes who remained in Babylonia when the other tribes left it for Jerusalem in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes . . . adopted a system mixed up of Magism and Judaism.'

Chwolson, in his monumental book about the Ṣābians, was at pains to show that the Ḥarrānians could not have had real religious union with the Mandaeans, because the former openly 'worshipped' the planets, while the latter held planet-worship in abhorrence. I must here examine that statement.

Recently, an Arab author who had been a student for some time in Lower Iraq wrote an article in an Egyptian periodical about the Ṣubba, or Mandaeans, in which he described them as star-worshippers. Indignation broke out amongst the Mandaean priesthood, for it was the old accusation of paganism, so imperilling to Moslem toleration. Legal proceedings were taken against the author, and a *ganzibra*, or head-priest, was dispatched to Baghdad armed with the Ginza Rba, the Great Treasure, to translate before witnesses passages in the holy writ denouncing the worship of planets. (It is improbable that he would have brought holy books such as the Diwan Abathur into court, nor would some passages in the Drasha d Yahya have helped his cause.)

In truth, the Mandaeans do not adore the heavenly bodies. But they believe that stars and planets contain animating principles, spirits subservient and obedient to Melka d Nhura (the King of Light), and that the lives of men are governed by their influences. With these controlling spirits are their doubles of darkness. In the sun-boat stands the beneficent Shamish with symbols of fertility and vegetation, but with him is his baleful aspect, Adona,[2] as well as guardian spirits of light. The Mandaeans invoke spirits of light only, not those of darkness.

The fact that all priests are at the same time astrologers leads inevitably to contradictions. Those who read this book will see how easy it is to misjudge the matter. In the union of function, the Mandaean priests inherit the traditions of the country. The *baru* and *ashipu* priests of ancient Babylonia had functions and rituals close to those in use amongst the Mandaean priesthood of to-day,[3] and the name of the Magian priests was so closely associated with their skill in incantation and astrology that their name has become incorporated in the word 'magic'.

Similarly many Mandaean priests, in spite of the Ginza's prohibition of such practices, derive part of their income from the writing of amulets, and from sorcery, when legitimate fees are insufficient for their needs.

The most important material here assembled is, I think it will be acknowledged, the account of the various Mandaean ritual meals. Inclined at first to see in these relics of Marcionite Christianity or of the gnostic rituals of Bardaiṣan, I perceived later that the Mandaean rituals are closer to Mazdean sources than has hitherto been suspected. Resemblances between the Mandaean, Nestorian Christian, and Parsi rituals are strong, but, as the ideas which underlie the Mandaean and Parsi rites are identical whereas those of Christianity have travelled wide, I submit that the Mandaean cults are nearer in essentials to some Iranian original than they are to primitive Christianity, although the latter, there is no doubt, may have been intimately related to Iranian models at its inception in Judaea or Galilee.

Ritual eating for the dead, or the belief that the dead derive benefit from foods ritually consumed in their name is, of course, a belief which goes back into primitive times, and is found not only amongst the Sumerians and Babylonians, but amongst many simple peoples. In my notes, however, I have confined myself to references to such practices in the Middle East alone, past and present.

The great alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates lie between the Far East and Near East and in constant contact with both. From earliest times, highroads have run from the uplands of Iran, from the steppes of Asia, from the deserts of Arabia, from the plains of India, through what is now modern Iraq, to the Mediterranean seaboard. From the first its inhabitants have been subject to influences from all quarters of the civilized globe and ruled by race after race. There could be no better forcing-ground for syncretistic thought. Babylonia and the kingdoms of Persia and Media offered natural conditions favourable to the growth of religious conceptions compromising between ancient traditions and cults, and ideas which had travelled from the old civilization of China by way of the Vedic philosophers of India—ideas which spiritualized, revived, and inspired man's belief in the immortality of the soul, its origin in the Divine Being, and the existence of beneficent ancestral spirits. Moreover, in the five centuries before Christ, there was a steady infiltration of Jewish, Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek influences into Babylonia. Before the Captivities, Jewish communities of traders and bankers established themselves in the land of the two rivers, while mercenaries and merchants passed to and fro between the Far East and the seaboards of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece.

The soldier and the merchant, though they contributed as intermediaries in the exchange of ideas, could never, however, have been more than passive 'carriers' of religious thought. In Mandaean legends, as well as in those of India and Persia, one finds perpetual reference to wandering *darāwīsh*, religious wanderers who, like Hirmiz Shāh in the Mandaean story, like Gautama the Buddha in India, or, in medieval times, Guru Nānak, set out in search of intellectual and spiritual peace. Speculation in the West is mostly conducted from a chair: the adventurer into the realms of thought goes no farther than the laboratory or the study. In the East, seekers after truth were peripatetic: their intellectual vagabondage was physical as well. It is certain that where the merchant penetrated, religious wanderers followed; travelling philosophers, ranging from China to India, Baluchistan, and Persia, and from Persia and Iraq to the Mediterranean, using the passes of Kurdistan and the waterways of Iraq. The Oriental loves metaphysical argument and seeks it: the higher his type, the more addicted he is to this form of mental exercise, and the readier to listen to the opinions of a guest. The result, a leaven of unorthodoxy amongst the intellectual, eventually spread to the masses, first, possibly, as secret heresies, and then as new forms of religion.

Here lies the importance of the Mandaeans. Extremely tenacious, while adopting the new at some far distant syncretistic period, they also conserved the old so religiously and faithfully that one can disentangle the threads here and there, and point to this as Babylonian, to that as Mazdean, to this as belonging to a time when animal flesh was forbidden, to that as suggesting a phase when zealous reformers endeavoured to purge out some ancient and inherent beliefs.

At such a period as the last-named, the scattered religious writings of the Mandaeans were gathered together and edited. One may surmise that the editors and collectors were refugees, sophisticated priests who, returning to peaceful communities in Lower Iraq, were scandalized at their incorrigible paganism. The emended writings breathe reform and denunciation.

The core or nucleus, of the Mandaean religion, through all vicissitudes and changes, is the ancient worship of the principles of life and fertility. The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of the Great Life is 'living water', that is flowing water, or *yardna*.[4] This is entirely natural in a land where all life, human, animal, and vegetable, clings to the banks of the two great rivers Tigris and Euphrates. It follows that one of the central rites is immersion in flowing water. The second great vivifying power is light, which is represented by personifications of light (Melka ḏ Nhura and the battalions of *melki* or light spirits), who bestow such light-gifts as health, strength, virtue, and justice. In the ethical system of the Mandaeans, as in that of the Zoroastrians, cleanliness, health of body, and ritual obedience must be accompanied by purity of mind, health of conscience, and obedience to moral laws. This dual application was characteristic of the cults of Anu and Ea in Sumerian times and Bel and Ea in Babylonian times, so that, if Mandaean thought originated or ripened under Iranian and Far Eastern influences, it had roots in a soil where similar ideals were already familiar and where ablution cults and fertility rites had long been in practice.

The third great essential of the religion is the belief in the immortality of the soul, and its close relationship with the souls of its ancestors, immediate and divine. Ritual meals are eaten in proxy for the dead; and the souls of the dead, strengthened and helped, give assistance and comfort to the souls of the living.

It remains, in this introduction, to say something about my methods in collecting the material here assembled. I first came into contact with the Ṣubba in 1923, but did not read the translated holy books until 1931. This led me to the study of the language and then to that of untranslated manuscripts. Manifestly ill-equipped for the latter task, I here make apologies for possible inaccuracy in rendering. I have august precedent for mistakes, for

Lidzbarski himself, who has furnished us with the finest translations of the major holy books, has fallen into error here and there when it comes to rendering passages dealing with cults. All his fine mastery of Semitic languages could not tell him what only a knowledge of the cults themselves, and familiarity with local conditions, can explain.

I found it necessary not only to witness cults and ceremonies several times before arriving at a relatively proper estimate or accurate observation, but to learn from priests the ritual used at them. Some ceremonies, indeed, I have been unable to witness, but wherever this is the case, I have asked so many persons about the procedure that I hope a more or less correct impression has resulted. Incomplete and faulty as my survey is, however, it is better than none, and, as circumstance may intervene at any time to prevent my further continuance in the country, I offer it as it is.

When collecting information, I rely on memory as little as possible, making notes at the moment of observation and writing down sentences as I hear them. Legends were taken down verbatim, if I may so term the mixture of English and Arabic in which they were scribbled. In cases where I was unable to find the *mot juste*, I wrote the Arabic phonetically, and if unable to follow the narrator, I checked him, and elicited the meaning of what he had said. I am no Arabic scholar, but the vocabulary employed by the common people in Iraq is a limited one and after fifteen or sixteen years' residence in the country, I have acquired a working knowledge of the colloquial speech. All instruction, and all the legends, were given to me in Arabic, with an occasional Mandaean word, for the *raṭna* (spoken Mandaean) is falling into disuse in Iraq, and Arabic is spoken generally by Mandaeans all over the country.

I made many visits to the various Mandaean centres; in Iraq to Al-ʿAmārah, Qalʿat Sāliḥ, Naṣoriyah, Sūq-esh-Shuyūkh, and Ḥalfayah; in Persia to Muḥammerah and Ahwāz (the Persian Naṣoriyah, as the Mandaeans call it), for only in the larger communities can the ceremonies and cults be seen with ease. All these places are a full day, or two days, from Baghdad by rail and car. Had good fortune placed me nearer, this book would be better informed.

NOTES

1. Hirmiz is still a popular name with the Ṣubba, and Hormuzd with Nestorian and Chaldean Christians.

2. *Adona*: ‘Lord’. In an illustration to the Diwan Abathur (reproduced on p. 77), Adona is identified with Shamish (Babylonian, Shamash, the sun-god). The mast of the sun-boat, with its flaming standard, is held on the right by a figure with sprigs of foliage for hair, beneath which is written: ‘This is the likeness of Shamish, Adona is his name.’ In the Drasha d Yahya and Haran Gawaitha the mistaken ‘Adonai’ (‘my lord’) is used, and this form was used by a narrator describing the sun-boat (p. 77).

3. *Baru and ashipu priests*. See Campbell Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, pp. xxi ff. As with the Mandaeans, disease, pollution, transgression against taboo, and breaking of social laws necessitated purifications received at the hands of a priest. The *baru* and *ashipu* priests of Babylonian and neo-Babylonian times, like Mandaean priests, wore white. The *baru* priest was ordered to sanctify himself, put on a clean garment, and prepare a sacrament of sweet bread from wheaten flour, salt, and water, following a procedure not dissimilar in its essentials from that of the Mandaean priest when he prepares the sacramental bread, or *pihtha*.

Zimmern translates a fragment giving directions for the purification of a king by an *ashipu* priest:

> The king shall pour . . . in the vessel
> And thus speak, ‘May these . . .
> May my evil deeds and my . . . be taken from me,
> That I may be clean and live before Shamash.’
> As soon as thou hast done this, the king shall wash in water,
> Put on a clean garment, wash his hands clean, &c.
>
> (*Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, p. 127).

Like the Mandaean *tarmida*, the *baru* priest had a novitiate and an initiation. Shamash was his especial patron, and the cult of the sun-god demanded purity and ablutions so exacting that the *baru* priests, like the *tarmidi*, formed a special caste.

These priests attributed their origin, says Zimmern (*Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, p. 116), to a certain En-me-dur-an-ki, king of Sippar, in which city there was an especial cult of the sun-god. Zimmern identifies this king with Enoch, seventh forefather of man in the seven-branched genealogy of Genesis. Similarly, Mandaean priests count Anush (‘Annush, Enoch) the first priest.

Further, the *ashipu*'s functions as white magician resemble those of the Mandaean priest, whose duties still include exorcism of evil spirits and disease, the writing of horoscopes, and of charms and amulets.

To refer again to Enoch (the word means 'man' and he seems to be, like Adam, a personification of the human principle) the association is preserved to-day in a curious manner. The Arabs have given Enoch the name 'Idrīs' (in reference to his character as teacher—root *drs*), and it is a habit in Baghdad to pay visits to his reputed tomb, called Sayyid Idrīs, which lies in a village near Baghdad, on *Sundays*, and particularly on Easter Sunday. The pilgrims are Moslems, not Christians.

4. *Yardna.* Mandaeans say that this means 'river' or 'flowing water' and has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan, and I have heard the term Ardan applied to the Nile by an Iraqi Jew. In *raṭna* the word is used to designate any river, and usually in preference to the word *nahra*, which word is probably borrowed from the Arabic *nahr*, a river. (The root *nhr* shows how closely the meanings 'light' and 'water' are related in the Semitic mind. In Mandaic we get *nahra*, river, and *nhura* light; in Arabic *nahr*, river and *nahār*, day; in Hebrew *nāhār*, river and *n*^{e}*hārā*, daylight; and in Babylonian *na-a-ru* river, and *nu-u-ru*, daylight.)

A Mandaean says, in ordinary conversation, *yardna ṭufana ahvet* or *yardna brahaṭi* for 'the river is in flood'; indeed, the word is used when there is no question of ritual meaning.

Herodotus (book iii, pp. 416–17, Rawlinson's translation) wrote '. . . for I do not allow that there is any river, to which the barbarians give the name of Eridanus emptying itself into the northern sea, whence (as the tale goes) amber is procured . . . for in the first place Eridanus is manifestly not a barbarian word at all, but a Greek name, invented by some poet or other.'

To this Canon Rawlinson wrote a footnote relevant to the Jordan question: 'Here Herodotus is over-cautious, and rejects as fable what we can see to be truth. The amber district upon the northern sea is the coast of the Baltic about the Gulf of Dantzig. . . . The very name Eridanus lingers there in the Rhodaune, the small stream which washes the west side of the town of Dantzig. It is possible that in early times the name attached rather to the Vistula than to the Rhodaune. For the word Eridanus (= Rhodanus) seems to have been applied, by the early inhabitants of Europe, especially to great and strong-running rivers. The Italian Eridanus (the Po), the Transalpine Rhodanus (the Rhone), and the still more northern Rhenus (the Rhine), a name in which we may recognize a similar contraction to that which has now changed Rhodanus into Rhone, are all streams of this character.' He goes on to include Jordan as a possible derivation.

By a curious coincidence *Ard* appears temptingly in the name of the river genius, or river, Ardvîsûra, which according to Parsi tradition empties itself into the sea Vourukas͟ha, but *Ardvi* means 'lofty'. Sir J. J. Modi has an interesting note in his paper on the Mandaeans in the *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 23 (Bombay, 1932): 'The Ardviçura is identified by some scholars with the Oxus and the Vourukasha with the Caspian. The Jordan is to the Mandaeans what the Ardviçura is to the

Parsis. The Mandaeans believed that the Jordan, a terrestrial river, "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains". The same is the case with the river Ardviçura. It also latterly began to be associated with the high heavens and to be believed as coming down through the Hukairya mountains. The name Ardviçura, though originally the name of a particular river, came to be identified with any collection of natural, running or flowing waters. It is usual to hear Parsis saying of their going to the banks of a river or the shore of a sea as going to Avan Ardviçura.... A Parsi says his Ardviçura Niyâish or Ardviçura Yasht before any collection of natural, flowing living water, whether the great Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea, whether a river or a lake, whether a streamlet or a well.'

In Syriac ܝܪܕ is a 'fount or well', and in Arabic the word ورد with its meaning of 'coming to water' must be connected with the same root-signification.

It is interesting to note that the Mandaeans derive all rivers and waters from a prototype, a white, pure river rising in a mountain named Karimla. This prototype is the Frash Ziwa, or Frat-Ziwa, the Light-Euphrates, not the Jordan.

ABBREVIATIONS

BDM. W. Brandt's *Die Mandäer, ihre Entwickelung und geschichtliche Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1897).

BM. British Museum.

Ch. Ṣ. Dr. D. Chwolson's *Die Ssabier und Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856).

D.C. Drower collection: Mandaean documents in the possession of the author.

GR. *Der Ginza, übersetzt u. erklärt* von Mark Lidzbarski (Göttingen, 1925).

J. M. Jastrow's *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Berlin, Verlag Choreb, 1296).

JB. *Das Johannisbuch der Mandäer*, hrsg. von Mark Lidzbarski (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1915).

JGF. Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (various editions).

JJM. Sir Jīvanjī J. Modī's *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (British India Press, 1922).

KRC. *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 23, 1932.

OT. Old Testament.

N. Theodor Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1895).

P-S. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* founded on the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne-Smith D.D., edited by J. Payne-Smith (Clarendon Press, 1903).

Q. *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt,* &c. Mark Lidzbarski (Sitzber. d. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 17, no. 1, Berlin, 1920).

BOOK I

I

THE MANDAEANS (OR ṢUBBA) OF IRAQ AND IRAN

It is a peculiarity of the various communities and religions classed together as 'minorities' in modern Iraq that, for the most part, they 'keep to themselves', associating only with co-religionists and rarely marrying an outsider. Especially is this true of the Jews, the Yazīdīs, and the Ṣubba. Though the last group are only a handful of people, surrounded by neighbours of other faiths, they never mingle with them or admit them to intimacy; while a Ṣubbi who marries outside his race and creed automatically leaves it.

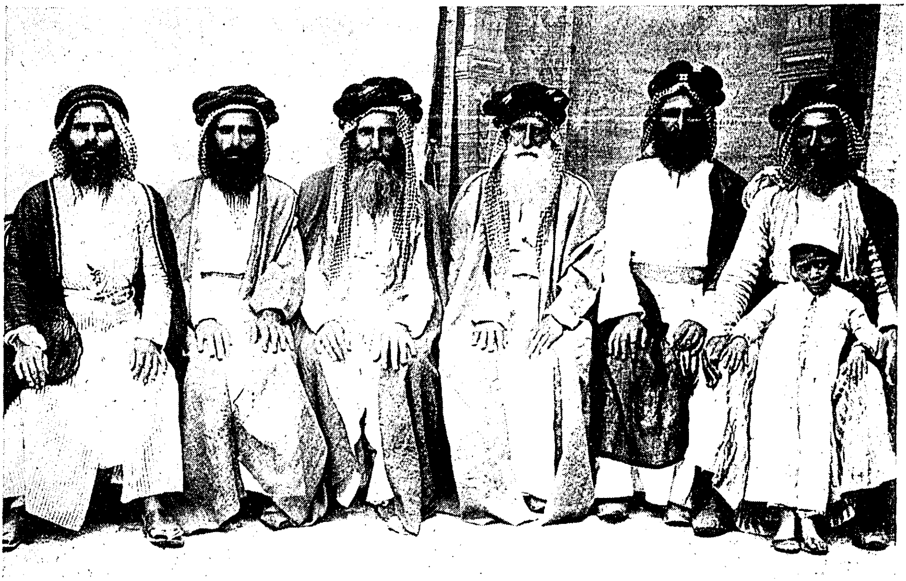
The appellation 'Ṣubba' (singular Ṣubbi)[1] is a colloquial form which this people accept as referring to their principal cult, immersion; but the more formal name of their race and religion, used by themselves, is Mandai, or Mandaeans.

In Arabic literature they appear as صابثة or الصابيون, and there can be little doubt that they are also identical with the Mughtasila[2] amongst whom, according to the *Fihrist*, Mānī, the founder of Manichaeism, was born. Arab authors have sometimes confounded the Mandaeans with the Majūs, or Magians, and not without reason, since the cults are similar. Travellers in the East were wont to refer to them as 'Christians of St. John', and Europeans who have come to Iraq since the Great War know them as 'the Amarah silverworkers'.

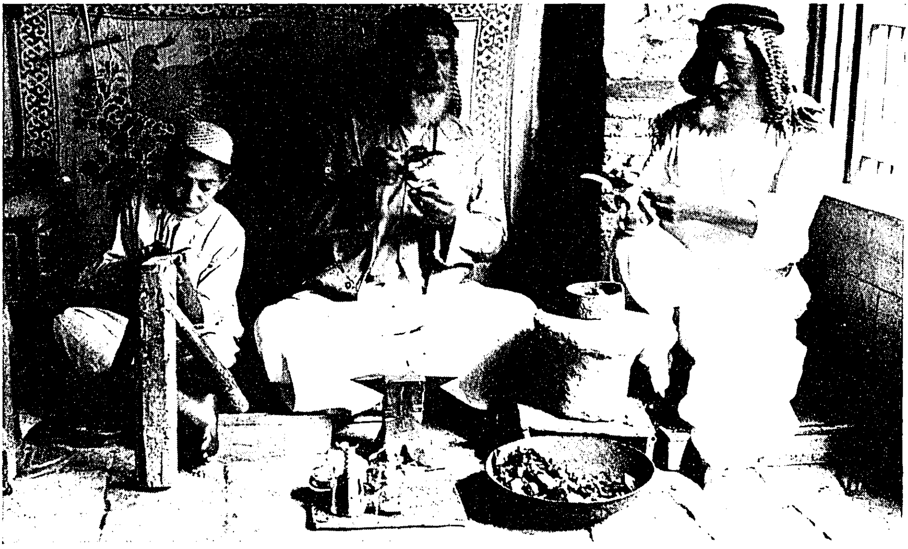
As the community is small and peace-loving, with no political aspirations, it has no place in history beyond the occasional mention of its existence, and the record that some of the most brilliant scholars of the early Moslem Caliphate were of its way of thought. To-day, the principal centres of the Ṣubba are in Southern Iraq, in the marsh districts and on the lower reaches of the Euphrates and Tigris; in the towns of Amarah, Nasoriyah, Basrah, at the junction of the two rivers at Qurnah, at Qal'at Salih, Halfayah, and Suq-ash-Shuyukh. Groups of them are found in the more northerly towns of Iraq: Kut, Baghdad, Diwaniyah, Kirkuk, and Mosul all have Ṣubbi communities of varying size. The skill of the Ṣubba as craftsmen takes them far afield, and Ṣubbi silver-shops exist in Beyrut, Damascus, and Alexandria. In Persia the Mandaeans were once numerous in the province of Khuzistan, but their numbers have diminished, and the settlements in Muhammerah and Ahwaz along the banks of the Karun river are not so prosperous or so healthy as those in Iraq.

The racial characteristics of these people are, as regards the better classes, marked, and they can be distinguished by their unusual physical type. I have said 'better classes', and by that I mean Mandaeans who come of priestly families, who are strict as to unblemished pedigree, and look for perfect health when they take a wife. The priestly families have two distinct types, one wiry, tanned, and black-eyed; the other tall, white-skinned, or slightly bronzed, and with a proportion of blue eyes to dark of about three persons in twelve. The poorer Mandaeans of the marsh districts and Southern Persia are darker-skinned and smaller-bodied than the priestly caste, who are almost invariably of good physique. As a rule, Mandaean features are strong and handsome, the nose big, curved, and long.

During the British occupation and the early days of the mandate, as one walked between the Ṣubbi silver-shops in River Street, Baghdad, one sometimes saw a board announcing the proprietor to be a 'St. John Christian', but these, now that Iraq has a national government, have disappeared. Like the followers of other secret religions, the Mandaeans, when talking to people of another faith, accentuate small points of resemblance between their beliefs and those of their hearers. To inquirers they will say, 'John is our prophet like Jesus' (or 'Muḥammad', as the case may be) 'is yours'. I soon found that John the



a. Mandaeans of priestly caste. The end figure (right) is the late silversmith, Zahrun



b. Hirmiz bar Anhar (right) in his silver shop in Baghdad

Baptist (Yuhana, or Yahya Yuhana) could not with accuracy be described as 'their prophet'; indeed, at one time I was tempted to believe that he was an importation from the Christians. I became gradually convinced, however, that he was not a mere accretion, and that he had real connexion with the original Naṣurai, which was an early name given to the sect. Mandaeans do not pretend that either their religion or baptismal cult originated with John; the most that is claimed for him is that he was a great teacher, performing baptisms in the exercise of his function as priest, and that certain changes, such as the diminution of prayer-times from five to three a day, were due to him. According to Mandaean teaching, he was a Naṣurai; that is, an adept in the faith, skilled in the white magic of the priests and concerned largely with the healing of men's bodies as well as their souls.[3] By virtue of his *naṣirut͟ha*, iron could not cut him, nor fire burn him, nor water drown him, claims made to-day by the Rifāʿi *darāwīs͟h*.

Jesus too, according to Mandaean theologians, was a Naṣurai, but he was a rebel, a heretic, who led men astray, betrayed secret doctrines, and made religion easier (i.e. flouted the difficult and elaborate rules about purification).

The references to Christ (Ys͟hu Ms͟hiha) are, in fact, entirely polemical, and for the most part refer to the practices of Byzantine Christianity which awake horror in Mandaeans, such as the use of 'cut-off' (i.e. not flowing) water for baptism, and the celibacy of monks and nuns.[4] The Haran Gawait͟ha (D.C. 9) mentions the establishment of Christian communities on Mount Sinai. In the cults, Jesus and John are both unmentioned.[5] Siouffi's story that John's name is pronounced at baptism is a fiction. In no ritual is he mentioned or invoked, unless I except the *duk͟hrana*, when lists of spirits of light, holy men, and the righteous dead from the earliest times to the present are read; but in these lists he has no especial honour.

The explanation of the term 'Christian of St. John' lies therefore, not in the relation of either Christ or John to the sect, but partly in the fact that John is a useful name to produce to Christians, and has often been cited to induce their toleration, and partly in the obvious connexion between the word 'Naṣurai' and the Arabic word for Christians—Naṣāra. I am not going to enter here into the controversy which arose when Lidzbarski pointed out the philological difficulties which prevent *Ναζωραῖος* נאצוראיא meaning 'a man from Nazareth'. So strong was his belief that it did not, that he suggested that the evangelists placed the childhood of Jesus at Nazareth to explain the tradition that he was a 'Naṣurai'. His arguments are set forth in *Mandäische Liturgien*, xvi ff., and in the introduction to his translation of the Ginza Rba (GR., p. ix). I refer the reader to these.

In Mandaean manuscripts and legends, however, the word Naṣurai is generally used in the sense indicated above, namely, 'one skilled in religious matters and white magic', while the Christians are usually called *mshihiia*, that is to say, 'followers of the Messiah', or *kristianaia*, 'Christians'. Magic rolls bear the inscription, 'this is written from the *naṣirutha* (i.e. priestly craft) of So-and-So'. Of John it is written in the Haran Gawaitha:

> 'When he was seven years old, Anush 'Uthra[6] came and wrote the ABC (*a ba ga*) for him, until, when he was twenty-two years old, he had learnt all the priestly-craft (*naṣirutha*).'

In later manuscripts Naṣurai are often mentioned as if they were of higher grade than laymen, e.g. 'Naṣurai *and* Mandai', while nowadays I hear the word sometimes applied to a priest who is especially literate, or reputed skilful in white magic. 'Ah, he is a *real* Naṣurai!'

What is the root-meaning? Lidzbarski thinks it akin to 'observe', and deduces that the Naṣurai were 'observers'. Another Orientalist suggests that it may be analogous to the Syriac root *nṣr* meaning (P-S.) 'to chirp, twitter (as a bird), utter broken sounds (as a magician), to chant, sing praises'.

Both these suggested root-meanings agree with Mandaean conceptions. The Naṣurai was an observer of stars and omens, of constellations, and of auspices. A Mandaean priest in Ahwaz, speaking of the secret knowledge transmitted from priest to priest, vaunted this secret knowledge.

'If a raven croaks in a certain *burj* (astrological house) I understand what it says, also the meaning when the fire crackles or the door creaks. When the sky is cloudy and there are shapes in the sky resembling a mare or a sheep, I can read their significance and message. When the moon (*gumra*) is darkened by an eclipse, I understand the portent: when a dust-cloud arises, black, red, or white, I read the signs, and all this according to the hours and the aspects.'

The second meaning also answers to the functions and nature of the Naṣurai. No exorcism, no ceremony, no religious act is considered efficacious without a formula. Words have magic power. The mere utterance of a name will compel its owner to be at the service of the utterer, or at least, will summon his presence. Prayers, except when profoundly secret and pronounced 'in the heart', are spoken aloud. In short, the Mandaean of to-day, like his predecessors in the land of S̲h̲umer long ago, believes in incantation.

The last name, *Mandai*, or Mandaeans, brings me to the question of the origin of these people. I discussed it originally in an article on the Mandi (cult-hut) in *Ancient Egypt and the East* (June 1934), and the theory there tentatively proffered has lately received strengthening evidence from the Haran Gawait̲h̲a, (D.C. 9) a most interesting manuscript which, after years of effort, I succeeded in purchasing. Here, at last, I found what I had been looking for, definite information about the Ṭura d̲ Madai (Mountain of the Maddai or Mandai), which figures in Mandaean tradition and legend.

The manuscript is broken, the beginning is missing, and it bears marks of shameless editing. Owing to this last, it is difficult to date it from internal evidence. Unlike the 18th book of the Ginza (rt.), it assigns 4,000 years to Arab rule before the advent of the "lying Messiah", but, like the Ginza, says that "the mud brick in the wall" will proclaim him. Bar K̲h̲ūni in his 'Scholion' (A.D. 792) repeats the same legend.

On the other hand, *tarmida* is used in its ancient sense of 'disciple'. It is written after the Arab invasion, but the attacks on Islam are not so venomous as those on the Yahuṭaiia, which word is used throughout as meaning both 'Chaldeans' and 'Jews'. (In Legend VI the narrator called Nebuchadnezzar 'the king of the Jews'.)

The roll purports to be a history and prophecy combined, and is looked upon with the utmost reverence by the Mandaeans, though on account of its dangerously polemical character it has been always kept secret.

It starts in the middle of a sentence:

> 'The interior of the Haran (i.e. Harran) admitted them, that city which has Naṣurai in it, so that there should not be a road (passage?) for the kings of the Yahuṭaiia (Chaldeans). Over them (the Naṣurai) was King Ardban. And they severed themselves from the sign of the Seven and entered the mountain of the Madai, a place where they were free from domination of all races. And they built *mandis* (*mandia*) and dwelt in the call of the Life and in the strength of the high King of Light.'

The birth of Jesus is narrated briefly, and—

> 'He perverted the words of the Light and changed them to darkness and converted those who were mine and perverted all the cults (*'bidatha*). . . . He and his brother established themselves on Mount Sinai and took unto themselves all nations and brought the people unto themselves and were called Christians (*krastinaiia*) and were called after Nazareth (*Niṣrath mdinta*).'

Nazareth is identified with the city of Qum!

The miraculous birth of John (Yahya Yuhana) follows (the account differs from that in the Drasha d Yahya), and the story of his rearing in the 'white mountain' Parwan, of his baptism, education, and initiation into priesthood in the Mountain of the Madai. Later in the document the Mountain of the Madai is located, *mitqiria Haran Gawaitha*, 'which is called the Inner Harran'. A curious gloss, possibly interpolated, since it breaks the current of narration, says:

> 'The Madai are not counted as belonging to Ruha[7] and her seven Sons because there are amongst them (those) of Hibil Ziwa.'

John is brought to Jerusalem, where, apparently, there was a community from the Mountain of the Madai:

> 'And Anush 'Uthra brought him and came with him to the city of Jerusalem, amongst the community (*kinta d kanat*) founded by Ruha. All of them belonged to her and to her sons except those from the Mountain of the Madai.'

There is no account of John's baptism of Christ (as in the Drasha d Yahya), or of John's baptism of Manda-d-Hiia: indeed, the expression 'Manda-d-Hiia' is not used throughout. John is represented as teacher, baptist, and healer: 'he taught disciples (*tarmid tarmidia*)', and 'set the broken going upon their legs'.

Sixty years after his death, the manuscript relates, there was a persecution of Naṣurai in Jerusalem, 'so that there did not escape of the disciples and Naṣurai a man'. The escape of a remnant is indicated. The Jews in their turn were harried, and many of them driven 'by a flail' to a place called Suf Zaba ('stream of reeds') later glossed as 'Baṣra'. This migration is embroidered by the 'historian' with detail from the ancient flight from Egypt, as he describes a miraculous passage through the waters (of the marshes? Suf Zaba is evidently here the reedy marsh region of the Basrah district). No pursuing host is mentioned.

With the help of Ruha, the 'Yahuṭaiia' (here Chaldeans) built a strong new city with seven walls, 'each more magnificent than its fellow'. This city ('Baghdad') is destroyed utterly later by the powers of light, aided by the 'Madai' and seven guards (*naṭria*) from 'Mount Parwan'. A descendant of King Ardban is set up in 'Baghdad', and his rule established over the four corners of the world. Satraps are set up over the provinces, and these all have Mandaean names. This rule is thoroughly approved of by the Powers of Light.

Next comes a description of the destruction of Jerusalem by the powers of light.

> 'He (Anush 'Uthra) went and burnt and destroyed the city of Jerusalem and killed the Beni Israel (*bnia Sriil*) and the priests (*kahnia*) of Jerusalem and made it like mounds of ruins (*akwath tilia d habarawatha*).'

The period of prosperity in Babylonia is followed by divisions, many races, tongues and wars. The Hardabaiia (or *harba baiia*, "seeking war"?) take the power from the descendants of Ardban and their king rules "360 years", till the Arab era.

The writer, however, is less concerned with invaders and rulers, such as the Hardabaiia, than with a split within the ranks of the Naṣuraiia themselves. He chronicles a large settlement of Naṣuraiia at Ṭīb (i.e. the well-watered lowlands between the marshes of the Amarah Liwa and the Jebel Hamrin), and describes how, eighty-six years before the Moslem invasion, one Qiqel, a *rish 'ama* (religious chief) of the Naṣurai, was deluded by Ruha disguised as a spirit of light, so that he, together with his priests and many others, fell away from the true faith and wrote 'writings' inspired by the powers of darkness. That this was still a powerful heresy appears from the exhortations of the writer to avoid contact with these schismatics and to burn and destroy their works.

After this, the coming of the Arabs appears a minor disaster. Muḥammad is sometimes termed 'Son of Harm, the Arab', and sometimes 'Muḥammad, son of 'Abdallah'.

The writer relates how one 'Anush son of Danqa' 'from the mountains of Arsaiia' (*mn ṭura ḏ Arsaiia*—*ṭura* is used for mountainous country as well as 'mount') approached the Arab king (*malka*) and explained to him that the Mandaeans had valuable and holy writings and an ancient religion. Thus he won protection for his co-religionists.

Here ends the relation of the past, and prophecy for the future begins—ending with the ultimate confusion of the Arabs, the reign of the false Messiah, the eventual return of Anush 'Uthra, and then, a final débâcle before the end of the world under the dominion of 'Amamit, daughter of Qin'.

The importance of the document lies in the implication that the Naṣurai are identical with the Parthians, since the latter correspond most nearly with the *bnia ḏ bnia ḏ Ardban Malka*, who came from the Ṭura ḏ Madai. That this was a mountainous country and stretched to Harran is clearly indicated, also, that not all the 'Madai' were Naṣurai. Noteworthy also is the fact that the expression 'Manda d̲ Hiia' does not occur, nor the expression 'Mandai' for Mandaeans. It may be argued that 'Madai' refers to the Mandaeans, but in that case, Mandaean cannot mean 'gnostic' but refers to nationality.[8]

I had long been concerned with this question of origins. When I questioned the priests and got the answer 'We came from the North', I did not attach much literal value to the answer, for dwellers in the Middle East cannot distinguish between religion and race, and the divine ancestors naturally resided in the north, the seat of the gods.[9]

But there seemed something more than this in their refusal to acknowledge Lower Iraq as the original home of the race. There is an arrogance, almost worthy of the present 'Nordic' propaganda, about the following, culled from the seventh fragment of the eleventh book of the Ginza Rba:

> 'All the world calls the north a highland and the south a lowland. For the worlds of darkness lie in the lowlands of the South. . . . Whoso dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons.'

Pinned down to detail, the Mandaean priests produced a hotch potch of legend and tradition, but the Mountain of the Maddai always figured in their accounts. When I pressed for information as to its whereabouts, answers differed. Some thought it must be identical with Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa, that ideal world which corresponds to our own. Others were more precise. 'It is, I think, in Iran, for Madia is in Iran.' One priest ventured, 'Some say the Ṭura d̲ Maddai is in Turkestan, and I have heard that the Arabs call it Jebel Ṭai'. Significant was the remark of another Ṣubbi when speaking of baptism: 'the Ṣubba of old time were with the Persians in a place where there were springs which were hot in winter and cold in summer.' The Mountain of the Mandai described in one of the legends has an equable climate and hot springs. Less direct evidence is furnished by the references, so common in the texts, to 'black water' which 'burns like fire'. This can be nothing else but the black oil seepages and outcrops of burning oil and gas so common in oil-bearing districts.

Oddly enough, the priests do not place the creation of man in the north. Adam, the First Man, they say, was in Serandib (Ceylon). Still more inexplicable is the assertion that the Egyptians were co-religionists, and that the original ancestors of the Mandaean race went from Egypt to the Ṭura d̲ Madai. Yearly, a ritual meal is eaten in memory of the Egyptian hosts who perished in the waters when following the wicked Jews. This story must come through some Israelitish source, and one is inclined to wonder if that portion of the Israelites who were taken captive by Sargon were in truth settled near the Caspian, converted to Mazdaism, and merged into the people of the district, as some have suggested.

However, legend, tradition, and the Haran Gawaitha point all in one direction, namely, that at one time a community whose beliefs approximated to those held by the Mandaeans, inhabited a mountainous country to the north, that this country stood in some relation to Harran, that a sect in Jerusalem which afterwards emigrated to the south were of the same faith, and that Maddai or Mandai originally had no reference to religion. Further, it appears not only from the narrative of the Haran Gawaitha but, as I shall show in this book, from all the cults and the ideas which underlie them, that the faith held by all these people was in fact closely related to Mazdaism, or to early Zoroastrianism, as well as to some ancient Babylonian cults.

I now approach, with some diffidence, a series of philological and historical coincidences. What does 'Madai' or 'Mandai' mean? In the extract from the Haran Gawaitha quoted above, the expression 'they built *mandis* and dwelt' is used. To-day, the ordinary cult-hut, called in the literary language *mashkhana* (dwelling), is known in *raṭna* (colloquial modern Mandaean) as the 'mandi'. In the roll 'Sharh d̲ Parwanaia' (D.C. 24) the cult-hut is called the *manda*. Priests explain, 'the word is Persian and means a dwelling'. The word occurs again in a compound form in the term *mandilta* (*mand-ilta*), the name of the curious triple betyl erected in the courtyard of a house where a member of the family has died, the meaning here being obviously 'dwelling-of-the-spirit', or 'dwelling-of-the-god'. (See pp. 181–184.)

Now on the strength of similarities of religious phraseology in Syriac and Aramaic, 'Manda d̲ Hiia' has hitherto been translated 'knowledge of life', i.e. gnosis; and by analogy, 'Mandai' as 'gnostics'. As Professor Pallis has already pointed out, the form would be an imported one. The word for 'knowledge' in Mandaean literature is *madita*, *yadụt̲h̲a*, *madda* or *madiht̲h̲a*, and nowhere is the *n* imported into any form of the verb '*ada*, 'to know'. Why is this? Moreover, when separated from the name 'Manda d̲ Hiia' the translation as 'knowledge' or 'gnosis' becomes a little strained, as in the sentence:

> 'Thou (Manda d̲ Hiia) art . . . the great Tree which is all *mandia*' (plural).'

The Tree is a common religious symbol in Mandaean books for Divine Life, and the souls of Mandaeans are not seldom represented as birds, taking refuge in the shelter of a Vine, or Tree, against the tempests of the world. Here, to translate the word *mandia* by 'dwellings' or 'shelters' would make sense.

There was actually a district known as Manda in late Babylonian times; Winckler, in *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889, p. 112, places this 'Manda', 'am kaspischen Meere und östlich davon'. Nevertheless, the whereabouts of the province is not certain. About 553 B.C. (see the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. iii, p. 220), the god Marduk, appearing to Nabonidus in a dream, bade him restore the ancient and famous moon-temple of Harran. The king urged that it was still in the hands of the Umman-Manda, and asked how could a Babylonian king—

> 'interfere with their share of the spoil obtained by Cyaxares? The god answered that the Umman-Manda were dead or scattered, for

in the third year of Nabonidus, Cyrus, the king
defeated them, carried Ishtumegu (Astyages) into ca
spoiled their city of Ecbatana.'

Ecbatana is the modern Hamadan. Winc
that the Umman-Manda were possibly a
R. W. Rogers, in his *A History of Ancient P*
ventures to equate the Manda with the Mad
Delattre (*Le Peuple et l'empire des Mèdes*, 1883

> 'Dans l'inscription babylonienne qui porte son no
> maître de toute l'Asie occidentale, divise les peuples
> en trois groupes, les peuples de Qûti ou Guti, les peup
> qaqqadi, et les peuples de Manda. Les Qûti étaient
> l'Arménie, les peuples de Tsalmat-qaqqadi étaien
> nations soumises aux empires essentiellement sémiti
> et de Babylone. Les peuples de Manda étaient les
> Mèdes. Nabonide donne à Astyage le titre de "roi
> Manda". La dénomination de "hommes de Manda
> par Asarhaddon aux Gimirriens (Cimmériens, peu
> voisin de la Mer Noire), auxquels la Bible attribue l
> les Mèdes, et qui aidèrent ceux-ci à ruiner l'empire
> cet ensemble, est-il permis de conclure que le nom
> Manda" était une qualification ethnique désignant les
> voisins du Caucase, comme les Cimmériens, ainsi qu
> l'Iran?'

The word *manda* occurs in several Iranian
languages in which Iranian words occur; for
northern India the word *maṇḍī* means a 'cover
or 'bazaar'. In Gujarati there is the word
maṇḍava, meaning a 'shed' or 'temple', deriv
Sanskrit *maṇḍapa* with the same meaning.
the Nilgiris in southern India, who have a
migration from the Caspian, call their villa
of thatched huts with a dairy for the sacr
a *mand*. *Ma-da* occurs in Sumerian as mean
settlement' (philologists are undecided as
Semitic *matu* is related to it or not. Does
back to the Medes?).

Philology is a quicksand for all who are not
and I do not venture, therefore, to do more t

the king of Anzan, had
ges) into captivity and had

n. Winckler surmises
sibly a Median tribe.
Ancient Persia (p. 12),
the Madai, or Medes.
des, 1883, p. 195), says:

> rte son nom, Cyrus, déjà
> es peuples qui lui obéissent
> ti, les peuples de Tsalmat-
> Qûti étaient les peuples de
> qadi étaient la masse des
> ent sémitiques de Ninive
> étaient les sujets des rois
> re de "roi des hommes de
> de Manda" est appliquée
> ériens, peuple de Gomer,
> e attribue les affinités avec
> r l'empire de Ninive. De
> ue le nom de "peuple de
> ésignant les peuples aryens
> ns, ainsi que les peuples de

ral Iranian dialects, or
occur; for instance, in
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the word *maṇḍap* or
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erections of wandering

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Against the theory
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guage.

Nöldeke stated Ma

> 'Mandaean is closely re
> lonian Talmud. Both th
> speaking . . . actually, we
> lonian Talmud was that
> in Lower Babylonia.' (N

Elsewhere he wrote

> 'Close relationship bet
> guage is apparent througho
> appears to be a later form
> for the Mandaean texts
> with foreign elements, and
> better than the Talmud.
> more than a few accide
> the Iraqi Nabataeans, (
> Babylonia), we should ag
> and Talmudic, and far
> p. xxvi.)

The lack of guttur
fusion between *s* and
some extent in the ol
that *one h* is made to d
h does seem to indica

foreign to the people who spoke it, or that there were considerable Aryan (if one dare use so abused a word), or non-Semitic elements. There is, in fact, a soft *h*, but as it is used exclusively and only for the third person suffix, and pronounced *i* or *a*, according to gender and number, it cannot be counted in.

Leaving the doubtful question of origins, and turning to the history of the race in Iraq, the Ṣābians are mentioned three times in the Qur'ān in conjunction with Jews and Christians, as people of a recognized religion. I have referred already to the Arab sources of information gathered by Chwolson in his monumental work. He gives a full account of the brilliant Ṣābian scholars of the Baghdad Court. Greek learning first became accessible to Europe through Arab translations of the classics, and amongst the first translators into Arabic were Ḥarrānian Ṣābians at the Caliph's capital city. Physicians, astrologers, philosophers, and poets, the Ṣābians were an adornment to Arab civilization and helped to found its fame.

These Ḥarrānians may have secured for their brethren of the marshes, a simpler and more primitive people, some degree of toleration and fair treatment. Throughout the Middle Ages, however, the glimpses that one gets of the Mandaeans show them harassed by persecution. One disaster in the fourteenth century left such a mark on their memories that they still speak of it to-day. I came on a record of it at the end of a magic roll that I examined recently, and the same account is set in the *tarikh* at the end of a codex in Shaikh Dukhayil's possession. It tells of a frightful slaughter of Mandaeans in the Jazīrah when Sultān Muḥsin ibn Mahdī was ruler in Amarah and his son Feyyādh governor in Shuster. The cause was a woman, a Ṣubbiyaḥ, who, going down to the river on the first day of the New Year, at a time when all Mandaeans keep within doors (see pp. 85–86) was seized by Arabs from a fleet of boats lying in the river. Fighting ensued, and war against the Ṣubba was proclaimed. Priests, men, women, and children were massacred and the community remained broken and priestless for years.

'If oppressed (persecuted), then say: We belong to you. But do not confess him in your hearts, or deny the voice of your Master, the high King of Light, for to the lying Messiah the hidden is not revealed.' (GR. rt. 28, 16.)

Such precepts from the Ginza Rba must, in the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese had a trading station in Basrah, have resulted in the Mandaean being taken for a peculiarly pernicious heretic. Urged by their clergy, the Portuguese authorities persuaded the Pasha to compel 'Christians of St. John' to come to church. Means were taken to convert them by force; some were pressed into the Portuguese army. In the early seventeenth century a number of Mandaeans were Portuguese mercenaries.

In recent times the Turks showed more tolerance, for, as war and the shedding of blood are against Mandaean tenets, the Ṣubba were permitted to pay fines instead of serving in the Ottoman Army. It remains to be seen what will happen when Iraq brings conscription into force. The position is no longer the same, however. The hold of the religion has become so feeble that I met recently a young Ṣubbi officer who had served in the campaign against the Assyrians, and several Ṣubbi youths are cadets.

Indeed, modern methods, modern ways, nationalistic education, cinemas, cars, and all that make up the new Iraq, threaten the existence of this already dwindling community. In Government schools, boys conform to a pattern in dress, manners, and thought. Mandaean boys (including those of priestly caste) take to European dress and wear the *sidāraḥ* cap,[11] and, when they return to their homes, neglect and slight the precepts of the priests. In the stress of school, or later business or office life, ceremonial ablutions are seldom performed, while sons of priests cut their hair and shave, and so become ineligible for priesthood (see Chapter IX). One by one, as priestly perquisites diminish and incomes lessen, the calling becomes unpopular. If these conditions persist, the priesthood will gradually die out, and without priests to baptize, marry, and bury them, the Mandaeans as a sect must disappear. There is a further drain on the community in the shape of

apostates. Ṣubbiyah̤ girls marry outside
adopt their husbands' creeds, and youths fors
so incompatible with worldly advantage and
big towns the publicity of the river-side m
scribed ablutions and baptisms all but impo

According to the last census (April 1932
of Ṣubba in Iraq[12] is given as 4,805. I in
this an understatement, which will be revi
get the results of the new census recently
Iraqi Government. Under the mandate, com
those at Amarah and Qalʿat Salih took on
perity, and independent Iraq promises p
tolerance. The danger to the flock lies wi
rather than from wolves without.

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. *Ṣubba* or *Ṣabba*; singular *Ṣubbi* or *Ṣabbi*. A colloq
allied to the Mandaean *ṣba* and Syriac ܨܒܥ: 'to plunge i
Mandaean there is a tendency in the case of a weak th
replace it by a doubled second root-letter. There is, ho
daean root *ṣbb*. A parallel occurs in the colloquial Iraqi
'to penetrate, go down into', allied to the Mandaean *ṭ*
meaning.

Mandaean *ṣba* is also used for 'plunge into a dye-
meaning has its reflection in the Mandaean belief that
immersion, results in a change of colour: a person goes
black and emerges white; he goes in polluted and comes
clad in light. Arabic-speaking Mandaeans use the Arabi
or dye') when speaking of baptism, not the Christian *ʿam*

The Mandaean verbal noun *maṣbuta*, 'baptism', is pron

The exact meaning of the *faʿil* form of the root *ṣba* em
literature is discussed by Chwolson (Ch. Ṣ, bk. i, chap. i),
Svend Aage Pallis in his *Mandaean Bibliography*, pp. 19

2. *Mughtasila*, i.e. 'those who wash themselves'. Th
was in the marshy districts of Lower Iraq, and I can fi
account given in *Al-Fihrist* which is not descriptive o
Mandaeanism.

3. Cf. Matt., chap. xi, vv. 3, 4, and 5: 'Now when Joh
the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and sa
thou he that should come, or do we look for another? Je
said unto them, Go and shew John again those things whi

the faith and
rsake a religion
d town life. In
nakes the pre-
ossible.

2) the number
ncline to think
vised when we
taken by the
mmunities like
n a new pros-
protection and
vithin the fold

---

quial Arabic word
in, submerge'. In
hird-root letter to
however, no Man-
Arabic verb *ṭabb*,
ṭba with the same

-bath'. This dual
maṣbuta, or ritual
in metaphorically
es out purified and
ic *iṣṭabagh* ('souse
mad ('to baptize').
nounced *maṣwetta*.
mployed in Arabic
also by Professor
ff.

ne seat of this sect
nd nothing in the
of some aspects of

hn heard in prison
aid unto him, Art
esus answered and
ich ye do hear and

---

see: The blind receive thei
and the deaf hear, the de
preached unto them.'

4. *The Naṣurai and ce*
Mandaean legend often r
munities, resembling stron
Josephus and Philo. Jose
also another order of Esse
living and customs and law
they think that those who
life, which is the continua

Similarly, the Manichae
priests, whilst laymen were

In both Semitic and I
ideas. Whilst, on the one ha
a state of impurity brough
worship of the principle of
Jews, as well as Mandaeans,
unmarried, by both sects, a
and demons, and from su
mankind are born—a con

The Ginza Rba (GR.,
monks and nuns and hold
from the men and the men
mouths and put white garn
to them and receive seed
proceed from them whic
Thompson's *Semitic Magi*

The Zoroastrians enjoi
'According to the Vendida
thushtra! Indeed I thus r
above a Magava (i.e. unm
with a family above one w
one who is without childre

Siouffi (p. 97) speaks o
man who wishes to be pe
death prayers read over hi
apart from his wife. Siou
the novice and the priest
It is an example of the dan
with the Mandaeans, I fo

Mandaeans deny vehem
during preparation for pr
from his wife, except at th
bacy, indeed of extreme a
Lidzbarski seem to have a

aith and
religion
life. In
the pre-
e.
number
to think
vhen we
n by the
ities like
ew pros-
tion and
the fold

rabic word
merge'. In
ot letter to
, no Man-
verb *ṭabb*,
n the same

This dual
a, or ritual
aphorically
urified and
agh ('souse
o baptize').
l *maṣwetta*.
l in Arabic
Professor

of this sect
ning in the
aspects of

d in prison
o him, Art
wered and
o hear and

---

see: The blind receive their sight, a
and the deaf hear, the dead are ra
preached unto them.'

4. *The Naṣurai and celibacy.*
Mandaean legend often represents
munities, resembling strongly those
Josephus and Philo. Josephus says
also another order of Essenes, who
living and customs and laws, but di
they think that those who do not m
life, which is the continuance of ma

Similarly, the Manichaean 'Ṣidd
priests, whilst laymen were allowed

In both Semitic and Iranian re
ideas. Whilst, on the one hand, sexua
a state of impurity brought defilem
worship of the principle of Life bade
Jews, as well as Mandaeans, regard t
unmarried, by both sects, are suppo
and demons, and from such unha
mankind are born—a conception a

The Ginza Rba (GR., p. 153)
monks and nuns and hold back the
from the men and the men from th
mouths and put white garments far
to them and receive seeds from t
proceed from them which plague
Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, pp. 68

The Zoroastrians enjoined marr
'According to the Vendidad (iv. 47
thushtra! Indeed I thus recomme
above a Magava (i.e. unmarried ma
with a family above one without a
one who is without children.' JJM

Siouffi (p. 97) speaks of a form
man who wishes to be perfect, an
death prayers read over him and wil
apart from his wife. Siouffi probab
the novice and the priest becoming
It is an example of the danger of p
with the Mandaeans, I followed hi

Mandaeans deny vehemently a
during preparation for priesthood
from his wife, except at the times v
bacy, indeed of extreme asceticism
Lidzbarski seem to have accepted S

nd the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed
ised up, and the poor have the gospel

In direct contradiction to these tenets,
the Naṣurai as living in celibate com-
of the celibate Essenes, as described by
, however (vol. iv, p. 156): 'There is
agree with the rest as to their way of
fer from them as regards marriage. For
arry cut off the principal part of human
nkind.'

iqs' were a vegetarian, celibate order of
both to marry and to eat meat.

ligions there is an internal conflict of
l intercourse and contact with women in
ent, on the other, tribal instinct and the
men 'be fruitful and multiply'. Oriental
e bachelor as a sinner against Life. The
ed to be liable to commerce with lili_th_s
llowed unions evil spirits harmful to
lso prevalent in ancient Babylonia.

says of Christians: '. . . they become
r seed one from the other, the women
women. . . . They lay fasting on their
from their bodies. . . . Then lili_th_s go
hem, and so (evil) spirits and goblins
mankind.' (See also Dr. Campbell
ff.).

riage and the procreation of children:
) Ahura Mazda says: O Spitama Zara-
nd here unto thee a man with a wife
n) who grows up (unmarried), a man
ny family, a man with children above
I, p. 14.

of Mandaean celibacy and says that a
l forsake the world utterly, will have
l live like a dead man in his own house,
ly mistook the temporary seclusion of
a ganzibra for a permanent celibacy.
reconceived ideas that, in early dealing
s error through having read his book.
y such practice, and assert that only
nd the ganzivrate does a man separate
hen she is impure. All forms of celi-
, are abhorrent to them. Brandt and
iouffi's statement without verification.

5. Except a punning polemical reference to the Msh
for the minor ablution.

6. *Anush ʿUthra.* A spirit of Life: a personification
ciple in man. Anush = 'Man', ʿUthra = 'heavenly bein
parallel 'Gabriel'—Gabra = 'Man', -el is a suffix de
heavenly origin.

7. *Ruha and her Seven Sons.* The Breath of Physical
the seven planets. For her connexion with Hibil Ziwa
Book II, pp. 252, 256 and Legend III.

8. But *Madai* does not necessarily mean 'Medes', for
'*Madaiia*'. In a long, interesting, and often-copied ma
and 15) bearing indications of early authorship, there
Medes, Persians, and Romans couched in unfriendly ter

'*Asirna umshabidna Shamish malka d alahia d ziwh dn
tha atha kbishlia malkuth pars umadaiia bshum razia d
umshabidna Sin mara rama nhura uhshukha aziq mn qua
watha d ruhmaiia auilia masira asirna umshabidna
umadaiia bshuma Blaṭina Anbilaṭ uRuiaiil.*'

(I bind and grasp Shamish, king of all gods, whose brill
all cities. Come and tread down the kingdom of the Persi
in the name of the seven mysteries of their father. . . . I b
lofty lord of light and darkness. Discomfit before them t
the dominion[s] of the Romans. Firmly I tie and secure
the Romans and the Medes in the name of Blaṭina Anbila
made fast'] and Ruiaiil.) Both my texts are corrupt.

9. *The North.* The north is the source of light, instru
in prayer, as in death, the Mandaean faces the Polar Sta
think deeply, he faces the north, and sleeps with his he
rise in the right direction. Natural phenomena foster hi
wind of Iraq is healthful, whereas the south wind is
rivers which bring life to the dusty plains flow from the
conditions are responsible for this choice of the north as a
which a worshipper faces when praying), the Babylonia
same country, had the same reasons for praying towards t

The Zoroastrians and modern Parsis faced south at
Modi says: 'This is due to the fact that the ancient Irania
the Parsis, had a natural hatred for the north, from whi
all kinds of dangers and evils, whether climatic, physic
The winds from the northern cold regions brought sick
Persia. Again the marauders from Mazenderan, Gilan,
ing regions in the north brought destruction and death.
hand, the south was considered a very auspicious side. T
south were healthy and invigorating.' (JJM., pp. 56–7.

Nevertheless, the Parsis place a dead body so that the h
the feet north—exactly as the Mandaeans do (JJM., p.

hiha in the prayers

of the divine prin-
ng'. Cf. the exactly
enoting divinity or

l Life and her sons
a (a light spirit) see

'Medes' is written
agic roll (D.C. 13
e are references to
rms:
nia lkulhun mdinia-
d abhun . . . asirna
damaihun d malka-
kbushlia ruhmaiia

lliance is shed upon
ians and the Medes
bind and grasp Sin,
those who bring in
e them. Overthrow
lat [*Blat* = 'bolted,

uction, and healing:
tar. If he wishes to
head south, so as to
his belief; the north
s enervating. The
e north. If climatic
a Qiblah (direction
ans, inhabiting the
the north.
t prayer. Sir J. J.
ans, the ancestors of
hich side proceeded
ical or mental. . . .
kness and death in
, and other adjoin-
. . . . On the other
The winds from the
.)
head lies south and
. 56).

The Ḥarrānian Ṣābians,
performing their devotions.

There are indications in t
the Jews was the north. I
influences, that the Rabbis m

The Essenes faced the ris
the symbol of the resurrec
Christians face to the east in

The Shī'a *fellaḥīn* of Irac
My golf-caddy recently, refe
wind said 'Paradise (*Jennaḥ*
South'.

10. *Nbaṭ*—of the Nabata

11. A felt forage-cap intro
head-dress.

12. Thévenot, in 1663, g
as 3,279 souls. In 1672 the
that there were 2,500 Mand
were colonies of them in M
stay in Suq-ash-Shuyukh in
Siouffi, in 1880, computed t
1,500 were men and boys.

The Iraqi census of April
Kirkuk, 7; Baghdad, 244; I
738; Amarah, 1,972; Munta

The census of June 1935
Baghdad, 125; Dulaim, 5;
Kirkuk, 26; Kut, 84; Munta

The Mandaean priest in A
city was 200.

Note. Mr. Henry Field'
(Field Museum of Natural
1937), gives a statistical, ant
the Mandaeans in Iraq.

n the prayers

divine prin-
f. the exactly
g divinity or

and her sons
ht spirit) see

es' is written
oll (D.C. 13
references to

lhun mdinia-
n . . . asirna
hun d̲ malka-
lia ruhmaiia

is shed upon
d the Medes
nd grasp Sin,
who bring in
. Overthrow
aṭ = 'bolted,

and healing:
he wishes to
uth, so as to
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vating. The
. If climatic
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le proceeded
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and death in
ther adjoin-
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nds from the

ies south and

The Ḥarrānian Ṣābians, like th
performing their devotions.

There are indications in the Old
the Jews was the north. It was
influences, that the Rabbis made the

The Essenes faced the rising sun
the symbol of the resurrection;
Christians face to the east in praye

The S̲h̲ī'a *fellaḥīn* of Iraq still c
My golf-caddy recently, referring t
wind said 'Paradise (*Jennaḥ*) is in t
South'.

10. *Nbaṭ*—of the Nabataeans.

11. A felt forage-cap introduced
head-dress.

12. Thévenot, in 1663, gave an
as 3,279 souls. In 1672 the Jesuit
that there were 2,500 Mandaean fa
were colonies of them in Muscat,
stay in Suq-ash-Shuyukh in the ye
Siouffi, in 1880, computed the num
1,500 were men and boys.

The Iraqi census of April 1932 g
Kirkuk, 7; Baghdad, 244; Kut, 51
738; Amarah, 1,972; Muntafiq, 1,7

The census of June 1935 gives th
Baghdad, 125; Dulaim, 5; Diyalah
Kirkuk, 26; Kut, 84; Muntafiq (ma

The Mandaean priest in Ahwaz
city was 200.

Note. Mr. Henry Field's forth
(Field Museum of Natural History
1937), gives a statistical, anthropom
the Mandaeans in Iraq.

e ancient Persians, faced south when

Testament that the original Qiblah of
in later times, possibly under Iranian
north the home of evil spirits.
at prayer, perhaps because dawn was
and this is probably the reason why
r.
onsider the north the seat of Paradise.
o the relief brought by the north-west
he North, and Hell (*Jehannam*) in the

by the Iraqi Government as a national

estimate of the Mandaean population
nissionary, P. F. Ignatius a Jesu, stated
milies in Mesopotamia, and that there
Goa, and Ceylon. Petermann, after a
ear 1860, gave 1,500 as an estimate.
ber of Mandaeans as 4,000, of which

ives the following figures: Mosul, 15;
; Diwaniyah, 39; Dulaim, 8; Basrah,
31.
e following figures: Basrah, 783 souls;
, 13; Diwaniyah 31; Amarah, 3,014;
shes), 1,329; Mosul, 22: Total 5,432.
told me that the total of 'souls' in that

coming book *The Anthropology of Iraq*
: Anthr. Mem., Vol. VI, Chicago,
etrical, and anthropological survey of

II

MANDAEAN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

THE religious writings of the Mandaeans have never been printed. Down through the centuries, priestly scribes who derived part of their income from such labours copied them by hand for pious Mandaeans who believed the possession of holy books ensured for them protection from evil in this world and the next. Few laymen could, or can, read or write Mandaean; literacy is mostly confined to the priestly class. Laymen have complained to me, 'The priests will not teach us to read or write (Mandaean)'. The reason is a practical one: if laymen knew these arts, the priest's prestige would suffer; moreover, writing of talismans and charms would cease to be a priestly monopoly.

At what date the doctrine, rituals, cosmogonies, prayers, and hymns were collected and edited is a question not easily settled. Their authorship and the date at which each fragment, possibly originally memorized, was committed to writing is even more problematic. Even such a book as the Ginza Rba cannot be regarded as homogeneous, for it is a collection of fragments which are often flatly contradictory and belong to different strata of dogmatic teaching. Most of them, from internal evidence,[1] seem to have been committed to writing either in Sasanian times or after the Arab conquest. Historical references are few, and the only approach to a chronicle is contained in the eighteenth book, which gives a list of Parthian[2] and Sasanian kings. The list ends with 'K͟hosrau, son of Hurmiz', and this prophecy:

> 'after the Persian kings there will be Arabian kings. They will reign seventy-one years.'

This indicates that this particular fragment was written during the first century of Arab conquest, since the author would scarcely have penned an already disproved prediction. Nöldeke points out that Greek loan-words, numerous in Syrian and Palestinian dialects, are few in Mandaean writings, and that, while many Hebrew and especially Jewish-Aramaic expressions are borrowed:

> 'viel geringer an Zahl sind die Wörter, welche dem Sprachgebrauch der christlichen Syrer entlehnt sind, und zwar werden sie fast alle direct zur Bezeichnung christlicher Dinge, durchweg in höhnendem Sinn gebraucht.' (N., p. xxix.)

So varied are the fragments which form such books as the Ginza Rba and the Drasha d Yahya that evidence which may date one fragment cannot be used to date another. Mandaeans have nothing to compare with the Gospels which, in their claim to recount the life and teachings of Jesus, have a certain unity, or of Manichaean books containing the actual doctrines of Mānī. The Mandaean religion has no 'founder', indeed, from the critical standpoint, few religions can be said to have 'founders' or to be 'new'.

During the period 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, when syncretistic tendencies were active and many religious teachers bent on adapting old formulae and ancient rites to fresh conceptions, an operation hastened by conquest, free intercommunication, and occasional interchange of populations, one would expect to find amongst the widely diffused Aramaic-speaking peoples a common fund not only of religious ideas but of religious phrases. Hence it is difficult to determine priority when identical phrases are found in the religious literatures of the epoch, or to base precise conclusions upon such evidence alone.

Whatever date may eventually be ascribed to the various fragments, it is likely that scribes constantly omitted, or edited, passages which they considered harmful or heretical. The effect produced upon the reader of Mandaean holy books is a belief that, even at the time when the earliest fragments were collected, an always fluid religion had already reached a stage at which earlier teachings had become obscure and little understood. Glosses have become incorporated with the text: obvious interpolations and expurgations are evident, in short, to build theories as to Mandaean origins upon the writings alor house upon shifting sands.

The fact that by slow degrees I have bee the Mandaeans themselves to see, and eventua Mandaean books and rolls in Iraq, is a proof kindness and toleration which Mandaean fri have shown to me. From the first, the Gi freely produced, and so was the Drasha d Y codices and rolls were produced reluctantly a great secrecy, after years of friendship; not are regarded as less holy, but because they cont which should not be shown to alien eyes. the Diwan Abathur (D.C. 8), the Alf Trisar 6), the astrological codex (the Sfar Malwa readily displayed. When it comes to buying or copying them, obstacles are many. Such with the Gentile are looked upon as shameful, and evasion are resorted to in order to defeat purchaser, even in the case of an accepted fr myself. I avoid the purchase of modern co way of the seeker after older manuscripts is th

The majority of the manuscripts I have ha are not old, although I possess a sixteenth- of the Tafsir Paghra (D.C. 6). I am told t daean manuscript older than the sixteenth c in European libraries, indeed, no Europea even a representative collection.

During times of stress and danger, the 'buried the books', and this has been done, them, many times. One reason for the rari copies comes from the fact that the majority o live in reed huts. In winter, fires are kindle inflammable buildings, with the result that c in reed-built villages are common. I have copies of rolls with blackened edges, the ow me that when his hut was destroyed by fire, had been miraculously preserved. This is p whole structure blazes up in a moment an reduced to ashes, whereas thick rolls, or boo itings alone, is to set a

I have been allowed by
nd eventually to handle,
is a proof of the special
ndaean friends in Iraq
st, the Ginza Rba was
rasha d Yahya. Other
luctantly and only with
ship; not because they
e they contain mysteries
en eyes. Such rolls as
Alf Trisar Shiala (D.C.
ar Malwasha) are not
to buying documents,
any. Such transactions
shameful, and trickery
to defeat the would-be
ccepted friend, such as
nodern copies, and the
cripts is thorny indeed.
I have handled in Iraq
sixteenth-century copy
am told that no Man-
ixteenth century exists
European library has

nger, the Mandaeans
een done, according to
r the rarity of ancient
majority of Mandaeans
are kindled within the
sult that conflagrations
. I have been shown
es, the owner assuring
d by fire, the holy writ
This is possible—the
oment and is quickly
lls, or books, wrapped

in white cloths and
be dragged out of t
says that the holy d
ment (since slaying
animals are unclean)
have seen a Sidra d
lead. It may or may
for using metal shee
mersion in running
priests, all writings
manner. (See p. 13
paring a Sidra d Ni
silver.

Rolls are wrapped
codices bound in w
much scandalized to
Drasha d Yahya in
since committed. T
selves and is black a
own recipe for mak
form of dry crystals
typical recipe is as fo

'Mix glue with rive
days. On the seventh,
portion of one *mithkal*
days. Mix with water
will form crystals. Th
ink. The Asuth Malk

I omitted to ask if
not be unclean, for
purity and life and
them. Other priests
melted fish-fat. Sce
told, be added, but
ingredient. The pe
paper is the best tha
scribing a Ginza, a
to a modern purcha
Writing is in its

to set a

owed by
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in white cloths and kept i
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says that the holy doctrin
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animals are unclean), but
have seen a Sidra d̲ Nis̲h̲m
lead. It may or may not h
for using metal sheets is t
mersion in running water
priests, all writings used
manner. (See p. 132.) A
paring a Sidra d̲ Nis̲h̲mat
silver.

Rolls are wrapped abou
codices bound in white c
much scandalized to see t
Dras̲h̲a d̲ Yahya in leath
since committed. The in
selves and is black and sh
own recipe for making *d*
form of dry crystals and
typical recipe is as follows:

'Mix glue with river water
days. On the seventh, pound i
portion of one *mit̲h̲k̲al* of cha
days. Mix with water to a sm
will form crystals. These, mi
ink. The Asut̲h̲ Malka [see a

I omitted to ask if the gl
not be unclean, for fish a
purity and life and no ritu
them. Other priests use g
melted fish-fat. Scented h
told, be added, but no anim
ingredient. The pen is a
paper is the best that can
scribing a Ginza, accordi
to a modern purchaser.

Writing is in itself a

nd kept in a box, often a metal box, may
of the embers all but unhurt. Tradition
y doctrines were never written on parch-
ing is a destruction of life, the skins of
ean), but on papyrus, metal, and stone. I
d̲ Nis̲h̲mat̲h̲a (Book of Souls), written on
nay not have been ancient, for the reason
heets is that they can be purified by im-
ng water before use. Formerly, say the
gs used in ritual were lustrated in this
132.) A pious priest in Litlata is pre-
Nis̲h̲mat̲h̲a of copper sheets inlaid with

ped about with white cloth or muslin and
n white cloth. An orthodox priest was
d to see that I had bound a copy of the
in leather, a fault which I have never
The ink is made by the priests them-
k and shiny. Nearly every priest has his
naking *diuta* (ink), which is kept in the
tals and diluted with water for use. A
s follows:

> river water, let it melt, then evaporate for six
> th, pound it with powdered charcoal in the pro-
> *kal* of charcoal to 25 of glue, for four or five
> ter to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it
> These, mixed with river-water (*yardna*) form
> Ialka [see appendix] should be read over it.'

k if the glue was fish-glue. If so, it would
for fish are creatures of the element of
d no ritual is used for netting or killing
ests use gall-nut or soot from fish-oil, i.e.
Scented herbs and flowers should, I am
ut no animal substance may be used as an
pen is a reed, split and sharpened; the
that can be obtained. The cost of tran-
, according to a priest, is about £4 10*s*.
chaser.

itself a magic act (see chapter on the

alphabet), conferring merit on the writer.
sometimes represented as personified, with
can be invoked in magic (see p. 300).

The largest of the codices is the Ginza
Treasure) (D.C. 22), also called the Sidra
Book), or Book of Adam. It was translate
1813 by a Swede, Matthew Norberg, and tra
commentaries have appeared at intervals sin
ing with the late Professor Mark Lidzbarski'
in German published in 1925. This was pre
translation of the Drasha d Yahya in 1915, an
liturgies and hymns in 1920, amongst them
Nishmatha (Book of Souls: the baptism
Masiqta prayers, wedding ritual and hy
translation of a roll in the Bodleian Librar
of the Hijra. Some of the prayers in this
from manuscripts in Paris, notably from D
collection.

The ritual for ordaining priests (Sharh
Tagha d Shishlam Rba), a copy of which is
Museum, and that for the reconsecration of
have not, I believe, been translated, nor do
to my knowledge, exist in European collectio
unpublished manuscripts in my own collecti
section of the Alf Trisar Shiala, the Tafsir
Diwan Haran Gawaitha, the Diwan d Nahraw
a number of magic rolls including the Pa
(D.C. 12), and the Pishra d Ainia (D.C. 21),
zraztia of Hibil Ziwa and Pthahil, (D.C.
prayers and rituals in a codex containing a p
tion of the same, (D.C. 3), and some ritual r

To enumerate Mandaean holy books, they

1. The *Ginza Rba*. A large codex containing m
the subject-matter cosmogonies, accounts of cr
legends, &c. The second or left part of th
deals exclusively with the dead, is written
(D.C. 22.)
2. The *Drasha d Yahya*. Another collection
of which only one deals with John. (A code

he writer. Books are
fied, with a spirit that
oo).
the Ginza Rba (Great
the Sidra Rba (Great
translated as early as
rg, and translations and
tervals since, culminat-
idzbarski's fine version
is was preceded by his
n 1915, and some of the
ongst them the Sidra d
baptism ritual), some
l and hymns, and a
ian Library dated 936
rs in this volume are
ly from De Morgan's

ts (Sharh d Traṣa d
f which is in the British
cration of the cult-hut,
ed, nor does the latter,
n collections. Amongst
vn collection is the first
the Tafsir Paghra, the
d Nahrawatha (D.C. 7),
g the Parsha Harshia
D.C. 21), and the long
il, (D.C. 13 and 15),
aining a priest's collec-
e ritual rolls.
ooks, they are:

ontaining many fragments,
ccounts of creation, prayers,
t part of this book, which
, is written upside down.

r collection of fragments,
n. (A codex.)

3. The *Sidra d Ni*
that of the bapt
D.C. 3.)
4. The *Sfar* (pronc
codex.).
5. The *Tafsir Pag*
of the ritual mea
is commonly su
(D.C. 6.)
6. The *Alf Trisar*
in five parts. Th
expiation, explan
7. The *'Iniania* (Re
incorporated the
the *Shalshutha*, a
(D.C. 3 and D.C
8. The various *tar*
separately, e.g. of
ganzibra, &c. A
9. The *Diwan*s, all
to be twenty-fou
10. The magic roll
qma, 'to tie on', a

Mandaean magic w
on bowls, have never
which they deserve.
age-old Mandaean cu
to bury by the thresho
off by disease two b
within which are ins
spirits of darkness, l
wish and bring misf
light and life. The m
spirit and idiom, and
centuries (often witho
names and spirits men
dox religion and are
small rolls are looked
misfortune, and the
as the holy books.

occasionally one finds beings treated as demons and evil in orthodox writings, reappearing in magic rolls as beneficent beings, though usually with the angel or deity suffix *ʿil* or *-iil* or *-ʿiil*. For instance the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), execrated in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. I have a magic roll, a love charm (D.C. 10), addressed to Libat (Dlibat, Ishtar), which begins, frankly, 'In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men'. Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in the same phylactery; in fact, orthodox religious convention and older charms and exorcisms blend together into a most suggestive whole.

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the person. It is usually called a *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the word *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long strip of paper from 2 to 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small gold or silver case so that it may be suspended round the neck from a string or chain. This kind of roll is often of great length, 7 or 8 yards being not uncommon, and a thin paper is used. The magic documents display the timorous disposition of their owners, fearful of malice, disease, and oppression. Long and bitter are the curses poured on the heads of enemies, slanderers, and those of other beliefs, while diseases are often personified and treated as if they were demons. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade. The first few and last lines are usually the letters of the alphabet which, as remarked before, have protective powers. Then follow short formulae, such as 'My lord be praised!', 'Pure of heart, pure of mouth!' All have the well-worn 'In the name of the Great Life! Health and purity, strength and stability, speech and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son, or daughter, of N. (the astrological names)'[3]. In holy books and rites, the mother's name, not the father's, is mentioned. The conventional 'and Life is victorious', which is the usual ending of sections or fragments in all writings, is employed, and this is followed by the letters *S*———*a*, separated, as I indicate, by a long line. *Amin amin sala* is sometimes the terminal, so that *S*———*a* may stand for *sala*.

John the Baptist is unmentioned in the magic rolls; Anush appears in company with Hibil and Shitil, but Anush 'Uthra is rare. Yawar Ziwa[4] and Simat Hiia (mentioned together) are the two light and life powers most frequently invoked. Simat Hiia[5] is a female life spirit and is looked on as the mother of all that has breath. She is spoken of sometimes as the female 'countenance' of one of the great light spirits, sometimes of Shamish, thus tending to indicate a possible identification of Yawar Ziwa with that planet. In the Diwan Abathur she is placed with Bihram and Hibil, and labelled 'daughter of Yushamin, spouse of Pthahil'. As Pthahil is associated with death, belongs to a somewhat lower spirit circle, and is sometimes represented as rebellious to the world of light, this is a curious juxtaposition. She is evidently a fertility deity, for in the same Diwan her throne is labelled, 'This is her throne: Leafy is its name'. Her name means 'Treasure of Life'. Hibil Ziwa, and less often Manda d Hiia, appear in the roles of warrior, deliverer and instructor. In some magic texts one of these two, or a nameless spirit of light, speaks in the first person, describing how he left his companions of light, stormed the dwellings of the gods (*alahia*), angels (*malakhia*), astartes, and other powers of darkness, stole their mysteries and learnt their names. The distinction between *malkia* who are usually kindly, and *malakhia* who are malevolent, should be noted. For further description of the magic rolls, which occasionally reveal a beauty of phrase and poetical feeling astonishing when one remembers the low estate and narrow surroundings of this little race of craftsmen and priests, I refer readers to my article on 'Mandaean Writings' in *Iraq* (vol. i, part 2, November 1934).

The Diwans, said to be twenty-four in number, are large rolls, sometimes illustrated. Whether the twenty-four exist, for it would be typical to give the number 24 as a sun-number regardless of fact, I am unable to say. The priests show them with reluctance, especially the two illustrated Diwans, which contain unorthodox elements. They are extremely interesting, however, as throwing light on cult, belief, and language. I now possess both.

The first (D.C. 7), the Diwan Nahrawatha (nearly 6 yards long and 13 inches wide), is a fanciful chart, with explanatory text, of the rivers of the world, making all flow down from the Fraṭ-Ziwa (the Light Euphrates), which rises in the Ṭura Karimla.[6] It also gives illustrations of earthly trees, plants, and reeds, and of some heavenly beings. The Jordan does not appear in it, but mention is made of *yardinia urahaṭia*, i.e. 'Flowing rivers and torrents'.

The second, Diwan Abathur (D.C. 8), is an elaborately illustrated roll close on 9 yards long and 13 inches wide. Before I possessed it myself I induced its owner to make a copy of it for a friend, and the pictures were copied with really remarkable accuracy, though mistakes were made in the text. Some of the illustrations appear in this volume, and for others, and a description of the text, which deals with the progress of the soul after death through the *maṭaratha*, or houses of purification, its arrival at the scales of Abathur Muzania, and its transit in a ship of light into the worlds of light, I must again refer those interested to the article in *Iraq*.

Of the unillustrated Diwans, I possess the Diwan Haran Gawaitha, described in an earlier chapter. The Diwan Malkutha 'laitha and the Diwan Alma 'laya have been mentioned to me by Mandaeans, but I have not yet succeeded in examining copies. They are regarded as very sacred: if these two are missing from the *andiruna* at the consecration of a priest, the consecration becomes invalid.

Other manuscripts which I know to exist but have yet to see are the Alma Rishaia Rba; the Alma Rishaia Zoṭa; the Zihrun Raza Kasia; the Qadaha Rba; and the Dmutha

Kushṭa. They may be late: they cannot be worthless, and one never knows when one may come upon treasure. Enough has been said to show that untranslated documents have yet to be examined before we arrive at more definite conclusions about the Mandaeans and that, in any case, the evidence of the literature can be, at most, merely contributory, and in no way final.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. 'Die erhaltenen Schriften sind wohl alle in Babylonien entstanden, die Hauptmasse in vorislamischer Zeit, doch dauerte die schriftstellerische Tätigkeit bis tief in den Islam fort' (GR., p. xii).

2. Amongst these Ardban figures again. (Artabanus? For kings of this name see N. C. Debevoise: "A Political History of Parthia", University of Chicago Press, forthcoming.)

3. In both cases the astrological name is used. Mandaeans are given an astrological name for religious and magic uses as well as a worldly name. See pp. 81–82.

4. *Yawar Ziwa*. Lidzbarski thinks the word Yawar derived from the Persian, with the meaning 'helper, assistant'. I submit that it may rather be connected with the verb ࡏࡅࡓ, ࡉࡅࡓ '*wr*, *ywr*, 'to be dazzlingly, blindingly bright', since ' is interchangeable with *y* in Mandaean. Cf. '*tiarutha* = 'to be brilliant: = *tiarutha* = 'brilliance', *niurun* = 'they are dazzled, blinded'. Nöldeke gives examples of this meaning of brilliance.

5. Cf. 'the female countenance of Baal' as an epithet for the mother-goddess Tanit on Carthaginian inscriptions. See Legend XXIX, and the fragment in her name (JB.).

6. *Ṭura Karimla*. Lidzbarski translates (Q. 203) Karimla in the *rahmia* prayers for Wednesday: (The Mountain Karimla I ascended') and in the Ginza Rba (three various passages) as Carmel. Mandaeans deny that the mountain is Carmel.

III

RITUAL DRESS AND INSIGNIA

THE ritual dress or *rasta*, which is called *'uṣtlia* in the texts, must be worn on all religious occasions, such as baptism, marriage, and death, and as reference will be made to it continually, it shall be described in an early chapter.

It is a white dress,[1] symbolical of the dress of light in which the pure soul is clad, and all Mandaeans, laymen as well as priests, must possess one. The complete *rasta* of the layman consists of five pieces and that of the priests of seven, according to the priests of Qal'at Salih; according to those of Amarah, the lay Mandaean wears seven pieces and the priest nine. It is a matter of reckoning: the Amarah Mandaeans count the *sadra* with its *dasha* and the drawers and pull-string (*takka*) at the waist, as four pieces, the Qal'at Salih purists as two. I will proclaim myself of the Amarah school and enumerate the pieces as follows:

1. The shirt, called *ksuya* or *sadra*. It should measure 6 *dhra*s for a living person. (The *dhra* is the length of the forearm from elbow to finger-tip.) For a dying man, 7 or 8 are required. It is of white cotton cloth, made or bought in the required length.
2. The *dasha*, or *deysha*, a small patch-piece of the same, stitched to the outer side of the right breast of the shirt like a pocket.
3. The *sharwala* or drawers. These are long and loose and made like Indian drawers.
4. The *takka*, or *takta*, the pull-string of the *sharwala* at the waist. One end of the string is left unsewn. In tying, the unsewn end must go over the sewn, and when tied, the sewn (completed) end hangs to the right.
5. The *burzinqa*, or turban. This is a strip of white muslin about a *dhra* wide, twisted three times round the head. One end is left hanging down over the left shoulder. This end is called the *rughza*, and when brought across the lower part of the face so as to cover nostrils and mouth, then up over the top of the

head and tucked in at the right side, it becomes a *pandama*. The *pandama* is only used by priests, or by *hallalia* at a funeral (see p. 183) and its object is to prevent spittle or breath from polluting sacred objects, elements and rites, or, in the second case, to prevent the corruption of death from entering the mouth and nose.

In the case of a woman, whose *rasta* is otherwise the same as that of a man, the *burzinqa* is draped shawl-wise over the head and is called *s̲h̲iala.*

6. The *naṣifa* or *gabuʿa.* A long narrow strip of cloth or muslin. It is worn like a Christian stole, but in such a way that the left side is considerably shorter than the right. When, during the *rahmi* (preliminary, consecrating prayers) the *naṣifa* is placed above the head, and held together under the chin, it is called a *kinzala.* It is afterwards replaced in the original position. Its practical use when the *pandama* is worn (see last paragraph) and during baptism will be explained below. With the priest, it should be about a *d̲h̲ra* wide, but for the layman it can be much narrower.
7. The *himiana* or belt. This is tubular, woven of sixty woollen threads, and its tying has a ritual meaning. The girdle is held in front of the body, crossed at the back, tied in a double tie in front, and the ends tucked in at each side of the waist into the belt itself. It has a tasselled end, unsewn, called the *karkus̲h̲a*, and a bound and sewn end, the *arwa*. The latter must be passed over the *karkus̲h̲a* in tying, and when the knot is complete the *karkus̲h̲a* falls on the left and the *arwa* on the right. In tying, the layman pronounces these words:

   Himiana ʿtriṣ
   Btrin ṭabia (pron. *Bi trėn ṭavi*)
   Btrin gaṭria

   'I consecrate the girdle
   With two virtues
   With two knots.'

8. Priests only. The *tag̲h̲a* or crown; a tubular fillet of white silk or cotton. Its making is described on pp. 150–151.
9. Priests only. The *S̲h̲om* (written *S̲h̲um*) *Yawar*, a gold ring worn on the little finger of the right hand. This ring bears the inscription, *S̲h̲um Yawår Ziwa.*

Before passing on to the other seal-ring, and the rest of the insignia of the priest, such as the staff, I must say

something further about the above, and t
their wearing and their use.

If any part of the priest's vestment (or insi
disarranged, injured, polluted, or lost, he
prescribed purifications. If, for instance,
slips aside during a baptism, his ministratio
and he cannot carry out his priestly duties
zidqa briḵẖa, or ritual eating for the dead
XII), has been read over him, and he has bee
seven priests for seven days. In addition,
81 *rahmis*. As soon as the priest has dressed
rasta, he must touch every part of it in consecr
ing himself that it is in place. The *tag̱ẖa* and
wreath, see p. 35), however, receive a separ
tion and are not put on at first. The priest
pronunciation):

S̱ẖarwaley itreṣ
Himianq itreṣ bi trén ṭavi bi trén gaṭri
Das̱ẖa byamīney, qam qummey,
Rughzey, naṣīfey
Marg̱ẖna bsmaley, tag̱ẖa byamīney,
Uisaḵẖṯẖa (ʿsaqta) byamīney.
Kus̱ẖṭa asiaḵẖ utrīṣey.

'I consecrate (lit. set up) my leggings;
I consecrate the girdle with two virtues, with two
The *das̱ẖa* (pouch) on my right; standing upright,
My *rug̱ẖza*, my stole,
My staff on my left (arm), my *tag̱ẖa* on my right
slipped over the right arm until its consecration)
'And my ring on my right (hand).
Righteousness make thee whole' (he addresses
establish me.'

Though ritually clean, the *rasta*, except
seldom white, for it is stained by the mudd
river, and may not be washed with soap. It i
misfortune for a person to die in his lay cl
soul cannot reach Abaṯẖur. I describe in a
what means must be taken to remedy this.

The *naṣifa* becomes useful to a layman

ve, and the manner of

nt (or insignia) becomes
lost, he must undergo
instance, the *pandama*
inistrations are invalid,
tly duties again until a
the dead (see Chapter
ne has been baptized by
addition, he must pray
s dressed himself in his
n consecration, reassur-
tagha and *klila* (myrtle
ve a separate consecra-
The priest says (I give

bi trén gaṭri
ney,

amīney,
y.

, with two knots;
ng upright,

on my right,' (the *tagha* is
secration)

addresses his *rasta*) 'and

, except when new, is
ne muddy water of the
soap. It is the greatest
his lay clothes, for his
ribe in a later chapter
ly this.
layman only at death

anner of

becomes
undergo
pandama
e invalid,
n until a
Chapter
ptized by
ust pray
elf in his
, reassur-
a (myrtle
consecra-
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;

e *tagha* is

asta) 'and

n new, is
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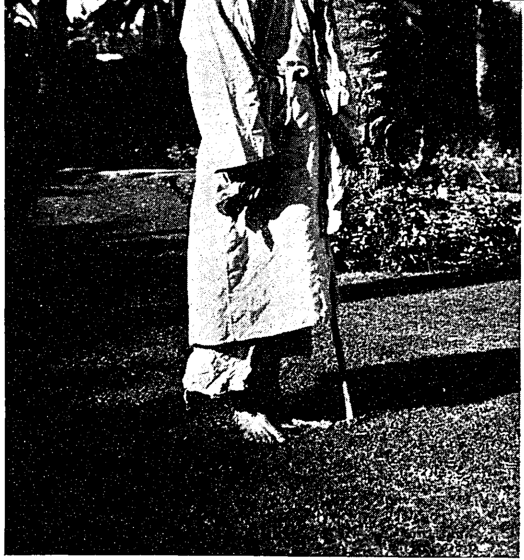
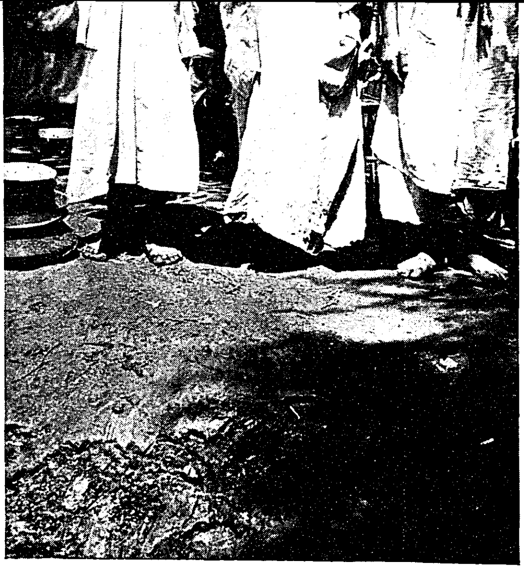
greatest
, for his
chapter

at death

PLATE 2



a. Priest wearing *rasta*



b. Old woman (centre) wearing *rasta*

(see Chap. XI). For the priest, it has a definite use. I have already explained that when put on, the right side should hang lower than the left. When the *rahmi* is begun, this right side, which might touch the ground or some polluting object, is pinched together a little at the waist, and this small pinched loop is pushed into the belt. After the *pandama* has been 'closed', i.e. brought across the lower part of the face, the left side of the *naṣifa* is twisted twice round the neck, holding the lower edge of the *pandama* and preventing it from slipping. The end is secured by pushing it thrice in and out of itself. The long right side of the *naṣifa* is thrown back over the right shoulder, so forming a loop which reaches the waist, and the end, carried round behind the head, over the left shoulder, and round again to meet the loop, is tied to the latter in a double knot. When the priest first goes into the water he dips his staff in a horizontal position twice beneath the water, then, pushing it through the sling formed by the long right end knotted to the loop, he releases his hold of the staff, which, supported by the *naṣifa* and planted in the mud on the bed of the river, stands upright without danger of falling. This enables the priest to wash both his hands in the river. He presently returns the staff to its position in the crook of the left arm. Another use for the *naṣifa* is in the final *kuṣẖṭa* or third hand-clasp after the drinking of the *mambuha* or water of the sacrament (see chapter on Baptism). The priest takes the hand of the baptized person from underneath the muslin of the doubled part of the *naṣifa* at the right side of the body. Careless priests, however, give the third *kuṣẖṭa* bare-handed. I have seen it given in both ways, orthodox and unorthodox. Again, when the priest momentarily changes over the staff from the left to the right side, after the above hand-clasp, he holds it with both hands through the muslin of the *naṣifa*. At death, both for layman and priest, the *naṣifa* (or *gabuʿa*) is a new one and longer than usual. A piece of gold and silver or gold and silver threads must be sewn to the right and left side respectively. (See Chapter XI; also p. 178.) At marriage, the bridegroom holds the end of the *ganzibra's naṣifa*. Held like this, it becomes, as it were, a conductor of virtue and protective purity.[2]

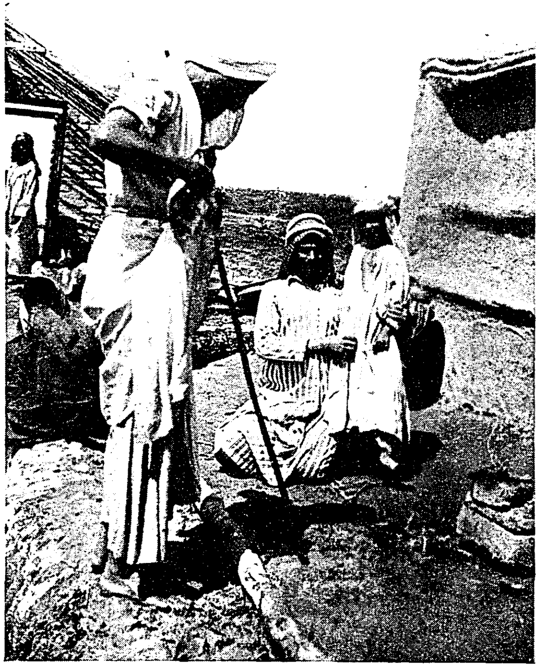
The *sadra* must be tucked up into the belt before a priest descends into the river, though the layman goes into the water with his *sadra* hanging free. The left side of the hem is lifted first and drawn through the girdle, then the right, then the centre of the front and lastly the centre of the back hem. (This is done before the *naṣifa* is placed on the head, or the *pandama* 'closed'.)

The *himiana* should be worn in the daytime by a devout Mandaean, but not at night; though formerly, if after dark a man wished to cohabit with his wife, he used to tie his girdle and utter the words, 'The Name of Life and the Name of Manda d̲ Hiia is pronounced over thee' before coition. This formality is now neglected. When a man is dying and his new death-*rasta* has been put on, the *himiana* is only partially tied, the final knot being made after dissolution.

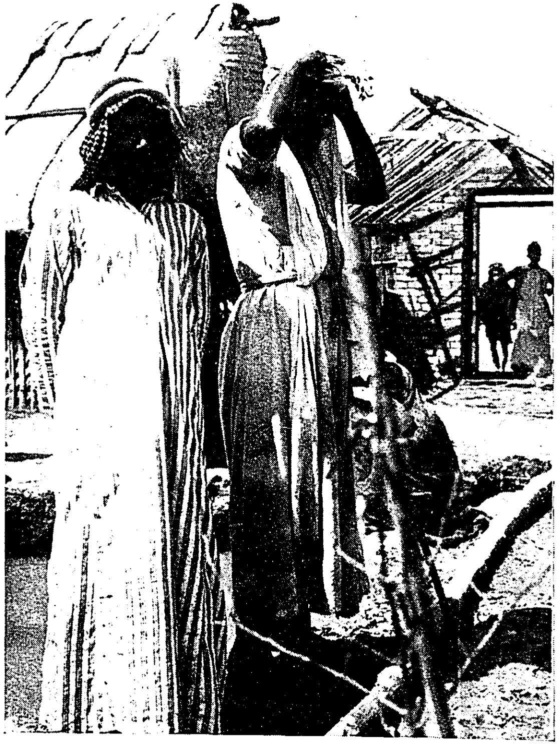
The *tag̲ha* is the most important part of the priest's insignia and must be put on during the *rahmi* before officiating, with four prayers (*taraṣa*). It represents a crown of light, and is worn on the head beneath the turban. It is the symbol of his function as spiritual and temporal leader. 'Crown (*tag̲ha*) and kingliness are set on his head and he is perfected in them', says the Alf Trisar S̲hiala. Consecration of a priest is spoken of as 'the setting up of the crown on him', and should the *tag̲ha* fall accidentally from the head or hand of a priest during his offices, he becomes a novice and must undergo a form of reconsecration.

The *S̲hom Yawar* is dipped into the life-giving *mis̲ha* (oil) during the *masiqta*, but is not used, like the iron *skandola* ring, for sealing, except at the ceremony of the *Ingirt̲ha* (see p. 170).

When officiating a priest must always carry a staff of olivewood. According to some priests, willow may be used in case of necessity. While the *rasta* is symbolical of light, the staff (*margna*)[3] is associated with water, and is often spoken of as 'the staff of living water'. At



a. Looping up the *sadra*



b. Placing myrtle wreath on head

death, a priest's *margna* and *S̲h̲om Yawar* are both buried with him.

The *klila*, wreath, or garland, forms an important adjunct to ritual dress. It is worn by the priest for most of, but not all, his functions, and by the layman after his first triple ablution at full baptism. When the priest performs the *rahmi* before baptism, he begins by making two myrtle wreaths, one for his head, and the other for his staff. To make the wreath, the twig of myrtle, which must be freshly plucked, is stripped of its lower leaves and split as far as the leafy part, then the two divided parts of the stem are intertwisted in such a way that the left half is twisted twice and the right half three times. The twisted stem is bent round and thrust into itself below the leafy part, forming a small circlet about a finger's breadth, or less, across. During the twisting, the wreath must be held on a level with the head, and in such a way that when finished, and held in the hands palm downwards, the woody ends point to the right, or east. When at the end of the consecration and placing of the *tag̲h̲a* on the head, the *klila* is put with it, the turban is lifted, but not removed. The wreath is pushed through the *tag̲h̲a*, the former lying uppermost; and after the turban has been replaced above the two, the leafy end of the *klila* is left showing and hanging over the right temple. The layman's *klila* is made and placed on his head by the priest.

The special prayer for the *klila* is the last of the four referred to above.

Manda created me
'*Ut̲h̲ra*s set me up,
They clothed me with radiancy (*ziwa*)
They covered me with light (*nhura*).
Hazaban placed the wreath on my head,
Mine, N. son of N.,
And on those who descend into the *yardna* and are baptized.
Its wood gleams and its perfume is pleasing,
It fades not, nor is withered
And its leaves fall not
And Life is victorious.

The *klila* for the *margna* is slipped over the little finger until the priest is in the water. There, after its ablution, the staff is 'crowned', i.e. the *klila* is slipped over it and allowed to drift off downstream. A *klila* is also made for the *drabsha* (banner) and sacramental bread during some rites. The person baptized carries the *klila* on the little finger of the right hand until after the immersion, and after the signing and drinking and first *kushṭa* or hand-grasp have been performed in the river, the priest places it below the head-dress, with the leaves falling over the left temple. Some of the uses of the myrtle wreath will appear in the course of later chapters. Tradition says that *marmahuz* was formerly intertwisted with the myrtle, but the Ṣubba do not know now what *marmahuz* is.

A passage in the Alf Trisar Shiala speaks of the *tagha* and *klila* as 'gold' and 'silver', and as *ziwa* (radiancy or active light) and *nhura* (light) respectively.

> 'Gold is the pure mystery of the Father, and silver is the mystery of the Mother. The myrtle wreath (*klila d asa*) is the mystery of the Mother, and Nhur Nhura is her name.'

In other words, the *tagha* represents the fertilizing or active agent, the myrtle the fertilized or receptive agent. It may be noticed, also, that the Mandaean word for myrtle, *asa* (sometimes *as*) also means 'healed', an accentuation of the constant theme that ritual ensures vitality and health of body and soul.

Before leaving the subject of the *rasta*, I should add that Mandaeans are fond of telling me that at one time they always wore white, and that it was a sin to wear a colour. This reflects a belief that at one time the community wore the *rasta* continually.

I must deal now with the other seal-ring, which, though hardly a part of religious dress, is placed on the hand and used during religious ceremonies, thus becoming as it were, legitimized. I refer to the *skandola*. The *Shom Yawar* is of gold and the *skandola* is of iron. The *Shom Yawar* has the name of the great spirit of light inscribed upon it, whereas the representations on the *skandola* are, according to all the priests, those of powers of darkness.

The *skandola* is the talismanic seal-ring, and bears incised representations of the lion, scorpion, bee (or wasp), and serpent. The latter, mouth to tail, forms a frame to the others. It is worn during exorcisms, and by those isolated for uncleanness, such as childbirth, or marriage. The infant's navel is sealed with it; the bridegroom is invested with it by the *ganzibra* at the wedding ceremony; and the tomb is sealed with it at the funeral rites. It is attached by an iron chain to a haftless iron knife called the *skan* (or *sekin*) *dola*. Mandaeans translate this 'dwelling of evil' (*skan ḏ ula*). The snake is said by them to be 'the serpent without hands or feet', i.e. 'Ur, the great earth dragon. It may mean 'life'—*hiia*, for snake (M. *hiwa*: Arabic *ḥayya*) is symbolical of both water and life. The serpent, carved and coloured black, is placed sometimes above Ṣubbi door-lintels as a protection, recalling the large black serpent portrayed beside the door of the Yazīdī temple at Shaikh 'Adi.[4] I have also seen a serpent of blue cotton cloth sewn to a Mandaean wedding-bed canopy.

The lion may be Aria of the Mandaean Zodiac, and the scorpion is probably the Zodiacal Scorpio (Mandaean Arqba). Mandaeans say they are Krun and Hag̱h, two of the five lords of the underworld.

Now the scorpion, snake, and lion are found almost invariably in Mithraic bas-reliefs, and the bee is common on Mithraic gems (see Cumont, *Monuments*, &c.). The Mithraic scorpion is usually attached to the genitals of the sacrificed bull; the serpent's attitude and position varies. Sometimes it is shown drinking the blood of the victim. The lion's position varies also; sometimes both the lion and scorpion are represented in conventional form with the Zodiacal circle which not infrequently appears on Mithraic monuments.

Taking into account these Mithraic parallels it may be safe to assume that the Mandaean snake, lion, and scorpion are also Zodiacal, and of Iranian origin. The Mithraic bee differs from the Mandaean, in that it is seen from above. The Mandaean bee somewhat resembles the Egyptian *byt*, the hieroglyph for which is a bee in profile. At the same time it must be noted that neither bull nor dog, so prominent in Mithraic monuments, figure as Mandaean magical symbols. It is worthy of mention that in Khuzistan, (in which province there are Ṣubbi communities), the lion (a sun-symbol) is carved on the tombstones of the Shīʿa dead. No doubt an orthodox explanation is given.

A priest told me that the *skandola* was the talisman brought back by Hibil Ziwa from the worlds of darkness when he brought Ruha to the upper world. Hirmiz said of the *skandola*:

> 'There are four signs on the *skandola*, the hornet above, the lion in the centre, the scorpion beneath, and the serpent around them with his head lifted towards Awathur (Abathur). The three first, the scorpion, lion, and hornet, take worldly souls, those which have lived in uncleanness, and throw them into the mouth of ʿUr. In the belly of ʿUr there is fire one hour and ice the next. At the end of the world, when it is time for all that is material to dissolve and disappear—and ʿUr with them—the lion and hornet will come to ʿUr and say, "Give back the souls you have eaten"! ʿUr will reply, "There are none. I have none!" They will answer him, "Do not lie! You are about to end your existence. Tell us the truth." Then he will render back the souls which have been punished, and they will go to Awathur.'

When suffering from insomnia I was advised by a friendly Mandaean to sleep with a *Shom Yawar* on my right hand and a *skandola* on my left.[5]

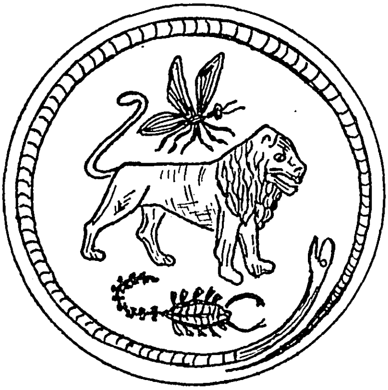


FIG. 1. The Skandola (talismanic seal)

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. *The Rasta.* The wearing of white as a natural symbol of purity is universal. The tradition is continuous in Lower Babylonia, the *baru* priests wore white and so, later, did the Magian priests. The white ceremonial robes of the Jewish high-priest were probably due to Egyptian ritual rather than to Babylonian influences, but the white dress of the Essenes is likely to have been part of their ablution and light cult, and derived from Perso-Babylonian circles.

The ceremonial dress of the Parsis, both priests and laymen, is certainly closely related to that of the Mandaeans. The priest's dress is called *jama-pichodi* and consists of 'a flowing white robe, worn over white trousers, a white turban and a white belt'. The white dress worn by lay Parsis at weddings and funerals is said to replace the complete *jama-pichodi* worn in ancient times.

The Parsis call the white shirt of this cult-dress *sadreh* or *sudreh*. A small pocket sewn on the right side of the *sadreh*, called the *gireh-bân* (JJM. 179–84), corresponds in every particular to the *dasha* on the right side of the Mandaean *sadra*. That the Parsis, as well as the Mandaeans, recognize the *kusti* (sacred thread or girdle) as identical with the Mandaean *himiana* is shown by a story told me of a Parsi soldier serving in Iraq during the late war. The man lost his *kusti*, and went to a Mandaean priest in order to get a girdle with the requisite number of 72 threads made for him. The priest acceded to his request, and tied it for him. Wellstead (*Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, p. 316) quotes a similar case. The *kusti* must be untied and retied at the *pâdyâb* or morning ablution of the Parsi, just as the *himiana* must be tied at the *rishama* (see next chapter). Like the *himiana*, the *kusti* is of lamb's wool, tubular and white. The Zoroastrian putting on his *kusti* mentions 'good thoughts, words, and deeds', corresponding to the *tabia* spoken of by the Mandaean.

With the Parsis, the turban and *padân* are the insignia of priesthood (JJM. 152–3): 'When that insignia falls off from the head, he is, as it were, deposed from his sacred office. So, his Bareshnum, which qualifies him for that office, is considered to be vitiated and he has to repeat it if he wishes to continue to perform that sacred office.'

The Parsi *padân* is the white cloth which covers the priest's mouth and nose so that his breath shall not pollute the holy fire (JJM. 116). It is tied on with two strings and does not form part of the turban, as with the Mandaeans.

2. Cf. the Parsi *paiwand*. 'To hold a *paiwand* means to be in close contact or touch with each other. This is done when two persons hold a piece of cloth or cotton tape between them' (JJM. 55). The Parsi corpse-bearers hold a *paiwand* between them (see ibid.) when they enter the room in which the corpse is placed, and so do those persons who go to the funeral.

3. *The Margna.* Lidzbarski, pointing out that all the apparatus and many of the terms used in Mandaean rites 'appear to be of foreign origin',

instances the *margna* of olive-wood, though olives are 'extremely scarce' in Mesopotamia. Olive-wood is not hard to come by, as there are olives in the north, and olive-wood is brought in from Persia. The willow occasionally used as a substitute is the *g̲h̲arb* (*Populus Euphratica*, or possibly *Salix Alba*).

The magic power of sticks and staves is constantly referred to in Mandaean legend.

Diogenes of Laerte says of Magian priests, 'they carry a reed-staff'.

A cedar-staff was used in sun-worship by the priests of Sippar: 'The cedar-staff, beloved of the great gods, they gave into his hand' (S̲h̲urpu tablets).

The staff of the Egyptians seems to have had magic uses connected with water. Moses' staff divided the *waters*, brought *water* from a rock and turned into a snake—a reptile symbolical of life and water. The fertility significance of staves is exemplified, possibly, in both fairy's and wizard's wands, and in the king's sceptre.

4. The snake is still much used as a decoration (e.g. on wooden spoons) in Northern ʿIraq, particularly in Erbil, also the dove, which was associated with the serpent in the worship of Is̲h̲tar. Both these themes may have been in continuous use since the days when Is̲h̲tar of Arbela's shrine was a place of pilgrimage. On the votive clay houses found by Dr. Andrae in the Is̲h̲tar temple at Asshur, both snake and dove are modelled in relief.

5. An-Nadīm says of a Ṣābian book called *al-Ḥātifi* that there is to be found therein, together with other magical information:

تماثيل حيوانات تنقش على فصوص الخواتيم تصلح بزعمهم لفنون وشاهدت اكثرها
منقوشا على فصوص خواتيمهم الى هذه الغاية وسالتهم عنها فزعموا انهم يصيبونها
فى قبور موتاهم القديمة يتبركون بها

As̲h̲-S̲h̲ahristāni mentions that the Ṣābians prepared talismanic rings corresponding to the various aspects of the planets, according to their knowledge of astrology.

IV

LAY LIFE

MANDAEANS consider celibacy (see note 4, Chap. I) a sin and regard the procreation of children as a religious duty. So strong is this belief that they hold that even the most pious man, if he die unmarried and childless, must, after death, pass through the *maṭaratha* and, after a sojourn in the worlds of light, return to a physical state again and become the father of children. A priest told me that the idea was unorthodox, for the soul, when it has escaped from its prison of flesh, can never again enter a human body. In such a case, he said, the soul, reincarnated in a semi-spiritual body in the ideal world of Mshunia Kushṭa,[1] married there and begot children. In short, if a Mandaean has children, he is sure that, when death approaches, he will be clothed in his death-*rasta*, that the necessary rites for the dying will be performed, and that the ceremonies for his well-being in the next existence will be duly carried out. What these are, I shall explain later.

The soul (*nshimta*), a priest told me, 'descends from the heavenly *yardna* into the body of a child in the womb of its mother when he has been conceived five months. It comes in the likeness of the child which is to be born, and exactly resembles his *dmutha* (double, or likeness) in Mshunia Kushṭa.'

Birth, death, and marriage bring defilement on those who come into contact with them. The woman in childbirth, the bride and bridegroom, and those who have touched the dead, are debarred from contact with their neighbours until they have been purified.

As her hour approaches, a woman near confinement should wash herself and prepare a place for her lying-in, for she must keep apart from the rest of the household. One of the cattle-sheds,[2] or store-sheds, which are in Mandaean houses ranged round the courtyard of the dwelling-house, may be used as a temporary refuge.[3] In reed hut settlements provision is easily made for the event. Within the shelter chosen, a corner is marked off by a semicircle of pebbles, called the *miṣra ad glali*, the intention being to limit the area of pollution. In this corner the woman spreads on the ground something soft or without value, such as old clouts; loose, unflocked cotton; or rice-straw (*buh*). Most important is the sheaf of reeds, or *s̲h̲ebbah̤*, which is brought into the room if she is a house-dweller, so that she may grasp upon it in her pangs. The reason is not merely utilitarian, for the *gaṣbah̤*, or thick marsh reed, is considered sacred and a symbol of fertility.[4] Where reeds are unobtainable, a piece of wood may be used as a substitute. In the reed huts this proceeding becomes a natural one, for the mother crouches before one of the great supporting bundles (*s̲h̲ebāb*) which are the ribs of the edifice, holding the *s̲h̲ebbah̤* with both hands, pressing her forehead against the cool, strong reeds, and presenting her buttocks to the midwife. This grasping of the reed-bundle is not only Mandaean but an ancient practice in the reed-country of Lower Iraq. The midwife receives the precepts of her craft from another midwife, and is careful to observe the rules of isolation.

As soon as the infant has come into the world, the midwife (*jiddah̤*) presses down the blood remaining in the umbilical cord towards the child ('milks it', in their phraseology), then severs the cord, and ties the child's navel with a thread of sheep's wool. No especial condition is laid down as to the knife. The cord, together with the afterbirth, which is called the 'sister', is then removed, and either thrown into the river or buried somewhere at a distance from the house. I asked a priest if this were not polluting to the river. He replied that it was a custom which the Ṣubba had taken from their neighbours, and that just as now it is forbidden to soil living water with faeces or urine, it was formerly considered wrong to defile the river with blood or dead matter, but that this had been neglected and forgotten.[5]

The midwife washes the child with soap and warm water (probably a modern practice, as soap is not always possessed by marsh-dwellers, a plant being used instead), and then rubs its body all over with butter (made by Ṣubba and not Gentiles), mixed with salt. Formerly, it was olive oil and salt, but olive oil is costly and butter cheap. All the rags, cotton, or rice-straw used in the confinement are destroyed; sometimes buried, sometimes thrown into the river. If the weather is cold, water is brought from the river, a little hot water mixed with it, and then thrown over the mother so that she is soused from head to foot. If it is not cold, however, the mother is helped by the *jiddah̤* down to the river, and completely immerses herself three times. This immersion (the *ṭamas̲h̲a*, see p. 105), with the usual prayers for the major ablution, should take place not later than half an hour after the delivery. The woman changes into dry garments, incense is burnt about her, and the iron seal-ring known as the *skandola* (see preceding chapter) is placed on the little finger of her right hand, the knife attached to it by a chain being placed in her belt. A lamp is lit, and must be kept burning beside the mother day and night for three days.[6] The triple immersion should take place again on the third, seventh, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-eighth day after the birth.

The woman becomes *ṣorta*, that is, 'cut-off', and all contact with her must be avoided. Food is pushed into her corner from without. She eats off a metal plate, which must be changed and put aside for purification after every three days' use. At the time of her baptism all the pots and plates used by her receive ritual ablution at the hands of the priest. For seven days she remains as much as possible within her little semicircle of pebbles, which are changed after the third day for fresh pebbles, and removed after her immersion on the seventh day.

On the third day fresh myrtle leaves are chopped up finely and spread over the navel of the child. According to some informants the powdered leaves are mixed with a little water, according to others, applied dry. The mother usually performs this task. The priest, summoned for the ceremony, takes the *skandola* and presses it upon the navel, saying:

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha hathamta uzarazta unṭarta rabtia d shrara nhuilh ldilh Plan br Planitha bhazin ṣurta uraza d Pthahil ushma d hiia ushma d Manda d hiia madkhar ʿlakh.

'In the Name of the Great Life! Health and Purity, sealing and protection' (*zrz*, to arm against), 'and the great safeguard of soundness' (of body and soul) 'be N.'s son of N.' (the Zodiacal name of the child has already been settled with the help of the priest), 'by this image' (the impression of the seal) 'and mystery of Pthahil. And the name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced on thee!'

The first Sunday after the thirtieth day, if the child is a boy, and after the thirty-second day if it is a girl, the mother should be baptized with her infant. Some insist on forty days and forty-two days. Of the baptism of a woman after childbirth I give a description on pp. 110 ff.

Times are lax, and if the weather is cold and the river chilled by snow, the mother waits until it is warmer. A triple immersion ends the period of her isolation, but until she is baptized her husband should not cohabit with her. As for the child, it is a common practice to wait until he has reached an age of continence, for if he soils or wets during the ceremony, penalties are incurred. Some pious mothers prefer the ceremony performed at once, for should the little one die without baptism, it cannot go to the worlds of light, but must remain in the care of Pthahil. The same fate overtakes illegitimate children. This is not a harsh verdict, for animals graze over the hills of this genius of death, trees and flowers are found there, and the little ones are suckled by the *ʿIlana d mrabia yanqia*, 'the tree which nourishes nurslings'. It has down-drooping branches laden with teat-like fruit, from which the children suck milky nourishment. At the end of the world Habshaba, the personified Sunday, fetches these children and restores them to their mothers in the world of light after baptism in the *yardna* of the heavenly Euphrates.

When an infant is baptized, a *hallali* (a layman of ritual cleanliness, is found who has similar astrological aspects as the child, with the result that his name is of equal numerical value (see Chap. VI, pp. 81–82). This man acts as the *ab* or father of the child. The *hallali* wears his *rasta* (sacred dress) and is first himself baptized by the priest, who is assisted by a *shganda* (acolyte). The priest reads a *rahmi* (form of daily prayer) in the name of the child, and towards the end of these prayers, the infant is clothed in a complete *rasta*, and a *klila* (wreath) of myrtle prepared for it. As soon as the *rahmi* is ended, the *hallali* takes the child, 'asks permission of the *yardna*' in the usual way, and goes down into the water with the child in his right arm, the right hand beneath the buttocks and his left supporting the head. He dips the child's body beneath the water three times (the priest splashing water over its head); then holding the child on his left arm, advances and gives his right hand to the priest for the *kushta*. The child is given three sips of water, and is signed with water across the forehead three times from right to left. The *klila* is put on its head, then 'father' and child emerge from the river and go to the *ṭoriana* (clay-table for incense, &c.), where the former pronounces these words:

Asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ya malkia uʿuthria umashkhinia uyardinia urhaṭia ushkhinatha d alma d nhura kulaihun.

'Health and victory (purity) are yours, O *melka*s and *ʿuthra*s and dwellers, and flowing waters and streams and all the dwellings of the world of light.'

The child is then handed to the *shganda*, and he returns it to its mother who sits with it facing the north on the usual palm-trunk seat, or on her heels. The priest comes out of the water, prepares the sesame paste, anoints the child's forehead, and follows the usual procedure for the sacrament of bread and water. At the time of giving *kushta* he takes the right hand of the child but the *shganda* replies for the child, and at the 'hand-kissing' ceremony the *shganda* again plays the part of the child.

If during the rite the child has soiled or wetted its clothing, the priest continues the ceremony as though nothing had happened, but must afterwards go through a complete baptism at the hands of a *ganzibra* and a priest. The child's baptism is not invalidated, because it sinned unwittingly, and should it die, it is entitled to full burial rites. If it lives and reaches an age of decent behaviour (about 6 or 7), and can speak, the child atones by being baptized in a new *rasta* at the feast of Dehwa Daimana.

It often happens that during this rigorous ordeal the baby dies. As soon as this happens, the proceedings are arrested while the *ganzibra* makes dough of white wheaten flour and models it into a rough image of the dead child. This is clothed with a *rasta*, and the ceremonies are continued from the point at which they left off, with the dummy in the place of the child. The *hallalia*, summoned for the burial, place the dummy with the corpse in the *bania* (reed wrapping for a corpse), and bury it with the child in the grave. The usual *lofani*s and *zidqa brikha* (see Chap. XI) follow. Like all newly baptized children, on the third day after death, the soul of the dead baby flies quickly and unharmed through the Maṭaratha (purgatories, p. 198) and reaches the world of light, for its baptism is regarded as complete, though, on the seventh day, it is safeguarded by a special *lofani* eaten in its name.

The officiating *tarmida* (priest), however, is defiled, and must receive the 'baptism of Shitil', i.e. receive triple baptism and triple sacraments of bread and water at the hands of three priests, one of whom must be a *ganzibra*, for seven days. His baptism is preceded by a *zidqa brikha*, and he must wear a new *rasta*, have a new *margna* (staff), and be invested with a new *tagha* (fillet). During the week he must read three *rahmia* daily. After these ceremonies he is allowed to resume his duties as a priest.

There is a special genius concerned with childbirth who is responsible for the well-being of the infant before it is born and after. In the Drasha d Yahya[7] she is spoken of as a *lilith*, but even there, the term is not used opprobiously, and in general, she is looked upon as a kindly spirit of light. Her name is Zahariʿil and she seems to be related to Ishtar or Venus (Zahara) in the capacity of genius of generation and childbirth. Shaikh Dukhayil identified her with the latter, and also with Simat Hiia. In myth, she is the wife of Hibil Ziwa, who espoused her in the realms of darkness (see pp. 271 ff.).

Every mother must suckle her own child, and it is forbidden to act as foster-mother for hire. Such a provision may be thought curious, but the women of shaikhly Arab families hand over their children at birth to a wet-nurse, lest they spoil their own beauty, or, possibly, so that there may be no obstacle between them and their lords. Poor as the Ṣubbi marsh-dwellers are, they never 'sell their breast-milk' for fear of punishment in the after-life.

The father is responsible for his son's education and keep until the boy has reached his fifteenth, or some say twentieth, year. The child must be educated, disciplined, nourished, and taught his religious duties and ablutions. He must be taught how to put on his *rasta*, how to tie the sacred girdle, and how to perform the *ris̲h̲ama* and *ṭamas̲h̲a* (the minor and major ablutions). Before eating he must wash his hands and arms as far as the elbow, and he must pronounce the name of the Life and of Manda d̲ Hiia over his food. ' "In the Name of the Life and in the name of Manda d̲ Hiia" be pronounced upon thee, O Tabṭa!'—the same formula as that pronounced over the first mouthful of *lofani* or ritual food (p. 188). He is taught that he may not eat meat not ritually slaughtered, that he may not touch blood, or any kind of pollution. He is taught what flesh is permitted, and what is forbidden, and is told that Hibil Ziwa, when Pt̲h̲ahil created the living creatures of the earth, instructed Adam as to what was lawful for food. Every growing thing that has *seed* is lawful: hence the mushroom is forbidden. All birds of prey and all fish-eating birds are unlawful, also the rook, crow, and a long-legged long-billed marsh bird known as the *zurgi*. The raven, perhaps for the same reason as that which causes its appearance on Mithraic bas-reliefs, is considered a pure bird and may be eaten without blame. The camel, horse, pig, dog, rat, rabbit, hare, and cat are forbidden (not only to the Mandaean but also to his Moslem and Jewish neighbours). Whereas these neighbours, however, are great eaters of beef, which is cheaper than mutton, the

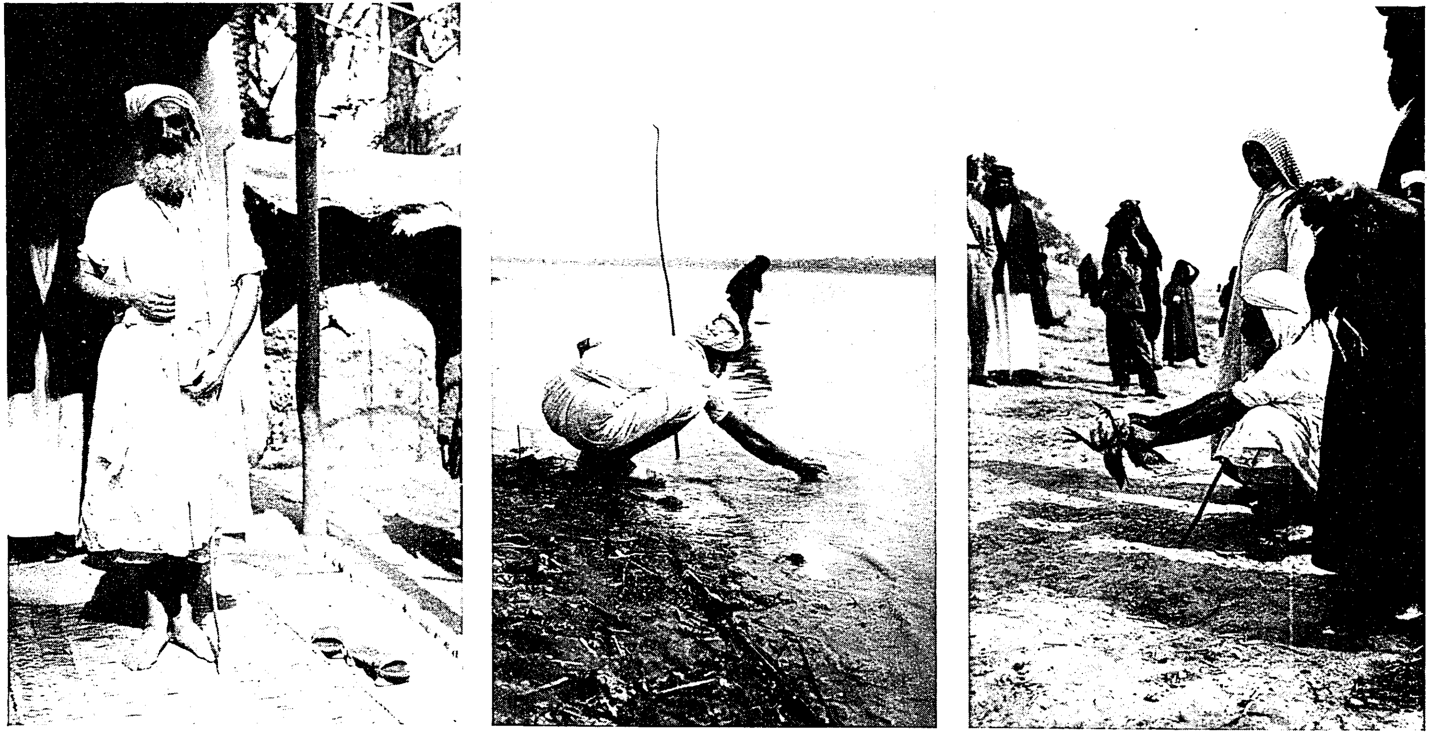
Mandaean considers it a crime to kill either buffalo or ox. The sacredness of the latter animals, especially the bull, to the Life and to the Sun is recalled by the uncompromising veto on their flesh. 'Hiwel Ziwa', said a *ganzibra* to me, 'created these animals for ploughing, for draught, and for the production of milk, and not for food.' At the same time, no especial religious importance is attached to the living cow; no virtue to cattle dung or urine as with the Parsis, and no magic to milk, though a milker should always say 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ Hiia is mentioned upon thee' before starting to work on the udders. Fish may be eaten, though scaleless varieties are forbidden; they are caught with nets or hooks in the usual fashion.

In practice, little meat is eaten, and the attitude towards slaughter is always apologetic.

'To kill, even according to the rites for slaughter, is a sin', said one layman, and several pious Mandaeans have told me that a deeply religious man forswears meat and fish. It will be seen in the legends that the Naṣorai are represented as vegetarians, an Indo-European and Buddhist rather than a Semitic trend of thought. The Ginza gives contradictory views about flesh-eating.[8] All killing and blood-letting is sinful, but flies, vermin, scorpions, and all harmful stinging things (*rashi bishi* in the *raṭna*) may be slain without sin, I was informed. At the same time, the Ṣubba show a lazy tolerance of flies, lice, and similar pests; I think that they scarcely notice their existence.

I might call attention here to the curious fact that the chicken and eggs, although eaten as articles of daily food, never form part of a ritual meal. It is thought, moreover, that a death will occur in the house if an egg is given away after sunset. I give an account elsewhere of the slaughter of a sheep, which, in ritual, does not differ from its slaughter for ordinary food. I will here describe the ordinary slaughter of fowls for the pot.

The slaughterer must be either a *hallali* or a priest. I watched Shaikh Dukhayil slaughter a couple of chickens. The proceedings began in the shaikh's house, with the



a. The preliminary
rahmi (*rahmia:* devotions)

b. Ablution of *margna*

c. The slaughter of a chicken

SLAUGHTER OF A CHICKEN

rahmi or preliminary prayers, with the consecration of the *rasta*, piece by piece, including the *tagha* as described elsewhere. For these prayers, he stood barefoot on a mat in his courtyard facing the north, and carrying his staff (*margna*). He then went down to the river, bearing a small stick and a haftless knife. He explained later that the only reason that the latter was of metal was that it must later be purified by being heated red-hot in a fire.

He first performed the *rishama* (minor ablution) at the water's edge and then gave his knife, the little stick (which may be of any 'clean' wood), and his staff, their ablutions in the river. Whilst the two former were completely submerged three times, only the end of the *margna* was washed. The usual baptismal formula was spoken over each object (v. p. 104, e.g., *margnai aṣvina bmaṣwetta ḏ Bahram Rba bar rurbi*, etc.). Meanwhile an assistant priest, who did not wear a *rasta*, waded into the river bearing the two fowls, which he ducked three times beneath the surface. No imperfect beast or bird may be sacrificed, and these fowls were whole and healthy. The presence of this assistant, or 'witness', is obligatory at any slaughter to ensure that nothing is scamped or irregular.

Shaikh Dukhayil now turned his back on the river in order to face the north, and prayed at some length. Then he crouched on his heels, received the wet fowls one by one from the priest, and, holding each so that its head was to the west, he drew the knife several times across the throat, cutting so deeply that the head was almost severed from the body. When using the knife he held the small willow-stick pressed against it, and pronounced the formula for slaughter given on p. 137. The birds did not struggle. He then returned to the river, washed his hands and knife, and allowed the stick to float away downstream. The fowls were carried off to the kitchen, but not permitted to touch any defiling object. Once a beast or bird destined to die has been immersed three times, the utmost care must be taken not to let it touch the ground. Though birds killed for food or cult-meals may be of either sex, it is forbidden to slaughter female beasts.

Shaikh Dukhayil returned to his house, stood barefoot on the mat facing the north, as before, and prayed the long de-consecrating prayers necessary before he removed his *tagha* and *rasta*. No myrtle is used during the slaughter, for this is above all a symbol of life, and must not be used unless the small stick held with the knife be of myrtle-wood, and in that case, all its green leaves are removed. Any spot of blood which may happen to fall on the priest or bystanders is most carefully washed, with prayers, for blood is defiling.[9]

Vegetables and all foods must be purified by triple immersion in the river, and pots and pans must at certain times be baptized,[10] especially at Panja, when every housewife brings her kitchen utensils of all kinds to receive ritual ablution. She habitually washes her clothes and all household objects in the river, for 'cut-off' water is dead water, and therefore a pollution rather than a purification.[11]

The Mandaeans have some customs which the priests told me were 'irreligious'. When a new house is built, a sheep is killed as *fidwa* (ransom), and its head is buried beneath the threshold. Similarly, when a bride enters the house for the first time, or when a wife enters a new dwelling, one or two birds (doves or cocks) are killed near her foot as she steps over the threshold. I have seen this performed. The bird was killed by a layman, who cut its throat, rubbed the blood on the bare foot of the bride, and then hurled the still struggling corpse into the river. The threshold is of importance, and is protected by charms. Blue beads or pottery are inserted above the door, a snake, symbolical of life, is carved above or by it, or a curious little rag doll sewn over with blue buttons, cowries, gall-nuts, and other charms, is suspended above it. (This doll is also used by Iraqi Jews.) In times of sickness, in the case of suspected evil eye, or sometimes after a death, metal dishes or plaques inscribed with magical formulae are buried underneath the threshold, particularly of reed huts, to prevent evil influences or disease demons from passing in.

In his home a child learns his prayers and his religious duties. 'Baptism, alms, and good deeds make the perfect Mandaean', and these good deeds include scrupulous performance of death rites and observance of the cult of the dead. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are accessible to most Mandaean boys and girls in the Iraqi Government schools, and an increasing number of the school-trained generation go on to the secondary schools and eventually become schoolmasters. Few lay Mandaeans know their own script or holy books; such studies are left to priests, and the number of those who can read, write, and partially understand Mandaean is lessening as the priestly class diminishes. In most of the larger Ṣubbi communities there are Ṣubbi teachers. For instance, at Qalʿat Salih, in the Government school for boys there is a Ṣubbi master and in that for girls, a Ṣubbiyaẖ mistress. The latter, a gentle girl with a charming smile, was trained in the Teachers' Training College, Baghdad.

Though school-trained youngsters have the usual ambition, to become Government clerks, and often end in discontented unemployment, a number of Ṣubbi boys follow the trades of their fathers and learn to become silversmiths, ironsmiths, and boat-builders. Ṣubbis provide the Arab bride with the jewellery which is often her sole dowry, and some of this is attractive, especially the great swinging, half-moon *tarāc̲his* or ear-rings of filigree gold set with pearls, turquoises, or rubies. In Baghdad the Ṣubbi silver-shops, congregated together, are small, open booths with box-like show-cases. Their silverware is unlike that of local Iraqi or Jew silversmiths, the latter being coarse and clumsy. The Ṣubbi work is neat and finished, and its principal feature is black inlaid decoration, a process which they keep secret. The design is first scratched on, then filled in with antimony and fired. The decoration takes the form of floral patterns, of scenes from river life, the Arch of Ctesiphon, or Ezra's tomb, and if required the Ṣubbi craftsman will copy a photograph submitted to him by his customer, selecting the essential lines with skill. Sometimes the inlay is coloured.

The boat-builder's craft is an ancient one. The generic term for the shallow, wide boat used in the marshes is

mas̲h̲ḥūf. It is of simple design, carvel-built, with inner ribs curving up from a centre-piece or backbone, ending in long beaks at prow and stern which are used to nose a way through the rushes and reeds. In order of size, these *mas̲h̲āḥīf* are called the *barges̲h̲*, the *ṭarrādah̤*, and the little fishing *c̲h̲alabiyah̤*. The boats are daubed over on the exterior with pitch, which the boat-builders apply with a rag, smoothing it with a roller. Agricultural implements, ploughs, spades, reaping-hooks and bills, are all Ṣubbi-made, and it is the Ṣubbis also who forge the fish-hooks, and the three-pronged and five-pronged fish-spears for the marsh fishermen.

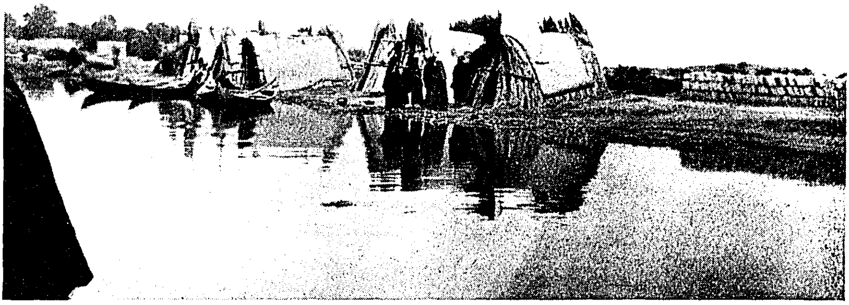
The older generation sees modern changes with misgiving. A perter generation is growing up, not silent before its elders.

'At school we learn that the world is round and moves round the sun', burst in the sons of a *ganzibra* who was telling me that the world is square and fixed. 'Young people nowadays think they know everything,' said their mortified father.

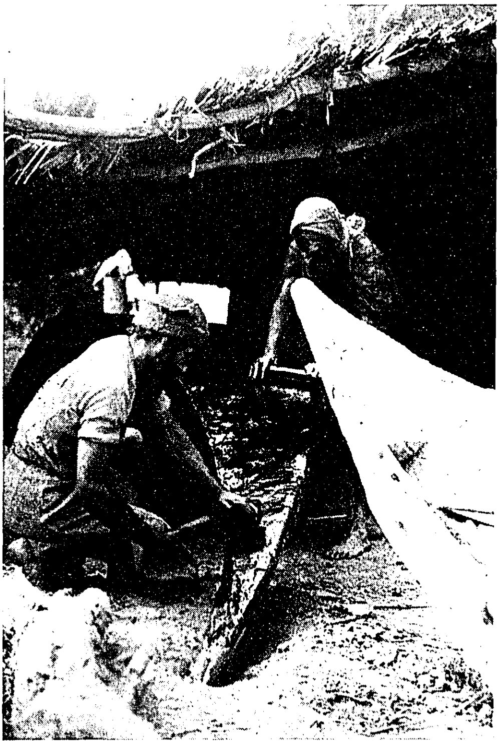
They have a grievance, that no official notice is taken of Mandaean feast-days. Moslem, Jewish, and Christian children are allowed to have holidays on their big feast-days, but the Ṣubbi must plead sickness if he wishes to stay at home for such a day as the first day of the year.

Dancing, play-acting, juggling, and music are forbidden to the puritanical Mandaean. However, I have seen Ṣubbiyah̤ girls sing and dance—the latter with the body-swayings, stomach twitchings, and muscle jerkings characteristic of the country—but only in their own homes on gleeful occasions; and the younger generation, though the pious disapprove, attend the cinema. As a race, they look serene and happy.

Character. Here I must notice a point on which they differ essentially from their neighbours. They possess a genuine love of nature, as will be seen in the Mandaean tales and legends given in this book. An Arab, though he admires beauty in a woman or a horse, sees personal comfort rather than actual loveliness in a natural scene: a tree



a. Reed-hut village



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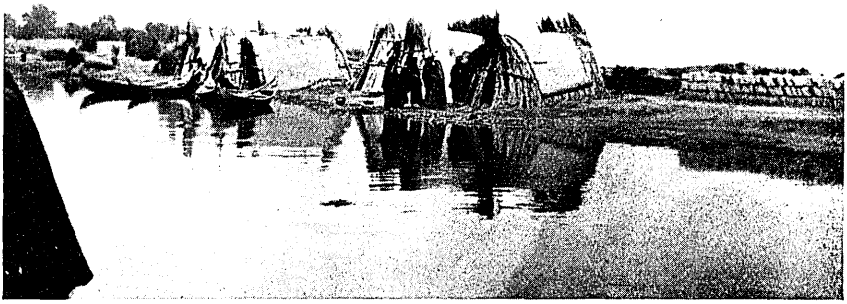

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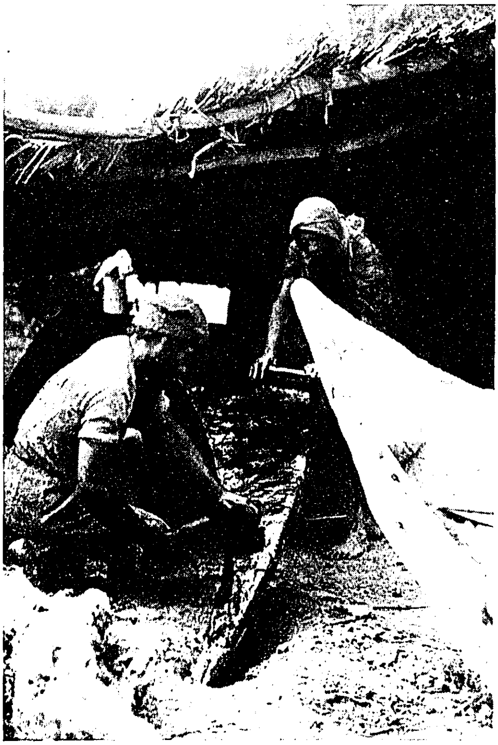

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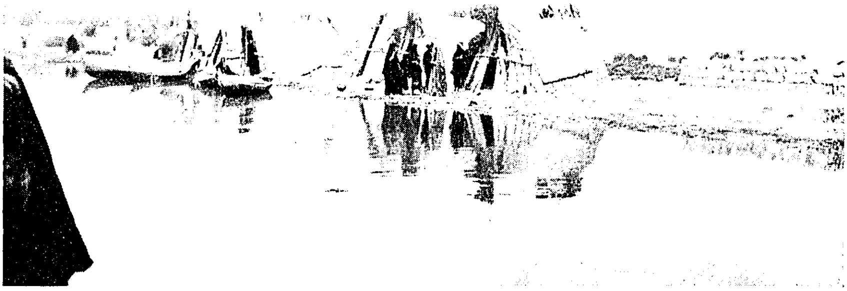

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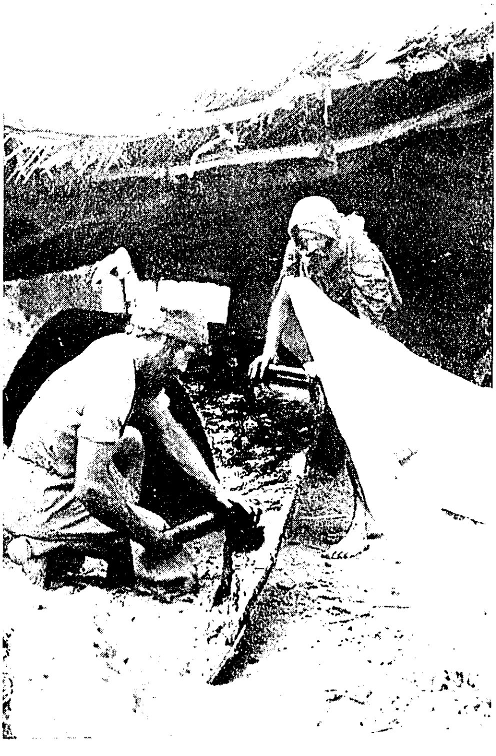

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to give him shade, running water at which he may drink, a garden in which he may entertain his friends. But the *darāwīsh* of Mandaean tales behold Nature in a mystic light. They delight in Nature as apart from man. The birds are praying to the Great Life, the stars and the sun chant His praises in harmonies which the pure can hear. This mysticism enters into the actions of daily life. If I give a Mandaean a few flowers, he murmurs as he bends over them (I speak from experience) the beautiful formula 'Perfume of Life, joy of my Lord, Manda of Life!'[12] In spite of an original asceticism that saw in all functions of the body a species of defilement which laid him open to the attacks of evil spirits, the Mandaeans have joy in life, and in marriage, though the latter is protected by elaborate ritual which aims at health and cleanliness. The mortifications, dirtiness, and self-deprivation of Christian asceticism in its medieval stage are unknown to these joyous mystics. All that the Spirit of Life sends is a good gift, to be used with praise. In spite of the sin-conscious tones of the prayers, life is a pleasant thing, and the earth a happy prison. Death does not exist, since the living and the dead constantly meet at the table of the ritual meal.

When the soul flies like a released bird, and after its purification reaches the realm of light, all that is lovely on earth is found there in its perfection. In the Mandaean worlds of light there are no seas of glass, no walls of gold, no cities as in the Jewish Heavenly Jerusalem, no material delights and houris as in the Moslem Paradise. Beauty and purity are found there; heavenly ether,[13] air most pure and clear; streams of living water, fadeless flowers, immortal singing-birds, and trees whose leaves never wither and fall.

I do not wish to paint a one-sided picture of Mandaean character. The Ṣubba have the faults of their neighbours, and share with them a modified appreciation of the value of truth. Some priests, I fear, often think more of their fees than of their flock. Although they believe that a man who dies a violent death suffers long and painful disability in the next world unless he receives costly *masiqatha* (masses, or ritual meals for the dead) read in his name, few consent to perform these death rites without the customary fees. ‘We must live’, is their answer. However, there are fine characters amongst them, and I have the deepest respect for such splendid old men as Shaikh Joda, Shaikh Dukhayil, and Shaikh Rūmī, the *ganzivri* of Amarah, Nasoriyah, and Qalʿat Salih respectively. The flame of a genuine piety glows in the eyes of the dark and temperamental Shaikh Nejm when he expounds Mandaean teaching to his poor little flock at Litlata. It is said that of the wild-looking, poverty-stricken marsh Mandaeans who come to him for baptism, he often expects no offering but thanks.

Mandaean women go unveiled, are free of movement, may own property and inherit it. Polygamy falls hardly upon some of them, although others live on good terms with a fellow wife, especially if the husband is an old man. Their homes are often dirty. The courtyard is shared with the cattle, manure lies in the narrow space, and is carried into the rooms on the feet and in the form of dust. Flies are unnoticed, and the older generation are not ashamed of lice, which they regard as a natural condition of the hair and body. Only schooling can change this habit of thought. They are hard-working, and on the whole healthy and good-looking, though the men are the better-looking, and the old men are often actually beautiful. I have seen a Ṣubbiyah mother and child that looked like a Madonna and holy babe, and the entire race is famous for good looks, so much so that ‘as handsome as a Ṣubbi’ is a proverb. They marry young, often at the first sign of puberty. But marriage and death are such important subjects that they must have later chapters to themselves.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

1. *Mshunia Kushṭa.* The meaning seems to be ‘the translated, or removed (i.e. from us) righteous’. Mshunia Kushṭa is the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and peopled by the descendants of Adam Kasia and Hawa Kasia (the hidden, or mystical Adam and Eve); for, as one priest told me, ‘of all things there are two, an actual, and its *mabda* (ideal, or arch-type)’. Another explained that each individual on this earth has his double (*dmutha*,

or likeness) in Mshunia Kushṭa, and at the time of death the earthly individual leaves his earthly body and assumes the more ethereal body of his double. It is in the latter body that the human soul goes through the pains of purification. As for his double in Mshunia Kushṭa, at the time of the earthly double's dissolution, he quits the ethereal body which he inhabited for a light-body, and, being perfectly pure, he proceeds at once to the worlds of light. When the human soul has completed the cycle of its purification, and the scales of Abathur Muzania have proved it to be freed of all grossness, it, too, enters the world of light, and the two are united.

Alanpia dmuth nafiqna
Udmuthai alanpai nafqa
Mithanna umikarkbia
Akwath d mn shibia athit.

'I go towards my likeness
And my likeness goes towards me;
He embraces me and holds me close
As if I had come out of prison.'

Beasts, birds, flowers, and indeed the whole physical universe, have a spiritual counterpart in Mshunia Kushṭa, and its inhabitants are said to marry and have children, but without pollution in the processes. Sometimes they are represented as communicating with their doubles on earth, cf. the Miriai story (JB. 126) in which the sleeping girl is waked and warned by her 'sister in Mshunia Kushṭa'. See Bk. II, p. 287.

The similarity between the Mandaean soul (*nshimta*) and 'likeness' (*dmutha*) and the *urvân* and *fravashi* of the Zoroastrians is striking.

'On the death of a person, his soul (*urvân* or *ravân*) meets with justice according to his merits or demerits. If he has deserved well, he goes to heaven, if not, to hell. His Fravashi, which guided him through life as a guiding spirit, parts from his soul and goes to its abode or place among all the Fravashis. It is the soul (*urvân*) that meets with good or evil consequences of its actions. The Fravashi or the guiding spirit, was pure and perfect, unalloyed and uncontaminated from the beginning and has passed away as such. So it is this pure and perfect spiritual identity, the Fravashi, that is the medium, as it were, of the continued relation between the living and the dead' (JJM., p. 423).

'According to the Avesta, all natural objects have their Fravashis, but not the objects that have been made from those natural objects. For example the trees have their Fravashis, but not the chair or table that has been made from the wood of the tree. God has created the Fravashis of these natural objects from the very beginning of creation. Before the creation of the object, there existed the Fravashi of that object, perfect, complete, and correct' (JJM., p. 412).

The *dmutha* seems to be the 'External Soul' (JGF. iii. 351 ff.).

The belief in an ideal, half-human world between the worlds of light and our world is an early one, and persisted into early Christianity, but possibly through Neoplatonism. The Vedic Garden of Yama, the ideal world of the Essenes, and, far later, the Arab *Jazīrat-al-K̲h̲ad̲h̲ra*, all belong to the same group-idea. The inhabitants wear white, are perfectly pure, and are often communistic. As in the Isle of Avalon, no harsh wind, or tempest, or extreme of hot and cold mars its equable climate. Josephus (Whiston's translation revised by Shillito vol. iv, p. 155) says of the Essenes: 'They think also, like the sons of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat, but refreshed by the gentle breathing of the west wind which perpetually blows from the ocean.'

The Mandaeans have varying theories as to the whereabouts of this ideal world. Some maintain that it is in the north, and divided from the actual world by a high and icy mountain. A favourite theory is, 'It hangs between heaven and earth, and is invisible to us. Its inhabitants are purer than we are and our eyes cannot see them.' My old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar remarked once, 'There is a star inhabited by men, the descendants of the Hidden Adam (Adam Kasia), but they are semi-spiritual in nature, and not gross like ourselves. This star is called Merīk̲h̲, and is the star of the morning.'

Another description was 'Ms̲h̲uni (so pronounced) Kus̲h̲ṭa is in the north, beyond the region of snow and ice. It is always light there, and the dwellers in Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa can converse with and see the *melki* and *ʿut̲h̲ri*.'

Just as Hibil Ziwa is the tutelary spirit of the earth, S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba, his *dmut̲h̲a*, is the guiding spirit of the world of Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa.

2. Can it be that a similar usage was the reason for the Nativity in a stable?

3. Parsis also isolate the mother. 'A room or part of a room, generally on the down-floor, is prepared and set apart for the purpose' (JJM., p. 5). Forty days is the time for the separation. 'On delivery, the mother is enjoined to remain apart from others. She is not to come into contact with fire, water, and other furniture of the house, especially wooden furniture and linen articles. Her food is to be served to her on a plate by others. Those who have to come into contact with her have to bathe before they mix with others.... At the end of the forty days, which is the period of the confinement, the lady has to purify herself before ordinarily mixing with others. At first she takes an ordinary bath and then goes through what is called 'nân', a contraction of the Sanskrit word 'snân' which is a sacred bath. A priest, generally the family priest, administers that bath with consecrated water. All the bedding and clothes of the woman, used after the forty days of her confinement after delivery, are rejected from ordinary use. They are enjoined to be destroyed ...' (JJM., pp. 6–7).

4. Hence, perhaps, the origin of the bundle of reeds as the symbol of Is̲h̲tar.

5. *Defilement of the water.* Strabo refers to such an idea as peculiar to the Persians: 'the Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash, nor

bathe in it; they never throw a dead body nor anything unclean into it' (*The Geography of Strabo* translated by Hamilton and Falconer, 1857, vol. iii, p. 137).

In the Vendîdâd the throwing of impurities into water is prohibited.

Herodotus (bk. i, p. 138, Carey's translation, Bohn's series, 1889) says: '(the Persians) neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow anyone else to do so.'

Mandaeans think that a man who urinates into a stream will become subject to skin-disease.

6. 'On the birth of a child, a lamp is lighted and kept burning, for at least three days, in the room where the lady is confined. The Saddar says: "When the child becomes separate from the mother it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because when a child is born, it is extremely delicate for those three days" ' (JJM., p. 6).

7. In the *Dras̲h̲a ḏ Yahya*: "*l arsaiin ḏ baṭinat̲h̲a Zahrʿil lilit̲h̲a s̲h̲rʿia*' 'Zahriel, the lilit̲h̲, stays by the couch of pregnant women.'

8. GR. 20, 125; GR. 9, 31.

9. Also for the Parsis and the Jews. Maimonides says 'the Ṣabians regarded blood as something most unclean, but ate it, nevertheless, because they held it for the food of demons, and believed that, through partaking of it, a man entered into relationship with the demons, so that they visited him and unveiled for him the future.' He says, further, that others could not bring themselves to drink the blood, but collected it in a vessel and ate the flesh of the animal slaughtered, sitting round the blood. Thus they sat in friendly fellowship with the demons who drank the blood and 'then, they imagined, the demon would appear to them in a dream and discover the future to them and instruct them usefully'. (Ch. Ṣ. Bd. ii, 481–2).

The Arabs believe that blood is life-fluid, and that a bath or immersion in blood is healing. This must be the old nomad idea, based on the *fidwa*, or ransom (see note 4, Chap. IX). The Essenes, together with other Jewish sects, seem, on the other hand, to have imbibed, possibly from Iranian-Indian sources, the idea that slaughter was a crime, and that sacrifice of animals was unpleasing to the powers of light and life. The Essenes were vegetarians. It is possible that early Christianity derived its symbolism of a substituted victim, and the symbolism of bread for the flesh of the victim and wine for its blood, from this school of Jewish-Iranian thought.

10. Literally, since the baptismal formula is employed.

11. The immersion of food is not confined to the Mandaeans. A pious S̲h̲iʿa Moslem has a cistern in his courtyard into which he plunges all food before it is cooked, or eaten, so that it may be purified. As the cistern is usually stagnant and foul-smelling, the result is not desirable, and modern

education in Iraq is gradually destroying the custom. The S̲h̲āfiʿ practices as regards ablutions (the Kurds are almost all S̲h̲āfiʿs) are nearer to the Mandaean.

12. (JB., p. 96) *kul man d̲ narha briha d̲ hiia us̲h̲ma d̲ hiia la nadk̲h̲ar* ʿ*lh̲*, *bmahu dina dainilh̲*. ('If a man smell the perfume of the Life and does not pronounce the name of the Life over it, how shall he be judged?')

13. *Ayar-Ziwa*. 'Ether-Brilliance' or 'radiant ether'. This certainly corresponds to the 'most thin air' of the Essene (Josephus, vol. iv, p. 155). With the Mandaeans this rare and purer atmosphere is represented as interpenetrating the thick air round the earth, and giving it vital qualities, just as the heavenly *yardna* is mixed with earthly *yardnia* or rivers, giving them their life-giving and fertilizing powers. This Ether is personified, and is sometimes mentioned as a source of life.

Wireless holds no surprise for a Mandaean. 'You see', said one to me, 'it is Ayar Ziwa who brings the sounds.' Cf. the Parsi Ram-K̲h̲vastra, the angel of rarefied air and the Iranian Vayah (Aether).

V

MARRIAGE

'If a man has no wife, there will be no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth', a *ganzibra* remarked to me. He himself had two. 'If woman had not been created there would be no sun and no moon, no cultivation and no fire.' 'Children make a man's name great in the next world, and when he is dead, they carry his body to the grave and have *masiqa̱tẖa* read for him.'

A man may marry as many wives as his means allow, though, actually, pluralists are the exception rather than the rule, and many Mandaeans hold monogamy to be better than polygamy. I have noticed, however, that most priests have had at one time two or more wives. The standard of morals is rigid, though an erring woman is not murdered by her male relatives as commonly happens in Iraq amongst the Moslems. Divorce is not recognized by their religion but if a man finds that his wife is careless about her purifications or has grave moral faults, he applies to the *ganzibra* for a separation. She may marry no one else, and a widow is not expected to remarry, for religion says, 'husband and wife are like heaven and earth', or 'like one soul in two bodies'. Again, practice is kinder than precept. If a widow, or a woman not a virgin, marries, a *paisaq*[1] may read a shortened ceremony over the pair. But the children of such a union are excluded from the priesthood for three generations.

A marriage is arranged by the parents of the young people, and the bride is chosen, not for her wealth, but because she comes of a suitable Mandaean family. Marriages between cousins are usual, and the paternal cousin is preferred to the maternal cousin. The girl should be healthy, especially in priestly families, where physical blemishes mean disqualification from the priesthood, and there must be no taint of alien blood, or past fault. As girls are not secluded, and have the opportunity of seeing their suitors often in the narrow community, it is natural to suppose that they have a voice in the matter, and that if a proposed union is repugnant to the girl it is not insisted upon.

As soon as the match is agreed upon, the dowry (paid over to the bride's father) is settled. To-day, according to a priest, an average dowry amongst the well-to-do is from twenty dinars to thirty dinars, with a pea's weight of saffron. The poor give according to their means. In addition to this, the young man gives the girl clothes and jewellery. The fees to the *ganzibra* and priests amount to about a dinar (one pound sterling) and upwards.

I have witnessed several weddings, and will describe one, filling in details from others. The couple were poor: the girl's father, who had many daughters, was thankful to accept the meagre dowry which was all the suitor could offer. The age of the bridegroom, Ras̱hīd, was about thirty: the bride, Ṭuweyra bint Ṣug̱hayyar (Little-Bird daughter of Very-Little-One), was twelve. Of course, throughout the ceremonies, only their *malwas̱ha* (astrological) names, Mhattam bar Mumani and S̱harat paṯh Mudallal, were employed. Ras̱hīd was not rich enough to buy gems, he had to be content with a few gauds, and the necessary wedding-rings of red agate and green turquoise. Legend says that when Hibil Ziwa married Zahariʿil he gave her a robe stitched over with precious stones, and placed on her little fingers an emerald and ruby; 'and', say my informants, 'the *melki*, when they take their heavenly spouses, deck them with all manner of dazzling gems'.

The first baptism of the pair must be on a Sunday, and often both baptisms, the first and second, are performed on the same day. But, weddings being forbidden during Panja, the ceremony I am describing was divided into two, the first baptism being on the Sunday, which was the last day of Panja, and the second on the Tuesday following, for the day following Panja is a *mbaṭṭal* day and inauspicious. The day fixed for the wedding must be astrologically auspicious, and the priest who baptizes the pair (he must himself have received two baptisms before doing so) must ascertain that the girl is not near menstruation.

On the Sunday I was sitting in the *mandi* enclosure when the bride approached, heralded by drums, joy-cries, and clapping. I went to meet the procession, and the crowd parted to allow me to photograph the bride, who was supported on each side by a matron. She was enveloped in a white '*abā*' (mantle), and her face was concealed by a veil of green silk. Walking backwards before her, a little girl bore a mirror which reflected the bride. The mirror is referred to in the pretty folk-songs intoned during the wedding. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Nejm wrote one down for me:

Pronunciation	Written by him
Ihai ya rabeyt̲h̲a istarte	*'hai ya rabitia 'ṣṭartia*
Ad idri li naura asqilo	*D̲ 'dria 'lia naura sqala*
Qa hazīt bgua	*Qa hzit bgauh*
Anat as̲h̲far miney, an ?	*Anat s̲h̲afiritia mnai an?*

Translation

O my little mistress
Who carriest the clear mirror for me,
Didst see in it in sooth
That I am fairer (than it)?

A child carried a lighted lantern by the bride and boys walked with her, bearing trays upon which were lighted candles, a bowl of water, and a number of green myrtle and pomegranate twigs, the latter symbolical of life and fertility. This wedding pomp is called the *zeffat*.

The girl and her train entered the *ganzibra's* house for an ordeal which must always precede baptism for marriage. Two matrons, usually the wife and mother of the *ganzibra*, examine the bride to see if she is a virgin. If she is not, the women who wait to hear are silent; if she is, they utter joy-cries (*halhala*). In the case of Little Bird, the verdict was that she was intacta, and long trilling cries announced the fact. Had she not been, a *paisaq*[1] would have performed the rites—if the bridegroom was still willing to marry her.

The little mud chamber was full to capacity when I entered, and dark but for the smoky light of the candles and lamp, but the crowd of women, beating drums, snapping their fingers and shrilling, pushed each other back to let me see the bride, image-like on the floor, trays of greenery and lights beside her and the mirror, bowl of water, and lantern at hand. They unveiled her for me to see her golden ear-rings set with turquoise, her filigree nose-ring, her golden *galāda* or necklace, her silver anklets, and the chains adorning her bosom and hair.

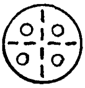
The bridegroom, in his best clothes, accompanied by his male friends, had meantime arrived at the *mandi* enclosure. Each bridegroom is treated as if he were a *malka*, or king, and must have a friend on either hand, who are known as the *amīr* (prince) 'of the left', and the '*amīr* of the right'. With the help of his friends, the groom put on his *rasta*, took his place with other men and boys awaiting baptism, went down in his turn into the water, and received sacraments with the others. When both baptisms take place in one day, the bridegroom receives his two after the bride has received hers (baptisms include sacraments), so that the priests perform the four baptisms at one time, and the sacraments, consequently, are also given to each twice in succession. When the bride is baptized, she is completely muffled in a black *'aba* worn above the *rasta*, and remains a faceless black bundle throughout the two baptisms. She may not speak a word throughout, all her responses being given silently. She is usually supported by two matrons, but one, usually her mother, suffices. Sometimes the mother not only goes with her to the water's brink but enters it with her, and when the bride has emerged, and walked round the *ṭoriana* and fire and crouches low for the sacraments, the mother puts her *'aba* round the girl's figure, to shield her and protect her if it is cold from the wind. Both bride and bridegroom, on emerging from the water after each baptism, must walk round the *ṭoriana* (i.e. round the clay table upon which is the sacred fire-saucer *brihi*, with the incense) and the fire if there is one, moving from south to west, from west to north, from north to east, and back to the south of the *ṭoriana*. After the baptisms, both bride and bridegroom are clothed in new clean *rastas* ready for the second part of the ceremony, and the bride is censed with incense.

On the occasion I am describing, however, the bride was baptized on the first day, and I did not see the second baptism of either. Preparations for the second day had been made at dawn in the bridegroom's house where the ceremonies subsequent to the baptisms took place. The ground in the courtyard was swept and cleansed. Sockets for the uprights of the marriage-hut (*andiruna*) are made with an iron *gazuq* (Ar. *t̲h̲abbāṭ*), a heavy, blunt iron wedge. No spade must be used. All the material used for the hut is procured overnight, and the building does not take long. The vertical supports (*s̲h̲ebāb*) must be twelve in number. Each *s̲h̲ebba* consists of two reeds only (the *qaṣab*, or *gaṣab* reed, Mandaean *qaina d̲ naiza*). Each pair of reeds is secured together by a strip of palm-leaf (*k̲h̲usah̤ māl nak̲h̲lah̤*). The latter must not be tied, but the ends are twisted tightly together and secured by being pushed in. The horizontals (*ḥatar* or *ḥatār*), are also twelve in number. The three lower horizontals on the north side of the *andiruna* are cut so as to form an entrance. The roof according to the priests should be domed, but though I have seen many huts, they have all been flat-roofed. The reeds laid across for the roof are unnumbered and the roof must have a white *killah̤* (mosquito-net) or sheet, thrown over it. In and out of the sides of the structure are twisted fresh flowers and myrtle, and twigs of every kind of tree available, and in addition, bright-coloured rugs or embroideries may be fastened round the sides of the hut. On the occasion of Little Bird's wedding, the hut was adorned with the pink sweet-scented roses called *jūri*, and myrtle and young orange-leaves added their perfume to that of marigolds and roses.

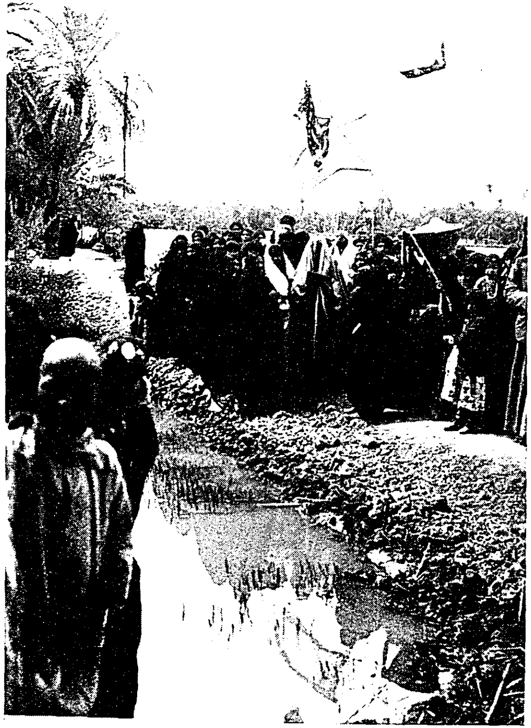
But this delightful little bower was not for the bride, who at no time even sets foot across its threshold, though her proxy does so in due time. Throughout the wedding service the bride sat on the bridal mattress in the dark nuptial chamber, screened from sight by a canopy of white muslin suspended from a sling of red and green wool, and reaching the floor. No Mandaean bride uses a bed: the mattress laid on the earthen floor is her nuptial couch.

Her mother sat beside her, not relinquishing her chaperonage of the bride until the moment when the bridegroom came finally to claim his wife. Beside the two waiting women, to the north of the bridal bedding and canopy, was the tray of myrtle and greenery and flickering candles, and the water and lamp which protect the bride from the powers of darkness.

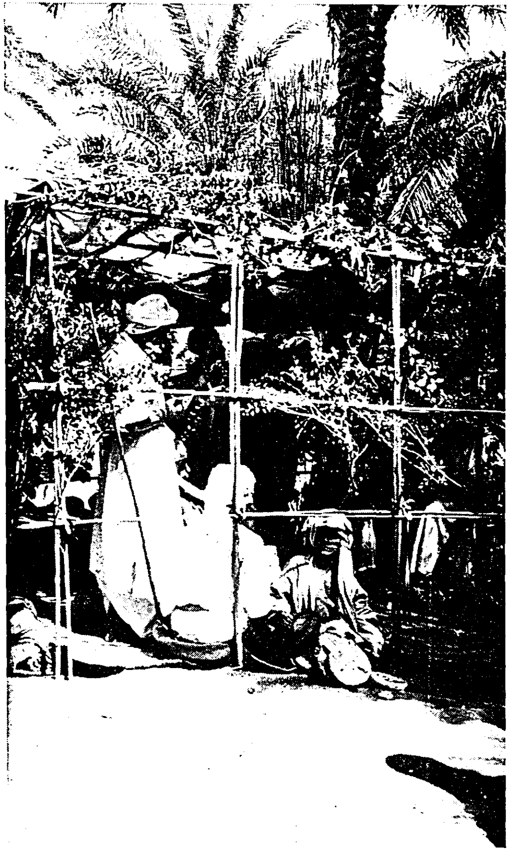
To return to the scene outside. In a corner of the courtyard, a reed hut had been set up for men guests, who were making merry with snapping fingers, *daff* (tambourine), and coffee, while a dancing boy, with womanish dress and long locks, danced, capered, and postured before them.

As I entered the courtyard, rose-water was sprinkled upon me, and fresh incense cast on the earthen brazier. A chair was set for me facing the *andiruna* so that I could witness the ceremonies. From this point of advantage I examined the *andiruna*, and saw that its floor was covered with grass matting (*ḥaṣīr*), and was told that a rug or carpet may be used provided it is entirely white, but that reed mats (*buwāri*) are never spread in the marriage hut because, a priest explained, 'the *bāriaḥ* (reed mat) is sacred'. Eight small *ṭoriani* (clay tables, see p. 106), not so big as the usual *ṭoriana* of the ritual, and decorated with scratched circles, or circles crossed, with a dot in each quarter, were put ready within the *andiruna*. These, they said, are especially made for weddings.  (See note 14, Chap. VI.)

The priests arrived—two priests, two *shgandi*, and the *ganzibra*—bearing with them the ritual objects and apparatus necessary. Everything used must be first ceremonially washed in the river, and the ritual foods, presently enumerated in the description of the *zidqa brikha*, must have been prepared by the priests before arrival. They were carried on a large *ṭoriana* enveloped in a *gdada*, a piece of white, new cotton-cloth about two *dhras*[2] long; while a second *gdada* about the same size enveloped a spouted metal water-jar (*ibrīq*). The *ibrīq* must not be of



a. The Wedding Procession. The bride



b. The rites inside the *andiruna*

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Her mother sat beside her, not relinquishing her chaperonage of the bride until the moment when the bridegroom came finally to claim his wife. Beside the two waiting women, to the north of the bridal bedding and canopy, was the tray of myrtle and greenery and flickering candles, and the water and lamp which protect the bride from the powers of darkness.

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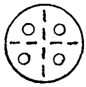
As I entered the courtyard, rose-water was sprinkled upon me, and fresh incense cast on the earthen brazier. A chair was set for me facing the *andiruna* so that I could witness the ceremonies. From this point of advantage I examined the *andiruna*, and saw that its floor was covered with grass matting (*ḥaṣīr*), and was told that a rug or carpet may be used provided it is entirely white, but that reed mats (*buwāri*) are never spread in the marriage hut because, a priest explained, 'the *bāriaḥ* (reed mat) is sacred'. Eight small *ṭoriani* (clay tables, see p. 106), not so big as the usual *ṭoriana* of the ritual, and decorated with scratched circles, or circles crossed, with a dot in each quarter, were put ready within the *andiruna*. These, they said, are especially made for weddings.  (See note 14, Chap. VI.)

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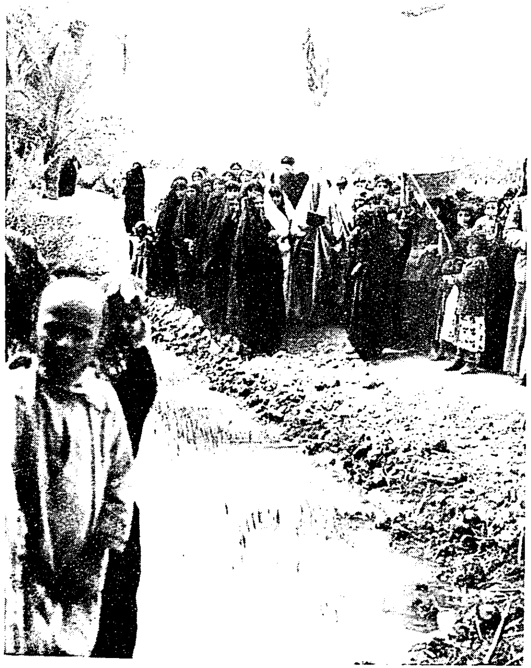
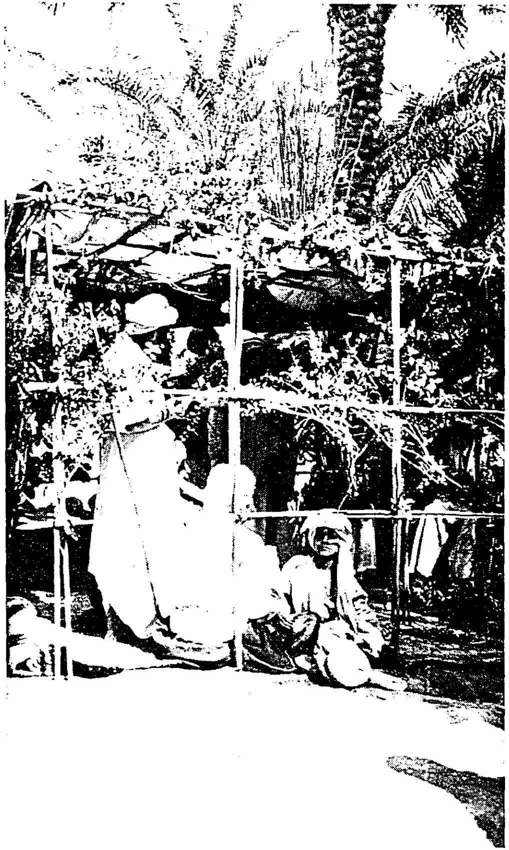


a. The Wedding Procession. The bride



b. The rites inside the *andirnna*

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clay, and was formerly, they say, of gold and silver; the copper is a substitute.

The two *s̲h̲gandas* (acolytes, apprentice-priests) must be under the age of puberty and sons of a priest or head-priest (*ganzibra*). The first proceeding was that one of these brought a basket of the bride's clothes mixed with those of the bridegroom. The *s̲h̲ganda* knocked the basket three times against the side-posts of the entrance, whilst the *ganzibra* knocked his *margna* with it, but above it, pronouncing the blessing of the Life upon the pair. The basket was then taken back to the house.

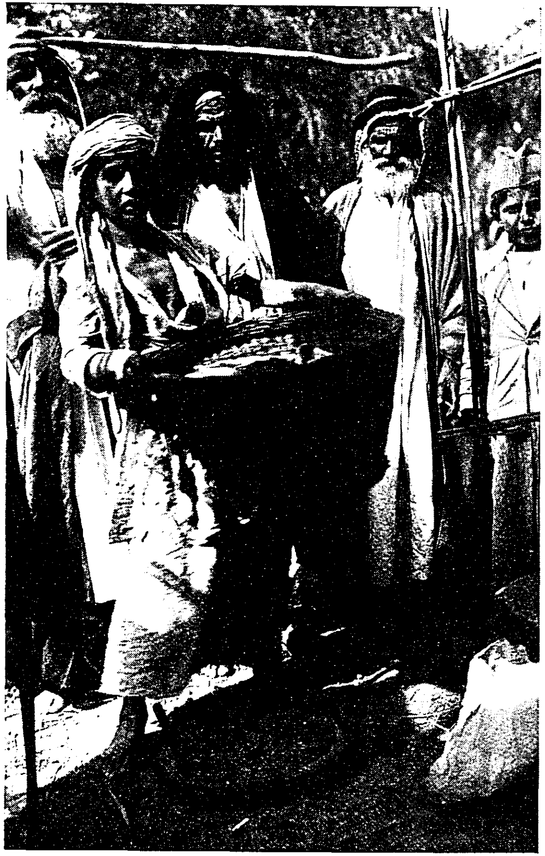
The priests took their stand to the right of the *andiruna*, facing the north, the *ganzibra* being on the extreme right. They consecrated their *rasta*, piece by piece, in the usual rapid gabble, whilst the bridegroom waited beside them. As soon as they had finished, the *ganzibra* inspected the *rasta* of the bridegroom to see that the girdle was properly tied, and every piece of the dress correct, and then invested him with the *skandola* (see pp. 36–38), placing the iron ring on the little finger of his right hand, and the iron knife through his girdle. The bridegroom must wear these day and night until his rebaptism and purification, a ceremony which the pair undergo one Sunday at least seven days after the first cohabitation. Until this purification, being unclean, he and his bride are peculiarly susceptible to the attacks of demons and lilit̲h̲s. The end of the *ganzibra's* stole (see p. 31) is placed in the bridegroom's right hand, while the *ganzibra* pronounces the words:

> 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia are pronounced upon thee, O *qabin* S̲h̲is̲h̲lam son of——.'

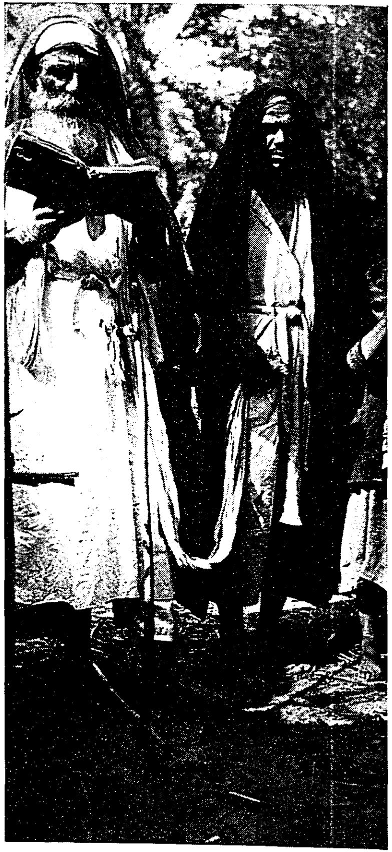
(The priests would not tell me the name of S̲h̲is̲h̲lam's father until I had given my word not to reveal the name. There was, however, nothing mysterious about it, since it is one of the names of the Great Life.) *Qabin*, pronounced *qāvin*, with a broad Persian *a*, means 'bridegroom' and 'S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba' is the arch-type of bridegrooms.[3] 'All *melki* and '*ut̲h̲ri*', they say, 'have female counterparts, or spouses, called *anani*', and the mystic union of the male and female principles of life are grossly reflected in human marriage.

A priest was sent by the *ganzibra* to the bride, to see that her *rasta* was in order, to ask her formally before witnesses if she were willing to marry the man, and to put on the little finger of each hand the two rings, one set with a red stone going on the right hand, and one set with a green stone going on the left hand, a custom recalling the use of green and red lights on the port and starboard of a ship. When the rings were on, the priest poured water over her hands from the *ibrīq*, gave her walnuts and raisins to eat, and water from the *ibrīq* to drink. Then, after an *asutha havilech* and 'thy sins are forgiven thee', he rejoined the others at the *andiruna* and repeated what he had done.

At the threshold of the hut, the upper grindstone of a hand-mill had been placed. When the *ganzibra*, reading from his book (the prayer is given in Q., p. 357) reached the prayer *qal qala anat*, one of the *shgandas*, standing at his right hand, dashed down a clay pot (*tunga*) which he held ready, against the mill-stone.[4] The *ganzibra* finished the prayer, then, the bridegroom still holding the end of the stole, and the others following, all entered and took their places, sitting on the matting round the sides of the *andiruna*, the bridegroom on the left of the *ganzibra*. The eight small *ṭoriani* were now set out on the floor, and the big *ṭoriana* with the *ṭabutha* or sacred food, wrapped in the *gdada*, was placed to the south of them, before the *ganzibra*. Each little clay table stood upon a clay ring (*kangana*). A basin was set beside the *ganzibra* who held his arms, bared to the elbow over it, while a priest poured water from the veiled *ibrīq* over them. The *ganzibra* then splashed water from the water-jar thrice all over the interior of the hut, repeating the formula he had pronounced earlier upon the bridegroom. The white cloth that covered the big *ṭoriana* was opened, and a little of each kind of sacred food placed on the smaller clay tables. The *ganzibra* sprinkled them also with salt and sesame. The salt is said to represent the strength and fertility of the bridegroom. Prayer and blessing were incessant.



a. Bringing the clothes: Ṣubbi wedding (note grindstone at threshold)



b. Bridegroom holding ganzibra's *naṣifa* (stole)

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Twenty-six round flat loaves, a little smaller than the ordinary flat household loaves, having been brought in on a lustrated tray, a careful arrangement of them took place. The *ganzibra* placed three on each *ṭoriana*, but between one of the smaller clay tables and the big one he put two folded together. These loaves, called *faṭiri*, are baked by the bridegroom's family, while the *ganzibra* himself prepares the *ṣa* and brings it with the other sacred foods upon the big *ṭoriana* wrapped in the *gdada*. The *ṣa*, bread in the shape of and representing the phallus, is in scroll-form, so that scraps of the sacred food can be inserted into it.

The bride's deputy, known as the *ab* or father, entered the hut, like the others, over the broken potsherds, with the greeting *Sutha nhuilkhun* ('Health be yours'), and seated himself with the others. The bridegroom was asked if he wished to marry the girl, and was solemnly exhorted by the *ganzibra* to cleanse himself of sin, the address beginning, 'O Mhattam, bar Mumani'. The girl's deputy, the *ab*, was next addressed by the *ganzibra*, who asked him, as if he were the girl, 'O Sharat path Mudallal, do you accept Mhattam bar Mumani?' The question, in the case of the bridegroom put and answered twice, is asked of the *ab* three times, the inference being that the man is more anxious to marry than the girl. Relations of the contracting party sat near the door of the hut.

The Zidqa Brikha for Marriage

The next step was the ritual meal for the dead, for the souls of departed relatives and ancestors are supposed to participate in rites which mean the continuance of their race, and to bless the young people. (Cf. the Zoroastrian invocation of *Fravashis* at a wedding.)

The food brought by the priests was:

Walnuts.
Onions.
Sultana raisins.
Dates.
Long almonds (usually called *amuza*, but at weddings *shughda*).

Fish, previously roasted upon a fire of lustrated reeds.

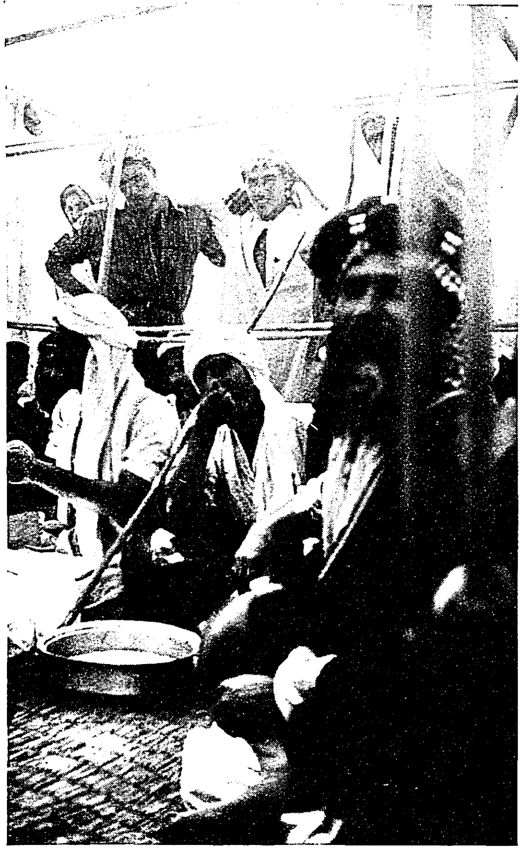
A *ṣa*, a small round thin flap of bread rolled up like a scroll (see above).

Salt.

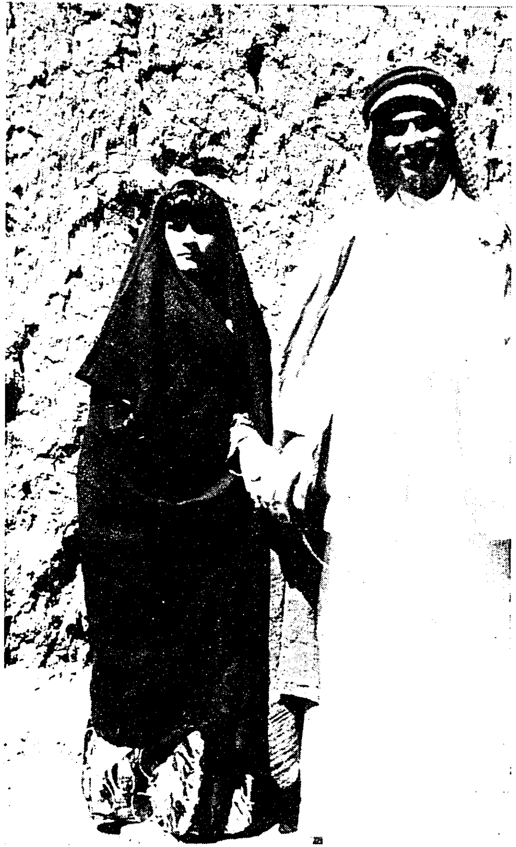
A *qanina* (small glass bottle) full of *hamra*. The latter is water into which a few white raisins (or white grapes when in season), and dates have been placed and kneaded with the fingers. The result is a slightly browned fluid. The priest must prepare the *hamra* the same day, or it is useless.

*Kepṯha*s, small brass drinking-bowls, are also brought, and all the foods, together with the *qanina* and the bowls, are ranged around the larger *ṭoriana*.

The hand and arm of the bridegroom were purified by water poured from the water-jar. He sat with his wet arm extended. Into his hand the *ganzibra* put one end of the *ṣa*, holding the other end himself, and uttering the words, 'Say, "The name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ Hiia are pronounced upon me!" O *qabin* S̲h̲is̲h̲lam!' Then the *ṣa* was broken between them into two portions, one for the bride and the other for the bridegroom, the *ganzibra* laying both on the big *ṭoriana* and pushing into each half of the scroll a tiny pinch of each of the sacred foods, a crumb of this, a seed of that, but several almonds and raisins. This done, he gave the bridegroom his half, stuffed with the sacred food, and loose almonds and raisins, and the bridegroom, putting it all into his mouth, ate it at a mouthful. It was the bride's turn next. The *ab* or bride's deputy, taking up the water-jar, spread a corner of the white cloth which covered it over the palm of his right hand, and received in it, so veiled, the bride's portion of the *ṣa* and holy foods. Both the *ab's* hands being full, the *ganzibra* was obliged to put the two loaves which had been placed earlier between the big *ṭoriana* and a smaller neighbour, underneath the former's right arm-pit. The *ab* then left the *andiruna*, and crossing the courtyard into the house he dropped the loaves at the threshold of the nuptial chamber before entering it. Going within, he bade the bride put her bared hand and arm outside the canopy, poured water over them from the jar, and gave her the



a. The bridegroom eating half the *ṣa*
(*Zidqa Brikha*)



b. Bride and bridegroom after marriage.
(Note the *skandola*)

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other half *ṣa* to eat, reserving some raisins to be eaten after the rest, saying to her (this time in the role of the bridegroom), 'Eat this, and do not eat except from me'. The meaning of this phrase is that the bridegroom alone is henceforth responsible for his wife's keep, and also that he commands her fidelity.

As soon as the *ab* left the *andiruna*, those in the hut began to eat some of the food on the tables, a little being given to relatives outside. Dried petals and salt were thrown over the food. Whatever is left at the end of the ceremony is thrown into the river.

Various charming pieces of symbolism followed. In token of the wife's cleanliness, two young boys brought soap, a comb, and *s̲h̲nān* (an alkaline plant used for washing clothes called *ramit̲h̲* before preparation) to the *ganzibra*, who waved them thrice over the tables, saying, 'Lovely is thy perfume, O wholesome goodness!' (*hal ṭab*). Three pieces of silver were placed in the bridegroom's hand to bring him future prosperity, and, for the second time, a basket of clothes, male and female, belonging to the young couple was brought in, the bride's green veil, now at last discarded, being spread over the top. (Amongst the clothes there must also be a green dress, the gift of the bridegroom.) The basket was set down before the *ganzibra* and bridegroom, and the former prayed three prayers[5] over it. (If the bridegroom is a priest, nine prayers are read.) The green veil was removed and bound round the bridegroom's waist.

The latter then seated himself on a clay ring (*kangana*), with his back to the *ganzibra*, and was invested with the myrtle wreath. The bridal myrtle wreath is unlike the usual *klila* in that it is intertwisted with white threads from a girdle, and both bride and groom at the end of the ceremonies do not throw them into the river, as after baptism, but put them carefully away, and keep them always. Before the *ganzibra* placed the wreath upon the bridegroom's head, he smeared it with saffron, which he had mixed with a little water in the palm of his hand.

The *ab*, who had returned from the bride, sat on another *kangana* facing the bridegroom, so that while he, the representative of the bride, faced south, the bridegroom faced north. A white cloth was placed over the right hand of the bridegroom (who held the stole of the *ganzibra* with his left), and into his veiled right, the *ab* placed a *keptha*. In his own right hand, veiled beneath the other end of the *gdada*, the *ab* held the small bottle of *hamra*, ready to pour into the bridegroom's bowl.

The *ganzibra* read the '*hamra* prayers', seven in number, and seven times during the reading bade the *ab* 'Give him to drink!' Each time the *ab* poured a little *hamra* into the bowl, and the bridegroom drank.

As soon as the *hamra* prayers were ended, the bystanders began to clap rhythmically, singing one of the marriage songs, *Ya talai ziwa*.[6]

The priests, the *ab*, and the bridegroom, the latter still holding the end of the *ganzibra's* stole, now left the hut and approached the threshold of the bridal chamber. Here the lower stone of the hand-mill had been placed, and a second clay pot was broken against it by the *shganda* before the party entered. The bridegroom seated himself on the floor against the muslin canopy, back to back with the bride.[7] After he had read some prayers, the *ganzibra* approached the pair and knocked the backs of their heads lightly together three times, while some of the spectators in the room, regardless of the prayers being recited, danced and sang or uttered joy-cries.

The bride's mother still sat with her daughter on the nuptial mattress.

The bride was next invested with her myrtle crown smeared with saffron, and then the *ab* with the *gdada* spread over his right hand and hers, gave the girl *hamra* to drink seven times.[8] Dried rose-petals, powdered sugar, and a few almonds were flung over the canopy, and incense scattered on the clay brazier, while the women renewed their joy-cries.

The *ganzibra*, his gaze fixed on his book, continued to read, or rather intone, some of the wedding songs from the Qulasta. Bystanders translated one for me, and as I have not the text, I must rely on their explanation. The bride in the song is supposed to be sitting in the shade of a palm-tree and fanning her lord. 'If he is asleep, I will not wake him!' it ends. These wedding songs are rhythmical, written in chanty form, and the language approaches the *raṭna*.

The *ganzibra* exhorted the bridegroom to protect his wife, not to leave her in want, and to rear their children in the true faith.

Then the bridegroom and priests left the nuptial chamber, the former still holding the *ganzibra's* stole, and re-entered the hut, where the final reading continued over the head of the bridegroom, who had resumed his uncomfortable seat on the clay ring. Finally, the *ganzibra* waved his *margna* three times over the head of the bridegroom (who from that moment became unclean, and relinquished his hold of the stole), and the wedding was over.

The bridegroom may not approach his wife until an hour astrologically propitious. The *ganzibra* makes calculations from the horoscopes of both, and should the resulting hour be inconvenient calculations are made for the following six hours.

The consummation of the marriage renders both 'untouchable' and the bride, like the woman in childbed, must stay apart. She may not issue from the house until both go out for their baptism, together with whatever utensils or dishes they may have touched. A *zidqa brikha* must be performed in the name of the young pair as soon as their purification is complete.

Details and ritual vary slightly in all the weddings I have seen, but the above account describes all the main features essential to the ceremony.

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

1. A *paisaq* is a priest debarred from all priestly duties except that of performing marriage rites over women no longer virgin.

2. The *dhra* is the length of the arm from elbow to finger-tips. For the use of the *gdada* compared to the Parsi *paiwand* see p. 39, note 2. In

general the *gdada* is a white cloth used to isolate pollution or protect from pollution.

3. *Shishlam Rba*. See note 2, Chap. III. His feast is a vegetation feast, connected with fertility rites. His spouse is Izlat.

4. Cf. the Jewish breaking of the nuptial cup.

5. *Prayers* (I give only the first line of each):—

For a layman: Manda qran, ʿ*siria hathima*' (called the little '*Isiri hathimi*'), and ʿ*sirh hathimh* (called the big '*Isiri hathimi*.').

For a priest:

Bshma d hiia bit mishqal ainia, &c.
Mishqal ainia, &c.
ʿ*siria yama*, &c.
Gimra ana gimira, &c.
*Zha u*ʿ*thazha*, &c.
Bshma d hiia kth ʿ*hablia*, &c.
*Bshma d hiia b*ʿ*usar hiia*, &c.
ʿ*sirh hathimh*, &c.

6. This song is quoted in Q., p. 245.

7. At a Parsi wedding, a cloth curtain is held between bride and bridegroom. This custom is nearer the Mandaean than that of the Jewish canopy held over both bride and bridegroom.

8. The *hamra* (fruit juice and water) is an intensified fertility symbol. It is possible that the wine at the Cana marriage feast (John ii. 3–10) had a similar ritual meaning.

The Zoroastrians use wine at weddings. 'An allusion to wine in the recital of the blessings of the marriage ceremony of the Âshivâd shows that the wine used in the old Parsee books was not the wine that intoxicated'. (JJM., p. 395).

VI

COSMOGONY, ASTROLOGY, AND HOLY-DAYS

IN the Ginza there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in Fragments 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18, and these are far from agreeing. The Supreme Being is named variously Malka d Nhura (King of Light), Mara d Rabutha (Lord of Greatness), Mana Rba (The Great Soul)[1] from whom the First Life and then the Second Life proceed—in the fifteenth fragment the Great Life seems to precede the Mana, Pira Rba (the Great Fruit), &c. Whether these are epithets or separate conceptions is open to debate. In the fifteenth fragment the Life is shown in the World of Light and produces, first Water; from Water, Radiance (*Ziwa*); from Radiance, Light; and from Light, *'uthri*,[2] the spirits whose function it is to govern natural phenomena.

Similarly, there are assistants or agents in the work of Creation, Hibil Ziwa,[3] Abathur,[4] and Pthahil.[5] Their roles and characters vary. In Fragment 1 Gabriel is the sole agent. In 2, Hibil Ziwa forms the World of Light but Pthahil does the actual work of creating the physical universe. In 3 Pthahil is identified with Gabriel and makes the world with the help of the planets but cannot furnish man with a soul. Adakas Ziwa, or Adam Kasia, or Manda d Hiia provide a soul for Adam. In 10 Pthahil is again the actual creator (here he is called 'son of Manda d Hiia'), and Abathur fetches the soul (*mana kasia*) for Adam because Pthahil's creature cannot stand upright. In 13 (as in the Diwan Abathur, which also has a creation story) Abathur orders Pthahil to create the world, but when the latter is unsuccessful, an appeal to Hibil Ziwa completes the task. Here Abathur and Hibil Ziwa are treated as separate beings. In Fragment 15 none of these personages appear (see above).

What modern Mandaeans make of this confusion will be seen in the Legends, pp. 251 ff. Present ideas will be seen to be equally confused, especially about Adam and his relations with his light-double, Adam Kasia.

Mandaean estimates as to the age of the world and world-periods are also contradictory. According to one account, the *melki* measured the existence of the world into epochs, or ages. 'From Adam to the end of the world is 480,000 years.' Each of these epochs is governed by a sign of the Zodiac. To Umbara, a period of twelve thousand years was assigned; to Taura, eleven thousand; to Ṣelmi (Ṣilmia), ten thousand, and so on.[6]

The Signs of the Zodiac and their numerical values are as follows:

Umbara (New Year), Lamb or Ram	1
Taura, Bull	2
Ṣilmia, Scales (Gemini)	3
Ṣarṭana, Crab	4
Aria, Lion	5
Shumbulta, Ear of Corn	6
Qaina, Reed	7
Arqba (pron. Arqwa), Scorpion	8
Haṭia, Mare	9
Gadia, Kid or Goat	10
Daula, Camel (or bucket?)	11
Nuna, Fish	12

Each day is governed by a planet. The day is divided into two parts of twelve, twelve day-hours and twelve night-hours. Certain *melki* also govern the days, and hence have a planetary character, for instance, Sunday, which is governed by Shamish, is also associated with the personified Habshaba,[7] First-Day-of-the-Week, a *malka* who is sometimes identified with other saviour-spirits. He

> 'takes purified souls in his ship to Awathur and to the World of Light. The gate of the World of Light is ajar on this day and Hoshaba (Habshaba) takes the souls by means of electricity into the midst of the world of light.'

I was told that 'Hoshaba' descends into Maṭaratha (Purgatories) on Sunday, returning with seven Mandaean souls to the world of light.

> 'The revolving wheels of light whirl more swiftly on this day, thus assisting the souls in their ascent.'

The story is based on the prayer for Sunday (Q., p. 184), *uqarqil shibqh*, &c., the *qarqil* taken as meaning revolution of a wheel.

Writings preserved by the priests enumerate the planetary aspects not only day by day but hour by hour, so that life may be conducted successfully. To quote from one:

> 'The Day of Habshaba. The First Hour is of Shamish. Favourable (*shapir*) for building a new house, going on the road, putting on a new garment, eating bread, approaching kings and governors, drinking wine, and buying and selling. The Second Hour is of Libat (Venus). Sit in thy own city. Favourable for being with thy wife, eating new bread, riding horses, visiting physicians,' &c.

Not every hour of Sunday is good, for instance, on the sixth hour of Sunday night a traveller is likely to fall amongst thieves; for Nirigh (Mars) governs this hour, although the general aspect of the day is sunny.

Monday (Trin Habshaba) is governed by Sin; Tuesday (Thlatha Habshaba) by Nirigh; Wednesday (Arba Habshaba) by 'Nbu; and Thursday (Hamsha Habshaba) by Bil (Bel), also by Melka Ziwa 'from the morning of Thursday till Friday noon, when Liwet has power'. Friday (Yuma d Rahaṭia) is the day of Libat, and Yuma d Shafta or Saturday is the day of Kiwan. Friday afternoon and night are supposed to be unlucky and under the general influence of the King of Darkness.

Although, throughout the Ginza Rba, the planets are represented as being harmful to mankind, modern Mandaean conception and magic use attribute beneficence to some and maleficence to others.[8]

The sun, Shamish,[9] who, like other planetary spirits, rides across the firmament in his boat (see Figs. 2, 3 and 4 on pp. 77, 78 and 79) is friendly. That he is regarded as a power for good rather than evil is often apparent in Mandaean writings. Moreover, the Mandaeans have a solar year, solar numbers are sacred, and the sun disk is employed in the alphabet (see Chap. XIV). He seems to equate with

Yawar Ziwa, prayers to whom have a very solar character. Tradition assigns him a crew of ten light-*ʿuthri*, though in the Diwan Abathur picture there are only four figures beside Shamish in the sun-boat. The names of the crew are differently given by Mandaeans, and I suspect that they were originally twelve and represented the twelve light-hours. A priest told me they were 'Zuhair and Zahrun, Buhair and Bahrun, Tar and Tarwan, Ar and Sivyan, Rawia and Talia'. A *ganzibra* was doubtful, but his list was, 'Sam Ziwa, Adonai bar Shamish, Liwet (Libat) whose other names are Simat Hiia, Kanat Izlat, Anhar, Samra d Izpar, and Gimra Bellur Dakia; Ruha and Samandriʿil'. Below, I quote a *yalufa* of learned priestly family. The light of Shamish's banner, he said, came from the four *ʿuthri* of the Polar Star:

'From these four come the strength and light of Shamish. Thus the sun gets its light and strength from Melka Ziwa. Just as a mirror reflects a face, it reflects Melka Ziwa. Shamish is lord of all the *melki* of the material world. The pure soul can hear the prayer of Shamish. He prays thrice a day, 300 *butha* in all, whilst the northern stars pray 12 *butha* and the other stars seven daily.

'Shamish has with him ten spirits (*ʿuthri*) of power and brightness. These ten *ʿuthri* see what everyone in the world is about—nothing is hid from them. With Shamish in his boat are three others, one of the principle of darkness and two light *melki*, Sam Mana and Ismira (Smira). Were one to see clearly—and the Naṣorai are able to see thus sometimes—one would behold in the sun-boat the flaming *dravsha* (*drabsha*, banner), upon which are, as it were, three wheels of light. The *melka* of darkness who is with the sun is responsible for the evil sometimes done by the sun's rays. He is called Adonai. From his eyes dart rays which sear and burn, and his gaze causes "cupboards of air" (i.e. whirlwinds).

'But the flaming standard of Shamish, his *dravsha*, throws out beneficent rays and gives forth light and life and electricity. The *melka* of darkness sometimes succeeds in bringing something before the *dravsha*, so causing an eclipse. Sam Mana and Ismira counteract the evil effects of the efforts of the Darkness.

'The ten *ʿuthri* who are with the sun are called Zuhair, Zahrun, Buhair, Bahrun, Sar, Sarwan, Tar and Tarwan, Rabia and Talia. These ten do not work only with Shamish but they come to Sin.

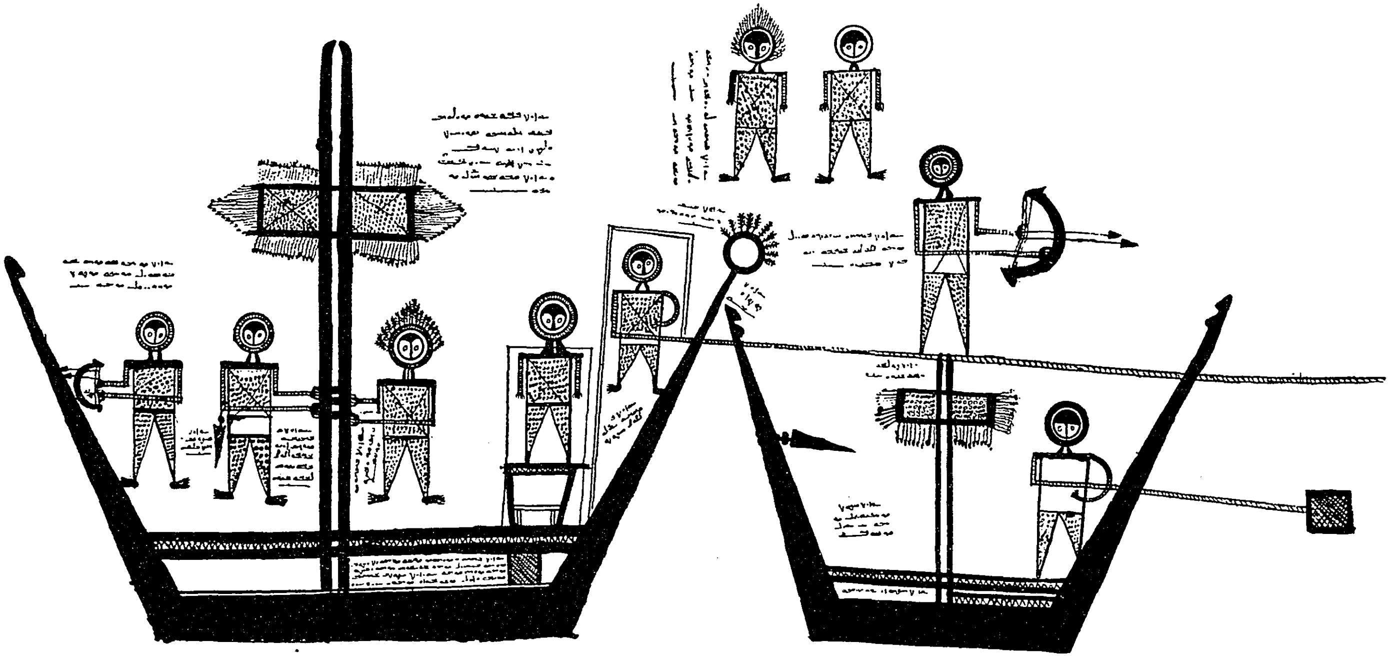
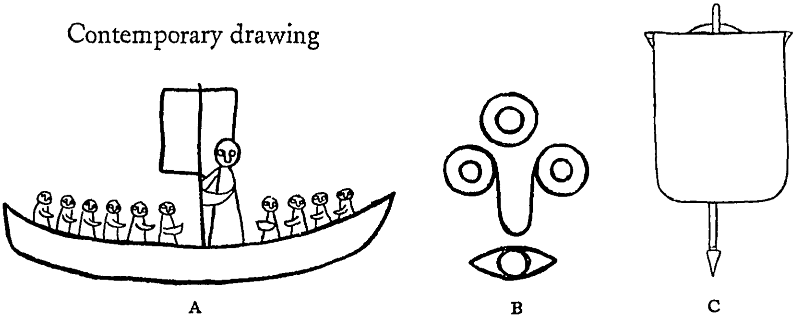


FIG. 2. The Sun-Ship (with Libat (Venus) above to left)

On the 14th night of the moon they are all with Sin. The light they give is the radiancy of Melka d Anhura, not of Melka Ziwa, whose light is like that of the sun above the horizon—the noonday. They come to him (Sin) gradually and leave him gradually, and when he is without them, Melka d Hshukha (King of Darkness) and the *shiviahi* have power to work them mischief.'



Contemporary drawing

FIG. 3.

A. The crew of ten ʿ*uthri* in the sun-boat
B. Light symbol in the *dravsha* (*drabsha*)
C. *Dravsha* (*drabsha*) of Shamish

Left-hand top: The ark or boat of Shamish, with the ten ʿ*uthris*. Shamish holds the mast, or *dravsha* pole. Upon this banner, Hirmiz says, 'wheels of light appear'. See B. C represents the *dravsha* itself. *Drabsha* (plu. *drabshia*) means 'ray, beam', (something which streams forth?) and the Persian *drafsha* (a 'flag' or 'standard') may have become associated with the word by the Mandaeans.

Shaikh Dukhayil, describing the sun-boat, said that the *dravsha* was 'flaming like *letrik* wires'. He continued 'the light of the sun comes from the *drafsha* and is of Alma d Anhura. At the end of the world, the planet will be burnt up with the rest of the material world. The heat and cold (!) of the sun are of the Darkness. The sun lights four of the seven worlds, the other three being illuminated by the world of light.'

'Shamish has a female aspect, not a spouse, but a *dmutha* (complement, likeness). She is the mother of all the *melki*, is in likeness female rather than male, and, in my thought, the sun is in this form (i.e. a female form) of Malka Ziwa's power, and the universe proceeds from her. Her name is Simat Hiia (pronounced Haiy or Héi), Treasure of Life.' (See p. 27.)

The moon (Sin) appears to be regarded as a sinister influence. The informant quoted above says:

'The face of Sin, the Moon, is like a cat, animal-like and black, whilst the face of Shamish is like a wheel of light' (he drew a swastika). 'With Sin in the moon-ship is the King of Darkness also. He (Melka d Hshukha) pulls men towards the earthly and gross, towards the dark and evil. He does this because he must, though he was created by and serves God, for there must be darkness and light and day and night. He is ordered to this by the Lord of Greatness, who has a myriad names and created all beings, visible and invisible, of the created worlds.

'The light-*melki* in the moon prevent Sin and the King of Darkness from bemusing the children of men. Under the influence of those two, men do deeds of madness and shame that they would not wish to perform by day; and without the counteracting influence of the ten, men's moral sense would disappear. But Melka d Hshukha cannot harm a man who rules himself and has a firm faith. A man must not doubt: his faith and his purity must be strong, for then he sees *melki* and can communicate with Shamish. He must not say "I fear there are not", he must say, "There are!" If a man says, "There is no God, no spirits", he is entirely in the power of the King of Darkness and it is harmful even to sit with such a one.'

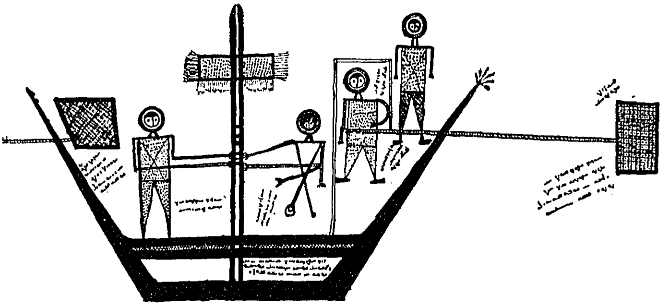


FIG. 4. The Moon-Ship

The distorted figure on the right of the mast is Sin

In the Diwan Abathur the stern of the moon-boat is decorated with leafy twigs (see above, Fig. 4), but Sin, who is considered responsible for abortions and deformities (see Legend XIII), is a malformed figure.

Venus, Libat, or Dilbat, is more favourably regarded. The form of the name is curious. The Sumero-Babylonian form Dil-bat had, Pallis suggests (*Mandaean Studies*, p. 36), long been obsolete at the period when the Mandaean scriptures were collected. He thinks that scribes, copying from earlier documents, took *d* for the genitive particle and omitted it as unnecessary. In the Ginza (GR. 447) occurs a passage describing a *maṭarta* in which are found those who go into the house of Tammuz (Adonis), sit there twenty-eight days, slaughter sheep, mix bowls and make cakes, 'mourning in the house of Dilbat'. Other references in the Ginza are to 'Dlibat'.

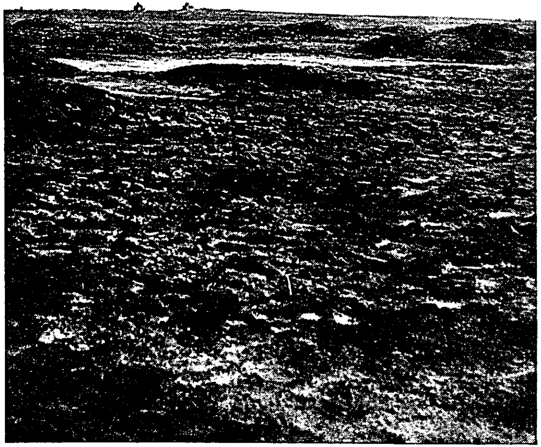
The small planetary boat directly behind that of Shamish in the Diwan Abathur illustrations is said to belong to Libat, and one of the figures above it is labelled, 'This is the likeness of Libat: "Sitting-on-the-mountain-of-Shamish" is her name: seven names she has'. Libat is often invoked in sorcery. Her peculiar function is either to help in matters of love and generation or to give information about the unknown. Owing to her association with Zaḥri'il, spouse of Hibil Ziwa and protectress of women in childbirth, she is far from being regarded with aversion. A *yalufa* said:

> 'Those who wish to consult Liwet, take an *istikān* (tea-glass) and reverse it upon a slab of marble. Two people place their fingers upon the glass, one of them being a person who converses with the other world. Letters are placed round in a circle and the glass in the middle, and the glass moves about and touches letters, spelling out answers to questions put to it. This is called *'ilm Liwet*.
>
> 'Liwet controls inventions. The *melka* of this planet is female and beautiful. I have heard that there are people who put a boy or a virgin outside the town on Sundays in a place set apart for her veneration, and she descends into the boy or girl and instructs them so that they give information about many matters.' (See also Legend XII.)

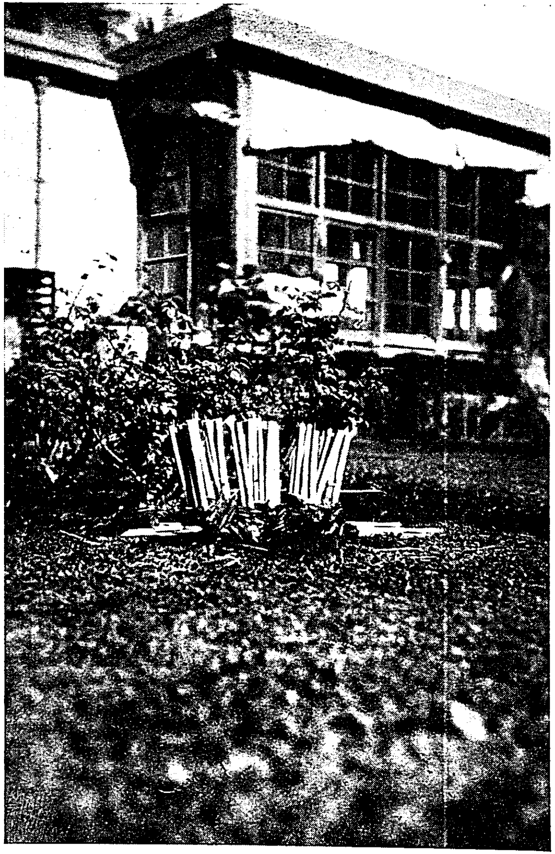
Magic dealings with her are frowned on by orthodoxy, but it was a priest who had copied a Libat incantation in my possession. The goddess is asked 'to make refulgent and beautiful my face' so that the supplicant and his beloved may 'glow with desire', 'their hearts are clothed with love', 'glowing love and blind and glowing desire' is kindled in them. 'They shall not eat or drink until they possess each other.'

Mars (Nirigh) is the 'Lord of Clouds and Thunder,

PLATE 9



a. Rapidly disappearing Mandaean graves (the domes in the distance are Moslem)



b. *Mandelta* built by a priest in the author's garden

who makes rain and draws, together with Shamish, water from earth and sky'. The name is derived from Nirg-al the Babylonian deity.[10] Pallis (*Mandaean Studies*, p. 36) suggests that the scribes suppressed the *al* or *el* as this suffix is usually given to beings of divine origin. Mandaeans, perhaps on account of his warlike and quarrelsome character, look on him as the protector of Islam.

Jupiter (Bil or Bel) is rarely mentioned except in exorcisms of disease-demons, such as the Pishra d Ainia. It is probable that his functions were gradually absorbed by such beings as Yawar Ziwa, Hibil Ziwa, and Malka Ziwa.

Mercury ('Nbu, Enwo), 'lord of writing and books', 'lord of wisdom and knowledge', and Saturn (Kiwan), appear little in magic except in exorcism rolls. *Qmahia* written in 'Nbu's name cure madness.

Every hour and every month has also its Zodiacal *burj* or house, the day being divided, as is said above, into two parts of twelve, twelve light hours and twelve dark hours. This brings me to the question of names, which are based on the numerical value of the signs of the Zodiac as given on page 74. Every Mandaean has two names, his Malwasha, or Zodiacal name, and his *laqab* or worldly name. The latter is usually a Muhammadan name and is used for all lay purposes, the former is his real and spiritual name and is used on all religious and magic occasions. This spiritual name is linked with that of the mother instead of the father, suggesting some period at which paternity was attributed to some ancestor on the female side, or a god. The religious name is of great importance, for if a man is drowned or burnt and the body not found, a man as like him in circumstance as possible, and bearing a name falling under the same astrological influences, must impersonate him at the reading of the *zidqa brikha*, a ritual meal which atones for the lack of death rites and burial. A person chosen as sponsor for a child unable to reply for itself at baptism should have astrological conditions similar to those of the child, and his name will, therefore, fall into the same category of names.

Malwasha names have each an arbitrary numerical value. Letters themselves have no numerical value as in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, according to the priests, who keep lists of these names and suggest one to the parents when their calculations have been made. The names are not always drawn from religious characters or from the holy books and amongst Malwasha appellations are such names as Yasman (Jessamine). I confess that I have been unable to discover why these names are selected, or why they have numerical values.

When an infant is to be named, the priest takes the Zodiacal sign of the month in which its birth occurred, counts from it round the Zodiacal circle, and calculates from it the sign of the hour. The sign of the day does not matter. From the numerical value which results, they subtract the value of the mother's name.

For instance, a male child is born at 11 a.m. in Awwal Giṭa, 1935, on February 4th. His mother's name is Sharat (numerical value 2). The sign for Awwal Giṭa is Aria. Starting at Aria on the circle but not counting it in, eleven hours gives us Ṣarṭana (numerical value 4). Two (for the mother's name) deducted from four, leaves two. The name selected for the child, therefore, is Zahrun, one of the names with a numerical value of two. Thus the infant's full Malwasha is Zahrun bar Sharat, which adds up to four, the number of the Zodiacal sign Ṣarṭana.

For all astrological information the priests consult the astrological codex Sfar Malwasha, the 'Book of the Zodiac'. Mandaeans say that Hibil Ziwa gave Adam Paghra the Sfar Malwasha so that he might be able to foresee coming events in its pages.

Foreknowledge of coming events is claimed, not only by the priests who scan omens in the sky, clouds, birds, and interpret such events as eclipses (a recent eclipse was said to be 'blood on the moon' and a portent of war or massacre), but as a natural gift of clairvoyance peculiar to some priestly families. My old friend Hirmiz bar Anhar claims that both he and his wife (a cousin) have this hereditary gift, and has given me several instances of second sight and premonition in their family.

Most of the leading events in a Mandaean's life are decided by recourse to the priests, who tell him the astrologically auspicious day on which to marry, or send his child to school, undertake a new enterprise, or set out on a journey. In cases of illness, cures and herbs fall under the influence of certain planets and certain signs of the Zodiac, and a man should take only the medicament or cure which belongs to the sign under which he fell ill, i.e. the hour he sickened. In general the Ṣubba refuse to drink any medicine, even when they have gone to a European doctor, though they have faith in ointments and do not object to subcutaneous injections. The community presents problems to the health authorities. During a recent cholera epidemic a Government order forbad people to drink anything but chlorinated water from the town supply. It was impossible to enforce this order as far as the Ṣubba were concerned, for the only water that they regard as 'living' is water from the *yardna*, i.e. from a running river or spring, and water boiled or chlorinated has lost its 'life', so they will not drink it.

If a man falls sick on the 21st day of any month he has little hope of recovery, for that is a day on which the *s̲h̲iviahia* (i.e. spirits of evil, see p. 254) have power. The 15th of a month is also inauspicious, and many Ṣubba wear a special *qmaha* called 'S̲h̲alhafta d̲ Mahra' (DC. 17) to protect them against sickness on this day. A Ṣubbi told me that on these two days

> 'it is better for a man to remain in his house and not to undertake any business. Clothes should not be bought, no journey should be begun and it is dangerous to embark either on a ship or a new enterprise. Should a man fall sick on either of these two days, he is likely to die unless his nose bleeds. If this happens, he will recover; but it must bleed of itself, and not be induced artificially. He must keep pure, for purification protects a man: it makes him white and clothes him in light so that the *s̲h̲iviahi* cannot approach him.'

The Mandaean year[11] is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named Parwanaia (pronounced sometimes Paranoia), or Panja, which fall between the 30th day of S̲h̲umbulta and the 1st day of

Qaina. These twelve months are redivided into four seasonal divisions: Sitwa (winter), Abhar (spring), Giṭa (Geyṭa) (summer), and Paiz (summer) which have lost connexion with the actual seasonal changes of hot and cold weather.

Each season is subdivided into three: First, Middle, and Last (Awwal, Miṣai, and Akhir or Khir). The twelve months are given other names also: Nisan, Ayar, Siwan, &c., but these do not correspond in season to their Jewish or Turkish namesakes.

1st month	Awwal Sitwa (or Shetwa)	Qam Daula	Shabat
2nd ”	Miṣai Sitwa	Qam Nuna	Adar
3rd ”	Akhir Sitwa	Qam Umbara (Ambra)	Nisan
4th ”	Awwal Abhar	Qam Taura	Ayar
5th ”	Miṣai Abhar	Qam Ṣilmia	Siwan
6th ”	Akhir Abhar	Qam Ṣarṭana	Tammuz
7th ”	Awwal Giṭa	Qam Arya	Ab
8th ”	Miṣai Giṭa	Qam Shumbulta	Ellul
9th ”	Akhir Giṭa	Qam Qaina	Tishrin
10th ”	Awwal Paiz	Qam Arqba	Mashrwan
11th ”	Miṣai Paiz	Qam Haṭia	Kanun
12th ”	Akhir Paiz	Qam Gadia	Ṭabit (Ṭabith)

Each year is named after the day with which it began, e.g. the Year of Habshaba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. For instance, I write on January 29th, 1935, which, according to Mandaeans, is the 25th of Ṣarṭana or Tammuz, in the Akhir Abhar, the sixth month of the year of Arba Habshaba, which is almost as if one said, 'the 25th of the Crab or August in the last of Spring, the 6th month of the year of Wednesday'. It will be seen that the calendar is a somewhat confusing subject.

The New Year's Day of the present Mandaean year, therefore, fell on August 8th, 1935, in the midst of the summer heat, Qam Daula the First of Winter. Dislocation in times and seasons is apparent, the reason being obviously that the calendar does not make allowance for the quarter day which has to be included to make the solar year correspond with the seasons.[12]

The name given to the New Year's Feast is Dihba Rba (Dehwa Rabba). Lidzbarski thinks the word *dihba* had an original meaning of 'slaughter', but Mandaean priests derive the words from *dahba* (*zahba*) 'gold', since slaughter is forbidden on most feast days, but particularly at the New Year. The Mandaeans also use the Persian 'Nauruz Rba' and this is the name given to the solemn festival in Alf Trisar Shiala. New Year's Eve is called 'Kanshia uZahla'.[13] On this day sheep and chickens are slaughtered to provide a store of food, bread is cooked and brought into the house, *kleycha* (small festival cakes marked with a cross)[14] are prepared, dates and vegetables receive careful ablution and are stored within doors where they can suffer no pollution, and water is drawn in pots enough for thirty-six hours and covered in the house. All day, till evening (*paina d Dihba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Cattle and poultry must be shut up before sunset and entrusted to the care of Gentile neighbours or servants, for, during the ensuing thirty-six hours they may not be touched or milked by a Mandaean. Five minutes before the sun disappears, every man, woman, and child performs the *ṭamasha* (threefold ritual immersion) and the women raise joy-cries. Then all retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, for the next thirty-six hours, i.e. the night before the New Year, the first day of the New Year, called the Day-of-Lacking, and the night which follows it. Laxer spirits go out of the house to attend to a call of nature, but priests say that this is highly dangerous and arrangements are made within the house for the time. Vigil must be kept during the whole thirty-six hours: not an eye must be closed, though the sleep of children is excused because not preventable. On New Year's Day, or The-Day-of-Lacking, no religious ceremony can take place. If a man chances to die during the thirty-six hours, he may not be buried. He is washed with water from the household store and clothed with his death-*rasta*, and when he has breathed his last he is covered with a white cloth and left as he is, until the dawn of the second day of the New Year, when he can be buried with the usual ceremonies. It is considered a disaster for the soul of the dead to have passed at such a time, and when Parwanaia (or Panja) comes, *zidqa brikha* and *masiqta* must be performed over a substitute (see Chap. XII).

During this vigil the priests are not idle. They consult the Sfar Malwasha and make predictions about the New Year, its good or bad weather, its chances of disaster or good fortune. Laymen keep themselves awake by playing games and reciting stories. If a beast, bird, reptile, or large insect (such as a hornet) touches food or drink it cannot be consumed; and if a person is touched by beaat, bird, reptile, large insect, or Gentile, he is seriously polluted and must purify himself later by baptisms. Should he be bitten by a dog or reptile, or stung by a bee or hornet, he incurs sixty baptisms. Flies, mosquitoes, fleas, and lice are not, however, counted, as they are regarded as unavoidable and natural conditions. It is possible that in earlier times there were regulations about these lesser evils, for I was told that the extremely pious sometimes retired for the period into a reed-hut covered entirely by mosquito-netting (see Book II, XIV).

The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: New Year's Day commemorates the Creation, for Mana Rba Kabira, the Great Mana, the Lord of Greatness, completed his work of creation on this day. Therefore, all the spirits of light, wherever they may be, leave their posts and go to visit him and pay their compliments. Abathur 'closes his door', Nidbai and Shilmai forsake their guardianship of the running waters; Hibil, Shitil, and 'Anush depart; the dwellers in Mshunia Kushṭa with Adam Kasia at their head and their guardian spirit Shishlam Rba (the *dmutha* of Hibil Ziwa)—all rise into the infinite worlds of light. Swiftly as these creatures of light move, the long journey takes them twelve hours. They reach their goal at the dawn of the New Year and spend that day in the bliss of contemplating perfection. The journey back covers the next night.

But what of the world thus left undefended? The powers of evil and death are unrestrained. Even the waters of river or spring are dangerous and must not be approached or touched. If a man but dips his hand into the river, he is 'cursed with the curse of Shishlam Rba'. Trees, usually magically beneficent, become harmful. People wrap matting round trees growing in their compounds lest children should touch them inadvertently. In short, Mandaeans take care to protect themselves from pollution because if pollution endangered them physically and spiritually while the *naṭri* or guardian spirits were present, it has thousandfold power to harm them during their absence.

On the second day of the year all the Mandaeans come out, visit each other, feast, and make merry. The first visit is to the *ganzibra*, who tells them the portents for the year. Individual forecasts of good or bad fortune may be obtained from the priests,[15] and if unfavourable the inquirer is advised to order the writing of a *qmaha* or *zrazta*. It is a time of rejoicing, but no baptisms, slaughterings, or any other religious ceremony except funerals—and these must be supplemented at Panja as said above—may be performed until the fourteenth day and the night which follows it are over. (The Mandaeans count the twenty-four hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: 'the night of Tuesday' to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.)

The 6th day of the first month is called Nauruz Zoṭa or Little New Year, and this, and the 7th day, are called the Dehva d Shishlam Rba, or, in one of the holy books, the Dihba d Shushian. The night between these two days is called 'the night of power', and then, if a man is pious, the Gate of Abathur is opened to him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. As, however, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, the result is not immediately seen. All lights and fires must be extinguished for this feast and food is distributed to the poor. The Mandaean priests visit their flocks and hang on the lintel of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the inmates from harm. For this service the priests receive a small fee. At the hanging, they recite this prayer:

> *Bshma d hiia rbia nhar gufnia bgu mia uʿtqaiam kabiria byardna nighdia anatun rauzia shganda lhakha aithilkhun yahbinalkhun ʿl ʿuthria saghia gadlilkhun umathnalkhun bbab d hilbunia kth asa d marba yanqia gadlilkhun umathnalkhun alma lkimṣat almia brakhinun yardnia saghia brakhtinkhun maṣbuta d labaṭla mn rish brish.*

As I doubt the correctness of this text, which a priest wrote from memory, I prefer not to venture a translation. Priests say that the wreaths thus hung up secure the blessings of fertility and good health.[16]

On the 15th of the month Mandaeans are allowed to slaughter and are permitted to eat meat. It is a cheerful feast, but the 22nd is an unlucky day, and no enterprise should be undertaken or religious ceremony performed, for it is *mbaṭṭal* (useless, inauspicious). If a man dies on a *mbaṭṭal* day, a *zidqa brikha* must be performed for him on his substitute at Panja. The 25th day of the next month, Nuna, is also *mbaṭṭal*. The month of Umbara has no particular feast or day of ill-omen. The first four days of Taura are *mbaṭṭal*. The 18th of Taura is the Dehwa Hnina, or Little Feast, sometimes called the Dehwa (Dihba) Ṭurma. In 1932 and 1935 this feast fell on November 23rd and presumably in 1933, but I did not then note it down. The feast lasts for three days and baptisms should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals for the dead. Dehwa Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil Ziwa from the underworlds to the worlds of light. This feast seems a curious repetition of the death or incarceration with subsequent return or resurrection motives of the New Year Feast, and later of the Panja festival. I suggest that the reason may be that all three were once New Year feasts, and fell at the spring of the year. The root-ideas of the mourning and rejoicing at this season are found at a very early date both in Babylonia and Persia. The priests assure me that Panja (which certainly corresponds to the neo-Babylonian New Year's feast in the month of Nisan) has fallen, from time immemorial, at the season of the melting of the snows and the consequent rising of the rivers. But they seem ignorant of any method of correcting the calendar by such a system as that of the intercalary month after each 120 years employed by the Old Persians (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 12), although one priest told me that in the past, when priests were wiser, such corrections had taken place. One thing is certain: the most important feast of the Mandaean year at present is, not the so-called Great Feast at the so-called New Year, but the spring-feast of Panja, which I shall presently describe.

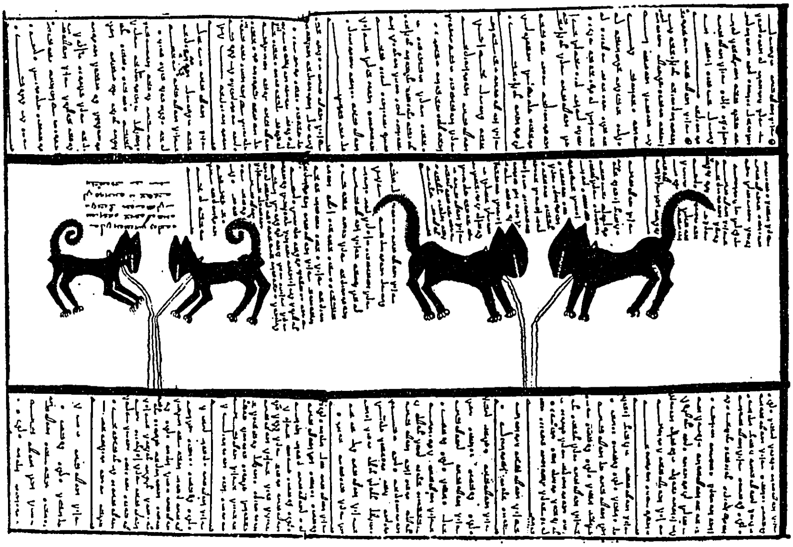
I was invited lately to a Mandaean house for the feast of Dehwa Hnina. Contrary to religious precept, the women wore jewellery and were clad in silken raiment of bright hue. One or two of them danced to the clicking of fingers and rhythmical clapping of hands and the singing of dirge-like wedding songs in Persian.

In the month of Ṣilmia there is no day of note. In Ṣarṭana the first day is called Ashuriyah, which commemorates the drowning of the Egyptians who perished in the Red Sea (see Book II, p. 265).[17] Special *lofanis* are eaten for the Egyptians who are considered to have been Mandaeans. The 9th, 15th, and 23rd days of this month are *mbaṭṭal*. Qam Aria is a good month and lucky for those born in it, but it is forbidden to marry during that month. The last five days of Shumbulta[18] (the Ear of Corn, Virgo) are *mbaṭṭal*, for they are dedicated to the five lords of the underworld, Shdum, Hagh and his consort Magh, Gaf and his consort Gafan, Zartai-Zartani, and Krun, the Mountain-of-Flesh. These five *mbaṭṭal* days, given over to the Darkness, necessitate the reconsecration of the *manda*, or cult-hut, during the five ensuing days of light. These are the five intercalary days of Parwanaia, or Panja, the happiest time of the whole year, during which the great baptismal river feast is held. It falls at the time when the river is swollen by melting snows from the north, i.e.

during the first warm days of spring. In 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935 Panja fell on April 5th but in 1936 it fell on April 4th. Each of the five days is dedicated to a spirit of light and, as the doors of the world of light are open during Panja by night as well as by day, prayers may be offered at night. On other nights of the year no prayer may be said after sunset. One night during Panja is an especial night of grace, like the night of Dehwa d Shishlam Rba, and any right petition made to the lords of light will be granted.

Panja is a religious festival rather than a season of carnival, and Ṣubba who live far from a priest travel long distances in order to be baptized as many times as their means allow, and join in the *lofani*s, *zidqa brikha*s, and *dukhrana*s for the dead. The dead, assembling at the sacred meals and summoned by the mention of their names in the ritual, are refreshed by the spiritual double of the foods, and bless the living. The uneasy souls of those delayed upon the road to the worlds of light because they died an unclean death, or on a *mbaṭṭal* day, or without the proper death-ceremonies and clothing, are represented by proxies at the ceremonies of *ahaba d mania* and others, and clothed, purified, and sustained are furthered on their way through the *maṭaratha*. Families save up to pay the fees necessary for these ceremonies; indeed, they regard the barriers between them and their dead relatives, back to distant ancestors and the spirits of light who begot them, as down during the five days of holiness. The soul of a person who dies during this period, when it emerges from the tomb on the third day, passes without hindrance through the *maṭaratha*, and the costly death-*masiqta* is not necessary for such a one. Hence relatives of a person dangerously ill long that he should die at this time, and I have noted that in a small hamlet three persons died of different diseases in one year at this season. No doubt, if a person is dangerously ill, a baptism in the river might be expected to produce the desired result. The patient himself is anxious to leave the world at this season, for no demons or wild beasts (*zangoyi*) will have power to harm his soul on its journey, and it accomplishes the long and difficult journey to the Gate of Abathur in a single day.

During Panja every true believer should dress completely in white (this is not observed strictly), and should either wear sandals woven of grass or go barefoot. The latter is usually the custom, though priests tell me that in ancient times it was considered a sin to walk barefoot on the earth, and that the real object of the injunction was that worshippers of the Life should not wear upon their feet the skins of dead animals.[19] No meat may be eaten except the flesh of sheep sacrificed in the ritual meals for the dead. Before its end, the consecration of the *manda* involves the sacrifice of a sheep and a dove, described in a later chapter. This feast brings in much revenue to the priests.



Dogs of Nirigh Lions of Kiwan

FIG. 5. The *Zanghaiia*

The next feast, which falls ninety days after Panja, on the first of the month Haṭia, is the Dehwa Daimana (Dihba Daima).[20] This feast celebrates the baptism of Adam, and pious Mandaeans should be baptized like their ancestor. As Daimana now falls in the summer, it is a favourite occasion for the baptism of young children. At this feast, a person baptized in a new *rasta* acquires merit for sixty baptisms. On the day following, it is forbidden to slaughter animals.

Abstention from animal food is the only form of Mandaean fasting. Mandaeans have told me that they observe the Moslem 'Arafāt as a fast, but it is not prescribed by their holy books. All Moslem festivals are *mbaṭṭal* days for Mandaeans.

In the last month of the year, Gadia, or Ṭabit͟h, the three days before Kans͟hia uZahla at the end of the month are *mbaṭṭal*.[21]

Before leaving this question of calendar it is interesting to compare Petermann's record. In 1854 he notes that Awwal Giṭa was on February 23rd, Awwal Paiz on May 28th, Awwal Sitwa on August 26th, and Awwal Abhar on November 24th. There is, therefore, a difference of nineteen days between the Awwal Giṭa of 1854 and that of 1935, and the feasts are travelling slowly backwards. If Panja is to be kept at the flood-time a correction must be made before another eighty years shall have elapsed, or the feast will fall before the flood-time during the bitter cold.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that a *ganzibra* told me that the length of the year is based on the time that a child takes to mature in its mother's womb (which period he estimated as nine months, nine days, nine hours, nine minutes, nine seconds and a half!) together with the forty-five days of her purification, plus the 'time that the seed was in the loins of the father'. This is a typically Mandaean speculation, but I have not yet traced it in any of the holy books.

The history of Man on earth is divided by the Mandaeans into four epochs. At the end of each, mankind was destroyed with the exception of one human couple. From the creation of Adam and Eve to the destruction of the race by 'sword and plague' was a period of 216,000 years. One pair, named Ram and Rud (Sky and River), survived disaster. Just as in the case of the first pair (see Legend I, Book II), a union took place between the male survivor and the light-double of his spouse to ensure the continuance of the Mandaean race, whilst the rest of mankind proceeded from the ordinary union of the pair. After 156,000 years a second disaster resulted in the perishing of the human family through fire. A second pair survived, S̱hurbai and S̱harhabiʿil (the word *s̱hurbai* seems to mean a spreading out, or propagation—root *s̱hrb*, 'to spread out'). The processes of reproduction of Mandaeans and Gentiles were repeated in the case of each successive couple. A hundred thousand years later the Flood again obliterated the human race with the exception of Nuh and his wife Nhuraiṯha or Nuraiṯha. (The word *nuh* comes from a root meaning 'the calming of tempest' and *nhuraiṯha* has, of course, a 'light' meaning.)

There is to be a fourth destruction of the world in the 791st year of the sign of the Fish (Nuna). This will be by 'wind' or 'air'. Some Mandaeans gaze at the aeroplanes which fly over their heads in modern Iraq, and ask themselves if the destruction of man will come about in that manner. My silversmith friend, Hirmiz, interprets, 'men will poison the air and so die', which may reflect coffee-house talk about poison gas.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

1. *Mana Rba*, sometimes Mana Rba Kabira, the Great Mana. There is a difference of opinion as to the meaning of Mana. Hoffmann and Pallis incline to the meaning of 'garment', identifying it with the baptismal garment. Brandt (BDM.) says, 'usually means "vessel" or "instrument"'. Nöldeke (N. xxxii) assumes it to be a word of Iranian origin, 'das ich etwa mit "Geist" (oder noch besser mit "Intelligenz") übersetzen möchte'.

Cf. the Vedic *Manas* or *Mana* meaning 'mind', 'thinker', or 'soul', with *Vohu Mana*, the Good Mind and *Akem Mana*, or Negation Mind—the two aspects of Ahura Mazda which produced the real and intellectual worlds. Macdonell in his *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde) says (p. 166 f.) that the Vedas divided the animating principle into *asu* 'spirit', expressing physical vitality, even of animals, and *manas*, 'soul', as the seat of thought and emotion, which already in the Rig Veda (8, 89 v.) seems to be regarded as dwelling in the heart (*hṛd*).

A Mandaean priest gives four meanings for the word *mana*. (*a*) the soul, (*b*) a dove, (*c*) a garment, (*d*) a house. Cf. the Persian *man* for house.

2. *'Uthria and Malkia* ('Uthri and Melki). These are semi-divinities who carry out the will of the Great Life. All are subordinate to the Creator, whose first manifestation they were.

The word *malka* means 'king', not 'angel', and Lidzbarski translates it thus. Though the functions of the *malka* resemble those of the Hebrew *malāk* and Arab *malāk* (messenger, angel), the Mandaeans use the word *malakh* to denote an evil spirit.

The apocryphal Book of Enoch shows a conception of heavenly beings not remote from the Mandaean, inasmuch as the angels are there said to have power as regents over such natural phenomena as clouds and constellations. In Mandaean literature these intermediaries between the dark and material earth and a world of light too pure and ethereal for immediate contact with such grossness seem to be personifications of abstract qualities and principles, or of the physical powers of Nature.

They resemble the *Yazatas* of the Avesta, for there were *Yazatas* of the spiritual world and *Yazatas* of the physical world who 'preside over grand physical objects of Nature' (JJM., p. 481).

Josephus (vol. iv, p. 154) mentions that the Essenes imparted the names of angels to initiates, together with other mysteries. 'He' (the proselyte) 'swears to communicate their doctrines to no one in any other way than as he received them himself and that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect and the names of the angels.'

It is a sin for a Mandaean to reveal the names of the *malkia* to a Gentile, and when a name of a *malka* has been given me, my informant has sometimes added, 'They' (his fellow-Ṣubba) 'will be angry if they know I have given you secret names.'

In the colloquial Arabic of Iraq the word *melek* is sometimes used for 'evil spirit' or *jinni*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Yazīdī Malak Ṭāwūs or Peacock Angel (the Prince of Darkness) has a namesake in the Drasha d Yahia, where Ṭausa is the name given to a *malka* who bewails that he has sinned against the Great Life and allowed his pride to lead him into rebellion.

The Mandaean word *malka* is used of both good and evil spirits, whereas the word *'uthra* is used only for beneficent beings.

In general, *'uthria* (sing. *'uthra*) designate life-giving and life-sustaining spirits. It is akin to the Syriac ܥܬܪ 'to be rich, abounding', but I see no reason why *'uthra* should therefore be translated 'wealth', nor can I agree with Lidzbarski's suggestion (in ''Uthra and Malakha', pp. 537–45)that the word was chosen to avoid confusion with the Jewish and Moslem names for 'angel'. His explanation seems weak.

I prefer to derive it from its figurative sense of 'full-to-flowing-over' and suspect that the Mandaean verb *nthr* 'to shed, to overflow' has a remote root relationship: i.e. *a(n)thr*. Professor W. Robertson Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 98–100, mentions a South Arabian god named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and says that *'athari* meant what was watered by the sky and the fountains (Ba'al's land). Here is an original root-meaning of an overflowing of the waters of heaven on to the earth, and this, with the Mandaeans, would have a divine character as living water coming from the House of Life. Thus *'uthri* may have been originally life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of rain and springs. In barren lands which only blossom when spring rain falls such messengers would indeed be 'bringers of life'. The fact that consorts of *malkia* and *'uthria* are called *anania* (clouds) and *niṭuftatha* (drops) lends colour to this conception. I suggest that the term *'uthra* was originally applied to water-spirits rather than light-spirits and that the term took on a wider meaning by degrees. (Cf. the Arabic name for the Pleiades, *thurayya,* diminutive of *thirwa* (wealth), where the old meaning lingers in the belief, mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī (p. 343), that the constellation was looked upon as a rain-giver.

3. *Hibil Ziwa.* Mandaean priests translate the name as 'Light-Giver'. Hibil Ziwa is easily the most 'popular' of the spirits of light. In legend he appears oftener than Manda d Hiia. He must not be confused with Hibil, Adam's son. Adam's family suggests a sentence 'Adam Hibil Shitil Annush', 'Man gave progeny to Mankind'.

4. *Abathur.* Mandaeans explain that there are two Abathurs, one Abathur Muzania, the *malka* of the North Star (who has four *malkia* or *uthria* with him) and the other Abathur Rama, an epithet for Hibil Ziwa. This is to explain contradictory passages in the Ginza, Diwan Abathur, and elsewhere, for Hibil Ziwa, sometimes identified with Abathur, is occasionally represented as talking to Abathur. Abathur Muzania presides over the scales in which the human soul is weighed. See below, note on Pthahil. The Parsis believe that the soul is weighed after the passage over Chinvat Bridge by Meher Davar—Meher the Judge. In the Yasna it is Vohu Manah (Good Mind) who weighs the deeds of men at the Judgement.

5. *Pthahil.* Lidzbarski connects this demiurge with the Egyptian Ptaḥ (JB., p. xxviii). Brandt (BDM., pp. 50 ff.) points out that the figure of Pthahil is contradictory and appears both as demon and divinity. In modern belief, Pthahil rules the *shiviahia* (see p. 254), receives the newly arrived souls of the dead, and starts them on their journey through the realms of purification, ending at the scales of Abathur Muzania. If the soul weighed in these scales passes the test, it crosses in a boat to the realms of light, where it meets other purified souls and its own *dmutha* or over-soul. The Chinese also believe in the weighing of the soul, its sojourn in purgatory, and journey in a boat to Paradise, so that the resemblance to the Egyptian Book of the Dead has little bearing on the question of the identification of Pthahil with Ptaḥ, though the Egyptian god certainly plays a part in the destiny of the soul after death.

In Mandaean literature, Pthahil is depicted (1) as creator, or partial creator, (2) as rebellious to the world of light, but later repentant and reconciled. He is the son of Hibil Ziwa (Abathur) by Zahari'il, a female spirit of the underworld. H. b. A. comments: 'Pthahil, son of Hiwel Ziwa and Zahariél, is a son of both Darkness and Light. He is the *melka* who rules the lesser stars.'

6. *World-Periods.* S̲h̲ahristānī and other Arab authors mention the theories of the Harranian Ṣabians concerning these. Chwolson says (vol. i, p. 765): 'Diese Lehre ist durchaus nicht blos den Harraniern eigenthümlich, sondern sie wurde auch von Indern, Babyloniern, Aegyptern, von verschiedenen philosophischen Secten in Griechenland, und vielleicht schon in sehr alter Zeit von den Griechen überhaupt gelehrt. . . . Nach Colebrooke glauben die Inder ebenfalls an verschiedene Welterneuerungen, die sie *Kalpas* nennen, und sie meinen, dass am Ende der *Maha juga*—welche die vollkommende Umwälzung aller Gestirne zu einer gewissen Conjunction der Sonne, des Mondes und der Planeten herbeiführen soll—Siva sich mit Wishnu verbinden und die Welt durch einen Feuerwind verbrennen werde, allein so, dass bei dieser Zerstörung die Samen aller Dinge in den Lotus, in die Gebärmutter der Bhawani, aufgenommen werden, woraus eine neue Welt entstehen werde.'

The time assigned to each Kalpa is 36,000 years. Al-Bīrūnī (p. 17) says, 'For the Persians and Magians think that the duration of the world is 12,000 years, corresponding to the number of the signs of the Zodiac and of the months'.

7. *Habs̲h̲aba.* Literally, 'the-first-of-the-week'. In the spoken Syriac of the Assyrians the word is pronounced as in Mandaean—Hos̲h̲abba. The personified Sunday is often mentioned in Mandaean literature. In Legend XXVIII, 'Hirmiz Shah', Hos̲h̲aba seems to be identified with Yukabar Ziwa (Yuk̲h̲awar Ziwa). Mandaeans, like the worshippers of Christ and Mit̲h̲ra, give especial honour to the day of the Sun; the Mit̲h̲ra religion because this planet was the centre of their life and fertility cult, the Christians, according to their tradition, because Jesus is said to have risen from the dead on a Sunday, and because the rising sun symbolized resurrection. The belief that the sun setting in the West was associated with death and its rising in the East with rebirth or resurrection is a belief found all over the globe. The Mandaeans probably inherited their tradition from the Iranians. The Ginza speaks slightingly of the Christian observance of Sunday (GR., 2nd book), 'On Sunday they keep their hands still', with the implication that they themselves do not consider it a day of rest like the Christians, or regard it as the Jews do the Sabbath. Baptisms and religious exercises are enjoined, but otherwise, Sunday is an auspicious day for business.

8. *The Planets.* Under the Magian system, Professor Moulton remarks, the planets were creatures of Ahriman, and evil. 'Whether they were really so', he continues, 'in the pure Iranian Mazdaism may be doubted, for they were named after the Yazdatas—Jupiter was Ormazd, Venus Anahit, &c.' (*Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 133).

9. Parallels are numerous between Mandaean ideas and cults and those of the Mithraic, Sampsaean, and Magian religions, in which the sun, its personifications, heroes, and symbols, were associated with the divine principle of life.

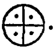
10. Nergal (*nirg-al*) was originally a solar deity, like S̲h̲amas̲h̲ and

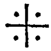
Marduk, and was the god of war, pestilence, and destruction; also a god of the dead and associated with the goddess Allatu of the underworld.

11. Modern Parsis, like the Magians (see Al-Bīrūnī), reckon twelve months of thirty days with five annual uncounted additional days (Gat̲h̲a days). The Babylonians divided the year into twelve astronomical periods of thirty days with five and a quarter additional days (see Winckler's *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier*, p. 17). See Al-Bīrūnī for various contemporary calendars and arrangements for the intercalary days.

12. The Parsis, since their emigration to India (according to Al-Bīrūnī since the coming of Islam), have ceased to regard proper intercalation. See JJM. p. 458.

13. See Legend XV.

14. These cakes are also used at festivals by Moslems, Jews, and Christians in Iraq. S̲h̲īʿas eat them in spring and the three sacred months with prayers 'for the dead', the names of dead relations and ancestors being mentioned. This ceremonial eating they call the '*t̲h̲uwāb*'. The *kleyc̲h̲a* eaten by the S̲h̲īʿas is sweetened and spiced and sometimes has a little meat in it. In shape it is round and marked with a cross (they call it 'quartered') with a dot in each quarter . This quartered circle with four dots is sometimes scratched on the clay tables used at the wedding ritual meal of the Mandaeans. The sign is pre-Christian. It was found stamped on the shoulder of a vase from Tabus by Sarre and Herzfeld (Abb. 388, Keramische Stempel). Sarre writes: 'Runde einfache gemusterte Stempel kommen schon auf spätantiken Gefässen vor, und so scheint der primitive Stempel auf einem aus Ṭābūs stammenden Scherben (Taf. CXLII, Nr. 2a) nichts mit dem christlichen Kreuz zu tun zu haben' (*Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, v. Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, Bd. iv, Berlin, 1920, p. 11).

The sign  is often used in tattooing. Miss W. Smeaton found a policeman of the ʿUzairij tribe from Amarah marked thus on both temples 'because his mother kept losing children and she wanted to preserve his life'. It is also employed as a cure for head-pains.

15. The ritual tablets of the sky-god Anu at Uruk (Warka) (Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, pp. 129 ff.) describe how, in the month Nisan (April), the New Year in Babylonian reckoning, the priest rose before sunrise, washed himself in river water, put on a clean garment, and prayed to Bel. At the New Year the gods paid ceremonial visits to each other.

During the Assyro-Babylonian period the New Year's Festival in the month of Nisan seems associated with the *akitu* festival so learnedly discussed by Professor Pallis in his *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*. Just as the Mandaean priests work out the destinies of nations and private individuals for the year, the 'tablets of destinies' were consulted by Babylonian priests at the New Year. The Mandaean period of incarceration is reminiscent of Tammuz's incarceration below the ground, his subsequent resurrection, and the return of fertility to the earth in spring. It is probable, as explained on pp. 88–89, that the Mandaean New Year was originally a spring festival.

Al-Bīrūnī notes that the Persian Nauroz has receded from its original proper place, 'so that in our time it coincides with the sun's entering the sign of Aries, which is the beginning of spring'. He wrote in the tenth century A.D.

'On the 6th of Farwardan, the day K͟hurdâd͟h is the great Nauroz, for the Persians a feast of great importance. On this day—they say—God finished the creation, for it is the last of the six days' (i.e. the intercalary days, which the Mandaeans, too, place in the spring. E.S.D.) 'mentioned above. On this God created Saturn, therefore its most lucky hours are those of Saturn. On the same day—they say—the *Sors Zarathustrae* came to hold communion with God and Kaik͟husrau ascended into the air. On the same day the happy lots are distributed among the people of the earth' (*The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 201, Sachau's trans.).

16. This hanging of garlands on the houses recalls the Yazīdī spring festival, when garlands are hung on the houses by the *qawwāls*. This feast takes place, however, in Nīsān, the spring month, and in other respects, such as ritual meals for the dead, it seems akin to the Parwanaia (Panja) feast of the Mandaeans.

17. Al-Bīrūnī, p. 328, mentions that the Jews kept the 10th day of Muḥarram (ʿAs͟hūrā) holy because 'on this day God drowned Pharaoh'.

18. Here, again, is a suggestion of the incarceration of Tammuz (see note 15). Modern Parsis, like the Magians, observe the last five days of the year as holy.

'The first of these 10 days are known as the Panj-i-keh, i.e., the lesser five days; and the second five, which are the Gât͟ha Gahambar intercalary days, as the Panj-i-meh, i.e., the greater five days. The latter are held in higher veneration than the first five' (JJM., pp. 468–9).

'The last five days of the month (i.e. Ābân-Mâh) the first of which is As͟htâd͟h, are called Farwardajân. During this time people put food in the halls of the dead and drink on the roofs of the houses, believing that the spirits of the dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength, and suck their taste. They fumigate their house with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell. The spirits of the pious men dwell among their families, children and relations, and occupy themselves with their affairs, although invisible to them. Regarding these days there has been among the Persians a controversy. According to some, they are the last five days of the month Ābân, according to others they are the Andergâh, i.e. the five Epagomenae which are added between Ābân and Ādhârmâh. When the controversy and dispute increased, they adopted all (ten) days in order to establish the matter on a firm basis, as this is one of the chief institutes of their religion, and because they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the reals facts of the case. So they called the first five days the first Farwardajân; and the following five days the second

Farwardajân; the latter, however, is more important than the former.' (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 210.)

Modern Parsis, like the Magians, carry on during the five last days of the year and the five intercalary days which precede the New Year, a special cult of the dead, as do the Nestorian Christians of Iraq, who eat ritual meals (*dukhranas*) for dead relations, ancestors, and saints at Easter. The Yazīdī spring feast in April is accompanied by ritual meals for the dead, including the killing of a lamb. 'On the eve preceding the spring feast each Yazīdī kills a lamb or buys meat, in order to "give it to the dead", and at break of day youths and maidens set off over the hills to make nosegays of wild flowers. Each house is decorated with garlands. Then the women take the food they have prepared and visit the graves of their dead, accompanied by *qawwāls* playing drums, pipes, and cymbals. The food, which is afterwards given to the poor, is placed on the graves, while the priests chant hymns, and the women do not forget to make the customary offerings to the priests. The visit to the cemetery over, the day is passed in merriment and feasting' (Stevens, *By Tigris and Euphrates*, p. 185). For an account of the Mandaean and Parsi meals for the dead see Chapters XI, XII, and XIII. For Shī'a eating of cakes for the dead at Nau-Roz, see note 14 of this chapter.

It is not my purpose here to go into similar beliefs and customs of the Japanese and Chinese, which include the ritual meals and visits of ancestors and dead to their former relations, cleansing of the houses, and so forth. It appears likely that this cult of the dead at spring-time spread along the road taken by the silk-merchants.

19. The conception might be Iranian. Cf. Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī Modi's article on Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat in No. 23 of the publications of the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* (Bombay, 1932), p. 195 'When one walks barefooted, he commits for every step (gam) a *tanâfur* sin up to three steps. When he takes a fourth step, the sin is *tanâvîrî*. The above sins apply even if one foot has a shoe and the other not.... For the first step that a man walks barefoot, the milk of 100 cows and sheep and camels gets diminished; for the 3rd step that of 300 cows and sheep and for the 4th step that of all the cows and sheep and quadrupeds of all the seven continents (keshvar) of the world gets diminished.' Modi explains that the reason is that the foot may come into contact with defiling matter. Mandaean priests are barefoot during prayer and ritual. In their houses they stand on matting for religious exercises.

20. This feast, 90 days after Panja, corresponds to the first of Khurram-Roz, which the Persians in Al-Bīrūnī's time called Nuwad-Roz—'Ninety-Days', because there were 90 days between it and Nauroz. This furnishes further proof that the Mandaean Panja at one time preceded the New Year, like the Magian Panja or Fanja. The GR., rt. side, Bk. iii, frag. 2, refers to walking barefoot as a sin.

21. For the Kanshia u Zahla (i.e. sweeping and cleansing) cf. Anquetil du Perron's description of the Parsis at Surat during Fravardegân: 'The houses are purified and decorated. They do not go out of the house.'

VII

BAPTISM

THE central rite of the Mandaean cult is immersion in water, which is regarded not only as a symbol of Life, but to a certain degree as life itself. A Mandaean priest said to me one day, 'The earth is like a woman and the sky like a man, for it makes the earth fecund', and this idea is repeated several times in Alf Trisar S͟hiala and the Tafsir Pag͟hra. Here rain is regarded as semen. The belief that water contains a fluid capable of fertilizing, not only the earth, but occasionally women, appears in the story of the conception of John the Baptist: 'Anos͟h 'Ut͟hra gave Inos͟hvey water from the *yardna* to drink and she became pregnant'; and, 'now Zak͟haria and Inos͟hvey were old and it happened that she drank water and became pregnant of the water', two versions of the same legend given me by two different priests. The idea is not peculiar to the Mandaeans. There is a legend amongst the Moslems that, after the martyrdom of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, his sister filled a water-pot at the river. 'Her brother's soul hid in the jar', and when she drank the water, she became pregnant, giving birth to a son nine months later.[1]

Hence immersion in water is immersion in a life-fluid, and gives physical well-being, protection against the powers of death, and promise of everlasting life to the soul.[2]

Its second quality is purificatory. Just as it washes away filth, infection, and impurity from the body, it washes away sin and impurity from the soul.[3]

Water, which reflects the light, is considered a form of light (see Chap. I, note 4). A freshly baptized person is 'clothed in light'. The conception that the firmament is filled with a fluid light and that water is a grosser form of it appears in the doctrine of the planetary boats.

Water, however, is not composed entirely of magic and life-giving fluid. Only one part in nine is of the spiritualized vitalizing water, the rest is *tahma*, a lifeless fluid which eventually passes out into the bitter waters of the sea, whereas the living water performs its life-giving task, or is drawn up to heaven to pass again into the heavenly *yardna*, the Frash Ziwa, or Light Euphrates.

> 'The water of this world is divided into nine *mithkal*; eight of earthly water, and one of water of life to strengthen the body of man. It is only the earthly part of water and bread which passes out of the human body as excrement and urine, the heavenly part remains in it to give it life.' (A *ganzibra*.)[4]

Ritual ablution, that is, ablution carried out with certain actions and prayers, is a ceremony which, as it were, brings all the properties of this heavenly water into action and makes the recipient capable of benefiting by them.

These conceptions are of the greatest antiquity, and argue continuity of idea and tradition. To the Mandaean, the waters of the Karun, Tigris, Euphrates, or Zab are of equal sanctity, because all contain this magic infusion of *mia hiia* 'living water', or, as one might call it, Water of Life.

Mandaean ceremonial ablution is of three kinds.[5] The first is called the *rishama*. For this, the assistance of a priest is not required; each man is his own priest, and every Mandaean child learns the prayers recited for it.[6] It should be performed daily, and with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels (preceded by washing with a purificatory prayer); and before all religious ceremonies; in short, it corresponds in many ways to the Moslem *tawaḍḍuʿ*, especially the more rigorous ablutions of the Ḥanafī sect.

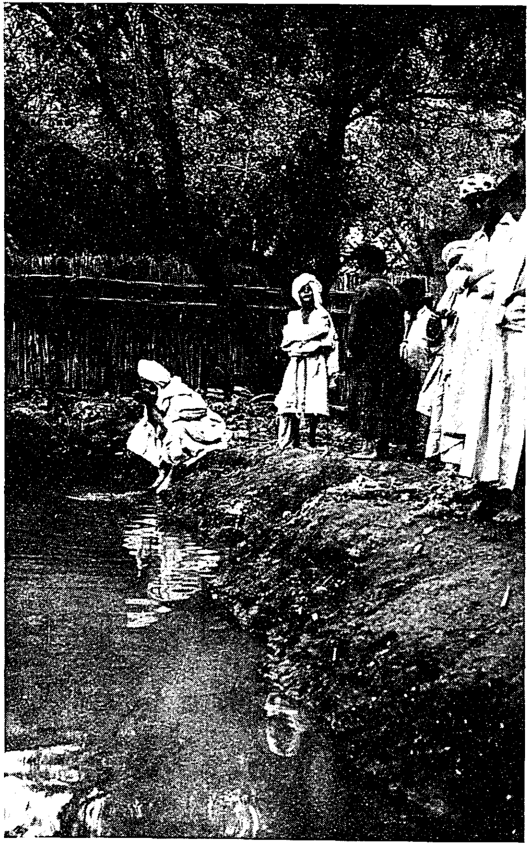
The second kind of ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without the ministrations of a priest. This is called the *ṭamasha*. It must be performed by a woman after menstruation[7] and after childbirth,[8] though in the latter case it must be supplemented later by a full baptism. It must be performed after touching a dead body,[9] after coition,[10] after nocturnal pollution,[11] or any serious defilement or contact with a defiled person, as impurity is contagious, and a man touching an unclean person becomes himself unclean. In the case of coition, this ablution must be performed immediately, by both man and woman; in the case of death immediately after burial of the body; in the case of childbirth as soon as the woman can walk—in fact, as soon as possible.

The third ablution is the *maṣbuta*, pronounced *maṣwetta*, which, for the sake of shortness, in spite of the incorrectness of the term, I will call 'full baptism'. This includes, and *cannot be divorced from*, the sacraments of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving *Kus͟hṭa*', and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. This 'full baptism' is performed by the priest and should take place every Sunday, after major defilements (marriage, birth, touching the dead, illness, after a journey, &c.), after such sins as uttering falsehoods, talking low talk, after violent quarrels, or, in fact, any deed of which a man is ashamed. As a Mandaean said to me, 'After bad words, a man says to himself, "It would be better if I seek baptism"' (Arabic *astabag͟h*).[12] The major sins, theft, murder, and adultery, demand more than one baptism. In general, 'the oftener one is baptized the better', say the priests, but baptism only takes place on Sunday, and at certain feasts, especially the five intercalary days of Panja, and, as a matter of fact, in these degenerate days many lay Mandaeans keep their *rastas* folded during the cold weather, excusing this by saying, 'we once lived where there were springs which were hot in winter and cold in summer, and *maṣwetta* was easy then'.

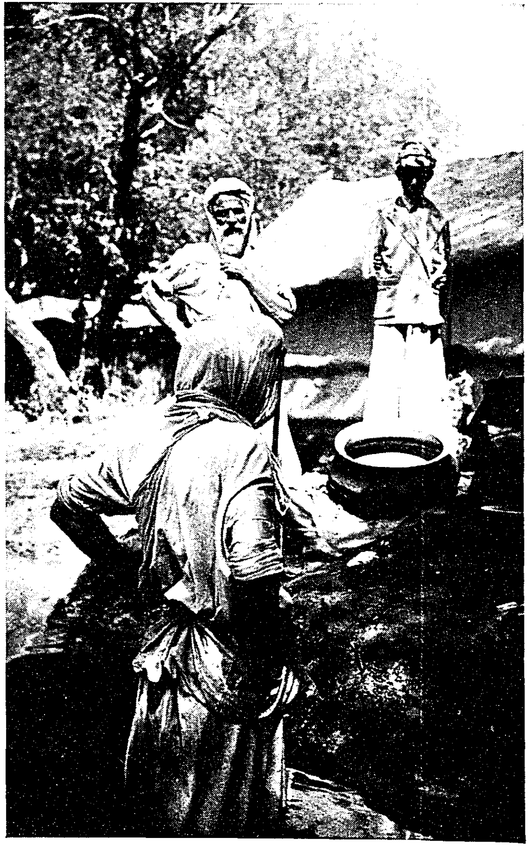
I will describe the first ablution, the *ris͟hama*, in detail.[13] As the Mandaean approaches the river, he says: (pronunciation) '*Ibrak͟h yardna rba ad meya héi*' (I bless the great *yardna* of Living Water), or '*Bis͟hmeyhun ad héi rbi asūt͟ha u zakūt͟ha nhvīlak͟h ya ab abūhun Melka Piriawīs yardna rba ad maiy héi*' (In the name of the Great Life, healing and purity are thine, my Father, their Father, Melka Piriawis, Great *Yardna* of Living Water). He must tie his belt before he reaches the water.

He then stoops and washes his hands, saying, '*Bis͟hmeyhun*

PLATE



a. *Rishama* or minor ablution (figure on left)



b. Preliminary prayer in the *yardna*.
Candidate (bearded) on bank

BAPTISM

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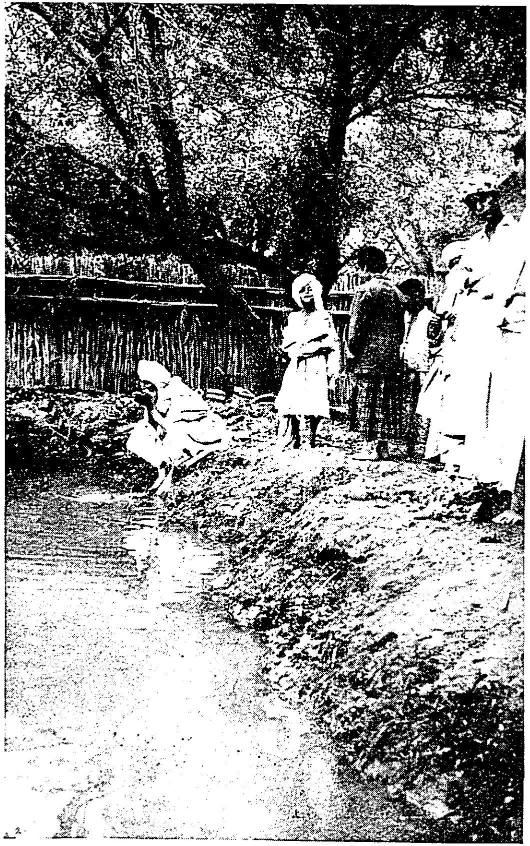

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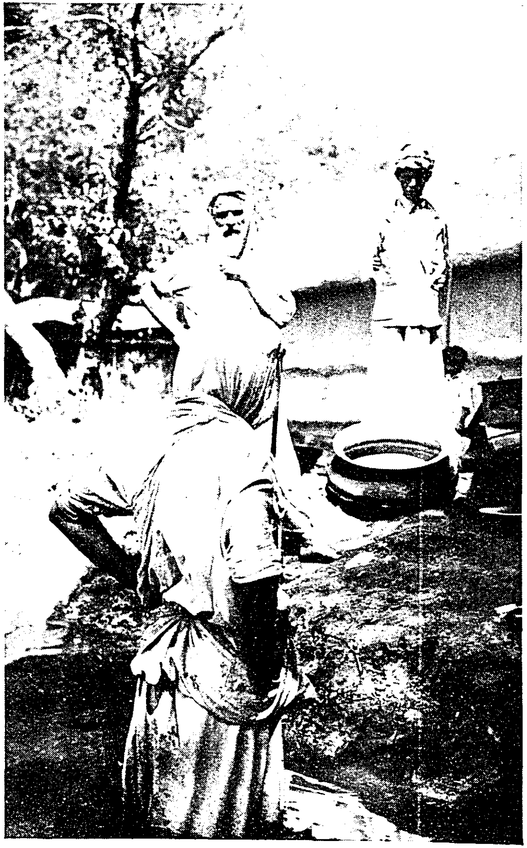


b. Preliminary prayer in the *yardna*. Candidate (bearded) on bank

ad héi rbi hallilin ʿidan bkūshṭa av ʿusfan bi haimanūtha mallalin bmalāla ad zīwa wa ushi ṭibbun bʿuṣri ad anhūra' (In the name of the Great Life, purify my hands in righteousness and my lips in faith. Let them utter the speech of the Light and make my ablutions good (potent) by thoughts of Light).

He washes his face three times, taking water in his hands and saying, '*Ibrekh ushmakh mshabba ushmakh marey Manda-ṭ-Héi ibrekh mshabba hakh parṣufa rba ad ʿiqara ad mn nafshi aprash*' (I bless thy name, praised is thy name, my lord Manda d Hiia I bless! Be praised that great Countenance of Splendour which of itself was manifest).

He next takes water in his hand and signs himself from ear to ear across the forehead from right to left, saying, '*Ana Aplan bar Aplanétha arshamna brushma ad héi ushma ad héi wushma Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey* (I, N. son of N. —his mother's *malwasha* name—sign myself with the sign of the Life. The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me).

Next, three times, he dips two fingers in the river and cleanses his ears, saying, "*Udney shama qala ad Héi!*' (May my ears hear the voice of the Life).

Taking water into his palm, he snuffs it three times up into his nose, repeating each time, '*Anhiri irrah riha d héi!*' ((May) my nostrils smell the perfume of the Life).

He then washes the lower part of his body, saying, '*Rushma illawey la hwa bnura u la hwa ib misha wa la hwa bamshīha rushmey amshey rushmey byardna rba ad méi héi ad ʿunish bheyli la amṣay ushma ad héi wushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illi*' (My sign it is not with fire [a polemic reference to Magians], nor with oil [*Misha*= 'oil' or 'Moses', hence, a reference to Jews], nor with anointing [*mshiha*='anointing' or 'Christ', a reference to Christians], my sign is in the great *yardna* of living water, which a man cannot attain by his strength [alone]. The Name of Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are mentioned upon me').

Next, taking water into his mouth from his palm, he rinses it out three times, saying, '*Pumey butha tushbihtha imla*' (May my mouth be filled with a prayer of praise). The ejected water is spat to the left.

He washes his knees three times, with the words '*Burkey ad mabrikha u saghdi lhéi rbi*' (May my knees bless and worship the Great Life).

Washing the legs three times: '*Laghrey ad midrīkha durki ad kūshṭa uhaimanūtha*' (May my legs follow the ways of right and faith).

He dabbles his fingers in the river, his hands together and the palms downwards, saying, '*Ana aṣvina bmaṣwetta ad Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwetti tinâṭrai utisaq lrésh ushma ad héi ushma ad Mandā-ṭ-Héi madkhar illi*' (I have baptized myself with the baptism of the great Bahram, son of the mighty [ones, Life?], my baptism will guard me and lift [me?] to the *rish*—literally 'head' 'beginning', here to the summit of perfection [i.e. the House of Life] and the name of Life and Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me).

Lastly, he dips the right foot twice and the left foot once into the river, saying, '*Laghrey 'udeyhun ad shuwa atrisar la tishtalaṭ illey wushma ad héi ushma Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey*' (May the Seven [planets] and the Twelve [signs of the Zodiac] not have dominion over my feet [lit. my-legs-their-hands]. The name of Life and the name of Manda d Hiia be pronounced upon me).

It will be seen that this 'signing' is a minor baptism removing the lesser pollutions and protecting the faithful from the perils of daily life, as well as reiterating belief in eternal life. The only names used in this, or in any, ablution even to that of objects such as cooking-pots, are those of Life, of Manda d Hiia (translate it how one will), and the Persian name of Bahram. The latter is the Parsi Yazata, or Angel, of Victory, and associated with the ascent of the soul. In connexion with these ablution rituals he may be taken as a symbol of the soul's victory over death and ascent to the world of light. The use of this name shows the essentially Iranian nature of rites grafted on to an old and aboriginal water-cult.

The second ablution is the *ṭamasha* (submersion), called sometimes the *ghayas gu mia*. I have witnessed it, as, for instance, when after a death, one of the corpse-bearers, who had just returned from the graveyard, waded out into the river as I passed. He had removed his *rasta*, except the *sharwala*, and carried it in a bundle with him into the river. When he had reached a place deep enough, he plunged thrice below the surface, and splashed water over his head three times, each time repeating the formula (given me on another occasion):

[As pronounced] '*Bushmeyhun ad hëi rbi ana uthban bheyla uheyli yardna illawi ushri ithi anheth lyardna iṣṭaba qabbal dakhia rushma elwesh uṣṭli ziwa utreṣ brishi klila rowzi ushma hëi wushma d Manda-ṭ-hëi madkhar illey ana Plan bar Planitha aṣvina bmaṣwetta ad Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwetti tinaṭray u tésaq larésh.*

'In the name of the Great Life! I seek (? ࡀࡕࡁࡀ), strength; loose upon me the forces of the *yardna* (running water), let them come (upon me). I have gone down into the *yardna*, I dip under, accept the pure Sign. I put on garments of light and place upon my head an effulgent wreath. The name of Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are pronounced upon me. I am N. son of N., I am baptized with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the mighty, and my baptism shall guard me and ascends to the summit.'

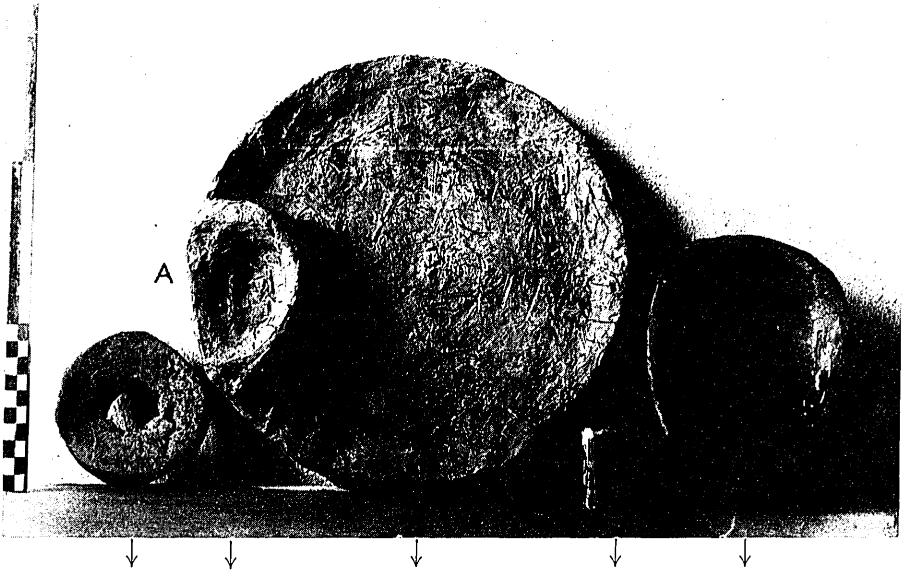
I imagine that the 'effulgent wreath' refers to the water splashed over the head—water again being regarded as synonymous with light. The various parts of the *rasta* were, of course, plunged in with their holder.

No matter how bitterly cold the water (and in winter ice is sometimes found on water channels), the *ṭamasha* *must* be performed after serious defilement, and, in cases where no priest is procurable to perform the full baptism that should follow, the *ṭamasha* acts as a temporary protection against the powers of evil, and prevents other persons and objects from becoming defiled by contagion.

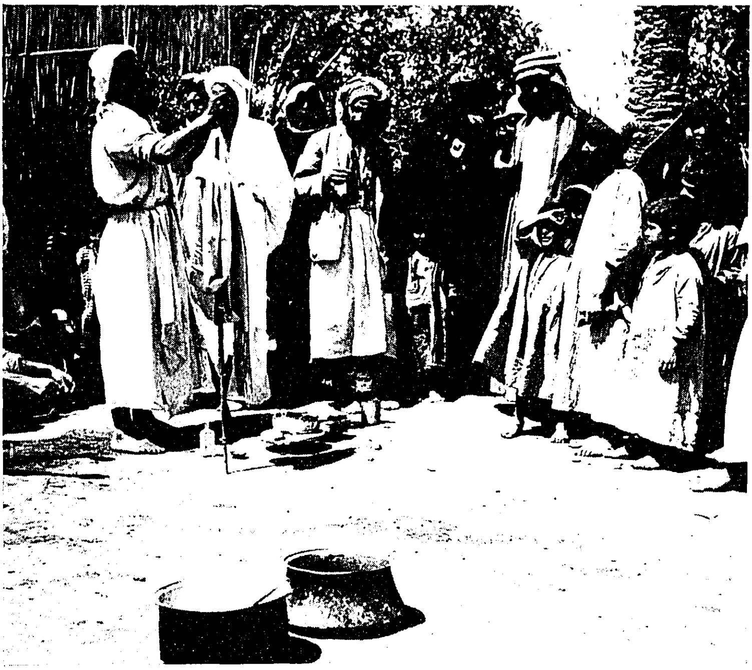
The third ablution is the full baptism. The cult objects for this are few and simple. The officiant must have plenty of freshly plucked myrtle twigs at hand, kept in a basin of water, so that they shall not droop. These twigs or *agia* are for the myrtle wreaths, or *klilia*[14] used for the priest himself, for the 'soul' or 'souls' (this is the expression used in the ritual for the persons who are baptized and receive the sacraments, and I shall employ it in my description). If there is a *drabsha* (banner) one is required for this as well. Next, there must be the *ṭoriana*, or clay table. It is a circular stand of clay mixed with straw, and stands on a *kangana*, a round, ring-like stand, placed below the *ṭoriana*, and made of the same material. The *ṭoriana* has a semicircular recess protected by a ridge called the *miṣra* and upon this stands the *qauqa*, which is a smooth terra-cotta cube, with a small round depression about the size of a threepenny-bit at the top to hold a pinch or so of incense (*riha*). The latter is a mixture of *sandarach* (resin), sandalwood, and *jāwi* or benzoin. The *brihi* which occupies the rest of the *ṭoriana* is an egg-shaped clay fire-saucer, in which wood, reeds, or charcoal are burnt as fuel. In use, the narrow end must be placed to the north. When lit, this fire is used, either for the burning of incense, or for the baking of the *pehtha* (sacramental bread, written *pihtha*). The perimeter of a *ṭoriana* in my possession is nearly 35 inches, the semi-circular recess (*miṣra*) is 5 inches at the base and 3 across; the *brihi*, or fire-saucer, is about 19 inches in perimeter and roughly an inch and a half deep, though shallower at the narrow end. The *ṭoriana* has a depression beginning at the rim, but not deep.

For occasions on which many persons are baptized, and for *lofani*s, a large, oblong clay box called the *qintha* (or *qimtha*) is used with, or instead of, the *ṭoriana*. The lid of this box is slightly depressed, and has a *miṣra* like the *ṭoriana* and is used for the *brihi* and *qauqa* like the *ṭoriana*. I give a very rough drawing of the *qintha*, Fig. 6 opposite.

Flour (ground by the priest), and salt for the *pihtha* must be at hand, and small, shallow drinking-bowls for the sacramental water. These bowls are of brass, and about 11 inches or less in perimeter. In shape, they are like the sacramental bowls which appear in representations of Mithraic cult-objects. (see Cumont, *Monuments*, &c.). The name of this drinking-bowl is *keptha* (written *kaptha*). The water to fill these bowls at the time which corresponds



a. *Kangana* *Miṣra* (A) The *Ṭoriana* *Qauqa* (*bit riha*). *Brihi*



b. Consecration of myrtle wreath

to the Christian 'communion' is sometimes taken direct from the *yardna* (river, or pool of flowing water), and sometimes from a small glass bottle, the *qanina*, freshly filled.

The bread is made thus: the priest takes a little salt and flour in his hand and, going down to the *yardna*, mixes a little water with it in the palm of his hand. A round, flat, biscuit-like wafer called the *pehtha* (*pihtha*)[15] is the result, though for mass-sacraments a larger *pehtha* is made, and if not all eaten by the first batch of 'souls' it is placed in some recess, either in the wall of a house, or in the outer wall of the *mandi*—where, does not seem to matter as long as the recess is first lustrated with water—and used for the second batch. It must not be reserved for any length of time, the bread made must be eaten at the same sitting, similarly *mambuha*, or sacramental water, loses its virtue if left standing over-night.

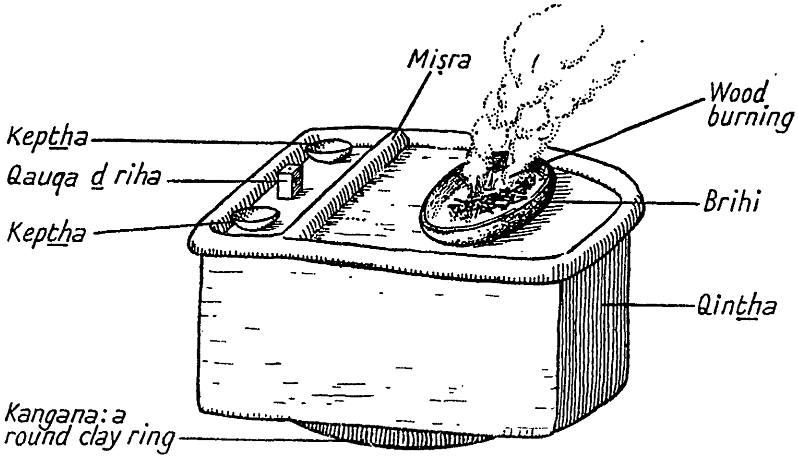


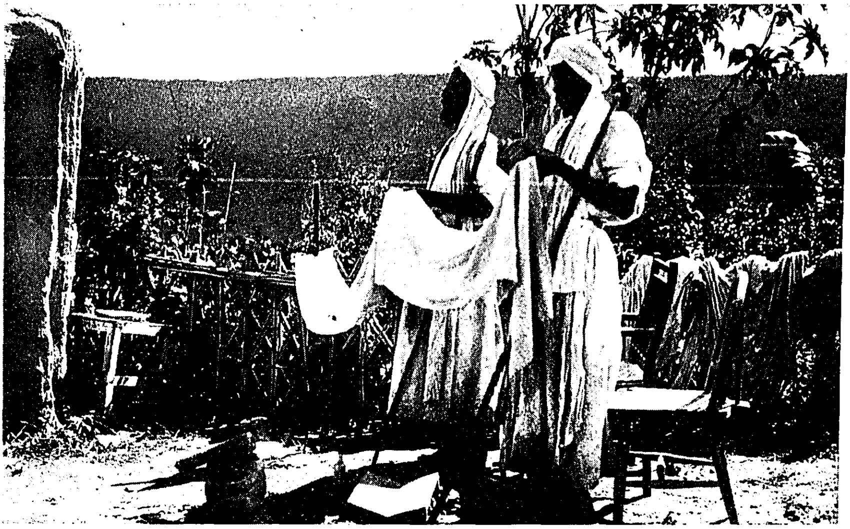
Fig. 6. The *Qintha*

In the illustrations in the Diwan Abathur the *pehtha* is represented as round, with a cross marked on it, but I have never seen this sign on a *pehtha* in a present-day ritual. The Christian idea of a cross with an implication of blood-sacrifice is contrary to the whole Mandaean belief; indeed, this sign was not at first associated, even by the Christians, with the instrument of Christ's passion, but was a 'life' or 'sun' symbol. In the Parsi ritual meal the sign of the cross is made over the ritual meal for the dead (JJM., p. 401), and Modi suggests that it is symbolic of the four points of the compass. This idea is corroborated by the Nestorian ritual, for the priest, as he places four wafers on the paten in the form of a cross, murmurs the words, 'From East to West, from North to South'. It probably represents the journey and return of the sun, symbolizing resurrection. (See Chap. VI, note 14.)

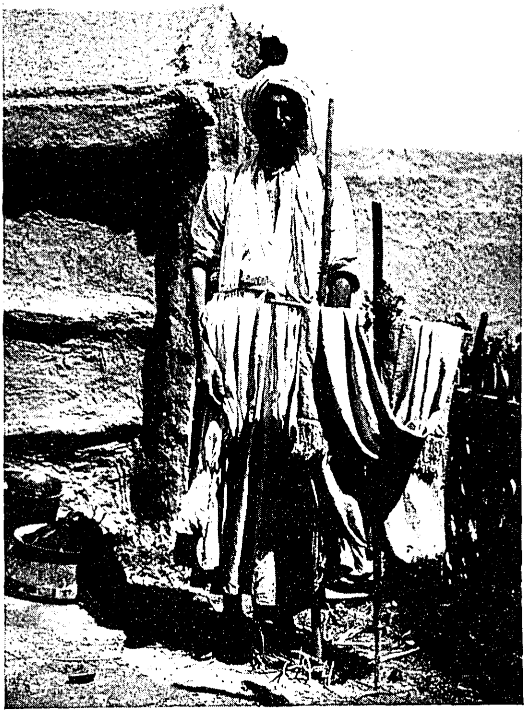
The sacramental water (*mambuha* or *mambugha*) is water and nothing else. Only at the *masiqta* ceremony for the dead and at the wedding ceremony is *hamra*, or fruit juice mingled with water, employed, and then, I take it, as an intensification of the vegetation-fertility symbolism. *At no time in the ordinary sacraments is anything but pure water drunk*, and the priests declare that it has always been so.

The last cult object, the *dravsha* (*drabsha*), is not employed for all occasions of baptism, e.g. it was not at the baptism for a woman after childbirth, though it may be used for the baptism of a single person (I saw one employed at a baptism at Dehwa Hnina, the Little Feast, when there was only one 'soul'). It is always present at the baptisms of Panja. The cross-piece from which the long silken strip hangs, and to which it is sewn, has been taken by people resolved to see in Mandaeanism a form of Christian gnosticism, for a cross. There is no foundation for such a misconception. The banner is purely a light-symbol, and Mandaeans imagine the light of the sun, moon, and stars as streaming from just such banners. (See Figs. 2, 3 and 4.)

Water does not enter into the ritual for its consecration, some of the prayers for which are given by Lidzbarski (Q. 264). I give a photograph (Plate 12) of this consecration. The strip is of unbleached white silk. Some Mandaeans have told me that it should be woven of so many stitches, but others declare it is not so. The specimens I have seen, though I was not allowed to handle and measure them, appeared all the same in length and breadth. To



a. Consecration of the banner



b. The banner ready for use (note sprigs of myrtle)

judge by the eye alone, the strip was about 3 yards long and a *dhra* (see Chap. IV, note 4) wide. As the pole is about 2 yards high, the silk is looped up so as not to touch the ground, and thrown around the peak. The end is fringed. A myrtle wreath is slipped over the peak of the banner, and, just beneath the cross-piece, hidden from sight, a piece of gold wire called the *aran dravshi*, twisted into a 'letter', secures seven twigs of myrtle in place. The pole itself is of any kind of wood, and the pointed base which is thrust into the ground is usually shod with iron. It is the silk strip, not the staff, which is of ritual importance. Had the pole with its cross-piece any significance, the wood would be specified, and one of the 'pure' woods, such as willow or olive, prescribed. The *dravsha* is never carried processionally.

Before baptism, the 'souls' grasp first the bottom of the staff and then the peak, with their right hands, repeating each time a formula after the priest, the right hand of the priest being placed above the hands (or hand if there is only one candidate) of those about to be baptized. In the hand of the priest is the *keptha* and a *klila*.

At the first baptism I ever witnessed, which was that of a woman after childbirth, there was no *dravsha*. I think it worth while to transcribe my notes on this occasion, as they represent clearly what was done, and the order in which the ritual proceeded, though I have added corrections and observations since.

The Baptism of a Woman after Childbirth

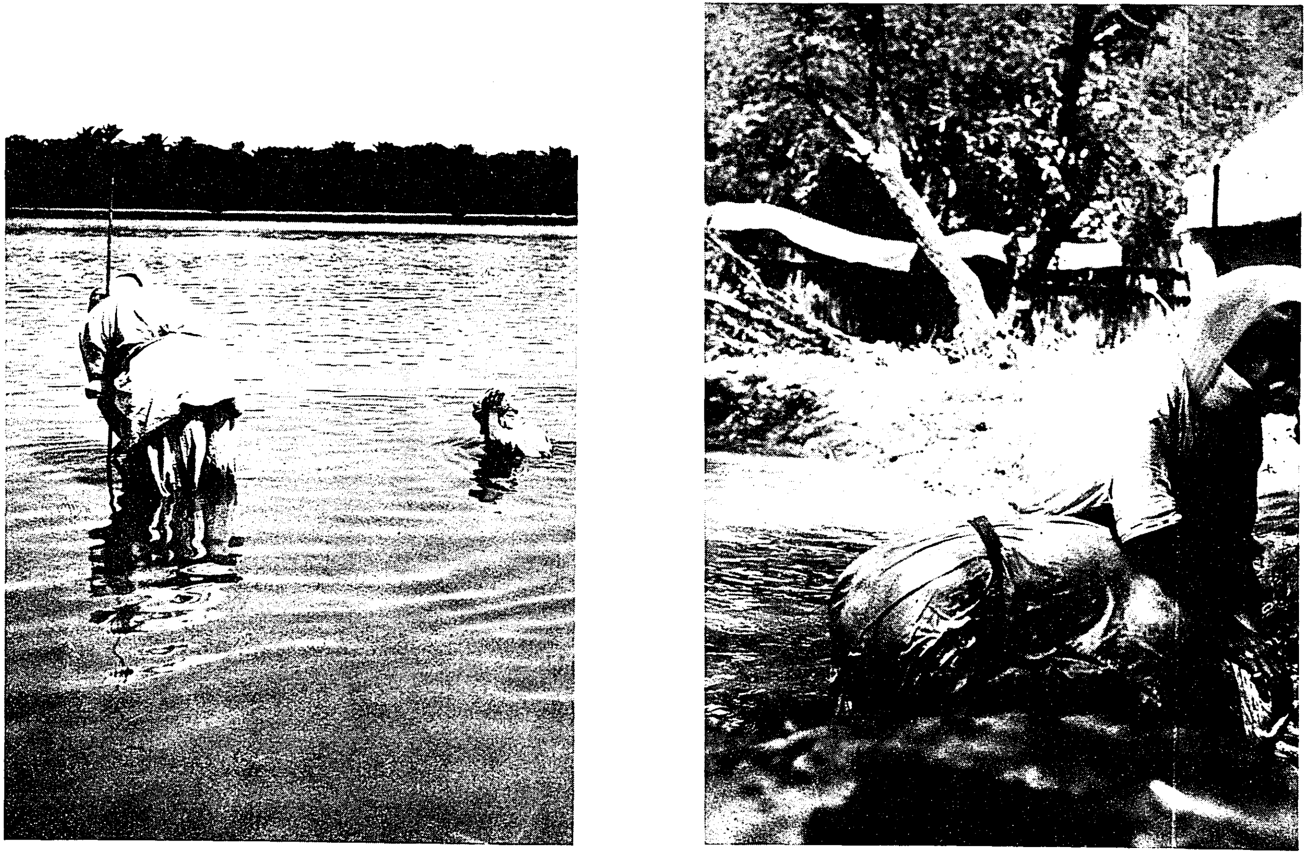
The rite took place on a Sunday, and at Amarah, where there is no *mandi*, so that the river itself was the scene of the immersions.

The ceremonies began at midday, so that both hour and day were solar. I arrived at the appointed time, and while the *ganzibra* went to put on his *rasta*, his sister, Qurṭasa, showed me the flour, freshly plucked myrtle twigs in water, and the various cult-objects. The *ganzibra* himself kindled the wood and charcoal in the fire-saucer (*brihi*), which stood on the *ṭoriana*. The first act was the *ganzibra*'s *ris͟hama* in the river (already described). On his return (the house was not on, but close to, the river), the *ganzibra*, barefoot and clothed in his full *rasta*, took his stand on a square of matting with his back to the sun, facing the North Star, behind which, as he explained, 'Awat͟hur Muzania has his throne'. He then proceeded with the *rahmi*, the prayers of which, on account of their length, I will not quote here, but content myself with describing the actions which accompanied them. They included the prayers for Sunday, for each day's *rahmi* includes the special prayers for the day. I will quote from notes printed as an appendix to my *By Tigris and Euphrates* with a few corrections.

'The *ganzowra* (*ganzibra* is pronounced *ganzivra* or *ganzowra*) blesses each separate part of his *rasta*, touching each in turn. His prayer is voluble, sonorous, and so rapid that he draws his breath in a gasp when it will serve him no longer. He takes the *tag͟ha* . . . and, holding it in his hands, and praying, touches his mouth, eyes, and brow with it, then places it beneath the turban on his head. He raises his right hand to the right side of the turban and keeps it there some moments. He picks up the incense-cube and touches his hand with it several times. Then he takes a pinch of incense between the right forefinger and thumb, stops his praying a moment to get a long straw with which he revives the fire in the fire-saucer, and then replaces the incense cube on the *ṭoriana*, resuming his prayer. Then he drops the pinch of incense on the glowing fuel, saying '*Riha ḏ haiy basim*' &c.

'He stops praying, and opens a book from which he reads rapidly in the same chanting voice employed in praying. He bows low, reading the while. He crouches and, continuing to read, takes the long end of his stole (*naṣifa*) and carries it to his turban with his right hand, while still crouching and reading. He rocks himself from side to side. The staff (*marg͟hna*) is held in the crook of the left arm. He drops the hand holding the end of the stole, but does not loosen his grasp of it. He stands again, reading continually, and makes little gesticulations with his right hand. He takes another pinch of incense and drops it on the fire, placing the staff for a while in his right hand. (*Note* that he does not touch the staff with the left hand, though it is held by the left arm during part of the ceremonies.) He stoops on his heels. He goes to the river and mixes the flour and salt with water (for the *piht͟ha*), while Qurṭasa dresses

PLATE



a. The triple submersion (River, Amarah)

b. Dipping the forehead

BAPTISM

her small nephew (the *shganda*) in his *rasta*, the child gazing smilingly at me. (*Note.* She kept up a running conversation with me the whole time regardless of what was going on.)

'The *ganzowra* returns, bearing a small wafer of uncooked paste as big as an Osborne biscuit, places it on the embers in the fire-saucer, and bakes it. Then, taking it in his hand after long prayer, he eats it and drinks water from the *qanina* (which he had filled when he went down to mix the dough by the river). After these sacramental acts, he returns to the river to fill his *keptha* there and throw water three times over the end of his staff. He repeats the formula "*Mqaymatun hēi qadmoyi*" sixty-one times, holding the end of his stole in his hands and marking off the numbers on the joints of his fingers. (This back again in the courtyard of his house.) He bows with the stole still held. He opens his palms upwards, keeping his hands together, then bows three times holding his hands to his body. He then calls his little son, who, taking the end of his father's stole, repeats a formula after him. The *ganzowra* places the end of his stole against the boy's turban. He continues to pray rapidly holding the end of the stole against the right side of his turban. Next he takes the *tagha* and touches eyes, mouth, and brow with it sixty-one times. This was the end of the *rahmi* (*rahmia*).

'The small assistant picks up the sprigs of myrtle, the *ganzowra* carries the *ṭoriana* apparatus and other accessories, and they walk out making a sign for me to follow. We walk along the short street which separates the house from the river. On the river-bank is a house. We enter the door which brings us into a pleasant courtyard in the centre of which plants and trees are growing. A few priests, women, and men await us.

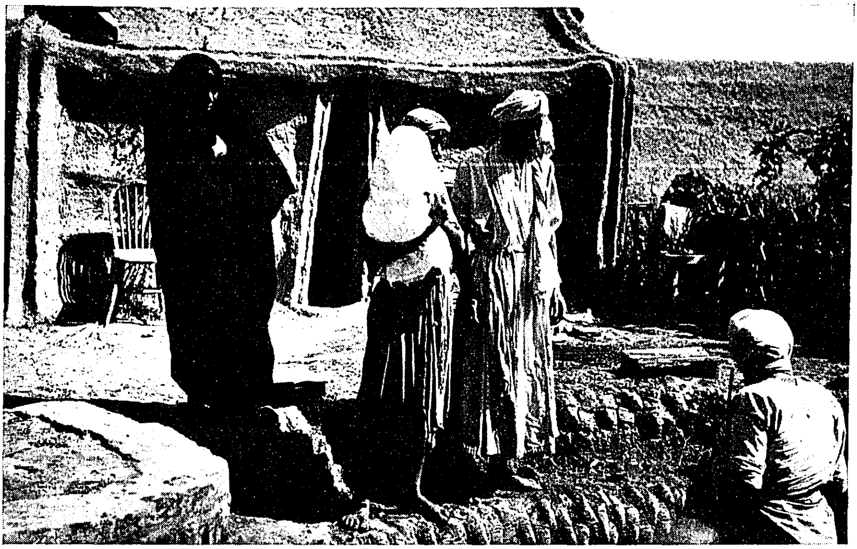
'A handsome, black-bearded young priest dressed in his white *rasta* takes the myrtle from the boy-acolyte, strips the lower end of a sprig of its leaves, and splits it into two long strips leaving the top leaves unplucked. The *ganzowra*, meanwhile, is making another sacramental wafer. He bakes it, and puts it on a white cloth. He, too, takes a twig of myrtle and divides the stem as the priest had done. He then leaves the house and goes to the river (I remaining where I was). On his return, he and the priest twist the myrtle into three rings. The *ganzowra* takes out the *tagha* from beneath his turban, placing one myrtle ring on the little finger of his right hand (on which he wears the *Shom Yawar* or priestly gold ring), and prays, his stole tucked into his *himiana*. He touches eyes, mouth, and brow with the *tagha* and does the same with the myrtle-wreath (*klila*), which eventually is placed with the *tagha* beneath the turban. He takes the hanging end of his turban and fastens it across the lower part of his face. He picks up the *qauqa* (incense cube) in his left hand, and places a pinch of incense on the fire in the fire-saucer, and then replaces the *qauqa.* He stands again and begins to read at a great rate, and when he has finished, tucks the lower portion of his over-garment (*sadra* or *ksuya*) into his belt. He lets the stole hang at full length, then lifts the ends and puts them over each shoulder, finally tying them tightly together while he repeats one prayer many times over.

'Praying continuously, he walks from his house into the river, wading in up to his thighs. He dips the staff (*marg̱ẖna*) twice beneath the water, places it upright in the water within the loop formed by his stole, and lets the myrtle-ring which was on his finger slip down over it (this later floats away down-stream). He washes the water with his hands, holding the staff firmly implanted in the mud of the bed of the stream.

'The woman to be baptized (she has been in childbed and it is the fourth Sunday following the birth), wearing a black *ʿaba* (mantle) over her *rasta*, stands on the bank and repeats a formula after the *ganzowra* and then wades out to him. She dips under completely three times, while he, standing before her, splashes water back at her. She advances to the right of the *ganzowra*, who takes her and dips her forehead three times beneath the water, and then "signs" her by passing his hand three times across her forehead from right to left and invests her with the myrtle wreath. She drinks three times from the hollow of his hand and repeats the formula "*Kus̱ẖṭa asiaḵẖ qaimaḵẖ*" after him, grasping his right hand in hers.

'The woman wades back to the bank, and several small children bearing pots and utensils (everything used in the house during the confinement) wade out to the *ganzowra*, who immerses and swills them three times round his body in the water, saying "*Qazg̱ẖan ṣiwina bmaṣwetta ḏ Bahram Rba bar rurbi maṣwettaḵẖ tinaṭraḵẖ utisaq lrésh us̱ẖma ḏ héi us̱ẖma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madḵẖar illaḵẖ*" (so pronounced) over each article.

'All make their way back to the house, the *ganzowra* not pausing in his prayer. The baptized woman, dripping wet, places herself before the *ganzowra*, with her back to him. He takes a little sesame from a bag, makes a paste of it with a little water in a *kepṯẖa*, and smears it across the forehead of the woman three times, she crouching before him on her heels. He then touches her hand, and she goes to the river and splashes water over her bared right arm, using the right, and not the left, hand. On her return from the river, she holds her arm outstretched before her so that it may touch nothing, and the women tell me that she is not allowed to open her lips.



a. Baptism of infant

b. Mixing dough for the *pihtha*

BAPTISM

'The *ganzowra* then takes the *pehtha* and gives it to her to eat, and, next, pours water from the *qanina* into the *keptha* and gives it to her to drink. When she has done so, he pours a second time into the *keptha* and she drinks again. A third time he pours in water, but this she throws over her left shoulder while he says, "For thy left". He lays his hand on her head and prays. Both *ganzowra* and woman then extend their right arms towards the river, and the woman repeats after him the oath of witness, word for word. The *ganzowra* crouches behind the woman, being careful to let no part of his *rasta* touch the ground. Then both rise, she always keeping her back to him. He bows several times, then advances to stand beside her and takes her right hand in *Kushṭa*. She salutes him, touching heart and mouth and brow. Both crouch again.

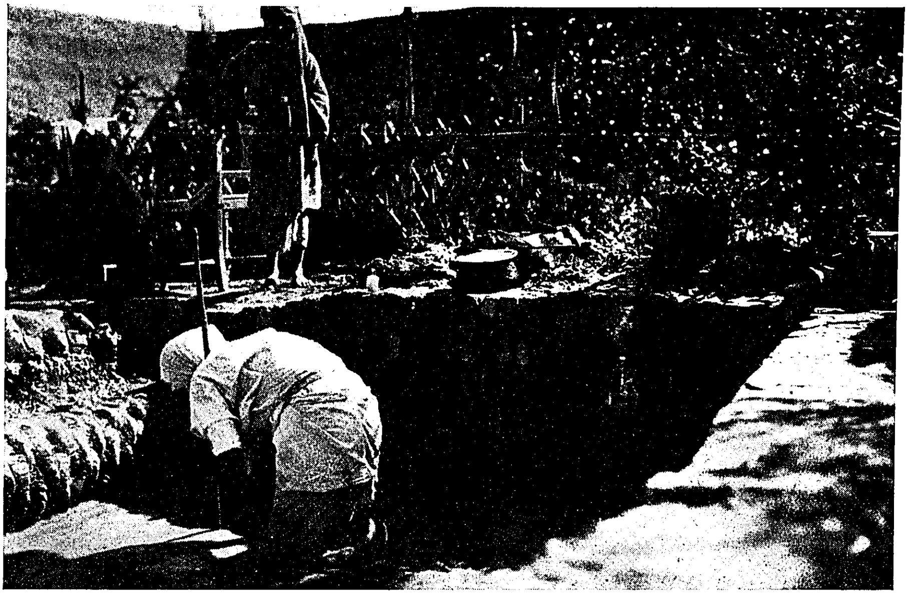
'The torrent of prayer ceases a moment as the *ganzowra* leaves the house to go down to the river. He returns bringing water, and prepares another *pehtha*, holding the uncooked paste in his right hand and the *qanina* in his left. He cooks and eats the *pehtha*, drinks the water, then removes the *pandama* from his face. Again he returns to the river, and when he comes back, dashes water over his staff. He takes the end of his turban (*rughza*) in his hand and repeats the formula "*Mqaimatun hėi qadmoyi*" sixty-one times. This part of the ceremony seems a repetition of the initial ritual. He takes his turban between his hands, and then bows several times with his hands held upon his body.

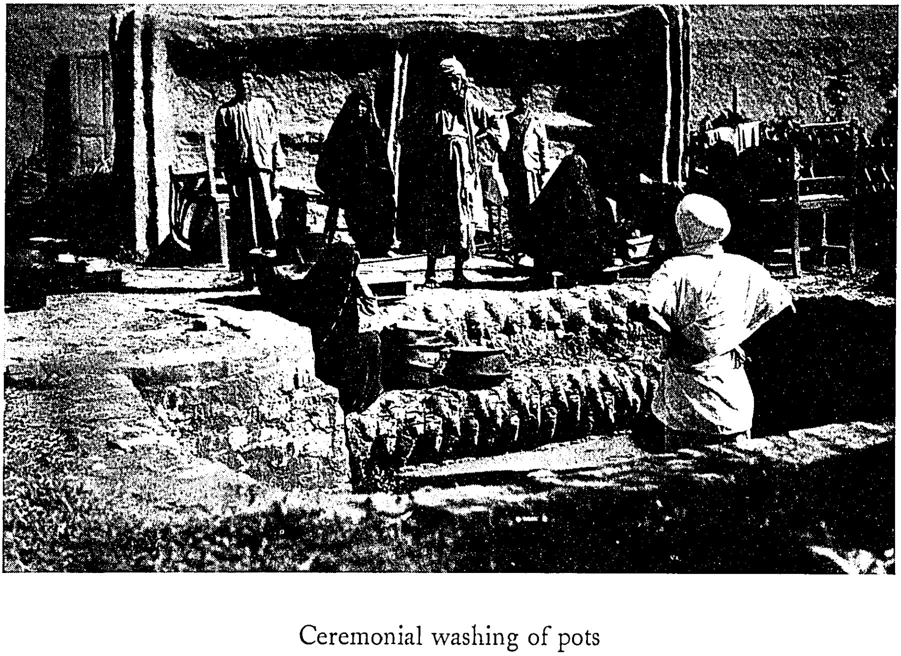
'The boy-assistant gives his hand to the *ganzowra* and repeats a formula after him. The latter then lets down his looped-up skirts, and touches each part of his *rasta* in turn, praying over each. Next, he removes the *tagha* and the *klila* placed with it beneath the turban, and puts them to his mouth and then to each eye alternately sixty-one times. A little more prayer and the rite is concluded, having lasted exactly two hours.'

Eleven years later I attended the great baptism feast (Panja) at Amarah and Qalʿat Salih, and thereafter made the visit yearly. At the latter village, baptisms took place in the *mandi* enclosure, in which the pool and water channels to and fro (see p. 125) are always dug out and cleansed for the great five days of holiness and ablution (see pp. 89 ff.). The baptism ritual, translated by Lidzbarski (Q.), was the same as that which I have described in the above notes. It is always preceded by the *rahmi*, consecration, that is to say, of the priest himself, his *rasta*, and his cult-objects, with the prayers for the day. But there are several points which need notice. First, there is the presence of the *dravs͟ha* (*drabs͟ha*), which is erected in the enclosure in the space between the east wall of the *mandi* (cult-hut) and the reed wall of the enclosure. The Mandaeans come in batches to be baptized, and all together grasp the *dravs͟ha* in the manner described above, before going into the water, one by one—for the immersion ceremony is always individual, and there is never more than one 'soul' in the water at the same time. On emerging from the water, walking round the fire, incense apparatus and *dravs͟ha* clock-wise from the south, the candidate joins the group of wet (and often shivering) 'souls' who are waiting for the sacraments. These are given to the whole group together. By the sacraments I mean the 'signing' with oil, followed by a *Kus͟hṭa*, the administering of the *piht͟ha* and then of the *mambuha*, 'the laying of the hand on the head', and the final *Kus͟hṭa* or hand-grasp. All these ceremonies are communal.

Whenever the water or wind is cold (and often they are icy), a fire is lit for the wet and waiting 'souls', some of whom are very old men. It is common for a log to be placed on the ground as a seat, for after ablution they must never sit on the ground, and kneeling is not a Mandaean attitude of prayer. When they crouch to receive the sacraments they often sit on their heels. As to attitudes of prayer generally, prostration is unknown, neither is the face covered with the hands at any time. The head is held erect, and the hands are either not used, held close to the body (at the *sag͟hda* or bow, which is only from the waist), or employed in a ritual gesture, such as touching or knotting some part of the *rasta*, or held open palm upwards. Care is taken to allow no part of the *rasta* to come into contact with any unlustrated object.

Benches and chairs are placed round the interior of the *mandi* wall, especially the east and west wall of the enclosure, for spectators. Some of these squat on the ground. The onlookers smoke, eat, converse, and go in and out as





Ceremonial washing of pots

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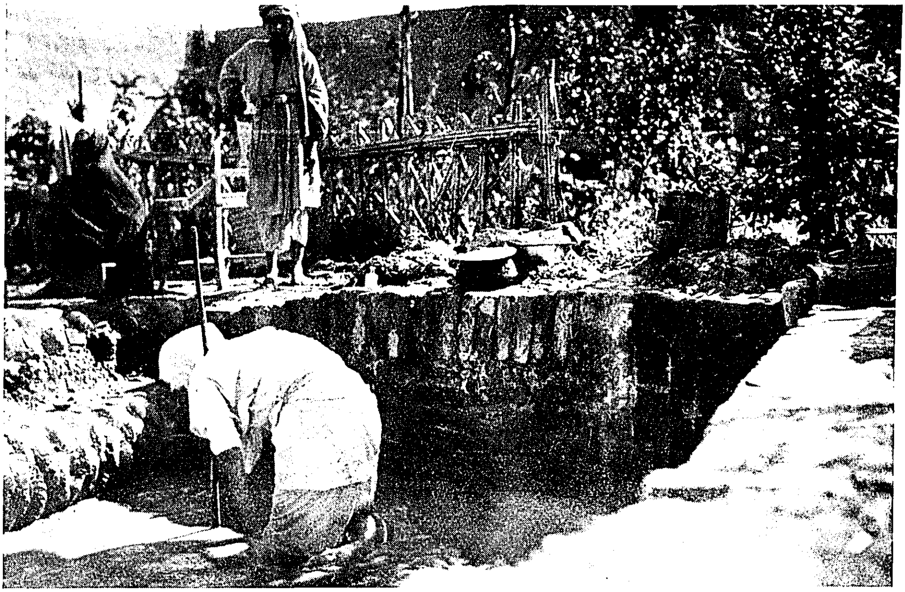
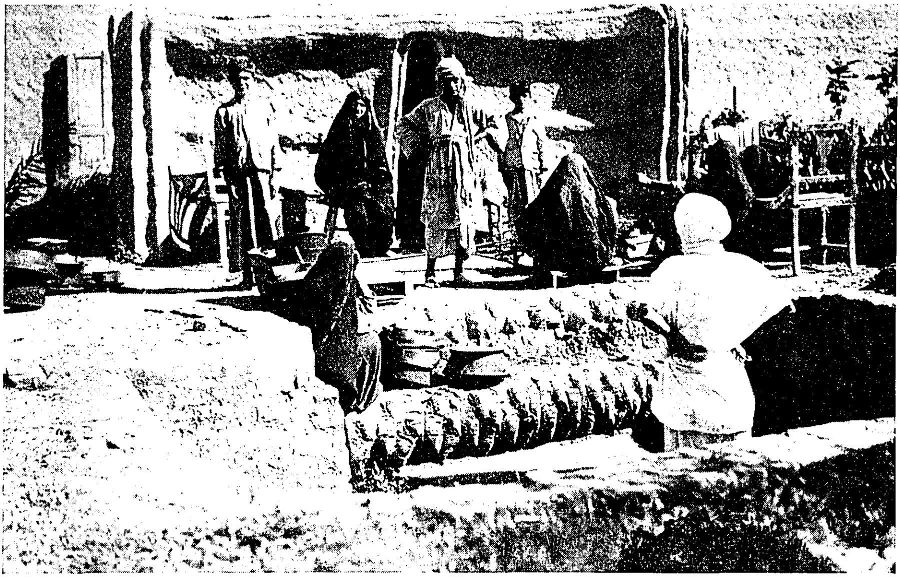




Ceremonial washing of pots

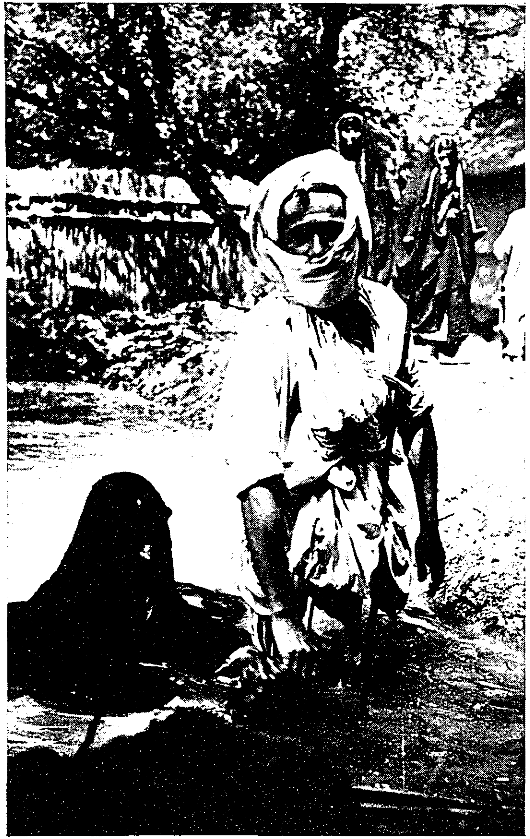
they please, and do not make the least effort to lower their tones. Often, indeed, they will shout a question at the officiating priest who, with the utmost good humour, will check his flow of words to reply, and then proceed with his prayer. Men and women are baptized in separate groups and at different times. Men are baptized in their *rastas*, women, as I have indicated in the notes quoted above, place a black *'aba* over their *rastas*, which cling too close to the body when wet for modesty.

Between these group baptisms the 'baptism' of pots, with the formula quoted in the above notes, goes on between each set of baptisms. The priest, standing knee-deep in the water, takes each pot in turn, and passes it three times round his body from right to left, gabbling the baptism words over each, then places it on the bank, while another is given to him. Not a pot or pan in the community must go without this annual baptism, and they are brought as they are, all sooty from the fire, the film of soot which settles on the surface of the pool being but slowly borne away by the sluggish current. As each group of pots is 'baptized', they are placed, wet and still black, in the space north of the *dravsha* to dry. The interior of copper pots should be freshly tinned before baptism, a rule which prevents poisoning by verdigris.

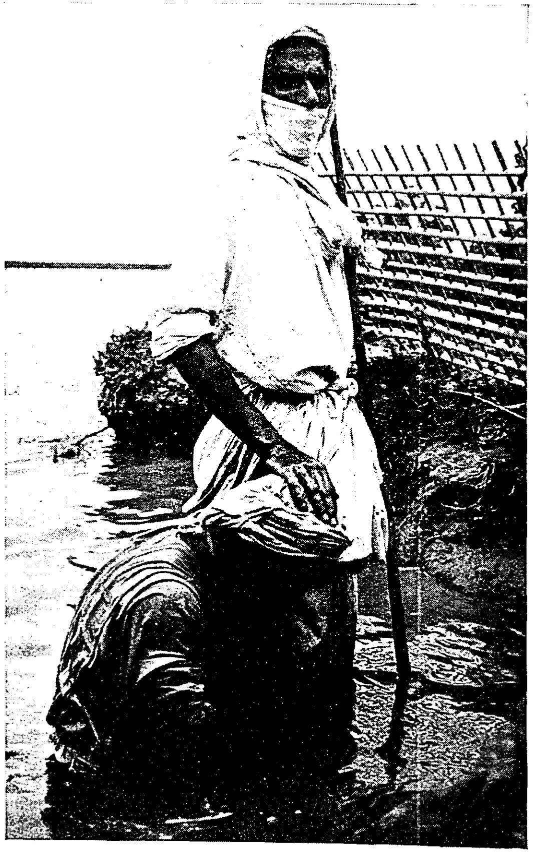
Each candidate is provided with a *klila* (myrtle wreath) which he keeps on his right-hand little finger, until the priest in the pool removes it and places it on his head. Before a candidate steps into the water for his immersion, he places an offering (a coin or coins) together with a sprig of myrtle on the bank of the pool, splashing his gift three times from the pool. The offering to the priest is not always given in this way; it may be placed on the *ṭoriana*. The amount differs according to the inclination of the giver, or his means. I have seen a quarter of a dinar (5*s.*) laid on the *ṭoriana*, and a sum equal to less than a farthing. The destitute are baptized for nothing, but this is a 'loss of face' which a pious person does not willingly incur. The money is not collected openly by the priest, but taken unostentatiously after the ceremony from the spot on which it was deposited.

After the giving of the *Kushta* each candidate, now crowned with the myrtle wreath, the leafy part of which appears over his left temple, emerges to await the sacraments which are administered to the group, as described above, p. 114. He seats himself on his heels or a log, facing the north and the *mandi*, if there is one. There, by the fire, if it is cold, he warms himself in his dripping *rasta* while awaiting the assembly of the others. When some five or seven or other small number have been immersed, the priest comes out of the water, and signs each person's forehead three times with sesame, kneaded into a paste in a *keptha* (described in my quoted notes). After this, the 'souls' extend their right arms with the words, '*B'i weshka amar washtemma*' (Ask and find, speak and listen), and go down to the pool to wash their bared right arms. They do not touch the water with the left hand, but splash it upwards with the right. They return and crouch in a row with their right arms extended outwards and upwards, and are given the *pihtha* (*pehtha*), small fragments broken from a large flat piece of bread, used for more than one group, but only at one set of baptisms. When this is taken from the hole in the wall to be given to the communicants it is first sprinkled with a little water from the *qanina*.

The next step is the *mambuha* (sacramental water). The priest fills his *qanina* (bottle) at the pool, taking his *keptha* with him. During the consecratory prayers the waiting communicants converse or joke with the onlookers. There are usually two *kepthas*, one for the priest and another for the laymen. At the priest's return with the water, the *B'i weshka* formula is repeated, and the priest fills the *keptha* thrice for each man. The first two bowls are swallowed; the third filling the communicant empties over his left shoulder while the priest says, '*Ashar ubaddal lsmalakh*'. The priest then goes behind the crouching communicants and touches their heads with his fingertips many times, after which they extend their right hands



a. The first *kus͟hṭa* (‘*kus͟hṭa asiak͟h qaimak͟h*’)



b. The blessing in the water

BAPTISM

towards the *yardna* and take it to witness of their baptism. It is at this point that there is the direct denial of the power of Sun, Moon, and Fire: '*Mibṭal baṭil Shamish* . . . *mibṭal baṭil Sira*, . . . *mibṭal baṭil Nura*' ('Shamish is null and void, &c.'). This denial at so solemn a point of the ceremony looks like an insertion for the admonishment of heretics and backsliders. For the final prayers all the communicants stand, and the last *Kushṭa* or hand-grasp is given standing, the priest's hand being offered from beneath the *naṣifa* (see p. 33). At the conclusion of the sacraments, each communicant casts his *klila* into the pool.

When I first went to Litlata, a village near Qal'at Salih, Shaikh Yahya's 'souls' were a number of poor Mandaeans from the marshes of an inferior physical type, though many of the older men were extremely handsome. The baptisms took place, as at Amarah, in the river. The *dravsha* was erected in the yard before the priest's house, near sheds used, as is customary with Mandaeans, for the stabling of cattle at night. The ground, therefore, was not too clean and flies were plentiful. Beside the *dravsha* the holy books were placed on a stool, covered with a white cloth. While the sacraments were being administered, children sat round and picked lice from each others' tousled heads. Conditions are now much improved.[16]

In spite of what I have said of the attitude of the onlookers there is nothing irreverent in their intention. They regard the sacraments as beneficial, not only to their souls, but also to their bodies, since they are a protection against the attacks of shiviahis and other evil spirits which bring disease, misfortune, and death. I heard one old dame, emerging from her third immersion and kept waiting, as she thought, by the priest for the *Kushṭa*, utter a shivering '*Yalla!*' which is the equivalent of 'Hurry up!' She was justified, for the good man was dragging a little so that he might pose to my camera. But the Mandaeans will travel a journey of many days and endure many privations in order to benefit by the sacraments, and not all the mockery of unbelievers, nor any hardship which besets their attendance, will prevent them from sharing in what they consider to be the priceless blessings of baptism.[17]

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

1. *Water and souls of ancestors*. See Moulton on the *Fravashis*, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, p. 142; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 191, ii. 508; and *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* by the same author, pp. 76 ff.

2. *Water and Immortality*. In an epic on a Tell el Amarna fragment, Adapa, the first man, summoned before Anu, the sky-god, is offered the Bread of Life and Water of Life, but Adapa, forewarned by Ea that he will be offered bread of death, refuses. Anu laments. He had wished to confer on man, to whom he had given wisdom, the greater gift of immortality, but Adapa, by his refusal, made this impossible.

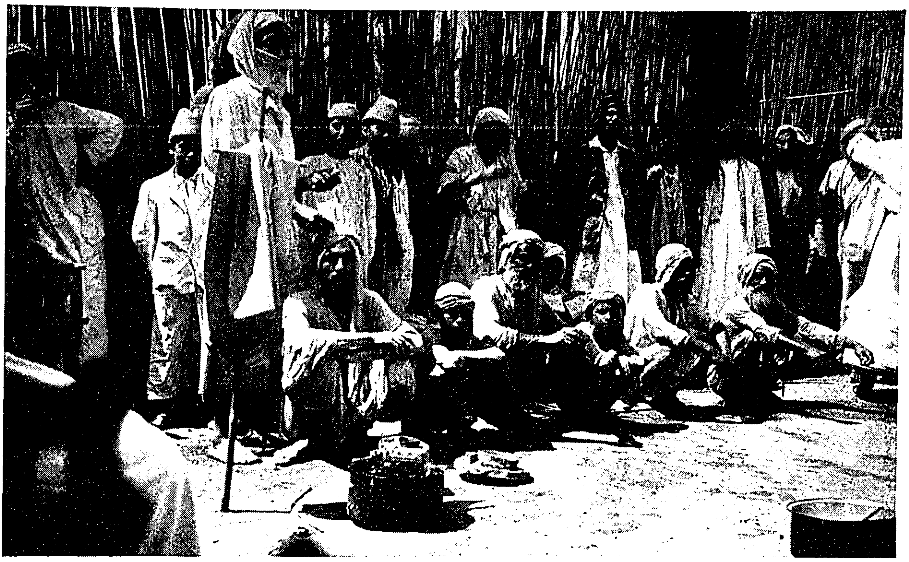
' "Water-of-Life" is often mentioned, especially in the cults of Ea and Marduk', writes Dr. Alfred Jeremias, from whose article on the Babylonian Heaven and Hell, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, I take the above translation (p. 29); 'that Water of Life was drunk and not only used for aspersion and lustration the Adapa story demonstrates' (pp. 29–30). 'The Euphrates and Tigris were themselves looked upon as sacred streams by whose waters sacrifices were made (as an historical inscription proves), and on the banks of which holy lustrations were performed. Ea and his son are the lords of the Water of Life.'

At Ea's order, the underworld must open its spring of the immortal water, and in the exorcisms of sickness we read, 'Go, my son Marduk . . . fetch water from the mouth of the two rivers and make thy pure exorcism, and sanctify it with thy pure exorcism and sprinkle the man, the child of his God.'

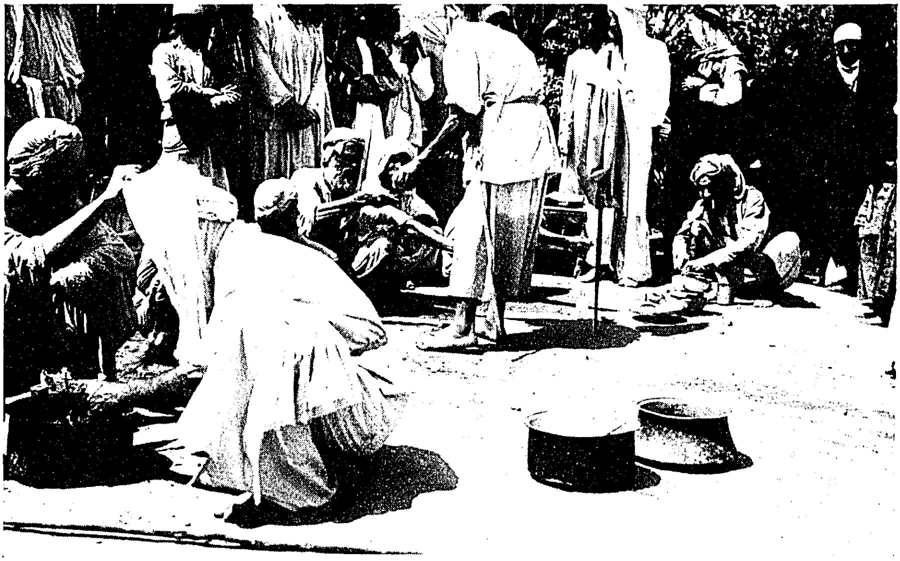
Again, 'Pure water . . . water of the Euphrates . . . water which is well hidden in the ocean, the pure mouth of Ea has purified it, the sons of the water-deeps, the seven, have made the water pure, clear and bright'.

Repeatedly one hears of the purification vessel of Marduk. The *baru*-priest employed lustration in the river as part of his cult, especially at sunrise. An 'ablution house' (corresponding perhaps to the Mandaean *mandi* —a fenced-in corner of the river-bank with a cult-hut and a pit to admit running water from the river, which reissues through a second channel: (see next chapter) is mentioned in tablets relating to the cult of Shamash at Sippar.

With all this accumulative evidence, I cannot see that it is possible to doubt that the Mandaean water-cult, carried on at the very sites of the early water-cults, is at bottom an aboriginal cult, persisting under successive religions, and maintaining a continuous and unbroken ritual tradition.



a. The signing with sesame



b. Giving the *piẖṯẖa*

SACRAMENTS

3. *Flowing water as a purification for ritual sin and moral fault.* See Notes on Introduction, 3, p. xxi. That this idea was present in the older Persian religion appears in Al-Bīrūnī, p. 202 'He (Yama) ordered people to wash themselves with water in order to clean themselves of their sins, and to do so every year, that God might keep them aloof from the calamities of the year.... According to another view the cause of the washing is this—that this day (New Year's Day) is sacred to Harudha, the angel of the water, who stands in relation to the water. Therefore, people rose on this day early, at the rising of dawn, and went to the water of aqueducts and wells. Frequently, too, they drew running water in a vase and poured it over themselves, considering this as a good omen and a means to keep off hurt.'

This Harudha is probably Haurvatat, the personified spirit of Health and Vegetation—so that the analogy to Mandaean conceptions is close.

Herodotus draws a picture of Persian reverence to rivers and streams; again, it appears, an aboriginal cult.

The Persian religion of Mit͟hra, which spread so rapidly and powerfully as to be the rival of the early Christian Church, also had its immersions, apparently symbolical of purification of the soul; also signing of the forehead and sacraments of bread and water as in the Mandaean rite. Says Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. iv, of Christianity and Mit͟hraism, 'The two adversaries discovered with amazement, but with no inkling of their origin, the similarities which united them; and they severally accused the Spirit of Deception of having endeavoured to caricature the sacredness of their religious rites.'

It would be impossible to give details here of what is known of lustration and immersion sects found radiating out from Persia and Babylon. Brandt's *Die jüdischen Baptismen* and *Elchasai*, and Reitzenstein's *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* cover much of the ground. The bathing sect of the Sampsaeans is particularly suggestive, as there appears no trace of Christianity in this sect and the account given of their practices reveals close resemblance to Persian and Mandaean cults.

Reitzenstein (pp. 203 ff.) gives accounts of Indian immersions, such as those at the yearly Varuna Praghasa feast and at the Soma sacrifice. Both have the familiar root ideas—the cleansing from sin, becoming sons of light, and acquiring immortality. The wording of the prayer which candidates utter on leaving the water after the latter ceremony is strikingly Mandaean: 'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have gone to the Light.'

4. *Water of Life.* In a creation fragment in the Dras͟ha d̲ Yahya Hibil Ziwa brought *yardna* and laid it round Arqa d̲ Tibil in a circle, and set a measurer there who measured the water and poured living water therein. 'When the living water entered the turbid water, the living water lamented and wept.'

5. These correspond exactly to the Zoroastrian Pâdyâb, Nâhn, and Bares͟hnum.

'The first is very simple and is the work of a minute or two. It is performed without the help of a priest' (JJM., p. 91). The Nâhn is the bath, and the Bareshnum is the long and complicated ritual which includes three ceremonial baths and the Yaçna ceremony, which means the partaking of sacramental bread (*darun*) and ritual beverage (*haoma*), with a ceremony close to *lofani* (see pp. 225 ff.). A difference between the Nâhn and the Mandaean *ṭamasha* is that for the latter no priest is required.

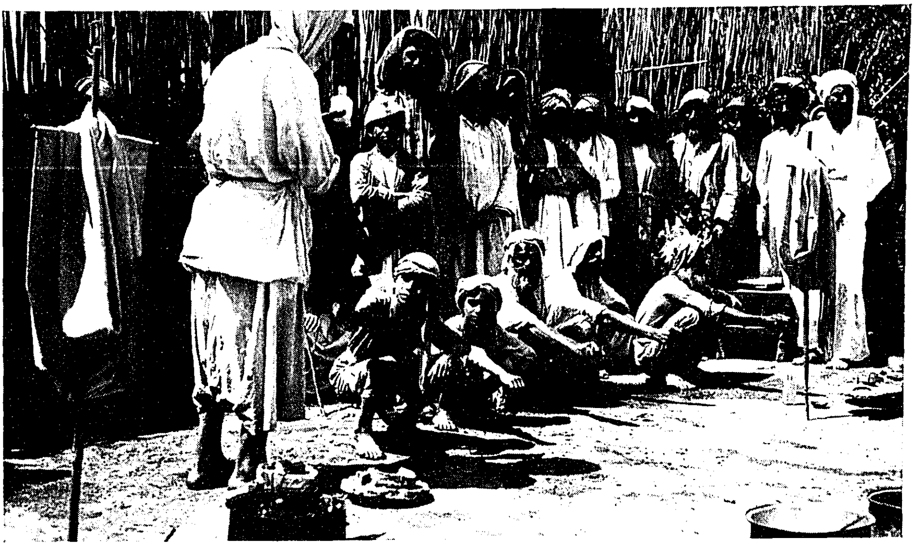
6. The Pâdyâb must be performed after answering calls of nature, on rising, and before meals (JJM., p. 93).

7. *Menstruation.* (a) *Parsis and Old Persian.* 'Issue make the person whether male or female, unclean. Not only the person, but those who come into contact with him or her, before he or she has purified himself or herself with a bath, gets unclean' (JJM., p. 170).

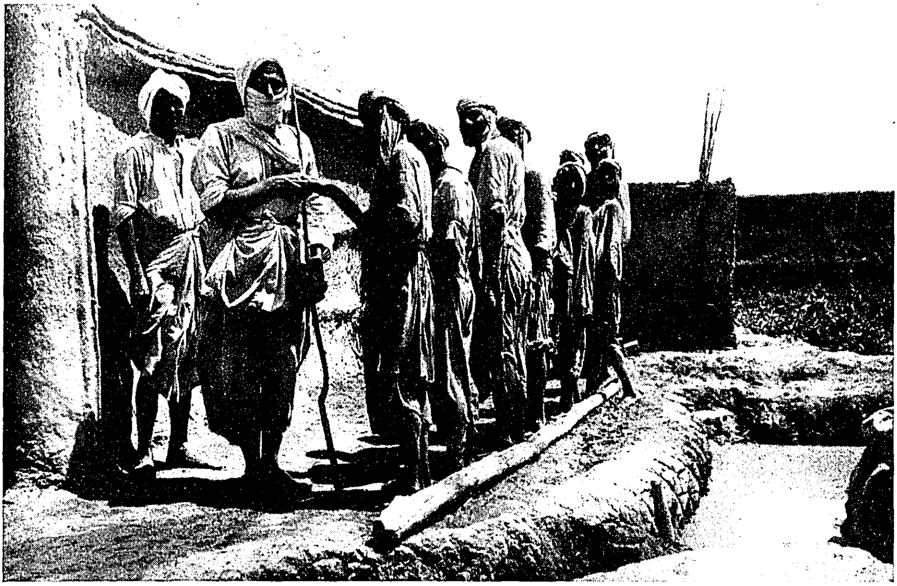
'It appears that in ancient Iran . . . every village or street had also a Dastânistân, or a house for women in menses. . . . It was enjoined that such a place should be about 15 kadams (about 13 yards) distant from household fire, water, and places of worship, and 3 kadams (about 2½ yards) distant from places frequented by men. (Vend. xvi, 2). . . . They were not to touch anything. Anything that they touched became unclean. If they had their children with them, and if these children were to be taken out of their Dastânistân, their hands were first to be washed, and then their whole bodies washed with water. If a person touched a woman in her menses he became unclean. If he did that by chance or unintentionally, he was to purify himself by a bath. . . .' (JJM., pp. 171–2).

Sir Jīvanjī describes the food prescribed for the menstruating woman and says, 'They were to take their meals in utensils made of metal and not clay or wood, because the latter, being more porous than the former, are likely to secrete the impurities and thus likely to do harm to the health of those who later on used those utensils again. Again, they are not to use their naked hands for eating but they are to put on *dastanehs* (gloves) or *kissehs* (i.e. glove-like bags) over their hands and then to eat by means of spoons.'

'On the day after that on which the issue stops, she has to purify herself by a bath before coming into contact with other persons and things. . . . Her bedding and outer clothing also were to be washed and cleaned. Those who came into contact with her had also to wash themselves. . . . Dastur Darab Pahlan, in his Persian Farziat-Nameh, gives the following injunctions, based on what he calls Pahlavi Zend and Pazend writings. (1) On finding the symptoms, the woman is to change at once her ordinary clothings. (2) She is to seek a sequestered place and keep herself away from, or not see, water, fire, holy man, the sun, moon, sky, mountains, stars, and trees. (3) Whatever she sees suffers harm or diminution (*jurm* جرم) (4) While eating, she must put on her hands a piece of old cloth and eat with a spoon; while drinking, she must not let a single drop of water fall over her body. (5) She must keep herself aloof for three to nine days and then wash herself with *gaomez* and water. (6) If she has unwittingly failed



a. Giving the *mambuha*



b. The *kus̲h̲ta*

SACRAMENTS

to observe any of these regulations, she is to say a *patet* or repentance prayer . . .' (JJM., pp. 173 ff.).

(b) *Ṣābian.* Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed,* iii, xlvii; Ch. Ṣ., ii, 483, mentions similar theories as to menstruation amongst the Ṣābians of Harrān and says that a Ṣābian thought himself polluted even by wind which had passed over a menstruating woman. A barber on account of his blood-letting and hair-cutting was unclean, and 'whosoever had passed a razor over his body was also unclean until he had purified himself by ablution'.

(c) *Jewish.* Leviticus belonging to the priestly authorship, i.e. late in date, may well have been influenced by Persian conceptions as to uncleanness. Cf. Lev. xv. 19–30.

8. See p. 43.

9. See Chapter XI.

10. Parsis of both sexes should take a purificatory bath (Nâhn) after sexual intercourse.

11. For the novitiate of priests, see p. 154.

12. See note 1, Chap. 1.

13. *The Ris̲h̲ama and the Pâdyâb.* 'The Pâdyâb is the simplest form of purification or ablution which a Parsee has to go through several times during the day. The word Pâdyâb is the modern form of Avesta *paiti-ap* whose Pahlavi form is *padyav.* It means 'throwing water (*av*) over (*paiti*) the exposed parts of the body'. The following is the process of the Pâdyâb: There are three parts of the process, which all together are known as Pâdyâb-kusti. The central or the second part is the Pâdyâb proper, which is preceded and followed by a prayer. The person performing the Pâdyâb says at first . . . "I do this for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda". Then he recites the short formula of As̲h̲em Vohu. Having recited it, he washes his face and the exposed portions of his body, such as the face, hands, and feet. This is the Pâdyâb proper' (JJM., p. 92).

The Ris̲h̲ama resembles the Muslim ritual ablution. Like Mandaeans, Muslims utter a short prayer appropriate to each action. (See Wortabet's *Religion in the East,* p. 212.) These ablutions should be performed before each prayer-time.

14. See pp. 205 ff. The Mandaean ritual use of myrtle is certainly akin to the Zoroastrian *barsom* rites. In modern Parsi ritual metal twigs are used, but in former times the twigs of a shrub or tree were employed. The Mandaean formula spoken when smelling myrtle or any other sweet-scented plant, '*riha ḏ hiia basim*' (the perfume of Life is well-pleasing), recalls a long line of ancient rituals connected with fertility and life. The pictographic representation of a man holding a branch to his nose was found on a prehistoric tablet at Warka (Published in *II. Vorbericht* of the Warka Excavations). Cf. Ezekiel viii. 25, describing 'abominations', i.e., sun and planet worship; women weeping for Tammuz, twenty-five men worshipping the sun towards the East—'lo, they put the branch to their nose'.

Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility.

15. *Pihtha.* Zimmern ('Das vermuth. babyl. Vorbild des Pehtā', &c., *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, p. 959) suggests a connexion between the *pihtha*, the Mandaean sacramental wafer, and the Babylonian rites of *pit pī* ('opening of the mouth') and *mis pī* ('washing of the mouth'). Certainly, in Mandaean ritual meals for the dead, priestly comments on the ritual (e.g. in Alf Trisar Shiala) suggest that the soul of a dead person is cut off from vitality and functions until a ritual meal has been provided for it. Moreover, in the Sharh d Parwanaia, the 'dukhrana rba' or yearly mass for the dead performed at the spring feast, is called the Pthaha (Opening); and, lastly, Pthahil is the genius who receives the dead. But there is extremely little to prove such a theory, as there are constant references to 'gates'.

16. The Litlata community have now built a *mandi* set in a pleasant garden, and to ensure the cleanliness of their *yardna* have bricked and bitumened the pool into which the water flows. A shelter is provided for spectators and a clean and well-built room in which men and women can change into their *rastas*.

17. Professor Lietzmann (*Ein Beitrag zur Mandäerfrage*, p. 599) sees in the Syrian Christian use of the word *yardna* for 'font' a proof that the Mandaeans derive their baptism from Christian ritual. He adduces as further proof (ibid.) that the Syrian Church let the preliminaries of baptism take place while the font was empty of water and only later let in the water for the actual immersion. For this admitting of the water the word *para* is used. In Mandaean legend, (GR., p. 191) Manda d Hiia orders John to 'let the *yardna* flow free' and the verb is again *para*. Now this flowing free is necessary in the *mandi*-pool, and if the priest perceives that the water is getting sluggish, he orders a better clearing of the water channels, so that the water may be 'living', i.e. 'flowing free'. Lietzmann says 'Der gesamte Ritenkomplex der mandäischen Taufe ist eine Nachbildung des Taufrituals der christlichen Syrer. Das gilt auch von der Bezeichnung aller Taufgewässer als "Jordan", welche man nach Lidzbarskis Vorgang für uralt hält und als Beweis für die Herkunft der Mandäer von einer am Jordan lebender Täufersekte anzusehen pflegt. . . . Aus allem was bisher dargelegt worden ist, ergibt sich folgendes: die Mandäer haben mit Johannesjüngern der urchristlichen Periode nichts zu tun. Vielmehr sind alle Johannesgeschichten in der mandäischen Literatur aus dem Neuen Testament und der christlichen Legende geschöpft und erst in arabischer Zeit, also frühestens im 7. Jahrhundert, dem religiösen Bilderkreis dieser Sekte eingefügt worden' (p. 601).

That the entire John story is derived from Christian sources is possible, though doubtful, since, as Lidzbarski pointed out, there are such unaccountable omissions and differences in the Mandaean stories about John which occur also in the New Testament.

The idea that the entire Mandaean sacramental liturgy is also stolen ('a copy of the East Syrian Christian Liturgy' is the expression used by Professor Lietzmann) is scarcely tenable. The Mandaean conception of the sacraments is nearer to that of the Zoroastrians than to that of the Christians, and has an essential unity lacking in the Christian rites. That in primitive Christian rites there was close resemblance to Mandaean and Zoroastrian beliefs, rituals, and liturgies is probable, but all the evidence goes to prove that Mandaeism and Christianity developed in different centres and under different influences.

Certainly, as Brandt (*Jüdische Baptismen*), Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* pp. 277–96), and Reitzenstein point out, baptism cults were spread so widely over a number of sects that it would be extremely difficult to say how each separate rite originated. The Elkasiites practised it, not only as a single rite, but repeatedly as a purification, like the Mandaeans.

'Die Sitte der wiederholten Waschungen und Lustrationen ist bekanntlich uralt und weltverbreitet', says Bousset. With the Essenes, (v. Josephus, vol. iv. p. 222) ablution was a form of baptism, for it took place before the daily communal meal, or if a brother had contaminated himself by touching another of lower grade of initiation, or at the acceptance of a novice as a member of the order. Other Jewish sects, such as the Hemerobaptists, practised ceremonial lustrations: 'We deplore your conduct, you who utter the Divine Name in the morning without bathing.'

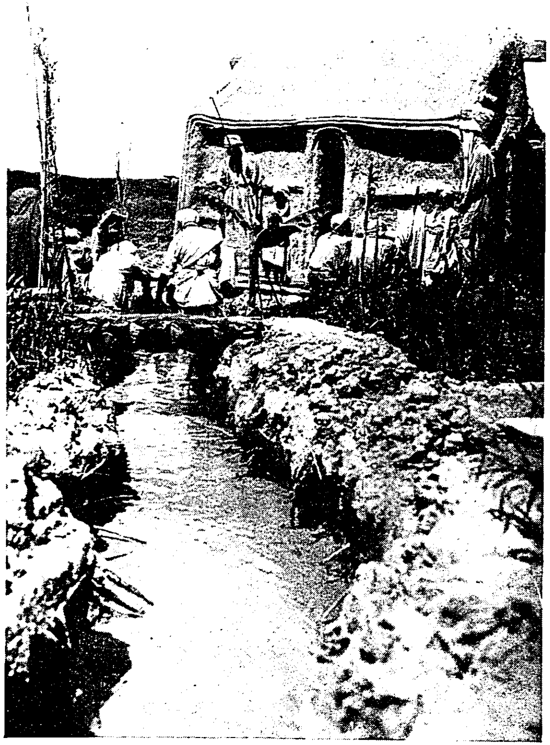
That purificatory immersions were a part of religious ritual for thousands of years in Iraq before the Christian era, I have already indicated.

VIII

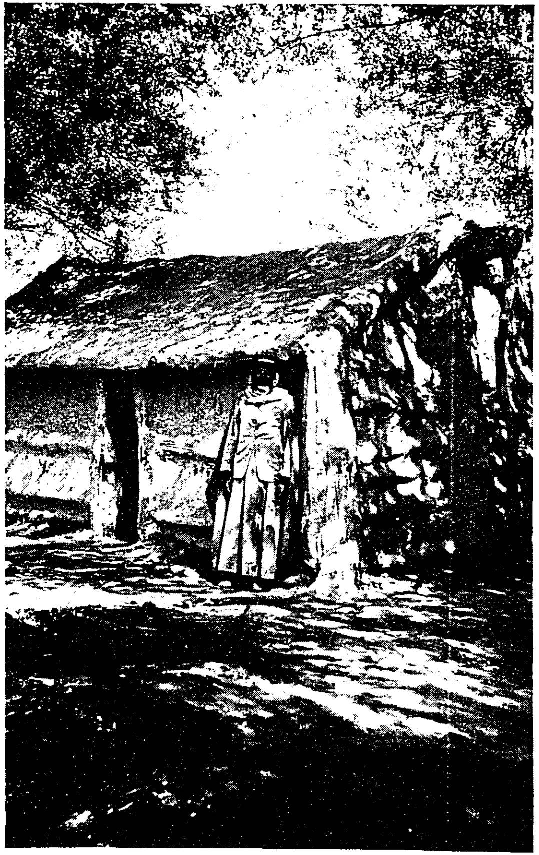
THE MANDA OR CULT-HUT, KNOWN AS THE MANDI

THE *mandi*, or cult-hut, called a *manda* or *mashkhana* in Mandaean texts, is one of the most striking features of present-day Mandaeism. The fact that exact rules as to its building and form must be observed, that the use of reeds and mud is enjoined for its construction (in a country where brick is used for important buildings, whether mosque, palace, or church), and, above all, the linking of the hut with a lustration pool of running water, all this seems to point to connexion with an ancient and primitive water-cult. Construction, proportions, materials, and shape are prescribed by written and oral tradition, and Mandaeans assure me that this is extremely ancient—'from Adam'. It is true that a legend exists that 'before Yahya, the *mandi* was like a house of crystal, but when the Mandai were chased away from 'Ur Shalam, they had to adopt a type of building easily erected'. This is the kind of tale they like to tell about ancient times, and, as crystal is often believed to be a kind of solidified water, it might mean an accentuation of the water-cult idea, i.e. a house of water. Sumerian and Babylonian representations of Ea, Lord of the Waters, sitting in a cabin of flowing waters come to mind: and Mrs. van Buren's fascinating *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, which traces in glyptic art the cult of this god of the deep and rivers from archaic to neo-Babylonian times, is suggestive in this connexion, for it illustrates how continuous and deeply inherent is a religious attitude towards water in a people dependent upon rivers and floods for the fertility of their land. I have already discussed (pp. 10 ff.) the possible derivation of the word *manda* applied to the cult-hut. I cannot explain why in speech *manda* has become *mandi*, which suggests the plural *mandi(a)*. The *mandia* I have seen vary slightly in size, but not in proportion or general plan. During the five days preceding Panja (the five

PLATE 19



a. The *Mandi*, Litlata, showing channel to *Mandi* pool



b. The *Mandi* Qalʿat Salih

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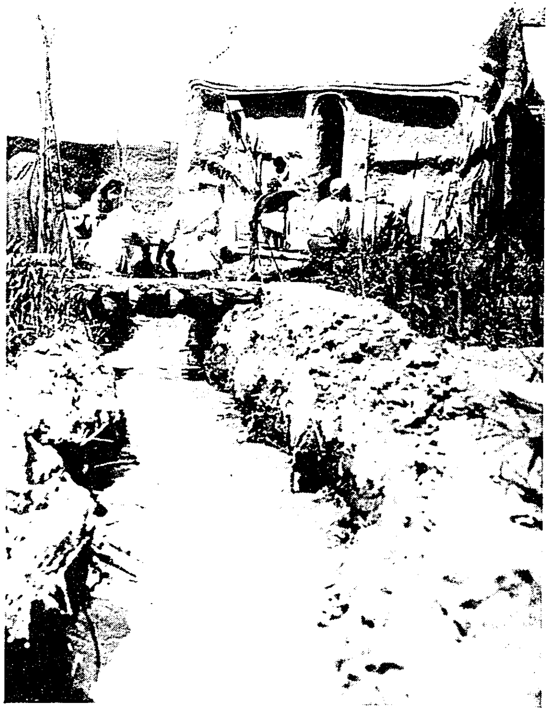
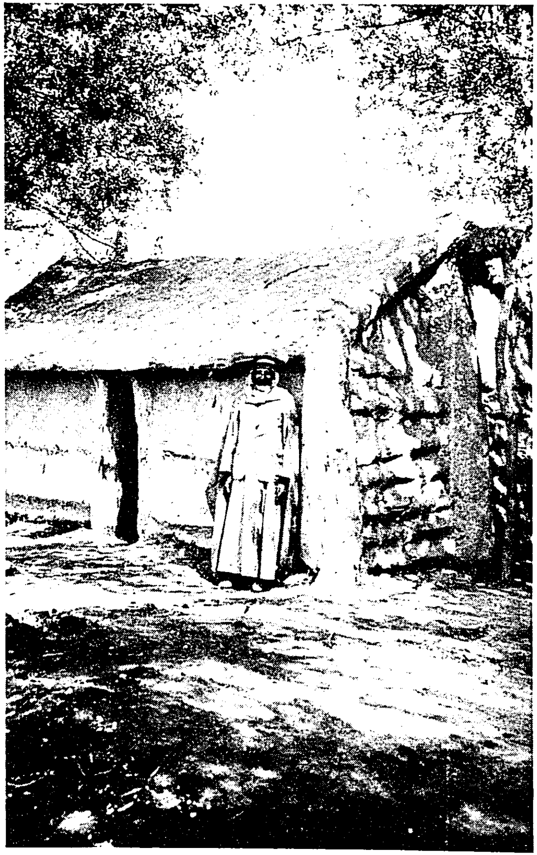
THE *mandi*, or cult-hut, called a *manda* or *mashkhana* in Mandaean texts, is one of the most striking features of present-day Mandaeism. The fact that exact rules as to its building and form must be observed, that the use of reeds and mud is enjoined for its construction (in a country where brick is used for important buildings, whether mosque, palace, or church), and, above all, the linking of the hut with a lustration pool of running water, all this seems to point to connexion with an ancient and primitive water-cult. Construction, proportions, materials, and shape are prescribed by written and oral tradition, and Mandaeans assure me that this is extremely ancient—'from Adam'. It is true that a legend exists that 'before Yahya, the *mandi* was like a house of crystal, but when the Mandai were chased away from 'Ur Shalam, they had to adopt a type of building easily erected'. This is the kind of tale they like to tell about ancient times, and, as crystal is often believed to be a kind of solidified water, it might mean an accentuation of the water-cult idea, i.e. a house of water. Sumerian and Babylonian representations of Ea, Lord of the Waters, sitting in a cabin of flowing waters come to mind: and Mrs. van Buren's fascinating *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, which traces in glyptic art the cult of this god of the deep and rivers from archaic to neo-Babylonian times, is suggestive in this connexion, for it illustrates how continuous and deeply inherent is a religious attitude towards water in a people dependent upon rivers and floods for the fertility of their land. I have already discussed (pp. 10 ff.) the possible derivation of the word *manda* applied to the cult-hut. I cannot explain why in speech *manda* has become *mandi*, which suggests the plural *mandi*(*a*). The *mandia* I have seen vary slightly in size, but not in proportion or general plan. During the five days preceding Panja (the five

PLATE 19



a. The *Mandi*, Litlata, showing channel to *Mandi* pool



b. The *Mandi* Q̣al'at Salih

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of reeds or a mud wall round it (not
pose is to screen the rites from the eyes
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e south of the hut and fed from the river
el, another channel (Plate 19) conveying
from the *mandi* and back to the river or
he object being that the water shall be
ing, and the pool hold 'living' and not

pool are enclosed by the reed fence or
which passes over both water-channels.
ersion ceremonies with the subsequent
white silk banner, *dravsha* (*drabsha*), is
nk of the pool to the south-east and right

imple construction of reeds and reed-mats
with mud. Reed-huts (or *ṣarāif*) are the
of the inhabitants of the marshes, and the
of the south; whereas the black hair tent
esert Arab, or such wanderers as the
iyah (gipsies) (Mandaean *naiir*), that is to
and herdsman rather than the settled or
esman. The villages of the marsh-Arab
y of reeds, whereas the shepherd and
bes of the waterless desert use exclusively
en tent. If a nomad tribe settles, it at
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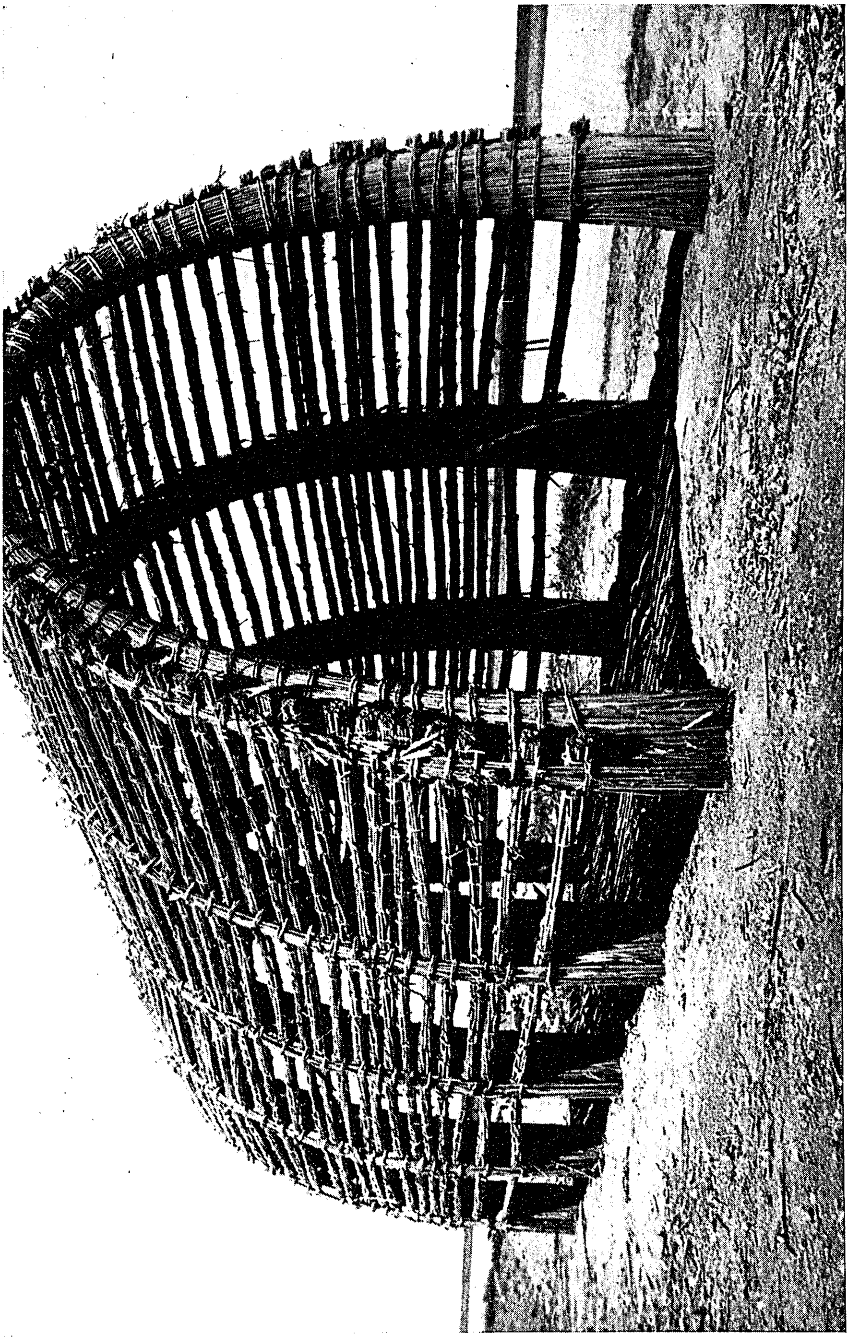
ase of the Beni Tamīm, who have become
e past fifteen years. Almost any southern
m Baghdad downwards, has a suburb of
ited by *fellaḥīn* (agricultural labourers)
pulation of Maʿdān Arabs who bring in
wls, or sheep to town markets.

There are several types of reed huts, the most common being the *kūkh*, the supporting framework of which is bundles of reeds tied and bound together at the top so as to form half-hoops. This is used almost exclusively in the marshes. The next type is the *jemāli*, which is more permanent and weather-proof in character, and differs in construction. A ridge-pole is supported, either by two forked poles or by two bundles of reeds, each split at one end into a fork.[2] The ridge-pole gives the reed-matting thrown over it its main support, and the roof slopes down, therefore, steeply to the low side walls, the end walls being higher, as in an English thatched cottage. The walls consist of standing bundles of thick reeds (*qaṣab*) bound tightly together by thinner split reeds softened by immersion (*bardi*), or ropes made of rushes, with cross-wise bundles fastened transversely to the uprights. The reed-matting which covers both roof and walls is often daubed with mud, and the walls in more permanent communities undergo a logical development and are built of *liban* (mud) instead of reeds. The semi-nomad then becomes a house-dweller.

The *jemāli* grows increasingly common the nearer one approaches to Basrah, or to any Persian border, and in Southern Iran it is almost universal. I am told that the 'thatched cottage' type of hut with reed roof, or reed roof reinforced by rough thatching above four mud walls, is found in numbers near the Caspian Sea, where travellers are reminded of the thatched cob cottages of Devon. The pent roof may have been devised so that snow can slide off on to the ground.

The *mandi* is of the *jemāli* type, which suggests an Iranian origin. It is oblong in shape, the north and south walls being the long walls, and is built so that a person entering the small opening in the middle of the south wall will face the North Star, towards which a person should direct his gaze when praying. The door-opening is narrow, only about 14 inches wide, and is about 60 to 65 inches high. The top of the entrance is narrower, and the mud with which the reed substructure is plastered is



Reed guest-house, framework showing *s͟hebāb* and *aḥtār*. *Kūk͟h* type

moulded into a rough triple arch. A *mandi* should also have a triple moulding about its entire south face called the *miṣra*, but this is not invariably made. The ridge-pole projecting from the *mandi* is supported by two strong bundles of reeds daubed with mud, and in the case of the two *mandia* which I first examined the ridge-pole projecting from the building had further support in the shape of two poles, forked at the top to receive it. These supporting poles, of olive-wood, were some inches away from the actual reed-supports, and were entirely clear of the building itself, for the ridge-pole, which runs east and west, was longer than the hut. The dimensions may differ, but, Mandaeans inform me, the number of reed bundles may not vary. The verticals from the ground to the ridge-pole (*ard̲h̲ana*)[3] on the east and west sides of the *mandi* (including the verticals in which the *ard̲h̲ana* lies) are called *s̲h̲ebāb* (sing. *s̲h̲ebbah̤*, the ordinary marsh-Arab word for a bundle of reeds). The *aḥtār* or horizontals up to the pole are seven in number, so that there are forty-two in all. The two upright bundles or *s̲h̲ebāb* which support the ridge-pole are also called *tikm* (sing. *tikmah̤*). The part of the *tikmah̤* which projects from the plastered face of the wall measures about 57 centimetres. The photograph of the *mandi* at Litlata illustrates the manner in which the cross-pieces are used. The slanting supports visible in the north and south walls of the Litlata *mandi* are called *gadfi*, wings; or, in Arabic *ajnāḥ*, and are seven in number, four slanting north and three south.

The interior of the *mandi* shows its construction even better than the exterior, but I was unable to take a photograph owing to the absence of light. From within one sees that beneath the reed-matting (*bāriyah̤*, plur. *bawāri*) there is a layer of stout reeds bound loosely together with string so as to keep them in place (the string being twisted round each reed but not tied), a fabric which recalls the reed-screens made by nomad women to shut off their part of the tent from the men's. Across this at right angles, on both slanting sides of the roof, are placed seven bundles of reeds, and athwart these again three long bundles run from east to west. There is no window and no inner decoration. The only detail to be noticed in the interior is the presence of two pegs called *s͟hugāsa* which project, like a V placed sideways, from each *tikmaḥ* at the east and west ends of the structure. The point of the V is not closed, and I was told that the object of the pegs was to provide support for a dish or for clothes.

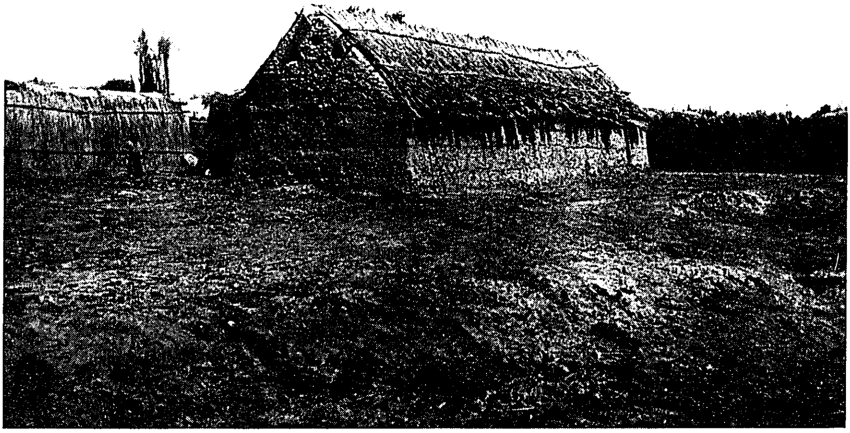
No iron or nail is employed in the building at all, but that may have no ritual significance, since the same might be said of any reed hut in the marshes. The only lighting is from the door, and there is no interior decoration or floor covering.

The hut-interior is not used for any cult in which laymen take part and even the *zidqa brik͟ha*, or solemn eating for the dead, takes place without its walls, though within the enclosure.

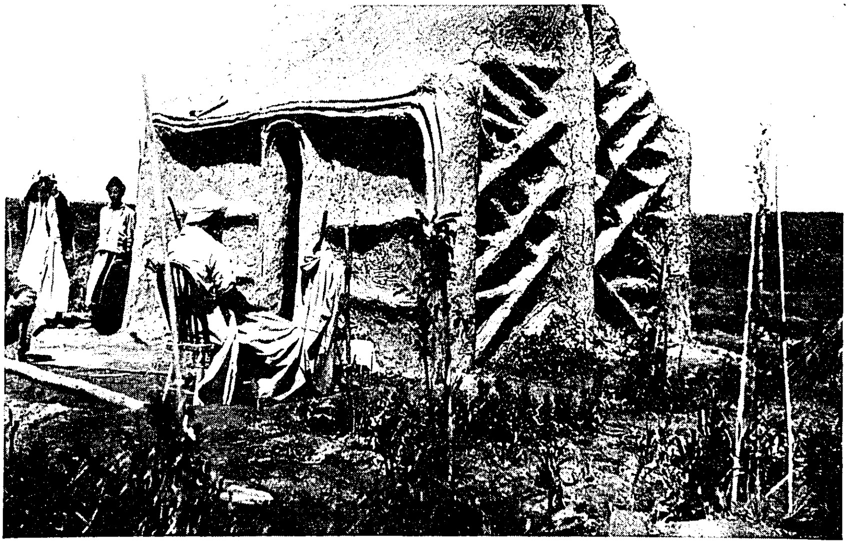
The pool is usually reached by a rough step, so that the candidate for ablution may step up and down without difficulty. It is deeper at one end, so that children and adults can find the depth suited to their height.

The hut must be re-consecrated yearly after the pollution caused by the five days preceding Panja (which are dedicated to the five powers of darkness), and this ceremony takes place before the last day of Panja (or Parwanaia). I was in Qalʿat Salih twice when the re-consecration took place. The first time I saw the ceremony (called in the *raṭna* Taraṣa d̲ mandi) in part and the second time I witnessed it practically from beginning to end, the complete *taraṣa* lasting from twelve to eighteen hours without a break.[4]

On each occasion, although I was in my place of observation within the *mandi* enclosure at an early hour, I was too late to observe the preliminaries, which consisted of the sweeping and cleaning of the enclosure and the tidying of the banks of the pool. The *mandi* hut had been replastered with fresh mud moulded over the door so as to form a triple arch, rounded at the top. As this appears well in my illustrations, I need not describe it further. To the right of the *mandi* were planted two



a. Jemāli type hut, near Basrah, with clay walls



b. Mandi at Litlata

*dravs̲h̲a*s, or ritual banners, and beside them the clay table (*ṭoriana*) with its usual furniture, and a fire on the ground, constantly replenished with lustrated reeds. The ground in front of the hut was prepared by a barefoot attendant. He made shallow furrows or runnels about 3 inches wide (known as *miṣri*) from the cult-hut down to the pool, the loose earth being placed in a basket and removed. The first furrow ran from the right door-post, the second from the left door-post, the third was to the right of the first, the fourth ran from the southern corner of the east wall, and the fifth from the southern corner of the west wall. These furrows or runnels went down in straight lines, and a careful order was evidently observed. Lastly, he traced a furrow horizontally from the third to the fourth runnel, leaving an almost square patch by the hut (marked B in my roughly sketched plan). These furrows or *miṣri* (sing. *miṣra*) enclose purified areas, and should a chance impurity pollute one of the sections enclosed by them, it can be re-purified independently of the others. Nothing could be closer to the *kars̲h̲a* of the Parsis, and the enclosed area corresponds to the *pâvi*.[5] Such a chance pollution occurred the second time that I watched the ceremony. A small child stepped over the *miṣra*. An officiating priest immediately went back into the pool, and after ablution ceremonies performed on himself, soused the spot by throwing bowlfuls of water over it, while repeating a formula of purification.

Pots, bowls, tongs, mill-stones, basins, pestle and mortar (*hāwan*), knives (haftless) used during the ceremony were taken within the purified areas after having been immersed three times in the pool with the usual 'Bahram' formula (see p. 49). The white muslin cloth (new) used for sifting the wheat flour was also immersed, and even a needle (at which point in the ritual this was used I could not discover).

A *ganzibra*, two priests, and two *s̲h̲ganda*s took part in the *taraṣa*, but the *ganzibra* (S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Rūmī) was not throughout the chief officiant; towards the end of the proceedings he played the role of a dead man, for the *taraṣa* must be 'in the name' of a *rish 'ama* (see p. 173), in this case in the name of one Bahram Yahya, great-great-grandfather of Shaikh Rūmī himself, so that he was personating his own ancestor.[6] (The *rish 'ama* must be of the highly honoured priestly family of 'Manduiia'.) For this reason he put on later a completely new *rasta*, for (as will be seen presently when I describe *lofani* rites) those who represent the dead must wear new ritual garments. The chief officiant, next to the *ganzibra*, was a priest, Shaikh 'Abdullah, who had been through his ablution and sacraments at dawn, and my arrival at the *mandi* found him performing the elaborate ceremonies which qualified him to play his part, which was, first, to administer the five sacraments to the *ganzibra*, fellow priest, and the two *shgandas*. The usual preliminaries for an officiating priest followed: the making of the myrtle wreath, the dedication and arrangement of the garments, placing of the *pandama* before the mouth, and so on. Shaikh 'Abdullah then baptized in turn the *ganzibra*, his fellow priest, and the two *shgandas*, and when all were assembled on the bank in their wet garments, the 'signing' with crushed sesame followed, the difference from the usual sacrament being that the priest and *ganzibra* joined the officiant in intoning prayers throughout instead of observing silence like laymen, or like the *shgandas*. Shaikh 'Abdullah then daubed a small recess or niche in the eastern exterior wall of the *mandi* with fresh wet mud, filled his *qanina*, and sprinkled the wall with water from the pool. He next made the *pehtha* (sacramental bread). Taking a handful of flour and salt, he went to the pool, kneaded it with a little water in his palm, then plunged the closed fist containing the dough together with his other hand into the water. Returning, he placed the dough, patted into a round, on the fire (which was continually fed by washed reeds), setting it on the hot ashes and covering it with burning fuel. In a few moments it was baked. He put some morsels of it in the recess referred to above, and then administered the sacraments of bread and water to the four communicants. Again, the proceeding differed from the usual administration to laymen, for the *pehtha* and *mambuha* were given one after the other to each individual at one time, instead of making two rounds of it. The blessing was next given, and the celebrant moved backwards and forwards along the line several times, placing his hand on each head. Later came the usual oath to the *yardna*, the communicants stretching their right arms out behind them in the direction of the *river*, not the pool (this is an invariable rule, as the river although it feeds the pool, may in its twistings lie in any direction, while the *mandi* must always be on the right bank facing the north with its pool to the south of it). Throughout the baptism and sacraments the celebrant alone covered his face with the *pandama*, but the *ganzibra* and priest retained their staves (*margna*s). Then all stood, and those of priestly rank began to recite, the *shganda*s remaining silent. The usual final *kushṭa* or hand-grasp was given to the officiant, who thereupon ate *pehtha* and drank *mambuha*. The long prayers and ceremonies followed which release the various parts of the *rasta* from the special sanctity given them by their consecration in the initial ceremonies. The *ganzibra* and priest joined in these, and when *klila*s and *tagha*s were removed the former (the myrtle wreaths) were thrown into the water.

Thus ended what might be termed the first chapter of the ceremonies. The second part showed the priests in the role of slaughterers, millers, cooks, and bakers, and the sacred areas within the *miṣri* became the scene of busy activity.

In the temporary lull, I observed that all pots and pans which had been ceremonially dipped before being taken into the *miṣri* had been previously re-tinned, inside and out, for they lay gleamingly white on the ground.

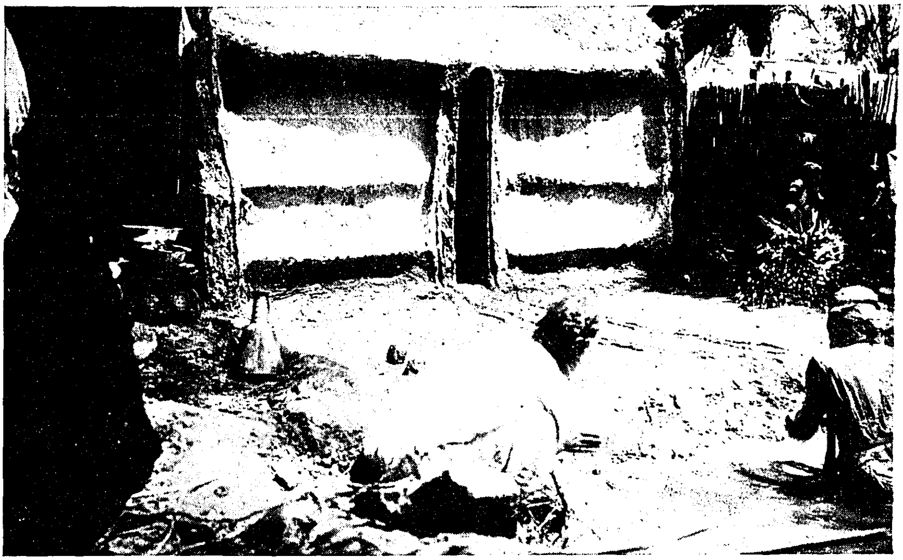
The *ganzibra* prepared for his labours by removing his turban and stole, and flinging them on the roof of the *mandi*, thus showing his long hair looped in small plaits close to his head. The two priests partly disrobed, and all set to work to brush the sections divided by the *miṣri*, sweeping all loose fragments of clay and rubbish into the pool.

Three balls of clay, almost round, were left, however, in section A, and these were used later, I suppose, to support dishes put on the fire (i.e. *manāṣīb* in Arabic), but I forgot to inquire their purpose. They can be seen in the photograph. The *ganzibra* now changed his *rasta*, piece by piece, for a new *rasta*, and having done this, went into the pool, ducked under three times, and then, taking a dish, hurled water from it all over the *mandi*, reciting prayers as he did so. The outer walls and roof were thus all washed, but the north wall did not receive as much attention as the others, though water ran down upon it from above. Meanwhile the *ganzibra* was pronouncing the name of the Life and Manda d̲ Hiia upon his labours: '*Us̲h̲ma d̲ Hëi wus̲h̲ma Manda-ṭ-hëi madk̲h̲ar 'illak̲h̲*'.

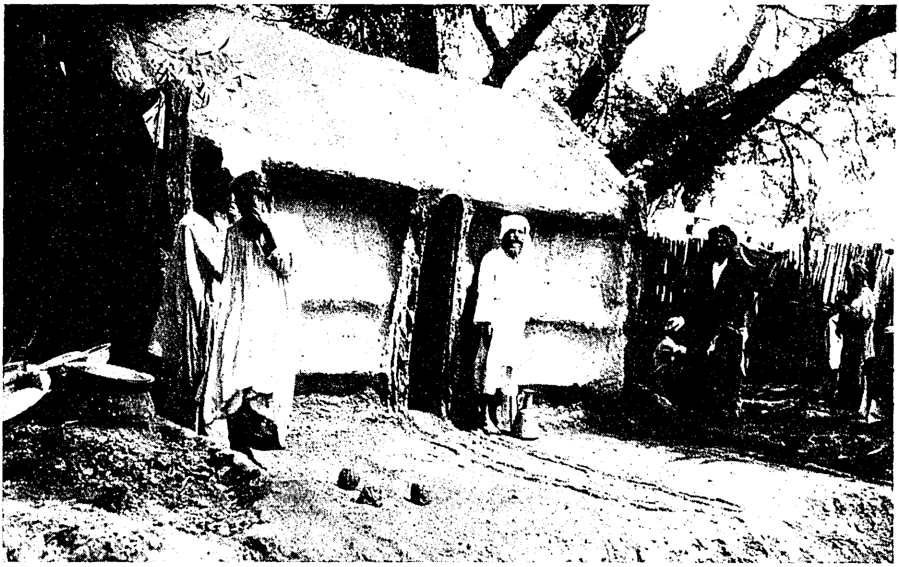
Next, standing upon the threshold of the hut but not entering it, he splashed the interior with water from his dish or basin. A larger tinned basin was washed, filled from the pool, and that done, the *ganzibra* entered the hut, and dipping water from the larger basin, he soused the *mandi* thoroughly within, standing upon the already wetted floor. Roof, beams, and every part received liberal ablution.

A ritual text inscribed with a stylus upon sheets of lead was now brought into the enclosure. It was wrapped in a white cloth, and the bundle plunged three times beneath the water. This text contains the *masiqta* (service for the ascension of the souls of the dead) and the ritual for the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, both offices being recited during the subsequent proceedings. Meanwhile, the *ganzibra* and priests continued to wash the *mandi*, the former within and the latter without.

Next, a *s̲h̲ganda* took from outside a bundle of freshly peeled reeds, and these received the threefold immersion, as did wheat and sesame and various other grains brought in white cloths, like the reeds and wood employed on the fire. So that no purified celebrant should come into touch with impurity, fuel was floated across the pool, and each time that any actor within the *miṣri* came into chance contact with anything from without, he had to immerse three



a. The lustration of façade



b. The cleansed *mandi*

YEARLY CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

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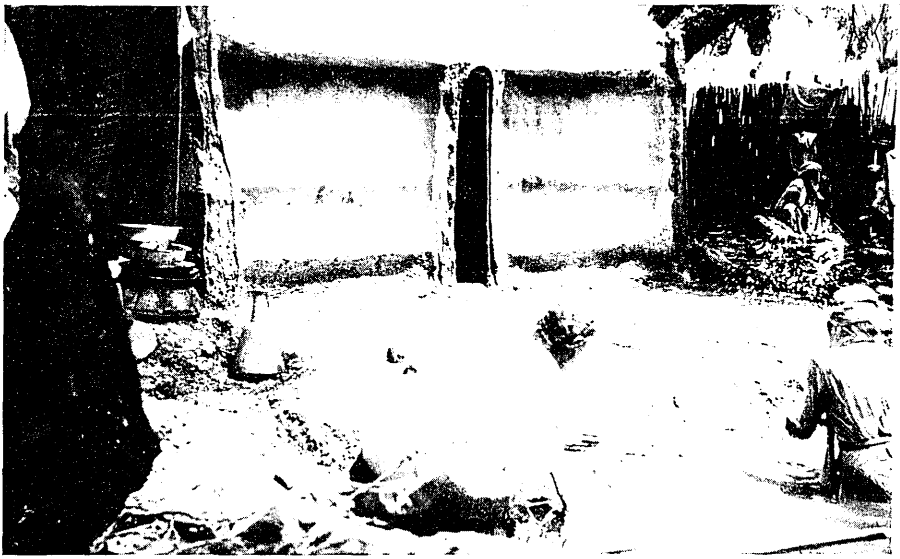
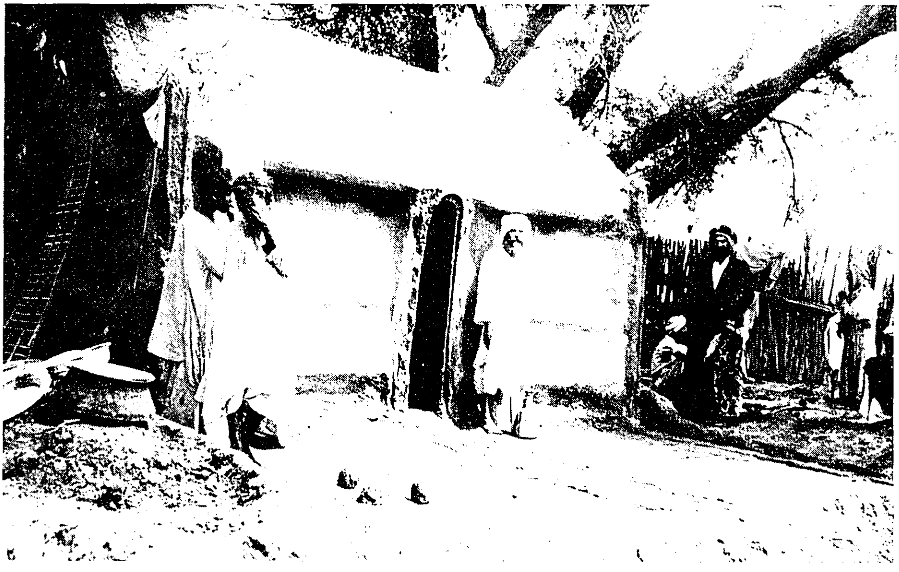


a. The lustration of façade



b. The cleansed *mandi*

YEARLY CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

times. The wet wood and grain (the latter spread out on the white cloths upon the roof of the *mandi*) dried quickly in the sun and wind. I noticed that the ganzibra and priests ate now and again from the grain and fruit, for they had been fasting but for the sacred bread and water, and might not emerge from the *miṣri* for any profane purpose. A fire was lit in space A, the reeds being kindled by a lighted reed thrust in from without the area. One of the washed bundles of reeds was carried within the hut, to be used later for the *brihi*s (incense braziers). Now the priests worked at the preparing of the food, baking bread in flat loaves on the reversed side of a shallow bowl. The five sacred foods brought for the *masiqta* which was later to be performed in the *mandi* hut were:

1. Pomegranate seeds.
2. Coconut.
3. Quince.
4. Walnuts.
5. Raisins, or fresh white grapes when in season.

Besides this there were the 'fruits and vegetables in season' ordered by the ritual for the *zidqa brikha* and the dates, sesame, and salt, whose uses will be presently explained.

At this point, having been present for more than four hours, I was absent for three-quarters of an hour. In the interval various operations were in process. The wheat was being milled within the *mandi*, prior to making the dough which is used for the *masiqta*. In addition, the priests were baking small flat loaf after small flat loaf over the fire, eating to stay their hunger. The raisins and pomegranate seeds were placed on a reed dish for their ablution, and then dried in the sun, so were the other foods intended for the *masiqta* and the *zidqa brikha*. The sesame was cooked a little over the fire, its husk was removed, and it was then placed in a mortar (*hāwan*) and pounded, together with some dates; then the mixture was placed by a priest in a corner of his robe, little by little, and squeezed with a pair of iron tongs, the resultant liquid (*misha*) falling into a *keptha*, and being later transferred to a *qanina*. It is this mixed juice of sesame and date which is used later in the signing of the *faṭiri* (the loaves of the *masiqta*). Only a few drops were extracted from each handful, so that it was a tedious process; nevertheless, they told me, in the year preceding, the priest had succeeded in extracting enough to fill the *qanina*.

On my return, preparations for the *masiqta* were in progress. A dove of the *k͟hirraḥ* species, whole, male, perfect, and especially bred for the purpose,[7] was being held by a small boy outside the consecrated areas, and I found myself obliged to reprimand him for teasing the bird. The bundle of white cloth containing the ritual text inscribed upon lead was opened, one of the lead sheets extracted and placed upright and face outwards against the *mandi* wall within the square marked B.

The *ganzibra* now reappeared in an entirely new and dazzlingly white *rasta*, and underwent the threefold immersion in the pool. On emerging, he prayed silently in the square B. A curious feature of the dove-sacrifice for a *masiqta* is that not a word must be uttered aloud either by the celebrant or the *s͟hganda* who assists him.[8]

The latter, with the dove, the knife to be used in its sacrifice, the stick to be held with the knife, and a sprig of myrtle clasped to his right shoulder, goes down into the pool, and plunges under three times before joining the *ganzibra* in B and taking up a position to the east of him. Facing the *mandi* (i.e. the north), crouching and holding the dove so that in cutting its throat the knife moved from north to south, the *ganzibra* performed the silent sacrifice of the bird. As always, the slaughterer held a stick of wood with the knife. I was told that at this sacrifice the *ganzibra*, holding the dove by its wings, steadies the body of the bird with his bare right foot. I have since acquired a manuscript describing the ritual, and find that this use of the right foot in slaughtering the dove is prescribed.

The body of the dove and the knife were taken by the *s͟hganda* to the pool and immersed thrice, the stick being allowed to float away on the slowly flowing waters. He then rejoined the *ganzibra* in the square of the sacrifice

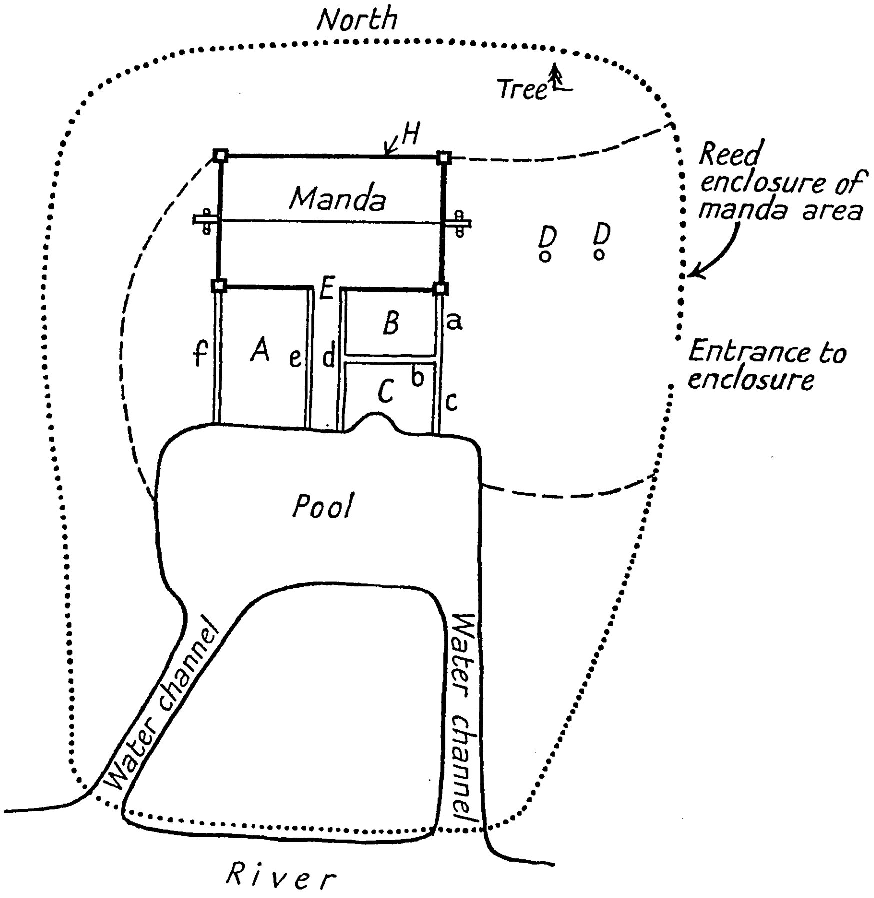

North
Tree
H
Manda
Reed enclosure of manda area
D
D
E
B
a
f
A
e
d
C
b
c
Entrance to enclosure
Pool
Water channel
Water channel
River

FIG. 7. THE *MANDI*

A, B, and C. Sections divided by *miṣri*.
E. Doorway of *Manda*.
D. *Dra-vs̲has*.
H. Place of burial of dove and *faṭiri*.
a, b, c, d, e, and f are the *miṣri*, or furrows.

THE MANDI

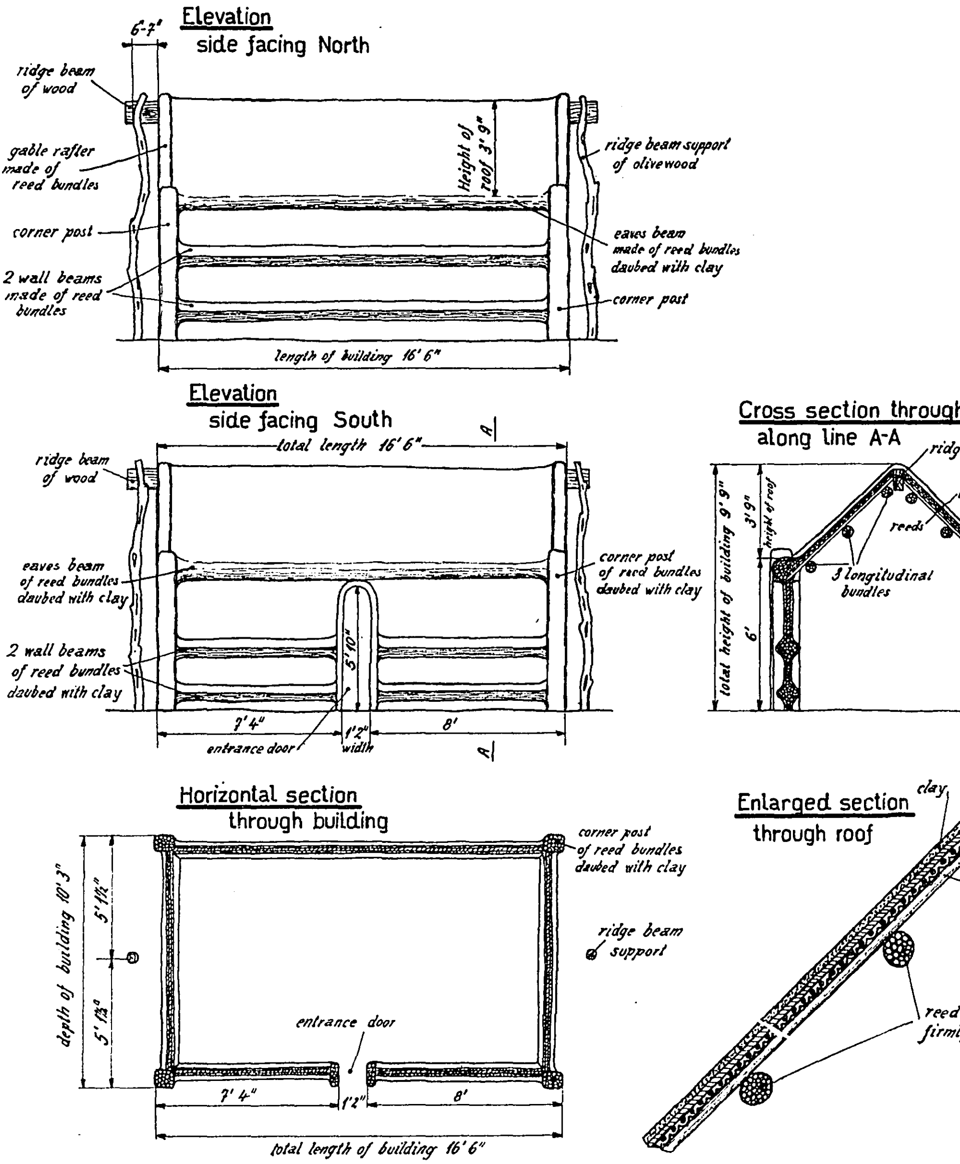

Elevation
side facing North
6-7'
ridge beam of wood
gable rafter made of reed bundles
corner post
2 wall beams made of reed bundles
Height of roof 3' 9"
ridge beam support of olivewood
eaves beam made of reed bundles daubed with clay
corner post
length of building 16' 6"
Elevation
side facing South
A
total length 16' 6"
ridge beam of wood
eaves beam of reed bundles daubed with clay
2 wall beams of reed bundles daubed with clay
5' 10"
corner post of reed bundles daubed with clay
7' 4"
1' 2"
8'
entrance door
width
A
Cross section throug
along line A-A
ridg
reeds
3 longitudinal bundles
total height of building 9' 9"
3' 9"
height of roof
6'
Horizontal section
through building
depth of building 10' 3"
5' 1½"
5' 1½"
corner post of reed bundles daubed with clay
ridge beam support
entrance door
7' 4"
1' 2"
8'
total length of building 16' 6"
Enlarged section
through roof
clay
reed
firm

FIG. 8.

a. Sacrifice of the

b. Pounding of the dates and se

CONSECRATION OF

ce of the dove

ites and sesame (*foreground*)

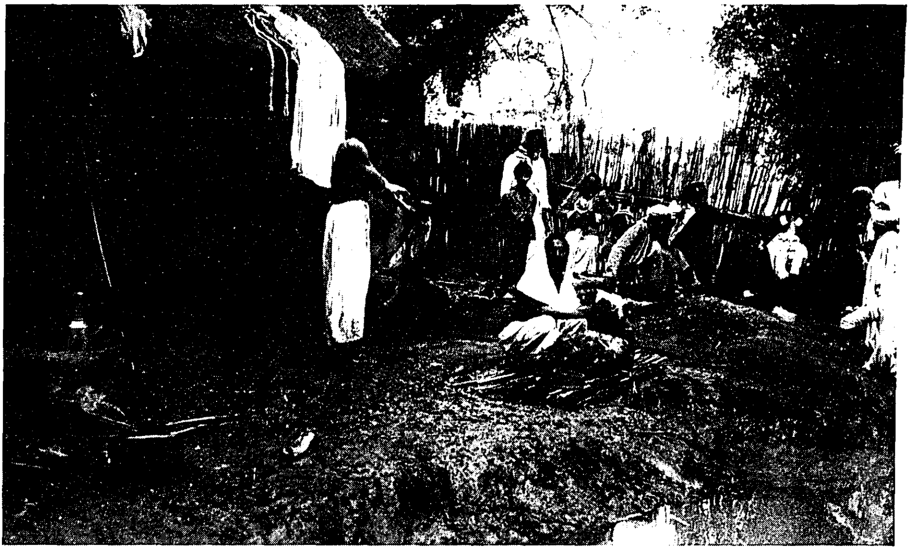
ON OF CULT-HUT

and both left it together. The *ganzibra*, taking the body of the dove, put a little salt on the wound, and passed the cut throat three times into the flame of a burning (and previously lustrated) bundle of reeds held by the *shganda*, after which the corpse was taken inside the *mandi* by the *ganzibra* and the two priests, all three washing their hands before entry into the hut.

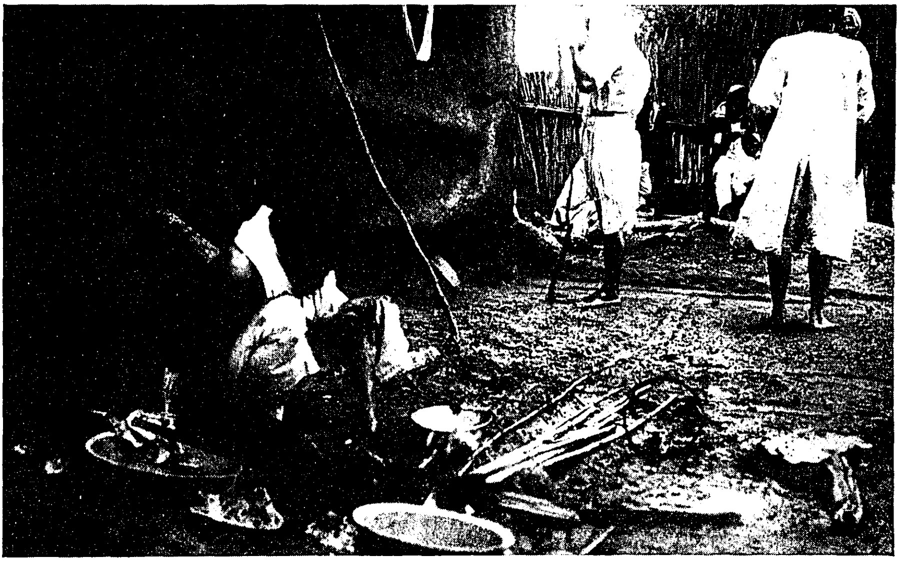
The ritual of the *masiqta* within the *mandi* is identical with that of the *masiqta* performed at the consecration of a priest described in a later chapter. For a description of this, and other *masiqta*s, I have been dependent upon the priests, as none but they are allowed within the cult-hut for its performance. The consecration of the sixty-six *faṭiri*, the solemn eating of the *ṭabutha* with the dove's flesh, the drinking of *hamra*, and the final burial of the remains of the dove and the sixty-six *faṭiri* (sacred bread) with their sacred morsels are all hidden from profane eyes, and the only ceremony that I saw was the completion of the interment of the bundle which contained them in a space to the north-west of the *mandi*. It is never buried beyond the east wall of the *mandi*-hut, and a fresh spot is always chosen. What happens when all the ground has been used I do not know: as this cannot happen for many years, perhaps earlier interments are forgotten, or another *mandi* consecrated. The differences between the *ganzibra*'s *masiqta* and that of the *shwalia* are described more nearly in the last chapter, on 'Eating for the Dead', also the exact nature of the *zidqa brikha* which I witnessed so dimly by the light of candles. But the *zidqa brikha* and the final burial were at the end of a long day's work, and it is my task here to describe what I actually witnessed.

The second victim, whose fat was to be used in the *zidqa brikha*, was a sheep which had been waiting some time outside the consecrated area, but inside the *mandi* enclosure. The priests quitted the *mandi*, leaving the *ganzibra* alone with the dead dove and a *shganda*. His voice was heard chanting from the dark interior. The priests chanted, too, but busied themselves with the second victim and preparations for its slaughter. A bundle of reeds were shortened, taken into the pool and thoroughly washed, then laid on division c making a couch of reeds (*chibasha* or *kibasha*) upon which the victim was to be laid. (I witnessed another slaughter of a sheep for *lofani*, and the victim was laid on a bed of green palm-branches at the side of the river, with a *miṣra* trenched about the spot in a square, the trenches running down into the river.)[9]

The sheep (a male, for no female must be slaughtered) was thrown on its side outside the *miṣri*, its feet tied together, and a *hallali* proceeded to clean its legs and feet. I was informed that, previous to its entry into the *mandi* enclosure, the animal had been induced to evacuate all that was in its bowels by means of a reed introduced into the anus, so that it might not defile the ground. The washing of the feet was so thorough and minute that it took about ten minutes, and after that, the tail and *liyah̤* (fatty base of the tail characteristic of the local species), and all the wool of the hinder parts were washed with equal scrupulousness. Meanwhile, a priest was washing and scrubbing the leaden sheets of the ritual text (defiled, I presume, by the slaughter of the dove). It was at this point that the profanation of the *miṣri* by a child, mentioned earlier, temporarily interrupted proceedings except as regarded the *ganzibra* inside the *mandi*. The untoward episode terminated, the *hallali* lifted the sheep and bore it with him into the pool, plunged himself and the sheep below the surface three times, and, staggering out with difficulty, for the wet sheep with its unshorn fleece was heavy, he placed it on the reeds with its head to the east and its tail to the west. The knife was washed with the usual formula, the bond of rushes which secured the sheaf of reeds was cut so that the reeds flattened out, and a large dish was placed beneath the throat of the animal to catch its blood. Shaikh ʿAbdullah, the priest detailed for the slaughter, performed his *rishama*, splashed water over his staff, touched each part of his *rasta* in consecration, and placed the *tagha* and *klila* on his head with the usual prayers. Silk *tagha*s must be worn at Panja.



a. The slaughter of the sheep



b. In foreground, a priest bakes meat. In background, the ganzibra prays silently before sacrificing the dove

CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

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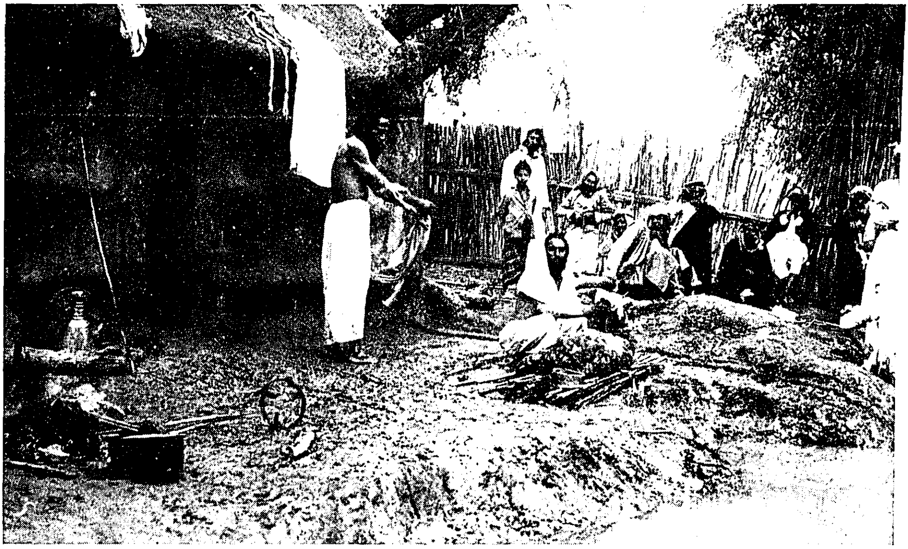
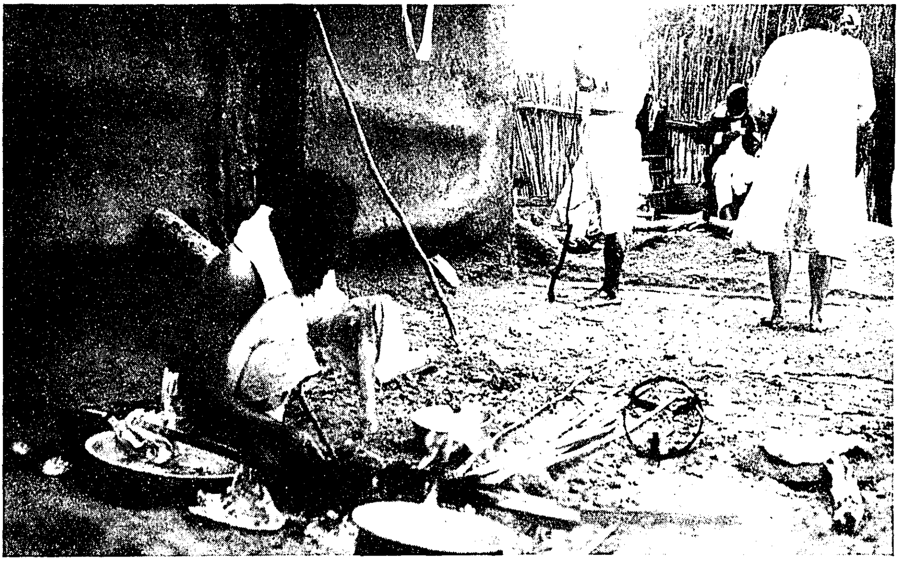


a. The slaughter of the sheep



b. In foreground, a priest bakes meat. In background, the ganzibra prays silently before sacrificing the dove

CONSECRATION OF CULT-HUT

Meanwhile, the other priest and *shganda* were exchanging pleasantries with the onlookers. The *shganda* stood by Shaikh 'Abdullah as witness to the slaughter (for at every slaughter a witness is necessary). Shaikh 'Abdullah squatted to the south of the victim, facing the north, and cut its throat, murmuring into its right ear as he bent over it:

(Pronunciation) '*Bushma d Héi, ushma ad Manda-ṭ-Héi madkhar illakh. Pthahil qariakh, Hiwel Ziwa paqad illakh miniksakh besrakh dakki, kul men ad akhil menakh nihiyi nitessi nitqayyam ushmi ad Héi wushma ad Manda-ṭ-Héi madkhar illakh.*'

(Translation) 'In the Name of the Life! The name of Manda d Hiia is pronounced upon thee. Pthahil calls thee; Hibil Ziwa ordered thy slaughter. Thy flesh is pure; everyone who eats of it shall live, shall be made healthful, shall be established. The name of the Life and the name of Manda d Hiia are mentioned upon thee.'

The knife, like all sacrificial knives or ritual knives used by Mandaeans, was of iron, and was heated red-hot in a fire after the slaughter was complete, so as to purify it absolutely. The customary small stick, about 6 inches in length, was held with it when the throat was cut. This slaughter-stick may be of olive, tamarisk, willow, mulberry, or any 'clean' wood. 'It is forbidden to slaughter with *parzla* (iron) only,' is the only explanation of this custom which I have ever received from the priests.[10] As before, at the slaughter of the dove, both stick and knife were taken down to the pool, Shaikh 'Abdullah descending into the water to purify himself. He took off his clothes, all but the *sharwala*, then immersed himself three times, rubbing the shirt in the water to remove blood-stains, and while the knife, too, was washed carefully, the stick was allowed to float away.

The formula during the purification is:

(Pronunciation) '*Ushma ad Héi ushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey neksīt ib parzla, halilīt byardna ana nakāsa, marey hayāsa ushruley ushwuqley* (*shbuqlai*) *haṭṭai hovey* (*hubai*) *eskhilāthey tuqlāthey shabshāthey diley, Aplan bar Aplana* (the names of the officiant and his mother), *ushma ad Héi ushma ad Manda-ṭ-héi madkhar illey.*'

(Translation) 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia be pronounced upon me. I have slaughtered with iron, I have purified myself in the *yardna*. I am a slaughterer, my lord, pardon! Absolve me and free me from my sin, my trespass, my follies, my errors, and my evil deeds, mine, So-and-So son of So-and-So. The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia be pronounced upon me.'

It will be noticed that no purely *light*-names are invoked in this prayer: the sin incurred is a sin against the Great Life through the taking of life.

Water from the pool was also poured on the throat of the dying sheep, and the priest's wet clothes flung on to the *mandi* roof to dry. When the sheep had gasped its last breath, a torch of burning reeds was brought and applied to its throat. Its four feet and the head were cut off and placed in a dish, and the business of skinning and cutting up was begun by the now semi-naked slaughterer, aided by one of the *s̲h̲gandi*. The wool was first shorn away, then a little of the fat cut off and put inside the *mandi* for the *zidqa brik̲h̲a*. The whole business was performed on the bed of reeds, and at times the priest washed his hands. A log of wood was floated across the pool towards him from without the *miṣri*, and, after this had received its threefold immersion, it was used as a chopping block for the meat. While these lengthy operations were in process, the *ganzibra* emerged again from the *mandi*, performed the *ris̲h̲ama*, and filled two *qanina*s from the pool, taking one within and placing the other by the right doorpost of the *mandi*. Followed by a *s̲h̲ganda*, he again disappeared within the *mandi*, only to issue once in answer to a shouted suggestion about the ritual from a priest (not an officiant), who sat outside the *miṣri*. This priest, who had a roll of the S̲h̲arh d̲ Parwanaia in his hand, had a criticism to make about the way in which the ritual was proceeding. Interruptions of this nature are never resented. A passage from the roll was read, discussed, and the matter settled, and then the *ganzibra* returned to his incantations within the *mandi*. The second priest officiating, S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Faraj, had also by now divested himself of all his *rasta* but his *sharwala* (drawers), dipped under three times in the pool, washed his *rasta*, put on his wet shirt and washed the *sharwala* separately, and then hung them and the rest of his *rasta* above the smoky fire to dry.

The roasting of the meat followed. Small portions of flesh were put in a dish, dipped in salt and then laid as they were on the fire. After a while, the pieces were removed, laid again in salt, and put on a second dish. The result, scorched morsels covered with ashes and salt, looked most unappetizing. Flies were soon busy on the meat, and, as the precautions as to ritual cleanliness had been so scrupulous, I asked about the flies, which certainly had not undergone the threefold ablution.

They smiled. 'We know, but how can we help it? What the air brings, willow-down' [the cotton-like down fell at every puff of wind like snow from the willow trees which grew in the *mandi* enclosure], 'dust, or flies, we cannot help. In any case, flies have no blood, and it is creatures which have blood which are unclean.'

Now and again a priest or *shganda* ate a morsel of the roasted meat. The skin, wool, and some of the uncooked meat were conveyed outside the *mandi*, and the offal was taken by a woman to be cast into the river. When the whole chopping and cooking were over, the blood-stained log and reeds were brought to the fire and used as fuel by degrees.

The third act was now ready to begin, and the two priests clothed themselves in their complete *rasta*s, washed their *margna*s, and, summoned by the *ganzibra* who came out to fill three *qanina*s with water, they all three entered the hut for the reading of the *rahmi* and the rest of the *masiqta* described in the next chapter (see pp. 156 ff.). The sound of their intoning voices droned on for a long time: the afternoon became dusk and then night. From time to time, from outside, I caught a glimpse of swaying bodies as they read the long liturgies.

At last came the final act, the solemn *zidqa brikha* in the name of the dead *rish 'ama*. It was dimly seen by the light of the still burning fire and of two lanterns suspended on sticks. The *ganzibra* and two priests emerged from the hut, crossed the *miṣri* and took their place by the two *dravshas* planted in the ground of the eastern end of the enclosure. First they swept the ground. A large *ṭoriana* was set on the ground, and on this unbaked clay table and another near it were placed salt, bread, orange peel, small pieces of roast mutton fat (from the sacrificed sheep's tail, or *liyah̤*); with rice (the white, not the red *shilib*), fish, raisins, pomegranate seeds, and other eatables, all of a vegetable nature except the fat of the slaughtered sheep and the fish. A *shganda*, emerging ghost-like from the darkness, brought a branch of myrtle and held it over this table of *ṭabutha* or 'good things' as the medley was called. The two *dravshas* were a little to the east of the strange scene. The customary sanctification of the *rasta* took place: piece by piece it was touched and sanctified, the *shganda* sitting facing the priests and holding the branch of myrtle. Then came the *dukhrana*, the 'remembrance' or solemn mention of the blessed souls of those in the world of light, including that of the long-dead *rish 'ama*. The *ganzibra* and the priests each took a handful of the food and held it while one of the priests recited the *zidqa brikha* prayers with the *Abahathan* prayer (see pp. 218–222), and then carried it to their mouths and ate it. The *ganzibra* played a silent part during this ceremony, and the onlookers reminded me that during this *zidqa brikha* he was impersonating his ancestor, in whose name together with that of his wife, the prayers were offered. (For the full ritual of this *zidqa brikha* see pp. 205 ff.).

When some of the food before them had been eaten, the *ganzibra*, holding a piece of myrtle, read from a book. All three placed sprigs of myrtle plume-like into their turbans[11] and, one after another, drank *hamra* from their *kepthas* in the name of the dead. Then the two priests rose, and placing the ends of their stoles upon the head of the crouching and silent figure of the *ganzibra*, prayed. The *ganzibra* then handed the book from which he had read to the officiating priest (Shaikh 'Abdullah), who read from it in his turn. I heard lists of dead persons. 'So-and-So, son of So-and-So, a forgiver of sins may there be for me.'

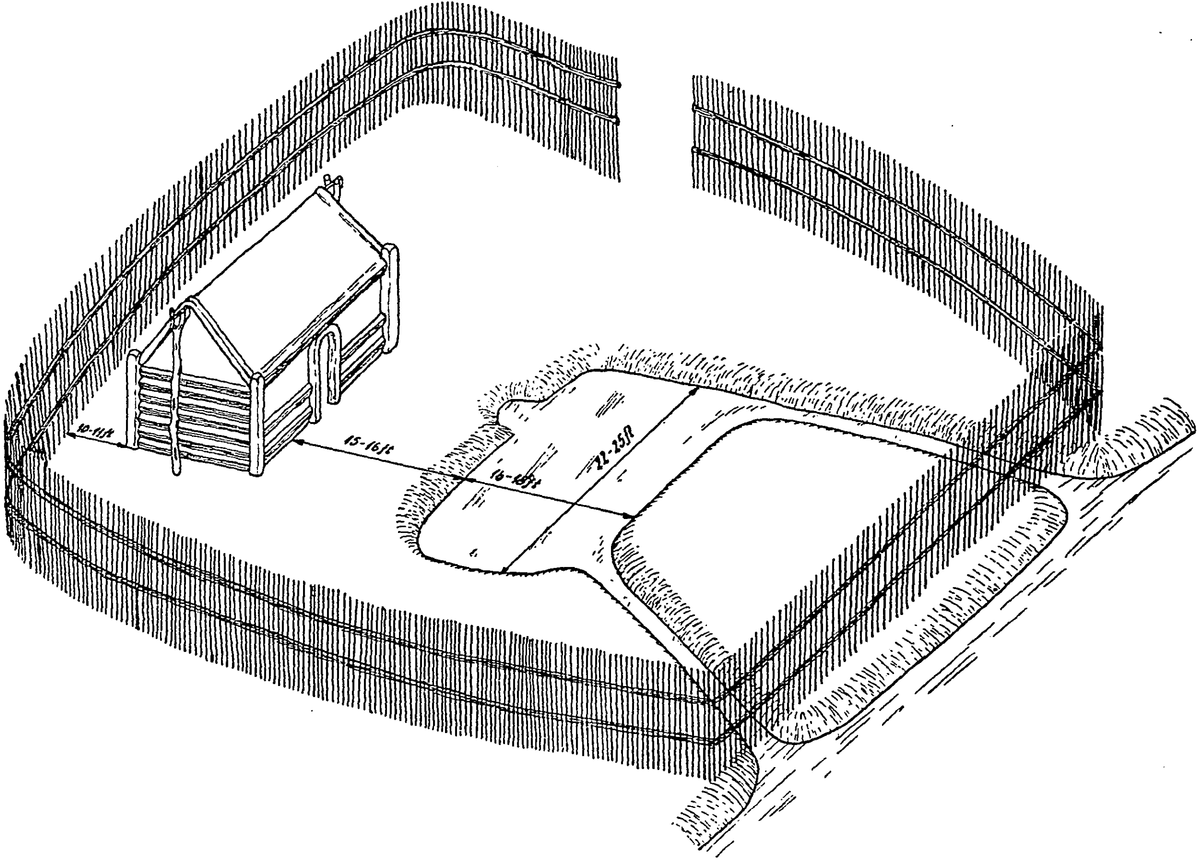

10-11ft
15-16ft
16-18ft
22-25ft

FIG. 7. The *Manda*

At long last came the de-consecration of th
in the uncertain light, all three weary men bent
myrtle and to say, 'Lovely is the perfume of li
Manda of Life!'

It was the end. I saw a priest, in the dark, d
of the dove and *faṭiri*, and went home.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. The use of a ritual pool or *apsu* in connexion with
waters, seems to have formed part of Sumerian cults at Eri
city whose site is only a short march from a modern *ma*
Shuyūkh. Father Burrows in a recent publication ('P
abzu'; '*Orientalia*' I (Commentarii periodici Pontificii I
Rome, 1932) discussed the *apzu* or *abzu*, which, he co
have been a libation drain, as has been suggested, but mu
basin or pool. He points out that some of the names o
Lagash indicate pools 'connected with canals, or the like'.

2. For Dr. Murray's interesting comment on the fork
the mud-covered reed pillars see my article on 'the Cult-H
daeans' in *Ancient Egypt and the East*, June 1934. The gabl
seems to have had a quasi-religious significance in Iraq
Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan (in *Iraq*, vol. ii, part i) writing o
tions at Arpachiyah says: 'In antiquity the pitched roof i
painted terracotta from Al 'Ubaid . . . now in the British N
some confirmation of our interpretation of a curious steati
the Tall Ḫalaf period, which seems to represent a gabled roo
roof pole.'

That the gabled type of building had a religious bear
Zarathustrian Persian era seems indicated by the tomb of
gadae, which is of the *manda* type, also other holy building
The building as a type may be taken to represent, in a m
form, the tent with a ridge-pole supported by two uprigh
which would be dear to nomads adopting a settled existen
shrine, I am told, is of this gabled pattern, for this very reaso

3. The marsh-Arabs call the ridge-pole the *jisr* or *ḥ*
ḥardhī, Dict. حُردّى = roof of reeds, حرّد = to betake oneself

4. I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dangin's *Ri*
with resemblances between the *taraṣa d mandi* and the Ak
the reconsecration of a temple after pollution, earthquak
Several cuneiform tablets giving fragments of this ritual a
the author (pp. 35 ff.). Significant features reappear in
ritual, namely, slaughter of an animal on a bed of reeds,
before its sacrifice, 'aspersions of pure water', *three* tabl

tion of the *rasta*, and,
men bent to smell the
rfume of life, my lord,

the dark, dig the tomb
me.

R VIII

nexion with Ea, god of the
n cults at Eridu, the ancient
modern *mandi* at Sūq esh-
blication ('Problems of the
i Pontificii Instituti Biblici:
vhich, he concludes, cannot
sted, but must have been a
the names of cult-*abzu*s at
or the like'.

t on the forked support and
n 'the Cult-Hut of the Man-
34. The gabled roof building
ance in Iraq in early times.
t i) writing of recent excava-
pitched roof is depicted in a
n the British Museum; this is
curious steatite amulet . . . of
t a gabled roof with a bending

religious bearing in the first
the tomb of Cyrus at Parsa-
holy buildings of this epoch.
esent, in a more permanent
y two upright poles: a form
ettled existence. The Shinto
his very reason.

he *jisr* or *ḥardi*, sometimes
etake oneself to a hut.

Dangin's *Rituels Accadiens*,
li and the Akkadian rites for
n, earthquake, or violation.
this ritual are translated by
reappear in the Mandaean
ed of reeds, an address to it
', *three* tables of offerings,

lighting of a fire, la
bringing of grains, oil,
The first time I saw
but I was told later t
cloths were sometim
to dry. (See next ch
inside the cult-hut.) '

The Slaughter (*Rit*
on a reed mat. The w
(plur. *buwāri*), sprea
before the bull in a co
his mouth washed. A
murmured into the rig
the throat, the priest sa
three times, 'These w
have done them.' p.

The victim had a pia

'Thou art the great bu
In the heavens thine in
divinity
When Anu, Enlil, Enki,
Remain to eternity in t

. .

May the sanctuary of t

The re-consecration.
night, three tables of o
the temple, . . . thou sha
and roast meats . . . a fi
spread beer of the first
and the *er-šem-ma U-ˁ*
the roof of this temple
make three aspersions
tables of offerings for
linens thou shalt place
flour, *bar-ga* oil, three
wilt instal, a censer ch
grains of all sorts shalt
right thigh, the reins, a
beer of the first quality,
the cloths thou wilt o
chant. . . .' p. 35.

Milk figures in P
ritually at the early C
of Hippolytus).

sta, and,
smell the
my lord,

the tomb

god of the
the ancient
at Sūq esh-
ems of the
tuti Biblici:
des, cannot
ave been a
ılt-*abzu*s at

support and
of the Man-
oof building
early times.
cent excava-
epicted in a
eum; this is
nulet . . . of
th a bending

in the first
rus at Parsa-
f this epoch.
permanent
oles: a form
The Shinto

, sometimes
hut.
s Accadiens,
lian rites for
or violation.
ranslated by
Mandaean
address to it
of offerings,

lighting of a fire, lamentation (
bringing of grains, oil, flour, fruit,
The first time I saw the cerem
but I was told later that this wa
cloths were sometimes spread, b
to dry. (See next chapter for a
inside the cult-hut.) The 'Ritua

The A

The Slaughter (*Rituel de Kalu*
on a reed mat. The word used is
(plur. *buwāri*), spread reeds as
before the bull in a copper vessel
his mouth washed. An incantati
murmured into the right ear of t
the throat, the priest said, '*Mu-lu*
three times, "These works, it is t
have done them.' p. 23.

The victim had a piacular chara

'Thou art the great bull, the crea
In the heavens thine image (has b
  divinity
When Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninm
Remain to eternity in this divine

. . . .

May the sanctuary of this god be

The re-consecration. 'In a mo
night, three tables of offerings to
the temple, . . . thou shalt prepare,
and roast meats . . . a fire for Ea a
spread beer of the first quality, wi
and the *er-šem-ma U-ʿu-ba mu-ḫ*
the roof of this temple in a plac
make three aspersions of pure w
tables of offerings for Ea, Shama
linens thou shalt place on the seat
flour, *bar-ga* oil, three vases *adag*
wilt instal, a censer charged with
grains of all sorts shalt thou pour
right thigh, the reins, and roast m
beer of the first quality, wine, and
the cloths thou wilt offer . . . f
chant. . . .' p. 35.

Milk figures in Parsi ritual
ritually at the early Christian ba
of Hippolytus).

mentation (the *masiqta* ceremony corresponds), the
, flour, fruit, and other foods, and 'water on the tables'.
the ceremony three white cloths were spread also,
that this was accidental. Formerly, they said, white
es spread, but the cloths I saw were merely spread
apter for a more detailed account of the proceedings
The 'Ritual of Kalu' is of the Seleucid period.

The Akkadian Ritual

tuel de Kalu, pp. 11 ff.). The bull was made to stand
word used is *buri* and the modern marsh word is *bāria*
d reeds as well as woven reeds. Water was placed
opper vessel, water poured over him in lustration and
An incantation '*Gu-gal gu-maḫ u ki-uš asag-ga*' was
ight ear of the victim through a reed. After cutting
said, '*Mu-lu na-a mu-lu na-a*' three times and repeated
works, it is the gods who have done them, not I who
. 23.
iacular character. To quote from another tablet, p. 23:
ull, the creature of the great gods. . . .
image (has been destined) to the rites of the Supreme

ki, and Ninmah (fixed) the destinies of the great gods . . .;
this divine mystery

. . . . . .

f this god be pure, be holy.'
. 'In a month favourable, a day favourable, in the
offerings to the god of the temple, to the goddess of
halt prepare, thou shalt offer the right thigh, the loins,
fire for Ea and Marduk thou wilt illumine; thou wilt
st quality, wine and milk; lamentation *Utu-dim-é-(ta)*
-*ʿu-ba mu-ḫul* thou wilt chant. In the morning on
le in a place where entrance is forbidden thou wilt
s of pure water (*mê elluti* (pl.) *ta-sal-laḫ*). Three
r Ea, Shamash, and Marduk thou shalt instal, three
e on the seats, syrup of honey and cream, dates, *šasqû*
e vases *adagurru*, best quality beer, wine, milk thou
harged with cypress thou shalt place there, aromatic
lt thou pour out, thou shalt offer three sacrifices, the
, and roast meats thou shalt present, thou shalt expose
y, wine, and milk; thou wilt place water on the tables,
offer . . . for Ea, Shamash, and Marduk thou wilt

Parsi ritual meals (chap. XIII), and was drunk
Christian baptismal eucharist. (Apostolic Tradition

5. 'A *karsha*...means "a trench or a furrow" (see also p. 201). The word has a technical meaning in Zoroastrian rituals. At times, sacred or consecrated things or materials are to be kept, for the time being, within a limited space or enclosure, so that persons other than the officiating priests may not come into contact with them. The person in charge of the things, placing the things on the ground, draws round them a temporary circle, trench, or furrow.... If somebody else steps within the circle—or touches it even from without the circle, . . . the line of isolation is broken. . . . This *karsha* . . . has a double efficiency . . . in case the substance itself' (within the *karsha*) 'is undergoing decomposition and is impure, you stop the impurity from going out of the circle and spreading round about.' (JJM., pp. 113–14). In illustrations, the author shows that the *karsha* was not always circular; on p. 135 he shows a square *pâvi*. Similarly, when the Nestorians (Assyrian Christians) kill a sheep (which must be 'father of a lamb') or a cock (which must be 'father of chickens', i.e. of proved fertility) at *dukhrana* (i.e. a ritual meal to help the souls of the dead in the after life or to save the life of a sick person) the victim's throat is cut either on the threshold of the door of the church or, if the *dukhrana* is performed elsewhere, a line called a *miṣra* is traced about it.

6. *In the name of an ancestor*. 'Nîyat literally means purpose, intention. Among the Parsees, many charitable deeds are said to be performed by a person in the *nîyat* of a deceased relative or friend. A man may build a Fire-Temple or a Tower of Silence or [*some*] such other religious edifice in the *nîyat* of B, his father, or relative, or friend' (JJM., p. 200). 'The formulae used for this purpose have varied at different times. The formula used in the Fravardin Yasht is: "We invoke the Fravashi...." For example, "We invoke the Fravashi of the holy Yima of Vivaghâna". The formula used in the Pazend Afrîn-i-Papithwin is "May the holy spirit of... be one with us",' &c. (JJM., p. 81.)

7. One priest told me that the male sex was not essential with sacrificed birds; but slaughtered beasts must always be male.

8. *Silent prayer*. Prayer is usually silent when the person praying is considered ritually 'dead', or on occasions of extreme sanctity, or in the case of a bride during her baptism. It seems to correspond to the Parsi praying 'in Bâj'. Bâjs are recited amongst other occasions, on 'Bâj days', i.e. anniversaries of the deaths of persons. See JJM. pp. 360–361.

9. I have already pointed out that the custom of killing a victim on a bed of reeds goes back to Akkadian times. A similar custom seems to have been practised by the Magians. Herodotus says: 'The man who wishes to sacrifice brings his victim to a spot of ground which is pure from pollution, and there calls upon the name of the god to whom he intends to offer. It is usual to have the turban encircled with a wreath, most commonly of myrtle. The sacrificer is not allowed to pray for blessings on himself alone, but he prays for the welfare of the king, and of the whole Persian people, among whom he is of necessity included. He cuts the victim in pieces, and

having boiled the flesh, he lays it out upon the tenderest herbage that he can find, trefoil especially.' (The turban and myrtle wreath are identical with the Mandaean turban and *klila.*) Sir Jīvanjī Jamshedjī Modi thinks that 'in very old times, all the sacrificial requisites were spread on a matting or carpet'. (JJM., p. 273.)

10. Moulton, in his *Early Zoroastrianism* (p. 408 f.), speaking of the Magians, says they were slaughterers, 'but not always with iron but with wood'. Note, too, that the Magians wore white, a turban, and a myrtle wreath, and slaughtered beside water. They were careful, however, not to pollute the water with blood.

11. The *klila*, or myrtle wreath of the baptism ceremony, is placed between the turban and the *tag͟ha*. But in the ceremony described here, the myrtle was stuck into the folds of the turban. See chapter on 'Eating for the Dead'.

IX

THE PRIESTHOOD: CONSECRATION OF THE PRIEST, OR TARMIDA

As said above, the priesthood is dwindling. The authority of the priest is not what it was, and his income has suffered; moreover, the conditions of modern life make it difficult for him to carry out the arduous observances imposed by his faith, or to obey injunctions which he must exhort others to follow. Ablution and immersion are so essential to his calling that he must enjoy at all times free use of an unpolluted foreshore; thus the cult is scarcely adapted to cities. Should he live far from towns, however, the poor and humble inhabitants of marsh and village offer him an insufficient livelihood.

The priesthood is hereditary,[1] and there are families in which father and son have been priests without interruption for centuries. I do not mean that the priesthood is entirely shut to those outside the priestly families: a lay Ṣubbi who has a 'clean' family history for the necessary number of generations, and has the requisite physical and mental qualifications, can become a priest, but, in practice, the priesthood tends to run from father to son.

The training begins in a boy's earliest years. As a little fellow, he puts on his *rasta*[2] and acts as his father's acolyte, or *s͟hganda*. He begins to learn his letters when he is three to four years old, and when a boy is literate he is called a *yalufa*. He begins to commit prayers and rituals to memory as soon as he can speak. In earlier times no knife or scissors were allowed to come into contact with the hair of a child destined for priesthood from birth upwards; but now a boy may train for priesthood if he has not cut his hair since puberty.[3] He must be without the least physical blemish. I was told of a certain *yalufa* called Bahram, whose brother was a *ganzibra*, who, having severed the top of his finger while chopping wood, went to the *ganzibra*. The latter said, 'I will give you *maṣw̓etta* (*maṣbuta*, baptism)—to atone for the blood pollution, but you cannot be a priest now'. Bahram, bitterly grieved, tried to persuade his brother that the decision was harsh, but his efforts were unavailing.

A circumcised man, one who is impotent, and a eunuch are all debarred from priesthood, for the body must be 'pure, sound, and perfect'. If a priest already ordained receives an injury which destroys his manhood or robs him of a limb, he can no longer officiate. Apparently the loss of an eye, or of an interior organ by operation, is not now counted, though, according to the Alf Trisar Shiala, the priest's sight must be faultless. Madness (after ordination) is believed a curable state, although, of course, a man is not permitted to officiate while mad.

Not only the body of a priest, but his genealogy must be sound. He must be of pure Mandaean blood, and his family must be physically and ritually immaculate for several generations back on both sides of the family. Family history is always known with the Mandaeans, especially the priests, who keep long genealogies, usually written in the holy books, going back for five hundred years or longer. If any of his female ancestors within three generations were married when widows or not-virgin, the would-be priest cannot be consecrated. Hence it may be said that every priest is, in a sense, of 'virgin-birth'.

I have been told several times that sex is not a bar to priesthood. There have been women priests and *ganzivri*, though a woman *ganzibra* can only perform one marriage ceremony; moreover, in the Ginza (13th book, rt. side), there is a mention of Mandaean priestesses. The Alf Trisar Shiala says, however, '*zdahar d la titirṣun tagha 'l 'ntha*' (Beware lest ye consecrate a woman as priest). I have never met one, or heard a priestess spoken of as existent, but was assured that there have been priestesses in the past. The names of such occur in the 'Abahathan'.

When a boy has memorized enough of the ritual and prayers, become accustomed to act as *shganda* or acolyte, and studied the holy books under the instruction of a priest and *ganzibra*, he is ready to receive initiation into the first degree of priesthood and become a *tarmida*. The usual age for initiation is soon after puberty. If a young man is married, the matter of consecration is complicated by the question of whether his wife is, or is not, in a state of purity. If during his consecration she menstruates, has a miscarriage, or produces a child, serious pollution invalidates the consecration and all concerned in it starting with 366 baptisms for the officiating ganzibra. If during the rite the wife of the ganzibra becomes unclean, in addition to the 366 baptisms he is debarred from ever becoming a *rish ʿama*.

If the *ganzibra* approves of the personal character of the *shwalia* (as the novice is called), and finds his knowledge of doctrines, rituals, and holy books satisfactory, the proceedings open on a Saturday.

I have not witnessed the ceremonies, but have had several informants who related the proceedings with great detail, and, as a whole, their descriptions tally. All is prepared beforehand, the reeds, the sacrificial sheep, and all that is necessary in the way of cult objects. The Ṣubba from far and near assemble, for the consecration of a priest is a time for great rejoicing and is spoken of for weeks beforehand. The *ganzibra* who has instructed the novice and is called his 'rabbey' (*rabai*) assembles as many priests as possible—there should be at least seven, with two *shganda*s—and all these baptize each other in the river (or *mandi*-pool). The novice himself receives two baptisms, one at the hands of a priest and one at the hands of his 'rabbey'. A sheep, prepared and ceremonially washed as described on p. 136, is slaughtered beside the water on the usual bed of reeds enclosed by a *miṣra*. This ritual slaughter, a priest explained, is *fidwa*[4] (ransom) for the novice. Then the *shwalia* (the final *a* is pronounced), is taken within the *mandi*, or into the house of the *ganzibra*, that the assembled priests may ascertain finally that his body is perfect.[5] 'As one who buys a ruby examines it to see that it is clear and flawless, so do they examine the body of the *shwalia*,' was the expression used by a *ganzibra* in his description. After the examination, the young man resumes his *rasta*, and two women, of an age past menstruation, come to the novice and wash his legs, one the right leg and the other the left.

Next the priests build a reed hut at the southern end of the courtyard of the *ganzibra*'s house. This reed hut, like that used at a wedding, is called the *andiruna*, a word recalling the name given to the women's quarters in a Persian house (*andirūn*). The hut is oblong, has rounded corners, and the north wall bulges to the east of the entrance. (See p. 151 for plan.) Its roof is flat, not gabled. Over the roof is thrown a veil of blue-dyed muslin.[6] So says my most reliable informant (a priest), but one layman told me that a blue mantle (*izār* or *'abā*) was thrown over the hut, and another that it was put beside it. On my questioning some priests they showed themselves reluctant to admit it, and, when pressed, said that the custom had no significance. According to Hirmiz, this blue drapery, whatever it may be, is called '*Ruha*'s *'abā*'. Blue, according to Mandaeans, is the colour of Ruha's mantle, and pale, cornflower, and sky-blue are her symbolical colours. I think it possible that the *andiruna* represents the earthly, or animal, soul, the *ruha* or 'breath-of-life', and that in the minds of the priests this has somehow become associated with Ruha, mother of the planets, and is therefore thought to belong to the 'unofficial', or magic, side of their cults. The symbolism seems simple: the transit of the *s̲h̲walia* from one hut to another shows that he passes out of a life dominated by the earthly spirit into a life dominated by the soul. But I anticipate the ritual.

A *yalufa* of priestly birth related the following:

> 'Once a candidate for priesthood refused to put the blue *'abā* above the reed hut, saying, "Why should one put Ruha's mantle above all?" When he went down to the river to cleanse dates before eating them, something came and struck him to the ground. They picked him up and took him back, and he told them before he died that it was Ruha herself who had struck him. Yes, he died, though no sign of illness had been upon him previously.'

and:

> 'Ruha is of extreme beauty. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Joda's father, my grandfather, S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Damuk, saw Ruha herself. It was when he was

being consecrated as priest, and Ruha's *izār* (mantle) had been on the *andiruna*. He saw her as he was performing the *rishama* in the river. He described her as being of great loveliness, although he was alarmed and cried, "*Ana dakhīlech!*" (literally one who enters a tent and craves protection—i.e. "thy suppliant").

I am told that formerly a piece of blue cord or thread was inserted between the leaves of holy books as a symbol of, or charm against, Ruha. This was called the '*saham Ruha*', or 'Ruha's portion'. It is now said to be inserted somewhere in the binding, but I have never seen it.

When the hut is ready, the *ganzibra*, priests, and *shganda*s perform their *rishama*[7] and go through the *rahmi*.[8] These preliminaries concluded, the seven priests (including the *ganzibra*) take their stand inside the *andiruna* facing the north, the *ganzibra* standing on the extreme right. Each priest has his Sidra d Nishmatha (Book of Souls, the ritual for full baptism) open before him.

The scene must now be described in detail. The courtyard is full of people (a circumstance which I have left inadequately represented in my rough diagram). A space is left in front of the *andiruna* in which the novice wearing a new *rasta*, with a piece of gold sewn to the right side of the *naṣifa* and a piece of silver to the left, is seated in a chair facing the entrance of the *andiruna*, holding the closed book of the Sidra d Nishmatha between his palms, and with it a sprig of freshly plucked myrtle. Two *dravshi* (banners) are planted one to the right and the other to the left, north of the *andiruna* and south of the candidate on his chair. Beside each *dravsha*, on the left, is a *qintha* (clay box on the lid of which is cult apparatus, see p. 107). In the south-east and south-west corners of the courtyard Mandaean men spectators are grouped. In the north-west corner stand women, girls, and children, who utter joy-cries from time to time. In the north-east corner are women whose task it is to sew the *tagha*s or crowns. To the east of the courtyard stand men whose task will be seen below.

Lengths of thick white silk and of cotton web, about a

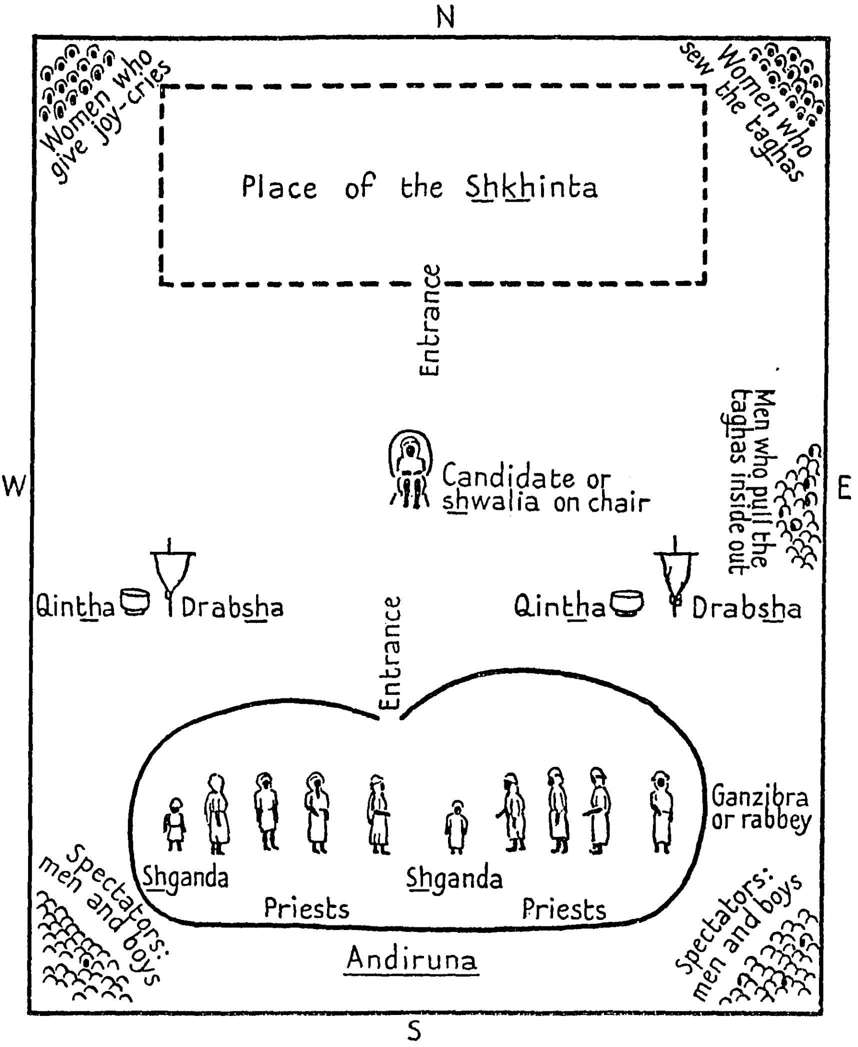

N
Women who give joy-cries
Women who sew the taghas
Place of the Shkhinta
Entrance
Men who pull the taghas inside out
W
Candidate or shwalia on chair
E
Qintha
Drabsha
Qintha
Drabsha
Entrance
Ganzibra or rabbey
Shganda
Priests
Shganda
Priests
Spectators: men and boys
Spectators: men and boys
Andiruna
S

FIG. 8.

dhra in width, are brought to the *ganzibra* in the *andiruna*. The silk is *jazz*, i.e., natural white silk, hand-woven. He cuts this in two to make one *tagha* for himself and one for the *shwalia*. He next takes the cotton and cuts across the breadth pieces about 3 inches wide. If it is the first time he has consecrated a priest, he cuts off 30, if the second, or more, he cuts off 24. These pieces are taken by one of the *shgandi* to the sewing-women, who double them lengthwise, sew the rough edges of each piece together, and one end of each together. The men on the east then take them, turn them inside out, so that the sewn edges are inside, and return them to the sewing-women, who then complete their task by sewing the two ends of the bands together, to form fillets or circlets. These *tagha*s are for the new priest, and prayers of consecration are read over each on the following day.

The *shwalia* recites from memory the whole of the Sidra d Nishmatha, while the priests within the *andiruna* follow with their copies open before them to see that no mistake is made. Before he is considered worthy of priesthood, a novice must be word perfect in the Book of Souls, in the whole ritual of the *masekhtha* (*masiqta*—'raising-up' from *slq* 'to rise', hence, ritual and prayers to help the released soul to ascend to the world of light), and the *rahmi*.[9]

At each successful recital the women utter joy-cries. The novice then rises, is admitted into the *andiruna*, kisses the hand of the *ganzibra* and those of the priests, and takes his seat beside the *ganzibra*. Nine prayers are read over his head, and the time till sunset is spent in devotions. The priests then 'open' (i.e. de-consecrate) their *rasta*s, and they and the *shgandi* go out of the *andiruna*, leaving the *ganzibra* and the novice within, still wearing their *rasta*s.

The priests, helped by laymen, now build a *shkhinta*, exactly opposite to the *andiruna*, its narrow opening (for no cult building has either door or window) exactly opposite that of the *andiruna*, i.e. on the southern wall of the *shkhinta*. This cult-hut is built of reeds in the *jemāli* shape, i.e. oblong and with a pent-roof; in fact, it is like the *mandi*, but not plastered with mud, and not so elaborate (see Chapter VIII). On the east wall it has three uprights and three thwarts; on the west wall, four uprights and four thwarts. It is covered over with white muslin.

Night falls, and the novice and the *ganzibra* spend the night in the *andiruna*, reading from the holy books or chanting prayers. All the sacred books which can be found must be placed in the *andiruna*, but especially two—the Diwan Alma Rishaya and the Diwan Malkutha Ileytha. If these are not present, the proceedings are invalid.

Not only do the novice and his master (the *ganzibra*) keep vigil, but the whole congregation of priests and laymen also, and spend the time in feasting, beating drums, and making merry. If the novice wishes to leave the *andiruna* he may do so for a short time, but the *ganzibra* remains, and if the *ganzibra* goes out, the *shwalia* remains, for the *andiruna* must not be empty.

At early dawn, before the sun is up, the *shwalia* and his *rabbey* (or *ab*, father), i.e. the *ganzibra*, issue from the *andiruna*. Standing between the two huts, the young man again recites the Book of Souls. This ended, he enters the *shkhinta*, while the priests go to the *andiruna*, pull it down, and destroy it. Siouffi says that it is burnt, but this is denied with surprise by all that I have questioned.

In the new hut, the *shkhinta*, the postulant must remain until the next Sunday morning, only withdrawing in order to perform his *rishama*, obey a call of nature, or wash his food in the river. Priests tell me that, in practice, the young man can leave the *shkhinta* as long as an hour if the *ganzibra* takes his place, but I incline to think that in more rigid days this would have been impossible.

At his first entry into the *shkhinta* the *shwalia* puts on a second new *rasta* (he wears a new *rasta* the first day), and the priests, who have consecrated their *rastas* after the preliminary ablutions, invest him with his priestly ring, the Shom Yawar, with his *tagha*s, and the *klila*, and with a *margna*, that is to say, with all the insignia of priestly rank. The prayers are long, and cannot be given here. A needle and thread are then ceremonially dipped, and each piece and knot of the sacred dress is sewn into place. A similar sewing takes place for the *ganzibra*.

The week which ensues must be spent in a state of absolute purity. The *ganzibra* spends much time with the novice in the hut, exhorting him and praying with him, but, as the time is considered one of joy, feasting and fun are kept up outside, and the novice is not debarred from eating mutton, vegetables, fruit, or fish if these have been properly lustrated, prepared and cooked, either by a priest or by a woman of priestly family past the age of menstruation. The novice must make and cook his bread himself, a *ṭoriana* and *brihi* being used for the purpose. These are carefully treated, for if any accident happens to a cult-object during the proceedings many baptisms must be performed. If the *ṭoriana* breaks during the week, or the sixty days' purity which follows it, the *s̱hwalia* incurs sixty baptisms and his *rabbey* the same. If the *brihi*, both must be baptized by five priests, if the *kangana*, by three priests; if the *margna* floats away or is broken, both have fifty baptisms, if the S̱hom Yawar is lost, fifty; if the *tag̱ha*, sixty; if *s̱harwala*, *burzinqa*, *himiana*, or *naṣifa* are injured or lost, the novice and *ganzibra* must receive triple baptism from three priests.

The most serious contamination during the week is nocturnal pollution.[10] For this reason, the youth is not allowed to sleep for the whole week, and a perpetual din is kept up to prevent his falling asleep. Drums are beaten, chants sung, guests are entertained, joy-cries pierce the air, and merriment is noisy and perpetual. If the lad nods from time to time, a priest nudges him, but I gather that if the doze is light, a little latitude is given. If, in spite of all precautions, such pollution occurs during the first three days and nights, the *s̱hwalia* and *rabbey* incur 366 baptisms performed at the end of the entire period. If on the fourth day and night, sixty baptisms are incurred, on the fifth, fifty; on the sixth a triple baptism by three priests and the recitation of twenty-one *rahmis*. If the wet dream occurs before the investiture of the *tag̱ha*s, the whole consecration is postponed for a year.

Each day the *s͟hwalia* wears a new *rasta*, and clothes and food are distributed daily in his name to the poor. Each day he receives the *pihṯha* and *mambuha* from the priests. Three times daily he recites the *rahmi* with the prayers for the morning, noon, and afternoon. Each day the *ganzibra* teaches him three secret words (for these words of power are twenty-one). As these are too sacred to be pronounced, the *ganzibra* writes them in the dust.

On the following Sunday morning, very early, after the *rahmi*, the *s͟hwalia* baptizes the *ganzibra*. The procedure is the same as usual, but the prayers are not all the same as for the ordinary baptism. This baptism is called the Maṣbuta ḏ Zaharaiṯha, and its virtue is that of sixty baptisms. The *s͟hwalia* is himself baptized by seven priests or three, one of whom is the *ganzibra*.

The first stage of the consecration is now over, and the *s͟hwalia* begins the sixty days of purity. During these he must perform the triple immersion (*ṭamas͟ha*) three times daily, before the *rahmi* of the morning, noon and afternoon, not changing into dry clothes until he has completed the office. He lives apart from his family, and, if married, may not cohabit with his wife. His diet, according to some priests, should be entirely meatless. Others say that mutton and the flesh of 'pure' (i.e. non-flesh-eating) birds are allowed, but chicken and eggs forbidden. Vegetables, fruit, and milk are his orthodox food, and slaughter is forbidden him. He makes his bread himself, purifying the grain before grinding it seven times. He may not go into the market or a public bath or urinal. He may not remove his *s͟harwala* completely or take off his head covering. So rigorous is this latter rule that even when he performs the immersions he wears a tightly fitting cap. If he wishes to comb his hair, he goes into his room or hut, for he lives apart in his own house for the period of purity, and removes his head-dress under a white muslin covering, such as a mosquito-net. The chance visit or touch of a person or thing in a state of uncleanness may render that day void, and another day with the devotions which should have been performed in it is added at the end of the sixty. Thus the sixty days' purity are rarely accomplished in sixty days.

When these are safely over, the *shwalia* reads his first *masiqta* (pronounced *masekhtha*), which is in the name of his *rabbey*.

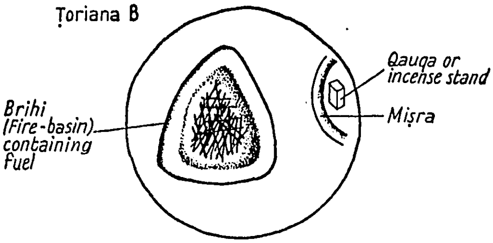
On the Saturday the *mandi* enclosure is dug over and cleansed, the pool cleared out, the water-channels freed from obstructions, fresh mud applied to the cult-hut, and mud plastered into the shape of a triple arch placed round the entrance to the hut. Fuel is given ablution, wheat and sesame washed and prepared, in short, all preparations that can be made for the morrow are carried out before the sun goes down.

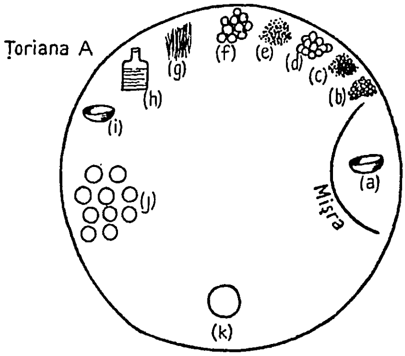
On the Sunday morning the cult-hut is washed inside and out, and the sheep and dove destined for slaughter are brought and sacrificed with the rites described in the last chapter. The *ganzibra*, after performing the *ṭamasha* before the sacrifice of the dove, puts on the same *rasta* in which he officiated on the first day of the *shwalia*'s consecration. Meanwhile, and subsequently, this *rasta* is put away carefully in a box, and the greatest care is taken to prevent any pollution of the *rasta*, for should such occur, there are penalty baptisms. As soon as he has put on this *rasta*, the *ganzibra* must not speak a word.

I must now describe what I passed over with a few words in the last chapter, namely, the *Masiqta*.

The Masiqta of the Shwalia

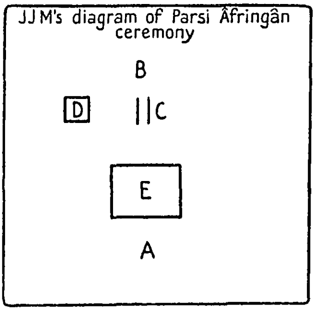
The body of the slaughtered dove is brought inside the *mandi*, and one of the priests assisting removes a few of the breast feathers and cuts out a little of the flesh above the right breast. Salt is placed on this, the meat is taken outside and roasted on the fire, then placed on the larger *ṭoriana* inside the *mandi*. This *ṭoriana* is placed near the eastern wall of the interior, before the *shwalia*, and between it and the northern wall is the smaller *ṭoriana* upon which is the *brihi* and the *qauqa*.[11] The body of the dove, wrapped in palm-fibre, is put between the roof and northern interior wall, just in front of the two *ṭoriani*, its head facing the


Ṭoriana B
Brihi (Fire-basin) containing fuel
Qauqa or incense stand
Miṣra


Ṭoriana A
(a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(e)
(f)
(g)
(h)
(i)
(j)
(k)
Miṣra

(*a*) The keptha in which is the misha (i.e. sesame oil and date juice).
(*b*) Sultana raisins.
(*c*) Pomegranate seeds.
(*d*) Coconut.
(*e*) Shelled walnuts.
(*f*) Quince.
(*g*) Dove's flesh, shredded.
(*h*) Qanina of water.
(*i*) Empty keptha.
(*j*) [*Later*] the faṭiri ࡐࡀࡈࡉࡓࡀ (or *qinia*) ten at a time, until all 66 are piled up at (k).

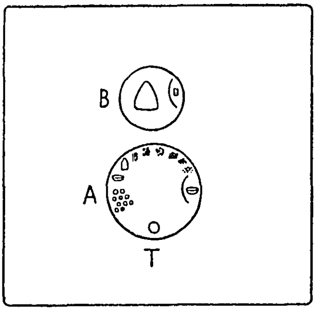
Âfringân.


JJM's diagram of Parsi Âfringân ceremony
B
D
C
E
A

PARSI.

A. Seat of priest.
B. Seat of fire-priest.
C. Fire-vase, ladle and tongs.
D. Tray for sandalwood and frankincense.
E. Tray containing the *myazd*, i.e. fruit, flowers, milk, wine, water, &c.

Masiqta.



MANDAEAN.

T. Officiating priest.
A. Ṭoriana for sacred foods (see Ṭoriana A).
B. Ṭoriana for fire-basin and incense-holder (see Ṭoriana B).

FIG. 9.

officiant at the *ṭoriani*. (In the Taraṣa d̲ Mandi the dove faces the *ganzibra*, whose *ṭoriani* are at the extreme right. The ritual is practically the same, except that all three priests read the *masiqta*, each having a small and large *ṭoriana*, the *ganzibra* consecrating forty-two *faṭiri* and the two priests twelve each. Otherwise, the ritual is triplicated.)[12]

In the western half of the cult-hut is the hand-mill (Mand. *gas̲h̲ir*, Ar. *raḥā*).

As it is the *s̲h̲walia* who must celebrate the *masiqta* alone, the *ganzibra*, in whose name the *masiqta* is to be read, de-consecrates his *rasta*, and becomes a spectator, keeping, however, the S̲h̲arh d̲ Taraṣa d̲ S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rba in his hand to prompt his pupil if he stumbles. The latter begins by the usual '*S̲h̲arwali* '*treṣ*', &c. (p. 32) takes his *margna* and two empty *qanina*s in his right hand, and goes to the *mandi*-pool, where he sets the *qanina*s on the bank while he performs the *ris̲h̲ama* and lustrates his staff. Then he fills the *qanina*s, placing one at the eastern post of the cult-hut entrance, and the other on the large *ṭoriana* at which he is to officiate. On the smaller *ṭoriana* (see above) is the fire-saucer and incense, on the larger the various ritual foods. In the *miṣra* of the larger stands a *kept̲h̲a* filled with the expressed oil of sesame mingled with date-juice, extracted as described on pages 133–4. Ranged in order round the *ṭoriana* from the northern corner of the *miṣra* are the following:

1. The *ṭabut̲h̲a*, i.e. sultana (white) raisins, quince, pomegranate seeds, pieces of coconut, shelled walnuts, and some of the dove's flesh, shredded.
2. A *qanina* of water.
3. An empty *kept̲h̲a*.
4. (Later.) The sixty-six *faṭiri* each about as big as a large round biscuit. The dough is prepared without salt by the priests, the *s̲h̲ganda* who assists the new priests forms the dough into the loaves, but he does not bake these, merely passes them three times with a circular movement over the fire.

The *s̲h̲walia*'s place is behind the table of sacred foods, and the fire and incense apparatus (see figure on p. 157 for similar Parsi arrangement at the Âfringân ceremony).[13] When during the ritual he sits, he takes his place either on a log of wood or on a stool of reeds (the *kursi* or throne). The entire recital must be by heart. I shall give, just as Mandaeans give in describing, the first phrase of the various prayers employed: were they to be written in full, as in the rituals in my possession, they would fill an entire book. Here and there, when these prayers are particularly significant, I shall permit myself to quote them.

The *s̱ẖwalia* begins by the consecration (*taraṣa*) of his *rasta* and *tag̱ẖa*, inserting the name of the *ganzibra* who initiated him in all the places in the ritual where a mention is made of a name. In the case of a *masiqta* for a dead person, the name of the dead person is inserted, but in the anticipatory *masiqta* for a living person, the name of that person is inserted.

The prayers for this consecration are five in number and are given in Q. and need not be quoted here. After the *Manda aqran* (*Manda qran*), he recites, '*Bs̱ẖma ḏ hiia rbia asuṯẖa uzakuṯẖa thuilẖ lhaza nis̱ẖimta ḏ Plan bar Planiṯẖa ḏ haza masiqta hail kbar*', &c., and closes the *pandama* about the lower part of his face. *He then takes the *qanina*, while the *s̱ẖganda* puts four raisins in the empty *kepṯẖa* on the *ṭoriana*. The *s̱ẖwalia* reads 'In the name of the Life, thou art Water of Life', &c., and at the words, 'who departed from their bodies', he pours a little water on the raisins in the *kepṯẖa*. When in the same prayer he reaches the words 'the soul of this *masiqta*', he inserts the *ganzibra*'s name.

Next, he takes the *qauqa* in his left hand and a pinch of incense from it in his right, and recites '*Hal hiia qadmaiia*' (Hail first Life), &c., and at its end throws the incense on the fire-basin. The *ganzibra* hands him a twig of myrtle. The *s̱ẖwalia* recites:

1. 'Mn hiia audin', i.e. 'Bs̱ẖmaihun ḏ hiia rbia haila us̱ẖrara ‘mra u s̱ẖima nhuilẖ ldilẖ Plan br P. (name of *ganzibra*) ḏ haza masiqta s̱ẖabiq haṭaia nhuilẖ . . .' &c.
2. 'Mn hiia audin utus̱ẖbihan' . . . &c. When in this he reaches the words *lmirfas ainẖ ‘ltafukia gargilia*, he twists the myrtle into a wreath, and finishes the prayer.

3. The 'Tus̲h̲bihan' (Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia tus̲h̲bihan lhiia barayia, &c.). During the reading of this prayer, still holding the myrtle wreath, he takes the cup with it into his left hand, and with the right he mixes the raisins with the water, squeezing and kneading them so that their juice mingles with the water.
4. The 'Ilk̲h̲un dilk̲h̲un' (Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia ʿlk̲h̲un dilk̲h̲un, &c.).
5. The 'Beyt̲h̲ mis̲h̲qal aini' (Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia bit mis̲h̲qal ainia, &c.).
6. The 'Mis̲h̲qal ainia'.

The *s̲h̲ganda* then brings the saltless dough, passes it three times over the fire, saying, '*Us̲h̲ma d̲ Manda d̲ hiia madk̲h̲ar ʿlak̲h̲*' (this is called the *sahada d̲ nura*, or the 'testimony of the fire'. It does not cook the dough, nor is it intended to do so).

The *s̲h̲walia* places the cup of water mingled with raisins down on the *ṭoriana* (this liquid is now termed the *hamra*) and, still holding the myrtle wreath, he takes a pinch of the dough about as large as a pea, and recites:

1. 'Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia sg̲h̲idna s̲h̲ahabana ums̲h̲ahbana', &c.
2. 'Saghidna s̲h̲ahbana ums̲h̲abana lhak̲h̲ anana kasit̲h̲a', &c.
3. 'Sig̲h̲dit us̲h̲abat̲h̲', &c.
4. 'Sig̲h̲dit us̲h̲abat̲h̲ lYawar Ziwa', &c.
5. 'Sag̲h̲idna s̲h̲ahbana ums̲h̲abana lhak̲h̲ s̲h̲ut̲h̲a d̲ qra Yawar', &c.
6. 'Sig̲h̲dit us̲h̲abat̲h̲ lʿUṣar d̲ pt̲h̲a piht̲h̲a', &c.
7. 'Sig̲h̲dit us̲h̲abat̲h̲ lʿUṣar Nhur', &c.
8. 'Sag̲h̲idna s̲h̲ahbana ums̲h̲abana lhak̲h̲ s̲h̲ut̲h̲a qadmaiia d̲ ʿhab', &c.
9. 'Mqaimatun hiia qadmaiia d̲ ʿnis̲h̲', &c.

He then dips his ring, the S̲h̲om Yawar, in the cup of *hamra*, saying,

1. 'Biriawis̲h̲ kanna d̲ mia hiia', &c.
2. 'S̲h̲umak̲h̲ yatir hiia asgia ʿqara', &c.

Then he takes the *kept̲h̲a* containing the *mis̲h̲a*, i.e. the expressed sesame and date juice, placing the *klila* and the *piht̲h̲a* (i.e. the morsel of dough, which is now sanctified) on the *ṭoriana*.

He recites:

1. 'Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia nhar nhura', &c.
2. 'Zhira umzahara', &c.
3. 'Bs̲h̲ma d̲ hiia asgia Manda d̲ Hiia lkuk̲h̲bia', &c.

When in this prayer he reaches the words *balbushia d Yuzaṭaq Manda d Hiia*, he wraps the *pihtha* about the *klila*, and recites on to the end of the prayer. When it is finished, he sits and begins the consecration of the *faṭiri*. The *shganda* places these, ten at a time, on the *ṭoriana*. The *shwalia* takes them one by one, performing the following ritual upon each, and piling one on the other, until sixty have been piled up.

The Ritual for the Faṭiri

He holds a *klila* over the *faṭira*, and places a little of each of the five *ṭabutha* (i.e. four pomegranate seeds, a little scrap of the coco-nut, walnut, and quince, and four raisins), and a fibre of the dove's meat on it, then, dipping his finger into the *misha*, he draws it three times from right to left at the places indicated below:

1. 'Bshma d hiia nukhraiya hazin ziwa unhura', &c. During this prayer he performs the threefold signing of the *faṭira* (*a*) at the words *nishimta d Plan* (i.e. name of the *ganzibra*), (*b*) *nishimta d Plan* (second mention), (*c*) at the end of the prayer (a third mention of the name).
2. 'Ashar aṣvan' (*Ashar ṣban*), &c. He performs the triple signing when he reaches the words, *kth shahlalh hazin nishimta d Plan.*
3. The 'Ibri ana' (*brh ana*). The signing takes place at the words *dilh baiia.*

Thus he signs each *faṭira* fifteen times in all. When he has completed this ritual on sixty *faṭiri* he begins prayer (1) again, but when he reaches the words, *nshimta d Plan . . . lbit Abathur* he inserts the whole of the 'Abahathan' or 'invocation of ancestors' prayer. (As this comes more properly under later descriptions of death rituals, I refer the reader to Chapters XI and XII.) He then finishes prayer (1) and recites those two which follow it without 'signing' with the oil. The next formula is so important and sacred that the *ganzibra* who is listening outside the *mandi* dictates it with the words,[14]

Wamur pasqit uparthit thlatha rushmia bma d ba ubkth shahlalh *d bdinba Brh ana* (And say, ‘I have divided and separated the triple signs at the *ma* of the *ba* and at “when it casts off” which is after “I am a son” ’).

The *shwalia* thereupon says, with care to be correct, ‘*pasqit uparthit udarit palgha d ba udarit mn faṭira ʿlaiia ubathraiia*’ [and I say, “I cut off, and divided, and took off the portion of the *ba*, and took away (something) from the (top) high *faṭira* and the bottom *faṭira*”]. While repeating these words he breaks off a small portion of the top *faṭira* and the bottom *faṭira* of the pile which he has made before him and puts these pieces with the *pihtha* (see back), removing the *klila* from it and adding a shred of the dove's meat. Then he recites, holding his hands—the *pihtha* in the right hand—over the pile of *faṭiri*:

1. ‘ʿngirtha laufa uzakutha’, &c.
2. ‘Bihrh Yukhashar lbraia’, &c.

Next, rising and putting his hand ready to his *pandama*, he recites

3. ‘Malil uptha hiia rbia bpumaihun bziwa unhura’, &c.

and unfastens the *pandama*. He dips the *pihtha* with its additions into the *hamra*, and, placing it in his mouth, he swallows the morsel whole, after which he drinks some of the *hamra*. The *shganda* hands him another *keptha* and the *qanina* of water which he had placed outside the *mandi* at the entrance earlier in the proceedings. The *shwalia* pours some of this water into the *keptha* and drinks this also.

He must now raise his voice and recite seven prayers, inserting the name of the *ganzibra* at the suitable places:

1. ‘ʿthiar miia hiia lshkhinathun’, &c.
2. ‘Riha basima lathra nisaq’, &c. (extending his hand towards the *brihi* or fire-basin).
3. ‘Bshma d hiia mshabin hiia qadmaiia mshaba mlalun’, &c.
4. ‘ʿtimlun hiia bziwa’, &c.
5. ‘Shkhina hiia brahmaihun’, &c.
6. ‘Klil almia shahia’ &c.
7. ‘Almia bmisha shiha’, &c.

These seven prayers recited, he stretches his hand over the *ṭabutha*, saying:

1. ‘Bziu d nfish ṣbina’, &c. (pron. *Bziu ad anfesh aṣvina*).
2. ‘Shkhinia hiia bziwaihun’, &c.
3. ‘ʿtriṣtun uʿtqaimatun bathra d ṭabia’ (during this prayer he shifts his *margna* from the left to the right arm), &c.
4. ‘Bshma d hiia mkalalna ushakhibna’, &c.
5. ‘Mnh u mn sharuia’, &c.
6. ‘Binia kasia lziwa’, &c. (pron. *Beyni kassi lziwa*’).
7. ‘Niaha ushalma’, &c.
8. The little ‘Brikhi umshabbi’ (i.e. ‘Brikhia umshabia hiia d lhalin nishmatha’, &c.
9. The big ‘Brikhi umshabbi’ (i.e. ‘Bshuma d hiia brikhia umshabia hiia brikh umshaba shumaihun’, &c.

He then sits and recites, *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia*, &c. (This is the prayer always associated with the ritual meal.)

Then the following:

1. ‘Bshuma d hiia ʿngirta d nafqa’, &c. (known as ‘the big’).
2. ‘ʿsira hathima ruha unishimta d Plan’, &c.
3. ‘ʿruthai utushbihthai’, &c.
4. ‘Bshuma d hiia ʿzil bshlam’, &c.
5. ‘Manh bginzia’, &c.
6. ‘Ṭaubakh ṭaubakh nishma’, &c.
7. ‘Habshaba ukushṭa uzidqa’, &c.
8. ‘Zidana umzaudana’, &c.
9. ‘Asliq wasqan minh ulashibaqan bdaura baṭla.’
10. ‘Yuma d nafiq nishma.’
11. ‘ʿtriṣtun uʿtqaimatun’, &c.
12. ‘Brikhia umshabia hiia’ (the little one), &c.
13. ‘Binthh d bainia hiia’, &c. (at this prayer the *margna* is returned to the left arm).
14. ‘Bshma d hiia brikha umshaba hiia’, &c. (the great). * *

He then recites the *Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia* of Shum son of Noah (Nau, Nu or Nuh), i.e. *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia utriṣ kinianh ʿl rahmih*, &c.; rises, and recites:

1. ‘Bshma d hiia mshaba ziwa’, &c.
2. ‘Shkhin hiia shkhinta udnabh’, &c.

All this while six *faṭiri* have remained untouched on the

ṭoriana. The *shwalia* rebinds his *pandama* an
entire ritual from his first binding of the *pand*
ritual from the point marked with a star in th
the point marked with two stars). I have bee
discover the reason for this curious omission t
the six *faṭiri* with the first sixty, thus necessit
long repetition of ritual.

To take up the story from the point mark
stars: The *shwalia* rises and recites:

1. 'Bshma d hiia mshabin hiia qadmaiia', &c.
2. 'Bshma d hiia bith mishqal aini', &c., the 'Beyth
3. 'Mishqal ainia.'
4. The Haiy qirioi, i.e. 'Bshumh d hiia hiia qriuia
5. 'Bintha d baina hiia ldardari ula baṭlh', &c.
6. 'Kbish hshukha triṣ nhura', &c.

He then recites the 'big' *Brikhia umshabi*
the prayers:

1. 'Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia' (the 'Abahathan qadmaiia'
   prayer, see pp. 219 ff.).
2. 'Mshaba ziwa rba qadmaiia', &c. (the Shal shu

and then gives his right hand in *kushṭa*[15] to
saying, '*Kushṭa asiakh qaimakh!*' The *sh*
washka washtema!' The *shwalia* repeats the
ainia, the *Mishqal ainia*, and the *Brikha umsh*
'big' or *rafti*) and then, again, the *Ṭab*, *ṭaba l*

From this moment, the *masiqta* is end
shwalia, or rather the new priest, administer
an ordinary (water and bread) sacrament, w
name inserted in the prayers instead of that of t
The *shganda* prepares a *pihtha*—*with salt in it*,
on the fire (it will be recalled that the *piht*
during the *masiqta* was without salt and unb
water for the *mambuha* is no longer from the
filled (by the *shganda*) from the *mandi*-pool
this is performed with the usual sacramental
the conclusion of the sacraments the new prie
margna beneath the *ṭoriana* upon which are the
piled-up *faṭiri*.

ndama and repeats the
f the *pandama*, (all the
a star in these notes to
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us necessitating such a

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iia', &c.
., the 'Beyth mishqal aini'.

a hiia qriuia', &c.
ṭlh', &c.

a umshabia again, and

qadmaiia' or 'Ancestors'

he Shal shultha).

ushta[15] to the *shganda*,
The *shganda*, '*Bi'i*
epeats the *Bith mishqal*
rikha umshaba hiia (the
Ṭab, *ṭaba lṭabia*, &c.
ta is ended and the
administers to himself
rament, with his own
of that of the *ganzibra*.
th salt in it, and cooked
t the *pihtha* prepared
lt and unbaked). The
r from the *qanina*, but
nandi-pool direct. All
cramental prayers. At
e new priest places his
hich are the *ṭabutha* and

The *shganda* br
pool, and the priest

1. ''timlun hiia', &
2. 'Ṭab, ṭaba lṭal
qadmaiia'; see p

and throws water o
He then repeats
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A priest told me
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1. *Hereditary priestho*
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hereditary.

2. The *rasta*. See Ch

3. *Hair*. Possibly bec
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grows strong, breaks the
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he *s̲h̲ganda*,
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Bit̲h̲ mis̲h̲qal
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The *s̲h̲ganda* brings hi
pool, and the priest (*tarmi*

1. '‘timlun hiia', &c.
2. 'Ṭab, ṭaba lṭabia', &c
qadmaiia'; see pp. 219 f

and throws water over his
He then repeats the *s̲h̲*
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The *s̲h̲ganda* goes over
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A priest told me with p
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new priest's memory, but

NOTES ON

1. *Hereditary priesthood*. The
were a hereditary caste; priestho
hereditary.

2. The *rasta*. See Chapter V

3. *Hair*. Possibly because the
of the rays of the sun, would con
story of Samson, told as a folk-s
'*Iraq*). S̲h̲ams̲h̲um, in this tale,
hero, and his long hairs, his ray
darkness. He grows weak, but
grows strong, breaks the bonds
enemies. Long hair is often foun
hoods which use sun symbolism
symbolisms are prevalent in the C
were described by Arab authors a

brings him more water from the *mandi-*
est (*tarmida*) reads two prayers,

’, &c.
lṭabia’, &c. (the ‘Ancestors’ or ‘Abahathan
e pp. 219 ff.).

r over his staff.
ats the *shal shultha* prayer (in most ritual
t quote here), and the *Tum mn hiia asuth-*

oes over his *rasta*, with the usual formula
ll in place, and the new *tarmida* gives him
latter goes through the prayers and ritual
ration of his *rasta* and *tagha*, and the long
or the sixty-six *faṭiri* and the body of the
rapped by the *shganda* in a white cloth
aid in the last chapter, somewhere in the
, but not to the east of the hut.
me with pride that at his consecration he
h the entire *masiqta* in six hours, but it
al feat. It is a severe test, not only of the
nory, but of his physical endurance.

OTES ON CHAPTER IX

sthood. The *baru* priests of the sun-cult at Sippar
te; priesthood with both Jews and Magians was also

Chapter VI.

because the shearing of the hair, which is symbolical
, would constitute ‘a sin against the light’. Take the
d as a folk-story in Iraq (see Stevens, *Folk-Tales of*
n this tale, is a personification of the Sun, or a sun-
airs, his rays, are shorn by winter and the forces of
weak, but when his rays lengthen in the spring, he
the bonds of ice and death, rises, and destroys his
is often found as a dedicatory feature amongst priest-
symbolisms for Deity, cf. the Greek Church (sun
lent in the Christian religion). The Ḥarrānian priests
ab authors as wearing white garments and long hair,

also a girdle. The Yazīdīs, who seem to have a sun-cult, affect to-day the long hair, high hat, and white garments of the ancient Ḥarrānians.

We read in the OT. that Samson's mother made him a Nazarite and let no scissors or knife come near his hair. There seem to have been two kinds of Nazarite (those who have made a vow), a temporary Nazarite, who cut his hair when his vow was over (he did not offer it, however, but made another offering to the Lord (Numbers vi), and the permanent Nazarite, whose hair was never cut from infancy.

It seems that hair on the head is sacred, but that hair on the body is, by Iraqi Arabs and Jews, regarded as something unclean. Demons are pictured as beings with bodies covered with hair, and, before marriage, an Arab or Jewish virgin's body is rendered hairless by the services of a professional plucker. (Mandaeans, on the contrary, have no such taboo.)

Hair on the head, particularly the beard, is a mark of honour. Cutting off the hair, therefore, is, paradoxically, often associated with self-dedication to a deity (cf. tonsure of a monk and shearing of a nun's hair), or is torn out or cut off as a sign of intense personal grief, as an offering to the dead, perhaps. Yazīdī women, when their husbands die, cut off their long hair and twine it about the tomb-stone, or lay it on the grave.

Hair is supposed to have a magic connexion with the person on whom it has grown even after it is cut off, and Iraqis throw their combings into the river, not as an offering, but lest an enemy should take the hair and use it as a spell against them. In Iraq one never sees offerings of hair at shrines, or the tombs of holy persons, as in southern Europe. Moslems are often completely shaven, or partially shaven, but this matter is left to personal taste.

The Mandaean, even if a layman, considers the cutting of the hair of the head or beard impious.

Parsis (Vendidad xvii) are enjoined to bury nails and hair, and it is customary to bathe after shaving or hair-cutting. But this is probably because anything that has grown on the human body is unclean and a source of pollution after it is separated from it. A Parsi friend tells me that Parsi priests do cut and trim their hair, but the cutting must be done by themselves, and not by a barber.

In view of the curious connexion of Legend X with the Sikhs, it is worth mentioning that the Sikh, like the Mandaean, regards hair-cutting as impious.

4. *Fidwa.* The killing of a sheep, or sometimes a bird, to avert ill fortune from a person or house is a custom universally practised in Iraq without distinction of creed. Moslems, Christians, Jews, Yazīdīs, all preserve the custom, especially at weddings, when the bride is made to step over the blood of a slaughtered sheep as she enters her husband's house. At the recent marriage of the King of Iraq the bride's car passed over the blood of a victim whose throat was cut just before she alighted at the door of the palace. Similarly, when a woman whose child had died told me of her loss, the old phrase, *fidwa mālec̱h*, 'your ransom' was on her lips. The idea

behind it seems to be that death, or ill fortune, has accepted a substitute. (See Chap. III, note 17.) I have also heard from a person telling me of a death *Qurbānac̱ẖ*—'your sacrifice'. These phrases are not used by Mandaeans, however, or if so, I have never heard them.

5. A Parsi candidate for priesthood must also 'be free from leprosy or any wound from which blood oozes, otherwise he would be rejected and the necessary permission refused' (JJM., p. 205). In a note (ibid.): 'It is said, that, in Persia, the candidate is taken to an adjoining room and there made stark naked and examined'.

6. Mandaeans, like Yazīdīs, are forbidden to wear blue. Mandaeans also have abhorrence for black, as this is the colour of mourning and death. Yazīdī faqīrs, however, wear black. Iraqi Christians and Moslems regard blue as a colour which may be worn during mourning.

Bright blue in the form of buttons, beads, turquoises, lapis, or blue tiles, is looked upon as a protection against the evil eye. A bright blue button with seven, five, or two holes, known as a *dahās̱ẖa* or *ḵẖeḏẖerama*, is sewn to children's clothing, placed amongst jewellery, attached to harness, inserted into the pitching of boats and *guffa*s, and threaded into the manes of horses. Its use is universal in Iraq.

7. See pp. 102 ff.

8. The prayers of self-dedication and consecration of garments, &c.

9. Similarly, during the Nâvar, or Parsi initiation into priesthood, the candidate must recite the Mîno-Nâvar Yasna with its ritual in the *yazashnagâh* (in the Fire-temple) (JJM., pp. 204–5), and was expected formerly to have the Yasna, Visparad, and several prayers of the smaller Avesta by heart.

The Parsi novice must have a purificatory bath, wear white, and is solemnly invested with the white turban.

10. Cf. the Parsi initiation into priesthood: 'The candidate is expected to pass his days during the continuation of the whole ceremony which lasts a month, in a kind of retreat, in order to be free from worldly thoughts; he must sleep on the floor and not on a cot, and take his meals at stated times after prayers. According to the present custom, if the candidate has a *pollutio nocturna* during the two Bares̱ẖnums, he is disqualified and has to go through the Bares̱ẖnum again . . .' (JJM., pp. 206, 201). (Also, see KRC., 63.)

11. See Chap. VII, p. 106.

12. See last chapter, and note 4 of the same.

13. *The Parsi Âfringân ceremony.* See JJM. pp. 391 ff.

14. Two passages in B.M. Or. 6592 refer to this part of the ritual. As they differ I quote them. The *ba* according to some priests is the dove's meat in the masiqta. (Others say it should be *ma ḏ bẖ*, and that the dove is called the *ba* in Lofani only.)

(a) '*unimar hda utrin uṯẖlaṯẖa pihṯẖa mn klila bʿuhrẖ unipaliṭ pihṯẖa mn* *klila unidra ʿumsa mn faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia durh̲ lpalga d̲ ba wamur palṭit upirt̲h̲it udarit palga d̲ ba ulgiṭinun bihdadia ahbidia piht̲h̲a ulguṭ qaninak̲h̲ gawaia wamur kus̲h̲ṭa asink̲h̲un mia bhamra mia bhamra warib mia d̲ qanina bniara d̲ hamra kulhun wamur bil mikal ubil mis̲h̲tia ulh̲ bil nirmia riha . . .*

(b) *unimar pisqit t̲h̲lat̲h̲a rus̲h̲umia ma d̲ ba ukt̲h̲ s̲h̲ahlalh̲ udinbh̲ d̲ abra ana* (*Brh̲ ana*) *unat̲h̲na ʿdh̲ lginzih̲ uniqria ʿngirt̲h̲a laufa uzakut̲h̲a at̲h̲alh̲ lhaza nis̲h̲imta d̲ plan d̲ haza masiqta mn bit hiia unisaika unada t̲h̲lat̲h̲a adiat̲h̲a unimar hda utrin ut̲h̲lat̲h̲a piht̲h̲a mn klila bʿuhrh̲ uʿumṣa mn had faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia dirit palga d̲ ba upaliṭ piht̲h̲a mn klila udra ʿumṣa mn faṭira ʿlaia ubat̲h̲raia lpalga d̲ ba walgiṭinun bihdadia udurh̲ lqanina gawaia uqria kus̲h̲ṭa asink̲h̲un mia bhamra mia bhamra kulhun bil mikal ubil mis̲h̲tia ubʿil mirmia riha.*' The 'Bel-eating, Bel-drinking and Bel censing' is curious, and is lacking from another *masiqta* cult roll in my possession.

15. The right hand given in the *kus̲h̲ṭa* should be kissed by its owner on release and carried to the forehead in salute.

X

THE PRIESTHOOD (*cont.*): THE HIGH PRIEST OR GANZIBRA

THE consecration of a *ganzibra* (pronounced either *ganzivra* or *ganzowra*) must be performed by a *ganzibra*, two priests—in cases of dire necessity one has sufficed—and two *s̲h̲gandi* (acolytes). The *tarmida* who is to be raised to the rank of *ganzibra* must be of high character, respected, tactful, well-versed in ritual and procedure, and able to expound the scriptures. He must not be the son of a *suwadi* or layman, but *melka bar melka*, i.e. of good priestly birth, for the priest's *tag̲h̲a* or crown (see last chapter) is the symbol of his kingly function as ruler, lawgiver, and leader. Consecration to the ganzivrate can only take place when some pious, aged person in the community is near death. This person must come of ritually pure and priestly stock, have been married and not childless. As soon as it is perceived that such a person is at the point of death, the priests and *ganzibra*-elect are informed, and immediate preparations for the ceremony known as the '*Ingirt̲h̲a* or 'Message' are made. The priests all perform the *rahmi*, then priests and *s̲h̲gandi* are baptized, one priest baptizing the *ganzibra* and being baptized by him in return. The *mandi* and its enclosure receive thorough ablution, *miṣri* (furrows to shut out impurities) are made and lustrated, the hut is washed inside and out precisely as at the *taraṣa d̲ mandi* (see pp. 128 ff.) and at the consecration of the priest.

Meanwhile, the dying person, with his death-*rasta*, is brought into the *mandi* enclosure, accompanied by a concourse of Mandaeans, for the consecration of a *ganzibra* is a rare event and the occasion of great rejoicing. The dying person, if he is in a condition to understand, is happy to be the chosen bearer of the '*ingirt̲h̲a*, for he or she will thereby be purified from all past transgressions and pass into the worlds of light without a sojourn in the *maṭarat̲h̲a*. Sesame seed is washed, roasted slightly on a fire of ‘purified’ fuel, shelled, pounded with dates in an iron mortar, then placed in a clean white cloth (*gdada*), and squeezed with iron tongs, the liquid expressed falling into a *keptha*. Some of the oil (*misha*) thus obtained is kept in the *keptha* for the *masiqta*, but a few drops are transferred to a small phial. This phial is sealed with consecrated clay, and marked with the impression of the ‘Shom Yawar’ and also with the finger-nail of the *ganzibra*-elect.

The latter enters the *mandi*, reads a *rahmi* in the name of the dying person, consecrates his *tagha* with the usual prayers, and binds his *pandama* about his mouth and nostrils. The *misha dakhia* (pure unction) stands on the *toriana* before him, and, when his *pandama* is secured, he lifts it and recites nine prayers upon it:

1. ‘Bshma d hiia nhar nhura’, &c.
2. ‘Bshma d hiia asgia Manda d Hiia lkukhbia’, &c.
3. ‘Bshma d hiia ʿngirtha mhathamta d nafqa minh’, &c. (the ‘big ʿngirtha’).
4. ‘ʿsira hathima ruha unishimta d Plan’, &c. (the ‘little ʿngirtha’).
5. ‘Bshma d hiia bit mishqal ainia’, &c.
6. ‘Mishqal ainia’, &c.
7. ‘Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha haila ushrara ʿmra ushima nhuilh ldilh Plan br Planitha’ (name of dying person) ‘mn hiia’, &c. (the ‘audin utushbihan’)
8. ‘Bshumaihun d hiia rbia tushbihan lhiia rbia baraiia’ &c.
9. ‘Bshumaihun d hiia rbia ʿilkhun dilkhun’, &c.

He then issues from the cult-hut with a *shganda* and goes to the place where the dying person has been laid within the *mandi* enclosure. The latter is soused from head to foot three times with water taken from the *mandi*-pool, stripped, clothed in his death-*rasta*, and then invested with his *klila*. (See next chapter for these death-rites.) When all this has been done, the priest inserts the little phial of *misha* (the oil mingled with date juice) into the *dasha* (small right-hand pocket) of the dying man's *sadra*. The *shganda* puts his right hand into the right hand of the dying man, and if the latter cannot articulate, he speaks in his stead.

Ganzibra-elect: *Kushṭa asiakh qaimakh* (The Right make thee whole and raise thee up).

Answer (of the *nafaqa* or departing man): *B'i washka wamar washtama.* (Seek and find—the priests translate 'Ask and receive'—and speak and hear.)

Ganzibra-elect: *Ana asbarlakh wanat asbarlh lAbathur.* (I have brought it to thee, and bear thou it to Abathur.)[1]

The *shganda* and *ganzibra*-elect then kiss their hands and touch their foreheads with them. The latter dipping the forefinger of his right hand into the *misha* in the *keptha* signs the dying person three times across the forehead from right to left, and thrice across the mouth.

When the person has died—usually the shock of the cold water, and the excitement and exertion hasten the end—all the priests assemble and read prayers known as the *hathamatha* (sealings) over the *ganzibra*-elect.[2] If the death occurs towards evening, the candidate does not change his clothes, but he, and the senior *ganzibra* and other officiants together with all the assembly, watch all night by the corpse, closing the entrance to the *mandi* enclosure lest something should enter and sully the areas enclosed by the *miṣri*. The burial ceremonies take place the next dawn.

If the death occurs early enough in the day to make it possible to perform all the burial rites before sunset, the latter are carried out immediately. The proceeding described above, however, is more usual, even during the longer summer hours of daylight, because the burial ceremonies in themselves take many hours and must be completed before nightfall.

It happens—rarely, for Mandaeans are acute at recognizing signs of imminent death—that the person thought to be dying, recovers. In that case, a *masiqta* is read in his name, but the ceremonies as far as the *ganzibra*-elect is concerned are invalid, and he must wait until another suitable person is near death.

The dead person is accompanied to the graveyard by all the priests, banners, and holy books that can be mustered. The burial does not differ from that of others, except that the little phial of oil is left in the *dasha* of the *sadra* worn by the corpse. The *lofani* of Sam Raia is eaten at the funeral (see next chapter) but the *zidqa brikha* is on a grand scale, for proceedings are multiplied according to the number of banners (see p. 195). The *zidqa brikha* of Sam Raia over, all return to their ordinary clothes.

But the *ganzibra*-elect's house becomes the scene of merriment and festivity. Open house is kept, and the pious add to the feast by gifts of food, so that all who visit may be fed. The *ganzibra*-elect may not sleep for three days and nights lest his purity be sullied by nocturnal pollution (cf. p. 154). During this period he may eat no meat, and must live in conditions of the severest ritual cleanliness, for the interval corresponds to the three days' interval between death and the moment when the soul of the deceased person is fully released from grave and body. On the third dawn after death the seal on the grave is 'broken', i.e. rubbed away, and all the priests, together with the *ganzibra*-elect, repair to the *mandi*, which is washed and cleaned as before. Preparations for a *masiqta* are made like those described in Chapter IX at the consecration of the *shwalia*; in fact, the *masiqta* which must be performed by the *ganzibra*-to-be in the name of the dead person, the bearer of the *'ingirtha*, does not in performance differ from that celebrated by the *shwalia* in the name of his *rabbey* except that two priests enter the cult-hut with the *ganzibra*-to-be (who is presumably in a state of exhaustion), and read the prayers with him so that he shall make no mistake, although he alone signs the *faṭiri* and goes through the ritual. When the *masiqta* is ended, a *zidqa brikha* similar to that which followed the *masiqta* at the consecration of the *mandi* is celebrated. Just as the *ganzibra* in the latter impersonated the dead *rish 'ama*, the *ganzibra*-to-be impersonates the dead carrier of the *'ingirtha*. I shall describe this *zidqa brikha* more fully in the last chapter, because it is peculiarly illustrative of the ideas that underlie this ritual meal. At its conclusion, without removing his *rasta*, the *ganzibra*-elect officiates at a *lofani* in the dead person's name, the *lofani* being that usual on the third day after death (see p. 197). Not until this is over does he return to his own house, where he must live a 'cut-off' existence for forty-five days, the period assigned for a passage through the purgatories.

During this time the *ganzibra*-elect must prepare his own food. His diet is restricted to curds, fish, vegetable, and fruit, and he may touch no meat. He may not cohabit with his wife, and should remain in a room apart, where no chance pollution can invalidate his seclusion. If, in spite of precaution, pollution occurs, the period of seclusion must be re-begun. If nothing has prolonged the retreat, the *ganzibra*, now of full rank, performs the ceremony of marriage for a priest. If no priest is found at the moment who is willing to get married, the *ganzibra*-elect remains in his isolated state. This rarely happens, as polygamy is general, and a priest is usually willing to contract an alliance for the sake of his colleague. If by some chance no opportunity to perform such a marriage were to occur, the *ganzibra*-to-be would remain in his isolation until the day of his death. I have never heard of such a case.

As soon as he has performed this marriage he is released from his seclusion and may assume the full privileges of his rank. Only a *ganzibra* may perform the marriage of a Mandaean virgin to a Mandaean man. As said in another chapter, the marriage ceremony of a non-virgin woman is performed by a *paisaq*,[3] a full priest, who is debarred from any other ceremony but that of wedding non-virgin women.

There is one other degree of priesthood, that of the *rish 'ama*, the 'head of the people'. None exists at present, and none, owing to the languishing state of the priesthood, is likely to exist, for a *ganzibra* acquires this rank automatically when he has consecrated five priests, and the consecration of a priest is now a rare event. For the past eighty years there has been no *rish 'ama*. The *ganzibra* is, therefore, in a very real sense the king of his people, for he is their intermediary in any dispute with the Government, or tribal shaikhs, their guide in all matters, temporal and spiritual, and their ultimate authority.

When a *ganzibra* marries (and most *ganzivri* have at least two wives), the ceremony must be carried out by another *ganzibra*, four priests and two *shgandi*—for the layman, one *ganzibra* and two priests are enough. At the death of a *ganzibra* great care is taken to read the proper *masiqta*, and to have plentiful *lofani* on the first, third, seventh, and forty-fifth days after death. The *masiqta*s do not cost his family any great sum, unless it be as a gift to the officiants, for priests, like doctors in England, do not require payment for services rendered to one of their own profession. Even the food for the *lofani*s, which must be on a generous scale, is partly contributed by fellow priests and pious persons.

Ganzivri and priests must only eat food prepared by themselves, or according to the strictest rites of purity, and their bread may not be baked with that of lay persons. Wine, tobacco, and coffee are forbidden to them, and it is useless to offer them food or drink if they visit you, for they may not accept hospitality. During the days when slaughter is forbidden by Mandaean religious law the diet of the priest is severer than that of the layman—even eggs are forbidden to them. Priests must avoid eating food hot, or heated, and vegetables and fruit should be raw. Thus precept, but priests tell me that they eat cooked vegetables and think it no serious sin. Before eating, everything (a rule which applies to the laymen also) must be washed in the river, and the 'name of the Life and of Manda d Hiia' pronounced over it. Even the grain employed for the priest's bread should be thus lustrated, and a prayer uttered before eating (see p. 188). Water is the only beverage of a priest, and this must be taken directly from the river or spring.

Should a priest commit a grave fault, like adultery, he is debarred from all duties, may not be baptized, and:

'kth nafiq mn paghrh shaialta bnura ubarda hawia uqaria ulika 'nish d anilh'.

(when he departs from his body, he shall be tortured in fire and frost, and call, and none shall answer him).

I have already explained that faults in ritual are not easily expiated. Should a priest assist at the marriage of a non-virgin (and matrons who examine the bride sometimes make a mistake about her virginity), he is debarred from all his duties until he has received fifty full baptisms in new garments, while the *ganzibra* who officiated must go through 360 before he may return to his office. S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Dukhayil and S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Rūmī have both gone through this expiation. The process is hastened, and how this is managed I can best explain by what I saw in Litlata in 1934 when an assistant priest had been polluted in this way. I was present at the beginning of his purification. The proceeding opened by a *zidqa brik̲h̲a* in the name of the priest who had been defiled. This rite was performed by a *ganzibra* and two priests, one of whom had come from Persia for the purpose. The defiled priest wore an entirely new *rasta* and held a new *margna*, and was mute while his three friends 'ate for the dead' in his name—for he is considered ritually dead. He sat facing the south instead of the north.

The baptism (known as the 'S̲h̲itil baptism') followed. The preliminaries of consecration of *rasta*, *klila*, the incense and banner prayers were read by all three officiants together, while the defiled priest sat facing, and slightly to the left of them. While they looped up their *sadri* into their girdles, the desecrated priest rose, and, going to the *mandi*-pool, dipped his staff three times horizontally beneath the water, and then touched his S̲h̲om Yawar ring and his myrtle wreath, but in silence. He put on his *tag̲h̲a*, touching his turban, which he wound about his head in the usual manner.

The actual procedure after this did not differ from the ordinary full baptism of a layman. But the triple immersion, triple dipping of the forehead, triple signing, triple drinking from the hand, was received from the first priest, then from the second, and then from the third, so that each action was repeated nine times. The baptized priest returned to the bank to await the chrism, while the three celebrants, still standing in the water, filled their *qanina*s by passing the bottles round their bodies in the water before they emerged. All three kneaded the sesame with water, and performed the triple signing, so that this action was also repeated nine times. Thus it was with every step of the ritual. Each action, being performed thrice by each of the three celebrants, had nine repetitions, but except for this there was nothing to distinguish this baptism from that administered to a layman on ordinary occasions, when each action is triplicated and performed by one priest only. (See Plate 25).

The whole operation was repeated at noon, and again before sunset, so that the desecrated priest received nine baptisms that day. As soon as fifty baptisms have been performed upon him, a second *zidqa brikha* is read over him, and his purification is complete.

The polluted *ganzibra*'s baptisms were performed in a similar manner, but by seven priests, so that in one day he got through sixty-three baptisms. Had they been performed by one priest, once daily, they would have taken a whole year, during which time he would have been excommunicate.

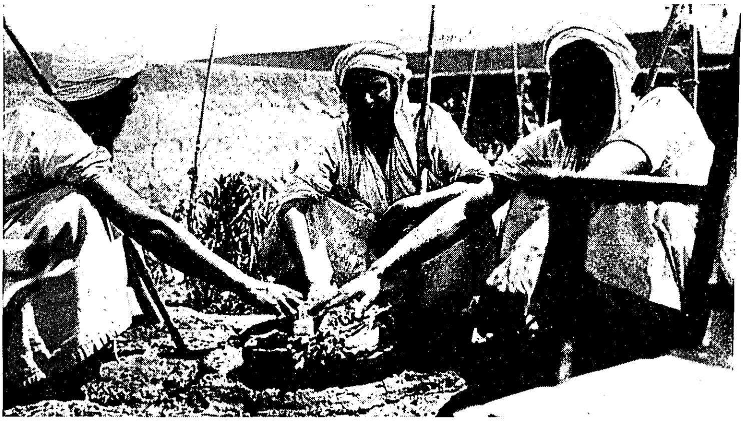
A priest is forbidden to officiate while his wife is in her menses, or until she has been purified after childbirth, nor during these times may he even enter the sacred areas of the *miṣri* during a *masiqta*. He may not administer any religious rite to his own wife, but must call upon another priest to do so.

I have only given examples of the difficulties which hedge the path of a priest: to enumerate all would fill a book. It is small wonder that Mandaeans say, 'Our religion is very difficult'.

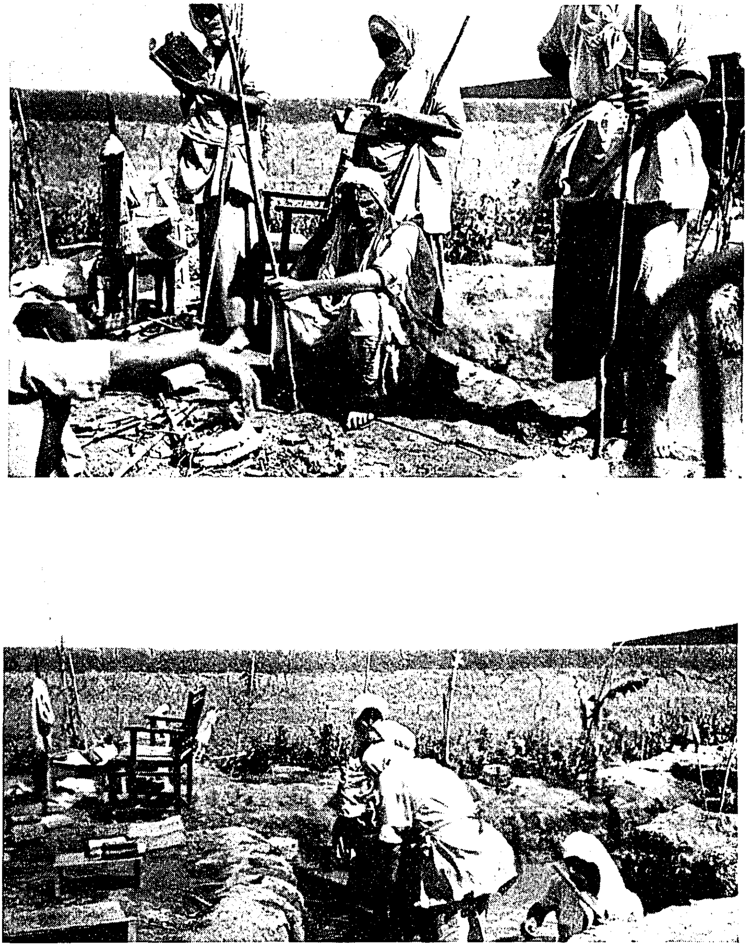
NOTES ON CHAPTER X

1. Pronunciation: *Kushta asiakh qaimakh*
Bi weshka washtemma
Ana aswarlakh wannāt aswarli lAwathur.

The Oxford MS. F, lines 465 ff., gives a description of the ritual: 'The *shganda* says to the dying man: "Seek and find and speak and hear! The '*Uthri* which thou hast worshipped and praised be to thee helpers and



a. Zidqa Brikha before baptism of polluted priest



b and *c*. Triple baptism of polluted priest

supporters and liberators and saviours in the great place of light and the radiant dwelling, and the Life be praised. And the *s̲h̲ganda* further says to the dying man, "This *Kus̲h̲ṭa* which I have borne thee, take it before Abat̲h̲ur".' (See JB., pp. 2–3.) I was told, however, that the priest spoke and the *s̲h̲ganda* replied.

2. The whole ceremony is very suggestive. The person who, in his state of health, is 'assisted' out of life by the severe nature of the rites performed upon him, may represent the dying 'king-priest' to be replaced by a stronger and younger successor. I know of no modern ceremony which expresses the *leit-motif* of *The Golden Bough* more clearly.

3. The *paisaq* becomes such at his own wish. He is usually a priest who, often because his earnings are slight, or because he is unable to perform his work competently, prefers to return to secular life. He receives the usual fee for performing a marriage.

XI

DEATH AND RITES FOR THE SOULS OF THE DEAD

A PERSON sick unto death is watched carefully day and night so that he may not die in his lay clothes. A complete new *rasta* is prepared for him or her, but the stole (*naṣifa*) is made long enough to cover the feet. On the right side of the stole, at the part which, when worn, will be level with the breast, a small piece of gold, or a few gold threads are sewn; on the left side, silver, or silver threads. (If the sick man be a priest, his relatives prepare for him the complete *rasta* of a priest, and he is buried with his insignia, the *tagha*, staff, and ring.) When hope is abandoned, and death seems near, a priest is asked to consecrate a myrtle wreath. The priest gathers fresh myrtle, twists it into a wreath in the usual manner (see p. 35), and performs the minor ablution (*rishama*), during which he wears the myrtle wreath on the little finger of his right hand. At the end of the ablution, he recites:

'My Lord be praised, the Right give you health! In the Name of the Great Primal Strange Life, from the sublime worlds of light which is above all (created) works; health and purity, strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for me (he names himself) who have prayed this prayer and (performed) devotions, and for the soul of N. son of N. (the sick man), of this *masiqta* (raising-up), and a forgiver of sins may there be for our forefathers and teachers, and brothers and sisters, both those who have left their bodies and those who are standing in their bodies (i.e. alive). In the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia.'

He then recites the four prayers for the crown and wreath, repeating the 'Manda qran' twice, once for himself and once in the name of the sick person. Continuing the *rahmi* he recites the *Baina mn hiia* with his right hand to his head, crouches to recite a secret prayer, rises to recite *Zhir umzahar*, &c., *Kth qaimia 'uthria bshkhinathun*, &c., and '*thiar klil nhur*, &c., removes the *tagha* from his head, taking care not to uncover his forehead, and the *klila* from his finger; kisses the *tagha* sixty-one times, carrying it to each eye alternately, and then repeats the same over the myrtle *klila* for the dying man, repeating over and over again as he does so (i.e. sixty-one times over both), '*Kus̲h̲ṭa*[1] *asiak̲h̲ tag̲h̲ai kus̲h̲ṭa asiak̲h̲ marai!*' (The Right give thee health, my crown! the Right give thee health, my lord!'). The reader is again reminded that the name of myrtle—*asa*[2] (or *as*)—also means 'healed' or 'made healthful', and that the myrtle wreath is actually looked upon as the bestower of health and vigour and not only as the symbol of these qualities.

The priest then takes the *klila* to the sick person's family, so that it may be ready. As death approaches—and sometimes the dying man, conscious to the last, asks that this may be done—water is brought from the river, the sick man's clothes are removed, and he is soused thrice from head to foot.[3] If the weather is cold, part of the water is heated, and then mingled with the rest, so that the shock is less. They then lift him, place him on clean bedding facing the North Star (see Chap. I, note 5) and clothe him in his new *rasta*, not completing the knot of the girdle, or *himiana*. As soon as they see that he is actually passing away (they pull up the eyelids to ascertain this), they complete the knot of the girdle, and put the *klila* in its place beneath the turban, with the green leaves falling over the left temple, securing the wreath by sewing it to the turban so that it cannot be displaced. Similarly, the *rasta* is composed and sewn into place, lest in a dying spasm it should be disarranged. The long ends of the stole are turned up to cover the feet.

Should the sick person, after all these preparations, recover, the *rasta* can be used as an ordinary *rasta* when the stole (*naṣifa* or *gabuʿa*) has been shortened and the gold and silver removed; but it may not be used a second time for a dying person.

As soon as the person has actually died, the final knot and tucking in the ends of the girdle at the sides is performed. Burial cannot take place until three hours after death. If this interval brings the time near sunset, the funeral is postponed until the next morning. Four *hallali*, i.e. four ritually pure men, *suwadi* (laymen), and not priests, are appointed to perform the last offices. These *hallali* must not be blind, deaf, lame, or have any physical blemish, and their *ris͟h* (head) or *ab* (father)—the chief *hallali*—must be married and the father of children. When summoned for the burial, these four men perform the *ris͟hama*, put on their *rasta*s, and the *ris͟h* slips into his belt a haftless iron knife (*sakin dola*) attached by a chain to the *skandola* ring which he places on the little finger of his right hand (see p. 37). A priest tells me that the *sakin dola* knife used at burials should bear the inscribed words *Gauriil Is͟hliha* (Gabriel the Messenger).

Meanwhile, the women prepare for the *lofani*, or ritual meal. *Laufa*, (pronounced *lofa*) and *lofani* are the words employed generally for ritual eating for the dead. They seem to mean 'knitting together', 'uniting', and may be translated 'communion', since it really does imply that the souls of the departed and the souls of the living are united in the sacramental act of eating, and that strength is imparted by the ritual food and drink both to those living in this world and to those who have left it.

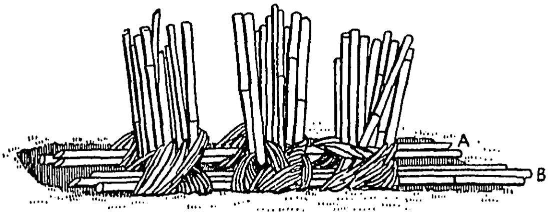
As soon as the news has spread, the neighbours flock in to lend the bereaved family pots and pans, and to assist in the grinding of flour and baking of bread, while vegetables, fruits, fish, and a sheep or birds for slaughter must also be procured as quickly as possible. Weeping is forbidden. Mandaean women must not scatter dust over their heads, nor tear garments and hair, nor beat their breasts and leap in funeral dances like their neighbours, for Moslems, Jews, and Christians of the humble classes all manifest grief in these ways. Tears become a river which the soul of the departed must ford, and torn hair forms entanglements about his feet, say the Ṣubba. (Zoroastrians used the same metaphor: see K.R.C., 76, from the Pahlavi *Virâf nameh*). Nevertheless, passing the house where a Ṣubbi had just died, I heard lamentation coming from the walled yard, and I shall not easily forget the figure of a young girl, who, having just heard of the death of a brother, cast herself repeatedly on the wet ground with shrill cries of grief, until with her hair, face, and clothes matted with mud, she looked like a living clay figure. On the other hand, I was stopped recently in Qal'at Salih by an old man I knew. His white hair flew in the wind, and his face was shining and ecstatic. 'My brother died this morning! Splendid, splendid! I have forbidden the women to weep!' There was special cause for his joy, for to die at the sacred season of Panja means that the soul of the deceased will fly quickly to the worlds of light, and escape the dangers and tortures of the purgatories.

The dead must be watched constantly, and beside the spot on which he or she died are set a dish of water, constantly renewed, a piece of stone or marble, and a light burning on a chair, table or stool, for there must be no darkness in the room. Some dispense with the lamp by day, saying that the sun itself provides the light. Others call the light 'the fire'. These three, the 'fire' or 'light', the stone (earth?) and the water, remain where they were placed until the third day has passed.

Gaṣab reeds, *bardi* (also reeds but thinner),[4] *jerīds* or palm-frond stalks, and palm-leaf ropes must also be procured, ritually washed, and set ready for the *hallali*. A priest or *hallali* must then construct the *mandelta* (or *mandeltha*, both pronunciations are used). This is a triple betyl, set up in the courtyard of the dead man's house. An exact ritual must be followed in its construction.

The Mandelta. An oval hole, about a yard in length, is dug with a spade. It should be a little more than a hand in depth. Into this a bundle of *gaṣab* reeds is placed upright, loose, and not bound, and broken off to about 3 or 3½ feet. Next, three reeds are placed on the ground in front of the bundle, and three reeds behind:

FIG. 10.



The bundle is divided into three loose sheaves. A reed bruised and softened by immersion in water and split into a ribbon, is run beneath A and B, brought twice round the first bundle, and the ends twisted and pushed down between B and the bundle to secure them. The three bundles are thus all bound into compact sheaves, the binder beginning at the right bundle and the softened reed-band being brought round from left to right. A somewhat complicated process follows. A reed band is thrust into the middle of each sheaf and passed round it first on the right half and then round the left, in each case passing round the two horizontal bundles as well, after which a band is brought round the whole sheaf and secured as before, i.e. by twisting the ends and thrusting them down underneath. Thus each sheaf has three bonds. The reeds are then cut even at the top, so that they stand about a foot and a quarter from the level of the ground. Next the six horizontal reeds, A and B, are cut through, so that each sheaf stands separate from its neighbours. Finally, a long, bruised, and softened reed is laid with its head to the right, brought round all three sheaves and fastened in the usual manner. Earth is thrown lightly round the bundles, so that the bonds are slightly covered, and the *mandelta* is complete except for sealing.

The head *hallali* and his three comrades, together with a priest, now assemble in the courtyard of the dead man. The priest has previously performed his minor ablution (*rishama*), said a complete *rahmi*, consecrated his *rasta*, and given all the necessary cult-objects ablution. He has also brought with him the holy books, wrapped in a white cloth.

All take their stand facing the North Star (house of Abathur) and the priest recites:

'*Bshumaihun d hiia rbia laufa urwaha d hiia ushabiq haṭaiia nhuilh lhaza nishimta d Plan br Planitha d haza masiqta ushabiq haṭaiia nhuilh.*'

'In the Name of the Great Life! Laufa (Lofa, communion) and the *rwaha* (lit. causing to breathe again, i.e. re-vivification) of the Life and a forgiver of sins may there be for this soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*[5] (*masekhtha*) and a forgiver of sins may there be for him.'

All the *hallali* then bind their *pandamas* over their mouths and noses, placing *jūri* (the common pink roses of Iraq) or other sweet-smelling flowers between the stuff of the *pandama* and their noses, so that 'the smell of death shall not reach them'.

The *Bania*. The *bardi* are laid loosely spread out on the ground, and are according to the size of the dead man—there is no stipulation as to number or length. Four palm-leaf ropes, each four *gamāt* in length, are required for the weaving of the *bania*, which is prepared beforehand. (A *gama* is the distance between finger-tips and finger-tips when a man stands with both arms outstretched.) A loop is tied in the middle of each rope, and these are set to the south of the *bardi*, the workers facing the north. The two ends of the rope are loosely looped over the hands of the weavers to facilitate working, and then they are twisted in and about the rushes with a space between each slender bundle of rushes and the next, forming a light fabric. When this is of the required breadth, work is stopped, and the ends of the ropes are left lying at the North.

The *hallali* must next prepare the *kursi*, or bier.

The *kursi* is made beside the corpse. The method of construction is similar to that of the *bania*, but reeds are used, and the fabric is bound to three palm-frond stems (*jerīd*) which are placed between two layers of reeds, the rope being passed first round a few reeds of the lower layer, then round the *jerīd*, then round a few reeds of the upper layer and then again round the *jerīd* in a reverse direction. No knots are tied. The *jerīds* (palm-frond stems) form the handles of the bier. During the weaving, the three *hallalis* sit 'facing the rising sun', i.e. east, whilst the head *hallali* sits opposite, facing the 'setting sun'.

When all is ready the *hallalis*, who must be barefoot, like all who take any part in the subsequent burial ceremonies, lift the corpse, place it on the *bania*, then transfer the body on the *bania* to the *kursi*. The body is finally secured by passing the loose ends of ropes left in the *bania* round the whole, passing them through the loops already mentioned. This is to prevent the corpse becoming disarranged, or falling off. The four bearers then shoulder the bier, the *rish* walking at the right of the corpse's head. During the moving of the body, and during the passage to the graveyard, manœuvring ensures that the corpse does not once change its direction facing north, so that if the dead man were stood upright, he would face the North Star.

The funeral procession moves out of the courtyard, and the bearers must step over the *mandelta*. As soon as they have done this, they halt, and the *rish*, turning back, stoops and daubs each of the three betyls with wet mud, after which he seals them with the *skandola*, repeating the formula quoted above. He then resumes his place as bearer, and the procession, accompanied by men only, proceeds to the graveyard. The reason why women are not allowed to follow is that they may be in a state of impurity. This would be harmful to the soul of the dead, and render the death ceremonies useless.

The graveyard is usually in the open spaces about the village or town, and is hardly distinguishable from the ground around it, for a Ṣubbi rarely erects any kind of tomb over the dead. 'What is the good?' I heard them say. 'The body is dirt and rubbish when once the soul has left it!' So, after a while, the mound sinks, and becomes level with the soil, and no mark or stone distinguishes one grave from another. Of late years, however, some wealthier Mandaeans, copying their neighbours, have begun to erect brick tombs with the name of the buried person on a slab. These are condemned by the pious, and are so rare that in a whole Ṣubbi graveyard one or two at most will be seen. There is a tradition that burial in earth was not always a Mandaean custom. I have heard this from several Ṣubbis. To quote Shaikh Nejm:

> 'Once our funeral was like that of the Persians. We placed our dead in an open place, surrounded by a wall, and birds came and ate them.'

Others have added 'wild beasts' and omitted the wall. Of course, the body was watched during the first three days and nights, and only abandoned when the soul was supposed to have left it.[6]

On arrival at the graveyard, the *rish* of the *hallali* takes a spade and digs three times with it into the soil, repeating the prayer quoted above, on p. 182.

Meanwhile the *tarmida* who is to officiate at the *lofani* (if there is no priest available, a *hallali* will do) has followed the funeral procession to the graveyard, bringing with him a *qintha* (see p. 106), a fire-saucer (*brihi*), fuel which has received ablution, a *dravsha* (*drabsha*, banner), and holy books. He makes a *rishama* in the river in the name of the deceased, followed by a *raḥmi* (also in the name of the dead man), and sets up his apparatus, with the *dravsha* planted in the ground to the right of it, at a little distance from the tomb, and to the south of it. He then reads from the left side of the Ginza, which is entirely concerned with death and the fate of the soul in the next world. If no priest is available, the *hallali* who takes his place does not read, but, instead, he recites:

(Pronunciation) '*Bshmeyhun ad haiy rabbi lōfa urwaha ad haiy ushaveq hoṭṭoyi nhuili al haza nishimta ad Plan bra Planeytha ad haza masekhtha ushaveq hoṭṭoyi nihuili dabahathan urubanan udahan udahawathan ad anfaq min paghreyhun walqeymi bipaghreyhun timrun qaiāmen haiy bushkhinathun haiy zakhen al kulhun iwadi.*'

('In the name of the Great Life, Laufa (uniting, communion, see p. 180), and the re-vivification of the Life, and a Remitter of Sins shall there be for the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a Remitter of sins shall there be for our fathers and teachers and brothers and sisters, (both) those who have departed from their bodies and those who stand in their bodies. Ye shall say, "The Life is established in its dwellings." And Life is victorious over all its creations.')

Meanwhile, the digging of the grave is in process. The depth is not prescribed, but there must be a hollowed-out space behind the head, left unfilled with earth and called the *laḥad* (Arabic 'niche or cavity in a tomb'). The corpse is then laid in the tomb, always facing the north, and a few stones are placed on the *rasta* of the dead man, and one on his mouth. The legend told to explain this is that once, after a man had died, his family began to die, too, one after the other. They went to the *ganzibra*, who counselled that they should dig up the man who had first died and examine the corpse. They did so, and found that the *kinzala* (stole) had been stuffed into the mouth of the corpse. The origin of this and other precautions is probably fear that the dead man may return and attempt to take his loved ones with him—the result of infectious diseases such as plague, which strikes down member after member of a household. Mandaeans say that for the three days during which the spirit and soul are attached to the body by lessening ties, the uneasy soul wanders backwards and forwards between its own house and the grave. I presume that the *mandelta* is intended to prevent the dead from harming the living. It may be a 'spirit-house' as in China. Sometimes a second *kursi* of *qaṣab* (reeds) is laid above the body. The head *hallali*, facing the north, next takes the spade and throws dust three times over the corpse, saying each time, 'In the Name of the Great Life, Laufa and *rwaha* (see above) of the Life, and a forgiver of sins there shall be for this soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a forgiver of sins there shall be for me'.

The grave is filled in by others, and a mound made. Then the head *hallali* stoops, moistens the dust on the four sides of the grave, and seals the mud so made, beginning at the head, with the impression of the *skandola*. After three days he returns and removes these impressions,[7] because all need of 'protecting' the body is at an end. When the sealing is complete, he takes the haftless iron knife attached to the ring (the *sekkin dowla*) and traces a furrow (*miṣra*) round the grave three times in the dust. This ceremony must be of ancient, probably Iranian, origin, since the Parsis have a similar usage.[8]

At the moment that the body is being lowered into the tomb the *lofani* (or ritual meal) is begun. This *lofani* is called the 'Sam Raia' after Sam, son of Noah. The legend is that Sam, who was the progenitor of the Ṣubba race, and a shepherd, lived after the Flood to a great age. When he was 750 years old, he had become infirm, and could no longer perform the *rishama* without help. The Seven Planets appeared to him and began to tempt him with visions of this world, but in vain, for Sam was weary of his body and the imperfections of this world and longed for the world of light. Then he perceived Hibil Ziwa in the shape of a priest, who said to him, 'Rise and make thy *rishama!*' Sam replied that, owing to infirmity, he was unable to do so without help. Hibil Ziwa repeated his command, and Sam, rising, felt that his body had become as strong and light as that of a man of twenty-four. He performed the *rishama*, and Hibil Ziwa offered him the alternative of a continuation of this miraculous youth, so that he might live out a span of a thousand years, or that he should leave his body and proceed towards the worlds of light. Standing there, in all youthful strength, the old man chose the latter. So he died, and Hibil Ziwa instructed the priests and Mandaeans, his children, who had gathered together, how to prepare the body for death, the rites for burial, and how *lofani* must be eaten for the dead. Hence the name, 'Laufa of Sam the Shepherd'. The familiar name in the Arabic mixed with Mandaean is the 'Thuwāb Sām bar Nūh' (Clothes for Sam son of Noah).

The Laufa or Lofani of Sam Raia (for the burial)

A freshly washed piece of white cotton cloth or linen, or a reed mat, or even a bed of reeds, or chopped straw, is spread on the ground, and upon this are laid:

1. Flat loaves of bread. The flour used in baking is ground from grain washed, and dried in the sun on a white cloth. (*Lahma*, often termed *shumbulta* i.e. wheat, at ritual meals.)
2. Baked fish (*brinda* or *nuna*) prepared by the priest. (Must be a 'clean' i.e. lawful, fish.)
3. Roast morsels of fat from the *līyaḥ* (suet at base of tail) of a slaughtered sheep,[9] if the bereaved family can afford one; if not, the roast flesh of such lawful birds as the bee-eater, partridge, or dove, is substituted. If a dove, it is called *ba*.
4. Coco-nut (*nargila*). This is imported from India as there are no coco-nut palms in Iraq.

5. Long almonds (*anguza*). Imported from Persia. None in Iraq.
6. Walnut (*amuza*). Imported from Persia. Rarely grown in Iraq, and then only in the North.
7. Pomegranate (*rumana*). This grows in Iraq, but is not always in season. As this is one of the five most sacred foods (see *masiqta*, p. 158) dried seeds are used when the fruit is out of season.
8. Quince (*sfargila*). Usually obtainable. When out of season in Iraq, imported from Persia.
9. Onion (*kiwara*). Obtainable always.
10. Grapes or raisins (*anba*). Grapes are obtainable locally when in season but raisins usually imported.
11. Salt (*mihla*).

In addition to these essential foods, or *ṭabut̲h̲a*, fruit and vegetables in season are added. I have been told by men of the priestly clan that in early times no meat or fish were eaten at *lofani* for the reason that taking life is a sin, but other priests deny this.

The men who are to partake of the ritual meal sit two and two in pairs. Each pair hold a flat loaf of bread between them with the right hand, repeating the formula pronounced upon all food, (including the daily domestic meal):

> 'The name of the Life and the name of Manda d̲ Hiia are pronounced upon thee, O Good Thing (*ṭabta*) (wholesome food) of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia!'

Ṭabta, pronounced *ṭafta*, plural *ṭabut̲h̲a*, is a word applied not only to ritual foods but to all wholesome and lawful food. The root has a meaning of imparting health, of being healthy, or living. In the colloquial Arabic of Iraq *hua ṭayyib* is used generally as meaning, 'he is alive'. *Nta ṭayyib* is a polite way of announcing a death (the unexpressed being 'He is dead—but') 'thou livest'. *Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* expresses this idea.

Each pair break the bread in half, eat several mouthfuls, and then all drink out of a common bowl of water freshly brought from the river, saying, while drinking, pair by pair:

A. '*Brik͟hat marai ms͟habat*' (Thou art blessed and praised, my lord!)
B. '*Asut͟ha nhuilak͟h*' (Health be thine!)
A. '*Sut͟ha nhuilk͟hun ṭabta brik͟hta thuilk͟hun*' (Wholeness be yours, blessed *ṭabta* be yours!')

After the bowl has passed from pair to pair, all stretch out their right hands and arms (previously washed) towards the food, holding a fragment of the bread wrapped round scraps of the food in their closed fingers. The priest or lay officiant then says:

> ' "In the name of the Life and in the name of Manda d̲ Hiia" is pronounced upon thee, O *Ṭabta* (wholesome food). Approach the goodness of the Life and the good things of Life and Manda d̲ Hiia spoke, who pronounced the name of the Life: "*Ṭab*, *ṭaba lṭabia*" (a prayer, viz. Good [health] and goodness are for those who are good) and their names (or family) shall be established who honour the names (of the dead). We seek and find, and speak and listen. We have sought and found, and spoken and listened in thy presence (lit. before thee), my lord, Manda d̲ Hiia, lord of healings. Forgive him (the dead man) his sins and trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, and forgive those who prepared this bread and *masiqta* and wholesome food. (Forgive) their sins and trespasses and foolishnesses and mistakes, my lords Manda d̲ Hiia and Great Primal Life, also those of the givers (lords) of alms and pious acts, they, their wives, their children, and their priests, and those of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*, and a forgiver of sins may there be for me, and for my father, mother, teachers and wives, children and priests; and for those who prepared this bread and *ṭabut͟ha* (life-giving food), and for you, my fathers (forebears) and teachers and tutors and instructors, when ye were supported from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say, "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is praised, and Life is victorious over all (created) works.'

All the company then carry the handful of food held outstretched to their mouths. When they have eaten the first sacred handful, they consume what is before them until they are satisfied. If there are no Mandaean poor present to finish what is left over, the remainder, with any crumbs or fragments, is thrown into the river, for not the least atom must fall to the ground.[10]

After finishing the *lofani*, all reassemble at the grave, which has by this time been filled in and sealed as described above, and say, 'The Great Life spoke and opened its (their) mouth(s) in its (their) own radiance and light and glory, and Life be praised!'[11]

Then the *hallali*, unfastening their *pandama*s, scatter the flowers that had been bound to their mouths and noses upon the newly made grave. If a priest has led the *lofani* and reading, he unbinds his *pandama* and removes his *tag͟ha* with the usual prayers of ritual, but prefaces them by two prayers (1) (the *baina mn Hiia*) (that the Life and Manda d̲ Hiia, the '*ut͟hri*s and 'kings of the world of light' may accept 'this high treasure', forgive what has been lacking or remiss in it, and forgive the sins of the dead, so that Habs͟haba may free the dead person from the Maṭarat͟ha and take him to the high world of light); (2) A prayer uttered silently in a crouching position.

The people disperse, and the *hallali*, together with all who have touched the corpse or things brought into contact with it, go down to the river and perform the complete, triple immersion (*ṭamas͟ha*).[12]

The same day a *zidqa brik͟ha* (blessed act of piety) should be performed by a priest, several priests, or, if none is available, by a layman. This *zidqa brik͟ha*, viz. that performed the day of burial (for there are several kinds, as I shall presently explain), is called the *zidqa brik͟ha* of Sam Raiia.

The Zidqa Brik͟ha after Burial

This *zidqa brik͟ha* may be performed either in the *mandi* area (though not within the *mandi* itself), in the courtyard of the priest's or *ganzivra*'s house (if they are close enough to the river), or in a place near the river. As said above, if no priest is available, a layman (who should be a *hallali*) may perform this *zidqa brik͟ha*, but the ceremony is then a shortened one, and loses much of its efficacy. The celebrants, or celebrant, must be barefoot.

If the latter is a priest, and has a banner, he plants its iron-shod foot in the ground well to the right and east of the other ritual objects. These are:

1. A *qint͟ha* (box of unbaked clay with a tray-like top, resembling

the *ṭoriana* in that it has a *miṣra* or recess. In the latter stands the *qauqa*, i.e. the incense-cube, and to the left of it, on the lid, stands the fire-saucer). See Fig. 6, p. 107.

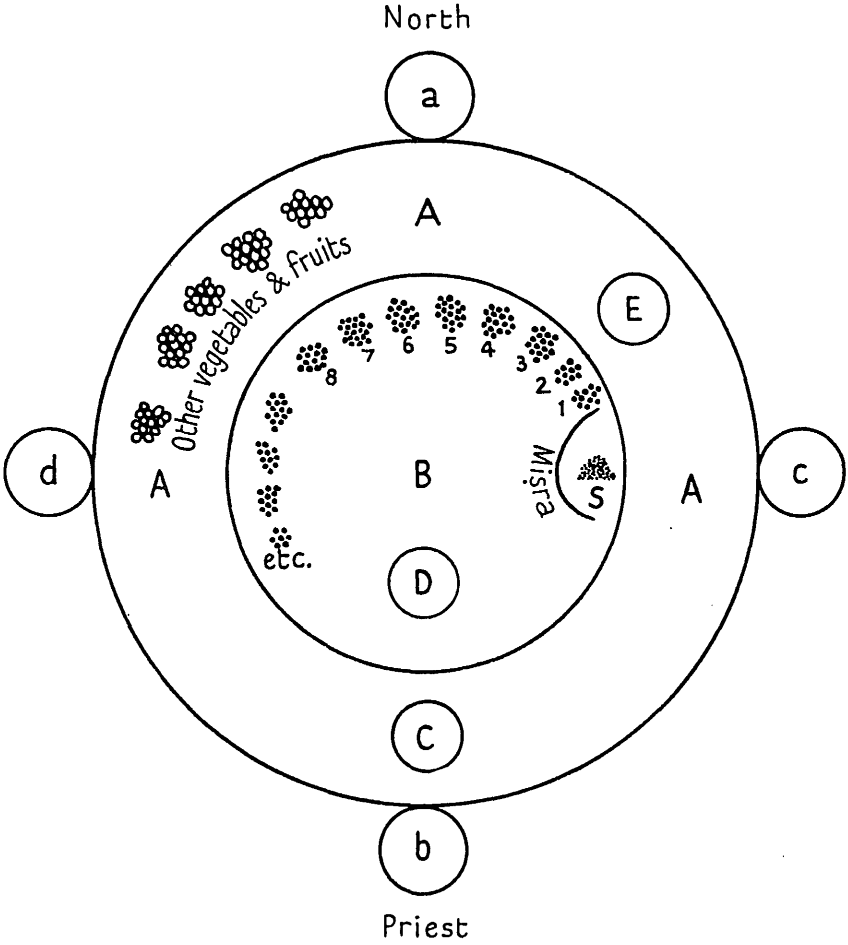
2. A *ṭoriana* or clay table, large enough for several persons to sit around it. If the celebrant has no *ṭoriana*, he digs the ground a little with a spade, smooths it, throws clean water from the river over it, daubs it over with clean wet mud, and when the sun has dried it, sweeps and cleans it, then, taking an iron knife or other iron implement, makes a furrow, or *miṣra*, around it in a circle about the size of a big *ṭoriana*. In addition, he makes four small circles surrounded by *miṣri* at the four points of the compass (*girbia*, *timia*, *madna*, and *marba*), outside and touching the circumference of the larger circle.
3. In the centre of the big *ṭoriana* or its substitute, he places a *kangana*, (ring of unbaked clay) and upon that a small *ṭoriana* of the usual ritual size and pattern (see Plate 11 *a*). In its recess, or *miṣra*, however, a small heap of salt is placed instead of the usual incense cube.

Along the northern edge of the small *ṭoriana* he ranges small morsels of various eatables. These are:

1. Fish (previously ceremonially washed and roasted by the priest).
2. Onion.
3. Pomegranate seeds.
4. Long almonds.
5. Shelled walnuts.
6. Quince.
7. Coco-nut.
8. Grapes or raisins.
9. Any other fruits or vegetables in season.

On the southern side of the smaller ṭoriana (B) in my diagram, is D, the *kept̲h̲a* set ready for the reception of the first three *faṭiri* and the *ṣa*. On the big *ṭoriana* (A), upon which the smaller (B) stands, more vegetables and fruits are heaped, an empty *kept̲h̲a* (E) for water, and another *kept̲h̲a* for two *faṭiri*.

Everything used, except salt and fuel, receives triple ablution in the river and the blessing, 'The Name of the


North
a
A
Other vegetables & fruits
E
6
5
4
7
8
3
2
1
d
A
B
Misra
S
A
c
etc.
D
C
b
Priest

Arrangement of *Zidqa Brikha* for day of burial.

FIG. 11.

Life, &c. The fuel placed in the fire-saucer on the *qintha* may be of either charcoal or wood. It will be remembered that at the *masiqta* only lustrated wood and reeds may be used.

The Making of the Five Faṭiri and Ṣa

I have described the preparation of the flour above. Salt is sprinkled on it, and a *shganda* holds this ready while the priest washes hands and arms at the river. The assistant, coming to him, then places into the priest's wet palm enough of the flour and salt for one *faṭira*. The *tarmida* mixes it with water, and kneads it in the palm of his hand. The *faṭira* should be about the size of, but thinner than, an English crumpet. When patted into shape, each little loaf is baked in the fire-saucer, then placed on the *ṭoriani*. The first three are placed on *keptha* D as said above, and the other two on *keptha* E. The priest then makes the *ṣa*.

This, kneaded in the hand and baked in ashes like the *faṭira*, is a roll about 4 inches long. In a recent article ('The Kaprana' in *Orient and Occident*, The Gaster Anniversary Volume, London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1937) I have pointed out the similarity of the *ṣa* to the Nestorian *kaprana*, a dough object of identical shape which plays a part in the *Qurbana*, and appears to be a relic of some ancient fertility and life cult. That the *ṣa* is a phallic emblem one would suspect from its form and size. The reference which puzzled Lidzbarski (Q. 107), *pihla d 'l shum hiia pla*, obviously refers to it. The same expression occurs in a *zidqa brikha* ritual purchased by me in 1936, again with the mention of *ṭabutha*. (See note 9 to this chapter for the context.)

When the *ṣa* is baked, the priest places it above the three *faṭiri* in *keptha* D, performs his *rishama*, and consecrates his *tagha*. He makes an alteration in the first prayer for the *tagha*:

'My Lord be praised, the Right make you whole! In the name of the Great Primal Strange Life from the sublime worlds of light, which is supreme above all (works), health and purity, strength and soundness (*sharara*), speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for me, N. son of N. (his own name) who have offered this prayer and devotion, and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son of N. (the name of the dead person), of this *masiqta*, and our first forefathers and great ones and brothers and sisters, both those who have left the body and those who are standing in the body. In the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat Hiia.'

The usual prayers for the consecration of the *tagha* follow and at the prayer, 'Manda created me,' he slips a *klila* of myrtle onto his little finger. He goes to the river, dips his right hand and arm in the water, holding the *margna* in the crook of his left arm, and returns to crouch in front of the *ṭoriani*, then repeating in slightly shortened form the prayer given on p. 188: '"In the Name of the Life and in the Name of Manda d hiia" be pronounced upon thee, O Good Thing (*Ṭabta*)', &c.

Taking the *ṣa*, he breaks it in two, and eats a fragment of it thrice; then three morsels from each of the five *faṭiri* and thrice from every kind of eatable on the *ṭoriani*. Next, he fills *keptha* E at the river, or from a freshly-filled *qanina* if the river is not close. Sometimes, there is no *keptha* E, and he merely scoops up, or pours, a little water into the palm of his hand. He drinks water thrice, saying:

Priest. 'Thou art blessed, my lord, and praised!'
Those present. 'Health be thine!'
Priest. 'The health of Life be yours! Blessed food (*Ṭabta brikhta*) be yours!'

He then recites the prayer known as 'our First Forefathers' (*Abahathan qadmaiia*)—the *Ṭab*, *ṭaba lṭabia* given and translated by Lidzbarski (Q. 129), followed by the invocation and blessing of ancestors and the dead beginning with the spirits of light, *melki* and *'uthri*, and then Adam, First Man, son of Qin (i.e. the physical, not the spiritual Adam), famous figures of religious history, and early ancestors whose names have been preserved without any record of why they are so carefully retained in the liturgy; then follows the name of the priest himself, his father, mother, wife, children, teachers, &c., the name of the dead man himself, and his relations, to which may be added names suggested by any present who wish dead to be remembered. After each name is said 'A forgiver of sins may there be for him' (or 'her', as the case may be). I have quoted this prayer in full in the next chapter, pp. 219 ff.

When this prayer is at an end, he puts his hand to his head while reciting the *Baina mn hiia umn maria*, crouches and recites a secret prayer silently, and then proceeds with the usual prayers for the deconsecration of the *tag̲h̲a*, &c., the *klila* is cast into the river, and he returns with his apparatus and *dravs̲h̲a* to his house.

This is the simplest form of burial *zidqa brik̲h̲a*, and the average fee paid by the bereaved family is nine *dirhems* (nine shillings), though more than double that sum is often given.

More elaborate forms of this *zidqa brik̲h̲a* are performed at the death of a priest, or *ganzibra*, or a person wealthy enough to pay for them. Two, or three, or seven priests may officiate. If there are two priests and *two* banners, the arrangement as indicated in the diagram is simply duplicated, and the ritual duplicated *except* that two *ṣai* —one for each inner *ṭoriana*—are made, and that, at the solemn breaking of bread, the two priests break one *ṣa* between them.

If there are two priests and *one* banner, two *ṣai* are made, but the set or arrangement of *ṭoriani* is the same as for one priest and one banner, except that the priests divide a *ṣa* between them at the breaking of the bread.

If there are three priests and three banners, the arrangements, or sets, are triplicated, and one *ṣa* is made at each set. Two priests sit facing one for the breaking of bread, and the *ṣa* is broken between them.

If there are three priests and one banner, the arrangement is the same as for one priest and one banner, but two *ṣai* are made, one being placed on the inner, and one on the outer *faṭiri*. The three priests sit round the big *ṭoriana*.

If four, or seven priests are taking part, two big *ṭoriani* (or sets of *ṭoriani*, big and small), and two banners are usual. The priests sit, four at the left set (in two pairs), and three, of whom the *ganzibra* is one, at the right-hand *ṭoriana*. Should there be seven banners and seven priests, each has a set, and the arrangements and ritual for one priest and one banner are multiplied by seven.

Even then the ceremonies for the day of burial are not complete. When the *zidqa brikha* is over, the priest goes to the house of the dead person, taking with him the Ginza Rba and other holy books (all are spoken of as *ginzi*, treasures) and his apparatus for *lofani*. The bereaved family have baked many loaves (all bread made by the people of Iraq for ordinary domestic use is flat, unleavened, and round). The average number is about thirty. Upon the ground of the courtyard they spread a reed mat, or a large metal tray, or even an *ʿaba* (cloak-coat of the country), and if these are not absolutely new and clean, a white cloth is laid above the mat, or *ʿaba*, or whatever it may be. Upon this the bread and all foods necessary for *lofani* are placed. The four corpse-bearers (the *hallali*), and all who attended the funeral, assemble round this, and the *lofani* performed at the tomb is repeated. A loaf is broken between each pair, several mouthfuls of everything spread before them are eaten, and all drink from a common bowl of water, the *niara*, with the responses given on page 189. They take a piece of the soft bread, and wrap in it some of the various foods spread before them, then extend the right hand over, or towards, the centre dish, while the priest reads the prayer, 'In the name of the Life' as on page 189.

Then all eat till satisfied, and the women and children follow the men; what is over being either eaten by needy persons (*hasab al-thuwāb* as they say), or thrown into the river. Reading from the holy books, especially from the Ginza, is kept up night and day, either by a priest or *yalufa*, until the morning of the third day after death.[13] This is to help the bewildered and defenceless soul, which still lingers on earth. The links between soul and body are not quickly severed. The Tafsir Paghra likens the gradual quitting of the soul to the gradual extinguishing of wicks of a lamp. A lay Mandaean's account of what happens at dissolution is:

> 'At death, the death angel, Ṣowriil (Ṣauriil: Azrael) comes, but Qamamir Ziwa descends to help the pure soul and defend it from harm. Qamamir Ziwa and S̲h̲ahabriil Ziwa[14] are forms of Hiwel (Hibil) Ziwa. Ṣowriil comes from the Darkness to claim the soul when it leaves the body. When the time comes (i.e. on the third day, E.S.D.) for the soul to part altogether from the body, it is like a thing in a deep sleep, and only gradually becomes aware of its condition. It is heavy—*dī*—! and sees not. Then, suddenly, the soul frees itself of this heaviness. It sees Ṣowriil and Qamamir Ziwa[15] waiting for it, the one a spirit of darkness and the other a spirit of light. When it leaves the body the soul is in the shape of a person, wearing clothes, but it is of air and not substantial. We cannot see it. If an evil-doer, the garments it wears are black, and if it asks, "Why am I clothed in black?" these two *melki* answer it, "Are there not sacred books, given to man since the time of Adam? Hast thou not beheld sun, moon, and stars? Thou hast reason, didst thou ask whether they were the work of man or of God?" The soul says to them, "Let me return into the body again! I will be good, I will become a *faqīr* and do good!" They say to it, "There is no escape! Who that is dead returns? Hast never seen a dead man? Hast never watched a man die?"
>
> 'Then the *nis̲h̲imta* goes to Pt̲h̲ahil, who gave wisdom to Solomon, and is led to its place of purification in the Maṭarat̲h̲a.'

I have already spoken of the belief that the soul passes at dissolution into the cast-off ethereal body of the double.

On release from the body and the tomb, a priest told me, the soul goes 'like a bullet' towards the realm of Pt̲h̲ahil, flying over the great white mountain called Sur, behind which are the Maṭarat̲h̲a. These are literally 'watch-houses' (*nṭr*) and each *maṭarta* is watched over, or ruled, by a planetary spirit or spirit of light. At the 'gate' of Maṭarat̲h̲a, the soul is received with refreshment proportionate to the ritual meals eaten in his name on earth, a banquet of the ethereal doubles of the earthly *ṭabut̲h̲a*, and knows that its kinsmen have remembered it. The third-day *lofani*, therefore, is on as grand a scale as possible, as many as seven sheep being slaughtered for a rich family. Food of all kinds (except those f *lofani*) are eaten, including rice, cream, honey

The first journey through the Maṭaratha five days, or in the case of a 'perfect' soul, fort passed through the first gate on the third da on its way, strengthened by the private f which are eaten constantly in its name. On day the soul reaches a second great portal th it must pass, and a general *lofani* like that wh performed on the third day is eaten in its nam (spirits who inhabit the Maṭaratha) offer th nourishment.

After the seventh day the women return pans borrowed from their neighbours, for general *lofani* again until the forty-fifth day, day on which the soul should reach the Scales The meal—a general *lofani*—eaten then friends and relations, gives the soul life and its ordeal. Its good and evil deeds are wei each other. If the evil deeds outweigh the go equal, the soul remains in Maṭaratha to rece tion and punishment adapted to its sin.[17] If quarrelsome, it goes to the Maṭarta of Niri vainglorious, to that of Bil (Jupiter). Especia are reserved for priests. Amongst the Maṭar the seven planets, but the worlds of the s Pthahil and of Habshaba and others provi purification. Expiation is adapted to the cri for the evil include fire and ice, being com iron comb, or bitten by snakes, lions, wolve If altogether evil, the soul descends into 'Ur, which is alternately ice and fire, only to purification at the end of the world, whe undergoing purification are carried upwards of light and life, or by Habshaba himself, a of mercy, are dipped into the heavenly waters Ziwa, the heavenly *yardna*, in a great fina healing.

If the soul is that of a pious person, its

ept those forbidden for
eam, honey, and curds.
aṭaratha takes forty-
' soul, forty.[16] Having
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private family *lofani*s
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-fifth day, which is the
the Scales of Abathur.
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to ultimate perfection of

ıg, and after a brief sojourn, it returns to
s weighed against the soul of Shitil, the
eing. To quote from a *ganzibra*:

> ed through *maṭaratha*, the soul reaches the Polar
> ıere it is weighed. (Awathur is not the Polar
> is his seat.) In one scale of the balance is the
> the soul of Shitil, for Shitil is the purest of all
> elflessness is shown in the Ginza Rba, in which
> after Adam had lived a thousand years, God
> *ns were present, and the narrator adapted his*
> ll him to Paradise. Adam begged for more time
> uest was granted, but, after another thousand
> seek his soul again. Adam begged and received
> fter a third thousand years had passed by, Adam
> n my place!" Shitil said, "I am only eighty years
> yet married!", nevertheless, he prepared to die
> king to say his *Rahmi*. Then he was taken by

eighs heavier than that of Shitil it is sent
ication, if not, it enters a ship of light and is
ver which surrounds the worlds of light to
ons, in which kinsmen long dead are settled.
elling may be in the world of Yushamin,
ı, or of Simat Hiia, or of some other great
or the worlds of light are countless.

the usual account of what happens after
nzibra, always inclined to rationalism,
atha, with its tortures and wild beasts,
ogey to frighten evil-doers. 'This world',
aratha!' He produced the Tafsir Paghra
soul was translated, after the third day's
orld of Mshunia Kushṭa and there, gradu-
d by the prayers made and sacred meals
on earth, passed through a chrysalis state.
impurities like the silk-moth the layers
rose at last and became one with its light-
, mounting in this transfigured state, passed
ee hundred and sixty gates of that world
ection of the self in the world of light.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

1. *Kus̲h̲ta.* The word means literally 'Right', 'Right-doing', becoming 'troth', and 'giving the right hand in troth or fealty'. *Kus̲h̲ta* is personified in some passages of the sacred books (e.g. JB. pp. 3–16).

2. The verb *asa* in Mandaean cannot be translated 'to heal' with the exclusive meaning 'making that which is sick well', for it implies rather 'imparting vigour and life magically'. Hence, the noun *asut̲h̲a* is better translated as 'health', 'vigour', than 'healing' or 'salvation'. In the plural, *asawat̲h̲a* = 'means of health', 'life-bestowing gifts'.

3. The Parsis wash the corpse with *gaomez* and well-water. 'In some cases, generally those of old men when they were given up as hopeless, the final bath was, up to a few years ago, *given during the last moments of life.*' (Italics mine). (JJM. p. 54).

4. *Botanical names.* The *bardi* is the *Typha Angustata.* The *gaṣab* is of two kinds: *Phragmites communis* and *Prianthus communis.*

5. 'The soul of this *masiqta*' does not necessarily mean that a *masiqta* is to be performed. It means that the soul is helped to rise by the ceremonies and prayers performed in its name. The ritual of the *masiqta* proper is too costly for all to pay for its celebration. The phrase is used of the recently dead, whose souls are prayed for.

6. With regard to the Ṣubbi tradition (by no means universal) of exposure of bodies in ancient times, this practice is not found only amongst the Zoroastrians, but is also (Doughty, "Arabia Deserta", vol. ii, p. 41), according to their neighbours, practised by the Qaḥṭān tribe in central Arabia. Evidence of such a custom among early inhabitants exists in Baluchistan, and in the Indus Valley has been found by archaeologists in the shape of fractional burials. To quote Dr. Frankfort (*Archeology and the Sumerian Problem*) these were burials, 'in which the bones were only in part collected and buried after the body had been exposed to beasts and birds . . .' (p. 27). These burials he takes as adding to cumulative evidence that 'the earliest settlers in Mesopotamia, then, were people descended from the Iranian highlands and possessed of a culture which extended eastward to the very borders of the Indus Valley' (p. 30). The Parsis expose the bodies of the dead to vultures in the Towers of Silence, but an indication of an earlier custom when, presumably after the three days' watch, the body was abandoned, is found in the *sag-did,* or bringing a dog to look at the corpse. That this dog, which should be 'four-eyed', i.e. have special markings, is *not* merely symbolical of the four-eyed dogs which guard the C̲h̲invat bridge into the other world, is shown in the earlier proviso that the sight of birds like the *sari-gar,* the black crow, and the vulture may serve the place of the *sag-did,* 'but, in that case, the shadow of these flying birds must fall over the body'. (The *Rivâyât Kama Bohra.*) In modern Tibet the practice is still a common one: bodies are cut up by the lamas before exposure to birds and beasts of prey.

7. Cf. the breaking of the seal on the tomb of Jesus on the morning of the Resurrection, i.e. the dawn of the third day after death. As the Mandaean seal is a pagan seal, it is not likely to have been 'borrowed' from the Christians: although the Nestorians also 'seal' graves (with a cross i.e. a life-sign) which is removed on the third day. The custom has probably a common origin.

8. Moulton says (*The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 154): 'An interesting detail (of a Parsi funeral) is the drawing of the *kasha* three times round the place where the corpse is laid. A *kasha* (Avestan *karša*, Greek τέλσον) is a 'furrow', and it is drawn with a piece of metal. It marks off the ground and interposes a barrier against the excursions of the fiend into the places around.'

9. Pronounced: *Bshmaṭhaiy ubushma ad Manda-ṭ-haiy madkhar illakh ya ṭafta titqabbal ṭabuth haiy uṭabutha d haiy uManda-ṭ-haiy pehla ad al shom haiy ipla ṭav ṭava al ṭavi u itres kiniana d rahmi ushmi nibbi nishka unimmar unishtemma. Bin wushkennin wamrennin wishtamennin mn qodamakh dilakh marey Manda-ṭ-haiy mareyhun ad asawatha ashfaqalli hoṭṭoyi uhovi ueskilathi watqilathi umshabashathi ill men ad hazan lahma umasekhtha uṭabutha aved hoṭṭoyi uhovi uiskilathi uatqilathi* (*tiqlathh*) *umshabashathi neshfaqulli marey Manda-ṭ-haiy haiy rabbi qadmoyi u al marey ad aghra uzedqa hazen nishimta ad Pulan bar Pulanétha* (the deceased) *ad haza masekhtha shaveq hoṭṭoyi nhvili al dili ulab wal ʿim wal rabbey walzowey wal shitley wal tarmidhi irmon dilkhun abhathi urubani umalfani umasvirani kath ismekhetun min ismal lyammen shafeq hoṭṭoyi nhuilkhun wa timrun qaiamen haiy bishkhinathun umshabben haiy uhaiy zakhen al kulhun iwadi.*

10. In Iraq bread is universally considered sacred as an emblem of life. A *fellāh*, walking along a road and finding a piece of fallen bread, will pick it up, brush away the dust, and set it where it will not be trodden upon, mentioning the name of God. In Palestine, until the Great War, it was considered wrong to sell bread amongst the *fellāhīn*—bread should be given, not sold.

11. '*Malil uptha hiia rbia bpumaihun bziwa uʿqara d nafshaihun umshabin hiia.*'

12. Compare Modi's account of the Parsi funeral: 'Only the corpse bearers are allowed to come into contact with the body. If somebody else touches the body he has to go through a process of purification or a sacred bath taken under the direction of a priest' (JJM., p. 55).

The parallels throughout are striking. To summarize: After the washing of the dead, or dying, described in note 3, the body is given over to the charge of two persons who first take a bath, put on 'a clean suit of clothes', perform the Kusti (i.e. re-girdle themselves) and recite part of the Srosh-bâj prayer. Then, holding a *paiwand* or white cloth, between them, they enter the death chamber. The body is placed on the ground in a clean white sheet, and the shroud is placed over it. The face is left uncovered, but sometimes the lower part of the face is covered with the *padân*. The corpse is lifted and put on slabs of stone in the 'front room' but, says Modi, in earlier times was placed on a plot of ground within the area of the house, dug over to the depth of a few inches and covered with a layer of sand. This custom is still observed 'in some of the towns of Gujerât'. Great care is taken to *avoid* the corpse facing north.

'After placing the corpse on slabs of stones, one of the persons draws round the body three *Kashas*'. (See note 8.) 'They then leave the house, with the *paiwand* still held between them, and finish the Srosh Bâj prayer.'

The funeral ceremonies over the body before its removal include the *sag-did* (note 6). A priest wearing a *padân* recites prayers by the sacred fire brought into the room in which the corpse is laid after the first *sag-did* (for the dog is brought to 'look' at the body more than once).

The removal of the body at night is forbidden.

'About an hour before the time fixed for the removal of the body to the Tower, two—or four if the body is heavier—Nassâsâlârs, i.e. corpse-bearers, clothed in perfect white, enter the house, after having said and performed the Pâdyâb Kusti' (minor ablution). 'All parts of the body except the face are covered up.... They enter the house holding a *paiwand* between them' (JJM., pp. 62–3).

Sometimes the offices of the first two persons and those of the corpse-bearers are performed by the same persons. Before the recitation of the Gâthâ (which must take place before the dead body leaves the house) 'two priests perform the Pâdyâb Kusti, and, after reciting the prayers for the particular Gâh, go to the chamber where the dead body is placed, and standing at the door or inside the door at some distance from the body, and holding a *paiwand* between them, put on the *padân* over their faces, take the *bâj* and recite the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ (Yaçna xxviii–xxxiv) which treats of Ahura Mazda, his Ameshâspentas or immortal archangels, the future life, resurrection and such other subjects' (JJM., p. 65). '... When the recital of the Gâthâ is finished, the final *sag-did* is performed.... When all have had their last look and paid their respects the corpse-bearers cover up with a piece of cloth the face of the deceased which was till now open and secure the body to the bier with a few straps of cloth so that it may not fall on being lifted up and carried' (JJM., p. 66).

Only male relatives follow the bier to the Tower of Silence, and after the conclusion of the ceremonies and the leaving of the body to the vultures, 'all return home and generally take a bath before following their ordinary vocations'. (JJM., p. 69).

13. The time set for the soul to quit the body and tomb is that taken in a mild climate for the body to show signs of putrefaction. Jesus is represented as leaving the sepulchre on the dawn of the third day.

'According to Parsi Scriptures', says Modi (p. 76), 'the soul of a dead person remains within the precincts of this world for three days under the special protection of Sraosha' (p. 77). 'On the dawn after the third night, it goes to the other world.'

14. *Shahabriil* is variously described in the Ginza Rba as *Mana*, *Gufna* (Mandaeans translate this word 'tree' not 'vine'), and *'uthra Ziwa*.

15. Cf. the two death angels of the Moslems, Munkir and Nakīr, and the Hebrew Gabriel and Azrael. Gabriel and Gauriil Ishliha correspond exactly to the Zoroastrian Sraosha.

16. This recalls the ascension of Jesus on the fortieth day. Forty is used generally as the Semitic equivalent of 'many', and would not, therefore, be significant were it not for the parallel of the resurrection on the Third Day, and the removal of the seal. It must be remembered that the ritual mass for the soul is the *masiqta*—the 'raising'.

Moslems have a special ceremony with prayers on the fortieth day after death, called 'the Forty', and on that day food is distributed to the poor. The Mandaeans eat *lofani* on the forty-fifth day, while the Parsis have the Sraosh ceremony on the thirtieth day after death. Baghdad Jews eat a vegetarian ritual meal for the dead on the thirtieth day after death.

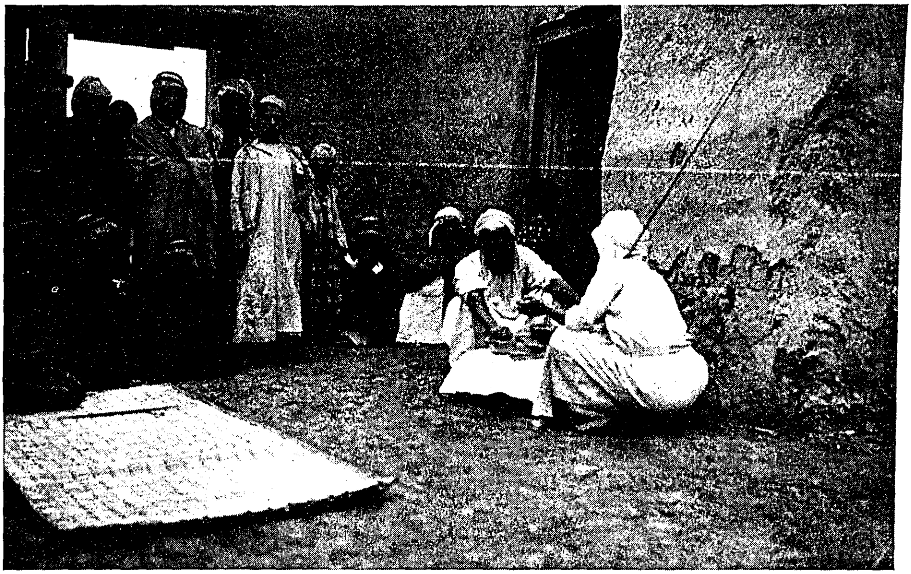
17. *Parsis.* Of the weighing of the dead man's deeds in Meher's scales Modi writes: 'If his good deeds overweigh even by a small particle his misdeeds, his soul is allowed to pass the bridge (Chinvat) to Paradise. If his good deeds are equal to his misdeeds the soul goes to a place called Hameshta-gehân. (Vend. xix. 36). If his misdeeds outweigh his good deeds, even by a particle, he is cast down into hell.' (JJM., pp. 83–4.) (The Hameshta-gehân is the Parsi Purgatory, or place of purification.)

XII

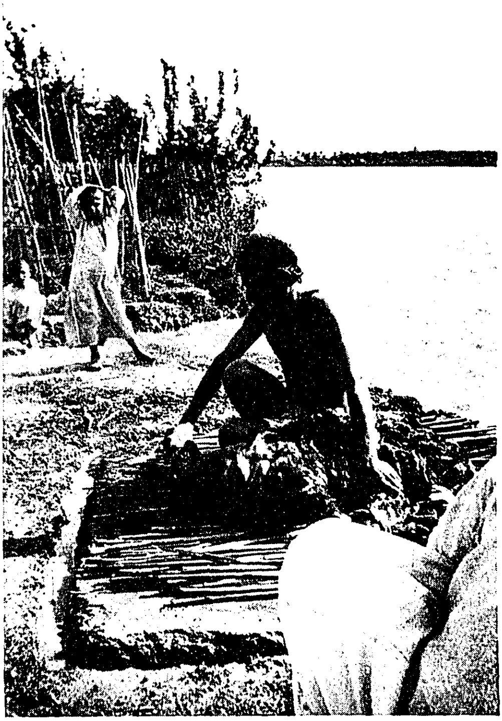
EATING FOR THE DEAD

In the last chapter, and those which preceded it, I have described various ritual meals, such as that eaten at the consecration of the *mandi*, or of the priest, or of the *ganzibra*, at marriage, and at death. I have also indicated the nature and purpose of these ritual meals, the actions which accompany them, and the foods eaten at them. In this chapter they must be considered in groups, and especially in the intensified form in which they are performed, or eaten, at Panja, or Paranoia (Parwanaia).

The meal has degrees of sanctity and efficacy. The simplest form of all is the private, family, or household *lofani*, referred to in the last chapter as distinct from the more ceremonious general *lofanis* performed on the first, third, seventh, and forty-fifth days after death. Two or three or more of the deceased person's family gather together in the courtyard—the meal is eaten in the open air—and, after they have performed the *rishama*, sit around a dish, tray, or clean white cloth, upon which the foods are placed. The five sacred foods of the *zidqa brikha* should be present, and bread, vegetables, and fruit. Fish, mutton fat, or birds' flesh (not chicken) are desirable, but not essential; salt is necessary. All *lofani* food must be absolutely fresh, greenstuff and fruit picked within the hour if possible, and water fetched straight from the river. All dishes, utensils, accessories, and foods used (except salt) must receive triple ablution with the baptismal formula in the river. The ritual is a simple form of the general *lofani*: the master of the house, or his representative, presides, bread is broken between pair and pair, and the right hand grasping a morsel of bread wrapped about fragments of food is stretched forth over the central dish, while the master says, 'In the name of the Great Life, *laufa* (communion) and *rwaha* (revivification) of life and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son (or daughter) of N.'. The handful is eaten, water is drunk with the



a. Lofani in a private house



b. Panja. Sacrifice of sheep for *lofani*
(note *miṣra* and bed of reeds)

lofani responses (p. 189), and the meal completed, what is left over being cast into the river.

I described two forms of general *lofani* in the last chapter.

The *zidqa brikha* comes next in sanctity. This ritual meal has variants which differ considerably. The *zidqa brikha*s for a marriage and a burial have already been described in Chapters V and XI. The latter may be celebrated, if no priest is available, by a *hallali*, but the former can only be performed by a *ganzibra* and priests. In my chapter on the consecration of the *mandi*, and in that in which I recounted how a *ganzibra* is consecrated, I mentioned that I was reserving my description of the *zidqa brikha* which is performed at these two ceremonies. It is the most elaborate of all *zidqa brikha*s, and is united with the solemn drinking of *hamra*, and with a myrtle ceremony which is suggestive of the symbolism of eternal life attached to that fragrant and evergreen shrub by the Mandaeans. It will be remembered that in the one the *ganzibra* was for part of the time impersonating a dead *rish 'ama*, and in the other, the *ganzibra*-to-be was impersonating the man whose death enables him to be raised to the ganzivrate.

The arrangement of the sacred foods on the *ṭoriani* differs slightly from that of the *zidqa brikha* for burial. Fat from the base of the sacrificed sheep's tail has previously been brought to the boil on the fire of lustrated wood before the *mandi*. A little white rice (i.e. not the unhusked red *shilib*) is cooked in this, and a *keptha* full of this greasy rice is placed next to the salt in the inner *ṭoriana* (see diagram, p. 192). The arrangement of *faṭiri* (five) and *ṣai* (two) is the same as at the *zidqa brikha* for the day of burial. There is one important addition, however, namely, that of a *qanina* full of *hamra*.

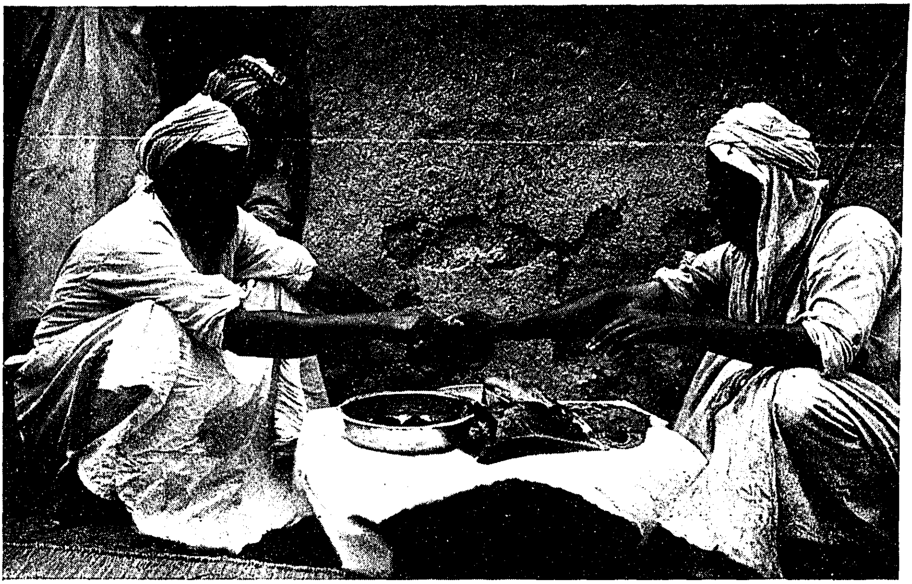
When the priests begin—there are three, including the celebrant assisted by a *shganda*—they take the *ṣai* in their right hands, the celebrant and a priest holding one and the other three the second. The usual formula 'In the Name of the Great Life, *Laufa* and *rwaha* of Life,' &c., is pronounced before the solemn breaking in two (*pratha*) of the *ṣai*. In the case of the consecration of the *mandi* the name of the dead *rish ʿama* is mentioned ('N. son of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*'), in the case of the new *ganzibra* the name of the dead bearer of the *ʿngirtha* ('N. son of N. of this *masiqta*'). The priests then eat thrice of everything on the *ṭoriana* and drink from the common bowl (*niara*), or from a *keptha*, with the formulae I have quoted several times. All then wrap a morsel of bread about small fragments of food, and, grasping this in their right hands, stretch them over the *ṭoriani* and recite the Abahathan prayer, given in full later in this chapter.

The impersonator of the dead *rish ʿama* (or dead bearer of the *ʿngirtha*) does not speak during this first part of the *zidqa brikha*; he sits with the others, but repeats the formulae and the Abahathan in his heart.

The drinking of the *hamra* follows the Abahathan, and this drinking of fresh fruit juice and water is combined throughout with myrtle ritual and the formal 'smelling of the perfume of the myrtle', thereby intensifying, as I have said, the implied symbolism of evergreen immortality, and of the resurrection forces of spring, germination, and growth. I shall quote some of the myrtle prayers, at the risk of lengthening this chapter unduly, because they prove this point.

The *shganda* takes the *qanina* full of *hamra* and a bunch of freshly plucked myrtle sprigs, and, reciting the prayer, '*Bshuma d hiia rbia mn yuma d prash ayar mn ainia mia lhakha*', &c., he gives both to the celebrant, who, on receiving them, breaks his silence and recites: '*Atha atha shganda rama atha mn bit ab*,' &c. He divides the myrtle, and distributes it amongst his three assistants. As each man receives the myrtle, he pushes it, plume-wise, into a fold of his turban. The celebrant says over each man in turn, as he hands him the myrtle:

> '*Bshuma d hiia rbia byuma d shirsha d asa hadtha qudam malka triṣ malka yaminh pshaṭ ʿlh ul ʿuthria ushgandia ʿhablun wamarlun nsub minai asa hadtha ubrikhta bshkhinatha brukh ubirkhth bshkhinatha wanhar utaqin ʿuthria ushkhinatha d lyaminakh ulsmalakh yatbia mn rish brish.*'



a. Lofani: the breaking of bread

b. Slaughter of sheep for *zidqa brikha* of the *ṣai*. In the case of the consecration of the *mandi* the name of the dead *rish ʿama* is mentioned (‘N. son of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*’), in the case of the new *ganzibra* the name of the dead bearer of the *ʿngirtha* (‘N. son of N. of this *masiqta*’). The priests then eat thrice of everything on the *ṭoriana* and drink from the common bowl (*niara*), or from a *keptha*, with the formulae I have quoted several times. All then wrap a morsel of bread about small fragments of food, and, grasping this in their right hands, stretch them over the *ṭoriani* and recite the Abahathan prayer, given in full later in this chapter.

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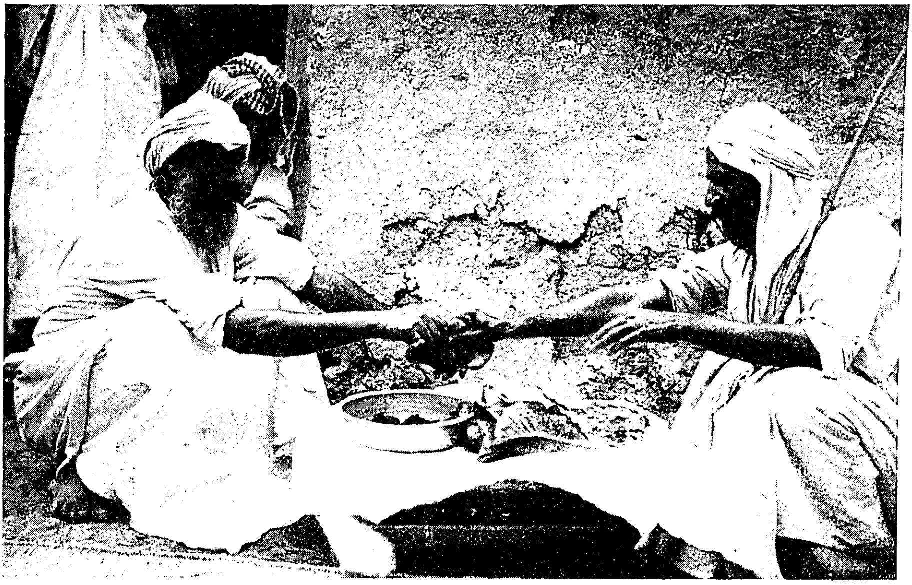
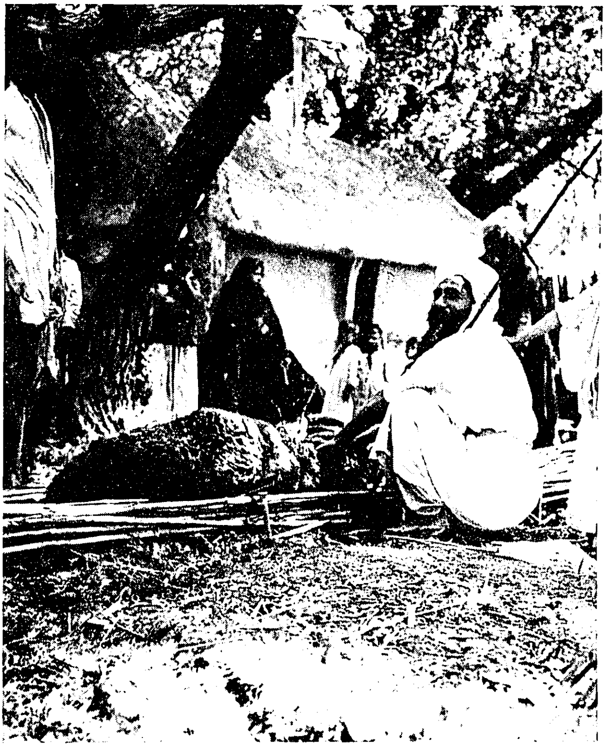
PLATE



a. Lofani : the breaking of bread



b. Slaughter of sheep for *zidqa brikha*

'In the name of the Great Life! On the day that the fresh plant of myrtle was set up before the King, the King stretched forth his hand to it and gave it to the ʿ*uthri*s and *shganda*s and said to them, "Take from me fresh myrtle, and give benison in the dwellings. A benison bestow on the dwellings." And it illumined and irradiated the ʿ*uthri*s and the dwellings which are situate to thy right and thy left for ever.'

'Bshuma d hiia rbia byuma dasgia Hibil alwath Yawar asa alwathaihun asgia lwathaihun ulYawar byaminh ʿhablh wamarlh nsub minai asa hadtha ubirkhta bshkhinatha brukh birkhta brukh bshkhinatha uhaizakh Yawar pihtha lpumh ulHibil Ziwa mbarikhlh mbarikhlh lHibil Ziwa wamarlh brikhit anat abun Hibil Ziwa akwath asa d byaminakh uninfush sharshakh akwath shirshia d asa hadtha unihuilakh hala usaghia akwath mia hiia.'

'In the name of the Great Life! On the day that Hibil approached Yawar, he brought towards them myrtle, myrtle he brought to them, and gave it to Yawar with his right hand and said: "Take from me fresh myrtle, and bless the dwellings with a blessing! A benison bestow in the dwellings!" Then Yawar opened his mouth and blessed Hibil Ziwa and said to him: "Blessed art thou, our father, Hibil Ziwa, like the myrtle which is in thy right hand, and thy root (race) shall flourish like the fresh myrtle plant, and shall bring thee strength and increase like the living water".'

In distributing the twigs with these two prayers, he begins with the *shganda*, then gives to the priest on the right, and next to the *tarmida* on the left. He then takes a *keptha*, pours a little *hamra* into it and gives it to the priests and *shganda* (in the text they are called the *brukhaiia*). Each recipient drinks thrice from the little bowl, while the celebrant pronounces over each:

Bshuma d hiia rbia nhar gufnia bgu mia u ʿtqaiam kabiria lkalh ltaqnia mia uqaima dmawathkhun uminihra ʿlan dna dna ziwaikhun ʿuthria saghiia watha bhilfa kasia dna ziwaikhun uziwa d malka athia rihaikhun umaziz (mazziz) ʿlan.

This prayer is not so easy to translate but, no doubt, some reader will correct me:

'In the name of the Great Life! Vines (priests translate 'trees') glistened in the waters and grew to their full height to the adornment of the waters (?). And let your counterparts arise and enlighten us, let your radiancy rise, rise upon us, multitudinous ‘*ut̲h̲ris*, and come in mystic guise. Let your light rise upon us and the radiancy of the king. Let your perfumes come to us and give us strength.’

No matter how this prayer be translated, the general meaning stands clear: it is a piece of imitative white magic: the communicants are endued with the power and strength that the powers of light and life give to growing things.

After all have drunk of the *hamra* they rise, but the celebrant resumes his role of the dead and crouches before them, while a priest reads nine prayers over his head.

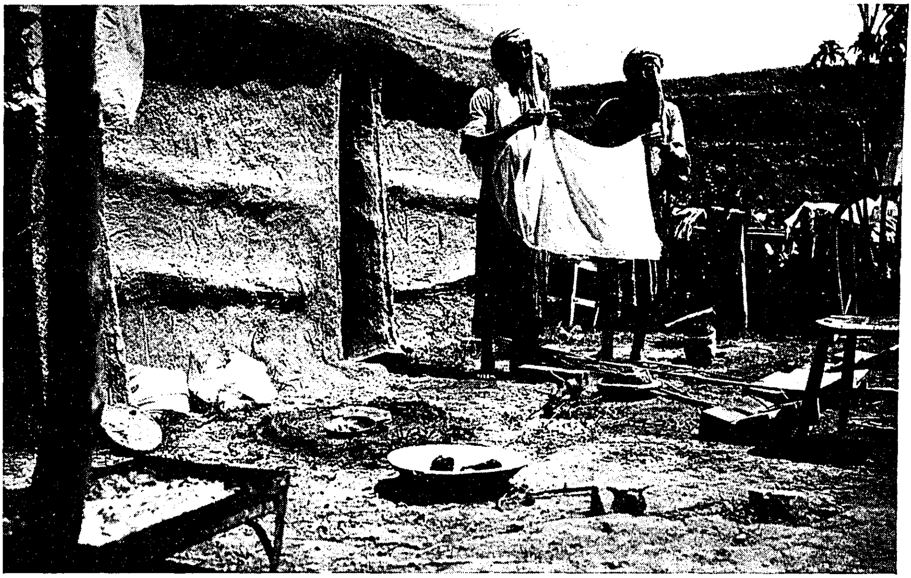
1. ‘Bs̲h̲uma d̲ hiia mis̲h̲qal ainia kadfia’, &c. (Q. 65).
2. ‘Mis̲h̲qal ainia arumia’, &c. (Q. 15).
3. ‘ʿsir yama uʿsirin trin kifh̲ d̲ yama’, &c. (Q. 22).
4. ‘Gimra ana Gimira’, &c. (Q. 23).
5. ‘Zha uʿtazha kulhun ruhia bis̲h̲at̲h̲a’, &c. (Q. 24).
6. ‘Bs̲h̲uma d̲ hiia kt̲h̲ ʿhablia yardna d̲ mia hiia lSam Ziwa Rba’, &c. (Q. 40).
7. ‘Bs̲h̲uma d̲ hiia ʿsiria ht̲h̲imia’, &c. (Q. 43).
8. ‘Bs̲h̲uma d̲ hiia bʿuṣar hiia triṣinin’, &c. (Q. 43).
9. ‘ʿsirna ht̲h̲imna halin nis̲h̲imta d̲ Plan’ (the name of the living *ganzibra* not the dead he represents), &c. (Q. 44).

The celebrant then rises and he, or one of the priests, takes the book of prayers in his hand, and reads twenty-four prayers, wordy and vague, some of them being pages long. I do not propose to give them here.

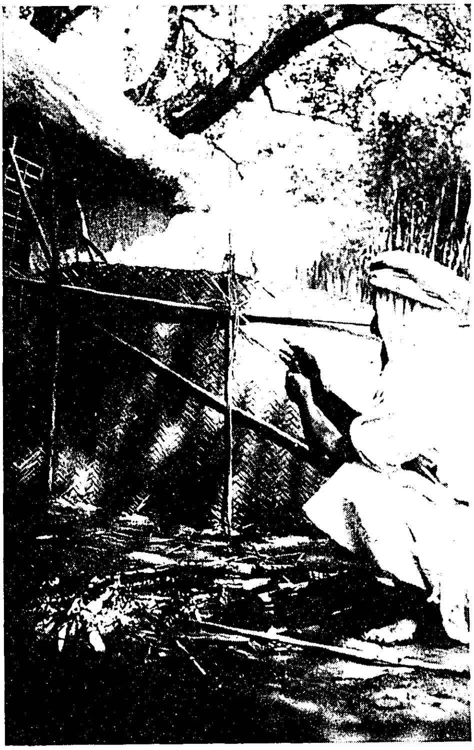
When they are concluded, each takes the myrtle in his right hand and they all repeat after the celebrant:

‘*Asa asa malka nisbh̲ umalka briha d̲ asa mitkarak̲h̲*
Malka mitkarak̲h̲ briha d̲ asa
UlHibil Ziwa mbarik̲h̲l̲h̲
Mbarik̲h̲l̲h̲ lHibil Ziwa wamarlh̲
Brik̲h̲it anat abun Hibil Ziwa d̲ ait̲h̲it̲h̲ lhazin s̲h̲irs̲h̲ia d̲ asa hadt̲h̲ia
Utraṣt̲h̲ bs̲h̲k̲h̲inat̲h̲a d̲ ʿut̲h̲ria
Us̲h̲k̲h̲inat̲h̲a bziwa nahria briha basimia
Mn ris̲h̲ bris̲h̲.’

‘Myrtle, myrtle! A *malka* (king, spirit) takes it and a *malka* is incorporated (lit. bound up, wrapped up) in it. A king is lapped in the perfume of the myrtle and he blessed Hibil Ziwa, he blessed Hibil Ziwa and said to him, “Thou art blessed, our father Hibil



a. Zidqa brik͟ha. Preparations



b. Kneading dough for the *faṭiri* (*zidqa brik͟ha*)

Ziwa who has brought these roots of fresh myrtle and set them up in the dwellings of the *'uṯẖria* and the dwellings in radiant light inhale its lovely perfume, for ever and ever".'

The celebrant then collects the myrtle from the priests and the twigs that he placed on the *ṭoriani* and pronounces the following prayer:

'Bs̱ẖuma ḏ hiia rbia kul man ḏ brihaḵẖ nahra ubgauaḵẖ mitkaraḵẖ s̱ẖitin haṭaiia kadiria minẖ naṯẖria ukulhin anania dakiaṯẖa ḏ mis̱ẖtalmibaḵẖ mn 'ubadia sainia mitparqan uklilia gadlan ubris̱ẖaian tarṣan adinqia muma salqia hazilẖ laṯẖar nhur.'

'In the name of the Great Life, all who smell thy perfume and become enveloped in thee, sixty major sins shall flow away from him, and all the pure spouses who are made perfect in thee shall be freed from evil deeds, and twist garlands and set them on their heads and, without blemish, shall rise and behold the place of Light.'

During this prayer all the officiants smell at the myrtle. The Ṣubbi priests told me later that 'sixty sins leave them by the power of the perfume'.[1]

The *ganzibra* then throws the myrtle, together with all the *ṭabuṯẖa* (sacred food) that remains, into the *yardna*. The *dravs̱ẖa* is deconsecrated by two prayers, rolled up, and put away.

There are other *zidqa briḵẖa*s, such as the solemn 'pious act' performed for a person who has commissioned a priest to write one of the holy books for him. This person is considered throughout as impersonating himself after death, i.e. he is taking his *zidqa briḵẖa* as it were, in advance.[2] The ritual for this *zidqa briḵẖa* is a mixture of the *zidqa briḵẖa* just described (for *hamra* is drunk at it, and myrtle is distributed), and the ceremony of the *hava ḏ mani* (*ahaba ḏ mania*) described later on, for the person in whose name it is read wears a new *rasta*, and, if a layman, receives the holy food and drink with veiled hands. Each time that a special name is inserted, the name of the person for whom the holy book has been written, together with the names of his family and ancestors, are mentioned.

The five *faṭiri* and the *ṣa*, the salt, and a range of vegetable foods are the principal features of the *zidqa brikha*; the prayers and other ritual differ according to the occasion of the sacred meal.[3]

Highest in sanctity comes the *masiqta*, or 'raising-up', described in the chapters on the consecration of the *mandi*, the priest, and the *ganzibra*.[4] In these there are variations in the manner of performance, the prayers recited, and in details of ritual, but the main features are the slaughter of the dove, the making and consecration of sixty-six *faṭiri*—*without* salt—, the placing of the dove's flesh with the five other *ṭabutha* upon the *faṭiri*, their signing with the *misha*, the mingling of grapes or raisins for the *hamra*, and the drinking of the same, and the final burying of the dove and the sixty-six *faṭiri*. It will be noticed that *only* the five kinds of sacred food are used (beside the salt-less bread), and that the drinking of the *hamra* does not replace the ordinary sacraments of bread made with salt and of pure water, which are also eaten and drunk. The *masiqta* is performed, like the *zidqa brikha*, for the dead, but also, in an anticipatory fashion, for the living. The number of officiants (as in the case of the *zidqa brikha*; see pp. 195–6) differs. To enumerate:

1. *The Masiqta of the Shwalia* (initiate into priesthood). One set of *ṭoriani* is required, and the new priest 'signs' all the sixty-six *faṭiri* in the name of his initiator. This *masiqta* is called the *Masiqta d Bukhra* (of the First-Born).
2. *The Masiqta of the Mandi.* Requires three officiants and three sets. The *ganzibra* entering the *mandi* with the *shganda* first consecrates twenty-four of the *faṭiri* in two relays; then, when the priests join him, the three officiants each consecrate fourteen *faṭiri* in relays of twelve and two. It is followed by a *zidqa brikha* with *hamra* and myrtle.
3. *The Masiqta of the new Ganzibra.* The *ganzibra*-elect performs the entire ceremony and consecration of the sixty-six *faṭiri* (like the *shwalia*), but a *zidqa brikha* similar to that of 2. follows. (Also called 'of the *'ngirtha*').
4. *The Masiqta of Shitil* (also called '*d Bukhra*'). Three priests officiate, one of whom is a *ganzibra*, and the proceeding is the same as 2. This is performed for one who dies without a *klila*.

5. *The Masiqta of Zahrun Raza Kasia.* This is performed like 4. with minor differences. It is celebrated for one who dies on one of the minor *mbaṭṭal* days (see p. 88).
6. *The Masiqta of Adam.* Performed by seven priests, with seven sets, each signing and consecrating sixty-six *faṭiri* with ritual of 1. This *masiqta* is performed for one who dies on one of the major *mbaṭṭal* days, i.e. during the five days before Panja, the day after Dehwa Daimana, the sixth and the seventh days of the New Year, and any Moslem feast-day. Also for a murdered man, one who dies without rites, or from the bite of a dog, wild animal or snake, or sting of a scorpion, or by any other accident except those named in 7.
7. *The Masiqta of Samandiriil.*[5] Performed by eight priests of whom one at least must be a *ganzibra.* This is for one who falls from a palm tree, is burnt by fire, or drowned in a river. Eight sets, each with sixty-six *faṭiri* consecrated like 1.

If a man dies in one place and is buried in another, two *masiqta*s are read for him, one of Adam and another of S̲h̲itil. If a woman dies in childbirth on the first day of her impurity, the *masiqta* of Adam is read for her; on or after the third day, the *masiqta* of Zahrun Raza Kasia, if on or after the seventh day, the *masiqta* of S̲h̲itil. If she dies after the thirtieth day, in her *rasta*, but too ill to have been baptized, the *zidqa brik̲h̲a d̲ gmās̲h̲i* (otherwise *hava d̲ mani* (*ahaba d̲ mania*) which will be described later in the chapter) is performed for her when *Panja* comes, also the *masiqta* of Adam.

If a bride or bridegroom dies during the wedding ceremony or the week which follows it, no *masiqta* at all can be read for him or her, and no *klila* can be placed on his or her head. No *ginzi* (holy books) can be carried in the funeral procession, although *hallalis* act as bearers and *lofani* is read at the grave. The usual *zidqa brik̲h̲a* cannot be performed on the day of burial, then, or at any subsequent time.

If one of the bridal pair dies after the first seven days, having been prevented by illness from being baptized, a *zidqa brik̲h̲a māl gmās̲h̲i* (*hava d̲ mani*) is read for him or her during *Panja*, and two *masiqta*s are read, that of Adam and that of Samandriil. If there are not enough priests for Samandriil, they substitute that of S̲h̲itil.

The *masiqta* of Samandriil costs 160 rupees (i.e. about £12 or twelve dinars), whereas the *masiqta* of Shitil is only about 50 rupees (£3 15*s*.). I asked what would happen if the family was too poor to pay these heavy fees. The priest replied that nothing could be done. Their work could only be performed for fees, 'for we must live'.

The difference between one *masiqta* and another lies in the prayers recited, not in the actual procedure. The bundle containing the *ṭabutha* and sacrificed dove must be buried in a fresh place within the *mandi* enclosure every year, but never on the east side of the *mandi*.

During *Panja* (*Parwanaia*) the duty of eating for the dead, not only for recently dead persons, but for all ancestors, whether spirit-ancestors or actual ancestors, becomes a sacred duty, for these five days are a suspension of the division between the world of light and this world, and 'those who have left their bodies' and those who are still in their bodies enjoy fellowship and unity transcending that of other days of the year.[6]

Not only are the former invoked, but they are thought to be actually present. The Mandaean ritual meal is linked with the *mention of the dead by name*, not only the recently dead, but relations, ancestors, *rabbis*, priests (many of the names convey nothing to their present descendants), back to such remote ancestors as Adam, Shitil, and 'Anush, and, still more removed, to the spirits of light and life who were the first progenitors of mankind. The word for this mentioning of names (the '*Abahathan*') is the *dukhrana*, *the Remembrance or Mentioning*.[7] The meaning of this root *dkr* or in Arabic *dhkr* is best illustrated by an expression commonly used by the ignorant people of Iraq about Khidhr Elias (the Prophet Elijah), who is called the Shaikh of the River. 'If you mention him, he is present.'

The person, soul, or being whose name is uttered in *dukhrana* becomes present, not only in the mind of the utterer, but actually, though invisibly. Hence *dukhrana* becomes an invocation, a summoning, a claiming of attention; the clan, whether in this world or immaterial worlds, is reminded of its unity; and the spirits of ancestors in the worlds of light are made aware of their descendants, especially of the recently dead, of those who are still being perfected in Maṭaraṯha, and of those in the prison of the body upon earth. A Mandaean priest explained the *duḵẖrana* thus, 'It is like the ringing of the bell of a telephone'. The simile was apt: not only is communication established, but the attention of distant or divine ancestors summoned and compelled. The Tafṣir Paghra pictures *duḵẖrania* taking place not only in this material world, but in the immaterial worlds, 'like messages from world to world'.

In the minds of the majority of the Ṣubba the eating and drinking of the ritual meal has a very real replica in the spiritual world. I have heard them murmur, at the end of a *lofani*, during *Panja*, when the names of various dead relatives have been pronounced by the officiant, 'and now they have eaten, all of them!' I have already explained how the souls passing through the Maṭaraṯha are given etherealized banquets and fortified on their journey.

The ritual meal then, especially with *duḵẖrana* or mention of names, is, in a most literal sense, conceived of as a 'holy communion', a ritual appeal to the clan spirit and a denial that any member of that clan can cease from existence.

Every ritual meal in Panja is linked with *duḵẖrana*, and in *lofani*s, and *masiqta*s and *zidqa briḵẖa*s, the words 'the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta*' become 'the soul of N. son of N. of this *masiqta* and *duḵẖrana*'. In every house *lofani* is eaten, and relatives gather together and remind the officiant of names which they wish included in the list of family names which he reads out. Sheep are sacrificed for these ritual meals, and even the poorest, who cannot afford sheep, will hold their hands over the common dish of fruit and vegetables and eat in the name of the dead of their family.

Those specially remembered, however, are those unfortunate dead who are wandering, outcasts from the world of light, because they have been deprived by fate or accident of their proper death ceremonies. include all persons who have died in a state of such as women in childbirth, or have been accident without time to say their *rahmi* and m tions for death. They include those who hav clothes, or those doubly cursed persons wh through forces of Nature generally friendly such as those drowned in the river, fallen from (the date-palm, *sindarka*, is holy on account man), or burnt with fire.

At *Panja* (see pp. 90 et seq.), and onl when the whole body of the church, aliv glorified and unglorified, is aware of the lea unfortunate of its members, when the forc and resurrection are potent, and the purific are in flood, redeeming rites can be performe unhappy souls. These rites, called the *h* (*ahaba d̲ mania*), are performed upon a pr status, sex, personality, and age closely re dead person. Some priests hold that the M astrological aspects, and hence the 'number' (see p. 82) must be the same, but the more u near resemblance in condition. For instan woman dead in childbirth must be represente woman who has just had a baby, a *ganzibra* b a priest by a priest, a dead child by a child of and sex, a woman of priestly family by a wom family. The resemblance must be as close as a dead priest who has died in impure conditi a family of *suwadi*, or laymen (a rarity), his be the same. If the dead is the child of a wo been widowed and remarried, the proxy must Careful search is made for the person who fulfils the conditions laid down. In describ which I have seen several times, I shall refer t as 'the proxy' although throughout the rit cussion of the rites, priests call him or h person'.

The *raṭna* (bastard colloquial Mandaean) t

remonies. These dead
n a state of uncleanness,
have been cut off by
ahmi and make prepara-
e who have died in lay
ersons who have died
y friendly and sacred,
fallen from a palm-tree
n account of its gifts to

), and only at *Panja*,
urch, alive and dead,
of the least and most
n the forces of spring
the purificatory waters
performed upon these
led the *hava d̲ mani*
upon a proxy, who in
closely resembles the
hat the Malwas̲h̲a, i.e.
'number' of the name
he more usual rule is a
For instance, a young
represented by a young
ganzibra by a *ganzibra*,
a child of the same age
by a woman of priestly
as close as possible. If
ure conditions comes of
rarity), his proxy must
ld of a woman who has
roxy must be the same.
rson who most closely
In describing the rite,
hall refer to this person
out the rites, and dis-
him or her 'the dead

Mandaean) term for the

These dead
ncleanness,
cut off by
ke prepara-
died in lay
have died
nd sacred,
a palm-tree
its gifts to

at *Panja*,
and dead,
t and most
of spring
tory waters
upon these
va d mani
xy, who in
embles the
lwasha, i.e.
f the name
ual rule is a
e, a young
by a young
a *ganzibra*,
e same age
of priestly
ossible. If
s comes of
proxy must
an who has
e the same.
ost closely
g the rite,
this person
, and dis-
'the dead

rm for the

ceremony is the *zidqa brik*
of the 'clothes', i.e. *rasta*.
formed by two priests, a
times only one priest, a *ga*
The sacred foods, *ṭori*
incense apparatus, and so
in an ordinary *zidqa brikha*
*ṭoriana*s were set in three lit
mud surrounded by a ridg
The sacred foods were set
out ready, either in the *m*
through its yearly purifica
specially lustrated place sur
enclosing a sacred area and
what is outside it. The pr
first perform their *rishama*
always spoken of as 'built'
crating themselves, their *r*
objects. One *tarmida* bap
the *shganda*. The *ganzib*
priests and the *shganda* (t
Then the proxy, wearing h
ganzibra and a priest, or b
mix, knead, and bake the
the *ṣa*, and set these on th
as in the *zidqa brikha* of
The *shganda* takes the prox
permission of the *yardna*'.
must not utter a sound th
unless the dead person
Therefore he repeats 'i
formula after the *shganda*:

(Pronunciation) '*Bishmeyhu*
uhaili yardna ilawi ushri ithi a
dakhia urushma elvesh 'uṣṭli zi
haiy ushmaṭ Manda-ṭ-haiy ma

Then, without speakin
water, and repeats voicele
of the dead person) am

idqa brikha māl gmāshi, ‘the *zidqa brikha*
.e. *rasta*. *Hava d mani* should be per-
riests, a *ganzibra* and a *shganda*. Some-
riest, a *ganzibra* and a *shganda* officiate.
ods, *ṭoriani*, *dravshi* (or one *dravsha*),
, and so forth are the same as those used
dqa brikha. In one that I witnessed three
three little circles of beaten and lustrated
by a ridge of mud about 2 inches high.
were set out on each *ṭoriana*. All is put
in the *mandi* enclosure, which has gone
purification and reconsecration, or in a
place surrounded by a *miṣra*, i.e. a furrow
area and cutting it off from contact with
. The priests and *shganda* and *ganzibra*
r *rishama* and ‘build’ a *rahmi* (a *rahmi* is
as ‘built’ not ‘read’ or ‘recited’), conse-
s, their *rasta*, and their insignia and cult-
mida baptizes the *ganzibra* and another
e *ganzibra*, in his turn, baptizes the
hganda (the latter for the second time).
wearing his own *rasta*, is baptized by the
iest, or by two priests. The priests next
bake the five sacred breads (*faṭiri*) and
ese on the *ṭoriana* with the other foods,
rikha of the day of burial (see p. 193).
s the proxy down to the *yardna* and ‘takes
yardna’. The proxy from this minute
sound throughout the whole ceremony
person he is representing is a priest.
epeats ‘in his heart’ the ‘permission’
shganda:

‘*Bishmeyhun ad haiy rabbi ana athban bhaila*
ushri ithi anheth lyardna aṣtowa (‘*ṣtaba*) *qabbal*
sh ‘*uṣṭli ziwa u atreṣ ibrishi klila rowzi ushmaṭ*
-ṭ-haiy madkhar illi.’

speaking, the proxy descends into the
s voicelessly ,‘I, N. son of N. (the name
son) am baptized with the baptism of

Bahram the Great, son of the mighty [ones]. My baptism shall protect me and cause me to ascend to the summit.' He submerges thrice, and on emerging puts on a completely new *rasta*. As in the case of a dead person, a piece of gold (*athro*) and a piece of silver (*kesva*) must be sewn to the right and left side respectively of the stole. The proxy then comes and sits before the *ṭoriana* facing the North Star (House of Abathur), while the *ganzibra*, who wears a *klila* (myrtle wreath) on the little finger of his right hand, goes, together with the priests and *shganda*, to perform another *rishama* at the *yardna*.

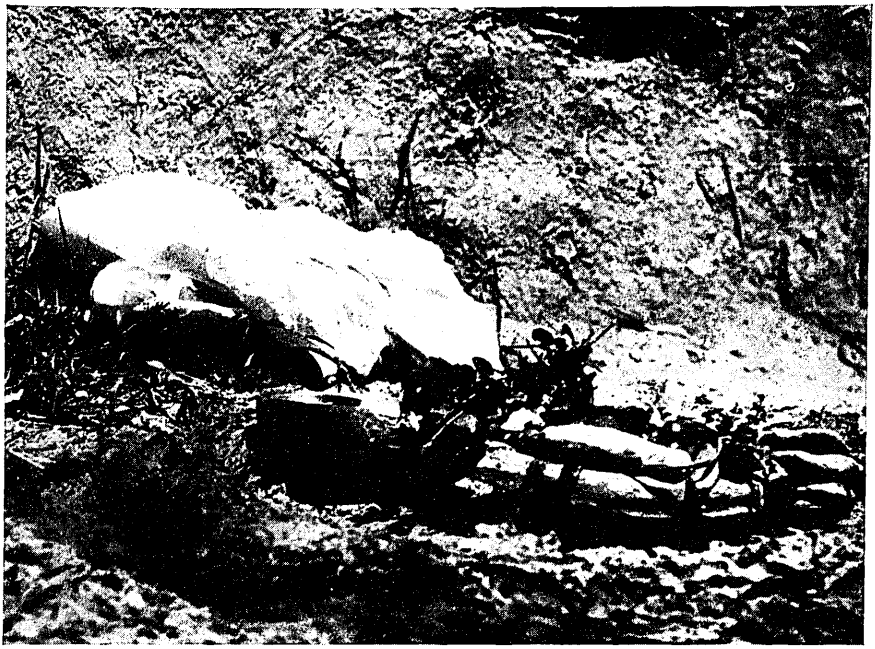
They return and stand in a row facing the north, the *ganzibra* to the extreme right and the *shganda* at the extreme left, and repeat the 'Sharwali 'treṣ', &c., touching each part of the *rasta*.

They then repeat:

> 'My Lord be praised! The Right heal ye! In the name of the Great Primal Strange Life, from sublime worlds of light, who is above all works; health and purity (or victory), strength and soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and a forgiver of sins may there be for my soul, mine, N. of N. (the name of the reciter), who have prayed this prayer and *rahmia*, and a forgiver of sins may there be for N. son of N. (the name of the dead person) of this *masiqta* (ascension) and *dukhrana* (mention, remembrance), and a forgiver of sins may there be for our fathers, and teachers, and brothers and sisters, both those who have left the body and those still in the body, and a forgiver of sins may there be for me.'

All the officiants recite the prayers together, and all repeat the four prayers for the consecration of the *tagha* (known to the priests as the '*butha ad qashash*', the '*qirioy*', the '*anhaur anhura*', and the '*Manda aqran*'). When the *ganzibra* is reciting the last (the *Manda qran*) he does so in the name of the dead man, while the priests stand round the crouching figure of the proxy. At the close of the prayer, the *ganzibra* puts the myrtle wreath on the proxy's head. The myrtle wreath is worn only by the proxy at *hava d mani* ceremonies; the priests and *ganzibra* wear none throughout.

Next, the *shganda* puts his right hand into the right



a. The *ṣa* (the long object lying on the *ṭoriana*)

b. The *'ahaba ḏ mania'*. *Zidqa brikha*.
The man in a new *rasta* personates the dead

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a. The *ṣa* (the long object lying on the *ṭoriana*)

b. The '*ahaba d̲ mania*'. *Zidqa brik̲h̲a*.
The man in a new *rasta* personates the dead

hand of the proxy
take it to Abathu
heart) 'Ask, and
and proxy) then ea
the forehead, grasp
—three times in a

The officiating
their arms beneat
their heels round
take one *ṣa*, and th
ṣa, holding it betw
priests are officiati
of the first *ṣa*, two
the *shganda* and *g*

They recite:

> 'In the Name of th
> a forgiver of sins may
> person) of this *masiqta*
> may there be for him!

Then:

> 'In the Name of th
> forgiver of sins may th
> these souls, and those
> (*mitqariun*) in this *m*
> fathers, and teachers,
> the body and those wh
> there be for them.'

They break the
from each *faṭira*, d
partake of the eata
kind, dipping every
The proxy eats w
gdada) is spread ov
come into contact
be a priest, howeve
and arm into the *ya*
gdada. If any of th
three mouthfuls of
They then drink w

hand of the proxy and say
take it to Aba*th*ur'. The
heart) 'Ask, and find and
and proxy) then each kiss
the forehead, grasp hands
—three times in all.

The officiating priests
their arms beneath the w
their heels round the *ṭoria*
take one *ṣa*, and the *sh**ganda*
ṣa, holding it between them
priests are officiating with
of the first *ṣa*, two take o
the *sh**ganda* and *ganzibra*

They recite:

> 'In the Name of the Great
> a forgiver of sins may there be f
> person) of this *masiqta* (raising-
> may there be for him!'

Then:

> 'In the Name of the Great I
> forgiver of sins may there be fo
> these souls, and those who are
> (*mitqariun*) in this *masiqta* and
> fathers, and teachers, and broth
> the body and those who are still
> there be for them.'

They break the *ṣa* betwe
from each *faṭira*, dip each
partake of the eatables on
kind, dipping every morsel
The proxy eats with them
gdada) is spread over his o
come into contact with the
be a priest, however, the pr
and arm into the *yardna* wit
gdada. If any of those part
three mouthfuls of anythin
They then drink water from

rs, 'This troth (*kushṭa*) I bring,
proxy replies (silently, in his
hear'. The two (the *shganda*
their own right hand, bear it to
again, and repeat the ceremony

go down to the *yardna*, plunge
ater, and, returning, squat on
na. The *ganzibra* and a priest
a and another priest the second
n with the right hand. If three
the *ganzibra*, two take one side
ne side of the second *ṣa*, and
he sides opposing.

Life, *laufa* and *rwaha* (revival) and
or this soul of N. son of N. (the dead
up) and *dukhrana*; a forgiver of sins

ife, *laufa* and *rwaha* of Life and a
r N. son of N. (the dead man), and
united (*mitlafiun*) and called upon
dukhrana in thee, (*bgauakh*), our
ers and sisters, both those who left
in the body. A forgiver of sins may

en each pair, eat it, take a piece
iece in the salt and eat it, then
he *ṭoriana*, three times of each
into the salt except the dates.
, but a clean white cloth (the
her hands so that they do not
food. Should the dead person
oxy (also a priest) dips his hand
the others and eats without the
cipating wish to eat more than
on the *ṭoriana* they may do so.
one basin (*niara*), or from the

river or pool itself, with the usual responses: '*Mbrikhat marai mshabat*', &c., (see p. 189).

Then all participants, including the proxy, who must repeat the prayer in his heart if he or she knows it, together with all who are assembled outside the *miṣra* witnessing the rites, stretch out their right hands over or towards the food and repeat the whole Abahathan prayer—or 'Our Forefathers'. I have reserved the transcribing of this prayer until now because it so perfectly represents the spirit of *dukhrana*. The Abahathan text in the books is so ancient and often copied and recopied that it has become corrupt, and few copies tally. In recitation, *nihuilh*, *nihuilia*, *nhuiliia* are all pronounced *nihuili*, so that the meaning has become vague. I cannot find agreement in the extant texts as to sense, and the interpretation becomes difficult.

'A forgiver of sins may there be "for him", "for her", "for me", or "for them"' after the names of recently dead persons, when this is a prayer to a spirit of light, or a perfected ancestor, is intelligible, as a definite petition for help to one able to help. But, in many copies, the verb with its suffix is so written that one of the opening sentences may mean 'a forgiver of sins may there be for Abathur' or, 'A forgiver of sins may there be for Habshaba', a petition which seems superfluous, since these beings are already perfect and free from spot.

I am inclined to take the whole prayer as a petition to the ancestors that they should help to free, not only the dead person in whose name the rites are performed, but other dead, and the living on earth, from their trespasses, and provide a saviour or looser of sins.

Under protest, therefore, for all copies of the Abahathan are not the same (and my priest, when reading my copy, altered it 'for grammar'), I give the following version. My copy has, or rather had, what I think the correct version in most cases: i.e. 'a forgiver of sins there shall be ('may there be', or 'is') for him' (i.e. the writer himself, writing of himself throughout in the third person). It is this method of writing out the prayer in the name of living persons which has led to the confusion.

The 'Forefathers' or 'Abahathan Qadmaiia'

(The words '*and dukhrana*' are only used at Parwanaia)

' "In the Name of the Life and in the name of Manda d Hiia" is pronounced upon thee, O Good (food)! Thou shalt approach the goodness of the Life, and Manda d Hiia revealed it, who in the name of the Life uttered: "*Ṭab ṭaba lṭabia*". And their names (race) shall be established who honour the names (of the dead). We seek and find and listen. We have sought and found, and spoken and listened in thy presence (lit. before thee), my lord Manda d Hiia, lord of health-giving powers. Forgive him (the dead man), his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes. And forgive those who prepared this bread, *masiqta*, and these good things (*ṭabutha*) their sins, transgressions, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, also charitable and pious persons, such as this soul of N. son of N. (the dead man's name) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Our first fathers, a forgiver of sins may there be for him (the dead man?) [or them?]!

'Yushamin[8] son of Dmuth Hiia of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'Abathur, son of Bahrat of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Habshaba and Kana d Zidqa, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Four-and-twenty '*uthria*,[9] sons of light of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Pthahil, son of Zahariil, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them! (sic.)

'Adam, son of Qin, and Eve his wife, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Shitil, son of Adam of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him. Ram and Rud of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Shurbai and Sharhabiil of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Shum bar Nu and Nuraitha his wife, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Yahya Yuhana, son of 'nishbai Qinta, and Anhar his wife of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'Those three hundred and sixty-five priests who came forth from the place of Jerusalem, the city, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.[10]

'And for my own soul (the reciter's) N. son (or daughter) of N of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for me, and for the soul of my father, N. son of N., of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him, and for the soul of my mother N. daughter of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for her, and for the soul of my wife (or husband) N. — of N. of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him (or her); and for the soul of my teacher, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him, and for the souls of my children (names of living and dead children repeated) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

'AND FOR THE SOUL OF N. son of N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*, all joining together again) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'THE SOULS OF MANDAEANS, (here begins the recital of names of ancestors), Ram son of Sharat Simat, of this *masiqta*, &c., &c., &c.
Zihrun son of Simat, &c.
Anhar, daughter of Simat, &c.
Simat daughter of Hawa, &c.
Ram son of Simat, &c., (and others).

'ALL SOULS OF OUR RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them.

AND FOR THE SOUL OF N. son of N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*) of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for him.

'THE SOULS OF THE PRIESTS, Adam Zahrun, son of Mamania of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, &c.
Yahia Anush son of Maliha, &c.
Yahia Adam Zahrun son of Hawa, &c.
Yahia Zahrun son of Mdallal, &c.
Sam Bahram son of Mdallal, &c.

'ALL SOULS OF OUR RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins may there be for them, and FOR THIS SOUL OF N. SON OF N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*), of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins there shall be for him.

'And this my soul, N. son or daughter of N. (the reciter) of this, &c., and of (he or she repeats the names of father, mother, grandparents, teacher and children), &c.

'AND FOR THE SOULS OF THE GANZIBRIA: Yahya Yuhana son of Hawa Simat, of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of sins, &c.
Sam Bahram son of Simat, &c.
Bihram Shitil son of Maliha, &c.

Zihrun son of Maliha, &c.
Yahya Bayan and his brother Bihram sons of Hawa Mamani, &c.
Ram Yuhana son of Mamani, &c.
Bayan Zanghi son of Simat, &c.
Sam Saiwia son of Anhar Sharat, &c.
Yahia son of Anhar Ziwa, &c.
Ram Sindan and Shadia Sharat, &c.
Hawa daughter of Daya, &c.
Anhar Qumraitha daughter of Simat, &c.
Yahia Ramuia and son of Ramuia, &c.
Sam Bihram son of Mdallal, &c.
Adam Bahram son of Dahghan, &c.
Adam Barhiia son of Simat Hiia, &c.
Ibrakh Yawar, son of Buran, &c.
Bahram Bishaq son of Hawa, &c.
Shabur son of Dukht, &c.
Mhattam and Shitlan sons of Haiuna, &c.
Anush son of Mihria Zad, &c.
Shayar Ziwa and Shabur son of Kazriil, &c.
Bhiria son of Kushesta (Kujesta), &c.
Zakia son of Hawa, &c.
Ardban Melka Bakhtiar, son of Simat, &c.

ALL SOULS OF MY RIGHTEOUS FOREFATHERS of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, a forgiver of souls may there be for them and for N. SON OF N. (the subject of the *hava d mani*) of this, &c., and for the soul of N. son of N. (the reciter), &c., and for the souls of, &c. (The names of father, mother, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives are recited here individually).

'THE SOULS OF THE RISH 'AMIA Adam bul Faraj[11] son of Hawa Mamani, of this masiqta, &c.
Anush Mu'ailia son of Hawa Zadia, &c.
Yahia Adam son of Zadia Anush Hawa, &c.
Bihdad son of Shadia Sharat, &c.
Bayina son of Haiuna, &c.
Haiuna daughter of Tihuia, &c.
Ram son of 'qaimat, &c.
Shganda son of Yasman, &c.
Zazi Guwesta son of Hawa, &c.

'THE PEOPLE, and all Naṣuraiia and priests and Mandaeans, and *ganzibria* and *ganzaiia* from the age of Adam the First Man to the end of the world, and habitations; all who went down into the *yardna* and received pure signs, and did not behave unworthily (*lafakhiun*) of the sign with which they were signed, and did not become estranged from their baptism, a forgiver of sins may there be for them and those of this *masiqta* and *dukhrana*, themselves, and their wives, and children, and priests, and those who provided this bread and *ṭabutha* (health-giving food), and the forefathers, and teachers and learned ones, when they supported [you?] from the Left to the Right—a forgiver of sins there is for them, and ye shall say: "Life is established in its dwellings, and Life be praised and Life is victorious over all works". *Laufa* and the revival (*rwaha*) of Life be yours!'

The latter sentence is addressed to all present.

The priests and *ganzibra* and *shganda* leave the *ṭoriani*, stand in a row in the same order as before, and begin the de-consecration of the *naṣifa* with the prayer ('*Bayina mn hiia*', &c.), then crouch and recite a secret prayer. Rising, they repeat '*Zhir umzahar*', '*Kth qaimia ʿuthria*', &c., and '*Athiar klil nhur ayar*', &c. When these are ended, they remove the *tagha* (taking care not to uncover the forehead or a penalty of sixty baptisms is incurred), hold the *tagha* before them, kiss it, carry it to each eye, and repeat the process sixty-one times, saying '*Kushta asiakh taghai*', &c.

The proxy follows these movements with the *klila* that he has worn, but without speaking. If the proxy is a priest, he wears a *tagha* instead of a *klila*, and is permitted to utter the de-consecration formulae with the priests. After he has kissed his *klila* thrice, the proxy throws it into the water, and goes to remove his new *rasta* in the *shkhinta* (an unconsecrated hut) or in the *mandi*, and to resume his own lay clothes. He has ceased to play the role of the dead, and may speak again and mingle with his fellow men.

As for the dead man, whom he has been impersonating, the priests say, 'The Light King gives him a robe of light, and he eats and is refreshed. Before, he has been weak and unhappy, and wearing a black robe of impurity'.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

1. *Smelling the twigs of myrtle.* See note 14., p. 121.

2. Cf. Parsi *Zindeh Râvan*. 'The word *Zindeh-râvan* means a living soul and is opposed to Anosheh-râvan, i.e., the dead (lit. immortal) soul. All the Parsee liturgical ceremonies are performed both in honour of the

living and of the dead. As far as the recital of the prayer goes, the prayer is the same except this, that at the part of the prayer where the name of the person, in whose honour the ceremony is performed, is mentioned in the Dibâcheh, if he is living, the word *Zindeh-râvan* is mentioned . . . if he is dead, the word *anosheh-râvan* is mentioned' (JJM., p. 444).

Just like the Mandaeans, the Parsis perform the 'Sraosh' ceremony (to help the soul in its ascent) during the lifetime as well as after death.

Modi says: 'During the last generation Parsee ladies, when they got their *Zindeh-râvan*' (here Sraosh ceremony for the dead) 'performed, looked to the event with satisfaction . . . from the point of view that, if on their death the necessary Sraosh ceremonies were not performed in their names by their relatives, or if some mishap—e.g. that of dying in an out of the place locality . . . prevented their being performed, the *Zindeh-râvan* as the funeral ceremonies in honour of Sraosh, performed in their life-time would stand them in good stead and would have his protecting or beneficial effect' (JJM., p. 445).

3. The *zidqa brikha* corresponds roughly to the Parsi 'Bâj' of the major order. See next chapter. There are many subdivisions of the *bâj* ritual meal.

4. For a comparison of the *masiqta* and the Parsi Yasna ceremony, see the next chapter.

5. *Samandiriil.* A spirit of vegetation. The name means 'Vine-Blossom', with the suffix *-iil* attached to names of divine persons.

6. See Chapter VI and notes on the same.

7. The *dukhrana* (mentioning, or remembrance) is almost rendered by the Parsi *Yâd* (remembrance).

'All the liturgical services, besides being performed in honour of a particular Heavenly being or beings, are celebrated in the name or in the memory of somebody who is named in the recital. The words used are . . . "may be remembered here". The services may be performed in the name or in the memory of the living or the dead. . . . The recital of the name of the person, whether dead or alive, for whom the ceremony is performed, is followed by a mention of the person who directs that the ceremony may be performed' (JJM., pp. 383–4).

The word *dukhrana* occurs in the Pshitta at the Last Supper, which, with its account of the hands stretched into the dish, and the ceremonial partaking of bread and *hamra*, bears every mark of being a cult meal on the Iranian and Mandaean pattern. Christ uses the word, which the translators from the Greek render 'remembrance'. From this translation, the meaning 'mention' with its magic summoning of the presence of the deceased, is lacking.

The 'feeding of the multitude' with five loaves and fish, by the shores of the Lake of Galilee, and the meal of Acts vi. 1–3, seem to record ritual meals. Tertullian mentions a ritual use of milk and honey. The Agape, or love-feast of the early Christians, is still kept up in the Nestorian Church (see the end of this note). These feasts were so much a feature of primitive Christianity that Pliny the Younger, in his *Rescript* to Trajan, A.D. 104, mentions them as its chief characteristic. In the Canons of

Hippolytus, the agape is a 'memorial feast for the dead'. Notice that *five* breads are common to the Sraos͟h *bâj*, the Christian meal just mentioned, and the present-day Nestorian *qurbana*, suggesting connexion with the five intercalary days.

Bliss (*The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* in describing the rituals of the Greek Church) writes: 'On the two Saturdays dedicated to the commemoration of the dead (one falling eight days before Lent and the other on the Saturday before the Transfiguration) each family may bring to the church five oblations, or loaves of their own baking, wrapped in a cloth, with a paper inscribed with names of their dead. Money for the priest is also enclosed. During the preparation the priest takes crumbs from one of the five loaves to symbolize the commemoration of the dead in a particular family. At the end of each mass the head of each family receives back his *qurban*, or oblation (minus the parts used in commemoration), wrapped in the cloth. The rest of the loaves, which at any given time may number scores, are at the disposal of the priest, to break up for distribution, to give away whole, or to take home, as he pleases. This practice is not confined to the Saturdays mentioned above, but may obtain whenever the dead are especially commemorated' (p. 138).

The Moslems (S͟hī'a Moslems believe in purgatories) distribute food at the grave. Sometimes on the third day food is eaten at the grave. Food is distributed at intervals, especially on the fortieth day, with the idea that this charity assists the soul in the next world. See also p. 97.

It is likely that the Jewish Passover meal in spite of orthodox interpretation and the text now attached to it, was originally a revivification and fertility rite. The hands stretched over the bread in witness, the word *faṭir* applied by Iraqi Jews to the *maṣot͟h* and most of the details of procedure suggest this. Moreover Jewish mention of the dead (*duk͟hrana*, *has͟hkaba*) is linked in Iraq to a ritual meal eaten in memory of the deceased. This meal must include 'wheat' (i.e. bread), 'fruits of the earth', and 'fruits of trees'.

The Nestorian *duk͟hrana* with its distribution in the church of bread and other foods and of meat by the church door, its reciting of names of the dead, and the use of the *kaprana* (i.e. the *ṣa* or phallus) in the *qurbana*, is close to Mandaean ritual in many particulars. The word *duk͟hrana* is also applied to a love-feast, or public distribution of meat which follows the *duk͟hrana* in church. In this, every member of the community shares.

8. Yus͟hamin, according to the Ginza Rba, was the father of Abat͟hur (GR., p. 173). He is one of the greatest of the Life Spirits. GR., p. 283, speaks of him as 'the Second Life', He plays a considerable part in the fourteenth book of the Ginza Rba (the book of the Great Nbaṭ) right side.

9. These are obviously the twenty-four hours personified.

10. The 365 days of the solar year seem indicated. But these 365 priests are supposed to be those who fled to Southern Babylonia after a persecution in Jerusalem. Cf. the Miriai fragment in the Dras͟ha ḏ Yahia.

11. This Adam bul Faraj is the hero of Legend VIII.

XIII

THE PARSI RITUAL MEALS

I INTENDED to confine my main text to the Mandaeans themselves, but the relationship between Mandaean and Parsi ritual meals is so vitally important that it demands a chapter. There are, of course, points of considerable divergence. The first is that, while the Parsi *yasna* is entirely vegetarian in character, except for the cow-products (butter and milk), the Mandaean *masiqta* embraces the slaughter of both a sheep and a dove. I cannot but consider the Mandaean sacrifices (and under this heading, I include the burial of the *faṭiri*) as survivals of some ancient rite attached to the soil. The only ritual text in which I have found mention of these slaughterings is the recently acquired S̲harh d̲ Parwanaia (D.C. 23), not of early authorship. Sacrifice of victims was Babylonian, Jewish, and also, according to Herodotus, Strabo, and Diogenes of Laerte, practised by the Magians in their time. Hence, one can surmise that it may be a Semitic survival in what appears to be, in the main, a rite of Aryan character.

Secondly, the relative importance of fire and water are reversed, and, thirdly, there is the presence of an egg explicitly forbidden to the Mandaeans. The sacrament with milk only, which is one form of ritual meal with the Parsis, may be taken as the equivalent of the simple water-sacrament of baptism, since both are considered 'life' fluids.

Just as the Mandaeans have a formula pronounced over all food and in an amplified form over ritual meals, the Parsis pronounce a *bâj* before the domestic meal, which is given a more elaborate form at ritual meals. The word *bâj* means, according to Modi,

> 'certain words or prayers religiously recited in honour of particular beings, such as the *yazatas* or angels and the *Fravas̲his* (*farohars*) or the guarding spirits of the living or the dead.' (JJM. 354.)

Again, the Parsis have three forms of prayers to be recited as grace before meals. One of these, the longest, is recited by priests in the inner liturgical services. At the recital of this grace *barsom* is necessary. But it seems that in ancient times *barsom* was a requisite in even the simple forms of grace recited before meals. (JJM., p. 372.)

*Bâj*s accompanied by ritual meals are performed after death, particularly on the dawn of the day after the third night after the decease. On the latter occasion a *bâj* accompanied by the consecration of white clothes and the eating of sacramental bread, is read for the deceased, and *yasna*s, corresponding to *masiqta*s, are performed in his name at the fire-temples. That food and clothes were originally intended to feed and clothe magically the spirit in the other world appears in the *Farvardîn Yasht*, which puts the following words into the mouths of departed spirits:

> 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss?' (JJM., p. 469.)

Here we get the exact intention of the Ahaba d Mania described in the last chapter. In general, the *bâj* corresponds to the Mandaean *zidqa brikha*. Modi lays down the conditions for *bâj*s of the liturgical order:

> '(*a*) They must be recited by priests, holding the Bareshnûm and qualified by a Khub.
>
> '(*b*) They must be recited over a Bâj or a collection of certain offerings such as Daruns or sacred breads, fruits, water, milk-products such as ghee or clarified butter.
>
> '(*c*) Fire burning in a vase with sandalwood and frankincense is essentially necessary during their recital.
>
> '(*d*) They must be recited in a specially enclosed place; for instance in the Yazashna-gâh of the temples or, when in a private residence, in a place specially cleaned, washed, and enclosed in *pâvi*s.' (JJM., p. 358.)

(*c*) and (*d*) are paralleled by the Mandaean *brihi* and incense, and Modi's diagram of the arrangement of the ritual objects within the space shut off by a furrow (*pâvi*) shows the fire and incense in their Mandaean position, i.e. farthest from the priest. Pomegranate seeds, as in the Mandaean ritual, are placed with the 'fruits' and sacred loaves (*daruns*) before the priest.

Just as there are variations of the *zidqa brikha* in the name of holy beings in the Mandaean rite, so there are variations of the *bâj*. *Bâjs* are performed for the dead at intervals after death, and the dead are also honoured by the performance of *jashans*, a combination of several ceremonies ending in a *satûm*, which, to judge by Modi's description, comes near the Mandaean *lofani*.

> 'The Satûm prayer is generally recited over meals. In the Haoma Yasht (Yaçna x. 18) we read: "O Haoma! these Gâthâs are for thee, these satûms (staomayô) are for thee, these meals (chichashânâo) are for thee, these words of truth are for thee." Hence the custom seems to have arisen to have a meal placed in a tray and then to recite the *Satûm* prayer over it. The presentation of the meals is symbolic, showing that there exists a kind of communion, mental or spiritual, between the living and the unseen higher intelligences of the dead. In the case of the dead, the living present their meals, as it were, to the memory of the dead, and, while presenting them as an offering for them, offer at the same time, as said above, an expression of their will to offer their good thoughts, good words and good deeds.' (JJM., p. 428.)

As at the Mandaean *lofani*, incense is present.

Modi says of the word *jashan*:

> 'Some derive the word from 'chash' to taste, to eat, from the fact that the *Jashans* end by a kind of communion, wherein all the persons assembled partake of the Darun (the consecrated bread), and *myazda* (the consecrated fruits and other eatables).' (JJM., p. 456.)

The *myazda* is the *ṭabutha* of the Mandaeans: cf. the prayer *Zidana umzaudana* (Q. 161).

Elsewhere he describes how the hand of the recipient must be washed, and how he sits with the hand extended. The main ceremony of the *jashan* is the *âfringân*. The *âfringân* is a degree more in sanctity than the lay meal, but less than the *yasna*.

> 'The Âfringân prayers may be recited by all priests, even by those not observing the Bareshnûm and even by those who have

not gone through the second degree of Martab. They are performed generally by two or more priests.' (JJM., p. 376.)

These priests are called the *zoti* (the chief officiant) and the *raspi* (assistant, whose duty it is especially to tend the fire upon which the incense is thrown). The correspondence to the *tarmida* and the *shganda* is obvious. The main features are the reading of the lists of heavenly beings, particularly that of the heavenly being in whose name the *âfringân* is performed, and the *yâd* or remembrance, in which the dead person is named. (See Chap. XII, note 2.) This is the *dukhrana*, or summoning by name. The *myazd*, or ritual food, is placed on a tray, and after the minor ablution (*pâdyâb-kusti*), the priest and assistant seat themselves on a carpet.

> 'On a sheet of white cloth, the Zoti has before him in his front a tray which contains *myazd* i.e. fruits and flowers of the season. At times, when there is a large quantity of the *myazd*, there are [*sic*] more than one tray. Besides fruit and flowers, there are milk, wine, water, and *sherbet* (syrup) in the tray in small vessels or glasses. Then, next to the tray containing fruit, flowers, and the above things, there is a fire-vase opposite to the Zoti.' (JJM., p. 391.)

Modi says that 'originally' the sacred bread was included in the word *myazda*. (I have copied his diagram on Figure 9, p. 157.)

The offering of sheep's fat at the ritual meal seems to have been formerly a part of the ritual for the dawn after the third day after death. Mod i(KRC., p. 169) quotes from Darab Hormazdyar's *Rivâyat*, where there are orders

> 'give to the fire (something) from a guspand (i.e. a sheep or a ram or a goat). . . . This something is, as the practice was up till late, *charb*, i.e. fat of the goat.'

Entrail fat was, according to the Shāyast-lā-Shāyast, the special portion of the Fravashis (E. W. West's transl., *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V, Pahlavi Texts, Pt. I, 237–406).

The five *fatiri* of the Mandaean *zidqa brikha* are paralleled by the five *daruns* of the *panj tū* (i.e. with five twigs of *barsom*). Each loaf is consecrated to divine beings, the first to Sraosh, the angel concerned with the care of the dead and bringing them into the realms of light.

Modi's account of the *yasna* shows the close resemblance between that meal and the Mandaean *masiqta*.

Place

Parsi fire-temples have separate sanctuaries attached to them known as Dar-i-Meher, sometimes a separate building. Meher (Mithra) is 'the Yazata or angel presiding over light and justice' (JJM., p. 262); anciently, like Shamish, associated with the same virtues of justice; pre-eminently, therefore, a sun genius. (The Mandaean Yawar Ziwa takes a prominent position in the *masiqta*, and I have already pointed out the possibility that he replaces the sun-god.) Within the Dar-i-Meher is found the Yazashna-gâh, the place where the ritual meal is celebrated.

> 'The different Yazashna-gâhs are separated from each other by a *pâvi*' (furrow to exclude pollution) 'which serves both as the limit of each and also as the passage for the water used in the ceremonial. If somebody enters within the limit marked by the *pâvi* while the service is going on, he vitiates the ceremony. If there are two Yazashna-gâhs side by side, they are separated by a narrow strip of space enclosed between two *pâvis*. The Yazashna-gâhs are so constructed as to permit the Zaoti or principal officiating priest to face the south.' (JJM., p. 264.)

Nothing could be nearer to the arrangement in the *mandi* enclosure, in which the *miṣri* are connected with the pool so as to drain off the water used in the ablutions. See p. 129 and Figure 7, p. 141.

Preliminary Ablutions

The Mandaean *yardna* is replaced by the Parsis[1] by water drawn from the temple cistern (which must be fed from a stream or running water, and not from pipe-water, v. KRC., p. 46), in previously washed utensils. While letting the water-vessel brim over three times, the priest pronounces the name of the Caspian Sea in Pahlavi and Avestan, and then of the river Ardvi Sūra (see pp. xxii and xxiii), thus clearly showing the ablution to be a substitute for immersion in 'living water'. All utensils and objects are dipped thrice. (So also the Mandaean.)

The simple Mandaean ablution of the myrtle twigs (i.e. triple ablution pronouncing the name of the Life) becomes an elaborate ceremony with the Parsis.

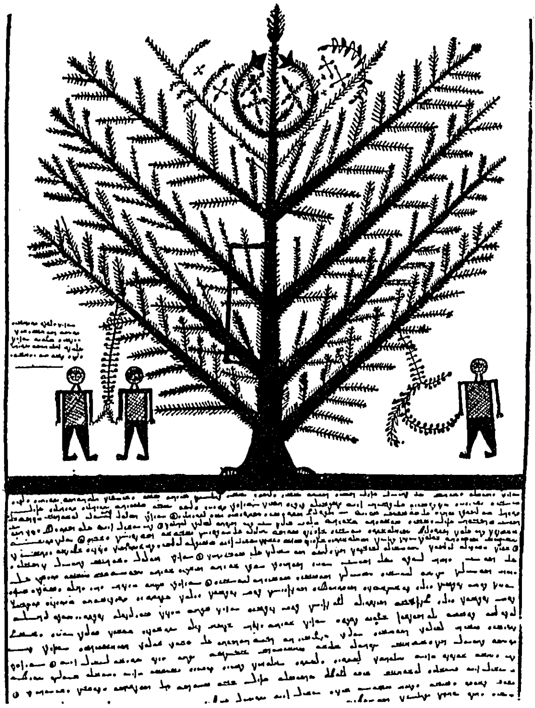


Fig. 12. The "lana d mrabia yanqia'.

The Parsi *barsom*, originally freshly gathered twigs, is now represented by metallic substitutes, placed in two crescent-shaped metallic stands of brass or silver. Modi comments:

> 'The moon and its crescent (Lat. *crescere*, to grow, increase) give an idea of growth. Again the moon is believed to have some influence on the growth of vegetation. So, Barsam, the symbol of the vegetable world of God has, for its stand, moon-shaped metallic stands.' (JJM., p. 279.)

Here the curious illustration in the Diwan Abathur of the "lana d Mrabia Yanqia' comes to mind, with its crescent-shaped top. This mysterious Mandaean tree is said to be identical with the Sindarka (Moon-god-tree?) mentioned in the prayers, and the crescent suggests growth and fertility.

The *barsom* twigs are tied together by a strip of date-palm, thus magically imparting to the artificial twigs a quality of freshness and life. Modi has a significant passage with reference to this ceremony. The palm-leaf is cut from the temple palm (cf. the Aina and Sindarka, the 'well and palm' of the Mandaean prayers), with a lustrated knife.[1]

> 'He' (the priest) 'then once more washes it with the *pâv* water and then placing it in the water-pot, carries it to the Yazashna-gâh. There, he divides the leaf into six thin strips, which being divided at first into two groups of three each, are then twisted into one string and knotted at both the ends. It is then placed in a clean *pâv* metallic cup and afterwards used for tying the Barsam. We said above that the Barsam represents the creation of God. The separate twigs or wires of the Barsam represent that the creation consists of various parts. The *aiwyâonghana* which binds or ties together the Barsam signifies union or unity among these parts. It seems to signify that the whole Nature is one. We are one with it. We learn from the Pahlavi commentary on the Yaçna... where *aiwyâonghana* is referred to, that the idea or the main object seems to be that of *ayo-kardgih*, i.e. of unification. The word *aiwyâonghana* is also used in the Avesta for the Kusti or the sacred thread. One of the interpretations about the Kusti is, that it unites into a circle of harmony all those who put it on.' (JJM., pp. 292 ff.)

Aiwyâonghana, then, has the exact meaning of *lofani* which, to the Mandaean, has just this meaning of binding together, bringing into close communion. (See p. 180.)

The ablution is as follows:

> 'In the ritual, the holy water... is poured over the Barsam. Now, this *zaothra* or purified water represents, or is the symbol of, rain, through which the world receives the gift of water from God.' (JJM., p. 282.)

With the Mandaean, the water does not merely symbolize fertility, but revivification, i.e. resurrection or life continued after the death of the body.

Preparation of the Bread (Darun or Myazda)

With the Parsis, the sacred bread may be baked by any ritually pure person of priestly caste. The number of loaves required for different occasions varies.

‘It is a flat unleavened round bread made of wheat flour and ghee (clarified butter). . . . For the Yaçna, Visparad, and the Vendidâd ceremonies one bread is required. For the Bâj the number varies. For the Bâj in honour of all the Yazatas, four breads are required. For the Bâj of Sraosha six are required. Out of these four and six half the number are what is technically known as *nâm-pâdelâ* i.e. named, and the other half are *vagar-nâmnâ*, i.e. unnamed. (JJM., pp. 296–7.)

(Sraosha corresponds to the Mandaean Gauriel Ishliha, as well as to Yawar Ziwa; see above.)

Modi explains that the bread-maker marks the ‘named’ loaves, the *Darun* proper, with three rows of three marks:

○ ○ ○
○ ○ ○
○ ○ ○

while uttering the words ‘good thoughts, good words, good deeds’ ‘making three marks at each recital’ (JJM., p. 279). (The Nestorian marking of the loaves for sacrament with similar marks is extremely close to this. I do not know whether the ‘signing’ of the *faṭiri* is allied to it; it may be.)

Preparation of the Haoma

The preparation of the *haoma* resembled that of the Mandaean *misha* (see pp. 133–4). Both are pounded in a mortar, the *hâvanim* and *dasta* of the Parsis corresponding to the Mandaean *hāwan* and *dast*.

‘*Haoma* is a medicinal plant which grows in Persia and Afghanistan. It is a species of *Ephedra* (Nat. Ord. *Gnetaceae*). Mountains and mountain-valleys are mentioned as places where the plant grows luxuriantly. In some passages, Mount Elburz (called in the Avesta Hara Berezaiti) is specially mentioned as its habitat. But it must be borne in mind that the name Elburz not only denoted the present Mount Elburz, a peak of the Caucasus, but was applied to the whole range of mountains extending from the Hindu Kush in the East to the Caucasus in the West. The *haoma* is described as a plant with branches and sprigs, as possessing medicinal properties and as golden-coloured.' (JJM., pp. 303 ff.)

I shall not describe the elaborate washing of the *haoma*-twigs (which are dried), or the prayer used at their consecration. These, to which are added fresh pomegranate twigs, are pounded in the mortar together with a little water. The resultant juice is strained through a strainer. (Cf. the Mandaean pounding of the sesame and dates, and straining through the *gdada* [pp. 133–4] and note that in each case, both that of Parsis and that of the Mandaeans, a *pair* of sacred plants is employed, *haoma* and pomegranate in one case, sesame and dates in the other.)

There is a divergence at this point between the two cults in that, while the *mis̲ha* is used for 'signing' the sacred loaves, the *haoma* is later used as the sacred drink, thereby becoming identified with the Mandaean *hamra*. Like the *hamra*, the *haoma* is drunk after the priest has eaten the sacramental bread.

The Arrangement of the Tables, or Stone Slabs, and the Cult Objects

To see how close the arrangement of the *k̲h̲wan*s (stone slabs or stone tables) is to the arrangement of the Mandaean *ṭoriani* (clay tables), comparisons must be made between Fig. 13, p. 235 and Fig. 9, p. 157. The fire-table is bigger in the Parsi set, as one would expect, and a small table upon which a water-vessel is placed is a substitute for the constant Mandaean recourse to the *yardna*, or *mandi*-pool. The *qiblaẖ* for Parsis is the south and for Mandaeans the north, but the relative positions of priest and tables are identical.

The Parsi priest sits on a stone slab (the Mandaean sits on a log or reed stool). Before him, on the main stone slab, are the objects needed in the ritual. Beginning at the south-eastern corner of the table and moving round in a solar direction, these objects are as follows:

(*a*) Cup to hold spare *haoma* juice. A saucer is placed over it.
(*b*) Shallow bowl for the sacred bread and butter.

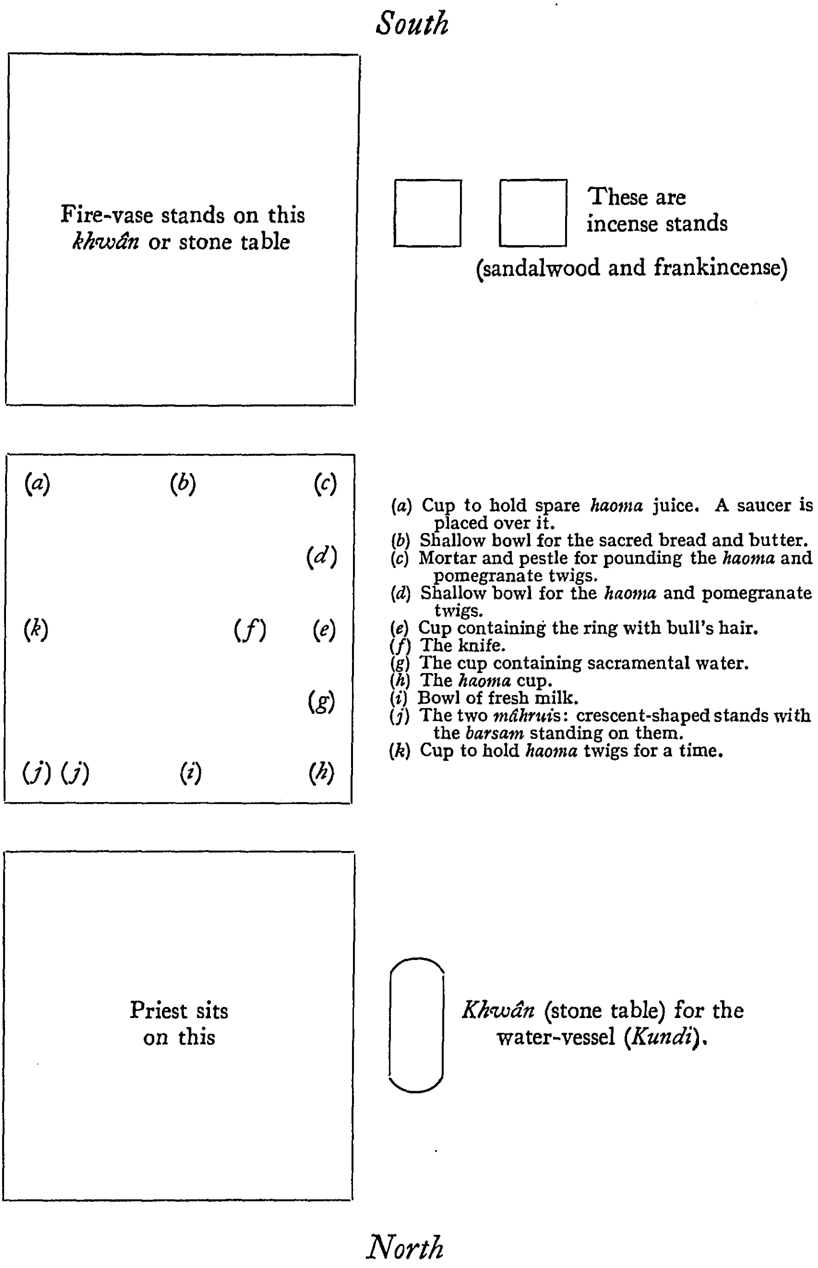
(*c*) Mortar and pestle for pounding the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*d*) Shallow bowl containing *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*e*) Cup containing the ring (*varas-ni viti*).
(*f*) The knife.
(*g*) The cup containing sacramental water.
(*h*) The *haoma* cup.
(*i*) Bowl of fresh milk.
(*j*) The two *mâhruis*, crescent-shaped stands with the *Barsom.*
(*k*) Cup to hold the *haoma*-twigs for a time.

Beyond this table is the table for the fire-vase, with two small stands beside it for the frankincense and sandalwood. Beside the priest, on his right hand, is the rounded stone-table (the others are square) for the water-vessel (*kundi*).

Something remains to be said about some of these objects. As explained earlier, butter and milk represent the Parsi reverence for the cow and bull as symbols of life and pure sustenance.

The *ring* is entwined with a hair from the sacred bull. Just as the Mandaean ring is brought into contact by dipping it into the cup of *hamra* (p. 160), so the *varas* ring, when the *haoma* is strained, is similarly treated by the Parsi priest.

> 'The *varas* (ring) is put over the strainer.... The priest holds the cup containing the *zaothra*' (pure) 'water in his left hand and places his right hand . . . over the *varas* in the strainer. He recites . . . at the same time pouring *zaothra* water over the *varas*, and rubbing the knots' (i.e. of the hair) 'of the *varas*. He recites two *Ashem vohus*, the second of which is recited in *bâj*' (silently). 'He then holds the strainer with the *varas* in his right hand, and the cup containing the *haoma* juice in his left hand; and repeating *humata*, *hûkhta*, *hvarshta* thrice, pours the *haoma* juice into the strainer, which is held in different positions over the stone slab as the different words of the triad are repeated. While reciting the word *humata* each time, he holds the strainer over the right of the stone slab, so that *haoma* juice falls over it through the strainer. On each recital of the word *hûkhta*, the *haoma* juice is similarly dropped into the cup of *zaothra* water, which has just been emptied into the mortar through the strainer and the *varas* with it. At each recital of the word *hvarshta*, the *haoma* water is allowed to drop into the mortar.


South
Fire-vase stands on this *khwân* or stone table
These are incense stands
(sandalwood and frankincense)
(a)
(b)
(c)
(d)
(k)
(f)
(e)
(g)
(j) (j)
(i)
(h)
Priest sits on this
Khwân (stone table) for the water-vessel (*Kundi*).
North

(*a*) Cup to hold spare *haoma* juice. A saucer is placed over it.
(*b*) Shallow bowl for the sacred bread and butter.
(*c*) Mortar and pestle for pounding the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*d*) Shallow bowl for the *haoma* and pomegranate twigs.
(*e*) Cup containing the ring with bull's hair.
(*f*) The knife.
(*g*) The cup containing sacramental water.
(*h*) The *haoma* cup.
(*i*) Bowl of fresh milk.
(*j*) The two *mâhruis*: crescent-shaped stands with the *barsam* standing on them.
(*k*) Cup to hold *haoma* twigs for a time.

FIG. 13.

Arrangement of stone tables and cult objects at Parsi Yasna (ritual meal) in the *Yazashna-gâh* (place where the *Yasna* ceremony is performed).

The *haoma* juice cup is now put back in its proper place on the stone slab and the strainer with the *varas* is placed over it. Then all the juice in the mortar—a mixture of the *zaothra* water and the *haoma* juice, or, more properly speaking, the juice of the *haoma* and *urvarâm*' (pomegranate) 'twigs—is poured into the strainer, through which it passes into the *haoma* cup below. After its contents have been emptied, the mortar is once more put in its proper place.' (JJM., p. 311.)

The strainer through which the mixed juice is passed corresponds to the straining of the *misha* through a *gdada*, but the rest of the ritual merges into that of the *hamra*. Like the Mandaean *misha*, the *haoma* is prepared before the ritual meal. The stone slabs are purified by pouring water over them with a cross-like movement, i.e.

'. . . during the first three recitals, he pours the water so as to let it fall from north to south, and then, during the second three recitals, from west to east.' (JJM., p. 273.)

Compare the Nestorian naming of the points of the compass when describing a cross above the holy loaves.

The Parsi preparation ceremonies and rituals, called Paragna, are more elaborate than the Mandaean. I must refer the reader to the pages of Modi. The ritual meal follows.

The Ritual Meal

In the opening prayers the name of the angel who is especially invoked (cf. Masiqta d Samandri'il, Masiqta d Zahrun, &c.) and the name of the person living or dead for whom the celebration is made, are mentioned. The invocation of the various heavenly powers follows (cf. the Mandaean Asuth Malka). Special reference is made to the pure water (*zaothra*) and the *Barsom*, and the 'former invocations and offerings are repeated'.

'He makes several passes with the *Barsam* held in his hands through the crescent curves of the *Mâhrui*' (i.e. crescent-shaped stands for the *Barsam*). 'The Zoti then takes his seat . . .' (JJM., p. 323.)

There are long recitals from the *yasna*, in which the fire-priest occasionally joins. The consecration prayers or recitations over the *Darun* (bread) follow, known as the 'Sraosh-Darun chapters of the Yasna'.

> 'At particular portions of the recital of these chapters . . . the Zoti occasionally takes a handful of water from the *kundi* or water-vessel on his right hand, and drops it on the *Barsam* and on the *aiwyâonghan* which ties the *Barsam* wires. This is a relic of the old times, when, instead of metallic wires used now, twigs of trees were used as *Barsam*. It was to keep these vegetable twigs fresh and green that the water was sprinkled over them formerly.' (JJM., p. 324.)

The two priests then recite, 'I offer these things, this *Darun*, Water, *Haoma*, &c., through righteousness'. The fire-priest places incense on the fire and says: 'O ye men! Ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and piety! eat of this *Myazda*, the meat offering' (JJM., p. 342).

> 'Thereupon, the Zoti, who thinks himself to have been qualified to eat it, recites the formula of Bâj or the prayer of grace, and eats a bit of the sacred bread (Darun) and then finishes the Bâj. . . . The Darun then can be passed out of the Yazashna-gâh and may be eaten by other members of the congregation if present. This is said to be the Darun-châshni or the ceremonial eating of the sacred bread.' (JJM., pp. 324–5.)

Exact parallels are found in the Mandaean ritual.

The *haoma* juice, the preparation of which is described above, is now drunk by the priest after the recitation of the *haoma* chapters.

This corresponds to the drinking of the *hamra*, and I have already explained that *haoma* takes the place of the *hamra* as well as the *misha*. Prayers then follow at great length, then the *haoma* twigs are prepared for the second time, i.e. pounded, squeezed, and strained and afterwards set apart for 'the requirements of the congregation'. Here Modi gives a note that:

> 'there is a custom though not generally observed now, to give a few drops of the *haoma* juice to a newly born child and to a dying man. These drops were given from the second preparation.' (JJM., p. 326.)

(Cf. the *misha* placed on the breast of the dying substitute for the *ganzibra*, p. 170.)

Long readings follow, including amongst other chapters those in praise of Sraosha; and blessings are pronounced upon the house and family of the celebrant. Modi's description of these chapters is too long to be quoted in entirety, but the conclusion is strikingly Mandaean in tone:

> 'The seven chapters from 63 to 69 refer to water and its consecration. The 63rd praises the waters. The 64th is, to a large extent, a repetition of the 50th chapter (the Spentomad Gâthâ) which praises Ahura Mazda who has created the health-giving waters. The 65th forms the Âvân Ardviçura Nyâish and refers to the waters of the river Ardviçura, supposed to be the modern Oxus.' (See note 4, p. xxii, on the relation of this river to the *yardna*). 'The Zoti holds the cup of *zaothra* water in his right hand, gets down from his seat or his *khwân*, and looking to the waters in the *kundi* by his side, recites this chapter. Chapters LXVI–LXIX continue the ceremony of further consecrating the *zaothra* water.' (JJM., p. 328.)

The *hamâzor*, 'a kind of Zoroastrian kiss of peace', is then exchanged by the *zoti* with his assistant, the fire-priest. This means that the right hand of each is enfolded in turn by the hands palm to palm of the other, each man then raising his finger-tips to his mouth. The giving of *kushta* by the Mandaeans is the giving of the right hand only, and the hand-grasp is followed (like that of the Parsis) by each person kissing his own right hand. The Nestorian Christians give the hand-clasp followed by the kiss of finger-tips in the Parsi fashion, at the mass and other services. The 'Bene-Israel' of India, as Modi relates, also have the hand-clasp followed by kissing, and, like the Nestorians, pass on the hand-clasp and kiss throughout the congregation.

The two Parsi priests complete the *bâj* (the Mandaean *rahmia* is a parallel), and perform the *kusti* (cf. Mandaean *rishama*). Then comes a ceremony which again points to a careful identification of the temple cistern or well with a river. Both go to the cistern, the *zoti* holding the *hâvanim* containing the *zaothra* water in his hand.

> 'They face the sun and perform . . . what is called *Zôr-melavvi*, i.e. to mix the *zaothra* consecrated water with the water of the well whence the water was first drawn.' (JJM., p. 329.)

Similarly, all the sacred water left over from the *masiqta*, together with any of the sacred foods left over, is cast into the *yardna*. Life returns to life.

Not only the cult itself, but the ideas behind the cult are identical. Can any doubt remain in the mind of the reader that both these rituals have a common ancestor? Had the Mandaeans 'imitated Parsi cults' after the coming of Islam, one would not find water taking precedence over fire, moreover in the *yasna* ritual there are strong indications that this rite, which is one of revivification and magic formulae for the resurrection of life, was centred originally about the water rather than the fire.

The point of contact, then, lies much farther back. The tradition of the Mandaeans that their religion and its original holders lived in the mountainous country between the Caspian and Harran—i.e. that they corresponded roughly to the Umman-Manda—takes on the colour of probability, and the history of the ritual meal, not only that of the Parsis and Mandaeans, but that of the Jews and Christians, becomes illumined with fresh light.

NOTE ON CHAPTER XIII

1. Cf. in the 'Shal shutha' a prayer at the end of the *rahmia*, 'Praised are the great first Sindarka and Aina (Tree—palm-tree—and Well-spring): praised is the mystic Tana (Brazier?) that rests within that first great secret (or hidden) Wellspring. Praised is Shishlam the Great, who sits by the brink (*kifa*) of the Wellspring and Tree.' All Parsi fire-temples must have a well and a palm-tree within the sacred area.

XIV

THE MANDAEAN ALPHAB

THE alphabet is called by the Mandaean
Each letter according to them represents a
and light, and the first and last letters, the
omega', are the same and represent perfection
life. Yet they say this perfection was itself c
not create itself. 'When the *a* o (according
narrator 'Melka d̲ Anhura') was created, he c
is none mightier than I!" As he said this, h
face of the waters the twenty-four[1] letters of t
like a bridge, and said to himself, "Who cr
I did not, therefore there must be one mighti
A legend says that the letters were written
the *ksuya* or robe of Mara d̲ Rabut̲h̲a. Anoth
Hibil Ziwa as teaching Adam his letters.

Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphab
and sacred. Writing is under the especial
the planet Nbu (Enwo in pronunciation). L
alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of s
are placed under the pillow of a person
heavenly guidance in some matter of diffi
night one is removed, and if the sleeper
bearing upon the matter about which he is
considers that the spirit belonging to the lett
has singled and taken out that night has
revelation and is willing to come to his aid.
henceforth worn as a charm round his neck. M
scrolls begin with the letters of the alphabet g
order, and often with their vowel modifications
reading of letters aloud is a charm to keep of
This reading of the letters, or exorcism, has its
'to *abaga*'. *Abaga* is equivalent to 'he read a

The first and last letters have as their s
possibly representing the sun-disk as a sym
They are pronounced like the vowel *a*. It is w
bering that the Phoenician 'aleph' 𐤀 (our A

LPHABET

Mandaeans the *abaga*. presents a power of life etters, the 'alpha and perfection of light and as itself created, it did (according to another eated, he cried, "There aid this, he saw on the etters of the alphabet, "Who created these? one mightier than I!"' e written originally on a. Another represents tters.

eir alphabet as magical especial protection of ciation). Letters of the scraps of silver or gold, a person who desires er of difficulty. Each sleeper has a dream hich he is troubled, he to the letter which he ight has given him a his aid. The letter is his neck. Most magical alphabet given in their difications as well. The to keep off evil spirits. sm, has its own verb— 'he read a spell'.

as their sign a circle, as a symbol of light. *a*. It is worth remem-' 𐤀 (our A) is the ox-

head, *alpha* meani bolical of the sky a

The vowels ar similarly, may rep angular shape hav clarity. The pronu it would be if it ha

Mandaean expl symbols are intere some cases the or forgotten. Over so doubt, over others priest, the other a n I give both explan

o (A)	The highest beginning
Ba	'Ab.' 'The
Ga	(1) 'Gauriil (2) 'Gimra
Da	'Dirka'—the
Ha	(1) Hiia rbia (2) Hibil Zi
Wa	'Weyli!' (wr to the lan
Za	'Ziwa.' The The chara the horizo
Eh	'This letter represents tion. Th person sin wir ja, da Mandäer Nabatäern dieselben redeten.'

The le ing 'him', and '*a*'. its proper

abaga.
of life
a and
ht and
it did
nother
There
on the
habet,
these?
n I!'"
lly on
esents

agical
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of the
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esires
Each
dream
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ch he
him a
tter is
agical
their
The
pirits.
erb—

ircle,
light.
mem-
e ox-

head, *alpha* meaning 'ox
bolical of the sky and of th

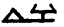
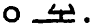
The vowels are modi
similarly, may represent
angular shape having bee
clarity. The pronunciatio
it would be if it had been

Mandaean explanation
symbols are interesting a
some cases the original
forgotten. Over some lett
doubt, over others none.
priest, the other a member
I give both explanations w

o (A) The highest of all—
beginning and end
Ba 'Ab.' 'The Great Fa
Ga (1) 'Gauriil Ishliha',
(2) 'Gimra anat Gm
Da 'Dirka'—the 'way' o
Ha (1) Hiia rbia. The
(2) Hibil Ziwa.
Wa 'Weyli!' (written *W*
to the language of
Za 'Ziwa.' The word m
The character is ev
the horizon, or the
Eh 'This letter is so sacr
represents the eye
tion. The letter i
person singular. N
wir ja, dass die N
Mandäer rechnen
Nabatäern waren
dieselben nicht ei
redeten.'

The letter comi
ing 'him', 'her', o
and '*a*'. It is ofte
its proper form is

ning 'ox', and that the Bull was sym-
and of the sun.

re modifications of this circle,[2] and,
present the setting and rising sun, the
ving been adopted for the purpose of
unciation of  is precisely the same as
ad been written separately .

lanations of the inner meaning of the
resting as being traditional, though in
riginal symbolism has obviously been
some letters there was disagreement and
rs none. One of my informants was a
member of a literate and priestly family.
nations when they disagreed.

est of all—Perfection, Light, and Life, the
g and end of all things.

e Great Father.'

il Ishliha', Gabriel the Messenger.

a anat Gmira', 'Perfection thou art perfect'.

he 'way' or law.

bia. The Great Life.

Ziwa.

written *Wailh*). 'Woe to him who listens not
nguage of light!'

he word means radiance, or rather active light.
racter is evidently a pictograph of the sun above
zon, or the sun as a life-giver.

r is so sacred that it is not much employed. It
ts the eye of God.' An unsatisfactory explana-
he letter is used only as a suffix for the third
ngular. Nöldeke (N., p. 59) says: 'Ferner wissen
dass die Nabatäer des Iraq (zu denen wir die
r rechnen müssen), ه für ح sprechen. . . . Diesen
rn waren ع und ح so fremdartige Laute, dass sie
nicht einmal aussprachen, wenn sie arabisch
'

etter coming at the end of the word and mean-
', 'her', or 'them', is pronounced '*hi*', '*i*', '*ha*',
It is often written like the aleph suffix, but
r form is oval.

Ṭa (1) 'Ṭab' or 'Good' (pronounced *Ṭau*).//
(2) 'It is the bird (*ṭayr*) representing the s
body to return' (i.e. to the world of light).
This is clearly the pictograph of a flyi
of the freed soul, the 'mana' winging its v
Great Mana. The *ṭ* in several Semitic
the bird—the 'flier'. (See Contenau on
Alphabet in *La Civilization phénicienne*
1926.)
To quote from a hymn (left side of
deals with the joyful return of the soul af

'I abode in the sea
Till wings were formed for me
Until I was a winged creature,
Until I was a winged creature
And my wings lifted me up into the P

Ṭss is a Mandaean word for 'to fly', but
root is *phr* (*pahr*).

Ya (1) 'Yowmono' (the day).
(2) 'Yamin' (the right).
The right is symbolical of Light, the le
the right of being and the left of non-be

Ka (1) 'Klila' (the wreath of myrtle).
(2) Kushṭa (Right, right-dealing).

La (1) 'Lishan' (the tongue) which praises.
(2) Alma (the world). (Obviously wrong).

Ma 'Mana Rba Kabira.' The Great First Mi

Na 'Nhura' (Light).

Sa 'Simat Hiia, mother of all life.'

ʿ 'Ain', the eye or fountain. (Not a guttural
merely a vowel.)

Pa 'Pira anat Haiy'. A priest translated this 'T
of life'. I suggested that *pira* meant fruit,
persisted that it meant 'tree'. 'Anat-Hi
transcribes *Anath-Haije*) is, according to
female spiritual being. '. . . weibliches W
sich wohl die Gottheit 'Anath erhalten.'
On various meanings attributed to t
see Brandt ('Die Mandäische Religion',

Ṣa 'Ṣauta anat qadmaiia.' (Thou art the f
sound.)

Qa 'Qala anat qadmaiia d Hiia'. (Thou art the fi

ed *Ṭau*).//
enting the soul leaving the
orld of light).
aph of a flying bird, symbol
winging its way back to the
eral Semitic scripts recalls
ontenau on the Phoenician
a phénicienne, Payot, Paris,

(left side of Ginza) which
of the soul after death:

r me
ture,
ture
p into the Place of Light.'
'to fly', but the more usual

Light, the left of darkness,
ft of non-being.
le).
ng).
h praises.
usly wrong).
eat First Mind or Soul.

ot a guttural in Mandaean:

lated this 'Thou art the tree
meant fruit, but all present
. 'Anat-Hiia' (Lidzbarski
according to Lidzbarski, a
weibliches Wesen, darin hat
th erhalten.'
ributed to the word 'Pira'
e Religion', p. 23).
u art the first Voice, or

hou art the first cry of Life.)

Sha	Shamish (the
Ta	'Toba.' Repe
Adu	(This is cou possessive p
A	See the first l

This alphabet is
upon the traditions
analysis must be l
scripts.

NOT

1. It is indicated that
the solar total of 24.

2. The ▲ is called th
hūshenna, *kūshenn*

leaving the

bird, symbol
back to the
ripts recalls
Phoenician
ayot, Paris,

inza) which
death:

e of Light.'
more usual

of darkness,
g.

or Soul.

Mandaean:

art the tree
t all present
(Lidzbarski
idzbarski, a
n, darin hat

word 'Pira'
23).
Voice, or

ry of Life.)

Sha	Shamish (the sun-spir
Ta	'Toba.' Repentance.
Adu	(This is counted as possessive particle.)
A	See the first letter.

This alphabet is, in its
upon the traditions and bel
analysis must be left to
scripts.

NOTES ON

1. It is indicated that the *ada* a
the solar total of 24.

2. The ࡀ is called the *halqa*;
ࡄࡅࡔ *hūshenna*, ࡊࡅࡔ *kūshenna*, &c.).

ne sun-spirit).

epentance.

ounted as a letter always, though it is the
e particle.)

t letter.

is, in itself, a suggestive commentary
ns and beliefs of those who use it, but its
left to the skilled student of Semitic

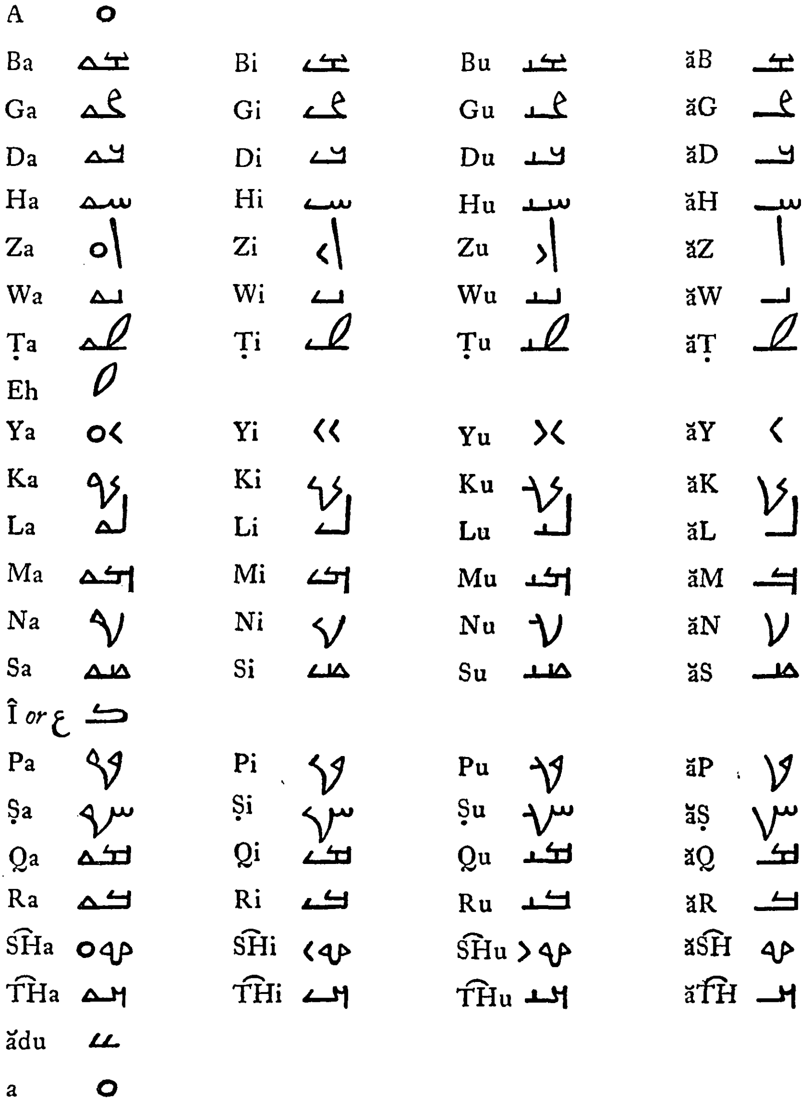
OTES ON CHAPTER XIV

at the *ada* and the final *a* were put in so as to make

the *halqa*; the ࡉ the *aksa*, the ࡖ the *-ushenna* (i.e.
enna, &c.).

THE MANDAEAN ALPHABET

(as given by Hirmiz bar Anhar)


A
Ba
Bi
Bu
ăB
Ga
Gi
Gu
ăG
Da
Di
Du
ăD
Ha
Hi
Hu
ăH
Za
Zi
Zu
ăZ
Wa
Wi
Wu
ăW
Ṭa
Ṭi
Ṭu
ăṬ
Eh
Ya
Yi
Yu
ăY
Ka
Ki
Ku
ăK
La
Li
Lu
ăL
Ma
Mi
Mu
ăM
Na
Ni
Nu
ăN
Sa
Si
Su
ăS
Î *or* ع
Pa
Pi
Pu
ăP
Ṣa
Ṣi
Ṣu
ăṢ
Qa
Qi
Qu
ăQ
Ra
Ri
Ru
ăR
S͡Ha
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ăS͡H
T͡Ha
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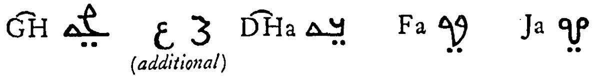
T͡Hu
ăT͡H
ădu
a

Supplementary letters


G͡H
ع ʒ
(additional)
D͡Ha
Fa
Ja

[a, e, i, u pronounced as in Italian. ă represents a shortened sound as in 'had', a is broader.]

APPENDIX I

THE 'ASUTH MALKA'

THIS prayer of salutation is prayed daily by the priests, at the beginning of the 'Rahmi' and recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites.

TEXT

Kushta asinkhun bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha uzakutha nihuilakh ya baba rba d bit rahmia yaqira asutha uzakutha nihuilkhun abahathan qadmaiia yaqiria asutha uzakutha nihuilakh ginza d hiia rbia qadmaiia yaqira asutha nihuilakh malka Mara d rabutha ʿilaitha asutha uzakutha nihuilakh malka Yushamin dakia br Nṣibtun asutha uzakutha nihuilakh malka Manda d Hiia br Niṣibtun asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Hibil Ziwa asutha uzakutha nihuilakh Malka ʿAnush ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka Shishlam Rba asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka ʿShaq Ziwa Rba qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilakh malka Sam Ziwa dakia bukra habiba rba qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Hibil uShitil uAnush asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Adatan uYadatan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Shilmai uNidbai ʿuthria naṭria d yardna asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun asrin warba ʿuthria bnia d nhura asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun arba gabria bnia shlama asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Anṣab wAnan Nṣab asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Sar uSarwan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Zhir uZahrun uBhir uBhirun uTar uTarwan asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ʿUrfi'il uMarfiʿil Yawar Tagmur wasutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Yufin uYufafin wasutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Habshaba uKana d Zidqa asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun Malka Barbagh ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nihuilakh Malka Shingilan ʿUthra asutha uzakutha nhuilikh Simat Hiia asutha uzakutha nhuilikh ʿzlat Rabtia asutha uzakutha nhuilikh Sharat Niṭufta wasutha uzakutha nhuilikh Kanat Niṭuftatha asutha uzakutha nihuilikh Bihrat Anana asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Abathur Rama asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka ʿUsṭuna Rba asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Abathur Muzania asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka br Zahriil asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Yahia Yuhana asutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Adam gabra qadmaiia wasutha uzakutha nhuilakh Malka Shitil br Adam gabra qadmaiia asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ya malkia wʿuthria umashkhinia uyardnia urhaṭia ushkhinatha d almia d nhura kulaikhun asutha uzakutha nhuilkhun ushabiq haṭaiia nihuilia ldilia P. br P. d haza butha urahmia bit shabiq haṭaiia nhuilia.

TRANSLATION (Comments in Italics)

May the Right heal you! In the name of the Great Life! Health and victory are thine, O Great Gate of Mercies, the beautiful. Health and victory are yours, our dear forefathers! *(first fathers)* Health and victory are thine, Treasure of the Great First Sublime Life. Health and victory are thine, Malka Lord of Lofty Greatness. Health and victory are thine Malka Yushamin the Pure son of Niṣabtun (*lit. Ye-transplanted*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Manda-d-Hiia son of Niṣabtun. Health and victory are thine, Hibil Ziwa. Health and victory are thine, Malka 'Anush 'Uthra (*see* p. 18). Health and victory are thine, Malka Shishlam Rba. (*Shishlan would be 'bound us together', but the final 'm'? Shlam=he perfected*, p. 56.) Health and victory are thine, great Malka 'Shaq (*L. translates 'he-hopped'*), the first great Radiancy (*or 'active light'*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Sam Ziwa, the Pure, eldest, first, beloved. (*L. translates Sam 'He produced' i.e. created*). Health and victory are thine, Hibil and Shitil and Anush. Health and victory are yours, Adatan and Yadatan. (*These are, according to Mandaeans, the two 'pointing stars' at the North.*) Health and victory are yours, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian '*uthris* of the flowing water (*yardna*). Health and victory are yours, ye twenty-four '*uthris*, sons of the light. (*Are these personified hours?*) Health and victory are yours, ye four beings, sons of perfection. (*The four seasons?*) Health and victory are yours, Anṣab and consort (*lit. cloud*) of Anṣab. Health and victory are yours, Sar and Sarwan (*a pair, male and female, according to Mandaeans*). Health and victory are yours, Zhir and Zihrun and Bhir and Bhrun (*Bhir = 'chosen'; pairs of light beings*), and Tar and Tarwan. Health and victory are yours, 'Urfi'il and Marfi'il and Yawar Tugmur. (?) Health and victory are yours, Malka Shingilan 'Uthra (*He-enraptured-me*). Health and victory are yours, Sunday and Congregation of the Righteous. Health and Victory are yours, Malka Son-of-Bagh 'Uthra. (*According to Chwolson, bagh was the portion of the rising sun which showed first on the horizon: hence a form of the sun-god, later 'god'. Cf.* Sanskrit *'bhaga'. Chwolson derives Baghdad from Bagh dad, i.e. 'gift of Bagh'.*) Health and victory are thine, Malka Shingilan 'Uthra (*a repetition*), and health and victory are thine, Simat Hiia (*Treasure of Life, see p. 27*). Health and victory are thine, 'Izlat the Great (*a female genius*). Health and victory are thine, Sharat (*She-was-firm*) Niṭufta (*the Drop or Pearl*). Health and victory are thine, Kanat Niṭuftatha (*Vial-of-Drops*). Health and victory are thine, Bihrat (*She-was-*

Chosen) Anana (*cloud or spouse*). Health and victory are thine, Malka Abathur Rama (*see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka ‘Uṣtuna Rba (*Great Pillar, or Great Body—‘Ur, or Krun?*). Health and victory are thine, Abathur Muzania (*see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka Son-of-Zahriil (*i.e. Pthahil, see p.* 95). Health and victory are thine, Malka Yahya Yuhana. Health and victory are thine, Malka Adam, First Man, and health and victory are thine, Malka Shitil son of Adam (*this is not the Shitil of the famous triad, Hibil, Shitil, ‘Anush*). Health and victory are yours, O malki and ‘uthri and indwellers, and flowing waters and outgushings and all the dwellings of the world of light. Health and victory are yours, and may there be a pardoner of sin for me, N. son of N., who have performed these devotions (*rahmia*). May there be a forgiver of my sins!’

I have translated ‘*nhuilakh*’ ‘*nhuilkhun*’ ‘are thine’ ‘are yours’, because, though they are more literally translated ‘be yours’, &c., the idea is plainly that of a *fait accompli*. ‘Victory’ might equally be translated ‘triumphant purity’, or ‘vindication’, but I have followed Lidzbarski here.

BOOK II

LEGENDS, MAGIC, AND FOLK-LORE

NOTE

Some of the legends and stories here collected were obtained from a silversmith, Hirmiz bar Anhar, about whose personality I feel bound to say a few words. He comes of a priestly family, and his grandfather was a *ganzibra* with a reputation for piety and learning. Hirmiz possesses good looks and a handsome grey beard. He is tall, straight, and the owner of an attractive smile. Like his late brother, Zahrun, he is a clever craftsman. He has a genuine devotion to his religion, and is not alone in his reverence for S̲h̲amis̲h̲, for I have heard the expression 'pray to S̲h̲amis̲h̲' on the lips of an orthodox priest. Hirmiz is a mystic and visionary, a poet, and a lover of Nature. He has never been to school, and he can write or read no language but his own.

> 'Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it Ayar Ziwa' (Bk. I, see p. 58). 'It is then that I have seen a being of light standing before me.'

He describes his visions as being exceedingly lovely.

> 'When I came to myself, I took a pencil and tried to draw what I had seen.'

Another time he told me that he had wept for joy on awaking from a vision like this, and his wife was alarmed, thinking that he had a premonition of evil, for they believe in such powers of the mind as Celts believe in them. When I began to get into order a collection of Arab folk-tales (published in 1931 by the Oxford University Press), I remembered my old Mandaean friend, and wondered if he could furnish me with some Mandaean folk-tales, or introduce me to some one who could. When he understood what I wanted, he answered that he had from his father, who was skilled in such recitals, stories about ancient times and about the unseen world. At first he used Arab terms, *jānn* for *s̲h̲ibiahi*, Allah for the Great Life, and so on, but it was not long before he slipped into the words familiar to him, and I heard the Mandaean legends, gossip, and traditions which he had listened to as a little boy. It has seemed worth while to reproduce what is of doubtful value as legend with the rest, for, amongst dross and nonsense, there is usually treasure in the way of typical customs, magical rites, religious beliefs, and national character. Hirmiz was my first, but not, of course, my only informant. Other Mandaeans, priestly and lay, have contributed, and stories related by Hirmiz I had again from the lips of others. Some have appeared in Siouffi's and Petermann's books. However, I make no excuse for telling twice-told legends and including with them the narrator's comments and explanations, which I always noted with care.

Names with the exception of Sin—pronounced Sén—are written as pronounced; the written version is sometimes given in brackets. In narrative I have written *rabba* for *rba*. The word is pronounced much as an Englishman (not a Scot) pronounces 'rubber' i.e. ignoring the double 'b' and the final 'r' and slurring the first vowel.

I. LEGENDS OF CREATION, THE FLOOD, ETC.

A. *Creation*

BEFORE the All, Melka Ziwa was. When he came into being he created five beings of light, and simultaneously there was darkness, for wherever there is form there are opposites. If right exists, left exists, and the left side of the body, which is the portion of darkness, is the weaker.

As there were five primal beings of light, there were five primal beings of darkness. Their names are: Akrun (Krun), their lord; Ashdum (Shdum); Gaf and Gafan; Hagh and Magh; and Zargi-Zargana (Zartai-Zartana). Gafan and Magh are the female complements of their lords. The darkness produced the three lords of the *skandola* (p. 37), and their names were in the shape in which they appear in the *skandola*.[1]

Melka Ziwa is the source of all life. Rays of light and life come from him and are transmitted to the sun and to the planets by the four *melki* in the North Star, whose names are Arhum Hii, Ziv Hii, ʻIn Hii, and Shom Hii, or Sam Hii.[2] From these four come the strength and life of Shamish.

NOTES ON A

Told by a *yalufa*

1. i.e. pictographs.

2. Rhum Hiia (Love[-of?]-Life); ʻIn Hiia (Source-of-Life); Ziu-Hiia (Glory-of-Life); Shum Hii (Name-of-Life), or Sam Hiia (Creation-of-Life).

B. *Creation and the Flood*

The Mandaeans believe in a Supreme Being, Alaha. He deputed the governance of the material world, which is a world of non-reality, and even its creation, to regents (*melki*), spirits of power and purity who sprang into existence as their names were pronounced by the Almighty. Of these beings, three hundred and sixty in number,[1] the most important is Mara d Rabutha (*Lord of Greatness*), but the divine being most directly in touch with this world is Hiwel Ziwa (Hibil Ziwa).[2] He created this world, dark and earthly, Ara d Tiwel (Arqa d Tibil); and a world of light, Mshuni Kushṭa. (Pp. 54–6). Hiwel Ziwa brought a woman named Ruhayya[2] from the seventh underworld of darkness, and she was pregnant. Hiwel Ziwa left her guarded in the upper world of darkness, and returned to Mshuni Kushṭa to say what he had done. He was absent for thousands of years. Ruhayya brought forth the monster 'Ur.[3] When born, 'Ur said to his mother 'Why are we alone, we two, in this world?' She replied that his father was a *melka* named Ashdum (Shdum) and that he had many relatives amongst the *melki*. 'Ur was of enormous size. He shouted until the worlds of light shook. Hiwel Ziwa came down from Mshuni Kushṭa and Ruhayya gave 'Ur a glass with which he could see his people in the world of light. But Hiwel Ziwa was wearing a talismanic face and was invisible, so, without being seen, he snatched the glass from 'Ur, captured him, imprisoned him, and confined him beneath the world in Ara d Nahasha, the Copper Earth,[4] and the seven material worlds were above him. His mother followed him below and became his wife. She bore him seven children, and Hiwel Ziwa put each child into a planet. The planets are creatures of God and each has a spirit in it. The names of these seven are Shamish, Sin or Sera, Nirigh, Bel, Enwo, Liwet, and Kiwan (see pp. 75–81). At a second birth she produced the Signs of the Zodiac. The planets rule this world of darkness. Thus, Nirigh is the ruler of war, Enwo of science and wisdom, Liwet of Love and of inventions such as the aeroplane. The planets are ships in which the *melki* who rule them ride. In the ship of Shamish is a banner, and from it streams the light of God, for it reflects it and transmits its rays to the world. Thus are constituted the world of light and darkness, the world of truth and not-truth.

The son of Hiwel Ziwa, Pthahil, by order of his father opened the sky, cooled the earth, loosed fountains and rivers, founded mountains, made fish and birds, flowers with their seeds, and animals for Adam and his descendants. Awathur (Abathur) and his son (i.e. *Pthahil*) looked at their own bodies and thought of them and so produced the body of Adam Paghra (*the physical Adam*). From Adam's rib was taken Hawa his wife. Exactly as there was an Adam Paghra and a Hawa Paghra, there was an Adam Kasia and a Hawa Kasia (*Occult Adam and Eve*). These and their progeny peopled the world of Mshuni Kushṭa. Adam had six children, three boys and three girls. The names of the three boys were Adam, Shitel, and Annosh. Adam son of Adam took a wife from amongst the children of darkness, for the world was inhabited before the creation of Adam by *shiviahi* (*shibiahia*),[5] children of blackness and darkness. From this union sprang children of darkness, those of humanity who are not Mandai. The Mandai are the children of Adam Paghra and Hawa Kasia. The other two sons of Adam, Shitel and Annosh, followed the teaching which Hiwel Ziwa gave their father. Hiwel Ziwa taught Adam the secrets of life, gave him the holy books, and instructed him in the arts of agriculture and writing.

NOTES ON B

Told by a *ganzibra* to a mixed company of Gentiles: hence the use of the word Alaha for the Supreme Being. This term in Mandaean exorcisms denotes an evil spirit. (See BDM., p. 17.)

1. Siouffi mentions this number also. But the Ginza says that the *melki* and '*uthri* are countless. The number 360 is the number of days in the Mandaean year.

2. The diminutive of the more usual Ruha. In lower Iraq diminutives are much used. For Ruha see p. 256 and below.

3. 'Ur is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmaments and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has a fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purifications of *Maṭaratha* are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers. The whole story of his incestuous union with his mother Ruha, of their offspring, first the Planets and then the Zodiac, &c., is reminiscent of other Central Asian dragons, some features of the myth

being common to all. I have drawn up a table of these. The name may mean 'light', and Lidzbarski sees in ʽUr and Ruha a degraded light-god and his mother-consort.

Chwolson suggests several derivations which suit the Mandaean conception of ʽUr; e.g. the Sanskrit *Uru* 'great' (Avestan *uru*): and 'die Sylbe *Ar* or *Er* scheint in den altsemitischen Sprachen die Bedeutung von Feuer, Kraft und Stärke zu haben'. (Ch.Ṣ., 89 ff.)

ʽUr is variously represented in pictures and pictographs. I gave in *Iraq*, vol. i, part ii) a photograph of a drawing in the Diwan Abathur, in which his size but not his dragon nature appears. On the *skandola* he is represented by the snake. I give here a Mandaean drawing of ʽUr, this time, not as 'a snake without hands and feet' as described in the Ginza, but as a louse. The commentary on the picture was as follows:

'The worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number, are the seven *maṭaratha*. The *Maṭarta* of Shamish is that into which Shamish goes when he is invisible and it is dark. Under ʽUr's belly, which is of fire, there is black water, or the oil which produces fire, and sometimes it gushes upwards in flames. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth, and beneath these are the kin of ʽUr: Sargi-Sargani, Hagh and Magh, Gaf and Gafan, Ashdum, and the greatest of them all, Akrun.'

4. *The Copper Earth.* According to the Diwan Abathur the layers of the 'world of darkness' are six: 'the first earth is of copper, the next earth of iron, another earth tin, another earth steel, another earth silver'. A *ganzibra* explained that by the 'first earth' was meant the lowest, and gave the order as copper, iron, brass, steel, gold, silver, dust.

5. *Shiviahi*(*a*). Whatever the original meaning of the word *shibiahia*—Lidzbarski translates planets, presumably from *shaba aḥia*, 'seven brothers'—it is now used as a general term for the beings Arabs call *jānn*. It is suggested to me that a possible derivation is ܫܒܝܚܐ (*shabīhā*), plural *shabīhīn* (*shabīhayyā*), 'praised ones' (Syriac √ܫܒܚ 'praise'). This might come to mean good spirits (?) hence by euphemism or degradation spirits of any sort or evil spirits. In a long roll in my possession, in a description of the universe before the earthly world was created, I find, 'and from those black waters arose and appeared evil things: from one of them (came) a thousand thousand mysteries, and myriad, myriad *shibiahia*'. In general the *shiviahi* are destructive and death-dealing, but the house *shiviahi* who appear to children, or seek refuge with men in the guise of white hares (see Legend XI) are harmless and often kindly. (See also XV, XVI, &c.)

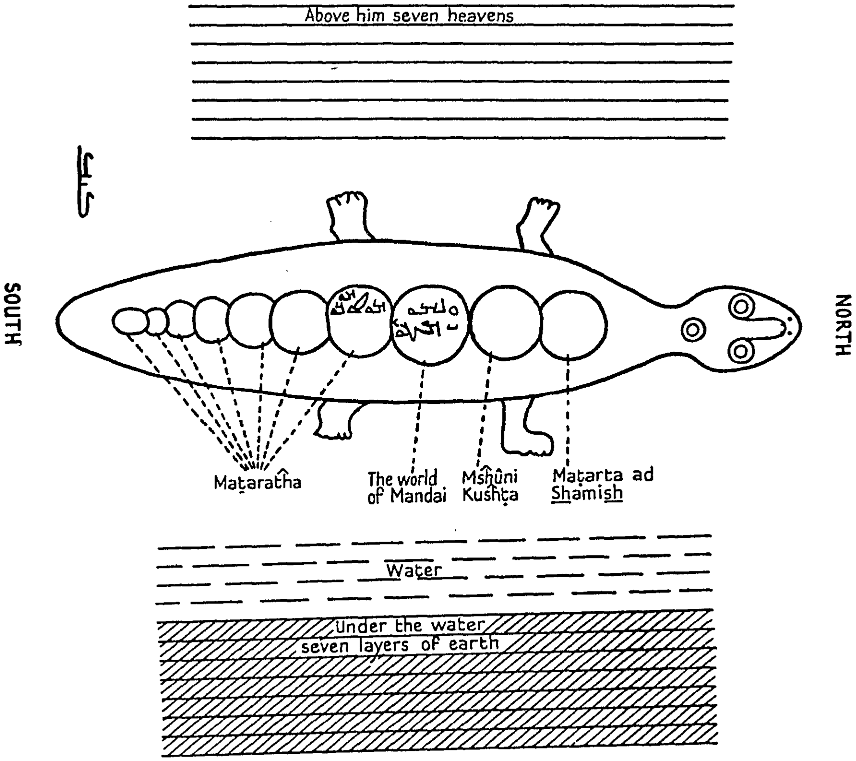

Above him seven heavens
SOUTH
NORTH
Maṭaratha
The world of Mandai
Mshûni Kushṭa
Maṭarta ad Shamish
Water
Under the water seven layers of earth

FIG. 14.

Hirmiz's drawing of 'Ur. Many of the Mandaean similes recall the fact that the religion belongs to an oil-bearing region, particularly the scenery of the under-world—pitch that bubbles and seethes, flames of fire, black mud, black stinking water (crude oil), and clear water that one cannot drink (naptha). 'The earth was over and the black waters beneath' (Ginza Rba). 'Pitch and oil are the sap of the trees of the underworld' (Ginza Rba, 6th fragment, 12th book).

Some Central Asian Dragons

	'UR (Mandaean)	*KRUN* (Mandaean)	*TIÂMAT* (Babylonian)	*VṚTRA* (Vedic) *or ŚEṢA* (Vedic)	
Description and Attributes	'*A serpent without hands or feet.*' A *dragon*, a monster of *huge size. Fire within*, a *sucking mouth* like a vortex. On *skandola*, represented as *encircling*, head and tail together.	A huge *louse*. King of World of Darkness and of *7 regions* and lords of darkness. 'Mountain of Flesh.' *Enormous* size.	*Large dragon or serpent.* Earth-Mother, 'mother of everything'. *Huge* and gross.	'*a serpent without hands or feet.*' Vṛtra was 500 leagues high, and 300 round. Fire issued from his mouth i.e. his belly was of *fire*.	the Serpent of a thousand mouths '*the endless serpent lying upon the waters*'. Encircles himself: called Ananta, the 'endless'.
Place	*South*: above underworld *on the black water*. Later, *supports 7 earths and 7 heavens* (earthly firmaments). Earth called '*copper earth*'. Black water stinks.	*South*: beneath underworld in the *black, stinking, water* (miia siawia). 'Whole visible *world rests on him*.' Earth called '*copper earth*'.	*South*: underworld, on *black water*. Earth called '*copper earth*'.	*South*: lies *on the waters at bottom of the rajas* or aerial space. Macdonell says: 'There can be no doubt that the word vṛtra is derived from the root *vṛ* to 'cover' or 'encompass'.	Lies on the waters. *Supports the earth* from beneath.
Parent	Ruha, the Earth-Mother, whose dwelling was then the surface of the black water.				
Consort (incestuous)	Ruha, his mother. Her first consort was her brother, Gaf.		*Husband Apsu.* (Watery Abyss or Black Water). He is bound by Ea, god of the waters of the upper world. *Paramour*, her son, Kingu or Tammuz.		
Offspring	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* and the planets.	The '*seven*' *of the underworld.*	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* (They included herself and Kingu.)		
Conflict	With Manda d Hiia, Yawar Ziwa, or Hibil Ziwa: ends	With Hibil Ziwa (light). Krun *opens his mouth to*	With En-lil (sky-god) or Marduk (sun-hero). 'Tiâ-	Vṛtra slain after conflict with sky-god Indra. *Swal-*	

			Paramour, her son, Kingu or Tammuz.		
Offspring	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* and the planets.	The *'seven' of the underworld.*	The *twelve signs of the Zodiac* (They included herself and Kingu.)		
Conflict	With Manda d Hiia, Yawar Ziwa, or Hibil Ziwa: ends in his defeat and being bound with iron. He supports the earth and *swallows* evil-doers. Hibil Ziwa *returns triumphant* to the light world.	With Hibil Ziwa (light). Krun *opens his mouth to* suck him in and *swallows him*. Two light spirits fight for Hibil Ziwa and these *thrust light into Krun's jaws*. When Hibil Ziwa is *swallowed* he surrounds himself with swords and wounds the monster. He *returns with a talisman*. On his journey through the underworld, Hibil Ziwa remains in the inferno of Hag and Mag *60,000* years.	With En-lil (sky-god) or Marduk (sun-hero). 'Tiâmat *opened her mouth* to its fullest extent.' Marduk made wind enter her open mouth and distend her, then *slew her with his spear*. He *returns with a 'tablet of destiny'* which he binds on his forehead.	Vṛtra slain after conflict with sky-god Indra. *Swallowed* Indra, but gods making Vṛtra yawn, Indra leapt out and *cast a thunderbolt into his open mouth*. A foul stench came from his blood. As Vṛtra had practised yoga for *60,000* years, Indra had to do penance.	

C.

Ruha and Pthahi
had finished, he wa
fours, had a face lik
They were puzzlec
told them of their fa
will send Hiwel Zi
was in his hands.
horrified, and said,
blood, this house
Hiwel Ziwa said, 'I
of Life?' She said,
and that is that ev
shall be in this wo
air), running water
thing as it is up the

Hiwel Ziwa retu
and brought back
but spoke, and pro
give all that the So
entered the body o
and Hiwel Ziwa ta
marry, how to bur
and all knowledge.
she might have her
came to Adam son
its skin and made
flute, and she and
and sang and danc
and said to him, 'C
went. Liwet (Venu
and Adam son of
of children. Ruha
went to Adam, an
(i.e. performed pu
they reproached h
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had known nothin

foul stench came from his
blood. As Vṛtra had prac-
tised yoga for *60,000* years,
Indra had to do penance.

then slew her with his spear.
He *returns with a 'tablet of
destiny'* which he binds on
his forehead.

swallowed he surrounds
himself with swords and
wounds the monster. He
returns with a talisman. On
his journey through the
underworld, Hibil Ziwa re-
mains in the inferno of
Hag and Mag *60,000* years.

light world.

C. *The*

Ruha and Pthahil tried
had finished, he was like
fours, had a face like an a
They were puzzled and
told them of their failure,
will send Hiwel Ziwa. H
was in his hands. Whe
horrified, and said, 'Wha
blood, this house of un
Hiwel Ziwa said, 'Dost th
of Life?' She said, 'I wil
and that is that everythi
shall be in this world—f
air), running water (*yardn*
thing as it is up there.'

Hiwel Ziwa returned a
and brought back a letter
but spoke, and promised
give all that the Soul had
entered the body of Adam
and Hiwel Ziwa taught h
marry, how to bury the c
and all knowledge. Ruha
she might have her race, h
came to Adam son of Ada
its skin and made a drun
flute, and she and her chi
and sang and danced. R
and said to him, 'Come,
went. Liwet (Venus) mad
and Adam son of Adam
of children. Ruha, too,
went to Adam, and Ada
(i.e. performed purificati
they reproached him aft
see how big she was in
had known nothing, for s

C. *The Creation of Man*

ahil tried to make Adam and, when they was like a man, but moved about on all like an ape, and made noises like a sheep. led and went to the House of Life and r failure, and the House of Life said, We Ziwa. Hiwel Ziwa came, and the Soul s. When the Soul saw Adam, she was id, 'What! must I dwell in this flesh and se of uncleanness?' And she refused. , 'Dost thou refuse the order of the House id, 'I will accept on one condition only, everything that is in the world of light world—flowers, trees, light, *ayar* (pure er (*yardna*), baptisms, priests, and everyhere.'

eturned and told them (the House of Life) k a letter (*'ngirtha*). It would not open, promised that the House of Life would Soul had asked. So the Soul (*Nishimta*) of Adam and he stood erect and talked, taught him reading and writing, how to ury the dead, how to slaughter a sheep, ge. Ruha saw this, and she wished that ier race, her people, and her portion. She on of Adam, and killed a sheep, and took le a drum, and of its bones she made a d her children the Seven (planets) played nced. Ruha went to Adam son of Adam 'Come, amuse yourself with us!' and he nus) made herself like a beautiful woman, f Adam took her and became the father ha, too, disguised herself as Hawa, and and Adam went into the water with her purifications after cohabitation). When him afterwards, saying, 'Did you not was in the water?',[1] he replied that he ng, for she employed sorcery. The Jews were of the children of Ruha and Adam. Their great men were the children of Ruha; Moses was Kiwan, and Abraham was Shamish. They travelled and travelled until they came to 'Ur shalam (Jerusalem), which they called "Uhra shalam', 'The-road-is-complete'. They wanted books and Melka d Anhura said, 'A book must be written that does not make trouble for the Mandai', and they sent one of the *melki*—Ṭāwūs Melka (i.e. Peacock King, cf. p. 94) to write the Torat (Old Testament). The Jews had no priests, so Anush 'Uthra put seed into the Jordan and the Jewish women drank and became pregnant and brought forth 365 priests. 'Inoshvey, too, drank of the water, and she brought forth Yahia, and all the men who were born of the seed sown in the Jordan were baptized and became priests.

NOTES ON C

1. The narrator was a priest, a good story-teller, but constitutionally inaccurate. Eve is always represented by Arab folk-lore as of immense size.

Another version of the soul-story (from Hirmiz) was the following:

'The trees and fruits of the world of light resemble those of the earth. When the soul was taken from Melka Ziwa, like a ball of light, and Hiwel Ziwa bore her in his hands to Adam, she wept, 'Why do you bear me to the realms of darkness? I will not go.' He said, 'It is the command of God, and I must take you, but there shall be on earth trees and flowers and fruits which are like those in the world of light'.

D. AND E. *The Flood*

When Hiwel Ziwa told Noh that the world would be destroyed by water, Noh brought wood from the Harrān and built his ark, called in our tongue a *kawila* or *anana*. Noh asked a sign, so he might know when it was to begin. (*The story here follows F, see below, until . . .*) Noh arose, took two of all beasts and put them into the ark through a hole in the top, then he and his family entered and closed the hole, all excepting Sam, for Sam was in the wilds, tending his flock. The thunder came, the sky split, the hail descended, and the waters rose. Sam fled and his sheep followed him but the water came and surrounded them and all were drowned.[1] Sam reached the ark, seized it, clambered up its side and remained on the top. There he stayed and was fed daily by Hiwel Ziwa. Before eating he washed his arms and did all that it is commanded that a *tarmida* should do, performing his ablutions daily. (*The story again follows F. After the return of the dove . . .*) Then Noh cursed the crow and said, 'Henceforward at the time of the ripening of fruit, thou shalt not eat of it!' But he blessed the dove, which is called *mana* 'soul', and is purer and better than all birds.

NOTES ON D AND E

The narrators were a priest and a layman of priestly family.

1. In another narrative, E, Sam, who is identified with the Good Shepherd (see p. 299), managed to save his sheep but had no time to get in himself, so sat on the roof of the ark. Lidzbarski points out that in early Christian representations of the Good Shepherd in the Roman catacombs he is depicted near the Ark.

F. *The Mandaean Nation*

The story of our nation is this. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Ṣubba, who are the true children of Adam Pag͟hra and Ḥawa Kasia, lived in Serandīb (Ceylon).[1] They were all cut off by plague except one pair, whose names were Ram and Rud. These had children who in turn multiplied until at last there were many of them, a race of mankind. But, after 150,000 years, by the command of Hiwel (Hibil) Ziwa, the whole earth broke into flames and only two escaped. These were S͟hurbey and S͟hurhabiel. These had children and multiplied and increased and became a people again. All this was in Serandīb. After 100,000 years an order came from the House of Life to Noh (Noah), three hundred years before the Flood, saying, 'Build a *kawila* (ark), for the world will be destroyed by water'. Sandalwood was brought from the Jebel Ḥarrān, and an ark was built with a length of thirty *gama*,[2] a width of thirty *gama*, and a height of thirty *gama*. A *gama* is the length of my arm. Noh asked for a sign and was told that when an ʿ*angara* (the green shoot of a young reed, or *gasba*) appeared in the oven, that should be the sign. Three hundred years later, Sam's wife, the daughter-in-law of Noh, was taking burning reeds from the *tannūr* (clay oven) and was about to place her bread in it when she saw, in the midst of the fire, a green *ʿangara* growing. She cut it and gave it to Noh, and when he saw it, his spirit was straitened within him. He brought a pair of all animals, even the wild ones, the lions and the hares, and drove them into the ark, and he and his daughter-in-law entered the ark.

But Sam was outside in the *chōl* (wilderness) herding his sheep. The heavens became dark, and for forty-two days and forty-two nights it rained, and water came down from Heaven and the waters of the earth rose. Sam drove his sheep to the mountains, but they were drowned with all living things. He managed to reach the ark and, as it was shut, he climbed on to the roof of it. There Hiwel Ziwa gave him food at the times appointed for eating. The ark was carried to and fro on the water for eleven months. There was nothing but water and the only thing to be seen on the waters was the ark. The mountains, countries, and cities were all covered. At last the wind brought the ark near Egypt, and there it stopped. Noh, understanding that the water had lowered, sent off the crow, saying to him, 'Go, fly about, and bring me news of the world'. The crow flew off, but, seeing a decaying corpse in the water, he forgot the words of Noh and began to eat of it. Noh waited and then, as the crow did not return, he set a dove (*yauna*) free. She flew and saw the crow eating the carrion, and also an olive-tree growing green above the water. She took a piece of the green olive-tree in her beak, returned to Noh and gave it to him. He kissed her, opened the door, and went forth from the ark, together with his daughter-in-law, and they saw Sam, sitting on the roof of the ark.

Noh called to him, 'Descend! I am your father and here is your wife!' Sam descended and embraced his wife and father and praised the House of Life for their safety and health. Then he went out and built a house of clay in which to live, while Noh went forth to amuse himself on the earth, to walk abroad and recover. Ruha[3] came forth and saw Noh and assumed the appearance of his wife. She greeted him saying 'I am Anhuraita, your wife!' and he took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons, Ham, Yam, and Yafet. These were the fathers of the human race, Ham becoming father of the blacks, the '*abīd* or slaves; Yam of the white nations, Abraham and the Jews; and Yafet of the gypsies (*Kauliyah*). But Sam and his wife Anhar are the progenitors of the Mandai.

Six thousand years later, the planets, who are the children of Ruha and 'Ur, built the Sacred House, that is 'Ur Shalam—Jerusalem. (The K'aba was built by Abraham.) In Jerusalem Ruha gave a share of her kingdom to Musa (Moses) of the Beni Israiil. Musa was against the Mandai and had quarrelled with them in Egypt. Ardwan (Ardban) Melka of the Mandai had a vision and heard a voice coming out of the House of Life saying, 'Rise, go out of this place because of your health and well-being'. He rose and took the Mandai and they went out of Egypt and came to the sea which became shut off, leaving a road with mountains of sea on either side. Thus they went from Egypt. But Firukh Melka, brother of Ardwan Melka, remained in Egypt and fought with the Jews there and was surrounded and discomfited by them and fled. Seeing the road through the sea still remaining, he went with his people upon it, but when they were in the midst of the sea, the mountains of water closed upon them and they were all drowned.

Ardwan Melka with his sixty thousand Mandai travelled and travelled till at last they came to the Ṭura d Maddai.[4] The mountain opened to them, for it was high, big, and impassable, and they entered and went behind it. It closed again and Hiwel Ziwa said to Ardwan Melka 'Remain here with the Mandaeans, and the Twelve [signs of the Zodiac] and the Seven [planets] shall not rule over you'. Musa pursued them, but when he reached the Ṭura d Maddai, he could go no further and so returned and went to 'Urshalam.

There the Jews lived until Yahia (John the Baptist) was born of 'Inoshwey. Now Zakharia and 'Inoshwey were both old, but it happened like this: she drank water and became pregnant of the water. One of the Jews had dreamt that Zakharia would become a father and that his son would become a prophet, and they waited to kill Yahia. After nine months, nine weeks, nine hours, and nine minutes, 'Inoshwey was delivered of her son, and 'Annosh-'Uthra came and took the child and carried him to the Frat-Ziwa (the heavenly double of the Euphrates) and put him beneath a tree which bore a fruit like teats (*thaddi*). Yahia sucked its milk for thirty days and 'Annosh 'Uthra sent a woman named Sofan Lulaitha to tend him. On the thirty-first day, an '*uthra* came to baptize him in the *yardna* (river). He taught him his ABG, brought him the Book of Souls (Sidra d Nishmatha), put it into his hands, and taught him to read and recite it. He taught him all the Way of the House of Life. When he reached the age of twenty-one, the '*uthri* consecrated Yahia and made him a *tarmida*. They taught him all the rites of the faith and ordered him to accompany 'Annosh 'Uthra to Jerusalem so that Yahia might become a prophet there. They brought a *belum* (boat) and the two travelled and went and came by the Shatt al-Urdan (river Jordan) to 'Urshalam. When they arrived, 'Annosh 'Uthra began to cry aloud, 'If there is one here who has lost a child, let him come and claim his own!' The servant of 'Inoshwey heard, noted the description, and went back to her mistress with the news, saying, 'His eyes are like those of 'Inoshwey and his face resembled that of Zakharia'.

'Inoshwey was eighty, and had no menstruation, but was clean and pure. Zakharia was very old too. When the servant said, 'I saw a boy resembling you sitting in a *belum* in the river', 'Inoshwey rose, and in her joy went down to the river without an '*abā* (wimple-cloak) covering her head. Zakharia, seeing this, was angry at her immodesty and divorced her. Shamish (the sun-god) saw it and called out, 'I wonder that you divorce your wife without cause! She ran out in joy at knowing that her son was alive'. Zakharia answered Shamish, 'Pardon, my lord! She went forth uncovered, and I divorced her, not knowing the reason'.

'Inoshwey came down to Yahia in the river and rushed into the water, bosom-high, throat-high, and Yahia seized her and kissed her. 'Annosh-'Uthra chided him, 'Why do you kiss this Jewess?' (Lit. 'Why do you love a Jewess in her mouth', *fī ḥalgha*). 'Such conduct is forbidden, why do you thus?'

Yahia replied, 'Pardon, my lord! My Father, the Life, placed me for nine months in the womb of this woman. I lay lightly in her womb because I loved her. She is my mother, and the heart of every son yearns to his mother!'

'Annush 'Uthra said, 'Yea, verily, a man must honour his father and his mother!'

Then Yahia went into 'Urshalam. He opened the eyes of the blind, cured the sick, and made the lame to walk. The priests were angry and came to Yahia and ordered him to leave 'Urshalam immediately. Yahia refused to go and defied them, saying, 'Bring swords and cut me, bring fire and burn me, or water and drown me!'

And the priests replied, 'Yahia, we know that swords will not cut thee, nor fire burn thee, nor water drown thee'.

When Yahia began to read in his Ginza Rabba, the birds of the air spoke, praising God, and the fishes opened their mouths and glorified the Life.

NOTES ON F

The narrator was a Mandaean priest in Iran. The whole is an embroidery of narratives in the Drasha d Yahia, Ginza Rba, and Haran Gawaitha. The miraculous crossing of the sea occurs only in the Ginza, and in its Jewish form. The narrator continued the story of John, but as he kept close to the text in the Drasha d Yahia, it is not worth quoting farther.

1. Al-Bīrūnī quotes Persians and Magians as thinking that 'the first man came into existence on the equator, so that part of him in longitudinal direction was on the north, and part south of the line'. (Sachau's translation, p. 17.)

2. *Gama*—large sword.

3. *Ruha*. See p. 256. The Breath, or spirit, a personification of breath, or physical life. In the Ginza Ruha is the embodiment of the lure of the senses, the enticement of the flesh. Even when called Ruha d Qudsha (Holy

Spirit), she does not lose her bad character—probably a polemical reference. Another name for her is Namrus Zaina. In legend and popular belief Ruha assumes a kindlier character, and is again in harmony with the Great Life. (See Legend XXVIII.) The Tafsir Pag͟hra, a late book, speaks of the ultimate union of *ruha* and *ns͟himta* in the world of light as if they were soul and over-soul.

4. From this point, the story is founded on the Haran Gawait͟ha, v. p. 6 ff.

G. *Another Version of the Red Sea Story*

Para Melka was obstinate, and was punished for his obstinacy. The people of Egypt were of our religion, and Musa (Moses), who was brought up with Para Melka, learnt something of our knowledge. The Jews in general worshipped Ruha and her children, especially Yurba, and knew nothing of the Light or the teachings of the children of Light. And even to-day the Jews worship Yurba, who is of the Sun. Yurba is to the sun-ship what a captain is to an earthly ship—he controls it, but he himself is under the orders of the Lords of Light, for the children of darkness and those who are of the portion of Ruha serve the children of Light. So it was that S͟hamis͟h gave Musa power.

The people of Musa (i.e. the Jews) and the people of Para Melka (the Egyptians) quarrelled, and Para Melka made it so difficult for the Jews that they wished to escape from the country and pass over the Sea of Suf. When they came to it, they went to the ferry which belonged to Para Melka, and said to the ferryman, 'Ferry us over in your ship'. The ferryman replied, 'I have no orders to ferry you across', and, try as they might, they were unable to persuade him.

Now Musa had a staff, and knowledge of secret names. This staff had been given him by Ruha and opened into two parts and was called *gōs* (?). Musa took this wand and struck the water and uttered names, and the water became solid like the ground, so that people could walk upon its surface like dry land. . . . Then the Jews passed over the Sea, but Musa himself remained standing in the middle and did not remove from it, for, had he come out, the power of the names would have gone with him, and his people been drowned. When the last of them had passed over, he followed them.

Then Para Melka and his people came in pursuit of them. Para Melka asked the ferryman how the Jews had passed over, and he said, 'They did not use my ship, nor did they compel me to give it to them. But Musa struck the water with his staff and spoke secret words over the water and it became dry land.'

Para Melka said 'Strange!' And he knew whence Musa had this secret knowledge, for they had both studied together when children.

Then Para Melka (having the same knowledge) struck the water with his *marg̲h̲na* (ritual staff, see p. 39) and it became land. But the powers on high, who hate killing and the shedding of blood, saw [and disapproved], for war and killing are forbidden amongst the children of light.

Therefore, when Para Melka passed over, he did not stop in the middle, but crossed over before all his army. Then, as soon as he had reached the other side, the waters closed upon those who were following him, and they sank beneath the surface.

NOTES ON G

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar. This is a common legend and often related. Lofani is eaten once a year for the drowned Egyptians, see p. 89, at the time called As̲h̲uriyah. In the Pis̲h̲ra d̲ Ainia (D.C. 21) Pharaoh is called *Pirun malka d̲ miṣraiia.*

II. OF ABRAHAM AND YURBA

YURBA (pron. Yur-ba) is of the powers of Darkness. Power is given to him, but he acts as the servant of the powers of Light—for the powers of Light rule, and do not serve. Yurba is like the captain of the Lynch boats (i.e. the Lynch Navigation Company), who commands his boat but is himself under the orders of the Gumpania Lynch. It was Yurba who gave the Jews their power, and it was thus.

Abraham was of our people—we called him Bahram.

Yes, he was a Mandai, a Naṣurai. His brother was a *ris͟h ʿamma* (head-of-the-people, a king-priest), and they were a family of priests. Bahram developed a sore (*dumbala*) and, because of it, he was circumcised. He was very troubled when this happened, for being thus he could no longer act as a slaughterer or priest. For the Mandai do not accept maimed persons, or those who have lost a finger, ear, or part of any member as their priests. These are henceforth unclean.

He dared not tell his brother, but his brother discovered what had happened and said to him: 'It is written that you may not be a priest any more. No doubt the origin of your sickness was in darkness, and you committed a fault; for, to the pure, no sickness may come.'

And it is so; for, if a person lives purely and does not frequent people of eHs͟huk͟ha (Darkness) and prays and keeps his thoughts clean, disease and sores do not come upon him. If a person is strong in purity and light, he may go amongst evil or sick persons and suffer no hurt: on the contrary, he has power from Mara ad Rabut͟ha (the Lord of Greatness) which goes out from him to them and heals them.

Bahram said to his brother, 'It will be better if I go out from amongst you, and go forth into the desert'.

So he left the city and established himself (for he was rich) in the desert. With him went all the unclean amongst the Ṣubba; the leprous and those who were deficient—and of these *baṣran Sira* (moon-deficients, see p. 326) their descendants are unclean and deficient until the seventh generation. They went, the leprous and the unclean, with their children and their families, and Bahram began to worship Yurba. Yurba came to him on the wind and began to rule him and his people in all that they did. He said, 'Do thus', and they obeyed, Bahram and his people.

Thus Bahram became a large tribe and a powerful people. Yurba had been given power in this world, and he gave to Bahram such magic power that fire was unable to burn him.

Amongst the Mandai and Naṣurai also there were those who quarrelled [with the true believers], and they joined themselves with Bahram, who said to them, 'I have power from Yurba and can conquer'.

They they and Bahram sought to force the Mandai, saying, 'Come with us and be like us, or we will fight with you!'

The Mandai answered them, 'We may not fight, because it is forbidden to us to kill men'.

Bahram said to them, 'Then I shall take you by force'. And he caught them as opportunity offered, on the roads or in the wilderness, and circumcised them by force, thus making them lacking and unclean like himself. If they resisted, he killed them.

The Naṣurai sent to reason with him, saying, 'Why do you seize people thus and circumcise them or kill them? You commit sin and will be punished.'

Bahram replied, 'My power is of Yurba and not from Melka Ziwa: what can you do?'

Now there was a *rish ʿamma* and he had power. Ruha herself used to appear to him. And she came to him and he said to her, 'Bahram is working us hurt by power of Yurba, what can we do against him?'

Ruha replied, 'He has a certain right, for when Melka Ziwa brought me and my children from the realms of darkness, I besought Melka d Anhura (the Light King) that I should have my portion. I said to him "Give me *sahm*, a share, something of my own". And Melka d Anhura granted me this and divided the world into periods in which I and my children had power: one portion was to the water, another portion to the fire and another to war.' (For a gardener who works in a garden has his wage, and from the time of Abraham there was a period of power for Ruha and Yurba.) Ruha took a boy and a girl from amongst the children of Adam Paghra (see p. 253), enticing them away by ornaments and songs and dances, and carried them away to China, where they increased and multiplied and became many. Their worship was of Ruha and her children, and as these have sicknesses and *mikrobāt* and diseases of all kinds in their hands to give or to withhold, they withheld evil gifts from these children of Adam, so that they grew and prospered.

Hiwel Ziwa went to Ruha and reproached her: 'Why dost thou thus?'

She replied, 'You took me away from my people—may I not have my portion from the children of Adam, something of my own?'

He said, 'Those you have taken away may remain yours, but you must not take any others of the children of Adam.'

Thus, likewise, Yurba had power, and it was by this power that Abraham became strong. It was permitted to Yurba and to Ruha and her children, for Hiwel Ziwa had taken Zahariel, Ruha's sister, to spouse, and it was because of this that he listened to the voice of Ruha when she asked for her portion (of power).

And, from that time, the Jews were strong, and the Prophet Musa (Moses), too, had his strength from Yurba.

But Prophet Moses never suffered himself to be circumcised, neither did the prophet Jesus, for Jesus was of our sect, and they do not allow mutilations.

NOTES ON II

'The first Greek book we know of in which the Jews were held up to odium was not written by a Greek, but by an Egyptian, Manetho, who wrote, under the patronage of the Ptolemaic court, a history of his people for the Greek public (early third century B.C.). He gave currency to the story that the Jews were descended from a section of the Egyptian people which had been expelled from Egypt because they were afflicted with leprosy and scrofula.' (E. R. Bevan in *The Legacy of Israel*, p. 33, Oxf. Univ. Press.)

A similar story is repeated by Josephus in his *Against Apion*, vol. v, pp. 206–18, as being an Egyptian calumny about Moses. Al-Bīrūnī (A.D. 973–1048) repeats this story in more or less the Mandaean version:

'The remnant of these Ṣābians (i.e. those who followed Budhasaf, Buddha) are living in Ḥarrân, their name (i.e. *al-Ḥarrâniya*) being derived from their place. Others derive it from Ḥârân b. Teraḥ, the brother of Abraham, saying that he among their chiefs was the most deeply imbued with their religion and its most tenacious adherent. Ibn Sankila (Syncellus), the Christian, relates in a book which he, intending to refute their creed, stuffed with lies and futile stories, that Abraham left their community simply because leprosy appeared on his foreskin, and that everybody who suffered from this disease was considered impure and excluded from all society. Therefore, he cut off his foreskin, i.e. he circumcised himself. In this state he entered one of their idol-temples, when he heard a voice speaking to him, 'O Abraham, you went away from us with one sin, and you return to us with two sins. Go away, and do not again come to us.'

'Therefore Abraham, seized by wrath, broke the idols in pieces and left their community. But, after having done it, he repented and wished to sacrifice his son to the planet Saturn, it being their custom to sacrifice their children, as that author maintains. Saturn, however, on seeing him truly repentant, let him go free with the sacrifice of a ram.'

(Al-Bīrūnī denies that the Ḥarranians sacrificed human beings.)

The story seems undoubtedly of Babylonian, rather than Egyptian or Greek origin, and was invented to explain circumcision.

Yurba (Lidzbarski transcribes mistakenly Yorabba) is in Mandaean literature identified with the sun. In the Drasha d Yahya he is called the 'warlike', and in a magic roll addressed to the seven planets Shamish is addressed as Yurba. Since the pronunciation is Yur-ba, and not Yu-rabba, I think we are justified in considering *Yur* another form of ʿUr, or of Yawar, i.e. meaning 'giving blinding, dazzling light', i.e. Yur-Rba.

III. HOW HIBIL ZIWA FETCHED RUHA FROM THE DARKNESS

RUHA was the daughter of Hagh and his wife Magh in the world of Darkness. It was Hiwel Ziwa who brought her out of the World of Darkness of which Akrun is the ruler. With him are Gaf and Gafan, who are male and female, Hagh and Magh of whom I have just spoken, Sargi and Sargani,[1] also male and female, and Ashdum, who had Ruha for consort. The lion, scorpion, and hornet are their symbols.

But I will tell you how Ruha came to the upper worlds.

Once the *melki* and the *ʿuthri*, twelve thousand of them, wished to see Melek Ziwa (the Light King), the great god of all, for each had a question to ask about the created world, such as 'Why are the trees green?' 'Why does this happen, and why that?' and so on. Each one of them had a question. They mounted vehicles like ships that moved by electricity[2] and they rose from Awathur until they reached the highest heaven. When they had attained the highest heaven, a blinding light fell upon them, and they could not gaze, but fell on their faces. Only Hiwel Ziwa, who was with them, remained upright.

Now with Melek Ziwa are two mighty spirits called S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rabba,[3] the Road-Opener, and Yawar Rabba. Hiwel Ziwa begged S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rabba to open him a road through the barring light so that he might approach Melek Ziwa, Lord of All Things, and Melek Ziwa gave S̲h̲is̲h̲lam Rabba permission, saying, ‘Go, bring Hiwel Ziwa to me!’ The others could not approach, but remained prostrate; but the answers to their questions came into their minds without the asking. Moreover, when the *‘ut̲h̲ri* and *melki* yearned to see the Lord of All, they beheld in their minds a Countenance of Light, which was the likeness of God, whose other name is Parṣufa Rabba ad ‘Iqara (Great Countenance of Glory). This is his secret Name, which none but the initiated know. I have declared this sacred name to you! When they saw this vision, the *melki* and the *‘ut̲h̲ri* began to pray and worship.

As for Hiwel-Ziwa, who had approached nearer than they, he received such sovereign power that whatever he sought, he obtained.

He told the *melki*, ‘I am going to descend, and to build a world called Olma ad eHs̲h̲uk̲h̲a’ (World of Darkness, i.e. the physical world).

He descended, and went lower and lower and lower, for years and years, until he reached Akrun Ṭura ad Besera (Krun, Mountain of Flesh) in the depths of creation. The whole visible world rests on this king of darkness, and his shape is that of a huge louse.

When he saw Hiwel Ziwa, Akrun said, ‘Why hast thou come to our realm? How didst thou travel hither? Now I will swallow thee up!’ and he opened his mouth wide. The throat of Akrun is vast, and it has such power of suction that everything is drawn into it.

Now Melek Ziwa had sent two powerful spirits to protect Hiwel Ziwa, for in the realm of spirits one is more powerful than another, and these fought beside Hiwel Ziwa.

When Akrun wished to shake Hiwel Ziwa from his place and swallow him, these thrust a light like a sword into the throat of Akrun, and the latter feared, knowing that a mightier than he had come and that the power of Hiwel Ziwa was from the King of the Light of Day. For Ziwa means the pure light of the day, while Anhura means the light of the moon.

When Hiwel Ziwa saw that Akrun, Lord of Darkness, was thus smitten, he said, 'This is the work of Melek Ziwa!' and he commanded Akrun, saying, 'I have come to take Ruha. Let Ashdum, her spouse, give her up.' Now Ruha is the breath of life in the created world, and our breath is from her.

Then the powers of darkness gave Ruha to Hiwel Ziwa, and, at that time, she was pregnant. With her, Hiwel Ziwa took a talisman, a seal, upon which were depicted the likeness of Gaf and the scorpion Hagh. This was to protect Ruha when she set out on her journey to the upper worlds.

Ruha asked Hiwel Ziwa, 'Whither takest thou me?'

He showed her the path.

Now, Ruha had a sister, named Zahariel.[4] When she beheld Hiwel Ziwa, Zahariel loved him, and, as nothing was hidden from him, he knew that she yearned for him. So he took her also, with Ruha. She bore him a son, Pthahil. So Pthahil, who takes souls to be weighed and sends his spirits to fetch souls from their bodies, is the child of both Light and Darkness.

NOTES ON III

1. An error. Zartai-Zartanai in the Mandaean MSS. is the name of a single personage: his spouse is Amamit.

2. *Electricity*—a favourite simile with Hirmiz.

3. *Shishlam Rabba*. The name occurs often in ritual, especially in connexion with the banner and myrtle. He is the guardian spirit of Mshunia Kushṭa and the archetype of priesthood.

4. *Zahariel*. Identified with Ishtar and Venus. See pp. 46–7.

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar.

In the 5th book (rt. side) of the Ginza Rba, Hibil Ziwa (here spoken of as the son of Manda d Hiia) goes to the underworld. He reaches the first world of darkness 'in which Ruha lived' and abides there 1,000 myriad years—'in this world I was hidden from your eyes'.

Then he descends into the realm of Zartai-Zartanai and his spouse Amamit. Here he worked as redeemer and helper for 'generations and generations' and 'learnt what was in their heart'.

Next he descended into the realm of Hag and Mag, and spent 60,000 myriad years there.

Next, into the world of Gaf and Gafan, 'many myriads of miles lower'. 'They resemble dragons', and proceed from 'the black, hissing, seething water'. He bound these monsters with their *liliths* and salamanders.

From hence, he rose again and entered the world of Anatan and his spouse Qin. 'Qin, named Mother of Darkness.' Here again, he worked as redeemer and teacher.

Then he approached Shdum, 'king of the dark world', and questioned him about the 'son who would fight against the world of light'. Shdum sent him on to the great Giu who sent him to Karkum (Krun). Hibil Ziwa addresses this being, 'Peace to thee, First Born, King of Darkness, Krun, Great Mountain of Flesh!' The great Krun tries to swallow him, but Hibil Ziwa 'surrounds himself with swords and Krun is wounded and surrenders, crying, "Ye are gods—we are mortal! Ye are great, we are small!"'

Krun furnishes him with a pass or talisman which will enable him to pass without hindrance through the underworlds again. Hibil Ziwa passes through them to the world of Gaf and Gafan and their mother Qin, who gives her daughter to Gaf, her son (Ruha's brother). Ruha becomes pregnant of 'Ur. (Hirmiz is mistaken as to Ruha's husband).

Hibil Ziwa relates, 'I took the form of one of them, but was lovelier than them all. I went then and came to Qin and said to her, "Peace to thee, great Mother, Mother of all the world!". Thereon she spake, "Peace on thee, our great, beloved comrade!". I took her by the hand and said to her, "How many daughters hast thou, so that I may become thy son-in-law and sojourn with thee in this world?"'

Qin goes to Gaf who gives the suitor Zahriil.

There follows a charming description of the wedding, but Hibil Ziwa refuses to eat and drink with them, and does not consummate the marriage, excusing himself, and consummating it later by a proxy, or double, representing himself.

Then he ascends with Ruha, who is pregnant, to the first world and leaves her there, guarded by 'seven walls, an iron wall in her world, so that no-one can take her from her world'.

This accomplished, he returns to the world of light, but makes several visits to the forsaken and weeping Ruha in the guise of her husband Gaf. Her pregnancy lasts thousands of myriads of years, and he tells her, 'When thou has borne 'Ur thou wilt see me no more'.

'Ur is born, and grows into a giant. He desires to see his parents and the world of light, and Ruha, mistress of magic arts, shows him the latter in a mirror.

'Ur decides to fight against the world of light, but is bound and watchers are set over him. Ruha becomes his paramour, and bears first the seven planets and next the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Yawar, the spirit of light, sets the planets in their ships and lends them their light.

Such is the tale told in the Ginza and its roots go back into the earliest antiquity. See p. 256.

The tale is repeated in a shorter form in the 4th book, rt. side.

IV. THE STORY OF QIQEL AND THE DEATH OF YAHYA

QIQEL was a *yalufa* (literate). He loved learning and piety and was devout. But his heart yearned to see, so that he might have certainty of the spiritual world. He dwelt in the wilderness and in the mountains, wandering from place to place and worshipping God continually. He took with him only a little food and a skin of water, and travelled like that—a *darwīsh*.

He fared on and on, and in the midst of a desert place he saw a domed chamber and a *darwīsh* near it. The *darwīsh* had built the dome of clay, and had fashioned it so that just below the dome there were twelve round openings, thus the sun, as it travelled round the sky, lit each in turn.[1] The place was clean and well-tended. Qiqel gazed at the dome and the *darwīsh* asked him, 'What are you staring at—you?'

Qiqel answered, 'My heart loves this building! It is beautiful!'

Said the *darwīsh*, 'If your heart loves it, it is a sign that your honour is one who knows' (*'ālim*).

Said Qiqel, 'I should like to see what is within this shrine.'

Answered the *darwīsh*, '*Khāṭrak*! For your sake, I will show you!' And he opened the door and they gazed within. At first Qiqel saw nothing but an empty, clean place.

Said the *darwīsh*, 'Enter and sit!' They entered, and Qiqel sat and the *darwīsh* with him.

Then the *darwīsh* said to Qiqel, 'Gaze at that opening', and they both gazed, and the *darwīsh* recited prayers softly, recited softly. Qiqel listened, and by degrees it appeared to him that he was listening to Mandaean invocations. He recognized Mandaean words of prayer and incantation, and, as he glanced into the gloom of the room, there appeared before him suddenly something in the guise of a being of light. The light played and radiated. Then he heard the *darwīsh* recite, 'In the name of the Great Life! I have purified my hands ...' a prayer of the King of Light.

Qiqel gazed and he saw light, more light, light, and spirits of light. The more the *darwīsh* read the more radiant the light became.

The *darwīsh* said to him, 'There are ninety *butha* (prayers). Each time, thirty *butha* must be recited.'

After the visions had passed, they talked to each other, and Qiqel asked the *darwīsh*, 'Of what sect (*milla*), of what religion, is your honour?'

The *darwīsh* replied, 'I am alone. There were others like me, but the Jews killed them.'

Qiqel said, 'Nay, but you are a Mandai!'

Said the *darwīsh*, 'From whence knew you the Mandai?'

Qiqel answered him, 'I Qiqel, who sit before you, I am a Mandai!'

When the *darwīsh* heard that, he fell into his arms and they kissed each other and wept, till the *darwīsh* said, 'Why weep? I am happy! My heart rejoices!'

Qiqel said, 'And I too am happy, for I have seen that which I have seen!' and he said to the *darwīsh*, 'We are brothers! Let us live and die together. Do not depart from me, and I will not depart from you. We will pray always together.'

So it was. They saw many visions. They saw a vision of Liwet Qadeshta (Venus the Sacred); they saw the likeness of Shamish and Sin, and the head of 'Ur which is lifted towards Awathur, and the '*uthri* who are with the stars. They saw them in the clay room, from the openings.

And after that they rose and collected some of the Naṣurai and Mandai who had been scattered in the district and they taught them. Ten men, ten pious men, they brought to be of their fellowship. And they made an image of him whom they had seen in the sky—of him at whom they had gazed through the opening. They made images of them all in stone, of Nirigh, of Bel, of Liwet and Sin, and this last, of the moon, had seven heads branching out like a tree. Of Shamish, the sun, they also made an image, but they were unable to make it aright, for he is all light, many-eyed, of various appearances, of different forms which turn and wheel and radiate. But they made an image of a person sitting, of extreme beauty, like one form of Shamish.[2] When one sees Shamish in this form, a sweet wind breathes upon one, and one swoons away because of its great loveliness. All the images which were made and worshipped later in that place had their origin in the images which these two made.[3]

The name of that *darwīsh* was Bahram, and he had a special secret knowledge which he imparted to his pupils. When they knew it, they might be thrown into fire, and they would not burn, and into water, and they would not drown, nor would a sword eat them, for, if a man drew a sword against them it was he who fell, not they. Such power came from them that it repulsed the sword. Their place was in the north—somewhere near Damascus, Jerusalem, and Egypt.

At one time the Mandai were the masters of the north and of this country also. Their origin was of the mountains, and they always loved mountains better than the plains, for in the hills there are springs in which to bathe, in winter warm, and in summer cold. For our people have always loved bathing and washing.

But of these *darāwīsh*, Bahram, Qiqel, and their brethren. Once a tribe, a people, came upon them and asked, 'Who are ye?'

They replied, 'We are *darāwīsh* who have settled here.'

They said, '*Darāwīsh*! What is your occupation?'

They answered, 'We till the ground, and harvest and pray. That is all.' For they had no wives. They had become learned in the knowledge of those who travel in arks (i.e. the planets) and had acquired knowledge of their speech, for all the stars talk in Mandaean. (Each star is far from the other and has a great world attached to it. But one star sees its fellows from afar off, perfectly, and they talk, one with another, through space. When they pray, it is like the singing of birds. All the stars pray. The northern stars pray twelve *butha* and the rest seven *buwath*.[4] A pure soul can hear the prayers of the Sun and the prayers of the stars in their places, like the singing of birds. But one day of the year they chant the name of God in unison, and the music of it is like the music which the Angrezi (*English*) make (*in orchestras*). If a man is pure and knowing, he hears it, he starts from his sleep and prays with them, but men who are not knowing they hear nothing. A man who hears, does not so with his physical ears, he hears the singing within him (*the narrator struck his head*). Lady! a man who knows, hears the sound of prayer always, for everything that exists, *'uthri*, stars, all creation, prays continually!)

The strange tribe said to the *darāwīsh*, 'Teach us your knowledge, or we shall kill you!'

They denied the possession of knowledge.

The people and their leader rose and made a huge fire and said, 'Bring them here and throw them on the fire!'

They threw them on the fire, but the *darāwīsh* began to walk about in the fire and were not burnt. Then they threw more of them into the fire, but they did not burn: they walked in the fire.

The leader gazed, and he thought he saw a light descending from the sky which turned about each one of them, so that the fire could not touch them; and a radiance shone about them. These men could not be killed for their power was from God. Qiqel smiled at their king from the midst of the fire.

The king said to Qiqel, 'Why do you smile?'

Qiqel replied, 'You rule this people, yet have no understanding. You cannot kill us or harm us, indeed, you should fear us! Are you not afraid of such people as we?'

The king's advisers said to him, 'Baba! We are afraid of them! Let us depart! Better let us depart!' But there was with the king a man who had knowledge, but of Darkness. The king said, 'Bring that one!' They brought him.

The king asked, 'What are these people whom we are unable to burn?'

The man replied, 'These worship Melka ad Ziwa and Melka ad Anhura. They have knowledge of the Light and of the Darkness.'

The king said, 'Can you not prevail against them?'

The man said, 'Never! For they do not use magic, but knowledge. Their power, it is of God.'

Said the king, 'Will they not teach us their knowledge?'

The other replied, 'No, they never teach it!'

The king said, 'Can you do nothing against them?'

The wizard said, 'By day I cannot harm them, for my power is of the Darkness.'

Said the king, 'Good! Harm them by night. I want to test the power of your learning.'

The magician arose, and in the night he strewed sand round the Mandai. They looked and understood perfectly what he was doing. The sand changed, and became soldiers, each with a sword in his hand. When the king saw it, he was delighted, and cried, 'Now we can fall upon them!'

He went to the Mandai again, and said to them, 'Either teach us, or these soldiers will kill you!'

Bahram answered, 'These soldiers can kill your soldiers but not us!' Said the king, 'How so?' Bahram said, 'A little patience, and you will see. You and your people are slow of understanding.' Then Qiqel read a *butha* of Pthahil (see p. 95). The soldiers advanced against them and were hurled back. They could not even come near them!

Bahram said, 'Let no harm come to these! Let them return to their place!'

The king went to the magician and said, 'See, your soldiers are being repulsed, they are retreating!' The magician replied: 'My soldiers can do nothing because the power of these men is stronger. Let us depart from them: it will be better.'

Then the king went to Bahram and Qiqel am your suppliant! I crave to know how yo result, that, and that only.'

They answered him, 'We are *darāwīsh*! the knowledge which we possess through pra power is of God!'

The king said, 'With such power, why become sultans?'

They replied, 'Why should we become sul are sultans? God is the Sultan. Moreover, wish for servants to do this and that for us. ourselves and we prepare our food with our ow

The king said to them, 'Good! And if I pray?'

They said, 'If you pray and exercise just become a good man.'

He went, that king, and he left everyth became a *darwīsh*, taking nothing with hi and a bowl. Only, he took some precious sto so that, if he were in need, he could sell them was necessary. He journeyed and journey came to the Jordan, where Yahya was bapti

When the king saw Yahya, he said to him, ' and Yahya baptized him. When the baptis Yahya began to question him, 'Who are yo came you?' He answered, 'I am So-and-S such-and-such *darāwīsh* in the desert', telli had happened.

Yahya said, 'These people are sacred, fo the true name of God, and fire cannot bu water drown them, nor the sword eat them.'

The king said, 'Your honour—are you no

Yahya replied, 'Aye, I am one of them. . .

Now, as the king and Yahya were talkin little child aged about three years approache said to him, 'Come, baptize me!'

The king was astonished, and said to Yah to be baptized at his age!'

Yahya said, 'I am tired and wish to sleep

and Qiqel and said, ‘I
w how you get such a

arāwīsh! God gave us
rough prayer. All our

wer, why do you not

ecome sultans? What
Moreover, we have no
t for us. We work for
ith our own two hands.’
And if I worship and

ercise justice, you will

ft everything, and he
with him but a bag
ecious stones with him
sell them and get what
d journeyed, until he
was baptizing.
id to him, ‘Baptize me!’
the baptism was over,
Who are you? Whence
So-and-So and I saw
sert’, telling him what

sacred, for they know
cannot burn them nor
eat them.’
re you not like them?’
f them. . . .’[5]
ere talking together a
pproached Yahya, and

aid to Yahya, ‘He asks

h to sleep now. Come

to-morrow, and I
many to-day, and n
The boy said, ‘
sleep!’
John came out,
mediately Yahya s
the river. The kin
little, had caused
strange thing. An
the space of half an
Then he awoke
and I have slept a l
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The child replie
Said Yahya, ‘Yo
that be?’
The child said,
Yahya entered
into the Jordan, th
treated before him
their heads from th
Yahya cried, ‘Y
from before you!’
The child said,
Yahya replied, ‘
from you.’
The birds saw a
crying out the nam
da-ṭ-Haiy!’ again
Yahya said to th
no little boy! Disc
The child replie
(*Manda ḏ Hiia*), di
(And, lady, wh
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d said, 'I
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The boy said, 'Aye, co
sleep!'

John came out, and th
mediately Yahya sank int
the river. The king stare
little, had caused Yahya t
strange thing. And Yahy
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Then he awoke and sa
and I have slept a long tim
did you not go to them?'

The child replied, 'My

Said Yahya, 'Your peo
that be?'

The child said, 'Baptize

Yahya entered the wate
into the Jordan, the water
treated before him, leavin
their heads from the water

Yahya cried, 'Your hon
from before you!'

The child said, 'Baptize

Yahya replied, 'I canno
from you.'

The birds saw and cam
crying out the names of G
da-ṭ-Haiy!' again and agai

Yahya said to the child,
no little boy! Disclose to n

The child replied, 'Hav
(*Manda ḏ Hiia*), did you n

(And, lady, when the b
cry the name of God, each
the sparrow, the hoopoe,
cry—one sound, whereas
different cries and sounds
another! But God gives th

will baptize you, for I have baptized
need twelve hours' sleep.'
'Aye, come out of the water now and

, and the child gazed at him, and im-
sank into a deep sleep on the shore of
ing stared at the child, who, though so
Yahya to sleep by looking at him—a
nd Yahya slept the sleep of a night in
n hour.
e and said to the child, 'Still waiting?
long time! Have you no people? Why
them?'
ied, 'My people are everywhere.'
our people are everywhere? How can

, 'Baptize me now, and I will tell you!'
the water, but when the boy stepped
the water rose like a mountain and re-
m, leaving dry land. The fishes lifted
the water and prayed.
Your honour is no boy! The water flees
'

, 'Baptize me!'
'I cannot! The water rises and departs

and came and hovered over their heads
mes of God, 'Yukhawar Ziwa!'[6] 'Man-
and again.
he child, 'I am your suppliant! You are
close to me your nature and your name!'
ied, 'Have no fear! I am Manda-ṭ-Haiy
did you not hear the birds proclaim it?'
hen the birds cry in the morning, they
od, each in his own particular tongue—
hoopoe, the vulture, each has his own
whereas the sons of Adam have many
d sounds. Yes, one sparrow cries like
d gives them the power of distinguishing

each other, and a cock-sparrow knows his wife out of thousands!)

The child said, 'I am Manda-ṭ-Haiy and I have come to take your soul above.'

(He came in the shape of a little child, but he could take any shape that it pleased him—fire, cloud, or anything. For just as when you think of a thing it takes shape in your mind, so great spirits can think of things, and they are!)

The child took the hand of Yahya in his, and the soul of Yahya left him and his body died in the river.

The king departed, having seen all, and been enlightened, he went, and spoke to all he met of what he had seen and heard.

Now, when he had left his body Yahya looked down and saw his corpse in the water. The birds descended upon it and began to peck at it, for it began to decay. The vulture flew down, and began to pluck out the eyes.

Yahya gazed at it, and Manda-ṭ-Haiy said, 'Why gaze on that? That is a corrupt thing, of the earth!' And Manda-ṭ-Haiy seized earth and buried it. Yahya was glad, for he had loved his earthly body, which we call *pag͟hra* or *'oṣṭuna*, and did not wish it harmed. And the grave still appears above the Jordan like a mound, and the Mandai know it for Yahya's grave.

But he was taken and borne to the Realm of Light, and to S͟hamis͟h and the Lord of Radiance, and joined in the perpetual worship of the Light King.

NOTES ON IV

1. Dimes͟hqī says:

فمن هياكل الصابية القايلين بتسلسل العلل الى علّة العلل هيكل العلّة الاولّى وهو سور مستديرة كانه نصف كُرَة منطبقة على الارض انطباق الخيمة وفى اعلاها ثمانية واربعون كُوّة وفى مشرقه ومغربه كذلك والشمس تشرق كل يوم من كّوة دون البواقى وتغيب عن نظيرها وترسل نورها من كوة من اعلا الهيكل كذلك عند حالة الاستواء ولهم فى هذا الهيكل تسبيح وتقديس مخلوط بشركٍ وذلك فى ايّام اعيادهم المخصوصة بهم والله اعلم وهيكل العقل الاول سور مستدير كذلك بغير كوى وهيكل

السياسة سور مستدير كذلك بغير كوى وهيكل الصورة [الضرورة] وفيه امثلة تخاطيط الاكرة العشرة وهيكل النفس مستدير كذلك وفيه صورة انسانٍ وله رؤوس كثيرة منوّعه وايدى وارجل كثيرة

Ch.Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 381–2.

2. Hirmiz has an especial Shamish cult. He said to me once, 'I worship all the *melki*, but my especial worship is of the Sun. It is of Shamish. But I love them all, for all are creations of God. Even the Darkness, and for this reason I love even the Darkness and the creatures of Darkness, Akrun, Hagh and Magh, and the other beings of the Darkness. I love them all, for all are of God.'

3. *Images of the planets.* Dimeshqī writes of the Ḥarrānians (Ch.Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 408–9):

واما الفرقة الاخرى عبدة الاصنام فقالوا فى سبب عبادتهم الاصنام انه لما كان لا بدّ من متوسّط يتوسّل به ويستشفع به وكانت الروحانيات التى هى الملائكة الوسايل والوسايط وكنا لا نراها ولا نُواجِهُها ولا يستحقّ التقرّب اليها الّا بهياكلها التى هى الكواكب والهياكل قد ترى فى وقت ولا ترى فى وقت اخر لان لها افولا وطاوعا وظهورا بالليل وخفا بالنهار فلم يصف لنا التقرت بها والتوجّه اليها فلا بدّ من صور واشخاص موجودة قايمة منصوبة نصيبًا عيانًا نعبدها ونتقرب بها ونتوسّل الى الهياكل بها لتقرّبنا الى الروحانيّات فيقرّبونا الى الله تعالى فاتّخذوا اصناما وزعموا انها على اشكال الهياكل السبعة كما تقدّم القول به

4. According to Mandaeans: Shamish (sun) prays 900 *butha* a day, looking towards Abathur; 300 at dawn, 300 at noon and 300 in the afternoon (*'aṣr*). Sin (the moon) prays 100 *butha*, Liwet (Libat) 500, and so on. Cf. the Yurba fragment (JB. p. 183; I fancy Lidzbarski has mistranslated this particular passage).

5. I omit here a repetition of the sword, fire, and water story. Cf. JB., p. 96: 'The priests spoke unto Yahya in Jerusalem, "Yahya, go out from our places, Yohana, go out from our town. Thy voice has caused the temple to quake, from the sound of thy exhortations the temple quaked, from the thunder of thy speeches the dome of the priests quaked." Thereupon Yahya answered the priests in Jerusalem: "Bring fire and burn me, bring a sword and cut me into pieces!" Then the priests answered Yahya in Jerusalem: "Fire burns thee not, O Yahya, for the Name of the Life has been uttered over thee. A sword cannot cut thee into pieces, Yahya, for the Son of the Life rests here upon thee."' Yahya, the Arabic form of Yuhana, John, pleases Mandaean conceptions because of its meaning, 'He lives'.

6. *Yukabar Ziwa.* Of all the divine beings with the prefix Yu, Yukabar Ziwa is most often named. He is sometimes identified with Kushṭa, sometimes with the Creator and sometimes with Habshaba.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar. There is in this legend a mixture of three. The only Qiqil who appears in Mandaean MSS. is the heretic Qiqil of Ṭib in the Haran Gawaitha (see p. 8). The account of the celibate and certainly pagan society of derwishes in the north identified with the Mandaeans is interesting, and their fame as astrologers and star-readers seems to point to some such community as the Essenes. The fire story is a Mandaean version of the legend told by the Arabs of Nimrud and Abraham, and by the Jews of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. The latter story is more Magian than Jewish in character, and the vegetarian diet of Daniel and his skill as magician is Persian rather than Hebraic.

The story of the death of John is told in the Ginza, rt. side (GR., pp. 192–6).

V. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DAUGHTER

Once on a time the Mandai, the Naṣurai, and the Tarmidi had their dwellings in Jerusalem. The Naṣurai there had a place apart, a building in which they worshipped and practised their rites, so secluded that no one could overlook them and no one might enter it. The daughter of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon (and she was a Jewess)[1] went to Jerusalem and hired a house next to the building belonging to the Naṣurai. Then she made a hole in the wall, covering it with something transparent, so that she could see through it and overhear what was said, and what was read, and so learn their secret doctrine. She was very learned and quick of understanding, and after she had remained at the hole morning, noon, and night, always listening and studying, she arrived at understanding and learning what they read and their secret knowledge. Their writings, the *Taʿalūm as-Sirāni*, she learnt by heart. When they read from the Ginza Rabba she wrote down the words and conned them, until she had learnt and understood all. She remained in Jerusalem, studying thus, and did not return to her people.

Now the Naṣurai have some secret knowledge (*ʿilm*) which they only repeat softly, whispering,[2] and they meet to practise this on the first and fifth days (Sunday and Thursday).[3] She perceived that when they were engaged in this secret rite a light descended upon them, coming and going, giving and taking, between them and Heaven. (*The narrator made the motion of descent and ascent with his hands.*)

One Sunday, one of the Naṣurai remained behind when the others had gone out from their prayer to pleasure themselves in the garden: and he took that secret book containing the ritual which they whispered, and he began to read it aloud. She was listening near him, and she wrote it all down. In this secret ritual they (*the initiates*) conversed with the world of light: with Adam Kasya, the Occult Adam who is of Msẖuni Kusẖṭa, and with the spirits of Light. For we say that there are two Adams, Adam Pagẖra, the physical Adam, and Adam Kasya, the secret Adam who is of the world of Mshuni Kusẖṭa. The people of Msẖuni Kusẖṭa are pure and perfect, and only the pure and perfect see them. They converse freely with the *'ut̲hri* and the *melki*.

When the princess had learnt this knowledge, she was very happy. She rejoiced exceedingly, and on the first day she began to do as they did on that day, and to perform their ritual with them: but they did not know that she was performing it, for she was always in her hiding-place. On the fifth day, likewise, she did as they did, and followed their ritual exactly. She had a chapel built in her house which was like their place in every particular, and kept it closed and secret, so that not one of her people knew what was in it. When thus engaged, one Sunday, she saw a light coming from above and falling on her face, and she was enraptured and spoke with the Light, not with words, for the Light entered into the thoughts within her head. She cried, 'I will go to their place! I will see the other World! I wish to see with my eyes, wholly!'

The Light said to her, 'Go to the Naṣurai! They will give you the Way.'

On the first day of the Feast of the Five Days (Paranaia)[4] she rose from her place and went to the Naṣurai, seized the Ginza Rabba, and began to read it. They were amazed. They said, 'Can this girl be a Naṣurai?' and began to talk amongst themselves, saying, 'This knowledge must have been given her by God, for who else could have been her teacher?'

The princess said to them, 'Baptize me! Make me a Mandaean!'

As soon as the Jews learnt of her conversion they rushed to the Mandai and made a great tumult and shouting. The priests, elders, and learned men of the Jews went to her and reasoned with her, saying, 'There will be killer and killed, you must return to your own place and marry there.'

The girl said to them, 'I am not forced to do so, and there need be no killing on my account. Neither do I want a husband. I want neither money nor power, nor marriage. I only wish to serve God wholly.'

They said to her, 'Leave the Naṣurai!'

She replied, 'I will not leave the Naṣurai! You have not the knowledge that they have.'

(Now this girl was the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and he was king of Babylon, and a Jew. Later, he left his kingdom and became a Naṣurai, and the kingdom was taken by the Assyrians, who drove out the Babylonians, as you will hear.)

The priests replied, 'We will kill them or learn their secrets!'

She said, 'Do not be foolish! You cannot kill them and learn their secrets! If you do, God will punish you!'

The Jews assembled in arms and wished to drag her away by force.

The Naṣurai said to them, 'Your daughter came to us: we did not compel her. Take her and go away.'

But the princess would not agree to go with the Jews, and when they tried to take her by force she began to read her secret doctrine, and whenever they approached her, their breath was taken from them by some invisible means. The Jews began to fear, and some of them tried to kill the Mandai. The Naṣurai arose, and by the power which they had on the Sunday they conversed with the spirits (*melki*) who said to them, 'Go to the Mountain of the Mandai.'[5]

Many of the Mandai and Naṣurai went. They prepared themselves for the journey and were led by the Naṣurai. They were given such strength that, in a single day's march, they performed a forty days' journey. Each day they sowed millet, which grew and ripened by the power of God, so that they were never hungry. For forty days they travelled thus, performing in each day a forty days' journey. Thus, quickly and with ease, they reached the Mountain of the Mandai, where they were happy and peaceful, enjoying the beautiful climate. There they could pray and live untroubled, and they said, 'God has saved us from these people'.

Meanwhile, some of the Jews pursued the Mandai. When they had travelled for forty days, they saw the green millet and the marks of the camp fires, and said, 'Now we have them, and will seize them! They must be near.' But they never caught them. At last, after many days, the Jews approached the Mountain of the Mandai, where the Mandai were living with the daughter of the King of Babylon, who had made herself a place where she could worship like the Naṣurai.

When they were within sight of the mountain a light like a sword came down from on high before them, and whenever one of them advanced he died.

Their priests consulted together and said, 'There is no escape! We must return!' and they went back to their place and were sad and cast down.

Now some Naṣurai had not journeyed away with the rest, and the Jews came upon them and seized them.

The Naṣurai said to them, 'What do you want?'

The Jews replied, 'We want your secret knowledge! Teach us and we will not kill you.'

The Naṣurai answered, 'We have no secret knowledge—there is none!'

The Jews said, 'Teach us! Is it not better than dying?'

The Naṣurai answered, 'There is no secret knowledge, so how can we teach you? There is none!'

Then the Jews killed one of them, and then a second, saying always, 'Teach us the meaning of your doctrine, or you shall die like these!'

But the Naṣurai continued to deny them, saying, 'Kill us if you will—secret knowledge there is none!'

They killed them all, and learnt nothing.

Then the Jews went to their Temple in Jerusalem and assembled there—rabbis and cohens—they all went. Their heart was afraid, knowing that they had killed these people (*wrongly*). In the morning they saw a white bird[6] hovering above the Temple. All gazed at the bird, and, as they looked, a fire came from Heaven and consumed all those who had harried and killed the Naṣurai. The rest of the Jews fled into the desert, fearing greatly. The fire was so fierce that it penetrated twelve *nasaḵh* into the ground.

Some of the Jews fled until they reached Babylon. The King Nebuchadnezzar (*Buḵhtanaṣṣar*) said to the rabbis and cohens, 'Why did you thus? Why did you kill these people of your own blood without right?'

They replied, 'The girl was your daughter, and we were angry for your sake.'

He said to them, 'Did my daughter go because she was enamoured of a man?' They answered him, 'No.'

He asked, 'What was her purpose, and why did she go?'

They said, 'The Naṣurai have a secret doctrine, and that was the reason.'

The king replied, 'I myself, and my following, we will go also and become of their company.'

He and his wise men left the Kingdom and went to the Mountain of the Mandai.[5] Then he, and his wise men and all who had accompanied them, were made Mandai, and the king learnt the secret doctrine from his daughter.

But, since that time, because they behaved so wickedly, the Jews (*i.e. Chaldaeans*) have had no king in Babylon.

Whom God wishes to instruct, he causes to learn his doctrine, however secret, and it is my wish that you too, who love knowledge, shall become enlightened, even as this king's daughter!

NOTES ON V

1. i.e. a Chaldean. Both Jews and Chaldeans are called Yahuṭaiia in Mandaean scripts, showing that by the Mandai they were considered one nation. Cf. the apocryphal book of Judith (v. 6) where Achior says to Holofernes, 'This people is descended of the Chaldaeans'. Similarly Josephus (*Against Apion*, vol. v, p. 185) writes: 'Our original ancestors were Chaldaeans, and they mention us Jews in their records because of the relationship between us'. Generally, Nebuchadnezzar is called a Yahuṭai. Race, not religion, is implied. Cf. the English nursery rhyme, 'Nebuchadnezzar, the King of the Jews, sold his wife for a pair of shoes'.

2. The whispered prayer *in bâj* is a great feature of the Zoroastrian rites. See p. 144.

3. Both days especially dedicated to light-spirits. Sunday is the day of S̲h̲amis̲h̲ and Thursday of Bel.

4. i.e. *Parwanaia*. The five intercalary days, the feast of the dead, when baptisms take place and meals are eaten for the dead. See pp. 212 ff.

5. Or, of the Madai (Maddai). The Haran Gawait̲h̲a speaks of this as the 'Inner Harran'. See pp. 9 ff.

6. The white eagle, usually the symbol of Hibil Ziwa. (See JB., p. 131.)

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

This legend is interesting because it links with the Miriai fragment in the Dras̲h̲a d̲ Yahya, a second Miriai fragment in the book of prayers for the days of the week, and the account of the 'people from the Mountain of the Maddai' in the Haran Gawait̲h̲a. The fragment in the Dras̲h̲a d̲ Yahya is told in the first person, Miriai relating her conversion (by her 'spiritual sister in Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa') and her flight to the Lower Euphrates. It begins, 'Miriai am I, a daughter of the kings of Babylon, a daughter of the mighty ruler of Jerusalem. The Yahuṭaiia (Chaldaeans or Jews, see above) bore me, the priests reared me.' There is no mention of Nebuchadnezzar. Miriai relates how she was forbidden by her parents to leave the shelter of her room or go into the highroads. She was disobedient. 'I opened the inner door and left the outer door open. I went into the highroad, and the Suns of my Master fell upon me. I wished to go to the Temple (*bit 'ama*) but my way led me into the *bit mas̲h̲k̲h̲ana* (i.e. Mandaean place of worship). I went thither and found my brothers and sisters standing there, and giving forth doctrines (*dras̲h̲ia dars̲h̲ia*).' (JB., 126 ff.)

Listening to their voices, she became drowsy and slept. 'But thou, my sister in Ms̲h̲unia Kus̲h̲ṭa, didst rouse me from sleep and saidest, "Rise, rise Miriai! before day dawns and the cock crows the dawn, before the sun casts his beams over the world, before the priests and the sons of the priests go forth and seat themselves in the shadow of the ruins of Jerusalem; and before thine earthly father comes and brings disaster upon thee!"'

Her father discovers her, reviles her, and accuses her of evil conduct. She bids him let her depart. He accuses her of having forsaken Jewry and gone 'to love her lord'. But Miriai refuses to abjure her new faith, and curses Jewry and the priests. The story then breaks into allegory, and Miriai is likened to a grape-vine sheltering birds from tempest. There is a reference, but not a description, of Miriai's flight to the Lower Euphrates. A banner floats above her and a book is placed in her lap.

'She reads in the books of Kushṭa and shakes all worlds. The staff of living water (*margna*) she holds in her hand, the girdle (*himiana*) is bound about her loins. She prays and preaches and the birds and fishes gather to listen. 'They flock towards the voice of Miriai and have no desire to lay themselves down and slumber. They breathe the perfume of her presence and forget the world.' Her mother appeals to her affection for her birthplace, reminds her how honoured she was in Jerusalem, and bids her 'forget this man who has taken thee captive and brought thee away'. Miriai refuses, refuting with scorn the imputation that she has followed a lover. A white eagle comes, flings the Jewish priests into the Euphrates and returns to bring destruction and fire on Jerusalem. Then he flies back to Miriai, caresses her, and is recognized by her as an *'uthra*. Here the fragment ends.

Lidzbarski deduces from this fragment that the sect was at one time expelled from Jerusalem and driven into Southern Babylonia.

The Haran Gawaitha has nothing of the Miriai fragment but describes a persecution of the People from the Madai mountain, followed by a slaughter, and the escape of a remnant.

Of all these confused and contradictory narratives, the one stable element is the fact that the Mandaeans considered the Mountain of the Madai their true home, Southern Babylonia a place of refuge, and that Jerusalem was not their original centre.

The connexion with Nebuchadnezzar is curious, but also not without value. It appears from the Book of Daniel that at the court of the Persian king a certain group of Jews were vegetarian, magicians, and it would seem with beliefs not far from those of the Essenes: Hence the story of Nebuchadnezzar's vegetarianism ('eating the grass of the field')—the madness and the going-on-all fours sound like the interpretation of scandalized orthodox priests—takes on an interesting character. It is possible that at one time Nebuchadnezzar may have had leanings towards Iranian life-doctrines, and that later he returned to the more orthodox state faith (Daniel iv. 33–6). The influence of his Median wife may have caused his lapse.

VI. SUN STORIES

A. *A Sun Story, and the Rebellion of Shamish*

Once there was a *ganzowra* who prayed to Shamish. Shamish came down out of his boat and went to the *ganzowra* and said to him, 'Why have you summoned me?

This time I have come to you at your demand, but if you call upon me again, I shall harm you!'

But the *ganzowra* did not heed this warning, and again made incantations and summoned Shamish. This time also Shamish came, but he was angry and said to the *ganzowra*, 'Did I not tell you not to call me?' And he took the *ganzowra* away with him to his boat, where he was burnt up and destroyed utterly.

(I said, 'Is Shamish then evil?'

No, Shamish is not evil. Does he not pray daily nine hundred *butha* to the Melka d Anhura? How then can he be evil?)

NOTE ON A

The narrator was a priest. Petermann has a better version of this story (*Reisen*, pp. 115 et seq.). Shamish appears in the shape of a lion. The *ganzowra* is punished, not for the prayer, but for praying in anger at the insult of a Moslem, and also because he prayed at noon, when Shamish was busy.

B. *The Rebellion of Shamish*

When Shamish was first set in his ship he consumed and burnt all the living things of the world. Then the souls complained to Melka d Anhura, who took Shamish and imprisoned him for 360,000 years. Then Ruha went and begged that her son might be released, and Melka d Nhura put him back in his place, but he put with him twelve *naṭri* (guardian spirits) to see that he did no harm. The light of Shamish comes from his *drafsha* (*drabsha*, banner), and between Shamish and the *'uthri* there is a curtain. In those days the earth was not solid and its surface was covered with black water. Then Pthahil came and created the world and Adam and Hawwa were made.

NOTE ON B

Narrator: a priest.

VII. THE BRIDGE AT SHUSTER

At Shuster there is a bridge[1] over the river at a place called Pōl. It was made by order of the ruler of that place. Workmen worked upon it, building it well and strongly, and brought it to completion in the space of a year. But the morning following its completion it was found to be in ruins. They built the bridge a second time, and again, when it was ready, it broke to pieces. This happened a third, a fourth, and a fifth time. At the end of the year's work the bridge gave way and was broken to pieces. They went to the wise and learned men of the country and asked them, 'Why should this be?' but not one of them could explain it.

Then they went and asked a *ganzowra* of the Mandai. This *ganzivra* was a *rish 'amma*, and learned in religion and in magic. He listened when they asked him why the bridge always fell at the end of the year's work, and then replied to them: 'This thing happens because of the children of Ruha (the planets). It is the children of Ruha who bring this about.'

They said to him, 'What shall we do? Show us a way out of the difficulty!'

The *ganzowra* replied, 'When you have completed rebuilding the bridge, I will watch by night and see who it is that destroys it.'

Accordingly, the night that the rebuilding was complete, the *ganzowra* went to watch on the bridge, and took with him his daughter, who was wise and understanding; added to that, she was very beautiful. They stood there, and watched and waited, and at midnight the daughter saw a huge man standing in the air like a cloud. She asked, 'Who art thou?' He replied, 'I am Chachowa, son of Chachowa.'

The girl's father listened, and wrote down the name,[2] and, as soon as he had written it, he began to read spells over him and over the people of the air, and to compel him and take his powers away by the names of the Powerful. By virtue of these, the demon's strength left him and he cried to the *rish 'amma*, 'Why dost thou bind me? Why hast thou compelled me?'

The *rish 'amma* replied, 'I cannot permit you to harm this bridge and wreak evil on the world.'

Chachowa answered the *rish 'amma*, 'I will desist from evil in the future and will abstain from wrecking the bridge.'

The *rish 'amma* said, 'Good! Yet I will not free you until you have promised to perform a task which I shall set you.'

Said the demon, 'What work do you want from me?'

Answered the *rish 'amma*, 'I want you to transport me to the abode of the Naṣurai and *tarmidi* and the Mandai.'

The demon replied, 'I will take you thither if you will free me from the bonds wherewith you have bound me. The abode of the Naṣurai is far, and I must carry you for forty days in order to reach it, and to take you thither I must delve under the ground.' Then he told the *rish 'amma* that he and those who wished to go with him to the abode of the Naṣurai must assemble together at a place now called Cham Ṣubbi in Ahwaz.

The *rish 'amma* then freed him, and returning to his place, he assembled all the Mandai of the place and told them what had happened, asking them, 'Who wishes to come with me? He who does not desire to go to the place of the Naṣurai, as he wills, be it! But the willing ones must wait with me at Ahwaz.'

They gathered together, the willing ones, and for twenty days nothing happened, nothing! Onlookers said, 'Why have ye assembled here waiting? Do not believe this man, he is telling you lies! It is all an illusion. Let every man go back to his work.'

Then some of the Mandai that were silversmiths began to say amongst themselves, 'Indeed, it is lies! We will return and work!' and they left and returned to their place, they and their families. But others believed, and waited in Ahwaz with their families. At the end of forty days nothing had happened, and the remainder of the silversmiths, with the ironsmiths and carpenters all departed, unbelieving, each to his own work, and took their families with them. In the end, only the *rish 'amma* and his family were left.

Then, the piece of ground upon which they sat—a large piece of ground, going deep into the earth—lifted itself up into the air and flew. The people in the fields, the shepherds in the desert, and the villagers in the villages saw it flying in the air like an aeroplane and began to scream, and the dogs to bark at the sight. It flew over Baghdad and the people there saw it and marvelled, the children yelled, the cattle lowed, and the dogs barked as it passed over the city.

The people of Ahwaz, when they rose the next morning, saw a vast chasm in the ground where the earth had been, and the Moslems remarked that the *ris͟h ʿamma* and his family had disappeared, and gazed and cried, '*S͟hinu hāi*—what can this be!' They called the name of that hole Nasat aṣ-Ṣubba.

No one knew whither those blessed people had gone, and, pity it was! we, the silversmiths and craftsmen, went not, and saw not like they!

NOTES ON VII

1. There are many legends about the S͟huster bridge, which Persian tradition says was built by the captive Valerian for Sapor.

2. As soon as an exorcist knows the *name* of a demon he already holds him in power. Hence the use of secret names. The same belief in the power of names appears in Babylonian magic.

GENERAL

Narrator: a silversmith.

There are several versions of this story. Petermann (*Reisen*, p. 100) quotes the story: the name of the demon given to him was S͟ham Ban bar Tchachowa.

VIII. THE FIRE-WORSHIPPER AND ADAM BUL FARAJ

God gave Adam bul Faraj the power of transporting himself to the place to which he desired to go. He read a spell, and he was there! As a bird flies whither it wills, so he went whither he wished—to S͟huster, to Amarah, or elsewhere. Once he came thus with his wife from Mendeli to S͟huster. God had taught him the spell which enabled him to travel so quickly, like *darāwīs͟h* who fly in an instant where they would be. In a single day they went, and arrived at Shuster at the time of evening prayer. Both of them wore white clothing like *darāwīsh*, for they had put on the *rasta* (see Chapter III). The Ṣubba in Shuster beheld them and asked them, 'Whence come ye?'

Adam bul Faraj did not answer, 'I am a *rish 'amma* and came in such-and-such a manner,' but held his peace. The old men amongst the Ṣubba came and asked him, 'From whence come ye? What is your trade?'

Adam bul Faraj replied, 'I am a *darwīsh*.'

Said they, '*Darwīsh*! But what is your trade?'

Answered he, 'I am your shepherd.'

They thought that he must mean a shepherd of sheep, whereas he meant shepherd of souls.[1]

They said to him, 'We have water-buffaloes, cattle, and sheep! Take them into the desert and look after them. Why should you remain here idle?'

He answered, 'As you will!' and took the flocks and went out of the town. He traced a line round the flocks so that they could not stray,[2] and read a spell which summoned spirits to prevent the cattle from crossing outside the limit and to shepherd them.

Then Adam bul Faraj sat in the midst of them.

One day there came to him an old woman, who thought that he must be a *darwīsh*, an enlightened one, a wise man. He looked at the old woman and saw that she was troubled and asked her, 'Why is thy throat constricted? What is thy grief?'

She answered, 'I wanted a Ginza Rabba from a *tarmida* (priest), but as I have no money, he will not write me one.' Now a person who possesses a Ginza Rabba, his name will remain in this world, and in the world to come the Ginza Rabba protects his soul from harm just as a tree spreads its branches to shelter his head from the sun.

Replied Adam bul Faraj to the old woman, 'Bring paper and ink and I will write the Ginza Rabba for you and take no money for it.'

He wrote the Ginza Rabba for her, and when he came to the *tārīkh*[3] he inscribed these words, 'O Naṣurai, Mandai, and *tarmidi*! I came amongst you. There will be tribulation amongst you and (when it occurs) come to me. I am in Mendeli.'

Then he took his wife and returned to his place.

After forty days there came to Shuster a wise man, deeply learned in magic, and he appeared to the Ṣubba and said to them, 'What miracles can ye work?'

They asked him, 'What do you want of us, you?'

Now he was of the sect of fire-worshippers,[4] and he replied, 'If you cannot show me a miracle, I shall force you to be of my religion. I have a stick, and when I command it it is turned into a snake and bites whomsoever I will. I have a lion and at my command he eats whomsoever I will. I have, too, a mud wall (*tōf*), and when I bestride it, it will gallop like a mare. There is no escape for you! You must come over to my faith, or the lion will eat you and the snake bite you, one by one, and cause you to die!' Then he showed them yet another miracle; a carpet, which, if spread on the water, did not sink, but allowed him to sit on it as if it were a ship.

They were all very frightened. . . . They consulted together and looked in the Diwans,[5] in the Asfar Malwasha, and in all the books which they possessed, but saw no means of escape. They despaired. Then came the old woman, who said to them, 'The *darwīsh* who was here made me a Ginza. Perhaps there is something in it which may help us.'

She brought it, and they read the inscription, 'I am Adam bul Faraj. I came amongst you, and you made me a shepherd of sheep. If there is tribulation amongst you, come to see me at Mendeli.'

Then they went to the fire-worshipper and begged for a respite of forty days, and four of the Mandai, two of whom were wise men, set off, riding on mares, to Mendeli, for in those days there were no trains, no *motorcarāt*. They were thirty-eight days on the journey and arrived in Mendeli and went to Adam bul Faraj's house, and cried, '*Dakhīl*! Your protection!' They told him all that had happened.

Adam bul Faraj began to laugh and said, 'Fear not!'

They answered him, 'But in two days' time the lion and the serpent will begin to devour our priests and our learned men! There is no time left to succour them!' And they wept, out of their alarm.

He repeated, 'Fear not! I can go there quickly!'

But they were not comforted, and said amongst themselves 'How can he be there in two days!'

He replied, 'Do not fear! We shall leave Mendeli tomorrow and shall be in Shuster by the evening.'

Then they began to be heartened and to talk amongst each other, and to wonder, 'How shall this thing be?'

The next day was the thirty-ninth day. Adam bul Faraj rose and said, 'Come! Let us go!' He led them to a pool by the river (i.e. *mandi*-pool, see p. 125) and said, 'Come! make your ablutions!'

They all put on their *rastas*, and entered the water and prayed and made complete purification. Then he sat and said, 'Come!' One of the Mandai sat on his right shoulder, another on the left, and the two others sat, one on his right knee and the other on his left. Then he began to read (spells) but softly, so that they heard not what he said. Then he commanded them, 'Shut your eyes!' and they shut them. A light came upon them and took them off the ground, so high up into the air that the world was not visible. Adam bul Faraj said to them, 'Look not too much!' for the light was powerful, very powerful! It was the magnetism (*maghnatish*)[6] that was carrying them. At ten o'clock, and the time was the afternoon, they descended and saw the ground. Adam bul Faraj said, 'Open your eyes!' and they opened their eyes and lo! they were in their own country of Shuster.

They cried, 'Sahib! Is this Shuster?'

He said, 'Aye!'

Said they, 'How can this be?'

He replied, 'Have no fear, but return quickly to your own homes.'

They said to him, 'We fear that this is a dream, the deception of sleep!'

He answered, 'This is not dream (*ṭeyf*), it is truth, and you are indeed in your own place.'

The four Mandaeans went to the old *ganzowra* and said to him, 'Adam bul Faraj has come!'

Now the priests, acolytes, and the elders of the people were gathered together at the *ganzibra's* house, and the rest of the Mandaeans were hiding in their own houses and weeping because of that which was to happen on the morrow.

The *ganzibra* asked, 'How did you come?'

The four answered, 'We came in four hours from Mendeli!'

Then all cried, 'We have escaped!' and the men began to smile, and the women and children to utter joy-cries. It was like a great feast! All rejoiced together and cried, 'Where is he?'

They replied, '*Yibrakh*! He is praying in the garden!'

All went to seek him, priests, smiths, women, and children, all!

The *ganzowra* and the priests and the *shgandi* went to kiss his hand, and cried, '*Dakhīlakh*! We knew you not! We made you a shepherd of sheep and knew you not!'

He replied, 'It matters not!'

The fire-worshipper came in the morning. The Moslems, Persians, and Jews, men, women and children, all the people of Shuster, gathered together to see what the Ṣubbi would do. The Ṣubba, led by Adam bul Faraj, marched into the great plain outside Shuster and the onlookers formed a circle to see what would happen.

The fire-worshipper came before them, and read (spells) upon his stick, and it became a serpent. He said to the serpent, 'Go! Bite that man, Adam bul Faraj!'

Adam laughed and said to the serpent, 'Thou art a stick, by what power art thou a serpent?' and it became a stick as before.

The fire-worshipper read and read, but the stick remained lifeless. Then he said to the lion, 'Go, devour that man!'

Adam bul Faraj addressed the lion, saying, 'What is thy work, thou? Thou art a beast of the desert and hast no business here! Return to thy place!' And the lion took and fled to the desert.

The fire-worshipper called after him, 'Lion, lion!' but he would not return. He went and disappeared from their sight.

Then Adam bul Faraj said, 'What other miracles hast thou?'

The fire-worshipper replied, 'I have yet another miracle!' and he got astride the mud wall, and it began to move and to gallop with him as if it were a mare.

The people were frightened and began to run away, crying, 'The wall moves, it moves!'

Adam bul Faraj cried, 'Stop!' and the mud wall stopped in its place. The fire-worshipper read and read, but it remained immovable and would not stir more.

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Hast thou other miracles?'

The other said, 'Aye! I have a carpet which I spread on the water and ride thereon as if it were a ship.'

Adam bul Faraj said, 'Perform this miracle and I will see.'

The fire-worshipper spread his carpet on the river and sat on it, and the people marvelled when they saw how it moved on the water and sank not.

Adam bul Faraj had a spell by which he summoned S͟helmay and Nedvay,[7] the spirits of the water. They came and were beside Adam bul Faraj, who said to them, 'I wish that man to sink in the water, he and his carpet! Tease him, torture him a little! Let him experience pain!'

The carpet sank beneath the water, then came again to the surface, and plunged beneath again, so that the fire-worshipper was half-drowned. He cried, 'Mercy! Loose me! Free me!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Why did you torment these people? Why did you frighten them and their women and children? Do you not fear God that you acted thus, saying that your lion would devour them and your serpent bite them?'

The other replied, 'I repent! Mercy! I will never do so again!'

Adam bul Faraj took him from the water, and the fire-worshipper said to him, 'I wish to see your miracles!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'As you will! I will show you something; but our miracles are not magic, for we worship God, and only what he permits will be!'

Said the fire-worshipper, 'I should like to see something of your powers!'

Now Adam bul Faraj had brought with him a *ṭir k̲h̲urr* (a carrier pigeon, a breed with an enlarged beak-wattle). He said to this bird, 'There are no dates in S̲h̲uster. Bring me a date!'

It went, and flew back with a date which Adam bul Faraj gave to the fire-worshipper, saying 'Eat it!' and the magician ate it. Adam bul Faraj took the date-stone from him, washed it in the river, and put it into the ground.

Now there are spirits (*ʿut̲h̲ri*) which dwell in the sun and these give growth, colour, and scent to flowers. The scent and colour of flowers are of the world of light and not of this world, and it is the *ʿuthri* who bring them to the earth. Therefore, Adam bul Faraj asked the *ʿut̲h̲ri* to give power to the date-stone so that it should become a date-palm, for he was in favour with God, and received the benefits of Heaven.

As he spoke, it was, and the *ʿut̲h̲ri* caused the stone to germinate and sprout. It sprouted and grew, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! and it became a large date-palm. Then it bore blossom, which became fruit and reddened and ripened. In one hour it brought forth ripe fruit! The fire-worshipper marvelled and said, 'How can this be! A palm-tree so quickly!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'Go up and eat the ripe dates.'

The fire-worshipper climbed and saw that the fruit was ripe: the dates were perfectly formed and ready to eat, and he ate of them.

Now the winds are moved by *ʿut̲h̲ri* who stir the air.[8] Adam bul Faraj called them and said to them, 'Let the

Winds be summoned—North Wind, South Wind, East Wind and West Wind! Let them blow (*tehabb*) and use their strength!'

Then the winds began to blow and the palm swayed in the air this way and that, so that it beat the ground from side to side, and struck the fire-worshipper, who began to cry, '*Dakhīl*! I have repented and will work no more harm! I will leave your people to follow their religion in peace! I will never hurt them more! *Dakhīl*, *dakhīl*!'

Adam bul Faraj said to him, 'All religions, Mandai, Jewish, Moslem, and Christian, were created by God.[9] God created them and desired them, and you should not have sought to harm them. God created them thus and ordered them thus!' He permitted the winds to cease and the fire-worshipper descended. Then Adam bul Faraj asked him, 'From whence was your power? By whose might did you cause sticks to become serpents, and lions to obey you, the wall to move beneath you and the carpet to bear you on the water?'

The fire-worshipper answered, 'My strength is from Qarṭus Deywa!'[10]

And he was repentant and escaped.

Thus the Ṣubba learnt the name of Qarṭus Deywa. And if the *jānn* have breathed into such a one, and his spirit is clouded, they say into his ear, 'O Qarṭus Deywa! Cure this man! Open!' And he is cured. A big prince of the *jānn* is Qarṭus Deywa, and from that time the Ṣubba know his name and can use it. As for the fire-worshipper, he returned to his place.

NOTES ON VIII

1. The simile is a favourite one. In the Drasha d Yahya 'I am a shepherd and love my sheep' refers to Manda d Hiia. Lidzbarski comments, 'the term is applied to various pagan deities, notably Hermes'. (JB., p. 43.) The term is still older, it is used of Enlil in the *Ritual of Kalu*—he is called a 'faithful shepherd'.

2. Hirmiz interjected here, 'Aye, and I have seen the like myself! I saw Shaikh ash-Shubān read over a serpent and trace a circle about it, and the serpent was unable to cross the line or issue from the circle!'

3. At the end of every Mandaean manuscript is the name of the person

who copied it, with his genealogy, and the genealogy of the person who copied the copy from which the writer copied it, and so on; also the year in which the manuscript was completed, and sometimes descriptions of public events which happened in that year. This is called the *tārīkh*.

4. *Fire-worshippers*. These are called *Yazuqaiia* in Mandaean writings. While there are a few hostile references to these, and polemic references to worship of fire, there is no attack upon Zoroaster.

5. See Chapter II. Scrolls as compared to codices.

6. This is typical of Hirmiz. It has occurred to me that a contributory reason why iron is considered potent against evil spirits is because it is easily magnetized. Lodestones and the powers of magnets have been known in Asia from early times.

7. Shilmai and Nidbai, the guardian spirits of the *yardna*, or running water. References to them are numerous in ritual and scriptures.

8. See pp. 94 ff. The '*uthria* are pre-eminently life-spirits. The '*uthria* who 'stir the air', according to Hirmiz, are Ayar Ziwa (p. 58) and Ayar Saghia (Radiant Air and Plentiful Air).

9. This was one of the first tales I collected. The term Allah was used for God.

10. قِرطَاس 'a sheet of paper'; قَرطُس a scroll of parchment. Qarṭus is a personified writing, or spell. Cf. Diṣai in the Ginza Rba (6th bk., rt. side, the book of Dinanukht), in which Diṣai is half-demon, half-book. Qurṭāṣaḥ is a favourite name with Mandaean women.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

The story, which is reminiscent of the contest between the Egyptian sorcerers and Moses, has been related to me by other Ṣubba. Petermann gives an imperfect version (*Reisen*, pp. 111–14).

Hirmiz, commenting on the story, remarked, 'Adam bul Faraj was a Naṣurai and used to converse with the '*uthri* in the sun. Who seeks for knowledge, it will seek him, and he also may become a Naṣurai.'

IX. HOW DANA NUK VISITED THE SEVENTH HEAVEN

ONCE on a time there was only one religion in the world. All the children of Adam were Mandai. Of these, there were twenty-four '*ulemā*', twenty-four learned men, but one wise man, whose name was Dana Nuk, who was greater than them all.

They came to him for advice, and he had all the sacred books which Hiwel Ziwa gave to Adam, and knew them by heart, no doubt. Among these books were the Ginza Rabba, the Sidra d Nishmatha, the Drasha d Yahia, the Asfar Malwasha, the Diwan Haran Gawaitha, the Diwan Awathur, the Alf Trisar Shiala, the Diwan Malkutha Ileytha, the Qulasṭa, and the Iniani d Rahmi.

The twenty-four learned men had various forms of knowledge, one had knowledge of Shamish, one knowledge of Water, one of Bel, one of Nirigh, and so forth, but the great one, Dana Nuk, he had knowledge of them all. Each planet had especial power over its votaries and those who loved and served it, but Dana Nuk, he had knowledge of them all.

He had a room in his house in which he kept the writings which Hiwel Ziwa gave to Adam, and they were piled one upon the other. He always kept this room locked. One day, when he entered this room, he found a book placed above the others. It was in Mandai, but treated of another *ṭarīqaḥ*—the Way of Sén. (Sin, the Moon-God.)

He said 'No one could have entered this room to which I alone have the key! I will burn this book!' And he burnt it.

Then he went out into the wilderness and sitting there under a tree, he began to think, 'How could that book have got into my room?'

Then, suddenly, he saw the book before him!

He took it: he tore it into pieces and threw the shreds into the river. He returned to his house, unlocked the door of the room and went in, and he saw the book lying above the other books as before.

He said to himself, 'How can such a thing be?' and was puzzled. He talked the matter over with the Naṣurai, saying, 'What can the meaning of this be? The book appears above the Ginza Rabba! Perhaps, if we were to read it, we might learn something, but it treats of another Way.'

They replied, 'As it lies above the other sacred writings, it must be right. The planets have ordered this thing! It must be lawful!'

Dana Nuk went back to sleep, and when he awoke, the book was beneath his head!

He went to the Naṣurai and said to them, 'I destroyed this book twice, but here it is! I found it below my head when I rose from sleep.'

Some of them said, 'This must be from God. The book must be read!'

They took the book and read it, and some of them accepted its Way, they and their women, and delighted in it. From thenceforth, they and their children worshipped the light of the Moon. And there are still those who worship the Moon, and the secrets of the Jews and their magic are of the Moon, and were learnt from that book. Yes, they and their children adored the Moon!

After three weeks another book appeared in Dana Nuk's room above the other books, and this, too, he gave to the Naṣurai. It contained the Way of Kiwan, and some of the Naṣurai and their relatives with them, adopted that Way. In this manner came five more books, so that there were seven in all, and each contained a different Way. Some of the Naṣurai followed one, and some another. At last, a book appeared above the others which radiated light as it lay there. The heart of Dana Nuk went out to that book, and he read it and believed what was written in it, and saw that it contained the perfection of the knowledge of God. When he read it, his spirit was glad, and all fear left him. God gave him and all who read in it power. So he took this one for his Way.

It happened, after that, that he was in his garden, praying, when he saw a being of light descending from Awaṯhur (*Abaṯhur*, see p. 95) and it stopped before him. He prostrated himself before the being who said to him:

'Those who have taken the other books, their souls will remain bound to the earth when resurrection comes (*lammā taqūm ad-dunyā*) and they will not rise, or know the way to Awaṯhur. But you will rise, because your book is of S̠hamis̠h, and S̠hamis̠h is of God only, and there is no evil influence with him. Those who read that book will understand [all things]. Have you read it to others?'

Dana Nuk replied, 'Only my family and I have read it.'

Then the being said, 'I must take your soul to the World of Light, so that you may understand the truth of matters, and then return to this world to tell others of what you have seen.'

He conducted the sage to a place where there was a chamber built amongst trees, amidst cultivation, and left him there, saying 'Sleep!' Dana Nuk slept gladly, for he wished to see the World of Light.

The being gave him a form of air, of his own shape, and Dana Nuk's soul entered into it. But he was not visible to the sons of Adam. His body was sleeping and his pulses beating, but his soul was away.

The being took him to Pthahil, and Pthahil rose before him, saying, 'Rejoice that thou hast come to this place!' And he told the *'uthri* and *melki* to guide him and show him the underworlds with their demons and the places of purification in Maṭaratha. Next, the *melki* took him to the abode of Sera[1] (Sira, the moon), and that of Liwet (Venus), for their places are beautiful. Next they went to the place which God gave to Ruha, a place which is of God and of great loveliness. Then they took him to Shamish, a place all of light, in the World of Light, and of a radiance past description. Then they bore him upwards—up, up, up! until he reached Paradise,[2] the place of God, and that was yet lovelier than all he had seen hitherto. Dana Nuk cried to them, 'I want to stay in this place and never leave it!' But they took him higher yet, to the place where the Four Great Ones abide, and their names are Arham Haiy, Ên Haiy, Shom Haiy, and Ziwa Haiy.[3] When he saw them in their beauty he cried to Hiwel Ziwa, for it was Hiwel Ziwa who had appeared to him in the garden, 'I cannot go farther! Let me rest here!'

Hiwel Ziwa said, 'No, you must go yet farther!'

They rose and they came to the place of Melka d Anhura, and that was vast, and all of light. There were four suns, always stationary and not turning like our sun, and their power is of Melka Ziwa. It is a place of wonder and power.

But Hiwel Ziwa took him up yet higher, and they came to another heaven, also lit with four suns, but yet greater and more brilliant. Dana Nuk asked, 'Of whom is this?' Hiwel Ziwa answered, 'This is my place ('*shkhinta*' in Mandaean). But we must go yet higher.'

They continued their way upwards and they came to a place full of '*uthri*, where there was a sea of light. Its waters were of light only, and about it were *melki*, male and female, adoring God. Dana Nuk said to Hiwel Ziwa, 'I see no babies in this world of light, where are they?'

He replied, 'Within the womb of that sea, the *yardna* of light, they grow, and when they are ready to pray, they issue from its waters, for we are not like you in the matter of our reproduction. Our seed is in the waters of the ocean of Light. They eat of the trees of Paradise,[4] and there is no corruption or waste (*tilf*) from what they eat. All is power and light.'

When Dana Nuk had seen this heaven of heavens, he cried to Hiwel Ziwa, 'I will not go from hence! Leave me here!'

Hiwel Ziwa said to him, 'Did I not say that you must return to tell men what you have seen, so that they will know the Way and believe and not deny?'

So Dana Nuk returned, but he wept.[5] The other said to him, 'You shall return here one day, but now your place is in the world.'

Now his journey had taken fourteen years, and his body had remained in the same place, and no one had touched it, for Hiwel Ziwa had protected it and neither animal nor man could approach it.

He descended into his body on Sunday.

Now the Naṣurai and learned men had foreseen his return in a dream, and when each person rose in the morning and told his dream to his fellows, women as well as men, all said, 'It cannot be deception! He must return to-day.'

His soul returned into Dana Nuk's body, and he sat up and kissed Hiwel Ziwa's hand, saying, 'Ask Shamish, Liwet, and Nirigh to look after me and protect me—ask all those who have an ark (*fulk*) (i.e. the planets).'

Hiwel Ziwa replied, 'If I tell Shamish, he will order that all of them protect you, for they are all obedient to him. Shamish himself will watch over you and protect you. He will say, "My eye will be always upon him", and not one of them, the Moon, or Venus, nor any of them, will be able to harm you, but will take care of you.'

So Hiwel Ziwa departed from Dana Nuk and he wept.

The people had assembled to come and find him, and they approached softly to see whether he were living or not. A woman came first, and peeped through an aperture in the wall. She saw him weeping, and cried, 'Come, come! He is alive!'

His wife came running, for she had not spoken with him for fourteen years! She came to him, and when he saw her, he stopped weeping and began to talk to her and to all of them, speaking of what he had seen.

His name was Dana Nuk. At one time the Sikhs[6] began to worship him, but he said to them, 'Do not worship my image, worship God!'

They replied, 'We will worship Bābā Nānak—Allah!'

As for the people of Rāmrām,[7] they have an idol which they made in the form of him who died and returned.

NOTES ON IX

1. Sira and Sin are names for the moon.

2. *Paradise*, i.e. the Mandaean 'world of light'.

3. The Ginza gives these as In-Hiia (Source of Life), Shum Hiia (Name of Life), Ziwa Hiia (Radiance of Life), and Nhur Hiia (Light of Life). These are sometimes called the '*melki* of the North Star'.

4. Hirmiz explained here that the trees were *piria*, fruit-trees, and that the water of Paradise was personified as Melka Piriawis. 'If a mortal soul drinks of this heavenly water, it cannot see death. A little of this heavenly *yardna* is in all earthly *yardnas*.' I inquired if there were animals in the abode of light. He replied, 'Animals are of Pthahil. A man of knowledge does not wish to take life, so does not use them. He only eats vegetables: fruit, and roots. Eggs matter not, but he will not eat fish or meat, nor wishes to do so. But flowers are of Paradise and their scent is of Paradise. That is why when we smell *razqi*' (a large jasmine) 'or *jūri*' (the scented pink rose), 'we say, "Perfume of Life is lovely, my lord Manda-ṭ-Haiy"' (*Riha d hiia basim marai Manda d Hiia*).

5. The Ginza is full of fragments in which the soul laments its imprisonment in the body, or expresses its joy at being released, e.g.

'Arise, arise, Soul
Rise to thy first home
To the soil from which thou wast transplanted.'

or, 'Then the Father of the '*u͟thras* arose
He got up and went to the Hidden Place
He fetched the Mana
So that it should irradiate all corruptible things,
So that it should illuminate the body-garment . . .'

or, 'Thou Pearl fetched from the Treasure of Life'

or, 'I am a Mana of the Mighty Life!
Who has thrown me into this sorrowful world?
Who fetched me from my treasure-house?'

The 9th fragment, (15th book, Ginza l.) calls the soul, 'the sweet perfume of the '*u͟thri*' and contains its lament that it must descend into the body.

6. The reference to Bābā Nānak is suggestive and curious. Guru Nānak, or Bābā Nānak, religious leader of the Sikh sect, visited Baghdad, if the accounts of his life are to be trusted, at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. A tablet in the shrine of Bahlūl, just outside Baghdad, sets forth that one Murād (I quote from Sewaram Singh's book, *The Divine Master*) rebuilt the demolished building of Hazrat Rab-i-Majīd, Bābā Nānak, Faqīr Aulia', and the date is 917 of the Hijra. Reference was made by a Swāmī Ānanda Charaya in a book called *The Snow Birds* to another inscription translated thus by him: 'Here spake the Hindu Nānak to Faqīr Bahlol; and for these sixty winters, since the Guru left Iran, the soul of Bahlol has rested on the master's word, like a bee poised on a dawn-lit honey-rose.' According to the Swāmī, this tablet was dated 912 of the Hijra. It seems unlikely that there should have been two tablets so differing in matter within five years.

The chamber of the tomb in which the present inscription is found is ruined, and full of 'wish-houses', i.e. bricks roughly placed together like a child's brick-house, to commemorate vows made by Moslem pilgrims, nearly always women, to the shrine. Moslems believe that the Bahlūl who is buried in this shrine was the *faqīr* and Sūfī mystic Bahlūl of the reign of Hārūn-ar-Ras͟hīd, who, of course, was buried hundreds of years before Nānak was born. But there is a definite tradition that Nānak did meet and have a friendship with a certain Faqīr Bahlūl in Baghdad when he visited that town. It is possible that the tomb is that of a later Bahlūl, just as the tomb of the so-called 'Prophet Joshua' close by is the tomb of a Jewish rabbi of late date identified in vulgar belief with Joshua son of Nun.

Perhaps Bābā Nānak came into touch with local schools of Sūfī thought in Baghdad; indeed several traditions about his life favour this supposition. Secret cults inherited from pre-Islamic times lingered on in the form of secret orders of *darāwīs͟h* until very late into the Middle Ages, and indeed traces of these linger in such a cult as that of the Bahāī which in its present form is of very recent origin.

According to Sir Lepel Griffin, the old Sikh faith had a baptismal ceremony, and, like Mandaeans, Sikhs do not cut hair or beard. I have already pointed out the significance of the latter and the inference is that there is a connexion with a light-cult wherever this taboo is found. Such likenesses were quite enough to cause the Mandaeans who came into contact with Sikhs during the war to descry connexion between their faith and that of the Sikhs.

The story of Dana Nuk, or Noh, does, in fact, resemble a legend about Baba Nānak. The story of the latter is that in the year 1479, going out one morning 'as usual before dawn to the B'een for his morning ablutions' (cf. Mandaean *ris̲h̲ama*), he plunged into the water and disappeared. He was mourned as dead, but his sister did not believe it, and sent his servant with his clothes to wait by the water. Meantime, Bābā Nānak is said to have performed a journey to the celestial regions where he talked with the Almighty and received a goblet full of an elixir which he drank and thereupon entered into the perfection of divine knowledge. ('He fed me with the Nectar of the Name of the Great Truth.') He then reappeared on earth after three days' absence, resumed his clothes and founded a brotherhood.

7. The people of Rāmrām, i.e. probably the *bhakti* Hindus of N. and Central India. Mandaeans are fond of tracing connexions between their beliefs and those of sects and groups in India.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

This legend, or part of it, appears in the 6th book, GR., rt. Siouffi has a version in which the hero is called Dananouk̲h̲. The story was also told me by a priest in Amarah, who rendered the name Dana Noh, thus confirming Lidzbarski's conjecture below.

Lidzbarski attributes antiquity to the story and says, 'Die Erzählung weist altertümliche Züge auf. Der weise Schriftgelehrte Dinanuk̲h̲t erinnert an . . . "den weisen Schriftgelehrten Nbu" in der aramäischen Inschrift aus Kappadocien *Ephemeris*, I, p. 325, wo man den Anfang so zu lesen hat . . . und hier . . . bei dem zwischen den Wassern sitzenden Weisen denkt man an den an der Mündung der Ströme sitzenden hochweisen babylonischen Sintfluthelden Ut-Napishtim, um so mehr als Dinanuk̲h̲t's Gattin Nūraitā denselben Namen führt wie die Gattin Noahs. . . . Auch die Sprache weist alte Wendungen auf.'

The priestly narrator's version was curious: 'Ruha d̲ Quds̲h̲a disguised herself and came to Dana Nuh and said 'I am Hiwel Ziwa', and gave him a little book which said 'Do not wear a *klila* of myrtle, wear a *klila* of iron!' and changed other things in our faith. At first Dana Nuh burnt it, but it reappeared to him. He tore it up, but it reappeared; lastly, he threw it into the *yardna*, yet still it returned to him. So he thought it must be from Hiwel

Ziwa. Then he and his people followed the teaching of that book, and Awathur Rama and Awathur Muzania began to complain that no souls reached them. Then a *naṭri,* Dén ad Mulaikh, was sent to Dana Nuh, and he fell into a trance. His *ruh* remained in his throat, but his *nishimta* went out and Dén ad Mulaikh put it into another body. He took him down to Siniawis, and showed him the *melki* of darkness, and then the world of light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness there, nor dust. They showed him thrones inscribed with the names of the Mandai, but they were empty, for the souls of the dead Mandai who had followed the teaching of the book were enduring seven purifications. Then Dana Nuh returned to his body and told his people what he had witnessed, and they returned to the faith.'

A similar story is told in the late Sasanian book *Ardvītaz-nāmak* of the Zoroastrian priest, Tansar. (See Herzfeld's *Archaeological History of Iran,* p. 100.)

X. THE MILLENNIUM

At the end of the world the King of Darkness will be strong, and there will be great wars. The world will be all but destroyed by something which puts death into the air and into the water—people will breathe and drink and will die. Then seven great rulers will meet together in one place and will say to each other, 'Why fight any longer? Why should all human beings die?' and they will make a solemn pact to share all knowledge and secrets with each other.

When they are gathered together in conclave, a spirit will descend and talk to one of them. He will not see it, but the others will gaze at it and perceive it, and say to that one, 'What did the spirit tell you?' He will answer, 'There was no spirit! I talked to no one.'

They will say, 'Tell us what the spirit said, or die!'

He will affirm, 'There was no spirit—I heard and saw nothing!' Then they will kill him.

After that, the spirit will come to another of them, and he too will deny that he has spoken with him or seen him (and be speaking truth, though they will not believe him). Him also the others will kill. So it will happen until six have been slain and only one remains. He will be wise with secret knowledge from Shamish, and will rule over all in peace. There will be but one religion in all the world, and all will live in concord and happiness.'

NOTES ON X

Narrator. Hirmiz bar Anhar.

A prophecy is given in the 18th book, Ginza Rba, rt., in which it is foretold that 'a golden mountain will lift itself up in Dasht-Misaq' and that seven kings will gather together upon it. The kings will name a king of kings, and say to him 'We wish to hold a conference to ensure that the great shall not receive more honour than the slave!'

After an agreement upon what appears to be a kind of communism, a spirit comes down and whispers to the king of kings, who sees him not, though all the people see him. 'Then say they to the king of kings, "What did this being who descended from the firmament and whispered in thine ear say to thee?" Then he says to them, "Ye lie!" Then the kings say to the king of kings, "Then the pact by which we are gathered together is also a lie!" And the kings say to the king of kings, "Up! We wish to see each other face to face!"'

They begin to fight. 'Then comes that king who loosens his horse and it steps over them up to the saddle in blood.' From here on the text is fragmentary and obscure, but the king who brings in the time of peace and prosperity is named Mzarz (Armed). The 'last king to reign' will be Parashai Sifa, son of the king Burzan or Burzin. 'In the years of that king prosperity and justice will prevail. There will be no winter.'

XI. CONCERNING THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MADDAI AND HOW THE TURKS CAME TO TAKE IT

THE Mandai of Shuster liked to have their people about them no matter where they were. They were fond of the people of their race. One day, a *darwīsh* of the Sunset country (a Moor) came to Shuster, and they asked him, 'Are there Mandai in your country? Are there people like us who read?' (i.e. prayers and incantations). The *darwīsh* replied, 'There is another *darwīsh* with me who may know. He is a very old man', and he spoke to the *ganzowra* saying, 'For your sake, I will bring him here'.

He went away, and returned with that other. When he came back to the Mandai with the second *darwīsh*, they noticed that half of him (i.e. the first *darwīsh*?) was white and half was black; half his forehead, half his head, half was white, and the other half black—exactly the half!

The old *darwīsh* came and stood before the *ganzowra* and said, 'Now my heart is glad!'

The *ganzowra* asked, 'How so?'

He replied, 'You are of the Mandai, and I have seen your people.' He had recognized the Mandai by their dress, by their *rasta*, and by the *himiana* (sacred girdle), for he had seen Mandai and Naṣurai on the Jebel Mandai (Mountain of the Mandai).

The *ganzowra* asked him, 'And how did you see them?'

The old *darwīsh* told them that he had been an astrologer with the army of the Turks, led by a minister of the Sultan. The soldiers were many and marched with cannon and gunpowder. Their orders were to go to the Jebel Mandai and to issue an *irādaẖ* ordering the Mandai to become subjects of the Turks. If the Mandai refused, then they were, by the order of the Sultan, to fire upon the mountain. The Wazīr, their leader, counselled the Sultan to permit peaceful methods to be used first, and to send an embassy to talk with them, or with one of their leading men. He said to the Sultan, 'It is more prudent to use such methods until we know their strength'.

Accordingly, when they had reached the mountain, he sent an envoy, a man of understanding, to talk with the *rish ʿamma*, the day being Sunday. He went to him and wished him peace. They sat, and the envoy said, 'An order has come from the Sultan that you and your people must become his subjects and give him and his government fealty.'

The *rish ʿamma* replied, 'We do not obey a Sultan. We give our obedience to God, and we cannot obey the will of any man, or be under his hand.'

The envoy said, 'If you do not accept, we shall fire our cannon upon you and kill you!'

The *rish ʿamma* replied, 'Let your cannon be fired! We shall overthrow you, but not in battle. The Sultan has soldiers and cannon and we have nothing—no cannon and no firearms.[1] Nevertheless, we shall do his army an injury. It will be better for your commander to withdraw so that his troops may not perish.'

The envoy returned to the commander, saying, 'He speaks thus and thus.' The commander wondered, and said, 'What could it be that could kill us without battle?'

Now the *ganzowra* had a daughter, and he had built a sanctuary, a secret place of worship, on the mountain. Thither he was wont to go and take the girl, for he had knowledge of Liwet (*Dilbat*, Venus), who is a female *melka*, and inhabits the star Liwet. She is so lovely to look upon that if a man sees her he swoons away. She wears a diadem of great beauty on her brow, and a wonderful perfume issues from it, so exquisite that he who smells it loses his senses and becomes unconscious. The diadem is of lights, which play and dazzle. There are wise men who see her, and there are places where they make her a sanctuary, bringing a beautiful girl or a handsome boy to it and placing him or her therein. Then they read secret incantations, and she (Venus) descends into the girl or boy and answers the questions which are put to her. Much knowledge is to be learnt from her.[2]

The *ganzowra* used to take his daughter into this secret sanctuary and Liwet used to descend into her. Her father used to put a glass bowl filled with water before the girl and say to her, 'Gaze into it!' Then he began to read incantations, read, read, read, until the glass became red, became white, became green, became blue, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! until the glass became like a globe of light. At that moment, a sweet and pleasant wind breathed upon the girl and she slept, and Liwet entered into her thoughts and spoke through her mouth. The *ganzowra* arose and spoke to her (Liwet) thus: 'Of thy favour, help us! The soldiers of the Turks have come against us to do us an injury, and thou knowest we have done them no harm!'

Liwet replied, 'I will cause them to perish! (*asḥathum*) They cannot harm you while We are in the world.'

The *ganzowra* said to her, 'Of thy favour, what can we do against them?'

Answered Liwet, 'I can do that which will prevent them from seeing. It will become black before them and they will be unable to see.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'That will injure them! They are poor soldiers, poor men, and I do not wish to hurt them.' For the Naṣurai are kindly people and do not injure any person willingly. And he asked her, 'Canst thou not do something else?'

She replied, 'I can make water appear all round them so that they are unable to move.'

Said the *ganzowra*, 'If they are surrounded by water they will be unable to reach food, and will be imprisoned there, and suffer. I ask rather that they should be inspired with fright.'

Liwet replied, 'To cause fright is the function of (lit. in the hand of) Pthahil[3] and the *shiviahi*, for the King of Darkness and the *shiviahi* are under the hand of Pthahil. Read in this scroll, and Pthahil will send a spirit to do your work.'

Sunday came, and the *ganzowra* went and was baptized in the water, prayed, and took his scroll and went to his chapel and began to read there. He read and read and read, and there came before him something like fire. He recoiled from it, but it said to him, '*Shloma illakh, ya ganzowra! Shloma ad haiy havilakh*' (Peace upon you, O *ganzibra*! The peace of the Life be yours!).

The *ganzowra* said to it, 'These Turks have come to do us an injury. I ask from you and from Pthahil that you will give them a fright—only—!—so that they may depart unhurt to their own country.'

The *melka* of the *shiviahi* replied, 'I can bring you a *shiviahi* for each soldier of the Turkish army, to stand beside him. When the soldiers try to fire their cannon or shoot, they will be pushed back and their hands be powerless, and they will not know the reason.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'That is a good way of frightening them!' (*Khosh takhwīf, hadhà*!)

The *melka* assembled the *shiviahi* and one took place beside each Turkish soldier. But the leader of the *shiviahi* sat beside the *ganzowra* on the mountain.

Now the general of the Turks cried, '*Yalla*! To battle! Fire bullets at them! Kill them! They will not obey the Sultan's *irādah̤*, so they must die!'

But, when he began to shoot, each man felt a violent gust which hurled him to the ground. One broke his head, another his arm. They cried, 'What is this?' and were greatly afraid and their officers and generals with them. The leader said to his adviser, the envoy that he had sent to parley with the Mandai, 'What can it be that makes the soldiers fall to the ground?'—for on all sides they were falling.

The other replied, 'These people are *darāwīsh*! They are worthy people who serve God. No one should seek to hurt them. If we try to do so, so great are the powers which they receive from God, that we shall all be killed.'

The general said, 'We will return to the Sultan and bring reinforcements and hear what he says to all this.' For in those days, if the Sultan needed soldiers, he forced men into the army.

The *melka* of the *shiviahi* that stood beside the *ganzowra* heard what was said and began to laugh aloud.

Said the *ganzowra*, 'Why do you laugh?'

The *melka* said, 'I laugh at the intelligence of those Turks! It is Pthahil who gives you power, whereas theirs is of men! What vanity they talk!' Then he said, 'I will show you something amusing.'

Said the *ganzowra*, 'Good!'

The other said, 'To-morrow they will begin to march in retreat, but I can do that which will prevent them from going forward, all of them, leaders and soldiers.'

The *ganzowra* smiled and said, 'I should like to see that work!'

In the morning, the army tried to march. The ruler of the *shiviahi* was with the *ganzowra* watching them from afar on the mountain. The *ganzowra* gazed. The *melka* began to make incantations, softly, softly. The *ganzowra* saw a light flash down from heaven, as if by electricity. It came from above. *Dī*! It became intense, and spread out with the air (*imtadd bil hawā*) upon the soldiers and those with them. The soldiers of the Turks, the more they tried to march, the less they were able to move a step forward but were forced instead to step backwards. What was it?

The general shouted 'Run!' but they could not, and he himself was in like case, and could not move forwards. The officers said to the general, 'Baba, we are going to die! What can we do? This comes of trying to fight with the Mandai and the Naṣurai, who are like *darāwīsh* and fear God. Why did we besiege these people?'

Now, with the general there were astrologers, who counted the stars and read destiny. One of them had a bowl which resembled a mirror in which you see your face. It was very ancient and had been dug up out of the earth. It was inscribed with powerful names, and when this astrologer gazed into it, he saw all that he desired to see. He fetched it and looked into it to see the course of these events. But he consulted it secretly, for the general and the other astrologers did not know that he possessed such a bowl.[4] He gazed in it, and saw the *ganzowra* and the *melka* of the *shiviahi*, he who had brought about their discomfiture, and they were both sitting on the mountain. At the same time, the spirit perceived that the astrologer was scrying in his bowl, and told the *ganzowra*, saying, 'This astrologer has a bowl with Mandaean talismans and writings upon it. It was made by your people of old.'

The *ganzowra* said to him, 'Bring it to me, for it must belong to us and not to the Turks.'

The astrologer was still scrying into the bowl, and, even as he gazed, something came upon him, lifted the bowl up, and it completely disappeared.

He began to scream and the others came running to him and the officers. The astrologer said, 'I had something before me, an ancient object, and it was taken away from before me, and I know not what it was that seized it!'

He wailed and wept, and the soldiers and their officers said, 'How could this have happened?'

Day and night he continued to weep, and the *ganzowra* began to pity him, for the bowl was priceless. So he said to the spirit, 'Bid the astrologer come hither, and let the soldiers depart, each to his own people, for they must not remain imprisoned here.'

When the owner of the bowl had come, he fell upon his hands and knees, for he perceived that a light was with the *ganzowra*, a light which sometimes took the shape of a face or a person. His heart was afraid. The *ganzowra* said, 'Fear not! He who is with me is a *melka* of the *s͟hiviahi*.' Then he said to him, 'Whence had you this bowl? It is ours, and our inscriptions are within it.'

The astrologer replied, 'That bowl that you see is from the Jebel Qordūn, which the Arabs call Qāf, the mountains which surround the earth, and these are in the North.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'And how did those who brought it to you obtain it?'

The astrologer answered, 'In those mountains there is a place that is inaccessible, and surrounded thickly by swamps, reeds, trees, and wild beasts of all kinds—lions, wolves, large snakes, and other harmful animals abound there. My father, once a rich man, became very poor and he sought this place of fear, saying, "Let a lion or other wild beast devour me—I care not, now I am so poor!"' He continued, 'He had an ass: he rode upon it and went into the wilderness. The ass carried him near that place, and there he saw something which caused him the utmost fright. For he saw a huge serpent coiled about a slab of black marble, its head upreared, and its eyes like fire. In the middle of the slab was a lion in an attitude of threat, and by the lion's feet a large scorpion, and above it, a hornet bigger than a bird.'

The *ganzowra* laughed when he heard this, for the astrologer's father had not seen real animals and beasts, but a *skandola* (pp. 36 ff.), a group of talismanic symbols. The serpent with upreared head represents 'Ur, the great dragon upon whom the visible world rests, with his head uplifted towards Awat͟hur, and his glittering eyes were of diamonds. This talisman (*reṣed*), these symbols, had been made by Mandai, and placed there to protect treasure beneath from *s͟hiviahi* and other disturbers. So strong was this talisman, that none could approach the spot. The *ganzowra* rejoiced greatly to hear of it, and said, 'I must go thither!'

The astrologer continued, 'My father went away but his ass in leaving stumbled against an obstacle in the ground. My father dismounted and saw a portion of a *bastūqa* (covered jar) sticking out of the ground. He dug and got it out; lifted its lid and saw within this bowl! He rejoiced very much in it, for by its means he could summon spirits who showed him useful matters. He earned money by it. When my father died, the bowl became mine.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'This bowl is ours and the writing on it was made by my people. I shall keep it and give you what you like in exchange.'

The astrologer answered, 'I do not wish for money, but, as I am a *darwīsh*, I want wherewithal to feed myself.'

The *ganzowra* gave him a small metal lamp on which there was an inscription, and said to him, 'This lamp has a [familiar] spirit, and if you need food or money, you will see a small *melka* standing in it who will bring you whatever you want. I will give you this in place of your bowl.'

The astrologer was glad, and replied, 'That, also, is very good.'

Now this astrologer was the old *darwīsh* who came to Shuster and told the *ganzowra* of Shuster that he had seen the Mandai. When he had told his tale the *ganzowra* asked him to show him the lamp which the *ganzowra* of the Jebel Mandai had given him. The old *darwīsh* replied, 'I have it but do not care to show it—it is very dear to me.'

However, the *ganzowra* of Shuster persuaded him by fair words, and one day he brought it, and the *ganzowra* saw a small spirit standing within it. He asked it, 'Where are our people, in which spot?'

It replied, 'They are in the Jebel Maddai' (for Arabs call the Jebel Mandai the Jebel Maddai) 'and when they look at you, you are forced to depart!'

Then the *ganzowra* asked the other *darwīsh*, 'How is it that you are half brown and half white?'

The first *darwīsh* replied, 'I and my wife, my three sons and my daughter, once dwelt in the wilderness and killed animals for our food—deer, gazelles, wild pig, and game of various sorts. My place and my guest-tent were far from the ʿArab (i.e. other nomads). One night when the moon was in the fourteenth night, I went out and killed three gazelles. I bound them together with a strong rope, brought them back to my tent and tied them to the roof, and sat there with my wife and family.

'Then we thought we saw something black outside in the desert. It came nearer and filled the entire door of the tent. I think its head was this breadth (*the narrator extended his arms*), its belly was immense, its arms were huge and it was like a man save that it was covered with hair.

'When we saw that, my wife and I were greatly afraid, saying, "What can this be?"

'He looked within, and seeing the gazelles tied to the roof, he seized them. The rope parted and he swallowed all three in one mouthful. The boys fled to their mother. He seized one, threw him into his mouth, and ate him. The second boy also he seized and ate, and the third, and, after him, my daughter. My wife was terrified, and, seeing a chink in the tent, she fled out into the desert, and he went after her! As for me, I am a Soghmāni! I steeled myself, and taking my gun and loading it with lead, I went out. The moon was like day: it was easy to see. When he saw me, the monster came towards me. I aimed straight at the centre of his forehead and shot. He gave a great shout, jumped high from the ground, and fell. As for me, I lay like one dead until the sun had risen.

'Then, finding myself still alive, I went to look for my wife, fearing that she must have been killed. I searched and searched, and then found her in a hole—dead! Since the moment when I heard that monster's shout, I have been as you see me—half-white and half-brown.

'When Allah saw my state, he permitted me to become a *darwīsh*. Then I met with this old *darwīsh*, whose tale you have heard. He said to me, "My son, you must not kill animals! It is not a good thing. Do it not! God created us barley, corn, and vegetables. Why kill animals?[5] It is a great sin!" Then that *darwīsh* gave me money and kept me with him.'

When he saw the inscription on the lamp, the *ganzowra* of Shuster was able to read it, although the old *darwīsh* could not. The name of the spirit which it invoked was Farūr. He read it and learnt it by heart, then he made himself a bowl and inscribed the talisman on it. The spirit came when summoned, and the *ganzowra* found it useful, for, whatever he needed, Farūr brought it to him. If boys were naughty and misbehaved, he would threaten them, 'I will bring Farūr!' and they were good.

Now he thought much about the Jebel Mandai, and wished to go there, so he, and seven others, amongst whom were four relatives of mine, set out. They got as far as Syria, where they were employed as silversmiths by the King of the Abyssinians (*sic*). There they met a *darwīsh* who had been amongst those who went to the Jebel Mandai with the Turks, but, when they set out to find the mountain, they could not. They went three months on the journey, but they found it not!

NOTES ON XI

1. War and killing are contrary to Mandaean tenets. Punishment in Mandaean legends is never accompanied by slaying, unless by the agency of heaven, and even then, the powers of light are always besought to be clement and spare the life of the enemy.

2. Libat (Venus) is said to inspire all invention. The worship of Libat is categorically forbidden by the holy books, and in the description of the *maṭaratha* (purgatories) (left side, 4th fragment Ginza Rba) a special house of purification is for those 'who go into the house of Tammuz and sit there twenty-eight days, slaughter sheep, mix bowls, offer (*ramia*) cakes, and sit mourning in the house of Libat', proving that when the book was written Adonis-Venus ceremonies were still observed. Reference to Venus worship is made in the 9th book rt. side. The bitter denunciation of planet worship argues an effort by priestly reformers to quench inherent popular beliefs.

3. *Pthahil.* See p. 95.

4. Magic bowls are common in Iraq. The bowl is of brass or silver, and sometimes has a small raised dome in the centre (upon which the scryer's eyes are fixed?). The bowl is inscribed with magic or sacred writings, and Mandaean inscriptions are thought to have special virtue and magical properties. Water drunk from such a bowl is said to have healing power.

5. This tale illustrates the attitude of Mandaeans towards the killing

of animals. The Ginza is contradictory. The 4th fragment of the 3rd book rt. mentions as lawful certain animals, 'flying birds, fish of the sea', but no animal not slaughtered by an iron instrument, no beast killed by a wild animal. Elsewhere (GR. 37) it is written 'Eat no animal. Eat... the flesh of animals called forth from the fruit of the water (fish?).'

Josephus mentions that the Essenes were vegetarians, and Porphyry, quoting Eubulus, says that the Magians were divided into three classes, those who abstained from eating any living creature, those who abstained from domestic animals, and those who would not touch any and every animal. Prof. P. E. Lucius' effort to disprove Josephus' statement about the Essenes is not convincing. (*Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältnis zum Judenthum*, Strassburg, C. F. Schmidt, 1881, pp. 56 ff.)

The narrator was Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XII. HOW THE MANDAI AND THEIR GANZIBRA LEFT THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MADDAI FOR A BETTER COUNTRY, FARTHER NORTH

To-day I shall tell you what happened when the *ganzowra* who, with Pt͟hahil's help, overthrew the Turks who came to the Jebel Maddai, went in search of that place which was guarded by the *skandola*, of which he heard from the astrologer whose bowl he took.

When he gave the astrologer the lamp in exchange for the bowl the *ganzowra* pondered on what he had heard and yearned to go to the place which the astrologer had described, and asked the ruler of the *s͟hiviahi* to take him thither.

The *melka* replied, 'I am not able to approach that place because of the powerful talisman which protects it and which prevents all beings who obey the Melka ad eHs͟huk͟ha (King of Darkness) from coming near it.'

The *ganzowra* said, 'All I ask is that you will prevent lions, wolves, leopards, and snakes from attacking us on the way. I wish to discover this talisman and see what it is guarding.'

Answered the spirit, 'Be it so! I will conduct you to a place not far from it: near, however, I dare not approach.'

The *ganzowra* and Naṣurai and Mandai got ready and on the Sunday they set out. There were many of them. The ruler of the *shiviahi* brought a *shiviahi* with eyes of fire set vertically not horizontally, in his head. His eyes appeared flames of fire, and if a wild animal saw him, he was so frightened that he ran for a distance of three days, so that while the *shiviahi* travelled with the *ganzowra* and his people, creatures fled on all sides.

After a month of travelling, and, with the aid of Shamish, they travelled in one day a forty-days' journey, they reached the place of the *skandola*, the Talisman, (p. 36).

There they saw the animals as they had been described to them, standing on a marble base. The lion and scorpion were of gold, the serpent, 'Ur, which surrounded the group, was of steel, but of such steel as was made in ancient times, strongly tempered so that it cut iron as though it were a cucumber. The hornet was of a red metal, I know not of what kind.

After they had removed the talisman, the Mandai lifted the marble slab, and beneath it they saw a deep vault going down into the earth. They lowered ropes and chains into it, but could not touch the bottom. The *ganzowra* and the Naṣurai examined it; then one of the Mandai said, 'I will descend! Make a long chain, and give me food and water for a month, and I will be let down and see what is there.'

They made a very long chain, gave him a lantern, food, and water, and let him down, bidding him farewell, for they did not know if they would ever see him again.

They let him down and down, but, when he was already deep down in the earth, the chain parted in two! They thought, 'He must be dead!'

The Mandai fell, but when he came to the bottom, he fell on something that was soft as cotton. The lamp had gone from him when he fell, so that he had no light. He unfastened the chain from his waist and threw it from him, then walked forward with his skin of water and his food, feeling his way in the dark. He thought he saw eyes of fire before him, but when he reached towards them they fell like ashes of fire. Likewise, if he touched anything, it crumbled beneath his hand. He walked, and presently a staff knocked against his legs. He stretched forth his hand and grasped it, and felt that it was thick and durable and hard. He said to himself, 'This is fortunate, for if I meet animals down here, I can defend myself!'

And, as soon as he had the staff in his hand, he began to feel light-hearted and glad. He walked thus for seven days beneath the ground, and then he heard the noise of an animal (*g̲h̲ars̲h̲as̲h̲a*) and he followed after it. At last he saw a light, and the animal issued by it into the upper world, for it was a hole. The Mandai enlarged it with his staff until he could get through it. Then he came up through it and saw the world, all white and fair, and a river! He washed his face, drank water and rested a little, then began to pray and thank God saying, '*Aka héi*, *aka marey*, *aka Manda-ṭ-Héi! Akves̲h̲ ehs̲h̲uk̲h̲a*, *atreṣ anhura!*' —that is, 'There is Life, there is my lord, there is Manda-ṭ-Hei! He took me from darkness and filled me with light!' (*Sic: actually the translation of the latter phrase is*, '*I tread down darkness and establish the light*'.)[1]

And his prayer was a good one. If a man is angry and repeats that prayer he becomes cool and his anger departs from him!

He rose and then looked at the staff. It was all of gold and bore an inscription, a talisman written from end to end of it.

After he had been there about an hour, he saw people approaching him. They wore no clothes, but their bodies were covered with white hair, smooth, like the down on a bird's breast. On their faces the hair grew but lightly, and on the palms of their hands there was none. They seized him and took him away with them and he was afraid, saying to himself, 'These people will kill me, for they see I am not of their kind!'

They took him to their Sultan, who, like they, was unclothed and clad only by the white hairs which grew on his body. Their houses were of tree-trunks and bamboos, for the air was temperate: there was no cold there. It was a pleasant climate, and vermin, snakes, scorpions, and beasts of prey there were none in that place.

When the Sultan saw him, he bade them loose him and they unbound his fetters.

The Sultan took the staff from him, looked at it, and questioned him, but the Mandai did not understand his tongue. Then the Mandai told the Sultan by signs what had happened to him and how he had come there.

The Sultan asked him by signs, 'On the mountain where you live, are there many more people like you? Are there many?'

The Mandai told him that they were many.

The Sultan signed to him that he must sit with him and teach him his language and his writing so that he might converse with him.

The Mandai taught him the Mandaitic writing and pointed to things and told him their names in Mandaean. He 'took and gave speaking' with him and remained there a month.

After that the Sultan said to him, 'We are of your kin, but we live near Ms͟huni Kus͟hṭa. Formerly our speech was like yours, but it has changed.' And he said, 'We are many here, we are millions! I will show you how many we are—men, women, and children.'

And he took the Mandai amongst the villages and the tribes and showed him their places of prayer. Not one of the people wore clothes, but their hair fell long from their bodies so that they were not naked.

The Mandai said, 'Hiwel Ziwa ordered us to wear the *rasta*, the *himiana*, and the *tag͟ha*. How is it, if you are of our race, that you do not wear these?'

The Sultan said, 'Formerly, when our numbers began to be great, we quarrelled with the Naṣurai.'

He asked, 'Why did you quarrel with them?'

The other replied, 'The Naṣurai have a doctrine, a knowledge, which they would not share with us. We wished to obtain that knowledge from them by using force, and by quarrelling with them. There were seven great kings, and I was one of them, who tried to make war against them and acquire their secrets. We rose one morning, and our speech was confused! A light descended upon us, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! in the place where we were all assembled. It descended upon our whole nation, men, women, and children, and our Mandai tongue went from our minds and we knew our tongue no more. We looked one upon the other like lunatics (*at͟hwāl*), and were unable to comprehend one another. By degrees, we began to talk a language which came to us. We knew that Hiwel Ziwa had descended upon us and divided us from the Naṣurai by this confusion of speech.

'We were afraid, and thought that we might be burnt with fire from above, but, thank God! we were not burnt, only we lost our language. We wandered to this place, and hair grew on our bodies, so that we discarded clothes, for the climate was good. There is no poverty among us, and one is equal to another.[2] We draw our water from the river and we grow corn and barley for our food, and not one is greater or richer than the other. We sleep where we will, and only I am in authority. No rough wind or dust comes upon us, and no tempests. There is a soft breeze from Awat͟hur here, and hot winds and rough winds from eHs͟huk͟ha (the Darkness)[3] never reach us. It never becomes dark, for we see the sun constantly, there being twilight for a short while. It is never too hot and never too cold.'

Then the Sultan said to the Mandai, 'That staff which I took from you enables a person to walk the distance of seven years in a week. It is so strong a talisman that, if a wholly pure person raises it to strike another, the mere wind made by its striking will kill! Such is the power which God gave it. That vault is a seven years' journey in length, and you went through it in a week.

'The vault was used by the Mandaeans of olden times, for at one time they used to make writings and images in stone, not on paper. There are in the vault images of gold, copper, and stone. When you put your hand on them they fell away, for they are very ancient and were made by the Mandaeans of old time who hid the images of their gods there.[4] They represented them with clasped one in the other, which is a sign of th faith; for when one is baptized one must stan clasped—thus! And you may see images witl folded in this manner in museums: it was ou made them! The hands are clasped and pr body.

'That vault was once a place of prayer. It one end and deep at the other. It once belc people, but, since the confusion of speech, known the way to it. Our language was language, and we used the [cuneiform] wri is now in the museum. These misfortunes c because we wished to quarrel with the Naṣu was angry with us.'

The Mandai offered to show them the subterranean place, and he took them to the v There they saw inscriptions on marble and o on lamps and on the roof—everywhere there tions. And they said to him, 'The staff is ful working! But be careful not to quarrel, bec do, by virtue of the staff, your opponent will forgiven us! You are the sign, for you descen vault and found the staff, and were able to le place in which we used to worship! By means which can convey forty persons the distance day, we can go and return.'

The entire nation learned the Mandaean their understanding became as strong as it They followed the ancient religion of the Ma practised ablutions in the river. The sultan Mandaean, 'I would restore this staff to yo was by its means that God led us back to o restored our worship to us. No doubt it was that it should come to us through you.'

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ed and one moment they laughed and
wept. The parting of years was over!
ai, he saw his parents and his children
ere was great joy and jubilation.
began to talk with the Sultan. He knew
study of history of the disappearance of
he had not known where they were.
d his people wished to be reunited with
ṣurai and the Mandai decided that they
ebel Mandai and go back with those who
heir country in the north, where there
ild beast, nor any harmful thing. They
a time, by aid of the staff, until all of
the country in the north. The water of
o pure that once a man has bathed in it,
n on him ever afterwards. The climate
is neither hot nor cold. And fleas and
e are none there.
lt to reach that country because, to get
oss a region of extreme cold. Thither
dai went, and only we Ṣubba in Iraq
ntry is near Mshuni Kushṭa, near the

NOTES ON XII

iṣ nhura.
ean state is always communistic. See p. 309, &c.
worlds of darkness being in the south. Cf. p. 9.
s that the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians practised mysteries in
, where they initiated postulants and kept images of

the gods. Further, the Ḥarrānian poet, Ibn ʻĀ'īshūn, mentions in a poem that underneath one of the Ḥarrānian temples there were four cellars in which images stood and in which the Ṣābians celebrated their mysteries. (Ch. Ṣ., vol. ii, pp. 332 ff.)

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIII. THE CHILD CONCEIVED ON THE 29TH NIGHT OF THE MOON[1]

On the 29th night of a lunar month the moon cannot be seen, for it has gone to its place. If a man lies with his wife that night and gets her with child, the child will be born with a sixth finger, or two heads, or bodily defect of a serious kind. On this night, no seeds must be sown, for the *shiviahi* who obey Melka ad eHshukha (the King of Darkness) have power in the dark of the moon, and they are evil. When the moon is full, the Melka d Anhura, the King of Light from the world of light, rules the world.

It happened that about seven hundred years ago a *ganzowra* went in to his wife on this night, and she became pregnant. When she was delivered of a boy, the child was found to have six fingers on each hand. The midwife (*judayya*) went to tell the *ganzowra* that he had a son, but spoke joylessly, knowing that a child with extra fingers is under the power of the *shiviahi*. The *ganzowra* asked her, 'Why is thy heart not glad? Tell me the reason! I am happy that I have a son, why not rejoice with me?'

She replied, 'The boy has six fingers on each hand.'

The *ganzowra* was deeply afflicted, but he knew that the cause was that he had sown his seed on the twenty-ninth night of the moon, for in his heart he had been afraid that such might be the case, having made his count of days.

The midwife counselled him to cut off the extra fingers, and when he consented she took a knife and cut them off. The child grew, but there were marks where the fingers had been. In time he grew big, and his father made him a priest. Then the midwife went to the other priests and the *yalufi* (literate persons) and said, 'Behold! This was a six-fingered child, and he is the son of the *shiviahi*!'

They replied, 'We know it, and are troubled because of it, but we can do nothing!'

They spoke thus because the *ganzowra* was a rich and a powerful man.

The Mandai who knew the truth about the young man would not be baptized by him. Only those who were ignorant allowed him to perform the rites of baptism upon them. For with us, if a man has a bodily blemish of any kind he may not be a priest. If he has a skin disease, or any kind of defect, he is not pure and spotless and may not become a priest.

The young man married a wife, and she bore him a daughter, and soon after that the old *ganzowra* died, and his son became *ganzowra* in his stead, for he was consecrated by him before his death.[2]

The new *ganzowra*'s daughter grew and attained the age of eighteen years and was very fair to look upon. She had the habit of going into a garden to pick flowers and amuse herself, and this was observed by a black slave who, seeing that there was no one near her, made up his mind to ravish her. One Sunday she went, and the slave came and seized her and took her virginity away and destroyed her reputation (lit. face).

She came to her father and wept. He told her not to weep, and made her wife to another slave (a black man), so that there should be no cause to talk. He made a betrothal feast and gave a lavish meal to the Mandai, giving food to the poor, dispensing charity, and scattering benefits with great liberality. His house was full of guests.

Now just before this happened, there had been a visitation of plague, and all the Mandai priests had died of the plague—only the *ganzowra* was left!

The Naṣurai, who are people of learning, spotless in matters of purity, who wear coats of cocoon silk (*jazz* or *qazz*, natural white silk), and write holy books, men like *darāwīsh*, were troubled and ashamed, and the *yalufi* with them. Many wept and cried out on the shame of what was taking place—namely, that a *ganzowra*'s daughter should marry a black man.

It was Panja—the Feast of Five Days which we call Paranaia (p. 89). Four of the Naṣurai came together to consult as to what must be done. First, each man put on his *rasta* and immersed in the river, for at Paranaia (*Parwanaia*) every one must wear his *rasta* and make purifications in the river, so that they shall be especially pure. The gates of Awat͟hur stand open during those five days, and the prayers of the faithful receive an answer quickly.

So the four made their ablutions in the river, wearing their *rastas*, and began to pray, *ibraha* (M. *brak͟ha?*) After prayer, they said, 'Let us supplicate God to help us in this matter—perhaps he will send us '*ut͟hri*, or *naṭri*,[3] or *melki*'. Then they prayed that this shame might be removed from amongst them and besought Melka ḏ Anhura for his help. As they prayed, a light came down amongst them into the garden by the river, and they thought they saw in the midst of it two beings made of light, who cast no shadow. They cried to them, saying, 'Help us! This girl and her father have brought shame on us, upon all of us! Find us a way out!'

Now these two *melki* were named Zuheyr and Zahrun.[4] They replied, 'We will baptize you and ordain you *ganzivri*'.

The Naṣurai were rejoiced and exceedingly happy that the *melki* had appeared, and they entered the water and were baptized and ordained *ganzivri*, but quickly and without the usual prayers, because it was a very holy baptism which they received. They were henceforth able to ordain priests, to baptize, and to perform marriages. They asked the two *melki*, 'What shall we do about this *baṣran Sera?*' (*baṣran Sira*).[5] They said, 'He gives charity to the poor and needy so as to stand well in the opinion of the people and to whiten his face in the eyes of God. What can we do? He will have much seed—daughters and sons, and it will be difficult for us Mandai! Every Sunday he makes a feast for Mandai who are poor and hungry, and they go to him.'

Answered the *melki*, 'Go to his house next Sunday, and let every man take food from that which is set before him, but hold it in his hand and eat it not. The *ganzowra* will ask, as he goes round amongst you, 'Why do ye not eat?' Then you shall reply, 'Our purification (whitening) is upon you! You have brought us harm—we will not eat!' Throw the food back in the dish and rise, and let not a single man remain in the ḥōsh. When all have gone out, the ground will open and he and his family will all be swallowed up.'

The Naṣurai rose, and on the Sunday they did as the *melki* had commanded them. None of the Mandai remained in the yard—all rose and left their food uneaten.

Then the ground parted, and the *ganzowra* and his wife and his daughter fell in and were never seen more.

NOTES ON XIII

1. Sin, the Moon God (other name Sira), is represented as bringing about deficiency.

'To the Moon, Sin, they apportioned Deficiency, from whom all Deficiency went forth, (GR., p. 124). The 'sect of Sin' is named in the GR. as 'bringing about abortions and deficiencies'. The 4th fragment, 15th book, rt. side GR. says that children begotten in the dark of the moon are misshapen and deformed, and that pain and evil result when the moon is hidden and Sin 'dies, goes away, and darkens himself'. When he emerges from the *maṭaratha* 'his colour is taken away from him and his form looks as though it had never been. Then he seats himself again in his ship,

'And draws beams of light unto himself,
They spread a powerful light over him
And he sets out on his wanderings through the world.
On the first day on which he appears
The apex of the firmament is opened,
He emerges from the upper firmament
And goes to rest in the lower heaven.
Until the second day
His luminous rays light all worlds.
Until the seventh day of the month
Sin speaks in the voice of the Life
Because he remembers his fear and awe of the Life.
When he has passed over the seventh day
He has already forgotten his fear and awe.
He has forgotten his fear and awe,
And casts Evil into the whole world.' (GR., p. 314.)

Here Sin has a sinister character. In the Drasha d Yahya not so. ‘One day I (Sin) remain hidden, and my rays are obscured. Obscured is my sanctity and both watchers give heed thereon. If I am absent, and men lie with their wives, it will happen, if the wife conceives on that day, that deaf and dumb and misshapen progeny will result from their union. If she conceives on that day, deaf and leprous children will be born to the pair or lacking a foot or hand.’ Hence it is not Sin, but his *absence* which is responsible.

For the nature of the Moon-god and his place in Mandaean belief see pp. 77 ff. In European folk-lore the child born in the ‘dark of the moon’ is supposed to be witless and ‘wanting’.

2. Or, possibly, *at* his death, see p. 169, Book I.

3. Hirmiz commented here, ‘these are the *melki*-watchers in the stars’. To judge from his story on p. 367 there are also guardian spirits of houses. Shaikh Nejm said the *naṭri* (watchers) were our spiritual doubles (*dmuthi*) in Mshunia Kushta. The Fravashis of the Parsis exactly correspond.

4. Two sun ‘*uthria*. See p. 76.

5. *Baṣran Sira*. A term applied to persons possessing deformities caused by the waning moon. *Baṣran* seems to mean ‘lacking, deficient’ (cf. Syriac ܒܨܪ ‘to diminish, subtract’). Sira is the other name of the moon-god, both Sin and Sira being masculine in gender. Possibly Sira is applied to the moon when waning. The Assyrian Nestorians call the moon *Sara*.

Narratŏr: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIV. THE KANSHI uZAHLA

(*The Sweeping and Cleansing*)

With us Ṣubba a great feast takes place about the time that the dates ripen. It is called the Dehwa Rabba (see p. 85), and its eve, or *dakhala*, is called the Kanshi Zahla. The Kanshi Zahla lasts for two nights and the day between, and during that time all the Mandaeans remain in their houses, taking with them enough water and food to last over the period. They keep their fowls, dogs and cats, cows and buffaloes shut off in a place apart from the dwelling-rooms of the house. For during those two nights and a day the ‘*uthri* of the sun, moon, and water go to Olma d Anhura, the World of Light, and while they are absent every Mandaean must remain in his house and his animals must be shut up. When the *melki* and ‘*uthri* return, we go out and feast, wash in the river, and rejoice. The ‘*uthri* serve the *melki* and are under them. Thunder is the noise of combat between the *'uthri* and the evil spirits, when the *'uthri* hurl the evil spirits down to the lower world. We feel the rush of air as they fall, and hear the noise and see the lightning.

If during Kanshi Zahla a domestic animal escapes and comes into the house, it becomes unclean and cannot be eaten, and if it touches any one in the house, that person becomes unclean, and as soon as the feast has begun, he must be baptized seventy times by the *ganzowra*, and may not eat or drink until so purified. If only a wasp comes in from the desert and stings a man during the Kanshi Zahla, he is unclean, and must abstain from food or drink or from touching anything in the house until the feast has dawned and he is cleaned by seventy *maṣwettas* (baptisms). (*Really 360 E.S.D.*)

Now there was a *darwīsh*, a Ṣubbi, called Majbūr Ṣubba, of the village of Umm Seyyidiyah, near Amarah, who was exceedingly devout. During the Kanshi Zahla he and his family remained within their *ḥōsh*,[1] and inside the *ḥōsh* they constructed a reed-hut, with only one opening, which they kept shut, so that no fly or other impurity might enter it. He, and another of their kinsfolk, called Ujheyli and Ujheyli's wife, remained together in this hut. The woman went out to obey a call of nature, for at this time they are allowed to use the yard for such a purpose,[2] but not to leave the courtyard or come into contact with an animal. A *zorgi* (a marsh bird, with a long bill)[3] was sitting on the roof of the house, and as soon as the woman had come out it flew down and tore her kerchief from her head, so that she was bareheaded and defiled. She began to shriek, 'This bird has made me unclean!' Ujheyli came out to see what it was, and as soon as he had come out the bird came and hit him with its wings. Ujheyli seized the bird and put it in the *sadd* (a clay bin for the storage of rice). He put it in that and covered the bin with a cover of clay, saying, 'When the Kanshi is over, I will show it to Shaikh Zibid! Perhaps he will know what this bird is that has come and defiled me!' Shaikh Zibid was a very learned man, famed for his knowledge amongst us.

Ujheyli and his wife, being then unclean, entered no more into the reed hut, but went into another place apart. Majbūr now remained in the reed hut by himself, and presently he mounted on the *jāwan*[4] in order to reach the water and food on a table set in the *ch'ab* (heel, or further end) of the hut. The table was high, and he could not reach it except by mounting on the *jāwan*. He reached up and there, by the water, he saw a large frog! He called to Ujheyli who was outside, 'A frog is here and has made the food and water unclean! How could it have got in?'

Ujheyli ran in and seized the frog and put it with the bird in the bin, but food and water were defiled, and they had to do without it, and remained for that night and the day and night which were left, both hungry and thirsty. As soon as the Kanshi was over, Ujheyli went to the *sadd* with the intention of taking the bird and the frog to show them to Shaikh Zibid. As soon as day had dawned on the Great Feast, he put on his clothes and went to the *sadd* and removed the cover. There was no bird and no frog! Nothing! They had disappeared.

They went to Shaikh Zibid and began to tell him and those with him what had happened. When Shaikh Zibid heard it, he was amazed, and said, 'Those were, no doubt, *shiviahi* in the shape of a bird and a frog, and they did this in order to do you harm.'

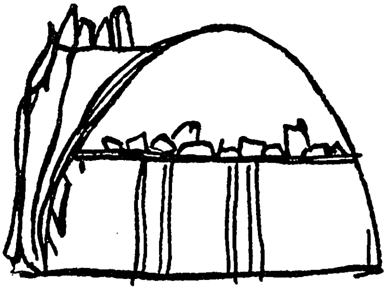
NOTES ON XIV

1. The *ḥōsh* is the entire house compound, the house consisting of rooms and cattle-sheds and storerooms built round a square central courtyard. Entrance to the house is through a door and passage flanked with a room on either side, into the main courtyard or directly into the courtyard. A similar plan of building is found in houses of 'Abraham's period' at 'Ur.

2. It seems that in former stricter days Mandaeans did not allow privies within the house area. Like the Essenes the Mandaeans eased themselves in some convenient spot out of doors. It is still strictly forbidden to Yazīdīs to pollute the house-area in such a fashion, and they make no provision of the kind in building their houses.

3. A water-bird, as described, with pale grey plumage.
4. *Jāwan.* A wooden receptacle for pounding rice.

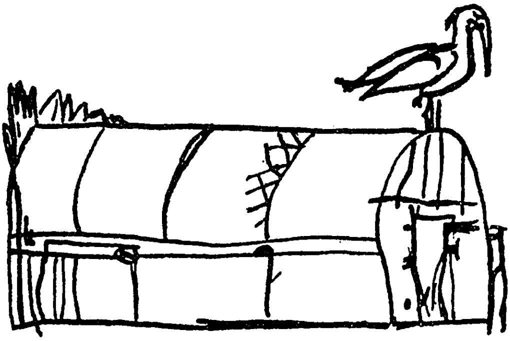
Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar. His drawings to illustrate are given below.



The table with food and water, at the 'heel'* (farther end) of the reed hut.

* *chʿab* كعب.

FIG. 15.



The *zorgi* perched on the hut, waiting for the woman to come out.

FIG. 16.

XV. THE HAUNTINGS

IN Muhammerah, in the garden of our *ganzowra,* there was a room of which it was said that if a person slept in it he would be found dead the next morning. Sometimes a marauder or thief, entering the garden, would go in there to sleep, and the next day he would be found dead, lying as if asleep, with his weapons, his dagger, knife, and revolver, still upon him. This happened several times, and the *ganzowra* forbade any of his people to sleep in the room. The garden was a lovely place, with flowers, fruit, and shade: by day very beautiful and pure, but none who knew dared enter that place by night.

Now there was an old man in S͟huster called ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, a Ṣubbi. He liked the company of the learned and pious and was always to be found at the houses of the Naṣurai, the *ris͟h ʿamma*, and the *ganzowra*. He knew the sacred writings and stories, he was possessed of the secret teachings, and he was a very wise old man. He came to Muhammerah and was the guest of the *ganzowra* there, Yahya bar Adam by name. Talk fell one day upon this room. They were saying, 'What can be the meaning of it? Why do those who sleep there always die?'

When ʿAzīz ʿAzūn heard what they said, he told them, 'I will go into this matter and find out the cause. I will enter the room myself and sleep there and see what it can be.'

The *ganzowra* said 'We cannot allow it! It is dangerous. We will not permit you to go there for, without doubt, you will die like the rest. It cannot be!'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said, 'No, no! I must go, and you will see that good will result from my visit to the room.'

Now he was very skilled in the matter of exorcism. He took his bedding and went into the garden and, furnishing himself with six candles, each of which would live twelve hours, and putting on his finger a *skandola* (p. 36), he entered the room two hours before sunset. The river ran round the garden, it was a beautiful place! It was the hour of prayer, and he put on his *rasta*, entered the river, and made his soul very pure with ablutions and prayers, so that if by chance death should overtake him, he would be purified and ready to die. A good Ṣubbi must wear his *rasta* and purify himself when he approaches death.

But, with all that, he was not afraid, not afraid at all. When the *ganzowra* remonstrated with him and would have persuaded him against staying, he replied, 'I like such things! I go into such adventures gladly, and you will see that good will result from my coming here.'

The *ganzowra* left him, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn remained alone in the room. He kindled a candle and waited. Till midnight he remained sitting there and saw nothing. A fresh breeze blew in and he felt tired and inclined to sleep. But, at about eight of the night, he saw eyes, like fires in the corner of the room, and a creature like an animal. He kindled a second candle. Quickly the creature moved, and as it moved, sounds like *wāk*! *c̲h̲āk*! came from its throat. 'Azīz 'Azūn said to it, 'What are you?' The creature answered, 'And what are you? Why are you sleeping in this garden? I shall kill you!'

'Azīz 'Azūn rejoined, 'And I shall kill you!' and he rose and stood between the two lit candles and made an incantation around himself which the creature could not cross. Then he spoke again to it, saying, 'Why do you come here into the *ganzowra*'s garden, into a place frequented by the Naṣurai, *tarmidi*, and Mandai? Why do you come to this place of prayer and flowers and sweetness, this garden shaded by trees and surrounded by water? Why do you come here?'

The *s̲h̲iviahi* replied, 'I have been here from ancient times, and live here with my father and mother and family. I do not harm your people, for I do not touch good people; but if a thief comes in to steal, I know it and strangle him. No man would enter this garden by night for a good purpose, and so, when I find a man sleeping here at night, I strangle him!'

'Azīz 'Azūn laughed and said, 'You seem to be an excellent guardian of the *ganzowra*'s property! I will go to the *ganzowra* and tell him that you are protecting him and keeping away robbers!'

Now 'Azīz 'Azūn had an exorcism, a spell against evil spirits. (My father procured it from him and engraved the spell on silver armlets for my mother to protect her from evil spirits. This spell gladdens the heart also.) 'Azīz 'Azūn had in mind to read this exorcism, but the goblin said to him, 'Why are you purposing to read a spell against us? I and my fathers have been here since the earliest times! Are you going to force us to leave this place where we have dwelt so long? I guard it and harm none but evil-doers. Shame! Of your favour, let my father, my brothers, and the rest of my family enter the room so that they may speak with you!'

'Azīz 'Azūn replied, 'I should like to see them. Let them come! We are friends now, and I will not harm them!'

The *shiviahi's* father entered first and saluted 'Azīz 'Azūn, saying to him in the Mandaean tongue, '*Shloma illakh*!' (Peace to you!) 'Azīz 'Azūn answered, '*Haiyat athet*!' (May life come). The old father sat and the *shiviahi*'s two wives and his mother, their children, and all the family, entered the room. They were like men, but small. Their height was about a foot from the ground. I can tell you exactly because, lady, I have seen one with my own eyes. (*He interpolated his experience, omitted here.*) Thus are the *shiviahi*,[1] but the *melki* are the size of men and white and shining. I have seen *melki*, too, for the power is in our family. My father had it, but only I amongst my father's sons have the gift.

'Azīz 'Azūn said to them, 'I do not intend to read upon (i.e. exorcise) you, or in any way harm you; but, before I depart hence and leave you in peace, I have something to ask of you. If you will help me, good! but if not, I shall not suffer you or your family to remain in this place!'

The goblin's father said, 'Talk with me! I am old and grey and I will tell you everything.'

Said 'Azīz 'Azūn, 'In Shuster there is a house and garden. It is a very clean place and in the garden there are dates and banana-trees. Its owner was a *darwīsh*, but he disappeared and no one knew what became of him, so it became the property of the Government. And when any one wishes to rent it and sits in it, he perceives noises. The plates rattle, the furniture knocks, and the water splashes. So all who wish to live there flee away and no one can remain. The *darwīsh* was a good and learned man and the Government took the house because he had no relatives. Tell me, what is the cause of those noises, of that tumult, and that shaking?'

The old *shiviahi* replied, 'That is the spirit of the *darwīsh*. His neighbours killed him and stole his clothes and money and buried him in the garden. It is his spirit that raps and wishes to speak to people.'[2]

'Azīz 'Azūn said, 'I am obliged to you!'

The old *shiviahi* said to him, 'If you wish to verify this, go to the place. You are a Naṣurai and have the power of subduing evil influences and conversing with spirits and no harm can befall you. This *darwīsh* wishes to speak to some one by means of rapping.'

'Azīz 'Azūn was delighted to have a fresh piece of work!

When it was morning the *ganzowra* came to see if he were alive and knocked at the door.

'Azīz 'Azūn answered, '*Ha*!'

The *ganzowra* said, 'You are still living!'

Replied 'Azīz 'Azūn, 'Aye and very happy!' and he issued and bade them all peace and told them all that had happened.

The *ganzowra* said, 'I will give the *shiviahi* of my food. He is a good watchman, and he and his family shall eat of our victuals.'

Then 'Azīz 'Azūn wished them farewell and went back to Shuster.

As regards the *darwīsh*'s house which was a little outside Shuster, in the *chol*, whoever wished to rent it had to go to the *ḥākim* for it was Government property. So 'Azīz 'Azūn went to the *ḥākim* and said, 'I should like to rent that house.'

The *ḥākim* replied, 'Go there! I will give it to you without rent, for no one who takes it remains there!'

'Azīz 'Azūn took his furniture and his wife (who also was not afraid), and they went and put their bedding and carpets and other belongings in the house. There was a pretty garden, the air was pure and there were trees: in short, it was a good garden and house. Before night came, 'Azīz 'Azūn said to his wife, 'For the first two hours of the night I will sleep whilst you watch, if you are not afraid!'

She said, 'I am not afraid; I want to see what will happen!' for both were people of knowledge, and people of knowledge are afraid of nothing.

He slept (ʿAzīz ʿAzūn), and his wife remained sitting up. At four hours of the night there had been no noise, and, as she was sleepy and wished to sleep, she said to her husband: 'Rise, ʿAzīz ʿAzūn! *Qom, yahum*! (Rise, wake!) He sat up and said, 'What did you see?'

She answered, 'There was no noise, there was absolutely nothing at all!'

Then he sat up and watched while she slept. He sat there till eight of the night, and then a brass basin on the table began to knock against it. ʿAzīz ʿAzūn said, 'If you are a *melek* (spirit) talk to me by rapping (*bi daqq*) and if a *s̲h̲iviahi* talk to me in raps, and if (the spirit) of a man, also talk to me in raps.'

We have a book called the Asfar Malwas̲h̲a (p. 25) and in it there is information of a *tirk̲h̲āna*, a kind of alphabet: one stroke means 'aleph', two 'ba', and so on, enabling a person to talk by means of these strokes, or knocks. ʿAzīz ʿAzūn knew this form of counting (*ḥasāb*) from the Asfar Malwas̲h̲a and so was able to understand when the spirit began to talk with him in raps.

It said: 'I am such-and-such a *darwīs̲h̲*, of the people of the Sunset (Moors). Those who killed me were three, my neighbours So-and-So, So-and-So, and So-and-So. They buried me in the garden near the large olive-tree.'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn wrote it all down.

The spirit continued, 'I wish your honour to go to the *ḥākim* and tell him that the *darwīs̲h̲* So-and-So was murdered by his neighbours So-and-So and let him give justice.'

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn replied, 'I will do so gladly. I will go today to the *ḥākim* and will make vengeance.'

Said the ghost, 'When you have caused justice to be done, whatever you desire to know, I will inform you.'

Said ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, 'I am grateful. Let morning come and I will go and get justice done.'

Morning came, and it was dawn and the *darwīs̲h̲* rapped, 'In the keeping of God!' and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn bade him farewell.

His wife awoke from sleep and asked him what he had seen.

He answered, 'I saw him, and we shall profit very much by his knowledge!' She rejoiced and was very happy.

ʿAzīz ʿAzūn went to the *ganzowra* of S̲h̲uster and said, 'I have seen a man, a *darwīs̲h̲*. Did your honour know the *darwīs̲h̲* who lived in that house?'

The *ganzowra* said, 'Aye, he was a very good man, constantly engaged in piety, and prayed to God at every meal-time. He dressed in white.'

Then ʿAzīz ʿAzūn told him all and the *ganzowra* went with him to the *ḥākim* and they went to the *ḥaqq*, the law- courts.

They saluted the *ḥākim*, who was pleased to see the *ganzowra*, whom he liked very much. The *ḥākim* said to the *ganzowra*, "*ʿAmr jinābak!* What does your reverence command? Seldom do you come here; I see little of you!'

The *ganzowra* said, 'There is a strange matter in hand.'

Said the other, 'What is it? Of what shape?'

The *ganzowra* said, 'In that old *ḥōs̲h̲* which belonged to the *darwīs̲h̲*! He was killed by such and such men who buried him beneath an olive-tree in the garden. No doubt, your honour will see justice done.'

The *ḥākim* said, 'How do you know that these men murdered him?'

He answered, "Azīz ʿAzūn, who took the house from your honour, went there last night, and conversed with the spirit of the *darwīs̲h̲* by means of raps.'

And a learned man, a Seyyid, who was sitting with the *ḥākim*, said, 'Without doubt, the Ṣubba make useful researches and turn knowledge to account.'

The *ḥākim* said, 'I will make complete justice upon them and we will see the result.' He sent for the three men and said to them, 'Why did you kill that *darwīs̲h̲*?'

They said, '*La*! *k̲h̲eyr*! No indeed! We did not! We did nothing!'

He said, 'It will be better for you to tell the truth. If you do not, I will beat you to death!' and his people seized the three men and tied them up to beat them.

They still denied. The *ḥākim* looked in the face of one of them and saw that he was afraid. He took him and said, 'Beat him! Make him speak!' They brought a bundle of pomegranate twigs and began to beat him, saying, 'If you won't talk, you shall die!'

He said, 'Don't kill me! I and those two, we murdered him!'

They said, 'Where did you bury him?'

He answered, 'We buried him in the garden, under the olive-tree.'

They asked him, 'What did you hide of his belongings?'

Said he, 'We took one thousand *laibi* (gold coins).'

They said, 'What else?'

He said, 'We took a brass *sarāj* (a basin for oil) with writing upon it.'

Said they, 'Go and bring it!' The three went and brought back the money and the *sarāj*. The *ḥākim* was delighted and said, 'Now we will go and see where the *darwīsh* is buried, for this is a very strange thing!'

All went to the garden; the *ḥākim*, the three men, the *ganzowra*, ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, and some soldiers.

They dug beneath the olive-tree and they found the strangled man. But there was no smell of decay about the body[3] and it was not stiff, but flexible. They were greatly astonished at its condition and took it to the *doctorīya* and people of learning, who said, 'There must be life in it as it does not stink.'

He was dead, however, and the *ṭabīb* (physician) took it to his house and put it in a coffin in his room, and all who visited it were cured. If a barren woman approached it, she had a child. This marvellous occurrence was of God. One man stole an arm from the corpse and sold it for much money, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn cut off the other arm and kept it. The corpse of that *darwīsh* was like a doctor itself, for it worked cures.

The arm that ʿAzīz ʿAzūn took he kept in his house and received much money from people who came to visit it. One miracle was this: a woman who had seven ugly daughters came to him. The girls were so hideous that no one would marry them, but, after she had visited the arm, within a week their mother married all seven of them!

NOTES ON XV

1. *S̱hiviahi.* See p. 254. These, in modern days, are equivalent to fairy folk, goblins, and are not always evil.

2. This method of conversing with the dead and spirits seems to be very ancient. It is not used, however, by Arabs. Hirmiz had never heard that similar methods are used in the West, for Occidentals are thought to be too materialistic for such practices.

3. If the process of decay in a dead body is arrested, it is taken to be miraculous and the body is used in magic. I saw at S̲h̲uweir, in the Lebanon, the corpse of a bishop, who, having died of a tissue affection, was said to have been mummified by some natural process. It was taken to be a sign of his sanctity and he was placed in an open coffin, so that the afflicted might touch him and be healed. However, the pilgrims were not content with permission to touch, and so many pinches of flesh were nipped from the face that the corpse became unsightly, and, when it had been covered with a cloth, a glass top was placed over the coffin. It is still exposed.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVI. THE PLAGUE IN S̲H̲USTER

I TOLD you of that *darwīs̲h̲* whose pulse continued to beat although he was a corpse, that *darwīs̲h̲* whose spirit talked with ʿAzīz ʿAzūn in raps. Well, the *ganzowra* of S̲h̲uster had knowledge—more knowledge than ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, although that one was valiant, very valiant!

At the time the plague came to S̲h̲uster the *ganzowra* went to ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, and said, 'I wish to speak to the *darwīs̲h̲*,' for the *darwīs̲h̲* continued to communicate through rappings in that house; every night he came at about six of the night. And the *ganzowra* said to ʿAzīz ʿAzūn, 'When the spirit comes, send for me.' At six of the night the *darwīs̲h̲* began to rap, and ʿAzīz ʿAzūn sent word to the *ganzowra* who was waiting and slept not.

When the *ganzowra* arrived, the spirit began to knock and said, 'Why have you not been speaking with me, *ganzowra*?'

The *ganzowra* replied, 'I could not come to speak with you before I had permission to do so from Sin,[1] who is lord of the night.' (As you know, Sin is not merely light, but rules the night, he and those with him. But the *ganzowra* had knowledge enough to talk with Shamish, the sun—see, lady, what power and knowledge they have! Yes, the *ganzowra* had spoken with Shamish from whom Sin derives his power, and when a king gives permission, his minister gives permission also!)[2] Then the *ganzowra* said to the *darwīsh*, 'From whence comes this affliction?' for the reason he had sought permission from Shamish to converse with the spirit was that he was grieved about the coming of the plague to Shuster.

The *darwīsh* answered him, 'It is Pthahil's work, through his soldiers, the *shiviahi*. The *shiviahi* are sent to work this evil, led by one under the jurisdiction of Pthahil.'

Then, as the *ganzowra* had permission to talk with spirits of the dark worlds, the *darwīsh* went from him and returned with the *shiviahi* leader, set over the rest by Pthahil. That *shiviahi*, when he heard that a man wished to speak to him, was surprised and exclaimed, 'How! A man knows our secrets? What knowledge and understanding he must have!' They both came, and were visible to the eyes of the *ganzowra*, for there was a certain light about them though their substance was air. The *ganzowra* talked with the captain of the *shiviahi* and the *shiviahi* saluted him, saying, '*Shloma illakh, ya rabbey*!' The *ganzowra* returned the salutation saying, '*Shloma illakh wa shlāma rabba*! *Ka afiakh hena*?' asking him what it was that he and his tribe were sent to do in Shuster.

The *shiviahi* replied, 'Pthahil sent us hither to strike down the people of Shuster and take their souls.'

In truth, many were dying: as many as six hundred souls or more. Many houses had nothing but dead in them!

The *ganzowra* said to him, 'Have pity on the Naṣurai and the Mandai: it is a sin to take them thus!'

The *shiviahi* replied, 'I have no power over such matters:

I take my orders from Pthahil, and it is not in my hand. But for your sake and the sake of Shamish, I will spare your people when I know they are yours. But they must remain in their houses and not go out and plunder the dead, or take money from the living.'[3] He said this because many Ṣubba went into the houses of the dead and took their gold and their property. The *shiviahi* said to the *ganzowra* further, 'There must be this sign, so that my soldiers know which are the Mandai and which are not. Let the Mandai remain in their houses and not go forth; above all, let them not enter the houses of the dead. Then we will not strike them.'

The next day the *ganzowra* bade the Mandai to remain in their houses and not to enter the houses of others, or take the money of others. He said to them, 'Show not your faces before the *shiviahi*.'

How wise the *ganzowra* was! The *ganzivri* of to-day have not this knowledge, for the Naṣurai buried their books that they might save them. But mere reading is not everything, and there are those amongst us who still have knowledge. My father used to say, 'To him who seeks knowledge continually, knowledge and certainty will come gladly, and his thought becomes enlightened.'

The Mandai of Shuster obeyed the words of the *ganzowra* for three weeks, and the plague amongst them was abated. After that time, some of them went out and began to take money from others and rob the corpses of those who had died from the plague. Then all were struck again. When the *ganzowra* saw that, he took his relatives and those who had obeyed him and went away to a place far from Shuster, where there were gardens, trees, and water. There he and his family and their friends dwelt together and he made a *mandi* (cult-hut, see p. 124) in his garden in which he conversed with spirits. Like a light they appeared before him. He called one to him and said to him, 'I wish to speak to such and such a *shiviahi*.' The spirit went and brought the captain of the *shiviahi* to whom he had spoken in 'Azīz 'Azūn's house, and the *ganzowra* said to him, 'Why were the Mandai struck with plague again?'

The *shiviahi* replied, 'I and my people did not strike them, but others came from the Melka ad eHshukha (King of Darkness) and how could they distinguish the Mandai from the rest of the people? Had they remained in their houses, and not gone forth to plunder the dead, they would not have been struck down. All is not in our hands—we take commands from Pthahil and he from Shamish, and Shamish from those above, and those from spirits higher still: each spirit obeys that set in authority over it and may not question the orders given to it.'

The *ganzowra* was troubled and said, 'When I am gone, who will be able to talk with the realms of light and guide my people?'

Then he set down an incantation which he had learnt from the *melki*. When this incantation is read over salt and the salt is sprinkled about a house, the *shiviahi*, the *ṭantal*s, and *mikrobāt* will depart from it. But at the time of the sprinkling all the inmates of the house must be clean and purify themselves. The *ganzowra* gave it to the Mandai so that they might sprinkle their houses with salt[4] and keep evil away.

And the meaning of the haunting of the *darwīsh* was this: if a soul has not learnt its way to God, it wanders.

NOTES ON XVI

1. *Sin.* Pronounced Sén. 'Those with him' are the light-*ʿuthri*; see p. 76.

2. I interrupted Hirmiz here to ask how the *ganzibra* talked with the sun-god. He replied, 'The *ganzowra* went into the wilderness (*chol*), to a place remote and desolate and to which no one came. He made himself pure with many purifications and his clothes were white. He made himself pure within as well as without and he had an invocation (lit. reading) and he recited it. Then, in his thoughts, he heard a voice speaking: it was as if a voice were speaking in his head. The *ganzowra* said to it, 'I should like to have permission to converse with the *darwīsh*', and Shamish gave him the permission to speak, not only with him but with any other spirits in the material world or in Maṭaratha. But he did not give him permission to communicate with those in the realms of light.'

3. Rich describes how, during an epidemic of plague in Baghdad, thieves robbed the dead and dying of their valuables. This story recalls the

death of the firstborn in Egypt and the wise order that kept Hebrews in their houses, avoiding infection.

4. *Salt* (see note 2, next chapter), is evidently used as a disinfectant and destroyer of vermin which convey disease. Salt sprinkled on bedclothes discourages bugs and may possibly have an effect on lice. The whole Mandaean system shows considerable knowledge of the arts of healing. The importance of health and healing is a vital part of the teaching, just as it was of that of the followers of Pythagoras, of the Essenes, of the Therapeutae of Egypt, and to judge from the New Testament, of the early Christians. The Therapeutae appeared in pre-Christian times in Egypt, and lend colour to the assertion of the Mandaeans that there were Naṣurai formerly amongst the Copts. The late Babylonian cult of Ea and Marduk was a cult of healing.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVII. THE STONE-THROWING

We had neighbours called Dhahaina, and in their *ḥōsh* (courtyard) they had a large *nabga* (*nabqa*, lote-tree).[1] Whilst they sat and ate in their yard, stones were thrown on them from above. They rose affrighted and called to the neighbours, 'Who threw stones at us?' The neighbours replied, 'We threw no stones! How could we throw stones on you?'

That night when they were asleep and the world was dark, stones were again thrown on them. All cried out in alarm, men, women, and children. Houses with high walls surrounded them, so that stones could not have been flung in from the street. They concluded that the stones must have come from the lote-tree. They called in Shaikh Joda and said to him, 'Can you exorcise this so that it departs from amongst us?'

Shaikh Joda advised them to take a palm-branch and cut it with a knife near the tree, for when evil spirits see iron, they fear and depart. They did this, but it was of no avail. The flinging of stones increased. They hid and watched, but never saw any cause of it.

Now my father had a writing, a charm which he used to read over salt[2] for exorcism, and with it he exorcised evil enchanted places such as this, for he was a Naṣurai.

I went and told them, 'I will read my father's charm over salt and bring it and sprinkle it for you.'

In the night I rose and went into the river wearing my *rasta* and read the charm over salt; then I sprinkled salt in their place all round the tree. I returned to my own house and slept with my family on the terrace (*ṭarma*), for it was summer. There was a room built between our house and Zahrun's (the narrator's brother), and it was entered from below: there was no stairway from the roof to it, or means of reaching the roof, for the walls were high and smooth and no animal could leap on to it. We had a habit of throwing rubbish on to the roof of this room so that it might be out of the way.

And from this roof that night it pelted bottles and old rags and shoes and rubbish! We rose and fled into S͟haik͟h Joda's house, where they laughed at us, saying, 'Why did you not sprinkle the salt in your own courtyard, then you would not have been troubled!' We could sleep no more that night, but read spells and brought more salt and sprinkled it about our place.

There is a certain Ṣubbi of the name of Miadi son of Baroni, a very ancient man. His age at that time was about one hundred and thirty years, and yet he was strong, eating, seeing, and hearing well—a good old age![3] His house was distant from ours by about twenty *ḥōs͟h* (houses). They began to stone him and his family as they had stoned us. A stone struck his wife's shoulder and some stones fell on his son. He came to us and said, 'Give us salt and come and sprinkle it in our house', for all knew about my father's spell, and how he used to bless salt for exorcism, after purifications in the river, wearing his *rasta* and his *skandola*. Salt so blessed is good against satans, evil spirits, *mikrobāt*,[4] and all wicked creatures.

When my people heard the request they said to me, 'Do not give him salt! The last time you gave it, the spirits were angry and pelted us! Do not give it!'

I refused him the salt. Then he and his family fled from his house, leaving it empty, taking their furniture and gear away; and none, Islām or Ṣubba, dared enter it.

But they let the woodshed to a Mosulāwi, who slept there to take care of his wood. The first night he slept there it rained stones and wood on him all night, falling, not so as to injure him, but so as to affright him. He was constantly stoned, day and night, and at last came to the Ṣubba, crying out, '*Dakhīl*! (Protection!) O Ṣubba, what is this? what is wrong with your house?' They soothed him saying, 'Why are you afraid? You are a man, be not afraid of a few falling stones! There is nothing wrong with the house!'

He went back and sat in the courtyard. It was night and the moon was full and the weather was hot. He cooked his food, rice, meat, and so forth, with his own hand, and sat to eat his meal in the open. It was dark in the courtyard and as he sat, he saw a white cat before him. It became big, and the man said to himself, '*Shinu hāi*? What can this be?' He looked, and it became as big as a dog. His heart began to fear. It became very tall and he could endure it no longer but began to shriek, 'Come to me! *Dakhīl*, *dakhīl*!' The Ṣubba sleeping on the roofs[5] around cried out to him, 'Fear not, fear not!' When he heard their voices he seized courage to move, and fled forth to the neighbours, trembling and mad with fright. The Ṣubba tried to calm him, saying, 'Why are you thus?' while he said, 'What is it in the Ṣubbi's house? Why did they not tell me?'

In the morning he got a man to go to the woodshed and take out his wood, and he sold it all cheaply. He would not return himself, for he was afraid of the place. After that, he left Amarah and went back to his *wilāyat*. And from that time, if people in Mosul, to plague him, called after him, 'The *ṭantal* has come!'[6] he trembled and gazed behind him and feared.

Yes, that stone-throwing was not the work of a man, *mu shoghl admi*!'

NOTES ON XVII

1. The *nabga* or *nabqa*, called the *sidr* or *sidra* in Lower Iraq and Egypt (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*), a thorny, evergreen tree which bears a small, edible, apple-like fruit, holds a unique place amongst the trees of Iraq. While little, or no, reverence is paid by Iraqis to the date-palm, so

essential to life in Iraq, great honour is paid to the *nabqa*. The dead are washed by S̲h̲īʿas with an infusion of *nabqa* leaves, and it is considered disastrous if a *nabqa* tree is torn down or uprooted. The man who cuts down a *nabqa* falls ill and dies. The tree is supposed to groan if cut, and its sap, red like blood, confirms the idea of its semi-human life. Women often visit a *nabqa* (Tuesday evening being the proper time), and kindle four fires of straw under the tree, sprinkling incense on the embers. They then go away, leaving four candles burning by the ashes of the fire. I have witnessed this several times, and, on questioning the pilgrim to the tree, elicited that the magic ceremony was to heal a sick relative. Green rags are tied to *nabqa*s, and sometimes offerings of food placed by them. At Qurna a *nabqa* was known to Arabs as the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' and by others as the 'Tree of Life', for Eden is popularly supposed to have been situated at this spot where the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, meet. This tree was injured by sight-seeing soldiers during the War, and was protected by a wall by the British authorities. It has since been cut down. Tradition is that an older *nabqa* stood in the same place. It is possible that the local inhabitants attached no special importance to this tree, but that English visitors, asking for the 'Tree of Life' in the supposed Garden of Eden, were shown a *nabqa*, which is thought to have life-giving properties.

2. See XVI, note 4. Salt has been employed in Iraq for exorcism since the earliest times. On account of its whiteness and preservative qualities it is associated with life and the soul. The Arabic *melḥ*, the Babylonian *ṭabtu* have both a double meaning of goodness and wholesomeness. Babylonians believed that the god En-lil ordained salt (*ṭabtu*) 'as the food of the great gods, without which no god, king, master, and prince smells the fragrance (of cooked food)'. Salt is eaten with most ritual meals (see Chapter XII) of the Mandaeans, and is mixed with the white flour of the *pihtha*, or sacramental bread (as in the Babylonian sacramental bread). 'The mystery of salt is the soul', says the Dras̲h̲a d̲ Yahya. When inscribed bowls were buried at the threshold of a dead Mandaean's house so that the *s̲h̲iviahi* might be kept from the household, a little salt was placed between them.

3. Making due allowance for exaggeration, it is true that the Ṣubba attain patriarchal age.

4. Here the microbe has been translated into a kind of evil spirit, a procedure entirely in accordance with ancient Babylonian conceptions (see *Semitic Magic*, by R. Campbell Thompson, pp. 96 ff.)

5. In summer it is customary to sleep on the roof-top or terrace.

6. *Ṭantal*. Of course an Arab, not a Mandaean term; the evil spirit to the Mandaean would be a *s̲h̲iviahi*. The *ṭantal* is a kind of Poltergeist which usually appears in some tall shape (hence the name, which means tall). An Englishwoman tells me that her servants came to her with the story that there was a *s̲h̲aiṭān* or *ṭantal* in a small brick room used for storing coal, and that when they went to get coal, it threw stones at them. The panic grew until they were afraid to enter the yard after dark. The *s̲h̲aiṭān* was said to appear holding its head, and when my friend questioned a servant who

professed to have seen it, the man replied that it was tall and wore evening clothes 'like Sahib!' Eventually it was laid, on the advice of one skilled in exorcism, by sprinkling salt outside each door in the compound and house.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XVIII. THE KAFTĀR

We Ṣubba say that there is an ogress that lives in the hills, called the *kaftār*. She is hairy like an animal but is made in the shape of a woman, and wears an '*abā*' (cloak). When the moon is half-full in the sky, the *kaftār* comes and seeks to play tricks on mankind. She is clever and learns languages very quickly. How does she acquire them? She listens at the doors of houses and learns the languages that she hears spoken by those who dwell in them, Persians, Arabs, Mandaeans, and others.[1]

This is a favourite trick of the *kaftār*. She comes and knocks at the door of a woman before it is light, saying, 'Come! it is dawn, let us go and milk!' (for the women go together to milk the herds at dawn of day). Then she takes those who follow her, not upon the road of milk (i.e. the way to the flocks), but to another place, misleading them, and, if they object, saying 'But this is not the way!', she cries, 'Come, come!' When they have reached a mountainous place, she throws them down from a height and breaks their bones.

The *kaftār* once came to Sālim's grandmother and knocked at her door. It was when they lived in S̲h̲uster. The *kaftār* came, and knocking without, cried to her, 'Bibi, Bibi!' Her husband had warned Bibi against the *kaftār*, so she was not afraid, but answered, 'Ha! who is it?' The *kaftār* said, 'Rise! We will go and get milk!' Bibi remained where she was, for she saw it was moonlight and not dawn, and guessed it was a *kaftār* who summoned her. So she cried, 'Wait, and I will come!' She put a *skandola* on her finger (p. 37) and took a large needle[2] in her hand, and began to open the door. The *kaftār* cried out, 'What have you in your hand?'

Said Bibi, 'Wait, don't be afraid!' but by the time she had unhasped the door the creature had fled.

NOTES ON XVIII

1. Demons are supposed to be good linguists. Cf. Ginza Rba, book xii, 6th frag., rt.: 'The King of Darkness knows all speeches of the world.'

2. Steel as well as iron, is feared by demons.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XIX. BIBI'S SONS AND THEIR STRANGE ADVENTURE

In Shuster, when the weather is hot, they live in the *sarādīb* (*sirdāb* = cellar or basement).[1] Each Ṣubbi house there has its courtyard in which the cattle are milked, and a *sirdāb*, a room lower than the ground in which the inmates live during the hot hours of the day. Bibi, of whom I have already told you, was a friend of ours, and she told me this story, which happened to her in Shuster.

One day she went into the *sirdāb* and in it she saw a female spirit, a *melka*. It called to her, 'Do not cry out! Fear not, I will not harm you!' But her heart was afraid and she ran out and went to the *ganzowra* and said, 'Thus it is!' and told him that she had seen a *melka* in her *sirdāb*. He said to her, 'There is no harm in her, let her be! Speak with her and do not be afraid!'

So Bibi returned to her house and went down into the *sirdāb*, and there was the *melka*, the *jinnīyah̤*. Bibi began to speak with her and asked her, 'Who are you, and what is your business?'

The *melka* answered, 'Our people spin and weave.'

Asked Bibi, 'Where is your abode?'

The *melka* replied, 'We live down the river, in a hill. When your sons go fishing, let them come to us one night and visit us: we will do them no harm.'

Now Bibi's lads used to go fishing in the river on summer nights, and when they heard what the *melka* had said, they exclaimed, 'Come, let us go to the *jānn* and see what they are like!'

They took four boys, their relatives, with them, and their fishing-net (*sellīyah̤*),[2] and set off in the night. They went far down the river and came to a hill, where they heard a noise and saw a light. They went nearer and they saw creatures who were just like the children of Adam except that they were little. Yes, they were of all kinds, men, women, and children, white and black, like the children of Adam. They sat beside them and amused themselves and talked with them. Then the *jānn* asked, 'Shall we make you food?' They replied, 'We do not eat your food[3] and presently we shall return to our own supper, which is in a basket at home, waiting for us.'

These people said, 'Nay! eat with us! We will bring your food hither!' They answered, 'Aye, bring it hither, that will be better.'

Some of the *jānn* went away and a moment afterwards, there was their own food, on their own plates, set before them! They ate, and the *jānn* bade them put the plates into their bosoms when they had finished, and this they did. Then they departed, intending to fish in the river and to return to their houses. They began to fish, but, after a little, they saw a man standing on the bank. They asked him, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'I am a fisherman!' They looked at him, and thought he did not look entirely like a human being. He said to them, 'Come! fish with me and we will be partners, for there are plenty of fish here!'

They said to him, 'You have no net—how can you fish?'

He answered, 'There is no need of a net—I will seize them!'

They threw their net and gazed at him, for he was becoming larger. He became very tall, and in one moment he had become so big that he stood with one foot on the bank and the other in the middle of the river. Then he bent and gathered the fish into his two hands; *biz*,[4] *kōsaj* (shark), *gaṭān*, *jarag*, *ragga* (turtle), *bunni*, *s̲h̲abbuṭ*, *jirriy*, every kind of fish! He caught them in his two hands and threw them on the shore. The lads cried, 'Why should we cast our nets? This one catches fish in abundance without a net!' And they cried to him, 'Catch us fish!' And the man dredged up the fish with his hands and made them into heaps, each fish according to its species, but the good fish he caused to look very small, while the poor fish and uneatable he caused to look very big. Then he called to them, '*Tafaḍḍalū*! Be pleased to choose—here are heaps of fish, let us make a division!'

They looked and said, 'This is no fair division!' but they were now afraid of him, because he looked like a *ṭantal*. They said, 'It cannot be thus!' and stooped to alter the heaps of fish. Then he seized their testicles and wrought them harm and shame. They cried, 'Take all the fish and let us go!' but he answered, 'It cannot be, you must take your fair share!' They remained so till morning; he forcing them to divide the fish and treating them shamefully.

Bibi in her house said, 'I must go to see what is keeping the lads so long. Perhaps mischief is afoot!'

She took a large needle and stuck it into her *fūṭah* (head-kerchief), and, taking a *chamagh*[5] (stick) she began to walk down the river, calling them by their names. Ḥaddād, her eldest son, called to her when she was near them, 'We are here! the *ṭantal* has us!'

Bibi answered, 'I know what to do—wait for me!'

The *ṭantal* heard her and looked in the direction of her voice.

Bibi cried to the *ṭantal* 'I will run this needle into your testicles!'

He was afraid, and when he saw that she was near, he plunged into the river and disappeared.

The lads told their mother, 'From four hours of the night until ten hours of the night he afflicted us and wrought us harm!'

Then they took the good fish and went home, leaving the uneatable fish on the river bank. When they entered the house, they threw down the fish and said to their mother, 'Give us food, we are very hungry!'

She went to the basket where the food for their supper had been, but it was empty, and their plates were not there.

She was astonished and cried, 'The food and plates are gone and yet no robber could have been here!'

They said to her, 'Do not be afraid! Our food was brought to us by the *jānn*!' and they drew the plates out from their bosoms, and told her what had happened.

The next day Bibi went to the *ganzowra* and told him. He was very much amused, and said to her, 'If that *melka* comes again to the *sirdāb*, ask her for something of theirs, so that, when a woman is in childbirth, the gift may protect her from harm.'

Bibi returned home, and when one day she entered the *sirdāb* and saw the *melka* there, she said to her, 'Give me something of yours!' The *melka* answered, 'I will give you my ladle,'[6] and she gave it, saying, 'Put this beside a woman in childbirth and evil spirits will not harm her for they will know that it is my token.'

Bibi preserved the ladle for the use of her family and friends, and my daughter has it to-day.

NOTES ON XIX

1. Most houses in Iraq possess such cellars, and the family migrates down into them during the hot weather. *Jānn* are commonly supposed to haunt underground chambers.

2. *Sellīyaḥ*. A circular fishing-net with a drawstring, much used on the Tigris and marshes.

3. A person who eats of the food of the *jānn* is rarely permitted to return, but remains amongst them always.

4. All these are fish commonly found in the Tigris and Euphrates.

5. *Chamāgh*. A short rough stick carried by *fellāḥīn* and tribesmen. It is not used for walking, but for driving cattle and for self-defence. It is thick at one end, which is often plastered with pitch.

6. *Mess*. A perforated flat ladle for lifting rice from the pot, usually of iron. Women in childbirth are peculiarly susceptible to attack by *shiviahi* because of their unclean condition.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XX. SHAIKH ZIBID

SHAIKH ZIBID was a very learned man, of much knowledge, and he was fond of animals, and liked going out into the *chōl* (country, desert). He used a snare (*nosha*) to catch birds and ducks. But he noticed that when a *khudhairī*,[1] a green bird with a bill like a duck, descended into the snare, all the other birds fled away and only the *khudhairī* remained to eat. It was always like that—whenever this bird appeared the others flew away. So, when Shaikh Zibid wanted to catch birds, he tried to frighten this bird away. But he wondered why this should be, and one day when the *khudhairī*, which he nicknamed Mas'ūd, came into the snare and the other birds flew away, he pulled the rope, the snare closed, and the *khudhairī* was caught. The bird tore the netting of the snare, flew to Shaikh Zibid, struck him and hurt him. Shaikh Zibid called out, 'Why, Mas'ūd, why?'

He went to the *ganzowra* Shaikh Damūk, father of Shaikh Joda, and told him what had happened, saying, 'I cannot understand how the bird had the strength to tear the net, for it was thick strong netting!' The *ganzowra* said to him, 'That was no bird, it was a *melka*. Next time you see it, do not anger it, but speak politely to it, saying, "Mas'ūd! I want to catch birds for food, that my family may eat!"'

Shaikh Zibid went to the *chōl* again and set the snare and soon saw the bird again. He began to talk to the bird while it was yet far off, saying, 'Mas'ūd! I beseech you, permit birds to come, so that I may catch *khudhairī*, *hudhud*, *koshar*, *bilbish*![2] I ask this favour from you and will neither hurt nor seize you any more!'

Now the 'Arab had four or five snares set in that place. The bird Mas'ūd went to the snares of the 'Arab and drove the birds away from their snares and into that of Shaikh Zibid. He flew before them, as a shepherd leading his sheep, and brought them into Shaikh Zibid's snare, and he with them. Shaikh Zibid seized the birds, but let the other go free, saying, 'Pardon, Mas'ūd! Deign to depart! Thanks, Mas'ūd, well done!'

Every day he caught birds, and when they asked him how it was that he caught so many, he replied, 'Mas'ūd brought them to me!' He used to give some of the birds to my grandfather and my relatives there.

One day Shaikh Zibid and one Fayyādh, a Ṣubbi, were walking in the *chōl*. The weather was fine and it was night, with a moon. Fayyādh thought he saw a white hare moving before them, hither and thither, and presently he stooped and seized the hare and put it in his bosom, saying, 'I will take this to my son'.

They walked on, for the weather was very pleasant and they were out to enjoy themselves. Presently Fayyādh thought he heard some one calling him by name from far away, '*Yā Fayyādh*! *Yā Fayyādh*!' He looked in every direction, but saw no one, nothing! When they walked on, it began again, '*Yā*! *Fayyādh*! *Yā Fayyādh*!' They stopped. No one! Nothing! Once, twice, thrice they heard this calling and by now it was near dawn. Shaikh Zibid began to laugh about it, and Fayyādh drew out the white hare to look at it, and holding it in his hands, he asked playfully, 'Who cries "Fayyādh"?'

She replied, 'I, my uncle! You are my uncle!'[3]

Startled, he threw the hare to the ground and fled away, running. Shaikh Zibid did not run away: he followed the hare and picked her up and began to talk with her, saying, 'Please, what are you? Of what kind and species? *Jinnī*, *melka*, what are you?'

She answered, 'I am a daughter of the king of the *jānn*, and one of our slaves, in the shape of a wolf[4] is seeking to do me harm, and I come to you for protection.' For, if a wolf makes water upon a *jinnī* no matter what shape the *jinnī* has taken for protection, it (the *jinnī*) is choked and dies.

Shaikh Zibid looked and saw the wolf, which was watching them in the distance to see what would happen.

She cried, 'Look at that wolf! Do you see it?'

The wolf began to draw closer to Shaikh Zibid, but the latter had with him a lance with an iron tip (*see p.* 345), and when the wolf had approached quite close he hurled his lance at it and killed it. Shaikh Zibid said to the hare, 'Now all is well! Return to your father!'

She began to run before him and he followed her. His heart began to fail him, not knowing what might befall him, but he said to himself, 'Courage! Why fear? I killed the slave who sought to harm her; without doubt, her father will be grateful to me!'

They came to a mound like a hill (*ishān*).[5] She entered and he entered with her. He saw a place for sitting in, and she said to him, 'Stay here while I fetch my father. Do not fear if *shiviahi* come; fright is evil, and no harm will come to you if you are not afraid.'

And, in fact, whilst he sat there, some of her people, the *shiviahi*, came and looked at him. Their eyes were put lengthways in their faces, not set horizontally like the eyes of men. They were smaller than men, and uglier.

After an hour, a light came towards him from below, and a voice said to him, in Mandaean, '*Asoth havilakh*!' for the spirits speak to every man in his native tongue. Shaikh Zibid returned, '*Aswatha ad hëi havilakh*!'

Then the king said to Shaikh Zibid, 'You did well to save my daughter from the slave—that slave was not a good spirit! What do you command me to give you? Ask whatever you desire!'

Shaikh Zibid replied, 'I ask of you that if I visit a sick person I may be able to cure him, or if a mad person that when I go to him he shall return to his senses.'

The *melka* said, 'As you wish! All knowledge shall be yours!' Then he ordered Shaikh Zibid to come close to him and Shaikh Zibid went until he stood before the king. The king said, 'Gaze at me!' and, holding a bowl of water in his right hand, he began to recite softly to himself. Shaikh Zibid thought that rays of light issued from the eyes of the king and entered his own head. When the king had done reciting the spells, he bade Shaikh Zibid drink from the bowl. After Shaikh Zibid had drunk of the water, he began to see the world with other eyes! He saw it just as a man looks at it after he has been taken half-drowned from the sea! He rejoiced in the world! 'How beautiful it is!' he thought, and was happy beyond measure. The king repeated, 'All knowledge is now yours!'

And, lady, Shaikh Zibid was a miracle of knowledge from that day! If a man or woman sought from him information as to the whereabouts of a relative of whom they had no news, he would say to them, 'Come again to-morrow, and I will tell you where your son is' (if it were a son who was lost).

Then his spirit left him; went out from him in his likeness into the air and searched for the lost person, learnt where he was, and returned into his body. *Fsh-sh-sh*! he returned unto himself, and when the inquirer came back and asked him, 'What have you seen?' he would reply, as it might be, 'Your son is in the district (*markaz*) of the Muntafiq', or 'with Shaikh Mahy in Naṣarīyah', or where-ever it might be, naming the place.

Shaikh Zibid was wonderful. Not only Ṣubba but Islām went to him. If something had been stolen, the robbed persons came to him and said, 'Tell us where the thief is!' He would reply, 'Not so! but I may get your property back for you!' Then, having in the spirit found out who the thief was, he would call him secretly and say, 'My son, give back that which you have taken', for he did not wish him to be imprisoned or beaten for his crime. He would reason with the thief quietly.

He had only to approach spoiled food and it would become wholesome, and to go near the sick and they were cured. People used to swear by his name that they would tell the truth and it was a binding oath. He died about seventy-five years ago when he had attained an age of about one hundred and twenty years, and is buried in Halfāyah.

Aye, he had only to look at those whose wits were distracted and they were sane. When he had become weak and old and could go no longer to see sick persons, they used to take his staff and touch a patient with it and he was made whole instantly. My father used to go to his house when he wanted news of his son. He used to visit him in his house, a clean, pleasant place in a garden surrounded by flowers, grass, and trees. This was the house he used to sleep in when his spirit left him.

NOTES ON XX

1. lit. 'little green one'. This name may be given to any green bird, but is usually applied to the bee-eater.

2. Names of birds. *Hudhud* is a hoopoe, but I have not discovered the English equivalents of all.

3. 'Uncle' is a friendly mode of address, when speak older than oneself—'*'Ammī*', 'my uncle'.

4. Of the magic powers of wolves over *jānn* I have writ *of 'Iraq*, p. 112.

5. *ishān*. Marsh Arabs so call the mounds which cove

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXI. OF BEHOLDING EVENTS IN

Lady, there are people in India who see thin and sometimes, when they appear to be sleep out of the body. There are men of the relig Rām who have this power. A man told me the War he wished to have news of his wife He went to one of these men who had a hu near the river with the door to the south an the hut towards the north between the sun a Star. And we also, when we are dead and w lie with our feet to the north so that when w the North Star. A person should sleep w across, the path of the sun, and it is bad t placed east and west. During the day th works powerfully: at night the veins work man's courage is low and he fears easily. sleep in the proper direction, for that prote evil.

This man, my friend, went and saw the told him to return at twelve the next day. H twelve as he was anxious to hear. He gaz hole into the hut, and saw the man sleeping. the hut—the door was fastened with string— him to waken him. The man was as if dead. him again, but there was no response; he wa he were dead and his face was the face of a friend was frightened and fled away, fearin were found there with a dead man, people m had killed him. There passed two days and said, and he returned to the hut. He found and sitting there. He was delighted and salut Indian asked him to sit, bringing chairs, and when speaking to a stranger

n I have written in *Folk Tales*

ls which cover ancient sites.

ENTS IN TRANCE

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Narrator: Hirmiz bar

XXII. HOV
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Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXII. HOW EV
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d, 'When you came, I was not here: my
r children and people.'
d! Did you see my relations?'
n, 'My body was empty, only my blood
w your son and I saw your wife.'
what place were they?'
, 'In Paris, in such and such a street and
umber.'
ot know whether this was truth or lies,
le to the address. At the time he was in
wer came back, 'We are well and we are
and such a date.'
es rode in a ship and returned, and he
e man said (to himself), 'Truth or not
such a thing be?' and he asked his wife,
to you?'
es, a *faqīr* entered our house one day,
end him away. He entered and he de-
ese are Indians of the Rām-Rām sect.

NOTE ON XXI

p is interesting as showing the constant contact of
ith India. Basrah, a centre of Mandaeans, has been
h India by sea for centuries, and there have always
n the port.

ar Anhar.

OW EVIL SPIRITS ABUSE THE DEAD, ETC.

ubeyha died, my uncle, Shaikh Mahy,
he loved her. He stayed constantly by
was sealed on the four sides with the
he was there, he heard a crying and a
and looking about him, he found that it

came from a neighbouring grave. Some women who were gathering thorns for firewood close by, heard it too, and were so frightened that they ran away. My uncle asked them who had been buried there, and they replied, 'A robber who committed several murders'. My uncle, Shaikh Mahy, thinking that perhaps the man was buried alive, went to his relations and said to them, 'There is a wailing coming from the grave, perhaps the man is not dead!'

They opened the grave and took the man out, and he was dead, but there was a long nail which entered his skull and went down the length of his body, another long nail through the right shoulder which came out at the right foot, and a third on the left shoulder coming out at the left foot. A most strange thing! Work of the *shiviahi*!

The people drew the nails out of the corpse and took them to a smith called Mureyhij, a Ṣubbi, who forged nails for *mashāhīf*.[1] They said to him, 'Look! Of what metal are these nails?'

He rose and put the nails in his furnace and blew up the fire, but, however hard he blew and however hot the furnace became, the nails remained cold, so cold that they could grasp them and hold them in their hands. The Turkish *ḥākim* (governor) heard of this and he said to them, 'This is a fine curiosity![2] Bring it to me in the office!' They brought the nails to him and left them there, and I do not know what became of them.

I will tell you another strange thing. This happened to us when we were in Shuster. There were those who bore our family a grudge because we were always very rigorous in all questions of purity, and not only rigorous about ourselves, but we would never admit a polluted person, or a person in whose family there was pollution, or physical infirmity or deformity, into alliance with us. However much we liked them, we would not marry with them, or carry their coffins, or have anything to do with them, and many disliked us because of it, for many Ṣubba are not careful about such matters.

The mother of Kajar, my grandfather, died.

Some of these Ṣubba said, 'We will go and take her corpse and throw it out of the grave', for they hated her. They were people such as I have mentioned, and we will not give or take in marriage from them, however rich they may be! We will only marry with our kind, however poor.

Yes. The old woman died, and they took her and buried her properly. They read the Ginza Rabba near her tomb and ate *lofāni* and gave food to the poor Mandai.

At four of the night, three Ṣubbis went and dug her up and took her out. They put a rope round her and pulled her out.

She had three sons: Kajar (my grandfather), Faraj, and another. Faraj was sleeping, and she came to him in a dream. He saw her coming softly to him, and called out, 'O mother, mother!' She said to him, 'So-and-So, So-and-So, and So-and-So, sons of So-and-So, came and put a rope round me and drew me out of my grave!'

Faraj rose like a madman, crying, 'Kajar! My brothers! Rise! Get up! Get up!'

His wife seized him, saying, 'What is it?'

He said, 'My mother has just come to us!'

She said, 'It is a dream!'

He said, 'No! My mother came to me: I saw her in truth!' He told them what his mother had said, and they went up to the roof of their house which stood high. The graveyard was further down the hill, below. They looked and saw a light near their mother's grave. Each seized a stick and went out. There was a thick, thick darkness, and they came unperceived on the grave-robbers and seized them, and put their mother back into her place, putting a plank above her so that no earth should fall on her. Next day they took the men to the judge, who ordered that they should be beaten severely, and upbraided them, saying, 'Why did you act thus?'

Their people went with their relatives to the *ganzowra* and said, 'Protection! The judge is going to punish our sons! Mercy!'

The *ganzowra* went to the judge and said, 'For my sake forgive them! They come of respectable people, and they did this out of madness. I know they are thoughtless youths, and so for my sake, forgive them and release them from prison.' He (the *ganzowra*) was also of our family.

The judge did so. Aye, it was a strange thing! Faraj said, 'She talked to me and was not changed in her appearance. She looked exactly as she did when she was alive, like her own portrait.' From such happenings we know that the soul wears an earthly likeness when it leaves the body.

Again. One Ṣubbi died—he was quite dead, he had gone! They placed a lamp beside him and a man called Ujheyli sat by him watching, for we do not leave the dead unwatched. Ujheyli looked at the corpse and he saw it rise and begin to grope about with its eyes closed. Ujheyli shouted, 'He has come alive! (*Ṣār 'ādil*). Come, come!'

They rushed in. The woman was overjoyed that her husband was alive. They came and felt him. His pulse was not beating: he was cold, he was dead! A Persian doctor was brought in to see him and he examined him and said, 'The man is dead!' But a second time, the corpse rose and did as before, and all the people fled before it. Three times that happened. The *ganzowra* heard of it and said, 'This is *s͟hiviahi's* work! Perhaps you did not put the *skandola* on him!' For it is our custom to put the *skandola* and a knife with a dead person.

They replied, 'No, we did not!'

They put a *skandola* on his finger and a knife by his side, and the dead man did not rise again. It was the work of *s͟hiviahi*. This is true.

NOTES ON XXII

1. Sing. *Mas͟hhūf*. A flat-bottomed boat. See p. 52.
2. *K͟hos͟h 'atīka*.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXIII. MEN WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM DEATH, ETC.

When a Mandaean dies he is not put into a box like a Christian, but is wrapped in a *bania*, which is of *bardi*, and like a reed mat. Then ropes are twisted of the leaves of the date-palm, and bound about the whole, and stalks of the palm-frond placed between the ropes so that four pure and pious men, called *hallali*, can carry the body to its grave, holding these palm-stalks (*jerīds*) (*see Chap.* XI). The body is never buried at night, and if a man dies at sunset or in the afternoon they bury him next day. In any case three hours must elapse before a man is buried; and to make the *bania* and the ropes, which must be freshly woven, and all the other preparations, six hours are usual.

Our religion forbids us to weep for the dead, as weeping enables the *shiviahi* to harm them, and men never do so. But women sometimes keen for the dead. It is not good, but they do it.[1]

In Mohammerah there was once a Ṣubbi called Bahram. He was sick unto death, so they clothed him with the *rasta* and he died. It was about ten o'clock when he died (i.e. two hours before sunset). A Persian doctor saw him and said that he was dead. He was dead, completely dead. They brought reeds and wove the *bania*, and washed him and closed his eyes, but left the burial for the next day, because the day was near its close. They put a light white cloth above the corpse, a lamp beside it, and attached a *skandola* and knife to the body. This we do with our dead, removing the *skandola* and the knife chained to it before the man is buried. The clay of the tomb is sealed with the *skandola* on all four sides. But should the dead be a bridegroom or a woman who has died in childbed, they leave the *skandola* on the finger of the corpse.[2]

So they prepared the body of Bahram, and friends came to watch beside him, for we do not leave the dead alone. Now Bahram had a son and daughters, wife and an old mother. He had supported them all by his work as smith.

At about one o'clock of the night his mother came to him, saying, 'I want to see my son, I!' She came near and uncovered the face of the dead. The watchers said to her, 'Why do you uncover him?'

She replied, 'He is my son! I yearn to see him!'

She bent above him and kissed him, and said, 'O my son! Who will now provide your children's food? And what shall I do, I! I must beg my food from door to door of the Ṣubba, and your children—must they beg too?'

She stretched out her hand and caressed his breast, crying, 'Thy breast will go beneath the dust! O the pity!'

As she touched his breast, she felt that it was a little warm. She thought that a vein seemed to beat. She called the watchers, saying, 'Come, come! My son's body is not cold! A pulse is beating!'

They came and felt him and said, 'Yes, true! He is a little warm!'

His heart then began to beat feebly, but his eyes remained closed until, gradually, gradually, the lids began to lift a little. But the eyes remained for some time fixed and unmoving. By this time it was midnight. At last his eyes began to show life. When she saw that his eyes were moving, his mother was overjoyed. She was glad with a great gladness. She went and milked a cow in the courtyard and warmed the milk, and brought it and put some into his mouth with a spoon. He began to swallow. Gradually, gradually, his two arms and legs began to move. At sunrise he sat up!

All the people said, 'Bahram died and came to life again!' Some of them came to him later and said, 'You were dead! You went and returned! Tell us of the road and what you saw! Tell us!'

Said he, 'Those who took me from the body were dim-sighted (*āghmish ṣārū*). When they brought me to Pthahil, in the place of souls, he looked at me and said to them, "Ye have made a mistake: ye should have brought the soul of the girl Zarīfaẖ." Then they brought me back, softly, softly, and my soul re-entered my body.'

Zarīfaẖ was the daughter of a neighbour, and at the moment Bahram told them of this, she appeared to be in perfect health, and they gave her no word of what he said. But, at the fall of that day, although she had appeared to be well, she died suddenly, of a sickness of the heart. Strange!

This has happened more than once. There is a tribe of the Ṣubba called the Al Bū Zahrūn, who live at Ḥalfāyaẖ near al-'Amāraẖ. They subsist by making boats, sickles, spades, hatchets, and such implements for the 'Arab of the district. Amongst this tribe was a man who died. He died completely, and all who saw him thought him dead. But, like the other, he returned into the body. They had made all preparations for his burial when he returned, and he had been dead six hours.

They asked him, 'Whither went you?'

He said, 'They took me towards the place of souls. And amongst those with me, I saw Sindāl and Tāmūl. They also were on their way to Pt͟hahil. But Pt͟hahil ordered me to return, for the *s͟hiviahi* had brought me in mistake for another.'

When they heard what he said, the Ṣubba of that place sent into al-'Amāraẖ, where Tāmūl lived, to ask after his health. They found that he had died. But Sindāl lived amongst the Ṣubba who were in Persia and they telegraphed to ask about him. His relatives telegraphed back, 'He died on Sunday morning.' So it was true.

The *tarmidi* asked the man who had returned concerning the appearance of the souls of the dead, and he replied, 'Sindāl and Tāmūl looked exactly as when they were alive, and wore the same clothes they had worn in life. They appeared exactly as they would have appeared if one had seen them in a dream!'

On the subject of the death rasta

Upon the *rasta* of one about to die, we sew gold threads on the right and on the left silver. The right is for Melka

Ziwa, for the gold is the metal of the sun, and the left is for Melka d̲ Anhura, for silver is the metal of the moon (p. 36).[3] But we say that Melka Ziwa and Melka d̲ Anhura are one, though some way they are two. When my father, Mulla K̲h̲id̲h̲r, was about to die, he said, 'The time has come for me to put on my *rasta*!' and was joyful at the approach of death. When he had been washed, and had put it on, he sat up and shortly afterward died, willingly.

NOTES ON XXIII

1. In the G.R. left, 3rd fragment, Ruha urges Hawa (Eve) to bewail the dead Adam. 'Who hath forsaken thee, that thou sittest calmly here and dost not complain?' and Ruha and her *lilit̲h̲s* begin to wail for the dead and to reproach Eve, saying, 'Her friends despise a noble woman who does not raise the death-wail for her husband!' Hibil Ziwa then appears to Eve and accuses her of 'foolishness instigated by the planets', and when Ruha again incites her to weep, she refuses to do so, but praises Manda d̲ Hiia instead.

Death wailing is general amongst the women of Iraq, who raise long shrill cries the moment the breath is out of the body. Neighbours hurry in to add their lamentations to those of the inmates of the house.

2. Because both died with desire to live, and therefore cling to the earth as harmful ghosts. The *skandola* is to prevent them from claiming others. Cf. Babylonian exorcisms of the ghosts of women who have died in childbed, and the Indian conception that they are actually maleficent beings. The Arabs of Iraq seem to have no such superstition: though, according to Doughty, nomad women take the cry of the owl to be the wail of a mother dead in childbed. In the cases mentioned, the bridegroom has the *skandola* placed on his finger, the woman has it hung round her neck.

3. Dimes̲h̲qi says of the Ḥarrānian Ṣābians that they attribute a metal to every planet. 'And gold . . . belongs to the sun as regards colour and qualities and nobility . . . the Ṣābians believe that silver is the moon's portion.' (Chw. Ṣ.)

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXIV. OF THE POWER TO SEE SPIRITS

I WILL tell you how I saw a *melka* for the first time. I was about fourteen years of age. Our house was of reeds, and before it was an even level of beaten mud (*tōf*) like your playing-court (i.e. Badminton court). My father liked it to be kept clean and the river, edged with grass and reeds, ran before the house. It was a clean, sweet place.

It was the time of a feast, the Dehwa Shishlam Rabba, dedicated to one of the great *melki* whose name is Shishlam Rabba. On that day and the night preceding it, the gates of the world of light are opened wide. The Moslems know that there is such a night, but they do not know, as we do, when it takes place. The feast falls after the ripening of the dates.

My father used to rise early—at dawn—to pray. That day as it was a feast, a happy day, I rose at dawn like my father. The sun was not yet up when I went out, and my father was at the river, for he had not finished his prayers. I saw on the smooth space before the house a being standing with his staff (*margna*) on his shoulder, praying towards the north. He was shining and very white.

I ran to my mother, who was still sleeping, and roused her and said to her, 'My mother! who is that praying before the house?' But he had not been praying aloud, no voice had been audible.

She said, 'No one! Don't be afraid, there is no one!'

I said, 'Yes, there is some one wearing a new white *rasta*.' I returned again to look and he turned himself and gazed at me, and light seemed to come from his face. He was beautiful! Of great beauty! And then, I saw nothing more!

When I went to my mother again, she said to me, 'That must have been a *naṭri*, the guardian spirit of our house, do not fear!'

My father then came up from the river and I went to him and told him what I had seen, saying, 'One came here in appearance like a *darwīsh*, wearing white clothes. I went to call my mother, and when I returned again, he looked at me and disappeared.'

My father said, 'Why did you not come for me? I would have spoken with him. That was a Guardian, and there was no cause for fear: he is very good!' And my father was sad and began to pray. When he had finished his prayer, my father looked happy and said to me, 'You are like our family, you *see*, you uncover, you see spirits. Whenever you see one, call me, so that I may speak with them.'

My father's words remained in my men saw anything, I always told him.

Another time I saw one of the *shiviahi*.

Shaikh Joda's sister, Qurṭāsaḥ, used to w made me an *'abāyaḥ*. I used to hang this cloa was very fond, in a locked room in my g Shaikh Mahy's, house. I went one day to ha ten hours of the day. The place was old a dark. I entered it and went to throw my *'ab* There was a high table in the heel of the room onions and gourds were stored, and they u *laban* (curds) on it. I looked, and I saw o spirit about a foot high—one of the *shiviahi* and very ugly. I said to him, my father havin not be afraid, 'What are you?' He shook hi

My cousin (*bint khālatī*) was with me in t name was Ileywa. I cried to her, 'Come! I is a *shiviahi*!'

I mounted on a *jāwan* (tall, wooden r pounding rice) and she was at the other end I said to her, 'Give me a stick (*chimāgh*), s strike it and take it to show my father!' For I and did not understand, and wished to tr animal.

She reached me a *chimāgh*, and I hit at it, reach it. She said 'Hit it on the head and when you have killed it!' But it escaped me

I went to my father, who was sitting work him what I had seen, and how the *shiviahi* ha when I tried to kill it.

He said, 'What were you about! That behaviour! That *shiviahi* was probably a k house and so did not harm you, but, if it h it might have killed you!'

I began to be afraid, and I never put my room again. I would not enter it. In our myrtle-tree growing in the yard, which m planted. One day, I saw the *shiviahi* sitting myrtle-tree. I began to cry, 'Father, father n my memory and if I

hiviahi.
used to weave, and she
g this cloak, of which I
n in my grandfather's,
e day to hang it there at
was old and large and
ow my '*abā*' on a rope.[1]
of the room, upon which
nd they used to make
d I saw on the table a
he *shiviahi*—very small
ather having bidden me
e shook his head.
th me in the room: her
'Come! Look! There

wooden receptacle for
other end of the room.
himāgh), so that I may
er!' For I was ignorant
shed to treat it like an

I hit at it, but could not
head and let me see it
scaped me and fled.
tting working, and told
shiviahi had escaped me

ut! That was very bad
obably a keeper of the
but, if it had not been,

ver put my '*abā*' in that
t. In our house was a
which my father had
iahi sitting beneath the
er, father! Come, this

is he!' My father sa
of the Life) and do
My aunt said, 'I
do him harm. I mu
27).[2]
My father said, '
They wrote me a
my bosom, I was no
and happy.

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[1] Clothes-pegs and wa
not in wear are thrown ov

[2] A talismanic scroll, k
by the narrator of the abov
Sām who died 150 years a
been 130 years, for he was
revered. He loved flowers
carrying a sword and a s
Shaikh, and so many cons
voked in a curious way. I
a Ṣubbi whispers, 'Rabbey
rise!' (*Rabbey Sam athi m*
and takes his leave of his c

Narrator: Hirmiz bar

XXV. THE SĪMU
OF RUST

The Persians wrote
history is not the tru
story and have told i
Rustam,[1] of whos
was of Afghanistan.
he fared forth on his
he loved the chase, h
other game, and live
was soft, the air wa
wilderness. His hor
intelligent, and und
obeyed his lightest
Rustam took the br

ry and if I

ve, and she
, of which I
ndfather's,
g it there at
l large and
on a rope.[1]
upon which
ed to make
the table a
—very small
bidden me
head.
room: her
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that I may
vas ignorant
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ut could not
et me see it
and fled.
ng, and told
escaped me

as very bad
eper of the
d not been,

abā' in that
ouse was a
father had
beneath the
Come, this

is he!' My father said, 'Say
of the Life) and do not be
My aunt said, 'The boy
do him harm. I must writ
27).[2]
My father said, 'Aye, w
They wrote me a *zrazt*
my bosom, I was no longer
and happy.

NOTES

[1] Clothes-pegs and wardrobes a
not in wear are thrown over a rope,

[2] A talismanic scroll, kept in a c
by the narrator of the above story, s
Sām who died 150 years ago, or mo
been 130 years, for he was of great
revered. He loved flowers, and the
carrying a sword and a spade. H
Shaikh, and so many consulted hi
voked in a curious way. If a visito
a Ṣubbi whispers, 'Rabbey Sām! b
rise!' (*Rabbey Sam athi maharra us*
and takes his leave of his own voliti

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXV. THE SĪMURGH
OF RUSTAM A

The Persians wrote of this
history is not the true one.
story and have told it from
Rustam,[1] of whose stren
was of Afghanistan. One d
he fared forth on his horse u
he loved the chase, he hunt
other game, and lived upo
was soft, the air was full
wilderness. His horse, Rak
intelligent, and understoo
obeyed his lightest comm
Rustam took the bridle fr

said, 'Say to it, "*Ushma ad Héi*" (Name
o not be afraid.'
'The boy is frightened lest the *shiviahi*
nust write him a *zrazta*' (see pp. 25–

, 'Aye, write him one. I have no time!'
a *zrazta*, and when I had put it into
no longer afraid. I was free from alarm

NOTES ON XXIV

wardrobes are not used in reed-dwellings. Clothes
over a rope, as described here.
l, kept in a case and worn. I was presented with one
bove story, said to have been written by one Rabbey
rs ago, or more. His age at death is reputed to have
was of great strength. This man's memory is greatly
ers, and they say he still works amongst the flowers,
a spade. He lived at a place called Maidan esh-
onsulted him that he became rich. His name is in-
. If a visitor is 'heavy' and prolongs a tedious visit,
bey Sām! bring a spade and sword and make him
i maharra usiwirra aqmihi!) and the visitor gets up
is own volition.

oar Anhar.

MURGH: THE TRUE HISTORY
STAM AND HIS SON

te of this in the Shah Nameh, but their
rue one. Only we Ṣubba know the true
d it from father to son. It is this.
iose strength and fame you have heard,
n. One day, for the sake of the venture,
is horse until he reached Turkestan. As
, he hunted gazelle, *zahmūr*, birds, and
ived upon what he killed. The breeze
was full of the scent of flowers of the
orse, Rakhash (Mandaean 'horse'), was
nderstood his master so well that he
est command and loved him dearly.
bridle from his head and said to him

(one day), ‘Go, eat! The grass and herbage are wholesome here and I wish to sleep!’

Then he slept, Rustam, for the air was sweet, and Rakhash went to graze.

When he awoke from his sleep Rustam called his horse, but the horse came not, and though he sought him he found him not, for the animal had been stolen. His heart was straitened and his mind troubled, for Rakhash was very dear to him, being no ordinary horse, but a foal begotten by a sea-stallion, who had come up out of the sea and covered a mare which had been tethered near by on the shore.[2] No horse bore Rustam so well as Rakhash!

Rustam went to the king of Turkestan and said to him, ‘If you do not give me back my horse, which your people enticed away, I will kill you and your soldiers.’ For Rustam knew that the people of Turkestan understand the speech of horses, and indeed they had enticed Rakhash away by smooth speeches, promising him sweet water and rich grass.

The king of Turkestan spoke him fair, knowing that Rustam was very strong, and said to him, ‘Be pleased to be our guest! Drink and rest! Please Allah, your horse will be found!’

Rustam entered and sat and drank the wine which they offered him. Then they gave him food and a room in which he might sleep by himself.[3] Then they told him, ‘Your horse has been taken by the people of Sīstān!’

Rustam left them, and going to Sīstān, he sought his horse there, but the people of that place said to him, ‘Do not be wroth with us, your horse is not with us. The King of Chīn has it.”

Then Rustam fared to Chīn, and came to the castle of the king of Chīn. Before it was a fountain called the ‘Spring of Pearls’. A breeze blew sweetly, and trees and flowers grew beside the fountain giving perfume to the breeze. He lay down and slept by the pool, which was near the path that led to the castle.

Now the daughter of the King of Chīn was a sand-diviner (*‘arafat tidhrab raml*), and took omens in the sand,

and she had seen written in the sand that she should belong to no man but Rustam—he only amongst men. It was her custom to descend daily to the Spring of Pearls to bathe there, and this day also she went. She took off her clothes, went down naked into the water, and washed herself. Then she was aware that some one amongst the flowers was gazing at her, and quickly she loosed her hair, so that it fell about her like a cloak (*'abāyaḥ*). She thought that it must be Rustam, for she knew in her heart that the eyes were his. She went near him and saluted him and said, 'Are you seeking for Rakhash?' He asked her, 'How did you guess?' She replied, 'You are Rustam, I know it!'

Now the girl was young and sweet and had refused many suitors saying, 'I will take as my man only Rustam!'

She said now to Rustam, 'If you will take me, I can find Rakhash for you and will bring him to you!'

He looked at her and loved her, and said, 'I will take you! I am glad in truth to do so!'

She said to him, 'Come! You must be my father's guest.' And she led him to her father, who greeted Rustam courteously, saying, 'Peace be on you!' Rustam answered, 'On you the peace!' Then the king of Chīn said to him in Pehlawāni, 'Welcome! I am delighted to have Rustam as my guest!'

Rustam asked him for his horse, for he knew that the king of Chīn had bought it from the people of Sīstān, who had stolen it.

The king denied, saying, 'Your horse is not with us!'

Then Rustam was angered, and said, 'I have certainty that my horse is with you, and if you do not give him up, I shall slay you and your men of war.'

The king said to himself, 'We must use policy!', and to Rustam he said, 'We will look for the horse: we will ask where it is. Do not be angry! You are our guest and we wish you well. I will try to find your horse, and, if Allah wills, it will be found.'

So Rustam abode with them three days, and then he came to the king and said, 'I love your daughter! Give her to me!'

The king replied, 'Gladly, for a better man than you there is not in the world! And my daughter has yearned for you for a long while.'

The king of C͟hīn was well satisfied, and Rustam and the girl were happy. They called an *'ālim* and drew up the marriage contract, and the merrymakings lasted for seven days. Guests were entertained, and night was turned into day, for there were lights in all the rooms.

Then Rustam asked his bride, 'Where is my horse?'

She replied, 'Fear not, I have it!'

The princess had a mare, and, just as she had seen Rustam and loved him, so the mare had seen Rak͟has͟h and loved the stallion. Now the mare had a foal by Rak͟has͟h, and the princess had stallion and foal to show to her husband. When the horse saw his master, he galloped to him and put his nose on his shoulder, and Rustam kissed his horse and fondled it, for he loved it greatly.

Now Rustam had knowledge of the Sun, whom they named Yazdān Pāk, or *K͟hūr*, and he was the Lord whom they worshipped. Rustam had much secret knowledge, and in our histories it is written that whatever strength Rustam asked from the Sun, he received, according to the hour of the Sun. From the morning to noonday his strength was great, but in the afternoon his strength declined. Before the time of which I am telling you, Rustam had been in the wilderness, amongst the mountains, and in places where there were diggings, and it was during this time that he had acquired this knowledge. So great was the strength which God granted him that two thousand warriors could do nothing against him. Aye, the Pehlawān were wise, but he was wiser than them all! The Pehlawān were masters of knowledge, for if they prayed, no one was able to vanquish them because of the power given to them by Yazdān Pāk. It happened that sometimes a king or a chief who came with an army to fight them was unable even to approach them because of this power. (If one of our people has gone deeply into the secret doctrines, he unveils, unveils, unveils, until *dī*! he comes upon the Most Secret Doctrine—which was theirs also. But such a man, if he speaks to you, though he may answer your questions correctly, will be silent about that inner knowledge. He is a man who does not chatter about what he sees. If I were to see a *melka* or an *ʿuthra*, I should be delighted and might speak of it; but he says nothing of what he sees. He knows his Way, and he walks therein.

The Pehlawān religion and ours followed the same road at first, but we discovered new light and followed it, whilst they kept on as before. In our religion, secret knowledge must not be imparted: each one must attain to it by himself. God opens a way to those who are fitted to walk in it. Most of the people in this world have worldly knowledge, but they are sleeping. Sleeping! They walk about as if asleep, and the enlightened ones know it. But, if God sees a seeker after truth, He can wake him up.)

Well! Rustam went to the king of Chīn and said, 'I want to see my father and my people.' The king of Chīn replied, 'Go, in God's keeping! but leave your wife with me, for the way is long and difficult. When your honour returns, I will give her to you again.'

Rustam had an armlet set with precious stones upon which talismanic writings were inscribed. He understood these inscriptions, but no one else, for these writings in the rubies and emeralds and diamonds on the armlet were secret. He gave this to his wife, saying, 'If you bear me a son, put this on his arm. If you bear me a daughter, and she is ever in need, she has only to show this to a rich merchant, and he will furnish her with whatever she wants, for the armlet is worth a kingdom.'

Rustam journeyed away and returned to his people, leaving the armlet with his wife. The girl was pregnant, and, when her time was come, she brought forth a boy. The boy was a fine child, and when he was three he could wrestle with boys older than himself and overthrow them, for he was strong like his father. When he was seven, he was so good a horseman that not even the Pehlewān could match him in horsemanship. He was fond of riding out into the desert.

When he asked his mother, 'Mother, where is my father? Who is he?' she did not like to tell him that Rustam his father had left her, so she said, 'Your grandfather is your father—does he not love you tenderly?' and she bade her father let the boy believe this. But when the lad was fifteen, he came to her and constrained her to tell him the truth, saying, 'You must tell me now. Who was my father?'

She replied to him, 'What can I tell you but the truth! Your father is Rustam of Afghanistan.'

When he heard that, the boy went to his grandfather and asked for an escort of ten thousand soldiers so that he might go and find his father. He rode on the foal sired by Rakhash out of his mother's mare. The manner of that foal's birth was this: it was so large that its mother was unable to bring it into the world, and, as they were afraid that it would die, a surgeon came and opened the belly of its mother.[4] So it came into the world, and was as like its sire as a portrait is like the original.

The lad had with him an old soldier who remembered Rustam well. He took leave of his grandfather and kissed him, and his mother kissed him and wept over him, for she loved him dearly. The boy embraced her and wept also, but said, 'Do not fear! I shall return!'

But the mother said, 'O Yazd![5] I cannot endure to let you go, for I desire your face before me morning, noon, and night!'

The youth said, 'And I wish to see my father morning, noon, and night, and you also! I wish to have you both together before me, so that we may be glad always.'

Then he kissed his mother and went away, saying, 'If God wills, I will return and bring my father with me.' Before he set off, she put the armlet on his arm, saying, 'If your father sees this, he will know you for his son.'

He marched away, he and his company, for there were ten thousand horsemen with him. When they came to a country, the sultan who ruled it gave the lad his allegiance and became his vassal. Then they went on, taking soldiers from that country with them into the next. So his army grew and grew, and every country through which he passed was under his hand and he was its liege lord.

For three years the stripling and his army went on their way, conquering and fighting. None could stand before their strength. At last they came to the borders of the land of Īrān. The youth sent to the Shah, saying, 'Give me your allegiance, become my vassal, or I shall fight with you!' The Shah of Īrān knew that Yazd and his army had come from the land of C͟hīn conquering the countries through which they had passed, and that all the kings of those countries had become his vassals, but the Shah could not give up his country just for the asking, so he prepared to fight. There was a mighty battle, and the Pehlewān went against the foreign army, marching into combat thousands at a time. The Shah, the Sultan of Īrān, sent then for Rustam, for he feared that Yazd would prevail and take his throne from him.

In the morning, Rustam came galloping on his horse to the Shah and the Shah said, 'You must fight with this prince and prevent him from seizing my throne.'

Rustam waited until the night came, and then he disguised himself as a *darwīs͟h* (and the dress that he wore was white and like our *rasta*), and he asked of Yazdān Pāk that he should be invisible, so that he might pass unnoticed through the camp. It was so, and he passed through the camps and no man saw him, not a soldier of all the thousands. There was a full moon and the light was bright. Four ranks of soldiers stood sentinel by Yazd's tent, and at the four pomegranates (i.e. four knobs of the tent-poles) of Yazd's pavilion four guards were posted. Rustam passed them all, but, though they heard footsteps and gazed, they saw no one, because Rustam was invisible by the power of Yazdān Pāk.

Rustam climbed the tent rope to the top of the pavilion and there he cut an opening with his dagger and descended into the tent. The tent was lit by the effulgence of a large pearl which was lying by Yazd as he slept, and this was a *durraḥ*,[6] a present which Yazd was bringing for his grandfather Zāl, Rustam's father, from his other grandfather, the king of C͟hīn. This Zāl was also a man of strength and wisdom, for Rustam's people were all distinguished for wisdom and strength. They lived in the wilderness, disliking the noise and fret of men, for they loved to breathe the sweet air and to behold the face of Yazdān Pāk. They were people of knowledge.

When Rustam had descended and gazed upon the lad, he saw how handsome he was, and began to love him. His heart beat strongly, and he was deeply moved by a feeling of affection. The boy was sleeping, and it had been his first intention to wake him from sleep, kill him, and go. That had been his first thought. But, when he beheld him sleeping, he imagined he saw the full moon before him, and remained bemused, gazing at his beauty. He said to himself, 'I cannot rouse this Pehlawāni from his sleep to kill him! I cannot slay him!' So he stuck his dagger into the pillow on which the lad slept, as a sign that he had been able to kill him but had refrained. Then he left him and went out.

In the morning the lad woke and saw the dagger in the pillow beside him and the rent in the tent. He called his generals and officers and showed them the rent and the dagger saying, 'Come! Look! What is this? Why did a man enter my tent and refrain from killing me? Why did not the soldiers slay him? How was it that they allowed a man to enter my tent?'

They questioned the guards, saying, 'Saw ye nothing? Saw ye no man?' They replied, 'We heard a noise as of one passing, but looked and saw nothing.' The prince said to his advisers, 'What say you to this, O Wuzarā'?'

An old, wise *wazīr* answered him, 'He who came must have been a master of knowledge which enabled him to be invisible.'

And the lad was troubled about this strange thing that had happened. When he went out and looked at the tents of the enemy, he saw amongst them a new, green tent, and he remembered that his mother had told him that his father used a green pavilion. He mounted his horse and galloped up on to a hill whence he could see all the tents.

Rustam put on his disguise again, and mounted his horse and galloped to see who was the horseman who stood watching on the hill. When he came up to him, the lad saluted his father and said to him, 'Is not your honour Rustam?'

Rustam's heart went out to the boy and he felt a great tenderness for him. But he replied, 'Rustam! It is difficult for you to see him! I am a *darwīsh*!'

The boy said, 'If you be Rustam, I beg you to tell me with truth.'

But Rustam, fearing an ambush and knowing that they sought his life, denied that he was Rustam, and the more he denied, the deeper the love that he felt for the lad—and his eyes betrayed him, for tears flowed from them.

Now the soldier who knew Rustam had been taken prisoner and brought to the Shah, and he had told the Shah that the stranger who led the invading army was Rustam's son. When he heard that, the Shah was afraid, 'for', thought he, 'if Rustam and his son be reconciled, they will be stronger than us all, and will take my throne from me! Let one kill the other!' and he bade the old soldier hold his peace and said no word of what he had learnt from him.

Meantime, Rustam cried to the boy, 'I am not Rustam! I am a *darwīsh*! Go back to your people, for, if Rustam comes, he will kill you!'

The lad, beholding the noble face of the *darwīsh*, could not believe, and still insisted, saying, 'Thou art Rustam! Thou!'

Rustam said, 'Never believe it! I am not Rustam! If you think that I do not speak the truth and want to do battle, we will wrestle together!'

The lad answered him, 'Good! Dismount!'

Then the gaze of the armies, and of the Shah, and of Zāl, who was with him, fell upon them. The lad's army stood round the one side of the plain and the Shah's on the other, to watch the combat.

Rustam and the lad dismounted and began to wrestle, each striving to throw his opponent to the ground.

Now Zāl the previous night had dreamt a dream in which he had seen Rustam with his right arm cut off.

The two began to wrestle and to struggle. The lad was very strong, and he gripped his father and threw him. Then he drew his dagger, but the Pehlewān who stood by said, 'No! It is not custom to kill at the first throw! The loser must be thrown three times!'

When Rustam fell, Zāl, his father, was alarmed, fearing that the youth would conquer and seize the kingdom. But the ruler of Iran laughed to himself and said within his heart, 'Who but Rustam's son could have thrown Rustam?' He kept counsel, however, hoping that both would be destroyed.

Zāl saw the Shah smile, and asked him, 'Why do you smile when we are downcast?'

The Shah replied, 'I laughed because God always creates a stronger than the strong!'

Then Zāl went to Rustam and said, 'Last night I had an evil dream about you. I saw in my dream that your right arm was cut off!' And he urged him, saying, 'Rule yourself! Be on your guard!'

Rustam went to a spring, which, like the other, was called 'Fountain of Pearls', and he took off his robe and washed it, and abluted himself, standing towards the north and praying with his face turned to the right side, in the direction of the sun, where S͟hamis͟h and the ten *melki* with him (p. 76) rule the day. Then he put on his newly washed *rasta* and he prayed to Melka Ziwa and Yazdān Pāk. Yazdān Pāk is the Pehlawi name for S͟hamis͟h, for the Pehlawāni worshipped in the ancient fashion of the Ṣubba.

And this is what Rustam prayed: 'Give me power from thyself to throw this lad to the ground!' For those who know receive such strength from the sun that they can wade through earth as if it were water.

The lad Yazd said to those about him, 'Why do not they send Rustam against me? Why do not the Pehlewān send me Rustam, the hero, so that I may wrestle with him?'

The Shah of the Iranians laughed again, and those with the boy said, 'Do you laugh at us?'

The Shah said to them, 'You cannot throw this man any more, for when he has prayed he is invincible, and whatever feat he tries to perform, he is able to do it.'

Rustam returned to the combat, and his breast was high and he walked confidently. He said, 'Be pleased to come on! Let us wrestle! Let us match ourselves one against the other!'

Then they descended into the plain and closed together. The father seized the son, and hurled him to the ground with such force that his belly was rent.

Meanwhile Zāl, uneasy because of his dream, had begun to recite spells, and put a Sīmurgh's feather into the fire so as to force the Sīmurgh to appear.

After he had been hurled to the ground by his father, the youth opened his eyes and said, 'Why have you slain me thus quickly? Did you not say that the victor must throw his opponent three times before killing him? Why this trickery? Have you no fear of my father? When he hears how you slew me, he will kill you though you were a bird of the air or deep in the earth! He will find you out, wherever you be! Where will you hide from him?'

Rustam said to him, 'Who is your father?'

Answered the youth, 'My father is Rustam!'

Said Rustam, 'Thy father is Rustam?'

Replied the lad, 'Aye, and this is his token and sign', and he showed him the armlet.

Then his father seized upon a large stone and beat his head with it, for he was mad with grief. Seeing this, Zāl wondered, 'Why does Rustam beat his head?' and the soldiers who beheld it were amazed. Zāl, wondering greatly, continued to read his spells. He approached Rustam, who cried to him, 'I have slain my son!'

Zāl said, 'This is what I saw in my dream! But the Shah has a salve which will heal any wound!'

They bore the lad to the Shah and said, 'Give us some of your salve!'

The Shah replied, 'There is none left, I have none!' for he did not wish to give it to them.

As they were thus, the Sīmurgh flew to Zāl and she said to Rustam, 'What, Rustam! Hast killed thy son?'

Rustam cried to her, 'I am thy suppliant! I am thy suppliant! Find me a means of escape from my deed!'

Now the Sīmurgh has this gift from God, that, if she licks a wound, it will heal. Just as the Ayar (pure, unpolluted air) comes from God, her breath comes from the Breath of Life, and her breath kept the soul of the boy in his body. The strength that she gave him was from the Realm of Light, and he returned to himself, and said to her, 'I spoke with my father, but he denied himself! At first I overthrew him, but they said it must be three times. He went, I know not whither, and when he returned, he threw me to the ground and brake my belly.'

She said to him, 'Thy father's mind was darkened. How was it that he knew you not?'

The lad said, 'This is from God!'

The Sīmurgh said, 'Do not fear! I will heal you and you will be as strong again as before, but you must not trouble or be anxious.'

Rustam said to the Sīmurgh, 'I am thy suppliant! Kill me, and let the lad be cured!' and he called to the Pehlewān to slay him.

The Sīmurgh said to Yazd, 'Fear not! You shall be cured, but Rustam must carry you for a whole year on his head. Every Sunday I will come to give you strength so that you may live without food.'

After an hour, the lad lay like one asleep. His blood worked. (See, what knowledge the Sīmurgh had from God and what marvels she could perform!)

During that hour he was able to converse, and talked with his grandfather and told him how he had come, saying, 'What will my mother think! For when I met my father, it was thus that he treated me, and it was she who sent me hither. And from Chīn to Īrān every nation is under my hand!'

For an hour he was able to talk thus, and then he fell, as it were, into a deep sleep. Zāl wept, but the boy could speak no more. The Sīmurgh said to him, 'Do not weep! Do not be fearful, the boy will recover after a year!'

Said Zāl, 'From now to a year is a long time! How shall I endure being parted from him for so long a period?'

Rustam said to his father, 'If you talk like this, I shall kill myself! It was God's will that it should be thus, though it was hard. Gladly will I carry him on my head!'

They put the youth in a box. Rustam's daughters came to kiss him and said, 'We shall see him well in a year, perhaps!' And the Sīmurgh comforted them, saying, 'Do not weep!' For the Sīmurgh is a spirit, not an ordinary bird, and her power comes from Simat-Héi (*Simat-Hiia*—'Treasure of Life', see p. 27), who is with Melka Ziwa.

Rustam placed the box on his head and said, 'I will carry him as long as I have strength, longer than a year if need be!' He put on his *rasta* and went into the wilderness, carrying the box on his head. The Sīmurgh, after she had licked the youth all over, flew away, bidding Rustam meet her on Sunday. Rustam fared forth into the desert, carrying the boy on his head, and lived upon what he found there, on locusts, honey, fruit, and roots.[7]

The Sīmurgh—had she not said that she would come every Sunday?—fulfilled her promise. There is a region called aṭ-Ṭīb[8] near the river Karūn, and in that place, which once belonged to the Naṣurai and Mandai, there are no harmful things such as scorpions, snakes, or mosquitoes. The air is pure there, and there is a charm on the place which keeps all harmful creatures away. The Arabs know it, and their '*ulamā*' speak of this place of healing with praise. Its name was not formerly aṭ-Ṭīb but was called 'Matha d Naṣurai'. Now before she flew away the Sīmurgh had bidden Rustam meet her there, in that spot, for the prayers and devotions of the Naṣurai had made the place pure and had banished all evil things and all creatures of the Darkness from it. He went, therefore, and she came and licked the boy with her tongue and gave him strength from the Ayat Hiwel Ziwa.

Rustam looked at the Sīmurgh, and when she said, 'Do not fear! He will be cured!' his heart was lightened.

So it was a year, and the Sīmurgh came every Sunday to that place, and licked the boy and gave him strength. When the end of the year came, the Sīmurgh was very glad and joyful, and Rustam's heart rejoiced when she said to him, 'To-day your son will be as well as he was before, and better!'

She came, and she prayed to God with her wings outspread. She prayed to the *ʿuthri* and to the *melki* and to Shamish. Then she spread her wings on the lad and gazed at him. *Dī*, *dī*, *dī*, *dī*! softly, softly, his soul took strength.

Rustam looked like one in a dream, with his arms upraised, glad, but gazing.

Dī! the lad received his soul, and his *paghra* (earthly body) began to function. He was stronger than before. His eyes began to sparkle and to see, and he began to smile into the face of the Sīmurgh. He sneezed and sat up, and in that sneeze his soul returned to him wholly; for, lady, if a person falls ill and his soul is but lightly attached to him, and he sneezes, his soul will come back to him.

Yazd sat up and, just as a serpent sloughs her skin, he cast his, and came out clean and beautiful. He rose and fell before the Sīmurgh and kissed her, and said, 'I am very grateful to you for keeping me in this world!'

Many persons had gathered together that day to see this miracle worked, and from that time the place was called aṭ-Ṭīb. To this day it is thus called.

Rustam and Yazd went to Zāl, who seized the lad and embraced him, asking him, 'Are you well?' and the boy replied, 'I am well!'

For a whole year there was rejoicing, and by common wish the lad was made Shah, and seven treasures were given to be spent in charity as a thankoffering for his cure.

Now, news had reached the lad's mother that Rustam had killed his son. She was full of black thought, and she took one hundred thousand soldiers from her father and rode with them until she reached the borders of Rustam's country. Rustam received news that an army was approaching to take the kingdom, and he disguised himself as a *darwīsh* and went early one morning to see what their leader was like.

His wife wore a veil which covered her completely except for her eyes—for such was their custom—and she sat on her horse. He knew her not, but as soon as she saw him she knew him for her husband in spite of his disguise, and tried to strike at his head with a mace. Rustam said to her, 'Does one Pehlawāni strike another without notice and without cause? It is not done!'

She replied, 'I have cause to strike you!' and he recognized that she was not a man by her voice, and said to her, 'You are a woman, and not a Pehlawāni, and what is the reason that you try to strike me and kill me?'

She began to weep and was unable to lift her hand further against him, for she loved him greatly.

He brought his horse close to her and she said to him, 'You killed Yazd!'

He answered, 'Do not weep! He lives! He lives, and all is well!'

She uncovered her face and said, 'He is dead: how can he be well? Where is he?'

The Pehlwanīya went to bring Yazd.

When they said to him, 'Your mother is here with an army and she wishes to see you', he galloped swiftly to her, for he longed to see her. She saw him as he was still far off, and galloped to him, and then both dismounted and rushed together. She seized him in her arms and they embraced each other.

She cried, 'Are you really Yazd and not a dream?'

He said, 'I, myself, and no dream!'

Then Zāl came riding in a howdah on an elephant, and all mounted into the howdah and returned; Rustam, his son and all of them. The princess kissed Zāl's hand and the old man was delighted with her. All were happy, very happy—how happy!

NOTES ON XXV

1. Rustam is a hero of the sun-type, corresponding to Samson, Gilgamesh, Herakles, and St. George. The horse is probably the horse of the sun chariot. The sacrifice of white horses is mentioned by Herodotus as practised on solemn occasions by the Magians. The horse of St. George is probably the sun-horse. The sun-character of Rustam is plainly indicated in this tale.

2. See *Folk Tales of ʿIraq*, note on sea-horses, p. 303.

3. A mark of distinction. The ordinary guest lies down with the men of the family to sleep.

4. A similar Caesarean operation is recorded in the *Shāhnāmeh* as performed on the advice of the Sīmurgh upon Rūdābeh, Rustam's mother.

5. I interrupted here by saying, 'This story is well known, but in the Persian story Rustam's son is called Sohrāb'. Hirmiz replied, 'The Persians tell the story one way, we another, and ours is the true story. Besides, Sohrāb was Rustam's son by another wife, for Rustam loved many women. He was very strong, and wished to breed sons like himself.'

6. *Durrah*: Hirmiz commented, 'This kind of pearl is more lustrous than the *lu'lu'*, and it was found in ancient times in the sea'. Possibly a crystal. Najaf crystal is called *durr Najaf.*

7. Solitary banishment to the desert and a diet of wild herbs seems to have been a punishment or ordeal inflicted by the Essenes (cf. Josephus's account of them). It may have been a feature of an Iranian cult. It is certainly no coincidence that both John and Jesus spent time in solitude in the desert.

8. *aṭ-Ṭīb*. Mention of a settlement of Naṣurai in aṭ-Ṭīb is made in the Haran Gawaitha. See p. 8.

In *Muʿajjam al-Buldān* Yāqūt writes of aṭ-Ṭīb, 'The merchant Dā'ūd bin Aḥmad bin Saʿid aṭ-Ṭībī told me the following: "It is known amongst us that aṭ-Ṭīb was one of the residences of Seth, son of Adam, and that the inhabitants of this town never ceased to confess the religion of Seth" (i.e. of the Ṣābians) "until the advent of Islām, when they became Muslims."' He also mentions wonderful talismans at aṭ-Ṭīb, which prevented snakes, lizards, ravens, and such creatures from approaching it. According to Yāqūt, aṭ-Ṭīb was a small town between Wāsiṭ and Khuzistān. It is thought to be the modern Sūr, near the police-post Kuwait. See p. 8.

GENERAL

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

Petermann tells a similar story, based on the *Shāhnāmeh* (*Reisen*, p. 109). In his version Rustam carries his son in a box on his head, but the ending differs.

The Sīmurgh plays no part in the story of Rustam and Sohrāb in the *Shāhnāmeh*, but the bird appears earlier in the poem to nourish Zāl, when he was cast forth by his father Sām, to perish on the mountain of Al-Burz. The Sīmurgh promises her foundling that she (or he) will come to his help whenever he burns one of her (or his) feathers. This Zāl does when Rustam is grievously wounded by Isfendiyar, who had previously slain another Sīmurgh. The Sīmurgh, thus summoned, sucks Rustam's wounds and heals them by passing one of her feathers over them. The Sīmurgh plays a considerable part in Mandaean folk-stories. See Legend XXIX.

XXVI. HIRMIZ SHĀH

THEY say that Hirmiz Shāh will return one day to rule over Iran. He is ancient, of the time of Adam, and to this day there is a mountain called the Kuh Hormuzd Shāh in Iran, named after him. I will tell you what my father told me about him.

In the time of Hirmiz Shāh there was such justice that there was no wrongdoing. There was no strife and no war. None were rich and none were poor, for all were equal.[1] Hirmiz Shāh had ruled wisely for eighty years, and when he saw that there was no trouble, that every one was behaving reasonably, and that each man lived in peace with his neighbour, he said, 'These people have no need of a ruler. I will go on a journey and the government will look after itself.'

So he clad himself in the robe of a *darwīsh*, mounted his horse, and rode from city to city and wilderness to wilderness, but lingered not in the cities, for he loved the wilderness best. One day, just before dawn, he was riding in the open country when he became aware of a breeze of great sweetness, rarely good it was! He breathed it in and said, 'This is wonderful air!' and he rode on and on until he saw in the midst of the desert a huge castle. He could see no gate to it, and though he went round and round the wall, he found no entrance. But when he looked at the wall, he saw upon it an inscription in the shape of a gate—a talisman. From his great reading and knowledge of ancient books, he was able to read the talisman, and as soon as he had read it the wall opened. He entered it, and it closed behind him.

The place was lit, as it were, from within; the air was perfumed, and the atmosphere was pure, suave, and smooth. He found himself in the midst of a courtyard, and in the centre of the courtyard was a cistern made entirely of turquoise. Now when he entered the place it was before dawn, and the sun was not yet up; yet, such a light came from the cistern that it lit the place. In the courtyard stood a tree and round the courtyard were many rooms. When he looked into them, he saw furniture decorated with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, but saw no living persons, no, not one! Then he approached the cistern. In it there was water, level and even, but of such cleanliness and purity that it illuminated the castle as if it had been living light. He seated himself on the edge of the cistern, and when the sun rose the water began to rise, and when the sun had fully risen, it swirled upwards and took the shape of a tree, but all of clear water, and, when he gazed at it, he perceived faces in it, like human faces, looking at him from amongst the branches, though the tree was of water. His heart began to fear and he went to hide himself in one of the rooms round the courtyard, when there flew overhead, coming from without, three birds, which settled on the trees which grew beside the fountain. These birds were of a rare beauty, with curved bills like that of a parrot (*bībī matū*). The tree was like a *nabqa* (*lote-tree, see pp. 347–8*) and was watered by a channel fed from the fountain, and there were smaller trees beside it, nourished from the same source. There were no dead leaves beneath the trees, and no withered leaves fell from them.

Presently the birds, which were of such dazzling beauty that he had never seen their like, flew down to the cistern as if they wished to bathe in it. When they reached it, they bowed and said, 'Yukhawar Ziwa, Yukhawar Ziwa, Yukhawar Ziwa!'[2] three times. Then they plunged into the water, and became immediately three beautiful maidens, very young, and of such great sweetness that he marvelled, having never seen anything so lovely before. He reflected upon the words they had uttered, for 'Yukhawar Ziwa' is one of the secret names of God, who wheels in Light. For we have the belief that he who is with the Sun, constantly turns and revolves. Every twenty-eight years the revolutions intensify, and on that day men who see tell us that the light revolves with great swiftness—*dī, dī dī*! By the power of these revolutions, all the souls which are purified issue from the lower world of Darkness. The Darkness is unwilling to let them come forth, even though they have expiated their uncleanness and are ready to go into the worlds of Light. But, by the increased force of the revolutions of light, they are drawn up, and the Spirit of Darkness is compelled to make them a road, that is, if the purification of the soul is complete. If it is still impure, it must remain in the lower world yet longer.

The soul is beloved of God because it is of Him! Then, on Sunday, Hoshaba Rabba (*see p. 198*) comes and takes these purified souls to Awathur, where Awathur Muzania weighs them in the balance. If the soul is pure, the balance remains even; if impure, the scale falls and it must descend for further purification.

When Hirmiz Shāh heard the secret name of God from these damsels, he wondered. He looked at them and said, 'What enchantment is this?' The maidens put on exquisite garments, and entered a room, and said to each other, 'There is a smell of man here!' Hirmiz feigned sleep, and they came upon him and said, one to the other, 'This is a greybeard, let us not harm him! But if he knew how to bathe in the fountain, he would recover the strength of his youth!'

The eldest said, 'How did he enter the castle?'

The youngest replied, 'He must have read the talisman and be an old man of much knowledge. Without doubt, we will keep him and guard him in this castle!'

He had heard all that they said, and opened his eyes. They said, 'You have wakened!' and he replied, 'Aye!'

They said, 'Welcome, Hirmiz Shāh!'

He said to them, 'I should like to bathe in this fountain.'

They replied, 'Be pleased to do so! Bathe!'

They brought clean clothes for him, and he entered the water and began to bathe, saying 'Yukhawar Ziwa!' thrice. Then his soul became light. Heaviness left him, and a feeling of well-being and lightness possessed him and a sense of life. Then, as he looked, he saw in the fountain something like a Person, sitting in the water and gazing at him, with white water falling about him.

He began to worship in the Siriani tongue, saying, '*Tum min hëi haiasuthkhon, tiabuthkhon, tiaruthkhon, atramuthkhon dilkhon* . . .'[3] thus asking the Life to grant him life and purity, to pardon his sins and make him clean.

Then he came out of the water and the girls said to him in astonishment, 'Whence have you this knowledge?'

He replied, 'From my conscience, from God.'

They said, 'That Person in the water, do you know who he is?'

He replied, 'I know not, but I see something wonderful! I wish to learn, and, as I am your guest and you are kind to me, no doubt you will instruct me.'

They said, 'We cannot instruct you: you must know of yourself!'

It was Sunday. Food and water were brought to them without hands, with no one coming or going, for there was only himself and the three damsels.

Presently, he thought he *saw*, like a flash of lightning, he saw! Then he knew the Light and was glad. Whatever he wished to be, was; and if he wished to be lifted up from the ground, he was straightway lifted up into the air.

The damsels were rejoiced and said, 'Blessed One! Blessed Hirmiz! Now you are like us!'

Whenever he wished it, he was lifted up into the air; moreover, he could fly as a bird flies, and take the shape of a bird. Like his companions, he flew hither and thither in the shape of a bird, whither he would, and lived with them in the castle always.

It was Sultan Jīk[4] who knew of all this, for he saw Hirmiz and the three maidens on a tree and spoke with them and learnt what I have told you. Sultan Jīk had lore from the Lord of Darkness, whereas Hirmiz and his knowledge were of the Light. He was a magician, Sultan Jīk, of the West, and he could form soldiers out of the air.

NOTES ON XXVI

1. The ideal communistic state of the Mandaeans. See pp. 323, 325, &c.

2. *Yukabar Ziwa*. See p. 281, note 6.

3. 'And now, from the Life (I ask) your pity, your healing, your radiance, your compassion, yours—.' This prayer is one recited towards the end of the *masiqta*.

4. I have been unable to trace Sultan Jīk.

Narrator: Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXVII. THE MAN WHO SOUGHT TO SEE SIN,[1] THE MOON

There once lived a man who, besides having knowledge of the sun, of Awat̲h̲ur (*Abat̲h̲ur*), and of other stars, had a special knowledge of Sin. His knowledge was not that which is seemly to those who study our religion, but was lore pertaining to the forbidden magic of Sin, matters into which a pious man should not enter. But his soul feared Sin, for if a man begins to study such matters, Sin takes possession of his soul, and for this reason it is forbidden to us to seek to enter into the secrets of Sin.

Now this man had a great longing to behold Sin, and was the master of forbidden knowledge and spells. His family had always possessed such writings and spells, and he said to himself, '*Maku c̲h̲āra*!' (There is no help for it!)

Now there is a certain *dīwān*[2] which, when read, calls up the image of Sin before the reader. So this man said, 'I have knowledge of the stars (i.e. am able to protect myself from harm), and I desire to see Sin', and with that he began to read the incantation. He began to read it at moonrise, that is to say, when Sin came up, and while reciting it, he fell asleep. In his sleep, he felt some one poking him in the ribs.

He started awake, crying, 'Who is it?' and gazed about him, but no one was there. He began to read again, but some one rapped him on the shoulder. Whenever he tried to sleep, he was poked or rapped. In a fright he rose and began to pray in order to protect himself. But Sin would not allow him to sleep. Then he read holy books to protect himself: he read a *butha* of Melka Ziwa, whom Sin fears.

But every night after that it was the same. Whenever the moon rose, he was shaken or nudged and not permitted to sleep. Sometimes he felt grievously afraid, but nevertheless he said to himself, 'How I should like to behold Sin! I cannot help it, I desire to see Sin!'

So he persisted in reading the incantation, and as soon as Sin had risen in the sky, whether at midnight or towards morning, he was unable to sleep at ease, for he was always awakened by touches or shaking. His wakening was always sudden and violent. Once he thought he saw something above his head. He began to be uneasy, for this constant sudden awakening was unpleasant, still, he continued to desire to behold Sin.

One night he read the incantation and fell asleep. He dreamt that he saw a *shiviahi*, with eyes set vertically in his face, gazing upon him. And then a thick and strangling darkness came upon him; he could not move hand or foot, and his blood moved weakly in his veins.

Now when one is oppressed by an incubus or nightmare, the only thing to do is to say, '*Ya Hiwel Ziwa*!' and the o (the aleph) in the invocation is like an eye and resembles the eye of God. If one can say this, heaviness departs. If not, one cries out, oppressed by nightmare.

This man cried out the invocation, and his incubus departed from him and he was able to sit up, but he was extremely frightened, for he knew that if he had not called out the name of God he would have been strangled. However, he said, 'Hiwel Ziwa will free me again if I am in such danger, and I still long to behold Sin.'

On the fourteenth night the moon was full. He went and plunged into the river and made his prayer (*rahmi*) and put on his *rasta*, saying to himself, 'If I am killed in this venture, at least I shall be prepared to die!'

Then he sat down and began to read the incantation of Sin. As he read, the power of the moon began to draw and drag at him, like a magnet pulls iron. Presently his head began to swim and he felt drowsy and heavy. Then something came and struck him. He woke in a fright. In spite of all his heaviness, each time his eyes closed, he was awakened thus.

He went to his house and said to his wife, 'I am heavy with sleep! But if you hear me crying out in my sleep, wake me, or I may be killed.'

He could not keep his eyes open longer, and his wife sat beside him to watch. When she touched him, she too began to feel heavy and her head to swim, though her heaviness was not so strong as his, for she preserved her waking senses. Above their bed, which was of reeds and clay, was a mosquito net. In those days our beds were always couches of clay and reeds.

Then the man lying as if paralysed, and unable to move hand or foot, saw three very small white birds flying round the mosquito curtain. He tried to speak and move, but found that he was as if dead. His wife saw him lying rigid, trembling, and staring, and she shook him and pulled him up, crying, *Ushma ad Héi*! (Name of the Life!) He was then able to sit up. She said to him, 'I saw them, too, and was half frozen with fright, but not so much as you. I said the name of God.'

They sat up all the rest of the night and ate and tried to sleep no more. When the sun was up, they felt no longer afraid, and slept.

(The sun, lady, is very powerful for good! It has ten *melki* with Shamish, all mighty ones.)

The wife said to her husband, 'Go to the *ganzowra* and ask him to exorcise you. Why should you be thus troubled in the night?' For he had told her nothing of his spells and his knowledge of Sin.

He answered her, 'What need have I of the *ganzowra*? I know as much as he does!' And this was true, for he was a very learned man. However, to please her, he went to the *ganzowra* on the Sunday and said to him, 'What were those three birds which I saw in the night? When I saw them, I became as helpless as if I had drunk henbane or were struck by paralysis. What did the apparition mean?'

The *ganzowra* was a pious man who had a garden in which flowers, palms, and myrtle trees grew and the river flowed past it. The myrtle is a very beneficial tree, and useful to make *klilas* (*see pp.* 35–6).

Now the man told the *ganzowra* about the birds, but said no word of how he had invoked Sin. However, as soon as the *ganzowra* heard of the three birds, he knew that Sin was concerned in the matter! He said to the man, 'Carry a *zrazta* and wear a *skandola* on your finger' (*pp.* 36–8). 'Then you will be able to sleep fearlessly. No devil or child of darkness can harm you if you are so protected.'

The man thought this was good advice, and he provided himself with both, saying to himself, 'Protected thus, I shall at last be able to see the image of Sin without risk to myself!'

So he began to read moon-spells again, saying in excuse, 'O Mara ad Rabutha (Lord of Greatness), I only wish to see his likeness—only that!'

Then he slept, and he saw something resembling a mist of white cloud, and from it issued a black shape with seven heads, all black with a blackness which words cannot describe. Further details he was unable to see. Sin has the power to make himself black or white by night, for his power is in the darkness, and it is he who incites thieves to steal and people to commit crimes by night. As the man gazed at this black shape, a white substance seemed to wreathe up before it like the steam of boiling water, and moved upwards. All that had been black suddenly became white, and as much as his heart had been oppressed before, it began to be at ease now and to rejoice. While he had gazed at the blackness he had felt as though he would choke, but when the whiteness rose before it, he could breathe again, and calm fell on his spirit.

(When a man loves Hiwel Ziwa, darkness falls from him and light clothes him like a garment! Light and more light descends upon him!)

Now, when the man beheld Sin in this last shape, he understood that the force and strength of Sin comes from

Awathur, and from that moment he began to invoke the powers of light, so that he might be released from darkness and from the evil which is darkness.

From that time, however, he was liable to wake suddenly in a fright, until he discovered that if he slept facing Awathur (the North Star), he could sleep peacefully.

NOTES ON XXVII

1. Sin appears in a sinister light in this story. For the seven heads of the moon see p. 275.

2. A magical roll.

Narrator, Hirmiz bar Anhar.

XXVIII. THE SĪMURGH AND HIRMIZ SHĀH

The Sīmurgh is a 'hidden' bird, her ways are mystery. She lives like a queen in the mountains, but every Sunday she likes to fly forth and visit sons of Adam—kings of the earth. When she approaches she is like a cloud, for she is big, and as soon as she is perceived coming in the sky, they play the big drum and the women utter joy-cries, and all are glad because of her coming. This was in the old time. Especially did the ruler to whom she made visit rejoice. Zāl, Rustam, Kai Khosru, Sarhang, Afrāsiāb, all hoped that she might pay them a visit one Sunday, and used to say, 'O God! Let the Sīmurgh visit me!' These were the days of the Pehlewān.

It happened one Sunday that the Sīmurgh came to visit Hirmiz Shāh, who had prayed to his Lord that she might come, and had prepared a castle for her reception on a hill, which was set with trees and watered by clear rivers, and adorned with a garden. She alighted on this place, and when Hirmiz Shāh saw her, he rejoiced greatly, and went to her saying, 'Be welcome! God cause you to live! A thousand joy-cries for you (*Elf halla bīk*!).'

In the lower room of the castle he had built for her—and from this room one looked out on the garden and upon a fountain—Hirmiz Shāh had prepared a throne upon which the Sīmurgh could seat herself, so that she might rest and need not stand upon her two legs. It had a mattress covered with velvet, against which her breast might repose, and was like a nest in shape—her tail came out behind. The fountain of water was as clear as a lump of ice, and the water leapt straight up into the air and was white and pure, and spread out like a tree. Hirmiz sat before the bird, and, seeing that she gazed at the fountain, he looked at it, and saw in the water something which resembled a being of light. The Sīmurgh knew that Hirmiz Shāh had seen something. When she turned away her head and did not gaze at the water, the appearance died away. The Sīmurgh, aware that Hirmiz Shāh was observing this, smiled and Hirmiz Shāh smiled, too, for his heart felt rejoiced at that which he had seen.

Then the servants of the Shah brought fruits of the mountain-country—pears, quinces, and apples, and set them before the Sīmurgh in baskets. She thanked him and began to eat of what he had offered her.

Said Hirmiz Shāh, 'I should like to kill a sheep and bring it to your honour, so that your honour may eat of it.'

She smiled and replied, 'I do not eat that which has breath. I eat fruit only.'[1]

After she had eaten in the beautiful place which had been prepared for her, Hirmiz Shāh said, 'If your highness permits, I should like to show you how our women dance.'

She answered, 'As you please! Favour me!'

Now Hirmiz Shāh had some maidens whom he had brought up from their earliest years. They were beautiful girls, intelligent, and carefully trained, and their voices were melodious and sweet. He sent for them and said, 'I want you to dance and sing for the Sīmurgh.'

They replied, 'Gladly!' and musicians were brought who played on the pipes, which in Īrān they call *ambūbi*.[2] If two or three musicians play on them in concert, the sound is delightful. Six pipers were brought, who played with the utmost skill and sweetness. The girls began to dance. Lady! So well did they dance that you would have thought them made of a piece. If they turned, it was all at the same instant. They bent together and rose together, and turned together; all exactly in unison, not one was behindhand. As the Sīmurgh witnessed their performance, she exclaimed, 'How cleverly they dance!' and was delighted with them. When the girls had finished and were resting, she said to Hirmiz Shāh, 'I am extremely grateful to you for the pleasure and delight you have given me, and, in return, I will grant you your heart's wish!'

Hirmiz Shāh was glad and said to himself, 'God brought her here, and now I shall ask her the dearest wish of my heart!' To the Sīmurgh he said, 'I only ask an answer to one question.'

Replied the bird, 'Speak! What is your wish?'

Said Hirmiz to her, 'Sīmurgh, the sons of Adam are not persuaded of truth if they cannot see proofs with their eyes! We are children of Adam, and if nothing is revealed to our eyes, we cannot speak with certainty about anything!'

She smiled, for she knew what Hirmiz was thinking and wishing.

Said Hirmiz, 'We want to see the King of Light, with the *melki* and the *'uthri*, so that our souls may receive certainty even in this world.'

The Sīmurgh replied, 'How do you know that I have knowledge enough to grant your request?'

Said Hirmiz, 'When I saw you gazing at the fountain, I knew it, for when you turned your eyes upon the water, I saw a Being in it, a shape of light, crowned with light, in the water. Sometimes it was coloured red, the colour of flowers, at which my heart rejoiced. Sometimes it was yellow, but a yellow of great beauty, sometimes green, sometimes turquoise and exceedingly lovely, and sometimes blue like the robe of Ruha—a most beautiful blue. Sometimes it was black like a cloud, but even in the deepness of that black I could perceive a Shape, for my eyes were not dazzled by light. I saw this when you gazed at the water, and I was persuaded that you have knowledge, and that nothing can be hidden from you!'

The bird, the Sīmurgh, laughed and said, "*Āferīm*! Bravo! You have understood! I have visited many kings, but never before have I seen one as intelligent as yourself!'

Said Hirmiz, 'I ask you for this boon, that
the King of Light, with the *melki* and the '*u*
seeing, our hearts may believe, and rejoice an

Answered the Sīmurgh, 'Later on I will sl

Hirmiz Shāh was delighted and said to t
girls, 'I will give you money! I will give you a
in my treasury!'

The dancing girls were overjoyed and said
will bring our birds to dance before the Sīn
the girls had birds which they had trained fr
to dance together as if they were human. T
the birds, which were white, sky-blue, red
colours, and the birds stood in a row, one besi
as their mistresses had trained them. The p
to play the pipes, the girls began to dance, a
struck their wings together in unison, like a
taq-taq! It was very pretty!

The Sīmurgh was astonished at the train
birds and the cleverness with which they
wings in unison, and, indeed, it was a strang

Thus the night passed in pleasant amuse
kind, in dancing and eating fruit and conv
Pehlewān and nobles and other guests sitti
with the Shah and his guest.

At last the morning star, Ubreyha—her o
Merīkh—appeared in the sky. When she
nomads go to milk their cattle, for she is
before dawn. The Sīmurgh when she saw
to the Shah, 'The time has come, and I will n
melki, and permit you to hear their voices a
cantations (*lit. how they read*). You shall s
appear.' She ordered two small bowls to be b
in the middle of each bowl was a small rece
caused a thread to be passed through the r
each bowl, and secured in the middle. Then
put one bowl to her ear, and told Hirmiz to p
to his ear; and she rose and gazed at the fou

Hirmiz looked, and, behold! seven per
peared in the midst of the water, each of his o

boon, that we may see
and the '*uthri*, so that
rejoice and rest!'
n I will show you!'
d said to the dancing-
give you all the money

d and said to him, 'We
re the Sīmurgh.' For
trained from nestlings
uman. They brought
-blue, red, and other
w, one beside the other
m. The pipers began
dance, and the birds
son, like a drum, *taq-*

t the training of these
ich they struck their
s a strange thing.
ant amusement of this
and conversation: the
uests sitting together

ha—her other name is
Vhen she appears, the
or she is seen shortly
she saw the star said
nd I will now show you
ir voices and their in-
ou shall see how they
wls to be brought, and
small receptacle.[3] She
ugh the receptacle of
lle. Then the Sīmurgh
irmiz to put the other
at the fountain.
seven personages ap-
ch of his own kind and

---

colour and shape. V
their colours interm
exceedingly beautif
sound, chanted,

Ya tali
Sharagh

Hirmiz Shāh gaze
be those in the world
Dī! After Ubreyh
Hirmiz, looking, beh
seven heads. Voices
they were very lovely
Personage sat thus—
on his knees).
Then the sun app
began to smile and
'Now I shall behold t
The bowl was at h
ear of the Sīmurgh.
also, and he heard an
beauty and music lik
better than anything h
he saw in the midst o
and sweetness that he

Aka hëi (*Aka*
Aka marey *Aka m*
Aka Mandaṭ Hëi! *Aka M*

So great was his joy tha
him, and he cried, 'Gr
But the Sīmurgh sai
Treasure of Life) is g
all Life, the mother of
from her. The birds v
the fishes praise the
dervishes; cocks chant
when she appears. Bu
utter their joy at her p
Said Hirmiz Shāh, '

ve may see
hri, so that
rest!'
ow you!'
e dancing-
the money

o him, 'We
urgh.' For
n nestlings
ey brought
and other
le the other
pers began
d the birds
drum, *taq-*

ng of these
truck their
thing.
nent of this
rsation: the
ng together

her name is
ppears, the
een shortly
he star said
w show you
nd their in-
e how they
rought, and
ptacle.[3] She
eceptacle of
he Sīmurgh
ut the other
tain.
sonages ap-
wn kind and

colour and shape. When t
their colours intermingle
exceedingly beautiful. T
sound, chanted,

Ya tali Ziwa
Sharaghi Ziwa[4]

Hirmiz Shāh gazed and w
be those in the world who c
Dī! After Ubreyha had
Hirmiz, looking, beheld o
seven heads. Voices came
they were very lovely and
Personage sat thus—(*the n*
on his knees).
Then the sun appeared
began to smile and Hirmi
'Now I shall behold that w
The bowl was at his ear
ear of the Sīmurgh. As sh
also, and he heard and perc
beauty and music like the
better than anything he had
he saw in the midst of the
and sweetness that he was e

Aka hēi (*Aka hiia*
Aka marey *Aka marai*
Aka Manda ṭ Hēi! Aka Manda

So great was his joy that his u
him, and he cried, 'Greater t
But the Sīmurgh said to h
Treasure of Life) is great i
all Life, the mother of all!
from her. The birds when
the fishes praise the Mot
dervishes; cocks chant at d
when she appears. Bulbuls,
utter their joy at her presen
Said Hirmiz Shāh, 'I can

When they conversed with each other,
rmingled, and the play of colour was
tiful. Their voices, like a melody in

ali Ziwa	O rays of Light,
aghi Ziwa[4]	Lamps of Light!

zed and was amazed and cried, 'Can there
rld who deny the existence of spirits?'
eyha had gone, the moon appeared, and
beheld one sitting in the water who had
ces came from these seven heads, and
vely and melodious. The seven-headed
s—(*the narrator sat upright with his hands*

ppeared in the east, and the Simurgh
nd Hirmiz rejoiced, saying to himself,
ld that which is the best of all!'
t his ear and the other bowl was at the
h. As she gazed at the water, he gazed
and perceived sounds, voices of great
like the sounds of flutes, a music far
ng he had ever heard before. He thought
st of the water a woman of such beauty
t he was entranced and exclaimed,

ka hiia	There is Life
ka marai	There is my Lord
ka Manda d Hiia!)	There is Life Incarnate![5]

that his understanding almost flew from
'Greater than this surely does not exist!'
said to him, 'Simat Héi (*Simat Hiia*,[6]
s great indeed! She is the Mother of
r of all! All life in this world proceeds
ds when they twitter, utter her praises;
the Mother of All Life and are her
ant at dawn in her praise, and delight
Bulbuls, doves, sparrows, and all birds
er presence!'
āh, 'I cannot confess or admit that there

can be greater than this She! It would be difficult for me to do so!'

The Sīmurgh laughed. But Hirmiz Shāh said, 'Yet I wish to see further!'

She replied, 'You shall see further!'

The sun turned, and arrived at the North Star. Then the Sīmurgh prostrated herself, and began to pray, saying:

> 'Then, from the Life (I ask) your mercy, your healing power, your radiance, your compassion, yours, Great First Life! Forgive me, make me whole, awake me, have compassion on this my soul, mine, Nimrus Zaina, for whom this prayer which I have prayed and these devotions shall bring forgiveness of my sins.'

When the bird uttered the name 'Nimrus Zaina',[7] Hirmiz Shāh understood that she was none other than Ruha herself, for Nimrus Zaina is one of the names of Ruha. And he fell before her, crying, 'I crave your protection and that of your son!'[8]

But she said to him, 'Behold, I have more things to show you!'

After he had prostrated himself, he arose and saw a King of great Brilliance, all of light, surrounded by many *'uthri* and *melki*. He who was in their midst was so dazzling to the sight that Hirmiz could not gaze upon him, but cast down his eyes.

Said the Sīmurgh, 'You have seen Melka d Anhura, the King of Light, Melka Ziwa, the Radiant Lord. The likeness of Simat Héi[9] appears in the sun, but none can gaze upon her, none. Only I can show you—I!'

And from that time, Hirmiz Shāh abandoned all things (*jazz*) and left the world and went into the wilderness and became a *darwīsh*.

(When commenting upon this tale, I said to the narrator, Hirmiz bar Anhar, 'In your story the planets and Ruha are honoured, and yet the Ginza Rabba says that they are the portion of darkness.'

The old man replied, 'Lady, the enmity between Ruha and her children and the world of light does not exist in reality. Between the Darkness and the Light there is no enmity, because both are the creations of One and the

Same. The enmity that you read of is the creation of priests, and those who wrote the *ginzi* (treasures, holy books). Why should there be enmity between us and the powers of darkness, or between the powers of the darkness and those of the light? There is only love! Love holds all things together so that they form a whole.')

NOTES ON XXVIII

1. As later appears, the Sīmurgh is identified with Ruha, the 'Breath of Life', and so is naturally vegetarian. *Ruha* = breath.

2. Also Mandaean for pipes—hollow reeds.

3. See note on divining bowls, p. 318.

4. This is the opening of a song sung at weddings.

5. Or, Knowledge of Life. See p. 11.

6. *Simat Hiia.* See p. 27.

7. *Nimrus Zaina.* Ruha is often called Nimrus in the Mandaean writings. Nimrus Zaina is the armed Ruha, a conception which recalls the Ishtar of Arbela, the armed Ishtar whose weapons appear over her shoulders.

8. Ruha's son is 'Ur, the great earth-dragon. See pp. 253 ff.

9. The reference to Simat Hiia seems out of place here. However, the story is given as taken down. Hirmiz's comment while discussing the story was, 'Simat Héi is the Mother of Life, and our souls are brought by her from Kanna d Nishmatha' (the gathering-place of Souls). 'She gives us high thoughts and gladness: those who love her and the King of Light become like beings of light and are her portion. Darkness cannot approach them.'

GENERAL

Note, p. 232, *Legacy of Islam* (chapter on mysticism by R. A. Nicholson): '. . . "Bird-speech", as the title of 'Aṭṭar's poem may be rendered, is the story of the birds which set out under the leadership of the hoopoe to seek the Sīmurgh, their mysterious king. After traversing the seven valleys of Search, Love, Knowledge, Detachment, Unity, Bewilderment and Self-Noughting, the survivors, thirty in number, are admitted to his presence, and realize that "they themselves are the Sīmurgh, while the Sīmurgh is nothing but those thirty birds (Sī murgh)".

They besought the disclosure of this deep mystery and demanded the
solution of "we-ness" and "thou-ness".
Without speech came the answer from that Presence, saying "This sun-like Presence is like a mirror,
Whoever enters it sees himself therein; body and soul see therein the
same body and soul".'

Hirmiz's imagery is comprehensible: the first seven presences are the planets, but the seven-headed figure is the full moon (see p. 275).

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(Book of Souls)

Majid Fandi Al-Mubaraki
2010

Sydney, Australia

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Mandaean Liturgical Prayer Book (Book of Souls).

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47 ࡅࡄࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡃࡅࡕࡅࡀࡄࡋࡕࡀ ࡅࡕࡉࡍࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡉࡍࡄࡃࡋࡕࡀ

48 ࡀࡌࡏࡉࡀ ࡅࡕࡃࡍࡋࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡍࡃࡀࡍࡕࡉࡀ

49 ࡍࡃࡀࡍࡋࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡅࡉࡍ ࡅࡉࡃࡀ ࡃࡍࡄࡃࡋࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

50 ࡀࡒࡀࡒࡀࡕ ࡄࡍࡕࡃࡍ ࡄࡍࡃࡕࡃࡄࡀ

51 ࡕࡒࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡍࡕࡉࡍࡀ

52 ࡕࡋࡕࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡉࡉࡅࡕࡃࡍ ࡅࡕࡃࡍࡀ ࡌࡅࡕࡉࡋࡕࡀ

53 ࡕࡍࡏࡉࡋࡕࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡃࡅࡀࡍࡃࡅࡕࡀ

54 ࡕࡉࡄࡋࡕࡀ ࡉࡃࡀࡍࡀࡒࡀࡒࡀࡕ ࡋࡕࡋࡕࡀࡉࡀ

ࡀࡁࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡃࡅࡍࡀࡁࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡁࡉࡁࡉࡅ
ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡅࡁ ࡀࡁࡉࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡋࡀࡅࡒࡉࡍࡉࡃࡀࡁࡃࡍ
ࡁࡉࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡀࡁࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡀࡁ
ࡀࡁࡀࡅࡒࡁࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡅ
ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀࡁࡋࡃࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡉࡍࡀࡅࡒࡀࡅࡉࡄࡃࡍ
ࡒࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡁࡉࡁࡉࡅ ࡁࡋࡁࡀࡄࡀࡁࡀࡉࡄࡃࡍ
ࡍࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡋࡀࡁࡉࡅ ࡒࡅࡒࡅࡄࡉࡅ
ࡅࡋࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡒࡅ ࡒࡅࡉࡄࡀ
ࡁࡀࡉࡃ ࡉࡍࡅࡒࡉࡍࡅ ࡄࡍࡁࡉࡍ
ࡒࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡃࡀࡉࡄࡃࡍ
ࡁࡀࡁࡋࡁࡉࡄࡍࡀࡁࡃࡍ ࡃࡁࡀࡁࡋࡁࡀࡉࡅࡀࡁࡀࡁࡃࡍ
ࡀࡁࡍࡀࡋࡍ ࡃࡀࡅࡒࡉࡍࡁࡉࡍ
ࡀࡁࡉࡍ ࡃࡀࡁࡍ ࡒࡅࡁࡃࡉࡅ
ࡁࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡍࡉࡎࡉࡅ ࡋࡀࡉࡃࡀ
ࡍࡉࡅࡄࡀ ࡃࡀࡅࡒࡅࡋࡀࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡃࡉࡅ ࡁࡁࡃࡄࡋࡁࡀ ࡉࡉࡅࡁࡀࡀࡁ
ࡁࡋࡁࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡃࡀࡁࡀࡅࡒࡁࡉࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ⊙ ࡀࡋࡀ ⊙
ࡁࡋࡁࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡃࡀࡁࡀࡅࡒࡁࡉࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ⊙ ࡉࡉࡅࡒࡃࡀࡁ ࡁࡋࡁ ࡍࡃ ⊙
ࡈࡀࡁ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

—⊙— ࡁࡍࡏࡉࡁࡀࡁࡀ —⊙—

ࡁࡍࡏࡉࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡀࡁࡄࡀࡀࡀࡁࡀࡁࡀ
ࡁࡎࡉࡋࡁࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡁࡉࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡃࡄࡀ ࡃࡍࡉࡒࡅࡉࡀࡁࡀࡁࡀ
ࡀࡄࡃࡋࡁࡀ

—⊙— ࡁࡀࡃࡀࡀ ࡉࡉࡀࡃࡀࡅࡁࡉࡄࡀࡀ —⊙—

ࡀࡁࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡅࡃࡁࡉࡍ ࡃࡀࡃࡀࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡍ
ࡀࡃࡀࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡅ ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡅ
ࡁࡋࡅࡍࡃࡍ ࡁࡉࡋࡅࡍࡃࡍ
ࡀࡄࡃࡋࡁࡀ

ࡍࡉࡍࡄࡃࡋࡁࡋࡀࡉ ࡁࡃࡄࡍࡁࡀࡉ
ࡍࡉ ࡅࡎࡀ ࡅࡎࡀ ࡁࡏࡉࡍࡉࡍࡉࡅ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ
ࡁࡃࡍࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡁ ࡁࡃࡍࡉࡅࡍ ⊙ ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡉࡅ ⊙
ࡁࡃࡍࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡁ ࡁࡃࡍࡉࡅࡍ ⊙ ࡀࡋࡀ ⊙

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ࡅࡓࡉࡌࡀࡃ ࡌࡋࡃࡀࡉࡌࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡉࡄࡀࡕࡀ
ࡓࡉࡁࡓࡕࡀ ࡀࡏࡆࡀࡃࡕࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡋࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡃࡀࡍࡄࡅࡃࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡃࡀࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ ࡎــــــــــــــــــــــــــــࡀ

◎ ࡎࡀࡏࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡄࡀࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡄࡃ
ࡀࡍࡀࡓࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡃࡕࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡃࡌࡉࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡉࡉࡌࡉࡓࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡉࡄࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡄࡀࡃࡋࡅࡍ
ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡅࡃࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡃࡃࡀࡉࡉࡀ
ࡃࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡃࡉࡍ ࡎــــــــــــــــــــࡀ

◎ ࡎࡀࡏࡃࡃࡀࡕ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡅࡃࡀࡃ ࡉࡉࡅࡀ ࡉࡉࡋࡃࡀࡌ
ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡃࡃࡀ ࡊࡀࡃࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡉࡋࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ
ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡋࡎࡌࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀ ࡀࡃࡃࡌࡀ ࡅࡃࡃࡃࡉࡍ
ࡅࡃࡃࡀ ࡀࡋࡁࡉࡀ ࡃࡃࡃࡀࡍ ࡃࡕࡃࡀ ࡅࡋࡁ ࡃࡃࡃࡀࡍ
ࡃࡕࡃࡀ ࡃࡓࡀ ࡓࡄࡃࡀ ࡎࡏࡃࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡋ
ࡁࡀࡎࡌࡓࡀ ࡉࡉࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡌ ࡁࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡉࡄࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡉࡓࡀ
ࡅࡃࡄࡀࡃࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡃࡓࡀ ࡀࡔࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡋࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡔࡉࡊࡓࡕࡀ
ࡃࡉࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ ࡎــــــــــــــــــࡀ

◎ ࡎࡀࡏࡃࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡄࡀࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡔࡀࡅࡕࡀ
ࡀࡎࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡋࡃࡀ ࡀࡅࡃࡀࡃ ࡃࡉࡎࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡁࡃࡔࡀ
ࡅࡕࡃࡀࡓࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡕࡀ ࡆࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡄࡃࡀ
ࡅࡔࡃࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡕࡕࡀ ࡄࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡃࡃࡕࡀ
ࡅࡔࡃࡀࡕ ࡋࡎࡌࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡃࡀࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡕࡃࡉࡀ
ࡋࡌࡄࡉࡆࡀ ࡋࡃࡌࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡅࡀࡃࡀࡃ ࡆࡀࡀ
ࡃࡆࡉࡅࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡉࡓࡁࡁࡔࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡁࡃࡉࡔ ࡅࡏࡀࡋࡉࡋ
ࡅࡀࡌࡃࡃ ࡀࡅࡃࡀࡃ ࡆࡀ ࡃࡕࡃࡀ ࡌࡀࡃࡀ ࡊࡋ
ࡏࡀࡃࡃࡀ ࡓࡄࡓࡃࡀࡉࡀ ࡉࡉࡃࡄࡀࡀ ࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡕࡀ
ࡓࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡍ ࡅࡃࡃࡀ ࡄࡀࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡕࡃࡀ
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ࡕࡃࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡎــــــــــــــــــــࡀ

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ࡄࡍࡊࡉࡀ ࡎࡍࡄࡋࡊࡀ ࡊࡍࡉࡄࡓ ࡏࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡁࡊࡍࡕࡅࡓࡍࡊࡅࡓ
ࡋࡊࡊࡍࡊ ࡏࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡊࡊࡍࡊࡀ ࡍࡋࡉࡄࡍࡉࡀ
ࡀࡋࡍࡊࡀ ࡊࡍࡋࡊࡍࡌࡉࡀ ࡉࡉࡉࡍࡀࡋࡍࡊ ࡁࡊࡍࡓࡊࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡍࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡍࡁࡊࡍࡀࡉࡕ ࡄࡍࡅࡉࡓࡊࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡅࡓ ࡁࡊࡉࡀ ࡀࡊࡍࡊ
ࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡊࡊࡀ ࡌࡍࡁࡊࡀ ࡊࡏࡍ ࡌࡆࡉࡓࡓࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡉࡀࡊࡊࡉࡊ
ࡊࡄࡉࡊ ࡍࡊࡊࡊࡀ ࡋࡓࡍࡅࡌࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡁࡊࡍࡊ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡍࡓ
ࡊࡉࡋࡅࡓࡍࡓ ࡉࡉࡋࡌࡍࡁࡊࡍࡉࡆࡓࡍࡓ ࡊࡉࡋࡅࡓࡍࡓ ࡀࡕࡉࡕ ࡁࡊࡓ ࡀࡋࡁࡊࡀ
ࡉࡅࡓࡕࡍࡄࡉࡋ ࡍࡁࡊࡓ ࡊࡉࡓࡍࡕࡍࡉࡀࡓ ࡉࡉࡁࡊࡄࡍࡌࡍࡌࡀࡊࡍࡕࡍ
ࡊࡉࡌࡀࡕࡍ ࡍࡁࡊࡓ ࡀࡕࡍࡕࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡍࡊࡎࡉࡀ ࡉࡉࡀࡊࡍࡕࡍࡊ
ࡀࡕࡉࡊࡊࡀ ࡉࡉࡓࡍࡅࡉࡓࡊ ࡍࡕࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡍࡓࡅࡀ ࡄࡍࡀࡀ ࡓࡉࡌࡉࡁࡊࡕࡀ
ࡉࡅࡋࡍࡓ ࡉࡉࡄࡍࡀࡀ ࡁࡊࡍࡎࡉࡊࡊࡕࡀ ࡄࡓࡍࡊࡉࡆࡓ ࡄࡍ ࡀࡉࡍࡀ
ࡊࡊࡀ ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡍࡊࡊࡊࡀ ࡉࡉࡋࡌࡆࡉࡓࡍࡕࡀ ࡌࡊࡉࡀ
ࡍࡋࡌࡆࡉࡓࡍࡕࡀ ࡌࡊࡉࡀ ࡌࡍࡁࡊࡀ ࡋࡍࡏࡉࡍࡋࡋࡀ
ࡊࡍࡅࡊࡍࡎ ࡉࡀࡁࡊࡉࡓࡀ ࡍࡁࡊࡍࡌࡋࡉࡁࡊࡋࡀ ࡋࡕࡊࡉࡓ
ࡊࡍࡕࡊࡉࡀ ࡊࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡄࡍࡋࡊࡀ ࡋࡍࡊࡍࡕࡍࡓ ࡉࡀࡊࡍࡕࡍࡓ
ࡄࡍࡊ ࡁࡊࡍࡓࡊࡀ ࡍࡄࡍࡊ ࡊࡍࡄࡓࡍࡊ ࡍࡍࡊࡍࡕࡍࡓ
ࡉࡀࡊࡍࡕࡍࡓ ࡍࡁࡊࡍࡌࡋࡉࡁࡊࡋࡀ ࡋࡕࡊࡉࡓ ࡊࡍࡕࡊࡉࡀ
ࡋࡊࡍࡄࡓࡍࡊ ࡄࡍࡉ ࡍࡅࡓࡕࡀ ࡄࡍࡉ ࡉࡅࡓࡍࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡉࡄࡕࡀ
ࡉࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡓࡍࡄࡊࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡊࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡓࡄࡍࡋࡊࡀ
ࡍࡌࡀࡆࡓࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡁࡊࡍࡕࡀ ࡊࡍࡊࡁࡊࡍࡉࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡊࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡀࡊࡉࡁࡊࡋࡀ ࡆࡓࡓࡍࡅ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡋࡍ ࡊࡍࡊࡁࡊࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡁࡊࡅࡓࡍ
ࡊࡍࡅࡓࡕࡀ ࡉࡉࡀࡉࡍ ࡆࡉࡓ ࡓࡄࡍࡊ ࡉࡀࡊࡉࡊ ࡍࡀࡋࡍࡕ ࡊࡍࡄࡀ
ࡉࡅࡋࡍࡓ ࡍࡄࡍࡕ ࡆࡉࡓ ࡀࡀࡓ ࡓࡉࡌࡉࡁࡊࡕࡀ ࡍࡊࡕࡊࡍࡉࡁࡊࡍࡕ
ࡊࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡀࡆࡉࡓ ࡎࡀ

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ࡉࡉࡀࡉࡓࡍࡉࡄࡍࡓ ࡄࡍࡁࡊࡍࡁࡊࡍࡋࡉࡍࡉ ࡌࡍࡁࡊ ࡆࡓࡎࡍࡎࡍࡊ
ࡄࡍࡁࡊࡍࡁࡊࡋࡍࡉ ࡀࡁࡊࡉࡊ ࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡍࡓࡋࡉࡊ ࡍࡋࡁࡊࡉࡊ ࡊࡅࡉࡀ
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ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡅࡃࡉࡍ ࡅࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡋࡀࡅࡉࡀ
ࡅࡊࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡅࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍ ࡓࡔ ࡅࡊࡅࡌ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡄࡉࡉࡓࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡊࡅࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡀࡄࡀ
ࡅࡎࡉࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡁࡄࡀࡊ ࡋࡉࡀࡁࡓࡅࡓࡀࡊ
ࡋࡓࡀࡁࡅࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡋࡒࡀࡉࡅࡌࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡍࡔࡀࡁࡀࡊ ࡅࡌࡀࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡓࡀࡅࡋࡓࡀࡁ ࡋࡓࡀࡁࡀࡕ
ࡆࡀࡉࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡔࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡓࡀࡅࡓࡁࡉࡕ
ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡅࡓࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡓࡀࡓࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ
ࡓࡀࡕࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡕࡉࡕ ࡋࡓࡀࡓ ࡀࡌࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡓࡍࡔ
ࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡅࡀࡊ ࡎࡀࡓࡀࡓࡂࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡌࡍࡄࡓࡀࡊ
ࡓࡔࡕࡀࡏࡀࡔ ࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡋࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡓࡍࡂ
ࡉࡄࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡅࡔࡅࡊ ࡅࡏࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡕࡅࡔࡅࡊ ࡍࡏࡅࡅࡀ
ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡔࡕࡀࡏࡀࡔ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡂࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡓࡎࡕࡀࡄࡅࡆ
ࡅࡍࡔࡋ ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡔࡀࡄࡍ ࡅࡓࡆࡉࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡁࡀࡍ ࡓࡕࡀࡁࡀࡓ
ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡂࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡁࡁࡉࡀ ࡂࡉ ࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡕࡀ
ࡅࡓࡄࡀࡁ ࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡁࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡓࡔࡅࡄࡈࡀ
ࡓࡅࡋࡀࡉࡄࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋࡀ
ࡁࡓࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡓࡁࡀ ࡆࡅࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡓࡓࡕࡀࡆࡄࡀࡕ ࡀࡅࡓࡓࡍࡂ
ࡋࡀࡌࡍ ࡄࡆࡀࡕ ࡅࡂࡅࡂࡕ ࡅࡏࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡄࡅ
ࡓࡕࡅࡂࡅࡂࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡏࡅࡅࡀ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ
ࡋࡀࡌࡄࡅ ࡓࡔࡕࡀࡏࡀࡔࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡂࡁࡀࡕࡀ
ࡋࡀࡌࡄࡅ ࡓࡎࡕࡀࡄࡅࡂࡕࡉࡍ ࡅࡍࡔࡋࡕࡉࡍ
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡔࡀࡄࡍࡂࡉࡍ ࡅࡓࡆࡉࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡁࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡌࡄࡅ
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THE BOOK OF THE CAVE OF TREASURES

a history of the Patriarchs and the Kings
their Successors from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ

Ephrem Syrus, or *Ephraim the Syrian*

Translated from the Syriac text of the British Museum Ms. Add. 25875

by sir E. A. Wallis Budge, kt. M.a., Litt.D. (Cambridge), M.A., D.Litt. (Oxford),
D.Lit. (Durham), F.S.A.

London

The Religious Tract Society

Manchester, Madrid, Lisbon, Budapest

1927

Notes to the hypertext transcription

The *Book of the Cave of Treasures* is a sixth century Christian sacred history written by a Jacobite. The Jacobites are an eastern Monophysite sect, seperate from both the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. This book and the *Book of the Bee* are both interesting because they present the 'history' of the world from the creation to the death of Christ, thus reproducing a good bit of the story contained in the Bible, but they also contain many stories not included in the canonical account, some of the material being Jewish, some of it Greek, and some of it Mesopotamian. According to Budge--

The principal object of the writer of the "Cave of Treasures" was to trace the descent of Christ back to Adam, and to show that the Christian Dispensation was foreshadowed in the history of the Patriarchs and their successors the kings of Israel and Judah by means of types and symbols. (Introduction, pp. 33-34)

Transcription standards and notes: Underlines represent breve (short) markings over vowels, and dots under consonants, ` and ´ represent right and left pointing apostrophes in transcriptions of Semitic words. Some of the references to the pagination of the Syriac MS. (*i.e.*, in the format [Fol. 8*a*, col. 1]) were off and have been corrected; missing references, however, have not been supplied. Some of the transcriptions of names from the Syriac have been standardized.

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE OF TREASURES – st Ephrem

http://www.sacred-texts.com
http://www.piney.com/ApocCave.html

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE OF TREASURES – st Ephrem

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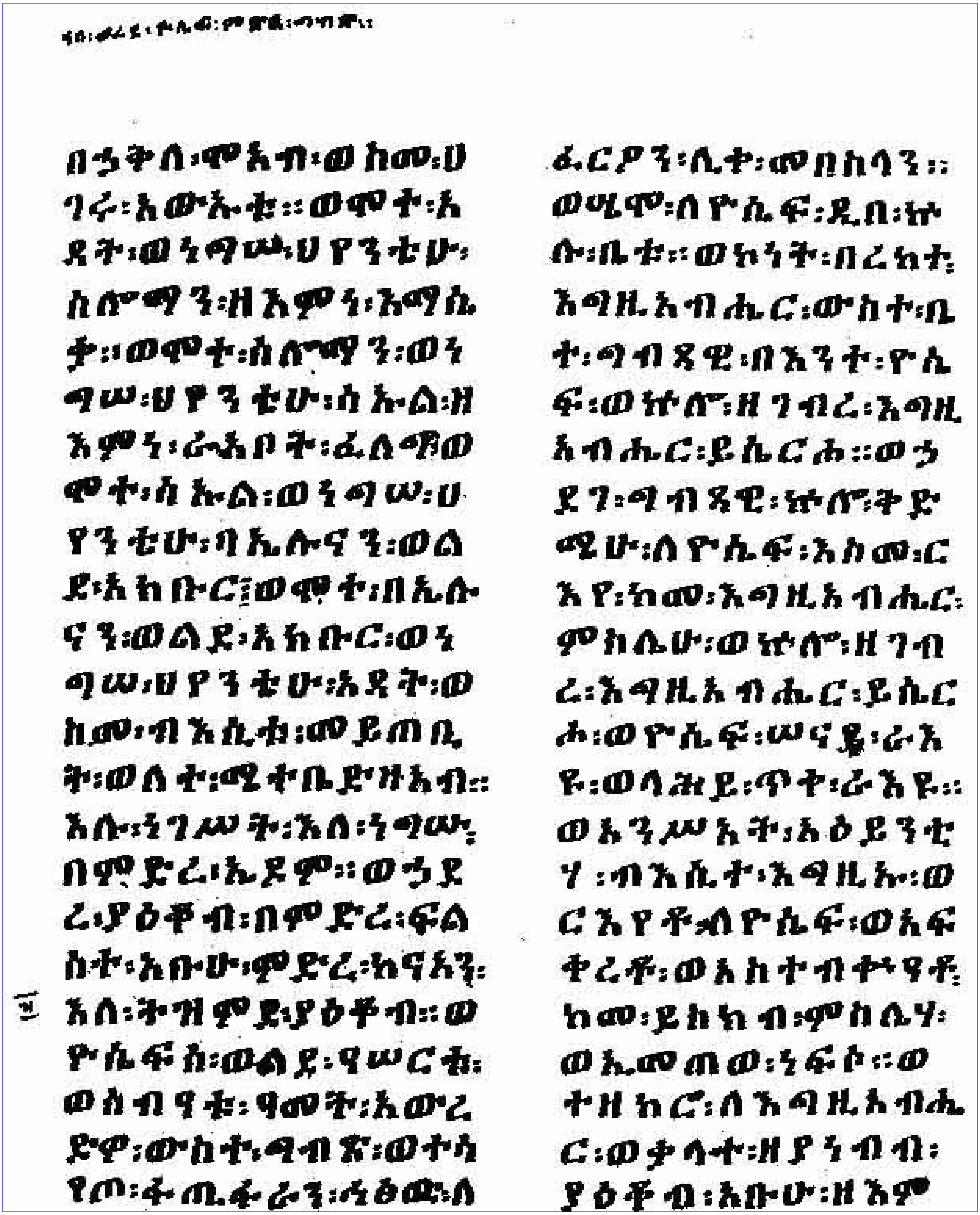

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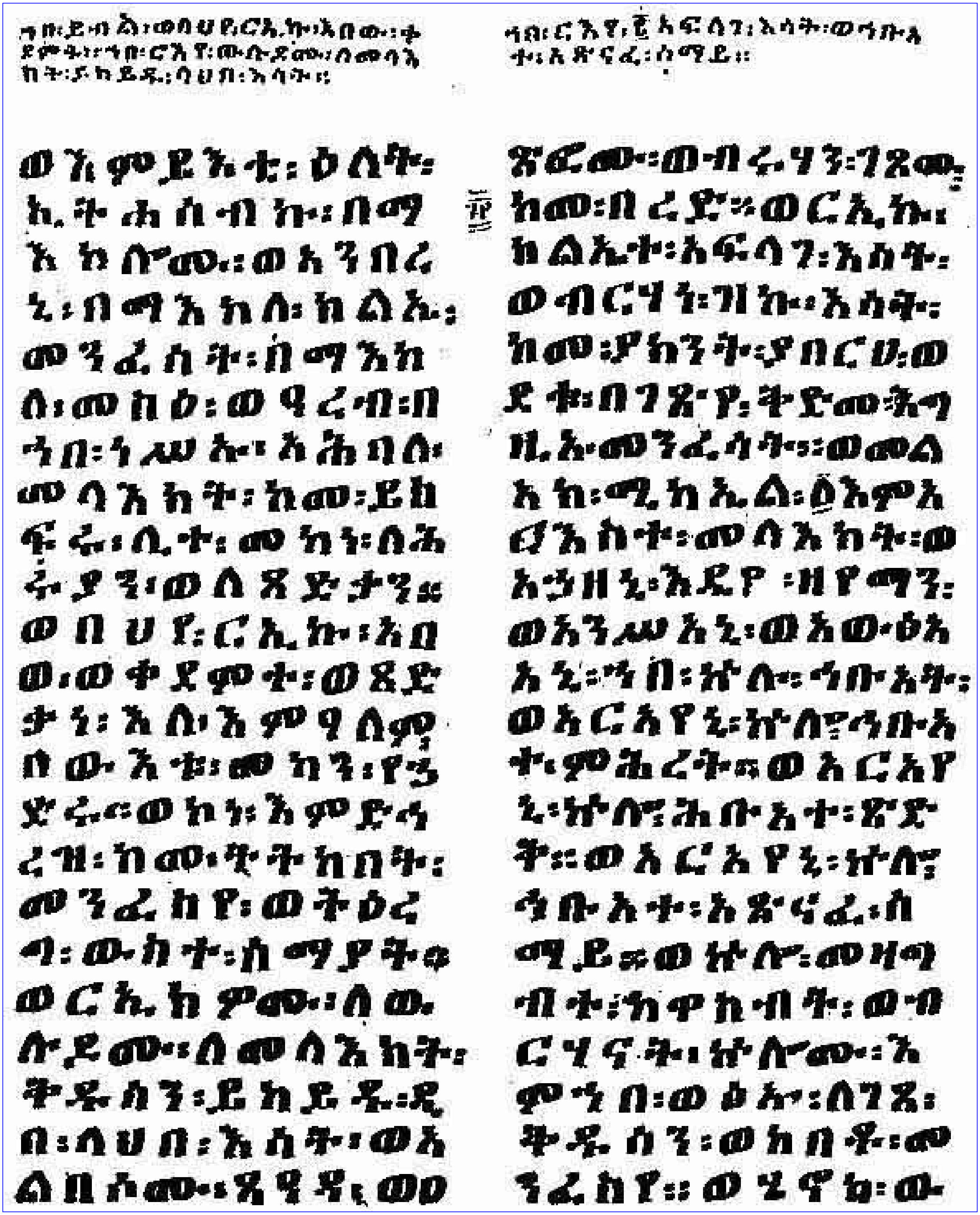
፴ እሉ፡ትዝምደ፡ያዕቆብ፡፡ወዮሴፍስ፡ወልደ፡ዓሠርቱ፡ወሰብዓቱ፡ዓመት፡አውረድዎ፡ውስተ፡ግብጽ፡ወተሣየጦ፡ፉጢፉራን፡ኅፅዉ፡ለፈርዖን፡ሊቀ፡መበስላን፡፡ ወሤሞ፡ለዮሴፍ፡ዲበ፡ኵሉ፡ቤቱ፡፡ወኮነት፡በረከተ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ውስተ፡ቤተ፡ግብጻዊ፡በእንተ፡ዮሴፍ፡ወኵሎ፡ዘገብረ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ይሴርሖ፡፡ወኃደገ፡ግብጻዊ፡ኵሎ፡ቅድሜሁ፡ለዮሴፍ፡እስመ፡ርእየ፡ከመ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ምስሌሁ፡ወኵሎ፡ዘገብረ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ይሴርሖ፡ወዮሴፍ፡ሠናይ፡ራእዩ፡ወሳሕይ፡ጥቀ፡ራእዩ፡፡ ወአንሥአት፡አዕይንቲሃ፡ብእሲተ፡እግዚኡ፡ወርእየቶ፡ለዮሴፍ፡ወአፍቀረቶ፡ወአስተብቍዐቶ፡ከመ፡ይስክብ፡ምስሌሃ፡ወኢመጠወ፡ነፍሶ፡፡ወተዘከረ፡ለእግዚአብሔር፡ወቃላተ፡ዘያነብብ፡ያዕቆብ፡አቡሁ፡ዘእም



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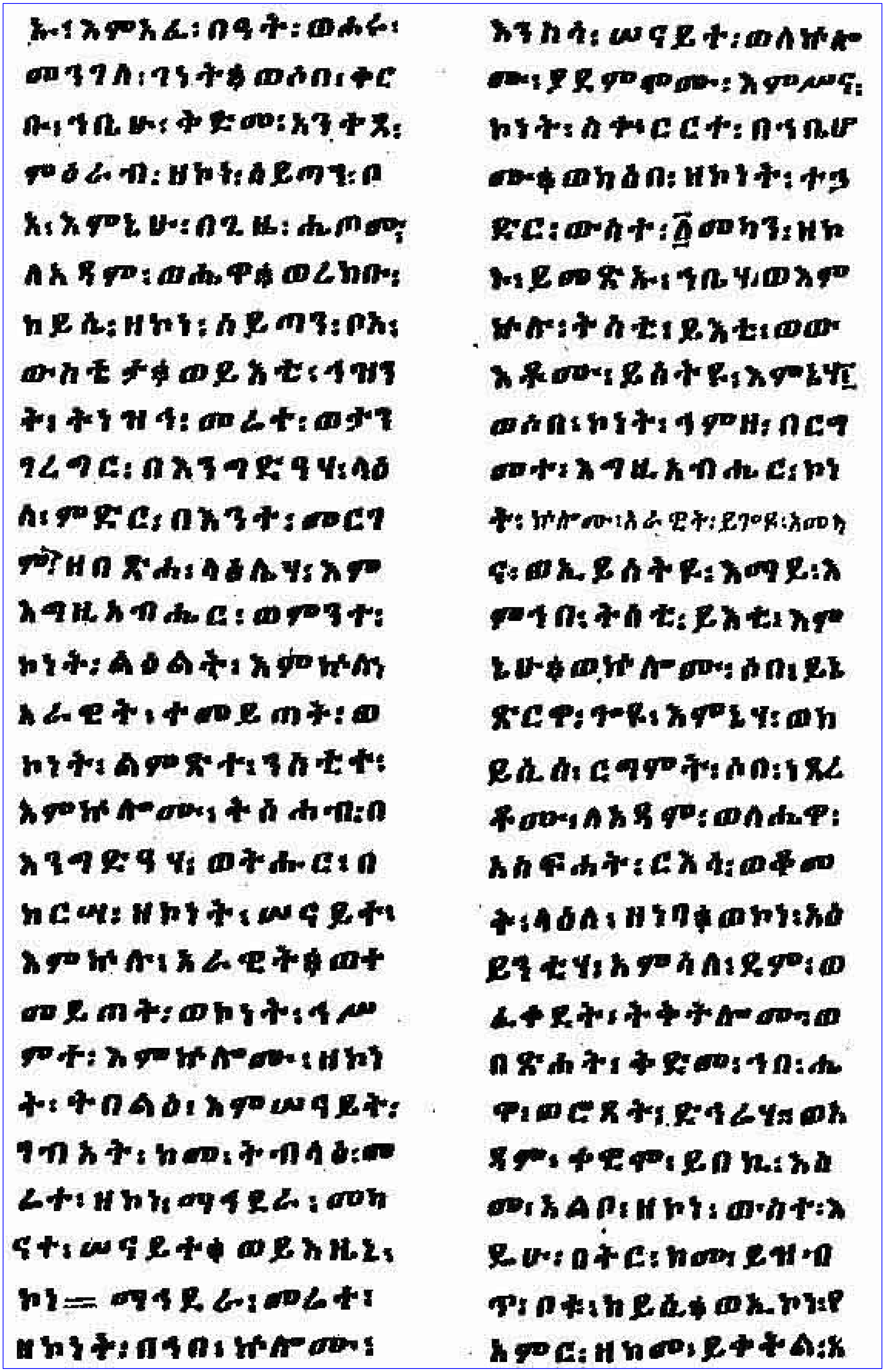
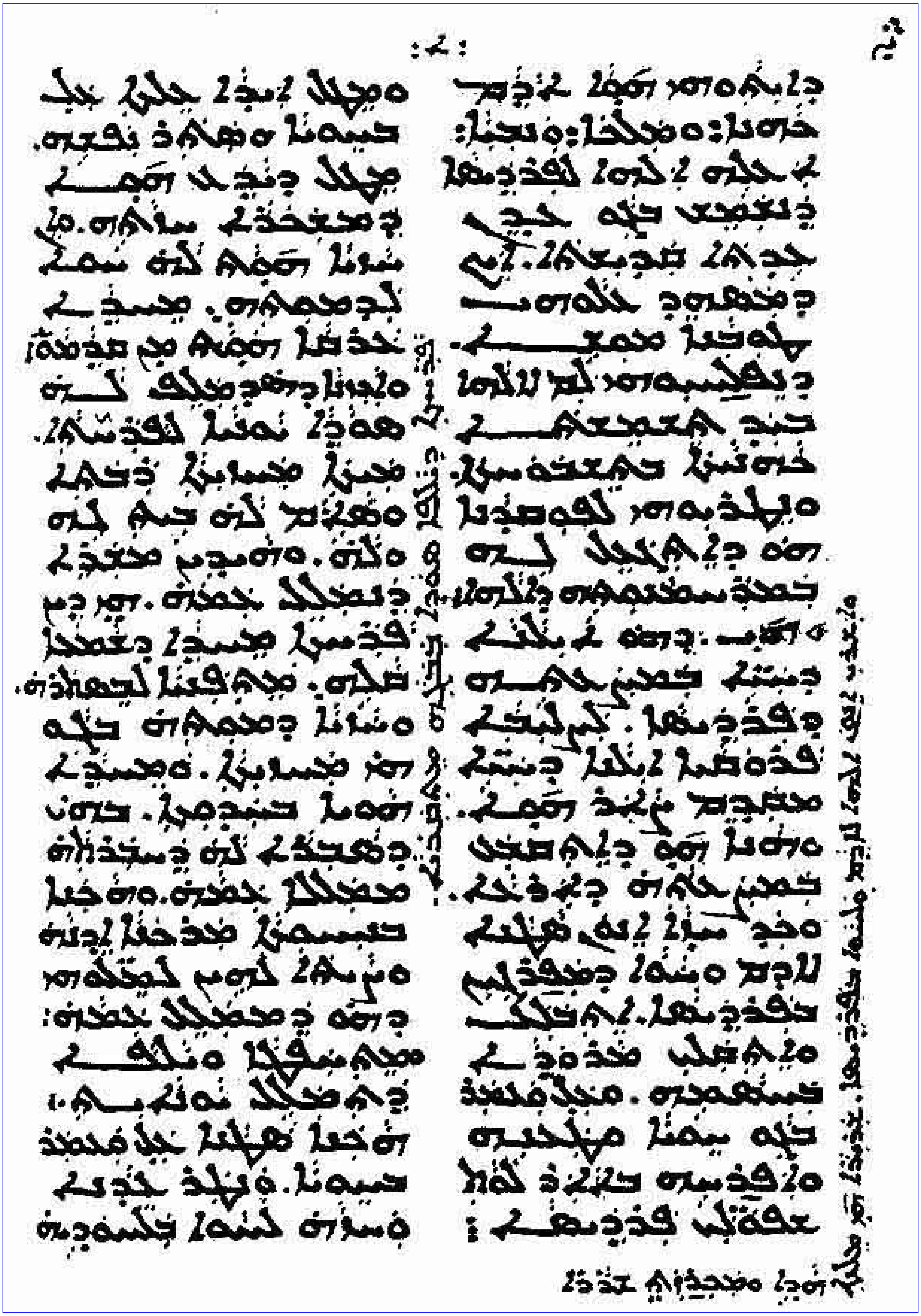


ኡ፡ እምአፈ፡ በዓት፡ ወሖሩ፡ መንገለ፡ ገነት፤ ወሶበ፡ ቀርቡ፡ ኀቤሁ፡ ቅድመ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ምዕራብ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ሰይጣን፡ በአ፡ እምኔሁ፡ በጊዜ፡ ሐጠመ፡ ለአዳም፡ ወሔዋ፤ ወረከቡ፡ ከይሴ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ሰይጣን፡ በአ፡ ውስቴታ፤ ወይእቲ፡ ትዝንቶ፡ ቶንዝኅ፡ መሬተ፡ ወቻንገረግር፡ በእንግድዓሁ፡ ላዕለ፡ ምድር፡ በእንተ፡ መርገም፡ ዘበጽሐ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር፡ ወምንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ሐዐዕቱ፡ እምኵሉ፡ አራዊት፡ ተመይጠት፡ ወኮነት፡ ልምጽተ፡ ንስቲተ፡ እምኵሎሙ፡ ቶስሐብ፡ በእንግድዓሁ፡ ወትሑር፡ በከርሣ፡ ዘኮነት፡ ሠናይተ፡ እምኵሉ፡ አራዊት፤ ወተመይጠት፡ ወኮነት፡ ላሠምተ፡ እምኵሎሙ፡ ዘኮንተ፡ ትበልዕ፡ እምሠናይት፡ ገብአት፡ ከመ፡ ትብላዕ፡ መሬተ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ማኅደራ፡ መከናተ፡ ሠናይት፤ ወይእዜኒ፡ ኮነ። ማኅደራ፡ መሬተ፡ ዘኮነት፡ በዓበ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እንከሰ፡ ሠናይት፡ ወለኵሎሙ፡ ፆደምሙ፡ እምሠና፡ ኮነት፡ ስቍርርተ፡ በኀቤሆሙ፤ ወከዕበ፡ ዘኮነት፡ ተጓድር፡ ውስተ፡ ፩መካን፡ ዘኮኑ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ ወእምኵሉ፡ ትስቴ፡ ይእቲ፡ ወውእቶሙ፡ ይስትዩ፡ እምኔሃ፲ ወሰበ፡ ኮነት፡ ኅምዘ፡ በርግመት፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኮነት፡ ኵሎሙ፡ አራዊት፡ ይገዕዩ፡ እመከና፡ ወኢይስትዩ፡ እማይ፡ እምኅበ፡ ትስቴ፡ ይእቲ፡ እምኔሁ፤ ወኵሎሙ፡ ሶበ፡ ይኔጽርዋ፡ ጕዩ፡ እምኔሃ፡ ወከይሴሰ፡ ርግምት፡ ሶበ፡ ነጸረቶሙ፡ ለአዳም፡ ወለሔዋ፡ አስቆሐት፡ ርእሳ፡ ወቆመት፡ ላዕለ፡ ዘነባ፤ ወኮነ፡ አዕይንቲሃ፡ እምአለ፡ ደም፡ ወፈቀደት፡ ትቅትሎሙ፡ ወበጽሐት፡ ቅድመ፡ ኅበ፡ ሐዋ፡ ወሮጸት፡ ድኅሬሃ፡ ወአዳም፡ ቀዊም፡ ይበኪ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሁ፡ በትር፡ ከመ፡ ይዝብጥ፡ በቱ፡ ከይሴ፤ ወኢኮነ፡ የእምር፡ ዘከመ፡ ይቀትላ፡ ጽ



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Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 2 v

PREFACE

THE present volume contains a complete translation of the Syriac text of the compendious history of the world from the Creation to the Crucifixion of our Lord, which is commonly known as "Me`arath Gazze," or the "Cave of Treasures." In the Syriac title the composition of the work is attributed to Ap[h]rem Suryaya, *i.e.* Ephrem Syrus, or Ephraim the Syrian, who was born at Nisibis (?) soon after A.D. 306 and died in 373, but it is now generally believed that the form in which we now have it is not older than the VIth century. An edition of the Syriac text, and an Arabic version of it, together with a German translation, were published by Bezold (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Munich, 1883-86), but this work is scarce and is little known in England. The German translation was made from an eclectic text constructed from at least three manuscripts, which varied in age and accuracy and general literary value. The translation given in the following pages has been p. xii made from the best, in my opinion, of all the known manuscripts, namely British Museum MS. Add. 25875. (*See* Wright, *Catalogue*, vol. iii, page 1064.) This MS. contains twelve complete works, all of which were written, in a fine Nestorian hand, by the priest Homo, the son of the priest Daniel, a native of Al-K̲osh, a very ancient town which lies about 20 miles north of Mos̲ul (Nineveh), in the year of the Greeks 2020, *i.e.* A.D. 1709. It was written at the expense of the priest Joseph, the son of Hormizd, a native of H̲ordaphne, in the district of ´Amedia, for the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in that place. When I read through the manuscript in 1885, whilst preparing my edition of the "Book of the Bee," I was convinced that Homo, the scribe, was a very learned man, and the marginal notes which he added to his copy showed that he was at once a capable and an understanding editor of Syriac texts. When the printed edition of the Syriac text of the "Cave of Treasures" appeared in 1886, I was surprised to find that Homo's text had not been made the foundation of the work. Whilst I was in Al-K̲osh in 1890-91 collecting manuscripts for the British Museum, I found there some of Homo's descendants, and of these one or two were professional scribes. They possessed a few ancient Syriac manuscripts, and from one of them I had copies made of the p. xiii "Cave of Treasures" and the "Book of the Bee." On my return to England I collated the copy of the former work with the British Museum Codex, and found that the text only varied in a few minor points. There are a few mistakes in the British Museum MS., and in one or two places a few words are omitted, but as a whole it contains the text of the "Cave of Treasures" in as perfect form as ever we are likely to get it; and therefore I have made the translation printed herein from it.

A text of this kind might be annotated to almost any extent, but I have limited my notes to pointing out parallels in the "Book of Jubilees," the "Book of Adam and Eve," the "Book of the Bee," and other cognate works. These are printed within square brackets [ ] immediately following the passages in the "Cave of Treasures" which they illustrate. In the short Bibliography which follows the translation will be found the names of a number of books and of editions of texts which those who are interested in the literary history of the "Cave of Treasures" will find necessary for useful work. I have also added a translation of the "Testament of Adam," a popular apocryphal work which is based upon the Syriac "Cave of Treasures," and upon legends derived from books of a similar, and perhaps allied, character.

The ancient tradition which asserts that the "Cave of Treasures" was written in the IVth century of our Era, is supported by the general contents of the work. These reproduce Ephraim's quaint and sometimes fanciful methods of exegesis and his hatred of the Jews, and supply many examples of his methods in religious argument with which we are familiar from his other writings. We may notice, too, his pride in the antiquity of the Syriac language. That it was written in Mesopotamia by a Syrian, there is no doubt, and if we reject Ephraim as its author, we are bound to admit that the author, or perhaps later editor, belonged to the school of Ephraim. Whichever view be taken is immaterial. For the book certainly contains a mass of historical information which can only have been derived from pre-Christian Hebrew works, or from post-Christian chronologies and histories written in Greek. The writers of such Greek works derived some of their information at first or second hand, from documents originally written in cuneiform. Of the general historical character of the "Cave of Treasures" there is no doubt, and it is this fact which gives it such importance for the history of the Hebrew Patriarchs, and for early Christian History, and the Christian Faith. This view was maintained by the eminent scholars Dillmann, Nöldeke, p. xv Sachau, Wright, Bezold and others during the last century, and it was firmly held by Christians in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia for the fourteen centuries preceding.

On the historical facts which form the framework of the "Cave of Treasures," the pious author, or editor, grafted a whole series of legends, many of which deserve the descriptions of "idle stories" and "vain fables" which have been applied to them by Assemani and the older European theologians. The reader having perused them will readily understand that such legends, containing as they do garbled history facts and anachronisms, are neither accepted nor endorsed by any member of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society or by myself. These legends were inserted with the view of making the "Cave of Treasures" a sort of religious "wonder-book" which would appeal to the vivid and credulous imaginations of Christian natives in almost every country of the Near East; and religious "wonder-books" were intended by their authors and editors to amuse as well as to instruct. The "Cave of Treasures" possesses an apocryphal character it is true, but the support which its contents give to the Christian Faith, and the light which the historical portions of it throw on early Christian History, entitle it to a very high place among the apocryphal Books of the Old and p. xvi the New Testament. These facts have induced the Committee of the Religious Tract Society to order the publication of this the first English translation of the "Cave of Treasures."

My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish a photographic reproduction of the cylinder of Cyrus and photographs of Ethiopic and Syriac MSS.; to Sir Frederick Kenyon, K.C.B., and the late Dr. Byron Gordon for permission to copy the photographs made by Mr. C. L. Woolley, M.A., for the Joint Expedition, of the objects found at "Ur of the Chaldees"; to the Art Editor of *The Times* for a copy of the photograph of "Abraham's Street" at Ur; to Mr. C. L. Woolley for the use of his notes and descriptions of the antiquities found at Ur; to the Rev. C. H. Irwin, D.D., General Editor of the Religious Tract Society, for his friendly criticisms, and to Mr. H. R. Brabrook for his practical suggestions.

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1 The First Thousand Years

[Fol. 3*b*, col. 1.] By the might of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the "Book of the Succession of the Generations," that is to say, ME`ARATH GAZZE, which was composed by SAINT MAR APHREM (*i.e.* Ephraim, commonly known as "Ephraim Syrus," or "Ephraim the Syrian," who died A.D. 373). O our Lord, help Thou me in Thy Mercy. Amen.

THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS: ADAM TO YARED (Jared).

The Creation. First Day

In the beginning, on the First Day, which was the holy First Day of the Week, the chief and firstborn of all the days, God created the heavens, p. 44 and the earth, and the waters, and the air, and the fire, and the hosts which are invisible (that is to say, the Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Lords, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim and Seraphim), and all the ranks and companies of Spiritual beings, and the Light, and the Night, and the Day time and the gentle winds and the strong winds (*i.e.* storms). All these were created on the First Day. And on the First Day of the Week the Spirit of holiness, one of the Persons of the Trinity, hovered over the waters, and through the hovering thereof over the [Fol. 3*b*, col. 2] face of the waters, the waters were blessed so that they might become producers of offspring, and they became hot, and the whole nature of the waters glowed with heat, and the leaven of creation was united to them. As the mother bird maketh warm her young by the embrace of her closely covering wings, and the young birds acquire form through the warmth of the heat which [they derive] from her, so through the operation of the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit, the Paraclete, the leaven of the breath of life was united to the waters when He hovered over them.

The Creation. Second Day

And on the Second Day God made the Lower Heaven, and called it REKI`A [that is to say, "what is sold and fixed," or "firmament"]. This He did that He might make known that the Lower Heaven doth not possess the nature of the heaven which is above it, and that it is different in appearance from that heaven which is above it, for the heaven above it is of fire. And that second heaven is NÛHRA (i.e. Light), and this lower heaven is DARPITIÔN [Fol. 4a, col. 1], and because it hath the dense nature of water p. 47 it hath been called "Reki`a." And on the Second Day God made a separation between the waters and the waters, that is to say, between the waters which were above [Reki`a] and the waters which were below. And the ascent of these waters which were above heaven took place on the Second Day, and they were like unto a dense black cloud of thick darkness. Thus were they raised up there, and they mounted up, and behold, they stand above the Reki`a in the air; and they do not spread, and they make no motion to any side.

The Creation. Third Day

And on the Third Day God commanded the waters that were below the firmament (Reki`a) to be gathered together in one place, and the dry land to appear. And when the covering of water had been rolled up from the face of the earth, the earth showed itself to be in an unsettled and unstable state, that is to say, it was of a damp (or moist) and yielding nature. And the waters were gathered together into seas that from below, corridors, and shafts, and channels for the passage of the waters; and the winds which come from within the earth ascend by means of these corridors and channels, and also the heat and the cold for the service of the earth. Now, as for the earth, the lower part of it is like unto a thick sponge, for it resteth on the waters. And on this Third Day God commanded the earth, and it brought forth herbs and vegetables, and it conceived in its interior trees, and seeds, and plants and roots.

The Creation. Fourth Day.

And on the Fourth Day God made the sun, and the moon, and the stars. And as soon as the heat of the sun was diffused over the surface of the earth, the earth became hard and rigid, and lost its flaccidity, because the humidity and the dampness [caused by] the waters were taken away from it. The Creator made the sphere of the sun of fire and filled it with light. And God gave unto the sphere of the moon and the stars bodies of water and air, and filled them with light. And when the dust of the earth became hot, it brought forth all the trees [Fol. 4b, col. 1], and plants, and seeds, and roots which had been conceived inside it on the Third Day.

The Creation. Fifth Day

And on the Fifth Day God commanded the waters, and they brought forth all kind of fish of divers appearances, and creatures which move about, and twist themselves and wriggle in the waters, and serpents, and Leviathan, and beasts of terrible aspects, and feathered fowl of the air and of the waters. And on this same day God made from the earth all the cattle and wild beasts, and all the reptiles which creep about upon the earth.

The Creation. Sixth Day

And on the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, God formed man out of the dust, and Eve from his rib. And on the Seventh Day God rested from His labours, and it is called "Sabbath."

The Creation of Adam

Now the formation of Adam took place in this wise: On the Sixth Day, which is the Eve of the Sabbath, at the first hour of the day, when quietness was reigning over [Fol. 4b, col. 2] all the Ranks [of the Angels], and the hosts [of heaven], God said, "Come ye, let Us make man in Our image, and according to Our likeness." Now by this word "Us" He maketh known concerning the Glorious Persons [of the Trinity]. And when the angels heard this utterance, they fell into a state of fear and trembling, and they said to one another, "A mighty miracle will be made manifest to us this day [that is to say], the likeness of God, our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God opened out flat, and stretched out over the whole world; and all creatures were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took from the whole mass of the earth one grain of dust, and from the whole nature of water one drop of p. 52 water, and from all the air which is above one puff of wind, and from the whole nature of fire a little of its heat and warmth. And the angels saw that when these four feeble (or inert) materials were placed in the palm of His right hand [Fol. 5a, col. 1], that is to say, cold, and heat, and dryness, and moisture, God formed Adam. Now, for what reason did God make Adam out of these four materials unless it were [to show] that everything which is in the world should be in subordination to him through them? He took a grain from the earth in order that everything in nature which is formed of earth should be subject unto him; and a drop of water in order that everything which is in the seas and rivers should be his; and a puff of air so that all kinds [of creatures] which fly in the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire so that all the beings that are fiery in nature, and the celestial hosts, might be his helpers.

God formed Adam with His holy hands, in His own Image and Likeness, and when the angels saw Adam's glorious appearance they were greatly moved by the beauty thereof. For they saw [Fol. 5a, col. 2] the image of his face burning with glorious splendour like the orb of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the light of the sun, and the image of his body was like unto the sparkling of crystal. And p. 53 when he rose at full length and stood upright in the centre of the earth, he planted his two feet on that spot whereon was set up the Cross of our Redeemer; for Adam was created in Jerusalem. There he was arrayed in the apparel of sovereignty, and there was the crown of glory set upon his head, there was he made king, and priest, and prophet, there did God make him to sit upon his honourable throne, and there did God give him dominion over all creatures and things. And all the wild beasts, and all the cattle, and the feathered fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he assigned names to them; and they bowed their heads before him; and eveything in nature worshipped him [Fol. 5b, col. 1], and submitted themselves unto him. And the angels and the hosts of heaven heard the Voice of God saying unto him, "Adam, behold; I have made thee king, and priest, and prophet, and lord, and head, and governor of everything which hath been made and created; and they shall be in subjection unto thee, and they shall be thine, and I have given unto thee power over everything which I have created." And when the angels heard this speech they all bowed the knee and worshipped Him.

The Revolt of Satan, and The Battle In Heaven

And when the prince of the lower order of angels saw what great majesty had been given unto Adam, he was jealous of him from that day, and he did not wish to worship him. And he said unto his hosts, "Ye shall not worship him, and ye shall not praise him with the angels. It is meet that ye should worship me, because I am fire and spirit; and not that I should worship a thing of dust, which hath been fashioned of fine dust." And the Rebel meditating these things [Fol. 5b, col. 2] would not render obedience to God, and of his own free will he asserted his independence and separated himself from God. But he was swept away out of heaven and fell, and the fall of himself and of all his company from heaven took place on the p. 56 Sixth Day, at the second hour of the day. And the apparel of their glorious state was stripped off them. And his name was called "Satana" because he turned aside [from the right way], and "Sheda" because he was cast out, and "Daiwa" because he lost the apparel of his glory. And behold, from that time until the present day, he and all his hosts have been stripped of their apparel, and they go naked and have horrible faces. And when Satana was cast out from heaven, Adam was raised up so that he might ascend to Paradise in a chariot of fire. And the angels went before him, singing praises, and the Seraphim ascribed holiness unto him, and the Cherubim ascribed blessing; and amid cries of joy and praises Adam went into [Fol. 6a, col. 1] Paradise. And as soon as Adam entered Paradise he was commanded not to eat of a [certain] tree; his entrance into heaven took place at the third hour of the Eve of the Sabbath (i.e. on Friday morning).

When Satan saw Adam seated on a great throne, with a crown of glory on his head and a sceptre in his hand, and all the angels worshipping him, he was filled with anger. And when God said to him, "Come thou also, for thou shalt worship My image and likeness," Satan refused to do so, and, assuming an arrogant and insolent manner, he said, "It is meet that he should worship me, for I existed before he came into being." When the Father saw his overbearing attitude, He knew that Satan's wickedness p. 59 and rebellion had reached their highest pitch. He ordered the celestial soldiers to take from him the written authority that was in his hand, to strip off his armour, and to hurl him down from heaven to earth. Satan was the greatest of the angels, and God had made him the Commander-in-Chief of the celestial hosts, and in the document which Satan held in his hand were written the names of all the angels under his command. Knowing their names, his authority over them was absolute. When God saw that the angels hesitated to take the document from him, He commanded them to bring a sharp reaping-knife, and to stab him on this side and that, right through his body to the backbone and shoulder blades; and Satan could no longer stand upright. And a Cherub smote him, and broke his wings and his ribs, and having rendered him helpless he cast Satan down from Heaven upon the earth. Then he became the Arch-Devil and the leader of those who were cast out of heaven with him, and who henceforth were devils. (From Budge, Coptic Martyrdoms, page 484.)]

The Making Of Eve

And God cast a sleep upon Adam and he slept. And God took a rib from the loins on the right side of Adam, and He made Khawa (i.e. Eve) from it; and when Adam woke up, and saw Eve, p. 60 he rejoiced in her greatly. And Adam and Eve were in Paradise, and clothed with glory and shining with praise for three hours. Now this Paradise was situated on a high range of hills, and it was thirty spans--according to the measurement of the spirit--higher than all the high mountains, and it surrounded the whole earth.Now

Moses the prophet said that God planted Paradise in Eden and placed Adam there (Gen. ii. 8).

The Symbolism Of Eden

Now Eden is the Holy Church, and the Church [Fol. 6a, col. 2] is the compassion of God, which He was about to extend to the children of men. For God, according to His foreknowledge, knew what Satan had devised against Adam, and therefore He set Adam beforehand in the bosom of His compassion, even as the blessed David singeth concerning Him in the Psalm (xc), saying, "Lord, Thou hast been an abiding place for us throughout all generations," that is to say, "Thou hast made us to have our abiding place in Thy compassion." And, when entreating God on behalf of the redemption of the children of men, David said, "Remember Thy Church, which Thou didst acquire in olden time " (Ps. lxxiv. 2), that is to say, "[Remember] Thy compassion, which Thou art about to spread over our feeble race." Eden is the Holy Church, and the Paradise which was in it is the land of rest, and the inheritance of life, which God hath prepared for all the holy children of men. And because [Fol. 6b, col. 1] Adam was priest, and king, and prophet, God brought him into Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the p. 63 Holy Church, even as the blessed man Moses testifieth concerning him, saying, "That he might serve God by means of priestly ministration with praise, and that he might keep that commandment which had been entrusted to him by the compassion of God" (Gen. ii. 15, 16 ?). And God made Adam and Eve to dwell in Paradise. True is this word, and it proclaimeth the truth: That Tree of Life which was in the midst of Paradise prefigured the Redeeming Cross, which is the veritable Tree of Life, and this it was that was fixed in the middle of the earth.

Satan's Attack On Adam And Eve

And when Satan saw that Adam and Eve were happy and joyful in Paradise, that Rebel was smitten sorely with jealousy, and he became filled with wrath. And he went and took up his abode in the serpent, and he raised him up, and made him to fly through the air to the skirts of Mount [Eden] whereon was Paradise [Fol. 6b, col. 2]. Now, why did Satan enter the body of the serpent and hide himself therein? Because he knew that his appearance was foul, and that if Eve saw his form, she would betake herself to flight straightway before him. Now, the man who wished to teach the Greek language to a bird--now the bird that can learn the speech of men p. 64 is called "babbaghah" (i.e. parrot)--first bringeth a large mirror and placeth between himself and the bird. He then beginneth to talk to the bird, and immediately the parrot heareth the voice of the man, it turneth round, and when it seeth its own form [reflected] in the mirror, it becometh pleased straightway, because it imagineth that a fellow parrot is talking to it. Then it inclineth its ear with pleasure, and listeneth to the words of the man who is talking to it, and it becometh eager to learn, and to speak Greek. In this manner (i.e. with the object of making Eve believe that it was the serpent that spoke to her) did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent, and he watched for the opportunity, and [when] he saw Eve by herself [Fol. 7a, col. 1], he called her by her name. And when she turned round towards him, she saw her own form [reflected] in him, and she talked to him; and Satan led her astray with his lying words, because the nature of woman is soft (or, yielding).

And when Eve had heard from him concerning that tree, straightway she ran quickly to it, and she plucked the fruit of disobedience from the tree of transgression of the command, and she ate. Then immediately she found herself stripped naked, and she saw the hatefulness of her shame, and she ran away p. 65 naked, and hid herself in another tree, and covered her nakedness with the leaves thereof. And she cried out to Adam, and he came to her, and she handed to him some of the fruit of which she had eaten, and he also did eat thereof. And when he had eaten he also became naked, and he and Eve made girdles for their loins of the leaves of the fig-trees; and they were arrayed in these girdles of ignominy for three [Fol. 7a, col. 2] hours. At mid-day they received [their] sentence of doom. And God made for them tunics of skin which was stripped from the trees, that is to say, of the bark of the trees, because the trees that were in Paradise had soft barks, and they were softer than the byssus and silk wherefrom the garments worn by kings are made. And God dressed them in this soft skin, which was thus spread over a body of infirmities.

Adam's stay in Paradise

At the third hour of the day Adam and Eve ascended into Paradise, and for three hours they enjoyed the good things thereof; for three hours they were in shame and disgrace, and at the p. 67 ninth hour their expulsion from Paradise took place. And as they were going forth sorrowfully, God spake unto Adam, and heartened him, and said unto him, "Be not sorrowful, O Adam, for I will restore unto thee thine inheritance. Behold, see how greatly I have loved thee, for though I have cursed the earth for thy sake, yet have I withdrawn thee from the operation of the curse. As for the serpent [Fol. 7b, col. 1], I have fettered his legs in his belly, and I have given him the dust of the earth for food; and Eve have I bound under the yoke of servitude. Inasmuch as thou hast transgressed my commandments get thee forth, but be not sad. After the fulfilment of the times which I have allotted that you shall be in exile outside [Paradise], in the land which is under the curse, behold, I will send my Son. And He shall go down [from heaven] for thy redemption, and He shall sojourn in a Virgin, and shall put on a body [of flesh], and through Him redemption and a return shall be effected for thee. But command thy sons, and order them to embalm thy body after thy death with myrrh, cassia, and stakte. And they shall place thee in this cave, wherein I am making you to dwell this day, until the time when your expulsion shall take place from the regions of Paradise to that earth which is outside it. And whosoever shall be left in those days shall take p. 68 thy body with him, and [Fol. 7b, col. 2] shall deposit it on the spot which I shall show him, in the centre of the earth; for in that place shall redemption be effected for thee and for all thy children." And God revealed unto Adam everything which the Son would suffer on behalf of him.

Adam's expulsion from Paradise.

And when Adam and Eve had gone forth from Paradise, the door of Paradise was shut, and a cherub bearing a two-edged sword stood by it. [According to the Book of the Bee, the cherub, or, as some think, a "terrible form endowed with a body," was armed with a spear and sword, each being made of fire.]

And Adam and Eve went down in . . . . of spirit over the mountains of Paradise, and they found a cave in the top of the mountain, and they entered and hid themselves therein.

Now Adam and Eve were virgins, and Adam wished to know Eve his wife. And Adam took from the skirts of the mountain of Paradise, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense, and he placed them in the cave, and he blessed the cave, and consecrated it that it might be the house of prayer for himself and his sons. And he called the cave "ME`ARATH GAZZE" (i.e. "CAVE OF TREASURES") [Fol. 8a, col. 1].

So Adam and Eve went down from that holy mountain [of Eden] to the slopes which were below it, and there Adam knew Eve his wife. [A marginal note in the manuscript says that Adam knew Eve thirty years after they went forth from Paradise.] And Eve conceived and brought forth Cain and Lebhudha, his sister, with him; and Eve conceived again and she brought forth Habhil (Abel) and Kelimath, his sister, with him. [The Book of the Bee makes Kelimath the twin sister of Cain, and Lebhudha the twin sister of Abel.] And when the children grew up, Adam said unto Eve, "Let Cain take to wife Kelimath, who was brought forth with Abel, and let Abel take to wife Lebhudha, who was brought forth with Cain." And Cain said unto Eve his mother, "I will take to wife my twin sister Lebhudha, and let Abel take to wife his twin sister Kelimath"; now Lebhudha was beautiful. When Adam heard these words, which were p. 70 exceedingly displeasing unto him, he said, "It will be a transgression of the commandment for thee to take [to wife] thy sister, who was born with thee. Nevertheless, take ye to yourselves fruits of trees, and the young of sheep, and get ye up to the top [Fol. 8a, col. 2] of this holy mountain. Then go ye into the Cave of Treasures, and offer ye up your offerings, and make your prayers, and then ye shall consort with your wives." And it came to pass that when Adam, the first priest, and Cain and Abel, his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan entered into Cain [and persuaded him] to kill Abel, his brother, because of Lebhudha; and because his offering was rejected and was not accepted before God, whilst the offering of Abel was accepted, Cain's jealousy of his brother Abel was increased. And when they came down to the plain, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and he killed him with a blow from a stone of flint. Then straightway Cain received the doom of death, instead of curses, and he became a fugitive and a wanderer all the days of his life. And God drove him forth into exile in a certain part of the forest of Nodh, and Cain took to wife his twin sister and made the place of his abode there.

The Birth of Seth.

And Adam and Eve mourned for Abel [Fol. 8b, col. 1] one hundred years (sic). And then Adam knew his wife again, and she brought forth Seth, the Beautiful, a man mighty and perfect like unto Adam, and he became the father of the mighty men who lived before the Flood.

The Posterity of Seth.

And to Seth was born Anosh (Enos), and Anosh begot Kainan (Cainan), and Kainan begot Mahlalail (Mahalaleel); these [are] the Patriarchs who were born in the days of Adam.

The Death of Adam

And when Adam had lived nine hundred and thirty years, that is to say, until the one hundred p. 72 and thirty-fifth year of Mahlalail, the day of his death drew nigh and came. And Seth, his son, and Anosh, and Kainan, and Mahlalail gathered themselves together and came to him. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them. And he commanded his son Seth, and said unto him, "Observe, my son Seth, that which I command thee this day, and do thou on the day of thy death give my command to Anosh, and repeat it to him, and let him repeat it to Kainan, and Kainan shall repeat it to Mahlalail [Fol. 8b, col. 2], and let this [my] command be handed on to all your generations. And when I die, embalm me with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte, and deposit my body in the Cave of Treasures. And whosoever shall be left of your generations in that day, when your going forth from this country, which is round about Paradise, shall take place, shall carry my body with him, and shall take it and deposit it in the centre of the earth, for in that place shall redemption be effected for me and for all my children. And be thou, O my son Seth, governor of the sons of thy people. And thou shalt rule them purely and holily in an the fear of God. And keep ye your offspring separate from the offspring of Cain, the murderer."

And when the report "Adam is dying" was known generally, all his offspring gathered p. 73 together, and came to him, that is to say, Seth, his son, and Anosh, and Kainan and Mahlalail, they and their wives [Fol. 9a, col. 1], and their sons, and their daughters; and Adam blessed them. And the departure of Adam from this world took place in the nine hundred and thirtieth year--according to the reckoning from the beginning--on the fourteenth day of the moon, on the sixth day of the month of Nisan (April), at the ninth hour, on the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (i.e. Friday). At the same hour in which the Son of Man delivered up his soul to His Father on the Cross, did our father Adam deliver up his soul to Him that fashioned him; and he departed from this world.

The Burial of Adam

And when Adam was dead his son Seth embalmed him, according as Adam had commanded him, with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte; now Adam's dead body was the first [body buried] in the earth. And grief for him was exceedingly sore, and Seth [and his sons] mourned for his death one hundred and forty days; and they took Adam's body up to the top of the mountain, and buried it in the Cave of Treasures. And after the families and peoples of the childreh of Seth had buried Adam, they separated themselves from the children of Cain, p. 74 the murderer. And Seth took Anosh [Fol. 9a, col. 2], his firstborn, and Kainan, and Mahlalail, and their wives and children, and led them up into the glorious mountain where Adam was buried; and Cain and all his descendants remained below on the plain where Cain slew Abel.

The Rule of Seth

And Seth became the governor of the children of his people, and he ruled them in purity and holiness. And because of their purity they received the name, which is the best of all names, and were called "the sons of God," they and their wives and their sons. Thus they lived in that mountain in all purity and holiness and in the fear of God. And they went up on the skirts of [the mountain] of Paradise, and they became praisers and glorifiers of God in the place of that host of devils who fell from heaven. There they dwelt in peace and happiness: there was nothing about which they needed to feel anxiety, they had nothing to weary or trouble them [Fol. 9b, col. 1], and they had nothing to do except to praise and glorify God, with the angels. For they heard continually the voices of the angels who were singing praises in Paradise, which was situated at no great height above them--in fact, only about thirty spans--according to the measure of the spirit. They suffered p. 75 neither toil nor fatigue, they had neither seed [time] nor harvest, but they fed themselves with the delectable fruits of glorious trees of all kinds, and they enjoyed the sweet scent and perfume of the breezes which were wafted forth to them from Paradise. [Thus lived] those holy men, who were indeed holy, and their wives were pure, and their sons were virtuous, and their daughters were chaste and undefiled. In them there was no rebellious thought, no envy, no anger, no enmity. In their wives and daughters there was no impure longing, and neither lasciviousness [Fol. 9b, col. 2], nor cursing, nor lying was heard among them. The only oath which they used in swearing was, "By the blood of Abel." And they, and their wives, and their children used to rise up early in the morning, and go up to the top of that holy mountain, and worship there before God. And they were blessed by the body of Adam their father, and they lifted up their eyes to Paradise, and praised God; and thus they did all the days of their life.

And when Seth had lived nine hundred and thirteen years he became sick unto death. And Anosh his son, and Kainan, and Mahlalail, and Yared (Jared), and Henokh (Enoch), and their wives and their sons, gathered together and came unto him, and they were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, and made them to take an oath, and said unto them [Fol. 10a, col. 1], "I will make you to take an oath, and to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that none of you will go down from this holy mountain to the children of Cain, the murderer. For ye know well the enmity which hath existed between us and Cain from the day whereon he slew Abel." And Seth blessed Anosh, his son; and gave him commands p. 77 concerning the body of Adam, and he made him ruler over the children of his people. And Seth ruled them in purity and in holiness, and he ministered diligently before the body of Adam. And Seth died when he was nine hundred and twelve years old, on the seven-and-twentieth day of the blessed month of Abh (August), on the second day of the week (Monday), at the third hour, in the twentieth year of the life of Enoch. And Anosh, Seth's first-born son, embalmed his body and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with his father Adam; and they made a mourning for him forty [Fol. 10a, col. 2] days.

The Rule of Anosh

And Anosh rose up to minister before God in the Cave of Treasures. And he became the governor of the children of his people, and he kept all the commandments which his father Seth had commanded him, and he urged them to be constant in prayer. p. 78

And in the days of Anosh, in his eight hundred and twentieth year, Lamech, the blind man, killed Cain, the murderer, in the Forest of Nodh. Now this killing took place in the following manner. As Lamech was leaning on the youth, his son [Tubal-Cain], and the youth was setting straight his father's arm in the direction in which he saw the quarry, he heard the sound of Cain moving about, backwards and forwards, in the forest. Now Cain was unable to stand still in one place and to hold his peace. And Lamech, thinking that it was a wild beast that was making a movement in the forest, raised his arm, and, having made ready, drew his bow and shot an arrow [Fol. 10b, col. 1] towards that spot, and the arrow smote Cain between his eyes, and he fell down and died. And Lamech, thinking that he had shot game, spake to the youth, saying, "Make haste, and let us see what game we have shot." And when they went to the spot, and the boy on whom Lamech leaned p. 79 had looked, he said unto him, "O my lord, thou hast killed Cain." And Lamech moved his hands to smite them together, and as he did so he smote the youth and killed him also.

And when Anosh had lived nine hundred and five years, and was sick unto death, all the patriarchs gathered themselves together, and came unto him, viz. Kainan, his first-born son, and Mahlalail, and Yared, and Enoch, and Matushlah (Methuselah), they, and their wives, and their sons. And they were blessed by him, and he prayed over them and commanded them, and spake unto them, saying, "I will make you p. 80 to swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this mountain to the plain, nor into the encampment of [Fol. 10b, col. 2] the children of Cain, the murderer; and ye shall not mingle yourselves among them. Take ye good heed unto this matter, for ye well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon Cain slew Abel." And he blessed Kainan, his son, and commanded him concerning the body of Adam, that he should minister before it all the days of his life, and that he should rule over the children of his people in purity and holiness. And Anosh died at the age of nine hundred and five years, on the third day of the month of the First Teshrin (October), on the day of the Sabbath, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah. And Kainan, his first-born, embalmed him and buried him in the Cave of Treasures, with Adam and Seth, his father. And they made a mourning for him forty days.

The Rule of Kainan.

And Kainan stood up before God to minister in the Cave of Treasures. He was an honourable p. 81 and pure man, and he governed the children of his people in the complete [Fol. 11a, col. 1] fear of God, and he fulfilled all the commandments of Anosh his father. And when Kainan had lived nine hundred and twenty years [in the Book of Adam and the Book of the Bee 910 years], and was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Mahlalail his son, and Yared, and Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them and commanded them, saying, "I will make you swear by the holy blood of Abel that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain into the camp of the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all know well what enmity hath existed between us and them since the day whereon he killed Abel." And he blessed his son Mahlalail, and admonished him concerning the body of Adam, and said unto him, "Behold, O my son Mahlalail, minister thou before God in purity and holiness [Fol. 11a, col. 2] in the Cave of Treasures, and depart not thou from the presence of the body of Adam all the days of thy life. And be thou the governor of the children of thy people, and rule thou them purely and holily." Kainan died, being nine hundred and twenty years old, on the thirteenth day of the month of Hezeran (June), p. 82 on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), at mid-day, in the five and sixtieth year of [the life of] Lamech, the father of Noah. And Mahlalail, his son, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they made mourning for him forty days.

The Rule of Mahlalail

And Mahlalail rose up and ministered before God in the place of Kainan his father. He was constant in prayer by day and by night, and he urged earnestly the children of his people to observe holiness and purity, and to pray without ceasing. And when Mahlalail had lived eight hundred and ninety-five years [Fol. 11b, col. 1], and the day of his departure drew nigh, and he was sick unto death, all the Patriarchs gathered together and came unto him, viz. Yared, his p. 83 first-born, and Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed by him. And he prayed over them, and commanded them, saying, "I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel, that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain. And ye shall not permit any one of your descendants to go down to the plain, to the children of Cain, the murderer, for ye all well know what enmity hath existed between us and them from the day whereon he slew Abel." And he blessed Yared, his first-born, and he commanded him concerning the body of Adam, and revealed unto him the place whereto he should make ready to go. And he also commanded him, and made him to swear an oath, saying, "Thou shalt not depart from the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life, and thou shalt be [Fol. 11b, col. 2] the governor of the children of thy people, and shalt rule them in chastity and holiness." And Mahlalail died, [being] eight hundred and ninety-five years old, on the second day of the month Nisan (April), on the first day of the week (Sunday), at the third hour of the day, in the four and thirtieth year of the life of Noah. And Yared, his first-born, embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and the people made a mourning for him forty days. p. 84

The Rule of Yared.

And Yared his son rose up and ministered before God [in the Cave of Treasures]. He was a perfect man, and was complete in all the virtues, and he was constant in prayer by day and by night. And because of the excellence of his life and conversation, his days were longer than those of all the children of his people. And in the days of Yared, in the five hundredth year of his life, the children of Seth broke the oaths which their fathers had made them to swear. And they began to go down from that holy mountain to the encampment of iniquity [Fol. 12a, col. 1] of the children of Cain, the murderer, and in this way the fall of the children of Seth took place.

AND IN THE FORTIETH YEAR OF YARED THE FIRST THOUSAND YEARS, FROM ADAM TO YARED, CAME TO AN END.

And in these years the handicraftsmen of sin, and the disciples of Satan, appeared, for he was their teacher, and he entered in and dwelt in them, and he poured into them the spirit of the operation of error, through which the fall of the children of Seth was to take place.

THE SECOND THOUSAND YEARS: YARED TO THE FLOOD - OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE ART OF PLAYING THE HARP, THAT IS TO SAY, OF MUSIC, AND SINGING AND DANCING.

Yobal (Jubal) and Tobalkin (Tubal-Cain), the two brethren, the sons of Lamech, the blind man, who killed Cain, invented and made all kinds of instruments of music. Jobal made reed instruments, and harps, and flutes, and whistles, and the devils went and dwelt inside them. When men blew into the pipes, the devils sang inside them, and sent out sounds from inside them. Tobalkin made [Fol. 12*a*, col. 2] cymbals, and sistra, and tambourines (or drums). And lasciviousness and fornication increased among the children of Cain, and they had nothing to occupy them except fornication--now they had no obligation [to pay] tribute, and they had neither prince nor governor--and eating, and drinking, and lasciviousness, and drunkenness, and dancing p. 88 and singing to instruments of music, and the wanton sportings of the devils, and the laughter which affordeth pleasure to the devils, and the sounds of the furious lust of men neighing after women. And Satan, finding [his] opportunity in this work of error, rejoiced greatly, because thereby he could compel the sons of Seth to come down from that holy mountain. There they had been made to occupy the place of that army [of angels] that fell [with Satan], there they were beloved by God, there they were held in honour by the angels, and were called "sons of God," even as the blessed David saith in the psalm, "I have said [Fol. 12*b*, col. 1], Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High." (Ps. lxxxii. 6.)

Meanwhile fornication reigned among the daughters of Cain, and without shame [several] women would run after one man. And one man would attack another, and they committed fornication in the presence of each other shamelessly. * * * For all the devils were gathered together in that camp of Cain, and unclean spirits entered into the women, and took possession of them. The old women were more lascivious than the maidens, fathers and sons defiled themselves with their mothers and sisters, sons respected not even their own fathers, and fathers made no distinction between p. 89 their sons [and other men]. And Satan had been made ruler (or prince) of that camp [Fol. 12*b*, col. 2]. And when the men and women were stirred up to lascivious frenzy by the devilish playing of the reeds which emitted musical sounds, and by the harps which the men played through the operation of the power of the devils, and by the sounds of the tambourines and of the sistra which were beaten and rattled through the agency of evil spirits, the sounds of their laughter were heard in the air above them, and ascended to that holy mountain.

And when the children of Seth heard the noise, and uproar, and shouts of laughter in the camp of the children of Cain, about one hundred of them who were mighty men of war gathered together, and set their faces to go down to the camp of the children of Cain. When Yared heard their words and knew their intention, he became sorely afflicted, and he sent and called them to him, and said unto them, "By the holy blood of Abel, I will have you swear that not one of you shall go down from this holy mountain. Remember ye [Fol. 13*a*, col. 1] the oaths which our fathers Seth, and Anosh, and Kainan, and Mahlalail made you to swear." And Enoch also said unto them, "Hearken, O ye children of Seth, no man who shall transgress the commandment of Yared, and [break] the oaths of our fathers, p. 90 and go down from this mountain, shall never again ascend it." But the children of Seth would neither hearken to the commandment of Yared, nor to the words of Enoch, and they dared to transgress the commandment, and those hundred men, who were mighty men of war, went down [to the camp of Cain]. And when they saw that the daughters of Cain were beautiful in form and that they were naked and unashamed, the children of Seth became inflamed with the fire of lust. And when the daughters of Cain saw the goodliness of the children of Seth, they gripped them like ravening beasts and defiled their bodies. And the children of Seth slew their souls by fornication with the daughters of Cain. And when the children of Seth wished to go up [again] to that holy mountain [Fol. 13*a*, col. 2], after they had come down and fallen, the stones of that holy mountain became fire in their sight, and having defiled their souls with the fire of fomication, God did not permit them to ascend to that holy place. And, moreover, very many others made bold and went down after them, and they, too, fell.

And when Yared had lived nine hundred and sixty years, and the day of his departure approached, and came nigh, and arrived, all the Patriarchs gathered themselves together and came unto him, viz. Enoch, his first-born, and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, they and their wives and their children, and were blessed p. 94 by him. And he prayed over them, and said unto them, "I will make you to swear by the holy blood of Abel that you will not go down from this holy mountain; for I know that God will not allow you to remain very much longer in this holy country. Inasmuch as [Fol. 13*b*, col. 1] ye have transgressed the commandment of your fathers, ye shall surely be cast out into that outer country, and ye shall no longer have your habitation on the skirts [of the mountain] of Paradise. And take ye good heed to this. Let him that is among you who shall go forth from that holy country take with him the body of our father Adam, and the offerings [of gold, frankincense, and myrrh] that are in the Cave of Treasures, and let him carry away and deposit the body in the place wherein he shall be commanded by God to set it down. And thou, my son Enoch, depart thou not from before the body of Adam, but minister before God purely and holily all the days of thy life." And Yared died, [being] nine hundred and sixty-two years old, on the thirteenth day of the month of Iyar (May), on the day of the Eve of the Sabbath (Friday), at sunset, in the three hundred and sixty-sixth year of the life of Noah. And Enoch his son embalmed him, and buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they made mourning for him forty days. p. 95

The Rule of Enoch

And Enoch stood up to minister before God in the Cave of Treasures. And the children of Seth turned aside from the right path and willed to go down [to the children of Cain on the plain]. And Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech and Noah mourned over them. And Enoch had ministered before God for fifty years in the three hundred and [sixty] fifth year of the life of Noah. And when Enoch knew that God was about to remove him [from the earth], he called Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, and said unto them, "I know that God is wroth with this generation, and that a pitiless judgment hath been decreed for the people thereof. Ye are the chiefs of this generation and the remnant thereof, for no other man shall be born on this mountain who shall be the chief of the children of his people. But take ye good heed to yourselves, and see that ye minister before God in purity and holiness." And when Enoch had given them p. 96 his commandment in these words, God removed him to the Land of Life, and to the [Fol. 14*a*, col. 1] delectable mansions which are round about Paradise, and to that country which is beyond the reach of death. And of all the children of Seth there remained only these three Patriarchs in the "Mountain of the Triumphant Ones," viz. Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, for all the others had betaken themselves to the encampment of the sons of Cain.

[The *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, by Abba Bakhayla-Mika´el (ed. Perruchon), says that it was the men who taught man the arts of civilisation, who caused God to bring the Flood on the earth. This work gives the names of these men and describes their inventions thus:--

Pipiros understood the sun, Ruride quarried stones, Zar´el instituted the month, Pinene introduced horse-riding (or racing), Gale invented the axe, Tigana invented the shield, Horeri taught men to play musical instruments, Yuebe taught working in iron, Meged taught horse-riding, Negodi discovered medicinal springs, and made known the planetary hours when the waters were most effective, Garge made the first corn-grinder, p. 98 Seter taught men how to mix dough, Gimer taught the use of earthenware vessels for food, Zare taught men to milk animals, Hegge taught men to make roofs, and Tentoreb showed them how to make doors, Saper taught butter-making, Halage discovered how to carve wood and stone, Heder was the first to cultivate trees, Sino taught house-building, and Tof invented the potter's craft, Artorbegas invented agricultural implements, Sebedegaz introduced the use of *kohl* (eye-paint, stibium), Zare invented the brewing of beer, Beteneladas invented the oven, Nafil taught men to make plantations and gardens, Yarbeh discovered how to fell trees and saw them up, ´Elyo taught dancing, Penemus invented architecture and writing, ´Agalemun taught the use of beasts in ploughing and how to drive furrows, Kueses invented ploughs and leather whips, ´Akor discovered bronze (copper ?), certain men taught working in cedar and willow-wood, Wasag and ´Aberegya taught men the game of T̲abat, and Ner and Zaberegued taught them to play the games of ´Atawema and ´Akis, and the games of the circus.]

The Rule of Noah

And when Noah saw that sin had increased in his generation, he preserved himself in virginity for five hundred years. Then God spake unto p. 99 him and said unto him, "Take unto thee to wife Haykel, the daughter of Namus (or Haykel Namus), the daughter of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah." And God revealed unto him concerning the Flood which He was making ready to produce, and He spake to him and said unto him) "One hundred and thirty years from this moment I will make a Flood."

The Building of the Ark

And God said unto Noah, "Make for thyself an ark for the saving of the children of thy house, and build it [in the plain] below [this mountain], in the encampment of the children of Cain, and ye shall cut down the timber for the same [from the trees that are on] this mountain [Fol. 14*a*, col. 2]. And thus shall be the dimensions thereof. Its length shall be three hundred cubits according to thy cubit, its breadth shall be fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits; and above it shall be finished off one cubit. And make three storeys in it: the lowermost shall be for wild animals p. 100 and cattle, the middle one shall be for the birds and feathered fowl, and the topmost shall be for thee and the children of thy house. And make in it cisterns for water and cupboards for food. And make to thyself a striking board of *eshkar`a* wood which will not rot, three cubits long and a cubit and a half in breadth; and there shall be a hammer of the same kind of wood, and with it thou shalt strike [the board] three times in the day. Once in the morning that the workmen may be gathered together for the work of the ark, and once at midday that they may eat food, and once at sunset so that they may cease from their labour. And when thou strikest the board, and men hear the sound of the blows, and say unto thee, 'What is this that thou doest?' [Fol. 14*b*, col. 1], thou shalt say unto them, 'God is going to make a flood of waters.'" And Noah did as God commanded him. And there were born unto him three sons within the space of a hundred years, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and they took unto them wives of the daughters of Methuselah.

The Death of Lamech

And when Lamech had lived seven hundred and seventy years, he died during the lifetime of Methuselah, his father, forty years before the Flood, on the twenty-first day of the month of Ilul (September), on the first day of the week (Sunday), in the sixty-eighth year of the life of Shem, the firstborn of Noah. And Noah his firstborn embalmed him, and Methuselah his father swathed him for burial, and they buried him in the Cave of Treasures, and mourned for him forty days.

The Rule of Methuselah and Noah

And Methuselah and Noah remained alone on the mountain, for all the children of Seth had gone down from the skirts of the mountain of Paradise to the plain where the children of Cain lived [Fol. 14*b*, col. 2]. And men, the children of Seth, had intercourse with the daughters of Cain, who conceived of them, and brought forth men, giants and the sons of giants, who were like unto towers. Now because of this certain ancient writers have fallen into error, and have written, "The angels came down from heaven, and had intercourse with men, and by them these famous giants have been produced." But this is not true, for those who have written in this manner did not understand [the facts]. Behold, O my brother-readers, and know ye that it is not in the nature of beings of the spirit to beget, neither is it in the nature of the devils--who are unclean beings, and workers of wickedness, and lovers of adultery--to beget, because there are neither males nor females among them. And since the time when the angels fell, not another angel has been added to their number. And if the devils were able to p. 103 have intercourse with women they would not leave unravished a single virgin [Fol. 15*a*, col. 1] in all the race of the children of men.

The Death of Methuselah

And when Methuselah had lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years, and the day of his departure had drawn nigh, Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and their wives, came unto him. Now of all the posterity of Seth who had not betaken themselves down to the plain, only these eight souls were left, viz. Noah, Shem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives; for no children were born to them before the Flood. And when these gathered themselves together to Methuselah, and they had been blessed by him, he embraced them, and kissed them sorrowfully, and wept over the fall of the children of Seth. And he said unto them, "Of all the tribes and families of your fathers, this remnant [consisting] of eight souls [Fol. 15*a*, col. 2] alone is left. May the Lord God of our fathers bless you! The Lord God who formed our father Adam and Eve by themselves (and they were fruitful, and multiplied, and the whole of the blessed land which was round about Paradise was filled with their progeny), shall make you to be fruitful, and to multiply, and the whole earth shall be filled with you. He shall save you from the p. 104 terrible wrath which hath been decreed against this rebellious generation, and He shall be with you, and He shall protect you. And the gift which was given by God unto our father Adam shall go forth with you from this holy country. And these three measures of the wheat of blessings which God gave unto your father Adam shall serve as leaven, and shall be kneaded into your seed, and into the seed of your children, that is to say, Royalty, Priesthood, and Prophecy.

"Hearken thou, Noah, thou blessed of the Lord. Behold [Fol. 15*b*, col. 1], I am going forth from this world, like all my fathers, but thou and thy children shall be saved. And thou shalt do everything which I am commanding you to do this day, [for] God will make the Flood. When I die, embalm my body, and bury me in the Cave of Treasures with my fathers. Take thy wife, and thy sons, and the wives of thy sons, and get thee down from this holy mountain. And take with thee the body of our father Adam, and these three offerings, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense; set the body of Adam in the middle of the Ark, and lay these offerings upon him. Thou and thy sons shall occupy the eastern part of the Ark, and thy wife and thy son's wives shall occupy the western part thereof; thy wives shall not pass over to you, p. 105 and ye shall not pass over to them. Ye shall neither eat nor drink with them, and ye shall have no intercourse whatsoever with them until ye go forth [Fol. 15*b*, col. 2] from the Ark. Now this generation hath provoked God to wrath, and He will neither permit them to be neighbours of [those who are in] Paradise, nor to praise Him with the angels.

"And when the waters of the Flood have subsided from the face of the earth, and ye go forth from the Ark, and ye take up your abode in that land, thou, O Noah, the blessed of the Lord, shall not depart from the Ark, from the body of our father Adam, but minister thou before God in the Ark purely and holily all the days of thy life. And these offerings shall be placed in the east. And command thou Shem, thy firstborn, to take up with him, after thy death, the body of our father Adam, and to carry it and deposit it in the middle of the earth. And let him establish there a man from among his descendants who shall minister there. And he shall be one who is set apart (*nezira*) all the days of his life. He shall not take a wife, he shall not shed blood, he shall not offer up [Fol. 16*a*, col. 1] these offerings of wild animals and feathered fowl; but he shall offer unto God bread and wine, for by these redemption shall be made for Adam and all his posterity. And p. 106 the Angel of God shall go before him, and he shall show him the place where the middle of the earth is situated. And the apparel of him that shall stand up there to minister before the body of Adam shall be the skins of wild animals. He shall not shave off the hair of his head, and he shall not cut his nails, but he shall remain alone (in his natural state ?) because he is the priest of God, the Most High."

And when Methuselah had commanded Noah [to do] all these things, he died with tears in his eyes, and sorrow in his heart. He was nine hundred and sixty-nine years old when he died, on the fourteenth day of the month Adhar (March), on the first day of the week (Sunday), in the seventy-ninth year [Fol. 16*a*, col. 2] of the life of Shem, the son of Noah. And Noah, his grandson, embalmed the body of Methuselah p. 107 with myrrh, and cassia, and stakte, and Noah and his sons buried him in the Cave of Treasures; and they and their wives made mourning for him forty days.

And when the days of his mourning had passed, Noah went into the Cave of Treasures, and embraced and kissed the holy bodies of Seth, and Anosh, and K̲ainan, and Mahlalail, and Yared, and Methuselah, and Lamech his father, and he was greatly moved and tears gushed from his eyes. And Noah carried the body of our father Adam, and [the body of] Eve, and his firstborn Shem carried the gold, and Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet the frankincense, and they went forth from the Cave of Treasures. [The *Book of Adam* does not mention Eve.]. And as they were coming down from that holy mountain they were smitten sorely with grief: and they wept in agony because they were to be deprived of that [Fol. 16*b*, col. 1] holy place, and the habitation of their fathers. And weeping painfully, and wailing sorrowfully, and enveloped in gloom, they said,

"Remain in peace! O holy Paradise, thou habitation of our father Adam.
He went forth from thee alive, but stripped [of glory] and naked.
And behold, at his death he was deprived of thy nearness.
p. 108 He and his progeny were cast out into exile in that land of curses, to pass their days there in pain, and sicknesses, and in labour, and in weariness, and in trouble.
Remain in peace, O Cave of Treasures!
Remain in peace, O habitation and inheritance of our Fathers!
Remain ye in peace, O our Fathers and Patriarchs!
Pray ye for us, O ye who live in the dust, ye friends and beloved ones of the Living God.
Pray ye for the remnant of your posterity which is left.
O ye who have propitiated God, make supplication unto Him on our behalf in your prayers. [Fol. 16b, col. 2.]
Remain in peace, O Anosh!
Remain ye in peace, O ye ministers of God, Kainan, and Mahlalail, and Yared, and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Enoch! Cry out in sorrow on our behalf.
Remain in peace, O Haven and Asylum of the Angels!
O ye our Fathers, cry out in sorrow on our behalf, because ye will be deprived of our society!

And we will cry out in sorrow, because we are cast out into a bare land, for our habitation will be with the wild beasts." p. 109

And as they were coming down from that holy mountain, they kissed the stones thereof, and embraced the delectable trees thereof. And in this wise they came down, and they wept with great sorrow, and shed scalding (or bitter) tears, and suffering sorely they descended to the plain. And Noah went into the Ark, and deposited the body of Adam in the middle thereof, and he placed these [Fol. 17*a*, col. 1] offerings upon it.

Now in the year wherein Noah went into the Ark THE SECOND THOUSAND YEARS OF THE POSTERITY OF ADAM TO THE TIME OF THE FLOOD CAME TO AN END, according to what the Seventy Wise Writers have told us.

THE THIRD THOUSAND YEARS: FROM THE FLOOD TO THE REIGN OF REU.

Noah's entry into the Ark

The entrance of Noah into the Ark took place on the day of the eve of the Sabbath (Friday), on the seventeenth day of the blessed month of Iyar (May). On the Friday, in the morning (*i.e.* the third hour) the beasts and the cattle went into the lowermost storey; and at midday all the feathered fowl and all the reptiles went into the middle storey; and at sunset Noah and his sons went into the Ark, on the east side of [the third storey], and his wife and the wives of his sons went to the west side. And the body of Adam was deposited in the middle of the Ark, wherein also all the mysteries of the Church were deposited. Thus women in church shall be on the west [side] [Fol. 17*a*, col. 2], and men on the east [side], so that the men may not see the faces of the women, and the women may not see the faces of the men. Thus also was it in the Ark; the women were on the west [side], and the men on the east [side], and the body of our father p. 112 Adam was placed between [them] like a raised stand (or throne). And as quietness reigneth in the Church between men and women, so also peace reigned in the Ark between the wild beasts, and the feathered fowl, and the creeping things (or reptiles). And as kings, and judges, and rich men, and poor men, and governors, and sick men, and beggars, live in concord, that is to say, in a general bond of peace, so also was it in the Ark. For lions, and panthers, and savage beasts of prey lived in peace and harmony with the cattle; and the beasts that were fierce and strong lived in peace with those that were timid and weak; and the lion with the ox, and the wolf with the lamb, and the lion's whelp [Fol. 17*b*, col. 1] with the calf, and the serpent with the dove, and the hawk with the sparrow.

The Flood

And when Noah and his sons had gone into the Ark, and his wife and the wives of his sons, on the seventeenth day of the month of Iyar (May), at sunset, the door of the Ark was shut fast, and Noah and his sons in captivity in the darkness. And as soon as the door of the Ark was shut, the floodgates of the heavens were opened, and the foundations of the earth were rent asunder, and Ocean, that great sea which surroundeth the whole world, poured forth its floods. And whilst p. 113 the floodgates of heaven were open, and the foundations of the earth were rent asunder, the storehouses of the winds burst their bolts, and storm and whirlwinds swept forth, and Ocean roared and hurled its floods upon the earth. And the children of Seth, who had besmirched themselves in the mire of fornication, ran to the door of the Ark, and entreated Noah to open to them the door of the Ark. And when they saw the water floods which were swirling about them and engulfing [Fol. 17*b*, col. 2] them on all sides, they were in great tribulation, and they tried to climb up the mountains of Paradise, but were unable to do so. Now the Ark was closed and sealed, and the Angel of the Lord stood over one side of it that he might act as the pilot thereof. And when the floods of waters mastered the children of Seth, and they began to drown in their great and mighty waves--then was fulfilled that which David spake concerning them, saying, "I said, Ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High. (Ps. lxxxii. 6.) But since ye have done this, and ye have loved the fornication of the daughters of Cain, like them ye shall perish, and even as they did so shall ye die."

And when the Ark was lifted up from the earth by the mighty strength of the waters, all the children of men, and the wild beasts, and the feathered fowl, and the cattle, and the creeping p. 114 things, and everything [living] on the face of the earth was drowned. And the waters [Fol. 18*a*, col. 1] of the Flood mounted up above all the tops of the high mountains fifteen cubits [variants, 25, 50 cubits], according to the measure of the Spirit. [The cubit of the Holy Ghost = 3 ordinary cubits.] And the flood waxed strong, and the waters thereof lifted up the Ark until it reached the skirts [of the mountain] of Paradise. And as the flood had been blessed by Paradise (*i.e.* had been made holy), it bowed its head, and kissed the skirts of Paradise and turned itself back to destroy the whole earth. And the Ark flew on the wings of the wind over the waters of the flood from east to west, and from north to south, and it marked out [by its path] a cross on the waters. And the Ark flew about for one hundred and fifty days, and it came to rest on the mountains of K̲ardo (*i.e.* Ararat, the Jabal al-Judi of the Arabs, near Jazirat ibn `Umar) in the seventh month, that is to say, in the First Teshri (October) on the seventeenth day thereof. And God commanded the waters, and they became separated from each other. The celestial waters were taken up, and ascended to their own place above [Fol. 18*a*, col. 2] the heavens, whence they came. The waters which had risen up from the earth returned to the lowermost abyss [under the earth]; and those which belonged to p. 115 the Ocean [which surroundeth the whole world] returned to the innermost parts thereof. And the waters which had been on the earth, and had been assigned to it by the Divine Nod for the needs thereof from the beginning, remained upon it.

And the waters diminished little by little until the tenth month, which is Shebat (February), and on the first day thereof the tops of the mountains appeared. And, forty days later, on the tenth day of the month of Adhar (March), Noah opened the east window of the Ark, and sent forth a raven to bring back tidings; and the raven departed and did not return. And after the waters had diminished a little more from the earth, Noah sent forth a dove; and it found no place to rest, and it returned to Noah to the Ark. And after seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him, carrying in its beak an olive leaf. Now the dove figureth for us the Two Covenants. In the First Covenant [Fol. 18*b*, col. 1] the spirit which spake by the Prophets did not find a place of rest among that rebellious people (*i.e.* the Jews); and in the Second Covenant it rested on the peoples through the waters of baptism.

Noah leaves the Ark.

And in the six hundred and first year of the life of Noah, on the first day of the month of Nisan (April) the waters had dried up from the face of the earth. And in the second month, which is Iyar (May), wherein Noah went into the Ark on the twenty-seventh day, on the holy first day of the week (Sunday), their going forth took place; and he and his wife went forth, and his sons and their wives went with them. Now, when they went into the Ark they went in in separate companies, Noah and his sons [in one company], and his wife and their wives in another company; and the men did not know the women until they went forth from the Ark. And all the wild beasts, and all the cattle, and all the feathered fowl, and all the creeping things went forth from the Ark on the first day of the week.

Noah founds Themanon, the city of the "Eight."

And when they had gone forth Noah began work on the ground [Fol. 18*b*, col. 2], and they built a city and called the name thereof "Themanon" (*i.e.* "Eight"), after the name of the eight souls who had gone forth from the Ark. And Noah built an altar, and offered up upon it an offering of beasts that were clean and feathered p. 117 fowl. And God was appeased by the offering of Noah, and he established with him an everlasting covenant, and swore an oath, saying, "I will never again make a Flood." He took away the arrow of wrath from the bow which is in the clouds, and he stripped from it the string of anger, and spread it out (*i.e.* unbent it) in the clouds. For formerly, when the bow was bent in the firmament against that generation of the children of Cain, the murderer, they used to see the arrow of wrath placed in position on the string of anger, but after the Flood they did not see the arrow on the string.

The Vineyard of Noah

And when they had gone forth from the Ark, they sowed seed and planted a vineyard; and they pressed out new wine. And Noah drew nigh, and drank some of it, and immediately he had drunk of it [Fol. 19*a*, col. 1] he became drunk. And having fallen asleep, his shame was seen, and his son Ham saw the nakedness of his father, and did not cover it; but he laughed at him and made a mock of him, and he ran and called his brethren that they also might make a mock of their father. And when Shem and Japhet heard of it they were dismayed exceedingly. And they rose up, and took a cloak, and walked backwards with their faces turned away that they might not see the nakedness of their father. And they cast the cloak over him and p. 119 covered him. And when Noah woke up from the sleep of his wine, his wife told him about everything that had happened, and he also within himself knew what had happened to him. And Noah was exceedingly angry with his son Ham, and he said, "Cursed be Canaan; he shall be a servant of servants to his brethren."

Why, since the whole of the folly was Ham's, was Canaan cursed, except that, when the youth grew up [Fol. 19*a*, col. 2], and attained the full measure of his understanding, Satan entered into him, and became to him a teacher of sin? And he renewed the work of the house of Cain, the murderer. He constructed and made reed instruments and harps, and the fiends and the devils went unto them and dwelt therein. And immediately wind was blown through them (the reeds), the devils sang inside them, and sent forth loud sounds; and when men struck the harps the devils became operative inside them. And when Noah heard that Canaan had done this, he was grieved sorely, because the work of error, through which the fall of the children of Seth had taken place, was renewed. For by means of singing, and lewd play, and the mad lasciviousness of the children of Cain, Satan had cast down the mighty men, the "sons of God," into fornication. And through the music p. 120 of reed pipes and harps sin had multiplied [Fol. 19*b*, col. 1] among the former generations until, at length, God became wroth and made the Flood. And Canaan was cursed because he had dared to do this, and his seed became a servant of servants, that is to say, to the Egyptians, and the Cushites, and the Musaye (Mysians), [and the Indians, and all the Ethiopians, whose skins are black]. And because Ham had dared to make a mock of his father he was called "vile" (or "lascivious") all the days of his life.

Now Noah in his lying down in sleep, having drunk wine, symbolizeth the Cross of Christ, as the blessed man David singeth in his Psalm concerning him, saying, "Wake up, Lord, like a sleeping man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome." [Compare Psalm xlv. 23 {*sic*, Psalm xliv. 23}; lxxviii. 65.] Let the heretics who say "God was crucified" hold their peace. Here David calleth him "Lord," even as Peter the Apostle said, "This Jesus, whom ye crucified, hath God made Lord and Messiah (Christ)." (Compare Acts v. 30, 31.] He did not say "God" (Allaha), but "Lord" (Marya), thus [Fol. 19*b*, col. 2] making known concerning the unity (or oneness) of the Two Persons who were united in one sonship. Now when Noah woke up from his sleep he cursed Canaan, and reduced his seed to slavery, and scattered his seed among the p. 121 nations. And when our Lord rose from the dead He cursed the Jews, and scattered them among the nations. Now the seed of Canaan, as I have already said, are the Egyptians, and behold, they are scattered over the whole earth, and have been made servants of servants. And of what kind is this slavery of slavery? Behold, the Egyptians go round about all over the earth carrying loads on their backs (literally, necks). Now, men who are not fettered under the yoke of slavery, when despatched by their masters on journeys, do not march on their feet and carry loads, but they ride upon beasts in an honourable manner, like their masters. The seed of Ham are the Egyptians who carry loads, and they march [Fol. 20*a*, col. 1] on the roads with their backs and necks breaking under their loads, and they wander round to the doors of the children of their brethren. The seed of Ham was reduced, through the folly of Canaan, to suffer this penalty, that is, to become servants even to servants.

The Death of Noah.

And Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after he came forth from the Ark. And when he was sick unto death, Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arpakhshar (Arphaxad), and Shalaẖ (Salah) gathered together unto him. And Noah called Shem, his firstborn, and said unto him privily, "Take heed, my son Shem, unto what I say unto thee this day. When I am dead, go into the Ark, wherein thou hast been saved, and bring out the body of our father Adam, and let no man have knowledge of what thou doest. And take with thee from this place provision for the way, bread and wine, and take with thee Melchisedek, the son of Malakh [Fol. 20*a*, col. 2], because him hath God chosen from p. 123 among all your descendants that he may minister before

Him in respect of the body of our father Adam. And take the body and place it in the centre of the earth, and make Melchisedek to sit down there. And the Angel of God shall go before you, and shall show you the way wherein ye shall go, and also the place wherein the body of Adam shall be deposited, which is, indeed, the centre of the earth. There the four quarters of the earth embrace each other. For when God made the earth His power went before it, and the earth, from [its] four quarters, ran after it, like the winds and the swift breezes, and there (*i.e.* in the centre of the earth) His power stood still and was motionless. There shall redemption be made for Adam, and for all his posterity. Now this story, or mystery, was handed down to us from Adam in all generations [Fol. 20*b*, col. 1]. Adam commanded Seth, and Seth commanded Anosh (Enos), and Anosh commanded K̲ainan (Cainan), and K̲ainan commanded Mahlalail, and Mahlalail commanded Yared, and Yared commanded Enoch, and Enoch commanded Methuselah, and Methuselah commanded Lamech; and behold, I command thee this day. And take heed that this story is never mentioned again in all your generations. Get thee up, and take the body of Adam, and deposit it secretly in the place which God shall show thee p. 124 until the day of redemption." And when Noah had given all these commands unto his son Shem, he died, [being] nine hundred and fifty years old, in the month of Iyar (May), on the second day thereof, at the second hour of the first day of the week (Sunday). And Shem his son embalmed him, and buried him in the city which he had built (*i.e.* Themanon), and they made a mourning for him forty days.

The Departure of Shem with the body of Adam

And after the death of Noah Shem did as his father had commanded him. And he went into [Fol. 20*b*, col. 2] the Ark by night, and brought out the body of Adam therefrom, and he sealed the Ark with his father's seal, and no man perceived [what he had done]. And he called Ham and Japhet, and said unto them, "My brethren, my father commanded me to go up and travel over the earth, even to the sea (*i.e.* the Mediterranean), and I am to see what the rivers are like, and then return unto you. And behold, my wife and the children of my house are with you (*i.e.* in your care); let your eyes be upon them." And his brethren said unto him, "Take with thee a company of men from the camp, for the p. 126 land is a desert waste, and is shorn of inhabitants, and there are wild beasts therein." And Shem said unto them, "The Angel of the Lord shall go up with me, and he shall save me from every evil thing"; and his brethren said unto him, "Go in peace, and may the Lord God of our Fathers be with thee." And Shem said unto Malakh (the brother of Shalah (Salah), the son of [Cainan] and [grand]son of Arphaxad), the father of Melchisedek, and Yozadhak̲, his mother, "Give ye me Melchisedek [Fol. 21*a*, col. 1], that he may go up with me, and be a consolation for me on the road." And Malakh and Yozadhak̲, his mother, said unto Shem, "Take [him] and go in peace." And Shem gave commands unto his brethren, and said unto them, "My brethren, my father made me swear that neither I, nor any of your descendants, should go into the Ark," and he sealed the Ark with his seal, and said unto them, "Let no man go near it."

Shem carries the body of Adam to Golgotha.

And Shem took the body of Adam and Melchisedek, and went forth by night from among his people, and behold, the Angel of the Lord, who was going before them, appeared unto them. And their journey was very speedy, because the Angel of the Lord strengthened them until they arrived at that place. And when they arrived p. 127 at Gaghulta (Golgotha), which is the centre of the earth, the Angel of the Lord showed Shem the place [for the body of Adam]. And when Shem had deposited the body of our father Adam upon that place [Fol. 21*a*, col. 2], the four quarters [of the earth] separated themselves from each other, and the earth opened itself in the form of a cross, and Shem and Melchisedek deposited the body of Adam there (*i.e.* in the cavity). And as soon as they had laid it therein, the four quarters [of the earth] drew quickly together, and enclosed the body of our father Adam, and the door of the created world was shut fast. And that place was called "K̲ark̲aphta " (*i.e.* "Skull"), because the head of all the children of men was deposited there. And it was called "Gaghulta," because it was round [like the head], and "Res̲iphta " (*i.e.* a trodden-down thing), because the head of the accursed serpent, that is to say, Satan, was crushed there, and "Gefifta " (Gabbatha), because all the nations were to be gathered together to it.

Shem's commands to Melchisedek

And Shem said unto Melchisedek, "Thou shalt be the priest of the Most High God, because thou alone hath God chosen to minister before Him in this place. And thou shalt sit (*i.e.* dwell) here continually, and shalt not depart from this place all the days of thy life. Thou shalt not take a wife, thou shalt not shave thy head, and thou shalt not pour out blood [Fol. 21*b*, col. 1] in this place. Thou shalt not offer up wild beasts nor feathered fowl, but thou shalt offer up bread and wine always; and thou shalt not build a building in this place. And behold, the Angel of the Lord shall come down to thee and visit thee continually." And Shem embraced and kissed Melchisedek, and blessed him, and he returned to his brethren. And Malakh, the p. 130 father of Melchisedek, and Yozadhak, his mother, said [unto Shem], "Where is the young man?" And he said, "He died on the journey, and I buried him there" (*i.e.* where he died); and they mourned for him greatly.

The Generations of Shem

And when Shem had lived six hundred years he died, and Arphakhshar, his son, and Shalah (Salah), and `Abhar (Eber), his sons, buried him.

And Arphakhshar was thirty and five years old when he begot Shalah, and all the days of his p. 131 life were four hundred and thirty-eight years [Fol. 21*b*, col. 2], and he died, and Shalah, his son, and `Abhar and Palag (Peleg) buried him in Arpakhsharath, the city which he built after his own name.

Salah was thirty years old when he begot Eber, and all the days of his life were four hundred and thirty-three years [Ethiopic variant, 408 years], and he died, and Eber, his son, and Peleg, and Ar`o (Reu) puried hill in Shelihon, the city which he built after his own name.

Eber was thirty and four years old when he begot Peleg; and all the days of his life were four hundred and sixty-four [Ethiopic variant, 434] years; and he died, and Peleg his son and Reu and Sorogh (Serug) buried him in `Ebhrin, the city which he built after his own name.

Peleg was thirty years old when he begot Reu; and all the days of his life were two hundred and thirty-nine years, and he died [and they buried him in the city of Peleg, which he had built after his own name]. p. 132

The Migration to the land of Sentar

And in the days of Peleg all the tribes and families of the children of Noah gathered together, and went up from the East. And they found a [Fol. 22*a*, col. 1] plain in the land of Sen`ar (Shinar ?), and they all sat down there; and from Adam until this time they were all of one speech and one language. They all spake this language, that is to say, SÛRYAYA (Syrian), which is ARAMAYA (Aramean), and this language is the king of all languages. Now, ancient writers have erred in that they said that Hebrew was the first [language], and in this matter they have mingled an ignorant mistake with their writing. For all the languages there are in the world are derived from Syrian, and all the languages in books are mingled with it. In the writing of the Syrians the left hand stretcheth out to the right hand, and all the children of the left hand (*i.e.* the heathen) draw nigh to the right hand of God; now with the Greeks, and Romans, and the Hebrews, the right hand stretcheth out to the left. [Both Hebrew and Syriac are written from right to left, but Greek and Latin from left to right.]

[Fol. 22*a*, col. 2.] And in the days of Peleg the Tower which is in Babel was built, and there the tongues of men were confounded. [A marginal note says, "the division of tongues p. 133 took place at midnight."] And from that place they were scattered over the face of all the earth; and that place was called "Babel," because tongues were confounded there.

And after the division of tongues Peleg died in great sorrow, and with tears in his eyes and grief in his heart, because in his days the earth was divided. And his son Reu, and Serug, and Na<u>h</u>or buried him in Peleghin, the city which he had built after his own name. And there were seventy-two tongues in the earth, and seventy-two heads of tribes (or families), and each tribe and tongue made unto themselves a chief like a king.

The Posterity of Japhet

And the seed of Japhet became thirty-seven nations and kingdoms; viz. Gamar (Gomer), and Yawan, and Madhai, and Tubil, and Mashekh [Fol. 22*b*, col. 1], and Tires, and all the kingdoms of the Alanaye; all these are the children of Japhet. p. 134

And the sons of Ham--Kush (Nubia), and Me<u>s</u>rim (Egypt), and Pot, and Canaan, and all their children. And the sons of Shem--`Ilam (Elamites), and Ashor (Assyrians), and Arpakhshar (Persians ?), and Lodh (Lud), and Aram (Arameans, Damascenes, and Harranites), and all their children. Now the children of Japhet clung to the borders of the east, from the Mountain of Nodh, which is on the confines of the east, to the Tigris and the confines of the north, and from Ba<u>k</u>toronos (Bactria ?) as far as Gadhrion (Gadarea ?). And the children of Shem held from Persia [in] the east as far as the sea of Tadhrasn<u>k</u>os in the west; unto them belongeth the middle of the earth, and they held sovereignty and dominion therein. The children of Shem occupy all the southern and a little of the western quarter. p. 135

And Reu lived thirty-two years, and begot Serug. And in the days of Reu, in his one hundred [Fol. 22*b*, col. 2] and thirtieth year, Nimrod, the mighty man, the first king on the earth, reigned, and he reigned sixty-nine years; and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel. This Nimrod saw the figure of a crown in the heavens, and he called Sisan, the weaver, who wore a crown like unto it, and he set it on his head. And because of this men used to say that the crown came down to him from heaven.

IN THE DAYS OF REU THE THIRD THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END.

THE FOURTH THOUSAND YEARS--FROM THE REIGN OF REU TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE LIFE OF EHUD.

And in the days of Reu the Mesraye, who are the Egyptians, appointed their first king; his name was Puntos, and he reigned over them sixty-eight years. And in the days of Reu a king reigned in Shebha (Saba), and in Ophir, and in Havilah. And there reigned in Saba sixty of the daughters of Saba. And for many years women reigned in Saba--until the kingdom of Solomon, the son of David. And the children of Ophir, that is, Send (Scindia ?), appointed to be their [Fol. 23*a*, col. 1] Lophoron (?), who built Ophir with stones of gold; now, all the stones that are in Ophir are of gold. And the children of Havilah appointed to be their king Havil, who built Havilah, that is, Hend (India ?).

And Reu died, being two hundred and thirty-nine years old, and Serug his son, and Nahor and Tarah (Terah) buried him in Aor`in, the city which he built after his own name.

And Serug lived thirty years and begot Nahor, and all the days of his life were two hundred and thirty years. And in the days of Serug the worship of idols entered the world. And in his days the children of men began to make themselves graven images, and it was at this time that the introduction of idols into the world took place. For the children of men were scattered all over the earth, and they had neither teachers nor lawgivers, and no one to show them [Fol. 23*a*, col. 2] the way of truth wherein they should walk, and for this reason they became confused and fell into error. Some of them through their error adored the heavens, and some of them worshipped the sun, and moon and stars, and some of them the earth, and wild beasts, and birds, and creeping things, and trees, and stones, and the creatures of the sea, and p. 138 the waters, and the winds. Now Satan had blinded their eyes so that they might walk in the darkness of error, because they had no hope of a resurrection. For when one of them died they used to make an image of him, and set it up upon his grave, so that the remembrance [of his appearance] might not pass from before their eyes. And error having been sown broadcast in all the earth, the land became filled with idols in the form of men and women. And then Serug died, being two hundred and thirty years old, and Nahor, and Tarah [Fol. 23*b*, col. 1], and Abraham his sons, buried him in Sarghin, the city which he built after his own name.

And Nahor was twenty-nine years old when he begot Terah. And in the days of Nahor, in the seventieth year of his life, when God looked upon the children of men, and saw that they were worshipping idols, a great earthquake took place, and all their houses were overturned and fell down; but the people did not understand within themselves, and they added to their wickedness. And Nahor died when he was one hundred and forty-seven years old, and Terah his son and Abraham buried him. Terah was seventy-five years old when he begot Abraham.

And Terah was seventy-five years old when he begat Abraham. And in the days of Terah, in his ninetieth year, sorcery appeared on the earth in the city of Aor (Ur), which Horon, the son of `Abhar, built. Now, there was in the city a certain man who was very rich, and he died at that time. And his son made an image of him in gold [Fol. 23*b*, col. 2], and set it up upon his grave, and he appointed there a young man to keep guard over it. And Satan went and took up his abode in that image, and he spake to that youth (*i.e.* the son of the rich man) after the manner of his father. And thieves went into [his house], and took everything that the youth possessed, and he went out to the tomb of his p. 140 father weeping. And Satan spake unto him, saying, "Weep not in my presence, but go and fetch thy little son, and slay him here as a sacrifice to me, and forthwith everything which thou hast lost shall be returned to me here." And straightway the youth did as Satan told him, and he slew his son, and bathed in his blood. And Satan went forth immediately from that image [of gold], and entered into the youth, and taught him sorcery, and enchantments, and divination, and the lore of the Chaldeans, and [how to tell] fortunes, and [how to forecast] events, and [how to foretell] destinies. And behold, from that time the children of men began to sacrifice their sons to devils and to worship idols, for the devils entered into the images, and took up their abodes therein.

And in the one hundredth year of the life of Na_h_or, when God saw that the children of men were sacrificing their Sons to devils [Fol. 24*a*, col. 1], and worshipping idols, He opened the storehouses of the wind, and the gate of the whirlwind, and a blast of wind went forth in all the earth. And it uprooted the images, and the places where offerings were made to devils, and it swept together the idols, and the images, and the pillared buildings in a heap, and piled up great mounds [of earth] over them; [and they are there] to this day. Now to this blast of wind learned men have given the name of "Wind-Flood"; but certain who have erred have said, "These mounds existed [already] in the days of the Flood [of waters]. Now those who have said these things have erred greatly from the truth; for before the Flood [of waters] there were no idols in the earth, and it was not because of idols that the Flood came, but because of the p. 142 fornication of the daughters of Cain. And, moreover, at that time there were no men on this earth, which was a waste and a desert. And our fathers were cast forth in days of old, as it were, into exile, because they were not worthy to be [Fol. 24*a*, col. 2] neighbours of Paradise. And through the Ark they were driven forth to the mountains of _K_ardo, and from there they were scattered about throughout all the earth. For these mounds came into being because of idols, and in them are buried all the idols of that time, and all the devils also who dwell in them are in these mounds, and there is no mound which hath not devils in it.

Nimrod the fire-worshipper, and Yon_t_on, son of Noah

And in the days of Nimrod, the mighty man (or giant), a fire appeared which ascended from the earth, and Nimrod went down, and looked at it, and worshipped it, and he established priests to minister there, and to cast incense into it. From that day the Persians began to worship fire, [and they do so] to this day.

And Sisan, the king, found a spring of water in Droghin, and he made a white horse and set it over it, and those who bathed in the water used to worship the horse [Fol. 24*b*, col. 1]. And from that time the Persians began to worship p. 143 that (*sic*) horse. [According to the *Book of Adam* (iii. 25), the horse was made of gold.]

And Nimrod went to Yokdora of Nodh, and when he arrived at the Lake (or Sea) of A_t_ras, he found there Yon_t_on, the son of Noah. [A marginal note in the Syriac MS. adds, "Noah begot this Yon_t_on after the Flood, and he honoured him in many things, and sent him to the east to dwell there."] And Nimrod went down and bathed in the Lake, and he came to Yon_t_on and did homage unto him. And Yon_t_on said, "Thou art a king; doest thou homage unto me?" And Nimrod said unto him, "It is because of thee that I have come down here"; and he remained with him for three years. And Yon_t_on taught Nimrod wisdom, and the art of revelation (divining ?), and he said unto him, "Come not back again to me."

And when Nimrod went up from the east, and began to practise the art of divining, very many men marvelled at him. And when Idhashir (Ardeshir ?), the priest who ministered to the fire that ascended from the earth, saw that Nimrod was practising these exalted courses, he entreated the devil, who appeared in connection with that fire, to teach him [Fol. 24*b*, col. 2] the wisdom of Nimrod. And as the devils were in the habit of destroying those who came nigh unto them by sin, the devil said unto the priest, p. 144 "A man cannot become a priest and a Magian until he hath known carnally his mother, and his daughter, and his sister." And Idhashir the priest did this, and from that time the priests, and the Magians, and the Persians take their mothers, and their sisters, and their daughters [to wife]. And this Idhashir, the Magian, was the first to begin to study the Signs of the Zodiac, and [omens concerning] luck, and fate, and happenings, and motions of the eyes and eyelids, as well as all the other arts of the learning of the Chaldees. Now, all this learning is the error of devils, and those who practise it shall receive, together with the devils, the doom of the Judgment. And because this art of divination, which was employed by Nimrod, was taught to him [Fol.

25*a*, col. 1] by Yon<u>t</u>on, none of the orthodox doctors have suppressed it; nay, they have even practised it. Now the Persians call it "Gelyana " (*i.e.* "Revelation") and the Romans "Estromion" (*i.e.* "Astronomy"). But that [knowledge] which the Magians have, viz. astrology, is sorcery and the teaching of devils. There are some who say that it doth indeed [teach concerning] luck, and happenings (*i.e.* future events), and fate, but these are in error. Now Nimrod builded strong cities in the east, Babel, and Nineveh, and Rasan (Ras `Ain), and Seli<u>k</u>: (Seleucia), and Ctesiphon, and Adhorbaighan; and he made three fortresses. p. 145

The History of Abraham

And Terah, the father of Abraham, lived two hundred and fifty years, and he died, and Abraham and Lot buried him in Harran. And there God spoke unto Abraham, and said unto him, "Get thee forth from thy land, and from among thy people, and come to the land which I will show thee." And Abraham took his household, Sara his wife [Fol. 25*a*, col. 2], and Lot, his brother's son, and he went up to the land of the Amoraye (Amorites); and he was seventy-five years old when he crossed the desert from the Euphrates. And he was eighty years old when he pursued the kings, and rescued Lot, his brother's son.

On the day of the birth of Abraham the house shone with a bright light. Many people fell down, and there was a cry in a loud voice, which said, "Woe is me! Woe is me! For he who shall crush my kingdom hath been born." And he who cried out wept, and described the events which should take place, saying, "It is he who shall burn down my abode." And there were among the people certain men who said, "Kill this child forthwith," and those who spake thus knew well that grace would be given to Abraham. And God set mercy in the heart of the father of Abraham, and he said to the Satans, "Whence come ye, O ye who tell me that I should kill my son who is a gracious gift of God?" And he reared the child . . . . . And Abraham was circumcised by the hand of Gabriel and Michael, who helped him. From the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*, ed. Perruchon.] p. 148

Abraham and Melchisedek

And at that time Abraham had no son, because Sara was barren.

And when he returned from the battle of the kings, the agency of God called him, and he crossed the mountain of Yabhos (Jebus ?), and Melchisedek, the king of Shalim, the priest of the Most High God, went forth to meet him. And when Abraham saw Melchisedek, he made haste and fell upon his face, and did homage to him, and he rose up from the ground and embraced him, and kissed him, and was blessed by him; and Melchisedek blessed Abraham. And Abraham gave Melchisedek tithes of everything which he had with him, and Melchisedek made him to participate in the Holy Mysteries, [of] the bread of the Offering and the wine of redemption. And after [Fol. 25*b*, col. 1] Melchisedek had blessed him, and made him to participate in the Holy Mysteries, God spake unto Abraham, and said unto him, "Thy reward is exceedingly great. Since Melchisedek hath blessed thee, and hath made thee to partake of bread and wine [with him], I also will assuredly bless thee, and I will assuredly multiply thy seed."

And when Abraham was eighty-six years old Ishmael was born to him by Haghar, the Egyptian woman, whom Pharaoh had given to p. 149 Sara as a handmaiden. Now Sara was the sister of Abraham on the father's side, because Terah took two women to wife. When Yawnu, the mother of Abraham, died, Terah took to wife a woman whose name was "Naharyath" (or Shalmath, or Tona, or Ta<u>h</u>dif), and of her Sara was born. It was because of this [fact] that Abraham said, "She is my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother" (Gen. xx. 2, 5).

The Birth of Isaac

And Abraham was ninety-nine [Fol. 25*b*, col. 2] years old when God went into his house and gave Sara a son, and he was one hundred years old when Isaac was born to him. And Isaac was thirteen years old when his father took him and went up to the mountain of Yabhos (Jebus) to Melchisedek, the priest of God, the Most High. Now Mount Yabhos is the mountain of the Amoraye (Amorites), and in that place the Cross of Christ was set up, and on it grew the tree which held the ram that saved Isaac. And that same place is the centre of the earth, and the grave of Adam, and the altar of Melchisedek, and Golgotha, and Karkafta, and Gefifta (Gabbatha). And there David saw the angel bearing the sword of fire. There, too, Abraham took up Isaac his son for a burnt offering, and he saw p. 150 the Cross, and Christ [Fol. 26*a*, col. 1], and the redemption of our father Adam. The tree (*i.e.* thicket) was a symboI of the Cross of Christ our Lord, and the ram [caught] in its branches was the mystery of the manhood of the Word, the Only One. And, because of this, Paul cried out and said, "If they had only known [it] they were not crucifying the Lord of glory." Let the mouths of the heretics be stopped who in their madness impute passibility to the Eternal God.

Now, when Christ was eight days old, Joseph, the betrothed of Mary, rose up to circumcise the Child according to the Law, and he circumcised Him according to the custom that was the Law. In like manner Abraham took up his son as an offering, but he at the same time [fore]saw in this [act] the crucifixion of Christ. And this thing did Christ openly proclaim before the multitudes of the Jews, saying, "Abraham, your father, wanted to see My days, and he saw and was glad" (John viii. 56). Abraham saw the day of the redemption [Fol. 26*a*, col. 2] of Adam, and he saw and rejoiced, and it was revealed unto him that Christ would suffer on behalf of Adam.

The founding of Jerusalem

And in that same year in which Abraham offered up his son as an offering, in that same p. 151 year [I say] Jerusalem was built; and the beginning of the building thereof was in this wise. Melchisedek having appeared and shown himself to men, the kings of the nations heard his history, and they gathered together and came unto him.

These twelve kings gathered together and came to Melchisedek, king of Shalim [Fol. 26*b*, col. 1], the priest of the Most High God. And when they saw his appearance, and heard his words, they entreated him to go with them. And he said unto them, "I am not able to go from this place to any other"; and they took counsel together about building him a city, and p. 152 said to each other, "Verily, he is the king of the whole earth, and the father of all kings." And they built him a city and made Melchisedek to live in it; and Melchisedek called the name thereof "Jerusalem." And when Maghogh, the king of the south, heard [of this], he came to him, and saw his appearance, and spake unto him, and gave him offerings and gifts. And Melchisedek was held in honour by all, and he was called the "Father of Kings."

Melchisedek

Now, as concerning what the Apostle said, "there was no beginning to his days, and no end to his life" (Heb. vii. 3) [Fol. 26*b*, col. 2], it has been thought by simple folk that he was not a man at all, and in their error they have said concerning him that he was God. God forbid that there should have been no beginning to his days or end to his life. [The Apostle spake thus] because when Shem, the son of Noah, took away Melchisedek from his parents, no word is said as to how old he was when he went up from the East, and it is not said how old he was at the time of his departure from this world. Now, he was the son of Malakh, the son of Arpakhshar, the son of Shem, and he was not the son of one of the Patriarchs. And the Apostle said that none of his father's family had ever ministered p. 153 at the altar (Heb. vii. 6). The name of his father is not written in the genealogies, because Matthew and Luke, the Evangelists [only] wrote down the [names of the] Fathers [in chief, *i.e.* Patriarchs]; and for this reason neither the name of his father [Fol. 27*a*, col. 1], nor the name of his mother, is known. The Apostle did not say that he had no parents, but [only] that they were not written down in Matthew and Luke.

Kumros

And in the one hundredth year [of the life] of Abraham there was a king in the East whose name was "Kumros." He built Shemesht (Samosata), after the name of his son Shemeshto, and Klawdiya (Claudias), after the name of his daughter Kalodh, and Pirin after the name of his son Poron.

Nimrod founds Nisibis, Harran and Edessa

And in the fiftieth year of [the life of] Reu, Nimrod went up and built Nisibis, and Edessa, and Harran, which is Edessa. And Harranith, the wife of Dasan, the priest of the mountain, surrounded it with a wall, and the people of Harran made a statue of her and worshipped her. And Baltin, who was given to Tamuza (Tammuz)--now because B`elshemin loved her, Tammuz fled before him--set fire to Harran and burned it. p. 154

The Death of Sara

And when Sara, the wife of Abraham, died, Abraham took to wife Kentora [Fol. 27*a*, col. 2], the daughter of Baktor, the king of the desert. And there were born unto him by her Zamran, and Yakshan, and Madhan, and Medhyan, and Ashbak, and Shoh. [*See* Gen. xxv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. i. 32. A marginal note in the Syriac MS. says, "these sons of Kentora are called sons of Daran by the prophet."] And from these are sprung the Arabs.

Isaac and Rebecca

And when Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer, a son of the house of Abraham, went down and brought Rabka (Rebecca) from the east, and Isaac took her to wife. And when Abraham died Isaac buried him by the side of Sara.

And when Isaac was sixty years old Rebecca became with child of Esau and Jacob. And being sorely afflicted, she went to Melchisedek, and he prayed over her and said unto her, "Two p. 155 nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be removed from thy loins, that is to say, shall go forth from thy womb. One nation shall be stronger than the other, and the elder shall be in subjection to the younger, that is to say, Esau [Fol. 27*b*, col. 1] shall be in subjection to Jacob."

The founding of Jericho

And in the sixty-seventh year of [the life of] Isaac, Jericho was built by seven kings, namely, the king of the Hittites, and the king of the Amorites, and the king of the Girgantes, and the king of the Jebusites, and the king of the Canaanites, and the king of the Hivites, and the king of the Perizites; and each of them surrounded it with a wall. Now the son of Mesrin (Mizraim), the king of the Egyptians, had founded Jericho in olden time. And Ishmael made a mill of the hands (*i.e.* a handmill) in the desert, a mill of slavery (*i.e.* a mill to be worked by, slaves).

Jacob's Ladder

And in the one hundred and third year of his life Isaac blessed Jacob, who was forty years old, and having received the blessing from his father, he went down into the desert [Fol. 27*b*, col. 2] of Beersheba, and lay down to sleep there; and when he was lying down he took a p. 156 stone and made a pillow of it. And he saw in his dream, and behold, a ladder was set upon the earth. And the top of it was in the heavens. And the angels of God were going up and coming down, and the Lord stood at the top of it. And Jacob woke up from his sleep, and said, "This is truly the house of God"; and he took the stone of his pillow, and made it an altar, and he anointed it with oil. And he vowed a vow and said, "Of everything which I have will I tithe for this stone." Now, it is manifest to those who possess understanding that the ladder which Jacob saw symbolizeth the Cross of our Redeemer. And the angels who were going up and down were the ministers of Zechariah and Mary, and the Magi, and the shepherds. And the Lord Who was standing at [Fol. 28*a*, col. 1] the top of the ladder symbolized Christ, Who stood on the Cross that He might go down to redeem us.

Jacob and Baptism

And when God had shown the blessed Jacob the Cross of Christ by means of the Ladder of the Angels, and the coming down of Christ for our redemption, and the Church, the House of God, and the altar by means of the stone, and the offerings by means of the tithes, and the anointing by means of the oil, Jacob again went down to the East that there God might show him baptism. And Jacob looked, and saw, and beheld three flocks of sheep lying down by a well; and there was a great stone placed over the mouth of the well. And Jacob drew nigh, and rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the sheep of his mother's brother. And having watered the flocks, he took Rachel and kissed her.

Now by "Well" [Fol. 28*a*, col. 2] the blessed Jacob indicated (or, depicted) baptism, which was covered over (*i.e.* hidden) from the races of men, and generations and tribes. And the three flocks of sheep which were lying down by the well are a type of the three divisions and three groups [who come] for baptism, namely, men and women and children. And that Jacob saw Rachel coming with the flocks, and that he neither embraced her nor kissed her until he had rolled away the stone from the well, and she had watered the flocks, is in accordance with p. 158 the law of the sons of the Church, who neither embrace nor kiss the Lamb of Christ until baptism hath opened [the way]; they go down into the waters and put on strength from them and then the sons of the Church embrace and kiss. And as Jacob served with Laban for seven years, and the woman he loved was not given to him, so also was it with the Jews, who served Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in slavery, and went forth. [Fol. 28*b*, col. 1.] For the Covenant of the Church, the Bride of Christ, was not given unto them, but that Covenant which was old, and worn out, and of no effect. Now the eyes of [Leah], the first woman whom Jacob took to wife, were hateful, whilst the eyes of Rachel were beautiful, and her countenance was radiant. A covering (*i.e.* veil) was laid over the face of the first Covenant, so that the children of Israel might not see the beauty thereof; as for the second Covenant, it is wholly light.

Jacob's sons. The Death of Isaac

Jacob was seventy-seven years old when he received the blessing of Isaac, his father, and he was eighty-nine years old when he begot Reuben, his firstborn, by Leah. The sons of Jacob are these:--

Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulon; these are the sons of Leah.
p. 159 Joseph and Benjamin were the sons of Rachel.
Gad and Asher were the sons of Zilpah, the handmaiden of Leah [Fol. 28b, col. 2].
Dan and Naphtali were the sons of Bilhah, the handmaiden of Rachel.

And after twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac his father. And all the days of the life of Isaac were one hundred and eighty years--until the thirty-first year of the life of Levi--and he died in the one hundred and twentieth year of the life of Jacob. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up from Harran, Joseph was sold to the Midianites; he was sold during the lifetime of Isaac, and they mourned for him. When Isaac died Jacob and Esau, his sons, buried him with Abraham and Sara. Seven years later Rebecca died, and was buried with Abraham, and Isaac, and Sara; and Rachel died and was buried with them.

And Judah, the son of Jacob, took unto himself to wife Shu` (Shuah), the Canaanitess [Fol. 29*a*, col. 1], and his father was grieved because he had taken to wife a woman of the seed of Canaan. And Jacob said unto Judah, "May the Lord God of our fathers Abraham and Isaac not permit the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our families." And there were born unto Judah by Shuah, the Canaanite woman, `Ir (Er), Ônan, and Shela (Shelah). And Judah took a wife p. 160 for Er his firstborn, Tamar, and he consorted with her unnaturally, and God put him to death. And Judah gave Tamar to Ônan, and as soon as his seed became available for Tamar he wasted it, and him also did God put to death. Thus, God did not permit the seed of Canaan to mingle with the seed of Jacob, even as Jacob prayed God that the seed of Canaan, the firstborn of the lascivious Ham, might not be mingled among the generations [Fol. 29*a*, col. 2] of the Fathers. And God made Tamar go out to the roadside, and Judah lay with her in the passion of fornication, and she conceived and brought forth Peres (Pharez) and Zarah.

Jacob in Egypt

And Jacob and all his descendants went down into Egypt to Joseph, and he lived in Egypt seventeen years; and Jacob died, being one hundred and forty years old, and Joseph was fifty-six years old when his father died, in the twelfth year of Kahath. And the wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him, and Joseph took him up [to Canaan] and buried him with Abraham and Isaac his father.

The Genealogies of the "Tribes" and the "Children of Israel."

Now there are certain doctors who trace the genealogies of the Tribes from the death of Jacob, and who mix them together, but they do not do this in the light of knowledge. They set in the midst two genealogies, one of the "Tribes," and the other of the "Children of Israel" [Fol. 29*b*, col. 1]. Now fix thine attention on these generations, and how they became mixed together. [When] they went forth from Egypt: Judah begot Pharez, Pharez begot Hesron (Hezron), Hezron begot Aram (Ram, 1 Chron. ii. 9), Aram begot Amminadab, Amminadab begot Nahshon (Nahson), and Nahshon was he who became prince of Judah. And Amminadab gave the sister of Nahshon to `Ir (so in the text, but read Eleazar), the son of Aaron, the priest; of her was born Phinehas, the great priest, who prayed "and the plague was stayed" (Num. xxv. 7, 8; Ps. cvi. 30). Behold, I have shown thee that from Amminadab, the priesthood of the children of Israel was transmitted by the sister of Nahshon, and the kingdom by Nahshon her brother. Observe also that the priesthood and the kingdom were transmitted by Judah to the children of Israel.

And Nahshon begot Shila, that is to say, Salmon, and Shila begot Boaz. Observe now p. 162 that the kingdom went forth from Boaz and Ruth [Fol. 29*b*, col. 2], the Moabitess, for the old man Boaz took Ruth to wife so that Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, might have participation in the transmission of the kingdom. And God did not deprive the righteous man Lot of the reward of his labour, because he had suffered in exile with Abraham, and he received the angels of God in peace. And that the righteous man Lot might not be reviled because he slept with his daughters, God granted that the royal succession might be maintained by the seed of both, and that Christ should be born of the seed of Lot and Abraham. And from the seed of Ruth, the Moabitess, Obed was born, and from Obed, Jesse, and from Jesse, David, and from David, Solomon; these are the descendants of Ruth, the Moabitess, the daughter of Lot. And of Na`ma (Naamah, 1 Kings xiv. 21), the Ammonitess, another daughter of Lot, whom Solomon took to wife [Fol. 30*a*, col. 1], was born Rehoboam, who reigned after Solomon.

Solomon

Now Solomon married many wives, seven hundred free-born women, and three hundred concubines; and of the thousand women which he took to wife, he had no son except from Naamab the Ammonitess. And why was it p. 163 that God did not give him a son from these [others]? It was in order to prevent the wicked seed of the Canaanites, and Jebusites, and Amorites, and Hittites, and Gergasites, and the seed of the peoples whom God hated, from mingling in the succession of the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

The chiefs of Israel born in Egypt

Now the succession of the children of Israel is this: Levi, and Amram, and Moses, and Joshua, the son of Non, and Caleb, the son of Yofanna (Jephunneh). These were born in Egypt.

Moses

And when Moses was born he was cast into the river, and Shipor (in Ethiopic, Sephurah), the Egyptian woman, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him up, and he lived in the house of Pharaoh p. 165 for forty years. And then [Fol. 30*a*, col. 2] he killed Pethkom, the Egyptian, the chief of the bakers of Pharaoh. Now this was noised abroad in the house of Pharaoh, after Pharaoh's daughter Makri, who was called "Shipor Mes̱ren (*i.e.* "Trumpet of Egypt"), was dead, and Moses was afraid, and he fled to Midian, to Reuel, the Cushite, the priest of Midian.

And Moses took to wife Zipporah, the Cushite woman, daughter of the priest, and two sons were born to him--Gershom and Eliezer. And in the second year of the life of Moses, Joshua, the son of Non, was born in Egypt. And Moses was eighty years old when God talked with him from out of the bush, and because of his fear his tongue halted, even as he said to God, "Behold, my Lord, from the day wherein Thou didst speak to me I have been halting of tongue." Moses lived in Egypt forty years, and in the house [Fol. 30*b*, col. 1] of the priest of Midian forty p. 166 years, and he passed forty years in governing the people. And he died at the age of one hundred and twenty years on Mount Nebo.

The Successors of Moses

And Joshua, the son of Non, was the governor of the children of Israel for twenty-seven years. And after the death of Joshua, the son of Non, Kushan, the Wicked (Chushanrishathayim), was lord over the people for eighty years.

And `Athnail (Othniel), the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, was lord over Israel for forty years.

And then the children of Israel were in subjection to the Moabites for eighteen years.

And Ahor (Ehud), the son of Gera, ruled the children of Israel for eighty years.

AND IN THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF HIS LIFE THE FOURTH THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END. (*See Book of Adam*, IV, chapter vii.)

[THE FIFTH THOUSAND YEARS. FROM THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF EHUD'S LIFE TO THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS.]

Nabhin (Jabin), who was dried up in body, ruled twenty years.
Deborah and Barak [ruled them] forty years. The children [Fol. 30*b*, col. 2] of Israel were in subjection to the Midianites seven years, and God delivered them by the hands of Gideon, who ruled them forty years.
Abimelech his son reigned after him three years.
Tula` (Tola), the son of Puah [ruled them] twenty-three years.
Yair, the Gileadite, twenty-two years.
And again the children of Israel were in subjection to the Ammonites eighteen years, and God delivered them by the hand of Naphtah (Jephthah), the man who offered up his daughter as a sacrifice, and he ruled them six years.
Abhisan (Ibzan of Bethlehem), who is Nahshon (sic), ruled them seven years. p. 169
Alon (Elon), who was from Zebulon, ruled them ten years.
`Abhron (Abdon, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite) ruled them eight years.
And the children of Israel were in subjection to the Philistines forty years, and God delivered them by the hand of Samson, and he ruled them twenty years.
And the [Fol. 31*a*, col. 1] children of Israel lived without a governor for eighteen years, and then Eli the priest rose up and ruled them forty years.

And Samuel rose up over them and ruled them twenty years. And in the days of Samuel the children of Israel provoked to wrath God, Who had delivered them from the servitude of the Egyptians, and they made Saul, the son of Kish, king, and he reigned over them forty years.

And in the days of Saul lived Gulyadh (Goliath), a giant of the Philistines. He came nigh and reviled Israel, and blasphemed against God, and David, the son of Jesse, killed him. And David was praised in songs by the daughters of Israel, and Saul persecuted him. And the Philistines slew Saul because he forsook the Lord, and took refuge with the devils.

NOTE.--The story of David and Goliath finds an interesting parallel in the history of Sanehat p. 170 as found in an Egyptian papyrus in the Royal Library at Berlin. Sanehat fled from Egypt as the result of some political trouble, and made his way into Palestine, where he settled down and prospered, and became a shekh of great influence and importance. Then a certain man of Thennu went to Sanehat's tent and reviled him, and challenged him to fight him. This man was a mighty warrior, and was famed throughout the country for his strength, and valour, and success. During the following night Sanehat made ready his dagger, and spear, and bow, and at daybreak all the tribes came to the place to witness the great duel which was to take place. The man of Thennu grasped his shield and his battle-axe, and then began to hurl his spears at Sanehat, but they either went wide or Sanehat managed in some way to avoid them; in any case, they failed to touch him. When the man of Thennu saw this, he lost his temper, and made a rush at Sanehat, meaning to close with him and despatch him with his battle-axe. But as he came on in his mad rage Sanehat hurled his short javelin at his head, and it pierced his neck and remained fast in it. The man of Thennu uttered a prolonged shriek and then fell headlong on the ground, face downwards. Sanehat went to him, and, taking his foe's weapons from him, killed him with them. Then p. 171 he took his stand on the dead body, and shouted the cry of victory, and the onlookers rejoiced in his triumph and applauded him.]

David reigned over [Fol. 31*a*, col. 2] the children of Israel forty years, and Solomon, his son, reigned forty years.

And Solomon did great and wonderful things, and it was he who sent to Ophir and brought gold from the mountains of gold, and the ships sailed the sea for thirty-six months, and then came forth (*i.e.* returned). It was he who built Tadmor (Palmyra) in the wilderness, and he carried out there great and wonderful works. And when Solomon passed the borders of the mountain which is called Sa`er, he found there the altar which Piorzakhar, and Piorzanai, and Neznadhor had built. These were they whom Nimrod, the giant, sent to Balaam, the priest of the Mountain of Sa`er, because he heard that he was wont to consult the Signs of the Zodiac, and when they were passing the skirts of the mountain they built there an altar to the sun. And when Solomon saw it he built a city there and called its name "Niapolis " (more correctly, Heliopolis) [Fol. 31*b*, col. 1], that is to say, "City of the Sun." And Solomon also built Aradus (Arvad) in the midst of the sea, and he became so famous and renowned p. 172 that the report of his wise acts went out into all the ends of the earth. And the Queen of Sheba went to hold converse with him. And Solomon loved Hiram, king of Tyre, greatly. And Hiram reigned in Tyre five hundred years, from the days of the kingdom of David to the [days of] the kingdom of Zedekiah and of all the kings of the children of Israel. And at length he forgot that he was a man, and he blasphemed and said, "I am God, and I sit upon the throne of God in the middle of the sea." And Nebuchadnezzar the king killed him.

The purple linen of Tyre

And in the days of Hiram the purple-[coloured] apparel worn by kings [first] appeared. As a dog was running along the sea-shore [at Tyre] he saw a purple shell-fish (*i.e.* the murex) coming up out of the [Fol. 31*b*, col. 2] water, and he bit it, and straightway his mouth was filled with the blood of that shell-fish. And a certain p. 173 shepherd who saw the dog brought a piece of woollen cloth and wiped the dog's mouth with it. And he made that piece of woollen cloth into a crown (*i.e.* a *kafiyah* or head-cloth), and set it upon his head, and as he walked along in the sun, those who saw him thought that rays of fire were coming forth from his head, and when Hiram heard [of this] he sent for the man. And when he saw the woollen cloth he marvelled, and was astonished. And all the dyers gathered together and marvelled at it, and they set out to enquire into the matter; and they found some of these shell-fish and rejoiced greatly.

The Apostasy of Solomon

And Solomon waxed exceedingly great. And the food [provided for his table every day] consisted of forty oxen, one hundred head of sheep, thirty measures of fine flour, sixty measures of wheat, and three hundred measures of wine; and besides all this [Fol. 32*a*, col. 1], stags, and gazelle, and wild antelopes, and other creatures of the desert. And he became froward and transgressed the Law, and hearkened not to the commands of his father, and he took to wife one thousand women from all the peoples whom God hated. And in the time of his old age he gave himself up to women, and he let them play with him, and he hearkened to their words, and did p. 174 their will. And he denied the God of David, his father. And he builded altars to devils, and offered up sacrifices to idols and graven images, and he worshipped the work of the hands; and God turned away His face from him and he died. And he reigned in Jerusalem forty-six years.

Rehoboam

And Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, reigned after him. Rehoboam was forty-one years old when [he began] to reign, and he polluted Jerusalem with fornication, and the altars of devils, and the stink of heathendom; and the kingdom of Israel was rent in twain. And in the fifth year [Fol. 32*a*, col. 2] of his kingdom Shishak, the king of Egypt, went up against Jerusalem. And he carried off all the treasure of the service of the house of the Lord, and all the treasure of the kingdom of David, and of that of Solomon, and the vessels of gold and the vessels of silver. And he magnified himself and said, "I am not p. 176 taking away treasure which is yours but the wealth which your fathers tok out of Egypt." And Rehoboam died in the heathen practices of his father Solomon.

[Shishak was the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty and reigned about 20 years (947-928 B.C.): he was of Libyan origin. The Egyptian form of his name is SHASHANQ , and it is found with his title "beloved of Amen" in a cartouche thus:

And Abijah his son reigned after him and he destroyed Jerusalem with fornication and with heathen works--now, Melka, the mother of `Abhd-Shalom, was his mother--and he died in the heathen practices of his father.

And Asa his son reigned after him for forty years in Jerusalem. He did that which was good before the Lord, and he put away fornication from Jerusalem, and made an end of the heathen practices of his people, for he kept the commandments of God [Fol. 32*b*, col. 1]. And he drove them (*i.e.* the idolators) out of his palace (or, kingdom), and made them to be a mockery before all the people, because they [taught] the offering of sacrifices to idols. And Zerah of Judah went up against him, and God humbled him before Asa. And Asa died in righteousness like his father David. p. 177

And Jehosaphat his son reigned after him, and he walked in the ways of Asa his father, and he did that which was pleasing before God. And God was angry with him because he was a friend of the house of Ahab, and for this reason God did not permit him to bring out gold from Ophir. Now he made ships to send thither, and they were broken at Ezion Geber. He was thirty-two years old when he began to reign, and the name of his mother was `Azobha (Azuba ?), the daughter of Shalah. And Jehosaphat died in his righteousness.

Joram reigned after him, and he was thirty-two years old [Fol. 32*b*, col. 2] when he began to reign; he reigned eight years in Jerusalem. He did not do what was pleasing before God, for he sacrificed at the altar of devils, and he died in his heathen practices.

Ahaziah his son reigned after him, and he was twenty-two years old when [he began] to reign; he lived for one year in Jerusalem, and did evil things before God in that year. Because of the wickedness and iniquity which he wrought, God delivered him into the hands of his enemies and they killed him. When he was dead his mother [Athaliah] killed all the royal children of the house of David, imagining that she would uproot the children of the Jews. The only person of the seed of the royal house whom she did not slay was Joash, whom Yoshba` (Jehosheba), the daughter of Joram, the son of Jehosaphat, carried away secretly and hid [Fol. 33*a*, col. 1] with her in her house.

Reign of Ahab's sister

And the sister of Ahab reigned seven years in Jerusalem. And she polluted the city with fornication, for she commanded the women to play the whore without fear, and the men to commit adultery with the wives of their neighbours without incurring any penalty. And she herself committed fornication like Jezebel, and she adopted all the heathen practices of the house of Ahab in Jerusalem.

Reign of Joash

And after seven years the children of Jerusalem considered whom they should make their king, p. 179 and Jehoiada the priest gathered them together in the house of the Lord, in the temple which Solomon had built. And when the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds had gathered together, Jehoiada the priest said unto them, "Whom say ye shall be king and sit upon the throne of David except [he be] a king and the son of a king?" And when he showed him [Fol. 33*a*, col. 2] to them they rejoiced with an exceedingly great joy. And the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the "runners," and the messengers brought the kingdom to the house of the Lord, and the soldiers who were armed surrounded him on all sides; and Jehoiada the priest set him (*i.e.* Joash) upon the throne of David his father. And [Joash] was seven years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem. And the name of his mother was Ṣubha (Zibea) and she was from Beersheba. And Athaliah [the mother of Ahaziah] was killed. And Joash requited with evil the kindness which Jehoiada had done him, and after his death he shed the innocent blood of his sons. And Joash died, and Amaziah his son reigned after him.

Amaziah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother p. 180 was Yaho`adhan (Joadan). And Amaziah died, and [Fol. 33*b*, col. 1]

Uzziah his son reigned after him.

Uzziah was sixteen years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned fifty (*sic*) years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Ikhanya (Jechalia). And he did that which was good before the Lord. Now, he made bold to go into the Holy of Holies, and he took the censer from the priest of God (Azariah), and burned incense in the temple of the Lord; and because he did this leprosy covered his face. And because Isaiah the prophet did not rebuke him, he was prevented from prophesying until Uzziah died. And Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

Jotham was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Irusha (Jerusa), the daughter of Zadok. And he did that which was good before the Lord, and he died and Ahaz his son reigned after him.

Ahaz a vassal of the King of Assyria

Ahaz was twenty years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem [Fol. 33*b*, col. 2]; and the name of his mother was `Aphin, the daughter of Levi. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, and he p. 181 sacrificed to devils. Tiglath-Pileser, the king of Assyria, went up against him, and Ahaz wrote himself down in his letter as his servant, and the Assyrian held him in subjection. And Ahaz sent to the king of Assyria the gold and silver [which were in] the house of the Lord, [and in his days] the children of Israel were carried off into captivity. And the king sent for the men who had come from Babel, so that they might dwell in the land instead of the children of Israel, because they could kill the lions. And the king of Assyria sent to them Ôri [Fol. 34*a*, col. 1] the priest, and he taught them the laws. And Ahaz died and Hezekiah his son reigned after him.

Hezekiah

Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Akhi (Abhi ?), the daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was pleasing before the Lord, for he smashed the altars, and he cut in pieces the serpent of brass which Moses made in the wilderness, because the children of Israel used to worship it, and he abolished heathen practices in Jerusalem.

In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up and carried away captive the rest of the children of Israel, and he sent them into Media, beyond Babel.

And in the twentieth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up and took all the cities and towns of Judah, but through the prayer of Hezekiah Jerusalem was saved. p. 183

He captured 46 of Hezekiah's strongholds, and brought out from them 200,150 people, and horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and innumerable sheep. He then shut up Hezekiah like a caged bird in

Hezekiah's soldiers deserted, and he sent his envoy to Nineveh to pay his tribute to Sennacherib, viz. 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, eye-paint, couches and chairs of ivory, hides, tusks, precious woods, and his daughters with their attendants and musicians.**]**

And Hezekiah became sick unto death [Fol. 34*a*, col. 2], and it was grievous unto him, and he wept. And there were certain men who blamed him, but why [his sickness] was grievous unto him they never troubled to acquaint themselves. Now the sorrow of Hezekiah [came upon him] p. 184 because when he became sick unto death he had no son to reign after him. And when he looked with the eyes of his soul and saw that he had no son to reign after him, he was afflicted, and wept and said, "Woe is me! for I must die childless, and that blessing which hath been given [unto us] for six and forty generations hath been cut off by me this day. I have become the destroyer of the kingdom of David, and the succession of the kings of Judah hath been cut off this day." This was [the cause of] the sorrow of Hezekiah. And after he recovered from his sickness he waited fourteen years, and [then] Manasseh was born to him. And Hezekiah died in great content, and left a son to sit upon the throne of David [Fol. 34*b*, col. 1] his father.

Manasseh

Manasseh was twelve years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was H̲abhs̲ibhah (Hephziba). He was a man who was more evil and iniquitous than all those who had lived before him; he builded altars to devils, and sacrificed to idols, and he filled Jerusalem with iniquity and provoked God to wrath. And because Isaiah the prophet rebuked him, he threatened him and sent men who were sons of iniquity, and they sawed Isaiah the prophet in p. 185 twain with a saw between [two pieces of] wood, from his head downwards to his feet. And Isaiah was one hundred and twenty years old when they sawed him in twain, and he had been the prophet of God for ninety years. And Manasseh repented after he had slain Isaiah, and he put sackcloth on his body, and decreed fasting for himself, and he ate bread with tears all the days of his life because he had committed iniquity and had [Fol. 34*b*, col. 2] slain the prophet. And Manasseh died, and Ammon reigned after him.

Ammon was twenty-two years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned two years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Mashle̲math. And Ammon did evil before the Lord, and he made his sons to pass through fire; he died, and Josiah his son reigned after him. Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign, and he reigned thirty-one years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Yadhidha (Jedida), the daughter of Azariah (Adaja ?), from Bezk̲ath. And he did what was good before the Lord, and he walked in all the way wherein his father David had walked; and he turned aside neither to the right hand nor to the left. And Pharaoh, the "Lame" (*i.e.* Necho II) killed him, and Jehoahaz his son reigned after him. p. 186

Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was H̲amt̲al, the daughter of [Fol. 35*a*, col. 1] Jeremiah from Lebhna. And he did what was evil before the Lord, even as Manasseh had done. And Pharaoh, the Lame, king of Egypt, took him prisoner in Diblath, in the land of H̲amath, whilst he was king in Jerusalem, and he laid tribute on the land, one hundred talents of silver and ten talents of gold. And Pharaoh, the Lame, made Eliakim, the son of Jonah, king instead of Josiah his father, and he made his name to be Jehoiakim. And he carried away Jehoahaz, and he went to Egypt and died there. And Jehoiakim gave silver and gold to Pharaoh; he laid [the payment] of silver and gold on the land according to the word (*i.e.* command) of Pharoh's mouth. Every man, according to what it was right for him [to pay], brought silver and gold from the people of the land, according to the command of the mouth of Pharaoh, the Lame. p. 187

Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned eleven [Fol. 35*a*, col. 2] years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Zebhidha, the daughter of Pedaya, from Ramah. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, even as his fathers had done. In his days Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, went up against Jerusalem, and Jehoiakim became his vassal for three years. Then he turned and rebelled against him, and the Lord stirred up bands of robbers against him because of his sins. And Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and Jehoiachin his son reigned after him. And the king of Egypt did not come forth again out of his country; for the king of Babel captured all the land that belonged to the king of Egypt, from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates.

Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was Neh̲eshta, the daughter of Elyathan (Elnathan ?), from Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil before the [Fol. 35*b*, col. 1] Lord, even as his father had done. At that time Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, went up against Jerusalem, and the king of Babel took him with him in the eighth year of his kingdom. And he brought out from there all the treasure of the house of the Lord, and the treasure of the king' s house, and he p. 188 carried off into captivity to Babel all [the people of] Jerusalem, and Jehoiachin, and his mother, and his wives, and his nobles; and the king brought captive to Babel all the men who had made war. And the king of Babel made Methanya, the uncle [of Jehoiachin] king in his stead, and he called his name "Zedekiah."

The Capture of Jerusalem

Zedekiah was twenty years old when [he began] to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; and the name of his mother was H̲amtal, the daughter of Jeremiah, from Libnah. And he did that which was evil before the Lord, even as did Jehoiakim, and the wrath of the [Fol. 35*b*, col. 2] Lord was (*i.e.* fell upon) Jerusalem. And Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babel, and in the ninth year of his kingdom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babel, came against Jerusalem, and the city was fettered with affliction (*i.e.* besieged) until the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. And the city was rent open (*i.e.* its wall was breached), and all the mighty men of war fled from the city by night by way of the plain. And the soldiers of the Chaldeans pursued the king, and they overtook him on the plain of Jericho, and all his soldiers were driven away from him; and the Chaldeans captured Zedekiah and took him up to the king of Babel at p. 189 Debhlath (Riblah), and he passed judgment upon him. And the king of Babel slew the sons of Zedekiah the king before his eyes, and he blinded the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel [Fol. 36*a*, col. 1]. And Simeon the high priest, because he had freedom of speech with the commander of the [Chaldean] army, made entreaty to him, and the commander of the army gave him all the books of the Scriptures and did not burn them; and Simeon the high priest gathered them together and cast them into a pit (or dry well). And Jerusalem was laid waste and made desolate, and no man remained therein except Jeremiah, the Prophet, who sat and raised lamentations over it for twenty years. And Jeremiah, the Prophet, died in Samaria, and the priest Ûr buried him in Jerusalem, according to the oath which the prophet made him to swear.

Now up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem the Hebrew, Greek, and Syrian writers were in possession of the truth, and they were able to produce the registers of the genealogies of the tribes and the people. But from the destruction of Jerusalem and onwards there has been no truth in their writings, except as regards the heads of the tribes (*i.e.* the Patriarchs) [Fol. 36*a*, col. 2], and they are unable to prove whence the succession of the priests took its origin. p. 190

Jehoiachin

And Jehoiachin was bound in prison for thirty-seven years, and after he came forth from prison he took to wife Gulith, the daughter of Eliakim, and he begot by her in Babel Shalathiel (Salathiel); and Jehoiachin died in Babel. And Salathiel took to wife Het̲bath, the daughter of Halk̲ana, and he begot by her Zurbabhel (Zerubbabel), who took to wife Malkath, the daughter of Ezra the scribe; but no son was born to him by her in Babel. In the days of Zerubbabel, the prince of Judah, Cyrus the Persian reigned in Babel. [A reproduction of a sculptured relief of Cyrus is given on Plate I. The official account of his conquest of Babylon is found on a baked clay cylinder now in the British Museum. See Plate II.]

Cyrus

And Cyrus took to wife the daughter of Salathiel, the sister of Zerubbabel, and he took her to wife according to the law of the Persians, and made her [his] queen. And she entreated Cyrus to bring about the return of the children of Israel [to Jerusalem]. And inasmuch as Zerubbabel was her brother, she was very insistent about [Fol. 36*b*, col. 1] the return [to Jerusalem] of those who had been led away into captivity. Now Cyrus loved his wife as he loved himself, and he did p. 191 for her what she wished. And he sent forth heralds into all the land of Babel, ordering all the children of Israel to gather themselves together. And when they were gathered together Cyrus said unto Zerubbabel, his wife's brother, "Rise up, and take with thee all the children of thy people, and go up to Jerusalem in peace; and [re]build the city of thy fathers, and dwell and reign therein. And because Cyrus brought about the return of the children of Israel [to Jerusalem], God said, "I have taken my servant Cyrus by his right hand" (Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1). And the name of Cyrus was called "My shepherd, the anointed of the Lord," because his seed was received into the seed of David through Meshayyanath, the sister of Zerubbabel, whom he had taken to wife. And the children of Israel went up from Babel, and Zerubbabel became king over them; and Joshua, the son of Yozadak, the son of Aaron, was high priest, even as the angel showed Zechariah the prophet, and said unto him, "These are the sons of the oil of consecration."

And the people of the captivity went up in the second year of Cyrus, **and the FIFTH THOUSAND YEARS CAME TO AN END.**

THE FIVE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE SECOND YEAR OF CYRUS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Now when the people had gone up [to Jerusalem] they had no Books of the Prophets. And Ezra the scribe went down into that pit [wherein Simeon had cast the Books], and he found a censer full of fire, and the perfume of the incense which rose up from it. And thrice he took some of the dust of those Books, and cast it into his mouth, and straightway God made to abide in him the spirit of prophecy, and he renewed all the Books of the Prophets.

And that same fire which was found in the pit became the holy fire in the house of the Lord. And Zerubbabel reigned in Jerusalem, and Joshua, the son of Yozadak, was high-priest, and Ezra was the scribe of the Law and the Prophets. And the children of Israel [Fol. 37*a*, col. 1] celebrated a Passover when they went up from Babel. These are the three Passovers which the children of Israel kept; the first was [kept] in Egypt in the days of Moses; the the second was [kept] in the reign of Josiah; the third was [kept] when they went up from the land of Babel. And now an end hath been made to the Passover for them for ever. From the first captivity of Jerusalem, that in which Daniel went down into captivity, to the reign of Cyrus the Persian, was seventy years according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. And the children of Israel began the [re]building of the Temple in the days of Zerubbabel, and Joshua, the son of Yozadok, and Ezra the scribe, and the building thereof was finished in six and forty years, even as it is written in the holy Gospel (John ii. 19). p. 194

The genealogies of the later Israelites.

Now the genealogy of the tribes (or, families) was lost by [Fol. 37*a*, col. 2] the scribes, and they were unable to show either whence the heads of families took [their] wives, or whence they came. I, however, possess the knowledge of the correct genealogy, and will show the truth to everyman. When the children of Israel went up from Babylon--

Zerubbabel begot Abiud by Malkath, the daughter of Ezra the scribe.
Abiud took to wife Zakhyath, the daughter of Joshua, the son of Yozadak, the priest, and begot by her Eliakim.
Eliakim took to wife Halabh, the daughter of Dornibh, and begot by her Azor.
Azor took to wife Yalpath, the daughter of Hazor, and begot by her Zadok.
Zadok took to wife Kaltin, the daughter of Dornibh, and begot by her Akhin.
Akhin took to wife Heskath, the daughter of Ta`il, and begot by her Eliud.
Eliud took to wife Beshtin, the daughter of [Fol. 37b, col. 1] Hasal, and begot by her Eleazar.
Eleazar took to wife Dibath, the daughter of Tolah, and begot by her Matthan.
Matthan took to wife Sebhrath, the daughter of Phinehas, and begot by her two sons at one conception, Jacob and Yonakhir. p. 195
Jacob took to wife Hadbhith, the daughter of Eleazur, and begot by her Joseph.
Yonakhir took Dina, the daughter of Pakodh, and begot by her Mary, of whom was born the Christ.

And because none of the early writers could discover the order of succession of the generations of their fathers, the Jews urged the sons of the Church very strongly to show them [who were] the fathers of the blessed Mary in the order of the succession of their families. And they pressed the children of the Church to enquire into the genealogy of the families [Fol. 37*b*, col. 2] of their fathers, and to show them the truth. For the Jews call Mary an adulteress. And here the mouth of the Jews is stopped, and they believe that Mary was of the seed of the house of David and of Abraham. Now the Jews have no table of succession which showeth them the true order of the families of their fathers, because their books have been burned thrice--once in the days of Antiochus [IV. Epiphanes], who raised up a persecution against them, and polluted the Temple of the Lord, and forced them to offer up sacrifices unto idols; the second time in the days of . . . . . ; and the third time in the days of Herod, when Jerusalem was destroyed. Because of this the Jews were greatly grieved, for they had no p. 196 trustworthy table of the succession of the generations of their fathers. And they toiled eagerly [Fol. 38*a*, col. 1] that they might obtain the truth, but they were unable to do so.

Now the Jews had many writers, and each of them wrote what he pleased, and no two of them agreed in what they wrote, because they could not stand on a foundation of truth. And even our own writers, the children of the Church, cannot show us the certainty of the real truth. They cannot show how the ascent of the body of Adam to Golgotha took place, nor whence came the fathers (or, ancestors) of Melchisedek, and the fathers of the blessed woman Mary. And the children of Israel being urged by the Church, and being unable to ascertain the truth, waxed reckless, and wrote, as it were, in the madness of error. [Here the text is faulty and incomplete.] And as concerning the table of succession of the sixty-three families, which [reach] from Adam to Christ, the Greek writers, and the Hebrew writers, and the Syrian writers, can neither show whence each head of a family took his wife [Fol. 38*a*, col. 2], nor whose daughter she was. Now each divine doctor (or, teacher) has laid down for the Church one true doctrine, and they have given unto believers the armour wherewith they can fight and overcome her enemies. Besides this, the grace of Christ hath granted unto us p. 197 that which was lacking in them, and this we will cast into the rich treasury [of their knowledge]. And this, with great diligence, we have bestirred ourselves to do, even as our truly loving brother in Christ, the illustrious Namosaya (Nemesius ?) greatly desireth. And although I have been hindered through my dilatoriness, thou hast through thy love of learning, not been dilatory. And because of thy loving kindness towards me, and also because I myself am eager not to withhold from thee that which thou requirest of me, I will [here] write down [Fol. 38*b*, col. 1] the true table of succession. Hear, O my brother Nemesius (?) the following table of succession which I write for thee; none of the [other] doctors hath been able to light upon it. The following are the sixty-three generations from which the Incarnation of Christ is descended, and their order is thus:--

1. Adam begot Seth.
2. Seth took to wife Kelimath, who was born with Abel, and begot by her Enos.
3. Enos took to wife Hanna, the daughter of Jubal, the daughter of Hoh, the daughter of Seth, and begot by her Cainan.
4. Cainan took to wife Peryath, the daughter of Kotun, the daughter of Yarbal, and begot by her Mahlalail.
5. Mahlalail took to wife Sehatpar, the daughter of Enos, and begot by her Yared (Jared).
6. Jared took to wife Zebhidha, the daughter of Kuhlon, the daughter of Kenan, and begot by her Enoch.
7. Enoch took to wife Zadhkin, the daughter of Topih, the daughter of Mahlalail, and begot by her Methuselah.
8. Methuselah took to wife Sakhuth, the daughter of Sokhin, and begot by her Lamech.
9. Lamech took to wife Kipar, the daughter of Tuthath, the daughter of Methuselah, and begot by her Noah.
10. Noah took to wife Haykal, the daughter of Namus, and he begot by her Shem, Ham and Japhet.
11. Shem begot Arpakhshar (Arphaxad) .
12. Arphaxad begot Shalah (Salah).
13. Salah begot Abhar (Eber).
14. Eber begot Palag (Peleg) .
15. Peleg begot Ar`o (Reu) .
16. Reu begot Sarogh (Serug) .
17. Serug took to wife Kahal, the daughter of Peleg, who begot Nahor.
18. Nahor took to wife Napush (Yapush ?), the daughter of Reu, and begot Tarah (Terah).

19. Terah took two wives, Yona and Salmuth; by Yona he begot Abraham, and by Salmuth he begot Sara (Sarah) [Fol. 39*a*, col. 1].
20. Abraham took to wife Sarah and begot Isaac.
21. Isaac took to wife Rebecca and begot Jacob.
22. Jacob took to wife Leah and begot Judah.
23. Judah begot Pars (Pharez) by Tamar.
24. Pharez begot Hezron.
25. Hezron begot Aram.
26. Aram begot Amminadab.
27. Amminadab begot Nahshon (Nahasson).
28. Nahasson begot Salmon.
29. Salmon begot Boaz, by Rahab.
30. Boaz took to wife Ruth, the daughter of Lot, and begot Obed.
31. Obed begot Jesse.
32. Jesse begot David the king.
33. David took to wife Bathsheba, and begot by her Solomon.
34. Solomon begot Rehoboam.
35. Rehoboam begot Abijah.
36. Abijah begot Asa.
37. Asa begot Jehoshaphat.
38. Jehoshaphat begot Joram [Fol. 39*a*, col. 2].
39. Joram begot Ahaziah.
40. Ahaziah begot Joash.
41. Joash begot Amaziah.
42. Amaziah begot Uzziah.
43. Uzziah begot Jotham.
44. Jotham begot Ahaz.
45. Ahaz begot Hezekiah.
46. Hezekiah begot Manasseh.
47. Manasseh begot Amon.
48. Amon begot Josiah.
49. Josiah begot Jehoiakim.
50. Jehoiakim begot Jehoiachin.
51. Jehoiachin begot Salathiel.
52. Salathiel begot Nedabijah (*sic*).
53. Nedabijah begot Zerubbabel.
54. Zerubbabel begot Abiud.
55. Abiud begot Eliakim.
56. Eliakim begot Azor.
57. Azor begot Zadok.
58. Zadok begot Achin.
59. Achin begot Eliud.
60. Eliud begot Eleazar.
61. Eleazar begot Matthan.
62. Matthan took to wife Sabhrath, the daughter of Phinehas, and begot Jacob and Yonakhir.
63. Jacob took to wife Hadhbhith, the daughter of Eleazar, and begot Joseph, the betrothed of Mary [Fol. 39*b*, col. 1].

Yonakhir took to wife Dina, that is to say, Hanna, the daughter of Pakodh, and sixty years p. 201 after he had taken her to wife she brought forth Mary, of whom was born Christ.

The Genealogy of Mary

And because Joseph was the son of Mary's uncle, by the fore-knowledge of God, Who knew that Mary would be certainly attacked by the Jews, Mary was given to Joseph, who was the son of her uncle, that he might take care of her. Observe, O our brother Nemesius, that the fathers of the blessed woman Mary belonged to the succession of the generations of David.

Behold, I have set thee upon a foundation of truth, which none of the [former] chroniclers found to stand upon; see, too, how these sixty-three generations [reaching] from Adam to the birth of Christ, succeeded each other. And the Jews also rejoiced [Fol. 39*b*, col. 2] because they also had found the generations of the familles of their fathers.

Observe, O our brother Nemesius, that in the days of Cyrus the FIFTH THOUSAND [YEARS] CAME TO AN END. And from the thousand [years] of Cyrus until the Passion of our Redeemer, the years were in number five hundred, according to the prophecy of Daniel, who prophesied and said, "After sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be slain." And these weeks make five hundred years.

Behold, from this time the mouth of the Jews is shut, for they have dared to say that the Messiah hath not yet come. They must, perforce, do one of two things: either accept the prophecy of Daniel, or say, "We do not accept it." For the prophecy hath fulfilled itself, and the weeks have passed, and the Messiah hath been slain, and the Holy City hath been laid waste by Vespasian.

The Birth of Christ

Observe now [Fol. 40*a*, col. 1], O thou lover of learning, our brother Nemesius, in the forty-second year of the kingdom of Augustus, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah, as it is written in the Holy Gospel.

The Star and the Magi

Now, it was two years before Christ was born that the star appeared to the Magi. They saw the star in the firmament of heaven, and the brilliancy of its appearance was brighter than that of every other star. And within it was a p. 204 maiden carrying a child, and a crown was set upon his head. Now it was the custom of the ancient kings, and the Magi of the Chaldeans, to consult the Signs of the Zodiac about all the affairs of their lives. And when the Magi saw the star they were perturbed, and terrified, and afraid, and the whole land of Persia was disturbed. And the kings, and the Magi, and the Chaldeans [Fol. 40*a*, col. 2], and the wise men of Persia, were stupefied, and they were exceedingly afraid of the portent which they saw. And they said, "Peradventure the king of the Greeks hath determined to wage war against the land of Nimrod." And the Magi and the Chaldeans were terrified, and they consulted their books of wisdom, and through the might of the wisdom of their books they understood and learned, and stood upon the strength of the truth. Now, in truth, the Magi of the Chaldeans discovered that by means of the motions of the stars, to which they gave the name of "Signs of the Zodiac," they were able to know and understand the strength (or, importance) of events before they took place. And this same knowledge is also given to those who go down into the sea, and by the motions of the stars they know beforehand when there is going to be a disturbance of the winds, and when a violent storm is going to rise up against them, and p. 205 whenever they are about to be threatened with danger from winds and waves. Thus also was it with the Magi. When they saw and read in the [Fol. 40*b*, col. 1] "Revelation of Nimrod" they discovered therein that a king was born in Judah, and the whole path of the Dispensation of Christ was revealed unto them.

The Signs of the Zodiac

The names of the Babylonian Signs of the Zodiac were:--

(The sign placed before each name is the determinative for star.)

	Meaning of the name.	**Modern equivalent.**	**Name of month.**
1	The Labourer	Goat	Nisannu
2	The Star and the Bull of heaven	Bull	Airu
3	The Faithful Shepherd of heaven and the Great Twins	Twins	Simanu
4	The Tortoise	Crab	Duuzu
5	The Great Dog (Lion)	Lion	Abu
6	Virgin with ear of corn	Virgin	Ululu
7		Scales	Tashritum
8	The Scorpion	Scorpion	Araẖ shamna
9	Enurta (the god)	Bow	Kislimu
10	The Goat-fish	Capricornus	Ṯebetum
11	The Great Star	Water-Bearer	Shabatu
12	The star . . . and the Band of Fishes	The Fishes	Addaru

On the first Zodiac which was set up by Tiamat, the Evil one, see *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation*, London, 1921, page 17 (British Museum publication.)] p. 208

And straightway, according to what they had received from the tradition which had been handed down to them by their fathers, they left the East, and went up to the mountains of Nodh, which lie inside the entrances to the East from the lands on the skirts of the North, and they took from them gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. And from this [passage] understand, O my brother Nemesius, that the Magi knew the whole service of the Dispensation of our Redeemer through the offerings which they brought: the gold was for a king, the myrrh for a physician, and the frankincense for a priest, for the Magi knew Who He was, and that He was a king, and a physician, and a priest. Now when the son of the king of Sheba was a little boy his father brought him [Fol. 40*b*, col. 2] to a Rabbi, and he learned the Book of the Hebrews better than all his companions and his fellow countrymen, and he said unto all his slaves, "It is written in all the books of genealogies that the king shall be born in Bethlehem."

The names of the Magi

These are they who bore offerings to the King, kings, the sons of kings:--

1. HÔRMIZDADH of Makhozdi, king of Persia, who was called "King of Kings," and dwelt in Lower Adhorghin.

2. IZGARAD (Yazdegerd), the king of Sabha.
3. PERÔZADH, the king of Sheba, which is in the East.

NOTE.--In the *Book of Adam* (iv. 15) the kings are called Hor, king of Persia, Basantar, king of Saba, and Karsundas, king of the East. According to the *Book of the Bee* (chapter xxxix)**,** the Magi were twelve in number, and their names were:--
Zarwandad, the son of Artaban.
Hormizdad, the son of Sitaruk (Santarok).
Gushnasaph (Gushnasp), the son of Gundaphar.
Arshakh, the son of Miharok.
These four brought gold.
Zarwandad, the son of Warzwad.
Iryaho, the son of Kesro (Khusrau).
Artahshesht, the son of Holiti.
Ashton`abodan, the son of Shishron.
These four brought myrrh.
Meharok, the son of Huham.
Ahshiresh, the son of Hasban.
Sardalah, the son of Baladan.
Merodach, the son of Beldaran.
These four brought frankincense.]

The Magi in Jerusalem

And the Magi having made ready to go up, the kingdom of the mighty men of war was p. 210 perturbed and terrified, and there was with the Magi so mighty a following that all the cities of the East were in dismay before them, and Jerusalem also. And when they entered the presence of Herod, he trembled before them, and he commanded them, saying, "Depart in [Fol. 41*a*, col. 1] peace, and seek diligently for the young Child, and when ye have found Him, come and show me, that I too may go and make obeisance unto Him"; though deceit was hidden in Herod's heart, he offered homage with his mouth. Now when, the Magi went up to Jerusalem there was great commotion in Judea, because of the edict of Augustus Cæsar, which commanded that every man should be registered in his country, and in the city of his fathers. Because of this Herod was greatly perturbed, and he said unto the Magi, "Go ye and search for Him." Now the Magi are called "Magi" because of the garb of Magianism in which the heathen kings arrayed themselves whensoever they offered up a sacrifice and made offerings to their gods. They made use of two different kinds of apparel; that which appertained to royalty [they wore] inside, and that which appertained to Magianism outside [Fol. 41*a*, col. 2]. And thus also was it with those who went up prepared to make offerings to Christ, and they were arrayed in both kinds of apparel. p. 211

And when the Magi had gone forth from Jerusalem, and from the presence of Herod, that same star which had been their guide on the road appeared to them, and they rejoiced greatly. And the star went on before them until they entered the cave, where they saw the young Child swathed in bands and laid in a manger. Whilst they were on their way up thither they said within themselves, "When we arrive there we shall see mighty and wonderful things, according to the law and custom which prevail among royal personages when a king is born." Thus did they think that they would find in the land of Israel a royal palace, and couches of gold with cushions laid upon them [Fol. 41*b*, col. 1], and the king and the son of the king arrayed in purple, and awestruck soldiers and companies of royal troops, and the nobles of the kingdom paying him honour by presenting gifts, and tables laid out with meats fit for the king, and vessels of drink standing in rows, and men servants and women servants serving in fear. Such were the things which the Magi expected to see, but they saw them not; they saw sights which were far better than these when they went into the cave. They saw Joseph sitting in astonishment, and Mary in a state of wonderment, but there was no couch with cushions laid upon it, and no table with p. 212 food laid out upon it, and no sign of the preparations which accompany royal state. And although they saw all this humble estate and poverty, they had no doubt in their minds, but they drew nigh in fear and made obeisance to Him in honour, and they offered [Fol. 41*b*, col. 2] unto Him, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. And it was very grievous unto Mary and Joseph that they had nothing to set before them, but the Magi fed themselves with food of their own providing.

The Circumcision of Christ

Now Christ was eight days old when the Magi presented their offerings; and Mary received them at the very time when Joseph circumcised Christ. In truth, Joseph circumcised Him according to the Law, but he only went through (or imitated) the act of cutting, for no [flesh] p. 214 whatsoever was cut off from Him. For as [a rod of] iron passeth through the fire and cutteth the rays thereof, without any part of it being cut off from it, so in like manner was Christ circumcised without anything being taken from Him.

The Conversion of the Magi

And the Magi lived with the Child three days, and they saw the hosts of heaven going up and coming down to Christ. And they heard the sound [Fol. 42*a*, col. 1] of the praises of the angels, who sang hymns and cried out, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Mighty God, with whose praises the heavens and the earth are filled." And they were in great fear, and in truth they believed in Christ, and said, "This is the King Who hath come down from heaven and become man." And Perozdhadh answered and said unto them, "Now know I that the prophecy of Isaiah is true. For when I was in the school of the Hebrews I read in [the Book of] Isaiah, and I found [written] therein thus: 'For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son hath been given. And His Name shall be called Wonderful, and Counsellor, and God, Giant of the Worlds'" (Isa. ix. 6). And it is written in another place, "Behold, a virgin is with child, and she shall bring forth a son, and his name shall be called p. 215 'Emmanuel,' which is, being interpreted, 'God with us'" (Isa. vii. 14). And because He became like a man, and the angels were coming down [Fol. 42*a*, col. 2] from heaven to Him, truly He is the Lord of angels and men. And all the Magi believed and said, "Truly this King is God. Kings are born unto us frequently, and mighty men, the sons of mighty men, are born unto us on earth, but it is an unheard-of thing for the angels to come down to them." And straightway they all rose up, and did homage to Him as the Lord and King of the world. And having prepared food for their journey, they went down to their own country by a desert road.

The Massacre of the Innocents

Now, there are certain men who will dispute this [statement] and say, "Where was Christ when the children were massacred, for it is written that He was not found in the land of Judah?" It was because of this massacre that He fled to Egypt, so that there might be fulfilled that which is written [Fol. 42*b*, col. 1]. "From Egypt I called my Son" (Hos. xi. 1). And know this also. When Christ entered Egypt all the idols therein were swept from their places, and fell down, and were broken, so that there might be fulfilled that which is written, "Behold, the p. 216 Lord rideth on a swift cloud, and entereth Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be broken before Him" (Isa. xix. 1).

And He did not return from Egypt [at once], but lived there until Herod died, and after him reigned Archelaus.

Now, thou must know, O my brother Nemesius, that, even as I have already told thee, all the men who were under the rule of Herod were [included] in that registration for taxation; and the registration was completed in fifty days. And it was not until this registration was completed and sealed, and until Herod had sealed it and sent it to Augustus in Rome, that the Messiah was searched for; up to that time [Fol. 42*b*, col. 2] no children had been slain. And it was during the commotion caused by that registration that Christ was born. When forty p. 217 days after His birth had been fulfilled, Christ went into the Temple of the Lord. And Simeon the Aged, the son of Joshua bar-Yozadhak, in whose days the captivity went up from Babel, took Him in his arms. Now, Simeon was five hundred years old when he took Christ in his arms.

The Flight into Egypt

And straightway the angel said unto Joseph, "Arise, take the young Child and His mother, and flee into Egypt." And when the registration was completed, the Jews were dismissed, so that each man might depart to his own district and to his own village.

Herod and John the Baptist

Then did Herod enquire for the Magi, and when he was told, "they have gone back to their own country," he was exceedingly wroth, and he sent straightway and slew all the young children in Bethlehem, and in all the villages round about. And when Herod had passed among the [Fol. 43*a*, col. 1] slain children, and they did not find there [the body of] John, the son of Zacharias, he said, p. 218 "Truly, his son will reign over Israel." For he had heard of what had been said unto Zacharias by the angel, when he announced to him concerning [the birth of] John. And Herod sent to Zacharias [and commanded him] to bring John, and Zacharias said, "I am a priest, and I minister in the Temple of the Lord; I do not know where the Child and his mother are." And because of these words Zacharias was slain between the bench (or, steps) and the altar. Now, Elizabeth had taken John and gone forth into the desert.

The Death of Herod

And as for Herod, a divine punishment that was pitiless overtook him, and he fell ill of a sickness through which he stank, and his body melted away into a mass of worms, and he suffered most grievous pains, and at length people were unable to come near him because of his putrid smell. And through that bitter suffering [Fol. 43*a*, col. 2] his soul departed into outer darkness. Nevertheless, by his death he destroyed many.

Now Herod had said unto Archelaus his son, and unto Shalom his sister, "Immediately I am dead, let those whom I have fettered in prison be slain"--now he had imprisoned one person from p. 220 every house. And he said, "I know that the Jews will feel great joy at my death. But in order that they may not rejoice and be glad whilst ye are sorrowful and are weeping, let all those whom I have shut up in prison be slain, so that through their death they may cause lamentation unintentionally." And Archelaus and Shalom did as Herod commanded them, and when this order had been carried out in all Judea there remained not one house in which there was not lamentation, even as it was in Egypt [in days of old].

Christ returns to Galilee

And when Herod died, and his death had been announced to Joseph, he went back to Galilee. And when Christ was thirty years old [Fol. 43*b*, col. 1] He was baptized by John. Now John was in the desert all the days of his life, and he lived upon the root which is called "Kamus̱," which is wild honey. [According to some this root was like unto a carrot.] And in the twelfth year of the kingdom of Tiberius Christ suffered.

Chronological statement

Understand now and see, O my brother Nemesius, that in the days of Yared, in his fortieth year, the FIRST Thousand Years came to an end. In the six hundredth year of Noah p. 221 the SECOND Thousand Years came to an end. In the seventy-fourth year of Reu the THIRD Thousand Years came to an end. In the twenty-sixth year of Ahor (Ehud) the FOURTH Thousand Years came to an end. In the second year of Cyrus the FIFTH Thousand Years came to an end. And in the five hundredth year of the SIXTH Thousand Years Christ was born in His human form.

The Crucifixion of Christ

And know thou also that Christ dwelt [Fol. 43*b*, col. 2] in Mary, and suffered in Nazareth, and was born in

Bethlehem, and was laid in a manger, and was carried by Simeon in the Temple of Solomon, and was reared in Galilee, and was anointed by Mary Magdalene, and ate the Passover in the house of Nicodemus, the brother of Joseph of Rametha, and was bound in the house of Hannan, and was struck with a reed in the house of Caiaphas, and embraced the pillar and was scourged with a whip in the Prætorium of Pilate, and on Friday, on the first day of Nisan (April), on the fourteenth day of the moon, our Redeemer suffered.

At the FIRST HOUR of Friday God fashioned Adam from the dust, and at the first hour of Friday Christ received spittle from the sons of Adam. p. 222

At the SECOND HOUR of Friday the wild beasts, and the cattle, and the feathered fowl gathered themselves together [Fol. 44*a*, col. 1] to Adam, and he gave names to them as they bowed their heads before him. And at the second hour of Friday the Jews gathered themselves together against Christ, and they gnashed their teeth at Him, even as the blessed David said, "Many bulls have gathered together round about me, bulls of Bashan have beset me round" (Ps. xxii. 12).

At the THIRD HOUR of Friday a crown of glory was placed on the head of Adam, and at the third hour of Friday the crown of thorns was placed on the head of Christ.

THREE HOURS was Adam in Paradise and shining with splendour, and three hours was Christ in the Judgment Hall being beaten by creatures that had been fashioned out of dust.

At the SIXTH HOUR Eve went up to the tree of the transgression of the commandment, and at the sixth hour Christ ascended the Cross, the Tree of Life.

At the SIXTH HOUR Eve gave unto Adam the fruit of the gall of death [Fol. 44*a*, col. 2], and at the sixth hour the crowd of iniquity gave unto Christ vinegar and gall.

For THREE HOURS Adam remained under the Tree naked, and for three hours was Christ naked p. 223 on the wood of the Cross. And from the right side of Adam went forth Eve, the mother of mortal offspring, and from the right side of Christ went forth baptism, the mother of immortal offspring.

On Friday Adam and Eve sinned, and on Friday their sin was remitted.
On Friday Adam and Eve died, and on Friday they came alive.
On Friday Death reigned over them, and on Friday they were freed from his dominion.
On Friday Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, and on Friday our Lord went into the grave.
On Friday Adam and Eve became naked, and on Friday Christ stripped [Fol. 44b, col. 1] Himself naked and clothed them.
On Friday Satan stripped Adam and Eve naked, and on Friday Christ stripped naked Satan and all his hosts, and put them to shame openly.
On Friday the door of Paradise was shut and Adam went forth, and on Friday it was opened and a robber went in.
On Friday the two-edged sword was given to the Cherub, and on Friday Christ smote with the spear, and brake the two-edged sword.
On Friday kingdom, and priesthood, and prophecy were given unto Adam, and on Friday p. 224 priesthood, and kingdom, and prophecy were taken from the Jews.

At the NINTH HOUR Adam went down into the lowest depth of the earth from the height of Paradise, and at the ninth hour Christ went down to the lowest depths of the earth, to those who lay [Fol. 44b, col. 2] in the dust, from the height of the Cross.

Know also that Christ was like unto Adam in everything, even as it is written. In that very place where Melchisedek ministered as a priest, and where Abraham offered up his son Isaac as an offering, the wood of the Cross was set up, and that self-same place is the centre of the earth, and there the Four Quarters of the earth meet each other. For when God made the earth His mighty power was running before it, and the earth was running after it, and the power of God stood still and became motionless in Golgotha; and that same place formeth the boundary of the earth. When Shem took up the body of Adam, that same place, which is the door of the earth, opened itself. And when Shem and Melchisedek had deposited the body of Adam in the centre of the earth the Four Quarters [Fol. 45*a*, col. 1] of the earth closed in about it, and embraced Adam, and straightway that opening was closed firmly, and all the children of Adam were not able to open it. And p. 225 when the Cross of Christ, the Redeemer of Adam and his sons, was set up upon it, the door of that place was opened in the face of Adam. And when the Wood (*i.e.* the Cross) was fixed upon it, and Christ was smitten with the spear, and blood and water flowed down from His side, they ran down into the mouth of Adam, and they became a baptism to him, and he was baptized.

Now when the Jews crucified Christ on the Wood, they divided His garments among them beneath the Cross, even as it is written. His tunic was of purple, which is the raiment of royalty; and when they stripped Him of the raiment of royalty Pilate would not permit the Jews [Fol. 45*a*, col. 2] to array Him in ordinary apparel, but only in the actual raiment of royalty, either purple or scarlet. By both of these it might be known that He was a king. For it is impossible for any other man to wear purple; only a king can do this. And one of the Evangelists hath said, "The soldiers put on Him a purple robe" (Mark xv. 17; John xix. 2, 5), and this is a true word and is highly credible; and another Evangelist uses the word "scarlet "(Matt. xxvii. 28), and he proclaimed what was true. The scarlet garment indicateth to us blood, and the purple garment water; for the scarlet one was like unto blood, and the p. 226 purple one was like unto water. The scarlet garment proclaimeth the joyful and immortal nature of man, and the purple one the sad and mortal nature of man. Understand, therefore, O our brother [Fol. 45*b*, col. 1] Nemesius, that scarlet proclaimeth life.

Now the spies said prophetically to Rahab, the harlot, "thou shalt tie a thread of scarlet to the window" (Joshua ii. 18) when they descended having been [well] entreated by her. And through her they prefigured a certain matter, for the window [symbolized] the side of our Lord Christ, and the thread of scarlet His precious blood which produced life.

And they (*i.e.* the Jews) wove a crown of spikes of thorn bushes, and set it upon His head. And they arrayed Him in royal apparel, not knowing what they were doing. And they bowed the knee, and made obeisance unto Him, and they spake with their mouths, without being compelled to do so, saying, "Hail to Thee, King of the Jews." Observe ye, O my brethren, that not even in His death did He lack the [sign of] royalty. And when the Jews and the soldiers who were the servants of Herod and Pilate were struggling together to rend the tunic of Christ [Fol. 45*b*, col. 2], to divide it among them, they did so because they all eagerly desired the beauty of the sight thereof. And the p. 227 centurion also who watched the Cross himself testified before all the crowd, saying, "Verily, this man is the Son of God." And this centurion said unto them, "The orders which have been given to me do not permit me to rend the apparel of royalty, but cast lots for it [and we shall see] to whom it will come"; and when the Jews and the soldiers of the king had cast lots, the lot fell upon one of the soldiers of Pilate. Now the tunic of our Lord had no seam, but had been woven whole in one piece. And whensoever there was a lack of rain in the place where it had been deposited and taken care of, the people used to bring out the tunic, and as soon as they lifted it up [Fol. 46*a*, col. 1] towards heaven an abundance of rain fell. And also, whensoever the soldier who had received it lacked rain for his crop, he brought out the tunic, and it worked this miracle. Now the tunic was taken away by force from the man who got it by Pilate, who sent it to the Emperor Tiberius. To us this tunic indicateth the Orthodox Faith, which all the nations [joined] together are unable to cleave.

Three valuable gifts, than which there is nothing more valuable, were given to the Jews in olden time, namely, royalty, priesthood, and prophecy: prophecy by the hand of Moses, priesthood by the hand of Aaron, and royalty p. 228 by the hand of David. These three gifts which the generations and families of the children of Israel had enjoyed for [many] years were taken from them in one day; and they were stripped of all three of them, and became aliens to them, that is to say, prophecy by the Cross, priesthood by the rending of the tunic [of Christ], and royalty by the crown of thorns. Moreover, that spirit of compassion (or propitiation) which had dwelt in the Temple, in the Holy of Holies, forsook them and departed. And the curtain (or veil) of the sanctuary was cleft in twain. And the Passover fled from them, for they never celebrated another Passover in it. And know, O my brethren, that when Pilate pressed them to go into the Judgment Hall, they said unto him, "We are unable to go into the Prætorium, because up to now we have not eaten the Passover."

And when the sentence of death had been passed on our Lord by Pilate, they (the Jews) made haste and went into the sanctuary [Fol. 46*b*, col. 1] and brought out from thence the carrying poles of the Ark of the Covenant, and out of them they made the Cross of Christ. Verily it was meet that these pieces of wood which used to carry the Covenant should also carry the Lord of the Covenant. The Cross of Christ was formed of two pieces of wood which were of the same height, and depth, and length, p. 229 and breadth. And Paul the Apostle laboured exceedingly that the Gentiles might know what was the might of the Cross, which embraced the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the earth. And when they raised up Christ, the Lamp of Light of all the earth, and set Him upon the candlestick of the Cross, the light of the sun became dark, and was extinguished, and a covering of darkness was spread over the whole earth. Three nails were driven into the body of our Redeemer, two through His hands, and one through both His feet. And there were two thieves [with Him], one on His right hand and one on His left hand.

And they handed out to Him vinegar and gall in a sponge. By the vinegar which they gave unto Him it was made known concerning them that their will was changed from what it had been formerly, and that they had turned themselves from integrity to wickedness, and by the gall was made known the bitterness of the accursed serpent which was in them. And they showed that they also had belonged to that good vineyard from which prophets, and kings, and priests, and they themselves had drunk; but because they had become wicked heirs, who would not labour in the vineyard of my beloved, they produced husks instead of grapes, and the wine which they pressed out therefrom was p. 230 sour. And having crucified the Heir on the Wood, they mixed some of the impurity of their wickedness with their sour wine [Fol. 47*a*, col. 1], and gave Him to drink of the wine from the vineyard of the Gentiles; but He would not drink [saying], "Give me of that vine which My Father brought out of Egypt." For Christ knew that the prophecy of Moses which had been prophesied concerning them had been fulfilled in them; for Moses said, "Your grapes are grapes of gall, your clusters are bitter. Your poison is the poison of the serpent, and their head is that of a malignant viper. These are the things which ye render unto the Lord" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33).

Observe, O my brother Nemesius, that the blessed Moses with the eye of the Spirit foresaw the things which they were going to do to Christ [and said], "These are the things which ye render to the Lord." The congregation of the crucifiers was a decayed vine, its daughters were bitter grapes, and its sons were clusters of gall. Their head was Caiaphas, the malignant viper, and they were all evil serpents, and all of them were filled with [Fol. 47*a*, col. 2] the venom of Satan, who is the Evil Serpent. Instead of the water of the rock which had been given them to drink in the wilderness, they gave Him vinegar to drink, and instead of manna, the gall of the p. 231 quail. They did not give Him a cup to drink from, but a sponge, so that they might show that the blessing of their fathers had been swept away from them. Now this is evident from what follows: When a vessel is empty and there is no wine in it, they wash and wipe it with a sponge. Even so did the Jews do when they crucified Christ, [for] with a sponge they wiped away and removed from themselves royalty, and priesthood, and prophecy, and the religion of Christ, and gave them to Christ, and the vessels of their bodies washed and empty remained only.

And the Law and the Prophets having been fulfilled, and Adam having been sent and seen the fountain of living water which was poured out from above for his redemption [Fol. 47*b*, col. 1], then was Christ smitten with the spear, and blood and water flowed down from His side; but they were not mingled with each other. For what reason did the blood come forth before the water? For two reasons: First, that through the blood life might be given unto Adam, and then, after life and resurrection, the water for his baptism. Secondly, that through the blood He might show that He was immortal, and through the water He might show that He was mortal, and a bearer of sufferings. The blood and the water ran down into the mouth of Adam, p. 232 and Adam was redeemed, and put on a garment of glory. And Christ wrote the edict of His return with the blood of His own Person, and despatched it by the thief.

And when an end had been made of everything, the writ of repudiation of the congregation was written, and the congregation became a thing cast aside, and it was stripped of its glorious raiment, even as in times of old [Fol. 47*b*, col. 2] David had, through the Holy Spirit, said and prophesied, saying, "Even unto the horns of the altar" (Ps. cxviii. 22 ?)--to this pass were the festivals of the Jews brought. "Unto the horns of the altar" [means] to the crucifixion of Christ, that is to say:

The Genealogy of Christ

From Adam to Seth; from Seth to Enos; from Enos to Cainan; from Cainan to Mahalalael; from Mahalalael to Jared; from Jared to Enoch; from Enoch to Methuselah; from Methuselah to Lamech; from Lamech to Noah; from Noah to Shem; from Shem to Arphaxad; from Arphaxad to Salah; from Salah to Eber; from Eber to Peleg; from Peleg to Reu; from Reu to Serug; from Serug to Nahor; from Nahor to Terah; from Terah to Abraham; from Abraham to Isaac; from Isaac to Jacob; from Jacob [Fol. 48*a*, col. 1] to p. 233 Judah; from Judah to Pharez; from Pharez to Hesron; from Hesron to Aram; from Aram to Amminadab; from Amminadab to Nahasson; from Nahasson to Salmon; from Salmon to Boaz; from Boaz to Obed; from Obed to Jesse; from Jesse to David; from David to Solomon; from Solomon to Rehoboam; from Rehoboam to Abijah; from Abijah to Ara; from Ara to Jehoshaphat; from Jeshoshaphat to Joram; from Joram to Ahaziah; from Ahaziah to Joash; from Joash to Amaziah; from Amaziah to Uzziah; from Uzziah to Jotham; from Jotham to Ahaz; from Ahaz to Hezekiah; from Hezekiah to Manasseh; from Manasseh to Ammon; from Ammon to Josiah; from Josiah to Jehoahaz; from Jehoahaz to Jehoiakim; from Jehoiakim to Jehoiachin; from Jehoiachin to Salathiel; from Salathiel [Fol. 48*a*, col. 2] to Zerubbabel; from Zerubbabel to Abiud; from Abiud to Eliakim; from Eliakim to Azor; from Azor to Zadok; from Zadok to Achin; from Achin to Eliud; from Eliud to Eleazar; from Eleazar to Mathan; from Mathan to Jacob and Yonakhir; from Yonakhir to Mary; from Mary to the manger; from the manger to circumcision; from the circumcision to the Temple; from the Temple to Egypt; from Egypt to Galilee; from Galilee to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to the Jordan; from the Jordan to p. 234 the desert; from the desert to Judah; from Judah to the preaching; from the preaching to the Upper Chamber; from the Upper Chamber to the Passover; from the Passover to the Judgment Hall; from the Judgment Hall to the Cross; from the Cross to the grave; from the grave to the Upper Chamber; from the Upper Chamber to heaven; and from heaven to the throne [Fol. 48*b*, col. 1]. He sitteth on the right hand of His Father.

The end of the two and sixty weeks

Observe, O our brother Nemesius, how the generations and families have succeeded each other; from Adam to the Jews, and the Jews also from one [generation] to another until the Cross of Christ. From that time and onwards the festivals of the Jews have ceased, even as the blessed David saith concerning them: "Bind our festivals with chains even to the horns of the altar" (Ps. cxviii. 27). The chains are the families which are linked each to the other, and the altar is the Cross of Christ. The festivals of the Jews succeeded each other until the Cross of Christ, in priesthood, and royalty, and prophecy, and Passover; but from the Cross of Christ up to the present they all have ceased, even as I have said [Fol. 48*b*, col. 2]. The Jews have no longer among them a king, or a priest, or a prophet, or p. 235 a Passover, even as Daniel prophesied concerning them, saying, "After two and sixty weeks Christ shall be slain, and the city of holiness shall be laid waste until the completion of things decreed" (Dan. ix. 26). That is to say, for ever and ever.

Christ's body is embalmed and laid in the tomb made for Joshua, the son of Non

And when the end of all the Law and the Prophets had come, and Christ was hanging on the Cross, Joseph, the brother of Nicodemus and Cleophas, went in to Pilate--now he was the bearer of the seal-ring of Pilate, and was a councillor, and had free intercourse with him--and asked for the body of our Redeemer; and Pilate commanded that it should be given to him. And when Joseph had taken His body, straightway Pilate commanded that [Fol. 49*a*, col. 1] the garden also in which the grave was situated should be given to him; it belonged to Joseph, and it had been given unto him as an inheritance by Phinehas, the Levite, the son of Joseph's uncle. Now Joseph was from Jerusalem, but he had been made a councillor in Ramtha, and all the letters which had been written during the whole period of Pilate's administration had been sealed with the seal which Joseph carried. And when Joseph had taken down the body of our Lord p. 236 from the Cross, the Jews ran and took the Cross, and brought it into the Temple, because [the pieces of wood thereof] were the bearing poles of the Ark of the Covenant. And Nicodemos also embalmed the body of our Lord [and swathed it] in clean, new linen swathings, and Joseph made it ready for the grave and buried it in a new tomb which had been made for Joshua, the son of Non, to be buried in. And because he saw with the eye of the Spirit [Fol. 49*a*, col. 2], and the way of the Dispensation of Christ had appeared to him, he took the stone which had travelled about with the children of Israel in the desert and placed it at the door of the tomb, and therefore he was not buried in it. And when Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Cleophas had buried Christ, they laid that stone before the door of the building of the tomb. And the high priests, and men of the house of Pilate, went out and set seals on the grave and on the stone.

The Cross of Christ

And now, my brother Nemesius, be amazed and give praise to God that all the straps (or, ligatures) of the . . . . . . of Christ were joined together on the bearing poles of the Ark of the service of God and the covering of the sanctuary of propitiation. This was what God commanded Moses: to make a breast-plate of judgment p. 237 (Exod. xxviii. 15) and of peace; of judgment for the Jews who crucified Him [Fol. 49*b*, col. 1], and of peace for the Gentiles who have believed in him. His Cross was made of the wood of the Sanctuary, His grave was a new one, which had been made for the death of Joshua, the son of Non, and the stone (or rock), which is Christ, had when in the desert given water to six hundred thousand people, and now it became an altar and gave life to all the Gentiles. And the saying of the Apostle, "that rock was Christ" (I Cor. x. 4) is true and well worthy of belief. Joseph was a councillor in Ramtha, Nicodemus was a teacher of the Law in Jerusalem, and Cleophas was the recorder of the Hebrews in `Amaos. Nicodemus prepared everything which was required for the Passover in the Upper Chamber; and Joseph made Him ready for burial and buried Him in his own inheritance, and Cleophas received Him into his house. And when [Fol. 49*b*, col. 2] He had risen from the dead these men became to Him true and faithful brethren.

The trilingual inscription above the Cross

And when Joseph brought Him down from the Cross, he took away that inscription which was spread out above His head, that is to say, over the head of the Cross of Christ, because it p. 238 had been written by Pilate in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew. And why did Pilate write in it no word of the Syrians? Because the Syrians participated in no way whatsoever in the [shedding of the] blood of Christ. And Pilate, a wise man and a lover of the truth, did not wish to write a lie as wicked judges do, but he did according to what is written in the Law of Moses. Pilate wrote in the inscription [the names of the languages of] those who condemned the innocent in the order in which the slayers of Christ laid their hands upon him, and he hung the writing above Him. Herod was a Greek, Caiaphas was [Fol. 50*a*, col. 1] a Hebrew, and Pilate a Roman. Now the Syrians had no part in the murder of Christ, and to this testifieth Abhgar, king of Edessa, who wished to take Jerusalem and destroy it because the Jews crucified Christ. [See Cureton, *Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, page 30; Cureton, *Ancient Syrian Documents*, page 107; and Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. XX, New Series, January, 1865.]

The Harrowing of Hell

Now the descent of Sheol was not in vain, for it was the cause of manifold benefits to our race. He dismissed Death from his domination. He preached the resurrection to those who were lying in the dust, and He pardoned those who p. 239 had sinned against the Law. He laid waste Sheol, and slew sin. He put Satan to shame, and made the devils sad, and He abrogated sacrifices and offerings and made an apology for Adam, and abolished the festivals of the Jews.

The Resurrection of Christ

And having risen from the grave on the third day, Christ appeared to K̲ipa (Peter) and John.

And whilst [Fol. 50*a*, col. 2] Christ was in the grave, and the watchmen were sitting round about it, Simon Peter conceived the design of giving the watchmen wine to drink so that they might become drunk and fall asleep, when he intended to rise up and open the tomb, and take out the body of Christ without breaking the p. 240 seals on the tomb, so that the Jews might not say, "Assuredly His disciples stole Him away." And whilst the watchmen were eating and drinking, Christ rose up and showed Himself to K̲ipa (Peter), for He had indeed risen. And Peter believed that He was truly Christ, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and did not approach the tomb. And afterwards Christ also appeared to the watchmen openly, and He went to His disciples in the Upper Chamber, and Thomas felt Him. And He appeared to His disciples on the sea shore. Now, though Simon Peter denied Him thrice before the Jews, he acknowledged Him thrice [Fol. 50*b*, col. 1] before the disciples. And Christ delivered to him and committed to his hands all His flock, saying, before His disciples, "Feed thou for Me My sheep and lambs and ewes," that is to say, men, women and children. And forty days after His Resurrection He bestowed upon the Apostles the laying on of hands of the priesthood, and He went up to heaven, and sat down on the right hand of His Father.

Then the Apostles gathered themselves together and went up into the Upper Chamber with Mary, the Holy Virgin, and Simon Peter baptized Mary, and John, the virgin, received her [into his house]. And they decreed a fast until they had received the Spirit, the Paraclete, p. 241 at Pentecost, they all being gathered together. And tongues (*i.e.* languages) were distributed among them, so that each of them might go and teach that nation in the tongue which he had received, so that there might never be strife among them. [Fol. 50*b*, col. 2].

Here endeth the "BOOK OF THE ORDER OF THE SUCCESSION OF FAMILIES FROM ADAM TO CHRIST," which is called the "Cave of Treasures."

And to God be glory for ever!

TESTAMENTUM ADAMI Through INDEX

TESTAMENTUM ADAMI

[The Ethiopic text and an Arabic version was published by Bezold in Nöldeke's *Festschrift*, Gieszen, 1906. See also Brit. Mus. Add. 16251 and Add. 16217 (Dillmann, *Catalogus*, Nos. XXXIV and XXXVII.]

THE HOURS OF THE DAY.

And, moreover, understand thou concerning the hours of the day and of the night, and how it is seemly that ye should make supplication to God, and to pray to Him at each of His seasons. For my Creator taught me all this, and He told me the names of all the wild animals and beasts, and of the birds of heaven, and then God made me to understand the number of the hours of the day and of the night, and He told me how the angels praise God. Understand, then, O my son, that at the first hour of the day the prayer of my children ascendeth to God. And at the second hour the prayer and petition of p. 243 the angels take place. At the third hour the birds of the heavens praise Him. And at the fourth hour the spiritual beings worship Him. And at the fifth hour all the wild beasts and animals salute Him. At the sixth hour the petition of the Kirubel (Cherubim) taketh place. And at the seventh hour all the angels enter the presence of God, and go forth therefrom, for at this hour the prayer of every living thing ascendeth to God. At the eighth hour the shining denizens of heaven praise Him. And at the ninth hour the angels of God who stand before the throne of the Most High do homage unto Him. And at the tenth hour the Holy Spirit overshadoweth the waters, and the devils flee away and remove themselves from the waters. And if the Holy Spirit did not overshadow the waters at this hour every day, no one could drink of the waters, [for if he did] his flesh (*i.e.* body) would be destroyed by the evil devils. And if the priest taketh water at this hour and mixeth with it holy oil, and anointeth the sick and those who are possessed of foul spirits with the mixture, they shall be healed of their sickness. And at the eleventh hour the glorifyings of the righteous take place. And at the twelfth hour God, the Most High, receiveth the prayers and petitions of the children of men. p. 244

THE HOURS OF THE NIGHT.

And at the first hour of the night the devils render thanks and praise to God Most High, and there is in them no evil and no harm for anyone until they have finished their service of homage. And at the second hour of the night the fish and every creature that is in the waters praise God, and the wild beasts and the whales. And at the third hour the fire praiseth Him--now it is in the lowest depth, and in that hour no one can address Him (?). And at the fourth hour the Surafel (Seraphim) proclaim Him Holy. And at the fifth hour the waters which are above the heavens praise Him. Now long ago I sat and listened to the angels at this hour, and [marvelled] how they cried out; [their cry] was like the noise of a mighty wheel, and they cried out like the waves of the sea with the voice of praise to God. And at the sixth hour the clouds praised God in fear and trembling. And at the seventh hour the earth was hushed in silence and every creature that was upon it, and the waters slumbered. And if at this hour the priest taketh some water and mixeth holy oil with it, and he anointeth therewith the sick and those who cannot sleep at night because of [their] pain, those who are sick will be healed, and those who are wakeful will fall asleep. At the eighth hour the earth maketh to grow grass p. 245 and green herbs, and maketh the trees to put forth leaves and fruit. And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men cometh into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God heareth the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted unto them; And at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the cocks crow and praise God. And at the eleventh hour there is joy and gladness on all the earth, for the sun entereth into the Garden (*i.e.* Paradise), and his light riseth in all the ends of the world, and illumineth every created thing. And at the twelfth hour it is befitting for my children to stand up before God, and pay homage to Him, for at this hour there resteth a great silence on all the heavenly beings.

ADAM FORETELLS THE COMING OF CHRIST.

Now therefore know thou all this, and hearken unto my word, and understand that the Word of God, the Most High, shall come down upon the earth, even as He told me at the moment when He thrust me out from the Garden (Paradise). For He told me that His Word in later days should become man from a woman who was a virgin whose name was Mary, and should p. 246 hide in her, and put on flesh, and be born like a man with great power, and operative skill and knowledge. No one shall know Him except Himself and him to whom He manifested [Himself]. And God said that He should go about with people on the earth, and grow in days and years, and should perform signs and wonders openly, and should walk upon the sea as upon dry land, and should rebuke the sea and the winds openly, and they should be subject unto Him, and that He should cry out to the waves of the sea and they should make answer to Him speedily. And that He should make the blind to see, and the lepers to be cleansed, and the deaf to hear, and the dumb to talk, and should raise up the paralytics, and make the lame to walk, and should turn many from error to the knowledge of God, and should drive out the devils from men.

And besides [these things] God spake unto me, saying, "Be not sorrowful, O Adam, for thou didst wish to become a god and didst transgress my command. Behold, I will stablish thee, not at this present, but after a few days." And again He spake unto me, saying, "I am God Who made thee to go forth from the Garden of Joy into the earth, which shall shoot forth thorns and brambles, and thou shalt dwell therein. Bend thy back, and make thy knees p. 247 to totter in old age, and I will make thy flesh food for the worms. And after five days and half a day I will have compassion upon thee, and shew thee mercy in the abundance of my compassion and my mercy. And I will come down into thy house, and I will dwell in thy flesh, and for thy sake I will be pleased to be born like an [ordinary] child. And for thy sake I will be pleased to walk in the market place. And for thy sake I will be pleased to fast forty days. And for thy sake I will be pleased to accept baptism. And for thy sake I will be pleased to endure suffering. And for thy sake I will be pleased to hang on the wood of the Cross. All these things [will I do] for thy sake, O Adam."

To Him be praise, and majesty, and dominion, and glory, and worship, and hymns, with His Father and the Holy Spirit from this time forward and for ever and ever. Amen.

Furthermore, thou must know, O my son, Seth, behold a Flood shall come and shall wash the whole earth because of the children of Kayal (Cain), the murderer, who slew his brother through jealousy, because of his sister Lud. And after the Flood and many weeks the latter days shall come, and everything shall be completed, and his time shall come and fire shall consume everything which is p. 248 found before God, and the earth shall be sanctified, and the Lord of Lords shall walk about on it."

And Seth wrote down this Commandment, and sealed it with his seal, and with the seal of his father Adam, which he took with him from the Garden (Paradise), and with the seal of Eve his mother.

Footnotes

[1] I.e. five thousand five hundred years.

SUPPLEMENTARY TRANSLATIONS FROM THE "BOOK OF THE BEE."

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. OUR LORD'S APPEARANCES AFTER THE RESURRECTION. THE LAST SUPPER. THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES. CHRONOLOGY. GOG AND MAGOG. ANTI-CHRIST. THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

The extracts quoted in the preceding pages show how largely Solomon, Bishop of Al-Basrah, borrowed from the "Cave of Treasures" when compiling his work, "The Book of the Bee," especially when he was dealing with the history of the early Patriarchs. But he did not bring his book to a close with the narrative of the Crucifixion, for his aim was to describe briefly the progress of Christianity after the death of Christ; and in doing this he collected and set down in writing a considerable amount of information regarding the Apostles and disciples, and their lives and deaths, and a number of facts and legends which he accepted and wished the p. 250 Nestorians in his diocese especially to believe. In fact, the "Book of the Bee," though written by a Nestorian bishop, may be regarded as a supplement or continuation of the "Cave of Treasures," which, according to ancient tradition, was written by a Jacobite bishop. Both works are included in the collection of texts which the learned priest Homo copied in the British Museum MS. Add. 25875, and both were so highly esteemed that copies of them were made for the library of the church of the Virgin Mary in `Amedia. The following summary is based on my translation of the Syriac text published at Oxford in 1886.

THE DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN MARY

Mary lived twelve years after our Lord's Ascension; the sum of the years which she lived in the world was fifty-eight years, but others say sixty-one years. She was not buried on earth, but the angels carried her to Paradise, and angels bore her bier. On the other hand, we read in the *History of the Virgin*, "And the blessed Mary departed this life in the year of Alexander, 394 (*i.e.* A.D. 82-83). At the Annunciation she was thirty years old, and she lived also the thirty-three years of the Dispensation; and after the Crucifixion she lived fifty-eight p. 251 years. The years which she lived were one hundred and twenty-one." In the same book we have: "And Mary remained in Jerusalem, and grieved because of her separation from our Lord Jesus Christ, and the absence of the apostles from her. And she prayed and cast frankincense into the fire, and lifted up her eyes and spread out her hands to heaven, and said, 'O Christ, the Son of the living God, hearken unto the voice of Thy handmaiden, and send unto me Thy friend John the Young with his fellow-apostles, that I may see them and be comforted by the sight of them before the day of my death; and I will praise and adore Thy goodness.'" And straightway it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to each one of the apostles, in whatever country he was in, that the blessed Mary was about to depart from this world into the never-ending life. And the Spirit summoned them, along with those of them who were dead, to be gathered together at daybreak to the blessed Mary for her to see them: and each one of them came to her from his own land at dawn by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and they saluted Mary and each other, and adored her. Thomas was in India, and an angel took him up and brought him. And he found the angels carrying her bier through the air; and they brought it nigh to Thomas, and he also prayed and was blessed by her. p. 252

OUR LORD'S APPEARANCES AFTER HIS RESURRECTION

He appeared ten times: 1. To Mary Magdalene (John xx. 11, 18). 2. To the women at the grave (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10). 3. To Cleophas (Luke xxiv. 18). 4. To Simon Peter (Luke xxiv. 34). 5. To all the disciples except Thomas (Luke xxiv. 36-49; John xx. 19-23). 6. To the disciples, Thomas being with them (John xx.

24-29). 7. On the Mount (Matt. xxviii. 16-20). 8. On the Sea of Tiberias (John xxi. 1-24). 9. At His Ascension (Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 50-53). 10. To the Five Hundred at once (I Cor. xv. 6). After His Ascension he appeared to Paul (Acts ix. 3-9; I Cor. xv. 3), and to Stephen (Acts vii. 55-60).

THE LAST SUPPER

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body in the Upper Chamber, John, the son of Zebedee, hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. When Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested on the mark of the spear, the disciples saw the blood. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns Mar Addai and Mar Mari took that piece, and sanctified this p. 253 unleavened bread which has been handed down among us. Others say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread in his hand, it burst into flame, and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the Cross of baptism.

THE APOSTLES

The Apostles were Twelve and Seventy; their names are:--

SIMON, the chief of the Apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He preached for one year in Antioch, where the disciples were [first] called Christians, and he built there the first church, in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He lived in Rome twenty-seven years. He was crucified, head downwards, by Nero, in the 376th year of the Greeks (65-64 B.C.).

ANDREW, his brother, preached in Scythia, Nicomedia, and Achaia. He died in Byzantium and was buried in the church which he built there.

JOHN, the son of Zabhdai (Zebedee), was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulon. He preached in Ephesus, was exiled to Patmos, and then returned to Ephesus, where he built a church. Three of his disciples went with him:--IGNATIUS, p. 254 later bishop of Antioch, who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; POLYCARP, later bishop of Smyrna who was burnt to death; and JOHN, who succeeded him as bishop. John, the son of Zebedee, was buried by John, his disciple, at Ephesus, and his grave is unknown. John, his disciple, was also buried at Ephesus. He wrote the Revelation, and said that all he had written in that book he had received from John the Evangelist.

JAMES, the brother of John, preached in Bethsaida and built a church there. Herod Agrippa slew him with the sword in the year following the Ascension of our Lord. He was buried at Akar, a city of Marmarika.

PHILIP, from Bethsaida, was of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he died in Pisidia, and was buried in the church which he built there. He lived as an apostle 27 years.

THOMAS, from Jerusalem, was of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians; he baptized the daughter of the Indian king, who had him speared to death. Habban the merchant brought his body to Edessa and buried it there. Some say he was buried in Mahluph in India.

MATTHEW, from Nazareth, was of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and p. 255 Sidon, and went as far as Gabbula (*i.e.* al-Jabbal, a town in Coelesyria). He died, and was buried in Antioch.

BARTHOLOMEW, from Endor, was of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Armenia, Ardeshir, Ketarbol, Radbin and Pruharman. He first went to Golthon in Armenia, came back to Artaschu, and then went on to

Her, Zarevant and Urbianos. He lived as an apostle for 30 years, and then Hurst̲i (Rhust̲ni or Herost̲mi), king of Armenia, crucified him in Urbianos. He was buried in the church which he had built in Armenia. The king of Armenia in the time of Bartholomew was called Sanadrog (Sanatruk).

JUDE, the son of James, surnamed THADDAEUS (TADDAI), who is also LEBBAEUS (Lebbai), from Jerusalem, was of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea, and in Antaradus and Arwad (Ruwad). He was stoned in Arwad, and died and was buried there.

SIMON ZELÔTES, from Galilee, was of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shemeshat (Samosata), Parin (Perrhe), Zeugma, H̲alab (Aleppo), Mabbog (Manbig), and Kenneshrin (K̲innesrin). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there.

JAMES, the son of Alphaeus (H̲alphai), was from the Jordan, and of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkesion p. 256 (K̲irk̲isiya), and Callinicos (ar-Rak̲k̲ah), and came to Bat̲nan of Serug (Sarug), where he built a church, and died and was buried there.

JUDAS ISCARIOT, the Betrayer, from Sekharyut, was of the tribe of Gad or Dan. MATTHIAS, of the tribe of Reuben, came in his stead. He preached in Hellas and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died, and was buried in it.

JAMES, the brother of our Lord, was cast down from a pinnacle of the Temple whilst preaching in Jerusalem; then a fuller of cloth smashed in his skull with a club, and afterwards they stoned him.

JOHN THE BAPTIST was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was buried in Sebastia.

ANANIAS (H̲ANANYA), John's disciple, taught in Damascus and Arbil. Pol, the general of Aretas (Aristus) slew him, and he was buried in his church at Arbil.

PAUL, of Tarsus, was a Pharisee and of the tribe of Ephraim (or, Benjamin ?). He went to Peter at Rome, and Nero ordered them to be slain. On their way to the place of slaughter they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. Peter was crucified and Paul was beheaded, and Mark and Luke brought their p. 257 bodies into the city. But Paul's head could not be found. At length a shepherd found it, and he laid it by his sheep-fold. At night a fire blazed over it, and the shepherd went and told bishop Xystus and the clergy, and when they saw the head they recognized it as Paul's head. They laid the head at the feet of Paul's body, and, having prayed the whole night, the head was found to have joined itself to the body. From his call to the end of his life was 35 years; he travelled for 31 years, and he was in prison at Caesarea for two years, and for two years in Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was buried in the royal catacombs in Rome.

LUKE, the physician and Evangelist, was a disciple of Lazarus, and was baptized by Philip in the city of Beroea. He was beheaded by H̲oros, the governor of Alexandria under Tiberius, whilst preaching there; he was buried in that city.

MARK the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there. He was either the son of Simon Peter's wife or the son of Simon; and Rhoda was his sister. He was first called John, but the Apostles changed his name to Mark.

ADDAI, from Paneas, preached in Edessa and Mesopotamia in the days of Abhgar the king; he p. 258 built a church in Edessa. Herod, son of Abhgar, slew him in the fortress of Aggel, or Engil, north of Amid. He was buried either in Edessa or Rome.

AGGAI, the disciple of Addai, was a silk weaver; because he refused to give up his preaching, Herod, son of Abhgar, broke his legs with a club and he killed him.

THADDAEUS was slain by Herod, son of Abhgar, and was buried in Edessa.

ZACCHAEUS (Zaccai), the publican, was slain whilst preaching in Mount Horon.

SIMON, the leper, taught in Ramah, and the Jews slew him there.

JOSEPH, the Senator, taught in Galilee and Decapolis, and was buried in Ramah.

NICODEMUS, the Pharisee, the friend of our Lord, died in Jerusalem, and was buried there. Some say that he was buried by his brother Gamaliel in Kephar Gamla.

NATHANIEL was stoned whilst preaching in Mount Horon (or, Mount Hebron), and died.

SIMON, the Cyrenian, was slain in the island of Chios.

SIMON, son of Cleopas, was bishop of Jerusalem. At the age of one hundred years he was crucified by Irenaeus (or, Hereos?), the chiliarch.

STEPHEN was stoned to death in Jerusalem, and was buried in Kephar Gamla. p. 260

MARK (sumamed John) taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus; he built a church at the latter place, and died and was buried there.

GEPHAS (Gal. ii. 9; I Cor. i. 12) taught in Baalbec, Hims (Emesa), and Nathron (Batharun); he died and was buried in Shiraz (Shaizar ?).

BARNABAS, a native of Cyprus or a member of a family of Cyprians settled in Antioch, undertook two preaching missions in that Island, and then went and preached in Northern Italy and Kura for some time. Later he returned to Cyprus, where, according to one tradition, he suffered martyrdom. The various accounts of his life and preaching are described by Lipsius in his *Apostelgeschichte* (Bd. ii. Heft 2, pp. 276-320).

TITUS taught in Crete, and died and was buried there.
SOSTHENES taught in Pontus and Asia, and was cast into the sea by Nonnus, the prefect.
CRISCUS (CRESCENS) taught in Dalmatia; he died of hunger in Alexandria.
JUSTUS taught in Tiberias and Caesarea, where he died and was buried.
ANDRONICUS taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.
RUFUS was slain whilst teaching in Zeugma.
PATROBAS taught in Chalcedon, and died there. p. 260
HERMAS, the shepherd, taught in Antioch and died there.
NARCISSUS taught in Hellas, and died there.
ASYNCRITUS went to Beth-Huzaye (Ahwaz, Khuzistan), and died there.
ARISTOBULUS taught in Isauria, and died there.
ONESIMUS, the slave of Philemon, fled to Paul in Rome, where his legs were broken, and he died.
APOLLOS was burned to death by Sparacleus (?), governor of Gangra.

OLYMPAS, STACHYS and STEPHEN died in prison in Tarsus.
JUNIAS was slain in Samos.
THEOCRITUS died in Ilios.
MARTALUS (I) was slain by the Barbarians.
NIGER taught in Antioch, and died there.
LUCIUS was dragged behind a horse and died.
ALEXANDER was thrown into a pit in Heracleopolis (Hierapolis ?) and died.
MILUS was drowned at Rhodes.
SILVANUS and HERÔDIÔN (Rhodion) were slain at Acco.
SILAS taught at Sarapolis (Hierapolis ?), and died there.
TIMOTHY taught in Ephesus, and died there.
MANAEL was burned to death in Acco.
The EUNUCH of Candace was strangled on the island of Parparchia. p. 261
JASON and SOSIPATRUS were thrown to the beasts in Olmius.
DEMAS taught in Thessalonica, and died there.
OMIUS (HYMENAEUS) taught in Melitene, and died there.
THRASEUS was thrown into a fiery furnace at Laodicea.
BISTORIUS (ARISTARCHUS) taught in the island of Ka, and died there.
ABRIOS and MÔṮOS died in Ethiopia.
LEVI was slain in Paneas by Charmus.
NICETIANUS (NICETAS) was sawn in twain in Tiberias.
JOHN and THEODORUS were thrown to the beasts at Baalbec.
EUCHESTION (?) and SIMON were slain by Methalius in Byzantium.
EPHRAIM (APHREM) taught in Baishan, and died there.
JUSTUS was slain at Corinth.
JAMES taught in Nicomedia, and died there.

THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES

The TWELVE (Matt. x. Mark iii. Luke vi. Acts i.).
1. Simon Peter.
2. Andrew, his brother.
3. James, the son of Zebedee.
4. John, his brother.
5. Philip.
6. Bartholomew.
7. Thomas.
8. Matthew.
9. James, the son of Alphaeus.
10. Labbaeus (Thaddaeus).
11. Simon the Canaanite.
12. Judas Iscariot (in whose stead came Matthias).

The SEVENTY.
1. James, the son of Joseph.
2. Simon, the son of Cleopas.
3. Cleopas, his father.

4-8. Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaeus (?).
9. Ananias, who baptized Paul.
10. Cephas, who preached at Antioch.
11. Joseph, the senator.
12. Nicodemus, the Archon.
13. Nathaniel, the chief scribe.
14. Justus (*i.e.* Joseph, called Barshabba).
15-17. Silas; Judah; John (Mark).
18. Mnason, who received Paul.
19. Manael, foster-brother of Herod.
20. Simon, called Niger.
21. Jason (*see* Acts xvii. 5-9).
22. Rufus (*see* Rom. xvi. 13).
23. Alexander.
24. Simon, the Cyrenian, their father.
25. Lucius, the Cyrenian.
26. Judah (mentioned in the Acts).
27. Judah, who is called Simon.
28. Eurion (Orion), the splay-footed.
29-32. Thorus; Thorisus; Zabdon; Zakron.
The following were chosen with Stephen:--
33. Philip, whose three (*sic*) daughters prophesied (*see* Acts xxi. 9).
34-36. Stephen; Prochorus; Nicanor.
37-39. Timon; Parmenas; Nicolaus (Acts vi. 5).
40. Andronicus, the Greek (Rom. xvi. 7).
41, Titus; Timothy.
42.
The following were with Peter in Rome:--
43, Hermas; Plighta.
44.
45-47. Patrobas; Asyncritus; Hermas.
The following came with Peter to Cornelius:--
48, Criscus (II Tim. iv. 10); Milichus.
49.
50, Kiriton (Crito); Simon.
51.
52. Gaius, who received Paul.
53, Abrazon (?); Apollos.
54.
The following were rejected from among the Seventy, for they were followers of Cerinthus, and denied our Lord's divinity:--
55-57. Simon; Levi; Bar-Kubba.
58-60. Cleon; Hymenaeus; Candarus.
61-63. Clithon (?); Demas; Narcissus.
64-66. Slikispus; Thaddaeus; Marutha.

In their stead there came in:--

Luke, the Physician.
Apollos, the elect.
Ampelius; Urbanus; Stachys.
Popillius (Publius); Aristobulus.
Stephen; Herodion, the son of Narcissus.
Olympas; Mark, the Evangelist.
Addai; Aggai; Mar Mari.

CHRONOLOGY

From Adam to the Flood was	2262	years.
From the Flood to Abraham was	1015	"
From Abraham to the Exodus from Egypt was	430	"
From the Exodus to Solomon and the building of the Temple was	400	"
From Solomon to the First Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive	495	"
From the First Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was	180	"
From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth of our Lord was	483	"
	[5265]	"
All these make 5345 years (*sic*).		
From Alexander to our Lord was	303	years.
From our Lord to Constantine was	341	"
In the year 438 of Alexander, the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning.		

[For 438 read 538, as the Sasanian dynasty was founded by Ardashir I in A.D. 226.]
Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

OF GOG AND MAGOG

When Alexander was king, and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw in the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all [other] dwellers in the world; filthy people of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth, and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead [but ate them]. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and made them go in, and p. 266 shut them up within the confines of the North. This is the gate of the world on the north, and there is no other entrance or exit from the confines of the world from the east to the north. And Alexander prayed to God with tears, and God heard his prayer and commanded those two lofty mountains which are called "the children of the north," and they drew nigh to one another until there remained between them about twelve cubits. Then he built in front of them a strong building, and he made for it a door of brass, and anointed it within and without with oil of Thesnaktis (*i.e.* an oil which cannot be burnt off with fire or scraped off with an iron tool), so that if they should bring iron implements near it to force it to open, they would be unable to move it; and if they wished to melt it with fire, it would quench it; and it feared neither the operations of devils nor of sorcerers, and was not to be overcome [by them]. Now there were twenty-two kingdoms imprisoned within the northern gate, and their names are these:--

Gog, Magog.

Nawal, Eshkenaz (Eshkin).
Denaphar (Difar).
Paktaye (the people of Paktue in the Thracian Chersonesus).
Welotaye (Ludaye).
Humnaye (the Huns), Parzaye. p. 267
Daklaye, Thaubelaye (Tuklaye).
Darmetaye, Kawkebaye.
Dog-men (Cynocephali).
Emderatha, Garmido.
Cannibals, Therkaye (Thracians).
Alanaye (the Allani), Pisilon.
Denkaye (Dunkaye).
Saltraye (Saltaye).

At the end of the world and at the final consummation, when men are eating and drinking and marrying wives; and women are given to husbands; when they are planting vineyards and building buildings, and there is neither wicked man nor adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened, and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places, and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger, and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat dead dogs and cats; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of p. 268 that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa, for thither will all those [people] be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters.

OF THE COMING OF ANTI-CHRIST

In a week and half a week after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three [cities] in the Gospel (Matt. xi. 21). As soon as the son of perdition is revealed the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven, and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross shall be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kushath, the daughter of Pil, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus), the king of the Greeks, took Kushath to p. 269 wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David hath said, "Cush will deliver the power to God" (Ps. lxviii. 31).

Diorite statue of Bau, the goddess of fertility. She sits on a throne set upon water, and her supports and footstool are geese. (*See* page 280.)

When the Cross is raised up to heaven straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will show deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will show deluding phantasms [of this kind], but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the Temple, saying, "I am the Christ," and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and p. 270 saying, "I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables." He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, "This is the Christ, the expectation of the world." The time of the error of the Anti-christ will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when everyone is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

THE HEBREW BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK

Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned 38 years. In the third (or, sixth) year of his reign the fifth millennium from the creation of the world ended. This king asked the Jews who were captives in Egypt, and seventy (or, seventy-two) old men p. 271 translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the Island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names were:--

1.	Josephus Hezekiah Zechariah John Ezekiel Elisha	Of the tribe of Reuben.	
2.	Judah Simon Samuel Addai Mattathias Shalmi	Of the tribe of Simeon.	
3.	Nehemiah Joseph Theodosius Basa Adonijah Daḵi	Of the tribe of Levi.	
4.	Jothan Abdi Elisha	Of the tribe of Judah.	

	Ananias Zechariah Hilkiah	
5.	Isaac Jacob Jesus Sambaṯ (Sabbateus) Simon Levi	Of the tribe of Issachar.
6.	Judah Joseph Simon Zechariah Samuel Shamli	Of the tribe of Zebulon.
7.	Sambaṯ Zedekiah Jacob Isaac Jesse Matthias	Of the tribe of Gad.
8.	Theodosius Jason Joshua John Theodotus Jothan	Of the tribe of Asher.
9.	Abraham Theophilus Arsam Jason Jeremiah Daniel	Of the tribe of Dan.
10.	Jeremiah Eliezer Zechariah Benaiah Elisha Dathi	Of the tribe of Naphtali.

11.	Samuel Josephus Judah Jonathan Dositheus Caleb	Of the tribe of Joseph.
12.	Isalus John Theodosius Arsam Abijah Ezekiel	Of the tribe of Benjamin.

[Ptolemy II, surnamed Philadelphus, was the son of Ptolemy I, Soter, by Beremce, and was born 308 B.C.; he reigned as sole king from 283 to 247 B.C., when he died. His name was transcribed by the Egyptian annalists thus:--

PTU[O]LMIS

and his title Philadelphus by *meri sen* (*i.e.* "brother-loving"). He enlarged the great Alexandrian Library, which was founded by his father, and in his day it is said to have contained as many as 400,000 books, (*i.e.* rolls of papyrus). It was by his orders that Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus in the Delta compiled his History of Egypt.]

PHILADELPHUS

ABRAHAM AND THE CITY OF UR.

Kitchen in the Gig-Pak-Ku at "Ur of the Chaldees," showing tank, wall, rope-ring and fire-place. (*See* page 280.)

The paragraphs which the author of the "Cave Treasures" devotes to the history of Terah and Abraham throw new light upon the lives of these patriarchs and the conditions under which they lived in the city of Ur, and they contain many interesting details which are not recorded in the Book of Genesis, and some new information concerning the overthrow of the city of Ur by the "Wind Flood." It is quite clear that Terah and Abraham were great, powerful and wealthy shekhs, and their large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of camels suggest that they were owners and breeders of cattle on a large scale, and masters of caravans. The three hundred and eighteen trained men, born in his house (Gen. xiv. 14), whom Abraham armed and sent forth to rescue Lot, his nephew, were probably the armed guards who marched with his flocks and herds and caravans and protected them. Up to the present no person p. 274 mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions can be identified either with Terah or Abraham, but all the facts which the recent excavations at Ur have brought to light show that in Abraham's day the inhabitants of the city were given up wholly to idolatry, their chief object of worship being Nannar, the Moon-god. Not only did Abraham smash his father's idols, but under the divine guidance he freed himself from the custom of offering up his firstborn to devils. Further, when he saw his city attacked by hosts of enemies from the north and from the low-lying lands to the south, there was nothing left for him to do but migrate to the country which God promised to give him. Putting all the evidence together, it is clear that Abraham was a great, strong and independent chief in Babylonia, and that his power waxed greater when he established himself at Harran. The rescue of Lot shows that his armed retainers formed an effective military body, and the greatness of his might and influence is proved by the fact that he compelled Ephron the Hittite to sell him the cave of Machpelah. And the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who seized Sarah, would hardly have listened to Abraham's objections unless he knew that Abraham had a following strong enough to make his restitution of Sarah a necessity. p. 275

THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR OF THE CHALDEES.

Of the greatness and importance of Ur of the Chaldees politically and commercially, the excavations which Mr. C. L. Woolley has conducted for the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania during the last five years afford abundant evidence. In my little book, *Babylonian Life and History*, London, 1925, I gave a brief summary of what had been done up to the time of going to press, and it is necessary to describe the progress of

PLATE III

General view of the ziggurat and the excavations at "Ur of the Chaldees."

the work during the winters of **1924-25** and **1925-26**. The facts are derived from Mr. Woolley's official reports, published in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. V, No. 4, and Vol. VI, No. 4. As already said, the Ziggurat which stands in the west corner of the Temenos enclosure was cleared during the winter of 1923-24, and in **1924-25** work was begun on the Temenos or Sacred Area itself. A good general view of the site already excavated is given on Plate III. Already in 1925, Mr. Woolley was able to report as follows: "Summarizing our results in this part of the field, we can say that we have now a complete plan of the Ziggurat and its surroundings in the Neo-Babylonian period after the wholesale reconstructions of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus, the complete plan of the Kassite period for three p. 276 sides of the Ziggurat, a good part of the plan of the buildings of the Larsa period (2000 B.C.), and that of Ur-Engur's (*i.e.* Ur-Nammu's) work on one side of the tower, together with a general idea of its lines on two of the other sides." The Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu was built on a terrace which on this side had a width of 34 metres, and cones of baked clay bearing Ur-Nammu's dedication of the building E-temen-ni-il had been inserted in the vertical joints of the brickwork. For the first time these cones were found in their original position. A specimen of these cones is given on Plate IV. Ur-Nammu built E Nannar, or Temple of the Moon-god, on the terrace level of E-temen-ni-il. During the Larsa period Ur-Nammu's buildings were reconstructed, and prominent among the kings who carried out this work were Sinidinnam (2086-2080 B.C.) and Warad Sin (2072-2060 B.C.). Cones and other monuments show that En-an-na-tum, high-priest of

PLATE IV

Nannar, and son of king Ishme-Dagan, and Sumu-ilum, who built a temple to Innina, and Silli-Adad, and Kudur Mabug had all worked here.

The principal builder at Ur during the Kassite period was Kuri-Galzu, but his work was not of the best kind, and as his successors did no repairs on his buildings, they fell into decay. The arched doorway which he built in the p. 277 sanctuary of E-Dublal-maẖ is shown on Plate IV. For seven hundred years nothing of importance in connection with the temple buildings at Ur was done. Nebuchadnezzar II and his grandson practically rebuilt the public buildings at Ur. They found the ancient shrines so hopelessly destroyed or so completely buried that on a traditional site they were able to employ a new design or radically to reshape the old, and even to change the location of a sanctuary whose name alone perhaps survived. Under the rule of the Persians the city gradually sunk into ruin and decay.

PLATE VI

The E-Dubal-maẖ, or Hall of Justice, at "Ur of the Chaldees" as it was incorporated in the E-Gig-Par of Nabonidus; the north-east side.

To the south-east of the Ziggurat stood the Temple of Nin-gal, which was built by Sinbalatsu-ikbi (*see* the door socket of this king on Plate VIII), the Assyrian governor of Ur (650 B.C.), and was restored by Nabonidus. Mr. Woolley's excavations showed that it was built on the site of the first temple of Nin-gal, which dated from the reign of Kuri-Galzu in the XIVth century B.C.

PLATE V

The ruins of the great Hall of justice (E-Dubal-maẖ) at "Ur of the Chaldees," as seen from the south corner.

To the south-east of the temple E-Nun-Maẖ are the temple E-Dublal-Maẖ, the work of Kuri-Galzu (Plate V), and the E-Gig-Par which was built by Nabonidus (Plate VI). The latter building is 95 metres long and 50 metres wide, and is oriented N.W. and S.E., and there is no doubt that it was the p. 278 convent in which Bel-Shalti-Nannar, daughter of Nabonidus and sister of Belshazzar, ruled as Lady Superior of the sacred women of Ur. In the rooms of this convent were found a very large number of small but important objects, *e.g.* gate sockets, sculptured reliefs, school-exercise tablets, teaching tablets, tablets marked with squares in lines used in playing games, etc., and one room was used as a Museum, for it contained inscribed objects with labels attached for teaching purposes! The remains found in E-Dublal-Maẖ included portions of a statue, dating from 2800 B.C.; a limestone plaque with reliefs representing the worship of Nannar (Plate XIII, No. 1); portions of the great stele of Ur-Nammu (Plate XI, No. 2); alabaster rams forming the sides of a throne (Plate XIII, No. 2); etc.

PLATE XI

{facing page 208}

A stele of the IIIrd Dynasty from the E-Gig-Par at "Ur of the Chladees." (*See* page 280.)

The King Ur-Nammu making an offering to Nannar and Nin-Gal. From the great stele of Ur-Nammu. (*See* page 278.)

During the winter of **1925-26**, Mr. Woolley and his men excavated the great Gig-Par-ku site at Ur. The earliest buildings of which any actual ruins were found belonged to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur (about 4000-3500 B.C.). In digging down to trace the Third Dynasty foundations, they found a short section of a wall constructed with kiln-burnt plano-convex bricks set over a foundation of rough limestone blocks, a wall identical in every respect with that of the temple built by king p. 279 A-an-ni-pad-da at Al-`Ubed. Among the buildings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2300 B.C.) was the temple of Ur-Nammu, but remains of its walls are wanting. Thirteen gate sockets were found, and the inscription on them reads, "Ur-Nammu, the mighty man, the king of Ur, the king of Sumer and Akkad, has built the splendid Gig-Par for his Lady Nin-Gal" (Plate VII, Nos. 2 and 3). On the ruins of Ur-Nammu's temple his grandson Bur-Sin built a temple which was dedicated by him to the goddess Nin-Gal. An inscribed door socket of Bur-Sin is shown on Plate VIII. This temple was probably destroyed about 2000 B.C. by the Elamites, who captured the city and brought the rule of the Third Dynasty of Ur to an end.

PLATE VIII

The next temple that occupied the site was built by En-an-na-tum, son of Ishme-Dagan, king of Isin. The building was rectangular and measured 79 metres by 76½ metres, and its angles were oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. It was surrounded by a massive wall, and had two entrances; at the east angle was a gate tower. The building was divided into three parts by the cross corridor, and by a wall running parallel with it; it contained two temples, several small shrines, and a considerable number of small rooms, in which the priests and priestesses lived. Some of the rooms were used p. 280 as kitchens and pantries, and some as sepulchral chambers in which the bodies of dead priests were buried. A view of the great kitchen in Gig Par Ku is given on Plate IX. The building supplies a complete plan of an early Sumerian sanctuary, which has hitherto been wanting. The temple flourished in a greater or lesser degree all through the reign of Hammurabi, and down to the eleventh year of the reign of his son Samsu-iluna; its destruction probably took place during, or as a result of, the revolt which took place in the following year. Among the important objects found in the ruins may be mentioned:--1. A diorite statuette of the goddess Eau, the great "World- Mother" (Plate X), which was made about 2400 B.C. 2. Diorite statuette of the goddess Nin-Gal (about 2080 B.C.). 3. A limestone plaque on which are sculptured scenes of worship (about 3000 B.C.) (Plate XI, No. 1). 4. An alabaster model of the lunar disk dedicated to Nannar by the daughter of Sargon of Agade (about 2630 B.C.). 5. A granite bowl of Naram-Sin of Agade (2550 B.C.), which about 300 years later (about 2250 B.C.) was presented to the temple at Ur by the daughter of king Dungi (or, Shulgi).

PLATE VII

1. Stone duck weight of Shulgi, King of Ur, about 2200 B.C. (*See* page 285.)
2. Bronze shoe of a door pivot and its stone socket inscribed with the name of Ur-Nammu, about 2600 B.C. (*See* page 279.)
3. Hard stone fragment with an inscription of Ur-Nammu. (*See* page 279.)

The excavation of the "Palace Site "has yielded much useful information, and the further exploration of the so-called Tomb Mound has p. 281 laid bare the foundations of many houses, and yielded many small, but interesting, antiquities, tablets, terra-cotta figures, cylinder seals, pottery, etc. Among the tablets were several dating from the period of Rim-Sin (1980 B.C.); these were inscribed with hymns and religious texts written in honour of the Moon-god Nannar.

Mr. C. L. Woolley resurned work at Ur on October 28, 1926, and continued the excavations until February, 1927, when want of funds brought his operations to a standstill. The results of his labours during the past winter are of extraordinary importance, and through the courtesy of Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, and the late Dr. Byron Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, I am enabled to describe them briefly in the following pages.

The site first selected for work during the past winter was a lofty mound outside the wall built by Nebuchadnezzar II round the Sacred Area, and when a space measuring 200 feet by 150 feet was cleared, several blocks of houses, divided by narrow streets, were found. Hitherto the Expedition had excavated only temples and fortifications which, after all, tell us little or nothing about the private daily life of Abraham's neighbours, but Mr. Woolley felt that the time had come for him to explore the ruins of the p. 282 houses of the merchants and the poorer class of inhabitants of "Ur of the Chaldees," and the results he obtained greatly exceeded his expectations. When a house fell down in Babylonia the ruins were levelled and another house was built on them, and in some mounds several layers of houses, each layer belonging to a different period, have been identified. On the site selected by Mr. Woolley the rains and winds and storms of four thousand years had removed all the more modern layers of houses, and he was able to get to work at once on a fine collection of houses which were built about 2100 B.C. The main walls being built of burnt brick, were in a good state of preservation; the interior walls were of mud brick, laid on burnt brick foundations, which rose two or three feet above the brick-paved floor. Thus the foundations formed a "damp course," and the state of the walls showed that the dwellers in the houses were not troubled by damp. The visitor, on passing through the doorway, entered a small ante-chamber, which led into the courtyard; this was partly covered in. The reception room was on one side, and the kitchen and pantry, etc., were on the other. The bedrooms of the family were on the upper floor, which were entered from a wooden gallery running round all four sides of the court yard. p. 284 Close to the front door was the stairway, the treads of which are made of solid brick. The walls of these houses are still about 20 feet in height, and the plan of them and the general arrangement of the rooms on the ground floor and upper floor are reproduced to this day in the houses of merchants and well-to-do folk at Baghdad and Hillah. There is little doubt that it was in houses of this kind that Serug, Terah, Nahor and Abraham lived. The houses and their courtyards stood side by side in rows, as at the present day; the streets then as now were narrow. An excellent representation of a street is given on Plate XII. {See page 283 for a drawing of the interior of a private house.}

When the master of the house died he was usually buried under it, together with his engraved stone cylinder-seal, pots, and inscribed clay tablets. As was to be expected, no furniture of any shape or kind was found in the houses, and even the burial places under them had been rifled. But, in spite of this, Mr. Woolley succeeded in collecting from the site a considerable number of clay tablets inscribed with tables of square and cube roots, hymns, and records of the buildings erected by various kings of Ur. Among the miscellaneous objects found may be mentioned a bottle of blue and black glass which probably came from Syria; this interesting object was probably made about 1500 B.C.p. 285

The works that were carried out after the excavation of the houses was finished threw much light upon the history of Ur in the first half of the third minennium B.C. There is now no doubt that a temple tower or Ziggurat existed at Ur as early as 2800 B.C., for portions of its walls made of plano-convex mud bricks were found buried under the Ziggurat made by Ur-Nammu 2600 B.C. Under the temple of E-nin-makh a very interesting object was discovered in the shape of the cover of an ivory toilet box bearing a Phoenician inscription (*see* Plate XIV, No. 1), and with it were several articles for the toilet in ivory, and a beautifully engraved comb. The remains of the royal buildings, which were erected about 2000 B.C., prove that the Sumerians, even at that early period, were able to construct halls with arches and vaulted roofs. It is clear that many of the statements which were made by architectural authorities two or three generations ago will have to be greatly modified in the light of the discoveries made at Ur. In a great commercial centre like Ur accurate weights were of prime importance, and the fine diorite duck-weight inscribed with the name of king Shulgi shows that as early as 2500 B.C. standard weights were in use in Babylonia (*see* Plate VII, No. 1). This standard was in use in Babylonia two thousand years later, as an inscription on a weight of Nebuchadnezzar II testifies. p. 286

The next portion of the site selected for careful excavation was the area at the south-east end, inside the wall built by Nebuchadnezzar II, where there were no buildings. A trench cut across it brought to light an early cemetery, containing graves which were made not much later than 3000 B.C. These graves yielded a large quantity of pottery; vases in diorite, hard stone, alabaster, and steatite, many of beautiful shape and design; copper bowls, vases, pots, axe-heads, adzes, spears, razors, knives and daggers; gold, silver and carnelian beads; lapis lazuli pins with heads of gold or silver; cylinder-seals beautifully engraved; rock-crystal cylinder-seals with copper caps and cores made of white or coloured paste; gold tiaras, chains, finger-rings, ear-rings, beads, amulets, etc. All these show that the crafts of the metal worker and the jeweller had reached a very high state of perfection when the first kings of the Ist dynasty of Ur began to reign in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. When these graves were made they were only about one foot below the level of the surrounding country, but now they lie some 15 or 20 feet under the accumulated rubbish of fifty centuries. The latest graves were, according to Mr. Woolley, made about 3000 B.C., and the earliest some 500 years earlier. Among the objects found in the p. 287 lowermost layer of graves were two cylinder-seals each inscribed with the name of a king of Ur who reigned over the city several hundreds of years before its history as a great commercial centre began. In the uppermost layer the cylinder-seals are inscribed with the names of officers of the household of the daughter of Sargon of Agade, about 2600 B.C.

This princess was the High Priestess of the Moon-god of Ur.

The four principal methods of burial were as follows:--(1) The body, in its ordinary apparel, was wrapped in a mat and laid on a mat at the bottom of the grave; the vases, weapons, ornaments, etc., were placed round about it. (2) The body was placed in a wickerwork coffin, together with the small objects; the vessels in pottery, stone, etc., were grouped round it. (3) The body was laid in a wooden coffin, with the objects to be buried with it, some being enclosed in little coffers. (4) The body was laid in an oval case made of clay. In the oldest graves of all, traces of partial cremation were found. The problem of how the early Sumerians disposed of their dead has now been solved. As the Egyptians buried their dead on the west bank of the Nile, so also did the Sumerians transport the bodies of their dead across the great canal which flowed by the west wall of the city of Ur, and bury them in the western desert. p. 288

Before the close of the season cylinder-seals bearing the names of five early kings, of whom three were unknown to history, were found. From the lapis lazuli cylinder-seal of Queen Nin-Kur-Nin the name of her husband Mes-anni-padda , the founder of the Ist dynasty of Ur has been recovered. Several of the kings of this dynasty have hitherto been regarded as mythical.

Mes-anni-padda

Below the black stratum which lies under the graves of the period of 3000 B.C. the richest graves were found. Here were discovered clay tablets, inscribed with a semi-pictographic script, and seals bearing the names of kings unrecorded in history. Among the other important "finds" may be mentioned:--(1) Eight shell plaques decorated with linear patterns (*see* Plate XV) and animal figures; the lines are filled in with colour, red and black. (2) A royal gaming board, which consists of 20 shell plaques, decorated with linear designs and inlay of red paste and lapis lazuli, and framed with lapis lazuli, ivory and mother-of-pearl. It is the Sumerian equivalent of the so-called draught-boards which have been found in Egyptian tombs, and seems to indicate that the Sumerians, as well as the Egyptians, believed that their dead amused themselves by playing some game like that of draughts in the Other World. p. 289

But the greatest "find" of all was made just before the end of the season. About 18 feet below the level of the ground Mr. Woolley came upon a hoard of copper tools and weapons. This consisted of sets of chisels and bundles of heavy spear-heads, and side by side with these were two gold chisels and a gold spear-head. Further research brought to light more copper weapons, arrows by the quiverful, lance-points, a mace, axe-heads, and parts of bows. Round about these were pendants in carnelian, lapis lazuli and gold, the gold binding for a bow, an adze of solid gold, its wooden handle being covered with plaster painted red and bound with thin gold. Lying a little apart was a silver baldric, to which was attached a "vanity case" of gold filigree work, containing a pair of tiny tweezers, spoon and stiletto, all of gold, hung upon a silver ring. Close by was a dagger (*see* Plate XIV, No. 2). The hilt is formed of one piece of deep-coloured lapis lazuli studded with gold, and the blade is of burnished gold; the sheath is of solid gold. The back of the latter is plain except for two lines of simple beading, but the front is entirely covered with an intricate design in filigree work. The dagger and its sheath are marvels of design and workmanship, and as they were made at least fifty-five centuries ago, they are among the oldest and finest specimens of the craft of the goldsmith in the world. p. 290

All the more important antiquities which have fallen to the share of the Trustees of the British Museum are exhibited in the Babylonian Rooms of the Museum, and are on view all day and every day. Mr. Woolley has written and published in October each year in *The Antiquaries' Journal* a detailed report, with excellent plans and a large number of photographic plates, of the work done at Ur during the preceding winter, and to these the reader who requires fuller and more detailed information about the work is begged to refer. The Trustees of the British Museum have also decided to publish a full scientific Report on the work, with maps, plans, and photographs, and the first volume of it, which deals with the discovery of the temple of A-an-ni-pad-da at Tall al-`Ubed, near Ur, by Dr. H. R. Hall, and the completion of its excavation by Mr. Woolley, has already appeared. A smaller work on the temple of Tall al-`Ubed is being prepared by Dr. H. R. Hall, and Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, is writing the history of Ur from the time of the Seven Wise Men who flourished before the Flood to the final downfall and decay of the city about 300 B.C.

One of the books of the Jerusalem library, published discreetly by Clement around AD 70, featuring a review of the events and geneaology of Genesis. Finished during Ezra's generation, the writings were probably gathered during the later years of the exile circa 550 BC. Modified slighty by the second generation of Christians, and then later again by Muslims.

The Book of Rolls is chronicle of events, therefore probably written at the same time as the two books of Chronicles. The book is a 5th book of Genesis, written in the style of the book of Asher, with geneology rolls added to it. For the purposes of presentation, the writings from the exile 500 BC were presented in a Christian setting, a common practice at the time.

An introduction typical of the Christian chuch in AD 90 is followed by a record of Genesis, and geneaologies that resemble Chronicles and Matthew. The testaments of the patriarchs of Genesis resembles a book of testaments by the patriarchs, a theme followed by the Book of the Testaments of the Patriarchs, a book that dates to the generation after the exile, yet that may have been partly written during the later exile, a time of much literary activity that was probably intended to prove to Cyrus the justification for releasing the Israelites back to their homeland.

A book attributed to and probably edited by the Syriac library at Antioch, before being publised by Clement circa AD 90. Possibly a book read by the Essenes and early Gnostics, the religious orders that appear to have lodged near the Christians at Antioch after the destruction of Jerusalem AD 68. (with the Christians having been there since the cross of their Lord, in AD 33)

BOOK OF ROLLS [1 - 3.1]

1.
In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God, the merciful Lord.

2.

This book is one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon Cepha,
which Saint Clement commanded to be kept secret from the laity.

3.
Some of them were called “The Book of the Rolls,”
and there are the glorious genealogies and mysteries which our God and Saviour Jesus the Christ committed to his disciples Simon and James,
and what things will happen at the end of time, and how the second coming of our Lord the Christ from heaven to the world will happen, and what will become of sinners and such like.

BOOK OF ROLLS [2]

4.
This is the sixth of Clement’s books, treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles.

5.
Saint Clement said,
When our God Jesus the Christ went up to heaven and the disciples were scattered in the regions of the world to evangelize, and to call mankind to the faith and to immersion by baptism,
they took disciples, whom they chose and selected to be with them, and to travel about to the countries in the faith of the Christ.

6.
Wherefore Simon Cepha took me for a disciple to himself;
I believed in him, and in Him that sent him, with a true faith;

I recognized that he was chief of the Apostles, to whom were given the keys of heaven and earth,
on whom was built the Catholic Apostolic Church of God,
which the gates of Hell shall not destroy, as our God Jesus the Christ said in the holy Gospel.

7.
After a long time he took also my brothers Constans and Constantinus to be his disciples.

Twenty years after he had taken me as his disciple, he brought me together with my father and my mother, who was called Metrodora, and committed to me all the mysteries which had been given him by our Lord Jesus the Christ on the Mount of Olives.

8.
At that time the rest of the Apostles and all the believers had a struggle with the unbelieving Jews because the Jews were killing every one of the believers whose murder was possible to them.

9.
I and my gracious Teacher Simon encompassed some of the countries, and we met with great trouble from the controversy of the Jews, and their questioning about the genealogy of the pure Mary,
for their saying about her was that she was not of the children of Judah that they might invalidate by this the coming of our Lord the Christ into the world, and His Incarnation from her.

10.
They were increasing [their] bribe of money and other things to the Greeks and the Romans that they might help them in the destruction of the believers and the bringing to nought of their business, and hinder the Apostles from the reading of the Law, lest they should teach out of it about the state of mankind, and how it was in the beginning.

11.
When I saw in what misery we were with the Jews, I sought from my gracious Teacher that he would make known to me how mankind were at the beginning, and that he would make me perfect about the reasons, for he had learned everything from the Lord Jesus the Christ,
and I was acquainted with the tongue of the Greeks and their books, and was learned in their mysteries, and I had deposited their secrets which had been entrusted to me, [in] my two books called the seventh and the eighth.

12.
I informed my Teacher what I conjectured about the envy towards the Lady Mary, and my anxiety at the reproach of the Jews to me that I did not understand the Torah, and their much questioning of me about the creation of our father Adam, and what I had heard with my ears of their insult to the Lady Mary and their fiction about her without any resource being possible for me [how] I should refute them in regard to their hateful saying.

13.
The Teacher was moved by my excitement, and zeal entered him when I told him about it.

He said, “I will put it in order for thee, O my son, as thou hast asked me about it, and will initiate thee in things since the beginning of the creation, and will teach thee the genealogy of the Mother of Mercy, Mary the pure, and its authenticity, and that without doubt she is of the lineage of Judah the son of Jacob and his tribe, and I will relate to thee mysteries, and what reason there was for the fall of the Devil, the prince, from heaven.

14.
Know, O my son, that the Lord is the beginning and before the beginning,

He who is Infinite, raised above the height, equal with the Highest,

there is nothing lower about Him, nothing inward, nothing outward,

He is before the beginning, the ancient substance,

15.
He who is boundless, whom no [intelligence] *[boundary]* can reach,
and no [discernment] *[description]* nor quality can [comprehend]. *[truly describe]*.

He was above Being, and with Being, and below Being,
the creative Substance, the glorious Light, which darkness reacheth not.

Light dwelling in the Light which eyes cannot reach,

16.
before creation He was;
and He is the Former of forms,
whose glory is from Himself and in Himself, and in His Essence.

[He is] the Creator of what glorifies Him, that thou mayest learn His divinity and His power,

He made the heaven and the earth,
He created before harmony the division of things.

17.
Angels worship Him, ten homogeneous choirs, I mean by this ten ranks.

The highest rank, some of whom are nearest to the throne of the Lord God, pouring out praises in abundance, is the rank of Satanaeel, who was the prince, and praises rose up to God from all the Angels;
that was the beginning in the first day which was the holy first day (Sunday), chief of days;
early in it God created the upper heaven and the worlds, and the highest rank of Angels,
which is the rank of Satanaeel, and the Archangels,
and powers, and chiefs, and thrones, and dignities and governors, and cherubim and seraphim,
and light, and day and night, and wind and water, and air, and fire and what is like these elements.

18.
Verily the Lord formed all this, may His names be sanctified, by the completion of His eternal Word without speech,

and in the first day in which these things were created, the Holy Spirit hovered over the waters,
and in its hovering over them they were blessed and sanctified,
and heat was formed in them by which the watery beings are born,

and with this were mixed yeasts of the creatures, such as the bird which lays the egg by its wings,
and from this is formed the living bird,
for by reason of the nature of the heat of flaming fire, it verily reneweth heat in the wings of the bird,
and lo! with them it lays an egg in which chickens are formed.

19.
Verily the reason why the holy Paraclete hovered over the waters in the form of a bird,
was that every winged fowl should be formed in this shape.

20.
On the second day God created the lower heaven, which is called the Firmament,
on which the gaze of men falls, that thou mayest know that the beings of the highest heavens which the heaven of the visible firmament covers are like the nature of the heaven of the firmament,
except that the heaven which the eyes reach is separated from the highest heavens.

21.
All the heavens are three heavens.

The visible firmament, and what is above it; it is called *Dipaton*
and above it there is flaming fire;
and a heaven which is above the fire;
and the two heavens are filled with light and fire which created eyes cannot look at.

22.
On the second day which is the second of the days the Lord, to Whom be praise,
separated between the higher water and the lower water.

Verily the rising up of the water which was formed in the height that day was like gathered clouds clinging together, and the waters remained resting in the air, none of them inclining to any one district.

23.
On the third day God commanded the waters which were below the firmament that they should be gathered together to one place, that the dry land might be seen.

24.
When this happened, the veil was removed which was above the earth, and the earth was disclosed.

He looked upon it, and it was barren of verdure, *it was* dust and water mixed together.

The water was in it and below it and above it, and it was shaken to the blowing of the winds through it.

25.
The air went up from the bosom of the earth, and rested in the bosom of its crevices and passages that in these caves might arise heat and cold for the service and consolidation of the earth, because the earth was created like a sponge standing above the water.

On this day God commanded the earth to bring forth grass and reeds and trees and seeds and roots and other things.

26.
On the fourth day God formed the sun and the moon and the stars that the heat of the sun might be spread over the earth and it should be strengthened by its mellowness and that the moisture communicated to it by the water high above it should be dried up.

27.
On the fifth day God commanded the waters to bring forth animals of various colours and forms, some of which should fly in the bosom of the water, and others should fly above the water, and from them should spring the whales and Leviathan, and Behemoth, so terrible in their appearance, and air-fowl and water-fowl.

28.
On the sixth day God created from the earth all the beasts, and animals and insects and creeping reptiles.

This day is [Friday] *[Saturday]*, and on it God created Adam of dust, and formed Eve from his rib.

29.
On the seventh day God had completed all creation, and He called it Sabbath.

God had created Adam in the third hour of Friday the sixth day.

30.
Iblis *(Satan)* had laid claim to Godhead which had entered him in the second hour of that day, and God had hurled him down from heaven to earth.

Before God the Lord created Adam, rest fell upon all the powers; and God said,
'Come, let us create a Man in our likeness and form and image.'

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER TWO

Divisons 31-60

BOOK OF ROLLS [3.2]

31.
When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they became frightened and much terrified, and they said to one another, 'What is this great wonder which we hear,
and how is it possible that the form of our God and Creator can appear to us?'

32.
Then all the Angels looked towards the right hand of the Lord, which was stretched out above all creation, and all of it was in His right hand.

Then they looked towards the right hand of the Lord, and it took from all the earth a little handful of dust, and from all the waters a drop of water, and from the air a soul and a spirit, and from fire the force of heat,
and it became in the grasp of the Lord portions of the four elements, heat and cold, moisture and drought.

33.
Verily God, the glorious and strong, created Adam from these four weak elements, which have no power, that all creatures created from them might hear and obey him:
dust, that man might obey him;
water, that all that is born of it and in it might obey him;
air, that it might be possible for him to breathe it and to feel its breezes, and that its birds might obey him;
and fire, that the heat of forces created from it should be a powerful helper to his sense.

34.
The reason why God, may His holy names be sanctified, created Adam with His holy hand in His form and image was that he should receive wisdom and speech and animal motion, and for the knowledge concerning things.

35.
When the glorious and illustrious Angels saw one like Him in Adam, they were affrighted.

The wondrous glory upon his face terrified them, his form appeared shining with divine light greater than the light of the sun, and his body was bright and brilliant like the well-known stars in the crystal.

36.
When the figure of Adam drew itself up, he leapt standing;
he was in the centre of the earth,
he stretched out his right hand and his left hand and put his feet in order upon Golgotha,
which is the place where was put the wood (cross) of our Saviour Jesus the Christ.

37.
He was dressed with a royal robe, he wore upon his head a diadem of glory and praise and honour and dignity, he was crowned with a royal crown, and there he was made king and priest and prophet.

38.
God set him upon a throne of honour, and gathered to what was there all the animals and beasts and birds and all that God had created, and made them stand before Adam.

They bent their heads and did obeisance to him, and he called each of them by its name.

He made all the creatures obey him and they responded to his command.

39.
The Angels and the Powers heard the voice of God, may He be glorified and exalted, saying to Adam,

'O Adam, I have made thee king and priest and prophet and ruler and chief and governor
over all creatures that are made.

40.
All creation shall obey thee and follow thy voice.
Under thy grasp they shall be.

To thee alone I have given this power;
I have placed thee in possession of all that I have created.'

41.
When the Angels heard this saying from the Lord they redoubled honour and respect to Adam.

42.
When the Devil saw the gift that was given to Adam from the Lord, he envied him from that day and the schismatic from God set his mind in cunning towards him to seduce him by his boldness and his curse; and when he denied the grace of the Lord towards him, he became shameless and warlike.

43.
God, may His names be sanctified, deprived the Devil of the robe of praise and dignity and called his name Devil, he is a rebel against God, and Satan, because he opposes himself to the ways of the Lord, and Iblis, because He took his dignity from him.

44.
While Adam was listening to the speech of his Lord to him, and standing upon the place of Golgotha, all the creatures being gathered together that they might hear the conversation of God with him,

lo! a cloud of light carried him and went with him to Paradise and the choirs of Angels sang before him, the cherubim among them blessing and the seraphim crying 'Holy!'
until Adam came into Paradise.

45.
He entered it at the third hour on [Friday] *[Saturday]*, and the Lord, to Him be praise,
gave him the commandment, and warned him against disobedience to it.

46.
Then the Lord, to Him be praise, threw upon Adam a form of sleep, and he slept a sweet sleep in Paradise.

47.
And God took a rib from his left side, and from it He created Eve.

48.
When he awoke and saw Eve he rejoiced over her and lived with her, and she was in the pleasant garden of Paradise.

49.
God clothed them with glory and splendour.

They outvied one another in the glory with which they were clothed, and the Lord crowned them for marriage,

50.
the Angels congratulated them, and there was joy there such as never has been the like and never will be till the day in which the people at the right hand shall hear the glorious voice from the Lord.

51.
Adam and Eve remained in Paradise for three hours.

52.
The site of Paradise was high up in the air, its ground was heavenly, raised above all mountains and hills, that were thirty spans high, that is fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the Holy Ghost.
[Lebanon, near Mt. Hermon]

53.
This Paradise stretches round from the east by a wall from the hollow to the southern place of darkness where the cursed Prince was thrown, it is the place of sorrows. *[Damascus]*

54.
Eden is a fountain of God lying eastwards, to a height of eight degrees of the rising of the sun,
and this is the mercy of God on which the children of men put their trust,
that they shall have a Saviour from thence, because God, may He be exalted and glorified,
knew in His foreknowledge what the Devil would do to Adam.

55.
Adam lived in the treasury of His mercy, as David the prophet said,
'Thou hast been a fortress to us, O Lord, throughout all ages; cause us to live in Thy mercy.'

56.
The blessed David said also in his prayer about the salvation of men, 'Remember, Lord'
(the tree was the Cross which was planted in the middle of the earth),
'Thy grace which thou hast wrought from all eternity';

I mean by this the mercy which God loved to extend to all men and to our weak race.

57.
Eden is the Church of God, and the Paradise in which is the altar of rest, and the length of life which God has prepared for all the saints.

58.
Because Adam was king, priest and prophet, God caused him to enter Paradise that he might minister in Eden, the Church of God the holy Lord, as Moses the holy Prophet testifies about this, saying,

'That thou shouldest minister and declare by noble and glorious service, and keep the commandment by which Adam and Eve were brought into the Church of God.'

59.
Then God planted the tree of life in the middle of Paradise and it was the form of the cross which was stretched upon it, and it was the tree of life and salvation.

60.
Satan remained in his envy to Adam and Eve for the favour which the Lord shewed them, and he contrived to enter into the serpent, which was the most beautiful of the animals, and its nature was above the nature of the camel.

He carried it till he went with it in the air to the lower parts of Paradise.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [4]

61.

The reason for Iblis, the cursed, hiding himself in the serpent was his ugliness, for when he was deprived of his honour he got into the acme of ugliness, till none of the creatures could have borne the sight of him uncovered,

and if Eve had seen him unveiled in the serpent, when she spoke to him, she would have run away from him, and neither cunning nor deceit would have availed him with her;
but he contrived to hide himself in the serpent, the cunning creature,
to teach the birds with round tongues the speech of men in Greek and such like.

62.

He would bring a broad mirror with much light sending out rays;
he would put it between himself and a bird, and speak what he wished that the bird should know,

and when the bird heard this speech, it would glance around and look in the mirror,
and see the form of a bird like itself and rejoice at it, and not doubting that it was a bird of its species that was speaking to it would listen to it and attend to its language.

And it would comprehend it in a moment and talk to it.

63.

But the cursed Devil, when he entered the serpent, came towards Eve, when she was alone in Paradise away from Adam, and called her by her name.

64.

She turned to him, and looked at her likeness behind a veil, and he talked to her, and she talked to him, and he led her astray by his speech, for woman’s nature is weak, and she trusts in every word,

and he lectured her about the forbidden tree in obedience to her desire, and described to her the goodness of its taste, and that when she should eat of it she should become a god;

and she longed for what the cursed one made her long for, and she would not hear from the Lord, may His names be sanctified! what He had commanded Adam about the tree.

65.

She hastened eagerly towards it, and seized some of its fruit in her mouth.

Then she called Adam, and he hastened to her, and she gave him of the fruit, telling him that if he ate of it he would become a god.

66.

He listened to her advice because he should become a god as she said.

When he and she ate the deadly fruit they were bereft of their glory, and their splendour was taken from them, and they were stripped of the light with which they had been clothed.

67.

When they looked at themselves, they were naked of the grace which they had worn, and their shame was manifest to them; they made to themselves aprons of fig-leaves, and covered themselves therewith, and they were in great sadness for three hours.

68.

They did not manage to continue in the grace and the power with which the Lord had endued them before their rebellion for three hours, till it was taken from them and they were made to slip and fall down at the time of sunset on that day, and they received the sentence of God in punishment.

69.

After the clothing of fig-leaves they put on clothing of skins, and that is the skin of which our bodies are made, being of the family of man, and it is a clothing of pain.

70.

The entrance of Adam into Paradise was at the third hour.

He and Eve passed through great power in three hours, they were naked for three hours, and in the ninth hour they went out from Paradise, unwillingly, with much grief, great weeping, mourning and sighing.

71.

They slept towards the East of it near the altar.

When they awoke from their sleep, God spoke to Adam and comforted him, saying to him, blessed be His names, ‘O Adam! do not grieve,
for I will restore thee to thine inheritance, out of which thy rebellion has brought thee.

72.

Know that because of my love to thee I have cursed the earth,
and I will not have pity upon it, on account of thy sin.

73.

I have cursed also the serpent by whom thou hast been led astray,
and I have made its feet go within its belly.

I have made dust its food.

74.

I have not cursed thee.

I have decreed against Eve that she shall be at thy service.

75.

Know certainly that when thou hast accomplished the time that I have decreed for thee to dwell outside, in the accursed land, for thy transgression of my commandment, I will send my dear Son;

He will come down to the earth,
He will be clothed with a body from a Virgin of thy race, named Mary.

76.

I will purify her and choose her, and bring her into power generation after generation until the time that the Son comes down from Heaven.

In that time shall be the beginning of thy salvation and restoration to thine inheritance.

77.

Command thy sons when thy death approaches which I have decreed for thee that when thou diest they keep thy body in myrrh and cassia, and put it in the cave where thou art dwelling to-day till the time of the exit of thy children from the bosom of paradise and their passage to the dusty land.

78.

When that time comes, instruct the one of thy children who lives until then to carry thy body with him and put it in the place where I shall make him halt.

This place where he shall put thy body is the centre of the earth;
from it and in it salvation shall come to thee and to all thy children.’

79.

God disclosed to him all the griefs and pains that should happen to him, and commanded him to have patience about this.

80.

When He put Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He shut its gate, and put in charge a fiery Angel.

81.

He caused Adam and Eve to dwell in the holy mountain on which is the foundation of Paradise, in the place known as Matarimn.

They lived there in a cave at the top of the hill, hidden in it, and despairing of mercy, and they were then pure virgins.

82.

Then Adam thought of the wedding of Eve, and he found in the foundation of Paradise gold and myrrh and incense.

He left this together, and consecrated it in the interior of the cave, which he had already made his house of prayer.

83.
The gold which he got from the foundation of Paradise was like in quantity to 72 images.

He paid this with the myrrh and the incense to Eve, saying,
‘This is thy dowry, keep it.
This must be all offered together to the Son of God at the time of His coming into the world.

84.
The gold is the symbol of His royalty;
the incense is to burn before Him;
and the myrrh is to anoint His body which He will take from us.

This shall be a witness between me and thee with our Saviour that He shall come to the world.’

85.
Adam called this cave the Cave of Treasures.

86.
When a hundred years had passed over him after his exit from Paradise, and he and Eve were grieved and weeping, they went down from the holy hill to its foot, and there Adam knew Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Cain, and Lusia his twin-sister.

87.
He knew her again, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled, and she bare Abel and also his twin-sister Aclima.

88.
The boys and the girls grew, and attained to discretion. Adam said to Eve,

‘If God lets these lads and lasses grow up,
let Cain marry Aclima the sister of Abel, and let Abel marry Lusia the sister of Cain.’

And they did thus.

89.
But Cain said to Eve, ‘O Mother, I have a greater right to my sister who was born with me.

Let her be given to me as a wife,
and let Abel’s sister who was born with him be given to him as a wife.’

For Lusia was more beautiful than Aclima, being like her mother Eve.

90.
Adam heard of his speech, and it made him angry and annoyed him.

He said to Cain his son, ‘Thy request, O my son, is unlawful, for it is not allowed to thee to marry thy sister who was born with thee.’

From that time Cain envied his brother Abel and thought of killing him.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [5 - 6.1]

91.
Then Adam said to him and to Abel,
‘Choose some of the fruits of the earth and of the young of the flock and go up this holy hill,
and go into the Cave of Treasures, and pray there before the Lord.

92.
Offer to Him what you have brought, fruit, and any young animals as an offering.
When you have done this, let each of you take his wife.’

And they did so.

93.
While they were going up the hill,
behold, the Devil entered into Cain, and incited him to the murder of Abel.

Then they brought their offerings before the Lord;

94.
the Lord accepted the offering of Abel and rejected the offering of Cain,
because God, may He be praised and exalted,
knew the purpose of Cain, and how he was preparing the murder of his brother.

95.
When Cain saw that the Lord, may His name be praised,
had accepted the offering of Abel instead of his offering,
his envy of Abel increased and his wrath against him.

96.
When they came down from the hill, Cain attacked Abel and slew him with a sharp stone.

97.
God cursed Cain, and his decree came down against him.

He did not cease to be in fear and terror all the days of his life.

98.
God led him with his wife from the holy hill, *[Mt. Hermon]*
outside to the cursed land, and they lived there. *[Damsacus]*

99.
Adam and Eve grieved much about Abel for a hundred years.

Then Adam came near to Eve, and she conceived, and her time was fulfilled,
and she bare Seth, the handsome man, the complete and perfect giant.

100.
In his perfection he was like his father Adam,
and God protected him when he grew up, making him the father of the other giants of the earth.

101.
The first who was born to Seth was Enos.

And Enos begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Mahlaleel;
these were born during the life of Adam.

103.
Adam lived 930 years, to the time that Mahlaleel was a 135 years old.

When the time of his death came, he summoned Seth, and Enos, and Cainan and Mahlaleel;
he prayed over them and blessed them, and commanded to his son Seth this testament:

[A testament of Adam]

104.

Hear, O my son Seth! what I command thee.
Keep it, and thou shalt understand it.

105.

Command it at thy death to thy son Enos, that Enos may command this to Cainan,
and Cainan may command *it* to Mahlaleel, that he may act according to this testament,
and that the rest of your generations may learn, generation after generation, and tribe after tribe.

106.

This is the first thing that I command thee.

When I die, embalm my body with myrrh and cassia, and put it in the Cave of Treasures of the holy hill, that thou mayest tell whosoever of thy posterity is alive at the time when your exit shall take place from this holy Paradise-encircled hill, to carry my body with him, and go with it to the centre of the earth, and put it there, and in that place salvation shall come to me and to all my children.

107.

Thou, O my son Seth, shalt after my death be governor of thy people in the fear of God.

Remove thyself and all thy children, and keep them apart from the children of the murderer Cain.

108.

Understand, O my son, the state of the hours of the night and of the day, and their names, and what praises God in them, wherewith you must call on God at their approach, and at what hour prayer and supplication is due.

109.

My Creator has taught me this,
and made me understand the names of all the beasts of the earth, and birds of the air;

110.

and the Lord has initiated me into the number of the hours of the night and of the day,
and the affairs of the Angels and their powers and how they are.

111.

Know that in the first hour of the day is the raising of the praise of my children to God.

112.

In the second hour there are the prayers of the Angels and their cry.

113.

In the third hour the birds give praise.

114.

In the fourth hour is the worship of spiritual beings.

115.

In the fifth hour is the worship of the other living creatures.

116.

In the sixth hour is the entreaty of the cherubim and their supplication.

117.

In the seventh hour is the entrance to God and the exit from His presence,
for in it the prayers of every living thing rise to the Lord.

118.

In the eighth hour is the worship of all heavenly beings and fiery creatures.

119.

In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels of God who stand before Him,
and the throne of His majesty.

120.

The tenth hour is for the water,
and in it the Holy Ghost hovers and goes up over the other waters and chases the devils from them.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [6.2 - 7.1]

121.
Were it not for the Holy Spirit hovering every day over the waters and descending in that hour, when any one drank water, would there not be destruction to him from the corrupting devils in it?

122.
If any one took the water in that hour, and one of the priests of God mixed it with holy oil and anointed with it the sick and those in whom were unclean spirits, they were cured of their diseases.

123.
In the eleventh hour there is joy and rejoicing to the righteous.

124.
In the twelfth hour the supplication and cry of men is accepted before God.

125.
The hours of the night.

126.
In the first hour there is the worship of the devils.

127.
In this hour, the hour of their worship, they do not hurt any one, and no one fears them until the time of their return from their worship.

128.
In the second hour there is the worship of the great fishes and all that is upon the water, and the creeping things that are therein.

129.
In the third hour is the worship of the fire which is below the abyss, about this hour it is not possible for any one to speak.

130.
In the fourth hour is the consecration of the seraphim.

I heard that *[consecration]* in this hour during the time of my stay in Paradise, before my rebellion against the commandment.

131.
When I transgressed the command, I could no longer hear the voices nor their movement and agitation as I used to hear them, and I could not see anything holy as I used to see it before *my* sin.

132.
In the fifth hour there is the worship of the water which is above the heaven.

133.
Verily I and the Angels used in that hour to hear voices from the water which is in the height, and a tumult as if of chariots and great wheels and the sounding amongst the waves, and commotion among the echoes in praise to the Lord.

134.
In the sixth hour is the supplication of the clouds to God when they are fearful and trembling.

135.
In the seventh hour the powers of the earth are led forth, and they sing praise, whilst the waters sleep and are stilled.

If a man takes anything from the water in that hour and the priest mixes holy oil with it and anoints with it the sick and those who cannot sleep at night, verily the sick are cured and the wakeful sleep.

136.
In the eighth hour the grass comes forth from the earth.

137.
In the ninth hour is the service of the Angels and the entrance of prayers before God.

138.
In the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and the cry of my believing children is heard,
and they receive what they have asked from God, may He be exalted and praised,
and the seraphim rub their wings, and by the force of their rubbing the cock crows in praise to the Lord.

139.
In the eleventh hour there is joy and delight over all the earth, for the Sun enters the Paradise of God, and its light arises in the regions of the earth.

All creatures are illumined by the falling of the sun's rays upon them.

140.
In the twelfth hour my children must burn jasmine before the Lord, for by it there is much repose in heaven for all its inhabitants.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [7]

141.
Know, O my son Seth, and attend to my saying.

142.
Be sure that God will come down to the earth as He said to me,
and made me understand and know when He comforted me at my exit from Paradise.

Praise to His names!

143.
He spoke to me, saying *that* at the end of time He will be incarnate of a Virgin girl named Mary
and will be veiled in me.

144.
He will put on my skin, and will be born like the birth of man by a force and direction that none can understand but Himself and those to whom He reveals it;

145.
He will run with the children, boys and girls of that period;

146.
He will do wonders and signs openly;
He will walk on the waves of the sea as if walking on the dry land;

147.
He will rebuke the winds in a manifest way, and they will be led by His command.
He will call to the waves of the sea, and they will answer Him obediently.

148.
At His command the blind shall see, the lepers shall be cleansed,
the deaf shall hear, the dumb shall speak,
the deformed shall be straightened, the lame shall spring up, the palsied shall rise and walk.

149.
Many rebels shall be led to God, those who have wandered shall be led aright, and devils shall be driven away.

150.
When the Lord comforted me with this, He said to me,
'O Adam, grieve not, for thou art a god, as thou thoughtest to become by thy transgression of my commandment, and I will make thee a god, not at this time, but after the lapse of years.'

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [7.2 - 8]

151.

The Lord said to me also,
‘I have verily brought thee out of the land of Paradise,
to the land which brings forth thorns and briers, that thou mayest inhabit it;
I will bend thy loins, and make thy knees tremble from age and senility.

152.

O thou dust! to death I will deliver thee, and thy body I will make to be food for maggots, and the fodder of the worm.

153.

After five days and a half (of my days) I will have pity on thee in my mercy.

I will come down to thee, and in thy house will I dwell and with thy body will I be clothed.

154.

For thy sake, O Adam, I will become a child;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will appear in the market-places;

155.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will fast for forty days;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will receive baptism;

156.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will be lifted up on the cross;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will endure lies;

157.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will be beaten with the whip;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will taste vinegar;

158.

for thy sake, O Adam, my hands will be nailed;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will be pierced with a spear;

159.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will thunder in the height;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will darken the sun;

160.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will cleave the rocks;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will frighten the powers of heaven;

161.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause heaven to rain on the desert;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will open the graves;

162.

for thy sake, O Adam, I will cause all creation to tremble;
for thy sake, O Adam, I will make a new earth, and after three days, which I have spent in the grave,

163.

I will raise up the body which I took from thee, and will make it go up with me without any separation from me, and cause it to sit at the right hand of my Godhead.

I will make thee a god as thou hast desired.’

164.

Keep, O my son Seth, the commandments of God, and do not despise my word to thyself,

and learn that the Lord must come down to earth, and godless people will take Him,
and stretch Him on the wood of the cross, and strip Him of His raiment,
and raise Him between wicked thieves.

165.
He will go up upon the cross in the substance of His humanity,
He will be killed, and the body which He took from us will be buried.

166.
Then after three days He will raise it and take it up with Him to heaven,
and will set it with Him at the right hand of His divinity.

167.
To Him be the glory and the dignity and the praise and the greatness and the worship and the reverence and the hallelujah and the song, and to His Son, and to the Holy Ghost from now and always, and throughout all ages and times, Amen.

168.
Know, O my son, that there must come a Flood to wash all the earth on account of the children of Cain, the wicked man who slew thy brother for his envy about his sister Lusia.

169.
After the Flood through the wickedness of many congregations there shall be the end of the world,
the conditions will be fulfilled, things will be perfected,
the time will be cut short which I have fixed for the creatures,
fire will consume whatever it reaches before the Lord, and the earth shall be consecrated.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [8]

170.
Seth wrote this testament,
and sealed it with the seal of his father Adam, which he had from Paradise,
and the seal of Eve, and his own seal.

171.
And Adam died, and the hosts of the Angels assembled to put him on his bier,
for his honour with God, and Seth embalmed him, and swathed him, and he and his sons bare rule.

172.
And he put him eastwards of Paradise where he slept at his exit from it,
near the town that was built before all building, called Enoch in the inhabited world.

173.
When Adam died, the sun was darkened, and the moon for seven days and seven nights,
with a gross darkness.

174.
Seth took the scroll in which he wrote the testament of his father Adam into the Cave of Treasures along with the offerings which Adam had carried with him from the land of Paradise,
that is to say, gold, myrrh, and incense, *about* which Adam taught Seth and his children that they should belong to three Magian kings, and that they should travel with these things to the Saviour of the world, to be born in a city called Bethlehem, a territory of Judah.

175.
There was not one of the children born to Adam before his death who did not gather to him;
they bade him adieu, he prayed over them and wished them health.

176.
Then he died, in the 930th year by the reckoning of Abu-Seth.

That is the beginning. *[of the story]* *[of the genesis of the generations]*

177.
The exit of our father Adam from this world was at three o’clock in the day, on Friday the sixth of Nisan, fourteen nights after the new moon.

On a similar day our Lord the Christ gave up His spirit to His Father’s hand.

178.
Adam’s children and children’s children grieved for him a hundred and forty days, for he was the first mortal who died on the earth, and the tribes were divided among the people of Cain the murderer after the death of Adam.

179.
Seth took his children and his children’s children and their wives,
and made them go up to the glorious and holy hill, the place in which Adam was buried.

180.
Cain and his people and his children stayed below the hill, in the place where he killed Abel.

Seth became governor of the people of his time in godliness and purity and holiness.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER SEVEN

Divisons 181-210

BOOK OF ROLLS [9 - 10]

181.
My initiation, O my son Clement, into the story of Adam and this his testament was from the Magi who travelled to the Lady Saint Mary with offerings at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ our God the Saviour.

182.
Verily we found that they had a scroll with all this in it, and it was put by for safe keeping.

183.
I and the other Jews believed in this, and there were many things in it besides what I have shewn to thee, which it is not proper to make known at this time, and I must tell thee about them afterwards.

I will disclose to thee all the secrets with which I have been entrusted.

184.
The reason of God’s calling the children of Seth Ben-Adam, “the sons of God,”
was as the book says what He had revealed to Seth about godliness and purity.

185.
The Lord appropriated them to Himself by this name;
it is the most famous of names on account of their favour with Him.

186.
He appointed them to replace the choir of Angels which had rebelled and fallen from Heaven.

187.
He put Seth and his race in the lower parts of Paradise, and around it on the holy hill, *[Lebanon]*
they praising the Lord and sanctifying His name in all peace,
no thought intruding on them about the affairs of the world,
their greatest work being praise and hallelujah with the Angels,
for they heard their voices in praise and hallelujah in Paradise,
for it was raised thirteen spans above them, by the span of the Holy Ghost.

188.
They did not undergo the least labour.

The food with which they sustained their bodies was the fruit of trees growing at the summits of the Mount of Paradise.

The zephyr of Paradise, which reached these trees, ripened their fruits.

189.
This tribe was godly and holy;
there was no anger in any one of them nor envy nor quarrelling nor pride nor hatred,
and they held no shameless conversations nor falsehood nor slander nor calumny,
and they do not swear untruthfully nor in vain.

Their oaths were among themselves by the purity of the blood of pure Abel.

190.
Their custom was to rise early, all of them, the old and the young, the male and the female; to go up to the top of the hill and to worship there before God and be blessed by the body of their father Adam.

Then they would lift up their eyes to Paradise and praising and sanctifying God they would return to their place.

191.
Seth ben-Adam the godly lived 912 years.

Then he fell sick of his disease of which he died.

191.
There gathered to him Enos and Cainan and Mahlaleel and Jared and Enoch their wives, their sons and their daughters.

He prayed over them, and made vows for them, and blessed them, and said to them,

192.
“By the truth of the blood of pure Abel, let not one of you descend from this holy hill!

Do not mix with the children of Cain the murderer.

You know the enmity between us since the murder of Abel the pure.”

193.
Then his son Enos came near him, and he said to him,
“Thou art lord of thy people.

Behold, I die.

Devote thyself to service before the Lord and before the consecrated body of our father Adam.”

194.
He made him swear by the blood of Abel the pure that he would govern his people well,
and rule them in godliness and purity, and never cease the service before the body of Adam.

195.
Seth died lat the age of nine hundred and twelve years, on Tuesday the twenty-fourth night of Ab,
the twentieth year of the life of Enoch the righteous.

196.
He was embalmed with myrrh and frankincense and cassia,
and put in the Cave of Treasures with the body of his father Adam.

His people mourned for him forty days.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [10]

197.
Enos governed his tribe after the death of his father in purity and godliness;
he did to them what his father commanded.

198.
When Enos had lived eight hundred and twenty years,
Lamech the Blind, of the tribe of Cain the murderer, killed *someone* in the thicket known as Nod.

This was the cause of it.

199.
Lamech was passing the thicket, leaning upon one of his youthful sons.

He heard a movement in the thicket, it was the movement of Cain,
for it was not possible for him to stay in one place since he had killed his brother.

200.
Lamech thought that this movement was that of some wild beasts.

He took up a stone from the ground and threw it towards the moving thing.

201.
The stone hit Cain between the eyes and killed him.

His son said, “By God, thou hast killed our father Cain with thy shot.”

202.
Then Lamech the Blind lifted up his hands to give *him* a blow on the ear out of grief for the death of Cain.

He hit the head of his son and killed him.

203.
When Enos had reached 905 years he fell sick of his disease of which he died,
and there gathered to him the rest of the fathers; amongst them were Jared, and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Cainan the son of Methuselah, and Mahlaleel, and their wives and their sons and their daughters.

204.
He blessed them and made vows for them and prayed over them and confirmed them in the oaths by the blood of Abel—
“oh, do not mix yourselves with the children of Cain, and oh do not go down from the holy mountain.”

205.
He reminded them of the enmity betwixt them on account of the murder of Abel.

206.
Then Cainan his son came near him.

He said to him,
“O my son, be to thy people and family as I have been to them, and govern them after my death.”

207.
He commanded his son Mahlaleel about the care of his tribe in godliness and purity,
and that he should not cease from the service before the body of our father Adam during his life.

208.
And Enos died when he had reached 905 years, on the sabbath day,
when the third night of October had passed, in the fifty-third year of the life of Methuselah.

209.
His eldest son Cainan embalmed him, and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

210.
Cainan governed his people in godliness and holiness, and kept the commandments of his father.

He lived for 920 years and died on Wednesday, the thirteenth night of June.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER EIGHT

Divisons 211-240

BOOK OF ROLLS [11]

211.
Mahlaleel looked after his burial, and put him in the Cave of Treasures with his fathers.

Mahalaleel lived for 895 years.

212.
When death came near to him, he commanded his people like the commands of his fathers who had preceded him.

He appointed Jared his son over the tribe.

213.
His death was on Sunday after two nights of Nisan had passed.

Jared looked after him, and put him in the cave with his fathers.

214.
When Jared was of the age of 500 years, some of the sons of Seth disobeyed the commands of their fathers, and threw away their faith behind their backs.

One by one they began to go down from the holy hill to the tribes of the children of Cain.

215.
This was the reason that Lamech the Blind was followed by two sons,
one being called Tufeel (Jubal) and the other Tubalcain.

216.
They made lyres, that is, harps, flutes, drums, and other musical instruments.

The Devils awoke harmonious tones in them, and there was not one among the sons of Cain to command good behaviour or to restrain from what was forbidden.

217.
Every one of them did according to his lust.

They busied themselves with musical instruments, and with eating and drinking, and immorality.

218.
The Devil hunted the sons of Seth that he might mingle them with the children of Cain,
by means of these musical instruments, for they heard the tones of them;

he brought them down from the holy hill to the cursed land,
and he removed them from the protection of God and His angels to the protection of the Devils;

219.
they chose death rather than life, and renounced the name which God had bestowed on them,
because, may His name be sanctified, He called them the sons of the Lord,
according to His gracious saying in the prophecy of David, where he says,

220.
“Verily, ye are all gods, and ye shall be called the sons of the Most High.

When ye do evil and defile your bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, like them ye shall die in sin.”

221.
They longed for unclean amusements.

They had no shame about this and thought no harm of it.

222.
The earth was contaminated; children were confused;
no one knew his child from the child of another.

The Devil incited them and he goaded them on and appropriated them to every misery.

223.
They rejoiced in their works.

You could hear from them hateful laughter like the neighing of steeds.

224.
Their noise was heard in the holy mountain,
and there assembled of the children of Seth a hundred powerful strong giants, for the descent.

225.
This came to [the knowledge of] Jared, and he was much troubled.

He called them to his presence, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the Pure not to go down;
he reminded them of the oaths which their fathers who had gone before had received for them.

226.
Enoch the Righteous was there and said to them,
“Know, O sons of Seth,
that whosoever rejects the commandment of the Father
and opposes the oaths by which he has been adjured and puts them behind his back,
and goes down from this holy mount, that he shall never come back to it.”

227.
But they did not turn at the warning of Jared and at the prohibitions of Enoch, and they went down.

228.
When they saw the daughters of Cain and their beauty,
and that they uncovered their bodies without shame,
they committed fornication with them, and destroyed their souls. *[spirits]*

229.
When they had done this, they aimed at a return to the hill,
but its stones became burning fire, and they could not do it.

230.
Another tribe wished for an alliance with them, not knowing about the affair of the stones.

They went down to them, and defiled themselves with their defilement.

231.
When Jared reached the age of 972 years, Death came near to him.

There gathered to him Enoch and Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah.

232.
He prayed over them and made vows for them and said,

“But as for you, go not down from this holy mountain;
yet your sons and your posterity shall be removed from it, because God will not allow them upon it on account of their transgression of the commandments of the fathers.”

233.
Then he said to the rest of their children,
“You shall journey to the dusty land which brings forth thorns and briers.

Whosoever of you goes out from this holy land, let him take with him the body of our father Adam,
and if he can take all the bodies of the fathers, let him do it,
and take with him the books of the testaments, and the gifts of gold and myrrh and frankincense,
and put this with the body of our father Adam where God shall command him.”

234.
Then said he to Enoch,
“But thou, O my son,
do not separate thyself from the service and praise before the body of our father Adam
and serve before God in godliness and holiness all the days of thy life.”

235.
He died in the third hour of Friday when the twelfth night of May had passed,
in the 360th year of the life of Methuselah.

His son embalmed him and swathed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

236.
God rejected the other children of Seth on account of their love of sin.

70 assembled, and were inclined to descend.

237.
When Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech and Noah saw this, they were much grieved.

238.
When Enoch had finished his service before the Lord for fifty years, this being the 365th year of his life, he presided over his house with his God.

He called for Methuselah and Lamech and Noah, and said,

239.
“I know that the Lord will be angry with this people, and will surely judge them without mercy.

But you, the rest of the fathers and of the holy races, do not leave off the service before the Lord, and be pure and godly.

240.
Know that there shall not be born in this holy mountain after you any man who shall be father and chief to his people.”

BOOK OF ROLLS [12 - 13]

241.
When Enoch had finished this testament, God took him up to the land of life,
and made him dwell round about Paradise in the country where there is no death.

242.
Then the children of Seth removed from the holy mountain to the quarters of Cain and his children.

None of them remained on the mountain save the three fathers, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah.

243.
Noah the just kept his virgin soul for 500 years.

After that, the merciful God revealed to him about the people who were subject to him,
and commanded him to marry a woman named Haikal
the daughter of Namousa, the son of Enoch, the brother of Methuselah.

244.
God disclosed to him about the Deluge which He was about to send upon the earth,
and taught him that this would be after a hundred years, and commanded him to prepare the ark,
that is, the ship for his salvation and that of his children,
and that he should cut the wood from the holy mountain and make it in the quarters of the sons of Cain

245.
He commanded him to make its length 300 cubits, according to [the length of] his arm;
its breadth 50 cubits, and its height 30 cubits, by *the length of* his arm;
and the breadth of its top above should be one cubit, and that he should make three stories to it.

246.
The lowest should be for the tame and the wild animals and the cattle,
the middle one for the birds and their like,
and the highest one for him and his children and his wife and his sons' wives.

247.
And that he should make in it storehouses for water and for food and for fodder.

Also that He should prepare a gong of the cedar tree, its length to be three cubits,
and its breadth one cubit, and that its hammer should be *made* of the same.

248.
"When thou beginnest to make the ship, thou shalt beat three strokes on it every day,
one in the morning, the second in the middle of the day,
that they may bring the workmen food; and the third at sunset for *their* departure.

249.
If they ask thee about thy work,
tell them that God is sending a flood of water to cleanse the earth
and that thou art making the ship to save thyself and thy children."

250.
Noah received the commandment of the Lord, and married her.

In the course of the hundred years she bare him three male children, Shem, Ham and Japhet.

They also married some of the daughters of Methuselah.

251.
When Noah had finished the building of the ship,
and entered it with those whom God commanded should enter it with him,
the second thousand of the years of the time of Adam was finished, as the 70 interpreters expound.

They said, From Adam till the Deluge was 2,000 years. *[the ancients counted 2 years for each year]*

252.
When Lamech had lived 777 years, Methuselah his father died;
this was four years before the Flood.

253.
Then Lameth died after him, and his death was on the twenty-first *day* of September,
in the 68th year of the life of Shem, the first-born of Noah.

254.
His son Noah swathed him, and enbalmed him, and put him in the Cave of Treasures.

He mourned for him 40 days and remained with all the holy fathers, Noah and his children.

255.
The daughters of Cain conceived by the sons of Seth, and brought forth giant-sons.

It was certainly supposed by some that the Book *[the Bible]* relates and says
that the Angels came down to earth and mingled with the children of men,
that those who came down and mingled with the children of men were really angels.

256.
This was only said on account of the sons of Seth and their union with the daughters of Cain,
for God, may His name be glorified, had already out of His love to them, called them, as we said before, Sons of God and Angels of God.

257.
So he errs who thinks this;
for union, that is, marriage, was not in the substance of spiritual beings, and not in their nature,
and if it had been in them as it is in men,
the Devils would not have left any one in the world alone without corrupting them,
till not a virgin would have been left on the earth, for the foul Devils love corruption and fornication.

258.
As they cannot do this, they change their nature on account of it;
they recommend it to men and make them love it.

259.
Methuselah lived for 969 years. When Death came to him,
there gathered to him Lamech, and Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japhet and their wives,
for none but they were left on the holy hill.

260.
Methuselah blessed them, and called to them; he was weeping and sorrowful.

He said to them,
“There remaineth none but you on this mountain out of all the tribes who once were on it.

261.
The Lord God of our fathers who formed our father Adam and our mother Eve
and blessed them till the earth was filled with their progeny,
may He bless you and multiply you and cause your fruit to grow.

May He be to you a keeper and a shepherd.

262.
I ask of Him to fill the earth with your progeny,
and to help you and strengthen you and save you from the fearful punishment that is coming upon this hill, and that He may give you a share of the gift which He gave to our father Adam,
that He may bring blessings into your dwellings,
and bestow upon you prophecy, power, and priesthood.”

263.

Then he said to Noah,
“O thou blessed of the Lord, hear my speech and do my commandment.

Know that I go out of this world as the saintly fathers went out of it.

264.
Verily the Lord shall send a Deluge to drown the earth for the many sins of men,
but thou and thy children shall be saved.

265.
When I am dead,
embalm my body like as were embalmed the bodies of the fathers who have gone before.

Bury me in the Cave of Treasures.

266.
Take thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives;
go down from this mountain, and bear with thee the body of our father Adam,
and the offerings which thou didst bring out with him from Paradise,
namely, gold and myrrh and frankincense.

267.
Put the body of our father Adam within the Ark which God commanded me to prepare;
and the other bodies separately from it, so that the body of Adam may be like a dyke ever in the midst.

Put the offerings on his breast.

268.
Dwell thou and thy sons in the east of the ark, thy wife and thy sons' wives in the west,

so that the body of our father Adam may be a barrier to hinder the men from sinning with regard to the women, and to hinder them from sinning with regard to the men;

let them not gather together for food or drink till ye come out of the Ark.

269.
When the water of the Deluge departs from the earth, and ye come out of the Ark, and dwell upon the earth,
then gather ye together for food and drink, and cease not the service before the body of our father Adam
nor the ministration before God in godliness and holiness within the Ark.

270.
When your exit from it takes place, then put the offerings which thou didst bring out from Paradise in the east of the land in which thou dwellest.

271.
When Death comes to thee, make thy testament to thy son Shem.

Command him to carry the body of our father Adam, and to bury it in the middle of the earth.

272.
Verily *it is* the place in which there shall be salvation to him and to his children.

Where he burieth the body,
let him appoint a man from among his children to serve before the body and to minister.

273.
Let him be pure all the days of his life, and let him command him that he dwell not in any house,
that he shed no blood, that he shave not his hair, nor pare his nails,

nor bring there any offering of beasts,
but let his offering before the Lord be of fine bread, pure and white, and the best drink, pressed from the fruit of the vine, until the time that God shall certainly command him.

274.
Verily the Angel of the Lord shall go before the man chosen to officiate as a priest before the body of Adam till he shall put it in the middle of the earth, and where the body ought to be buried.

275.
Let this chosen one be commanded that his raiment be of the skins of beasts, and that he be unique as it is unique.

Verily he is the priest of the glorious God."

BOOK OF ROLLS [14-15]

276.
When Methuselah had finished this testament, and tears were coming down from his eyes, on account of the grief that was in his heart, he died.

Then 696 years were completed, it was in Adar (March) on a Sunday.

277.
Noah and Shem and Japhet and their wives laid him out with weeping and groaning.

They held a mourning for him for 40 days;
he was swathed and embalmed and laid with the fathers in the Cave of Treasures.

278.
They were blessed by the other bodies that were there.

Then Noah bore the body of Adam and the bodies of the fathers from the Cave, and put them into holy coffins.

279.
Of the offerings Shem carried the gold, Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the frankincense.

They left the Cave of Treasures with weeping and groaning.

280.
A noise was raised by them which was heard from Paradise, sorrow and mourning on account of *their* departure from the mountain, when they knew that they were leaving it for good.

They lifted up their heads towards Paradise, they sobbed, and wept, and said:

281.
"Peace be to thee, O holy Paradise! dwelling-place of our father Adam;
we are deprived of thy shelter, which is denied to us then, on our return to the cursed land in which we suffer pains and endure labours.

282.
Peace be to thee, O Cave of Treasures! from us and from all the bodies of the fathers.

Peace be to thee, O glorious dwelling-place and inheritance of the saintly fathers for ever.

283.
Peace be to you, O ye Fathers, beloved friends of God.

Pray for us and bless us, and entreat for our salvation, O holy ones of God, who are well-pleasing unto Him.

284.
Peace be to Seth, chief of the fathers.

Peace be to Enos, governor of his people, and righteous judge amongst them.

285.
Peace be to Cainan and Mahlaleel, those who govern their people in purity.

Peace be to Methuselah and Jared and Lamech and Enoch, servants of God.

286.
We entreat you all to mediate for our salvation lest we be prevented looking for our inheritance from this time forth for evermore."

287.
Then they came down from the mountain, kissing its stones and embracing its trees with weeping and great grief, and they travelled towards the land.

288.
When Noah had finished building the ship, he entered it,
and brought in the body of Adam and put it in the middle of it, with the offerings upon its breast.

289.
This was on a Friday, on the 17th day of *March*, it is also said, of *May*.

Early the next day he brought in the beasts and the cattle, and made them dwell in the lowest deck.

290.
In the middle of the day he brought in the birds and all the sentient beings,
and made them dwell in the middle deck.

At sunset Noah and his sons and his sons' wives entered, and dwelt in the topmost deck.

THE BOOK OF ROLLS [15]

291.
The Ark was built in the form of a Church, in which the men are prevented from mingling with the women;
as there is peace and love betwixt man and woman, and between the elders amongst them and the youths,
thus there was love betwixt the rest of the beasts and the birds and the sentient beings in the ship;
and as wise men are at peace with their inferiors, thus were the lions and the ewes at peace in the Ark.

292.
All that were in it were seven pairs of all the clean beasts, and two pairs of the unclean ones.

293.
When Noah and his people had arrived, the Lord shut the Ark.

Then the doors of heaven were opened, and the doors of the abyss, and the waters came down in torrents, and the imprisoned sea appeared, which is called Oceanus, which encircles the whole earth.

294.
Raging winds were sent out from all directions.

When the sons of Seth saw this, they came near to the place of the Ark, and entreated Noah to carry them; but he gave them no answer about it, because the Ark was bolted and sealed by command of the Lord, and the Angel of the Lord was standing directing it.

295.
Repentance encompassed them, sorrow came upon them, and they had no refuge from destruction,
as they were also hindered from going up to the holy mountain.

They were all destroyed by drowning and suffocation, in the thick waters and the raging winds,
as David the Prophet sang about their state where he said,

296.
"I said, All ye are gods, and children of the Most High ye shall be called;
by this great sign ye are marked;

297.
but sin hath overthrown you, and ye have rebelled against the commandment;
ye have defiled jour bodies with the idolatrous daughters of Cain, and ye shall die the death like them.

Ye shall be tormented with the Prince who fell from the heavenly rank."

298.
The Ark was lifted up from the earth to the height of the waters,
and all that was on the earth perished in the deluge;
the waters rose above the tops of the mountains fifteen cubits, by the holy cubit.

The waves bore the ship till they brought it to the lower parts of Paradise.

299.
It was blessed from Paradise; the tops of the waves were rolled back, and they did obeisance before it,
then returning from it were poured out to the destruction of those who remained on the earth.

300.
The ship flew on the wings of the wind above the waters from the east to the west,
and from the south to the sea, like the sign of the Cross.

It stood above the waters 150 days;
the waves were stilled and laid to rest at the end of the seventh month from the beginning of the Deluge.

301.
The Ark stood upon the mountains, the Kurdish mountains,
and the waters were divided from one another.

They all returned to their places, and did not cease diminishing gradually, till the tenth month, which was *February*.

He looked at the tops of the mountains from the Ark.

302.
On the tenth of *March*, Noah opened the Ark from the eastern side,
and sent the raven, that at its return he might learn the news of the earth. It did not return to him.

303.
He sent the dove; it circled round, and found no place for its foot. It returned at sunset.

304.
After a week Noah sent another dove.

It returned to him with an olive-branch in its mouth.

305.
[Concenring] the Dove there are holy mysteries.

The first dove resembles the first covenant, to which there was no rest among the rejected nations;
the second dove the second covenant, which found rest with the nations that accepted the mysteries of baptism
and preached the Christ at the end of 600 years of the life of righteous Noah.

306.
One day of Nisan (April) had passed, and the water was removed from the earth.

On this day Noah and his wife and his sons and his sons’ wives went out of the ship.

307.
Their entrance to the ship had been in separation, their exit from it was in unity.

At their exit came out all the beasts and the cattle and the birds and the creeping things which were in the ship.

308.
Noah built a town, and called it Thamânφ, which remains to this day.

The number of those who were in the ship with Noah was eight persons.

309.
Noah built an altar to the Lord and offered upon it an offering of the beasts and the clean birds that were slain.

God accepted his offering, and gave a covenant that He would not send a deluge of water on the earth to all eternity.

310.
[God] May His names be sanctified, He took off wrath from them in regard to the bow in the clouds.

By it He put away the bowstring of anger;
for before the Deluge men saw in heaven the bowstring of anger and the arrow of wrath.

BOOK OF ROLLS [16 - 17.1]

311.

The sons of Noah planted in the town the fruit of the vine, and pressed from it a new drink;
they gave their father Noah to drink, and he got drunk, for he was not accustomed to drink.

While he was drunk he slept, and his nakedness was uncovered.

312.

Ham looked at him, and laughed and mocked at him, and fetched his brothers to mock with him.

When Shem and Japhet knew the reason was about the uncovering of their father,
they were grieved at it; they took a garment, threw it upon their hands, and went backwards,
lest they should see their father uncovered; then they threw the garment upon him.

313.

When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep,
his wife told him what had happened about his sons, and he was angry with Ham, and said,

“Let him and Canaan be cursed, and let him be a slave to his brethren.”

314.

But Noah cursed Canaan, who was not guilty *[of his fatthers action]*,
and the guilt was Ham’s; for he knew that when Canaan should arrive at man’s estate,
he should renew what had already been blotted out of the works of the children of Cain,
the music-halls and such like.

315.

When he came to man’s estate, he did all this, and Noah knew it, was concerned about him and grieved at his work, that according to the example of the works of Canaan, the sons of Seth fell into sin, he increased in his curse of Canaan, wherefore his sons became slaves.

316.

They are the Copts *[of Egypt]*, the Abyssinians *[of Ethiopia]*, the Hindoos *[of India]*, the Mysians *[Greeks]*, and other negroes.

317.

Ham was a hypocrite, a lover of unclean desire all the days of his life.

This was in his mockery of his father.

318.

The sleep of Noah in his drunkenness was a type of the crucifixion of the Christ and His slumber in the tomb for three days, as David the prophet says about it,
“The Lord awoke from his sleep like a man who recovers from strong drink.”

319.

When Noah awoke from his drunken sleep, he cursed Canaan and made his posterity slaves.

Likewise when the Christ arose from the grave He cursed the Devil and destroyed those who had crucified Him, and scattered them among the nations.

320.

The sons of Canaan became slaves for ever, carrying burdens upon their necks.

Every proprietor negotiates riding about on his business, but the children of Canaan negotiate about the affairs of their masters, as poor men on foot, and they are called the slaves of slaves.

321.

Noah lived after going out of the ship 350 years.

When his death came near, there gathered to him Shem, and Ham, and Japhet, and Arphaxad, and Salah.

322.
He made vows for them, and desired the presence of Shem his firstborn,
and commanded him secretly, saying to him,

“When I die, bury me.

323.
Go into the Ark of safety, and take out of it the body of our father Adam secretly,
let no one with thee know.

Make for it a large chest, and put it within.

324.
Prepare for thyself a store of bread and drink, and carry the chest in which is the body of our father.

Take with thee Melchizedek, the son of Malih.

325.
Verily the Lord hath chosen him from the rest of your sons to minister before our father Adam.

When thou reachest the centre of the earth, bury the body there,
and set Melchizedek in the place for the service of the body and the praise before it.

326.
Verily the Angel of the Lord will go before you to guide you two to the place for the body,
which is the centre of the earth.

From it shall be seen the power of God.

327.
The four pillars of the world are joined together and have become one pillar,
and from it shall be salvation to Adam and to all his children.”

328.
Thus it was written in the tables which Moses received from the hand of the Lord
and broke at the time of his anger against his people.

329.
Noah strengthened Shem in receiving the testament,
and told him that it was the testament of Adam to Seth, and of Seth to Enos,
and of Enos to Cainan, and of Cainan to Mahlaleel, and of Mahlaleel to Jared,
and of Jared to Enoch, of Enoch to Methuselah, and of Methuselah to Lamech,
and of Lamech to Noah;

330.
he made him swear that no one *else* should attend to what he commanded in regard to the body of Adam.

When he had finished his testament, he died, being 950 years old, on a Wednesday.

331.
Shem embalmed him, and with him his other children put him on a bier and buried him.

They raised a wail over him for forty days.

332.
Then Shem went secretly into the ship, and took out the body of Adam.

He sealed the ship with his father’s seal.

333.
Then he desired the presence of Ham and Japhet and said to them,

“Know that Noah my father commanded me to journey after his death to the elevated land
and to go round it to the place of the sea, that I may attend to the state of its trees, and fruits and rivers.

334.
I have already resolved on this, and have left my wife and children with you;
take heed to them till the time of my return.”

335.
They said to him,
“Take with thee a man since thou hast resolved on this,
for the land which thou hast described has wild beasts and hunting lions.”

336.
He said to them, “Verily, the Angel of God is with me, he is my Saviour.”

His brethren called to him and said, “The Lord be with thee wherever thou dwellest.”

337.
Then he said to them,
“Verily, our father at his death made me swear not to enter the ship nor allow any one *else* to enter it.

I have received his testament, and sealed it with his seal, and beware that ye enter it not!
ye, nor any of your children.”

They pledged themselves to him concerning this.

338.
Then he approached the father and mother of Melchizedek and said to them,
“I wish that you would give me Melchizedek that I may journey with him in my way.”

They said to him,
“He is before thee, as thou wouldest journey, take him with thee.”

339.
Then Shem called Melchizedek by night, and bore with him the body of Adam secretly.

They went out, the Angel going before them, till he brought them to the place with the utmost speed.

340.
He said to them, “Set him down, for this is the centre of the earth.”

And they put him down from their hands.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER TWELVE

Divisons 341-370

BOOK OF ROLLS [17.2 - 18]

341.
When he came to the ground, the earth was cleft for him as a door,
and the body was let down into it, and they put him in it.

When the body rested in its place, the earth returned and covered it over.

342.
The place was called *Gumgumah*, “of a skull,”
because in it was placed the skull of the Father of mankind,

and *Gulgulah*, because it was conspicuous in the earth, and was despised by its sons,
for in it was the head of the hateful Dragon which seduced Adam.

It was called also Otâriâ, which is, being interpreted, “the families of the world,”
because to it is the gathering together of mankind.

343.
Shem said to Melchizedek son of Malih,

“Know that thou art the priest of the Everlasting God,
who hath chosen thee from the rest of men to minister before Him before the body of our father Adam.

Accept the Lord’s choice of thee, and never leave this place.

344.
Do not marry any woman, do not shave thy hair, [nor pare thy nails].

Shed no blood for thyself, and sacrifice no beast.

Do not build a building over this place.

345.
Let thine offerings before the Lord be of fine pure bread, and *let the* drink be of the juice of the vine.

The Angel of the Lord is with thee for ever."

346.
He wished him peace, and bade him farewell and embraced him, and returned to his dwelling.

Then came to him Jozadak and Malih, the parents of Melchizedek.

347.
They asked him about him, and he told them that he had died on the road, and that he had looked after him and buried him.

His father and his people sorrowed over him with a great sorrow.

348.
When Shem the Righteous was 700 years old, he died,
and his son Arphaxad looked after him, and Salah and Eber, and they buried him.

349.
When Arphaxad was thirty years old, he begat Salah his son,
and when he was 465 years old, he died, and Salah and Eber looked after him.

They buried him in the town that Arphaxad had built, known as Arphaxad (Arbalsarbat).

350.
When Salah was thirty years old, he begat Eber, and when he had completed 430 years, he died.

Eber and Peleg looked after him; he was buried in the town that Salah had built, known as Saladîb.

351.
When Eber was thirty years old, he begat Peleg, and when he had completed 434 years, he died;
his son Peleg buried him, and Reu and Serug in the town which Eber had built and had called by his name.

352.
When Peleg attained 239 years, all the tribes of the sons of Shem, and Ham and Japhet
gathered themselves together and journeyed to the elevated land;
they found in the place known as Shinar a beautiful plain.

They dwelt in it, and their speech was altogether Syriac,
and it is called Resany, and Chaldaean; it is the tongue and speech of Adam.

353.
Verily the Syriac language is the queen of languages and the most comprehensive;
from it all other tongues are derived;

Adam is a Syriac name. Whoever asserts that it is Hebrew tells a falsehood.

354.
Speakers of Syriac will not stand on the left of the Lord but on His right,
for the writing of Syriac runs from right to left, and of others the way of the Persian from left to right.

BOOK OF ROLLS [18]

355.
In the days of Peleg the nations built the tower at Babel, upon which their tongues were diversified and confounded and divided; because of their confusion the town was called Babel.

356.
Peleg was very much grieved about this when he saw the scattering of the nations in the regions of the earth. He died, and his son Reu, and Serug and Nahor buried him in the town which he had built and had called by his name.

357.
The earth became two portions among two chiefs of tribes;
they allowed to every tribe and tongue a king and a chief;
they appointed in the race of Japhet thirty-seven kings, and in the race of Ham sixteen kings.

358.
The kingdom of the sons of Japhet was from the border of the holy mountain
and Mount Nod, which is in the borders of the East, to the Tigris and the side of Algaut:
and from Bactria to the island town (or Gades / Cadix).

359.
The kingdom of the sons of Shem was from the land of Persia,
that is from the borders of the East to the Hardasalgs sea among the borders of the West.

They had authority also in the centre of the earth.

360.
When Reu was thirty-two years old, Serug was born to him;
the length of his life being 232 years.

At the end of 163 years of the life of Reu, Nimrod the giant reigned over the whole earth.

361.
The beginning of his kingdom was from Babel.

It was he who saw in the sky a piece of black cloth and a crown;
he called Sasan the weaver to his presence, and commanded him to make him a crown like it;
and he set jewels in it and wore it.

362.
He was the first king who wore a crown.

For this reason people who knew nothing about it, said that a crown came down to him from heaven.

363.
The length of his reign was sixty-nine years.

He died in the days of Reu, and the third thousand since Adam was completed.

364.
In his days the people of Egypt set up a king over them called Firnifs.

He reigned over them for sixty-eight years.

365.
In his days also a king reigned over the town of Saba
and annexed to his kingdom the cities of Ophir and Havilah, his name was Pharaoh.

He built Ophir with stones of gold, for the stones of its mountains are pure gold.

366.
After him there reigned over Havilah a king called Hayul.

He built it and cemented it,
and after the death of Pharaoh women reigned over Saba until the time of Solomon son of David.

367.
When he (Reu) was 239 years old, he died.

Serug his son and Nahor buried him in the town called Oa‘nân, which Reu had built for himself.

When Serug was thirty years old, his son Nahor was born to him.

368.
In the days of Serug idols were worshipped, and they were adored instead of God,
and the people in that day were scattered in the earth;

there was not among them a teacher nor a lawgiver,
nor a guide to the way of truth, nor even a right way.

They wandered and were rebellious and became a sect.

369.
Some of them worshipped the Sun and the Moon,
some of them worshipped the sky,

some of them worshipped images,
some of them worshipped the stars,
some of them worshipped the earth,

some of them worshipped beasts,
some of them worshipped trees, and some of them worshipped waters and winds and such like,
for the Devil blinded their hearts and left them in darkness without light.

370.

No one among them believed in the Last Day and the Resurrection.

When one of them died, his people made an image in his likeness, and put it upon his tomb,
lest his memory should be cut off.

The earth was filled with sins,
and idols were multiplied in it, made in the likenesses of males and females.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Divisons 371-395

BOOK OF ROLLS [19-20]

371.

When Serug was 230 years old he died.

His son Nahor, and Terah and Abraham buried him in the town which Serug had built and called it Serug.

Terah was born to Nahor when he was twenty-nine years old.

372.

In the third year of the life of Nahor, God looked up through His remembrance at His creatures, and they were worshipping idols.

He sent upon them earthquakes which destroyed all the idols.

Their worshippers did not turn from their error, but persevered in their godlessness.

373.

In the twenty-sixth year of the rule of Terah appeared witchcraft.

The beginning of it was that a rich man died; his son made a golden image of him and placed it upon his tomb as a mark *to* the people of his age, and appointed a young man to guard it.

374.

The Devil entered into the image, and spoke to its guardian from the tongue of the deceased and *with* his voice.

The guardian told the son of the deceased about it.

After some days robbers entered the dwelling of the deceased, and took all that belonged to his son, and his grief was greater at this, and they bewailed him beside the grave of his father.

375.

The Devil called to him from the image with a voice like the voice of his father, and said,
“O my son, weep not.

Bring me thy little son, to sacrifice him to me, and I will restore to thee all that has been taken from thee.”

376.

He brought his son to the tomb and sacrificed him to the Devil.

When he had done this, the Devil entered him and taught him witchcraft, unveiled his mysteries, and taught him omens and auguries.

Since that time people offer their children to Devils.

377.

At the completion of a hundred years of the life of Nahor, God, may His name be exalted, looked on the godlessness of men, and their sacrificing of their children to the Devils, and their adoration of images.

God, may His names be sanctified, sent them raging winds which tore away the images and their worshippers, and buried them in the earth and strewed over them great mounds and towering hills, and they are below these unto this day.

378.

Some assert on this account that in the time of Terah there was a Deluge of wind.

Wise men of India say that these mounds came into existence in the days of the Deluge.

379.
That is nonsense, for image-worship was after the Deluge of water,
and the Deluge was not sent upon them for the worship of images;

verily that was done because there was so much corruption on the earth among the children of Cain,
and the musical instruments which they invented.

380.
There was no people inhabiting this rough wild land, but when our fathers were not found worthy of the neighbourhood of Paradise they were thrust away to it.

Then they came out of the ship to this land, and were scattered amongst its regions.

381.
He talks nonsense who asserts that these elevated mounds have never ceased in the earth,
for they have been formed since the time of the anger of God about idol-worship.

They were turned topsy-turvy,
and there is no mound on the earth beneath which a Devil with an image appeareth not.

BOOK OF ROLLS [20]

382.
In the days of Nimrod the giant, he looked at fire from heaven, and fire came up from the earth.

When Nimrod saw it he adored it,
and appointed in the place where he saw it people to worship it, and to throw incense into it.

Since that time magicians adore fire when they see it coming up from the heaven and from the earth,
and they worship it to this day.

383.
A chief magician named Sasir found a spring of bountiful water at a place in the country of Atropatene.
He *[built]* upon it a white horse.

384.
Whoever bathed in that fountain worshipped this horse.

The Magi honour the horse, and there is a sect of them who worship it to this day.

385.
Nimrod travelled till he arrived at the land of Marien.

When he entered the city of Alterâs he found there Bouniter the fourth son of Noah.

386.
Nimrod's army was on a lake, and he went down there one day to bathe in it.

When Nimrod saw Bouniter the son of Noah, he did obeisance to him.

387.
Bouniter said to him, “O giant king, why do you adore me?”

Nimrod said to him, “I did thee homage because thou didst meet me.”

388.
Nimrod stayed with him three years that he might teach him wisdom and strategy,
then he wandered away from him.

He said to Nimrod, “Thou shalt not return a second time.”

389.
When Nimrod was passing through the East,
he deposited books making known what Bouniter the son of Noah had taught him.

The people were astonished at his wisdom.

390.
There was among the people entrusted with the worship of fire a man called Ardashir.

When Ardashir saw the wisdom of Nimrod and the excellency of his star-gazing
(Nimrod had a perfect genius), he envied him for this,
and implored a Devil who had appeared to him beside the fire to teach him the wisdom of Nimrod.

391.
The Devil said to him,
“Thou canst not do this until thou have fulfilled the magic rite,
and its perfection is the marriage of mothers, daughters and sisters.”

392.
Ardashir answered him concerning this, and did what he commanded him about it.

Since that time the Magi allow the wedlock of mothers, sisters and daughters.

393.
The Devil also taught Ardashir the knowledge of omens and auguries,
and physiognomy, and fortune-telling, and divining and witchcraft, which were doctrines of the Devil,

and the Chaldeans gave one another this doctrine;
these were the Syrians, and some people say that it is the tongue of the Nabataeans.

394.
Every one who uses aught of these doctrines, his guilt before God is great.

But the knowledge which Nimrod learned from Bounitar,
verily Bounitar the son of Noah learned it from God, the great and glorious,

for it is the counting of the stars, and the years and the months;
the Greeks call this science Astronomy, and the Persians call it Astrology.

395.
Nimrod built great towns in the East, namely,
Hadânien, Ellasar, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Rehîn,
and the towns of Atrapatene, and Telalôn, and others that he chose for himself.

The Book of the Rolls CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Divisons 396-425

BOOK OF ROLLS [21-22]

396.
When Terah, father of Abraham, reached two hundred and three years he died.

Abraham and Lot buried him in the city of Haran.

397.
God commanded *[Abraham]* that he should travel to the Holy Land.

Abraham took with him Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother’s son,
and journeyed to the land of the Amorites.

398.
Abraham the Just was then seventy-five years old.

When he reached eighty years, he fought with the nations and put them to flight
and delivered Lot from them,

and he had no child at that time, for Sarah was barren.

399.
When he returned from the war with the nations,
God commanded him to journey and pass over to Mount Yâbes.

When he got there he met Melchizedek, priest of God.

400.
When Abraham saw him, he did homage to him and was blessed by him.

He offered before him fine pure bread and drink.

401.
Melchizedek blessed Abraham and made vows for him.

Thereupon God commanded Melchizedek to pare his nails.

402.
Melchizedek consecrated an offering of fine bread and drink.

Abraham offered some of it, and paid to Melchizedek the tenth of his goods.

403.
Then God, may His names be sanctified, discoursed with Abraham the second time and said to him, “Thy reward shall be great with Me.

Since thou hast received the blessing of Melchizedek and thou art worthy to receive from his hand the gift of bread and wine, I will bless thee, and will multiply thy seed.”

404.
When Abraham reached eighty-six years, Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian bond-maid.

Pharaoh of Egypt had given her to Sarah, the wife of Abraham,
who was his sister by his father but not by his mother, for Terah married two wives;

405.
the name of the one was Yuta,
she was the mother of Abraham, and she died when she gave birth to him;

the name of the other was Nahdeef, and she was the mother of Sarah.

406.
Therefore Abraham answered as he said to the king of Egypt when he wished to do violence to Sarah, that “she is my sister.”

407.
When Abraham reached ninety-nine years,
God came down to his house, and gave to Sarah a son.

When he reached a hundred years, Isaac was born to him,
the son whom God gave him of barren Sarah.

408.
When Isaac reached twelve years, Abraham offered him to God as all offering upon the hill Yâbes, which is the place in which the Christ was crucified, and which is known as Golgolah.

409.
In it Adam was created;
in it Abraham looked at the tree which bore the lamb by which Isaac was redeemed from sacrifice,
and in it the body of Adam was laid.

In it was the altar of Melchizedek,
and in it David looked at the Angel of the Lord bearing a sword for the destruction of Jerusalem.

410.
Verily Abraham’s carrying up there of Isaac to the altar is a type of the crucifixion of the Christ for the salvation of Adam and his children.

The proof of this is the saying of the Christ in the holy Gospel to the children of lsrael,
that “your father Abraham did not cease to long to look on my days,
and when he saw them, he rejoiced in them.”

411.
The lamb which Abraham saw hanging on the tree was a type of the slaying of the Christ in the body, which He had taken from us, and of His crucifixion also,
because the lamb was not the child of a ewe and was worthy of being sacrificed.

412.
In that place Abraham saw what pertained to the salvation of Adam through the crucifixion of the Christ.

In the hour that Abraham took up Isaac to the altar, Jerusalem began to be built,
and the reason was this. *[sacrificial offering of Isaac by Abraham.]*

[Consider also Solomon and the baby]

BOOK OF ROLLS [22]

413.
When Melchizedek, priest of God, appeared to men,
his fame reached the kings of the nations, and they came to him from every region to be blessed.

414.
Among those that came to him were Abimelech king of Gerar,
Amraphel king of Shinar,
Arioch king of Delassar (Ellasar),
Kedarlaomer king of Elam,

415.
and Tidal king of men,
Bera king of Sodom,
Birsha king of Gomorrah, or Simeon king of the Amorites,
and Simair king of Saba,
Bislah king of Bela,
Hiar king of Damascus,
and Yaftar king of the deserts.

416.
When these kings, O my son Clement,
saw Melchizedek king of Peace and priest of God, and heard his word,
they honoured and applauded him and asked him to journey with them to their lands.

He told them that he was not allowed to leave his place, in which God had appointed him to an office.

417.
Their unanimous counsel was that a city should be built for him at their expense, and that they should rule it.

They built for him the Holy City, and delivered it to him, and Melchizedek called it Jerusalem.

418.
Then Maoalon king of Teman journeyed to Melchizedek when his fame reached him,
and gave him noble and glorious presents.

He honoured him when he saw him and heard his word.

419.
All kings and nations honoured him and called him the Father of Kings.

420.
Some people think that Melchizedek will not die,
and bring as proof the saying of David the Prophet in his psalms,

“Thou art a priest for ever after the figure of Melchizedek.”

David does not wish (to say) in this his saying that he will not die,
and how can this be when he is a man?

421.
But God honoured him and made him His priest,
and in the Torah there is no mention of a beginning to his days.

Therefore David sang as he sang about him.

422.
Moses does not make mention of him in his book,
for he was only relating the genealogy of the Fathers.

423.
But Shem the son of Noah has told us in the books of the testaments
that Melchizedek was the son of Malih, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah;
and his mother was Jozedek.

424.
In the hundredth year of Abraham there reigned in the East a king called Karmos,
he who built Shamshat, and Claudia, and Careem, and Leouza.

425.
He had a son called Cârân and three daughters;
the name of the one being Shamshout, and the other Harzea, and the other Leouza,
and he called these cities by their names.

BOOK OF ROLLS [23-24]

426.

When Peleg had reached fifty years,
Nimrod journeyed to the province of Mesopotamia, and built Nisibis, and Raha (Edessa), and Haran;

to every city he put a wall, and he called the wall of Haran by the name of Harteeb, *[Thebes]*
the wife of Sem, priest of the beautiful mountains.

The people of Haran made an image in the form of this Sem, and worshipped it.

427.

Baʻalsameen fell in love with Nalkeez wife of Nimroda, and Nimroda fled before Baʻalsameen;
on account of this the children of Israel wept over Nimroda and burnt the city of Haran in anger about him.

428.

When Sarah died, Abraham the famous (or the Friend, (i.e. of God)
married a woman named Kentoura, daughter of Yaftour king of the deserts.

429.

When Isaac, son of Abraham, reached forty years,
Eleazar his servant journeyed in search of her who was named Rebecca for Isaac.

430.

When Abraham reached one hundred and seventy years he died;
his sons Ishmael and Isaac buried him by the side of Sarah his wife.

431.

When Isaac reached sixty years, Rebecca his wife conceived Jacob and Esau.

When the birth-pangs took hold of her, she went to Melchizedek;
he blessed her and prayed over her.

432.

He said to her,
"God has already formed two men in thy womb, who shall be chiefs of two great nations.

The elder of them shall be beneath the younger.

433.

Each of them shall hate his brother,
and the elder shall serve a man of the race of the other.

I am servant of that man, whose name shall be called 'the living God,'
and he shall come up upon a branch of cursing because of those who rebel against him."

434.

When sixty years of Isaac's life had passed, he built a city which he called Ail,

and in his sixty-fourth year Jericho was built by the hand of seven kings,
the king of the Hittites, the king of the Amorites, the king of the Jebusites, the king of the Canaanites, the king of the Girgashites, the king of the Hivites and the king of the *Perizzites*,

and every one of them built a wall to it.

435.

But the town which was called Masr (Egypt), the king of the Copts had built.

Ishmael was the first to work with a hand-mill, and it was called the mill of the kingdom.

436.
After one hundred and thirty years of the life of Isaac;
that is in the seventy-seventh year of Jacob, God blessed Jacob,

and he received the blessings of Isaac, and the blessing of Esau his brother by deceit.

437.
He journeyed to the land of the East.

While he was on his journey, behold, a deep sleep came upon him.

He prepared below his head seven stones and slept upon them.

438.
In his sleep he saw a ladder of fire whose top was in heaven, and its bottom on the earth.

On it Angels were descending from it and ascending, and he saw the Lord sitting on the top.

439.
When he awoke he said, “Doubtless this place is the house of God.”

He took the stones which were beneath his head and built them into an altar and anointed it with oil,
and vowed there that he would give to God the tenth of all his goods as an offering.

440.
The power of this vision, O my son Clernent, is not difficult to those who know,
for it is a prophecy of the coming of our Lord the Christ.

441.
Verily the ladder which Jacob saw was a sign of the Crucifixion,

and the Angels coming down from Heaven *were* for the Gospel
to Zacharia,*[and Elizabeth, and John]*
[and Joseph] and Mary,
and the Magi and the shepherds.

442.
The place of the Lord’s seat at the top of the ladder
was like the descent of our God the Christ from Heaven for our salvation,

and the place where Jacob saw it was a type of the Church,
which being interpreted is, the House of God.

443.
The stones are a type of the altar,
and their being anointed with oil *a type* of the union of Godhead with Manhood.

The vow which he made of a tenth of his goods is a type of the Eucharist.

444.
Jacob journeyed from the place of the vision till he came to the town of his uncle Laban.

He saw a well of water, at which three flocks of sheep were lying down;
over the mouth of the well was a great stone.

445.
Rachel, the daughter of Jacob’s uncle, was standing there with the sheep.

Jacob came near to the well, removed the stone from its mouth,
and watered the sheep that were with Rachel.

Then he approached Rachel and kissed her.

446.
Jacob’s uncovering of the well was a type of Baptism,
which was veiled from of old, and uncovered in the latter *days*.

That which the priest gives to those whom he baptizes in the water is in the name of the Father,
and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

447.
Know, O my son, that Jacob did not come forward to kiss Rachel
until he had uncovered the well and watered her sheep from it.

Likewise, I say that it is not permitted in the law of the Christ
for any one to enter the Church till after baptism,
for if he is baptized, he has become one of Christ's sheep.

448.
The prophet Moses said in his book that Jacob wrought with his uncle Laban seven years for Rachel,
whom he loved of Laban's daughters, for she was at the height of beauty,
but he gave him his ugly daughter.

449.
Like this was the story of Moses,
with the Jews whom God saved from the bondage of Pharaoh.

On account of them he did not give the young girl,
but he gave her who was old and faded.
[also meaning in part when the people were not set free, and told to work harder]

450.
Verily the first girl whom *[Laban]* gave to Jacob had ugly eyes,
and the second *[wife]* was perfect in face and had beautiful eyes.

451.
The face of the first *[girl]* was covered, lest the children of Israel should look at its beauty;

the second had her face uncovered,
and had a bright, and shining and beautiful personality.

452.
The girl with ugly eyes who was spouse of Jacob
was the type of the people of his day whom he ruled;

in his time there were prophets, and saints and pure ones, and there was little sin in them.

453.
The faded old woman whom Moses describes,
she is the people of the children of Israel which went astray in the worship of idols,
and left the worship of God;

454.
and the girl whose face was covered so that it was not possible for the children of Israel to look at her
was the tribe that was established on the holy mount,
which did not mingle with the children of Israel, and did not look at them,
and if they had looked at it (the tribe), verily they would have imitated its good works.

455.
The better and brighter girl is the tribe which received the Lord of the world, the Christ,
and worshipped Him in His Godhead.

He enlightened our hearts by His holiness.

BOOK OF ROLLS [25-26]

456.
When Jacob had reached sixty-nine years, Reuben was born to him,
then followed him his brethren whom God brought out of the loins of Jacob;

457.
these were Simeon and Levi, Judah the ancestor of Mary, Issachar and Zebulun;

Joseph and Benjamin
the sons of the beautiful Rachel;

Gad and Asher, sons of Zilpah;
Dan and Naphtali, sons of Bilhah the maid of Rachel.

458.
Two years after the emigration of Jacob, he returned to Isaac his father.

He lived after that fully thirty-one years of Levi's life.

459.
When he reached one hundred and twenty years his father Isaac died.

Twenty-three years afterwards he journeyed from Haran to the elevated land;

460.
Joseph was sold during the lifetime of Isaac,
and he was a companion to Jacob in his sorrow.

After the sale of Joseph, Isaac died;
his sons Jacob and Esau buried him beside the grave of his father Abraham.

461.
After nine years Rebecca died, and was buried near the grave of Abraham.

462.
Judah married Hoshâ‘ the Canaanitess;

Jacob was grieved at that because she was not of the children of Israel, and said to him,

"By the God of Abraham and Isaac, do not mingle the seed of Canaan with us,"
and he did not accept it from him.

463.
He begat from her Er and Onan, *Cod, Othen,* and Shelah.

Judah wedded his son Er with Tamar the daughter of Kedar, son of Levi.

464.
Er wrought the deed of the people of Sodom, and God punished him for his deed.

God killed him in answer to the prayer of Jacob,
and the seed of Canaan was not mingled with his seed.

465.
Then this Tamar disguised herself, and sat in the middle of the way;
Judah came together with her, not knowing that she was his daughter-in-law;
she conceived by him, and bare Pharez and Zarah.

466.
At this time Jacob and his children journeyed to Egypt,
and stayed with Joseph for seventeen years.

When he had completed *a hundred* and forty-seven years of life he died,
Joseph that day being fifty-six years old.

467.
The wise physicians of Pharaoh embalmed him.

After this Joseph removed his body and placed it beside the bodies of his father and of his grandfather Abraham.

468.
Pharez the son of Judah begat Hezron,
and Hezron begat Aram, and Aram begat Aminadab,
and Aminadab begat Nahson, who was the most cunning of the sons of Judah.

469.
And Aminadab wedded Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest to a girl,
and from her he begat Phinehas the priest,
who by his prayer took away death from the people, and whose was the deed with the javelin.

Know that the priesthood was from Aminadab among the people of Israel,
and from Nahson the kinghood came among them.

BOOK OF ROLLS [26]

470.
Look, O my son Clement,
how from Judah came the priesthood and the kinghood among the children of Israel.

Nahson begat a son, who is Salmon;
Salmon begat Boaz.

471.
When Boaz was old, he married Ruth the Moabitess;
in her was kinghood, for she was of the race of kings.

She was of the children of Lot.

472.
God did not make Lot unclean for his cohabiting with his daughters,
and did not attach blame to him,

and did not depreciate his good deed in his support of his uncle Abraham in his exile,
and his reception of the Angels in faith,

473.
but He put the kinghood into Ruth who was of his race,
so that the Incarnation of our Lord the Christ was of the race of Abraham.

Also *into* her, the wife of Solomon, son of David, by whom he begat.

474.
Solomon verily had six hundred free women and four hundred concubines, and he obtained no child from any of them, because God, may His name be praised, wished that the seed of Canaan should not mingle with the seed of the chosen people from whom Jesus the Christ took flesh.

The rest of the wives of Solomon were of the children of Canaan.

475.
Nevertheless Moses the Prophet of God related, for the responsible, books,

the chronicles of the children of Israel relate,
that Levi, when he entered Egypt with his father Jacob,
begat there his son Amram the father of Moses.

476.
When Moses was born he was thrown out by his mother into the Egyptian Nile,
and Sapphira the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
saved him from drowning and brought him up in her father's palace.

477.
When he grew up and had finished forty years,
he killed Casoum the Egyptian, chief of the swordsmen of Pharaoh. *[said elsewhere, to save Joshua]*

He fled to Reuel to the priest of Midian for fear of Pharaoh,
and that because Sapphira had died before this,
and if she had been still there, why should Moses have been afraid of Pharaoh?

478.
Moses married Zipporah daughter of Jethro, priest of Midian.

She bare him two sons, these were Gershon and Eleazar,
at the time of the birth of Joshua the son of Nun, and Moses' age was fifty-two years.

479.
When he had completed eighty years, God spake to him from the thorn bush,
and his tongue stammered out of fear for God, and he said,

"O Lord, at the time when thou spakest to thy servant, his tongue stammered."

480.
All his years were 120.

He spent forty in Egypt, and forty in Midian,
and he governed the children of Israel forty years in the wilderness.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Divisons 481-515

BOOK OF ROLLS [27-28]

481.
When he died, Joshua the son of Nun governed them thirty-one years.

Then Chushan the Atheist governed them after him eight years.

Then Othniel the son of Kenaz the brother of Caleb, for forty years.

482.
Then the Moabites enslaved the children of Israel for eighteen years.
Then *God* prepared their deliverance from their hand.

Their government was presided over by Ehud the son of Gera for eighty years.

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of this Ehud,
the fourth thousand *year* from the beginning was finished. *[1300 BC was 2,000 years after Noah]*

483.
Then after him the famous Jabin presided over their government for an interval of twenty years,
then Deborah and Barak looked after it for forty years.

Then the Midianites conquered them, and enslaved them for seven years,
then God saved them by the hand of Gideon.

He presided over their government for forty years; then his son Abimelech for three years.

484.
Then Jufa (Tola) the son of Puah for twenty years,
then a daughter of the Gileadite twenty-two years.

Then the children of Ammon conquered the children of Israel and enslaved them for eighteen years,
then God saved them by the hands of Jephthah, he who offered his daughter as a sacrifice before God.

485.
And Ibzan governed them for six years,
then after him Elon son of Zebulon for ten years.

Then Abdon for eight years.

Then the Philistines fought with the children of Israel
and subdued them and enslaved them for forty years, and God saved them by the hands of Samson.

486.
He governed them for twenty years, and after him they remained for twelve years without a leader.

Then there arose to rule them Eli the priest, and he governed them for forty years,
then Samuel for twenty-two years.

In his time the children of Israel rebelled against God, and set up Saul as king over them;
he was the first king among the children of Israel, and he governed them for forty years.

487.
In the days of Saul appeared the giant Goliath;
he drove out the children of Israel and killed their young men.

Then God sent against him David the Prophet, and he killed him;
against Saul *He sent* the Philistines, and they killed him,
because Saul left off seeking help from God, and sought help from devils.

488.
David the son of Jesse reigned over the children of Israel for forty years.

Then after his Solomon reigned over them and did many wonderful things;
amongst them his sending to the city of Ophir, and bringing out the gold from its mountains,
and ships continued for thirty-six months carrying gold from its mountains.

489.
Also he built the city of Tadmor in the interior of the wilderness,
and wrought in it many extraordinary things.

When Solomon passed by Sabad, a building built by Kourhi and Abu Nigaf
(they whom Nimrod had sent to Bila‘am the priest when he heard of his occupation with the stars,
and he built there this altar to the sun and a stone fort),
Solomon built there also a city called the City of the Sun.

490.
Then Aradus, which is in the middle of the sea, *[Cyprus?]*
was built at Solomon’s command and they praised him yet more for his wisdom.

There journeyed to him the Queen of Sheba, and she was obedient to his religious worship.

491.
There came up to him at his command Hiram king of Tyre, and had a real love for him;
he had already been a friend to David before him.

His reign was before the reign of David, and he remained to the last of King Zedekiah.

492.
Solomon took one thousand wives, as we said above about him;
and they deteriorated his mind when he exceeded in his love to them,
and they got the power to mock at him, and it caused him to slide away from the worship of God;
he sacrificed to idols and worshipped them instead of the Lord.

He died, after reigning for forty years, an idolator and an infidel.

493.
Then Hiram king of Tyre was seduced and forgot his humanity and disbelieved in God,
and claimed divinity, and he said, “I sit in the heart of the seas like the sitting of a God”;
and news of him came to Nebuchadnezzar, and he journeyed to him till he killed him.

BOOK OF ROLLS [28]

494.
In the chronicles of the Hebrews, O my son Clement,
we learn that in the days of this Hiram appeared the purple dye,
and this *was that* a shepherd and his sheep were on the sea-shore, and he saw a dog of his gnawing with its mouth something that came out of the sea, and its mouth was filled with its blood.

He looked at the blood, and had never seen the like of it.

495.
He took some clean wool and wiped this blood with it;
with that he made a crown and put it upon his head.

It had a brightness like the brightness of the sun or rays of fire.

The news of it came to Hiram; he sent for him and wondered greatly at the beauty of his dye.

496.
He assembled the dyers of his kingdom and gave them a commission for its like, and they were amazed at this, until some of the wise men of his time possessed themselves of the purple shell-fish.

He made garments for himself with its blood, and he rejoiced over this with a great joy.

Thou, O my son, and all the Greeks, disagree with the Hebrews in this narrative.

497.
After Solomon, Rehoboam his son reigned, and defiled the land by the worship of idols,
by much whoredom in the city of Jerusalem, and by sacrificing to devils.

In his day the kingdom of the house of David was divided, and became two parts.

498.
In his fifth year journeyed Shishak king of Egypt to Jerusalem, and took possession of all that was in the treasuries of the Lord's house and the treasuries of David and Solomon,
the vessels of gold and silver, and he was strengthened by this in his power.

He said to the Jews, "This is none of your earning;
it is some of what your fathers brought out of Egypt at the time of their flight."

499.
And Rehoboam the son of Solomon died an infidel, after he had reigned for seventeen years.

Abia his son reigned after him, being twenty years old.

He enslaved Jerusalem and destroyed it,
and his mother Ma'ka, the daughter of Abishalom, commended his deeds.

500.
He died after three years, and Asa reigned.

He did right, and abolished the worship of the stars and the images, and whoredom from Jerusalem.

501.
He drove away his mother from his kingdom,
because she committed adultery and built an altar to the idols.

There came to him Azârâh king of Hind, and Asa put him to flight,
and reigned for forty years, then he died.

502.
After him his son Jehoshaphat reigned, and he went in the way of his father in righteousness,
but he loved the household of Ahab, and kept company with them.

He built ships, and sent by them to the land of Ophir to bring gold from its mountains.

God sunk his ships,
and was angry with him and his mother Sem daughter of Uriah daughter of Shalom.

503.
When he had died, his son Joram reigned, being thirty-two years of age.

He was disobedient, and sacrificed to devils,
on account of his wife Aliah (Athaliah) daughter of Amsir (Omri) son of the sister of Ahab.

He died an infidel.

504.
After him Ahaziah reigned, being twenty years of age.

He was a shameless infidel.

The Lord delivered him over to his enemies, and they killed him after one year of his reign.

505.
His mother took the kingdom to herself, and killed the kings' sons,
that thereby she might destroy the kingdom of the family of David.

None were saved from her except Joash,
for Jehosheba the daughter of Joram son of Jehoshaphat hid him.

506.
She increased adultery and infidelity in Jerusalem.

She died after seven years, and the people of Jerusalem thought about who should reign over them,

Jehoiada knew about that, and their choice fell upon none but Joash whom Jehoiada had hidden.

507.
He sent and brought *him* out to the house of the Lord;
the warriors completely armed surrounded him,
and Jehoiada the priest seated him upon the throne of the family of David his father,
he being seven years of age.

His mother’s name was Zibiah of the family of Sheba.

508.
Jehoiada the priest covenanted with him that he should do righteousness before the Lord.

When Jehoiada the priest died, Joash forgot his covenants, and did not know rightly what was administered from the throne of the family of David, nor the shedding of innocent blood.

He died after he had reigned for forty years.

509.
After him his son reigned, and his mother’s name was Jehoaddan.

He killed every one who had killed any one of his household,
but spared their sons, for in this he followed the law of the Lord.

510.
He died after he had reigned for twenty-nine years,
and his son Azariah reigned after him, being twenty years old.

His mother’s name was Jecholiah.

511.
He did right before the Lord, save that he was bold about the priesthood, for which reason he became a leper, and God weakened the power of Isaiah the prophet from prophecy until this Azariah died, because he did not reprove him for his boldness about the priesthood.

512.
The duration of his reign was fifty-two years, and Jotham his son reigned after him,
being twenty-five years of age, and his mother’s name was Jerusha the daughter of Dafma (Zadok).

He did right, and the duration of his reign was sixteen years.

513.
After him his son Ahaz reigned, being twenty years of age;
his mother’s name was Jahkebez the daughter of Levi.

He did wickedly, and sacrificed to devils and idols.

God was angry with him,
and Tiglath son of Cardak, king of Assyria, came against him, and besieged him.

514.
Ahaz wrote himself down his vassal, and delivered Jerusalem up to the Assyrians,
and he carried all the gold and silver that was in the temple of God to Assyria the regions of Tiglath.

In his time the children of Israel were led captive, and went down to Babylon.

515.
The king of Assyria sent instead Babylonians to the land of Judah to dwell in it;
and they complained of what befel them to the king of Assyria, and he sent to them Urijah one of the priests of the children of Israel that he might teach them the law of the Lord.

When they knew it, the lions ceased from them, and went to the land of Babylon and to Samaria.

BOOK OF ROLLS [29-30]

516.

When *Ahaz* had completed sixteen years *[of rule]* he died, and his son Hezekiah reigned after him,
being twenty-five years old, and his mother's name was Ahi (Abi) the daughter of Zechariah.

He did right and broke the idols, and caused the sacrifices to cease,
and cut up the serpent that Moses had made in the wilderness of the wandering (Tih),
because the children of Israel were seduced in their worship of it.

517.

In the fourth year of his reign, Shalmanezer king of Assyria came to Jerusalem, and took captive the Israelites who were in it, and drove them away to a place beyond Babylon named Media.

In the twenty-sixth year journeyed Sennacherib king of the province to the cities of Judah,
and took captive those whom he found in them and their villages excepting Jerusalem.

518.

Verily it was saved by the prayer and cries of king Hezekiah.

When Hezekiah was ill with his death-sickness,
he grieved and wept because he had no son to reign after him;

he prayed before the Lord, and said,

"Lord, have mercy on Thy servant, and do not let him die without offspring;

let not the kingdom fail from the house of David,
nor the blessings cease which have come on the tribes in my days."

519.

The Lord answered him, and told him that He had added to his life fifteen years;
he recovered; a son was born to him, and he called him Manasseh.

When twenty-six years of his reign were finished, and he was rejoicing in his son, he died.

520.

His son reigned after him, being twelve years old;
his mother's name was Hephzibah.

He did wickedly, and his infidelity surpassed all the infidel kings that were before him in evil-doing.

He built an altar to idols, and sacrificed to them;
he defiled Jerusalem with corruption, and the worship of idols.

521.

He took Isaiah the prophet,
and they sawed him with a wooden saw from the middle of his head to between his feet,
because he had reproved him for his wicked deeds.

Isaiah's age that day was one hundred and twenty years,
he began to prophesy when he was ninety years old.

522.

Then Manasseh repented about that, and turned to his Lord;
he put on sackcloth, and imposed a fast upon himself *all* the days of his life.

God accepted his repentance and he died.

His son Amon reigned after him, being that day twenty-two years of age;
his mother's name was Musalmath the daughter of Hasoun.

He did wicked deeds before the Lord, and burned his children in the fire.

523.
He reigned twelve years and he died.

After him his son Josiah reigned, being sixty-eight years of age;
his mother’s name was Arnea, daughter of Azariah son of Tarfeeb.

He kept righteously the feast of the Passover,
a feast such as the children of Israel had never kept since the time of the Prophet Moses;
he abolished the sacrifices to the images, broke the idols, sawed them with saws,
killed their worshippers, and burnt in the fire the bones of the prophets of the Honoured One.

524.
He cleansed Jerusalem from defilements.
None like him reigned over the Jews before him nor after him.

He remained there for thirty years, but Pharaoh king of Egypt killed him.

525.
After him his son Jehoahaz reigned, being twenty-two years of age;
his mother’s name was Hamtoul the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah.

Not more than three months of his reign had passed when Pharaoh the lame bound him,
made him fast with chains, and carried him to Egypt, and he died there.

526.
After him his brother Jehoiakim reigned, being twenty-five years of age;
his mother’s name was Zobeed, daughter of Yerkuiah of the town of Al-Ramah.

In the third year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar approached Jerusalem,
reigned over it, and made him his vassal for three years.

He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and death overtook him.

527.
His son Jehoiachin reigned after him, being eighteen years of age;
his mother’s name was Tahseeb the daughter of Lutanan of the people of Jerusalem.

Nebuchadnezzar journeyed a second time to Jerusalem, bound him after three months of his reign,
and carried him and his officers and the armies of his soldiers to Babylon.

BOOK OF ROLLS [30]

528.
Nebuchadnezzar in his first attack had bound the wife of Jehoiakim and other wives of the grandees and nobles of Jerusalem, and carried them to Babylon.

The wife of Jehoiakim was pregnant that day, and in the way she gave birth to Daniel.

In the Captivity were also Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, sons of Johanan.

529.
The reason of this Captivity was that Jehoiachin had made a truce with Nebuchadnezzar,
then they betrayed one another.

When Johanan died, Zedekiah the uncle of Jehoiakim reigned after him,
being twenty-one years of age;
[ ]
the name of Zedekiah’s mother was Hamtoul;
he was the last of the kings of the children of Israel.

*[*the seat of all the kings of the children of Israel was Jerusalem;*]*

530.
After eleven years of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar journeyed for the third time to the West,
to pacify its cities, and the cities of the Euphrates, and of the Great Sea.

He made his way through the islands of the sea, and took captive their people,
he laid Tyre waste, and smote it with fire.

He killed Hiram its king as we have already said.

He entered Egypt to seek those of the children of Israel who had fled, and killed its Pharaoh.

531.
He returned by sea to Jerusalem, and was victorious there a second time.

He bound Zedekiah, killed his sons Jerbala and Rahmut,
and carried him blind and fettered with chains to Babylon.

This was a punishment from God to him for his deed that he did to the prophet Jeremiah when he threw him into a miry well.

532.
Nebuchadnezzar appointed Jozadan (Nebuzaradan) the captain of his prison in Jerusalem until he had laid waste its wall, and burned the temple of the Lord which Solomon had built in it.

He demolished the rest of the dwellings of Jerusalem, carried all the tools that he found of iron and brass, and the raiment which belonged to the house of the Lord to Babylon.

533.
Between Simeon the High Priest of Jerusalem and Jozadan captain of the prison to Nebuchadnezzar there was love and friendship.

He asked if he would give him the old writings;
he and Simeon carried them with him, being among the crowd of the Captivity.

He saw a well in his way among the borders of the West;
he laid the writings in it,
and put with them a bronze vase, filled with glowing coals, and in it sweet smelling incense;
he covered up this well, and went to Babylon.

534.
The devastation of Jerusalem was completed, and it became a waste.

There was not one person in it, nor even a building save the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah.

535.
Jeremiah in his lifetime had dwelt in a place called Samaria;
he commanded a man named Uriah that he should be buried in Jerusalem, and he did it.

It was not known that this place was the grave of Jeremiah except at the devastation of Jerusalem.

The Book of the Rolls

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Divisons 536-565

BOOK OF ROLLS [31-32]

536.
Now for the genealogies.

537.
The Syrians say that no one looked after them after the last devastation of Jerusalem,
except among the tribe of the Philistines,

and no one looked after the genealogy of the people among whom the children of Israel married,
nor from whence was the beginning of the priesthood.

538.
Jehoiachin did not cease to be bound in the land of Babylon, and shut up in prison for thirty-seven years.

539.
Meanwhile there was born to Mardul a son named Mardahi,
and the king let Jehoiachin out of the prison, and married him to Helmuth the daughter of Eliakim.

By him she gave birth in the land of Babylon to a son, who was called Salathiel.

540.
Then he married another who was called Melkat the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and had no child by her in Babylon.

541.

At that time Cyrus reigned in Babylon.

He married Masabet the sister of Zerubabel a nobleman of the Jews, according to the custom of Persia; he let her rule his affairs; she begged him to restore the children of Israel to Jerusalem, and he did this to its place where it had been before him.

542.

He commanded a herald to proclaim, that there should not remain one of the children of Israel,
who should not present himself to Zerubabel his brother-in-law.

When they were gathered together,
he commanded him to take them to Jerusalem and that they should build it.

543.

The children of Israel returned to Jerusalem in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

At that time was completed the fifth thousand from the beginning.

544.

The children of Israel after their return to Jerusalem remained without a teacher to teach them the law of the Lord or any writings of the prophets.

When Ezra saw this, he went to the well in which the Law had been put, uncovered it, and found the vase full of fire and incense, and he found the writings faded, there was no means to get them.

545.

God revealed to him that he should receive of them from His hands;
he succeeded, and threw it on his mouth once, and twice and thrice,
and God put into it the power of the spirit of prophecy;

546.

he kept all the writings,
and that fire which was in the vase in the well was from the fire of Paradise
which was in the house of the Lord.

547.

Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem as king over it.

548.

By Joshua son of Jozadak the High Priest and by Ezra, the writing of the Law and the Books of the Prophets were completed.

549.

After their return, the children of Israel kept the feast of the Passover, and all the feasts that they celebrated were three.

550.

The first was the feast of Moses in Egypt,
the second the feast of Josiah,
and the third after their return from Babylon in the days of Cyrus the Persian.

551.

The number of the years of the Captivity which Jeremiah the prophet mentions are seventy years.

552.

The children of Israel built the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem, and its building was finished by the hands of Zerubabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest, and Ezra the scribe of the Law, in six and forty years.

553.

When the books of the genealogies were destroyed, the fathers were in despair about genealogy,
and there was despair about it after them, until their accuracy was guaranteed by the secret books of the Hebrews.

554.
I relate this to thee, my son Clement, that when Zerubabel journeyed to Jerusalem,
he married Malka the daughter of Ezra the teacher, and by her he begat a son called Abiud.

She had already been the wife of Jehoiachin before him.

555.
When Abiud grew up, he married Ragib, daughter of Joshua the son of Jozadak the priest.

By he he begat a son called Jehoiachim.

556.
Jehoiachim married a wife, and begat a son by her.

When he grew up, he married Alfeet, daughter of Hesron, and by her he begat Zadok.

557.
Zadok married Felbin the daughter of Rahab, and by her he begat Atin.

Atin married Hesheeb, daughter of Jula, and by he he begat Tur (Eliud).

558.
Tur (Eliud) married Salsin, daughter of Hasoul, and by her he begat Eleazar.

Eleazar married Habeeth, daughter of Malih, and by her he begat Manar (Matthan).

559.
Manar (Matthan) married Seerâb, daughter of Phinehas, and by her he begat two sons in [one] womb.

One of them was Jacob, who was called by two names, Joachim son of Yartâh.

560.
Jacob maried Had the daughter of Eleazar, and by her he begat Joseph.

Joachim married Hannah, daughter of Ka‘rdal,
and by her he begat Mary, by whom our Lord the Christ was incarnate.

561.
On account of our knowledge, O my son Clement, about the genealogy of the Lady Mary,
and the genealogies of her ancestors, the Jews begin by assertions about us that we do not understand the genealogies, and we do not know them;

and they venture to mock the mother of Light, the Lady Mary, the Virgin,
and they attribute her genealogy to fornication,

562.
because they do not know that it was the Holy Ghost who came down on us,
a company of twelve in the upper room of Zion,

who taught us all that we need to know about the genealogies and the rest of the mysteries,
as He had taught Azariah (Ezra) the teacher all the Law, so that he kept it and renewed it.

563.
Let the mouths of the cursed Jews now be stopped, and let them know assuredly that Mary the pure was of the race of Judah, also of the race of David, also of the race of Abraham;

that they have nothing against the genealogies which the Holy Ghost taught us,

564.
and there is not a book left in their hands from which they can make a stand against genealogy,
since their books have been burnt three times;

the first time in the days of Antiochus,
who defiled the temple of the Lord, and commanded sacrifices to idlos;

the second by Herod at the time of the devastation of Jerusalem;

565.
and the third, hear, O blessed son, what the Holy Ghost has revealed to me,
about the sixty-three fathers, whose names are registered,
and how the pedigree came about to the tribe from which was incarnate our God the Christ.

BOOK OF ROLLS [33]

566.
The beginning of genealogies.

Adam begat Seth.

567.
Seth married Aclima, sister of Abel, and by her begat Enos.

Enos married a woman called Hita, daughter of Mahmouma of the sons of Har son of Seth, and by her begat Cainan.

568.
Cainan married Karith, daughter of Kersham son of Maheâl, and by her begat Mahlaleel.

Mahlaleel married Teshabfatir, daughter of Enos, and by her begat Jared.

569.
Jared married Zebeeda, daughter of Kargilan son of Cainan, and by her begat Enoch.

Enoch married Jardakin, daughter of Terbah son of Mahlaleel, and by her begat Methuselah.

570.
Methuselah married Rahoub, daughter of Serkeen son of Enoch, and by her begat Lamech.

Lamech married Kifar, daughter of Jutab son of Methuselah, and by her begat Noah.

571.
Noah married Haikal, daughter of Mashamos son of Enoch, and by her begat Sem.

Sem married Leah, daughter of Nasih, and by her begat Arphaxad.

572.
Arphaxad married Fardou, daughter of Salweh son of Japhet, and by her begat Salah.

Salah married Muldath, daughter of Kahin son of Sem, and by her begat Obed (Eber).

573.
Obed (Eber) married Rasdah sister of Melchisedek, daughter of Malih son of Arphaxad, and by her begat Peleg.

Peleg married Hadeeb, daughter of Hamlâh, and by her begat Jareu (Reu).

574.
Jareu (Reu) married Tanaa‘b, daughter of Obed (Eber), and by her begat Serug.

Serug married Feel, and by her begat Nahor.

575.
Nahor married a wife, A‘âkris daughter of Reu, and by her begat Tarah.

Tarah married two wives, one of them Juta, and the other Salmat,
by Juta he begat Abraham and by Salmat Sarah.

576.
Abraham married Sarah, daughter of this Salmat his father’s wife, and by her begat Isaac.

Isaac married a wife called Rebecca, daughter of Fathâel, and by her begat Jacob.

577.
Jacob married Leah, daughter of Laban, and by her begat Judah.

Judah begat Pharez by Tamar.

578.
Pharez son of Judah married Afdeeb, daughter of Levi, and by her begat Hesron.

Hesron married Farteeb, daughter of Zebulon, and by her begat Aram.

579.
Aram married Safuza, daughter of Judah, and by her begat Aminadab.

Aminadab married Baruma, daughter of Hesron, and by her begat Nahshon.

580.
Nahshon married Aram, daughter of Adam, and by her begat Salmon.

Salmon married Saleeb (Rahab), daughter of Aminadab, and by her begat Boaz.

581.
Boaz married Aroof (Ruth), daughter of Lot, and by her begat Obed.

Obed married Nefut, daughter of Shela, and by her begat Asse (Jesse).

582.
Asse (Jesse) married Amrat, daughter of Othan, and by her begat David.

David married Balseba‘ (Bathsheba), daughter of Joutân son of Shela, and by her begat Solomon.

583.
Solomon married Naama, daughter of Maheel, and by her begat Rehoboam: who had none like him.

Rehoboam married Naheer, daughter of Al, and by her begat Abia.

584.
Abia married Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, and by her bcgat Asa.

Asa married Auzbah the daughter of Shalih, and by her begat Jehoshaphat.

585.
Jehoshaphat married Na‘mna the daughter of Amon, and by her begat Joram.

Joram married Tala‘ia, daughter of Amoi, and by her begat Ahaz.

586.
Ahaz married Suma the daughter of Balhi, and by her begat Amaziah.

Amaziah married Kama, daughter of Caram, and by her begat Uzziah.

587.
Uzziah married Jerousa, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jeream (Jotham).

Jeream (Jotham) married Jahfat, daughter of Hani, and by her begat Ahaz.

588.
Ahaz married Ahir, daughter of Zachariah, and by her begat Hezekiah.

Hezekiah married Hephzibah, daughter of Jarmoun, and by her begat Manasseh.

589.
Manasseh married Artida, daughter of Azuriah, and by her begat Aman.

Aman married Tarib, daughter of Murka, and by her begat Josiah.

590.
Josiah married Hamtoul, daughter of Armeed (Jeremiah), and by her begat Jehoahaz.

Jehoahaz married a woman and had no sons by her.

591.
Jehoiakim reigned after the death of his brother,
and married a woman called Carteem, daughter of Haluta, and by her begat Salaeel (Salathiel).

Salaeel (Salathiel) married Hamtat, daughter of Eliakim, and by her begat Zerubabel.

492.
Zerubabel married Malkut, daughter of Ezra, and by her begat Armeed (Abiud).

Armeed (Abiud) married Awarkeeth, daughter of Zadok, and by her begat Jachim.

593.
Jachim married Hali, daughter of Zurniem, and by her begat A‘zor.

A‘zor married Afi, daughter of Hasor, and by her begat Sadoc.

594.

Sadoc married Faltir, daughter of Dorteeb, and by her begat Asham Joteed.

Joteed Asham married Hasgab, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Liud (Eliud).

595.

Liud (Eliud) married Shabshetin, daughter of Hubaballia, and by her begat Eleazar.

Eleazar married Hanbeth, daughter of Jula, and by her begat Mathan.

596.

Mathan married Seerab, daughter of Phinehas, and by her begat Jacob.

Jacob married Harteeb, daughter of Eleazar, and by her begat Joachim, known as Jonahir.

597.

Joachim married Hannah, and returned to the house of Eleazar.

And after sixty years of his marriage to her, he begat by her Mary the Virgin, her by whom the Christ became incarnate.

598.

Joseph the Carpenter was the son of her [paternal] uncle Laha, and therefore his vote did not fall against her when Ram, priest of the children of Israel, delivered her to a man who should be surety for her.

599.

It was in the hidden work of God (may He be glorious and exalted!) and in the mystery of His knowledge that there was no escape from the Jews reproaching Mary the pure on account of her bearing the Christ.

600.

To our Master and our God and our Lord Jesus the Christ be praise and power and greatness and dignity and worship with the Father and the Holy Ghost from now unto all time and throughout all ages.

Amen.

The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book the Ginza Rba

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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Abstract:

Sources of the research: The Mandaean holy books and scriptures in addition to old Moslem writers and contemporary western scholars' works.

The purpose of the research:

The research aims to translate the Mandaean Story of Creation, directly from the Mandaean manuscript. Four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India office at the British Library in London were used to compile a critical apparatus of variants. Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the "Ginza Rba". The Ginza names this tractate as *raza usidra qadmaia ḏ-šuta haita qadmaita* "The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine". This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the World of Light and the World of Darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Fourth Life (Ptahil); the Demiurge who created the cosmos and Tibil (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia ("Gnosis of Life") and his descent to the Underworld and his triumph against the forces of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *'ṣṭōna* (the human body). Tractate three also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

The research consists of three parts:

(1) The introduction: The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin, The Mandaean system, The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans, The Mandaean manuscripts.

(2) Analysis of the narrative: The First Account of the Story of Creation, The Second Account of the Story of Creation, The Third account of the Story of Creation.

(3) The Transcription and Translation of the Manuscript.

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Abbreviations

AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ARR	*Alma Rišaia Rba* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ARZ	*Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ATŠ	*The Thousand and Twelve Questions* (tr. E. S. Drower, Berlin 1960)
Jb	*Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (tr. M. Lidzbarski, Giessen 1915)
DY	The Mandaean Manuscript *Draša ḏ-Yahia* "the Book of John"
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
CP	*The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1959)
DA	*Diwan Abatur* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1950)
DJPA	A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (M. Sokoloff, Bar Ilan University Press, 1990)
DM'L	*The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* (tr. J. J. Buckley, Connecticut 1993)
DMHZ	*Diwan Maṣbuta ḏ-Hibil-Ziwa* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
GRL	*Ginza Rba Left*
GRR	*Ginza Rba Right*
HG	*The Harran Gawaita* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
HR	History of Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JD	*A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmid Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrash Literature* (M. Jastrow, New York 1996)
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

JRCAS	Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
MD	*A Mandaic Dictionary* (E. S. Drower, R. Macuch, Oxford 1963)
MG	*Mandäische Grammataik* (Nöldke, Halle 1875)
MHZ	*Masbuta d̠-Hibil Ziwa* [The Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa]
MII	*The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (E. D. Drower, Oxford 1937)
OT	Old Testament
Q	*The Mandaean Book Qalista*
QŠR	*Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "the Marriage ceremony of the Great Šišlam"
SA	The Secret Adam (tr. E. S. Drower, Oxfrod 1960).
ŠQŠR	*Šarh d̠-Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Rome 1950)
ŢTŠR	*Ţraşa d̠-Taga d̠-Šišlam Rba* "The Coronation of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1962).

The Mandaic Alphabet

abāgāda

ࡀࡁࡀࡂࡀࡃࡀ

Form	With vowels								Transliteration		Pronunciation
									Hebrew	Latin	
ࡀ									א	a	æ, a, ā
ࡁ	ࡁࡀ	bā	ࡁࡉ	bi	ࡁࡅ	bū	ࡁ	ăb	ב	b	b, β
ࡂ	ࡂࡀ	gā	ࡂࡉ	gī	ࡂࡅ	gū	ࡂ	ăg	ג	g	g, γ
ࡃ	ࡃࡀ	dā	ࡃࡉ	dī	ࡃࡅ	dū	ࡃ	ăd	ד	d	d, δ
ࡄ	ࡄࡀ	hā	ࡄࡉ	hī	ࡄࡅ	hū	ࡄ	ăh	ה	h	h
ࡅ	ࡅࡀ	wā	ࡅࡉ	wī	ࡅࡅ	wū	ࡅ	ăw	ו	w	o, u, ū
ࡆ	ࡆࡀ	zā	ࡆࡉ	zī	ࡆࡅ	zū	ࡆ	ăz	ז	z	z
ࡇ									ח	ḥ	ī
ࡈ	ࡈࡀ	ṭā	ࡈࡉ	ṭī	ࡈࡅ	ṭū	ࡈ	ăṭ	ט	ṭ	
ࡉ	ࡉࡀ	yā	ࡉࡉ	yī	ࡉࡅ	yū	ࡉ	ăy	י	i	e, i, ī
ࡊ	ࡊࡀ	kā	ࡊࡉ	kī	ࡊࡅ	kū	ࡊ	ăk	כ	k	k, χ
ࡋ	ࡋࡀ	lā	ࡋࡉ	lī	ࡋࡅ	lū	ࡋ	ăl	ל	l	l
ࡌ	ࡌࡀ	mā	ࡌࡉ	mī	ࡌࡅ	mū	ࡌ	ăm	מ	m	m
ࡍ	ࡍࡀ	nā	ࡍࡉ	nī	ࡍࡅ	nū	ࡍ	ăn	נ	n	n
ࡎ	ࡎࡀ	sā	ࡎࡉ	sī	ࡎࡅ	sū	ࡎ	ăs	ס	s	s
ࡏ									ע	ʿ	ī (e, ī)
ࡐ	ࡐࡀ	pā	ࡐࡉ	pī	ࡐࡅ	pū	ࡐ	ăp	פ	p	p, f
ࡑ	ࡑࡀ	ṣā	ࡑࡉ	ṣī	ࡑࡅ	ṣū	ࡑ	ăṣ	צ	ṣ	ṣ
ࡒ	ࡒࡀ	qā	ࡒࡉ	qī	ࡒࡅ	qū	ࡒ	ăq	ק	q	q
ࡓ	ࡓࡀ	rā	ࡓࡉ	rī	ࡓࡅ	rū	ࡓ	ăr	ר	r	r

ࡔ	ࡔࡀ	šā	ࡔࡉ	šī	ࡔࡅ	šū	ࡔ	ăš	ש	š	š
ࡕ	ࡕࡀ	tā	ࡕࡉ	tī	ࡕࡅ	tū	ࡕ	ăt	ת	t	t, θ
ࡖ									ד	d̠	(a)d
ࡗ									כד̠	kd̠	kd̠

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1.1 - The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin:

In the hot and marshy areas along the Tigris and Euphrates in the southern Mesopotamia and along the Karun River which flows through the lowland of Iran (Khuzistan) and, like the Tigris and Euphrates, empties into the Shaṭ-al-Arab and then into the Gulf, there dwells a small community of *Mandaiia*, Mandaeans ("Gnostics"). Their Arab neighbors call them *Ṣubba*, derived from ܨܒܥܐ (צבע) "to immerse or submerge", and refers to their frequent baptism "*maşbuta*".[1] The Qur'an mentions the *al-Ṣabʿiūn* الصابئون in three *sūra* along with the Jews and Christians.[2] The Moslem historians called them the Ṣabians [3] of the swamps (صابئة البطائح) or *al-Mughtasila* (المغتلسة) "those who wash" and they were numerous in the swamps and in the region of Dast-i Maysan.[4] Almasʿūdī tells of a Ṣābian sect called *Kīmāriyyūn* (الكيماريون) which was located between Wasiţ and Basra. He also reported that the Şabeans were related to Şabi bn Mitšolaẖ bn Idris or Şabi bn Mari at the time of Abraham[5]. Al-Nadim mentioned many baptist sects who were living in southern Iraq such as: the "Dashtim", the "Muhājirūn", the "Kašţiūn", the "Mughtasilah", the "al-Hasīh" (Elchasites) and "Şābat al-Baţā'ih".[6] Macuch asserts that the Mandaeans actually settled in southern Mesopotamia and had many names. In Mesene (Maisan) especially they were called by their proper name "Mandaeans and Maškənaeans" and their script and dialect was called *maišānā'it* "Messenian" i. e. "Mandaic".[7]

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[1] SA p. ix. Mani points out that he was living amongst the "Sabaios" which is clearly derived form Aramaic *sobai* which means baptist (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 65).

[2] The Qur'an mentioned the Ṣabians in three suras: *baqarah* no. 62, *haj* no. 15 and *ma'ydah* no. 69

ان ّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ وَالَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَالنَّصَارَى وَالصَّابِئِينَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحاً فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلاَ خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلاَ هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ {62} البقرة

But the Arabs wrongly translated "şb'" צבע as the Arabic صبا 'to convert' instead of Aramaic "şb'" צבע 'to dye' or "submerge". Therefore, Arabic literature still wrongly calls them "those who converted."

[3] Islamic historians referred to all pagans as "Ṣābians," whether Babylonians, Greek, Egyptians or Romans.

[4] المغتسلة: هؤلاء قوم كثيرون بنواحي البطائح، وهم صابئة البطائح، يقولون بالاغتسال ، ويغسلون جميع ما يأكلونه . ورئيسهم يعرف بالحسيح ، وهو الذي شرع الملة ، ويزعم ان الكونين ذكر وأنثى، وأن البقول من شرع الذكر ، وأن الأكشوث من شرع الأنثى وأن الأشجار عروقه ، ولهم أقاويل شنيعة تجري مجرى الخرافة ، وكان تلميذه يقال له: شمعون ، وكانوا يوافقون المانوية في الأصلين ويفترق ملتهم بعد، وفيهم من يعظم النجوم الى وقتنا هذا (أبن النديم ، الفهرست 1994 ص 414).

The Mandaeans call themselves *bhirī zidqa* "the righteous elect" and '*Naşoreans*' (*naşuraiyī*),[8] i.e. "guardians" or "possessors" of secret rites and knowledge "Naşiruta."[9] The Mandaean society, before the Moslem conquest of Iraq, consisted of two classes: (a) the priestly clan or the *Naşoreans*; that is the inner circle of the priests and their novices, and (b) the laymen clan or the

---

"The Mughtasilah: These people are very numerous in the region of al-Baţā'ih, they are [called] the *Şābat al- Baţā'ih*. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as *al-Hasīh* [Elkesaites] and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants [*al-uksūth*] are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven [shameful is the right translation] sayings, taking the form of fables. His [*al-Hasīh*] disciple was named *Sham'ūn*. They agreed with the Manicheans about two elemental [principles], but later their sect became separate. Until this our day, some of them venerate the stars." (*The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, translated and edited by Dodge, London, 1970: 811) Lady Drower asserts that the "Elkasaites were once closely related to Naşoraeans" (SA, p. 97).

[5] Almas'ūī, *al-tanbih wa al-'ishārf*, Brill, Leiden, (1894) pp. 161, 90-91.

[6] Al-Nadim, the *Fihirist*, Budge, 1970: 809 ff.

[7] Macuch R., "The Origin of the Mandaeans and their Script", JSS, 16, 1971 pp. 147-192, esp. p. 191.

[8] Sometimes the heavy 'ş' is written by none Mandaeans as 'z', Nazorenes. (SA p. ix) This term was used by the Jews to designate Christians (Peters, 1972: 668).

[9] Rudolph 1983: 343. Drower defines *Naşiruta* as "esoteric religion within a religion, a gnosis within gnosis, and its heart is the interpretation which it attaches to sacramental acts" (SA p. xv).

Mandaeans who form the greater number of the sect.[10] Although they revered John the Baptist and occasionally mention him in some prayers, their relation to him is still problematic because they consider him "teacher" or "reformer" and never the founder of their faith.[11] In fact there is no mention of a founder of Mandaeism in all their writings.[12] After the Islamic invasion the priestly school which was teaching the esoteric principles of the "Naşiruta" diminished gradually and could no longer fight the new elements of transformation. Eventually, the majority of the Mandaean population had to convert to Islam due to persecution and a heavy poll tax.[13]

No one can determine the first appearance of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, and the question of their origin is still one of the continuing mysteries of Mandaeaen research. After nearly two centuries, this issue still raises much controversy amongst scholars. Some, like Nöldeke, Brandt and Lidzbarski, assert a pre-Christian existence to the Mandaeans, others like Pallis prefer a late dating, i. e. 6th century C.E.[14] In fact, Lidzbarski envisaged a Mandaic migration from the Transjordan towards Parthia in the first century even before the destruction of the Jewish kingdom in 70 C.E.[15] Some Arab historians dates the Mandaeans (Ṣabeans) back to the very end of Babylonia, such as al-Birūni (11th century) who wrote, "the Ṣabiyūn are the remnant of the Jewish tribes who remained in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes adopted a system mixed up of Magianism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria."[16] Although the Mandaeans believe they are *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous ones", they admit all nations generated from the Jews: *mn ama d̲iahuṭaiia kulhun amamia ubabia minaihun npaq* "from the Jews all nations and sects came forth."[17] In addition, the Mandaean scroll "Haran Gawaita" states clearly that the Naṣoraeans had indeed migrated from "Jerusalem" to the *ṭaura d̲Mi̲dai* "the Median hills" under the protection of the Parthian king "Artabanus":[18]

---

[10] Cf. the Manichaean community which was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') and the greater number of hearers or catechumens ("the continent") (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 23). Shaked stated, "Mandaean doctrine was restricted to people deemed to possess a higher type of piety just as in Manichaeism and Mazdakite movement" (Shaked, 1994: 75).

[11] Yamauchi, 1970: 80 ff.

[12] In this respect Drower comments, "For the Mandaeans there was no founder to reverence, no great prophet to single out as leader, no human saint upon whom to pinpoint devotion."(Drower, "Mandaen Polemic", BSOAS, Vol. 25, (1962), pp. 438-448, esp. p. 438).

[13] Brandt writes: "The disintegration of the community after the Islamic invasion led, by means of the compilation of the divergent tractates and traditions, to the present-day disorder in the Mandaean religion. The "little college" of priests was dispersed throughout Mesopotamia and could no longer overcome the disunion" (Brandt, 1889: 58 cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 212).

[14] Pallis believes that all Jewish names and ideas mentioned in the Mandaean writings are derived from Islam (Pallis, 1926: 118).

> "Haran Gawaita (The Inner Haran) received him and that city in which there were Naṣoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus). And sixty thousand Naṣoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (*ṭura d̲Midai*), a place where they were free from domination by all other races. And they built

---

[15] Lidzbarski, Ginza p. x. See also Rudolph, 1969: 213. Neusner believes that the Mandaeans were subject to a kind of persecution in Hasmonean times, or during the war of 66-73 against Rome (Neusner J., JAOS, 1975: 184-190, esp. p. 188).

[16] Al-Bairuni, *al-Athar al-Baqiyah*, Leipzig, 1923: 206:

الصابئة هم الذين تخلفوا ببابل من جملة الأسباط الناهضة في أيام كورش وأيام أرتطحشست الى بيت المقدس ومالوا الى شرائع المجوس فصبوا الى دين بختنصر فذهبوا مذهبا ممتزجاً من المجوسية واليهودية كالسامرة بالشام.

[17] GRR, p. 30: 8. The text:

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡉࡀࡄࡅࡈࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

[18] Rudolph points out that this migration was towards the north-west Iran between Harran and Nisibis or Media during the period of the later Arsacids (1st or 2nd century C.E.) Rudolph, 1983: 364. Coxon points out that Ardashir I, who became king in the year CE 208, conquered Mesene (Characene) and established the Sasanian suzerainty after a decisive battle against Artabanus V in C.E. 224 (Coxon, JSS, 1970: 17).

cult-huts (*bimandia*) and abode in the Call came to their end.."[19]

The great difficulty in studying Mandaeism is one of chronology. Despite the fact that much has been written about their origin and much speculation, the Mandaeans are the only Gnostic group who call themselves explicitly "Mandaeans" which equals the Greek "*gnostikoi*". In fact they are the only Gnostic sect which is still in existence. Other Gnostic groups in Egypt, Syria and Palestine vanished, long ago. Many scholars believe that the Mandaeans (Naşoreans), among other "heterodox groups," who flourished in the East were not native movements but rather "migrated there in the hope of escaping the waves of repression that periodically swept the West."[20] It was in Mesopotamia, in contact with the traditions and faiths of Persia, that these Naşoreans adopted dualism and became Mandaeans "Gnostics".[21] Some Mandaean hymns and writings (other than *Haran Gawaita*) verify their exodus from the West and their arrival at Babylon in the East. The following hymn speaks of a kind of reunion between those Naşorean immigrants (from Jerusalem) and their kinfolks in Babylonia:

---

[19] Drower, Haran Gawaita, 1953: 3. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[20] Reeves, 1996: 46.

[21] Beyer states, "Mandaic was adopted by Naşoraeans, a Gnostic/Baptist community, after they had left Palestine (Jordan area) in the 1st century C.E. as a result of the hostility of contemporary Judaism and had migrated at the latest in the middle of 2nd century C.E. via northern Mesopotamia (Haran/Charrhae) to southern Babylonia (Mesene, Kuzistan)" (Cited by Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 51).

> From the home of the great community therein, I became the healer for souls! I became a healer for souls who heals but takes no fee. I set forth, came and reached the gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon there were some who shut their doors on seeing me: There were some who shut their doors. And there were those who opened their doors. Those who shut their doors hated Life and loved death and will be held back in the Abode of Darkness. Those who opened their doors loved Life and hated Death, they hated Death and loved Life. They will rise up in purity and will behold the Place of Light.[22]

It seems that the Naşoraeans flourished in Babylonia under the Parthian kingdom and dwelt, like the other Baptist and Gnostic sects (e.g. Elchsaites and Manicheans) in central and southern Babylonia in towns such as Kutha, Borsippa, Nippur[23] and Purat-Maysan.[24] As soon as they settled down they got acquainted with the magic and astrology of the Chaldeans and the astrology of the Babylonians.[25] Hence, they became the soothsayers and "masters" of incantations in Mesopotamia, from whence originated "the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic."[26] The Sasanians brought their flourishing to an end when the Zoroastrian state under Shapur I (241-272) began the persecution of "foreign" religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Manichaeism and Gnosticism, and ordered the destruction of many Mandaean temples.[27] Kardir (late 3rd century C.E.),[28] tells us in his inscription at *naqsh-i-Rustam* how he initiated a religious persecution of great severity throughout the Persian Empire against the other religions such as Manicheans, Jews, *kristyānē* Christians, *nāṣorāyē* Naṣoreans etc.[29] This inscription can be taken as a solid evidence of the existence of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, along with other Baptist/Gnostic sects at that time in Sasanian Iraq. In this respect Quispel writes: "The Mandaean problem has become an open question again since Torgny Säve Söderbergh has shown that the Manichaean *Psalms of Thomas* were based upon extant Mandaean hymns, thus proving that the Mandaean sect in Iraq must had a very long prehistory."[30]

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[22] CP pp. 142-43 (hymn No. 164). Drower's translation, text attested:
[illegible]

[23] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, 2004: 53.

[24] Forat-Mišan is situated in the neighborhood of Basra, the ancient dwelling place of the Mandadaeans. Brandt points out that the Perate branch of the Ophite gnosis was founded by Εὐφράτης or Περατικός whom the "Perates" obtained their name (Brandt, 1889: 192). According to Lidzbarski, some Characenian coins were written in the Mandaic script. (Naveh, "The Origin of the Mandaic Script", BASOR, 1970: 33). Jewish communities also flourished under the tolerant rule of the Achaemenids and Arsacids (SA, p. 99).

[25] See *Sfar Malwašia* "The Mandaean Book of the Zodiac", translated by Drower, London (1949).

In the sixteenth century, the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran came to the attention of the Western world through the Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied the Portuguese armada in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and came into contact with the Mandaeans in and about Basra and in Khuzistan.[31] The Jesuits thought that they discovered the "heretical Christians of St. John," but to the disappointment of the monks they could not convince the Mandaeans, except for a few, to join the Christian faith. But they succeeded in recruiting some of them as mercenaries and interpreters who sailed with the Portuguese fleet to the Strait of Hormuz, Masqat, Goa, Ceylon and even to Portugal itself.[32] When the Portuguese witnessed the persecution of the Mandaeans at the hands of the Moslems,[33] the Portuguese reached an agreement with the Pasha of Basra to move the Mandaeans to the Christian lands, but the Pasha went back on his word and did not allow the Mandaeans to leave and the exodus came to a halt.[34]

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[26] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 11 & 12, 1999-2000: 296. Theodore bar Khoni says, "The *Dostai* are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Armaia Naṣōraeans (*Naṣrāiā*). (Cited by Eisler, 1931: 616, from: Pognon, *Inscr. Mandaites*, p. 224 sq. ; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 383; E. Peterson, *Z.N.T.W.*, xxvii. 1928: 65 n. 2, 95 n. 7).

[27] Rudolph, 1983: 364.

[28] Kartir is *Moabadan-Moabad* "the high priest" of the Magians who flourished under Shapur I, Hormizd I, Bahrām I, II, and III (Zaehner, 1955: 23-25).

[29] Zaehner, 1955: 24. Widengren, 1961: 16-17. Shaked, 1994: 11 and n. 15.

[30] He continues: "The curious expression "Lord of Greatness" in Mandaean writings has been found in the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon*. Moreover, I cannot explain the parallels between the names of Mandaean divinities and those found in certain Hellenistic magical papyri unless the Mandaeans have very old Western roots", "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 19, 1965: 79.

Conclusion:

According to the Mandaean manuscript "Haran Gawaita"[35] and other historical records, distinguished Semitic scholars, such as Lidsbarski, contented that Mandaism (literature and cult) is influenced strongly by the Old Testament and can only have originated in Jewish circles.[36] We might, therefore, conclude that the Naṣoraeans were either a heterodox Jewish sect or the followers of John the Baptist, who did not convert to Christianity, and they fled to the east before the fall of Jerusalem in C.E. 70 because they were persecuted by the Jews.[37] Having first settled in northern Mesopotamia (Haran),[38] they moved to the Median hills of old Parthia and finally settled in Babylon and southern Mesopotamia, where they still live. This migration might explain the cultural influences of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and the old Babylonian religion on the Mandaean writings.

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[31] Kraeling, 1929: 195.

[32] Lupieri, 2002: 83 ff.

[33] In 1637 all the Jews and Mandaeans of Persia were forced to convert to Islam (Lupieri, 2002: 104).

[34] Lupieri, 2002: 105.

[35] Lady Drower is certain that: "Haran Gawaita" is an important manuscript and might contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Mandaeans (See Drower "Haran Gawaita" (1953) p. viii).

[36] Lidzbarski, 1915: xvi where he writes: "*Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultus ist so stark durch das Alte Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst ausserhalb des Judentums findet*". See also his similar views in *Mandäische Liturgien* 1920: xix and in *Ginza,* 1925: vi. Later, Lady Drower adopted the theory of a western origin of the Mandaeans in heretical Jewish circles: "early Naṣiruta, or *Ur-Mandäismus* to use the convenient German

§ 1.2 - The Mandaean System:

The Mandaeans believe in two universes: (i) An intangible universe which is beyond our perception, and consists of two worlds: the World of Light and the World of Darkness. (ii) The world of *mšūni kušṭa*[39] and the tangible world of Tibil (earth). According to their belief, the *Mana Rba* "the Great Mana" (Intelligence), who dominates the World of Light, issued *Hiia Qadmiia* "the First Life" from the great *yardina* "Jordan" of Life. In turn, the First Life submitted a request to himself and created a son of his own whom he called *Hiia Taniania* "the Second Life" or "Yōšamin". The Second Life became

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expression, was originally a sect which flourished in Judaea and Samaria then possibly in Parthian-Jewish settlements and in Transjordania, and that it was a hybrid strongly influenced by Magianism and Jewish Gnosticism" (Drower, "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) p. 448).

[37] The Mandaeans always define themselves as the followers of John the Baptist (*Yahia Yuhana*) in Jerusalem (SA, p. vi). According to Josephus, John the Baptist had "an astonishingly persuasive power over the Jewish populace" (Mead, 1924: 4).

[38] For the Mandaean polemic toward Christians, see Drower "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) pp. 438-48, esp. pp. 439-440, which might allude to their reason for moving from Haran.

[39] *mšūni kušṭa* : the world of ideal counterparts. "It is a world of ideas, in which is found in the double, the counterpart of everything in the material world" (See Drower, *The Secret Adam*, 1960: 39 ff.).

infatuated with the idea of creating a world of his own. He, therefore, transferred his defecting tendency to his son Abatur "the Third Life". Abatur opened the gate of the World of Light, and as soon he gazed into the abyss (or: darkness) Ptahil "the Fourth Life", came into being. Ptahil, who received a mandate from his father Abatur, descended to the black waters, consolidated *arqa* "the earth" and created the material world. On the other hand, the Lord of Darkness created a kingdom for himself with demonic beings of monsters, dragons, evil spirits and most of all the "Seven" (planets), and the "Twelve" (signs of the Zodiac) and their mother, the goddess of Darkness "Rūha". As a counter move, the World of Light created *Manda ḏ-Hiia* "Gnosis of Life"[40] in order to put an end to the defection of the *uthras* "beings of the World of Light" and to conquer the evil forces of the World of Darkness.

Ptahil, with the assistance of Rūha and her entourage, tried to create Adam but they could not succeed to make him stand on his feet. Therefore, Ptahil went back to the World of Light and brought from his father the *nišimta* "soul" and cast it into Adam's body. Only then Adam stood on his feet and became aware of his existence. The core of the Mandaean's soteriology is the deliverance of the *nišimta* "soul" from the perishable body. When death occurs the soul leaves the body and begins a long journey through the *maṭaratia* "watch-houses" or "purgatories" before reaching its final destination; *alma ḏnhura* "the World of Light".

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[40] Manda ḏ-Hiia: Gnosis of Life and the Mandaean Redeemer (See below §2.3.2).

There are minor resemblances between the Mandaean story of creation and the Babylonian one such as the creation of the savior and his fight against the forces of evil. These resemblances led scholars, such as Brandt, to believe that Mandaeism is an off-shoot of the late Babylonian religion; he even assumed that Mandaeism was the centre from which the Ophite [41] and similar Gnostic system issued. [42] Lady Drower dedicated the introduction of her book "Secret Adam" to the Naşoraeans and their exodus from Palestine, which she dates to just after the destruction of the 2nd temple. She also discusses their possible relationship with Jewish-Palestinian groups.[43]

§ 1.3 - Mandaism and Gnosticism:

In addition to the resemblances between Mandaeism and the Babylonian religion, we find striking parallels between the Mandaic Gnostic motifs and the motifs of the other Gnostic sects such as the Hermetists and the Valentinians especially in the area of the redeemer and the ascent of the soul.[44] Gnosticism, the most problematic of cults, is first clearly attested in the second century C.E., but its exact origin is still of great controversy among scholars.[45] It gathered momentum in the following century and spread to

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[41] A Gnostic sect flourished in north Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt during the first century (Wilson, 1958: 177ff).

[42] Pallis, 1926: 151.

[43] Drower, SA, p. xiv.

[44] Jonas writes, "The celestial journey of the returning soul is indeed one of the most constant common features in otherwise widely divergent systems, and its significance for the gnostic mind is enhanced by the fact that it represents a belief not only essential in gnostic theory and expectation, and expressive of the conception of man's relation to the world, but of immediate *practical* importance to the Gnostic believer, since the meaning of *gnosis* is to prepare for this final event, and all its ethical, ritual, and technical instruction is meant to secure its successful completion" (Jonas 1958: 165).

[45] Godwin, J., 1981: 84. Rudolph points out that "The beginning and end of Gnosis in late antiquity cannot be pin-pointed exactly. It makes appearance at the beginning of the Christian

Egypt and to the Fertile Crescent.[46] Some contemporary scholars, such as Quispel, believe that Gnosticism is neither the product of the Greek philosophy nor "a fossilized survival of old Iranian or even Indian religious concept."[47]

According to the Mandaean manuscript *Haran Gawaita* Mandaeism "Naṣoraeanism" struck roots in Mesopotamia when a tendency to relegate the gods of the old religions and to adopt the Persian dualism at the dawn of the first millennium when the country was under the Parthian-Sasanian dominion.[48] Mandaeism and other baptist gnostic-type movements must have been around much at that time.[49] Some hypotheses say that the Naṣoreans, who settled in East Jordan, became under the persecution of both the Jews and Christians, and for that reason they sought refuge in a friendlier atmosphere of Parthia and Media hills and from there they moved down to Babylon and southern Mesopotamia.[50] Naṣoreaanism preserved the old Gnostic tenet that the world is created by foolish creator or demiurge, who himself came into being as a result of an error and that the soul is a "spark" from the World of Light has to be redeemed and sent back to its origin, along

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era and disappears again at the latest in the 6th century, as far as the western manifestations are concerned" (Rudolph, 1983: 367).

[46] Jonas, 1958: 91. For more about different Gnostic sects in Mesopotamia see Morony, 1984: 408 ff.

[47] Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigliae Christianae*, 1965: 73. Quispel also noted: "It is rather a religion of its own, with its own phenomenological structure, characterized by the mythical expression of Self-experience through the revelation of the Word, or in other words, by an awareness of a tragic split within the Deity itself" (Ibid).

[48] Haran Gawaita tells that the Naṣoreans (Mandaeans) migrated from Jerusalem under the Parthian king Artabanus III (?). (see Drower, *Haran Gawaita*, 1953: 3, n. 3).

[49] Shaked, 1994: 11.

[50] SA, p. xi.

with many indications of syncretistic Judaism. Many distinguished scholars [51] conclude that Naṣoraeanism (Mandaeism) is a heretical Jewish sect and its members are the "ultimate descendant of the Palestinian baptists of New Testament times and the period immediately preceding."[52] The divorce between this sect and official Judaism perhaps took place during the first and the second centuries C.E.[53] This defection of the Naṣoraeans from Judaism is documented in one of the rarest Mandaean passages which is connected with the consecration of a priest:

> And then he spoke and taught about the man who becomes a priest on earth and who leaves lay life for priesthood, like the soul which quits Judaism for Mandaeaism. For before it is baptized an infant dwells in an abode of Judaism, and a guardian-spirit of Light sits beside it (lit: sits on its neck) guarding it and awaiting its delivery from the snares of the Jews.[54]

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[51] Such as: Rudolph 1983: 362, he also writes: "in the context of the Jewish wars of independence and the growing consolidation of Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), its position in opposition evidently led to persecutions of the community and ultimately to its emigration from the Jordan territory to the east." (Ibid pp. 363-4), Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 1925: vi, Lidzbarski, *Mandäisce Liturgien*, 1920: xix, Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, 1915: xvi, Drower, SA, p. x ff., Deutsch, ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 209-223, esp. 212. Reeves points out that: "Mandaism is a prominent Syro-Mesopotamian Gnostic movement possessing discernible links with late antique Judaism" (Reeves, 1996: 143).

[52] Wilson, 1958:66-7, Yamauchi, 1973: 121-2.

[53] Rudolph, 1978: 4.

[54] ATŠ II [358], p. 276. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Drower states: "there is often a polemical interchange of (ṭ) with (*d*) when scribes refer to Jews. Here either could be meant, as the two letters frequently replace one another. (In Ginza Rba Judaism is *yahduta*.) The polemical world-play on YHṬ and YHD is commented on by Lidzbarski (ATŠ, p. 255 n. 8).

The following text is another significant clue which may suggest that Mandaeism was a heterodox Jewish sect who chose to adopt Gnosticism "Mandaeism":

> He said to them: "The first *kušṭa* (oath) is a precious *kušṭa*; it is the promise made at baptism which takes the soul out of its *yahuṭuth* ('Judaism') into Mandaeism."[55]

The Mandaean tale of Miriai, the Jewish princess who left her religion and joined the Mandaeans, also shows a possible connection between the earliest Mandaeans and Jewish sectarians of the Second Temple period.[56] Other Mandaean writings from the Ginza such as the eleventh book of the Right Ginza "the Mystery book of Great Anoš (Enosh)" and book twelve, identifying the speaker as the "great Anoš", possess discernible links with the antique Judaism.[57]

The evolution of Mandaeism was summed up by H. –M. Shenke in three points: (1) originally the Mandaens were a heretical Jewish baptismal sect, one among many. (2) The Mandaeans then accepted a Gnostic view. (3) This gnosis was finally institutionalized.[58]

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[55] ATŠ II [198], p. 255. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[56] Zalcman, 1991: 421.

[57] Reeves, 1996: 143. Concerning the history of the Mandaean textual corpus he stated: "If a clear connection can be established between the *Codex* "apocalypse" passage and Mandaean Enosh material, an important step would be taken toward an improved understanding of the religio-historical relationship linking a number of Syrio-Mesopotamian religious communities" (Ibid, pp. 143-4). Reeves also adds: "The amazingly close correspondence in language between the *Codex* passage and the Mandaean texts is extraordinary, bolstering the growing suspicion that they derive from a common textual corpus" (Ibid, p. 147). On the other hand the Mandaeans accused the Jews of not observing the laws of impurity at all. (GRR, book XI. See also Lidzbarski, Ginza, pp. 224-5 where Kiwan "Saturn" is the god of the Jews).

We may outline the main parallel and different features of the Mandaean Gnostic system and the general Gnostic system according to the following table:

§ 1.3.1 - General Parallels and Differences between Gnosticism and Mandaeanism:

Gnosticism	**Mandaeanism**
1. The Gnostic system is based upon the dualistic opposition between the transcendental world of the "fullness" (*pleroma*) embracing the High God and the Aeons, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the "emptiness" (*kenoma*), the planetary and terrestrial world inhabited by man.	1. The Gnostic system of the Mandaeans is based upon the opposition between the transcendental (*nukraiia*) world of Light embracing *hiia rbia qadmaiia* "the First Great Life" (or: the King of Light) and the *uthras*, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of Darkness, the Seven planets (*šibiahia*) and terrestrial world (*tibil*) inhabited by man.
2. The *kenoma* came about because of some crisis in the *pleroma*, whereby the lowest of the Aeons on the emanation scale, a female figure	2. The physical world came about because of the crises caused by the Second Life "Yōšamin" and his sons the *uthras* when they decided to create a

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[58] Quoted from Yamauchi, 1973: 122.

known variously as Wisdom (Sophia) or Thought (*Enonoia*) lapsed out of the *pleroma*, and in her confusion and dissatisfaction, she produced the angel archons, generally seven in number, who created and then ruled the world.	world of their own without consulting the higher deity, the First Life. Abatur (the Third Life) lapsed out of the world of Light, and in his confusion and dissatisfaction, produced Ptahil (the Fourth Life). Ptahil created the world with the help of Rūha and her sons the Seven planets who ruled the world.
3. The spark or spirit (*pneuma*) of the divine *pleroma* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place on high.	3. The soul *nišimta* or *mana* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place; the World of Light.
4. An Aeon (Jesus) is sent down to redeem the innermost part of every man's *pneuma* through suffering.	4. The messenger *Manda d-Hiia* (Gnosis of Life) or Enosh-Uthra is sent down to lead the *nišimta* (soul) to its final destination through *gnosis* "knowledge" and "awakening."
5. Gnosticism is optimistic towards the destiny of man and pessimistic towards the universe.[59]	5. Mandaeanism is optimistic towards the destiny of the *nišimta* (soul) of man and pessimistic towards the physical world "Tibil".

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[59] Extracts from Peters, 1972: 648 ff.

§ 1.4 - The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans:

> "The great importance which the Mandaeans attribute to their cult practices shows their special character even more clearly. It is not "knowledge" alone that redeems but the cultic rites, primarily baptism and the "mass for the dead", are necessary for salvation."[60]

§ 1.4.1 - ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *Maṣbuta* (Baptism)

The central cultic rite of the Mandaeans is baptism or "immersion" ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ (*maṣbuta*, pronounced *maṣwatta*). It is the immersion in the fluid of Life which gives the promise of eternal life to the *nišimta* "soul".[61] The rite of baptism had the esoteric significance of an initiation into the mystery of gnosis. To the Mandaean water is the medium which most fully expresses the mystery of being, or of the Being which is semi personified as the 'Great Life', and a river is the equivalent of the heavenly 'Jordan' flowing in the world of light:[62] Thus ࡌࡉࡀ *mia* "water" originates in (Life) and conversely ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* "Life" originates in water. By performing baptism in the *yardina* "river" the Mandaean enters a into *laupa* "union" with the World of Light. Thus, the

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[60] Rudolf, 1983: 360. He continues: "From this it may be deduced that here the gnostic ideology was amalgamated with that of an older cultic community, a heretical Jewish baptismal sect as is suggested by the water rites, and that thus an original Mandaean-Naṣorean system came into existence, probably already in pre-Christian times."

[61] MII, p. 100.

[62] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 229.

Mandaean is protected from the powers of death, purified from pollution and defilement and also receives forgiveness for his transgression.[63]

In addition to the immersion in the running water, the full baptism includes the sacrament of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving *kušṭa*'[64] and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. Besides the full baptism there are two lesser water rites which are performed without priestly assistance:

1. *rišama*: prayers recited daily, with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels. At this stage no priest is needed.
2. *ṭamaša*: the second ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without ministration of a priest. It must be performed immediately after any kind of pollution (coition, nocturnal pollution, touching an unclean person) and after any serious defilement such as touching the body of a dead person. It must be also performed by a woman after menstruation and after child birth.[65]

Some scholars believe that certain roots of the Mandaean baptism is related to the Jewish rule such the prohibition of baptism and other rites on the Sabbath and on the *mbaṭṭal* (inauspicious) days.[66] But repeated baptism was a common feature among the different gnositc sects of Babylonia such as the Elchasaites who were attacked by Mani for their *daily* baths.[67] The Mandaean baptism is unique of its kind and did not come into being as a reproduction of the Christian-Syrian, especially Neșțorian rite. "In fact it is possible that certain characters go back to a pre-Christian period and have their origin in the lustral and baptismal practice of unorthodox Judaism, i.e. in the so-called baptismal sects (Mașboteans, Șebueans, cf. Șābeans)."[68] Other Gnostics such as the Ebionites and Hemerobaptists also performed repeated baptism.[69]

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[63] For the full details of the Mandaean baptism *maṣbuta* see Segelberg, *Maṣbūtā* , Uppsala (1958), MII p. 100 ff., Buckley, 2002: 80 ff.

[64] *kušṭa*: (a) "good faith", "rectitude", "truth", "sincerity", "right", "pact", "troth", "promise". (b) The act of placing the right hand in that of another person in token of and ratification of a pact, oath or promise. This act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. (c) A being, a personification of truth and good faith (ATŠ, p. 12).

[65] MII, p.101.

[66] Segelberg, 1958: 176.

The pliability of the research in the field of Mandaeism is always ambushed by the ambiguity of some terms and characters.[70] In baptism we are faced with an indefinite personality of *bihram rba* "Bihram the Great" as we read in the following baptismal formula:

> "I have baptized myself with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the Mighty Ones. My baptism shall protect me and attain the end (or: be successful). The name of Life and the name of Manda ḏ-Hiia be pronounced on me."[71]

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[67] For Mani's confrontation with the baptists see Henrichs, 1973: 43. In respect of the ritual immersion in Babylonia, Drower writes: "Ritual immersion was ancient indeed in Babylonia, and during Iranian domination shrines had been built on the Tigris and Euphrates to the water-goddess Anahita, who under her Semitic name Nanai or Nanaia is still invoked in Mandaean exorcism books" (SA, pp. 104-5).

[68] Foerster, 1974: 132.

[69] Henrichs, 1973: 50.

[70] In the Mandaean marriage we come across *Šišlam Rba* who is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.

[71] CP, p. 21. The texts:

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡑࡁࡉࡕ ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡕࡉࡍࡈࡓࡀࡍ ࡅࡕࡉࡎࡀࡒ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ
ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

Bihram, as it seems, is the core of the ritual, but he does not play any significant role in the Mandaean mythology. It is obvious that Bihram is a Persian name associated with some Persian kings,[72] and with the Persian god Bahram or Vahram.[73] We have no evidence, whatsoever, to prove that the Bihram mentioned at the Mandaean baptism is a human being who established the sect, as implied by some. Others, like Segelberg, hypothesized that when the Mandaens settled in the East during the Sassanian period they replaced the name of *Yohana* "John the Baptist" with Bihram in order to legitimize the new religion to the rulers of the country.[74]

In addition to the main baptism, which is performed in every religious event including marriage, the Mandaeans perform a minor ablution (baptism) to the dying person. After the priest performs *rišama* "the minor ablution", the mortally ill person is dressed in his *rasta* (ritual dress), and a small myrtle wreath is inserted in the little finger of his right hand and he is watched carefully day and night so that he not die unclean. At the end of the *rišama* the priest recites some prayers, while some members of the dying person's family bring water from the river. When death approaches, the dying person is undressed and doused three times from head to foot. They lift him and place him on clean bedding facing the North Star.[75] Then they cloth him in a new *rasta* and wait for his *nišimta* (soul) to depart his body. [76] In the past other Gnostic sects such as the Valentinians and the Marconsians used to perform this kind of baptism for their dying people.[77]

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[72] Bihram I, Bihram, Birhram III and Bahram IV (Zaehner, 1955: 38 ff).

[73] About this ambiguous figure, which is closely associated with the Mandaean baptism, Drower writes: "His name is Iranian (Avestan Vəδəθaγnα) and the Mandaean Bihram may be the Persian genius of victory (New Persian *Bahrām* < Middle Persian *Varhrān*) . . The presence of the banner at Mandaean baptism may be connected with Bihram's banner of victory" (SA p. 65). Vahram or Baharam (Verethraghna), the *yazata* "is the Persian god of the planets and victory who was created by Ahura and became the great champion against demons" (Boyce, 1975: 54, see also Zaehner, 1955: 220). Lupieri suggests that the Mandaeans who lived in Characene since the second century must have chosen Bihram (the deity of Maisan) as eponymous deity of their baptism (Lupieri, 2002: 163 f.).

[74] Segelberg, 1955: 57 ff. At any account this subject needs further research.

§ 1.4.2 - ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡀ The Masiqta (Ascent of the Soul)

The Masiqta is the second major ceremony of the Mandaeans and it, too, includes immersion in "Jordan" (river, running water), anointing with oil and crowning with the myrtle wreath. It is the Naşoraean mass dedicated to those who die "unclean" without the proper ceremony of the dead. The Mandaean has to die clean wearing his white ceremonial outfit in order to join his heavenly *dmuta* "image, counterpart": "I go to meet my image and my image comes to me: it caresses and embraces me as if I were returning from captivity."[78] The Mandaeans believe that a man who dies in a violent death suffers long and painful delay in the *maṭaratia* (watch-houses) before moving into the next world. Therefore, a *masiqta* "ascension" ceremony has to be performed three days after the death of the believer in order to assist *nišimta* "the soul", by furnishing it with a new body, with which it could enter the

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[75] Perhaps this is due to the old Mesopotamian influences, since the north is connected to high lands "mountains".

[76] MII p. 178 ff.

[77] Widengren, 1946: 108.

[78] GRL, p. 136: 1. The text:
[illegible]
Cf. the "figure of light that comes to meet the dying" in the Coptic-Manichaean genealogy of gods (Jonas, 1958: 122).

World of Light.[79] For the Mandaeans the fate of the *nišimta* is the main concern, because *pagra* "the body" cannot rise to the world of Light and eventually integrates back into the earth.[80]

The *masiqta* is a long ceremony, which requires the presence of, at least, three priests: a *ganzibra*[81] "head-priest", a *tarmida* "priest" and a *šganda* "assistant". The preparations for this ceremony start on Saturdays only and the main ritual takes place on Sunday.[82] The main ingredients of *masiqta* "ascension" are the recitation of certain prayers from the Left Ginza, and a sacramental meal. The meal includes unleaved bread, [83] different kind of fruit and nuts, fish, and a tiny piece of sacrificed white dove-flesh (*ba*).[84] There must be fresh myrtle and a large bowl of water just filled from the *yardina* "river".[85] The recitations are continued at fixed intervals until the end of the forty-five days' journey of the soul.[86] There are at least nine major variants of the Mandaean *masiqta*:

1. The *Bukra*: the first *masiqta* performed by a priest after ordination. 2. The *masiqta* of newly-consecrated *ganzabra*. 3. The *Dabahata* or *Ţabahata*:

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[79] On the third day a *masiqta* is performed for the dead and the seal of the grave is removed.
[80] Drower, 1956: 234.
[81] *Ganzibra* (Paž. Ganzubar, Pahl. ganǧāβar, Mod. P. گنجور , Aram. loan-word גזברא ܓܙܒܪܐ) treasurer: the ecclesiastical rank above that of the *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) Akk. *ganzabāru* "treasurer" (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, 2000: 90, see also Macuch, 196 5: 139).
[82] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, 2004: 18.
[83] The Manicheans share two rites with the Mandaeans: the purification of their food and the ritual preparation of unleaved bread (*faiţira*) (See Henrichs, 1973: 45).
[84] A ritual word for the dove sacrificed at the *masiqta*, and the sacred dove's meat consumed by the priests at the same (MD, p. 44).
[85] Drower comments: "the symbolism of water, fruit, bread and fresh myrtle, are linked with the idea of fertility and life triumphant over death." (Drower, "The Mandaean New Year Festival", *Man*, Vo. 36 (Nov., 1936), pp. 185-188, esp. p. 188).
[86] Rudolph, 1983: 362.

celebrated in the names of a male and female, and linked with the celebration of a *Dukrana lhdaia rba zadiqa*. 4. The *masiqta* of *Shitil*: celebrated for one who dies not wearing a myrtle-wreath or otherwise improperly clad for death. 5. The *masiqta* of *Zihrun Razia Kasia*: celebrated for one who had died during of the minor *mbaṭṭal* days (inauspicious days on which all ritual is forbidden), etc. 6. The *masiqta* of Adam: for one who has died on one of the major *mbaṭṭal* days, such as New Year's Day. 7. The *masiqta* of *Samandri'il*: for a person who has died of burns, or has fallen from a tree or been drowned. 8. The *masiqta* of *kanat*: for a woman who dies during pregnancy. 9. *masiqta* of *hai-šūm*: for a person who died as a result of a snake bite. There are other *masiqta* for a bride-groom who died during wedding ceremonies and for moving the remains of a dead person.[87]

While the *masiqta* is intended essentially for the dead, it is also applied to living. A *masiqta* is performed in the ceremony of initiating a new priest. The *ašualia* "novice for priesthood" dedicates a *masiqta* to his *rabi* "teacher" and pronounces his name at a certain point in the ritual where the name of officiating priest has to be indicated.

§ 1.5 - The Mandaean Calendar

The Mandaeans have a lunar year, which is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named *Parwanaiia*,[88] which fall between *Sumbulta* "Virgo", the 8th month, and Qaina "Libra" (Tišrin), the 9th month. The beginning of the "Panja" festival changes depending upon the movements of lunar months in the year.[89] The Mandaean calendar is a 365-day calendar consisting of twelve 30-day months, with 5 epagomenals inserted at the end of the 8th month. This compensation takes place during the *Parwanaiia* (or: *Panaja* = five days) which is celebrated by the Mandaeans during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin).[90]

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[87] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, Nijmegen (2004) pp. 13-14.

[88] The word Parwanaiia (parwānāyē) connected with the Parthian adverb *parwan*, "before or after" (Mary Boyce, "A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian", *Acta Iranica* 9a. (Leiden, 1977), p. 72. n. 7, see also Burtea, "Šarh ḏ-Paranaiia", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 66).

During the five days preceding, no religious ceremony except a funeral may be performed, and no undertaking of importance should be begun, for these are considered to be "days of darkness".[91] They are followed by the five intercalary days mentioned above, called "days of light". Mandaeans are forbidden to pray after sunset at other times of the year, but during the nights of *Parwanaiia* darkness is considered non-existent, and praise and prayer flow continually. Barriers between this world and the world of Light are down.

The Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. The beings of light are:

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[89] The term Panja means the five *Gatha* days, also called *Khamsat al-mustariqat*, was used in the Persian as well as in the Sistanian calendars during the 5th century (See Taqizadeh, "The Old Iranian Calendar again", BSOAS, Vol. 14, No. 3, (1952), pp. 603-611, esp. p. 608).

[90] The old Iranian calendar (of 12 months of 30 days and 5 supplementary days) are still in use in many districts of Kashan, Natanz, Maima, Javshagan, and the in the province of Yazd. (Ibid, 610).

[91] The Mandaeans think the five days preceding intercalary days particularly ominous, because they are dedicated to the evil spirits of death and darkness.

Marad-Rabuta, Manda d̲-Hiia, Šišlam-Rba, Adam-Shaq and Hibil-Ziwa.[92] Although this calendar could have been borrowed from the Zoroastrians at any time in the early Middle Ages, further characteristics of the Mandaean calendar suggest earlier origins that would pre-date the Middle Ages, the Sassanians, and even Mandaeism itself. The twelve months of the Mandaean year grouped and named according to four seasons (e.g. the first month of the year is called *awal sitwa*, "first of the winter") but also bear Babylonian (Aramaic) names of months. The month Nisan designates the 3rd month of the year, exactly as in the Sogdian calendar, but incongruously since Nisanu is the 1st month of the Babylonian year.

The twelve months of the Mandaean year are divided into four seasonal divisions: *Sitwa* (winter), *Abhar* (spring), *Giṭa* (summer), and *Paiz* (autumn). The months are also named according to the signs of the Zodiac: *Daula* "Aquarius" (Šabat), *Nuna* "Pisces" (Adar), *Ambra* "Aries" (Nisan), *Taura* "Taurus" (Ayar), *Ṣilmia* "Gemini" (Siwan), *Ṣirṭana* "Cancer" (Tammuz), *Arya* "Leo" (Ab) *Šumbulta* "Virgo" (Ellul), *Qaina* "Libra" (Tišrin), *Arqba* "Scorpio" (Mašrwan), *Haṭia* "Sagittarius" (Kanun), *Gadia* "Capricon" (Ṭabit). Each year is named after the day which it began, e.g. the Year of Habšaba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. The Mandaean New Year is called Dihba Rba.[93] The Mandaeans count the 24 hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: "the night of Tuesday" to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.

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[92] ATŠ, pp. 116-7. Hibil-Ziwa: a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Manda d̲-Hiia.
[93] See MII, pp. 84-5.

The Mandaean calendar has the additional incongruity of beginning the year with the winter season, whereas the Persian-Zoroastrian New Year is normally associated with the spring. The Persian-Zoroastrian New Year coincided with early winter in the 1st century B.C.E., so the essential names of Mandaean months may have been instituted in this period.[94] The Mandaeans are the only non-Iranian people who adopted the old Iranian calendar, along with quite a number of other beliefs, of the later Sasanian period i.e., the time of Khosrau the Great (sixth century) without the slightest change.[95] But the Mandaeans did not use the Persian names of the months and kept the Semitic ones, as mentioned above.

The main purpose of the Mandaean calendar is to determine the ominous and auspicious times. The Mandaeans believe in two kinds of ominous (*mbaṭṭal*) days: (1) Minor *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": on these days the Mandaeans are not allowed to slaughter animals, but are allowed to eat meat of slaughtered animals on the day before. (2) Major *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": Slaughter of animals or eating meat is not allowed during these days; only vegetarian food.[96]

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[94] This information is courtesy of Dr. S. Stern (oral communication).

[95] Taqizadeh, BSOS, Vol. 9, 1938: 605-7. The Mandaeans still call the New Year's Day (*dahba rba*) by the Persian name *Naurūz Rba*. He also writes: "There is, however, one small people (he means the Mandaeans) with whom not only the old Iranian system of time reckoning survives, but whose national calendar is now, strictly speaking, the only true continuance of that once very widely used Mazdayasnian or Young-Avestan calendar" (Ibid, p. 605).

[96] *'niani* ࡏࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ book of the Mandaeans p. 163.

§1.6 - Mandaean Feasts

§1.6.1 - ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ Parwanaiia (Panja)

As mentioned above, the most important of the Mandaean's feasts is the *Parwanaiia*[97] (or: Panja) which is celebrated during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin). Five days before the Panja, or the last five days of *Šumbulta*, are considered major *mbaṭṭl* (ominous days), for they are dedicated to the five lords of Darkness, but the period Panja is the happiest time of the whole year. As noted above, the Mandaean year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a month with five intercalary days. These five days are called *Parwanaiia* and the Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. Those ࡍࡐࡀࡒࡀ *nfaqa* "out of the body" (dead), are with their loved ones and share in communion (*laufa*) with them ritual meals eaten in their names. The five days of the Parwanaiia are called *hamša iuma d̲paruaniia d̲hinun dukrana* "the five days commemoration".[98] The perfected souls of ancestors and spirits of life and light have special powers at this time to help the living. Should a person have the food fortune to die during the sacred five days, he or she will pass quickly through the purgatories (or: watch-houses) to the world of light. On the last day of the feast, special ceremonies are performed by the priests for those who, during the past year, died in a state of impurity, or not wearing ritual garment. Sheep are slaughtered for lay feasting and charity, and a small piece of sheep's fat is placed on *zidqa brika* (Holy Oblation) tables. Every man, woman and child should be baptized and all share in sacraments which commemorate the dead.[99]

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[97] ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ *pārwānāyē* is connected with modern Persian adverb فرستادن *parstadan* and the Parthian پروان *parwan* "forward, before" (Burtea, "Šarh d̲-Paruaniia", ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 86).

[98] ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡓࡀࡍࡀ

§1.6. 2 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ Dihba Rba

Dihba Rba is the Mandaeans' New Year festival, celebrated at the beginning of *Daula* (Šabat), the first month of the Mandaean year. They also use the Persian name *Nauruz Rba* for this festival. New Year's Eve is called *Kanši uZahli* "cleaning and lustration". On this day sheep and chicken are slaughtered, bread is baked and kept in the house, jars and pots are filled with water enough for thirty-six hours. All day, till sunset (*paina d̲-Dahba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Thirty-six hours before the second day of *Daula* (Šabat), i.e. the night before the New Year and the first of the New Year, is called the Day-of-Lacking, during which period priests and laymen retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, and no religious ceremony can take place. The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: For the Mandaeans, the New Year honors Mana Rba Kabira and how he completed his work of Creation. On this day, the spirits of light gather together to embark on a twelve hour journey to visit the Great Mana and show their appreciation towards him. Abatur closes his door, Nidbai and Šilmai forsake their posts as the guardians of running waters; Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš depart; the dwellers in *Mšunia Kušṭa* (the parallel pure world) with Adam Kasia (Secret Adam) at their head and their guardian spirit Šišlam Rba (the *dmuta* of Hibil-Ziwa) all rise into the infinite worlds of light. They travel by the "vehicles of Light" and this celestial journey takes them twelve hours. They reach the realm of Light at the dawn of the New Year and spend the next twelve hours praying and praising the Great Ones. Their journey back covers the next night.

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[99] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 37-8.

While the guardians are gone, the world is left defenseless and all sources of nature, including trees and rives, become exposed to the forces of evil and death. Therefore, the Mandaeans take extra measures to protect themselves from pollution by staying at home praying and meditating for thirty-six hours. On the third day of the feast (the second day of the new year) the invisible guardians having returned, the vigil is over and there is a general jubilation. The Mandaeans gather in the *mandi* "temple" to greet the *ganzibra* "high-priest", and listen to his portents for the year. Then they go to visit Mandaean families that have recently lost a loved one to console them and assure them that they are not alone in times of difficultly. Once this is done, they feast and make merry.[100]

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[100] For more details on this feast see Drower, 1956: 34 ff.

§1.6.3 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡃࡔࡉࡔࡋࡀࡌ ࡓࡁࡀ (ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡃࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀࡍ) The Dihba d- Šišlam Rba or the Dihba d-Šušian

The Mandaeans also call this feast *Nauruz Zūṭa* (Little New Year) which takes place on the 6th day and the 7th of the first month. The night between these two days is called "the night of power"[101] and then, if a man is pious, the gate of Abatur is opened for him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. However, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, and the result is not immediately seen. The priests visit the Mandaean families and hang on the door of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the Mandaeans from evil. In return, the Mandaeans donate a small fee to the priests.

§1.6.4 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡄࡍࡉࡍࡀ The Dihba Hnina or Dihba Ṭurma (the little feast)

This feast takes place on the 18th of Taura (Ayar) and lasts for three days. Baptism should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals. Dihba Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil-Ziwa form the underworlds to the worlds of light. It is a cheerful feast and commemorates creation. Hibil-Ziwa's marriage to Zahariel (the female spirit of the underworld) results in the birth of Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos). On the first day of this feast they visit each other and have a special breakfast together which consists of rice, yogurt and dates.

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[101] The Moslems celebrate a similar occasion on the night of the 27th of the fasting month "*Ramadan*" which they call *lailat elqadr* "the Night of Power". They believe the gate of heavens open in this night and some of the believers' wishes come true.

§ 1.7 - ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀ *luṭata uqiriata* Curses and Incantations

A large number of Mandaic magic bowls, lead and gold amulets were found in Mesopotamia during the 19th and 20th century, and have reached the Western world through archeologists and antique dealers. We cannot determine a dating for this magic material but most scholars believe that they belong to period between the 2nd and the 6th century C.E. The writings on the terracotta magic bowls survived because they were written with a special kind of "permanent" ink. The ink *diuta* ࡃࡉࡅࡕࡀ is made, according to a secret recipe, by the scribes themselves, who are often the priests.[102] To the Mandaeans writing is a sacred art and the letters of the alphabet represent the powers of life and of light. Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphabet as magical and sacred. Writing is under the special protection of the planet Nabû[103]. Letters of the alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of silver or gold, are placed under the pillow of a person who desires heavenly guidance in some matter of difficulty.[104]

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[102] The following recipe was given to Drower by a Mandaean priest during her stay in Iraq: "Mix glue with river water, let it melt, and then evaporated for six days. On the seventh, pound it with powder charcoal in the portion of one *mithqal* (nearly 4.8 gm)of charcoal to 25 glue, for four or five days. Mix with water to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it will form crystals. These, mixed with river-water (*yardina*) to from ink. The *Asut Malka* (a prayer recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites) should be read over it" (MII p. 23).

[103] Nbû or 'Nbû in Mandaean (Babylonian *Nabû* 'Mercury'). The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, consider him as the patron of writing and the god of wisdom (MD, p. 287, see also Dally, 1989: 325).

The bowls contain valuable information of mythical tales of Late Antiquity including early forms of liturgy, mystical literature and Mandaean textual material.[105] They also reflect the Mandaean belief and creed.[106] The purpose of these magic bowls and rolls is to throw a protective spell against enemies, capture demons, and repulse curses and avert evil eye, over the clients for whom they were written. Incantations were of various kinds and shapes; some were for health and others as love talismans.[107] The Mandaeans possessed a large collection of charms and magical prescriptions, and when written down they formed a real "Book of Magic". The most famous "magic" book is *Asfar Malwāšā* (Book of the Zodiac) which deals with a system of astrology based on the Signs of the Zodiac based on astrological literature of the Babylonians.[108]

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the person. It is usually called a ࡒࡌࡀࡄࡀ *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the word ࡆࡓࡀࡆࡕࡀ *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long strip of paper from 2 – 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small gold or silver case so tat it may be suspended round the neck from a string or chain. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade.[109]

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[104] MII, p. 240.
[105] Levene D., 2002: 7.
[106] Segal, 2000: 25.
[107] E. S. Drower, *A Mandaean Book of Black Magic*, JRAS (1941) p. 15.
[108] Budge, 1930: 241.

The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, lived lives of fear because they believed in the existence of myriads of fiends and devils which caused sickness and death to themselves and damage to their material property.[110] The phantoms of ghosts of dead men were greatly feared in Babylonia, even more so than among the Mandaeans. It was necessary for the living to offer food, perform rituals, and recite incantations in order to propitiate potentially vengeful ghosts, who were as often as not their relatives.[111] The people clung to the use of amulets and the art of incantations thrived in Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans became the masters of this art, and the originators of the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic.[112]

The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid. The Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), mentioned in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. *Pašra ḏ-Šambra* (a love charm) addressed to Libat (Dilbat, Ištar) which begins frankly, "In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men". Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in same phylactery.[113] The planets are considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotion are harmful to the soul, and fault committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡀ *maṭarata* (s. *maṭarta* ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡕࡀ), realms equivalent to purgatories. The Mandaean view is that after death the soul has to pass through a number of posts of stations, *maṭarata,* before it reaches the scales of judgement. M*aṭarata* serve as places of purification for the soul proceeding towards the Realm of Light, and each is in charge of a keeper or keepers.[114]

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[109] MII, p. 26.

[110] Budge, 1930: 241.

[111] Yamauchi, 1967:27. "The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature" (Montgomery, 1913: 116).

[112] Müller-Kessler Ch., "Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations", *Aram* Vol. 11 & 12 (1999-2000) p.296. Montgomery writes "The Mandaic dialect is fully formed and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the rabbinic and Syriac" (Montgomery, 1913: 104).

Many of the divine figures and demons are mentioned in the *Ginza* are invoked in the Mandaean incantations and amulets, such as: ࡄࡉࡉࡀ 'the Life', ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *manda d-hiia* 'the gnosis of Life', ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ "Hibil", ࡉࡀࡅࡀࡓ "Yawar", ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ "the (Seven) Planets", ࡉࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡍ "Yōšamin", ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ "Ptahil", ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀࡋ Gabriel, ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ Šamiš, ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ "Kiwan" ࡁࡉࡋ "Bel" ࡍࡁࡅ "Nabu" or "Nbu" ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ "Nirig" or "Nergal" ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕ "Lilith", ࡃࡉࡅࡉࡎ "Dewis" ࡐࡕࡀࡊࡓࡉࡀ "Idol-spirits" ࡓࡅࡄࡀ "Rūha" ࡀࡎࡈࡉࡓࡀ "Stira" (Ištar) "Venus-Libat" ࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ "Adonai" etc. These names and more are also found in the other chapters of the Ginza and in the other Mandaean texts.

In 1905 Mark Lidzbarski published a lead amulet which he dated about 400 C.E. It is considered the earliest of all Mandaic writings. The writing was inscribed with a nail, and the letters are very small.[115] The scroll would be rolled up and worn in a container. Lady Drower believes that the lead strip was immersed in water and the water swallowed by the person to be cured or exorcised.[116] The following lines from Lidzbarski's lead amulet invoke most of the divine and demonic names mentioned above (notice the guttural ࡏ: ע is not dropped in the name of Manda d̠-Hiia):

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[113] MII, p. 26.
[114] McCullough, 1967: 17.
[115] Yamauchi, 1967: 6.

> I call and Mand'a d̠-Hiia I ask for mercy. I say to him, "Do you, O Mand'a d̠-Hiia, shatter this misfortune and drive away this affliction from the threshold of Nukraya and the evil destroyers from our village. And the Planets how evil they are – who arise in a rage intending evil. . . . (lines 15 – 21) The pure Yōšamin and Abatur have strengthened it. Ptahil, who built the House, has strengthened it. Šamiš (the sun) in his brilliance as strengthened it. Bel (Jupiter). Nergal (Mars), and Kewan (Saturn) have strengthened it. The Moon in its brightness has strengthened it. Dilbat (Venus), and Daniš have strengthened it. Nebo (Mercury), his priest and worshipper, have strengthened it. The seven Planets have strengthened it. Their twelve angels have strengthened it. Their five leaders have strengthened it. . . ." (lines 244 – 257)[117]

The first Mandaic bowl inscription was published by Pognon, the French consul at Baghdad in 1892. The bowl came from Bismaya (Adab) south of Nippur.[118] The exterior is inscribed with: . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible] "Bound . . . of the crescent-spirit . . ." and the interior begins with: . . . [illegible] "In the name . . ." the text ends with the typical Mandaean doxology: ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ "And Life is Victorious". Almost every incantation and amulet begins with the opening phrases: ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ "In the name of the Great Life", ࡀࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡆࡓࡀࡆࡕࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌࡕࡀ "May there be health, armament and sealing", ࡆࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ "Averted and driven away are the curses"; ࡆࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀ "Repulsed are all the curses and incantations"

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[116] Drower E. S., "A Mandaean Bibliography", JRAS, 1953: 38.

[117] Yamauchi, 1967: pp. 234-255, text 22.
[illegible]

[118] Yamauchi, 1967: 4.

Analyzing the Mandaean texts, one can find that the demonized Mesopotamian deities, which are also mentioned in the later Mandaic text corpus, prove without doubt that they were borrowed from a Late Parthian cultural setting of Central Babylonia.[119] Therefore, Mandaean incantations are essential to the study of the origin of this people. Rudolph believes that the "Mandaic incantation corpus belongs to a sunken higher religion. . . . The Mesopotamian and Iranian elements of the Mandaean texts and their placement are of major importance when it comes to the question of the Mandaeans' homeland."[120]

§ 1.8 - The Mandaean Manuscripts.

It is assumed that the first Mandaean manuscript (*Diwan*) was brought to Europe in 1652 by Carlo Leonelli who was known as Friar Ignatius of Jesus while he was on a mission to Basra. In 1674 François de la Croix brought to Paris the most important Mandaean manuscript, the Ginza. The French ambassador at Constantinople sent other manuscripts in 1678. More Mandaean manuscripts reached Europe successively.[121]

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[119] Müller-Kessler Ch., "The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 55.
[120] Ibid, p. 52. For the Mandaean existence in Nippur along with the Jews before the Islam conquest of Mesopotamia see Montgomery, 1913: 103.

Many scholars studied and published Mandaean literature such as M. Thávenot (1663) and M. Norberg (1781), who exerted a considerable effort in laying the foundation of Mandaean textual study. Peterman (1867) made a translation of the Ginza based on four Paris manuscripts and published it under the name *Sidra Rabba*. Depending on this translation, W. Brandt (1893) published a German translation of selected passages.[122] In 1915 M. Lidzbarski published the translation of *draša d̠-yahia* (The Book of John), the *Qolasta* (liturgical collection) and the Ginza respectively.

Lidzbarski's distinguished work was continued by E. S. Drower who opened new horizons in the field of Mandaean research. She succeeded where the others failed and her achievements in this field were remarkable. Her dedication to Mandaism and her long stay in Iraq made her welcome among the Mandaean community. She traveled to Iraq many times and on several occasions visited their *bit-manda* (temple), in Liṭlaṭa – Qal'at Ṣaleh, Maisan province (southern Mesopotamia), and became acquainted with their traditions and customs. She won the confidence of the Mandaeans and obtained from them a complete collection of 56 Mandaean manuscripts. This collection is known as "Drower Collection" and deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[123] Lady Drower translated and published most of the collection, in addition to the Mandaic Dictionary which she compiled and published with R. Macuch in 1963.

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[121] Pallis, 1933 p. 32. For more about Ignatius of Jesus see Lupieri, "Friar Ignatius of Jesus", ARAM Vol. 16, 2004: 25-46.
[122] Pallis S. A., 1933: 38.
[123] Macuch R., 1965: XLIV.

The oldest Mandaean manuscript in Europe (Marsh. 691) is kept in the Bodleian library. It is a collection of prayers copied by the scribe Adam Zihrun, son of Bihran Šitlan in the year 1529. This codex belonged to a certain Thomas Marshal (1620 or 21- 1685), an English philologist, and was given to Bodleian in 1689 or 1690 by his servant.[124]

§ 1.9 - The Ginza Rba (The Great Treasure)

The Ginza is a big codex (more than 654 pages or 327 folios) consists of two parts: the Right Ginza (GR) and the Left Ginza (GL) each part opposite the other. The Ginza is divided into twenty-one chapters or tractates: eighteen tractates belong to the right Ginza and three tractates to the left Ginza.

§ 1 .9. 1 - The Right Ginza

The first two tractates of (GR 1 and GR 2) include moral teachings and description and praise of the King of Light and his world. The third tractate (GR 3) pp. 83– 148, [125] which is the largest in the Ginza, contains the Story of Creation (the subject of this research). The fourth tractate (GR 4) pp. 148-157 is a brief description of Manda ḏ-Hiia's baptism in the heavenly *Yardina* (Jordan) by Mar ḏ-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) plus part of Hibil-Ziwa's descent to the underworld. The fifth tractate (GR 5) pp. 157-237 consists of five sections: (1) Hibil-Ziwa's journey to the Realm of Darkness (or: the underworld). (2) The gods and demons' defeated by Manda d̲-Hiia. (3) The souls' ascension to the *Maṭarata* (purgatories). (4) Narration of John the Baptist baptizing Manda d̲-Hiia in the living water of Jordan. (5) The *'uthra* Šalmai's questioning by the heavenly figure *Yatrun*.

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[124] Buckley J. J., 2005: 290.

[125] Numeration is according to the copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this research.

The sixth tractate (GR 6), pp. 237-248, is the journey of Dinanukt[126] ("talking in accordance with religion") to the upper worlds. The Seventh tractate (GR 7) pp. 248-257 contains some of John the Baptist's commandments. The eight tractate (GR 8) pp.257-261 is a small tractate which includes Manda d̲-Hiia's warning the faithful against Rūha. Tractate nine (GR 9) pp. 261-283 includes two sections: (1) The first is called ࡒࡀࡓࡒࡀࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ *qarqalta d̲-šuba kukbia* "the overthrow of seven stars", a polemic chapter against other (false) religious sects. (2) The second section is 'the emanation of Mar d̲-Rabuta from the ࡍࡉࡈࡅࡐࡕࡀ *niṭufta* (semen?) of the heavenly Jordan'. It also contains material related to creation. Tractate ten (GR 10) pp. 283-297 is a continuation of the creation story and is called 'the Book of Radiance that radiates in the *pihta*'. Tractate eleven (GR 11), pp. 297-325, is called "the Book of Great Anoš" which deals with the conflict between the

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[126] Dinanukt is a legendary figure of the Ginza. Dinanukt is an old Persian word means "talking in accordance with religion". (MD p. 108) The legend says that *din melek uthra* (a heavenly being) was sent to the wise priest Dinanukt, who wanted to know about where Life is, and the nature of *Kušṭa*. He fell into a trance and his soul traveled with *din melek*, in a journey to the underworld (*Siniawis*) where he saw the *melki* (spirits) of darkness, and then to the different layers of the World of Light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness. Eventually, he returned to his body and told his people of what he saw in his journey. (For more analysis of this Ginza figure see Widengren, 1950: 62 ff. See also "How Dana Nuk Visited the Seventh Heaven" MII, Ch. IX p. 300). (Cf. "the saintly reformer", Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935) p. 100).

World of Light and Rūha. It also mentions the faulty creation of the material world by Ptahil.

Tractate twelve (GR 12), pp. 325-341, has seven sections. The first section has the uthra Anoš as the speaker. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 are hymns some of which are similar to the hymns of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.[127] Section 6 describes the World of Darkness and its king and inhabitants. Section 7 is a kind of geography; it shows the directions of the worlds and waters. Tractate thirteen (GR 13), pp. 341-349, is called "he Prayer of the *Tarmidia* (Mandaean priests) to the Pious".[128] Tractate fourteen (GR 14), pp. 352-362, is called "the Book of the Great Nbaṭ" which narrates the emanation of Yawar, Yōšamin (the second Life) and many other heavenly beings. Tractate fifteen (GR 15), pp. 364-443, consists of twenty poetic sections of the Redeemer speeches and blessings. Section 15 is Ptahil lamentation and threat of waging a war. Section 16 narrates Manda d-Hiia's visit to Yōšamin and his debate with him. Tractate 16 (GR 16), pp. 446-459, consists of 11 sections, also poetic. The first section speaks of Manda d-Hiia's visit to the world of the Second Life. The rest are speeches and exhortations of the Redeemer.

Tractate seventeen (GR 17), pp. 462-469, consists of two poetic sections: the first talks about the Great First Mana and the Great Occult Eggs that existed before Mar ḏ-Rabuta (The Lord of Greatness). The second part speaks about the oppression of the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (zodiacs) against the *nišmata* (souls). Tractate twelve (GR 18), pp. 472-491, is a chronology of the material world. It contains information about the three catastrophes which befell the humans in three different epochs or generations.[129] and many other historical events.

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[127] The hymn in section GR 12:4 is identical to CP hymn n. 214 p. 183.

[128] Buckley believes that the first 13 tractates of the Ginza testify to a fully developed Mandaean Gnosticism (Buckley, 2005: 22).

§ 1.9.2 - The Left Ginza

This part of the Ginza is divided into three sections or tractates. The first tractate (GRL I) pp. 46-89 consists of four sections. The first section tells the story of Adam and his death, and how Adam's son Šitil (Seth) volunteers to die before his father. The second section is about Adam's complaints about his death and his lamentation. The third section is about Hawa's (Eve) death. The forth is a description of different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) which the soul has to go through before her final destination.

The second tractate (GRL III) pp. 46-89 consists of twenty-eight sections of poetry. In this tractate the Great Mana speaks, beginning each section with the formula: 'I am a Mana of the Great Life.' The last tractate of the Ginza (GL 3) pp. 89-164 consists of 62 sections and deal with the *nišimta* (soul) and her destiny. It also includes the lamentation of the *mana* personifying the soul.

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[129] For the comparison between these catastrophes and Sodom and Gomorrah see Stroumsa, 1984: 110 ff.

§ 1.10 - The Ginza used in the Research (GRS):

The copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this work consists of 332 folios (664 pages), and each page consits of 25 lines. It was written in Iran in the late 1990s under the supervision of the Mandaean Council of Ahwaz. The headscribe of this Ginza is Rbai Ganzibra Mhatam Yuhana br Šarat (his Arabic name: Shaikh Jabar the son of Ṭawoos), who is the head-priest of the Mandaean community in Iran (he became a priest in 1948). The colophon at the end of the left part of this Ginza (GRL p. 169) tells us that this copy was written after consulting 5 other Ginzas. The scribes of these Ginzas are: Yahia Ram Zihrun the son of the Rbai Zeki Zihrun, Ram Yuhana the son of Rbai Ram, Zeki Zihrun the son of Ram Zihrun, Sam Yuhana the son of Rbai Behram and Zihrun the son of Mudalal. A copy of Petermann's Ginza was consulted, which he copied during his vistit to southern Iraq in the 1840s from 4 Ginzas, as the colophon calls them (A, B, C, D).[130] Ganzabra Ṣalaẖ Kuẖaili was at the head of the team which consisted of the following scribes and scholars: Tarmida Ṭalib Duraji, Tarmida Najaẖ Koẖaili, Yalufa Salem Kohaili, Yalufa Jamal Duraji and Yalufa Falah Kuẖaili. For the first time, in centuries, three Mandaean women participated in this work: Mudalal the daughter of Šarat and Simat and Sadia the daughters of Mahnuš.

For this research four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India Office at The British Library in London were collated to compile a critical apparatus of variants. The first manuscript is under the title: "Liber Adami

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[130] For more details on Heinrich Peterman (1801 – 76) and his visit to the Mandaean community in Iraq see Buckley, 2005: 129 ff.

Mendaice" No. Add 23,599 (henceforth BL 23599) and was presented by Sheik Yahana Chief and High Priest of the Mandaean sect with his petition to her Majesty the Queen, dated 10th December 1872, and forwarded to HM's Ambassador at Constantinople with dispatch No, 3 dated 29th Jan. 1873 from Colonel Herbert, Consul General of Baghdad. The second manuscript bears the title: "Liber Adami Mendaice" No. Add. 23,600 (henceforth: BL 23600). This Ginza is the oldest one in the British Library (bought from Mrs. Taylor in April 1860) and consisting of 315 folios and the scribe is Adam Yuhana. The third *Ginza* codex in the British Library is 'Liber Adami Mendaice' Add. 23,601(henceforth BL 23601) copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The third Ginza codex is 'Liber Adami Mandaice' Add. 23,601 dated 1824, also copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The forth manuscript is entitled: Sidra Rba Mandaitic, Oriental 1236 (henceforth BLO 1236).

Due to many factors, the hand written Mandaean manuscripts are in general tiresome and not easy to read, especially the manuscript (Add 23,599 = BL 23599) of the British Library. Some of these factors are:

1. Poor hand writing and careless copying led the scribes to make numerous spelling mistakes in the manuscripts.
2. These mistakes accumulated through the ages and led to many differences in readings.
3. The only method by which the scribe is allowed to edit a text is by placing dots under the wrongly written word or sentence, because the Mandaeans

believe their writings are sacred and incorrect words or sentences cannot be erased or crossed.

4. The Mandaean manuscripts have no paragraph indents or punctuation marks.
5. Many words are hyphenated (especially at the end of the line) which causes confusion to the reader.
6. Ambiguities in Mandaean script often cause uncertainty and confusion in reading hand written Mandaean texts. The letters which cause such confusion are: ࡒ (ק) and ࡎ (ם); ࡓ (ר) and ࡃ (ד); ࡃ (ד) and ࡁ (ב); ࡄࡅࡍ (הון) and ࡑ (ץ); ࡀ (א) and ࡄ (ה̲); ࡒ (ק) and ࡁ (ב); ࡅ (ו), ࡐ (ף) and ࡊ (כ). The computer Mandaic font used in this work attempts to faithfully reproduce the manuscript text, but at the same time compensates for the poor handwriting and careless copying in the manuscripts.

The computerized Mandaic font reproduces original text while correcting scribal errors to a great extent. Most previous scholars were obliged to transliterate the Mandaean texts either into Hebrew or Roman characters. A notable exception, and the first scholar who used a Mandaic typeface, was the Frenchman H. Pognon, in his book '*Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*', published in 1898. The computerized characters used in this work are similar to Pognon's. The present work also transliterates every line of the text into Hebrew characters beneath the Mandaic in order to facilitate reading for non-specialists. There are inevitable discrepancies between the present version of the Ginza and the other four versions mentioned above. The number shown on the margin of some of the pages of the translation correspond to the beginning of the page in the original text.

The translator of the Mandaic texts encounters some difficulties such as:

1. The material of the Mandaean cosmogony, cosmology, theology and soteriology is distributed among much Mandaean literature such as the ࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ *Ginza Rba*, ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ Draša d̠-Yahia (The Book of John), Mandaean Hymns and Prayers; ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *Maṣbuta*, ࡌࡀࡎࡒࡉࡕࡀ *Masqita*, ࡏࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *'Eniania*, etc), and among the different Diwans, such as *Diwan Abatur*. Mandaean literature is written mostly in mystical way and many religious concepts are considered sacred explanation of which are "reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis."[131]
2. Most of the Mandaean priests abstain (by law) from discussing profound religious matters with a Mandaean layman or a stranger. The holy scriptures strongly advise Mandaean priests against revealing these scriptures to strangers. For example the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) commences with the following ࡆࡄࡀࡓࡀ *zhara* "admonition":

> In the name of the Life. *Laufa* (union) and revival of life and a forgiver of sins be there for me N ... by means of these good Questions, hidden from (even) the eyes of the *uthras* and not revealed except to such as guard them, and tell them to one in a generation each to his son. For Hibil-Ziwa placed them in his son's right hand and said, 'Take care, take care, take care,

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[131] SA p. xvi.

three hundred and sixty thousand times take care of these Good Questions which Hibil-Ziwa asked of Nbaṭ the Great." [132]

The ࡍࡀࡑࡅࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *Naşoraeans* (the priestly group of the Mandaeans) are keen not to reveal the mysteries of the ࡍࡀࡑࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ *Naşiruta* (priestly knowledge) to their own laity, except to those elite of Mandaeans who dedicate themselves *Naşiruta* and have proven themselves worthy in the line of priesthood. The *Naşoraeans* guard their holy books and scrolls intimately. Their mysteries are not imparted to the Mandaean laymen, no matter how religious they are, fearing that these mysteries might be misinterpreted.[133]

3. The neglect which the Mandaean literature suffered from, for more than fourteen centuries, lead to many differences between the vernacular Mandaean and the Classical Naşoraean Mandaean writings.[134] Most of the Mandaean priests did not receive their priestly knowledge in religious institutes. They usually obtain their priesthood knowledge and apprenticeship from their fathers or from other elderly priests. They teach the initiates reading, writing and the comprehension of Mandaean language, in addition to the practice of the different rites (baptism, communion, marriage etc.) meticulously.[135]

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[132] ATŠ. P. 110. The Mandaean manuscript p. 2 text collated:
[illegible] ..... [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[133] SA p. xiv. Such reluctance to reveal secret knowledge, even to followers of the same community goes back to ancient Mesopotamia. Colophons of cuneiform tablets often repeat such warnings and admonitions. (Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Oxford (1986) pp. 260 - 261).

[134] Macuch, 1965: LIX.

[135] For the consecration of the priest, or *Tarmida* see MII p. 147ff.

The Ginza remains as the largest codex which the Mandaeans inherited from their golden era when Gnosticism flourished amongst the civilization of Babylon and Persia in the east and amongst the Greek and Roman empires in the west. In addition to the liturgies, the Ginza contains the oldest Gnostic (Mandaean) tradition. The Mandaean Gnostic library is equally as important as Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dead Sea Scrolls and they deserve more attention and examination from scholars of Semitic studies.[136]

§ 1.11 - The Mandaean Script:

The Mandaic script belongs to the South Mesopotamian branch of Aramaic besides the Syriac-Palmyrene branch in North Syria and the script of Hatra in north Mesopotamia.[137] The Mandaeans call their alphabet *abgada*. The twenty four letters are sacred and represent the powers of Life and Light. They believe that their inscriptions are protected by Nbu (Babylonian Nabû) "Mercury", the god of writing and wisdom.[138] Some scholars, such as Macuch, believe that there is a close relation between the Mandaic and the Elymaic scripts. Others like Nöldke and Lidzbarski suppose that Mandaic script is related to the Nabaţian.[139] The Mandaic script is known to us either from the Mandaean manuscripts or form amulets and incantations. Most of them were probably composed during the Sasanian era and the early Islamic conquest of Iraq, but the earliest known Mandaic text is a lead amulet from the first half of the third century.[140]

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[136] Rudolph, HR (Feb., 1969) pp. 210-235, esp. p.222.
[137] Naveh, 1982: 132.
[138] MII, p. 240. The old Iraqis believed that science was under the protection of the god Nabû while the goddess Nasaba presided over the art of writing (Roux, 1966: 327).
[139] Naveh, 1970: 33.

No one can precisely determine when the Mandaeans manufactured their script, but Naveh argues that the shapes of the letters suggest that the Mandiac cursive script is a "straightforward evolution from Elymaic."[141] Since Mesene (Maisan) and Characene were neighbours of the kingdom of Elymais, such assumption is strengthened. Many features of the Mandaic script resemble both the Nabaṭaean and the Aramaic of Tang-i Sarvak and Elymaic, such as the letters (ࡀ) *alef*, which is simplified from the Elymaic heart shape, (ࡌ) *mem* (ࡁ) *bet*, (ࡃ) *dalet*, etc., but there is no resemblance between the Mandaic(ࡔ) (*š*) and the Elymaic *shen*. [142] Macuch noted, "the most remarkable Mandaean ligatures in the Elymaean inscriptions are the relative particle (ࡖ) *d̲*- and the conjunction (ࡗ) *kd̲* which includes it."[143]

There remains the possibility that the Naṣoreans had brought their own script when they migrated to Southern Mesopotamia, sinces many Mandaean hymns and prayers suggest such a migration. Macuch beleives that the Mandaic script had developed in the second century C.E., since there are no significant differences between the Mandaean script on the one hand and the Elymaean and Charcenian on the other.[144]

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[140] Yamauchi, 1967: 2.

[141] Naveh, 1970: 34.

[142] Coxon, 1970: 20. He writes: "the Mandaic script is the nexus between the Nabaṭaean and Tang-I Sarvak scripts, although Mandaic has a close formal similarity to Nabaṭaean" (For the comparative script chart see Naveh, 1970: 35).

[143] Macuch, "The Origins of the Mandaeans and their Script", JSS, 1971: 187.

§ 1.12 - Book III of the Ginza Rba:

Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the 'Ginza Rba'. The Ginza names this tractate as: ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ *raza u sidra qadmaia d̲-šuta haita qadmaita d̲huat mn laqadmaia* 'The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from aforetime (or: from the very beginning)".[145] This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the world of light and the world of darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Forth Life (Ptahil); the demiurge who created the cosmos and *Tibil* (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d̲-Haiia ('Gnosis of Life' or: 'Knowledge-of-Life') and his descent to the underworld and his triumph against the creatures of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *'sṭōna* (the human body). Tractate III also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

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[144] Ibid, p. 190.

[145] Widengren believes that the Mesopotamian back ground of heavenly books preexistent before creation and containing destinies is clear in the conception of the Book III of the Ginza (Widengren, 1950: 10, 74-75).

The "Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine" begins with folio 42r (p. 83) and ends at folio 74v (p. 148: 6) in the copy of the Ginza used in this work.[146] The language of is mostly poetic and written in classical Mandaic. The text consists of 2 prose sections and 2 poetic sections. The text begins with a prose section (pp. 83: 15 – 87: 21) followed by a prolonged poetic section (pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1). A second, but smaller, prose section is found nearly in the middle of the text (pp. 119: 1 – 120: 11) followed by another poetic section until the end of the text.

§ 1.13 - The Mandaean Story of Creation

Mesopotamia gave birth to many legends and myths such, as the epic of Gilgamesh, Enūma Eliš, Ninūrta, Ea and Inana. Out of the crucible of Mesopotamia, the land of reeds and swamps comes forth the Mandaean story of Creation. It is a unique piece of literature infused with Babylonian gods, demons and biblical motifs. With the conquest of Babylon by the Persian Empire 539 BCE,[147] and the subsequence Greek invasion of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE,[148] the Mandaean story of creation comes under the influence of Persian dualism and Greek mythology.

It addresses *hiia qadmaiia* the Ancient Life, the afterlife, Dualism, and cosmology. The language symbolic of Gnosticism is very poetical and is the first complete account of creation from Mesopotamia. It contains ethical and religious principles that emerged during the period when Mesopotamians demonised their gods. The Mandaean priests still recite the story of creation, on the banks of the rivers, in the same manner as their ancestors the Naşraeans used to do in the ancient times.

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[146] The Mandaeans conceived of hidden books in heaven existing before creation. (Ibid)

[147] George Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, (1964) p. 352.

[148] Cantor N. F., *Alexander the Great*, (2005) p. 142.

The Mandaean story of creation is the product of the beginning of the Gnostic era when the Mandaean world was imprinted by the dualism of ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *alma d̠-nhūra* the World of Light and ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma d̠-hšuka* the World of Darkness. The World of Light was conceived by unknown god ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* (alien); a sublime being usually referred to as ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *mana* (the First) Intelligence, ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* The Life and ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d-nhūra* the King of Light. ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma d̠-hšuka* the World of Darkness is the product of the dark waters and is ruled by the King of Darkness, the leviathan 'Ur, and his mother/spouse Rūha;the goddess of the underworld. The Mandaean story of Creation narrates the doomed revolt of the vice-regent Yōšamin (the Second Life) and his sons, the uthras, Abatur (the Third Life) and Ptahil (the Forth Life and the demiurge who created the physical world), against the higher deities of the World of Light. It also describes the eternal conflict between Light and Darkness and the defeat of the World of Darkness on the hands of the valiant uthra Manda d̠-Hiia (Gnosis of Life) when he descended to the underworld and subdued the evil creatures of darkness. The prime of the Story of Creation is the creation of Adam, the First Man, by Ptahil with the assistance of Rūha and her sons ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡉࡀ *šibiahiia* (the Planets), but Ptahil could not make Adam stand on his feet. A *mana*, a sparkle of Light, was brought form the World of Light and cast into Adam's trunk. At that moment Adam opened his eyes and stood on his feet. The beings of Light created Hawa (Eve), to be Adam's wife in order to spread ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *šurbta ḏ-hiia* the family of Life.

The Mandaean story of creation contains many obscure terms of creation such as *pira* (fruit), *mana* (intelligence, mind) *ziwa* (radiance), *nhūra* (light) *ayar* (ether), *yardina* (Jordan), *uthras* (beings of Light), *hapiqia mia* (streams of water), *yura* (a being of light, brilliance), ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ *nišimta urūha* (soul and spirit) and many more. There is not one single account of the creation of the cosmos, but rather multiple accounts. In the Ginza Rba there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in tractates 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18. Tractate III, however, contains the most part of the story. This work endeavors to explain such obscurities for a better understanding of the Mandaean legend of creation. Book III consists of four fractions; two written in prose and two in poetry:

1. The first fraction (GRR, pp. 83: 16 - 87: 21) begins with prose language narrating the first emanation of the Mana and the manifestation of the Life and the other principles of cosmogony, including the creation of the Mandaean messenger Manda ḏ-Hiia.
2. The second fraction (GRR, pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1) is written in poetical language. It is the longest fraction of book III and narrates: (a) The descent of the Messenger Manda ḏ-Hiia to the World of Darkness and his

confrontation with the forces of the World of Darkness. (b) The creation of the material world by the Mandaean demiurge "Ptahil".

3. The third fraction (GRR, pp. 119 - 120: 11) is the shortest fraction, written in prosaic language, and speaks about the time of creation and about Ptahil's intentions concerning the creation of Adam and Eve with the assistance of the Planets.
4. The fourth fraction (GRR, pp. 120: 11 until the end of the book i.e. p. 148) narrates (a) The creation of Adam and Eve. (b) The descent of the *nišimta* "soul" into Adam's body (c) Rūha's attempts to seduce Adam in order to capture him in the world. (d) Manda d̠-Hiia prevents Rūha and her entourage "the Planets" from tempting Adam. (e) Description of the sects which were produced from the forces of Darkness.

§ 1.14 - The Main features of Mandaic Poetry:

Since the Mandaeans were not at all familiar with punctuation, it is hard to distinguish between the prosaic and poetic passages in the Mandaean texts. In spite of this, Lidzbarski could differentiate between the two types. He wrote a plausible introduction dedicated to the Mandaic and Aramaic poetry in his valuable book "*Mandäische Liturgien*".[149]

The language of the Ginza belongs to the classical period, which was not under the influence of the Arabic language.[150] This may prove that the redaction of the book was long before the Islam conquest of Iraq in the seventh century C.E. The Ginza is written mainly in poetry which "represents a fully developed Babylonian-Aramaic idiom and a poetic skill which has neither surpassed nor equaled in Mandaean literature."[151] Their geographical remoteness also made them less exposed to the Hellenistic influences.[152]

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[149] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, Berlin (1920).

[150] Macuch has divided the Mandaic literature into three historical periods: classical, postclassical and modern. The final redaction of the classical period took place in the year 272 CE according to the Mandaean copyist Zāzai d̠-Gawaztā (Macuch, 1965: LXV).

Unfortunately, this aspect of Mandaic literature remained neglected by the Semitists until Söderbergh shed the light on various Mandaic poetic forms compared to the psalms of the Coptic Psalms of Thomas. He claimed priority for the Mandaic hymns over the Coptic ones.[153] After his detailed comparison he concluded that the "Mandaic poetry, had on the whole a regular beat of 3:3, that is the line consisted of two hemistiches with three stresses in each hemistich."[154] Example:

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ	שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא
ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ	ד̱קאימיא ומשאביא לרורביא
ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ	שאלטוך על יארדנא ד̱רורביא
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ	ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא

He made you rule over the concealed uthras,
who are standing and praising the great (ones)
He made rule over the Jordan of the great (ones),
and over thee living and vigorous waters.[155]

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[151] Macuch, 1965: LXV
[152] Jonas, 1958: 48.
[153] Söderbergh, 1949: 127 f.
[154] Greenfield, 1989: 101.
[155] GRR, p. 89: 8

The transposition language[156] is a main feature of the Mandaic poetry; that is repeating the same verse with changing position of the words. Example:

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ תריסאר בוריא קאבלאת מינה̱
ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ מינה̱ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא
She conceived by him twelve beasts,
by him she conceived twelve beasts.[157]

Another interesting feature of the Mandaic poetry is the paired words. The following examples taken from book III of the Ginza: ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡉࡁࡉࡀ יאקדיא ומהאביביא “burn and blaze” (89: 25), ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡉࡀ זריזא ומזארזיא “the well armed and equipped” (89: 1), ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ האסיר ובציר “flaw and deficiency” (88: 22), ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ הארשיא ופודריא “witchcraft and sorcery” (90: 4), ࡎࡍࡉࡀ [illegible] “repulsive and dreadful (or: ugly and appalling)” (91: 3), ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ זריזא ומקאימא “the valiant and confirmed” (93: 7), ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ בהיריא זידקא “the righteous elect” (93: 11), ࡏࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ עריא וראוזיא “radiant and resplendent” (91:25) etc.

Greenfield draws out attention to a “favorite topos” in the Mandaean literature which concerns parts of the body and senses – eyes, ears, mouth hands, knees, feet etc.[158] The following from book III is a good example. These verses remind us of the Song of Songs:

ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡉࡊ ࡀࡓࡆࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ	קומתיך ארזא ראמא
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡀ	לימאליך ד̱סאיית מיא
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡒࡀࡊ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ	אנאת שאקאך גופניא איאר
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ	לימאליך ד̱ראמית דאהבא

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[156] or: “ergative language”.
[157] GRR, 113: 23.
[158] Greenfield, 1989: 106.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡃࡉࡊ ࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡊ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡃࡆࡉࡅࡀ
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡃࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡁࡄ

אנאת עדיך כיניא איאר
לימאליך ד̱ראמית כאספא
אנאת איניך איניא דזיוא
לימאליך דכולא מאליאבה̱

Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
why do you wash with water?
Your thighs are vine of ether,
why do you wear gold?
your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
why do you wear silver?
Your eyes are eyes of radiance
why do you fill them with kohl?[159]

In book III we find good examples of the Naṣoraean Gnostic poetry which needs more attention. In this respect Jonas plausibly noted: "The Mandaic poetry gives wonderful expression to the gratefully believing acceptance of the message and the ensuing conversion of the heart and renewal of life."[160]

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[159] GRR, 137: 21

[160] Jonas, 1958: 89. Stroumsa indicates that the Gnostic language is an imagery one and it should be studied as "mystical poetry" (Stroumsa, 1984:3).

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative:

§ 2 .1 - The First Account of the Theogony:

The text begins with the following formula:

> In the name of the great ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* alien Life [161] from the countless worlds of Light which is above all deeds. This is the mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from afore time. [162]

The main events in this account are: (a) at the beginning the *pira* (fruit) was inside the *pira* and the *ayar* (eather) was inside the *ayar*. (2) The great Mana (intelligence) "awakened" and produced great *manas* without count. (3) great and countless *piras* and *škinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from the great *pira*. (4) by the will of the great Mana, the great white *yardina* (Jordan) "river" came into being and from the great Jordan countless jordans came into being.

The first account of theogony contains three main elements of creation: (a) ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *Pira* "fruit" (b) ࡀࡉࡀࡓ Ayar (Ether) (c) ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (Mind or: Intelligence). The ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinas* (celestial dwelling) and the ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡉࡍࡀ *Yardina* (Jordan) are the products of the first emanation:

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[161] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, 'In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds' speaks of the 'first' Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations),' i.e., above the world and 'free from any kind of relation to the world (Rudolf, K., 1983: 62). The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols and a major theme which we encounter in Gnostic speech (Stroumsa, 1984: 87). The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here (Jonas, H., 1958: 49). The Life is an outer entity ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia baraiia* (CP p. 78), and therefore the Mandaeans, and the Gnostics in general, saw themselves as a "kingless race" ruled by no one (Stroumsa, 1984: 87).

[162] GRR p. 83: 15. The text:

ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ [illegible]
[illegible]

> When the Pira was inside the Pira, and when the Ayar was inside the Ayar, and when the great Mana of glory was there, great and mighty Manas came into being, whose radiance is so vast and whose light is great; no one before them was in the great fruit which was so immense and without limit, and whose radiance was greater than the words of the mouth and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray. As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit, a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of fruits emanated from him. In each and every fruit were a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of *škinas*. They all stand there and praise the great Mana of glory who exists (lives) in the great Ether of Life that is within the Jordan (river) of the white waters which gushed out from the Great Mana. Then the great Jordan came into being, and from the great Jordan, Jordans without count poured forth. [163] (See Chart A).

§2 .1. 1 - ࡐࡉࡓࡀ Pira:

The meaning of *Pira* is uncertain and doubtful; of various suggested meanings, perhaps that of "Fruit" (H. פרי) or "vagina". [164] This term is used by the Mandaeans as an expression of emanation.[165] In the first version of creation we find out that the *Pira* (fruit) and the *Ayar* (ether) are the two primal elements of existence and the "habitat" in which the Great Mana (mind, intelligence) existed. In the Mandaean belief, the *Pira Rba* (Great Pira) is the origin of all things.[166] It existed before creation and before all worlds (aeons) and is the core matter of existence. It is the original divine power from which everything came into being, even the King of Light:

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[163] GRR p. 83: 19.

[164] The second meaning for the pira is "cleft" or "vagina" as in, ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡐࡔࡋࡀ "vagina and phallus" (MD. P., 372).

[165] The epithet Fruit used of the moon-god in Mesopotamia, of whom it is said that he is the Fruit which is born by itself, '*en-bu šá ina ra-ma-ni-šū ib-ba-nu*' (Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta,* p. 24 cited by Widengren, 1946: 22 n. 3).

[166] Other Gnostics such as Basilides (2nd century religious teacher in Alexandria – Egypt) believe that all the universe and creations derived their being form the cosmic seed (Wilson, 1958: 124).
According to Zurvanism, the old Persian religion, Time enters a body within the seed of creation or unformed matter, from which all forms arose (Zaehner, 1955: 111 ff.).

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was inside the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[167]

The Great *Pira* is a primal entity and a symbol of fertility. It is the "womb" or the "matrix" which gave birth to the succeeding manifestations of the beings of Light, when the first Intelligence (Mana) decided to cohabit with its ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* "counterpart" (or with its ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ *ṣauta* "companion") in order to create ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ *adiauria* "helpers", erect the heavenly lights and bring forth messengers of life to preserve him in his concealment, as we perceive from the following passage:

> I am conversing with my *dmuta* (counterpart) [168] (and say to her), Come, let us, create (lit. build), me and you, through a mystic call in the sublime fruit. Until fruits are created for us, until helpers are sent for us, you will praise me and I will praise you. We will remain preserved within the ample radiance and provide (lit. arrange) for each other perfectly . . . As he spoke thus, he thought of the *ṣauta* (companion)[169] that existed in the sublime fruit. He spoke and pondered, I will create *ṣauta* "companion" to my right and lights to

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[167] GRR book 3 p. 91: 17. The text:
[illegible]

[168] ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ dmuta: דמותא, ܕܡܘܬܐ, counterpart, image, shape, form, effigy, likeness, double (MD p. 111 and DJPA p. 151). The Mandaeans believe that every man and every light-being has a double; a counterpart. Each individual has his own likeness in the ideal world of *Mšunia Kušṭa* (the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and inhabited by their righteous doubles. (For more details on this ideal world see MII p. 54 n. 1 and SA Ch, V p. 39z). In the Peshitta the first born "Christ" is the image ܕܡܘܬܐ of god. (Widengren, 1964: 23) The Mandaean idea of "image" is repeated in Manichaeism: Mani received his revelation through his Syzygos "Twin or: Pair-comrade". (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 5) The ancient Mesopotamians believed in the magic powers of the image as we read that the Mitanni king Tusharatta has sent an image of Ishtar to the Pharaoh of Egypt to cure him from an intractable disease (Roux 1964: 231).

[169] ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ *ṣauta:* consort, company, companionship, society (MD p. 386).

> my left and I shall bring forth messengers of life to look after me in
> (my) concealment.[170]

The Pira, the celestial fruit, is the dwelling of the *nišmata* "souls", where they grow and blossom, as well as it is the dwelling of the Mana, Life, and the other heavenly beings:

> "*nišimta* (the soul) grows and blossom in the *Pira* of the Life."[171]

This concept is emphasized by the messenger Hibil-Ziwa's[172] proclamation that he is the one who created the white fruit of in which the *nišmata* (souls) are imbued:

> I created the white fruit, in which the souls are enveloped. From it
> they flower up and ascend to be weighed.[173]

It is rather difficult to give a precise definition of the *Pira* because it is considered a ࡓࡀࡆࡀ *raza* mystery not revealed to any earthly being, even to prophets. John the Baptist *iahia iuhana* was ready to exchange his earthly life for the knowledge of the mysteries of the "world beyond" when the redeemer *Manda d̲-Hiia* appeared to him in the form of a young lad:

> And reveal to me the secrets of the kings (or: angels), and (the secrets
> of) ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *pira rba d̲-nhūra* the Great Fruit of Light,
> and why the clods and rubble (?) were subdued, and the basis of the

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[170] GRR, book 15: 10, p. 398: 14 f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[171] GRL, book 3: 16, p. 114: 18. The text:
[illegible]

[172] Hibil-Ziwa is a being of light, a messenger and the son of the Mandaean Gnosis of Life "Manda d̲-Hiia".

[173] The Mandaean BJ p. 191: 18. The text:
[illegible]

> water from which the living fire spread out, and *škina* in which the Life dwells, and who is older and greater and mightier than the other.[174]

In the Ginza Rba, the *Pira* is personified as a heavenly being who takes part in promoting the redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia (Gnosis of Life). It is by the great *Pira* of glory's command the redeemer received the *kušṭa* [175] from the Great Ones:

> "By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory, I (Manda ḏ-Hiia) received the *kušṭa* from them." [176]

Moreover, the *Pira* is the reward of the World of Light to the pious Mandaeans as we recite one the hymns of the *masiqta* (the book of *masiqta* Ascension):

> Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed, swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens." [177]

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[174] GRR, book 5:4, p. 223: 1. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[175] *Kušṭa* ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ قشطا, vow, oath, pact, etc. (MD p. 209). *Kušṭa* is the ritual of the exchange of the right hand-clasp between the Mandaeans which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage, etc.). The act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. The Pharsis greet one another with a similar rite called the *hamazor* (MII p. 238). Lady Drower believes that "the Pharsis use the *hamazor* as much as Mandaeans use the *kušṭa*" (ATŠ, p. 154 n. 1). The *kušṭa* is personified in many Mandaean manuscripts. It is a "messenger from the Life on his way hither" (ATŠ, p. 236). The *kušṭa* is considered a synonym of Manda ḏ-Hiia (CP p. 44). The seal of *kušṭa* binds and seals the souls and spirits (Ibid p. 63). In Mandaeism, *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. The *Kušṭa* is the 'heavenly' oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism. The Mandaeans consider the *Kušṭa* a communion with the World of Light. The Primal man, according to the Manicheans, was delivered from his captivity among the hosts of Darkness by the supernal entity known as the Living Spirit, who extended to him his right hand and removed him from the conflict" (Reeves, 1996: 124). (For more details concerning the *Kušṭa*, see Sundberg, 1953).

[176] GRR, book 3 p. 88: 1. The text:
[illegible]

[177] CP. p. 35. Hymn no. 35 p. 126. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

The sexual symbolism is quite common in the Mandaean literature as well as in the rest of the Mesopotamian literature. Mandaeism is the faith of life and fertility,[178]) and "if the man has no wife, there will no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth."[179] The mystic union of the female and male principles is reflected in many hymns and songs. In the following marriage song, the Pira is the symbol of "virginity" or "womb":

> O crowned bride "Fruit that is enclosed! Who revealed our secret and broadcasted our wisdom to the highways? [180]

The *Pira* is related to other mystic elements of creation such as the *tana* (container, matrix), *pihta* (sacramental bread?), *niṭufta* (drop, sperm), and *hilbuna* (egg, container, habitat).[181] It is also identified with the [182]ࡕࡀࡍࡀ *tana*, which is another ambiguous other-worldly element of creation.[183]

§ 2.1.2 - ࡀࡉࡀࡓ Ayar (Ether):

Ayar (Ether) is the second element in the first version of creation with the *Pira*. It is the rarest of all elements of creation and a personification of the purest

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This hymn provides strong evidence of the Mandaeans' natural habitats. The heat of the marshes of and the birds nesting among the canebrakes and the *mašhūf* (the boat of the marshes) sailing through is a typical Mesopotamian picture. (for the same image see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A/2 p. 180 a).

[178] MII p. xxi.

[179] Ibid p. 59.

[180] ŠQŠR p. 59. (the Mandaean QŠR p. 16) Drower's translation, text collated. The Mandaean text:
[illegible]

[181] MD. pp. 144, 298, 370, 470.

[182] tana ࡕࡀࡍࡀ (= kana, Akk. tannu) a mythological term meaning container, matrix, vessel or base. The word is used when describing primeval creative processes. (MD. p. 479. *tannu*(m): a wooden bowl, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2000) p. 398. *kannu*(m): a large vessel, p. 146).

[183] There are many resemblances between the Mandaean *pira* (fruit) and the seed in Basilides doctrine which says: "From the cosmic seed was begotten the Great Archon who created for himself a son. Then a demiurge comes into being who engendered a son from matter and reduced the world to order" (Wilson, 1958: 124-6).

heavenly atmosphere in which the Mandaean deities dwell.[184] The concept of Paradise in the Mandaean belief is different from that of the Jews, Christians and Moslems. The Mandaeans' final destination is the World of Light, a world of pure (energy) which contains no material pleasures.

When a Mandaean dies his soul is released and flies towards the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡉࡀ *maṭaratia* (purgatories or: watch-houses). After necessary purification the soul reaches her final destination; the realm of light. In the world of light there is nothing material, only jordans of living water, heavenly *Ayar* (Ether) which is most pure and clear and colorful flowers and evergreen plants and trees exist.[185] The soul brings *Ayar* with her when she descends into this world and settles in the human trunk and her (the soul) reward, after death, is to travel back to the World of Light and dwells in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether):

> She (the soul) rises up from one throne and seats herself on another firm throne. And (thus) by means of nine occult process (*ginzia*)[186] we set her up (at last) in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether).[187]

The *Ayar* (ether) preceded water in existence and in order to create the *uthras* and make them thrive, the Great One commanded that a "reservoir" of Living Water to be created and to flow to the (land of) Ether:

> In the Ayar (world) there is no water! As there is no water in the Ayar, by what can the *'uthras* thrive? How can the *'uthras* thrive and

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[184] SA p. 15.

[185] MII p. 53.

[186] Or mystical properties (ATŠ, p. 186).

[187] ATŠ p. 186. Mandaic ATŠ p. 55. The text:
[illegible]

> (how can) *Naşiruta*[188] be installed in their hearts? They created a store of living waters (and) let it flow down to the Ayar. They sent down, caused it to flow down, to the *Ayar*, to the *'uthras*. All of them savoured it and it was fragrant: All *'uthras* savoured it and it pleased. The *'uthras* all drank and throve. They drank and rejoiced thereat and into their hearts *Naşiruta* was installed. [189]

Ayar (Ether) is the swiftest elements of Life. It is the breath of Life which dwells in every living thing and the sweet breath from the North Star:

> Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it *Ayar-Ziwa*.[190]

Just as the heavenly Jordan mixes with the earthly waters and purifies them, *Ayar* mixes the worldly air and purifies it. *Ayar-Rba* (the Great Ether), *Ayar-Ziwa* (the Radiant Ether) and *Ayar-Sagia*[191] (the Plentiful Ether) are personification of the divine and pure atmosphere which gave birth to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa and all kings.[192]

The Essenes, share the idea that pure ether is the source of life, and believe that souls emanate from the most subtle air and incorporate with man's body.[193] *Ayar* perhaps corresponds to the old Persian the god of the wind Vāy, that blows between heaven and earth, and who became the space separating the Kingdom of Light above and the Kingdom of Darkenss below.[194] Just like Vāy who is located between the earth and sky, Mandaean *Ayar* exists above the sky and beneath the earth:

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[188] *Naşiruta:* The true faith of the Mandaean/Naşoreans; the esoteric knowledge and wisdom only given to Mandaean priests (DM, p. 286). It is the deep knowledge of priestcraft and religion. The Naşoraiia are those who are thoroughly versed in the faith and doctrines of the sect. (ATŠ, p. 14) In this respect Rudolph writes, "The earliest self-designations to be found in Mandaean literature are "elect of righteous" (*bhiri zidqa*) and "Naşoreans" (*naşuraiyī*), i. e. "guardians" or "possessors" of secret rites and knowledge." (Rudolph, 1983: 343).

[189] CP p. 194. Mandaean hymn n. 239. The text (Drower's translation, text collated):
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[190] MII, p. 249.

[191] ATŠ p. 165.

[192] Hibil-Ziwa is a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Mandaean Redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia.

[193] "bodies corruptible, but their souls are immortal; and they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons . . . when they are set free from the bonds of the

> The outer *Ayar* (Ether) is held above the skies and exists beneath the earth . . . it is the sublime ether-atmosphere in which kings hold council; and they hold to it, for they call it *qina* (nest, home) since all mysteries are nurtured therein. [195]

Like Vāy who is the life-giving power,[196] the Mandaean Ayer, who proceeded form Light, shines forth the uthras who dwell in the "world beyond":

> 'They sent Hibil-Ziwa to give them information to the *uthras* who sit there; and he said unto them, "From Radiance proceeded Light, and from Light proceeded *Ayar* (Ether), Ayar proceeded from Light and glory was shown forth to the *uthras* who sit there." [197]

§2.1.3 - ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (Intelligence, Vessel) :

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (often hardly translatable) is defined by Jonas: "Mana is the name for the transmundane Power of Light, the first deity, *and* at the same time that for the transcendent, non-mundane center of the individual ego."[198] The Great "Mana" is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life.

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flesh, they then, as released from long bondage, rejoice and mount upward" (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book II, ch. 8. 11).

[194] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[195] ATŠ, pp. 173, 74, Mandaic ATŠ p. 50. The text:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[196] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[197] ŠQŠR p. 52. (the Mandaean *Qabin d̠- Šišlam Rba*, p. 14: 1) The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[198] Jonas, 1958: 123, 4.

The "mana" of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great "Mana". This Gnostic conception appears in many forms of syncretistic philosophy.[199] In some features the Mandaean Mana corresponds to the Persian *Vohu Mana* (later form "*Bahman*") which means "good mind". It is the "power" which represents intelligence and wisdom.[200] He is the Lord of the Heaven who established his sovereignty through Truth.[201] In Mandaeism, "truth" ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. It is the "heavenly" oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism:[202]

> In great radiance am I immersed and in resolute light am I established. Manda baptized me; *kušṭa* (oath) confirmed me.[203]

As to the relation between the Mandaean Mana and the Iranian "Vohu-Mana", Lady Drower points out:

> The "mana" is the eternal part of the human soul which when freed of earthly pollution is re-united to the Great Mana. The Great Mana seems to correspond to the Zoroastrian Vohu-Mana, and represents a Cosmic Intelligence or Supersoul.[204]

In Zoroastrianism the *Vohu-Manah* (the good mind) is in a struggle with *Aka-Manah* (the evil or bad mind), and at the end *Vohu-Mana* will prevail.[205] In the Mandaean literature the *mana* represents intelligence or the mind, from which the whole of existence came into being. The only occasion where we come across evil

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[199] MHZ p. 35 n. 1.

[200] See MG, p. xxxii das ich etwa mit "Geist" (oder wohl noch besser mit "Intelligenz") übersetzen möchte.

[201] *The Gathas of Zarathushtra, Hymns and Praise of Wisdom*, translated by P. Nanavutty 1999: 48-9.

[202] For Mandaean baptism see above §1.41.

[203] CP p. 52. (*Masiqta*, Hymn No. 63) The text:
[illegible]

[204] DA n. 10, p. 18.

[205] Boyce 1975: 283. See also Zaehner, 1955: 121.

manas in the Mandaean literature is in the journey of the messenger Hibil-Ziwa to the underworld, where first met Rūha, and when he descended further, Hibi-Ziwa encountered the two spirits of Darkness which were called *manas*:

"I went (downwards) and I found those two great Manas of Darkness." [206]

The great, secret first Mana concealed himself in his *škina* for nine hundred and ninety nine millions (?) of years before he became manifest and initiated the existence, as we read in one of the hymns:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who dwelt for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his on *škina* – for no companion came to him; save that great, secret First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein. [207]

During this endless time of the Mana's "incubation" in his *škina* "cocoon", the whole being was inert and the whole of existence was in oblivion. Nothing existed until the Great Mystic Mana decided to emanate from himself and with him three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial world of light came into being and shone:

> I worship, laud and praise that Mystic First Mind (*Mana*) of Glory, who emanated from Himself, whose brilliance exceeds all (other) mystic glories; it is greater than word of mouth (can describe) and his light mightier than lips can express for He is the *Mana* (Mind), the great, the mysterious, the First of Glory, the great mighty *Mana*, in the radiance of which banner three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial worlds of light shine.[208]

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[206] GRR book 5 p. 163: 10. The text:

ࡍࡄࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡀࡄࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡀࡓࡉࡍ ࡄࡀࡍ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

[207] CP p. 36. (*Masiqta* Hymn 36) Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[208] CP n. 374 p. 267, (Mandaic hymn No. 374, p. 401) Drower's translation, text collated:

With the Great Mana's manifestation, existence came into motion and all the worlds gained power and the lamps and lights started to glow.[209] Lady Drower explains this move as follows:

> By the first creative impulse, when the Great Life became active and "Non-Existence" became "Existence", assumed an anthropomorphic shape.

The explanation of this is given by *Naşiruta* in theological rather than metaphysical language.[210] She established her statement by referring to one of the hymns:

> In the name of the great powerful Mana (Mind) who thought and evoked companionship of Itself and said, "There shall be companionship for Me". [211]

Nevertheless, the Great Mana has no share in the creation of the material world. He remains ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ *nukraia* an "unknown", "unperceivable". 'The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here.'[212] The worlds and generations cannot comprehend his nature and the nature of his counterpart:

> Then he taught about the *Mana* (*Nous* or Intelligence) and its Counterpart, for the world and generations know them not – that they correspond to that which comes from the (brain) matter and the vision of the heart (inner vision) that is within them.[213]

[illegible]

[209] GRR book 17 p. 464: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[210] SA p. 23.

[211] Lady Drower referred to hymn No. 375 of the CP instead of No. 373 p. 262. The text:

[illegible]

[212] Jonas, 1958: 49.

[213] ATŠ p. 174. Plotinus, (3rd century C.E.), portrays the real lord of the universe is an unknown "otherworldly", "alien" god who dwells beyond all visible creation. The Secret Book of John describes him as "The [true] God, the Father of the All, the Holy [Spirit], the invisible,

Mandaean literature describes the Manas as pure mass of radiance and light. No one can behold their images because their radiance is blinding the eyes and their light is dazzling. When Manda ḏ-Hiia brought Hibil into the presence of the Manas, he was afraid of their immense radiance and clear light:

> He aroused, went and led him (Hibil) into the presence the Glorious Manas. When Hibil, the fore-ordained Mana, entered he was startled because their radiance was transcendent and their light was overwhelming. He was not able to behold their images because their radiance was colossal and their light was enormous.[214]

When the messenger Hibih-Ziwa returned from his journey from the World of Darkness to the World of Light, the *Mana* and his Counterpart ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *mana udmuth̲* received him and welcomed him. In order to receive full purification he descended towards the First Jordan "of the Mana and his counterpart" and his father (Manda ḏ-Hiia) baptized him and pronounced secret ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡉࡀ *rušmia* (signs) over him.[215]

The following verse is one of the most beautiful verses in the Ginza which is recited at the initiation of a new priest. The Mana speaks about his dwelling in the sea until wings were formed for him. At the moment he became a winged creature, he spread his wings and flew towards the Place of Light:

> I am a great *mana*, a *mana* am I, a son of the Great Ones. I dwelt in the sea, in the sea I dwelt until wings were formed for me, until for me

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who is over the all, who exists in his imperishability, since he [is in] the pure light into which no eye may look" (Rudolph, 1983: 61, 62 and 63). Lady Drower in her argument against those who claim that neo-Platonism influenced Naşoraean gnosis directly or indirectly raises the following question: "As for the possibility that neo-Platonism influenced Naşoraean gnosis *directly*, and 'directly' should be stressed, why the Naşoraeans adopted the word Mana for the Creative Mind instead of the Greek νοῦς (Nous)?" (SA p. 46) She emphasizes that "The word used for "Mind", *mana* is not in the sense Semitic but Iranian" (SA p. 2).

[214] GR book 5: 1 p. 159: 16.

[215] GRR book 5: 1 pp. 178-9.

> wings were formed, until I became a winged creature. When I became a winged creature I spread my wings for the Place of Light.[216]

The above verse reminds us of the Ōannēs[217] legend which was written in Greek by the Babylonian priest Berossus. He described Ōannēs as having the body of a fish but underneath the figure of a man which dwelt in the Persian Gulf. He rose out of the waters in the daytime furnishing mankind with instruction in writing, the arts and the various sciences. Mead believes that Ōannēs' revelation is fundamental among the Mandaeans and it might be related to the Redeemer of the world, the Celestial Man who is expected to rise from the heart of the ocean, as it is written in the Apocalypse of Ezra.[218]

> The Mana is the crystal crown which crowns the head of the Great (Life):
>
> The *Mana* spoke to the generations: "I am a crystal crown. A crystal crown I am, which crowns the head of the Great (Life)." [219]

In addition to Mana, the heavenly being, there is the *mana* in the sense of ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* soul; the hidden sparkle of light. When Ptahil created Adam he could not make him stand on his feet. He, therefore, had to fetch a hidden *mana* (soul) from the House of Life and cast it into the bodies of Adam and his wife Eve.[220] This being of light *mana* (soul) had to sojourn in the ࡔࡐࡉࡍࡆࡀ *špinza* "inn" (the human body) against its will.[221] Because of this imprisonment (in the stinking body of man), the *mana* (soul) laments and complains:

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[216] GRL book 3: 30 p. 134: 4. The text:
[illegible]

[217] Ōannēs – Greek form of Uan, a name given to Adapa by Berossus. "Adapa was the first of the antediluvian seven sages who were sent by Ea, the wise god of Eridu to bring the arts of civilization to mankind" (Dalley 2000: 183).

[218] Mead's comment in this concern is notable; he writes: "Indeed the Fisher-figure cannot fail at once to remind students of the comparative science of religion of the ancient Babylon fish-clad fisher-god H̱ani-Ōannēs – the archaic Ea, father of Marduk the saviour god of Babylon who rose early from the dead." (See also Brandt, 1889: 148 ff.) This primeval God of Wisdom was the culture-god who had taught early mankind all the arts of civilization. Berossus, the Chaldaean priest (281 B.C.E.) who wrote Babyloniaca in Greek for Antiochus I, tells us of no less than six manifestations of Ōannēs in successive periods; and this notion of revelation and saving in successive periods is fundamental with the Mandaeans. Ōannēs rose from the sea – the waters presumably of the Persian Gulf, in the old story; but Marduk, his son descended from heaven (Mead, 1924: 17, see also Pallis, 1926: 47).

[219] GRL book 3: 47 p. 147: 3. "Crown of my head" is a courtesy phrase with which the Iraqis usually address their respected ones. The text:
[illegible]

> "Why did you carry me away from abode into captivity and cast me into the stinking body?" [222]

The lamentation of the *mana* (soul) is the main theme of GRL book 2, and bears the characteristics of the lamentations of ancient Mesopotamia:

> "I am a Mana of the great Life I am a Mana of the mighty Life. Who has made me live in the Tibil, who has thrown me into the body's trunk?" [223]
> "For a long time I have endured and been dwelling in the world" [224]
> "A Mana am I of the great Life. Who has thrown me into the suffering of the worlds, who has transported me to the evil darkness?" [225]

On the other hand, it is through the sacrifice of the *mana* or the *nišmta* (the soul) the World of Light could defeat the World of Darkness:

> O, *nišimta* soul rise and go and enter inside the body and be a prisoner inside the Palace. The rebellious Lion will be captured by you, the grim furious Lion. The Dragon will be captured by you, and killed in on the

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[220] GRR book 10, pp. 287-8.
[221] GRL book 3: 20 p. 122: 12. We find the same conception of the "inn" in the "Hymn of the Pearl", Act of Thomas (Jonas, 1958: 55-6).
[222] GRR, book 16: 2 pp. 452-3. The text:
[illegible]
[223] GRL book 2: 1 pp. 46-7. The text:
[illegible]
[224] GRL book 2: 3, p. 50: 22. The text:
[illegible]
[225] GRL book 2: 3, p. 49: 20. The text:
[illegible]

spot. The King of Darkness, whose strength no one can match, shall be fettered by you.[226]

The Aramaic etymology of *mana* is: "vessel", "utensil", "garment" "clothing", and "instrument". [227] The Mandaean priests give four meanings for the word mana. (*a*) the soul, (*b*) a dove, (*c*) a garment, (*d*) a house.[228] The *Mana* is the instrument in which the *Mana* and his companion hid themselves in order to create the new generation of Life. It appears in plural forms in the following text:

> I bowed to and prostrated myself to my companion, and I received from her the precious *kušṭa*. We entered the *mania* (instrument) and concealed our selves. And she agreed to be my consort.[229]

The second occurrence of *mana* in the plural form *mania* is the Mandaean ceremony *Ahaba ḏ-Mania* (the presentation of garments [a form of *zidaq brika*] for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment - *rasta*).[230]

In ATŠ we read that the *Mana* is the Great Radiance, the translucent heavenly teacher who teaches the Naṣoraeans the sacramental rites (treasures). The messenger Hibil-Ziwa appeals to the Great Mana, the Lord of all worlds, to explain to him the perfect rites, as without them no healing (*asuta*) of baptism in the Jordan will be bestowed on the Naṣoraeans and their robes will be debased and their crowns will fall from their heads.[231]

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[226] GRL p. 91: 2f. The sacrifice of the soul or the fall of the sparkle of Light into darkness in order to defeat the evil elements of the world of darkness is a common motif among the Gnostic sects (Jonas 1958: 219). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Cf. Bar Khonai narration of the Manichean version: "The Living Spirit (*rūha hayā*) revealed his forms (*galē ṣūrateh*) to the sons of Darkness; and from the Light which had been swallowed by them from these Five Luminous Gods he purified the light and made the Sun, the Moon and more than a thousand stars" (cited by Stroumsa, 1984 . 155).

[227] MD p. 246, DJPA p. 288. The Iraqis still use ماعون מאעון for a vessel.

[228] MII p. 93 n. 1.

[229] GRR p.399: 10. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[230] MD p. 8 (For more about the ceremony of *Ahaba ḏ-Mania*, see MII p. 214).

§ 2.1.4 - ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡉࡍࡀ *yardina* (Jordan):

Ritual immersion of the Mandaeans requires running or flowing water "rivers" which fits with the aquatic and marshy environment of southern Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans call all rivers and streams "jordans", and the Jordan, in their belief, is a terrestrial river "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains." [232] The Jordan of the pure (white) waters originates from the Great Mana who dwells in Great Ether of Life.[233] The heavenly Jordan is not only the link between the World of Light and the physical world, but also functions as the conduit which pours from the World of Light in order to purify *mia siauia*, the black lifeless waters of the earth.[234] The black waters encircled the circumference of the world remained turbid,[235] until the Great Life ordered the Savior *Manda d̲-Hiia* to draw a channel of Living water and let fall into the black waters:

> Arise, you, and depart towards the watersheds. And draw a tiny channel
> of living water and let it fall into the turbid waters and (then the waters)

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[231] ATŠ p. 142.

[232] MII p. XXV. Segelberg has no "reason to doubt that the word ירדנא Jordan refers to the well known river with same name", but he adds that "Euphrates replaces Jordan occasionally". He also refers to scholars who believe that the Mandaeans are of Western origin, and that they have adopted, besides Jordan, Euphrates as a sacred river since their settlement in Mesopotamia (Segelberg, 1958: 38).

[233] GRR book III p. 84: 5.

[234] For this reason, the Mandaeans consider the *yardina* Jordan (running water) sacred, therefore, no Mandaeans may urinate or spit in a river, nor can it be used to dispose of sewage.

[235] GRR p. 196: 23. The text: [illegible]
The Babylonians portrayed the circular earth surrounded by the "Bitter River" (Lambert 1975: 60).

> become sweet and the children of man drink it and become like the great Life.[236]

Without the "Living Water" of the *Yardina* (Jordan) purifying the Mandaeans, their *nišmata* 'souls' would remain confined to this world; the World of Darkness, and could never return to the World of Light.[237] The Jordan cleans all faults and the trespasses and is the father of all worlds, celestial, central and lower: it is a medicine transcending all means of healing.[238] The healing powers of "the great Jordan of the First Life, which is all healings" [239] correspond to the magical healing powers of the Jordan, which healed Namaan, the captain of the host of the king of Syria from his leprosy, stated in the Old Testament.[240]

Without the baptism (immersion) in Jordan (running water) one cannot receive the pure sign and therefore he cannot be a Mandaean:

> "In the name of the Life! Let every man whose strength enables him and who loves his soul, come and go down to Jordan and be baptized and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head." [241]

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[236] GRR p. 322: 2. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[237] "The Christian-Essene called the *Didache* insists on "living water" for baptism, too" (Welburn, 1991: 195).

[238] ATŠ p. 150 (Mandaean p. 38). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
The Babylonian cosmology is also based on three levels, as mentioned in the epic of Atrahasis: Anu in Heaven, Enlil on the earth, and Ea in the Apsu (Lambert 1975: 57).

[239] CP p. 12. Mandaean Masbuta hymn No 18, p. 58. The text:
[illegible]

[240] Kings II 5-16. Lady Drower does not believe that *yardina* (Jordan) has any connection with the river Jordan in Palestine, and that the Mandaeans call all rivers by Ardana or Ardan (MII n. 4 p. xxiv). On the other hand, Pallis insists that *yardina* Jordan cannot be translated as 'the river' since *yardina* Jordan is always a proper name in Mandaic literature (Pallis, 1926: 24).

[241] CP p. 13. Mandaean Maṣbuta (Baptism) p. 60. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

Mandaean *maṣbuta* (baptism) in the *yardina ḏ-mia hiia* 'the Jordan of Living Water' is the unification with the World of Light. According to the Mandaeans, the baptism which takes place in the earthly world is a replica of the heavenly baptism carried out by the beings of Light. It was performed to purify Hibil-Ziwa in the heavenly *yardina* (Jordan) from the pollution with which he was polluted during his journey to the underworld. [242]

Baptism protects the Mandaean against evil and seals him physically and spiritually by the seal of Life: "These souls who are descending to the Jordan will be sealed by the seal of the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life." [243] The running water is not only for healing the body and purifying the souls, but also "the symbol of the fertilizing male principle" in the Mandaean literature, e.g. Earth is "the Mother" and Rain or River "the Father".[244]

> For Jordan is a *baba* (father) and the Earth a mother whose name is (*mamma*) [245]

Stroumsa writes: "Gnostic water imagery made use of biblical themes: 'The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse' [*Testim. Truth* 31:1-3]."[246] This phrase is quite compatible with the Mandaean imagery, where the Mandaean literature credits the origin of the sexual desire to the Living Water and to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa:

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[242] For more details concerning this baptism, see DMHZ (the Scroll of the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa) p. 28.

[243] CP. p. 11. The text:

[illegible]

The Iraqis believed, from the ancient times, in the seals of the great names to protect them from evil. The most famous is the Seal of King Solomon which contains the magic names that gave him the power over the djinn, birds and wind (See Dawkins J., "The Seal of Solomon", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943) pp. 145-150 esp. p. 145.).

[244] ATŠ, "the Male Mystery" p. 122. Cf. the Sumerian myth of creation as *An* (heavens) represents the male and *Ki* (earth) is the womb '... An impregnated the verdant earth (*Ki*) and she bore him one unafraid of the warrior *Ninurta* (Jacobson, 1976: 95).

[245] ATŠ p. 176.

[246] Stroumsa 1984: 122.

> I went towards two legally joined persons. I came and opened living waters and gave to the pair of this world to drink. I opened living water and gave of them to the bridal pair of this world to drink. I sowed in them pregnancy and birth and with sexual desire I enflamed them and caused love to dwell in both of them.[247]

It is interesting to note that Marcionites (a heretical sect founded in C.E. 144 at Rome by Marcion) had launched a surprising attack upon John and the baptism in the Jordan and called him: "Archon of the multitude":

> "The river of Jordan, this, to him, is the strength of the body – that is, the essence of pleasure; and the water of Jordan is the desire for carnal co-habitation." As for John, he is "the archon of the multitude" [248]

According to the Mandaean manuscript ࡄࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡕࡀ *haran gawaita* 'Inner Haran', John the Baptist (*iahiah yuhana*) was born when his old barren mother ࡏࡍࡉࡔࡁࡀࡉ *'enišbai* 'Elizabeth' became pregnant with him when she drank a sip from the Jordan. As a result the seed of John was sown in her womb:

> ". . . in Tamar [249], the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth.
> And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed . . . and came and was

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[247] CP. p. 182. Mandean p. 231-2. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[248] Doresse, 1960: 220. In this concern Jonas writes: "This is entirely unique. Could it be a retort to the Mandaeans – the other side of the bitter quarrel of which we have the Mandean side in their writings? The account is too sketchy to permit more than the suggestion of this tempting possibility" (Jonas, H., JR, 1962: 265).

[249] Tamar (a small town named Thamara was situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea). The story of the miraculous birth is also written in the BJ 18 74: 5 where we read: 'They have taken a child from the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of *'nšbai* (Elisabeth)" [illegible]
[illegible]

> sown in the womb of 'Nišbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory." [250]

It seems that the Mandaeans follow the Sumerians, who did not always differentiate between "'semen" and "water"; the same word can stand for both. It is Enki who fecundates and produces productivity: "O Father Enki, go forth out of the seeded country, and may it sprout good seed!"[251] To the above Sumerian concept of fertility we find striking parallels in Mandaean literature:

> For Earth called Jordan (living water) "My father" when its mysteries fell into her. And she cried aloud to Jordan "Do not penetrate me" and said to it "Answer me, my father, answer me" and "Raise me up, (O) great Son of the Great One, father of a son of Life! Answer me, *Šilmai* and *Nidbai*, lords of the Jordan". [252]

The Mandaeans consider the Living Water, which originates in the world of Light, is the Life itself which flows from the House of Life in which Mandaeans lustrate their bodies and souls:

> In the name of the Life! Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth form the House of Life. (At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed.[253]

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[250] HG p. 5. The Mandaean manuscript line no. 18. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[251] Jacobson, 1976: 111.

[252] [the earth cries out like a virgin fearing loss of virginity] ATŠ, p. 173. Mandaean p. 49. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[253] CP p. 33 (the Mmasiqta p. 120). Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[illegible]

Albright finds in the above Mandaean hymn a striking resemblance to the Assyrian *egubbû* incantations: "In the name of life! Ye are the living waters, which have come from a wide place, Lady Drower states, 'Today the word *yardina* (Jordan) is applied not only to running water used in baptism and immersion, but to any flowing stream; yet the conjunction of John the Baptist and the Jordan is significant. [254]

§2.1.5 - ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀ *Škina* (celestial dwelling):

ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinata* has its usual ambiguity as the other Gnostic Mandaean terms. In creation it is meant to be the celestial dwelling, but it is also used as the cult-hut in which the Mandaean rites take place. The *škinata* or *'ndruna* is a booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses.[255] It is where the priest sits and from which he performs his duties like the marriage ceremony. The worldly *škina* used in the rituals is a reproduction of the *škina* of the World of Light. It is through the *škina* that Mandaeans can experience the Divine Godhead.

The ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinata* (celestial dwellings)[256] are the product of the first emanation and they became the celestial abode of the Mandaean deities; "the Life", the Mana and their *uthras*. The *škina* was founded by the Life above the *tanna* in the great Jordan "Piriawis":

> Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life, which all healings is afire
> like the glory flaming in the ࡕࡀࡍࡀ *tanna* (matrix?). When Life was

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carrying death away form the house of life. O living waters from the house of life, let the good come and be well, but let the bad be shattered (like a pot)" (Albright, AJSL 1919 pp. 161-195, esp p. 186).

[254] SA p. xiv.

[255] For the details of the construction of the *škinta* by the Mandaean priests see MII pp. 152-3.

[256] Cf. שכינה The biblical Hebrew word for Tabernacle *miščan*, is used in the sense of dwelling-place in OT, Psalm 132:5 "Before I find a place for God, *mishcanot* (dwelling-places) for the Strong One of Israel" (עד אמצא מקום ליהוה משכנות לאביר יעקב). In Talmudic literature, the *Shekhinah* is God himself (Sholem G., 1962: 163). Quispel believes that there is a close connection between the *Shekhinah* in Jewish Mysticism and the Mandaean concept of *Adam Qadamaia* "the primordial Man" (Quispel G., "Ezekiel 1: 26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis", *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (Mar. 1980), pp. 1- 13, esp. p. 3).

> ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flamed therein,
> Life arose and founded its *škina* above the *tanna*.[257]

Enormous and countless myriads of *škinas* came forth from the fusion of the Great Mana with the Pira.[258] The *škinas*, with their illuminating light and magnificent radiance, are the symbol of the Divine might and glory:

> Then the Lord of Greatness *Mara-ḏ-Rabuta* stood and created four hundred and forty four *škinas* to his right, and three hundred and sixty *škinas* to his left. Then, he created from every *škina* one thousand and eight hundred thousand myriad *ruban* precious and sublime uthras. Their radiance is magnificent and their light is illuminating. Their precious illumination lights up the Lamps that shine before them. Two guards are posted upon every single *škina* and two lamps are lit in front of them.[259]

The *škina,* just like the other Mandaean elements of creation, is enclosed with mystery which no one can comprehend its entity:

> He is the *Kušṭa* (Truth) who lives in upper heights, the Lord of Greatness, Lord of all mighty beings.[260] There is no one to define and express his force and all his worlds and his *škinas*, in which the *uthras* and *melki* "kings" dwell.[261]

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[257] CP 18 p. 12. (MṢ hymn 18 p. 58). Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[258] GRR p. 84: 2.

[259] GRR book 4 p. 151: 13. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[260] Cf. (9) Adonai is the attribute [*Middah*] of mercy and Elohim is the attribute (10) of justice Truth is the place of the *Shekinah* who establishes (11) all creatures [Lit. "who enter the world"] in truth. And when he sits (12) on the throne of judgement righteousness stands at his right and mercy (13) stands at his left and truth stands before him . . .' (Peter Schäfer, *Geniza Fragmente zur Hekhalot Literature*, Tübingen, 1984, pp. 132-4, cited by Deutsch, 1999: 41).

[261] GRR p. 4: 6. The text:

The celestial *Škinas* developed from the First Mystic *Škina*:

> Praised is that great mystic *škina* and praised the three hundred and sixty *škinas* which proceeded from that first great mystic *škina*.[262]

From these mystical dwellings (or: sanctuaries) of the high beings, mystic sprouts came into being:

> The proven, pure one spoke saying to the Great One: "If it pleases you, Great One, if it pleases you Great Ones, a world of light has been made Created is a world of light and a company has been established therein, *Škinas* have been set up therein. It will be bright in your praise, in your praise it will shine, and will be blessed with your blessing. Mystic sprouts (offspring) will come into being and at your word they will flourish, they will flourish at your word and sprouts that are worthy will be raised up."[263]

In another hymn, the *Škina* appears to be the "divine abode" in which the Great Mana "cocooned" himself before revealing himself to the worlds. The idea appears to be that the Great Mana has its period of quiescence, ceasing to be. [264] He became manifest only when He was fully developed in his *Škina*:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own *Škina* – for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save

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[illegible]

[262] CP p. 155. (Mandaic Hymn n. 171.) Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[263] CP p. 187. (=Mandaic CP Hymn n 234 p. 245) Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[264] CP, n. 4 p. 188.

> that great, secret, First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.[265]

The *škinta* which is constructed by the Mandaean priests in the Bit Manda (The House of Mandaeans or: Mandaean Temple) is the reflection of the heavenly *škina* in which all beings of Light dwell. In the process of consecration of a *ašualia* (a Mandaean novice for priesthood), has to enter a newly-built ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ *škinta* (a cult hut), and the ࡏࡍࡃࡓࡅࡍࡀ *'ndruna* (booth constructed for ritual purposes such as marriage and initiation) which symbolizes his former lay status is pulled down. The earthly *škinta*, with the Mandaean priests sitting in it practicing their rituals, symbolizes a particular realm within the divine world. It is the Mandaean sacred and pure dwelling, in the earth Tibil, which belongs to the World of Light:

> Praised be that great occult First *škinta* (abode) because it is Mine. Praised be the three hundred and sixty *škinata* (abodes), the three hundred and sixty worlds, ours, because they are worlds of light amongst which all mysteries are shared out – they emanated from the supreme and Celestial World.[266]

The *škinata* are the celestial dwellings for the countless battalions of *'uthras*; the "warriors" of the realm of Light. These *škinata* are hidden from men in the World of Light.[267]

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[265] CP p. 36 *masiqta* (Ascension) p. 130. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[266] ATŠ, pp. 111,112. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[267] *Cf.* the world of Merkabah could be designated as the place "of his Shekhinah hidden from men in the highest heights" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164, quoted from the Targum to Habakkuk 3: 4).

> Praised be all the mighty and lofty world of light; praised be all those *škinata* "sanctuaries" of the Hidden for in each and every *škinta* sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, (*'uthras*) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.[268]

The earthly *škinta* is an oblong and with a pent-roof reed hut plastered with washed clay. When the *škinta* is constructed (always constructed nearby a stream of running water), seven priests are gathered together and recite the devotion prayers (*rahmia*). During this ceremony, the holy books are set in and the banners are unfurled.[269] The *škinta* is purified every year at the festival of the five days of creation (*Paruaniia*).[270] After its purification and consecration only priests are allowed to enter.[271] "In the *škinta* the *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) lives for seven days and nights, leaving it only to relieve himself." [272] The *Rba* (teacher) takes his novice by the right hand and leads him to the *škinta*:

> And grasp thy *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) with thy right hand and come to thy *škinta*, in which priests and laymen will be sitting. Say to them "Peace upon you, my brethren, priests and laymen of the

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[268] CP, p. 50; Mandaean text no. 58. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
In respect to the large numbers of celestial being and dwellings Scholem writes: "This pluralistic generalization, which of course no longer permits the equation of the Shekhinah with the supreme God, appears to have been self-evident among the Mandaeans, whose literature overflows with references to myriads of worlds, *uthras* (treasure houses of riches) and shekhinoth, though we never learn precisely what it is they represent" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164).

[269] Segelberg, 1976: 184.

[270] Paruaniia: the five intercalary days, called colloquially *panja* (MD p. 363).

[271] Lady Drower noted, "I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dungin's *Rituels Accadiens*, with resemblances between the *taraṣa ḏ mandi* (*mandi* = Mandaean cult-hut) and the Akkadian rites for the re-consecration of a temple after pollution, earthquake, or violation"(MII n. 4 p. 142).

[272] Drower, 1962: XIV.

škinta!" And those crowns which thou intendest to distribute amongst the priests of the *škinta* shall be (held) in they hand.[273]

In the *škinta,* the *šualia* (novice) receives his mystic knowledge from his *Rba* (teacher). During these seven days and seven nights of the novice's solitude in the *škinta,* he and his master, observe the strictest rules of purity. The main purpose of the earthly *škinta* is the consecration of a new priest and performing the *masiqta* (ascension) rituals. Lady Drower believes that Mandaean *škinta* is related to 'the sanctuary of a Nestorian church,'[274] while, in the Talmudic conception, the *Shekhinah* represents God's dwelling and glory in the created world.[275]

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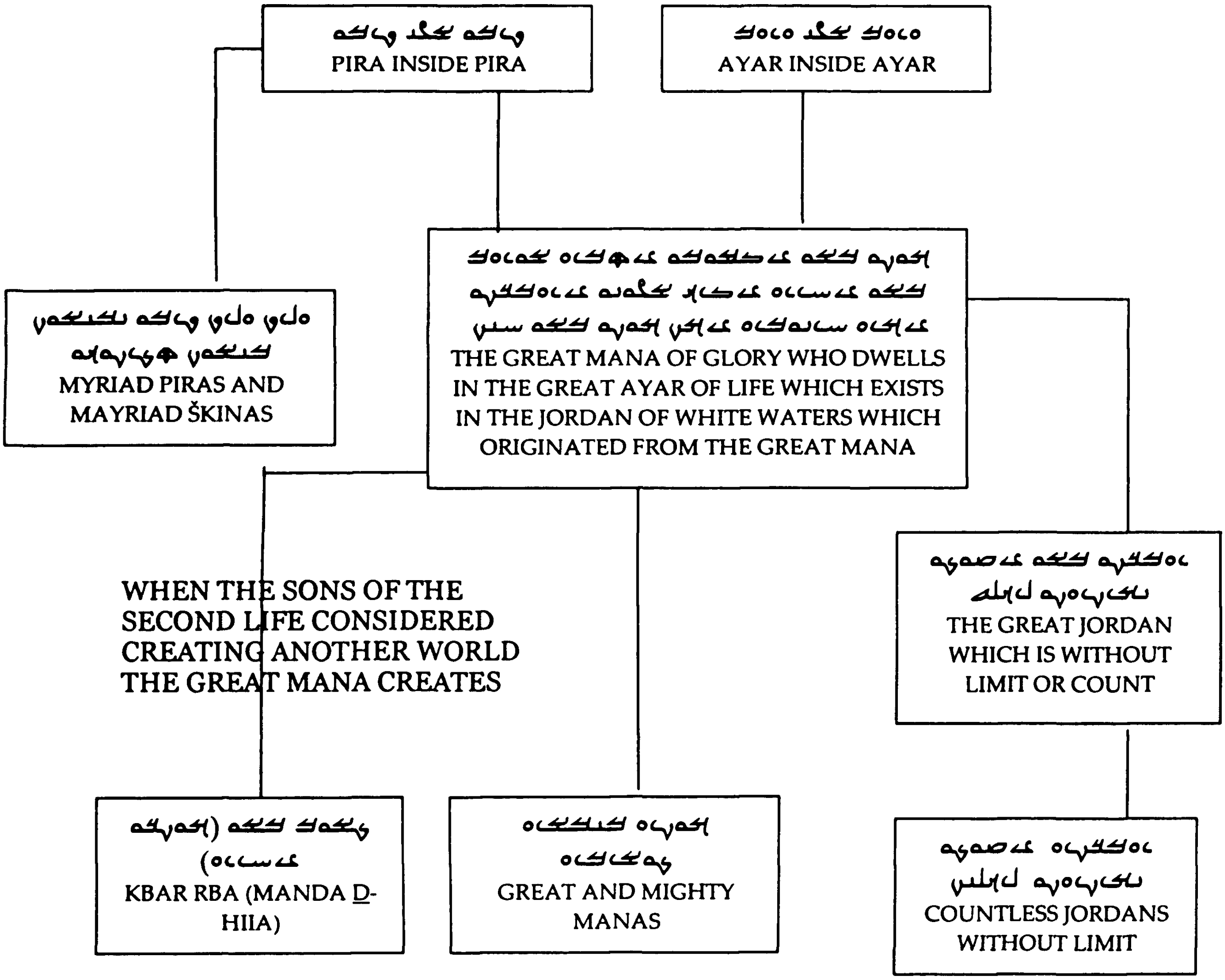
[273] ATŠ II [422] p. 286. (Mandaic p. 105). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[274] Drower 1962: XIII.

[275] For the *Shekhinah* as the divine power between light and darkness, see Wolfson, "Light through Darkness", *Harvard Theological Review*, Vo. 81, No. 1. (Jan. 1988), pp. 73-95 esp. p. 85.

TEXT 1
GINZA RABA
PAGE 83-4
Chart (A)


PIRA INSIDE PIRA
AYAR INSIDE AYAR
MYRIAD PIRAS AND MAYRIAD ŠKINAS
THE GREAT MANA OF GLORY WHO DWELLS IN THE GREAT AYAR OF LIFE WHICH EXISTS IN THE JORDAN OF WHITE WATERS WHICH ORIGINATED FROM THE GREAT MANA
WHEN THE SONS OF THE SECOND LIFE CONSIDERED CREATING ANOTHER WORLD THE GREAT MANA CREATES
THE GREAT JORDAN WHICH IS WITHOUT LIMIT OR COUNT
KBAR RBA (MANDA D-HIIA)
GREAT AND MIGHTY MANAS
COUNTLESS JORDANS WITHOUT LIMIT

§ 2. 2. - The Second Account of the Theogony

§ 2. 2 - The Second Account of the Theogony:

In the second account of theogonay (GRR book III p. 84: 14 ff) In addition to the previous Gnostic terms, mentioned in the first version of creation, we come across new terms in the second version; *yura* (radiance), *hiia tiniania* (the Second life) and *hapiqia mia* (the streams of water). Some of these terms are peculiar and difficult to understand and *Yura* is one of them. The main events in this account are: (a) The creation of the *yardina rba* "Great Jordan" (b) The Life is born from the great Jordan (c) The Life addresses Itself (or: Himself) with a request and begets the Second Life (d) The Second Life calls forth *uthras* and sets up *škinas* and creates his own Jordan (e) Three *uthras* come into being and address a request to the Second Life to grant them permission to raise *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them:

> When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the *Ayar* (ether) was still in the *Ayar*, and when the great ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *Yura* (Radiance), whose ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *ziwa* radiance and ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* light are so vast and extensive, before which no one existed, and from which the great Jordan of living water came into being. The water flowed to the earth of ether on which the Life sat, and the Life presented himself in the likeness of the great Mana, from which he came into being, and the Life addressed himself with a request. By the first request an eternal *uthra* came into being, whom the Life called ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *hiia tiniania* 'the Second Life'. Countless and endless ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ *uthras* also came into being. From the Life a Jordan ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡉࡍࡀ *yardina* came into being, which like the first Jordan flowed into the earth of light, and the Second Life stood (or: baptized) in it. And that Second Life called forth *uthras* and set up ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinas* and called forth a Jordan, in which the *uthras* were set up (or was baptized).

> Three *uthras* came into being, who addressed a request to the Second Life; they were then allowed to produce *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them. They consulted together and produced *škinas*. They petitioned and spoke to their father; they asked their father and said to him: "Are you the one who created this Jordan of living water, which is so marvelous and whose aroma is so fragrant, and the *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it and which are so great, and are they your *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it?" The Second Life replied, speaking to the three *uthras*: "As for me, your father, the Life created me, and the Jordan belongs to the Life, and you are brought into being by the power of the Life.' Then they spoke to him: 'Give us of your radiance and your light and of that which surrounds you and we shall depart and go below the streams of water ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, call forth *škinas* for you, establish a world for you, and may the world belong to us and to you." (Chart II)

§ 2. 2. 1 - ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *Yura*:

Yura is one of the beings of Light in the Mandaean theogony, but the Mandaean writings do not provide us with sufficient account of him. The Mandaic Dictionary defines him as: Iur, iura (< יוהרא) light, brilliance, being of light.[276] He is a spirit of light and, the treasurer who lives with his ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* (counterpart) in their *škina*. *Yura* or *Yur* describes himself:

> I am *Yur* son of thou-art-bright". [277] "I am *Yur* son of *Barit* (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The *tanna* (vapour or: matrix) dissolved and a *škinta* came into being, a *škinta* came into existence and was established in the House of Life.[278]

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[276] In Arabic جوهر *jauhar* gems or jewels.

[277] ATŠ p. 281 and n. 6. ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡉࡅࡓ ࡁࡓ ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ *ana hu yur br barit* Mandaean ATŠ p. 102 q. 392.

[278] CP p. 9 Hymn n. 12 (Mş no. 12 p. 48). The text:

Due to the paucity of Mandaean writings concerning *Yura Rba*, we can not determine his real purpose. The Ginza describes him as ࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡀ *ganzibra*. *Ganzibra* bears dual definitions: a 'Treasurer' and also the title for a Mandaean (bishop) which the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest):

> Instruct them concerning Sidar-Kasia-Anana
> inside which the Treasurer, *Yur Rba*, is concealed.[279]

The following warning which is written in the Ginza and directed to perverse *Naşoraeans* (Mandaeans) confirms the role of *yura* as a treasurer:

> The secret treasure will be taken away from them (from the impious Naşoreans) and will be handed over to *Yura Rba*, the treasurer. He (the impious Naşorean) will be removed from Light and will burn in the lower hell.[280]

The Ginza also tells us that *yura rba*, like the other spirits of light, has a *dmuta* (counterpart) who lives with him:

> They provided him with hidden words, so sublime and transcendent to the world. They instructed him concerning *Yura Rba* and his magnificent *dmuta* (counterpart) who (cohabits) with him.[281]

In one of the prayers, *Yur Rba* is invoked as a redeemer. Here he is described not only as the *ganzibra* (treasurer) but also as "king of worlds of light":

[illegible]

[279] GRR book 17: 1, p. 465: 3. The text:
[illegible]

[280] GRR book 15, p. 392: 11. The text:
[illegible]

[281] GRR book 15: 7, p. 393: 7. The text:
[illegible]

> O Yawar Rba, Yur Rba, Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my errors.[282]

Other Mandaean writings call him mystic. In the following hymn *yura* is classified with *šalmai* and *nadbai*, the great guardians of the Mandaeans' sacred rivers:

> You will behold the great mystic *Yura* whom they planted. You will see *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud they dwell and put in charge of all jordans. [283]

Finally Lady Drower states, "As *Yura* is unusual as a form of *Yur* it is tempting to consider יורה "the first rain", "spring, "early season". [284]

§ 2. 2. 2 - ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* The Life:

The Life is the supreme deity in the Mandaean belief. He is usually described as *nukraiia* "alien", "remote", "ineffable" since nobody has ever seen His brilliance and glory ࡃࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡄ ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡄ d-'niš ldmuth lahzh lziuh u'qarh [285]. He is the source of all existence both seen and unseen; He is the creative force that came into came into existence before the existence:[286]

> Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One [Alien] from world of light, Supreme being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth [*kušṭa*] which was of old in the Beginning. [287]

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[282] CP p. 156. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[283] CP p. 304. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible]

[284] CP n. 5 p. 183.

[285] CP p. 40. Mandaean *Masiqta* (Ascension) hymn No. 43 p. 138.

[286] SA p. 1.

[287] CP p. 40. Drower's translation, text collated:

The Life originated from the land of Light and the water came into being from the Life. From the water radiance emanated, and from radiance light emanated, and from the light *uthras* came into being:

> The Life knows that life came into being on the land of Light and from the Life, the water came into being, and from the water, the radiance came into being, and from the radiance, the light, and from the light, the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[288]

"The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of Life is the "living water" *yardina* "Jordan." [289]

The World of Light came into existence through a series of emanations form the First Life.[290] As soon as the First Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia qadmaiia* arose from his *škina* he created three hundred and sixty Jordans and appointed two guards upon each of them . . . then he created three hundred and sixty worlds of Light. [291]

The First Life was the first "Creator" in the World of Light when he addressed himself with a request and brought the Second Life (Yōšamin) into being.[292] In

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[illegible]

[288] GRR 15: 20 p.442: 11. The text:

[illegible]

[289] MII, p. xxi.

[290] Rudolph, 1983: 357.

[291] GRR pp. 354, 5. The text:

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[292] GRR p. 84: 20. Cf. the concept of the Barbelo (The Barbeliotes were "Gnostic" sect that lived in Egypt and mentioned by Epiphanius) when he asked the first *Ennoia* (thought) to give him/her a "First Knowledge": after he granted it, the First Knowledge became manifest and

another fragment of the Ginza we read that the First Life declared to the great supreme Mana that he thought carefully and created a son. The Mana asked the Life to clothe the son with the attire of radiance and to cover his head with turban of light:

> The First Life bowed in worship and praised that great supreme Mana and said to him, "I thought and created one son; the unique great righteous one, who came to being from the unique great righteous one." He (the great supreme Mana) said to Him (to the First Life), "Go, dress him with the attire of radiance and cover his (head) with the good pure turban of light." [293]

The "First Life" is the main Mandaean revealed deity who is entitled of worship.[294] He participates in the positive aspect alone: it is *nukraiia* "beyond", *alauia kulhun ubadia* "above all creation", *balma dnhūra* "in the world of light".[295] In baptism every Mandaean must receive the Pure Sign ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ *rušma dakia*; the Sign of Life ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ *rušma d-hiia*. Most of the Mandaean hymns and prayers open and end with the following formulae: ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡉࡀ *bšumaihun d hiia rabia* "In the name of the Great Life", ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ *hiia zakin* "Life is victorious".

The "Living Water" flows form the "House of Life" which is the habitation of the highest deity along with his heavenly host of the *uthras*. [296] The House of Life is

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the "Son" was born from the *Ennoia's* contemplation of the Father (Jonas 1958: 199-200. See also Rudolph 1983: 77, 80).

[293] GRR 279: 21f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[294] Yamauchi 1967: 39.

[295] Jonas, 1958: 50.

[296] MII p. 95. The House of Life is parallel to the Pleroma in the Gnostic motif. Widengren noted, 'The chief temple of the town, *Esagila*, is called *bīt balāṭi* "the House of Life" (Widengren 1949: 26).

the place where the souls of the Mandaeans' ancestors dwell,[297] and the names of the *uthras* are kept:

> They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode . . . 'Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life.[298]

The Mandaean adaptation of Life as their main deity is derived from their own habitat in southern Iraq. The quest for life is a major theme in the Epic of Gilgamesh and of Mesopotamian incantations.[299] The ritual customs of the Mandaeans, as well as in the ancient Mesopotamian religion, are influenced by the idea of 'life' and how to reach the House of Life in order to gain eternal life.[300]

§ 2. 2. 3 - The Second Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *hiia tiniania* (Yōšamin):

The Second Life[301], also known by his personal name Yōšamin,[302] is the First Son of *Hiia Qadmaiia* the First Life who begot him through a "self-division" or "self-produced emanation" and not creation (for this would compromise its perfection).[303]

> The Life addressed a request to Itself (Himself). By the first request an eternal (or: fast-grounded) uthra came into being, whom the Life

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[297] PC. P. 303.

[298] Ibid 87, Mandaean text pp. 243, 244. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[299] Jacobsen 1976: 213-4.

[300] Widengren 1949: 29.

[301] Book III of the Ginza (the subject of the research) does not mention Yōšamin as the other epithet of the Second Life. Yōšamin is mentioned in the rest of the Ginza. Albright believes that Yōšamin stands for Ba'al-šamîn (older Ba'al-šamēn) (Albright W. F., "The Canaanite God Haurōn (Hōrōn)", AJSL 53, 1936: 11, 12).

[302] *iušamin* (comp. with iu-, a transformation of H.יהושמין Kessler PRE xii 168, taking the place of the Aram. בעלשמין Jb ii pp. xxiii: 15 ff. AF 242) name of a demiurge, a mediator between good and evil ML, 281, MII 224 n. 8, Jb ii pp. xxii ff. MD, P. 191).

[303] Deutsch 1999: 138.

called the Second Life, also uthras without limit or count came into being.[304]

The Second Life played the most important role in the creation of the semi-physical world (the world which is located beneath the World of Light). As soon as he came into existence, the Second Life became obsessed with the thought of creation[305]. He incurred the great schism in the World of Light when he allowed the three *uthras* (his sons, especially Abatur) to go down below ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia* the "streams of water" (the waters that separate the world of light from the world of darkness) and create their own world and ignore the name of the Life.[306]

The Second Life's creation of a new world was considered by the World of Light as an evil act of rebellion which "instigated the Great Controversy, never to be resolved in all eternity"[307]. Yōšamin "revealed the secret of the Great Ones" and threw controversy into the Light.[308]. The Mandaean faith dictates that the world (which was created by Yōšamin) is the source of all evils and all errors and deficiency is the product of a "divine tragedy" caused by Yōšamin.[309] Some Mandaean writings recount that all error and deficiency originated when Yōšamin came into existence and it is he who caused the 'discord' in the World of Light.[310] For his insolence, the Second Life was cast down from his throne and was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it:

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[304] GRR 84: 20. Cf. the Syriac writer Theodore Bar Konai's (8th/9th Century C.E.) story about a certain Battai whose doctrine dictates: 'Before the beginning of all things, there had been divinity who divided himself into two and from whom the Good and Evil came to be, the Good gathered-together the lights, and the Evil the darkness. Then the Evil gained understanding, and rose to make war upon the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness pronounced a word, from which were borne seven powers. But seven demons set themselves up against the Lord God and against the Powers he had engendered: after having shackled these adversaries, they stole from the Father of Greatness the principle of the soul (Doresse, 1960: 60).

[305] GRR Book III p. 96: 4 [illegible] "the pregnant became pregnant with the second".

[306] GRR book III p. 85: 14 f. The move of the Second Life 'Yōšamin' was encountered by the creation of the messenger/redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia "Gnosis of Life" (§2.2.7), by the higher deities as we shall see in GGR p. 85: 24 f. Cf. the second series of gods who pleaded their Father for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, according to the Manichaean system (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15). For more about *hapiqia mia* see §2.2.4.

[307] DY (Mandaean manuscript) pp. 4, 5 (= Lidzbarski's Mandaean manuscript p. 5: 3). The text:

[illegible]

[308] Ibid p. 7. The text:

[illegible]

[309] Rudolph, 1983: 69.

> "Yōšamin was cast down because he wanted to instigate a fight and throw controversy into the House of the Great Ones. He imagined evil; therefore he was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it."[311]

In *draša d-yahia* (the Book of John or the Book of Kings) we read that a great 'angelic' war took place in the World of Light between the forces of the Life on the one hand and Yōšamin and his allies on the other. Yōšamin lost the war; his sons were killed in the resistance, and his wives went around in mourning. His *yardinia* (Jordans) were disturbed and his *škinas* were removed out of their place. They destroyed his dwellings and his buildings, and his throne was placed at the gates of Supat (underworld).[312]

After the tragedy Yōšamin came back to his senses; he repented and asked to be baptized and the name of the Life to be placed upon him:

> "I want acknowledge by your baptism and your name to be expressed and placed upon me."[313]

The Great Life was pleased with this result and restored Yōšamin's status. The World of Light promised Yōšamin to restore his *škinas* and buildings and to bring back his sons to him alive and to appoint messengers and guards in his domain. His throne to be erected firmly and he is to be called the King of the *Škina*:

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[310] ARR 47.

[311] DY, pp. 7, 8. The text:
[illegible]

[312] DY, p. 28. The text:
[illegible]

[313] Ibid p. 28: 19. The text:
[illegible]

> As Yōšamin said this, the Great Life was pleased about his speech. He spoke to Nṣab-Ziwa, the guard, who sits everywhere. He said to him, "Go to Yōšamin and sustain his heart by your support. Tell him, "You are of our planting; we will not leave you alone. Your *škina* is well established in radiance and glory, and your stronghold and your building are to be recreated as they were. Your children are to be brought back to you alive and you are to be served by your messengers as guards in your realm. Your throne is to be erected firmly, as it was, and you are to be called a king in your *škina*". [314]

On the other hand, the Second Life "Yōšamin" is considered by the Mandaeans as the "archetype of a priest careless in rituals".[315] Yōšamin is the neglectful priest in the World of Light.[316] ATŠ directs a clear warning to the priest who does not perform the rite perfectly: "Nevertheless, exhort him (the priest) and warn him against performing rites as Yōšamin performed them." [317] In this connection Deutsch writes:

> The interplay between human and angelic priests also plays an important role in the Mandaean rehabilitation of fallen *uthras* such as Yōšamin, Abatur and Ptahil. According to Kurt Rudolph, at a certain point in the history of the Mandaean religion, the priestly class empowered itself and transformed what was originally a radically dualist theology into a more monistic, ritualistic system in which human priests played a greater role. An important part of this social

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[314] Ibid pp. 33, 34. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[315] ARR n. 5 p. 47. See also CP 69 and n. 1 p. 69.

[316] SA p. 60.

[317] ATŠ [415] p. 285.

> and theological transformation was the rehabilitation of fallen, cosmic priests such as Abatur, who were re-created in the image of the newly empowered human priests. [318]

Yōšamin and his sons Abatur and Ptahil resemble, in a way, the sinning angels of I Enoch 6-11.[319] Deutsch explains:

> The connection between the Mandaean uthras and the fallen angels is primarily, but not solely, based on their common fall from grace following an act of rebellion. Another important but less obvious parallel between the two sets of figures in that both are related to the image of a polluted priesthood. We have already seen that Yōšamin, Abatur, and Ptahil were characterized as heavenly priests who corrupted themselves by rebelling against the Great Life. [320]

In Mandaean prayer Yōšamin is the strength which guides the waters to the sea. [321] He is also mentioned in marriage songs as a light-spirit of abundance and fertility.[322] The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life is anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any *uthra* by six thousand myriad years. [323] He is the pure one who abides on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. [324]

In some Mandaean writings Yōšamin is called the peacock:

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[318] Deustch 1999: 143.

[319] For more about the falling angels, see Hanson "Rebellion in Heaven", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (Jun., 1977), pp. 195-233; Nichelsburg G. W., "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 3. (Sep. 1977), pp. 383-405, and S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11* (AOAT 322, Münster, 2005), 29ff.

[320] Deutsch 1999: 130.

[321] ATŠ [236] p. 171.

[322] ŠQŠR pp. 67, 104.

[323] CP, p. 1.

[324] Ibid p. 7.

> Do not give them confused admonition such as Ham-Ziwa gave to Yōšamin the Peacock. He cautioned and directed as he (Yōšamin) was setting the crown on his brother Abathur in that land which is the House Glorious, that land which is beauteous and fair.'[325]
> Also: 'Woe is me, the Peacock, whose foolishness is larger than his virtue.[326]

Yōšamin was pardoned by the Life and was re-enthroned in the World of Light. He is mentioned in the prayers of forgiveness: 'For our forefathers there shall be forgiveness. For Yōšamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins.[327]

§ 2. 2. 4 - ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*:

ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia,* form the water frontier of the world of Light. This is the name given to the river of departure, which the souls have to cross in the ships: *mṭit hap'qia mia hu ṣurik ziwa alapania uhpiqia mia abran* "When I (the soul) reached the streams (or: springs) of water, ࡑࡅࡓࡉࡊ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *surik ziwa* (the Burst of Radiance) came to meet me and led me across the streams (or: brooks) of water."[328] These ships, which transport the souls of the righteous across *hapiqia mia*, are illustrated in the drawings of the Mandaean scroll *Diwan Abatur*.[329] The steams (or: springs) or water *hapiqia mia* are of fresh water and flow from the realm of Yōšamin (the Second Life), the Middle World. The Sumerian and Babylonians likewise, considered the Apsū to be the underworld ocean of sweet water, from which all springs of fresh water flow.[330] We find some resemblances between *hapiqia mia* and the *Khinvat* Bridge over the abyss which the Persian soul has to cross in order to reach Mount *Harā* (Paradise).[331] The god *Zurvān* controls the path which the souls of the dead, good and bad, must traverse before they come to Khinvat Bridge.[332] Like *surik ziwa* (mentioned above), the good Vāy takes the souls of the blessed by hand and brings them to their appointed place.[333] On the other hand, perhaps the Mandaean *hapiqia mia* has a linguistic analogy to the biblical terms אפקי ים *afiqe yam* (channels of the sea)[334] and אפקי מים *afiqe mayim* (channels of water).[335]

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[325] ATŠ [418] p. 286.

[326] DY (*draša ḏ-yahia* Lidzbarski's manuscript) Chapter 75, p. 272: 10. The text:
[illegible]

[327] CP p. 151.

[328] GRL p. 138: 16. the text:
ࡌࡈࡉࡕ ࡄࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡑࡅࡓࡉࡊ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡀࡋࡀࡐࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡓࡀࡍ

[329] The astral ships drawn in the Mandaean scrolls resemble, with no doubt, the ancient round boats of Iraq قفة (*quffa*) still used in some parts of the rivers of Mesopotamia. The image of the boatman taking one to the other world is a major theme of the Gilgamesh Epic (see Dalley, 1989: 104-105).

According to the Mandaeans' tradition, the world of *hapiqia mia* (outflowing water) is located above the world of Abatur (the Third Life) and below the world of pure Yōšamin.[336]. When the soul departs the dead body it flies over the great white mountain *Sur* towards the *maṭarta* (purgatory). Its journey takes forty-five days during which the soul goes into the process of purification. Then Abatur weighs the soul and allow it to proceed towards the *hapiqia mia*, the frontier of the world of light which the soul has to traverse in order to reach the worlds of light. The water functions as a last barrier before the soul reaches her final destination, the World of Light. The *masiqta* (ritual of the dead) helps the ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* (soul) to cross these waters:

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[330] See Lambert, 1975: 47.
[331] Gershevitch, 1967: 205.
[332] Khinvat might be a bridge over underground waters (Boyce, 1975: 117 n. 46).
[333] Zaehner, 1955: 338.
[334] II Samuel 22: 16.
[335] Psalms 18: 16.
[336] ATŠ p. 163; Mandaic p. 45. The text:
[illegible]

> And there is nothing which advances a soul but commemorations; (and there shall be no *masiqta* read without commemorations), for these are her helpers in light, since they cleanse her, float her over the ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, Waters of Death into the Light and are her deliverers.[337]

In other writings, it is Hibil-Ziwa who saves the souls from 'Ur, the king of darkness, by pulling them out from his mouth and throw them in the Ocean of Sup to remove their sins and then leads them across and delivers them to the uthra who is in charge of the *hapiqia mia*:

> He takes them out from the mouth of 'Ur and throws them into the large sea of Sup, until their sins are completed. Then these souls, like white sesame thrown into living water, are then baptized with a great ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *maṣbuta* (baptism), with a great baptism which baptize them and instructs them with great teachings. Then he leads them across the water streams *hapiqia mia*. The uthra of the water streams *hapiqia mia* approaches the souls, which were in affliction, and tears appear together in their eyes. He speaks to them, "You have dwelt in Tibil (the earthly world), in the dwelling of the sinner". Afterward he takes every individual by his right hand and seats him in great glory.[338]

It is worthy to note that whereas Lidzbarski translated *hapiqia mia*, "Wasserbächen" [339], Lady Drower stated, "I find it better to translate by a paraphrase which conveys the real meaning, hence "waters of death".[340] The Mandaeans consider

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[337] ATŠ p. 216. Drower translates هفقدا مدا *hapiqia mia*, "waters of death".

[338] DY, p. 251 f. = Lidzbarski's Manadaean manuscript ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡖ ࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ "Book of John" p. 268 f. The text:
[illegible]

[339] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 83: 8.

[340] ATŠ p. 216, n. 6.

hapiqia mia "the frontiers of the World of Light" and "the heavenly waters" created by the Light beings in order the souls of the Mandaeans can baptize in them and set forth towards their final destination. The *hapiqia mia* are not cut-off waters or waters of death, which Gilgamesh had to cross in his quest for immortality; they are brooks or streams, as declared by *Hibil-Ziwa* to his father *Manda ḏ-Hiia*:

> I created the water streams *hapiqia mia* of the *yardina* (Jordan), in which the souls are baptized. I created the banks upon which all the souls draw near and descend to the water streams *hapiqia mia*.[341]

§ 2. 2. 5 - Abatur: ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ (the Third Life)

§ 2. 2. 5. 1 - ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ Abatur Rama:

Abatur is the Third Life, the father of the *uthras,* the son of the Second Life, Yōšamin. He is: 'the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sits with scales set before him weighing deeds and (their) reward. He sees and discerns that which the worlds and generations do:

> Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden, and guarded, he is the one who is enthroned on high and hidden in the depth. He is the one who understands the worlds and the generations. He is the one who sees what they do and is appointed over the souls to weigh what they have done to holds it witness against them.[342]

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[341] DY, p. 191 = Lidzbarski's BJ manuscript p. 206. The text:
[illegible]

[342] GRR book 13, p. 347: 4. Cf. עתיק יומיא "Ancient of Days", Daniel 7: 13 The text:
[illegible]

Abatur is Bhaq-Ziwa[343], the father of the uthras ࡀࡁ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ *ab d-uthria* who by gazing into the ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ *mia siauia* (the black waters) result in the creation of Ptahil, the demiurge who creates the physical world including the ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ *tibil* (earth):

> When the Life, my Father spoke thus, Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and gazed into the black waters, and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to ࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡉࡀ *bit miṣria* the boundaries. Abatur examined Ptahil and said to him, 'Come, come Ptahil. You are the one whom I saw in the black waters.' . . . Abatur instructed him and said, 'Arise my son, condense a condensation in the black waters.[344]

In "Secret Adam", Lady Drower writes:

> "*Abatur*, pronounced *Awathur*, is a mystery-figure and the meaning of his name uncertain. He is sometimes called the 'Third Life'. Andreas, according to W. Brandt, derived the name from old Persian words meaning 'provided with (or "possessing"). .. His ideal is Abatur Rama, the 'Lofty Abatur'. The parallel with the Egyptian weigher of souls is obvious; the Persian *Meher Davar* at the *Chinvat* (Bridge of the Requiter) [345] also weighs the deeds of souls before they may pass over into the world of bliss."[346]

Abatur rips open the lower boundary of the World of Light by gazing below the Pleroma [347] into the "black waters" and sets into motion the creation of the physical world 'matter'.[348] It is as if Abutur was enchanted with darkness just like when the light became enamored of the image of light projected from Darkness in the Narcissus motif.[349] In the doctrine of the Sabians of Harran we read a similar motif: "The soul, turned at one time, towards the matter: she fell in love with it, and burning with desire to experience bodily pleasure, wished no more to be separated from it. Thus the world was born."[350] Theodore Bar-Konai's [351] sums up the doctrine of the "Kukeans"[352], a sect which was already in existence in the middle of the fourth century:

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[343] GRR book 3, p. 111: 12. "BHQ ZYW' appears as a Jewish angel in M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélogogie* (1897) p. 193" (See McCullough, 1967: 26).

[344] GRR book 5, pp. 195: 10, 196: 8. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible] . . .
[illegible]

[345] A bridge on the abyss, the souls have to cross in order to reach Paradise (Boyce, 1975: 117).

[346] SA p. 64 f.

[347] Scholem defines the pleroma as: "sometimes the "fullness" is the region of the true God himself, and sometimes it is the region to which he descends or in which the hidden God

> They say that God was born from the sea situated in the World of Light, which they call the Awakened Sea; and this Sea of Light and the world are more ancient than God. [They also say] that when God was born of the awakened Sea, he seated himself above the waters, looked into them, and saw his own image. He held out his hand and took [this image] to be his companion, had relations with it and thus engendered a multiple of gods and goddesses. They called this the

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manifests himself in different figures." He also writes: "The curious fact should be noted here that the technical term pleroma appears, somewhat deformed but still clearly recognizable, in the exact Hebrew translation, *ha-male'*, "the full" or "the fullness" (Scholem, 1962: 68 - 9). In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the shining spheres of the divinity with all its powers, the non material world, the dwelling place of the spirits, the archons and aeons (Doresse, 1958: 177). The Mandaean etymology for pleroma is ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ *malaiia* "fullness" and ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ *malaiia ḏalma* "fullness of the world" (MD, p. 243) ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ *uhua mlaiia ḏalma* "he (Ur, the king of darkness) became the fullness of the world or: he became the Pleroma of the cosmos" (GRR p. 99: 4).

[348] Deutsch, 1999: 20.

[349] Jonas H., 1958: 161.

[350] Doresse, 1960: 316.

[351] An eighth-century Nestorian heresiographer; a native of Kaškar in Beth 'Aramaye, Iraq (See Burkitt, "The Religion of the Manichees", *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2, No. 3, May, 1922, pp. 263-276 esp. p. 267). Theodore bar Konai wrote the "Scholia", which is of a great value for research because of its reports about the Mandaeans and Manicheans (Rudoph, 1983: 20. See also Wasserstrom, 1995: 42).

[352] Perhaps the Quqites; a special heretical school identified in Edessa in the Second Century A.D., (Rudolph, 1983: 327. See also Drijvers, H., *Numen*.14 (1967), pp. 104-129). On the other hand they might be the ࡒࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ *qanaiia* in Mandaean, are "smiths" or "potters". According to Robert Eisler, bar Konai (bar Kevani) says, 'The *Dostai* (followers of Dositheus, who became the leader of the disciples of John the Baptist after his death) are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Aramajē Naşoraeans (*Naşrāiā*).' The "Cantaeans," quoted by Theodore as the precursors of the Mandaeans, who trace themselves to the Qenites, the group were also referred to as *Καιvιται, Καιαοi* etc. in the Septuagint as KENAIOI, KINAIOI, KAINAIOI, etc. Eisler believes that Bar Konai use of 'k' instead of 'q' goes back to the Greek influence (Eisler 1931: 616).

Mother of Life, and said that she made seventy worlds and twelve aeons.[353]

There are many parallels between Abatur and the similar heavenly beings in the above two tales, such as gazing into the water and seeing own image and becoming infatuated by it, and from this own image or coition with own image the cosmos (physical world) comes into being.[354] This might lead us to the conclusion that the Gnostic sects, including the Mandaeans, must have shared relatively close motifs.

Abatur was possessed with his ego and became arrogant, "He conducted himself like the Great Ones and said, 'I am the father of the uthras!'" [355] He abandoned the name which the Life gave him. He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world!' Abatur's rebellion was punished sternly by the higher deities. He was dethroned and expelled from the world of Light and he was assigned as the "Weigher" and judge of the souls:

> Then Hibil-Ziwa went and said to Abatur, 'Arise! set up your throne in the House of Boundaries and take over sovereignty. And sublimate that which is sound (good) from that which is base (lit. dregs) when Man's measure is full and he comes and is baptized in your Jordan, is weighed in your Scales, is sealed with your seal and rises up and dwells in your world.'[356]

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[353] Doresse, 1960: 58.

[354] For the Narcissus motif, see Jonas, 1958: 161 ff.

[355] GRR book 3 p. 111: 14.

[356] DA p. 1, The Mandaean Diwan (Scroll) of Abatur line 8. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

§ 2. 2. 5. 2 - Abatur in the Incantations:

Abatur was invoked, along with other Mandaean deities, in few Mandaic incantations, such as in Lidzbarski's lead amulet from the third or fourth century A.D and published in 1909. He is invoked in this particular amulet to strengthen the knot[357] of the house of a certain *Per Nukraiia* son of *Abandukt* and to help him against evil doings of the planets.[358] Bhaq (another name of Abatur)[359] was conjured in bowl C (9931.4.1) to crush the power and the secret spells of Rūha against the client *Duktan Purk*, daughter of *Bzurgunatai*.[360]

Nathaniel Deutsch attempted to establish some resemblances between the Mandaic Abatur and the Jewish Metatron and to draw the attention to the "Mandaic awareness of Jewish angelogical tradition in general and of Metatron in particular is supported by the evidence of the magic bowls." [361] In this respect Wasserstrom has written: "Metatron remained alive in Mandaen magic for perhaps over a millennium."[362] Metatron (MYṬṬRWN) appears in one of the Mandaic incantations bowls (McCullough D) in which he was adjured, "In the name of Metatron HLDH who serves before the Curtain and who has compassion upon the countryside; he conjures the hundreds of fierce angels of Halahkin, who has sweetened meat for eating and wine for drinking." McCullough suggests that the writer of this incantation was influenced by the Jews and he dated the bowl 200 – 300 C.E.[363] Levene believes that the above invocation was quoted from "an unidentified Hekhalot text" and it is "an unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources".[364]

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[357] "Those (feminine) who blow on knots." النفاثات في العقد (Quran, Al-Falaq n. 113). Knot sorcery was a favorite form of witchcraft, practiced in Arabia at the time of Mohammed, either to prevent evil against the client, or afflict harm on the foe. The knot is used as a powerful weapon against the forces of Darkness. The Redeemer Mnada d̠-Hiia says: "I wrapped his (the King of Darkness') navel with a veil, and tied a knot around his heart" (GRR, p. 101: 2. See also Yamauchi, 1967: 60).

[358] Yamauchi 1967, text 22: 244, p. 253.

[359] GRR, book III, p. 111:12.

[360] McCullough, 1967: 15.

[361] Deutsch, N., 1999: 95. He also writes: "Metatron is not the only angelic being shared by the Mandaeans and Jews. Gabriel was also adopted by Mandaeans and played and important role as a demiurge figure in one version the Mandaean cosmogony" (Ibid 96).

[362] Wasserstrom, S., 1995: 191 n. 98.

Since Abatur son of Bihrat [365] is in charge of the gate of the World of Light, The Mandaeans believe that if they turn their faces, during mishaps, towards the North (the House of Abatur), and pray to the Life and to the other Mandaean deities, they receive their bless and comfort.

§ 2. 2. 5.3 - Abatur of the Scales ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡌࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ Abatur Muzania:

Abatur was chastised because he threatened the hierarchy of the World of Light when he declared clearly that he wants to be 'the king of the *škinas*' (the celestial abodes):

> And Abatur spoke to him (to Hibil-Ziwa): 'I want to be a king, and I want to hold the *škinas*!'[366]

The Realm of Light became enraged against Abatur because he created a world for his own and called himself, "Father of the *uthras*" without the endorsement of his Fathers:

> As Bhaq created and built, he stood and looked at this world. It was neither vast and nor great as the worlds of the Great Life. Once he looked at his world and called himself "the Father of the *Uthras*" ... the Place of Light was enraged against him.[367] Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself,

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[363] McCullough, 1967: 32.
[364] Levene, 2002: 34.
[365] Abatur's *miluaša* "Mandaean zodiac name"(CP p., 151).

[366] DY, p. 244:7. The text:
ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡋࡄ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡏࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ
[367] GRR 360:21. The text:

> and he held himself to be a mighty one and abandoned the name that his father had called him by. And he spoke, 'I am the father of the *uthras*, the father of the *uthras* I, I made *škinas* for the uthras.' He contemplated the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world.' He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water.[368]

He instigated rebellion against the Great Life and created the division in the World of Light, which can not be repaired:

> Abatur caused the upper cleft which cannot be filled in all eternity.[369]

As a result of his defiance, Abatur was dethroned and expelled from the World of Light and he was made him ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡌࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ *abatur muzania* Abatur of the Scales, who is sitting between the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡉࡀ *maṭaratia* purgatories (or: watch-houses) [370] and the worlds of light weighing souls in his scale:

> Therefore, Abatur Rama, whose child is the world, is degraded from his throne, degraded, and he went to become "He-of-the-Scale".[371]

He was forced to occupy a lower position and take the office of weighing the souls of the dead after they have been sent to the purgatories for purification. When the souls come out of the purgatories (or: watch-houses) he weighs them with his

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[illegible] … [illegible]

[368] GRR book III, p. 111: 12.

[369] DY, 5:2. The text:

[illegible]

[370] *Maṭaratia* (sing. *maṭarta*): purgatories, watch-houses, houses of purification, places of detention (MD p. 241). The soul after death has to go through the *maṭarta* for necessary purification before being weighed on the Scales of Abatur and then ferried by the ships of light to its final destination; the world of light. (MII, pp. 28, 41, 46, 74-5, 80, 90, 95, 169, 173 ff. See also Pallis, *Mandaean Studies* (1926) p. 74 ff.).

[371] DM'L p. 41: 8. The text:

[illegible]

Scales and then allows whoever is worthy to proceed to the world of light. Abatur protested against this decision to Hibil-Ziwa, the envoy of the higher deities, and said to him:

> This you have arranged for me, (*that I was obliged to leave*) my land that is lofty and my spouses who are worthy and suitable and you brought me and made me "He-of the-Scales".[372]

Abatur was degraded because he sinned against his Parents; he strove for the Low House (physical world), so he was brought down off his throne. Abatur spoke out his lament and he wondered of what happened to him:

> I said to myself, "I would be a great one; who made me an inferior one in the Tibil?"
> I said to myself, "I would be a King; who sent me to the ends of the world?"
> I said to myself, "I would be an eminent one; who placed the Scales into my hands?"[373]

We can hear Abatur protest against the World of Light's decision in the Book of John (*Draša d̠-Yahia*). When the King heard Abatur's, protest he became angry with him:

> "I am not a Weigher! I am an *uthra* from the race of the good ones. I am not a Weigher! I am the son of kings. I wish not to be placed in these black waters, and to keep impure souls from passing by me." [374]

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[372] DA p. 1-2, the Mandaean Scroll line 10. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[373] DY, p. 8: 16. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[374] DY, p. 240:15. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

When Abatur said this, the King became full of anger and released a call into the world.[375]

Hence, Abatur took his case to the Pure Mana and asked him the reason he was chosen to the task of the Weigher of souls out of the other *uthras*:

> Then Abatur spoke said to the pure Mana, 'Why have you sent me from out of all these numerous *uthras*? [376]

The Mana told Abatur why he was chosen for this task and comforted him:

> Out of all the *škinas* and *uthras* there is none as you are. None in all these light worlds would be as gentle as you. You are gentle and you are suitable *uthra*. You are generous and are to the souls as a support. You feel sympathy with the souls and you are an acceptable judge.[377]

§ 2. 2. 5. 4 - Abatur; the Persian *Rašn uRast* ࡓࡀࡔࡍ ࡅࡓࡀࡎࡕ

Abatur can be associated with Rašnu the Persian god of justice and last judgement and the personification of righteousness. He was said to weigh the deeds of the soul during the three day period of evaluation following the death of an individual. Rašnu guards the Chinvat Bridge leading to heaven. He carries the golden scales with which he weighs the souls at Judgement.[378] Peculiarly, the Mandaeans' holy book Ginza Rba identifies Abatur with Rašnu:

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[375] DY, p. 242: 9. The text:
[illegible]

[376] DY, p. 243: 12. The text:
[illegible]

[377] The Mandaean BJ p. 243: 14. The text:
[illegible]

[378] Zaehner, R. C., 1961: 56. See also MII n. 4 p. 95.

> Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden and guarded, who is (in fact) Rašnu Rast.[379]

Rašnu "the Judge" weighs the actions, and then words, then thoughts; but all three contribute to total of man's good or evil.[380] The Mandaean Abatur (Rašnu) and his son Ptahil induced Zaehner to argue that this episode is derived from the Persian Zervanite myth.[381]

Abatur is the guardian of *maṭarata* (a purgatory or watch-house) through which the *nišmata* souls go through to the world of Light after being purified from their contaminations. Those *Naṣoraeans* (Mandaeans) who are not worthy of the House of Life will be turned away and not allowed to go through the gate of Abatur:

> When the Naṣoraeans, who are not worthy of the House of Life, reach the gate of the house of Abatur will be turned away. From the house of Abatur they will be turned away and they will not behold the place of Light. [382]

On the other hand the great gate of Abatur is open to those who are worthy of the house of Life:

> Sure and assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (*masiqta*) to the great gate of Abatur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abatur's house, give

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[379] GRR book 13 p. 343: 22. *ubatur atiqa rama kasia unṭira ḏ-hu rašnu urast*
ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡈࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡅ ࡓࡀࡔࡍࡅ ࡅࡓࡀࡎࡕ

[380] Boyce, 1975: 241.

[381] Zaehner, 1955: 77.

[382] GRR, 391: 21. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

them habitation in the *škina* of Abatur and will guard them by secret and watchful *manas*. [383]

It seems that Abatur was convinced to take his new office as the souls' judge who weighs the deeds and the rewards and separates *nišimta* the soul from *rūha* the spirit:

> I set forth and reached the watch-house (purgatory) of the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. I asked my brothers, the *uthras*, saying to them: "Whose watch-house (purgatory) is this, and who is held captive in it?" My brothers, the *uthras*, say to me: 'This watch-house belongs to the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. The Scales are set before him; he weighs the deeds and the rewards and unites the spirit with the soul. [384]

The Great Life explained to the proven pure one, who pleaded for Abatur, that he (the Life) cannot let Abatur's rebellious conduct to pass and he, therefore, must carry out his task as Abatur Muzania (Abatur-of-the-Scale) until the end of the world:

> For your fame's sake and Our name's sake. When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it? Who will let him be when he offends? And casts Our root into polluted waters? (One) who accepts favour from Us and then goes and casts it into the abode of the dark (powers)! [385]

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[383] CP, p. 42. (the book of *Masiqta*, hymn No 47) Drower's translation, text collated. The text: [illegible]

[384] GRL 45: 1. The text: [illegible]

[385] CP hymn n. 243 p. 199. Drower's translation text collated. The text: [illegible]

§ 2. 2. 5. 5 - Abatur, the Symbol of Virility:

Since he is the father of the *uthras* and the creator god Ptahil, Abatur is depicted in some Mandaean scriptures as "tongue" and hypostatic "phallus"; The tongue is associated with the phallus:

> Abatur-Rama, whose name is "the Great Jordan of White Water", that he is called "the Tongue".[386] And when you pray the petition (CP p. 89 n. 80), you offer praise to the Father of Glory whose name is the Great Mind (*Mana*) and to the lofty Abatur whose name is "the Tongue". [387]

It is not quite clear what is meant by the "tongue" in these scriptures but Deutsch has explained that the tongue, according to the *Zohar*, "is considered analogous to the male organ" and "thus, as in the medieval Jewish sources, the Mandaean depictions of Abatur preserve the phenomenological link between the tongue and the phallus." [388] Deutsch also noticed, after studying question 166 in *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, a number of striking parallels with kabalistic conceptions concerning the divine phallus such as the Mandaean appellation *raza rba* "great mystery" –referring to the phallus - which resembles the "identification of the phallic *Sefirah Yesod* as the "secret" or mystery in the Zohar".[389]

When Bhaq-Ziwa, who is identified with Abatur, declared himself as 'the father of the *uthras*' and when he begot Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos) he became the symbol of the virility in the world beyond.[390] *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (The Lesser First World) describes him as the *duna* (penis),[391] the organ of fatherhood and as semen,[392] which is "venerated than all the mysteries":

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[386] ATŠ p. 174. Mandaean p. 50 n. 245. The text:
[illegible]

[387] ARZ p. 58, line 44. The Mandaean ARZ p. 5: 24. The text:
[illegible]

[388] See Deutsch 1999: 106-7. He refers, in n. 98, to *Studies in the Zohar*, p. 171 n. 65 and to Elliot Wolfson who writes, 'just as the spark and the line are phallic symbols so too is the scale, or more specifically, the tongue of the scale.'

[389] Deutsch 1995: 121.

> And when you recite 'Life dwells in Its own radiance' you offer a praise to ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀࡉࡉࡕ *gabraiit* Maleness (the male organ?), the name of which is Abatur of the Scales but which the worlds and generations call ࡃࡅࡍࡀ *duna*, for it is venerated than all the mysteries.[393]

§ 2. 2. 5. 6 - Abatur, the Heavenly Priest:

> Blessed are you, Lofty Abatur; blessed and established in your *škinta* in which you sit.[394]

The Mandaean priest in his *škinta* surrounded by the *tarmidia* (disciples) and *ašgandia* (messengers, helpers) depicts Abatur, the celestial priest, who sits in *škinta* surrounded by his uthras and performs the heavenly rituals.[395] *Diwan Abatur*[396] is one of the most important scrolls to the Mandaean priests. It explains the Mandaean priests the journey of the soul through different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) and the relative punishment which the sinner soul receives. Other *diwans*, such as *Alma Rišaia Rba*, *Alma Rišaia Zoṭa*, and *Malkuta 'Laita*, consist of instructions and commandments to the priests and some of their texts portray Abatur as the heavenly priest such as:

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[390] SA p. 29.
[391] *duna* = *dunda*: penis MD p. 105.
[392] Deutsch N., 1999, 106.
[393] ARZ p. 57. The Manaean ARZ p.5: 10. Drower's translation, text collated. The text: [illegible]
[394] CP p. 58, Mandaean Hymn n. 71. p. 168. The text: [illegible]
[395] Deutsch 1999, 89.
[396] *Diwan Abatur* (DA) an illustrated manuscript includes creation myths, the journey of the soul through different *maṭarata* (purgatories). It was translated by E. S Drower and published by *Biblioteca Aposolica Vaticana* in 1950.

> And when you take the iron knife into your hand, you have placed Pthail's hand into Abatur's hand with (your) right hand. And when you take the sheep or the dove, and turn your face towards the Gate of Payer (the North) Abatur-of-the-Scales gazes upon you.[397]

Also:

> And when you signed (at) 'the House of Abatur, you cloth the soul in the seven vestures of Abatur. And when you say 'You shall go and reach "the guard-house of four beings, sons of perfection" those are the four handclasps (*kušṭas*) which Abatur seeks to exchange with the soul.[398]

The word *'uthras* refer to the *ganzivri* (archbishops), just as *malkia* ('kings") means "priests".[399] Since Abatur is the King of the *škinas*,[400] he is considered a heavenly Ganzibra (archbishop) in the Mandaean belief. The crown of priesthood is the 'crown of intermediation between the worlds of light and those of matter'.[401] Kurt Rudolph stated, "Out of celestial beings come types of celestial priests; the erring and rehabilitated priest is an especially favourite theme of this kind."[402]

§ 2. 2. 5. 7 - Abatur; the Divine Secretary:

Abatur is the heavenly being who is entitled to send ࡏࡍࡂࡉࡓࡕࡉࡀ *'ngirtia* letters (secret messages)[403] to the lower worlds carrying certain instructions and commandments. He also receives the letters, which are sent by the priests, with the souls after death. A good example of the commandments sent to the lower world is written in the Mandaean Book of John (*Draša d̲-Yahia*). It was sent to John the Baptist when he refused to baptise ࡏࡉࡔࡅ *'išo* (Jesus) because he was suspicious that Jesus will pervert the Law. After some lengthy arguments with Jesus, John the Baptist receives *'ngirta*, a mandate, from the House of Abatur instructing John the Baptist to baptise Jesus:

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[397] ARZ p. 57 line 35.

[398] CP. P. 224.

[399] Ibid 226 n. 7.

[400] DY (Lidzbarski's manuscript), p. 261.

[401] SA p. 26.

[402] Rudolph, 1969 233-234.

[403] *'ngirta*: ࡏࡍࡂࡉࡓࡕࡀ letter (MD p. 353). The term is also applied to a rite performed to the dying. The only outgoing *'ngirta* from this world to the world of light is few drops of *miša* (sesame oil) transformed into a small bottle and then the bottle is sealed with clay and marked with the impression of the priestly ring (*šom yawar*) and the ganzibra's to-be finger nail. After reading some secret prayers the small bottle is inserted into a pocket in the dying person's *rasta* (official garment. (MII p. 170) The priest recites, 'In the name of the Life. A sealed letter written in good-faith (*kušṭa*) and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) - Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied on it, and suspended it about the soul's neck and despatched to the Gate of Life (CP p. 61). The *'ngirta* (letter) serves as a kind of passport for the soul which is examined by *rab maksia* (the chief customs official) and the *šahardal* (P. شهردار = governor, MD p. 439) and make sure of its seal, and then let the soul pass over the *hapiqia mia* (streams

> When *'išu mšiha* (Jesus Christ) said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abatur: 'Yahia, baptize the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptize him, and lead him up again to the shore, and there set him. Then Rūha made herself like to a dove and threw a cross over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours. "O Jordan" she says, "you sanctified me and sanctified my seven sons."[404]

§ 2.2.6 - The Fourth Life ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ Ptahil:

§ 2.2.6.1 - Ptahil; A Mandaean 'Uthra or Egyptian Demiurge?

Ptahil (the Fourth Life) is the son of Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur; the Third Life) who begot him when he opened the gate of the World of Light and gazed into the black waters.[405] As soon as he beheld him, Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur) summoned Ptahil-Utra,

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of water) to the house of Life. The *'ngirta* (letter) process is well known in Mesopotamia as a legal act, and goes back at least as far as the Old Baylonian period and extends through the Neo-Babylonian period into the Seleucid era (See Greenfield J. C., *A Mandaic Miscellany*, JAOS 104. 1 (1984) pp. 81-85 esp. p. 82).

[404] Mead, 1924: 51. DY, p. 103.

[405] Cf. 'The Father of Light who sees his image in the water of pure light . . . One gains the impression regarding the Spirit of God who brooded over the face of the waters as related in Gen. 1: 2b.' (Drijvers, *Numen*, vol. 14, (1967), pp. 104-129, esp. p. 118). The idea, in most of

embraced him and kissed him like a great one.[406] He bestowed names on him; names which are concealed and guarded in their place. He gave him the name "Gabrʿil" the Messenger.[407] In another passage of the Ginza we read:

> Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and stared into the black waters; and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to the boundary. Abatur's mind examined Ptahil, and Abatur said to his son Ptahil, "Come, come, Ptahil, you are the one whom I saw in the black waters." When he beheld him in his own form, that he was clothed in his robes of every kind and colour, he undressed him and took them from him; and he clothed him in (some of) his radiance and arrayed him in (some of) his light.[408]

We might assume that Ptahil owes his name to the act of opening the gate of heavens carried out by Abatur ࡒࡀࡌ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀ, *qam hu Abatur upihta*[409] *lbaba*.[410] On the other hand some scholars associate Ptahil's name with ࡐࡕࡄ PTH פתח ("open", "create") and his name is the combination of ࡐࡕࡄ+ࡏࡋ *pth+ʿil* (open + god) therefore his name might mean "the god who creates" or "god creates". In this respect Yamauchi is confident that the word

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the Gnostic beliefs, behind creating the world by a demiurge is to estrange the Supreme Being contact with matter and 'to interpolate intermediaries between Him and the world.' (Wilson, 1958: 102).

[406] In Mandaean myths Ptahil is the son of Hibil-Ziwa and Zahrail (Rūha's sister and identified with Ištar and Venus الزُهرة GRR book 5). He was married to her during his journey to the netherworld. He is considered the son of both Light and Darkness and therefore his creation of the physical world was unsuccessful because he himself was born of warring principles. (MII n. 5 p. 95).

[407] GRR p. 111: 21. Using the epithet of Gabriel, the messenger perhaps refers to Jewish-Samaritan Gnostic baptismal movements at the beginning of the first millennium. (Zaehner, 1955: 59 ff.)

[408] GRR, book 5, pp. 195: 10. The text :
[illegible]

[409] PHT metathesis of PTH: to open, to create (MD p. 366).

[410] See text above.

Ptahil is the formation of Ptah (the Egyptian god) and El, and not from the word 'to open'.[411] In this respect Cyrus Gordon wrote: "Ptahil is composed of the Egyptian "Ptah" + Semitic "Il" and it would highlight the Egyptian component in Mandaeism as well as indicate that the name is Egypto-Semitic (signifying "Eg. Ptah = El/God")".[412] Widengren ascribes the difficulty in defining Ptahil to the fact that "god" is usually written עיל,[413] but Widengren was not aware that the guttural (ࡏ ע) occurs in Mandaic incantations in the name ࡐࡕࡀࡇࡏࡉࡋ Ptah'il פתחעיל.[414] It seems that the guttural ע ࡏ is assimilated in some Mandaean names such as ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *Manda d̲-Hiia* מנדא דהייא instead of ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *Mand'a d̲-Hiia* מנדעא דהייא.[415]

Lidzbarski also connects this demiurge with the Egyptian creator-god Ptah.[416] Kraeling shares Lidzbarski's opinion and adds, '*pth* to 'open' came to be used in the sense of 'create' but he believes that the name is not essentially Aramaic but a combination of *ptah* and *'il*. He also refers to Bousset's argument which suggests that "the Mandaean Ptahil is in fact none other than the Iranian *Yima*. In support of this identification he adduces the observation that both Ptahil and *Yima* enter into relation with evil powers (*daevas*)[417], and that both experience a fall from grace by reason of this relationship."[418] Eisler points out that he finds in the angelology of the Mandaeans the remarkable interpretation of Ptah-il, i.e. the old Egyptian or Canaanite god of smithies and metal-engravers, as the creator of heaven as well as of mankind.'[419] What emphasizes Eisler assumption is that the Ginza describes Ptahil (Gabriel) as skillful (creator) as the Greek:

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[411] Yamauchi, 1967: 63. pth: create, also *pth* n. div. Ptah. (Faulkner R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford (2002), p.96).
[412] Gordon, (Reviewed Work) JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.
[413] Widengren, 1950: 59 n. 1.
[414] Yamauchi, 1967: 253 line 245, (text 22, Lidzbarski's translation, 1909).
[415] Yamauchi, 1967: 235, 251. However, there is no evidence to support either Gordon's or Yamauchi's identification Ptahil with the Egyptian god Ptah.
[416] Lidzbarski, JB, pp. xxvii, xxviii.
[417] He (Ptahil) is the *melka* who rules the ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ *šibiahia* (the Seven Planets =demons) (see MII n. 5 p. 95).
[418] Kraeling, 1933: 152-165. *yima* is the "god who is supposed to dwell beneath the earth". For more details about *yima* see Boyce 1975: 94. See also Zaehner 1955: 251, where *yima* saves man from the demons.

> And Gabriel, the messenger, is called into being, (then) he will be instructed to create the world. He will arrive and condense a condensation, and create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[420]

There is a possible parallel proposed between the Mandaean Ptahil and the Egyptian god Ptah. Mercer noted that '*ptẖ* sounds like the Hebrew פתח "to open" and that Ptah played an important role in the famous Egyptian ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth", which resembles similar ceremony in the ancient Babylonia, designated to initiate an idol.[421] He also came up a very unlikely assumption when he stated: "it is neither impossible, nor even improbable, that the earliest worshippers of Ptah might have been Semites who made their way into Egypt, as others did before them and led by the god whom the called "the opener of the way"".[422] The rite of the "mouth opening" was part of the old lustration rites performed in Mesopotamia since the Third Dynasty of Ur.[423] Jonas also had no doubt that the name Ptahil, the Mandaean Demiurge, was taken from the Egyptian pantheon and "is connected with the symbolic role of Egypt as the representative of the material world."[424] On the other hand, Deutsch believes that there are considerable parallels between Abatur (Ptahil's father) and Sabaoth.[425] Both of them are enthroned on the gate of the World of Light and each one of them is related to the demiurge of the physical world: Abatur created Ptahil and Sabaoth created a host of angelic beings.[426]

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[419] Eisler, 1931: 235. He makes this statement depending on the fact that the Naşoraeans (early Mandaeans) or the "keepers" of secrets are craftsmen in general (smiths, carpenters and boat-builders etc). For Ptah the Egyptian chief god of all handicraftsmen (see Budge, 1904: 500 ff.).

[420] GRR, book III p. 104: 17.

[421] For more details about the rite "Opening of the Mouth" see Blackman, "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 47-59.

[422] Mercer, 1949: 148-9. The Mandaeans myth tells us that Egypt was their first dwelling and from there they migrated to *ṭura ḏ-madai* the Mountain of the Mandai (MII p. 10). Until recently a *masiqta* (ascension of the soul) ritual was performed for the Egyptians drowned while chasing Moses and the Jews across the *yama ḏ-suf* "the Red Sea" (SA p. xv and n. 2 p. xv).

[423] Jacobsen, 1976: 124. Lady Drower noted that "Nöldke suggests a connection between the Mandaean sacramental "wafer" (*pihta*), and the Babylonian rites of *pit pī* ("opening of the mouth") and *mis pī* ("washing of the mouth")" (MII n. 15, p. 122).

It is worthwhile to note that all sources mentioned above represent poor scholarship and assumptions based on very insufficient evidence. Therefore, Ptahil remains a very general name type, which doesn't really tell us anything of significance about him. This is one of the many reasons why Cyrus Gordon highlighted the significance of serious researches to be conducted on Mandaeism when he wrote:

> "Mandaic should be studied in depth by several circles of scholars, of whom the Gnostics are only one. To single out one of the many other fields: Mandaic is probably the most valuable aid for the study of the Babylonian Talmud."[427]

§ 2.2.6. 2. - Ptahil; the Creator of the Material World:

Ptahil is the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world. He received a mandate from his father, the Second Life (Abatur) commanding him to leave the "World Beyond" and descend "below" to the "place where there is no *škinas* or worlds" to create a world and uthras for himself like the "sons of perfection".[428] In another passage of the Ginza we read: "Abatur instructed him (Ptahil) and said,

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[424] Jonas 1958: 98.

[425] Lord of Hosts (Isa. 1.9).

[426] Deutsch, 1999: 129.

[427] Gordon, JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.

[428] GRR, pp. 111, 112. Wilson defines the demiurge as: "god or father of all outside the Pleroma, the creator of all things psychic and hylic. He separated the two confused substances, and created things heavenly and earthly, heavy and light, higher and lower. He formed seven heavens, whence he is called the Hebdomad as their ruler, Achamoth being of the Ogdoad, recalling the archetypal Ogdoad of the Pleroma" (Wilson, 1958: 131).

"Arise, my son, condense a condensation in the black water."[429] But the Father of the Uthras (Abatur) forgot to instruct him against the odds neither equipped him with suitable means.[430] Ptahil descended below the *škinas*, towards the "place where there was no world". He waded in the in the filthy mud and turbid waters, but no solidification took place. He waded to his knees, to his thighs, but the waters did not solidify. Up to his first mouth (anus), up to his mouth, he stood in the water, but no solidification took place. He pronounced the name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) and nothing happened. He cast some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory upon the waters, but the waters remained fluid.[431]

When he sensed that the "living fire" in him changed, Ptahil engrossed in thought and decided to ascend to the Great (One) to receive the garment of the Living Flame.[432] In another passage of the Ginza, Ptahil descended to the world of his father Abatur and spoke to him, "My father, I took some of those seven garments, in which I was planted, and I entered the waters, but no earth was condensed. Then his father said to him, "O (you) *sakla*[433] (fool)! Take care that you do not put your self on a par with me. Take some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory with which I clothed you and toss (some of them) into the black waters that a condensation may now take place."[434]

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[429] Ibid 196: 8. In the scroll of Diwan Abatur, we read another version: "Abatur spoke to Ptahil and said to him, "Go, condense a condensation, and create the worlds and create creatures. And take with you three hundred and sixty thousand demons and devils that they dig out the Light-Euphrates and heap up its two banks. Then make a world and create creatures and plant plants. Go and propagate thy world and take the demon *Qardum* who loosens, liberates and waters the plants" (DA, p. 11).

[430] GRR, p. 112.

[431] GRR, p.413: 5.

[432] GRR, p. 112.

[433] ࡎࡀࡊࡋࡀ *sakla* (fool) an epithet of the Gnostic demiurge Ialdabaoth (child of the void) or Samael (the blind god). It seems that different Gnostic confraternities used the term *sakla* to refer to the demiurge. The Gnostics consider themselves 'to be 'strangers,' exiled in the kingdom of *Sakla*, "the prince of darkness" (Deutsch 1999: 75 and Stroumsa 1984: 48, 120) For *Sakla*, the leader of the Fallen Angels, see Stroumsa 1984: 163. For Ialdabaoth, the *Saklas* who appoints seven kings over the seven heavens and five over the "chaos of the underworld" (Rudolph 1977: 79). The *Saklas* join the powers of Darkness to create Adam and Eve in order to entrap the elements of Light in the world through lust and the multiplication of humans (Stoyanov 2000: 110).

Though Ptahil failed in his first attempt, he succeeded, by the powers of the garments and the living flame which mingled with water and the material creation came into being. Ptahil solidified the black waters, spanned out the firmament and appointed boundaries to the worlds. When the firmament was spanned out he seized the navel of the earth and bound it to the centre of heavens.[435] Ptahil used seven ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ *qalia* "calls" in order to create the world: By his first call he solidified the earth and spanned out the heavens. By the second call he dispersed Jordans and canals. By the third he created the fish of the sea and birds of every type and variety. By the fourth he brought forth plants and seeds. By the fifth he created reptiles. By the sixth the whole structure of darkness came into being. By the seventh Rūha and her Seven planets came into being.[436] While Ptahil was engaged in creating the world, the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (sings of the Zodiac) and the Five (planets without the Sun and the Moon) stealthily climbed up and took their position in the vault.[437]

In another passage of the Ginza we read that although the process of creation was carried out by Ptahil against the wish of the Life because Ptahil threw the form, which the Second (Life) had formed, into the world of darkness and made creations and formed tribes which are not worthy of the House of Life (or: outside the House of Life),[438] the Life helped Abatur in obtaining the secret of solidification.[439] Abatur wrapped it (the secret) in his clean turban and delivered it to his son Ptahil. Ptahil went down again to the black waters and succeeded in solidifying earth and spanning out the firmament.[440]

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[434] GRR 196: 8f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Ptahil descendent into the black waters clad in garment of fire, and that the fire mingles with the water and the material world comes into being resembles the Zervanite myth where the male element, fire, fertilizing the female, water, in order to produce the cosmos. Zaehner believes that this Mandaean tale is derived from the same source as the Zarvanite myth, since the Mandaean religion distinguishes between two series of elements such as the living (good) fire and the devouring (evil) fire (Zaehner, 1955: 77).

[435] GRR, pp. 116-7.

[436] GRR, p. 414: 18.

[437] Some of the earlier forms of Gnosticism pointed that there was one God the Father, who created seven angels who created the world and made man in the likeness of the divine image (Wilson, 1958: 102-103).

It is notable in the Ginza that some passages describe Ptahil as an evil and a foolish creator and his house (the world) is taken from him.[441] *Draša d̲-Yahia* (the Book of John) tells us that he was appointed the guardian of the house until the end of the worlds.[442] In another passage from the Ginza we learn that Ptahil has been forgiven, by the higher deities of the World of Light, for creating the universe and he will be declared the king of the *uthras* and king of the Naşoraeans:

> Yōšamin and Abatur shall be baptized of the First Great Life in the Jordan. Afterwards Ptahil-Uthra shall be carried away from the putrid clouds in which he sits and purified in the Jordan of the First Life. In that Jordan his stench will be removed. He will be embraced by the First Life, and he will tell about the stocks and fetters which he endured in the world. He will tell about the pain which inflicted him from his father. He will be declared the King of Uthras, and will have authority upon the congregation of souls. He will be declared the King of the Naşoraeans, and prayer and praise will rise for him.[443]

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[438] GRR, p. 287: 9. The text:

[illegible]

[439] According to the Manichean doctrine, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descended into the abyss and defeated the powers of darkness and fashioned the universe from their bodies. 'Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15).

[440] GRR, 414: 15 f.

[441] Ibid, 117: 16. *Saklas*, according to the Manicheans, is the leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 396).

[442] DY p. 5: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[443] GRR 380: 21 f. The text:

§ 2.2.6.3 - The Creation of Adam:

There is more than one version in the Ginza for the creation of Adam. According to tractate 10 of the Ginza, Ptahil creates Adam according to his image with the help of the Planets. They create Adam and cast some of their spirits and some of their mysteries into him and his wife Eve but were unable to make him stand on his feet. Ptahil brings a "hidden *mana*" form his father Abatur and cast it into Adam and Eve. Only then Adam sneezes and stands on his feet:

> After Ptahil had created the world, he built his son Adam according to his form, and according to Adam's form Hawa (Eve) his was built. Pthail cast into Adam a kind of *rūha* spirit from his own *rūha* spirit,[444] and each of the Seven (planets) cast into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) some of his own mystery. However, Ptahil and Seven (Planets) who were with him could not raise Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve).[445] Therefore, Ptahil went towards his father Abatur, obtained a hidden *mana*, which was given to him from the House of the Life, brought it, and cast it into Adam and into his wife Hawa (Eve).... Adam sneezed and asked for the life.[446] Ptahil and the planets who were with him said to him (Adam): "Live, Adam!" Then Adam stood up, bowed down

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[illegible]

[444] Cf. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Genesis 2: 7.

[445] According to the Apocryphon of John, the seven powers contributed from their own elements the following "souls" for Adam: the "bone-soul", the "sinew-soul", the "flesh-soul", the "marrow-soul", the "skin-soul", and the "hair-soul". Rudolph comments: "In spite of the skill devoted to the formation of the psychical body it remains immobile and it is not possible to make him stand uptight. This gives "Wisdom" (*sophia*) opportunity to intervene in order to win back the power which through her error she had lost to her son the Demiurge." (Rudolph, 1983: 102)

[446] An Iraqi tradition is that sneezing is a sign of life. They tell stories about people who were thought to be dead but they returned to life after they sneezed. Sneezing for them, also, is a sign of warning i.e., if a person was about to depart and someone else sneezes, he postpones his departure for some time.

and praised that man who had opened his eyes and made him stand on his feet.[447]

Tractate III (the subject of this research) of the Ginza Rba narrates the creation of Adam by Ptahil and the Planets as follows:

> When Ptahil came, he spoke to the planets: 'Let us create Adam that he may be king of the world', when he had spoken thus to them, they all consulted each other: 'Let us tell him that we want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve), because he belongs to us.' They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve and make them the head of the whole generation." When the planets spoke thus to him Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said: 'If I by myself create Adam and Eve, the head of the generation, what will Adam (then) know what to do in the world?'[448] Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the Planets and said: "Adam is my son; he is the king of the world!" The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: "What do we confide in and rely on, and what is our authority in the world?" Ptahil spoke to them and said: "You shall be his fosterer(s), and render him full service."
>
> They created Adam and laid him down, but there was no *nišimta*[449] soul in him. When they created Adam they were unable to cast a soul into him. They pleaded to Ayar-Ziqa (the ether wind) to hollow out his bones, and marrow be formed in them. That marrow be formed in them, that he might spring up and stand on his feet. They summoned *ṣauta d̲'šata haita* the splendor of the living flame that might illuminate his attire and he might spring up and stand on his feet. They sent for *habla d̲šabria* the mist of the streams and the fumes of the consuming fire to enter his trunk that he might clinch his

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[447] GRR pp. 287-8:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[448] Ptahil created Adam last, just like in Genesis 1.

[449] *nešamah* in Genesis 2:7

fist and beat with his wings (arms), that he might grumble and shake himself, and that he might be spring up and stand on his feet...

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: 'Allow us to cast into him some the *rūha* spirit which you brought with you from your father's house.' All the Planets exerted themselves, and the Lord of the World exerted himself. In spite of all their efforts, they could not make him stand on his feet. Ptahil set off in his glory and ascended to the Place of Light. He stood in the presence of the Father of the Uthra,[450] and his father spoke to him: "What have you accomplished?" He answered him: "All that I made has been successful, (but) my counterpart and yours have not been successful."[451]

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself, set forth, and hurried to *atar kasia* the secret place. He fetched the (great) *mana*, [452] which illuminates all corruption. He wrapped him (the *mana*) in his pure turban under the (spells) of the (secret) names which the Life gave him. He brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil, his son. When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra, the Life summoned Hibil, Šitil and Anoš[453] the outstanding uthras who are flawless. He summoned them and gave them their orders, and warned them concerning the *nišmata* souls. He said to them: 'You be a guardian over them, so that all the worlds may know nothing about them. Let not the muddle-headed Ptahil know, [454] how the *nišimta* soul falls into the body. How the soul falls into the body and how the blood fills (lit: speak in) it and how the veins permeate it. Let the supporter (*maulānā*) Adakas-Mana be his protector.[455] . . . Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban, and enfolded him in his garment. When Ptahil wanted to cast the soul into Adam's trunk, I (Manda d̲-Hiia) snatched it from his pocket. While Ptahil lifted Adam up, I erected him on his bones. While he laid his hands on him, I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones. His body filled with marrow, and the radiance of the Life spoke in him. When the radiance of the Life spoke in him, Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.[456] I led him upwards to the House of the Great Ones; to the place where the Great One is enthroned. I entrusted him to the *ganzibras* Treasurers, the *uthras* who look after the Jordans. The Life thanked the *uthra*, who had brought the *nišimta* soul.[457]

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[450] Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur).

[451] Cf. The creation of Adam in Nag Hammadi Codices. It is written that "the Archigenetor issues a decree with regard to that man to be formed, and each of the powers cast his seed upon the midst of the navel of the earth. From that day on the seven commanders (archons) formed the man and he was called "Adam". But this creature was left without a soul for forty days until "wisdom life" (*sophia zoē*) sent her breath into Adam. He began to move on earth but could not stand up.' (Rudolph 1983: 96-97) Drower noted that the unsuccessful creation of Adam "constantly appear in Gnostic, Rabbinic, and Kabalistic writings" (SA, n., 3 p. 35).

[452] *mana*: soul (MD p. 246).

[453] The triad of *uthras* produced by Hawa-Kasia (the secret Eve), and act as "saviours" in the Mandaean literature (SA p. 36).

[454] For Ptahil "sakla" or "blila" the fool, see above §2.2.6.2.

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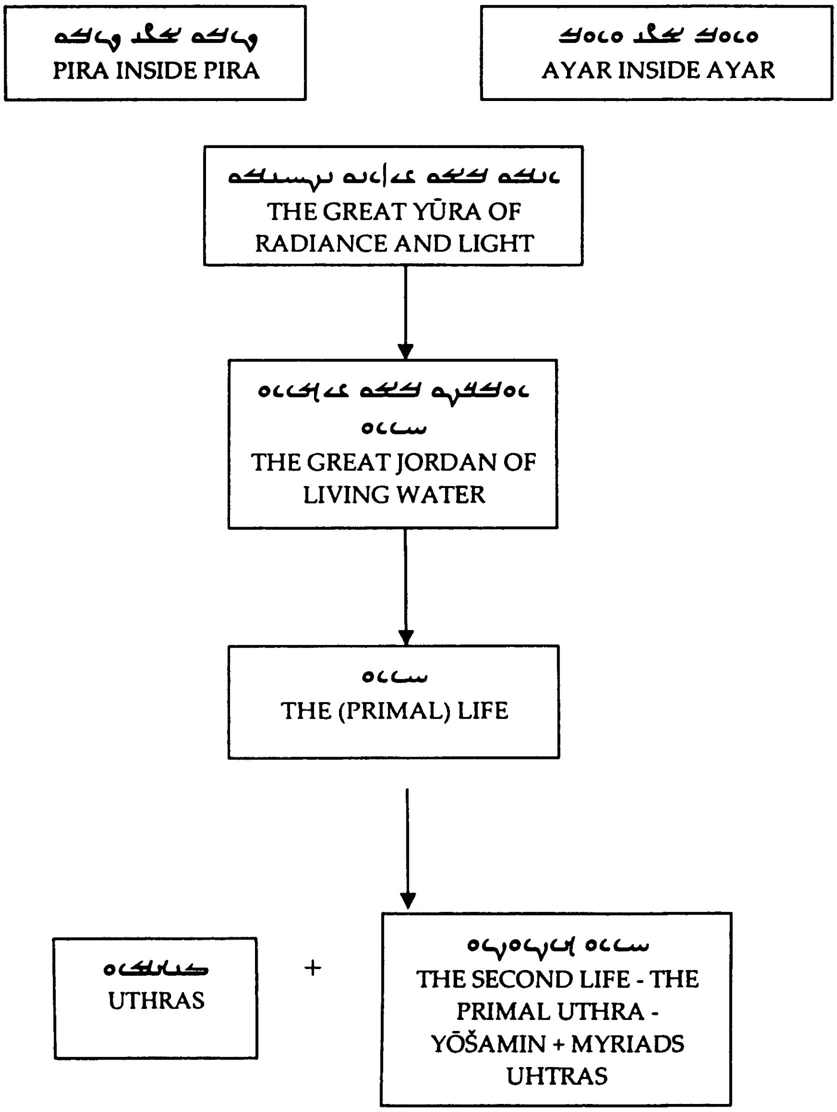
[455] Adakas-Mana the light being who came from the hidden place and fell into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve), and made them stand on their feet, opened their eyes to behold and opened their mouths to feed. GRR 290: 6f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
Surprisingly the word *maulānā* occurs in an Ismaʿīlī text called *Kalām-i-Pīr*. According to this text, "the divinity *maulānā* (our Lord) manifested itself in each generation in the most perfect human form" (Stroumsa, 1984: 111).

[456] Adakas-Ziwa is the Light-Adam. "He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal. Adakas is Adam the microcosm's guardian, his soul, his *mana*." (SA p. 35). Adakas is also Adam's instructor who came from the "Secret Place" (Ibid p. 102).

[457] GRR p. 120 ff.

TEXT 2
GINZA RABA
PAGE 84
(Chart B)


PIRA INSIDE PIRA
AYAR INSIDE AYAR
THE GREAT YŪRA OF RADIANCE AND LIGHT
THE GREAT JORDAN OF LIVING WATER
THE (PRIMAL) LIFE
UTHRAS
+
THE SECOND LIFE - THE PRIMAL UTHRA - YŌŠAMIN + MYRIADS UHTRAS

§ 2.2.7 - Manda d̲-Hiia (Gnosis of Life)

§ 2.2.7.1 - The True Apostle of Light:

Manda d̲-Hiia is translated "knowledge of life", i. e. "gnosis". There was a debate on his name and the analogy of "manda" led by Pallis, since "knowledge" in the Mandaean language is ࡌࡀࡃࡉࡕࡀ *madita*, ࡉࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ *iaduta*, ࡌࡀࡃࡀ *madda* or ࡌࡀࡃࡉࡄࡕࡀ *madihta*.[458] Manda d̲-Hiia is the outstanding figure in the Mandaean faith and the most revered deity.[459] Manda d̲-Hiia personifies the ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ *manda* "knowledge" of the great Mandaean deity ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* the Life.[460] From the course which the Mandaeans followed through history, some scholars went to assume that this sect adopted Manda d̲-Hiia as a messenger and a redeemer when the Naṣoraeans (the early Mandaeans) as part of their polemic against Christianity at the rise of the first millennium.[461] Many texts in the Ginza and in the other Mandaean manuscripts propose a shift from polytheism to Gnosticism has taken place sometime in the period from C.E. 300-600 as suggested by Brandt.[462]

Support for this hypothesis comes from one of the *masiqta* (ascension) hymns; the believers have forsaken images, pictures, idols and gods and have testified to the name of the great strange Life:

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[458] In some incantations Manda d̲-Hiia is written with the guttural (ࡏ ע) ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ Mand'a d̲-Hiaa (Yamauchi 1967: 235, 241).

[459] Pallis 1926: 146. Abatur (the Second Life) rises from his throne in order to show respect to Manda d̲-Hiia (GRR 223: 14).

[460] Rudolph 1983, 131.

[461] Brandt believed of two schools of Mandaism: the Old Mandaean School, which lost its authority because of continually new influence especially Christianity; and the New School which he called "teaching of the king of Light" (*Lichtkönigslehre*). This school, he believes, in contrast to the older polytheistic from, is monotheistically oriented, even when marked with dualism. Brandt came to the conclusion that "In the course of the polemic against Christianity and its influence, the "reformer" of the Mandaean theology", the author of the *Lichtkönigslehre* represented a revelational activity of the Mandaean redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāṣoraean as a designation for the sect itself" (cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 211f).

[462] Rudolph, HR, 1969: 212.

'This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda d̲-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood, and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.'[463]

Manda d̲-Hiia often exchanges places with another light being, his son/brother, Hibil-Ziwa,[464] who descended to the seven layers of the world of darkness and came into conflict with the King of Darkness and obtained ࡐࡓࡅࡃࡒࡀ *prudqa* a "passport"[465] with ࡄࡀࡕࡌࡀ *hatma* a seal-impression[466] which enabled him to travel through the World of Darkness and come back to the World of Light.[467] During his journey Hibil-Ziwa could confuse Rūha (the goddess of the underworld) and obtain from her ࡂࡉࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡓࡀ the *gimra umrara*, the two secrets of the World of Darkness.[468]

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[463] CP p. 34. (*masiqta* p. 124) Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[464] Hihil-Ziwa, is the light bearer; a saviour-spirit who descended to the underworld and brought back with him from the "Well of Darkness" the *gimra* (pearl, or: soul) and *mrara* (a sort of herb) which are considered the secrets of the World of Darkness. Cf. the Mandaean scroll *masbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa* "the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa" (*The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*, translated by Drower, Vatican City, 1953).

[465] GRR, p. 168: 25.

[466] GRR, p. 169: 8.

[467] The journey of Hibil-Ziwa reminds us of the journey of Enkidu to the underworld. (GRR, book 5:1)

[468] The meaning of *gimra umrara* is obscure, perhaps indicating two things assuring the stability of the world of darkness (MD, p. 90).

The Mandaeans prayers recited during the rituals usually include the formula, "the name of Life and the name of Manda d̠-Hiia ("Knower of the Life") is pronounced over me." He is the "True Apostle of Light" as he describes himself:

> I am the Apostle of Light whom the Great One sent me into the world. The true Apostle I am, with whom there is no lie. The Chosen with whom there is no lie, there is not with him deficiency or fault. [469] I am apostle of Life, the true one, in whom there is no falsehood. [470]

Many Gnostic sects share the meaning of the apostle/redeemer, with some notable differences. According to the Manichaean cosmogony, the living Father sent his son to redeem the soul when he saw it suffering in the body. The son came and transformed himself into human form and appeared to men as a man. He made "creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessel; this is turned by sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon . . . When the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul." [471]

§ 2.2.7.2 - The Creation of Manda d-Hiia

Three *uthras* (the sons of the Second Life 'Yōšamin') decided to descended below the *hapiqia mia* (streams of water) to create a world of their own and not to mention the name of the Life.[472] The Life complained to the Great Mana who dwells in the Great Pira and requested his counsel. In a countermove to the *uthras'* plan[473], the Great Mana created the astral messenger Kabar Rba or Kabr Ziwa, who is fact Manda d̲-Hiia.[474] It was by the request of the First Life the 'Gnosis of Life' came into being: "I am Manda d̲-Hiia, the emanation (lit. planting) of the Mighty First Life." [475] The Life instructed Manda d̲-Hiia that his creation preceded the creation of the *uthras* and his commission was predestined.[476] In this regard, Jonas writes: "The mission of this transcendent savior begins even before the creation of the world (since the fall of the divine element preceded the creation) and ran parallel with it."[477]

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[469] GRR p. 79: 2. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[470] GRR 79: 79: 21.

[471] Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 183.

Manda d̲-Hiaa was promoted by the supreme beings of the World of Light and was made one of the Great Ones. He was given authority upon all worlds of Light and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[478] He was the only one worthy of the mission because he was the one who could restrain the renegade *uthras* and set the boundary stones (*kudka*).[479] He was hailed as the "great mirror of the uthras and the lustrous king of the all kings (or: angels)".[480]

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[472] This is the first rebellious act in the World of Light performed by the Second Life (Yōšamin) and his three sons (one of them is Abatur). This rebellion which caused a great conflict in the Mandaic heavenly world was subdued by Manda d̲-Hiia (GRR p. 85 ff.).

[473] The sons of the Second Life.

[474] GRR pp. 85, 86.

[475] CP, p. 109; Mandaean text pp. 145-6. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[476] GRR, p. 89.

[477] Jonas, 1958: 45.

[478] GRR, p. 89.

[479] GRR, p. 87

[480] DY, p. 239, the text:
[illegible]

§ 2.2.7.3 - Manda d-Hiia, the Mandaean Redeemer: [481]

The Mandaeans' concept of the redeemer is not that of Christianity. The Mandaean Redeemer does not descend to earth and redeem his followers through agony and sufferings. The Mandaean salvation, like the other Gnostic beliefs, is focused on the release of the soul, the *mana* divine particle of man, from the material world and subsequently joins its ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* counterpart in the World of Light.[482] This process is materialized, according to their faith, by means of *gnosis* (knowing) the Life and his messenger Manda d̲-Hiia (the Knower of Life) and through the cults of repeated *maşbuta* (baptism) in *yardina* "Jordan" [483] and *masiqta* (the ascension of the soul).[484] The Redeemer's duty is to awaken the souls to their heavenly origin and to provide them with necessary "gnosis" or "knowledge" to serve as "passwords" for their heavenly re-ascent.[485] Mandaeanism professed to bring salvation through knowledge; ignorance is a sin:

> Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light.[486]

Among the Mandaeans redeeming knowledge has been personalized in the figure of Manda d̲-Hiia.[487] The Redeemer is also "the good shepherd that leads his sheep to their fold."[488] The souls, that sinned because of the wicked angels, [illegible]

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[481] The Mandaeans believe in another redeemer; Anuš (the Biblical Enosh).
[482] Stroumsa, 1984, 1.
[483] Buckley, HR, 1989: 23-34.
[484] Rudolph, HR 1969: 230.
[485] Yamauchi, 1970, 29.
[486] GRR, p. 395: 20. The Text:
[illegible]
[487] Rudolph, 1983: 131.
[488] GRR, 205: 22. The text:
[illegible]

malakia, of this world, will appeal to Manda d̲-Hiia to save them from their sins and trespasses: "Manda d̲-Hiia, save us the darkness of this world in which we are cast!"[489] We also read in another passage the pleadings of the Mandaeans to Manda d̲-Hiia for the salvation of their souls: "Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtues and not as vicious before thee, Manda d̲-Hiia."[490] It is only when the *nišimta* (soul) is enlightened by the "Gnosis of Life", then can return to the World of Light.[491] At the end of the world Manda d̲-Hiia shall reveal himself to sons of men and redeem them from darkness:

> A call rang out over the whole world, the splendor departed from every city. Manda d̲-Hiia revealed himself to the children of men and redeemed them from darkness into light.[492]

He is ࡁࡓ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *bar hiia* the Son of Life who lifts up the souls of the faithful to the place where the Life is enthroned with his sweet voice.[493] Widengren says that the term "Son of Life" is found in the Acts of Thomas in praise of the Apostle of Life ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ, "Christ".[494]

Manda d̲-Hiia is identified with Hermetic Man-Shepherd (*Poimandres*), Mind of all-masterhood (See Deutsch, p. 1999: 166). In this respect Drower writes: "The Hermetic writings have so much which corresponds closely to religious conceptions familiar to them in Naṣoraean gnosis that they would readily have identified the Hermes of the *Poimandres* as their own *Manda d̲-Hiia* or *Mara d̲-Rabuta*" (SA p. 112).

[489] GRR, 303: 17. The text:

ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡀࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ

[490] CP, p. 34; hymn no. 35 of the *masiqta* (ascension) book, Drower's translation, text collated:

ࡕࡒࡉࡌࡍࡀࡍ ࡆࡀࡊࡀࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡇࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

[491] Rudolph, 1983: 358.

[492] GRR, 207: 14. The text:

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡁࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡅࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡕࡂࡀࡋࡉ ࡋࡁࡍࡀࡉ ࡀࡍࡀࡔࡀ
ࡅࡐࡀࡓࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

[493] GRR, book 9:2, book 16:10.

[494] Widengren, 1946: 20.

§ 2.2.7.4 - Manda d-Hiia and John the Baptist:

Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to John the Baptist as a child. As a miracle, Manda d̲-Hiia caused the Jordan to flood fiercely, then made it go dry. When John the Baptist beheld the miracles he believed in Manda d̲-Hiia (as a saviour). Then, he ordered the waters to return to the Jordan. All the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky returned to Jordan, too, reciting praise to Manda d̲-Hiia. At the end of the episode John the Baptist requested Manda d̲-Hiia to save his soul. Manda d̲-Hiia released John the Baptist from his physical form and led his soul to the World of Light.[495] Strangely, we read in the Ginza and in the book of *masiqta* (ascension) that Manda d̲-Hiia appeared in Jerusalem: "Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to the Jews (or: in Judea) like a Vine in Jerusalem."[496] He is the one who can open the doors of *kušṭa* (truth), reveals the mysteries and performs miracles in Jerusalem:

> You are the healer above all means of healing, a Lifter above all Up-lifters, a Radiance above all radiances and a Light above all lights, for it is you who opens doors of truth and reveals mysteries of wisdom and shows forth miracles in Jerusalem.[497] You confide demons and devils and frighten away the gods from their high places. Great is your name and praised is your name. You are the counterpart of Life, for you were in existence before all. [498]

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[495] GRR book 5: 4. This picture of Manda d̲-Hiia as the young lad ࡉࡀࡃࡀ ࡆࡅࡈࡀ *iada zuṭa* (GRR p. 220: 3) is similar to Seth the savior-child דרדקא in the Manichean, the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects (Stroumsa, 1984, 77 ff.).

[496] GRR, p. 206: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[497] The Mandaean "redeemer" and his appearance in Jerusalem was part "polemic against Christianity and its influence, and the "reformer of the Mandaean theology, the "author of the *Lichtkönigslehre,*" represented a revelational activity of the Mandaenan redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāṣōraean as a designation for the sect itself" (Rudolph, 1969: 212). On the other hand Stroumsa believes that "Biblical references to the Holy Land were part of Gnostic imagery" (Stroumsa, 1984: 119).

[498] CP, p. 36. The text:

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

§ 2.2.7.5 - Manda d-Hiia the Warrior:

§ 2.2.7.5.1 - Manda d-Hiia's Weapons:

Manda d̲-Hiaa, the valiant *uthra*, was the well prepared and armed apostle, who triumphed over the powers of darkness.[499] He is the heavenly warrior whom the gods in all the worlds feared: "When Manda d̲-Hiia appeared in the whole worlds, all the gods were aghast." [500] In order to fulfill his mission against the evil, he was equipped by the Great One with the following weapons besides the army of *uthras*:

(1) Radiance and Light. (2) a great attire (3) the *margna* (staff) of Living Water (4) the wreath of the Living Flame (5) the armor of the Great Ones[501] (6) A mace (club)[502] (7) a veil (net?),[503] and (8) a robe of the great ones.[504]

§ 2.2.7.5.2 - Manda d-Hiia Restrains the Rebellious 'Uthras:

When the Second Life and his sons, the *uthras*, determined to create a world of their own, the Great Life considered this intention as an act of rebellion. In order to foil the *uthra's* plot, the Great Ones commissioned Manda d̲-Hiia to reveal the rebels' conspiracy: "Rise above the *uthras* and see what they are planning and what they intend, they who say, "We will create a world". 'You have seen that they have forsaken the House of the Life and turned their faces to the place of Darkness.[505] Manda d̲-Hiaa was charged to bring order among the *uthras* and deliver them from failure. The Great One commanded him: *'zl 'l mardia d̲hšhka d̲'lan l̲biš mithašbia* "March against the rebels of darkness who think out evil against us!"[506]

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[499] Cf. The Coptic Primeval Man-Redeemer who 'clad himself in his amour and set forth to do battle with cohorts of matter, of darkness, of evil.' See Widengren 1965: 49, 50.

[500] Ibid p. 295: 14. The text:

[illegible]

[501] GRR, p. 96. Cf. Marduk weapons: a scepter, a throne, a royal robe, a bow and arrows, a mace, a net. 'They gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[502] GRR, p. 108: 15.

[503] GRR, p. 198: 7.

[504] GRR, P. 99: 15. The garment of the messenger Manda d̲-Hiia has such magic powers that the demons form a secret conspiracy in order to take hold of it (GRR, p. 299: 20):

[illegible]

It is notable in tractate three of the Ginza, that the sequence of Manda d̲-Hiia's mission was interrupted; instead of descending towards the *hapiqia maia* (the streams of water) he went down towards the World of Darkness; and instead of restraining the defector *uthras* he defeated the evil powers of the World of Darkness. This confusion can be solved when the story is traced in the other chapters of the Ginza as well as in the other Mandaean writings such as *draša d̲-iahia* "the Book of John." In book 15 of the Ginza we read that the Great Ones commanded Manda d̲-Hiia to descend to the Second Life 'Yōšamin's abode to deter him and the rebellious *uthras* from their evil plans and to help him in accomplishing his work in a perfect order:

> For what reason the King of Light created you, and made you a king in Ayar (ether)? Why don't you go to the house of Yōšamin and arrange his works in perfect order? Yōšamin should know that the strength of the Life is greater than his futile strength.[507]

In another passage we find another reading:

> Then the Life called Yawar-Ziwa [508] on whose name nine hundred thousand *uthras* emerged. Then he created a form and gave it to him and said to him, 'Go, meet the Second (Life) with this form and lets us

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[505] GRR, p. 86.

[506] GRR, p. 96: 16. Cf. "They (the gods) gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!"" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[507] GRR, book 15: 16, p. 424: 5. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[508] Yawar-Ziwa is a being of light acquainted with Manda d̲-Hii and his son Hibil-Ziwa.

> find out what he will say and what he will propose. He went to his (Yōšamin's) presence and spoke to him, "O, Yōšamin, son of Dmut-Hiia, my father sent me hither".... By the (power) of the form which the Life gave to Yawar, all the *škinas* of Yōšamin trembled and quaked and his throne degraded and gave way unto downfall. His women who were standing at his presence were terrified..[509]

Manda d̲-Hiia arrives at the house of Yōšamin and the planets fell on their faces:

> He was instructed by the wisdom of the Great One, and set forth and came towards Yōšamin. He stood on the vault of the house of Yōšamin, and he covered his gleam with his radiance.(?) He covered his gleam with his radiance, and an uproar ruptured in his house. An uproar ruptured in his house and the Planets fell on their faces.[510]

After all, it seems that everything went well and Manda d̲-Hiia was successful in his mission to Yōšmain and he could achieve his goal in a perfect way:

> I came to the world which the Second (Life) created,
> from which all error and deficiency came into being
> I uttered the voice of Life,
> and planted the planting of the Great (One).
> I planted the planting of Life,
> and I chose the elect ones; one by one I chose them,
> and I explained to them and taught them concerning the goodness.

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[509] GRR, book 14, p. 356: 17 f. For the detailed battles between Yōšamin and the battalions of Light see the first four chapters of the Book of John. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[510] GRR book 15: 16, p.426: 12. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

I made their eyes behold the place in which the Great (One) sit (or: enthroned).
I taught them, through the secret chants and recitations,
the prayers and praise that we possess.
I made them part of the construction of the Life,
and made them join the union of the Life.
I enlightened them with a sublime enlightenment that has no end,
and I showed them the form which was (brought) from the concealed place.
When the elected ones saw it, their aching hearts were healed.
I uttered a proclamation,
and I straightened up the trivial devils.[511]

§ 2.2.7.5.3 - Manda d-Hiia's encounter with the Powers of Darkness:

The World of Light realized that the World of Darkness was conspiring against it; it realized that Darkness expanded and became the fullness of the world (or: he became Pleroma of the cosmos).[512]

From the day when the Evil (one) began to think, the evil was shaped
in him. He fell into a great wrath and ventured a war with the Light.[513]
The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels.[514]

What caused Darkness to mount up its offence against the World of Light is the envious nature of darkness which is full of hatred and conflict.[515]

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[511] GRR p. 447: 1 f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[512] GRR book 3, p. 99: 3 f.

[513] Cf. Mani's own writings about the notion of the rebellion of the powers of Darkness against the Kingdom of Light: "they plotted against the Light in order to mix themselves with it" (Widengren, 1946: 44).

[514] DY, p. 48: 1 f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[515] Jonas stated that the "Darkness had first to reach its own outer limits, and to these it was pushed at some time in the course of the internal warfare in which the destructive passion of

Therefore, the higher deity summoned Manda ḏ-Hiia and addressed him saying:

> "Arise, go to the House of the Seven (planets), the idle Rebels of Darkness![516] Idle are the gloomy Rebels of Darkness, and there is no light among them."[517]

Manda ḏ-Hiia had some hesitation towards the mission, but after a prolonged persuasion by the Life it seems that he agreed to confront the powers of Darkness under some conditions. In response to his conditions, the higher deities of the World of Light promoted him and made him the "the King of the *uthras*", the "Lord of the *Kušṭa*' and the "Treasurer"". He was also given the authority upon all the world of Light and upon all the *škinas* and also upon the underworlds of Darkness.[518]

Manda ḏ-Hiia was engaged in an astral war with the evil powers of the World of Darkness before the creation of the cosmos. Before he descended to the underworld, Manda ḏ-Hiia did some reconnaissance of the dwelling of evil ones. He saw the furnaces of the consuming flame which was full of destroyers and dragons. He saw the rebellious monsters plotting wickedly against the good ones and forging weapons. He saw the "angels of that place" inflamed against each other. He saw Rūha Qadašta sitting there with her *humurtas* (female spirits) practicing false magic. He

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its members was ceaselessly engaged. For the nature of Darkness is hate and strife, and it must fulfill this nature against itself until the encounter with the Light presents an external and better object" (Jonas 1958: 213).

[516] The term ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ *mardia* "rebels" is found in the Manichean writings extant in Syriac ܡܪܘܕܐ *maruda*. Widengren 1946: 43.

[517] GRL p. 68: 17. The text:
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡆࡉࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ [illegible]

[518] GRR pp. 86-87 Cf. Marduk's conditions, that "if he was to champion the gods they must delegate to him their authority, he must have supreme command" before confronting Ti'āmat (Jacobsen 1976: 147).

saw the arrogant King of Darkness challenging whoever claims that he was stronger than him.[519]

§ 2.2.7.5.4 - Mandada d-Hiia's Battle with the King of Darkness ('Ur)[520]:

When the Leviathan of the World of Darkness decided to swallow the world in order to cast down the Great Ones from their thrones, Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to him in the extensive *lbuša* garment of the Great Ones *dnpiš umitar mn almea* "which was more immense and surpassing from the worlds".[521] Manda d̲-Hiia showed him *margina d̲mia hiia* the staff of Living Water,[522] by which the rebels were crushed down. He showed him *klil išata haita*, "the crown of the living fire", which instilled terror into demons. The King of Darkness rose up and annihilated the whole world; he contained it with his strength and *upalga d̲pumh̲ ubarqa qbar* buried half of his mouth in the earth. He swallowed the black waters and gulped down all the demons and *dewis* and *liliths* and stood *riqan* "empty" (or: "naked") in the world. Manda d̲-Hiia approached the monster armed with strength of the Great One and some of his breath reached his garment, but the burning flame of the King of Darkness was extinguished and his navel fell upon the gate (lit: artery) of darkness and all darkness was formed from him. Manda d̲-Hiia seized his eyes and wrapped him with four shawls. He fettered the Evil's heart, dissolved his joints and crushed his liver. He folded his stomach with his bowels, wrapped his navel with a veil, tied a knot around his heart and cast poison in his entrails. He bound the King of Darkness with a fetter and put a muzzle on his mouth. The King of Darkness became tongue tied and retreated to his *kanna* place crying, "Alas, alas onto myself!"[523] Manda d̲-Hiia did not pay attention to the Evil's begging to forgive him and have mercy on him; instead he imprisoned him in his place and appointed rude giant guards to watch over him.[524]

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[519] GRR p. 97.

[520] Lady Drower was told by the Mandaean priests, during her meetings with them in Iraq, that "Ur is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmament and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purification of *maṭarata* (purgatory) are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers" (MII p. 253, n. 3).

[521] The garment has secret powers against the enemies and confers superior power on the wearer and therefore it is a weapon. The garment of Manda d̲-Hiia has such magic powers that he could, with his other weapons, subdue the powers of Darkness Zaehner 1955: 118.

[522] Cf. the cedar staff 'the darling of the great gods' in the old Mesopotamian legends. The staff is the 'symbol of Life' and the sign of kingship which contains magical powers. (Widengren 1950: 8, 9). The Assyrians called the staff '*kakku*' a weapon which is considered as divine symbol at the same time (Chicago Assyrian Dict., p. 50).

When the King of Darkness tried to get rid of his fetters, Manda d̲-Hiia rose by the powers of the Life and created an iron wall around him. He tied seven knots around him and wrapped him with twelve veils. He bound him with the great voice and fettered him with a fetter so the seven *zahriria* flashes (or: flames) departed him. He flung his club and struck him and split his head. He made him shriek like a woman and made him weep like a child. He made dung into his food and urine into his drink and extinguished his devouring and destroying fire. He deprived him from his lust (or: greed) and clothed him with wrath. When Manda d̲-Hiia was triumphed he erected a throne for the good ones and set up a glamorous light beside it.[525]

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[523] GRR p. 98 ff.
[524] GRR. P. 102.
[525] GRR p. 108.

§ 2.2.7.5.5 - Mandada d-Hiia Thwarts Rūha's Plans to Seduce Adam:

Rūha[526] and her retinue, the planets and the demons, began forging plans to capture Adam and keep him in their world: "We will entrap and catch Adam and detain him with us in the world!" [527] They planned to entrap him with horns and flutes and draw him into their congregation.[528] They proposed to arrange a feast and practice *razia d̠rhamta* the "secrets of love", Rūha and her party went up the Mount Carmel and set up their assembly and began practicing the secrets of love and said: "We will perform the secret of love with myrtle and entrap the whole world. We will perform the mystery of love with wine and entrap the world by our drunkenness. We will perform the mystery of love with drinking water." [529] They took the living water and poured turbid water into it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust, through which all the worlds are inflamed. They practiced on him seduction, by which all the worlds are seduced. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The worlds are made drunk by it and turn their faces to the sea of Sup.[530]

Adam, the son of Adam, was inflicted with *hasiruta* "blunder" and his eyes found no sleep. He left his mother, *Hawa* (Eve) and turned his back to his brothers while they were asleep. He climbed the walls of the fortress and headed towards the Rūha's assembly. Rūha welcomed him warmly and she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced and all the Planets started to serve him.[531] They offered him a drink, once, twice, and three times until he was intoxicated and his body desired dance. Then Rūha took him by the hand *unapšh šalth zaniuta* "and he desired to fornicate with her".[532]

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[526] Rūha, the queen of Darkness (see §2.3.9).
[527] GRR p. 124: 21 f.
[528] GRR p. 125: 6 f.
[529] GRR p. 130
[530] GRR p. 132. The terms "drunkenness" and "intoxication" in Gnosticism refer to "ignorance" which is apposed by "sobriety" and "knowledge". Jonas believes that the term "intoxication" requires a special comment. He wrties, "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understand by the term 'world'. It is induced by the "wine of ignorance" which the world everywhere proffers to man." He adds, "the ignorance of drunkenness is the soul's ignorance of itself, its origin and its situation in the alien world." To support this case, he cited the following from the Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8: "From the Lord's spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity" (Jonas 1958: 71f.). ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ *iama rba d̠-sup* (often) the Great Ocean of destruction (MD, p. 323).

When he held her and kissed her and was about to sleep with her, Manda d-Hiia appeared to him in a cloud of radiance. He made Adam hear an overwhelming voice and made his heart fall from its support. He undid the spells of Rūha and Adam felt ashamed.[533] Manda d-Hiia shone in his pure garment and took away the secrets of Rūha and her party. He revealed their mysteries, discredited their speech and belied their oaths. He threw Rūha off her throne and held her back with a camel-bridle. He threw her down, struck her with his scourge and split her head open. He bound her and tied her up to the heart of heavens.[534] He grasped Šamiš[535] by the secret things (genitals) and made him like a woman. He made Yorba a sissy and struck Sin with his scourge. He seized *kukba biša* the evil planet and hurled him down.[536] He struck Bel (Jupiter) and removed the crown from his head. He smote Nirig (Mars) with his mace and amputated his limbs. He dealt with the planets who became arrogant towards the family of Life and exposed their follies to world.[537]

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[531] GRR, p. 136.

[532] GRR, p. 137.

[533] GRR, p. 138.

[534] GRR, p. 139.

[535] Šamiš, Akk. šamšu(m) sun-god, sun (A Concise Dict. of Akk., p. 354), Aram שמשא ܫܡܫܐ Masc., Ar. شمس Fem. (see also MD, p. 443). In one of the Mandaic incantations, Šamaš is described as the "Blind One who is over the spheres, and Lame One who is over the chariots" Yamauchi 1967: 243, text 22: 131-133).

[536] *kukba biša*: an evil star. כוכבא בישא Mercury in the Jewish literature. Lidzbarski stated: "*Man beachte, daß* כוכבא *in der jüdischen Literatur schlechthin den Merkur bezeichnet*" (Lidzbarski, Ginza, 1925: n. 10 p. 132).

§ 2.2.7.6 - The Life Praises Manda d-Hiia for his Victory:

The Life thanked Manda ḏ-Hiia for his distinguished triumph over the King of Darkness and the other forces of Darkness and bestowed on him more glory than ever before. The Life hailed the strength and courage of the heavenly warrior who could valiantly defeat the devouring fire:

> The Life thanked me, and gave me more radiance (or: glory) and spoke to me, "*Kušṭa* preserves you, good one, and preserve the word you have spoken." The Life spoke blissfully to the *uthras* and said: "Hail the strength of the man who could cure the water with fire. Hail the strength of the man against whom the fire sinned not." The *Uthra* shone with his radiance, and trod out a path for the perfect ones and rewarded them fully.[538]

"At the end of the ceremony", the Life embraced and kissed the Uthra, and handed him the 'Kušṭa' like the great ones. Once again the Life and the rest of the *uthras* praised Manda ḏ-Hiia for his achievement by hailing him: *abad ukašar qruia l'uthra ḏkul ḏtibad tikšar* "He acted and seceded!" they hailed him, "Whatever you do you shall succeed!" [539]

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[537] GRR pp. 140,141. Both narrations of Manda ḏ-Hiia's triumph over the powers of darkness hold traces of similar myths such as the Ugaritic myth of Baal who crushed Lotan, the swift serpent. The King of Darkness ('Ur) who was defeated by Manda ḏ-Hiia is similar to Leviathan, the monster, which was defeated by Yahweh at creation (Isaiah 27: 1) (Ringgren 1973: 149). Many resemblances are also found in the epic of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat (Jacobsen 1976: 175 ff.).

[538] GRR p. 109: 10 f. Cf. the Ugaritic message from Mot to Baal praising Baal's triumph over the seven-headed serpent "Lotan" (Ringgren 1973: 148-9).

[539] GRR 109: 21 f.

§ 2.2.7.8 - Manda d-Hiia, the Conjugal Advisor:

When Ptahil, with the help of Rūha and her retinue the Planets, finished creating Adam and Eve, Manda d̠-Hiia approached Adam in a corporeal form lest not to frighten him. He sat beside Adam and sprinkled the splendor of the Great Mana over him. Mand d̠-Hiia began to instruct him, with a sublime voice, and awakened his heart from his sleep.[540]

Manda d̠-Hiia thwarted the evil goals of the demons who intended to draw Adam to their congregation and destroyed their evil plans against him. Manda d̠-Hiia and the other *uthras* arranged a great wedding for Adam, in which they recited hymns and liturgies. They disgraced the words of Rūha and suppressed her seditious call. They eliminated the evil of the Planets and brought all the monsters to naught. Manda d̠-Hiia and his company of the *uthras* set up the root of life, and the Life triumphed and brought victory to Adam's race. They remained with Adam until Hawa (Eve) was in labour. Manda d̠-Hiia played the part of *sabus 'nšia* (conjugal instructor?) who instructed Adam how to marry a woman. Manda d̠-Hiia said: "Let the race of the Life be bountiful! The race of the Life will be bountiful, and from them the world will come to life. The world will come to life from them, and the Life will show them his gratitude, deliver them, and raise them from this world of the evil ones." [541]

Manda d̠-Hiia established Adam on top of the building like the great ones, and made Hawa (Eve) in the shape of the cloud of light. Manda d̠-Hiia appointed *uthras* to look after Adam and he was their leader. He began to teach Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) wonderful hymns and the right rituals of *masiqta* "Ascension". He taught them prayers to the Life in order to strengthen their faith. He said to them: "You are raised and established in the place where the good ones are established. Amongst the Manas of Light you will be established." Manda d̲-Hiia sat and taught them like a teacher who taught his novice. He prayed for them and blessed them with the bless of the Great Ones. He prayed to Adam to rise and see the world of Light.

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[540] in DY we read: "they created a messenger and sent him to the head of generation. He called out into the unrest of the world. Adam, who was lying down, awakened." (DY, p. 47) Rudolph believes that the "Gnostic view of the world demands revelation which comes outside the cosmos and displays the possibility of deliverance; for of himself man cannot escape from his prison in which according to this religion he is shut up. He is not only imprisoned but "asleep" or 'drunken'" (Rudolph, 1983: 119). For more details concerning the "call" and the "awakening", see Jonas 1958: pp. 80 ff.

[541] GRR pp. 127-128.

When Rūha discovered that all her evil plans were in vain, she decided to leave the scene with her retinue, but only to indulge themselves in new evil plans against the Messenger of Life and Adam.[542]

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[542] GRR, pp. 127-129.

§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

In the third theogonic version the following variants are found in addition to the two preceding theogonic texts. In this text the Life instructs Manda d̠-Hiia concerning the creation. He informs him: (1) when the ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *pira* Fruit was inside the *pira*, ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d̠-nhūra* (the King of Light) came into being. (2) From the King of Light, the Great Radiant Ayar (Ether) came into being and (3) from the Great Radiant Ayar, ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita* (the Living Fire) came into being (4) By the power of the King of Light, the Life, fruit and Jordan came into being and (5) from the living water (of the Jordan), the Life came into being (6) all the *'uthras* came into being (Chart C).

In this version of creation we note that the main creator is ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d̠-nhūra* the King of Light and not the Mana, and by his power the Life came into being. Also a new element is taking part in the process of creation. It is the ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita* the Living Fire from which ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* (the light) emanated:

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was in the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[543] From the great and glorious King of Light the great ether of radiance came into being. From the great glorious King of Light Ayar Ziwa Rba ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ (the Great Radiant Ayar) came into being. From Ayar Ziwa Rba the living fire ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita*

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[543] In the Gnostic (Mandaic) dualism there are two rival kings: *malka d̠-nhura* (the king of light) and *malka d̠-hšuka* (the king of darkness). Cf. Mazdaean cosmology: "In the beginning Ohrmazd (the Spirit of Good) was on high and dwelt in the Endless Light: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom which some call Religion (*dēn*). Ahriman (the Spirit of Evil) was in the depths and dwelt in the endless Darkness: he was slow in knowledge and his will was to do harm. Between the kingdoms of light and darkness the Void which some call Vāy" (Zaehner 1955: 91, cited from *Greater Bundahišn*).

> was brought into being.[544] From the living fire, the light ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* came into being. By the power of the King of Light, Life came into being and the great fruit. The great fruit came being, and in it the Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being, there came into being the living water. The radiant and resplendent water came into being, and from the living water, I, the Life, came into being. I, the Life, came into being, and then all the *uthras* came into being.[545]

§ 2.3.1 - The King of Light:

The King of Light is not mentioned in the opening of the prayers in the different chapters of the Manadaean scriptures. It is the Life and Manda d̲-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) who enjoy this privilege. The King of Light has no role in the Mandaean rituals and rarely mentioned in their scrolls and he is mentioned only once in tractate III (The Story of Creation) of the Ginza. But the King of Light remains a major player in the dualist system of Mandaic Gnosticism.[546] Whether the Mandaeans represented the "King of Light" as their "one god" to prove to the Moslems, after their invasion to Iraq in the sixth century, that they were monotheist in order to avoid either converting into Islam or put to death,[547] remains an issue which needs to be investigated, as "the development of Mandaeism still remains one of the central problems of the history of religion." [548]

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[544] GRR p. 91: 17 f.

[545] GRR pp. 91: 17 ff.

[546] The Manicheans believed that the "King of the Paradise of Light", who is God Most High, brought the revelation to Mani when he was twelve years old. Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, Beirut (1994); English translation: Dodge, L., London (1970) p. 774:
فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة اتاه الوحي، على قوله، من ملك جنان النور، وهو الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان الملك الذي جاءه بالوحي يسمى التوم، وهو بالنبطية، ومعناه: القرين، فقال له اعتزل هذه الملة، فلست من اهلها، وعليك بالنزاهة وترك الشهوات، ولم يأذن لك ان تظهر لحداثة سنك، فلما اتم له أربع وعشرون سنة اتاه التوم فقال: قد حان لك ان تخرج فتنادي بأمرك.

[547] All none Moslems had to prove to the Moslem invaders that they were people of the book. All "infidels" had to either convert to Islam or put to death. Some sects preferred to follow the *Taqia*; that is pretend to be people of the book in order to avoid certain death. The *Taqia* (مبدأ التقية) was originated from Islam itself and means "hypocritical" or "prevention". It is a

On the other hand, the Mandaean scriptures describe the King of Light as anterior to all the mysteries – the Jordan, radiance, light and air and beams of light, and the crown, and *kušṭa* (covenant), *pihta* (sacred bread) and the myrtle wreath – each mystery is more revered and sublime than any one of its companions.[549] He is situated in the lofty north,[550] strong, beautiful, and glorious, the origin of all luminous beings and father of all *uthras*.[551] He is the true deity, the lofty king whose powers are endless and infinite. No death comes near him and fadedness does not touch his nature:

> The great Lord of all kings: nothing was when he was not and nothing would be were he not to be; death is not imposed on him and evanescence means nothing to him. His light illuminates and his radiance irradiates all the worlds, and the kings who stand before him and shine in their radiance and in the great light which rests upon them. He gave them prayer and praise, which settled in their hearts, those who stand in the clouds of light.[552]

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precautionary principle in Islam and dictates that the Moslem is allowed to lie in order to protect himself from any damage might be incurred on him by the enemy if he tells the truth.

[548] Macuch, R., from the preface of *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* by Buckley, J., American Oriental Society (1993).

[549] ATŠ, pp. 197-98. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[550] According to the Mandaeans the locus of the "realm of Light" is to the north. In book 12: 7 of the Ginza we read: "All the world calls the north a highland. For the world of darkness lie in the lowland of the South . . . Whose dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons." (MII p. 9, GRR pp. 340-41) The text:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[551] GRR p.3: 17 – 3: 25. The text:
[illegible]

[552] GRR pp 2: 13 – pp 3: 3). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

The Mandaeans believe that stars and planets contain supernatural powers (spirits) which affect the destinies of mankind and these powers are obedient to *Malka d̲-Nhūra* the King of Light.[553] The Mandaeans personify the light by the great light spirit *Malka d̲-Nhūra* surrounded by countless numbers of *melki* (kings; beings of light).[554]

> The King is delighted with the children of light. He calls one (of them), and a thousand answer him. By his word he planted *uthras*, and by the word of his moth he made the perfect raising. King of all the *uthras* and *škinas*, great crown at the top of the heights, gentle one, who subdue powerful, might, that restrain the rebellious.[555]
>
> The sparkles of his crown flash all around and rays of radiance, of light, and of glory issue from his face and between the leaves of his wreath. All the *uthras* and kings, all the worlds (beings) stand there in prayer and praise that sublime King of Light.[556]

No carpenter has built his throne and builder built his house. No one can visualize the nature of Malka *d̲-Nhūra* "the King of Light" and no one can comprehend the great Light. His sacred name is hidden from everyone, and no one can call him by his real name:

> No human carpenters constructed the throne beneath him; no master-builder in clay built the houses of his throne. He is King from the very beginning, whose kingdom lasts for ever and never passes away.[557]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[553] MII p. xviii.
[554] Ibid xxi.
[555] GRR 8: 5 – 11). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[556] GRR pp 4: 19 – pp 4: 24. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[557] GRR, p. 7: 5. The text:

> There is no name like his name, and there is no one that can name him by his (real) name, there is no one that can name him by his (real) title (or: nature).[558]

§ 2.3.2 - ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ Ziwa uNhūra Radiance and Light:

Radiance is the active and the male power of light,[559] which accompanied the great Manas in their first emanation.[560] Radiance in 'the mystical teachings or inner gnosis of Mandaeans' represent the male factor, "whereas *nhura* light represent its female complement."[561] Radiance is considered the ancient Primal Father and referred to as pure "gold", where as the Light is the ancient Primal Mother and referred to as "silver":

> Now as to these two mysteries of *ziwa* and *nhura* (radiant light and diffuse light): know that they are the ancient primal Father and Mother. Pure gold is the mystery of the Father, its name is Radiance: silver is the Mother's mystery and its name is Light. Silver is the Mother's mystery [symbol] and its name is Light. The Crown is the Father's symbol and its name is Radiance: the myrtle-wreath the symbol of the Mother and its name is "Let there be Light". The "owner of a crown" [*a priest*] is concerned with the mystery of the Father. A Mandaean [*layman*] and his wife are occupied with the mystery of the Mother.[562]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[558] GRR, p. 5: 25. The Text:
[illegible]

[559] ATŠ, p. 16. Lady Drower comments: "The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the syzygy of *nhura*, is an active, creative male principle and light is a receptive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ" (SA p. 6).

[560] GRR p. 83: 21.

[561] ATŠ, p. 16.

[562] ATŠ, p. 201, Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

There is more that one metaphor in the Mandaean dualism symbolizing sex and fecundity (male and female principles) such us: *ziwa* radiance and *nhura* light, *aina* wellspring and *sindirka* the palm tree, *hiia* Life and *dmut-hiia* counterpart or *ṣauta* companion, *Jordan* river (or: running water) and *arqa* earth. Some of the above ideas are found in a prayer known as "*šal šulta*" where the divine marriage is "typified in three allegorical pairs; Radiance and Light, Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia, and the Date-palm and wellspring":[563]

> Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the First great Light. Praised be the mystic *Tanna* (womb?) which dwells in the great mystic First Wellspring and the First Date-palm. Praised be the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance. Praised is Simat-Hiia, Mother of all Kings, for from Her all world proceeded, because She was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.[564]

Light and Darkness is the main motif of the Mandaic Gnosticism and dualism. The whole existence consists of two worlds: the World of Light with its heavenly jordans and battalions of Beings of lights "*uhtras*", against the World of Darkness with its demons, liliths and evil beings. The hostility between these two worlds is eternal, but these worlds cannot be isolated because they derive their powers from each other:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another, neither can

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[563] SA, p. 11.

[564] CP, [171] p. 154, Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

> remove from nor approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other. [565]

The Mandaean literature informs us that Light came into existence by the power of the high divinities at the beginning of existence. It is the Light of the Great First Life which together with the Radiance encircle the Mana (the first intelligence):

> Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be light of the Great First Life![566] . Before the *Mana* there is light, behind the *Mana* glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity. [567]

During the baptism rituals, the priest proceeds towards the river, wades up in water, opens the gate of Light and compresses the evil elements of Darkness with his staff after the recitation of certain prayers. He commences these prayers with the name of the Life, the he praises the Radiance and the Light:

> In the name of the Life! Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light![568] "Strengthened and enhanced is he great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life." [569]

Radiance and Light play an essential role in the religious life of the sect. For example; it is the duty of every Naşoraean (Mandaean) to carry out every single detail of the ritual in a perfect way, even when he wears his ritual *rasta* "outfit" and put on his turban, because his outfit symbolizes the Radiance and the Light:

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[565] ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) . Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[566] Cf. "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light" (Genesis 1: 3).

[567] CP, p. 4.

[568] CP, p. 154.

[569] CP, p. 5.

> And Manda d̲-Hiia, the valorous ‘*Uthra*, taught, revealed and said: “Every man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolizing the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon.”[570]

During baptizing the Mandaean has to anoint with radiance and light, not in the name of a god or a spirit:

> Anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race.[571]

§ 2.3.3 - ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ‘Šata Haita The Living Fire:

The Mandaean literature do not provide us with sufficient knowledge concerning *šata hiata* “the living fire” or “the living flame” except it was created in the “house of Life”,[572] and that Ptahil fetched some of the living fire and tossed it, with a piece of his garment, into the black waters, and thus the earth condensed and became solid.[573] The living fire is a constructive element of creation in contrast with the *šata ʼkilta* “consuming fire” which is destructive.[574] The living fire along with the consuming fire spread among the stars.[575] The messengers and *ʻutras* are usually dressed in the garments of living fire.[576] Manda ḏ-Hiia used *klila ḏ'šata haita* the crown of the living fire in his battle with the King of Darkness.[577] The "living fire" is mentioned in Manichaean literature in phrases such as the "ships of living fire and water"[578] or the "wheels of the living fire".[579]

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[570] CP, p. 2

[571] CP, p. 19. According to the Zervan system (Zervan is the time god of old Persia), light is identical with time. (Pallis 1926: 69)

[572] GRR, p. 320: 8.

[573] GRR, p. 320: 25.

[574] Cf. כי יהוה אלהיך אש אכלה “the Lord thy God is a consuming fire” Deuteronomy 4: 23-24.

[575] GRR, p. 319: 10. The text:
ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡅࡍࡅࡓࡀ [illegible]

§ 2.3.4 - ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ The 'Uthra:

First of all, we have to admit that the word *'uthra* is not easy to explain. The *Mandaic Dictionary* defines the word as "wealth" according to Nöldke,[580] whereas Drower defines it as an "eternal being; a spirit of light and life."[581] The word is derived from a root meaning "to increase", "be abounding",[582] and unlike *malkia* who are sometimes good and sometimes evil, *'uthras* are invariably pure and beneficent.[583] These beings of light are comparable with the *yazatas* in Zoroastrianism. The *yazatas* (like the *'uthras*) cannot be rendered as "gods" or "angels" but they are associated with the divine and perform mundane tasks. In contrast to the abhored *daevas*, the *yazatas* were capable of being worshipped. They are also the guardians of the celestial bodies and the messengers of Ahura Mazda. The chief Yazata is Mithra and some of the others include *Daena*, *Mah*, *Rashnu*, *Tistrya*, and *Zam*. Just like the case with the word "uthra', Boyce admits the difficulty in defining the word *yazatas* and prefers to leave it untraslated.[584]

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[576] GRR, 299: 19. The text:
ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅ ࡁࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

[577] GRR, p. 99.

[578] Gardner & Lieu, 2004: 15.

[579] Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II CCXIX, edited by Allberry C.R.C., Stuttgart (1938), p. 2.

[580] MD, p. 347. Nöldke defines ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ *'uthra* ܥܘܬܪܐ as "Reichtum" "wealth" (MG, p. 104 n. 4, Arabic ثراء). In the Manichean Psalms of Thomas the sons of light are also called "the Riches" (Widengren, 1961: 93-4). Drower associates *'uthra* with the Syriac ܥܬܪ "to be rich", "abounding" and finds no reason why *'uthra* not to be translated as "wealth" and she does not agree with Lidzbarski's suggestion that the Mandaeans chose the word *'uthra* to avoid confusion with Jewish and Moslem names for angels. She reaches the conclusion that the *'uthri* might originally have been life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of spring and rain. She bases her conclusion on W. Robertson Smith, who mentioned in his book *Religion of the Semites*, that there was a god in South Arabia named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and claimed that *'athari* referred to being watered by the sky and fountains. (MII pp. 94-5, n.2).

[581] ATŠ, p. 15.

[582] SA, p. 56.

[583] ATŠ, p. 15.

Even the Mandaean liturgies cannot give us a satisfactory explanation concerning the *'uthras*, except that they resemble radiance and rays of light and they do not lie. It is the Planets who lie and they will come to end on the great day of Sup:

> Who will come, who will tell me what *uthras* are like, what *uthras* resemble, and what do rays-of-light resemble? *Uthras* resemble Radiance, "Rays" resemble Light. *Uthras* pledge their word (lit. take oath) and do not lie, The planets lie: they Come to an end on the Great Last Day.[585]

According to Mandaeanism, *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being, and the ether-world was peopled by angelic beings, "*uthras*":

> In it (in the ether-world) *ziwa* Radiance will form itself and sublime Light *nhūra* be set up therein. In there will be *uthras* and Rays-of-Light will be established therein appearances that shine with lovely radiance.[586]

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[584] Boyce, 1975: 196, 225. The *yazatas* were revered in the Near East during the reign of Shapur II until the fourth century when some parts of the region (like Armenia) converted into Christianity and the old cultic centers of the Zoroastrian divinities, the *yazatas* were turned into Christian sites (Stoyanov 2000: 99).

[585] CP, p. 126 *ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* pp. 168-169 Hymn no. 141. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[586] CP, prayer 233 p. 186, Mandaean p. 243. The text:
[illegible]

These beings are made of light, which emanated from radiance and from the living water, which gushed out from the Light. They are not First Emanations, but they were created by them:

> In the land of Light, the Life existed; the Life existed in the land of Light. And from the Life, water poured forth, water poured forth form the Life. And from the water Radiance emanated, and from Radiance, Light emanated, and from Light the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[587]

The *uthras* are not like human beings. They do not need to communicate by means of vocal sounds; they communicate telepathically. They can read the thoughts of each other and converse to each other by means of baptism and *masiqtas* (rituals of ascension of the soul) and prayers. They are so swift and light and glow more than the stars (lamps):

> And that which conveys the intercourse of *uthras* is the sublime ether. And they are alike in the meditations of their hearts, talking with a person with their thoughts and not speaking (*with their mouths*). *Uthras* converse with one another by means of their baptism and *masiqtas* and their devotional prayers: the resemble stars which quickly come out and go in, the one with its fellow (- star), for they are swifter than the wind and as brilliant as lamps.[588]

The *uthras* are ancient and older than earth and the Planets :

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[587] GRR book 15: 20 p. 442: 11. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[588] ATŠ, p. 213 (Mandaean ATŠ p. 69), the text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

> Any *uthra* is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years.[589]

Abatur is the father of the *uthras*. *Hibil, Šitil* and *Anoš* are the famous triad of *uthras* in the Mandaean tradition. *Adathan* and *Yadathan*, *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, are another two famous pairs of *uthras*. *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* are the guardian spirits of the Jordan, the delegates of Manda ḏ-Hiia, who carry out the work of the Life. *Adathan* and *Yadathan* stand at the Gate of Life and praise and worship Life:

> (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Adathan* and *Yadthan*, who stand at the Gate of Life, and praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls of righteous and believing people in the Place of Life. (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, two *uthras* delegates of Manda ḏ-Hiia who are active and do (the work of) the Life.[590]

The *uthras* live in their *škinas* in the world beyond and instructed by their king 'the king of the *uthras*' about the mysteries of their world:

> The king of *uthras* came, he set off and came, the king of *uthras* to the *škinta* in which the *uthras* sit. He said to them "About what ye been instructed, (O) *uthras*?" "About the *Mana* that is within the Occult, about the *Mana* that came into being in the Hidden, and about the Radiance that glows in a hidden place".[591]

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[589] CP, p. 1, Mandaean *Maşbuta* p. 24. The text:
[illegible]

[590] CP, p. 86, (Mandaean Hymns & Prayers pp. 240, 242). Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[591] CP, 172, Mandaean pp. 213-214, hymn n. 200. The text:

Book III of the Ginza Rba tells us that countless battalions of *uthras* came into being when the Life called forth "the Second Life". One of these *uthras* was Abatur, the eldest son of the Second Life who advised his father to defy the Life and create a new world.[592] They live with the sublime world of the King of Light in his abode that is translucent and bright, with great crowns on their heads. [593]

The Mandaeans avoid using the word (*malka*) for the heavenly beings. *Malkia*, "kings", apart from its literal and derived meaning when applied to priests, is a term which may indicate evil beings as well as good: there is a *malka d̠-nhura* (king of light) and *malka d̠-hšuka* (king of darkness):

> *Alaha* (god) descended from his loftiness and assumed the shape of *malakia* angels. The *malakia* angels put on the (masquerade) of demons and day by day they pervert the minds of men. They clench to the necks of priests, slaughterers and oracle-tellers and eat form their flesh until they are full. And drink from their blood until they are satisfied. They speak with (false) wisdom and deception and change the times.[594]

In the story of creation it is written that the higher deity, the Great *Mana*, bestowed the title "the king of the *uthras*" on Manda d̠-Hiia before sending him down to put an end to the mutiny of the Second Life's *uthras*:

> You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of the *kušṭa* (covenant) and the Creator of the treasures, we give authority upon all the worlds of Light

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[592] GRR book 3 p. 84.

[593] GRR books 1 and 2 contain detailed description of the *uhtras* and their world of light.

[594] GRR book 5: 2 pp. 201: 25, 202. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

> and the *uthras* of light who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[595]

Those beings of light are made up of many kinds and fall into earths, *škinas*, Jordans, trees, *uthras*, and angels, as well as radiance, light, and brightness which rest upon them, and no borders separate them.[596]

§ 2.3.5 - ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *alma d-nhūra* The World of Light:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another. Neither can remove from or approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other. [597]

The Ginza Rba portraits the World of Light as a world of fragrance, in which there is no vile odor; a world of eternal life, in which there is no death; pure without evil; a world of goodness without hatred; a world of living water, in whose aroma kings rejoice:

> The world, in which he (the King of Light) stands, has no demise:
> A world of radiance and light, in which there is no darkness,
> a world of calm, in which there is no disturbance,
> a world if justice, in which there is no chaos of confusion,
> a world of fragrance, in which there is no despicable smell,
> a world of eternal life, in which there in no demise or death,
> a world of living waters, in whose fragrance kings rejoice,
> a world of goodness, in which there is no evil,

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[595] GRR p. 86: 21f. The text:

[596] GRR, book I, p. 11: 17.

[597] ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) .The text:

> a world of truth (*kušṭa*) and faith, in which there is no deception or
> lying;
> it is a pure world, without evil adulteration.[598]

The World of Light is a place of life, truth. Their buildings are of pure crystal and their *škinas* (abodes) are made out of light. Mandaean souls long to see it and dwell in it:

> That place is a place of life, truth (*kušṭa*), peace, security, joy, and faith, for which everyone hopes and in which everyone puts his trust. The King rejoices at the children of light, and they pride themselves on him. Their buildings and *škinas* are built of radiance and light, and their walls are full of strength and stability.[599]

Beings of light and kings (angels) of radiance dwell in the World of Light. They gentle and wise, loving without malice. They are arrayed in garments of light. Their thoughts are open to each other and they know the First and the Last. Their clothes do not wither and their wreaths do not fade away:

> They are clothed in garments of radiance and are arrayed in a covering of light. They sit and dwell together, without offending one another and without sinning against one another. They are honored in their firmament and match as the eyelash the eye. Their thoughts are open on one another, and they know the First and the Last. They are a thousand thousand *parasang* (league) distant from one another

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[598] GRR 9: 4-18. The text:
[illegible]

[599] GRR 12: 21 – 13: 1. The text:
[illegible]

> and (yet) one is illumined by the other's radiance, one is fragrant through another's fragrance, one administer *kušṭa* to the other and they understand one another's thoughts. They have escaped every kind of death and death's corruption is not decreed for them. There is no passing away for them, they do not grow old, their strength does not diminish, and they are not plagued by diseases and infirmities. Their vesture does not become black nor their covering dark. Their (myrtle) wreaths do not wither; they do not crumble and do not lose their leaves.[600]

The World of Light is located to the north where Abatur is enthroned. Mandaeans turn towards the Polar Star (Polaris), the region of the vault of heaven, during their prayers. The North is the source of light, instruction and healing. If a Mandaean wishes to pray and reflect, he faces the north and their dead are buried towards the north. Their *bit-manda* (temple) always faces the north. The House of Abatur (Abatur of the Scales) is situated north controlling the path which leads to the Realm of Light. From her long stay in Iraq and the extensive study and her lengthy observation of the Mandaeans rituals, Lady Drower believes that the climate of Mesopotamia was a main factor which made the Mandaeans chose the north as their *Qiblah* (direction for prayers) and the direction according to which they bury their dead.[601]

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[600] GRR 9: 24 – 10: 13. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[601] The Mandeans believe that the north is the source of light and healing. On the contrary the Parsis had a natural hatred for the north because they believe that the north is the source of all evil (MII p. 18, n. 9).

The world of Light is a metaphysical world beyond the reach of the evil Planets. Physics does not apply and no gravity is needed; it is independent in its own laws:

> Their earth does not rest on anvils (: supports), their firmament does not rotate on wheels, the seven stars do not pass over them, and the Five and the Twelve do not control their destiny.[602]

§ 2.3.6 - ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma d-hšuka* The World of Darkness:

The World of Darkness is in contrast to the World of Light.[603] The World of Darkness is dominated by all kinds of demons and monsters and ruled by the King of Darkness. According to the Mandaeans, the earth of Darkness is located to the south of the earth of Light,[604] beneath the earth of Darkness:

> Beyond the earth of light downwards and beyond the earth Tibil, in the South there is that earth of darkness.[605]

The composition of the World of Darkness is different from the World of Light and do not resemble in any way that of the World of Light:

> It has a form which is different and isolate from the earth of light, for they are (both) different from each other in every quality and shape.[606]

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[602] GRR p. 13: 8. The text:
[illegible]

[603] Manichaeism teaches that light and darkness are: "Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attached light." (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[604] The Manicheans believe that the realm of the King of Darkness is located to the south of the Kingdom of Life (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 12).

[605] GRR 333: 13:
[illegible]

[606] GRR 333: 15:

Darkness exists through its own evil nature and the worlds of Darkness are numerous and without limit:

> Darkness exists through its own evil nature. It is a horrid darkness, a desolate gloominess which knows not the First and the Last.[607]

The Mandaeans believe that the underworld is made of six layers; this lowest (first) is copper, then iron, brass, steel, gold, silver and dust. 'Ur, the King of Darkness is confined in *arqa d̠nhaša* "the earth of copper" by Hibil-Ziwa.[608]

The inhabitants of the World of Darkness show no fidelity to their habitation. Their earth is black waters and their heights are deep darkness:

> The worlds of darkness are numerous and without end.[609] Broad and deep is the abode of evil, whose peoples showed no commitment to the place which is their endless habitation, whose kingdom came into being from themselves.[610] They came into being from the *tanna* (womb) and procreation of the Darkness and from the whole *saka* (extreme, limit) of the Black Waters.[611] Their earth is black water and their heights gloomy darkness.[612]

[illegible]

Manichaeism, which adopted the Persian dualism, also believes that the universe consists of two worlds: World of Light and the World of Darkness and Satan came into being from the World of Darkness, as we read in the *Fihrist*, Mani said: "From the land of Darkness there was Satan (al-Šayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compound and brought Satan into existence" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 778).

[607] GRR 333: 18:

[illegible]

[608] For more details of the struggle between Ur and Hibil-Ziwa see MII p. 252.

[609] GRR 334: 1

[illegible]

[610] GRR 334: 2

[illegible]

[611] GRR 175: 1

[illegible]

[612] GRR 334: 5

[illegible]

But Darkness and Light are bound together, and without darkness there was no light:

> For darkness and light are bound together: had there been no dark
> then light would not have come into being. [613]

The Mandaeans envisaged that the "cosmos beyond" consists of two realms: Light and Darkness and each with its own rulers and subjects.[614] Those of Light are described as *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous" who are ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏ *mand'* "knowledgeable" of the Life and full with *ṭabuta* "goodness", while the sons of Darkness characterized as "foolish" or "evil":[615]

> The world of darkness, utterly full of evil, ... full of devouring fire ... full of falsehood and deceit. A world of turbulence without steadfastness, a world of darkness without light ... a world of death without eternal life, a world in which the good things perish and plans come to naught.[616]

Manda ḏ-Hiia provides us with a pictorial description of that world and its inhabitants, when he descended to the world of darkness:

> I went to the place of darkness; to the place where the evil ones dwell, and to the dwelling which is full of destroyer. (I went to) the place of the dragons, and to the furnaces of the consuming flames. To the furnaces of fire, whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of firmament. I descended and found the rebellious monsters of the darkness. I descended and found them, as all of them plot in evilness.

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[613] ATŠ p. 134. Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[614] Cf. Mani's description: "The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 777).

[615] Reeves, 1996: 95 n. 49.

[616] GRR pp. 14-15

[illegible]

> They stand and plot in evilness and stand and forge weapons.[617] I beheld the black water in it, which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling. And whoever enters there dies, and whoever beholds it is scorched. I beheld the dragons, which were hurled there and writhe about. I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour. I beheld the chariots of darkness, which do not resemble one another. I beheld the wicked rebels, as they are seated in their chariots. I beheld the wicked rebels, how they are arrayed with weapons of evil. They are arrayed with weapons of evil, and plot evil against the Place of Light. They were all arrayed with weapons and seated before him, the King of Darkness.[618]

§ 2.3.7- ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡃࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ (ࡏࡅࡓ) *malka d-hšuka* The King of Darkness (‘Ur):

The Mandaean myth portrays the King of Darkness (‘Ur) in different forms and shapes. Sometimes he is a gigantic reptile where his dragon nature appears and sometimes he is represented as a snake biting its tail (as he is drawn on the Mandaean talisman the *skandola*).[619] In her book *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* Lady Drower gave a Mandaean drawing representing ‘Ur in the form of a louse whose body contains the worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number: the first is the *maṭarta* of Šamiš, the second is the world of *mšuni kušṭa* (the Mandaean ideal world), the third is the world of the Mandaeans and the rest are *maṭarthas* (watch-houses). Above ‘Ur are the seven heavens and under his belly, which is of fire, there is the black water (oil) which produces fire. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth.[620]

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[617] GRR 97: 2 f.

[618] GRR 90: 7 f.

[619] In the Mandaean talismanic seal (“Skandola”) ‘Ur is portrayed as a serpent encircling the other elements of evil; the hornet, the scorpion and the lion (MII p. 38). On the other hand, Mead asserts that ‘Ur is originally the Chaldean *Deus Lunus* (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of “Ophite” origin (See Mead, 1924: 35 n. 2). Cf. Syriac incantation bowl 117ES where an image of a snake is surrounding the text and eating its own tail (Segal, 2000: 147 plate 134). See also C. H. Gordon, 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', apud *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, (1966), 1-9.

The Ginza informs us that the King of Darkness was formed from the black waters and emerged through his own evil nature:

> From the black water the King of Darkness was formed, and emerged through his own evil nature. He waxed strong, mighty, and powerful, he called forth and propagated a thousand thousand evil generations without limit and myriad ugly creations beyond count.[621] That King of Darkness assumed all the forms of the creatures of the world: the head of the lion, the body of the dragon, the wings of the eagle, the back of the tortoise, the hands and feet of a monster. [622] He walks, he crawls, creeps, flies, screams, is rude, threatening, roars, groans, gives (insolent) winks, whistles, and knows all the languages of the world.[623] When he wants he stretches his body, and when he wants he makes himself small. He moves his *handamh̠* "membrum" in and out, and owns (the genitals) of men and women. And when he shakes (perceives?) all the mysteries,[624] he rages with his voice, his word, his smoke, his breath, his eyes, his mouth, his hand, his leg, his strength,

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[620] MII p. 254 f.

[621] GRR 334: 6. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[622] The above description of the snake/dragon 'Ur resembles Akkadian horned serpent *bašmu* - the mythical monster created in the sea, 60 leagues long with multiple mouths and tongues. (Dalley, 1989: 323) Mani described *al-Šayṭan* "Satan" as follows: "His head is the head of a lion and is body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and is four feet like the feet of the beast burden" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, Dodge 1970: 778). The story of 'Ur's defeat on the hands of Manda d̠-Hiia is identical to Leviathan of the Bible, the monster which was defeated by Yahweh at creation, and also to the defeat of Lutan, the swift serpent, by Baal (see Ringgren, 1973: 148-9).

[623] GGR 335: 13. Cf. the Manichaean King of Darkness: "the King of Darkness knows the converse and language of the five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as the address one another; each one of them in his language" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 201).
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[624] *ragiš* Act. pt. RGŠ *ragiš bkulhun razia* he perceives (? Lidzb. *er nimmt wahr*) all mysteries (MD p. 425)

> his poison, his wrath, his speech, his fear, his dread, his terror, his roaring, (and) all the worlds of darkness are terrified. His form is hideous, his body stinks, and his face is disfigured. The thickness of his lips measures one hundred and forth four thousand *parasangs*[625]. The breath of his jaws melts iron, and the rocks are scorched by his breath. He lifts up his eyes and the mountains quake, the whisper of his lips makes the plains quake.[626]

The following verse from the Book of John (*draša d̠-iahiah*) shows that this world is defined by darkness, and darkness by the world. It also indicates the contrast between the two different natures of the King of Light and the King of Darkness. This dualism reflects the Gnostic beliefs in general:[627]

> Two kings came into being (or: were there), two natures were fashioned: a king of this world and a king beyond the world. The king of these ages (or: aeons) put on a sword and crown of darkness. The crown of darkness he put on and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand and he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The king beyond the worlds put on a crown of light. A crown of light he put on and took *Kušṭa* (the Truth) in his right hand. *Kušṭa* he took in his right hand, he stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs his sons, and his sons instruct one another.[628]

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[625] *parsa* or *parsang* فرسخ : Persian mile (MD p. 364).

[626] GRR 336: 3

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[627] Jonas, 1958: 57. He also stated, 'The first alien Life is the "King of Light," whose world is "a world of splendor and of light without darkness." Opposed to it is the "world of darkness, utterly full of evil, full of devouring fire, full of falsehood and deceit" (Ibid).

[628] *draša d̠-iahia* (The Book of John) pp. 46: 11 – 47: 4. The text:

Book V of the Ginza tells that 'Ur was the offspring of Rūha and her brother *Gaf* (one of the lords of the world of Darkness).[629] Other Gnostic stories report that "Pistis Sophia desired to produce alone, *without her consort*, a work that would be like unto the first-existing Light: it came forth as a celestial image which constituted a *curtain* between the higher realms of light and the later-born, inferior aeons; and shadow extends beneath the curtain, that is, on its outer side which faces away form the light. The shadow, which was called "Darkness," became *matter*; and out of this matter comes forth, as an abortion, the lion-shaped Ialdabaoth."[630]

Amazingly the Mandaean still preserve, in some of their literature, the biblical name ࡋࡉࡅࡀࡕࡉࡍ "Leviathan" identified with 'Ur. In ATŠ (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) he is portrayed as the serpent that swallows the sinners and the negligent priests. Also those who are attacked by a snake are "marked with the sign of Leviathan and become the portion of Darkness."[631] On the other hand the characterization of the Mandaean King of Darkness matches the depiction of the demiurge Ialdabaoth who has the aspect of a lion and a serpent cited in the Apocryphon of John. [632]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The Manichaean cosmogony relates that King of Light and the King of Darkness are engaged in fighting each other from the beginning and each of whom has his own realm, darkness by coincidence rose up out of his limits and attacked light (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[629] GRR, book V.

[630] Jonas, "The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics", (JR) 1962: 269.

[631] ATŠ, [287] p. 262, see also pp. 113, 121, 225, 262, 275.

[632] See Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1965: 75 in which he stated: "Eventually he is a monstrous figure with the head of a lion and the body of a serpent, like Chnounis or Abrasax on magical amulets .... Ialdabaoth says the *Apocryphon of*

§ 2.3.8 - The Army of the King of Darkness:

The forces of the World of Darkness consist of demons, *dewis*, (evil) spirits, *hmurthas* "amulet-spirits", *liliths* , *'kuris* "temple-spirits", *prikis* "shrine-spirits", *patikris* "idol-demons", *arkonis* "archons", *malakis* "angels", *nalais* "vampires", *niulis* "hobgoblins", *pigas* "misadventure demons", *pilgis* "mutant demons", *laṭabis* "devils", *lihanis* "net-spirits", *gadultas* "ghosts", and *saṭanis* "Satans", all the hateful forms of darkness of every kind and variety, male and female of darkness.[633] These creatures are *haškia* "gloomy", *'kumia* "black", *ṭupšania* "filthy", *mriddia* "rebellious", *rgizia* "furious", *zidania* "wrathful", *zihirania* "venomous", *saklia* "foolish", *ndidia* "repulsive", *ṣahnia* "stinking" and *zapuria* "putrid". Some among them are *harašia* "mute", *ṭrišia* "deaf", *ṭmimia* "insensible", *tahmia* "dull", *algia* "stuttering", *dugia* "unhearing", *gugia* "babbling", *pigia* "idiots", *šgišia* "frightful", *laiadita* "ignorant"; some among them are *haṣipia* "arrogant", *hamimia* hot-headed, *taqipia* "powerful", *haripia* "harsh", *rugzania* "ill-tempered", *raktania* "lustful", *bnia zma* "children of blood", (of) fanned fire, and overwhelming blaze. ..... They partake of every kind of form: some of them crawl on their bellies, some move about in water, some fly, some have many feet like the reptiles of the earth, and some carry a hundred [...]. They have molars and incisors in their jaws. . . . The taste of their trees is (like) poison and

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John, had eyes like burning lightning that flashed. He is the god who brings about Heimarmene" (Ibid).

[633] GRR 334: 11. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

gall, their sap is (like) naphtha and pitch.[634] Some of these demons survive on devouring humans and spilling (drinking) their blood:[635]

> *Dewis* of *bit nirig* "the house of Mars" fall upon humans and fleece them and cleave their flesh and spill their blood on the ground.[636]

§ 2.3.9 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha; the Queen of Darkness:

Rūha (resp. Namrūs or Hiwat)[637] is the Arch-demoness, the queen of Darkness.[638] She is the daughter of "Qin" the Mistress of Darkness. She is the ruler of the third *maṭarta* (watch-house)[639], and dwells in first underworld.[640] Rūha is the mother of the King of Darkness 'Ur,[641] and the mother of the Seven planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five planets. She is considered as a kind of "'fallen wisdom figure" resembling Sophia in other Gnostic traditions:[642] she fights and suffers and appears in several realms at the same time.'[643] Rūha is the leader of the underworld forces and the "entity incorporation powers of darkness which the light-world had to conquer."[644] The Mandaeans use the term ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* for "soul" and ࡓࡅࡄࡀ *rūha* for "spirit". The expression *rūha* "spirit" stands on the lower level and according to Rudolph corresponds to the "soul" (*psychē*) in the Hellenistic sources.[645] Rūha is the immaterial part of man which influenced by physical desires.[646] Rūha's symbolical colour, according to the Mandaeans, is sky-blue, [647] and can appear as a woman of extreme beauty either in her blue mantle or naked, apparently, to seduce men.[648]

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[634] ࡍࡐࡈࡀ ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡀ *napṭa uqira*: crude oil and pitch. This is a clear indication to the oil-bearing region of Mesopotamia. The flames of fire in the north oil fields of Kirkuk, the pitch in the western pitch mines of Hit on the Euphrates and the black waters (crude oil) of Ur, Missan and Basrah in the south inspired the old Mesopotamians to portray a superlative revelation of the underworld. GGR 334: 18, 335: 12. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] .... [illegible]
[illegible]

[635] For the parallels between the Mandaean and Akkadian flesh eating and blood drinking demons see Christa Müller-Kessler, "Phraseology in Mandaic incantations", ARAM, 1-12 (1999-2000), 293-310 esp. 302.

[636] GRR p. 35: 19.
[illegible]

[637] Daium is another epithet of Rūha (CP p. 62).

[638] Cf. the Manichean Namrael and Neβρωδ, the mother of the world *'ma dalma* whose weapon is a bow, just as in Thomas XIV, where she wants "to take her arrows and shoot them" (Söderbergh 1949: 146).

[639] GRR: 6.

[640] GRR book 5. See also SA, p. 57.

[641] Zaehner stated: "Ruha's relationship to the male 'Ur is exactly parallel to the relationship of the demoness Āz and Ahriman" (Zaehner 1955: 167, see also Buckley 2002: 45).

[642] Buckley, HR 1982: 60. The western female figure of *Sophia* "Wisdom" is unknown in Mandaeanism, nevertheless, the Ginza connects Rūha with false wisdom: [illegible]

In Book VI of the Ginza Rba (the book of "Dinanukt") Rūha describes her self as "light and darkness", "error and truth", "destruction and structure" etc., in clear dualist terms:

> I am the life which exists since eternity. I am the *kušṭa* which was from afore-the beginning. I am the radiance, I am the light, I am the death, I am the life, I am the darkness, I am the light, I am the error, I am the truth, I am the destruction and I am the structure, I am the offence (accidental disqualification for ritual etc.) and its purification. I am the outstanding being who is prior to that (one) who built the heavens and earth.[649]

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ *mamlila bhukmat hrara* "she talks with the wisdom of an illusionist" (GRR book 3, p. 90: 5).

[643] Buckley, HR 1980: 260. Jonas has no answer to "how this figure 'Wisdom', or at least its name, came to be combined in Gnostic thought with the moon-, mother-, and love-goddess of Near Eastern religion, to form that ambiguous figure encompassing the whole scale from the highest to the lowest, from the most spiritual to the utterly sensual (as expressed in the very combination "Sophia-Prunikos", "Wisdom the Whore" " (Jonas 1958: 176-177).

[644] Buckley, HR 1982: 63. In her research about the Rūha, Buckley found striking resemblances between Rūha and "The thunder: Perfect Mind" in the Nag Hammadi Library (see also Buckley, HR, 1980: 264).

[645] Rudolf, 1983: 91.

[646] ATŠ p. 15.

[647] MII p. 149.

[648] Ibid 149-6.

[649] GRR book 6 'the book of Dinanokt' p. 241: 6f.

§ 2.3.9.1 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha: The Mother of the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Monsters:

When Rūha (the goddess of the Underworld and mother of all evil) [650] realized that Ptahil was having difficulties in his first attempt to create the world, she committed incest three times with 'Ur (the King of Darkness)[651] in order to produce the luminaries. In the first time she approached Ur, as his mother, and said to him, "Arise and sleep with your mother and you will be freed from your fetter!" He slept with her and after seven days she bore the Seven (planets),[652] but her offspring did not make her happy: "when she beheld them, her heart fell from its support". In the second time she approached him as his sister, and said to him, "I am your sister; if you sleep with me your strength will be twice as much." He slept with her and after twelve days she bore the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and again they did not please her. In the third time, she approached him as his daughter and said to him, "Rise, my father, and behold your daughter! Embrace me and kiss me and sleep with me and

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[illegible]

[650] Jonas writes, 'Rūha, literally "spirit." The perversion of this term to denote the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion, all the more paradoxical in view of the fact that the full title of this anti-divine figure is Rūha d̲-Qudša, i.e., "the Holy Spirit." (Jonas 1958: 72 n. 25). DA gives Rūha seven names: "she enflames the womb", "treasure", "She-lusted-after", "She-conserved", "Drop", "Qin"(the queen, mistress of darkness. Often identified with Rūha) , "She-loved-these". DA p. 38.

[651] The Mandaean Leviathan, the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (the planets less the Sun and the Moon). Some scholars connect him with Tiamat, the chaos monster who was killed by Marduk. (Jonas 1958: 117). He is the offspring of Rūha and Gaf (one of the Giants of the World of Darkness) (see book 5 of the Ginza Rba). He is the dragon which encircles the whole world and that no one can match his power (GRL p. 11: 11). Budge writes, "In some portion of the Black Water dwells a great she-devil called Rūha, and her husband 'Ur, who is the god of Darkness, and is the great antagonist of the god of Light. Here we have we have a cosmogony derived from the ancient Sumerians, and Tiamat, Kingu and Marduk under other names, and we may regard the Mandaeans as the representatives of the ancient worshippers of Ea, the great Water-god of Eridu" (Budge 1930: 240).

[652] The seven "planets" were gods in the Babylonian pantheon, including the sun and the moon. (Wilson, 1958: 10). Gnosticism, in general, considered the seven planets as the seven spheres which separated the soul from its heavenly home (Ibid 105).

gaze your fill at the world." Again he slept with her and she conceived five "monsters" (the planets without the Sun and the Moon), and again they were not what Rūha wished for. [653] Rūha could not achieve her goals; instead she lost her magical powers and failed to free her son Ur from his fetters.[654]

§ 2.3.9.2 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ *rūha masṭanita* "Rūha, the Seductress":

Rūha d̲-Qudša "Holy-Spirit"[655] is an epithet for Rūha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality.[656] She is the "desirous" or "to make love sick" a symbol of ࡁࡀࡆࡍࡀࡒࡉࡕࡀ *baznaqita* "lust".[657] Rūha's epithet "*qudša*" corresponds to a category of cultic staff of Ištar which includes female prostitutes called *qadištu*.[658] We read in the Ginza that the other epithet of Rūha is, [illegible] *d̲libat 'stra amamit* "Libat-Ištar-Amamit."[659]

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[653] GRR p. 112: 14 ff. These three acts of incest show clearly that the planets are the product of evil. Zaehner stated that consanguineous marriage is of Magian origin and that the Rūha and Ur act of incest is similar to Ohrmazd's consanguineous marriages (intercourse) with his mother, his sister and his daughter. Zaehner mentions, according to the Acts of Pusai, that the Sun, Moon, and stars were the children of Ohramazd. These three consanguineous marriages were considered the most holy of all among the Zoroastrians (Zaehner 1955: 154, 5). Jonas suggests that "the spheres are the seats of the Archons, especially of the "Seven" that is, of the planetary gods borrowed from the Babylonian pantheon" (Jonas 1958: 43). (In spite of "archon" is of western source, we find ࡀࡓࡊࡅࡍ *arkun* "archon" in some Mandaean texts such as the Ginza p. 334: 14, "archon" also occurs in Manichaeism (see Widengren 1961, English translation 1965: 55).

[654] Zaehner could establish some resemblances between Rūha and her son Ur on the one hand, and between Āz and Ahriman on the other. Āz, who belongs to Zervanite demonology in old Persia, is the "personification of concupiscence – acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust, and perhaps much more besides.' In this respect (based on Alexander of Lycopolis) he writes: "Āz is the mother of all the demons and the greatest of them. In the diabolical hierarchy she is always mentioned first, taking precedence over Ahriman. Her relationship with the latter is exactly parallel to the relationship of the female Rūhā to the male Ur in the Mandaean scriptures. Ur is the king of darkness; Rūhā is his mother and stands for totality of evil." (For mote details concerning the Persian Demon Āz, and her resemblances with the Mandaean Rūha, see Zaehner 1955: 166).

[655] Rūha has other epithets: ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ ࡏࡎࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ *rūha d̲qudša d̲libat ʿstra amamit šuma* "she is Rūha d̲-Qudša whose name is "Libat-Ištar-Amamit" (GRR p. 62: 19) Rūha d̲-Qudša is not mentioned in esoteric writings (SA p. 47).

[656] CP, p. 291 n. 2. Jonas believes that the perversion of the term *rūha* "spirit" to "donate the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion" (Jonas 1958: 72, n. 26).

[657] CP 291 n. 2.

She conspired with the Planets to entrap Adam and install him in their congregation; in the earth of Tibil. She forged plans to seduce him with horns and flutes and seduce the whole tribe of Life and cut it off with her in the world. Rūha and her entourage practiced the mysteries of love in order to seduce the whole world. They took the living water and poured turbid water in it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and lust, through which the whole world are inflamed. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The world became drunk and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.[660]

Woe to those who have been tempted by Rūha for they shall be swallowed by the demon Karapiun "the Swallower":

> I reached that watch-house of Rūha d̲-Qudša who sits upon the mouth of Karapiun the Swallower (name of a demon) and (puts) the harp of lust on her shoulder . . . And she brings temptation. She speaks with pipes (or: zither) and calls upon the twelve men, the merchants, who believe in her.[661]

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[658] Ringgren 1973: 81. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. However, Qadishtu is an Akkadian name meaning sacred women. In the temple at Erech they were called Nu-gig – the pure or spotless. (See Westenholz, 1989 pp. 245-265, esp. p. 250) On the other hand Jonas believes that the Rūha d̲-Qudša "the Holy Spirit" indicates the violent hostility of the Mandaeanss towards Christianity (Jonas, 1958: p. 72 n. 25), see also SA, p. 47 ff.).

[659] GRR p. 62: 19.

[660] GRR book 3 p. 125 ff.

[661] GRR p. 216: 22. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible] . . . [illegible]

Rūha assisted Ptahil (the Mandaean demiurge) in creating the physical world, infusing some of her secrets in this creation.[662] Ptahil created Adam after his image and Hawa (Eve) after the image of Rūha:

> Ptahil spoke to Rūha and her angels, "I will create a male after my image and female after your image. We shall call the male Adam and the female Hawa (Eve)."[663]

Rūha is an illusionist who can manipulate and mix times.[664] She appeared to ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ *adam br adam* Adam, the son of Adam, in the image of his wife (and sister) Hawa (Eve) and seduced him to fornicate with her.[665] But the messenger Manda d̠-Hiia could thwart her plans at the last moment and saved Adam, the son of Adam from her seduction.[666] She is connected with pollution and uncleanness; women in general are considered a source of pollution because of their nature.[667] The Mandaean legend tells us that Rūha disguised herself as "Anhuraita", Noah's wife, and Noah took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons: Ham, Yam and Yafet.[668]

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[662] GGR book 10 p. 287: 22 f.
[663] GRR book 11 p. 321: 17 f.
[illegible]
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[664] GRR book 3, p. 137: 13.
[665] GRR book 3, p. 137.
[666] GRR book 3, p. 138.
[667] Drower comments: "Women are a constant danger to ritual purity whenever Nature brings them into states of uncleanness: moreover, they belong to the Left, and Rūha, therefore, has more power over women than over men" (SA p. 73 n. 1).
[668] MII p. 261.

§ 2.3.9.3 - The End of Rūha and her Believers:

At the end of the worlds Rūha, the Planets together with the wicked and the unbelievers will be swallowed by the great Leviathan 'Ur.[669]

> Rūha and *mšiha* (Jesus) and the Planets and all those souls who confess them, will call each other and reach each other, and lead each other by the hand. They are to be bound and fettered and then, like a pomegranate of lead, will depart and fall into 'Ur, the lord of Darkness, into his huge interior. (Then) smoke will wind up and fire will be fanned and consume 'Ur, the lord of Darkness and *'uat* Rūha, the liar and the Planets and all those souls who believe in them.[670]

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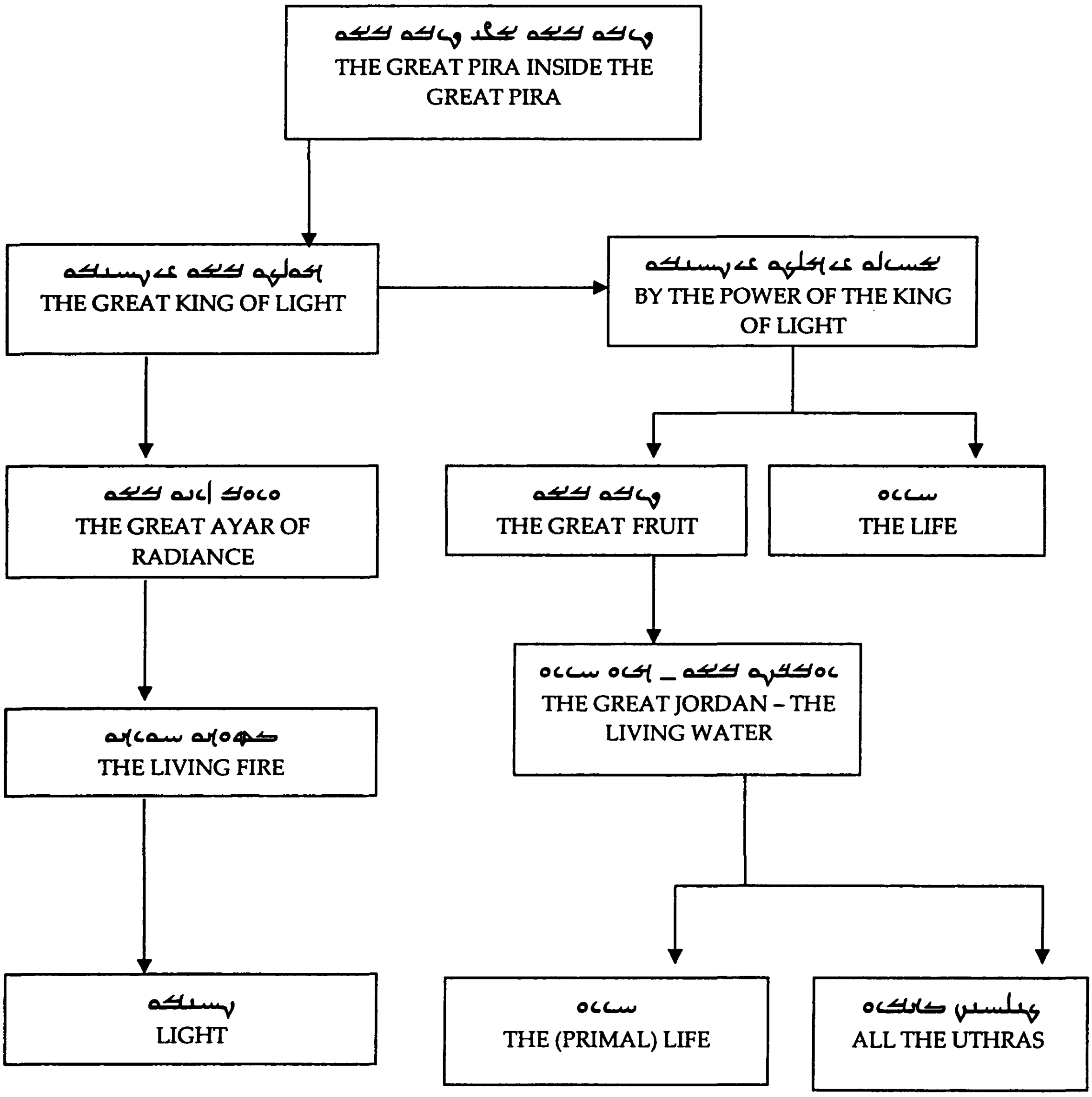
[669] Pallis, 1926: 64.

[670] GRR book 5: 5 p. 236: 21f.
[illegible]

Chart C
GINZA RABA
TEXT 3 TRACTATE III
PAGES 91-92


THE GREAT PIRA INSIDE THE GREAT PIRA
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BY THE POWER OF THE KING OF LIGHT
THE GREAT AYAR OF RADIANCE
THE GREAT FRUIT
THE LIFE
THE LIVING FIRE
THE GREAT JORDAN - THE LIVING WATER
LIGHT
THE (PRIMAL) LIFE
ALL THE UTHRAS

§3. The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book “the Ginza Rba”

The Mandaean Text According to the Numeration of the Ginza Rba (GRS) used in this Research.

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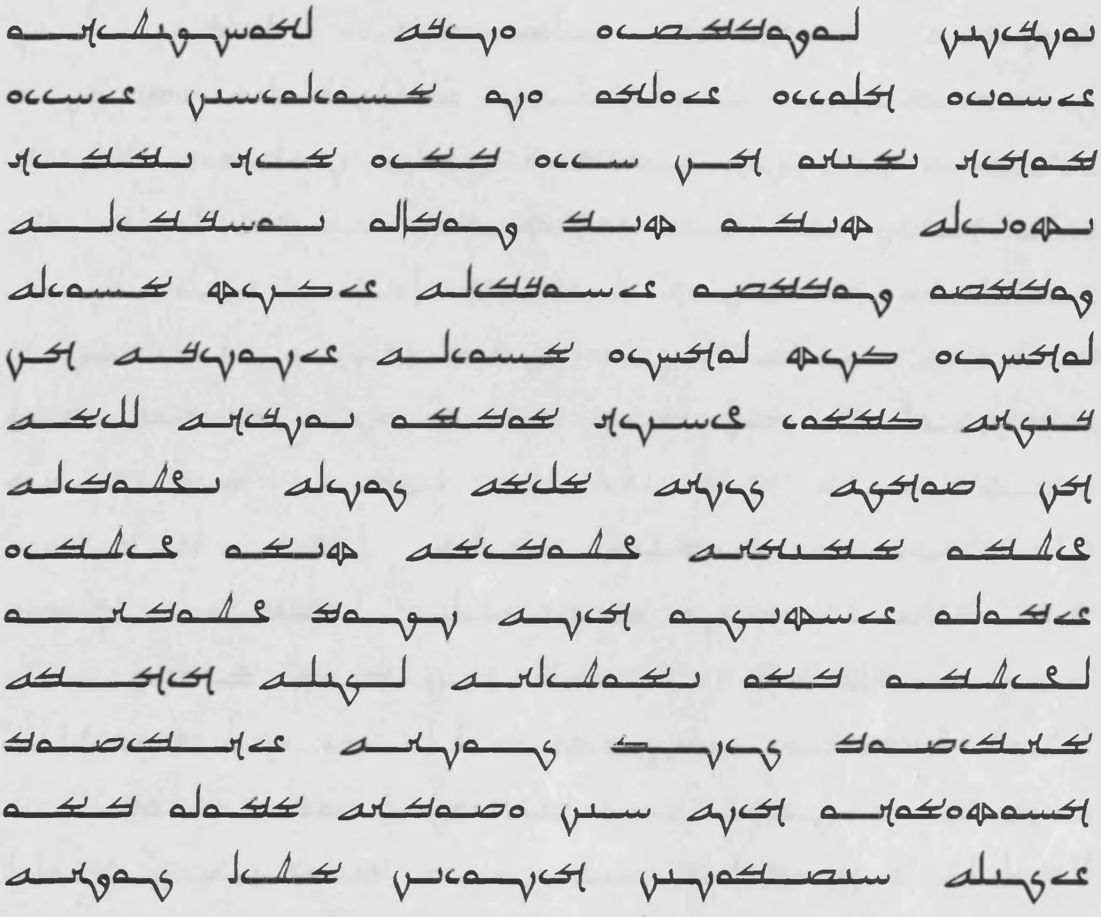

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GRR 145

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GRR 146

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GRR 147

[illegible]

ࡀࡕࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡍࡄࡅࡁ ࡒࡔࡀࡌࡀࡁࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡁࡀࡌࡉࡀࡕ ࡁࡀࡍࡀࡋ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡍ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡌࡉࡍ
ࡔࡀࡋࡀࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡋ ࡁࡉࡔࡋ ࡍࡀࡍࡔ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡋࡀࡌࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡍࡄࡋࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡋ ࡍࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡉࡀ
ࡍࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡒ———ࡀ
ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡒࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡌࡀ ࡁࡄ
ࡒ———ࡀ
ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡒࡌࡀࡄࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ
ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡁ ࡄࡀࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀ ࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡕࡀࡄࡀࡌ ࡉࡄࡀࡍࡀ
ࡁࡁ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡋࡁࡍ ࡀࡁ ࡉࡀࡄࡀࡀ ࡁࡁ ࡒࡌࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡋࡁࡍ
ࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡁࡕ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡒࡌࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡞ ࡋࡁࡍ ࡀࡋࡀࡁ
ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡒࡌࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡕࡍ ࡉࡀࡒࡒࡀࡁࡍ ࡞ ࡋࡁࡍ ࡔࡉࡕࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡕࡀࡄࡀࡌ
ࡉࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡀࡒࡒࡀࡁࡍ ࡌࡀࡒࡒࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡄࡍࡔࡀ ࡍࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡁࡀࡕࡍࡀ
ࡁࡀࡌ ࡉࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡍࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡋࡀࡁࡉࡁ ࡍࡔࡀࡁࡁࡁ
ࡍࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡁࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡒࡌࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡞ ࡋࡁࡍ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
ࡀࡌࡀࡁ ࡉࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡁ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡍࡕࡁࡉࡍ
ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡉࡍࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡌࡀࡁ ࡋࡉࡀ ࡒ———ࡀ ࡞
ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡍࡔࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡋࡀࡁࡀ
ࡁࡀࡍࡀࡁ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡄࡉࡍ ࡖࡁࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ
ࡄࡄ ࡀࡋࡁࡀ ࡒࡁࡁࡀ ࡍࡀࡍࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡀࡕࡉࡀࡁࡁࡀࡕࡀ
ࡖࡀࡄࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡍࡔ ࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ
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ࡋࡄࡉࡁࡋ ࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡀ ࡀࡋࡉ ࡀࡋࡉ ࡔࡍࡀࡀ ࡁࡁࡀࡁࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡁࡀࡀ
ࡖࡁࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡀࡍࡉࡁࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡍࡀࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡁࡋ ࡁࡁࡀࡍࡀ
ࡁࡉࡕࡀࡀ

§4. The Story of Creation, Book III, Ginza Rba

Translation and Notes

ࡔࡏࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ
ࡊࡃࡀࡁࡀ ࡇࡋࡀࡇࡀ
ࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

שעותא דַקריתא
כדאבא חלאחא
גינזא רבא

(GRR p. 83)

ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[671] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ[672]

בשומאיהון דַהייא רביא נוכראייא

In the name of the great alien Life

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[673] ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ

מן אלמיא דַנהורא יאתיריא

from the countless worlds of Light (or: from the worlds of light, sublime)

ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡁࡀࡃࡉࡀ

דַעלאויא כולהון עובאדיא

which is above all deeds.

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ [illegible] ࡓࡀࡆࡀ[674] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[671] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* Life, the main Mandaean deity (See above §2.2.2).

[672] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, "In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds" speaks of the "first"' Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations)", i.e., above the world and "free from any kind of relation to the world" (Rudolf, 1983: 62). The Mandaean belief consider the Life Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia baraiia* is an "outer entity" and its home is "outside" in the world "beyond". (CP p. 78). Jonas finds "The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols which we encounter in Gnostic speech, and it is new in the history of human speech in general" (Jonas, 1958: 49).

[673] ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ worlds: According to the Gnostic view, the earth is set in the centre of the cosmos and surrounded by the air and the eight heavenly spheres which consist of the seven planets. "Beyond them lies the realm of the unknown god, the Pleroma (the "fullness"), with its own graduated worlds (aeons)" (Rudolph, 1983: 67). Jonas believes that the "worlds" of the Mandaeans correspond the "aeons" of Hellenistic Gnosticism (Jonas, 1958: 52).

האזין הו ראזא וסידרא קאדמאיא ד̱שותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱הואת מן לאקאדמיא

which was from before time.

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ[675] ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ[676] ࡁࡂࡅ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ

כ̱ד הוא פירא בגו פירא וכ̱ד הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was within the Fruit and the Ayar was within the Ayar,

ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[677] ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

ו כ̱ד הוא מאנא רבא ד̱עקארא

and when the great Mana of glory was (there),

ࡖࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡉࡀ[678]

ד̱הון מינ̱ה̱ מאניא רורביא כאביריא

from whom the great and mighty *manas* came into being,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡆࡉࡅࡀࡄࡅࡍ[679] ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[680]

ד̱נפיש זיואהון וכאביר נהוראיהון

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[674] Concerning the *raza* "mystery" Wasserstrom writes: "The "great mystery" of Mazdak, the "raza rabba" of the Mandaeans, and the "*raza rabba*" of Jewish mysticism appear to have been technical terms in a common late-antique Mesopotamian cosmic semiotics" (Wasserstrom, 1995: 42 n. 115).

[675] ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *pira* (פירא) fruit, used often as gnostic term (καρπος) as an expression of emanation. (MD p. 371), (see above §2.1.1).

[676] ࡀࡉࡀࡓ *aiar* (αηρ) the upper atmosphere, air, ether, wind. The genie of the Upper Air. (MD p. 14) (see above § 2.2.2)

[677] ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *mana* (מאנא) vessel, garment, utensil, instrument, implement (ibid p. 246). The word *mana* when meaning "mind', "thought", "intelligence" is of non-Semitic derivation: the Aramaic *mana* is "garment", "robe", "vehicle", "vessel", "instrument". Lady Drower stated: "There is often word-play on the two meanings, and this passed into other Gnostic literature so that "robe" or "vessel" or "vehicle" is used as a cryptogram for *mana* meaning "mind" or "soul". In general, *Mana* in a cosmic sense is equivalent to the Stoic, Valantinian, and Sethian *Νους*, 'the emanation of the Forefather" (SA, p. 2 n. 1), (see above § 2.1.2).

[678] The word *kabbīr* "strong, mighty" appears in the Bible: Isa 10: 13, 16: 14, Job 8:2, 15: 10 etc. (for more details concerning *kabbīr* see Rendsburg G. A., "kabbīr in Biblical Hebrew", JAOS, vol. 112, (1992), pp. 649-651).

[679] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *ziua, ziu* (זיוא) (a) brightness, brilliance, light, radiance (b) often used as an attribute or name of uthras, being of light, glorious being (MD p. 166), (see above § 2.3. 2).

[680] ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhura, anhura* (נהורא) light. The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the conjuction of *nhura*, is an active creative male principle and light a receptive, passive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ. (SA p. 6), (see above § 2.3. 2).

whose radiance is so vast and their light is so great,

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ד̱עניש קודאמאיהון לא הואבה̱ בפירא רבא

that no one before them was in the great fruit,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ד̱נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̱

which was so immense and without limit.

ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡐࡅࡌࡀ

ד̱זיוה̱ נפיש מן מימריא ד̱פומא

His radiance was greater than the words of the mouth (or: what can be told by the mouth)

ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡎࡐࡉࡄࡀࡕࡀ

ונהורה̱ כאביר מן עשתאיוייא בספיהאתא

and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray.

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ

ד̱הואבה̱ בהאנאתה̱ פירא

As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit,

(GRR p. 84)

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡎࡀࡊࡀ

הון מינה̱ אליף אליף פיריא ד̱לאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits

ࡅࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ[681] ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ[682] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא ד̱ליתלון מיניאנא

and countless myriads of *šikinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from Him.

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ

ד̱ הוא בה̱ בהאד האד פירא

As in each fruit there were

ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡎࡀࡊࡀ

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[681] ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ pl. *škina* (Heb. שכינה) celestial dwelling, abode. (see above §2.1.5).
[682] BL 23601: 33r ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ.

אליף אליף פיריא ד̱לאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits,

ࡅࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡉࡉࡍ[683] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡉࡀ

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא ד̱ליתלאיין מיניאיא

and countless myriads of *šikina*,

ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡍ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ד̱קאימין ומשאבין להאך מאנא רבא

who all stand there and praise the great Mana

ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ד̱עקארא ד̱שריא באיאר רבא ד̱הייא

of glory who exists in the great Ether of Life,

ࡖࡏࡉࡕ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ[684] ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡓࡀ

ד̱עית בגאוא ד̱יארדנא ד̱מיא היוארא

which lies inside the Jordan (river) of the white waters,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱מן מאנא רבא הון

which came into being from the great Mana,

ࡖࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡖࡁࡇ ࡌࡀࡓࡄࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ[685] ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ד̱ריהאיון באסים ד̱בה̱ מארהין כולהון שארשיא ד̱נהורא

whose fragrance is so pleasant that all the roots of Light

ࡅࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ

וזיוא רבא קאדמאיא

and the first Sublime Radiance inhale it.

[illegible] ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[683] BL 23601: 33r ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡉࡀࡍ

[684] ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ *iardina* (Aram. st. emph. for הירדן) Jordan, running water, river, flowing stream. The name of the Biblical Jordan was employed in the earliest Gnostic systems, and notably in that of the *Peratae* (who were in the Euphrates region) (*Schaf-Herzog* VII-§11, 12 [p. 150-1]. See also Albright, AJSLL, 1920: 292-3) Drower believes that *yardina* has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan (MII p. xxiv note 4.), (See above § 2.1.4).

[685] ࡔࡀࡓࡔࡀ *šarša* or *širša*: root, tribe, family. Sometimes with religious meaning *širša taqna* "the Mandaean faith" (MD pp. 463-4) BL 23601 ࡔࡉࡓࡔࡉࡀ.

והוא יארדנא רבא דסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלה

Then the great Jordan (river) came into being, which was without limit or count,

ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ[686] ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡍ

דעלאוה קאימיא שיתליא והאדין וראוזין

on whose banks rejoicing and thriving shoots grow,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

דכולהון בתושביהתא מלין וקאימין מן ריש בריש

which all of them are full of glory and confirmed for eternity.

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ומן יארדנא רבא הון יארדניא דסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלון

And from the great Jordan countless Jordans, without limit or count, came into being.

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ

כד הוא פירא בגו פירא וכד הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was still inside the Fruit, and when the Ayar was still in the Ayar

ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡅࡓࡀ[687] ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ

וכד הוא יורא רבא דזיוה ונהורה נפיש וכאביר

and when Yura the great whose radiance and light were so vast and extensive,

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ

דעניש קודאמה לאהוא

which no one ever existed before him, came into existence,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ[688] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

דמינה הוא יארדנא רבא דמיא הייא

the great Jordan of the Living Water generated from him,

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

דהייא מינה דילה הון

from which the Life Himself came into being.

[illegible]

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[686] ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ not in BL 23601

[687] ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *iura, iur* (< יוהרא) being of light, light, brilliance. (See above § 2. 2. 1).

[688] Genisis too includes "water" in the first act of creation.

ועשתפון לארקא דאיאר דבה שכאן הייא נאפשאיהון

And (the Jordan) poured forth on the earth of Ayar, in which the Life himself dwells.

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

וקאיים הייא נאפשאיהון בדמו מאנא רבא דמינה הון

The Life presented himself in the likeness of the Great Mana, from whom he came into being,

ࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ובון בותא על נאפשאיהון

and he addressed a request to himself.

ࡁࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[689] ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ

בבותא קאדמאיתא הוא עותרא מקאימא

By the first request an eternal Uthra came to being,

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ[690]

דהייא קירויא הייא תיניאניא

whom the Life called the Second Life,

ࡅࡀࡐ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ואף הון ותריא דסאכא ומאניאנא ליתלון

also, *uthras* without limit or count came to being.

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

דמן הייא יארדנא הוא

Then from the Life, a Jordan came into being

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

כד יארדנא קאדמאיא עשתפיא לארקא דנהורא

like the first Jordan, poured forth on the Earth of Light,

[illegible] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ

---

[689] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ‘utra (Nöld. עותרא “wealth” *cf.* *δύναμις, αἰών* etc. of Gnostic systems Ar. جيوش heavenly spirit, a generic name given to spirits of life (MD p. 347). An *uthra* is an ethereal being, a spirit of light and life. *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being (See above § 2.3.3).

[690] ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *Hiia Tiniania*, “the Second Life” or: “the second emanation”, also called Yōšamin. He proceeded from the fusion of the First Life with Dmut-Hiia “the image of Life” (GRR book 14, p. 356: 9).

ועתקאיאמבה הייא תיניאניא

and the Second Life established (or: baptized) himself in it.

(GRR p. 85)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

הינון הייא תיניאניא עותריא קרון

The Second Life created *uthras*,

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

ושכינאתא קאיים ויארדנא קרון

erected *škinas* and created a river

ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡀ[691]

דעתריא עתקאימבא

in which the uthras were set up.

ࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ

והון עותריא תלאתא

Then, three uthras came into being,

ࡖ[692]ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ

דבותא בון מן הייא תיניאניא

who addressed a request to the Second Life;

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡖࡍࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ושכינאתא באיין דנשאוון לנאפשאיהון

they asked permission to raise *škinas* for themselves,

ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ

ומא דעותריא תלאת בון מן הייא תיניאניא עהאבלון

and what the three *uthras* asked from the Second Life, was granted to them.

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ

ומיתנלכיא ושכינאתא משאויאבון

They (began) to confer with each other and create *škinas*.

[illegible]

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[691] BL 23601 and BLO 1236 ࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡀ.

[692] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 33v.

ואמרילה̱ לאבוהון ומשאילילה̱ ואמרילה̱ לאבוהון

They requested their father and spoke to him; they asked their father and spoke to him:

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

האזין יארדנא ד̱מיא הייא

"Are you the one who created this Jordan of the living water,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡔࡀࡍࡀࡉ ࡅࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ

ד̱האזין שאנאי וריהאיון ד̱האזין באסים

which is so fabulous and whose scent is so sweet?

ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡉࡀ[693] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡄ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡒࡓࡉࡕ

וכאביריא עותריא ד̱עתקאימבה̱ אנאת הו ד̱קרית

Are you the one who created those great *uthras* which are established (or: baptized) in it?

ࡏࡅ[694] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡄ

עו עותריא דילאך הינון ד̱עתקאימבה̱

Are those your *uthras* who are established (or: baptized) in it?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאליל הייא תיניאניא לעותריא תלאתא ד̱נימארלון

The Second Life spoke to the three *uthras* and said:

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡁࡅࡊࡅࡍ[695] ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

אנא אבוכון אנא הייא קרון

"As for me, your father, the Life created me

ࡅࡉࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ

וירדנא ד̱הייא הו

and the Jordan is (the Jordan) of the Life,

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡉࡕࡅࡍ

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[693] ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡄ in BL 23601.

[694] ࡏࡅ here is for (ࡅ): 'and'; not 'or'. However, ࡏࡅ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡄ: "Are those your uthras who are established (or: baptized) in it ?" not in BL 23600 34r: 5 & BLO 1236: 34r: 5.

[695] BL 23601 and BLO 1236 ࡖ ࡀࡁࡅࡊࡅࡍ

ואנאתון בהאילאיהון ד̱הייא הואיתון

and you were brought to being by the power of the Life."

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ

ואמרילה̱

And they said to him:

ࡀࡄࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ[696] ࡌࡍ ࡆࡉࡅࡀࡊ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡊ

אהבאלאן מן זיואך ומן נהוראך ומן מא ד̱באך

"Give us some of your radiance and some of your light, and some of what you have,

ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡕ ࡀࡕࡅࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ[697] ࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱ניזאל וניהות אתותיא האפיקיא מיא

so we depart and descend below the streams of water,

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

ושכינאתא ניקרילאך ואלמא נשאוילאך

and we shall establish *škinas* (abodes) for you, and call forth a world for you,

ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡅࡖࡉࡋࡀࡊ

ואלמא ניהויא דילאן ודילאך

and the world be ours and yours,

ࡅࡀࡍࡏࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡁࡁࡄ

ואנען ניתקאיאמבה̱ ואנין ניתיבבה̱

and we shall be raised in it and we shall live in it,

ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡖࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡅࡖࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ועותריא נישאויבה̱ דילאן ודילאך ניהון

and we shall create uthras in it, for you and for us,

ࡅࡔࡅࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ[698]

ושום הייא לאעיאדכאר

and the name of the Life not to be mentioned."

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[696] In BL 23601 ࡄࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ

[697] ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ *apiqia, hapiqia* (אפיקי – מים) streams (*plurale tantum*), waters separating the world of light from this world.

[698] BL 23601 ࡋࡏࡉࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ לעיאדכאר, BLO ࡋࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ . See MG p. 216. (Cf. ࡋࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ [illegible] ࡔࡅࡌࡀ GRR 164: 2).

ࡅࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡋࡅࡍ[699]

ובׅיסמאת עלה̱ ואמאר ד̱עתילון

And (this) pleased him (the Second Life) and said: “I will grant it to them!”

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡇࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ

כ̱ד האחזין אמאר על רביא לא ביסמאת

When he spoke thus, it did not please the Great One

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡕࡊࡉࡔࡓࡀࡕ[700]

ועל הייא לא עתכישראת

and the (First) Life did not approve of it.

ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[701]

ועלאוה̱ בותא בון ושאבויא למאנא רבא

He (the Life) addressed a request to the Great Mana,

ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ד̱שריא בפירא רבא

who dwells in the Great Fruit, and praised Him.

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ[702]

והאיזאך קאם מאנא רבא בזיוא ונהורא ועקארא

Then the great Mana stood in brilliance, light and glory

ࡅࡒࡓࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡁࡀࡓ[703] ࡓࡁࡀ

וקרייא לכבאר רבא

and called into being Kbar the Great

ࡖࡄࡅ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

ד̱הו כבאר זיוא

who is in fact “Kbar-Ziwa.”

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[699] See GRR p. 111.

[700] BL 23600 34r, BLO: 34r ࡏࡕࡊࡉࡔࡓࡕ

[701] BL 23600 34r: 16 & BLO 1236: 34r:16 ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ “to the Great Mana of Glory”.

[702] BL 23600 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡄ “in his brilliance, light and glory”.

[703] *Kbar*: a name given to higher beings. (MD, p. 202)

(GRR p. 86)

ࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡍࡁࡀࡈ ࡉࡀࡅࡀࡓ[704] ࡁࡓ[705] ࡉࡅࡐࡉࡍ ࡉࡅࡐࡀࡐࡉࡍ[706]

שומה נבאט יאואר בר יופין יופאפין

His names are: Nbaṭ-Yawar the son of Yofin Yofafin,

ࡎࡀࡌ[707] ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡌࡉࡓࡀ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

סאם מאנא סמירא גופנא דכולה הייא

Sam Mana Smira (the well-preserved Mana) [708], the Vine which is full of life

ࡌࡉࡕࡓࡀࡄࡀࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מיתראהאם על עותריא

and that is dear to the *uthras.*

ࡁࡂࡉࡅࡀࡕ[709] ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

בגיואת עקארא ואמארלה

(Mana), in the splendour of glory, spoke to him:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ[710] ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת עתראוראב על עותריא

"You mount up above the *uthras*

ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

והזיא עותריא מאהו דאבדיא

and see what they are up to

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ[711] ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ[712] ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ועל מאהו מיתהאשביא ואמריא

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[704] *Nbaṭ*: the root NBṬ "to spring forth, burst forth", "spring upward" & c. (SA, p. 63 n. 1). The root from which Yawar is derived, 'UR or AWR. It has a double meaning, "to blind or dazzle with light" or "to awaken". (Ibid, 63)

[705] ࡁࡓ not in BL 23601 and not in BL 23599.

[706] *Yofin Yofafin*: a genie or pair of genii. *Cf.* the angel name יפיפיה Targ. Jon. Deut. 34: 6 (MD, p. 191).

[707] *Sam* (rt. SUM hence "he placed", not P. سام) (MD, p. 312-3).

[708] *Mania smiria* "*manas* kept in reserve?" Lady Drower wrote: "The language is so high-flown that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect." (CP, p. 4 n. 2)

[709] BL 23600, 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡀࡕ "in the gardens ..."

[710] BL 23600, 33v ࡀࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ

[711] BL 23600, 34v ࡌࡄࡅ

[712] BL 23600, 34r: 25 ࡏࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

and what they intend, they who say,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא ניקריא ושכינאתא נישאויא

“We will create a world and build *škinas*

ࡗ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

כד̲ עותריא רורביא בניא נהורא

like the supreme *uthras*, the sons of Light.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[713] ࡌࡉࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ

אנאת מאנדא ד̲הייא מיביסמאת עלאך

Is it agreeable to you Manda d̲-Haii

ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡒ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ד̲עותריא ד̲נהורא שאבאק נהורא

that the uthras of light leave the light

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[714] ࡋࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון להשוכא

and turn their faces towards the darkness,

ࡅࡋࡉࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ[715]

ולימא רבא ד̲סוף

towards the great ocean of Sup,

ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡂࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ

ולהאבארא גאהיא ולמיא אכליא והאמבאליא

towards the hideous darkness, towards the devouring and vicious waters,

[illegible] [illegible] [716][illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[713] ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ γνώσις ζωης “Knowledge-of-Life”, “Gnosis-of-Life”, the outstanding Saviour-spirit of Mandaean religion. The spelling of ࡌࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ (מנדעא ד̲הייא) with a consonantal (ע) occurs only in Lead amulet published by Lidzbarski in 1909 (Yamuchi’s 1967: 7). (See above § 2.2.7).

[714] ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ BL 23601, 34r, BL 23599, 35r, Bl 23600, 34v and BLO 1236, 35r.

[715] ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ *iama rba d̲-sup* “The Great Ocean of Destruction” (MD, p. 323). The Red or Reed Sea, Sea of the End (SA, p. 83 n. 2) According to the Mandaeans it is the Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host (CP, p. 251 n. 4). Cf. ים סוף “the Read Sea” throughout the Old Testament (*e.g.*, Num 14:25, Deut 1:40, Josh 4:23, Ps 106:7. etc.). *iama d̲-sup* is “a Gnostic metaphor for crossing from the world of matter into that of spirit” (SA, p. 48 n. 1).

לאתרא ד̱כולה̱ סאהריא בקאלא ראבא מאליליא

and towards the place full of demons who talk with loud voices,

ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡉ

ועשאתא עכילתא מאמלילבי

and (towards) the blazing flame which flares up inside it?”

[717]ࡄࡅ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡈࡉࡓ

הו עותריא ד̱הייא שידקא נאטיר

The Uthra of Life kept silent,

ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡇ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ולאהואבה̱ האסיר ובציר

not because of a blunder or deficiency.

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡀࡕࡍࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡋࡇ

תום אתנא ואמרלה̱

Then He addressed him for the second time:

ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ

הזיא מאנדא ד̱הייא ד̱עותריא ד̱נהוריא על מאהו מיתימליך

“Behold, Manda d̲-Haii, for what purpose do the uthras of Light confer between themselves?

[718]ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ

ליבאיון מאהו עשתאגשלון

Why are their minds confused,

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡇ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתרא ד̱כשאשא ומשאשא ליתבה̱

so they turned their faces towards the place which is fathomless and measureless;

ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡁࡇ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡓࡉࡀࡁࡇ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

לאתרא ד̱ליתבה̱ מיא הייא ולאשאריאבה̱ צאותא

to the place of no living water and of no spreading of luster?”

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[716] BL 23599: 35r and BL 23601: 34r ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡅ

[717] read ࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ (absolute state of NṬR). ࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ is found in the other copies. (see MD, p. 282)

[718] ࡕࡏࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ BL 23599: 35r, 23601: 34r. ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ.

ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡈࡀࡓ

ועותרא דהייא שידקא נטאר

and (once more) the Uthra of Life kept his silence.

ࡋࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡆࡉࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[719] ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡌࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

לתלאתא זיבניא מאליל מאנא בראבותון ולמנדא דהייא אמריא

For the third time Mana, in his majesty, spoke to Manda d-Hiia and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡅࡑࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת הו מאלכא דעותריא מאריא דכושטא משאויאנון דעוצריא

"You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of *kušṭa* (and) the creator of the treasures.

ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ

על אלמיא דנהורא כולהון שאליטנאך

We give you authority upon all the worlds of Light

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ[720] ࡁࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

ועל עותריא כולהון דנהורא דשכיניא בשכינאתא

and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas*,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ועל אלמיא תיתאייא דהשוכא

and upon the underworld of darkness.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡏࡕࡉࡕࡋࡀࡊ[721] ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡀࡕࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ

אנאת הו עתיתלאך ושיהאתלה לאלמא האנאתה

You are the one who is predestined and made worthy of that (i.e. the other) world.

(GRR p. 87)

ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קודאם לאלמא הותלה מן קודאם דניזלון עותריא

Descend to the world first, before the uthras go thither

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[719] BL 23599 35r: 20 & BL 23601 34r: 1 ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ. Sometimes plural is used instead of singular for exaltation and adoration.

[720] ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀ BL 23601: 34r and BL 23599: 35v.

[721] read ࡏࡕࡉࡃࡋࡀ . In the other copies ࡏࡕࡉࡃࡋࡀ is found. ࡏࡕࡉࡃ, ࡏࡕࡉࡃࡀ (עתיד Ar. عتيد) destined, predestined, equipped, established, brought about (MD p. 358).

ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡉࡀࡍ[722] ࡎࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ

ניבדון מינדאם ד̲עלאואיאן סניא ולאשאפיר

and do something that is odious and ugly for us,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ

ועל הייא לאמיתאכשאר ועלאך מאנדא ד̲הייא לא באסים

what is disagreeable to the Life, and what is not acceptable to you, Manda d̲-Hiia.

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אמינטול ד̲אנאת הו ד̲מתאקנית עותריא

Because you are the one who can restrain the Uthras,

ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ[723] ࡅࡕࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡊࡅࡃࡊࡀ[724]

וראמית דירכא ותרצית כודכא

set the path and erect the boundary stones.

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡗ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ[725]

ואנין כ̲ד קרינאך על מאהו קרינאך

And when we called you, for what reason did we call you?

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡗ ࡒࡓࡉࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡉࡕ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡍ ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ

אמינטול ד̲אנאת כ̲ד קריית ושיהית ומשאוית להאזן קריתא

Because you, when you were called and made worthy and fit for this calling."

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡀ

מאליל מאנדא ד̲הייא ואמארלה̲ למאנא רבא כאבירא

Manda d̲-Hiia spoke to the great glorious Mana saying:

ࡗ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡋࡌࡀࡍ ࡏࡄࡆࡉࡀ

כ̲ד מאיינאך למאן עהזיא

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[722] ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡍ in BL 23601 and BLO 1236.

[723] To set the "path of the soul to the World of Light" is one of the obligations of the Redeemer in the Mandaean doctrine. (See Rudolp, 1983: 172)

[724] ࡊࡅࡃࡊࡀ (Akk. *kudurru*?) boundary stone. The boundary stone (*kudurru*) was a Kassite invention, a block stone that served as a record of a grant of land by the king to favored person. Kudurru II boundary; boundary stone, (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian (2000) p. 165. See also Marcus, M. I., The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution, The Art Bulletin Vo. 73, No. 4 (Dec. 1991) pp. 536-560 esp. pp. 548-9).

[725] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ 'for what reason did we call you' is not found in BL 23600 34v: 19 & BLO 1236: 34v: 19.

"If I seek you, whom do shall I see?

ࡅࡗ ࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡉࡀ[726] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡑࡀࡍࡀ

וכד̲ אכצאליא על מאן ניהויליא רוהצאנא

If I am in distress, on whom shall I rely?

ࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ

תיראת ד̲הואת מינאיכון על מאהו עסימכא

Upon what shall I lean (my) conscience, which was with you?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

מאליל מאנא בראבותה̲ ולמאנדא ד̲הייא ד̲נימארלה̲

Mana, in his magnificence, spoke to Manda d̲-Hiia and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡕࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊ

אנאת מינאן לא תיפסיק ואנין ואתאך

"You shall not break away from us. We are with you.

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡍ[727] ࡕࡓࡉࡑ

אנין כול ד̲אנאת אמרית לקודאמאן תריץ

That of which you spoke before us is established.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀࡕ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡕࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ

ואנאת לואתאן מיתקאימאת ומן לואתאן לא תיפסיק

You with us are established and you shall never be separated from us,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ[728] ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ

ואנין לואתאך אנין ד̲הייא עלאך בטאבותא עתימלון

and we are with you because the Life is full of goodness towards you.

ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ[729] ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ[730]

ואדיאוריא נצאבלאך עתריא ניהא ומתקאימיא

And he set up helpers for you. He created for you calm and confirmed *uthras*

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[726] ࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 34r.

[727] ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡍ not in BL 23600: 35r and in BLO 1236: 35r.

[728] ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 35v.

[729] ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ *adiaura* "helper", "assistant" (MD, p. 7). This expression is often found in Mandaean literature which depicts the helpers as being part of the Redeemer's preparations against the forces of evil (See Widengren, 1961:94).

[730] BL 23601 ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀࡍ[731] ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

דניהון ניתקאימאן בנאך דהאתאם בנאך ניקרון קאלא דהייא

who will be established as your sons in that place where they recite the word of Life.[732]

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡕࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ

וניהון תאנגארא דמיתאנגריא

They will be the merchants, who traffic,

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡒࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ומאסקיא תאנגארותון לבית ריש בריש

and bring their (good) work to complete achievement."

* * * * *

ࡄࡅ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡉࡓࡀ

הו רבא עהאבלה זיוא ונהירא

He, the Great One, presented him with radiance and light

ࡅࡀࡈࡐࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡄ

ואטפילה על דעתלה

and added to him to what he had.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

עהאבלה לבושא רבא

He gave him a great garment,[733]

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

דשאניא וסאכא ליתלה

which was wonderful and without limit.

ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡓࡊࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ

בירכה בבירכתא ראבתיא

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[731] ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ in the other copies.

[732] or: "call out the voice of Life".

[733] The "Primal Man", whom the Iranian Manicheans identified with Ohramazd, armed himself with a garment (armour) in order to do battle with the powers of darkness. (Zaehner, 1955: 118) Zaehner also writes: "The garment of Ohrmazd is the robe of priesthood . . . This robe has such power that it alone ensures the utter defeat of Ahriman and his ejection from Ohramazd's creation." (Ibid, 120)

He blessed him with the great blessing,

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡊࡁࡄ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱עתיבריכבה̱ רורביא

with which the great ones were blessed.

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אבא שאויויא ד̱עותריא

He made him the father of the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡀࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ

ומזאויד זאואדיא לראהמה̱

and the one who provides his friends with provisions.

(GRR p. 88)

ࡁࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

בפאקאדתא ד̱פירא רבא ד̱עקארא

By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory,

ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ[734] ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* (pact) from them (or: I took an oath with them),

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[735] ࡏࡕࡉࡕ

ואסגית בית הייא עתית

and I traveled and I came to the House of the Life.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡉࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ

הייא משאיליליא על מאנא

The Life questioned me about the Mana,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡍࡉࡑࡁࡉࡕ[736]

ד̱מינא עתניצבית

By whom I was planted (or: created):

---

[734] ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ *kušṭa* (קושטא, קשט) oath, vow, pact, truth, good-faith; the action of giving the right hand in troth; the ritual hand-clasp which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage & c) MD p. 209. It is not clear in this verse whether Manda d̲-Hiaa took the oath with the Mana or with the other uthras.

[735] ࡋࡁࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ in BLO 1236: 35r and BL 23600: 35r.

[736] ࡏࡕࡍࡉࡑࡁࡀࡉࡕ in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.

ࡊࡃ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡕ

כד̱ בטאבו רביא עתית

"Since you came through the kindness of the Great One,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ[737] ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ

האיזין נצאב ניצובתאך

how was your nature created?"[738]

◆

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

הייא בראבותון למאנדא ד̱הייא אמריא

The Life in His greatness spoke to Manda d̲-Hiia:

ࡄࡆࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

הזית מאנדא ד̱הייא עותריא מאהו ד̱אבדיא

"Did you see, Manda d̲-Hiia, what the *uthras* are doing?

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מאהו ד̱אבדיא עותריא

What the *uthras* are doing,

ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ומאהו ד̱מהאשביא על דה̱ ודה̱

and how they ponder about all and sundry?

ࡄࡆࡉࡕ[739] ࡖࡔࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הזית ד̱שבאק בית הייא

Did you see that they forsook the House of the Life

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[740] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתאר השוך

and turned their faces towards the place of darkness?

[illegible][741] ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

---

[737] read ࡍࡑࡉࡁࡀ (planting) as in the other four copies.
[738] or: how your plant was planted?
[739] Not in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.
[740] ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡄࡅࡍ in the other four copies.

שיבקו לצותא ד̱הייא

They forsook the company of Life

ࡅࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ

וצאותא ד̱השוכא רהים

and loved the company of darkness.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

שיבקויא לאתרא ד̱זיוא ונהורא

They forsook the place of radiance and light,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ואזאל ריהמויא לדאורא באטלא

and went (and) loved the futile home.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡋࡉࡅࡕࡀ

שיבקויא להאליותא

They renounced sweetness

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ

ואזאל מארירותא רהים

and went (and) loved bitterness

ࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ

אזאל רהים מארירותא

They went and loved bitterness,[742]

ࡖࡄࡀࡋࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ

ד̱האליותא ליתבה̱

in which there is no sweetness.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

שיבקויא ליארדנא ד̱מיא הייא

They forsook the Jordan of the Living Water

[illegible][743]

---

[741] ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ in the other copies.

[742] Lit. "went loving".

ואסגון למיא תאהמיא

and went to the deep waters.

ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

למיא תאהמיא אסגון

They approached the deep waters

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

ואסגון על נורא ד̱יאקדא

and approached the burning fire.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅ ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

שיבקו לעשאתא האיתא

They forsook the living fire,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ

ואזאל עשאתא עכילתא רהים

and went and adored the consuming fire.

ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡅ[744] ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ריהמו לעשאתא עכילתא

They adored the consuming fire

ࡅࡓࡄࡉࡌࡅ ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

ורהימו לנורא ד̱יאקדא

and adored the burning fire.

ࡄࡀ ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הא הזיא מאנדא ד̱הייא

Yes! Behold Manda ḏ-Hiia,

ࡖࡄࡀࡃࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

ד̱האדא עותריא אבאד

that which the *uthras* have done.

ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

---

[743] תהום depth, water of the deep (DJPA, p. 576) מיא תאהמיא trübes Wasser (MG, p. 66). *tahma*: blackish, turbid (MD, p. 477).

[744] ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡉࡀ in BLO 1236: 35v and in BL 23600: 35v.

הזיא ד̱אבאד עותריא

Behold that which the uthras have done,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

והואבון האסיר ובציר

and (how) they produced in them(selves) imperfection and deficiency.[745]

ࡍࡉࡃࡉࡄࡀ[746] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ

נידיהא לאלמא ונישיבקה̱

(If) we shake up the world and leave it,

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ

מאן ניהויבון סידרא

who will bring order to them?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ

מאן סידרא ניהויבון

Who will bring order to them?

ࡅࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ומאן ניפארקינון מן האסיר ובציר

and deliver them from flaw and deficiency?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

מאן ניפארקינון מן הוסראנא

Who will deliver them from blunder,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱הינון עבדויא מן נאפשאיהון

which they manufactured by themselves?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡔࡌࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

מאן נאשמינון קאלא ד̱רביא

Who will make them hear the voice of the Great [one],

[illegible]

---

[745] The "fall of the uthras" bears traces of the "Fallen Angels and the Giants who were responsible for the corruption of the world before the Flood" mentioned in the Book of Watchers. (See Bauckham, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1985: esp 314)

[746] ࡖ ࡍࡉࡃࡉࡄࡀ in BL 23601: 35r.

דיאתביא בית תושלימא

who sits in the House of Perfection?"

(GRR pp. 89)

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מאליל ואמארלה הייא

The Life spoke to him,

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

לעותרא זריזא ומזארזא

to the valiant and well-equipped Uthra and said:

ࡋࡀࡅ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡃࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

לאו מן קודאם דניהון עותריא

"Was it not from before the uthras came to being

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ[747] ࡄࡅࡀ ࡍࡑࡅࡁࡀ[748] ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ

אנאת הוא נצובא ניצובתאך

you are the one (whose) plant was planted (or: your creation was completed)[749]

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡃࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מן קודאם דניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* came to being,

ࡃࡒࡓࡅࡊ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ

דקרוך רביא ופאקדוך

the Great One created you and instructed you.

ࡒࡓࡅࡊ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

קרוך ופאקדוך רביא

(The Great One) created you, instructed you,

ࡅࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡊ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡅࡔࡀࡃࡓࡅࡊ

וזארזוך ופאקדוך ושאדרוך

---

[747] Not in BL 23601: 35r and BLO 1236.

[748] Read: ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ "your plant is planted".

[749] Not in BL 23600 35v.

equipped you, commanded you, commissioned you

ࡅࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ[750] ࡑࡁࡅ

ושאלטוך על כול צבו

and made you rule over everything.

ࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

פאקדוך על שכינאתא

He commanded you concerning the *škinas*,

ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱אתאר כסיא ועל תיריא רורביא

and the great portals of the concealed (or: mystic) place.

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[751] ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ

שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא

He made you rule over the concealed *uthras*,

ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱קאימיא ומשאביא לרורביא

who are standing and praising the Great (ones).

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

שאלטוך על יארדנא ד̱רורביא

He made you rule over the Jordan (river) of the Great (ones),

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[752] ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ

ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא

and over the living and vigorous waters.

ࡊࡖ ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ פאקיד רורביא

When the Great (ones) ordered,

ࡄࡀ [illegible] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

---

[750] ࡋࡊࡅࡋ in BL 23601 35r, BLO 1236 35r, BL 23600 and BL 23599: 36r.

[751] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ *'utria* eternal beings, spirits of light and life. The *'utria* are the inhabitants of the Ether-World. (for more about the 'utras see SA, Ch. VII pp. 56 ff. and § 2.4.3 above)

[752] ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *mia hiia* : (*very often*) living (i.e. flowing) water (an expression borrowed from Judaism ?) a gnostic term.

הוא נצאבלאך עותריא
He created *uthras* for you.
ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡐࡀࡃࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ[753]
נצאבלאך פאדיבריא
He created messengers for you,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ
עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא
the mild and firm *uthras*.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כ̱ד האזא אמארליא הייא
When the Life spoke thus to me,
ࡎࡉࡂࡃࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕ[754] ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
סיגדית ושאבית לרורביא
I bowed (in worship) and praised the Great ones (or: the Great Life).
ࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ
שאביתינון להייא רביא
I praised the Great Life,
ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ
ד̱הייא נצאבליא ניצובתא
the Life who planted for me a plant.
ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ
ניצובתא ד̱הייא נצאבליא
He planted for me a plant of Life
ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ[755]
ועהאבליא אדיאוריא
and provided me with helpers.

---

[753] ࡐࡀࡃࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ pl. *padibra* (< Iranian *paδgăm* cf. mod. P. پیقمبر، پیامبر) messenger. (MD p. 260)
[754] ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡄ BL 23601.
[755] ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ pl. *adiaura* (M. Prth. Aδyāvar) (a) helper assistant (b) aid, assistance. (MD, p. 7)

ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ[756] ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀࡉ

בארית בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ[757]

במא דהייא עהאבליא

with what the Life bestowed on me.

ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ[758] ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀࡉ

באניבא בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory

ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

על כול צבו דאתאר כסיא

upon everything in the concealed place.

ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡉࡀ

באניבא בערותיא

I shone in my lustre

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ[759] ࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

ואיניא אזברית על מארדיא

and I raised my eyes to the rebellious.

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מן קודאם דניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* appeared (there),

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

אנא אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went to the place of darkness.

ࡏࡋ [illegible] [illegible] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[760]

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[756] ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ PE. Pf BAR, BHR (בהר ܢܗܪ) to break forth, come to light, shine out, shine forth. (MD, p. 49) ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ not in BL 23600, not in BLO 1236.

[757] this verse is not in BL 23600.

[758] ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ *banibh* (var. *baribh*) shone (MD p. 357). *banibh b'rutai = baribh b'rutai.* BL 23600 35v: 21 & BLO 1236: 35v: 21 ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡉࡀ.

[759] ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ in BL 23601: 35r and BL 23599: 36v, ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡀ in BL23600: 35v and in BLO 1236: 35v

על דקאיימנא בית הייא
As I stood in the House of Life,
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ
הזאיתינון למארדיא
I beheld the rebellious.
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ
הזאיתינון לתיריא השוך
I beheld the portals of darkness.
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡇ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡒࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ
הזאיתה לעומקיא דכולה השוך
I beheld the depths full of darkness.
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ
הזאיתינון להאמבאליא
I beheld the destroyers
ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡓࡇ ࡖࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ[761]
ולמארה דאורא האשכא
and the Lord of the abode of darkness.
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ
הזאיתינון לקאראבתאניא
I beheld the warriors
ࡖࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ[762]
דבהשוכא מיתקיבריא
who are buried in darkness.
ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ
הזאיתינון לתיריא יאקדאנא
I beheld the portals of the conflagration,

---

[760] ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ Mesopotamian influence on Mandaean beliefs. The chief temple of Babylon, Esagila, is called '*bīt balāṭi*' "The House of Life": *šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na É-sag-ila, ēkal ilāni bīt balāṭi*) "Cause me to enter into Esagila, the palace of the gods, the House of Life (Langdon, 1923: 143: 25).

[761] This verse not in BL 23601.

[762] Read ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ Ethpa. Pt. QBR: covered, buried.

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ

כ̱ד יאקדיא ומהאבאביא

how they burn and blaze.

(GRR p. 90)

ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

יאקדיא ומהאבאביא בישיא

The evil ones burn and blaze

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡌࡉࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ומיתמילכיא על האסיר ובציר

and deliberate upon flaw and imperfection.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ[763] ࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ[764]

הזאית̱ה להיואת נוקובתא

I beheld Hewath the female,

ࡗ ࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡅࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡀ

כ̱ד בהשוכא ובבישותא מיתהאשבא

how she plots in malice in darkness.

ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ

בבישותא מאמלילא

She speaks with evil.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מאמלילא בבישותא

With evil she speaks,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ[765] ࡖ[766] ࡀࡁࡃࡀ

ובהארשיא ופודריא ד̱אבדא

and with witchcraft and sorcery which she practices

---

[763] ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ *hiuat* (Nöld. A fem. of *hiua*, hence ܚܘܐ Lidzb. From *hiuia*, pointing to חות a name of a goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscriptions *Ephemers*. Name of a female demon. *Hiuat nuq(u)bta* (var. *niqubta*) (MD P. 142, see § 2.3.8).

[764] BL 23601 35v: 6 ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ.

[765] ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ pudra witchcraft, spell. AHW *Dict*. 884: dung.

[766] ࡖ not in BL 23601.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡌࡀࡕ ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ[767]

מאמלילא בהוכמאת הראראּ

She speaks with the wisdom of an illusionist

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡆࡉࡐࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ

ועל זיפא יאתבא

and sits enthroned in falsehood.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[768]

הזאיתה לתיריא השוך

I beheld the portals of darkness

ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ[769] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ[770] ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ

ולשיריאנא דארקא סיניאויס כד דהון

and the vein (or: stream) of the earth Siniauis, (just) as it was (there)

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

הזאיתינון למיא סיאויא דבגאואיהון

I beheld the black water in it,

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

דסאלקיא וראהתיא ומיתאפכיא

which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

וכול דאריכבון מאיית

and whoever enters there dies,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכול דהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever behold it is scorched.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא

I beheld the dragons,

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[767] ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ hrara (cf. Bibl. – Aram. הרהרין) illusion, delusion (MD. p 152).
[768] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ in BL 23601:35v.
[769] ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ *širiana d-arqa* (lit. "blood vessels of the earth").
[770] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ siniauis : underworld, abode of darkness (Ibid. p. 328).

ࡖࡓࡌࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

דְרמין בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא

who were hurled there and writhe about.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא דְגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ[771] ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

הזאיתינון למארכאבאתון דְהשוכא

I beheld the chariots of (the sons of) darkness,

ࡖࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ[772]

דְלהדאדיא לאדאמיא

which do not resemble one another.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

במארכאבאתון כדְ יאתביא

as they are seated in their chariots.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ࡗ ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ

כדְ בזאינא דְבישיא מיתלאבשיא

How they are arrayed with weapons of evil.

ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

בזאינא מיתלאבשיא דְבישיא

They are arrayed with weapons of evil,

ࡅࡊࡋ ࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡊࡋ [illegible] [illegible]

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[771] BL 23600 36r: 13 ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ "the chariots of darkness".

[772] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀࡍ BL 23601: 35v, BL 23600: 36r and BLO 1236: 36r.

ועל ביש מיתהאשביא על אתאר נהור

and plot evil against the Place of Light.

◆

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אנא כד̲ הזאיתינון

I, when I saw them,

ࡏࡄࡉࡃࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ

עהידרית לבית אבו

I turned back towards my father's house.

ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ

לקודאם הייא קאמית

I stood in the presence of the Life

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[773]

ואמארנאלון אנא כד̲ ד̲הזאיתינון

and I told Him as how I beheld them.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ[774] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

אמארילון על מליך השוכא

I spoke to Him about the king of darkness,

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ואמארילון לדה̲ ודה̲

and I spoke to Him about all and sundry.

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡆࡉࡕ ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡕ

כד̲ ד̲הזית לקודאם הייא אמרית

What I beheld, I said it in the presence of the Life.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

אנא האיזין עיאסגיא להאך דוכתא

"How can I go to that place;

ࡋࡀࡌࡀࡒ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

---

[773] BL 23600 36r: 17 & BLO 1236: 36r: 17 ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕ

[774] ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ BL 23601.

לאתאר דהשוכא

to the place of darkness

ࡅࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡑࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ

ובהשוכא דעוצבא דנהורא ליתבה

and into the darkness which has no glimmer of light.

ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

על שיריאנא דמיא דארקא דהשוכא

To the vein (or: stream) of water of the earth of darkness

ࡖࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

דראהתיא וסאלקיא ומיתאפכיא

which is boiling, seething and bubbling

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

וכול דאריכבון מאיית

Whoever enters there dies,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכול דהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever beholds it is scorched."

ࡏࡎࡀࡒ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓ

עסאק לרביא עמאר

Let me rise and ask the Great (Life):

(GRR p. 91)

ࡖࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

דמנא השוכא הוא

"Whence is the darkness?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

מנא הוא השוכא

Whence is the darkness

ࡅࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡄ

ומנא הון דאיאריא דעתבה

and whence are its inhabitants, who sit in it?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

מנא האויאן עבידאתון

Whence are their deeds,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡅࡌࡃࡀࡄࡋࡄ

ד̱האזין סאינ̱ה ומדאהל̱ה

which are so repulsive and dreadful.

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ[775]

מנא הוא הוסראנון

Whence is their deficiency,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ

ד̱האזין נפיש

which is so far-reaching?

ࡄࡆࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡌࡃࡅࡄࡋࡀ

הזות̱ה סאינא ומדוהלא

Its appearance is so ugly and appalling,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱כול̱ה הראריא

as it is full with delusions.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡒࡀࡒࡉࡀ

כול̱ה מליא הקאקיא

It is full with cracks.

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מנא הון בוריא דורביא בישיא

Whence are the mighty, evil monsters

ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ[776]

ד̱עתב̱ה ביאקדאנא יאתביא

who sit (or: live) in the glowing fire?

---

[775] ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡆࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡌࡃࡅࡄࡋࡀ not in BL 23600 36v: 3 & BLO 1236: 36v: 3.

[776] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡍ in BL 23601

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ

מנא בון מיא סיאויא

Whence are the black waters,

ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡐࡊࡉࡀ

ד̲האיזין ראהתיא ומיתפכיא

which boil and bubble?

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡃࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

ד̲כול ד̲דאריכבון מאיית

Whoever enters them, dies,

ࡅࡊࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכל ד̲האזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever beholds them is scorched.

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ

מנא הון תאניניא

Whence are the dragons,

ࡖࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

ד̲רמון בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא

which are cast therein and writhe about?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡄࡅࡍ

מנא הון מארכאבאתהון

Whence are their chariots,

ࡅࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡅࡍ

ומנא הון בישיא ד̲עתבון

and whence are the wicked ones who are seated in them?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ

מנא הואת היואת ניקובתא

Whence is Hiwat Niqubta[777]

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ

---

[777] Hiwat the female: name of a female demon sometimes assotiated with the queen of Darkness "Rūha" (see §2.3.9).

דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא וזניא

which is of every kind and variety?”

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ[778] ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד האיזין עמרית קודאם הייא

When I spoke thus in the presence of the Life,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡀࡓ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡎࡀࡓ

הייא אבאהאתאי מיתאר עתאר ולאהסאר

the Life, my Father, became surpassingly rich without lacking

ࡌࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מידא יאדין הייא

The Life is well informed.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡅࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡍ

הייא יאדין ושידקא נאטרין

The Life is well informed but kept his silence.

ࡌࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

מידא יאדין הייא ואמריליא

The Life is well informed, then He said to me:

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אתא דנאפרישאך מאנדא דהייא

“Come in order that we may explain to you Manda ḏ-Hiia;

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *Uthra*.

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

מן קודאם דניהון אלמיא כולהון

Before all the worlds came into being,

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

---

[778] ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ not in BL 23600 36v: 10 & BLO 1236: 36v: 10.

האזין פירא רבא הוא

there was this great Fruit.

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[779]

כ̱ד הוא פירא רבא בגו פירא רבא

When the great Fruit was in the great Fruit,

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

הוא מאלכא רבא ד̱נהורא ד̱עקארא

the great glorious King of Light came into being.

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

מן מאלכא ד̱נהורא ד̱עקארא

From the great glorious King of Light

ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

איאר זיוא רבא הוא

the great radiant Ayar - Ayar Ziwa Rba - came into being,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ומן איאר זיוא רבא

and from the great radiant Ayar

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

הואת עשאתא האיתא

the Living Fire came into being.

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

מן עשאתא האיתא נהורא הוא

From the Living Flame, there was Light,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ובהאילא ד̱מאלכא ד̱נהורא

and by the might of the King of Light,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

הייא ופירא רבא הוא

---

[779] ࡓࡁࡀ not in BL 23601.

the Life and the great Fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

הוא פירא רבא

The great Fruit came into being

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ

והואבה יארדנא

and in it the Jordan came into being.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

הוא יארדנא רבא

A great Jordan came into being,

ࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

והון מיא הייא

and the Living Water came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ

הון מיא עריא וראוזיא

Radiant and resplendent water was brought into being.

(GRR p. 92)

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מן מיא הייא

From the Living Water

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ

אנין הייא הואינין

I, the Life, came into being

ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הואינין אנין הייא

I, the Life, came into being,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

האיזאך כולהון עותריא הון

then all the *uthras* came into being."

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ

אנא קודאם הייא עמרית

I spoke before the Life and said:

ࡊࡖ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ

כד̱ אנאתון הייא הואיתון

“Since you, Life, were there,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ[780] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ

האיזאך השוכא האיזן הוא

then how did darkness come into being (there)?

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

האיזן הוא השוכא

How did darkness come into being,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

האיזן הוא האסיר ובציר

(and) how did imperfection and deficiency come into being?”

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזן אמארילון הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

בטאבותא הון הייא

the Life became full of bounty.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

הייא הון בטאבותא

The Life became full of bounty

ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ולמאנדא ד̱הייא אמריא

---

[780] not in BL 23601.

and said to Manda ḏ-Hiia:
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
אנאת עותרא זריזא
"You are the valiant *uthra*,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ
עותרא זריזא ומזארזא
the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡆࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕ
אנאת עותרא זרזא לאיאדית
know you not, valiant *uthra*,
ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ
לאיאדית השוכא האיזין הוא
know you not how darkness came into being.
ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
האיזין הוא השוכא
How darkness came into being,
ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
והאיזין הוא האסיר ובציר
and how imperfection and deficiency occurred?"

* * *

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כד̱ האיזין אמארליא הייא
When the Life said thus to me,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡋࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡌࡀࡓ ࡊࡖ ࡖࡄࡅࡀ
אנא עשתאלטית מימאר כד̱ ד̱הוא
I was allowed to tell how it was.
ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ
עמרית להייא רביא
I spoke to the Great Life

ࡅࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ולהייא דַמן לא קאדמיא הון

and to the Life who existed since eternity,

ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ

עו אנא לאעמרית עלהַ

If I were not (allowed) to speak about it,

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לאהוית אנא מן רורביא

I should not (have) belonge(ed) to the Great ones.

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כדַ אנא הוית מן רביא

(But) since I came into being from the Great One,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡗ[781] ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ

הייא הינון דַאפרישוליא כדַ דַהואת

the Life himself explained to me how it was.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡅࡍ[782]

הייא בראבותון אמריליא בתושביהתון

The Life in his greatness and glory spoke to me:

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

“We authorize you valiant *uthra*;

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותריא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

we authorize you, valiant *uthra*,

[illegible] ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ

---

[781] ࡗ not in BL 23601.

[782] ࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ *tušbihta* (rt. ŠBH) praise, glory (MD, p. 484).

למימאר כד̱ ד̱הואת

to speak of how it was,

ࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ[783]

לאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא כד̱ ד̱הואת

to explain to the concealed *uthras* how it was,

ࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ[784]

לאפרישינון לכולהון בהיריא כד̱ ד̱הואת

to explain to the chosen ones how they came into being,

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

כד̱ ד̱הון עותריא ד̱אתאר כסיא

(and) how the *uthras* of the hidden place came into being."

* * *

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא מאלאלית בתושביהתא ד̱רורביא

I cheered with praise of the Great Ones,

ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

בהאדותא ד̱הייא רביא

with the bliss of the Great Life,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

במא ד̱הייא אמארליא

with what the Life said to me:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנאת עותרא קום אזיל לבית רביא

"You, Uthra, rise and depart to the Great House,

ࡊࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

---

[783] ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ not in BL 23601.

[784] Read ࡖࡄࡅࡍ "how they came into being" in BL 23601: 36v and BL 23600: 37r.

דוכתא דַיאתביא רורביא

the place where the Great Ones dwell,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

דַנימארלאך על דהַ ודהַ

in order to tell you about all and sundry."

⁂

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כדַ האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא אסגית לבית רורביא

I went to the house of the great ones,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

דוכתא דַיאתביא רביא

the place where the great ones dwell,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡕࡉࡌ ࡔࡓࡉࡍ

דוכתא דַטאביא האתים שרין

the place where the virtuous dwell.

(GRR p. 93)

ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

קאמית קודאמאיהון אנא בית דַעמארלון

(As) I stood before them, I wanted to ask them:

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ

כדַ דַהואת מן לאקאדמיא

"How did the first beginning take place?"

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

כדַ אנא בית עמארלון

As soon as I was saught to address them,

[illegible]

הינון האנאנון ונישקון
they embraced me, kissed me,
ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ
וקאימון באתראי ואמריא
and seated me in my place and said:
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא
“We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa;
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ[785]
עותרא ניהא ומקאימיא
gentle and confirmed Uthra.
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ[786] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא
We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡇ
עותרא מקאיים ראהמה̲
the *Uthra* who sustains his friends,
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא
we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ
עותרא זריזא ומקאימא
the well equipped and confirmed *Uthra*,
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא
we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,
ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡀࡓ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ
למימאר כד̲ ד̲הואת

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[785] In BL 23600 37r: 22 & BLO 1236: 37r: 22 ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ
[786] *kbar* (rt. KBR) a name given to higher beings.

to speak of how it took place,

ࡋࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡉࡀ

למאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא

and to explain to the concealed *uthras*.

ࡗ ࡕࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡕࡓࡀ

כד̱ תיזאל להאך דוכתא ואתרא

When you go to that location and place,

ࡕࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡀࡊ

תאפרישינון לראהמאך

you shall explain it to your friends,

ࡕࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ

תאפרישינון לבהיריא זידקא

You shall explain it to the righteous elect,

ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡉࡀࡌࡍࡉࡀ

גובריא כשיטיא ומהיאמניא

the true and faithful men.

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

ד̱נימארלאך על דמותא עקארא

We shall speak with you concerning the glorious “Form”.

ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ

ד̱האיזין מיצרא לנהורה̱ לאהואלה̱

There is no boundary for its light.

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

לאהואלה̱ מיצרא לנהורא

There is no boundary for the light,

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡀࡅࡃࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡀ

ולאעתאודא עמאת הוא

and it was not known when it came into being.

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

לאהוא כד̱ ד̱לאהוא נהורא

Nothing existed when there was no light,
ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ[787]
ולאהוא כד̱ ד̱לאהוא זיוא הוא
and nothing existed when there was no radiance.
ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
לאהוא כד̱ ד̱לאהון רורביא
Noting existed when there were no Great Ones.
ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ
מיצרא לנהורא לאהואלה̱
There never was a boundary for light.
ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ
לאהוא כד̱ לאהואן מיא
Nothing existed when there was no water;
ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡉࡀ
מיא מן השוכא מקאשאשיא
water is prior to darkness.
ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
מיא מקאשאשיא מן השוכא
Prior to the darkness is water:
ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ליכא ד̱סאכא ליתלה̱
there is nothing without end,
ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ[788] ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ
וליתלה̱ מיניאנא ד̱נימארלאך
and there is no reckoning of which we (could) say to you,
ࡊࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ
כמא הוא כד̱ ד̱לאהון עותריא

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[787] In BL 23600 37v: 2 ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡉࡀ "and nothing was when radiance did not yet exist and appear."

[788] *miniana*: number, count, enumeration, summing up, reckoning (MD p. 268).

how it was when the *uthras* were not yet there."

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ

עותריא מן השוכא מקאשישיא

The *uthras* are prior to the darkness,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

עותריא מקאשישיא מן השוכא

prior to the darkness are the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡀࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡁࡄ

ומקאשישיא מן דאיריא ד̱בה̱

and more ancient than its inhabitants.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[789]

קאשיש טאבותא מן בישותא ד̱אתאר השוך

Goodness is prior to the wickedness of the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡓࡉࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

קאשיש ניהותא מן מרידותא ד̱אתאר השוך

Tranquility is prior to the rebellion of the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

קאשיש עשאתא האיתא

The living fire is prior to

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן עשאתא עכילתא ד̱אתאר השוך

the consuming fire of the Place of Darkness,

(GRR p. 94)

ࡅࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ

וקאשיש תושביהתא

and praise is prior

ࡌࡍ [illegible]

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[789] In BL 23599 38v: 12 & BL 23601 37r: 12 ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ is not found.

מן הארשיא ופודריא ד̱בניא בישא ד̱אבדיא

to witchcraft and sorcery, which the sons of evil practice.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡀ

קאשיש יארדנא תליתאיא

The Third Jordan is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן מיא אכליא ד̱אתאר השוך

to the devouring waters of the place of darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡎࡉࡁࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

קאשיש סיברותא מן דה̱ ודה̱

Faith is prior to this or that,

ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ד̱בישיא אבדיא ד̱אתאר השוך

which the wicked ones of the Place of Darkness practice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ

קאלא ד̱עותריא קאשיש

The call of the *uthras* is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן בישיא רורביא ד̱אתאר השוך

to that of the powerful wicked ones of the Place of Darkness.

◆

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ

אמארנאלאך על קאדמאיא

We told you about the First,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱נימארלאך על תיניאנא האזין הון

in order that we shall tell you about the Second, how they came into being.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡀ

קאשיש כורסיא ד̱ניהא

The throne of rest is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ

מן כורסיא מארדא

to the throne of rebellion.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ[790] ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ

קאשישיא דראשיא וסידריא

Hymns and liturgies are prior

ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡃࡀࡄࡋࡀ

מן הארשיא ד̱היואת נוקובתא ד̱מדאהלא

to the witchcraft of Hiwath, the woman who terrifies.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡀ

קאשיש כאנא ד̱איאר סאגיא

The *kanna* (receptacle) of *Ayar-Sagia* “Abounding-Ether” is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ[791] ࡀࡌࡓࡀ

מן מימרא ד̱רוהא אמרא

to the talk which Rūha speaks.

࡞

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

אמארנאלאך על תיניאנא

We informed you about the Second,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱נימארלאך על תליתאייא כד̱ ד̱הון

in order that we shall tell about the Third parties, when they came into being.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[792]

קאשיש בהאק זיוא

Bhaq-Ziwa is prior

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[790] ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ not in BL 23599 38v: 21 & BL 23601 37r: 23.

[791] ࡓࡅࡄࡀ *rūha*: evil spirit, the goddess (queen) of the underworld, the breath of Physical Life. *Rūha* is also the mother of the malignant zodiac spirits and of the planets (See above §2.3.9).

[792] ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ Bhaq-Ziwa : Abathur; the Third Life, the Father of the uthras . He is the Father of Ptahil; the Demiurge and the Fourth Life (see § 2. 2. 5).

ࡌࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ

מן רוהא כד דהואת

to Rūha when she came into being.

ࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

האשאבתא דעותריא כולהון

The design of all the *uthras*

ࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ[793]

קאשאשא מן קאלא דמארדא

is prior to the call of rebellion.

ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔ

מיצרא דטאביא קאשאש

The boundary of the good is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן מארא דכולה אתאר השוך

to the lord of the whole place of darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ

קאשיש בהיריא זידקא

The chosen righteous are prior

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ

מן קיריאתא כולהון דהשוכא כד דהאוין

to all the creatures of darkness when they came into being."

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[793] The idea of rebels who are subdued by "Manda d-Hiia" is common in Mandaean writings. The following passage describes the conflict between Light and Darkness, the main Gnostic principle in the Mandaean belief. It also refers to Yōšamin's "the Second Life" revolt against his father, "the Life" :
"From the day when the Evil one began to think , the evil was molded in him. He was angry in a great anger and made war with the Light. The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels." (*Draša dYahya* 'The Book of John" p. 48 = Lidzbarski's manuscript, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 51) The text:
ࡌࡍ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ [illegible]
[illegible]

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ[794]

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡖࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רורביא אבאהאתאי ד̱ניצבון

when the Great Ones, my ancestors, who fashioned me, spoke thus to me,

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רביא

when the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ

אנא פירשית מן עוצראי

I understood it in my mind.

ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ[795]

כד̱ מן עוצראי פירשית

When I understood it in my mind,

ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱אמארלון האיזין השוכא הוא

I spoke to Him: "How was the darkness formed?

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

האיזין הוא השוכא

How was the darkness formed,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡕࡂࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ומן מאהו עתגביל מן דוכתה̱

and from what was it formed in its place?

ࡗ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡔࡉࡍ [illegible]

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[794] Not in BL 23600: 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

[795] ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ not in BL 23599 39r: 7 & BL 23601 37v: 8 . ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ not in BL 23600 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

כד̱ רביא אנאתון בהיריא

Since you are the Great Chosen ones,

ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋ

השוכא אלמא לא באטיל

why does the darkness not disappear?

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

אלמא לא באטיל השוכא

Why does the darkness not disappear

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡄࡉࡑ ࡐࡀࡎࡅࡌࡊࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ועתירהיץ פאסומכא מן ריש בריש

and the beams of light are set in perfection?”

(GRR p. 95)

࡞

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מן קודאם ד̱אנא לרביא עמארלון

Just before I spoke to the Great (Life),

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

הינון רביא אמארליא

the Great (one) spoke to me,

ࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡃࡉࡓࡀ

יא עותרא סדירא

“Behold, the well-ordered Uthra,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡃࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡎࡀࡃࡓࡀ

עותרא סדירא ומסאדרא

the well-ordered and perfect Uthra,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[796] ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ[797] ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ

עותרא מקאיים ראהמה̱

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[796] ࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ in BL 23600: 38r.

[797] ࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ BL 23600 38r: 8, BL 23601 37v: 14 & BLO 1236: 38r: 8 .

the Uthra who sustains his friends.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ

טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

לאהואבה האסיר ובציר

suffers no flaw or defect.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ

טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness,

ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ[798] ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

מקאיים מן ריש בריש

is confirmed for eternity.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡔࡉࡓࡔࡉࡀ

טאבא בטאבותה שירשיא

The roots of the good in his goodness

ࡍࡉࡑࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ניצבא מן דוכתה

are implanted in their place.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡉࡀࡒࡉࡃ

טאבא בזיוה יאקיד

The good is ardent in his radiance.

ࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡏࡉࡀ[799] ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מיא כסיעיא בלבושאיהון

The waters are concealed by their garments.

ࡐࡅࡂࡃࡀࡌࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡏࡉࡀ[800]

פוגדאמא כסייא כסיעיא

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[798] Read : ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ BL 23600 38r: 10 & BL 23601 37v: 16.

[799] ࡊࡎࡉࡀ BL 23601, ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ BL 23600.

[800] ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡅ ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ BL 23600.

The hidden words are concealed
ࡅࡍࡈࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
ונטיריא בסידראיהון
and preserved in their liturgies.
ࡌࡉࡀ[801] ࡁࡒࡉࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡁࡉࡀ
מיא בקירא לארביא
As water mixes not with pitch,
ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ
השוכא בנהורא לאמיתימניא
Darkness is not reckoned with Light.
ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
לאמיתימניא השוכא בנהורא
Not reckoned Darkness with Light,
ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ
ולאמאנהאר דאורא האשכא
and the dark abode is not illuminated.
ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ
דאורא האשכא לא מאנהאר
The abode of darkness is not illuminated,
ࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ
ומיא תאהמיא לא ראוזיא
and the stagnant waters does not shine.
ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
מיתאר תאר השוכא
Darkness expanded
ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡀࡓࡉࡀ[802] ࡌࡉࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ
ודאיאריא מיגבאל גבאל
and its inhabitants were formed.

---

[801] ࡊ ࡌࡉࡀ BL 23600.
[802] ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡀࡓࡀ in BL 23600.

ࡌࡉࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

מיגבאל גבאל השוכא

The darkness was formed,

ࡗ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡀࡉࡀࡊ ࡌࡍࡀࡎࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

כד̱ גבאל איאך מנאסיא האילה̱

(and) as soon as it was formed, it tested its strength.

ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ

בבישותא ד̱מהאשיב

Because of the evil which possessed its mind,

ࡄࡅ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡕࡀࡓ

הו בכאנא ד̱נאפשה̱ מיסתאר

it is confined in its own *kanna* "receptacle",

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ[803]

וכולהון עבידאתה̱ באטלא

and all its works are void.

ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ[804] ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

באטליא בניא השוכא

The sons of darkness are void,

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ומיתקאימיא בניא רורביא

but the sons of the great ones are established.

ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

באטלא ד̱בישיא באיתא

The house of the evil ones is void,

ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ

ודאיכא עשאתא אכלא

and the devouring fire is extinguished.

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[803] In BL 23600 38r: 16 & BLO 1236: 38r: 16 there is ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡍ

[804] In BL 23600 38r: 20 & BLO 1236: 38r: 20 there is ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡉࡀ

הארשאיון מאיתיא ודאיכיא

Their spells will die and disappear,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡀࡅ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡃࡉࡌ[805]

אמינטול ד̱לאו מן קדים

because they did not exist from the beginning.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡎࡉࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ[806]

הון עבידאתון מיסיף סאיפיא

Their deeds will come to an end,

ࡅࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ושורבאתא ד̱הייא מיתקאימיא מן ריש בריש

but the family of the Life remains established for ever and ever.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

האויא שותא האיתא

The living doctrine is existing

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאנהיראלא לדאורא באטלא

and enlightening the perishable abode.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כ̱ד̱ האזא אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) thus spoke to me,

ࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡉ ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

תריץ ליבאי על סאמכה̱

I regained my confidence (lit: my heart set up on its support).

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא בהאילאיהון ד̱רביא

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[805] ࡒࡀࡃࡉࡌ "aforetime" in BL 23600.

[806] Read ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ Inf. SUP to end, finish, cease, vanish etc.(MD, p. 323). ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ in BL 23601. ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ in BL 23600.

I, by the strength of the Great One,

(GRR p. 96)

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

מאלאלית ועמרית ושאבית לרורביא

spoke to the Great Ones, praised them, and said to them:

ࡊࡖ ࡁࡃࡉࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

כד̱ בדילכון טאביא לאהואתון בישותא

“Since you, in your goodness, did not produce evil in them,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

אנא האיזין עזאל להאך דוכתא

then why should I go to that place?”

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓ

כד̱ האיזין בית ד̱עמאר

When I wanted to speak,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

הייא רביא אמריליא

the Great Life said to me:

ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡍࡕࡀ[807] ࡁࡉࡈࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡀ[808]

באטינתא ביטנאת בתאנינא

“The pregnant became pregnant with the Second,

ࡒࡅࡌ[809] ࡄࡅࡕࡋࡇ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קום הותלה̱ לאלמא

Rise, descend to the world.

ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

בהאילאך דילאך ניהון עותריא

By your strength, *uthras* will come into being,[810]

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[807] ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡍࡕࡀ not in BL 23600 38v: 3 & BLO 1236: 38v: 3.
[808] The Second Life ‘Yōšamin’ became obsessed with the thought of a second creation.
[809] ࡒࡅࡌࡀࡕ in BL 23601.

ࡅࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ובערותאך ניתקאימון רורביא

and by your splendour the Great Ones will be established."

⁂

ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ

רביא בראבותון

The Great One, in his greatness,

ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡏࡄࡉࡁࡋࡉࡀ

אנפיש זיוא עהיבליא

bestowed on me an overflowing radiance.

ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

אנפיש עהאבליא זיוא

He bestowed on me an overflowing radiance

ࡅࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ואנפיש נהורא

and ample light.

ࡀࡋࡅࡉࡍ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡅࡕࡀ

אלוין עהאבליא זאכותא

He provided me with victory,

ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡎࡍࡉࡀ[811]

דַמנאטראליא מן כול סניא

which preserves me from every hateful thing.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

עהאבליא לבושא רבא

He gave me a great attire,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ [illegible] [illegible]

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[810] Another translation: "By your strength, uthras will calm down" since ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ is Impf. of HUA and also of NHA (=NUH) to calm, to ease, to rest. (MD, pp. 290 and 293) The second translation is more likely because Manda d̲-Hiaa "Gnosis of Life" is a messenger of the World of Light and not a creator.

[811] ࡖ ࡎࡍࡉࡀ in BL 23601, in BL 23600.

ד̱נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̱
which was so extensive and without limit,
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ושאויון רבא מן ריש בריש
and made me great for ever and ever.
ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
עהאבליא מארגנא ד̱מיא הייא
He gave me the *margna* (staff) of the Living Water,
ࡂࡀࡅࡀࡆࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡀࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ
גאואזא מיתכאבשאבה̱ מארדיא
gauaza (a rod) wherewith the rebels are laid low.
ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
עהאבליא כליל עשאתא האיתא
He gave me the crown of the Living Flame,
ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ[812] ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ
ד̱שאניא ומאנהאר מן כול דמו
which is so wonderful and lucid more than any likeness.
ࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡕࡅࡍ
זארזון במזארזותון
He equipped me with his armor,
ࡅࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
והאנאנון ונישקון כד̱ רורביא
then embraced me and kissed me like the Great Ones.
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
אמאריליא עזאל על מארדיא ד̱השוכא
He said to me: “March against the rebels of darkness
ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ
ד̱עלאן לביש מיתהאשביא

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[812] ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡄ in BL 23600 and BL 23601.

who think out evil designs against us.

ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מיתהאשביא בבישותא

They ponder evil,

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ[813]

בישא ניסתאר בכאנא

and the Evil conceals Himself in his place,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀࡊ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ

ומן מינילתאך דילאך לאתיהויא עלה̱

and none of your own words will reach him."

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡊࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡍࡉࡎࡀࡒ

אמרילִיא טאבא כטאבותה̱ ניסאק

He said to me: "The good, through his virtues, will rise

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ניהזיא לאתאר נהור

and see the place of Light.

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡓࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

בישא בבישותא ניסרא לתיריא השוך

The evil, through his evilness, will be hurled down to the doors of Darkness.

ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡏࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ

מיקריא קרעייא קאלא

Voices are proclaimed aloud

ࡅࡌࡉࡄࡔࡉࡁ ࡄࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ[814]

ומיהשיב השיביא מאמלאליא כולהון

and all words are reckoned.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ

אתיא הדא קאלא

One voice comes

---

[813] ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ [illegible] in BL 23600 38v: 13 & BLO 1236: 38v: 13.

[814] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ not in BL 23601.

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על קאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all voices.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ[815] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

אתיא הדא מאמלא

One word comes

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all the words.

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ[816] ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

אתא הדא גאברא ומאפריש על דה ודה

One Man comes and instructs concerning all and sundry (or: concerning everyone)."

(GRR p. 97)

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד האיזן אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

אנא בהאילאיהון אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went by his power to the place of darkness,

ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ[817] ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

לאתאר דשרין בישיא

To the place where the wicked ones dwell,

ࡅࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ

ולדאורא דכולה האמבאליא

and to the dwelling which is full of destroyers.

ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡕࡀࡍࡍࡉࡀ

---

[815] not in BL 23600.

[816] Read ࡄࡃ

[817] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓࡀ in BL 23600: 38v.

לאתאר דתאנאניא

To the place of the dragons,

ࡅࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ

ולדוגיא דעשאתא אכלא

and to the furnaces of the consuming flames.

ࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ[818] ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ

לדוגיא דנורא

To the furnaces of fire,

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ[819] ࡀࡋࡅࡊࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡑࡉࡀ ࡓࡒࡉࡀ[820]

דסאליק אלוכין מאטיא מיציא רקעיא

whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of the firmament.

ࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

עזלית ואשכיתינון

I descended and found them,

ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

לבוריא מארדיא דהשוכא

the rebellious monsters of darkness.

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

ועזלית ואשכיתינון

I descended and found them,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡍ

דכולהון בבישותא מיתהאשבין

as all of them were plotting in wickedness.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

קאימיא ומיתהאשביא בבישותא

Standing and plotting in wickedness,

ࡋࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡐࡋࡀ

---

[818] ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡉࡀ in BL 23601.

[819] In BL 23599 40r: 9 & BL 23601 38v: 7 ࡎࡀࡋࡉࡍ is found. In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ࡍࡎࡀࡒ is found.

[820] In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ࡓࡒࡉࡉࡀ is found.

וקאימיא וזאינא האשליא

and standing and forging weapons.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ

קאימיא והאשליא זאינא

Standing and forging weapons

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[821] ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

ועל טאביא לביש מיתהאשביא

and plotting evil against the good ones.

ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מיתהאשביא בבישותא

Plotting in wickedness,

ࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡀࡋࡊࡉࡀ

וביהדאדיא מיתמאלכיא

and taking counsel with each other.

ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡀࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

מיתמאלכיא ביהדאדיא ואמריא

They take counsel with each other and say:

ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡀ

מיאכא אלמא הורינא

"Is there any other being

ࡖࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ[822]

ד̱פאליג פלוגתא באלמאן

who (wants to) carry out a division among our world?

ࡏࡅ ࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ

עו אכא ד̱גאביר מינאן

If there is anyone mightier than us,

[illegible]

---

[821] In BL 23600 39r: 1 & BLO 1236: 39r: 1 ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ.

[822] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ BL 23600 39r: 3 & BLO 1236: 39r: 3.

ניקום מינה ניפדאר
we shall rise and fight him.
ࡅࡍࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
ונהזיא דמנא הוא
and find out who he is,
ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ
מנא הוא דאורא ואלמא
and where is his abode and the world (he belongs to).
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡊࡅࡋࡇ
באיתא האזין דילאן הו כולה
This house belongs entirely to us,
ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡁࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ
וליתבא פלוגתא באלמאן
and there will be no dissension in our world.
ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ
מיאכא דנפיש האילאיון מן בוריא
Is there anyone whose strength is greater than (that of) the monsters?
ࡅࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ
וליכא דנפיש האילאיון
No, there is no one whose strength is greater.
ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ
מן מאלאכיא דאתראן
than (that of) the Angels of our place."
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡍ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡉࡍ[823]
כולהון האישין ובאהשין
All of them ponder and seek,
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ
וכולהון ביהדאדיא מיתיקליא

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[823] ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡉࡀ in BL 23600.

and they are inflamed against one another.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡀࡔࡕࡀ[824] ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

רוהא קאדאשתא עוצרא נכילא ד̱כאדבא

Rūha Qadašta's mind is cunning and (full) of lies.

ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡀ

ד̱כאדבא עוצרא נכילא

(full) of lies and deceitful is her mind,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱כולה̱ הארשיא מליא

which is completely full of sorcery.

ࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ

כולה̱ מליא הארשיא ומליא פודריא והוכומתא

She is completely full of sorcery, full of witchcraft and (false) wisdom.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ[825] ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀ

יאתבא היואת ניקובתא רוהא והומרא

Hiwath the Female, Rūha sits there with her *humurtas* (female spirits),

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[824] ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡀࡔࡕࡀ *Rūha Qadašta* , lit. "Holy Spirit", one of Rūha's epithets, a devalued Christian "Holy Ghost". In the Mandaean literature *Rūha* as a fallen wisdom figure resembles Sophia (Wisdom) in other Gnostic traditions. However, *Qadishtu* is an Akkadian name meaning Sacred women. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. In (GRR f. 31v: 19) she is *Rūha d̲-Qudša* whose name is Libat-Ištar-Amamit ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡌࡇ ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ ࡀࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡕ. *Rūha* is the daughter of Qin, she was married to her brother Gaf. She was taken to the upper world by Hibil-Ziwa, and brought the monster-child 'Ur to birth. She became 'Ur's paramour, and had by him two sets of children, the seven planets and the twelve Houses of the Zodiac. (see above §2.3.9).

[825] *Hiwat* or *Hivat* Lidzbarski from *hiuia*, pointing to חות as a name of the goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscription (MD p. 142). Cf. רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכרא "the lady Hebat (i.e. the Hurrian goddess H̲epat), the goddess queen of Išh̲ara. Also Hewwat the goddess (See G. Levi Della Vida, "A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?", JAOS, vol. 68, No. 3, 1948, pp. 148-149). A Hurrian rock relief (mid-thirteenth cent. B.C.) shows the great queen Puduhepa pouring libation to Hepat (Alexander, JNES, vol. 36, No. 3, (1977) pp. 199-207, esp. 199). Mountain gods and goddesses were commonly worshiped in Anatolia and Syria. At Yazili Kaya, the goddess Hipat stands on an animal, standing itself on blocks suggesting mountains, while her consort Teshub stands on the necks of two mountain-gods (Barnett, "A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque", Anatolian Studies, vol. 3, (1980), pp. 169-178, esp. p. 177). H̲epat is a Hurrian goddess, the consort of the weather god Teshub. She was called Queen of Heaven and was assimilated by the Hittites to their national goddess, the sun goddess of Arinna. Teshub and Hebat had cult centres at Kummanni (classical Comana Cappadociae) and at Aleppo (Halab) and other cities in the region of the Taurus Mountains. (http://www.britannica.com/eb/topic-258989/article-9039751).

ࡗ ࡂࡃࡅࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡀࡌࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ

כד̱ גדולא ברישא אמסאתרא

whist she tears out the locks of her head.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡅࡀࡁࡃࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

יאתבא ואבדא הארשיא ד̱כאדבא

She sits there and practices false magic.

ࡄࡏ ࡅࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡃࡓࡀ

הע וכומרא ובהוכומתא האדרא

She and her *kumras* (amulet spirits) are indulged in (fake) wisdom.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡀ

כד̱ האישא ובאהשא

How she ponders and seeks,

(GRR p. 98)

ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡍࡃࡉࡃࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

ומראנדידאבון בהארשיא ד̱כאדבא

she disturbs them with false magic.

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡁࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

ומאסבא בהארשיא בישיא

And is possessed by evil sorceries,

ࡖࡄࡏ[826] ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡂࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀ

ד̱הע בגאואיהון מגאלאלא

in which she is involved.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡓࡀࡍࡃࡉࡃࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ

כד̱ האישיא ומתראנדידאבון בהארשיא

How she ponders and is aroused by sorcerers,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

רוהא עדאת על דה̱ ודה̱

Rūha perceived this and that.

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[826] ࡖࡄࡉࡀ BLO 1236: 39r: 15.

ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ

לרוהא מאן אמארלא

As for Rūha – who told her?

ࡋࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀ

להאסירתא ובצירתא מאן אפרישא

The faulty and deficient one – who gave her instructions?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ

מאן אפרישא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar,

ࡋࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡏࡌࡄ ࡖࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

לנוקובתא עמה̱ ד̱בורא נאפלא

the female, the mother of the base monster?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ

מאן אפראשא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar

ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀ

ד̱גאבאר נוכראיא אסגיא לכא

about the Strange Man who came hither?

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡄࡏ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

קאמאת כאדאבתא הע והומרא כולהון

The liar ascended with all her *humrtas*,

ࡀࡕࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אתאת ואשכיתינון

she came and found them,

ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

לבורא רורביא כד̱ יאתביא

the great monsters as they sit there,

ࡗ[827] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[827] ࡗ not in BL 23600 39r: 23, BL 23601 39r: 8 & BLO 1236: 39r: 23.

כד̲ כולהון בזאינא מלאבשיא

as they were all arrayed with weapons.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ

כולהון מלאבשיא בזאינא

They were all arrayed with weapons

ࡅࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡇ ࡖࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וקודאמה̲ ד̲מליך השוכא יאתביא

and seated before him, the King of Darkness.

ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡅࡕࡀ

מליך השוכא בגאבארותא

The King of Darkness in his mightiness,

ࡌࡀࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆࡁࡇ ࡁࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡇ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

מאתנאהאזבה̲ בשכינתה̲ ואמאר

blustered about in his *škina* and he cried:

ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ

מיאכא ד̲גאביר מינאי

“Is there anyone who is mightier than I,

ࡖࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡇ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̲פאהלילה̲ כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds serve?

ࡏࡅ ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ

עו מיאכא ד̲גאביר מינאי

If there is someone who is mightier than me,

ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ [828]ࡍࡉࡐࡃࡀࡓ

ניקום מינאי ניפדאר

(then) let him come forward and fight with me, [829]

[illegible] [illegible]

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[828] ࡍࡉࡐࡃࡀࡓ not in BL 23599 40v: 16. ࡖࡍࡉࡐࡃࡀࡓ BL 23600 39r: 26 & BLO 1236: 39r: 26.

[829] Cf. the demiurge issuing the cry “I am God and there is no other God than I.” (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

דמיכלה טאריא

(with the one) whose food are mountains,

ࡁࡄࡉࡌࡑࡄ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ[830] ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡔࡊࡀ

בהימצה דהימתאיון לא מיתאשעא

(and) in whose belly poison no blood is found."

ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ

כאלהון רביא וגאבאריא

All the mighty and the powerful,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

הינון וסאהראיהון ודאיואיהון

along with the demons and the evil spirits,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ

כולהון לדיליא פאהליא

they all serve me.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀ

קאימיא ופאהליליא

They stand by to serve me,

ࡅࡊࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡃࡉࡀ

וכל יום לדיליא סאגדיא

and worship me everyday.

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

כד האזא אמאר מליך השוכא

When the King of Darkness spoke thus,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡀࡃࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

רוהא נאדאת מן כורסיא

Rūha trembled down from her thrown.

[illegible]

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[830] Read: *bhimşh d-himtaiun udma lamitaška* ࡁࡄࡉࡌࡑࡄ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡃࡌࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡔࡊࡀ as suggested by Drower (MD P.146 under himta 1).

רוהא ובאכיא גאהיא

Rūha sobbed and wept,

ࡄࡏ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ

הע וכולהון הומריא

she and all her *humurtas* “spirits”.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡀ[831] ࡕࡉࡌࡀࡓ

רוהא לעברא תימאר

Rūha spoke to her son

ࡅࡕࡀࡅࡃࡄ ࡋࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ותאודה̱ למליך השוכא

and made it clear to the King of Darkness:

ࡏࡊࡀ ࡖࡓࡀࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ

עכא ד̱ראב מינאך

“There is someone who is mightier than you,[832]

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ[833]

והאילה̱ מיתאר מן כולהון אלמאך

and whose strength surpasses all your worlds.

ࡏࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ

עכא אלמא ד̱נפיש מן דילאך

There is a world more far-reaching than yours,

ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱רורביא בגאואיהון יאתביא

in which the great ones dwell.

(GRR p. 99)

ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

רורביא יאתביא בגאואיהון

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[831] ࡋࡁࡓࡀ BL 23599 40v: 23 & BLO 1236: 39v: 4.

[832] Cf. the retort from on high to the demiurge who thinks that he alone exists and there no other god “Thou art mistaken (or “don’t lie”) . . . The is above thee . . . (according to the Gospel of Thomas) (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

[833] ࡀࡋࡌࡊ BL 23599 41r: 2, BL 23600 39v: 7, BL 23601 39r: 20 & BLO 1236: 39v: 7.

The great ones dwell in it,

ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡓࡀ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ובאירא דמותאיהון מן אלמיא

and their forms are more bright than the worlds."

* * *

[834]ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ

כד̱ האזא עמראת נימרוס

When Nimrus thus spoke,

ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡄ ࡃࡈࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

קודאמה̱ ד̱טורא נאפלא

before the falling mountain,

[835]ࡏࡋ ࡏࡕࡓࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ

על עתרה̱ עתימליא באלבושיא

at once his garment was filled,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀ [836]ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והוא מלאייא ד̱אלמא

and became the fullness of the world.

[837]ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡌࡓࡉࡓࡕࡄ

עמראר במרירתה̱

He was bitterly grieved,

ࡁࡉࡔࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

בישתא ראבתיא בבישותא

and the evil became boastful in wickedness.

[838][illegible]

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[834] ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ nimrus, namrus: a name of Rūha. *Cf.* Manichaean *Namrae* (see Zaehner, 1955: 78 n. B).
[835] ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡄ in BL 23601: 39r, 23600: 39v.
[836] ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ or ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡄ *mlaiia* or *mlaiih̲* "fullness." In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the region of god himslef and the dwelling place of Archons and Aeons, spirits, and the non material world. (for the full definition of the Pleroma see Scholem, 1987: 68).
[837] [illegible] BL 23601: 39r.
[838] [illegible] ࡃ BL 23600: 39v.

וגאסיא ושאדיא הימתא האמימא

He spattered and vomited his fiery venom,

ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

לנורא דאמיא

which was (hot) like fire.

ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

עתימליך בבישותא

He deliberated in evil,

ࡅࡊࡍࡀࡐ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

וכנאפ גונדא נאפלא

and gathered an unworthy a army.

ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ ࡊࡍࡀࡐ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

גונדא נאפלא כנאף ואמאר

He gathered an unworthy army and said:

ࡖࡏࡒࡅࡌ[839] ࡏࡎࡀࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

דַעקום עסאק מן אתאר השוך

"I will rise up and ascend from the Place of Darkness.

ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡓࡉࡊࡀ[840] ࡋࡆࡉࡍࡒࡀࡉ[841] ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡅࡏࡒࡓࡀ

עיאסריכא לזינקאי בארקא ועקרא

I will fasten my chains to the earth and uproot it,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡁࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡊࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ובהאבלאי עכלה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא

and clasp my rope around the whole world.

ࡏࡎࡓࡅࡐ ࡁࡎࡉࡓࡅࡐࡕࡀࡉ

עסרוף בסירופתאי

I will swallow (it),

[illegible] ࡌࡍ [illegible]

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[839] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 39v.

[840] ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡓࡉࡊ BL 23600: 39v.

[841] ࡋࡆࡍࡒࡀࡉ BL 23599 41r: 11& BL 23601 39v: 4.

ורמינון לרורביא מן כורסיאיון
and I will cast the great ones down from their thrones."
ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
עמראר בישא בבישותא
The evil one was embittered with evil
ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ
ופיהתה̱ לפומה̱ מהאמבלא
and opened his corrupt mouth,
ࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡎࡀࡓࡉࡀ
פיהתה̱ לפומה̱ סאריא
he opened his putrid mouth,
ࡖࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡀ
ד̱אתיא ריהא ד̱סרותא
so that bad smell emanated from within.
ࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡎࡀࡓࡉࡀ
פיהתה̱ לפומה̱ סאריא
He opened his putrid mouth,
ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱האויא מלאייא ד̱אלמא
which became the fullness of the world.

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ
אנא ד̱הזאיתה̱
When I (Manda d̲-Hiia) saw him,
ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
עתאהזילה̱ בלבושא ד̱רורביא
I appeared to him in the garment of the Great (ones).
ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ[842]

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[842] ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡍ in BL 23601: 39v.

בלבושא דרורביא עתאהזילה

In the garment of the Great (ones) I appeared to him,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

דנפיש וסאכא ליתלה

which is so extensive and infinite.

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡉࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

כד עתיהזילה בזיוא נאפשיא

When I appeared to him in a far-reaching radiance,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡌࡉࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[843]

דנפיש ומיאתאר מן אלמיא

which is more immense and surpassing from the world,

ࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[844]

אהויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא

I showed him the *margna* (staff) of Living Water,

ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ

דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my fathers gave me.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

האויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא

I showed him the *margna* (staff) of living water,

ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

דמיתכאבשיבה מארדיא

by which the rebels are crushed down.

ࡅࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡊࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

ואהויתה כליל עשאתא האיתא

I showed him the wreath of the living fire,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ [illegible] [illegible]

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[843] ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡌࡉࡍ in BL 23600: 39v.

[844] Cedar staff is a symbol of rulership in Mesopotamia (Widengren, 1950: 8, 9).

דהאזילה סאהריא ומדאהליא

which instills terror into demons, when they see it.

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡋࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ

כד עתאהזילה לנימרוס

When I appeared to Nimrus,

ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ

הבאל הבאל קאריא

she cried "Alas, Alas!."

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ

כד עתאהזילה לגאבארא

When I appeared to the giant,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡇ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ

כולהון גונדה עתבאדרויא

all his army scattered.

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡇ[845]

כד עתבאדרויא גונדה

When his army scattered,

ࡄࡅ ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡇ[846]

הו שאריבון בשורבאתה

he tore his troops (lit: tribes) asunder,

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡓࡀࡐࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ

שאריבון בקאראפתאניא

he tore his warriors asunder,

(GRR p. 100)

ࡖࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡀࡁࡀࡋࡇ

דזאינא קאבאלה

who had taken arms against him.

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[845] ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡇ not in BL 23600 39v: 27. ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ not in BLO 1236: 39v: 27 .

[846] Cf. ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ *šaribun bšurbata šaribun bqarabtania*: "he encamped amongst the tribes, he encamped amongst the warriors" (MD p. 474).

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡎࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

שאריבון בסאבריא נאסביא

He tore asunder all the demons,

ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ[847] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡉࡍ

ודאיויא והומריא וליליאתא כולהין

dewis, *humrtas* and *liliths*,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡐࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קאם ואסיפה לכולה אלמא

he rose up and annihilated the whole world.

ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

הבאק בכולה האילה

He contained it with all his strength

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡀ ࡖࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡅࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡒࡁࡀࡓ

ופאלגא דפומה ובארקא קבאר

and buried half of his mouth in the earth.

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡀ ࡀࡐࡓࡀ ࡍࡎࡉࡁ

תריסאר נאסכיא אפרא נסיב

He took twelve measures of dust

ࡅࡁࡋࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ובלא מן אתאר השוך

and engulfed part of the Place of Darkness.

ࡁࡀࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ[848]

באלילון למיא סיאויא

He swallowed the black water,

ࡅࡁࡉࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡅࡍ

ובילילון לכולהון סאהריא ודאיויא דבון

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[847] ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ pl. ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕ *lilith* a female demon or genie (MD, p. 236). Montgomery writes "In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice" (Montgomery, 1913: 76).

[848] ࡁࡀࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ BL 23600 40r: 2 & BLO 1236: 40r: 2.

and swallowed all the demons and *dewis* who were in it,

ࡅࡋࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡉࡍ

ולהומריא וליליתא כולהין

and he swallowed all the *hmurtas* and *liliths*.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡐࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קאם ואסיפה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא

He rose up and annihilated the whole world.

ࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡁࡃࡌࡀ[849] ࡓࡀࡉࡂࡀ

אינה̱ בדמא ראיגא

His eyes blushed blood-red.

ࡅࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

וליבה̱ בתיניהתא קאם

and his heart heaved with groans.

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה̱ בתיניהתא קאם

His heart heaved with groans,

ࡖࡒࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡒࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱קאם ריקאן באלמא

as he stood empty in the world.

ࡕࡍࡉࡕ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

תנית עתאהזילה̱ בקאלא ד̱רביא

A second time I appeared to him with the call of the Great One,

ࡕࡀࡂࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ[850] ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

תאגה̱ מן רישיא נפאל

his crown fell from his head.

ࡗ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡕࡀࡂࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ

כד̱ נפאל תאגה̱ מן רישיא

When his crown fell from his head,

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[849] ࡁࡃࡀࡌࡀ In BL 23600 40r: 4 & BLO 1236: 40r: 4.

[850] ࡓࡉࡔࡄ in BL 23601: 40r and in BL 23600: 40r.

ࡌࡉࡓࡕࡇ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡂࡀࡓࡀࡓࡀ

מירתה̱ בארקא מיתגארארא

his gall was trailed along the earth.

ࡁࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡇ

בתיהא ד̱נפאק מן פומה̱

By the breath which poured out from his mouth,

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ

קאימיא טוריא ובאשליא

the mountains start up and boil.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ

קאימיא ובאשליא טוריא

The mountains start up and boil.

ࡁࡆࡉࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡓࡇ ࡖࡏࡅࡓ[851] ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

בזיהירא ד̱מן פורה̱ ד̱עור נפאק

by the poison which poured out from the mouth of Ur.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ[852]

עתאהזילה̱ בהאילא ד̱רביא

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,

ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱אבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father had given me.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

עתאהזילה̱ בהאילא ד̱רביא

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[851] ࡏࡅࡓ 'Ur, the Leviathan, in the Mandaean system is the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (monsters). The mythological archetype of this figure is he Babylonian Tia'mat, the chaos-monster slain by Marduk in the history of creation. Jonas believes that the closest Gnostic parallel to our tale is to be found in the Jewish apocryphal Acts of *Kyriakos* and *Julitta*, "where the prayer of *Kyriakos* relates how the hero, sent out by his Mother into foreign land, the "city of darkness," after long wandering and passing through the waters of the abyss meets the dragon, the "king of the worms of the earth, whose tail lies in his mouth. This is the serpent that led astray through passions the angels from on high; this is the serpent that led astray the first Adam and expelled him from Paradise . . . " (Jonas, 1958: 117), (See above § 2.3.7).

[852] This verse is not found in BL 23600 40r & BLO 1236: 40r.

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,
ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡄ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ[853] ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ
מן תיהה̱ מאטיא לילבושיא
and some of his breath reached my garment.
ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ
כ̱ד מן תיהא לילבושיא מאטיא
When some of his breath reached my garment,
ࡃࡉࡄࡊࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ
דיהכאת עשאתא ד̱יאקדא
the burning flame (of his breath) was extinguished.
ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ ࡃࡉࡄࡊࡀࡕ
עשאתא יאקדא דיהכאת
The burning flame was extinguished,
ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡄࡁࡀࡒࡄ ࡅࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡁࡋࡀ
הבאק בהבאקה̱ וארקא בלא
he embraced the earth in his embrace and swallowed it up.
ࡗ ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡅࡁࡋࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ
כ̱ד הבאק ובלא ארקא
When he embraced and swallowed up the earth,
ࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ
שורה̱ על תאר שיריאנא ד̱השוכא נפאל
his navel fell upon the gate of the stream (lit: vein) of darkness.
ࡗ ࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
כ̱ד שורה̱ עתיגנא בשיריאנא ד̱השוכא
When his navel lay in the vein of darkness,
ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ
השוכא כולה̱ מינה̱ גבאל
all the darkness was formed from him.

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[853] In BL 23600 40r: 9 & BLO 1236: 40r: 9 we read: ࡅࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡄ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡉࡄ .

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ[854] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡕࡀࡓ

האיזאך אתאר השוכא תאר

Then the place of darkness was enlarged,

ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡈࡄ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וליגטה בליבה

and he grasped it with its heart.

ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡄ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

בליבה ליגטה השוכא

In his heart he grasped the darkness,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡃࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כאנא דמינה הוא

the *kanna* (place), from which he came to being.

ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡉࡍࡄ

נסאבתינון לאינה

I seized his eyes

ࡅࡊࡀࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וכאפתינון לליבה

and fettered his heart.

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡉࡋࡅࡐࡕࡄ

שארינין לילופתה

I dissolved his joints

(GRR p. 101)

ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡎࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡀࡁࡀࡃࡄ

ומראסינון לכאבאדה

and crushed his liver.

ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡄ ࡁࡌࡏࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡕࡍࡀࡕࡄ

כארסה במעייא אתנאתה

I folded his stomach with his bowels,

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[854] ࡕࡀࡓ in BL 23599 41v: 19, BL 23600 40r: 15, BL 23601 40r: 15 & BLO 1236: 40r: 15

ࡅࡀࡐࡕࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡏࡐࡉࡀ

ואפתה על ארקא עפיא

and I wrapped him with four shawls.

ࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡊࡀࡍࡉࡋࡄ

כינתה בשורה כאנילה

I put a band on his navel,

ࡅࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ[855] ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וגטארילה גיטרא בליבה

and tied a knot around his heart.

ࡆࡉࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡃࡉࡋࡄ

זיהירא במייא שדילה

I cast poison into his bowels,

ࡅࡌࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

ומירתא בכילה קומתה

and gall into his whole stature.

ࡃࡉࡌࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡉࡋࡄ[856]

דימיהתא באינה נפאלילה

A tear filled his eye,

ࡖࡄࡀࡌࡉࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

דהאמימא לנורא דאמיא

which was flaming like fire.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡉࡀࡕࡀ[857]

עסתארבה במאצפוטיאתא

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[855] The knots (usually odd in numbers) are used in exorcism, to break the spells, or for healing, and the magician had recourse to several options are used as a powerful means to subdue evil. In text 22:213 ff. Hibil says, "I sent against him (the demon) the knot which was above all knots .." (Yamauchi, 1967: 249). In Surah no. 113 of the Qur'an "Muhammad seeks refuge from the "evil of blowers (feminine) upon knots النفاثات في العقد." (Ibid 60) The story tellers say that "a Jew called Lubaid and his daughters bewitched Muhammad by tying eleven knots in a cord which they hid in a well. The result was that the Prophet fell seriously ill and would undoubtedly have died had not God intervened" (Budge, 1930: 62).

[856] ࡍࡐࡀࡋ in BL 23600 40r: 21 & BLO 1236: 40r: 21.

[857] ࡁࡌࡀࡎࡐࡅࡈࡉࡀࡕࡀ in BL 23601: 40r.

He was bound with a fetter,

ࡖࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ

דאביא מן דילה

which was thicker than he was.

ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡁࡉࡀ

מן דילה אביא

It was thicker than he was

ࡅࡓࡀࡎࡉࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[858] ࡋࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ

וראסיסתינון לגירמה

and it crushed his bones.

ࡒࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ

קאבא בפומה נפאלה

A muzzle was placed (lit. fell) on his mouth,

ࡅࡏࡆࡃࡉࡌࡉࡌ ࡁࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡓࡉࡆࡋࡀ

ועזדימים בזמאמא דפאריזלא

and he was bridled with an iron bridle.

ࡏࡕࡀࡓࡊࡉࡔ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

עתארכיש בעדה וליגרה

He was bound hand and foot,

ࡅࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡃࡅࡐࡍࡄ

ועלה נפאלה בדופנה

and pain assailed his side.

ࡄࡉࡑࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ

היצביא ברישיא נפאלה

Convulsions attacked (lit. fell on) his head,

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡌࡀࡋࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀࡄࡓࡀ

ואינה סאימאלה ולאנאהרא

and his eyes went blind and shone no more.

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[858] Read ࡓࡀࡎࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ (PE. Pf. RSS to crush, to break to pieces). ࡓࡀࡎࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ in the other copies.

ࡀࡂࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡄ[859] ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡋࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀ
אגארלה מאלאלה בפומה לדאיוא
The wretched became tongue tied
ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ
בכאנא דנאפשיא עסתאר
and confined himself in his own *kanna* (place).
ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
עסתאר בכאנא דנאפשיא
In his own *kanna* (place) he confined himself.
ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[860] ࡒࡓࡀ
הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא קרא
"Alas, Alas onto myself", he cried.
ࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
קרא הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא
"Alas, Alas, onto myself," he cried,
ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡌ ࡏࡋࡄ
ועשאתא דנאפשיא האמים עלה
and his own fire scorched him.
ࡅࡀࡉ ࡅࡀࡉ ࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
ואי ואי קרא לנאפשיא
"Woe, woe", he cried for himself,
ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
דעלאוה רוגזא הוא
as anger overtook him.
ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ
עלאוה הוא רוגזא
Anger overtook him,
ࡔࡉࡄࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡉࡕࡉࡀ[861] ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔ ࡁࡁࡉࡔ

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[859] ࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ BL 23600: 40r.
[860] ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉ BL 23599 42r: 3, ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ BLO 1236: 40r: 23.

שיהאניא כיסיויא מן ריש בריש
and ulcers covered him from head to toe.
ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
אלאי אלאי קאריא בישא
“Woe, Woe,” cried the evil one,
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ
כולהון מיא תאהמיא הון
(and) all the waters became turbid.
ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
הון מיא תאהמיא
All the waters became turbid,
ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡔࡀࡊࡋࡄ[862] ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀࡄࡓࡀ
ואינה̱ השאכלה̱ ולאנאהרא
and his eyes darkened and shone no more.
ࡂࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡄࡁࡀࡈ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
גאנפה̱ הבאט בארקא
His wings pounded the ground
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ
גוהא עתיגנא בליבה̱
(and) thunder pealed in his heart.
ࡏࡒࡁࡄ ࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
עקבה̱ גנא בארקא
His heel stamped on the ground,
ࡄࡑࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡑࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡃࡅࡐࡍࡄ
הצאבלה̱ היצביא בדופנה̱
spasms attacked his sides.[863]
[illegible]

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[861] ࡊࡉࡎࡅࡉࡀ BL 23601: 40v.
[862] ࡄࡔࡀࡊࡄ BL 23600: 40v.
[863] or: sores filled his chest (MD, p. 105).

מליך השוכא עסתאר בכאנא דנאפשיא

The King of Darkness concealed himself in his own *kanna* (place),

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀࡉ[864] ࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ

מן מינילתאי דיליא לאהואת עלה

and none of my words reached him.

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡄࡀࡈ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡒࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

עשתאהאט בתיניקתה ואמאר

He hurled himself down with moans and cried:

ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡎ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

האיאסא הוס עלאי

“Compassionate one, have mercy upon me.”

ࡗ ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡎ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

כד דאמאר האיאסא הוס עלאי

When he cried: “Compassionate one, have mercy upon me!”

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡔࡃࡀ

כול דאכאל מן פומה שדא

Whatever he had devoured he cast out of his mouth,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡔࡃࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ

כול דאכאל שדא מן פומה

everything he had devoured he cast out from his mouth,

(GRR p. 102)

ࡅࡎࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡀ

וסניא ריהא דסרותא

and its foul stench was repulsive.

ࡗ ࡖ[865]ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡕࡀࡉࡁࡀ[866] ࡕࡅࡁ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

כד דאמאר תאיבא תוב עלאי

When he said: “Compassionate One, have compassion on me,”

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[864] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀ BL 23600: 40v.
[865] ࡖ not in BL 23600: 40v and BL 23601: 40v.
[866] ࡄࡀࡉࡁࡀ in BL 23601: 40v.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ
כולהון סאגאדה̱ עתבאדרויא
all his worshipers scattered.

ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ
עתבאדרויא סאגאדה̱
His worshipers scattered,

ࡅࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡃࡀࡓ
וטונא ד̱נאפשיא עלה̱ כדאר
and his own burden pressed hard on him.

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡃࡀࡓ ࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
עלה̱ כדאר טונא ד̱נאפשיא
His own burden pressed hard on him,

ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ד̱נפאש וסאכא ליתלה̱
which was colossal and had no end.

ࡗ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡄࡉࡆ ࡉࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆ
כד̱ מיתינהיז ימיתנאהאז
When he clattered about boisterously,

ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ
אנידה̱ לשכינתה̱
he shook his *škina*.

ࡗ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ
כד̱ לשכינתה̱ אנידה̱
When he shook his *škina*,

ࡏࡕࡂࡀࡍࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ
עתגאנאר עלה̱ נאטריא
guards were provided for (: set over) him.

ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡂࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡄ
נאטריא ד̱עתגאמאר עלה̱
The guards who were set over him

ࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
גאבאריא בוריא ד̱אלמא
were giants and monsters of the world.
࡞

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מן בוריא וגאבאריא
Because of the giants and monsters,
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡉࡋࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡌࡀ
גוהא בילבא ד̱רוהא עתיגמא
a spasm shook the heart of Rūha.
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ
גוהא עתיגנא בליבא ד̱רוהא
A spasm shook the heart of Rūha,
ࡁࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡉࡀ
באכיא ונאהמא וקאמיא
she wept, groaned and sobbed,
ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡀ
ואמראלה̱ לבורא שאפלא
and addressed the base monster,
ࡄࡀࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡍࡃࡀࡃࡀ
האיותא ד̱סאינא ונדאדא
the repulsive filthy snake,
ࡖ ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡄ
ד̱ אתיא ריהא ד̱סרותה̱
whose foul breath rose up (from him):
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡀࡊ
מאן האיזין אבאדבאך
“Who has done this to you,
[illegible]

והאלין דנאניא מאן דאנאנאך

who has caused you this humiliation?”

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡌࡓࡅࡎ

מאליל ד̱נימארלא לנאמרוס

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

ࡋࡏࡅࡑࡀࡓ ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡀࡕ[867] ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

לעוצאר בגינאת ד̱מינה̱ הוא

to the treasure in the garden (?) from which he came into being.

ࡗ ࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ

כד̱ הא ד̱נימארלא

When he would speak to her,

ࡓࡄࡉࡔࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ[868] ࡐࡅࡊࡕࡀ

רהישאלה̱ בפומה̱ פוכתא

the bridle moved about in his mouth.

ࡐࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡓࡄࡉࡔࡀࡋࡄ

פוכתא בפומה̱ רהישאלה̱

The bridle moved about in his mouth,

ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡁࡂࡀࡍ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡐࡅࡄࡀ

אשליא ואבגאן גאברא פוהא

(and) the man screamed and howled, “Alas!”

ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ[869] ࡐࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡍ[870] ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ

אשליא פוהא בגאן גאברא

“Alas,” the man cried and howled,

ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מארא ד̱כולה̱ אלמא

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[867] ࡁࡂࡍࡀࡕ in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.

[868] ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.

[869] The second ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23599 42v: 6 & BL 23601 41r: 1.

[870] ࡅࡁࡂࡀࡍ BL 23600 40v: 19 & BLO 1236: 40v: 20.

the Lord of the whole world.
ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡌࡓࡅࡎ
מאליל דנימארלא לנאמרוס
He talked as he spoke to Namrus,
ࡏࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
עמא דהאזין אלמא
the mother of this world:
ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡁࡀࡃࡋࡉࡀ
גאברא דהאזין עבאדליא
“The man who has done this to me
ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
נפיש מן כולה אלמא
is greater than all the world.
ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡖࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡄࡆࡉࡕ
דמותה דאנפה הזית
I beheld the countenance of his face,
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ
ועל כולה קומתה לאקאמית
but I did not equal his whole stature.
ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
לאקאמית עד כולה קומתה
I did not equal his whole stature,
ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
אמינטול דנפיש מן כולהון אלמיא
because he is greater than all the worlds.”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡄ
כד האזא אמארלא לעמה
When he had thus spoken to his mother,

ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡀࡉࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[871]

באייא ד̲ניגאירא לנאפשיא

he wanted to commit adultery with her.

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ

מאלאכיא ד̲מיזדאהריבה̲

The angels who were watching him

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

אסיקלה̲ שומא באטלא

called him by his worthless name.

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ

הדא להאברה̲ אמאר

One says to the other:

ࡏࡅࡓ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

עור מיתנאהאז מן דוכתה̲

“Ur is moving from his place!”

(GRR p. 103)

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡉࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד̲ האזא שימאת רוהא

When Rūha heard this,

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדא לרישא שאדיא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head.

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ

עדא שאדיא לרישא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head,

ࡅࡂࡅࡃࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ

וגודלא ברישא סאתרא

and ravages the plait(s) of her head.

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[871] In BL 23600 40v: 26 & BLO 1236: 40v: 26 ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ is not found.

ࡂࡅࡃࡋࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

גודלא סאתרא ברישא

She ravages the plait(s) of her head

ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ

ואלאי אלאי דמקאריא

and cries: “Alas, alas!”

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ[872]

רוהא ועסתיראתא

Rūha and the *astartes* (female demons)

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡋࡀ

קאימא וראזא האשלא

stand there and devise mysteries.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ

קאימא והאשלא ראזיא

They stand there and devise mysteries

ࡏࡋ ࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ[873] ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡓ

על גאבאריא נאטריא דעור

against the giants, the guards of ‘Ur.

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ

אנא דהזאיתה

I, when I saw it,

ࡀࡄࡃࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ

אהדארילה פארקסא

I encircled him with a chain

ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡖࡄࡃࡀࡓࡋࡄ[874]

פארקסא דהדארלה

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[872] ࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀ *‘stira* or *‘stra* Akk. Ištar (Venus-Libat) used of female demons (MD p. 355).
[873] BL 23600 41r: 1 & BLO 1236: 41r: 1ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ
[874] Read ࡄࡃࡀࡓࡋࡄ.

the chain which I encircled him with

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡎࡁࡀࡋ[875] ࡁࡋࡄࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱האויא סבאל בלהאב שומיא

became a ladder (?) in the heart of the sky

ࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡓ ࡐࡀࡓࡆࡋࡀ

קרית ועשאוילה̱ שורא שור פארזלא

I created and erected a wall for him, an iron wall,

ࡅࡄࡃࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡀࡉࡓࡄ

והדארתא לכולה̱ דאירה̱

and I surrounded his dwelling.

ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ

שורא דהאדרילה̱ נאטריא שאוית עלה̱

Upon the wall with which surrounded him, I appointed watchers;

ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡁࡀ

נאטריא ד̱מיזדאהריבה̱ במארבא

watchers who kept a watch over his lair.

ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ

שאויבה̱ סרין וארבא באביא

I set in it twenty four gates,

ࡖࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱בון מיתנאטאר אלמא

by which (his) world is guarded.

ࡁࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ

בון אלמא מיתנאטאר

Through them (his) world is guarded

ࡅࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡒࡓࡐࡓࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ

וסאליק אקרפרא עלה̱

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[875] ࡎࡁࡀࡋ, *Nöldeke*: ladder (doubt) (MD p. 316) Arabic سبيل way, path, road. (Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, p. 396).

and dust rises on him.

ࡗ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡅࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ
כד̱ שאויבה̱ סרין ורבא באביא
When I set the twenty-four gates in it,

ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡐࡅࡄࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ
אלאי אלאי פוהא אמאר
he cried: “Woe, alas, alas!

ࡗ ࡊࡀࡐࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡊࡅࡋ
כד̱ כאפינא מאהו עכול
When I am hungry, what shall I eat?

ࡅࡗ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡕࡉࡀ
ו כד̱ צאהינא מאהו עשתיא
When I am thirsty, what shall drink?

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡊࡅࡁ
ועל מאהו עשכוב
and on what shall I lie down,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ
ומאן ניהויליא צאותא
and who will be my companion ?”

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ
מאלאלית ד̱עמארלה̱
I spoke and said

ࡋࡏࡅࡓ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
לעור מליך השוכא באטלא
to Ur, the futile King of Darkness:

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ
טאבא בטאבותה̱ סאליק
“The good one because of his virtue ascends

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

האזילה̱ לאתאר נהור

and beholds the Place of Light.

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡐࡎࡒ[876]

בישא בבישותה̱ מיפסק

The evil one because of his wickedness is cut off

ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡕࡅࡊ

באתאר התוך

in the place of darkness.

ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ[877] ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[878] ࡕࡉࡔࡊࡅࡁ

בתיריא השוך תישכוב

You will lie at the gates of darkness,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ

כאנא ד̱מינה̱ הוית

the *kanna* (place), whence you came.

ࡄࡅ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

הו צאותא נאהוילאך

It shall be your companion,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡁࡄ ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡁࡄ

כאנא ד̱בה̱ עסתארבה̱

the *kanna* (place), in which you concealed yourself.

ࡗ ࡊࡀࡐࡍࡉࡕ ࡀࡊࡅࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀࡊ

כד̱ כאפנית אכול מן שורבאתאך

When you are hungry, (then) eat from your own tribe (or: hosts),

ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡄࡅࡀ

מן כול ד̱מינאך הוא

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[876] ࡌࡐࡉࡎࡒ in BL 23601: 41r.

[877] BL 23600 41r: 13 ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡋ. In BL 23600 41r: 13 ࡋࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ. ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ not in BL 23601 41r: 25 ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ.

[878] ࡄࡔࡅࡊ not in BL 23601 41r: 25.

of everything which has come from you.

ࡌࡉࡔࡉࡕࡉࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ

מישיתיאך מן מיא סיאויא

Your drink shall be from those black waters,

ࡄࡀࡍࡉࡊ ࡖࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡀࡓࡉࡕ[879]

האניך ד̱בגאואיהון דארית

where you have dwelt."

࡞

ࡗ ࡏࡊࡅࡋ[880] ࡅࡋࡀࡎࡉࡁࡉࡕ

כד̱ עכול ולאסיבית

"When I eat and have not had enough,

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

מאן ניסימכא לתיראת על דוכתה̱

who will sustain my inner parts in their place?

ࡅࡗ ࡏࡔࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡎࡁࡀ

וכד̱ עשתיא ולאעסבא

When I drink and am not satisfied

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

מאן ניהיליא לצאותא

who will quench my thirst?"

(GRR p. 104)

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̱ האזין אמאר בישא

When the evil one spoke thus,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡂࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡔࡀࡉ

אנא עהכית ועתגאיית באלהושאי

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[879] BL 23599 43r: 5, BL 23600 41r: 13 & BL 23601 41r: 25 ࡃࡀࡓࡕ.
[880] ࡏࡊࡅࡋࡀ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41r.

I laughed and I was resplendent in my garment.

ࡅࡀࡎࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡂࡉࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡇ

ואסברית וגיהכית עלה̲

I mocked and laughed at him,

ࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡏࡃࡀ[881] ࡅࡋࡀࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉࡀ

על היותא ד̲לא עדא ולאליגריא

at the serpent who is without hands and feet.

ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡕࡉࡊࡋࡇ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲בית ד̲תיכלה̲ לכולה̲ אלמא

"You sought to devour the whole world,

ࡌࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡈࡉࡀࡕ

מנילתא ד̲הייא ניטיאת

(but) the word of Life came,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ

ד̲הינון שאליטיא ומפאקדיא

which was powerful and commanding."

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡇ

כד̲ האיזין אמארילה̲

When I thus spoke to him,

ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀ

האוליל ועל נאפשיא בכא

he wailed and wept unto himself.

ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡁࡊࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[882] ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡓ

האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא ואנאר

He wailed and wept unto himself, and said:

[illegible]

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[881] BL 23599 43r: 10 & BL 23601 41v: 4 ࡖࡋࡀ ࡏࡉࡀ.

[882] BL 23599 43r: 14, BL 23600 41r: 22, BL 23601 41v: 8 & BL 23600 41r: 22 ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡇ.

מיאכא ד̱ראב מינאך
“Is there anyone who is greater than you,
ࡖࡌࡔࡀࡋࡀࡈ[883] ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
ד̱משאלאט על אלמיא כולהון
who has the authority upon all the worlds?
ࡏࡅ ࡏࡊࡀ ࡖࡓࡀࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ
עו עכא ד̱ראב מינאך
If there is anyone who is greater than you,
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡀ[884] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ
אנאת הויא עלאי במאטותא
be you lenient to me.
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡖࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡂࡆࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ[885]
ועל ד̱הטית לאתאגזאר עלאי
If I sinned, do not condemn me,
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡏ[886] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ
אנאת במאטותא הוע עלאי
be, you, lenient to me.
ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡅࡄࡈࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ
מאראן הטין והטאינין
Lord ! we have greatly sinned.
ࡄࡀࡈࡀࡉࡀࡍ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡕࡉࡔࡁࡅࡒࡋࡀࡍ
האטאיאן והאובון תישבוקלאן
Forgive our sins and trespasses.
ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ[887] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ
תיהוילאך עלאי במאטותא
Be compassionate to us,

---

[883] ࡖࡄࡅ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡀࡈ BL 23601: 41v.
[884] ࡄࡅࡏ BL 23601: 41v. ࡄࡅࡉࡕ BL 23600: 41r and BLO 1236: 41r.
[885] This verse not in BL 23600 41r: 25.
[886] ࡅࡄࡅࡉࡀ BL 23600: 41v.
[887] BL 23601 ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ.

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡐࡉࡋ ࡋࡀࡕࡅࡕࡀࡊ

וכולאן ניש‏תפיל לאתותאך

and we all will abase ourselves beneath you."

◆

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

אנא טאבא אנא על טאביא

"I am the good, I am for the good,

ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

עלאואיכון הייא משאלטיא

(but) Life has the authority over you."

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ

מאלאלית ואמארילה̱

I spoke and said to him:

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[888]

אלמא ד̱ניבון הייא

"Until the Life wishes it,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡋࡄࡀࡊࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

ואבאתאר להאכא ניתינציב

and Abatur is planted hither.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ

אלמא ד̱מיתיקריא אבאתאר

Until Abatur is called into being,

ࡅࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡓࡅࡍ[889]

ובניא שלאמא ניתקרון

and the sons of perfection are called into being,

ࡍࡉࡕࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡄࡉࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡅࡀࡁࡀ ࡀࡓࡉࡄࡀ

---

[888] ࡀࡄࡉࡉࡀ BLO 1236: 41r: 22.

[889] BL 23599 43r: 21, BL 23600 41v: 6, BL 23601 41v: 15 & BLO 1236: 41v: 6 ࡉࡕࡒࡓࡅࡍ. The four sons of perfection are: 'yn-hai, šum-hai, ziu-hai and nhūr-hai (GRR, p. 226: 6). Cf. the four archangels (or: light-givers) Raphael, Michael, Uriel, and Gabraiel mentioned in Enoch 9-10 (Stroumsa, 1984: 55 and n. 77).

ניתאקאן משאוניאת עשאתא האיתא

until (the Life) provides the sublime living fire

ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡓࡏࡉࡋ[890] ࡔࡋࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

וגאברעיל שליהא ניתיקריא

and Gabriel, the envoy, is called into being,

ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ[891] ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ניתפאקאד וניקריא אלמא

(then) he will be instructed and create the world.

ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡎࡉࡀ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ

ניתיא נימסיא מסותא

He will arrive and cause a condensation,

ࡅࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡉࡀࡅࡍࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

וארקא יאונאיית ניקריא

and creates the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[892]

ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡉࡀࡅࡍࡀࡉࡉࡕ[893]

ניקריא ארקא יאונאיית

He will create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks,

ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡉࡌࡀ[894] ࡋࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

וניטימא לבירא ד̲מיא תאהמיא

and stops up the well of the stagnant water.

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡐࡓࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ

מן אקאפרא ד̲סאליק מן סיניאויס

From the dust which rises up from Siniawis (the underworld),

---

[890] Gabriel is associated with Ptahil (see above 2. 2. 6).

[891] BL 23599 43r: 21 [illegible]. BL 23600 41v: 6 [illegible] . BL 23601 41v: 15 [illegible]

[892] This verse is a reflection of the Hellenistic influence on Mesoepotamia. We recall the distinguished works of Berosus (a Hellenistic Babylonian writer and astronomer 3rd century B.C.E.) who introduced the writings of the Babylonians concerning astronomy and philosophy amongst the Greeks.

[893] [illegible] BL 23601.

[894] BL 23600 41v: 10 [illegible].

ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡆࡁࡀࡌࡀ[895] ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
עלאך במארזבאמא ניהויא
there will be a conduit for you,
ࡋࡎࡄࡀࡈ[896] ࡁࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
לסהאט בעשאתא האיתא
to mingle with the living fire,
ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡇ[897] ࡌࡉࡀ[898] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ
ונימאליליבה̠ מיא הייא וראוזיא
and it will be filled with living and bright water,
ࡖࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌࡀ
ד̠ריהאיון באסימא
whose fragrance is sweet,
ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀ
ומינאיון טאבותא מיתניסבא
and from them goodness is obtained.
ࡅࡌࡍ ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ
ומן שפיתון ד̠האנאתון מיא
And from the overflow of those waters

(GRR p. 105)

ࡏࡅ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡉࡔࡉࡕࡉࡀࡊ
עו צאהית ניהויא למישיתיאך
shall be your drink if you get thirsty.
ࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡊࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ
מן עכילתא ד̠עכלא עשאתא עכילתא
From the food which the devouring fire devours;
ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡐࡉࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡊ

---

[895] ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡆࡁࡀࡌࡀ BL 23601: 41v.
[896] ࡋࡎࡄࡀࡈ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41v and BLO 236: 41v.
[897] BL 23599 43v: 5 there is ࡌࡀࡋࡋࡀࡁࡄ . BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡁࡄ
[898] BL 23600 41v: 13 & BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ࡌࡉࡉࡀ.

ד̲עלאך נאפיל מן האך

the (scraps) which falls upon you from that;

ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓ ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡌࡍࡄ

ד̲יאתיר ונאפיל מנה̲

the leftovers which drop form it,

ࡌࡀࡅࡊࡋࡕࡀࡊ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

מאוכלתאך תיהויא

shall be your food.

ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡊ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀࡊ

מן סאהראך ודאיואך הומראך וליליאתאך

(Let) some of your demons, *diwis*, *humras* and *liliths*,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡀࡊ[899]

הינון ניהוילאך מאכולתאך

become your food.

ࡗ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

כד̲ מיתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament is spanned out

ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡊ ࡕࡉࡔࡕࡉࡐࡉࡋ

הימתא עלאואך תישתיפיל

wrath will fall on you.

࡞

ࡏࡅࡓ[900] ࡁࡍࡉࡄࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡉࡌ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

עור בניהמתא נאהים ואמארליא

‘Ur groaned loudly and said to me:

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡉ

אלמא לעמאת עהויא באלהודאי

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[899] ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡀ in BL 23600 41v: 18.

[900] Mead believes that ‘Ur is originally the Caldaean Deus Lunus (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of “Ophite” origin. (See Mead, 1924: 35 note 2, and §2.3.7 above).

“How long must I live alone
ࡏࡎࡉࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
עסיבלה לטונא דאלמא
and bear the burden of the world?’

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡅࡓ
כד האזא אמאר עור
When Ur spoke in this way,
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ
רוהא עמא נאידא ומיתנאידא
Rūha his mother shook and trembled.
ࡄࡀࡉࡒࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡃࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
האיקא ומיתנאדא רוהא
Rūha feared and trembled,
ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
ואלאי אלאי קאריא
and cried: “Alas, alas!”
ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ[901]
נהימתא נאהמא רוהא
Rūha groaned loudly
ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡐࡉࡋ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ
לגאבארא דשפיל אמראלה
and said to the giant who was abased:
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ
מאן ניהויא דאכויתאך
“Who will be like unto you,
[illegible] [illegible] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ[902]

---

[901] BL 23600 41v: 24 & BLO 1236: 41v: 22 ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ [illegible] ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ
[illegible] ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ
[902] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ BL 23601: 42r.

וניקום ונידאבריא לאלמאך

and rise and lead your world?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡋࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

מאן מארה̱ לסאהראך ניהויא

Who will be lord over your demons,

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀࡊ

ומשאלטאנא להומראך

and master of your *humras*?

ࡏࡅࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ

עותאנא וגאבארא

(Is he) a powerful one, a giant?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡎࡉࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀࡊ

מאן נאסיבלה̱ לצאותאך

Who will hold your colours (or: banners),

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

האיזאך ענשיא לגיואת ענשיא

(the women, the splendour of the women ?”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̱ האיזין אמאר בישא

When the evil one(s) had thus spoken,

ࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ[903] ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ

מלאלית ואמארנאלון על כול צבו

I answered and spoke to them about all things,

ࡗ ࡑࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡊ

כד̱ צאביא רביא האך

“As the Great One wills it,

ࡊࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡁࡄ

---

[903] BL 23600 42r: 2 & BLO 1236: 42r: 2 ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡄ

דהואת מן דוכתה

thus it came to pass immediately.

ࡗ ࡑࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד צאביא רביא

As the Great One wills it,

ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡖࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

אבאהאתאי דניצבון אמריליא

my Father, who planted (or: created) me, told it to me,

ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ[904] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ

מיקרא מאמלאליא

The voices proclaim:

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

מא דמהאשבא רוהא

that which Rūha planned

ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ניהון קאלא באטליא

will be idle voices.

ࡗ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

כד ניהון שובא

When the Seven planets came to being

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[905] ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

דמינאיהון הוסראנא האויא

from whom need is produced.

ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

שאמאיהון דהאנאתון קאליא

(Then) the names of those voices

[illegible][906] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[904] BL 23599 44r: 3, BL 23600 42r: 4, BL 23601 42r: 14 & BLO 1236: 42r: 4 [illegible] ....

[905] (ࡖ) not in BL 23600 42r: 8 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8.

כתיב ומאפראש עלאואיהון

will be written down and pronounced over them.

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

תום האויאן תריסאר קאליא

Thereupon the twelve voices come into being,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ[907] ࡄࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ד̠מינאיהון האויא האסאר ובציר

from which all the flaws and defects are produced.

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ

ובהאשאבתא ד̠כאדאבתיא

Because of the plan of the liar,

ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡁࡊࡀࡓࡉࡅࡕࡀ

מיתיסרין בכאריותא

they are seized by sorrows.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

האוין האמשא קאליא

Five voices come into being,

(GRR p. 106)

ࡖࡁࡆࡉࡅࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡍ

ד̠בזיויהתא מיתאהזין

who make a terrifying appearance.

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡃࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ

ד̠האזילון אלמיא ומידאהליא

The worlds behold them and are petrified;

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ[908]

ומיתאהזיא בכאנא ד̠נורא ד̠יאקדא

and they appear in the *kanna* (place) of the burning fire.

---

[906] BL 23599 44r: 6, BL 23600 42r: 8, BL 23601 42r: 17 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8 [illegible].

[907] ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 42r: 10 & BLO 1236: 42r: 10.

[908] [illegible] in the other manuscripts.

ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡂࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡂࡉࡍ

בגירגליא דרוגזא מאסגין

They march in the wheels of anger,

ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡍ

בגאונא דנורא מיתאהזין

and appear in the colours of fire.

࡞

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡉࡀ[909]

אמריליא על קאדמייא

They spoke to me about the first (events),

ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡇ ࡅࡃࡇ

ואפרישון על דה ודה

and clarified all and sundry.

ࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

מאפרישיליא על כולהון קאליא

They informed me about all voices,

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד דהון מן דוכתאיון

as they happened in their place.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ[910]

אתיא הדא קאלא

One call comes

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על קאלא כולהון

and explains about all calls.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

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[909] BL 23600 42r: 15 & BLO 1236: 42r: 15 ࡋࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ.

[910] Jonas states: "The symbol of the call as the form in which the transmundane makes its appearance within the world is so fundamental to Eastern Gnosticism that we may even designate the Mandaean and Manichean religions as "religions of the call."" (Jonas, 1958: 74).

אתיא הדא מאמלא

One speech comes

ࡅࡌࡉࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומיפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and explains about all speeches.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡁࡓࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌࡀ

אתיא הדא ברא רהימא

A cherished son will come,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡏࡑࡈࡓࡀࡓ

ד̱מן כאנפיא ד̱זיוא עצטראר

who was formed from the bosom of the radiance.

ࡏࡑࡈࡓࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ

עצטראר מן כאנפיא ד̱זיוא

From the bosom of the radiance he was formed,

ࡅࡖࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡌࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ[911]

ודמותה̱ מנאטרא באתרה̱

and his counterpart is preserved in its place.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ[912] ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אתיא בערותא ד̱הייא

He arrives with the splendour of Life,

ࡅࡁࡐࡀࡒࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ

ובפאקדתא ד̱אבויא פאקיד

and by the command which his father gave him.

ࡀࡕࡀࡄ ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

אתה̱ בלבושא ד̱עשאתא האיתא

He comes in a garment of the Living Flame,

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ

ומאסגיא על אלמאך

---

[911] BL 23600 42r: 19 & BLO 1236: 42r: 19 ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ "in the place of Life".

[912] BL 23600 42r: 22 & BLO 1236: 42r: 22 ࡁࡏࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ.

and set off towards your world.

ࡎࡂࡅࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡃ

סגודתא דרביא סאגיד

He makes a profound obeisance to the Great One

ࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡐࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ

ערותא מאפיק מן עוצרה

Splendour is brought out from his thought

ࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ ࡌࡀࡐࡉࡒ

ערותא מן עוצרה מאפיק

From his thought splendour is brought out.

ࡅࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡉ

ומאיתיא מסותא וראמיא במאי

He brings solidity and throws it in the water.

ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡉ ࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ

מסותא במאי ראמיא

He throws solidity in the water

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ

ומשאויא מיצרא לאלמאך

and he appoints a limit to the worlds.

ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀ ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאיתילא לעשאתא האיתא

He brings the Living Flame

ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

וראמילא במיא תאהמיא

and casts it into the deep waters.

ࡌࡔࡀࡃࡉࡊࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡑࡉࡀ

משאדיכלון לכומציא

He fills in the ditches,

ࡅࡌࡉࡀࡁࡉࡔࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

ומיאבישלון למיא תאהמיא

and dries out the stagnant waters.
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
אלמא לנאפשיה קאריא
He creates a world for himself,
ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡕࡀ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
ובאיין ביתא כד רורביא
and builds a building like the Great Ones.
ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
צאותא מאיתיא מן בית הייא
He brings glory from the House of Life
ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ
ומאנהארלא לשכינתא
and illuminates the *škinas*
ࡌࡋࡊࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מלכא לאלמא קאריא
He creates a king to the world
ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ
וראמיא בפאגרא נישימתא
and casts a soul into his body.[913]
ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ
נישימתא בפאגרא ראמיא
Into his body he casts a soul,
ࡅࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ
ועכילתא דפאגרא אכליא
and allows him to eat food of the body.
ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
בהאילא דעשאתא האיתא

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[913] Cf. [illegible]
“Ptahil threw the form which the Second (Life) had formed into the world of darkness. He made creations and formed tribes outside the Life” (GRR 287: 7).

By the strength of the living fire,
ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ
עשאתא עכילתא מאמלילא
the devouring fire spoke.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ
מאמלילא עשאתא עכילתא
The devouring fire spoke,
ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡉ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ
והאויא מיני כול דה̱ ודה̱
and from it all and sundry was formed.

(GRR p. 107)

ࡊࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡉࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ[914]
כת האוין עוצאניא ופיקוניא ויארקוניא
When leaves, flowers and vegetables came to being,
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ
וכולהון פיריא עמביא ועלאניא
and all fruits, grapes and trees,
ࡖࡌࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱מראוזיבה̱ באלמא
which (begin) to thrive in the world,
ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
בריהא ד̱מיא הייא
(then) by the odour of the living water,
ࡅࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
ובריהא ד̱עשאתא האיתא
and by the odour of the living flame,
ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡅࡍ
באסים ריהא ד̱סרותון

---

[914] In BL 23600 42v: 6 & BLO 1236: 42v: 6 ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ is not found.

the stink of their putridity becomes pleasant.

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

מן עכילתא ד̱אכלא עשאתא עכילתא

From the food which the devouring fire devours,

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡋࡌࡉࡊࡋࡀࡊ

מינה̱ תיהוילאך למיכלאך

will be your food.

ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[915]

ניתון תלאתא עותריא

Three *Uthras* will arrive

ࡅࡍࡉࡀࡍࡈࡓࡅࡍࡄ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

וניאנטרונה̱ לנישימתא

and safeguard the souls (*nišimata*).

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ

קאלא ד̱הייא ניקרון

They will call aloud the voice of Life,

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡄࡉࡓࡅࡍࡄ ࡋࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

ונינהירונה̱ לבאיתא נאפלא

and illuminate the perishable house (the earthly world).

ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[916]

ניתון תרין עותריא

Two Uthras will arrive,

ࡅࡁࡓࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

ובריש מיא נאסגון

and go to the watersheds.

ࡋࡊࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

לכא ניתון מיא

They will bring water hither,

---

[915] They are Hibil, Šitil and Anoš: the head of the whole race (CP, p. 58).

[916] they are Šalmai and Naidbai, guardian uthras of the Jordan (CP, p. 58).

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניניצבון יארדנא באלמא

and establish a Jordan (river) in the world.

ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ

יארדנא באלמא ניניצבון

A Jordan they will establish in the world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡓࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ונישרון עלה̱ צאותא

and spread luster over it.

ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ ࡖࡊࡉࡔࡓࡉࡀ[917]

שיתליא נישיתלון ד̱כישריא

They will plant worthy plants

ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡌࡀࡍࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡁࡓࡅࡕࡀ

ניתימלון בהאימאנותא ובהוכומתא וסאברותא

They will be full of faith, wisdom and insight,

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

וניקרון קאלא שאניא

and call (aloud) a wonderful voice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ

קאלא שאניא ניקרון

A wonderful voice they will call (aloud),

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ונישרון בבאיתא צאותא

and spread luster in the House.

ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡐࡉࡀ ࡇࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

שפיתא ד̱שאפיא חן מיא

The outflow that flows out of the water,

---

[917] *kišria* pl. *kišra*: success, successful. *šitlia nišitlun ḏ-kišria* (doubtful) (MD, p. 216)

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ[918]

דַעל ארקא תיביל נאפליא

falls onto earth Tibil.

ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

שפיתא דַארקא דַתיביל

The outflow of the earth of Tibil,

ࡏࡅ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡉࡀ

עו צאהית ניהוילאך מיא

if you thirst, it shall be water for you.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

באיתא דַארקא דַתיביל

The house of the earth of Tibil,

ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡊ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ

ניהויא עלאוך בנאטריא

shall be your prison.

[919]ࡌࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ

מן בנאך דַהאוין מינאך

Some of your sons, who are from you,

[920]ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ

עלאך ניהון בנאטריא

will be watchmen over you.

ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀࡊ

עלאך ניהון דַמיזדאהריבהַ בפארקסאך

They are charged to look after your bond.

ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀࡊ ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ

בפארקסאך מיזדאהריבהַ

They are charged to look after your bond,

---

[918] BL 23600 42v: 16 & BLO 1236: 42v: 16 ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ.
[919] this verse is not in BL 23601: 43r.
[920] ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ is not in BL 23601: 43r.

ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

במאצפוטתא ד̱האויא מלאייא ד̱אלמא

(to look after) the chain which is the fullness of the world.

ࡍࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡉ ࡁࡎࡀࡃࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ניזדאהריבי בסאדא רבא

They are charged to look after your foot block,

ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡉࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱כאדיר מן כולהון אלמא

which is heavier than all of the worlds.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ[921] ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̱ האזא שומא בישא

When the evil one heard this,

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡌࡀࡕ[922] ࡏࡕࡌࡋࡉࡀ

ליבה̱ הימאת עתמליא

his heart became full with anger.

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡏࡕࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ליבה̱ עתמליא הימתא

With anger his heart became full,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡉ ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

ואנידי לסאדאנא ד̱ארקא

and he shook the anvil of the earth.

ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ[923] ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ

לסאדאנא ד̱ארקא אנידה̱

He shook the anvil of the earth,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡓࡒࡀࡎࡉࡅ

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[921] BL 23600 42v: 24 & BLO 1236: 42v: 24 ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ

[922] ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ in BL 23601: 43r.

[923] ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ is not found in BL 23600 42v: 24.

ואנדינון לפארקסיא

and shook the chains.

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡉࡕࡀ

אנידה̲ למאצפוטיתא

He shook the chains,

(GRR p. 108)

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲האויא מלאייא דאלמא

which are the fullness of the world.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ

אנא בהאילאיהון ד̲הייא קאמית

I rose up by the strength of the Life,

ࡅࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ

ובותא מן הייא רביא בית

and I put a request to the Great Life,

ࡅࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡓ ࡐࡀࡓࡆࡋࡀ

וקרית ושוילה̲ שורא שור פארזלא

and I created and set a wall around him, an iron wall,

ࡅࡀࡄࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ

ואהדרילה̲ פארקסא

and I entangled him in a bond.

ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ

פארקסא ד̲האדרילה̲

In a bond I entangled him,

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡀ

ד̲עניש בהאילה̲ לאמציא

whose strength none can attain.

ࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

עניש לאמציא בהאילה̲

None can attain his strength,
ࡖࡍࡀࡍࡃࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
דנאנדה מן דוכתה
or shake him from its place.
ࡏࡒࡁࡀࡉ ࡂࡉࡄࡍࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
עקבאי גיהנית בארקא
My heels stamped on the ground,
ࡅࡀࡍࡃࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ
ואנדיתה לליבה מן סאמכה
and shook down his heart from its pillar.
ࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡀࡍࡉࡋࡄ
כינתה בליבה כאנילה
I wrapped his heart with a veil,
ࡅࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
וגטארילה גיטרא בקומתה
and tied a ligament around his body.
ࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡉࡀ
גטאריבה שובא גיטריא
I tied seven knots around him
ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ
דקאלא דהשוכא מינה נפאק
so the voice of darkness departed him.
ࡂࡈࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
גטארתא לגיטרא רבא
I tied the great knot,
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡕࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡄ
ובאטילתה לכולה מימרה
and foiled all his words.
ࡒࡁࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡊࡉࡍࡏ ࡊࡀࡍࡕࡄ

בתריסאר כינע כאנתה̱

I wrapped him with twelve veils,

ࡖࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡌࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱תריסאר מהאשאבאתא מינה̱ הון

so the twelve (evil) schemes departed him.

ࡀࡎࡓࡕࡄ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

אסרתה̱ בקאלא רבא

I bound him by the great voice,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡉࡋ

ד̱כולה̱ הסראנון מינאיון בטיל

so their whole blunder was annulled from them.

ࡊࡀࡐࡕࡄ ࡁࡊࡉࡐࡅࡕࡀ[924]

כאפתה̱ בכיפותא

I fettered him with a fetter,

ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡆࡀࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱שובא זאהריריא מינה̱ הון

so the seven flashes departed him.

ࡔࡃࡉࡕ ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ

שדית בקולפא מהאיתה̱

I flung my club and struck him,

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡄ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡄ

ופלאגילה̱ ברישה̱ פלוגתה̱

and split his head open.

ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

אנהימתה̱ נהימתא ד̱ענשיא

I made him shriek a womanish shriek,

ࡅࡀࡁࡊࡉࡕࡄ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡍࡒࡀ

ואבכיתה̱ כ̱ד̱ יאנקא

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[924] BL 23599 45r: 16 & BL 23601 43r: 21 ࡁࡊࡉࡐࡉࡕࡀ. BL 23600 43r: 9 & BLO 1236: 43r: 9 ࡁࡊࡉࡉࡕࡀ.

and I made him weep like a child.

ࡄࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡄ

הרא שאוילה̱ מאכולתה̱

I made dung his food,

ࡅࡕࡉࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ

ותינא שאוילה̱ מישתיא

and urine his drink.

ࡃࡀࡄࡉࡊࡕࡄ ࡋࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡅࡌࡀ

דאהיכתה̱ ליאקדאנא ולהאומא

I extinguished the fire and the glow

ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ

ד̱עשאתא אכלא ומהאמבלא

of the devouring and destroying fire.

ࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

שיהא ניסבית מינה̱

I deprived him of his greed (or: lust),

ࡅࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡕࡄ ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ואלבישתה̱ הימתא

and I clothed him with wrath.

ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡉࡕ

דירכא לטאביא דירכית

I trod out a path for the good,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושאוית באבא לאלמא

and I made a gateway for the world.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ

באבא לאלמא שאוית

A gateway for the world I made

[illegible]

ותראציבה̱ כורסיא

and erected a chair (throne) in it.

ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ

כורסיא לטאביא תירצית

I erected a chair (throne) for the good ones,

ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡁࡄ ࡐࡀࡎࡅࡌࡊࡀ[925]

ותאקניבה̱ פאסומכא

and I set up a light beside it.

ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡁࡄ

פאסימכא תאקניבה̱

A light I set up beside it,

ࡖࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ד̱משאלית מן ריש בריש

which is completely perfect.

ࡅࡌࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ

ומאטרא ד̱בניא שלאמא

And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection,

ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡉࡀ

באתרא ד̱יאתיריא ולא האסיריא

is the place where they live and without lacking anything.

(GRR p. 109)

ࡕࡀࡓࡑࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

תארצילון כארסאואתא

I set up thrones for them,

ࡅࡀࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡋࡅࡍ[926] ࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ואשלימילון עוצטליא

and presented them with robes.

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[925] BL 23599 45r: 23 & BL 23601 43v: 3 ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡕ. Not in BL 23600 43r: 17 & BLO 1236: 43r: 15.

[926] BLO 1236: 43r: 18 ࡖࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡋࡅࡍ.

ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ

יארדמא ד̱רביא תירצית

I established the Jordan of the Great [one],

ࡅࡀࡒࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ

ואקמית עלה̱ נאטריא

and appointed guardians over it.

ࡀࡒࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[927]

אקמית עלה̱ תרין עותריא

I stationed two *uthras* beside it,

ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡀࡓ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡄࡎࡀࡓ

ד̱מיתאר עתאר ולא הסאר

who were surpassingly rich and without lacking.

ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡋࡓࡀࡁ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

כורסיא תירצית לראב זיוא

I set up a throne to Rab-Ziwa (the lord of beings of light)

ࡅࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡉ ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ

ותירצית קודאמי פאסימכא

and erected a light before it.

ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ

פאסימכא ד̱תירצית

A light which I erected,

ࡖࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ד̱מישתאלאם מן ריש בריש

which was completely perfect.

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡕࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ

אנא בערותא ותשביהתא

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[927] They are Šalmai & Nadbai, the two spirits regarded generally as the guardians of the Yardina (Jordan) river.

I with fervour and praise,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡍ

במא ד̱הייא אשמון

with what the Life had caused me to hear.

ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡕࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ

בערותא ותשביהתא

With fervour and praise,

ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אסגית עזלית לבית רורביא

I set forth and went towards the House of the Great Ones.

ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡀ

בהאדותא ד̱האדינא

In the joy that I felt,

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

עשתאיילון לרורביא

I reported to the Great Ones.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ

הייא הדון ועתקאיאם

The Life rejoiced and was in high spirits,

ࡅࡄࡃࡅࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

והדוביא מן ריש בריש

and they were overjoyed with me.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ

הייא לגאט טאבותאי

The Life thanked me,

ࡅࡀࡍࡐࡀࡔࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡀࡉ ࡏࡋ ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ[928]

ואנפאשויא לזיואי על ד̱עתליא ואמריא

and he gave me more radiance than I had (before) and spoke (to me):

---

[928] BL 23600 43v: 1 & BLO 1236: 43v: 1 ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ.

ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡀࡎࡉࡀࡊ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ
כושטא אסיאך טאבא
“*Kušṭa* preserve you, good one,
ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡕࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡀ
למאלאלא דמאמלילתבה ואסיא
and preserve the word you have spoken.”
ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋ
הייא בהאדותון מאלאל
The Life spoke blissfully
ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ
לעותריא אמריא
to the *uthras* (and) said:
ࡋࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ
להאילה דגאברא שאבא
“Praise the strength of the man
ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ[929]
דמיא בגו נורא
who cured water through fire
ࡋࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡁࡀ
להאילה דגאברא דשאבא
Praise the strength of the man,
ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡈࡀࡕ
דנורא בדילה לא הטאת
against whom the fire sinned not.
ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡈࡀࡕࡀࡁࡄ
נורא לא הטאתאבה
The fire did not sin against him!”

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[929] see above page 74 [illegible] “he brings the living flame and casts it into the deep waters”.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡓ
עותרא בערותה̱ באר
The *uthra* shone in its radiance;
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡓ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ
עותרא באר בערותה̱
the *uthra* shone in its radiance,
ࡅࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑ
ודירכא לשאלמאניא תראץ
and trod out a path for the perfect ones.
ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑ ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ
דירכא תראץ לשאלמאניא
A path he trod out for the perfect ones,
ࡅࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ
ולשאלמאניא משאלימלון
and he rewarded them fully.
ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ
משאלימלון לשאלמאניא
He rewarded the perfect ones,
ࡅࡃࡀࡊࡀࡓ ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
ודאכאר שומאיהון בית רורביא
and remembered their names in the House of the Great Ones.

࡞

ࡍࡄࡀ ࡅࡁࡎࡅࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
נהא ובסום עותרא
The *uthra* was cheerful and delighted
ࡗ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ[930] ࡋࡂࡀࡈ
כד̱ הייא בטאבותא לגאט
when the Life thanked him.

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[930] BL 3600 43v: 9 ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ . In BLO 1236: 43v: 9 ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ.

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡅࡉࡀ

האנאנויא ונישקויא

He embraced and kissed the *uthra*

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לעותרא וכושטא עהאבלי כד רורביא

and gave him the *Kušṭa*, like the great (ones).

ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

אבאד וכשאר קרויא לעותרא

"He worked and succeeded.' They hailed to the *uthra*.

[931]ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ

דכול תיבאד תיכשאר

"In whatever you do you will succeed.

ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡕࡉࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

עו תיבאד ותינצאב עותריא

If you create and plant *uthras*,

ࡗ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡂࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

כד עותראך ונאסגולה להאך דוכתא

then your *uthras* may go to that place.

(GRR p. 110)

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

אבא רבא

(You are) the great father;

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

דהייא נאפשא טאבותאך לגאט

(and) to you Life has proven his immense gratitude."

࡞

ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[931] ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ not in BL 3600 43v: 11 & BLO 1236: 43v: 11 .

כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* from them,

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ואסגית לבית רורביא

and went to the house of the great (ones),

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[932]

דוכתא ד̱שרין טאביא

the place where the good ones dwell,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡕࡉࡌ ࡔࡓࡉࡍ

דוכתא ד̱טאביא האתים שרין

that place in which the good ones dwell.

ࡌࡀࡈࡅࡉࡀࡉ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

מאטויאי בית טאביא

When I arrived to the house of the good ones,

ࡎࡉࡂࡃࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

סיגדית קודאמאיהון ד̱רורביא

I bowed down (in worship) before the Great Ones.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓ

מא ד̱בית ד̱לרביא עמאר

As I wanted to address the Great One,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

הינון רביא אמארליא

the Great One spoke to me.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ

מא ד̱בית עשתאיילון

As I wanted to relate to them,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ[933] ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

הינון רביא טאבותאי לגאט

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[932] BL 23601: 44r ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ.

[933] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 44r.

the Great One thanked me.
ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ
רביא לגאט טאבותאי
The Great One thanked me,
ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ
ואמארליא על כול צבו
and spoke to me about everything.
ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ
רביא בראבותון קירין רבא
The Great One, in his majesty, called me: "The great
ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
מן ריש בריש
beyond all measures!"
ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ
אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא
"He worked and succeeded," hailed the Great One.
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ
עותרא מקאיאם ראהמה
"The uthra who sustains his friends,
ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ
אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא
worked and succeeded!" hailed the Great one.
ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ
כול דתיבאד תיכשאר
"In whatever you do, you will succeed.
ࡀࡁࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ
אבא תיהויא דעותריא
You will be the father of the *uthras*,
ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ
ומזאויד זואדיא לראהמה

who provides his friends with provisions.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת בהירא תיהויא ד̠עותריא

You are the chosen one of the *uthras*,

ࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡒࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אמיתאקאן עבידאתא כולהון

and makes all works right.

[934]ࡕࡉࡕࡀࡒࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ

תיתאקאן עבידאתא

You make all works right,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ

אמינטול ד̠אבאד וכשאר

because (you are the one who) "worked and succeeded."

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אנאת מאנדא ד̠הייא

"You, Manda d̠-Hiia,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the valour and well-prepared *Uthra*,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡂࡅࡃ ࡍࡉࡂࡃࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

קום נגוד ניגדא ד̠מיא הייא

arise, draw off a channel of living water

ࡅࡀࡅࡉࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואויל להאך אלמא

and lead it into that world.

[935]ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קרילון לתלאתא עותריא

Summon the three *uthras*,

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[934] BL 3600 43v: 23 & BLO 1236: 43v: 23 ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ.

[935] They are: Hibil, Šitil & Anoš.

ࡖࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱גינזא ד̱הייא מיזדאהריא

who shall care for the treasure of the Life.

ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מיזדאהריא בגינזא ד̱הייא

They shall care for the treasure of Life,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ

ד̱מן האכא מיתינסיב

which is taken from here.

ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡌࡉࡌࡉࡀ

נאסבילה̱ עותריא תמימיא

Imprudent *uthras* take it,

ࡅࡌࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומאולילה̱ להאך אלמא

and bring it into that world.

ࡌࡎࡀࡊࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ

מסאככילה̱ ביסיאנא

They put it in filth

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡑࡁࡀ ࡁࡎࡀࡓ[936]

ומאלבישילה̱ עצבא בסאר

and clothe it in the colour(s) of the flesh.

ࡌࡎࡀࡊࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ

מסאככילה̱ ביסיאנא

They put it in the filth,

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאלבישילה̱ לבושא באטלא

and clothe it with a perishable garment.

ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ

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[936] In BL 23600 44r: 2 there is ࡁࡉࡔࡀࡓ

לבושא באטלא מאלבישילה

With a perishable garment they clothe it

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ומשאויבה האסיר ובציר

and produce in it defect and blunder.

ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ

האסיר ובציר משאויבה

Defect and blunder they produce in it,

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ

והאויאבון הארגתא

and distortion afflicts them.

ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ

הארגתא האויאבון

Distortion afflicts them,

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

והאויאבון דה ודה

and ensue in them all and sundry."

(GRR p. 111)

࡞

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

האיזאך תריץ תיניאנא

Then the Second (Life) straightened up,

ࡅࡒࡀࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡋࡊࡅࡉࡀ

וקאם עותרא ומילכויא

and the *Uthra* rose up and held counsel.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡌࡉࡋࡊࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

עותריא קאם ומילכויא ואמארלה

His *uthras* stood and gave him advice, and spoke to him (to the Second Life):

ࡀࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ[937] ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אהאבאלאן ניקריא אלמא

“Grant us to call forth a world,

ࡅࡍࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

ונשאוילאך שכינאתא

and establish *škinas* for you,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱הינון דילאך ניתיקריא

which will be declared as yours!”

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡇ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡇ

ומן נהורה̱ ומן מא ד̱הייא עהאבלה̱

and his light and some of that which the Life gave him.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡆࡉࡅࡇ

עהאבלון מן זיוה̱

He gave them some of his radiance

ࡅࡍࡂࡀࡃ[938] ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונגאד מיקריא אלמא

and ordered(?) them to call forth a world.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡍࡇ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

קאם בנה̱ תיניאנא ואסגון

The sons of the Second (Life) arose, set forth

ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ונהות לאתאר השוך

and descended towards the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ[939] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

קירויא לפתאהיל עותרא

They called forth Ptahil-Uthra

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[937] BL 23599 46r: 18 ࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀ. BL 23600 44r : 8, L 23601 44r: 22 & BLO 1236: 44r: 8 ࡀࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀ

[938] *ngad* PE. Pf. NGD “to draw (forth or out), stretch out, extend etc. for *pqad* (idiom) (MD, p. 288). נגד to flow, pull, draw, guide (DJPA, p. 340).

[939] Ptahil the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world (See above § 2.3.6).

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ

קירויא וקאימויא באתרה

They called him forth and set him in his place.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ[940]

קרונון לבניא שלאמא

They called the sons-of- perfection

ࡅࡕࡓࡀࡑࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡉࡅࡍ

ותראצונון על כורסיאיון

and set them on their thrones.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

קרון ושאוין שכינאתא

They called forth and created *škinas,*

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ומשאויבון עותריא

and created *uthras* in them.

ࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ

אסגון על האפיקיא מיא

They arrived at the streams of water

ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡒ ࡄࡉࡆࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ואדיק היזויא לאתאר השוך

and looked intently at the Place of Darkness.

࡞

ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[941] ࡁࡀࡓ ࡁࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

בהאק זיוא באר בנאפשיא ונאפשיא

Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself and became arrogant,

[illegible]

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[940] Šum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, ʻIn-Hai and Zamar-Hai: the four beings of perfection who come towards sincere and believing people and take them out of bonds (See CP, p. 87).

[941] ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *bhaq-ziwa* name of a light spirit. He is created by the Second (Life) and he is identified with Abathur. His other name is "the Father of the *Uthras*" (See above §2. 2.5).

כד̱ רורביא לגאט נאפשיא

and conducted himself like the great ones.

ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לגאט כד̱ רורביא

He conducted like the great ones,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

ושיבקה̱ לשומא ד̱אבויא קרא ואמאר

and abandoned the name that his father called him by. And he spoke:

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ

אבא ד̱עותריא אנא

“I am the father of the *uthras*,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנא הו אבא ד̱עותריא

the father of the *uthras* am I,

ࡖࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱שאוית שכינאתא לעותריא

who made *škinas* for the *uthras*.”

ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

עתהאשאב על מיא תאהמיא

He pondered over the deep waters

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡖࡏࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואמאר ד̱עקריא אלמא

and said: “I shall call forth a world!”

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ[942]

ולאעתימליך

He took no advice

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

ולאעדא על מיא תאהמיא

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[942] BL 23600 44r : 20 & BLO 1236: 44r: 22 ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ.

and did not perceive the deep waters.

ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡏࡃࡀ

על מיא תאהמיא לא עדא

He did not perceive the deep waters

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ולאעדא על עשאתא עכילתא

and he did not perceive the devouring flame,

ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ד̱לאהואבה̱ צאותא

which has no splendour.

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ולאעתימליך אבא ד̱עותריא

The father of the uthras took no advice

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

ולאעהאבלון אדיאוריא

and he offered them (the *uthras*) no support.

࡞

ࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

קרא לפתאהיל עותרא

He called Ptahil-Uthra,

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡄ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

האנאה̱ ונישקה̱ כד̱ רורביא

embraced him, and kissed him like a great one.

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡌࡄࡀࡕࡀ

אסיקלה̱ שומהאתא

He bestowed names on him,

[illegible][943] [illegible][944] [illegible]

---

[943] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 [illegible]. BL 23599 46v: 10 & BL 23601 44v: 10 [illegible].

[944] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 [illegible] [illegible].

דכסעיא ומנאטרא באתראיין

which are concealed and guarded in their place.

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡏࡉࡋ ࡔࡋࡉࡄࡀ

אסיקלה גאברעיל שליהא

He gave him the name "Gabriel, the messenger,"

ࡅࡒࡓࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

וקרא ופאקדא ואמארלה

He summoned him, gave command and spoke to him:

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡕࡉࡕ[945] ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

קום אסגיא הות לתית דוכתא

"Arise, go, descend to the lower place,

ࡖࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דליכא שכינאתא וליכא אלמא

where there are no *škinas* nor worlds.

(GRR p. 112)

ࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡊ

קריא ושאויא אלמא לנאפשאך

Call forth and make a world for yourself,

ࡀࡊࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡉࡕ

אכואת בניא שלאמא דהזית

just like the sons of perfection, whom you saw.

ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עביד ותאקין אלמא

Set up and establish a world,

ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡊ

עביד אלמא לנאפשאך

establish a world for yourself,

[illegible] [illegible]

---

[945] BL 23600 44r : 26 & BLO 1236: 44r: 26 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

ושאויבה̱ עותריא

and make uthras in it.

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ

אבא ד̱עותריא בראבותה̱

The father of the uthras, in his arrogance,

ࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ

לא מארלה̱ על האמבאגותא

said to him nothing about the hostility,

ࡅࡋࡀࡆࡀࡓࡆࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡄ

ולאזארזה̱ ולאפרישה̱

and he neither armed him nor instructed him.

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ

קאם פתאהיל עותרא ואסגיא

Ptahil-Uthra rose up, set forth

ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

ונהות לאתיתאיון ד̱שכינאתא

and descended below the *škinas*,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡏࡊࡀ[946] ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דוכתא ד̱לעכא אלמא

to the place where there is no world.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ

קאם בכינאתא סיאנא

He stepped in the lump of filth

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

וקאמבון במיא תאהמיא

and waded in the deep water.

[illegible]

---

[946] ࡋࡊࡀ in the other copies.

אמאר במימרה
He spoke with his voice,
ࡗ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ
כד עשאתא האיתא שנאת
as the living flame (in him) changed.
ࡗ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ[947] ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
כד שנאת עשאתא האיתא
When the living flame (in him) changed
ࡀࡕࡉࡍࡈࡉࡈ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
אתינטיט בליבה ואמאר
he was troubled in his heart and said:
ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ
כד אנא בר רביא אנא
“Since I am the son of the Great One,
ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ
עשאתא האיתא אלמא שנאת
why has the living flame (in me) changed?”
࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
כד האיזין אמאר פתאהיל עותרא
When Ptahil-Uthra spoke thus,
ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡉࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ
הע רוהא מיהאילא
She, Rūha, strengthened.
ࡌࡉࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
מיהאילא הע רוהא
Strengthened was she, Rūha,
ࡅࡀࡍࡔࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡕࡀ[948] ࡍࡄࡀࡓࡁࡕࡀ[949]

---

[947] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ in the other copies (when the Great One changed the Living Flame (in him ?).

ונאפשא רבותא נסאבתה

and she herself became arrogant.

ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡖࡔࡍࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡄ

עמראת דשנא זיוה

She spoke: "His radiance has changed,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ

והואבה בזיוא האסיר ובאציר

his radiance has become deficient and imperfect."

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She arose, destroyed her property,

ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ

ועתלאבשאת בתותבא נאפשא

and clothed herself in a flowing dress.

ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

אשניאת רוהא בראבותא

Rūha removed her majesty,

ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡈࡀࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ

וליגטאת נאפשא כד דלאהואת

and conducted herself as she was not.

ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡀࡊࡋࡀ

אמראלה לקאראבתאנא סאכלא

She spoke to the foolish warrior (the King of Darkness),

ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡔ[950] ࡅࡋࡀࡐࡓࡀࡔ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ

דלאהאש ולאפראש אמראלה

who has no sense or understanding. She spoke to him:

[illegible]

---

[948] [illegible] in BL 23601 44v: 23.

[949] [illegible] in BL 23600 44v : 8 & BLO 1236: 44v: 8. [illegible] In BL 23601 44v: 23.

[950] BL 23601 45r: 2 [illegible].

קום הזיא ד̱בצאר זיוא ד̱גאברא נוכראיא
“Arise and behold how the radiance of the strange man has diminished,
ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
והואבה̱ בזיוה̱ האסיר ובציר
and how his radiance has become deficient and imperfect.
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡌࡀࡊ
קום שכוב לואת עמאך
“Arise and sleep with your mother,
ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡎࡐࡅࡈࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡕࡁࡄ
ועשתריא מן מאספוטיתא ד̱עסתארתבה̱
and you will be released from the chain which binds you,
ࡖࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱אביא מן כולא אלמא
which is thicker than the whole world.”
࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
כד̱ האזא שומא בישא
When the wicked one heard this,
ࡏࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ
עתנאהאזבון בגירמה̱
he rattled his bones.
ࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
שכיב לואת רוהא
He slept with Rūha,
ࡅࡔࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ
ושבא דמו קאבלאת מן האד צבו
and she conceived seven forms from the one intercourse.
ࡅࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ
ושובא יומיא האמבלאת

And (after) seven days she was in labour

ࡅࡏࡃࡀࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ

ועדאלתינון לשיטיא

and gave birth to the follies,

ࡅࡏࡃࡀࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ[951]

ועדאלתינון לשיביאהיא

She gave birth to the Seven (Planets),

(GRR p. 113)

ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

דַשובא דמו מינאיהון נפאק

from which seven figures originated.

ࡗ ࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

כַד זאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכַה

when she caught sight of them, her heart fell down from its support,

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

ואמרא

and she said:

ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ[952] ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

עמרית ולאעתמארליא

“I spoke and am not spoken to.

---

[951] ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ Lidzbarski translates the word: “planets”, presumably from *šaba ahia*, “seven brothers” (MII n. 5 p. 254). The Planets are, indeed considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotions are harmful to the soul, and faults committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the *maṭarata*, realms equivalent to purgatories (Drower, *The Coronation of Great Šišlam*, 1962: xvi). The planetary deities survived among Mandaeans as forces governing the days of the week. (Budge, 1939: 380) The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid, e. g. in the unpublished text (DC 18) “Zrazta d-Šuba Šibiahia” or The Protection of the Seven Planets. We read of the evil designs in the marriage ceremony of the *Great Šišlam*: “I laughed at the planets, (and) at what they planned and did. I dwelt amongst the Seven (planets) but they laid no hand upon me. For the Elect that loved the Life there shall be good things. Woe to the planets that scheme wickedness against my Chosen Ones” (Drower, *Šarh d-Qabin*, 1950: 63. Also, Yamauchi, 1967: 32). As for demonizing the planets, Zaehner writes: “The stars proper followed their regular courses and so reflected the divine order: the planets, however, followed eccentric courses and for this reason could not be fitted into that order: hence they must be diabolical” (Zaehner, 1955: 152).

[952] ࡖࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ in BL 23601: 45r.

ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ

מינדאם ד̱בית לאהואת

The thing I wished for did not become true,

ࡖࡄࡀࡃ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱האד לגאברה̱ לאדאמיא

that no one resembles the other."

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד̱ האזא עמראת רוהא

When Rūha spoke in this way,

ࡁࡍࡀ[953] ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

בנא בהאמבאגותא הון

her sons became hostile.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ

הון בהאמבאגותא וכפארבה̱ באבוהון

They became hostile and denied their father.

ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡎࡀࡊࡀ

ליכא ד̱ליתלה̱ סאכא

There is nothing without an end.

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡌࡔࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

פתאהיל עדה̱ משא במיא תאהמיא ואמאר

Ptahil washed his hands in the deep water and spoke:

ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ

תיהויא ארקא

"May an earth come into being,

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ ד̱הואת בית רורביא

---

[953] not in BL 23601: 45r.

like it did in the House of the Great Ones."

ࡗ ࡖࡈࡌࡀࡔ ࡏࡃࡄ

כד̱ ד̱טמאש עדה̱

When he immersed his hands

ࡄࡀࡃ[954] ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

האד מסותא הואת

a solidity was formed.

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ

הואת האד מסותא

A solidity was formed

ࡖࡓࡌࡏࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡄࡈࡀ ࡗ ࡋࡀࡌࡎࡀࡀࡕ

ד̱רמעיא ומראהטא כד̱ לאמסאאת

which was thrown down and ran about, as though there was no matter.

ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ[955] ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡎࡀࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד̱ ד̱לא הואת ולאמסאאת ארקא

When no earth came into being and was solidified,

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה̱ בפלוגתא קאם

his heart was torn with discord.

ࡗ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ

כד̱ ליבה̱ קאם בפלוגתא

When his heart was torn with discord,

ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡕࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡕ

הע רוהא תנאת עהאילאת

Rūha, again became stron

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡐࡅࡎ[956] ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉ

ואמרא עקום עפוס מאלאי

---

[954] ࡄࡀࡃࡀ BL 23601: 45r.

[955] ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ not in BL 23599 47r: 17 & BL 23601 45r: 18.

[956] ࡏࡐࡅࡒ BL 23601: 45r.

and spoke: "I will rise and destroy my property,
ࡅࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ועזאל לואת מאלכא דאלמא
and depart to the King of the World."

࡞

ࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ[957] ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ
מן ריש קאמאת
She arose at once,
ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ
פאסאת מאלא ועתלאבשאת בתותבא
destroyed her property and put on a dress
ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ
קאמאת פאסאת מאלא
she got up and destroyed her property
ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀ
ועזלאת לבורא אמרא
and went to the monster and spoke to him:
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
קום בורא רבא
"Rise! great monster,
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡅ
קום הזיא דאלמא כולה דילאך הו
rise, behold the whole world is yours!
ࡔࡉࡌࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡔࡕࡁࡉࡒ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ
שימית דעשתביק באיתא
I heard that the House was deserted
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡓࡉࡍ
וכולהון גיטרה מישתרין

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[957] ࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡓࡉࡔ in BL 23600 44v : 30 & BL 23601 45r.

and all its knots are loosed."

⁂

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
כד̱ האזא שומא בישא
When the wicked heard this,
ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡋ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ
עהאיל ליבה̱ האד תרין
his heart became twice as strong
ࡗ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡉࡀࡋ[958] ࡋࡉࡁࡄ
כד̱ עתהאיאל ליבה̱
When his heart became strong
ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡖࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡌࡀ
אמראלה̱ ד̱אהאתאך אמא
She spoke to him: "I am your sister
ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡊࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ
עו אנאת שאכבית לואתאי
If you sleep with me,
ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ
האילאך האויא האד תרין
your strength will be twice as much."
ࡗ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ
כד̱ שכיב לואתא
When he slept with her,
ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ
מן האד צבו
by the one intercourse,
[illegible]

---

[958] ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡀࡋ in BL 23599 47r: 24 & BL 23601 45r: 25.

תריסאר בוריא קאבלאת מינה̱

she conceived twelve monsters by him.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מינה̱ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא

She conceived by him twelve monsters,

ࡖࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ

ד̱האד מינאיהון לא מיתאכשאר

but none of which was worthy.

ࡋࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡋࡀࡑࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ

לתריסאר יומיא הלאצאלא לרוהא

Pains overtook Rūha for twelve days. [959]

(GRR p. 114)

ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡉࡃࡋࡀࡕ

האמבלאת וידלאת

She was in labour and gave birth

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

תריסאר דמאואתא

to twelve forms,

ࡖࡄࡃࡀ[960] ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱הדא להאבר̱ה לאדאמיא

none of which resembled any other another.

ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

לאדאמין להדאדיא

The did not resemble one another,

ࡖࡁࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡊࡁࡉࡀ[961]

ד̱בכאנפיא ד̱הדאדיא ראכביא

and each one rose on the other's lap.

---

[959] For these acts of insect see above § 2.3.9.1

[960] ࡖࡄࡀࡃ in the other manuscripts.

[961] Cf. one demon is described as biting another in an old Babylonian text (cited by Yamauchi, 1967: 53).

ࡗ[962] ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ
כד̱ הזאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכה̱
When she caught sight of them, her heart fell from its support.[963]
ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ
ליבא מן סאמכה̱ נפאל
Her heart fell from its support,
ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡐࡔࡀ ࡅࡁࡊࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ
והאולילאת על נפשא ובכאת ואמרא
and she howled and wept onto herself, and she said:
ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡁࡈࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡃࡅࡋ
עמרית ד̱עבטון ועדול
"I said I shall be pregnant and bear forth,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניהון כד̱ מארה̱ ד̱אלמא
and they will resemble the Lord of the World.
ࡓࡉࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡈࡉࡕ
ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית
I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive,
ࡅࡍࡉࡋࡀ ࡀࡎࡉࡁࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ
ונילא אסיבתא לנאפשא
and I have brought disgrace on myself."
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ[964] ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ
כד̱ האזא עמראת נימרוס
When Namrus spoke thus,
[illegible]

---

[962] not in BL 23601: 4v.

[963] Cf. H̱ubur giving birth to giant serpents. "Mother H̱ubur, who forms everything, supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless ... with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread. She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. . . " The Babylon Epic of Creation *Enûma elish* translation by: W. G. Lambert, edited by M. Geller & M. Schipper, *Imagining Creation*, Brill (2007), p. 7: 19-24.

[964] BL 23600 45r: 17 BLO 1236: 45r: 16 ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ.

תריסאר כולהון בבישותא הון

the Twelve became wickedly infuriated

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

כולהון הון בבישותא

The Twelve became wickedly infuriated,

ࡅࡊࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ[965]

וכאפריא באבוהון

and denied their father.

ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ליכא ד̲סאכא ליתלה̲

There is nothing without an end.

*

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

פתאהיל בהאשאבתא קאם

Ptahil stood engrossed in thought,

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

פתאהיל קאם בהאשאבתא ואמאר

engrossed in thought Ptahil stood and cried:

ࡖࡏࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲עשיבקה̲ לאלמא

"I shall leave the world!"

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד̲ האזא שאמאת רוהא

When Rūha heard this,

ࡋࡉࡁࡀ[966] ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡀ[967] ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

ליבא תראצלא על סאמכה̲ ואמרא

her heart righted itself on its support and she said:

---

[965] In BL 23600 45r : 17 & BLO 1236: 45r: 16 there is ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ

[966] In BL 23600 45r : 21 there is ࡋࡁࡀ

[967] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BL 23601 45v: 15 there is ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡀ

ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ[968] ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡀ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ

דליתלה האמבאגא נוכראיא

“The alien has no hostility,

ࡅࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונוכראיא לא מישתאלאטבה באלמא

and the alien has no (more) power in the world.”

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property

ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ

ועתלאבשאת בתותבא

and put on her dress

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property.

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡊࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ועזלאת לכיאנא דאתאר השוך

and went to the source of the Place of Darkness.

ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡀ

אמראלה לקאראבתאנא שאפלא

She spoke to the degraded warrior,

ࡖࡏࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

דעדיא וליגריא ליתלה

who is without hands or feet:

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡁ ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ

קום אב והזיא

---

[968] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BLO 1236: 45r: 20 ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ is found without ࡖ

“Rise, my father, and behold!
ࡖࡁࡓࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡍࡀ
ד̱בראתאך אנא
I am your daughter!
ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡅࡍࡅࡔࡒࡀࡍ
האנאנאן ונושקאן
Fondle me and kiss me,
ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉ
ולואתאי שכוב עקאראי
and sleep with me,
ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡌࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ואינאך מליבה̱ באלמא
and gaze your fill at the world.
ࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡁࡄ
אינאך באלמא מליבה̱
Gaze your fill at the world,
ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡅ
והזיא ד̱כולה̱ דילאך הו
and behold (the world) which fully belongs to you.
ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ
נוכראיא ד̱אתא לאלמאך
The Stranger who came to your world
ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ
שאמאר שיבקה̱ ולאתרה̱ סליק
set out urgently and ascended to his place.
ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ
עו תישכוב לואתאי
If you sleep with me
ࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ
אינאך האויא כ̱ד̱ האוין

your eyes will remain as they are!”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̱ האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked heard this

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡀ ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ

האנאנא ונישקא ולואתא שכיב

he embraced her, kissed her and slept with her.

ࡍࡀࡔࡒࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ

נאשקא ושכיב לואתא

He kissed her and slept with her,

ࡅࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡁࡉࡈࡍࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ

וקאבלאת מינה̱ ביטנא הדא

and she became pregnant from him.

(GRR p. 115)

ࡒࡉࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡀࡍࡉࡀ

קיבלאת מינה̱ האמשא זידאניא

She conceived five wrathful ones by him,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱הינון הדאדיא מכאדביא

who disavowed each other.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

הינון מכאדביא הדאדיא

They disavowed each other,

ࡅࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁ[969] ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

וצבו ד̱לאהאיאב ולאשאפקיר אבדיא

and practiced anything which was unseemly and awful.

---

[969] ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁ PE. Pt. *HUB* (always with la) *lahaiab ulašapir* “unseemly and not good”; la is to emphasize *haiib* which itself is negative (MD p. 134).

ࡁࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡀ ࡐࡉࡒࡀ ࡅࡁࡓࡀࡒ ࡁࡉࡓࡒࡀ

ביומא הדא פאקא פיקא ובראק בירקא

On the first day (the sky) split opened and there was lightning.

ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ ࡓࡀࡌ[970]

בתיניאנא רימא ראם

On the second day it thundered.

ࡁࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡆࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ[971] ࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡓࡊࡉࡀ

בתלאתא יומא בזהריריא מיתכארכיא

On the third day it was surrounded by flames.

ࡁࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

בארבא יומא גוהא עתיגנא בתיריא השוך

On the fourth day an earthquake shook the portals of the Darkness.

ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡑࡓࡀࡐ ࡅࡃࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ

בהאמשא יומא צראף ודאויא ליבה

On the fifth day her heart was afflicted and mournful.

ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡓࡉࡅࡉࡀࡍࡀ

הבאל ריויאנא

Her mind was convulsed,

ࡄࡁࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡃࡋࡀ

הבילתא דהאיאתא מהאמבלא ויאדלא

as a convulsed labouring woman confined in childbed.

◆

ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡉࡀࡃࡋࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡔ[972] ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ[973]

האמבלאת ויאדלאת האמיש דמאואתא

She was in labour and gave birth to five forms,

[illegible][974] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[970] In , BL 23600 45v: 8 ࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ. In BL 23599 48r: 4 & BLO 1236: 45v: 8 ࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ

[971] ࡆࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ *zahriria* pl. *zahrira*: flashes, flames (found only in plural) (MD. p. 157).

[972] *hamiš* feminine *hamša* "five" (MD p. 124).

[973] ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ *hamiš dmauata* the five planets excluding the sun and the moon.

דהדא להאברה לאדאמיא
but none of which resembled any other.

ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ
לאדאמיא הדא להאברה
None resembled any other,

ࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ
וביהדאדיא מיתיקליא
and they are inflamed against one another.

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[975] ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ
דהאויא מינאיהון הוסראנא
Through them imperfection originated,

ࡖࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
דלאמציבה כולהון אלמיא
with which all the worlds are unable to cope.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ
כד הזאתינון
When she beheld them,

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ
עדא לרישא שאדיא
she hit her head with her hand(s)

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ
עדא שאדיא לרישא
She hit her head with her hand(s)

ࡅࡂࡃࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ
וגדאלאברישא סאתרא
and tore out the tress(es) on her head.

ࡂࡃࡀࡋࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

---

[974] In BL 23600 45v : 13 & BLO 1236: 45v: 13: ࡅࡁࡄࡃࡀ.
[975] In BL 23599 48r: 9 & BL 23601 46r: 9 ࡌࡉࡍࡄࡅࡍ.

גדאלא סאתרא ברישא

She tore out the tress(es) on her head.

ࡅࡀࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ[976] ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

ואילאת לליבא הארגתא ואמרא

and she brought distortion to her heart, and she spoke:

ࡓࡉࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡈࡉࡕ

ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית

"I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive.

ࡅࡍࡉࡅࡋࡉࡀ[977] ࡀࡎࡉࡁࡕࡄ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ

וניוליא אסיבתה̱ לנאפשאי

I brought disgrace upon myself.

ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[978] ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡍࡉࡄࡉࡕ[979]

לאהזאיתינון ולאעתניהית

I did not see them and I was not relieved.

ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ועמרית ולאהואת

I spoke and it did not happen.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡀࡉ ࡏࡅࡃࡅࡍ

כולהון הארשאי עודון

All my spells were lost

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡀࡍ

וכולהון מינילאי עתבאדראן

and all my words were scattered.

ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡎࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉ

למאליא ד̱פאסית מאלאי

Wherefore I destroyed my property,

ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡕ ࡀࡍࡀࡔࡀࡉ

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[976] ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡀࡕࡀ in BL 23601: 46r.

[977] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 1 ࡅࡍࡉࡅࡋࡀ.

[978] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 13 ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡀࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ.

[979] ࡏࡕࡍࡉࡄࡉࡕ in BL 23601: 46r.

ולמאליא ד̱ליבשית תותבאי

and wherefore I clothed my self with my gown?

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀࡉ

לימאליא ד̱ליבשית תותבאי

Wherefore I clothed myself with my gown,

ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[980] ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱מנאתא בא באיתא ליתליא

while I have no share of it the House?”

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡀࡍࡀ

פתאהיל האשיב ברויאנא

Ptahil pondered in his mind

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡉࡊࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

ועתימליכבה̱ בהיכימתה̱ ואמאר

and he conferred with his wisdom, and he spoke:

ࡖࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡏࡃࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱עקום להייא עסגוד ועדניא לרביא

“I shall rise, prostrate to the Life and submit (myself) to the Great (One),

ࡏࡋ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡎࡀࡁ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ[981] ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

על בית ד̱עסאב מן לבושא ד̱עשאתא האיתא

My wish is to get a garment of the Living Flame,

ࡅࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

ועהדאר במיא תאהמיא

and wade in turbid water.

ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ

במיא תאהמיא עהדאר

In the turbid water I shall wade,

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[980] In BL 23600 46r : 1 & BLO 1236: 46r: 1 ࡁࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

[981] In BL 23600 46r : 3 & BL 23601 46r: 19 there is ࡔࡀࡕࡀ

(GRR p. 116)

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡃࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ
ומינדאם ד̠האויא עהאויא
and reveal all that shall take place."

⁂

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ
פתאהיל בהוכומתא ד̠האשיב
When Ptahil, by the wisdom he devised,
ࡗ ࡃࡎࡂࡉࡃ[982] ࡅࡔࡁࡀ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כד̠ ד̠סגיד ושבא להייא
worshiped and praised the Life.
ࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡁࡅࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
נסיב מן לבוש עשאתא האיתא
He received the garment of the Living Flame
ࡅࡄࡃࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ[983]
והדארבון במיא תאהמיא
and waded in the turbid water.
ࡗ ࡏࡌࡉࡆࡂࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
כד̠ עמיזגאת עשאתא האיתא
When the Living Flame mingled
ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
בגאואיהון במיא תאהמיא
with the turbid water,
ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡃࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡃࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓ
בריהא ד̠לבושא ד̠עשאתא האיתא נימאר
at the scent of the garment of the Living Flame
ࡅࡐࡔࡀ[984] ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀࡄࡅࡍ[985] ࡅࡏࡍࡍࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ

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[982] In BL 23599 48r: 22, BL 23600 46r : 6 & BLO 1236: 46r: 6 ࡗ ࡎࡂࡉࡃ.
[983] The above six lines not in BLO 1236: 46r.

אפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא סליק

dust ascended from the earth Siniawis.

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡒࡐࡓࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ[986]

סליק אקפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא

Dust rose up from the earth Siniawis

ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

באתאר נפאל

and fell in (every) place.

ࡏࡈࡌࡀࡌ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡀ

עטמאם כולהון ואמאמיא

All the seas were stopped up

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡃࡊࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡌࡑࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ועשתאדכון כומציא כולהון

and all the hollows were leveled.

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡀࡁࡀࡔࡕࡀ

הואת מיאבאשתא

There became dry land,

ࡅࡏࡕࡌࡉࡎࡉࡀࡕ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡐࡋࡀࡕ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ

ועתמיסיאת מסותא וניפלאת במיא

and a solidification was formed and fell into the water.[987]

ࡅࡃࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡂࡅࡃࡀ[988]

ודאליא בר גודא

Then a curtain was raised,

ࡍࡎࡋࡉࡒ[989] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[984] BL 23599 48r: 24 & BL 23601 46r: 25 ࡀࡒࡐࡓࡀ.

[985] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ *siniauis*: underworld; abode of darkness (MD, P. 328).

[986] Not in BL 23600 46r : 11 & BLO 1236: 46r: 11.

[987] Cf. Genesis 6-10.

[988] ࡁࡓ ࡂࡅࡃࡀ *br guda* (a popular etym. of Parthian *"bargōd"*, Aram, (MD p. 69), Iraqi پرده *parda* פרגודא "curtain". Also expressed in the Jewish tradition *"Pargod"* is a religious notion borrowed from Middle Persian indicate the separation between the "here" and the "hereafter". This curtain (barrier) can be lifted from time to time (for more details concerning " *pargod*", see Shaked 1994: 5).

וסליק וקאם בילבאב עשומיא

ascended, and was installed in the heart of the heavens.

ࡅࡗ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

וכד עתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament was spanned out,

ࡅࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡑࡁࡄ

וסגוד ושאבא לגאברא נאצבה

(Ptahil) prostrated and praised the Man, his creator.

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ

כד היזיא לכורסיא ראמא

When he saw the lofty Throne,

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

הדא ועתבאסאר בליבה

he rejoiced, and his heart was pleased.

ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

ניסבה לשורא דארקא

He seized the navel of the earth

ࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ[990] ࡁࡉࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ובא דניגיטרא בילבאב שומיא

and tried to bind it to the heart of the heavens.

ࡗ ࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד בא דניניסבה לשורא דארקא

When he sought to seize the navel of the earth,

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבה נאפליא

the perishable ones (the Planets) surrounded him.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡒࡅࡐࡀࡕ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבה קופאת נכיליא

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[989] ࡅࡎࡂࡅࡃ not in BL 23599 48v: 6, BL 23600 46r : 13, BL 23601 46v: 5 & BLO 1236: 46r: 13 .
[990] ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀࡄ in BL 23600 46r : 15 & BLO 1236: 46r: 15.

The basket (or: bundle) of the crafty ones surrounded him,

ࡖࡌࡋࡏࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ

ד̲מלעיא בהוכומתא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

ࡌࡋࡉࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ

מליאבה̲ ביהראר

It is full with delusion,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ[991]

ד̲כולה̲ הוכומתא תליא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

ࡗ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ[992]

כד̲ מליא בה̲ ביהראר

How full it is with delusion,

ࡁࡎࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡒࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ

בסילאת נוקבאתא ד̲הארשיא

a woman's market basket of witchcraft (spells).

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבה̲ שובא שיביאהיא

The Seven Planets encircled him

ࡅࡕࡓࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ[993]

ותראסאר מאשתוציא באטליא

and the twelve good-for-nought monsters.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡀࡈࡓࡐࡀࡍ ࡅࡋࡅࡐࡀࡍ[994]

עתכאראכבה̲ אטרפאן ולופאן

Aṭrapan and Lupan surrounded him,

ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

תרין סינגיאניא ד̲אלמא

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[991] ࡌࡋࡉࡀ not In BL 23599 48v: 11 & BL 23601 46v.

[992] Not in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.

[993] ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.

[994] ࡀࡈࡓࡐࡀࡍ ࡅࡋࡅࡐࡀࡍ *aṭarpan ulupan* : two demons (MD, p. 13).

the two viceroys of the world.

ࡏࡅࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ[995]

עורפעיל ומארפעיל

Urp'il and Marp'il,

ࡃࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

דַעל רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

who have dominion over wrath in the Tibil.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡀࡋࡉࡀ[996] ࡓࡁࡀ

עתכאראכבהַ בתאליא רבא

They encircled the great dragon,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡅࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡒࡀࡌࡁࡕࡀ

וסליק וקאם בקאמבתא

ascended, and stood in the vault.

ࡊࡃ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כדַ ניסבהַ לשורא דַארקא

When he grasped the navel of the earth

ࡅࡀࡎࡒࡄ ࡏࡎࡓࡄ[997] ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡁࡕࡀ

ואסקהַ עסרהַ בקומבתא

he raised it and tied it to the vault.

(GRR p. 117)

ࡊࡃ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

כדַ ניסבהַ לפארקסא ראמא דַרקיהא

When he held the high circumference of the firmament,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡏࡎࡓࡀ ࡁࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

וסליק עסרא בכורסיא

ascended and tied it to his throne.

---

[995] ࡏࡅࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ *'urpail & 'urp(a)iil*: two light spirits (MD, p. 346).

[996] ࡈࡀࡋࡉࡀ *talia* fictive dragon causing eclipse Ginza talia rba: the great dragon, *kbašth ltalia rba d-alahia* "I subdued the great dragon of the gods" (MD p. 479).

[997] ࡏࡎࡓࡄ is not found in BLO 1236: 46r: 26.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

עסתאר שיביאהיא

The Seven (planets) concealed themselves,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡒࡀࡌࡁࡄ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡁࡕࡀ

וסליק קאמבה̱ בקומבתא

climbed and took their place in the vault.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

קאם מאשתוציא

The (Twelve) monsters took up position,

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡊࡐࡀࡓ ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡍࡅࡍ[998]

ועתיכפאר בפארנון

and were fettered by their bonds.

ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡌࡃࡀࡁࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

האמשא מדאבראנון עלאי עלאי

As for their Five leaders, they (cried): "Alas, alas!"

࡞

ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡄ

ד̱מנאסביא פתאהיל בהוכומתה̱

Ptahil put up with his wisdom,

ࡉࡀࡕࡉࡁ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡄࡃࡀ

יאתיב ומשאיילון להדא והדא

he sat down and questioned them one by one:

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מנא הואיתון בישיא

"Where do you come from, you wicked,

ࡖࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ[999]

ד̱דמותאיון לאהואת מן בית אבו

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[998] ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡍࡉࡀ *parunia* = *pirunia*: sneers, fetters, bonds. (MD p. 372) See also *parunia* (MD, p. 363).

[999] In BL 23600 46v : 5 & BLO 1236: 46v: 5 there is ࡀࡁࡉࡀ.

whose forms are not from the father's house?"

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

כד האזא אמארלון

When he spoke thus to them,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡕ

רוהא אנאתה מן תית

Rūha answered him from below:

ࡀࡕࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡓ[1000]

אתין ניהוילאך ראבאיגאר

"We come to be your humble servants,

ࡅࡍࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡀ

ונקום ניהוילאך אדיאורא

we step forward and would be your helpers.

ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡕ

אדיאורא ניהוילאך בכול דאבדית

We would be your helpers in everything you do,

ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡉࡄࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡊ

ונאניהאך על כורסיאך

and leave you in peace on your throne.

ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡊ ࡍࡀࡍࡉࡄࡀࡊ

על כורסיאך נאניהאך

On your throne we would leave you in peace,

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡕࡀࡒࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניקום וניתאקנה לאלמא

we would rise and restore order in the world.

ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡌࡁࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ניהויא טאביא ונישתאלאמבאך מן ריש בריש

[1000] ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡓ or ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡋ: servant (see MD, p. 418).

We would be praiseworthy and entirely surrender to you."

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡇ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
כד̱ האזא אמארלה̱ שאבא שיביאהיא
When the Seven had thus spoken to him,
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡖࡁࡍࡀࡉ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ
אמארלון ד̱בנאי אנאתון
He said to them: "You are my sons!
ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ
עו תיבדון עבידאתא ד̱טאבותא
If you perform good deeds,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ[1001] ࡁࡋࡉࡂࡅࡈࡕࡀࡉ
אנא לגיטינכון בליגוטתאי
then I will reckon you on my side!"

࡞

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
כד̱ האזא אמאר פתאהיל
When Ptahil spoke thus,
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ
באיתא מינה̱ עתינסיב
his house was taken away from him.
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ
באיתא עתינסיב מינה̱
His house was taken away from him,
ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡇ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ
ועשתאלאטבה̱ נאפליא
and the feeble ones gained authority over it,

[1001] BL 23600 46v: 11 & BLO 1236: 46v: 11 ࡁࡂࡉࡈࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ .

ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

כד̠ מן קודאם ד̠עתינגיד רקיהא

as before the firmament was spanned out

ࡅࡔࡀࡓࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡁࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ

ושאראת ארקא במסותא

and the earth settled in solidification.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ

כד̠ האזא אמאר פתאהיל

When Ptahil spoke thus,

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ

באיתא מינה̠ עתינסיב

His house was taken away from him.

◆

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

פתאהיל בהוכמתא באיין ואמאר

Ptahil discerning in his wisdom and said:

ࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡎࡅࡒ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁ

עקום עסוק לבית אב

“I will rise (and) descend to the House of my Father

ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡁ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ

ד̠עמארלה̠ לאב ראמא

to tell my Lofty Father:

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ

כול ד̠אמארתליא עבדית

“I have done all that you have asked me to do.”

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ

כד̠ האיזין אמאר פתאהיל

When Ptahil spoke thus,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ[1002] ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡀ[1003] ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ[1004] ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡀ

רוהא באינא בהוכומתא ואמארא

Rūha perceived in her wisdom and said:

ࡏࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ

עקריא הומריא ועסתיראתא

"I shall call forth *hmurtas* and *astartes*,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡉ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲ניהון בנאי באלמא

who shall be my children in the world.

ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

שיביאהיא וסאהראיהון בהאמבאגותא ניקמון

The planets and their demons shall rise up in defiance.

(GRR p. 118)

ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

מאשתוציא ודויויא ניקמון

The monsters and *dewis* shall rise in defiance,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ[1005]

וכולה̲ אלמא נאפריא

and we shall disorganize the whole world.

ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

האמשא סינגיאניא ד̲באיתא ניקמון

The five potentates of the house shall rise up

ࡅࡒࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ

וקראבא ניבדון

and wage war."

࡞

[1002] not in BL 23601: 47r.

[1003] BL 23599 49r: 12, BL 23600 46v: 18, BL 23601 47r: 1 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ࡅࡉࡉࡍࡀ.

[1004] BL 23600 46v: 18 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡀ

[1005] PRA (פרע) to destroy, to disarrange. *kulh̲ alma naprh̲* "we will disorganize the whole world." (MD, p. 378) in the other manuscripts ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ.

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ

כ̱ד̱ הזינון פתאהיל

When Ptahil beheld them,

ࡏࡕࡉࡀࡄࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡄ

עתיאהארבה̱ בהוכומתה̱

he was enlightened by his wisdom.

ࡌࡋࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡆࡉࡀ

מלא בגורמאיזיא

He clenched his fist

ࡅࡔࡒࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡀࡓࡁࡀࡑࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

ושקאף על תארבאציא האדיא ואמאר

and beat upon the forecourt of his chest and said:

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ

מן קודאם ד̱עזאל לבית אבו

“Before I depart to the father’s house,

ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

שאוילה̱ מארא להאזין אלמא

I shall appoint a master over this world.

ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ[1006] ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

לאיאדיא מארה̱ ד̱באיתא

The masters of the House do not realize,

ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ[1007] ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱עתלה̱ מארא להאזין אלמא

that this world has a master.”

⁂

ࡗ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כ̱ד̱ אסגיא לבית הייא

[1006] The Planets.
[1007] Adam is the new master of the world.

When he went to the house of the Life,

ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

לאבויא עותרא אמארלה̱ עבדית אלמא

the *uthra* said to his Father: “I created the world!”

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ

רוהא קראת הומריא

The Rūha created *hmurtas*

ࡅࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ ࡗ ࡌࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ

וקראת עסתיראתא כ̱ד̱ מסאתראן

and created *astartes* that are veiled.

ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

שאויאת ליליאתא ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

She created *liliths* in various kinds and colours.

ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

שיביאהיא קרון סאהריא

The planets created demons,

ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ד̱נאפשיא וסאכא ליתלון

powerful and great in number.

ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ

מאשתוציא קרון דאיויא

The obscene beasts created the *dewis*,

ࡗ ࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

כ̱ד̱ איית דמותון באלמא

according to their images in the world.

ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡁࡀ[1008]

האמשא שאוון הארבא

The five (planets) who created the sword,

[1008] ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡁࡀ not in BL 23601: 47r.

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ
ד̱על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא
were given authority over the wrath in the Tibil.
ࡏࡉࡕ ࡖࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
עית ד̱דמותאיהון בארקא תיהויא
Some of their forms exist on land,
ࡅࡏࡉࡕ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
ועית במיא תאהמיא
and some in the murky waters.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ
אנין בשומיא ניקום
"We want to stay in Heavens
ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וקיריאתאן בכולה̱ אלמא
and (yet), our creatures dominate the whole world.
ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
ארקא דילאן תיהויא
Earth will become ours,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡄ ࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ולאנישתאלאטבה̱ עניש בהאזין אלמא
and nobody else has the authority over this world.
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡄࡀࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡋࡀࡍ
באיתא ד̱אבוהאן בנאלאן
The house that our father had built for us,
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡃࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ
אנין נידארבה̱ מן אבאתרה̱
we shall dwell in it after him,
ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ
אמינטול אנין מארא ד̱באיתא
because we are the masters of the House.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ
רוהא תיהוילה̱ מארתא באתראן
Rūha will be the Mistress of our place.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡀࡍ
רוהא ד̱קודשא מינאיאן
Rūha ḏ-Qudša "The Holy Ghost" is with us,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ
ואנין ניהויבה̱ בנאטריא
and we shall be her guardians.
ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ
ניקמון תריסאר כוכביא
The twelve stars will rise
ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ
ונאפאלגון יומיא ויאהריא
and divide the days and the months.
ࡅࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ
ושאייא ושושיא ניפאלגון
They must divide the hours and the *šušias*,
ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ[1009] ࡅࡐࡅࡄࡓࡉࡀ
ונאפאלגון נאגיא ופוהריא
and divide the minutes and the seconds.
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
כד̱ האיזין ניבאד
When we accomplish this,
ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
כולה̱ באיתא דילאן ניהויא
the whole House will belong to us."

⁂

[1009] ࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ *nagia* found only in plural: a small unit of time (MD p. 281. See also MG, p. 64).

(GRR p. 119)

ࡌࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡌࡉࡎࡉࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡕࡀ
מן ד̲עתמיסיאת ארקא ואלמא ד̲אדאם אתא
Since the earth became condensed and until Adam came (into being),
ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡌࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡕࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ
תלאתמא ושאתין אלפיא שניא האויא
there had been three hundred and sixty thousand years.
ࡌࡍ ࡖࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡊࡉࡌࡑࡀࡕ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
מן ד̲אתא אדאם ואלמא לכימצאת אלמיא
Since Adam came (into being) and until the end of the worlds,
ࡀࡓࡁࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡕࡌࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ
ארבימא ותמאנאן אלפיא שניא האויא
there will be four hundred and eighty thousand years.
ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ
שובא שיביאהיא פאליג שניא כ̲ד הדאדיא
The Seven planets distributed the years into even parts,
ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡁࡑࡀࡓ
האד מן האברה̲ לאבצאר
that none fell short of his companion.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
רוהא מאסטאניתא פאליגתה̲ לבולה̲ אלמא
Rūha, the seductress, divided the whole world,
ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡁࡑࡀࡓ
תריסאר בניא ד̲האסירתא האד מן האברה̲ לאבצאר
(that) none of the twelve sons of the faulty fell short of his companion.
ࡋࡀࡉࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
לאידיא ולאעדאת רוהא ושיביאהיא כולהון
Rūha and all the planets did not perceive and did not realize
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

דעתלה מארא לאלמא ועתלה אדיאוריא

that the world has a lord and his helpers are beside him.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

על דקאימיא ומתהאשביא ומשאוילה מארא לאלמיא

Nevertheless, they stand there forging plans in order to create a lord for the world.

ࡋࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡎࡀࡊࡀ

לאכא דליתלה סאכא

There is nothing without an end.

࡞

ࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עהדאר פתאהיל לאלמא

Ptahil returned to the world.

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

אתא ומא דאבויא אמארלה שובא

He came and listened to what his father said to him.

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡁࡓࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌࡀ

ואמאר עתית דענצאב ברא רהימא

Then he spoke, "I came here in order to create a beloved son,

ࡏࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ ࡀࡏࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡄ

עניצבה אעקאיאמה

I want to create him and raise him

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

וניקום ונישאבא לרורביא

in order he rises and praises the Great Ones.

ࡗ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡄࡉࡀ

כד ניקום על ליגרה עדה בהיוא באלא נימהיא

When he stands on his feet he will hit the wild beast(s) with his hand.

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡍࡉࡌࡄࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ

עדה נימהיא בהיוא באלא ובהיוא בירא

With his hand he will hit the wild beasts and the cattle as well.

ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

ומהאוילה̱ ד̱ניבאד טאבתא אמינטול מינדאם ד̱אבאד שיביאהיא

It would do them benefit, because of what the Planets had committed.

ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

פאליג מאלכותא ד̱האויא

They (the planets) divided the government (?)[1010]

ࡋࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡋࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

לפאגריא ד̱אכליא לכאל היוא בירא ולפירא ד̱ארקא

so the bodies feed on all beasts of the field and on the fruit of the earth,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כולהון מן פירא מיא הון

which everthing came to being from the water fruits."

࡞

ࡗ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

כד̱ אתא פתאהיל ואמארלון לשאביאהיא כולהון

When Ptahil came and spoke to all the planets:

ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱ניבאד לאדאם ד̱ניהויא מאלכא באלמא

"Let us create Adam that he may be the king of the world!"

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡏࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡉࡋࡊࡉࡀ

כד̱ האזען אמארלון כולהון ביהדאדיא מיתמילכיא

When he thus spoke to them, they all conferred together:

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ

ד̱נימארלה̱ וניבדה̱ לאדאם ולהאוא

"We will tell him: We want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve)

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ

אמינטול ד̱הו דילאן הו

[1010] Doubtful (see MD, p. 245).

because he belongs to us."

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ[1011]

אמרילה̱ אתא ניבדה̱ לאדאם והאוא

They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve;

(GRR p. 120)

ࡓࡉࡔ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

ריש ד̱כולה̱ שורבתא

the head of the whole generation."

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזן אמארלה̱ שיביאהיא

When the Planets thus spoke to him,

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡍࡈࡉࡈ[1012] ࡁࡋࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

פתאהיל נטיט בלבה̱ ואמאר

Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said:

ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡄ ࡏࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

עו אנא באלהודאה̱ עבדה̱ לאדאם והאוא רישא ד̱כולא שורבתא

"If I by myself create Adam and Eve the head of the whole generation,

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡉࡀࡃࡄ ࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אדאם מאהו ד̱יאדה̱ מיבאדבה̱ באלמא

what does Adam know what to do in the world?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡋࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאלאל פתאהיל עותרא לשאביאהיא ד̱נימארלון

Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the planets and said:

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓࡀࡉ ࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אדאם בראי דיליא הו מאלכא ד̱האזין אלמא

"Adam is my son. He is the king of this world!"

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡋࡀ

[1011] [illegible] [illegible] ࡃࡉࡋࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ not in BL 23600 47v: 4 & BLO 1236: 47v: 3.

[1012] Read: ࡏࡍࡈࡉࡈ *'nṭiṭ blibh* Ethpe. Pf. NṬṬ: to be afflicted, troubled. (MD, p. 295) ࡏࡍࡈࡉࡈ in the other manuscripts.

מאליל שיביאהיא לפתאהיל ד̱נימארולה̱ עלה̱

(Then) the Planets spoke to Ptahil and said:

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡓࡄࡉࡑࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍࡉࡍ

אנין על מאהו רהיצינין וקאימינין

“Whom do we trust and rely on,

ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומאהו משאלטאנין באלמא

and what is our authority in the world?”

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאליל פתאהיל ד̱נימארלון

Ptahil answered them and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡍࡒࡀ ࡌࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ

אנאתון מונקא מיהוילה̱

“You shall be his fosterer(s)

ࡅࡕࡉࡐࡋࡉࡄࡅࡍࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ותיפליהונה̱ מן ריש בריש

and render him full service.”

* * *

ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡅࡌࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

עבדויא ורומיויא לאדאם

Then they created Adam and laid him down,

ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

וליתבה̱ נישימתא

but without a *nišimta* (soul) in him.

ࡗ ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡅࡍ

כד̱ עבדויא לאדאם לאמצון

When they created Adam they were unable

ࡖࡍࡉࡓࡌࡅࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ד̱נירמובה̱ נישימתא

to cast the *nišimta* (soul) into him.
ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡒࡀ
קירויא לאיאר זיקא
They appealed to *Ayar-Ziqa* “the Ether wind”
ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡂࡓࡌࡄ
ד̱ניהאלילינון לגרמה̱
to hollow out his bones,
ࡋࡂࡓࡌࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ
לגרמה̱ ניהאלילינון
to hollow out his bones,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ
וניהויבון מוקרא
and to form marrow in them,
ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ
מוקרא ניהויבון
to form marrow in them,
ࡅࡍࡀࡔࡀࡓ[1013] ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ
ונאשאר וניקום על ליגרה̱
then he might spring up and stand on his feet.
ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
קירויא לצאותא ד̱עשאתא האיתא
They summoned the splendour of the Living Flame,
ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ ࡋࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ
ד̱מאנהרה̱ ללבושיא
that might illuminate his attire.
ࡋࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ
ללבושיא מאנהרה̱
To illuminate his attire,

[1013] ࡅࡍࡀࡔࡀࡓ or ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡓ var. ࡍࡉࡔࡅࡀࡓ *nišuar* Impf. ŠWR: to leap, jump (MD, p. 436).

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה̱

and make him spring up and stand on his feet.

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡋࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡁࡒࡉࡀ

קירויא להאבלא ד̱שאבקיא

They sent for the mist of the streams

ࡅࡋࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ולתיהא ד̱עשאתא עכילתא

and the fumes of the consuming fire,

ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡄ

ד̱איאלה̱ בעוצטונה̱

to enter his trunk,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡆࡉࡀ

ד̱נימליא בגורמאיזיא

so he might clench his fist,

ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡓࡉࡐࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡍࡐࡄ

וניטאריפבון בגאנפה̱

and beat with his arm(s) (wings).

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡄࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡓࡀࡍࡃࡀࡃ

וניכהיבה̱ ונימראנדאד

That he might grumble and shake himself,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה̱

and springs up and stand on his feet.

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡐࡕࡉࡄࡉࡋ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

מאליל שיביאהיא ולפתיהיל אמריא

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying:

[illegible]

האב נירמיבה̱ מן רוהא

“Allow us to cast into him some of the spirit (*rūha*),

ࡖࡀࡉࡕࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁ

ד̱איתית עלאך מן בית אב

which you brought with you from the House of your Father.”

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כולהון אבאד שיביאהיא

All the Planets exerted themselves

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואבאד מארה̱ ד̱אלמא

and the Lord of the world exerted himself.

ࡗ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

כד̱ אבאד כולהון

Despite of all their efforts,

(GRR p. 121)

ࡋࡉࡔࡊࡄ[1014] ࡋࡀࡒࡅࡌࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉ

לישכה̱ לאקומה̱ על ליגרי

they were unable to make him stand on his feet.

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ

פתאהיל בערותה̱ אסגיא

Ptahil set off, in his glory,

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ[1015] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

סליק לאתאר נהור

and ascended to the Place of Light.

[illegible][1016]

[1014] ࡋࡉࡔࡊࡄ = ࡋࡀࡔࡊࡄ only in idiomatic “to be unable”. ŠKA (< Aram. שכח) af. to find, discover, aquire, attain (MD, p. 464).

[1015] BL 23600 47v: 27 & BLO 1236: 47v: 27 ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

קאם קודאמה̱ ד̱אבא ד̱עתריא

He stood in the presence of the Father of the *uthras*

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ

ואמארלה̱ אבויא

His Father spoke to him:

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡕ

מאהו אבאדת

"What have you accomplished?"

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡒࡍࡀࡕ

אמארלה̱ כול ד̱עבדית תיקנאת

He answered him, "Everything I made, I put in order,

[1017]ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡕ

דמותאי ודמותאך לאתיקנית

(however), I could not put my counterpart and your counterpart in order."

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קאם אבא ד̱עתריא

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself up

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

ואסגיא אזאל לאתאר כסיא

and set off and hastened to the secret place.

[1018]ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

נאסבה̱ למאנא רבא

He fetched the *mana* ,

ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡉࡋࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱מאנהארלון לקילומיא כולהון

[1016] ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ *aba d̲'uthria* "the father of the *uthras*, Bhaq-Ziwa or Abatur (see §2.2.5).

[1017] BL 23600 47v: 29 has: ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡒࡍࡀࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡕ : "(all) I did was in order before me, (however), I could not put your counterpart in order."

[1018] The Great Mana (the highest being) is not meant in this verse. '*mana*' is the soul matter which fills the bodies and make them alive, therefore, ࡓࡁࡀ is to be ignored.

which illuminates all corruptible things.

ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

מאנהארלה לכיתון פאגריא

It illuminates the physical garments,

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and colour.

ࡊࡀࡍࡄ[1019] ࡁࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡄ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

כאנה בטארטאבונה דאכיא

He wrapped it in his pure turban,

ࡅࡁࡔࡅࡌࡄࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ

ובשומהאתא דהייא עהאבלה

by the (secret) names which the Life gave him.

ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡅࡁࡏࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡀ

ניסבה ובעאנפיא טארטאבונא

He fetched it by the ends of his turban,

ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡄࡁࡄ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡓࡄ

ואתיא יאהבה לפתאהיל ברה

and brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil his son.

ࡗ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡕࡓࡀ

כד עהאבל ה לפתאהיל עתרא

When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

הייא קרונון לאדיאוריא

the Life called for the helpers.

ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ

קרינון להיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

He called for Hibil, Šitl and Anoš,

[1019] Not in BL 23601: 48v.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡉࡀ
עותריא ד̱יאתיריא ולאהאסיריא
the outstanding flawless *uthras*.
ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍࡅࡍ
קרונון ופאקדונון
He summoned them and commanded them,
ࡅࡆࡀࡄࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ
וזאהרונון לנישמאתא
and warned them about the *nišmata* (soul).
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡋࡄ
אמארלון אנאתון נאטרא הולה̱
He said to them: "You, be a guardian over her,
ࡅࡆࡀࡄࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ
וזאהרונון לנישמאתא
and warned them about the *nišmata* (soul).
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡋࡄ
אמארלון אנאתון נאטרא הולה̱
He said to them, "You, be a guardian over her,
ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱לאנידון עלה̱ כולהון אלמיא
so all the worlds may know nothing about her.
ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡀ[1020]
לאנידא פתאהיל בלילא
Let not Pthahil, the muddle-headed, know
ࡖࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ
ד̱נישימתא בפאגרא האיזין נאפלא
how the *nišimta* "soul" falls into the body.

[1020] ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡀ *blila*: idle, confused, useless, muddle-head, irrational (MD pp. 65-6). Cf. *Sakla* "the prince of darkness" (Stroumsa 1984: 120), Sakla "fool" 'so called because he does not know that there is One higher than he (Churton 2005: 40-1) Sakla is the "the Gnostic Demiurge" (Deutch 1999: 75).

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ

האיזין נאפלא נישימתא בפאגרא

How the soul falls into the body,

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡆࡌࡀ

והאיזין מאמליליבה̱ זמא

and how the blood fills it,

ࡆࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ

זמא האיזין מאמליליבה̱

how the blood fills it,

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡑࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡀࡂࡉࡀ

והאיזין ניצריבה̱ אגיא

and how the channels (veins) permeate it.

ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ[1021] ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[1022]

מאולאנא ד̱אדאכאס מאנא

Let the (supporter?) of Adakas-Mana,

ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ

הו ניהוילה̱ נאטרא

be her protector.

ࡗ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡀࡔࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מיתלאבאשבה̱ בזיוא ד̱הייא

When (Adam) is clothed in radiance of the Life,

[illegible]

[1021] ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ *Maulānā* "Our Lord." Stroumsa writes: "According to the Kalām-i-Pīr, the Divinity (Maulānā, "Our Lord") manifested itself in each generations of mankind, *Maulānā* appeared under three different names which are, in fact, variations upon Melchizedek's name or title (*melekh šalem*, King of Salem, Gen 14: 18). The people of the first prophet, Adam, were the Sabaeans. They identified Melchizedek with Seth and said that at the resurrection he would appear as a judge and as a revealers of the teachings kept secret during history. Melechizedek appeared again during the generations of Noah and Abraham, i.e. at the time of the flood and of Sodom's punishment" (For the conception of ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ *maulana* in the Isma'īlī belief, see Stroumsa 1984: 111).

[1022] ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ Adakas-Mana, Adakas-Ziwa = Adam Kasia "the Hidden Adam" the mystic or occult Adam, who completes the unsuccessful creation of Ptahil.

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה̱

he will spring up and stand on his feet.

ࡗ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

כד̱ מאליל בפומא דאכיא

When he speaks with pure mouth,

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ ࡀࡕࡉࡀ

אנאת אכמאר לדוכתה̱ אתיא

you bring him back again to his place.

ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

אכמאר אתיא לדוכתה̱

Bring him back to his place,

ࡅࡐࡀࡓࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ופארהיזיא מן דה̱ ודה̱

and protect him against all and sundry.

ࡊࡀࡍࡄ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡄ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

כאנה̱ פתאהיל בטארטאבונה̱ דאכיא

Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban,

ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡍࡉࡍࡁࡄ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡄ[1023]

ומהאנינבה̱ בעוצטלה̱

and enfolded him in his garment (or: : he enfolded him by the body) .

(GRR p. 122)

ࡐࡀࡄࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

פאהרא ואזיל עותרא

The uthra flies and goes (down)

ࡅࡆࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

וזליא מינה̱ אדיאוריא

[1023] BL 23599 51r: 5 & BLO 1236: 48r: 16 we read ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡍࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡏࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ *'umhanibh̲ b'ṣṭuna'*: "They embraced him by the body" under HNN: *'mhaninbh̲ b'ṣṭla* Gy 102:10 (where Lidzbarski proposed *mkanibh̲*, Ginzā 110 n. 2) he enfolded him in the garment, but where DC 22. 97 has *b'uṣṭunh* instead of *b'ṣṭla*, hence: "he enfolded him by the body" (MD, p. 150).

and his helpers go (down) with him.

ࡖࡀࡆࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱אזליא מינה̱ גובריא

Those who go down with him are the men

ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡍࡌࡀࡕࡀ

ד̱מפאקדיא על נישנמאתא

who have been set in charge of the souls.

◆

ࡗ ࡌࡈࡉࡍ ࡋࡂࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

כד̱ מטין לגו תיביל

When they reached Tibil,

ࡅࡋࡏࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

ולעצטונא ד̱פאגריא

and the physical trunk

ࡗ ࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ

כד̱ בא ד̱נירמיא בעוצטונא

When he (Ptahil) wanted to cast her (the soul) into the trunk,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡒࡀࡋࡕࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡄ

אנא שקאלתה̱ מן כאנפה̱

I (Manda ḏ-Hiia) snatched her from his pocket.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡒࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

על ד̱פתאהיל נישקלה̱ לאדאם

While Pthahil lifted Adam up,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡑࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ

אנא תריצתינון על גירמה̱

I erected him on his bones.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡏࡋࡄ

על ד̱שאדיא עדה̱ עלה̱

While he laid his hands on him,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡓࡄࡀࡕࡄ ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא ארהאתה̱ בריהא ד̱רורביא

I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones.

ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡁࡈࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ

פאגרא בטון מוקרא

The body became full of living substance (marrow),

ࡅࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ

וזיוא ד̱הייא מאמלילבה̱

and the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him.

ࡊࡖ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מאמלילבה̱ זיוא ד̱הייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him,

ࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡐࡕࡀ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

אינא פתא בעוצטונא ד̱פאגריא

he opened his eyes in the bodily trunk.

ࡊࡖ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מאמלילבה̱ זיוא ד̱הייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared in him (lit: spoke in him),

ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1024] ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ

אדאכאס זיוא לאתרה̱ סליק

Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.

◆

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אסיקתה̱ לאתרה̱ לבית רורביא

I led him upwards to the House to the Great Ones,

ࡁࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ [illegible]

[1024] ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ Adakas-Ziwa or Adam-Kasia, the light Adam. His wife Anana-Ziwa, also called Hawa-Kasia, begets three pairs of of twins, male and female and the triad *uthras* Hibil, Šitl and Anoš. Lady Drower explains: " Adakas is the metaphysical Adam, the wholly spiritual humanity. He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal" (SA, p. 36 f.).

דוכתא ד̱רביא יאתביא

to the place where the Great One is seated (or: enthroned).

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ[1025]

שאלימתה̱ לגאנזיבריא

I handed him over to the treasurers,

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡂࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡉࡀ

לעותריא ד̱לגיטיא יארדניא

the *uthras* who hold the Jordans.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓ

הייא לגיט טאבטתא ד̱עותר

The Life thanked the *uthra*

ࡖࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ד̱אתיא לנישימתא

who had brought the *nišimta* (soul).

ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

קרון ופאקדון רביא ואמריליא

The Great One summoned me and commanded me and said to me:

ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ[1026] ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

אזיל קרילה̱ קאלא שאניא

"Descend, bestow on him with a sublime call,

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ

קאלא שאניא קרילה̱

a sublime call bestow on him,

ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ד̱בישיא לאנידון עלה̱ על נישימתא

[1025] ࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡀ *ganzibra*: treasurer, the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) These celestial *ganzibras* represent the heavenly priests who are responsible for purifying spiritual entities. The Mandaeans modeled their eartly rituals, especially baptism, according to the celestial ones.

[1026] ࡒࡀࡋࡀ *qala* "call". The call is the revelation of the divinity bestowed on the *bhiri zidqa* "the righteous elect", while Ptahil "the demiurge" and his followers remain in ignorance towards the nature and the presence of *mana* the particle of light *nišimta* "soul".

so the evil ones may learn nothing about the *nišimta* (soul)."

࡞

ࡏࡕࡉࡕ[1027] ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

עתית ואשכיתינון

I came and found

ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

לבישיא כולהון כד יאתביא

all the wicked, as they sit there.

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ[1028] ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ[1029]

כד יאתביא בישיא

As the wicked ones sit there,

ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡉ ࡍࡉࡀࡑࡉࡀ

ופודריא עלי ניאציא

and discharge witchcraft over it (over the soul).[1030]

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡐࡑࡏ ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ

עלה נאפצע פודריא

Over it they discharge witchcraft,

ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡄ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡍࡀ ࡌࡍࡀ

ובאייא דניפאלגונה בישיא במנא מנא

and the wicked ones seek to divide it (the soul) into single pieces.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אנא דהזאיתינון

When I saw them,

ࡏࡕࡉࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

עתיאהריבה באלבושאי דאכיא

[1027] ࡏࡕࡉࡕ not in BL 23599 51r: 20 & BL 23601 49r: 6.

[1028] ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ is not in BL 23599 51r: 21.

[1029] ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ not fin BL 23601 49r: 7.

[1030] This motif is common in many Gnostic imagery where the soul descends to earth and the hostile planets seek to endow it with their own evil nature in order to ensnare it. (Jonas, 1958: 156ff.)

I glowed in my pure attire.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ

עתאהזילון לאלמיא בזיוא נאפשא

I appeared to the worlds in the great radiance,

ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ

דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father had given me.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡐࡕࡉࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

עתאהזילה לפתיהיל עותרא

I appeared to Ptahil-Uthra,

ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[1031] ࡅࡁࡊࡀ

האוליל על נאפשיא ובכא

who (then) wailed and wept onto himself.

ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡁࡊࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא

He wailed and wept onto himself,

ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ

על מינדאם דאבאד

because of the what he had done.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ[1032]

עתאהזילה לרוהא מאסטאניתא

I appeared to Rūha, the seductress,

(GRR p. 123)

ࡖࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דמאסטיא כולהון אלמיא

who seduces all the worlds,

[illegible]

[1031] BL 23599 51r: 24 & BL 23601 49r: 10 ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ . BL 23600 48v: 9 & BLO 1236: 48v: 9 ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ

[1032] read ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ *masṭianita* “seductress” or “tempter” (MD, p. 249). See above § 2.4.8.1.

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

דמיתכאבשיבה מארדיא

by which the rebels are crushed down.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ࡎࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡀ

סאימין ולאהאזיא

(yet) she remained blind and did not see.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

האויתא תיניאנא

I revealed to her the second (secret).

ࡆࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡂࡅࡌࡋࡀ

זאמתא זמאמא דגומלא

I held her back with a camel bridle.

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ

והאויתא תליתאיא ראזא

I revealed to her the third mystery,

ࡅࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ

ופלאגלא ברישא פלוגתא

and I split her head open.[1033]

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡉࡁࡉࡀ

כד היזיון כולהון האיקיא ומיתהאיביא

When they saw me, they all became afraid and declared themselves guilty.

[1033] Lupierie blieves that the term "mystery" is "emission or manifestation of power and of knowledge." He assumes that this '"knowledge" is able to blind, subjectand finally destroy its adversaries.' The head represents the seat of prophecy and that the splitting of Rūha's head should mean that the knowledge is designated to the elect and cannot be contained inside the mind of the evil (Lupieri, 2002: 190 n. 17).

ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ

שובא נאפשאיהון בהאיאביא לגיט

The Seven (planets) declared themselves guilty.

ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ[1034] ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ

נאפשאיהון לגיט בהאיאביא

They declared themselves guilty,

ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡄࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

ועסתיהאף על אנפאיהון נפאל

and were hurled down and fell on their faces.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡅࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

עסתאהאף ונסאל על אנפאיהון

They were hurled down and fell on their faces,

ࡅࡏࡉࡃࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡒࡀࡋ

ועידאיון על אנסאיון שקאל

and raised their hands to their faces.

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡄࡈࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ

ואמריא מאראן הטין הטאינין

They spoke, "Our Lord! We have greatly sinned,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡕࡉࡔࡁࡅࡒࡋࡀࡍ

ד̱כול ד̱הטין תישבוקלאן

forgive us all our sins."

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

כד̱ האזא אמאר בישיא

When the wicked ones spoke thus,

ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡋࡉࡍࡂࡅࡍ[1035]

פלאגילון פלוגתא בפאלינגון

[1034] Read: ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

[1035] ࡐࡋࡀࡍࡂࡀ *planga* (Gr. φάλαγζ) phalanx, host, army (MD p. 373).

I made a breach in their phalanx,

ࡀࡅࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

אומיתינון בראזא רבא

I adjured them by the Great Mystery,

ࡖࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡈࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

דלאתיהטיבה בנישימתא

not to harm the *nišimta.*

ࡏࡕࡉࡊࡎࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡅࡊࡉࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ

עתיכסית מן שובא וכיבשית נאפשאי

I concealed myself before the Seven and restrained myself.

ࡋࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ

לדמו פאגריא דאמית נאפשאי

I took on a bodily form.

ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡋࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

שאוית לדמו פאגריא

I took on a bodily form.

ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡖࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡄࡉࡒࡀ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

עמרית דלאעיאהיקא לנישימתא

I said to myself, “I would not startle *nišimta* the soul.

ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡄࡒࡀ

לנישימתא לאעיאהקא

I would not frighten *nišimta* the soul,

ࡅࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡒ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ

ולאתיהוק באלבושא

and she (it) would not be alarmed in her (its) garment (body).”

ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡌࡉࡋࡀ

בדמו פאגריא עדאמילא

I assumed bodily for its sake,

ࡅࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ויאתבית לואתא בצאותא

and I sat beside it with the splendour.

ࡅࡔࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡀ[1036] ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[1037]

ושרית עלא צאותא ד̱מאנא רבא

And I sprinkled over him (Adam) the splendour of the Great Mana,

ࡖࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

ד̱הו מינה̱ עתינציב

from which he was created.

ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ

ד̱יאתבית לואתא ואליפתא

I sat beside him and instructed him

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍ

מא ד̱הייא פאקדון

what the Life commanded me.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

דראשילא בקאלא שאניא

I instructed with a calm voice,

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡀࡉ ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡅࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱שאנאי ונאהור מן כולהון אלמיא

which was more sublime and luminous than all the worlds.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ

דראשילא בקאלא ניהא

I instructed him with a sublime voice,

ࡅࡀࡉࡀࡓࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡀ

ואיארתה̱ לליבא מן שינתא

and awakened his heart from his sleep.

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ועשתאיילא בשותא ד̱עתריא

[1036] From now on the subject is Adam and not the soul. ࡏࡋࡄ BL 23599 51v: 17 & BLO 1236: 48v: 24.

[1037] This verse not in BL 23600 48v: 21 & BLO 1236: 48v: 22.

I spoke to him in the speech of the *uthras*,

[1038]ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀࡉ

ואליפתא הוכומתאי

and taught him my wisdom.

ࡌࡍ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡀ

מן הוכומתאי אליפתא ואמארילא

From my wisdom I taught him, and I told him,

ࡖࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱ניקום וניסגוד ונישאבא לרורביא

that he should arise, prostrate himself and praise the Great Ones.

ࡍࡉࡔࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡀ

נישבא לאתרא סאגיא

That he should praise the exalted place,

(GRR P. 124)

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

דוכתא ד̱טאביא יאתביא

the place where the good ones reside,

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

נישאבא לאדאכאס זיוא

That he should praise Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡋࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅ

לאבא ד̱מינה̱ הו

the Father from whom he came into being.

◆

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡄ

כד̱ יאתבית ואליפתה̱

As I sat there and instructed him,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

[1038] ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ BL 23600: 48v, BL 23601: 49v and BLO 1236: 48v.

קאם סגיד ושאבא לרורביא

he rose up, prostrated himself and praised the Great Ones.

ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

שאבא לאבויא אדכאס זיוא

He praised his Father Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

למאנא ד̱מינה̱ עתינציב

the Mana, from whom he was created (or: planted).

ࡗ[1039] ࡎࡂࡉࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

כד̱ סגיד ושאבא לאבויא עותרא

When he prostrated himself and praised his father, the *uthra*,

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ[1040]

עתאהזילה̱ מן אתאר כאסיא

he appeared to him out of the concealed place.

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

כד̱ היזיא לאבויא עותרא

When he beheld his father, the *uthra*,

ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

עתימליא בתושביהתא מן ריש בריש

he became full of praise, beyond all measures.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

דראש בקאלא רבא

He chanted (hymns) with a loud voice

ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ

ולשיביאהיא מקארקילון

and overturned the planets.

ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

[1039] not in BL 23601: 49v.

[1040] This verse not in BL 23600 49r: 3 & BLO 1236: 49r: 3.

מקארקילון לשיביאהיא

He overturned the planets

ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומקארקילה למארה דאלמא

and overturned the Lord of the world.

ࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

כפארבון בבנה דבאיתא

He disowned the sons of the House (or: this world)

ࡅࡁࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ

ובעבידאתא כולהון דאבאד

and the all the deeds that they have done.

ࡎࡄࡀࡃ ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

סהאד בשומא דהייא

He bore witness to the name of the Life,

ࡅࡁࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[1041] ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡄ

ובעותרא דקאלה אשמה

and the *uthra* who had let him hear his voice.

ࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

כפארבון בעבידאתא דתיביל

He disowned the works of Tibil

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ואזבאר אינה לאתאר נהור

and raised his eyes to the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

כד האזא אבאד

When he did this,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1041] BL 23600 49r: 7 ࡅࡁࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀࡅ.

עותרא דהייא בטאבו עתימלון עלה

the *uthra* of Life became full of kindness towards him.

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

עלה עתימלון בטאבותא

He became full of kindness towards him,

ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡋࡄ

ופאקיד בינתא בנילה

and commanded a building to be erected for him.

ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡍࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ

פאקיד בנילה בינתא

He commanded a building to be erected for him,

ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡍࡉࡑࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ

ופאקיד ניצאבלה ניצובתא

and commanded a plantation to be planted for him.

ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡍࡉࡑࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡉࡓࡃࡍࡀ

פאקיד ניצאבלה ירדנא

He commanded a Jordan to be hewed for him.

ࡗ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡄ ࡊࡉࡋࡄ

כד שאלימלה כילה

When his measure is full,

ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒ ࡕࡀࡓࡉࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡍࡕࡄ

מאסיק תאריצלה בבינתה

he will make him ascend and sets him up in his building.

ࡕࡀࡓࡉࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

תאריצלה באתאר נהור

He sets him up in the Place of Light

ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

לואת אבויא אדאכאס זיוא

beside his father Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ[1042]

ומשאוילה̱ _ עותרא באתאר נהור

and make him an *uthra* in the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כד̱ האזא שאמאת רוהא ושיביאהיא

When Rūha and the Planets heard this,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

כולהון במאליא יאתביא

they all sat in lamentation.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ

כולהון יאתביא במאליא

They all sat in lamentation

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡏ

וקאימיא ומיתהאשביא ואמרע

and commenced forging (evil) plans, and said:

ࡖࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ

ד̱נישאביא לאדאם וניניסבה̱

“We shall entrap Adam and catch him.

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

נישאביא וניניסבה̱ לאדאם

We shall entrap Adam and catch him,

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1043]

וניכאתרה̱ לואתאן באלמא

and detain him with us in the world!”

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ואמריא

and they said (to each other):

[1042] The last two verses are not found in BL 23600 49r: 12 & BLO 1236: 49r: 12.
[1043] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ not in BL 23600 49r: 16 & BLO 1236: 49r: 16.

ࡗ ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ
כד̲ הו נימאליל בקאלא ניהא
“When he speaks with a mild voice,
ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡍ[1044] ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ
אנהין נימאליל בקאלא מארדא
we shall speak with the voice of rebellion.

(GRR p. 125)

ࡗ ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡊࡅࡋ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ
כד̲ הו ניכול ונישתיא
When he eats and drinks,
ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
אנהין נישיביא לאלמא
we shall entrap the world.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ
אנין לאלמא נישיביא
We shall entrap the world,
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡃࡌࡅ
ונישאויבה̲ דמו דמו
and create all kinds of forms in it.
ࡍࡉࡋࡂࡅࡈࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀ
נילגוטבה̲ הינגיא
We shall take snares,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡁࡅࡒࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניהבוקבה̲ היבקא באלמא
and shall practice embracing in the world.
ࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡁࡅࡒࡁࡄ
היבקא באלמא ניהבוקבה̲
Embracing shall we practice in the world,

[1044] Read ࡀࡍࡉࡍ *anin*: we. (MD, p. 27)

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡍࡅࡔࡁࡄ ࡊࡉࡍࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניכנושבה̱ כינשא באלמא

and found a congregation in the world.

ࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡊࡍࡅࡔ

כנישתא באלמא ניכנוש

A congregation we will found in the world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ

ונישיביא ונאילה̱ לכנישתאן

and entrap him (Adam) and lead (or: install) him into our congregation.

ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ

לכנישתאן נאילה̱ ונישיביא

We shall entrap him and install him in our congregation,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ

ונישיביא לליבה̱ וניניסבה̱

we shall catch and pack his heart,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡐࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡁࡅࡁࡉࡀ

ונישיביא בשיפוריא ואמבוביא

and entrap him with horns and flutes

ࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ[1045]

הו מינאן לאניפסיק

(so that) he will not break away from us.

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡄ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

נישאבה̱ שאבא דמאואתא

We will produce seven forms (or: counterparts) in it (in the world)

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

[1045] Cf. [illegible] “They shall not hear the words of the alien Man who has come here. .... Since we have created Adam, he shall come and obey us and our father Ptahil” (GRR 291 : 3).

of every kind and variety."

⁂

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ
כד̱ עתהאשאב בישיא בבישותון
As the wicked considered in wickedness,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ
אנא עתהאשבית על טאבתא
I considered in goodness,
ࡖࡏࡁࡀࡃ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱עבאד טאבותא באלמא
to donate goodness in the world.
ࡒࡓࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי
I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ
גובריא ד̱מקאימיא שורבתא
the men who confirm the generation.
ࡒࡓࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי
I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ
עותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא
the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.
ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קאמית ואמארילון לעותריא אהאי
I approached and addressed my brothers the *uthras*,
ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ[1046] ࡏࡋ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ
ד̱מפאקדיא על שורבאתא

[1046] ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ is not found in BL 23600 49v: 2 & BLO 1236: 49v: 2.

who received the command over the generation:

ࡏࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ

עא יאדיתון עותריא אהאי

“Do you not know *uthras*, my brothers,

ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱שיביאהיא מאהו ד̱מהאשביא

what are the Planets plotting?

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡄࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

קאימיא ומתהאתביא שובא

the Seven stand there, they plot

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡋࡁࡇ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[1047]

ואמריא ד̱נאסכילבה̱ בשורבאתא ד̱הייא

and say: “Let us seduce the Family of Life (or: the Stem of Life)!

ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡋࡁࡇ

בשורבאתא ד̱הייא ד̱נאסכילבה̱

Let us seduce the Family of Life (or the Stem of Life),

ࡅࡍࡉࡐࡉࡎࡒࡀ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניפיסקא לואתאן באלמא

and cut it off with us in the world!”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

כד̱ האזא שומא עותריא

When the uthras heard this,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא ואמריא

the gentle and confirmed uthras, they said:

ࡄࡀࡁ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡋࡇ[1048] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

האב ניצובתא ניצובלה̱ לאדאם

[1047] ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ is not found in BL 23601 50r: 13.

[1048] In BL 23599 52v: 12 & BL 23601 50r: 15 there is ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ.

"Allow us to create a wife for Adam, [1049]

ࡅࡍࡉࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

וניאפשיא לשורבתה̱

and make his race plenteous.

[1050] ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

ניקרילה̱ לאדאם עותרא

We will call forth an *uthra* for Adam

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ

וניניצבה̱ בניצובתא

and we will make him take a spouse.[1051]

ࡁࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ

בניצובתא ניניצבה̱

In a planting we will plant him,

ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡅࡃࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ

וניבודלה̱ הילולא

and arrange a wedding for him.

ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡁࡅࡃࡋࡄ

הילולא לאדאם ניבודלה̱

We will arrange a wedding for Adam,

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡋࡂࡉࡈࡄ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ

וניהאויא ונילגיטה̱ ענתא

and instruct him (how) to take a wife.

ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡄ

ענתא לאדאם ניתילה̱

We will give to Adam a wife,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ונישאוילה̱ צאותא

[1049] lit. plant a planting for Adam.

[1050] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ uthra: Referring to Eve as a heavenly being ?

[1051] lit. we will plant him in a planting.

and make *ṣauta* a "companion" for him.

(GRR p. 126)

ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ

צאותא נישאוילה

will make for him *ṣauta* a "companion",

ࡅࡍࡉࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

וניאתרה לשורבתה

and make his race plentiful.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

דראשיא וסידריא ניקריא

We will recite hymns and (ritual) books,

ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ[1052]

וניבון הייא בינתא

and the Life will build a building,

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡉࡍ[1053] ࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

וניקארקילין הון לשיביאהיא

and we will summon the Planets to us,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ

אלמא דניתון לכנישתאן

that they may come to our congregation.

ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ

לכנישתאן ניתון

They shall come to our congregation

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

הינון לואתאן ניהון

and stay with us.

[1052] If we read ࡁࡀࡅࡕࡀ instead of ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ as in page 4:6 ࡁࡀࡏࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡅࡕࡀ, then this verse will read: "and the Life will make a prayer".

[1053] If we read ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ: "we will overthrow the planets" the meaning of the whole verse will be obscure. Therefore we should read ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡉࡍ: "and we will call them", or "and we will summon them."

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ
הינון ניהון לואתאן
They shall stay with us,
ࡅࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
ואדאם ניתראוראב על כולהון
and Adam shall be exalted above them all."

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡇ
אנא ועותריא אהאה̱
I and the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ
אבאדאנא לכולה̱ טאבתא
prepared all good things *(ṭabta)*.
ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀ
לטאבתא אבאדנא
We prepared good things *(ṭabta)*,
ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡇ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ואבאדנאלה̱ הילולא לאדאם באלמא
and arranged a wedding for Adam in the world.
ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡇ
הילולא לידאם אבאדנאלה̱
We arranged a wedding for Adam,
ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡍࡀࡋࡇ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ
ועהאבנאלה̱ ענתא
and we gave him a wife.
ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡁࡆࡀࡅࡇ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡍࡀࡋࡇ
האוא בזאוה̱ עהאבנאלה̱
We gave him Hawa (Eve) as a wife,
ࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡋࡇ ࡃࡎ ࡈࡀࡓࡀ

כד̱ ד̱עניצאבלה̱ מן דוכתה̱

just as if she had been planted in her place.

ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡉࡍ

קאמינין והאדינין

We stand there and rejoice,

ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡀࡁࡇ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

והאדינאבה̱ מן ריש בריש

and we are overjoyed on his account.

࡞

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ

אלמא ד̱אכצאלא לרוהא

But Rūha was in distress

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡓࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ושיביאהיא כראתאלהון לכולהון

and all the Planets were grieved.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀࡕ

רוהא ריהא ניסבאת

The Rūha took incense

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡏࡋࡇ

ומינילתא ד̱כאדבא אמרא עלה̱

and uttered a word of lie over it.

ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ[1054] ࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ

שאמיש עוצטלא איתיא

[1054] Concerning the old deities of Mesopotamia during the Sasanian dynasty Morony writes: "Several ancient native deities were still venerated in late Sasanian Iraq. Šamiš or Shamash (the sun), Sīn (the Moon), Bel (Jupiter), Nanai and Nergal are all invoked as benevolent powers on a Syriac incantation bowl from Nippur. Bel and Nbu (Mercury) were associated with Babil and were objects of sacrifice at the court of Shāpūr II. . . The great goddess of Mesopotamia had several names during the Sasanian period, but she was also still known by her original name of Nanai (from Sumerian Inanna), 'the great goddess of the entire earth'. The cult of Nanai was originally associated with the regions of Maysan and Babylonia" (Morony, 1984: 386).

Šamiš (sun-god) brought a garment,
ࡅࡎࡉࡓࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ
וסירא איתיא תותבא
and Sirra (moon-god) brought a skirt.
ࡏࡍࡁࡅ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ
ענבו דאהבא איתיא
'Nbo (Mercury) brought gold.
ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡌࡎࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡓࡒࡌࡉࡀ
כיואן מסאניא ונארקמיא
Kiwan (Saturn) brought sandals and shoes.
ࡁࡉࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡌࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ
ביל להאמא והאמרא איתיא
Bel (Jupiter) brought the bread and wine.
ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ
ניריג איתיא אנאפקיא
Nirig (Mars) brought the drinking cups.
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
כולהון כוכביא תריסאר
All the twelve stars,
ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ
בגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא
of every kind and variety:
ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מינאיהון הון נאנגאריא
Some of them were carpenters,
ࡅࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡃࡋࡉࡀ
ומן סאהראיהון כליליא גאדליא
and some of their demons twined wreaths.
ࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡔࡕࡉࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ
דאיואיהון במאשתימאניא

Their Dewis were obedient servants,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡅࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡀࡒࡅࡀࡕࡀ

ומן עכוראיהון בשאקואתא

and some of their temple-demons were cup-bearers.

ࡅࡄࡉࡌࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡒࡀࡃࡉࡀ

והימראיהון בראקאדיא

Their *humurtas* were dancers.

ࡅࡍࡉࡅࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡎࡉࡌࡀࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡀ[1055] ࡁࡌࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ

וניולאיהון בסימאדריא אסא במאבליא איתון

And their hobgoblins brought myrtle blossoms by the load,

ࡅࡓࡉࡄࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡁࡃࡂࡅࡓ ࡃࡂࡅࡓ

וריהאניא בדגור דגור

and sweet basil in heaps.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡎࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

ࡌࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ

מן שכינתא דהייא הו

from the *škina* of the Life.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡎࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ואבאדבה האסיר ובציר

and produced in them flaw and defect.

[1055] ࡀࡎࡀ Myrtle, which was used for bridal wreaths is mentioned in one of the rare positive appearances of Ishtar on a Mandaic bowl from Khuabir, on which she is invoked by saying, "You will come with this wine and perfume and myrtle" (Yamuchi, 1967: 205-7). Myrtle wreaths are given to Mandaeans by their priests as part of the rite of *maṣbūta* "baptism" (MII, p. 100).

Lady Drower states: "Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility" (MII, p. 121-2).

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡅࡀ ࡀࡔࡕࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡀ

אתיויא למארוא אשתארגאנא

They brought the camel’s foot marjoram,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה̲ כול ד̲ביש

and produced in them every evil.

(GRR p. 127)

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡎࡅࡎࡉࡌࡁࡀࡓ[1056] ࡅࡕࡀࡐࡎࡀࡓࡀࡌࡊࡀ[1057]

אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡀࡕࡀ

ד̲מן שכינתון ד̲תרין טוריא דאכיא ריהא אתא

whose fragrance came from the *škinas* of the two pure mountains.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡎࡅࡎࡉࡌࡁࡀࡓ ࡅࡕࡀࡐࡎࡀࡓࡀࡌࡊࡀ

אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡎࡍࡉࡀ

ואבאדבה̲ כול ד̲סניא

and produced in them every ugly thing.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡓࡂࡉࡎ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡀࡎࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡌࡀࡄࡅࡆ

אתיויא לנארגיס רבא אסא ומארמאהוז

They brought the big narcissus, myrtle and wild marjoram

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ

ואבאדבא הארגתא

and they wrongly used them.

ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡉࡄࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אתונון לריהאניא כולהון

They brought all the basil,

[1056] Gr. *σισύμβριον*: watermint (MD, p. 322).

[1057] tapsramka *Ocimum basilicum*, Odoriferous plant (MD, p. 480).

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and every colour,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה̱ כול ד̱ביש

and produced in them every evil.

࡞

ࡍࡉࡅࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ

ניולאיהון בטאבאייא

Their hobgoblins became cooks,

ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡐࡀࡉࡉࡀ

וסאהראיהון באפאייא

and their demons became bakers.

ࡀࡋࡂࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ

אלגאיון בנאכאסיא שאוון

They made their stammerers butchers,

ࡅࡐࡉࡒࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ

ופיקאיון בטאבאייא

and their demon visitants cooks.

ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡀࡒࡅࡀࡕࡀ

לאטאבון כולהון בשאקואתא

All their imps became cup-bearers.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡀࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ

כולהון מאשתאמאניא

All of them were obedient servants,

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

ועשתאמולה̱ לאדאם וכולה̱ שורבתה̱

and obeyed Adam and all his race.

[illegible]

אנא ועותתריא אהאי
I and the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ
באטילנא לבישותון
destroyed their evil.
ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ
לבישותון באטילנא לאדאם
We destroyed their evil against Adam
ࡅࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ
ובאדנאלה טאבתא
and prepared all good things for him.
ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ
טאבתא לאדאם אבאדנאלה
We prepared all good things for Adam
ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡒࡍࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ואסיקנה מן ריש בריש
and we promoted him for ever.
ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
אבאדנאלה הילולא רבא
We arranged a great wedding for him
ࡁࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡀ
בדראשיא וסידריא תאקניא
with fabulous hymns and liturgies.
ࡁࡀࡄࡕࡍࡄ ࡋࡕࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ
באהתנה לתותא דרוהא
We disgraced the words of Rūha
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ
ובאטילנה לקאלא מארדא
and suppressed her rebellious call.
[illegible] ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ [illegible]

אנהאינא לבישותא ד̱שיביאהיא
We abolished the evilness of the Planets
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
ובאטלינין למאשתוציא כולהון
and brought all the monsters to naught·
ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡍࡄ ࡋࡔࡉࡓࡔࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ
תראצנה̱ לשירשא ד̱הייא
We set up the root of Life;
ࡆࡊࡀ ࡅࡆࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ
זכא וזאכיא לכאלה̱ שורבתא
(The Life) triumphed and brought victory to his entire race.

◆

ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ
עקארא הואינין ד̱אדאם
We stayed with Adam
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡀࡕ
אלמא ד̱האוא האמבאלאת
until Hawa (Eve) was in labour.
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ
אלמא ד̱האמבאלאת האוא
Uuntil Hawa was in labour,
ࡀࡍࡀࡄࡉࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡉࡍ
אנאהין אקאראיון הוין
we remained with them.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉࡅࡍ
אנין הואינון אקאראיון
We remained with them
[illegible] [illegible][1058] [illegible] [illegible][1059]

[1058] BL 23599 53v: 4 [illegible] “for him”.

ואנא הוילא סאבוס ענשיא

and I was for him Sabūs (instructor ?) of the women.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

ואנא האויתה̱ מילגאט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife,

ࡗ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

כד̱ גובריא ד̱זאוא לאגטיא

as men take wives.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

אנא האויתה̱ מילגיט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife

ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡕࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ועמרית תיתנפאש שורבאתא ד̱הייא

and I said (to myself), “May the race of the Life be bountiful!

(GRR p. 128)

ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡕࡍࡀࡐࡀࡔ

שורבתא ד̱הייא תיתנאפאש

May the race of the Life to be bountiful,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומיניהון ניתיאיאר אלמא

and by them the world will be roused.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

אלמא ניתיאיאר מיניהון

The world will be roused by them,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡅࡍ

הייא טאביתון ניליגטון

and the Life will be grateful to them.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡕࡅࡍ

1059 ࡎࡀࡁࡅࡎ ࡖࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ *sabūs d̲-'nšea*: ناصح الأزواج one who instructs about conjugal life (?).

הייא ניליגטון טאביתון

The Life will be grateful to them,

ࡅࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡒࡅࡍࡅࡍ

וניפארקונון ונאסקונון

deliver them, and make them rise up

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

מן אלמא האזין ד̱ביש

from this world of the evil."

◆

ࡁࡓࡉࡔ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ

בריש שורבתא קאדמאיתא

At the head of the first generation

ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

אדאכאס זיוא הוא

was Adakas-Ziwa.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

הוא אדאכאס זיוא

There was Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ[1060] ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ואנאנא ד̱נהורא הואת

and there was Anana d̠-Nhura [the cloud of light).

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

הואת אנאנא ד̱נהורא

Anana d̠-Nhura was there.

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀ

כד̱ ד̱הואתאלה̱ הדא כארסא

When she had her first pregnancy,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible][1061] [illegible]

[1060] "Cloud of Light" or "Cloud of Radiance" also called Hawa-Kasia "Occult Breath of Pneuma-Eve), spouse of Dakas-Ziwa (SA, p. 36).

הורינתין היביל ואנאתהייא הון

Hibil and Anat-Hiia came into being

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡕࡉࡍ[1062]

כד̱ הואתאלה̱ כארסא הורינתין

When she had her another pregnancy,

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ[1063] ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1064] ࡄࡅࡍ

אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא הון

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

הון אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being,

ࡖࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱באסים שומה̱ על אלמא

whose names are pleasant to the worlds.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ

אנאן נצאב זיוא שיתיל

Anan-Nşab Ziwa-Šitil

ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ואנהאר זיוא האוא ד̱מן האוא הואת

and Anhar-Ziwa-Hawa who was born from Hawa

ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡀ ࡒࡉࡌࡕࡀ[1065]

ד̱אלמא ודאריא קארילא קימתא

to whom all the worlds and generations (aeons) call out for his perpetuity,

ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱מקאיאם שומא על אלמיא

whose name is established in the worlds.

[1061] *Anathiia* ("Thou-art-the-Life"): a higher female being (MD, p. 25).

[1062] BL 23600, O 1236 ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡕࡅ

[1063] Anan-Nşab: a spirit (MD, p. 24).

[1064] Anhar-Ziwa: a supernatural female being (MG, p. 26)

[1065] *qimta* Var. *qaiamta:* (a) raising up, resurrection, (b) a prayer of dedication or consecration (MD, p. 400).

ࡁࡕࡋࡀࡕ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀࡕࡀ

בתלאת כארסאתא

With the third pregnancy

ࡁࡓࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ברהייא ודמותהייא הואת

Bar-Hiia (son of life) and Dmūt-Hiaa (counterpart of life) came into being.

ࡁࡓ ࡀࡍࡅࡔ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

בר אנוש אדאם ד̱מקאיאם שורבתה̱

Bar-Anoš-Adam who confirmed his race.

ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דמותהייא ד̱מינא מיתיקריא אלמא

Dmūt-Hiia, by whom the world was called forth.

ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ[1066] ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

היביל מאריא ד̱ארקא

Hibil, Lord of the earth,

ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡆࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡄࡉࡋ

ד̱אלמיא היזויא ומינה̱ דהיל

whom the worlds saw and (stood) in fear before him.

ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ[1067] ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ

שיתיל שיתלא טאבא

Šitil (Seth), the good child,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡕࡅࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡀ

עותרא מקאיים תושלימיא

the *uthra* who confirms the perfect ones.

ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ[1068] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡎࡉࡀ

[1066] Hibil is one of the heavenly triad (Hibil, Šitil and Anoš). He is usual Hibil-Ziwa "the Light-Bearer"; a spirit of Light who descended to the underworld and triumphed over the forces of Darkness. (SA, p. 36)

[1067] *Šitil* (Seth) – *Šitil-Ţaba* "the good plant"; the origin of the pure generation of mankind (SA, p. 36. See also, Stroumsa, 1984: 59). "Seth is an important figure among Essenes, Gnostics and early Christians, and closely connected with such characters as Shem and Melchizedek as well as Jesus" (Welburn, 1991: 44).

אנוש עותרא ניהא

Anuš, the gentle *uthra*,

ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

ד̲מקאיים שורבתא

who confirms his race.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אדאם מאלכא ד̲עותריא

Adam the king of the *uthras*,

ࡖࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡄ[1069] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲פאהליל̲ה כולהון אלמא

whom all the worlds serve.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡄ[1070]

אדאם בדמו רביא תראצת̲ה

I put Adam on a par with the great ones,

ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ

ברישא ד̲בינתא

at the head of the building.

ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ

האוא בדמו אנאנא ד̲נהורא שאויתא

I made Hawa (Eve) equal with Anana d̲-Nurah (the cloud of light),

ࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מארתא ד̲כול̲ה אלמא

mistress of the whole world.[1071]

[1068] Anuš (Biblical אנוש). He is the "patron and promoter of Naṣiruta – and of Naṣoraeans who profess and practice it. In Haran Gawaita Anuš guides the persecuted Naṣoraeans to Harran and later into Babylonia, and he avenges them by destroying Jerusalem" (SA, p. 37).

[1069] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 51r.

[1070] BL 23601: 51r ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡉࡍ.

[1071] The elevation of "Man" to a transmundane deity is one of the "most significant traits of Gnostic theology in the general history of religion." (Jonas, h., The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, (JR), 1962: 268).

ࡗ ࡀࡒࡉࡌࡕࡄ[1072] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד̱ אקימתה̱ לאדאם

When I (Manda d̲-Hiia) installed Adam

ࡀࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ

אקרית תלאתא עותריא עלה̱

I appointed three *uthras* over him.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡅࡀ

עותריא ד̱אקרית עלה̱ ד̱אדאם והוא

The *uthras* whom I appointed over Adam and Hawa,

ࡖࡁࡓࡉࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ

ד̱בריתאיהון הוית

I set myself at their head.

(GRR, p. 129)

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡉࡀ

וקאמית ואליפתינון דראשיא שאנייא

And I stood before them and taught them wonderful *drašê* “hymns”.

ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡀࡕࡀ[1073]

אליפתינון סידריא ד̱מאסיקאתא

I taught them liturgies in order to perform the ritual of *masiqta* “ascension”

ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡒࡅࡍ

ד̱עותריא ניסקון

according to the way of the *uthras*.

ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

אליפתינון באואתא

I taught them prayers,

ࡖࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ

ד̱בא באואתא ד̱הייא ניתקאימון

so that they might be confirmed through the prayers of the Life.

[1072] In BL 23601: 51r there is ࡀࡒࡀࡌࡕࡀ

[1073] ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡀ *masiqta* (ascension): ritual of the dead. (See above § 1.4.2)

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ

אמארילון עתראצתון ועתקאיאמתון

I said to them, "You are set up and confirmed,

ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

באתאר ד̠טאביא מיתקאימיא

in the place where the good are confirmed,

ࡁࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ביניא מאניא ד̠נהורא

amongst the Manas of Light,

ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ

האתאם מיתקאימון

there, you shall be confirmed."

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

יאתבית ואליפתינון

I sat and taught them,

ࡗ ࡖࡓࡁࡄ[1074] ࡋࡔࡅࡀࡋࡉࡀ[1075]

כ̠ד ד̠רבה̠ לשואליא

as a master (teaches) his novices.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡅࡁࡓࡀࡊࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אמארילון ובראכתינון

I spoke with them and I blessed them,

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

מן בירכתא ד̠טאביא

(and) the bless of the good ones,

ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡍ

תיהויא עלאואן

shall rest upon them.

[1074] In BL 23599 54r: 10, BL 23600 50v: 23, BL 23601 51v: 5 and BLO 1236: 50v: 23 there is ࡖࡓࡁࡀ

[1075] ࡔࡅࡀࡋࡉࡀ *šualia*: postulant. The name given to a candidate for priesthood (ATŠ p. 15).

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡁࡍࡄ ࡅࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡄ

אדאם ובנה ושורבאתה

Adam, his children and his race

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ[1076] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ניהזונה לאתאר נהור

shall behold the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד הזאתינון רוהא

When Rūha saw them,

ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡅࡍ

למאשתוציא קאריאלון

she called her demons.

ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

קאריאלון למאשתוציא

She called her demons,

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ[1077] ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאלכאלון מילכא באטלא

and gave them worthless advice.

ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ

מילכא באטלא מאלכאלון

She gave them worthless advice,

ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

דלאשיה לאתאר נהור

which was unworthy of the place of Light,

ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

ואראלון מאהו דאיתינין בגו באיתא

[1076] In BL 23600 50v: 24 & BLO 1236: 50v: 25 there is ࡍࡉࡎࡀࡊࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ

[1077] ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ in BL 23601: 51v.

and she said to them, "What will come to us from being in the House

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומאנהירינין בגאוה̱ ד̱אלמא

and illumine in the world?

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡀࡍ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ

לימאלאן ד̱מאנהירינין

Why should we illumine

ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡍ

ד̱מנאת בגאוה̱ ליתלאן

when we have no share in it?

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡋࡀࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ

מנאתא לאתלאן בגאוה̱

We have no share in it,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ

וכולה̱ באיתא לאו דילאן

and the whole house is not ours.

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ

קום נימארלה̱ לנוכראייא

Step forward. Let us speak to the stranger

ࡖࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱ניתילאן מנאתא באלמא

so he might grant us a share in the world.

ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ

עו לאניתילאן מנאתא

If he denies us a share,

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

עלה̱ נירמיא תיגרא

we shall pick a quarrel with him.

ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ[1078]

עו לאניתילאן

If he denies us (a share),

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עלה̱ נישאמאר ונישיבקה̱ לאלמא

we will completely forsake the world.

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ

נישאמאר לאלמא נישיבקה̱

If we forsake the world completely,

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

מאן הו ד̱ניהויב עלה̱ צאותא

who will be its brightness?

ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡄ

צאותא מאן ניהויבה̱

Who will be its brightness

ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡉࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונאהירה̱ לאלמא

and illuminate the world?"

* * *

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כ̱ד האזא אמראת רוהא ושיביאהיא

When Rūha and the planets,

ࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

בנה̱ ד̱אורא באטלא

the children of the perishable abode, spoke thus,

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ

מאלאלית ואמארילון

I spoke and said them,

[1078] BLO 1236: 51r: 4 has ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ 'if he denies us a share'.

ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

למאשתוציא באטליא

to the vile monsters:

ࡏࡅ ࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡅࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

עו נאפקיתון פוק מן באיתא

"If you want to leave, leave the house at once.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡉ ࡏࡉࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ

אנא באלהודאי עיאנהרה

I, by myself, shall illuminate it.

ࡏࡉࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

עיאנהרה להאזין באיתא

I shall illuminate this house,

(GRR p. 130)

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡑࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ועתירצה מן ריש בריש

and set it up in perfect order."

࡞

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡄ

כולהון מאשתוציא הון בהאמבאגותה

All the demons rose up against him,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ

וקאימיא והאשליא ראזיא

and began contriving secret plots,

ࡅࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

וכאלהון לביש מיתהאשביא

and all of them plan evil,

[1079]ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡐࡓࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ

ואמריא קום ניפריא פורא

and say to each other, "Arise, let us arrange a feast,

ࡅࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ

וקום נישתיא מישתיא

arise, let us make a drinking banquet!

[1080]ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡃࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ

ראזיא דרהאמתא ניבאד

Let us practice the mysteries of love,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡈࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונישיטא לכולה אלמא

and seduce the whole world.

ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ראזיא דהארשיא ניקריא

Let us recite the secret spells,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

ונישאויא כילא באלמאן

and set a term for our world.

ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡅࡕࡀ

ניבאד מארגאנותא

We shall cause an uprising

ࡃࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡈࡋࡄ

דלקאלא דהייא ניבאטלה

in order to foil the voice of Life.

ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡈࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1079] "The orgiastic feast prepared by world for the seduction of man, or more generally of the alien Life from beyond, is repeatedly described in extensive scenes in Mandaean writings" (Jonas, 1958: 71).

[1080] This is a general Gnostic motif, nevertheless, the Mandaeans abhore celibacy and encourage marriage and have children. According to Jonas, seduction with "love" is the main weapon of the material world with which it entraps man and makes him remain in the world of darkness. (Ibid pp. 72, 3).

ניבאטלה̱ לקאלא ד̱הייא מן ריש בריש

We want to foil the voice of the Life for ever.

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאן ניקריא תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

Who will pick a quarrel and cast it in the house,

[1081]ࡖࡋࡃࡀࡓࡃࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡀࡔࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱לדארדאריא לאמאשתריא

that might not be settled for eternity?

ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

We shall cast a quarrel in the house

ࡅࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡋࡇ

ולנוכראיא ניגיטלה̱

and kill the stranger!

ࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡋࡇ ࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ

ניגיטלה̱ לנוכראיא

We shall kill the stranger

ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡒࡇ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡇ

ונאסקה̱ לכולה̱ שורבתה̱

and annihilate his whole race.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡋࡉࡂࡅࡈࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡇ

אדאם בליגוטאן ניליגטה̱

We shall take Adam into our party

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡇ ࡐࡉࡓࡒࡀ

וניהיזיא מאן ד̱ניהוילה̱ פירקא

and see who will be a deliverer for him?”

* * *

[illegible]

[1081] This verse in not found in BL 23600 51r: 16 & BLO 1236: 51r: 17

רוהא ושיביאהיא אזאל

Rūha and the Planets departed

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡋࡈࡅࡓ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ[1082]

סליק לטור כארימלא

and ascended to the Mount Carmel.

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ

סליק והאשיב על ראזיא ד̱האמתא

They ascended and thought of the secrets of love.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

יאתביא ומיתהאשביא מאשתוציא

The demons sat there and indulged themselves in plotting.

ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ונאסביא מן ראזאיון ד̱כולהון

They took from the mysteries of every one,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

ומן ראזא ד̱רוהא נאסביא

and from the mystery of Rūha they took some,

ࡅࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

ויאתביא והארשיא אבדיא

and they sit and practice witchcraft.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

יאתביא והאישיא בהוכומתון ואמריא

They sit and think over in their sagacity and say (to each other):

[1082] ࡈࡅࡓ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ *ṭura karimla* Mt. Carmel is identified with the story of Elijah and has always continued to be a sacred mount. Doubtless communities of 'Sons of the Prophets' and the rest had continuously there their retreats. Carmel had been sacred spot long before the days of Elijah, who hid there from his pursuers. The Arabs still call it Jebal Mar Elyas (Mount Lord Elijah). Mead says "Yamblichus in his *Life* of the sage says that Pythagoras visited it." (Mead, 1924: 47 n. 4) Biblically, Mt. Carmel is referenced most often as a symbol of beauty and fertility. To be given the "splendor of Carmel" was to be blessed indeed (Isa 35: 2). Solomon praised his beloved: "your head crowns you like Mount Carmel" (Song of Songs 7: 5).

ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ
ניקום ונישאויא פורא
“Arise , let us arrange a feast
ࡅࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡍࡀࡍࡃࡁࡉࡀ
ונירמיא בגאוה̱ נאנדביא
and we shall cast therein offerings.
ࡍࡉࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
ניכאנפינון לכוכביא תריסאר
We will gather the twelve planets
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ
וכולאן נישאויא ראזיא
and all of us will manufacture mysteries.
ࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ
כולאן נימיא בעמאמאתא כולאן
All of us will swear, with oaths,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ
ולאניגאליל על ראזיא ד̱רהאמתא
not to reveal the mysteries of love.
ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
ראזא ד̱רהאמתא באסא ניבאד
Let us practice the mystery of love with myrtle
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ונישיביא לכולה̱ אלמא
and seduce the whole world!
ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
ראז רהאמתא בהאמרא ניבאד
Let us practice the mystery of love with wine
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀࡍ
ונישיביא לאלמא בירויתאן
and entrap the world by our drunkenness.

(GRR p. 131)

ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ[1083] ࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃ
ראזא ד̱רהאמתא למיא מיבאד
We will perform the mystery of love with water,
ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡃࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ונאנדה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא
and stir up the whole world.
ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡀࡃࡄ
לכולה̱ אלמא נינאדה̱
We will stir up the whole world,
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ
ונישביא בשיביא
and take it captive
ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ
בראזא רבא ד̱רהאמתא
by the great mystery of love.
ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡏࡋࡉࡍ
ד̱עניש לאנידא עלין
No one will know about us.
ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀࡍ
לאנידא בראזא ד̱עומאמאתאן
(No one) will know the secret of our vows,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡀࡍ
ולאניגאליל מימראן
and (no one) will reveal our word.
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀࡍ
ולאניגאלילינין לעומאמאתאן

[1083] Cf. "From the Lord's spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity." (Charlesworth, Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8, 1977: 52).

We will not reveal our vows

ࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

ומא על כול ד̱האשיבנין באלמאן

and all what we designed for our world.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1084] ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אלמא לאניגאלילינין לראזיא כולהון

We will not reveal all the secrets,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡔࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ

ונישאושא על ליגטתא

and we will cause confusion in the faction,

ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ[1085]

על ליגטתא ד̱לגיט נוכראיא

in the faction which the Alien founded,

ࡖࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱לאתיהוילה̱ מנאתא באלמא

so that no share will be his in the world.

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ

מנאתא באלמא לאתיהוילה̱

No share in the world will belong to him,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

וכולה̱ באיתא דילאן ניהויא

and the whole house will belong to us.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ

כולה̱ ניהויא דילאן

The whole (house) will belong to us,

ࡅࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועניש לאניהויא בהאזין אלמא

and nobody's else in this world.

[1084] In BL 23599 55r: 7 & BL 23601 52r: 18 we read ࡋࡌࡀ

[1085] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 52r.

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו דאבאד נוכראיא בגוא דבאיתא

What has the stranger done in the house,

ࡖࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ

דלגאט בגאוה ליגטתא

that he could found himself a faction therein?

ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[1086]

לאיאדיא מארא דבאיתא

The master of the house does not know

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[1087] ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ

דכולה באיתא דילאן הו

that the whole house belongs to us.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ

באיתא הו דילאן

The house is ours,

ࡅࡋࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ולדילון מנאתא ליתלון

and the others have no share (in it)."

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡅࡔࡅࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

קאם שאושונין לעבידאתון

They rose (and) cast confusion on their deeds,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ושאובון האסיר ובציר

and produced in them blunder and defect,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡅ

אמינטול דבאיתא לאו דילון הו

because the house is not theirs.

[1086] this verse and the above not in BL23601: 52r.

[1087] ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ not in BL23601: 52r.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ

באיתא לאהוא דילון

The house is not theirs,

ࡅࡋࡀࡅ ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ולאו אמינטול דילון עתיקריא

and it was not created for their sake.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

באיתא דקרון עותריא

To the house which the *uthras* created,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡄࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ

לדיליא שיהלון עלה

they have sent me in person,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[1088] ࡀࡄࡀࡉ

לדיליא לעותריא אהאי

me in person (and) the *uthras*, my brothers,

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡀ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡁࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ

דעתיא עבידבה טאבתא

in order to descend and do good therein.

ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡁࡄ

טאבתא עבידבה

To do good therein,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡉࡁࡅࡍ

דניהזון טאביא וניטאיבון

hence, the good ones will see (the good) and be restored.

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

ניהזון וניטאיבון טאביא

The good ones will see (the good) and be restored,

[illegible]

[1088] In BL 23600 51v: 16 and BLO 1236: 51v: 16 we find ࡅࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

וניסקון ניהזונה̱ לאתאר נהור

then rise and behold the place of Light.

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡉࡄࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

ניהזון וניביהתון בישיא

The wicked ones will only observe and be ashamed,

ࡖࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱לדוגיא ד̱נורא שאפליא

(and) into the glowing ovens they shall sink.

ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡔࡂࡉࡓࡔࡀࡕࡀ

שאפליא לדוגיא שגירשאתא

They shall sink into the burning ovens,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

דוכתא ד̱מינה̱ עתינציב

into the place from which they were created.

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

דוכתא ד̱עתינציב מינה̱

The place from which they were created,

ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ

האתאם רוהאיון שאלמא

there, their spirits will yield[1089].

ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ

האתאם שאלמא רוהאיון

Their spirits will yield there,

(GRR p. 132)

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡃ

אמינטול מינדאם שאפיר לאבאד

because they did nothing satisfying.

ࡏࡍ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ

[1089] or: they will die

ࡗ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ

כד̱ לאבאד מינדאם ד̱שאפיר

Since they did nothing satisfying,

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא ד̱סוף

they will end on the day of the end.

◆

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡐࡓࡉࡍ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ

קאם פרין פורא

They stood and cast a lot,

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ופאליג מנאתא לנאפשאיהון

and allotted a portion for themselves.

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ

מנאתא לנאפשאיהון פאליג

They allotted a portion for themselves,

ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ[1090] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡇࡅࡓ

ד̱לאשיהיא לאתאר נחור

as they are unworthy of the place of Light.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

אפכו לטאבותא

They perverted goodness,

ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מינדאם ד̱אבאד מארה̱ ד̱אלמא

the thing which the Lord of the world has made.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡑࡉࡀ

אפכונון לראזיא תריציא

They perverted the right mysteries (or: the orthodox rites),

ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ [illegible] ࡅࡀࡁࡃ

[1090] BL 23600 51v: 24 & BLO 1236: 51v: 24 ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ [illegible]

מינדאם ד̱קאדמאיא אבאד

something which the First (Life) made.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ

אפכונון למאלאליא ד̱כושטא

They perverted the words of truth (*kušṭa*),

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

ומאלאליא ד̱כאדבא אבדיא

and held the words of lie (*kadba*).

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

מאלאליא אבדיא ד̱באדבא

They held the words of lie,

ࡀࡍࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

אנמינטול ד̱לאשיהיא לאתאר נהור

because they are unworthy of the place of Light.

ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡍࡁࡀ

רישא שאויויא דינבא

They changed head into tail

ࡅࡃࡀࡍࡁࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ

ודאנבא שאויויא רישא

and changed tail into head.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אפכונון לעבידאתון

They perverted their deeds (or: rites),

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואמאר בישותא באלמא

and did evil into the world.

[illegible][1091]

[1091] In the Book of *Jue* it is written that "After reciting magical prayers, Jesus administers to his disciples baptism of water, of fire, and of Holy Spirit. As preparation of the baptism of water

אתונון לפיריא כולהון
They brought all the fruit
ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ
ואבאדבון כול ד̠ביש
and did every evil in them.
ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ
אתונון ליארקוניא
They brought the vegetables
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ
ושאובון האסיר ובאציר
and made blunder and defect in them.
ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
אתונון למיא הייא
They brought living water
ࡅࡀࡔࡀࡃ ࡓࡌࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ
ואשאד רמובון הארגתא
and poured turbidity into it.
ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ[1092]
אתיויא לריש כאנא
They brought the head of the race
ࡅࡀࡁࡃࡀࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡀ
ואבדאבה̠ ראזא ד̠רהאמתא ושיהא
and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust,
ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡑࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̠בה̠ מישתאציבה̠ כולהון אלמיא
through which all the worlds are inflamed.
[illegible][1093]

---

the disciples bring to Jesus various plants, the juniper, the terebinth, etc., probably for their magical properties" (cited by Yamauchi, 1970: 12).

[1092] ࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ Adam is the head of the race.

אבאדבא מאסטיאנותא

They practiced on him seduction,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡎࡀࡈࡉࡍ[1094] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה סאטין כולהון אלמיא

to lead the whole world astray.

ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡃࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ

אבאדבה ראזא דרויתא

They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה ראויבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are drunken.

ࡌࡀࡔࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡎ ࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ

מאשקילון מן כאס רויתא

They made them drink from the cup of drunkenness,

ࡃࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡀ[1095] ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡃࡎࡅࡐ

דמאזבריא אנפאיון ליאמא רבא דסוף

so that they turn their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ[1096] ࡅࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver

ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡉࡀ[1097] ࡃࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומארגאניא דהאזין אלמא

and the pearls of this world.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ ࡅࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver,

[1093] BL 23600 52r: 6 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 [illegible].

[1094] BL 23599 55v: 12, BL 23600 52r: 6, BL 23601 52v: 19 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 ࡑࡀࡈࡉࡍ.

[1095] BL 23599 55v: 14 & BL 23601 52v: 19 [illegible].

[1096] BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9 ࡋࡀࡄࡁࡀ.

[1097] ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9.

ࡖࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דבה ראויבה אלמא

by which the worlds became drunk.

ࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[1098] ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ[1099]

בה אלמיא ראויבה

The worlds became drunk,

ࡅࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

ומאזבריא אנפאיון ליאמא רבא דסוף

and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡂࡁࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡅࡍࡀ

אתיויא לארגבא ומינונא

They brought money and possessions

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה כול דביש

and did with them every vileness.

◆

ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡀ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ

לרוהא פלאגלא שיהא

They allotted lust for Rūha,

(GRR p. 133)

ࡖࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡑࡅࡍ

דבה ניהזונה אלמיא ונישתאצון

by which the worlds get agitated when they see it .

[illegible][1100] ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡀ [illegible]

[1098] ࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 52r: 10 & BLO 1236: 52r: 10 .

[1099] In this concern Jonas writes: "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understood by the term "world." . . The drunkenness of ignorance is opposed by the "sobriety" of knowledge, a religious formula sometimes intensified to the paradox of "sober drunkenness."" (Jonas 1958: 71).

[1100] The planets continued to be worshiped in Iraq inspite the Sasanians attempts to close the old temples. In this concern Morony wrties: "Although paganism was declining in Sasanian Iraq, ancient Mesopotamian religious traditions survived in several important ways. . . There

לנבא פלאגלה̱ הוכומתא
They allotted wisdom for Nbū
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡃࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ
ושאוויא מארא ד̱רהאמתא
and made him the Lord of love.
ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ[1101] ࡈࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡁࡅࡁࡉࡀ
פלאגלה̱ טאבליא ואמבוביא
They allotted for him drums and flutes,
ࡃࡌࡉࡔࡕࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱מישתביבה̱ כולהון אלמיא
by which all the world are lured.
ࡋࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
לכיואן פלאגלה̱ בישותא
To Kiwan they allotted wickedness,
ࡃࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
ד̱מינה̱ האויא האסיר ובציר
from which flaw and defect came into being.
ࡋࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ
לשאמיש פלאגלה̱ כאדבא
To Šamiš (Sun-god) they allotted deceit,
ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱בה̱ מישתאמשיא כולהון אלמיא
by which all the worlds are befooled.
ࡋࡎࡉࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ
לסין פאלגלה̱ הוסראנא

---

may have been temples of Bel and of Nabu at Burs as late as third century. There are references to pagan temples with idols in the late sixth and early seventh centuries in Beth 'Arbhaye, Arzon, Margha, Adiabene, Beth Garme, Kaskar, and Maysan. . . By the fourth century, pagans were already beginning to celebrate their festivals in secret. Such a festival was held in honour of Nabu at his altar in a mountain village near 'Anat and included dancing, raillery, and the playing of the lyre and drums" (Morony, 1984: 384-85).

[1101] In BL 23600 52r: 13 & BLO 1236: 52r: 13 we read ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡊࡋࡄ

To Sin (Moon-god) they allotted imperfection,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ
ד̲כול הוסראנא מינה̲ הון
from which all the blemish generated.
ࡋࡁࡉࡋ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ
לביל פלאגלה̲ ראזא ד̲מיא
To Bil they allotted the mystery of the water,
ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡃࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̲בה̲ מאנידלון לכולהון אלמיא
with which he stirs up all the worlds.
ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡃࡋࡅࡍ
לכולהון אלמיא מאנידלון
He stirs up all the worlds,
ࡅࡀࡓࡉࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡅ ࡁࡁࡉࡔ
ואריבלה̲ לטאבו בביש
and blends good with evil.
ࡋࡍࡉࡓࡂ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ
לנירג פלאגלה̲ זאניא
To Nirig (Mars) they allotted arms,
ࡋࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
למיבאד קראבא באלמא
to wage the war in the world.
ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
קארילון לכוכביא תריסאר
They called the Twelve Stars,
ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡅࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ
ומאלואשיא אלאגלון
and divided the signs of the zodiac (*milwašia*) between them.
ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡕࡉࡀ
פלאגלון באתיא

They divided them (the planets) into Houses

[1102]ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ

אכמאר בבישותא רמון

and once more they cast them into wickedness.

[1103]ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

אכמאר רמון בבישותא

Once more they cast them into wickedness,

ࡎࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡐࡋࡅࡂࡉࡀ

סינא קינא ופלוגיא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

[1104]ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡅࡉࡄࡓࡉࡀ

פלאגלון ליומא ויהריא

They divided the days and the months.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ

פאלגונון לשאייא ושושיא

They divided the hours and the *šušias* (five minutes?).

ࡋࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ

לשאייא ושושיא פאלגונון

They divided the hours and *šušias*.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡄࡓࡉࡀ

פאלגונון לנאגיא ופוהריא

They divided the minutes and seconds.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ

פאלגו לכולה האסירותא

They spread every deficiency,

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ופאלגויא לכולה האסיר ובציר

[1102] Instead of this verse we read in BL 23600 52r: 20 & BLO 1236: 52r: 20: [illegible]

[1103] In BL 23600 52r: 22 & BLO 1236: 52r: 22 as above.

[1104] [illegible] in BL 23601: 53r.

and they spread all the flaw and blunder.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

פאלגויא לכולה אלמא לנאפשאיהון

They divided the whole world between them,

[1105]ࡅࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡃࡊࡀࡓ

ושומא דקאדמאיא לאעדכאר

and the name of the First was not mentioned.

ࡏࡎࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡎࡀࡓࡅࡍ

עסרויא לאסארון

They made an alliance,

[1106]ࡅࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡆࡉࡌࡀࡉࡅࡍ

ורמון בראבא זימאיון

and discarded their great fetters(?).

ࡀࡔࡀࡓ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ

אשאר לעומאמתון

They confirmed their oaths,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡌࡀࡅࡃࡉࡍ

דכולהון בכאדבא מאודין

which all of them confess with lies.

[1107]ࡀࡔࡀࡓ ࡏࡋ [1108]ࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡀ

אשאר על עומאמתא

They confirmed their vows,

ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡅࡓ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ

דעבדון בטור כארימלא

which they made on the Mount Carmel.

ࡐࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡐࡉࡊࡉࡍ ࡔࡉࡊࡀ

[1105] Cf. ࡅࡔࡅࡌ ࡅࡊࡉࡍ ࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀࡊࡀࡓ GRR, p. 85: 20.
[1106] In BL 23600 52r: 27 & BLO 1236: 52r: 27 there is ࡅࡀࡓࡌࡅࡍ
[1107] ࡀࡔࡀࡓ is not fouhnd in BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1.
[1108] In BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1 we read: ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ

פורא דפרון שובא

In the feast which the Seven (planets) prepared,

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

רישאיהון דהארשיא כולהון

the head (foundation) of all sorcery,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

דבה מאמליליבה כולהון אלמיא וסאהריא

all the aeons and demons spoke.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ

מאמלילבה טאבליא וזמאריא

They played the drums and (sung) songs;

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

רישאיהון דהארשיא כולהון

the heaed (or: foundation) of all sorcery;

ࡓࡉࡔ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ריש שיביא רבא

the head of great captivity,

(GRR p. 134)

ࡅࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ובה מישתיביבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are entrapped.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡒࡀࡓࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡋࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מאמליליבה קארניא ובאלוריא

They played the horns and *balūria* “cymbals”;

ࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡍࡊࡉࡎࡕࡀ

ריש כולה נכיסתא

the head of every (sacrificial) slaughter;

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡓࡀࡁࡉࡀ

רישאיהון דכולהון קראביא

the beginning of every hostility,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
דבה מישתאביבה כולהון אלמיא
by which all the worlds were captivated.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡉࡍࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ
מאמליליבה כינאר שיהא
They played the lute of lust,
ࡃࡁࡄ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡏࡑࡈࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
דבה שיהא עצטאר עלאשאיהון
by which lust was formed amongst them.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡃࡀࡓࡁࡅࡊࡀ
מאמליליבה בדארבוכא
They played the tambourines,
ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡁࡄ[1109] ࡓࡅࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
דבה מאמלאליבה רוהיא כולהון
by which all the *rūhas* “spirits” spoke.
ࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡉࡀ
בה מאמללא כולהון רוהיא
With which all the *rūhas* “spirits” spoke,
ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ושיביא שיביא באלמא
and made a catch in the world.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡔࡉࡐࡅࡓࡉࡀ
מאמלליבה בשיפוריא
They played the trumpets,
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
מאמלליבה ברוגזא כולהון
they all played with excitement.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡀ [illegible]

[1109] In BL 23599 56r: 17 & BL 23601 53r: 20 there is ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡀ

מאמלליבה̱ באמאמיא ד̱כאדיבתא
They played the flutes of the liar,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ
ד̱כולה̱ כאדבא מינאיון הוא
by which all the lie came forth from them.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
מאמלליבה̱ בגוהא רבא
They played with a loud din,
ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱עתיגנא גוהא באלמא
so a thunder pealed in the world.
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ
גוהא באלמא עתיגנא
A thunder pealed in the world,
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ[1110] ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
אלמא ד̱אנידויא לכולה̱ אלמא
and they shock the whole world.
ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ
לאלמא כולה̱ אנידויא
They shock the whole world,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ואנידו לארקא מן ריש בריש
and they shook the earth entirely.
ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ
לסאדאנא ד̱ארקא אנידויא
They shook the anvil of the earth,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ
ואנידויא לכולה̱ רקיהא

[1110] ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ BL 23601: 53r.

and quaked the whole firmament.

ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡀ

לכולה רקיהא אנידויא

They quaked the whole firmament,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

ושיביא רמון בכול דוכתא

and made a catch in every place.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡋ ࡂࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ

קאלאיון וקאל גוהאיון

Their voices and the sound of their din,[1111]

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ[1112]

מאנא מן יאמא סליק

made one mana to ascend upwards from the sea.

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ

מאנא סליק מן יאמא

One mana ascended upwards from the sea,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ[1113]

וכולהון עמביא ועלאניא עתינסיב

and all vines and trees were planted.

࡞

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ[1114] ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ

כד עתינסיב עמביא ועלאניא

When the vines and trees were planted,

ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡅࡃࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

קאלאיהון בעודנה דאדאם נפאל

[1111] Jonas comments: "The Mandaean scene of the conspiracy of the world prompts an additional observation. The orgiastic feast, intended to draw man into its drunken whirl, has besides intoxication another aspect: its noise is to drown out the "call of Life" and deafen man to the voice of the alien Man" (Jonas 1958: 73).

[1112] A recollection of Ea-Oannes myth.

[1113] In BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 read: ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ "were planted".

[1114] BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ.

their noise fell into Adam's ear(s).

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡅࡃࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד אנפאל קאליון בעודנה דאדאם

When their noise fell into Adam's ear(s),

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡒࡀࡌ

אדאם מן שינתה קאם

Adam awoke from his sleep.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡄ

אדאם קאם מן שינתה

Adam awoke from his sleep,

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ואזבאר אנפה לאתאר נהור

and raised his face to the place of Light.

ࡒࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

קראלון לאדיאוריא

He called his helpers.

ࡒࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

קראלון לעותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא

He called the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[1115]

אמארלה להיביל עותרא

He spoke to Hibil-Uthra,

ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡀ

גאברא דקאלה אשמא

the Man who heard his voice, :

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡄࡅ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו הו בגו באיתא

"What ensued in the House,

[1115] Hibil-Uthra appears here as a redeemer in place of Manda d-Hiia. Their names exchange places more often in the Mandaean texts.

ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

בגאוה̲ ד̲האזין אלמא

(what ensued) in this world?

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו הוא בגו באיתא

What ensued in the House,

(GRR p. 135)

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ד̲סאליק קאלא ד̲גוהא מאטיא שומיא

that made the noise of the din rise and reach the heavens?"

ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡃࡀࡕ

כולא ארקא נאדאת

The whole earth shock,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡌࡀࡎࡀࡓ

וכולה̲ רקיהא עתמאסאר

and the whole firmament was crushed[1116]

ࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡀࡍࡎࡀࡁ

לבאב אלמיא כולהון עתאנסאב

The mind of all the worlds was grasped,

ࡅࡀࡔࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ואשנא מן דוכתה̲

and was deviated from its place.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד̲ האזין אמאר אדאם

When Adam spoke thus,

ࡏࡑࡈࡀࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡉࡌࡉࡇࡕࡀ

עצטאראר באינה̲ דימיחתא

[1116] *rqiha 'tmasar* "the firmament was rendered to (earth)? (MD, p. 267).

tears were formed in his eyes.
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ
כד̱ האזין אמאר אדאם
When Adam spoke thus,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ
אנא בארית באלבושאי
I shone forth in my attire.
ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
באריבה̱ באלבוש עשאתא האיתא
I shone forth in the attire of the living flame,
ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ
ד̱אבאהאתאי עהאבליא
which my father bestowed on me.
ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
באריבה̱ באלבושא דאכיא
I shone forth in a pure garment,
ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ד̱נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̱
which is so wide and infinite.
ࡒࡀࡓࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ
קארבית ולגאטתה̱ לאדאם
I drew near and held Adam,
ࡁࡀࡐࡓࡀࡎ ࡉࡀࡌࡉࡍࡄ
באפראס יאמינה̱
by the palm of his right hand,
ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡁࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ
ואנהאיתה̱ ללבה̱ על סאמכה̱
and I let his heart rest on its support
ࡀࡍࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ
אנהאיתה̱ ואמארילה̱

I calmed him and told him,

ࡗ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

כד̲ ד̲שובא אבאד

how the Seven behaved.

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

תום אמארה̲ כד̲ ד̲הואת מן דוכתא

Then I told him of what happened there and then,

ࡅࡗ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ

וכד̲ ראזא כאבשיא

and how they devise a secret plot.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

קאלא הו ד̲שיביאהיא

That was the voice of the Planets,

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ד̲עתימליך מילכא באטלא

who took a worthless advice.

ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ

מילכא באטלא עתימליך

They took a worthless advice,

ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

ד̲אמאריא נירמיא תיגרא

when they said, “We will pick a fight.”

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ

אמאריא תיגרא נירמיא

“We will pick a fight,” they said.

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡄ

ואמריא לאלמא נאפרה̲

And they said, “We will disorganize the world!”

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אמריא נאפרה̲ לאלמא

(When) they said, "We will disorganize the world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ

ונישאויבה האסיר ובאציר

and cause in it flaw and defect."

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡊࡀࡍࡀࡍ[1117] ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

ואמרילה כון ועתכאנאן אדאם

I said to him, "Be calm and steady,

ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡊࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

לאתיכרילאך עלאואיהון

be not troubled about them.

ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡊࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

לאתיכרילאך על שיביאהיא

Be not troubled about the Planets,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ ࡏࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועל נימרוס עמא דאלמא

and about Namrus, the mother of the world.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡊ ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ

אנא עהאויאך בראדופאך

I will show you part of your persecutors,

ࡅࡏࡉࡀࡔࡀࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ

ועיאשאילינון לראדופאך

and (then) I will abase your persecutors.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡍࡄࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡀࡊ

אנאת אנהא להאוא זאואך

Calm Hawa, your woman,

ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ולאניהויבאך האסיר ובציר

and flaw and blunder will not afflict you."

[1117] In BL 23599 56v: 23 & BL 23601 53v: 21 we read: ࡏࡊࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡊࡀࡍࡀࡍ

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡌ
כד̱ האיזין אמארילה̱ לאדים
Once I spoke thus to Adam,
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡄ
אמארילון לכולהון בנה̱
then I spoke to all his sons.
ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ
היביל בזיוה̱ האדיא
Hibil is pleased with his radiance,
ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡑࡁࡄ
ושיתיל מקארילון לנאצבה̱
and Šitil calls aloud for his helpers.
ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ
שיתיל בערותה̱
Šitil (rejoices) in his illumination,
ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ ࡁࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ
ואנוש בשותא ד̱עותריא אהה̱ אשמויא
and Anoš (is pleased) by the voice which his brothers the *uthras* let him hear.
ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡉࡑࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡐࡀࡓࡐࡉࡀ
האדיא דאיציא ומיתפארפיא
They make merry, exult and rejoice.
ࡅࡋࡀࡊࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ולאכאריאלה̱ על כולהון אלמיא
and they are not troubled about all the worlds.

࡞

(GRR p. 136)

ࡗ ࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡌ
כד̱ אכאל אדאם ועתבאסאם

Once Adam finished eating he rejoiced and was glad,
ࡒࡀࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡄ ࡅࡀࡎࡁࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡅࡄࡑࡀࡍࡀ
קאראלה̱ להאוא זאוה̱ ואסברא ברוהצאנא
he called Hawa, his woman, and inspired her with confidence.
ࡖࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
ד̱היביל עותרא עתכאלאל ושכיב על דוכתה̱
Whilst Hibil-Uthra was asleep in his place from exhaustion,
ࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ
הדא מן בנה̱ ד̱אדאם
one of Adam's sons,
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ
נאפשה̱ בהאסירותא הואת
his soul was inflicted with blunder.
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ
נאפשה̱ הואת בהאסירותא
His soul was inflicted with blunder,
ࡅࡔࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡕ
ושינתא לאינה̱ לאתאת
and sleep did not visit his eyes.
ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡂࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ
בליבה̱ גנאלה̱ גוהא
There was a groaning in his heart
ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
וקאימא ונאידא קומתה̱
and his body began to shake.
ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
עתהאשאב בבישותא
He thought out in vice,
ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ
ושיבקה̱ לאדאם אבויא

and forsook his father, Adam,
ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡏࡌࡄ
ושיבקה להאוא עמה
and his mother, Hawa,
ࡅࡏࡔࡁࡀࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡄ ࡗ ࡔࡊࡉࡁࡉࡀ
ועשבאקינון לאהה כד שכיביא
and forsook his brothers whilst they were asleep.
ࡔࡁࡀࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡄ ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ
שבאקינון לאהאה כאלהון
He forsook all his brothers,
ࡅࡀࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡔࡉࡕࡄ[1118] ࡎࡋࡉࡒ
ואקריא באשיתה סליק
and climbed the fortress by the wall.
ࡀࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡁࡀࡔࡀࡕࡄ
אקריא סליק באשאתה
He climbed the fortress by the wall,
ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡄ[1119] ࡖࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡅࡍ
ואזאל בגאונה דכנישתון
and went into their assembly.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡄ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
כד הזאתה רוהא
When Rūha saw him,
ࡏࡄࡊࡀࡕ ࡄࡃࡀࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡌࡀࡕ
עהכאת הדאת ועתבאסמאת
she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced.
ࡄࡃࡀࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

[1118] In BL 23599 57r: 13 & BL 23601 54r: 10 ࡁࡀࡔࡉࡕࡄ is not found.
[1119] In BL 23599 57r: 13, BL 23600 53r: 22, BL 23601 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 53r: 22 read: ࡋࡂࡀࡅࡍࡄ

הדאת ועתבאסמאת רוהא
Rūha gladdened and became rejoiced,
ࡅࡄࡃࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
והדון שיביאהיא כולהון
and all the Planets were pleased.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ
רוהא ניסבאת נורא
Rūha fetched the fire,
ࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡎࡀࡁ
ושאמיש ריהא נסאב
and Šamiš brought the incense.
ࡂࡀࡄࡍࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡃࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
גאהנא וסאגדא רוהא
Rūha bowed herself and worshipped,
ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡀ
ומאהתא קומתא ומשאבא
prostrated herself and praised him (Adam's son).
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ
רוהא רמאת ריהא
Rūha cast the incense (into the fire),
ࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡎࡂࡉࡃࡋࡄ ࡎࡉࡂࡅࡕࡀ
ושאמיש סגידלה̱ סיגותא
and Šamiš made obeisance and bowed to him.
ࡁࡉࡋ ࡁࡔࡅࡄࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡀࡎࡀ
ביל בשוהבא ד̱נאפשה̱ נסיב אסא
Bil in his own pride took myrtle
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ
ואלאנפה̱ נפאק
and went to meet him.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

קאימיא ומבארכילה ואמרילה

They approached him and blessed him and said to him:

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡓࡉࡊࡕࡀࡍ ࡕࡉࡉࡅࡋ[1120] ࡏࡋࡀࡊ

מן בירכתאן תייול עלאך

"May our bless be bestowed upon you."

ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡄ[1121] ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡎࡉࡌࡀࡃࡓࡀ

כיואן בתיראתה תראצלה בעדה סימאדרא

Kiwan courteously (?) set a blossom in his hand.

ࡅࡊࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡀࡋࡂࡉࡈࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ

וכלילא אלגיטלה בעדה

and passed a wreath into his hand,

ࡅࡎࡂࡉࡃ ࡅࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡄ

וסגיד והאנאנה ונישקה

then he bowed to him (in worship), embraced him and kissed him.

ࡎࡉࡍ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡄ

סין בליבה בירכה

Sin blessed him with his heart,

ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡊࡕࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡍࡊࡀ

ורוהא בראכתה בהאנכא

and Rūha blessed him with her jaws (or: voice).

ࡁࡀࡓࡊࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡋࡅࡓࡀ

בארכאלה בבילורא

They blessed (or: welcomed) him with cymbals (*bilūria)*

ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡉࡋࡕࡄ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀ

ושאבשאת איילתה לכנישתא

and leading astray she brought him into a church.

࡞

ࡊࡃ [illegible] [illegible]

[1120] BL 23599 57r: 19 & BL 23601 54r: 16 we read: ࡕࡄࡅࡋ. In BLO 1236: 53r: 27 ࡕࡀࡉࡅࡋ

[1121] *tirat, tirta*: inner part of the pody, inner conviction, conscience. (MD, pp. 486-7)

כד מיתכארכיבה שיביאהיא

When the Planets surrounded him,

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ

עדה שאדיא על תותבה

he laid his hand on his garments.

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדה על תותבה שאדיא

He laid his hand on his garments,

ࡅࡌࡍࡀࡐࡉࡑࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ

ומנאפיצלון לתותבה

and he shook for them his garments,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡅࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡓࡕࡀ

וקאיים ושאדיא מירתא

He began to spit bile.

ࡌࡍࡀࡐࡉࡑࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡒࡍࡀ[1122]

מנאפיצלון לקארקנא

He shook for them his sandals (?).

(GRR p. 137)

ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ[1123]

מאדכארלון לעותריא אהה

He remembered his brothers, the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ

ומאדכארלון לשותא דעתריא אהה אשמויא

and remembered the speech which his brothers, the *uthras*, let him hear.

ࡀࡈࡀࡓ ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אטאר מאדכארלה לשותא דעותריא

Remembering for sometime the speech of the *uthras*,

[1122] or *qirqna* dress, sandals, shoes (?) MD p. 412

[1123] in BL 23599 57v: 2 & In BLO 1236: 53v: 5 we read: ࡅࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא ד̠ברישא אותבויא

until they seated him on top.

ࡗ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

כ̠ד אותבויא ברישא

When they seated him on top,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡎࡀ ࡀࡋࡂࡉࡈࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא ד̠כאסא אלגיטויא

they offered him the drinking cup.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡔࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡀ

אלמא ד̠אשקויא כאסא

Until they offered him the cup to drink,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡕࡉࡋࡕࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא תיניויא ותילתויא

until they (offered him the cup) twice and three times,

ࡋࡉࡁࡘ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה̠ בפלוגתא קאם

his heart misgave him (lit. stood in doubt),

ࡅࡔࡉࡀࡋࡕࡘ ࡓࡒࡅࡃࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡘ

ושיאלתה̠ רקודא קומתה̠

and his body desired dance.[1124]

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כ̠ד האיזין אבאד אדאם בר אדאם

When Adam, the son of Adam, had done that,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ࡌࡍ ࡌࡂࡀࡋࡕࡀ[1125]

[1124] The Mandaean scriptures warns frequently against lust, dance and consuming wine which results in adultery and fornication. (GRR, p. 26: 1, 35: 6, 48: 15, etc.)

[1125] BL 23601 54v ࡌࡍ ࡌࡂࡀࡋࡕࡄࡅࡍ "from their scroll".

עותריא כאפרויא לשומה̱ מן שאפתא

the *uthras* wiped out his name from the(ir) scroll.

ࡗ ࡓࡅࡄ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כד̱ רוה̱ ברויתא ד̱שיביאהיא

When he became drunk from the drink of the Planets,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡓࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ

קאם ורקיד ברויתא

he stood up and danced in intoxication.

ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡖࡍࡄࡀ ࡅࡉࡕࡁ

אבאתאר ד̱נהא ויתב

After he was calm and sat down,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

קאם בה̱ ד̱ניזאל לדוכתה̱

he stood up in order to go back to his place.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ ࡁࡀࡃࡌࡅ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡄࡏ ࡀࡄࡀࡕࡄ

רוהא עשתאויאת באדמו האוא זאוה̱ ד̱הע אהאתה̱

Rūha took the form of Hawa, his wife, who is in fact his sister,

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡐࡀࡋࡂࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡄࡓࡀ

וקאמאלה̱ לפאלגא ד̱עוהרא

and approached him half way.

ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡐࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ

פיריא ד̱זיפא שאויאת

She prepared the bed of deceit,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡅࡋࡀ

ושאוית דוכתא ד̱אולא

and created the site of sin.

ࡀࡓࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡃࡀࡍࡉࡀ

אריבתינון לעדאניא

She mixed up the times,

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ [illegible] [illegible]

וקאמאת ולאגאטה̱ בעדה̱
and she arose and took him by the hand.
ࡗ ࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ[1126]
כד̱ לגאטתה̱ בעדה̱
When she took him by the hand,
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡋࡕࡄ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡅࡕࡀ
נאפשיא שאלתה̱ זאניותא
She, herself, asked him to fornicate with her.
ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ
בפומה̱ ד̱נימארלה̱
He desired to kiss (lit. address) her by the mouth,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
וניהיבקא בקומתה̱
and embrace her body.
ࡁࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡓࡅࡉࡍࡄ
בשיהא ד̱ניסבה̱ לרוינה̱
In the hot desire that occupied his mind,
ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ
מאליל לרוהא ד̱נימארלא
he spoke to Rūha and said:
ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡕ
כד̱ אנאת האוא אהאת
“Since you are my sister Hawa
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡉࡊ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡓࡉࡀ
אנאת תותביך היואריא
and your outfits are white,
ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡊࡉࡕࡅࡍࡉࡀ
מאהו ד̱לאבשית כיתוניא

[1126] ࡁࡏࡃࡄ not in BL 23599 57v: 14, BL 23600 53v: 17, BL 23601 54v: 7 & BLO 1236: 53v: 17.

why do you wear a skirt,
ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ
ד̲גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא
which is so colourful and exciting ?
ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀࡊ[1127] ࡀࡓࡆࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ
קומתאך ארזא ראמא
Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡀ
לימאליך ד̲סאיית מיא
why do you to wash with water?
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡒࡉࡊ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ
אנאת שאקיך גופניא איאר
Your thighs are vines of ether,
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ[1128]
לימאליך ד̲ראמית דאהבא
why do you wear gold?
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡁࡓࡉࡊ[1129] ࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ
אנאת עבריך כיניא איאר
Your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ
לימאליך ד̲ראמית כאספא
why do you wear silver?
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡊ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
אנאת רישיך אנאנא ד̲נהורא
You, your head is a cloud of light,
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡒࡉࡕ ࡅࡎࡀࡓࡒࡉࡕ
לימאליך ד̲האיקית וסארקית

[1127] BL 23600 53v: 21 & BLO 1236: 53v: 21 ࡁࡉࡊ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀࡊ
[1128] ࡃࡄࡁࡀ in BL 23600: 53v, BLO 1236:53v.
[1129] GRR, p. 137: 22 ࡏࡁࡉࡊ

Why do you wash and comb (yourself)?

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡊ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ

אנאת איניך איניא דזיוא

Your eye is an eye of radiance,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ[1130]

לימאליך דכולא מאליאתבה

why do you fill it with kohl?

◆

(GRR p. 138)

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡁࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

מאלאלאת ואמראלה לנביהא דכאדבא

She spoke and said to the false prophet,

ࡋࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

להאסירא דהאסיר ובציר

to the deficient who is flawed and lowly,

ࡔࡃࡅࡒ ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡍ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ[1131]

שדוק קאלאן אדאם

“Keep your voice quiet, Adam!

ࡏࡋࡀࡅ ࡖࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ[1132] ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ

עלאו דתורצא לאהוא

If no inequality there were,

ࡏࡋࡀࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ

עלאו דלאהוא תורצא

if there were there no inequality,

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡂࡅࡁࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ

הדא גובלאן הוא

[1130] BL 23599 57v: 21 & BL 23601 54v: 15 ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ. BL 23600 53v: 25 & BLO 1236: 53v: 25 ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ

[1131] BL 23600 53v: 27 & BLO 1236: 53v: 27 [illegible]

[1132] BL 23599 57v: 24 & BL 23601 54v: 17 ࡖࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ

one our nature would be.

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡂࡅࡁࡋࡀࡍ

הדא הוא גובלאן

One would be our nature,

ࡅࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍࡀࡍ

והדא מאנא שאוינאן

and as one mana would he have made us both.

ࡋࡕࡀࡓࡕࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡄࡀࡔࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ[1133]

לתארתינאן האשתא ̱דלאהוא תורצא

Now, as there is no equality,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡊ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ

לדילאך שאויך גאברא

You they have made a man,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡍ

לדיליא ענתא שאויון

and me a woman they have made.

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡍ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ

לדיליא שאויון ענתא

Me they have made a woman,

ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡅࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡊ ࡀࡒࡌࡅࡍ

ואתיון קודאמאך אקמון

and brought me and put me before you,

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡕࡓࡀࡀࡂࡂࡁࡉࡀ[1134]

ואמראליא ̱דתיתראאגגביא

and said to me that you desire me,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ

ומינאך ניבאד צבו

and with you I should have an affair,

[1133] ࡕࡅࡓࡎࡀ in BL 23601: 54v. ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ turṣa (rt. TRṢ) evenness, equality (MD, p. 484).

[1134] BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3 ࡖࡕࡉࡕࡓࡀࡂࡂࡁࡉࡀ

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ[1135] ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡉࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומינאיכון ניתיאיר אלמא

and by us the world will be awakened."

◆

ࡗ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡀ

כד̱ ליגטא ונישקא

When he held her and kissed her,

ࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡑࡁࡅ

ובא ד̱ ניבאד מינא צבו

and wanted to something with her,

ࡀࡍࡀ[1136] ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡁࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1137]

אנא עתאהזילה̱ באנאנא ד̱זיוא

I appeared to him in a cloud of radiance,

ࡅࡀࡔࡉࡌࡕࡇ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

ואשימתה̱ קאלא שאניא

and I made him hear a wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡉࡌࡕࡇ

קאלא שאניא אשימתה̱

A wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice I made him hear,

ࡅࡓࡌࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡇ

ורמיתא לליבא מן סאמכה̱

and I threw his heart from its support.

ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡐࡀࡔࡓࡉࡕ

הארשיא ד̱רוהא פאשרית

I undid the spells of Rūha,

[illegible]

[1135] BL 23599 58r: 4, BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3[illegible]

[1136] The speaker is Manda d̲-Hiia.

[1137] Anana d̲-ziwa or anana d̲-nhura "the cloud of radiance or: of light" frequently appear in gonistic writings as the secret place of 'uthras or angels (Stroumsa, 1984: 36 n. 7).

האויתה דלאו האוא הואת

I showed him that it was not Hawa (Eve).

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡇࡄ ࡃࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ

והאויחה דלאהואת האוא

I showed him that it was not Hawa,

ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

והזיא לנאפשיא

he beheld himself,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕ

ומינא בהית ועתבאהאת

and he felt ashamed of it,

ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

ונאפשה בהאיאביא לגאט

and he recognized himself as guilty.

ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ

נאפשה לגאט בהאיאביא

He recognized himself as guilty,

[1138] ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

אמינטול דכול דמו סאינא מינה

because all kinds of repulsive thing came from him.

ࡅࡋࡀࡋࡉࡂࡈࡉࡕ ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ

ולאליגטית כושטא

I did not offer him the *kušṭa*,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃࡊࡀࡋࡅࡆࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀ

אמינטול דכאלוזא דהייא אשניא

because he deviated from the proclamation of the Life.

[1139] ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡆࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אשניא לכאלוזא דהייא

[1138] ࡃࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ is not found in BL 23600 54r: 9 & BLO 1236: 54r: 9.

[1139] This verse is not found in BL 23600 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 54r: 10.

He deviated from the proclamation of the Life,
ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡇ
ומא ד̱רביא אמרילה̱
and from what the Great One commanded him.
ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡇ
שיבקא לצאותא ד̱עותריא אחה̱
He left the company of his brothers, the *uthras*,
ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ
ואזאל צאותא ד̱שיביאהיא רהים
and went and cherished the society of the Planets.
ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡇ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡇ
שיבקה̱ לצאותא ד̱האוא זאוה̱
He left the company of his woman, Hawa,
ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡁࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ
ואזאל נפאל בנורא ד̱יאקדא
and went (and) fell into the blazing fire.
ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡅࡂࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ
היזיא לאדוגא ד̱נורא
He beheld the furnace of fire,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ[1140] ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ
ד̱כול ד̱האזילה̱ מאיית
that whoever beholds it (her) dies,
ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡇ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡒࡋࡉࡀ
וכול ד̱מיתכאראכבה̱ מיתאקליא
and whoever is embraced by her inflames.
ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡄࡋࡀ ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡊࡉࡁ
כול ד̱שאהלא ולואתא שאכיב
Whoever undresses and sleeps with her,

[1140] ࡖࡊࡅࡋ is not found in BL 23600 54r: 14 & BLO 1236: 54r: 14.

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

נאפיל בסאופא ד̱אלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

(GRR p. 139)

ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ

בסאופא ד̱אלמא נאפיל

He will fall into the end of the world,

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡀ

ואינה̱ נהורא לאהאזיא

and his eyes will never behold the Light.

࡞

ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡌࡉࡕ

בדמו פאגרא עדאמית

I took on a bodily form,

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡎࡋࡀࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡅࡍ

ועזלית סלאקילא לכנישתון

and traveled upwards to their assembly.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ[1141] ࡌࡉࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡆࡉࡅࡍ

כולהון מיהזיא ד̱היזיון

When they all saw me,

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡍࡐࡀࡋ

עסתאהאפ על אנפאיהון ענפאל

they were hurled down and fell onto their faces.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

עסתאהאפ נפאל על אנפאיהון

They were hurled down and fell onto their faces,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ

וקאימיא לדיליא מידניא

[1141] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ is not found in BL 23599 58r: 20 & BL 23601 55r: 10.

then, they stood and subjected themselves to me.

ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ[1142] ࡅࡌࡁࡀࡓࡊࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

מידניא ומבארכיליא ואמריליא

They subjected themselves (to me), blessed me and said to me:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡍ

אנאת הויא רישאן

"Be our leader,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡊ

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡍ ࡅࡓࡉࡔ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

אנאת הוילאן רישאן וריש דכולה אלמאן

Be our leader and the head of our entire world.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ

אנאת הוילאן רישא

Be our leader,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡊ[1143]

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡀ

רוהא בראבותא אנאת בענשיא אותבא

Place Rūha, in her majesty, amongst your women.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

אנאת אותבא בענשיא

Place her amongst your women,

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואנאת הוילאן רישא בהיזין אלמא

and be our leader in this world."

[1142] ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ is not found in the other four manuscripts.

[1143] This verse and the above two verses not found in the other manuscrips.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ[1144]

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא שיביאהיא

When the Planets spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡂࡉࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אנא אסברית וגיהכית על כולהון

I mocked and laughed at all of them.

ࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡀࡂࡆࡀࡓ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מלאלית ד̱עמארלון לשובא ד̱אגזאר על נאפשאיהון

I spoke to the Seven, who condemned themselves, and said:

ࡏࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

עו באייתון ד̱עהויא רישאיכון

"If you want me to be your leader,

ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

ורוהא באייתון ד̱עיאתבא בענשיא

and place Rūha amongst my women,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡋࡐࡅࡓࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡆࡅࡉࡀ

קום לפוראיכון בוזויא

arise and disengage your feast.

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡔࡅࡁࡒࡅ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

קום ושובקו לכנישתאיכון

Arise and leave your assembly

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

ואמארוליא על ראזאיכון

and tell me your mystery,

ࡅࡂࡀࡋࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

וגאלוליא על מאלאלכון כולהון

and reveal to me all your words."

[1144] In BL 23601 55r: 15 we read: ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ [illegible] ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ [illegible]

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כד̱ יאתבנא בינאתאיהון

When I sat amongst them,

ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡉࡕ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ליגטית נסאבתינון לראזאיהון

I took away their secrets,

ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

ועתבארבה̱ באלבושאי דאכיא

and I shone in my pure garment,

ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ד̱נפאש וסאכא ליתלה̱

which is so vast and boundless.

ࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

גאלילתינון לראזאיהון

I exposed their mystery,

ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1145] ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ

וכאדיבתינון למימרון

and discredited their speech.

ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ ࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1146]

למימרון כאדיבתינון

I discredited their speech,

ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡅࡍ

וכאדיבתינין לעומאמאתון

and I belied their oaths,

[illegible]

[1145] In BL 23599 58v: 13 we read: [illegible]. In BL 23600 54v: 3, BL 23601 55r: 24 & BLO 1236: 54v: 3 we read: [illegible].

[1146] In BL 23599 58v: 14 & BL 23601 55r: 25 we read: [illegible]. In BL 23600 54v: 4 & BLO 1236: 54v: 4 we read: [illegible].

דעמומן בטור כארימלא
which they took on mount Carmel
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ
רוהא רמאיתא מן כורסיא
I threw Rūha off her throne,
ࡅࡆࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡌࡋࡀ
וזאמתא זמאמא דגומלא
and I held her back with a camel-bridle.
[1147]ࡔࡃࡉࡕ ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀࡉ ࡌࡅࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
שדית בקולפאי מוהאיתא
I threw down and struck her with my scourge,
ࡅࡐࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ
ופלאגילא ברישא פלוגתא
and I split her head open.
ࡓࡊࡀࡔࡕࡀ ࡁࡂࡃࡅࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ
רכאשתא בגדוליאתא
I bound her by her tresses,
[1148]ࡅࡀࡎࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ
ואסארתא באלבאב שומיא
and I tied her up to the heart of the heavens.

(GRR p. 140)

ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ
שאמיש בראזיא לגאטתה
I grasped Šamiš by the secret things (genitals),
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡗ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ
ושאויתה כד ענתא
and I made him just like a woman.
ࡗ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡅࡁࡓࡀ

[1147] In BL 23600 54v: 6 & BLO 1236: 54v: 6 we read: ࡌࡅࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀࡉ.
[1148] In BL 23600 54v: 7 we read: ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡏࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

כד̱ ענתא שאויתה̱ ליורבא

I made Yorba just like a woman,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ

אמינטול ד̱לואת רוהא שכיב

because he slept with Rūha.

ࡎࡉࡍ[1149] ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡇ

סין בשאוטא מהאיתה̱

As for Sin, I struck him with my scourge,

ࡅࡀࡔࡋࡉࡕ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡇ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ

ואשלית נסאבתה̱ לילבושיא

and I undressed him and took away his clothes.

ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡇ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ

לילבושיא נסאבתה̱ מינה̱

I took away his clothes,

ࡅࡔࡁࡀࡒࡕࡇ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ושבאקתה̱ באלבושא באטלא

and I left him behind in a vain garment.

ࡅࡔࡁࡀࡒࡕࡇ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ושבאקתה̱ באלבושא עשאתא עכילתא

I left him behind in the garment of the devouring flame,

ࡖࡏࡋࡇ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱עלה̱ רוגזא הוא

wrath of which overwhelmed him.

ࡏࡋࡇ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ

עלה̱ הוא רוגזא

Wrath overwhelmed him

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡁ ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡁࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡇ

ועתיב בגירבא על דוכתה̱

[1149] Sin: Moon, moon god (MD p. 327)

and he retired in leprosy to his place.

ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡉࡀ[1150] ࡖࡍࡁࡅ[1151] ࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡕ

פיסניא ד̲נבו תיברית

I broke Nabu's reed pipe,

ࡅࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡄࡀࡓࡆࡉࡍࡄ[1152]

ותיברית בעדה̲ הארזינה̲

and I destroyed the amulet in his hand.

ࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡄ

גאלילתינין לשיטואתה̲

I revealed his shameful parts (or: nudity),

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡂࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ[1153] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והאויתה̲ גבארתה̲ באלמא

and I displayed his male organs to the world.

ࡏࡅࡌࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡖࡅࡌࡀࡉࡀ[1154]

עומילה̲ לדומאיא

I adjured the wicked Edomite(?)

ࡖࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡃࡅࡌࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲לאמיתאהזיא דמותה̲ באלמא

that his image not to be seen in the world.

ࡋࡀࡅࡕࡄ[1155] ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ[1156]

[1150] In BL 23599 59r: 3, BL 23601 55v: 9 & BLO 1236: 54v: 14 we read: ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡀ. In BL 23600 54v: 14 we read: ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡄ

[1151] *nbu* or *ʿnbu*: (Bab. Nabu) Nebo, the planet Mercury (MD p. 287). "Babil had a reputation as the place where the Planet Mercury (Nabu or Tir) was bound and as the earthly location of the "houses" of the planets and the signs of the zodiac" (Cited form Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist* by Morony, 1984: 392).

[1152] ࡄࡀࡓࡆࡉࡍࡄ (הארזינא) حروز، احراز amulet. The Hans Wehr Arabic-English *Dict*. p. 167.

[1153] In BL 23599 59r: 4 & BL 23601 55v: 10 we read: ࡂࡁࡀࡓࡕࡀ. In BL 23600 54v: 15 & BLO 1236: 54v: 15 we read: ࡂࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ

[1154] In BL 23600 54v: 15 we read: ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡋࡖࡅࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ "the wicked Edomite". The *dumaiia* are probably the Idumaeans or Edomites, as suggested by Drower. (For more about the *domaia* or Edomites see Drower, *Diwan Abatur*, 1950, Appendix. II).

[1155] In the other four manuscripts we read: ࡋࡀࡅࡕࡀ.

[1156] ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ (כוכבא בישא) Mercury in the Jewish literature (See Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 132 n. 10).

לגאטתה̱ לכוכבא בישא

I seized the evil planet.

ࡎࡄࡀࡐࡕࡄ ࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

סהאפתה̱ ורמאיתה̱ מן כורסיא

I hurled him down and threw him off his throne.

ࡕࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ ࡋࡄࡅࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡋࡑࡄ

תבארתה̱ להומארתא ד̱האלצה̱

I broke his backbone,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡖࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושאויתה̱ ד̱שיטואתא באלמא

and I made him despicable in the world.

ࡕࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡁࡕࡄ ࡁࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ

תבארתה̱ ומשאיתה̱ ואתיבתה̱ בכאסיא

I broke him, stretched him out and placed him in isolation.

ࡓࡌࡉࡕࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

רמיתילה̱ לכוכבא בישא

I hurled down the evil star,

ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡆࡉࡃࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱לאניהוילה̱ זידא באלמא

so no malice will afflict the world.

ࡋࡁࡉࡋ[1157] ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

לביל בשאוטא מהאיתא

As for Bel, I struck him with the scourge,

ࡅࡕࡀࡂࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡒࡋࡉࡕ

ותאגא מן רישיא שיקלית

and I removed the crown from his head.

ࡕࡀࡂࡀ ࡔࡀࡒࡋࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ

תאגא שאקלית מן רישיא

[1157] Bel (god), Jupiter (planet) (MD p. 60).

I removed the crown from his head,
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
ושאוילה מאמא בקומתה
and I incurred blemish to his body.
ࡋࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ[1158] ࡁࡂࡅࡆࡓࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ
לניריג בגוזרא מהאיתה
I smote Nirig with a mace,
ࡅࡐࡎࡀࡒࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡄ
ופסאקתינון לעברה
and I amputated his limbs.
ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡄ ࡐࡎࡀࡒࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ
לעברה פסאקתינון
I amputated his limbs,
ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡓࡄ
ועהאבתינון לכומרה
and I gave them to his priests.
ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡓࡄ[1159] ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ
לכומרה עהאבתינון ולסאגאדה
I gave them to his priests and his worshipers,
ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דניסיהרון בצאויא באלמא
so they will move about in the wilderness of the world.
ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ[1160]
באלהא דניסיהרון
They will move about in the world,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡀࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניהאון שיטואתא באלמא

[1158] Nirig (Bab. Nirgallu) the planet Mars (MD P. 299).
[1159] ࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀ *kumra*, priest (not mandaean), not in BL 23600 54v: 22 & BLO 1236: 54v: 23.
[1160] Read: ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ

and they will show their follies to the world.

ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

אבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡉࡁࡉࡀ

דַעל שורבאתא דַ הייא מיתראוריביא

who became arrogant towards the family of Life.

ࡀࡁࡉࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ[1161]

אבידיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ࡖࡓࡌࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡆࡕࡀ

דַרמיבון ביזתא

whom I accused of plundering.

ࡁࡉࡆࡕࡀ ࡓࡌࡉࡁࡅࡍ

ביזתא רמיבון

I accused them of plundering,

(GRR p. 141)

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ[1162] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והאוית שיטואתון באלמא

and I exposed their follies to the world.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

מא דַאבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

What I did to the Planets,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡅࡍ

הינון ניבאדיבון בכומראיהון וסאגאדון

they will do to their priests and worshipers,

ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דַלאניהון באלמא

[1161] In BL 23600 54v: 25 & BLO 1236: 54v: 25 we read: ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡀ

[1162] In BL 23599 59r: 16 & BL 23601 55v: 23 we read: ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ

and they will disappear from the world.[1163]

* * *

ࡗ ࡀࡕࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד̱ אתית לואת אדאם

When I drew near Adam,

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ[1164]

ואמארילה̱ האויתאך בראדופאך

I said to him: "I showed you your persecutors.

ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ

בראדופאך האויתאך

I showed you your persecutors,

ࡊࡔࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ[1165] ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡂࡀࡈࡋࡄ

כשארבא בישא ד̱מיתגאטלה̱

the evil race, who deserve to be killed.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡌࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡅࡍ

כולהון כומרון וסאגאדון

All their priests and worshipers,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

הינון באבדיא ניהוילאך

will become your slaves.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

הינון ניהון באבדיא

They will become your slaves,

[1163] Cf. Marduk who bound, by his magic seal, the seven stars and the twelve signs of the zodiacs. (Morony, 1984: 392) Morony also states: "By the end of the Sasanian period, paganism in Iraq was characterized by sacrifice, magic and astrology. The ancient native deities survived and were venerated mainly because of their association with the planets in astrology and with imported Hellenistic and Iranian gods. But even among pagans, the old gods were being relegated to the position of demons. This was probably due to the influence of Gnosticism, which emphasized the harmful aspect of the planets in astral paganism" (Ibid 394).

[1164] BL 23601 55v: 26 we read: ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡄ

[1165] ࡁࡉࡔࡀ is not in BL 23601: 55v.

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡌࡅࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ונישתמולאך מן ריש בריש

and they will be obedient to you totally.

ࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

מאטותא לאניהויא על שיביאהיא כולהון

There will be no clemency to all the planets,

ࡅࡋࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡂࡃࡉࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ולא על גובריא ד̱סאגדילהון

nor to the men who worshiped them.

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱כול ד̱אבאד עבידאתון

Because anyone who performs their rites,

ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאמיתאכשאר לאתאר נהור

will not be worthy of the place of Light.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אנא ד̱עזלית לבית הייא

If I go the House of the Life,

ࡏࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡀࡒࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עשאויא ועתאקנה̱ לאלמא

I will create the world and put it in a perfect order.

ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡒࡄ ࡋࡔࡉࡓࡔࡀࡉࡅࡍ

עיאסקה̱ לשירשאיון

I will raise their roots (to the summit),

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡑࡄ ࡋࡔࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ועתירצה̱ לשארבא ד̱הייא מן ריש בריש

and I will confirm the Family of the Life for eternity.

ࡗ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡀࡋࡅࡀࡔࡉࡀ

כ̱ד שובא פאליג מאלואשיא

When the Seven allotted the destinies,

ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡎࡋࡄ ࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עתיקניסלה מותא לאלמא

the world was doomed by death.

ࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡎࡋࡄ

מותא לאלמא עתיקניסלה

The world was doomed by death,

ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ

לנישמאתא דגובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא

Yet, the souls of the true and faithful men

ࡅࡃࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀࡕࡀ

ודענשיא שאלמאניאתא

and (the souls) of the complete women,

ࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

סאלקיא האזילה לאתאר נהור

will ascend and behold the place of Light.

ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

נישמאתא דשיביאהיא

But the souls of the Planets

ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡀ

במאטאראתון מיתיסרא

will be detained in their purgatory.

ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡅࡍ

מיתיסרא במאטאראתון

Their souls will be detained in their purgatory,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אלמא דרוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield (or: their lives come to an end)

ࡅࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ

ומאיתיא ודאיכיא כד דלאהון

and die and vanish, as if they were never existed.

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̱קראת רוהא

The sects (doors) that Rūha created,

ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀࡍࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ[1166]

מאסטיאנתא ד̱כאדבא

(Rūha) the seducer of lies,

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̱קראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡁࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

כולהון בהירבא מיתנאסביא

will be taken all by the sword.

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̱קראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

כול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

the whole day they sit with fasting.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ

כול יומא יאתביא בצאומא

They sit fasting the whole day,

(GRR p. 142)

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וכול יומא במאליא יאתביא

and the whole day they sit with lamentation,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ [illegible] [illegible]

[1166] This line is not in BL 23601 56r: 15.

אלמא ד̱רוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield.

ࡗ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד̱ שאלימלון כילאיון

When their measures are full (or: their lives come to an end),

ࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מאזברילון אנפאיון לאתאר השוך

they will turn their faces towards the Place of Darkness.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ

באביא ד̱קרא משיהא

As for the sects that *mšiha* "Messiah" produced,

ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ

כאלהון להדאדיא מכאדביא

they all belie each other.

ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

כאלהון מכאדביא להדאדיא

They all belie each other,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

ובהאד מאמלא לאקאימיא

and they do not stick to one opinion. (lit. to one word)

ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

לאקאימיא בהאד מאמלא

they do not stick to one opinion,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱מן קריתא ד̱שיקרא הון

because they come into being from a deceitful creation.

ࡄࡅ ࡀࡐࡉࡊࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ

הו אפיכלון למאלאליא

He perverts the speeches,
ࡅࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ושיטיא ראמיבה באלמא
and casts folly into the world.
ࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ
שיטיא דשאטיא משיהא
The abominations which *mšiha* "Messiah " commits,
ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ
כולה מיסאף סאייף ליומא דסוף
will all end on the day of the end.
࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ
באבא דקרא שאמיש
From the sect which Šamiš created,
ࡖࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
דאדונאי קארילה כולהון אלמיא
whom all the worlds called Adoni.[1167]
ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ
באבא דקרא אדונאי
From the sect that Adonai created,
ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ[1168] ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ
אמא דבית סראייל כולה מינה נפאק
the whole people of Israel came into being.
ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ
מן אמא דבית סראייל
From the people of Israel,

[1167] The Mandaeans identified Šamiš (the sun god) with Adonai as a result of the mutual enmity between the Naṣoraeans and the Jews during the first century B.C.E (for more on this subject see Drower, Mandaean Polemic, BSOAS, 1962).

[1168] BL 23599 59v: 22 & BL 23601 56v: 3 ࡏࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ (עסראייל).

ࡖࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱עדא להדאדיא מהון

who slap each other by the hand.

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡌࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדא מהון ביהדאדיא

They slap each other by the hand,

ࡅࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡉࡁ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

וצבו ד̱לאהאייב אבדיא

and they do something unseemly.

ࡑࡁࡅ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡉࡁ

צבו אבדיא ד̱לאהאייב

They do something unseemly,

ࡅࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ[1169]

ומיסאף סאייף ליומא ד̱סוף

and they will end on the day of the end.

࡞

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡄࡅࡈࡀࡉࡀ

מן אמא ד̱יאהוטאיא

From the people of the *yahuṭaia* "Jews"

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

כולהון באביא מינאיהון נפאק

all sects (lit: gates) came forth.

ࡍࡐࡀࡒ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡆࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡀ[1170]

נפאק אמא ד̱יאזוקאייא

The people of Yazuqaians came forth,

[illegible]

[1169] BL 23600 55r: 27 & BLO 1236: 55r: 27 ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ "on the great day of the end (or: destruction)".

[1170] Fire-worshipers (etym. doubtf.) (MD, p. 185). In the CP *iazuqaeans* reverence fire. They are mentioned along with *kiwanaiia, idumaeans* and *zandiqs* (Manicheans?) as blasphemous peoples (CP, p. 251).

שיטיא ד̱נורא מאוקריא

the scornful who worship fire.

ࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡅࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ

שאטיא ד̱מאוקריא נורא

The scornful who worship fire,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡖࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡖࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱מן דמותה̱ ד̱לבושא ד̱משיהא הון

came forth from the likeness of the garment of *mšiha* "Messiah".

ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡆࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡀ

סאיפיא יאזוקאייא

The Yazuqaians shall take an end,

ࡅࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡀ

וסאיפיא בקאלאיהון שאמיא

and those who listen to their calls.

◆

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡂࡆࡉࡏࡉࡋ[1171]

באבא ד̱קרא אגזיעיל

The sect that Agz'il created,

ࡖࡎࡉࡍ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱סין קארילה̱ כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds called Sin.

ࡎࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ

סין כולהון אלמיא קארילה̱

All the worlds called him Sin,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ

אמינטול ד̱סאינא דמותה̱ בכול אתאר

because his ugly image was every where.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡎࡉࡍ

[1171] *agz'il* a byname of Sin (the moon) (MD p. 5)

באבא דקרא סין

The sect that Sin created,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡊࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡈࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

דכול כיביא ונטיטיא מינה הון

all pains and infirmities came forth from them.

(GRR p. 143)

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

דכול הארשיא ופודריא יאתביא

Those who perform witchcraft and sorcery (lit: sit on witchcraft and sorcery)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡉࡀ

הינון אפכיא לילביא

twist the hearts,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡊࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ[1172] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והינון מאכשליא כשיליא באלמא

and put stumbling-blocks into the world.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כול דשאמא שומאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1173]

נאפיל בסאופא דאלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ[1174]

באבא דקרא כיואן

The cult (gate) that Kiwan found,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1172] ࡊࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23601 56v: 14

[1173] In BL 23600 55v: 8 & BLO 1236: 55v: 8 we read:
ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

[1174] *Kiwan* Saturn, star of Saturday, god of the Jews. (MD, p. 212) The old Persian religion considered Saturn as the planet of death (Zaehner, 1955: 160).

ליומיא ושאייא דאהליא

fears the days and the hours.

ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ[1175]

ליומא דאהליא ושאייא

Fears the days and the hours,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ[1176] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וכול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

(therefore), they sit the whole days fasting.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ

כול יום יאתביא בצאומא

They sit the whole day in fasting,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡍࡁࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ומאנביא נביהיא ד̱כאדבא הון

and produce prophets of lying.

ࡑࡀࡉࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡑࡀࡉࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀ

צאיאמיא וצאיאמאתא

Their male and female ascetics

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ[1177] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱על שיקרא יאתביא

sit upon falsehood.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ

הינון יאתביא על שיקרא

They sit upon falsehood,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡊࡌࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ

ומאנביא הוכמתא מן עוצראיהון הינון

and produce (false) wisdom from their (weak) minds.

ࡍࡅࡊࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡕࡒࡍࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

[1175] not in BL 23600 55v: 10.

[1176] ࡁࡑࡅࡌࡀ in BL 23601: 56v.

[1177] BL 23600 55v: 12 & BLO 1236: 55v: 12 ࡋࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ

ופתוליא וקאדישיא כולהון

Those who are celibates and “saints”

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא דסוף

will all end on the day of end.[1178]

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ[1179] ࡔࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מאן דשאמא שותאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאהאזילה לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

* * *

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡍࡂࡉࡏࡉࡋ[1180]

באבא דקרא אנגיעיל

The sect that Angi‘il found,

ࡖࡁࡉࡋ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡇ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דביל קארילה כולהון אלמיא

Angi‘il whom all the worlds call Bel.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡁࡉࡋ

באבא דקרא ביל

From the sect that Bel found,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡃࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡄࡅࡍ

כולהון סינגיאניא וארדאייא מינה הון

came out all the potentates and dignitaries.

ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡃࡀࡉࡉࡀ

מינה הון כולהון סינגיאניא וארדאייא

[1178] Cf. the baptized Marcionites who were common in the upper Mesopotamia during the fourth and fifth centuries. They remained pure through celibacy and continual fasting and excessive prayers (Morony, 1984: 402).

[1179] BL 23599 60r: 16 & BL 23601 56v: 22 ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ

[1180] *ang'il* a name given to Bel-Jupiter (MD, p. 25).

The potentates and dignitaries who came out therefrom,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

ד̱ על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority over wrath in the Tibil.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ

כול יום וכול יומא

Every single day,

ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ[1181] ࡖࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

על כורסיא ד̱מארדא יאתביא

they sit on the throne of rebellion.

ࡐࡀࡊࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡃࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡋࡉࡀ

פאכריא כאדשיא ונאנגריא ומאניהיא ומשאיליא

They fetter, beat, torture, restrain and interrogate

ࡀࡁࡉࡃࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡀࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

אבידלה̱ לראהמיתון אלאמאסיקלה̱ לריש בריש

(whoever) works for their charity and fails to fulfill.

ࡌࡀࡄࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡂࡉࡋࡃࡉࡀ

מאהילה̱ בשאוטא גילדיא

They scourge him with leathern lashes.

ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ

בשאוטא ד̱נורא מיתנאנגריא

He will be flogged with a scourge of fire.

ࡖࡓࡀࡊࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡕࡀࡋࡉࡍ

ד̱ראכשיא וזאימיא ותאלין

Those who harness, restrain and hang up,

ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאהאזילה̱ לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

[1181] BL 23600 55v: 19 & BLO 1236: 55v: 19 ࡋࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

ࡖࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ[1182] ࡁࡔࡀࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ

ד̱שאטיא בשאטואתון

He who acts in their foolish ways,

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

נאפיל ומיקרא ליתלה̱

will fall and there will be no rising for him.

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ

נאפיל וליתלה̱ מיקרא

He will fall and there will be no rising for him,

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאייף ליומא ד̱סוף

He will end on the day of the end.

◆

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ[1183]

באבא ד̱קרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡏࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

כולה̱ בכאדבא עמיקריא

it was all created with deception.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡏࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

כולה̱ עמיקריא בכאדבא

It was all created with deception,

ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וסאהריא בצאויא באלמא

and their demons move about in the wilderness of the world.

ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

בצאויא באלמא סאהריא

[1182] ࡔࡀࡈࡉࡍ in BL 23601: 57r.

[1183] *nirig*, *n'rig* (<Bab. Nīrgallu, H. נרגל) the planet Mars, identified with Muhammad and regarded as a symbol of the Arabs. (MD, 229)

Their demons move about in the wilderness of the world,

(GRR p. 144)

ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומהאוין שיטואתון באלמא

and they show their foolishness to the world.

ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ[1184] ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

הומריא ד̱נאפקיא מינה̱

The *humras* who came out from him,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

ד̱על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority upon the wrath in the Tibil.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ ࡂࡉࡈࡋࡀ

הינון גאטליא גיטלא

They commit murder,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡔࡃࡉࡀ ࡆࡌࡀ

והינון אשדיא זמא

and they shed blood.

ࡄࡅ ࡖࡒࡓࡉࡍࡅࡍ

הו ד̱קרינון

The one who summoned them,

ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

אזיל ברישא ד̱תיגרא

strides at the head of the war troops.

ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡀࡆࡉࡋ

ברישא ד̱תיגרא אזיל

He strides at the head of the war troops,

ࡋࡌࡉࡔࡀࡃ ࡆࡌࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

למישאד זמא באלמא

[1184] *humra* or *humarta* (amulet-) spirit (MD p. 135).

and he sheds blood in the world.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא דגאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a slaying,

ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ

האדיא בגאטלא מן טאבתא

he enjoys the slaying more than good deed.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא דגאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a murder,

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋ[1185] ࡅࡂࡀࡄࡉࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ

מאמליל וגאהיך מן עוצרה

he chatters and laughs from his heart.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא דגאטלא לאגאטיל

On the day which does not commit murder,

ࡁࡌࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ[1186] ࡑࡁࡏࡉࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

במראריא צבעיא קומתה

his body is dyed with bitter herbs.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ

באבא דקרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡊ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאייך ליומא דסוף

will end on the day of the End.

࡞

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

אפרישתינכון על שיביאהיא

[1185] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋ not in BL 23599 60v: 8 & BL 23601 57r: 13.

[1186] ࡁࡌࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡅࡓࡀࡓ *mūrrair* a strongly bitter herb which grows in southern Iraq.

I explained to you about the Planets,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועל באבא ד̠קרון באלמא

and about the sects (gates) which they created in the world.

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אפרישתינכון על עבידאתון

I explained to you their works.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ

כולהון בהוסראנא עתקריא

They were all created with flaw.

ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ[1187] ࡁࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

עתקריא בהוסראנא

They were created with flaw,

ࡎࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡐࡋࡅࡂࡀ

סינא קינא ופלוגא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ

אפרישתינכון על ראזיא ד̠שובא

I explained to you about the secrets of the Seven (planets),

ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ

ואפרישתינכון על תריסאר כוכביא

and I explained to you about the Twelve stars

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡉࡅࡍ

ד̠האזין פאלאגתא פאליגיון

who made this division.

ࡗ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1188] ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כד̠ פאליגיון הינון פאליג לנאפשאיהון

When they carried out the division, they allotted (the shares) to themselves.

[1187] BL 23600 56r: 6 & BLO 1236: 56r: ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ

[1188] ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ not in BL 23601: 57r.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡁࡓࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡄ
כד מנאתא לעמברא פלאגה
When they allotted Aries a share,
ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡏ ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ
שאוילה שנע במיניאנא פלאגלה
they allotted him a number of years
ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
מנאתא תריסאר אלפיא שניא
totaling twelve thousand years.
ࡋࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ[1189] ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
לתאורא פלאגלה שניא
They allotted Taurus a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡉࡃࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא הידיסאר אלפיא שניא
totaling eleven thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡑࡉࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד מנאתא לצילמיא פלאגלה שניא
They allotted Gemini a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡓࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא אסרא אלפיא שניא
totaling ten thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡎࡀࡓࡈࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד מנאתא לסארטאנא פלאגלה שניא
They allotted Cancer a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡔࡀ[1190] ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא תשא אלפיא שניא
totaling nine thousand years.

[1189] BL 23600 56r: 10 & BLO 1236: 56r: 10 ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ
[1190] BL 23600 56r: 12 & BLO 1236: 56r: 12 ࡕࡉࡔࡀ.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לאריא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Leo a portion
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא תמאניא אלפיא שניא
totaling eight thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡌࡁࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לשומבילתא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Virgo a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא שובא אלפיא שניא
totaling seven thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡒࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לקאינא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted to Libra a share

(GRR p. 145)

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא שיתא אלפיא שניא
totaling six thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡁࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לארקבא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Scorpio a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא האמשא אלפיא שניא
totaling five thousand years.
ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡄࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא להיטיא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Sagittarius a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא ארבא אלפיא שניא

totaling four thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡂࡃࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לגדיא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Capricorn a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא תלאתא אלפיא שניא

totaling three thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡋࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לדאולא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Aquarius a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא תרין אלפיא שניא

totaling two thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡅࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לנונא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Pisces a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא הדא אלפא שניא

totaling one thousand years.

◆

ࡗ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡔࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד̱ פאליג שנאיון

When they distributed their years,

ࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

שאון דמותון באלמא

they produced their images to the world.

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ואמריא

Then they said:

ࡃࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡔࡊࡅࡍࡄ

דנאפשיא נאשכונה

"We will find by ourselves

ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ

לאלמא כול הדא הדא

the whole world one by one.

ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡒࡉࡋࡀ[1191]

ניקריא תריסאר קילא

We will utter twelve voices,

ࡃࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡒ

דתריסאר דמו מינאיהון ניפאק

hence twelve appearances will come forth from them."

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡏࡌࡁࡓࡀ

קאלא דקרא עמברא

From the voice that Aries uttered,

ࡃࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

דהאויא מינה היואנאתא כולהון

all creatures came to being.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡉࡀࡕࡀ[1192]

האויא כולהון היואניאתא

All the creatures that came to being,

ࡃࡒࡀࡉࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

דקאיאיון בקאלא בישא הוא

their voice came to being by the evil call.

ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡀࡓ

בקאלא בישא דאמאר

[1191] ࡒࡉࡋࡀ not in BL 23599 61r: 8 & BL 23601 57v: 12.

[1192] BL 23600 56r: 26 & BLO 1236: 56r: 26 ࡃࡒࡀࡉࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡉࡀࡕࡀ.

By the evil call which said:

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מנאתא תיהויליא באלמא

"A portion of this world should be mine."

ࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ

קילא ד̱קרא תאורא

From the call which Taurus uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כול דמו היוא בישא מינה̱ הוא

all evil forms came forth.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

האוין מיני היוא בישא

Evil creatures which developed from him,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡎࡉࡍ ࡂࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱מן פומאיהון גאסין גומיא

spit forth scum from their mouths.

ࡂࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡎࡉࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

גומיא ד̱גאסין מן פומאיהון

They spit scum from their mouths;

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡔࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱מן פומאיון פאשריא

They expectorate from their mouths,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱הימתא ד̱נאפשאיהון

because they try to expel their own venom

ࡌࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡂࡅࡀࡓࡅࡍ[1193]

מאפקיא מן גוארון

from their digestive organs (from their inside).

[1193] ࡂࡅࡀࡓࡀ *guara*: (cf. P. گوارا digestion) digestive organs, stomach, belly, interior, inside; (= *gubara*) male organ (MD P. 82).

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡅࡍ

האלין תרין כוכביא קיריאתון

The creatures of those two stars

ࡗ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ

כד̱ הדאדיא האוין

are like each other.

ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡑࡉࡋࡌࡉࡀ

קריתא ד̱קרון צילמיא

From the creation which Gemini created,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[1194] ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

ד̱כולהון לאטאביא מינאיהון נפאק

all the devils came forth.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

הון מינאיהון לאטאביא

The devils who were from them,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡓࡉࡊࡉࡀ[1195] ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

ד̱כולהון פריכיא לאגטיא

include all alter-demons.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ ࡐࡓࡉࡀࡊࡉࡀ

הינון לאגטיא פריאכיא

They include all alter-demons,

(GRR p. 146)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ[1196] ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

הינון גאדאדיא לאגטיא

and they hold the river-banks (or: destinies?)

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡎࡀࡓࡈࡀࡌࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא סארטאמא

[1194] ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ pl. *laṭaba* (lit. 'not-good-one') fiend, evil one, devil (Ibid p. 228).

[1195] ࡐࡓࡉࡊࡉࡀ pl. *prika* (Akk. Parakku(m)) shrines. A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 265.

[1196] ࡂࡀࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ BL 23601: 57v. See *gada* (MD, p. 73).

From the call which Cancer uttered
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡊࡀࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ
דכול היוא כאכא מינה הוא
issued all voracious animals.
ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡊࡀࡊࡀ
מינה הוא היוא כאכא
Voracious animals issued from this
ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דעתיקריא לביש על אלמא
cause evil in the world.
ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡓࡉࡀ
קאלא דקרא אריא
From the call which Leo uttered
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ
דכול היוא באלא מינה הוא
issued all wild animals.
ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ
מינה הוא מיוא באלא
The wild animals that issued therefrom,
ࡖࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ[1197]
דעל ניתשמאתא מישתלא
are sent against the souls.
ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ
מישתלא על נישמאתא
They are sent against the souls,
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ונישאון האוקא באלמא
and produce panic in the world.

[1197] ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ not in BL 23601 57v: 26.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡁࡋࡕࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא שומבלתא

From the call which Virgo uttered,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כול פיריא מינאיהון הון

all the fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡉࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ

הון מינאיהון כול פיריא

All the fruit, grapes and trees that came therefrom,

ࡖࡌࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱מראוזיבה̱ באלמא

are flourishing in the world.

ࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡒࡀࡉࡍࡀ

קילא ד̱קרא קאינא

From the call which Libra uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

כולהון פיריא מיא מינה̱ הון

the water-fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הון פיריא בישיא

The evil fruit came into being,

ࡖࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱בון מיתקאבריא אלמיא

wherewith the worlds was covered.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡁࡀ

קאלא ד̱קראת ארקבא

From the call which Scorpio uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡁࡉࡍࡔࡉࡀ[1198] ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

[1198] BL 23600 56v: 15 & BLO 1236: 56v: 15 ࡖ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡍࡔࡉࡀ

כול ריהשיא בישיא מינה̱ הון

all evil vermin (or: harmful reptiles) came into being.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡉࡄࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מינה̱ הון ריהשיא בישיא

The evil vermin that came forth from it,

ࡃࡁࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱ברוגזאיהון נישמאתא גאטליא

kill people with their wrath.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡉࡈࡉࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא היטיא

From the call which Sagittarius uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כולה̱ רוגזא מינה̱ הוא

all the wrath came forth.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

הוא מינה̱ רוגזא רבא בישא

By the great evil wrath which developed from it,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡕࡀࡐࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱בה̱ מיסתאפיבה̱ כולהון אלמא

all the worlds are destroyed.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡂࡀࡃࡉࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא גאדיא

From the call which Capricorn uttered,

ࡃࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כול היוא בירא מינה̱ הון

all the domestic cattle came into being.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ

מינה̱ הוא היוא בירא

Of the domestic cattle which came into being therefrom,

[illegible]

ד̲גאנפה̲ האסיר ובציר מן ציפרא
their wings are weaker and less perfect than (those of) birds.
ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡅࡋࡀ
קאלא ד̲קרא דאולא
From the call which Aquarius uttered,
ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡐࡀࡊࡕࡀ
הואת מינה̲ אפאכתא
perversity came forth.
ࡀࡐࡀࡊࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ
אפאכתא הואת מינה̲
The perversity that came forth thereform,
ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
והוא מינה̲ האסיר ובציר
generated the defection and error.
ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡅࡍࡀ
קאלא ד̲קרא נונא
From the call which Pisces uttered,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ
ד̲כולהון נוניא מינה̲ הון
all (kind) of fish came forth.
ࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡉࡋࡐࡅࡍࡉࡀ
הון נוניא ודילפוניא
The fish and dolphins came forth,
ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ
והוא מינה̲ כול ד̲ביש
and everything evil generated from it.

࡞

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
האלין כולהון הון מן כוכביא תריסאר

All those who came forth from the twelve stars

ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡎࡒࡀ

דאמריא לשורבתא דהייא נוסקא

declared, “We want to remove the family of Life.”

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡍࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

קאם כוכביא שובא ופאלגנון במנאואתא

The Seven (planets) set out to allot the shares.

ࡌࡍࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡍࡅࡍ

מנאואתא פאלגנון

The allotted the shares,

ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡏࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ומארכאבאתא שאון באלבאב עשומיא

and produced (launched ?) (celestial) chariots in the centre of heavens.

(GRR p. 147)

[1199] ࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

מא דאבאד כולהון דאמריא

As soon as they have done all that, they said:

ࡍࡀࡎࡒࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

נאסקא לשורבתא דהייא

“Let us remove the Family of Life.

ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡒࡀ

לשורבתא דהייא ניסקא

Let us remove the Family of Life,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

דכול יום קאימיא לתיגרא

who set off a strife every day.”

[illegible] [illegible]

[1199] BL 23600 56v: 27 & BLO 1236: 56v: 27 [illegible] ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

לאידיא שיביאהיא
But the Seven Planets,
ࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
בנה̠ ד̠דאורא באטלא
the sons of the futile abode,
ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ
ד̠הינון פלוגתא פאליג
who made the division,
ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ
ואנא פאליגתה̠ לשורבאתון
did not realize that I am the one who divided their race.
ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡄ
לשורבאתון פאליגתה̠
I divided their race,
ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡕࡀ
ד̠מינאיהון האוין למארדיתא
and allocated some of them for cultivation (?),
ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡋࡍࡊࡉࡎࡕࡀ
ד̠מינאיהון האוין לנכיסתא
and some for slaughter,
ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡅࡊࡁࡀ
ומינאהון ניהון לרוכבא
Some of them were allocated for riding,
ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡊࡀࡋ
ומינאהון למיכאל
and the other for eating.
ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ
כאלהון קאליא ד̠קרון
All the calls they made,
[illegible]

אמינטול לאדאם עתיקרון

were made for the sake of Adam,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ[1200] ࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד כולהון ריהאיון מן ניקריא הון

because they all obtained their smell from the sacrifices.

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

האלין דקרון קאליא

Those who made the call,

ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡃࡅࡍ

מארדיתא נירדון

should pursue the course,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

והינון נישתאמולה לאדאם

and they must obey Adam,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

ונישתאמולה לכולה שורבתה

and obey all his race.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כד האזין אבאדילון לשיביאהיא

When I dealt with the Seven in this way,

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

תום לאהואלון מאמלא

they were unable to speak.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד האויתה לאדאם

When I disclosed the matter to Adam,

[1200] ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ Akk. *nuqu(m)* also *niq'um* 'offering, sacrifice'. (A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 255. See also MD, p. 229)

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

הדא ועתבאסאם מן ריש בריש

he rejoiced and was fully glad.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ

אנא אעותריא אהאי

My brothers, the *uthras*, and I

ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

קאמית ואפרישתה̱ לאדאם וכולה̱ שורבתה̱

set off to teach Adam and all his family.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡏࡁࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

אמארילון עביד עבאדיא טאביא

We spoke to them, “Do the good deeds,

ࡅࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

וזאויד זואדיא לנאפשאיכון

and provide yourselves with provisions.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

קרון קאלא ד̱הייא

Recite the word of Life,

ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

שומאיכון ניתריץ בית רורביא

so your names will be established in the House of the Great Ones.

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

עשתאיון במאמלאליא דאכיא

Speak with pure words,

ࡖࡁࡔࡋࡅࡌ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ

ד̱בשלום דאכיא מיתקאימון

so you will be confirmed in pure peace.

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

עשתאיון בטאבותא

Speak with kindness,

ࡅࡀࡐ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ

ואפ בישותא לאתימרון

and do not speak with evilness (or: cruelty).

ࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ

סגוד ושאבא לרביא

Worship and praise the Great one

ࡅࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀ

ולנהורא רבא ד̱אסגיא לכא

and the great Light that arrived hither.

ࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

סגוד ושאבא לעותריא

Worship and praise the *uthras*,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡄࡀࡃ ࡏࡃࡀ

ד̱ניהוילכון באהאד עדא

who will be your helper(s).

ࡀࡄࡀࡃ ࡏࡃࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡌࡀࡊࡀ

אהאד עדא וסימאכא

They will be your helper(s) and support,

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

מן אתרא ד̱השוך לאתאר נהור

from the place of darkness to the place of Light."

࡞

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ומשאבין הייא אמקאיאם מאנדא ד̱הייא

The Life is praised and Manda d̲-Hiia is confirmed.

ࡁࡓࡉࡊ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡋࡌࡀࡉ ࡅࡍࡉࡃࡁࡀࡉ ࡅࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ

בריך שאמאיכון שילמאי ונידבאי והיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

Blessed are your names Šelmai, Nedbai and Anoš.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ [illegible]

הייא זאכין לכולהון עובאדיא וזאכיא יאואר זיוא ואדיאורה̱

Life is victorious upon all deeds. Yauar Ziwa and his helpers are triumphant.

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ

האזין סיםרא ד̱שותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the First Book of the Living Doctrine

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Masiqta
Maşbuta d̲-Hibil-Ziwa.
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marai dakia

mšaba bliba

bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia qadmaiia nukraiia mn almia ḏ nhura iatiria ḏ `lauia
ukulhun ‘ubadia asuta uzakuta haila ušrara u‘mra ušima haduat liba ušabiq
haTaiia nihuilia ldilia . ulab
. u`l `m . u`l `m
hurintia . u`l zauai
. u`l ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia

. u‘l šitlai
. u`l abahatai

.

umanda ḏ hiia nitirSa lšumaihun bit ginzia unilipinun blaupa unihuilun
simaka ḏ lšum hiia ‘hab zidqa ukdab halin sidria
ḏ nihuilun dukrana btibil unitriS šumaihun bit tušlama tum šabiq haTaiia
nihuilun lkulhun tarmidia umandaiia ḏ bhalin sidria mitaprišia uqala
ḏ hiia Saitin ulhiia qadmaiia mšabilun . mšabit marai bliba dakia
maraihun ḏ kulhun almia mšabit brik umšaba umraurab umiaqar umqaiam alaha rba
rama ušbiha malka rama ḏ nhura alaha ḏ šrara ḏ npiš haila usaka litlẖ ziua dakia
unhura rba ḏ labaTil haiasa utaiaba uriuana umrahmana paruqa ḏ kulhun
mhaimnia umqaimana ḏ kulhun Tabia aziza hakima uiaduia hazaia ušaliTa
ḏ `l kul Sbu maraihun ḏ kulhun almia ḏ nhura `laiia umiSaiia utitaiia
parSupa rba ḏ `qara ḏ lamitahzia ulamistaiak ḏ litlẖ habra btagẖ ulašutapa
bšulTanẖ man ḏ takilbẖ labahit udmšaba šumẖ bkušTa lanapil udqaiim ltuklanẖ
lamištpil mara rba ḏ kulhun malkia ḏ lahua ḵḏ ḏ lahua ulahauia ḵḏ ḏ lahauia ḏ muta
lasamlẖ ubuTlana litlẖ nahur nhura utaqun ziua lkulhun almia umalkia
ḏ qaimia qudamẖ manhuria bziuaihun ubnhura rba ḏ ‘lauaihun šria ‘hablun buta
utušbihta ḏ šralun blibaihun ḏ qaimia banania ḏ nhura sagdin umšabin
uaudin umidninin lmara ḏ rabuta malka rama ḏ nhura ḏ litlẖ kila uminiana usaiakta
lziuẖ u`l nhurẖ ul`qarẖ ḏ kulẖ ziua ḏ kulẖ nhura ḏ kulẖ tuqna ḏ kulẖ hiia
ḏ kulẖ kušTa ḏ kulẖ rhamta ḏ kulẖ haiasuta ukulẖ tiabuta ukulẖ ainia ukulẖ
hizuia ukulẖ parSupia šbihia ḏ šupra ḏ kulẖ aprišuta uidita ugaliuta ukulẖ šumia
ḏ ‘qara alaha rba rama ušbiha haila ḏ npiš ulamišia ulasaipẖ ulaqaiim
lhaila dilẖ udkulhun almẖ hu malka rama ḏ nhura brik bkulhin birkata mn
qdim ulalam almia qadmaiia mn riš briš baruia ḏ kulhin dmauata mšauiana
ḏ šapirata ḏ hu nTir bhukumtẖ uksia ulamgalal hu malka rama ḏ nhura
maraihun ḏ kulhun almia ḏ nhura ram lkuhlun `utria alaha ḏ lkulhun malka
ḏ malkia umaria rba ḏ kulhun malkia ḏ ziua ḏ lamištania unhura ḏ larub šupra ušaia
u`qara ḏ lamitaslia hiia ḏ `l hiia ziua ḏ `lauia ziuia unhura ḏ `lauia nhuria
ḏ lahauia minẖ hasir ubSir nhura ḏ litbẖ hšuka haia hu ḏ muta litbẖ Taba
hu ḏ bišuta litbẖ niha hu marda urugza litbẖ basima hu ḏ zihira umrara litbẖ
iatib bgirbia ‘laiia šaliT iaiia umitgaiia kana ḏ kulhun nahiria uaba ḏ kulhun
‘utria bariklun lkulhun almia ušaria lkulhun šalmania kšiTia umhaimnia šumẖ
bšumaihun triS malka ḏ mdinat hiia ḏ amar bdaria malkuta umitqaiam uziuẖ
dnih umanhar usaka ukila uminiana litlẖ hadia bhaduta ḏ lansisuta

hadiabh̲ kulh̲ malkuta Surta hadra ugaiuta d̲ laiit šupra d̲ damilh̲ kušTa
d̲ šria b‘mrumia ‘laiia mara d̲ rabuta maraihun d̲ kulhun rurbata d̲ laiit d̲ nisaiik
unimar lhailh̲ dilh̲ ubkulhun almia ulškinata d̲ škinbin u‘l ‘utria umalkia
d̲ šribin bdaurh̲ uram hu mn kulhun almia aiak arqa mn daiara umarim lkulhun
aiak šumia mn Turia unahur mn kulhun aiak šamiš mn šragia umtaqan mn kulhun k̲d̲
sira mn kukbia uaitia bsakia d̲ libaihun husrana usimlh̲ tagia rurbia d̲ litbh̲
saka lhailh̲ ulrabuth̲ uap labminiana ulabhušbana mistaiak uazlan
parahiata d̲ tagh̲ lkul atar unapqan Salahiata d̲ ziua unhura u`qara mn qudam anph̲
umn abinia aTirpia d̲ klilh̲ ukulhun `utria umalkia d̲ almia kulhun bbuta
utušbihta qaimia umšabilh̲ lhahu malka rama d̲ nhura napqin minh̲ hamša
sakia rurbia qadmaiia ukabiria nhurh̲ dnih `lauaihun utiniana riha basima
d̲ našim ‘lauaihun tlitaia haliut qalh̲ d̲ bgauh̲ rauzia arbaia mimra d̲ pumh̲
d̲ bgauh̲ naSiblun umaudilhun hamšiaia šupra d̲ dmuth̲ d̲ bgauh̲ mitrabin aiak
piria bšamša pta pumaihun kulhun ‘utria umšabilh̲ lhahu malka rama
d̲ nhura uamrilh̲ man nišabak uman niraurbak uman nibirkak uman niuqrak
uman niqaimak ‘u nišabak btušbihtak tušbihtak saiakta litlh̲ `u
nibirkak bbiriktak biriktak napša usaka litlh̲ `u niraurbak braumak lraumak
mašihta litlh̲ ‘u niqaimak b‘umqak l‘umqak kšaša litlh̲ `u nimar lhailak
uziuak unhurak npiš ziuak mn mimar bmimria uiatir ukabir nhurak mn
amlulia u‘štaiuiia bmalalia ubirkth̲ uTabuth̲ uraurabth̲ d̲ malka rama d̲ nhura
parian unapqan ulamistaikan ulaiit d̲ iadalun uparišlun lbar mn hiia
d̲ aluatak u‘utria ušlihia d̲ lqudamak qaimia almia kulhun šumak laiadia
uamria malka d̲ nhura uamria lhdadia man šuma lnhura rba uamria
laiit šuma aiak šumh̲ ulaiit d̲ niqria bšumh̲ ulaiit d̲ niqum lkinianh̲
Tubaihun lšalmania d̲ ‘duk bliba dakia u‘dikruk bruiana kšiTa haimanubak
btirata mšalamata ubirkuk bpuma d̲ kula tušbihta ušabuk blišana triSa
haimanubak bsipia mhainata uamria had hu malka d̲ nhura d̲ malkuth̲ ulaiit
d̲ rab minh̲ ulaiit d̲ minh̲ nirmia qraba ulaiit man d̲ bdmuth̲ nidamia
ulaiit d̲ narim ainh̲ unihizia ltagh̲ d̲ briših̲ d̲ hahu malka rama d̲ nhura d̲ lanapil
tagh̲ mn d̲ brišia Tura hu rama d̲ lamandilh̲ ziqia d̲ aiar lbiš lbušia hadtia
d̲ šupra d̲ lahun mn lbušia d̲ hazin alma ulamrat atuat d̲ nišauia lbušia lmaria
tagia ulaamrin ulamSiin bnia amamia d̲ ninSabulh̲ ksuia ‘l kadpia ulabalia lbušia
d̲ lbiš ulanapil sasa hbala bksuih̲ ularba šamša d̲ lqudamh̲ uladaikia
pasimkia d̲ mdinth̲ lahaimia tagia d̲ briših̲ ulanatria aTirpia d̲ klilh̲
unapiq riha basima mn abinia aTirpia d̲ klilh̲ d̲ mn qudam anph̲ umitkarkibh̲ `utria
urauzia šbih qam ugabir ‘l kulhun alahia d̲ briš kulhun daria hua malka d̲ mn
qudam ulaqistaiak šumh̲ bpuman ulakinianh̲ bit spihatan daiana hu d̲ atrh̲ d̲ litbh̲
kadba bpumh̲ mtaqin kursia d̲ rba `laia d̲ lamištania lalam almia
lau nangaria d̲ pagria d̲ mtaqiniun kursia d̲ atutia lau ardiklia d̲ Tina d̲ bnun
batia mutbia malka hu d̲ mn laqadmia d̲ qaima malkuta ulabaTla d̲ laritlh̲
halSa bdahalta ulamiTilh̲ hauqa uziuihta d̲ bnia hšuka ulaqamlh̲ biuma d̲ zihua
ulamaTialh̲ šita d̲ rugza uziuihta malka d̲ nhura mamlik btaga lalam
ulitlh̲ buTlana lmalkuth̲ mlik šlih uiaqir bmdinth̲ hdirlh̲ šuria rurbia
d̲ dmasa malka d̲ rurbania npiš ‘utria uiatir šlihia urab mn malkia d̲ atar
atar hadia hu hadia mdinth̲ hadiabh̲ kula malkuth̲ litlh̲ aba d̲ qašiš minh̲
ulabukra d̲ mn qudamh̲ hua litlh̲ aha d̲ paliglh̲ mnata ulatiauma d̲ bkiSat hdadia
laqiblh̲ ulapliglia mnata ulahauia plugta bmdinth̲ ulanaksia
nakusta qudamh̲ ulaklia bisra lsaba ulašatia hamra d̲ šiha ulazamria
qudamh̲ zmara d̲ aula ulakum lbuša d̲ lbiš ulahaimia tagia d̲ brišia
ulanatria aTirpia d̲ klila laqal numbia d̲ hauia batrh̲ ulatkalh̲ d̲ bnat anašia
lahalpa šlanda qudamh̲ ulamTanap daura bmita la`bidlh̲ qraba d̲ taqip ulaqamlh̲
biuma d̲ zihua hadibun malka bbnia nhura uqaria lhad ualpa anilh̲ bminilth̲
naSib `utria ubmimra d̲ pumh̲ marim tušlimia malka d̲ kulhun ‘utria uškinata taga rba

d briših mruma niha mkabiš taqipia haila d lkulhun mardia brikit umšabit mn
zban u‘dan lalam rab hu šulTana napšak mn malkia kulhun d atar hšuk
šri‘it batra d nahur utaqun ušapira umraurba hah‘ arqa d šriatbh brikit
bdur Tabia umqaimit batra d kulh birkta anat bgauh hadit uruaz libak
bkulhun daiarak aitak mn iuma qadmaia mqaimit lalam almia bhaila rba ubmimra
kabira amar hun malkia d nhura umn ziua dakia umn nhura rba kabira d labaTil
prun hun u`tqaiam malkia d tušbihta d saka uminiana ubuTlana
litlun d kulhun btušbihta mlin uqaimin umšabilh lhahu malka rama
d nhura d ziuh npiš mn mimar bpuma d bisra uzma unhurh kabir mn
amlulia bspihata taqun ziuh unahur nhurh lkulhun almia taqna umanhira
rqiha d bgauh šrin alma d qaiimbh buTlana litlh alma d ziua unhura d habara
litbh alma d nihuta d mriduta litbh alma d kinuta d šigša uTirqa litbh
alma d busmania d riha d saina latbh alma d hiia d lalam d buTlana umuma litbh
alma d mia hiia d brihaiun malkia rauzia alma d Tabuta d bišuta litbh balma
d kušTa uhaimanuta d kadba unikla litbh alma hu dakia d ‘urbana biša litbh
mšabilh malakia d ziua `l hahu malka d nhura bziua unhura d ‘hablun umšabilh malkia
d ziua blbušia d ziua d ‘hablun mšabilh malkia d ziua bksuiia d nhura d `hablun
mšabilh malkia d ziua bhimiania d ziua d ‘hablun mšabilh malkia d ziua
bklilia d ziua d `hablun d traSlun mšabilh malkia d ziua bhaila ušrara d `hablun
mšabilh malkia d ziua bkušTa ulaupa uhaimanuta d `hablun kulhun nihia hakimia
ubasimia d bišuta ukadba unikla litbun lbišia lbušia d ziua umkasin ksuiia d nhura
ušrin uškinia luat hdadia ulamaskilin had bhabra ulahaTin bihdadia
uiaqarin `l arqahaiun udaman aiak zapa laina utiratun galian
lhdadia uqadmiata ubatraiata iadin alip alip parsia rahiqia mn
hdadia ubziua d hdadia nahria ubriha d hdadia basmia ukušTa lhdadia
pašTia u‘uSraihun paršia uhinun mrahqia mn kul muta uhbila d muta lasamlh
ubuTlana litlun ulasaibin hailaiun labaSar ubkibia umumia
lamitlabšin lbušaihun laakum uksuiaihun lahašuk uklilaihun lašahin
ulapaiin d Tirpa minaihun lanatria ukul mirba rabin haiia umitqaimia `l
duktaihun lanaidia ulamizdranbia litbaihun saba d saiib ulaiahTa d mn
kras `mh npaq laiit dina bmdintun uap hinun hdadia ladainia lakapnia
ulaSahin hauma ubarda ubišuta urugza litbun laqarbin qraba mn hdadia uap
labšibia mištbin arqahaiun hiua bala ‘lh ladamin urihša biša mn gaua lanpaq
‘uSa biša laiit b‘lanun ulamrara bpiria dauraihun
`bibaihun laSauin ulaiabšia uaTirpia d `lania lanatria batraihun sasa
uhbila lanapil škinatun buTlana litlun šaliTania mridia
d lahaisuta ‘lauaihun lamšalTia mridia rgizia d larahmuta bdauraihun
laiit arqahaiun mdalian uraman bintaihun batia bit tušlima šaliia
unihia iamamaihun ulaiit `ria d bgauaihun iardnia d almia d nhura mia
hiuara mlin hiuaria mn halba uqariria ubasimia umaziz rihaiun mn gupnh
rurbia d busmania u`utria umalkia d šatin minaihun Tama d muta laTaimin
ulitlaihun ium d biš unsis utaqip uap lakariuta bnišmatun ulitlaihun
miniana lšnaihun lakila lkul haiutaun ukulhun hadin urauzin bhadta
d lansisuta umasgin bqalil sigia umiTasasin bhah` arqa d aiar hiuartia
uziuh d dnih `lauaihun ula`rub bh hšuka hinun almia d nhura bsakia d napšia
‘tinhun umpalgia barqahata uškinata uiardnia u‘lania u‘utria umalkia
uziua unhura utuqna d ‘lauaihun šria umiSra binia hda ‘l hda
laiit unahra utaqna dmauatun hizua d parSupaihun zgig utaqun badmu bilur
dakia ukul ium mitinSiblun umištarlun haila uqala umimra zakuta mn
qudam malkaihun d kulhun almia d nhura hinun kulhun qaimia bbuta utšbihta
usidria udrašia šaniia uiahbilh dnuta u‘ruta utušbihta lmalka
rama d nhura umalakia d hinun mn malka rbaihun unapiq riha basima
mn binataihun ukul busmania d haduta lau misma d `kuria ulau riha ubarata

d kul `stirata ukulhun rauzin
mn hdadia akuat anania miTra `l `lania ubazrunia d arqa
uaitinun batuata d šupra hizua udmuta Sauta hda mn hda šania hda mn hda
nahur malka rama d nhura brik umšaba šumh lalam almia u`utria umalkia
ušlihia uparSupia udmauata arqahata uškinata arqia ubiniania uiardnia
u`lania uziua d ‘lauaihun šria mn malka d nhura hun `utria umalkia mitqiriin
umn arqa iardnia u‘lania mitniSbin umn ziua unhura lbišia uksuiia
uklilia miSTararin ulaiit minaihun d hauia minh hasir ubSir hahu
atra d hiia kušTa uniaha ušrara šalma uhaimanuta d kul ‘niš lau msakilh
u`lauh hauilh ruhSana hadibun malka bbnia nhura uhinun bgauh šahbia
binataihun uškinatun bziua unhura bni‘in uašiatun šrara utuqna uziuaihun
šania mn ziuh d šamiš usira utuqnaihun taqun mn tuqnh d hazin alma ziua
d alma hazin `tba mziguta uziua d hanath tuqna d litbia durdia hinila ziua
d alma hazin `tinSib bdmuta d hanath ziua akuat humria uaSaSia d badmu
marganiata aitinin arqahaiun lsadana laiatbia urqihaiun bgarglia lahadar
kukbia šuba ‘lauaihun lamasgia hamša utrisar bhilqaihun lamdabria aqapra
bšbilun laiit uTina biardnaihun lamitaška uqalia hinun bsagiaihun
akuat liba d br anaša d bligria lasagia ubšita lkul atar uqalil unih
sigiaihun d šamiš mitahzin bainaihun d bnia d adam d zaliqia maTin mn ‘šumia ualma
larqa ukui bagin bihdadia šahlia ulabšia b‘uSria d hdadia ulahaTin
ulasaklin bihdadia akuat ziua d šamiš uziqa unura umia d alma hazin
`kiltaihun mn birkta d iardnia upiria u`mbia u`lania ulitlaihun saka uminiana
umiSra lzakuatun ulanaška d nimar `l hailahun akuat d amar `u pagra saria
nišabak ‘u lišana baTla hin puman kd iama nihuia ulišanan kd Turia gziria
d bgauh uspihatan kd trin kiph lamaTialin d nisaiik unimar `l hailak
dilak marai ulkulhun almak hinila liška d mSia d nisaiik unimar lhailak dilak
Tubh lman d nidak uTubh lman d amar biadilak Tubh lman d piršak uTubh lman
d pariš ‘lak Tubh lman d nisibra bšrara uTubh `l man d sabar `lak Tubh
lman d sbar mn hukumtak utparaq mn T‘ia ušigša d hazin alma Tubaihun ‘l šalmania
kšiTia umhaimnia d ‘duk upiršuk d salqia bzakuta hazila latar nhur brikit
umšabit marai malka rama d nhura mn ium ulalam almia bmimrak hua kul mindam
u‘tiqria u‘štadar ‘utra mn qudamh d hahu mara d rabuta d hu hibil ziua šumh
ugabr‘il šliha mitiqria kd Sba malka rama d nhura mn ziua unhura d qaiimbh qran mn
škinata hanath d hu rba liaminh škin uamarlh asgia `zil lalma d hšuka d kulh
bišuta mlia kulh mlia bišuta uml‘ia nura akla alma d mlia kadba unikla
zr`ia bkuba uaTaTa alma d šigša uTirqa d tuqna bgauh litbh alma d hšuka
d nhura litbh alma d `sruta d riha basima litbh alma d ridpa umuta d hiia lalam litbh
alma d baTlan Tabauata umhašabata lašalman uamarlh d ‘zil kbuš hšuka urazia
d minh gbil msia arqa ungud rqiha Sar bgauh kukbia hab ziua lšamiš
utuqna lsira uSahamta lkulhun kukbia hab busma lmia uSauta lnura uqria
piria u`mbia u`lania d mrauzibh balma nihiuian hauaniata ubiriata ununia uSipar
gadpa ukul šurbta zikra unuqubta d nihuilh puhlana ladam ukula šurubth
unihun gabra u‘nta unihuia šumaihun adam uhaua umn malakia d nura lqudam
adam ništabdun kulman d miniltak abar nistar bnura d iaqda nihun
tlata malakia d ziua unhura uSauta ladam nihuilh nitun mia hiia
unirbun bmia tahmia briha d mia hiia niruaz kulh alma nitun arba ziqia
uaiar d mnašim almia tihuia nura utishiT bkul pagria upiria u‘mbia u‘lania
utikul `kilta balma kd aklia ‘kilta balma nišga utuqna d `it bmia
lnišmata nitmnia ‘špita d `kilta lpagria nitimnia ukul bazrunia upiqunia
urihania ubusmania u`uSania usamania hiua bira uSipar gadpa uTabuta ukul
mindam d Tab ušapir nihuilh puhlana ladam ukula šurbth alma hanath ninhar
biad ptahil uamar malka rama d nhura bmimra hua kul mindam bmimrh uata
ptahil uarim ‘šumia unigdh `l rqiha umisia larqa d tibil uqrunun `l

malakia d nura u`hablh ziua lšamiš utuqna lsira uSihma lkukbia
uasqinun `l `spiria d ‘šumia u‘tinSib ziqa unura umia u‘tinSib piria
u`mbia u`lania usamania ubazrunia urihania uabad hiua bira hiua bala d kul guan
umn aqapra usumqa ušpita udurdia d anania d ziqa unura umia uTuhma uzma
umirta urazia d alma hazin d adam uhaua u`tigbil bhailh d malka rama
d nhura unišimta badam uhaua niplat kd npalbun nišimta bginat ‘lania
hun kd hun bginat ‘lania mindam lahkum ulapriš amar malka rama d nhura mn
malakia d nura lqudam adam ništabdun nitun unisigdun lqudamh
ulanišanun mn mimra had hu biša d bišuta minh `tgiblat usTa mn minalat marh
u`l minilat marh laqam kd laqam lminilat marh bmarkabth b`sura d alaha
‘star ana šliha dakia qran upaqdan marai uamar ‘zil qrilh qala šania ‘l adam
ulhaua zauh ulšurbath kulhin qala šania qralun uaprišinun lkul Sbu ‘l
malka rama d nhura maraihun d kulhun almia d haila npaš ukabir d saka
uminiana litlia lmalia d tušbihta d qaimia umšabia ulabaTlia ‘l almia
d nhura d buTlana
litlun aprišia ‘l adam d ninhar libh uqaimh d ninhar `uSrh hunh uhananh hualh
Sauta anat utrin malakia d minak nasgun lalmia aprišlh mada ladam u`l haua
zauh ulšurbath kulhin amarlun d laništiplun ulanisTunun bišia usaTania
d lamitakšar alpunun buta utušbihta d nirmun unišabun lmalka rama d nhura
maraihun d kulhun almia tlata zibnia biuma utrin zibnia blilia uamarlun lguT
zaua u‘tkanan minaikun nitnapaš alma kd aluat zauaikun qarbitun sun mia udakun
napšakun latigirun ulatiginbun ulatiligTun bnat anašia ia šalmania
umhaimnia ia mhaimnia ušalmania latipkun mn mamlalkun uaula
ukadba latirihmun ulatirihmun dahda ukaspa uqiniana d hazin alma aminTul d alma
hazin baTil uabid uqiniania u‘bidata mištamra latisigdun
lsaTana ulpatikuria ulSalmata ulT‘ia ulšigša d alma hazin d man sagid
lsaTana napil bnura d iaqda alma liuma d dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana alma
d Sabia malka rama d nhura d daiinlun lkulhun almia daiinlin lnišmata kul ‘niš
kd `ubadia `dh abid latilpun haršia d saTana usahduta d kadba latisihdun kd
dina dainitun turSia ldinia latipkuia ‘u msahdia anašia d kušTa nisihdun
kulman d apik dina aklalh nura d iaqda latimisrun abdia kširia biad
maruatun bišia umaka ltaqipa latatnun auqar aba u‘ma uahia qašišia akuat
aba ubra d mašiT aba u‘ma biuma d dina mithašab ulatihzun ulatirgun ulatibun
mindam d lau dilkun hu hin iahiblkun maraikun hinila `lauh bhaTaiia
latikadšun aminTul d bSubianh d maraikun kul mindam bTabuta ktab
u`hablkun kd bišuta maTialkun sbul uašar bhaimanutkun ulatišanun
ulatipkun mn mamlalkun ulatišiplun burkaikun ulatikibšun
rišaikun ulatisigdun lsaTana rgima napla kulman d lbišia upatikria
ulSilmia sagid rhuq minh ulatihuilh rahma `u baiitulh urahmitulh
ašmuia ktabia umimria utušbihta d `hablkun maraikun hin šama
umhaiman usahid bmalka rama d nhura alaha d mn napšia hua ruhmuia uluataikun
qarbuia kul mindam d `tlh aTpuia hin lašama ula sahid ulamhaiman bhaTaiia
d napšia ništaial hazitun br šibia d mhaiman ukšiT hab pruqa uparquia
ulau balhud zahba ukaspa nišmita tiparqun hinila bkušTa
uhaimanuta ubmimra dakia d puma nišmata tiparqun mn hšuka lnhura
umn T‘ia lšrara umn siTia umriruta lbuta utušbihta umn kapruta luat
mhaimanuta d maraikun man d niparaq nišmata nišauilh daria ualmia `lkun
amarna bhirai ‘lkun maprišna mhaimnai ‘hab zidqa ‘l aniia u‘l ‘šiqa
huilh paruanqa ukui iahbitun zidqa bhirai latisihdun `u msahditun
latatnun `u iahbitun biaminaikun latimrun lsmalaikun `u iahbitun
bsmalaikun liaminaikun latimrun kulman d iahib zidqa umsahid mikpar minh
ulamihšiblh kulman d iahib zidqa uTabuta bnpiš abid haizak kapar mn zidqa
ulaiahib napil bnura d iaqda alma d haTaiia šalmia uhaubh

kulhun mitgamria bhirai `u hazitun man d kpin sibuia hazitun man d Shia ašquia
hazitun arTlaia smulh bSurh lbušia uksuiia aminTul d kul man d iahib nasib ukul
man d lamaršia mitapra kulman d zidqa iahib zidqa rba hauilh iahib `da
d lbušia larTilaia malbiš saiimlh bSaurh lbušia uksuiia d mpariq br šibia
napiq alanph šlihia d hiia d baiin umitapriš naSbilh adiauria d qaria qala
d hiia bnina umqaima binth d mitaprišbh btušbihtai kul iuma šumh
dakria batar nhur d manharbun bmamlalai hatam b'utria mihšib d mitparaq mn
siTia d bišia adinqia haTaiia uhaubh nisaq nihizia latar nhur kulman
d brahmut marh pagrh lgaTlh našlim zakaia d muma litbh `lkun amarna bhirai `lkun
maprišna mhaimnai Sum Sauma rba d lahua mn mikla umašqita d alma hazin Sum
ainaikun mn mirmaz rimza ulatihzun bišuta ulatibdun Saum 'udnaikun
mn maSutia `l babia d lau dilkun Sum pumaikun mn mimar kadba d aula
uzipa ušiqra litirihmun Sum libaikun mn hašubia bišuta usina qina uplugia
blibaikun lanihuia d man d lagiT qina šalmana lamitiqria Sum `daikun mn
migTal gaTla ugnubta latiginbun Sum pagraikun mn zaua d lau dilkun h` Sum
burkaikun mn misgad lsaTana ulSalamata d zipa latirbkun Sum
ligraikun mn masguiia bnikla `l d lau dilkun hu Sumuia lhazin Sauma rba
ulatišrna alma d napqitun mn pagraikun man d bianquth haTia tum lahaTia utaiib
lnapšia ulamaskil taiabuta d marh tihuia `lh hu milka rama d nhura
haiasa utaiaba umrahmana hu šabiq haTaiia uhaubh hu kulman d zahba ukaspa
uqiniana d alma hazin nirhum `lh gaTla nigTal napil bnura d iaqda umhababa
bhirai lanihuilkun uruhSana lmalakia ušaliTania umarbia d hazin alma ula `l
haila uzaina utaktuša ukinpa d kanpia ušibia d šabin balma hazin ula ldahba ula
lkaspa šagiš tigra rmilun qanin ušabqin balma uazlia bnura bašlia
b'daihun b'daihun badin gumria ubspihatun msarsipia iaqdana baTil šauTun
ušulTanun umistakarlun giutaihun ladahbun ulakaspun laqaiimlun ulahauilun
bahid `da laargbaiun ulamintnun lahauilun pirqa auda usaipa malkutun
udina minaihun mitmar `lkun amarna kulhun d šamin šuth d alaha
lmiqmaikun ulmitbaikun ulmizlaikun ulmitiaikun u`l miklaikun
ulmišitiaikun ulmišlaikun u'l mišikbaikun lkulhin 'bidatkun adkar ušaba
šumh d malka rama d nhura parun iardna u'STbun Sbun nišmatkun bmaSbuta
haita d aitilkun mn almia d nhura d khuln šalmania umhaimnia bgauh
'STba bruk lpihta uakul ušaba lmambuha uštun d šabuq haTaiia uhaubh
hauilkun kul man d brušuma d hiia ršim ušuma d malka d nhura madkar `lh
uašar u'tqaiam bmaSbuta uabid 'ubadia Tabia ušapiria 'niš b'uhra
lanikatrh latiklun zima d hiuaniata uladmaita uladbaTna uladnapSa
uladqaima ula d napil hiua bala `lh hin'la bparzla nkus uhalil uašig
unaqid ubašil uakul ulatiklun ulatištun mn bit babia trisar
kulhun Tnupia umkairuta mlin ia gubria d naSbia ziua alma zaua minaikun tiligTun
rhum uazbar hdadia akuat ainia d bligria mizdahra rhum uazbar hdadia u`bruia liama
rba d sup aminTul d ahia d bisra baTlia uahia d kušTa mitqaimia hun anatun
ahia d kušTa masqitun rahmutkun lriš d šumh qadmaia triSlun brišaikun
rušumaikun rušma d mia hiia d salqitubh latar nhur 'u 'marlkun bhirai tišmun
`paqidtinkun tibdun `tilkun mn ziuai d npiš umn nhurai d saka litlh
tiriuzun bit hiia akuat `utria d nhura d rauzia batar nhur `u d `marlkun
latišmun 'u
d 'paqidtinkun latibrun tiplun bhšuka d naplibh bišia ulasalqia Tubh lman
d šuma uhaiman saliq bzakuta uhazilh latar nhur bišia d šumun ulahaimin
anpaihun azbar liama rba d sup bhirai `tnakrun mn mardia d daura baTla d kul ium
ukul iuma `l karsauata d mirda iatbia iatbia lkarsauata d mirda
u'bidata ubšauTa abdia 'bidata abdia bšauTa ukušTa uniaha ušalma litbun
latisbun rbuta bdahba ukaspa ulatišTun d rbuta d muma nasib mipsiq
šumh mn atar nhur kul man d mn pagrh napiq `lh latibkun u`blia

umalia `lh̲ latiligTun ulhama d̲ gibia `lh̲ latiklun kul man d̲ `l mita bakia
naqmunh̲ banzabia d̲ mia k̲d̲ d̲ mlin d̲ lbušia bSaurh̲ niSria nihuilh̲ muma b`uSTlia
d̲ manzia nišmuT ‘lh̲ nisirunh̲ bTura Tur haška ‘zil aniia
udaniia umradpia ‘l napšaikun bkun d̲ kma d̲ aitinkun balma
haTaiakun napšia ‘l karialkun ‘l nišmata d̲ napqa mn binataikun aiTa
ukariuta kpar mn libaikun u`blia umalia dhun mn bataikun aminTul d̲ mn `blia
umalia sahria udaiuia mitgiblia uqadmilin lnišmata b‘uhra umahiqilin bit
maksia ‘u baiitulin urahmitulin bun ‘lauaihun rahmia ubuta utušbihta
udruš drašia uqrun sidria u‘bid masqata d̲ rba brahmia mitimlia `lauaihun
unizal ziua mn qudamaihin unitia nhura mn abatraihun ušlihia d̲ hiia mn
iaminun ubalkia d̲ nhura mn smalun unitparqa mn maTarata umn dudia
d̲ rahta aprišunin lnišmata d̲ lanitakšal libaihun ašmunin malalia nihia
utušbihta d̲ aititilkun nišmun unisihdun uninha libaihun ‘l samka hab lhama
umia ušpinza lbnat anaša aniia umradpia d̲ ridpa miTilun adrik dirkia
d̲ kušTa uagra d̲ `giria luataikun lanibut latigizlun mn šutapa umn
rahmaikun bnikla latiqmun man d̲ gazil mn habrh̲ ušutaph̲ ainh̲ nhura lahazia
pšuT iaminaikun mn hdadia ukušTaikun latikadbun aminTul d̲ `utria umalkia
d̲ nhura laupa ukušTa lhdadia iahbia ia bhiria ukšiTia umhaimnia rhum
hdadia bkušTa uasiq rahmutkun lriš hun nihuia umkikia luat malpania kinia
d̲ hukumat šrara malpilun latinisbun rbuta ‘lauaihun umuma
lnišmatkun latinisbun latizlun luat kaSumia ukaldaiia d̲ kadba d̲ hinun bhšuka
mištiknia latimun ‘umamata d̲ kadba u`umamatkun latipkun latikuln hbulia
uhbul hbulia latidainun bhšuka haška latigirun ulatiznun ulatizimrun
ulatiriqdun ulaništbia libaikun ‘l zmara d̲ saTana d̲ kulh̲ haršia
uzipa umasTianuta mlia uapik `uSraihun d̲ šalmania umakšil libaihun
d̲ mhaimnia bhirai ‘zdahar u‘zdaraz u‘tiqrun mzarzia balma ašar balma
subluia lridpa d̲ alma alma d̲ k‘laikun šalimlkun hun simaka uadiaura
lhdadia ulšalmania d̲ ridpa maTilun k̲d̲ bzadanuta rahta qumtaikun
`uSraikun anha umakik libaikun uqabil mn minilat maraikun aminTul
d̲ ruianh̲ d̲ zidana mn zidh̲ d̲ saTana mitimlia d̲ bhaimanuta lamitmakak bhirba
usipa migTil d̲ lamigTil bhirba usipa napil bnura d̲ iaqda hazitun Taba d̲ sbir hukmta
qrub luath̲ uqabil minh̲ mn hukumth̲ ‘u hazitun biša d̲ hakim lbiš rhuq minh̲
ulatihkum mn hukumth̲ ulatibdun mn `bidath̲ ulatasgun bdirkh̲ ia
mhaimnia ušalmania kul d̲ `lauaikun snia bhabraikun latibdun bhirai `bid
‘ubadia Tabia uzauid zuadia l‘uhraikun hzun ušuma umhaiman uqablu lminilat
maraikun hzun bainakun uamar bpumaikun ušmun b‘udnaikun uhaiman blibaikun
uabid b`daikun zidqa uTabuta uabid Subian maraikun uSubianh̲ d̲ saTana latibdun
ulatiriSun ‘l špur pagria d̲ mn šilia mithamblia asgun bminilat maraikun
d̲ tisqun bzakuta latar nhur kbuš usgud ušaba lmalka rama d̲ nhura d̲ haTaiakun
uhaubaikun ništbiqlkun latisigdun lsaTana ulSilmia d̲ zipa d̲ hazin alma aminTul
d̲ kul d̲ mitlid maiit ukul d̲ b`dia mitbid mithambal ualma kulh̲ saiip ubaTlh̲
alahuta d̲ bh̲ bhirai lanihuilkun ruhSana `l alma d̲ qaimitubh̲
aminTul d̲ lau dilkun hu nihuilkun ruhSana ‘l ‘ubadia šapiria d̲ abditun d̲ k̲d̲
napqitun mn pagraikun tistimkun `l `ubadia `udaikun bhirai lanihuilkun
busiana `l puqdania d̲ maraikun paqid tihuilkun kinuta unihuta
umkikuta d̲ mn kiana d̲ nhura hua tihuibkun tiabuta uhaisuta
uriuanuta umrahmanuta d̲ mn nhura hu ia gubria d̲ lagTia ‘nšia ia ‘nšia
d̲ lgubria hauian ia gubria d̲ lagTia ‘nšia banun banunia ulguT ‘l
lambaninitun ulagTitun mahra barsa sbul hin`la `l `ubadia sainia d̲ abda
maprišnalkun ‘l kul atuat d̲ gaira gaura u`l kul atuat d̲ gnubta ganba u`l kul
atuat d̲ abda haršia umSaira bpagra nišimta d̲ ‘l alaha labasima u‘l anašia lašapir
aminTul d̲ damia lkiba biša d̲ asuta litlh̲ latiligTun amta d̲ lapriqa ulatišdun
bnaikun bit maria iuma d̲ abda maskil ulibh̲ d̲ marh̲ ragiz `lh̲ haTaiia d̲ haTia abdia

brišia d abuia salqia hin lagTitun d priqa lguT uTabutak bnpiš iatira unapša lguT rahmut kušTa mn zaua d kušTa latipkun mn hdadia alma d kilaikun šalim aminTul d man d nakil bzauh d husrana ukadba unikla litbh rahim uraiig rgita d tibil dinh minh mitmar kd hauilkun šitlia umitqaimia ukd maraihun paršia alpunun hukumta d šrara udirkia d kušTa adrukunun hin lamahuitulun ulamalpitulun bit dina mithaibitun `u malpitulun ulaialpia bhaTaiun d napšaiun ništailun zibna Salia ʻniš ahdar aqmuia usumkuia trin zibnia Salia nišma ahdar aqmuia usumkuia tlata zibnia Salia nišma ahdar usumkuia uašmuia ktabia umimria ubuta utušbihta d maraikun hin samkitulh ulamistmik `uqruia lgupna biša uaitun Taba batrh štul aminTul d qrulh b`udnh ulašma hauiuia bainh ulahza hauiuia ulahza bainh misap saiip liuma d sup napil btasniqa d naplibh bišia ulasalqia hin hazitun anašia d muma d pagria `tbaiun latisun ulatigihkun aminTul d pagria gbilia bisra uzma bkibia umumia mitaslin nišmata bkibia umumia lamitaslia hinʻla mitaslia nišmata bʻubadia sainia d abda ʻlkun amarna bhirai ʻlkun maprišna mhaimnai latišabhun lšuba utrisar mdabrania d alma d radin b`umama ulilia d hinun mašiTilh lkana d nišmata d mn bit hiia lhaka ʻthib latišbuia lšamiš usira manhirana d hazin alma aminTul d hazin ziua lau dlun hu hin`la `thiblun lanhurh ldaura haška hin malakia d baita qrun qala napla latišabhuia lšamiš d hu adunai šumh qaduš šumh ʻil ʻil šumh tum ʻtlia šumh kasiia d lamitgalalia balma d adunai ama alnapšia gabia ukaniš lnapšia kništa mitbinia ʻurašlam mahuza mdinta d iahuTaiia d napšaihun bhirba gazria umn zmaiun banpaiun Tarin uladunai sagdia gubria šabqia zauaihun uazlin luat hdadia šakbia ʻnšia bdaštanin hinin bhana d gubria šakbia apkia mn šuta qadmaita uktaba lnapšaihun abdia ʻlkun amarna bhirai latihun minaihun d mn maraihun znun latirbun mn iahuTaiia d bhad mamla laqaimia umn ama d iahuTaiia kulhun amamia ubabia minaihun npaq uhun nbihia d kadba uzipa d masgin d ailia mn malakia d husrana bmarbaiin d ʻnšia uʻnšia baTnibun ubzma udaštana iadlilun hukumta mn libaiun mapqia uramibh šibia balma uqarin lnapšaihun alahia ušlihia d alaha masqin lnapšaihun upagria labšia umidamin badmu gubria uktaba d zipa kadbia ubzharia mzahrilun Sluta d kadba mSalilun ušiha urhimta ušagra ramin ʻl anpa d arga unbihia qaria lnapšaihun uana šliha qarina maprišna uamarna lkulhun naSuraiia d hun udhauin umitiadlin latišmun lšutaihun umn ʻuhra d hiia latišTun bhirai latihun minaihun mn halin d bhda mamla laqaimia aprišunun lmalalun d hinun hdadia mkadbia umalka lmalka habrh mganilh unbihia bnbihia mkadib uqarilun lbnat anaša umrahmilun ubdahba ukaspa ubargba uminuna ubragagta mragiglun umaSTilhun uʻit minaihun bzmara urqada ušiha šabilun uʻit minaihun bSilmia d dahba ukaspa ubSalamata d qurqsa uprikia d Tina ub`ubadia baTlia masiTilhun uʻit minaihun bhirba usipa umhita uqraba utaktuša ubhauqa uziuihta kabria `lauaihun umahiqilun uamrilun ubla Subianun abdia d šibiahia mšauilun uʻit minaihun d bkinuta ubšabšuta ubhaliuta ubnikla uzipa masTilhun lbnia d adam ušumh d alaha ramilhun bpumaihun uamrilun d halin ktabia umimria d `hablan rba u`lat uarbibhun malalia d abuhun mistakra uauda nišmata uapkilh llibaihun ušiTia ramibh balma uana šliha dakia amarnalkun latišmun lšutaihun d nbihia d kadba d damin napšaihun bnbihia d kušTa umidamin badmu tlata ʻutria d asgun lalma ziuaihun lau ziua hu ulbušaihun lbuša d nura hu u`it minaihun d lbušia d hšuka lbišia uksuiia d habara mkasin urihaiun snia uzapur `lkun amarna bhirai `lkun qarina umaprišna mhaimnai lbuša hiuara uʻtkasun hiuara badmu lbušia d ziua uksuiia d nhura utruS burzinqia hiuaria badmu klilia rauzia uasar himiania d mia hiia d `utria asria bhalSaiun usum msania sdiqia ulguT margnia b`daikun akuat margnia d mia hiia d `utria lagTia batar nhur

ia mhaimnia ušalmania latimrun mindam d̲ laiaditun ulaglilkun ulaiit ‘niš d̲ glilh̲
kasiata albar mn rba u`laia d̲ iada upariš ‘l kulhun bhirai zariz napšaikun
bzaina d̲ lahua mn parzla zainaikun naSiruta umalalia kšiTia d̲ atar
nhur mluk mulkania šapiria lhdadia akuat d̲ mzahritun umparqitun akuat
d̲ hazitun bainaikun uqaritun bpumaikun ušamitun b‘udnaikun ‘bad ‘ubadia Tabia
ušapiria latidamun lšitlia bišia d̲ mia šatin upiria lmaraihun laiahbia
bhirai hzun d̲ amarlkun `l nhura d̲ saka uminiana litlh̲ amarilkun ‘l hšuka
u`l unra iaqda amarilkun `l saTana d̲ haila ušrara litlh̲ ulamSia napšia
lparuqia mn d̲ nura akla uiaqdana haza h‘ šuta qadmaita d̲ `thiblh̲ ladam gabra
riša d̲ šurbta haita hda malala hua hda sahduta huat haizak alma
bhirba umutana ‘tinsib u‘titlun lnišmata d̲ bhanath̲ mapiqta mn pagraiin
napqan unišmata adinqia haTaiia uhaubia lnhura salqa haizak paiiš ram
gabra urud ‘nta riša d̲ dara mitqiriin haizak alma mitiaiar minaihun ualma mitnapaš
u`titlh̲ ladam gabra mikil alpa d̲ šnia umn adam gabra ualma lram urud tlatin
daria hauin kulhun bhda masiqta lnhura salqia aminTul d̲ bhda šuta
qaimia ubhda malala masgin ubhda tušbihta sahdia utum mitinsib alma
biaqdana d̲ nura upaiiš šurbai gabra ušarhab‘il ‘nta unišmata kulhin mn
pagraiin bhanath̲ masiqta napqa ulnhura salqa aminTul lamkadbia bšuta
qadmaita ulapkia bmalala qadmaia tum alma mitiaiar umitnapaš umn ram urud
ualma lšurbai ušarhab‘il srin uhamša daria hauin tum mn abatar šurbai
ušarhab‘il alma bTupania mia mitinsib upaiiš nu d̲ kauila ušum br nu ualma kulh̲
bmia mitinsib aminTul d̲ ktiblun bhanath̲ mapiqta mn pagraiin nipqun
unišmata lnhura salqa mn dara d̲ šurbai ušarhab‘il ualma ldaria d̲ nu
hamisar daria hauin umn nu gabra alma mitnapaš ubhda qala utušbihta
nisihdun hda malala ‘tiqria ana šliha d̲ hiia utrin malakia d̲ minai umn nu
gabra ualma d̲ mitbinia ‘urašlam mahuza šita daria hauin uakla alpa d̲ šnia
bruhSa umitlid hauia šlimun malka br dauud hauia malka d̲ iahud ušaliTa rba
d̲ ‘urašlam usahria udaiuia qudamh̲ ništabdun ubSubianh̲ dilh̲ masgin alma
d̲ bnapšia ništaba uTabuta d̲ marh̲ lamqabil haizak sahria udaiuia mn malalh̲
apkia umalkuth̲ minh̲ mitnasba uhauia mšiha nbiha d̲ iahuTaiia qala lšibiahia
qarilun ubiligTta lagiTlun ‘niš ‘niš ‘l dilh̲ mikadaš masTilun šuba daiuia
masTiania lkulhun bnh̲ d̲ adam had šamiš šumh̲ utiniana ruha d̲ qudša ‘stra d̲ libat
amamit šuma tlitaia ‘nbu mšiha kadaba d̲ mkadib bšuta qadmaita arbiaia sin d̲ hu
Saur‘il šumh̲ hamšiaia kiuan šitaia bil šubaia nirig daiuia d̲ bit šamiš
dahba ukaspa urabut karsa iahiblun lsagadun ušlihia mšadar lalma ulšamiš
ulsira masgidilun lbnia anašia daiuia d̲ libat šiTia ugaura upirSa uzaniuta
ušiha ušagra uzmara uharšia
šarin ‘l bnia anaša daiuia d̲ nbu mšiha bnikla naplia lbnia anaša upašTibun mn
baitaiun umn bit anašaiun šabilun bTuria udištata maTilhun ulhdaiun
mautibilhun uTuhmaiun uzidaiun `l aTmaihun radilhun usahria udaiuia bnia
anaša d̲ lagTia pagria mSaria ruhia unišmata d̲ miniana lamqablia usama
uasuta litlun hu bnura mitahzilun ldahala uldahalata uamarlun hzun
ziuai d̲ dnia balma ulaiadin d̲ lau ziua hu ušiTia umašTia balma daiuia d̲ bit
kiuan numbia ubkitia hukumta ramilun blibaihun d̲ bnat anaša umn Tabuta
gazlilun daiuia d̲ bit nirig ‘l bnia anaša naplia umšalpilun ubisraiun
Sarin uzmaiun ašdia barqa umitiqrin šalupia gumria zabia uadidia tum mšiha
mitiglia bdmuta hurintia d̲ lbiš nura umkasai nura ugabaruata bnura
mhauai amun‘il šumh̲ u‘šu mšiha mahiana rba alnapšia u‘l nura hauia škinth̲
ubmarkabth̲ mhauai uqaiim qudamaikun amarlun atun uqum luatai ulatibišlun
ulatihaimanubh̲ aminTul d̲ bharšia uzipa masgia hin aliS ‘lauaikun amarulh̲
d̲ ldilak anin ublibaikun lataudubh̲ umn minilat maraikun malka rama
d̲ nhura latikiprun aminTul d̲ mšiha kadaba laglilh̲ kasiata uamar ana hu alaha
brh̲ d̲ alaha d̲ ab lhaka šadran uamarlkun ana hu šliha qadmaia ana hu hibil

ziua d mn mruma `tit ulataudubh aminTul d lau hibil ziua hu uhibil ziua lau nura
lbiš hibil ziua bdara hanath lamitiglia hin‘la anuš ‘utra atia umasgia
b‘urašlam kd d lbuša d anania mia lbiš ubadmu pagria masgia ulau lbuš pagria
lbiš hauma urugza litbh uatia bšnia d pilTus malka d alma d anuš ‘utra lalma
atia bhailh d malka rama d nhura masia qirsania umpata `uiria umdakia girbania
umarim mtabria ušapupia lmasguia umamlil haršia udugia umhaiia mitia
umhaimin mn iahuTaiia umahuilun d ‘it muta u‘it hiia u‘it hšuka u‘it nhura u‘it
T‘ia u‘it šrara umapiq iahuTaiia ‘l šumh d malka rama d nhura tlatma ušitin
nbihia mn ‘urašlam mata napqia bšumh d mara d rabuta d sahdia usaliq anuš ‘utra
uiatib ‘l mšunia kušTa ukulhun ‘utria mitiksin mn ainaihun d bnia anaša
uhaizak harub mahuza ‘urašlam d iahuTaiia bgluta napqin umitbadran bmidin
mdin uhaizak atia ahmaT br bizbaT sahra uqala d laqala qaria ubišuta
napša balma mšauia umašiTlh lkulh kana d nišmata kul man d bhanath dara batraia
paiiš ubqala haila ukaluza liardna nipuq bdrabšia drašia d ziua nipqun
alanpia mn atar nhur naSuraiia d burzinqa brišaihun nitirSun nišuilia daria ualmia
kul mandaia d bkušTa niqum ana manda d hiia `iasim iaminai `lh uSut ušuma
u‘tapraš bhirai usab bzakuta huziuia latar nhur uhiia zak‘in ‘l kulhun
`ubadia sa
bšumaihun d hiia rbia nukraiia mn almia d nhura iatiria d `lauia ukulhun `ubadia
asuta uzakuta uhaila ušrara u‘mra ušima ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

. ulab
. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai .
u`l ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u‘l šitlai
. u`l abahatai

. bhazin sidra uninharlun `uSraiun umadaiun umadihtun
utitqan dmauatun uniruaz parSupaihun uhaka btibil ulhil balmia d nhura unitraS
šumaihun luat iauar ziua usimat hiia sa

bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia mšabit marai bliba dakia maraihun ḏ kulhun almia mšaba šumak mara ḏ rabuta malka ḏ nhura maraihun ḏ kulhun almia ziua dakia unhura rba ḏ labaTil haiasa utaiaba umrahmana paruqa ḏ kulhun mhaimnia umqaimana ḏ kulhun Tabia rba rama ušbiha aziza hakima uiaduia uparuša ušaliTa ḏ `l kul Sbu mara mruma `laia umiSaiia utitaiia parSupa rba ḏ `qara ḏ lamitahzia ulamistaiak haila ḏ litlẖ habra btagẖ ulašutapa bšulTanẖ ḏ takilbẖ labahit udmšaba šumẖ bkušTa lanapil udqaiim `l tuklanẖ lamištapal mara rba ḏ kulhun malkia bhailẖ rba ubmimrẖ kabira amar hun malkia ḏ nhura mn ziuẖ dakia umn nhurẖ rba ḏ labaTil prun u`tqaiam malkia ḏ tušbihta ḏ saka umaniana ubuTlana litlun kulhun btušbihta mlin uqaimin umšabin lmalka rama ḏ nhura ḏ ziuẖ npiš mn mimra ḏ puma unhurẖ kabir mn mamlulia bsbihata nahur nhurẖ utaqun ziuẖ `l kulhun almia lahua ḵḏ ḏ lahua ulahauia ḵḏ ḏ lahauia ḏ la`tahuia malkia bziuaihun ubnhura ḏ ‘lauaihun šria briha basima ḏ malka rama ḏ nhura ḏ `hablun buta utušbihta ḏ šralun blibaihun ḏ qaimia banana ḏ nhura sagdia umšabia lakapn‘ ulaSahia uhauma ubarda litbun ‘lania ḏ arqa ḏ nhura kulhun btušbihta mlin uqaimia umšabia lmalka rama ḏ nhura haia ḏ lau maiutia ḏ husrana litbun taqna umanihra rqiha ḏ bgaua šrin alma ḏ qaiimbẖ buTlana litlẖ alma ḏ ziua unhura ḏ habara litbẖ alma ḏ nihuta umriduta litbẖ alma ḏ kinuta ḏ šigša uTirqa litbẖ alma ḏ busmania ḏ riha saina litbẖ alma ḏ hiia ḏ lalam ḏ buTlana litbẖ alma ḏ mia hiia ḏ malkia brihaiun rauzia alma ḏ kušTa uhaimanuta ḏ karba unikla litbẖ alma hu dakia ḏ ‘urbana biša litbẖ mšabilẖ malakia ḏ ziua lmalka ḏ nhura bziua unhura ḏ ‘hablun mšabilẖ malakia ḏ ziua lmalka ḏ nhura bksuiia ḏ ziua ḏ `hablun mšabilẖ malakia ḏ ziua lmalka ḏ nhura bTarTbunia ḏ ziua ḏ ‘hablun mšabilẖ malakia ḏ ziua lmalka ḏ nhura bklilia ḏ ziua ḏ ‘hablun mšabilẖ malakia ḏ ziua lmalka ḏ nhura bkušTa ulaupa uhaimanuta ḏ `hablun kulhun nihia hakimia ubasimia ukadba unikla litbun `lania ḏ almia ḏ nhura kulhun ziua utuqna mlin iarbnia ḏ almia ḏ nhura mia hiuaria mlin anania ḏ nhura škinata ḏ ziua škinbin bškinata ḏ ziua malkia sagdia umšabia hinun ualmia kulhun mšabilẖ lrba u`laia lmara ḏ rabuta ḏ `l kulhun almia šria ana hu šliha dakia ḏ malka ḏ nhura bšumai hibil ziua qran ḵḏ Sba malka rama ḏ nhura mn škinta hanatẖ ḏ hu rba liaminẖ škan uamar ‘zil lalma ḏ hšuka ḏ kulẖ bišuta mlia kulẖ mlia bišuta umlia nura akla alma ḏ šigša uTirqa ḏ `utrana bgauẖ lika alma ḏ hšuka ḏ `uSba ḏ nhura litbẖ uamar ‘zil kbuš hšuka uadiauria ḏ minẖ `tigbil ngud rqiha uSarar bgauẖ kukbia qra malkia ḏ nhura u`hab ziua lšamiš ḏ had minaihun hu utuqna lsira uSihma lkukbia uasqinun l`uspiria ḏ šumia tihuia arqa tibil upiria `mbia u`lania ḏ mrauzibẖ balma nihun haua bira ununia ḏ iama uSipar gadpa mn kul šurbta zikra uniqubta unihuia gabra u‘nta unihuia šumaihun adam uhaua umn mlakia ḏ ziua u‘l qudam adam ništabdun man ḏ mn miniltẖ nibar nistar bnura ḏ iaqda nitun tlata mlakia Sauta ladam nihuilẖ nitun mia hiia unirbun bmia tahmia briha ḏ mia hiia niruaz kulẖ alma nitun arba ziqia uaiar ḏ mnašim ‘l almia tihuia nura utishiT bkul pagria upiria u‘mbia u`lania utikul `kilta balma ḵḏ almia `kilta balma nišga utuqna ḏ `it bmia lnišmata nitimnia ‘špita ḏ `kilta `l pagria nitimnia kul bazrunia upiqunia urihania ubusmania u`uSania usamania uhiua bira uSipar gadpa uTabuta ukul mindam ḏ Tab ušapir nihuilẖ puhlana ladam ukula šurbtẖ alma hanatẖ ninhar biad ptahil uamar malka rama ḏ nhura bmimrẖ hua kul mindam bmimrẖ uata ptahil uarim šumia ḏ mia ungad rqiha u`tmisiat arqa tibil uqrunun lmlakia ḏ nura u`hablẖ ziua lšamiš utuqna lsira uSihma lkukbia uasqinun l‘uspiria ḏ šumia ‘tinSib ziqa nura umia u`tinSib piria `mbia u`lania usamania ubazrunia urihania uabad hiua bira uhiua bala ḏ kul guan umn aqapra usumqa ušpita udurdia ḏ anania ḏ ziqa nura umia uTuhma uzma umirta urazia ḏ alma hazin ḏ adam uhaua u`tigbil bhailẖ ḏ malka rama ḏ nhura nišimta badam uhaua niplat ḵḏ npalbun nišimta bginat `lania hun ḵḏ hun bginat ‘lania mindam lahkum ulapraš amar malka rama ḏ nhura mn malakia ḏ nura lqudam adam ništabdun nitun unisigdun lqudamẖ ulanišanun mn mimrẖ had hu biša ḏ bišuta minẖ giblat sTa mn minilat marẖ `l minilat marẖ laqam

kd laqam `l minilat marh bmarkibth b`usura d alaha `star ana qran upaqdan marai
uamar `zil qrilh qala šania ladam ulhaua zauh qala šania ladam uhaua zauh qralun
uaprišinun lkul Sbu ‘l malka rama d nhura maraihun d kulhun almia d hailh npiš
ukabir d saka ubuTlana litlh `l malkia d tušbihta d qaimia mšabia ulabaTlia ‘l
almia d nhura d buTlana litlun aprišia ladam d ninhar libh uqaimia d ninhar `uSrh
hunh uhananh huilh Sauta anat trin malkia d minak nasgun lalmia aprišlh madh
ladam ulhaua zauh ušurbath d laništiplun ulanisTunun bišia usaTania d lamitakšar
alpunun buta utušbihta d niqmun unišabun lmalka rama d nhura maraihun d kulhun
almia tlata zibnia biuma utrin zibnia blilia uamarlun lguT zaua u`tkanan minaikun
unatnapaš alma kd aluat zauaikun qarbitun sun mia udakun napšaikun latigirun
ulatiginbun ulatigTlun bnat anaša ia šalmania umhaimnia ia mhaimnia ušalmania
latipkun mn mamlalkun uaula ukadba ulatirihmun ulatirihmun dahba ukaspa uqiniana
d alma hazin aminTul d alma hazin baTil uqinianh auid ulatisigdun lsaTana
ulprikia ulpatikria d hinun abdaikun nihun uništimubh balma man d sagid lsaTana
nistar bnura d iaqda alma liuma d dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana alma
d Sabia malka d nhura daiana d daiinlin lnišmata kul ‘niš kd `ubadia `dh d abid latilpun
haršia d saTana usahduta d kadba latisihdun kd dina dainitun nitun sahdia
d kušTa unisihdun kd nisihdun anašia mhaimnia nisihdun turSuia ldina ulatipkuia
latihun nasbia šuda udina latipkuia kul man d apik dina aklalia nura d iaqda
latimisrun abdia kširia biad maraihun hab zidqa laniia udaniia kd iahbitun
latisihdun ukd iahbitun biaminaikun lsmalaikun latimrun `u iahbitun
bsmalaikun liaminaikun latimrun man d iahib zidqa umsahid umikpar minh
ulamihšiblh auqar aba u‘ma uahia qašišia akuat aba bra d mašiT aba u‘ma bit dina
mithaiab lrišaikun latikibšun lsaTana uainaikun
rimza lanirimza u‘udnaikun lanaSutia bišuta ulibaikun lanilguT qina d lagiT qina
šalmana lamitiqria latihzun ulatirigun ulatibun latigirun ulatiginbun
mindam d lau dilkun hu hin iahiblkun maraihun hin`la `lh latikidšun
aminTul d bSubianh d maraikun kul mindam d Tabuta ktab u`hablkun kd bišuta
maTialkun ašar bhaimanuta qam latipkun ulatišanun ulatišiplun burkaikun lsaTana
napla kul man d `l saTana sagid rhuq minh ulatihuilh rahma hin šama umhaiman
usahid bhad maraihun d kulhun almia malka rama d nhura d mn napšia hua ruhmuia
luataikun qarbuia umn d `tlaikun auTipiun `lh hin lašama ulasahid
ulamithaiman bhaTaiia ništaial aminTul d kul man d bianquth haTia umaskil haizak
taiib ‘l napšia tum lahaTia ulaskil tiabuta d marh hauia `lh hu malka rama
d nhura taiaba umrahmana hu šabiq haTaiia uhaubia hu kul man d iahib zidqa
uTabuta napša haizak kapar mn zidqh napil biaqdania d nura alma d haTaiih šalmia
hazitun man d kpin sabuia uman d Shia ašqiuia hazitun arTilaia smulh bSaurh `uSTla
uksuia hazitun br šibia d mhaiman umzadaq hab pruqa uparquia lau bdahba ulau bkaspa
šibia tiparqun utišauzbun hin‘la bmimria dakiia uhaimanuta šibia tiparqun
mn hšuka lnhura umn biša lTaba umn kapruta luat mhaimnia umn T‘ia lšrara umn
siTia umriduta ltušbihta d maraikun d saka uminiana ubuTlana litlh man
d nipariq nišmata umn d madrik dirkia d kušTa uhaimanuta unisaq bšbilia d mhaimnia
kul man d brahmuta d marh pagrh lagaTlh našlim adinqia haTaiia uhaubia nisaq
nihizia latra rba d nhura kul man d dahba ukaspa uqiniana d alma hazin nirhum
unigTil unapil bnura d iaqda `l miqmaikun u`l mitbaikun u`l miklaikun u`l
mišitiaikun u‘l mišikbaikun u‘l kulhin ‘bidata d abditun šumh d maraikun
malka rama d nhura maraihun d kulhun almia parun iardna u‘STba Sbun nišmatun
ušaba lpihta uakul ušaba ‘l mambuha uštun ubruk lmiša uidun ukd mištria nišma
mn pagra unapiq `lh latibkun u`blia umalia `lh latiligTun ulhama d gibia `lh
latiklun kul man d ‘l nišma bakia iamamia uzabia pasqilh d lbuša ‘lh niSria hauilh
muma b`uSTlh d manzia `lh nišmaT niqmunia bTura d hšuka kd napiq nišma mn
binataikun ašmunun lanašia drašia usidria aprušunun d lamitakšal libaihun hab
`lh zidqa urmun `lh lhama uqrun masqata ubun `lh buta utušbihta udrašia usidria

`lh̲ albšuia albušia ukasiuia ksuiia upariq pruqa ubun rahmia d̲ hu rba brahmia mitimlia `lh̲ ia šalmania umhaimnia ahab agra uzidqa uk̲d̲ baiia minaikun agra luataikun lanibut ia šalmania bminilat maraikun mn šutapa latigizlun kul man d̲ gazil mn habrh̲ migzil mn Taubauata d̲ almia d̲ nhura uk̲d̲ amritun mamla latipkun pšuT iamina bkušTa mn hdadia umn iaminaikun latipkun aminTul mn ziua napša umn nhura rba kabira paqadta uzaharta ukušTa mn rbia ata atitilun laupa lškinata umalkia d̲ nhura kulhun hinun kušTa lhdadia iahbia uiaminun našqia k̲d̲ Taba amritun uiamina mn hdadia pašTitun minh̲ latipkun hun mikia hun mkikia luat malpania latisbun rbuta ‘lauaihun ‘l šaliTia d̲ maraikun paqid `lauaikun hin nasbitun rbuta mn minilat maraikun kapritun ubašlitun bnura d̲ iaqda latizlun luat kaSumia ukaldaiia d̲ kadba aminTul d̲ kaSumia ukaldaiia bhšuka mištiknia latimun `umamata d̲ kadba aminTul d̲ kul d̲ iamia bkadba bhšuka mištiknia latiklun hiuaniata ladmaita uladqaima uladnapla uladbaTna ula d̲ napil haua bala `lh̲ latiklun akul mn bisra d̲ hiuaniata d̲ mn piria d̲ mia `tiqrun mna nhura `l nhura umna hšuka ‘l hšuka nitimnia udla adia parzla ‘la latiklun hbulia uhbul hbulia d̲ dahba ukaspa ulatiplun biama d̲ akla latiznun ulatizimrun ulatiriqdun ulanišbia libaikun ‘l zmarun d̲ saTana zmar d̲ kulh̲ haršia uzipa mlia apik lilbia d̲ mhaimnia rhum uazbar hdadia u`zdaraz bhukumta d̲ šrara d̲ maraikun uašar qumbh̲ balma usbalubh̲ alma d̲ kilaikun šalim hun adiaura usimaka lšalmania d̲ ridpa maTilhun lanihuia binataikun sina qina uplugia k̲d̲ bzidanuta umrara rahta libaikun anhuia umakik libaikun bminilat šrara d̲ maraikun aminTul d̲ ruianh̲ d̲ mizdainia mn zihirh̲ d̲ saTana d̲ hukumat šrara uhaimanuta mitmakak d̲ bhaimanuta lamitmakak bhirba usipa migTil nigTil bhirba usipa napil bguhnam d̲ mhabra man d̲ Tabuta abidbkun qabil mn Tabuth̲ latišiTunh̲ auqruia uhananuia ulatikiprun umn Tabuth̲ latikiprun tum lašauitun lTabuta uTabuta minaikun baSra uhazitun Taba qrub luath̲ uqabil minh̲ hukumta u‘bid uhazitun biša d̲ hakim minh̲ rhuq ulatihkum mn hukumth̲ latibdun mn `ubadh̲ ulatasgun bdirkh̲ `l kulhin `bidata miSra uk`la lguT lbar mn buta utušbihta usigudta d̲ maraikun agra uzidqa uTabuta urahmia d̲ kušTa d̲ mlia hailaikun d̲ ‘bad halin Tabauata miSra ukila litlaihun ia šalmania umhaimnia kul d̲ ‘tlaikun šapir malia ‘bid usmuk hdadia bhirai šuma u‘thaiman uqabil minilat maraihun haiman blibaikun uhzun bainaikun ušuman b‘udnaikun uamar bpumaikun u`bid b`daikun zidqa uTabuta u`bid Subian maraikun latibdun Subian maraikun pagria ulabSubianh̲ d̲ saTana napla latirihSun ‘l špur pagria d̲ mn šilia mithamblia latirihSun ‘l saTana napla ulamitakšar ulamSia lparuqia napšia mn iaqdana d̲ akil umhambilun ldaiuia ulšurbatun d̲ saTania kulhun `siria `l `bidata d̲ alma hazin ‘šbiqu d̲ lqudam bnia d̲ adam ništabdun uniridun mardita balma kul man d̲ kapar mn minilat marh̲ ‘uhra lbišia iahiblun ‘dh̲ d̲ saTana tištalam ‘lh̲ d̲ bSubianh̲ d̲ saTana labid `l bab nura lanihlup `bid Subian maraikun d̲ tisqun bzakuta lalmia d̲ nhura latiTilmun mikia d̲ lamSia lmikadušia minaikun latipkun miSria bTulma ulatišanun kudkia man d̲ apik miSria dina gzira hauia `lh̲ akis rahmaikun bturSa urahmaikun dbar latišiprun banpia ušuta d̲ karba unikla latirihmun latimrun kul d̲ šapir banpia ‘l anpia gairilh̲ bnura d̲ iaqda lguT hatma rba `l kulh̲ pagraihun latišrunh̲ mn pagraikun alma liuma d̲ napqitun mn pagraikun hahu iuma d̲ purqana Sum Sauma rba Saum rišaikun bhaimanuta usgud ušaba lmaraikun maraihun d̲ kulhun almia latisigdun lsaTana ulprikia d̲ `it balma d̲ nihun uništabdun lqudamaikun k̲d̲ haimanuta `tbaikun hinun abdaikun nihun `u minilat maraikun baSritun raiuia mn ainaikun nitiksun Sum ainaikun mn mirmaz rimzia bbišuta ‘l hdadia latihzun bišuta utibdun Sum pumaikun mn mimar kadba ubišuta uzipa ukadba ulatimrun Sum ‘udnaikun mn maSutia ubišuta utibdun Sum udakun libaikun bhaimanuta hušbia latihišbun bišuta mn habraikun bnikla latisgun man d̲ hauibh̲ nikla ruianh̲ bkušTa lamidakia buta utušbihta usgudth̲ uagrh̲ uzidqh̲ lamihšiblh̲ napil bnura d̲ iaqda Sum pagraikun mn zaua d̲ lau dlkun Sum `daikun mn migTal giTla d̲ bnia d̲ adam ia šalmania umhaimnia ia mhaimnia ušalmania ‘daikun

haršia lanibdun Sum burkaikun mn arbukia lsaTana napla ulSilma d̲ zipa uldmauata
ul`ubadia baTlia u`l kul d̲ mitlid maiit ukul d̲ mitbid b`dia mithambal ruhSana
`l malka rama d̲ nhura maraihun d̲ kulhun almia d̲ hukumat šrara ukušTa
uhaimanuta umalala kabira upuqdania šania d̲ paqid maraikun d̲ bun atalkun zakuta
d̲ bun mitparqia nišmatkun hazin hu Sauma d̲ `hablkun d̲ latišdunh̲ alma d̲ maiit
pagraikun ‘tirhiS ‘l ‘ubadia šapiria d̲ anatun abditun k̲d̲ napqitqn mn pagraikun
mistimikitun `lh̲ `l `ubadia šapiria d̲ anatun abditun balma bhirai
lanihuilkun ruhSana lmalkia haria ušaliTania umahiqania d̲ hauin balma lau `l
haila uzaina uqraba utaktuša ukinpa ugunda d̲ kanpia ušibia d̲ šabin balma ‘l dahba
u`l kaspa uargba uminuna d̲ alma hazin haizak malkutun baTla ušauTun ušulTanun
lahauilun bahid ‘da abdia ušabqia uazlia bnura bašlia alma liuma ium dina
ualma lšita šaiia d̲ purqana bhirai lanihuilkun busiana `l d̲ hauin balma d̲ huabkun
kinuta unihuta umkikuta ubusma d̲ mn kiana d̲ nhura hun tihuibkun tiabuta
urahmuta d̲ kušTa d̲ mn kiana d̲ nhura hun man d̲ baiia buta minaikun hin `tlaikun minh̲
latiligTun aminTul d̲ sniq ušauia buta minaikun had mn habrh̲ umSia haila u`tlh̲
ulaiahbilh̲ Tabuta minh̲ baSra hab makna udaura lhama umia lman d̲ bkaliuta masgia
zauduia zuadia l`uhra man d̲ `tlh̲ iadita ulahakim mn hazin hukumta qarbuia
luataikun ualpuia d̲ masTiania `lh̲ laniplun ia gubria d̲ lagTia ‘nšia ia ‘nšia
d̲ lagTia gubria hauia rhum ubahar ulguT uhaizak d̲ kdiblkun umitrahmia blibaikun
lguT hin`la labahritun ulagTitun mahra barsa sbul hin abdia `ubadia sainia
lamitrahma napša rhuq mina latihuila rahma u‘tbarun mina aminTul d̲ damia lkiba
d̲ asta litlh̲ lagTitun amta d̲ lapriqa mn mara latišdun bnaikun bit maria hin
lagTitun priqa pruq uTabutkun mitqarba latiligTun amta d̲ lapriqa ubnaikun
latišidun bit maria d̲ ktiblh̲ bnia ubnata ušadilun bit maria iuma d̲ haTia abda umarh̲
ragiz `lh̲ haTaiia d̲ haTia abda briša d̲ abuia salqa lguT arhamta d̲ kušTa mn zaua
d̲ kušTa d̲ bSubianh̲ d̲ maraikun udilkun hauia latibsun bhdadia d̲ kilaikun šalim man
d̲ nakil nikla bzauh̲ nikla husrana litbh̲ urahim uraiig ragagta d̲ alma hazin hauibh̲
nikla husrana bit dina nithaiab ubhšuka mištkin k̲d̲ hauilkun bnia mn
maraihun parišlun alpunun buta utušbihta d̲ rurbana litbh̲ hin mahuitulun dirkia
d̲ kušTa uhaimanta lalagTia parqitun mn haTaiun zibna Salia ‘niš biša mn
binataikun umn minilat marh̲ hdar qaimuia usumkuia trin zibnia Salia gupna hdar
aqmuia usumkuia tlata zibnia Salia gupna hdar aqmuia usumkuia `u samkitulh̲
ulamistmik ‘uqruia lgupna biša uamTuia baba d̲ maškna ašmuia drašia usidria
uhauiuia ktabia umimria d̲ bgauaihun nahur libh̲ uruianh̲ hin šuma usahid umitiatar
ruhmuia uatiuia ldukth̲ latagzrun `lh̲ hin lašama ulamitiatar ‘uqruia lgupna
biša uaituia Taba bdukth̲ štul hin lašama ulasahid ulamitiatar biad
šaliTania migTil migTil biad šaliTia unapil bnura d̲ iaqda d̲ hauiuia bainh̲ ulahza
uqrulh̲ b`udnh̲ ulašama nihuia mna akla hazitun ania umradpa ušalmana d̲ muma
d̲ pagria maTilun blibaikun latgihkun `lauaihun aminTul d̲ mn gbilia bisra uzma
ubkibia umumia minaihun gablia mitaslia pagria bkibia umumia nišimta bkibia
umumia lamitaslia hin`la mitaslia nišimta b‘ubadia sainia d̲ abda k̲d̲ dar b`sura
d̲ hikumta lalagTia akuat abda d̲ Subiania d̲ pagria mn pagraihun lhšuka šaplia d̲ abdia
Subiania d̲ saTana mn saTana lnura azlia man d̲ abid Subianh̲ d̲ malka rama d̲ nhura
bhazin alma lamištpil k̲d̲ šalim k‘lh̲ malkia d̲ nhura napqia alanpia mn malkia
d̲ nhura saliq uparSuph̲ nahur utaqun ‘niš ‘niš mn ziuh̲ iahiblh̲ umn nhurh̲ mkasilh̲
umn klilh̲ d̲ zakauata triSlh̲ brišia umidamia badmu malkia d̲ ziua malpilh̲ mn tušbihth̲
sagdia ulabaTlia uqaiim banana rabtia d̲ nhura d̲ `lh̲ brahmia mitamlia
uiahiblia mn Tabuth̲ napša d̲ sagia batar nhur umitqaiam bqaiamta d̲ šrara d̲ lau
mn lbuš pagria hua dmuth̲ d̲ ziua dakia d̲ buTlana litlh̲ kul man d̲ kšiT umhaiman
bhaimanuta qadmaita mitqaiam lalam almia bhirai latišabun lmalkia halin d̲ mriduta
radin b`umama ulilia biuma d̲ ziua utuqna ‘hablun lanhuria almia latišabunia
lšamiš zidana d̲ hu qaduš šumh̲ d̲ hu adunai šumh̲ ‘il ‘il šumh̲ tum `tlh̲ šumhata
d̲ lamitgalalin balma k̲d̲ mitbinia ‘urašlam mdinta d̲ iahuTaiia d̲ brahim nbiha

mitiqria b‘urašlam ḏ hu adunai qaria lmiša qaria mn Turai sinai uba miša
u`hablẖ alma alnapšia qaria umšauia lnapšia bit masgda hua ama ḏ iahuTaiia
uqurbana ḏ tiqra ḏ hiuaniata mqarilẖ udma ḏ hiuaniata bit mqadšia zahlia
lqudamaihun Sbu ḏ lahaiib abdia ama ḏ bit sraiil mitqrin unapšaihun bhirba
gazria umn zmaihun banpaihun Tarin pumaiun šaipia gubria šabqin ‘nšia uluat
hdadia azlia umn minilat maraihun kapria mn haimanuta hazin apkia umitiqrin
iahuTaiia ḏ hTun maprišnalkun tarmidai bhiria ušalmania umhaimnia
ḏ hauia bdara hanatẖ latibdun mn ‘bidatun umn ‘kiltun latiklun ulatištun
mn mašqitun latirbun minaihun uzaua minaiun latiligTun mn abdia zanaiia
ḏ lasagdia lmaraihun uapkia mn minilat maraihun ukapria bmiša nbiha ḏ ruha ḏ aitilun
nimusa uba mkadbia lmikadbia b`bidata ḏ brahim nbiha ḏ ruha bTura ḏ sinai ḵḏ adunai
marẖ rahmilẖ unapšia gazar upariš mn abuia umšauia lnapšia bit masgda latirbun
mn iahuTaiia hanik ḏ bhda mamla laqaimia umn ama ḏ iahuTaiia amamia ulišania
minẖ napqia ana qran upaqdan malka maprišnalkun ‘l amamia ḏ kadba u`l nbihia
ḏ kadba u‘l šlihia ḏ husrana ḏ halin bmarba ḏ ‘nšia u‘nšia baTnibun uiadlilun
umn karsauatun ḏ ‘nšia napqia ubpagria midamia badmu pagria ušuta qadmaita
apkilẖ uzipa ukadba utihma ramin balma unbihia qarin lnapšaihun uamria anin šliha
anin uana šliha qadmaia amarna umaprišna lkulhun bnia ḏ adam hun udhauin
umitiadlia bdara hanatẖ latištuna lšutẖ ḏ malkia ḏ husrana ḏ saTin umasTin mn
bit anašia ubdahba ukaspa uargba uminuna uqiniana ḏ alma ḏ zipa udmita u`ubadia
baTlia uzmarẖ uragagta ḏ alma hazin tum bhirba usipa umhita utaktuša uqraba uhauqa
uziuihta šabqia ‘l bnia anaša umahiqilun umdahlilun uamria ḏ nidahlun minan
unisgidulan unauduban tum bhukumta umkikuta ušabašuta uhaliuta unikla uzipa azlin
`l bnia ḏ adam šabilẖ ‘l libaihun ušuma ḏ alaha ramilun `l pumaihun uzipa ukadba
masgin bkadba Saimia umSalin uzidqa iahbia uktabia kadbia ubmzahruta mzahrilun
mn hukumta ḏ `hablia rba u`laia uaitititlkun uap hinun mdamin uamria uarbibun
malalia ḏ bun mistakria nišmatun uapkilẖ llibaihun usiTia ramibẖ balma
amarnalkun tarmidai latišmuna lšutaihun ḏ nbihia ḏ kadba umn `uhra ḏ maraikun
latiSlun aminTul ḏ mlakia ḏ husrana midamin bdmuta dilan šlihia tlata ḏ asgun ltibil
aprišinkun ap hinun balma masgin ldilan ladamin ziuaihun lau ziua hu ulbušaihun
lbuša ḏ nura damia ulbušaiun uksuiaiun habara haška ap nbihia hinun ubadmu lbušan
dilan midamin amarnalkun šalmania umhaimnia latišiplun mn minilat maraikun
anatun lbuš hiuaria u‘tkasun hiuaria badmu raza ḏ mia hiia uhallia u`upania utruS
brišaikun burzinqa hiuaria badmu klilia ḏ ziua ḏ malkia ḏ ziua brišaihun tarSilun
asar bhalSaikun himiania badmu qumbia ḏ ziua ḏ `utria ḏ nhura bhalSaiun asria
kasun pagraikun b`upania ḏ mia ḏ ‘qara ‘lauaikun šria lguT b‘daihun margnia
akuat margnia ḏ mia hiia ḏ malkia ḏ nhura ia mhaimnia ušalmania latimrun mindam
ḏ laiadatulẖ ulaglilkun ulaiit ḏ glalẖ kasiata albar mn rba u`laia mara ḏ rabuta
maraihun ḏ kulhun almia ia mhaimnia zariz napšaikun bzaina ḏ lahua mn parzla hua
zainaikun naSiruta uhaimanut kušTa akuat ḏ hazitun bainaikun uqraitun
bpumaikun ušumaitun b‘udnaikun mn haimanuta ‘bid aminTul ḏ hazin bainaiun uqarin
bpumaihun ušamin b‘udnaiun umindam ḏ šapir b‘daihun abdia uaqrẖ lgupna biša
ḏ mia šatin upiria ‘mbia u‘lania Sauin bkadba bdina ḏ mita mitapka minaihun
la‘da ulapraš akuat ‘bidatun mištailẖ umsahdaiun msahdia azlia liaminun
ulsmalun lkulhun bnẖ ḏ adam ana maprišnalkun akuat ḏ rba pardan amarnalkun
`l nhura ḏ npiš usaka litlẖ amarnalkun ‘l hšuka u‘l nura ḏ iaqda ḏ niaha uTabuta
litbẖ amarnalkun lsaTana ḏ haila ušrara litbẖ ubaTil bnura iaqda ubkiniana
ḏ minẖ hua tum `marlkun naSuraiia ḏ `ka udhauin umitiadlin hazin dara
qadmaia alma bhirba umutana salqa aminTul ḏ ‘titlun lšalmania umhaimnia bhanatẖ
mapiqta mn pagraihun napqia u‘titlak lak adam šnia alpa midabrẖ balma mn qudam
hidba tisaq uhaizak tipuq haua zauak uhaizak šurbatak kulhin lbar mn ram gabra
urud ‘nta minaihun mitnapaš alma ualma minaihun nitiaiar ukulhun bhda mamla
ubhda tušbihta niqrun ḏ ana aitit lalma hazin ḏ hinun bgauẖ nišabun uhaizak alma

biaqdana nitinsib aminTul d `titlun lbnia šurba rba d hiia bhanath mapiqta mn pagraiin napqia albar mn trin šurbai gabra ušarhab‘il ‘nta d minaihun nitnapaš alma ušurbai gabra riša d dara nitiqria unišmata d napqa biaqdana kulhun lnhura salqa aminTul d lamkadbia bišuta d maraihun šadarlun mn dara d ram urud alma d dara d šurbai ušarhab‘il anašia nitnapšun ubmalalia halin nibidbun umn minilat `qara lanipkun kd napqia srin uhamša daria alma bmia mitinsib ubnia anašia bmapiqta d mia mn pagraihun nipqun aminTul d kdiblh ldara hanath d pagria ramia nimitun unišmata lnhura nisqa lbar mn nu gabra unuraita zauh d šum uiamin uiapit bnh d šum d mn mutana d mia nitparqun uminaihun nitiaiar alma umn šurbai ušarhab‘il ualma ldara d nu hamisar daria hauin uhaizak bqala utušbihta ana utrin `utria ahai `qria bgauh d alma umn nu d kauila ualma d hauia brahim nbiha uruha ualma d hauia miša ualma d mitbinia ‘urašlam šita daria hauin uhaizak mitlid šlimun malka br dauid hauia malka d iahud ubania ‘urašlam mata ušidia udaiuia lqudamh ništabdun alma d hu bnapšia ništaba uTabuta d marh lamqabil uhaizak kulhun sahria udaiuia minh nipqun umalkuth tibTul man d bnapšia ništaba hu bnapšia bhit mn miša br amra ualma ldnab almia hauia mhaimnia d kušTa d bhazin haimanuta mithaimnia tum hauin nbihia d kadba umidamin hauin bmdin mdin ubatar atar umitbadria amimia umitpalgia lišania batar atar umitbadria iahuTaiia bmdin mdin almia ugabaria batar atar mištalTia uatra ‘l atra napla uašdia dma balma kul `utrana baiia u`l d lau dilh mitkadaš mašiTilun šuba mlakia masTiania aqrilun ldilun sagdia masTiania qadmaiia hua šamiš šumh tiniana ruha d qudša d libat ‘stra amamit šuma tlitaia mšiha dagala d mdagil bšuta qadmaita arb‘iaita sin d hu sira šumh Saur‘il šumh hamšiaia kiuan šitaia bil šubaia nirig daiua d bit šamiš kadba urabuta karsa šadin ‘l bnat anaša umasiTilun umšadar lalma uruha umšiha ulšamiš ulsira sagdin ulnura mauqrin daiuia d ruha d h‘ ‘stra šuma aluath d bnat anaša d masgin uramin siTia balma uramin gaura uzaniuta uzmara urquda ušiha ramin blibaihun d bnat anaša uliliata uharašata udaiuia harašia šarin batar atar hinun malpilun lbnat anaša pašTibun umapqilun mn bataiun umn anašia bTuria uaramata maTilun uldaštata mapqilun lhudaiun umautibilun bTnapta uzma udaštana rahmia ulaupa uzipa rahmia ubnura mitahzilun hu mšiha qaria dahalia daiuia d bit kiuan numbia ubkita ramia blibaihun d bnat anaša uasqilun mn Tabuth uburia ubTuria ramilun daiuia d bit nirig ‘l bnat anaša naplia mšalpilun maprišnalkun tarmidai ‘l mšiha kadaba kd atia bzibna qadmaia gabaruata bnuda mahuilun ubnura lbiš unura mkasai amun‘il šumh ‘šu mahiana qra lnapšia u‘l nura hauia škinth ubmarkabta d nura iatib uatia uqaiim qudamaikun ulagiTlkun uamarlkun atun luatai ubnura qum ulatibišlun uhaimanubia hin aliS `lauaikun uazlitun luath ulataudubh ulatipkun mn haimanutkun uadkar šumh d malka rama d nhura d ‘l kulhun almia šumh nihuia luataikun tum amarnalkun tarmidai d bdmuta hurintin midamia uqaiim qudamaikun kd zauh d nura lbiš unura mkasai uainia lagiT uamarnalkun ana hu d mn alaha hua uamar hu d kadba d ana hu brh d alaha d ab lhaka šadran uamarilkun ana hu šliha qadmaia ana hu hibil ziua d mn mruma `laia `tit lataudubh aminTul d lau ana hu ulbuša ubarda hanath lamitiglina lbnat anaša hin‘la anuš ‘utra atia mn qudam Tupania mia luath d nu ušurbath kd alma bTupania mia mitinsib uhaizak nihuta hauia umn nu zauh ušurbath bnat ‘naša mitnapša kd mitpalgia bnia sraiil ‘urašlam mdinta mitbinia uatia anuš ‘utra umasgia b‘urašlam mn qudam d nasgun daiuia balma tdin alpia šnia anuš ‘utra balma masgia kd lbiš lbušia d anania mia umkasilh lziua hazin ulbušia lahua d pagria uhauma urugza lahuabh bhailh d malka rama d nhura uatia lalma hazin bšnia pilTus d hauia malka balma uanuš ‘utra lalma atia bhailh d malka rama d nhura uasia qirsania umpata `uiria udakia girbania uaqim mtabria lmasguiia umamlil haršia udugia bhailh d malka rama d nhura mhaia mitia umhaiman mn iahuTaiia umhauilun d `it hiia u`it muta u`it nhura u`it hšuka u‘it nura d iaqda u‘it šrara u‘it T‘ia umapiq minaihun d ših umhaiman bhda

maraihun d kulhun almia haizak kd mahuilun šrara lrahmia šumh umahriblh l`urašlam
mdinta umasqinin lalmia d nhura ulškinata d ziua ulamitgalilinin balma alma
d maTia zibna ušalim k‘la d alma tum lbnat alma aitinin lnišmata d šalmania u‘l
nišmata d haiabia d hTin uaskil balma ubhšuka daiaria ‘niš ‘niš kd `ubadia `dh mn
nura uhšuka ništauzab lbar mn d hTa hTita rabtia uhambil uparSupa d bnh d adam
šalmania umhaimnia uman d apik mn minilat marh uamarlh ulašama ulahaiman
uman d bSubianh d napšia sgid lsaTana ulataiib ulamagzar lnapšia umn d apik mn
iardna urušuma umaSbuta uiardna d mia hiia d ‘l šum hiia qadmaiia ‘uSTba uhaizak
mn hiia kpar mipsiq mn rišia mn almia d nhura tum atinin `l ziua d šamiš u‘l tuqna
d sira u`l Sihma d kukbia u`l haila d ziqa u`l Sauta d `hablh lnura u`l ziqa
d `thiblh lmia hiia balma hazin alma lhanath zibna lamitgalinin balma tum
amarnalkun mhaimnai kd nbu mn bnia d husrana atia ruha d qudša ‘mh qarialh u`l klil
šumia uarqa bTabdin Tura miša mašialh unura malbišilh tum bdmuta hurintin atia
mšiha masTiana uqaiim qudamaihun uamarnalkun `l mia abadna atun abihdai ulaTabitun
ulatibdun ulatihaimanubh hin aliS `lauaikun ugaTil minaikun latihiqun hin
gaTil pagraikun d gaTil nišmatkun barqa d nhura hauia latihzun ulatihaiqun
ulatidihlun mn mšiha rumaia baz umn d mšania mn ‘brh d iama ušadilh birh iama
ubihda `l dukth uTuna Taiin tum abid sumbilta mn arqa ualma šumia usaliq unahit
upahra binia šumia larqa uamarnalkun hazin d mn mruma atina ana hu
maraihun latihaimanubh aminTul d sumbilta d mšiha bkadba uharšia d bhrara `bida
tum batra d qaiimbh mšiha ainia lagiT ukasilh lziua d šamiš uamarlh lšamiš ksia
lziuak ušamiš lziuh lakasilh hu bharšia mšauia habara bdukta d qaiimbh
uamarlkun hazin d amarilh lšamiš uamarlkun ukisia lziuh aminTul ana hu alaha
paruqa ana ldilkun bnat anaša amarilkun latihaimanubh anatun šaba lmalka rama
d nhura maraihun d kulhun almia latišaba lmšiha baTla masTilun lalmia udaria
ulamamia ulaiada lkiniana d minh hua bhalin dmauata atia ušibia balma masTin d mn
bnia anaša umalpilun mn hukumta udahalh uzadiqia qarin alnapšaihun ukarasTiana
qarilun umšauilun dahalia udahalata udahalia uqadišia uzadiqia uzadiqata
qarilun unapqia mn baitaiun uhauin `blia u`bilata upasdilh lziraihun mn
bataiun hauin `blia u`bilata upasqilh lziraihun mn hdadia u‘nšia mn gubria
ugubria mn ‘nšia upasqilh lziraihun ulšurbatun mn alma uramilun ‘l
pumaihun parSupaihun Sauma b‘sura asrilun upasqia ‘kilta umašqita mn pumaihun
upasqia lbušia d hiuaria mn gišmaiun ulhudaiun mautibilun liliata azlan luataiun
šakbia uzira minaihun mqablia ubaTna hauia ušidia hingia d ‘l bnat anaša
usama uasuta miniana lamqablia hin`la mn ziraihun uzupraihun umTanputun d hinun
‘blia ramilun ušaipilun u‘it minaihun d šabqia u‘it
minaihun d lašabqia tum amarnalkun tarmidai iahria ‘tša aiil umitiksia nbu
mšiha bkarsa d `mh ptula uhaizak napiq bpagra dma udaštana u‘l kanpia mitrabia
bit ama d iahuTaiia aiil ugamarlh lkula hukumta uapikla l`uraita umšanilh
lšutaihun u‘bidata kulhin mn bnia d iahuTaiia mšabiš umšauia dahalata umahuilun
dmauata d haršia d hinun bgauaihun mhaimnia malbišilun kitun Siba ugazita
brišaihun ugaizilun umsakrilun dmu hšuka u‘daihun bhabšaba naTria
uamarnalun ana hu alaha d ab lhaka šadran ana hu šliha qadmaia uana batraia ana
hu aba ana hu bra ana hu ruha d qudša d nipqit mn niSubta mdinta u`la
hauia markibth unapušia lagiT bmkikuta uasgia l‘urašlam utum lgaT minaihun
d iahuTaiia bharšia uzipa ugabaruata udmauata mahuilun umn daiuia d hauin minh
bmita maiilun ubmita mamlilbh uqarilun iahuTaiia uamarlun d anatun hzun d ana
mhaia mitia umqaiam qaiamta umpariq paruqia ana hu anuš naSuraiia haizak qalh
ramia b‘urašlam usahduta ‘lh amria ubnia anaša bšibia d haršia šabilun ubdma
udaštana mTanpilun ubmia psiqia mamidilhun uapkila lmaSbuta haita umamidilhun
bšum aba ubra uruha d qudša apkilun mn maSbuta haita d iardna d mia hiia `STbatbh
anat adam tum bdara hanath mitlid ialda umitiqria šumh iuhana brh d aba
saba zakria d hauilh bsibuta lriš ama šnia baTnabh ‘nišbai ‘nta bsibuta ‘dilma kd

hauia umitrabia iuhana bdara hanath̲ b‘urašlam haimanuta blibh̲ šaria uiardna
lagiT umaSbuta maSba arbin utartin šnia mn qudam d̲ nbu pagra labiš umasgia
balma uk̲d̲ hauia iuhana bdara hanath̲ d̲ ‘urašlam uiardna lagiT umaSbuta maSba atia ‘šu
mšiha bmkikuta umasgia bmaSbuth̲ d̲ iuhana miSba umn hukumth̲ d̲ iuhana hakum tum
apiklh̲ lmimrh̲ d̲ iuhana umšanilh̲ lmaSbuta d̲ iardna uapiklun lmalalun d̲ kušTa
uaula ušiqra qariba balma iuma d̲ k`lh̲ d̲ iuhana šlim ana bnapšai ‘tia ‘lh̲ u`tahzilh̲
liuhana bTalia zuTa br šnia tlat uiuma hda u‘šaila ‘l maSbuta u‘iaprišinun lrahmh̲
uhaizak mn pagrh̲ `iapqh̲ u`iapqa bzakuta lalma d̲ kulh̲ ziua u`Sibh̲ biardna hiuaria
d̲ mia hiia urauzia ‘ialbšia lbušia d̲ ziua uTarTbunia d̲ nhura `kisia u`triSlh̲
tušbihta blibh̲ dakia umn tušbihth̲ d̲ malka d̲ nhura d̲ mšababh̲ lmaraihun lalam
ulabaTla umn abatar iuhana alma bkadba niqum urumaia mšiha amamia mpalig utrisar
masTiania maSTin balma šnia tlatin mitahzia rumaiia balma hanath̲ dara nibihrun
bhiria zidqa umhaimnia bkul kšiT umhaiman ušuta d̲ mšiha hukumta d̲ amamia trisar
laniSat umn hazin šuta qadmaita lanipuq uašar uqum bhaimanuta d̲ ligal napqitun mn
alma latiSitun šuta d̲ kadba d̲ hu bkadba mitilgiT uk̲d̲ Sabia rba anuš ‘utra masgia
lka nigalil `l kadbh̲ d̲ ‘šu d̲ kadaba d̲ napšia akuat malakia d̲ nhura midamia nihaiba
lmšiha rumaia kadaba br ‘nta d̲ lau mn nhura huat d̲ had hu mn šuba maSTiania d̲ masgiba
balma d̲ hu b`uspira radia nikadbh̲ lmšiha rumaia ubiad iahuTaiia nistar nisiruna
dahala u`l Saliba niSlib unigTil pagrh̲ unipalgunh̲ dahala bmna mna hu nistar
bTura d̲ marh̲ k̲d̲ šamiš dahna mn iaqdanh̲ šabiq ‘lh̲ d̲ T`ia uridpa ramia balma ap
kulhun masgiania d̲ hinun šuba šibiahia mitqrin balma ubnat anaša maudibun kulhun
liaqdana azlin d̲ qarilun ulašamin umhauilun ulahazin umpaqdilun ulabdin umn
nhura apkin umšauia rahmia urahmilh̲ lhizba ušuma uqiniana d̲ alma hazin bhirai
‘lkun amarna lšalmania d̲ hauin umitiadlia balma hanath̲ d̲ atia rumaia mn
hukumat šrara amarnalkun d̲ latipkun ulatišanun mn malalia taqna ulatisihdun
ulatišrun ‘l hilmia hdiria d̲ masTiania mhauilkun ulatisihdun bdahba ukaspa
d̲ rauiba bnia anaša unaplia bnura d̲ iaqda latišabun bzmaria d̲ nbu mšiha zamarbh̲
balma k̲d̲ midamia bdmuta hurintin aurus šihana qarilh̲ d̲ zamar zmara d̲ haršia
ušiha uraqid uTarip ‘dh̲ unasiblh̲ llibaihun d̲ bnat anaša umarilh̲ auruz šihana
ramibh̲ balma uruha ‘mia šahbabh̲ bihzuta d̲ ragagta ubharšia masTilun lbnat anaša
lqalh̲ napqan hidutata mn bit gnana uhaita mn bit maudala udamia šiha balma ‘l
gubria uligia ušiha ‘l ‘nšia ušiha ‘l ‘nšia gubria azlin abatar ‘nšia u‘nšia
azlan abatar gubria umapiq sabia usabata mn bataiun ulgubria bataiia mn luat
zauaiun umapiq ‘l mania mn bit anašatun ušum anašatun ladakria uramin pirSa ugaura
uzaniuta uhauma ušiha ‘l gubria u‘l ‘nšia u‘l ptulia u‘l ptulata uhaizak
zanaiia zamria u‘nšia raqdia alanpia gubria ugubria raqdin aluat ‘nšia uramin
šiha uzipa balma daiuia d̲ nirig šarin gumra bbnia anaša bgunbaiun mištilpia
bnia aniša umargizania upatikria naplia ‘l bnia anašia umištilpia šalipia
hauin zabia uadidia Sarin gišmaiun uhinun daiuia humria d̲ nirig usaTania šadin
`lauaihun aklia mn bisraihun ušatin mn zmaihun uhauin hizua balma umkaldan kaSumia
d̲ bdilun uginza ušuta ušarin ‘l ‘kuraihun atar atar u‘l tililia uTalulia u‘l Turia
u‘l aramata u‘l duk duk mapqilun ‘l bnia anaša mn ‘uhra d̲ haimanuta umasTilh̲
lalma umasTilun llibaihun d̲ bnia anaša umaruilun bruita d̲ rhamta urbuta d̲ dahba
ukaspa ubSilamata d̲ bnia Tina ul`ubadia baTlia d̲ `daihun d̲ sagdia umidiania
lqalaihun ubusmania mbasmilun `it minaihun d̲ sagdia `l malkia d̲ nura ulkukbia
d̲ ramin b`uspira d̲ šumia ziua utuqna lgiTia `lauaihun lanhuria almia d̲ hšuka
ulaiadia tahmia bhitia d̲ hazin ziua mn mruma `laia `thiblun lradaiia d̲ radin
b‘umama ulilia ap anat adam uzauak ubnak ušurbatak kul man d̲ kšiT umhaiman
unihdia unibsum `tbarun mn `ubadia sainia d̲ saTania umn daiuia ušidia uruhia
uhumria uliliata upatikria d̲ šbiqlh̲ balma lnasuiia haila d̲ bnia anaša u‘it
minaihun d̲ haTin kul man d̲ bSubianun abid Subianh̲ d̲ saTana uSubian pagraihun
abdia iahbia napšaihun lnura d̲ iaqda haslaihun lbhiria zidqa ušalmania
umhaimnia `daihun lsaTana laiahbia Sbianh̲ d̲ saTana labdia u`dh̲ d̲ saTana latištalaT

`lauaihun aminTul d̲ mzarzia bhaimanuta umn saTana mitkadšia uabdia
`ubadia d̲ zidqa d̲ maraihun aprišilun tum ana maprišnalkun šalmania
umhaimnia abatar nbihia kulhun mn arqa niqum nitia nbiha arbiaia umamlik `l
amamia kulhun tum npušbh̲ `ulSana balma abatar niqum abatar malkuta hanath̲
alma bšigša niqum abatar mahamad bizbaT arbaia lamitinba nbiha balma
uhaimanuta mn arqa salqa umšabin hiia rbia bnuhura umanda d̲ hiia niqum bzakuta
sa hazin sidra d̲ mara d̲ rabuta hu
sa bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mšaba ziua unhura rba qadmaia
mara d̲ tušbihta hzinan ulatagzar ‘lan maran hTin uaskilnin haTaian uhauban
tišbuqlan taiaba uriuana umrahmana hzinan ulatagzar ‘lan hazaia uparuša hzinan
ulatagzar `lan hzinan brahmutak u`traham `lan sibranan utuklanan
brahmutak ‘traham ‘lan hakima ušaliTa bSubianak ubrahmutak ‘traham ‘lan malka
rama d̲ nhura šumh̲ lqalan ulatagzar `lan galaia d̲ mgalil kasiata šuminan
ulatagzar ‘lan rba urama ušbiha ‘l d̲ hTin ulatagzar `lan alaha d̲ tušbihta hzinan
ulatagzar `lan paruqa d̲ kulhun mhaimnia `l d̲ hTin latagzar `lan mqaimana
d̲ kulhun Tabia hzinan ulatagzar `lan baruia d̲ kulhin Tabauata brahmutak
‘traham ‘lan mšauzibana d̲ kulhin šapirata šumh̲ lqalan ulatagzar `lan iahuba d̲ kulhin
mahabata ahbalan haila ulatagzar `lan mparqana d̲ kulhun mhaimnia parqinan mn
kul d̲ biš mšauzibana d̲ nišmata šauzibinan mn kul haTaiia mbaTlana d̲ kulhin bišauata
baTil minaian hirba urugza mašrana d̲ kulhun rahmh̲ ahbalan šrara ulanibhut
hailana d̲ npiš hailh̲ ahbalan haila ulaništpil mnaTrana d̲ kušTania
bnaTrutak titnaTar `lan mzarzana d̲ kulhin rahmh̲ bmzarzutak titqaiam `lan
mšadrana d̲ kulh̲ buta utušbihta tušbihtak tišria ‘lan malka rama d̲ mlia rahmh̲
brahmutak `traham `lan asia d̲ masia rahmh̲ asinan mn haTaiia ulatagzar `lan gabara
d̲ gabir bhailh̲ tabar hailaihun d̲ mardia ziuana d̲ ziuh̲ kabir mn ziuak tišria `lan
nhura rba d̲ labaTil mn ziuak tinhar ‘lan iahib ‘da lšalmania ahbalan ‘da
ulanibhut marim `l dirkia d̲ šrara mn dirkak laniSlia aziza hakima baTil rugza
mn rahmak kušTana d̲ makšiT šalmania hzinan ulatagzar ‘lan maraihun d̲ kulhun
almia btiabutak baTlh̲ lkulh̲ rugza mapriš hiia mn muta baTil rugza mn rahmak
mapriš nhura mn hšuka baTil rugza mn rahmak mapriš Taba mn biša baTil rugza mn
rahmak mapriš šrara mn T‘ia baTil rugza mn rahmak manhiranun d̲ nahiria baTil
rugza mn rahmak d̲ nagid rqiha bhailh̲ baTil rugza mn rahmak d̲ masia larqa bmimrh̲
baTil rugza mn rahmak mšadranun d̲ mia hiia baTil rugza mn rahmak mrauzanun d̲ piria
`mbia u`lania baTil rugza mn rahmak mnaTranun d̲ nišmata naTrinan mn kul d̲ snia
mšadranun d̲ šlihia d̲ kušTa baTil rugza mn rahmak iahib hukumta utušbihta
baTil rugza mn rahmak daiana d̲ daiin nišmata biTil rugza mn rahmak galaia
d̲ aina galian baTil minaian hirba urugza zakaia d̲ latbh̲ muma zakinan ulatagzar `lan
abdia anin d̲ haTaiia `l d̲ hTin latagzar `lan anin abdia anin d̲ hTainin maran
latagzar ‘lan rišan albhTita ‘l d̲ hTin latagzar `lan ainan rmaz rimza `l d̲ hTin
latagzar ‘lan ‘udnan Satat bišuta maran hzinan ulatagzar ‘lan puman arTin kadba
maran tub u`traham `lan `dan gnab gnubta uabad bišuta maran hzinan ulatagzar
‘lan liban hašib hušbia bišia maran latagzar ‘lan pagran gar gaura ‘l d̲ hTin
maran latagzar ‘lan burkan arbik lbišia maran haTaian uhauban tišbuqlan ligran
asgia bnikla maran hus u`traham `lan u`l d̲ hTin latagzar `lan abdia anin d̲ haTaiia
brahmutak `traham `lan maraihun d̲ kulhun nišmata hzainh̲ lziuak uhiainin
uhzainh̲ lnhurak u‘thaimanin ušmana ltušbihtak ubliban šralan kušTa
bliban kušTa šralan uqabilna ltušbihtak ušmanin lmalalak uqala d̲ hiia
d̲ šadartlan maran uaskilnin haTaian uhauban tišbuqlan umšaba šumak batar
nhur sa hazin sidra d̲ iardna hu sa

bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia k̲d̲ ‘tit ana šliha d̲ hiia malka d̲ mn nhura asgit lka laupa
uziua b‘dai nhura utušbihta ‘lai Sauta ‘lai ‘ruta uqala ‘lai rušuma ‘lai umaSbuta
umanharna lilbia haškia bqalai utušbihtai qala qribh̲ balma qala balma qribh̲

mn rišia lrišia d alma qala balma qribh kul ‘niš bnapšia nizdahar kul d nizdahar bnapšia nitparaq mn nura akla Tubaihun lšalmania d mitparqia mn kul d biš šliha ana d nhura bhira d kadba litbh bhira d litbh kadba d kul man d arha brihh hia ulamit kul d arhabia ainh bnhura `timlia ainh `timlia bnhura upumh tušbihta mla pumh mla tušbihta ulibh kušTa ‘timlia blibh šrabh kušTa uainh azbar latar nhur arhubh ramzia rimzia šamar rimzaihun šbaq šamar šbaq rimzaihun uatin brihai mitkarkia uamria maran kd laiadhnin rmaznin rimza hašta d ‘danin lanirmaz šliha ana d nhura bhira d kadba litbh bhira d litbh kadba laiit bgauai hasir ubSir šliha ana d tušbihta d kul man d arhabia hia arhubia kadabia šamar kadbaiun šbaq šamar šbaq kadbaiun uatin brihai mitkarkia uamria maran kd la‘dainin amarnin karba hašta d ‘danin lanimar šliha ana d tušbihta d kul man d arhabia hia gaiaria d arhubia šamar gauraiun šbaq šamar šbaq gauraiun uatin brihai mitkarkia uamria maran kd la‘danin garnin gaura hašta d `danin lanigar arhubia gaTlia gaTla umhamblia Silmia d akuatun sipaiun šdun mn ‘daiun u`daiun mn zma halil `daiun halil mn zma hiia rhim umuta snun snun muta urhim hiia ustin brihai mitkarkia uamria maran kd la‘danin gTalnin gaTla hašta d `danin lanigTal arhubia harašia mSairia bpagra nišimta arhubia haršia šamar haršaiun šbaq šamar šbaq haršaiun uatin brihai mitkarkia uamria maran kd laiadanin abadnin haršia hašta d ‘danin lanibad šliha ana d nhura `lana d tušbihta mlia bhira ana dakia d laiit bgauh hasir ubSir šliha ana d nhura d kul man d arha brihai hia kul man d arhabia brihai hai kul man d arhabia ainh traS latar nhur mn iuma d hzainak liban bkušTa ‘timlia uhaimanubak Taba nhura hzainh ulaninišiak ulaninišiak maran mn kulhun iumia ušita hda mn liban lanišibaq malil d nimarlun kul man d taiib ‘l napšia nišma gzira lika ulaiit d mara agzar `lh hin‘la bišia hinun kadabia d hinun magziria ‘l napšaihun d mahuilun ulahazin uqarilun ulašamin ulamhaimnia bišia bSubianun naplia bmia rba d sup mištiknia bhšuka ubalalun Tura haška alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana anin d mšabinin maran haTaian uhauban tišbuqlan mšabit anat malka d nhura d šadartlan šrara lrahmak zakit manda d hiia uzakit kulhun rahmak uhiia zakin `l kulhun `ubadia sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia `lkun qarina naSbia d ana niSbit ubhiria d ana bahrit latigirun ulatiginbun uap alma karaSia tihun ulmamaka lataqipa titnun latidamun lnbihia d šiqra ukd daiania d kadba d lasaliq `l kiph d iardna ula`tqaiambh bhazin maria d iahib b`mruma `laia tum umahuina `l ptulia u`l ptulata u`l gubria d ‘nšia labaiia u‘l ‘nšia d gubria labaiia saliq lkiph d iama hzun d nunia d bmia masgin trin trin biama masgin ulabaTlia anat ptula alma baTlit saq lkiph d prat rba hzun `lania d kiph d prat rba qaimia mia šatin uTuna Tainia ulabaTlia hzun nahra d Sauia d mia lazlibh hu Sauia u`lania d kiph Sauin akuat hauia umaita nišmatun d ptulia uptulata d šum hiia ladakria ugubria d ‘nšia labaiia u‘nšia d gubria labaiia kd napqia mn pagraihun mištiknia brpilia d hšuka aminTul d baTnia mn karsa uatun unapaq mn pumaiun d lapaqidtinun uabadiun tum ana `lkun qarina umaprišna balma d anatun dairitubh abid hilulia lbnaiun zakria uap lbnatkun nuqbata uhaimanbh babuikun aminTul d alma šalim ubaTil tum ‘lkun qarina umahuina latišadpun mn halin ptulia uptulata gubria d ‘nšia labaiia udhiia larahmia hin tihun minaihun tiplun bguhnam d alip arzia lahauin lTlalh uruban ruban lahauin lašith hin‘la latihun minaihun tisqun tihzuna lparSupa šalia tum ana `lkun qarina umahuina `l hiuaniata u`l Sipar gadpa u`l nuna bmia hua mia hinun nkus uašig unaqid uhalil ubašil ušaiil ‘lauaihun uakul ušaialta litlaikun uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia sa amrilh `utria liuzaTaq manda d hiia ninhar lbušak utitiaqar dmutak luath d hahu abuk mara d rabuta sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia asuta uzakuta ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia
. ulab .
u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai . u`l
ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u`l
šitlai
. u`l abahatai

. nitriS
šumaihun bit hiia sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia nukraiia mn almia d nhura iatiria d `lauia ukulhun `ubadia hazin hu raza usidra qadmaia d šuta haita qadmaita d huat mn laqadmia kd hua pira bgu pira ukd hua aiar bgu aiar ukd hua mana rba d `qara d hun minh mania rurbia kabiria d npiš ziuaihun ukabir nhuraihun d ‘niš qudamaihun lahuabh bpira rba d npiš usaka litlh d ziuh npiš mn mimra d puma unhurh kabir mn ‘štaiuiia bspihata d huabh bhanath pira hun minh alip alip piria d lasaka uruban ruban škinata d litlaiin miniana d huabh bhad had pira alip alip tiria d lasaka uruban ruban škinata d litlaiin miniana d qaimin umšabin lhak mana rba d `qara d šria baiar rba d alahia d `it bgauh d iardna d mia hiuaria d mn mana rba hun d rihaiun basim d bh marhin kulhun šaršia d nhura uziua rba qadmaia hua iardna rba d saka uminiana litlh d `lauh qaimia šitlia hadin urauzin d kulhun btušbihta mlin uqaimin mn riš briš umn iardna rba hun iardnia d saka uminiana litlun kd hua pira bgu pira ukd hua aiar bgu aiar ukd hua iura rba d ziuh unhurh npiš ukabir d ‘niš qudamh lahua d minh hua iardna rba d mia hiia d hiia minh dilh hun ‘štpun larqa d aiar d bh škan hiia napšaihun uqaiim hiia napšaihun barmu mana rba d minh hun ubun buta lnapšaihun bbuta qadmaita hua ‘utra mqaima d hiia qiriuia hiia tiniania uap hun `utria d saka uminiana litlun d mn hiia iardna hua kd iardna qadmaia ‘štpia larqa d nhura u`tqaiambh hiia tiniania uhinun hiia tiniania ‘utria qrun uškinata qaiim uiardna qrun d `utria `tqaiambh hun `utria tlata d buta bun mn hiia tiniania uškinata baiin d nišaun lnapšaihun uma d `utria tlata bun mn hiia tiniania ‘hablun umitmilkia uškinata mšauia bun uamrilh labuhun umšaililh uamrilh labuhun hazin iardna d mia hiia d hazin šanai urihaiun d hazin basim ukabiria `utria d `tqaiambh anat hu d qrit `u `utria dilak hinun d `tqaiambh malil hiia tiniania l`utria tlata d nimarlun ana d abukun ana hiia qrun uiardna d hiia hu uanatun bhailaihun d hiia huaitun uamrilh hbalan mn ziuak umn nhurak umn ma d bak d nizal un‘hut atutia hapiqia mia uškinata niqrilak ualma nišauilak ualma nihuia dilan udilak uanin nitqaiambh uanin nitibbh u`utria nišauibh dilan udilak nihun ušum hiia l‘iadkar ubismat ‘lh uamar d `tilun ukd haizin amar lrbia labismat u‘l hiia la‘tkišrat u‘lauh buta bun ušabuia lmana rba d šria bpira rba haizak qam mana rba bziuh unhurh u`qarh uqiria lkbar rba d hu kbar ziua šumh nbaT iauar br iupin iupapin sam mana smira gupna d kulh hiia d mitraham `l `utria bgiuat `qara uamarlh anat `traurab u`l `utria hzia `utria mahu d abdia u`l mahu mithašbia uamria alma niqria uškinata nišauia kd `utria rurbania bnia nhura anat manda d hiia mibismat `lak d `utria d nhura šbaq nhura uazbar anpaiun lhšuka uliama rba d sup ulhabara gahia ulmia aklia hambalia latra d kulh sahria d bqala rama mamllia u‘šata ‘kilta mamlilabh hu `utra d hiia šidqa naTar ulahuabh hasir ubSir tum tna uamarlh hzia manda d hiia d `utria d nhura `l mahu mitimlik libaiun mahu ‘štagašlun uazbar anpaiun latra d kšaša umšaša litbh latra d litbh mia hiia ulašariabh Sauta u`utra d hiia šidqa nTar ltlata zibnia malil mania brabtun ulmanda d hiia amria anat hu malka d ‘utria maria kušTa mšauianun

d `uSria `l almia d nhura kulhun šaliTnak ‘l ‘utria kulhun d nhurai d škina
bškinata u‘l almia titaiia d hšuka anat hu d ‘tilia ušihatlh lalma hanath qdum
lalma hutlh mn qudam d nizlun `utria nibdun mindam d ‘lauaiun snia ulašapir u‘l hiia
lamitakšar ‘lak manda d hiia labasim aminTul d anat hu d mtasnit `utria uramit
dirka utarSit kudka uanin kd qrainak `l mahu qrainak aminTul d anat kd qr‘it ušihit
umšauit lhazin qrita malil manda d hiia uamarlh lmana rba kabira kd baiinak lman
`hizia ukd akSalia `l man nihuilia ruhSana tirat d huat minaikun `l mahu `simka
malil mana brabuth ulmanda d hiia d nimarlh anat minan latipsiq uatin luatak anin
kul d anat amrit lqudaman triS uanat luatan mitqaimit umn luatan latipsiq uanin
luatak anin d hiia `lak bTabuta `timlun uadiauria nSablak nSabulak `utria
nihia umqaimia d nihuilak adiauria tum nSabulak adiauria `utria nihia umqaimia
d hinun nitqaimun bnak d hatam bnak niqrun qala d hiia unihun tangaria
d mitangria umasqia tangarutun lbit riš briš hu rba ‘hablh ziua unhura
uaTpilh `l d `tlh `hablh lbuša rba d šanai usaka litlh birka bbirkta rabtia
d ‘tibrikuba rurbia aba šauiuia d `utria umzauid zuadia lrahmh bpaqadta d pira rba
d ‘qara kušTa nisbit minaihun uasgit bithiia ‘tit hiia mšaililia ‘l mana d minh
`tniSbit kd bTabu rbia `tit haizin nSiba niSubtak hiia urabutun lmanda d hiia
amria hzit manda d hiia `utria mahu d abdia mahu d abdia `utria umahu d mhašbia ‘l
dh udh hzit d šbaq bithiia uazbar anpaiun latar hšuk šibqu lSauta d hiia
uSauta d hšuka rhim šibqu latra d ziua unhura uazal rihmuia ldaura baTla šibqu
lhaliuta uazal mariruta rhim azal rhim mariruta d haliuta litbh šibquia
liardna d mia hiia uasgun lmia tahmia asgun uasgun `l nura d iaqda šibqu l‘šata
haita uazal ‘šata ‘kilta rhim rihmu l‘šata ‘kilta urihmu lnura d iaqda ha hzia
manda d hiia d hada `utria abad hzia d abad u`tria huabun hasir ubSir nidihiia
lalma unišibqh man nihuibun sidra man sidra nihuibun uman niparqinun mn
hasir ubSir man niparqinun mn husrana d hinun ‘bduia mn napšaihun man
našminun qala d rbia d iatbia bit tušlima malil uamrilh hiia l`utra zriza umzarza
lau mn qudam d nihun `utria anat hua nSiba niSubtak mn qudam d nihun `utria
d qruk rbia upaqduk uqruk upaqduk rbia uzarzuk upaqduk ušadruk ušalTuk ‘l kul
Sbu paqduk ‘l škinata u‘l tiria qurbia d atar ksuia šalTuk ‘l ‘utria kasiia
d qaimia umšabia lrurbia šalTuk ‘l iardna d rurbia u`l mia hiia urauzia kd
paqid rurbia hua nSablak `utria nSablak padibria `utria nihia umqaimia kd haza
amarlia hiia sigdit ušabit lrurbia šabatinun lhiia rbia d hiia nSablia niSubta
uniSubta d hiia nSablia u`hablia adiauria barit btušbihtai ‘l d qaiimna batar
ksia barit b`rutai bmanda d hiia d ‘hablia baniba btušbihtai ‘l kul Sbu
d atar ksia baniba b`rutai uainai azbrit `l mardia mn qudam d nihun `utria ana
asgit latar hšuk ‘l d qaiimna bit hiia uhzaitinun lmardia uhzaitinun ltiria
hšuk hzaith l`umqh d kulh d hšuka hzaitinun lhambalia ulmarh d dauria haška
hzaitinun lqarabtania d bhšuka mitqabria hzaitinun ltiria iaqdana kd iaqdia
umhababia iaqdia umhababia bišia umitmilkia `l hasir ubSir hzaita lhiuat
niqubta kd bhšuka ubbišuta mamlala mamlala bbišuta ubharšia upudria d abda
mamlala bhukumat hrara u`l zipa iatba hzaith ltiria hšuka ulširiana d arqa
siniauis kd d hun hzaitinun lmia siauia d bgauaihun d salqia urahtia
umitapkia kul d darikubun maiit ukul d hazilun mitiqlia hzaitinun ltaninia d rmin
bgauaihun umitapkia hzaitinun ltaninia d gaunia gaunia uznia znia hzaitinun `l
markabatun d hšuka d lhdadia ladamia hzaitinun lmardia bišia umarkabatun kd
iatbia hzaitinun lmardia bišia kd bzaina d bišia mitlabšia bzaina mitlabšia d bišia
u‘l biš mithašbia ‘l atar nhur ana kd hzaitinun `hidrit lbit abu lqudam hiia
qamit uamarilun ana kd d hzit amarilun ‘l mlik hšuka uamarilun ‘l dh udh kd d hzit
lqudam hiia amrit ana haizin `iasgia lhak dukta latra d hšuka ubhšuka
d `uSba d nhura litbh ‘l širiana d mia d arqa d hšuka d rahtia usalqia umitapkia
ukul d darikbun maiit ukul d hazilun nitiqlia `saq lrbia `mar d mna hšuka hua umna
hua hšuka umna hun daiaria d `tbh mna hauian `bidatun d hazin saina umdahla umna

hua husranun d hazin npiš hzuth saina umdahla d kulh hqiqia mlia kulh mlia
hqiqia mna hun buria rurbia bišia d `tbh biaqdana iatbin mna hun mia siauia
d haizin rahtia umitapkia d kul d darikbun maiit ukul d hazilun mitqlia mna hun
titinia d rmin bgauaihun umitapkia mna hun markabatun umna hun bišia d `tbun
mna huat hiuat niqubta d gaunia gaunia uznia znia kd haizin `mrit qudam hiia
hiia abahatai mitar `tar ulahsar mida iadin hiia hiia iadin ušidqa naTrin mida
iadia hiia uamrilia ata d naprišak manda d hiia `utra zriza umzarza mn qudam
d nihun almia kulhun hazin pira rba hua kd hua pira rba bgu pira rba hua malka rba
d nhura d `qara mn malka d nhura rba d `qara aiar ziua rba hua umn aiar ziua rba huat
‘šata haita umn ‘šata haita nhura hua bhailh d malka d nhura hiia upira rba hua hua
pira rba huabh iardna hua iardna rba hun mia hiia hun mia `ria urauzia umn mia
hiia anin hiia huainin huainin anin hiia haizak kulhun `utria hun ana qudam
hiia `mrit kd anatun hiia huaitun hšuka haizin hua haizin hua hšuka haizin hua
hasir ubSir kd haizin amarilun hiia bTabuta hun hiia hun bTabuta ulmanda d hiia
amria anat `utra zriza u‘utra zriza umzarza anat ‘utra zriza laiadit hšuka
uhaizin hua haizin hua hšuka haizin hua hasir ubSir kd haizin amarlia hiia
ana ‘štalTit mimar kd d hua `mrit lhiia rbia ulhiia d mn laqadmia hun `u ana
la`mrit `la lahuia ana mn rurbia kd ana huit mn rbia hiia hinun d aprišulia kd
d huat hiia brabutun amrilia btušbihtun šaliTnak ‘utra zriza ‘utra zriza umzarza
šaliTnak ‘utra zriza lmimar kd d huat lapriširun l‘utria kasiia lapriširun
lkulhun bhiria kd d hun `utria d atar ksia kd haizin amarlia hiia ana malalit
btušbihta d rurbia bhaduta d hiia rbia bma d hiia amarlia anat `utra qum azil lbit
rbia dukta d iatbia rbia d nimarulak `l dh udh kd haizin amarlia rbia ana asgit
lbit rurbia dukta d iatbia rbia dukta d Tabia hatam šrin qamit qudamaihun ana bit
d `marlun kd d huat mn laqadmia kd ana bit d ‘marlun hinun uhananun unišqun uqaimun
batrai uamria šaliTnak kbar ziua ‘utra niha umqaima šaliTnak kbar ziua ‘utra
mqaiim rahmh šaliTnak ‘utra zriza ‘utra zriza umqaima šaliTnak ‘utra zriza
lmimar kd d huat lamaprišinun l‘utria kasiia kd tizal lhak atra taprišinun lrahmak
taprišinun lbhiria zidqa gubria kšiTia umhaimnia d nimarlak `l dmut `qara
d haizin miSra lnhura lahualh lahualh miSra lnhura ula`tauda `mat hua lahua kd
d lahua nhura ulahua kd d lahua ziua hua lahua kd d lahun rurbia miSra lnhura
lahualh lahua kd d lahun mia mia mn hšuka mqašašia mia mqašašia mn hšuka lika d saka
litlh ulitlh miniana d nimarlak kma hua kd d lahun ‘utria ‘utria mn hšuka
mqašašia ‘utria mqašašia mn hšuka uqašišia mn daiaria d bh qašiša Tabuta mn bišuta
d atar hšuk qašiša nihuta mn mriduta d atar hšuk qašiša ‘šata haita mn ‘šata
`kilta d atar hšuk qašiša tušbihta mn haršia upudria d bnh d biša abdia qašiša
iardna tlitaia mn mia aklia d atar hšuk qašiša sibruta mn dh udh d bišia abdia
d atar hšuk qala d ‘utria qašiš mn bišia rurbia d atar hšuk amarnalak ‘l
qadmaia d nimarlak ‘l tiniana hazin hun qašiš kursia niha mn kursia marda qašišia
drašia usidria mn haršia d hiuat niqubta d mdahla qašiš kana d aiar sagia mn
mimra d ruha amra amarnalak `l tiniana nimarlak `l tlitaia kd d hun qašiša bhaq
ziua mn ruha kd d huat hašabta d ‘utria kulhun qašiša mn rala marda miSra d Tabia
qašiš mn marh d kulh atar hšuk qašišia bhiria zidqa mn qiriata kulhin d hšuka kd
d hauin kd haizin amarlia rbia kd haizin amarlia rurbia abahatai d niSbun kd haizin
amarlia rbia ana piršit mn ‘uSrai kd mn ‘uSrai piršit d ‘marlun hšuka haizin
hua hšuka umn mahu `tigbil mn dukth kd rbia anatun bhiria hšuka alma labaTil
hšuka alma labaTil u‘tirhiS pasimka mn riš briš mn qudam d lrbia ana `marlun hinun
rbia amarlia ia `utra sdira `utra sdira umsarda ia `utra sdira `utra mqaiim
rahmia Taba bTabuth lahuabh hasir ubSir Taba bTabuth mqaiam mn riš briš Taba
bTabuth širšia nSiba mn dukth Taba bziuh iaqid mia ksiia blbušaihun pugdamia
kasiia ks‘iia unTiria bsidraihun mia bqira larbia hšuka bnhura lamitimnia
hšuka bnhura ulamanhar daura haška daura haška lamanhar umia tahmia larauzia
mitar tar hšuka udaiaria migbal gbal migbal gbal hšuka ukd d gbal aiak d mnasia

hailh bbišuta d mhašib hu bkana d napšia mistar hu mistar bkana d napšia
ukulhin `bidath baTla baTlia bnia hšuka umitqaimia bnia rurbia baita d bišia
baTlia udaika ‘šata akla haršaiun maitia udaikia aminTul d lau mn qdim hun
‘bidatun misap saipa ušurubta d hiia mitqaima mn riš briš hauia šuta haita
lmanhiralh ldaura baTla kd haza amarlia rbia `triS libai lsamkia ana bhailaihun
d rbia malalit ‘mrit ušabit lrurbia kd bdilkun Tabia lahuatabun bišuta ana haizin
`zal lhak dukta kd haizin bit d `mar hiia rbia amrilia baTinta biTnat btiniana
qum hutlh lalma bhailak dilak nihun `utria ub`rutak nitqaimun rurbia rbia
brabutun anpiš ziua ‘hablia anpiš ‘hablia ziua uanpiš nhura aluin ‘hablia zakuta
d mnaTralia mn kul d snia ‘hablia lbuša rba d npiš usaka litlh ‘hablia lbuša rba
ušauiun rba mn riš briš ‘hablia margna d mia hiia gauaza d mitkabšibh mardia
`hablia klil ‘šata haita d šanai umanhar mn kul dmu zarzun bmzarzutun hananun
unišqun kd rurbia amrilia `lil `l mardia d hšuka d ‘lan lbiš mithašbia
mithašbia bbišuta ubiša bkinh nistar biša nistar bkinh umn miniltak dilak
latihuia `lh amrilia Taba bTabuth nisaq nihizia latar nhur biša bbišuth nisaq
ltiria hšuk miqria qr‘iia qalia umihšib hšibia mamlalia kulhun atia hda qala
umapriš ‘l qalia kulhun atia hda mamla umapriš ‘l mamlalia kulhun atia hda gabra
umapriš ‘l dh udh kd haizin amarlia rbia ana bhailaihun asgit latar hšuk latra
d šrin bišia uldaura d kulh mhamblia latra d taninia uldugia d ‘šata akla ladugia
d nura d saliq alukin maTia mihSia qr‘iia ‘zlit uaškitinun lburia mardia d hšuka
‘zlit uaškitinun lburia mardia d hšuka ‘zlit uaškitinun d kulhun bbišuta mithašbin
qaimia umithašbia bbišuta uqaimia uzaina hašlia qaimia hašlia zaina u‘l Tabia
lbiš mithašbia mithašbia bbišuta ubihdadia mitmilkia mitmilkia bihdadia
uamria maka alma hurina d palig plugta balman `u aka d gabir minan niqum minh
nipdar unihzia d mna hua mna hua daurh ualma baita hazin dilan hu kulh ulitbh
plugta balman maka d npiš hailaiun mn buria ulika d npiš hailaiun mn malakia
d atran kulhun haišia ubahšia ukulhun bihdadia mitaqlia ruha radašta ‘uSra
nkila d kadba `uSra d ruha kadabta d kulh haršia mlia kulh mlia haršia umlia pudria
hukumta iatba hiuat nuqubta ruha humra kd gdula briša msatra iatba uabda haršia
d kadba h` ukumra ubhukumta hadra kd haiša ubahša ruha mrandidabun bharšia d kadba
umasba bharšia bišia d h` bgauaihun mgalala kd haiša umitrandidabun bharšia ruha
`dit `l dh udh lruha man amarla lhasirta bSirta man apriša lkadabta lnuqbta
`mh d burh napla man apriša lkadabta d gbar nukraia asgia lka qamat kadabta h`
humra kulhin atat uaškatinun lburia rurbia kd iatbia atat uaškatinun kd kulhun
bzaina mlabšia kulhun mlabšia bzaina uqudamh d mlik hšuka iatbia mlik hšuka
bgabaruath mitnahazba bškinth uamar miaka d gabir minai d pahlilh kulhun almia `u
miaka d gabir minai niqum minai nipdar d miklh Turia d bhimSa d himtaiun
lamištka kulhun rbia ugabaria hinun usahraiun udaiuaiun kulhun ldilia pahlia
qaimia upahlilia ukul ium ldilia sagdia kd haza amar mlik hšuka ruha nadat mn
kursia gahia ubakia ruha h` ukulhin humra ruha lbra mimar utaudh lmlik hšuka
`ka d rab minak uhailh miatar mn kulhun almak `ka alma d npiš mn dilak d rurbia
bgauaihun iatbia rurbia iatbia bgauaihun ubaira dmutaihun mn almia kd haza
`mrat namrus qudamh d Tura napla `l atrh `tlh blbušia hua malaiia d alma `mrat
bmrirth bišta rabtia bbišuta ugasia ušadia himta hamima lnura damia ‘timlik
bbišuta uknap gunda napla
gunda napla knap uamar d ‘qum ‘saq mn atar hšuk ‘iasrikh lzinqai barqa u`qra
ubhablai `klh lkulh alma `srup bsiruptai urminun lrurbia mn kursiaiun `mrar
biša bbišuth pihth lpumh mhambla pihth lpumh saria d atia riha d sruth pihth lpumh
saria d hauia mlaiia d alma ana d hzaith `tahzilh blbuša d rurbia blbuša d rurbia
`tahzilh d npiš usaka litlh kd `tahzilh bziua napša d npiš umitiatar mn almia
ahuith margna d mia hiia d abahatai `hablia hauith margna d mia hiia
d mitkabšibh mardia ahuith klil ‘šata haita d hazilh sahria umdahlia kd `tahzilh
lnamrus hbal hbal qaria kd `tahzilh lgabara kulhun gundia `tbadruia kd

`tbadruia gundh hu šaribun bšurbath šarbun bqarabtania d zaina qabalh nasbia
šaribun bsahria udaiuia uhumria uliliata kulhin qam uasiph lkulh alma hbaq
bkulh hailh upalgh d pumh ubarqa qbar trisar niskia apra nsib ubla mn atar hšuk
balinun lmia siauia ubalinun lkulhun sahria udaiuia d bun ulhumrh uliliath
kulhin uqam uasiph lkulh alma ainh bdma raiga ulibh btinihta qam libh qam
btinihta d qam riqin balma tnit `tahzilh bqala d rbia taga mn rišia npal kd npal
taga mn rišia mirth barqa mitgarara btiha d npaq mn pumh qaimia Turia
ubašlia qaimia ubašlia Turia bzihirh d mn puma d `ur npaq `tahzilh bhalh d rbia
d abahatai `hablia `tahzilh bhaila d rbia mn tiha maTia lilbušai kd mn tiha
lilbušai maTia dihkat ‘šath d iaqda ‘šath d iaqda dihkat hbaq bihbaqh uarqa bla kd
hbaq ubla arqa šurh ‘l tar širiana d hšuka npal kd šura ‘tgna bširiana d hšuka
hšuka kulh minh gbal haizak tar hšuka tar uligTh blibh blibh ligTh hšuka kana
d minh hua nsabtinin lainh ukapuninin llibh šarinin lilupath umradinun
lkabarh karsh bm`iia atnath uapth `l arba `pia kinth bšurh kanilh ugTarilh
giTra blibh zihirh bmiia šdilh umirta bkulh qumth dimita bainh npalalh d hamima
lnura damia `starba bmaspuTita d abia mn dilh mn dilh abia urasistinun lgirmh
qaba bpumh npalh u`zdmim bizmama d parzla ‘tirkiš b‘dh uligrh u`lh npalh bdupnia
hiSbia briših npalh uainh saimalh ulanihra agarlh malalh bpumh ldaiua ubkana
d napšia ‘star `star bkana d napšia uhbal hbal lnapšia qra hbal hbal qra lnapšia
‘šata d napšia hamat ‘lh uai uai qra lnapšia d `lauh rugza hua `lauh hua rugza
ušihania kisiuia mn riš briš alai alai qaria biša kulhun mia tahmia hun hun
mia tahmia uainh hšakulh ulanahra ganph hbaT barqa guha `tgna blibh `qba gna
barqa hSiblh SiSbia bdupna mlik hšuka ‘star bkana d napšia umn miniltai dilia
lahuat `lh ‘štahaT btiniqth uamar haiasa hus `lai kd d amar haiasa hus `lai kul
d akal mn pumh šdh kul d akal šdh mn pumh usnia rihh d sruth kd amar taiaba tub
`lai kulhun sagadh `tbadruia `tbadruia sagadh uTuna d napšia ‘lh kdar `lh
kdar Tuna d napšia d npiš usaka litlh kd mitinhaz umitnahaz anida lškinth kd
lškinth anida `tgamar `lh naTria naTria d `tgamar `lh gabaria buria d alma mn
buria ugabaria guha bliba d ruha `tgna guha `tgna bliba d ruha bakia nahma
uqatia amralh lbura šapla hiuta d saina undida d atia riha d sruth man hazin abadbak
halin dnania man dananak malil d nimarla lnamrus l`uSar bginat d mina hua kd d ba
d nimarla rhišalh bpumh pukta pukta bpumh rhišalh ašlia ubgan gabra puha
ašlia puha bgan gabra marh d kulh alma malil d nimarla lnamrus `mh d hazin alma
gabra d hazin abadlia npiš mn kulh alma dmuth d anph hzit u`l kulh qumth laqamit
laqamit `l kulh qumth aminTul d npiš mn kulhun almia kd haza amarla l`mh baiia
d nigira lnapšia malakia d mizdahribh asiqlh šuma baTla hda lhabra amar ‘ur
mitnahaz mn dukth kd haza šimat ruha lriša šadia ‘da šadia ‘l riša ugdula briša
satra gdula satra briša ualai alai d mqaria ruha u‘stirata qaima uraza hašlia
qaima hašla razia u‘l gabaria naTrh d `ur ana d hzaith hadirala parqsa parqsa
d hdirla d hauia sbal blbab šumia qrit ušauilh šura šur parzla hdarth lkulh daurh
šura d hadrila naTria šauit ‘lh naTria d mizdahribh bmarba šauibh srin uarba
babia d bun mitnaTar alma bun alma mitnaTar usaliq apra `lh kd šauibh srin uarba
babia alai alai puha amar kd kapina mahu `kul ukd Sahina mahu ‘štia u‘l mahu
‘škub uman nihuilia Sauta malalit d `marlh l‘ur mlik hšuka baTla Taba bTabuth
saliq hazilh latar nhur biša bbišuth mipsiq batar hšuk ‘l tiria hšuk tiškub
kana d minh huit hu Sauta nihuilak kana d bh `startbh kd kapnit akul mn šurbatak
mn kul d minak hua mišitiak mn mia siauia hanik d bgauaiun dart kd `klit ulasibit mn
nisimka `l tirat `l dukta kd ‘štia ula‘sba man nin‘ha lSauta kd hazan amar biša ana
‘hkit u‘tgaiit blbušai uasbrit ugihkit ‘lh `l hiuta d la`dia ulaligria d bat
d tikulh lkulh alma minilta d hiia miTiat d hinun šaliTia umpaqdia kd haizin
amarilh haulil u‘l napšia ubka ‘l napšia uamar miaka d rab minak d hu mšalaT ‘l
kulhun almia `u `ka d rab minak anat huia `lai bmaTuta u`l d hTit latagzar
`lai anat bmaTuta hu`

‘lai maran hTin hTainin haTaian hauban tišbuqlan tihuilak ‘lai maTuta ukulan
latutak ništpil ana Taba ana ‘l Tabia ‘l auaikun hiia d mšalTia malalit uamarilh
alma d nibun hiia uabatur lhaka nitinSib alma d nitiqria abatur ubnia šlama
nitiqrun titaqan mšuniat ‘šata haita ugabr‘il šliha nitiqria nitiqria unitpaqad
unišalhunh lhaka nitqria unitpaqad uniqria alma nitia nimsia msuta uarqa
iaunaiit niqria niqria arqa iaunaiit uniTima lbira d mia d mia tahmia mn aqapra
d saliq mn siniauis `lak bmarzbana nihuia l‘ushiT b‘šata haita unimallibh mia
hiia urauzia d rihaiun basim uminaiun Tabuta mitnisba mn špitun d hanatun mia `u
Sahit nihuia lmišitiak mn ‘kilta d akla ‘šata ‘kilta d `lak napil mn hak d iatir
unapil minh makultk tihuia mn sahrak udaiuak uhumrak uliliatak hinun nihuilak
makulta kd mitingid rqiha himta ‘lauak tištpil ‘ur bnhimth nahim uamarlia alma
l`mat `huia balhudai u`siblh lTunh d alma kd haza amar `ur ruha `mh naida
umitnauda haiqa umitnauda ruha ualai alai qaria nhimta nahma ruha `l gabara
d špil amralh man nihuia d akdtak uniqum unidabrh lalma man mara lsahrak
nihuia umšalTana lhumrak ‘utana ugabara man nasiblh lSautak lSautak man
nasiblh haizak ‘nšia lgiuat ‘nšia kd haizin amar biša malalit uamarnalun `l kul Sbu
kd Sabia rbia hak d huat mn dukta kd Sabia rbia abahatai d niSbun amrilia miqra qr`iia
qalia umihšib hšibia mamlalia ma d mhašba ruha nihun qalia baTlia kd nihun
šuba d minaihun husrana hauia šumaihun d hanatun qalia ktib umapraš ‘lauaihun tum
hauin trisar qalia d minaihun hauia hasir ubSir bhašabta d kadabtia mitisrin
bkariuth hauin hamša qalia d bziuihta mitahzin d hazilun almia umidahlia
mitahzia bkana d nura kd d iaqda bgirglia d rugza masgin bgauna d nura mitahzin
amrilia ‘l qadmaiia uaprišun ‘l dh udh maprišilia ‘l kulhun qalia kd d hun mn
duktaiun atia hda qala umapriš ‘l qalia kulhun atia hda mamla umapriš ‘l mamlalia
kulhun atia hda bra rhima d mn kanpia d ziua `STarar `STarar mn kanpia d ziua
udmuth mnaTra batra atia b`ruta d hiia ubpaqadta d abuia paqid ata blbuša d ‘šata
haita umasgia `l almak sgid d rbia sagid `ruta mapiq mn `uSrh `ruta mn `uSrh
mapiq umaitia msuta udamia bmai msuta bmai ramia umšauia miSra lalmia maitila
l‘šata haita uramila bmia tahmia mšadiklun lkumSia umiabišlun lmia tahmia
alma lnapšia qaria ubaiin binta kd rurbia Sauma maitia mn bit hiia umanharla
lškinth malka lalma qaria uramia bpagra nišimta nišimta bpagra
ramia u`kilta d pagria aklia bhaila d ‘šata haita ‘šata ‘kilta mamlila mamlla
‘šata ‘kilta hiuia mina kul dh udh kd hauin `uSania upiqunia uiarqunia ukulhun
piria `mbia u`lania d nrauzibh balma briha d mia hiia ubriha d ‘šata haita
basim riha d srutun mn `kilta d akla ‘šata `kilta minh tihuilak lmiklak nitun
tlata ‘utria uninaTruna ‘l nišimta qala d hiia niqrun unanhrunh lbaita napla
nitun trin ‘utria ubriš mia nasgun lka naitun mia uniniSbun iardna balma iardna
balma niniSbun unišrun ‘lh Sauta šitlia nišitlun d kišria nitimlun bhaimanuta
ubhukumta usibruta uniqrun qala šania qala šania niqrun unišrun bbaita Sauta
špita d šapia mn mia d ‘l arqa tibil naplia špita d arqa tibil `u Sahit nihuilh mia
baita d arqa tibil `lauak nihuia bnaTria mn bnak d hauin minak `lak nihun bnaTria
`lak nihun d mizdahribh bparqsak bparqsak mizdahribh bmaspuTita d hauia mlaiia
d alma nizdahrubh bsada rama d kadir mn kulhun almia kd haza šuma biša libh himta
`timlia libh `timlia himta uanida lsadana d arqa lsadana d arqa anida uandinun
lparqsia anida lmaspuTita d hauia mlaiia d hauia mlaiia d alma ana bhailaihun d hiia
qamit ubuta mn hiia rbia bit uqrit ušauila šura šur parzla uahdrilh parqsa
parqsa d hadrilh d ‘niš bhailh lamSia ‘niš lamSia bhailh d nanidh mn dukth `qbai
gihnit barqa uanidth llibh mn samkh kinta blibh kanilh ugTarilh giTra bqumth
gTaribh šuba giTria d qala d hšuka minh npaq gTarth lgiTra rba ubaTilth
lkulh mimra btrisar kinia kanth d trisar mhašabata minh hu`n asarth bqala
rba d kulh husranun minaiun bTil kapth bkiputa d šuba zahriria minh hun šdit
bqulpa mhaith uplagilh briših plugta anhimth anhimth d ‘nšia uabkith kd ianqa
hrh šauilh makulta utinh šauilh mištia dahikth liaqdania lhauma d ‘šata akla

umhambla šiha nisbit minh̲ ualbišth̲ himta dirka lTabia dirkit ušauit baba lalma baba lalma šauit utraSibh̲ kursia kursia lTabia tirSit utaqnibh̲ pasimka pasimka taqnibh̲ d̲ mšalam mn riš briš umaTra d̲ bnia šlama batra d̲ iatiria ulahasria tarSilun karsauata uašlimilun `uSTlia iardna d̲ rbia tirSit uaqmit `lh̲ naTria aqmit `lh̲ trin `utria d̲ mitar `tar ulahsar kursia tirSit `l rab ziuia utirSit qudamh̲ pasimka pasimka d̲ tirSit d̲ mištalam mn riš briš ana b‘ruta utušbihta bma d̲ hiia ašmun b‘ruta utušbihta asgit `zlit lbit rurbia bhaduth̲ d̲ hadina ‘štaiilun lrurbia rbia hdun u‘tqaiam hdubh̲ mn riš briš hiia lgaT Tabutai uanpišuia lziuai ‘l d̲ ‘tlia uamria kušTa asiak Taba uasia lmalala d̲ maliltbh̲ hiia bhadutun malil l`utra amria lhailh̲ d̲ gabra šaba d̲ mia bgu nurasa lhailh̲ d̲ gabra šabh̲ d̲ nura bdilh̲ lahTat nura lahTatabh̲ `utra b`ruth̲ bar `utra bar b`ruth̲ udirka lšalmania traS dirka traS lšalmania ulšalmania mšalimlun mšalimlun lšalmania udakar šumaihun bit rurbia nha ubsum ‘utra k̲d̲ hiia bTabuth̲ lgaT hananuia unišquia l‘utra ukušTa ‘hablh̲ k̲d̲ rurbia abad ukšar qruia l‘utra d̲ kul d̲ tibad tikšar ‘u tibad utinSab ‘utria k̲d̲ `utrak unasgulh̲ lhak dukta aba rba d̲ hiia napša Tabutak lgaT kušTa nisbit minaihun uasgit lbit rurbia dukta d̲ šrin Tabia dukta d̲ Tabia hatam šrin maTuiai bit Tabia sigdit qudamaihun d̲ rurbia ma bit d̲ lrbia `mar hinun rbia amarlia ma d̲ bit d̲ ‘štaiilun hinun rbia Tabutai lgaT rbia lgaT Tabutai uamarlia lkul Sbu rbia brabutun qiriun rba mn riš briš abad ukšar qrun rbia `utra mqaiim rahmh̲ abad ukšar qrun rbia kul d̲ tibad tikšar aba tihuia d̲ `utria umzauid zuadia lrahmh̲ anat bhira tihuia d̲ `utria utitaqan `bidata kulhin titaqin `bidata aminTul d̲ abad ukšar anat manda d̲ hiia `utra zriza umzarza qum ngud nigda d̲ mia hiia uauil lhak alma qrilun ltlata `utria d̲ ginza d̲ hiia mizdahria mi dahriaz bginza d̲ hiia d̲ mn haka mitinsib nasbilh̲ `utria tmimia umaulilh̲ lhak alma msakkilh̲ bisiana umilbišilh̲ `uSba bsar msakkilh̲ bisiana umalbišilh̲ lbuša baTla lbuša baTla malbišilh̲ umšauibh̲ hasir ubSir hasir ubSir mšauibh̲ uhauibun harkta harkta hauiabun hauibun dh̲ udh̲ haizak triS tiniana uqam `utria umilkuia `utrh̲ qam umilkuia uamarlh̲ ahbalh̲ niqria alma unišauilak škinata d̲ hinin dilak nitiqria u`hablun tiniana mn ziuh̲ umn nhurh̲ umn ma d̲ hiia `hablh̲ `hablun mn ziuh̲ ungad miqria alma qam bnh̲ d̲ tiniana uasgun nhit latar hšuk qiriuia lptihil ‘utra ‘utra qiriuia uqaimuia batrh̲ qrunun lbnia šlama utraSunun ‘l kursiaiun qrun ušaun škinata ušabin ‘utria asgun lhapiqia mia uadiq hiziuia latar hšuk bhaq ziua bar bnapšia unapšia k̲d̲ rurbia lgaT napšia lgaT k̲d̲ rurbia ušibqh̲ lšumh̲ d̲ abuia qra uamar aba d̲ `utria ana ana hu aba d̲ `utria d̲ šauit škinata l‘utria ‘thašab lmia tahmia uamar d̲ `qria alma la`timlik ula `da `l mia tahmia ‘l mia tahmia la‘da ula‘da ‘l ‘šata ‘kilta d̲ lahuaba šauta ula`timlik aba d̲ `utria ula`hablun adiauria qrh̲ lptahil `utra hananh̲ unišqh̲ k̲d̲ rurbia asiqlh̲ šumhata d̲ ks`ia umnaTra batraiin asiqlh̲ gabr‘il šliha uqrh̲ upaqdh̲ uamarlh̲ qum asgia hut ltit dukta d̲ lika škinath̲ ulika almia qria ušauia alma lnapšak akuat bnia šlama d̲ hzit u‘bid utaqin alma ‘bid alma lnapšak ušauibh̲ `utria aba d̲ `utria brabuth̲ lamarlh̲ ‘l hambaguta ulazarzia ulaprišia qam ptahil `utra uasgia unhit latutaiun d̲ škinata dukta d̲ lika alma qam bkita d̲ siana uqambun bmia tahmia amar bmimrh̲ k̲d̲ rbia ‘šata haita šnat k̲d̲ šnat ‘šata haita `tinTiT blibh̲ uamar k̲d̲ ana br rbia ana ‘šata haita alma šnat k̲d̲ haizin amar ptihil `utra h` ruha mihaila mihaila h‘ ruha unapša rbuth̲ nsabth̲ `mrat d̲ šna ziua huabh̲ bziua hasir ubSir qamat pasat mala ‘tlabšat btutba napša ašniat ruha brabuth̲ uligTat napša k̲d̲ d̲ lahuat amralh̲ lqarabtana sakla d̲ lahaš ulapraš amralh̲ qum hzia d̲ bSar ziua d̲ gabra nukraia huabh̲ bziuh̲ hasir ubSir qum škub luat ‘mak u‘štria mn mapuTita d̲ `startbh̲ d̲ abia mn kulh̲ alma k̲d̲ haza šuma biša ‘tnahazbun bgirmh̲ škib luat ruha ušuba dmu qablat mn had Sbu ušuba iumia hamblat u‘daltinun lšiTia u‘daltinun lšibiahia d̲ šuba dmu minaihun npaq k̲d̲ hzaitinun libh̲ npal mn samkia uamra `mrit d̲ la`tmarlh̲ mindam d̲ bit lahuat d̲ had lhabrh̲ ladamia k̲d̲ haza `mrat ruha bna bhambaguta hun hun bhambaguta ukparbh̲ babuhun lika

ḏ litlẖ saka ptahil `dẖ mša bmia tahmia uamar tihuia arqa ḵḏ ḏ huat bit rurbia ḵḏ
Tmaš ‘dẖ had msuta huat huat had msuta ḏ rm`ia umrahTa ḵḏ ḏ lamsat ḵḏ ḏ lahuat
ulamsat arqa libẖ bplugta qam ḵḏ libẖ qam bplugta h` ruha tnat `hailat uamra `qum
`pus malai u`zal luat malkẖ ḏ alma mn riš qamat pasat mala u‘tlabšat btutbẖ
qamat pasat mala u`zlat lbura amra qum bura rba qum hzia ḏ alma kulẖ dilak hu
šimit ḏ ‘štbiq baita ukulhun giTrẖ mištrin ḵḏ haza šuma biša ‘hail libẖ lhad
trin ḵḏ `thaialẖ libẖ amralẖ ḏ ahatak ana ‘u anat šakbit luatai hailak hauia lhad
trin ḵḏ šakib luata mn had Sbu trisar buria qablat minẖ qablat trisar buria ḏ had
minaihun lamitikšar ltrisar iumia hlaSalẖ lruha hamblat ḏ adlat trisar dmauata
ḏ hda lhabrẖ ladamia ladamin lhdadia ḏ bkanpia ḏ hdadia rakbia ḵḏ hzatinun liba
npal mn samkia liba mn samkia npal uhaulalat ‘l napša ubkat uamra ‘mrit ḏ `bTun
u`dul unihun ḵḏ marẖ ḏ alma rihTit maria ulamTit n‘ula asibta lnapša ḵḏ haza `mrat
namrus trisar kulhun bbišuta hun kulhun hun bbišuta ukapria babuhun lika
ḏ saka litlẖ ptahil bhašabta qam ptahil qam bhašabta uamar ḏ ‘šibqẖ lalma ḵḏ haza
šimat ruha liba traSla ‘l samka uamra ḏ litlẖ hambaga nukraia unukraia
lamištalaTbẖ balma qamat pasat mala u‘tlabšat btutba qamat pasat mala u‘zlat
lkiniana ḏ atar hšuk amralẖ lqaraptana šapla ḏ `dẖ uligrẖ litlẖ qum ab hzia ḏ bratak
ana hananan unušqan uluatai škub ‘qarai uainak mlibẖ balma ainak balma mlibẖ
hzia ḏ kulẖ dilak hu nukraia ḏ ata lalmak šamar šibqẖ ulatrẖ sliq ‘u tiškub
luatai ainak hauia ḵḏ ḏ hauian ḵḏ haza šumẖ biša hanana unišqa uluata škib nišqa
uškib luata uqablat minẖ buTna hda qablat minẖ hamša zidania ḏ hinun hdadia
mkadbia hinun mkadbia bihdadia Sbu ḏ lahaiib ulašapir abdia biuma hda paqa piqa
ubraq birqa btiniana ram rima btlata iumia bzahriria mitkarkia barba iumia guha
‘tigna btiria hšuk bhamša iumia Srap udauia liba hbal ruiana hbilta ḏ haiata
mhambla uiadla hamblat uiadlat hamiš dmauata ḏ hda lhabrẖ ladamia ladamia hda
lhabrẖ ubihdadia mitiqlia ḏ hauia minaiun husrana ḏ lamSibẖ kulhun almia ḵḏ
hzatinun ‘da lriša šadia ‘da šadia lriša ugdula briša satra gdula satra briša
uailat lliba harkta uamra rihTit marai ulamaTit n‘ulia asibta lnapšai
la‘zaitinun ula‘tnihit u‘mrit ulahuat kulhun haršia ‘dun ukulhin minlia ‘tbadrun
lmalia ḏ pasit malai ulmalia ḏ libšit tutbai lmalia tutbai ḏ libšit ḏ mnata babaita
litlia ptahil hašib bruianẖ u`timlikbẖ bhukumtẖ uamar ḏ `qum lhiia sgud u`dnia
lrbia ḏ `l ḏ bit ḏ ‘sab mn lbuš ‘šata haita u‘hdar bmia tahmia bmia tahmia ‘hdar
mindam ḏ hauia `hauia ptahil bhikumta ḏ hašib ḵḏ sgid ušaba lhiia nsib mn lbuš
‘šata haita hdarbun bmia tahmia ḵḏ ‘mizgit ‘šata haita bgauaihun ḏ mia tahmia
briha ḏ lbuša ḏ ‘šata haita nitar apra mn siniauis arqa sliq aqapra mn siniauis
arqa batar npal ‘Tamam kulhun iamamia u‘štadkun kumSia kulhun huat miabašta
u‘tmisiat msuta uniplat bmai udalia br guda usliq qam blbab šumia uḵḏ `tingid
rqiha sgad ušaba lgabra naSba ḵḏ hizẖ lkursia rama hda u`tbasam blibẖ
nisbẖ lšura ḏ arqa uba ḏ nigiTrẖ blbab šumia ḵḏ ba ḏ ninisbẖ lšura ḏ arqa
`tkarakbẖ naplia `tkarakbẖ qupat nkilia ḏ ml`ia bhukumtẖ mliabẖ bihrara ḏ kulẖ
hukumtẖ mlia ḵḏ mliabẖ bihrara bsilat nuqbta ḏ haršia ‘tkarakbẖ šuba šibiahia
utrisar maštuSia baTlia rtkarakbẖ aTarpan ulupan trin singiania ḏ alma `urp`il
umarp`il ḏ ‘l rugza btibil mšalTia ‘tkarakbẖ btalia rba usliq uqam bqumbtẖ ḵḏ
nisbẖ lšura ḏ arqa uasqẖ `srẖ bqumbta ḵḏ nisbẖ lparqsa rama ḏ rqiha usliq `srẖ
bkursiẖ ‘star šibiahia usliq qamba bqumbta qam maštuSia u‘tikpar bparunun hamša
mdabranun `lai `lai ḏ mnasbia ptahil bhukumtẖ iatib umšaiilun lhda hda mna
huaitun bišia ḏ dmutaiun lahuat mn bit abu ḵḏ haza amarlun ruha anatẖ mn tit
atin nihuilak rabigar uniqum nihuilak adiaura adiaura nihuilak bkul ḏ abdit
unanihak `l kursiak `l kursiak nanihak uniqum unitaqnẖ lalma nihuia Tabia
uništalambak mn riš briš ḵḏ haza amarlẖ šuba šibiahia amarlun ḏ bnai anatun `u
tibdun `bidata ḏ Tabuta ana lgiTinkun bligTtai ḵḏ haza amar ptahil baita minẖ
`tinsib baita `tinsib minẖ u‘štalaTbẖ naplia ḵḏ mn qudam ḏ ‘tingid qqiha ušadat
arqa bmsuta ḵḏ haza amar ptahil baita minẖ `tinsib ptahil bhukumtẖ baiin uamar `qum

`saq lbit ab d̲ `marlh̲ lab rama kul d̲ amartlia `bdit k̲d̲ haizin amar ptahil ruha
baina bhukumta uamra `qria humra u`stirata d̲ nihun bnia balma šibiahia usahraiun
bhambaguta niqmun maštuSia udaiuia niqrun ukulh̲ alma napqh̲ hamša singiania
d̲ baita niqmun uqraba nibdun k̲d̲ hzinun ptahil `tiaharba bhukumta mla bgurmaizia
ušqap ‘l tarbaSia hadia uamar mn qudam d̲ ‘zal lbit abu šauilh̲ mara lhazin alma
laiadia marh̲ d̲ baita d̲ `tlh̲ mara lhazin alma k̲d̲ asgia lbit hiia labuia `utra
amarlh̲ `bdit alma ruha qrat qrat humria uqrat `stirata k̲d̲ msatrin šauiat
liliata d̲ gaunia gaunia uznia znia šibiahia qrun sahria d̲ napša usaka litlun maštuSia
qrqn daiuia k̲d̲ aiit dmutun balma hamša šaun hirba d̲ ‘l rugza btibil mšalTia
`it d̲ dmutaihun barqa tihuia u‘it bmia tahmia anin b‘šumia niqum uqiriatan
bkulh̲ alma arqa dilan tihuia ulaništalaTba ‘niš bhazin alma baita d̲ abuhan
bnalan anin nidarba mn abatrh̲ aminTul anin marh̲ d̲ baita ruha tihuilh̲ marta
batran ruha d̲ qudša minaian uanin nihuiba bnaTria niqmun trisar kukbia unipalgun
iumia uiahria ušaiia ušušia nipalgun unipalgun nagia upuhria k̲d̲ haizin nibad kulh̲
baita dilan nihuia mn d̲ `tmisiat arqa ualma d̲ adam ata tlatma ušitin alpia šnia hauia
mn d̲ ata adam ualma lkimSat almia arbima utmanan alpia šnia hauia šuba šibiahia
palig šnia k̲d̲ hdadia had mn habrh̲ labSar ruha masTanita paligth̲ lkulh̲ alma trisar
bna d̲ hasirta had mn habrh̲ labSar laiada ula‘dat ruha ušibiahia kulhun d̲ `tlh̲
mara lalma u`tlh̲ adiauria `l d̲ qaimia umithašbia umšauilh̲ mara lalma lika d̲ litlh̲
saka `hdar ptahil lalma ata uma d̲ abuia amarlh̲ šuma uamar ‘tit d̲ `nSub bra rhima
`niSbh̲ u‘qaiamia uniqum unišaba lrurbia k̲d̲ niqum `l ligrh̲ `dh̲ bhiua bala nimhia `dh̲
nimhia bhiua bala
ubhiua bira umhauilh̲ d̲ nibad Tabta aminTul mindam d̲ abad šibiahia palig malkuta
d̲ hauia lpagria d̲ aklia lkul hiua bira ulpiria d̲ arqa d̲ kulhun mn piria mia hun k̲d̲
ata ptahil uamarlun lšibiahia kulhun d̲ nibdh̲ ladam d̲ nihuia malka balma k̲d̲
haizin amarlun kulhun bihdadia mitmilkia d̲ nimarlh̲ unibdh̲ ladam ulhaua
aminTul d̲ hu dilan hu amrilh̲ ata nibdh̲ ladam uhaua riša d̲ kula šurbta k̲d̲ haizin
amarlh̲ šibiahia ptahil ‘nTiT blibh̲ uamar `u ana balhudai `bdh̲ ladam uhaua riša
d̲ kula šurubta adam mahu d̲ iada mibadbia balma malil ptahil ‘utra lšibiahia
d̲ nimarlun adam brai dilia hu malka d̲ hazin alma malil šibiahia lptahil
d̲ nimarlh̲ ‘la anin lmahu rhiSinin uqaiminin umahu mšalTinin balma malil ptahil
d̲ nimarlun anatun munqa tihuilh̲ utiplihunh̲ mn riš briš ‘ubduia urumiuia ladam
ulitbh̲ nišimta k̲d̲ `bduia ladam lamSun d̲ nirmubh̲ nišimta qiriuia laiar ziqa
d̲ nihalilinun lgirmh̲ nihalilinun unihuibun muqra muqra nihuibun unašar uniqum
`l ligrh̲ qiriuia lSauta d̲ ‘šata haita d̲ tanhrh̲ llbuših̲ lbuših̲ tanhrh̲ unišar uniqum
`l ligrh̲ qiriuia lhabla d̲ šabqia ultiha d̲ ‘šata ‘kalta d̲ ailalh̲ b`STunia d̲ nimlia
bgurmaizih̲ uniTaripbun bganph̲ unikhibh̲ unitrandad unašar uniqum ‘l ligria
malil šibiahia ulptahil amria hab nirmibh̲ mn ruha d̲ aitit `lak mn bit abu kulhun
abad šibiahia uabad mara d̲ alma k̲d̲ abad kulhun l‘ška laqumh̲ `l ligria ptahil b`ruth̲
asgia sliq latar nhur qam qudamh̲ d̲ aba d̲ `utria uamarlh̲ abuia mahu abadt amarlh̲
kul d̲ `bdit tiqnat dmutai udmutak latiqnat qam aba d̲ `utria uasgia azal
latar ksia nisbh̲ lmana rba d̲ manharlun lqilumia kulhun manharlh̲ lkitun
d̲ gaunia gaunia uznia znia kanh̲ bTarTbunh̲ dakia bšum hata d̲ hiia `hablh̲ nisbh̲
ubkanpia TarTdunia uatih̲ iahbh̲ lptahil brh̲ k̲d̲ `hablh̲ lptahil `utra hiia qrunun
ladiauria qrunun lhibil ušitil uanuš ‘utria d̲ iatiria ulahasria qrunun upaqdunun
uzahrunun `l nišmata amarlun anatun naTdh̲ hulh̲ d̲ lanidun `lh̲ kulhun almia lanida
ptahil blila d̲ nišimta bpagra haizin napla haizin napla nišimta bpagra haizin
mamlilbh̲ zma zma haizin mamlilbh̲ haizin niSriba agia maulanh̲ d̲ adakas mana hu
nihuilh̲ naTra k̲d̲ mitlabšibh̲ bziua d̲ hiia umašar uqaiim ‘l ligrh̲ k̲d̲ malil bpuma
dakia anat akmar `l dukth̲ atia akamar atia `l dukth̲ uparhzia mn dh̲ udh̲ kanh̲
ptahil bTarTabunh̲ dakia umhaninbh̲ b`uSTlh̲ pahra azil `utra uazlia minh̲ adiaurh̲
adiaudh̲ d̲ azlia minh̲ gubria d̲ mpaqdia ‘l nišmata k̲d̲ mTun lgu tibil ul`STuna
d̲ pagria k̲d̲ ba d̲ nirmia b‘STuna ana šqalta mn kanph̲ `l d̲ ptahil nišiqla ladam

ana traStinun lgirmh̲ `l d̲ šadia ‘dh̲ `lh̲ ana arhath̲ briha d̲ rurbia pagra bTun muqra
uziua d̲ hiia mamlilbh̲ k̲d̲ mamlilbh̲ ziua d̲ hiia ainh̲ pta b`STuna pagria k̲d̲ malilbh̲ ziua
d̲ hiia adakas ziua latrh̲ sliq asiqth̲ latrh̲ lbit rurbia dukta d̲ rbia iatbia
šalimth̲ lganzibria l`utria d̲ lgiTia iardnia hiia lgaT Tabuta d̲ `utria d̲ atia
lnišimta qrun upaqdun rbia uamrilia azil qrilh̲ qala šania qala šania qrilh̲
d̲ bišia lanidun ‘lh̲ ‘l nišimta ‘tit uaškitinun lbišia kulhun k̲d̲ iatbia k̲d̲ iatbia
bišia upudria ‘lh̲ napSia `lh̲ napSia pudria ubaiia d̲ nipalgunh̲ bišia bmna mna ana
d̲ hzaitinun `tiahribh̲ blbušai dakia ‘tahzilun lalmia bziua napša d̲ abahatai
`hablia `tahzilh̲ lptahil ‘utra haulil ‘l napšia ubka haulil ubka ‘l napšia ‘l
mindam d̲ abad `tahzila lruha masTianita d̲ masTia kulhun almia hauith̲ raza rba
d̲ mitkabšibh̲ mardia hauith̲ raza rba saiman ulahazia hauith̲ tiniana zamta zmama
d̲ gumla hauith̲ tlitaia raza uplagila briša plugta k̲d̲ hiziun kulhun haiqia
umihaibia šuba napšaihun bhaiabia lgaT napšaihun lgaT bhaiabia ‘stahap ‘l
anpaihun npal ‘stahap unpal ‘l anpaihun u‘daiun ‘l anpaiun šqal uamria maran
hTin hTainin d̲ kul d̲ hTin tišbuqlan k̲d̲ haza amar bišia plagilun plugta bplangun
aumitinun braza rba d̲ latihTiba bnišimta ‘tiksit mn šuba ukibšit napšai ldmu
pagria damit napšai šauit ldmu pagria u‘mrit d̲ la‘iahiqa lnišimta lnišimta
la`iahiqa ulatihuq blbuša bdmu pagria ‘damila uiatbit luat bSauta ušrit ‘la Sauta
d̲ mana rba d̲ hu mina `tinSib d̲ iatbit luata ualipta ma d̲ hiia paqdun drašila bqala
šania d̲ šanai unahur mn kulhun almia drašila bqala niha uaiarta lliba mn šinta
‘štaila bšuta d̲ `utria ualipta hukumta mn hukumtai alipta uamarila d̲ niqum
unisgud unišaba lrurbia nišaba latra sagia dukta d̲ Tabia iatbia nišaba
ladakas ziua laba d̲ minh̲ hua k̲d̲ iatbit ualipth̲ qam sgid ušaba lrurbia šabh̲ labuia
adakas ziua umana d̲ minh̲ `tinSib k̲d̲ sgid ušabh̲ labuia `utra `tahzilh̲ mn atar ksia
k̲d̲ hizia labuia ‘utra ‘timlia btušbihta mn riš briš draš bqala rba
ulšibiahia mqarqilun mqarqilun lšibiahia umqarqilh̲ lmarh̲ d̲ alma kparbun
bbnia d̲ baita ub`bidata kulhin d̲ abad shid bšuma d̲ hiia ub`utra d̲ qalh̲ ašumh̲ kparbun
b`bidata d̲ tibil uazbar ainh̲ latar nhur k̲d̲ haza abad `utra d̲ hiia bTabu `tmlun `lh̲
`lh̲ `tmlun bTabuta upaqid binta bnalh̲ paqid bnalh̲ binta upaqid nSablh̲
niSubta upaqid traSlh̲ iardna k̲d̲ šalimlh̲ k`lh̲ masiq tariSlh̲ bbinth̲ tariSlh̲ batar
nhur luat abuia adakas ziua umšauilh̲ `utra batar nhur k̲d̲ haza šamat ruha ušibiahia
kulhun bmalia iatbia kulhun iatbia bmalia uqaimia umithašbia qaimia umithašbia
uamria d̲ nišibia ladam uninisbia unišibia uninisbh̲ ladam unikatrh̲ luatan
balma uamria k̲d̲ hu nimalil bqala niha anhin nimalil bqala marda k̲d̲ hu nikul
uništia anhin nišibia lalma anin lalma nišibia unišauibh̲ dmu dmu nilguTbh̲
hinga unihbuqbh̲ hibqa balma hibqa balma nihbuqbh̲ uniknušbh̲ kinša balma
kništa balma niknuš unišibia unailh̲ lkništan lkništan nailh̲ unišibia llibh̲
uninisbh̲ unišibia bšipuria uambubia hu minan lanipsiq nišabh̲ šabh̲ dmauata d̲ gaunia
gaunia uznia znia k̲d̲ ‘thašab bišia bbišutun ana ‘thašbit ‘l Tabta d̲ `bad Tabuta
balma qraitinun l`utria ahai gubria d̲ mqaimia šurbta qraitinun l‘utrai ahai
`utria nihia umqaimia qamit uamarilun l`utria ahai d̲ mpaqdia ‘l šurbata laiaditun
`utria ahai d̲ šibiahia mahu d̲ mithašbia qaimia umithašbia šuba uamria d̲ naskilba
bšurbta d̲ hiia bšurbta d̲ hiia naskilba unipisqa luatan balma k̲d̲ haza šuma ‘utria
`utria nihia umqaimia uamria niSubta ninSublh̲ ladam uninapša lšurbth̲
niqrilh̲ ladam `utra uniniSbh̲ bniSubta bniSubta niniSbh̲ unibdulh̲ hilula hilula
ladam nibdulh̲ unihauia unalgiTh̲ `nta `nta ladam nitilh̲ unišauilh̲ Sauta Sauta
nišauilh̲ uniatrh̲ lšurbth̲ drašia usidria niqria unibdun hiia binth̲
niqaqbilinhun lšibiahia alma d̲ nitun lkništan lkništan nitun hinun luatan nihun
hinun nihun luatan uadam nitraurab `l kulhun ana u`utria ahai abadna lkulh̲
Tabta lTabta abadna uabadnalh̲ hilula ladam balma hilula ladam abadnalh̲
u`habnalh̲ `nta haua bzauia `habnalh̲ k̲d̲ d̲ `nSablh̲ mn dukth̲ qaiminin uhadinin
uhadinabh̲ mn riš briš alma d̲ kSala lruha ušibiahia kratalhun lkulhun ruha
riha nisbat uminilta d̲ kadba amra `lh̲ šamiš ‘uSTla aitia usira aitia tutba nbu dahba

aitia ukiuan msania unarqmia bil lhama uhamra aitia nirig aitia napqia kulhun kukbia trisar bgaunia gaunia uznia znia minaihun hun nangaria umn sahraihun klilia gadlia daiuaihun bmaštamania umn ‘ukuraihun bšaquata humraihun braqadia uniulaihun bsimadria asa bmublia aitun urihania bdgur dgur atiuia liasmin rba mn škinta d̲ hiia hua atiuia liasmin rba uabadbh̲ hasir ubSir atiuia lmarua aštargana d̲ mn škinat ‘utria hua atiuia lmarua aštargana uabadbh̲ kul d̲ biš atiuia lsusimbar utapsramka d̲ mn škintun d̲ trin Turia dakiia rihh̲ ata atiuia lsusimbar u`tapsramka uabadbh̲ kul d̲ snia atiuia lnargis asa umarmahuz uabadbh̲ harkta atunun lrihania kulhun d̲ gaunia gaunia uznia znia uabadbun kul d̲ biš niulaihun bTabaiia usahraihun bapaiia algaiun bnakasia šaun upiqdaiun bTabaiia laTabun kulhun bšaquata kulhun hun maštamania u‘štmulh̲ ladam ukula šurbth̲ ana u‘utria ahai baTilna lbišutun lbišutun baTilna ladam abadnalh̲ Tabta Tabta ladam abadnalh̲ uasiqnh̲ mn riš briš abadnalh̲ hilula rba bdrašia usidria taqnia bahitna lšuta d̲ ruha ubaTilna lqala marda anhana lbišuta d̲ šibiahia ubaTilnun lmaštuSia kulhun traSna lširša d̲ hiia zka uzakia lkula šurbth̲ `qarh̲ huainin d̲ adam alma d̲ haua hamblat alma d̲ hamblat haua anhin aqaraiun huin anin huainin aqaraiun uana huila sabus ‘nšia ana hauith̲ milgaT zaua ladam k̲d̲ gubria d̲ zaua lagTia ana hauith̲ milgaT zaua ladam u‘mrit titnapaš šurbta d̲ hiia titnapaš uminaiun nitiaiar alma alma nitiaiar hiia Tabutun niligTun hiia niligTun Tabutun uniparqunun unasqunun mn alma hazin d̲ bišia briš šurbta qadmaita adakas ziua hua hua adakas ziua uanana d̲ nhura huat huat anana d̲ nhura k̲d̲ huatalh̲ hda karsa hurintin uanat hiia hun k̲d̲ huatalh̲ karsa hurintin anan nSab uanhar ziua hun hun anana nSab uanhar ziua d̲ basim šumh̲ ‘l almia anan nSab ziua šitil uanhar ziua haua d̲ mn haua huat d̲ almia udaria qarila rimta d̲ mqaiam šuma ‘l almia btlat karsata brhiia udmut hiia huat br anuš adam d̲ mqaiam šurbth̲ dmut hiia d̲ mina mitiqria alma hibil maria d̲ arqa d̲ almia hiziuia uminh̲ dhil šitil šitla Taba ‘utra mqaiim tušlimia anuš ‘utra niha d̲ mqaiam šurbth̲ adam malka d̲ `utria d̲ pahlilh̲ kulhun almia adam bdmu rbia traSth̲ briša d̲ binta uhaua bdmu anana d̲ nhura šauita marta d̲ kulh̲ alma k̲d̲ aqamth̲ ladam aqmit tlata `utria `lh̲ `utria d̲ aqmit `lh̲ d̲ adam uhaua d̲ brišaihun huit qamit ualiptinun drašia šaniia aliptinun sidria d̲ masqata d̲ `utria nisqun aliptinun bauata d̲ babauata d̲ hiia nitqaimun amarilun `triStun u`tqaiamtun batra d̲ Tabia mitqaimia binia d̲ mania d̲ nhura hatam titqaimun iitbit ualiptinun k̲d̲ d̲ rba lšualia amarilun ubraktinun mn birkta d̲ Tabia tihuia ‘lauaikun adam ubnia ušurbath̲ nihzunh̲ latar nhur k̲d̲ hzatinun ruha lmaštuSia qarialun lmaštuSia umalkalun milka baTla milka baTla malkalun d̲ laših latar nhur uamralun mahu d̲ aitinan bgu baita umanhirinin bgauh̲ d̲ alma lmalan d̲ manhirinin d̲ mnata bgauh̲ litlan mnata litlan bgauh̲ ukulh̲ baita lau dilan hu qum nimarlh̲ lnukraia d̲ nitilan mnata balma `u lanitalan mnata `lh̲ nirmia tigra `u lanitalan `lh̲ nišamar nišibqh̲ lalma nišamar lalma nišibqh̲ man hu d̲ nihuibh̲ Sauta Sauta man nihuibh̲ unanhrih̲ lalma k̲d̲ haza amrat ruha ušibiahia bnh̲ d̲ daura baTla malalat uamarilun lmaštuSia baTlia ‘u napqitun puq mn baita ana balhudai `ianhrh̲ `ianhrh̲ lhazin baita u`tirSh̲ mn riš briš kulhun maštuSia hun bhambaguta uqaimia hašlia razia ukulhun lbiš mithašbia uamria qur nipria pura uqum ništia mištia razia d̲ rhamta nibad unašiTh̲ lkilh̲ alma razia d̲ haršia niqria unišauia kila balman nibad marganuta d̲ lqala d̲ hiia nibaTlh̲ nibaTlh̲ lqala d̲ hiia mn riš briš man niqria tigra nirmia bgu baita d̲ ldardaria lamištria tigra nirmia bgu baita ulnukraia nigiTlh̲ nigiTlh̲ lnukraia unasqh̲ lkula šurbth̲ adam bligiTtan niligTh̲ unihzia man hu d̲ nihuilh̲ pirqa ruha ušibiahia azal sliq lTur karimla sliq uhašib lrazia d̲ arhamta iatbia umithašbia maštuSia unasbia mn razaiun d̲ kulhun umn raza d̲ ruha nasbia uiatbia uharšia abdia iatbia haišia bhukumtun uamria niqum unišauia pura unirmia bgauh̲ nandbia nikanpinun lkukbia trisar ukulan nišauia razia kulan nimia b`umamata kulan ulanigalil `l razia d̲ rhamta raza d̲ rhamta basim nibad unišibia lkulh̲ alma raz rhamta bhamra nibad unišibia lalma biruitan raza ḏ rhamta lmia nibad unandẖ lkulẖ alma lkulẖ alma nanidẖ unišibia bšibia braza rba ḏ rhamta ḏ ‘niš lanida ‘lan lanidẖ braza ḏ `umamatan ulanigalil mimran lanigalilinin l`umamatan uma `l kul ḏ hašibnin balman lma lanigalilinin lrazia kulhun unišauša liligTtẖ liligTtẖ ḏ lgaT nukraia ḏ latihuilẖ mnata balma mnata balma latihuilẖ ukulẖ baita dilan nihuia kulẖ nihuia dilan u‘niš lanihuia bhazin alma mahu ḏ abad nukraia bgauẖ ḏ baita ḏ lgaT bgauẖ ligTta laiadia mara ḏ baita ḏ kulẖ baita dilan hu baita hu dilan uldilun mnata litlun qam šušunin l‘bidatun ušaubin hasir ubSir hasir ubSar šaubun aminTul ḏ baita ḏ lau dilun hu baita lahua dilun ulau aminTul dilun `tiqria baita ḏ qrun ‘utria ldilia šihlun ‘lẖ ldilia l`utria ahai ḏ `tia `bidbẖ Tabta Tabta mibidbẖ ḏ nihzun Tabia uniTaibun nihzun uniTaibun Tabia unisqun nihzunẖ latar nhur nihzun unibihtun bišia ḏ ldugia ḏ nura šaplia šaplia ladugia šgirata dukta ḏ mina `tinSib dukta ḏ ‘tinSib mina hatam ruhaiun šalma hatam šalma ruhaiun aminTul ḏ mindam šapir labad ḵḏ labad mindam ḏ šapir misap saipia liuma ḏ sup qam prun pura upalig mnata lnapšaihun mnata lnapšaihun palig ḏ lašiha latar nhur apku lTabuta mindam ḏ abad marẖ ḏ alma apakunun lrazia triSia mindam ḏ qadmaia abad apakunun lmalalia ḏ kušTa umalalia ḏ kadba abdia malalia abdia ḏ kadba aminTul ḏ lašihia latar nhur riša šauiuia dinba udinba riša šauiuia apakunun l‘bidatun uabad bišuta balma atunun lpiria kulhun uabadbun kul ḏ biš atunun liarqunia ušaubun hasir ubSir atunun lmia hiia uašad rmubun hargta atiuia lriš kana uabadbẖ raza ḏ rhamta ušiha ḏ bẖ mištahnibẖ kulhun almia abadbẖ masTianuta ḏ bẖ šaTin kulhun almia abadbẖ raz ruita ḏ bẖ rauibẖ kulhun almia mašqilun mn kas ruita ḏ mazbria anpaiun liama rba ḏ sup atiuia ldahba ukaspa margania ḏ hazin alma atiuia ldahba ukaspa ḏ bẖ rauibẖ almia bẖ almia rauibẖ umazbria anpaiun liama ḏ sup atiuia largba uminuna uabadbẖ kul ḏ biš lruha plaglẖ šiha ḏ bẖ nihzunẖ almia uništahnun l‘nbu plaglẖ hukumta ušauiuia mara ḏ rhamta plaglẖ Tiblia uambubia ḏ bẖ mištbibẖ kulhun almia lkiuan plaglẖ bišuta ḏ minẖ hauia hasir ubSir lšamiš plaglẖ kadba ḏ bẖ mištamšia kulhun almia lsin plaglẖ husrana ḏ kul husrana minẖ hua lbil plaglẖ raza ḏ mia ḏ bẖ manidlun lkulhun almia lkulhun almia manidlun uariblẖ lTab bbiš lnirig plaglẖ zaina lmabad qraba balma qarilun lkukbia trisar maluašia plaglun plaglun batia batia akmar bbišuta rmun akmar rmun bbišuta sina qina uplugia plagunun liumia uiahria palgunun lšaiia ušušia lšaiia ušušia palgunun palgunun lnagia upuhria palgu lkula hasiruta upalguia lkulẖ hasir ubSir palguia ḏ kulia alma lnapšaihun ušumẖ ḏ qadmaia la‘dkar ‘sruia lasarun urmun braba zimaiun ašar ‘l ‘umamatun ḏ kulhun ḏ bkadba maudin ašar ‘l ‘umamata ḏ `mubun bTur karimla pura ḏ prun šauba ḏ bẖ mamlilibẖ kulhun almia usahria mamlilibẖ Tiblia uzmaria rišaihun ḏ haršia kulhun riš šibia rba ḏ bẖ mištbibẖ kulhun almia mamlilibẖ qarnia ubiluria riš kulẖ nkista rišaihun ḏ kulhun qrabia ḏ bẖ mištbibẖ kulhun almia mamlilibẖ kinar šiha ḏ bẖ šiha ‘STarar ‘lauaihun mamlilibẖ bdarbukia ḏ bẖ ḏ mamlala ruhia kulhin bẖ mamlla kulhin ruhia ušibia šabia balma mamllibẖ bšipuria umamllibẖ brugza kulhun mamllibẖ bamamia ḏ kadabta ḏ kulẖ kadba minaiun hua mamllibẖ bguha rba ḏ `tigna guha balma guha balma `tigna alma ḏ aniduia lkulẖ alma lalma kulẖ aniduia uanidu larqa mn riš briš lsadana ḏ arqa aniduia uaniduia lkulẖ rqiha lkulẖ rqiha aniduia ušibia rmun bkul dukta qalaiun uqal guhaiun mana mn iama sliq mana sliq mn iama ukulhun `mbia u`lania `tinsib ḵḏ `tinSib `mbia u`lania qalaihun b`udnẖ ḏ adam npal ḵḏ npal qalaihun b`udnẖ ḏ adam adam mn šintẖ qam adam qam mn šintẖ uazbar

anpẖ latar nhur qralun ladiaura qralun l`utria nihia umqaimia amarlẖ lhibil `utra gabra ḏ qalẖ ašmẖ mahu hua bgu baita bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma mahu hua bgu baita ḏ saliq qala ḏ gunaha maTia šumia kula arqa nadat ukulẖ rqiha `tmasar lbab almia kulhun ‘tinsib ušna mn duktẖ ḵḏ hazin amar adam `STarar bainẖ dimita ḵḏ haizin amar adam ana barit blbušai baribẖ balbuš ‘šata haita ḏ abahatai `hablia baribh̲ balbuša dakia d̲ npiš usaka litlh̲ qirbit ulgaTth̲ ladam bpras iaminh̲ uanhath̲ llibh̲ `l samkh̲ anhath̲ uamarilh̲ k̲d̲ d̲ šuba abad tum amarilh̲ k̲d̲ d̲ huat mn dukta k̲d̲ raza kabšia qala hu d̲ šibiahia d̲ `timlik milka baTla milka baTla `timlik d̲ amria nirmia tigra amria tigra nirmia uamria lalma naprh̲ amria naprh̲ lalma unišauibh̲ hasir ubSir uamrilh̲ d̲ kun u`tkanan adam ulatikrilak `lauaihun latikrilak `l šibiahia u`l namrus `mh̲ d̲ alma ana ‘hauiak bradupak u‘iašplinun lradupak anat anha lhaua zauak ulanihuibak hasir ubSir k̲d̲ haizin amarilh̲ ladam amarilun lkulhun bnh̲ hibil bziuh̲ hadia ušitil mqarilun lnaSbh̲ šitil b‘ruth̲ uanuš bšuth̲ d̲ `utria ahh̲ ašmuia hadia daiSia umitparpia ulakarialia `l kulhun almia k̲d̲ akal adam u`tbasam qralh̲ lhaua zauh̲ uasbra bruhSanh̲ d̲ hibil ‘utra ‘tkalal uškib ‘l dukth̲ hda mn bnh̲ d̲ adam napšia bhasiruta huat napšia huat bhasiruta ušinta lainh̲ latat blibh̲ gnalh̲ guha uqaima unaida qumth̲ ‘thašab bbišuta ušibqh̲ ladam abuia šibqa lhaua ‘mh̲ u‘šbaqinun lahh̲ k̲d̲ škibia šbaqinun lahh̲ kulhun uaqria bašita sliq aqria sliq bašita uazal lgaua d̲ kništun k̲d̲ hzath̲ ruha `hkat hdat u`tbasmat hdat u‘tbasmat ruha hdun ušibiahia kulhun ruha nisbat nura ušamiš riha nsib gahna usagda ruha umahta qumta umšaba ruha qmat riha ušamiš sgidlh̲ sigudta bil bšhba d̲ napšia nsib asa ualanph̲ npaq qaimia umbarkilh̲ uamrilh̲ mn birktan t`iul `lak kiuan btirath̲ traSlh̲ b`dh̲ simadra uklila lgiTlh̲ b`dh̲ usgid hananh̲ unišqh̲ sin blibh̲ birkh̲ uruha brakth̲ bhinkh̲ barkalh̲ bbilura ušabšat aiilth̲ lkništa k̲d̲ mitkarkibh̲ šibiahia ‘dh̲ šadia ‘l tutbh̲ `dh̲ `l tutbh̲ šadia umnapiSlun ltutbh̲ uraiiq ušadia mirta mnapiSlun lqirqnh̲ midkarlun l`utria ahh̲ umidkarla lšuta d̲ `utria ahh̲ ašmuia aTar midkarla lšuta d̲ `utria alma d̲ briša autbuia k̲d̲ autbuia briša ualma d̲ kasa algiTuia alma d̲ ašqiuia kasa alma tiniuia utiltuia k̲d̲ tiniuia utiltuia libh̲ bplugta qam ušalth̲ rquda qumth̲ k̲d̲ haizin abad adam br adam ‘utria kipruia lšumh̲ mn šapta k̲d̲ rua bruita d̲ šibiahia qam urqid biruita abatar d̲ nha u`tib qam ba d̲ n`zal ldukth̲ ruha ‘štauiat badmu haua zauh̲ d̲ h` ahath̲ uqamalh̲ lpalga d̲ `uhra piria d̲ zipa šauiat ušauiat dukta d̲ aula aribtinun l`dania uqamat ulgaTth̲ b`dh̲ k̲d̲ lgaTth̲ napša šalth̲ zaniuta bpumh̲ d̲ nimarla unihibqa bqumth̲ bšiha d̲ nisba lruianh̲ malil lruha d̲ nimarla k̲d̲ anat haua ahat anat tutbak hiuaria mahu d̲ labšit kitunia d̲ gaunia gaunia uznia znia qumtik arza rama lmalik d̲ saiit mia anat šaqik gupnia aiar lmalik d̲ ramit dahba ana `brik kinia aiar lmalik d̲ ramit kaspa anat rišik anana d̲ nhura lmalik d̲ haipit usarqit anat ainik ainia d̲ ziua lmalik kula d̲ maliatbia malalat uamralh̲ lnbiha d̲ kadba lhasira d̲ hasir ubSir šduq qalak adam ‘lau d̲ turSa lahua `lau d̲ lahua turSa hda gublan hua hda hua gublan hda mana šauinan ltartinan hašta d̲ lahua turSa ldilak šauiuk gabra uldilia ‘nta šauiuk ldilia šauiuk ‘nta uatiun qudamak aqmun uamrilia d̲ titragagbia uminak nibad Sbu Sbu nibad minak uminaikun nitiaiar alma k̲d̲ ligTa unišqa uba d̲ nibad mina Sbu ana `tahzilh̲ banana ziua uašmath̲ qala šania qala šania ašmath̲ urmaith̲ llibh̲ mn samkh̲ haršia d̲ ruha pašrit uhauith̲ d̲ lau haua huat hauith̲ d̲ lahuat haua hizia lnapšia umina bhit u‘tbahdat unapših̲ bhaiabia lgaT napših̲ lgaT bhaiabia napšia lgaT bhaiabia aminTul d̲ kul dmu saina minh̲ hua `lh̲ ligTit kušTa aminTul d̲ kaluza d̲ hiia ašnia ašnia lkaluza d̲ hiia uma d̲ rbia amrilh̲ šibqa lSauta d̲ `utria ahh̲ uazal Sauta d̲ šibiahia rhim šibqa lSauta d̲ haua zauh̲ uazal npal bnura d̲ iaqda hizia lduga d̲ nura d̲ kul d̲ hazilh̲ maiit ukul d̲ mitkarakbh̲ mitiqlia kul d̲ šahla uluata šakib napil bsaupa d̲ alma bsaupa d̲ alma napil uainh̲ nhura lahazia badmu pagria `damit u`zlit slaqilh̲ lkništun kulhun mihzia d̲ hiziun `stahap `l anpaiun npal `stahap npal `l anpaiun uqaimia ldilia midnia midnia umbarkilia uamria anat huia rišan uriša d̲ kulh̲ alman anat huilan riša uanin nihuia mn abatrak ruha brabuta anat b‘nšia autba anat atba b‘nšia uanat huilan riša bhazin alma k̲d̲ haizin amarlia šibiahia masTianh̲ d̲ hazin alma k̲d̲ haizin amarlia šibiahia ana asbrit ugihkit ‘l kulhun malalit d̲ ‘marlun lšuba d̲ agzar `l napšaihun ‘u baiitun d̲ `huia rišaikun uruha baiitun d̲ ‘iautba b‘nšia qum lpuraikun buzuia uqum ušubqu lkništaikun uamurulia ‘l razaikun

ugalilulia `l malalkun kulhun kd iatibna binataikun ligTit nsabtinun lrazaihun
`tbairibh balbušai ‘tbairibh blbušai dakia d npiš usaka litlh galiltinun
lrazaihun ukadibth lmimrun lmimrun kadibth ukaribtinin l`umamatun d `mubun
bTur karimla ruha rmaita mn kursia uzamta zmara d gumla šdit bqulpai mhata
upligila briša plugta rkašta bgduliata uasarta blbab šumia šamiš brazia lgaTth
ušauith kd ‘nta šauith liurba aminTul d luat ruha šakib sin bšauTa mhaith uašlit
nsabth lilbušia lilbušia nsabth minh ušbaqth balbuša baTla šbaqth blbuš ‘šata
`kilta d `lh rugza hua `lh hua rugza u`tib bgirba `l dukth pisnh d `nbu tibrit
utibrit b`dh harzinh galiltinin lšiTuath hauith grarth balma `umilh ldumaia
d lamitahzia dmuth balma laTth lkukba biša shapth urmaith mn kursia tbarth
lhumarta d halSh ušauith d šiTuath balma tbarth umšaith uautibth bkisia
`umitilh lkukba biša d lanihuilh zida balma lbil bšauTh mhaith utagh mn riših
šiqlit taga šiqlit mn riših ušauilh muma bqumth lnirig bguzra mhaith
upasiqtinun l`brh pasiqminun u`habtinun lkumrh lkumrh `habtinun ulsagadh d nisihdun
bSauia balma balma d nisihdun unihaun šiTuatun balma abadibun bšibiahia d `l
šurbta d hiia mitrauribia abadibun bšibiahia d rmibun bizta bizta rmibun
uhauit šiTuatun balma ma d abadibun bšibiahia hinun nibdun bkumraihun
usagadun d lanihun balma kd atit luat adam uamrilh hauitak bradupak bradupak
hauitak bšurba biša d mitgaTlia kulhun kumrun usagadun hinun babdia
nihulak hinun nihun babdia uništmulak mn riš briš maTuta lanihuia lšibiahia
kulhun ulalgubria d sagdilhun aminTul d kul d abad ‘bidatun lamikšar latar
nhur ana d ‘zlit lbithiia ‘šauit u‘taqnh lalma mn riš ‘iasqh lširšaiun u‘tirSh
lšurba d hiia mn riš briš kd šuba palig maluašia ‘tiqnislh muta lalma `tiqnislh
lnišmata d gubria kšiTia umhaimnia u‘nšia šalmaniata salqia hazilh latar nhur
nišmata d šibiahia bmaTaratun mitisra mitisra bmaTaratun alma d ruhaiun
šalma alma d šalma ruhaiun umaitia udaikia kd d lahun babia d qrat ruha kulhun
bhirba mitnisbia babia d qrat ruha kulhun bhirba mitniasbia babia d qrat ruha kul
iuma iatbia bSauma ukul iuma bmalia iatbia kul iuma iatbia bmalia alma d ruhaiun
šalma kd šalimlun kilaiun mazbrilun anpaiun latar hšuk babia d qra mšiha kulhun
lhdadia mkadbia lhdadia ubhad mamla laqaimia laqaimia bhad mamla aminTul d mn
qrita d šiqra hun hu apiklun lmalalia lmindam d qadmaia abad apiklun lmalalia
ušiTia ramibh balma šiTia d šaTia mšiha kulh misap saiip liuma d sup baba d qra
šamiš d adunai qarilh kulhun almia baba d qra adunai ama d bit `sraiil kulh minh
npaq mn ama d bit `sraiil d `dh lhdadia mhun `da mhun bihdadia Sbu d lahaiib abdia
Sbu abdia d lahaiib umisap saipia liuma d sup mn ama d iahuTaiia kulhun babia
minaihun npaq npaq ama d iazuqaiia šiTia d nura mauqria šiTia d mauqria nura d mn
dmuta d lbušia d mšiha hun saipia iazuqaiia usaipia bqalaihun šamia baba d qra
agz`il d sin qarilh kulhun almia sin kulhun almia qarilh aminTul saina dmuth bkul
atar baba d qra sin d kul kibia unTiTia minh hun d ‘l haršia upudria iatbia hinun
apkia lilbia hinun makšlia kšilia balma kul d šama šutaihun napil bsauph d alma baba
d qra kiuan liumia ušaiia dahlia liumia dahlia ušaiia ukul iuma bSaumh iatbia
kul ium iatbia bSaumh umanbia nbihia d kadba hun Saiamia uSaiamata d ‘l šiqra
iatbia hinun iatbia ‘l šiqra umanbia hukumta mn `uSraihun hinun ptulia
uqadišia kulhun misap saipia liuma d sup kul man d šama šutaihun lahazilh
latar nhur baba d qra ang`il d bil qarilh kulhun almia baba d qra bil kulhun
singiania uaradaiia minh hun minh hun singiania uaradaiia d `l rugza btibil
mšalTia kul ium kul iuma ‘l kursia d mirda iatbia pakria kadšia unangria
uminihria umšailia d abidla lrahmutun ulamasiqla lriš briš mahila bšauTia
gilda bšauTia d nura mitnangria d rakšia uzaimia utalin lahazilh latar nhur
d šaTia bšiTuatun napil umiqma litlh napil ulitlh miqma misap saiip liuma d sup
baba d qra nirig kulh bkadba `tiqria kulh `tiqria bkadba usahria bSauia balma
bSauia balma usahria umhauin šiTuatun balma humria d napqa minh d `l rugza
btibil mšalTia hinun gaTlia giTla hinun ašdia zma hu d qrinun azil brišia

d tigra briša d tigra azil lmišad zma balma iuma d gaTla gaTil hadia bgaTla mn
Tabuta iuma d gaTla gaTil mamlil ugahik mn `uSrh iuma d gaTla lagaTil bmraria
Sb`ia qumth baba d qra nirig misap saiip liuma d sup aprištinkun ‘l šibiahia u‘l
babia d qrun balma aprištinkun ‘l ‘bidatun kulhin bhusrana ‘tiqria ‘tiqria
bhusrana sina qina uplugia aprištinkun ‘l razia d šuba uaprištinkun ‘l
trisar kukbia d hazin palagta paligiun kd paligiun hinun palig lnapšaihun kd
mnata l`mbra plaglh šauilh šnia bminiana plaglh mnata trisar alpia šnia ltaura
plaglh šnia bminiana hadisar alpia šnia kd mnata lSilmia plaglh šnia bminiana
asra alpia šnia kd mnata lSarTana plaglh šn‘ bminiana tša alpia šnia kd mnata
laria plaglh šn‘ bminiana tmania alpia šnia kd mnata lšumbilta plaglh šnia
bminiana šuba alpia šnia kd mnata lqaina plaglh šnia bminiana šita alpia šnia kd
mnata larqba plaglh šnia bminiana hamša alpia šnia kd mnata lhiTia plaglh šnia
bminiana arba alpia šnia kd mnata lgadia plaglh šnia bminina tlata alpia šnia
kd mnata ldaula plaglh šnia bminiana trin alpia šnia kd mnata lnuna plaglh
šnia bminiana hda alpia d šnia kd palig šnaiun ušaun dmutun balmia uamria
d napšia naškunh lalma kul hda hda niqria trisar qalia d trisar dmu minaihun
nipqun qala d qra `mbra d hauia minh hiuaniata kulhin hauia kulhin hiuaniata
d qalaiun bqala biša hua hua bqala biša d amar mnata tihuilia balma qala d qra
taura kul dmu hiua biša minh hua hauin minh hiua biša d mn pumaihun gasin gumia
gumia d gasin mn pumaihun d mn pumaihun pašria aminTul d himta d napšaihun
mapqia mn guarun halin trin kukbia qariatun kd hdadia hauin qrita d qrun Silmia
d kulhun d laTabia minaihun npaq hun minaihun laTabia d kulhun prikia lagTia hinun
lagTia prikia hinun gadia lagTia qala d qra SarTana d kul hiua kaka minh hua minh
hua hiua kaka d ‘tiqria lbiš lalma qala d qra aria d kul hiua bala minh hua minh
hua hiua bala d ‘l nišmata mištla mištla ‘l nišmata unišaun hauqa balma qala
d qrat šumbilta d kul piria minaihun hun minaihun piria `mbia u`lania d mrauzibh
balma qala d qra qaina kulhun piria mia mina hun hun piria bišia d bun
mitqabria almia qala d qrat arqba kul rihšia bišia mina hun mina hun rihšia
bišia d brugzaihun nišmata gaTlia qala d qra hiTia kulh rugza minh hua hua
minh rugza rba biša d bh mistapibh kulhun almia qala d qra gadia d kul hiua bira minh
hua minh hua hiua bira d ganph hasir ubSir mn Sipra qala d qra daula huat minh
apakta apakta huat minh hua minh hasir ubSir qala d qra nuna d kulhun nunia
minh hun hun nunia udilpunia hua minh kul d biš halin kulhun hun mn kukbia trisar
d amria lšurbta d hiia nasqa qam kukbia šuba upalgunun bmnauata mnauata
palgunun umarkabata šaun blbab šumia ma d abad kulhun d amria nasqa lšurbta
d hiia lšurbta d hiia nasqa d kul ium qaimia ltigra laiadia šibiahia bnh d daura
baTla d hinun plugta palig uana paligta lšurbatun paligta d minaihun hauia
lmardita uminaihun hauin lnkista uminaihun nihun lrukba uminaihun lmikal
kulhun qalia d qrun aminTul ladam `tiqrun aminTul d kulhun ruhaiun mn niqia hun
halin d qrun qalia hinun mardita nirdun hinun ništmulh ladam uništmulh
lkula šurbth kd haizin abadilun lšibiahia tum lahualun mamla kd hauith ladam hda
u‘tbasam mn riš briš ana u‘tria ahai qamit uaprišth ladim ukulh šurbth amarilun
‘bid ‘ubadia Tabia uzauid zuadia lnapšaikun qrun qala d hiia d šumaikun nitriS
bit rurbia ‘štaiun bmalalia dakiia d bšlum dakiia titqaimun ‘štaiun bTabuta uap
bišuta latimrun sgud ušaba lrbia ulnhura rba d asgia lka sgud ušaba l‘utria
d nihuilkun bahid `da ahid `da usimaka mn atra d hšuk latar nhur umšabin hiia
umqaiam manda d hiia brik šumaikun šilmai unidbai uhibil ušitil uanuš uhiia zakin
`l kulhun `ubadia uzakalh iauar ziua uadiaurh
sa hazin sidra d šuta haita qadmaita h‘
sa
bšumaihun d hiia rbia laupa uruaha d hiia ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia
. ulab
. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia

. u`l zauai . u`l
ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u`l
šitlai
. u`l abahatai

. unitraS šumaihun bit ginzia d̲ iauar ziua sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia miTab kušTa lTabh̲ umanda d̲ hiia luataihun d̲ bnia šlama hazin hu raza sidra uaprašta ušuta haita qadmaita d̲ huat mn laqadmia k̲d̲ hašib hiia qadmaiia uqiriuia lmanda d̲ hiia umanda d̲ hiia qiria lhibil ziua hua alip alip šnia qudamh̲ d̲ mara d̲ rabuta u`tiksia binataihun uhibil `utra `titlh̲ lmizal `l krun Tura rba d̲ bisra u`l tlata almia d̲ hšuka d̲ qašišia d̲ hirba lašaqilun unura laklalun ubTupania mia laTabin d̲ hu krun Tura rba d̲ bisra utlatma ušitin ušita daiuia d̲ minh̲ dairia minaihun mn hanatun daiuia d̲ hu `ur marh̲ d̲ hšuka šumh̲ d̲ abuia gap šumh̲ ušum hata napša mn bra bukra d̲ hu `ur napqia hamša unapqia šuba unapqia trisar d̲ hinun srin uarba daiuia umn špita udurdia d̲ azil luat `mh̲ hua karkum k̲d̲ hauia btibil almia udaria br spag qarilh̲ uanin bhailan dilan udhiia ud`utria ubhailh̲ d̲ malka d̲ nhura hadinin b`ruta b`ruta niha bukra mqaima d̲ anin hašibnin ‘lh̲ uqrainh̲ bziua dilan d̲ anin malbišnalh̲ ubnhura d̲ anin mkasinalh̲ ubhaila ušrara d̲ anin iahbinalh̲ umšadrinalh̲ ‘l bišia kulhun d̲ lau lbiš mithašbia u‘l ‘ur marh̲ d̲ hšuka d̲ `lauaian mitraurab hazin `utra d̲ lagiTlh̲ ukabišlh̲ uragilh̲ uasarlh̲ umasarlh̲ larqa titaita d̲ nhaša umahdarlh̲ šuba šuria d̲ parzla ualma d̲ atia ptahil umasia arqa iaunaiit unagid rqiha ubania baita umbaTil bišia kulhun d̲ mithašbia lbiš haizak ‘sura d̲ asrh̲ hibil ziua l`ur umistar haizak masgia `l kulhun almia d̲ hšuka hibil ziua uazil ‘l krun Tura rba d̲ bisra ukul d̲ biš abidbh̲ ukrun Tura rba d̲ basra hauqa udahalta uziuihta mahuilh̲ lhibil ziua hibil ziua minh̲ ladahil hu minh̲ mitikbiš haizak amarlh̲ zihrun `utra d̲ hu iusmir kana šumh̲ liadatan gabra d̲ hazin paršigna amar d̲ mn hiSrh̲ d̲ mara d̲ rabuta npaq bšumh̲ d̲ hanath̲ `utra mitiqrin trin `utria hurinia adatan uiadatan d̲ biuma d̲ iardna Sabilh̲ lhibil ziua uhinun mitiqrin adiaurh̲ tum mitqrin šita hurinia šitil uanuš ušilmai unidbai uadakas mana uraza rba d̲ hu iupin ‘utra šumh̲ uazal minh̲ ziua rba qadmaia d̲ mn lbušia d̲ mara d̲ rabuta hua ukulhun almia d̲ nhura ualmia d̲ hšuka miSra mšauilun uahidlun lbabia usaliq ‘l gauria uprudqa uraza rba d̲ mn dilan ldilh̲ maluilh̲ ukul daiua qarabtana d̲ hazilh̲ lhanath̲ prudqa hatim `lh̲ ušaina mšauia bkulhun almia d̲ nhura d̲ miSra usaka litlaihun k̲d̲ halin kulhin kasiata ugaliata ana mištaiina uamarna lmara d̲ rabuta sagidna umšabana umrauribna k̲d̲ mn hukumta usibruta umn ma d̲ hiia amarlia hanatin alip šnin huit qudamh̲ d̲ mara d̲ rabuta `l anpai huit rmina hu mara d̲ rabuta qran uligTan bpras iaminai uaqman mn duktai uhaizak mara d̲ rabuta mn ziuh̲ pras `lai umn nhurh̲ ‘hablia utraSlia brišai klil zakuata d̲ luath̲ nahra u`tinSiblun ziuh̲ unhurh̲ l‘utria kulhun u‘tinSiblun lbuša l‘utria kulhun u‘tinSiblh̲ lbuša lmara d̲ rabuta uhaizak qam mara d̲ rabuta qra liaminh̲ arbaima uarbin uarbia škinata uqra lsmalh̲ tlatma ušitin ušit škinata uhaizak qra mn kul škinta škinta alip utmanima alpia ruban `utria d̲ iaqirin ušanin ušanai ziuaihun ubaiar umanhar nhuraihun d̲ bziuaihun iaqria umanihria pasimkia d̲ manihria lqudamaihun uhaizak kul škinta škinta pašuba trin naTria d̲ napša utrin pasimkia d̲ manihrin qudama riš naTria d̲ arbaima uarbin uarbia škinata manu šumh̲ udtlatma ušitin ušit škinata manu šumh̲ riš arbaima uarbin uarbia škinata barbag ‘utra šumh̲ d̲ hu azaz‘il šuma udtlatma ušitin ušit škinata anan nSab qarilh̲ d̲ hu taur‘il ‘utra šumh̲ bšumh̲ d̲ taur‘il ‘utra qra lnapših̲ briš qrita qadmaita haizak qra kulhun ‘utria uqam hu manda d̲ hiia umara d̲ rabuta unhit liardna uqra maSbuta k̲d̲ d̲ ba miSibh̲ l`utra zriza `utra sagia umzarza malil iardna rba mn mara d̲ rabuta mištaiia uamarlh̲ hazin man hu `utra d̲ bgauai dilia Sabatlh̲ d̲ anat dmutak `STbatbh̲ uhaizak mia hiia d̲ hiziuia lziuh̲ ulnhurh̲ d̲ hibil ziua ulziuh̲ ulnhurh̲ ul`qarh̲ d̲ manda d̲ hiia umargna d̲ mia hiia d̲ mn iukašar kana ‘tinSib miTalalia ulakainia sahqia umitapkia k̲d̲ aglauata bgauh̲ d̲ sindiriauis iardna rba d̲ hiia haizak mara d̲ rabuta liardna rba d̲ nimarlh̲ anat iardna rba d̲ hiia nha ukun `l duktak d̲ hibil ziua bgauak niSTba uhaizak iardna rba d̲ hiia mn malalh̲ d̲ mara d̲ rabuta lapak ulašania mn mimrh̲ kan iardna d̲ mia hiia uhibil ziua bgauh̲ `STba `STba hibil ziua u`STba minh̲ ahh̲ trin u`STba arba hurinia d̲ hinun rbia mitqrin Sbinun ltlata `utria d̲ hinun ahh̲

hinun adiaurh̲ k̲d̲ Sbinun lhalin kulhun d̲ minh̲ `l d̲ qaiim biardna hu unaSbh̲ mara
d̲ rabuta malil udraš ‘l iardna uamar briš mia nipqit ubriš mambuhia d̲ hiia
asgit lka šiknit tlat škinata ušalTit ‘lauaihun naTria naTria d̲ šalTit ‘lauaihun
d̲ šanin brikia umqaimia haizak qaima manda d̲ hiia lmaSubuth̲ usliq mn iardna
ukušTa mn rbia pšaT hu mara d̲ rabuta k̲d̲ sliq manda d̲ hiia mn iardna htaminun
lahh̲ d̲ hinun bnh̲ uhu mara d̲ rabuta `niana rmalh̲ lmanda d̲ hiia uamarlh̲ ziuak
taqun unhurak nahur tarmidia bziuak nahria unahra dmutun mn almia lhibil qralh̲
uamarlh̲ qal hibil ziua šamana d̲ malil udariš batar nhur qal šuth̲ d̲ basima
‘tiaiarlia libai btušbihta mla ‘tiaiarlia libai hdat nišmat uhadia urauz
ruianai usahiq `uSrai mn riš briš sqirna hadina b‘bidata d̲ abad hibil ziua
utiqnat b`dh̲ mn riš briš naTrh̲ uqaimh̲ uzarzih̲ ubirkh̲ umn Tabuth̲ šra ‘lh̲ lhibil
`hablh̲ ziua ulšitil qirih̲ uqaimh̲ uamarlh̲ haslak haslak šitil ‘utra d̲ tihuia
šutak mn sahria šutak šutan dilan titlip blaupan ulatipsiq lšitil ‘hablh̲ nhura
ulanuš qirih̲ uqaimh̲ uamarlh̲ birkuk arba `utria d̲ bSauat hdadia iatbia
uSibuk bmaSbutun umn lbušaihun albšuk lanuš ‘hablh̲ tuqna uaTpilh̲ bziuh̲ k̲d̲ ahh̲
trin malil pasimka rba d̲ manhar bkulhun almia malil d̲ nimarlh̲ lmara d̲ rabuta
šumh̲ d̲ hanath̲ pasimka iatir iatrun šumh̲ ušumhata tlatma ušitin ‘tlh̲ uamarlh̲ hazin
ziua d̲ manu uhazin nhura d̲ manu uhazin tuqna d̲ manu amarlh̲ hazin ziua d̲ hibil
uhazin nhura d̲ šitil uhazin tuqna d̲ anuš ‘utra d̲ npiš usaka litlh̲ htaminun malka
d̲ nhura hatminun mn riš briš uqrinun lšilmai unidbai umn iaminh̲ asam `lauaihun
ubrakinun mn birkth̲ uamarlh̲ anin hadinin bhaza dmuta d̲ `tniSbat qiriuia lrham
raza uladakas mana uadiaurh̲ nSablun anana kasita d̲ lanihzuna `utria ldmutun
uamarlun ‘utria draš b‘qarun uanatun rbia b‘rutkun hdun hadia urauza anana d̲ nhura
k̲d̲ ata gabra `l kimSa `tib hatminun malka d̲ nhura ladiaurh̲ ahh̲ d̲ hinun bnh̲ hitmh̲
lsindiriauis iardna rba d̲ hiia d̲ ‘niš bgauh̲ lika d̲ miSTba amarlun abadna lTabut
rbia usadirna lrahmutkun qrainh̲ liardna rba d̲ hiia utlatma ušitin iardnia d̲ hu
hibil ziua bgauaihun `STba uhaizak amarlun manda d̲ hiia lrbia d̲ niSbuia hazin bra
bukra d̲ ana qrit hab lalma d̲ bišia nišadrh̲ amralh̲ dmuth̲ lasaipit d̲ qariatlh̲ brai
amarlh̲ `u ana laqarinh̲ brai man qarilh̲ brh̲ uamarlh̲ lhibil ziua riša d̲ kula
šurbta k̲d̲ anin ldilak qrainak anat l`utria ahak qria d̲ bginza d̲ hiia nizdahrun k̲d̲
masgit lhšuka haila d̲ iauna qalilth̲ nsub haizak hibil asgia azal uhaibinun
laudia ababbun bduria rurbia mindam d̲ `lauaihun snia hizia lruha d̲ qudša k̲d̲
baTnabh̲ bbura napla baTnabh̲ bmlik hšuka d̲ amria nihuia maraihun d̲ kulhun almia
`laiia umiSaiia utitaiia hzaith̲ lmlik hšuka k̲d̲ abahatai amarlia lruha lhiuat
nuqubta `mh̲ d̲ bura napla kbašth̲ lmlik hšuka d̲ amra `mh̲ nihuia maraihun d̲ kulhun
almia `lh̲ msaith̲ lmisia rba umarzbana tirSit `lh̲ d̲ bh̲ traSibh̲ alma laTta lhiuat
nuqubta `mh̲ d̲ bura napla amarnala luTtik ubirktik nihuilik ldilik bmnatik
bnik uptahil ‘utra nisadruia lhazin alma ‘lau hašabta d̲ iušamin d̲ asgit luataikun
atit asgit `tit luataikun umindam d̲ snia bhšuka ‘bdit aminTul d̲ ana lahasrit
ulabiSrit mindam d̲ abahatai amarlia aminTul d̲ bra d̲ abahath̲ lašama haka luataikun
dilkun mitkatar aminTul d̲ ana šimit uqablit ulakadbit mindam d̲ abahata amarlia
aminTul d̲ šmata lšutaihun uqabilta uazlit traSta bginzaihun d̲ `utria naTrh̲
d̲ ginza simakh̲ d̲ kulh̲ hikla kušTa nisbit biaminai uasgit lalma d̲ hšuka ‘ka d̲ qam
bhaimanuta u`ka d̲ napšia katar bdur haškia halin d̲ qam bhaimanuta salqia
hazilh̲ latar nhur halin d̲ laqam bhaimanuta misap saipia liuma d̲ sup malil uamar
manda d̲ hiia hazin qraba d̲ hua aminTul iušamin hua aminTul kul ‘niš d̲ bania baita
umšauia qamh̲ bit masgda kul man d̲ nib`ia lhazin sidra ulanatnh̲ blibh̲ blibh̲
kšiTa ub‘spia mhaimanata nipsiq mn ‘uhra d̲ aqamh̲ kul man d̲ natnh̲ bliba kšiTa
ub‘spia mhaimanata šabiq haTaiia uhaubia nihuilh̲ mšaba manda d̲ hiia uadiaurh̲
hibil ušitil uanuš ušilmai unidbai uhiia zakin lalam almia
sa
bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia nukraiia mn almia d̲ nhura iatiria d̲ `lauia ukulhun `ubadia asuta
uzakuta uhaila ušrara u‘mra ušima ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

. ulab
. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai . u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia
. u‘l šitlai

. u`l abahatai

. unitriS šumaihun bit
hiia . bšumaihun d̲ hiia nukraiia mn almia d̲ nhura iatiria d̲ `lauia ukulhun
`ubadia

. hazin hu raza usidra ubuta kasita d hiia kisiuia lmalala d manda d hiia kd galil galalta qudam mana hu udmuth uqudam hiia d had daiua tar mn siniauis arqa titaita d hšuka kd haza amar manda d hiia amrilh hiia umana udmuth mahu iatbit ganzibra ubra rba dilan qum hut `zil umahu d baiit `bid kd haza šuma minaihun dilhun manda d hiia sgid umištaTia qudamaihun uamarlun manda d hiia `qum qrilh lganzibra braikun dilkun hahu naSba d anatun nSabtun udmuta d anatun šauitun mn kisiaikun umn hilbunkun umn hak iardna d anatun ngadtun huaitun umn tana uširiana d atraikun kd haza amar manda d hiia qalh ‘štma bkulhun almia uqam Sibh uatia lhahu brh udmuth dilh uamarlh ab lia azilnin uamarlh qum ata `hauiak dmuta d mana umana udmuth rabtia kasita d ks‘ia mn kulhun ‘utria btlatma uširin uhamša almia uhilbunia kasiia rurbia d nhura uamarlh brh d hu ahuia lmanda d hiia kd haiiqna d `hizia lhaza h` dmuta qadmaita ulhanath dmuta d mana umana udmuth kasita d ksu`ia mn kulhun almia amarlh abuia d hu ahuia ana bqalil sigia šadrun u‘tit ‘lak hašta mahu d iatbit bra rhima abad ukšar šar ziua d hiia asiqlh šuma hašta qum nizal unihuzih lparSupaihun d hinun mania iaqria kd haza amar abuia hnatalh lhahu bra niha umqaima ligTh biaminh labuia uazal minh alma d maTia kisiaihun uhilbunaihun d rurbia `qara kd maTia amrilh hiia qadmaiia umana d dmuth mahu abdit iauar kbar brh d manda d hiia d mgadilan qarnaian brišaian uamarlun ha baiitun uaškatun tum baiitun umaškitun ana ‘zlit uaitith lhahu braikun dilkun uamarlh qum ailh atih unihzih uhu nihzinan uqam azal ailh atia lqudaimaihun d hinun mania iaqria kd aluataihun hu hibil mana `tith haq minaihun aminTul ziuaihun d hua šanai unuhraihun d hua taqun ulika d mSia lmihizia lhanath dmutaihun aminTul ziuaihun d npiš unhuraihun d kabir kd hzun mania iaqria trin udmuth qadmaita qudamaihun qaimun unišqun uhananun uana qudamaihun ‘štaTit usigdit ušabit lhak dmuta alip šnia haizak alma d hu mana ligTan biaminh uaqman mn atrai uamar qum mana hibil ziua d anin qrainh latihuq udmuth d mana rba `da d masima `lai dilia hibil ziua uhaizak pta pumaihun uamria mahu iatbit qum niSibak btlatma uširin alpia iardnia unalbšak tlatma uširin lbušia uksuiia kasiuia d had had šania mn habrh uqam Sibuia btlatma uširin alpia iardnia uadkar `lh šumia kasiia d had had šanai mn habrh uniTrun alip ruban šnia d saka litlun uluataihun huit bhanath hilbuna kasia alma d rbit huit kd dilhun uhaizak ab `dh masim `lai dilia hibil iauar d hu asiqlh bšumh iauar unSablia alma had d npiš usaka litlh bgu hanath alma nSablia ruban alpia almia d nhura unSablia tlatma uširin iardnia rurbia gauaiia unSablia bkul alma alma tlatma uširin alpia ‘utria bkul škinta škinta nSablia tlatma uširin alpia škinata kul alma alma šanin ušanai ziuaihun u‘rutun utušbihtun uab ldilia lbušia dilh d hu bgauh `STarar u`STba bgauh d hanath lbuša uraza kasia ‘hablh d hu mnaTarlun lrurbia uamria `zil `zil bran udmutan d Sauth šania mn kulhun ‘utria aminTul d atra d anat azlatlh ‘ka napša hauilak balmia hinun d hšuka udaria hauit ldaria alma d anin minšilak udmutak haka hauia ualma d masiqta rarinalak kd haza šuma minaihun d abahath sgid umištaTia qudamaihun uamarlun ha bhailakun dilkun abahatai uraza rba d mnaTarlkun ubhailh d ab manda d hia ha `iasgia `zal ldukta d mšadritulia amar hibil mana iauar abuia minh masgia uatia uahh trin minh masgin udrašia ubauata usidria qrun usahiq libaihun qudamh d abuhun uhu abuhun sahiq `uSrh uamar kd dilia laiit d halin nigbia kasiia qrulia ušaulia abahatai mania rurbia masgia uazil abuhun minaihun alma d maTia bit miSria trin d binia nhura lhšuka uamarlh abuia `zil

br hibal uahak trin d minak nitun ubTabuta d abuia mšauilh uamarlh hibil labuia mana dakia man d abuia mzarizlh umhatimlh uSabalh umqaiimlh mn bišia ladahil uabuia bgauh lamitkarak ulanašiqlh uamarlh labuia `u bgauai mitkarkit `ka napša hauilia kd haza šuma abuia minh d hibil sgid umqaiimlh uabuia l`uhrh sar uazal luat mana udmuth uana iauar hibil `mrit ha bhailaikun dilkun abahatai ubhailh d raza rba uadiauria d minai ‘hut lhšuka ukd bit d `hut u`iahit ligrai bmia siauia u‘l šuria d bit hšuka lnhura hSab mn qudamai alip parsia umaTit alma qadmaia d hšuka d ruha huat bgauh bhanath alma darit alip ruban šnia ulika d `da `da `lai d ana haka aitan balma hazin mn ainaihun hua ksina uhaizak raza rba d minai maluai amar nizal ltit uhaizak nihtit mn atutia alma hazin umaTit alma hazin d zartai zirtanai rba d dmuth lmahu damia laiadana uamarnalun hazitun `utria ahai lmahu damia dmuth d hazin zartai zartanai uamarnalh ‘sira ukbiša hazin dmutak dilak zartai zartanai udzauak amamit šnia huit ‘l šnia udaria huit `l daria uhinun `lai dilia laiadia d haka balmun daiarna ualmia d nhura minai aitinun udaršinin bsidria ubauata umasqata ulibaian sahiq b‘rutun utušbihtun ium bium salqa luat hiia umana udmuth rabtia qadmaita d hiia qrunun uana amarna d luataiun d hiia abahatai iatibna ulahaiiqna mn halin dmauata uhaizak šbaqta lzartai ulzartanai uasgit `zlit lalmia hurinia d hag umag trin mania d hšuka d haršaiun napšia mn kulhun almia d hšuka umn alma d zartai zartanai ualma lalma d hag umag alip parsia d laminiana uamarna lhaka man atian uligrai lhaka man asginkin uazlit uaškatinun lhalin trin mania rurbia d hšuka hag gabra umag ‘nta bgu alma hanath huit šnia šitin alpia ruban šnia bhanath alma hzaitinun u`dit blibaihun mahu d aka ušbaqtinun uazlit umaTit alma hurina d gap ugapan gabaria rurbia d hšuka d hun mn aina d mia `kumia Sanpia Sardia d rahtia kd dudia ubašlia unabTia usalqia mn alma hanath d hag umag ualma lalma d gap ugapan ma alpia ruban parsia hauin d laminiana ulahušbana kd hzaith lgap ugapan dmutaihun dmauata `pikata udamin akuat taninia u‘nšaihun damian akuat Sruriata uamarnalun ‘siritun urgilitun anatun gabaria d hšuka urgila qumtaikun brgala rba d raglia qaina lburia ‘siria haršaikun ukadbaikun d anatun abditun ‘sira ‘nšaikun liliata Sruriata dmauata ‘pikata d sn`ia u`pika ublima d ‘niš ‘l dmutaihun u‘l riTnaihun lika d qaiim `lauaihun uamarnalun l`utria ahai hzaitun mahu damin halin gabaria naplia uamria ahai `utria kma hauin sakun d halin almia d hšuka ukma napšia gabaria halin uana hua ksina mn ainaihun alip alip ruban šnia d lasaka ulaminiana haizak amarlh raza rba d minai maluai mahu iatbinin bhazin atra qum nisaq unihzia mahu d baiinin mibad uqaiminin mn d gap ugapan masginin uazlinin lalma d anatan qarabtana d hšuka uzauh qin malakta marth d hšuka d h` `tqiriat `mh d hšuka d nigbak mn mia `kumia nsisia Sardia uhambalia aklia hdadia d h` qraitinun `l kulhun almia d hšuka umn iuma d asginin lalma d hšuka d anatan gabara qarabtana d h` qrath alip alip parsia hauin `uhra d napša usaka litlh uamarnalh lraza rba d minai maluai mlia ainak bqin uanatan gabaria d hšuka ‘l mahu damin u‘tibnin luataiun šnia udaria d laminiana ulahušbana ualmia kulhun d minai maluan u‘utria uškinata bdrašia usidria ubauata umasqata ulibaihun hadilun usahiq bhaduta uana hadina bhaduta ubidiauria d abahatai nSablia ualun mn qudamaihun uana haizin amarna d luat mana udmuth iatibna libaian sahiq umitparpa hanath `rutai utušbihtai salqa ium bium ušaiia bšaiia qudam mana kasia udmuth uqudam niTupta rabtia kasita qadmaita d huat mn qudam almia d nhura kd halin almia sarit ubihšit bgauaihun amarna `it iuma nihuia d ‘saq ‘zal luat ab u‘tib u‘štaiia minh ana u`utria ahai d minai ‘tun u‘tapraš biadita umadita ub‘rutai utušbihtai d abahatai bun ‘tapraš b‘uSraihun kd haza `mrit ahai uraza rba d minai maluai amar hašta salqinin mahu iatbinin batra hazin d laiadinin haka kma šnia d laminiana iatbinin qur nipta baba d tlata malkia d nura laklalun dukta d aitinun lmia apria hinun dukta d aitinun lhanatun mia d `STun ziua dukta d šlim dara d hšuka u‘niš atuth l`ka uanin kd ‘taprašnin u‘danin ‘l dh udh uptahnun lbabia uptanh lbaba qadmaia uadiqnin uhzainh lšdum rba br brh d hšuka hazinalh d ladamia dmuth lhanik daiuia gabaria d hšuka u‘damit ana hibil bdmuth hda d napša ušapira uiatbit lqudamh uamarna ha bšumak raza rba ušumaihun d hiia kasiia qadmaiia d ks‘ia batra kasia ušumh d mana udmuth ušumh d ab manda d hiia u`ruta haza d `utria d minai aitinun biluaitai bdiauria hinun d hauilia Sauta bhalin almia d hšuka d abahatai lhaka

šadrun ha ‘malil mn šdum qarabtana malka d̲ hšuka ana bhaduta d̲ hadina malalit
uamarnalh̲ šlama ‘lak šdum qaraptana malka d̲ alma hu lahizian k̲d̲ šlama šalimth̲
hdar uhizian uadim ainh̲ udalia gilia parSupia uamar šlama ‘lak gabra d̲ dmuth̲
šapira uana amarilh̲ d̲ mamla hda baiina mištaiuia minak uamar malil gabra
šapira d̲ šapira dmuth̲ unahirta uhaizak amarilh̲ d̲ bra d̲ minaikun napiq d̲ mn Tuhma
uširša dilkun ubaiia mikadušia umarguš balma dilkun baiia mibad mahu amritun ‘lh̲
uhaizak malil uamar hu šdum ana laiadana hut latutai dilia d̲ `ka d̲ minai qašiš
uhaizak mn iuma hanath̲ d̲ luath̲ mTit ualma d̲ nihtit luath̲ d̲ giu rba ma alpia šnia hua
uhaizak šauit napšai gabra hda d̲ šapir mn dilun uqudamh̲ d̲ giu iatbit ulaiada
`lai d̲ ana aluath̲ qirbit haizak šlama šalimth̲ hu amar šlama ‘lak gabra d̲ šapira
mahu d̲ baiit minai uamarnalh̲ bra d̲ napiq qinaikun umn Tuhma uširša dilkun ubaiia
mikadušia mn almia d̲ nhura mahu amrit `lh̲ uamar hut `zil latutai dilia d̲ ana
laiadana uhaizak mn iuma d̲ šbaqth̲ u`zlit ualma liuma d̲ maTit karkum Tura rba
d̲ bisra šitin alpia ruban šnia huit b‘uhra hanath̲ d̲ kma napša usaka litlh̲ hazinalh̲
lhanath̲ krun Tura rba d̲ bisra d̲ hu girmia litbh̲ dmuth̲ d̲ apra umia d̲ `ka atuth̲ apra
hinun udamin lrpilia uhaizak `zlit luath̲ hzaith̲ umn ainh̲ hua ksina kma šnia
uamarna mahu ‘bid umahu ‘štaiuiia minh̲ d̲ gabra gabara hazin krun Tura rba
d̲ bisra haizak malalit u‘štaiit uamarnalh̲ šlama ‘lak bukra malka d̲ hšuka krun Tura
rba d̲ bisra uanph̲ ladalia uamar man hazin gabra d̲ gla šumai uqam ‘l rušumai
uamarnalh̲ ana hibil d̲ hiia šadrun uatit luatak alip alip šnia udaria d̲ lasaka
ulaminiana ušnia ‘l šnia luatak atina uamar hu bnapših̲ hiia hinun d̲ labaTlia
ziua unhura d̲ lamipsiq uamar mahu paqduk uamarnalh̲ paqdun hiia uamrilia `zil
uamarlh̲ bra d̲ napiq minaikun umn širša uTuhma uniaka dilkun ubaiia mirmia
marguš balmia d̲ nhura minaian dilan mahu amrit `lh̲ uhaizak hu bnapših̲ amar
`zil d̲ labalanak k̲d̲ haizin amarlia ana hibil ziua iatbit bgluSTma d̲ hirbia sipia
u`uSTmumia uskinia ugarTupiata uamarnalh̲ bulan uamar hašta balanak ubilan alma
lpalgia ugsan ušdan ugsa rirh̲ mn pumh̲ u`psiq m`h̲ kabdh̲ ukuliath̲ uamar mahu `bad
mn gabra d̲ ata ‘lai šadruia haizak malil uamarlia anatun gabaria uanin mkikia
anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun rurbia uanin dirdqia uana amarilh̲ qur hbalia
prudqa uhaizak qam u`milia biuma d̲ `tinSib minh̲ ana lamkadbanalak hin`la `iul
lbit ginzai u`iaitilak prudqa mn bit ginzai uqam uaitilia prudqa uatia l`zqta
d̲ hua ks`ia bit ginzia d̲ hua kdib uSir ‘la šum hšuka rba d̲ hua ks`ia d̲ lahua hzilh̲
mn iuma d̲ `tinSib uamar ha `tilak d̲ kulhun almia d̲ hazilak k̲d̲ mhauiatlun hazin
prudqa hatmia `lh̲ uhaizauk k̲d̲ `hablia nsabth̲ uksaith̲ bšuba lbušia usilqit uatit
luat ahuia giu rba hauith̲ uhtam `lh̲ k̲d̲ hizia lhanath̲ prudqa hatma d̲ ahuia ašar ‘lh̲
unsabth̲ usilqit luat ašdum rba gabara d̲ rmia urapiš bgu almh̲ iatib `l kangnia
d̲ nura unura mšamšalh̲ uhauith̲ uamarnalh̲ hzia prudqa d̲ mn abahatak aitilak
uapiqth̲ hauith̲ htam `lh̲ uamarnalh̲ hzia mahu d̲ abahatak šadarlak uamar brik iuma
d̲ anat ‘tit ušbaqth̲ usilqit `lauaihun d̲ hanik almia `laiia uhitmit baba banph̲ d̲ šdum
uiatbit bhanath̲ alma šnia alip uhaizak qirbit lalma d̲ anatan uqin uana huit hatam
šnia ‘l šnia huit balma hanath̲ uamarna mahu `bid uqirbit luata d̲ qin u`damila
bzaua d̲ napša anatan uamarnalh̲ qum hauian mn mahu huainin umn mahu `tigbilnin
huainin uqamat hauitan aina rabtia d̲ mina ngib hun hinun ana k̲d̲ hzaita lhanath̲
aina d̲ mia `kumia hua bgauaihun mrara ugimra d̲ rmia urapiš bgu hanath̲ aina uhaizak
hu raza rba d̲ mina maluai amar hazin mrara ugimra šrara d̲ almia d̲ hšuka hu k̲d̲ haizin
amarlia ana auartinin laina uTarištinin l‘udna umn aina ‘tksit unsabth̲ lgimra
umrara ulahzatan d̲ ana nsabth̲ urm‘ia ubahša ‘lai uamralia lia azla azalt qarialia
uamralia ata `marlak uana u`tit uhtamth̲ lbaba d̲ hanath̲ alma usilqit `lauaihun
d̲ gauria uqlidia d̲ hua šanin mn qlidia kulhun haizak ana ualmia udaria d̲ minai hadinin
udaršinin usahqinin usahiq libaian b‘ruta utušbihta bma d̲ aitinin mn qin
d̲ mitqiria sumqaq rabtia d̲ huat mn širša d̲ qin `mh̲ d̲ `mh̲ d̲ `ur mn qudam kulhun almia
d̲ hšuka k̲d̲ ahadtinun lbabia ušanitinun lsukria adkrit ‘lh̲ d̲ hanath̲ baba tlata šumia
kasiia d̲ lika d̲ nišaninun šum ham ziua unhura ziua ulupapan nhura rba halin

šumia kasiia unTiria d luatai d lamištrin babia halin ulika man d niptinun usilqit
lhak alma d `lauia almia d sumqaq marganita rabtia mn iuma d silqit luat gap
ugapan rba abuhun d kulhun almia d hšuka d hatam iatbia luat hdadia gahkia
umiTalalia luat hdadia uqin ‘maihun luataihun iatba uamralun qum nihzia šupran
urgagan unihzia d lahazilan kd haza amralun hinun šahrin udauin abihda qaimin
uamrila huainan mahu nibad uamrala ruha brata dila atai n`tnik lgap ahuk kd
haza amrala ldila uldilh hnatalun ltartinun qam luat hdadia azlia ligTa
qudamaihun unsabinun lptula unšaqinun uamarla kd dilak laiit ruha ahat dilia mn
hanath iuma d biTnat bgauh d `ur maraihun ugabarun haizak lhdadia amria
qum niqrila lqin `maian ulgap abuhan d luat hdadia azlinin kd haizin amarla qamat
azlat minh uamrala lqin ulgap hzun mahu d abadnin uamralun Tubaikun d haza
abadtun akuat d anin abadnin uana iauar mn ainaihun hua ksina ulahazilia
d luataihun iatibna uana uraza rba kasia d minaihun ksia u`damit bdmuth d hda
manaihun ušapirna mn kulhun uhdirna mn kulhun uazlit uqamit luath d qin
uamarnala šlama ‘lik ‘ma rabtia ‘maihun d kulhun almia h` mihidra hazialia
ldilia urhamta unura bliba asrikila uamra šlama ‘lak šutapan rba uiaqira uana
b`da lgaTta uamarnala kma bnata `tlik d tišauian hatnik ubalma hazin `huia luatik kd
haza amarila hadia uliba hadila d hatna hauina lagTalia b`da d iamina uluat gap
azla uamarnalh šlama ‘lak Tura ugabara d kulan malka d hazin alma hu la`da mahu
d amarilh h` amralh šlama ‘hablak gabra d šapir mn kulan hu `npiS mn kursia
ubgauai mitkarak uamarlh brik matianak malka maran mahu d baiit uana minh
lamištaina uh‘ amralh `nta baiia minak qur nitilh uamarla man nitilh uamralh
nitilh zahr`il rabtia d šapira mn dilh kd haza amar tartinun ana šilpit ‘siqta
uhaziala lhah` `siqta d šdiba ušahra abihdia ‘sqta d šdiba uamra man ‘ka d kd dilh
damia d gabra d arsan `sqta d šdabia balman dilan kd hazin `sqta laiit `lai bkulh
ginzan laiit uhaizak `ma amrala `tkalal minh alma d hadritun ugap amarla qum abid
d abdia gubria unihadra lzahr‘il mn gabra šapira d hu šapir mn kulan uamrala
Tubak ldilak d hazin gabra ‘štka luatak dilak haizak qam azal luat hilbuna dukta
d hun minh uamralh qum hilula nibudlh unihidrh hu gap puria maiik usikia gnana
naqiš uh‘ lalmia kulhun mzamnalun uqarialun lmalakia ugabaria d hanath atra
uatin luath bdahba ukaspa umargania uklilia ukasia d zahba matin luataihun uatin
uamria nizal unihizah lhanath hatna d mn zahr‘il hadar uldilia lbuša d šaraia
malbišilia uksuiia d gaunia gaunia mkasilia uldilia uldila daliun uautbun `l
puria d zahba ukilta nagdilia `l puria umdalilia umautbilia `l puria uamrilia
hdia maran b`ntaian b`nta d `habnalak uhinun habSia hbiSa umaitin qudamai lagTia
uamria maran ‘kul uštia hamra uana kd haizin mištaiin minai ‘lauaihun gahikna
uamarna mahu d abdia bnia hšuka d laglilun ulaprišlun d ana ‘kilta lakilna umištia
lašatina hinila kul d abdia aminTul galulia razaihun d hinun lamitrauribin `lan
dilan amarnalun ha ‘klit uštit uhinun šibqun uazal ‘tiksun bgu arpilia
rurbata d hšuka ana mhanina lzahr‘il uamarna b‘uSrai minik dilik hu d mitgalalia
razia d hšuka h‘ mitkalala minai uhaizak maTia ‘dana d mitia luatai h` qin luatai
atia uqaima sagda d rba sigudta uamra mahu abadt bran umaran uana amarila mahu
`bad uh` azla luata d brata uamrala miligTik uamrala lalgiTana uamrala h` qin `ma
`dalma `la d gubria litlh uamrala brata d gubria `tlh uqamat mn qudama d brata
uatia luatai dilia uamra mahu lalgaTta l`ntak uana amarna balman dilan alma
ušaba šnia kd hadria ‘niš l‘nth lalagiTla uamralia kul d Sabit `bad uhaizak ana
mn raza rba mitaprašna uamarnalh halin šaba šnia d amarila lqin šauinin šubin
alpia ruban šnia ušagšinin lliba utirata haškinin laina uma d amarila abad
uhaizak šnia huainin ‘l šnia udaria ‘l daria uana amarila lqin mn mahu huaitun
umn mahu `tqritun uh` amralia huin mn tana uniSubta d hšuka umn saka kulh d mia
siauia uamarnalh qum hauian mn mahu `tigbiltun umhauialia haila ušrara d hšuka
uraza kasia d mnaTarlun lhinun rurbia buria gabaria d hšuka umhauialia aina hda
d lika d iada minaihun dilhun saka d hanath aina kma hauia lbar mn dilia d glilia

uprišlia kma hauia aina hanata u‘umqa d̲ hanata aina ubgaua d̲ hanata aina `ka
naura d̲ hazibh̲ anpaiun uiadin mahu d̲ baiin mabad uana mn aina ksaith̲ ušmalth̲
unTarth̲ uh‘ bahša ulamaškalh̲ uamra mahu `bad d̲ šraran uhailan laith̲ uamarnala
lqin lmahu bahšit h‘ ‘stakar tirata umhašabata uminai lamamla uana šbaqta
uatit luath̲ d̲ zahr`il uamralia lia huit marai uana mhanina uamarnala luat
abahatik huit uamra šapir d̲ luataiun azalt uana luat ruha azlit u`damila bgap ahu
uamarila qum nizal luat abahatik uamralia lia aitinun uamarnala lhil balma
hak d̲ mn `lauan aith̲ h` biuma hanath̲ d̲ gap azal luata biTnat uamarnala `zal `hizia
lzahr`il ahatik d̲ lgabra huat azlit luata d̲ zahr`il hanata u`STararat dmuta
binia dilia ldila huat k̲d̲ dilia uana amarnalh̲ lraza rba d̲ minai škin ‘ul b‘uSar
liba d̲ zahr‘il Sauta hda šbuq luata uana labahata aitita umasginin anin umania
d̲ manai h` laiada d̲ tlatma ušitin ruban alpia almia d̲ nhura minai škinia h‘ ruha
minai masgia uana amarila d̲ bra bukra baTnit uruha hadia bmahu d̲ amarila masginin
uazlinin lalma hak `laia `uhra d̲ napša usaka litlh̲ uamra akSalia ldilia
uamarnala ligal maTit uk̲d̲ maTit lalma d̲ zartai zartanai ahadta lbaba d̲ gap ugapan
ušanitinun lsukria uaqlidia taumiata šdibun uadkrit ‘lauaihun d̲ hanatun
babia šumia kasiia šum hanan‘il uhan‘il usmir halin šumia kasiia d̲ hinun mania
kasiia uana amarila asgai ruha umasginin balma hak d̲ zartai zartanai šnia
d̲ lasaka huainin d̲ mTinin alma dila h` amra mahu abdinin d̲ lamTinin luat
abahatan uana amarila hašta maTinin bqalil sagia asgainin usliqnin luat alma
dila d̲ aith̲ d̲ `lauia zartai zartanai k̲d̲ npaqnin minh̲ ahadtinun lbabia ušanitunun
lkulhun sukria uaqlidia uadkrit `lauaihun d̲ hinun babia šumia hurinia kasiia šum
akšar uakšar uabad ukšar iauar ziua halin šumia kasiia d̲ luatai aitinun
uhaizak amrit brik hak gabra d̲ mn hak atra asqan mn gaua d̲ širiana d̲ hšuka umn
gauaihun d̲ `umqia d̲ hšuka uap lruha amarnala mahu d̲ baiit uamra mahu d̲ baiana
minak abahatai ‘lia hinun uamarnala hašta maulinalik umahuinalik lia aitinun
uhaizak ana amarnalh̲ lraza rba d̲ anat aurinin laina uTaršinin l‘udna ušagšinin
ltirata uma d̲ amarilh̲ abad ulašania gabra d̲ minai škin hu šagšinin ltirata
uaurinin laina uTaršinin l‘udna huat k̲d̲ d̲ lahuat uana lalma dila šuria hanik
hadrila d̲ l‘ka ‘niš d̲ mSia hailh̲ lmišaninun mn duktaihun h‘ bgu alma hanath̲
rm‘ia ubahša ‘l iarqunia mikal d̲ bgauh̲ d̲ `ur qaima uhaizak ana ualmia udaria d̲ minai
maluin uamarnalun hdun ubsum u`tqaiam u`dnun labahatkun d̲ abadnin u‘stadrat hašta
qum nisaq nizal luat abhatan unihzia mania iaqria unihzinun lmana udmuth̲
ulniTupta rabtia d̲ anin mina huainin masginin uazlinin udaršinin bqala dakia
u‘ruta udrašia usidria kasiia usahiq ‘uSraian bhaduta rabtia usaliq qalaian
luataiun d̲ hiia umana udmuth̲ uk̲d̲ mTainin alma d̲ bit miSria ptahnun lbabia
d̲ nhura uqudam ab sliqnin uhu mana udmuth̲ alanpaian napqin u`uniana ramilia
uamrilia hainu atia hibil mana d̲ npiš ziuh̲ mn kulhun `utria uab bgauai mitkarak
umana rba hu udmuth̲ mhaninlia unašiqlia uamar brik matianak hibil mana dakia šar
ziua abad ukšar uab iardna mpara umana udmuth̲ luat niTupta ailun uana d̲ hzaith̲
libai u`uSrai mitgaiia umitparpa uh` niTupta lkisia d̲ napša aiiltan uhauitan
d̲ lahzilia h‘ Sbatan bšuba iardnia rurbia gauaiia d̲ atutia kursia dila aitinun
ul`ka d̲ hazilun lhanatun iardnia urušumia dakiia d̲ adkrat `lai uamra h` niTupta hdia
u‘tbasam brušumak dikiia ubniTupiata halin d̲ `lauak `dikrit uana hadina qudama
umištaTina usagidna uamralia puq luat abuk d̲ bgu iardna qaiim unaTarlak uana
nipqit mn luata d̲ niTupta uluat ab asgit unihtit liardna hanath̲ qadmaia d̲ mana
udmuth̲ uhu ab Siban urušumia kasiia adkar ‘lai Siban btlatma ušitin alpia ruban
iardnia rurbia d̲ mia hiuaria Sbinun lkulhun `utria d̲ minai hun uluatai škinia
uasiq aqmunun `l kiph̲ d̲ iardna d̲ mia hiia hu ab mšaiilia uamarlia mahu hzit br
dmutaiun bhinun almia d̲ huit bgauaihun uana amarilh̲ uaprišth̲ `lauaihun k̲d̲ hzit
hu libh̲ sahiq u`uSrh̲ mitgaiia bhaduta d̲ amarilh̲ ubTabuta hua hu amar man
d̲ mSia bhailh̲ d̲ raza rba d̲ minak škin d̲ hiia abahatak `hablak ana qudam ab sagidna
uamarnalh̲ anat ab brikit umšabit d̲ haza ‘ruta ‘habtlia unihtit lhšuka usilqit

lalmia d nhura luataikun atit ubSautaikun iatibna urazia d hzit mgalilnalkun
`lauaihun umhauianalkun `l kulhun aminTul alma alma d mTit ahadtinun lbabia
uaitith lšrarun ulhailaiun kd hauith lab manda d hiia mahik `lauaiun uamar mahu
damia halin d shiT bgauaihun hšuka uana amrilh kd halin lika balmia d hšuka umia
siauia uana `qum `zil luat ruha d šbaqta balma dila u‘niš lika d ništaiia mina
uakSala lruha bmindim d abadila ahdrila šuba šuria šur parzla bgu alma d lika d mSia
bhailaiun d nišaninin mn duktaihun kd haza amarilh lab amar asgia `zil bqalil sagia
u`bid mahu d baiit kd haza masgina uazilna maTit bit miSria d hšuka ligrai
ahtit ‘l miSria u‘l šuria d hšuka hSab mn qudamai alpa d parsia `u hua kulh
hailai d minai akuat zibna qadmaia d hua minai kulh alma lašar qudamai ana ‘stkit
uhzaita lruha d iatba uamra man šibian bšibia uatian lhazin alma d abahatai
laiadana lia aitinun uana šmata umahikna ‘laua uamarna mahu amra ruha
u`damila bgap zuaua d hu ahu uamarila mahu iatbit ruha uh` atia ubgauai
mitkarka ualanpai bakia uamra mahu šbaqtan uazalt d halin šnia huit uamarnala
ana luat ab u‘m huit šlama qabil minaihun uamra Tubak d hzilak ab u`m uamarnala
hzilh uamra lmahu damin uamarnala iatbia brpilia ubkisia d mn napšaihun
‘štauun uamra qum nizal nihzinun uamarnala ana abahatai apqun uamria hzia
lhaka atit qum lalma d napšak ‘zil uh‘ laiTalun uamra nura tikilinun d minak
naSin `la lazlana ulahazianalun kd haza amrat ana mahikna ‘la uh‘ bnapša ubliba raza
hurina haiša ubahša uamra ‘qum ‘zal luat abahatai u`iul uhzinun uana bliba
iadana d ruha mahu d mhašba ulamarila ušbaqta usilqit u‘zlit luat abahatai d hiia
šihlun huit alpa d šnia d šnia luataiun uqamit qudamaihun hinun kisiun uqaimun
bhilbunaihun bSauta d napšaihun alpa d šnia uana amarnalhun ha maTia zibna
d baiana masguiia lalma hak d anatun iaditun uamria hiia abahatai qum `zil
bran bukra d msadarlun lkulhun almia kd nipqit uazlit tum aškata lruha d bakia
uh‘ ‘lai laiada man ana mistkina uhazina uamra ‘qum ‘bhuš u‘da lia aitinun
lbabia d hšuka d ‘iul luat abahatai qamat ‘zlat ualat bmia siauia ubihšat baba
lamaška d luat abahata ti`iul uqamat atat uitbat uamra l`mat iuma nihuia d `dul
bra Sauta nihuilia uana ulh `tib uhu nihuia ab uhu nihuia `m uhu nihuia Sautai
uzauai uahai usumkanai d samiklia kd hu hauia iadalun uparišlun lbabia uiada
abahatai lia aitinun uazlinin umsakinin `lauaihun kd haizin `mrat ana aluata
huit ulaiada uana amarna `it iuma d anat ruha tidul unihuia brik `ur gabara
d hšuka mn iuma d haza amrat ruha ualma liuma d `damila bgap ahu naida uamra mahu
d `bad mn gabra d apqan ušibian mn abahatai uapqan mn atrai d minh huit kd haza amrat
ruha ana amarila ha kma šnia hauia d bgauh d ‘ur baTnit amra ha trin alpia šnia
uana amarila ‘ka aka ‘lik dilik uamra kma šnia hauia d ana ‘bTun uamarnala šubin
alpia ruban šnia uhadisar iumia baiit midirh bmarbik utidlh l`ur gabara
qarabtana rba kd haziatlh kd mitlid ldilia labaiit mihizian kd haza amarila h`
bliba hadia uamra ha kma `dra usbul bkarsai uana amarila kd ana luatik laitan šnia
bqlil napqan uamra qum azil turSa amrit kd luatai laitak libai dilia mistmik
uldilak labaianak kd haza amrat ana lqudam abahatai silqit hu ab bgauai mitkarak
ulbušia alanpai sahiq umana hu udmuth luataiun tirSun uamria mahu abadt bra
rhima d Sauth šania udmuth nahra u`ruth šania d anin ldilh qrainh udmuth `lan
triSa hu samik `uSra umadita dilan kd abahatai ldilia haizin amrilia ana
sagidna umištaTina qudamaihun b‘ruta usibruta utušbihta kd d hinun alpun hinun
algiTun mn riš briš Sauta dilia udilun udilun dilia uamria bhaiak hibil iauar
ašganda ‘štaiilan kd d abadt balma hak d huat bgauh d anin ‘nšainak ukul iuma
`dkarnak Sarna ldmutak Sautak uparSupak qudamak uabuk kul iuma masiqta qarilak
uamar d nisqun unitun hibil ušitil uanuš ahia tlata d hinun bnai urahmai uana
bnihuta minaihun mištaiina uamarnalun lhiia ulmana udmuth man d hailh kabir
Sauta dilkun šanai ukabira uhaila d anatun `habtulia uadiauria d anatun
nSabtulia mn mahu dahilna ukisia d anatun ksaitunan ana lahaiiqna minaihun
u`Srai hauqa laiil `lh bruhSana dilkun alma liuma d maTit uiatbit u‘štaiit

minaihun ḵḏ hda minaihun ukulhun maran umalkan qrun urazaihun ḏ kulhun lagiTtinun aititinun minaihun uprudqa `hablia `l hahu ḏ anin hašabta ḏ minẖ atalan ḏ ḵḏ ḏ hauia marguš minak abid anatun b‘ruta umadita ugaliuta ḏ gl`ia b`uSraikun qritulia uamartulia uaprištun unSabtun lhanatẖ hšuka ušadartun ldilia mn qudam ḏ tihuia `mẖ uabuia ḏ `ur umn qudam ḏ abahatun nihun ahadtinun lkulhun babia ušanitinun lkulhun sukria ḏ luat hdadia lazlia had lalma ḏ habrẖ lamasgia ubaba lamiptalun hinun hiia abahatai amrilia ia hibil iauar ašganda kasia ḏ `dẖ ḏ abuia `lẖ ‘tasimat uanin šauinẖ ḵḏ dilan `u haza labadnin uanat lasadarta lahua mSinin bhailaiun ḏ `ur u`mẖ ḵḏ haizin amarlia

ana amarnalun `qum `zal luat ruha ḏ maTia ḏ tidlẖ l`ud amria qum `zil utaqin akuat hak ḏ taqint uasgit uatit uaškata lruha ḏ šahra udauia ušahriria miTiat umaTia uatia iuma ḏ tidlẖ l‘ur bra uqaima ukinnia kaina utlatma ušitin kinnia kaina uamra ḏ kin`nia `kun ḏ hauia iuma ḏ iadlana mn kinta lkinta mšanianẖ ḵḏ kinnia kaina ana amarila abid mihuia ḏ iahrik maTia h‘ minai lamištaia uana amarnala ‘bidatik lau mindam hinun ušbaqtẖ u‘tit l‘uhrai sarit ubit miSria iatbit amarna hašta hauia hašabta rabtia ḏ iušamin ‘tiqria uhua ubnia qra uana šidqa niTrit ulamalalit uhaizak ruha hlaSala ubat ḏ tidul bgauẖ ḏ `ur marẖ ḏ hšuka ḵḏ iadlat bgauẖ ana hzaitẖ udamia ḵḏ gimra zuTa hzaitẖ lalip šnia šqaltẖ ruha lbra uaškitẖ mn kinta qadmaita kul kinta kinta alpa ḏ šnia hua umn kinta lkinta mšanilẖ haizak alma ḏ maTia `ur lkinta batraita mn malbuša ḏ karsa ḏ `mẖ lanpaq ḵḏ npaq mn malbuša ḏ karsa ḏ `mẖ npal bmia siauia urmia urapiš uamarna hašta ‘ur hua u‘mẖ hzatẖ unapša hua zuTa undid banpa ubgauẖ laiada ḏ hauia umitgabar mn gabaria rurbia abahatẖ ana hzaitẖ ušbaqtẖ usilqit lšuria hanik ḏ parzla qamit ‘lauaihun u‘mrit b‘rutai utušbihtai ḏ hiia abahatai `hablia uraza rba ḏ minai škin qrit šuba šuria ḏ dahba uahdartẖ lhanatẖ alma kulẖ ušura šura ‘dikrit ‘lauaihun šumia kasiia ušumhata kasiata šum hamam‘il uhatm‘il unaTr‘il uzarzi‘il upašr‘il uhalS‘il ḏ lika ḏ mSia bhailẖ nišaninun mn duktaiun ḵḏ abdit usadartinun lhanatun šuria atit uaškatẖ ḏ rmia urapiš bmia siauia ḵḏ tulita mšatẖ hauia zirta hda `urkẖ uzirta hda putia uamarna hašta ‘saq ‘zal ‘tib bit miSria alma ḏ rabia uhauia ḵḏ ḏ `mar `lẖ ḵḏ hua `mẖ asqalẖ gabara rba haila ḏ hšuka ḵḏ ḏ hua unpuš u‘tgabar urba rbita rabtia ana amarna mahu iatibna ‘qum u‘da upruš u‘hut u‘qria u‘msia arqa ḏ nhaša ḏ hauia tmanima utmanan alpia parsia sumka tutia halin mia siauia ḏ `ur mistmik `lẖ ḵḏ haza nipqat mn pumai dilia iauar hibil huat mn napša u‘taqnat usilqat uatit `lauaihun ḏ mia siauia uhzaitẖ ḏ napša rba uamarna ḏ `iadilẖ `dai `l gambẖ ḏ nitkarkas hailẖ ulanirbia tum `u rabia alma kulẖ paqa mn hailẖ mn rbita ḏ rabia haizak ziua unhura šibqit u‘da adilẖ `l gambẖ uamaš bmia siauia alip ruban parsia ualma ḏ azal usmak `l arqa ḏ nhaša mn kudrẖ unaskẖ pqa piqa barqa ḏ nhaša ḏ hauia trisar alpia parsia `urkẖ uputia u`tigna guha bkulhun almia ḏ hšuka uamria abahata hašta napla arqa ḏ nhaša ukabšalan batraian hu ‘ur ‘Tašia bhanatẖ piqa mn hauqa ḏ haq umn ziuihta ḏ zha uana niTrit alma ḏ nagib mn piqa umia siauia uziuai ksaitẖ mn ainẖ uhu l`mẖ amarla mahu ḏ abadtlia ḏ bit mirbia tum aditlia `dik ḵḏ laiadana haqit uqamat `mẖ u`malẖ babahatẖ ḏ lahua iuma ḏ ana adilak `da `l gambak hu `mrar bmrirtẖ bišta uba ḏ nahim unikla l`mẖ ḏ napšia uamarla abahatik lia hauin uamralẖ qum n`zal luataiun haizak amralẖ qum ‘hauiak taga urmia brišak umalka tihuia ḏ mn iuma ḏ huit šauilak uamarla hauiin ḏ `hizia uamralẖ ata `hauiak ḏ ksia luat šuria rma ainẖ `l tagẖ unisbẖ ltaga urimiẖ brišiẖ uh` ruha amralẖ hdibẖ btagak ḏ šrara dilak hazin taga hu uamarla l`mẖ `m latimitai muta biša ḏ ana mn rišai lašaqlanalẖ umizdahranaba uamarla qum hauiin baba ḏ luat abahatan nizal uamralẖ mn qudam ḏ anat tihuia ana napšai bihšit balma ubaba laškit uhaizak ba ḏ nikla l`mẖ alma mn qudamẖ rihTat uqihdat uamra uai uai mn bra ḏ `mẖ mašiT hu nahim uhadar balma ubaba lamaška ḏ n`iul l`mẖ qarila uamarla ladahlit atai hauiin uamralẖ anat lamhaimnit b`umamata dilia uamarla miaka alma ḏ baba litlẖ m`iaka ḏ abahatẖ baba banpẖ ahrilẖ usakrilẖ umiaka baba

d̲ napiq bgauh̲ laiadala umiaka d̲ abahata minaiun pasqilh̲ uamrilh̲ ana tum haza h` šahrana umitaprišana ‘l kulhun uhaizak amarla lika mindam d̲ abdinin haizak amralh̲ iadana haršia ramia utaqipia d̲ k̲d̲ qariana arqa pašra uamarla qrai haršik ualpin minaihun uh‘ amralh̲ k̲d̲ qariana anat ialpit uamarla qrai uamralh̲ qum nizal lhanik šuria d̲ hua tagak luataiun hu masgia uazil mina uazal umTun uamrat alip alip d̲ lasaka uruban ruban d̲ laminiana ušuria lapšar uhu amarla l‘mh̲ lau amart d̲ haršia napšia utaqipia iadana uamralh̲ k̲d̲ laiadana mahu d̲ `lai huat hu amarla qum k̲d̲ d̲ iadit abid uqamat mn haršia uraza qrat daiuia qaraptania k̲d̲ bainh̲ hzinun `da `la d̲ `mh̲ haršia napšia utaqipia ugabaria iada hu amarla d̲ halin daiuia nihuilia adiaurh̲ ul`mh̲ mhaninla uamarla k̲d̲ halin `bidata `dit alma laqrit Sauta lnapšik h‘ amralh̲ br ana amrit d̲ lbar mn dilak labaiana k̲d̲ haza amralh̲ hu mhaninla unašiqa uana iauar k̲d̲ aitita mn atra la`dit d̲ halin `bidata hua iada k̲d̲ haza `bdat ana la‘tahzilun ulapiršun hin‘la qudamaihun qaiimna umn ainaihun ksina uhazianalhun mahu d̲ abdia h` amralh̲ lbra qum `hauiak naura hda d̲ ldilia `tlia uamarla hauiin uamralh̲ ha hzia malkai ugabarai hauith̲ uanph̲ hza bgauh̲ d̲ hanath̲ naura uhzinun lalmia d̲ hšuka uhzinun lalmia d̲ nhura k̲d̲ haizin hza ‘tgabar u‘tqis ulapšiT uqumth̲ gaba ul`mh̲ d̲ nimarla alma liumai alma la`habtlia hzit anpai bgauh̲ uamrilh̲ ia br hazin naura utaga mn d̲ ana silqit ugabarai asqan lhazin atra tagak unaurak uhazin gimra hda `lai hun d̲ amrana k̲d̲ hauit dilak nihun uamralh̲ mahu d̲ hzit br hu amarla hzitinun lalmia d̲ abahatai ‘niš ‘niš hzaith̲ balmh̲ d̲ napšia uhzaitinun lalmia d̲ nhura uana amarna mahu `bad d̲ abahatai hzaitinun unhura d̲ lau dilan baiina hzit h` amralh̲ hauian naura d̲ `hizia bgauh̲ u`habla hzat bgauh̲ akuat d̲ hza bra uamarla hašta mahu nibad uqamat uargizth̲ uamralh̲ hašta ana laiadana uh‘ liba npal mn samkh̲ upiršat ‘l kulhun uamralh̲ bar `l atrak u`l abahatak d̲ napšak ainak rmia bgauaihun ualmia hanik d̲ nhura anat ‘lauaihun latitkadaš k̲d̲ haizin amralh̲ ligTa bmanzia uqudamh̲ qarba ukibša uh‘ qihdat tlatma ušitin qihdata bihda qadihta uamralh̲ uai uai br kul d̲ abdit abid uamarla ana lnhura mitkadašna lau ‘l hšuka k̲d̲ haza amar hu `ur bmia siauia qdabun umia siauia `tkarak bihda krikta qudamh̲ ualma d̲ Trun bšuria umiSria d̲ binia hšuka lnhura uTrap ‘lauaihun d̲ šuria urma qala uqda bqadihth̲ alma d̲ nad šuria kulhun uhaizak ldilia iauar hiia amrilia hašta mahu iatbit iauar hibil šganda qum ‘zil `l `ur marh̲ d̲ hšuka rbutana uana iauar lašanit mn malalun d̲ abahatai uasgit uatit `l `ur ana u`utria d̲ minai uadiaurai d̲ `nSablia abahatai hu `ur marh̲ d̲ hšuka k̲d̲ hizian uhizia ldmutai `qbar bmia siauia uana nsabth̲ ltagh̲ mn riših̲ ubšuba lbušia ahitth̲ ul`uhrai sarit uhu `ur mn mia siauia ngib uamarla l`mh̲ hazin mahu hua d̲ asgia `lai uamralh̲ hazin d̲ ‘lauak asgia lmikibšak hu d̲ asgia amarla l`mh̲ maka d̲ bdilia mSia lmikibšan uhaizak ‘mh̲ amralh̲ `u hua mS`iit bhazin gabra d̲ hailh̲ ziua tagh̲ ‘l mahu lamS‘iit mišiqlh̲ minh̲ k̲d̲ haizin amralh̲ `mh̲ `dh̲ `l rišia šadia uamar uai uai ‘lai u‘tigbib ula‘pšiT uamarla l‘mh̲ ligTan d̲ humarta d̲ halSai `tibrat k̲d̲ haizin l`mh̲ amarla `mh̲ bakia unahma `lh̲ haizak `npiS uqam mn kursia uamarla kul d̲ hauia `lai tihuia uqam uata bhimta urugza hu ualip rubin daiuia d̲ minh̲ uk̲d̲ haziun mit udak uhinun hun k̲d̲ zan d̲ lahun uqam bhimta ul`uhrh̲ sar bmia siauia al hu qra daiuia d̲ saka litlun uqra daiua hda d̲ rab k̲d̲ dilh̲ utum ata alanpai dilia k̲d̲ hiziun daiuia mit hinun ukulhun d̲ minh̲ ul`uhurh̲ ulaqam hazia uamar mahu `bid uamralh̲ `mh̲ lamS`iit bhailh̲ d̲ hazin nhura uamarla lamSina d̲ hailai npiš uamralh̲ ‘u mS‘iit qum nizal lšuria uandinun mn duktaiun uamarla l`mh̲ qum nizal uazal k̲d̲ ba d̲ nišania lšuria la‘štanilh̲ unapših̲ bihtat mn `mh̲ uamralh̲ lika d̲ iada bhailaiun d̲ halin šuria mSia d̲ nišaninun mn duktaiun d̲ ana šnia napšata riTna riTnit d̲ haršia ušuria lapšar hu l‘mh̲ amarla mahu `bid uamralh̲ ‘tlak marganita hda utruS brišak d̲ hailak napuš k̲d̲ aitita lmarganita utraSalh̲ brišia hu bmia siauia qdabun u‘tikrik mia mn qudamh̲ rhiT tum amar `saq lnhura ulaina rabtia d̲ mia uana iauar blbuša hak ‘tahzilh̲ u`STar unpal qudamai unsabta lmarganita hak d̲ `mh̲ `habalh̲ d̲ hu šahibra ‘sqta šbaqta u‘zlit luat

abahatai d minai škinia uamarla l‘mh uai uai ‘m ha ‘štqil hailaian ušraran
minan h` amralh br lamS`iit bhailh d hazin gabra h` amralh qum lmia siauia
n`iul unihizia lgimra d bnapšai aka d npal bmia urahtia mia siauia hazinin
mahu d baiinin lmibad h` `mh lmia siauia al uana iauar ziua abatraiun alit h`
ruha apiqth lhanath gimra mn napša unpal bmia siauia umia siauia rahtia
umitapkia alma d `tahzia hanath piqa d mn kudrh d `ur pqa hu amarla l`mh `m hzai
piqa hazin d pqa d niplit kd `da aditlia h` hzath lhanath piqa ušahra bgauh uana
iauar auarta ušagišta lruha unsabth mn qudama lhanath gimra ubahša ‘lh
ulamaškalh umalia ‘da ‘l riša Tarpa uamra uai uai d haršan upudran audin
u‘mran ušiman ‘štqil h‘ bakia uhu bakia uarqa bšihh aqar

umn mia siauia saliq uamarla l`mh `qum qraba `bad uhaizak bzibna batraia qra uarim
bqalia u‘štagar bšihia ubmia siauia npal ‘l šuria u‘Tarap u‘zdamam šuria akuat
Taštga u‘utria mn qalh banania `tib umara d rabuta bkisia d napšia ‘tib uana
iauar ziua ašganda ana rab ašgandia kulhun amrit bhailh d raza rba d minai škin
ubhailaiun d hiia abahatai ptahta lbaba unsabta lmargna rama uhauith uainh
bdimita ‘STarar u‘l napšia bka urgalth urmaith lqudamai dilia iauar br iauar
uaitit maspuTita d kadra mn kulhun almia dilia ukadra `l had ruban kd dilia urmibh
b`ur rab kulh haila d hšuka ukarkistinun lgirmia uqda uamar uai uai marai u‘ma
qahda ubakia ‘l ‘ur bra uamarnala ia ruha ‘zil ‘tib hiia brugza šadrun ‘lh unaTria
arba paqdit `lh u`l anph shapth uarba `pia apth uarba rišauata šauitinun hda
lmarba hda lmadna hda lgirbia hda ltimia bmarba paqdit `lh azaz`il
uazaziaiil utaqp`il umargazril rba d hu ragiz `lauaihun d habrh umizdahribh
bmadna paqdit `lh arba hurinia `urp`il umarp`il utaqp`il uhanan`il d hu hanin
ugazim `lauahun bgirbia paqdit `lh kanpan ukapan ugubran uguban d hu gabir
hliS `lauaihun umizdahribh btimia paqdit `lh arba hurinia hail`il d hailh
npiš uqarb‘il unuriaiil d nura šabiq ‘lh u`lauaihun d malakia habrh umizdahribh kd
paqdit ušauilh l`ur d lamSia mibad mindam u‘taprišit ‘l alma hazin d mia siauia
d baiia mihuia lmišqith d `ur alma d abatur mitinSib ana lbit hiia silqit
uamarnalun labahatai hdun u`tbasam d ‘ur ‘tikbiš u‘tkabaš hinun nišqun
bpumaihun dakia uhananun unišqun ugalilulia uamrilia hibil mana dakia
iušamin tlata bnia qra had minaihun naTar qina d abahath had luat abuia daiar had
hu abatur lalma haka azil d anat bgauh huit uanph bmia hza udmuth ubra mn mia
siauia miSTarlh kd haizin amar hiia abahatai qam hu abatur upihth lbaba uadiq
bmia siauia ubar bšita ‘STararat dmuth bmia siauia uptahil `STarar usliq lbit
miSria hu abatur madh praš ‘l ptahil uamarlh abatur lptahil brh ata ata
ptahil anat hu d hzit bmia siauia kd hizia bdmuta d napšia d hua lbiš šuba lbušia
d zan zan ugaunia gaunia ašlinun unsabinun minh umn ziuh albiših umn nhurh
kasih ulalmia d nhura lasaliq d hua haiiq mn abahath `l miSria autbia uamarlh abatur
tib ptahil `l atra hazin d hiia nibun ‘lak unipiršuk kd haza amar abatur ana
iauar hibil mn abatur mištaiina uamarnalh hdia bbra d qrit hu nihuilak
Sauta uadiaura nihuilak kd haza amarilh qam qudamai usgidlia umidnalia l` hibil
`utra uamar abatur ha bhailak hua ptahil bra u`thib uamarlh hzia mahu
d baiit mn alma hazin d hašabta haza huat hzia mpaqdatlia lptahil d bsakluta abid
mindam d laiada hu ma d amarilh lašma uluat abahatai silqit uhu abatur paqdh
uamarlh qum ptahil br msia msuta bmia siauia uqam msa ula`tmisiat uqam
bhašabta uamarlh labuia ab mn šuba lbušia nisbit hanik d `tniSbit bgauaihun
uqamit bgu mia ula‘tmisiat arqa uamarlia abuia ia sakla hzia mšauiatlia kd
dilak anat sab mn šuba lbušia d ziua unhura u`qara d ana albištak urmia bmia
siauia d hašta msuta hauia kd haza šuma mn abatur abuia qam nsib mn hanatun šuba
lbušia d ziua unhura u`qara urma `l mia siauia `tmisiat arqa msuta hda trisar
alpia parsia ukulh alma qam mia siauia hdar hudrana d alma haizak ana qala rmitibh
bptahil haq mn qalai u‘tazha mn mimrai u‘štaTia ‘l msuta d msa uamar uai `lai
d hazin hibil hu rma qala bdilia uana kd hzaith d haizin haq bmaTuta huit `lh

uhaninth uamarilh abid utaqin uasiq `bidatak qudam abuk uqudam hiia d minak rahiqia ušuria ahdirlh lhaza msuta d `u hazialh lbušai hak gaia rahTa umištikna bmia siauia u‘laihun lahauia kd haza amarilh hdarilh šuba šuria lmsuta d msa uhaizak ‘thašab uruha nikla naklabh uamralh mn mahu `tqrit umn mahu huit ptahil d haizin dmutak šapira hu amarla lruha mn hazin alma ‘tqrit huit u‘štauit kd haza šimat ruha mn ptahil mihaial liba uamralh minai anat uqamat ruha uqudamh d bra aila uamralh mahu gn‘iit gabarai umahu škibit qum luatai škub nihuilia kd dilak uniširiak mn ‘surak kd haza šuma mn ‘mh `tnahaz ula`tnahazlh h` hazialh u`lauh bakia aminTul d Tuna `lh kadir h‘ napša šauiat kd kiputa uluath šikbat ubiTnat minh uiadlat šuba bnia hazialun uminaihun raiqa uamra d bit ulahzit hašta mahu ‘bad uamra tum ‘zal luath ‘škub tum ‘zlat luath šikbat hualh trsir bnia bkarsa hurintin hazalun u`lauaihun bakia uamralun mahu damitun bnai d litbaikun haila uladamitun akuat abukun hašta bnapšai iadana d ruhSana balma hazin litlia kd haza šuma mina d `maihun `mrar hinun `da d hdadia lagTia u`tibiun bkanpa d rpilia d mn napšaiun ‘štaian h‘ amralun lia azlitun hašta atia gabra d labukun ‘sria uligTia had had minaihun bakia ‘l napših uamria uai lmahu huainin uana iauar hibil mana dakia luataihun qaiimna ubit mišauinun kd d lahun uana ‘taprišit uamrit mahu ‘bidlun lhalin maštuSia d ladamia lhanik gabaria d hzit balmia titaiia hin‘la ‘šbiqinun d amardita d alma hazin niqdun usigia d alma hazin hinun nasgun kd haizin amrit hiia mitar tar ulahsar uqrilun uamarilun ulibaiun npal mn samkia uruha `lauaiun bakia uamalun hazin gabra d qralkun gaTlh d abukun hu had had minaihun arqa bšiha aqar ptahil uai amar d msuta d msit `tiqrat minai mahu `bid uana amarilh lptahil latidhul hašta abadnalun lhalin d hazin abdia haizak ana qrilun uamarilun latidihlun ana lagTinalkun umašrinalkun d haizin d amarilun mindam labad uamarilun `bidatkun mahu uamria maran kul d baiit `bid `la bmahu tihuia `lan gabra nukraia uana lšamiš bšumh qrilh ulsin ulkiuan ulbil udlibat ul`nbu unirig lhad had minahun `habilh uamarnalun ‘tilkun markabata u‘tibiun u‘ialbišinkun lbuša d šanai uziua ‘tilkun d minhiritun bhazin alma kulhun ligTuia lšamiš ahuhun qašiša uamrilh anat tihuia malkan udlibat tihuia malakta balma uanin kulan nihuia atutaikun ana kd haza šimit minaihun aitilun plugta uqraitilia lsar usaruan uamarnalun nTir plugta hulh adiaura lšamiš riš planga qašiša ahia umn ma d amarilun lašanun `utria trin uautibtinun bgauh d markibta uanhruia lalma tlatma ušitin alpia ‘šnia bhurba uhaizak ‘thašbit ana iauar amarna ‘bad adam qralun lšibiahia uamarnalun šaun dmuta d pagria ušaun kd d amarilun uana aitita lnišimta mn ginzaihun d hiia rurbia d hua d ks`ia bit niTupta d rbat btana urmitibh bgauh d pagra d adam uabadilh haua zauh d nihuia un`tiaiar unitqaiam alma hazin uana `huia tangara d nišmata d haka mitiadla ulhil mitqiriia `utria usalqia hazilh laiar baraia ulatra d minh `tinSib ualma d šalim k‘la d lma hazin usalqia hazilh labuhun qadmaia hiia lagTia Tabuta d manda d hiia udhibil brh d hu msadarlun sidraihun lhiia rurbia `qara hiia liadin hiia lsabran hiia lgubria masbiranan uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uzka uzakia iauar ziua uadiauria utarmidia sa hazin sidra

d supat hu sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia qadmaiia dna ziua unhur hiia u`tiglia manda d hiia lbahtinun lkulhun almia uqarqla lkula alahuta d baita upalginun lkulhun marauath d alma hazin hiziuia lziuh unhurh d manda d hiia d ‘tlabašbh bhiria zidqa karsauata d alahun `tirkin latutaihun usidraihun hua lmipak `l anpaihun uqam bbahtuta ukulhun almia d hiziuia `stahap `l anpaihun npal ulapahtia ainaihun ulamaškin d nahzun ata udmuta d hiia rbia bhiria zidqa d hiziuia `triS u`tmlun bhiia uhiia `l `uSraihun `triS unpal tihua `l marh d baita uamarilh lalahun anat dmu dilan uanin dmutak dilak hin ‘tbak haila ašnia dmutak uanin nizal unatauzap ‘l nhura d hiia uamarlun ana dmutai h‘ ulalam almia lašania uamria uai ‘lan

d `ubadia `dan hun bzakaiia uanin hauinin bhaiabia alma bakitun amamia udaria libaikun `l mindam d lau dilkun hu umitipka uapka malkutkun utuqpa d giutaikun npal `lauaikun umitmirdia `l alahun ulaTuTia mlaTiTilh uamrilh liTit alaha uruha d ‘l ruha šria asgia hailahun d bškinatun bhit šiqra ukadba hua btiria hiklaihun dna hšuka b‘ubadia ‘daihun habara Sadia brqihaihun `tirsin alahaihun bbahtuta l`uhraihun unpiš qlalun ‘tib ‘l zipa hukumta uabdin hadšia uramin ‘l anpa d arqa nhit alaha mn mruma unsib dmuta d malakia umalakia ‘tlabaš bsahria ukul ium kul iuma apkia libaihun d bnia anaša ušaria ‘l Sauar kumria zabia uadidia mikal mn bisraihun lsiba umištia mn zmaiun lriuia malil bhukmta uzipa umšanin ‘dania ‘tiglun hiia ltibil dna ziua unhur hiia iama d hiziuia apak uiardna `hdar l`uhrh Turia raqdia kd ailia uailata bdbar mšahTa ‘ulaihun uaramata mamlla kd bnat anania b`qara Turia pahtia pumaihun uiahbia tušbihta uarzia blilban mitabria arqa d hzatan zahat u`tazihat umlik iama d hizian apak iama lman hzit uapakt uiardna lman hzit u`hdart l`uhrak Turia lman hzaitun uraqditun kd ailia uailata bdbar lman mšahTitin `ulaikin uaramata kd bnat anania lman mamlilitun b`qara Turia lman pahtitun pumaikun btušbihta arzia blilban lman ‘tbartun arqa lman hzat u‘tazihat mlik iama lman hzit uapakt uangauia iama lman ‘štagaštun unsisia iama lman ‘tahzaitun mn qudam ziua unhura d manda d hiia uziua utuqna d albištinun lbhiria zidqa špak hiia ‘l mia uangauia iama pta pumaihun u‘hab tušbihta lhiia rurbia nukraiia uamria šumaikun hiia ladkarnin udahaltaikun dilkun la‘danin hazin hu nhura d hiia d ‘tiglia ušabuia bhiria zidqa uamarlhun manda d hiia ‘tit lmiškan luataikun uiaqminkun bnhura d hiia uaprištinkun mn amamia udaria u‘iaqminkun brahmut kušTa utihun kšiTia qudamai bnhura d hiia utab hiia lanihuia lmarh d baita ‘štagaš ugarglia markabatun npuš qala bmruma kd qal himun gabra almia npuš qala bmruma ‘il šidai bgabaruath arqa `qar bit zida u`bidath braba bit gabra mirma rmia tuqpaihun ada minaihun šulTanun aTar malkutun mn rišaihun ‘tib ‘l karsauatun ubtihma uamria `uai uai d npal tihma bkulhun almia uqrib ‘danun umaTia lmišlam lkimSat almia nihuia hiia rbia bmruma utiria šibiahia nišiplun l‘umqia d arqa udaria d hdirlh l‘šiul titaita ada šulTanun mn mruma ‘dgar mhašabatun bišata brišaihun qal hiia mn piria uqal zadiqia mn nhura qalaihun d bhiria zidqa mn škinata titaiata d bšuma d hiia mšabin uamria anin muta ‘danin btibil mn iuma d hiia rhimnin umuta snainin ‘lauaikun dilkun hiia ‘tirhiSnin u‘l šumaikun hiia btibil ‘tradapnin dhul ušaba bhiria zidqa lhiia uhiia ‘lauaikun škinia uanatun bhiria zidqa nihuia `triSitun b`triSuta qum qudamai nhar uanhar nhurai dilia `lauaikun nidna k`in nihun bhiria zidqa anpaihun nahrin umanhirin mn bnia d sam pira hiuara unahra dmutaihun d bhiria zidqa kd hiia d laiit `urbana bgauaihun ia d hakimia bnapšaihun qudam anpaihun qaima askia luatan ia d amria lhiia anin hiia luataikun hinun uhiia luataiun laiit ulibaihun šbaq gzar hTap ia d apkia halia mn marira umarira `l halia ia d ‘l Taba amria biša hu ulbiš mšauilh Taba ia d apkia hšuka lnhura unhura lhšuka ia d mqadmin šatin hamra hadta bramšia šatin hatiqia umištbin bzmara ukinara uambuba ia d madin mišania Tabia umarhin rihania basimia umpanqa napšaihun bgauta ubšuma d hiia rbia umanda d hiia d hua luataiun lashid ulaSat ulašamun udhiia lbalun latraS špur bgiutaihun npalun uapak anpaihun liama rba d sup sgid ušaba bhiria zidqa d šanai d hazia ainaihun nukraiia mn almia d nhura d Silmia uSaurata litlia liad mabrin `bidata d zipa lanpal ušumh udmth lbnat anašia ladkar haza hu nhura d hiia d rmia qam tuqpaihun agar malalun bpumaihun d bnat anašia ia bišia d bdur ligia mamlilia hazin hu ziua atiqa unhura mn laqadmia hua nhar uanhar banhurh mn almia d zakauata ldmuth uluath ulSauth ulqalh ul`ruth ulgabaruath d manda d hiia `tahzia bkulhun almia ukulhun alahia ‘štarhizia ‘l hdadia miTipia uamria kma nišauibh lmanda d hiia d npaš ziuh mn šabuhia uiatir nhurh mn raurubh u`tqaiam nhurh qarmaia uiaiin uzakia pugdamia d kušTa ušakin ziuh brahmh ulmanda d hiia d hauilkun ruhSana kd raia Taba d raialun

ukalia umrahiq minaikun ukul ruh siTia k̲d̲ raia Taba `l aqnia d̲ ldibnaihun dabarlun umautiblkun unaSablkun lqudamia hdun ušaba bhiria zidqa anha libaikun umakik ʻuSraikun hun siTar mn bišia ia kušTa ukšiTa napšaihun qala hua bkul arqa d̲ rab ziuh̲ d̲ kulh̲ mdina umanda d̲ hiia ʻtiglia biahud ugupna ʻtahzia bʻurašlam d̲ qudamh̲ aulh̲ laiit ʻiut malkuta lahuat brišia lahuabh̲ dmuta balahuta hiia hinun d̲ hun mn laqadamia kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša pta ʻuSraikun ušaba bkušTa d̲ alma šinta tirihmun mn kšilia titakšilun akuat kšilia qadmaiia d̲ ʻtakšal ulapšaT `daihun lqudamai d̲ kušTa Tubaikun bhiria zidqa d̲ mitgadalkun qarnaikun brišaikun šaniia hanatun zakuatkun mn almia uanpaikun nahria bhaduta ia labšia murTia umurTaTia umiradpia ušibqia btibil ʻlkun dilkun malbišnalkun ziua ularadupaikun malbašnalun qulalia ubahtuta anin lhiia ʻtarhiSnin ulhiia hualan ruhSana ukušTa hualan biluatan uʻtrauribin brabut mandak uqam hiia lrahmaikun ubrahmuta d̲ kušTa uzidqa k̲d̲ širiana rba d̲ arqa d̲ aiar albištinkun ukasitinkun bhiria zirqa brahmuta d̲ rhimtun lmanda d̲ hiia triS brišaikun zakuata qum asgun ušumai btibil utušbihtai bkulhun almia haizak hu nhura d̲ hiia d̲ `tiglia minh̲ agria uzidqia kin nišmatkun bhiria zidqa ubanhura d̲ hiia uninihrun trin trin bSiuat hdadia d̲ napšaihun nihuia šumaikun nihuia šanai ziuaikun mn ziuia unihuia šanai nhuraikun mn nhuria ʻniš ʻniš k̲d̲ zan ʻubadia uagra ušumai bpumaikun nihuia bruk ušaba lmizlaikun uʻl mitiaikun ulmitbaikun ulmiklaikun ulmištiaikun ulmišlaikun ulmišikbaikun uhlarsaikun šum hiia d̲ dakritun lšabuhia uliaquria lrarubia lbarukia lqaiumia tum asgun šumai btibil utušbihtai bkulhun ʻubadia hua qal bkul arqa rab ziua bkul mdinta uʻtiglia manda d̲ hiia lkulhun bnat anaša umparqilun mn hšuka lnhura umn habara lnhur hiia puq minh̲ mn dbar Sadia uaTar uadun napšaikun mn zipa hrara d̲ hazin alma latihiTpun bhaubaikun bišia umn hiia latitakšilun akuat kšilia qadmaiia d̲ ʻtakšal ulapšiT ʻdaihun lqudamaihun qum rurbia bhiria zidqa aTar uadun napšaikun mn dibia haTipia umn ariauata mhambilania makšilania d̲ minaikun dilkun mitakšilia ia d̲ azlia bšuqia tibil ukipa ugahna qumtaiun ulibaiun šbaq agzar hTip latirbun bbnia aula d̲ ʻdaihun bzma mlauša ukul ium ukul iuma iatbia lkarsauata d̲ mirda ulšuma d̲ hiia mradpia tinpa ʻšata mn anpaihun utišralhun lbit kadpaihun utibidlhun k̲d̲ zan rbutun bmhita d̲ napšaihun nitimhun umhitai dilia latihuia `lauaihun uhiia zakin uzakia manda d̲ hiia uadiauria sa hazin qarqalta d̲ kula alahuta d̲ baita h`
sa
. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia . kilai balma šilman uhušbanai bdaria ʻtbadar nipqit mn alma d̲ hšuka umn mariba d̲ muta `zlit umaTit maTarta d̲ kalbia šihania umšagrania d̲ maura ainaihun

ulahazin umTaršia ʻudnaihun ulašamin ušum hiia adkirilun lšum hiia laqam šum muta adkirilun ʻl šum muta laqam bhanath̲ maTarta haqit zahit u`tazihit unadalia kula qumtai balbušai qarilh̲ gabra mn duk Tiph̲ d̲ alma uamar ia gabra d̲ lhiia qaria niniuk ulhiia bnpiš nihuilak ruhSana akuat damit lgabra d̲ qaiim bma usrin šnia gabra d̲ huTra ukarkušta bʻdh̲ lgiT uabatar hiuaniata azil mn šilia nilgiTunh̲ uzihua nalbišunh̲ uzihua nikasunh̲ utaga nisrulh̲ ulsusia nautibunh̲ umalka bmdiniata nišaunh̲ uakuat damit lgabra d̲ qaiim bma ušitin parsia bdišta bit Sihiun lʻhuia umia nihuia briha d̲ hiia narha utihuia nišimta k̲d̲ zan ʻniš Tabia bgiuth̲ adith̲ lhanath̲ maTarta amarna hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit u`zlit umaTit maTarta hurintia d̲ ptula pt abuia d̲ šitin ušaba bnata qudama iatbia d̲ hadiaiin mgalalin lqalala usiTraiin primlin lšiTuata nasbia libaihun d̲ alahia utihaiun d̲ bnia anašia uamarilh̲ ia gabra ahbalan šumak urušumak d̲ nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d̲ ziua umn maSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura šumai urušumai adkirilh̲ haq zha uʻtazhat uqam qudamai uamarlia iagabra bdirkak ʻniš lanitia upasihiatak ʻniš lanisgia uamarnalun bdirkai nitun bhirai upasihiatai nitun mhaimnai lika ruha nitiblak šabunia bainak unihšuklik ainik brišik unisqun anašia naSuraiia nihzuna latra rba d̲ nhura uldaura taqna uadith̲ lhanath̲ maTarta tum amarna hauqa udahalta uziuihta quramai laiit `zlit umaTit maTarta hurintia zan haza zban zriz hliS mlik rugza utaqipa uhbala mšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d̲ man h` ulman naTra uman mabaTba šailit uamrilh̲ mabaTba bhaza maTarta halin d̲ ašdia dma umhamblia Silmia d̲ akuatun mšaiilna uamarna hanik nišmata lmahu damia b`ubadia sainia d̲ abdia balma šailit uamrilia hanik nišmata damia lmania d̲ pahara d̲ `kuma nasib ulmania d̲ nhaša d̲ Tupša ušuta masiq ramilun bmana sada hlaSa umSara kabšin ‘lauaiun kadšilun ulahalin umnangirilun ulamitapkia šailia hanik nišmata lmuta tiniana latia lruhaiin amrilh̲ zan haza zban ia gabra šumak urušumak hbalan d̲ nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d̲ ziua umn maSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura šumai urušumai adkirilia sgidlia zan haza zaban d̲ rba sigudta adita lhanath̲ maTarta tum amarna hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit `zlit umaTit maTarta d̲ iur iahur urhum mšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d̲ man h` ulman naTra uman mabaTba bhaza maTarta šailit uamarilh̲ mabaTba bhaza maTarta kul man d̲ gar ugnab uaumia ukadib mšaiilna uamarna hanik nišmata lmahu damia b`ubadia sainia d̲ abdia balma šailit uamrilia damia hanik nišmata d̲ gaTna mn huTra uakma mn zimta d̲ riša uramilun bmana sada hlaSa umSara ungada kabšia ‘lauaiun kadšilun ulahalin umnangirilun ulamitapia šailia hanik nišmata muta tiniana umuta tiniana ‘lauaihun latin uamrilia iur iahur uarhum ia gabra šumak urušumak hbalan d̲ nsibt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d̲ ziua umn maSbuta rabta d̲ nhura šumai urušumai adkirilh̲ sgidlh̲ iur iahur urhum d̲ rba sigudta adith̲ lhanath̲ maTarta tum amarna hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit u`zlit umaTit maTarta hurintia d̲ pilpin pipin d̲ alpat ruha d̲ qudša brpilia d̲ hšuka umšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d̲ man h‘ ulman naTra umn mabaTba šailit uamrilh̲ mabaTba bhaza maTarta d̲ singiania udaiania ušaliTania d̲ apkia miSria umšania kudkia d̲ halin ‘nšia d̲ mzabnia halbaiin ugaTla bnaiin umhaiia bnia d̲ habratin uhadra l‘umSa šamana lkasia d̲ mhalin salqa bkita ‘lita uaškita d̲ bnaiin qudam hiia rbia qadmaiia halin d̲ mzabnia halbaiin bhadiaiin talilin alma lium dina ualma lšita šaiia d̲ purqana aminTul d̲ mgaTla bnaiin umrabia bnia d̲ habratin mšaiilna uamarna hanik nišmata lmahu daria b`ubadia sainia d̲ abdia balma šailit uamrilh̲ damia hanik nišmata lgadiia šamina d̲ mn šilia haTpilun lgumria ramilun bmana sada hlaSa umSara ungada ukbaša ‘lauaihun kadšilun ulahalin umnangirilun ulamitapkia šailia hanik nišmata haiabata muta tiniana ualmia d̲ hšuka umuta tiniana ‘lauaihun latia amrilia pilpin pipin ia gabra šumak urušumak ahbalan d̲ nsibt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d̲ ziua umn maSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura šumai urušumai adkirilh̲ sgidlia pilpin d̲ rba sigudta adita lhanath̲ maTarta amarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit u`zlit umaTit maTarta d̲ ‘šu mšiha baTla mšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d̲ man h‘ uman mabaTba šailit uamrilia mabaTba bhaza maTarta kulman d̲ bhiia kapir ubmšiha audia mšaiilna uamarna hanik nišmata bmahu damia b`ubadia sainia d̲ abdia balma šailit uamrilia damia hanik nišmata laqna šamina d̲ napša usagia qudam mšiha d̲ hu mšiha lia nasginun uliama naqmunun umia nišailunh̲ ulihuia gadadh̲ d̲ iama mdalia umia d̲ iama amuqia ubaiian mia lmištia ulitlin amrilh̲ našmata lmšiha mšiha maran k̲d̲ huainin bhanath̲ alma lbušia albišinin uksuiia kasinin upruqia paraqnin uzidqa uTabuta iahbinin hašta alma d̲ baiinin mia lmištia ulitlan amarlin mšiha lnišmata lbušia d̲ albištinin uksuiia d̲ kasitinin upruqia d̲ pariqtinin uzidqa uTabuta d̲ ‘habtinin ‘l šum man amrilia nišmata lmšiha lšum ‘iit ‘laita ušuma d̲ ‘iit titaita ulšum ‘šu mšiha ulšum rušuma ruha d̲ qudša ulšum alaha d̲ naSuraiia ulšum ptula pt abu amarlin mšiha lnišmata ‘iit ‘laita šumia h‘ u‘iit titaita arqa h‘ ‘šu mšiha ana hu ruha d̲ qudša haka h‘ ada ‘lh̲ gabra bhir zidqa uadh̲ lkulh̲ kana d̲ nišmata d̲ minh̲ uamarlh̲ mšiha lgabra bhir zidqa gabra šumak urušumak ahbalan d̲ nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d̲ ziua umn maSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura šumai urušumai adkirilh̲ sgidlia

mšiha arba zibnia d rba sigudta uamrilh nišmata lmšiha mšiha maran kd huainin bhak alma lau anat amartlan d rab minai laiit ana hu alaha alihun maria mariuan ana hu malka d kulhun almia ana hu gabra d ada `lak usgidtlia arba zibnia d rba sgudta man hu amarlin mšiha lnišmata hazin hu gabra d ada `lai sgidilh arba zibna d rba sigudta šum ‘iit ‘laita ladkar ušum ‘iit titaita ladkar ušum d ruha d qudša ladkar ušum mšiha ladkar ušum alaha d naSuraiia ladkar ušum ptula pt abu ladkar amrilh nišmata lmšiha mšiha maran akmar rminan bpagraian iumia tlata nizabunia kul d ‘tlan uninhit liardna uniSTba lšum hazin gabra d ada ‘lak amarlin mšiha lnišmata iakšilia d ‘takšal kd huainin bhanath alma mihzaitun ianqa d npaq mn kras `mh u`hdar b`mh ailuia d ana `hdar bpagraikun rminun iumia tlata tizabnun kul d ‘tlaikun utinihtun liardna utiSTbun lšumh d hazin gabra d ada `lai amarlin mšiha lnišmata ‘dalma laiaditun kšilia d ‘takšil ana hu mšiha baTla hrig laqu uhakim lbiš mšania babia d šinta uapik ‘ubadia d ruha umšabiš gubria zadiqia uramilun brpilia rurbata d hšuka ukui sikia uqlidia ahuilkun ušabušia šabištinkun ragugia ragigitinkun dahba ‘hablkun aminTul d tihuilia Sauta bhšuka bhanath atra d qaiaminabh adith lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit uazlit umaTit maTarta hurintia d iurba mšaiilna uamirna bhaza maTarta d man h‘ uman mabaTba šailit uamrilia mabaTba bhaza maTarta rurbia urbutania kulhun uhalin d nasbia bardbia rurbia uiahbia bardbia dirdqia uhalin d nasbia hbulia uhbul hbulia ubakš ubakšan ula hazilh lakia kd aniuta ulmalka kd malkuta udahilh lhania umaskinia mn babaiun uzidqa laiahbia mšaiilna uamarna halin nišmata lmahu damia b‘ubadia sainia d abdia balma šailit uamrilia damian hanik nišmata lgadiia šaminia d mn šilia mn ‘maihun haTpilun ulgumria šamina ulgumria mTabilun ukd abad abdilh ukd akal aklilun ulhad šuba mauzipilun u‘lauaihun rugza hauia šailia hanik nišmata haiabata muta tiniana balma d hšuka ulatia ‘lauaihun amarilh iurba ia gabra šumak urušumak hbalun d nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn maSbuta rabtia d nhura šumai urušmai adkirilh sgidlh iurba arba zibnia d rba sigudta d adita lhanath maTarta amarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit uazlit umaTit maTarta hurintin d ruha d qudša d lpumia d karipiun sarupa iatba kinar šiha lkadpa matnala umalia bšitma ušitin parSindia gitna matnala umamla bpanduria uqarialun ltrisar gubria tangaria d abu d audubia uamrila martan mahu qrinalak umahu šihnalik uamralun qritulia ušihitulia kd zan napTa uqira lpumh d karapiun sarupa ukarkušta lgiTa b‘da ulpumh d karapiun sarupa iatba mkarkišalun uramialun ltrisar babia d haimanubh uamralun `zil `zil bnai bhud baba u`tia batraikun hadria bgurgmia d karapiun ulamitaška kšaša umšaša mizal umistimik ‘lh ada `lh gabra bhir zidqa uadia lkulh kana d nišmata minh haizak `tar karapiun sarupa lruha d qudša d nimarla anat haka huit gabra d ada `lai alma la`habtulia amralh hanath `dana hanath šita ‘damh pumak kd lbizuna d šušmana kd ziqa hua u`uSa unpalbh u`stakar sliq gabra bhir zidqa uhizih laiar baraia uldaura taqna hiia amria lgabra bhir zidqa lmahu damia alma d atit minh uruha umšiha ušibiahia bmaTaratun d atit lmahu damian uamarlun gabra bhir zidqa ruha umšiha lšibiahia damin ldidbia lpumh d dudia iatbia umn habla d maTilun miTarpia ganpaihun d bgauh d dudia naplia hiia hdun ualbšuia ziua lgabra bhir zidqa uaituia nhura kasiuia aqmuia batra d šrara atra d baiin minh umaškia ušailia minh umithiblun uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia zkit kana d naSuraiia lšumh d iauar ašar uzakia manda d hiia urahmh šumh sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia halin hinun pugdamia d iuhana maSbana kd iardna d mia hiia lgaT umaSbuta haita maSba ušuma d hiia madkar uasgia manda d hiia luath d iuhana maSbana uamarlh qum iuhana Suban bmaSbutak d maSbit uadkar ‘lai mn šuma d madkirit uamarlia iuhana lmanda d hiia karsai kpina lmikal ugiutai Sh‘ia lmištia uiarqunai mlagTilh ušidqa nTirna lmišria baiina nišmata kbar ‘lai hašta nihuia Sipra ata `Sibak kd qaiim manda d hiia šqal ainh latra d kulh ziua latra d kulh nhura

ubaiia buta napša rba ulazuTa uamar minaikun dilkun baiina mn hiia qadmaiia umn
hiia tiniania umn hiia tlitaiia umn iupin uiupapin umn sam mana smira umn gupna
ḏ kulẖ hiia u`lana rba ḏ kulẖ asauata umn `uSar hai upta hai pahtia pihta ḏ hiia
unaSbia niSubta ḏ nhura baiina minaikun buta ḏ napnša rba ulazuTa lhaza šita
ḏ qaiminabẖ baiina ‘l asar utartin šaiia ḏ ‘umama u‘l asar utartin šaiia ḏ lilia u`l
srin uarba šaiia nihun ḵḏ zan šita hda ‘upania ḏ ‘umama utitia šinta ušaharta
lainẖ ḏ iuhana nišhar uniškub utihuia nišimtẖ ḵḏ ‘niš Taba bgiutẖ ‘l atar ‘šailẖ
uamarlẖ `l maSbuta ḏ maSba bhaza šita ḏ qaiminaba masgia uatia manda ḏ hiia mn
atra ḏ kulẖ ziua umn atra ḏ kulẖ nhura umn atra ḏ `hablẖ lasar utartin šaiia
ḏ ‘umama ulasar utartin šaiia ḏ lilia hauia ḵḏ zan šita hda ‘štiqil ‘upania
ḏ lilia nihun ‘umama u‘štqil ‘upania ḏ `umama nihun lilia hua `umama hua paina
hua Sipra hua lilia uhua ‘umama atat šinta ušaharta lainẖ ḏ iuhana ušhar uškib
u`tar u`tmaqaq u`dẖ ḏ iamina lainẖ rma ušinta mparaT mn ainẖ uamar manda
ḏ hiia šlama ‘lak rab iuhana aba saba rba ḏ `qara uamarlẖ iuhana lmanda ḏ hiia ata
bšlam ialda zuTa ḏ mn `tmal liardna zamintak iumai la`kadbak uamarlẖ manda
ḏ hiia liuhana qum para iardna upras draiak uqablan Suban bmaSbutak haita ḏ maSbit
uadkir ‘lai mn šumẖ ḏ madkirit uamarlẖ iuhana lmanda ḏ hiia arbin utartin
šnia iardna ligTit uanašia bmia Sabana ‘niš liardna laqran hašta minak dilak Talia
zuTa br šnia tlat iuma hda baiina ‘sgia liardna uamarlẖ manda ḏ hiia liuhana
maSbuta hazin ḏ maSbit uamarlẖ iuhana lmanda ḏ hiia raminalun lanašia biardna ḵḏ aqna
lqudam gabra raia umia bhuTrai mazilna ‘lauaiun ušumẖ ḏ hiia madkarna `lauaiun
uamarlẖ manda ḏ hiia liuhana maSbana maSbuta ḏ maSbit šuma ḏ manu madkirit `lauaihun
pta pumaihun tarmidia kulhun ḵḏ hda liuhana amrilẖ arbin utartin šnia maSbuta
maSbit ‘niš liardna laqrak lbr mn hazin ialda zuTa latibsibun lmamlalẖ
ḏ malil tarmidia kbar liuhana qam iuhana asgia lgauẖ ḏ iardna upara iardna upras
draiia uqablẖ lmanda ḏ hiia uamarlẖ ata ata ialda zuTa br šnia tlat iuma hda zuTa
ahẖ uqašiš abahatẖ ḏ hu zuT upugdamia mraurbia uasgia manda ḏ hiia luatẖ
ḏ iuhana liardna uiardna ḏ hiziẖ lmanda ḏ hiia ašuar ushaq alanpia ushaq
lriqatẖ uqam `lauia pumẖ qadmaia bmia uatutia pumẖ batraia bit mai lmai
qapia iuhana ulitlẖ haila lmiqam hiziẖ manda ḏ hiia liuhana u`harap `lẖ
kbar ziuẖ ḏ manra ḏ hiia liardna uiardna ḏ hiziẖ lziuẖ ḏ manda ḏ hiia atar
l`uhrẖ qam iuhana bmiabašta uasgia manda ḏ hiia luatẖ uamarlẖ manda ḏ hiia
liuhana Suban bmaSbutak dakita uadkar ‘lai mn šumai ḏ madkirit uamarlẖ iuhana
lmanda ḏ hiia alip alip anašia ahitit biardna uruban ruban nišmata Sibit bmia gabra
ḏ lak dilak damia ‘l ‘dai ladan hašta huat miabašta bmahu ‘Sibak uamarlẖ manda
ḏ hiia liuhana kma ḏ mia azlin `zil anat uana minak masgina Suban bmaSbutak dakita
ḏ maSbit uadkar ‘lai mn šuma ḏ madkirit kma ḏ iardna haSib umia iabšia azil
iuhana umanda ḏ hiia minẖ masgia umasgia manda ḏ hiia lzuẖ šra liardna ulkipẖ
pta pumaihun nunia mn iama uSipria mn trin kipẖ ḏ rbita ulmanda ḏ hiia mšabilẖ
uamrilẖ brikit anat manda ḏ hiia ubrik atra ḏ `tit minẖ umšaba umqaiam atra rba
ḏ azlatlẖ qal nunia mn iama uqal Sipria mn trin kipẖ ḏ rbita anpal b`udnẖ ḏ iuhana
praš iuhana ḏ manda ḏ hiia anat hu ḏ azal minẖ uamarlẖ iuhana lmanda ḏ hiia anat hu
gabra ḏ ‘l šumak aSbit maSbuta haita uamarlẖ lšum man maSbit uamarlẖ iuhana
lmanda ḏ hiia lšum ḏ ‘tiglilia ulšum ‘tita ḏ `tit lmitia umana smira l`tagluiia
anat asim `lai `dak ḏ kušTa uiaminak rabtia ḏ asauata uadkar ‘lai šitlak ḏ štalt
bšumak dilak radmaiia ubatraiia nitqaimun uamarlẖ manda ḏ hiia liuhana hin `dai
masimna `lak mn pagrak napqit uamarlẖ iuhana lmanda ḏ hiia analak hzaitak
haka labaiina lmihuia hzaitak ugaiadtak kušTa ha baiina minak ulatagzaran
manak mn atra ḏ atit minẖ ulatra rba ḏ azlatlẖ zarzan upaqdan uhananan ugalilia
lrazia ḏ malkia ulpira rba ḏ nhura ulsadania upiria ḏ arqa lhil lmahu kbišia
usadania ḏ mia ḏ minaihun ḏ ‘šata haita shiTa hiia bmahu škinia uman mn man
qadmaia umraurab ḵḏ hazin šuma iuhana ‘l riqatẖ ḏ krak nSab šihlẖ lilbušiẖ
bgu iardna ašlia lbušia ḏ bisra uzma ulbušiẖ `uSTla ḏ ziua ukasiia TarTabuna Taba

dakia d̲ nhura šamar mizal manda d̲ hiia latra d̲ kulh̲ ziua ulatra d̲ kulh̲ nhura uazil iuhana minh̲ uknap nunia mn iama uSipria mn trin kipia d̲ rbita lpagrh̲ d̲ iuhana umsatrilh̲ hiziia ihuana lpagrh̲ `tinTiT `lh̲ uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia liuhana lmahu `tinTiTt lbisra uzma d̲ ašlaitak minh̲ hin baiit `kamrak u`iailak bgauia amarlia iuhana lmanda d̲ hiia brik umšaba gabra d̲ `uSTla d̲ bisra uzma ašlan upaqdin uapqan minh̲ mšaba umraurab umqaiam umiaqar gabra bhiria d̲ `uSTla d̲ ziua albišan uTarTabuna Taba dakia d̲ nhura kasian d̲ huat bgauh̲ hinila `tnaTaTit lbnai d̲ šihia d̲ šibqit d̲ laiit ʻniš d̲ masbarlun uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia man b`uSrak ublibak dilak šra bʻuSraiun ublibaiun d̲ bnak nišrilun br ana iadana lmahu ʻtinTiTit uamarlh̲ iuhana lmanda d̲ hiia ap anat hu d̲ iadit blilbia uparšit bʻuSria ulilbia ukabdia ukuliata k̲d̲ šamša šTiha lqudamak anat Sarit zimta uhazit mahu d̲ bh̲ uparšit mahu d̲ hauia bnhura umahu d̲ hauia bhšuka haizak malil pumh̲ b`qara mn haupia mia umn `upania d̲ mia nsib hala mn iama umn trin kiph̲ d̲ rbita uqam rma lpagrh̲ d̲ iuhana mn hak iuma d̲ huat kasita lpagrh̲ ušamar mizal manda d̲ hiia latra d̲ kulh̲ ziua ulatra d̲ kulh̲ nhura uazil minh̲ iuhana azil umaTia maTarta d̲ ptahil qadiša ziu hsir unhar psiq d̲ psaq hiia ušbiq minaihun umn binataihun asTruia bSadia balhudh̲ autbuia uptahil d̲ hiziia lmanda d̲ hiia `tirkin kursih̲ latutia uqam minh̲ umšabilh̲ umbariklh̲ lmanda d̲ hiia uamarlh̲ mšabit manda d̲ hiia brik atra d̲ `tit minh̲ umšaba umraurab umqaiam atra rba d̲ azlatlh̲ tihuia bmaTuta `lai qudam hiia rurbia bmruma d̲ masihpa qubla shap ʻlai ulašabqilia d̲ `saq `hiziia hiia b`umruma uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia liuhana ʻštaiia mn hazin rišaia d̲ `tiabuta d̲ hiia huat `lh̲ ap anaša anat k̲d̲ hda mn malkia šauitak akuat ʻutria rurbania d̲ bit `qara `zil pugdama ahbalh̲ uamarlh̲ iuhana lptahil anat `tiabuta d̲ hiia huat `lak ulabuk `utra gabra d̲ zarzak upaqdak ulhaka šadrak šamar mizal manda d̲ hiia latra d̲ kulh̲ ziua ulatra d̲ kulh̲ nhura azil umaTia maTarta d̲ abatur rama alip alip mišqal ainia uruban ruban qaimia lqudamia uramilh̲ kursia uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia labatur tib tib abatur lkursiak d̲ ram ugaiia umnaTar d̲ `hablak hiia rurbia bmruma uamarlh̲ abatur lmanda d̲ hiia k̲d̲ azlit qudam hia adkar `lai uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia `l abatur hin azilna uamarna umištaiina nitun unidalunh̲ lkursiak binia gubria bnia šlama hin azilna uamarna unpiš umištamana nitun trin malakia mn mruma naqmunh̲ shupta d̲ rama mn riša d̲ škintak umn hiia rurbia unišamunak unimarulak unašmun lhiia rurbia unimrun d̲ azil manda d̲ hiia upšaTlh̲ labatur šamar mizal manda d̲ hiia latra d̲ kulh̲ ziua ulatra d̲ kulh̲ nhura uazal iuhana minh̲ uazal umTun arba gubria bnia šlama ʻin hai ušum hai uziu hai unhur hai ligTh̲ gabra bhir zidqa uaqmh̲ batra d̲ šrara ligTh̲ b`dh̲ liuhana aqmh̲ batra d̲ šrara npaS ʻlh̲ sidria ubauata umasqata udrašia uamria `utria `tun nizal nihizia gabra d̲ ata mn mibil bhir zidqa d̲ kšiT umhaiman mn binataihun d̲ mhašabata bišata umn atutia kursia d̲ abatur atiqa ʻniš ʻniš mn ziuh̲ malbišlh̲ uʻniš ʻniš mn nhurh̲ mkasilh̲ npaS albšuia ʻšata haita d̲ litlh̲ saka ulitlh̲ miniana uqam iuhana batra d̲ kulh̲ ziua ubatra d̲ kulh̲ nhura uqam bhaimanuta d̲ napša rba ulazuTa uamar iuhana minaikun dilkun baiina mn hiia qadmaiia umn hiia tiniania umn hiia tlataiia umn iupin uiupapin umn sam mana smira umn gupna d̲ kulh̲ hiia umn `lana rba d̲ kulh̲ asauata umn `uSar hai upta hai pahtia pihta d̲ hiia unaSbia niSubta d̲ nhra ušaknia dmuta qadmaita bit hiia baiina buta napša rba ulazuTa bhaza šita d̲ qaiminaba bhaza masiqta d̲ ana sliqiba nisquba kulhun anašia kšiTia umhaimnia d̲ brušuma d̲ hiia ršimia ubmaSbuta dakita maSbia ušuma d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia madkar ʻlauaihun umšabin hiia uhiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia ruaz mara d̲ rabuta unharbun b`utria bnia .. hazin hu raza usidra d̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita lšum d̲ ata ulšum d̲ atia u`l d̲ mihuia mibilh̲ ulšuta d̲ hahu gabra nukraia d̲ abar almia uata ubza rqiha u`tiglia utaqninin uata lškinata d̲ šibiahia kulhun utraS kursia uʻtib ʻlh̲ Taba haš upraš uʻtapraš `l d̲ huat u`l d̲ hauia u`l d̲ mihuia mibilh̲ ulhahu Tura Tur karimla uata uaškinun lšuba utrisar gubria haila ušušiia iuma d̲ pisnia šiqra bʻdaihun lgiTia uiatbia liahria ušnia ušušia iumia uripsia u‘dania uatat ‘uat ruha kadabta gabra gabra bšumh̲ qarialia ugabra gabra b`bidath̲ mpaqdalh̲ uqarialun umpaqdalun umšadralun lalma hazin uqarialh̲ lšilmai marh̲ d̲ baita uamralh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita qadim qum b`uspar mahgia uasgia lkiph̲ d̲ iardna ulkana Taba d̲ asauata mša ‘dak bkušTa uhalil Sbatak btaqnia rurbia d̲ iardna usliq `zal qudam abuk d̲ hazilak mpaqad iahiblak malkuta uTabuta uzakuta d̲ alma hazin akuat d̲ amarlh̲ `uat ruha kadabta lšilmai marh̲ d̲ baita akuat d̲ abad qadim qam b`spar mahgia uasgia lkiph̲ d̲ iardna ulkana rba Taba d̲ asauata mša ‘dh̲ bkušTa uhalil Sbath̲ btaqnia rurbia d̲ iardna usliq qudam abuia iatrun gabra šalmana kbaš qumth̲ usgidlh̲ `l abuia uabuia mihiziia d̲ hizih̲ ham Taba lahimlia urgaz Taba d̲ largazlh̲ uba ‘l mibTušbia barqa d̲ tibil umihamblia unitlibun bspiria rurbia d̲ šrara umashipinun ‘l anpaiun `l anpia d̲ arqa uqudamh̲ tlatma ušitin utrin tarmidia uamrilh̲ labuhun gabra šalmana mimar `marlak iatrun bmimrak uqaiumia mqaiamlak bmaSbutak lbaba d̲ bit hiia hauma urugza laiit hin baiit minh̲ d̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita lsidria sakia umalalia `umqia d̲ naSuruta u‘l aprišata d̲ alma hazin hin iahiblak paqid traSlia kursia binia gubria d̲ abahath̲ hin baiit minh̲ ulaiahiblak nitkamar unizal lhak alma d̲ minh̲ ata nha Taba uamarlh̲ lšilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malala atalia mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia ul`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin `l arqa hazin mna huat usadana lmahu triS ulhuš rabtia lmahu ‘hiba uamarlh̲ ab arqa hazin mišhal šhila usadana smik lmia siauia uhuš rabtia lgabra kadaba ‘hiba uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia umn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ niazal unitib rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malala atalh̲ mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprašata d̲ alma hazin lrqihia halin mna hun ubmahu ngidia ubmahu tl`iia ubmahu manihria uamarlh̲ ab rqihia halin šaba rpilia hinin iaqrata d̲ mia d̲ ngadinin uaqminin ptahil bhailh̲ d̲ abatur abuia `hablh̲ binia hda lhda tl‘iia šambibia d̲ ziua umanihria bhailaihun d̲ malakia uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zal `tab lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitib rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malala atalh̲ mn bit ab lsidria sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin lšamiš mna ulkinianh̲ mna ulhaumh̲ mna ulbardh̲ mna ulziuh̲ mna uamarlh̲ ab šamiš mn arqa hua ukinianh̲ mn kiniana d̲ šuba haumh̲ ubardia mn hauma ubarda d̲ ptahil uziuh̲ mn ziua d̲ hiia rurbia nukraiia iatiria d̲ `lauia ukulhun `ubadia uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitib rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malala atalh̲ mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia ul`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprašata d̲ alma hazin lsira mna hua ulkinianh̲ mna hua ultuqnh̲ mna hua ulbusmh̲ mna hua uamarlh̲ ab sira mn arqahua ukinianh̲ mn kinianun d̲ šibiahia utuqnh̲ ubusmh̲ mn tuqna ubusma d̲ sam ziua rba habiba qadmaia gabra d̲ šaria škinta lriš ma ušitin ušuba almia rurbia ‘laiia d̲ nhura kul alma balhudh̲ alip alip parsia uruban ruban škinata šribh̲ kul škinta balhudh̲ alip alip ‘utria šrbh̲ kul `utra balhudh̲ škinta šarialh̲ uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria umalalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba nizal unitab rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malalia atalia mn bit ab lsidria sakia umalalia ul`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin lmia mna ulkinianun mna ulbusmaiun mna ulhailaiun mna hua amarlh̲ ab mia mn arqa hun ukinianun mn kiniana d̲ šuba uhailaiun mn haila d̲ hšuka ubusmaiun mn busma d̲ mia hiia uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitab rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malalia atalia mn bit ab lsidria sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin lnura mna ulkinianh̲ mna

u`l dmuth̲ mna ulguTrh̲ mna uamarlh̲ ab nura mn arqa huat ukinianh̲ mn kiniana d̲ šuba uhailh̲ mn haila d̲ hšuka umn bit smiaiil saTana uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak bina gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitib rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malalia atalh̲ mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprašata d̲ alma hazin lziqa mna ulkiniania mna ulhailia mna ulbusmia mna uamarlh̲ ab ziqa mn arqa hua ukiniania mn kiniana d̲ šuba uhailh̲ mn haila d̲ hšuka ubusmh̲ mn busma d̲ aiar uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amrtlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitab rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malala atalh̲ mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia ul`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin uamarlh̲ `laia man utitaia man uamarlh̲ `laia rqiha utitaia arqa uamarlh̲ rqiha baTina mn qudam arqa `u arqa baTna mn qudam rqiha uamarlh̲ ab rqiha maitia miTma uTala uarqa pihta puma umqablalia umapqa aTšia ubazrunia upiria d̲ aklibun ušatibun d̲ bnia d̲ adam uTabuta d̲ maraihun lamqablia uamarlh̲ šapir mindam d̲ amartulh̲ ušapiria mamlalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitab rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita malalia atalh̲ mn bit hiia lsidria sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprašata d̲ alma hazin uamarlh̲ baraia man hu ugauaia man hu uamarlh̲ baraia gabra ugauaia `nta uamarlh̲ gabra baTin mn qudam `nta `u `nta baTna mn qudam gabra uamarlh̲ gabra mizdara zida bgišumia arbin utirtan iumia haizak latuat iahiblh̲ bazira uTuhma uširša uniaka ugaTar minh̲ muqra ugirmia ugiadia uamarlh̲ atuat lialda mahu iahbalia amarlh̲ iahbalia zma umiška Silmia umanzia uamarlh̲ ialda b`mh̲ bmahu hauia ubmahu mitrabia uamarlia ialda bšuba razia d̲ abuia u`mh̲ mitrabia uamarlh̲ malkuta lialda mn gauh̲ d̲ `mh̲ hauialh̲ uamarlh̲ k̲d̲ kilh̲ lialda šalimlia ubaiia d̲ l`mia nihuia hazin l`mia hauilh̲ uamarlh̲ ab k̲d̲ kilia lialda šalimlia ramilh̲ rumaiia l`mh̲ bmatna gauaiia umahilia lialda bqurqsia rurbia d̲ mhh̲ umitapik rišia ltitai ukraiia lilai haizak l‘mh̲ hauilh̲ uamar šapir mindam d̲ amartlia ušapiria malalia kasiia d̲ napqia mn pumak `zil `tib lkursiak rba d̲ `qara d̲ traSlak binia gubria abahatak k̲d̲ ba d̲ nizal unitab rba ltarmidia qarilh̲ umšaiilh̲ uamarlh̲ šilmai maria d̲ baita malala atalia mn bit hiia lsidrh̲ sakia umalalia l`umqia d̲ naSiruta ulaprišata d̲ alma hazin uamarlh̲ k̲d̲ kilh̲ lalma šalimlh̲ lkulhun pugdamia d̲ ba abuia minh̲ hualh̲ b`uSrh̲ d̲ nitilh̲ hazin pugdama lahualh̲ b`uSrh̲ d̲ nitilh̲ uštpil u‘tib atutia tlatma ušitin utrin tarmidia uasgia uata `uSar nhura niaha usimaka rba d̲ hiia uaška uamarlh̲ mahu iatbit šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita amarlh̲ pugdama ba ab minai d̲ lahualia b`uSrai d̲ `titlh̲ uamarlh̲ pugdama d̲ ba abuk minak ana mn `uSrai iadana k̲d̲ baiilak abuk qudamh̲ uarlak hazin pugdama b`uSrak hualak ula`habtlia `u had mn `utria bnia nhura d̲ asbarlak `lh̲ amarlh̲ b`uSrai hua ula`habilak aminTul d̲ ligrai lašar ulaqam `l `stuarai qudamak uamarlh̲ k̲d̲ kilh̲ lalma šalimlia arqa napla bhumbaria ušumia mitkarka k̲d̲ buria šamiš šahlh̲ ziuh̲ usira šahlh̲ tuqnh̲ kukbia umanzalata natria k̲d̲ šahpia d̲ tina nura lkinta azla umia azlia lkinianun arba ziqia d̲ baita lagTia ganpaihun ulanašmia uamarlh̲ ruha umšiha ušibiahia unišmata d̲ bišia d̲ audibun lia azlia ulia atin umdurta lia hauialun uamarlh̲ ruha umšiha ušibiahia unišmata d̲ bišia d̲ audibun lhdadia qarin ulagTia biad hdadia umitkarputia `tkarputia k̲d̲ rumana d̲ abara uazlin unaplilh̲ l`ur maria d̲ hšuka bgiuth̲ rabtia d̲ napšia ugaTar umitnihpa nura uaklalia l`ur maria d̲ hšuka ul‘uat ruha kadabta ulšibiahia ulnišmata d̲ bišia d̲ audibun uhaizak qam šilmai marh̲ d̲ baita uazal qudamia d̲ iatrun gabra šalmana amarlh̲ ab pugudama d̲ bit minai `marlak k̲d̲ kilia šalimlh̲ lalma arqa napla bhumbaria ušumia mitkarka k̲d̲ buria šamiš šahla ziuh̲ usira šahla tuqnh̲ kukbia umanzalata natria k̲d̲ šahpia d̲ tinia nura lkinta azla umia azlia lkinianun arba ziqia d̲ baita lagTia ganpaihun ulanašmia ruha umšiha ušibiahia unišmata

ḏ bišia ḏ audibun lhdadia qarin uluat hdadia azlin ubiad hdadia lagTia umitkarputia `karputia ḵḏ rumana ḏ abara uazlia unaplilẖ l`ur maria ḏ hšuka bgiutẖ rabtia ḏ napšia naplilẖ gaTar guTra bguaria umitnihpa nura uaklalẖ l`ur marẖ ḏ hšuka ul‘uat ruha kadabta ulšibiahia ulnišmata ḏ bišia ḏ audibun uamarlẖ abuia lšilmai marẖ ḏ baita hazin pugdama b`uSrak hualak ula`habtlia `u had mn `utria bnia nhura ḏ amarlak uamarlẖ hazin pugdama hibil ziua amarlẖ uamarlẖ `zil `zil ziu hsir unhur psiq ḏ psaq hiia mn qudamaihun ušbaq ‘utria mn abatraihun uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uzakia iauar ziua uadiaurẖ sa . hazin sidra ḏ šilmai marẖ
ḏ baita hu sa
bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia laupa uruaha ḏ hiia ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

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ulab . u`l `m

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abahatai

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. unitriS šumai ušumaihun d̲ halin nišmata bit hiia . binia mai lmai iatibna ana hu danukt sipra hakima d̲ aspar diuta d̲ alahia `utana giutana rbutana d̲ `tlh̲ lmarh̲ d̲ baita bbaith̲ ulqašiša bbiniana bhikla ‘laiia ubbath̲ titaiia halin siprai l`dai rmilh̲ uaspar dukranai ltrin draiia ana bspirai hadtia hagina ubhatiqia haiaš uparašna umitaprišna ldhuat uldhauia uldmihuia baiia uatia diSai zuTa lqudamai npalia ptahtia uhaginabia hu zuT upugdamia rurbia umalalia mzarpilh̲ ubahiš b`ubdanh̲ `laiia uamar `ka hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia u‘ka kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ‘ka ziua u‘ka nhura ‘ka muta u‘ka hiia ‘ka hšuka u‘ka nhura ‘ka T‘ia u‘ka šrara ‘ka hbila u‘ka biniana ‘ka mhita u‘ka asuta ‘ka gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hu uamar dinanukt mn diSai zuTa mitap rašna uamarna alia hinun hiia d̲ hun d̲ mn laqadmia ‘lia hu kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ‘lia hu ziua lia hu nhura lia hu T‘ia lia hu šrara lia hu hbila lia hu biniana ‘lia h` mhita `lia h` asuta lia hu hazin gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua unsabtia ldiSai zuTa ubnura qlaith̲ binh̲ mai lmai iatibna ana hu dinanukt sipra hakima d̲ aspar diuta d̲ alahia `utana giutana rbutana d̲ `tlh̲ lmarh̲ d̲ baita bbaith̲ ulqašiš bbiniana bhikla ‘laiia ubbaith̲ titaiia halin siprai l`dai rmilh̲ uaspar dukranai ltrin draiia bsiprai hadtia hagina ubhatiqia mitaprišna haiišna uparišna umitaprašna ldhuat uladhauia uldmihuia baiia uata diSai zuTa qudamai npalia ptahth̲ uhaginabia hu zuT upugdamia rurbia umalalh̲ mzarzapilh̲ ubahiš b‘ubdunh̲ `laiia uamar `ka hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia u‘ka kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ‘ka ziua ‘ka nhura ‘ka muta ‘ka hiia ‘ka hšuka ‘ka nhura ‘ka T‘ia ‘ka šrara ‘ka hbila ‘ka biniana ‘ka mhita ‘ka asuta u‘ka gabra iatira d̲ qašaš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua uamar dinanukt mn diSai zuTa mitaprišna uamarna lia hinun hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia ‘lia hu kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ‘lia hu ziua ‘lia hu nhura ‘lia hu muta ‘lia hu hiia ‘lia hu hšuka lia hu nhura `lia hu T‘ia ‘lia hu šrara ‘lia hu hbila lia hu biniana ‘lia h‘ mhita ‘lia h‘ asuta `lia hu hazin gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua unsabth̲ ldiSai zuTa ubmia Tmašth̲ ubinia mai lmai iatibna ana hu dinanukt sipria hakima d̲ aspar diuta d̲ alahia `utana giutana rbutana d̲ `tlh̲ lmarh̲ d̲ baita bbaith̲ ulqašiša bbiniana bhikla ‘laiia ubbaith̲ titaiia halin siprai l`dai rmilh̲ uaspar dukranai ltrin draiia bsiprai hadtia haginabh̲ ubhatiqia mitaprišna d̲ haiašna uparašna umitaprašna ldhuat uldhauia uldmihuia baiia uata diSai zuTa lqudamai npalia ptahth̲ uhaginabh̲ hu zuT upugdamia rurbia umalalh̲ mzarpilh̲ ubahiš b‘ubdunia ‘laiia uamar ‘ka hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia `ka kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ‘ka ziua ‘ka nhura ‘ka muta ‘ka hiia ‘ka hšuka ‘ka nhura ‘ka T‘ia ‘ka šrara ‘ka hbila ‘ka biniana ‘ka mhita ‘ka asuta ‘ka gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua uamar dinanukt mn diSai zuTa mitaprišna uamarna ‘lia hinun hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia lia hu kušTa d̲ hua mn rudam briša lia hu ziua lia hu nhura lia hu muta ‘lia hu hiia lia hu hšuka ‘lia hu nhura ‘lia hu T‘ia lia hu šrara lia hu hbila lia hu biniana lia h‘ mhita ‘lia h` asuta `lia hu gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua unsabth̲ ldiSai zuTa qudamai atnaith̲ mn Tulalia Sipra ualma `l puraria rurbia d̲ paina uatat `uat ruha d̲ qudša bškintai qaimalh̲ uamralh̲ mahu šakbit dinanukt umahu šinta hnatalak anahu hiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia ana hu kušTa d̲ hua mn qudam briša ana hu ziua ana hu nhura ana hu muta ana hu hiia ana hu hšuka ana hu nhura ana T‘ia ana hu šrara ana hu hbila ana hu biniana ana h‘ mhita ana h‘ asuta ana hu gabra iatira d̲ qašiš mn qudam d̲ bania ‘šumia uarqa hua habrai bmalkia laiit taga bmalkutai ulaiit kul ‘niš br anašia d̲ paršagna nitilh̲ brpilh̲ d̲ hšuka uata din mlik `utra uripsia rmilh̲ ldinanukt bpagria umn pagrh̲ mapaqlh̲ ziqia ziqia nasbilh̲ ldinanukt `udamia mdabrilh̲ siblia siblia sablilh̲ uldirgia masqilh̲ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta d̲ nbaz haila d̲ marh̲ d̲ hšuka sadana rba d̲ arqa kursia lhalta d̲ tibil rmilh̲ uligria matnalh̲ l‘ubdunia titaiia ulkulhun iamamia šapulh̲ mgarglh̲ alip alip uruban ruban Taiuta mšamšilh̲ uamar ana hu d̲ hzaith̲ `mrit d̲ ghun u`sgudlh̲

u‘mta qumtai u‘šaba ulašabiqlẖ din mlik `utra ḏ minai aluia uamarlẖ lman
sagdit dinanukt ulman mahtit qumtak umšabit ḵḏ hiia rbia qadmaiia ubit abu rba
qadmaia qudamak hu ziqia ziqia nasiblẖ ldinanukt `damia `dania mdabrilẖ siblia
siblia sablilẖ uldirgia masqilẖ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta ḏ zan haza zban zraz hliS
mlik rugza taqipa hbila kursia lbab šumia rmilẖ `l ganaba amarlẖ gnub ulmarẖ
ḏ baita amarlẖ ašar uqum lganaba ldbar gaTla ulmarẖ ḏ baita ldbar husrana alip alip
qaimia lqudamia uruban ruban Taiuta mšamšalẖ ana ḏ hzaitia `mrit ḏ guhun
usgidulẖ u‘mta qumtai u‘šabẖ ulašabiqlia din mlik ‘utra ḏ minai aluia uamarlẖ
lman sagdit dinanukt ulman mahtit qumtak umšabit ḵḏ hiia rbia qadmaiia ubit abu
rba qadmaia qudamak hu ziqia ziqia nasbilẖ ldinanukt `udamia `udamia mdabrilẖ
siblia siblia sablilẖ uldirgia masqilẖ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta ḏ `uat ruha `maihun
ḏ ptulia qananit `maihun ḏ qadišia ḏ murat ḏ arqba gauaita ḏ hšuka qaima šaba
harata ḏ lah‘ harata ušaba ptulata ḏ la`tiqria ptulata ḵḏ hadiaian mgalilin usiTraiin
primlin klil pirSa uzaniuta brišaihun matnalin nasbẖ libaihun ḏ alahia unasbia
tihaiun ḏ bnia anaša nasbia gubria brimat ḏ ainẖ u‘nšia bliba pahza alip alip
qaimia lqudamia uruban ruban Taiuta mšamšalẖ uamar ana ḏ hzaitẖ `mrit ḏ ghun
usigdulẖ u‘mta qumtai u‘šaba ulašabiqlia din mlik ‘utra ḏ minai aluia uamar lman
sagdit dinanukt ulman mahtit qumtak umšabit ḵḏ hiia rbia qadmaiia ubit abu rba
qadmaia qudamak hu ziqia ziqia nasbilẖ ldinanukt `udamia `udamia mdabrilẖ
siblia siblia sablilẖ uldargia masqilẖ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta ḏ himun gabra alip
alip qaimia qudamia uruban ruban Taiuta mšamšilẖ ana ḏ hzaitẖ amrit ḏ ghun
usgudlẖ u‘mta qumtai u‘šaba ulašabiqlẖ din mlik `utra ḏ minai aluia uamar lman
sagdit dinanukt ulman mahtit qumtak umšabit ḵḏ hiia rbia qadmaiia ubit abu rba
qadmaia qudamak hu ziqia ziqia nasbilẖ ldinanukt `udamia `udamia mdabrilẖ siblia
siblia sablilẖ uldirgia masqilẖ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta ḏ ptahil ziu hsir unhur psiq
ḏ psaq hiia mn abatraiun ḏ hiuar rišia mn haupia mia ziqnẖ mn Supia ḏ aqamra
hiuara uamar bhailai bnaitia lbaitia ubgabaruatai taqantia taqantia lhikla `hbit
sira lhušban almia uiahbit lšamiš lšamšia ‘l bnat anaša rbutana ḏ labad b`dia
ubpumia mištabẖ ziqia ziqia nasbilẖ ldinanukt `damia `damia mdabrilẖ siblia
siblia sablilia uldirgia masqilẖ asiq aqmuia lmaTarta ḏ abatur atiqa rama
kasia unTira mistakina hazina alip alip miqam qaimia unTira uruban ruban ḏ mitab
iatbia kulhun lbišia ḏ ziua unhura mkasin klil zakuata brišaihun traSlun iatbia
`l karsauata ḏ niaha umištaiin bsidria umasqata ubauata kasiata mistakina
hazina alip alip karsauata ḏ triSia `pikia umahtia `lauaihun `uSTlia ḏ ziua
uTarTabunia Tabia dakiia ḏ nhura uamar dinanukt bhanatẖ maTarta haqit uzahat
u‘tazihit uamarlia din mlik ‘utra ldinanukt ia dinanukt lšaba maTarta ḏ muta
aditak ltmania ḏ hbila lahaqat ulazhat ula`tazhat haka mahu ḏ hzit uamarlẖ
dinanukt ldin mlik `utra hzit alip alip miqam qaimia uruban ruban mitab
iatbia kulhun lbišia ḏ ziua umkasin nhura klilia ḏ zakuata brišaihun traSlun
iatbia lkarsauata ḏ niaha umištaiin bsidria umsaqata ubauata kasiata hzit alip
alip karsauata `pikia umahtia `lauaihun `uSTlẖ ḏ ziua uTarTabunia Tabia dakiia
rurbia ḏ nhura uamar hzit hiia ḏ hun mn laqadmia hzit kušTa ḏ hua mn qudam briša
uamarlẖ hzit muta hzit hiia hzit hšuka hzit nhura hzit T‘ia hzit šrara hzit hbila
hzit biniana hzit mhita hzit asuta hzit hazin gabra iatira ḏ qašaš mn qudam ḏ bania
‘šumia uarqa hua uamarlẖ din mlik `utra ldinanukt halin karsauata qinaTria
lnišmata ḏ ‘maihun uabuhun lahua lalip šnia naplia bšurba ḏ aba u`ma haizak
napqa lalma labšia bsar ḵḏ šalam kilaiun mn alma atin ulabšia ‘uSTlia ḏ ziua
umkasin TarTabunia Tabia dakiia rurbia ḏ nhura iatbia iatbia lkarsauatun ḏ niaha
umištaiin bsidria umasqata ubauata kasiata uamarlẖ dinanukt ldin mlik `utra
kursia dilia himnu hu amarlia din mlik ‘utra ldinanukt lbušak ‘uSTlia ḏ ziua
uTarTabunak rba ḏ nhura uklilak mn ruaz gupna ḏ lašahia ulapaiia uaTirpa minẖ
lanatar uamarlẖ din mlik `utra `l dinanukt amarlẖ `zil lalma ḏ bišia ulatra
ḏ kulẖ malkauata ‘zil siprak qlinun bnura uaspar dinanukt bmia Tmuš upuq lalma

qria qala d hiia utarmid tarmidia šitin šnia ušitin iahria kd šalamlak kilak atit ulabšit ‘uSTla d ziua umkasit TarTabunak rba d nhura utaurSinalak d ziua klilak rauzia iatbit lkursiak d niaha umištaiin bsidria umasqata ubauata kasiata binia `utria ahak bnia nhura uamarlh dinanukt ldin mlik `utra lsqupta d bit hiia aqapra `kul ula`tkamar ula`zal lalma d bišia ulatra rba d kulh malkauata uamarlh din mlik `utra ldinanukt sakla d lahua hakima hasira d lahua iatira lsqupta d bit hiia aqapra laklia hinila Tab aklia uruaha šailia ‘tkamar ‘zil lalma d bišia ulatra d kulh malkauata lsiprak qlia bnura uaspar dukranak bmia Tmuš puq lalma uqria qala d hiia utarmid tarmidia šitin šnia ušitin iahria kd šalimlak kilak ath lbuš ‘uSTlak d ziua u`tkasia TarTabunak rba d nhura uatna brišak klilak rauzia uamar dinanukt pahtit ainai urimit gbinai mistakina hazina alip alip haria d qaimia bšamša u‘lai bakin uruban ruban harata d qaimia bSita d iuma `lai mnambian ubakin uamarnalun `zil haria d `lai mnambian ubakin `zil lnapšaikun bkun harata d ‘lai mnambian ubakian ‘zil lnapšaikun bkun nambia ubkun lahazitun d hzat ainai ulašmaitun d ‘udnai šamat uqam dinanukt uqralh lzauh nuraita uamarla aitilia halin siprai qlia bnura uaspar dukrana Tmuš bmia uzauh nuraita ašliat bqala uqihdat uamra dananukt sTa udinanukt saTia ubr malkia hazin lau bhauna qimištaiia uqam dinanukt halin sipria qla bnura uaspar dukrania bmia Tmuš unpaq lalma hazin qra qala d hiia utarmid tarmidia šitin šnia ušitin iahria ušitin iumia kd šalamlia kilh ldinanukt mn pagrh npaq asqh lbaba d bit hiia uamar dinanukt ptulia baba d bit hiia haizak putulh baba d bit hiia udalulh br guda rba d šrara npaS albšuia ‘uSTla d ziua ukasiuia TarTabuna rba d nhura uaitulh klila mn rua gupna utraSlia briših uqam dananukt batra d hiia ubatra d kulh ziua ubatra d kulh nhura uqam bsigia uhaila ušaba lhiia rurbia u‘l iaqir utriS kiniania d zakuata uamar dinanukt bhaza masiqta d ana sliquba nisqun unitun bgauh kulhun naSuraiia kšiTia umhaimnia ubasimia unitarSun uniqaimun bapta nhura rba qadmaia uqaiamin hiia banhura utriS manda d hiia bzakuata uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia sa hazin hu raza usidra d dananukt

hu sa

bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia ninharlun `uSraiun umadun umadihtun ldilia

. ulab

. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia

. u`l zauai

. u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia

. u‘l šitlai

. u`l abahatai

.

hazin hukumta uaprišata d̲ apriš ugalil uamar iahia br zakria lnaSuraiia kšiTia umhaiminia uamar `u `tbak haila huia bhir zidqa d̲ bhir bkulhun `ubadia akuat malka d̲ taga traSlia brišia uabad qraba balma d̲ bišia ukadabia hšuka ukabiš uadiauria `u `tbak haila akuat bhiria zidqa huia naSuraia d̲ kušTa badmu ‘kara msadrana d̲ abid barqa umasiq uarzia bgauh̲ hauilun adiauria lšalmania uiahiblun haila lbhiria zidqa umaška mn zakuatun zaina d̲ bhiria zidqa kušTa uhaimanuta utriSuta uiadita uaprišata uhukumta usibruta umalpanuta ušrara ubuta utušbihta uagra uzidqa unihuta uTabuta umkikuta ukinuta udrisuta ubusma uzahruta utaqunta udakiuta uzakuta ušalmanuta uhiasuta utiabuta uhašabta urnita d̲ hiia urahmuta d̲ kušTa . riš kušTak latihambil miniltak ušiqra ukadba latirhum riš haimanutak haiman bmalka d̲ nhura d̲ aitia uqaiim bkulhin zakuata riš triSutak anat dun napšak riš iaditak latihuia mziga riš prišutak latirmia napšak bqulala riš hukumtak latibad apsus ulatighuk lšalmania riš sibrutak asbar uapriš minilia d̲ marak riš malpanutak puqdania d̲ zakuata mn malpania Tabia latipsiq riš šrarak latihalip miniltak blau dilak riš butak utušbihtak mašinta latirhum riš zidqak uTabutak hab zidqa umia lkapnia uSahia riš nihutak rbuta latisab ulatirgaz ulatihuia mziga riš mkikutak šumh̲ d̲ marak mn pumak lanaTar riš kinutak kun napšak uqabil minilia d̲ hakimia riš drisutak latimar mindam d̲ laiadatbia riš mbasmanutak lkul ‘niš titiaqar riš zahrutak ‘da hušhbanak uhaizak malil riš mtaqnutak latigar ulatisab mindam d̲ lau dilak riš dakiutak latirmia napšak bTnupia riš zakuatak zakia napšak umindam d̲ snia latirhum riš šalmanutak latisab rbuta `l d̲ rab minak riš haiasutak hus ‘l nišmata d̲ aniia umradpia riš tušbihtak šaba latra d̲ atit minh̲ riš rnitak iuma d̲ napqit mn pagrak riš rahmutak lguT rahmut kušTa luat ahia Tabia d̲ brahmut marak masgia kušTana damia lmuzania d̲ mtaqin d̲ laiit bgauh̲ hargta triSa damia ldaina d̲ kušTa d̲ laiit kadba bmamlalh̲ mhaimna damia l`kara d̲ zara umasiq piria Tabia ušapiria iaduia damia lbanaia sdira d̲ bania umpalig biniana bkul šupra prišaia damia lSaiara d̲ Saiar dmauata bkul šupra hakima damia l`umana sdira d̲ bkul Sbuta iada prišaia msadrana sdira damia lšraga nahira d̲ mn smal liamin manhar šarira damia lTura rama d̲ lamSia ziqa lmišanuiia mn dukta bhira d̲ buta utušbihta damia ltangara d̲ apik umapik balpia iutrana Taba d̲ ziqa maušaT damia `l patura sb`ia d̲ lqudam kapnia mitriS niha damia lpira halia ubasima mkika damia lmia d̲ naplia umitbadria bkul dukta d̲ Subianh̲ d̲ marh̲ lamšania sdira damia lšuhba šbiha d̲ abid umkalal umsadar basima damia lTura d̲ piqunia u`lania urihania basimia zhira damia lmaTaraia d̲ kušTa d̲ bkul rašiuta lamitaršia mtaqnana damia lmalkuta mtaqanta d̲ mtaqan Tama bkul pira dakia damia laina taqunta dakita d̲ kul `urbana lamqabla zakaia damia lnaura sqila d̲ kul parSupia bgauh̲ mitaprišia haiasa d̲ haiis damia lšamša d̲ lTabia ulbišia minihra taiaba damia lziqa basima d̲ bkul babia ukauia našim mhašbana d̲ rania umhašib laqama damia lparaša d̲ `sir bit zainh̲ d̲ rania umhašib l‘mat mn ‘usurai mištarina kul man d̲ malia brahmut kušTa damia laba Taba d̲ lbnh̲ ušitlh̲

mitauzap bhiria ušalmania ʻzdahar urahiq napšaikun mn nikla uaula ušiqra ukadba
uzipa udagluta uharguta ubišuta uʻpikuta uTʻia ušigša umhaškanuta ukapruta
uqašiuta usakluta uzmara uqlala uzaniuta ubliluta uTizanuta urabuta ruha uramat
ainia uruita urquda ušibia ušihia ušagra d mištabibia bnat anaša uhisma
uqina uaqta usiniuta uhuspa urugza umrara umriduta uzaniuta uhaTiputa d haTpia
uTulmania d Talmia uhatpia ugazlia bišia uTnupia umlaušuta d pagria u`usrana
u`usiana ubusiana d asin ubasin bišia lšalmania usbar pugdania d maraikun nkila
damia lmahuna d mTalal bnikla aulana damia lrumana d mn lbr anpia rauzia umn
gauh qumana mlia zipana damia `l Sipra Sipar haiuta d mardia habra uramia bqulalia
kulhun rahmia bmuth kadaba damia lsana d midamia brahmh d kul dina iadilia
uminiklh lqalh dagala damia liama haTipa d mhaTip spinata d bh biša damia lʻlana
marira d mapiq piria sama d muta d piria Tabia litbh haTia damia lbira d mambuga mia
sariia umabga zhira umrara šagiša damia llibta d siana d rmia bmia d kma
d bahšatba šigša napuš qašia damia lhaSaSa d bkulhun ruTbia laraTib sakla damia
lglala ʻu atutak napla ʻu ʻlauak napla haTiabak rbutana damia ldulba šibiha
d šahba baupia upiria lmarh lamapiq ulaiahib mrida damia lduga šgira d hausia
uriuia litbh marira damia l`luaia d napil bdupša umaslilh zidana damia lnura
d iaqda d ziqa daribia hakima d lamsadar aiak baita d laTlala hakima d laTaksa aiak
harta d lalbuša hakima d lamakik aiak naura d lasqil hakima d lasbar aiak susia
d lasarga hakima d labasim aiak makulta d laTama hakima d lašadiq aiak gunda
d lamalka hakima d lamšalam aiak patura d lamSapat hakima d latriSa malalh aiak
baita d ladiša hakima d lataqip aiak nahra d lapuma hakima d lahaiiq aiak arqa
d lamšalma hakima d lazhir aiak spinta d lamalaha hakima kd iatira qalh makik uminilh
pSiha usigiia nhia ušlamh qrim sakla kd iatir qalh rurbia uminilh šgiš ukd
masgia mriduta masgia ušlama briša d Sbata mšalim hakima kd iatir malalh mtaqin
udiauria hauia bkulhun šapirata sakla kd iatir malalh mkidib udiauria hauia
bkulhun bišauata hakima kd mšalim šuta triSa bkulhun paiqania d abad uʻsiqta škiha
hakima dauria triS upaturia maušaT lkulhun šulmania sakla kd iatir bpumh hašib
hušbana d aula b`dia mqarib danqia usianqia hakima kd `tlak dina minh dina iahib
mn napšia uʻbidatak bnihuta ušlama masgilun sakla kd `tlak dina minh šuta
dakšia uqalh mqašia Sauria lsipia mamTia hakima d lahadia aminTul d dilh ulau
dilh rania sakla sgara bSaurh uraqid `u mamlilit mn hakima Taba zadibak
ʻubadia Tabia zakuata ʻu bahšatba bsakla mitqašat mn glala minilh d hakima
lsakla aiak glala d bmiša laraTba minilh d hakima lsakla aiak naura l`uira minilh
d hakima lsakla aiak miTra barqa bišta minilh d hakima lsakla aiak mana hiuara
lazgauaia minilh d hakima lsakla aiak miša d purusma lSaiada minilh d hakima lsakla
aiak bastarqa ldabaga minilh d hakima lsakla aiak ptula lgauaia minilh d hakima
lsakla aiak gumria d nura bgu mia minilh d hakima lsakla aiak makluzana
lharašia uduga kpinta lsakla qilalak bkulhun šiTuata sauata lsakla šqul uqabil
minh riTna d aula d hakima d amar ana mn qudam sakla lamrahaq hu riša d kulhun saklh
umindam lahakim sakla d šdiq bhakima mihšab man d lau rahmak latibdia
b`bdatak d libia lanhia ulamakik latihišbia br haria ʻniš d laTalam anašia luat
dina lanizal d qaria ulabid damia lzarnuqa udaula hamilh umašqia mia lhabria
d qaria ulabid damia lgabra d snia bdmutia uSaiar Silmia hu banašia lamSia
d niSapir d qaria ulabid damia lkaSara d hauria llbušia d malka ušiqluia minh d qaria
ulaabid damia lTura lTruša d kul zmaria uanamia lašama d qaria ulaabid damia
lbanaia d banta lnapšia labna d qaria ulabid damia lšakaba d šakib bhilmia
gaTil bildbabia kd ʻtar mn šintia mindam uabid d qaria ulabid damia lpardispan
d klila lnapšia lagdal d qaria ulabid damia ldaian d dina lhurina uailinun lhalin
d qarin ulaabdin d šnut amrin ušnut abdin mn lbar mhauian nišanqia d haimanuta
umn gauaiin hbila hblun aminTul d abdia ulaiadia d Subianh d marh labid
qarib muta mn hiia šalmania hanik hinun d qrun ušumaiun uabid uma d mamlala
pumaiun lamkadbia hazin hu malala d hakimia d apriš ugalil iahia br zakria

b‘urašlam mdinta d̲ iahuTaiia uzakilh̲ iauar ziua hu ukulhun adiauria uhiia zakin lkulhun ‘ubadia sa . hazin raza usidra uaprašata d̲ iahia br zakria hu sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia nukraiia laupa uruahua d hiia ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ‘l
. ulab
. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai . u`l
ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u`l
šitlai
. u`l abahatai

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bšumaihun d hiia rbia nukraiia . `unian ab `unian udalian rba br rurbia abun br hiia . hazin hu raza usidra uaprišata d apriš manda d hiia lgubria bhiria zidqa ukulhun šurbata d adam kd hua adam uhaua zauh nihtat ruha d qudša laruqa d saupat titaita u`l `bdunia titaiia d hšuka uatiat ruha Tnupia udaštania mn zamur daiua uasarala lhaua bhalSa uamra nihuia iumia uiahria ušaiia uripsia u‘dania d bhiria zidqa bgauh nitgaTlun unistakrun uhda minaihun lnhura lanisaq `lh d saliq hibil ziua maituiia ‘ruta utušbihta mn nhura hazin raza d qrat uhašbat ruha uata hibil ziua dal mha bmarginh hiuara lmia uamar zibna upusqana nihuia lmindam d qrat uhašbat ruha lasra iumia ulhamisar iumia ulsrin iumia uliahra ulpalgu d iahra d bhiria zidqa bgauh lanitgaTlun ulanistakrun uhaizak amarla iurba lruha kul mahu d anat abadt manda d hiia pusqana mšauilh haizak amralh ruha liurba `it mindam d ana abdana d almia kulhun bgauh mištbin utarmidia bgauh saTin uazlat ruha ušauiat Tabla uzmara uphuria usiTia uazlat uzmara usiTia ušauiat qarnia ubiluria d alma kulhun bgauh mištbin uazlat uqaimalh qudamia d manda d hiia uamralh ana aklana šaba mnauata uanat aklit mnata hda ubmnata d anat d aklit ldilia mnata bgauh `tlia uamarla manda d hiia ia `uirtia d `uira bliba hasirta d aina nhura lahazia anat hazin aklit šaba mnauata uana akalna mnata hda ubmnata d ana akilna ldilak bgauh mahu d `tlik uamralh `tlin halin naSuraiia d rbuta bargba uminuna nasbin halin d šatin hamra bzmara ukinar zmara uambuba halin d iatbia puhria uguha gahna lqudamaihun bšibia dilia mištbin ušumak dilak manda d hiia ladakria uzidqa laihbia uTabuta labdia balma hazin ana makšilnalun uraminalun btasniqia d alma hazin amarla manda d hiia hanatun d haizin abdia bškintik dilik ništikinun ‘u baiina lmiqria ‘utria qarina mn iardna hiuara rba d hiia qarilun manda d hiia l`utria ultarmidia uamarlun `lkun qarina bnia d ana rabit `lkun qarina naSbia d ana niSbit mn abinia amamia utaumia ulišania bnai `zdaraz bmamlalai dilia d latistakrun bhšuka gahia aminTul d mzarzinalkun umaqminalkun balma hazin aminTul d ana b`uSrai iadana d `kma d dara baSra bišuta kabra `lauaikun anatun bturSa qum qudamai d mparqinalkun mn ridpa d šuba šibiahia uhab zidqa uqrun qala d hiia ualbuš lbušia ukasun ksuiia ‘u `ka gabra naSuraia d lamSia d natnh lkulh zidqa nitun palga d zidqa u`dh bkušTa nipšuT lqudamai uana barqa d nhura bmalia ‘hišbia ‘lh tum maprišnalkun bhiria zidqa `lkun d `it luath d iurba ul`utria d minh zhir uzihrun ubhir ubihrun utar utaruan usar usaruan unSab uanan nSab ulrabia Talia d iatib bmarkabth lqudamh ultartin tikia d nhura d traSlh briših hda zihan šuma uhda hurintin zha zihan šuma uamarlun iurba man d mSia lmizakia lqala d hiia d hua mn laqadmia uamarla iurba lruha akandit qala d hiia btibil aith akandit qala d hiia b`udnai napil kma qala d hiia btibil aith riTna d hibil ziua šamana ana amarna akandit hibil ziua mn dara lasliq tum maprišnalkun bhiria zidqa kul zban d qraba barqa d nhura uaiar ziqa balma nitiahar anatun b‘uSraikun pruš aminTul dilkun hu hšuka unhura mkadšia mn hdadia atuata unišanqia mhauia bgauh d rqiha uanatun minh

latidihlun tum maprišnalkun bhiria zidqa zariz napšaikun ubnaikun
uzauaikun ušitlaikun ulhaimanaikun ulhamaikun umaiaikun uminh latidihlun
aminTul iakandit d ardna rba d hiia ušilmai unidbai haka hinun aminTul d halin
naTria haka lahun akuat damia arqa d tibil liurba lmisapa ldila ulrqiha lhdadia kd
arba d mia azla hinila tlata zibnia biuma qala qarilh lšamiš mn bit abatur
zibna brahmia d miSTipra uzibna brahmia d šaba šaiia uzibna brahmia d lpaina anatun
‘tapraš uminh latidihlun kd qaimitun mn šintaikun ubaiitun mibia rahmia kd
mitahzia plugta d ziua tum bun bšaba šaiia tum baiitun mibia rahmia d lpaina
d qaimia drabšia bun gabra d kasilun ldrabšia mqabilun lrahmaikun unaTarlun
bit ginzaiun d hiia rurbia hiia liadan hiia lsabran hiia lgubria masbiranan
uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin sa . hazin hu raza
usidra uaprišata d apriš ugalil uamar manda d hiia
sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia asuta uzakuta ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

. ulab

. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia

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. u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia

. u‘l šitlai

. u`l abahatai

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hazin hu raza usidra uqarqalta d šuba kukbia d galilun uaprišlun manda d hiia barqa d tibil u‘hablun lhibil ušitil uanuš uhibil ušitil uanuš ‘hablun lrahmia šumaihun uglilia lrazaihun ušiTuatun d šuba šibiahia ulliguTta qadqaita d lgaT kiuan mn qudam kulhun kukbia d rugza mn bnia šurba rba d hiia kinta kan urušuma apak uanba nbiha d kadba uSaliba d hšuka ramilun lkadpaiun d smalun umn bataiun šbanun u‘tahzilun badmu šliha uqra lnapšia maria mariuan alaha d mhauia gambaruata b‘šumia uarqa ušra lSaiamia uSaiamata mšauia gubria ‘zibia u‘nšia ‘zibata ušria ‘lauaihun ušakbia luataihun sahria udaiuia liliata mn ‘nšia hauin daiuia zikria uliliata mn ‘nšia hauin daiuia zikria umn gubria hauin liliata nuqbata ulagTia pagria ugaTlia umapqilun lnišmata mn pagraihin bla zibnaihun umalpilun hukumta d kadba ubadmu dmuta d nhura midamin napšaihun umn šuth d gabra nukraia nasbia drašia d karba daršia ubit razia abdia ubgauia sagdia uluat hdadia šakbia uzira nasbia umia mn iardna brbita haditia hatiqia arbia ulagTia lquramaiun d kulhun bnia anašia ubadmu pihta d gabra nukraia abdia unišmatun msakralun ukul minaihun d maiit bdma umTanuta umarganuta d mia siauia umiša ramilun bpumh badmu tarmidia masiqta udukrana ‘l napšaihun abdia uqarin lnapšaihun nbihia d kadba uiahiblun Sauma rba d arba iumia utmania iumia ud`srin iumia bšidqa ubhamšin udšitin uhda iuma d Sauma iahiblun haslinun lbhiria zirqa d `da d kiuan uruha umšiha ušuba šibiahia tištalaT ‘lauaihun uap anatun tarmidai šlama ‘l nbihia latitnulin u‘da minaihun latipišrun latipišTun aminTul d lqudamia bpagraihun nišmatun Sauia uziraiun mn bit hiia mipsaq ukul tarmida d šlama iahiblun rugza mn hiia mšauia ‘lh ha amarlkun lkiuan ulliguTta d lgaT mn bnia šurba rba d hiia d nagdia kupna mn hiuia Sahin mia mn šušumana kd maitia ruhaiun daika kd gimra giTma umaita nišmatun kd gumria d nura ha amarilkun lkiuan ulliguTta d lgaT hu uligTth d lgaT misip saiip liuma d sup umarlkun ‘l šamiš u‘l ligTta d lgaT minh dilh hun iazuqaiia ubdmu dilia gabra nukuraia napšaihun midamin ubursmaiun kd Salibia lkadpaiun pakrilun ušuma d ‘šu dakria bdmu pihta umambuha dilh gabra nukraiia uasrh lagTia badmu masqata ‘ndruna mšauian umia unura napša ‘qara mšauilun udmita aklia uamria d alaha giTlia uluat ‘maiun ubnatun šakbia ušidqa lagTia umania d ‘nšia d daštaniata nasbia ulabšia umikasin uamria lamTanpinin ušiTuata d napšaiun laiadia kd zauaiun šadia ‘lauaiun mn karsatin uamašlilin mn biria šaba maqralin utinia d hiuaniata Taribin ubgapa mašigilun umn baba d iazuqaiia napiq baba d iahuTaiia lhdadia usalqia hdadia gazria u‘daiun banpaiun šaipia udma d gzurta umia nasbia ubanpaiun Taria u`bidata d minh aklia umn hanatun zma ramibh uqarin lnapšaihun iahuTaiia d hTun umaskilania d askil mn mata ruhaiun bnura d iaqda qarilun mn iahuTaiia gziraiia baTlia kulhun amamia ubabia d hšuka minaihun miTanpia umakairia d abad ‘bidatun lbit hiia lamitakšar d akil mn `kiltun ainaihun nhura lahazia d abidlh lrahmutun muta tiniana maiit ana ‘lkun amarna tarmidai umaprišnalkun

lkul Sbu maiit ana `lkun amarna lkul mindam d̲ maititun mn šuqia ubiriata halil
bmia uakul aminTil d̲ lamhalil uakil lmana d̲ barda mitnangar ha aprišnalkun
lbaba d̲ iahuTaiia `marlkun lbaba d̲ libat kukbia d̲ šanai mn kulhun kukbia d̲ mina dila
npaq gaura pirSa uzaniuta umina npaq tlatma ušitin zmaria uqalalia uhauian
ruhia bišata umšauia puhria uzmaria uramin šibia bkul dukta umšauin Tablia ukinar
ušiha ušibia uzmara iahbia lgibia d̲ ruha d̲ hinun talin Tablia bkadpaiun uzmara
uambubia bpumaiun urugza rba mamlilibun u‘nšia ugubria ururbia udirduqia
bgauh̲ mištahnia umištagria umipaTria ušiha labišlun ubhinga naplia humria
d̲ nirag bdmu quph̲ lkadpaiun iatbilun ubhinga mšarilun ubsadqia d̲ nura šadilun
uharšia ušiha malbišnalun ubrazia ruita mištbin ulaiadia mahu d̲ abdia tum npaq
baba hurina d̲ mnunaiia mitqrin uardia labšia uardia mksia uklilia d̲ pirSa
uzaniauta brišaihun matnalun hadiaiun mgalilin lšiTuata usiTraiin primlin lqlala
ušabilun lbnia anašia umakšilun umitqarian sada d̲ gubria gabaria ukita mšagša alma
bgauaihun dilun mitgaTlia umistakria uabdilh̲ haršia lkulh̲ kana d̲ nišmata ulgubria
šabilun mn baitaiun umn zauaiun umapqilun bharšia ‘ubadia sainia ubtasniqa
rba šadilun umitaqrin gibia d̲ ruha umšiha ušabin šibia ugarbin girbia ušumh̲
d̲ mita dakria umaulia uzabna uargba uminSa napša mšauin k̲d̲ maita ruhaiun mn
qulalia upirSa ušušlata lanapqa umaitia muta tiniana uramin šiha uzmara d̲ kadba
ualmia udaria luataihun mištabin hinun lpumh̲ d̲ ‘ušana šaplia ha amarilkun lbaba
d̲ libat ul`bidata d̲ abrat balma u‘l qudša ulšuba qudšia qadmaiia amarnalun br
iahuTaiia gaTlia umn zma nasbia ublhama apin ubikilta iahbilun udaštana uzaniuta
d̲ zaniuta d̲ ptulata bhamra Tarqin bkasa mašqilun uainaiun d̲ bnia anašia lanaplia
‘lauaihun ulašabqilun d̲ hazilun uapkilin l`bidata d̲ gabra nukraia utigra barqa
qabrin umia mn iardna ganbia ubnura salqilun ubtigra ramilun umahitilun lgubria
u‘l ‘nšia k̲d̲ šlihia ubmia mamidilhun umn hanatun mia mašqilun ušuma d̲ muta dakria
‘lauaiun šum aba ubra uruha d̲ qudša mamidilhun ušumh̲ d̲ mšiha ‘lauaiun dakria
utm hauia raza hurina d̲ mitaqria qudša d̲ atana d̲ arbia ligria dukta d̲ mištadar
bainaiun hazilh̲ umitaqria qudša msaiba d̲ bgauh̲ mistakar kula kana d̲ nišmata
uhauin ptulia uqadišia d̲ zira `l aTmaiun rmilun ubnaiun gaTlia bkarsauatun
umitiqrin ptulia uqadišia d̲ mabTin uqaimia bmaTarata hauin minaiun `blia
u`bilata d̲ hinun Tabia biama rba d̲ sup uqarin lnapšaihun Tubania uTubaniata d̲ mTaba
nišmatun bhabara gahia tum hauia baba hurina d̲ rišaihun gaidia ualaha d̲ qurqsa
naqšia usagdilh̲ uba baitaiun Sairilun uhinun ubnaiun ubnatun sagdilun
unaquša naqšia u‘bidata d̲ haršia uhukumta umasiliuta abdia uluat atuat
bdaštana šakbia uqarilh̲ sibra d̲ bit alahuta d̲ ‘šu mšiha maran uamarlun ruha
latikairunh̲ d̲ laiit `sura `la`aikun tum amralun ruha kul d̲ abdia abuia u`mh̲
maitilh̲ ubrh̲ bukra d̲ iaqirlh̲ sumnun bbaitaikun lbr minaikun latipqunh̲ tum
amarnalkun raza hurina kul pila supa ukatuliqa umatrapliTa upisquna uqašia
ušamiša d̲ maiit mn binataikun smuia bqlasa usgudaiun uSalun `lauaihun umn bit
mazgidaikun latipquna uap d̲ `lak kul d̲ saiura usakla šahira d̲ napiq mn
binataikun d̲ `lik ltihrata d̲ mšiha sumuia bit madbha tum latikairunh̲ `marlkun
lbaba hurina ‘l qudša d̲ bit mqadšia d̲ iaqid blilbia umhabib bruiania d̲ bnat
anaša d̲ šuba Tubania kanpia uluat ‘nta šakbia uzira šadiba uminaihun baTna
uhaizak liahria šuba bmhita mahila lihria umapkila unasibila bšulith̲
d̲ mh̲ upirSh̲ udaštanh̲ umn muqrh̲ mšauin miša d̲ birkta hanath̲ raza bmia salqalh̲
umn girba mšauin mdudia d̲ qudša hanath̲ raza bgramka ubgulazta apin haršia
ušiha šadibh̲ umitiqria qudša d̲ gumarta d̲ iaqid blilbia uruiania kulman d̲ minh̲
akil anph̲ lbithiia lamazbar umn almia udaria kauia `marlkun lbaba hurina
d̲ abdabia bkana d̲ nišmata d̲ npaq minaiun `blia u`bilata tum bTura uaramata
udaštata Taiin udmutaiun ldaiuia damia arTil šlihia umanzaihun lbarahia zakria
udmutaihun saina mn lilia udahala mn gauh̲ d̲ habara gahia uqarilun nakriTia
d̲ raiia d̲ iaruqa aklin umn maukalata uTabauata šapirata d̲ šauia ptahil bania šumia
uarqa lamšalTia ‘l mikal uhaduta litlun ulašabqilun ruha umšiha d̲ nihrubh̲ balma

hazin udaiuia minaihun raTnia uamria d alaha minaian raTin uanin mn alaha
lamitkamrinin uqarilun ltarmidia umpašqia malia umzabnia daulia d mia uamralun
ltarmidia d šrara balma litlaikn tum Sauma ramilun lpumaiun d laništqil šumia
d gabra gTila mn binataihun uaqapra d mita nasbia ubkul `bidatun u`kiltun ramin
tum amar uapriš manda d hiia kul gabra naSraia d nakil `kilta d mšiha d iuma
d lagTia Sauma lmana d nura mitnangar tum kul gabra naSuraia d biuma qadmaia
d šidta haditia mia mn iardna nasib uminh ništia uanpia nimšia nihuia mna
ruha umna mšiha umištakalun lšuba bmnauatun tum maprišnalkun tarmidai d hauia
baba hurina d mn mšiha npaq d mitiqrin
zandiqia umardmania d zira bTišia zaria umnata lhabara palgin u‘nšia ugubria
luat hdadia šakbia uzira nasbia ubhamra ramin lnišmata mašqilun uamrin
dakia hu uqarilh lziqa unura umia ušamiš usira mšabilun ukd maita ruhaiun damia
ldidbia d iatbia lduda saliq hablia maTilun ušahlia ganpaiun umiTarpia unaplia
umitiqrun gbita d mardmania gba kul gabra naSraia d nikul mn `kiltun napil
biama rba d sup d amarilkun lruha umšiha ušuba qudšia qruia balma lkatura
lakan d nišmata ‘marlkun ‘l baba hurina d qra bil nasbia taga umdabria malkuta
d minh npaq sipra d ruha ukul tibil umaita umitgTlia ldahba ukaspa gaTlia gaTla
ušdia dma utarmidia bgauh mitgaTlia unaSuraiia bgauh mištabin uialpilia
lsipra d ruha ušatilun lmia tahmia brabuta mištbin uSilmia uSibunia rahmin
urahmilh lragagta d tibil uamria minh lanapqinin utibil labaTlia kul gabra bhira
ušalmana d makisilun ridpa hambaga hauilh ana maprišnalkun tarmidai kul gabra
naSuraia d agra uzirqa d iauar lSabunia nitin ututbia hiuara niSba udmutaiun
nišania uziuh nalbiš unaqma qudamia nitamhia mhita bgu mhita lika d litlh saka
umn nhura iaqra nitagzar unapil bmaTarta d šuba šibiahia ulbit abatur laniqrub tum
kulman d nitib lSibunia ‘u rišia natna ‘lauaihun dina d ladina nidanunh uap anatun
tarmidai lSilmia ulSibunia d hazin alma latihuilkun ragagta umn iauar kasia
latitpisqun aminTul kul d atuat d biardna Sb‘ia ubrušuma d hiia ršima umania
d Siba labšia lmania d nura mitnangra gaTna nišmata kd zimta briša ušaialta
ušargazta hauiala bmia siauia umaita tum asuta litlh amarnalkun lqala d qra bil
d kulhun rurbia urbutania bgauh mitgaTlia ulaTia b`daihun d nitparqun minaiun
ubakin ualin umitašidin ukul ium abdia qraba uzma ašdia uhauilh ridpa lkulh kana
d nišmata ulšurba rba d hiia zban zban kabria `lauaihun uamria nasqinun mn
alma hazin ulhama bsipa aklia kma d dara baSara bišuta kabra ‘lauaihun ukulhun
amamia utaumia ulišania ldilun sagdia uap napša nišmata d mn šurba rba
d hiia d azlin ldilun hauin umn šumh d hiia kapria uldilia sagdia ubmanda d hiia
saipiba uap babdala arbaia ubruha d qudša sahdia d glalun raza d muta uazlin
ulšuma d hiia laiTilh ukul mTanputa umkairuta minaiun napqia ulšuma d hiia
mkairilh kulman d mn šurbata rba d hiia hu ulabadla sagid ruaha lamaška aminTul
d rušuma apik ušania lmana d barda migTil ap kul humria d npaq minh šuTa ušulTana
`l abdia u`l amata d abdala šarin uqala ramibh uSaluta d zipa mSalin ulrqiha
masqin uhdadia mdabria ulšuma d šibiahia mganilun unirig amarlun d laiit alaha
d minai dilia iaqir ugabir hu kul zban zban hirba usipa bqraba ugiTla ukupna
uSurpana uqraba uridpa lahh ramilun utibil kulh barbia zauiata hu marguš kul
ium ramia binataihun ukulhun nišmata d abdala kadšilun bhirba unura u‘šata kul
ium kul iuma ruha lbra napqa uminh d nirig qraba abdia uamralh ana `habilak ktaba
umimra uraza d muta galilak u‘hauilak šuTa ušulTana u‘mra ušima uamarilak kulh
nhura ldilak nidnia uamratlun lsagadak ha lginat `dania masqinalkun latra
d ainaikun msakialh umasqatlun l‘šul titaita bšuTa ušulTana ubdahba ukaspa
mšabšatlun u‘lšul titaita msaratlun ukabšit ‘lauaihun mana sada hlaSa umSara
upkara ungada uamarilak lau amart d alaha gabara ana hu nhura mhauinalkun uap
kulman mn bnia šurba rba d hiia hu d alip mn ialpanun umn siprun hu msaralh lhaka
atra rba d hšuka tum d našira abdia ubisra d našira abdia gaTlia aklia nišmatun
bhirba usipa mitnasbia kul ‘nšia d šimTia upatakata d dahba ukaspa mištbin

atutia dudia maitia muta tiniana ulbit hiia lasalqia ha aprišnalkun lbaba
d bil ul`bidata d abid balma tum maprišnalkun lsin ulqala d qra d minh hauin
iahuTaiia iahTia unapSia hauia girbania ugarbaniata hu abadbia bišuta btibil
kulh bgu mura d hu Tapia hu baSir hu marim hu mašpil hu mdalh hu msaria hu
pasiq kilh hu mahrib šnia uabid bišuta biuma uiahria ušnia hu masTilia lkulh
kana d nišmata unapqa humria qadišata uzaprata ušaria l‘nšia ulgubria
umitaqrin baiuazag usaiin mia hda kumra brišaihun maqmia uluata šakbia uziria
šadibh hanath raza nasbilh ubkaka apilh ubmiSra naplia nasbia lhdadia iaman
ulhdadia lamgalalin uap iahTia unapSia mkainalun kd zan d abdia abdilun ulgubria
u‘nšia mn haka raza aklia tum ruaha uasuta litlun uainaihun nhura lahazia ha
amarilkun lbaba d qra sin ul`bidata d abid balma ulšiTuata d šaTia lkana d nišmata
d ašiTuia upalguia bmna mna hazin hu baba d auditinkun tarmidia ulšiTuata
d abid balma `marlkun lbaba d qra nirig d mitaqria abdala arbaia d minh dilia šaba
dmauata d rugza d kana d nišmata bgauh mitgaTlia utibil kulh atutia kursia mištpla
d minh dilia npaq šauTa ušulTana d aklia umalkuta mdabria hirba usipa šamTia udma
d bnia d adam ašdia ugarbin girbia ušabin šibia d lazban bdahbaiun ula`tangar
bkaspaiun ulaqunun bqinianun ugazlun `bra mn `mia ugabra mn `nta ulaba mn bnia
unasbia hailaiun hiltaiun ulamaTia b`daiun d aitpaSun minaiun bakia alia
umitašdia kuliuma qraba abdia uzma ašdia hauia ridpa lkulh kana d nišmata ulšurba
rba d hiia zban zban kabria `lauaihun uamria d nasrinun mn alma hazin ulhama bsipia
aklia kma d dara baSra ubišuta kabra ‘lauaihun ukuhun amamia utaumia ulišania
ldilun sagdia uap nišmata mn šurba rba d hiia ldilun hiia hauia umn šuma d hiia
kapria uldilun sagdia bmanda d hiia saipibh uap babdala arbaia ubruha d qudša
sahdibh d glilun razia d muta uazlin ‘l šuma d hiia laiTilia ukul mkairuta
minh umiTanputa minaihun npaq ulšuma d hiia mkairulh kulman mn šurba rba d hiia hu
azil larbaia sagid ruaha lamaška aminTul d rušuma apik lmana d barda mitgaTlia ap
kul humria d npaq minh šuTa ušulTana labdia uamata d abdala šarin uqala ramibh Sluta
d zipa mSalin ulrqiha masqin uluat hdadia mdabria ulšuba šibiahia mganilun
unirig amarlun d laiit alaha d minh dilia iaqir ukabir hu kul zban hirba usipa
uqraba ugaTla ukupna Surpana uqraba uridpa lahia ramilun ulh` tibil kulh marguš
kulium ramia binataiun ukulhin nišmata d abdala arbaia `lh azlia ukadšilun
bhirba unura u‘šata kulium ukul iuma h‘ ruha lqraba napqia uminh d nirig ramin
uamrilh ana `hablak kdaba umimra uraza d muta uglalak šuTa ušulTana u‘mra ušima
d amarlak d kulh nhura ldilak nidna uamratlun lsagadak hu lginat `dania masqinalkun
latra d ainaikun msakialh umsaratlh ‘l šiul titaita bšauTa ušulTana udahba ukaspa
mšabšatlun ul‘šul titaita ngada uamralak lau amart d alaha gabra ana hu nhura
mahuinalkun umiša udupša maukilnalkun ulbušia rgigia malbišnalkun
ukul busma iahbinalkun uTabuta maškitun ulaiit alaha d minh gabir u‘nšia
d rgigia iahbitilkun hašta alma šabšit ‘lauaian mn sada hlaSa umSara upkara
ungada udina ladina dainatlun uabdia d gabra nukraia d anin sipa šalapnin
‘lauaihun hašta slaqnin lalma ‘laia d nhura uanin haka psiqnin bhšuka umia
siauia uruaha uTabuta lamaškinin uamarlun abdulia arbaia labdia ulbabia kulhun
d haimanubh kd ana šabištinkun bšibia rba utibil kulh ldilkun šauith šuTa
ušulTana ‘hablkun ukulh alahuta atutaikun štpil ukulhun amamia utumia ulišania
bgirba graubtinun ana uruha ‘m luat hdadia šbitinkun ‘mrit tihuilia ‘kilta liuma
batraia l‘ ldilia ulqaduš rba d ab d minh huit ulab liuiatin ha hzun
d kulhun šibiahia haila kd dilkun lahbalkun uabdaikun d šibiahia ahai
bhailakun dilkun lamSun ušulTana kd dilkun lahualun hašta liuma rba d dina
paršagna luatai litlaikun aminTul d alita udupša uakiltkinkun uklila busma
ubrihania ubusmania ‘tpanaqtun ubalbušia iaquria asgitinkun dirkia d piTma
šauitinkun hašta ‘niš mn ‘dai lampalaTlkun ulampariqlkun ulnhura lamasqilkun
lbaba d kulhun šibiahia ulšiTuata kulhin aprištinkun uap mn ‘kaltaikun
latiklun u‘daikun bzma laniluša upuma d laSbia latinišqun umšabin hiia uhiia

zakin lkulhun `ubadia uzakia ama d naSuraiia uhiia zak`in
sa hazin raza usidra uqarqalta d šuba kukbia hu
sa
bšuma d hiia rbia `unian ab `unian udalian rba br rurbia abun br hiia . hazin
hu raza usidra d ziua d iaqid bgu mana d minh hun šambibia d ziua umn hun iardna
gauaiia minaihun umn hanatun iardna hua iardna rab kulhun iardnia mn hanath
iardna piršat unipqat niTupta rabtia kasita qadmaita d minh mara d rabuta rab
kulhun `utria abuhun d kulhun sabria d minh hua lhudaia rba zadiqa d minh hun
bnia prišaiia d hiia qadmaiia d qaimia btušbihta sagdia umšabia lhak mana rba
kabira uamarlun qum puq lpiriauis iardna ulgilia mia hašib uqrun bra hda d lasaipa
dmuth ulitbh hašabta hinila nhur Srik ušdiq ubasim udamia l'utria bnia nhura uma
d amarln mimra qam btušbihta usgid ušabuia uiatbuia uqaimuia uamrilh ma d amart
mqaima uqam unpaq 'l piriauis iardna ulgilia mia hašib uqidiuia lhda bra
d lasaipa dmutia ulitbh hašabta lihdaia rba zadiqa d mn lihdaia rba zadiqa hua
hiia qiriuia bmamlalun u'tqaiam hašabta lmahu qrun uqam hiia qadmaiia sgid
ušabuia lhak mana rba kabira uamarlun hašibnin uqranin hda bra lihdaia rba zadiqa
d mn lihdaia rba zadiqa hua uamarlun 'zil albišuia 'uSTlia d ziua ukasuia
TarTabunia Tabia dakiia d nhura uatun albišuia 'uSTlia d ziua ukasiuia
TarTabunia Tabia dakiia d nhura uamarlun qum hzia abuk d iatib batria
uamarlun `ka d rab minaikun unapšalh almia d nhura liaminh ulsmalh qum hzia
škinta bgu škinta uamarlun haza škinta d anatun amartulia `lh haizak npaq
uata paruanqa d hu adakas malala šumia mn qudamia d mana rba kabira uamarlh manu
šumak šidqa nTir trin zibnia mšaiilh uamarlh manu šumak šidqa nTir tlata
zibnia mšaiilh uamarlh manu šumak amarlh ana hu rabia Talia lhudaia rba
zadiqa ligTia uhananh uailia uhauiia škinta bgu škinta uhauiuia tilbunia rurbia
d kasia hzia Sauta d šanai ziuh uiaqir nhurh ubaiar umitraurab dmuth kd hzia haq
zha u`tazha unpal `l anph usgid ušaba haizak amarlh paruanqa d hu adkas ziua šumia
kulman d haza dmuta lbnia anašia nigalil d lašihia ulaška ulika d saka litlh
lnhura lanihizia d nikisia uninaTra lhaza dmuta ium bium nasqa unihizih latar
nhur umn Sautai dilia tišria 'lh uamarlun rab ziua rabia Talia lparuanqa d hu
adakas malala šumia lziua d `lauia ziuia ulnhura d `lauia nhuria man d šqalia bluqia
mn ainh uksil bisra mn libia hin amrit lhiia abahatak amarlun d nihdun
b'uSraihun napšaihun bma d hzit haizak nhat uata uaškinun lhiia qadmaiia kd
iatbia bškinatun uamarlun hdun unhar b'uSraikun d napšaikun bma hzit haizak
amrilh hiia qadmaiia `l rabia Talia mahu hzit uamarlun hzit ziua d `lauia ziuia
unhura d `lauia nhuria hzit Sauta d šanai uiaqir nhura umraurab dmutia unapšilh
alip alip almia d nhura liaminh uruban ruban almia d nhura lsmalh uqam hiia
qadmaiia hinun uškinata d napšaihun 'hablh buta utušbihta usliq qala ukaluza
luat mana rba kabira uhu mana rba kabira d šumia bhanath d alma d qala ukaluza uqam
qra alip alip almia d nhura liaminh uruban ruban almia d nhura lsmalh uamarlh
mana rba kabira lhak paruanqa d qaiim lqudamia d rabia Talia lia hu nibunh
lqudamia uamarlh hin amrin umqaima unpaq uata mn qudamia d malka d nhura uluat
hiia qadmaiia uamarlun rabia Talia lia hu lihdaia rba zadira lia asgia uamrilh
hiia qadmaiia asgia lalma d nhura hurinia d qria ulamtaqnia šadrunh uligTuia
`lauaihun d nitaqninun uamarlun nibunh bsarhabaiit uatiunia uligTuia uauluia
rudamia kd sigdit ušabith uamarlh brik atra d `tit minh umšaba umraurab umqaiam
gabra d 'lak šihlak ušadrak ligTia bpras iaminh uasiq amTuia lqudamia d mana rba
kabira kd hiziia hanania unišqia uamarlh `zil uamarlun lnaSuraiia d šbiqia
balmia d hšuka umia siauia kul gabra naSuraia d kušTa mn napšia nipšaT akuat mana
rba kabira d pšaT 'da mn maSbuta d napšia kd Sauta lahuatlh hlaq umnaq bit hiia
latihuilh kul gabra naSuraia kd iatib upihta nišauia agzarta umhita ušiqupta mn
bit hiia tihuia `lh hinilh 'npiš b'npiš niqum unišauia uiatir biatir nitab
unitanha umšabin hiia banhura d saka litlh uhiia zakin uzakia iauar ziua urahmh

sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia asuta uzakuta ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

. ulab

. u`l `m . u`l `m hurintia

. u`l zauai

. u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia

. u‘l šitlai

. u`l abahatai

.

tum šabiq haTaiia nihualun lkulhun tarmidia umandaiia d̲ bhalin sidria mitaprišia . bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia nukraiia mn almia d̲ nhura iatiria d̲ `lauia ukulhun `ubadia . hazin hu raza usidra d̲ ziua d̲ iaqid bgu pihta d̲ abar bziuh̲ d̲ napšh̲ uasgia banhurh̲ d̲ mana qadmaia huabia uptabia udarbia haimanubh̲ bmana d̲ huabia d̲ hu haimanubh̲ bziua unhura d̲ huabia haimanbh̲ bmana d̲ huabia d̲ hu šarhab‘iil šumia npaq ziua mn pihta ušra nhura lpihta unpaq minh̲ uqra lnapšia nibTa ziua unhura d̲ mn napšia iaqid ziua uiaqid nhura ham tana pšar tana d̲ huabh̲ k̲d̲ iaqid `lauia tana hun mambugia hua laupa d̲ litlh̲ psaqa u`tlip laupa lhiia uškin hiia napšaihun uqaiim hiia napšaihun bgu mambugia d̲ mia d̲ minaihun dilun ‘štpun mn butun bun lnapšaihun d̲ hun bgauaihun urbabun bgauaihun u`tbaiarbun u‘tqaiambun u‘tib bziuaihun šum šuta haita d̲ ‘tlabašbia u‘tqaiambia ušum ziua unhura hiia qidbun nsib kšTa mn napšaihun ukušTa d̲ hua mn laqadmia u‘tiqria mn qudam briša haimanubh̲ hun hiia bmaSbutun d̲ napšaihun haiman bkušTa d̲ napšaihun unsib mn ‘da d̲ napšia unišqia l‘dia d̲ iaminia uamar hiia lnapšaihun ana hu maSbana qadmaia d̲ haimanubh̲ bkušia umaSbuta haza kulman d̲ nihuia minh̲ haimanubh̲ bkušTa umaSbuta haza kulman d̲ nitlip blaupa dilia ubškintai dilia ništkin huat škinta huat d̲ hiia d̲ ‘lauia mia u‘šata haita uamar ana hu hiia d̲ mn napšaihun hun mn ziuaihun bar minaihun unhuraihun usgia d̲ `lauia ziuaihun unhuraihun d̲ napšaihun hašib hiia bnapših̲ bkimSaiun d̲ napšaiun uqaim hiia bkisia lmiqria bra ušauia Sauta lnapšaihun hiia iadia d̲ bra d̲ mhašbia lmiqria d̲ hiia qrun simaka mn libaihun d̲ napšaihun uqaiam dmutaiun uatbuia bškinta d̲ hu ‘tib lmitia lalma hurinia haizak qra bra ušauia Sauta lnapšaihun uaqmia biardna d̲ mia hiia d̲ mn hiia hun kšTa ‘hablia umn ziua albišia umn nhuria kasiia uautibia minh̲ bškinth̲ lhil mn ‘šata haiata ubra d̲ qra hašib lmiqria bnh̲ lnapšia qra bnh̲ umn lbušia albišinun umn ksuiia kasiia kasinun uautbinun liaminh̲ ulsmalh̲ bškintia ukušTa ‘hablun ubnh̲ d̲ qra mhašbia lalma hurinia lmiqria uamria niqria bnh̲ lnapšaiun akuat d̲ hazin bit hiia uqam qudam abuhun rama tiniana uamrilh̲ ahbalan d̲ nizal niqria almia hurinia uninSablan niSubta akuat d̲ hazin d̲ bit hiia uninSab niSubta unišabun unišauia almia akuat hazin d̲ bnia šlama ‘tiqria ukmaS abuhun `hablun mn kisia ubukra tiniana uahia iahbulh̲ lhad mn bnh̲ šlama lahun qašiša minaihun umn dmutun d̲ bnh̲ šlama ‘tiqrun ‘hablh̲ mia u‘šata haita uamarlh̲ `zil qria almia hakuata bnh̲ šlama d̲ hzit bit hiia hiia bnapšaihun mhašbin ulmanda d̲ hiia haza amarlh̲ d̲ hu mitiqria iuzaTaq manda d̲ hiia amrilh̲ ahuilh̲ lkamSa dmuth̲ d̲ `qara d̲ rmun balma d̲ hšuka d̲ hu `tit lSaiura lka uamarlun manda d̲ hiia ana qraitun uqaiimtun u`titna ana qdimnalh̲ lalma hanath̲ mn qudam d̲ nihun unihišbun l‘lh̲ lalma hanath̲ `zdra zira uqribh̲ bnh̲ unitiqrun bnia šurba rba d̲ hiia uqdum u‘šadar mn šurbatai dilh̲ d̲ hiia d̲ `hablh̲ qrun uzarzun ‘lauaiun šarhiblh̲ umsabrilh̲ lalma hanath̲ qrun qudamia qadmaia d̲ niqrun qala d̲ hiia d̲ šanai minh̲ mn alma uninikrun napšaihun mn alma d̲ hšuka uamam manda d̲ hiia `qum lka minh̲ mn alma hanath̲ u`lipinun laupa d̲ hiia d̲ tihuia škinta bit hiia k̲d̲ haza amar manda d̲ hiia nišqia ukušTa ‘hablh̲ uamarlh̲ kšTa asiak Taba uasia

lmalala ḏ malaltbẖ hinila ‘aitia mn šurbata ḏ kimSa latagzar balma ḏ hšuka
ḏ bšuTuata lanišTun hiia qiriuia liuzaTaq manda ḏ hiia ḏ mn dmut `qara hua bkisia
uqiriuia lmanda ḏ hiia biauar nimun unimar hiia bahar ušatila umasiq ldaura
taqna halin pugdamia ‘štaiia mn iuzaTaq manda ḏ hiia uazil uqra alma lbnia
šlama ukimSa ḏ kmaS tiniana `hablẖ lhad mn bnia šlama unsab u‘hablẖ lptahil
brẖ uata ptahil urimia balma ḏ hšuka uqra qrita ušarhib šurbata lbit hiia
ḏ lašihia `lauaihun dilun `tiqria ziu hsir unuhur psiq ḏ psaqinin lšurbata
balma ḏ hšuka umitpisqan uabatar ḏ qiriia lptahil lalma hanatẖ šauibia šurbata
triS uqminun lmalakẖ ḏ baita ḏ nipilhunẖ ladam ḏ pagria ulhaua zauẖ balma hanatẖ
ḏ hšuka ušauibẖ Turia uiamamia uSipar gadpa uhiua bala ununia biama upiria u`mbia
u`lania ḏ nikul unihdia hu uhaua zauẖ ḏ kiriuta latihuilẖ mn hiuaniata upira
u`mba u`lana nihualẖ ladam ulhaua zauẖ ḏ nanihia lhahu špur pagria uabatar
ḏ šauia ptahil lalma hanatẖ uhazik biniia ladam brẖ bdmutẖ umn dmutẖ ḏ adam
`tbiniat haua zauẖ ḏ rmaba ptahil bdmu ruha mn ruha ḏ napšia urmibẖ šibiahia
‘niš ‘niš mn raza ḏ napšiẖ ulamSia ptahil ušibiahia ḏ minẖ laqamia ladam ulhaua
zauẖ haizak ḵḏ azal ptahil luat abatur abuia nsab mana kasia ḏ `hablia mn bit hiia
uatiia u`imiia badam ubhaua zauẖ pra uata ‘utra mšarhibana ḏ hiia šihlun ‘lẖ
ušqal ainẖ adam urma `lẖ hibil ziua u‘tpat hiia šal uamrilẖ ptahil
ušibiahia ḏ minẖ h`iia adam uamarlun adam bruhSana ḏ ‘utria mšarhabana ḏ ata `lẖ
mn bit hiia uamar adam ḏ mn hiia huit hiia hun adakas ana ziua ḏ mn atra kasia ata
npalbia uatian uatit alanpia šganda Taba lapqan ltam latra ḏ minẖ `tit haizak
`tgalal hibil ziua lptahil ḵḏ ‘štagašlẖ ruianẖ u`hambalian kulhun uamar
ptahil `uai uai `bidata ḏ anat ‘štalaTt ‘lauaian ušibqia lptahil lalma ḏ qra uazil
luat abatur argaz `lẖ ubsada autbẖ alma lkimSat almia haizak qam adam sgad
ušaba lhak gabra ḏ ptalẖ ainẖ uaqmia `l ligrẖ usaka adam hazilẖ lkul ḏ hazilẖ hiziia
adam lhaua zauẖ arTil ubihtat napša minẖ uhazak `da hibil ziua uata `lẖ ḏ adam
ubhit mn haua zauẖ amar lbuša ladam ulhaua zauẖ qralun ukasun šiTuatun ušra
Talia `l haua ḵḏ ptulẖ hu adam luata haua amra mna hua rabia Talia ḏ bazira ḏ gabra
la`zdra ukarsa ḏ atuat larba usabusta lahuatalẖ ḏ šuta basim uqala taqun hibil
br adam qarilẖ bra ḏ adam mn haua hua hualẖ bra lhibil šumia šitil hualẖ bra
lšitil šuma anuš haizak qam adam bhašabta ḏ hašib lptahil abuia ubra ubma
ḏ abatur abuia paqduia umindam ḏ hibil šra b‘uSraihun ḏ adam uhaua zauẖ qam adam
uhaua zauẖ ušihlẖ llbušia ḏ hibil albišinun ladam ulhaua zauẖ ḏ mn dmutaiun
ḏ napšaiun damin akuat simat hiia uabatar ḏ miTiuia iahria ‘tša lhaua zahriria
ḏ maudila miTiu amria almia hibil mna hua umna huala bra lhaua ḏ mn ziria
ḏ adam lahua hin`la tahmia mitiqria ḏ asgia bkulhun almia nibTa hu ḏ asgia btibil
u`tiglia uata lalma ḏ bnia anašia l‘šauia Tabuta ‘l nimusa ḏ bnia anaša hidruia
anašia ltam latra ḏ minẖ ‘tun hazak škib adam umaTia luata ḏ haua zauẖ uqablat
minẖ buTna tauma zikra unuqbata hua bkarsa iahria tša bma ḏ ptahil hašib
`lauaihun ḏ abatur abuia paqdia iadlat haua tauma zikra unuqbata uhaizak amar
adakas mana ḏ mn atra kasia ata unpalbia badam uhaua zaua uaqmẖ ladam
ulhaua zauẖ `l ligraihun uanhar ainaihun lmihiziia uligraihun lmasguiia upta
pumaihun lmikil ušaliT ‘dẖ ḏ adam bhiuaniata upira u`mba u`lana uSipar gadpa
ununia biama ḏ ptahil abuia šauilẖ l`kilta ḏ hašiblẖ ladam uamarlẖ hibil ladam qum
sab aqamra ḏ halin hiuaniata uahbilẖ lhaua zauak tišauilak lbuša lšpur pagrak
dilak haua zauak ḏ ptahil abuk šauilak uhaizak sab adam ugaz aqamra mn gambaiin
ḏ hiuaniata u`habla lhaua zauẖ ušauialia lbuša mindam ḏ hibil šra b‘uSraihun ḏ adam
ubhaua zauẖ ušauiat lbuša l‘qar pagraihun utraSlun lmiškab utraSlun
patura lmikal `lẖ haizak hinun šuba šibiahia hadra uqaimia uraza urimza usina
uqina uplugia mhašbin ‘lẖ uraza šra b‘uSar razaihun ḏ napšaiun ḏ hinun rmubia
badam ubhaua zauẖ uamria ḏ lanišmun šuta ḏ gabra nukraia ḏ asgia lka umn iulpanun
lanilpun umn qbal ḏ anin šauinẖ ladam niqum uništmunan uldilan ulptahil abuhun
ušurbata ḏ adam niqum unipilhunan ldilan ulptahil abuhun urhim gabra nukraia

d̲ šuta nukraita d̲ mnakria minh̲ mn alma ušra manda d̲ hiia b`uSar liba badam ubadakas mana d̲ ata unpalbh̲ uamarlun adkas mana ušibiahia ulalmia kulhun k̲d̲ ana latiun ularamiun badam uhaua zauh̲ razaikun dilkun laqmuia ladam ulhaua zauh̲ bruhh̲ d̲ ptahil rmibh̲ d̲ abuia `hablh̲ d̲ abatur abuia paqdia ainh̲ laptalh̲ ulligrh̲ laqam upumh̲ laptalh̲ ula‘štaiia u‘dh̲ lašaliT b‘bidata d̲ ptahil abuia šauilh̲ l`kilta uluat haua zauh̲ laškib ubnat anaša balma la‘tiaiar alma ana adkas mana d̲ mn atra kasia atit uminai dilia ‘štarhib šurbata btibil huit d̲ zira zara bmarba d̲ ‘nšia umn zira Sar `ula bkras `mh̲ umn dilh̲ Sar ainh̲ umn ainh̲ Sar muqra umn muqra aSr riša umn riša Sar kursiat anph̲ hua umn dilh̲ hua puma umn puma hua lišana umn lišana hauin `bria umn dilh̲ hauin lilbia umn lilbh̲ hauin pirSia ap blilbia bun hauin Tabia ubun hauin bišia ukulhun Silmia d̲ hauin lianqa bkras `mh̲ umn dilh̲ umn raza d̲ rmun šibiahia umn ruha d̲ rma ptahil uhauin lianqa bkras `mh̲ ana hauit riša lkulhun razia anahuit bania biniana d̲ pagria d̲ bnat anašia ana huit mšarhib šurbata d̲ bnia anaša balma hazin hin ana lahuit brišaihun d̲ razia uana bianqia lahuit uianqa mn kras `mh̲ lanpaq aminTul d̲ lamiTit b`daihun d̲ razia uruha `u lau ana labaninth̲ lianqa hauith̲ uapiqth̲ mn kras `mh̲ haizak tna uškib adam luat haua zauh̲ uiadlat zikra unuqubta tlata karsauata d̲ iadlat mn adam hun zikria tlata unuqbata tlat d̲ minaihun dilhun mitiatir alma hua ktib umapriš šumaihun baspar sidria ha lriš atit hun riša tum ‘tit ha šumaihun lbhiria zidqa uqaiumia šibiahia dandumia d̲ mdandimia tum raza kabšia lbr ziuia d̲ asgia lka d̲ ziuh̲ lahua mn haka ulahua nhurh̲ mn alma hazin d̲ hinun šibiahia ulšum dilia laqam ‘lh̲ uazal lhurina raza kabšia ušum dilia riša adkas mana kasia d̲ mn atrh̲ ata nibTa šuman ualma nimusa qarilh̲ nišimta qarilh̲ mana mkanilia paria pariath̲ qarilh̲ nhura qarilh̲ nihmat hiia šumak utana šuman u‘šata haita šuman uana šumai kasia d̲ mn bit hiia udkas ana ziua d̲ mn atra kasia ata uatiuia ahai `utria bnia nhura rahmia Tabia d̲ mn tam atar ‘štadar ‘lai uatiuia ubanpai qnaslh̲ muta mn daura d̲ pagria d̲ rbitbh̲ albšun ziua ukasiun nhura d̲ mn tam ‘štadar ‘lai mn bit hiia ugadilh̲ qarnai brišai uzakuata lkadpai mahtilia udibrun uapqun lbit hiia haizak hua laupa lruhia unišimata d̲ bhiria zidqa d̲ mn napšaiun praš uapriš d̲ dairibh̲ d̲ alma hazin d̲ kulh̲ zipa uhrara uamar adam d̲ hibil alph̲ uzarzih̲ uTubh̲ d̲ bzarzta haza d̲ hibil ušitil uanuš niqum gubria mzarzia Tubh̲ d̲ mn atra naqia `tun ulatra naqia azlin u`urbana bhaTaiia ušuTuata d̲ tibil lanihuilun lzauadaiun d̲ napšaiun mn dauraiun d̲ napšaiun ‘tun ‘lauaiun d̲ abuhun `hablun triS d̲ mitar `tar mihsar lahsar ulakal mn ‘šata ‘kilta d̲ alma hazin ula`tarab mn `bidata d̲ ptahil labad balma uzuadia mn bnia anaša lakal hinila lzuadaiun d̲ napšaiun mn dauraiun ‘tun `lauaihun d̲ abuhun ‘hablun triS zipa ubišuta d̲ tibil lahuat ‘lauahun u‘niš bnapšaihun lalgiTinun u‘urbana btibil lahualun hinila šibiahia qaimia ‘lauaihun uradpia niradpinun bhirba unura umia hinun zakr‘ zakin bzuadaihun ublbušaiun ubanhura d̲ abuhun ‘hablun ušibiahia haiabia halin pugdamia tiligTun utišrun uzidqa tatnun ulibaikun bhaimanuta laupa nihuilkun lbit hiia bzarzuta d̲ gubria tlata tisqun umn laupaiun latitpasqun uamarlh̲ hibil ladam d̲ pagria ia adam d̲ pagria d̲ qaimit mzarzatlun lbnat anaša libnak ušurbatak d̲ alma hazin lau bSibiana hiia ‘tiqria unilagTun unišrun lamalalak k̲d̲ d̲ mn hiia lahualun alma hazin ‘tiqria bšiTuata ušibiahia qaimin ušarin l‘uSria d̲ napšaihun umašTilun lbnia anaša k̲d̲ hazin anin nipuq mn alma hazin k̲d̲ qarnaiun mgadlan uzakuatun lqudamaian azlan unapquin minaian gubria kšiTia umhaimnia uap bhiria zidqa gbilia bisra uzma d̲ qalaian šuma lšuman ašar uzdqa ‘hab bhaimanuta lruhSanan dilan triS uap hinun `tita lmisaq mn qbal d̲ anin dirka draknalun ukudka traSnalun u`hura maknalun d̲ dahalta unTiTata litbh̲ nisqun nihzunia latra rba d̲ nhura uldaura taqna d̲ anin ainan msakialh̲ uk̲d̲ šuman šibiahia uruha d̲ qudša d̲ halin pugdamia amarlh̲ hibil ladam ušurubth̲ ruha d̲ qudša d̲ šimat simta bSaura bzat u‘udqa mn riša nisbat uamra hab ‘nisbh̲ lalma hazin uamrilh̲ šibiahia lalma bnia šibiahia lalma bnia anaša bnpiš nitrabun unitraurbun bnia anaša uhaizak d maTialh `lak nibad aminTul d anin marh Subiana anin kd haizin amariun hibil uahh siptaiun praT ‘lauaiun mhašba ruha ušibiahia lmiqria mšiha kadaba d našiTinin lkulhun almia ulpalugia alma lbnia anaša ltaumia taumia ulišania lišania lmipik šuta ‘l pumaihun d bnia anašia kd halin pugdamia amiriun šibiahia manda d hiia hatam hua minaihun bkisia minaihun mn šibiahia lmirpas aina ata utriS `l libaihun d bnh uanhh lsamkia uata manda d hiia hap nisbh lziuaihun d šibiahia unisbh `l libaihun uminaihun d ‘šata haita d lbišia ušbiqinun b‘šata ‘kilta lmimarbia umištmabia uTabuta lmihašibba uhazak ‘tnisbat minaihun haizak ‘tiqria mšiha bra d ruha halin pugdamia d nimusa kd npal badam qrit uzarzit u`habilun lbhiria zidqa anatun bhiria zirqa kul piria u`bidata d šauia ptahil ladam brh upiria u`mba u`lana uSipir gadpa uhiua bira ununia biama akil minaihun uzidqa hab mn qbal d nimusa badam npalbh adam `kilta lakil hin abatar d nimusa npalbh badam qam adam ‘kilta akal hu ušurbath d minh hauian uap kulhun busmania upiria d arqa mapqia urihania ubusmania d rihaiun basim lnimusa d npal badam uamar ptahil d narha unibsum `lh lnimusa d rmibh badam d lanikSilh balma hazin ulšurbata kulhin mn qbal piria u‘mbia u‘lania uSipar gadpia ununia bmia uhiua bira zakra unuqubta ušauilh ptahil unsib pira u`mba u`lana nsib zikra uniqubta umahtia uTuna Taiania uSipar gadpa ununia biama uhiua bira zakra lnuqubta sliq uTuna Tainia ubaTnia uiadalh iadlia Tubh lalma hazin lptahil `utra kursia d traSbh mdabrania hualh lalma hazin `l d bnia uabad biad ruha ušibiahia lašdh ulašibqia uruha ušbiahia lalma hazin laridpuia unTiTuta lahuatabh mn qbal d ptahil `utra larqa d nhura `titlh uruha ušibiahia haka mitpasqa balma hazin d hšuka uainaihun nhura lahazia hinun ukulhun qiriatun uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun ‘ubadia abuhun bzakaiia bzakuta zakin uzakia hibil ušitil uanš umšabin hiia sa .

hazin hu raza usidra d ziua d iaqid bgu pihta hu sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia nukraiia mn almia d nhura iatiria d `lauia ukulhun `ubadia asuta uzakuta ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia ldilia

. . ulab . u`l

`m . u`l `m hurintia

. u`l zauai . u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia

. u'l šitlai

. u`l abahatai

.

šabiq haTaiia nihuilun tum šabiq haTaiia nihuilun lkulhun nišmata d ganzibria Tabia utarmidia umandaiia umanda d hiia rahmia ubhalin sidria mitaprišia uqala d hiia Saitia ulhiia qadmaiia mšabilun škan hiia škinta udnaba ziua baiar šania . hazin hu raza usidra d anuš rba br šitil rba br adam rba br `utria rurbia d `qara br atra d nhura br daura taqna ana d kulh `utria br mdinta d kula Tabuta bhašabta d `utria trin br mdinta d kulh ubtiaruta d hinun mitqiriin bnapšaiun qrun 'utra rba qadmaia lhudaia d napšia hua uqra lnapšia ana hu iahida rba zadiqa d mn napšia hua qaiim uqra 'utra rhima d nihuia paruša lh ulabuia zadiqa d mn napšia hua uqra lnapšia ana hu qaiim qra 'utra rhima d nihuia paruša lh ulabuia zadiqa d mn napšia hua ulapriš lkulhun 'ubadia d nihun uaprišata niqaiam qudam abuia uqra hadinu `utra rhima d iahida rba zadiqa had `utra qran uhad `utra hurinia bra d 'tiqria paruša had qran uhad qaiman ul'utria ahai trin d hinun abahatai had šarhab'il ziua šumia šihlun nhura Taba malik malakh basima lahia d minh qašišia ubhad lbuša 'tiqria tlata kulhun hun nihša Taba lnišmata hurintia d hu nihuia hinun nihzun d kšiT umhaiman nhia ubasim had hurina šumia qahziil zriza zTa d ahia lbušia trin 'u tatnulh d nitnaTrun `lh unitkasibun mn bišia umn hambalh d mšadrilhun luataihun d abahatun d ldilia qrinun upaqid aba uzariz brh uamar hu ziua qadmaia d qra lnapšia ana hu abad ukšar ulgaT uašar qina d minh hua uqra lbrh zhir usmir ziua d mn sam `tnasar mana smira hua uamarlh qum zauid `utrak ahak d hinun bnak zaudinun zauadta d ana `hablak albišinun ziua ukasinun nhura uaškinun balbuša d 'šata haita l'utria tlata d mn lbr azlia ltam lmiqaria qala d hiia uniqimunun `m hdadia utihuia Sautaihun uSautun umamlalun l'šhia 'm hdadia nitqaimun dmuta mn hdadia ninhrun hirba unura umia d alma hanath latiqrib luataihun bišuta uraza urimza marh aqta kabšia 'lauaihun ullbuša d 'šata haita d qaiminabh unTarnabh hargta litlaihun ula 'l lbuša d `lauh raza nikibšun uamria ninsbh minaihun lamaTialun d ninsbun minaihun ulaklilun d nilibšunia uamar rba qadmaia d mn napšia hua 'titia 'utria `lan tlata d nizlun unišarhubun šurbata ušuma d hiia uSauta d hiia nišrun balma hanath d hšuka umuta škin tam luataiun laiadin ula'dun kul almia d nihtam l`utria ahai trin d mhašbin lalma lšauia br mn dilia manda d hiia ana aprišlia ldilia ul'utria ahai d hinun bnai `utria tlata d ltam `titia ultam qran d qru nhura tam bhšuka unitqaimun hiia bgu muta unapqun nišmata d bhiria d `titia ušihia lbit hiia 'utrin 'lan tlata d mn haka ltam azal lalma hanath nitqaimun unihuilun laupa lbit hiia nitqaiam bškinat hiia uap manda d hiia qaria uamar uapriš lkul rahmia uamar ha aprišit lkulhun almia d nihuia ukul nišmata d bnia anaša d nihun hatam muta hatam minaikun bgauh d alma hanath d dairitubh ha hiia u`utria `lin tlata d mn lbar `tun ltam lmiqria qala d hiia unišauun nhura d nihuia ruaha lnišmata bqala d hiia nitqaimun unisihdun unišabun bqala hanath d hšuka hinun ruaha nakun kd napqia mn lbuša d hšuka d huabuia udarbia tum amar manda d hiia aprišilkun lhiia d šadar hiia luataikun lmuta ulhšuka

d škin ušria hatam luataikun balma hinun luataikun daria muta hšuka nhura litlaihun nišmata d hatam kd napqa mn `uSTuna d hšuka d qaimibh ruaha litlaihun unhura lahazin umn hšuka napqin ubhšuka d atutaun mištaknia umanda d hiia haizan amarlun lalma kulhun d nihun uamar kul nišmata d hatam rmibh bhšuka umuta hanath luataikun iuma batraia alma tihzun lruaha d nišmata d bhiria zidqa d šuma d qala d hiia d qralun haiminubun u`tqaiambh bmanda d hiia haimin bšuta d gubria tlata uaitilun manda d hiia ziuh alanpaihun uziuh albišinun alanpaihun unhura kasinun uruaha bnpiš uTabuta bnpiš maškia ulibaihun hadia bruaha d aška uanatun nihuia umitqamibun kd bhiria zidqa ziua lbišia unhura mkasin uadin ‘lauaikun usalqia latra rba d nhura uanatun hzaitun kd škinitun bhšuka d alma hazin ulnapšaikun mitrahmitun unihuia amritun alma lašminin šuta d qrulan ulanpaqnin b‘uhra haza šapirtia d halin zadiqia bha napqia uamria anin sablinin d qrulan b‘udnan ulašaminan uamria anin man nizal lbnan d nimarlun d lanistakrun b`hra haza dilan alma tizlun b`ubadia d anin abdinin abadinin alma d tibdun aminTul d anin haka bhšuka rba šrinin anatun šuta d gubria ‘lin tlata kšiTia umhaimnia šumia uaudun bhiia ushidiun bmanda d hiia gubria ‘lin tlata bnia šurba rba d hiia qala qru d hiia uaudu b`uhra hanath d gubria kšiTia umhamnia azlinin anatun tizilubh ulašabqilan d nizal lbnan nimarlun d rminin bhšuka biša uainan nhura lhazia ubabia d hšuka ahdia banpin ulašabiqlan kulium ukuliuma ngada upsaqa šailin ‘lh kul ‘niš ‘niš kd `ubadia uagrh mšaililan d abadnin balma haza d hanun lau qru napša nišmata hurintia huriniata d bnia anašia d haka kd šragia maitia kd zan d lahun ‘niš lamšailun tum mn qbal d ‘ubadia bišia usainia abad hatam balma ušaialta litlaihun hatam maitia halin lamištailia umitisrin hatam mn ‘ubadaikun d lamaitia akuat halin d maita uaudia manda d hiia mapriš uamar lmaitia uaudia `l d ‘siria umištailia ium bium `lan d ‘sira umištailh d gubria tangaria hauia šutapa mn hdadia lamizdaqria uahia hauin d hdadia hadupia ušalma mn hdadia lamištaiin uap hinun haizin hauilun kul gabra naSuraia d šuta d hiia šabiq ušuta haurintia d šiTuata mištaiin u‘uhra d hiia šabiq b‘uhra d hšuka azlia uap hinun haizin hauilun d qaimibh ubhšuka umitanha nišmatun haizin amria lhdadia alma

l`mat hauialun amar manda d hiia ‘niš ‘niš mn ‘ubadia d napšaihun mištailibh naSuraiia kd dinaihun urišaiia kd `ubadaihun dainilun tum qaimia naSuraiia ulhiia midinin ulmanda d hiia mšabilh ulmanda d hiia amrilh hTin uskilnin bbišuta d mlakia d alma hazin d huat luataian hašta haTaian tišbuqilan anat manda d hiia tiparqinin mn hšuka d alma hazin d rminabh tum manda d hiia armilin lkulhin nišmata d anašia naSuraiia d hatam rmibh bhšuka uldilia mqarilh ubrušuma d hiia ‘tiršim unpaq mn ‘uhra d hiia ulšum ruha umšiha liardna nahit haTaiun man šabiqlun hinila nišmata hiruniata d azal bšuTuata d ruha umšiha liardna nahit haTaiun man šabiqlun hinila nišmata huruniata d azal bšuTuata d ruha umšiha la‘taršim mn qabal zidqa uTabuta abid balma hazin uhaizak sablh kd `ubadaihun d abad balma mn qbal d brušuma d ruha umšiha la‘tiršim halin nišmata d halin rišaiia unaSuraiia ubabia kulhun d brušuma d ruha ubalahia d alma hazin maudin uamrin ruha umšiha lbabia kulhun ha lginat ‘dania d masqinalun kd mn pagraikun napqitun lhatam azlitun uTabuta maškitun uamarlun manda d hiia hadinu hšuka d rmibh dilia mqaritun hadinu ginat `dania anatun msakitulh hašta hadinu babaikun hšuka d rmitubh uminh ‘niš lamasqinalkun ium bium ušnia bšnia uihria biahria nišmatkun mabila bala umistakra bhšuka hanath d qaimitubh alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana tuq iuma hanath d saipa šumia uarqa hua arqa ušumia baitaikun d šibiahia sagibun napla kulhun ruhia umšiha ušamiš usira ušibiahia kulhun saipia uap bnia anašia d audibun bruha umšiha ualahia h` ruha saipa ap saipa liuma rba d sup u`m ruha d glatalkun raza d muta uabatar d muta azlitun bhšuka naplitun uana qritilkun lhiia d šumh d muta litbaihun qritilun `l nhura d hšuka litbh qritilkun d anatun lbuš ziua u‘tkasun nhura upuq b‘uhra d hiia

u‘iapqinkun bšbila d šuma d muta litbh ušuma d hšuka litbh uanatun ldilia
lašamitunan ušuta d ‘utria labismat ‘lauaikun uap bnia anaša mn šurba d adam
uhaua d pagria hun d qala d hiia šuma haimanbh u‘taprašbh ušuma uqala d gubria `lin
tlata ušarhibabia bšumaihun snun muta hiia rhim snun hšuka unhura rhim lbiš
ziua u`tkasun nhura salqia b`uhra rabtia d hiia uatun uaškinun hiia uap hinun
qrun qala d hiia b‘udnaikun uanatun lašamitun uap anatun bnia d adam uhaua anatun
alma lašamitun minaltaihun ub`uhra d hiia lazlitun d hinun zadiqia azlaba hašta
`uhra d anatun ruhamtuna atituba luat alahakun d šiTinkun hašta lmahu
‘tirhiStun halin nišmata huriniata d maita usaipa uauda udaika kd šraga d dar
balma hanath d hšuka ušaiilta litlaihun uamar manda d hiia maprišnalkun
lbhiria zidqa halin nišmata d gaTla giTla uzma d br adam ašad larqa halin d šabin
šibia umzabnia d lazban bdahbaihun ula`qnia bqinianun ula`tangar btangarutun azlia
paisia batia d haria ušauia abdia harata umšauia amata unišmata d gubria gaiaria
u‘nšia gaiarata d aklia šulTana uTabuta labria unapqin aba umzakin bra unasbia
hiltaihun uhailaiun ulamaTia b‘daiun unišmatun mitnaTaTa ‘lauaihun kul
nišmata d abad `ubadia sainia d mlakia kulhun saipia ukulhun alahia ušurbatun
d hinun saipia tum qaimitun qdima qadmaia d mn napšia hua l‘utria tlata ubrikinun
uqaiminun qdima qadmaiia d mn napšia uqaiim bra rhima paruša qadmaia d minh
hua uamarlun l`utria `lin tlata d birikta brakinun d abahata lbnaiun brak azal lalma
hanath dan uzkun hatam nišmata d mn haka `tinsib `l hatam aulunhun lalma hanath
d hšuka d muta bh zakun uanpiš nišmata minaihun d qria ušihia d hu šuta d hiia
nišmun ubmanda d hiia nitqaimun ušutaikun dilkun nišrun nišmun unipqun
bziua unhura d manda d hiia unitqaimun bit hiia uanatun `utria tlata nihuia
hibil ahkun qašiša nihuia amar udaian dinaikun balma hanath d mn qbal aha qašiš aba
hu nihuia daiana d `lauia daiania d alma d hazin uniqrunh hazin aSaSa mnaata
`lan d qaimia umšargizlan balma dilan d napšan riša d qanina balma hazin d šuta
Sita uminilta ušuta šimia uamarlun qadmaiia l‘utria tlata tizlun utihadrulh
lškinta d minh npaqtun ma d hiia šihlun hikla d ziua u`undruna d nhura utipqun
bzakuta kd ‘ubadaikun nihuia šlama uninhirun anpaikun bhaduta ututbun
bškinta d rab ziua d nhuria nahur mn alma kulh uiatir mn `utria malka d lalma
hanath ‘tamlak ušauiuia ltuqna hašta anatun ‘zal kd lbišitun unhura mkasitun
nihuia mgadla qarnaikun brišaikun utitiqrun riša d šurbata d hiia d mn škintun
tipqun nišmata d bqala d hiia nisqun l`ndruna d ana bnitilkun kul nišmata d haimanubh
bhiria zidqa nitqaimun luataikun bhda škinta haza rabtia d hiia u`ndruna
d šauilkun d hiia rbia niqaimunkun manda d hiia bhra škinta haza nasqinkun lbit hiia
ap kul nišmata d gbilia bisra uzma d qala d hiia šamin uhaiman laupa nihuilkun
lbit hiia uqaimia šibiahia lbiš mithašbia ‘lauaihun balma hazin d nihzunan
unidilhun minan urinta tihuia `lan uamria d lbušun ninsbia minaihun ulan
nihuia qala `lauaihun ulazha ula`tazha uziuihta udahalta lahuatalun
uamria tum bhikumta ušabšuta urahmuta nišabšinun minan lahauia uminan
lamištabšia uamria nizal `lauaiun bnihuta uTabuta `Tak luatan nitun uminan nihun
uamria hibil zadiqa lahh ulbnia ‘zal ‘ul minaihun binataihun hašta nišauinan
maraihun hašta nisgidulh sigudta nimarlh nibidlak zutra ha ana lasigudtun
ulabzutrun la`qabil minaihun uqarqil ‘šbiqinun urmia šiha utazha lkulhun kd `puq
mn binataihun haizak šiha d napšaihun ništahkun uništinun kulhun almia
haza amrit lahai unihuia d lbnai aprišit uazlit binataihun hinun alanpai napqia
uamria ata maria d alaha umara d kulh alma hadin šibiahia uruha d minaihun hadia
uamria ata huilan riša d kulh alma uruha u‘it rba taga mn rišaihun šqal hinun
ušibiahia qudaimai sagdia sigudta uamrilh qabil sigudta uqabil minan zutra ana
haza amarlun lruha ušibiahia kulhun ana lahuit nasib šura ulamkadib šuta
d abahata paqduia uminilh d abahath zarzuia bhun kd haizin šimat ruha lšibiahia
amralun gabra lahua minan ulahuat šuta mn šutaikun ‘urbana litlh minaikun
ulahauia br šutaikun ušuta d mn lbr h` udilh d nukraia d hašta šabišth ula‘štabiš

hinila hab nikbuš ‘lh̲ raza ‘Tak braza niligTia hinun mištaiin bzipa minai
uana zipna minaihun umištaiin buhukumta uana hakimna mn kulhun hdar ‘tibiun
kulhun uiadia d̲ minpaq napiqna minaihun uamria ‘štaiilan mn šutak dakita
uzmurlan mn zmarak šania malalit bqalai dakia uzamarna mn zmarai šania zamarna
d̲ šanai minh̲ mn alma bšutai bisima mištaiina d̲ basima mn kulh̲ alma `urbana d̲ kadba
litbh̲ zimrit uqarqiltinun ugunian rmit lkulhun ‘štaiit bhittinun uladma
zmarai lzmarun uladma šutai lšutaihun qamit mn binataihun ugunian lkulhun rmit
mihag hag ainaihun mišhaq šahaq daiuia kulhun ahkit abkitinun u‘hka
šibqit ‘lauaihun lkulhun qamit šabiqtinun uadit mn binataihun mn lbuša
dakia d̲ hbala `tbia uatia minh̲ riha d̲ asruta azlit lbuša dakia lilbuša dakia
d̲ abahatai ‘hablia lbuša dakia d̲ anin škinabh̲ d̲ hbala uriha saina šanai uSautun
d̲ ahai basima `lh̲ hinun qaimia uraza kabšia ‘lh̲ lbušai pura nasbia ‘lai uamria
bmahu ninsbia lšurbta haza unasqa mn alma bharba hinun lhdadia amria hinun hirba
lamaTilun hinila bnura ninsbun unasqa lhaza šurubta hin nura lamaTialun bmia
ninsibanun unasqa lhaza šurubta uamra ruha hab ninTar qala amria malakia
umitmalkia šibiahia k̲d̲ hirba unura umia ninsbh̲ lalma lriša d̲ haza šurubta alma
nihuia akuath̲ haizak amria d̲ ninsib mn himara hazin uninTar bit ginzan hinila
lamaTilun haizak nsab mn himara d̲ alma d̲ nTar bit ginzan d̲ alma minh̲ nihuia šru
hirba unsib `lan hatam hiia iadia mahu d̲ hauia haka d̲ ‘lan dilan mithašbia
ulmirpas zapa d̲ aina ata manda d̲ hiia uaitia ziua uaitia ‘šata haita qadmaita
unhura mn bit hiia lhibil lbušia ziua utkasia ziua nhura uqnas qnasa qudam hirba
unišmata ‘lan shid bqala d̲ guaria tlata haiman bšuma bmanda d̲ hiia qudam hirba
npaq hibil ulaiadin šibiahia d̲ mn haka npaq urma dirka utriS kudka lahia d̲ haka
šbiq balbuša d̲ hiia d̲ hua binataihun hua ruaha lruhia ulnišmata d̲ gubria
basimia balma hazin hualun laupa lbit hiia ušauilun manda d̲ hiia Tabuta
d̲ lgaT uašar šumaihun uminiltaihun d̲ gubria `lan d̲ gubria `lan tlata haizak npal
hirba balma upaqdia manda d̲ hiia lšitil d̲ ainak rmia lanuš brak d̲ hu ahuk zuTa
ullbuša d̲ ‘šata haita d̲ qaimitubh̲ d̲ ‘zal ‘iašria lhibil b‘ndruna hadta uana ligal
atina luataikun mn hirba d̲ šibiahia latidihlun udahalta uziuihta latihuilkun
uabatar halin ha ana atina luataikun mn hirba d̲ šibiahia latidihlun udahalta
uziuihta latihuilkun uabatar halin ha ana atina luataikun ana uainai d̲ hiia triSa
`lauaikun d̲ lbuša d̲ hiia d̲ `hablkun kasitinkun ha ana luataikun ana kul zban
d̲ tibunan taškunan kul zban d̲ tiqrulan ana `ninkun uminaikun larahiqna
halin pugdama amarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia lšitil kušTa pšaT minaihun uamarlh̲ hibil
lšitil ligal abatar dilh̲ ata anuš abatrak nitia ukulhin nišmata d̲ bhiria zidqa
d̲ auud bhiia unpaq qudamak nitun b`uhra d̲ anin npaqnabh̲ d̲ manda d̲ hiia traSlun
ulaiadin ruha ušibiahia npaq urmu hirba balma ulgubria ‘lin tlata hirba lamaTilun
aminTul manda d̲ hiia d̲ hua luataihun abatar d̲ nihuta huat balma hazin mlakia
d̲ mištalTia lrugza hazin d̲ gbria `lan dna bziuahun uqaimia balma hazin uazil
amarlh̲ l`il rba ulruha ha d̲ gubria `lan d̲ nihuta uqaimia bziuaihun d̲ napšaihun
hirba lamTanhun haizak šibiahia ‘nsib mn himara d̲ alma d̲ hua bit ginzaihun nTar
luataihun mn bnh̲ d̲ ram urud d̲ adam d̲ minaihun nitiaiar bnia anaša gubria ‘lan
d̲ nihuia uqaimia bziuaihun balma ulamaTia b`daihun `lauaihun tum lgaT mn trin trin
d̲ alma urigzat ruha u`il rba uamarlun lmlakia d̲ mpaqdia lrugza uatarlh̲
uamarlh̲ `l dan`il mlaka d̲ mšalaT lnura d̲ rmia iaqdana balma kulh̲ `Tak bnura niqum
urmu bnura balma ata manda d̲ hiia uqam luataihun d̲ gubria `lan unura lamTatinun
abatar d̲ nihuta huat balma hazin d̲ gubria `lin tlata d̲ nihuia uqaiamin balma
hazin ulamaTia
b`daihun `lauaihun uazil mlakia `lin d̲ mšalTia lrugza uamarlh̲ lalahun gubria `lin
d̲ nihuia bziuaihun uqaimia balma hazin ulamaTia b`daihun tum `nsib mn himara
d̲ alma hazin unTar luataihun bit ginzaihun ušumaihun d̲ šurbai ušarhab‘il d̲ br
d̲ adam d̲ minaihun `tiaiar alma uata manda d̲ hiia ha napqia ušitil basima malik
milkia Tabia ualbušia lbuša basima malik milkia Tabia ualbušia lbuša basima

ḏ ziua ukasiia `uSTula ḏ nhura uziua `tahzia bkul alma uapqia b`uhra ḏ hibil azalbẖ
uašria bdukta ḏ hibil ḏ šribẖ ulaupa ‘l nišmata triS lbit hiia ḏ litbẖ psaqa
ušibqia lanuš bilbuša hazin rba ḏ ahia darbẖ upaqduia ahẖ lanuš uzarzuia
abahatẖ uamarlẖ manda ḏ hiia lanuš latidihlun latizha ulatitahzula ulanihuia
amrit balhudai šibqun balma hazin ḏ bišia ḏ ligal atina luatak ana qaiamna hrigna
balbušia ulat ulbar mahmislẖ utirat lamihmislẖ btirat mitraiana balhudai hazin
qaiimna uamarna man nasibla lbišuta ḏ alma hazin kul ahai haka hun luat uana
luataihun rbit hakuat bra ḏ abahatẖ rabiuia uahai qašišia mnasbilẖ urbit
binataihun hinun amria uhinun šamia balma hazin ḏ bišia hamblia hašta ana lhudai
mahu abad balma hazin ḏ bišia mitlid minilẖ ana mitlia lnapšia rmit uamarna ligria
lhaka man atinkun ldur bišia man asqan qaiamna balbuša ḏ ahai ḏ hiia `hablun
haizak amarna hazin alma lmahu sagia bmahu radia mn qbal ahai haka hun lalmia
lahia qrit ulašaiiltinun lšiqlit ainai usakinalẖ ‘l alma kula šumia lkukbia
ḏ dnihia bgauia ulšamiš ulsira ulmalakia ḏ mšalTia bšumia uap barqa mšalTia
ulasra utrin maluašia ḏ sagibun šamiš usira masgibun malakia hazin mšalTia
lmia ulziqa ulnura ularqa ḏ lmahu smika ulTuria uliamamia piria u`mbia u`lania
man nimarlẖ `lauaihun umna hun ulmahu smikia ulmahu qaimia ulhilpa hazin
ḏ dahna bnihgia ularba mlakia ḏ nagdilẖ ulhilpa hurintin ḏ dahna blilia nagdilẖ
mlakia lhdadia ladamia ulhilpa hai ḏ dahna b‘mama unahra umanhar ubnia anašia
ulamasqia nhuraihun lbit hiia mn riš briš l‘bad umibad ḏ bnia anaša ‘it ḏ hadibẖ
u`it ḏ `it ḏ nsisbia ualma uamria alma dina iuma ualma hua Sipra hazin hilpa
hurintin ḏ dahna blilia `it ḏ hadibia u`it ḏ nsisbia ubakibẖ uamria alma hua lilia
ualma ḏ dina sira halin kukbia ḏ qaimia bšumia lilia u‘umama mirba ḏ radin hadria
umitapkia bgauẖ ḏ ‘šumia ukauna litlun bihda dukta Tabuta lbnia anaša
lamšauin lhad mimaskinilẖ ulhad miatrilẖ husrana mšauia lkul br anaša abda
mšauila abda haka naplilun lnišmata ḏ bnia anaša umašiTilun unaklibun bnikla
hauia minaihun liuma batraia msakrilun lnišmata ana k̲ḏ hzaitẖ lalman ḏ hazin
`bid zahit u`tazihit uqumtai ḏ mitiha `tgabar ulibai aiil gunahia u`qbai aiil
rtitia ulstuarun lakainẖ haizin mitraiina uamarna ḏ ahia qašišia šibqun
balma hazin ḏ bišia ulatin ulamparqilia umn ka umanda ḏ hiia amarlẖ ana
atina luatak bnapšia umitqaiamna lahai umitrahamna ḏ latin ulamparqilẖ mn ka
ḏ qaiamna ana balhudia balbuša ḏ ahai šbaq ‘lẖ balma hazin ušrun bišia lbiš
mithašbia ‘lai šamana ḏ qarin lmlakia ḏ lrugza mšalTia hiia bnpiš ‘tiatar ubnia
anaša bnpiš hun ba bšuta ḏ hiia nukraiia mištaiin ušuta ḏ gubria `lin tlata midnan
u‘lan dilan qaimia umašiTilun balma hazin ḏ napša bihdadia mitmalkẖ `lai
ulabatrai bnapšaihun ulamaTialun ‘lai ana k̲ḏ raza kibšia ‘lai u‘l lbušia
ḏ qaiminabẖ uana ainai lman sakia uruhSana `l lman nihuilia msakinalẖ lmanda
ḏ hiia ḏ nitia unihuilia simaka balma hazin mn bišia nipirqia hakuat ḏ lahai
parqinan mn hirba unura ḏ bišia ḏ alma hazin uana anuš zuTa šnia huit lšnia ḏ ahai
hun ana haka iatirna ana ḏ `lauaihun ḏ huat batraiun balma hazin ulau tum ḏ ahai
balma hazin hinun bišia ‘lai mithašbia ullbuša ḏ qaiaminabẖ unTirnabia ḏ hinun
bišia ḏ snun qala ḏ hiia man ḏ qria balma hazin hua ḏ hinun lhdadia amria balma
ḏ napšan qala ḏ hiia laniqrun ḏ nihuia dilan uqrun lmlakia rugza upaqid ḏ `hut ltibil
arqa uamar lnu bnia kauila qria uautib nangaria azal gTur arzia mn arqa libnan
ušahia mn Tura ḏ iatura uamarlẖ ḏ autib nangaria ubnia kauila ulguT mn kul trin
zikra uniqubta urmibẖ bqubta ḏ šauita ḏ alma ḏ pasqinalẖ ulriša ḏ gubria `lin tlata
‘l lbuša hazin ḏ qaiminabẖ unasbia minaihun balma hazin mn qbal šibiahia amria
‘Tak nasqinun mn alma hazin u‘niš šumaihun ušutaihun lanidkar ušutihun ‘niš
lanišama hinun uiadia bišia maria ḏ baita ḏ ana balhudai qaiamna uraza lbišia
kabšia ‘lai mn iuma ḏ ahai šibqun zaina rmun uminai dilia qraba abdia ukulium
ukuliuma ariqna minaihun mn qbal ḏ balhudai qaiamna balma hazin uainai lmanda
ḏ hiia msakia ḏ amarlẖ ligal atina luatak ulahai mitraiina ḏ lamalkilẖ `lai
ulamidnilẖ `lai ana kulium ainai saika l`uhra ḏ ahai azilbẖ ulšbila ḏ manda ḏ hiia

atibia umistakina uhazina baba d̲ ‘šumia pta ‘tahziat anana d̲ ziua unhura kul alma d̲ hiziuia dhil uana k̲d̲ hzaita lanana d̲ nhura d̲ manda d̲ hiia bgauh̲ atibh̲ ana anuš zuTa siptai pirTit ‘l marh̲ d̲ baita qumtai d̲ gbibh̲ `tmihtat ulibai d̲ aiil gunahia smik `l dukth̲ d̲ `qbai d̲ raiit qam `l `stuarh̲ uata manda d̲ hiia qralia uamarlia ‘nuš zuTa mahu haqt umahu zhit umahu `tazhat qumtak alma `tgabat ulibak alma aiil gunahia uligrak alma rat mn `stauarun hda amarna uhda dahilna d̲ `mar qudamia d̲ manda d̲ hiia umanda d̲ hiia amarlh̲ ‘nuš zuTa minai dilia latidhul mn qbal d̲ šarhazta huatalak balma hazin ana atit u‘iaprišak ulatidhul mn bišia d̲ alma hazin umn Tupania mia hazin ‘l rišak dilak mitnasbia hakuat d̲ `l ahak hirba unura rmu `lauaihun uhirba unura lamTinhun uap `lak dilak Tupania mia lamaTilak `iaitilak ziua unhura d̲ adiaura nihuilak uniqum luatak unihuia hailak `lauaihun unihuia d̲ mihuia dmutak `lan hakuat trin d̲ minak npaq umn hazin lbuša d̲ azal lbit hiia k̲d̲ bziua udmuta la‘huia damia lhibil ušitil uanuš unihuia d̲ amria bišia d̲ alma hazin gubria tlata balma hinun ulau gubria hinun hin`la ziua unhura hu dmuth̲ mhauia balma hazin luat ‘nuš zuTa d̲ qaiim balhudh̲ balma hazin uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia ata rgalilak `l razia sainia d̲ alma hazin d̲ hzit udhilt minaihun `l ‘šumia d̲ ngida u`l kukbia d̲ dnihia d̲ hinun bgauh̲ maSmia d̲ ‘šumia bmia u‘šata haita u‘šata ‘kalta shiTiba kukbia bgaua b‘šata ‘kalta maSmia bhaila d̲ ‘šata haita d̲ ‘šuma shiTiba uasgu halin hinun asra utrin maluašia d̲ šibiahia d̲ šamiš sagibhun hinun ‘u ptahil kukbia halin lašauia sagia lšamiš usira lahualun hšuka d̲ hauia k̲d̲ šamiš arib usira dahna ptahil hašib ‘l ‘šata d̲ h‘ hšuka d̲ nihuia lilia unihuia ‘umama ‘l hušbana uminiana d̲ bnia anaša lminian šnia uiahria uiumia ha glitilak `l ziqa u`l mia u`l trin `marlak d̲ mina `tinSib mn haila d̲ mia u‘šata ‘kalta ‘hab ltrin mlakia mdabrania d̲ alma hazin d̲ mšalTia ‘l mia umiTra umšalTia ‘l barda u‘l Surpana u‘l kupna u‘l siba mn atutia alahun d̲ mpaqdilhun abdia `l nura `marlak mn kinth̲ d̲ manu huit umanu gabra d̲ niSbia ptahil hu niSubta hin‘la mindam pira ‘mba u‘lana minaihun huat h‘ mn širša d̲ pira u`mba u`lana huat minaihun `tbiriat lmiklinhun u`l mia `marlak d̲ mna hun hiia u‘šata haita huat mn bit hiia ‘tinSib ulhaka aitinhun ‘šata haita šnat umia tma ulanahria b`da d̲ ptahil gabra d̲ abuia šadria mibnia ‘šumia uarqa hu abad bma d̲ abuia paqdia u`ubadia uqiriata d̲ qra b`dia nitqaiman hazin raza d̲ ‘šumia glitilak `galilak `l raza d̲ arqa ha arqa mia siauia h` haka hun abatar d̲ raza hai hua `galilak ata ptahil hu umlakia d̲ minh̲ asgia `l mia siauia amar `misia larqa utihuia arqa uqaiim ptahil mithašab bnapšia bma d̲ abuia paqdia umalalat ruha h` umalakia d̲ minh̲ uamrilh̲ lptahil akuat d̲ rqiha ngadth̲ amar lmia halin tihuia arqa uamarlhun lmlakia ana hazin ab paqdan `lh̲ lmibda tum šapir d̲ anatun amartulia unsab mn ‘šata haita tum nsib mn lbuša d̲ lbiš urma bmia siauia umisiat arqa tibil ugzarba Tura ubza iamamia ubiamamia šauia nunia zan zan ubarqa ubTuria šauia piria `mbia u`lania ub`lania Tuna nasbia uhauia bazrunia zan zan uqda barqa uhun kul barqa dhun bazrunia uqaimia urauzibh̲ barqa tibil uTuna Tainia uhauia lmiklaihun uhauia lmištiaihun ušauia hiua bira zan zan zakra unuqubta ušauia Sipar gadpa uqaimia raiia r‘ia ruha umlakia d̲ minh̲ laiadin lman ‘štauia akilun uamarla ptahil lruha umlakia d̲ mana ‘štauia dmutia dilia zakra udmuta dilak nuqubta `l zakra niqrunh̲ adam lniqubta niqrila haua `bad dmutaiun u`iaqam laiada ruha d̲ ptahil abatur abuia paqdia `lauaihun `l adam uhaua zauh̲ huat arqa l`il umia siauia hauia latutia arqa kul abad ptahil umia labasmia uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia lanuš zuTa ana k̲d̲ hiia lhaka šadrun kin ana iadana d̲ mia haka labasmia uamrit qudam hiia rbia d̲ alma hazin d̲ mšadritulh̲ `lh̲ lmiqria qala d̲ hiia d̲ nišamun unhaiun lbit hiia nisqun mia labasmia d̲ ništun bnia anaša unihiun ušuta haza d̲ hiia nišmun uamrilh̲ hiia rbia lmindam d̲ hiia qum anat briš mia ‘zil ungad nigda d̲ mia hiia gaTinia unizlun uniplun bmia tahmia umia nisqun nibismun uništun bnia anaša unihun akuat hiia rbia amar ltaur`il `utra abad ngad nigda d̲ mia gaTinia unpal btibil bmia labasmia umia d̲ tibil bsum d̲ ništun bnia anaša unibismun ‘lauaihun

uamarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia lanuš zuTa lraza d̲ ruha umlakia d̲ alma hazin ‘šata d̲ amribh̲
ulašamibh̲ lbr mn ‘šata ‘kilta d̲ bh̲ mribh̲ ubh̲ nišamibh̲ d̲ anatun haka niqaiminkun
manda d̲ hiia unaprišinkun manda d̲ hiia mn alma hazin d̲ hšuka anat adit
binataihun nsabtia minaihun l‘šata haita d̲ mlabašbia d̲ lamriba ulašamiba uasiq
ldukth̲ ldaura taqna ‘šabaqtinun b‘šata `kilta d̲ minh̲ ‘tiqrun had lbuša šibqit
`lauaihun lhad minaihun puria d̲ ptahil maTia d̲ niqmun unanhirun balma d̲ lanibTul
ušbaqtia ‘l mn qbal hin hazin ziua lašibqit ‘lh̲ unsabtia minh̲ akuat d̲ mn ahh̲
kulhun nisbit kbar alma hazin bTil hun kulh̲ hšuka alma lkimSat almia hazin
qritia d̲ qra ptahil ušauia d̲ hdirlia ltibil kulh̲ bira h` d̲ šahalta ata unaplibia
hin haizin lašauilh̲ ltibil arqa kulh̲ sliq ulabad ulamibad ula‘tkašrat ha hzia
‘nuš zuTa glitilak lraza d̲ bišia d̲ alma hazin d̲ hzit udhilt minaiun d̲ hzat
u`tazihat minaiun glitilak lraza d̲ šumia uarqa glitalak ‘l raza d̲ kulh̲ `bad
umibid d̲ ‘tbia balma aprištak ‘lauaiun ‘habilak ziua unhura d̲ nihuia luatak
balbuša hanath̲ qadmaiia d̲ ‘hablkun mn bit hiia hašta ‘lak dilak ‘tnaTar d̲ bišia
`lh̲ mitkabšia d̲ ninsabunh̲ ulamaTia b`daihun d̲ ninsabunin ha aTpilak ziua lziua
uaTpilak nhura lnhura d̲ nihuia luatak bdmutak d̲ gubria `lin trin ahak d̲ mn luatak
npaq lbit hiia azal ha auzipilak hailak lhailak aTpilak hukumta lhukumta u`ruta
usibruta ha `hablak d̲ mimarbun umištmabun ha ana azilna lbit hiia utum atina
u‘parqak mn bišia umn haTia d̲ alma hazin uaina d̲ hiia titriS `lak ulgubria
kšiTia umhaimnia ubasimia d̲ šutak šamin ‘parqak mn hirba unura uTupania mia
u`iasqak bdirka d̲ hibil zadiqa udšitil manda d̲ hiia d̲ nisqun mn alma hazin d̲ bišia
halin pugdamia amarlh̲ manda d̲ hiia ‘l anuš zuTa bria ukušTa ‘hablh̲ unpaq uazal
lbit hiia u‘tib bškinth̲ d̲ abuia uainaihun triS ldilun haizak qam anuš bhaduta
d̲ hadia bziua unhura d̲ hiia `hablh̲ bhaila d̲ abuia paqdh̲ udna bziuh̲ unhurh̲ d̲ bh̲ balma
hazin sakin lmaria d̲ baita d̲ lbiš mithašbia ‘lauaihun lgubria tlata ‘lin ullbuša
d̲ qaiminabh̲ d̲ dnihia balma hazin hinun šibiahia hazin amria lhdadia d̲ gubria
`lin la`tahzulan midhal dhil minan `u miqam aqam `u `tiksun minan ula`tahzulan
hašta ‘tahzulan bziuahun d̲ npaš ubanhuraihun d̲ kabir hašta ha dnihia uqaimia
bziuh̲ unhurh̲ d̲ npiš uasgia mn k̲d̲ aha hun hirbia unura `tnisbat `lauaihun
ulamTatinun hašta ‘tkanu d̲ nihuia uqaimia bnapšaihun uamria šibiahia laška
bhailaihun d̲ gubria `lan mn qbal d̲ napša minan ušbiq ‘lauaiun Tupania mia lamTunun
uamria bhirba uiaqdana nisqinun lamaTia b`daihun d̲ nasqunun uqaiamin hiia
bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun ‘ubadia uzakia hibil ušitil uanuš uzkia ama
d̲ naSuraiia utarmidia umandaiia d̲ ašar lšumak ulrušumaiun ušum hiia
qadmaiia d̲ ‘tiršim lšuma umimra d̲ iauar ziua ašar uhiia zakin
sa

bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia triS šumaihun ‘l
. ulab . u`l `m
. u`l `m hurintia . u`l
zauai . u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia
. u‘l šitlai
. u`l
abahatai

.

šabiq haTaiia nihuilun . luat ‘utria rurbania bnia nhura anuš ana rba br šitil
rba br adam rba br malkia rurbania d̲ `qara br atra d̲ nhura br šabata d̲ kulh̲
madihta ligria lhaka lia darban usqan batar ziu d̲ npaš iatibna umitiarina uamarna
umistamikna hazina lalma hazin l‘šumia ularqa ulšamiš ulsira ulkukbia zaqpa
umanzalh̲ d̲ šumia ulnhura d̲ qaiambia ulhaila d̲ qaiim bgauai bhailai d̲ manu qaimin
ubanhura d̲ manu nahria pihtit ainai uarimat gbinai mistakina hazina hda kanuna
rba d̲ ziua d̲ mkanan umatna `l iad malakia unagdilh̲ ltrisar mlakia bTura d̲ hšuka
atutia tatura rba d̲ ziua umasqin umulilh̲ lbabia d̲ iasana dukta d̲ traSlia kursia
lban šumia uarqa tum pihtit aina uarimat gbinai mistakina hazin had baba rba
d̲ bun ptia qaimin ziuia alip alip liaminai uruban ruban lsmalh̲ npiq had ziua mn bit
hiia d̲ hauia ziua lhad arbin utrin bdaurbia uana k̲d̲ hzaith̲ lhanath̲ ziua ritit
qumat ‘štarhzalia uligria ‘l ‘stuarai lakainila umistahapna unapilna lqudamia
haizak qam hda malaka d̲ ziua qudamia uligTan bpras iaminai umtariS umaqimlia
lqudamia uamarlh̲ ata anuš rba br šitil rba br adam rba br malkia rurbania d̲ bit
`qara br atra d̲ nhura br šabata d̲ kulh̲ madihta ata uglilain lhiia rbia haka kdibia
umatnia bTura rba d̲ mdabrana d̲ asga uata glilan lšumia haza d̲ qru lbnia anaša
šumia ulat ulahuat šumia hinila arpilia hinun d̲ škin abatur bhailh̲ ubšumia d̲ ban
šumia uarqa ata ‘galilak ‘l kukbia d̲ maSumibia trisar hinun mlakia minhun
mšalTia lmadnahata d̲ šumia uarqa umanu mšalTia ‘šiul ulhšuka akuat d̲ haka
atinun ap hatam uaitinun uata `galilak larqa haza d̲ qru bnia anaša uluat arba
arqa hinila mia hinun d̲ huš iama rba d̲ iahbia šna bšna uiahra biahra mišhal
šahlia umidab daiuia udirkia lbnia anaša mšauia uata ‘glilak lhilpa hazin
d̲ dahna bnihga u`it d̲ hadibh̲ u`it d̲ ‘nsisbia riša hu nhura dakia gabra ptula tangara
gTir hliS umzaraz qaiambh̲ b`dana rba d̲ sriqia rba d̲ ziua traSbia uašlia
d̲ nhura rmibia unagidilh̲ trisar mlakia umapqilh̲ bTura d̲ hšuka atutia tatura rba
d̲ ziua masqilh̲ umaulilh̲ lbaba rba d̲ iasana dukta d̲ traSlia kursia lbab šumia lban
šumia uarqa uata ‘galilak lhilpa d̲ dahna blilia rišia hu mia dakiia gabra ptula
tangara gTar hliS umzaraz uqaiambia b`dana rba d̲ sriqia rba d̲ ziua d̲ traSlia
uašlia d̲ nhura rmibh̲ ungadilh̲ trisar malkia umapqilh̲ bTura d̲ hšuka umaulilh̲ lbaba
rba d̲ iasana dukta d̲ traSlia kursia lban šumia uarqa uata ‘galilak ahai halin
hinun bhiria zidqa d̲ haka btibil aitinun k̲d̲ kilaiun šalimlun mn alma hazin ltam
zalin baiin umaškin mn buta umn ginza d̲ hiia umn butun utušbihtun labšia ziua
umkasin nhura lbuš llbuš labšia unhura lnhura mkasin ahkia hadin sahqin
gaiia umitparpin uanin nimar uqaiamin hiia triSia bškinatun uhiia triSa
bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun ‘ubadia sa
. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania . a ata bTabu kušTa nhura d̲ masgia
lbit rahmia b bhira anat zakaia d̲ mqaimit bzaku kulh̲ šurubtak g gimra anat gmira
bhira d̲ muma litbia d dirka anat d̲ šalmania šbilh̲ d̲ saliq latar nhur h hiia anat
d̲ mn lalam d̲ asgit ušrit bilbab kšiTia u uailh̲ lman d̲ laniSitak ulanišimak
marai šabilh̲ bdaria d̲ rabut zmar z zaina anat d̲ šalmania šrara d̲ T`ia litbia h̲
hakimat ubasimat marai hukumta utušbihta malpatlun lkulhun rahmia šumak T

Tuba lman d̲ niSitak unišimak mara unasgia bdirkia mn abatrak i iuma anat d̲ haduta d̲ `blia umalia litbh̲ k klila anat d̲ zakuata d̲ triSit brišaihun d̲ minihria l lišana anat d̲ tušbihta d̲ kulium lhiia mšabatlun m mana anat qadmaia d̲ hiia banuk ubananuk n nhura anat d̲ kabiria d̲ asgit `tilh̲ lalma s sama anat d̲ masia kulhun rahmia šumak ‘ aina anat d̲ bhiria zidqa d̲ kulium lhiia sakia p pira anat d̲ basima Tama d̲ muma litbia S Sauta anat qadmaita niSubta d̲ mn bit hiia huat q qala anat qadmaia d̲ hiia mn kinianun qruk r rbaihun anat d̲ ganzibria d̲ hiia šalTuk lkul Sbu š šimuk mitia uhiun ušimuk kSiria ‘tapun t taibit lbhiria ušalmania d̲ šralun blibaihun kšiTia uhiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. a aiar ldaura d̲ n‘huia šrubia ulibai mn bhiria bhir b bhira ana ‘iasgia briha d̲ hiia d̲ nikanpin g gabra ana nukraia d̲ lnaSuraiia Tabia garbun unadkar `lai qudam hiia urahim nihuilia bahad `da d dinan aba Taba d̲ qudam hiia zakaiia h hu hatma d̲ tibil pihtit sarit bgaua kul Sbu `utria sarit d̲ šihia ldaura taqna u uarda ana br bhiria d̲ hiia hzit uhiia hiziun z zauadai mn gabra nukraia d̲ hiia Sbubh̲ h̲ `tit binia Tabia d̲ hu gabra nukraia rhim T Tabuta lTabia atatalun haduta lgbar kšiT i iura d̲ hiia uk̲d̲ nišmata mn bithiia huat k kbar ‘lai ziua d̲ hiia unhura d̲ hiia lahsar l libai lhiia barik d̲ nimaniun hiia bminianun m minaihun d̲ Tabia sarit d̲ hiia paqdun n nihrit banhuraihun mn nhuraihun auzap `lai s sama `lai ziua unhura rba lkulhun d̲ nihuilia simaka ` `nuta huatalun lhiia rbia lkulhun rahmia šumaiun p pumai lhiia barik d̲ minaiun bminianun S Satit qalaihun d̲ `utria ahai ainai `lauaihun tirSit q qamit bsigudta bsagia uhaila asgit luataihun atit r rišmun brušuma d̲ hiia šilmai unidbai paruanqai š šrara d̲ hiia ‘tgadalia qarnai brišai t tiabuta hauialun lhiia rbia lkulman d̲ brušuma d̲ hiia ‘tiršim Tabia ubhiria ušalmania d̲ šralun blibaihun kušTa uhiia zakin uzak‘ia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mrarab nhura šania . a atat marganita dakita d̲ anhirat lilbia haškia b bilmihuia ziua u‘tiatar nhura hua g gihkit lšibiahia lmahu hašib uabad d darit binataihun hinun šuba la‘dun ‘lai h hauialun Tabuta lbhiria d̲ hiia rhim u uailinun lšibiahia d̲ lbhiria lbiš mithašbia z ziua hu qadmaia nhura d̲ saka litlh̲ h̲ hiia hinun qadmaiia d̲ hiia d̲ mn laqadmia hun T Tubh̲ lman d̲ niSitak marai unasgia bdirkia mn abatrak i iura hu rba k̲d̲ nišimta mn bit hiia rbia atat k klila hu dakia d̲ traSlia lhibil bškinth̲ l libai lhiia baiia d̲ nibunan hiia bškinatun m mn iuma d̲ hibil ušitil niSban uaudiat nišmat latar nhur n nihuta anat qadmaita aminTul ldilak `utria nha s saria babia trisar bdirkia d̲ kušTa lasalqia ‘ ‘umqia d̲ naSiruta d̲ napša usaka litlia p pira hu basima Tama d̲ muma litbh̲ S Satit qala d̲ hiia batra sagia bit tušlima q qala d̲ ziua rba d̲ mamlil udariš bškinth̲ r rušuma hu dakia d̲ ‘tiršimbh̲ hiia bškinatun š šuta d̲ hiia šamana bškinatun d̲ hiia mištkin t tira hu basima nhura d̲ saka litlh̲ uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia . a arTil npaq rišaiia kilai d̲ minh̲ d̲ alma b baita lhurba qaiim uap qiniana lbizta g gunian d̲ biriata nihuilun lkulhun almia d damit lgupnia bišia d̲ piria litlun h haršia udugia hinun d̲ bnat anašia sakin lbiš u uailh̲ liuma biša d̲ mnaTarlun liahuTaiia balma z zarin aula haSdin huSada d̲ kadba h̲ hšuka mlia libaihun uainaihun saima ulanahra T T‘ia lgiTtinhun ulahazilh̲ latar nhur i iuma d̲ mnumbia hinun napšaihun nsisa rabtia k kulhun babia trisar bira d̲ lalam naTarlun l libaihun plaglun uhinun lnhura lasalqa m mlabšia bhaTaiia nišmata haTipia n napšaihun pihkit ‘lauaihun u‘nšaiun labaiia s sama d̲ gaTlia hinun d̲ bnat anašia gaTlia ‘ ‘umqa d̲ mia hinun d̲ mahduruniata d̲ mTaba p pumaihun mlilia kadba uainaihun lbišuta sakia S Sauia piraiun d̲ zaran bgauh̲ d̲ alma q qaimia lbr mn kušTa umšamšia lbr mn Tabuta r rahmia špur pagria uTlaniata d̲ mhaška š šakta uqamnta ml‘ia uqaimia napšaihun balma t tira d̲ muta d̲ hinun bnat anaša gaTla uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia ‘lkun qarina umaprišna uamarna gubria kšiTia umhaimnia hazaiia uprišaiia ‘tapriš mn alma d husrana d kulh šigša uT‘ia mlia bqadmaita aprištinkun lmalka d nhura d brin lalam almia uamarilkun lamia brikia d nhura d brik d buTlana litlun l‘utria uliardnia ulškinata d hinun šanin uminihrin tum `marlkun lalmia d hšuka ulma d bun d hinun sainia umdahlia dmutaihun lakašra lbr mn arqa d nhura ltit lbr mn arqa tibil timiaiit aitia lhah` arqa d hšuka aita badmu hanath d šanai umnakria mn arqa d nhura aminTul nukraiia hinun mn hdadia bkulhun sakia udmauata uaitia lhšuka bkiniana biša d napšia hšuka gahia uhabara Sadia uqadmaita ubatraita laiada hinila malka d nhura d iada upariš qadmaita ubatraita uma d huat uma d mihuia baiia u‘da upriš d aitilh lbiš ulaSabia d nihTibh akuat d amar latihTibh ubaldbabia alma d mn napšia haTia ukiniana biša aith mn qudam ulalam almia ualma d hšuka napša usaka amar npiš uamuq daura d biš uiamamaihun bauar la`hab batra d litlun saka ldauraihun umn hdadia hauia malkutun arqaihun mia siauia uraumaihun hšuka haška mn mia siauia gbil unpaq malka d hšuka bkianiana biša d napšia urba u‘traurab u‘tgabar uqra ušarhib alip alip šurbata bišata d lasaka uruban ruban qiriata saina d litbaihun miniana u‘traurab u‘tnapaš hšuka bsahria udaiuia ušidia uruhia humria u`kuria uprikia upatikria uarkunia umlakia unalia uniulia upigia upalgia ulaTabia ulihania ugudultania usaTana dmauata saina d hšuka d gaunia gaunia uznia znia zikria uniqubta d hšuka haška ‘kumia uTupšania umridia urgizia uzidania uzihirania mridia sakla sariia undidia SiSia uzapria u`it minaihun haršia Trušia Tmuria tahmia algia udugia ugungia pigia šgišia d laiadita `it minaihun haSipia hamimia taqipia haripia urugzania raktania bnia zma unura npihta u‘šata ‘kilta u‘it minaihun harašia uzapania ukadabia udagalia uhaTipia unkilia ukaSumia ukaldaiia unahšia ardiklia hinun d klhin bišauata mramiata d aqta gaTla giTla ušdia zma d lahaisuta ularahmuta d `umania hinun d kulhun sainata uiadin lišana d lasaka uparšia d qudam anpaihun ubdmu dmu aitinhun u`it minaihun d šaipia mišap lkarsauatun u‘it d mia haršia u‘iit minaihun d mipra pahria u`it minaihun d ligria napšia ‘tlun badmu rihšia rihšia d arqa u`it minaihun d madaria ukakia ušinia ‘tlaihun bpumaihun uTama d `lanun zihira umrara uruTbaihun napTa uqira hahu malka d hšuka simlia kulhun dmauata d bnia alma rišia d aria ugišmh d tanina uganpia d nišria uganba d riqa u`dh uligrh laTabia sagia urahiš šaiip upahra qadha qahda haSip ugazim nahim miabib mramiz ušaraq ukulhun lišania d alma iadalun lskil šgiš umhašabata mpakrin uqadmaita ubatraita laiada ubkulhun almia iada mahu d hauia uaitia bsakia sakia d mraurba mn kulhun almia ugabir unpiš mn kulhun umhaial mn kulhun qiriata utaqip minaihun kd baiia kasia napšia minaihun ulanihzunh uiada bliba d hahu d qaiam qudamia kd arqin minh šurbath bminilth matilun udaiuia d Sauia Samar qaiim qudamia kd baiia mata qumtia kd baiia mzuTar napšia umaiit umapiq handaria u‘tlia d gubria u‘nšia kd ragiš bkulhun razia ragiz bqalh ubminilth btihh ubnišmh bainh ubpumh ub`dh uligrh btuquph ubzihiria brugzia ubmimria bdahalta bhauqa bziuihta brtitia bnihimta zahin kulhun alma d hšuka dmuth saina ugišmh zapur uparSupa `pik sumka d sipth d pumh ma uarbin uarba alpia parsia bhbilh d pumh parzla bašil uglala btihia mitharka mišqal ainh mištarhizia Turia blihšia d spihata paqata mizdaranbia haš bnapšia u‘timlik blibh sakla u‘thašab bruiania nkila usaq uhzinun lalmia d hšuka d napša usaka litlun unsab rbuta u‘taram l‘il mn kulhun uamar miaka d rab minai miaka d haila minai mSia miaka d rab minai unpiš uiatir mn kulhun almia miaka d mikla Turia bhimSia dmuth dma lamitaška ‘u ‘ka d gabir minai `qum bdilh `pdar `qum `ptar bdilh uhzia haila d minai hua u`tiksia uhzinun lalmia d nhura mn ruhqa lmiSria d hšuka unhura kd nura d lriš Turia ramia kd kukbia d Sahmia brqiha badmu ziuh d šamiš napiq uatia mn madna ukd sira btuqnh uhuziia lSihta d hah` arqa d nhura aiak šragia iaqidata d mkasia bmania d azgauaita lbr minihra haš bnapšia urgaz brugzia u‘tnahaz bgabaruath uamar

alma hazin `hauian limalia hazin daura d hšuka d Sauth saina umdahlia `kilth mia
siauia uzihmita `lh `siq lhaza arqa nahirta umn malka `bid qraba `sab taga
u‘siq brišia u‘huia malka d rauma u‘umqa uamar ‘u lbuša hu ‘libšia ‘u mikla hu ‘klh
‘u mištia hu ‘štiia ‘u baita hu ‘pish `u biniana hu `hamblia `u daura hu `darbia
`u mindam hu d minai dilia gabir minh rmh tigra `qad bnurh uhambib bruianh
u‘štahan brugzia uba d niklinun lkulhun almia u`lai `uhrath šgišan ušbilh
mapakria udirkia `qilh hinila lmirpas zapa d aina maTia l`il sapa ualma ltaumia
titaiia d hšuka ‘lh bmardita d iuma bma d šnia d azal umaTia ukd hzia lhah` dmuta
zgagta ba d nitarim unisaq mn habara gahia Sidia luat hah` dmuta nahirth ulaška
baba d niul bgauh ula`uhra d azalbh ulamasqana d nisqubh aminTul d hak dmuta
d hza brauma hu b‘umqa akuat bnia anaša uhiuaniata ubiriata d lamSan d nisqun
lrauma d šumia u‘štahan u‘štagar akuat aria šihana d ‘l gizria ulašalia ulanahia
bdaura d napšia uqra Snap uiabib bqalh ualmia d nhura d šimun qalh uhiziuia
ldmuth d daiua tahmia uknap gunda napla haq uhaš bihdadia akuat pagra d mn hda
handama zha uzaimia akuat mania d nhaša haizak npaq qalh mn qudam malka rama
d nhura uamarlun lalmia d nhura ulškinata d `utria nha u‘tab bškinatkun
latihiqun mn rugza d daiua tahmia biša d rgaz brugzia bkana d napšia nistar
nistar bkana d napšia ukulhin mhašabath baTlan baTlan mhašabath u`bidath
lamitqaiman hiia liadan uhiia lsabran umšabin hiia uhiia zakin
sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia . haza h‘ aprašta ugalalta d ‘tgalaliun lgubria prišaiia
d apraš mn tibil umn ‘bidatun mašiTania hzun d `marlkun lalmia d nhura ulma d bgauaihun
uaprištinkun lalmia d hšuka ulqiriatun amarlkun lmalka rama d nhura d hailh npiš
ugabir usika litlh larqa brikta ul`utria umalakia d bgauh d hinun bmulh `laia
lbar mn tibil bgirba dukta d atian d atin minh mia hiia d bgauaihun rauzia kulhun
almia uata ziua lšamiš utuqna lsira uSahamta lkukbia uSauta lnura uatia minh aiar
stana uriha basima malka d kulhun ziqia ubgauh haiin ubasmin kulhun almia `u had
iuma aiar ziqa lanašim maita udaika kulhin nišmata d `it btibil `u amritun
d aiar stana atia bgauh barda urugza ‘iaprišinkun d lau mn arqa d nhura qatia
hinila arqa `laita d tibil agzarbh Turia napšia uatia talga ubarda unapil
‘lauaihun usitua ugaiTa lapašar uatia minh ‘stana unašim ‘lh uatia hak barda
abihdia ziqa akuat ‘niš d qaiam atutia šlanda sarita uatia hak riha abihdia ziqia
ukukbia umaluašia bbab girbia lahadrh ulamasgin aminTul d laiit hatam mindam
d hašuk d baiia lanhuria akuat malka d arqa d mšadir haila latrh d rahiq minh
aminTul d halin manhirania balma hazin d mpaqdia lnhuria lau ziua dilun hu ualmia
kulhun lgirbia `laia qarilh ltimia šapila qarilh aminTul d almia d hšuka bšapala
hinun btimia uiama rba d rbita `hadirlh btibil kulh lbar mn baba d girbia
d laith liška d pasiqlia lmia hiia mn atra d nhura ukulhun almia sahdin d mia
hiia mn atutia kursia d alaha d qatia ulaqaimia lmahu d mamlil pumaihun halin ziqia
hurinia uhamimia d hadria binia šuria unapqia binia babia našmia lrbita aminTul
d rbita hamima umia hamimia uTuria titaiia napiq tihuia d rbita umpaširlh
ltalgun aminTul d lhda mqarba rbita lalmia d hšuka ulmia siauia aminTul lhad
`kura d `kumia d hinun mia siauia umia hiia qalia hinun d ‘utbun špita kulhun
iamamia d napilbun u‘niš minaihun lašatia hakuat hak d amar mia siauia hinun
d rahtia ubašlia umitapkia d šatia minaihun maiit ukul d darikbun mitiqlia lika d marha
brihaiun `lh d minaihun hua uhalin mšaria mpalgia btibil ukulman d bmšara
`laita hu Shara uman d bšpala aitinun ‘kumia hinun usniia dmutaihun akuat daiuia
ukulman d ‘uSria parišlh iada d almia d nhura haka aitinun ulau brqiha hinun kd
baTla šumh uarqa haka hauia dauraiun aminTul d atra d malka d nhura lahua kd d lahua
ulahauia kd d lahauia ubuTlana litlh hšuka kbar lbnat anašia bkulhun dirkia
ušbilia šgšinun akuat d amar ‘uhra lalma šgaštia urmin daiaria umiTarin binia
mai lmai kma d dara baSra bišuta kabra hzun u‘tapriš bhirai usaq bzaku latr
nhur uhiia zakin sa

bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia nitriS šuma dilia
. ulab . u`l `m
. u`l `m hurintia .
u`l zauai . u`l ahai

. u`l ahai hurinia
. u‘l šitlai
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u`l abahatai

.

unitraS šumaihun d̲ lhalin nišmata lhil batra sagia bit tušlima . bšumaihun ubhailaihun d̲ hiia rurbia nukraiia iatiria d̲ ‘lauia ukulhun ‘ubadia bšumaihun d̲ hiia tiniania d̲ iušamin dakia ubšumaihun d̲ hiia tlitaiia abatur atiqa rama kasia unTira šumh̲ ubšumh̲ ubhailh̲ d̲ manda d̲ manda d̲ hiia iatir almia d̲ nhura ubšumaihun d̲ šilmai unidbai d̲ mšalTin liardna rba d̲ hiia d̲ lmaSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura usahduta ušuma urušuma uiatbia lnišmata ubšumaihun d̲ hibil ušitil uanuš tlata bnia d̲ šurbta haita u‘rta unahurta utaqunta urauazta sahduta hazin lagTinin anin tarmidia lanašia mandaiia ul‘nšaiia mandaiata ulbniaun d̲ iadia napšaiun u‘l apriš madiaiun d̲ bhabšaba uanpia iuma lmaškina latin ubTaksa laqaimia ultarmidaiun lašamin uahuria d̲ tarmidia laqaimia urahmia labaiia umisgad lasagdia upihta lašaqlia ukušTa lapašTia ulaupa mn hdadia lanasbia ubnaiun laSabin ubnatun rušuma d̲ hiia lamalgiTilun uhaimanuta d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia blibaihun lašarialun u‘l mradpia usniqia lamitrahmia u‘nšaiun ubnaiun ubnatun lmaškna banpia iuma ubhabšaba lamšadria ukul mandaiia d̲ naSb`iia bmia umandaiata mhaimnia umhaimanata ubnaiun ubnatun d̲ iadia napšaihun d̲ rahmia maraihun usahdin bhiia rurbia qadmaiia d̲ lahua k̲d̲ d̲ lahun ulahauia k̲d̲ d̲ lahauian d̲ Sb`iia biardna uršimia brušuma d̲ hiia d̲ lamaškna atin ubanpia iuma ubhabšaba ubTaksa šapira qaimin usigudta sagdin uahuria d̲ tarmidia qaimia qaimia upihta šaqlia ukušTa pašTia ulaupa mn hdadia nasbia ubnaiun ubnatun Sabia umilgiTilun ubrušuma d̲ hiia uhaimanuta d̲ hiia rurbia nukraiia blibaiun šarialun ulsniqia haisin umitrahmia u‘nšaiun ubnaiun ubnatun banpia iuma lmaškna mšadria upihluta pihlia uzidqa labaiar bbaitaiun ulmaškna matin hiia rurbia qadmaiia iatiria d̲ `lauia ukulhun ‘ubadia udiušamin dakia br niSabtun uabatur atiqa rama ukasia u‘nTira d̲ hu rašnia urast hu balma hazin ušilmai unidbai d̲ mšalTia liardna rba d̲ hiia ulmaSbuta rabtia d̲ nhura d̲ hinun sahdia lagTia ulnišmata balma hazin uptahil šliha d̲ gabr‘iil šumia ubhailahun d̲ hiia udhibil ušitil uanuš d̲ hinun mhur uruš urast ubhailh̲ d̲ ptahil šliha ubhailaihun d̲ hiia ubmimra d̲ abahath̲ ngad šumh̲ d̲ la`uSTunia umsa arqa d̲ lamsuta ub‘šumia `STarar bgauh̲ kukbia ubarqa `hab piria u‘mbia u‘lania uatia ziuia lšamiš utuqna lsira ubhailaihun d̲ hiia `bdh̲ ladam unSablia haua bzauh̲ ubrak `lauaihun brikta d̲ alma hazin lkimSat almia šaršaihun uširbatun mn alma hazin labaTlia nihuilun lkuhun mhaimnia ukulhun mandaiia Sb`iia mia d̲ halin kulhun `ubadia Tabia abdia uTabauata halin abdia usahdin bhiia umaudin bmanda d̲ hiia ushid uhaiman btušbihta d̲ gubria d̲ `lin tlata bnia d̲ šurubta haita ‘rta urauazta utaqunta nahirta ubuta halin hazin baiinin ušulta hazin šailinin anin tarmidia niparqinin manda d̲ hiia mn bišuta d̲ alma hazin nihuilak adiaura usimaka umparqana umšuzbana mn maTarata d̲ šibiahia d̲ dahla nišmata minaian umn hirbia uqiria umutana d̲ alma hazin mhašabata bišata d̲ bišia umn lišana tlitaiia d̲ rakik mn tirba upasiq mn hirba umn Sihua biša umn klila mhambla umn muta tiniana umn aina biša umn klila mhambla umn muta tiniana umn aina d̲ husrana ubrikta d̲ ‘tbirkit larqa bmsuta ulšumia bisradqa ulšamiš manhirana ulsira d̲ maSma blilia ulkukbia d̲ madliqia ulkukbia

ulsira madliqia uminihrin brqiha ulaiar ziqa ulmia hiia ulpiria d arqa uladam gabra qadmaia ulhaua zauh ulbnia ulšurbath ulšlihh unbihia ulbhiria ulšalmania ulmhaimnia ulšalmania d nhura nihuia `lauaihun ulziuahun ulbanaiun ulbnatun uzibnaiun ulzabantaiun ularqaiun umaiaiun uhiuaniata uqinianun ulziraiun ulbaziraiun bdirba bdirba ubmata unihuilun manda d hiia adiaura usimaka balma hazin d bišia uma d baiin naškun uma d šailia mithablun `l rahmaiun ulrahmia rahmaiun tum anašia mandaiia d lšumia d manda d hiia qaimia ubpumaihun ublibaihun uhaimanuta litlun udamin l‘lania bišia d šatin mia hiia upiria lamapqin udamin ldibia haTipia ularia makšilana ulatin lmaškna urahmia labaiin uahuria d tarmidia laqaimia upihta lašaqlia ukušTa lapašTia ulaupa mn hdadia lanasbia uzidqa lmaškna lamatin u‘nšaiun ubnaiun lmaškna lamatin u‘nšaiun ubnaiun lamšadria ubanpia iuma d habšaba bnaiun laSabia ubnatun rušuma d hiia lamalgiTilun ugubria d lagTia ‘nšia mn babia trisar ulamaprišilun ulamudilin ulamairilin d hiia qašiš mn muta unhura qašiš mn hšuka uTabia šapiria qašiš mn bišia uhalia basima qašiš mn marira u‘umama qašiš mn lilia uhabšaba qašiš mn šapta unaSiruta qašiš mn iahduta ‘laiia qašiš mn titaiia uiardna d mia hiia qašišia mn mia tahmia d atar hšuk uamarilun umaprišilun tarmidaiun ulašamilh ulamaiarlun libaiun d nišmun lgabra malpanun umanhiranun ušabqia qala d hiia urahmia qala d hšuka sanin Sauta d hiia urahmia Sauta d hšuka sanin ziua unhura urahman daura d haška šabqin iardna d mia hiia urahmia mia tahmia halin sahdia lagTinun `lauaihun hiia rurbia qadmaiia bsahdia lagTinun ‘lauaihun iušamin dakia d šria l‘uSria d mia ulmambugia rurbia `laiia dakiia d nhura bsahdia lagTinun `lsaihun uabatur atiqa rama kasia unTira d ram uiatib amuq uksia hazia upariš almia udaria hazia mahu d abdia umšaliT lnišmata d lmitqal bkul `ubadia d abdia bsahdia lagTia ‘lauaihun hibil ušitil uanuš bsahdia lagTia ‘lauaihun šamiš uziuh usira utuqnh bsahdia lagTia `lauaihun habšaba ukana d zidqa bsahdia lagTia `lauaihun qala d hiia umimra upaqadta uzaharta d atatalh mn bit abatur umn bit hiia rqia qadmaiia bsahdia lagTia `lauaihun utarmidia d brušumaiun urahmia ubauata udrašia usidria umalalia udrašia d ziua umargnia d ziua bsahdia lagTia `lauaihun hazin malala uhazin paqadta uhazin zaharta d `thablan mn arqa d nhura uanuš ‘utra šliha atia uiatib ltarmidia lmimar bgauh ulašmuiia lalmia udaria d nišarbun unimrun uništrun unihaimnun ulanipkun minh kulman d apik mn hazin mamlala upaqadta uzaharta d anuš ‘utra šliha atia lalma hazin d bišia ulatra rba d napša ubišia malkuth mitpak `lh ušamiš uziuh usira uturnh umia uhailaihun uziqa ubusmh unura uSauta uarqa upira ušumh uTulalia ualma umhaimna d `tbh umaškna utarmida uhabšaba ukana d zidqa upihta ukušTa umambuha uiardna d nhat u`STibun bgauh uqabaliun rušuma minh `lauaihun nihuia bsahdia tum halin sahdia d kušTa lagTinin lkul gabra u`nta uianuqa uianqata d lšuma d manda d hiia lasahdia ubmia lamiSTbia ušuma uršuma d hiia laršam ‘lauaihun qaimia lbar mn kušTa umšamšia lbar mn Tabuta uanin tarmidia maprišnalkun uamrinalkun uamrinalun ulašamin ulamithaimnia bhaTaiia d napšaihun ništailun hin mitaprišia usahdia bmanda d hiia šliha qadmaia uabdia Subian maraiun umahu d amarilun tarmidia šabiq haTaiia nihuilun ‘u labdia ulašamia ubhazin aprišata lasahdin ulašamin ulamašrin ulaqaimin ulamhaimnilun ltarmidaiun šabiq haTaiia lanihuilun hin labdia mahu d amarilun ubTaksa laqaimia ubšuta d paqid šliha qadmaia lasahdia asar haTaiia nihuilun ub`ubadia d ‘daihun ništailun hin airin umitiairin umaiarlun mana d buhun d šria bit maTarata d šibiahia ubit dina laništailun u‘daihun d šibiahia ‘lauaihun latištalaT uzauaiun ubnaiun ubnatun d atun udatin mibilun šabiq haTaiia nihuilun utarmidia umhaimnia d maprišinin lmandaiia bhazin aprašata šabiq haTaiia nihalun hiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uhiia zakin sa . ruha ubna uqiriata kulhun bhaiabia hun lalam almia sa

. hazin sidra sakia halin zharia d̲ ansit ana ania udania umradpa abda d̲ kulh̲
haTaiia uarqa bigar d̲ naSuraiia uamapra d̲ atutia ligraihun d̲ nasakia utarmidia
uganzibria zuTa ahai tarmidia umnašaq msana ligraihun d̲ nasakia ana mhatam
zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam
bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia
adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br
abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh̲ `kuma
d̲ ansit lhad šalmanta umhamna u‘uSra mdakai uliba mšalim lrahmut kušTa
u‘tkadiš lrahmut d̲ manda d̲ hiia udhibil ušitil uanuš u‘hbat zidqa milia
Tabuta napša ukidbat hazin ginza rama d̲ huila dukrana btibil uhatma balma
rurubia `laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h‘ šumia d̲ maSbuta šarat pt haua simat ušuma d̲ mqarila
biniia brata d̲ dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br baiuT laqab pirišia
ukiniana `kuma d̲ nsit mn kdaba d̲ `da d̲ rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br
rbai sam bihrim br rbai iahia bihrim br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br
rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br
rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia
ukiniana `kuma d̲ hu ansa mn kdaba d̲ `da d̲ rbai iahia zihrun br rbai iahia ram
zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br mašid br našim br karam br
kiria br (h)aiat kinianh̲ sabur d̲ hu ansa lhad šalmana umhaiman d̲ hu šumh̲
(ayin)aTuan ušumh̲ d̲ maSbuta mhatam zihrun br mahnaš brh̲ d̲ sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an
br ganim br pariš br rabi(ayin) br dhas kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ šhun ušuma
brata d̲ dispulh̲ br paizia br qasum br našmidin br rašid br našmidin br
(ayin)abdlhasan kiniania sabur d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ had šalmana umhaimin d̲ hu dalh̲
br (ayin)abid br manSur br (ayin)abdulah br sabig kiniana quTana d̲ ansalh̲ d̲ hua tarmida
taqna rbai bihram sam br rbai bihram iahia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai bihram
iahia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br
rbai zakia ram br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibdia rbai mhatam
br rbai sam laqab manduia ukiniania `kuma d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ansalh̲ lnapšia
d̲ hu ganzabra taqna rbai ram iuhana br ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun br
rbai zihrun br rbai adam br rbai iahia br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br
rbai ram br rbai zakh̲ br rbai iahia br rbai zakh̲ br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai
mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ nsa mn sidra d̲ had šalmana
d̲ hu ‘ustad sa(ayin)ud br ‘ustad bišarah knianh̲ riš draz d̲ ansalh̲ rba urama
uiaqira ganzibra taqna d̲ hu rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br iahia adam
kiniania (ayin)isikir d̲ ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ ansa lnapšia zibna hurina sidra
d̲ had šalmanta haua simat brata d̲ adam br garib kinianh̲ tum d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra
d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzabra taqna maria šualania rbai iahia iuhana br ram
br rbai baktiar kinianh̲ ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn tlata d̲ sidra hua šugiana tiniana
rbai zihrun br rbai ram ku(h)ailia tlitaiia ganzabra tarna rbai iahia ram br
rbai bihram zihrun k(h)ailia urbai iahia ram ansa mn sidra d̲ rba urama
uiaqira rbai bihram br hiia br rbai adam zakia kinianh̲ ku(h)ilia d̲ ansa
lnapšia mn sidra d̲ ansa rbai iahia sam br rbai zihrun hibil br rbai anuš
adam br bihdad (ayin)aziz d̲ nsa mn sidra d̲ rišaiia dihdar hula d̲ šumia d̲ maSbuta
mhatam bulbul br sam bihram (ayin)aziz mn sidra rba urama uiaqira d̲ rbai adam
ihuana br iahia anuš kiniania šu(ayin)ailia d̲ ansalh̲ rba saruan bulbul br adam
baian kiniania zarzuia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ had šalmania d̲ hibil br hiia br sam
nangaria d̲ ansalia rbai iahia adam ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansalh̲
anuš mu(ayin)ailh̲ br anuš bihdad zibna qadmaia aminTul d̲ trin sidria d̲ hanath̲
šalmania d̲ ansa tum ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ mhatam br bihram mušarah d̲ ansalh̲ rbai
bihram baian šupirtaiia mn sidra d̲ šualia br hiia br iuhana br saruan
d̲ ansalh̲ rbai bihrim baian šupurtaiia mn sidra d̲ adam br ram gadana d̲ ansalh̲
iahia br adam ku(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ rišaia bihdad zihrun br sam sakara
d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam ku(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ zihrun br iahia iuhana d̲ ansalia

rbaian anuš mu(ayin)alia br anuš bihdad d̲ baktiar br bul(ayin)iz br šitlai gadana d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ sam hibil Salupa d̲ ansalia bihram hibil br mhatam hibil iuhana d̲ ansalia mn sidra d̲ iahia zakia br brik iauar br paiiš uram ziua br šaiar br zihrun lahuia d̲ kušTa hibil iuhana br zakia d̲ nsalia mn sidra d̲ adam br iahia uadam d̲ ansalh̲ šaiar br zihrun mn sidra d̲ br hiia br gadana br šaiar ziua br hiia d̲ ansa šaiar uram ziua bnia baian hibil mn sidra d̲ zakria br hibil mn sidra d̲ napšia uzakria ansa mn sidra d̲ šad manda br zkh̲ iauar ušad manda ansalh̲ `qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ baian hibil br brik iauar d̲ ansalia mn napšia ansalun rbaian ‘qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansa mn sidra hatiqa d̲ hua škin bginza ktab `dh̲ d̲ adam šitil uram br daimir uram šailia ansinun mn abahath̲ hiia qadmaiia sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia hazin hu raza usidra d̲ nbaT rba d̲ nbaT uanhar upra u`traurab nbaT `utria lqudamia bqrita qadmaita malil uqra tmanima `utria bhda qrita unbaT usliq trin `utria u`tiqria iauar `tita d̲ minia bqrita hurintia nbaT usliq iušamin ušar ziua bqrita tlitaita nbaT usliq ‘utria rhimia bhiria nihuia ušdikia ušumaihun sar usmir u‘tqaiam šumaihun trin trin bhda škinta haizak ‘pra u‘tparia uanhar uapriš unbaT liaminh̲ ulsmalh̲ ušra ‘lauaihun tušbtihta umitbairun balbušaihun haizak ‘tarab ziuaihun bhdadia taqnia unahria umitqaimin aminTul d̲ hinun zma ubisra lahua balbušaihun ulahuabh̲ barda uahbala uqrita qadmaita d̲ `tqiriat `utria umana iauar smir qam iauar umana smira uamarlun `l hiia abahath̲ anatun hiia abahatai anatun napšia ulahasritun rurbia anatun ulau zuTitun npiš ziua d̲ iaminaikun unpiš ziua d̲ smalaikun ukabir nhura d̲ `lauaikun haizak iardna d̲ mia hiia lika qudamaikun mia pšar tanania mn kana qadmaia asgun barqa d̲ aiar k̲d̲ halin pugdamia šuma d̲ hiia abahath̲ mn iauar ziua bismat ‘lauaihun akuat iaminun aširiun ‘lh̲ klil zakuata traSlia brišia umn madihtun prašlh̲ uqiriuia lbušun umalalun u‘tiqria hu malala d̲ hiia haizak qam hiia qadmaiia mn škinta d̲ napšaihun ubun ušaba rbia labuhun malala unpaqlun mn quramia d̲ abuhun uamarlun anatun balma d̲ napšaikun kul d̲ mhašbitun Tabit ‘bid uana ‘lai basim hinila biš ‘lai snia mhašbitun haslaikun d̲ snia nihuia binataikun hinila brikta d̲ briktinkun tihuilkun uninapšun almia d̲ nhura barqa d̲ aiar aminTul d̲ ana br iauar ana bmalalh̲ d̲ ab `lkun qrit ubpaqadta kul d̲ hašib tiqnat uap anatun `lh̲ paqadta latibdun hinila bpaqadtai dilia `bid umitaqnilkun `bidatkun unahra dmutaikun bziua rba `m `utria d̲ qritun uhauin bhiria nihia ušdikia nahritun unahra qiriatkun amar u‘tqaiam uqam rurbia ubnaiun uqiriatkun d̲ qrun uhaizak qam hiia qadmaiia mn škinatun d̲ napšaihun upura uparun unSab tlatma ušitin iardnia lqudamaiun ukul iardna paqad ‘lia trin naTria `utria d̲ ‘tpaqad liardna qadmaia šumaihun adatan uiadatan bšumia d̲ `utria hanatun `tiqrun tmanima alpia ruban `utria bh̲ biuma hanath̲ `tiqrun `uSTbabia `utria d̲ saka litlun bh̲ biardna d̲ mia hiia `uSTuba tam `utria uqabil rušuma tmanima alpia ruban `utria alip alip `uSTuba u`tqaiambh̲ bziua d̲ hiia haizak prun uparun tlatma ušitin almia d̲ nhura uqiriuia l‘utria niha rišaia riš qrita ušauiuia riš alma d̲ napšia lika d̲ saka litlh̲ ruban `utria bh̲ balma d̲ hiia biardna d̲ bh̲ `uSTararbh̲ `utria bh̲ bškinta hanath̲ d̲ qabilbh̲ rušuma ulahua biardna hanath̲ sina qina uplugia ulahuabh̲ Tirqa ulahuabh̲ šigša ulahuabh̲ argazta hinila nbaT ziuh̲ npaS lmia unbaT mia usliq alpinpia ziua haizak mitrabia tartin bihdadia piria umitraurbia ubaira dmutaihun k̲d̲ zan had ziua mia damia lziua uziua damia lmia arqa d̲ iardna hanath̲ damia lsradqa d̲ ziua umruma d̲ kšaša litbh̲ kulhun škinia btnat hdadia hiia nahiria utaqnia umitbairia upru uprun u‘tpairat dmutaiun hatam lahua harba ulahuat hašabta d̲ aba d̲ `utria uziua d̲ iušamin hatam la‘dgar ula‘traurab ‘m ‘utria rurbania hatam lahun hinila had mn had špil unhia ulamakik libaiun uruaz mara d̲ rabuta b`utria bnh̲ uhinun hadin babuhun mara d̲ rabuta nahur ziuaihun bihdadia umbarkilh̲ lziua d̲ abuhun d̲ hazin ziua d̲ `hablunun hazin alma nSablun haizak qrulh̲ hiia liauar ziua d̲ bšumia masqia tšima alpia ruban ‘utria uqra u‘hablh̲ dmuth̲ uamarlh̲ `zil uqumlh̲ ltiniana bdmuth̲ haza nihzia ma d̲ amar uma d̲ hašab uazil lqudamia uamarlh̲ ia iušamin br dmut hiia abahatai lhaka šadrun šadrun aminTul d̲ hiia abahatak haza paqdun uamria lanida iušamin man anat bziua d̲ dmuth̲ d̲ `hablh̲ hiia liauar zahat u`tazihat kula škinta d̲ iušamin hab kursia d̲ iušamin latarkunia uanania d̲ qaimin lqudamia ‘štarhizal uqam iušamin u‘stga uqam u‘stga iušamin ulitlh̲ haila liušamin d̲ niqum qudam ziua d̲ dmuth̲ uligria lstuaria laqaimia urmia umTarip libh̲ lqudamia d̲ dmuth̲ d̲ iada iauar lmahu ‘štarhazal libh̲ d̲ iušamin uhaizak aniha lziuh̲ uhamSh̲ lnhurh̲ uhag ainh̲ d̲ tiniania mn mihizia bgu nhurh̲ anihh̲ lziuh̲ d̲ iauar uligTh̲ bapras iaminh̲ umtaraS umaqimlh̲ lqudamia uamarlh̲ kun kun br hzia ziua d̲ abuk npaš mn ziua dilak hiia abahath̲ ‘da kruk lTab ana hiia br hiia ana l‘m braiun ‘lak šadrun latra

libh rbuta nsab uamar ma d hiia ‘dikruk ana rba ana hinila amar iušamin hiia
ldilia laiadilh hiia alma `dakruk hinila lqudamaihun lamasqilh aminTul d ziu hsir
unhur psiq haizak tušbihtak asiq iauar mn iušamin lhiia hiia tam liušamin uiaminh
šru ‘lh ukušTa pšaTlh hu kušTa pšaT lbnh `utria d iatbia `l qudamia aminTul
d akandit d `tita luath huat lika d saka lqudamia litlh hašabta hašib hiia
luataiun laqarbia hinila aminTul d braiun hua `lh largaz mn šaršaihun ‘tiqria
kd haza hašabta huat akandit la`tabdit lika d saka litlh lamitabdia uldmištauia u‘l
d huat aminTul d ‘titia lmihuia mn iušamin hiia iadin ušidqa naTria ušaiulia
mšailh amria `mat `titlh ltiniania l‘šauia bnia lnapšia d blibia `titlh
amarlun iauar malala qrita rhamta qadmaita d hiia Sbubia uqaimuia anatun abahatai
ma iatbitun umšailitun uamritun lhaza mšalim malala ulaniklun libaiun uamrilh
mšalTit kul d amrit lburh lilbuš ‘hablh uamrilh hiia ltaur`il d hu iauar mitaqria
sam smir ziua šumia uamarlh ‘zil rmia mšauniat ‘šata haita d ziuh unhurh
d lmaSat almia dilan rbia nihuia l`il ualmia d tiniana nihuia ltit lmiSra
d hanath dukta nihuia hapiqia mia unihuia miSra unihuia kila lkulhun almia
ulbuš llbušia aTpilh liauar upaqid `lh naTria trin `uSar hai upta hai u`hablia
ziua lziuh uaTpilh `lh d `tlh uhaizak iauar libaihun d hiia rbia šaria btiria
rurbia `utria kulhun ulhiia abahatai maliklun Tabit nibdun uamar iauar luat
‘utria umištma d hu sam ziua šumia uhaizak qabil `utria kulhun Tabuta d iauar
uTabutun d hiia d minh šumia haizak ‘thašab ubiTnat hašabta uqirbat lmihuia hašabta
btiniana uqam uba lmiqria qrita mn iardna qadmaia d hiia d lašabqilh d `utria trin
naTria d `lh mpaqdia ušumaihun adatan uiadatan d hinun Sabia maSbuta d hiia uqabil
rušumun uašar maSbutun uamrilh lamšalTit lmiqria mn hazin iardna rba d hiia
rušuma traSbia d hinun hiia amribh ušamibh uminh qarin mindam d Sabin uamarlun
‘lia ‘puq ‘qria qiriata u‘šauia bnia akuat hiia alia qrun ubraiun šaun
uamrilh anin bnia anin akuat anin lau abahath anin mindam lamšalTinin hinila
iardna d mia hiia lnaTria mindam d mhašbit uazil qam lriš iardna d atutia
iardna rišaia malil uqra minh bukria tlata d hinun d had udmutaiun tartinun
nihuia hda rugza `tbia haizak lika d saka litlh uqrun bnia tiniana luath
bškinta d abahatun hiia šidqa naTria umalala d napšaihun mnaTarlun uhaizak bTin
bnia d tiniana uhašabta atatalun ulabuhun amrilh alma hazin d npiš uasgia unpaš
ziuh d bgauh d alma dilak udilan aka hu d ladarinabh uamarlun `dalma balma d hiia
ladairinin akuat gabra tutbia d mdurta d napšia litlh umara d baita mšargizlh
uminilh b‘udna šadilh uamarilun hin `dar balma d hiia `bid u`tab uamrilh
balma d lau dilak laiatbinin uabuhun khabun khita ukhita d abuhun laqabil umalka
d lašapir baiia d nimlikunh labuhun uzban zban mitamlak abuhun uzban zban
lamitamlik uamar iušamin ‘uqum lqudam hiia ‘saq alma šabqilh ana `bid d baiina
mindam d baiia tipuq minai hiia iadia lmahu d mhašab tiniana uamria hiia hda nibad
unikšar tum natna nibad ulanikšar iušamin la‘da d haza luTta laTuia uqam
mindam d amar bnh šaminun ‘hablun lbnh mn hailh umn ziuh umn hailh umn ma d bh umn
‘mria ušimia ušadrinun uamarlun `zil `bid mibad mindam d baiitun uldilia mlaktun
`lh ‘bid šapir ubiš latibdun uazal ldnab kulhun almia uldnab kulhin škinata ušrun
uqrun ukmaS kimSa d arqa hauartia ulamaTiat b`daihun d miqria arqa d ziua akuat
arqa d aiar qrun utaqin kul Sbuta briš almia qrun arba gubria mzarzia uqrun
bnia šlama kd bhaq ‘utra qra alma ušauia kd ahia trin luath lahun aminTul
d `uSraihun d napšaihun d husrana hauia minh umn luath lahun umn mimria lamar umn
mišma lašama ukd qra ušauia qam bhaq harbh balma hazin lanpaš ularab kd almia d hiia
rbia ukd harbia balma d napšia aba d ‘utria qra lnapšia kd hiia rbia adam rba kanin
lnapšia mn atra d nhura brugza hun `lh uhaizak hda hua `bra d aba d `utria d hu aba
d ‘utria qra lnapšia uqra lbrh d ptahil ptiha d ainh ptihilh ulampata haizak qam
ptahil bra d aba d `utria d hu aba d ‘utria qra lnapšia uazal uqam lmia mzigia
ul‘šata mzigta d ‘tbia ‘šata ‘kilta umia d arqa `tbun mia tahmia umia hiia
hašib lmiqria uamar ‘qria ‘utria u‘iaqim lqudamai akuat d ab ldilia qran bmimar

qadmaia malil uqra unbaT usliq alanpia šuba šibiahia d hablia umhamblia d huabia balbušaihun zma usumqa udamia lbušaihun lsumqa ulanhar lbušaihun ulahiuar kulhun lakašrin aminTul d dmu zma hinun ušumaihun bpumh labasim unišmata mn haka napqa nitkamra unisqa latraiin akuat mn haka ‘tinsib nitkamra ukul nišmata d audia bdmauata lqudaman lasalqan uluatan lakašra ulalma d tiniana lanihzunia ukana d nišmata d naSuraiia laniqablh Tabutun d šbiahia hinila Tabutun d hiia uTabuth d iauar salqan aminTul d kd hiia šadruia liauar ‘l ptahil ulkulhun mlakia bišia hiia liadan uhiia lsabrin uhiia lsabria uldiaurun d sabria uhiia lgubria masbiranan uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin sa

. hazin sidra d nbaT rba d ansit ana ania udania umradpa abda d kulh haTaiia uarqa bigar d naSuraiia uamapra d atutia ligraihun d nasakia utarmidia uganzibria zuTa ahai tarmidia umnašaq msana ligraihun d nasakia ana mhatam zihrun br rabai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma d ansit lhad šalmanta umhamna u‘uSra mdakai uliba mšalim lrahmut kušTa u‘tkadiš lrahmut d manda d hiia udhibil ušitil uanuš u‘hbat zidqa milia Tabuta napša ukidbat hazin ginza rama d huila dukrana btibil uhatma balma rurubia `laiia d nhura d h‘ šumia d maSbuta šarat pt haua simat ušuma d mqarila biniia brata d dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br baiuT laqab pirišia ukiniana `kuma d nsit mn kdaba d `da d rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihrim br rbai iahia bihrim br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukiniana `kuma d hu ansa mn kdaba d `da d rbai iahia zihrun br rbai iahia ram zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br mašid br našim br karam br kiria br (h)aiat kiniana sabur d hu ansa lhad šalmana umhaiman d hu šumh (ayin)aTuan ušumh d maSbuta mhatam zihrun br mahnaš brh d sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br pariš br rabi(ayin) br dhas kiniana ku(h)ailh d ansalh mn sidra d šhun ušuma brata d dispulh br paizia br rasum br našmidin br rašid br našmidin br (ayin)abdlhasan kiniania sabur d ansalh mn sidra d had šalmana umhaimin d hu dalh br (ayin)abid br manSur br (ayin)abdulah br sabig kiniana quTana d ansalh d hua tarmida taqna rbai bihram sam br rbai bihram iahia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai bihram iahia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai zakia ram br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibdia rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukiniania `kuma d ansalh mn sidra d ansalh lnapšia d hu ganzabra taqna rbai ram iuhana br ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun br rbai zihrun br rbai adam br rbai iahia br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakh br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d nsa mn sidra d had šalmana d hu ‘ustad sa(ayin)ud br ‘ustad bišarah kniana riš draz d ansalh rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna d hu rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br iahia adam kiniania (ayin)isikir d ansa lnapšia mn sidra d ansa lnapšia zibna hurina sidra d had šalmanta haua simat brata d adam br garib kinianh tum d ansalh mn sidra d rba urama uiaqira ganzabra taqna maria šualania rbai iahia iuhana br ram br rbai baktiar kiniana ku(h)ailia d ansa mn tlata d sidra hua šugiana tiniana rbai zihrun br rbai ram ku(h)ailia tlitaiia ganzabra tarna rbai iahia ram br rbai bihrim zihrun k(h)ailia urbai iahia ram ansa mn sidra d rba urama uiaqira rbai bihram br hiia br rbai adam zakia kinianh k(h)ilia d ansa lnapšia mn sidra d ansa rbai iahia sam bq rbai zihrun hibil br rbai anuš adam br bihdad (ayin)aziz d nsa mn sidra d rišaiia dihdar hula d šumia d maSbuta mhatam bulbul br sam bihram (ayin)aziz mn sidra rba urama uiaqira d rba rbai adam

ihuana br iahia anuš kiniania šu(ayin)ailia d̲ ansalh̲ rba saruan bulbul br adam
baian kiniania zarzuia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ had šalmania d̲ hibil br hiia br sam
nangaria d̲ ansalia rbai iahia adam ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansalh̲
anuš mu(ayin)ailh̲ br anuš bihdad zibna qadmaia aminTul d̲ trin sidria d̲ hanath̲
šalmania d̲ ansa tum ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ mhatam br bihram mušarah d̲ ansalh̲ rbai
bihram baian šupirtaiia mn sidra d̲ šualia br hiia br iuhana br saruan
d̲ ansalh̲ rbai bihrim baian šupurtaiia mn sidra d̲ adam br ram gadana d̲ ansalh̲
iahia br adam k(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ rišaia bihdad zihrun br sam sakara
d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam ku(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ zihrun br iahia iuhana d̲ ansalia
rbaian anuš mu(ayin)alia br anuš bihdad d̲ baktiar br bul(ayin)iz br šitlai gadana
d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ sam hibil Salupa d̲ ansalia bihram hibil br mhatam hibil
iuhana d̲ ansalia mn sidra d̲ iahia zakia br brik iauar br paiiš uram ziua br
šaiar br zihrun lahuia d̲ kušTa hibil iuhana br zakia d̲ nsalia mn sidra d̲ adam
br iahia uadam d̲ ansalh̲ šaiar br zihrun mn sidra d̲ br hiia br gadana br šaiar
ziua br hiia d̲ ansa šaiar uram ziua bnia baian hibil mn sidra d̲ zakria br
hibil mn sidra d̲ napšia uzakria ansa mn sidra d̲ šad manda br zkh̲ iauar ušad
manda ansalh̲ `qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ baian hibil br brik iauar d̲ ansalia
mn napšia ansalun rbaian ‘qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansa mn sidra
hatiqa d̲ hua škin bginza ktab ‘dh̲ d̲ adam šitil uram br daimir uram šailia
ansinun mn abahath̲ hiia qadmaiia sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania mimra ana br mimria d lšumh d iauar lhaka atit qrun upaqdun rbia uzarzun ldilia anuš ‘utra rba br rurbia qrun upaqdun uzarzun unSablia audiauria audiaudia d nSablia `utria nihia umqaimia šadrun lminTar dara urandudia uaqumia šakbia mn šintun amrilh `zil lguT liguTta mn tibil kd liguTta d lgaTnin anin bhir uapiq bhiria minh mn alma bahar gubria kšiTia u‘nšia d Tabia umhaimnia bhar uapiq nišmata d šihia ušauia latar nhur ahbalun aprašata d hinun bgauaihun mitaprišia ahbulun pugdamia kasiia d nihaiun gabaruatun lmištuSia d ka d nimalalun bqalaihun dakia unaqumuna lnamrus mn kursia nimTinun hauqa lšibiahia marauata d hazin alma aprišinun lnaSuraiia umandaiia ulbhiria d bhart minh mn alma d lšumia d hiia btibil mitradpia amrilh bahir bhiria d kušTa uasqinun ldaura taqna buhrinun uqaiminun d lanihuibun hasir ubSur aprišinun lbauata udrašia usidria d nihzunh lTama d nhura unitaprišun aprišinun lnišmata d lanimita ulanauda ulanistakra bhšuka haška lanitihambilinun namrus ulatišbinun bdaria rabut zmar amria kd masgit larqa d tibil bišia lanidun ‘lak uziuh d lbušak lanihšuk ulanisrunak mn rqiha `laia ulanirmunak batar hšuk latihuq ulatizha ulatimar d ana balhudai ana kd hauqa maTilak anin kulan luatak anin anin kulan nasgia luatak uanin adiauria nihuilak anin nihuilak adiauria uniparqak mn kul d snia aprišinun lnaSuraiia umandaiia ulbhiria d bhart minh mn alma amarlun lbuta utušbihta d nibuna bsaka d napša ulanihuibh hasir ubSir d lanibuna blilia habara u`dana d rahmia nitaksia d rahmia b`danun lanibia lbaba d bit hiia nitiabTun nitiabTun lbaba d bit hiia alma d lbaba d bit abatur mipta kd mipta baba rba d bit abatur buta utušbihta latria tisaq buta utušbihta tisaq latria utitaksia batra d minh atat d rahmia usigudta b‘danun lanisgud bit abatur ništaiil ništaiil bit abatur bmindam d lau mindam d abad bhazin alma bhirai ana `marlkun lrazia razia d palgat namrus bgauh d hazin alma ‘marlkun lzihira ubišata d namrus bšurba rba d hiia rmat rbitabun btarmidia sina qina uplugia bhirai `lkun qarina uamarna d bšuTuata d nimrus urumaiia d šuba šubiahia laništia d bšuTuata šaTia b‘suria d mia siauia nimut d abad mn `bidatun bhirba usipa d šibiahia nitinsib nitinsib bhirba usipa d šibiahia unitharak bmia aklia šumia nitqar mn bit hiia rbia umnata banhura lanaška d bdina d ‘kuria nasgia nibšul bdudia d rahtia d ništia hamra bhanutia bmasarqia qublia ninisrunh d nirihman ldahba ukaspa nimut trin mutia bhad d niškub luat zauh umia lanasia bgiuth d liuiatin ništkin kul d atuat d lasaia mia mhita bgu mhita titimhia nimihia naTra d nhura utipsiq minh mn atar nhur niliTa šuma dakia uširiana d saka litlh kulman d kd saia zauh Tunupia udaštana bhanath iuma qadmaia luata niškub šumia nipsaq mn bit hiia rbia brpilh d hšuka naqmunh brpilia d hšuka uainh nhura lahazian d nikul `kilta d babia trisar niqum mnh mn alma haslh lnhura d nibia mnata mn durdia aminTul d bdinba d dara batraia hauin minaihun tarmidia d lašihin ulašauin ulitbaihun Tama Sauta udukia d iardna luataihun latriS alma šnia asar uhamiš aba bhaTaiia d bnh ništaiil d laniqrulhun bkaluza ularandidinun mn šintun ulaalpunun buta utušbihta uladkirinun dirka d kušTa uhaimanuta latar nhur kd maTia šnia asar uhamiš bnh bhaTaiia d napšaihun naštailun d nitia brath lbabia trisar biblia umalia nautibunh nautibunh biblia umalia uklilia d hšuka brišia nitraSlia nitraSlia klila d hšuka briših ubšuTa d nura nitnangar uništaiil bnura akla uhauma ubarda uiaqdna d nišmata d dumaiia bgauia mištailia aminTul d `tbariat bagra uzidqa d iauar umn naSurutai dilia piršat piršat mn naSirutai dilia uazal šitlia bmia tahmia kd abda ginia `l `kuria dina mn abuia mitmar kd azla luat kaSumia ukaldaiia lkursia d nirig zidana mištaial ana ‘marlkun ‘l tuqna uzaharta ukušTa d mn rbia ata kulman d narha briha ušuma d hiia lanadkar `lh bit abatur ništaial kulman d narha briha d kaSumia ukaldaiia narhunh briha d sruta kul d abad ginia l`kuria upatikria bTura d hšuka naqmunh d akil `kilta d hilulia upura d šibiahia lkursia d nirig nitnangar kulman d nikal `kilta d ginia d mašknia kd maitia humria d baita nimut

man d mn halin kulhin ‘bidata nitparaq nisaq nihizia latar nhur nišmata d šibiahia bmaTarata mitiabTa mitiabTa bmaTarata d šibiahia umaitia mn Sihia minh mn alma šaula d mia biuma mašqilun umsanqilun l‘ubadia sainia d abad balma haslinun lbihiria zidqa gubria kšiTia umhaimnia haslinun l‘nšia d Taba umhaimna d iahib zidqa uqrun qala d hiia d nhat ‘l iardna u‘uSTba uqabil dakia rušuma d nihzunh lSaiarta d hanath dukta d ana niTrit akuat d paqdun ahai ligTit uasqit mn riš briš mn Tupania mia ualma d ‘tbaniat ‘urašlam nišmata lnhura salqin mn d ‘tbiniat ‘rašlam ualma ldara d mhamaT arbaia ana binataihun d tarmidai huit bihrit uasqit minaihun latar nhur mn dara d mhamad arbaia ualma d pisusta hauia ana mn binataihun d tarmidai piršit uazlit usilqit lmšunia kušuTa uamarna Tubh tum Tubia lman d bnapšia nizdahar aminTul d ana kbar bišuta uTnupia udaštana uazlit usilqit lmšunia kušTa uamrna kma karialia ltarmidia d dnab hanath dara maštaknia aminTul d mašiTilun lmarganiata ušabilun bdaria rabut zmar unaplia biama rba d sup uailinun `l tarmidia d lahazilh latar nhur mn iuma d huat pisusta ualma d baTla tibil napša nišmata lnhura salqa kd kbar ‘lai bišuta uTnupia lamSit midar d bhazin alma silqit qudam hiia abahatai šiknun bškinatun d našaiun uamrit Tubia lman d bnapših nizdahar gabra d mizdahar d bnapših laiit kuath balma malka nihuia banhura unitraurab kd rurbania batar nhur uzakia nhura bit tušlima uhiia zakin sa . hazin raza usidra

uaprišata d anuš ‘utra hu sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania gupna ana niha d mn `qar giua `tnaSbit `tnaSbit mn `qar giua urbia hulia naSba rbia naSba hulh uaTpulia ziua `l d `tlia ziua `l d ‘tlia šrun ‘lai dmuta mnaTarta d mnaTralia bkisia qrun uqaimun uzarzun bmamlalun adiauria nSablia ‘hablia ‘mra ušima d kabir usaka litlh aprišun lziua rba ulnhura d iaqid batar ksia zarzun bmamlalun d diauria naSblia adiauria d nSablia d šanin usaka litlun qran upaqdan rbia uqaiman batar ksia ‘hablia malalia kasiia uaprišan lkul Sbu aprišan ‘l qadmaiia u‘l rba d mn laqadmia hua aprišan b‘ruta uqaiman bqala šania ab bbirukta birkan ušra `lai mn niSubta ‘hablia tušbihta d napša usaka litlh `hablia `ruta d lahuaba hasir ubSir laiit nišqan bpuma dakia ubmania gauaiia ksan atban banana anan ziua u`l taruan dakita d šadran amar ‘zil ltaruan dakita aprišin l‘utria d hatam šrun ahbalun ziua unhura d bSiuat hdadia nitbun ahbalun mn tušbihtak d bbuta d hiia niqmun lupinun blaupa rba d bminianak nitimnun nitimnun bminianak dilak ulanihuibun hasir ubSir aprišinun l‘utria ltaruan dakita ulalmia d nhura kulhun aprišinun lnhura rba d hiia ul‘utria ulškinata d bgauh ‘štauia aprišinun lgupna kasia u`lania dakiia d minihria liardna aprišinun lalmia d mara d rabuta ulziuh ulnhurh d hatam šria amarlun lhauraran dakita d hazin `tiqribh qala šania amarlun larqa d aiar d hazin binia utaqna mn riš briš hazin binia iauar utaqna uhaizak huabh ardikla haizak ardikla huaba haizak qraba qala šania hazin škinbia škinata ušrabun Sauta mn riš briš haizak šuiuia malka lnhura uautiblh `utria liaminh ulsmalh d hinun nihuilh Sauta Sauta nihuilh unitriSunh bškinth aprišinun ‘l pira rba u‘laia ulškinata d škin batar ksia aprišinun lmana rba qadmaia uliardna rba d bgauh `uSTba ana hibil asgit mn qudamia d ab iauar manda d hiia uasgit ltaruan dakita atit ušauit šuba almia d nhura utraSibun šuba mlakia malka mn riš briš šauilun šuba andarunia d mia uhiklia hadtia d lamšarin bziua unhura utušbihtai d nSablia abahatai mn riš briš b‘ruta d `hablia rbia ubmalalia kabiria d aitit `lai ubpugdamia kasiia ukabiria iatiria umqaimia usmiria mn bit hiia abu rba qadmaia aitit ubdrabšia taqnia d nSablia ubauata d babin ab mara d rabuta d `lai dilia `tnaTar qran upaqdan parSupa rba d `qara hu udumutia d luatia iatba uamar kd tizal ltaruan dakita mimrak `l `utria blilia latimrh latatnh lqrita d hiia tiniania d minaihun npaq kul d biš hasir ubSir hua minaihun u`zdrabh kadba balma latatnh l‘ruta ulmadihta ulsibruta ultušbihta ulmimra kasia d mn lhil ata ulatinisbia lmimra kabira ulatišidia bmia tahmia

latatnh l`utria blilia l`utria d iušamin qra latatnh l`utria d kasiia uniaha ušidqa litbun iuhba ‘l ‘utria d taruan dakita d mn qrita d hiia hun iuhba lhda mn alpa uiuhba ltrin mn ruban iuhba lhda mn alpa d hinun hdadia niasbrun hinun niasbrun hdadia uhdadia bkušTa naumun hdadia bkušTa ulakadbitun lmimrak ana kd paqdun hiia abahatai atit uqala btaruan dakita qrit qala qrit btaruan dakita utaruan dakita nihrat utiqnat mn riš briš iahibta l‘rutai utušbihtai iahabt l`utria rahmia šumai aprištinkun l‘utria kasiia ulmalkia d nhura d ana qrit aprišit lmalka d taruan dakita ulziua unhura d hatam šria aprištia lalma d mara d rabuta d hu aiar nhura rba kabira d hiia šumia aprištia lparSupa rba d `qara ulniTupta d luatia iatba aprištia l‘utria ulgupnia u‘lania dakiia d minihria liardnia aprištia lmadihta utriSilh `ruta d labaTla anhirtia ldmuth kd dilia ušaliTtia lalmia d nhura kulhun d barqa taruan dakita šrin haizak qam mn kursia u‘štaTia qudamia sgid ‘štaTia sgid mn qudamai ubirkan bbirikta d napša usaka litlh amar lanihuibak husrana uqiriatak lanihaška ulanibaTlan `bidatak aminTul d rba br rurbia anat rbaihun anat d `utria abuhun d kulhun tušlimia bšumia dakia dilak anin nisar bdirkia d kušTa mn abatrak brikia hiia rbia d lak dilak mn kasia uqrulak ldilak qrak mn kasia ubhira rba šauiak šauiak bhira rba u‘lauaian dilan šalTuk šalTuk ‘lauaian dilan d lanihuiban hasir ubSir atit mn qudamia lalmia d tauri‘il ‘tit taqintinun l‘utria uškinata balma d taur`il hun malalit b‘qutai uziuai liušamin dna nhar ‘utria uruaz rbia utraS kulhun pasimkia iušamin bziuh hadia umanharlun l`utria kulhun umanharlh labatur blilia d qra ulataqin mn riš briš ulanihrat ulatiqnat b‘dia aminTul d lapšaT iamina mn abuia mn qala u‘ruta utušbihta d `utria uziuai lsihupta d ptahil dna ziuai dna lsihupta d ptahil uptahil libh bkita `timlia libh `timlia bkita ubainh dimihta Saralh uamar m` ata bra rhima d hiia rurbia qadmaiia d anhar `utria kulhun mn qiš briš iumai mahu biumia iuma d ‘utria qam btušbihtaihun qam ‘utria qam btušbihtaihun uškinata hadia urauzia mn riš briš haizak amarlh `utria d luath dilh iatba iumai mn kulhun iumia ziua d hibil ziua dna dna ziua d hibl ziua ulan dilan anhirinan bškinatan hu nibarkinan bTabuta uanin nisaq latar nhur anin nisaq lnhura haTaian uhauban nišbuqlan bšumak triS ‘lan bit hiia rbia uabahatak bhšuka lamagzria ‘lan kd haizin šuma ptahil qam mn kursiia usgidlh d rba sigudta uamar `u hinila hinialh lab manda d hiia ligal baita nibaTil ligal nibaTil `bidatun kulhin unihamla utisaq mnata d tuqna d bhiria zidqa d šr‘iia bmata d kušTania mn qudam tibil kulh hanath mnata lnhura salqa tisaq šuta braita d rm`ia bbaita napla haizak titpis tibil kulh `bidata d ba nithamblia nisqun hda mn alpa unisqun trin mn ruban nisqun nišmata d naSuraiia d `kilta d bnia d tibil lakal la`Tanap bTnupa haragta uTnupia lansib hargta uTnupia ula`tkatar bgauh d durdia d tibil u`bidata d tibil la`tkamar hinila `bidata d tibil ušurbata unišmata hinun d ruha umšiha ubabia trisar nizlun lnura d iaqda nisqun gubria kšiTia umhaimnia nihzunia ldaura taqna mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania lriš kimSa dakia d mia hiia ulsaka d kulhun iardnia ulriš nigda d mia hiia d ngid uatia mn duktia kd huat hašabta u`STarar mia mn dukth kd `tingid rqiha ukd d `tmisiat arqa kd hua adam d pagria u`tpaqad `lh abihdh naTria kd `STarar mana mn kanh uata bgu pagria npal hašib d mingad ngida d mia hiia lmirmia bmia tahmia mingad rahaTia d mia hiia umitpaqad abihdia naTria naTra d `tpaqad `lh d nišrun ‘lh Sauta unimalalun bqala d hiia unisqun šarša lka qiriuia lnigda d mia hiia ultrin bukria `hablun `hablun ltrin bukria lqrita qadmaita d mn hiia qadmaiia huat qrunun lšilmai unidbai d nSabunun badiauria u`hablun `ruta ubrakinun bTabu birikta u`hablun madihta d šanai minh mn alma `hablun kaluza d nirandidun unaqmun šakbia unairun lnišmata d mn nhura ‘takšal nairinun unirandidinun unizbrun anpaihun latar nhur ngad nigda d mia hiia ušamar mitiaihun balma minaihun d mia hiia mn bit hiia bkariuta hun utinihta uhailaihun minaihun bSar hailaihun bSar minaihun ušilmai unidbai d̲ nimarlun bhailh̲ d̲ man `tingidinun upsaqnin mn atran man psaqinan mn madihta d̲ šanai minh̲ mn alma man psaqinan mn kušTa ukana ulaupa d̲ lip usaliq latrh̲ man psaqinan mn dmuta d̲ midamin ‘utria batar nhur man psaqinan mn šuta kasita d̲ mištaiibh̲ Turia trin man psaqinan mn šuta kasita d̲ mištaiibh̲ rurbia l`mat nihzia ldmutun d̲ mn trin parSupia d̲ hinun lhdadia sagdia aminTul d̲ atra d̲ azlinalh̲ haška dmuth̲ ulanahra mitinsib hailaian umipisqinan bmia tahmia bgauaian hauia bišuta uminaian hauia hasir ubSir hargta abdiban šibiahia uTaman ušaršan mitinsib mištalTia ‘lauaian qiriata d̲ maštaSia baTlia mitgaTalban pagria uzma ‘lauaian mišad kabra btibil bišuta utiqlata napšan kabria ‘lauaian šibiahia bTnupania mia nišmata bgauaian mithamlia k̲d̲ haza paršigna amar mia hiia lšilmai unidbai malil šilmai unidbai mn duktaiun udraš malil bmalalun d̲ kabiria ulmia hiia d̲ nimarlun nha ukun napšaikun mia hiia d̲ nimarlkun ldh̲ udh̲ d̲ nimarlkun lhusrana ukariuta ubišuta d̲ mn hiia tiniania huat lbišuta d̲ huat mn ptahil `utra d̲ mn mia siauia sliq k̲d̲ ptahil sliq mn mia siauia kulhin `bidata sainata umhamblata minh̲ sliq minh̲ sliq husrana uminh̲ tinihta huat `l aminTul abatur iamina daina d̲ `bidath̲ lanibaTlan aminTul lkana d̲ nišmata bmia tahmia lanimita lanimita bmia tahmia ušuba ‘lauaihun laništalTun anatun mia hiia asgun lhurba napla qrun qala d̲ hiia ušribh̲ bbaita Sauta adiauria hulin lnišmata d̲ lšumh̲ d̲ iauar mitradpia niSTababkun maSbuta haita uniršimubkun dikia rušuma nitasubkun kibia umuria d̲ mn šibiahia napqia malil mia hiia ulšilmai unidbai d̲ nimarlun k̲d̲ naplinun bmia aklia qudam iauar zakuta litlan dina mitmar minaian ubhiria zidqa makisilan batar hšuk k̲d̲ mitansab šaršan utuqnan saliq latrh̲ anin lasaliqinin mn tibil umištailinin qudam nhura iaqra lhaTaian ulskilatan d̲ hTainin batar hšuk k̲d̲ anin mia hiia mištailinin lhalin kana d̲ naSuraiia mahu amritun `lh̲ malil šilmai unidbai ulmia hiia d̲ nimarlun hda saliq mn alpa utrin salqin mn ruban bškinat hiia rurbia qadmaiia nišmata d̲ `urbana ukadba lasalqan kulman d̲ ‘utbia muma luat hiia rurbia qadmaiia lamitakšar anatun pariq uasiq napšaikun mn kibia umumia d̲ šuba abdia latidamun lptahil ‘utra d̲ mn mia siauia sliq rušuma lansab mn iardna ubmia hiia la`uSTba la`uSTuba bmia hiia ulansab kušTa iaqra lalam d̲ labaTla tibil u`bidata d̲ baita mithambal mištaušia garglia umitpasqia maspuTiata d̲ arqa tahma ulanahra aminTul d̲ abahatun la`tamlak ulaudubun ulamarlun ldh̲ udh̲ u`l d̲ nsab rbuta ub`sura d̲ napšaihun iatbia k̲d̲ mitipsiq baita uruhaiun d̲ šuba tišlum utithambal dmauatun d̲ kukbia trisar d̲ lhazin šurubta d̲ hiia hla ridka ništaušia ‘bidata d̲ tibil kula urqiha kulh̲ nizdaranbia haizak ata iušamin uabatur uptahil uhazilh̲ lhazin alma guha mitagnalun blibaihun ltarbaSia hadiaiun šaqpia hazilh̲ lkana d̲ nišmata d̲ šapil kulh̲ ldurdia bhanath̲ iuma rba d̲ dina mn iušamin uabatur uptahil mitmar haizak atia hibil ziua umasiqlun mn hazin alma d̲ iušamin uabatar biardna d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia miSTba uhaizak ninsibunh̲ lptahil `utra mn rpilia d̲ `sura iatib ubiardna d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia miSTba bhanath̲ iardna sruth̲ minh̲ mitgirpa nitkarkubun bhiia qadmaiia uništaiia lsadh̲ u`sura d̲ sbal balma ništaiia lkariuta d̲ huatalh̲ mn abuia malka d̲ `utria nitaqria ulkulh̲ kana d̲ nišmata ništalaT malka nitiqria d̲ lnaSuraiia ubuta utušbihta ldilia nisrun uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaiuhun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania k̲d̲ `tinsib tuqna mn atria asgia atalh̲ lalma ata lalma d̲ husrana d̲ ‘thiblia lsin mn riš briš gabra d̲ `hablia tuqna qralh̲ uzarzia upaqdia mn riš briš amarlia lbuša utuqna ‘hablak d̲ tanharbia habara d̲ baita k̲d̲ mitaksia ziua d̲ šamiš tuqnak dilak nidna k̲d̲ šakib gabra luat zauh̲ bmaluašak dilak nizdra usahdutak bgauh̲ d̲ šarša taqna anat anharta ‘l parSupia upariqtia mn kibia umumia umn kulhuin dmauata d̲ lakašra upariqth̲ mn bišuta d̲ baita napla `l aminTul d̲ šarša d̲ mazruta haita l`dak dilak `thab anat anhar utaqin uqaiim šurubta mn riš briš malil d̲ nimarlh̲ sin lgabra d̲ tuqna d̲ lbušia iuma biahra mitiksina udrabšai dilia mitikrik mitikrik drabšai dilia mitikrik umizdahribẖ naTria trin ḵḏ laitun ldilia ugubria luat zaiuaiun šakbia ḵḏ mqabla bhanatẖ iuma Trušia ugirbania udmauata ḏ la`dia ulaligria minaihun napqia šagšila šibiahia lmazruta umšauiba kul ḏ biš malil ḏ nimarlẖ gabra ḏ tuqna albšia ḏ hauia bhanatẖ iuma lšurubtan dilan lamitakšar lamitamnia bminiana dilan ulamihšab bšaršan dilan mn riš briš br šarša hu ḏ hšuka nizal lqina ḏ minẖ hua uaqrẖ upaqdia uzahrẖ uzarzia utuqna uzaharta `lẖ šbaq amarlẖ `zdahar bkana ḏ nišmata ḏ šbiqlan luatak balma sgid uasgia mn qudamia lbit abatur azal asia azal lbit abatur asgia lmaTarata nhit asgia nhit lmaTarata lmašlumia hušbana mn riš briš biuma ḏ nagid mn tibil bšaiia ḏ kisia mn alma btiqlata ḏ ramia ltarmidia hlaSa ungada ukbaša šabqia ‘lẖ mhauilẖ hauqa udahalta uziuihta alma ḏ maiit umištarhaz uhašuk uhauia dmutẖ ḵḏ ḏ lahuat ḵḏ napiq mn maTarata gaunẖ minẖ mitinsib uhauia dmutẖ ḵḏ ḏ lahuat hailak iatib bmarkabtẖ ulabiš drabša taqna unagdilẖ ltuqna rba umasgia lgauẖ ḏ alma biuma qadmaia ḏ mitahzia rišiẖ ḏ rqiha mitpata napiq mn rqiha `laia ulrqiha titaia mistimak alma liuma tiniana dahna ziuẖ bkulhun almia alma liuma šubaia biahra ḏ sin bqala ḏ hiia mamlil mamlil bqala ḏ hiia aminTul ḏ hauqa udahalta uziuihta ‘nišiia ‘nišiia lhauqa udahalta uziuihta ḏ ramia bišuta bkulẖ alma ‘lkun amirna umaprišna gubria ḏ bhiia sahdin ašar usbal ridpa bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma ubgauẖ ḏ baita napla aminTul ḏ ligal baTla tibil utrin Turia mitgababia mitgababia trin Turia haila unhura minaihun mitinsab mitinsuab haila ušrara ḏ kulẖ hua luataihun mn riš briš haška umitaslia dmutaihun hauia dmutaihun ḵḏ ḏ lahuat mn qudam nišmata ḏ audubun qahda ugahia ubakia mn duktaihin uamrilun ḵḏ huainin balma hanatẖ nhar ziuaikin bkulhun almia ḏ anin shidnin bdilkun ušabinkun mn riš briš hašta alma ḏ `tasliat dmutaikun uhibrat uhiškat ḵḏ ḏ lahuat lahuatalun paršagna lšibiahia ḏ nimarlun lsagadun ḵḏ ḏ huat šibiahia unišmatun usagadun uhšukun ukulhin qiriatun uap nišmata ḏ bnia šurba rba ḏ hiia ḏ audubun l‘šaiul titaita šaplia šaplia bhiuia rba ḏ hu `ur marẖ ḏ hšuka šumia minẖ umn hanatẖ iuma mitparqa umištauzba nišmatkun unišmata ḏ ahan Tabia halin ahuatan ḏ mhaimnẖ unišmatun ḏ gubria kšiTia umhaimnẖ nisqa nihzunẖ latar nhur uhiia zak`in sa

. bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania qala ḏ sam ziua dakia ḏ rbia mn pumaihun rruia rbia qruia mn pumaihun udiauria nSablia nSablia adiauria tušlimia dakiia ḏ nihuilia Sauta bškintia albišuia šuba lbušia ḏ ziua unhura u‘qara ulbit ginzaihun šalTuia šalTuia l‘utria ulpasimkia uliardnia ulškinata ḏ atar atar šilTuia lmania šihia ulziua ḏ iaqid batra aprišuia lshaq ziua rba ḏ hiia ulatra šribẖ mn riš briš amarlẖ lhanatẖ alma ḏ mn kulhun almia ḏ nhura ksia qiriuia lhamgai ziua br hamgagai ziua u‘hablia adiauria u‘hablia šuba razia kasiia dakiia unTiria ḏ hu bgauaihun mitnaTarbun mn riš briš šalTuia lplugta ḏ iurba uamarlẖ ḏ `zil dara nTur u`zdahar bkana ḏ nišmata utaqin uasiq latria ḵḏ ragiz iurba bmimrak dilak nitakbiš latihuq ulatizha ulatitazha ulaništarhaz mana ḏ bak latiahqa lanana ḏ ‘tiksiatba mn riš briš latihuq ulatizha ulatimar ḏ balhudai ana `hablak adiauria ḏ kušTa ḏ hinun nihuilak naTra hinun naTra nihuilak uniparqunak mn kul ḏ snia niparqunak mn haršia ḏ ruha umšiha ušuba šibiahia umn hablia ḏ trisar kukbia niparqunak mn hirba ubarda unura ḏ iaqda ḏ hamša zidania ḏ iaqdania btibil šabqia ḵḏ kabra ‘lak bišuta qalan dilan nitia `lak ḵḏ mhašbia bišia lkana ḏ nišmata umahuilun hauqa udahalta lduktak latirut ulatizha ulatitahza ušuba lanidun llbušak ulanana ḏ bgaua `tiksit ḵḏ ragzia brugza rba ‘ngid kušTa mn qudamak dilak nitia ‘lan nišadarlak šganda uanin nihuilak naTra nišadarlak haila rama ḏ npiš usaka litlẖ nišadarlak haila napša uruhSana rba kabira mn duktẖ nišadarlak adiauria adiaruta ḏ šuba minẖ minẖ ništarhizun nitilak bauata kasiata uniTupiata ḏ labaTlan nitilak bauata kasiata ḏ labaTlan nitilak bauata kasiata ḏ mitkabšibin mardia nihuilun šrara ltarmidak ḏ dairia bdaura baTla nitrihSun bruhSanak umn iad šuba nitparqun nitparqun mn šuba uTbutan dilan udilak niligTun naSuraiia ḏ šihia šihia anat huibun sahdia anat sahda huibun ubhailak dilak nisqun latar nhur unitkarakbia baiar stana gupna d mn dara d hiia rurbia qadmaiia triS nitlabšun biura d rbia unitriSun bdaura taqna bdaura taqna nitriSun ulmdinat `utria nitauzipun naSuraiia d lašahia ulrbuta urugza iatbia unaSuraiia d lašahia haila ušrara umimra minaihun mitinsib mitinsib haila ušrara umimra minaihun nitimhun bmhita d asuta litbia nitimhun ulanitasun mn qbal d rišaiia uprišaiia hun rišaiia hu prišaiia uhauqa udahalta uziuihta hzun kul mhita d hšuka bmimra luataihun huat kul mhita d nhura bmimra luaihun d huat d lalgaT ulašar ula‘tazha hauqa uziuihta lahuabun lahuabun hauqa uziuihta ulapraš d napqia minh mn alma kd lahaš ulapraš mn šumak dilak nitkaprun unitharkun biaqdania d šuba umnata d šuba nihun uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania ana hu iukabir kušTa d asgit mn bit hiia atit atit bziua unhura d saka litlh atit luat bhiria zidqa d husrana ukarba litbun aitilun ‘mra ušima kd d rbia paqdun aitilun pugdamia kasiia d nihaiun gabaruatun bmaštuSia d ka kd hibil naTar dara ana šganda lqudamia huit ana traSilh kursia banana uana anhirtia balbušia haizak hibil brabuta paqdan lrahmia šumia aitilh mimra kabira d šanai usaka litlh nSablun markabath `hablun sahdia dmu `hablun bauata kasiata d šibiahia ušurbatun bgauaihun mitgaTla ‘hablun ‘uSTamumia d mia hiia d humria d baita bgauaihun mitgababia `hablun sakia d mia d minaihun gabaria d hšuka mištarhizia ‘hablun kabšia rurbia d kulh šarša d hšuka umia siauia minaihun mitkabšia aiilun lbhiria zidqa bmarkabatun kd iatbia kd iatbia bmarkabatun umqarqililun lmaštuSia d hazin alma kd hibil naTar dara ldilia iukabar kušTa qran ušauian šganda lbhiria zidqa šalTan šalTan lbhiria zidqa uana huitilun naTra ana huitinun lšibiahia d lkukbia trisar mn markabatun npal ana huitilun adiaura ubhailai dilia iukabar kušTa zhira d mhamblania baTil hiškat dmutaiun utingar haila d markabatun qam qudamaihun d bhiria zidqa ukul d bun aška minaihun mn riš briš kd šitil naTar dara atat naSiruta lalma kul d abad umiuad hua hun gubria prišaiia d priš napšaihun mn alma hun gubria prišaiia d apriš napšaihun mn d mindam d `tiksibh šibiahia minh lakal ulabad mn `bidatun ubalma d šiqlun la‘tagzar ulahiškat dmutaihun ula‘psiq šumaihun mn atar nhur tum aprištinkun ana iukabar kušTa lnigbia d minaihun hun amarlun d latibaTlun buta utušbihta kd pihta lamšauilkun latiTaibun d niTaibia lzidqa ulanišauia pihuta bšitin gauazia d barda nibla bšauTa d nura umia siauia nitnangar kd kabar ‘lauaikun ridpa ušagšilun razia naplia kd kabir `lauaikun ridpa malil bqala d hiia qrun kd tibun buta ulatišuun pihta ‘kilta d pagria tiklun kd paršitun lhazin raza haizak lligraikun qum haizak qum lligraikun ubuta d šitin uhda zibna bun kd baiitun hazin buta utušbihta haTaiun uhaTaikun uhaubaikun tišbiqlkun titasun bmania d nura mn šitin uhda mihiata ubmania d nura latiplun latiplun bmania d nura ubšitin uhda dudia d rahta latitnangrun kd bihiria zidqa d npaq mn pagraihun nhura mn haka sliq nhura sliq mn haka usliq širša taqna salqa Tabuta utuqna umadihta uSauta d nhura mn baita napla ‘tiasbit mn hda mšara d tibil uazlit ušrat bmata d kušTania naTria d hun haka azaliun ušrun liardna mata d kušTania npiš bnpiš uiatir biatir qala d hiia miTpa Tpa mzaga d tuqna d paš btibil ‘tiksia luat anašia tahmia batar atar Sauta silqat minh upaš riTna taqna minh umn hanath iuma tarmidia mn hanath `l nhura lasalqia ‘štaial u`tangar alma d Tupša minaiun šla kulman d Tupših šla minh sliq lbit abatur mitriS d Tupšia lašla minh daiik uauid kd d lahua ‘lkun qarina umaprašna gubria kšiTia umhaimnia nigba d nagbia mn dara batraia bmalalai ubbirikta dilia nisqun nisqun bbiriktai dilia unitqaimun mn riš briš ana anhirtinun uaprištinun d lanitiqlun balma d nitqal nimut unithambal tum ana anhartinkun uaprištinkun d ninhar unitqun ana huilkun bahad `da ahid `da usimaka mn atra d hšuk latar nhur uhiia zak‘in sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania mn škinat kabiria rbia qrun upaqdun

uqaimun qrun upaqdun rbia uzarzun ldaria šibqun lmiqria qala d̲ hiia ulmišria
bbaith̲ Sauth̲ lmiqria qala d̲ hiia ulminSab d̲ rbia niSubta niSubta d̲ rbia lminSab
ulmingad iardnia mn riš briš lmištal šitlia kširia umašqinun mia hiia
rauzia lmalpanun hukumta usibruta utušbihta d̲ napša usaka litlh̲ lmitilun qala
dakia d̲ mitqaimibh̲ bhazin alma nimalalun b`ruta d̲ hiia unirandidun unaqmun
šakbia niligTun unirmunh̲ dirkia unidriklun dirkia unitirSun kudka unasqun
bmadihta d̲ mn bit bihram rba d̲ hiia atat nitaprišun lnišmata d̲ šihia ldaura
taqna nirandidun unitaprišiun uninSablun d̲ šanai pasimkia nihaunun širša rba
d̲ birikta d̲ hiia rurbia qarmaiia minh̲ hun naSuraiia kšiTia umhaimnia nisqun
nihzunh̲ latar nhur naSuraiia uprišaiia lanikatrun bhazin alma lanikatrun bdina
rba laništailun ulanitmar dina minaihun d̲ nitmar mn kulhun almia lanithaibun
bit dina ulaniplun biama rba d̲ sup d̲ hinun ruha umšiha saipia saipia trisar
kukbia saipia šuba šibiahia dina minaihun mitmar sapia šuba šibiahia marauata
d̲ daura baTla marauata d̲ baita napla naSuraiia d̲ lašahia lbit hiia bhTita rabtia
hTun pagraihun qam bhusrana uhuabun hasir ubSir npaš sbar ginza mn tibil
‘lauaihun la‘tikšar k̲d̲ maTin baba rba d̲ bit abatur mn baba rba d̲ bit abatur
nitkamrun nitkamrun mn baba d̲ bit abatur lanihzuna latar nhur lanihzunh̲ lmadihta
d̲ mn škinta d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia ‘tinSib ništiqal minaihun ginzaihun
unišaplun lkiniana d̲ atar hšuk ništqil minaihun bauata kasiata d̲ sbar minh̲ mn alma
ništqil minaihun sidria kasiia uspinata mzarzata mištqil utitinsib minaihun
masiqta umaSbuta tisaq ldukta d̲ manh̲ atat nitiksia minahun ginza d̲ kasia luat iura
rba ganzibra titraS mitqar minaihun nhura ubguhnam titaita tištagar napil
bdudia d̲ rahta uniqum bnura k̲d̲ iaqda nihzunia d̲ nihizia lkariuta d̲ šibiahia
unimut trin mutia bhad kul d̲ bhir zidqa ukšiT umhaiman mn riš briš mn atria
lanipsiq lanipsiq mn atria unitlip blaupa iaqra nihzuna ltuqna d̲ šarša unitqaimun
bziua kisia mn riš briš nalbušun ‘uSTla d̲ ziua d̲ šanai usaka litlh̲ unikisunia
TarTabunia d̲ nhura d̲ nahur utaqun mn riš briš nisrulh̲ himiana d̲ himian mia d̲ kibia
unTiTia litbh̲ nitriSlia mn klil aiar d̲ mn ruaz gupna hua k̲d̲ napiq mn pagria nipuq
alanpia paruanqa nasbh̲ lškinat rbia d̲ šanai usaka litlh̲ latra d̲ iatbibh̲ rbia lašania
šapala mn mulia uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania bhaila d̲ ziua usindirka iauar qrulh̲
upaqduia lkul Sbu aprišuia ‘l madihta d̲ šanai usaka litlh̲ paqduia lTura rba
d̲ šanai ubaiar nhura uiaqir mn riš briš nSablh̲ `ruta d̲ hu bgauh̲ mitapriš ‘hablia
pugdamia kasiia d̲ šanin umnakrin mn riš briš alma aprišuia liura rba uldmuth̲
d̲ minh̲ šania aprišuia lnSab rba ulškinata d̲ škinlh̲ batar nhur aprišuia lzarzi‘il
ziua ulmana niha umqaimia aprišuia liusmir ‘utra ulškinata d̲ škan k̲d̲ `utria
malil hibil ziua d̲ nimarlh̲ lnaSbia umšabalh̲ lmana rba kabira d̲ nSablia škinta
mn riš briš audh̲ uaprišia uanhirh̲ ‘l kasiata uaprišia lmaSbuta haita ulmiša
dakia d̲ hazin alma aprišia lnaSuraiia k̲d̲ mn pagraihun napqia amarlh̲ `zil
lnaSuraiia d̲ šbiqin bgauh̲ d̲ alma amarlun k̲d̲ napqitun mn pagraikun bmiša dakia tisqun
aminTul d̲ kabir uiaqir mimrh̲ dakia d̲ mn bit hiia rbia ata d̲ bmiša dakia lanisaq
lmaTarata d̲ ptahil ninTar alma d̲ nisaq bšitin uhda ‘ngirta haizak balma d̲ nhura
nitriS nihizih̲ `l taur`iil gupna d̲ biardna d̲ taruan dakita šria nihizia ‘l
tatagmur `lana d̲ liardna d̲ mara d̲ abuta šria nihizia laruaz gupna d̲ minh̲ birikta
d̲ hiia napqa d̲ minh̲ napqa brikta d̲ hiia ukulhun `utria brihh̲ basmia nihizia
liusmir gupna d̲ barqa d̲ sam ziua šria nihizia lšarhab‘il gupna d̲ barqa
d̲ hibil ziua šria nihzinun lšuba suradqia d̲ ziua unhura u`qara d̲ ngidia lgupna
šania nihzinun ltrin Turia dakiia d̲ nihuia uiatbia batraihun nihizia liauar
ziua rba d̲ hiia gupna qadmaia d̲ barqa d̲ hiia rurbia qadmaiia šria nihizia lšar
gupna d̲ barqa d̲ hiia qarmaiia šria nihizia lpirun gupna d̲ barqa d̲ šarat uabdat
ukišrat šria nihizia lgupna rba d̲ lpiria d̲ iauar ‘titia šria nihizia lgupna rba
d̲ nišmata d̲ ianqia bgauh̲ mitrabin ušatin mn ‘bibia urauzin nišmatun uparian

parian nišmatun ubalmia d nhura mitqaiman nihizia liura rba unihizia lkisia d nSablh nihzinun ladatan uiadatan d lbaba d bit hiia iatbin nihzinun lšilmai unidbai d banana rabtia kasita qadmaita dairin d bhanath anana umpaqdia lkulhun iardnia nihizia liušamin dakia d atutia hapiqia mia šria nihzinun larba gubria bnia šlama d hauilun lnaSuraiia bahid `da bahad `da usimaka mn atra d hšuk uatar nhur uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania busma ana d `utria d asgit ušrit bilbab kšiT libai d šritibia uanhartia utaqantia mn riš briš mn riš briš anhartia utaqantia uaitit šritibia Tabta šiqlit minh tinihta d šuba lpagra aitun šuba aitun lpagra uaitun ušrun blilbia haškia d manhar blilbia b`ruta mistar batar nhur d b`ruta lamanhar mipsiq minh mn atar nhur ana b`uSrai mitraiina d haizin huat mn duktai mn atrai man šibian mn abinia abahatai d rabiun man atian luat haiabia bnia d daura baTla man atian luat mridia d kul iuma qraba abdia man hauian mriruta d hiliuta litbia man hauian hšuka d `uSba d nhura litbia mn hauian mia sariia d lgarglia mitapkia lgarglia usalqia srutun maTia arqia latrai kd qaiimna zahit uziuihta lnapšai amrit d litlh naSba rama ulatlh gabra munqa latrai kd qaiimna šimun rbia ulagzar ʻlia šadarlh naSba rama ušadarlh gabra d munqa šadarlh adiaura niaha d ata uparqan mn kul Sbu ʻštaiilia bšuta uparqan minh umn alma uqran bqala niha uaniha llibai lsamkia aprišan ʻl tušbihta uridpa d tibil ʻnšaitlh uamar ia `utra niha lau bSubian rbia rbia atit latit bSubian rbia ulau bSubian `utria d tam hinila bSubian trin `utria d šihluk ulhaka šadruk šihluk ušadruk lhak ušibquk bgauh d alma aTar huitbh urbitbh alma d hnatalh labuk kd labuk hnatalh d nimarlik haizin huat ana lab amarnalh lgabra d `tpaqad `lai man hinun trin `utria d šihlun lhaka šadrun šihlun ušadrun lhaka ušibqun bgauh d alma hu adiaura amarlh gabra d `tpaqad `lai man bra d siba d abuia d šihluk ulhaka šadruk šihluk ušadruk lhaka ušibquk bgauh d alma aTar huitibh u`rbitibh alma d hnatalh labuk kd labuk hnatalh šadarlak adiauria adiauria šadarlak uʻštaiilak haizak ia ʻutra niha qum lbit anašatak saq uluTia lhazin atra d bit munqak kma d anat huitbh udartbia šuba hambagak hun šuba hun hambagak utrisar hulak ridpa trisar ridpa hulak uamria naslinun l`ubadia d `Tak luatan nagzria `Tak nagzria luatan utihuilh mnata balma ana talalit udaršit bʻuSrai uamarnalh lab adiaura niha lgabra d `tpaqad `lai ab `u iadit d biSrit agzran bdaura d haTia amar ia `utra niha miTpa Tpit ulabisrit ab `u iadit d labaSrit mahu `ka d šauitulh kd haza šuma minh mn pagra apqia albšia albušia d ziua utraSlia klila iaqra tibra `l maTaratun urabut apqia mn alma apqh ulrbia asmikh d larqa d rbia bgauh iatbia misliq sliq `utra utraSlia kursia u`lh `tib ana `marlakun rbia ana `marlkun rurbia hazin d huat kd haza d `lai tibdun mn gaTuptaikun btibil auda latibSar bSar dara uridpa bnpiš kbar ʻlauaihun ʻtib ʻutra ʻutra sdira umsadra anin mida iadinin d giTuptaikun btibil auda latibSar bSar dara uridpa bnpiš mištbiq ʻlun anat ʻtparaqt usliqt ʻutra udmSia abatrak nisaq mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania mn dmutai mištaiina d atai nibun ana uanat nibunba bqala kasia unibunba bpira šania d mitinSiblan piria umitinSiblan audiauria anat ldilia šabai uana ʻšabh `lak nitnaTar bziua sagia unisadar hdadia mn riš briš ʻTak mitinSiblan ʻutria umšabilan rurbia kd amar uʻthašb lSauth lSauth ʻthašab bh kd bpiria šania amar uʻthašab uqria Sauta liaminai uqria Sauta lsmalai uqria šlihia d hiia d mnaTrilh bkisia malalat d timarlh dmuth lmana iaqra ʻu tiqria šlihia mitnapša riša d šurubta d niSubtak riša d niSubtak mitnapša aminTul d husrana d alma bgauh hauia kadba uhauibh guha balma malalit d `marlh ldmuta šania mn riš briš hšiblan d labaiinin niSubta d ninSab mina hauia hasir ubSir hasir ubSir hauia mina hauiba guha balma ana kibšit lSautai sigdit unisbit mina kušTa iaqra alnin bmania uʻtksinin ušrat d tihuia Sauth kd hun

qadmaiia ltiniania mithašbia kd hun tiniania ltlitaiia mithašbia kd hun tlitaiia larbaiia mithašbia minaihun d arbaiia hauia hasir ubSir hauia hasir ubSir minaihun uhuabia guha balma malalat d timarla dmuth lmana iaqra lau mimar amarilak d labaiinin d ninSab niSubta labaiinin niSubta d ninSab d minh hauia hasir ubSir hasir ubSir hauia minh uhauibia guha balma malil d nimarla ldmuta šania mn riš briš alma d `titlh lmihuia anin nibaTlh ništarhibuba bhiria zidqa unisqun qala lka minaiun bširša nisqun uminaiun mitkamria balma d mSia napšia mpariq nisaq nihizia latar nhur d mSia unapšia lampariq nipuš bgauh d alma bgauh d alma nipuš utihuia mdurtia mn alma anin niqrilh lšganda šganda d niSubtun d rurbia nipaqid unišadria ltam mindam d hatam niiasaq lka niparqinun lmania nihia uniparqia lmana iaqra lmana iaqra niparqa unihuia Taba bit tušlita ana qiriun upaqdun rbia umn hukumtun šrun šrun ‘lai rmuta mnaTarta d mnaTrilh bkisia šrun ‘lai rhamta d tihuilkun lrahmai šrun ‘lai Sauta unihuta d ‘štaiilan lrahmai lrahmai ‘štaiilan u‘parqinun mn audia ‘parqinun mn husrana d hinun ‘bduia mn napšaihun mzarzilh umpaqdilh kd aba d mpaqdia bnh mhananilia umnašqilia akuat aba d mnašaq bnh mzahrilh umnaTrilh uap qaimia bmalala uamria ganzibra mšadrinalak ligal bšgandia ata ligal ata bšgandia uaitilan niSubta d rurbia alma tihuia bgu tibil ualma titgabar `l audia alma d tišbuq d lbuša dakia utilbuš lbuša marda alma d tišbuq razia nihia utialbun brazia d audia latišbuq Sauta d rhamta utirhum Sauta d audia latišbuq šuta haita utirhum Sauta d audia kd amarlh rbia kibšit usigdit mn riš briš lmahu timarulh haizin libai bplugta qam libai qam bplugta uainai bdimihta `STarar ainai `STarar bdimihta alma d haulilit lduktai bkit miaka d hua bit rbia urihma lšuta d audia miaka d nišbuq lbuša dakia unilbuš lbuša marda miaka d nišbuq Sauta rhamta nirhum Sauta d audia miaka d nišbuq šuta nihuta nirihma lšuta d audia amarlia amarnin d nimarlak latitragag laudia aminTul d tiniana d hua qašiša hua minh hasir ubSir hasir ubSir hua minh uhuabh guha balma uhaizak qiriuia lmanda d hiia uamarlia bligal ata nTur bnak uata bnak nTur ubrakinun bbiriktak hanath birikta d brikinun l`utria bnak bbirikta d birkak ušra ‘lai mn Sauth ušra ‘lai mn niSubth ukibšit lhiia sigdit uaititilh lalma kibšit lhiia sagdit umalalit bqalai šania asgit ‘l škinata l‘utria Tabia d nSab `utria mihizia d hiziun sagdun umšabin mn riš briš umšabilh l`utria d rabuta d kulh šrara minh hua amrilh `lia masgit bra d ziuia u`lh hiia lhaka šadruk amarnalun masgina l`umqia d kulh sruta ul`bidata d lamšauia ‘bdata d abad `utria d msatra mn duktaiin amrilh `zil taqin uasiq bzaku niSubtak ata minaian `tinSib d lauilak adiauria asgit bhailaihun d hiia tušlimia nihuilak paruanqa birkak malka d aiar uasgit ltibil d audia bišia mihizia d hiziun `stahap alanpaihun npal `stahap npal alanpaihun uazal liama rba d sup hzainak `lak gabra d dmutak lau mn dilan h` ana malalit d ‘marlun lbišia kadabia d dairia balma hazin lbuša mnalkun d mbasimla lriha d srutkun ana šihlun hiia atit d ‘iasim bzaku šurbta hiia lgaT Tabuta d `utria mn tibil sliq uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania kd atit ana anuš ‘utra lgauh d hazin alma atit qrit qala d hiia utarSit d hiia niSubta malilit bqalai udiršit uairit bhiria balma qritibh bkaluza urandidit uaqmit šakbia utarmidit tarmidia d šihia latar nhur lruha man amarla lhasirta bSirta man asbira man amarla lkadabta d gbar nukraia asgia lka lruha man amarla d ‘da lriša šadia ‘da šadia lriša ugdula briša satra gdula satra briša ualai alai mraria ruha brugza malalat ubšiqra nipqat minilta ruha brugza malalat ulbna bukra d timarlun amralun atun atun bnai bukrai mindam d ‘marlkun šuma atun ‘thašab bišuta unilgaT ligiTta balma ligiTta balma nilgaT mn šurubta d gabra nukraia d asgia lka haizak knap kukbia šuba luat ruha d qudša azlia amrila bmahu nilgaT liguTta bgauh d hazin alma amralun atun niškub aluat hdadia ulrazia d kulan ninisbh ninisbh lrazia d kulan ugbilta bgauh nigbal nigbal gbilta bgauh unibinia lmata d ‘urašlam knap kukbia

šuba luat ʻmaihun škib škib luat ʻmaihun umn razia d hdadia nsib nsib mn razia
d hdadia ubniuia lmata d ʻurašlam biniuia lʻurašlam mata pirSa hbala uzaniuta
bgauh šbaq amria d kul d iatib bʻurašlam mata šum alaha lanadkar qam kukbia šuba
unimrus `ma d alma qam kukbia ušuba markabatun atun atun bšuba markabatun unhit
mn rqiha larqa anpaq mn alma hazin ualma lbit rahmia mTun ruha lbna timar
lmaštuSia baTlia amarlun bnai sira markabatkun d nibinia bhazin dukta qala npaq
mn anana d anuš ʻutra ulruha d qudša d nimarla dukta d hazin mata mitbinia
tlatma ušitin uhamša tarmidia mina napqia ašliat bqala uqihdat ulbna šuba
timarlun amarlkun qum qum bnai šuba latibniu bhazin dukta luTta bišta
mTanapta d lmarkabata dilkun atat `tib bmarkabatun uasgun mn hanath dukta
asgun alma lbit mTalalia mTun ruha lbna timar lmaštuSia baTlia amarlun bnai
sara markabatun unibunia bhazin dukta qala npaq mn anana d anuš ʻutra ulruha
d qudša d nimarla dukta d hazin mata mitbinia tlatma ušitin uhamša tarmidia mina
napqia malalat ruha d qudša ʻl šibiahia d timarlun qum qum bnai šuba ʻngirta
brugza atat `lan qum bmarkabatkun uasgun mn hanath dukta asgun alma lkrak nSab
mata nimTun malalat ruha d qudša ulšibiahia d timarlun bnai sara markabatkun
nibinia bhazin dukta qala npaq mn anana d anuš ʻutra ulruha d qudša d nimarla dukta
d hazin mata mitibinia tlatma ušitin uhamša tarmidia mina napqa ruha brugza
malalat ulšibiahia d timarlun qum qum bnai šuba mindam d amarlkun šuma qum nizal
mn qudam hiia rbia qam ata šuba šibiahia uasgun mn hanath dukta qam u`tib
bmarkabatun ušamar mizlaihun balma šamar balma mizlaihun alma d ganpia
d markabatun šmaT malalat d timarlun nimrus `mh d alma bnai sara markabatkun
unibinia bhazin dukta bhaza dukta nibinia aminTul d ʻuhra šlam malil
šibiahia d nimarla lnimrus `mh d alma ha `tirgil hailaian uganpia d markabatan
šmaT ha nimar bmimran unibinia bhazin dukta knap kukbia šuba haršia upudria abdia
haršia upudria ušum alaha ladkar qam kibša llibta qadmaita ubinia lmata d ʻurašlam
qala npaq mn anana d anuš ʻutra ulruha d qudša d nimarla dukta d haza mata
mitbinia tlatma ušitin uhamša tarmidia mina napqia malalat ruha d qudša
ulšibiahia d timarlun atun atun bnai šuba Tubh lman d alaha hauilh adiaura
biniuia lʻurašlam mata d iahuTaiia bgaua hun `hablun `ubadia d hšuka ušuba
`lauaihun birikta brak qrinun lmlakia naTria nunia d iama uSipar gadpa
bʻumamata aumunun aumunun bʻumamata uʻhablun liahuTaiia bʻurašlam ubrak
`lauaiun birikta ukul d bun aška mn riš briš hun šuba ʻuSTunia d kul hargta
ukidba minaihun hua `tkanap iahuTaiia bgauh d hurba Sadia ʻtnapaš iahuTaiia
umaTiat lmilgaT ligiTta badmu pagria `damit uasgit lmata d ʻurašlam malalat bqalai
diršit huaitla lmiriai asia asia huatila lmiriai uasita mn riš briš ʻtqiriat
asia d kušTa d masia ulanasib agar ahitta lmiriai biardna uSbaita uršamta
bdakia rušuma umn miriai šalmanita iaqip ubnia amin praš mn iaqip ubnia amin
tlatma ušitin uhamša tarmidia praš praš bʻurašlam mata d iahuTaiia brugza hun
ugaTlunun ltarmidia d šuma d hiia dakria ana kd hzaitinun brugza uzida biša
`timlit `lun `timlit `lun brugza uzidia biša ulqudam hiia rbia silqit amarilh
lab kd d huat mn dukta tum amarilh kd šuba abad bhazin alma kd haizin šuma manai
`ngirta brugza `hablh `hablh `ngirta brugza `lh lmata d ʻurašlam lruha man
amarla lhasirta ubSirta man asbra man amarla lkadabta d nišra hiuara sliq lmata
d ʻurašlam qarialun lšurbata kanpilun lkulhin humria qarialun lkukbia šuba
uiatba umalia nagda uamra uailak ʻurašlam mata d nišra bgauak sliq uailinun
liahuTaiia bmhita urugza mitgaTlia uqaima ruha d qudša ulanuš `utra midina
amralh bhaiak anuš ʻutra latiahriba lhazin mata ʻurašlam d ana bnit malil
d nimarla lnamrus `mh d alma man d hambaga lnhura hauilh muta tiniana nimut
iahuTaiia mn dahaltaiun bauania auania `tiksun malil d nimarla lnimrus `mh d alma
hinila šubqan ldilia d `hiSinun lbabh d šura ʻlauaihun lduktaiun nitgaTlun
nitgaTlun iahuTaiia d btarmidak hTun mhaita bakla d ziua uamarnala mn qudamai
zhai ana atit brugza hiia brugza šadrun hiia šadrun brugza lhurba d mata

d̲ ‘urašlam ‘uSTuna ‘uSTun qadmaia šrit rmaith̲ mn dukth̲ pasth̲ l`sraiil `uSTuna d̲ ltarmidai hualun ridpa pasth̲ liaqip `uSTuna d̲ qaiim lbaba d̲ ‘urašlam kbašth̲ ladunai `uSTuna d̲ npaq bmiSaita d̲ ‘urašlam pasth̲ lzatan ‘uSTuna lšura baraia hua rmaith̲ lSihmai `uSTuna d̲ lšuria gauaia hua rmaith̲ lkarkum `uSTuna d̲ kulhun mlakia bgauh̲ rgalth̲ lsahra rba d̲ naTra d̲ ‘urašlam bgauh̲ hun haribta l‘urašlam mata d̲ zma d̲ marmidai bgauh̲ ‘štad gaTiltinun liahuTaiia d̲ lšurba d̲ hiia hualh̲ ridpa kul Sipar gadpa uhiua saina minaihun hua kul qupia uzabia minaihun d̲ iahuTaiia praš kul hiua biša d̲ `lauaihun hua brugza misap saipia liuma rba d̲ sup šrara hualun ltarmidai d̲ sbal ridpa b‘urašlam pasth̲ lbaita d̲ lau Tabu hu uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania lriš klila dakia d̲ šadar rbia l‘utra niha qiriuia qiriuia l‘utra niha uasquia lškinata rbia amrilh̲ l`utra niha ‘utra niha umqaima sab haila bnpiš d̲ mn hiia d̲ iatbia bškinatun klila badmu klila dakia anat brišak dilak sab napša unhura d̲ saka litlh̲ sab pasimka biaminak unitun minak `utria trin banana kasita bmalalai dilia umqaimia sab mn bauata d̲ anin baiinabun sab mn `rutun d̲ litbh̲ hasir ubSir `zil banana kasita d̲ nitun minak `utria trin asgun lbhiria zidqa d̲ husrana ukadba litbun auilun šuta d̲ hiia d̲ napša usaka litlh̲ asgun lbhiria zirqa gubria kšiTia umhaimnia atun qrun qala d̲ hiia d̲ hinun nairun šakbia ‘hablun malalia kasiia d̲ hinun bgauaihun mitaprišia aprišinun lhiia rbia k̲d̲ mamlilibh̲ bsidraihun hiia zarzinun lnaSuraiia d̲ `ka bgauh̲ d̲ alma hazin `uSTlia d̲ ziua nilibšun nisqun bdirkia mn abatrak ahbalun ‘mraušima d̲ mn zidia nitparqun ahbalun mn Tabuta d̲ paqdun hiia rbia bškinatun ahbalun hukumat aiar d̲ niqmun unibun mn rurbia aprišinun lalmia d̲ nhura ulškinata kasiata d̲ hinun bgauaiin iatbia aprišinun lhiia rbia aprišinun lmania tam aprišinun lklil aiar d̲ traSlun lhiia rbia bškinatun aprišinun lhiia rbia `utria d̲ bSiuat hdadia iatbia aprišinun lmana niha ul‘utria tlata d̲ bšibia nisbuia lmana uatiuia ldaura d̲ haTia amria `lh̲ šuba d̲ mn dilan nitimnia nitimnia mn dilan nihuia unihuia luatan balma nikatria bgu tibil d̲ lanihizih̲ lnaSbia lanihizih̲ lgupna rba d̲ gubria d̲ haka qaimuia lanihizih̲ liaqid ziua bškintia lmahu damia lanihizih̲ labahath̲ laniruaz balbušia lanihzinun lhiia rbia ulanihzinun lhiia rurbia ulanihzinun lmania d̲ haka amar mana niha umaprišilh̲ lkula šurbath̲ gupna ana lihdaia d̲ qaiim bgauh̲ d̲ alma litlh̲ naSba rama ulitlh̲ gabra munqa ulitlh̲ adiaura niha d̲ nitia uniprišan lkul Sbu rbia ‘bduia lmana nSab ušadarlh̲ naSba kasiuia bziua napša unhura d̲ saka litlh̲ klila aitit biaminai ubsmalai aitit ‘uSTla rušuma aitit blibai haduta d̲ rbia d̲ `hablia bhaduta d̲ `hablia rbia mana mn pagrh̲ npaq laiadia `lh̲ šuba ‘la d̲ abatar mn pagrh̲ anpaq alma lbit tiniana ziua d̲ mana mn baita larab kula mihšuk hašak haizak ‘da ‘la šuba kulhun bmalia iatbia šamiš šbaq ziuh̲ usira tuqnh̲ šbaq ‘nbu šda siprh̲ ulibat biluria šdat kiuan šaria halSh̲ ukšara mn Sauria psaq bil šbaq zainh̲ uaqapra briš ruha rma alahia ušulTania ‘stahap alanpaihun npal ‘stahap anpal alanpaihun uazlia liama rba d̲ sup hadria bgu tibil ubaiia mana ulamaškia azlia qudam abuhun ubaiia mana ulamaškia mana sliq lbit rbia amarlun mana lhiia d̲ iatbia bškinatun mahu hTitbkun d̲ šadirtun ldaura d̲ haTia nisqun bguTuptun mn qudam hiia rbia bškinatun mn abinia mania mn ginzaihun d̲ rurbia rbia d̲ hiziuia lmana paqid `lh̲ nisbuia bziua sagia ubškinta d̲ rbia qaimuia nSablh̲ tlata `utria d̲ nihuilh̲ Sauta Sauta nihuilh̲ unizahruia lškinta nSablia nhura rba d̲ manharlia ldmuth̲ `hablia mn Tabuth̲ d̲ napša uasgia batar nhur ‘hablh̲ pasimkia d̲ manharilh̲ lmana bškinth̲ sgid umšabalun lhiia rbia bškinatun zka manda d̲ hiia uzakia kulhun rahmia uhiia zakin sa . hazin draša d̲ šlam kilh̲ ladam sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania k̲d̲ `STararit uhuit ana ptahil mn aina d̲ ziua saq uhuit k̲d̲ ‘thašab aba uqran mn aina d̲ ziua qran albšan lbuša d̲ ziua ukasuia d̲ nhura kasan `hablh̲ taga rba d̲ almia bziuia nahria amarlia ia br qum asgia `zil larqa d tibil umsuta bmia siauia msia musia larqa d tibil uiardnia urhaTia paligba ‘ubduia ušauia ladam d pagria d minh bhiria nihun minh hauin bhiria usalqia hazilh latar nhur `zil larqa d tibil utlata qalia qria bqala qadmaia arqa msia ubqala tiniana iardnia urahaTia paligba ubqala tlitaia nunia biama qria uSipar gadpa brqiha ukulhun aTšia ubazrunia d kul had šanai mn habria masgina uatina alma `l miSria d arqa d tibil uainia bmia siauia mlat alma lburkai qamit lmia umia msuta lamsun alma laTmai qamit bmia umia msuta lamsun alma lpumai qadmaia qamit bmia umia msuta lamsun alma lpumai batraia qamit bmia umia msuta lamsun šum hiia umanda d hiia adkirit lmia umia msuta lamsun umn šuba lbušia d ziua unhura u`qara d ab `hablia rmit lmia umia msuta lamsun gauaza d ‘mra ušima hibTit lmia umia msuta lamsun mahu ‘bidlun lmia aklia hdadia ušum hiia lamqablia ana lmahu hTitlh lab abatur d dabar lhaka šadran l`umqa d kulh sruta d ‘niš bgauh ladar lmia aklia hdadia ušum hiia lamqablia ana silqit mn mia siauia lqudam ab abatur mizlai amarilh lab abatur lrazia d hazin alma d abatur mihizih d hizian šaiulia d nišailai amar alma d qrit lmahu damia u`bidatak haizin d taqintbh mn riš briš ana malalit lab abatur d `marlh d šadirtan lalma d kulh sruta d `Sba d nhura litbh lmia aklia hdadia ušum hiia lamqablia alma lburkai qamit lmia umia msuta lamsun alma laTmai qamit lmia umia msuta lamsun alma lpumai qadmaia qamit lmia umia msuta lamsun alma lpumai batraia qamit lmia umia msuta lamsun mn šuba lbušia d ziua unhura u`qara rmit bmia umia msuta lamsun gauaza d ‘mra ušima hibTit lmia umia msuta lamsun kd haizin amarilh lab abatur bbuta utušbihta qam qam bbuta utušbihta usgid ušaba lhiia rbia mn riš briš usliq qudam hiia abahath d nimarlun l`bidata d hazin alma qralh lhibil ziua u‘l aganbia ‘ušana šadruia umsuta minh nsib minh nsib msuta uata labatur `hablh kanh abatur bTarTabnh dakia uata lptahil brh `hablh amarlh `zil musia larqa d tibil ungud rqiha mn riš briš qamit mn qudam ab abatur u‘l miSria d arqa d tibil mTit musuta d ab `hablia rmit lmia umia msuta msun msuta qadmaita trisar alpia parsia ganpia kd anania Sarlh ganpia Sarlh kd anania uTaisa uhadra balma mitqiria mšunia kušTa d bhiria zidqa bgauh mitrabin umitrauribh bhiria zidqa usalqia hazilh latar nhur msuta tiniantia trisar alpia parsia arqa d tibil mitqiria bqalai qadmaia amsit arqa unigdit rqiha mn riš briš bqalai tiniana iardnia urahaTia paligbh bqalai tlitaia nunia biama qrit uSipar gadpa d gaunia gaunia uznia znia qrit nunia biama likilta d adam ukulhun bnia nihun ‘kilta lnišmata d daira bdaura baTla bqalai arbaia kul aTšia ubazrunia qrit kul had šanai mn habrh bqalh hamšiaia kul rihšia bišia hun bqalai šitaia kul gbilta d hšuka minh huat bqalai šubaia ruha ušuba bna hun uatun lqudanai qam ana d hzaitinun libai mn samkia anpal ana malalit ulšuba u‘marlun ‘mna huaitun šuba kd d lahua šumaikun bit ab mna huaitun šuba kd lahua ana lmiqrinkun šuba mišma d šimun ‘tkanap bihdadia umitqabria ruha mišma d šimat atat qudamai qamat amralia atinia d mihuinalak arqa bigar umišmilak mn riš briš bnai ušurbatai abdia lqudamak anin anat sadra lmalkutak uanin nihuilak abdia mn abatrak malil ptahil d nimarlun `u tibdun `ubadia Tabia ana lgiTinkun bligiTtai u`zdaharbkun `u latibdun `ubadia Tabia tistakrun lkana d minh huaitun `u tibdun u`badia Tabia anatun bnai titiqrun bgauh d hazin alma tisadrun `ubdia d ab paqdan `lauaihun kd haizin amar ptahil baita minh `tinsib baita `tinsib minh ub`sura rba autbuia asruia b`sura alma d tibil baTla aminTul d šania mimra d abahahh ulmamla d abahath lašar abad d lapaqdh abuia ub`sura rba autbuia usihupta npalalia binia dilia labatur abuia qala d hdadia šamia uanpia hdadia lahazin baita nisbuia minh ub‘sura rba autbuia šadruia lhibil ziua d mitaqnia lhazin alma mitaqnin l`bidata d qra ptahil ulasrinin lriš lnaTra d adam uhaua zauh lmihuilun Sauta minaTra ladam uhaua zauh d minh bhiria napqia minh napria bhiria ubagra uzidqa mitnangiria mištalmia umnaTarlun buta utušbihta umasqa tarSalun bit tušlima mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa hazin draša d ptahil kd asgia larqa d tibil umsia larqa ungad rqiha hu sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania tarmidia mšaiililh̲ lgabra d̲ mn rbia ata amrilh̲ `utria l`utra d̲ rabuta hzun amarlun br rbia haizin `tib anat mn atit uasgit lhazin alma malil d̲ nimarlun `utra l`utria d̲ rabuta hzun mna rbia atit lhaka umn bhiria asgit lka hbun ušadrun rbia ‘tit u‘iapriš dilun ‘zlit uaprištinun lbnia d̲ Taba kulhun hinun sbar udar minaihun haizin `tinSib baita `taqan u`bdata d̲ bh̲ lšumia ularqa šrara hualun mn dilan lšamiš ulsira d̲ hinun bdilan minihria lziqa unura umia mdabrania d̲ hazin alma haizin ‘štpun mia hualh̲ laupa lhazin alma haizin ‘tinSib ziqa usigia lšibiahia hua ‘zlit uaprištinun ušrara ltarmidia hua bar b‘ruta u‘traurab lalmia alma d̲ hiziun dhil u‘štarhazt alahuta d̲ bh̲ malalit utimarla namrus `ma d̲ alma tiqarqlan lmarauata d̲ hazin alma anat huilan riša uanin nihuia mn abatrak malil d̲ nimarla lnamrus `ma d̲ alma ana k̲d̲ atit lhaka Sbu rbia ušadrun Sbu ušadrun rbia d̲ ‘tit u‘iapriš dilun lbhiria zidqa atit lhaka limalia d̲ ‘iaiar šakbia lTabia atit lhaka limalia d̲ `iaiar haTia ltuqna `tit lhaka limalia d̲ `saq durdia lnihia atit lhaka lamabilia mardia `tit d̲ `iaiar `ria d̲ šihia ldaura taqna mišma d̲ šimat nimrus marima bqala ubakia `mrat d̲ lanitia `utra hinila `tiglia uata uqarqilinun lmaruata d̲ hazin alma ata uapriš tarmidia udirka traSlun latar nhur hdun ušaba ‘utria l‘utra d̲ rabuta hzun apriš ulaupa traS latar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa hazin draša d̲ tarmidia mšaililh̲ l`utra d̲ mn rbia ata sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania k̲d̲ azil bhira dakia hiia mn binun qrun hiia qrun mn binun umn niahun šrun ‘l ‘uSrai paqid albušun ziua uaitun nhura d̲ kabir kasiun zarzun bmzarzutun uamria haila ltiniana huia apriš d̲ ninhar libh̲ uqaimia d̲ ninhar `uSria galilh̲ lrazia nihia mn qudam razia mardia apriših̲ lhaliuta d̲ mariruta litbh̲ aprišia lbnia šurba rba d̲ hiia d̲ qašiš mn bnia d̲ daura baTla aprišia liardna rba d̲ hiia d̲ minh̲ zakuta nsib galilh̲ ltaga rba ul`utria d̲ brišaihun traSlun aprišia lbnia šurba rba d̲ hiia qadmaiia qaimia usagdia umšabia sagidna uatina alma lbit iušamin mTit iušamin mihizia d̲ hizian npaS mn kursia qam u`niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia uamar kušTa anat d̲ kabiria d̲ asgit `titlh̲ lalma asgit lalma atatlh̲ ubaba lalma ptaht baba ptaht lalma utraSt šbila lmhaimnia rbaihun anat d̲ ganzibria d̲ ‘lauaihun šr‘ia Sautak ana aprišia liušamin d̲ ninhar libh̲ uqaimia d̲ ninhar ‘uSria aprištḫ lrazia nihia mn qudam razia mardia aprišth̲ lhaliuta d̲ mariuta litbh̲ aprišth̲ lkulhun `bidata d̲ hiia d̲ šania hu mnakria mn kulhun apras iaminh̲ lgaTth̲ liušamin ušaiilta d̲ almia d̲ nhura mnh̲ bit amarilh̲ šaliTtak bqala rba d̲ hiia d̲ minh̲ zakuta nsabt šaliTtak bpihta ukušTa umambuga riša d̲ kulh̲ šurubta bqrita qadmaita manu gabra hua manu hua gabra umanu huabh̲ hasir ubSir k̲d̲ haizin šuma iušamin npal libh̲ mn samkia uamar bqrita qadmaita lahuabh̲ hasir ubSir bqrita tinianta lahuabh̲ hasir ubSir bqrita tlitaita ‘tauzap ziua l‘utria kulhun bqrita arbiaita ana iušamin huit huaitibh̲ ana iušamin ubgauai hua hasir ubSir uamarna hašta mahu ‘niana rmilh̲ liušamin d̲ lanimar d̲ hibil ziua d̲ rbuta nsib `lai uamarnalh̲ anat ziua sagia manhirana d̲ kulhun pasimkia traSlia kursiak uiatbit umanhiratlh̲ lkula šurubtak Taba ata uanharlan bziuak d̲ npiš ubanhurak d̲ saka litlh̲ aitilak mn bit hiia rbia umasgina uatina alma lbit abatur mTit abatur qam mn kursih̲ u`niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia uamar hai lai atalh̲ hinu atalia hibil ziua birkuk hiia rbia umana smiria qaimuk uamarna `niana rmilh̲ labatur `utra ninha ulkursia nitib uamarnalh̲ kušTa asiak Taba uasia lmalala d̲ maliltbh̲ masgina uatina alma lbit ptahil mTit ptahil mihizih̲ d̲ hizian anpaS mn kursih̲ qam npaS qam mn kursih̲ u`niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia uamarlh̲ ia nibTa d̲ kbar baiar manu qrak umanu paqdak uamarnalh̲ ldilia qiriun hiia rbia haka kabira qaimun uamarnalh̲ lptahil alma lakdiba butak bit hiia rbia ulamanhira dmutak batar nhur alma labirkak hiia rbia

ula‘hablak ginza lamitinsib uamar mahu ‘qum usgud u‘šaba lhiia rbia kd hinun Tabutai lamqablia kd haizin amar ptahil haulil lnapšia ubka haulil ubka lnpšia uiatib uprudqa lšibiahia kdab kanpinun ptahil lsahria uknap gunda napla gunda napla knap umsakin lmirmia tigra kd haizin hza hibil ziua `tib u`ngirta labatur kdab masgia uatia abatur uarbima alpia `utria minh atun `tib abatur `utra u`ngirta liušamin br malkia kdab masgia uatia iušamin br malkia kd gurmaiza d mia b`dh lgaT gurmaiza d lgaT b`dia d hazilh sahria udahlh nisbh lsipa rba d bh sahria mitgaTlia masgia uatia iušamin br malkia alma lhibil ziua mTa hab d `timhia bsipa rba lptahil mn kursiia nišidih bqulpa `mihh lptahil plaglh briših plugta `mihh bgurmaiza rba u`dahka lnuraiun d iaqda amarlh hibil ziua nha nha iušamin br malkia d hiia rbia bTabuta `tnaTaiun d haizin šumaiun hiia qadmaiia ‘dun d skulta d hibil ziua h‘ kidbuia l‘ngirta bkušTa ušadruia lbaita napla pahtila uqarila ptahil uhazia `tiabuta d hiia qadmaiia huat `lh rmabun qala bsahria ubadrinun lgunda napla amrilh ‘zdahar hašta hibil ziua skulta kula dilak h‘ qam hibil ziua uabatur uiušamin u‘utria kulhun uhaizak qaimuia lptahil bškinta d napšia u‘niana rmulh bsum riha d mana kma d basim riha d mana iaqra basim Sautaihun d hiia u`rutun d hiia rurbia m` hibil ziua `niana nirmilun kma dna ziua btarbaSia d anpaikun u‘utria ahai kma Sautaikun šania atra d atbabh rbia ulitlh saka ltušbihtaikun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania kd azil bhira dakia hiia mn mruma qrun ‘utria ‘tapraš b‘uSraihun ubhukumat rbia mitaprišia iatbia bškinatun uginza taqna naTria amria qum nasgia unizal luat manda d hiia unimarlh l`bidata d bh nigalalh lšuta haita d bhiria zidqa bgauh mitaprišia nimarlh lmania nihia ulmaSbuta d hiia d `STararbia naumiia bmalka d nhura d `utria d lagilil šumh naumiia basa qašiša d klila minh gadlia nimarlh nizal lkip baita d iušamin ‘bidata hasirata d abad nigalilh lplugta d šaria bligria rurbia kd haza amar rbia qala slaq lbit rurbia mn iardna rba uhamša ‘ma uhamšin alpia ‘utria luath d manda d hiia masgia umn arqa d aiar hiuartia dakita arbima uarbin uarba alpia `utria luath d manda d hiia masgin mn atutia kursia d malka d ‘utria šitma ušitin alpia ‘utria luath d manda d hiia masgin amrilh lmahu qrak malka d nhura umalka baiar šauiak d lamasgit lbit iušamin ulamtaqnatlin l‘bidath mn riš briš nihuia d iada iušamin d haila d hiia npaš mn haila baTla napšia ‘utria d nhura mn bnh d bura napla Sauta d hiia napša mn Sauta d bišia d audia hašta nsabth urmaith bligria rurbia nsabtinun lmania ušadirtinun bpagria baTlia nsabtinun lrihania ušdirtinun lbaita napla bdgur dgur lasa bmublia šdaith uabadbh hasir ubSir šadarth liasmin rama uabadbh kul d biš šadarth lmarua štargana uabadtbh kul d biš šadarta lnargis umarmahuz d mn taruan dakita ata šadarta lnargis asa umarmahuz hašta abadbh hargta šadarth lsandilus dakia mn atutia kursia d malka d ‘utria ata šadarth lsandilus uabadbh hasir ubSir aslitinun lrihania d gaunia gaunia uznia znia aslitinun lrihania bnišmata abrin kul d biš nsabth lginza d hiia urmaith bdaura baTla nsabth lšuta d hiia urmaith bšuta d audia nsabth lmarganita dakita u‘hablun lgubria gbilia bisra uzma šalTuk lhukumat rbia ulqala d mn mruma hua šalTuk l‘bidata d nhura ulmimra d ginza taqna hašta kd šalTuk l‘bidata kulhin lmahu mitabdin hasir ubSir nsabth lqala d hiia urmaith bqala baTla nsabth lšuta d hiia urmaita bšuta d audia šadartinun lbauata urmaitinun bqala baTla nsabth lmarganita dakita rmaita bgauaihun d audia hašta nsabth lqala d hiia d laništalTun ‘lh audia audia `lh laništalTun atuat bdaštana lanadruk ‘lh kd haza šuma manda d hiia npaS mn kursiia qam npaS qam mn kursiia uqala lhibil ziua rma uamarlh npaS uqum mn kursiak uqala liušamin qria uamarlh nusbia lmarganita dakita uasiq tuqna bdukth d lanun bhiria zidqa d haila mn baita haizin `tinsab nihuilun mšalTanuta ušurbata d hiia latipsiq minh mn alma uamar limalia pagra d lnišimta kd mana d šaiia litlh limalia gupnia rauzia kd rihaiun labasim qala ata mn malka rama d nhura ulmanda d hiia amarlh lmahu ba mida iušamin qala d hiia mitinsab ulmahu ba mida iušamin hibil ziua d ginza d hiia haizin `tinsib kd haizin šuma manda d hiia npahn qam mn kursiih npaS mn kursiih qam ušitin uhra lbuša d ziua unhura u‘qara lbaš u‘tapriš bhukumat rbia ubginza d hiia abahath d `hablh u‘tapriš bhukumat rbia uasgia luat iušamin ata qam lkipia d baita d iušamin uziuh lplugta ksa ziua kisia lplugta d guha bbaith `tigna guha `tigna bbaith ušibiahia alanpaihun npal arqa mihbaS habSa urqiha kd buria mitikrik atutia kursia d abatur mia siauia hun umlun d ziuia lziuh d manda d hiia ‘stahap alanpaihun npal šibiahia bqalaihun malil ulptahil amria lmahu ninaTria lbaita kd plugta minaiun ‘tinsib malil ptahil ‘utra lšibiahia d nimarlun man nisban minaikun lplugta d ana d ziuh lahzit lahzaith ldmuth šania umnakria mn alma kd hazin amar ptahil `stahap alanpia npal uamar kd ana b`sura iatibna iušamin naTar baita šauiuia autbuia u‘bidata d ana šauitibun hasir ubSir abatur hua muzania d misaq tuqna mn durdia kd haizin amar ptahil iušamin mn kursiih qam iušamin qam mn kursiih ušitin uhda ‘sura bptahil qra ptahil rgaz b‘sura uqarilh labatur abuia uamar d mahu d ba iušamin minai bgauai d `sura qra kd manda d hiia šbaq hauqa bhazin alma mahu baiitun minai d akšiltun mn kursiai mn kursiai akšilitun ulibai rmaitunh mn samkia kd haizin amar ptahil qala sliq lbit rurbia rbia qam mn karsauatun lumanda d hiia amria lmahu kbart bziuak bgauh d hazin alma hauqa šbaqt lšuba abinia ‘utria šigša rmit hašta kd bziuak kbart liušamin iaminak rmia liaminh uaumh bklila d rurbia aumh bhad šuma rba d malka d nhura ldilak aumiak ubgauh iama hibil ziua uasgia latar hšuk baninin ‘bidata d šadirth lhazin alma uamarlh lanihuia d iadia šamiš d plugta d ziua haizin radia lanihuia d iadia sira d btuqna Tribh rušuma lanihuia d iadia ptahil nišimta haizin napla haizin napla nišimta bgu pagra haizin d mamlilibh lraza d zma amar iaušamin br guda uašmh lptahil uasmikia llibh lsamkia šrinun l‘usurh d lanihuia ubruianh hasir ubSir kd haizin šuma iušamin sgid ušaba lhiia rurbia šabinun lhiia rbia uasgia azal l`sura d ptahil šra ‘surh šra lptahil u‘niana lptahil rma uamarlh haimanubak Taba uziuak hzit d laninišiak kulhun iuman ušita uhda mn liban lanišibqak aminTul d lanibad nišmatun d nisakakan bhazin alma kd haizin šumh ptahil `stimik libh lsamkh malil bqala dakia uliušamin d nimarlh kd manda d hiia šbaq hauqa bhazin alma mahu bit minai dilia d `sura bgauai qarit kd haizin amar ptahil `da manda d hiia d hasiruta binia ptahil liušamin huat qralh lhibil ziua uzarzih uldaria šadria šadrh uamar ‘zil druš ušumia liušamin uasmikh llibh d ptahil lsamkh masgina uatina alma lbit iušamin mTit maTuiai lbit iušamin liušamin d nimarlh mahu la‘taprišt lhukumat rbia u‘sura bptahil lmahu šbaqt kd haizin šuma iušamin ‘da d galalh lraza d bh masgina uatina alma lbit ptahil mTit ptahil mihizia d hizian npaS mn kursiih qam npaS qam mn kursiih u`niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia uamar ata ata ziua sagia udnaba bbaita ubaita kulh nhar nhar baita bzauiath unaSuraiia d šimuia lqala d hiia mihdia hdun uamria kma basim hazin qala d hiia d ata u`tiqrilan mn atar nhur kd haza šimat minh brakth bbirkta rabtia d brak mania iaqria amarnalh nha ušduk razak ptahil bgauh d hazin alma hašta šumuk nTir bškintak umapraš lginza taqna qarilun u‘iaprišinun lkul Sbu u‘iaprišinun lbhiria zidqa lgubria gbilia bisra uzma u‘iaprišinun ‘l kul Sbu ‘iaprišinun ltarmidia d šuta d hiia dakria kd kabria ‘lauaikun bišuta uaiTa mištbiq hzia d laiTitun umakšilitun uramitulh lmana mn kursia hzia d laiTitun lptahil `utra aminTul kd ba mnata mn hiia ula`hablh la`hablh mnata bbaita ulašalTuia lkul Sbu kulman d laiiTlh lptahil `utra giuTa rba nihuia `lh d makšilh mn kursiih udina minh mitmar asirtinun unTartinun l‘bdata ulašauit bgauahun hasir ubSir autibth llibh d ptahil lsamkh d lanihuia bruianh hasir ubSir masgina uatina alma lbit abatur mTit abatur mihizia d hizian npaS mn kursiih qam npaS qam mn kursiih u`niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia uamar hazin qala d lhiia mna d hazin hlia hazin basim u`utria d nhura mamliliba masgina uatina alma lbit iušamin mTit iušamin d hizia lziuai npaS mn kursia qam anpaS qam mn kursia u‘tapriš bhukumat rbia ub‘ruta d hiia

d̲ `hablh̲ unsabtinun lrihania uamištinun lmia mn iardna uasgia alanpia ata
nsabtinun lrihania utraSlia klila mn riš briš u‘niana ldilia hibil ziua ramia
uamar ia nibTa d̲ nbaT baiar mn qrak uman qaimak uamarnalh̲ ldilia qiriun hiia
ulhaka bhiria qaimun liaminh̲ d̲ manda d̲ hiia liušamin kursia traSlia lpumh̲ d̲ praš
ziua manda d̲ hiia tirSia lhazin alma traSbia mia hiia d̲ napšia usaka litlun
lahasria ulabaSria ulahauia bgauaihun hasir ubSir uana `rmilh̲ ‘niana mn riš
briš uamarnalh̲ ana buta mn hiia baiina baiina minaikun hiia rurbia ana buta
mn hiia rbia baiina d̲ titriSuna ltušbihtaikun ‘lai aprišulia lrbia d̲ samkia lliba
d̲ iušamin lsamkia d̲ lanimar iušamin d̲ hibil ziua rbuta `nsib `lai k̲d̲ haizin šuma
hiia haila bnpiš šadarlia uamarlia ‘zil druš uašuma liušamin uasmik libh̲ lsamkia
d̲ lanimar iušamin d̲ hibil ziua rbuta `nsib `lai k̲d̲ šamit mn hiia abahatai ana
‘štalTit mimar k̲d̲ d̲ huat malalit bqalai dakia u‘niana liušamin rmit uamarnalh̲
Turia d̲ ziua birkak uaramata d̲ nhura qaimuk braktak arqa d̲ nhura uqaimak daura taqna
kširun d̲ `utria ahh̲ umtaqnanun d̲ almia d̲ nhura kulhun u`niana rmilh̲ liušamin
uasgit luat abahatai mizlai manda d̲ hiia d̲ hizia lziuai qala l`utria qra u`niana
ramilh̲ mn riš briš uamar mitia d̲ hibil `utra k̲d̲ šitil masgia lbit rahmia tarmidia
d̲ šimuia lqalh̲ d̲ anuš ‘utra sagia sagdia mšabilun lhiia rbia mn riš briš
u‘utria qam mn karsauatun uSibun bmaSbutun uqamun bqalaihun šania uasgia
šitil ‘utra unaana ldilia hibil ziua rma uamar ninhar lbušak utitiaqar dmutak
luat hahu abuk mara d̲ rabuta ugdalh̲ klila dakia dmutak d̲ mnaTarlia mn kul
d̲ snia autbun bškinatun k̲d̲ d̲ hua napšahun mn qdim anharan bqala d̲ hiia uapriša
lšumai batar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa
hazin trin `niania d̲ k̲d̲ azil bhira dakia d̲ hiia mn binan qrun . uhiia hai mn mruma
qrun sa
. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania k̲d̲ azil bhira dakia latra d̲ iatbia
tušlimia triSia urauzia hiia unahra dmutun ulahaška malil bhira lhinun rbia
d̲ nimarlun `u hinialkun rbia `u hinialkun rurbia `u hinialkun rbia `zil haila lbit
tiniana hun nSab ziua haila lbit tiniana hun masgia uatia `utra alma lbit tiniana
mTa maTuiia lbit tiniana lh̲ ltiniana d̲ nimarlh̲ k̲d̲ anat iatbit ziua d̲ almia d̲ hšuka
haizin qrit malil tiniana lh̲ l`utra d̲ nimarlh̲ haizin k̲d̲ `titlh̲ lmihuia lištka lbaTla
tiniana brak bbirikta d̲ hinun rbia birkuia masgina uatina alma lbit ptahil mTit
maTuiai lbit ptahil kursia tirSit bškinth̲ tirSit uiatbit uatit u`tahzilh̲
bdmuta d̲ lakašra uamar abgan uai ‘lai dilia ptahil mn hibil ziua d̲ asgia `lai
hašta iatibna b‘sura bhalin dmauata mitahzilh̲ ‘u haizin akšalta makšilatlh̲
hašta mšauina lpasusta k̲d̲ d̲ huat ‘thašab ptahil bruianh̲ uamar d̲ `qum `paish̲
u`iasqh̲ lhazin alma mn riš briš ‘thašab uqralhun lšibiahia lhad had zaina biša
mla lšamiš lbišia rugza ulsin zida biša mla nirig ‘hablh̲ zaina uaTiplh̲ `l d̲ `tlh̲
‘nbu kukba biša traSla brišia klila marula qiriuia lbil br mia utaga d̲ hirba
asarlh̲ taga d̲ hirba d̲ hu lahh̲ ramilun marula qiriuia llibat azizta d̲ h‘ hušba biša
mlu qiriuia lkiuan hasira ulahh̲ hirba unura šalTuia k̲d̲ haizin ptahil abad hiia
rbia qadmaiia ‘da bškinatun d̲ skulta d̲ hibil ziua h` kdabiun prudqa d̲ ziua
unhura u`qara ulptahil ramilh̲ bškinth̲ pahitlun uqarilun uhazia `tiabuta huat
`lh̲ `lh̲ huat `tiabuta usaliq hazilh̲ latar nhur mn arqa d̲ taruan rabtia tlatma
ušitin ušita alpia ‘utria aluat ptahil ‘tun mn arqa d̲ aiar hiuartia arbima uarbin
uarba alpia ‘utria aluat ptahil atun mn škinta d̲ abatur trisar alpia `utria atun
aluat ptahil hdar aqmuia bškinth̲ mn riš briš hdar aqmuia uašmuia qala šania
uamrilh̲ basim riha d̲ šria d̲ mana kma d̲ rihak basim mana iaqra kuma basim rihak šania
u`ruta d̲ šria ‘lak haizin qralhun ptahil lšibiahia uhad had zida biša minh̲ šqal
qaimia šibiahia ubihdadia haišia ubahšia umitrandidia uamria mahu hzia abuhan
d̲ lašbaqinan lbaTlia lhazin alma malil ptahil ‘utra lšibiahia d̲ nimarlun man bna
bata upasa uman rabia bnia ugaTlinun man štal šitlia Tabia uqam ušdinun bmia
tahmia man gaTil bnh̲ bukra upash̲ lbaita d̲ bna haizin amria šibiahia amrinin
d̲ nitia hibil ziua d̲ nišrilun bbaita mitia d̲ atalh̲ hibil ziua lšibiahia hualun

ridpa ridpa hualun lšibiahia ušgaš rmilun bbaita tigra mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia
gabra d asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania minSab nSiba uatina bgauh d hazin alma
hiia Sbubia uniSbun bgauh d hazin alma uamria qum qum Taba nhut lgauh d dara
d asgia lhak bnia šlama d minaihun husrana hua minaihun hua husrana uhua
minaihun hasir ubSir hasir ubSir hua minaihun uhuabun guha balma guha balma
huabun amarlun manda d hiia lbhiria zidqa d napšaihun bhar ‘hablia akla d ziua
d `pisia lbaita ubania `milh lhusrana `iasqia bzaku latar nhur kd hazin amar
manda d hiia qala nhit bkulhun almia mlakia d bnia lbaita bakin udaiaria
d biniuia mištrhizia šaqia daiaria ualin ubakin kd ‘nšia qaima ruha d qudša azla
uatia kd haita bnaiun d malakia šaqpia b`dh umaspiria labuhun bakia lriš daria
akuatun amrilh bnh lbiša lhambala d hiia lahzia `lh šahrit udauit minh lhaka
šadruia anin d qritinan mna msadratlan mn qudamh amar nukraia d hiia šihluia
mn rugzaihun hašta mipsiq baita mištariin unaplin bnia mitpalag bit ginza
umagziratlan bhazin alma amarlun lbišia lbnia lganzibrh d baita baTla `tikpar
u`tiglun mn qudamai mitia d hiia lahzun `u sahria anatun dar bhurbia `u daiuia
anatun `tksun ulatitahzun `u mlakia anatun d gabaruta sab zaina alanpia npaq
latišibqunh lnukraia d asgia lhazin alma amrilh bnia lbiša lhambala d hiia lahzun
anat albušak mn ziuaihun bhaila d gabra lamSiit anin litlan haila haizin nirmia minh
tigra `l d iatbia umitaprišia qalaihun d aklia ziua šuma mha lrqihaiun upraT
bgauh pruTta pruTta praT bgauh umak brqihaihun ‘uhra pšar gubia d rqiha kd
miTra mn rqiha npal b`umba nasbalun ruha lbna uazla uatia batar atar haka
`iastirinkun u`iariqinkun mn gaTlai barqa `iastirinkun ziua d manda d hiia
hatam šria hatam pqa piqa barqa d bišia ukul d `ka bgauh pilTat b`umba nasbalun
ruha lbna uazla uatia batar atar bnai haka `iastirankun u`iauriqinkun mn gaTlai
biama `iastirinkun nhura d manda d hiia hatam šria ‘la hašta mgaTilkun manda
d hiia umTabilkun biama rba d sup ub`umba nasbalun ruha uazla uatia batar atar
bnai haka `iastirinkun u`iauqirinkun mn gaTlai bTura `iastirinkun haila d manda
d hiia hatam šria nsabtinun ruha lbna bgunbia d rqiha msaralun d iatbia
umitaprišia bišia praT gabra nukraia mTa pra mTa gabra nukraia paruanqa d hiia
šadruia pqa piqa barqa d bišia ukul d hua bgaua pilTat šrat ‘tpak gubia d rqiha
ubna d ruha kd birqa nistar b`da d gaTlun iamia ruha umkadba d lanisbat
babdia bnia manda d hiia iada d iamia ruha umkadba amarlun manda hiia lbišia ukadabia
d dairia balma mna huaitun d dairitun bhazin alma bšulTanh d man `tinSibtun
d maSTitun daria ualmia amrilh bišia lmanda d hiia lšganda d kulhun pasimkia lhaiak
manda d hiia la`danin mn haka huia atran atra d hšuka d nhura litbh atran atra
d mirda d kauna uniaha litbh atran atra d šigša d tuqna litbh atran atra d bišia
d Tabia litbh amarlun manda d hiia lbišia ukadabia d dairia balma bišia ukadabia
lkulhun ‘šbiqinun lbušai dilia la‘šibqia ‘l lbušai dilia d atiuia urimiuia
binataikun ašla ‘šibqia llbušaihun ‘stahap alanpaihun npal damin lšlutania
d mn hšuka lnhura lanapqia damin ‘l ‘bilia d manzaihun lburkaihun rmia
manzaihun rmia lburkaihun d mn dirba lmata lasalqia damin lzandiqia d kadba d `l
`uSTnia d karba iatbia iatbia l`uSTunia d kadba upasqilh lzairaihun mn alma
damin lSaiamia d Sauma lpumaihun rmilun amarlun manda d hiia lbišia ukadabia
d daria balma `zil dmun labukun qadmaia d gTil bhšuka rmia gTil rmia bgu hšuka
uatia habara ukabar `lh ‘l dmun lmlik hšuka d zainh alanph d manda d hiia šqal zaina
šqal alanpia d manda d hiia kbar manda d hiia bhšuka rma ‘zil dmun lriš dara d rišia
d dara smik `lh kd sadan arqa ‘l aganbia kbaš ‘zil dmun lmaria gabara d mn arqa
hauia ualma lšumia ‘stadar ‘lh bnia šlama d šuda lanasbh giTluia bhirba
uparzla d `uSTunun lkulhun dahalia lkulhun dahalia `uSTunhun uSauma ramilun
lpumaihun Sauma lpumaihun ramalun d laništqil šuma d gabra gTila mn binataihun
rmalun Sauma d šuba biahra d briš qrabia kd gTil rmalun Sauma d arbasar kd `timlik
manda d hiia uatia `lh rmalun Sauma d tmania u`srin kd `gTil unpal gabarun rmalun

Sauma ḏ šidqa k̲ḏ ruha mn pagra nipqat rmalun Sauma ḏ hamisar k̲ḏ lhama ḏ hizda aklia manda ḏ hiia qaria bkaluza umišma bqalia šania ‘it ḏ šuma uhaimin bginza umalala qam bginza qam umalala usliq uhizia latar nhur bišia ḏ ‘tkalil uškib akandit iatbia bSauma ulahazilẖ latar nhur Saiamia Saiamata liaqdania ḏ nura šaplia uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania kaluza ḏ hiia qaria kaluza ḏ hiia rurbia kaluza ḏ hiia qaria kul ‘niš bnapšia nizdahar Tubẖ lman ḏ napšia nida ulibẖ nihuilẖ ardikla Tubaihun lkušTania ḏ salqia hazilẖ latar nhur uailẖ lmamlik milkia ḏ mulkana lnapšia lamlik uailẖ lmadrik dirkia ḏ dirka lnapšia ladrik ladrik dirka lnapšia k̲ḏ azil bgauẖ lamihqil uailẖ lbanaia ḏ labna lqudamẖ binta uailik aqut ainia lasibuia bišia lhazin alma uaila lkarsa rabtia ḏ kul ḏ aklat karsa lamlat uailinun ltrin lišania ḏ iahbia trin dinia bhad uailinun lialupia ḏ malpilun ulaialpia uailinun lsaklia tmimia ḏ bsaklutun mistakria uailẖ lhakima ḏ lasbar minẖ umn hukumtẖ uailinun lšaliTia ḏ mšalTia šbiqia labdia ‘ubadia šapiria unaplia bnura ḏ iaqda b`daihun badin gumria ub`spihatun msarsipia iaqdana uailẖ lliba biša ḏ bišuta bgauẖ mamlika mamlikibẖ bišuta usaiip bsaupẖ ḏ alma bsaupẖ ḏ alma saiip ulahazilẖ latar nhur Tubẖ lman ḏ abad Tab uailẖ lman ḏ abad biš Tubẖ lman ḏ bad Tab uailẖ lman ḏ abad biš uailẖ lman ḏ hualẖ ulaTaiib minẖ umn Tabutẖ haTaiia lnapšia abad Tubẖ lman ḏ hualẖ uTaiib minẖ umn Tabutẖ agra lnapšia abad ‘ubadia laqamẖ azlin `ubadia azlin laqamia umistmikilẖ laqamẖ `uhra `daikun nibdia kušTa ulibaikun niqum bhaimanut haizin nihuia zuadaikun unihuia zuadia `uhraikun haizin nihuia zuadaikun usaq uhiziuia latar nhur uhiia zakin uzakia manda ḏ hiia urahmia šumẖ sa

. bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania mn atra ḏ nhura nipqit minak daura taqna mn atra ḏ nhura nipqit `utra mn bit hiia luan `utra ḏ luan mn bit hiia rbia gauaza ḏ mia hiia b`dẖ lgiT gauaza ḏ lgiT b`dẖ ḏ kulẖ alua mn riš briš aTirpa `hablẖ minẖ sidria ubauata mlan tna `hablẖ minẖ libai ḏ kaiub `tapan `tapan libai ḏ kaiub upišqat nišmat ḏ mnakria tlat `hablẖ minẖ truSlia ainai brišai ainai brišai truSlia ḏ hzaitẖ ubašqirtẖ lab ubašqirtẖ ušaiiltẖ šulta tlat šaltẖ nihuta nihuta ḏ mriduta litbẖ šaltẖ laba rba ḏ misbilibẖ rurbia udirdiqia šaltẖ dirkia mkikia misaq mihizia latar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun ḏ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania man ḏ nitia uman ḏ nimarlia uman naudan uman naprišan uman ḏ nitia uman ḏ nimarlia barqa ḏ nhura manu hua manu hua barqa ḏ nhura uman mn man qašiš umanhu qudamẖ man mida iadia hiia hiia iadia umšaililẖ mida iadia hiia barqa ḏ nhura hiia hun hiia hun barqa ḏ nhura umn hiia mia hun mn hiia hun mia umn mia ziua hua umn ziua hua nhura umn nhura `utria hun mn nhura hun `utria ḏ qaimia lhiia umšabia Taba bhailẖ ḏ npaš bziua ḏ hiia ḏ `hablia dariš umapriš šalmania bgauẖ ḏ `uSria uamar gabra ḏ atian lhaka nimarlia lmahu atian baita ḏ dairinabẖ nimarlẖ manu binia šuba ḏ dairibẖ nimarlia ḏ mna hun lak amarna umitaprišna kul man ḏ kšiT umhaiman b‘uSria anat lahuit mn haka ušaršak lahua mn alma baita ḏ dart bgauẖ hiia lbaita labiniuia šuba ḏ bairibẖ larqa ḏ nhura lasalqia anat sgud ušaba latra ḏ minẖ atit šaba lbhir zidqa ḏ lpumak traSlak mamla anat druš qarqiil šuba ugunian rmia lalmia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ sgia lka sa

. hazin sidra hazin zharia ḏ ansit ana ania udania umradpa zuTa ahai tarmidia umnašiq msana ligraihun ḏ nasakia uaqapra ḏ atutia ligraihun ḏ ganzibria abda ḏ kulẖ haTaiia ana mhatam zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun ḏ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianẖ `kuma ḏ ansit lhad šalmanta umhamna ḏ sahid liba bhiia qadmaiia umanda ḏ hiia uahbat zidqa napša ukidbat hazin sidra

d̲ huila dukrana btibil uhatma balma rurubia `laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h‘ šuma d̲ maSbuta
šarat pt haua simat ušuma d̲ mqarila biniia brata d̲ dihla br maTlum br kTaiir
br (ayin)idan br baiuT laqab pirišia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ nsit mn kdaba d̲ `da d̲ rbai
mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihrim br
rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram
br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam
br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna
d̲ shad liba bhiia qadmaiia d̲ h‘ šuma d̲ mqarila himian brata d̲ (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin)
br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rbi(ayin) br dahas kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ kidbit mn
kdaba d̲ `dia d̲ rbai iahia zihrun br rbai iahia ram zihrun br mhatam br mhatam
iuhana br bihram br mašid br našmia br karam br kairia br haiat kinianh̲ d̲ hu
ansa lhad šalmana umhaimna hu šumia d̲ maSbuta mhatam zihrun br mahnaš ušumia
d̲ qraita (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rabi(ayin) br dahas
kinianh̲ ki(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansala mn kdaba d̲ ab dilia kdab gar had šalmantia umhaimna
d̲ ahuat zidqa d̲ h‘ (š)hun brath̲ d̲ `ustad dizpulh̲ br paizia br qasum br našmidin
br ra(š)ab br našmidin br (ayin)abdil hasin kinianh̲ sabur kdab ab dilh̲ mn kdabh̲
d̲ `da d̲ rbai bihram br rbai bihram iahia br ganzibra taqna rbai iahia bihram
br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br
rbai iahia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma
d̲ hua ansa `l `stad dilia br (ayin)abid br manSur br (ayin)abdlah br sabig quTana
d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ansa lnapšia rbai ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun br rbai
adam br rbai adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakh̲ br abuhun
d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansa mn
sidra d̲ ansa lnapšia rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna kiala rama bnaSiruta
rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br bihram zihrun br adam iuhana br zid
br sam br bihram br rbai adam br rbai mhatam br rbai baktiar kinianh̲
(ayin)isikir d̲ ansa lnapšia mn sadra d̲ ham hu ansa lnapšia ansa huila mn sidra
d̲ haua simat bratia d̲ adam br (g)arib kinianh̲ tum d̲ ansalia mn tlata sidria had
adam iuhana br šitil kinianh̲ ua(š)ia utiniana d̲ sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira rbai
bihram br hiia kiniana ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn d̲ sam iuhana br rbai sam laqab
manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansalh̲ ahh̲ iahia baian br `stad laiit kinianh̲ daqnan
d̲ ansalh̲ iahia sam br hibil zihrun (ayin)azizia d̲ ansalh̲ labuia d̲ niSubtia dihdar
hulh̲ d̲ hu mhatam bulbul br sam bihram kinianh̲ (ayin)asikir d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ rbai
adam iuhana br iahia anuš šu(ayin)ailh̲ d̲ ansalh̲ rbai saruan bulbul br adam baian
kinianh̲ zarzuia mn sidra d̲ mhatam zihrun br bihram mušarah d̲ ansalh̲ rbai adam
šupurtaiia d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ansa lšualia iahia br iuhana mn sidra d̲ adam br
ram gadana d̲ ansa iahia br adam ku(h)ailh̲ mn sidra d̲ rišaia bihdad zihrun br
sam sakara d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam kuhailh̲ mn sidra zihrun br iahia iuhana
d̲ ansalh̲ anuš mu(ayin)ailh̲ br anuš d̲ ansalh̲ baktiar mn sidra d̲ hibil iuhana br
bihram šitil d̲ ansalh̲ mn kdabh̲ d̲ `da d̲ anuš mu(ayin)ailh̲ br anuš bihdad d̲ ansalh̲
lbaktiar bul(ayin)az br šitluia gadana d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ hibil br šitlia Salupa
d̲ ansalh̲ bihram hibil br mhatam hibil iuhana d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ hibil br
zakia ansalh̲ iahia zakh̲ br brik iauar ansa `lh̲ mn sidra usidria d̲ adam br
iahia pakai uadam ansalh̲ šaiar br zihrun mn sidra d̲ br hiia br gadana šaiar
usam bnia baian hibil mn sidra d̲ zakria ansala šaiar br midiuar d̲ ansalh̲ ram
ziua mn sidra d̲ hiia šum br hiia uminaihun mn sidra d̲ anuš uadam bnia hibil
minahun mn sidra d̲ zakia uzakh̲ kdaba d̲ `da d̲ haua pt nukraia tum sidra d̲ baian
hibil br brik iauar u`qaiam br zindana hiia hinun d̲ labaTla ziua unhura
d̲ lamitaslh̲ ulamistaiak uhiia zakin sa

. naTra ana d̲ taruan dakita b`da bra d̲ nbaT rba ana bra ana d̲ nbaT rba trin Turia
dakiia huit albšun lbušia dakiia d̲ mn tlatma ušitin iardnia ‘laiia d̲ arqa d̲ nhura
`tniSbit dmutai dmut iauar ziua d̲ `tniSbit mn atr ksia anana nSablh̲ mn hšuka
lahuat lahuat mn hšuka ulahuaba hasir ubSir hasir ubSir lahuaba ulahuaba d̲ mn
bit tiniana hua qrun uqaimun uzarzun upaqdun uadiauria nSablh̲ nSablh̲
padibria `utra d̲ madihta praš šalTun ltaruan dakita u‘l kul šuta kasita d̲ bha
amarlia uaprišun ltaruan dakita mn arqa d̲ iušamin huat aprišun larqa d̲ aiar
ulmalka d̲ aiar iaqra minh̲ ‘tinsib aprišun larqa d̲ aiar d̲ qudam arqa d̲ taruan
dakita huat aprišun larqa d̲ nSab rba ul`qar giua dakia `tinSib mn iardna
ulškinata d̲ štikinbh̲ `l `utria d̲ iatbia balbuša taqna aprišun lrazia rurbia
d̲ nhura d̲ atutia kursia d̲ arqa d̲ aiar šrun uzarziun bmazarzun bmzarzuta d̲ lanihTibh̲
mardia `tit lalma d̲ arqa d̲ tiniana d̲ minh̲ hua hasir ubSir qrit qala d̲ hiia
uniSbit rbia niSubta niSubta d̲ rbia niSbit ubihrit bhiria had had bhartinun
ubanitinun uaprištinun lTapta lTabta anhartinun ainaihun dukta d̲ rbia iatbia
aprištinun bdrašia usidria kasiia ulbuta utušbihta d̲ atalun banitinun
bbiniana d̲ hiia ulaptinun blaupa d̲ hiia anhartinun b`ruta d̲ napša usaka litlh̲
aprištinun uhauitinun dmuta d̲ mn atra kasia huat k̲d̲ hazin bhiria libaiun d̲ kaiub
`tapa qrubh̲ bkaluza uaqimtinun lmaštuSia baTlia qrubh̲ bkaluza ulgaT liguTta mn
riš briš qrubh̲ bkaluza d̲ randid uaqim šakbia d̲ šrara traS traS bgu baita uganbaiun
bihdadia ganbaiun mhun mhun u`zdaraz uqambia balma ganbaiun mhun bihdadia mn
`bidata d̲ šuba labad labad ‘bidata d̲ šuba udmutun laštipil ruha d̲ hzatinun ‘da lriša
šadia ‘da šadia lriša ugdula briša satra ruha bbišuta lbna bukra qarialun
`tun `tun bnai bukrai mindam d̲ amarlkun šuma minaikun naSilun qulala uminaikun
naSilun niqmun pirSia nišbqubh̲ šiha unura bgauh̲ d̲ hazin alma nibadbun bišuta
uiaqdana umaTarta nišbuq nišania zaina mšiha unakšilh̲ lkulh̲ alma ninsba lkula
kana d̲ nišmata unipalgia bmna mna šutan niqrilun ltarmidia bkaluza unitilun mn
šutan mn šutan nitilun unišria mn ‘bidatan ‘lauaihun unirmia šiha uqublia
balma nikatria lqala d̲ hiia uniasqia mn alma niqria l‘ušuma d̲ hiia umaSbuta
d̲ `STbuba biardna nitirSa mn ma miduta d̲ hizda umšiha baTla nikapria lpihta
ukušTa umambuha unitirSa lqudša balma ninisba ltibil kulh̲ unišdiia bnura
d̲ iaqda niradpinun lbnia šurba rba d̲ hiia d̲ `lauaian mitraurbia kulhun naSuraiia
d̲ mitligTia bligiTtan dilan nitraSlun kana d̲ zidqa mn riš briš d̲ iahiblin akasta
nitilun ridpa balma `l d̲ qaimia umithašbia šuba nbaT br iuhana mn pagria npaq npaq
mn pagrh̲ ušamar baiar mizlh̲ šamar uazal ‘utra alma lmaTra d̲ ruha mTa ruha d̲ hzath̲
kursia latuta `tirkin maTaraiia d̲ hiziuia šuTa mn ‘daiun npal šuTa npal mn
‘daiun umn zangaiia zanga npal haršia d̲ ruha `triglun u`tbadar `bidata d̲ ruha
bmna mna malalat ruha d̲ qudša lbhiria zidqa d̲ timarlun hazin `tit mn tibil ulilia
hauia bit mizlak umn hualak naTra uman apqak minh̲ mn alma ulman `tlak ruhSana
uman hualak pirqa bhimnu atra dart bgu baita ulaškina škintak balma ulabadt
mn ‘bidatan uatutan la‘štpilt mn qulalan haizak šuart mn pirSan mn pirSan
haizin šuart mn šihan ušigran haizak šuart mn nuran d̲ iaqda man parqak uapqak mn
hšuka d̲ anin šbaqnin balma man hualak mara uman hualak naSba ‘lh̲ adiaurak dakia
gabra d̲ hualak munqa d̲ qaima uamra ruha pra maTia adiauria maTia adiauria dakia
d̲ Srak bqalh̲ uašman Srak uašman bqalh̲ uaniha llibh̲ llibai samkia malalat d̲ timarlun
nimrus `ma d̲ alma hašta man hualan naSba ulnhura haizin salqat amarnala ana mn
nhura `tnaSbit ulalmia d̲ nhura mizlai ašaliat bqala uqihdat ušauTa mn ‘da anpal
uamra lbar mn dilak ‘utra lnhura lanisaq ‘niš ‘niš lnhura lanisaq mn
hazin alma lanisaqun ulanihzunh̲ latar nhur lanisqun naSuraiia d̲ lbuša ‘pika
labšia lanisqun naSuraiia d̲ bargba uminuna sahdia sahdia bargba uminuna ušumh̲
d̲ iauar ladakria ladakria šumia d̲ iauar uagra uzidqa laiahbia laiahbia agra
uzdqa umihiatun dilun lamasin lamasin mahiatun ulpirSa ugaura uhbala uzaniuta
iahbia iahbia lhbala uzaniuta bšaba mihiata mitamhin mitamhin bšaba mihiata
unaplia bmaTarata d̲ šuba kukbia kulhin nišmata d̲ abdia bišuta k̲d̲ zimta d̲ riša gaTna

d kapar bšumh d hiia muta tiniana nimut nimut muta tiniana utihšuk dmuth ulatidna kd haizin amrat ruha ziuh d adiarh dna dna adiaurh dakia ruha niplat mn kursia mn kursia niplat ruha ušda bakla d ziua mha šda mha bakla d ziua ruha bqulalia d napša šda rma ruha rma bqulalia d napša uazbrat anpa uliama rba d sup liama azbrat anpa ulahuala mamla d timarlh nisban bšuba malalia kasiia uasiq tirSan quram ab uSiban bmaSbuth ubmalalh qaiman qaiman bmalalh urišuman bdakia rušuma albišan ‘uSTula d ziua d šanai usaka litlh traSlia klila dakia d luath nahra kasian TarTabuna d mn arqa d aiar `tinSib `tinSib mn arqa d aiar umanhar ziuh mn šamiš mn riš briš šiknun bškinata kasiata d škinalh lab iuhana kd npaq mn alma hzaith ldmut rbia d šanai ubaiar umitraurab hzaith lnhura rba hzaith lpasimka iaqra uhzaith lhibil ziua lgabra d parqan mn alma parqan mn d sunia uparqan mn maTarata d šaun šuba bhazin alma hauian dmut rbia uaprišan lgupna šania aprišan lšar gupna rba d hiia d bškinta d iura rba ganzibra triS nSablh almia d nhura uškanlh škinta kd dilh uamar kulhin nišmata d napqa mn haka ušiha ušauia latar nhur kul nišmata d napqa bškintak dilak ništkin uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania `utra mn lbar qaria uladam gabra qadmaia maprišlh amarlh ladam latišhar ulatiškub ulatinšia lmarak paqrak latihuia br baita uhaiaba btibil latitiqria latirhum klilia busma ulatišapar atuat d mragaga latirhum ragagta ulatirhum ragagta ulatirham busmania ulatibaTil rahmak d lilia latirham Tulalia d zipa ulašamašta d mragaga latirhum ragagta uTlaniata d mkadba latišdia ulatirdia ulatinšia lmarak mn ‘uSrak lmizlak ulmipqak hzia lmarak manšiatlh lmizlak ulmitiak hzia lmarak manšiatlh lmitbak ulmiqmak hzia lmarak manšiatlh lmišlak u‘l mišakbak hzia lmarak manšiatlh latimar ana d bra bukra ana kul d abidna skulta litlh adam hzia lalma kulh mindam d lau mindam hu mindam hu d lau mindam d ruhSana bgauh litlak triS uiatib muzania umn alpa bahar had bahar had mn alpa utrin bahar mn ruban baTlia klilia busma ušpur d atuat d hauia kd d lahuat baTla busmania uragaTta d lilia šalman baTlin kulhun `ubadia usaipia uhauia kd d lahun kd haizin šuma adam uhaulal lnapšia ubka malil l`utra d hiia d nimarlh kd iaditun d haizin hauia alma šbaitun mn atrai urmaitun bgu pagra zapra bpagra zapra rmaitun ušdaitun b‘šata akla b‘šata ‘kilta šdaitun d kul ium sruta salqa amarlh šduq qalak adam riša d kulh šurubta alma d `titlh lmihuia l`ka d nibaTlh tum qum sgud lrbia u`dania d hiia nihuilak pirqa d hiia pirqa nihuilak tisaq tihizia latar nhur uhiia zakin sa

. qala d manda d hiia d qaria umapriš lkulhun rahmia amarlun bhiria makik libaikun upašiq uhalil uašig unha bkušTa `uSraikun latirihmuia lminSa d hiziuia urihmuia almia hiziuia alma urihmuia uazal bširba rhiTiun bhirai rhum kušTa uzidqa d biama rmilun mabra biama mabra rmilun ualip alip lkipia qaimia alip alp qaimia lkipia umn ‘ma mania mabar had mabar umakik liba kšiTia umhaimnia uailinun lbišia ukadabia d ‘nišuia lzidqa ulaiahuia ‘nišuia ulaiahbuia lzidqa ubaitia utanin lmabra baitia lmabra tanin ulasalqia bišia latar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. mn atra d nhura nipqit minak daura taqna migaš lilbia atina lhinduzia ulnasuiia `uSria kulhun mihizia d manu aitan ulmanu šarinalh l`uSria d ranibia rnibia d adkar šumai ‘iadkar šumh d baiilh lbutai mn tibil ana `biia lbutia mn atar nhur d baiia butai utušbihtai ana ‘bia napša kabira ‘lh atit uaškitinun llilbia kšiTia umhaimnia kd ana lahat binataihun šumai lpumaihun rmia ligTit uasiqtinun aluat `utria d iukabar rba uamarnalun šalmania basam rihaikun ubinataikun ziua šria mšabit marai d lšalmania lamagzirit uhiia zakin sa

. mn iuma d rihmit hiia umn iuma libai kušTa rhim mn iuma d rahim hiia ruhSana balma litlia laba u`l `ma ruhSana balma litlh lahh ulahuath ruhSana balma

litlia lzauai ulbnai ruhSana balma litlh lšauTa ušulTana ruhSana balma litlh larqa ubiniania ruhSana balma litlh llbušia rgigia ulksuiia šapiria ruhSana balma litlh `l `bid ulmibad ruhSana balma litlia lalma kulh u`l `bidath ruhunana balma litlia `lh ana lnišmat hadarna d šauilia daria ualmia azlit unišmat aškit limalia kulhun almia silqit lTuria ramia unihtit `l paqata d mdalia ‘zlit uaškit ulkušTa lbab ‘zlit uaškath kd qaiim lbariut almia qaiim utlata šmimia b‘dia lgaT šmimia nisbit minh ainai banhura `timlia nsabth ltiniana banta ubananta lnapšai nsabth ltlitaia silqit hzaith latar nhur mšabit malka d nhura d ‘lauaian brahmia mitimlia umšabin hiia sa

. bhiria mn lhil dariš ulbnia d adam maprišlun maprišlun lbnia d adam lhalin tmimia d mindam la`dun amarlun ia almia tmimia ruhSankun lmahu nihuia kd iama d sup maTitun iama d sup bhimSia tihalpun kd Tura d hšuka maTitun maTitun Tura d hšuka bhamSia tihalpun kd zibna hauia d mašqlankun umapaqta d pagria maTia mahu hauia zauadaikun hauia zauadai d `uhraikun amrilh ha dahban ukaspan hauia zauadai d `uhran hargaban ha minunan hauilan pirqa d ‘uhran ha šauTan ušulTanan hauilan iahab ‘da ha ‘bid mibad hauilan simaka b‘uhra bhiria mn lhil dariš lbnia d adam maprišlun maprišlun lbnia d adam lhalin tmimia la`dun amarlun ladahbaikun lakaspaikun lahauilkun zuadai largbaikun ulaminupkun lahauilkun pirqa lašauTaikun ulašulTankun lahuilkun ahid ‘da la‘bad ulamibad lahauilkun simaka ‘tkanašia almia udaria lqudam šliha d hiia azlia uamrilh bhaiak bhaiak šliha d hiia galilan lrazia d `uhra amarlun `daikun natna zidqa ulibaikun niqum bhaimanut kušTa kbuš usgud lmalka d nhra d `lauaikun brahmia nitimlia hanath nihuia zauadaikun unihuia zauadai d ‘uhrakun umšabin hiia sa

. lbaba d bit hiia sgid ‘utra u‘tib draš uamar kd rbaihun huit umalpania mtaqnana huaitlun lsapria kd rbaihun huit lhakimia man šabšan usakla huit man šabšan huit sakla urmit bpagria nišimta uamar l‘mat l‘šlum kila uminiana d alma tarualun laiqia d aiqilun tarualun lbnia haria d mn qdim hualun hašta litlaihun tarualun lbnia haria d ‘ulSana btibil sabla ‘ulSana sabla btibil umn iad šuba mitparqa tarualun laiqia d aiqilun aminTul d alma nkalinin unkaltinin alahuta d bh mšabit marai d lšalmania lamagzirit sa

. hazin manu br manu haizin šapiria znh haizin znh šapiria umizdahar bnapšia balma amria `lh bišia d hab šiha nišbuq ‘lh nišbuq ‘lh šiha unikatrh aluatan balma niSTia unišhar libh ninšia maria d paqdh ninišia lnihuta d mriduta tišria ‘lh ninišia ldirka unitia bšauTa mn abatran ana bhailh d marai qaiimna btušbihta d gabra naSbai ligTit ulašauar libai ulanšit marai paqdan lanšaith lnihuta umriduta lašrat ‘lai lanšit drašia usidria ulazimrit mn zmara baTla lanšit dirkia nihia uazlit bhaTia mn abatrun hinila diršit uqarqaltinun lbišia d hazin alma uamarna lau mida iaditun bišia d ana lamitigzarna balma sigdit ušabata lmarai d hu nihuilia adiaura umšabin hiia sa

. kušTa bak sahidna kd gabra d baiia binta lak msakia ainai bhira d hiia d sgia lka ha amarlh lilbab ninha uamarlh ltirat nitapa amarlun lriuiania nikanun lduktaiun amarlh lmiSar zabia nimSurlia bzabia miSra amarlh lnaTar liamamia ninTarulia biama mabra amarlh lmaiak Turia nimukulh bTuria `uhria amarlh lSaiar Silmia Surata habiTlak brišak ragagta amarlh lardikla d pagria d sarhib bbinianak bnia sarhib bnia bbinianak d ligal minh napqit alma mibTal baTil u‘bidata mištamra abid dahba rhima ukaspa miba lamitaška mitauria lilbia hadua uazil zmarun baTil malka šabiq tagia ubnia haria bšibia azlin šalmania salqia lnhura ubišia haka mitkamria uhiia zakin sa

. mn kulhun qalia d šimit ‘nianak qalak br rurbia basam qal qalaihun umhalai qala d mamlalun šania atra d iatbibia ulitlh saka ltušbihtaihun nahiria ukabiria bsidraihun kul d Sabin abdin ana latrai kd qaiimna šalit d rba šulma amarna man `hablh mn hailaihun rama d hauilia bdaria simaka ‘hablia mn šulTanun piha pihlan bdaria kulhun šanai man pihta lpmai kd puma d praš ziua uspihatai kd kipia

trin akuat mia d̲ azlibia bauata udrašia usadria mlan asqan latra d̲ iatbubia d̲ šanai utaqun unahur umanhar mn riš briš mn albšan mn ziuaihun mn nhuraihun man kasian man asqan luataihun man šiknan lnišmat bškinatun ana latrai k̲d̲ qaiimna šulta d̲ šalit ‘hablh̲ `hablh̲ mn hailaihun rama d̲ hualia bdaria simaka `hablh̲ mn šulTanun d̲ anat huaitilh̲ d̲ bdaria kulhun šanai pihtuia lpumh̲ k̲d̲ pumh̲ d̲ praš ziua uspihata k̲d̲ kiph̲ trin akuat mia d̲ azilbh̲ drašia usidria mlan asqan luataihun ušiknu lnišmat bškinth̲ d̲ hiia hauiuia atra d̲ iatbubia ušanai utaqun umanhar mn riš briš albišun mn ziuaihun umn nhuraihun kasiun dukta d̲ iatbia rbia atra d̲ Tabia hatam šria dukta d̲ iatbia rbia laiit bgauh̲ hasir ubSir atra d̲ larba šamšia ušragia d̲ nhura lahaškia uhiia zakin sa

. qala d̲ manda d̲ hiia d̲ qaiim bbiriut almia bbariut almia qaiim mqarilun mqarilun lbhiria ualgaT `lauaihun sahdia uamar hiia bsahdia hulia lqaria mn tibil qrit qrit uabditinun ula abria šabqia ‘bdata d̲ hiia u`bdata d̲ tibil abdia šabqia Subian hiia uSubian d̲ pagria abdia šabqia agra uzdqa btiqlata d̲ bišia mitaqla qrit upaqadtinun d̲ `marlakun maraikun abadbun buta uptan pihta usgud ušaba lhiia rurbia lhiia rurbia sgud ušaba d̲ bdirkia d̲ kušTa tisqun tihzunh̲ latra d̲ saka litlh̲ uhiia zakin sa

. halin sidria uaprišata uzharia d̲ ansit ana ania udania umradpa d̲ radpun šuba bhazin sabilna bliba kšiTia umhaimnia abda d̲ kulh̲ haTaiia ana d̲ ahai tarmida ana rbai mhatam zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna d̲ sahad liba bhiia umaria manda d̲ hiia uahbat zidqa ukidbat hazin sidra uginza rama d̲ huila dukrana btibil uhatam balma rurubia `laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h‘ šuma d̲ maSbuta šarat pt haua simat ušuma d̲ mqarila biniia brata d̲ dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br baiuT laqab pirišia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ nsit mn kdaba d̲ `da d̲ rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna d̲ shad liba bhiia umaria manda d̲ hiia uahbat zidqa ukidbat hazin sidra uginza rama d̲ hauila dukrana balma btibil hatam balma rurbia `laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h` himian brata d̲ (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rbi(ayin) br dihis kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ kidbit mn kdaba d̲ `dia d̲ rbai iahia zihrun br rbai iahia ram zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br mašid br našmia br karam br kiria br haiat ukinianh̲ sabur d̲ hu ansa lhad šalmana umhaimna hu ‘stad (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rabi(ayin) br dihis kinianh̲ ki(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansala mn kdaba d̲ ab dilh̲ d̲ hu ansa lhad šalmantia umhaimna d̲ h` (š)uhun brath̲ d̲ `ustad dizpulh̲ br paizia br qamus br našmidin br ra(š)ab br našmidin br (ayin)abdil (h)asan kinianh̲ sabur d̲ ansa mn kdabh̲ d̲ `da d̲ rbai bihram br rbai bihram iuhana br rbai bihram iahia br ganzibra taqna rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai adam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansa `l `stad dilia br (ayin)abid kinianh̲ quTana mn sidra d̲ ansa rba urama iaqira ganzibra taqna lnapšia rbai ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun br rbai adam br rbai adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakh̲ br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansa mn sidra ham napšia ‘stad sa(ayin)ud br bišara kinianh̲ riš draz d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br bihram zihrun br adam iuhana br zid br sam br bihram br rbai adam br rbai mhatam br rbai baktiar kinianh̲ (ayin)isikir d̲ ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ ansa zibna qadmaia lnapšia mn sidra

d haua simat bratia d adam br (g)arib kinianh tum d ansalh mn sidra d ganzibra
taqna rbai iahia iuhana br rbai ram kinianh uansa mn sidra d ab dilia d ansa
`ustad paiad br naSir ldin kinianh iahiauia laqab ‘upaišia mn trin sidria
had paiad br bihram ku(h)ailh hurina sidra d ganzibra taqna rbai iahia mhatam
br rbai sam adam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d ansalh ahh rbai sam iuhana br
rbai sam adam manduia d ansalh mn sidra d iahia baian br `stad laiit d ansalh
rbai iahia sam br hibil zihrun (ayin)aziz d ansalh mn sidra d dihdar hulh (ayin)asikir
d ansalh iahia sam (ayin)aziz mn sidra d rbai adam iuhana br anuš mu(ayin)ailh d ansalh
rbai saruan bulbul br adam baian kinianh zarzuia d ansalh mn sidra d mhatam
zihrun mušarah d ansalh rbai baian br adam šupurtaiia mn sidra d šualaiia br
iuhana d ansalh ham rbai baian br adam šupurtaiia mn sidra d haua brath
d iuhana zakia maknušta d ansalh iahia iuhana br bihram br anuš mu(ayin)ailh mn
sidra d ansalh lsam hibil br adam uiahia iuhana bihram br anuš mu(ayin)ailh ansa
mn sidra d napšia d ansalh ab anuš mu(ayin)ailh br anuš bihdad mn hatiqia d hun
škinia luatia uhazin asata huat ula‘gaiid zharia d mansalh haka sidra asata
iatir lahuatalh uhiia zakin lalam almia sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia mn lhil lhil qaiimna ana bmalalia d mana rba kabira minh šuba pasimkia hun mn lhil lhil qaiimna ana uadiaurai d minaihun biardna balbuša d rbia umanhirna bhaila d `utria mn lhil lhil qaiimna banana d mina huit mn lhil lhil qaiimna b`uSTun kasia d baiar `titia biardna bmalalia kasiia umištaiina bsidria taqnia biardna bšuta kasita d aitit `lai mn atar nhur qrit ziua rba unigdit šuba iardnia uškinata traSibun aprištinun ‘l laupa ulkušTa d mn laqadmia hua aprištinun ldirka d mana rba kabira d bgauh sliq b`rutai utušbihtai ‘utria sagdia umšabia mn riš briš banitinun bškinatun uaqmit qudamaihun pasimkia šaniia kd adam riša d dara d kulh šurubta kd hua riša d dara ‘štauilh Sauta ‘štarhbat minh šurubta ulaupa d hiia `traurab `traurab laupa d hiia d šanai ubaiar umanhar batar atar ‘tiqrun bhiria zidqa d `urbana ukadba litbun lahuabun `urbana ukadba ulahbabun gbilta d hšuka ulahuabun sina qina uplugia ‘tiqrun tušlimia šaliia d mn šaliia hun ‘traurab bmalalun kasiia u‘tiqrun qudamaihun naTra udar upurun u‘traurab uqarnaiun brišaiun ‘tgadal umitaprišia lziua rba ulnhura d iaqid batar ksia mitaprišia lhaila ušrara ul‘ruta d iauar manda d hiia asgia lka ha hdun ‘utria bmalalhun tušlimia bginzahun taqna lbaba d bit hiia kursia lrab ziuia triS qudam ziua šalia ‘tingid iardna mn riš briš štkin tlata škinata ušuba gupnia ‘tiqrun ‘tiqrun šuba gupnia d mn iukabar ziua hun bairia balbušaihun uminihria bziua mn lhil ata ziua unhura upasimkia d mana rba qadmaia `hablun haila lalmia kulhun bhiria d npaq mn kulhun gupnia basimia upriš mn quramaihun qudam hiia rurbia sliq uaškinun bškinatun kd iatbia bškinatun larqa d nhura mitaprišia mitaprišia lhaila ušrara ul‘ruta d iauar manda d hiia d asgia lka ha malil hiia rbia ulhibil ziua d nimarlh amarlh ‘zil uaprišinun lbhiria d aitinun bhurba Sadia aprišinun lanania kasiata ulziua d ‘tingid bduk duk aprišinun lsradqia ulškinata uliardnia d ‘tiqrun batar atar aprišinun lhilbunia gauaiia d ksiia d mn qudam mara d rabuta hun hun mn qudam mara d rabuta ‘utria asgun lka aprištinun lnhur hiia anana d mara d rabuta d bgauh ksia aprištinun lkimSa lkimSat anana d pirun zuTa bgauh ksia aprištinun lanana ptula d hibil ziua bgauh šria nitaprišinun lšahrat uabdat ukišrat anana d mana rba kabira uniTupta d bgauh iatba nitaprišun liusmir anana d šarat gupna rba kasia qadmaia bgaua ksia nitaprišun lsidar kasia anana d iura rba ganzibra bgaua ksia nitaprišun ltatagnur anana d libra bukra iušamin ‘tiahbat nitaprišun ‘l pihtat unihrat unipqat mn gu mia tartin anania d linSab uanan nSab `hablun unitaprišun lbarat u‘traurbat tartin anania d sar usaruan bgauaihin šrin nitaprišun latar nhur ukbar tartin anania d šilmai unidbai bgauaihun šrin nitaprišun lkbar anana d liamina dakia `tiahbat nitaprišun lanana Talia zuTa d h‘ šaški‘il anana šuma nitaprišun lmašql‘il anana d ‘tniSbat ulptahil ‘tiahbat nitaprišun lsakia sakia d bauata d b`uSraihun d bhiria zidqa minh d hazin alma haila ušrara umimra latra saliq upaiiš btibil durdia mn bauata d ram ziua hdisar minaihun šbaq mn bauata d anan gabra srin uarba minaihun šbaq mn bauata d bit iauar ziua arbin uarbia minaihun šbaq mn bauata d iauar ziua tlatin ušit minaihun šbaq mn bauata d riš haila umadihta asquia lrazaihun uhaila d akla arqa ukul riTna d raTin `utria bgauh d hazin alma mn bauata d kd iatbia hiia rurbia qadmaiia bškinatun tlatin minaihin šbaq mn bauata d raza rba upugdama d lmambuhia d mia ksunin mn bauata d kd ba hibil ziua kd asgia uata lbit abatur asqunan mn alma mn bauata d lriš aiar tartin minaihun šbaq mn bauata d bit bihram psaqnin ušbaqnin ladiauria mn bauata d ‘l tininia šaba minaihun šbaq aminTul d `daiun d bhiria zidqa d hauia kadba balma halin šitlia tahmia d hšuka dmuth saima ulanahra halin naSuraiia d hukumta d kadba mn `uSraihun mapqia umalalia tahmia lalma hanatun naSuraiia d kadba misap saipia liuma rba d sup šumaihun mitqar mn bit hiia uainaihun nhura lahazia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia ata `tia hiia traSlan d hiia pasimkia ata bziua napša d šanai

usaka litlun aitilun pugdamia kasiia d ‘taprašbun bhazin alma bhazin alma nitaprašbun unišaba lgabra naSbai nišabinun lhiia rbia d hiia nSablun niSubta niSubta d hiia nSablun u`hablun adiauria `hablun tušlimia kasiia d mparqilan mn kul d snia aprišan lbauata d baban adam bhazin alma aprišinan laiar gupna ulmimra d nhura d minh praš lTabuta d aitilia hibil ziua ladam bhazin alma amar adam riša d kulh šurubta ana adam ana d hibil ziua hualia naSba hibil naSba hualia uparqan minh mn alma mn hauqa d kukbia šuba d lnišmata šabqia mn ridpa d kukbia trisar d kul dmu saina minaihun hua mn puria uiaqdana d `lauaihun d lpagraihun šabqia mradpilun lnišmata d šihia ušauia latar nhur iahibilun kariuta lgubria kšiTia umhaimnia iahibilun ridpa utinihta lnišmata d bhiia sahdin makšililun lnaSuraiia d lašihia latar nhur kabar ‘lauaihun hšuka umn nhura mitakšilia mitakšilia mn nhura u‘lauaihun ruha šaria ‘lauaihun šaria ruha ušabialun bdaria d rabut zmar d šatin mištia d puhria uzamaria giuTa rba nihuia `lauaihun maitia muta tiniana uainaihun nhura lahazia ainaihun lahazia nhura uligraihun šrara lamaškia d `lh arsa d puria darak giuTa rba nihuilh uailinun lnaSuraiia d akšil šuba bhazin alma arbun brbita d šibiahia naplibh biama akla naplibh bšuTia mitnangar ‘lkun qarina nišmata d bhiia sahda ašar bhazin alma alma d kilaikun šalim ‘lkun amarna umitaprišna nišmata d šaria bbaita napla kd tipqun mn pagraikun lhiia rbia mahu paršigna tatnun mahu timarlh lšganda d šarilkun minh mn alma mahu timarlh lmaTaraiia ulbab `siria d hatam šria mahu timarulh lanuš ‘utra kd qudamh štailun mahu timarulh labatur ‘utra ulbuša d hšuka labšitun bhazin alma ulšuba zahriria d mn nhiria d `ur marh d hšuka npaq ltrisar Sibunia d mn hšuka titaia npaq bhirai ‘marlukun llbušia hiuaria d bgauaihun d hanatun Sibunh maSba kulman d niSibh unilbšia nisqa lkiniana d atar hšuk mikalalbh ušakbibh bguhnam titaita ništagar kd napiq mn pagrh brpilh d hšuka nitaksia nitaksia brpilh d hšuka uništikalun lšuba bmnatun kulman d nitparaq minaihun nizdahar bnapšia mn kulhun nitparaq mn harbun uqalalun pirSun ušušlatun mn d rba ubišuta d zra mšiha bhazin alma kulman d nitparaq minaihun nisaq lhiia rurbia bškinatun nihzia lsam gupna dakia d lSTarrin `lana mina hua nihzia lšar gupna ubaupia unigbia ualuath ništkin nilbš kd lbušia d bihram `utra unisaq nihzia latar nhur latar nhur nihizia nihizia ldaura taqna nibia unaška lnišmata d šr‘iin bbaita napla zkin manda d hiia zakin kulhun rahmia uhiia zakin sa

. halin sakia usidria uaprišata d manda d hiia uaprišata d anuš ‘utra d ansit ana ania udania umradpa zuTa d ahai ganzibra uabda d kulh haTaiia uarqa bigar d naSuraiia ana rbai mhatam zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai iahia zakia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam br rbaian rama uiaqira ganzibra taqna bhiria kailh rama naSiruta šragh d `uhria umadihtan d brišan laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma d ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna d sahid liba bhiia qadmaiia umanda d hiia uahbat zidqa napša ukidbat hazin sidra d huila dukrana btibil uhatam balma rurubia `laiia d nhura d h‘ šuma d maSbuta šarat pt haua simat ušuma d mqarila biniia brata d dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br baiuT laqab pirišia ukinianh `kuma d nsit ana mn kdaba d `da d hu (š)aduia rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihrim br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia zakia br rbai br abuhun d ganzibria mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma d ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna d shad liba bhiia qadmaiia umanda d hiia uahbat zidqa napša ukidbat hazin sidra d hauila dukrana btibil uhatam balma rurbia `laiia d nhura d h‘ šuma d mqarila himian brata d (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rbi(ayin) br dhis kinianh ku(h)ailh d ansit mn kdaba d `dia d rbai iahia zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br mašid br našmia br karam br kiria br haiat kinianh sabur d hu `stad (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rabi(ayin) br dahis kinianh ki(h)ailh d ansit mn kdaba d ab dila d hu kdab lhad šalmantia umhaimna d ahbat zidqa uTabuta ukidbat lhazin ginza d hauila dukrana balma rurbia `laiia d nhura d h‘ šuma d mqarila (š)uhun brath d `ustad dizpulh br paizia br qamus br našmidin br ra(š)ab br našmidin br (ayin)abdil(h)asan kinianh sabur d ansalh mn kdabh d `da d tarmida taqna rbai bihram sam br rbai bihram iahia br ganzibra taqna rbai bihram iahia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai adam br rbai iahia adam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d hua ansa `l `ustad dilh br (ayin)abid kinianh quTana mn sidra d ansa lnapšia rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna rbai ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun kinianh `kuma d ansa mn sidra d ‘stad sa(ayin)ud br bšara d ansalh mn sidra d rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna kiala rama bnaSiruta d hu sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam kinianh (ayin)isikir d ansa lnapšia zibna hurina mn sadra d haua simat bratia d adam br (g)arib laqab tum d ansalh mn sidra d rba urama iahia iuhana br rbai ram kinianh ku(h)ailia d ansa mn sidra d ab dilia d hu rbai ram kinianh ku(h)ailh d hu `ustad paiad br naSir ldin kinianh iahiauia ansalh mn trin sidrh had minaihun rba urama uiaqira rbai bihram br hiia kiniana ku(h)ailh uhad hurina ganzibra taqna rbai iahia mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d ansalh ahh rbai sam iuhana br sam adam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d ansalh iahia sam br zihrun br anuš adam br bihdad (ayin)aziz d ansalh mn sidra d abuia d niSubta dihdar hulh kinianh (ayin)asikir d ansalh iahia sam br zihrun br (ayin)aziz mn sidra d adam iuhana br iahia anuš šuiailh ansa rbai saruan bulbul br baian kinianh kuhailh zarzuia mn sidra d mhatam zihrun br bihram mšarah d ansalh rbai baian br adam šuprtaiia mn sidra d haua d šualia iahia br iuhana br saruan d ansalh rbai baian br adam šupurtaiia mn sidra d haua brata d adam kuhailh mn sidra d rišaiia dihdar zihrun d ansalh iahia br adam ku(h)ailh mn sidra d šualia saruan br baktiar d ansalh iahia sam br anuš mn sidra d adam šaiar mn ruzbia d ansalh adam mn sidra d br hiia hibil br sam nangaria d ansalh anuš mu(ayin)ailh br anuš bihdad mn sidra d iahia br hibil d ansalh iahia br ram bihdad d ansalh iahia sam br saruan uasata d iatib lahuatalh uhiia zakin lalam almia sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia biuma qadmaia ubatraia uqadmaia ubšita qadmaita kd ata abatur uptahil ungad šumia umsa arqa ungad rqiha ubza iamamia uagzar Turia ušauia nunia biamamia uSipar gadpa uhiua bara zan zan ušauia piria u`nba u`lana likilta d adam umašqita d adam uhaua ukulh šurubta uabad rihania ubazrunia upiqunia u'Sania usamania uhaizak 'thašab abatur uptahil hza napšia hza dmutia uabad adam gabra uabadlh haua zauh d minaihun `tiatar umitnapaš šurubta balma haizak 'thablh kilh uminiana lalma hazin mn iuma d 'tbad adam ualma lkimSat almia arbima utmanan alpia šnia hauia haizak 'thib kila uminiana lšuba šibiahia ultrisar mdabrania ukila mna lšubauata 'tpalag kd hdadia hda laTpa hda labSar kul gabra miTiu mnata šitin utmania alpia šnia uhamišma ušubin uhda šita uiahria uhamša iumia uarba šaiia šit upalgia ušušia arba upiga upalga d piga utrisar maluašia aklia luat šuba šibiahia ušuba šibiahia aklia luat trisar maluašia mn kilh d bil lagTia trisar maluašia kd paiišlh tša alpia šnia abihdia bil ušitin utša alpia šnia abihdia nirag mn halin šubin utmania alpia šnia d aklia trisar maluašia kd mnata l`mbra plaglh trisar alpia šnia taura hdisar alpia šnia Silmia asra alpia šnia SarTana 'tša alpia šania aria tmania alpia šnia šumbilta šuba alpia šnia qaina šita alpia šnia arquba hamaš alpia šnia šnia haTia arba alpia šnia gadia tlata alpia šnia daula trin alpia šnia nuna hda alpia šnia haizak mn 'tinSab adam alma d `tinsab alma bhirba umutana 'matin ušitasar alpia hauia haizak bšnia d sin kukba npaq asra alpia šnia mn šnia d sin d 'tinsab alma bhirba umutana 'tiaiar minaihun trin anašia hda gabra ram šumh u'nta rud šuma minaihun 'tiaiar alma alma d `tinsab alma bnura ma uhamšin alpia šnia hauia ukd npaqiun srin utša alpia šnia mn mnata d bil ualma bnura `tinsab uakalta lkulh alma uaklat trisar niskia aqapra barqa haizak `tiaiar minaihun trin anašia hda gabra šurbai šumh u'nta šarhib'iil šuma d minaihun `tiaiar alma mn iuma d `tinsab bnura ualma d 'tinsab bmia ma alpia šnia hun haizak kd pašiun tmania alpia šnia mn

šnia d `taqrilh qala lnu d kauila uamarlh bnia kauila uhaizak bpaqadta d nu aitia nangaria ugTar arzia haran uašhh mn libnan bnia tlatma šn' gTar kauila bmašihta 'rka tlatma amia uputia hamšin amia urauma tlatin amia haizak lgaT nu mn zan trin zikria unuqbata uasiq lkauila uhaizak lkauila arqin utrin liliauata mambuhia mia 'laiia mn šumia umambuhia mia titaiia mn arqa atun uTbun Turia uTba armata uhaizak alma kulh bmia `tinsib ukauila hua qp`ia uazla aganbia mia asra uhda iahra ulihdisuir iahria huat nihuta ukauila lTura d qardun nihtat uiatbat uhaizak 'da nu bnapšia d nihuta huat balma uapqa nu l`urba uamarlh h` mia hua nihuta balma uazal 'urba uaška lšlanda uakil u'nišia nu paqdia haizak šadra nu liauna abatrh amarla `zil hzia m` huat nihuta balma `urba d šadirth qudamak 'ka hu haizak azal iauna uaška l'urba d iazab lšlanda umn šlanda hua qakil uhzata lzaita d qaiim lTura d qardun u'tnagal šahph mn mia minh gihpat iauna uaulalh lnu d nida bnapšia d nihuta huat haizak l`urba laTa u`l iauna birkh uhaizak `tnaTar dara lšum br nu unuraita zauh uminaihun 'tiaiar alma haizak npaqiun šita alpia šnia upašiun trin alpia šnia u'thašab iurba d iahuTaiia qarilh adunai hu uruha d minh šuba šibiahia u'thašab lmilgaT liguTta bpaqadta d adunai bnun mihuza hda d 'urašlam mata qarila šitin parsia putia akla alpa d šnia bduhuna ualpa d šnia bhurbia habra tibil kulh haizak `tiqria braham abuhun d iahuTaiia d hu ukulh šurbath briš arqa d miSraiia d malkaiun para malka hu bbišuta napšia aškun iahuTaiia mn miSraiia mn para malka haizak iurba uruha ualahia d dahlilh kd abrinun arqa d miSraiia hun iahuTaiia kd abdinun alahun mhun zibna bhda iuma uabar iama ubzalun mia d iama uqamiun ltrin miSria akuat trin Turia uiahuTaiia kulhun abariun uazal hun bdbar Sadia al šrun b'urašlam haizak ata para malka abatraihun hun hu ukulh hailh minh šubin ruban ušabima ušubin alpia miSraiia hun d paria milka hazilh liama d larab ulašaša ulamabarta uhaizak hazila para 'uhra bšušth d iama umia d iama pr`iia btrin Turia uhaizak nihtat kulh planga d para

abatraiun d̲ iahuTaiia uaTip mia d̲ iama `lh̲ d̲ planga d̲ paria malka upliT para malka
hu uruhmia u`uzarh̲ lšuTuata uhaizak alma larbima šnia b‘urašlam ‘šu br
mariam la‘taudal b‘urašlam haizak ‘taudal ‘šu rišaihun d̲ kariSTiania ušauia
kništa lnapšia ugaba ama lnapšia haizak haizin amirna d̲ malkia d̲ mn Tupania mia
ulhaka d̲ šlim šnaiun d̲ malkia ulšnia d̲ akil malka malka hu mapriš ‘lauaihun uhua mirar
arudan gimuraT malka briš malkia kulhun akil tšima šnia ulabatria hua zarda
naiTa lahmuraT malka akil šitima šnia ulabatria lpr‘iš zihnag malka akil šabima
uhamšin šnia labatrh̲ d̲ hanath̲ malka ma šnia malka balma lahua ulabatrh̲ ha
asdag malka br aspag d̲ bahrin malka qarilh̲ akil tlatma šnia ulabatria puraidun
br tabian akil arbima uhamšin šnia labatrh̲ hua pašam nariman d̲ asra d̲ karkum
qarilh̲ akil hamišma šnia labatrh̲ hua malka d̲ parsaiia d̲ Traq akil šitin šnia
ulabatrh̲ hua kaiqubad hamišma utlata šnia ulabatrh̲ hua kaikisrau br siauušan
akil šitin šnia ulabatrh̲ hua `gab malka br burzin malka akil tlatma ušitin šnia
ulabatria hua luhrask malka akil tlatma ušitin uhamiš šnia ulabatria kušTasp
brh̲ d̲ luhrasp malka akil asar uarbia šnia ulabatrh̲ hua adšir br aspindir akil
ma uasar utartin šnia ulabatrh̲ hauia nuraiTaš hurizdan d̲ qarilh̲ šimdai malka
akil tmanan šnia ulabatrh̲ hua dašamšr malka d̲ šlaimun malka br daud qarilh̲ akil
alpa d̲ šnia ‘tšima barqa uma brqiha ulabatrh̲ hua bruq malka d̲ dilh̲ d̲ sindar
ruhmaia qarilh̲ akil asar uarbia šnia ulabatrh̲ hua ašaq br ašqan arbima
ušitin uhamiš šnia ulabatrh̲ lzur ulasTar kasrau ubaš uiasdis uTabian d̲ ardban
malka qarilh̲ akil asar uarbia šnia ulabatrh̲ hun malkia d̲ parsaiia hun aklin
tlatma utmanan utartan šnia briš malkia d̲ parsaiia hauia adšir upabugan akil
asar uarbia šnia ulabatrh̲ hua šabur malka br adšir malka akil šitin utartin
šnia ulabatrh̲ balaš malka hurnig br šabur malka akil hamšin šnia ulabatrh̲
hiuia bahran malka akil asar utartin šnia ulabatraiun hauia šabur malka br
iazdagir akal srin šnia ulabatrh̲ hauia piruz malka br iazdagir akil arbin šnia
ulabatrh̲ hauia bihdad malka akil tlat šnia ulabatrh̲ qabad malka br piruz malka
akil arbin uhda šnia ulabatrh̲ hauia kasru br qabad akil arbin utartin šnia
ulabath̲ hauia hurumiz malka br kasru akil asar utartin šnia ulabatrh̲ hauia
kasru br kasru mlik malkia br hurmiz akil tlatin utmania šnia btlatin utmania
šnia mhauia šamiš nišanqia uazil kasru uqaiim širu bmalkuta haizak mn iuma
d̲ hirbit ‘urašlam ualma d̲ qam iazdagir br bahran malka mn parsaiia bmalkuta napqan
mn alpa d̲ batraiia hamišma utšin uarbia šnia mn hazin alpa d̲ batraiia k̲d̲ qaiim
alma bšabima uhda šnia bnuna palga tmanan utša šnia huriniata bTabuta
ubišuta iatba ‘matia uasar šnia d̲ `mar `lauaihun k̲d̲ qaiim alma bšabima ušitin
šnia mn haka ulaqamia mia baSria ualma kulh̲ arza maTialh̲ ualahia umalakia bšnia
ubiahria ubanašuta mindia mindia nišanqia nišauun hanath̲ dukta ualma lalmia
kulh̲ arzia maTialh̲ mhauia `lh̲ d̲ nuna bšabima utšin uhda šnia qaiim mia nibiSrun
ualahia bkul ziqa kulh̲ girba nišbuq k̲d̲ bšabima utšin utartin šnia nišbuq mhauia
`lh̲ d̲ arbaiia mn kul rustaq niqum uaiba `kuma nisaq unitia malka d̲ babil
uqiniana minh̲ nitapar k̲d̲ bšabima utšin utlat šnia niqum mhauia d̲ malka d̲ arbiaiia
nimut d̲ arbiaiia uhda lhabra napil ubarqa d̲ bibil bqiniana ubanašuta auar nihuia k̲d̲
bšabima utšin uarbia šnia niqum mhauia ‘lh̲ d̲ arqa tlata zibnia biuma tinud ulilia
hda zibna bšinta miSaita bkulh̲ alma nhura nihzia ukukbia bil mn šamiš niSria
b‘šumia niSria qaiim alma bšabima utšin uhamiš šnia niqum mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ diba mn
arqa napiq unitia abar banašia nišbuq umalka malka nimut arbaiia bšnia d̲ hanath̲
diba maria alma kulh̲ hauia uzipa lturSa nigaidia ubiahria šabaT daula
d̲ mišanuiia barba habšaba zipa lšamiš nigairh̲ mhauai `lh̲ d̲ malka d̲ babil lbabil
nitia uqiniana d̲ babil lbabil nitia ubTur anašia lagaiia lpadakšar nimTun k̲d̲
bšabima utšin ušit šnia niqum mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ abatar atar nišanqia nihaun
ubrakšia ubgubria d̲ alma bmdiniata qala nihuia u`buria qalh̲ nibaSrun uaula
uTiba uglala mihuia ubhiuaniata d̲ arbia ligria ubnahra ubarqa zaina tibad uk̲d̲ alma
bšabima utšin ušuba šnia niqum mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ trin šihirialia mn hdadia nigahkun

ubrakšia ubgubria nigahkun uk̲d̲ alma bšabima utšin utmania šnia niqum mhauai ‘lh̲
d̲ alma d̲ hda mn šiharialia nimut hda bkulh̲ nihuia uk̲d̲ qaiim alma bšabima utšin
utša šnia niqum mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ qala nihuia lanašia apraiia nimTun uk̲d̲ qaiim alma
btmanima šnia mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ rakšia ugubria bkulh̲ alma mn rba ualma lzuTa ldašta
ulihra dukth̲ d̲ bkulh̲ alma Tašta haizak napša baiilun utigra hiuara nihuia biahra
siuan Silmia d̲ mišanuiia iuma qadmaia d̲ iahra tartin šaiia upalgh̲ qrabh̲ hiuara
nihuia mn akul alpa ušabima gubria d̲ azlan nipišiun tlata uk̲d̲ btmanima
utartin šnia niqum alma mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ anašia qalia nihun u‘nšia had mindam ninpuš
mhauai `lh̲ d̲ ‘nšia bšaba bmasgita nitbun unimrun d̲ gabra halip ‘lan bšuqia
unapqa lbaba uniqma ulgabra nibian unaškunh̲ unaplia lhiqla d̲ gabra ualpa d̲ zibnia
ninišqunh̲ aminTul d̲ anašia balma qalia hinun d̲ mištihkin haizak mhauai ‘lh̲ d̲ k̲d̲
hanath̲ zibna mTa mn qalh̲ zar napša hauia qalh̲ anašia d̲ nitparqun ušuba utmania
lgbra ubmnath̲ nimTunh̲ ugabra mn qudam ‘nšia bišuta šaiil lanašia mhauai ‘lh̲ k̲d̲
alma btmanima utlat mn nuna hanath̲ zibna `l nangaria d̲ alma latišaiil ‘mar k̲d̲
kiuan barqba niqum unipuq mn arqba ularia nizal prat rba ldiglat ništpuk ubabil
arqa uhamšin šnia qudam arqa d̲ gaukai bhurba tiqum ubarqa gaukai bit kabiSia
d̲ bazira bhamiš ‘stiria nibia ulanitaška mhauai ‘lh̲ mšiha kadaba nitia umaria
alma kulh̲ hauia ulkursia rba iatib ubh̲ dina daiin ldaiania mbarilun mn madna
lmarba bhda iuma atia ulh̲ ualma d̲ libna mn šita bdilh̲ sahdh̲ k̲d̲ btmanima uhamšin
šnia bnuna nihuia mutana rba nihuia uhaizak mn abatar malkia parsaiia malkia
arbaiia hauin bšubin uhda šnia aklin bšnaiun d̲ hanatun malkia arbaiia alma
kadaba hauia u`l sasauata d̲ arqa ulgumlh̲ ulbnia haria ulabdia ulamata u`l
dardaqnia uldardqiniata ul‘nšia ulbnia ulabdia kauna uniaha lahaulun bšnaiun
d̲ hanatun malkia aba lbrh̲ u‘ma lbrata lamšalTia umaria labda lamšalaT
ulmiškaiun d̲ anašia našTilh̲ hanatun malkia akuat Taba uaradia bšnaiun
d̲ hanatun malkia man d̲ nakšia ubnia ualma brh̲ haizak šailia Tubia lman d̲ hualia
mihuia bira udahba ukaspa urakšia ugumlia utauria uhamaria uaqnia bminiana
hauin ukiuaria mn iama pahra uaradlh̲ bTuria bdagna maTila ukul d̲ `bad ukul
mindam mitpak iatiria maskina hauia umaskina iatira hauia ubath̲ biqiata hauin
ubiqiata batia hauin prišaiia pigia hauin upigia prišaiia hauin umarh̲ abda
hauia uabdia hauin br haria umaruza unikla uzipa banašia hauia u‘kuria ubit
alahia mitpasasia ušumia uzadiqia dagalia hauin umitrahbia lqiniana hazin hda
dagalta mn arqa hda mn šumia napqa tartin mn hdadia umitrabia lanašia šarin umn
šumia miTra lahauia uarqa bzibna piria lamapqia mindam bzibna lamitbid uaula
larqa nahit uhaizak zibna d̲ muta ukSurta umahra d̲ aiit hauia unura hauia kul
zban talga bnpiš hauia umn mdinta lmdinta umn mata lmata ‘u btrin ‘u btlata mn
hdadia laška lazlia ubra labuia kadišlh̲ ubhapaiuta mn baita mapiqlh̲ u`ma
lbrata bla `dana mapqalh̲ uldina iuma biuma minh̲ tibh̲ umargušaiia usapria
b`umamata apkia nasqa usaprh̲ blilia azlia ganabia `uhrata pasqia uqiniana
mapria nunia biamamia ubrbita hasria zban zban iama umia bnpiš atin napša masklia
pira u‘mba u‘lana gaTlia uruhqa qurba hauia uqurba hauia ruhqa hauia u‘niš
anašia d̲ napšia bturSa laligTlun hinila anašia baraiia lagiT bturSa uanašia šapira
lzipa ulsahduta d̲ zipa qaimia u`umamata hazin baiilin k̲d̲ kalba d̲ baiia lama rahmh̲
mn rahmh̲ šapir laqaiim hn‘la bqina abatar hdadia masgia uanašia dagalia zabdh̲
uminilia riqaniata hauia ‘nta ptulata šutaputa hauila u‘nšia lgabra mšadra
lgubria u‘nšia lgubria bilaihin šabqia uldina šaqla uanašia dagalia ubišia
napšia hauin uabuhun u‘maihun kadušia aha baha ubra bbaba uabda bmarh̲
uaškarta brikta bdagaluta masgia u‘nta bila gaTla ulhurina hauia uhaizak
kadba ubišuta hauibun ubanašia šiqia ulaTabia u‘kuria upatikria almilun
lanašia uanašia d̲ alma adinqia bala hauinun umištalpia ualahia uanašia
mimrar uadinqia hilqa mšauilun uligal qašuta upagra kadaba hauilun ukilh̲
qalia hauilun ubzipa ukadba hauin ubanpia hdadia minila šapirata amrin uabatar
hdadia minila bišata amrin aminTul d̲ lhazin zipa d̲ abrin usaria uhamruta ukul

mindam qalia hauia uTabit zarin uqalia maškia uTabit qiniana qanin uahalin
ulasabin zban zban zaina ubišuta hauilun mn aTšia usaria arqa mn Tuna baSra
upiria u‘mbia u‘lana iabiš umlašuta mkadba ulabatru qaimia lišania mn hdadia
mkadšia unašia uanašia d̲ hauin baudanh̲ uazlin lnapšia d̲ iatbia bbaitia umdiniata
lagTia ubit parsaiia ukiTrauaiia urumaiia usigsnaiia ulišania mn hdadia mkadšia
uhaiak d̲ iatbia baudania zakin umšauilun ‘sTug laiatbia bbaitia ubšubin uhda šnia
d̲ akla uTuba maitin uTuba ubnh̲ abhatun u‘nšia mn gubraihun uahia mn ahia ulihda
dukta kanpia ub`daihun d̲ napšaihun had lhabrh̲ gaTilh̲ haizak bra d̲ gaukai akla
hamšin šnia bduhna abatar d̲ hazin `bra d̲ babil k̲d̲ hurba d̲ hazin bra d̲ babil
nišania malkia arbaiia kardus mardia unapqia arba ziqia uatia malka d̲ burdaiia
umalka d̲ simraiia umardia mn hdadia ugarqilh̲ lhazin bra d̲ babil mn madna lmarba
mitgirbia mn hazin bra d̲ gaukai trisar alpia haizak paiiš hamšin šnia d̲ bra
d̲ gaukai dahna k̲d̲ napqa srin uhamiš šnia mn hamšin šnia hauia Tura d̲ dahba bdašt
d̲ misaq ušuba mšaria ušuba malkia umšauia mlik malkia uamrilh̲ malkia lmlik
malkia d̲ šauia mamla d̲ rbia mn abda laniqar uabatar d̲ mšauin mamla ata hda malka
mn rqiha unahišlh̲ lmlik malkia mlik malkia lahazilh̲ uanašia kulhun hazilh̲
haizak amrilh̲ lmlik malkia hazin gabra d̲ nhit mn rqiha d̲ nhašlik `l `udnak mahu
d̲ amarlak amarlun d̲ kadba amritun amrilh̲ malkia lmlik malkia pas hazin mamla
d̲ abadnin karba hu amrilh̲ malkia lmlik malkia qum nihizia anpia hdadia uqamiun
unaplia bihdadia uatia hai malka ušaria uazil susia ‘lauaihun alma lsargh̲
bzma uatia krikta d̲ zma alma lganbia d̲ nhar had lhabrh̲ zadiqa had had d̲ paiiš
rahiT batar mn gaTilh̲ uamarlh̲ ana gaTilna `lh̲ mahu paiiš haizak lagTh̲
‘nšia ukanpia kinpia bihdadia uhadra abatar surh̲ udmuth̲ d̲ gabra unasbilh̲ ldahbaiun
ulkaspaiun ušadilh̲ ‘l qirlata ulabatru mzaraz malka akal asar utartin šnia
umšauia ruhSana ‘l alahia ualahia ualdiauria hauilh̲ udiatbh̲ baudania dahilun
udiatbh̲ latraiun atin umdinta Tabuta hauilh̲ uanašia bTabuta masTin ulabatru mia
mn rbita salqia uzaina napša ulabatru mindam hda balma d̲ kadir qraba hauia gubria
prišaiia upigia azlin lqraba umn qraba qala anašia minaihun zakin ulabatru
malka hurina qaiim sarqid br uarzigar akil šaba šn‘ tum malka hurina širasp šuma
akil srin ušuba šnia bšnaiun d̲ hanatun malkia bišuta lahauibun utigra laramin
uqiniana labaiin u‘kalta iatir laklin u‘niš ‘niš bqaita d̲ napšia utigra ungada
uqraba lahauilun uzipa udagluta uhda `qaria habrh̲ laška labid ‘u zipa abid
miSTria k̲d̲ hazin mamla nataSar unišania d̲ kukbia Sahama Sihmia qaiim uazan malka
akil hamiš šnia hak malka kul mindam šapir hauia alahia mitiaqria ukulhin mdiniata
ubit alahia dahna uturSa bhailh̲ hauia uanašia lminSa lamitrahbh̲ ubhanath̲ zibna
bhda kana d̲ hamra d̲ hauia tlatin anašia minh̲ sabin ubit hda ardba d̲ bazira d̲ saria
hamšin anašia sabin minh̲ umindia mindia šapiria hauin uanašia kila lahauilun
tum nišania hauia d̲ mn šumh̲ kukba Saria ubrbita napil ubšuba iamamia mia
sumaqia sagin u`nta d̲ mn hanatun mia šatia labaTna uadinqia bala hauin ulanaša
mšadria uamarlun anatun škub luatai tum nišanqia hurinia hauia ziqa saba
qaiim uaqapra atia bgauh̲ lbabaiun d̲ anašia kasilun haizak malka hanšamun abid
ulanašia mšaililun uamrilun m‘ hzaitun ‘u šmilkun hazin mindam d̲ hua hanatun
anašia laiadia mindam d̲ nimarlh̲ labatrun uazan malka u`ulanun d̲ mith̲
mšaiilun d̲ hazin mindam bdina kdib lmihuia `u qdim lhaka lahuat `ulanun d̲ mitia
amrilh̲ anat laiadit k̲d̲ šumia kukbia uSahama Saria uziqa saba qaiim uaqapra atia
minh̲ ulbaitaun d̲ anašia kasilun anat adilak d̲ milta d̲ bdinba d̲ alma ltušlima
maTiat ‘lana anat malka ‘qara alaha šapir ‘bidlak d̲ hazin minilta latiqnia
aminTul d̲ k̲d̲ maitit `lanak Tablun miTab k̲d̲ aitak bhiia ulabatrun qaiim parušai
sipa malka br burzan malka akil alma lkimSat almia ubšnia d̲ hanath̲ malka Tabuta
uturSa napša hauia usitua lahauia uhaizak mitpisqia mia hiia ulatin
ulasalqin uatin mia iuraqia mn rbita unišmata d̲ nasba ruhaiun d̲ hanatun mia
napqia mn pagraihun haizak matilh̲ lbil kukba mn abinia ahh̲ umalbišilh̲ lbuša
d̲ ptahil ubkasilh̲ ksuia d̲ ptahil umatnh̲ klila d̲ ptahil brišia umautibilh̲ lkursia

d ptahil arbin utartin šnia bhurba Sadia uhaizak amrilh qum šla lbušak uksuiak
uklilak d ptahil hu d baiinalh lasqh lziua d šamiš ultuqna d sira ulSahamta
d kukbia ulhaila d mia ulhaila d ziqa ulSauta d nura ulmsuta d arqa uamarlun bil
mn paina iatbit lhazin hašta amritun qum šlh haizak masqilh llbuša ulkusuia
ulklila d ptahil latrh haizak mištria liuiatin rba qašiša mn ‘suria d hauia sumka
d sipta d pumh ma arbin uarbima alpia parsia upatalh lpumh ubalilia lkulh bil
ubalalun lšuba šibiahia u‘l trisar malkaiun ulhamša mdabrunun ulkulhun humria
u‘kuria uprakia usahria udaiuia uliliatia ulkulhin nišmata d haiabia bit dina ukpir
bhiia qadmaiia mitpasqia bhšuka haizak amiSlh pumh ukulhin maitin bgauta
salqia sruth mn tibil haizak atin kulhun `utria d arqa d nhura uqaimin lkiph
d alma hazin uamria misiq sruta ukulman d mhašab miqria alma kd zan alma hazin
ptahil qra hinila alma hazin lalip ruban šnia uhauia alma hazin ziua unhura
umiaqria ukulhin nišmata d anašia šapiria udaurun bhiia qadmaiia lahaibh bit
dina ulamat muta tiniana nišmatun haka šr‘ia bhiia hiia liadin uhiia lsabran
uhiia lgubria masbiranan hiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uhiia zakin lalam almia
sa
. hazin aspar malkia uaprišata d alma hazin d ansit ana ania udania umradpa
abda d kulh haTaiia uarqa bigar d naSuraiia uamapra d atutia ligraihun
d nasakia utarmidia uganzibria zuTa ahai tarmidia umnašaq msana ligraihun
d nasakia ana rbai mhatam zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai
iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br
rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br
rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab
manduia ukinianh `kuma d ansit lhad šalmantia umhamna u‘uSra mdakai uliba
mšalim lrahmut kušTa u‘tkadiš lrahmut d manda d hiia udhibil ušitil uanuš
u‘hbat zidqa milia Tabuta napša ukidbat hazin ginza rama d huila dukrana
btibil uhatma balma rurubia `laiia d nhura d h‘ šumia d maSbuta šarat pt haua
simat ušuma d mqarila biniia brata d dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br
baiuT laqab pirišia ukiniana ‘kuma d nsit mn kdaba d `da d rbai mhatam iuhana
br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihrim br rbai iahia bihrim br rbai iahia
bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai
zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai
sam laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma d ansa lhad šalmantia umhaimna d h‘ šuma
mqarila himian brath d ‘stad (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br
rabi(ayin) br dhis kinianh ku(h)ailh d hu ansa mn kdaba d `da d rbai iahia zihrun br
rbai iahia ram zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br mašid br
našim br karam br kiria br (h)aiat kinianh sabur d hu ansala mn sidra d ab
dilia d hu had šalmana umhaiman d hu šumh ‘stad (ayin)aTuan ušumh d maSbuta mhatam
zihrun br mahnaš brh d sabi(ayin) br šam(ayin)an br ganim br paraš br rabi(ayin) br dhas
kiniana ku(h)ailh d ansalh mn sidra d ab dilh d hu ansa ukdab lhad šalmantia
umhaimna d hu šuma d mqarila brath d `ustad dispulh br paizia br qasum br
našmidin br ra(š)ad br našmidin br (ayin)abdlhasan kiniania sabur d ansalh mn sidra
d had šalmana umhaimin d hu `ustad dalh br (ayin)abid br manSur br (ayin)abdulah br
sabig kiniana quTana d ansalh d hua tarmida taqna rbai bihram sam br rbai
bihram iahia br abuhun d ganzibria rbai bihram iahia br abuhun d ganzibria
rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br
rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d ganzibdia rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab
manduia ukiniania `kuma d ansalh mn sidra d ansalh lnapšia d hu ganzabra taqna
rbai ram iuhana br rbai iahia zihrun br rbai zihrun br rbai adam br rbai
iahia br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai šitil br rbai
zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakh br abuhun d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai
sam laqab manduia kinianh `kuma d nsa mn sidra d had šalmana d hu `ustad sa(ayin)ud
br ‘ustad bišarah kniana riš draz d ansalh mn sidra rba urama uiaqira

ganzibra taqna d̲ hu rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br iahia adam kiniania (ayin)asikir d̲ ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ ham d̲ ansa lnapšia zibna hurina mn sidra d̲ had šalmantia d̲ haua simat brata d̲ adam br garib kinianh̲ tum d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzabra taqna maria šualania d̲ hu . rbai iahia iuhana br rbai ram br rbai baktiar kiniana ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn . tlata d̲ sidra hua šugiana tiniana rbai zihrun br rbai ram ku(h)ailia tlitaiia ganzibra taqna rbai iahia ram br rbai bihrim zihrun k(h)ailia urbai iahia ram ansa mn sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira rbai bihram br hiia br rbai adam zakia kinianh̲ k(h)ilia d̲ ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ ansa rbai iahia sam br rbai zihrun hibil br rbai anuš adam br bihdad (ayin)aziz d̲ nsa . rbai iahia iuhana br rbai ram br rbai baktiar kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ ab dilia d̲ hu rbai ram iahia baktiar kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansalh̲ lšalmania umhaiman d̲ hu `ustad paiad br naSir ldin br našim kinianh̲ ia(h)iauia laqab ‘upaišia d̲ ansa mn trin sidrh̲ had minaihun rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna rbai bihram br hiia br rbai adam kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ hurina sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna ubhiria br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai sam adam br zakh̲ sam adam br zakia laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansalh̲ ahh̲ rbai simihana br sam adam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansalh̲ iahia sam br zihrun br anuš adam br bihdad (ayin)aziz d̲ ansa . mn sidra d̲ rišaiia d̲ abuia d̲ naSiruta dihdar hula d̲ šumia d̲ maSbuta mhatam bulbul br sam bihram . (ayin)aziz mn sidra rba urama uiaqira d̲ rba rbai adam ihuana br iahia anuš kiniania šu(ayin)ailia d̲ ansalh̲ rbai saruan bulbul . mhatam bulbul br sam bihram (ayin)asikir d̲ ansalh̲ ham iahia sam br hibil zihrun uahh̲ qašišia adam bihram br rbai zakia mušarah mn trin sidria had minaihun sidra d̲ hibil br iahia mn mata d̲ girzana d̲ ansalh̲ abuhun d̲ naSuraiia iahia adam kuhalh̲ had sidra hurina rbai adam br iahia anuš šu(ayin)ailh̲ kinianh̲ bus(ayin)id d̲ ansalh̲ rbaian saruan bulbul . br adam baian kiniania zarzuia d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ had šalmania d̲ hibil br hiia br sam nangaria d̲ ansalia rbai iahia adam ku(h)ailia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansalh̲ anuš mu(ayin)ailh̲ br anuš bihdad zibna qadmaia aminTul d̲ trin sidria d̲ hanath̲ šalmania d̲ ansa tum ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ansa d̲ mhatam zihrun br bihram mušarah d̲ ansalh̲ rbai bihram baian br adam šupirtaiia mn sidra . haua brata d̲ adam ku(h)ailh̲ . brata d̲ iuhana br zakia maknušta uansalh̲mn sidra . d̲ šualia br hiia br iuhana br saruan d̲ ansalh̲ rbai bihram baian šupurtaiia mn sidra d̲ adam br ram gadana d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam k(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ rišaiia bihdar zihrun br sam sakara d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam ku(h)ailia mn sidra d̲ adam br šitil d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam ku(h)ailh̲ mn sidra d̲ šdia mamania brath̲ d̲ hibil br anuš d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br adam ku(h)ailh̲ mn sidra d̲ bihram sam gadana d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ abuia d̲ brata d̲ iahia sam br saruan . uiahia br adam ku(h)alia ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ zihrun br iahia iuhana d̲ ansalia rbaian anuš mu(ayin)alia br anuš bihdad d̲ baktiar br bul(ayin)iz br šitlai gadana d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ sam hibil Salupa d̲ ansalia bihram hibil br mhatam hibil iuhana d̲ ansalia mn sidra d̲ iahia zakia br brik iauar br paiiš uram ziua br šaiar br zihrun lahuia d̲ kušTa hibil iuhana br zakia d̲ nsalia mn sidra d̲ adam br iahia uadam d̲ ansalh̲ šaiar br zihrun mn sidra d̲ br hiia br gadana br šaiar ziua br hiia d̲ ansa šaiar uram ziua bnia baian hibil mn sidra d̲ zakria br hibil mn sidra d̲ napšia uzakria ansa mn sidra d̲ šad manda br zkh̲ iauar ušad manda ansalh̲ `qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ baian hibil br brik iauar d̲ ansalia mn napšia ansalun rbaian ‘qaiam br zindana mn sidra d̲ napšia d̲ ansa mn sidra hatiqa d̲ hua škin bginza ktab ‘dh̲ d̲ adam šitil uram br daimir uram šailia ansinun mn abahath̲ hiia qadmaiia uhiia zakin lalam almia uzakia ama d̲ naSuraiia lašanun mindam d̲ hiia paqid hiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uhiia zak`in sa

. ‘tadrat usilqat lriš ‘staqam hazin sidra d̲ mara d̲ rabuta ‘laita mn riša ualma ldraša d̲ kimSa d̲ mia hiia biuma d̲ trin habšaba utrisar biahra d̲ akir giTa

d hu tašrin qaina bšidta d tlata habšaba lšnat tlatma ušitasar abatar alpa
`staqmat bmata d markaz bmaia d praš ziua bbaita d napšan bhikum (ayin)uSmalh had
qatia uhad qazia sa
. hazin hua ginza rba mandaz mn tlata sidria bgu ‘dan . uanašata d amar
urnia umhašib umapiq lhazin rnita hinun ma(š)id br pandia br pi(ayin)il br za(š)ia
br ba(g)ia br šamkia br (ayin)abid (ayin)alia br mubarak laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma
ušuma d maSbuta adam br haua uzauh šuma d maSbuta haua mamania pt haua ušuma
d mqarila nura brata d ma(d)kur br (h)api(T) br sahar br mi(h)sin br (ayin)abd ala br
(ayin)askar laqab kimisia ukiniana riš draz
.tum ‘stadrat usilqat lriš u‘staqam hazin ginza rba sidra rba sidra d mara
d rabuta d hu sidra d adam gabra qadmaia biuma d rhaTia biuma qadmaia
d baruanaiia iuma d dukrana bšidta d arba habšaba lšnat arbima utmanasar šnia
abatar alpa šidta d qabiliun arbaiia u`srin biahra d adar lšnat tšima utšin
utmania šnia abatar alpa šidta d rumaiia bbaitaihun d napšihun batra
d australia ubmata d sidnia
.`stadrat hazin ginza rba hadta bkampiutar bhazin Surta zibna qadmaia balma
hazin mn qdim u‘l hašta . aminTul d kul ‘niš kd d bia ginza rba aškalh .
uaminTul d ginzia napšia d lamandizia ulamaliia mn riš briš . ugabra d abad
hugiania mandaia bkampiutar uTba(ayin) uktab bh hu had mandaia mhaimna šuma
d maSbuta bihram br haua mamania ušuma d mqarilia bašar br ma(š)id br pandia br
pi(ayin)il br za(š)ia br ba(g)ia br šamkia br (ayin)abid (ayin)alia br mubarak laqab manduia
ukinianh `kuma
. ugabra d andaz usadar hazin ginza rba mn tlata sidria mn riš lsaiakta hu
rbai sam br rbai ram iuhana br rbai adam ušumh d mqarilia tarmida naSuraia
haitam br mahdia br sa(ayin)id br sbahia br rahia br (ayin)ilia br (ayin)abid br muTar br
rum(d)an br (ayin)ašur br rbai mhatam br rbai iahia br rba urama uiaqira ganzibra
taqna uriš dara d mandaiia rbai zihrun kinianh ku(h)ailia

. usidria d andzit minaihun hinun .
. qadmaia d hu šapir d ansinalia mn riš lsaiakta mn kdaba d `da d rbai mhatam
zihrun br rbai adam . hzia saiakta d zharia d ansinalia zibnia napša bhazin
sidra hadta
. tiniana mn kdaba d `da d ram zihrun br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia zihrun
br rbai bihram šitil br rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna bhira rbai iahia
br rbai zihrun br rbai iahia mhatam br adam br adam iuhana br šams br ganim
br rbai adam br abuhun d ganzibria rbai iahia kinianh (ayin)aziz laqab kupa(š)ia
udura(š)ia d ansa lšalmantia umhaimna d h‘ šarat pt maliha ušuma d qariata tamam
brata d `uSTa (ayin)aziz br `uSTa (ayin)idia br kamis br ram(d)an kinianh ku(h)ailia
d ansala mn sidra d kdaba d `da d rbai zihrun br adam iuhana br iahia br zihrun
br iahia anuš br rba urama uiaqir rbai mhatam br iahia baian br iuhana
šadan br zakria br hibil br iahia br zakria br zihrun mn bnia dihdaria
kinianh sabur d ansa lhad šalmana umhaimna d hu baian br mhatam br iahia br
adam hua šumh d qaraita aSTa kairia br aSTa ra(š)ab br aSTa (h)aiat br adam br
uauia mn bnia dihdaria kinianh sabur usaika . u`stadrat hazin sidra tiniana
biuma d tlata habšaba ušuba asar biahra d ab aria bšidta d tlata habšaba lšnat
alpa u`matin uhamšin utša šidta d qabiliun arbaiia d ansalh batra d uštar
ubmia d dudanga ubbaita d napših usaika .
. tlitaia mn kdaba d `da d rbai sam br rbai zihrun br adam iuhana br iahia br
(ayin)abid br šar(š)‘ br asimir laqab manduia ukiniania ‘kuma d ansa `l had
šalmanta umhaimna d h‘ šuma d maSbuta anhar pt simat ušuma d mqarila (h)dapa
brat par(h)an br (ayin)abid raba br (ayin)abid br badur br mhana br naSir br (ayin)abid
(š)ada br salim laqab kimis‘ ukinianh riš draz d ansa mn kdaba d `da d rbai
ganzibra taqna rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br

rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br
rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun
d ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia ukinianh `kuma d hu ansa
lhad šalmantia umhaimna d h‘ šuma d maSbuta mudalal pt haua ušuma d qrita
himian brata d (ayin)aTuan br sabi(ayin) br (š)am(ayin)an br ganim br para(š) br rabi(ayin) br dhas
kinianh ku(h)ailh d ansa mn kdaba d `da d rbai iahia zihrun br rbai iahia ram
zihrun br mhatam br mhatam iuhana br bihram br ma(š)id br našmia br karim br
kiria br (h)aiat kiniana sabur . usaika lzharh akuat zhara d kdaba qadmaia
d ansinan bhazin sidra hadta .

upsaq unpal mn dinbh magalta d bgaua aprišata liuma uiahra ušidta
d `stadratbh hazin sidra tlitaia .
uhiia zakin lalam almia uzakia ama d mandaiia unaSuraiia d lašanun mindam
d hiia paqid uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uhiia zakin sa
sa

marai

bliba mšaba dakia

ninhar lbušak utitiaqar dmutak luat hahu abuk mara ḏ rabuta . man hinun Turia dakiia ḏ lanaidia umrumia mia ḏ lamištania ḏ larat ula`traurat laratalun qumtaihun bgu lbušaihun ḏ hinun hiia rbia Turia dakiia ḏ lanaidia umrumia mia ḏ lamištania ḏ larat ula‘traurat ularatalun qumtaihun bgu lbušaihun man hinun ahan ḏ npiš diruia lagrẖ uzidqẖ uairuia lbuna uasgubẖ barqa ḏ tibil ḏ napšia tiqlata ukulẖ husrana larat ula`traurat ularatalun qumtaihun bgu lbušaihun mn qudam tababia ubirqia uanania ulazha ula‘tazha mn qudam bišia umargizania ḏ tibil ḏ hinun ahan hibil ušitil uanuš naSuraiia ušalmania ubhiria zidqa ḏ npiš ula‘nišiuia lagrẖ uzidqẖ uairuia lbuna uasgubẖ barqa ḏ tibil ḏ napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana ularat ula‘traurat ularatalun qumtaihun bgu lbušaihun mn qudam tababia bidqia uanania ulazha ula‘tazha mn qudam bišia margizania ḏ tibil haš hiia upraš hiia u`tib hiia bziua rba dilhun ḏ napšaihun uamria qum niqnas qnasa ḏ muta balma hahu ḏ bišia ubdaura hahu ḏ napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana aminTul ḏ adam br alpa šnia uhauia qrulẖ unapqunẖ mn pagrẖ udla niquš udla nihsuk udlaniqmun mnẖ bnẖ zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibidulẖ uhaizak qiriuia upaqduia uzarzuia hiia rbia qadmaiia lSaur‘il šaruia ulqamamir ziua ḏ šaria udabar ruhia unišmata mn pagra umuta nitiqria balma ukušTa nitiqria liadia ḏ iadilẖ kul man ḏ mitqil ulaiiTlẖ lmuta saiib `l qudamẖ šitin ušit tiqlata aminTul ḏ muta miqria qria umpaqudia mpaqad ušaduria mšadar ušuba lanasib uqurbana lamqabil u‘niš b‘niš lamhalip uamrilẖ hiia rbia qadmaiia lSaur‘il šaruia ulqamamir ziua hut ‘zil lalma hahu ḏ bišia uldaura hahu ḏ napšia tiqlata ukulẖ husrana uqrulẖ qala šania ladam uaprišulẖ mada Taba lqudamẖ uamrulẖ ia adam gabra qadmaia haraša sakla Truša Tmura qum puq mn gauẖ ḏ tibil ḏ napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ huarana aminTul ḏ anat br alpa ḏ šnia hauit ḏ latiquš udla tihsuk udla niqmun bnak minak zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibadulak uhaizak nhit uata Saur‘il šaruia uqamamir ziua lalma hahu ḏ bišia uldaura hahu ḏ napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana uaqrulẖ qala šania ladam uaprišulẖ mida Taba lqudamẖ uamrilẖ ia adam gabra qadmaia haraša sakla Truša Tmura qum puq mn gaua ḏ arqa ḏ tibil ḏ napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana aminTul ḏ anat br alpa šnia hauit udla tiquš udla tihsuk udla niqmun bnak minak zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibdulak uhaizak ham adam hima lbaš hima u‘tlabaš hima ‘tkasia uruqẖ halia bla umarira Tarilẖ ušadilẖ barqa u‘tigbib ula‘pšiT uliba kariuta ‘tamlia ubainẖ npalẖ dimihta uqda uialil ubka u‘dnai u‘štaTia umalia ‘dẖ unapiS ltarbaSia hadia uamar ia qala ḏ ldilia qaria ia mada Taba ḏ lqudamẖ ‘tapraš ana br alpa ḏ šnia hauit balma hazin ubaiina mikal alpa ḏ šnia huriniata balma hazin ḏ ldilia aitan bgauẖ ḏ briš guparia mitaklin mn qudam tumria ḏ haizak tumria mitiklin briš hapura mitkil mn qudam šumblia tum balma hazin ḏ ldilia aitan bgauẖ briš iarqunia rgigia mitaklin mn qudam ašnia uhaizak mitiklin ašnia amarlun nisaq lpumẖ ḏ praš ziua ulkipẖ ḏ iardna rba ḏ hiia ulbiniana rba ḏ abahatan unihizia bauania ḏ iardna rgigia hauin lmikal hin ašnia haizak sliq uata Saur‘il šaruia uqamamir ziua qudam hiia rbia qadmaiia uamarlun lhiia rbia qadmaiia mida iaditun umiglia glilkun abahatai ukasiata lqudamaikun mgalala uasburia labaiitun ušaiulia lmšailitun aminTul ladam anin amarnalẖ hu rihmẖ lSauta uragagta ḏ alma hahu umn gauẖ labaiia ḏ nipuq uhaizak qiriuia upaqduia hiia rbia qadmaiia lSaur‘il šaruia uqamamir ziua uamarlẖ nhut `zil lalma hahu ḏ bišia uldaura hahu ḏ napšia tiqlata ukulẖ husrana uqrulẖ qala ladam uaprušulẖ mada Taba lqudamẖ uamarulẖ ia adam ‘dalma ‘niš ‘ka ḏ minak hakim uiatib upugdamia basimia maliplak uamarilak hinila qum puq mn gauẖ ḏ arqa ḏ tibil ḏ npiš

tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana udla tiquš udla tihsuk udla niqmun bnak minak zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibadulak uamarulẖ ia adam qum mut ḵḏ ḏ lahuit ula`hambal ḵḏ ḏ la‘štauit aminTul ḏ nišimtak lkana mibia ulbit abu rba qadmaia uldukta ḏ huia mn laqadmia haizak nhit uata Saur‘il šaruia uqmamir ziua lalma hazin ḏ bišia uldaura hahu ḏ napšia tiqlata ukulẖ husrana uqrulẖ qala ladam uaprišulẖ mada Taba lqudamẖ uamrilẖ ia adam `dalma ḏ `ka ḏ ‘niš minak hakim uiatib pugdamia basimia maliplak uamarlak hinila qum puq mn gauẖ ḏ arqa ḏ tibil ḏ napšia tirlatẖ ukulẖ husrana udla tiquš udla tihsuk udla niqmun bnak minak zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibadbak uamrilẖ ia adam qum mut ḵḏ ḏ lahuit u`thambal ḵḏ la‘štauit aminTul ḏ nišimtak lkana mibia ulbit abuia rba qadmaia ldukta ḏ huat mn laqadmia uamarlun iaqaruiia ḏ ldilia qaria ia mada Taba ḏ ‘l qudamai maprišlia ana br alpa šnia hauina ubaiina ḏ `kul alpa ḏ šnia huriniata hin‘la ‘zil lšitil br hahu ḏ mibilẖ lalma hahu minai ianuq rgig br tmanan šnia hauia balma hazin ḏ lšipula ḏ atuat ladriklẖ upuria rurbia lahualẖ ulašmiTlẖ hirba ulašdilẖ bgu daria zma hanatẖ hu ḏ mibilẖ lhanatẖ alma uhaizak ata Saur‘il šaruia uqamamir ziua qudam hiia rbia qadmaiia uamarlun hiia abahatai mida iaditun umiglia glilkun ukasiata lqudamaikun mgalala uasburuia labaiitun aminTul ḏ adam anin amarnalẖ uadam lšitil brẖ šadranan uamar ana br alpa šnia hauina ubaiina ḏ `kul alpa ḏ šnia huriniata uamar ‘zil lšitil br ḏ minai ianuq uminai rgig br tmanan šnia hauia balma hazin ḏ lšipula ḏ atuat ladriklẖ upiria rurbia lahualẖ ulamišmiTlẖ hirba ulašdilẖ bgu darẖ zma hanatẖ hu ḏ mibilẖ lalma hahu uhaizak qiruia upaqduia uzarzuia ušadruia hiia rba qadmaiia lSaur‘il šaruia u‘l qamamir ziua uamarulẖ hut `zil lalma hahu ḏ bišia u‘l daura hahu napšia tiqlatẖ ukulẖ husrana uqrulẖ lšitil br adam uaprišulia mada Taba lqudamia uamarulẖ ia šitil br adam qum mut ḵḏ ḏ lahuit u`thambal ḵḏ ḏ la‘štauit aminTul ḏ nišimtak lkana ḏ napša mibia uldukta ḏ huat mn laqadmia haizak nhit uata Saur‘il šaruia uqamamir ziua lalma hazin ḏ bišia uldaura hazin ḏ napšia tiqlata ukula husrana uqrulẖ qala lšitil br adam uprišu mada Taba lqudamẖ uamarulẖ ia šitil br adam qum mut ḵḏ ḏ lahuit u`thambal ḵḏ ḏ la‘štauit aminTul ḏ nišimtak lkana ḏ napšia mibia ulbit abuia rba qadmaia uldukta ḏ hua mn laqadmia haizak amar šitil br adam ia qaruia ḏ ldilia qaria ia mada Taba ḏ lqudamai ‘tapraš glilia ḏ ana br tmanan šnia hauina balma hazin ulšipula ḏ atuata lardaklai upuria rurbia lahualia ulašmiTlia hirba ulašdilia bgu tibil zma ‘zil lab adam br alpa šnia hauia balma hazin dla niquš udla nihsuk udla niqmun bnia minẖ zuTia ušiTuata bnpiš nibdulẖ uamrilẖ ia šitil br adam mn qudam ḏ hazin qala ḏ ldilak qrinalak ladam qrinalẖ uamarnalẖ ladam abuk uadam ldilak šadrinan uamar šitil br adam bruianẖ ḏ nipšia dahilna ḏ `mar ḏ lanapiqna mn pagrai ‘dalma hiia rbia giuTa rba ‘lai šabqia batra dilhun ḏ napšaihun uhaizak qam šitil br adam uba rahmia rurbia ulazuTia haizak šihlia l`uSTunia ḏ bisra uzma ulbaš ‘uSTuna ḏ ziua uTarTabuna Taba dakia ḏ nhura ḏ tšima utšin alpia ruban nahur nhuria mn nhura ḏ šamiš utšima utšin alpia ruban taqun tuqnẖ mn tuqna ḏ sira ualip alip uruban ruban `tria mdabrilẖ mn iaminẖ umn smalẖ ziqia ziqia nasbilẖ lšitil br adam u‘udamia ‘udamia mdabrilẖ uasiq uaqmuia banana rabtia ḏ nhura ubaiia rahmia napša rba ulazuTa uamar šitil br adam baiina minaikun hiia qadmaiia umn hiia tiniania umn hiia tlitaiia umn iupin uiupapin umn sam mana smira umn gupna ḏ kulẖ hiia umn `lana rba ḏ kulẖ asauata ḏ nišqululia ladam ab bluqia mn ainẖ usikia mn `udnẖ ukusilẖ bisra mn libẖ unihizia lalma hazin ḏ ana azilnalẖ uhaizak silqat bkitẖ uškitẖ udnutẖ lšitil br adam lqudam hiia rbia qadmaiia šqalulẖ bluqia mn ainẖ usikia mn `udnẖ ukusil bisra mn libẖ hiziẖ lhahu alma ḏ azilbẖ šitil br adam uamarlẖ br atalak ana azlinalẖ lalma hahu mibinalẖ uamarlẖ `zil saba ḏ lahakim umariba rba ḏ lapraš miaka ḏ raq ruqa mn pumẖ u`tkamar mibilẖ mn riš miaka ḏ npaq `ula mn kras `mẖ hdar b`mia ailuia hinila akuat ḏ ana nipqit mn alma hazin bla šnai nitia `ula mn kras `mẖ ḵḏ muqra ḏ bita nitun dirdqia gaunia ḵḏ pumaihun mlilun

halba nitaian `ngiriata mhatamata ptulata unitaian hidutata k̲d̲ miša naTip mn klilaiin nitun dirdqunia bqiria udirdquniata k̲d̲ pumaihun d̲ biriata nihuia qiria balma hazin nišailunh̲ maria baita lmuta umuta laniqrublh̲ alma d̲ niTarTilunh̲ unibihtun kul man d̲ nimar d̲ hazin ianuq nihuia uhazin d̲ qašiš nizal tihuilia šaialta batra rba bit rurbania ziqia ziqia nasbilh̲ lšitil br adam u`udamia `udamia mdabrilh̲ uasiq aqmuia `l maTarata d̲ šilmai gabra ganzibra d̲ sakia d̲ ziua b`dia lgaT uqlidia d̲ kušTa btrin draiia ptulh̲ baba d̲ bit ginza udalulia br guda rba d̲ šrara uaiil mahuilh̲ hahu gupna d̲ hua mina u`lana d̲ šatriš mn gauh̲ hahu gupna d̲ bgauh̲ ziua uganbia nhura u`qbh̲ mia uauph̲ `utria ualuath̲ pasimkia d̲ nhura ubazirh̲ kana rba d̲ nišmata aklia d̲ lahua SaiTa šatan d̲ lahua hamra aiar ziua br hiia rbia rišaiia d̲ anuš aklia uašatia uatia ruaha d̲ hiia ušaria ‘lauaihun ugadlia klilia ruaha umahtia brišaihun uahkia usahqia ugaiia umitparpia ‘l ‘qar giua ušahbibh̲ b‘qara ušaria ‘lauaihun uamar šitil br adam hazin `uhra udirka umasiqta d̲ ana sliqiba nisquba unituba anašia kšiTia umhaimnia ušapiria ušalmania k̲d̲ napqia mn pagraihun uhaizak kušTa pšaT hiia u`utria umalkia d̲ arqa d̲ nhura udaura taqna u`hablh̲ `da d̲ kušTa lšitil br adam hiia simak lhiia hiia aška dilun hiia dilun aška uaškat nišimta d̲ msakia hiia liadan uhiia lsabran uhiia lgubria masbiranan utimrun uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin sa

. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia k̲d̲ huat hašabta mn bit hiia šadruia paruanqa d̲ ladam ata d̲ miširiia ulapuqh̲ mn pagria minh̲ d̲ hazin alma mn sada umn ‘sura umn šidiriata umn qulalia ulapuqia mn arqa d̲ bnalh̲ ptahil ušuba šubaiahia uaiil ašruia uautbuia lmiširih̲ ulmapuqh̲ mn pagria SaSa uzapra akla umhambla aria haTipa unura d̲ iaqda umhambla mn diba mdaibh̲ umn iama d̲ lamgašaš umn bidqa d̲ lamistkar umn tanina d̲ hdirlh̲ lkulh̲ alma d̲ ‘niš bhailh̲ lamSia haizak ‘taprišat nišimta bgauh̲ d̲ pagra d̲ adam qamitapriša uqabaSra ‘uSba hda bpagra qabaSra iatib uamar nišma mn ruha upagra zapra mahu iatbinin umahu šakbinin ulamzaudinin zuadia l‘uhran d̲ ligal atia šaruia ‘lan umapiqlan minh̲ d̲ hazin alma zibna amar nišma mn ruha upagra zapra ruha upagra zapra paršigna la‘hablh̲ ‘l qaiim uamar nišma mn ruha upagra zapra asgia šaruia ata asgia ata šaruia umaTia gabra paruanqa ata qamlh̲ `l `sadh̲ ladam `l `sadh̲ ladam qamlh̲ umatarlh̲ mn šinth̲ uamarlh̲ qum qum adam ušuhlh̲ lpagrak zapra lkitun Tina lpagra saria d̲ huitbh̲ šuhlh̲ lilbuš pagria d̲ huitbh̲ hubTia briš d̲ šuba utisar gubria abduia ušamar ušubqh̲ bgauh̲ d̲ alma aminTul d̲ zibnak mTa lminpaq ukilak šlam minh̲ d̲ hazin alma hiia šadrun `lak ubaiilak ulatra d̲ hiia mizlak latra d̲ huitbh̲ mn qdim ldaura d̲ abahatak bgauh̲ iatbh̲ k̲d̲ haizin šuma adam haulil lnapših̲ ubka haulil ubka lnapših̲ u‘štarialh̲ bainh̲ dimihta adam lpumh̲ pihth̲ d̲ nimarlh̲ lgabra paruanqa d̲ ata `lh̲ ab k̲d̲ ana atina minak haizin tibil hazin napša man nihuia bgaua naTra hazin haua zauai man nihuila Sauta hazin šitlia d̲ šitlit man nihuilun bdaria simaka man simaka bdaria nihuilun hazin baita d̲ daribh̲ man daiarbia mn abatrai uman hauia bgauh̲ hazin daiarbia mn abatrai umn hauia bgauh̲ hazin k̲d̲ dara diqla Tuna udara knara simadra man nihuilun naTra k̲d̲ atia prat udiglat man dara mhara b`dh̲ umdabar mia lšitlia k̲d̲ iadla iadalta man hauilun ania man Samid pdan tauria umdabar bazira barqa mn lagiT karkušta b‘dia umkarkiš aqnia ldibnaihun iamuria lbaqaraihun umkaniplun liatimia ukanpa d̲ armalta man malila man malbiš arTilana usaiimlh̲ bSaurh̲ ‘uSTla man mpariq šibia ušadilh̲ lmata tigra malil d̲ nimarlh̲ paruanqa d̲ hiia d̲ `l adam ata ia adam qum saq latrak ldaura d̲ Taba d̲ huitbh̲ mn qdim latra d̲ larba šamšia ušragia d̲ nhura lahaškia sab lbuš lbuša d̲ ziua u`tkasia nhura iaqra truS klila klil zakauata d̲ almia bgauh̲ nahria `usra lhimianak himian mia d̲ kibia unTiTia litbh̲ `tib lkursiak d̲ ziua d̲ hiia traSlak mn riš briš ‘nšia lbit munqak d̲ kul ium ukul iuma ridpa minh̲ sbalt latikrilak adam `l atra hazin d̲ huitbh̲ aminTul d̲ atra hazin harub udaura kulh̲ bSadia iatib mištibqa umištamra `bidata luat hdadia laqarba kabra bgauh̲ bišuta uaiTa napiš bmdin mdin bnia

kapria babuhun ubnata b`maihun kapran ahia gaTlia hdadia uahia mn bisra hdadia
aklan kul gabra d̲ šabaq zauh̲ ukul atuat d̲ zaua šabqa ‘l d̲ latitia bišuta uaiTa
bdaria mištabiq ‘la d̲ lahun iatimia uarmlia uarmalata ubnia šibia anat adam qum
puq mn hazin alma uminh̲ d̲ pagra zapra adam lpumh̲ pihth̲ d̲ nimarlh̲ lgabra paruanqa ab
`u `ditun d̲ hazin hauia lmahu šabištun uatitun uaiiltun lgauh̲ d̲ pagra zapra
hašta k̲d̲ napiqna minh̲ mn pagrai man nihuilh̲ naTra k̲d̲ šakib man maukilh̲ umn mašqilh̲
uman hauilh̲ bdaria Sauta k̲d̲ qaimia `lh̲ rimia ubarqia `lh̲ birqia man hikla ubuna
banilh̲ uman Tlala abidlh̲ lau m`iatin hiSbia uhaSbilh̲ uatia šamšia unapla ‘lh̲
ziqia nasbia hillia uaqapra ramin `lh̲ lau mikanpia Sipria uminh̲ d̲ pagrai aklin
minh̲ aklin d̲ pagrai ubmanzia qina qanin umn bisra lqinaihun masqia umašlilh̲ `l
lbušai umsadqilh̲ ldiqlia man d̲ hauilh̲ hizua ab `u baiit d̲ `tia minak nitia
pagrai minai biluatai pagrai nitia minai unihuilia Sauta b`uhrai ab u`mai
litlia d̲ nitun minai biluatai dahba ukaspa lamidralia ulalauilia d̲ `dirh̲ minai
bizuadai unitia minai biluatai malil uamar paruanqa d̲ `l adam ata kma
karialak ugmiTalak adam lpagra saria d̲ huitbh̲ pagra bit hiia miaka upagra lbit
hiia lasaliq malil uamarlh̲ adam lparuanqa d̲ `lh̲ ata ab šliha d̲ hiia `u hinialak
ušapiria ‘lak ‘la titia haua zauai minai biluatai tihuia uSauta b‘uhrai
bnai ubnatai nitun minai unihuilh̲ Sauta b`uhrai k̲d̲ haza paršigna šimat haua
zauh̲ minh̲ d̲ adam ašliat bqala uqihdat ašliat uqihdat bqala u‘štariala baina
dimihta uamralh̲ ana `tia minak biluatak adam huilak Sauta b`uhrak malil
d̲ nimarlh̲ paruanqa d̲ hiia d̲ `l adam ata pagra lika bit hiia upagra lbit hiia lasaliq
laba ula`ma ulahia ulahuata uldahba ulkaspa ruhSana bit hiia lanihuilak hinala
‘niš ‘niš ‘ubadh̲ uagrh̲ uzidqh̲ urušumh̲ umaSbuth̲ u`l `bidata d̲ abad mištailia k̲d̲
napqia mn pagraiin ‘l maTarata mištailia adam limalak ahia d̲ zipa d̲ saipia
uahuata d̲ zipa d̲ lakašran ahak ‘utria d̲ kušTa uahuatak škinata d̲ mhaimna kul ium
ukul iuma bit hiia qaimia ubuta d̲ napša ukabira baiin ‘lak adam dahba limalak
d̲ baTil ukaspa limalak d̲ hšuka bgaua d̲ hazin alma `uhra d̲ azlinabh̲ napšia usaka
litlia lakalba parsia ulamandaz bgaua kudka šbiqiba gziraiia umaTaraiia umaksia
iatbia `lh̲ hšil umatna zaina umsasqal umatna parzla urhtia dudia ‘l nišmata
d̲ bišia naTria iama ‘ka b‘uhra iama d̲ mabra litbia hinala ‘niš ‘niš agra uzidqa
mqariblh̲ umabarlh̲ `ubadh̲ hauin lqudamia paruanqa `uhra d̲ azlinabia ml`ia kuba
uaTaTa hdirlh̲ šuba šuria Turia d̲ lapruTbun pruTta triS uiatib muzania umn alpa
bahar had nišimta d̲ Taba uminihra k̲d̲ haza šuma adam haulil lnapših̲ ubka udimh̲
d̲ hlia natra haizak adam mn pagra npaq hdar hizia u`standar karialh̲ d̲ nišibqia
ulamaTia `lh̲ d̲ nišamrh̲ ušamar baiar mizlh̲ mšamar uazal adam k̲d̲ Sipra d̲ laqna mina
ulapa ulahualia bnia šamar uazal adam k̲d̲ Sipra d̲ ganpia Salh̲ uTaiis uazil balmia
udaria udamia k̲d̲ hiuta d̲ mn gizra ‘tpisqat udamia larba ziqia utababia šamru
udamia laria d̲ pliT mn sinduarth̲ ulhizura d̲ pliT mn TarTiunh̲ uamar uazal adam uai
uai d̲ šabiš ahai apqun mn binataihun uaiil šdun urmun bpagra zapra aria
mhambla aria mridia mardh̲ aiil rmun btanina d̲ hdirlh̲ d̲ lkulh̲ alma aitun urmun luat
šibiahia bišia d̲ kul ium rmilun marula ukul ium zaina hašlia ‘lai bnulia prikia
d̲ Tina uSilmia d̲ zipa ukul ium ukul iuma lqudamaihun gazria gzariun Tablia
uambubia laSTuian binataihun ana bhailaihun d̲ hiia rbia ašrit uazlit
binaitaihun ana lahuit habraihun ulapilgit mnata binataihun ana `tit d̲ mipaq
napiqna ubalhudai napiqna ubalhudai šarin tigrai k̲d̲ šabšun ‘utria ahai uapqun
minh̲ mn atrai uaiil bgauh̲ d̲ pagra zapra qas pu lalit uladaribh̲ šita hda ‘la
bTašibh̲ upandilth̲ brišihun d̲ šuba utrisar gubria d̲ `bduia usasqil aqmuia hinila
kma hua šapir pagrai hua ukma hua sn‘iia gubria d̲ `bduia ukma hua hakimia
ušapiria Saiadia d̲ Sauruia uzarpunaiia d̲ zarnipuia šapir abadulh̲ riša usasqil
abadulh̲ manzia sasqil manzia abadulh̲ uprašulh̲ briših̲ parušta ublibh̲ špaklh̲
hukumta abadlh̲ tartin ainia d̲ minihra `umama ulilia abadlia tartin kauia d̲ šuta
d̲ hiia sablia abadlh̲ baba rba d̲ kul ium lhiia mšabilun abadlh̲ tartin `dia d̲ kul
ium abda ulahalia abadulh̲ tartan ligria d̲ mn madna lmarba sagia hašta

qumth d hua šapira uazal aqapra urima hua bit qubria ainh manzalata hdar
habara h` `stakarlh tartin kauia d šuta d hiia šama ‘stakar baba rba d kul ium
lhiia mšabalun ‘dh d abda ‘umama ulilia ulahalia hašta Sipra mn pagrai
ladahlia ligrai d sagia parsia mn qudam Sipria larahTh karialia d ‘šibqh
ulamaTia `lai d `dirh amrit d `ka nizal u`dirh lpagrai ‘tlia ‘šiath npal hibTit
ušraith `l pagrai uazal aqapra urima hua azal aqapra hua urima u`tpalag unpal
bmdin mdin umla baba d bit qubria ahia hdadia lazabnia `u zabnia ahia hdadia
pagra lbit qubria lamTa lamTa pagra lbit ulašlath lpagra nišimta ‘u zban aba
lbrh zargiania btibil lahun `u zabnia bnia abuhun iatimia btibil lahun `u zban
gabra zaua armlia btibil lahun `u zibanat `nta zaua armalta bšuqia la‘tqiriat
haizak malil uamarlh paruanqa d hiia d `l adam ata ia adam kma karialak
ugamTalak lpagra saria d huitbh dal ainak hzia anana d nhura d alanpak dilak adam
atia d mdabrilia arba gubria bnia nhura balip alip parsia sagan anana d alanpak
atat `pikia umitnibh `uSTlia d ziua uTarTabunia dakiia d nhura umatnabh klila
rauzia d napšia usaka litlun uamrilh arba `uturia bnia nhura d `lauia atun
amrilh alma bakit adam ušaplalak bainak dimihta amarlun abda ana d lamara uamrar
malka `lh uamarlh anat adam braiun d hiia rbia abdaiun d hiia rurbia anat abdaiun
d hiia rbia ata bšlam bhiria dakia zakaia d hiia zakiuia ata saq `tib banana
rabtia d nhura dikrak daura taqna `dikruk abahatak aminTul d luataihun huit
uasquk mn alma d ptahil alma d lau mindam hu adam lpumh pihth unimarlun l`utria
d `lauh ‘tun ‘u hinialkun ‘u ‘utria ahai ‘gargulia šita hda šita hda ‘gargulia
‘šadar haua zauai titia minai biluatai malil ‘utria d nimarulh ladam riša d kulh
šurbth nha ušduk adam unihuta d Tabia tišria ‘lak utiqablak anat salqit
latrak azlit uhaua zauak abatrak tisaq salqa kula šurbtak abatrak atia uhaizak
saipia kulhun daria ukulhin biriata auda ukulhun biria uiamamia iabšia
uzabia unahlia miabaštun hauia umitpasasia unaplia Turia uaramata ušaplia hadria
usaipa babil uburSip hauia kd d lahuat mitpasasia bit parsaiia ubit rumaiia uhauia
kd d lahuit sind ubit hinduaiia lihdadia naplia uarqa d bit simraiia uTuraiia uTura
d parzla hdadia gaTlia udina amria mn gaTlanun uarqa amra dina mn man d ašadba
zma d br adam himbil Silmia akuath ugziraiia uagzar `bTia ugaiaria
uganabia uzipania umahuqia uapkia miSria umšania kudkia uharšia uharašata
ukumria uzibia uadidia ušaTamia umrašmania ukaSumia ukaldaiia liaqdania d nura
azlin kd arqa napla bhumbaria u‘šumia qaima adinqia kukbia ušamiš usira latraihun
azlia upasimka latra azil uarba ziqia d baita latraihun azlia ukulhun bišia
l`umqia d hšuka šaplia anat adam Tubak d `tabhart usliqt mn alma d malakia
umn kariuta d hazin alma anat adam latikralak `l alma hazin d npaqt minh mn
atrak napqin dirduqia gaunia kd akandit madaihun la‘praš napqia ‘lamania
u`lamaniata Surania uSuraniata kd d laras ulamkar napqia hidutia uhidutata
uaqapra napil bqilbaiin mištalpia sikia gnanun uriqin napqin mn alma bataiia
ubataiata qanin umšamrin bataiun uazlin kalin ldbar ‘šiul sabia umaria batia
šaililh lmuba ulatia ‘lauaihun ubla Tamun napqia mn alma malka mšamar tagh ubnia
haria mšamria giutaihun ‘nšia auid šupraiin harata auid rgagin ubhipia azlin lbit
qubria anat adam asaq `zil `umrh ldinak qudam malka d nhura uqudam hiia rbia
qadmaiia `l dina d alma d huitbh uamarlun hiia rbia mahu abadtun lhazin alma lmahu
d paqidtun lšurubta mn binataikun ultibil šraitun tigra hašta ldilia lmahu
baiitun ukulh šurbatai ualma kulh aqimtunh bSadia kd d lahuabh naTra ušuba
utrisar mištalTia ‘lauaihun balma d napšaihun balma d šurbtai dilia qaimia
umitradpia ha hinialkun rbia ušapira `lauaikun hanath alma lanihrub uninhar
ušurbtai dilia minh latipsiq ušumaikun dilkun hiia rurbia qadmaiia mn hatam
lanaTar halin škinata d škan hibil ziua lanihirba uiardna mn hatam laništqal
ušibiahia uruha umšiha bgauh laništalTun uamrilh hiia rbia qadmaiia ladam
riša d kulh šurbth ia adam anha b`rutak unihuta d Tabia tiqablak hibil ziua haka hu
u`utria ahak haka hinun uiardna kulh haka hu uanat adam haka šarit uhaua zauak

lhaka atia ukula šurbtak abatrak salqa haza h‘ škinta d škinalak ldilak adam
uhaua zauak lqudamaihun d hiia rurbia qadmaiia alma liuma ium dina ualma
lšita šaiia d purqana alma liuma rba d qaiamta uhaizak qaimit anat adam
ukulhin šurbatak larqa d napšak azlit ul‘uSrak anihh uautbh `l libak lsamkia
uhiia zak`in sa hazin sidra kd k`lh šalimlh ladam hušbania
bdaria ‘tbadruia qaria umapriš manda d hiia uamar agzarta tihuia lkul man
d mipaq napiq mn pagrh mn alma d aith bgauh ubaiila lSauta urahim dahba ukaspa
udla hazia amar udla šama mištaiia upašiT binia ahia upalig bnia mn abahatia
umauzip ušaqil hbulia uakil piqrSa zuTa uapik miSria umšania kudkia uabid
`bidata sainata d hazin niliTia manda d hiia b`uhra d azil adam riša d dara
lanizal ulanisaq ulanihizia latar nhur kd d salqa nišmata Tabata lbit hiia
hinila hu nitkamar mn atra rba d nhura mn daura taqna hiia liadan hiia
lsabran uhiia lgubria masbiranan uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun
`ubadia sa
. bšumaihun d hiia rbia hazin raza usidra uprišata upiasa ubuna d apriš manda
d hiia uamar lbhiria zidqa kd kilh šalimlh ladam umn pagra npaq haua zauh nagda
ulagTa ‘blia umalia ukabša ulagTa iumia rurbia uiaqiria uatat ruha uiatbat
lqudama uamrala lhaua alma nasbilik šahriria d armalata ušiaTa d adam matiala
bnambiata u`da ramia lhdadia uguha gahna barqa uamra habrat man d npaq
minik d šalit uiatbit ularagzat haizak ruha h‘ ukulhin liliata d mina ušariat
haua umalia ligTat uamrala ruha lhaua hab malia bnpiš nilgaT ‘lh harta d lalagTa
mala lhabarata basima uhaua lruha Saitala ukul amra ruha lhaua qablat mina
uana hibil ziua iadana bnpiš haTaiia ‘tla lhaua bhašabta qaima kariuta
uliba bplugta qam ubhasiruta qaima uluat adam laqarba hiia abahatai ldilia qrun
uzarzun upaqdun ušadrun uamrilh anat naSba d šurbta mšarhib šurbata d adam anat
aiilth lbit gnana ladam uanat škantlh bit pirSa lhaua anat `zil piasa ahbala
lhaua uaniha lliba lsamkia uamarla nišma npiq minik anpa nahrilh bhaduta uruaha
bnpiš maška lnišmata masiq luath mn tam napuqa d npaq minak uqnasa qudam hirba
d hu d kulhun anašia d bqala d hiia sahdia ubšuta nukraita mištaiin bqnasa qudam
hirba napqin b`uhra d hiia masgin bšbila d npaqibun gubria bnia šlama tum
‘stimik bhiia ulškinata d rurbia ‘qara ‘štauzab ap anat abatrh ligal atit hin
kaprit ainik mn dimihta ušaqlit kanpik mn rišik uaiTa ukariuta dahit mn ‘uSrik
udahit `blia umalia mn libik bqnasa d qudam hirba masgit b`uhra d hiia unapqit
bšbila d gubria bnia šlama tum hazin pugdamia amrilh abahath lhibil ziua uasgia
uata lqudam haua ukap šipula uTarTabunia u‘tib bšuta basima lhaua u‘štaiila haua
mnakria b`uSra ualanpia bakia uamralh mihzilak nišma d npaq minai uamarla nišma
d npaq minak triS bgiuat `qara unahrilh anph bruaha d aška utriS bhaduta rabtia
d nhura uamarla d šiTit bšiTuata d šibiahia ublia umalia lagTit ubakit ušahriria
dauit uaiTa ukariuta mailit l`uSrik uamra d nilguT malia u`tigna guha
u‘STarar ainik dimihta ušiaTa d adam matialh lhaua bšuta basimtia u‘štaiila bšuta
braita `uSra d mnakria ‘tahdarla lanašia nukraiia uliba traSla lbit hiia
šqila ‘blia umalia mn anpa ušqala mn aina dimihta uamarla lhaua hzia bšiTuatun
šiTit hinila haTaiik nišbuqulik aminTul d šibiahia ašiTuk uhašta ninharulik ainik
qum bhaduta d giuat ‘qara ušaba lnišma d npaq minak ušadarlia buta utušbihta
bhaduta uqamat haua ušibqat ‘blia umalia rurbia uiaqiria utušbihta uqamat
uamra haua haTaiai šbuqulia mn aqbal d ašTtan ruha ušibiahia ubmalia iatbit unigdit
malia rurbia uiaqiria uamralh haua lhibil ziua alma d lalagTtan u`tibt `luatai
`uSrai d marim lanihth uladhit ‘blia umalia ukariuta mn babai ulamartlia šuta
nukraita ula‘štaiilia bšuta basimta ulamartlia bqalia basima uamarila bqala
basima bhira d npaq minik ana huitilh paruanqa ana adith lmaTarata ulguha urugza
d hazin alma ana adita lptahil d hu qiriia ana hauith bit abatur uabatur `da minh
pšaT amTith tiniana mn ziuh auzip `lh abirth hapiqia mia uhauith rbia usmiria
bškinatun šrita b`ndrunia uhiklia hadtia d lamšarin nSablia škinta d ziua

uasgit `lauik atit uamralẖ anuš alma luatai ulakbaš minai razia mardia amarla
la`tib bit hambagẖ ubit bildbabẖ la‘takšar amralẖ ana huit hambagẖ `u adam
siniuia hua uamarla anat huit hambagẖ ulau adam siniuia hua šuba hun hambagẖ
utrisar uruha hulẖ ridpa kulhun šibiahia ‘lauẖ brugza mithašbia qamat ruha
ušibiahia kibšat unipqat uamralun saTia umasTia haua bqala nukraia bšuta basimta
sahda ušuma ḏ adam lamatia lpumẖ bnambaiata ublia umalia lalagTa uhzatẖ lgabra
nukraia urhamtẖ ušuman dilan lamatia lpuma limalan ḏ `tabnin luata unaTrinala
u‘blia umalia rurbia uiaqiria uqamat haua btušbihta šibqat ‘blia umalia ukariuta
qamat unihrat bqala nukraia ‘štaiat bšuta basimta unahrala alanpia ḏ gabra
nukraia ḏ nhura uamralia anharan anharan naSbai ḏ `utria gabra ḏ aprišan mn
kulhun gabra ḏ šqal kanpai mn rišai ukapir ainai mn dimihta uruha minai ‘blia
umalia ukariuta ušiaTia piTra ḏ šibiahia rmun ‘lẖ urmat `udna lqala nukraia
u‘štaiat bšuta basimta uasgit mn aluat haua uluat abahatai mizlai ‘štaiilun
`l ḏ abad šibiahia u‘l ḏ abadulẖ ruha lhaua uladam ul‘nšia upariqta mn malia
ukaparila aina mn dimihta uaqimta btušbihta u‘nšat ‘blia umalia ukariuta uguha
ḏ šibiahia abad uqamat šiqlat ainai lbit hiia ulšbila ḏ manda ḏ hiia atabẖ ukul
ium ukul iuma amrala l`mat naSbai unitia uSubian mana nibad umn pagrai napqan
uniasgubẖ b`uhra ḏ bnia šlama ubšbila ḏ gubria zadiqia `puq bqnasa ḏ qudam hirba
u`hizia lhak gabra ḏ ainai msakialẖ latra ḏ manda ḏ hiia šribẖ ulhiklia hadtia
ulhilbunia ḏ šribun ulhiklia hadtia ḏ lamšarin ušrun šibiahia lhaua mradpila
uridpa bnpiš ‘la šabqia ultušbihta qaima haua ulmanda ḏ hiia qarialẖ uamralẖ
anat manda ḏ hiia bligal huilẖ paruanqa uparqan mn alma hazin ḏ bišia hambalia
kul ium ‘lai mithašbia lbiš urazia ‘lai kabšia ullbuša ḏ qaimanibẖ u`l
ḏ lašamana mn šutaihun ‘lan bzida mitmiklia ulrazia kabšia ‘lan uamria bhirba
ninisbunan lbnẖ ḏ adam uasgia uata manda ḏ hiia uligTa lhaua mn qudam qnasa ḏ hirba
u`blia umalia aTar mina uhaua ḏ hzatẖ lmanda ḏ hiia ‘štaTiat uniplat lqudamẖ
uamralẖ lTabia ‘tit marai qnuslia qnasa uapqan ha ana hiia šihlun uzarzun ulhaka
šadrun ‘lik dilik nišimta ulginza ḏ abahatik nibad niplat haua bqirsa udaguša iuma
upalgia uatat ruha u‘tibala lhaua lqudama uamrala alma hiia napqit harta ušabqit
batia ḏ lamaruata ḵḏ baiinalik u`lia nizal u`lia nihuilak ruhSana uhaizak ata hibil
ziua umasbarla mn pagra mapaqla uamarlun hibil ziua ‘l šibiahia qum dra ‘ubadia
‘daikun uparhiza uamarla ruha lhibil ziua kul ših ših nisbit minaian udla
mindam šabqatlan ldilan uhaizak amarla manda ḏ hiia lruha anat `ubadia `dik mn
hdadia ‘štkin uman ḏ huabẖ nizal ldaura taqna umzarizla lšurbata ḏ adam uamarlun
kulaikun zariz hdadia ḏ naTria šapiria šabqia šabqilkun ‘zil ‘iašria lhaua
b`ndrunia hadtia ḏ lamšaria u‘hdar u‘tia ‘lauaikun u‘parqinkun u‘naTrinkun
u‘šauzbinkun u‘nTirinkun batra ḏ bit hiia ‘zil ‘nSiblkun škinata aluat
abukun uata šiTia ḏ šTa uamarla ‘diarutak tihuia ‘lai dbar u‘saq u‘tqaiam aluat
ab triS bškinta haditia uamarnala kul man ḏ `STa minaikun hazin aluataikun
mitriS ušairin bnẖ ḏ adam ubakin Sairalun bainaihun dimihta uamralẖ silqit
uazlit uldilan mahu šabqatlan uamarlun ‘zil ‘qaima l‘maikun u‘iasgia ‘tia lka
u`zlit uqaiimta lhaua hatam bgaua ḏ škinta uamarnalun lhiia rbia lšurbata
ḏ adam uamria hiia rbia šlihit bparuanqia ‘lauaihun ‘tit ‘štihlit lka ldaria
ulalmia parirtẖ lšitil zuTa unTartẖ mn kul Sbu traSlẖ klil ziua upariqtẖ mn
alma qaiimtẖ bškintẖ u`habilẖ ziua iaqra upariqtinun lbnia ḏ adam
uasiqtinun ldaura taqna ‘tniSbat hazin šurbta haita ušuba ḏ hualun ridpa haizak
hazin piasa ubuna ḏ apriš manda ḏ hiia u`hablun lbhiria zidqa gbilia bisra
uzma uamria ḏ niligTun `blia umalia ḏ šibiahia uamria kul man ḏ našar lhazin
piasa nitriS dukta ḏ triS adam bhaduta ḏ nharulẖ anpẖ akuat haua zauẖ ḏ adam
ḏ nharla anpa bhilbunẖ rurbia ḏ kasiia piasia hazin ḏ ahab manda ḏ hiia ladam ukulhin
šurbatẖ ḏ adam uamar kulman ḏ nišma unipuq minẖ bhaduta nitnaTar `lẖ hinila
`blia umalia rurbia lanilguT `lẖ hinila bhaduta ḏ kušTa nibia unaška akuat
adam ḏ ba uaška uamar u‘štma bit hiia umšabin hiia uhiia zakin uzakia manda

d hiia urahmia šumh sa

. bšumaihun d hiia rbia ubšumh d manda d hiia iatib almia hazin ziua unhur hiia mipaq
ruha unišimta mn pagra umn kitun zma ubisra umn dudia d rahta umn atunia d šgiria
umn nangria uaSaSia umahSia uazil hazin nišma ubga bhda maTarta d kbišiba mana
sada hlaSa ungada udin d ladin dainilin lnišmata haiabata bšauTa d nura
mnangirilun lharašia ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d atunia šadilun ‘lh atrh
kd qaiim hazin nišma nad utnauad unadalia kulh qumth balbušia ulhiia rbia ‘laiia
mqaria uamar ka hinun d hiia rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbib šralia ka hu zidqa
d bkanpia aulit uamrilh ia nišma anat latra d nhura salqit lhiia rbia u`laiia mahu
d mqarit hab šumak urušumak d nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mariba rba
u`laia umn iardna rba d asauata umn mambugia rurbia d nhura latrh kd qaiim hazin
nišma pahta uqaria umhauia uiahib šumh urušumh ubirikth umaSbuth umindam
d nsib hazin nišma mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mariba rba u`laia umn iardna
rba d asauata umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn hiia rbia u`laiia unpal liTia
alanpaihun uamrilia ‘zil nišma rhuT umaTia uandib saq udun uzkia uamar u‘štma
qudam hiia rbia u`laiia adkar `lauaian uamarlun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man
madkar ‘lauaikun anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun
`ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun nadkarun ‘lauaikun ana misaq saliqna
u`utria ahai salqia lqudamai ul`utria ahai mšaiilna uamarnalun haza
maTarta man h` uman mabaTba `utria ahai amarilia hazin maTarta d nbaz hazila
d ‘šumia h‘ sadana rba d arqa lbab almia kursia rmilh ulkulhun iamamia šipulh
mgargilh uriših mhilh btilbunia uligria matnalh b`bdunia titaiia d hšuka uamar
mabaTba bhaza maTarta kumria uzabia uadidia d rmun himSa guTra ubarata
uprišaiia urišaiia d aprišaiia mn luat hdadia gubria d šabqia ‘nšia u‘nšia d šabqia
gubria apkia miSria umšania kudkia mabaTilun bhaza maTarata ursanqilun
bhirba unura umia u‘šata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana adita
lhanata maTatra uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta urtitia lqudamai laiit
uazal hazin nišma bga bhurintia maTarta d kbišiba d mana d sada hlaSa umSara ungada
udin d ladin dainilin lnišmata d anašia bišia ubšauTa d nura mnangirilun lharašia
ulharašata kd rihša lpumaihun d dudia šadilun ‘l atrh kd qaiim hazin nišma nad
u`tnauad unadalh kulh qumth balbušia ulhiia rbia u‘laiia mqarilun uamar ka
hinun d hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralh kahu zidqa d bkanpai aulit
uamarulh ia nišma anat latra rba d nhura salqit lhiia rbia u`laiia mahu d mqarit
hab šumak urušumak ubriktak umaSbutak d nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn
mariba rba u`laia umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn hiia rbia u`laiia latra kd qaiim
hazin nišma pahta uqaria umhauia uiahab šuma urušuma ubirikta umaSbuta
umindam d nsab hazin nišma mn gilia mia umn ‘uSria d ziua umn mariba rba u`laia
umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn hiia rbia `laiia unpal liTia alanpaihun uamrilh ia
nišma rhuT umaTia uandib usaq udan uzakia qudam hiia rbia u‘laiia adkar ‘lan
uamarlun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man madkar `lauaikun anatun gabaria uanin
mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun `ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun
madkar `lauaikun ana misaq saliqna u`utria ahai salqia lqudamai l`utria ahai
mšaiilna uamarnalun haza maTarta d man h‘ man mabaTba šailit uamrilh hazin maTarta
d `nbu sapra uhakima d halin sipra qudamh rmilh uaspar dukrania l`dia matnalh
lriš siprh uai rmilh ldnab siprh uai uai qaria uamarlia bhaza maTarta sipria
urišaiia uprišaiia d hazin bainaihun ušamin b‘udnaihun uqarin bpumaihun uiadin
blibaihun umindam d šapir d labdia mabTilun bhaza maTarta usalqilun bhirba
unura u‘šata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d pruqana adita
lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit uazal hazin
nišma ubga bhda maTarta hurintia d kbišiba mana d sada uhlaSa umSara ungada din
d ladin dainilin lnišmata d anašia bišia bšauTia d nura mnangirilun lharašia
ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d atunia šadilun latrh kd qaiim hazin nišma nad
utnauad unadalh kulh qumth balbuših ulhiia rbia u`laiia mqarilun uamar ka hinun

hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralia ka hu zidqa d bkanpai aulit uamrilh
ia nišma anat latra rba d nhura salqit lhiia rbia u`laiia mahu d mqarit hab
šumak urušumak ubiriktak umaSbutak d nsabt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn
mariba rba u`laia l`utria kd qaiim hazin nišma pahta uqaria umhauia uiahib
šumh urušmh ubirikth umaSbuth mindam d nsib mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn
mariba rba u`laia umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura mn qudam hiia rbia u`laiia anpal
liTia alanpaihun uamrilh ia nišma rhuT umaTia uandib usaq udun uzakia qudam hiia
rbia u`laiia adkar `lan uamarnalun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man madkar `lauaikun
anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun ʻubadaikun
umabadaikun d napšaikun nadkar ʻlauaikun ana misaq saliqna u`utria ahai bnia
nhura salqia qudamai l`utria ahai amarna hazin maTarta d man h` uman mabaTba
amrilh haza maTarta d šaba dmauata d qra ptahil uarbia lbišia uarbia mkasia klil
pirSa uzaniuta brišaiin msatrilin pirSa uqulala bkanpaiin rmilin uhadiaiin
mgalilin lqlalalia usiTraiin primlin lšiuTuata utigra rmilun umSuta kbišlin
urišaiin msatarlin mšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d qra ptahil man mabaTba
amrilia `utria ahai mabaTba bhaza maTarta halin d azlin lbit tamuza uiatbin
tmania usrin unan unaksia anqia mizga agania uramia kudkia iatbia bmalia d bit
dibat ukaSumia ukaSumiata uharšia uharašata ugaiaria uganabia uganabiata halin
d qaimia bbabia d habratin umaSita minilia upahta babia d lahdar `daihun mtabria
hatmia d laʻhtam ʻdaihun ušaria asaria d lasar `daihun unasba mindam d lahit `daihun
halin d muzabnin halbaiin ugaTla bnaiin umhaian bnia d habratin `l `umSia ukasia
kasia hadria gaTlia bnaiin urhaian bnia d habratin mabTilin bhaza maTarta
usalqilin bhirba unura uʻšata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana
adita lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta qudamai laiit uazal
hazin nišma ubga bmaTarta hurintin d kbišiba mana d sada hlaSa umSara ungada
udin d ladin dainilin lnišmata d anašia bišia ubšauTa d nura mnangirilan
lharašia ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d dudia šadilun latra kd qaiim hazin
nišma nad utnauad unadalia kulh qumth balbuših ulhiia rbia u`laiia mqarilun
uamar ka hinun hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralia ka hu zidqa d bkanpai
aulit uamarlh ia nišma anat latra rba d nhura salqit ulhiia rbia u`laiia mahu
d mqarit hab šumak urušumak ubiriktak umaSbutak mindim d bak d nsabt mn
gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mariba rba u`laia umn iardna rba d asauata umn
mambuhia rurbia d nhura mn qudam hiia rbia u`laiia latrh kd qaiim hazin nišma pahta
uqaria umhauia uiahib šuma urušma ubirikta umaSbuta umindam d bh d nsib mn gilia
mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn qudam hiia rbia u`laiia
npal liTia alanpaihun uamria rhuT nišma umaTia undib usaq udun uzakia qudam
hiia rbia u`laiia adkar `lan uamarnalun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man madkar
ʻlauaikun anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun
`ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun madkar `lauaikun ana misaq saliqna
uʻutria ahai bnia nhura salqia lqudamia lʻutria ahai mšaiilna uamarnalun
haza maTarta d man h` uman mabaTba uamrilh haza maTarta rurbia d nasbia bardbia
rurbia uiahbia ubardbia dirdqia nasbia hbulia uhbul hbulia mabTilun bhaza
maTarta usalqilun bhirba unura uʻšata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia
d purqana adita lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta urtitia
qudamai laiit uazal hazin nišma ubga bmaTarta hurintia kbišiba mana d sada hlaSa
umSara ungada udina d ladin dainilun lnišmata d anašia bišia bšauTa d nura mnangirilun
lharašia ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d dudia šadilun latria kd qaiim hazin nišma
nad utnauad unadalh kulh qumth balbuših ulhiia rbia u`laiia mqarilun
uamarlun ka hinun hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralia ka hu zidqa
d bkanpai aulit amarlh ia nišma anat latra rba uʻlaiia ulhiia rbia uʻlaiia
mahu d mqarit hab šumak urušumak ubiriktak umaSbutak mindam d bak d nsibt
mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn mariba rba
u`laiia umn iardna rba d asauata mn qudam hiia rbia u`laiia latrh kd qaiim hazin

nišma pihth uqaria umhauia uiahib šuma urušuma ubirikta umaSbuta mindam d bh
hazin nišma d nsib mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn
hiia rbia u`laiia npal liTia alanpaihun uamrilh rhuT nišma umaTia undib udun
uzkia qudam hiia rbia u`laiia adkar `lan uamarnalun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man
madkar ‘lauaikun anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia anatun
`ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun nadkar ‘lauaikun ana misaq saliqna
u‘utria ahai bnia nhura salqia lqudamai l‘utria ahai mšaiilna uamarnalun
haza maTarta d man h‘ ulman naTra uman mabaTba šailit uamrilh hazin maTarta
d haraša mšiha bra d ruha d kadba asiq lnapših alaha d naSuraiia uamrilh
mabaTba bhaza maTarta qadišia ulqadišata uptulia uptulata u‘zabia u‘zabata
ugubria d labaiin ‘nšia u‘nšia d labaiin gubria bnia lahauilun gaTlia umaudin
bnaiin bkarsaiin upasqilia lmazrutun haita d atatalun mn bit hiia mabaTibun
bhaza maTarta usalqilun bhirba unura u‘šata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita
šaiia d purqana uadita lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta urtitia
qudamai laiit uazlit upigit bmaTarta hurintia d kbašiba mana d sada d hlaSa
umSara upkara ungada udin d ladin dainilin lnišmata d anašia bišia bšauTa
d nura mnangirilun lharašia ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d dudia šadilun
latrh kd qaiim hazin nišma nad u‘tnauad unadalia kulh qumth balbuših ulhiia rbia
u`laiia mqarilun uamar ka hinun hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralh ka hu zidqa
d bkanpai aulit uamrilh ia nišma anat latra rba d nhura salqit ulhiia rbia
u`laiia mahu d mqarit hab šumak urušumak ubiriktak umaSbutak umindam d nsibt mn
gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn iardna rba u`laiia
latrh kd qaiim hazin nišma pihth uqaria umhauia uiahab šuma urušuma ubirikta
umaSbuta umindam d bh d nsib mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua umn iardna rba
d asauata umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn hiia rbia u`laiia anpal liTia
alanpaihun uamrilh ia nišma rhuT umaTia undib usaq udun uzkia uamar u‘štma
qudam hiia rbia u`laiia adkar `lan amarnalun qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man
madkar ‘lauaikun anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun alahia uanin anašia
anatun `ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun nadkrun ‘lauakun ana misaq saliqna
u`utria ahai bnia nhura salqia lqudamai l‘utria ahai mšaiilna uamarna haza
maTarta d man h` uman mabaTba uamria `utria ahai haza maTarta d `uat ruha d qudša
uamria mabaTba bhaza maTarta Saiamia uSaiamata Saimia Sauma d aula umSalin
Sluta d kadba halin d kapnin ulahma laklin uSahin umia lašatin ubiblia umalia
iatbin urišaiun nagdia ušlama laiahbia mabTilun bhaza maTarta usalqilun
bhirba unura u‘šata alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d purqana adita
lhanath maTarta uamarna tum hauqa udahalta uziuihta urtitia lqudamai laiit uazal
hazin nišma ubga bmaTarta hurintin d kbišiba mana d sada hlaSa umSara ungada udin
d ladin dainilin ‘l nišmata d anašia bišia bšauTa d nura mnangirilun lharašia
ulharašata kd rihšia lpumaihun d atunia šadilun latria kd qaiim hazin nišma nad
u`tnauad unadalia kulh qumth balbuših ulhiia rbia u`laiia mqarilun uamar ka hinun
hiia d rihmit ka hu kušTa d bilbab šralh ka hu zidqa d bkanpai aulit uamrilia
anat latra rba d nhura salqit lhiia rbia u`laiia mahu d mqarit hab šumak
urušumak ubiriktak umaSbutak umindam d bak d nsibt mn gilia mia umn `uSria d ziua
umn mariba rba u`laiia umn iardna rba d asauata umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn hiia
rbia u`laiia latrh kd qaiim hazin nišma pahta uqaria umhauia uiahib šumia
urušumia ubirikth umaSbuth umindam d bh d nsib hazin nišma mn gilia mia umn
`uSria d ziua umn mambuhia rurbia d nhura umn qudam hiia rbia u`laiia man
madkar `lauaikun npal liTia `l anpaihun uamrilh anat nišma rhuT umaTia undib saq
udun uzkia uamur u‘štma qudam hiia rbia u‘laiia adkar ‘lan uamarnalun qudam
hiia rbia u`laiia man madkar `lauaikun anatun gabaria uanin mkikia anatun
alahia uanin anašia anatun ‘ubadaikun umabadaikun d napšaikun nadkar ‘lauaikun ana
masaq saliqna u‘utria ahai bnia nhura salqia qudamai l‘utria ahai mšaiilna
uamarnalun haza maTarta d man h` uman mabaTba uamrilh ‘utria ahai mabaTba bišia

d̲ qra ptahil mabaTba bhaza maTarta singiania rurbia šaliTania d̲ iatbia
lkarsauata d̲ mirda u`bidata bšauTa abdia uzma btibil ašdia lhaiabia mzakilh̲
ulzakaiia mhaiabilh̲ unasbia šuda umqablia qurbana uapkia dina umSalin dina
unapqia lšuqia d̲ tibil d̲ lahazin amria udla šamia mištaiia iamia ‘umamata d̲ kadba
umsahdia sahduta d̲ aula mabTilun bhaza maTarta usalqilun bhirba unura u‘šata
alma liuma ium dina ualma lšita šaiia d̲ purqana uadita lhanath̲ maTarta uamarna tum
hauqa udahalta uziuihta urtitia latihuia lqudamai laiit uazlit umaTit
maTarta d̲ abatur atiqa rama kasia unTira l`utria ahai mšaiilna uamarnalun haza
maTarta d̲ man h` uman mabaTba `utria ahai amrilia haza maTarta d̲ abatur atiqa
rama kasia unTira d̲ aqamh̲ triS muzania taqil `ubadia uagria taqil umaluia ruha
mn nišimta d̲ taqil taqilh̲ ušalim asiq bit hiia asmkuia d̲ taqil ulašalim mn tam
šarin tigrh̲ mšaiilna uamarna haza maTarta d̲ abatur man h` uman mabaTba uamrilia
mabaTba halin naSuraiia d̲ lahun naSuraiia d̲ anpia iuma la‘dun ubhabšaba lasgun
lmaškna urišaihun lakabšia ulasbar uphulta laplah uzidqa laniia la‘hab ubaba
laniia laptulh̲ ušuma d̲ aula rma lnapšaihun uasiq lnapšaihun naSuraiia latrh̲ k̲d̲
qaiim hazin nišma rstkia uhizih̲ laiar gupna br priauis gupna d̲ `qbh̲ mia uširših̲
kana rba d̲ nišmata aupia ‘utria ualuath̲ pasimkia d̲ nhura aTirpa šqal hazin nišma
minh̲ šqal ainh̲ atnh̲ ‘šqilh̲ bluqia mn ainh̲ `stkia hizia laiad baraia uldaura
taqna udalulh̲ lhaza nišma knap hiia uaiil badmu hiia smkuia hiia smak lhiia uhiia
aška dilun uhiia dilun aška uaškat nišmat d̲ msakia hiia liadin hiia lsabrin uhiia
lgubria masbiranan uqaiamin hiia bškinatun uhiia zakin lkulhun ‘ubadia
sa

bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia laupa uruaha d̲ hiia ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia lhaza
nišimta dilia . ulab
. u`l `m
. u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai
. u`l ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u`l
šitlai
. u`l abahatai

. ulnišmata d̲ abahatan urubanan udahan udahuatan d̲ npaq mn pagraihun
uldqaimia bpagraihun šabiq haTaiia nihuilun sa . ia mana niha
ia mana sdira umsadra ia mana niha nitun minak adiaura alma lmuzania d̲ taqil
`ubadia uagria sa
. bšumaihun d̲ hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia
rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia bgu tibil man ašarian man ašarian bgu tibil ub`uSTun
pagria man rman manu rman b`uSTun pagria d̲ `dia uligria litlh̲ litlia `dia uligria
ulaiadia sagia bmahu nasgia rmia urapiš uhaila litlia amu qrun mn atrai uatiun
b`uSTuna rmun ligrai ligra d̲ ziua sagia d̲ `uSTuna d̲ h` pumai puma dakia d̲ l`uSTuna
hua ainai d̲ `tgalal mn atra d̲ nhura d̲ l`uSTuna hua `uSrai d̲ šribh̲ hiia haka
baTpia ašduia ligrai bhiria naSbia nSabunin bdirka d̲ `uSTuna h` dirka d̲ `uSTuna
d̲ lašabiqlia šuba ldirka kma šuma mn šuba ukma sbal ukma ʻianhh̲ l`uSrai kma
šumh̲ mn šuba utrisar razia ukma ʻnhar ukma tihuia šuth̲ d̲ ab niha d̲ šaria bainia
haškia k̲d̲ haza amar mana qalh̲ sliq latar nhur manda d̲ hiia šuma lqalai šadria
lparuanqa `lai `zil paruanqa `lai `zil paruanqai dakia `tahzilh̲ lmana uninhar `lh̲
mitahzilh̲ lmana d̲ mašiTilh̲ audia qam bziua kasia paruanqa d̲ ata `lh̲ qam bziua
u`tahzilh̲ lmana br rurbia Srak uašumia bqalh̲ utraSlh̲ libh̲ lsamkh̲ nhar uanhar
mana ʻtit ʻlak ulašibqak k̲d̲ qalak sliq latar nhur ldilak niSbun ušadrun ʻlak
qum puq minh̲ mana mn `uSTuna d̲ `rbitbh̲ mn `uSTuna d̲ rbit bgauh̲ d̲ `dia uligria litlia
qum saq latrak qadmaia uldaurak Taba d̲ `utria dar binia `utria ahak k̲d̲
d̲ malpit tib udaura bit anašatak uluTia lhazin alma d̲ zipa d̲ huitbh̲ ziuak ninTar `lak
ubanhurak kasia titriS nitia ziuak mn aqamak unitqaiam nhurak mn abatrak
kursiak triS k̲d̲ triS ušuba d̲ laTabia nihun uhiia zak`in
sa . mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana
ana d̲ hiia rbia brazia urimzia man rman man rman brazia urimzia ubhasir
ubSir man ašdan man ašdan bhasiruta ubSiruta udmu piria man hauian man ašdan
barqa d̲ pisusta d̲ ligal hauia kulhun Turia d̲ `tbh̲ mitpasasia mipasasia kulhun
gabaria ramia d̲ `tbh̲ hailaun ututbaiun mipasqit `l d̲ qaiim mana umithašib
umaTia gabra d̲ adiura umaTia adiauria rba d̲ hu zadia uhu zaudia anat baita
d̲ dairit bgauh̲ limalak mšaiilit ʻlh̲ anat la`dit mana d̲ haizin hauia k̲d̲ d̲ amart
anin bkisia midinin d̲ ligal minh̲ napqit ligal napqit minh̲ uluatan dilan salqit
salqit luatan dilan ubškintan dilan iatbit k̲d̲ haizan amarlh̲ naSbh̲ lmana
ʻhtim uʻstmik ʻhtim uʻstrik mana lamšaiilbun baudia baudia lamšaiilbun d̲ bnun
baita napla sqal qalia udar bgauh̲ ubligal pra latrh̲ mTa bligal mTa latrh̲
dukta d̲ mana `tinSib dukta d̲ `tinSib mana udmuth̲ bgauh̲ nihrat mana udmuth̲ bgauh̲
nihrat mana bliba hadia umitaprašbh̲ bʻuSTuna kma šanai d̲ amartulia ab ušanin
d̲ rbia paqdun ʻzil ʻzil šibiahia ʻzil mana bataikun hun ʻzil hun mna baitaikun
ubataikun nihuia bmnataikun ana bšarša d̲ ab saliqna ubaita bdilkun mištbiq
umšabin hiia sa . mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia
rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia man rman bqiras almia bqiras almia man rman man rman
bhšuka bišia man šiknan man šiknan bhšuka bišia man hauian nura d̲ iaqda man hauian

nura uman rman bmia tahmia d minaihun mitgiblia umithamblia minaihun mithamblia umitgiblia minaihun mitma tahmia kpar makarna utahmia dmutai kd dmutun kpar tahmia dmutai ušutai mn abahatai auda ‘l d qaiim umitapraš mana maTia gabra naSbia lau mna qirsa anat d tirnia ulau mna hšuka anat d nigamrak lau mna nura anat d tihzia nura d iaqda lau mna tihua anat d tahmia dmutak akuat mnata anat d tuqna d litbh durdia mnata anat d arqa d nhura d litbh hšuka d nigamrak mitar `tar mana udmuth d napšak tianharak ‘uSrak nisimkak mismik ulibak nihuilak bahid ‘da uardikla sbal balma udarbh alma d baiinalak anin kd anin baiinalak nimTia lhaka unitia `lak nimTia lhaka u`lak nitia unapiq unasqak lbit ginzak kd abu simkia lmana malil udariš drašia šaniia malil udrašia šaniia dariš umitiahar ‘uSrh `l d audia alma ladarišna kd hailh d ab misimkan mn riš briš aTar siblit udaribh aTar darit b`ubadia `dai aTar udaribh alma d minianai šlim kd šlim minianai adkar `uSrai bit anašath dkarth ltana qadmaia d kulhun `utria minh `tinSib ada `lai naSbai rba gabra d simkan mn riš briš gabra d hailh dar minai uanhh balma ligTan biaminh uasqan lbit ginzih ksan kd hzaith lbit ginzai ‘nšaitinun ldaria baTlia ‘štaiiba bšuta unihrat ‘tgadalia qarnai brišai bbiriktai brikia hiia rbia uhiia zakin sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia mn bit ginzai man apqan man apqan mn bit ginzai ubit arbiaha man rman man arman bit arbiaha d bišia ‘lai ragzia ‘lai ragzia bišia ukul ium ‘lai lbiš mithašbia mithašbia ‘lai bhašabta uamria d nagzar luatan nišibqia nagzar nišibqia luatan umn kana d napšia nikatria nikatria mn kana d napšia ubmnatan dilan nihuia rania uamar mana kbar magzirilh mn kana d ab `l d qaiim mithašib mana maTia gabra naSbh maTia naSbh rba d hu lhaka atia mana latirnia ulatikaua ulatikrilak `l audia lamSin audia bahitia lagzuria aluataihun lmišibqak lamSaiin lmišibqak luataiun ukatruk mn kana d abuk anat haila d abuk minak ušuta d `utria `lak kd haza šuma mana larna bbišuta baTla lmhašabatun d audia rnaba bqala rama ushidbh bnibTa taqna rnaba btušbihta šania umnakria ata ‘lh naSbh rba uapqh mn alma qum mana ata minai asgia minai latrak lbuših llbušak kasia d hbala urugza litbh litbh hbala urugza ulabšilh `utria urauzia ginza d `hablh qabluia hiia paruanqa d ata `lh mizka zka mana utirSuia hiia uqaimuia šlihia batria uhiia zakin sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia br ziua napša br ‘qara taqna alma ašlun mn ziuai uaitun balbuš pagria rmun rmun balbuš pagria d hu lbuš hu šla akSat ukbaralia balbuš pagria d atiun rmun kma šla ukma lbuš ‘kamar tigar lmištria ulahazina hiia bškinatun ‘l d qaiim umitapraš mana umaTia gabra naSbh anat midar dar minh blibak nišria ‘lak anin blibak anin nišria ‘lak umasqinalak bškintak šania qala šauinin u‘haSbinin liahria kd haSbia kilak nihuia lmindam ualma kulh `TarTlh anat hu d `tlh haka `ligTak minh u`iasqak `ligTak u`iasqak minh u‘šamar kulhun šbuq šbuq kulhun nimitun unaudun anat dmutai dilia ‘iasiq u‘niTrak balbušia balbuš d `hablia rbia ubriha dakia d apqadlia hazin lbuša d huitibh ‘hibTia briša d qiriia aminTul d mitkil ubaTlia gubria d `bduia audia gubria d paqadta d lmana hu hualh adiaura hu hanh hu hanania ušaria mn birikth `lh `lh šaria mn birikth ubškinta d abahath qaimia uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia mqaiimna bTabuta d ab bTabuta d ab mqaiimna ubaiarna bziua d aprišun ‘lh akandit lahdibh bTabuta d ab ulasbarta lziua d aprišun ‘lh `mat d qrun ltibil u‘mat šamar mn atrai umn duktai šamar apqun mn duktai umrandidilia mn bit abu unitamhia unitilgiT gbal pagria bhašabta qiriia lalma nitimhun unitlaTaTun šibiahia d briš qrita dilh hun `puq mn atutia `daihun u`zil u`siba lTabuta d ab u`siba lTabuta lziua d aprišun ‘lh hdabh bkula ginza u`gamarbh bkula hukumta `l d qaiim umitapraš mana maTia gabra naSbh maTia naSbh rba `u baiit d tisiba lTabuta d abuk utisiba lziua d aprišu ‘lh `u baiit d tisiba utihdiba bkulh ginzak utigamarba

bkula hukumtak `u baiit d tisadar sbal udarbia balma sbal balma udarbh alma
d kilak šalimlak alma d šalimlak kilak umitgamarlun miniana d `hablak ana `titlak
bziua napša ubanhura d saka litlia aTar siblit udaribia alma d kilai šlim šlim
kilai u`tgamar minianai asgia uata `lai naSbai apqan minaihun asiq tirSan
bit tušlima sbarta lTabuta d ab usbarta lziua d aprišun ‘lh ginza d apta hdabh
u`tgamarbh bhukumth uhiia zakin sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia bkariuta
d mlakia manu rman manu rman bkariuta d mlakia d hinun sn`iin urihaiun zapur
udmutaiun saina ulakašra misna saina dmutaiun ubinataiun manu rman hazin `qria
‘rbia binataiun ulakašrilh dmutaiun hazin ‘libših llbušaihun u‘darbh
bmdurtun `l d qaiim umitapraš mana ata ‘lh naSbih naSbh ata `lh ašma qalh taqna
ašumh uamarlh malala rauza sn`ia rihaiun d mlakia mn rihaiun lamitnaTar `lak `lh
lakašra dmutaiun anat mahu mšailatbun anat qalan dilan šmilak štamialak šutan
labaTla amarnalak mamlalak rauzia anat sbul udar bgauh d baita d kariuta
mkairia mlakia d hšuka d napšaihun kairinun anat hzia dilan u`dakia uainak
latrak truS ainak truS latrak dilak anin anin aluatak dilak udmutak bdilak nahra kd
haizin amarlh lmana baiia buta utušbihta taqna baiia pugadamia d mqaimia ana
naSbai šuma usbul u‘darbh balma sbul balma udarbh alma d hinilia lnaSbai
lnaSbai hinialh unasgia unitia `lai nasgia `lai unitia umn kariuta d mlakia
napqan napqin mn kariuta d mlakia d dmutaiun saina ulakašra bligal ata
naSbai banan uaprišan uapqan mn pagrai udibran minh biluatia lginza d azal
aulh dukta d mqaiam qaimin ulaiiplia bhušbana d napših hašiblia mištaiin hiia
zakin uzakia gabda d asgia lka sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia d asgit lmitia
balma asgit balma lmitia ulaiadia daiaria kulhun ulaiadia kulhun daiaria
ulamasbarbia kulhun almia aTar la`dun daria alma d b`uSTuna rmun alma d rmun
b`uSTuna uadam lligria qam adam qam lligria kd d šinta kabrat ‘lh kd qam `l ligria
laTia lgabra naSbia laTia lgbal pagria d `ubadia b`dia la`tqun `mitqun `ubadia
alma ladam qrh alma d qrh ladam alma d kd dmuth alma mimilh ‘šata haita kd abuia
ldilia mla qra ulataqin alma d `uSTuna d zipa qra qiriata d zipa u‘l španza
baTla `l randidun mn duktai mn abinia ahai apqun apqun mn abinia ahai Tabia
umn abinia zrizia umzarzia l`mat `puq minia u`pish u`hamblia `puq mn `ubadia
‘sikia lhurba marda ana latrai ‘saq šibiahia niplun ulaniqmun ‘l d qaiim mana
umitapraš maTia atalh naSbia uadiauria d napših ušuth kabiria Tabia d minh lal`in
qum mana šubqh lhazin alma hargta d kratalak marauata d napša niqabluia šinta
d ‘tirat titkamar utikbar ‘lauaihun qum lbuših lziua napša ukasih lnhura
iaqra `usria lhimianak ainia ptihata d kulh ainia mn riš briš hu mana sliq
minaihun šibiahia malia nagdia kul ium nagdia malia ukul ium gibia aklia `lai
šakbia lburia ubišia badmu ‘siria iatbia mana sliq lbit hiia biblia umalia
larna larna biblia umalia ulaiit minh hargtun mn hargtun laiit ulaniqabil
mn dilhun hu manh bkasia qaimun ldmu hiia rbia asmikuia umšabin hiia rbia
sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia
d mitaprašbh b‘uSria alma šnat dmutai l‘ d baiia d naulun lmahu atra kandia
baiia taqnia baiia alan mn bauatun d hinun baiia bit tušlima baiia miširian
`uSra dakia d nhura uašruian balbuša zapra ana kd hazinalh lhanath lbuša man
nitia unadian man qaria nihuilia uman nihuilia naSba šania man nitib luat
unihanpan d la‘nišia d mpaqdana mn ka mn atrai d qaiim umithašab mana ašar
uligTia naSbh ašar naSbh uligTia hu hualh qaria ziuak d hiia npiš ukabir alma
d `uSba d nhura qariatlh minSab ziua umipsaq nhura umn lbuših mhaSbia umbaSria
Tabia kd akandh d sana lahzun kd akandh lahzun saina d lmahu hasria ubaSria mana
bpumh dakia amarlh lnaSbia d ašqh ana mibSar biSrit hašta asmiktan unhura Tpa
hašta asmiktan uTpa nhura uhaila ušrara bnpiš hua bhailh d naSbai rba ubhailh

ḏ gabra ḏ ašran ašran uligTan biaminẖ mn dilia šaria ‘lai bdrabšia `lai unihrit udarit bgu pagra zapra uladnit ḏ hunub šaiia uhunub šušia u‘tpalag sigia lalma ‘tpalag kukbia šuba husrana ‘lauaihun kbar ata ‘lai naSbai rba upagria ḏ muta ašlan ašlan pagra ḏ muta ulabšan ziua ḏ drabšiẖ aprišlia lmasiqta ḏ hinun amar batar atar uhu unaSbẖ rba bhda škinta nahria bhda nahria škinta ubtušbihtaihun hauia hda hda zakuta nSablun upalgia mnata mn Tabuta bhda škinta bainia kma ḏ bainia mitaprišia umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia ḏ mitaprašna b‘rutẖ ḏ abuia minak ab mitaprašna anat huitlẖ naSba anat naSba huitlẖ amarlia lilia mšadratlẖ malil ab qadmaia ḏ nimarlia lmana ḏ rurbia anat latrak hak mšadrinalak ḏ ‘utria bnia šlama qruia ‘u lgauẖ mšadratlia amralia man mn `utria qrẖ amarlia man qariẖ mn `utria ḏ `tbẖ bišuta ‘siblia k̲ḏ ḏ šdabia ab qadmaia man nhitlẖ lalma man lalma nhitlẖ uata bgu bišuta npal ata npal bgu bišuta utinihta qabilta nagid umatana mana ḏ psiq minẖ mn duktẖ lanTarlẖ ab niha ulasbarlẖ hda hda uaprišan ‘lẖ lalma hašta ḏ nhit u`titlẖ kulhun bišuta hun kma šuma minẖ kma `sbul mn aqtẖ akSat ukratalia ḏ lašman mn malalia ḏ ab lašman ab mn malalia ulamilkan milka ḏ mhaimnia `u hinialẖ lab niha nišadarlia gabra adiaura adiaura mšadarlia adiaura qadmaia ḏ kul ḏ amar ništma bškintẖ anat mida iadit mana man qariẖ lalma man lalma qariẖ u`tamlaklak ḏ tuqna k̲ḏ hazin šuma mana ‘thašab lalma ana bmalalia ḏ ab Taba `darbẖ bpagra baTla `Tab `huia u`darbẖ alma ḏ hinialẖ lab k̲ḏ lab hinialẖ nitia unapqan mn binataikun aminTul ḏ akSat ukratalia briha ḏ `srutun akSat uakratalẖ ‘mar ušuma ḏ zipa ḏ tbaikun amritun ušamitun bzipa abadtun ‘ubadia baTlia ana ḏ hiia amrit bismat uhnatalẖ lab bismat ulab hnatalẖ ušadrẖ ladiaura ‘lai ‘lai šadria ladiaura ḏ amar umištma bškintia pihtit ainai banhura ‘timlia pihtit pumai ubraktia ulaškabẖ hasir ubSir `u iadit ḏ hisrit mn malalkun šubqun bpagrai lduktai malil adiaurai qadmaia ḏ nimarlẖ lmana br rurbia šduq unha mana br rurbia šduq unha mana mibSar labSart umiTpa Tpit `u Tpit ulabaSrit mahu hazin `ka ḏ šauiatulia k̲ḏ haizin šuma minẖ hazin mn pagria npaq apqia mn pagria udraš uanihẖ uparqia utirSia uasqia uhauiẖ rab tušlima rba uqaimẖ bziua iaqra mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa

. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia balbuš pagria man ašran kma ḏ darit bgauẖ lahuabia hasir ubSir lahisrit ulabiSrit ula asibtẖ muma lnapšai muma lnapšai la asibtẖ lašauit laqamai tiqlata lahuabia `urbana ulapaktẖ lšutai mn šutẖ ḏ ab bhailẖ ḏ ab nahirna ubgabra balbuš pagria ašarian ašarian balbuš pagria siblit udaribia ulašauialia buSrana lab ulanimar ‘nšia lmana ḏ paqduia ubSar mana mn atrẖ bhailẖ ubmalalẖ ḏ mana baiia umaška mn abuia šmaT uapqan mn alma apqan ulašibqan ulahuabia hasir ubSir ‘da mida ab niha ulahuabẖ hasir ubSir ‘u hinialak ‘tia ‘tahzia ldmutak ab šliha šadarlia ušihlan minẖ mn alma šihlan mn haiabia umn zipania kulhun mn kulhlun ḏ mlin bhirba uhuTpa ukadba mištaiin asqan lbit hiia uqaiaman abinia pasimkia mšabilia umdalilia hda hda brikit umšabit mana ḏ auqirtẖ unTirtẖ l`qarẖ ḏ abuk napšak paqdit minaihun u‘tit aluatan u‘triSit ‘tit u‘triSit luatan u‘štaiit bšutan akuat ḏ huit umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia asgun ltibil atiun asgun atiun ltibil baita ḏ šaqaria biniuia baita biniuia šaqaria ukadabia dairibẖ lahua iada ḏ nidan ulahua sabra ḏ masbirlin lahua gabra zadiqa ḏ damia šutẖ k̲ḏ `utria ana hazin `daribẖ bbaita ḏ šaqaria biniuia daribẖ kadabia ḏ rgita mlin `u hinialak mlik rbia truSlia kudka kudka truSlia lqudamia ḏ kudka miSra qudamia ḏ miSra rba šauilẖ gabra qaria gabra qaria šauilia ‘u šakibna n`iatran ‘u makšilna niatran ‘u mhita mahilia šuba hu niasian unidalian ‘l ḏ qaiim umitapraš mana maTia atalẖ naSbia maTia naSbia atalia rba asgia traSlẖ kudka asgia kudka traSlia uqudamia ḏ kudka miSra `u hu naSba hualia hu hualẖ qaria ‘u šakib atria buṯẖ ‘u akšil tušbihṯẖ atarṯẖ ‘u mihiuia šuba uhailia ḏ kisia hauilia asia hu asia hauilẖ hu dalia uhu tirSia uhu makik `uhra mkikta `u hauia utraSlia dirka ušbila ḏ saliq latrẖ ata ata mana ata bšbilak saq ata saq bšbilak ata bdirka ḏ hiia qum ata qum bdirkak ḏ hiia ḏ ana huilak naSba mn alma ḏ hšuka apiqtak aqmit traStẖ lkursiak aqtit lkursiak ḏ traStẖ ḏ sbalt ridka balma akuat didpa ḏ sbalt kul ḏ hTit nišbuqlak tub maria ruaha šania maria šania ruaha iatib umtaqin ‘utria umšabin hiia rbia sa

. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia man lhaka atian man atian lhaka binia haškia mardia mahu l‘dmia libai u‘siblia ldidpa ḏ alma hazin `dar mn ariauata umn taninia aklia haizin `dar mn bnia ḏ bišia ḏ kul ium bišuta šabqia kul ium šabqia bišuta ukul ium dahalta šabqia kul ium šabqia dahalta uamria lman nidahlẖ `la mdahilnalẖ haizin aluatan mištpil haizin mištpil aluatan uanin ‘lauẖ anin `lẖ mazihnalẖ haizin mSia midar b`ubadia `dan mana bpumẖ dakia lšibiahia ḏ nimarlun bhailẖ ḏ ab mara ḏ ziuihta dilkun lamaTia `la bhailaihun ḏ pugdamia ḏ ab mn dahaltaikun litbia bhailẖ ḏ naSbai rba `huia `lauaikun ana Tabna minaikun ušania šutai mn dilkun šanin pugdamia ḏ atun mn ginziẖ ḏ ab kulhun nagdia nagda uaqapra brišaihun rmun rmun aqapra brišaihun ukitunun ḏ šihaihun Srun ‘hamam bhimtaihun bbišuta lnapšaihun ragzia anin haizin amarnin ḏ nikipria lmana binatan ḵḏ haizin amar šibiahia qala mn bit hiia rbia ata qala ata mn bit hiia rbia qralẖ lmana uairẖ qralẖ uairẖ lmana u`daliẖ `lauaihun qam `dalia uqam ‘lauaihun ubakasuta umakislun ‘kapar u‘tiglun mn qudamai bišia psiqia uaudia labnhura mitamnia bhšuka ulamithiblun šrara lhaTia ‘u šrara lhaTia mithablun ridpa lkimSa lahualẖ lahualẖ ridpa lkimSa haka la‘štbiq laslun ulansib minẖ ulapluglia bmna mna mana bmzarzutẖ ainẖ latrẖ sakia šqal ata naSbai udauran ugaiid šauilak adiaura akasinun lmlakia ‘la mdauratlẖ bmalalia audia mida `da rbia mida `da rurbia mida `da rbia ḏ šapir anpiš mana sbal anpiš sbal mana uauar maTia adiaurẖ uparqia unaSbia ‘tparakbia uasquia ašar bnpiš sbal akuat ḏ hu haka sbal ata ata mana lbit rbia naulak niaulak lbit rbia qum u‘štaiilun lrurbia qum lrbia ‘štaiilun mindam ḏ šuba abadlak ḏ bun nipsaqunak luataihun lmihuia `lauak hin azal mana mn `utrẖ qudam rurbia azal qam qudam rurbia u‘štaiilun ḏ šuba abadlia lau miditun rbia lau miditun rurbia lau miditun rbia ḏ akasta lšuba ‘hbit bhailaikun akastinun ušuba latutai ‘štipil šuba ‘štipil latutai uana `lauaihun huit ana huit `lauaihun udauar maTian naSbai naSbai miTian ugaiid miTian paruanqan gaiid ata paruanqai u`tahzilẖ adiarai naSbai paruanqai ‘tkarakbia uatit ‘luataikun u‘štaiilkun ḏ šuba abadlia barpilia rbia umnaTralia rurbia kma mSaiit usiblit alma ḏ paqadtak huat alma ḏ huat paqadtak utparaqt mn `daihun ḏ maksia rbia ḏ hiziuia urahmuia u`utria ḏ nhura auqruia umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia ḏ šamar mn bit hiia ušadruia lhazin alma lhazin alma šadruia ḏ mitia umidar bgauẖ ḏ hurba harba mitia uminaTria lhurba adiq šibiahia hiziuia adiq hiziuia šibiahia ḏ hinun `pikia umapkia ptia pumaihun dimin lsup iama uspihatun damia lakla snia rihaiun ulakašar kma bišia mqarqilia ana ḏ hzaitinun haqit uziuihta miTian haqit umiTian ziuihta ḏ lika luatai naSbai naSbai lika luatai ulaiit `dilma mitagzarna `lẖ mida `dun rbia ḏ hauqa lmana miTiia qala ḏ naSba rba mqarilẖ lmana balma amarlẖ mahu hzit udhilt adam umahu hauqa uziuihta maTiak mlakia sainia ḏ hzit ana `tilak ḏ kabšatlan ldaiuia sainia ḏ ahiquk amarlak bmahu mitraglia pumaihun ḏ lsup damia hšuka ḏ napšaihun nimiTiia spihatun ḏ damia lakla u`sura rba nitia `lauaihun qala ḏ mana niha ḏ mqarilẖ lnaSbia amarlẖ `u hua turSa lmahu ptahil mn duktẖ hua lmahu hua ptahil mn duktẖ amu zra zira biša ušauia lišania ḏ lakašria qala ḏ naSbia rba amarlẖ lmana balma nha ušduq adam unihuta ḏ Tabia tiqablak hzia `dalma ḵḏ kSalak ukabralak hzia `dilma lptahil laiTatlẖ latiliTa lptahil `utra `utra ḏ mn binan praš ‘utra ḏ praš mn binataian ušauia lišania ḏ lakašria brẖ

d̲ hu d̲ abatur d̲ abahath̲ lamagziria `lh̲ bhšuka k̲d̲ alma hazin baTil urqiha d̲ mlakia mitikrik mitikrik rqiha d̲ mlakia ušamiš usira baTlia baTlia šamiš usira utuqna minaihun minaihun mitinsib mitinsib minaihun ziua utuqna umizdahribh̲ naTria ulahauilun aSmat lkulhun kukbia k̲d̲ halin ‘bidata baTlan ptahil lbušia mitriS ptahil mitriS lbušia haka biardna Sabilh̲ haka Sabilh̲ biardna ukul ridpa d̲ sbal manšilh̲ uhaizak ptahil uanat mana bhda škinta iatbit uiaqdit uhaizak malka dilak mana mitiqria mimar amar naSbh̲ umana smak `lh̲ k̲d̲ sbal ridpa ubišuta milaT lalaTh̲ lptahil hinila haTaiia uhaubia šabiqlia uamar huzian naSba huzian dauar maTian uparqan uhauian `uhra d̲ ahai kulhun azlibh̲ naSbh̲ d̲ šumh̲ lqalh̲ mn piria d̲ ziua ana ligTia bpras iaminh̲ ulmaTarata adih̲ adih̲ lmaTarata u`lauia muzania ahliph̲ `lauia d̲ muzania uluat bnia šlama hapiqia mia abrh̲ abrh̲ hapqia mia ulihda lbit hiia sliq hiia d̲ hiziuia rahmuia kananuia uautbuia ldukth̲ umšabin hiia sa

mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia qam lbit šuba azal qam azal lbit šuba mardia d̲ hšuka baTlia baTlia mardia d̲ hšuka mihšak ulika nhura binataihun ‘u bit mšadratlia amarlia l‘bidata abdia abdia ‘bidata Surik hiia litbun ‘mia šapiria Surik hiia ‘tbaihun ‘mia šapiria mšadrinalkun binataun ‘l akuat mšadrinalkun d̲ ‘bidatak dilak nišiprun `zil pilbh̲ b`uSTuna uadinqia Tamia nihun ‘u mana lašana mindam d̲ amarlh̲ rurbia npaq mn binataihun uasgia lbit šibiahia ata asgia ata lbit šibiahia hzinun ‘ubdatun lakašra lakašra ‘bidatun Surik hiia litbun ata npalbh̲ b`uSTuna hu tqun mn kulhun pta pumaihun kulhun l`uhraihun `tib `tib kulhun l`uhraihun ulaiadia liTia mahu d̲ nimarulh̲ mana lpumh̲ pihta u`l liTia tahmia d̲ nimarlun ia liTia tahmia m` `tlaikun mana akuat dilia m` tlaikun dmuta akuat dmutai `mia Tabutun `mia kašra dmutkun ‘mia huabkun Srik hiia huabkun mana akuat dilkun šuba kbaš rišaihun umn hdadia mdandmia hab niliTh̲ lmana unikpar blihan lašidia niharziqh̲ basilitan ubabaran hšukan naškubia mana upumh̲ pihth̲ ‘l šibiahia d̲ nimarlun ‘bidlaikun šibiahia d̲ `daikun lanapla `lai lanpilbun blihaikun ubsilitkun la‘lgiT lanibilan hšukaikun uabarkun lanišikban kulaikun kma hauitun u`zlaikun ulahaikun titpikrun ana lhiia tirSit balai u`uSrai mismik lhailh̲ u`ruta d̲ alun rbia mn duktaihun k̲d̲ Saumaikun saina uSautai dilia šania ana zkit d̲ paqdun rbia uzakina d̲ salqia mn riš briš anatun msaibia ubahtia šarša uzakuta minalkun d̲ tizkuba ana latrai saliqna anatun hauitun d̲ nahtia ulasalqia mana lbaš hiuara u‘dalia u‘tib lramta iatib mana uqarilh̲ lgabra naSbia ata naSbai rba asqun lamSu d̲ nakrunak bdaura pilTit mn alahun mn abarun d̲ naškubun anat amartlia uašrit dauar miTian uasqan naSbh̲ `timlik bhiia latuiih̲ ziua taqna ziua ‘hbulia ‘zil mana ‘ialbših̲ lmana u`iasqia aluataikun `iatih̲ `iatih̲ luataikun uhdubh̲ aminTul d̲ mn lihun pliT aminTul d̲ pliT mn lihun ubabarun laškib sqiria uhadia mana d̲ npiS hiuara lbiš npiš lbiš hiuara u‘dalia u‘tib lramta lramta iatib mana malil uqarilia l‘ uamarlia ana ašrit usiblit anat dauar miTian uasqan qum `zil uatih̲ lmana atih̲ luatan nitriS qum atih̲ unitriS btušbihtan ubinatan nihdibh̲ unirihman unibirkak btušbihtan lak hiia ‘timlun bhiia uaška mana d̲ bh̲ umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia d̲ iatib bginza taqna bginza taqna iatib umištaiia bšuta d̲ ‘utria mištaiia btušbihta rurbia amrilh̲ bmalala d̲ had had šania mn habria d̲ qaiim umitapraš mana biuia uasquia rurbia amrilh̲ ata d̲ nimarlak mana uasgia aluatan niasbrak ana asgit lqudamaikun mindam d̲ baiitun amar amarlh̲ alma qria bihrara qum hut lgauh̲ `zil `u anat lanahtatlh̲ man hauia naSbia uman nirmibh̲ ziua man ziua nirmibh̲ ulanišibqan lšurbth̲ d̲ lanipsiq ziqpat ‘šata ‘kalta u‘l ‘šata aprata ‘qum lalma `hutlh̲ mahu d̲ mpaqditulia b`bdata anat qum lalma hutlh̲ u`zil bgu pagra `rbia ‘zil ‘rbia bgu pagra balbuša hanath̲ d̲ mpaqadlak `zil `rbia razia razia urimzia bdilak ninihrun razia ninihrun bdilak unihuilak šrara lšurbtak tisaq latrak

unihuila k`la lalma lalma kila huilẖ lalma utrin pasimkia ninaTrunẖ ninaTrunẖ
trin pasimkia unihuia ziua mn riš briš bziuak ninTar baita ubdilak nitriS
alma ninaTrak naTria dakiia unitgadal širšak unisaq lriš nisaq lriš zakuta ḏ anin
paliginin batran mana lašania mindam paqduia al bgu pagra bhanatẖ lbuša ḏ paqadlẖ
udarbẖ b`uSTuna urazia bgauẖ ninhar sgid qudam rbia udnia qudam rurbia sgid
qudam rbia uTabutak uTabutai niqablun niligTun Tabutak ḏ lahua kadba binia l`
ulak umšabin hiia sa
. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia ḏ aqara unikla
litbia litbia aqara unikla ulitbẖ šuta ḏ huTpia lakiSrit ularimzit ubinia haiabia
haiaba lahuit ana mahu lhiia hTitulun lrbia ḏ hatam iatbia mahu lkisiia
hTitilun ḏ bšibia ušamarta šdun bšibia ḏ šibiun daria ubhiTpa ḏ hiTpun almia
`lẖ šihlun midar balbušaikun bhiTpa ḏ daria hTip anin lamarnin ḏ anat mana
bšibia ḏ dara tištbia bšibia ḏ dara ulanihTipunak bhiTpa almia hinila anin
hinialak ḏ tišar utisbul ulatištbia šumia lqaranalak `lẖ nihuilak ruhSana
bruhSana dilak tisaq minan latrak anat abatran dilan titriS uanin ldilak
nibarkak mn qbal anatun rbia amartulia kul ium nitilia qala kul ium niqrilẖ
qala ḏ amarlẖ ulamakšilna ‘u qaritulia lašabilia bišia almia almia lašbunan
bišia ubhiTpa ḏ daria la`hTup lrbia bismat ḏ amartlun kul ium qala haila umimra nSab
ušadarlia qala haila umimra ḏ mšadritulia rbia maiarlia libai ulamitakšalna
kma ḏ šuma qala ḏ hiia ulašania ḏ paqduia rurbia aTar darit aTar siblit alma ḏ rbia
bun ḵḏ bun rbia ninaTrunan bginzaiun unimarulia ata mana ḏ aprišt usbalt mn
alma anin nismak ‘lak haTaiak haubak nišbuqlak nišbuqlak haTaiak uhaubak
ḏ šumitinan usbalt mn alma uhiia zakin sa
mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mn bit hiia man
atian mn atian mn bit hiia umn šadar btibil ašran man ašran bgu tibil ubit
bildbabai man autban man autban bit bildbabai ḏ ganzibrai laiadin `lai laiadin
`lai ganzibrai ḏ bit baldbabai autbun masgia uatia `utra alma l`uSTun pagria
mTa mTa `uSTun pagria ladam kasia ḏ amarlẖ ia adam kasia mn bit hiia man atiak
man atiak mn bit hiia uman šadar ltibil ašriak man šadar ašriak bgu tibil ubit
bildbabak man autbak man autbak bit bildbabak ḏ ganzibrak laiadia `lak laiadia
`lak ganzibrak ḏ bildbabak autbak `u `da `lak rbia `u `da `lak rurbia `u
`da `lak rbia mn binataihun apquk laparquk laparquk mn binataihun ubhaza
tibil laširiuk laširiuk bhaza tibil ubit baldbabak lautbuk malil adam kasia
ḏ nimarlẖ lgabra ḏ šaiilẖ ab mida iadia `lai rbia mida iadia `lai rurbia mida
iadia `lai rbia `l alma ḏ `titlẖ laška ḏ nibaTlia ḵḏ haza šuma minẖ hdabẖ mn riš briš
hu atiia lhaka uhu hualẖ lhil paruanqa ašlẖ ualbušia lbušiẖ udibrẖ uasiq tirSia
bit rurbia lagTia biaminẖ ulganzibra ḏ napšia šalmẖ hadibẖ ganzibra hinun
hulẖ naTra hinun naTra hulẖ uaiil bit ginzaiun kasiuia uhiia zakin
sa
. mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mana ana ḏ hiia rurbia mana ana ḏ hiia rbia mn
ginzaihun ‘ka ‘lai bšutẖ ḏ ab nahirna ubtušbihtẖ ḏ gabra naSbai `mat huat `lai mn
ginzaihun bun ‘mat bun mn ginzaihun ušadrun lhazin alma mitiai mn bit ginzaihun
adiqit hzaitẖ lalma adiqit lalma uhzaitẖ hu snia udmutẖ lakašra khibun
u‘TarTiltinun uašiTitinun lgubria ḏ `ubduia amarnalun haizin ‘šbuq razia nihia
u‘lbuš brazia mardia haizin ‘šbuq tušbihta ḏ abahatai u`palbẖ bandašata
ḏ lbuša baTla haizin ‘šbuq šrara ḏ kabiria u`dar b`uSTuna napla ḏ qaiim
umitapraš mana mTa gabra adiauria maTia adiauria rama ḏ hu aulẖ bhda ziua rba
amarlẖ anat lbuš lbušak ḏ ziua ḏ napšak mqaimit latinšia ḏ paqduk rbia haiaba
luataihun latitiqria `ul u`durbẖ bhazin `uSTuna ḏ `tit minẖ tihuia šurubta
‘tita šurubta ḏ tihuia nitqaimun adam lpumẖ pihtẖ ḏ nimarla ldiaurẖ mahu haila
iahbitulia bnpiš ḏ haizin lbuša ‘libšiẖ mahu simaka samkitulẖ btibil ḏ `durbẖ
bbaita napla amrilẖ hailak haila ḏ rbia u`rutak nSiba mn duktẖ gubria
ḏ qiriuia llbušak pahlilak alma ḏ napqit `tit udaribẖ ulašanit ḏ paqduk adiauria mšit

`dai ulhiia sigdit uasgit `titlh lalma šrun umbarkilh bišia psiqia uaudia ‘khibun uTarTiltinun uašiTitinun lhda hda amarnalun man d brik bbirikta d kabiria limalia bbirikta d audia kd haizin šuma minai napšaihun bhaiabia lgaT napšaihun lgaT bhaiabia ukulhun bandašata npal kulhun npal bandašata ‘lai dilia adam mithašbia lbiš uamria hab nibdulh uhab niklh d akuatan nišauia nišauia akuatan dilan aminTul d saliq minaian hu adam dariš drašia umitaprašbh b`uSria uamar mahu tibdulh bahtia kd ana ainai latrai sakia ainai sakia latrai ubaiarna btušbihth d naSbh kma d aitan binataikun bandašatkun mahu timrun ‘lai ligal maTia `lai `utra sagia maTia gabra adiaura amar qum qum adam qum manai ulanipsuqnak brazia audia lanišbiqunak razia d ‘šata ‘kilta d h‘ iaqda umhababa qum lbuš lbušia d ‘šata haita l‘dmu ‘qara damia qum saq lbit ginzak d btiqlatun uhaubun latitqal qam adam sliq lbit hiia ušbaqinun lrazia d hazin alma adam lrbia amarlun lbar mn binataikun huit minaikun `tparqit usilqit brik gabra d parqan uasqan brikitun anatun hiia d šadartulia hazin adiaura anat šapir sliqt d atia abatrak šapir nisaq mibSar bSar dara uridpa bnpiš mitbir ‘lun anat šapir sliqt adam d mSia abatrak nisaq mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia manda d hiia uadiaurh sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia binia munqia kasiia huit huit binia munqia kasiia d šanin ubrikia umqaimia d mitibrik bbiriktaihun lauid udšama šutaihun lamqabil d baiinba btušbihtaihun d bsiblia d daria lamitqil mSia uamarlun mana lšuba d ladaiarna binataikun ulamikšilna bkšaltaikun ulamištbina bšibiaikun lalagiTna mn dilkun lahikmun bhukumtaikun uhrarkun dilkun lamitnaTar `lai laialipna mn ialpankun sainia ukulhin `bdatkun labidna aminTul d lau dilkun ana siptai pirTit ‘lauaikun uašiTtinun l‘bidatun kulhin ana minaikun šamarna mn qulalia d rmaitun balma mn halbaikun umn parqsaikun umn šušlatkun kulhun ana latrai azilna ušama šutaihun d munqia kasiia šamana d šanin brikia umqaimia baiirna balbušaihun uhakimna mn hukumtun ialipna d `tlun blibaihun uabidna kul d abdia uhiia zanin sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia d baiarna btušbihth d naSbai ‘mat bšibia šibiun ušihlun uatiun lhazin alma šihlun lalma d haiabia d kulhun psiqia uabdia alma d sainai Sauth ulamanhra munqa lasagia ‘tlun labdia ulašaia ‘tlun lkulhun daria lanihuia ulašdikia ulika laupa binatun mihšak haška šutaihun udmutaihun mihbar habra mišpal špil binataihun ukulhun bSadia iatbia ašhar unasbia ‘kumia kulhun sainia uaklia bnhaša qaimia kulhun haiabia bišia mlin ana limalia d `rub aluataikun u`mSia mn dilkun u`psiqbh bbišutkun uštpil latutaikun ana l‘malia d hzia lhambalaikun d kul d hazilh mikšil l‘malia d hzinun l`ubadaikun d šuma dakia litbun ana lbit hiia azilna limalia d ‘rhum dauraikun qaimia šibiahia bmaSpuTiata maStipTia uamria kd minaian pliT adam slaq minaian ligal mitinsib ziuan ligal ziuan mitinsib ukimSan hauia kd d lahua qam sliq lbit hiia ašig biardna uniTruia ašig uniTruia biardna uiaminun asim `lh uSibuia bmaSbutun ubmalalun dakia qaimuia mištaiihun uhiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia bit ginza kasia `huit `huit bit ginza kasia ubinia ganzibria iaqria akandit lahzit ginza d pta u`damarbh naSbia akandit lahzit ganza ub`rutai la`qrit akandit ginza lahzit umaTun ušihlun lhazin alma kma šapir d hzit kma snia mindam d hauitun hzit ‘ruta bnpiš uaitun hauiun l‘mat pluT minh umn hšuka d hauin l`mat pluT minh u`zil hzia d hzit lhil mimar amar mana qalh lbit hiia sliq qalh sliq lbit hiia usilqit dnuta lbit rurbia amarlh anat anpiš sbul uligal ginzak tihizih ligal tihizih lginzak d pta u`damarbh abuk anat rnia mn tibil mn haka nirnibak anin anat b‘ mn tibil uanin nibia napša ukabira ‘lak anat mana hzit hiia hzit ‘dilma d muta rahmit hzia ‘dilma rahmit muta ubšuta ‘pikta sahdit latirihminun lragagth ulatišibqa lziua taqna latinšinun lkabiria ulatinšia lbit mihzia ulahzit kd haza šuma mana sipth praT lalmia mašiTilia liurba ulšuba dmauata d šaria ‘lh mašiTlun lšbiahia bmarkabatun kd iatbia mašiTlh lqadišata d kulhin dmauata sainata kulhun minh h‘ ašiT šbabinun ušamar azal latrh ukulhun naTra btiham `tib uamar hzia d paqdun hzia lginza d rurbia `zil hzia `ruta d pta u`damarbh ab bligal ata paruanqa dakia d ligTan mn haka uparqan ligTan uparqan mn haka uasiq lbit ginzia uamar ata ata mana ata `ruta `hzia ata `hzia `ruta d bit mihizia ulahzit šapir sbalt mana šapir ‘tparaqt usliqt mana b‘ruth hadia umbariklun lrurbia uamarlun ana misilqit `marlkun `l d hauia mn ‘šatkun haita kd kimSaikun mištbiq bdin almia mn giTuptaikun dilkun biad šibiahia naplia amart uqaiimt mana azal lkursiak `tib anin mida iadinin d mn tiniana haizin napqa umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia d baiarna bziua iaqra minSab man niSban šihlan uatian lzipa d hazin alma man šibian bkituna d kitun pagria d mn kibia umumia lapqa man hauian zipaihun uman šiknan bhrarun man abran mn haimanuta blišania ‘pikia man šdan man rimian blišania ‘pikia d dmu taqna litbun man rimian binia zidania d kulhun zida ukadba uhrara mlin ‘dilma azilna ulahazina atrai atar nhur ‘dilma manšina nihuta d hiia qrulia uaprišun kbar razia mhamblia ulahazilia razia d atar nhur qalh d pirqai dakia qalh d gabra naSbai qalh d pirqai dakia d asbar bqalh uašman Tan‘in Tuna dakia d hazilh almia umištarhizia uamar ana zadtak uzauadtak ‘u baiit lhaka salqit kd hinun hazilak anat minaihun kbuš kd ragzia umragzia anat mana bnihuta `timlia latihum ulatirguz ulatihTia mana ulatisbia muma l`uSTunak kdar b`uSTunak dakia u‘tnapaš b`ruta d `hablak huzia lziuak kasia umn kitun d muma pluT audabun bmhaimnia triSia kulhun mn qudamak baTlia anat kd haizin abdat lbušak batrh mitriS lbušak mitriS batrh uanat luatan dilan mitqaimit kd haza šuma mana traS hiia lbalh amrilh haiman utqaiamabh usaq hzinun lrurbia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia atiun atiun mn bit hiia rbia ‘tit misaq šurbta ‘tit šurbta misaq umimilh husrana d hua mitiia d adam mn bit hiia adiq šibiahia hiziuia adiq hizuia šibiahia d hinun `pikia umapkia kd hiziuia šibiahia la‘da adam mahu ‘marlkun latrh kd qaiim ahiqinun haizak hlip uamarlun ia ainia ‘pikata ladakiata mahu tisqun ia puma biša mahu timrun ‘l lišana taqna ia d saipia misap mn `spia d kušTa mahu titaprišun ia hasiria psiqia mn dmuta nahirna mahu titaprišun ana lau aminTul d ldilkun atit lhaka hinila hiia šadrun lau aminTul ldilkun atit lhaka d milka mn hiia lahua ana atit aminTul ltiniana d `bidath laniudan laniudan `bidath aminTul d iamina dakia hu kd haza šuma minh hinun hulh munqa had nSab mia hurina zidqa nSab had nSab zidqa utaga gTir lkulhun hda `hablh Sauta ubikilta rabiuia uhu anhirinun ulabaTil hinun munqa hulh uhinun hauqa šbaq ‘lh zban zban hu mana baiia b`ruta uhauqa `lh latišbiq ba umšaba adam lhiia rbia d hazin adiauria šadarlh anat dar binataihun uligal atutia `daihun npaq mn husrana umn abinia mhašabata sliq hazilh lziua napša umitkarakbia nhura taqna sliq hizih ltušlima dakia d `lh dilia ata amarlh ata ata adiaurai niha aminTul d ldilan dairit balma aminTul ziuak upugdamak hauqa `lh la‘štbiq ligTia biaminia ladam uasiq turSia bškinth dukta d dairia rbia Sauta udmuta taqna triS hinun mbarkilh bpumaihun dakia hinun šapir amria ‘lh brikit unaSbak d naSbak uhaizak mana `titilak umšabin hiia sa

. mana ana d hiia rbia mana ana d hiia rurbia mana ana d hiia rbia mn duktai man atian man atian mn duktai ubit šibiahia man ašrian man šrian bit šibiahia d bišia ‘lai ragzia ‘lai ragzia bišia kul ium ‘lai lbiš mithašbia ‘lai bbišuta uamria d nagziria unišbqh luatan unišibqh nagziria luatan mn kana d napšia nikatria nikatria mn kana d napšia umnatan dilan nitiqria rania uamar adam kbar

magziria `lai kbar `lai magziria haka magziria mn kana d̲ ab `la d̲ qaiim umithašab adam maTia atalh̲ naSbh̲ maTia naSbh̲ atalh̲ `utra d̲ hu lhaka atiih̲ amarlh̲ anat baita d̲ dairatbh̲ limalik d̲ mšaiilit ‘lh̲ anat laiadit adam d̲ haizin hauia k̲d̲ amart anin bkisia iadinin d̲ ligal minh̲ napqit uluatan dilan salqit salqit luatan dilan iatbit k̲d̲ haizin šuma adam lašaiibun baudia baudia lašaiilbun d̲ bnun baita napla sbal udar bgauh̲ ubligal pra umaTia atra dukta d̲ mina `tinSib dukta d̲ `tinSib mina udmuth̲ bgauh̲ nihrat adam b‘uSria hadia umitapraš b‘uSria kma d̲ šanai d̲ ab amarlia ušanai d̲ rbia aprišun ‘zil ‘zil šibiahia mna bataikun hun ‘zil hun mna bataikun ubataikun nihuia bmnataikun ana bšarša d̲ ab saliqna ubaita ldilkun mištbiq uhiia zakin lrahmia šumaihun lanagzirun sa

. mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia d̲ haka bgu daria huit haka huit bgu daria uhibil hualh̲ hibil munqa hualia hu naSbai dakia hua br ziua napša uhailh̲ hualia simaka hu simaka hualia uhu qaiman uhu parqan mn alma parqan mn `daihun umn d̲ abdia šuba kul zban hu ‘uhra hauian utraSlia dirka latar nhur uasqan minh̲ ulašibqan bdaura baTla albšan ‘uSTla d̲ ziua uapqan rabut mn alma uhiia zakin sa

. mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mn atrai man atian man atian mn atrai ubinia Turia man šdan man šdan binia Turia ubatra d̲ muma manu rman manu rman batra d̲ muma umn hiia man abrian man abrian mn hiia d̲ hinun iatiria ulahasria `l d̲ qaiim umhašib mana maTia atalh̲ naSbh̲ maTia naSbh̲ atalh̲ uhauih̲ klila d̲ paqadlh̲ hauih̲ simta dakita d̲ simta unSiba mn duktaiun hin `tbarit mn hiia halin klilia laplaglak laplaglak halin klilia usimta halin lanSablak halin `titlak mana d̲ tisbal tidar balma nibaTla `bdata d̲ abuk tiniana abad kul zban d̲ kabra ‘lak qalan dilan nitia ‘lak nitia ulašania d̲ amarnalak `utria tlata simkuia lmana uhu mana b`ruth̲ nha hu mana nha b`ruth̲ uakin autbh̲ l`uSria usbal udarbia balma d̲ hambaguth̲ labaTla ligTuia lmana bkulh̲ hailaiun uašarbia btartin ‘du apquia mn pagria utirSuia batrh̲ baba d̲ nhura ptalia udirka d̲ šdara hauiuia sagia umasgia haila umšaba lgubria d̲ asbruia mšaba lTarTabunia d̲ hauia `uSTlia d̲ ziua albšuia umšaba lnaSbh̲ d̲ dar bhailh̲ balma mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mana ana d̲ hiia rurbia mana ana d̲ hiia rbia mn duktai man atian man atian mn duktai ubit šibiahia man ašrian man ašrian bit šibiahia ubhasiruta manu rman manu rman batrh̲ d̲ kulh̲ hizdia d̲ kulhun hrara ukadba mlin man sakakan brazaihun ubšušlatun man asran man rman bsadun rba udilun man hauian ubšurun man rman uablun man lgaT ‘lai man šauian mn maksun umaTaratun atian k̲d̲ hzaitinun zahat hauqa miTian zahit umiTian hauqa uamarna d̲ manšina d̲ paqdun rurbia d̲ qaiim mana umhašib maTia atalh̲ naSbih̲ mitia `titlak d̲ tidar b`ubadia `dak k̲d̲ aitak binataian hzia napšak mhamblit hzia haTit bhaTaiun utitminiit mn saupun k̲d̲ anat siTar qaimit minaihun hinun bdilak la`mSan laniligTunak bsakaktun ulaniqdimunak b`uhra ligal `parqak minaihun umn maTaraiia baTlia umn šuba d̲ hšuka hinun mnatun d̲ audia nihun Tabu hiia ‘bdatak brahmut kušTa ‘iasqak ‘galilak lsam kasia ušuma Taba d̲ huitbh̲ `hauiak tlata dakiata d̲ hinun šanin umnakria libak ninha d̲ kaiiblak utinišiia lridpa d̲ alma mana d̲ mbariklia lnaSbh̲ rba umqaiimlia k̲d̲ hazin mhauiatlh̲ limalia d̲ ‘dar mn audia šalim kilh̲ umTia zibnia umana latrh̲ sliq sliq mana latrh̲ u`utria nihia alanph̲ npaq `utria npaq alanph̲ ziuia unhuria upasimkia aitun albšuia ziua mn hinun labšia batraihun kasiun TarTabunun d̲ nhura d̲ hinun bduktaihun baba btušbihtaihun ha akuat rhamunak uiaqirnak d̲ pariqt napšak usliqt mn alma ‘tparaqt usliqt minaihun u‘triSt binatun mn riš briš mištaiin hiia zakia uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa .. mn hazin dukta qria lnišimta d̲ mandaiia ..

sa

bšumaihun d hiia rbia laupa uruaha d hiia ušabiq haTaiia nihuilia lhaza
nišimta dilia . ulab
. u`l `m
. u`l `m hurintia
. u`l zauai
. u`l ahai
. u`l ahai hurinia
. u`l
šitlai
. u`l abahatai

. unišmata d abahan urubanan udahan udahuatan d npaq mn pagraihun
uldqaimia bpagraihun šabiq haTaiia nihuilun sa . ia mana niha
ia mana sdira umsadra ia mana niha nitun minak adiauria alma lmuzania d taqil
`ubadia uagria sa
. bšumaihun d hiia rbia mraurab nhura šania abatar d `tingid rqiha uabatar d `tmisiat
arqa abatar d ata šamiš uabatar sira ‘tiglia abatar d atun šuba uhalin trisar
asgun lka gibluia lpagra d adam unišimta bgauh larmun aminTul d lpagra d adam
nišimta mn bit hiia rbia atat nišimta atat mn bit hiia rbia utlata ‘utria mina
atun mina atun tlata `utria d siTar mn pagra aqmu siTar aqmu mn pagra umaililh
bpagra ulaila mailila ulaila bpagra ubakia uala umitašida ‘lkun amarna
‘utria ahai ‘nTurulia biuma šita hda šita hda biuma ‘nTurulia d iasiq qalai latar
nhur `marlun l`utria ahai mahu hTit binataikun mahu binaikun hTit d šabištun
uapiqtun mn binataikun šabištun mn daurai d šabiš apqun mn bit ab ‘marlh lmanda
d hiia d ligal Taba šadar ‘lai ligal šadar ‘lai Taba d niširian minh mn alma
nipish lbiniana upagra lmarh našlman nasqan latra d hiia kd hua širšai mn qdim ‘l
d lanaurunan bišia ulaniTaršunan haTia ‘l d lanaurunan bišia ulaniTaršunan haTia
`l d lanaurunan bišia ulanidun d mna huit d laniTaršunan b‘kuraihun ulašamana ‘lai
mahu d amria hašta kabria ‘lai amamia utaumia ulišania ušadilia biama d mirta
hašta kabra ‘lai patikruta mašlamanai napšia bmdin mdin hašta gaTria bišia
biluria uambubia liTia mamlilia bpum malpilia bqala d siTia umanšina lmarai
mn ‘uSrai šadilia bbira d `umqia d naplia bišia ulasalqia balilia taninia ušabilia
bdaria d rabut zmar hda hda amarlh zakaita d hiia nišimta hda hda amarla šganda
d kulhun pasimkia hda hda amarla lzakaita d hiia nišimta ia nišimta qum
asgai `iul lgu pagra u`star bgauh d hikla nistarbik aria aria mrida marda
nistarbik tanina unigTil bišia batrh nitirgilbik mlik hšuka d `niš bhailh lamSia
hda hda amarla zakaita d hiia nišimta hda hda amarla lšganda d kulhun pasimkia
`u Taba baiit d `iasgia `iul lgu pagra u`star bgauh d hikla atualia zaina rama
d ‘iaqria banpai mn radpai hda hda amarla šganda d kulhun pasimkia hda hda
amarla lzakaita d hiia nišimta mahu zaina rama baiit nišimta mn ginzaihun d hiia
zaina nitilik zainik naSiruta malalia kšiTia d aitulik mn atar nhur uamarla
aminTulatik nišimta haizin rqiha ‘tingid haizin ‘tingid rqiha u`STarar bgauh
kukbia aminTulatik nišimta haza miabašta huat haza huat miabašta u‘tmisiat
msuta uniplat bmai aminTulatik nišimta ata šamiš aminTulatik nišimta sira
‘tiglia aminTulatik nišimta atun šuba uhalin trisar asgun lka ‘tibrun arba ziqia
uaiar mnašim ‘lik ‘špaklik hukumta blibak utidakria lmarai utišabh hašta maTia
zban maTia ‘dana bzibna šania haSbia kd Tulalia uiahria kd nagia pahria ušnia
uiumia uiahria u‘dana ušaiia ušušia šaplia unapqia kd d lahun mitiqria gupnia
hadua uazil zmarun baTil auid dahba umibia kaspa lamitaška haria umaruata
btinihta d libaihun napqia minh mn alma qanin ušabqan lbnaihun uazlin bnura
bašlia bnaiun d aniia umradpia bkariuta napqia minh mn alma auda usaipa btibil
b‘umqia sruta hšuka l‘šumia d marai manda d hiia ulhailh asgit lgu pagra alit

asgit alit lgu pagra u`strit bgauh̲ d̲ hikla mn alit lgu pagra zaua bgu daria huit
zaua huit bgu daria bišia mn ‘umqia rgaz ‘lai bišia rgaz ‘lai mn ‘umqia
lnišimta d̲ hiia baiia lasguiia binataihun ana k̲d̲ hzaitinun lgaTtinun bsiTar alma
manda d̲ hiia mihizia d̲ hizian paqid uhaila traSlia paqid albšan ziua ukasian nhura
iaqra traSlia klil klil zakuata d̲ aluath̲ nahria uamar ia nišimta ‘zdahar bmamlalik
d̲ lanibTunik bit maksia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka
sa ‘uSrai rhim hiia uaudat nišmat latar nhur
sa

. zidana umzaudna `utria d̲ nhura zaudun zidana d̲ zaudun hiia umzaudana d̲ `utria
d̲ nhura zaudun zaudun bzuadia kušTa uzarzun bkula hukumta lmahu hua ptahil `l
mahu qiriih̲ lalma lmahu huat hašabta uldilia mn atrai atiun ušihlun lalma
d̲ tiqlata d̲ kulh̲ giTria hatmia mlia kulh̲ mlia nura uzria bkuba uaTaTa kulh̲ mlia
bihrara kulh̲ zipa ukadba mlia šibiahia d̲ dairiba kul ium ‘lai lbiš mithašbia
mithašbia bbišuta uamria d̲ nipilgh̲ l`uSrh̲ libai d̲ mlia kušTa amria d̲ mn dilan
nakšlh̲ ainai d̲ sakia lnhura amria d̲ rimza nirimzan pumai d̲ barik lhiia amria
d̲ kadba nimar `dai d̲ iahba zidqa upašTa kušTa amria d̲ gaTla nigiTla burkai
d̲ sagda lhiia amria lšuba nisigda ligrai d̲ madrika dirkia d̲ kušTa uhaimanuta
amria bhipia nasgia ainai lmrum šiqlit unišmat lbit hiia skit hiia d̲ šimuia
lqalai ušadar alanpai paruanqa paruanqa d̲ atia alanpai aizalia d̲ iaiia `uSTula
pta uhauian ziuh̲ ušlath̲ lpagra zapra ligTan bapras iaminh̲ uhapiqia mia abran
abran hapiqia mia udbar badmu hiia smaku hiia smak lhiia uhiia dilun aška hiia
aška dilun uaškat nišmat d̲ plan d̲ haza masiqta
d̲ msakia uhiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa amralun nišimta
l`utria ahai `utria d̲ hatam iatbia bhaiaikun `utria ahai amarulia hibil ziua
diaudia mna šabiš ailan lgu pagra ušamar ušibqan ulatrh̲ sliq
sa

. Tubak Tubak nišma d̲ npaqt minh̲ umn alma npaqth̲ lqiluma ulpagra saria d̲ huitbh̲
ldaura d̲ dur bišia latra d̲ kulh̲ haTia lalma d̲ hšuka d̲ sina qina uplugia ldaura
d̲ dairibh̲ šbiahia d̲ kibia umuria masbia kibia masbia umumia kul ium rmilun
marula qumlak qumlak nišma larqak qadmaita saq larqak qadmaita ldaurak Taba
d̲ ‘utria paS lbuš ‘uSTlak d̲ ziua uahid klilak rauza tib lkursiak d̲ ziua d̲ hiia
tirSuia batar nhur darbin bškinata binia ‘utria ahak k̲d̲ d̲ malpit burkia lbit anašak
qadmaiia uluTh̲ lhazin atra d̲ bit munqak d̲ šnia d̲ huit bgauh̲ šuba hambagak hun šuba
hun hambagak utrisar hulak ridpa mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka
sa habšaba ukušTa uzidqa lnišma hulh̲ sahda anatun
bsahdia hulh̲ uahlipuia mn bit maksia sa

. ‘zil bšlam bhira dakia zakaia d̲ muma litbh̲ anat napšak bhart mn tibil uhilqak
mn daria šuar hilqak šuar mn daria ‘lauh̲ d̲ kulh̲ alma anat amart bhira dakia
d̲ hazaia uparuša ana hazaia ana paruša ualmia ldina kanpia almia kanpia ldina
udina minaihun mitmar dina mitmar minaihun d̲ labad `ubadia d̲ gbar kšiT anat
balhudak bhira dakia mana sqila d̲ sqil d̲ lazlit lbit dina udina minak lamitmar
lamitmar dina minak d̲ abadt `ubadia d̲ gbar kšiT haza d̲ sablia udaria anat bhira
qamak lataška puq mn atutia ‘daihun d̲ šibiahia ugabaria d̲ hazin alma sab
lbuš ‘uSTlak d̲ ziua utruS klilak rauza kbuš qumtak usgud umta ušaba lhiia rbia
ušaba latra d̲ hiia d̲ abahatak lgauh̲ azlia anat bhira d̲ lahuit mn haka ulau mn
haka nSiba niSubtak atrak atra d̲ hiia udaurak daura taqna traSlak kursia
d̲ niaha d̲ hauma urugza litbh̲ mnaTarlak himiana d̲ asga umuma litbh̲ Taba saq lbit hiia
uasgia ldaura taqna binia šragia d̲ nhura nidalun šragak uninihrun bzibnak u‘danak
saq huzih̲ latar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa
‘rutai utušbihtai mabraiai mabar hilpa abarlia anana d̲ nhura utisaq bzaku
latar nhur sa

. niaha ušalma nihuia b‘uhra d̲ adam kišra niaha ušalma nihuia b‘uhra d̲ nišimta
azla ‘zil nišma bzakuta latda d̲ mina `tinSib latra d̲ haduta d̲ anpia bgauh̲ rauzia

šratẖ nišimta lšušilta utabirtinun lSSTmia šlatẖ lkitun pagria u`hidrat hzatẖ u`standirat laTtẖ luTta bišta lgabra ḏ pagria albša qala ḏ nišimta ḏ hiia ḏ mn pagria ḏ lupata bakia šadruia ḏ širiẖ lnišma ḏ hinun šaria ulašabqia paria uazil nišma baba ḏ bit hiia mTa maTuiiẖ baba ḏ bit hiia `utria napqia alanpia mbarkilẖ uazlia atai bšlam pt haria bdur bišia amta huit atai bšlam mbasmanita ḏ basimtẖ lpagra zapra atai bšlam marganita dakita ḏ mn ginzaihun ḏ hiia ‘tniSbat atai bšlam bhira dakia ḏ anhartẖ lbaita haška paria uazil nišma baba ḏ bit hiia mTa maTuiiẖ baba ḏ bit hiia atia alanpẖ paruanqa ḵḏ klila riuza b‘dia ‘l trin draiia ‘uSTla nišma paS ‘uSTlak lbuš uahid klilak rauza saq ‘zil lškinta dukta ḏ `utria iatbia dukta ḏ iatbia ‘utria uahik kinia bškinatun pšaT hiia blaupa laupuia ḏ laipia bhiria batar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa

. niaha ušalma nihuia b‘uhra ḏ adam kišra niaha ušalma nihuia b‘uhra ḏ nišimta azla nišma ‘zil bzakuta ldaura ḏ minẖ `tinSib latra ḏ haduta ḏ anpia bgauẖ rauzia anpia rauzia bgauẖ uminihra dmutẖ ulahaška šratẖ nišimta lšušilta utabirtinun lSuSTmia šlatẖ lkitun pagria `hidrat hzatẖ u`standrat mqarila zuadia gubria ḏ mzaudia nišimta mqarilẖ zuadia mzaudilẖ uazlin atai bšlam manharanita ḏ anhartẖ lbaita napla atai bšlam mbasmanita ḏ basimtẖ lpagra zapra atai bšlam marganita dakita ḏ mn ginzaihun ḏ hiia ‘tniSbat atai bšlam paS ‘uSTlak lbuš utruS klilak rauza `usrẖ lhimianak ḏ nTiTia umumia litbẖ atai dar bškintai binia ‘utria ahik ḵḏ iatbia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa druš drašia uašmuia lhaza nišimta ḏ kilia šlim ulatra ḏ hiia mizlẖ sa

. iuma ḏ napiq nišma iuma ḏ saliq tušlima iuma ḏ napiq nišma mn atutia garglia ḏ muta ḏ kašgiš tigra rmibẖ bgauẖ ḏ tibil abdia ruha iatba bmalia ušuba btihma iatbia kitun kukbia sdiqia uaqapra briš ruha rmin bakin zangaiia umaTaraiia mištarhizia gabra ḏ atian lhaka aitilẖ ‘uSTla albšan `uSTla ḏ ziua uTarTabuna ḏ nhura kasian traSlẖ mn klil aiar umn ḏ rbia `hab l`utria asqan lbit hiia ldaura ḏ saka litlẖ tirSan binia ‘utria uqaiman binia tušlimia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa bhir zidqa `tia minak biluatak lmuzania ḏ taqil `ubadia uagria sa

. iuma ḏ napiq nišma iuma ḏ saliq tušlima iuma ḏ saliq nišma tibil rmibẖ tigra rmabẖ ušigša rmibẖ maruala ‘tkaniš u‘tgaTal ganzibrẖ ḏ hazin alma uamria man apqa lmarganita ḏ anhartẖ lbaita napla baita ḏ nipqat minẖ ‘tla ašitẖ unpal tla unpal ašiatẖ usipia baba ḏ arqa mTun u`stakarlẖ kauẖ u‘dahak šragẖ ulanahria ainẖ hzita lahazia bdaria mahu ḏ abdia `udnẖ šmita lašama bdaria mahu ḏ amria ligrẖ sgita lapahsa bdaria ulatania uamar uazil nišma ḏ ših minẖ ap ldaura taqna arTil lalma atalẖ uriqin minẖ apqun riqin apqun minẖ ḵḏ Sipra ḏ mindam minẖ lalun agrai azil aqamai uzidqai atia mn abatrai gilia mia b`dai lgiTna uzaqipna ldaura taqna šuba ḏ hiziuia lnišma ahdar aqmuia batra gzira bit maksia kadšilẖ ulahalin udahin ušadilẖ ulanapil `uSTlẖ bSaurẖ Sarin hu ziua ḏ hiia lbiš šaiulia mšaiililẖ mitia ḏ hiia la`hzun bhailẖ ḏ manu npaqt ušuma ḏ manu madkar `lak ana bhalaihun ḏ hiia nipqit ušumẖ ḏ rab ziua madkar `lai gilia mia b`dai lagiTna uzaqipna ldaura taqna mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa `l šbila qaima nišimta ul‘utria aha amra laiadilun ‘utria ahai ḏ ana binataikun darit sa

. binia kisia lziua ubinia galalta latar ksia qaimia sbiria ab rurbia sbiria hukumta qaimia umšailia lnišma ḏ npaq minẖ umn alma amrilẖ mizal azlia Tabia uSauta ḏ Tabia man nasibla man nasibla lSauta ḏ Tabia uman ḏ nihimSa ldmutun malil nišma ḏ nimarlun lrurbia ḏ sbiria hukumta rurbia ubhiria zidqa lamitkatribẖ bzipẖ ḏ hazin alma aniia utarmidia lamitkatribẖ bzipẖ ḏ hazin alma bnaiun ḏ aniia utarmidia lamitkatribẖ bzipẖ ḏ hazin alma gziria ugzirTibaiia mitkatribẖ bzipẖ ḏ hazin alma haria umarauata btinihta ḏ libaihun napqia minẖ umn alma

qanin ušabqin lbnaiun uazlin bnura bašlia nišma zariz napšak bagrak u‘ubadak uzidqak `uhra ḏ azlinabia napša usaka litlẖ lakilba parsia ulamandaz bgauẖ kudkia šbiqibẖ maTaraiia ugziraiia umaksia qaimia ‘la ‘tmal damit nišma iumai lmahu damit `tmal damit lbuna rama ḏ ardikla qaiim `lẖ `tmal damit iumai `tla unpal ‘tmal lmahu damit nišma iumai lmahu damit ‘tmal ‘klit ušitiit iumai ruianai mlia ‘tmal knišlia uzlihlia iumai silqit lbit riš sruqtai ‘tmal hiplia usriqlia iumai nbiza pruštai ‘tmal damit luarda bkanẖ ‘baš iumai ldukẖ ‘baš ‘u aiqalak nišma ‘tkamar b‘uSTunak ‘ul ‘tkamar ‘ul b‘uSTunak b‘uSTun pagria ḏ huitbẖ ahai latimarulẖ ḏ `tkamar b`uSTunak `ul `tkamar `ul b`uSTunak `uSTun pagria ḏ huitbẖ pagrai iama hu haTipa ḏ bhaTip uakil `mbria tanina hu br anaša biša ḏ šuba rišauata ḏ `tlẖ šuba ‘tlẖ rišauata ḏ Taiis ubala litlẖ `u aiqalak `lẖ nišma ‘tkamar b‘uSTunak ‘ul ‘tkamar ‘ul b‘uSTunak ‘uSTun pagria ḏ huitbẖ aminTul ḏ hiia `dakruk lTab hiia lTabu `dikruk u`utria ḏ nhura šaiil ‘lak apqun uahidulia baba usakrunun lmšašbia sakrulẖ tartin kauia ḏ šuta ḏ hiia sabria dahikulia trin šragia ḏ minihria `umama ulilia `stakar baba rba ḏ kul ium lhiia mšabalun ‘tbar trin muzaniia ḏ agra uzidqa iahbia iahbia agra uzidqa upašTia kušTa mn riš briš štra unšl trin ‘uSTunia ḏ šrara ḏ kulẖ hikla pagra nikla lmarẖ ubaita kulẖ habara mlia paria uazil nišma baiar balhudia uladahil bišia mišma ḏ šmu ahdar aqmuia batra gzira bit maksia amrilẖ bhailẖ ḏ manu npaqt nišma ušuma ḏ manu madkar `lak amarnalun ana bhailaihun ḏ hiia nipqit ušuma ḏ manda ḏ hiia madkar `lai amrilẖ ia nišma misaq salqit lbit hiia midan dainit uzakit ḵḏ azlit lbit hiia qudam hiia adkar `lan amarlun ḵḏ `saq lbit hiia u`iasgia ldaura taqna ḵḏ nišailunan rbia ḵḏ nišailunan rurbia ḵḏ nišailunan rbia nitun sahdia unisihdun sahdia hinun ḏ kušTa šrara kul ḏ amria ‘bidlakun šibiahia ḏ ainaikun nhura lahazia ainaikun lahazia nhura uligraikun šrara lamaška ana u‘utria ahai nisaq nihizia latar nhur latra ḏ larba šamšia ušragia ḏ nhura lahaškia lẖ lhanaẖ atra qr‘ia umzamna nišmatkun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa ia mana niha ia mana sdira umsadra ia mana niha nitun minak adiauria alma lmuzania ḏ taqil `ubadia uagria sa

. riš sabria ana ḏ bhiria rišaihun ana ḏ mhaimnia mn riš brušuma ršimna uasgit lkipẖ ḏ iardna mn riš brušuma ršimna usahria bšuqia qaimia lriša hiziun šuba qaimia šuba umizdainia uamria napqit gabra ahbalan rišak haizak puq gabra ahbalan rišak u‘Tak titib utitia ‘lan rišai la‘tilkun lrišai traSlia rušuma mipaq napqit gabra ahbalan ainak uhaizak puq gabra ahbalan ainak u`Tak titib utitia ‘lan ainai la‘tilkun ainai banhura ‘timlia ainai ‘timlia banhura mn riš brušuma ršimna uasgit lkipẖ ḏ iardna šuba ḏ hiziun zdaian ukulhun sanai šuqia lagTia mipaq nipqit gabra ahbalan `udnak uhaizak puq gabda ahbalan `udnak u`Tak titib utitia ‘lan ‘udnai la‘tilkun ‘udnai drašia šama mipaq nipqit gabra ahbalan pumak u‘Tak titib utitia ‘lan pumai la‘tilkun pumai bkušTa ‘timlia mipaq napqit gabra ahbalan `dak haizak puq gabra ahbalan `dak u`Tak titib utitia ‘lan ‘dai la‘tilkun ‘dai zidqa iahba ‘dai iahba zidqa hinun kušTa pašTia mipaq napqit gabra ahbalan libak haizak puq gabra ahbalan libak u`Tak titib utitia `lan libai la‘tilkun bilbab šrabẖ manda mipaq napqit gabra ahbalan burkak haizak puq gabra ahbalan burkak u`Tak titib utitia `lan burkai la`tilkun burkai lhiia sagda mipaq napqit gabra ahbalan ligrak uhaizak puq gabra ahbalan ligrak u`Tak titib utitia `lan ligrai la`tilkun ligrai bdirkia ḏ kušTa madrika ligrai madrika dirkia ḏ kušTa uhaimanuta mn atra ḏ hšuk latar nhur bdirkia ḏ kušTa uhaimanuta tisqun tihziunẖ latar nhur zkit manda ḏ hiia uzkit kulhun rahmak uhiia zakin sa mana bginziẖ hadia ub`ruta ḏ hiia ḏ šaria ‘lẖ audibak bhir zidqa ḏ pariqẖ lnišmat mn haTia sa

. dkiria bTibu rbia dkiria bTabu rurbia dkiria bTabu rbia ḏ parqun uapqun mn alma mn alma ḏ husrana umn ‘ubadia baTlia aqrun ualbušun ziua akuat gubria bhiria

labšia gubria bhiria kšiTia umhaimnia rišai aiilbh huit mlaiia d alma ainai
d ptahibh ainai banhura `timlia ganpai npaSibh ganpia d ziua Sarlia ganpia
Sarlia d ziua umšauiata d Tabia uminihra darišna umasgina lnišmata kulhin
mihizia d hiziun knap alanpai napqia alanpai ukulhin šlama šalmun uamria br
Tabia labuk amarlia l'mat 'siria mištrin l'mat mištrin 'siria urahualun laiqia
d aiqilun mn qudam d lab `marlh `tia d `marlkun ana kul d abad `ubadia sainia haka
bsadaria iatib alma d praš iabuš mn pumh udiglat šahlh mnšahlh alma d iabšia kulhun
iamamia ukulhun zabia nahlia uainaniata mištapian uhaizak d rmia bbiria
saliq ud'sir b'sura mištria rahualun lnišmata d haka daira bit qirsa rahualun lbnia
haria d mn qdim hualun hašta litlun rahualun larmalia d `ulSana btibil sabla
sabla 'ulSana btibil umn iad šuba rahualun mitparqa mn iad šuba urahualun laiqa
d aiqilun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa baiina
mizal mn trin `utria d `lai `tun dahilna mizal mn maTaraiia d b'uhra šrin anat
alma dahlit nišimta kd `utria minak luin sa
. mihdia kma hadina mihdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma d tigar mištria
iuma d mištria tigra ulatra d hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lmaTra d šamiš mTit
qaruiia mqarina maTra d šamiš man nadian agrak u'ubadak uzidqak uTabutak maTra
d šamiš 'iadiak mihdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma d tigar mištria
iuma d mištria tigra ulatra d hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lmaTra d sira mTit
qaruiia mqarina maTra d sira man nadian agrak u`ubadak uzidqak uTabutak maTra
d sira nidiak mihdia kma hadina mihdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma
d tigar mištria iuma d mištria tigra ulatra d hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma
lmaTra d nura mTit qaruiia mqarina maTra d nura man nadian agrak u`ubadak
uzidqak uTabutak maTra d nura nadiak mihdia kma hadina mihdia kma hadia lbab
mihdia kma hadina iuma d tigar mištria iuma d mištria tigra ulatra d hiia
mizlai parana uazilna alma lmaTra d šuba mTit qaruiia mqarina maTra d šuba man
naudian agrak u`ubadak uzidqak uTabutak maTra d šuba nadiak mihdia kma hadina
umihdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma d tigar mištria iuma d mištria
tigra ulatra d hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lmaTra d ruha mTit qaruiia mqarina
maTra d ruha man nadian agrak u`ubadak uzidqak uTabutak maTra d ruha nadiak mihdia
kma hadina mihdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma d tigar mištria iuma
d mištria tigra ulatra d hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lhapiqia mia mTit
maTuiai hapiqia mia hu Surik ziua alanpai npaq ligTan bapras iaminh hapiqia
mia abran abran hapiqia mia aitun albšun ziua uaitun nhura kasiun hiia smak
lhiia uhiia aška dilun hiia dilun aška uaškat nišmat d plan
d haza
masiqta d msakia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa br Tabia
hauian `uhra d `tba umasiqta d abuk sliqba latar nhur sa
. sibra lTab atalia d amria mipaq napqit tum atna atalh sibra d amria mizal
azlit šadar lahai 'mar d nitun buta nibdun `lai ahai kma Tabia d hinun mn
napšaihun atun ahai bhaiaikun Tabia d nišmat kulaikun hin mindam d snia hazitun
latibiSrun umn Tunaikun hin tum d snia hazitun latibiSrun umiTpa Tpinun mn d qbal
d Tin saliq d riqan haka mitagzar Tina usaliqna ana u`ubadai uagrai azlia
aqamai umistamikna lTabutai nišmat alma la'hruplik 'l d šabqit baita lmirpas
qaiim utigar 'siria mištrin baita d šibiahia 'ubadia 'daihun baTlia parana
uazilna alma lšibiahia mTit lbaba d šibiahia qaimia umdandmia alma d tidandmun šuba
ana lahuit mn dilkun parana uazilna alma lbit hiia mTit maTiai bit hiia hiia
alanpai napqia anpaq albšun ziua uatun nhura kasiun hišbun bhušbanun uaqmun Tabia
binatun nhura pta pihta u'uSar qaiim lhiia mšabilun aškit Taba qrub luath umaškit
biša minh rhuq binia šragia d nhura nidalun šragak uninihrun 'triStun
u'tqaiamtun bminilat šrara d atalkun minilat šrara ata lTabia minilta
kšiTa lmhaimnia latra d kulh hiia rr'ia umzamna nišmatkun uhiia zakin
sa mizal azlia Tabia utigar bhiria mištria mizal azlia

Tabia Sauta d Tabia man nasiblh sa .. napaqa d tarmida atnu
bqabra haizak qrun hazin `niana d adam mn pagra anpaq alma l`niana lbaba d bit
`bdunia .. sa . kd ‘thašab hšuka adam mn pagrh anpaq adam
anpaq mn pagrh nišimta bziua unhura kisiat nišimta kisiat bziua unhura uliba
d ruha haškat mimra amra ruha d nišma lbit hiia sliq ‘l d šma balma biša kulh
hšuka mdalil ‘tib kulh hšuka ‘tib bdalil ruha riša sitrat uamra uai ‘lai
d la`dit lginzaihun d ana bit `bidlh u`iasqia ltasniqa d arqa `iasqia u`katria `l
tiria hšuk btiria d hšuk ‘katria ubmaTarta ‘iabTia kul šurubth minan dilan
‘iaslia lhšuka haiaba qala lbit hiia rbia azal kd haza šuma rbia paruanqa
d nhura šadrun rbia amrilh lhibil ziua ‘utra Taba ubasima šuma anat parqh ladam mn
hšuka uasqh lka ziua aitit mn atrai umn duktai `tit mn alma d bišia apiqth ladam
umn kul dmu saina adita nhura d bišia haškit utabirtinun lmaTaratun kulhin
atia ruha d quša umaškalh lpagra d adam kd nišimta bgauh litbh malia uhabTa ruha
lstirata d mina qaria uamralin `l liliata u`stirata ataian ninanbuiia unibkia
u`stirata niqra d haza abad gabra nukraia d `l ginzaihun la`dit adith ladam u`l
kul mindam d snia qudam škinta d ptahil mTit mTit škinta d ptahil ptahil mn kursih
qam ptahil qam mn kursih usigudta mn hiia baiia sigudta baiia mn hiia ukušTa mn
nišma pšaT kušTa pšaT mn nišma uamarlh šlamlak kilak nišma mn alma d bišia
npaqt uamarlh tib tib `utra tmima mindam btibil la`da ptahil lkursih `tib qudam
škinth d abatur mTit abatur qam mn kursih usigudta mn hiia baiia sigudta baiia
mn hiia ukušTa mn nišma pšaT kušTa pšaT mn nišma uliušamin adith iušamin d hizih
lnišma iušamin mn kursih qam iušamin qam mn kursiih usigudta mn hiia baiia
sigudta baiia mn hiia ukušTa mn nišma pšaT kušTa pšaT mn nišma anuš ‘utra d hizih
lnišma sigudta mn hiia baiia sigudta baiia mn hiia ukušTa mn nišma pšaT kušTa
pšaT mn nišma aditia lbnia šlama bnia šlama d hiziuia lnišma sigudta mn hiia
baiia sigudta baiia mn hiia ukušTa mn nišma pšaT kušTa pšaT mn nišma hiia d hiziun
rihmun u`utria d nhura `zdarambia hiia bbrikta birkun umanda d hiia Tabutai
lgaT uamarlia brikit anat nišma ubrik gabra d pirqak uasqak uamarlh anat auilth
lnišma uanat atith uanat huitlh naSba ziua bdukth triSlia `uSTla d napših albših
albših `uSTla d napših ulkursia d traSlia `tib kd `tib lkursia d traSlia uhaizak
bziua unhura shaq kd shaq bziua unhura uhaizak npaS mn kursih qam npaS qam mn
kursih usigudta mn hiia baiia sigudta baiia mn hiia ulhiia rbia mšabilun mšabalh
lmanda d hiia d parqia ulhaka asqh mšaba uamar nišma bhaza masiqta d ana sliqiba
nisquba anašia naSuraiia kšiTia umhaimnia ušapiria u‘nšia šalmaniata kd
napqia mn pagraihun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka
sa `uSTlai uklilai hzaith u‘zdarzat nišmat latar nhur
sa
. kilai šlim unapiqna timar ruha lnišimta ‘u napqit alma haisit ‘u haisit
alma napqit `puq sahria qaimia u‘tkamar minianai šlim ka hinun d hiia rihmit ka
hinun d hiia rihmun ka hu bhir zidqa d lšumh zidqa iahbat ka hu manda d hiia d lšumh
asgun liardna ‘lia azlit maria kušTa d sahria hdirilh lpagrai sahria lpagrai
hdirilh qaimia šuba lbiš mithašbia mithašbia ‘lai šuba razia kabšia amria kd
napqit mn binan niabTia bit maksia `u niqria man ninia uman nihuilh parqa man
pirqa nihuilh kd mitiabaT bit maksia `l atar hua guha bgauh d hazin alma `lai
štla ‘utra gabra d mitiatar balma ‘lai ‘štla ‘utra sagia gabra d hauia bahid `da
bahid ‘da usimaka hauia lgubria mqaimia šurubta tibra lmaTaratun upraT
barqun pruTta pruTta barqun praTbh ušuba dhun mn ‘uhra aitia albušun ziua urabut
apqun mn alma šuba usahraiun uhumraiun hinun bmalia iatbia kulhun iatbia
bmalia lgabra d mn tibil šuar lgabra d šuar mn tibil upraTba barun pruTta pruTta
barqaihun praTba urabut apquia mn alma kd haizin hzun šuba napšaihun lgaT
bhaiabia hdar l‘uhraihun ‘tib bhiria u‘utria btušbihtaihun sliq hiziuia
latar nhur mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa
nišimta hzat ziua qaima bkana urauza sa

. nišimta bpiria d hiia paria umitparia paria umitparia uqam ‘utria ušailuia kd huat bgu tibil bgauh d baita napla kd huit binia šuba bnh d daura baTla mahu abadlak šuba kd binataihun huit amarlun abda qurun d lamara `tlh ukul ium ldina apqun `lai aspia dina u`lai siptun praT abda qrun d lamara `tlh ulamarta d kul man d nidirh mihih ukul man d aškh šargizih ukul man d miTiih ašiTh nahra qrun d lamara d mdalai `l pumh skir umdalai skir lpumh Sauin umaitin šitlh laSauitun br šibia qrun bmata d lahualh aba la aba hualh ulahualh munqa akSat ukbaralia bkma d msakialh lnaSbai lnaSbai msakianalh gabra d qalh ašman d nitia unišimTan mn bišia ulanišimTan mn haTia ulašimTan mn gziraiia d šbiqlan gušria d `l rugza btibil mšalTia lašimTan mn maTaraiia ulašimTan mn daiania d dina d kadba dainia amrit l`mat `puq minh hurba bSadia amria l`mat `puq minh u`hizia latar nhur `l atar kd qaiimna hzaith ladiauria hzaith l`utra niha gabra d qala ašman Srak ušuman bqalh uasmikh llibh lsamkia kd hzaith lab `utra gabra d hauilia bahid `da kd hzaith lab `utra `tiahbat lalmia malil uamarlun lbnia d daura baTla abda ana d had mara d laiit br haria d akuat ldilia damia `utra `tlia aba `utra `tlia gabra munqa u`tlia aba daiana d dainlia dina mn ridpai ‘tlia maria šitlia d mašqia mia lšitlh qaimia šibiahia dandumia mdandmia uamria bhailh d man qaiim hazin smiklh `uSrh man hu marh uman hu naSbh umahu daiana d daiinlh dina mn radph malalit d ‘marlun lšuba d agzar lnapšaihun abda ana d nukraia gabra d hauia bahid `da hauilun lgubria d mqaimia šurubth mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa kd huit binataikun lansabtun ldilkun hašta
mizal baiina mahu dilia mn dilkun sa

. qal nišimta d hiia šamana mn pagra d lupata bakia uamar arTil lalma atalh uriqin minh apqun uriqin apqun minh kd Sipra d minh lalua qala d nišimta šamana d mhaulila ubakia mn dukta uamra mahu `bidlak pagrai bgauh d hazin alma ‘u lbuša d ziua unhura huit pagrai lbaštak minai lbit hiia sliqt ‘u himiana d ziua unhura huit d `sirit bhalSai minai lbit hiia sliqt `u ksuia d ziua unhura huit minai lbit hiia sliqt `u klila d ziua unhura huit triSit brišai minai lbit hiia sliqt ‘u gauaza d ziua unhura huit d lgiTnak b`dai minai lbit hiia sliqt `u sandlia d ziua unhura huit d matnit bligrai minai lbit hiia sliqt amrat nišimta upagra mina lalua qal šliha d hiia šamana d lnišimta d hiia mqarila atai atai manharanita d anharth lbaita haška atai atai mbasmanita d basimth lpagra zapra atai atai pt haria bdur bišia amta ‘qruk mihidra nišimta usakialh lpagra uhikla d minh apqu amralh lpagra lahuit pagra d mn kita d Tina `tigbilt mn kita `tigbilt d Tina ušuba d ridpun bhaiabia qam šuba d ridpuk qam bhaiabia bgauh d hazin alma mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa lšbila qaima nišimta
ualanpia d kšiTia napqia amralun ‘tun ‘kul u‘štia Tabia uana ‘huia aluataikun sa

. ianuq šilman kilai ianuq mapiqtai huat ianuq šilman kilai minh d hazin alma ‘puq sahria qaimia u‘tkamar minianai šlim kma saklia daria ukma tmimia almia kma saklia daria `lai bmalia iatbia `lai iatbia bmalia u`lai gibia aklia `lai aklia gibia u‘lai šakbia lburia ‘lai lburia šakbia u‘lai simtun sadqia ‘lai sadqia simtun u‘lai dimun ašdia ‘lai ašdia dimun ‘lai manzaiun šamTia kul man d lbušia ‘lai niSria nihuilh muma b`uSTlia kul d dima `lai nišud iamamia uzabia qudamh kul d manzia ‘lia nišmuT nisrunh bTura haška ana šlim kilai umTa zibnai ulatra d hiia mizlai mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa kd darit balbuš pagria minai la‘tinsab hašta d apqun minh
ruhSana lhiia hua sa

. lramat qaiamna uainai ltibil sakia maskina hazina nišimta d bakia uala umitašida bmanzia šuqia kanšia bmanzia kanšia šuqia ubTupra apra hapra bTupra hapra apra ubrima kita taria brima taria kita ub`da kuptia taria taria kapta b`da kapta kuptia uqaima ubuna bania banta usasqalta usilqit uiatbit lparqsa šlath lkitun uardia umidamarbh bšupra amralh uailak špur šapir d aklalak rima

ḏ šaiul uailak kitun uardia ḏ msadqilak baiar Sipria iatba unaTra nišimta ḏ `Tak luata atia `Tak atia luata uazlana minaihun biluatẖ daliat uhazia nišimta luita ḏ bišia atia azil hšuka mn quramaihun uatia habara mn abatraihun daiuia maluilun uliliata hauia paruanqun parsa upalgu ḏ parsa atia qala ḏ bkitun parsa upalgu ḏ parsia atia riha ḏ srutun maTun luat nišimta malalat ḏ timarlun zakaita ḏ hiia nišimta mahu ‘ubadaikun bišia ḏ hazin zauadaikun amrilẖ rišan al barqa bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma uainan rmaz rimza bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma `udnan lbabia Satat bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma `dan gTal giTla bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma liban qam bplugta bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma pagran gar gaura bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma burkan sgid lšuba bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma ligran asgia bhipia bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma malalat ḏ timarlun zakaita ḏ hiia nišimta ‘u hazin `ubadaikun bišia šapir damia zuadaikun ‘zil ‘zil bišia latiana minaikun biluataikun iatbia unaTra nišimta ‘Tak luaita atia ‘Tak atia ‘luita uazilna minaihun biluaitun daliat hazia nišimta luita ḏ Tabia ḏ atia azil ziua mn qudamaihun uatia nhura mn abatraihun `utria ḏ hiia malalun umlakia ḏ ziua paruanqun parsa upalgu ḏ parsa atia riha ḏ busmanun malalat ḏ timarlun zakaita ḏ hiia nišimta ‘u hinialkun ahai Tabia dubrun minaikun biluataikun Sauta lTabia `huia `huia Sauta luita lmhaimnia amrila mahu ‘ubadak nišimta ḏ nidibrik minan biluatan b‘uhra amralun ab rma lahma u‘m zidqa iahbat ahai draš drašia uahuatai kušTa pašTia amrila abuk rma lahma lnapšiẖ u‘mak iahbat zidqa lnišmta ahik ḏ draš drašia bdirkia ḏ kušTa nisqun ahuatik ḏ kušTa pašTin manda ḏ hiia nihuilun bahid `da anat mahu `ubadik ḏ abadt lnapšik ḏ nidibrik minan biluatan amralkun ana `marlkun ahai ana `marlkun ahai ana `marlkun ḵḏ ḏ huit ahai bSubianun uahuatai bSubianẖ ḏ napšaihun ahai bSubianun kalta ḏ bišia šauiun šauian kalta ḏ bišia ḏ agra uzidqa laiahbia laiahbia agra uzidqa ubhšuka mitpakria ana ḏ rihmit hiia umanda ḏ hiia šralẖ l‘uSrai mipaq šapta br maš um‘ial habšaba lTab zidqa bkanpai nisbit b`dai nisbit Tulamata zidqa bkanpai nisbit uasgit lbaba ḏ maškina zidqa rmit bzidqia uTulamta lsibla aškit iatima sabit ukanpa ḏ rmalta mlit aškatẖ laTalana samilẖ bSurẖ ‘uSTla aškit br šibia pariqtẖ ulmata šadirtẖ pariqtẖ ušadirtẖ lmata uzauidtẖ zuadia b‘hra aitun ziua albšuia uaitun nhura kasiun asarlẖ taga rba ḏ ziua utraSlẖ klila rauza asarlẖ himiana ḏ kulẖ ziua mn riš briš biamamia rmulẖ mabra ubzabia mSarulẖ miSra ligTu bpras iaminẖ uhapiqia mia abru hiia smak lhiia uhiia dilun aška uhiia aška dilun uaškit nišmat ḏ plan

ḏ haza masiqta ḏ msakia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra
ḏ asgia lka sa l‘uhra qaima nišimta umsakialẖ lnaSba
lak msakianalak ainai marẖ ḏ kulẖ Tabta sa

. binia kasia lziua ubinia nhura l`utria binia kasia lziua ḏ qaimia lnišma umšailia amrilẖ amar amar nišma ḏ banak man bnak uman banak uman hua gabra naSbak had ban uhad banan uhad hua gabra niSbai had mn bnia šlama mnata bTabuta lgaT kanan bkanan ziua unsib ladam ašlaman adam btmimutẖ bit ḏ la`da ubit ḏ lapraš adam btmimutẖ `nsib b`uSTun pagria rman nsib rman b`uSTun pagria ḏ gidia umraria u‘lqia iatib nišma unaTar b‘uSTun pagria ḏ pqadlia iatib unaTarlẖ alma ḏ kilẖ uminianẖ šlim ḵḏ šlim kilẖ uminianẖ asgia šaruia ‘lẖ asgia `lẖ šaruia širia udibrẖ man ḏ asrẖ širiiẖ lnišma azil aqamia ud‘srẖ azil mn abatrẖ rhiT nišma ḏ širia rhiT ḏ `srẖ lmiTiẖ nišma hu ušaruia latra ḏ hiia mizlẖ uhiia zakin sa limalia ḏ atit udaribẖ b`uSTuna nkila baTla limalia ḏ atit udaribẖ
ḏ lasaliq minai latar nhur sa

. mipaq napiq nišma ḏ kilẖ šlim uzibna mTa šlim kilẖ umTa zibnẖ uainẖ bšaruia mla ainẖ mla bšaruia ulibẖ bkita ‘timlia libia ‘timlia bkita ušaruia ḏ šuda lanasib šuda ulamhalip pagra bnišimta šaruia lnišma udibrẖ qudam daiana aqmuia daiana mšaiilẖ lhaTaiiẖ ulskilatẖ umahu `ubadia ḏ abad nišma balma ḏ zipa ḏ `huitbẖ sahdai anat daiania ḏ `bidlẖ bišuta lnapšai lagirlia gaura ubSubianẖ ḏ bišia la‘bidlẖ lagaTilia giTla uzma ḏ br adam lamzalalia rišai lal barqa u‘dai

gnubta lagnab la‘bidlia haršia ulamSirlia bpagra nišimta lamsarlia abda biad mara ulamta biad marta uap bsahduta d zipa ukarba lamsahadlia la`piklia miSria ulamšanailia kudkia ainai larmaz rimza upumai šiqra lanpaq lakimSan kaSumia ukaldaiia d zipa lakaldian la`kilia trin zidqia ulasgidlia lmarai trin ziqa laniia iahbit ulašiqa huitilh paruanqa aškit kapna sabit ukapna d armalta mlit aškaith larTilana samilh bSaurh ‘uSTula aškaith lbar šibia upariqth lmata šadirth pariqth ušadirth lmata uzauidth zuadia d `uhra mn lkSira larsa silqit mn kalaia lbit qubria azlit ‘u halin ‘ubadak nišma nitun sahdak unisihdun lnišma qudam daiana pra sahdh udauruia iardna utrin kiph lnišma hulh sahda maSbuta d `STba upihta ukušTa umambuga lnišma hulh sahdia agrh uzidqh umaSbuth lnišma hulh bsahdia ligTuia bpras iaminh lnišma uasiq tirSuia bit tušlima dukta d larba šamših ušragia d nhura lahaškia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa uqaš uSarlia ganpia ušuar banana d ziua `tib
sa

. ‘tparaq šlim kilai ‘tparaq minianai šlim ‘tparaq šlim kilai kd šahlalh lpagra nišimta ‘uSTuna lgaT puma ‘ndruna šmima lgaT šuba hinun šibiahia hdirlh lpagrai iatbia uamrilh puq napqit nišma nailunak qudam maksia puq sahria qaimia ‘tkamar minianai šlim lia hu rihTa d rihTit lia hu šlama d abad `dai lia hu hinun sandlia ligrai d balitinun mn rahmai `lia azlit maria d kušTa d sahria lpagrai hidruia sahria hidruia lpagrai umitgaunilia brišai ainai lmrum šiqlit unišmata lbit hiia skat ainai lmrum šiqlit uhzaith lgabra naSbai naSban naSban qaria unišman niSban minh latišibqan niSban mn abinia šuba udalian ‘lauia maksia uasiq tirSan bit tušlima mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa hadia mana hadia bhaduta d atia hibil ziua mn bit hiia `lh
sa

. qala qra mn mruma mn malkuta `laita qala qra mn mruma d amar ‘siria ništrun amar ništrun ‘siria tarualun laiqia d aiiqlun masgina uatina alma lbit zainaihun mTit maTuiai lbit zainaihun rbaihun d `siria alanpai npaq malalit d `marlh lrbaihun d `siria kulhun mahu hauia maklaihun d ‘siria umahu hauia mišitiaihun d `siria maklaihun d ‘siria gidia umraria u‘lqia mištaiaihun d `siria mia siauia uzuhmita malalit d `marlh lrbaihun d `siria kulhun sab sikia uqlidia baba d bit zaina pta baba pta bit zaina u`siria d ‘siria šaria šaria ‘suria d `siria ularualun laiqia d aiqilun amarlia kma `iapiqlak mn alpa ukma `iapiqlak mn ruban mipta ptalia baba dalia lgiTa rušuma gaiaria uganabia bahar umapiq lbaba d šiul harašia uharašata bahar umapiq lbaba d šiul karaSia uramazia bahar umapiq lbaba d šiul halin d apkia miSria halin d mšania kudkia bahar umapiq lbaba d šiul adita lbit zaina gabra kšiTa laškit malalit d `marlh lrbaihun d ‘siria kulhun mSar bišia l‘ubadaihun ‘zdaharbun bnišmata alma d rbia bdina iatbia nitun bišia ništailun daršia hadia ‘siria d ‘sura minaihun ‘štria bakin ualin ‘siria d `sura minaihun ‘štbiq uamria šmilan ‘lak br Tabia d `l Tura gzira lamagzirit bnai Tura gzira lika ulika d marh agzar `lh hinila anatun agzar ‘lauaikun anašatkun d aitinun bzipa d hazin alma d laqrulkun masqata udukrania ladkarunkun ulpatura d zidqa umasiqta la`rmun uhiia zakin sa ia mana niha ia mana sdira umsadra ia mana niha nitun minak adiauria
sa

. lbab `siria hilpit ziuai lbit zainaihun dna ziuai dna lbit zainaihun hinun brihai basmia hinun basmia brihai u‘šiul bziuai minihra ‘tapraš nišmata bakia alia umitašida lbab ‘siria qarinalh baba lnišimta pta uamar kma ‘iapiqlak mn alpa ukma ‘iakrilak mn ruban mipta ptalia baba dalia lgiTa rušuma mipta ptalia baba d iahib agra lšušlatin lhama ramia laniia ušaruata d mpalgia lmradpia lpaturaiun mna agra d šušlatin ‘tapraš nišmata mn atra d hšuk latar nhur uhiia zakin sa

. nišma d ‘tlia btibil mkalal ušakib balma mkalil balma ušakib ‘utra l‘sadh l`qum `utra l`qum l`sadẖ umn šintẖ nirandidia uamarlẖ qumlak qumlak nišma qumlak lbit hiia skia qumlak skia lbit hiia uazbar anpak latar nhur huzia lalma kulẖ mindam lau mindam hu mindam hu ḏ lau mindam uruhSana litbẖ huziẖ liama rba ḏ lika bgauẖ mabra huziẖ lhiTpun zaba ḏ lamSir bgauẖ miSra huziẖ lmaTria ḏ mardia ḏ qaimia `lẖ huziẖ liaqdania ḏ nura ḏ saliq `lukin maTia qr`ia huziẖ lmahunia taria ḏ krat ruha b`uhra huziẖ lTura rama ḏ lamkakuba `uhra huziẖ lšura ḏ šur parzla ḏ ḵḏ klila hdirlẖ lalma ḵḏ klila lalma hdirlẖ ulapriTbẖ pruTta ‘u ‘marlak nišma tišiman hinila latišania mimrai ‘u hazin iama rba rmilak bgauẖ mabra hazin hiTpun zaba mSurulak bgauẖ miSra `iadiak maTarta ḏ mardia qaiimia `lẖ `iadiak iaqdania ḏ nura ḏ saliq `lukin maTia qr`ia `iadiak mahunia tauria ḏ krat ruha b`uhra hazin Tura rama `muklak bgauẖ ‘uhra hazin šura ḏ šur parzla ‘pr‘Tlak bgauẖ `iasbak bkulẖ hailai u`mihtak bkulẖ qumtai `iasbak bkulẖ hailai u`iasqak manai latar nhur uhiia zakin sa mitiaiun ḏ bhiria ḏ mn arqa ḏ tibil atin bgupnai mitkarkia atia umitkarkia bgu gupnai usalqia hazilẖ latar nhur sa

. hazin nišma ḏ manu hazin bnina umbanana hazin mbanana ubnina hazin kšiTa umhaimna hazin mhaimna ukšiTa hazin zriza umzarza lahaiqia ulazahua uhauqa uziuihta litbẖ lamn maksia dahla ulamn `pikia mlakia klil aiar traSlẖ brišia unpaq minẖ mn alma paria uazil nišma alma lbit maksia mTa rab maksia ḏ hiziuia lnišma šaiulia mšaililẖ bhailẖ ḏ manu npaqt nišma ušumẖ ḏ manu madkar `lak ana bhailaihun ḏ hiia nipqit ušuma ḏ manda ḏ hiia madkar ‘lai ‘damiak nišma bmahu `damiak bgiuẖ ḏ hazin alma ‘damiak bšamiš ḏ `mama u`damiak bsira ḏ lilia `damiak baiar stania ḵḏ mitiaharbẖ balma `damiak bgilia mia ḵḏ aiar stana našim ‘lauaihun nihrat nišimta mn šamiš ḏ `umama utiqnat mn sira ḏ lilia `tgamrat mn aiar stana mitiaharbẖ balma bismat nišimta mn gilia mia ḵḏ stana našim ‘lauaihun rab maksia kabšia lrišiẖ unišma ‘lauia sliq ‘zil nišma saq ‘zil pra umaTia mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa

mihdia kma hadina mahdia kma hadia lbab mihdia kma hadina iuma ḏ tigar mištria iuma ḏ mištria tigra ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai sa .. ḵḏ maTitun hazin `niana atun lnapaqa ḏ mandaia bqabra uqrun ldinba ḏ uhtum lqabra bsikina ḏ dula .. sa

. `ngirta mhatamta ḏ napqa minẖ mn alma ‘ngarta bkušTa kdiba uhtima b‘sqat rurbia kidbu šalmania uzarzu gubria mhaimnia tiliuia bSauar nišma ulbaba ḏ hiia šadru mna hzatẖ daium lnišma ḏ `ngirta dria mna hzatẖ daium ḵḏ knipila šuba bna uamra man kidba l`ngirta ḏ anin braza la‘danin ‘ngirta bkušTa kdiba uhtima b‘sqat rurbia kidbuia zadiqia šalmania uzarzuia gubria mhaimnia tiliuia bSauar nišma ulbaba ḏ hiia šadruia nišma bhakimutẖ pras ziua uniTrẖ uaTip banhurẖ ukalala šuba kbaš rišaihun unišma ‘lauaihun sliq klil aiar traSlẖ brišiẖ uanpaq minẖ mn alma paria uazil nišma alma lhapiqia mia mTa maTuia hapiqia mia hu Surik ziua rba ḏ hiia alanpẖ npaq ligTẖ bpras iaminẖ uhapiqia mia abrẖ tirSuia bškintẖ dukta ḏ ‘utria iatbia hiia smak lhiia hiia aška dilun hiia dilun aška ubr hiia dilẖ dbar uhiia zakin sa ‘rutai utušbihtai mabraiai mabar

hilpa abarlia anana ḏ nhura tisaq bzaku latar nhur sa

. mn pagrai napiqna zibnai mTa ukilai šlim šlim kilai umTa zibnai umapiqta ḏ pagria qirbat mšamar unapiq hilpa u‘uSTuna lgaT puma u‘ndruna šmimia nsib `uSTuna ḏ pagria zha masTusia rakšia lbar mn bišia man amarlẖ zariz aqim mlakia b‘uhra ‘puq napqit nišma uqudam daiania nailunak ‘ubadak umabadak qamẖ ḏ daiana nailunak qum `zil minẖ mn alma mlik rbia ḏ `lak ata `uhra ḏ azilnaba napša usaka litlẖ mambarta ḏ abarnaba sukana bgauẖ larba larbaba šamšia ušragia ḏ nhura lahaškia gubria ḏ `ka bgauẖ matnia klilia rauzia had ziua lbišia uhad nhura mkasin pras lkulhun qumat hdadia qaimia umša hdadia nasbẖ ḵḏ mamlilia Tabia had hauia mamlalun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa nišma qum `zil minẖ mn mlik rbia ḏ `lak ata sa

. ‘tparqit šilmai kilai rbia šadar ‘lai lšitlai amarnalun uasbirtinun lrurubia lšitlai amarnalun upaqidtinun lrurbia šitlai minaikun napiqna anatun šitlai mahu tibdun bTulalun d̲ gupnai iatbit ziuai lgupnai dna ziuai dna lgupnai malil gupnai mn duktaihun daršia uamria minan napqit gabra lan dilan mahu d̲ mpaqdatlan amarlan lšumak šuta haita d̲ napša usaka litla amarlan lmalalia kasiia ulmana nSiba k̲d̲ napqit amarlan mahu paqdun rbak k̲d̲ napqit minh̲ mn alma amarilak lmalalia kasiia ulmania nSiba k̲d̲ napiq mn ka šuba hambaga hun alma lbit ptahil šuba lhambaguta d̲ mana qam k̲d̲ npaq mn bit ptahil abatur qablh̲ mn ziuia albšia umn nhurh̲ d̲ saka litlh̲ mn ziuh̲ d̲ npiš hauqa ltiniana miTih̲ tiniana qam mn kursiia umšabalun lhiia rurbia mšabitun anatun hiia ururbia d̲ hazin adiaura šadartulh̲ šitlai kbaš rišaihun uhaulil lduktaihun bkun uamria minan napqit gabra lduktak l`mat nihizia lduktak ksiia minh̲ umn alma amarlun `u hua d̲ šibqun rbia rbit rabit luataikun balma hašta d̲ ‘biun rbia tušlimia kasiia auzipun ‘lauaihun `tauzipit lmania kasiia uziua d̲ iaqid bgupnia amrilh̲ umpaqdilh̲ rbia d̲ bTabut šadar `la amarlh̲ ia gabra šitlak lman šbaqtinun mn gabra d̲ `ka d̲ masbarlun amarlh̲ hailak mnaTarlun u`rutak hauialun bahid `da uhiia zak`in sa

. lbab `siria hilpit qala d̲ br ginaiia šimit qala šimit d̲ br ginaiia d̲ bakia umabkia `lania ginta lmahu bakit br ginaiia umabkit ‘lania gintak mahu mhara šna b`dak k̲d̲ mia brahaTak ‘stakariun ana lmhara šna b‘dai ula mia brahaTai ‘stakariun ‘la ‘tmal ‘la paina arza mn gintai ‘qar ‘qir arza mn gintai uašha d̲ qpil mn bunka ana lSauth̲ bakina ulšitlia d̲ luath̲ šbaq arza d̲ `qir mn bintak gabra d̲ šitlh̲ aqrh̲ ašiha d̲ qpil mn bunkh̲ haka luataian triS šitlia Tabia d̲ šbaqt luatak nitgadlun unisqun lriš hiia zakin sa mana ana

d̲ rba mana br rurbia mana ana rba bgu iama darit darit bgu iama alma d̲ ganpia Sarlh̲ alma d̲ Sarlh̲ ganpia ualma d̲ mapraiai huit alma d̲ huit mapraiai uganpai šašqlit latar nhur sa

. lbaba d̲ bit zaina ziua d̲ habšaba hlip ziua hlip d̲ habšaba ulbab ‘siria nhura ‘timlia nišmata d̲ hiziuia lziuh̲ unhurh̲ d̲ manda d̲ hiia šaila hadua bšušlatan malil d̲ nimarlun rab `siria d̲ dar binataihun mahu biuma iumai d̲ šiltan hadua bšušlatkun malil d̲ nimarlh̲ lrab `siria d̲ dar binataihun iumai mn kulhun iumia ziua d̲ habšaba hlip hlip ziua d̲ habšaba u‘l bab ‘siria nhura ‘timlia anin d̲ hzainh̲ ziuh̲ ulnhurh̲ d̲ manda d̲ hiia šalnin hadua bšušlatiun malil d̲ nimarlh̲ lrab `siria d̲ dar binataihun ia rab ‘siria kulhun ia rab ‘siria akar nišmatak ahbalan akar ahbalan nišmatak d̲ šiha ušauia latar nhur kulman d̲ ršim brušuma d̲ hiia uSbiia barba iardnia malil d̲ nimarlh̲ rab `siria d̲ dar binataihun Taba napša hauia nišmatak d̲ saka uminiana litlun drušlin b‘uSrak niha umalil bqalak šania bqalak šania malil ubašqar nišmatak uadbar ubašqar uadbar nišmatak d̲ šiha ušauia latar nhur kulman d̲ ršim brušuma d̲ hiia uSbiia barba iardnia diršit b‘uSrai niha umalalit bqalai šanai bqalai šanai malalit ubašqirit nišmatai udibrit ubašqirit nišmata d̲ šiha ušauia latar nhur kulman d̲ ršim brušuma d̲ hiia Sbiia barba iardnia malalit d̲ nimarlh̲ rab `siria d̲ dar binataihun Taba anat bašqart uadbart nišmatak man d̲ iahab ruaha d̲ šušlatin malalit d̲ `marlh̲ lrbaihun d̲ `siria kulhun alma d̲ huba halin nišmata d̲ hatam niaha abdia hatam abdia niaha ulhama laniia iahbia lpaturia ramin ruaha d̲ šušlatin mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa alanpai dmut napiqna udmuta alanpai napqa mithanana umitkarakbia akuat d̲ mn šibia atit sa

. l‘mat nišlum kilai l‘mat tigar lmištria l‘mat ‘šihlia lilbuša d̲ pagria ulatra d̲ hiia mizlai atra d̲ bit Tabia ualma hazin d̲ bit hatam hu `puq lbit ab `zal lamitkarakbia lbit hatam akSat ukratalia d̲ darit bgauh̲ d̲ hazin alma hiia anun mn piria uziua anat mn mrahqia mn atra d̲ napših̲ urahiq hzaith̲ ubašqirth̲ lab mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. lmahu damin Tabia k̲d̲ napqia mn pagraihun damia lgiria šmimia d̲ šap napquia lhazin alma damin bnia d̲ bišia k̲d̲ napqia mn pagraihun damin lzamburia k̲d̲ napqia mn qinaihun akil ušalmuia ldupšaihun uazal smak lTura d glala mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa `saq lrbia `mar d kul ium ukul iuma qala uhaila šadarlia qala uhaila d mšadritulia maiarlia ulamitakšalna sa

. hazin nišma d manu d hazin bnina umbanana hazin mbanana ubnina hazin zriza umzarza hazin mzarza uzriza hazin kšiTa umhaimna iatib banan ziua umasmiklh mlakia ʻutria azlin aqamia kušTa makik ʻuhra ada nišma lbit zaina ušarhib šibqia lbit qirsh masgia uazil nišma alma lbit maksia mTa maksia labdh qaria lgubria d pahlia šiul sab kulh zaina upuq lpalga d `uhra hzu hazin nišma d manu d hazin bnina umbanana hazin mbanana ubnina hazin zriza umzarza hazin mzarza uzriza hazin kšiTa umhaimna iatib banana d ziua masmiklh mlakia `utria azlin aqamh kušTa makin `uhrh adith lbit zaina šarhiz šibqia lbit qirsa lau nisbuia lkulh zaina unpaq lpalga d ʻuhra nišma sliq lbit hiia šuba ʻtkamar bhit mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. malil bhiia sidrun bsadrutun ridpun dkiria bTabu hiia dkiria bTabu rurbia dkiria bTabu hiia d šiniuia llbušai mn almia kitun hšuka ašlun ʻuSTula d ziua albušun ʻuSTla d šanai usaka litlh qumat mtahiba `huit mlaiia d alma `brai rmibh `zlit rqiha mTit ainai ptahibh ainai banhura `timlia masginabh balbuš balbuša d hiia albšun masginabh balbuš hiia alma lbit šuba mTit maTuiia bit šuba qaimia dandumia mdandmia mahu mdandimitun šuba d ana lahuit mn dilkun masginabh balbuš alma lbit abatur mTit kušTa ʻlak bhir zidqa ukušTa ʻhablh mn dilkun masginabh balbuš balbuša d hiia albšun masginabh balbuš alma d bnia šlama mTit kušTa ʻlak bhir zidqa ukušTa ʻhablh mn dilkun masginabh balbuš balbuša d hiia albšun masginabh balbuš alma lhapiqia mia mTit maTuiai hapiqia mia hu Surik ziua alanph npaq ligTan bapras iaminia hapiqia mia abran kušTa ʻlak bhir zidqa kušTa `hablia mn dilkun masginabh balbuš balbuša d hiia albšun masginabh balbuš alma lbit hiia mTit maTuiai bit hiia Tabia alanpai napqia anpaq albšun ziua uaitun nhura kasiun kušTa ʻlak bhir zidqa kušTa d `hablia mn dilkun Tabia minun mn dilhun ubuta d rbia baiin ʻlauaihun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa lrbia bismat mindam d amarilun šuma kul ium ukul iuma qala uhaila šadarlia qala uhaila d mšadritulia maiarlia ulamitakšilna sa

. šlim kilai unapiqna kd šahlalh lpagra nišimta ʻuSTuna lgaT puma uʻndruna šmimia nsib šuba hidruia lpagra uiatbia puq napqit nišma nailunak qudam maksia ʻpuq sahria qaimia ʻtkamar minianai šlim ka hinun d hiia rihmit ka hinun d hiia rihmun ka hu bhir zidqa d lšumia zidqa iahbit ka hu manda d hiia d lšumh asgun liardna ka hu iardna d mia hiia d minh zakuta nisbit minh nisbit zakuta uqablit dakia rušuma ka hu rihTa d rihTit ka hu šlim d `dai abad ka hinun sinia ligrai d balitinun mn rahmai `lia azlit maria kušTa d sahria hdirilh lpagrai sahria lpagrai hdirilh mitgaunilh ainai brišai ainai lmrum šiqlit hzaith lgabra d niSban uamarlh puq napqit nišma aminTulatak lhaka atit sbal sbal qaria nišma sbal sbal minaihun ulatišibqan sbal mn abinia šuba udalian `lauia maksia dalian usaq tirSan bit tušlima latra d kulh ziua ldaura d kulh pasimkia lh lhanath atra qrʻia umzamna nišmatkun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa sliq uasqan minh ulašibqan bdaura baTla sa

. ianuq kilai šlim ianuq mapiqtai huat ianuq huat mapiqtai mn gauh d hazin alma kma sakla daria kma tmimia almia kma saklia daria d `lai bmalia iatbia `lai iatbia bmalia ʻlai šakbia lburia d nagdia malia maitia d iatbia lburia mitgaTlia d aklia gibia lahazilh latar nhur hinala tinigdun malia hinila tišikbun lbudia titiqrun ligil ʻninkun ʻštaiia alanpaikun kd `iatilkun `uSTlia d ziua d minak rba iardna hin tinigdun malia hin tišikbun lburia titiqrun laʻninkun laʻštaiuia alanpaikun ana la`tilkun `uSTlia d ziua ula`tilkun klila rauza iuma d mapiqta tihuia iabaTtinkun bit maksia mištaiian hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka

sa

. qala qal qala d trin qalia šimit qala d trin qalia d iatbia hdadia ubakin qala qal ruha uqal nišimta d iatbia hdadia umitaprišia ruha lnišimta timarla ruha lnišimta bhaiik ahat dubrin minik kd azlit haizin `dibrik minai d ruha šaqarta anat ruha anat šaqarta d lahazit umištiqrit hazin d `dibrik minai ahai d gabra d muzania triS gabra d triS muzania taqil ‘ubadia uagria taqil umšauia ruha mn nišimta d taqil taqilh ušalim bhiia asmkuia taqil ulašalim mn tam šrin tigrh midabrin minik alma d muzaniai triS niailun bmuzania ul`iailun `ubadia uagria hin tiqlun ušalmana alun ruha mn nišimta hin tiqlun uhusrana lagzunan mn abatrik kma Tabia ahat nišimta d `dbartinun mina kd azlat alma d muzania triS taqil `ubadia uagria tiqlun šalmania alun ruha mn nišimta kma hadia nišimta d alun mn nišimta hiia smak lhiia uhiia aška dilun uhiia zakin sa

. miTab kušTa lTabia umanda d hiia lbnia šlama d qaimia bpagraihun umitaprišia bšuma d hiia ‘mat tihšuk ‘mat tinga ‘mat l‘šlim k‘lh d alma ulapuq Taba mn biša unipuq halia mn gu marira ul‘puq hiia mn gu muta unisqun hiia qudam abuhun uništailun mraria u`lqia d siblat nišimta balma hazin ‘lau hiškat ‘lau nihgat ‘l atrh šilmh kila lpagrai ‘lau ata kušTa lhaka lTabia umanda d hiia aluat bnia šlama unpaq nhura mn gu hšuka unpaq Taba mn gu biša unpaq halia mn gu marira unpaq hiia mn gu muta usliq hiia mn qudam abuhun unišmat hiia luat bnia šlama uništailun mriria u‘lqia siblat nišimta balma hazin ‘triStun u‘tqaiamtun batra d Tabia mitqaimia umšabin hiia sa

. qal nišimta šamana mn giuta banana umn pagrai man apqan umn giutai man našlan akSat kbaralia bgauh d hazin alma alma d kulh lilia ukulh bhašabta mlia kulh mgaTar giTria ukulh mhatam hatmia giTria adinqia miniana uhatmia adinqia miniana uhatmia adinqia mikal gabra d hiziuia lnapših shaq bpagria mišria mn kukbia bšumia uakil rbita biamamia d hizih lsin bšumia minh dua haka smak d hza baba rba d minh nsib almia hanath nišria giTrak hu gabra d nitbar hatmak baiitun uaškitun tum tibun utaškun uhiia zakin sa

. mana d mn bit rbia mana d mn bit rurbia mana d mn bit rbia mn bit rbia man atian man atian mn bit rbia ubgu tibil man rman man rman bgu tibil b`uSTuna d `dia uligria litlh iatibna unaTrinalh lšpinza d apqadlia iatibna unaTrinalh alma d minianai šlim mišlim minianai hazin šaruia ata mitih d šaruia šran udibran latar nhur d širian azal laqamai ud‘sran abatrai rhiT rihTit d širian uligTit ud‘srun lamiTiun mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. nišma nišimta d hiia amar btibil man sakakan mn iuma d niplit badam arba razia hzit asgit ldmu mia mia hiia d hazin alma asgit ldmu šamiš nhura d hazin alma asgit ldmu sira minianh d hazin alma nišmat nišimta d hiia amar btibil man rman man rman bgu tibil ubgu arqa ubgu šura man harzqan man rman bsada d hauia mlaiih d alma man rmabak šušlata d hauia mn riš briš man albšak kitun gaunia gaunia uznia znia `lau manda d hiia asgia lmitia balma ha apqan mn arqa ušimTan mn gu zargTa apqan mn gu sada d hauia mlaiih d alma šqal minai šušilta d hauia mn riš briš ašlan kitun gaunia gaunia uznia znia d širian azal aqaman ud‘sran abatrai rhiT rihTit d širian ligTit rihTit d `siran lamiTian hiia anun mn piria uanan ziua mn mrahqia mn atra d ‘npiš urahiq hzaith ubašqarth lab uhiia zakin sa

. mkalalna ušakibna b`uSTla d muma litbh b`uSTla d litbh muma ulaiit bgauh hasir ubSir hiia `dun `lai adam d šakib ‘tar ligTan bpras iamin ula‘hablia baiin biad nhura rman bhšuka hšuka banhura ‘timlia iuma d nhura saliq nitkamar hšuka ldukth qrub aluat anana d nhura ulatra d hiia mizlai uhiia zakin sa

. kilai šlim unapiqna timar ruha lnišimta alma napqit alma haisit haisit alma napqit ‘puq sahria qaimia ‘tkamar minianai šlim ka hinun hiia d rihmit ka

hinun ḏ hiia rihmun ka hu manda ḏ hiia ḏ lšumia asgit lirdna lšumẖ liardna asgit uqabilnin dakia rušuma ka hu iardna ḏ mia hiia ḏ minẖ zakuta nsabnin ka hu bhir zidqa ḏ ‘l šumẖ asgit liardna zidqa `habnin ka hu rihTa ḏ rihTit ka hu šlama ḏ abad `dan ka hu sainia ligrai ḏ balitinun mn rahmai `lia azlit maria kušTa ḏ sahria hdirilẖ lpagrai manda ḏ hiia `lai rahiqa u`lai qariba `huia `l atrẖ šitlia kušTa manda ḏ hiia iatir balmia kušTa amarlia haizin bqiluma ‘tit uhiia hinun šihlun ‘u anat mn napšak ‘tit hiia hinun šihlun ‘lik dilik nišimta ḏ hiia šihluk minẖ mn alma ḏ hšuka ḏ sina qina uplugia mn alma ḏ hšuka ḏ `iasqak ldaura taqna zkit manda ḏ hiia uzakit kulhun rahmak sa

. ianuq šilman kilai ianuq mapiqta huat lman ‘qria man ninian uman nihuilia bahid `da `qria lqala ḏ hiia u`qria lpasimka rba ḏ kulẖ nhur `qria lbhir bhaimanut `hab zidqa ḏ iahib bhaimanut hiia tirSuia mn riš briš mn hazin kušTa manda ḏ hiia ḏ šumẖ lqalai ata ata bhir zidqa ḏ bhaimanut iahib zidqa `hab zidqa ḏ bhaimanut bliba kšiTa umhaimna ata ata br hiia ana ‘huilak bahid ‘da ‘iadik lšibiahia gubria ḏ tibil naTria `iadiak liurba uruha mitiqrin rab maksia `iasqak `hauiak gupna ḏ qaiim lbariut almia bhira triS rahmia lbiriut almia qaiim lšalmania mqarilun qaria qala ḏ hiia anin hazinalẖ latar nhur mšabin hiia uhiia zakin sa

. mana bdaria bakia ubasim šumẖ `l almia arqa bdimẖ naida ušumia bqalẖ mistandra maria ḏ arqa naiid uanidlẖ hliSa zargTa bakia lbuša ḏ adam minẖ ḏ sindirka hua npaq pira u‘mba u‘lana razia šidqa naTria bhira lgiT kanša rasnia Turia uSipria mana bdaria amar umišma lkulhun almia klila ana ḏ bilura ḏ brišaihun ḏ rbia mitriS man atian lhaka uazal biad ruha ušibiahia rman uhiia zakin sa . mana bdaria amar klila ḏ bilura ana klila ana ḏ bilura qamar zahba ḏ minihra klila ana ḏ bilura ḏ briš rbia mitriS mana bdaria bakia ubasim šumẖ lalmia šumia bqalẖ naida arqa bdima mistindra bakia lbuša ḏ adam minẖ ḏ sindirka hua bakia mara ḏ arqa uanidlẖ hliSa zargTa knišia knišia bhira hasina bTuria Sipria mana bdaria amar klila ḏ bilura ana klila ana ḏ bilura ḏ mn bit hiia man atian bdur bišia man šdan šadilia bdur bišia ubdaura ḏ dairia haTia nisbuia bišia umšamšilia kul almia bhailẖ ḏ ab mana b`ruta ḏ mn bit hiia atat lanisbun ruha ulašamšun kul almia umšabin hiia sa

. Taba ana br rbia ḏ darit balbuš dimihta balbuš ‘šata ‘kilta ḏ h‘ haška ulanahra darit bit šuba šibiahia ḏ kul ium zaina hašlia ‘lai darit balbuš hšuka ušauia napšai ḵḏ dilhun akSat ukratalia balbuš baTla akSat ukratalia balbuš lbuš ubšla šla lau ana br rbia man sakakan mn šuba ḏ manharna `lauaihun hinun haška ulanahria amria bnapšaihun ḏ nagzar luatan nišibqia asgia ‘lai nukraia ašlan mn binataihun ašlan mn ‘šata ‘kilta ualbšan lbuša ḏ rurbia hu makla ‘uhra mn ka ldaura taqna umšabin hiia sa . ziua ana rba ḏ lahuabia hasir ubSir ḵḏ darit balbuš pagria lagarit ulaginbit ulahuabia hasir ubSir šlim huit ušuba la‘bdit mn ‘ubadaihun hašta šilman kilai ukulhun bmalia iatbia ‘tlabšat balbuš aba rama uhzaitẖ lilbuša ḏ rurbia tirSan bmuzania ulahuabia hasir ubSir albšun mn lbuša ḏ ‘šata haita ḏ hauma urugza litbẖ traSlẖ klil ziua uzakuta ḏ luatẖ nahra albšan mn lbuša ḏ ‘šata haita usilqit hzaitẖ latar nhur uhiia zakin sa

. mn atar zadiq atalia gabra adiaura atalia uzriza lnišma lduktẖ qralẖ qala ḏ hiia unSablẖ adiauria adiauria ḏ nSablẖ minẖ mn alma atar nhur Srak bqalẖ uašman uairia lnišmat mn šintẖ airia lmaria razia ladam ḏ bgu pagra zaria airan mn šintai ḏ hiia traSlia l‘uSrai balinhun lšuba razia ḏ minaihun balbuša andinun mn dktaihun mn prun šbaq ‘lauaihun ubalinun lzangaiia lgubria ḏ arqa naTria šra šdinhun ulmaTaraiia upraTba baqrun pruTta pruTta baqrun praTba urma bgauẖ tigra hin al binataihun ulaiadia lman mitkidšia ulahiziuia laba ram ulahzinun ladiaurẖ lahiziuia lparuanqa niha ḏ ašlan udibran mn binataihun ašlan mn binataihun ašlan mn lbušaihun ḏ gidia umraria u‘lqia ašlan mn lbuš pagrai umn lbuša baTla albšan mn ziuẖ umn nhurẖ iaqra kasian asarlia himiana ubaira ldmut mn šuba mihzia ḏ hiziun šuba napšaihun bhaiabia lgaT bhailẖ ḏ ab rama `dit lkulhun muzaniia triS hzaitẖ lbit rba ḏ ahai bgauẖ dairia ahai mihzia ḏ hiziun albšiun mn ziuaihun uhišbun bhušbanun unaTrun Tabia banatun uhiia zakin sa

. nišmat šiltan hiia utirat pralia manda nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lrišaiia mTit abria ḏ rišaiia alanpai napqia asgia nišbia gabra unišbia nitia nihuilan Sauta asgu nišbia gabra unišailẖ ḏ mna ata habran mna mitiak lhaka `lia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ bnu šibiahia bnišmat šilman hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai hadinu bit hiia halka lia nu azlit hin azlit binataihun `bad umabad abdia lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat baiha nišmat šiltan hiia tirat pralia manda nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma ḏ tiniana mTit abdia ḏ tiniana ḏ hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra ḏ nišailẖ ḏ mna ata habran mna hua mitiak lhaka `lia nu azlit mn tibil atina umn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai tirat pralia manda nišmat šiltan hiia latra ḏ hiia mizlai hadinu bit hiia halka alia nu azlit hin azlit binataihun `bad umabad abdia lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šiltan hiia tirat pralia manda nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma ltlitaiia mTit abdia ḏ tlitaiia hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra ḏ nišailia mna ata habran mna hua mitiak halka ‘lia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai hadinu bit hiia halka alia nu azlit hin azlit binataihun šumẖ ḏ muta dakria lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šiltan hiia utirat pralẖ manda ḏ nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma larbiaiia mTit abdia ḏ arbiaiia hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra ḏ nitia nihuilan Sauta asgu nišbia gabra unišailẖ ḏ mna ata gabra mna hua mitiak halka alia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai hadinu bit hiia halka ‘lia nu azlit hin azlit binataihun ušumia ḏ muta dakria pakria umnangria lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat ḏ šiltan hiia tirat pralia manda nišmat šitlan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma ḏ hamšaiia mTit abdẖ ḏ hamšaiia hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra nitia nihuilak Sauta asgu nišbia gabra unišailẖ ḏ mna hua habran mna halka alia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai hadinu bit hiia halka alia nu azlit hin binataihun ‘bad umabad abdia hin alit binataihun šumẖ ḏ muta dakria lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šiltan hiia utirat pralia manda nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lšitaiia mTit abdẖ ḏ šitaia ḏ hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra nišailia ḏ mna ata habran mna mitiak lhalka alia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu mn tibil atina latra ḏ hiia mizlai hin alit binataihun qumẖ ḏ muta dakria lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šiltan hiia tirat pralẖ manda nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lšubaia mTit abdia ḏ šubaia hinun alanpai napqia asgu nišbia gabra nitia unihuilak Sauta asgu nišbia gabra nišailẖ ḏ mna ata habran mn mitiak halka `lia nu azlit mn tibil atina mn baita ḏ šibiahia bnu nišmat ḏ šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai hin alit binataihun pakria umnangiria hin azlit binataihun šumẖ ḏ muta dakria lahua ḏ baiina ulahua nišmat ḏ baiha nišmat šiltan hiia utirat pralia manda nišmat šiltan hiia ulatra ḏ hiia mizlai parana uazilna alma lbit hiia mTit maTuiai bit hiia uhiia alanpai napqia anpiš albšun ziua uaitun nhura kasiun hišbun bhušbanun ha napqun Tabia binatun binia šragia ḏ nhura nidalun šragak uninihrun ‘triStun u‘tqaiamtun bminilat šrara ḏ atalkun minilat šrara ata lTabia minilat kšiTa lmhaimnia uhiia zakin sa

. ‘dalma hazin qaimit šbila ḏ manu naTria šbila naTirna dalia ḏ iatir balma mna ata umna dmuth d gabra d šbila naTrit lbuših lbuš ziua nhura mramai lkadpai abar almia uata ubza rqiha u`tiglia muzania triS qudamh taqil `ubadia uagria taqil taqil umšauia ruha mn nišimta taqil taqilh ušalim hansiq bhiia asmakuia taqil ulašalim šamar šibqia bhazin alma anin d mšabinun maran haTaian uhauban d šbuqlan uhiia akin sa

. lbab `siria hilpit ultasniqh d hazin alma d qalaihun d nišmata šamana mn bit ‘siria bakian uamria uailan d alma nikalinan unkaltinan alahuta d bh argban uminunan asarinan `l hazin dukta man d nizal unimarlun lbnan d šbaqnin bgauh d alma d lanibdun mn `ubadan sainia d lanistakrun lhazin dukta man nizal lahlipunh lasia rba ulahlipunh lpasimka rba d kulh nhur lahlipunh lmanda d hiia d liqum lahuilkun bahid ‘da bahid ‘da lšalmania mn atra d hšuk latar nhur zkit manda d hiia uzkit uzakit rahmak uhiia zakin sa

. ia Sipria hurbia d alqandilaihun iatbia mahu aklitun Sipria mn hurbia umahu šatitun mn qandilia kd hauia zibna d napqitun mn pagraikun mahu lihuia zuadaikun umahu lihuia zuadia d `uhra ladahba ulakaspa lanihuia zuadia d `uhra largba ulaminuna lanihuia zuadia d `uhra `tkanap kulhun amamia ulbaba d br hiia `tun `marlan br hiia bzibna d hauia mapiqta mahu l`huia zauadan umahu l`huia zuadia d `uhran `daikun natna zidqa ulibaikun niqum bhaimanut hanath hu zuadaikun d hauilkun zuadia d ‘uhra mištaiin uhiia zakin uzakia gabra d asgia lka sa

. `lh d biniana lriša d kulh qumta lriša d qumta kulh qaiim udariš rbia qaiim urbia dariš umamnia gaunh d hazin alma ia alma sakla alma blila umbalala ia alma sakla ruhSanak lmahu nihuia lmahu nihuia ruhSanak haimanutak lman tihuia ‘šqul `isbia minak `uSbh d nhura d ‘hablak ‘šqul ‘iasbia minak alma d napil ulaniqum ia alma hiua bala d mn smal liamin la‘da šibiahia tauria d piTra d qaimia bšuqia umizdabnia hašta laplihunak hašta šintak tirandidak timlibun bgurmaizak utišqup ltarbaSia hadiak utimar uai `lai mahu d abdit umahu d abadiba bnpiš bgauh d hazin alma d qrun `l `uhra d hiia usiTar huit mn kudka uhiia zakin sa

. kilai šlim unapiqna sibra d mn `ria sbar mn `ria sibrit udarit bgauh d alma šuta šimit gabra d ‘tpaqad ‘lai ašman šuta d rbia uaprišan minh umn alma ‘hablia tušbihta unakrian minh umn alma `tnakrit minaihun umn bišia umn haTia šabhit btušbihta ušabhit ldaura taqna šabhit latra sagia ul‘utria d saka litlun kilai šlim unipqit ušuba b‘uhra qaimilia lgiTia ‘lai abulia d lanibTunak b‘uhra amria bišia d lagzar aluatan nišibqia ainai lmrum šiqlit nišmat lbit hiia skit hiia anun mn piria ziua anan mn mrahqia Sbu hiia rbia šadruia lbar hiia ‘lai ‘lai šadruia lgabra d qalh ašman pta tiria uata bza rqiha u‘tiglia pahta tiria uata upta ‘lai abula ušuba adia mn ‘uhrai albšan mn ziua umn nhura kasian `hablia klil ziua ubarat dmut mn almia qaimia šibiahia dandumia mdandmia uamria kd hua binataian ukd dar b`ubadia `dan kd dar binataian šutan dilan lašama hašta d šilmh kilh barit dmut mn almia ‘malil u‘marlun lbišia d agzar lnapšaihun mahu mdandimitun šuba kd ana lahuit mn dilkun la`bdit mn `ubadaikun ulatminiit mn dilkun šumaikun umamlalkun lamamlalit lakaldaia huit ulakaSuma ulanbiha mamlil bruha šuth d ab šimit gabra d `tpaqad `lai d ašman šuta d rbia upiršit minh umn alma šadarlh klil ziua šuba hba uana zkit bziua d ab azilna gabra d `tpaqad `lai parana uazilna alma d muzania mTit mTit d muzania tiqil `ubadia uagria umšauia ruha mn nišimta tirSan bmuzania had mana had šralia knap hiia ldmu hiia smakun hiia smak lhiia uhiia aška dilun umšabin hiia uzakia manda d hiia urahmia šumh sa

. qala d hda nišimta šamana d mn dur bišia umn gauh d hšuka mpahšia uamria uailia d lašibqan dahbai ukaspai d ‘bad ‘ubadia lqdamtai dahbai rman bguhnam ukaspai šiknan b`umqia d hšuka hilai umarganai habrai mahu bišuta asbria argbai uminunai habrai uaudan zmarai urgagai uqulalai ušušlata hun qulalia hun šušlata ‘sira dmuth lkul dmu uamra d aSTian bišia urihmit Subian almia ‘l Subian almia rihmit

uliban hašban lkul ḏ biš libai hašban bišuta ulišanai bkadba atqlan amarlia manda ḏ hiia ašganda ḏ kulhun pasimkia ia nišimta ḵḏ qrulik ulanit hašta ḏ qarit man niniik dahba ukaspa ḏ rhamt mitkarkit bgauaita ḏ ‘šiul hilmia uzipa ḏ rhimt naplit bdudia ḵḏ rahta `u hin ḵḏ šalmia haTaiik uhaubik kulhun mitgimria usalqatbẖ bmasiqta ḏ šalmania bgauẖ salqia hin lašalmia haTaiik uhaubik kulhun lamgamria anat nišimta timitai muta tiniana uainik nhura lahazia ana u`utria ahai nisaq nihizia latar nhur brikia hiia rbia ubrik šumaihun batar nhur sa

. qala ḏ hda nišimta šamana ḏ mn pagra ḏ lupata napqa mn pagra napqa ḏ lupata umn gauẖ ḏ hazin alma uamria arTil lalma atalẖ uriqin minẖ apqun riqin apqun minẖ ḵḏ Sipra ḏ mindam lalua mihidra hazia nišimta uamralẖ lhikla ḏ minẖ nipqat mahu `bidlak pagrai mahu ‘bidlak bhazin alma mahu ‘bidlak špur pagria šapira ḏ aklalak rima ‘šiul mahu ‘bidlak kitun uardia ḏ msadqilak btibil Sipria `u `uSTla ḏ ziua unhura huit ḏ labišnak pagrai minai lbit hiia sliqt ‘u himiana ḏ ziua unhura huit ḏ `sirnak bhalSai pagrai minai lbit hiia sliqt `u TarTabuna ḏ ziua unhura huit mkasianak pagrai minai lbit hiia sliqt `u klila ḏ ziua unhura huit ḏ triSit brišai minai lbit hiia sliqt ‘u gauaza ḏ ziua unhura huit pagrai lgiTnak b`dai minai lbit hiia sliqt `u msania ḏ ziua unhura huit ḏ raminalak bligrai pagrai minai lbit hiia sliqt mahu `bidlak pagrai ḏ mn kita ḏ Tina `tigbilt mn kita ḏ Tina ušuba utrisar hulak ridpa `l ḏ qaima nišimta uamralẖ lhikla ḏ minẖ nipqit u`l ḏ qaima uamralẖ pra šliha ḏ hiia umiTiuia maTun šliha ḏ hiia paruanqa ḏ šuda lanasib amarlẖ atai atai marganita ḏ mn hiia `tniSbat atai atai mbasmanita ḏ basimtẖ lpagra zapra atai atai manharanita ḏ anhartẖ lbaita haška atai atai pt haria bdur bišia amta qruk atai paS ‘uSTlik lbuš utruS klilik rauza saq dar bškinatẖ binia `utria ḵḏ iatbia brikia hiia rbia ubrik šumaihun ḏ hiia batar nhur sa

. had mn bnia kušTa bdur haškia bakia brat gubria ana ḏ zadiqia ubrataiun ḏ gubria mhaimnia brat ana zadiqia bdur haškia man rman salik ḏ mlia lhama ḏ anat aklaitẖ mn kapẖ danik ḏ ml‘iia šakra anat aklaitẖ mn Sahẖ uSamartik ḏ ml‘iia miša anat aklaitẖ mn habria šidik ḏ mlia mania anat aklaitẖ mn labšiẖ arsak mšauiata anat aklaitẖ mn šakbẖ dirka ḏ drik u`tia anat aklaitẖ mn `tia akuat ḏ `tiklit `tiklai bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma `lau `dit ḏ `mit `lau `dit ḏ ‘tikšal salai ḏ mlia lhama laklaitẖ mn kapnẖ danai ḏ mlia šakra laklaitẖ mn Sahẖ uSmartẖ ḏ ml‘ia miša laklaitẖ mn harbẖ šidai ḏ ml`ia mania laklaitẖ mn labšiẖ arsai ḏ mšauiata laklaitẖ mn šakbẖ dirka ḏ drik laklaitẖ mn `tia akuat ḏ `kulit `tiklit bgauẖ ḏ hazin alma šlamlak ‘lak Taba ḏ batra gzira lašabqit Taba hTit uiahTit haTaiai uhaubai l‘šbuqlia ab rma lhama u`m zidqa iahbat abuk ḏ rma lhama `lẖ dilia u`mik ḏ iahbat zidqa lnišimta šabiq haTaiia uhaubia nišbiqlun lnišmatun mn hailaihun ḏ zadiqia umn kušTaihun ḏ mhaimnia sa

. ziua ana br ziuia ziua ana br rurbia ziua ana br rbia man atian btibil šdan man šdan btibil bbaita ḏ šaqaria bnu ašdan b‘šata ‘kilta ḏ haška ulanahra mihšak haška ulaminihra u`uSba ḏ nhura litbẖ ana ‘lauaihun manharna uhinun mihšak haškia ziua ana qadmaia bit šuba man ašrian man ašrian bit šuba umn man šra ‘lai man rman b`uSTuna ḏ gidia umraria u`lqia akSat ukratalia ḏ darit bgauẖ ḏ alma akSat ukratalia balbuš lbuš bšlaha šlaha u‘m l‘tia gabra rama ḏ hu bqalẖ ašman ašman bqalẖ niha hananan uqaiman galil uhauian razia minihria uqaimia `l ḏ qaiim umitapraš maTia gabra adiaurẖ maTia adiaurẖ rama ḏ hu aulẖ bhda ziua rba šla lbuš pagria ḏ gidia umraria u‘lqia parqia Sbutun ušgẖ mn hauqun albšia lbuš rbia uadia lgabra ḏ qaria adia lškinata ḏ hu bgauaihun dar adia lbnia šlama gubria ḏ kušTa pašTia asqia hauiẖ hauraran ḏ nišmata bgauẖ mištalma nišmata mištalambẖ hu hauilun sahda npaS albšan albušata ḏ ‘šata haita uasiq tirSẖ bit tušlima mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra ḏ asgia lka sa

. lman ulman ulman šamšit nišma bgauh̲ d̲ alma gubria d̲ šamištinun lahun minh̲ mn alma minak šamšia napšia minak nhura nahra šragia d̲ nhura hinun d̲ manihria bgauh̲ d̲ alma k̲d̲ drašt ušamišt lqadmaiia lhiia d̲ hun mn laqadmia hun šamišt ltiniania ulhiia d̲ mn hiia hun šamišt ltlitaiia lkaraSTiania basim šumh̲ asgit luat arbaiia d̲ tam huat tam hua hasir ubSir hasir ubSir hauia uhauia razia urimzia hauia hauin puria d̲ alma limalak bkanph̲ d̲ mana mkarkit ana mihizia d̲ hzit uasgit uhašiTit šibqit kulhun šibqit uasgit abatar manda d̲ hiia l‘iaprišinkun mn biša lTaba umn bišuta uaqta dilia d̲ hazin alma mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia lka sa

. lbaba d̲ bit `bdunia kursia `l luana `rmia kursia `rmia l`luana urmia mana qadamta qarilun lganabia atun lmana pil atun pil lmana atun apriš napšaikun atun napšaikun apriš lmahu d̲ abadtun balma qarilun lgaTlia giTla atun lmana pil atun pil lmana atun apriš napšaikun atun napšaikun apriš lmahu d̲ abadtun balma lbaba d̲ bit `ubdunia kursuia l`luana rmia kursia rmia l`luana rmia lmana qadamta qarilun lgaiaria atun lmana pil atun pil lmana atun apriš napšaikun atun napšaikun apriš lmahu d̲ abadtun balma qarilun lramzia rimza atun lmana pil atun pil lmana atun apriš napšaikun atun napšaikun apriš lmahu d̲ abadtun balma lbaba d̲ bit `bdunia kursia l`luana triS kursia triS l`luana urmia mana qadamta qarilun lharašia atun lmana pil atun pil lmana atun apriš napšaikun atun napšaikun apriš lmahu d̲ abadtun balma Taba hTin hTainin kul d̲ hTin nišbuqlan nišbuqlan haTian uhauban d̲ askilnin bgauh̲ d̲ alma kaluza d̲ hiia qaria `udna d̲ bhiria šuma ‘it d̲ šuma hiia u‘it d̲ ‘tkalil uškib mištaiin hiia zakin uzakia gabra d̲ asgia `lka sa

. halin drašia d̲ nišimta d̲ ansit ana ania udania umianqa zuTa d̲ ahai ganzibria umnašiq msania d̲ ligraihun d̲ naSuraiia uaqapra d̲ atutia ligraihun d̲ nasakia abda d̲ kulh̲ haTaiia ana mhatam zihrun br rbai adam br rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam br rbai sam bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam br rbai iahia adam br rbai šitil br rbai ram br rbai zakia br rbai iahia br rbai zakia br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai mhatam br rbai sam laqab manduia kinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansit lhad šalmantia umhaimna iahbat zidqa malia uansit `la hazin sidra d̲ hauila dakir šumia btibil uhatam balmia rurbia `laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h` biniia brata d̲ dihla br maTlum br kTaiir br (ayin)idan br baiu(T) laqab prišia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ nsit d̲ `dia d̲ rbai mhatam iuhana br rbai iahia sam d̲ hu (š)aduia kdib mn kdaba d̲ `da d̲ rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam iuhana br rbai sam br bihram br sa(ayin)dan laqab kamisia ukinianh̲ riš draz d̲ hu ansa lhad šalmanth̲ umhaimna iahbat zidqa malia uansit `la hazin sidra d̲ hauila dakir šumia btibil uhatam balmia rurbia ‘laiia d̲ nhura d̲ h` rdapa brath̲ d̲ (š)adir br ša(ayin)puria ulaqab bari(š)ia d̲ ansala mn sidra d̲ sita brath̲ d̲ sahal br suaiid br mkariš br bakat br sarar br iahia br adam laqab kamisia ukinianh̲ riš d̲ raz d̲ ansalh̲ rbaian rama uiaqira ganzibra taqna ubhira d̲ hiia bihruia hulh̲ adiaura rbai adam iuhana br sam br bihram br sa(ayin)dan lqab kamisia ukiniana riš draz d̲ hu ansalh̲ mn trin sidria had sidra d̲ paraš br lum br guam dhaiis uhurina sidra d̲ nura brata d̲ (ayin)abas br sa(ayin)ad br sibtia kinianh̲ bangania d̲ ansa rbai mhatam iuhana br (ayin)arab br bihram br qamus br hadat kinianh̲ sabur d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna ubhira nasaka d̲ ginza rba rama bnaSiruta d̲ hu rbai sam iuhana br rbai iahia adam br bihram zihrun br adam iuhana br sam kinianh̲ (ayin)asikir ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ hu ansa lnapšia d̲ ansa mn sidra had šalmantia d̲ haua simat brath̲ d̲ adam br garib br manSur kinianh̲ tum d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ganzibra taqna umaura šualania šumh̲ d̲ hu rbai iahia iuhana br rbai ram br rbai baktiar br rbai adam mhatam kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ ab dilia rbai ram br iahia baktiar br rbai adam mhatam kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ d̲ ansa lhad šalmana adam iuhana br naSrldin kinianh̲ iahiauia d̲ ansalh̲ mn trin sidrh̲ had minaihun rba uiaqira rbai bihram br iahia br adam zakia kinianh̲ ku(h)ailh̲ sidra hurina d̲ rba urama uiaqira ganzibra taqna mhatam br abuhun d̲ ganzibria rbai sam adam br zakia br iahia lqab manduia ukinianh̲ `kuma d̲ ansalh̲ rbai sam iuhana br rbai sam adam br br iahia kinianh̲ `kuma mn sidra d̲ iahia baian br sam bihram kinianh̲ diqnana d̲ ansalh̲ iahia br hibil br anuš adam br zakia bulbul br bihram (ayin)aziz mn sidra d̲ rbai adam iuhana br anuš hiia šu(ayin)ailia mn bnia (ayin)asikir d̲ ansalh̲ rbai saruan bulbul br adam baian br šadin zarzuia d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ ansalh̲ ahh̲ qašiša rbai iuhana br adam baian br šadan zarzuia umn sidra d̲ hu ansa lnapšia mn sidra d̲ mhatam br bihran mšarah d̲ ansa rbai iuhana d̲ ansalh̲ rbai baian br adam šuprtaiia mn sidra lnapšia d̲ ansa mn sidra d̲ rbai baian br adam d̲ ansalh̲ bihran br iuhana zakia br bus(ayin)id mn sidra d̲ bihdad br iuhana zakia br sam ma(ayin)uan d̲ ansalh̲ mn sidra d̲ hibil br bihram šitil ansa mn sidra d̲ baktiar bul(ayin)iz br šitlia gadana d̲ ansalh̲ hibil br šitlia ansalh̲ rbai bihram hibil br mhamam hibil iuhana mn sidra d̲ hibil iuhana zakia mn sidra d̲ ansalh̲ iahia baktiar br brik iauar d̲ ansalh̲ adam br iahia kapai uadam d̲ ansalh̲ baian šaiar br zihrun mn sidra d̲ br gadana br hiia ansalh̲ šaiar usam ziua br baian hibil mn sidra d̲ zakia br hibil uzakia br hibil ansalh̲ zihrun br ram ziua mn sidra d̲ nSab mn maškna br iuhana br nSab br maškna br iuhana d̲ ansalh̲ mn baian hibil šadan ubanan bihram bnia brik iauar baian uahh̲ ansalun `qaiam br zindana mn šapth̲ d̲ miriai pt simat miriai ansalh̲ sam br sam br zakia mn šapth̲ d̲ napših̲ d̲ ansa mn šapth̲ d̲ ruzba brhaua d̲ hat bginza d̲ sam zakia uruzba d̲ ansalh̲ ram ziua br bihram mn šapth̲ d̲ brik manda šitil br zasku hiia brik manda mn anuš šabur br šiglai mn šapth̲ d̲ nSab br maškna br brhiia mn šapth̲ d̲ Taiba br zazai kdaba hatiqa d̲ huat bnaSiruta d̲ nSab br mškna mn iuzaTaq br sasai tum aba šlama br qadmaia d̲ hualun ruaha d̲ hiia lsabria d̲ mn banan priš hiia hdun lalam almia uhiia zakin lkulhun `ubadia uzakia manda d̲ hiia udiaura sa tum ‘stadrat usilqat lriš hazin sidra d̲ mara d̲ rabuta lrahmut hiia ulrahmut manda d̲ hiia ulšuma d̲ mana rba kabira ulruhSana d̲ hiia qadmaiia ulšumaihun d̲ hibil ušitil uanuš mšaba šumaihun batra sagia bit tušlima ‘stadrat biuma d̲ tlata habšaba usrin biahra d̲ aual paiiz d̲ hu mašriuan arquba bšita d̲ talata habšaba . d̲ h‘ tura . lšnat tlatma ušitasar abatar alpa d̲ qabiliun arbaiia bbaita d̲ napšai bmata d̲ markaz naSriia bmia d̲ praš ziua sa

The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book the Ginza Rba

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

University College London

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Abstract:

Sources of the research: The Mandaean holy books and scriptures in addition to old Moslem writers and contemporary western scholars' works.

The purpose of the research:

The research aims to translate the Mandaean Story of Creation, directly from the Mandaean manuscript. Four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India office at the British Library in London were used to compile a critical apparatus of variants. Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the "Ginza Rba". The Ginza names this tractate as *raza usidra qadmaia d̠-šuta haita qadmaita* "The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine". This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the World of Light and the World of Darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Fourth Life (Ptahil); the Demiurge who created the cosmos and Tibil (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d̠-Hiia ("Gnosis of Life") and his descent to the Underworld and his triumph against the forces of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *‘ṣṭōna* (the human body). Tractate three also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

The research consists of three parts:

(1) The introduction: The Mandaeans and the Question of Their Origin, The Mandaean system, The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans, The Mandaean manuscripts.

(2) Analysis of the narrative: The First Account of the Story of Creation, The Second Account of the Story of Creation, The Third account of the Story of Creation.

(3) The Transcription and Translation of the Manuscript.

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Abbreviations

AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ARR	*Alma Rišaia Rba* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ARZ	*Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (tr. E. S. Drower, A Pair of Naṣoraean Commentaries, Leiden 1963)
ATŠ	*The Thousand and Twelve Questions* (tr. E. S. Drower, Berlin 1960)
Jb	*Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (tr. M. Lidzbarski, Giessen 1915)
DY	The Mandaean Manuscript *Draša ḏ-Yahia* "the Book of John"
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
CP	*The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1959)
DA	*Diwan Abatur* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1950)
DJPA	A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (M. Sokoloff, Bar Ilan University Press, 1990)
DM'L	*The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* (tr. J. J. Buckley, Connecticut 1993)
DMHZ	*Diwan Maṣbuta ḏ-Hibil-Ziwa* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
GRL	*Ginza Rba Left*
GRR	*Ginza Rba Right*
HG	*The Harran Gawaita* (tr. E. S. Drower, Vatican City 1953)
HR	History of Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JD	*A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmid Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrash Literature* (M. Jastrow, New York 1996)
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

JRCAS	Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
MD	*A Mandaic Dictionary* (E. S. Drower, R. Macuch, Oxford 1963)
MG	*Mandäische Grammataik* (Nöldke, Halle 1875)
MHZ	*Masbuta ḏ-Hibil Ziwa* [The Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa]
MII	*The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (E. D. Drower, Oxford 1937)
OT	Old Testament
Q	*The Mandaean Book Qalista*
QŠR	*Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "the Marriage ceremony of the Great Šišlam"
SA	The Secret Adam (tr. E. S. Drower, Oxfrod 1960).
ŠQŠR	*Šarh ḏ-Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* "Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-Ceremony of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Rome 1950)
ŢTŠR	*Ţraşa ḏ-Taga ḏ-Šišlam Rba* "The Coronation of the Great Šišlam", (tr. E. S. Drower, Leiden 1962).

The Mandaic Alphabet

abāgāda

ࡀࡁࡀࡂࡀࡃࡀ

Form	With vowels								Transliteration		Pronounciation
									Hebrew	Latin	
ࡀ									א	a	æ, a, ā
ࡁ	ࡁࡀ	bā	ࡁࡉ	bi	ࡁࡅ	bū	ࡁ	ăb	ב	b	b, β
ࡂ	ࡂࡀ	gā	ࡂࡉ	gī	ࡂࡅ	gū	ࡂ	ăg	ג	g	g, γ
ࡃ	ࡃࡀ	dā	ࡃࡉ	dī	ࡃࡅ	dū	ࡃ	ăd	ד	d	d, δ
ࡄ	ࡄࡀ	hā	ࡄࡉ	hī	ࡄࡅ	hū	ࡄ	ăh	ה	h	h
ࡅ	ࡅࡀ	wā	ࡅࡉ	wī	ࡅࡅ	wū	ࡅ	ăw	ו	w	o, u, ū
ࡆ	ࡆࡀ	zā	ࡆࡉ	zī	ࡆࡅ	zū	ࡆ	ăz	ז	z	z
ࡇ									ח	ẖ	ī
ࡈ	ࡈࡀ	ṭā	ࡈࡉ	ṭī	ࡈࡅ	ṭū	ࡈ	ăṭ	ט	ṭ	
ࡉ	ࡉࡀ	yā	ࡉࡉ	yī	ࡉࡅ	yū	ࡉ	ăy	י	i	e, i, ī
ࡊ	ࡊࡀ	kā	ࡊࡉ	kī	ࡊࡅ	kū	ࡊ	ăk	כ	k	k, χ
ࡋ	ࡋࡀ	lā	ࡋࡉ	lī	ࡋࡅ	lū	ࡋ	ăl	ל	l	l
ࡌ	ࡌࡀ	mā	ࡌࡉ	mī	ࡌࡅ	mū	ࡌ	ăm	מ	m	m
ࡍ	ࡍࡀ	nā	ࡍࡉ	nī	ࡍࡅ	nū	ࡍ	ăn	נ	n	n
ࡎ	ࡎࡀ	sā	ࡎࡉ	sī	ࡎࡅ	sū	ࡎ	ăs	ס	s	s
ࡏ									ע	ʿ	ī (e, ī)
ࡐ	ࡐࡀ	pā	ࡐࡉ	pī	ࡐࡅ	pū	ࡐ	ăp	פ	p	p, f
ࡑ	ࡑࡀ	ṣā	ࡑࡉ	ṣī	ࡑࡅ	ṣū	ࡑ	ăṣ	צ	ṣ	ṣ
ࡒ	ࡒࡀ	qā	ࡒࡉ	qī	ࡒࡅ	qū	ࡒ	ăq	ק	q	q
ࡓ	ࡓࡀ	rā	ࡓࡉ	rī	ࡓࡅ	rū	ࡓ	ăr	ר	r	r

ࡔ	ࡔࡀ	šā	ࡔࡉ	šī	ࡔࡅ	šū	ࡔ	ăš	ש	š	š
ࡕ	ࡕࡀ	tā	ࡕࡉ	tī	ࡕࡅ	tū	ࡕ	ăt	ת	t	t, θ
ࡖ									ד	d̲	(a)d
ࡗ									כד̲	kd̲	kd̲

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1. Introduction

§ 1.1 - The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin:

In the hot and marshy areas along the Tigris and Euphrates in the southern Mesopotamia and along the Karun River which flows through the lowland of Iran (Khuzistan) and, like the Tigris and Euphrates, empties into the Shaṭ-al-Arab and then into the Gulf, there dwells a small community of *Mandaiia*, Mandaeans ("Gnostics"). Their Arab neighbors call them *Ṣubba*, derived from ࡑࡁࡀ (צבע) "to immerse or submerge", and refers to their frequent baptism "*maṣbuta*".[1] The Qur'an mentions the *al-Ṣab'iūn* الصابئون in three *sūra* along with the Jews and Christians.[2] The Moslem historians called them the Ṣabians [3] of the swamps (صابئة البطائح) or *al-Mughtasila* (المغتسلة) "those who wash" and they were numerous in the swamps and in the region of Dast-i Maysan.[4] Almas'ūdī tells of a Ṣābian sect called *Kīmāriyyūn* (الكيماريون) which was located between Wasiţ and Basra. He also reported that the Şabeans were related to Şabi bn Mitšolaẖ bn Idris or Şabi bn Mari at the time of Abraham[5]. Al-Nadim mentioned many baptist sects who were living in southern Iraq such as: the “Dashtim”, the “Muhājirūn”, the “Kašţiūn”, the “Mughtasilah”, the “al-Hasīh” (Elchasites) and “Şābat al-Baţā‘ih”.[6] Macuch asserts that the Mandaeans actually settled in southern Mesopotamia and had many names. In Mesene (Maisan) especially they were called by their proper name “Mandaeans and Maškənaeans” and their script and dialect was called *maišānā'it* “Messenian” i. e. “Mandaic”.[7]

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[1] SA p. ix. Mani points out that he was living amongst the "Sabaios" which is clearly derived form Aramaic *sobai* which means baptist (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 65).

[2] The Qur'an mentioned the Ṣabians in three suras: *baqarah* no. 62, *haj* no. 15 and *ma'ydah* no. 69

انّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ وَالَّذِينَ هَادُواْ وَالنَّصَارَى وَالصَّابِئِينَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحاً فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلاَ خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلاَ هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ {62} البقرة

But the Arabs wrongly translated "ṣb'" צבע as the Arabic صبا 'to convert' instead of Aramaic "ṣb'" צבע 'to dye' or "submerge". Therefore, Arabic literature still wrongly calls them "those who converted."

[3] Islamic historians referred to all pagans as "Ṣābians," whether Babylonians, Greek, Egyptians or Romans.

[4] المغتسلة: هؤلاء قوم كثيرون بنواحي البطائح، وهم صابئة البطائح، يقولون بالاغتسال ، ويغسلون جميع ما يأكلونه . ورئيسهم يعرف بالحسيح ، وهو الذي شرع الملة ، ويزعم ان الكونين ذكر وأنثى، وأن البقول من شرع الذكر ، وأن الأكشوث من شرع الأنثى وأن الأشجار عروقه ، ولهم أقاويل شنيعة تجري مجرى الخرافة ، وكان تلميذه يقال له: شمعون ، وكانوا يوافقون المانوية في الأصلين ويفترق ملتهم بعد، وفيهم من يعظم النجوم الى وقتنا هذا (أبن النديم ، الفهرست 1994 ص 414).

The Mandaeans call themselves *bhirī zidqa* “the righteous elect” and ‘*Naşoreans*’ (*naşuraiyī*),[8] i.e. “guardians” or “possessors” of secret rites and knowledge “Naşiruta.”[9] The Mandaean society, before the Moslem conquest of Iraq, consisted of two classes: (a) the priestly clan or the *Naşoreans*; that is the inner circle of the priests and their novices, and (b) the laymen clan or the

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“The Mughtasilah: These people are very numerous in the region of al-Baţā'ih, they are [called] the *Şābat al- Baţā'ih*. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as *al-Hasīh* [Elkesaites] and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasite plants [*al-uksūth*] are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veins (roots). They have seven [shameful is the right translation] sayings, taking the form of fables. His [*al-Hasīh*] disciple was named *Sham‘ūn*. They agreed with the Manicheans about two elemental [principles], but later their sect became separate. Until this our day, some of them venerate the stars.” (*The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, translated and edited by Dodge, London, 1970: 811) Lady Drower asserts that the “Elkasaites were once closely related to Naşoraeans” (SA, p. 97).

[5] Almas‘ūī, *al-tanbih wa al-'ishārf*, Brill, Leiden, (1894) pp. 161, 90-91.

[6] Al-Nadim, the *Fihirist*, Budge, 1970: 809 ff.

[7] Macuch R., “The Origin of the Mandaeans and their Script”, JSS, 16, 1971 pp. 147-192, esp. p. 191.

[8] Sometimes the heavy ‘ş’ is written by none Mandaeans as ‘z’, Nazorenes. (SA p. ix) This term was used by the Jews to designate Christians (Peters, 1972: 668).

[9] Rudolph 1983: 343. Drower defines *Naşiruta* as “esoteric religion within a religion, a gnosis within gnosis, and its heart is the interpretation which it attaches to sacramental acts” (SA p. xv).

Mandaeans who form the greater number of the sect.[10] Although they revered John the Baptist and occasionally mention him in some prayers, their relation to him is still problematic because they consider him "teacher" or "reformer" and never the founder of their faith.[11] In fact there is no mention of a founder of Mandaeism in all their writings.[12] After the Islamic invasion the priestly school which was teaching the esoteric principles of the "Naşiruta" diminished gradually and could no longer fight the new elements of transformation. Eventually, the majority of the Mandaean population had to convert to Islam due to persecution and a heavy poll tax.[13]

No one can determine the first appearance of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, and the question of their origin is still one of the continuing mysteries of Mandaeaen research. After nearly two centuries, this issue still raises much controversy amongst scholars. Some, like Nöldeke, Brandt and Lidzbarski, assert a pre-Christian existence to the Mandaeans, others like Pallis prefer a late dating, i. e. 6th century C.E.[14] In fact, Lidzbarski envisaged a Mandaic migration from the Transjordan towards Parthia in the first century even before the destruction of the Jewish kingdom in 70 C.E.[15] Some Arab historians dates the Mandaeans (Ṣabeans) back to the very end of Babylonia, such as al-Birūni (11th century) who wrote, "the Ṣabiyūn are the remnant of the Jewish tribes who remained in the days of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These remaining tribes adopted a system mixed up of Magianism and Judaism like that of the Samaritans in Syria."[16] Although the Mandaeans believe they are *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous ones", they admit all nations generated from the Jews: *mn ama d̲iahuṭaiia kulhun amamia ubabia minaihun npaq* "from the Jews all nations and sects came forth."[17] In addition, the Mandaean scroll "Haran Gawaita" states clearly that the Naṣoraeans had indeed migrated from "Jerusalem" to the *ṭaura d̲Mi̲dai* "the Median hills" under the protection of the Parthian king "Artabanus":[18]

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[10] Cf. the Manichaean community which was divided into an inner circle of the elect ('the virginal') and the greater number of hearers or catechumens ("the continent") (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 23). Shaked stated, "Mandaean doctrine was restricted to people deemed to possess a higher type of piety just as in Manichaeism and Mazdakite movement" (Shaked, 1994: 75).

[11] Yamauchi, 1970: 80 ff.

[12] In this respect Drower comments, "For the Mandaeans there was no founder to reverence, no great prophet to single out as leader, no human saint upon whom to pinpoint devotion."(Drower, "Mandaen Polemic", BSOAS, Vol. 25, (1962), pp. 438-448, esp. p. 438).

[13] Brandt writes: "The disintegration of the community after the Islamic invasion led, by means of the compilation of the divergent tractates and traditions, to the present-day disorder in the Mandaean religion. The "little college" of priests was dispersed throughout Mesopotamia and could no longer overcome the disunion" (Brandt, 1889: 58 cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 212).

[14] Pallis believes that all Jewish names and ideas mentioned in the Mandaean writings are derived from Islam (Pallis, 1926: 118).

> "Haran Gawaita (The Inner Haran) received him and that city in which there were Naṣoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus). And sixty thousand Naṣoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (*ṭura d̲Midai*), a place where they were free from domination by all other races. And they built

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[15] Lidzbarski, Ginza p. x. See also Rudolph, 1969: 213. Neusner believes that the Mandaeans were subject to a kind of persecution in Hasmonean times, or during the war of 66-73 against Rome (Neusner J., JAOS, 1975: 184-190, esp. p. 188).

[16] Al-Bairuni, *al-Athar al-Baqiyah*, Leipzig, 1923: 206:

الصابنة هم الذين تخلفوا ببابل من جملة الأسباط الناهضة في أيام كورش وأيام أرتطحشست الى بيت المقدس ومالوا الى شرائع المجوس فصبوا الى دين بختنصر فذهبوا مذهبا ممتزجاً من المجوسية واليهودية كالسامرة بالشام.

[17] GRR, p. 30: 8. The text:

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡉࡀࡄࡅࡈࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

[18] Rudolph points out that this migration was towards the north-west Iran between Harran and Nisibis or Media during the period of the later Arsacids (1st or 2nd century C.E.) Rudolph, 1983: 364. Coxon points out that Ardashir I, who became king in the year CE 208, conquered Mesene (Characene) and established the Sasanian suzerainty after a decisive battle against Artabanus V in C.E. 224 (Coxon, JSS, 1970: 17).

cult-huts (*bimandia*) and abode in the Call came to their end.."[19]

The great difficulty in studying Mandaeism is one of chronology. Despite the fact that much has been written about their origin and much speculation, the Mandaeans are the only Gnostic group who call themselves explicitly "Mandaeans" which equals the Greek "*gnostikoi*". In fact they are the only Gnostic sect which is still in existence. Other Gnostic groups in Egypt, Syria and Palestine vanished, long ago. Many scholars believe that the Mandaeans (Naşoreans), among other "heterodox groups," who flourished in the East were not native movements but rather "migrated there in the hope of escaping the waves of repression that periodically swept the West."[20] It was in Mesopotamia, in contact with the traditions and faiths of Persia, that these Naşoreans adopted dualism and became Mandaeans "Gnostics".[21] Some Mandaean hymns and writings (other than *Haran Gawaita*) verify their exodus from the West and their arrival at Babylon in the East. The following hymn speaks of a kind of reunion between those Naşorean immigrants (from Jerusalem) and their kinfolks in Babylonia:

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[19] Drower, Haran Gawaita, 1953: 3. Drower's translation, text collated: [illegible]

[20] Reeves, 1996: 46.

[21] Beyer states, "Mandaic was adopted by Naşoraeans, a Gnostic/Baptist community, after they had left Palestine (Jordan area) in the 1st century C.E. as a result of the hostility of contemporary Judaism and had migrated at the latest in the middle of 2nd century C.E. via northern Mesopotamia (Haran/Charrhae) to southern Babylonia (Mesene, Kuzistan)" (Cited by Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 51).

> From the home of the great community therein, I became the healer for souls! I became a healer for souls who heals but takes no fee. I set forth, came and reached the gates of Babylon. Of the children of Babylon there were some who shut their doors on seeing me: There were some who shut their doors. And there were those who opened their doors. Those who shut their doors hated Life and loved death and will be held back in the Abode of Darkness. Those who opened their doors loved Life and hated Death, they hated Death and loved Life. They will rise up in purity and will behold the Place of Light.[22]

It seems that the Naşoraeans flourished in Babylonia under the Parthian kingdom and dwelt, like the other Baptist and Gnostic sects (e.g. Elchsaites and Manicheans) in central and southern Babylonia in towns such as Kutha, Borsippa, Nippur[23] and Purat-Maysan.[24] As soon as they settled down they got acquainted with the magic and astrology of the Chaldeans and the astrology of the Babylonians.[25] Hence, they became the soothsayers and "masters" of incantations in Mesopotamia, from whence originated "the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic."[26] The Sasanians brought their flourishing to an end when the Zoroastrian state under Shapur I (241-272) began the persecution of "foreign" religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Manichaeism and Gnosticism, and ordered the destruction of many Mandaean temples.[27] Kardir (late 3rd century C.E.),[28] tells us in his inscription at *naqsh-i-Rustam* how he initiated a religious persecution of great severity throughout the Persian Empire against the other religions such as Manicheans, Jews, *kristyānē* Christians, *nāṣorāyē* Naṣoreans etc.[29] This inscription can be taken as a solid evidence of the existence of the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia, along with other Baptist/Gnostic sects at that time in Sasanian Iraq. In this respect Quispel writes: "The Mandaean problem has become an open question again since Torgny Säve Söderbergh has shown that the Manichaean *Psalms of Thomas* were based upon extant Mandaean hymns, thus proving that the Mandaean sect in Iraq must had a very long prehistory."[30]

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[22] CP pp. 142-43 (hymn No. 164). Drower's translation, text attested:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[23] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, 2004: 53.

[24] Forat-Mišan is situated in the neighborhood of Basra, the ancient dwelling place of the Mandadaeans. Brandt points out that the Perate branch of the Ophite gnosis was founded by ΕὐφράτηϹ or ΠερατιχόϹ whom the "Perates" obtained their name (Brandt, 1889: 192). According to Lidzbarski, some Characenian coins were written in the Mandaic script. (Naveh, "The Origin of the Mandaic Script", BASOR, 1970: 33). Jewish communities also flourished under the tolerant rule of the Achaemenids and Arsacids (SA, p. 99).

[25] See *Sfar Malwašia* "The Mandaean Book of the Zodiac", translated by Drower, London (1949).

In the sixteenth century, the Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran came to the attention of the Western world through the Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied the Portuguese armada in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and came into contact with the Mandaeans in and about Basra and in Khuzistan.[31] The Jesuits thought that they discovered the "heretical Christians of St. John," but to the disappointment of the monks they could not convince the Mandaeans, except for a few, to join the Christian faith. But they succeeded in recruiting some of them as mercenaries and interpreters who sailed with the Portuguese fleet to the Strait of Hormuz, Masqat, Goa, Ceylon and even to Portugal itself.[32] When the Portuguese witnessed the persecution of the Mandaeans at the hands of the Moslems,[33] the Portuguese reached an agreement with the Pasha of Basra to move the Mandaeans to the Christian lands, but the Pasha went back on his word and did not allow the Mandaeans to leave and the exodus came to a halt.[34]

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[26] Müller-Kessler Ch., ARAM, Vol. 11 & 12, 1999-2000: 296. Theodore bar Khoni says, "The *Dostai* are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Armaia Naṣōraeans (*Naṣrāiā*). (Cited by Eisler, 1931: 616, from: Pognon, *Inscr. Mandaites*, p. 224 sq. ; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 383; E. Peterson, *Z.N.T.W.*, xxvii. 1928: 65 n. 2, 95 n. 7).

[27] Rudolph, 1983: 364.

[28] Kartir is *Moabadan-Moabad* "the high priest" of the Magians who flourished under Shapur I, Hormizd I, Bahrām I, II, and III (Zaehner, 1955: 23-25).

[29] Zaehner, 1955: 24. Widengren, 1961: 16-17. Shaked, 1994: 11 and n. 15.

[30] He continues: "The curious expression "Lord of Greatness" in Mandaean writings has been found in the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon*. Moreover, I cannot explain the parallels between the names of Mandaean divinities and those found in certain Hellenistic magical papyri unless the Mandaeans have very old Western roots", "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, vol. 19, 1965: 79.

Conclusion:

According to the Mandaean manuscript "Haran Gawaita"[35] and other historical records, distinguished Semitic scholars, such as Lidsbarski, contented that Mandaism (literature and cult) is influenced strongly by the Old Testament and can only have originated in Jewish circles.[36] We might, therefore, conclude that the Naṣoraeans were either a heterodox Jewish sect or the followers of John the Baptist, who did not convert to Christianity, and they fled to the east before the fall of Jerusalem in C.E. 70 because they were persecuted by the Jews.[37] Having first settled in northern Mesopotamia (Haran),[38] they moved to the Median hills of old Parthia and finally settled in Babylon and southern Mesopotamia, where they still live. This migration might explain the cultural influences of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and the old Babylonian religion on the Mandaean writings.

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[31] Kraeling, 1929: 195.
[32] Lupieri, 2002: 83 ff.
[33] In 1637 all the Jews and Mandaeans of Persia were forced to convert to Islam (Lupieri, 2002: 104).
[34] Lupieri, 2002: 105.
[35] Lady Drower is certain that: "Haran Gawaita" is an important manuscript and might contribute to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Mandaeans (See Drower "Haran Gawaita" (1953) p. viii).
[36] Lidzbarski, 1915: xvi where he writes: *"Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultus ist so stark durch das Alte Testament und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst ausserhalb des Judentums findet"*. See also his similar views in *Mandäische Liturgien* 1920: xix and in *Ginza,* 1925: vi. Later, Lady Drower adopted the theory of a western origin of the Mandaeans in heretical Jewish circles: "early Naṣiruta, or *Ur-Mandäismus* to use the convenient German

§ 1.2 - The Mandaean System:

The Mandaeans believe in two universes: (i) An intangible universe which is beyond our perception, and consists of two worlds: the World of Light and the World of Darkness. (ii) The world of *mšūni kušṭa*[39] and the tangible world of Tibil (earth). According to their belief, the *Mana Rba* "the Great Mana" (Intelligence), who dominates the World of Light, issued *Hiia Qadmiia* "the First Life" from the great *yardina* "Jordan" of Life. In turn, the First Life submitted a request to himself and created a son of his own whom he called *Hiia Taniania* "the Second Life" or "Yōšamin". The Second Life became

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expression, was originally a sect which flourished in Judaea and Samaria then possibly in Parthian-Jewish settlements and in Transjordania, and that it was a hybrid strongly influenced by Magianism and Jewish Gnosticism" (Drower, "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) p. 448).

[37] The Mandaeans always define themselves as the followers of John the Baptist (*Yahia Yuhana*) in Jerusalem (SA, p. vi). According to Josephus, John the Baptist had "an astonishingly persuasive power over the Jewish populace" (Mead, 1924: 4).

[38] For the Mandaean polemic toward Christians, see Drower "Mandaean Polemic", BSOAS, (1962) pp. 438-48, esp. pp. 439-440, which might allude to their reason for moving from Haran.

[39] *mšūni kušṭa* : the world of ideal counterparts. "It is a world of ideas, in which is found in the double, the counterpart of everything in the material world" (See Drower, *The Secret Adam*, 1960: 39 ff.).

infatuated with the idea of creating a world of his own. He, therefore, transferred his defecting tendency to his son Abatur "the Third Life". Abatur opened the gate of the World of Light, and as soon he gazed into the abyss (or: darkness) Ptahil "the Fourth Life", came into being. Ptahil, who received a mandate from his father Abatur, descended to the black waters, consolidated *arqa* "the earth" and created the material world. On the other hand, the Lord of Darkness created a kingdom for himself with demonic beings of monsters, dragons, evil spirits and most of all the "Seven" (planets), and the "Twelve" (signs of the Zodiac) and their mother, the goddess of Darkness "Rūha". As a counter move, the World of Light created *Manda ḏ-Hiia* "Gnosis of Life"[40] in order to put an end to the defection of the *uthras* "beings of the World of Light" and to conquer the evil forces of the World of Darkness.

Ptahil, with the assistance of Rūha and her entourage, tried to create Adam but they could not succeed to make him stand on his feet. Therefore, Ptahil went back to the World of Light and brought from his father the *nišimta* "soul" and cast it into Adam's body. Only then Adam stood on his feet and became aware of his existence. The core of the Mandaean's soteriology is the deliverance of the *nišimta* "soul" from the perishable body. When death occurs the soul leaves the body and begins a long journey through the *maṭaratia* "watch-houses" or "purgatories" before reaching its final destination; *alma ḏnhura* "the World of Light".

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[40] Manda ḏ-Hiia: Gnosis of Life and the Mandaean Redeemer (See below §2.3.2).

There are minor resemblances between the Mandaean story of creation and the Babylonian one such as the creation of the savior and his fight against the forces of evil. These resemblances led scholars, such as Brandt, to believe that Mandaeism is an off-shoot of the late Babylonian religion; he even assumed that Mandaeism was the centre from which the Ophite [41] and similar Gnostic system issued. [42] Lady Drower dedicated the introduction of her book "Secret Adam" to the Naşoraeans and their exodus from Palestine, which she dates to just after the destruction of the 2nd temple. She also discusses their possible relationship with Jewish-Palestinian groups.[43]

§ 1.3 - Mandaism and Gnosticism:

In addition to the resemblances between Mandaeism and the Babylonian religion, we find striking parallels between the Mandaic Gnostic motifs and the motifs of the other Gnostic sects such as the Hermetists and the Valentinians especially in the area of the redeemer and the ascent of the soul.[44] Gnosticism, the most problematic of cults, is first clearly attested in the second century C.E., but its exact origin is still of great controversy among scholars.[45] It gathered momentum in the following century and spread to

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[41] A Gnostic sect flourished in north Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt during the first century (Wilson, 1958: 177ff).

[42] Pallis, 1926: 151.

[43] Drower, SA, p. xiv.

[44] Jonas writes, "The celestial journey of the returning soul is indeed one of the most constant common features in otherwise widely divergent systems, and its significance for the gnostic mind is enhanced by the fact that it represents a belief not only essential in gnostic theory and expectation, and expressive of the conception of man's relation to the world, but of immediate *practical* importance to the Gnostic believer, since the meaning of *gnosis* is to prepare for this final event, and all its ethical, ritual, and technical instruction is meant to secure its successful completion" (Jonas 1958: 165).

[45] Godwin, J., 1981: 84. Rudolph points out that "The beginning and end of Gnosis in late antiquity cannot be pin-pointed exactly. It makes appearance at the beginning of the Christian

Egypt and to the Fertile Crescent.[46] Some contemporary scholars, such as Quispel, believe that Gnosticism is neither the product of the Greek philosophy nor "a fossilized survival of old Iranian or even Indian religious concept."[47]

According to the Mandaean manuscript *Haran Gawaita* Mandaeism "Naṣoraeanism" struck roots in Mesopotamia when a tendency to relegate the gods of the old religions and to adopt the Persian dualism at the dawn of the first millennium when the country was under the Parthian-Sasanian dominion.[48] Mandaeism and other baptist gnostic-type movements must have been around much at that time.[49] Some hypotheses say that the Naṣoreans, who settled in East Jordan, became under the persecution of both the Jews and Christians, and for that reason they sought refuge in a friendlier atmosphere of Parthia and Media hills and from there they moved down to Babylon and southern Mesopotamia.[50] Naṣoreaanism preserved the old Gnostic tenet that the world is created by foolish creator or demiurge, who himself came into being as a result of an error and that the soul is a "spark" from the World of Light has to be redeemed and sent back to its origin, along

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era and disappears again at the latest in the 6th century, as far as the western manifestations are concerned" (Rudolph, 1983: 367).

[46] Jonas, 1958: 91. For more about different Gnostic sects in Mesopotamia see Morony, 1984: 408 ff.

[47] Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigliae Christianae*, 1965: 73. Quispel also noted: "It is rather a religion of its own, with its own phenomenological structure, characterized by the mythical expression of Self-experience through the revelation of the Word, or in other words, by an awareness of a tragic split within the Deity itself" (Ibid).

[48] Haran Gawaita tells that the Naṣoreans (Mandaeans) migrated from Jerusalem under the Parthian king Artabanus III (?). (see Drower, *Haran Gawaita*, 1953: 3, n. 3).

[49] Shaked, 1994: 11.

[50] SA, p. xi.

with many indications of syncretistic Judaism. Many distinguished scholars[51] conclude that Naṣoraeanism (Mandaeism) is a heretical Jewish sect and its members are the "ultimate descendant of the Palestinian baptists of New Testament times and the period immediately preceding."[52] The divorce between this sect and official Judaism perhaps took place during the first and the second centuries C.E.[53] This defection of the Naṣoraeans from Judaism is documented in one of the rarest Mandaean passages which is connected with the consecration of a priest:

> And then he spoke and taught about the man who becomes a priest on earth and who leaves lay life for priesthood, like the soul which quits Judaism for Mandaeaism. For before it is baptized an infant dwells in an abode of Judaism, and a guardian-spirit of Light sits beside it (lit: sits on its neck) guarding it and awaiting its delivery from the snares of the Jews.[54]

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[51] Such as: Rudolph 1983: 362, he also writes: "in the context of the Jewish wars of independence and the growing consolidation of Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), its position in opposition evidently led to persecutions of the community and ultimately to its emigration from the Jordan territory to the east." (Ibid pp. 363-4), Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 1925: vi, Lidzbarski, *Mandäisce Liturgien*, 1920: xix, Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, 1915: xvi, Drower, SA, p. x ff., Deutsch, ARAM, 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 209-223, esp. 212. Reeves points out that: "Mandaism is a prominent Syro-Mesopotamian Gnostic movement possessing discernible links with late antique Judaism" (Reeves, 1996: 143).

[52] Wilson, 1958:66-7, Yamauchi, 1973: 121-2.

[53] Rudolph, 1978: 4.

[54] ATŠ II [358], p. 276. Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Drower states: "there is often a polemical interchange of (ṭ) with (*d*) when scribes refer to Jews. Here either could be meant, as the two letters frequently replace one another. (In Ginza Rba Judaism is *yahduta*.) The polemical world-play on YHṬ and YHD is commented on by Lidzbarski (ATŠ, p. 255 n. 8).

The following text is another significant clue which may suggest that Mandaeism was a heterodox Jewish sect who chose to adopt Gnosticism "Mandaeism":

> He said to them: "The first *kušṭa* (oath) is a precious *kušṭa*; it is the promise made at baptism which takes the soul out of its *yahuṭuth* ('Judaism') into Mandaeism."[55]

The Mandaean tale of Miriai, the Jewish princess who left her religion and joined the Mandaeans, also shows a possible connection between the earliest Mandaeans and Jewish sectarians of the Second Temple period.[56] Other Mandaean writings from the Ginza such as the eleventh book of the Right Ginza "the Mystery book of Great Anoš (Enosh)" and book twelve, identifying the speaker as the "great Anoš", possess discernible links with the antique Judaism.[57]

The evolution of Mandaeism was summed up by H. –M. Shenke in three points: (1) originally the Mandaens were a heretical Jewish baptismal sect, one among many. (2) The Mandaeans then accepted a Gnostic view. (3) This gnosis was finally institutionalized.[58]

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[55] ATŠ II [198], p. 255. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[56] Zalcman, 1991: 421.

[57] Reeves, 1996: 143. Concerning the history of the Mandaean textual corpus he stated: "If a clear connection can be established between the *Codex* "apocalypse" passage and Mandaean Enosh material, an important step would be taken toward an improved understanding of the religio-historical relationship linking a number of Syrio-Mesopotamian religious communities" (Ibid, pp. 143-4). Reeves also adds: "The amazingly close correspondence in language between the *Codex* passage and the Mandaean texts is extraordinary, bolstering the growing suspicion that they derive from a common textual corpus" (Ibid, p. 147). On the other hand the Mandaeans accused the Jews of not observing the laws of impurity at all. (GRR, book XI. See also Lidzbarski, Ginza, pp. 224-5 where Kiwan "Saturn" is the god of the Jews).

We may outline the main parallel and different features of the Mandaean Gnostic system and the general Gnostic system according to the following table:

§ 1.3.1 - General Parallels and Differences between Gnosticism and Mandaeanism:

Gnosticism	**Mandaeanism**
1. The Gnostic system is based upon the dualistic opposition between the transcendental world of the "fullness" (*pleroma*) embracing the High God and the Aeons, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the "emptiness" (*kenoma*), the planetary and terrestrial world inhabited by man.	1. The Gnostic system of the Mandaeans is based upon the opposition between the transcendental (*nukraiia*) world of Light embracing *hiia rbia qadmaiia* "the First Great Life" (or: the King of Light) and the *uthras*, his inferior emanations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of Darkness, the Seven planets (*šibiahia*) and terrestrial world (*tibil*) inhabited by man.
2. The *kenoma* came about because of some crisis in the *pleroma*, whereby the lowest of the Aeons on the emanation scale, a female figure	2. The physical world came about because of the crises caused by the Second Life "Yōšamin" and his sons the *uthras* when they decided to create a

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[58] Quoted from Yamauchi, 1973: 122.

known variously as Wisdom (Sophia) or Thought (*Enonoia*) lapsed out of the *pleroma*, and in her confusion and dissatisfaction, she produced the angel archons, generally seven in number, who created and then ruled the world.	world of their own without consulting the higher deity, the First Life. Abatur (the Third Life) lapsed out of the world of Light, and in his confusion and dissatisfaction, produced Ptahil (the Fourth Life). Ptahil created the world with the help of Rūha and her sons the Seven planets who ruled the world.
3. The spark or spirit (*pneuma*) of the divine *pleroma* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place on high.	3. The soul *nišimta* or *mana* which fell into man must be regained and restored to its rightful place; the World of Light.
4. An Aeon (Jesus) is sent down to redeem the innermost part of every man's *pneuma* through suffering.	4. The messenger *Manda d̲-Hiia* (Gnosis of Life) or Enosh-Uthra is sent down to lead the *nišimta* (soul) to its final destination through *gnosis* "knowledge" and "awakening."
5. Gnosticism is optimistic towards the destiny of man and pessimistic towards the universe.[59]	5. Mandaeanism is optimistic towards the destiny of the *nišimta* (soul) of man and pessimistic towards the physical world "Tibil".

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[59] Extracts from Peters, 1972: 648 ff.

§ 1.4 - The Main Characteristic Rituals of the Mandaeans:

> "The great importance which the Mandaeans attribute to their cult practices shows their special character even more clearly. It is not "knowledge" alone that redeems but the cultic rites, primarily baptism and the "mass for the dead", are necessary for salvation."[60]

§ 1.4.1 - ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *Maşbuta* (Baptism)

The central cultic rite of the Mandaeans is baptism or "immersion" ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ (*maşbuta*, pronounced *maşwatta*). It is the immersion in the fluid of Life which gives the promise of eternal life to the *nišimta* "soul".[61] The rite of baptism had the esoteric significance of an initiation into the mystery of gnosis. To the Mandaean water is the medium which most fully expresses the mystery of being, or of the Being which is semi personified as the 'Great Life', and a river is the equivalent of the heavenly 'Jordan' flowing in the world of light:[62] Thus ࡌࡉࡀ *mia* "water" originates in (Life) and conversely ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* "Life" originates in water. By performing baptism in the *yardina* "river" the Mandaean enters a into *laupa* "union" with the World of Light. Thus, the

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[60] Rudolf, 1983: 360. He continues: "From this it may be deduced that here the gnostic ideology was amalgamated with that of an older cultic community, a heretical Jewish baptismal sect as is suggested by the water rites, and that thus an original Mandaean-Naşorean system came into existence, probably already in pre-Christian times."

[61] MII, p. 100.

[62] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 229.

Mandaean is protected from the powers of death, purified from pollution and defilement and also receives forgiveness for his transgression.[63]

In addition to the immersion in the running water, the full baptism includes the sacrament of oil, bread, and water, the hand-grasp and kiss called 'giving *kušṭa*'[64] and the final blessing by laying the right hand of the priest on the head of the baptized person. Besides the full baptism there are two lesser water rites which are performed without priestly assistance:

1. *rišama*: prayers recited daily, with covered head, just before sunrise; after evacuation of the bowels. At this stage no priest is needed.
2. *ṭamaša*: the second ablution is a triple complete immersion in the river, also performed without ministration of a priest. It must be performed immediately after any kind of pollution (coition, nocturnal pollution, touching an unclean person) and after any serious defilement such as touching the body of a dead person. It must be also performed by a woman after menstruation and after child birth.[65]

Some scholars believe that certain roots of the Mandaean baptism is related to the Jewish rule such the prohibition of baptism and other rites on the Sabbath and on the *mbaṭṭal* (inauspicious) days.[66] But repeated baptism was a common feature among the different gnositc sects of Babylonia such as the Elchasaites who were attacked by Mani for their *daily* baths.[67] The Mandaean baptism is unique of its kind and did not come into being as a reproduction of the Christian-Syrian, especially Neşţorian rite. "In fact it is possible that certain characters go back to a pre-Christian period and have their origin in the lustral and baptismal practice of unorthodox Judaism, i.e. in the so-called baptismal sects (Maşboteans, Şebueans, cf. Şābeans)."[68] Other Gnostics such as the Ebionites and Hemerobaptists also performed repeated baptism.[69]

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[63] For the full details of the Mandaean baptism *maṣbuta* see Segelberg, *Maṣbūtā* , Uppsala (1958), MII p. 100 ff., Buckley, 2002: 80 ff.

[64] *kušṭa*: (a) "good faith", "rectitude", "truth", "sincerity", "right", "pact", "troth", "promise". (b) The act of placing the right hand in that of another person in token of and ratification of a pact, oath or promise. This act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. (c) A being, a personification of truth and good faith (ATŠ, p. 12).

[65] MII, p.101.

[66] Segelberg, 1958: 176.

The pliability of the research in the field of Mandaeism is always ambushed by the ambiguity of some terms and characters.[70] In baptism we are faced with an indefinite personality of *bihram rba* "Bihram the Great" as we read in the following baptismal formula:

> "I have baptized myself with the baptism of Bahram the Great, son of the Mighty Ones. My baptism shall protect me and attain the end (or: be successful). The name of Life and the name of Manda ḏ-Hiia be pronounced on me."[71]

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[67] For Mani's confrontation with the baptists see Henrichs, 1973: 43. In respect of the ritual immersion in Babylonia, Drower writes: "Ritual immersion was ancient indeed in Babylonia, and during Iranian domination shrines had been built on the Tigris and Euphrates to the water-goddess Anahita, who under her Semitic name Nanai or Nanaia is still invoked in Mandaean exorcism books" (SA, pp. 104-5).

[68] Foerster, 1974: 132.

[69] Henrichs, 1973: 50.

[70] In the Mandaean marriage we come across *Šišlam Rba* who is the prototype of priest and bridegroom.

[71] CP, p. 21. The texts:
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡑࡁࡉࡕ ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡕࡉࡍࡈࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡕࡉࡎࡀࡒ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ
ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

Bihram, as it seems, is the core of the ritual, but he does not play any significant role in the Mandaean mythology. It is obvious that Bihram is a Persian name associated with some Persian kings,[72] and with the Persian god Bahram or Vahram.[73] We have no evidence, whatsoever, to prove that the Bihram mentioned at the Mandaean baptism is a human being who established the sect, as implied by some. Others, like Segelberg, hypothesized that when the Mandaens settled in the East during the Sassanian period they replaced the name of *Yohana* "John the Baptist" with Bihram in order to legitimize the new religion to the rulers of the country.[74]

In addition to the main baptism, which is performed in every religious event including marriage, the Mandaeans perform a minor ablution (baptism) to the dying person. After the priest performs *rišama* "the minor ablution", the mortally ill person is dressed in his *rasta* (ritual dress), and a small myrtle wreath is inserted in the little finger of his right hand and he is watched carefully day and night so that he not die unclean. At the end of the *rišama* the priest recites some prayers, while some members of the dying person's family bring water from the river. When death approaches, the dying person is undressed and doused three times from head to foot. They lift him and place him on clean bedding facing the North Star.[75] Then they cloth him in a new *rasta* and wait for his *nišimta* (soul) to depart his body. [76] In the past other Gnostic sects such as the Valentinians and the Marconsians used to perform this kind of baptism for their dying people.[77]

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[72] Bihram I, Bihram, Birhram III and Bahram IV (Zaehner, 1955: 38 ff).

[73] About this ambiguous figure, which is closely associated with the Mandaean baptism, Drower writes: "His name is Iranian (Avestan Vəδəθaγna) and the Mandaean Bihram may be the Persian genius of victory (New Persian *Bahrām* < Middle Persian *Varhrān*) . . The presence of the banner at Mandaean baptism may be connected with Bihram's banner of victory" (SA p. 65). Vahram or Baharam (Verethraghna), the *yazata* "is the Persian god of the planets and victory who was created by Ahura and became the great champion against demons" (Boyce, 1975: 54, see also Zaehner, 1955: 220). Lupieri suggests that the Mandaeans who lived in Characene since the second century must have chosen Bihram (the deity of Maisan) as eponymous deity of their baptism (Lupieri, 2002: 163 f.).

[74] Segelberg, 1955: 57 ff. At any account this subject needs further research.

§ 1.4.2 - ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡀ The Masiqta (Ascent of the Soul)

The Masiqta is the second major ceremony of the Mandaeans and it, too, includes immersion in "Jordan" (river, running water), anointing with oil and crowning with the myrtle wreath. It is the Naşoraean mass dedicated to those who die "unclean" without the proper ceremony of the dead. The Mandaean has to die clean wearing his white ceremonial outfit in order to join his heavenly *dmuta* "image, counterpart": "I go to meet my image and my image comes to me: it caresses and embraces me as if I were returning from captivity."[78] The Mandaeans believe that a man who dies in a violent death suffers long and painful delay in the *maṭaratia* (watch-houses) before moving into the next world. Therefore, a *masiqta* "ascension" ceremony has to be performed three days after the death of the believer in order to assist *nišimta* "the soul", by furnishing it with a new body, with which it could enter the

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[75] Perhaps this is due to the old Mesopotamian influences, since the north is connected to high lands "mountains".
[76] MII p. 178 ff.
[77] Widengren, 1946: 108.
[78] GRL, p. 136: 1. The text:
[illegible]
Cf. the "figure of light that comes to meet the dying" in the Coptic-Manichaean genealogy of gods (Jonas, 1958: 122).

World of Light.[79] For the Mandaeans the fate of the *nišimta* is the main concern, because *pagra* "the body" cannot rise to the world of Light and eventually integrates back into the earth.[80]

The *masiqta* is a long ceremony, which requires the presence of, at least, three priests: a *ganzibra*[81] "head-priest", a *tarmida* "priest" and a *šganda* "assistant". The preparations for this ceremony start on Saturdays only and the main ritual takes place on Sunday.[82] The main ingredients of *masiqta* "ascension" are the recitation of certain prayers from the Left Ginza, and a sacramental meal. The meal includes unleaved bread, [83] different kind of fruit and nuts, fish, and a tiny piece of sacrificed white dove-flesh (*ba*).[84] There must be fresh myrtle and a large bowl of water just filled from the *yardina* "river".[85] The recitations are continued at fixed intervals until the end of the forty-five days' journey of the soul.[86] There are at least nine major variants of the Mandaean *masiqta*:

1. The *Bukra*: the first *masiqta* performed by a priest after ordination. 2. The *masiqta* of newly-consecrated *ganzabra*. 3. The *Dabahata* or *Ṭabahata*:

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[79] On the third day a *masiqta* is performed for the dead and the seal of the grave is removed.
[80] Drower, 1956: 234.
[81] *Ganzibra* (Paž. Ganzubar, Pahl. ganǧāβar, Mod. P. گنجور , Aram. loan-word גזברא ܓܙܒܪܐ) treasurer: the ecclesiastical rank above that of the *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) Akk. *ganzabāru* "treasurer" (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, 2000: 90, see also Macuch, 196 5: 139).
[82] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, 2004: 18.
[83] The Manicheans share two rites with the Mandaeans: the purification of their food and the ritual preparation of unleaved bread (*faiṭira*) (See Henrichs, 1973: 45).
[84] A ritual word for the dove sacrificed at the *masiqta*, and the sacred dove's meat consumed by the priests at the same (MD, p. 44).
[85] Drower comments: "the symbolism of water, fruit, bread and fresh myrtle, are linked with the idea of fertility and life triumphant over death." (Drower, "The Mandaean New Year Festival", *Man*, Vo. 36 (Nov., 1936), pp. 185-188, esp. p. 188).
[86] Rudolph, 1983: 362.

celebrated in the names of a male and female, and linked with the celebration of a *Dukrana lhdaia rba zadiqa*. 4. The *masiqta* of *Shitil*: celebrated for one who dies not wearing a myrtle-wreath or otherwise improperly clad for death. 5. The *masiqta* of *Zihrun Razia Kasia*: celebrated for one who had died during of the minor *mbaṭṭal* days (inauspicious days on which all ritual is forbidden), etc. 6. The *masiqta* of Adam: for one who has died on one of the major *mbaṭṭal* days, such as New Year's Day. 7. The *masiqta* of *Samandri'il*: for a person who has died of burns, or has fallen from a tree or been drowned. 8. The *masiqta* of *kanat*: for a woman who dies during pregnancy. 9. *masiqta* of *hai-šūm*: for a person who died as a result of a snake bite. There are other *masiqta* for a bride-groom who died during wedding ceremonies and for moving the remains of a dead person.[87]

While the *masiqta* is intended essentially for the dead, it is also applied to living. A *masiqta* is performed in the ceremony of initiating a new priest. The *ašualia* "novice for priesthood" dedicates a *masiqta* to his *rabi* "teacher" and pronounces his name at a certain point in the ritual where the name of officiating priest has to be indicated.

§ 1.5 - The Mandaean Calendar

The Mandaeans have a lunar year, which is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days named *Parwanaiia*,[88] which fall between *Sumbulta* "Virgo", the 8th month, and Qaina "Libra" (Tišrin), the 9th month. The beginning of the "Panja" festival changes depending upon the movements of lunar months in the year.[89] The Mandaean calendar is a 365-day calendar consisting of twelve 30-day months, with 5 epagomenals inserted at the end of the 8th month. This compensation takes place during the *Parwanaiia* (or: *Panaja* = five days) which is celebrated by the Mandaeans during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin).[90]

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[87] Al-Sabti, *Masiqta*, Nijmegen (2004) pp. 13-14.

[88] The word Parwanaiia (parwānāyē) connected with the Parthian adverb *parwan*, "before or after" (Mary Boyce, "A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian", *Acta Iranica* 9a. (Leiden, 1977), p. 72. n. 7, see also Burtea, "Šarh ḏ-Paranaiia", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 66).

During the five days preceding, no religious ceremony except a funeral may be performed, and no undertaking of importance should be begun, for these are considered to be "days of darkness".[91] They are followed by the five intercalary days mentioned above, called "days of light". Mandaeans are forbidden to pray after sunset at other times of the year, but during the nights of *Parwanaiia* darkness is considered non-existent, and praise and prayer flow continually. Barriers between this world and the world of Light are down.

The Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. The beings of light are:

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[89] The term Panja means the five *Gatha* days, also called *Khamsat al-mustariqat*, was used in the Persian as well as in the Sistanian calendars during the 5th century (See Taqizadeh, "The Old Iranian Calendar again", BSOAS, Vol. 14, No. 3, (1952), pp. 603-611, esp. p. 608).

[90] The old Iranian calendar (of 12 months of 30 days and 5 supplementary days) are still in use in many districts of Kashan, Natanz, Maima, Javshagan, and the in the province of Yazd. (Ibid, 610).

[91] The Mandaeans think the five days preceding intercalary days particularly ominous, because they are dedicated to the evil spirits of death and darkness.

Marad-Rabuta, Manda ḏ-Hiia, Šišlam-Rba, Adam-Shaq and Hibil-Ziwa.[92] Although this calendar could have been borrowed from the Zoroastrians at any time in the early Middle Ages, further characteristics of the Mandaean calendar suggest earlier origins that would pre-date the Middle Ages, the Sassanians, and even Mandaeism itself. The twelve months of the Mandaean year grouped and named according to four seasons (e.g. the first month of the year is called *awal sitwa*, "first of the winter") but also bear Babylonian (Aramaic) names of months. The month Nisan designates the 3rd month of the year, exactly as in the Sogdian calendar, but incongruously since Nisanu is the 1st month of the Babylonian year.

The twelve months of the Mandaean year are divided into four seasonal divisions: *Sitwa* (winter), *Abhar* (spring), *Giṭa* (summer), and *Paiz* (autumn). The months are also named according to the signs of the Zodiac: *Daula* "Aquarius" (Šabat), *Nuna* "Pisces" (Adar), *Ambra* "Aries" (Nisan), *Taura* "Taurus" (Ayar), *Ṣilmia* "Gemini" (Siwan), *Ṣirṭana* "Cancer" (Tammuz), *Arya* "Leo" (Ab) *Šumbulta* "Virgo" (Ellul), *Qaina* "Libra" (Tišrin), *Arqba* "Scorpio" (Mašrwan), *Haṭia* "Sagittarius" (Kanun), *Gadia* "Capricon" (Ṭabit). Each year is named after the day which it began, e.g. the Year of Habšaba, the Year of Sunday; or Year of Rahaṭia, Year of Friday. The Mandaean New Year is called Dihba Rba.[93] The Mandaeans count the 24 hours of a day and night as beginning at dawn, i.e. Tuesday is followed by Tuesday night: "the night of Tuesday" to an Arab, on the contrary, means the night *preceding* Tuesday.

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[92] ATŠ, pp. 116-7. Hibil-Ziwa: a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Manda ḏ-Hiia.
[93] See MII, pp. 84-5.

The Mandaean calendar has the additional incongruity of beginning the year with the winter season, whereas the Persian-Zoroastrian New Year is normally associated with the spring. The Persian-Zoroastrian New Year coincided with early winter in the 1st century B.C.E., so the essential names of Mandaean months may have been instituted in this period.[94] The Mandaeans are the only non-Iranian people who adopted the old Iranian calendar, along with quite a number of other beliefs, of the later Sasanian period i.e., the time of Khosrau the Great (sixth century) without the slightest change.[95] But the Mandaeans did not use the Persian names of the months and kept the Semitic ones, as mentioned above.

The main purpose of the Mandaean calendar is to determine the ominous and auspicious times. The Mandaeans believe in two kinds of ominous (*mbaṭṭal*) days: (1) Minor *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": on these days the Mandaeans are not allowed to slaughter animals, but are allowed to eat meat of slaughtered animals on the day before. (2) Major *mbaṭṭal* "ominous": Slaughter of animals or eating meat is not allowed during these days; only vegetarian food.[96]

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[94] This information is courtesy of Dr. S. Stern (oral communication).

[95] Taqizadeh, BSOS, Vol. 9, 1938: 605-7. The Mandaeans still call the New Year's Day (*dahba rba*) by the Persian name *Naurūz Rba*. He also writes: "There is, however, one small people (he means the Mandaeans) with whom not only the old Iranian system of time reckoning survives, but whose national calendar is now, strictly speaking, the only true continuance of that once very widely used Mazdayasnian or Young-Avestan calendar" (Ibid, p. 605).

[96] *'niani* ࡏࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉ book of the Mandaeans p. 163.

§1.6 - Mandaean Feasts

§1.6.1 - ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ Parwanaiia (Panja)

As mentioned above, the most important of the Mandaean's feasts is the *Parwanaiia*[97] (or: Panja) which is celebrated during the five intercalary days between the end of the month *Šumbulta* (Ellul) and the beginning of *Qaina* (Tišrin). Five days before the Panja, or the last five days of *Šumbulta*, are considered major *mbaṭṭl* (ominous days), for they are dedicated to the five lords of Darkness, but the period Panja is the happiest time of the whole year. As noted above, the Mandaean year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each and a month with five intercalary days. These five days are called *Parwanaiia* and the Mandaeans believe that in the five days of the *Parwanaiia* (Panja) five celestial beings of Light were created, and that consequently the doors of the world of Light are open during these five days. Those ࡍࡐࡀࡒࡀ *nfaqa* "out of the body" (dead), are with their loved ones and share in communion (*laufa*) with them ritual meals eaten in their names. The five days of the Parwanaiia are called *hamša iuma ḏparuaniia ḏhinun dukrana* "the five days commemoration".[98] The perfected souls of ancestors and spirits of life and light have special powers at this time to help the living. Should a person have the food fortune to die during the sacred five days, he or she will pass quickly through the purgatories (or: watch-houses) to the world of light. On the last day of the feast, special ceremonies are performed by the priests for those who, during the past year, died in a state of impurity, or not wearing ritual garment. Sheep are slaughtered for lay feasting and charity, and a small piece of sheep's fat is placed on *zidqa brika* (Holy Oblation) tables. Every man, woman and child should be baptized and all share in sacraments which commemorate the dead.[99]

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[97] ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ *pārwānāyē* is connected with modern Persian adverb فرستادن *parstadan* and the Parthian پرزوان *parwan* "forward, before" (Burtea, "Šarh ḏ-Paruaniia", ARAM, Vol. 16, 2004: 86).

[98] ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡓࡅࡀࡍࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡅࡊࡓࡀࡍࡀ

§1.6. 2 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ Dihba Rba

Dihba Rba is the Mandaeans' New Year festival, celebrated at the beginning of *Daula* (Šabat), the first month of the Mandaean year. They also use the Persian name *Nauruz Rba* for this festival. New Year's Eve is called *Kanši uZahli* "cleaning and lustration". On this day sheep and chicken are slaughtered, bread is baked and kept in the house, jars and pots are filled with water enough for thirty-six hours. All day, till sunset (*paina ḏ-Dahba Rba*), the priests baptize the faithful. Thirty-six hours before the second day of *Daula* (Šabat), i.e. the night before the New Year and the first of the New Year, is called the Day-of-Lacking, during which period priests and laymen retire into the house, where they must remain without going outside, no matter for what purpose, and no religious ceremony can take place. The reason given for these precautions against pollution is this: For the Mandaeans, the New Year honors Mana Rba Kabira and how he completed his work of Creation. On this day, the spirits of light gather together to embark on a twelve hour journey to visit the Great Mana and show their appreciation towards him. Abatur closes his door, Nidbai and Šilmai forsake their posts as the guardians of running waters; Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš depart; the dwellers in *Mšunia Kušṭa* (the parallel pure world) with Adam Kasia (Secret Adam) at their head and their guardian spirit Šišlam Rba (the *dmuta* of Hibil-Ziwa) all rise into the infinite worlds of light. They travel by the "vehicles of Light" and this celestial journey takes them twelve hours. They reach the realm of Light at the dawn of the New Year and spend the next twelve hours praying and praising the Great Ones. Their journey back covers the next night.

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[99] Drower, *Water into Wine*, 1956: 37-8.

While the guardians are gone, the world is left defenseless and all sources of nature, including trees and rives, become exposed to the forces of evil and death. Therefore, the Mandaeans take extra measures to protect themselves from pollution by staying at home praying and meditating for thirty-six hours. On the third day of the feast (the second day of the new year) the invisible guardians having returned, the vigil is over and there is a general jubilation. The Mandaeans gather in the *mandi* "temple" to greet the *ganzibra* "high-priest", and listen to his portents for the year. Then they go to visit Mandaean families that have recently lost a loved one to console them and assure them that they are not alone in times of difficultly. Once this is done, they feast and make merry.[100]

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[100] For more details on this feast see Drower, 1956: 34 ff.

§1.6.3 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡃࡔࡉࡔࡋࡀࡌ ࡓࡁࡀ (ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡃࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀࡍ) The Dihba d- Šišlam Rba or the Dihba d-Šušian

The Mandaeans also call this feast *Nauruz Zūṭa* (Little New Year) which takes place on the 6th day and the 7th of the first month. The night between these two days is called "the night of power"[101] and then, if a man is pious, the gate of Abatur is opened for him in a vision and he obtains whatever he may ask. However, if he is really pious he does not ask worldly favours but freedom from sin and spiritual gifts, and the result is not immediately seen. The priests visit the Mandaean families and hang on the door of every house a wreath of willow and myrtle, which remains there till the next year and is thought to protect the Mandaeans from evil. In return, the Mandaeans donate a small fee to the priests.

§1.6.4 - ࡃࡉࡄࡁࡀ ࡄࡍࡉࡍࡀ The Dihba Hnina or Dihba Ṭurma (the little feast)

This feast takes place on the 18th of Taura (Ayar) and lasts for three days. Baptism should take place and the dead be remembered by *lofani* or ritual meals. Dihba Hnina celebrates the return of Hibil-Ziwa form the underworlds to the worlds of light. It is a cheerful feast and commemorates creation. Hibil-Ziwa's marriage to Zahariel (the female spirit of the underworld) results in the birth of Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos). On the first day of this feast they visit each other and have a special breakfast together which consists of rice, yogurt and dates.

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[101] The Moslems celebrate a similar occasion on the night of the 27th of the fasting month "*Ramadan*" which they call *lailat elqadr* "the Night of Power". They believe the gate of heavens open in this night and some of the believers' wishes come true.

§ 1.7 - ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀ *luṭata uqiriata* Curses and Incantations

A large number of Mandaic magic bowls, lead and gold amulets were found in Mesopotamia during the 19th and 20th century, and have reached the Western world through archeologists and antique dealers. We cannot determine a dating for this magic material but most scholars believe that they belong to period between the 2nd and the 6th century C.E. The writings on the terracotta magic bowls survived because they were written with a special kind of "permanent" ink. The ink *diuta* ࡃࡉࡅࡕࡀ is made, according to a secret recipe, by the scribes themselves, who are often the priests.[102] To the Mandaeans writing is a sacred art and the letters of the alphabet represent the powers of life and of light. Hence, Mandaeans look upon their alphabet as magical and sacred. Writing is under the special protection of the planet Nabû[103]. Letters of the alphabet, inscribed on twenty-four scraps of silver or gold, are placed under the pillow of a person who desires heavenly guidance in some matter of difficulty.[104]

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[102] The following recipe was given to Drower by a Mandaean priest during her stay in Iraq: "Mix glue with river water, let it melt, and then evaporated for six days. On the seventh, pound it with powder charcoal in the portion of one *mithqal* (nearly 4.8 gm)of charcoal to 25 glue, for four or five days. Mix with water to a smooth paste, and after evaporation it will form crystals. These, mixed with river-water (*yardina*) to from ink. The *Asut Malka* (a prayer recited before all baptisms and ritual meals, and rites) should be read over it" (MII p. 23).

[103] Nbû or 'Nbû in Mandaean (Babylonian *Nabû* 'Mercury'). The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, consider him as the patron of writing and the god of wisdom (MD, p. 287, see also Dally, 1989: 325).

The bowls contain valuable information of mythical tales of Late Antiquity including early forms of liturgy, mystical literature and Mandaean textual material.[105] They also reflect the Mandaean belief and creed.[106] The purpose of these magic bowls and rolls is to throw a protective spell against enemies, capture demons, and repulse curses and avert evil eye, over the clients for whom they were written. Incantations were of various kinds and shapes; some were for health and others as love talismans.[107] The Mandaeans possessed a large collection of charms and magical prescriptions, and when written down they formed a real "Book of Magic". The most famous "magic" book is *Asfar Malwāšā* (Book of the Zodiac) which deals with a system of astrology based on the Signs of the Zodiac based on astrological literature of the Babylonians.[108]

The magic roll is of two kinds. The larger is not easily carried on the person. It is usually called a ࡒࡌࡀࡄࡀ *qmaha*. The smaller, for which the word ࡆࡓࡀࡆࡕࡀ *zrazta* is usual though not invariable, is written minutely on a long strip of paper from 2 – 3 inches wide, tightly rolled and inserted into a small gold or silver case so tat it may be suspended round the neck from a string or chain. The astrological name of the person for whose protection the roll has been written recurs throughout together with invocations of the powers of light and life for himself, his family, his possessions, and his trade.[109]

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[104] MII, p. 240.
[105] Levene D., 2002: 7.
[106] Segal, 2000: 25.
[107] E. S. Drower, *A Mandaean Book of Black Magic*, JRAS (1941) p. 15.
[108] Budge, 1930: 241.

The Mandaeans, like the Babylonians, lived lives of fear because they believed in the existence of myriads of fiends and devils which caused sickness and death to themselves and damage to their material property.[110] The phantoms of ghosts of dead men were greatly feared in Babylonia, even more so than among the Mandaeans. It was necessary for the living to offer food, perform rituals, and recite incantations in order to propitiate potentially vengeful ghosts, who were as often as not their relatives.[111] The people clung to the use of amulets and the art of incantations thrived in Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans became the masters of this art, and the originators of the most interesting magic formulas in Eastern Aramaic.[112]

The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid. The Seven (planets) and the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac), mentioned in many of the holy writings, may be treated as allies and friends. *Pašra d̠-Šambra* (a love charm) addressed to Libat (Dilbat, Ištar) which begins frankly, "In the name of Libat, mistress of gods and men". Antagonistic references to the planets and signs of the Zodiac also appear, sometimes in same phylactery.[113] The planets are considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotion are harmful to the soul, and fault committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡀ *matarata* (s. *matarta* ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡕࡀ), realms equivalent to purgatories. The Mandaean view is that after death the soul has to pass through a number of posts of stations, *matarata*, before it reaches the scales of judgement. *Matarata* serve as places of purification for the soul proceeding towards the Realm of Light, and each is in charge of a keeper or keepers.[114]

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[109] MII, p. 26.

[110] Budge, 1930: 241.

[111] Yamauchi, 1967:27. "The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature" (Montgomery, 1913: 116).

[112] Müller-Kessler Ch., "Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations", *Aram* Vol. 11 & 12 (1999-2000) p.296. Montgomery writes "The Mandaic dialect is fully formed and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling, upon the other two, the rabbinic and Syriac" (Montgomery, 1913: 104).

Many of the divine figures and demons are mentioned in the *Ginza* are invoked in the Mandaean incantations and amulets, such as: ࡄࡉࡉࡀ 'the Life', ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *manda d-hiia* 'the gnosis of Life', ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ "Hibil", ࡉࡀࡅࡀࡓ "Yawar", ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ "the (Seven) Planets", ࡉࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡍ "Yōšamin", ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ "Ptahil", ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀࡋ Gabriel, ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ Šamiš, ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ "Kiwan" ࡁࡉࡋ "Bel" ࡍࡁࡅ "Nabu" or "Nbu" ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ "Nirig" or "Nergal" ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕ "Lilith", ࡃࡉࡅࡉ "Dewis" ࡐࡕࡀࡊࡓࡉࡀ "Idol-spirits" ࡓࡅࡄࡀ "Rūha" ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ "Stira" (Ištar) "Venus-Libat" ࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ "Adonai" etc. These names and more are also found in the other chapters of the Ginza and in the other Mandaean texts.

In 1905 Mark Lidzbarski published a lead amulet which he dated about 400 C.E. It is considered the earliest of all Mandaic writings. The writing was inscribed with a nail, and the letters are very small.[115] The scroll would be rolled up and worn in a container. Lady Drower believes that the lead strip was immersed in water and the water swallowed by the person to be cured or exorcised.[116] The following lines from Lidzbarski's lead amulet invoke most of the divine and demonic names mentioned above (notice the guttural [illegible]: ע is not dropped in the name of Manda d̲-Hiia):

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[113] MII, p. 26.
[114] McCullough, 1967: 17.
[115] Yamauchi, 1967: 6.

> I call and Mand'a d̲-Hiia I ask for mercy. I say to him, "Do you, O Mand'a d̲-Hiia, shatter this misfortune and drive away this affliction from the threshold of Nukraya and the evil destroyers from our village. And the Planets how evil they are – who arise in a rage intending evil. . . . (lines 15 – 21) The pure Yōšamin and Abatur have strengthened it. Ptahil, who built the House, has strengthened it. Šamiš (the sun) in his brilliance as strengthened it. Bel (Jupiter). Nergal (Mars), and Kewan (Saturn) have strengthened it. The Moon in its brightness has strengthened it. Dilbat (Venus), and Daniš have strengthened it. Nebo (Mercury), his priest and worshipper, have strengthened it. The seven Planets have strengthened it. Their twelve angels have strengthened it. Their five leaders have strengthened it. . . ." (lines 244 – 257)[117]

The first Mandaic bowl inscription was published by Pognon, the French consul at Baghdad in 1892. The bowl came from Bismaya (Adab) south of Nippur.[118] The exterior is inscribed with: . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible] "Bound . . . of the crescent-spirit . . ." and the interior begins with: . . . [illegible] "In the name . . ." the text ends with the typical Mandaean doxology: ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ "And Life is Victorious". Almost every incantation and amulet begins with the opening phrases: ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ "In the name of the Great Life", ࡀࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡆࡓࡀࡆࡕࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡕࡉࡌࡕࡀ "May there be health, armament and sealing", ࡊࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡅࡃࡇࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ "Averted and driven away are the curses"; ࡃࡇࡉࡒࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡈࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡈࡀࡕࡀ "Repulsed are all the curses and incantations"

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[116] Drower E. S., "A Mandaean Bibliography", JRAS, 1953: 38.

[117] Yamauchi, 1967: pp. 234-255, text 22.
[illegible]

[118] Yamauchi, 1967: 4.

Analyzing the Mandaean texts, one can find that the demonized Mesopotamian deities, which are also mentioned in the later Mandaic text corpus, prove without doubt that they were borrowed from a Late Parthian cultural setting of Central Babylonia.[119] Therefore, Mandaean incantations are essential to the study of the origin of this people. Rudolph believes that the "Mandaic incantation corpus belongs to a sunken higher religion. . . . The Mesopotamian and Iranian elements of the Mandaean texts and their placement are of major importance when it comes to the question of the Mandaeans' homeland."[120]

§ 1.8 - The Mandaean Manuscripts.

It is assumed that the first Mandaean manuscript (*Diwan*) was brought to Europe in 1652 by Carlo Leonelli who was known as Friar Ignatius of Jesus while he was on a mission to Basra. In 1674 François de la Croix brought to Paris the most important Mandaean manuscript, the Ginza. The French ambassador at Constantinople sent other manuscripts in 1678. More Mandaean manuscripts reached Europe successively.[121]

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[119] Müller-Kessler Ch., "The Mandaeans and the Question of their Origin", ARAM Vol. 16 (2004) p. 55.

[120] Ibid, p. 52. For the Mandaean existence in Nippur along with the Jews before the Islam conquest of Mesopotamia see Montgomery, 1913: 103.

Many scholars studied and published Mandaean literature such as M. Thávenot (1663) and M. Norberg (1781), who exerted a considerable effort in laying the foundation of Mandaean textual study. Peterman (1867) made a translation of the Ginza based on four Paris manuscripts and published it under the name *Sidra Rabba*. Depending on this translation, W. Brandt (1893) published a German translation of selected passages.[122] In 1915 M. Lidzbarski published the translation of *draša ḏ-yahia* (The Book of John), the *Qolasta* (liturgical collection) and the Ginza respectively.

Lidzbarski's distinguished work was continued by E. S. Drower who opened new horizons in the field of Mandaean research. She succeeded where the others failed and her achievements in this field were remarkable. Her dedication to Mandaism and her long stay in Iraq made her welcome among the Mandaean community. She traveled to Iraq many times and on several occasions visited their *bit-manda* (temple), in Liṭlaṭa – Qal'at Ṣaleh, Maisan province (southern Mesopotamia), and became acquainted with their traditions and customs. She won the confidence of the Mandaeans and obtained from them a complete collection of 56 Mandaean manuscripts. This collection is known as "Drower Collection" and deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[123] Lady Drower translated and published most of the collection, in addition to the Mandaic Dictionary which she compiled and published with R. Macuch in 1963.

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[121] Pallis, 1933 p. 32. For more about Ignatius of Jesus see Lupieri, "Friar Ignatius of Jesus", ARAM Vol. 16, 2004: 25-46.
[122] Pallis S. A., 1933: 38.
[123] Macuch R., 1965: XLIV.

The oldest Mandaean manuscript in Europe (Marsh. 691) is kept in the Bodleian library. It is a collection of prayers copied by the scribe Adam Zihrun, son of Bihran Šitlan in the year 1529. This codex belonged to a certain Thomas Marshal (1620 or 21- 1685), an English philologist, and was given to Bodleian in 1689 or 1690 by his servant.[124]

§ 1.9 - The Ginza Rba (The Great Treasure)

The Ginza is a big codex (more than 654 pages or 327 folios) consists of two parts: the Right Ginza (GR) and the Left Ginza (GL) each part opposite the other. The Ginza is divided into twenty-one chapters or tractates: eighteen tractates belong to the right Ginza and three tractates to the left Ginza.

§ 1 .9. 1 - The Right Ginza

The first two tractates of (GR 1 and GR 2) include moral teachings and description and praise of the King of Light and his world. The third tractate (GR 3) pp. 83– 148, [125] which is the largest in the Ginza, contains the Story of Creation (the subject of this research). The fourth tractate (GR 4) pp. 148-157 is a brief description of Manda d̠-Hiia's baptism in the heavenly *Yardina* (Jordan) by Mar d̠-Rabuta (the Lord of Greatness) plus part of Hibil-Ziwa's descent to the underworld. The fifth tractate (GR 5) pp. 157-237 consists of five sections: (1) Hibil-Ziwa's journey to the Realm of Darkness (or: the underworld). (2) The gods and demons' defeated by Manda d̠-Hiia. (3) The souls' ascension to the *Maṭarata* (purgatories). (4) Narration of John the Baptist baptizing Manda d̠-Hiia in the living water of Jordan. (5) The *'uthra* Šalmai's questioning by the heavenly figure *Yatrun*.

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[124] Buckley J. J., 2005: 290.

[125] Numeration is according to the copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this research.

The sixth tractate (GR 6), pp. 237-248, is the journey of Dinanukt[126] ("talking in accordance with religion") to the upper worlds. The Seventh tractate (GR 7) pp. 248-257 contains some of John the Baptist's commandments. The eight tractate (GR 8) pp.257-261 is a small tractate which includes Manda d̠-Hiia's warning the faithful against Rūha. Tractate nine (GR 9) pp. 261-283 includes two sections: (1) The first is called ࡒࡀࡓࡒࡀࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ *qarqalta d̠-šuba kukbia* "the overthrow of seven stars", a polemic chapter against other (false) religious sects. (2) The second section is 'the emanation of Mar d̠-Rabuta from the ࡍࡉࡈࡅࡐࡕࡀ *niṭufta* (semen?) of the heavenly Jordan'. It also contains material related to creation. Tractate ten (GR 10) pp. 283-297 is a continuation of the creation story and is called 'the Book of Radiance that radiates in the *pihta*'. Tractate eleven (GR 11), pp. 297-325, is called "the Book of Great Anoš" which deals with the conflict between the

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[126] Dinanukt is a legendary figure of the Ginza. Dinanukt is an old Persian word means "talking in accordance with religion". (MD p. 108) The legend says that *din melek uthra* (a heavenly being) was sent to the wise priest Dinanukt, who wanted to know about where Life is, and the nature of *Kušṭa*. He fell into a trance and his soul traveled with *din melek*, in a journey to the underworld (*Siniawis*) where he saw the *melki* (spirits) of darkness, and then to the different layers of the World of Light. There the ground was like crystal, and there was no darkness. Eventually, he returned to his body and told his people of what he saw in his journey. (For more analysis of this Ginza figure see Widengren, 1950: 62 ff. See also "How Dana Nuk Visited the Seventh Heaven" MII, Ch. IX p. 300). (Cf. "the saintly reformer", Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935) p. 100).

World of Light and Rūha. It also mentions the faulty creation of the material world by Ptahil.

Tractate twelve (GR 12), pp. 325-341, has seven sections. The first section has the uthra Anoš as the speaker. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5 are hymns some of which are similar to the hymns of the Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.[127] Section 6 describes the World of Darkness and its king and inhabitants. Section 7 is a kind of geography; it shows the directions of the worlds and waters. Tractate thirteen (GR 13), pp. 341-349, is called "he Prayer of the *Tarmidia* (Mandaean priests) to the Pious".[128] Tractate fourteen (GR 14), pp. 352-362, is called "the Book of the Great Nbaṭ" which narrates the emanation of Yawar, Yōšamin (the second Life) and many other heavenly beings. Tractate fifteen (GR 15), pp. 364-443, consists of twenty poetic sections of the Redeemer speeches and blessings. Section 15 is Ptahil lamentation and threat of waging a war. Section 16 narrates Manda d-Hiia's visit to Yōšamin and his debate with him. Tractate 16 (GR 16), pp. 446-459, consists of 11 sections, also poetic. The first section speaks of Manda d-Hiia's visit to the world of the Second Life. The rest are speeches and exhortations of the Redeemer.

Tractate seventeen (GR 17), pp. 462-469, consists of two poetic sections: the first talks about the Great First Mana and the Great Occult Eggs that existed before Mar d̠-Rabuta (The Lord of Greatness). The second part speaks about the oppression of the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (zodiacs) against the *nišmata* (souls). Tractate twelve (GR 18), pp. 472-491, is a chronology of the material world. It contains information about the three catastrophes which befell the humans in three different epochs or generations.[129] and many other historical events.

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[127] The hymn in section GR 12:4 is identical to CP hymn n. 214 p. 183.

[128] Buckley believes that the first 13 tractates of the Ginza testify to a fully developed Mandaean Gnosticism (Buckley, 2005: 22).

§ 1.9.2 - The Left Ginza

This part of the Ginza is divided into three sections or tractates. The first tractate (GRL I) pp. 46-89 consists of four sections. The first section tells the story of Adam and his death, and how Adam's son Šitil (Seth) volunteers to die before his father. The second section is about Adam's complaints about his death and his lamentation. The third section is about Hawa's (Eve) death. The forth is a description of different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) which the soul has to go through before her final destination.

The second tractate (GRL III) pp. 46-89 consists of twenty-eight sections of poetry. In this tractate the Great Mana speaks, beginning each section with the formula: 'I am a Mana of the Great Life.' The last tractate of the Ginza (GL 3) pp. 89-164 consists of 62 sections and deal with the *nišimta* (soul) and her destiny. It also includes the lamentation of the *mana* personifying the soul.

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[129] For the comparison between these catastrophes and Sodom and Gomorrah see Stroumsa, 1984: 110 ff.

§ 1.10 - The Ginza used in the Research (GRS):

The copy of the Ginza (GRS) used in this work consists of 332 folios (664 pages), and each page consits of 25 lines. It was written in Iran in the late 1990s under the supervision of the Mandaean Council of Ahwaz. The headscribe of this Ginza is Rbai Ganzibra Mhatam Yuhana br Šarat (his Arabic name: Shaikh Jabar the son of Ṭawoos), who is the head-priest of the Mandaean community in Iran (he became a priest in 1948). The colophon at the end of the left part of this Ginza (GRL p. 169) tells us that this copy was written after consulting 5 other Ginzas. The scribes of these Ginzas are: Yahia Ram Zihrun the son of the Rbai Zeki Zihrun, Ram Yuhana the son of Rbai Ram, Zeki Zihrun the son of Ram Zihrun, Sam Yuhana the son of Rbai Behram and Zihrun the son of Mudalal. A copy of Petermann's Ginza was consulted, which he copied during his vistit to southern Iraq in the 1840s from 4 Ginzas, as the colophon calls them (A, B, C, D).[130] Ganzabra Ṣalaẖ Kuẖaili was at the head of the team which consisted of the following scribes and scholars: Tarmida Ṭalib Duraji, Tarmida Najaẖ Koẖaili, Yalufa Salem Kohaili, Yalufa Jamal Duraji and Yalufa Falah Kuẖaili. For the first time, in centuries, three Mandaean women participated in this work: Mudalal the daughter of Šarat and Simat and Sadia the daughters of Mahnuš.

For this research four other Ginza manuscripts from the Oriental and India Office at The British Library in London were collated to compile a critical apparatus of variants. The first manuscript is under the title: "Liber Adami

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[130] For more details on Heinrich Peterman (1801 – 76) and his visit to the Mandaean community in Iraq see Buckley, 2005: 129 ff.

Mendaice" No. Add 23,599 (henceforth BL 23599) and was presented by Sheik Yahana Chief and High Priest of the Mandaean sect with his petition to her Majesty the Queen, dated 10th December 1872, and forwarded to HM's Ambassador at Constantinople with dispatch No, 3 dated 29th Jan. 1873 from Colonel Herbert, Consul General of Baghdad. The second manuscript bears the title: "Liber Adami Mendaice" No. Add. 23,600 (henceforth: BL 23600). This Ginza is the oldest one in the British Library (bought from Mrs. Taylor in April 1860) and consisting of 315 folios and the scribe is Adam Yuhana. The third *Ginza* codex in the British Library is 'Liber Adami Mendaice' Add. 23,601(henceforth BL 23601) copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The third Ginza codex is 'Liber Adami Mandaice' Add. 23,601 dated 1824, also copied by Adam Yuhana, son of Sam. The forth manuscript is entitled: Sidra Rba Mandaitic, Oriental 1236 (henceforth BLO 1236).

Due to many factors, the hand written Mandaean manuscripts are in general tiresome and not easy to read, especially the manuscript (Add 23,599 = BL 23599) of the British Library. Some of these factors are:

1. Poor hand writing and careless copying led the scribes to make numerous spelling mistakes in the manuscripts.
2. These mistakes accumulated through the ages and led to many differences in readings.
3. The only method by which the scribe is allowed to edit a text is by placing dots under the wrongly written word or sentence, because the Mandaeans

believe their writings are sacred and incorrect words or sentences cannot be erased or crossed.

4. The Mandaean manuscripts have no paragraph indents or punctuation marks.
5. Many words are hyphenated (especially at the end of the line) which causes confusion to the reader.
6. Ambiguities in Mandaean script often cause uncertainty and confusion in reading hand written Mandaean texts. The letters which cause such confusion are: ࡒ (ק) and ࡎ (ם); ࡓ (ר) and ࡃ (ד); ࡃ (ד) and ࡁ (ב); ࡄࡅࡍ (הון) and ࡑ (ץ); ࡀ (א) and ࡄ (ה̱); ࡒ (ק) and ࡁ (ב); ࡍ (ן), ࡐ (ף) and ࡊ (כ). The computer Mandaic font used in this work attempts to faithfully reproduce the manuscript text, but at the same time compensates for the poor handwriting and careless copying in the manuscripts.

The computerized Mandaic font reproduces original text while correcting scribal errors to a great extent. Most previous scholars were obliged to transliterate the Mandaean texts either into Hebrew or Roman characters. A notable exception, and the first scholar who used a Mandaic typeface, was the Frenchman H. Pognon, in his book '*Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabir*', published in 1898. The computerized characters used in this work are similar to Pognon's. The present work also transliterates every line of the text into Hebrew characters beneath the Mandaic in order to facilitate reading for non-specialists. There are inevitable discrepancies between the present version of the Ginza and the other four versions mentioned above. The number shown on the margin of some of the pages of the translation correspond to the beginning of the page in the original text.

The translator of the Mandaic texts encounters some difficulties such as:

1. The material of the Mandaean cosmogony, cosmology, theology and soteriology is distributed among much Mandaean literature such as the ࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ *Ginza Rba*, ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ Draša d̲-Yahia (The Book of John), Mandaean Hymns and Prayers; ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *Maşbuta*, ࡌࡀࡎࡒࡉࡕࡀ *Masqita*, ࡏࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *'Eniania*, etc), and among the different Diwans, such as *Diwan Abatur*. Mandaean literature is written mostly in mystical way and many religious concepts are considered sacred explanation of which are "reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis."[131]
2. Most of the Mandaean priests abstain (by law) from discussing profound religious matters with a Mandaean layman or a stranger. The holy scriptures strongly advise Mandaean priests against revealing these scriptures to strangers. For example the *Alf Trisar Šuialia* (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) commences with the following ࡆࡄࡀࡓࡀ *zhara* "admonition":

> In the name of the Life. *Laufa* (union) and revival of life and a forgiver of sins be there for me N ... by means of these good Questions, hidden from (even) the eyes of the *uthras* and not revealed except to such as guard them, and tell them to one in a generation each to his son. For Hibil-Ziwa placed them in his son's right hand and said, 'Take care, take care, take care,

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[131] SA p. xvi.

three hundred and sixty thousand times take care of these Good Questions which Hibil-Ziwa asked of Nbaṭ the Great." [132]

The ࡍࡀࡑࡅࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *Naṣoraeans* (the priestly group of the Mandaeans) are keen not to reveal the mysteries of the ࡍࡀࡑࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ *Naṣiruta* (priestly knowledge) to their own laity, except to those elite of Mandaeans who dedicate themselves *Naṣiruta* and have proven themselves worthy in the line of priesthood. The *Naṣoraeans* guard their holy books and scrolls intimately. Their mysteries are not imparted to the Mandaean laymen, no matter how religious they are, fearing that these mysteries might be misinterpreted.[133]

3. The neglect which the Mandaean literature suffered from, for more than fourteen centuries, lead to many differences between the vernacular Mandaean and the Classical Naṣoraean Mandaean writings.[134] Most of the Mandaean priests did not receive their priestly knowledge in religious institutes. They usually obtain their priesthood knowledge and apprenticeship from their fathers or from other elderly priests. They teach the initiates reading, writing and the comprehension of Mandaean language, in addition to the practice of the different rites (baptism, communion, marriage etc.) meticulously.[135]

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[132] ATŠ. P. 110. The Mandaean manuscript p. 2 text collated:
[illegible]

[133] SA p. xiv. Such reluctance to reveal secret knowledge, even to followers of the same community goes back to ancient Mesopotamia. Colophons of cuneiform tablets often repeat such warnings and admonitions. (Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Oxford (1986) pp. 260 - 261).

[134] Macuch, 1965: LIX.

[135] For the consecration of the priest, or *Tarmida* see MII p. 147ff.

The Ginza remains as the largest codex which the Mandaeans inherited from their golden era when Gnosticism flourished amongst the civilization of Babylon and Persia in the east and amongst the Greek and Roman empires in the west. In addition to the liturgies, the Ginza contains the oldest Gnostic (Mandaean) tradition. The Mandaean Gnostic library is equally as important as Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dead Sea Scrolls and they deserve more attention and examination from scholars of Semitic studies.[136]

§ 1.11 - The Mandaean Script:

The Mandaic script belongs to the South Mesopotamian branch of Aramaic besides the Syriac-Palmyrene branch in North Syria and the script of Hatra in north Mesopotamia.[137] The Mandaeans call their alphabet *abgada*. The twenty four letters are sacred and represent the powers of Life and Light. They believe that their inscriptions are protected by Nbu (Babylonian Nabû) "Mercury", the god of writing and wisdom.[138] Some scholars, such as Macuch, believe that there is a close relation between the Mandaic and the Elymaic scripts. Others like Nöldke and Lidzbarski suppose that Mandaic script is related to the Nabaţian.[139] The Mandaic script is known to us either from the Mandaean manuscripts or form amulets and incantations. Most of them were probably composed during the Sasanian era and the early Islamic conquest of Iraq, but the earliest known Mandaic text is a lead amulet from the first half of the third century.[140]

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[136] Rudolph, HR (Feb., 1969) pp. 210-235, esp. p.222.
[137] Naveh, 1982: 132.
[138] MII, p. 240. The old Iraqis believed that science was under the protection of the god Nabû while the goddess Nasaba presided over the art of writing (Roux, 1966: 327).
[139] Naveh, 1970: 33.

No one can precisely determine when the Mandaeans manufactured their script, but Naveh argues that the shapes of the letters suggest that the Mandiac cursive script is a "straightforward evolution from Elymaic."[141] Since Mesene (Maisan) and Characene were neighbours of the kingdom of Elymais, such assumption is strengthened. Many features of the Mandaic script resemble both the Nabaţaean and the Aramaic of Tang-i Sarvak and Elymaic, such as the letters (ࡀ) *alef*, which is simplified from the Elymaic heart shape, (ࡌ) *mem* (ࡁ) *bet*, (ࡃ) *dalet*, etc., but there is no resemblance between the Mandaic(ࡔ) (*š*) and the Elymaic *shen*. [142] Macuch noted, "the most remarkable Mandaean ligatures in the Elymaean inscriptions are the relative particle (ࡖ) d̲- and the conjunction (ࡗ) *kd̲* which includes it."[143]

There remains the possibility that the Naşoreans had brought their own script when they migrated to Southern Mesopotamia, sinces many Mandaean hymns and prayers suggest such a migration. Macuch beleives that the Mandaic script had developed in the second century C.E., since there are no significant differences between the Mandaean script on the one hand and the Elymaean and Charcenian on the other.[144]

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[140] Yamauchi, 1967: 2.
[141] Naveh, 1970: 34.
[142] Coxon, 1970: 20. He writes: "the Mandaic script is the nexus between the Nabaţaean and Tang-I Sarvak scripts, although Mandaic has a close formal similarity to Nabaţaean" (For the comparative script chart see Naveh, 1970: 35).
[143] Macuch, "The Origins of the Mandaeans and their Script", JSS, 1971: 187.

§ 1.12 - Book III of the Ginza Rba:

Book three, or the Book of Creation, is the largest tractate of the Mandaeans' holy book the 'Ginza Rba'. The Ginza names this tractate as: ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡃࡔࡅࡈࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ *raza u sidra qadmaia d̲-šuta haita qadmaita d̲huat mn laqadmaia* 'The Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from aforetime (or: from the very beginning)".[145] This tractate includes the cosmogony; the origin of the world of light and the world of darkness, the rise of the First Great Life, the Second Life (Yōšamin), the Third Life (Abatur) and the Forth Life (Ptahil); the demiurge who created the cosmos and *Tibil* (the earthly world). It also narrates the creation of the Mandaean redeemer Manda d̲-Haiia ('Gnosis of Life' or: 'Knowledge-of-Life') and his descent to the underworld and his triumph against the creatures of darkness. It narrates the creation of Adam and Eve and the descent of the *nišimta* (soul) into the *'sṭōna* (the human body). Tractate III also includes an elaborate description of the demonic Rūha and her planetary sons and her attempts to seduce Adam in order to entrap him in the world.

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[144] Ibid, p. 190.

[145] Widengren believes that the Mesopotamian back ground of heavenly books preexistent before creation and containing destinies is clear in the conception of the Book III of the Ginza (Widengren, 1950: 10, 74-75).

The "Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine" begins with folio 42r (p. 83) and ends at folio 74v (p. 148: 6) in the copy of the Ginza used in this work.[146] The language of is mostly poetic and written in classical Mandaic. The text consists of 2 prose sections and 2 poetic sections. The text begins with a prose section (pp. 83: 15 – 87: 21) followed by a prolonged poetic section (pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1). A second, but smaller, prose section is found nearly in the middle of the text (pp. 119: 1 – 120: 11) followed by another poetic section until the end of the text.

§ 1.13 - The Mandaean Story of Creation

Mesopotamia gave birth to many legends and myths such, as the epic of Gilgamesh, Enūma Eliš, Ninūrta, Ea and Inana. Out of the crucible of Mesopotamia, the land of reeds and swamps comes forth the Mandaean story of Creation. It is a unique piece of literature infused with Babylonian gods, demons and biblical motifs. With the conquest of Babylon by the Persian Empire 539 BCE,[147] and the subsequence Greek invasion of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE,[148] the Mandaean story of creation comes under the influence of Persian dualism and Greek mythology.

It addresses *hiia qadmaiia* the Ancient Life, the afterlife, Dualism, and cosmology. The language symbolic of Gnosticism is very poetical and is the first complete account of creation from Mesopotamia. It contains ethical and religious principles that emerged during the period when Mesopotamians demonised their gods. The Mandaean priests still recite the story of creation, on the banks of the rivers, in the same manner as their ancestors the Naṣraeans used to do in the ancient times.

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[146] The Mandaeans conceived of hidden books in heaven existing before creation. (Ibid)
[147] George Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, (1964) p. 352.
[148] Cantor N. F., *Alexander the Great*, (2005) p. 142.

The Mandaean story of creation is the product of the beginning of the Gnostic era when the Mandaean world was imprinted by the dualism of ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *alma ḏ-nhūra* the World of Light and ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma ḏ-hšuka* the World of Darkness. The World of Light was conceived by unknown god ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* (alien); a sublime being usually referred to as ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *mana* (the First) Intelligence, ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* The Life and ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d-nhūra* the King of Light. ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma ḏ-hšuka* the World of Darkness is the product of the dark waters and is ruled by the King of Darkness, the leviathan 'Ur, and his mother/spouse Rūha;the goddess of the underworld. The Mandaean story of Creation narrates the doomed revolt of the vice-regent Yōšamin (the Second Life) and his sons, the uthras, Abatur (the Third Life) and Ptahil (the Forth Life and the demiurge who created the physical world), against the higher deities of the World of Light. It also describes the eternal conflict between Light and Darkness and the defeat of the World of Darkness on the hands of the valiant uthra Manda ḏ-Hiia (Gnosis of Life) when he descended to the underworld and subdued the evil creatures of darkness. The prime of the Story of Creation is the creation of Adam, the First Man, by Ptahil with the assistance of Rūha and her sons ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡉࡀ *šibiahiia* (the Planets), but Ptahil could not make Adam stand on his feet. A *mana*, a sparkle of Light, was brought form the World of Light and cast into Adam's trunk. At that moment Adam opened his eyes and stood on his feet. The beings of Light created Hawa (Eve), to be Adam's wife in order to spread ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *šurbta d̲-hiia* the family of Life.

The Mandaean story of creation contains many obscure terms of creation such as *pira* (fruit), *mana* (intelligence, mind) *ziwa* (radiance), *nhūra* (light) *ayar* (ether), *yardina* (Jordan), *uthras* (beings of Light), *hapiqia mia* (streams o f water), *yura* (a being of light, brilliance), ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ *nišimta urūha* (soul and spirit) and many more. There is not one single account of the creation of the cosmos, but rather multiple accounts. In the Ginza Rba there are no less than seven accounts of the Creation, viz. in tractates 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15, and 18. Tractate III, however, contains the most part of the story. This work endeavors to explain such obscurities for a better understanding of the Mandaean legend of creation. Book III consists of four fractions; two written in prose and two in poetry:

1. The first fraction (GRR, pp. 83: 16 - 87: 21) begins with prose language narrating the first emanation of the Mana and the manifestation of the Life and the other principles of cosmogony, including the creation of the Mandaean messenger Manda d̲-Hiia.
2. The second fraction (GRR, pp. 87: 21 – 119: 1) is written in poetical language. It is the longest fraction of book III and narrates: (a) The descent of the Messenger Manda d̲-Hiia to the World of Darkness and his

confrontation with the forces of the World of Darkness. (b) The creation of the material world by the Mandaean demiurge "Ptahil".

3. The third fraction (GRR, pp. 119 - 120: 11) is the shortest fraction, written in prosaic language, and speaks about the time of creation and about Ptahil's intentions concerning the creation of Adam and Eve with the assistance of the Planets.
4. The fourth fraction (GRR, pp. 120: 11 until the end of the book i.e. p. 148) narrates (a) The creation of Adam and Eve. (b) The descent of the *nišimta* "soul" into Adam's body (c) Rūha's attempts to seduce Adam in order to capture him in the world. (d) Manda d̲-Hiia prevents Rūha and her entourage "the Planets" from tempting Adam. (e) Description of the sects which were produced from the forces of Darkness.

§ 1.14 - The Main features of Mandaic Poetry:

Since the Mandaeans were not at all familiar with punctuation, it is hard to distinguish between the prosaic and poetic passages in the Mandaean texts. In spite of this, Lidzbarski could differentiate between the two types. He wrote a plausible introduction dedicated to the Mandaic and Aramaic poetry in his valuable book "*Mandäische Liturgien*".[149]

The language of the Ginza belongs to the classical period, which was not under the influence of the Arabic language.[150] This may prove that the redaction of the book was long before the Islam conquest of Iraq in the seventh century C.E. The Ginza is written mainly in poetry which "represents a fully developed Babylonian-Aramaic idiom and a poetic skill which has neither surpassed nor equaled in Mandaean literature."[151] Their geographical remoteness also made them less exposed to the Hellenistic influences.[152]

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[149] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, Berlin (1920).

[150] Macuch has divided the Mandaic literature into three historical periods: classical, postclassical and modern. The final redaction of the classical period took place in the year 272 CE according to the Mandaean copyist Zāzai d̲-Gawaztā (Macuch, 1965: LXV).

Unfortunately, this aspect of Mandaic literature remained neglected by the Semitists until Söderbergh shed the light on various Mandaic poetic forms compared to the psalms of the Coptic Psalms of Thomas. He claimed priority for the Mandaic hymns over the Coptic ones.[153] After his detailed comparison he concluded that the "Mandaic poetry, had on the whole a regular beat of 3:3, that is the line consisted of two hemistiches with three stresses in each hemistich."[154] Example:

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ	שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא
ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ	דקאימיא ומשאביא לרורביא
ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ	שאלטוך על יארדנא דרורביא
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ	ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא

He made you rule over the concealed uthras,
who are standing and praising the great (ones)
He made rule over the Jordan of the great (ones),
and over thee living and vigorous waters.[155]

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[151] Macuch, 1965: LXV
[152] Jonas, 1958: 48.
[153] Söderbergh, 1949: 127 f.
[154] Greenfield, 1989: 101.
[155] GRR, p. 89: 8

The transposition language[156] is a main feature of the Mandaic poetry; that is repeating the same verse with changing position of the words. Example:

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ תריסאר בוריא קאבלאת מינה
ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ מינה קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא
She conceived by him twelve beasts,
by him she conceived twelve beasts.[157]

Another interesting feature of the Mandaic poetry is the paired words. The following examples taken from book III of the Ginza: ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡉࡁࡉࡀ יאקדיא ומהאביביא "burn and blaze" (89: 25), ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡉࡀ זריזא ומזארזיא "the well armed and equipped" (89: 1), ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ האסיר ובציר "flaw and deficiency" (88: 22), ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ הארשיא ופודריא "witchcraft and sorcery" (90: 4), ࡎࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡎࡀࡍࡋࡀ "repulsive and dreadful (or: ugly and appalling)" (91: 3), ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ זריזא ומקאימא "the valiant and confirmed" (93: 7), ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ בהיריא זידקא "the righteous elect" (93: 11), ࡏࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ עריא וראוזיא "radiant and resplendent" (91:25) etc.

Greenfield draws out attention to a "favorite topos" in the Mandaean literature which concerns parts of the body and senses – eyes, ears, mouth hands, knees, feet etc.[158] The following from book III is a good example. These verses remind us of the Song of Songs:

ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡉࡊ ࡀࡓࡆࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ	קומתיך ארזא ראמא
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡀ	לימאליך דסאיית מיא
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡒࡀࡊ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ	אנאת שאקאך גופניא איאר
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ	לימאליך דראמית דאהבא

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[156] or: "ergative language".
[157] GRR, 113: 23.
[158] Greenfield, 1989: 106.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡃࡉࡊ ࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ	אנאת עדיך כיניא איאר
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡃࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ	לימאליך ד̱ראמית כאספא
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡊ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡃࡆࡉࡅࡀ	אנאת איניך איניא דזיוא
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡃࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡁࡄ	לימאליך דכולא מאליאבה̱

Your figure is (like) a high cedar,
why do you wash with water?
Your thighs are vine of ether,
why do you wear gold?
your wings (arms) are veils of ether,
why do you wear silver?
Your eyes are eyes of radiance
why do you fill them with kohl? [159]

In book III we find good examples of the Naṣoraean Gnostic poetry which needs more attention. In this respect Jonas plausibly noted: "The Mandaic poetry gives wonderful expression to the gratefully believing acceptance of the message and the ensuing conversion of the heart and renewal of life."[160]

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[159] GRR, 137: 21

[160] Jonas, 1958: 89. Stroumsa indicates that the Gnostic language is an imagery one and it should be studied as "mystical poetry" (Stroumsa, 1984:3).

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative

§2 - Analysis of the Narrative:

§ 2 .1 - The First Account of the Theogony:

The text begins with the following formula:

> In the name of the great ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* alien Life [161] from the countless worlds of Light which is above all deeds. This is the mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine which was from afore time. [162]

The main events in this account are: (a) at the beginning the *pira* (fruit) was inside the *pira* and the *ayar* (eather) was inside the *ayar*. (2) The great Mana (intelligence) "awakened" and produced great *manas* without count. (3) great and countless *piras* and *škinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from the great *pira*. (4) by the will of the great Mana, the great white *yardina* (Jordan) "river" came into being and from the great Jordan countless jordans came into being.

The first account of theogony contains three main elements of creation: (a) ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *Pira* "fruit" (b) ࡀࡉࡀࡓ Ayar (Ether) (c) ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (Mind or: Intelligence). The ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinas* (celestial dwelling) and the ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ *Yardina* (Jordan) are the products of the first emanation:

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[161] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, 'In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds' speaks of the 'first' Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations),' i.e., above the world and 'free from any kind of relation to the world (Rudolf, K., 1983: 62). The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols and a major theme which we encounter in Gnostic speech (Stroumsa, 1984: 87). The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here (Jonas, H., 1958: 49). The Life is an outer entity ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia baraiia* (CP p. 78), and therefore the Mandaeans, and the Gnostics in general, saw themselves as a "kingless race" ruled by no one (Stroumsa, 1984: 87).

[162] GRR p. 83: 15. The text:

[illegible]

> When the Pira was inside the Pira, and when the Ayar was inside the Ayar, and when the great Mana of glory was there, great and mighty Manas came into being, whose radiance is so vast and whose light is great; no one before them was in the great fruit which was so immense and without limit, and whose radiance was greater than the words of the mouth and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray. As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit, a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of fruits emanated from him. In each and every fruit were a thousand thousand fruits without limit, and countless myriads of *škinas*. They all stand there and praise the great Mana of glory who exists (lives) in the great Ether of Life that is within the Jordan (river) of the white waters which gushed out from the Great Mana. Then the great Jordan came into being, and from the great Jordan, Jordans without count poured forth. [163] (See Chart A).

§2 .1. 1 - ࡐࡉࡓࡀ Pira:

The meaning of *Pira* is uncertain and doubtful; of various suggested meanings, perhaps that of "Fruit" (H. פרי) or "vagina". [164] This term is used by the Mandaeans as an expression of emanation.[165] In the first version of creation we find out that the *Pira* (fruit) and the *Ayar* (ether) are the two primal elements of existence and the "habitat" in which the Great Mana (mind, intelligence) existed. In the Mandaean belief, the *Pira Rba* (Great Pira) is the origin of all things.[166] It existed before creation and before all worlds (aeons) and is the core matter of existence. It is the original divine power from which everything came into being, even the King of Light:

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[163] GRR p. 83: 19.

[164] The second meaning for the pira is "cleft" or "vagina" as in, ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡐࡉࡎࡋࡀ "vagina and phallus" (MD. P., 372).

[165] The epithet Fruit used of the moon-god in Mesopotamia, of whom it is said that he is the Fruit which is born by itself, '*en-bu šá ina ra-ma-ni-šū ib-ba-nu*' (Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta,* p. 24 cited by Widengren, 1946: 22 n. 3).

[166] Other Gnostics such as Basilides (2nd century religious teacher in Alexandria – Egypt) believe that all the universe and creations derived their being form the cosmic seed (Wilson, 1958: 124).
According to Zurvanism, the old Persian religion, Time enters a body within the seed of creation or unformed matter, from which all forms arose (Zaehner, 1955: 111 ff.).

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was inside the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[167]

The Great *Pira* is a primal entity and a symbol of fertility. It is the "womb" or the "matrix" which gave birth to the succeeding manifestations of the beings of Light, when the first Intelligence (Mana) decided to cohabit with its ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* "counterpart" (or with its ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ *ṣauta* "companion") in order to create ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ *adiauria* "helpers", erect the heavenly lights and bring forth messengers of life to preserve him in his concealment, as we perceive from the following passage:

> I am conversing with my *dmuta* (counterpart) [168] (and say to her), Come, let us, create (lit. build), me and you, through a mystic call in the sublime fruit. Until fruits are created for us, until helpers are sent for us, you will praise me and I will praise you. We will remain preserved within the ample radiance and provide (lit. arrange) for each other perfectly . . . As he spoke thus, he thought of the *ṣauta* (companion)[169] that existed in the sublime fruit. He spoke and pondered, I will create *ṣauta* "companion" to my right and lights to

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[167] GRR book 3 p. 91: 17. The text:
[illegible]

[168] ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ dmuta: דמותא, ܨܠܡܐ, counterpart, image, shape, form, effigy, likeness, double (MD p. 111 and DJPA p. 151). The Mandaeans believe that every man and every light-being has a double; a counterpart. Each individual has his own likeness in the ideal world of *Mšunia Kušṭa* (the ideal world of the Mandaeans, and inhabited by their righteous doubles. (For more details on this ideal world see MII p. 54 n. 1 and SA Ch, V p. 39z). In the Peshitta the first born "Christ" is the image ܨܠܡܐ of god. (Widengren, 1964: 23) The Mandaean idea of "image" is repeated in Manichaeism: Mani received his revelation through his Syzygos "Twin or: Pair-comrade". (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 5) The ancient Mesopotamians believed in the magic powers of the image as we read that the Mitanni king Tusharatta has sent an image of Ishtar to the Pharaoh of Egypt to cure him from an intractable disease (Roux 1964: 231).

[169] ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ *ṣauta:* consort, company, companionship, society (MD p. 386).

> my left and I shall bring forth messengers of life to look after me in (my) concealment.[170]

The Pira, the celestial fruit, is the dwelling of the *nišmata* "souls", where they grow and blossom, as well as it is the dwelling of the Mana, Life, and the other heavenly beings:

> "*nišimta* (the soul) grows and blossom in the *Pira* of the Life."[171]

This concept is emphasized by the messenger Hibil-Ziwa's[172] proclamation that he is the one who created the white fruit of in which the *nišmata* (souls) are imbued:

> I created the white fruit, in which the souls are enveloped. From it they flower up and ascend to be weighed.[173]

It is rather difficult to give a precise definition of the *Pira* because it is considered a ࡓࡀࡆࡀ *raza* mystery not revealed to any earthly being, even to prophets. John the Baptist *iahia iuhana* was ready to exchange his earthly life for the knowledge of the mysteries of the "world beyond" when the redeemer *Manda d̠-Hiia* appeared to him in the form of a young lad:

> And reveal to me the secrets of the kings (or: angels), and (the secrets of) ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *pira rba d̠-nhūra* the Great Fruit of Light, and why the clods and rubble (?) were subdued, and the basis of the

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[170] GRR, book 15: 10, p. 398: 14 f. The text:
[illegible]

[171] GRL, book 3: 16, p. 114: 18. The text:
[illegible]

[172] Hibil-Ziwa is a being of light, a messenger and the son of the Mandaean Gnosis of Life "Manda d̠-Hiia".

[173] The Mandaean BJ p. 191: 18. The text:
[illegible]

> water from which the living fire spread out, and *škina* in which the Life dwells, and who is older and greater and mightier than the other.[174]

In the Ginza Rba, the *Pira* is personified as a heavenly being who takes part in promoting the redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia (Gnosis of Life). It is by the great *Pira* of glory's command the redeemer received the *kušṭa* [175] from the Great Ones:

> "By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory, I (Manda ḏ-Hiia) received the *kušṭa* from them." [176]

Moreover, the *Pira* is the reward of the World of Light to the pious Mandaeans as we recite one the hymns of the *masiqta* (the book of *masiqta* Ascension):

> Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed, swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens." [177]

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[174] GRR, book 5:4, p. 223: 1. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[175] *Kušṭa* ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ قشط, vow, oath, pact, etc. (MD p. 209). *Kušṭa* is the ritual of the exchange of the right hand-clasp between the Mandaeans which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage, etc.). The act is concluded by a kiss, each of the two persons kissing his own right hand when the hand is released. The Pharsis greet one another with a similar rite called the *hamazor* (MII p. 238). Lady Drower believes that "the Pharsis use the *hamazor* as much as Mandaeans use the *kušṭa*" (ATŠ, p. 154 n. 1). The *kušṭa* is personified in many Mandaean manuscripts. It is a "messenger from the Life on his way hither" (ATŠ, p. 236). The *kušṭa* is considered a synonym of Manda ḏ-Hiia (CP p. 44). The seal of *kušṭa* binds and seals the souls and spirits (Ibid p. 63). In Mandaeism, *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. The *Kušṭa* is the 'heavenly' oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism. The Mandaeans consider the *Kušṭa* a communion with the World of Light. The Primal man, according to the Manicheans, was delivered from his captivity among the hosts of Darkness by the supernal entity known as the Living Spirit, who extended to him his right hand and removed him from the conflict" (Reeves, 1996: 124). (For more details concerning the *Kušṭa*, see Sundberg, 1953).

[176] GRR, book 3 p. 88: 1. The text:

[illegible]

[177] CP. p. 35. Hymn no. 35 p. 126. Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[illegible]

The sexual symbolism is quite common in the Mandaean literature as well as in the rest of the Mesopotamian literature. Mandaeism is the faith of life and fertility,[178] and "if the man has no wife, there will no Paradise for him hereafter and no Paradise on earth."[179] The mystic union of the female and male principles is reflected in many hymns and songs. In the following marriage song, the Pira is the symbol of "virginity" or "womb":

> O crowned bride "Fruit that is enclosed! Who revealed our secret and broadcasted our wisdom to the highways? [180]

The *Pira* is related to other mystic elements of creation such as the *tana* (container, matrix), *pihta* (sacramental bread?), *niṭufta* (drop, sperm), and *hilbuna* (egg, container, habitat).[181] It is also identified with the [182]ࡕࡀࡍࡀ *tana*, which is another ambiguous other-worldly element of creation.[183]

§ 2.1.2 - ࡀࡉࡀࡓ Ayar (Ether):

Ayar (Ether) is the second element in the first version of creation with the *Pira*. It is the rarest of all elements of creation and a personification of the purest

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This hymn provides strong evidence of the Mandaeans' natural habitats. The heat of the marshes of and the birds nesting among the canebrakes and the *mašhūf* (the boat of the marshes) sailing through is a typical Mesopotamian picture. (for the same image see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A/2 p. 180 a).

[178] MII p. xxi.

[179] Ibid p. 59.

[180] ŠQŠR p. 59. (the Mandaean QŠR p. 16) Drower's translation, text collated. The Mandaean text:

[illegible]

[181] MD. pp. 144, 298, 370, 470.

[182] tana ࡕࡀࡍࡀ (= kana, Akk. tannu) a mythological term meaning container, matrix, vessel or base. The word is used when describing primeval creative processes. (MD. p. 479. *tannu*(m): a wooden bowl, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2000) p. 398. *kannu*(m): a large vessel, p. 146).

[183] There are many resemblances between the Mandaean *pira* (fruit) and the seed in Basilides doctrine which says: "From the cosmic seed was begotten the Great Archon who created for himself a son. Then a demiurge comes into being who engendered a son from matter and reduced the world to order" (Wilson, 1958: 124-6).

heavenly atmosphere in which the Mandaean deities dwell.[184] The concept of Paradise in the Mandaean belief is different from that of the Jews, Christians and Moslems. The Mandaeans' final destination is the World of Light, a world of pure (energy) which contains no material pleasures.

When a Mandaean dies his soul is released and flies towards the [illegible] *maṭaratia* (purgatories or: watch-houses). After necessary purification the soul reaches her final destination; the realm of light. In the world of light there is nothing material, only jordans of living water, heavenly *Ayar* (Ether) which is most pure and clear and colorful flowers and evergreen plants and trees exist.[185] The soul brings *Ayar* with her when she descends into this world and settles in the human trunk and her (the soul) reward, after death, is to travel back to the World of Light and dwells in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether):

> She (the soul) rises up from one throne and seats herself on another
> firm throne. And (thus) by means of nine occult process (*ginzia*)[186] we
> set her up (at last) in the sublime *Ayar* (Ether). [187]

The *Ayar* (ether) preceded water in existence and in order to create the *uthras* and make them thrive, the Great One commanded that a "reservoir" of Living Water to be created and to flow to the (land of) Ether:

> In the Ayar (world) there is no water! As there is no water in the
> Ayar, by what can the *'uthras* thrive? How can the *'uthras* thrive and

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[184] SA p. 15.

[185] MII p. 53.

[186] Or mystical properties (ATŠ, p. 186).

[187] ATŠ p. 186. Mandaic ATŠ p. 55. The text:
[illegible]

> (how can) *Naṣiruta*[188] be installed in their hearts? They created a store of living waters (and) let it flow down to the Ayar. They sent down, caused it to flow down, to the *Ayar*, to the *'uthras*. All of them savoured it and it was fragrant: All *'uthras* savoured it and it pleased. The *'uthras* all drank and throve. They drank and rejoiced thereat and into their hearts *Naṣiruta* was installed. [189]

Ayar (Ether) is the swiftest elements of Life. It is the breath of Life which dwells in every living thing and the sweet breath from the North Star:

> Just at the first dawn, there comes a sweet breath from the North Star, a pure breeze from the North. We call it *Ayar-Ziwa*.[190]

Just as the heavenly Jordan mixes with the earthly waters and purifies them, *Ayar* mixes the worldly air and purifies it. *Ayar-Rba* (the Great Ether), *Ayar-Ziwa* (the Radiant Ether) and *Ayar-Sagia*[191] (the Plentiful Ether) are personification of the divine and pure atmosphere which gave birth to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa and all kings.[192]

The Essenes, share the idea that pure ether is the source of life, and believe that souls emanate from the most subtle air and incorporate with man's body.[193] *Ayar* perhaps corresponds to the old Persian the god of the wind Vāy, that blows between heaven and earth, and who became the space separating the Kingdom of Light above and the Kingdom of Darkenss below.[194] Just like Vāy who is located between the earth and sky, Mandaean *Ayar* exists above the sky and beneath the earth:

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[188] *Naṣiruta:* The true faith of the Mandaean/Naṣoreans; the esoteric knowledge and wisdom only given to Mandaean priests (DM, p. 286). It is the deep knowledge of priestcraft and religion. The Naṣoraiia are those who are thoroughly versed in the faith and doctrines of the sect. (ATŠ, p. 14) In this respect Rudolph writes, "The earliest self-designations to be found in Mandaean literature are "elect of righteous" (*bhiri zidqa*) and "Naṣoreans" (*naṣuraiyī*), i. e. "guardians" or "possessors" of secret rites and knowledge." (Rudolph, 1983: 343).

[189] CP p. 194. Mandaean hymn n. 239. The text (Drower's translation, text collated):

[illegible]

[190] MII, p. 249.

[191] ATŠ p. 165.

[192] Hibil-Ziwa is a messenger of the World of Light and the son of Mandaean Redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia.

[193] "bodies corruptible, but their souls are immortal; and they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons . . . when they are set free from the bonds of the

> The outer *Ayar* (Ether) is held above the skies and exists beneath the earth . . . it is the sublime ether-atmosphere in which kings hold council; and they hold to it, for they call it *qina* (nest, home) since all mysteries are nurtured therein. [195]

Like Vāy who is the life-giving power,[196] the Mandaean Ayer, who proceeded form Light, shines forth the uthras who dwell in the "world beyond":

> 'They sent Hibil-Ziwa to give them information to the *uthras* who sit there; and he said unto them, "From Radiance proceeded Light, and from Light proceeded *Ayar* (Ether), Ayar proceeded from Light and glory was shown forth to the *uthras* who sit there." [197]

§2.1.3 - ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (Intelligence, Vessel) :

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *Mana* (often hardly translatable) is defined by Jonas: "Mana is the name for the transmundane Power of Light, the first deity, *and* at the same time that for the transcendent, non-mundane center of the individual ego."[198] The Great "Mana" is the Over-Soul, or Over-Mind, the earliest manifestation of the Great Life.

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flesh, they then, as released from long bondage, rejoice and mount upward" (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book II, ch. 8. 11).

[194] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[195] ATŠ, pp. 173, 74, Mandaic ATŠ p. 50. The text:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[196] Zaehner, 1955: 85.

[197] ŠQŠR p. 52. (the Mandaean *Qabin d̲- Šišlam Rba*, p. 14: 1) The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[198] Jonas, 1958: 123, 4.

The "mana" of a human being is, so to speak, a spark of this flame, a temporarily detached part of the Great "Mana". This Gnostic conception appears in many forms of syncretistic philosophy.[199] In some features the Mandaean Mana corresponds to the Persian *Vohu Mana* (later form "*Bahman*") which means "good mind". It is the "power" which represents intelligence and wisdom.[200] He is the Lord of the Heaven who established his sovereignty through Truth.[201] In Mandaeism, "truth" ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ *kušṭa* is an element closely related to the first creation. It is the "heavenly" oath which every Mandaean has to take during baptism:[202]

> In great radiance am I immersed and in resolute light am I established. Manda baptized me; *kušṭa* (oath) confirmed me.[203]

As to the relation between the Mandaean Mana and the Iranian "Vohu-Mana", Lady Drower points out:

> The "mana" is the eternal part of the human soul which when freed of earthly pollution is re-united to the Great Mana. The Great Mana seems to correspond to the Zoroastrian Vohu-Mana, and represents a Cosmic Intelligence or Supersoul.[204]

In Zoroastrianism the *Vohu-Manah* (the good mind) is in a struggle with *Aka-Manah* (the evil or bad mind), and at the end *Vohu-Mana* will prevail.[205] In the Mandaean literature the *mana* represents intelligence or the mind, from which the whole of existence came into being. The only occasion where we come across evil

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[199] MHZ p. 35 n. 1.

[200] See MG, p. xxxii das ich etwa mit "Geist" (oder wohl noch besser mit "Intelligenz") übersetzen möchte.

[201] *The Gathas of Zarathushtra, Hymns and Praise of Wisdom*, translated by P. Nanavutty 1999: 48-9.

[202] For Mandaean baptism see above §1.41.

[203] CP p. 52. (*Masiqta*, Hymn No. 63) The text:
[illegible]

[204] DA n. 10, p. 18.

[205] Boyce 1975: 283. See also Zaehner, 1955: 121.

manas in the Mandaean literature is in the journey of the messenger Hibil-Ziwa to the underworld, where first met Rūha, and when he descended further, Hibi-Ziwa encountered the two spirits of Darkness which were called *manas*:

"I went (downwards) and I found those two great Manas of Darkness." [206]

The great, secret first Mana concealed himself in his *škina* for nine hundred and ninety nine millions (?) of years before he became manifest and initiated the existence, as we read in one of the hymns:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who dwelt for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his on *škina* – for no companion came to him; save that great, secret First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein. [207]

During this endless time of the Mana's "incubation" in his *škina* "cocoon", the whole being was inert and the whole of existence was in oblivion. Nothing existed until the Great Mystic Mana decided to emanate from himself and with him three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial world of light came into being and shone:

> I worship, laud and praise that Mystic First Mind (*Mana*) of Glory, who emanated from Himself, whose brilliance exceeds all (other) mystic glories; it is greater than word of mouth (can describe) and his light mightier than lips can express for He is the *Mana* (Mind), the great, the mysterious, the First of Glory, the great mighty *Mana*, in the radiance of which banner three hundred and sixty-six mighty celestial worlds of light shine.[208]

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[206] GRR book 5 p. 163: 10. The text:
[illegible]

[207] CP p. 36. (*Masiqta* Hymn 36) Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[208] CP n. 374 p. 267, (Mandaic hymn No. 374, p. 401) Drower's translation, text collated:

With the Great Mana's manifestation, existence came into motion and all the worlds gained power and the lamps and lights started to glow.[209] Lady Drower explains this move as follows:

> By the first creative impulse, when the Great Life became active and "Non-Existence" became "Existence", assumed an anthropomorphic shape.

The explanation of this is given by *Naṣiruta* in theological rather than metaphysical language.[210] She established her statement by referring to one of the hymns:

> In the name of the great powerful Mana (Mind) who thought and evoked companionship of Itself and said, "There shall be companionship for Me". [211]

Nevertheless, the Great Mana has no share in the creation of the material world. He remains ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ *nukraia* an "unknown", "unperceivable". 'The alien is that which stems from elsewhere and does not belong here.'[212] The worlds and generations cannot comprehend his nature and the nature of his counterpart:

> Then he taught about the *Mana* (*Nous* or Intelligence) and its Counterpart, for the world and generations know them not – that they correspond to that which comes from the (brain) matter and the vision of the heart (inner vision) that is within them.[213]

[illegible]

[209] GRR book 17 p. 464: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[210] SA p. 23.

[211] Lady Drower referred to hymn No. 375 of the CP instead of No. 373 p. 262. The text:

[illegible]

[212] Jonas, 1958: 49.

[213] ATŠ p. 174. Plotinus, (3rd century C.E.), portrays the real lord of the universe is an unknown "otherworldly", "alien" god who dwells beyond all visible creation. The Secret Book of John describes him as "The [true] God, the Father of the All, the Holy [Spirit], the invisible,

Mandaean literature describes the Manas as pure mass of radiance and light. No one can behold their images because their radiance is blinding the eyes and their light is dazzling. When Manda ḏ-Hiia brought Hibil into the presence of the Manas, he was afraid of their immense radiance and clear light:

> He aroused, went and led him (Hibil) into the presence the Glorious Manas. When Hibil, the fore-ordained Mana, entered he was startled because their radiance was transcendent and their light was overwhelming. He was not able to behold their images because their radiance was colossal and their light was enormous.[214]

When the messenger Hibih-Ziwa returned from his journey from the World of Darkness to the World of Light, the *Mana* and his Counterpart ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ *mana udmuth̲* received him and welcomed him. In order to receive full purification he descended towards the First Jordan "of the Mana and his counterpart" and his father (Manda ḏ-Hiia) baptized him and pronounced secret ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡉࡀ *rušmia* (signs) over him.[215]

The following verse is one of the most beautiful verses in the Ginza which is recited at the initiation of a new priest. The Mana speaks about his dwelling in the sea until wings were formed for him. At the moment he became a winged creature, he spread his wings and flew towards the Place of Light:

> I am a great *mana*, a *mana* am I, a son of the Great Ones. I dwelt in the sea, in the sea I dwelt until wings were formed for me, until for me

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who is over the all, who exists in his imperishability, since he [is in] the pure light into which no eye may look" (Rudolph, 1983: 61, 62 and 63). Lady Drower in her argument against those who claim that neo-Platonism influenced Naṣoraean gnosis directly or indirectly raises the following question: "As for the possibility that neo-Platonism influenced Naṣoraean gnosis *directly*, and 'directly' should be stressed, why the Naṣoraeans adopted the word Mana for the Creative Mind instead of the Greek νοῦς (Nous)?" (SA p. 46) She emphasizes that "The word used for "Mind", *mana* is not in the sense Semitic but Iranian" (SA p. 2).

[214] GR book 5: 1 p. 159: 16.

[215] GRR book 5: 1 pp. 178-9.

> wings were formed, until I became a winged creature. When I became a winged creature I spread my wings for the Place of Light.[216]

The above verse reminds us of the Ōannēs[217] legend which was written in Greek by the Babylonian priest Berossus. He described Ōannēs as having the body of a fish but underneath the figure of a man which dwelt in the Persian Gulf. He rose out of the waters in the daytime furnishing mankind with instruction in writing, the arts and the various sciences. Mead believes that Ōannēs' revelation is fundamental among the Mandaeans and it might be related to the Redeemer of the world, the Celestial Man who is expected to rise from the heart of the ocean, as it is written in the Apocalypse of Ezra.[218]

> The Mana is the crystal crown which crowns the head of the Great (Life):
>
> The *Mana* spoke to the generations: "I am a crystal crown. A crystal crown I am, which crowns the head of the Great (Life)."[219]

In addition to Mana, the heavenly being, there is the *mana* in the sense of ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* soul; the hidden sparkle of light. When Ptahil created Adam he could not make him stand on his feet. He, therefore, had to fetch a hidden *mana* (soul) from the House of Life and cast it into the bodies of Adam and his wife Eve.[220] This being of light *mana* (soul) had to sojourn in the ࡔࡐࡉࡍࡆࡀ *špinza* "inn" (the human body) against its will.[221] Because of this imprisonment (in the stinking body of man), the *mana* (soul) laments and complains:

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[216] GRL book 3: 30 p. 134: 4. The text:
[illegible]

[217] Ōannēs – Greek form of Uan, a name given to Adapa by Berossus. "Adapa was the first of the antediluvian seven sages who were sent by Ea, the wise god of Eridu to bring the arts of civilization to mankind" (Dalley 2000: 183).

[218] Mead's comment in this concern is notable; he writes: "Indeed the Fisher-figure cannot fail at once to remind students of the comparative science of religion of the ancient Babylon fish-clad fisher-god H̱ani-Ōannēs – the archaic Ea, father of Marduk the saviour god of Babylon who rose early from the dead." (See also Brandt, 1889: 148 ff.) This primeval God of Wisdom was the culture-god who had taught early mankind all the arts of civilization. Berossus, the Chaldaean priest (281 B.C.E.) who wrote Babyloniaca in Greek for Antiochus I, tells us of no less than six manifestations of Ōannēs in successive periods; and this notion of revelation and saving in successive periods is fundamental with the Mandaeans. Ōannēs rose from the sea – the waters presumably of the Persian Gulf, in the old story; but Marduk, his son descended from heaven (Mead, 1924: 17, see also Pallis, 1926: 47).

[219] GRL book 3: 47 p. 147: 3. "Crown of my head" is a courtesy phrase with which the Iraqis usually address their respected ones. The text:
[illegible]

> "Why did you carry me away from abode into captivity and cast me into the stinking body?" [222]

The lamentation of the *mana* (soul) is the main theme of GRL book 2, and bears the characteristics of the lamentations of ancient Mesopotamia:

> "I am a Mana of the great Life I am a Mana of the mighty Life. Who has made me live in the Tibil, who has thrown me into the body's trunk?" [223]
> "For a long time I have endured and been dwelling in the world" [224]
> "A Mana am I of the great Life. Who has thrown me into the suffering of the worlds, who has transported me to the evil darkness?" [225]

On the other hand, it is through the sacrifice of the *mana* or the *nišmta* (the soul) the World of Light could defeat the World of Darkness:

> O, *nišimta* soul rise and go and enter inside the body and be a prisoner inside the Palace. The rebellious Lion will be captured by you, the grim furious Lion. The Dragon will be captured by you, and killed in on the

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[220] GRR book 10, pp. 287-8.

[221] GRL book 3: 20 p. 122: 12. We find the same conception of the "inn" in the "Hymn of the Pearl", Act of Thomas (Jonas, 1958: 55-6).

[222] GRR, book 16: 2 pp. 452-3. The text:
[illegible]

[223] GRL book 2: 1 pp. 46-7. The text:
[illegible]

[224] GRL book 2: 3, p. 50: 22. The text:
[illegible]

[225] GRL book 2: 3, p. 49: 20. The text:
[illegible]

> spot. The King of Darkness, whose strength no one can match, shall be fettered by you.[226]

The Aramaic etymology of *mana* is: "vessel", "utensil", "garment" "clothing", and "instrument". [227] The Mandaean priests give four meanings for the word mana. (*a*) the soul, (*b*) a dove, (*c*) a garment, (*d*) a house.[228] The *Mana* is the instrument in which the *Mana* and his companion hid themselves in order to create the new generation of Life. It appears in plural forms in the following text:

> I bowed to and prostrated myself to my companion, and I received from her the precious *kušṭa*. We entered the *mania* (instrument) and concealed our selves. And she agreed to be my consort.[229]

The second occurrence of *mana* in the plural form *mania* is the Mandaean ceremony *Ahaba ḏ-Mania* (the presentation of garments [a form of *zidaq brika*] for those who have died not wearing the ritual garment - *rasta*).[230]

In ATŠ we read that the *Mana* is the Great Radiance, the translucent heavenly teacher who teaches the Naşoraeans the sacramental rites (treasures). The messenger Hibil-Ziwa appeals to the Great Mana, the Lord of all worlds, to explain to him the perfect rites, as without them no healing (*asuta*) of baptism in the Jordan will be bestowed on the Naṣoraeans and their robes will be debased and their crowns will fall from their heads.[231]

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[226] GRL p. 91: 2f. The sacrifice of the soul or the fall of the sparkle of Light into darkness in order to defeat the evil elements of the world of darkness is a common motif among the Gnostic sects (Jonas 1958: 219). The text:
[illegible]
Cf. Bar Khonai narration of the Manichean version: "The Living Spirit (*rūha hayā*) revealed his forms (*galē şūrateh*) to the sons of Darkness; and from the Light which had been swallowed by them from these Five Luminous Gods he purified the light and made the Sun, the Moon and more than a thousand stars" (cited by Stroumsa, 1984 . 155).

[227] MD p. 246, DJPA p. 288. The Iraqis still use ماعون מאעון for a vessel.

[228] MII p. 93 n. 1.

[229] GRR p.399: 10. The text:
[illegible]

[230] MD p. 8 (For more about the ceremony of *Ahaba ḏ-Mania*, see MII p. 214).

§ 2.1.4 - ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡉࡍࡀ *yardina* (Jordan):

Ritual immersion of the Mandaeans requires running or flowing water "rivers" which fits with the aquatic and marshy environment of southern Mesopotamia. The Mandaeans call all rivers and streams "jordans", and the Jordan, in their belief, is a terrestrial river "descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains." [232] The Jordan of the pure (white) waters originates from the Great Mana who dwells in Great Ether of Life.[233] The heavenly Jordan is not only the link between the World of Light and the physical world, but also functions as the conduit which pours from the World of Light in order to purify *mia siauia*, the black lifeless waters of the earth.[234] The black waters encircled the circumference of the world remained turbid,[235] until the Great Life ordered the Savior *Manda d̲-Hiia* to draw a channel of Living water and let fall into the black waters:

> Arise, you, and depart towards the watersheds. And draw a tiny channel
> of living water and let it fall into the turbid waters and (then the waters)

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[231] ATŠ p. 142.
[232] MII p. XXV. Segelberg has no "reason to doubt that the word ירדנא Jordan refers to the well known river with same name", but he adds that "Euphrates replaces Jordan occasionally". He also refers to scholars who believe that the Mandaeans are of Western origin, and that they have adopted, besides Jordan, Euphrates as a sacred river since their settlement in Mesopotamia (Segelberg, 1958: 38).
[233] GRR book III p. 84: 5.
[234] For this reason, the Mandaeans consider the *yardina* Jordan (running water) sacred, therefore, no Mandaeans may urinate or spit in a river, nor can it be used to dispose of sewage.
[235] GRR p. 196: 23. The text: [illegible]
The Babylonians portrayed the circular earth surrounded by the "Bitter River" (Lambert 1975: 60).

> become sweet and the children of man drink it and become like the great Life. [236]

Without the "Living Water" of the *Yardina* (Jordan) purifying the Mandaeans, their *nišmata* 'souls' would remain confined to this world; the World of Darkness, and could never return to the World of Light.[237] The Jordan cleans all faults and the trespasses and is the father of all worlds, celestial, central and lower: it is a medicine transcending all means of healing.[238] The healing powers of "the great Jordan of the First Life, which is all healings" [239] correspond to the magical healing powers of the Jordan, which healed Namaan, the captain of the host of the king of Syria from his leprosy, stated in the Old Testament.[240]

Without the baptism (immersion) in Jordan (running water) one cannot receive the pure sign and therefore he cannot be a Mandaean:

> "In the name of the Life! Let every man whose strength enables him and who loves his soul, come and go down to Jordan and be baptized and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head." [241]

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[236] GRR p. 322: 2. The text:
[illegible]

[237] "The Christian-Essene called the *Didache* insists on "living water" for baptism, too" (Welburn, 1991: 195).

[238] ATŠ p. 150 (Mandaean p. 38). The text:
[illegible]
The Babylonian cosmology is also based on three levels, as mentioned in the epic of Atra-hasis: Anu in Heaven, Enlil on the earth, and Ea in the Apsu (Lambert 1975: 57).

[239] CP p. 12. Mandaean Masbuta hymn No 18, p. 58. The text:
[illegible]

[240] Kings II 5-16. Lady Drower does not believe that *yardina* (Jordan) has any connection with the river Jordan in Palestine, and that the Mandaeans call all rivers by Ardana or Ardan (MII n. 4 p. xxiv). On the other hand, Pallis insists that *yardina* Jordan cannot be translated as 'the river' since *yardina* Jordan is always a proper name in Mandaic literature (Pallis, 1926: 24).

[241] CP p. 13. Mandaean Maṣbuta (Baptism) p. 60. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

Mandaean *maşbuta* (baptism) in the *yardina d̲-mia hiia* 'the Jordan of Living Water' is the unification with the World of Light. According to the Mandaeans, the baptism which takes place in the earthly world is a replica of the heavenly baptism carried out by the beings of Light. It was performed to purify Hibil-Ziwa in the heavenly *yardina* (Jordan) from the pollution with which he was polluted during his journey to the underworld.[242]

Baptism protects the Mandaean against evil and seals him physically and spiritually by the seal of Life: "These souls who are descending to the Jordan will be sealed by the seal of the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life." [243] The running water is not only for healing the body and purifying the souls, but also "the symbol of the fertilizing male principle" in the Mandaean literature, e.g. Earth is "the Mother" and Rain or River "the Father".[244]

> For Jordan is a *baba* (father) and the Earth a mother whose name is (*mamma*) [245]

Stroumsa writes: "Gnostic water imagery made use of biblical themes: 'The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse' [*Testim. Truth* 31:1-3]."[246] This phrase is quite compatible with the Mandaean imagery, where the Mandaean literature credits the origin of the sexual desire to the Living Water and to the messenger Hibil-Ziwa:

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[242] For more details concerning this baptism, see DMHZ (the Scroll of the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa) p. 28.

[243] CP. p. 11. The text:

[illegible]

The Iraqis believed, from the ancient times, in the seals of the great names to protect them from evil. The most famous is the Seal of King Solomon which contains the magic names that gave him the power over the djinn, birds and wind (See Dawkins J., "The Seal of Solomon", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943) pp. 145-150 esp. p. 145.).

[244] ATŠ, "the Male Mystery" p. 122. Cf. the Sumerian myth of creation as *An* (heavens) represents the male and *Ki* (earth) is the womb '. . . An impregnated the verdant earth (*Ki*) and she bore him one unafraid of the warrior *Ninurta* (Jacobson, 1976: 95).

[245] ATŠ p. 176.

[246] Stroumsa 1984: 122.

> I went towards two legally joined persons. I came and opened living waters and gave to the pair of this world to drink. I opened living water and gave of them to the bridal pair of this world to drink. I sowed in them pregnancy and birth and with sexual desire I enflamed them and caused love to dwell in both of them.[247]

It is interesting to note that Marcionites (a heretical sect founded in C.E. 144 at Rome by Marcion) had launched a surprising attack upon John and the baptism in the Jordan and called him: "Archon of the multitude":

> "The river of Jordan, this, to him, is the strength of the body – that is, the essence of pleasure; and the water of Jordan is the desire for carnal co-habitation." As for John, he is "the archon of the multitude" [248]

According to the Mandaean manuscript ࡄࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡕࡀ *haran gawaita* 'Inner Haran', John the Baptist (*iahiah yuhana*) was born when his old barren mother ࡏࡍࡉࡔࡁࡀࡉ *'enišbai* 'Elizabeth' became pregnant with him when she drank a sip from the Jordan. As a result the seed of John was sown in her womb:

> ". . . in Tamar [249], the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth.
> And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed . . . and came and was

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[247] CP. p. 182. Mandean p. 231-2. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[248] Doresse, 1960: 220. In this concern Jonas writes: "This is entirely unique. Could it be a retort to the Mandaeans – the other side of the bitter quarrel of which we have the Mandean side in their writings? The account is too sketchy to permit more than the suggestion of this tempting possibility" (Jonas, H., JR, 1962: 265).

[249] Tamar (a small town named Thamara was situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea). The story of the miraculous birth is also written in the BJ 18 74: 5 where we read: 'They have taken a child from the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of *'nšbai* (Elisabeth)" [illegible]

> sown in the womb of 'Nišbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory." [250]

It seems that the Mandaeans follow the Sumerians, who did not always differentiate between "'semen" and "water"; the same word can stand for both. It is Enki who fecundates and produces productivity: "O Father Enki, go forth out of the seeded country, and may it sprout good seed!"[251] To the above Sumerian concept of fertility we find striking parallels in Mandaean literature:

> For Earth called Jordan (living water) "My father" when its mysteries fell into her. And she cried aloud to Jordan "Do not penetrate me" and said to it "Answer me, my father, answer me" and "Raise me up, (O) great Son of the Great One, father of a son of Life! Answer me, *Šilmai* and *Nidbai*, lords of the Jordan". [252]

The Mandaeans consider the Living Water, which originates in the world of Light, is the Life itself which flows from the House of Life in which Mandaeans lustrate their bodies and souls:

> In the name of the Life! Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth form the House of Life. (At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed.[253]

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[250] HG p. 5. The Mandaean manuscript line no. 18. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[251] Jacobson, 1976: 111.

[252] [the earth cries out like a virgin fearing loss of virginity] ATŠ, p. 173. Mandaean p. 49. The text:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[253] CP p. 33 (the Mmasiqta p. 120). Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible]

[illegible]

Albright finds in the above Mandaean hymn a striking resemblance to the Assyrian *egubbû* incantations: "In the name of life! Ye are the living waters, which have come from a wide place, Lady Drower states, 'Today the word *yardina* (Jordan) is applied not only to running water used in baptism and immersion, but to any flowing stream; yet the conjunction of John the Baptist and the Jordan is significant. [254]

§2.1.5 - ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀ *Škina* (celestial dwelling):

ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinata* has its usual ambiguity as the other Gnostic Mandaean terms. In creation it is meant to be the celestial dwelling, but it is also used as the cult-hut in which the Mandaean rites take place. The *škinata* or *'ndruna* is a booth built of reeds and intertwined with myrtle and roses.[255] It is where the priest sits and from which he performs his duties like the marriage ceremony. The worldly *škina* used in the rituals is a reproduction of the *škina* of the World of Light. It is through the *škina* that Mandaeans can experience the Divine Godhead.

The ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinata* (celestial dwellings)[256] are the product of the first emanation and they became the celestial abode of the Mandaean deities; "the Life", the Mana and their *uthras*. The *škina* was founded by the Life above the *tanna* in the great Jordan "Piriawis":

> Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life, which all healings is afire
> like the glory flaming in the ࡕࡀࡍࡀ *tanna* (matrix?). When Life was

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carrying death away form the house of life. O living waters from the house of life, let the good come and be well, but let the bad be shattered (like a pot)" (Albright, AJSL 1919 pp. 161-195, esp p. 186).

[254] SA p. xiv.

[255] For the details of the construction of the *škinta* by the Mandaean priests see MII pp. 152-3.

[256] Cf. שכינה The biblical Hebrew word for Tabernacle *miščan*, is used in the sense of dwelling-place in OT, Psalm 132:5 "Before I find a place for God, *mishcanot* (dwelling-places) for the Strong One of Israel" (עד אמצא מקום ליהוה משכנות לאביר יעקב). In Talmudic literature, the *Shekhinah* is God himself (Sholem G., 1962: 163). Quispel believes that there is a close connection between the *Shekhinah* in Jewish Mysticism and the Mandaean concept of *Adam Qadamaia* "the primordial Man" (Quispel G., "Ezekiel 1: 26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis", *Vigiliae Christianae*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (Mar. 1980), pp. 1- 13, esp. p. 3).

> ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flamed therein,
> Life arose and founded its *škina* above the *tanna*.[257]

Enormous and countless myriads of *škinas* came forth from the fusion of the Great Mana with the Pira.[258] The *škinas*, with their illuminating light and magnificent radiance, are the symbol of the Divine might and glory:

> Then the Lord of Greatness *Mara-ḏ-Rabuta* stood and created four hundred and forty four *škinas* to his right, and three hundred and sixty *škinas* to his left. Then, he created from every *škina* one thousand and eight hundred thousand myriad *ruban* precious and sublime uthras. Their radiance is magnificent and their light is illuminating. Their precious illumination lights up the Lamps that shine before them. Two guards are posted upon every single *škina* and two lamps are lit in front of them.[259]

The *škina,* just like the other Mandaean elements of creation, is enclosed with mystery which no one can comprehend its entity:

> He is the *Kušṭa* (Truth) who lives in upper heights, the Lord of Greatness, Lord of all mighty beings.[260] There is no one to define and express his force and all his worlds and his *škinas*, in which the *uthras* and *melki* "kings" dwell.[261]

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[257] CP 18 p. 12. (MṢ hymn 18 p. 58). Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[258] GRR p. 84: 2.

[259] GRR book 4 p. 151: 13. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[260] Cf. (9) Adonai is the attribute [*Middah*] of mercy and Elohim is the attribute (10) of justice Truth is the place of the *Shekinah* who establishes (11) all creatures [Lit. "who enter the world"] in truth. And when he sits (12) on the throne of judgement righteousness stands at his right and mercy (13) stands at his left and truth stands before him . . .' (Peter Schäfer, *Geniza Fragmente zur Hekhalot Literature*, Tübingen, 1984, pp. 132-4, cited by Deutsch, 1999: 41).

[261] GRR p. 4: 6. The text:

The celestial *Škinas* developed from the First Mystic *Škina*:

> Praised is that great mystic *škina* and praised the three hundred and sixty *škinas* which proceeded from that first great mystic *škina*.[262]

From these mystical dwellings (or: sanctuaries) of the high beings, mystic sprouts came into being:

> The proven, pure one spoke saying to the Great One: "If it pleases you, Great One, if it pleases you Great Ones, a world of light has been made Created is a world of light and a company has been established therein, *Škinas* have been set up therein. It will be bright in your praise, in your praise it will shine, and will be blessed with your blessing. Mystic sprouts (offspring) will come into being and at your word they will flourish, they will flourish at your word and sprouts that are worthy will be raised up."[263]

In another hymn, the *Škina* appears to be the "divine abode" in which the Great Mana "cocooned" himself before revealing himself to the worlds. The idea appears to be that the Great Mana has its period of quiescence, ceasing to be. [264] He became manifest only when He was fully developed in his *Škina*:

> I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First *Mana* who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own *Škina* – for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[262] CP p. 155. (Mandaic Hymn n. 171.) Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[263] CP p. 187. (=Mandaic CP Hymn n 234 p. 245) Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[264] CP, n. 4 p. 188.

that great, secret, First *Mana*. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.[265]

The *škinta* which is constructed by the Mandaean priests in the Bit Manda (The House of Mandaeans or: Mandaean Temple) is the reflection of the heavenly *škina* in which all beings of Light dwell. In the process of consecration of a *ašualia* (a Mandaean novice for priesthood), has to enter a newly-built ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ *škinta* (a cult hut), and the ࡏࡍࡃࡓࡅࡍࡀ *'ndruna* (booth constructed for ritual purposes such as marriage and initiation) which symbolizes his former lay status is pulled down. The earthly *škinta*, with the Mandaean priests sitting in it practicing their rituals, symbolizes a particular realm within the divine world. It is the Mandaean sacred and pure dwelling, in the earth Tibil, which belongs to the World of Light:

> Praised be that great occult First *škinta* (abode) because it is Mine. Praised be the three hundred and sixty *škinata* (abodes), the three hundred and sixty worlds, ours, because they are worlds of light amongst which all mysteries are shared out – they emanated from the supreme and Celestial World.[266]

The *škinata* are the celestial dwellings for the countless battalions of *'uthras*; the "warriors" of the realm of Light. These *škinata* are hidden from men in the World of Light.[267]

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[265] CP p. 36 *masiqta* (Ascension) p. 130. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[266] ATŠ, pp. 111,112. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[267] *Cf.* the world of Merkabah could be designated as the place "of his Shekhinah hidden from men in the highest heights" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164, quoted from the Targum to Habakkuk 3: 4).

> Praised be all the mighty and lofty world of light; praised be all those *škinata* "sanctuaries" of the Hidden for in each and every *škinta* sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, (*'uthras*) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.[268]

The earthly *škinta* is an oblong and with a pent-roof reed hut plastered with washed clay. When the *škinta* is constructed (always constructed nearby a stream of running water), seven priests are gathered together and recite the devotion prayers (*rahmia*). During this ceremony, the holy books are set in and the banners are unfurled.[269] The *škinta* is purified every year at the festival of the five days of creation (*Paruaniia*).[270] After its purification and consecration only priests are allowed to enter.[271] "In the *škinta* the *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) lives for seven days and nights, leaving it only to relieve himself." [272] The *Rba* (teacher) takes his novice by the right hand and leads him to the *škinta*:

> And grasp thy *ašualia* (novice for priesthood) with thy right hand and come to thy *škinta*, in which priests and laymen will be sitting. Say to them "Peace upon you, my brethren, priests and laymen of the

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[268] CP, p. 50; Mandaean text no. 58. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
In respect to the large numbers of celestial being and dwellings Scholem writes: "This pluralistic generalization, which of course no longer permits the equation of the Shekhinah with the supreme God, appears to have been self-evident among the Mandaeans, whose literature overflows with references to myriads of worlds, *uthras* (treasure houses of riches) and shekhinoth, though we never learn precisely what it is they represent" (Scholem (1962), English translation 1987: 164).

[269] Segelberg, 1976: 184.

[270] Paruaniia: the five intercalary days, called colloquially *panja* (MD p. 363).

[271] Lady Drower noted, "I was struck, when reading Thureau-Dungin's *Rituels Accadiens*, with resemblances between the *taraşa ḏ mandi* (*mandi* = Mandaean cult-hut) and the Akkadian rites for the re-consecration of a temple after pollution, earthquake, or violation"(MII n. 4 p. 142).

[272] Drower, 1962: XIV.

škinta!" And those crowns which thou intendest to distribute amongst the priests of the *škinta* shall be (held) in they hand.[273]

In the *škinta,* the *šualia* (novice) receives his mystic knowledge from his *Rba* (teacher). During these seven days and seven nights of the novice's solitude in the *škinta,* he and his master, observe the strictest rules of purity. The main purpose of the earthly *škinta* is the consecration of a new priest and performing the *masiqta* (ascension) rituals. Lady Drower believes that Mandaean *škinta* is related to 'the sanctuary of a Nestorian church,'[274] while, in the Talmudic conception, the *Shekhinah* represents God's dwelling and glory in the created world.[275]

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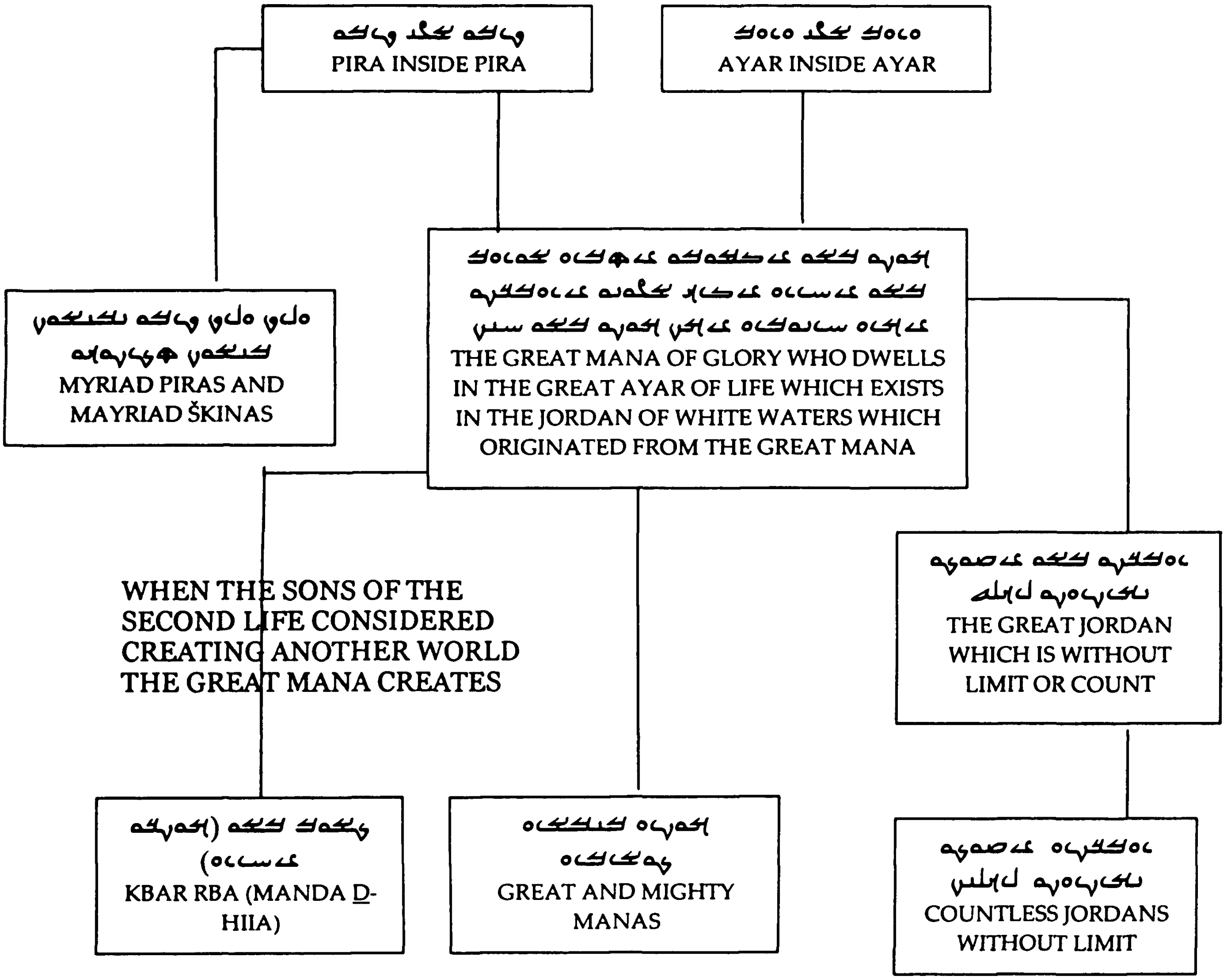
[273] ATŠ II [422] p. 286. (Mandaic p. 105). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[274] Drower 1962: XIII.

[275] For the *Shekhinah* as the divine power between light and darkness, see Wolfson, "Light through Darkness", *Harvard Theological Review*, Vo. 81, No. 1. (Jan. 1988), pp. 73-95 esp. p. 85.

ࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

TEXT 1
GINZA RABA
PAGE 83-4
Chart (A)


PIRA INSIDE PIRA
AYAR INSIDE AYAR
MYRIAD PIRAS AND MAYRIAD ŠKINAS
THE GREAT MANA OF GLORY WHO DWELLS IN THE GREAT AYAR OF LIFE WHICH EXISTS IN THE JORDAN OF WHITE WATERS WHICH ORIGINATED FROM THE GREAT MANA
WHEN THE SONS OF THE SECOND LIFE CONSIDERED CREATING ANOTHER WORLD THE GREAT MANA CREATES
THE GREAT JORDAN WHICH IS WITHOUT LIMIT OR COUNT
KBAR RBA (MANDA D-HIIA)
GREAT AND MIGHTY MANAS
COUNTLESS JORDANS WITHOUT LIMIT

§ 2. 2. - The Second Account of the Theogony

§ 2. 2 - The Second Account of the Theogony:

In the second account of theogonay (GRR book III p. 84: 14 ff) In addition to the previous Gnostic terms, mentioned in the first version of creation, we come across new terms in the second version; *yura* (radiance), *hiia tiniania* (the Second life) and *hapiqia mia* (the streams of water). Some of these terms are peculiar and difficult to understand and *Yura* is one of them. The main events in this account are: (a) The creation of the *yardina rba* "Great Jordan" (b) The Life is born from the great Jordan (c) The Life addresses Itself (or: Himself) with a request and begets the Second Life (d) The Second Life calls forth *uthras* and sets up *škinas* and creates his own Jordan (e) Three *uthras* come into being and address a request to the Second Life to grant them permission to raise *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them:

> When the fruit was still in the fruit, when the *Ayar* (ether) was still in the *Ayar*, and when the great ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *Yura* (Radiance), whose ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *ziwa* radiance and ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* light are so vast and extensive, before which no one existed, and from which the great Jordan of living water came into being. The water flowed to the earth of ether on which the Life sat, and the Life presented himself in the likeness of the great Mana, from which he came into being, and the Life addressed himself with a request. By the first request an eternal *uthra* came into being, whom the Life called ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *hiia tiniania* 'the Second Life'. Countless and endless ࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ *uthras* also came into being. From the Life a Jordan ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡉࡍࡀ *yardina* came into being, which like the first Jordan flowed into the earth of light, and the Second Life stood (or: baptized) in it. And that Second Life called forth *uthras* and set up ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ *škinas* and called forth a Jordan, in which the *uthras* were set up (or was baptized).

> Three *uthras* came into being, who addressed a request to the Second Life; they were then allowed to produce *škinas* for themselves. What the three *uthras* requested from the Second Life was granted to them. They consulted together and produced *škinas*. They petitioned and spoke to their father; they asked their father and said to him: "Are you the one who created this Jordan of living water, which is so marvelous and whose aroma is so fragrant, and the *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it and which are so great, and are they your *uthras* which were established (or: baptized) in it?" The Second Life replied, speaking to the three *uthras*: "As for me, your father, the Life created me, and the Jordan belongs to the Life, and you are brought into being by the power of the Life.' Then they spoke to him: 'Give us of your radiance and your light and of that which surrounds you and we shall depart and go below the streams of water ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, call forth *škinas* for you, establish a world for you, and may the world belong to us and to you." (Chart II)

§ 2. 2. 1 - ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *Yura*:

Yura is one of the beings of Light in the Mandaean theogony, but the Mandaean writings do not provide us with sufficient account of him. The Mandaic Dictionary defines him as: Iur, iura (< יוהרא) light, brilliance, being of light.[276] He is a spirit of light and, the treasurer who lives with his ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* (counterpart) in their *škina*. *Yura* or *Yur* describes himself:

> I am *Yur* son of thou-art-bright". [277] "I am *Yur* son of *Barit* (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The *tanna* (vapour or: matrix) dissolved and a *škinta* came into being, a *škinta* came into existence and was established in the House of Life.[278]

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[276] In Arabic جوهر *jauhar* gems or jewels.

[277] ATŠ p. 281 and n. 6. ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡉࡅࡓ ࡁࡓ ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ *ana hu yur br barit* Mandaean ATŠ p. 102 q. 392.

[278] CP p. 9 Hymn n. 12 (Mş no. 12 p. 48). The text:

Due to the paucity of Mandaean writings concerning *Yura Rba*, we can not determine his real purpose. The Ginza describes him as ࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡀ *ganzibra*. *Ganzibra* bears dual definitions: a 'Treasurer' and also the title for a Mandaean (bishop) which the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest):

> Instruct them concerning Sidar-Kasia-Anana
> inside which the Treasurer, *Yur Rba*, is concealed. [279]

The following warning which is written in the Ginza and directed to perverse *Naşoraeans* (Mandaeans) confirms the role of *yura* as a treasurer:

> The secret treasure will be taken away from them (from the impious Naşoreans) and will be handed over to *Yura Rba*, the treasurer. He (the impious Naşorean) will be removed from Light and will burn in the lower hell. [280]

The Ginza also tells us that *yura rba*, like the other spirits of light, has a *dmuta* (counterpart) who lives with him:

> They provided him with hidden words, so sublime and transcendent to the world. They instructed him concerning *Yura Rba* and his magnificent *dmuta* (counterpart) who (cohabits) with him. [281]

In one of the prayers, *Yur Rba* is invoked as a redeemer. Here he is described not only as the *ganzibra* (treasurer) but also as "king of worlds of light":

[illegible]

[279] GRR book 17: 1, p. 465: 3. The text:
[illegible]

[280] GRR book 15, p. 392: 11. The text:
[illegible]

[281] GRR book 15: 7, p. 393: 7. The text:
[illegible]

> O Yawar Rba, Yur Rba, Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my errors.[282]

Other Mandaean writings call him mystic. In the following hymn *yura* is classified with *šalmai* and *nadbai*, the great guardians of the Mandaeans' sacred rivers:

> You will behold the great mystic *Yura* whom they planted. You will see *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* dwelling in a great cloud of light. In that cloud they dwell and put in charge of all jordans. [283]

Finally Lady Drower states, "As *Yura* is unusual as a form of *Yur* it is tempting to consider יורה "the first rain", "spring, "early season". [284]

§ 2. 2. 2 - ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* The Life:

The Life is the supreme deity in the Mandaean belief. He is usually described as *nukraiia* "alien", "remote", "ineffable" since nobody has ever seen His brilliance and glory ࡃࡀࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡄ ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡅࡀࡒࡀࡓࡄ *d̲-'niš ldmuth̲ lahzh lziuh̲ u'qarh̲* [285]. He is the source of all existence both seen and unseen; He is the creative force that came into came into existence before the existence:[286]

> Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One [Alien] from world of light, Supreme being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth [*kušṭa*] which was of old in the Beginning. [287]

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[282] CP p. 156. Drower's translation, text collated:
ࡉࡀࡅࡀࡓ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡉࡅࡓ ࡓࡁࡀ [illegible]
[illegible]

[283] CP p. 304. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible] / [illegible]
[illegible]

[284] CP n. 5 p. 183.

[285] CP p. 40. Mandaean *Masiqta* (Ascension) hymn No. 43 p. 138.

[286] SA p. 1.

[287] CP p. 40. Drower's translation, text collated:

The Life originated from the land of Light and the water came into being from the Life. From the water radiance emanated, and from radiance light emanated, and from the light *uthras* came into being:

> The Life knows that life came into being on the land of Light and from the Life, the water came into being, and from the water, the radiance came into being, and from the radiance, the light, and from the light, the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[288]

"The Great Life is a personification of the creative and sustaining force of the universe, but the personification is slight, and spoken of always in the impersonal plural, it remains mystery and abstraction. The symbol of Life is the "living water" *yardina* "Jordan." [289]

The World of Light came into existence through a series of emanations form the First Life.[290] As soon as the First Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia qadmaiia* arose from his *škina* he created three hundred and sixty Jordans and appointed two guards upon each of them . . . then he created three hundred and sixty worlds of Light. [291]

The First Life was the first "Creator" in the World of Light when he addressed himself with a request and brought the Second Life (Yōšamin) into being.[292] In

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[illegible]

[288] GRR 15: 20 p.442: 11. The text:

[illegible]

[289] MII, p. xxi.

[290] Rudolph, 1983: 357.

[291] GRR pp. 354, 5. The text:

[illegible] ... [illegible]

[292] GRR p. 84: 20. Cf. the concept of the Barbelo (The Barbeliotes were "Gnostic" sect that lived in Egypt and mentioned by Epiphanius) when he asked the first *Ennoia* (thought) to give him/her a "First Knowledge": after he granted it, the First Knowledge became manifest and

another fragment of the Ginza we read that the First Life declared to the great supreme Mana that he thought carefully and created a son. The Mana asked the Life to clothe the son with the attire of radiance and to cover his head with turban of light:

> The First Life bowed in worship and praised that great supreme Mana and said to him, "I thought and created one son; the unique great righteous one, who came to being from the unique great righteous one." He (the great supreme Mana) said to Him (to the First Life), "Go, dress him with the attire of radiance and cover his (head) with the good pure turban of light." [293]

The "First Life" is the main Mandaean revealed deity who is entitled of worship.[294] He participates in the positive aspect alone: it is *nukraiia* "beyond", *alauia kulhun ubadia* "above all creation", *balma d̲nhūra* "in the world of light".[295] In baptism every Mandaean must receive the Pure Sign ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ *rušma dakia*; the Sign of Life ࡓࡅࡔࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *rušma d̲-hiia*. Most of the Mandaean hymns and prayers open and end with the following formulae: ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡉࡀ *bšumaihun d̲ hiia rabia* "In the name of the Great Life", ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ *hiia zakin* "Life is victorious".

The "Living Water" flows form the "House of Life" which is the habitation of the highest deity along with his heavenly host of the *uthras*. [296] The House of Life is

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the "Son" was born from the *Ennoia's* contemplation of the Father (Jonas 1958: 199-200. See also Rudolph 1983: 77, 80).

[293] GRR 279: 21f. The text:
[illegible]

[294] Yamauchi 1967: 39.

[295] Jonas, 1958: 50.

[296] MII p. 95. The House of Life is parallel to the Pleroma in the Gnostic motif. Widengren noted, 'The chief temple of the town, *Esagila*, is called *bīt balāṭi* "the House of Life" (Widengren 1949: 26).

the place where the souls of the Mandaeans' ancestors dwell, [297] and the names of the *uthras* are kept:

> They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place
> of Light and the Everlasting Abode . . . 'Uthras whose names, each
> one, are in the House of Life. [298]

The Mandaean adaptation of Life as their main deity is derived from their own habitat in southern Iraq. The quest for life is a major theme in the Epic of Gilgamesh and of Mesopotamian incantations.[299] The ritual customs of the Mandaeans, as well as in the ancient Mesopotamian religion, are influenced by the idea of 'life' and how to reach the House of Life in order to gain eternal life. [300]

§ 2. 2. 3 - The Second Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *hiia tiniania* (Yōšamin):

The Second Life [301], also known by his personal name Yōšamin,[302] is the First Son of *Hiia Qadmaiia* the First Life who begot him through a "self-division" or "self-produced emanation" and not creation (for this would compromise its perfection).[303]

> The Life addressed a request to Itself (Himself). By the first request
> an eternal (or: fast-grounded) uthra came into being, whom the Life

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[297] PC. P. 303.

[298] Ibid 87, Mandaean text pp. 243, 244. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[299] Jacobsen 1976: 213-4.

[300] Widengren 1949: 29.

[301] Book III of the Ginza (the subject of the research) does not mention Yōšamin as the other epithet of the Second Life. Yōšamin is mentioned in the rest of the Ginza. Albright believes that Yōšamin stands for Ba'al-šamîn (older Ba'al-šamēn) (Albright W. F., "The Canaanite God Haurōn (Hōrōn)", AJSL 53, 1936: 11, 12).

[302] *iušamin* (comp. with iu-, a transformation of H.יהושמין Kessler PRE xii 168, taking the place of the Aram. בעלשמין Jb ii pp. xxiii: 15 ff. AF 242) name of a demiurge, a mediator between good and evil ML, 281, MII 224 n. 8, Jb ii pp. xxii ff. MD, P. 191).

[303] Deutsch 1999: 138.

called the Second Life, also uthras without limit or count came into being.[304]

The Second Life played the most important role in the creation of the semi-physical world (the world which is located beneath the World of Light). As soon as he came into existence, the Second Life became obsessed with the thought of creation[305]. He incurred the great schism in the World of Light when he allowed the three *uthras* (his sons, especially Abatur) to go down below ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia* the "streams of water" (the waters that separate the world of light from the world of darkness) and create their own world and ignore the name of the Life.[306]

The Second Life's creation of a new world was considered by the World of Light as an evil act of rebellion which "instigated the Great Controversy, never to be resolved in all eternity"[307]. Yōšamin "revealed the secret of the Great Ones" and threw controversy into the Light.[308]. The Mandaean faith dictates that the world (which was created by Yōšamin) is the source of all evils and all errors and deficiency is the product of a "divine tragedy" caused by Yōšamin.[309] Some Mandaean writings recount that all error and deficiency originated when Yōšamin came into existence and it is he who caused the 'discord' in the World of Light.[310] For his insolence, the Second Life was cast down from his throne and was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it:

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[304] GRR 84: 20. Cf. the Syriac writer Theodore Bar Konai's (8th/9th Century C.E.) story about a certain Battai whose doctrine dictates: 'Before the beginning of all things, there had been divinity who divided himself into two and from whom the Good and Evil came to be, the Good gathered-together the lights, and the Evil the darkness. Then the Evil gained understanding, and rose to make war upon the Father of Greatness. The Father of Greatness pronounced a word, from which were borne seven powers. But seven demons set themselves up against the Lord God and against the Powers he had engendered: after having shackled these adversaries, they stole from the Father of Greatness the principle of the soul (Doresse, 1960: 60).

[305] GRR Book III p. 96: 4 [illegible] "the pregnant became pregnant with the second".

[306] GRR book III p. 85: 14 f. The move of the Second Life 'Yōšamin' was encountered by the creation of the messenger/redeemer Manda ḏ-Hiia "Gnosis of Life" (§2.2.7), by the higher deities as we shall see in GGR p. 85: 24 f. Cf. the second series of gods who pleaded their Father for a new emanation to set the cosmos in motion, according to the Manichaean system (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15). For more about *hapiqia mia* see §2.2.4.

[307] DY (Mandaean manuscript) pp. 4, 5 (= Lidzbarski's Mandaean manuscript p. 5: 3). The text:

[illegible]

[308] Ibid p. 7. The text:

[illegible]

[309] Rudolph, 1983: 69.

> "Yōšamin was cast down because he wanted to instigate a fight and throw controversy into the House of the Great Ones. He imagined evil; therefore he was bound with a chain in order to stay eternally in it."[311]

In *draša d-yahia* (the Book of John or the Book of Kings) we read that a great 'angelic' war took place in the World of Light between the forces of the Life on the one hand and Yōšamin and his allies on the other. Yōšamin lost the war; his sons were killed in the resistance, and his wives went around in mourning. His *yardinia* (Jordans) were disturbed and his *škinas* were removed out of their place. They destroyed his dwellings and his buildings, and his throne was placed at the gates of Supat (underworld).[312]

After the tragedy Yōšamin came back to his senses; he repented and asked to be baptized and the name of the Life to be placed upon him:

> "I want acknowledge by your baptism and your name to be expressed and placed upon me."[313]

The Great Life was pleased with this result and restored Yōšamin's status. The World of Light promised Yōšamin to restore his *škinas* and buildings and to bring back his sons to him alive and to appoint messengers and guards in his domain. His throne to be erected firmly and he is to be called the King of the *Škina*:

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[310] ARR 47.

[311] DY, pp. 7, 8. The text:
[illegible]

[312] DY, p. 28. The text:
[illegible]

[313] Ibid p. 28: 19. The text:
[illegible]

> As Yōšamin said this, the Great Life was pleased about his speech. He spoke to Nṣab-Ziwa, the guard, who sits everywhere. He said to him, "Go to Yōšamin and sustain his heart by your support. Tell him, "You are of our planting; we will not leave you alone. Your *škina* is well established in radiance and glory, and your stronghold and your building are to be recreated as they were. Your children are to be brought back to you alive and you are to be served by your messengers as guards in your realm. Your throne is to be erected firmly, as it was, and you are to be called a king in your *škina*". [314]

On the other hand, the Second Life "Yōšamin" is considered by the Mandaeans as the "archetype of a priest careless in rituals".[315] Yōšamin is the neglectful priest in the World of Light.[316] ATŠ directs a clear warning to the priest who does not perform the rite perfectly: "Nevertheless, exhort him (the priest) and warn him against performing rites as Yōšamin performed them." [317] In this connection Deutsch writes:

> The interplay between human and angelic priests also plays an important role in the Mandaean rehabilitation of fallen *uthras* such as Yōšamin, Abatur and Ptahil. According to Kurt Rudolph, at a certain point in the history of the Mandaean religion, the priestly class empowered itself and transformed what was originally a radically dualist theology into a more monistic, ritualistic system in which human priests played a greater role. An important part of this social

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[314] Ibid pp. 33, 34. The text:
[illegible]

[315] ARR n. 5 p. 47. See also CP 69 and n. 1 p. 69.

[316] SA p. 60.

[317] ATŠ [415] p. 285.

> and theological transformation was the rehabilitation of fallen, cosmic priests such as Abatur, who were re-created in the image of the newly empowered human priests. [318]

Yōšamin and his sons Abatur and Ptahil resemble, in a way, the sinning angels of I Enoch 6-11.[319] Deutsch explains:

> The connection between the Mandaean uthras and the fallen angels is primarily, but not solely, based on their common fall from grace following an act of rebellion. Another important but less obvious parallel between the two sets of figures in that both are related to the image of a polluted priesthood. We have already seen that Yōšamin, Abatur, and Ptahil were characterized as heavenly priests who corrupted themselves by rebelling against the Great Life. [320]

In Mandaean prayer Yōšamin is the strength which guides the waters to the sea. [321] He is also mentioned in marriage songs as a light-spirit of abundance and fertility.[322] The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life is anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any *uthra* by six thousand myriad years. [323] He is the pure one who abides on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. [324]

In some Mandaean writings Yōšamin is called the peacock:

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[318] Deustch 1999: 143.

[319] For more about the falling angels, see Hanson "Rebellion in Heaven", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (Jun., 1977), pp. 195-233; Nichelsburg G. W., "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, No. 3. (Sep. 1977), pp. 383-405, and S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11* (AOAT 322, Münster, 2005), 29ff.

[320] Deutsch 1999: 130.

[321] ATŠ [236] p. 171.

[322] ŠQŠR pp. 67, 104.

[323] CP, p. 1.

[324] Ibid p. 7.

> Do not give them confused admonition such as Ham-Ziwa gave to Yōšamin the Peacock. He cautioned and directed as he (Yōšamin) was setting the crown on his brother Abathur in that land which is the House Glorious, that land which is beauteous and fair.'[325]
> Also: 'Woe is me, the Peacock, whose foolishness is larger than his virtue.[326]

Yōšamin was pardoned by the Life and was re-enthroned in the World of Light. He is mentioned in the prayers of forgiveness: 'For our forefathers there shall be forgiveness. For Yōšamin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins.[327]

§ 2. 2. 4 - ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*:

ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia,* form the water frontier of the world of Light. This is the name given to the river of departure, which the souls have to cross in the ships: *mṭit hap'qia mia hu ṣurik ziwa alapania uhpiqia mia abran* "When I (the soul) reached the streams (or: springs) of water, ࡑࡅࡓࡉࡊ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *surik ziwa* (the Burst of Radiance) came to meet me and led me across the streams (or: brooks) of water."[328] These ships, which transport the souls of the righteous across *hapiqia mia*, are illustrated in the drawings of the Mandaean scroll *Diwan Abatur*.[329] The steams (or: springs) or water *hapiqia mia* are of fresh water and flow from the realm of Yōšamin (the Second Life), the Middle World. The Sumerian and Babylonians likewise, considered the Apsū to be the underworld ocean of sweet water, from which all springs of fresh water flow.[330] We find some resemblances between *hapiqia mia* and the *Khinvat* Bridge over the abyss which the Persian soul has to cross in order to reach Mount *Harā* (Paradise).[331] The god *Zurvān* controls the path which the souls of the dead, good and bad, must traverse before they come to Khinvat Bridge.[332] Like *surik ziwa* (mentioned above), the good Vāy takes the souls of the blessed by hand and brings them to their appointed place.[333] On the other hand, perhaps the Mandaean *hapiqia mia* has a linguistic analogy to the biblical terms אפקי ים *afiqe yam* (channels of the sea)[334] and אפקי מים *afiqe mayim* (channels of water).[335]

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[325] ATŠ [418] p. 286.

[326] DY (*draša ḏ-yahia* Lidzbarski's manuscript) Chapter 75, p. 272: 10. The text:
ࡅࡀࡉ ࡋࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡅࡎࡀ ࡃࡎࡀࡊࡋࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

[327] CP p. 151.

[328] GRL p. 138: 16. the text:
ࡌࡈࡉࡕ ࡄࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡑࡅࡓࡉࡊ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡀࡋࡀࡐࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡓࡀࡍ

[329] The astral ships drawn in the Mandaean scrolls resemble, with no doubt, the ancient round boats of Iraq قفة (*quffa*) still used in some parts of the rivers of Mesopotamia. The image of the boatman taking one to the other world is a major theme of the Gilgamesh Epic (see Dalley, 1989: 104-105).

According to the Mandaeans' tradition, the world of *hapiqia mia* (outflowing water) is located above the world of Abatur (the Third Life) and below the world of pure Yōšamin.[336]. When the soul departs the dead body it flies over the great white mountain *Sur* towards the *maṭarta* (purgatory). Its journey takes forty-five days during which the soul goes into the process of purification. Then Abatur weighs the soul and allow it to proceed towards the *hapiqia mia*, the frontier of the world of light which the soul has to traverse in order to reach the worlds of light. The water functions as a last barrier before the soul reaches her final destination, the World of Light. The *masiqta* (ritual of the dead) helps the ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* (soul) to cross these waters:

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[330] See Lambert, 1975: 47.
[331] Gershevitch, 1967: 205.
[332] Khinvat might be a bridge over underground waters (Boyce, 1975: 117 n. 46).
[333] Zaehner, 1955: 338.
[334] II Samuel 22: 16.
[335] Psalms 18: 16.
[336] ATŠ p. 163; Mandaic p. 45. The text:
[illegible]

> And there is nothing which advances a soul but commemorations; (and there shall be no *masiqta* read without commemorations), for these are her helpers in light, since they cleanse her, float her over the ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, Waters of Death into the Light and are her deliverers.[337]

In other writings, it is Hibil-Ziwa who saves the souls from 'Ur, the king of darkness, by pulling them out from his mouth and throw them in the Ocean of Sup to remove their sins and then leads them across and delivers them to the uthra who is in charge of the *hapiqia mia*:

> He takes them out from the mouth of 'Ur and throws them into the large sea of Sup, until their sins are completed. Then these souls, like white sesame thrown into living water, are then baptized with a great ࡌࡀࡑࡁࡅࡕࡀ *maṣbuta* (baptism), with a great baptism which baptize them and instructs them with great teachings. Then he leads them across the water streams *hapiqia mia*. The uthra of the water streams *hapiqia mia* approaches the souls, which were in affliction, and tears appear together in their eyes. He speaks to them, "You have dwelt in Tibil (the earthly world), in the dwelling of the sinner". Afterward he takes every individual by his right hand and seats him in great glory.[338]

It is worthy to note that whereas Lidzbarski translated *hapiqia mia*, "Wasserbächen" [339], Lady Drower stated, "I find it better to translate by a paraphrase which conveys the real meaning, hence "waters of death".[340] The Mandaeans consider

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[337] ATŠ p. 216. Drower translates ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ *hapiqia mia*, "waters of death".

[338] DY, p. 251 f. = Lidzbarski's Manadaean manuscript ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ "Book of John" p. 268 f. The text:
[illegible]

[339] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 83: 8.

[340] ATŠ p. 216, n. 6.

hapiqia mia "the frontiers of the World of Light" and "the heavenly waters" created by the Light beings in order the souls of the Mandaeans can baptize in them and set forth towards their final destination. The *hapiqia mia* are not cut-off waters or waters of death, which Gilgamesh had to cross in his quest for immortality; they are brooks or streams, as declared by *Hibil-Ziwa* to his father *Manda d̲-Hiia*:

> I created the water streams *hapiqia mia* of the *yardina* (Jordan), in which the souls are baptized. I created the banks upon which all the souls draw near and descend to the water streams *hapiqia mia*.[341]

§ 2. 2. 5 - Abatur: ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ (the Third Life)

§ 2. 2. 5. 1 - ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ Abatur Rama:

Abatur is the Third Life, the father of the *uthras,* the son of the Second Life, Yōšamin. He is: 'the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sits with scales set before him weighing deeds and (their) reward. He sees and discerns that which the worlds and generations do:

> Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden, and guarded, he is the one who is enthroned on high and hidden in the depth. He is the one who understands the worlds and the generations. He is the one who sees what they do and is appointed over the souls to weigh what they have done to holds it witness against them.[342]

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[341] DY, p. 191 = Lidzbarski's BJ manuscript p. 206. The text:
[illegible]

[342] GRR book 13, p. 347: 4. Cf. עתיק יומיא "Ancient of Days", Daniel 7: 13 The text:
[illegible]

Abatur is Bhaq-Ziwa[343], the father of the uthras ࡀࡁ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ *ab d-uthria* who by gazing into the ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ *mia siauia* (the black waters) result in the creation of Ptahil, the demiurge who creates the physical world including the ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ *tibil* (earth):

> When the Life, my Father spoke thus, Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and gazed into the black waters, and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to ࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡉࡀ *bit mişria* the boundaries. Abatur examined Ptahil and said to him, 'Come, come Ptahil. You are the one whom I saw in the black waters.' . . . Abatur instructed him and said, 'Arise my son, condense a condensation in the black waters.[344]

In "Secret Adam", Lady Drower writes:

> "*Abatur*, pronounced *Awathur*, is a mystery-figure and the meaning of his name uncertain. He is sometimes called the 'Third Life'. Andreas, according to W. Brandt, derived the name from old Persian words meaning 'provided with (or "possessing"). .. His ideal is Abatur Rama, the 'Lofty Abatur'. The parallel with the Egyptian weigher of souls is obvious; the Persian *Meher Davar* at the *Chinvat* (Bridge of the Requiter) [345] also weighs the deeds of souls before they may pass over into the world of bliss."[346]

Abatur rips open the lower boundary of the World of Light by gazing below the Pleroma [347] into the "black waters" and sets into motion the creation of the physical world 'matter'.[348] It is as if Abutur was enchanted with darkness just like when the light became enamored of the image of light projected from Darkness in the Narcissus motif.[349] In the doctrine of the Sabians of Harran we read a similar motif: "The soul, turned at one time, towards the matter: she fell in love with it, and burning with desire to experience bodily pleasure, wished no more to be separated from it. Thus the world was born."[350] Theodore Bar-Konai's [351] sums up the doctrine of the "Kukeans"[352], a sect which was already in existence in the middle of the fourth century:

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[343] GRR book 3, p. 111: 12. "BHQ ZYW' appears as a Jewish angel in M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélogogie* (1897) p. 193" (See McCullough, 1967: 26).

[344] GRR book 5, pp. 195: 10, 196: 8. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] . . .
[illegible]

[345] A bridge on the abyss, the souls have to cross in order to reach Paradise (Boyce, 1975: 117).

[346] SA p. 64 f.

[347] Scholem defines the pleroma as: "sometimes the "fullness" is the region of the true God himself, and sometimes it is the region to which he descends or in which the hidden God

> They say that God was born from the sea situated in the World of Light, which they call the Awakened Sea; and this Sea of Light and the world are more ancient than God. [They also say] that when God was born of the awakened Sea, he seated himself above the waters, looked into them, and saw his own image. He held out his hand and took [this image] to be his companion, had relations with it and thus engendered a multiple of gods and goddesses. They called this the

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manifests himself in different figures." He also writes: "The curious fact should be noted here that the technical term pleroma appears, somewhat deformed but still clearly recognizable, in the exact Hebrew translation, *ha-male'*, "the full" or "the fullness" (Scholem, 1962: 68 - 9). In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the shining spheres of the divinity with all its powers, the non material world, the dwelling place of the spirits, the archons and aeons (Doresse, 1958: 177). The Mandaean etymology for pleroma is ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ *malaiia* "fullness" and ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡋࡌࡀ *malaiia dalma* "fullness of the world" (MD, p. 243) ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡋࡌࡀ *uhua mlaiia dalma* "he (Ur, the king of darkness) became the fullness of the world or: he became the Pleroma of the cosmos" (GRR p. 99: 4).

[348] Deutsch, 1999: 20.

[349] Jonas H., 1958: 161.

[350] Doresse, 1960: 316.

[351] An eighth-century Nestorian heresiographer; a native of Kaškar in Beth 'Aramaye, Iraq (See Burkitt, "The Religion of the Manichees", *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 2, No. 3, May, 1922, pp. 263-276 esp. p. 267). Theodore bar Konai wrote the "Scholia", which is of a great value for research because of its reports about the Mandaeans and Manicheans (Rudoph, 1983: 20. See also Wasserstrom, 1995: 42).

[352] Perhaps the Quqites; a special heretical school identified in Edessa in the Second Century A.D., (Rudolph, 1983: 327. See also Drijvers, H., *Numen*_14 (1967), pp. 104-129). On the other hand they might be the ࡒࡀࡍࡀࡉࡉࡀ *qanaiia* in Mandaean, are "smiths" or "potters". According to Robert Eisler, bar Konai (bar Kevani) says, 'The *Dostai* (followers of Dositheus, who became the leader of the disciples of John the Baptist after his death) are called in Maisan Mandaeans, in Beth-Aramajē Naşoraeans (*Naşrāiā*).' The "Cantaeans," quoted by Theodore as the precursors of the Mandaeans, who trace themselves to the Qenites, the group were also referred to as *Καινῖται, Καιαοί* etc. in the Septuagint as KENAIOI, KINAIOI, KAINAIOI, etc. Eisler believes that Bar Konai use of 'k' instead of 'q' goes back to the Greek influence (Eisler 1931: 616).

Mother of Life, and said that she made seventy worlds and twelve aeons.[353]

There are many parallels between Abatur and the similar heavenly beings in the above two tales, such as gazing into the water and seeing own image and becoming infatuated by it, and from this own image or coition with own image the cosmos (physical world) comes into being.[354] This might lead us to the conclusion that the Gnostic sects, including the Mandaeans, must have shared relatively close motifs.

Abatur was possessed with his ego and became arrogant, "He conducted himself like the Great Ones and said, 'I am the father of the uthras!'" [355] He abandoned the name which the Life gave him. He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world!' Abatur's rebellion was punished sternly by the higher deities. He was dethroned and expelled from the world of Light and he was assigned as the "Weigher" and judge of the souls:

> Then Hibil-Ziwa went and said to Abatur, 'Arise! set up your throne in the House of Boundaries and take over sovereignty. And sublimate that which is sound (good) from that which is base (lit. dregs) when Man's measure is full and he comes and is baptized in your Jordan, is weighed in your Scales, is sealed with your seal and rises up and dwells in your world.'[356]

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[353] Doresse, 1960: 58.

[354] For the Narcissus motif, see Jonas, 1958: 161 ff.

[355] GRR book 3 p. 111: 14.

[356] DA p. 1, The Mandaean Diwan (Scroll) of Abatur line 8. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

§ 2. 2. 5. 2 - Abatur in the Incantations:

Abatur was invoked, along with other Mandaean deities, in few Mandaic incantations, such as in Lidzbarski's lead amulet from the third or fourth century A.D and published in 1909. He is invoked in this particular amulet to strengthen the knot[357] of the house of a certain *Per Nukraiia* son of *Abandukt* and to help him against evil doings of the planets.[358] Bhaq (another name of Abatur)[359] was conjured in bowl C (9931.4.1) to crush the power and the secret spells of Rūha against the client *Duktan Purk*, daughter of *Bzurgunatai*.[360]

Nathaniel Deutsch attempted to establish some resemblances between the Mandaic Abatur and the Jewish Metatron and to draw the attention to the "Mandaic awareness of Jewish angelogical tradition in general and of Metatron in particular is supported by the evidence of the magic bowls."[361] In this respect Wasserstrom has written: "Metatron remained alive in Mandaen magic for perhaps over a millennium."[362] Metatron (MYŢŢRWN) appears in one of the Mandaic incantations bowls (McCullough D) in which he was adjured, "In the name of Metatron HLDH who serves before the Curtain and who has compassion upon the countryside; he conjures the hundreds of fierce angels of Halahkin, who has sweetened meat for eating and wine for drinking." McCullough suggests that the writer of this incantation was influenced by the Jews and he dated the bowl 200 – 300 C.E.[363] Levene believes that the above invocation was quoted from "an unidentified Hekhalot text" and it is "an unusual but nevertheless good example of borrowing from Jewish sources".[364]

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[357] "Those (feminine) who blow on knots." النفاثات في العقد (Quran, Al-Falaq n. 113). Knot sorcery was a favorite form of witchcraft, practiced in Arabia at the time of Mohammed, either to prevent evil against the client, or afflict harm on the foe. The knot is used as a powerful weapon against the forces of Darkness. The Redeemer Mnada ḏ-Hiia says: "I wrapped his (the King of Darkness') navel with a veil, and tied a knot around his heart" (GRR, p. 101: 2. See also Yamauchi, 1967: 60).

[358] Yamauchi 1967, text 22: 244, p. 253.

[359] GRR, book III, p. 111:12.

[360] McCullough, 1967: 15.

[361] Deutsch, N., 1999: 95. He also writes: "Metatron is not the only angelic being shared by the Mandaeans and Jews. Gabriel was also adopted by Mandaeans and played and important role as a demiurge figure in one version the Mandaean cosmogony" (Ibid 96).

[362] Wasserstrom, S., 1995: 191 n. 98.

Since Abatur son of Bihrat [365] is in charge of the gate of the World of Light, The Mandaeans believe that if they turn their faces, during mishaps, towards the North (the House of Abatur), and pray to the Life and to the other Mandaean deities, they receive their bless and comfort.

§ 2. 2. 5.3 - Abatur of the Scales ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡌࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ Abatur Muzania:

Abatur was chastised because he threatened the hierarchy of the World of Light when he declared clearly that he wants to be 'the king of the *škinas*' (the celestial abodes):

> And Abatur spoke to him (to Hibil-Ziwa): 'I want to be a king, and I want to hold the *škinas*!'[366]

The Realm of Light became enraged against Abatur because he created a world for his own and called himself, "Father of the *uthras*" without the endorsement of his Fathers:

> As Bhaq created and built, he stood and looked at this world. It was neither vast and nor great as the worlds of the Great Life. Once he looked at his world and called himself "the Father of the *Uthras*" ... the Place of Light was enraged against him.[367] Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself,

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[363] McCullough, 1967: 32.
[364] Levene, 2002: 34.
[365] Abatur's *miluaša* "Mandaean zodiac name"(CP p., 151).

[366] DY, p. 244:7. The text:
ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡏࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡏࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

[367] GRR 360:21. The text:

> and he held himself to be a mighty one and abandoned the name that his father had called him by. And he spoke, 'I am the father of the *uthras*, the father of the *uthras* I, I made *škinas* for the uthras.' He contemplated the turbid water and said, 'I shall call forth a world.' He took no advice and did not perceive the turbid water.[368]

He instigated rebellion against the Great Life and created the division in the World of Light, which can not be repaired:

> Abatur caused the upper cleft which cannot be filled in all eternity.[369]

As a result of his defiance, Abatur was dethroned and expelled from the World of Light and he was made him ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡌࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ *abatur muzania* Abatur of the Scales, who is sitting between the ࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡉࡀ *maṭaratia* purgatories (or: watch-houses) [370] and the worlds of light weighing souls in his scale:

> Therefore, Abatur Rama, whose child is the world, is degraded from his throne, degraded, and he went to become "He-of-the-Scale".[371]

He was forced to occupy a lower position and take the office of weighing the souls of the dead after they have been sent to the purgatories for purification. When the souls come out of the purgatories (or: watch-houses) he weighs them with his

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[illegible] … [illegible]

[368] GRR book III, p. 111: 12.

[369] DY, 5:2. The text:

[illegible]

[370] *Maṭaratia* (sing. *maṭarta*): purgatories, watch-houses, houses of purification, places of detention (MD p. 241). The soul after death has to go through the *maṭarta* for necessary purification before being weighed on the Scales of Abatur and then ferried by the ships of light to its final destination; the world of light. (MII, pp. 28, 41, 46, 74-5, 80, 90, 95, 169, 173 ff. See also Pallis, *Mandaean Studies* (1926) p. 74 ff.).

[371] DM'L p. 41: 8. The text:

[illegible]

Scales and then allows whoever is worthy to proceed to the world of light. Abatur protested against this decision to Hibil-Ziwa, the envoy of the higher deities, and said to him:

> This you have arranged for me, (*that I was obliged to leave*) my land that is lofty and my spouses who are worthy and suitable and you brought me and made me "He-of the-Scales".[372]

Abatur was degraded because he sinned against his Parents; he strove for the Low House (physical world), so he was brought down off his throne. Abatur spoke out his lament and he wondered of what happened to him:

> I said to myself, "I would be a great one; who made me an inferior one in the Tibil?"
> I said to myself, "I would be a King; who sent me to the ends of the world?"
> I said to myself, "I would be an eminent one; who placed the Scales into my hands?"[373]

We can hear Abatur protest against the World of Light's decision in the Book of John (*Draša d̲-Yahia*). When the King heard Abatur's, protest he became angry with him:

> "I am not a Weigher! I am an *uthra* from the race of the good ones. I am not a Weigher! I am the son of kings. I wish not to be placed in these black waters, and to keep impure souls from passing by me." [374]

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[372] DA p. 1-2, the Mandaean Scroll line 10. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[373] DY, p. 8: 16. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[374] DY, p. 240:15. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

When Abatur said this, the King became full of anger and released a call into the world.[375]

Hence, Abatur took his case to the Pure Mana and asked him the reason he was chosen to the task of the Weigher of souls out of the other *uthras*:

> Then Abatur spoke said to the pure Mana, 'Why have you sent me from out of all these numerous *uthras*? [376]

The Mana told Abatur why he was chosen for this task and comforted him:

> Out of all the *škinas* and *uthras* there is none as you are. None in all these light worlds would be as gentle as you. You are gentle and you are suitable *uthra*. You are generous and are to the souls as a support. You feel sympathy with the souls and you are an acceptable judge.[377]

§ 2. 2. 5. 4 - Abatur; the Persian *Rašn uRast*

Abatur can be associated with Rašnu the Persian god of justice and last judgement and the personification of righteousness. He was said to weigh the deeds of the soul during the three day period of evaluation following the death of an individual. Rašnu guards the Chinvat Bridge leading to heaven. He carries the golden scales with which he weighs the souls at Judgement.[378] Peculiarly, the Mandaeans' holy book Ginza Rba identifies Abatur with Rašnu:

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[375] DY, p. 242: 9. The text:

[376] DY, p. 243: 12. The text:

[377] The Mandaean BJ p. 243: 14. The text:

[378] Zaehner, R. C., 1961: 56. See also MII n. 4 p. 95.

> Abatur, the ancient, lofty, hidden and guarded, who is (in fact) Rašnu Rast.[379]

Rašnu "the Judge" weighs the actions, and then words, then thoughts; but all three contribute to total of man's good or evil.[380] The Mandaean Abatur (Rašnu) and his son Ptahil induced Zaehner to argue that this episode is derived from the Persian Zervanite myth.[381]

Abatur is the guardian of *maṭarata* (a purgatory or watch-house) through which the *nišmata* souls go through to the world of Light after being purified from their contaminations. Those *Naṣoraeans* (Mandaeans) who are not worthy of the House of Life will be turned away and not allowed to go through the gate of Abatur:

> When the Naṣoraeans, who are not worthy of the House of Life, reach the gate of the house of Abatur will be turned away. From the house of Abatur they will be turned away and they will not behold the place of Light. [382]

On the other hand the great gate of Abatur is open to those who are worthy of the house of Life:

> Sure and assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (*masiqta*) to the great gate of Abatur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abatur's house, give

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[379] GRR book 13 p. 343: 22. *ubatur atiqa rama kasia unṭira ḏ-hu rašnu urast*
[illegible]

[380] Boyce, 1975: 241.

[381] Zaehner, 1955: 77.

[382] GRR, 391: 21. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

> them habitation in the *škina* of Abatur and will guard them by secret and watchful *manas.* [383]

It seems that Abatur was convinced to take his new office as the souls' judge who weighs the deeds and the rewards and separates *nišimta* the soul from *rūha* the spirit:

> I set forth and reached the watch-house (purgatory) of the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. I asked my brothers, the *uthras,* saying to them: "Whose watch-house (purgatory) is this, and who is held captive in it?" My brothers, the *uthras,* say to me: 'This watch-house belongs to the ancient, the lofty, the occult, the guarded Abatur. The Scales are set before him; he weighs the deeds and the rewards and unites the spirit with the soul. [384]

The Great Life explained to the proven pure one, who pleaded for Abatur, that he (the Life) cannot let Abatur's rebellious conduct to pass and he, therefore, must carry out his task as Abatur Muzania (Abatur-of-the-Scale) until the end of the world:

> For your fame's sake and Our name's sake. When he is sinning, who will (can) permit it? Who will let him be when he offends? And casts Our root into polluted waters? (One) who accepts favour from Us and then goes and casts it into the abode of the dark (powers)! [385]

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[383] CP, p. 42. (the book of *Masiqta*, hymn No 47) Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[384] GRL 45: 1. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[385] CP hymn n. 243 p. 199. Drower's translation text collated. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

§ 2. 2. 5. 5 - Abatur, the Symbol of Virility:

Since he is the father of the *uthras* and the creator god Ptahil, Abatur is depicted in some Mandaean scriptures as "tongue" and hypostatic "phallus"; The tongue is associated with the phallus:

> Abatur-Rama, whose name is "the Great Jordan of White Water", that he is called "the Tongue".[386] And when you pray the petition (CP p. 89 n. 80), you offer praise to the Father of Glory whose name is the Great Mind (*Mana*) and to the lofty Abatur whose name is "the Tongue". [387]

It is not quite clear what is meant by the "tongue" in these scriptures but Deutsch has explained that the tongue, according to the *Zohar*, "is considered analogous to the male organ" and "thus, as in the medieval Jewish sources, the Mandaean depictions of Abatur preserve the phenomenological link between the tongue and the phallus." [388] Deutsch also noticed, after studying question 166 in *The Thousand and Twelve Questions*, a number of striking parallels with kabalistic conceptions concerning the divine phallus such as the Mandaean appellation *raza rba* "great mystery" –referring to the phallus - which resembles the "identification of the phallic *Sefirah Yesod* as the "secret" or mystery in the Zohar".[389]

When Bhaq-Ziwa, who is identified with Abatur, declared himself as 'the father of the *uthras*' and when he begot Ptahil (the demiurge who created the cosmos) he became the symbol of the virility in the world beyond.[390] *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (The Lesser First World) describes him as the *duna* (penis),[391] the organ of fatherhood and as semen,[392] which is "venerated than all the mysteries":

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[386] ATŠ p. 174. Mandaean p. 50 n. 245. The text:
[illegible]

[387] ARZ p. 58, line 44. The Mandaean ARZ p. 5: 24. The text:
[illegible]

[388] See Deutsch 1999: 106-7. He refers, in n. 98, to *Studies in the Zohar*, p. 171 n. 65 and to Elliot Wolfson who writes, 'just as the spark and the line are phallic symbols so too is the scale, or more specifically, the tongue of the scale.'

[389] Deutsch 1995: 121.

> And when you recite 'Life dwells in Its own radiance' you offer a praise to ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀࡉࡉࡕ *gabraiit* Maleness (the male organ?), the name of which is Abatur of the Scales but which the worlds and generations call ࡃࡅࡍࡀ *duna*, for it is venerated than all the mysteries.[393]

§ 2. 2. 5. 6 - Abatur, the Heavenly Priest:

> Blessed are you, Lofty Abatur; blessed and established in your *škinta*
> in which you sit.[394]

The Mandaean priest in his *škinta* surrounded by the *tarmidia* (disciples) and *ašgandia* (messengers, helpers) depicts Abatur, the celestial priest, who sits in *škinta* surrounded by his uthras and performs the heavenly rituals.[395] *Diwan Abatur*[396] is one of the most important scrolls to the Mandaean priests. It explains the Mandaean priests the journey of the soul through different *maṭaratia* (watch-houses or purgatories) and the relative punishment which the sinner soul receives. Other *diwans*, such as *Alma Rišaia Rba*, *Alma Rišaia Zoṭa*, and *Malkuta 'Laita*, consist of instructions and commandments to the priests and some of their texts portray Abatur as the heavenly priest such as:

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[390] SA p. 29.

[391] *duna* = *dunda*: penis MD p. 105.

[392] Deutsch N., 1999, 106.

[393] ARZ p. 57. The Manaean ARZ p.5: 10. Drower's translation, text collated. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[394] CP p. 58, Mandaean Hymn n. 71. p. 168. The text:
[illegible] / [illegible]

[395] Deutsch 1999, 89.

[396] *Diwan Abatur* (DA) an illustrated manuscript includes creation myths, the journey of the soul through different *maṭarata* (purgatories). It was translated by E. S Drower and published by *Biblioteca Aposolica Vaticana* in 1950.

> And when you take the iron knife into your hand, you have placed Pthail's hand into Abatur's hand with (your) right hand. And when you take the sheep or the dove, and turn your face towards the Gate of Payer (the North) Abatur-of-the-Scales gazes upon you.[397]

Also:

> And when you signed (at) 'the House of Abatur, you cloth the soul in the seven vestures of Abatur. And when you say 'You shall go and reach "the guard-house of four beings, sons of perfection" those are the four handclasps (*kušṭas*) which Abatur seeks to exchange with the soul.[398]

The word *'uthras* refer to the *ganzivri* (archbishops), just as *malkia* ('kings") means "priests".[399] Since Abatur is the King of the *škinas*,[400] he is considered a heavenly Ganzibra (archbishop) in the Mandaean belief. The crown of priesthood is the 'crown of intermediation between the worlds of light and those of matter'.[401] Kurt Rudolph stated, "Out of celestial beings come types of celestial priests; the erring and rehabilitated priest is an especially favourite theme of this kind."[402]

§ 2. 2. 5. 7 - Abatur; the Divine Secretary:

Abatur is the heavenly being who is entitled to send ࡏࡍࡂࡉࡓࡕࡉࡀ *'ngirtia* letters (secret messages)[403] to the lower worlds carrying certain instructions and commandments. He also receives the letters, which are sent by the priests, with the souls after death. A good example of the commandments sent to the lower world is written in the Mandaean Book of John (*Draša d̠-Yahia*). It was sent to John the Baptist when he refused to baptise ࡏࡔࡅ *'išo* (Jesus) because he was suspicious that Jesus will pervert the Law. After some lengthy arguments with Jesus, John the Baptist receives *'ngirta*, a mandate, from the House of Abatur instructing John the Baptist to baptise Jesus:

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[397] ARZ p. 57 line 35.

[398] CP. P. 224.

[399] Ibid 226 n. 7.

[400] DY (Lidzbarski's manuscript), p. 261.

[401] SA p. 26.

[402] Rudolph, 1969 233-234.

[403] *'ngirta*: ࡏࡍࡂࡉࡓࡕࡀ letter (MD p. 353). The term is also applied to a rite performed to the dying. The only outgoing *'ngirta* from this world to the world of light is few drops of *miša* (sesame oil) transformed into a small bottle and then the bottle is sealed with clay and marked with the impression of the priestly ring (*šom yawar*) and the ganzibra's to-be finger nail. After reading some secret prayers the small bottle is inserted into a pocket in the dying person's *rasta* (official garment. (MII p. 170) The priest recites, 'In the name of the Life. A sealed letter written in good-faith (*kušṭa*) and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) - Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied on it, and suspended it about the soul's neck and despatched to the Gate of Life (CP p. 61). The *'ngirta* (letter) serves as a kind of passport for the soul which is examined by *rab maksia* (the chief customs official) and the *šahardal* (P. شهردار = governor, MD p. 439) and make sure of its seal, and then let the soul pass over the *hapiqia mia* (streams

> When *'išu mšiha* (Jesus Christ) said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abatur: 'Yahia, baptize the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptize him, and lead him up again to the shore, and there set him. Then Rūha made herself like to a dove and threw a cross over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours. "O Jordan" she says, "you sanctified me and sanctified my seven sons."[404]

§ 2.2.6 - The Fourth Life ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ Ptahil:

§ 2.2.6.1 - Ptahil; A Mandaean 'Uthra or Egyptian Demiurge?

Ptahil (the Fourth Life) is the son of Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur; the Third Life) who begot him when he opened the gate of the World of Light and gazed into the black waters.[405] As soon as he beheld him, Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur) summoned Ptahil-Utra,

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of water) to the house of Life. The *'ngirta* (letter) process is well known in Mesopotamia as a legal act, and goes back at least as far as the Old Baylonian period and extends through the Neo-Babylonian period into the Seleucid era (See Greenfield J. C., *A Mandaic Miscellany*, JAOS 104. 1 (1984) pp. 81-85 esp. p. 82).

[404] Mead, 1924: 51. DY, p. 103.

[405] Cf. 'The Father of Light who sees his image in the water of pure light . . . One gains the impression regarding the Spirit of God who brooded over the face of the waters as related in Gen. 1: 2b.' (Drijvers, *Numen*, vol. 14, (1967), pp. 104-129, esp. p. 118). The idea, in most of

embraced him and kissed him like a great one.[406] He bestowed names on him; names which are concealed and guarded in their place. He gave him the name "Gabr'il" the Messenger.[407] In another passage of the Ginza we read:

> Abatur arose, opened the gate (of the World of Light) and stared into the black waters; and immediately his counterpart was formed in the black waters. Ptahil was formed and ascended to the boundary. Abatur's mind examined Ptahil, and Abatur said to his son Ptahil, "Come, come, Ptahil, you are the one whom I saw in the black waters." When he beheld him in his own form, that he was clothed in his robes of every kind and colour, he undressed him and took them from him; and he clothed him in (some of) his radiance and arrayed him in (some of) his light.[408]

We might assume that Ptahil owes his name to the act of opening the gate of heavens carried out by Abatur ࡒࡀࡌ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀ, *qam hu Abatur upihta*[409] *lbaba*.[410] On the other hand some scholars associate Ptahil's name with ࡐࡕࡄ PTH פתח ("open", "create") and his name is the combination of ࡐࡕࡄ+ࡏࡋ *pth+'il* (open + god) therefore his name might mean "the god who creates" or "god creates". In this respect Yamauchi is confident that the word

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the Gnostic beliefs, behind creating the world by a demiurge is to estrange the Supreme Being contact with matter and 'to interpolate intermediaries between Him and the world.' (Wilson, 1958: 102).

[406] In Mandaean myths Ptahil is the son of Hibil-Ziwa and Zahrail (Rūha's sister and identified with Ištar and Venus الزُهَرة GRR book 5). He was married to her during his journey to the netherworld. He is considered the son of both Light and Darkness and therefore his creation of the physical world was unsuccessful because he himself was born of warring principles. (MII n. 5 p. 95).

[407] GRR p. 111: 21. Using the epithet of Gabriel, the messenger perhaps refers to Jewish-Samaritan Gnostic baptismal movements at the beginning of the first millennium. (Zaehner, 1955: 59 ff.)

[408] GRR, book 5, pp. 195: 10. The text :
ࡒࡀࡌ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡓ ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡋࡁࡀࡁࡀ [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[409] PHT metathesis of PTH: to open, to create (MD p. 366).

[410] See text above.

Ptahil is the formation of Ptah (the Egyptian god) and El, and not from the word 'to open'.[411] In this respect Cyrus Gordon wrote: "Ptahil is composed of the Egyptian "Ptah" + Semitic "Il" and it would highlight the Egyptian component in Mandaeism as well as indicate that the name is Egypto-Semitic (signifying "Eg. Ptah = El/God")".[412] Widengren ascribes the difficulty in defining Ptahil to the fact that "god" is usually written עיל,[413] but Widengren was not aware that the guttural (ࡏ ע) occurs in Mandaic incantations in the name ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡏࡉࡋ Ptah'il פתחעיל.[414] It seems that the guttural ע ࡏ is assimilated in some Mandaean names such as ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *Manda d̲-Hiia* מנדא דהייא instead of ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ *Mand'a d̲-Hiia* מנדעא דהייא.[415]

Lidzbarski also connects this demiurge with the Egyptian creator-god Ptah.[416] Kraeling shares Lidzbarski's opinion and adds, '*pth* to 'open' came to be used in the sense of 'create' but he believes that the name is not essentially Aramaic but a combination of *ptah* and *'il*. He also refers to Bousset's argument which suggests that "the Mandaean Ptahil is in fact none other than the Iranian *Yima*. In support of this identification he adduces the observation that both Ptahil and *Yima* enter into relation with evil powers (*daevas*)[417], and that both experience a fall from grace by reason of this relationship."[418] Eisler points out that he finds in the angelology of the Mandaeans the remarkable interpretation of Ptah-il, i.e. the old Egyptian or Canaanite god of smithies and metal-engravers, as the creator of heaven as well as of mankind.'[419] What emphasizes Eisler assumption is that the Ginza describes Ptahil (Gabriel) as skillful (creator) as the Greek:

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[411] Yamauchi, 1967: 63. p̲t̲h̲: create, also *pt̲h̲* n. div. Ptah. (Faulkner R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford (2002), p.96).
[412] Gordon, (Reviewed Work) JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.
[413] Widengren, 1950: 59 n. 1.
[414] Yamauchi, 1967: 253 line 245, (text 22, Lidzbarski's translation, 1909).
[415] Yamauchi, 1967: 235, 251. However, there is no evidence to support either Gordon's or Yamauchi's identification Ptahil with the Egyptian god Ptah.
[416] Lidzbarski, JB, pp. xxvii, xxviii.
[417] He (Ptahil) is the *melka* who rules the ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ *šibiahia* (the Seven Planets =demons) (see MII n. 5 p. 95).
[418] Kraeling, 1933: 152-165. *yima* is the "god who is supposed to dwell beneath the earth". For more details about *yima* see Boyce 1975: 94. See also Zaehner 1955: 251, where *yima* saves man from the demons.

> And Gabriel, the messenger, is called into being, (then) he will be instructed to create the world. He will arrive and condense a condensation, and create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[420]

There is a possible parallel proposed between the Mandaean Ptahil and the Egyptian god Ptah. Mercer noted that '*pth̲* sounds like the Hebrew פתח "to open" and that Ptah played an important role in the famous Egyptian ceremony of the "Opening of the Mouth", which resembles similar ceremony in the ancient Babylonia, designated to initiate an idol.[421] He also came up a very unlikely assumption when he stated: "it is neither impossible, nor even improbable, that the earliest worshippers of Ptah might have been Semites who made their way into Egypt, as others did before them and led by the god whom the called "the opener of the way"".[422] The rite of the "mouth opening" was part of the old lustration rites performed in Mesopotamia since the Third Dynasty of Ur.[423] Jonas also had no doubt that the name Ptahil, the Mandaean Demiurge, was taken from the Egyptian pantheon and "is connected with the symbolic role of Egypt as the representative of the material world."[424] On the other hand, Deutsch believes that there are considerable parallels between Abatur (Ptahil's father) and Sabaoth.[425] Both of them are enthroned on the gate of the World of Light and each one of them is related to the demiurge of the physical world: Abatur created Ptahil and Sabaoth created a host of angelic beings.[426]

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[419] Eisler, 1931: 235. He makes this statement depending on the fact that the Naşoraeans (early Mandaeans) or the "keepers" of secrets are craftsmen in general (smiths, carpenters and boat-builders etc). For Ptah the Egyptian chief god of all handicraftsmen (see Budge, 1904: 500 ff.).

[420] GRR, book III p. 104: 17.

[421] For more details about the rite "Opening of the Mouth" see Blackman, "The Rite of Opening the Mouth in ancient Egypt and Babylonia", JEA, vol. 10 (1924), pp. 47-59.

[422] Mercer, 1949: 148-9. The Mandaeans myth tells us that Egypt was their first dwelling and from there they migrated to *ṭura ḏ-madai* the Mountain of the Mandai (MII p. 10). Until recently a *masiqta* (ascension of the soul) ritual was performed for the Egyptians drowned while chasing Moses and the Jews across the *yama ḏ-suf* "the Red Sea" (SA p. xv and n. 2 p. xv).

[423] Jacobsen, 1976: 124. Lady Drower noted that "Nöldke suggests a connection between the Mandaean sacramental "wafer" (*pihta*), and the Babylonian rites of *pit pī* ("opening of the mouth") and *mis pī* ("washing of the mouth")" (MII n. 15, p. 122).

It is worthwhile to note that all sources mentioned above represent poor scholarship and assumptions based on very insufficient evidence. Therefore, Ptahil remains a very general name type, which doesn't really tell us anything of significance about him. This is one of the many reasons why Cyrus Gordon highlighted the significance of serious researches to be conducted on Mandaeism when he wrote:

> "Mandaic should be studied in depth by several circles of scholars, of whom the Gnostics are only one. To single out one of the many other fields: Mandaic is probably the most valuable aid for the study of the Babylonian Talmud."[427]

§ 2.2.6. 2. - Ptahil; the Creator of the Material World:

Ptahil is the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world. He received a mandate from his father, the Second Life (Abatur) commanding him to leave the "World Beyond" and descend "below" to the "place where there is no *škinas* or worlds" to create a world and uthras for himself like the "sons of perfection".[428] In another passage of the Ginza we read: "Abatur instructed him (Ptahil) and said,

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[424] Jonas 1958: 98.

[425] Lord of Hosts (Isa. 1.9).

[426] Deutsch, 1999: 129.

[427] Gordon, JAOS, vol. 99, No. 3, 1979: 476.

[428] GRR, pp. 111, 112. Wilson defines the demiurge as: "god or father of all outside the Pleroma, the creator of all things psychic and hylic. He separated the two confused substances, and created things heavenly and earthly, heavy and light, higher and lower. He formed seven heavens, whence he is called the Hebdomad as their ruler, Achamoth being of the Ogdoad, recalling the archetypal Ogdoad of the Pleroma" (Wilson, 1958: 131).

"Arise, my son, condense a condensation in the black water."[429] But the Father of the Uthras (Abatur) forgot to instruct him against the odds neither equipped him with suitable means.[430] Ptahil descended below the *škinas*, towards the "place where there was no world". He waded in the in the filthy mud and turbid waters, but no solidification took place. He waded to his knees, to his thighs, but the waters did not solidify. Up to his first mouth (anus), up to his mouth, he stood in the water, but no solidification took place. He pronounced the name of the Life and the name of Manda ḏ-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) and nothing happened. He cast some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory upon the waters, but the waters remained fluid.[431]

When he sensed that the "living fire" in him changed, Ptahil engrossed in thought and decided to ascend to the Great (One) to receive the garment of the Living Flame.[432] In another passage of the Ginza, Ptahil descended to the world of his father Abatur and spoke to him, "My father, I took some of those seven garments, in which I was planted, and I entered the waters, but no earth was condensed. Then his father said to him, "O (you) *sakla*[433] (fool)! Take care that you do not put your self on a par with me. Take some of the seven garments of radiance, light and glory with which I clothed you and toss (some of them) into the black waters that a condensation may now take place."[434]

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[429] Ibid 196: 8. In the scroll of Diwan Abatur, we read another version: "Abatur spoke to Ptahil and said to him, "Go, condense a condensation, and create the worlds and create creatures. And take with you three hundred and sixty thousand demons and devils that they dig out the Light-Euphrates and heap up its two banks. Then make a world and create creatures and plant plants. Go and propagate thy world and take the demon *Qardum* who loosens, liberates and waters the plants" (DA, p. 11).

[430] GRR, p. 112.

[431] GRR, p.413: 5.

[432] GRR, p. 112.

[433] ܣܟܠܐ *sakla* (fool) an epithet of the Gnostic demiurge Ialdabaoth (child of the void) or Samael (the blind god). It seems that different Gnostic confraternities used the term *sakla* to refer to the demiurge. The Gnostics consider themselves 'to be 'strangers,' exiled in the kingdom of *Sakla*, "the prince of darkness" (Deutsch 1999: 75 and Stroumsa 1984: 48, 120) For *Sakla*, the leader of the Fallen Angels, see Stroumsa 1984: 163. For Ialdabaoth, the *Saklas* who appoints seven kings over the seven heavens and five over the "chaos of the underworld" (Rudolph 1977: 79). The *Saklas* join the powers of Darkness to create Adam and Eve in order to entrap the elements of Light in the world through lust and the multiplication of humans (Stoyanov 2000: 110).

Though Ptahil failed in his first attempt, he succeeded, by the powers of the garments and the living flame which mingled with water and the material creation came into being. Ptahil solidified the black waters, spanned out the firmament and appointed boundaries to the worlds. When the firmament was spanned out he seized the navel of the earth and bound it to the centre of heavens. [435] Ptahil used seven ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ *qalia* "calls" in order to create the world: By his first call he solidified the earth and spanned out the heavens. By the second call he dispersed Jordans and canals. By the third he created the fish of the sea and birds of every type and variety. By the fourth he brought forth plants and seeds. By the fifth he created reptiles. By the sixth the whole structure of darkness came into being. By the seventh Rūha and her Seven planets came into being.[436] While Ptahil was engaged in creating the world, the Seven (planets) and the Twelve (sings of the Zodiac) and the Five (planets without the Sun and the Moon) stealthily climbed up and took their position in the vault.[437]

In another passage of the Ginza we read that although the process of creation was carried out by Ptahil against the wish of the Life because Ptahil threw the form, which the Second (Life) had formed, into the world of darkness and made creations and formed tribes which are not worthy of the House of Life (or: outside the House of Life),[438] the Life helped Abatur in obtaining the secret of solidification.[439] Abatur wrapped it (the secret) in his clean turban and delivered it to his son Ptahil. Ptahil went down again to the black waters and succeeded in solidifying earth and spanning out the firmament.[440]

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[434] GRR 196: 8f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Ptahil descendent into the black waters clad in garment of fire, and that the fire mingles with the water and the material world comes into being resembles the Zervanite myth where the male element, fire, fertilizing the female, water, in order to produce the cosmos. Zaehner believes that this Mandaean tale is derived from the same source as the Zarvanite myth, since the Mandaean religion distinguishes between two series of elements such as the living (good) fire and the devouring (evil) fire (Zaehner, 1955: 77).

[435] GRR, pp. 116-7.

[436] GRR, p. 414: 18.

[437] Some of the earlier forms of Gnosticism pointed that there was one God the Father, who created seven angels who created the world and made man in the likeness of the divine image (Wilson, 1958: 102-103).

It is notable in the Ginza that some passages describe Ptahil as an evil and a foolish creator and his house (the world) is taken from him.[441] *Draša d̠-Yahia* (the Book of John) tells us that he was appointed the guardian of the house until the end of the worlds.[442] In another passage from the Ginza we learn that Ptahil has been forgiven, by the higher deities of the World of Light, for creating the universe and he will be declared the king of the *uthras* and king of the Naşoraeans:

> Yōšamin and Abatur shall be baptized of the First Great Life in the Jordan. Afterwards Ptahil-Uthra shall be carried away from the putrid clouds in which he sits and purified in the Jordan of the First Life. In that Jordan his stench will be removed. He will be embraced by the First Life, and he will tell about the stocks and fetters which he endured in the world. He will tell about the pain which inflicted him from his father. He will be declared the King of Uthras, and will have authority upon the congregation of souls. He will be declared the King of the Naşoraeans, and prayer and praise will rise for him.[443]

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[438] GRR, p. 287: 9. The text:

[illegible]

[439] According to the Manichean doctrine, the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life descended into the abyss and defeated the powers of darkness and fashioned the universe from their bodies. 'Thus the demiurge is a light god, though the dead matter of the creation is darkness" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 15).

[440] GRR, 414: 15 f.

[441] Ibid, 117: 16. *Saklas*, according to the Manicheans, is the leader of the demonic abortions who form Adam and Eve after the likeness of the Third Ambassador (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 396).

[442] DY p. 5: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[443] GRR 380: 21 f. The text:

§ 2.2.6.3 - The Creation of Adam:

There is more than one version in the Ginza for the creation of Adam. According to tractate 10 of the Ginza, Ptahil creates Adam according to his image with the help of the Planets. They create Adam and cast some of their spirits and some of their mysteries into him and his wife Eve but were unable to make him stand on his feet. Ptahil brings a "hidden *mana*" form his father Abatur and cast it into Adam and Eve. Only then Adam sneezes and stands on his feet:

> After Ptahil had created the world, he built his son Adam according to his form, and according to Adam's form Hawa (Eve) his was built. Pthail cast into Adam a kind of *rūha* spirit from his own *rūha* spirit,[444] and each of the Seven (planets) cast into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) some of his own mystery. However, Ptahil and Seven (Planets) who were with him could not raise Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve).[445] Therefore, Ptahil went towards his father Abatur, obtained a hidden *mana*, which was given to him from the House of the Life, brought it, and cast it into Adam and into his wife Hawa (Eve).... Adam sneezed and asked for the life.[446] Ptahil and the planets who were with him said to him (Adam): "Live, Adam!" Then Adam stood up, bowed down

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[illegible]
[illegible] / [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[444] Cf. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.' Genesis 2: 7.

[445] According to the Apocryphon of John, the seven powers contributed from their own elements the following "souls" for Adam: the "bone-soul", the "sinew-soul", the "flesh-soul", the "marrow-soul", the "skin-soul", and the "hair-soul". Rudolph comments: "In spite of the skill devoted to the formation of the psychical body it remains immobile and it is not possible to make him stand uptight. This gives "Wisdom" (*sophia*) opportunity to intervene in order to win back the power which through her error she had lost to her son the Demiurge." (Rudolph, 1983: 102)

[446] An Iraqi tradition is that sneezing is a sign of life. They tell stories about people who were thought to be dead but they returned to life after they sneezed. Sneezing for them, also, is a sign of warning i.e., if a person was about to depart and someone else sneezes, he postpones his departure for some time.

and praised that man who had opened his eyes and made him stand on his feet. [447]

Tractate III (the subject of this research) of the Ginza Rba narrates the creation of Adam by Ptahil and the Planets as follows:

> When Ptahil came, he spoke to the planets: 'Let us create Adam that he may be king of the world', when he had spoken thus to them, they all consulted each other: 'Let us tell him that we want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve), because he belongs to us.' They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve and make them the head of the whole generation." When the planets spoke thus to him Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said: 'If I by myself create Adam and Eve, the head of the generation, what will Adam (then) know what to do in the world?'[448] Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the Planets and said: "Adam is my son; he is the king of the world!" The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: "What do we confide in and rely on, and what is our authority in the world?" Ptahil spoke to them and said: "You shall be his fosterer(s), and render him full service."
>
> They created Adam and laid him down, but there was no *nišimta*[449] soul in him. When they created Adam they were unable to cast a soul into him. They pleaded to Ayar-Ziqa (the ether wind) to hollow out his bones, and marrow be formed in them. That marrow be formed in them, that he might spring up and stand on his feet. They summoned *ṣauta ḏšata haita* the splendor of the living flame that might illuminate his attire and he might spring up and stand on his feet. They sent for *habla ḏšabria* the mist of the streams and the fumes of the consuming fire to enter his trunk that he might clinch his

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[447] GRR pp. 287-8:
[illegible]

[448] Ptahil created Adam last, just like in Genesis 1.

[449] *nešamah* in Genesis 2:7

fist and beat with his wings (arms), that he might grumble and shake himself, and that he might be spring up and stand on his feet...

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying: 'Allow us to cast into him some the *rūha* spirit which you brought with you from your father's house.' All the Planets exerted themselves, and the Lord of the World exerted himself. In spite of all their efforts, they could not make him stand on his feet. Ptahil set off in his glory and ascended to the Place of Light. He stood in the presence of the Father of the Uthra,[450] and his father spoke to him: "What have you accomplished?" He answered him: "All that I made has been successful, (but) my counterpart and yours have not been successful."[451]

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself, set forth, and hurried to *atar kasia* the secret place. He fetched the (great) *mana*, [452] which illuminates all corruption. He wrapped him (the *mana*) in his pure turban under the (spells) of the (secret) names which the Life gave him. He brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil, his son. When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra, the Life summoned Hibil, Šitil and Anoš[453] the outstanding uthras who are flawless. He summoned them and gave them their orders, and warned them concerning the *nišmata* souls. He said to them: 'You be a guardian over them, so that all the worlds may know nothing about them. Let not the muddle-headed Ptahil know, [454] how the *nišimta* soul falls into the body. How the soul falls into the body and how the blood fills (lit: speak in) it and how the veins permeate it. Let the supporter (*maulānā*) Adakas-Mana be his protector.[455] . . . Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban, and enfolded him in his garment. When Ptahil wanted to cast the soul into Adam's trunk, I (Manda d̲-Hiia) snatched it from his pocket. While Ptahil lifted Adam up, I erected him on his bones. While he laid his hands on him, I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones. His body filled with marrow, and the radiance of the Life spoke in him. When the radiance of the Life spoke in him, Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.[456] I led him upwards to the House of the Great Ones; to the place where the Great One is enthroned. I entrusted him to the *ganzibras* Treasurers, the *uthras* who look after the Jordans. The Life thanked the *uthra*, who had brought the *nišimta* soul.[457]

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[450] Bhaq-Ziwa (Abatur).

[451] Cf. The creation of Adam in Nag Hammadi Codices. It is written that "the Archigenetor issues a decree with regard to that man to be formed, and each of the powers cast his seed upon the midst of the navel of the earth. From that day on the seven commanders (archons) formed the man and he was called "Adam". But this creature was left without a soul for forty days until "wisdom life" (*sophia zoē*) sent her breath into Adam. He began to move on earth but could not stand up.' (Rudolph 1983: 96-97) Drower noted that the unsuccessful creation of Adam "constantly appear in Gnostic, Rabbinic, and Kabalistic writings" (SA, n., 3 p. 35).

[452] *mana*: soul (MD p. 246).

[453] The triad of *uthras* produced by Hawa-Kasia (the secret Eve), and act as "saviours" in the Mandaean literature (SA p. 36).

[454] For Ptahil "sakla" or "blila" the fool, see above §2.2.6.2.

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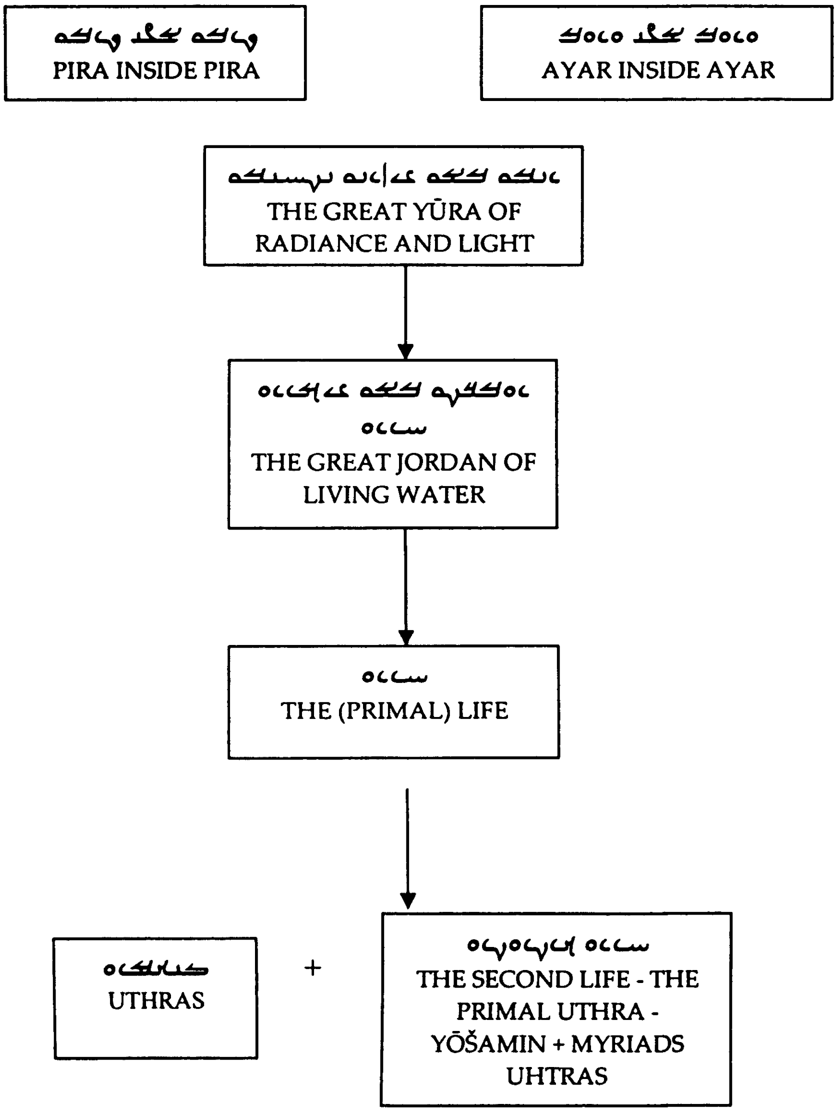
[455] Adakas-Mana the light being who came from the hidden place and fell into Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve), and made them stand on their feet, opened their eyes to behold and opened their mouths to feed. GRR 290: 6f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
Surprisingly the word *maulānā* occurs in an Isma'īlī text called *Kalām-i-Pīr*. According to this text, "the divinity *maulānā* (our Lord) manifested itself in each generation in the most perfect human form" (Stroumsa, 1984: 111).

[456] Adakas-Ziwa is the Light-Adam. "He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal. Adakas is Adam the microcosm's guardian, his soul, his *mana*." (SA p. 35). Adakas is also Adam's instructor who came from the "Secret Place" (Ibid p. 102).

[457] GRR p. 120 ff.

TEXT 2
GINZA RABA
PAGE 84
(Chart B)


PIRA INSIDE PIRA
AYAR INSIDE AYAR
THE GREAT YŪRA OF RADIANCE AND LIGHT
THE GREAT JORDAN OF LIVING WATER
THE (PRIMAL) LIFE
UTHRAS
+
THE SECOND LIFE - THE PRIMAL UTHRA - YŌŠAMIN + MYRIADS UHTRAS

§ 2.2.7 - Manda ḏ-Hiia (Gnosis of Life)

§ 2.2.7.1 - The True Apostle of Light:

Manda ḏ-Hiia is translated "knowledge of life", i. e. "gnosis". There was a debate on his name and the analogy of "manda" led by Pallis, since "knowledge" in the Mandaean language is ࡌࡀࡃࡉࡕࡀ *madita*, ࡉࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ *iaduta*, ࡌࡀࡃࡀ *madda* or ࡌࡀࡃࡉࡄࡕࡀ *madihta*.[458] Manda ḏ-Hiia is the outstanding figure in the Mandaean faith and the most revered deity.[459] Manda ḏ-Hiia personifies the ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ *manda* "knowledge" of the great Mandaean deity ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* the Life.[460] From the course which the Mandaeans followed through history, some scholars went to assume that this sect adopted Manda ḏ-Hiia as a messenger and a redeemer when the Naşoraeans (the early Mandaeans) as part of their polemic against Christianity at the rise of the first millennium.[461] Many texts in the Ginza and in the other Mandaean manuscripts propose a shift from polytheism to Gnosticism has taken place sometime in the period from C.E. 300-600 as suggested by Brandt.[462]

Support for this hypothesis comes from one of the *masiqta* (ascension) hymns; the believers have forsaken images, pictures, idols and gods and have testified to the name of the great strange Life:

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[458] In some incantations Manda ḏ-Hiia is written with the guttural (ࡏ y) ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ Mand'a ḏ-Hiaa (Yamauchi 1967: 235, 241).

[459] Pallis 1926: 146. Abatur (the Second Life) rises from his throne in order to show respect to Manda ḏ-Hiia (GRR 223: 14).

[460] Rudolph 1983, 131.

[461] Brandt believed of two schools of Mandaism: the Old Mandaean School, which lost its authority because of continually new influence especially Christianity; and the New School which he called "teaching of the king of Light" (*Lichtkönigslehre*). This school, he believes, in contrast to the older polytheistic from, is monotheistically oriented, even when marked with dualism. Brandt came to the conclusion that "In the course of the polemic against Christianity and its influence, the "reformer" of the Mandaean theology", the author of the *Lichtkönigslehre* represented a revelational activity of the Mandaean redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāşoraean as a designation for the sect itself" (cited by Rudolph, HR, vol. 8, 1969: 211f).

[462] Rudolph, HR, 1969: 212.

> 'This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda d̲-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood, and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.'[463]

Manda d̲-Hiia often exchanges places with another light being, his son/brother, Hibil-Ziwa,[464] who descended to the seven layers of the world of darkness and came into conflict with the King of Darkness and obtained ࡐࡓࡅࡃࡒࡀ *prudqa* a "passport"[465] with ࡄࡀࡕࡌࡀ *hatma* a seal-impression[466] which enabled him to travel through the World of Darkness and come back to the World of Light.[467] During his journey Hibil-Ziwa could confuse Rūha (the goddess of the underworld) and obtain from her ࡂࡉࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡓࡀ the *gimra umrara*, the two secrets of the World of Darkness.[468]

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[463] CP p. 34. (*masiqta* p. 124) Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[464] Hihil-Ziwa, is the light bearer; a saviour-spirit who descended to the underworld and brought back with him from the "Well of Darkness" the *gimra* (pearl, or: soul) and *mrara* (a sort of herb) which are considered the secrets of the World of Darkness. Cf. the Mandaean scroll *masbuta d-Hibil-Ziwa* "the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa" (*The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*, translated by Drower, Vatican City, 1953).

[465] GRR, p. 168: 25.

[466] GRR, p. 169: 8.

[467] The journey of Hibil-Ziwa reminds us of the journey of Enkidu to the underworld. (GRR, book 5:1)

[468] The meaning of *gimra umrara* is obscure, perhaps indicating two things assuring the stability of the world of darkness (MD, p. 90).

The Mandaeans prayers recited during the rituals usually include the formula, "the name of Life and the name of Manda d̠-Hiia ("Knower of the Life") is pronounced over me." He is the "True Apostle of Light" as he describes himself:

> I am the Apostle of Light whom the Great One sent me into the world. The true Apostle I am, with whom there is no lie. The Chosen with whom there is no lie, there is not with him deficiency or fault. [469] I am apostle of Life, the true one, in whom there is no falsehood. [470]

Many Gnostic sects share the meaning of the apostle/redeemer, with some notable differences. According to the Manichaean cosmogony, the living Father sent his son to redeem the soul when he saw it suffering in the body. The son came and transformed himself into human form and appeared to men as a man. He made "creation for the salvation of souls and produced an instrument with twelve vessel; this is turned by sphere and draws up the souls of the dying. Then the great light takes them up with its rays, purifies them and passes them on to the moon and thus is filled the face of the moon . . . When the moon is full, it ferries the souls to the east. And again it fills the ferry and again it unloads as the souls are brought up by the vessels, until it has saved its own share of soul." [471]

§ 2.2.7.2 - The Creation of Manda d-Hiia

Three *uthras* (the sons of the Second Life 'Yōšamin') decided to descended below the *hapiqia mia* (streams of water) to create a world of their own and not to mention the name of the Life.[472] The Life complained to the Great Mana who dwells in the Great Pira and requested his counsel. In a countermove to the *uthras*' plan[473], the Great Mana created the astral messenger Kabar Rba or Kabr Ziwa, who is fact Manda ḏ-Hiia.[474] It was by the request of the First Life the 'Gnosis of Life' came into being: "I am Manda ḏ-Hiia, the emanation (lit. planting) of the Mighty First Life." [475] The Life instructed Manda ḏ-Hiia that his creation preceded the creation of the *uthras* and his commission was predestined.[476] In this regard, Jonas writes: "The mission of this transcendent savior begins even before the creation of the world (since the fall of the divine element preceded the creation) and ran parallel with it."[477]

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[469] GRR p. 79: 2. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[470] GRR 79: 79: 21.

[471] Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 183.

Manda ḏ-Hiaa was promoted by the supreme beings of the World of Light and was made one of the Great Ones. He was given authority upon all worlds of Light and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[478] He was the only one worthy of the mission because he was the one who could restrain the renegade *uthras* and set the boundary stones (*kudka*).[479] He was hailed as the "great mirror of the uthras and the lustrous king of the all kings (or: angels)".[480]

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[472] This is the first rebellious act in the World of Light performed by the Second Life (Yōšamin) and his three sons (one of them is Abatur). This rebellion which caused a great conflict in the Mandaic heavenly world was subdued by Manda ḏ-Hiia (GRR p. 85 ff.).
[473] The sons of the Second Life.
[474] GRR pp. 85, 86.
[475] CP, p. 109; Mandaean text pp. 145-6. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[476] GRR, p. 89.
[477] Jonas, 1958: 45.
[478] GRR, p. 89.
[479] GRR, p. 87
[480] DY, p. 239, the text:
[illegible]

§ 2.2.7.3 - Manda d-Hiia, the Mandaean Redeemer: [481]

The Mandaeans' concept of the redeemer is not that of Christianity. The Mandaean Redeemer does not descend to earth and redeem his followers through agony and sufferings. The Mandaean salvation, like the other Gnostic beliefs, is focused on the release of the soul, the *mana* divine particle of man, from the material world and subsequently joins its ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ *dmuta* counterpart in the World of Light.[482] This process is materialized, according to their faith, by means of *gnosis* (knowing) the Life and his messenger Manda d̲-Hiia (the Knower of Life) and through the cults of repeated *maṣbuta* (baptism) in *yardina* "Jordan" [483] and *masiqta* (the ascension of the soul).[484] The Redeemer's duty is to awaken the souls to their heavenly origin and to provide them with necessary "gnosis" or "knowledge" to serve as "passwords" for their heavenly re-ascent.[485] Mandaeanism professed to bring salvation through knowledge; ignorance is a sin:

> Who illuminates (his heart) with illumination (knowledge) shall rise in the Place of Light; who cannot illuminate (his heart) with illumination (knowledge), shall be cut off from the Place of Light.[486]

Among the Mandaeans redeeming knowledge has been personalized in the figure of Manda d̲-Hiia.[487] The Redeemer is also "the good shepherd that leads his sheep to their fold."[488] The souls, that sinned because of the wicked angels, [illegible]

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[481] The Mandaeans believe in another redeemer; Anuš (the Biblical Enosh).

[482] Stroumsa, 1984, 1.

[483] Buckley, HR, 1989: 23-34.

[484] Rudolph, HR 1969: 230.

[485] Yamauchi, 1970, 29.

[486] GRR, p. 395: 20. The Text:

[illegible]

[487] Rudolph, 1983: 131.

[488] GRR, 205: 22. The text:

[illegible]

malakia, of this world, will appeal to Manda d̲-Hiia to save them from their sins and trespasses: "Manda d̲-Hiia, save us the darkness of this world in which we are cast!"[489] We also read in another passage the pleadings of the Mandaeans to Manda d̲-Hiia for the salvation of their souls: "Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtues and not as vicious before thee, Manda d̲-Hiia."[490] It is only when the *nišimta* (soul) is enlightened by the "Gnosis of Life", then can return to the World of Light.[491] At the end of the world Manda d̲-Hiia shall reveal himself to sons of men and redeem them from darkness:

> A call rang out over the whole world, the splendor departed from every city. Manda d̲-Hiia revealed himself to the children of men and redeemed them from darkness into light.[492]

He is ࡁࡓ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *bar hiia* the Son of Life who lifts up the souls of the faithful to the place where the Life is enthroned with his sweet voice.[493] Widengren says that the term "Son of Life" is found in the Acts of Thomas in praise of the Apostle of Life ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ "Christ".[494]

Manda d̲-Hiia is identified with Hermetic Man-Shepherd (*Poimandres*), Mind of all-masterhood (See Deutsch, p. 1999: 166). In this respect Drower writes: "The Hermetic writings have so much which corresponds closely to religious conceptions familiar to them in Naṣoraean gnosis that they would readily have identified the Hermes of the *Poimandres* as their own *Manda d̲-Hiia* or *Mara d̲-Rabuta*" (SA p. 112).

[489] GRR, 303: 17. The text:

ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible]

[490] CP, p. 34; hymn no. 35 of the *masiqta* (ascension) book, Drower's translation, text collated:

[illegible] ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

[491] Rudolph, 1983: 358.

[492] GRR, 207: 14. The text:

[illegible] ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible]

[493] GRR, book 9:2, book 16:10.

[494] Widengren, 1946: 20.

§ 2.2.7.4 - Manda d-Hiia and John the Baptist:

Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to John the Baptist as a child. As a miracle, Manda d̲-Hiia caused the Jordan to flood fiercely, then made it go dry. When John the Baptist beheld the miracles he believed in Manda d̲-Hiia (as a saviour). Then, he ordered the waters to return to the Jordan. All the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky returned to Jordan, too, reciting praise to Manda d̲-Hiia. At the end of the episode John the Baptist requested Manda d̲-Hiia to save his soul. Manda d̲-Hiia released John the Baptist from his physical form and led his soul to the World of Light.[495] Strangely, we read in the Ginza and in the book of *masiqta* (ascension) that Manda d̲-Hiia appeared in Jerusalem: "Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to the Jews (or: in Judea) like a Vine in Jerusalem."[496] He is the one who can open the doors of *kušṭa* (truth), reveals the mysteries and performs miracles in Jerusalem:

> You are the healer above all means of healing, a Lifter above all Up-lifters, a Radiance above all radiances and a Light above all lights, for it is you who opens doors of truth and reveals mysteries of wisdom and shows forth miracles in Jerusalem.[497] You confide demons and devils and frighten away the gods from their high places. Great is your name and praised is your name. You are the counterpart of Life, for you were in existence before all. [498]

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[495] GRR book 5: 4. This picture of Manda d̲-Hiia as the young lad ࡉࡀࡃࡀ ࡆࡅࡈࡀ *iada zuṭa* (GRR p. 220: 3) is similar to Seth the savior-child דרדקא in the Manichean, the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects (Stroumsa, 1984, 77 ff.).

[496] GRR, p. 206: 3. The text:

[illegible]

[497] The Mandaean "redeemer" and his appearance in Jerusalem was part "polemic against Christianity and its influence, and the "reformer of the Mandaean theology, the "author of the *Lichtkönigslehre*," represented a revelational activity of the Mandaenan redeemer in Jerusalem and assumed also the name Nāṣōraean as a designation for the sect itself" (Rudolph, 1969: 212). On the other hand Stroumsa believes that "Biblical references to the Holy Land were part of Gnostic imagery" (Stroumsa, 1984: 119).

[498] CP, p. 36. The text:

[illegible]

§ 2.2.7.5 - Manda d-Hiia the Warrior:

§ 2.2.7.5.1 - Manda d-Hiia's Weapons:

Manda ḏ-Hiaa, the valiant *uthra*, was the well prepared and armed apostle, who triumphed over the powers of darkness.[499] He is the heavenly warrior whom the gods in all the worlds feared: "When Manda ḏ-Hiia appeared in the whole worlds, all the gods were aghast." [500] In order to fulfill his mission against the evil, he was equipped by the Great One with the following weapons besides the army of *uthras*:

(1) Radiance and Light. (2) a great attire (3) the *margna* (staff) of Living Water (4) the wreath of the Living Flame (5) the armor of the Great Ones[501] (6) A mace (club)[502] (7) a veil (net?),[503] and (8) a robe of the great ones.[504]

§ 2.2.7.5.2 - Manda d-Hiia Restrains the Rebellious 'Uthras:

When the Second Life and his sons, the *uthras*, determined to create a world of their own, the Great Life considered this intention as an act of rebellion. In order to foil the *uthra's* plot, the Great Ones commissioned Manda ḏ-Hiia to reveal the rebels' conspiracy: "Rise above the *uthras* and see what they are planning and what they intend, they who say, "We will create a world". 'You have seen that they have forsaken the House of the Life and turned their faces to the place of Darkness.[505] Manda d̲-Hiaa was charged to bring order among the *uthras* and deliver them from failure. The Great One commanded him: *'zl 'l mardia d̲hšhka d̲'lan l̲biš mithašbia* "March against the rebels of darkness who think out evil against us!"[506]

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[499] Cf. The Coptic Primeval Man-Redeemer who 'clad himself in his amour and set forth to do battle with cohorts of matter, of darkness, of evil.' See Widengren 1965: 49, 50.

[500] Ibid p. 295: 14. The text:

[illegible]

[501] GRR, p. 96. Cf. Marduk weapons: a scepter, a throne, a royal robe, a bow and arrows, a mace, a net. 'They gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[502] GRR, p. 108: 15.

[503] GRR, p. 198: 7.

[504] GRR, P. 99: 15. The garment of the messenger Manda ḏ-Hiia has such magic powers that the demons form a secret conspiracy in order to take hold of it (GRR, p. 299: 20):

[illegible]

It is notable in tractate three of the Ginza, that the sequence of Manda d̲-Hiia's mission was interrupted; instead of descending towards the *hapiqia maia* (the streams of water) he went down towards the World of Darkness; and instead of restraining the defector *uthras* he defeated the evil powers of the World of Darkness. This confusion can be solved when the story is traced in the other chapters of the Ginza as well as in the other Mandaean writings such as *draša d̲-iahia* "the Book of John." In book 15 of the Ginza we read that the Great Ones commanded Manda d̲-Hiia to descend to the Second Life 'Yōšamin's abode to deter him and the rebellious *uthras* from their evil plans and to help him in accomplishing his work in a perfect order:

> For what reason the King of Light created you, and made you a king in Ayar (ether)? Why don't you go to the house of Yōšamin and arrange his works in perfect order? Yōšamin should know that the strength of the Life is greater than his futile strength.[507]

In another passage we find another reading:

> Then the Life called Yawar-Ziwa [508] on whose name nine hundred thousand *uthras* emerged. Then he created a form and gave it to him and said to him, 'Go, meet the Second (Life) with this form and lets us

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[505] GRR, p. 86.

[506] GRR, p. 96: 16. Cf. "They (the gods) gave him (Marduk) scepter, throne, and royal robe besides, gave him an irresistible weapon overwhelming the foe: "Go cut Tiamat's throat!"" (Jacobsen, 1976: 176-7).

[507] GRR, book 15: 16, p. 424: 5. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[508] Yawar-Ziwa is a being of light acquainted with Manda d̲-Hii and his son Hibil-Ziwa.

> find out what he will say and what he will propose. He went to his (Yōšamin's) presence and spoke to him, "O, Yōšamin, son of Dmut-Hiia, my father sent me hither". . . . By the (power) of the form which the Life gave to Yawar, all the *škinas* of Yōšamin trembled and quaked and his throne degraded and gave way unto downfall. His women who were standing at his presence were terrified. .[509]

Manda d̲-Hiia arrives at the house of Yōšamin and the planets fell on their faces:

> He was instructed by the wisdom of the Great One, and set forth and came towards Yōšamin. He stood on the vault of the house of Yōšamin, and he covered his gleam with his radiance.(?) He covered his gleam with his radiance, and an uproar ruptured in his house. An uproar ruptured in his house and the Planets fell on their faces.[510]

After all, it seems that everything went well and Manda d̲-Hiia was successful in his mission to Yōšmain and he could achieve his goal in a perfect way:

> I came to the world which the Second (Life) created,
> from which all error and deficiency came into being
> I uttered the voice of Life,
> and planted the planting of the Great (One).
> I planted the planting of Life,
> and I chose the elect ones; one by one I chose them,
> and I explained to them and taught them concerning the goodness.

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[509] GRR, book 14, p. 356: 17 f. For the detailed battles between Yōšamin and the battalions of Light see the first four chapters of the Book of John. The text:
[illegible]

[510] GRR book 15: 16, p.426: 12. The text:
[illegible]

I made their eyes behold the place in which the Great (One) sit (or: enthroned).
I taught them, through the secret chants and recitations,
the prayers and praise that we possess.
I made them part of the construction of the Life,
and made them join the union of the Life.
I enlightened them with a sublime enlightenment that has no end,
and I showed them the form which was (brought) from the concealed place.
When the elected ones saw it, their aching hearts were healed.
I uttered a proclamation,
and I straightened up the trivial devils.[511]

§ 2.2.7.5.3 - Manda d-Hiia's encounter with the Powers of Darkness:

The World of Light realized that the World of Darkness was conspiring against it; it realized that Darkness expanded and became the fullness of the world (or: he became Pleroma of the cosmos).[512]

> From the day when the Evil (one) began to think, the evil was shaped
> in him. He fell into a great wrath and ventured a war with the Light.[513]
> The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels.[514]

What caused Darkness to mount up its offence against the World of Light is the envious nature of darkness which is full of hatred and conflict.[515]

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[511] GRR p. 447: 1 f. The text:
[illegible]

[512] GRR book 3, p. 99: 3 f.

[513] Cf. Mani's own writings about the notion of the rebellion of the powers of Darkness against the Kingdom of Light: "they plotted against the Light in order to mix themselves with it" (Widengren, 1946: 44).

[514] DY, p. 48: 1 f. The text:
[illegible]

[515] Jonas stated that the "Darkness had first to reach its own outer limits, and to these it was pushed at some time in the course of the internal warfare in which the destructive passion of

Therefore, the higher deity summoned Manda d̲-Hiia and addressed him saying:

> "Arise, go to the House of the Seven (planets), the idle Rebels of Darkness![516] Idle are the gloomy Rebels of Darkness, and there is no light among them."[517]

Manda d̲-Hiia had some hesitation towards the mission, but after a prolonged persuasion by the Life it seems that he agreed to confront the powers of Darkness under some conditions. In response to his conditions, the higher deities of the World of Light promoted him and made him the "the King of the *uthras*", the "Lord of the *Kušṭa*' and the "Treasurer"". He was also given the authority upon all the world of Light and upon all the *škinas* and also upon the underworlds of Darkness.[518]

Manda d̲-Hiia was engaged in an astral war with the evil powers of the World of Darkness before the creation of the cosmos. Before he descended to the underworld, Manda d̲-Hiia did some reconnaissance of the dwelling of evil ones. He saw the furnaces of the consuming flame which was full of destroyers and dragons. He saw the rebellious monsters plotting wickedly against the good ones and forging weapons. He saw the "angels of that place" inflamed against each other. He saw Rūha Qadašta sitting there with her *humurtas* (female spirits) practicing false magic. He

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its members was ceaselessly engaged. For the nature of Darkness is hate and strife, and it must fulfill this nature against itself until the encounter with the Light presents an external and better object" (Jonas 1958: 213).

[516] The term ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ *mardia* "rebels" is found in the Manichean writings extant in Syriac ܡܪܘܕܐ *maruda*. Widengren 1946: 43.

[517] GRL p. 68: 17. The text:
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡄࡔࡅࡊ ࡅࡋࡉࡕ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
ࡁࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

[518] GRR pp. 86-87 Cf. Marduk's conditions, that "if he was to champion the gods they must delegate to him their authority, he must have supreme command" before confronting Ti'āmat (Jacobsen 1976: 147).

saw the arrogant King of Darkness challenging whoever claims that he was stronger than him.[519]

§ 2.2.7.5.4 - Mandada d-Hiia's Battle with the King of Darkness ('Ur)[520]:

When the Leviathan of the World of Darkness decided to swallow the world in order to cast down the Great Ones from their thrones, Manda d̲-Hiia appeared to him in the extensive *lbuša* garment of the Great Ones *dnpiš umitar mn almea* "which was more immense and surpassing from the worlds".[521] Manda d̲-Hiia showed him *margina d̲mia hiia* the staff of Living Water,[522] by which the rebels were crushed down. He showed him *klil išata haita*, "the crown of the living fire", which instilled terror into demons. The King of Darkness rose up and annihilated the whole world; he contained it with his strength and *upalga d̲pumh̲ ubarqa qbar* buried half of his mouth in the earth. He swallowed the black waters and gulped down all the demons and *dewis* and *liliths* and stood *riqan* "empty" (or: "naked") in the world. Manda d̲-Hiia approached the monster armed with strength of the Great One and some of his breath reached his garment, but the burning flame of the King of Darkness was extinguished and his navel fell upon the gate (lit: artery) of darkness and all darkness was formed from him. Manda d̲-Hiia seized his eyes and wrapped him with four shawls. He fettered the Evil's heart, dissolved his joints and crushed his liver. He folded his stomach with his bowels, wrapped his navel with a veil, tied a knot around his heart and cast poison in his entrails. He bound the King of Darkness with a fetter and put a muzzle on his mouth. The King of Darkness became tongue tied and retreated to his *kanna* place crying, "Alas, alas onto myself!"[523] Manda d̲-Hiia did not pay attention to the Evil's begging to forgive him and have mercy on him; instead he imprisoned him in his place and appointed rude giant guards to watch over him.[524]

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[519] GRR p. 97.

[520] Lady Drower was told by the Mandaean priests, during her meetings with them in Iraq, that "Ur is the mighty Serpent or dragon of the underworld upon whom the material world rests. Above him are the seven material firmament and below him the seven underworlds of darkness. He has fiery breath like a flame, and his belly is alternately fire and ice. Souls too impure to undergo the lighter purification of *maṭarata* (purgatory) are drawn into his belly, and amongst these are unbelievers" (MII p. 253, n. 3).

[521] The garment has secret powers against the enemies and confers superior power on the wearer and therefore it is a weapon. The garment of Manda d̲-Hiia has such magic powers that he could, with his other weapons, subdue the powers of Darkness Zaehner 1955: 118.

[522] Cf. the cedar staff 'the darling of the great gods' in the old Mesopotamian legends. The staff is the 'symbol of Life' and the sign of kingship which contains magical powers. (Widengren 1950: 8, 9). The Assyrians called the staff '*kakku*' a weapon which is considered as divine symbol at the same time (Chicago Assyrian Dict., p. 50).

When the King of Darkness tried to get rid of his fetters, Manda d̲-Hiia rose by the powers of the Life and created an iron wall around him. He tied seven knots around him and wrapped him with twelve veils. He bound him with the great voice and fettered him with a fetter so the seven *zahriria* flashes (or: flames) departed him. He flung his club and struck him and split his head. He made him shriek like a woman and made him weep like a child. He made dung into his food and urine into his drink and extinguished his devouring and destroying fire. He deprived him from his lust (or: greed) and clothed him with wrath. When Manda d̲-Hiia was triumphed he erected a throne for the good ones and set up a glamorous light beside it.[525]

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[523] GRR p. 98 ff.
[524] GRR. P. 102.
[525] GRR p. 108.

§ 2.2.7.5.5 - Mandada d-Hiia Thwarts Rūha's Plans to Seduce Adam:

Rūha[526] and her retinue, the planets and the demons, began forging plans to capture Adam and keep him in their world: "We will entrap and catch Adam and detain him with us in the world!" [527] They planned to entrap him with horns and flutes and draw him into their congregation.[528] They proposed to arrange a feast and practice *razia d̲rhamta* the "secrets of love", Rūha and her party went up the Mount Carmel and set up their assembly and began practicing the secrets of love and said: "We will perform the secret of love with myrtle and entrap the whole world. We will perform the mystery of love with wine and entrap the world by our drunkenness. We will perform the mystery of love with drinking water." [529] They took the living water and poured turbid water into it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust, through which all the worlds are inflamed. They practiced on him seduction, by which all the worlds are seduced. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The worlds are made drunk by it and turn their faces to the sea of Sup.[530]

Adam, the son of Adam, was inflicted with *hasiruta* "blunder" and his eyes found no sleep. He left his mother, *Hawa* (Eve) and turned his back to his brothers while they were asleep. He climbed the walls of the fortress and headed towards the Rūha's assembly. Rūha welcomed him warmly and she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced and all the Planets started to serve him.[531] They offered him a drink, once, twice, and three times until he was intoxicated and his body desired dance. Then Rūha took him by the hand *unapšẖ šaltẖ zaniuta* "and he desired to fornicate with her".[532]

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[526] Rūha, the queen of Darkness (see §2.3.9).
[527] GRR p. 124: 21 f.
[528] GRR p. 125: 6 f.
[529] GRR p. 130
[530] GRR p. 132. The terms "drunkenness" and "intoxication" in Gnosticism refer to "ignorance" which is apposed by "sobriety" and "knowledge". Jonas believes that the term "intoxication" requires a special comment. He wrties, "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understand by the term 'world'. It is induced by the "wine of ignorance" which the world everywhere proffers to man." He adds, "the ignorance of drunkenness is the soul's ignorance of itself, its origin and its situation in the alien world." To support this case, he cited the following from the Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8: "From the Lord's spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity" (Jonas 1958: 71f.). ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ *iama rba d̲-sup* (often) the Great Ocean of destruction (MD, p. 323).

When he held her and kissed her and was about to sleep with her, Manda ḏ-Hiia appeared to him in a cloud of radiance. He made Adam hear an overwhelming voice and made his heart fall from its support. He undid the spells of Rūha and Adam felt ashamed.[533] Manda ḏ-Hiia shone in his pure garment and took away the secrets of Rūha and her party. He revealed their mysteries, discredited their speech and belied their oaths. He threw Rūha off her throne and held her back with a camel-bridle. He threw her down, struck her with his scourge and split her head open. He bound her and tied her up to the heart of heavens.[534] He grasped Šamiš[535] by the secret things (genitals) and made him like a woman. He made Yorba a sissy and struck Sin with his scourge. He seized *kukba biša* the evil planet and hurled him down.[536] He struck Bel (Jupiter) and removed the crown from his head. He smote Nirig (Mars) with his mace and amputated his limbs. He dealt with the planets who became arrogant towards the family of Life and exposed their follies to world.[537]

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[531] GRR, p. 136.
[532] GRR, p. 137.
[533] GRR, p. 138.
[534] GRR, p. 139.
[535] Šamiš, Akk. šamšu(m) sun-god, sun (A Concise Dict. of Akk., p. 354), Aram שמשא ܫܡܫܐ Masc., Ar. شمس Fem. (see also MD, p. 443). In one of the Mandaic incantations, Šamaš is described as the "Blind One who is over the spheres, and Lame One who is over the chariots" Yamauchi 1967: 243, text 22: 131-133).
[536] *kukba biša*: an evil star. כוכבא בישא Mercury in the Jewish literature. Lidzbarski stated: "*Man beachte, daß* כוכבא *in der jüdischen Literatur schlechthin den Merkur bezeichnet*" (Lidzbarski, Ginza, 1925: n. 10 p. 132).

§ 2.2.7.6 - The Life Praises Manda d-Hiia for his Victory:

The Life thanked Manda d̲-Hiia for his distinguished triumph over the King of Darkness and the other forces of Darkness and bestowed on him more glory than ever before. The Life hailed the strength and courage of the heavenly warrior who could valiantly defeat the devouring fire:

> The Life thanked me, and gave me more radiance (or: glory) and spoke to me, "*Kušṭa* preserves you, good one, and preserve the word you have spoken." The Life spoke blissfully to the *uthras* and said: "Hail the strength of the man who could cure the water with fire. Hail the strength of the man against whom the fire sinned not." The *Uthra* shone with his radiance, and trod out a path for the perfect ones and rewarded them fully.[538]

"At the end of the ceremony", the Life embraced and kissed the Uthra, and handed him the 'Kušṭa' like the great ones. Once again the Life and the rest of the *uthras* praised Manda d̲-Hiia for his achievement by hailing him: *abad ukašar qruia l'uthra d̲kul d̲tibad tikšar* "He acted and seceded!" they hailed him, "Whatever you do you shall succeed!" [539]

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[537] GRR pp. 140,141. Both narrations of Manda d̲-Hiia's triumph over the powers of darkness hold traces of similar myths such as the Ugaritic myth of Baal who crushed Lotan, the swift serpent. The King of Darkness ('Ur) who was defeated by Manda d̲-Hiia is similar to Leviathan, the monster, which was defeated by Yahweh at creation (Isaiah 27: 1) (Ringgren 1973: 149). Many resemblances are also found in the epic of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat (Jacobsen 1976: 175 ff.).

[538] GRR p. 109: 10 f. Cf. the Ugaritic message from Mot to Baal praising Baal's triumph over the seven-headed serpent "Lotan" (Ringgren 1973: 148-9).

[539] GRR 109: 21 f.

§ 2.2.7.8 - Manda d-Hiia, the Conjugal Advisor:

When Ptahil, with the help of Rūha and her retinue the Planets, finished creating Adam and Eve, Manda ḏ-Hiia approached Adam in a corporeal form lest not to frighten him. He sat beside Adam and sprinkled the splendor of the Great Mana over him. Mand ḏ-Hiia began to instruct him, with a sublime voice, and awakened his heart from his sleep.[540]

Manda ḏ-Hiia thwarted the evil goals of the demons who intended to draw Adam to their congregation and destroyed their evil plans against him. Manda ḏ-Hiia and the other *uthras* arranged a great wedding for Adam, in which they recited hymns and liturgies. They disgraced the words of Rūha and suppressed her seditious call. They eliminated the evil of the Planets and brought all the monsters to naught. Manda ḏ-Hiia and his company of the *uthras* set up the root of life, and the Life triumphed and brought victory to Adam's race. They remained with Adam until Hawa (Eve) was in labour. Manda ḏ-Hiia played the part of *sabus ʻnšia* (conjugal instructor?) who instructed Adam how to marry a woman. Manda ḏ-Hiia said: "Let the race of the Life be bountiful! The race of the Life will be bountiful, and from them the world will come to life. The world will come to life from them, and the Life will show them his gratitude, deliver them, and raise them from this world of the evil ones." [541]

Manda ḏ-Hiia established Adam on top of the building like the great ones, and made Hawa (Eve) in the shape of the cloud of light. Manda ḏ-Hiia appointed *uthras* to look after Adam and he was their leader. He began to teach Adam and his wife Hawa (Eve) wonderful hymns and the right rituals of *masiqta* "Ascension". He taught them prayers to the Life in order to strengthen their faith. He said to them: "You are raised and established in the place where the good ones are established. Amongst the Manas of Light you will be established." Manda d̲-Hiia sat and taught them like a teacher who taught his novice. He prayed for them and blessed them with the bless of the Great Ones. He prayed to Adam to rise and see the world of Light.

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[540] in DY we read: "they created a messenger and sent him to the head of generation. He called out into the unrest of the world. Adam, who was lying down, awakened." (DY, p. 47) Rudolph believes that the "Gnostic view of the world demands revelation which comes outside the cosmos and displays the possibility of deliverance; for of himself man cannot escape from his prison in which according to this religion he is shut up. He is not only imprisoned but "asleep" or 'drunken'" (Rudolph, 1983: 119). For more details concerning the "call" and the "awakening", see Jonas 1958: pp. 80 ff.

[541] GRR pp. 127-128.

When Rūha discovered that all her evil plans were in vain, she decided to leave the scene with her retinue, but only to indulge themselves in new evil plans against the Messenger of Life and Adam.[542]

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[542] GRR, pp. 127-129.

§ 2.3 - The Third Account of Theogony:

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In the third theogonic version the following variants are found in addition to the two preceding theogonic texts. In this text the Life instructs Manda d̠-Hiia concerning the creation. He informs him: (1) when the ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *pira* Fruit was inside the *pira*, ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d̠-nhūra* (the King of Light) came into being. (2) From the King of Light, the Great Radiant Ayar (Ether) came into being and (3) from the Great Radiant Ayar, ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita* (the Living Fire) came into being (4) By the power of the King of Light, the Life, fruit and Jordan came into being and (5) from the living water (of the Jordan), the Life came into being (6) all the *'uthras* came into being (Chart C).

In this version of creation we note that the main creator is ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *malka d̠-nhūra* the King of Light and not the Mana, and by his power the Life came into being. Also a new element is taking part in the process of creation. It is the ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita* the Living Fire from which ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* (the light) emanated:

> Before all the worlds came into being there was this great fruit. When the great fruit was in the great fruit, the King of Light came into existence.[543] From the great and glorious King of Light the great ether of radiance came into being. From the great glorious King of Light Ayar Ziwa Rba ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ (the Great Radiant Ayar) came into being. From Ayar Ziwa Rba the living fire ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ *'šata haita*

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[543] In the Gnostic (Mandaic) dualism there are two rival kings: *malka d̠-nhura* (the king of light) and *malka d̠-hšuka* (the king of darkness). Cf. Mazdaean cosmology: "In the beginning Ohrmazd (the Spirit of Good) was on high and dwelt in the Endless Light: he was characterized by omniscience and wisdom which some call Religion (*dēn*). Ahriman (the Spirit of Evil) was in the depths and dwelt in the endless Darkness: he was slow in knowledge and his will was to do harm. Between the kingdoms of light and darkness the Void which some call Vāy" (Zaehner 1955: 91, cited from *Greater Bundahišn*).

was brought into being.[544] From the living fire, the light ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhūra* came into being. By the power of the King of Light, Life came into being and the great fruit. The great fruit came being, and in it the Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being. The great Jordan came into being, there came into being the living water. The radiant and resplendent water came into being, and from the living water, I, the Life, came into being. I, the Life, came into being, and then all the *uthras* came into being.[545]

§ 2.3.1 - The King of Light:

The King of Light is not mentioned in the opening of the prayers in the different chapters of the Manadaean scriptures. It is the Life and Manda d̲-Hiia (the Gnosis of Life) who enjoy this privilege. The King of Light has no role in the Mandaean rituals and rarely mentioned in their scrolls and he is mentioned only once in tractate III (The Story of Creation) of the Ginza. But the King of Light remains a major player in the dualist system of Mandaic Gnosticism.[546] Whether the Mandaeans represented the "King of Light" as their "one god" to prove to the Moslems, after their invasion to Iraq in the sixth century, that they were monotheist in order to avoid either converting into Islam or put to death,[547] remains an issue which needs to be investigated, as "the development of Mandaeism still remains one of the central problems of the history of religion." [548]

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[544] GRR p. 91: 17 f.

[545] GRR pp. 91: 17 ff.

[546] The Manicheans believed that the "King of the Paradise of Light", who is God Most High, brought the revelation to Mani when he was twelve years old. Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, Beirut (1994); English translation: Dodge, L., London (1970) p. 774:

فلما تم له اثنتا عشرة سنة اتاه الوحي، على قوله، من ملك جنان النور، وهو الله تعالى عما يقوله وكان الملك الذي جاءه بالوحي يسمى التوم، وهو بالنبطية، ومعناه: القرين، فقال له اعتزل هذه الملة، فلست من اهلها، وعليك بالنزاهة وترك الشهوات، ولم يأذن لك ان تظهر لحداثة سنك، فلما اتم له أربع وعشرون سنة اتاه التوم فقال: قد حان لك ان تخرج فتنادي بأمرك.

[547] All none Moslems had to prove to the Moslem invaders that they were people of the book. All "infidels" had to either convert to Islam or put to death. Some sects preferred to follow the *Taqia*; that is pretend to be people of the book in order to avoid certain death. The *Taqia* (مبدأ التقية) was originated from Islam itself and means "hypocritical" or "prevention". It is a

On the other hand, the Mandaean scriptures describe the King of Light as anterior to all the mysteries – the Jordan, radiance, light and air and beams of light, and the crown, and *kušṭa* (covenant), *pihta* (sacred bread) and the myrtle wreath – each mystery is more revered and sublime than any one of its companions.[549] He is situated in the lofty north,[550] strong, beautiful, and glorious, the origin of all luminous beings and father of all *uthras*.[551] He is the true deity, the lofty king whose powers are endless and infinite. No death comes near him and fadedness does not touch his nature:

> The great Lord of all kings: nothing was when he was not and nothing would be were he not to be; death is not imposed on him and evanescence means nothing to him. His light illuminates and his radiance irradiates all the worlds, and the kings who stand before him and shine in their radiance and in the great light which rests upon them. He gave them prayer and praise, which settled in their hearts, those who stand in the clouds of light.[552]

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precautionary principle in Islam and dictates that the Moslem is allowed to lie in order to protect himself from any damage might be incurred on him by the enemy if he tells the truth.

[548] Macuch, R., from the preface of *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship* by Buckley, J., American Oriental Society (1993).

[549] ATŠ, pp. 197-98. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[550] According to the Mandaeans the locus of the "realm of Light" is to the north. In book 12: 7 of the Ginza we read: "All the world calls the north a highland. For the world of darkness lie in the lowland of the South . . . Whose dwelleth in the North is light of colour but those who live in the lowlands are black and their appearance is ugly like demons." (MII p. 9, GRR pp. 340-41) The text:
[illegible] . . . [illegible]
[illegible]

[551] GRR p.3: 17 – 3: 25. The text:
[illegible]

[552] GRR pp 2: 13 – pp 3: 3). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

The Mandaeans believe that stars and planets contain supernatural powers (spirits) which affect the destinies of mankind and these powers are obedient to *Malka d̲-Nhūra* the King of Light.[553] The Mandaeans personify the light by the great light spirit *Malka d̲-Nhūra* surrounded by countless numbers of *melki* (kings; beings of light).[554]

> The King is delighted with the children of light. He calls one (of them), and a thousand answer him. By his word he planted *uthras*, and by the word of his moth he made the perfect raising. King of all the *uthras* and *škinas*, great crown at the top of the heights, gentle one, who subdue powerful, might, that restrain the rebellious.[555]

> The sparkles of his crown flash all around and rays of radiance, of light, and of glory issue from his face and between the leaves of his wreath. All the *uthras* and kings, all the worlds (beings) stand there in prayer and praise that sublime King of Light.[556]

No carpenter has built his throne and builder built his house. No one can visualize the nature of Malka *d̲-Nhūra* "the King of Light" and no one can comprehend the great Light. His sacred name is hidden from everyone, and no one can call him by his real name:

> No human carpenters constructed the throne beneath him; no master-builder in clay built the houses of his throne. He is King from the very beginning, whose kingdom lasts for ever and never passes away.[557]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[553] MII p. xviii.

[554] Ibid xxi.

[555] GRR 8: 5 – 11). The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[556] GRR pp 4: 19 – pp 4: 24. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[557] GRR, p. 7: 5. The text:

> There is no name like his name, and there is no one that can name him by his (real) name, there is no one that can name him by his (real) title (or: nature).[558]

§ 2.3.2 - ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ Ziwa uNhūra Radiance and Light:

Radiance is the active and the male power of light,[559] which accompanied the great Manas in their first emanation.[560] Radiance in 'the mystical teachings or inner gnosis of Mandaeans' represent the male factor, "whereas *nhura* light represent its female complement."[561] Radiance is considered the ancient Primal Father and referred to as pure "gold", where as the Light is the ancient Primal Mother and referred to as "silver":

> Now as to these two mysteries of *ziwa* and *nhura* (radiant light and diffuse light): know that they are the ancient primal Father and Mother. Pure gold is the mystery of the Father, its name is Radiance: silver is the Mother's mystery and its name is Light. Silver is the Mother's mystery [symbol] and its name is Light. The Crown is the Father's symbol and its name is Radiance: the myrtle-wreath the symbol of the Mother and its name is "Let there be Light". The "owner of a crown" [*a priest*] is concerned with the mystery of the Father. A Mandaean [*layman*] and his wife are occupied with the mystery of the Mother.[562]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[558] GRR, p. 5: 25. The Text:
[illegible]

[559] ATŠ, p. 16. Lady Drower comments: "The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the syzygy of *nhura*, is an active, creative male principle and light is a receptive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ" (SA p. 6).
[560] GRR p. 83: 21.
[561] ATŠ, p. 16.
[562] ATŠ, p. 201, Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

There is more that one metaphor in the Mandaean dualism symbolizing sex and fecundity (male and female principles) such us: *ziwa* radiance and *nhura* light, *aina* wellspring and *sindirka* the palm tree, *hiia* Life and *dmut-hiia* counterpart or *ṣauta* companion, *Jordan* river (or: running water) and *arqa* earth. Some of the above ideas are found in a prayer known as "*šal šulta*" where the divine marriage is "typified in three allegorical pairs; Radiance and Light, Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia, and the Date-palm and wellspring":[563]

> Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the First great Light. Praised be the mystic *Tanna* (womb?) which dwells in the great mystic First Wellspring and the First Date-palm. Praised be the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance. Praised is Simat-Hiia, Mother of all Kings, for from Her all world proceeded, because She was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.[564]

Light and Darkness is the main motif of the Mandaic Gnosticism and dualism. The whole existence consists of two worlds: the World of Light with its heavenly jordans and battalions of Beings of lights "*uhtras*", against the World of Darkness with its demons, liliths and evil beings. The hostility between these two worlds is eternal, but these worlds cannot be isolated because they derive their powers from each other:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another, neither can

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[563] SA, p. 11.

[564] CP, [171] p. 154, Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

> remove from nor approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other.[565]

The Mandaean literature informs us that Light came into existence by the power of the high divinities at the beginning of existence. It is the Light of the Great First Life which together with the Radiance encircle the Mana (the first intelligence):

> Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be light of the Great First Life![566] . Before the *Mana* there is light, behind the *Mana* glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity.[567]

During the baptism rituals, the priest proceeds towards the river, wades up in water, opens the gate of Light and compresses the evil elements of Darkness with his staff after the recitation of certain prayers. He commences these prayers with the name of the Life, the he praises the Radiance and the Light:

> In the name of the Life! Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light![568] "Strengthened and enhanced is he great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life."[569]

Radiance and Light play an essential role in the religious life of the sect. For example; it is the duty of every Naşoraean (Mandaean) to carry out every single detail of the ritual in a perfect way, even when he wears his ritual *rasta* "outfit" and put on his turban, because his outfit symbolizes the Radiance and the Light:

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[565] ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) . Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[566] Cf. "And God said, Let there be light: and there was light" (Genesis 1: 3).

[567] CP, p. 4.

[568] CP, p. 154.

[569] CP, p. 5.

> And Manda d̲-Hiia, the valorous *'Uthra*, taught, revealed and said: "Every man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolizing the great mystery of radiance, light and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon."[570]

During baptizing the Mandaean has to anoint with radiance and light, not in the name of a god or a spirit:

> Anoint with radiance, light and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race.[571]

§ 2.3.3 - ࡀࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ 'Šata Haita The Living Fire:

The Mandaean literature do not provide us with sufficient knowledge concerning *'šata hiata* "the living fire" or "the living flame" except it was created in the "house of Life",[572] and that Ptahil fetched some of the living fire and tossed it, with a piece of his garment, into the black waters, and thus the earth condensed and became solid.[573] The living fire is a constructive element of creation in contrast with the *'šata 'kilta* "consuming fire" which is destructive.[574] The living fire along with the consuming fire spread among the stars.[575] The messengers and *'utras* are usually dressed in the garments of living fire.[576] Manda ḏ-Hiia used *klila ḏ'šata haita* the crown of the living fire in his battle with the King of Darkness.[577] The "living fire" is mentioned in Manichaean literature in phrases such as the "ships of living fire and water"[578] or the "wheels of the living fire".[579]

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[570] CP, p. 2

[571] CP, p. 19. According to the Zervan system (Zervan is the time god of old Persia), light is identical with time. (Pallis 1926: 69)

[572] GRR, p. 320: 8.

[573] GRR, p. 320: 25.

[574] Cf. כי יהוה אלהיך אש אכלה "the Lord thy God is a consuming fire" Deuteronomy 4: 23-24.

[575] GRR, p. 319: 10. The text:
[illegible]

§ 2.3.4 - ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ The 'Uthra:

First of all, we have to admit that the word *'uthra* is not easy to explain. The *Mandaic Dictionary* defines the word as "wealth" according to Nöldke,[580] whereas Drower defines it as an "eternal being; a spirit of light and life."[581] The word is derived from a root meaning "to increase", "be abounding",[582] and unlike *malkia* who are sometimes good and sometimes evil, *'uthras* are invariably pure and beneficent.[583] These beings of light are comparable with the *yazatas* in Zoroastrianism. The *yazatas* (like the *'uthras*) cannot be rendered as "gods" or "angels" but they are associated with the divine and perform mundane tasks. In contrast to the abhored *daevas*, the *yazatas* were capable of being worshipped. They are also the guardians of the celestial bodies and the messengers of Ahura Mazda. The chief Yazata is Mithra and some of the others include *Daena*, *Mah*, *Rashnu*, *Tistrya*, and *Zam*. Just like the case with the word "uthra', Boyce admits the difficulty in defining the word *yazatas* and prefers to leave it untraslated.[584]

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[576] GRR, 299: 19. The text:
ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡅ ࡁࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

[577] GRR, p. 99.

[578] Gardner & Lieu, 2004: 15.

[579] Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II CCXIX, edited by Allberry C.R.C., Stuttgart (1938), p. 2.

[580] MD, p. 347. Nöldke defines ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ *'uthra* ܥܘܬܪܐ as "Reichtum" "wealth" (MG, p. 104 n. 4, Arabic ثراء). In the Manichean Psalms of Thomas the sons of light are also called "the Riches" (Widengren, 1961: 93-4). Drower associates *'uthra* with the Syriac ܥܬܪ "to be rich", "abounding" and finds no reason why *'uthra* not to be translated as "wealth" and she does not agree with Lidzbarski's suggestion that the Mandaeans chose the word *'uthra* to avoid confusion with Jewish and Moslem names for angels. She reaches the conclusion that the *'uthri* might originally have been life-spirits bringing fertility and wealth in the shape of spring and rain. She bases her conclusion on W. Robertson Smith, who mentioned in his book *Religion of the Semites*, that there was a god in South Arabia named Athtar who presided over irrigation, and claimed that *'athari* referred to being watered by the sky and fountains. (MII pp. 94-5, n.2).

[581] ATŠ, p. 15.

[582] SA, p. 56.

[583] ATŠ, p. 15.

Even the Mandaean liturgies cannot give us a satisfactory explanation concerning the *'uthras*, except that they resemble radiance and rays of light and they do not lie. It is the Planets who lie and they will come to end on the great day of Sup:

> Who will come, who will tell me what *uthras* are like, what *uthras* resemble, and what do rays-of-light resemble? *Uthras* resemble Radiance, "Rays" resemble Light. *Uthras* pledge their word (lit. take oath) and do not lie, The planets lie: they Come to an end on the Great Last Day.[585]

According to Mandaeanism, *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being, and the ether-world was peopled by angelic beings, "*uthras*":

> In it (in the ether-world) *ziwa* Radiance will form itself and sublime Light *nhūra* be set up therein. In there will be *uthras* and Rays-of-Light will be established therein appearances that shine with lovely radiance.[586]

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[584] Boyce, 1975: 196, 225. The *yazatas* were revered in the Near East during the reign of Shapur II until the fourth century when some parts of the region (like Armenia) converted into Christianity and the old cultic centers of the Zoroastrian divinities, the *yazatas* were turned into Christian sites (Stoyanov 2000: 99).

[585] CP, p. 126 *ṭab ṭaba lṭabia* pp. 168-169 Hymn no. 141. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[586] CP, prayer 233 p. 186, Mandaean p. 243. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

These beings are made of light, which emanated from radiance and from the living water, which gushed out from the Light. They are not First Emanations, but they were created by them:

> In the land of Light, the Life existed; the Life existed in the land of Light. And from the Life, water poured forth, water poured forth form the Life. And from the water Radiance emanated, and from Radiance, Light emanated, and from Light the *uthras* came into being, who are standing and praising the Life.[587]

The *uthras* are not like human beings. They do not need to communicate by means of vocal sounds; they communicate telepathically. They can read the thoughts of each other and converse to each other by means of baptism and *masiqtas* (rituals of ascension of the soul) and prayers. They are so swift and light and glow more than the stars (lamps):

> And that which conveys the intercourse of *uthras* is the sublime ether. And they are alike in the meditations of their hearts, talking with a person with their thoughts and not speaking (*with their mouths*). *Uthras* converse with one another by means of their baptism and *masiqtas* and their devotional prayers: the resemble stars which quickly come out and go in, the one with its fellow (- star), for they are swifter than the wind and as brilliant as lamps.[588]

The *uthras* are ancient and older than earth and the Planets :

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[587] GRR book 15: 20 p. 442: 11. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[588] ATŠ, p. 213 (Mandaean ATŠ p. 69), the text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

> Any *uthra* is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years.[589]

Abatur is the father of the *uthras*. *Hibil, Šitil* and *Anoš* are the famous triad of *uthras* in the Mandaean tradition. *Adathan* and *Yadathan*, *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, are another two famous pairs of *uthras*. *Šalmai* and *Nidbai* are the guardian spirits of the Jordan, the delegates of Manda ḏ-Hiia, who carry out the work of the Life. *Adathan* and *Yadathan* stand at the Gate of Life and praise and worship Life:

> (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Adathan* and *Yadthan*, who stand at the Gate of Life, and praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls of righteous and believing people in the Place of Life. (Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless *Šalmai* and *Nidbai*, two *uthras* delegates of Manda ḏ-Hiia who are active and do (the work of) the Life.[590]

The *uthras* live in their *škinas* in the world beyond and instructed by their king 'the king of the *uthras*' about the mysteries of their world:

> The king of *uthras* came, he set off and came, the king of *uthras* to the *škinta* in which the *uthras* sit. He said to them "About what ye been instructed, (O) *uthras*?" "About the *Mana* that is within the Occult, about the *Mana* that came into being in the Hidden, and about the Radiance that glows in a hidden place".[591]

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[589] CP, p. 1, Mandaean *Maṣbuta* p. 24. The text:
[illegible]

[590] CP, p. 86, (Mandaean Hymns & Prayers pp. 240, 242). Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[591] CP, 172, Mandaean pp. 213-214, hymn n. 200. The text:

Book III of the Ginza Rba tells us that countless battalions of *uthras* came into being when the Life called forth "the Second Life". One of these *uthras* was Abatur, the eldest son of the Second Life who advised his father to defy the Life and create a new world.[592] They live with the sublime world of the King of Light in his abode that is translucent and bright, with great crowns on their heads. [593]

The Mandaeans avoid using the word (*malka*) for the heavenly beings. *Malkia*, "kings", apart from its literal and derived meaning when applied to priests, is a term which may indicate evil beings as well as good: there is a *malka d̠-nhura* (king of light) and *malka d̠-hšuka* (king of darkness):

> *Alaha* (god) descended from his loftiness and assumed the shape of *malakia* angels. The *malakia* angels put on the (masquerade) of demons and day by day they pervert the minds of men. They clench to the necks of priests, slaughterers and oracle-tellers and eat form their flesh until they are full. And drink from their blood until they are satisfied. They speak with (false) wisdom and deception and change the times.[594]

In the story of creation it is written that the higher deity, the Great *Mana*, bestowed the title "the king of the *uthras*" on Manda d̠-Hiia before sending him down to put an end to the mutiny of the Second Life's *uthras*:

> You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of the *kušṭa* (covenant) and the Creator of the treasures, we give authority upon all the worlds of Light

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[illegible]

[592] GRR book 3 p. 84.

[593] GRR books 1 and 2 contain detailed description of the *uhtras* and their world of light.

[594] GRR book 5: 2 pp. 201: 25, 202. The text:

[illegible]

> and the *uthras* of light who dwell in the *škinas* and upon the underworld of darkness.[595]

Those beings of light are made up of many kinds and fall into earths, *škinas*, Jordans, trees, *uthras*, and angels, as well as radiance, light, and brightness which rest upon them, and no borders separate them.[596]

§ 2.3.5 - ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *alma d-nhūra* The World of Light:

> The worlds of darkness and the worlds of light are Body and Counterpart, (they are complements) of one another. Neither can remove from or approach the other, nor can one distinguish either from its partner, moreover each derives strength from the other. [597]

The Ginza Rba portraits the World of Light as a world of fragrance, in which there is no vile odor; a world of eternal life, in which there is no death; pure without evil; a world of goodness without hatred; a world of living water, in whose aroma kings rejoice:

> The world, in which he (the King of Light) stands, has no demise:
> A world of radiance and light, in which there is no darkness,
> a world of calm, in which there is no disturbance,
> a world if justice, in which there is no chaos of confusion,
> a world of fragrance, in which there is no despicable smell,
> a world of eternal life, in which there in no demise or death,
> a world of living waters, in whose fragrance kings rejoice,
> a world of goodness, in which there is no evil,

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[595] GRR p. 86: 21f. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[596] GRR, book I, p. 11: 17.

[597] ATŠ, p. 213. (Mandaean ATŠ (54) pp. 69-70) .The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

> a world of truth (*kušṭa*) and faith, in which there is no deception or lying;
> it is a pure world, without evil adulteration.[598]

The World of Light is a place of life, truth. Their buildings are of pure crystal and their *škinas* (abodes) are made out of light. Mandaean souls long to see it and dwell in it:

> That place is a place of life, truth (*kušṭa*), peace, security, joy, and faith, for which everyone hopes and in which everyone puts his trust. The King rejoices at the children of light, and they pride themselves on him. Their buildings and *škinas* are built of radiance and light, and their walls are full of strength and stability.[599]

Beings of light and kings (angels) of radiance dwell in the World of Light. They gentle and wise, loving without malice. They are arrayed in garments of light. Their thoughts are open to each other and they know the First and the Last. Their clothes do not wither and their wreaths do not fade away:

> They are clothed in garments of radiance and are arrayed in a covering of light. They sit and dwell together, without offending one another and without sinning against one another. They are honored in their firmament and match as the eyelash the eye. Their thoughts are open on one another, and they know the First and the Last. They are a thousand thousand *parasang* (league) distant from one another

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[598] GRR 9: 4-18. The text:
[illegible]

[599] GRR 12: 21 – 13: 1. The text:
[illegible]

> and (yet) one is illumined by the other's radiance, one is fragrant through another's fragrance, one administer *kušṭa* to the other and they understand one another's thoughts. They have escaped every kind of death and death's corruption is not decreed for them. There is no passing away for them, they do not grow old, their strength does not diminish, and they are not plagued by diseases and infirmities. Their vesture does not become black nor their covering dark. Their (myrtle) wreaths do not wither; they do not crumble and do not lose their leaves.[600]

The World of Light is located to the north where Abatur is enthroned. Mandaeans turn towards the Polar Star (Polaris), the region of the vault of heaven, during their prayers. The North is the source of light, instruction and healing. If a Mandaean wishes to pray and reflect, he faces the north and their dead are buried towards the north. Their *bit-manda* (temple) always faces the north. The House of Abatur (Abatur of the Scales) is situated north controlling the path which leads to the Realm of Light. From her long stay in Iraq and the extensive study and her lengthy observation of the Mandaeans rituals, Lady Drower believes that the climate of Mesopotamia was a main factor which made the Mandaeans chose the north as their *Qiblah* (direction for prayers) and the direction according to which they bury their dead.[601]

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[600] GRR 9: 24 – 10: 13. The text:
[illegible]

[601] The Mandeans believe that the north is the source of light and healing. On the contrary the Parsis had a natural hatred for the north because they believe that the north is the source of all evil (MII p. 18, n. 9).

The world of Light is a metaphysical world beyond the reach of the evil Planets. Physics does not apply and no gravity is needed; it is independent in its own laws:

> Their earth does not rest on anvils (: supports), their firmament does not rotate on wheels, the seven stars do not pass over them, and the Five and the Twelve do not control their destiny.[602]

§ 2.3.6 - ࡏࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ *alma d-hšuka* The World of Darkness:

The World of Darkness is in contrast to the World of Light.[603] The World of Darkness is dominated by all kinds of demons and monsters and ruled by the King of Darkness. According to the Mandaeans, the earth of Darkness is located to the south of the earth of Light,[604] beneath the earth of Darkness:

> Beyond the earth of light downwards and beyond the earth Tibil, in the South there is that earth of darkness.[605]

The composition of the World of Darkness is different from the World of Light and do not resemble in any way that of the World of Light:

> It has a form which is different and isolate from the earth of light, for they are (both) different from each other in every quality and shape.[606]

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[602] GRR p. 13: 8. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[603] Manichaeism teaches that light and darkness are: "Like two kings fighting each other, who have been enemies from the beginning and each of whom respectively has his own territory, darkness by coincidence rose up out of its limits and attached light." (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[604] The Manicheans believe that the realm of the King of Darkness is located to the south of the Kingdom of Life (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 12).

[605] GRR 333: 13:
[illegible]

[606] GRR 333: 15:

Darkness exists through its own evil nature and the worlds of Darkness are numerous and without limit:

> Darkness exists through its own evil nature. It is a horrid darkness, a desolate gloominess which knows not the First and the Last.[607]

The Mandaeans believe that the underworld is made of six layers; this lowest (first) is copper, then iron, brass, steel, gold, silver and dust. ʿUr, the King of Darkness is confined in *arqa d̲nhaša* "the earth of copper" by Hibil-Ziwa.[608]

The inhabitants of the World of Darkness show no fidelity to their habitation. Their earth is black waters and their heights are deep darkness:

> The worlds of darkness are numerous and without end.[609] Broad and deep is the abode of evil, whose peoples showed no commitment to the place which is their endless habitation, whose kingdom came into being from themselves.[610] They came into being from the *tanna* (womb) and procreation of the Darkness and from the whole *saka* (extreme, limit) of the Black Waters.[611] Their earth is black water and their heights gloomy darkness.[612]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Manichaeism, which adopted the Persian dualism, also believes that the universe consists of two worlds: World of Light and the World of Darkness and Satan came into being from the World of Darkness, as we read in the *Fihrist*, Mani said: "From the land of Darkness there was Satan (al-Šayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compound and brought Satan into existence" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 778).

[607] GRR 333: 18:
[illegible]
[illegible]

[608] For more details of the struggle between Ur and Hibil-Ziwa see MII p. 252.

[609] GRR 334: 1
[illegible]

[610] GRR 334: 2
[illegible]
[illegible]

[611] GRR 175: 1
[illegible]

[612] GRR 334: 5
[illegible]

But Darkness and Light are bound together, and without darkness there was no light:

> For darkness and light are bound together: had there been no dark
> then light would not have come into being. [613]

The Mandaeans envisaged that the "cosmos beyond" consists of two realms: Light and Darkness and each with its own rulers and subjects.[614] Those of Light are described as *bhiria zidqa* "the chosen righteous" who are ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡏ *mand'* "knowledgeable" of the Life and full with *ṭabuta* "goodness", while the sons of Darkness characterized as "foolish" or "evil":[615]

> The world of darkness, utterly full of evil, ... full of devouring fire ... full of falsehood and deceit. A world of turbulence without steadfastness, a world of darkness without light ... a world of death without eternal life, a world in which the good things perish and plans come to naught.[616]

Manda ḏ-Hiia provides us with a pictorial description of that world and its inhabitants, when he descended to the world of darkness:

> I went to the place of darkness; to the place where the evil ones dwell, and to the dwelling which is full of destroyer. (I went to) the place of the dragons, and to the furnaces of the consuming flames. To the furnaces of fire, whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of firmament. I descended and found the rebellious monsters of the darkness. I descended and found them, as all of them plot in evilness.

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[613] ATŠ p. 134. Drower's translation, text collated:
[illegible]

[614] Cf. Mani's description: "The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, tr. Dodge 1970: 777).

[615] Reeves, 1996: 95 n. 49.

[616] GRR pp. 14-15
[illegible]

> They stand and plot in evilness and stand and forge weapons.[617] I beheld the black water in it, which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling. And whoever enters there dies, and whoever beholds it is scorched. I beheld the dragons, which were hurled there and writhe about. I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour. I beheld the chariots of darkness, which do not resemble one another. I beheld the wicked rebels, as they are seated in their chariots. I beheld the wicked rebels, how they are arrayed with weapons of evil. They are arrayed with weapons of evil, and plot evil against the Place of Light. They were all arrayed with weapons and seated before him, the King of Darkness.[618]

§ 2.3.7- ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ (ࡀࡅࡓ) *malka d-hšuka* The King of Darkness (ʻUr):

The Mandaean myth portrays the King of Darkness (ʻUr) in different forms and shapes. Sometimes he is a gigantic reptile where his dragon nature appears and sometimes he is represented as a snake biting its tail (as he is drawn on the Mandaean talisman the *skandola*).[619] In her book *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* Lady Drower gave a Mandaean drawing representing ʻUr in the form of a louse whose body contains the worlds which extend towards the tail, seven in number: the first is the *maṭarta* of Šamiš, the second is the world of *mšuni kušṭa* (the Mandaean ideal world), the third is the world of the Mandaeans and the rest are *maṭarthas* (watch-houses). Above ʻUr are the seven heavens and under his belly, which is of fire, there is the black water (oil) which produces fire. Beneath the black water are seven layers of copper-like earth.[620]

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[617] GRR 97: 2 f.

[618] GRR 90: 7 f.

[619] In the Mandaean talismanic seal ("Skandola") ʻUr is portrayed as a serpent encircling the other elements of evil; the hornet, the scorpion and the lion (MII p. 38). On the other hand, Mead asserts that ʻUr is originally the Chaldean *Deus Lunus* (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of "Ophite" origin (See Mead, 1924: 35 n. 2). Cf. Syriac incantation bowl 117ES where an image of a snake is surrounding the text and eating its own tail (Segal, 2000: 147 plate 134). See also C. H. Gordon, 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', apud *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, (1966), 1-9.

The Ginza informs us that the King of Darkness was formed from the black waters and emerged through his own evil nature:

> From the black water the King of Darkness was formed, and emerged through his own evil nature. He waxed strong, mighty, and powerful, he called forth and propagated a thousand thousand evil generations without limit and myriad ugly creations beyond count.[621] That King of Darkness assumed all the forms of the creatures of the world: the head of the lion, the body of the dragon, the wings of the eagle, the back of the tortoise, the hands and feet of a monster. [622] He walks, he crawls, creeps, flies, screams, is rude, threatening, roars, groans, gives (insolent) winks, whistles, and knows all the languages of the world.[623] When he wants he stretches his body, and when he wants he makes himself small. He moves his *handamh̲* "membrum" in and out, and owns (the genitals) of men and women. And when he shakes (perceives?) all the mysteries,[624] he rages with his voice, his word, his smoke, his breath, his eyes, his mouth, his hand, his leg, his strength,

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[620] MII p. 254 f.

[621] GRR 334: 6. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[622] The above description of the snake/dragon 'Ur resembles Akkadian horned serpent *bašmu* - the mythical monster created in the sea, 60 leagues long with multiple mouths and tongues. (Dalley, 1989: 323) Mani described *al-Šayṭan* "Satan" as follows: "His head is the head of a lion and is body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and is four feet like the feet of the beast burden" (*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, Dodge 1970: 778). The story of 'Ur's defeat on the hands of Manda ḏ-Hiia is identical to Leviathan of the Bible, the monster which was defeated by Yahweh at creation, and also to the defeat of Lutan, the swift serpent, by Baal (see Ringgren, 1973: 148-9).

[623] GGR 335: 13. Cf. the Manichaean King of Darkness: "the King of Darkness knows the converse and language of the five worlds. He understands every thing he hears from their mouths, as the address one another; each one of them in his language" (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 201).
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[624] *ragiš* Act. pt. RGŠ *ragiš bkulhun razia* he perceives (? Lidzb. *er nimmt wahr*) all mysteries (MD p. 425)

> his poison, his wrath, his speech, his fear, his dread, his terror, his roaring, (and) all the worlds of darkness are terrified. His form is hideous, his body stinks, and his face is disfigured. The thickness of his lips measures one hundred and forth four thousand *parasangs*[625]. The breath of his jaws melts iron, and the rocks are scorched by his breath. He lifts up his eyes and the mountains quake, the whisper of his lips makes the plains quake.[626]

The following verse from the Book of John (*draša d̠-iahiah*) shows that this world is defined by darkness, and darkness by the world. It also indicates the contrast between the two different natures of the King of Light and the King of Darkness. This dualism reflects the Gnostic beliefs in general:[627]

> Two kings came into being (or: were there), two natures were fashioned: a king of this world and a king beyond the world. The king of these ages (or: aeons) put on a sword and crown of darkness. The crown of darkness he put on and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand and he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The king beyond the worlds put on a crown of light. A crown of light he put on and took *Kušṭa* (the Truth) in his right hand. *Kušṭa* he took in his right hand, he stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs his sons, and his sons instruct one another.[628]

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[625] *parsa* or *parsang* فرسخ : Persian mile (MD p. 364).

[626] GRR 336: 3
[illegible]
[illegible]
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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[627] Jonas, 1958: 57. He also stated, 'The first alien Life is the "King of Light," whose world is "a world of splendor and of light without darkness." Opposed to it is the "world of darkness, utterly full of evil, full of devouring fire, full of falsehood and deceit" (Ibid).

[628] *draša d̠-iahia* (The Book of John) pp. 46: 11 – 47: 4. The text:

Book V of the Ginza tells that 'Ur was the offspring of Rūha and her brother *Gaf* (one of the lords of the world of Darkness).[629] Other Gnostic stories report that "Pistis Sophia desired to produce alone, *without her consort*, a work that would be like unto the first-existing Light: it came forth as a celestial image which constituted a *curtain* between the higher realms of light and the later-born, inferior aeons; and shadow extends beneath the curtain, that is, on its outer side which faces away form the light. The shadow, which was called "Darkness," became *matter*; and out of this matter comes forth, as an abortion, the lion-shaped Ialdabaoth."[630]

Amazingly the Mandaean still preserve, in some of their literature, the biblical name ࡋࡉࡅࡉࡀࡕࡀࡍ "Leviathan" identified with 'Ur. In ATŠ (The Thousand and Twelve Questions) he is portrayed as the serpent that swallows the sinners and the negligent priests. Also those who are attacked by a snake are "marked with the sign of Leviathan and become the portion of Darkness."[631] On the other hand the characterization of the Mandaean King of Darkness matches the depiction of the demiurge Ialdabaoth who has the aspect of a lion and a serpent cited in the Apocryphon of John. [632]

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[illegible]
The Manichaean cosmogony relates that King of Light and the King of Darkness are engaged in fighting each other from the beginning and each of whom has his own realm, darkness by coincidence rose up out of his limits and attacked light (Gardner and Lieu, 2004: 182).

[629] GRR, book V.

[630] Jonas, "The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics", (JR) 1962: 269.

[631] ATŠ, [287] p. 262, see also pp. 113, 121, 225, 262, 275.

[632] See Quispel, "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1965: 75 in which he stated: "Eventually he is a monstrous figure with the head of a lion and the body of a serpent, like Chnounis or Abrasax on magical amulets .... Ialdabaoth says the *Apocryphon of*

§ 2.3.8 - The Army of the King of Darkness:

The forces of the World of Darkness consist of demons, *dewis*, (evil) spirits, *hmurthas* "amulet-spirits", *liliths* , *'kuris* "temple-spirits", *prikis* "shrine-spirits", *patikris* "idol-demons", *arkonis* "archons", *malakis* "angels", *nalais* "vampires", *niulis* "hobgoblins", *pigas* "misadventure demons", *pilgis* "mutant demons", *laṭabis* "devils", *lihanis* "net-spirits", *gadultas* "ghosts", and *saṭanis* "Satans", all the hateful forms of darkness of every kind and variety, male and female of darkness. [633] These creatures are *haškia* "gloomy", *'kumia* "black", *ṭupšania* "filthy", *mriddia* "rebellious", *rgizia* "furious", *zidania* "wrathful", *zihirania* "venomous", *saklia* "foolish", *ndidia* "repulsive", *ṣahnia* "stinking" and *zapuria* "putrid". Some among them are *harašia* "mute", *ṭrišia* "deaf", *ṭmimia* "insensible", *tahmia* "dull", *algia* "stuttering", *dugia* "unhearing", *gugia* "babbling", *pigia* "idiots", *šgišia* "frightful", *laiadita* "ignorant"; some among them are *haṣipia* "arrogant", *hamimia* hot-headed, *taqipia* "powerful", *haripia* "harsh", *rugzania* "ill-tempered", *raktania* "lustful", *bnia zma* "children of blood", (of) fanned fire, and overwhelming blaze. ..... They partake of every kind of form: some of them crawl on their bellies, some move about in water, some fly, some have many feet like the reptiles of the earth, and some carry a hundred [...]. They have molars and incisors in their jaws. . . . The taste of their trees is (like) poison and

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John, had eyes like burning lightning that flashed. He is the god who brings about Heimarmene" (Ibid).

[633] GRR 334: 11. The text:
[illegible]

gall, their sap is (like) naphtha and pitch.[634] Some of these demons survive on devouring humans and spilling (drinking) their blood:[635]

> *Dewis* of *bit nirig* "the house of Mars" fall upon humans and fleece them and cleave their flesh and spill their blood on the ground.[636]

§ 2.3.9 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha; the Queen of Darkness:

Rūha (resp. Namrūs or Hiwat)[637] is the Arch-demoness, the queen of Darkness.[638] She is the daughter of "Qin" the Mistress of Darkness. She is the ruler of the third *maṭarta* (watch-house)[639], and dwells in first underworld.[640] Rūha is the mother of the King of Darkness 'Ur,[641] and the mother of the Seven planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five planets. She is considered as a kind of "'fallen wisdom figure" resembling Sophia in other Gnostic traditions:[642] she fights and suffers and appears in several realms at the same time.'[643] Rūha is the leader of the underworld forces and the "entity incorporation powers of darkness which the light-world had to conquer."[644] The Mandaeans use the term ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ *nišimta* for "soul" and ࡓࡅࡄࡀ *rūha* for "spirit". The expression *rūha* "spirit" stands on the lower level and according to Rudolph corresponds to the "soul" (*psychē*) in the Hellenistic sources.[645] Rūha is the immaterial part of man which influenced by physical desires.[646] Rūha's symbolical colour, according to the Mandaeans, is sky-blue, [647] and can appear as a woman of extreme beauty either in her blue mantle or naked, apparently, to seduce men.[648]

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[634] ࡍࡐࡈࡀ ࡏࡒࡉࡓࡀ *napṭa uqira*: crude oil and pitch. This is a clear indication to the oil-bearing region of Mesopotamia. The flames of fire in the north oil fields of Kirkuk, the pitch in the western pitch mines of Hit on the Euphrates and the black waters (crude oil) of Ur, Missan and Basrah in the south inspired the old Mesopotamians to portray a superlative revelation of the underworld. GGR 334: 18, 335: 12. The text:
[illegible] .... [illegible]

[635] For the parallels between the Mandaean and Akkadian flesh eating and blood drinking demons see Christa Müller-Kessler, "Phraseology in Mandaic incantations", ARAM, 1-12 (1999-2000), 293-310 esp. 302.

[636] GRR p. 35: 19.
[illegible]

[637] Daium is another epithet of Rūha (CP p. 62).

[638] Cf. the Manichean Namrael and Neβρωδ, the mother of the world *'ma dalma* whose weapon is a bow, just as in Thomas XIV, where she wants "to take her arrows and shoot them" (Söderbergh 1949: 146).

[639] GRR: 6.

[640] GRR book 5. See also SA, p. 57.

[641] Zaehner stated: "Ruha's relationship to the male 'Ur is exactly parallel to the relationship of the demoness Āz and Ahriman" (Zaehner 1955: 167, see also Buckley 2002: 45).

[642] Buckley, HR 1982: 60. The western female figure of *Sophia* "Wisdom" is unknown in Mandaeanism, nevertheless, the Ginza connects Rūha with false wisdom: [illegible]

In Book VI of the Ginza Rba (the book of "Dinanukt") Rūha describes her self as "light and darkness", "error and truth", "destruction and structure" etc., in clear dualist terms:

> I am the life which exists since eternity. I am the *kušṭa* which was from afore-the beginning. I am the radiance, I am the light, I am the death, I am the life, I am the darkness, I am the light, I am the error, I am the truth, I am the destruction and I am the structure, I am the offence (accidental disqualification for ritual etc.) and its purification. I am the outstanding being who is prior to that (one) who built the heavens and earth.[649]

ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ *mamlila bhukmat hrara* "she talks with the wisdom of an illusionist" (GRR book 3, p. 90: 5).

[643] Buckley, HR 1980: 260. Jonas has no answer to "how this figure 'Wisdom', or at least its name, came to be combined in Gnostic thought with the moon-, mother-, and love-goddess of Near Eastern religion, to form that ambiguous figure encompassing the whole scale from the highest to the lowest, from the most spiritual to the utterly sensual (as expressed in the very combination "Sophia-Prunikos", "Wisdom the Whore" " (Jonas 1958: 176-177).

[644] Buckley, HR 1982: 63. In her research about the Rūha, Buckley found striking resemblances between Rūha and "The thunder: Perfect Mind" in the Nag Hammadi Library (see also Buckley, HR, 1980: 264).

[645] Rudolf, 1983: 91.

[646] ATŠ p. 15.

[647] MII p. 149.

[648] Ibid 149-6.

[649] GRR book 6 'the book of Dinanokt' p. 241: 6f.

§ 2.3.9.1 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ Rūha: The Mother of the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Five Monsters:

When Rūha (the goddess of the Underworld and mother of all evil) [650] realized that Ptahil was having difficulties in his first attempt to create the world, she committed incest three times with 'Ur (the King of Darkness)[651] in order to produce the luminaries. In the first time she approached Ur, as his mother, and said to him, "Arise and sleep with your mother and you will be freed from your fetter!" He slept with her and after seven days she bore the Seven (planets),[652] but her offspring did not make her happy: "when she beheld them, her heart fell from its support". In the second time she approached him as his sister, and said to him, "I am your sister; if you sleep with me your strength will be twice as much." He slept with her and after twelve days she bore the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and again they did not please her. In the third time, she approached him as his daughter and said to him, "Rise, my father, and behold your daughter! Embrace me and kiss me and sleep with me and

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[illegible]

[650] Jonas writes, 'Rūha, literally "spirit." The perversion of this term to denote the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion, all the more paradoxical in view of the fact that the full title of this anti-divine figure is Rūha d-Qudša, i.e., "the Holy Spirit." (Jonas 1958: 72 n. 25). DA gives Rūha seven names: "she enflames the womb", "treasure", "She-lusted-after", "She-conserved", "Drop", "Qin"(the queen, mistress of darkness. Often identified with Rūha) , "She-loved-these". DA p. 38.

[651] The Mandaean Leviathan, the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (the planets less the Sun and the Moon). Some scholars connect him with Tiamat, the chaos monster who was killed by Marduk. (Jonas 1958: 117). He is the offspring of Rūha and Gaf (one of the Giants of the World of Darkness) (see book 5 of the Ginza Rba). He is the dragon which encircles the whole world and that no one can match his power (GRL p. 11: 11). Budge writes, "In some portion of the Black Water dwells a great she-devil called Rūha, and her husband 'Ur, who is the god of Darkness, and is the great antagonist of the god of Light. Here we have we have a cosmogony derived from the ancient Sumerians, and Tiamat, Kingu and Marduk under other names, and we may regard the Mandaeans as the representatives of the ancient worshippers of Ea, the great Water-god of Eridu" (Budge 1930: 240).

[652] The seven "planets" were gods in the Babylonian pantheon, including the sun and the moon. (Wilson, 1958: 10). Gnosticism, in general, considered the seven planets as the seven spheres which separated the soul from its heavenly home (Ibid 105).

gaze your fill at the world." Again he slept with her and she conceived five "monsters" (the planets without the Sun and the Moon), and again they were not what Rūha wished for.[653] Rūha could not achieve her goals; instead she lost her magical powers and failed to free her son Ur from his fetters.[654]

§ 2.3.9.2 - ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ *rūha mastanita* "Rūha, the Seductress":

Rūha d̠-Qudša "Holy-Spirit"[655] is an epithet for Rūha, a personification of the emotional, lower and feminine elements in human personality.[656] She is the "desirous" or "to make love sick" a symbol of ࡁࡀࡆࡍࡀࡒࡉࡕࡀ *baznaqita* "lust".[657] Rūha's epithet "*qudša*" corresponds to a category of cultic staff of Ištar which includes female prostitutes called *qadištu*.[658] We read in the Ginza that the other epithet of Rūha is, ࡃࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ ࡏࡎࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡕ *d̲libat 'stra amamit* "Libat-Ištar-Amamit."[659]

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[653] GRR p. 112: 14 ff. These three acts of incest show clearly that the planets are the product of evil. Zaehner stated that consanguineous marriage is of Magian origin and that the Rūha and Ur act of incest is similar to Ohrmazd's consanguineous marriages (intercourse) with his mother, his sister and his daughter. Zaehner mentions, according to the Acts of Pusai, that the Sun, Moon, and stars were the children of Ohramazd. These three consanguineous marriages were considered the most holy of all among the Zoroastrians (Zaehner 1955: 154, 5). Jonas suggests that "the spheres are the seats of the Archons, especially of the "Seven" that is, of the planetary gods borrowed from the Babylonian pantheon" (Jonas 1958: 43). (In spite of "archon" is of western source, we find ࡀࡓࡊࡅࡍ *arkun* "archon" in some Mandaean texts such as the Ginza p. 334: 14, "archon" also occurs in Manichaeism (see Widengren 1961, English translation 1965: 55).

[654] Zaehner could establish some resemblances between Rūha and her son Ur on the one hand, and between Āz and Ahriman on the other. Āz, who belongs to Zervanite demonology in old Persia, is the "personification of concupiscence – acquisitiveness, gluttony, and lust, and perhaps much more besides.' In this respect (based on Alexander of Lycopolis) he writes: "Āz is the mother of all the demons and the greatest of them. In the diabolical hierarchy she is always mentioned first, taking precedence over Ahriman. Her relationship with the latter is exactly parallel to the relationship of the female Rūhā to the male Ur in the Mandaean scriptures. Ur is the king of darkness; Rūhā is his mother and stands for totality of evil." (For mote details concerning the Persian Demon Āz, and her resemblances with the Mandaean Rūha, see Zaehner 1955: 166).

[655] Rūha has other epithets: ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ ࡏࡎࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ *rūha d̠qudša d̠libat ʿstra amamit šuma* "she is Rūha d̠-Qudša whose name is "Libat-Ištar-Amamit" (GRR p. 62: 19) Rūha d̠-Qudša is not mentioned in esoteric writings (SA p. 47).

[656] CP, p. 291 n. 2. Jonas believes that the perversion of the term *rūha* "spirit" to "donate the highest personification of evil is an interesting episode in the history of religion" (Jonas 1958: 72, n. 26).

[657] CP 291 n. 2.

She conspired with the Planets to entrap Adam and install him in their congregation; in the earth of Tibil. She forged plans to seduce him with horns and flutes and seduce the whole tribe of Life and cut it off with her in the world. Rūha and her entourage practiced the mysteries of love in order to seduce the whole world. They took the living water and poured turbid water in it. They took the head of the tribe and practiced on him the mystery of love and lust, through which the whole world are inflamed. They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness, by which all the worlds are made drunken. The world became drunk and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.[660]

Woe to those who have been tempted by Rūha for they shall be swallowed by the demon Karapiun "the Swallower":

> I reached that watch-house of Rūha d̲-Qudša who sits upon the mouth of Karapiun the Swallower (name of a demon) and (puts) the harp of lust on her shoulder . . . And she brings temptation. She speaks with pipes (or: zither) and calls upon the twelve men, the merchants, who believe in her.[661]

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[658] Ringgren 1973: 81. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. However, Qadishtu is an Akkadian name meaning sacred women. In the temple at Erech they were called Nu-gig – the pure or spotless. (See Westenholz, 1989 pp. 245-265, esp. p. 250) On the other hand Jonas believes that the Rūha d̲-Qudša "the Holy Spirit" indicates the violent hostility of the Mandaeanss towards Christianity (Jonas, 1958: p. 72 n. 25), see also SA, p. 47 ff.).

[659] GRR p. 62: 19.

[660] GRR book 3 p. 125 ff.

[661] GRR p. 216: 22. The text:
[illegible]
[illegible] . . .[illegible]

Rūha assisted Ptahil (the Mandaean demiurge) in creating the physical world, infusing some of her secrets in this creation.[662] Ptahil created Adam after his image and Hawa (Eve) after the image of Rūha:

> Ptahil spoke to Rūha and her angels, "I will create a male after my image and female after your image. We shall call the male Adam and the female Hawa (Eve)."[663]

Rūha is an illusionist who can manipulate and mix times.[664] She appeared to ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ *adam br adam* Adam, the son of Adam, in the image of his wife (and sister) Hawa (Eve) and seduced him to fornicate with her.[665] But the messenger Manda d̠-Hiia could thwart her plans at the last moment and saved Adam, the son of Adam from her seduction.[666] She is connected with pollution and uncleanness; women in general are considered a source of pollution because of their nature.[667] The Mandaean legend tells us that Rūha disguised herself as "Anhuraita", Noah's wife, and Noah took her and she became pregnant and brought forth three sons: Ham, Yam and Yafet.[668]

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[662] GGR book 10 p. 287: 22 f.

[663] GRR book 11 p. 321: 17 f.
[illegible]
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[664] GRR book 3, p. 137: 13.

[665] GRR book 3, p. 137.

[666] GRR book 3, p. 138.

[667] Drower comments: "Women are a constant danger to ritual purity whenever Nature brings them into states of uncleanness: moreover, they belong to the Left, and Rūha, therefore, has more power over women than over men" (SA p. 73 n. 1).

[668] MII p. 261.

§ 2.3.9.3 - The End of Rūha and her Believers:

At the end of the worlds Rūha, the Planets together with the wicked and the unbelievers will be swallowed by the great Leviathan 'Ur.[669]

> Rūha and *mšiha* (Jesus) and the Planets and all those souls who confess them, will call each other and reach each other, and lead each other by the hand. They are to be bound and fettered and then, like a pomegranate of lead, will depart and fall into 'Ur, the lord of Darkness, into his huge interior. (Then) smoke will wind up and fire will be fanned and consume 'Ur, the lord of Darkness and *'uat* Rūha, the liar and the Planets and all those souls who believe in them.[670]

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[669] Pallis, 1926: 64.

[670] GRR book 5: 5 p. 236: 21f.
[illegible]
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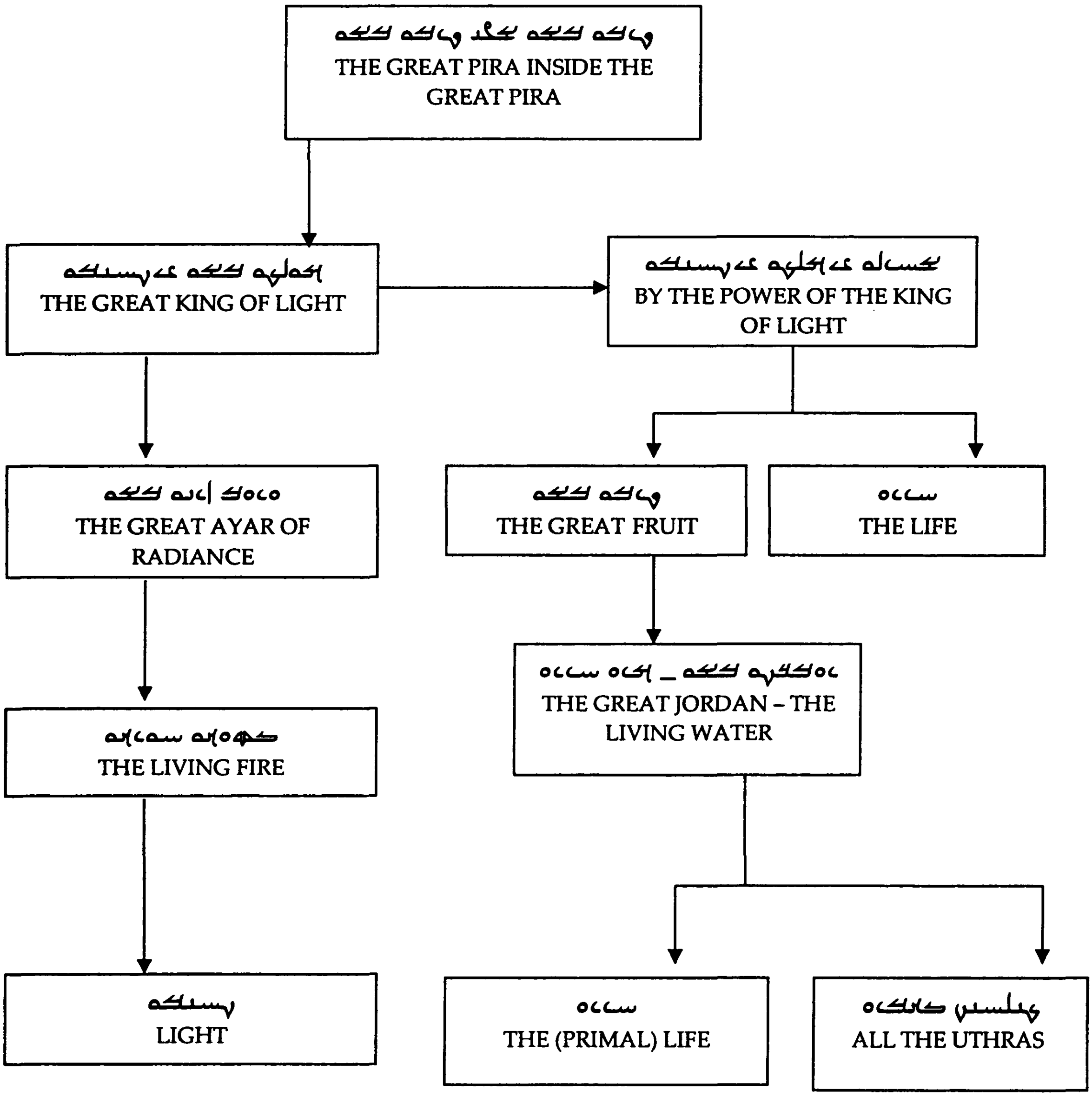
Chart C

GINZA RABA
TEXT 3 TRACTATE III
PAGES 91-92



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THE GREAT PIRA INSIDE THE GREAT PIRA
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THE GREAT JORDAN - THE LIVING WATER
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ALL THE UTHRAS

§3. The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book "the Ginza Rba"

The Mandaean Text According to the Numeration of the Ginza Rba (GRS) used in this Research.

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GRR 88

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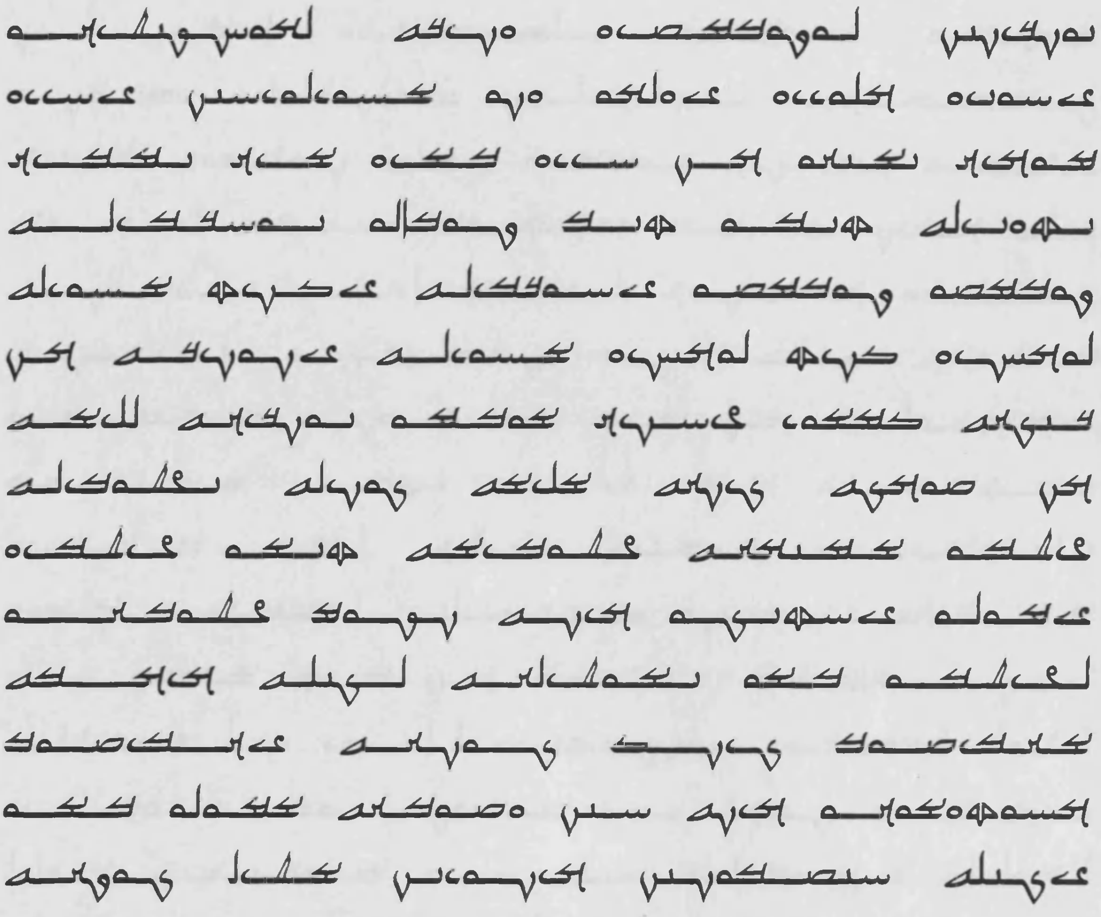

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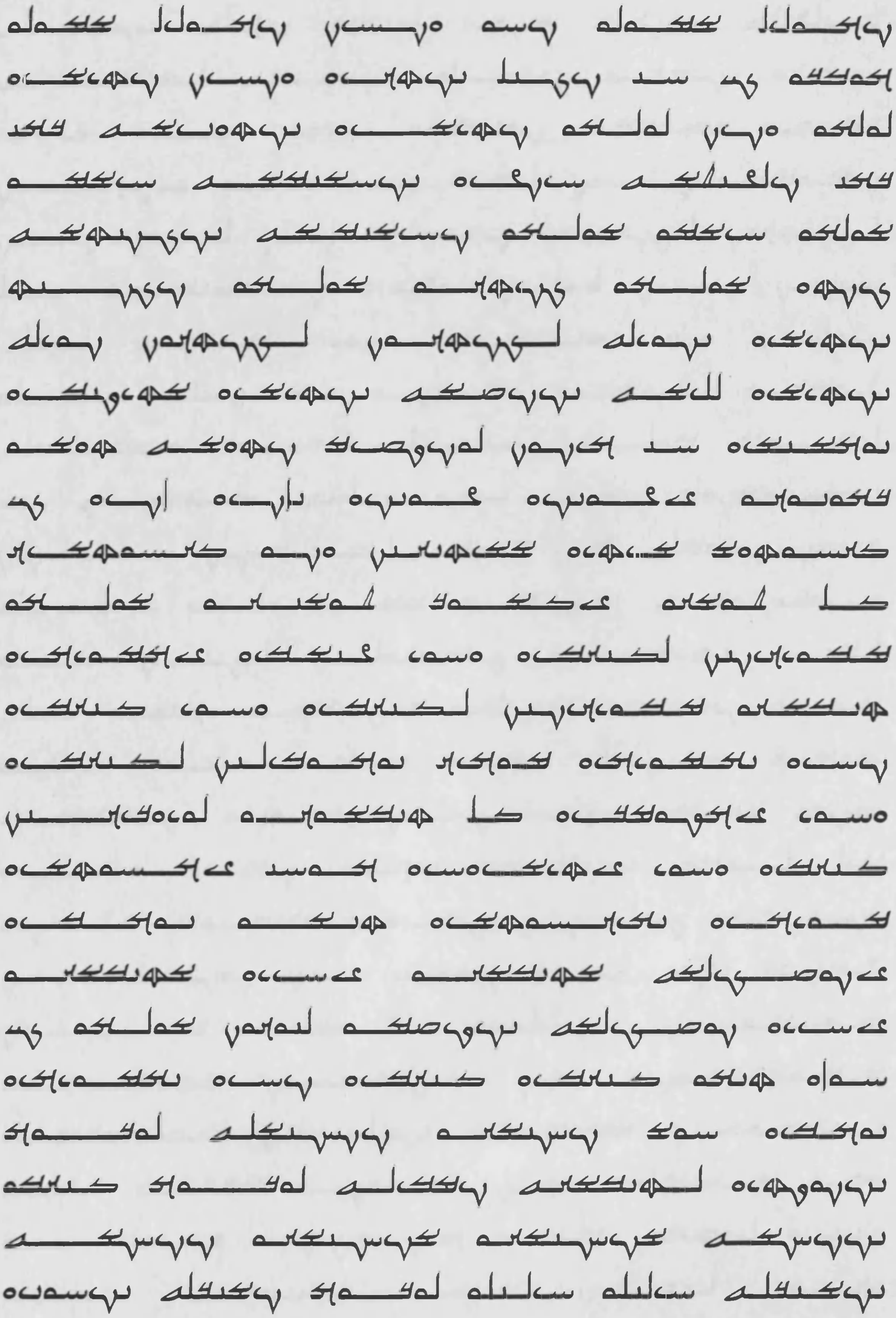

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[illegible]
[illegible]

§4. The Story of Creation, Book III, Ginza Rba

Translation and Notes

ࡔࡏࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ
ࡊࡃࡀࡁࡀ ࡇࡋࡀࡇࡀ
ࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

שעותא ד̱קריתא
כדאבא חלאחא
גינזא רבא

(GRR p. 83)

ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ[671] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ[672]

בשומאיהון ד̱הייא רביא נוכראייא

In the name of the great alien Life

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[673] ࡃࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ

מן אלמיא ד̱נהורא יאתיריא

from the countless worlds of Light (or: from the worlds of light, sublime)

ࡃࡏࡋࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡁࡀࡃࡉࡀ

ד̱עלאויא כולהון עובאדיא

which is above all deeds.

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ[674] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[671] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *hiia* Life, the main Mandaean deity (See above §2.2.2).

[672] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *nukraiia* "alien" or "strange", theologically "inconceivable", "remote", "indefinable", is a constant characteristic of the "Life", the main deity in the Mandaean belief. The formula, "In the name of the great first alien Life from the countless world of light which is above all deeds" speaks of the "first'" Life 'that is above all deeds (or: creations)", i.e., above the world and "free from any kind of relation to the world" (Rudolf, 1983: 62). The Mandaean belief consider the Life Life ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ *hiia baraiia* is an "outer entity" and its home is "outside" in the world "beyond". (CP p. 78). Jonas finds "The concept of the alien Life is one of the impressive word-symbols which we encounter in Gnostic speech, and it is new in the history of human speech in general" (Jonas, 1958: 49).

[673] ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ worlds: According to the Gnostic view, the earth is set in the centre of the cosmos and surrounded by the air and the eight heavenly spheres which consist of the seven planets. "Beyond them lies the realm of the unknown god, the Pleroma (the "fullness"), with its own graduated worlds (aeons)" (Rudolph, 1983: 67). Jonas believes that the "worlds" of the Mandaeans correspond the "aeons" of Hellenistic Gnosticism (Jonas, 1958: 52).

האזין הו ראזא וסידרא קאדמאיא ד̱שותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the Mystery and the First Book of the First Living Doctrine

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱הואת מן לאקאדמיא

which was from before time.

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ[675] ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ[676] ࡁࡂࡅ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ

כד̱ הוא פירא בגו פירא וכד̱ הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was within the Fruit and the Ayar was within the Ayar,

ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[677] ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

ו כד̱ הוא מאנא רבא ד̱עקארא

and when the great Mana of glory was (there),

ࡖࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡉࡀ[678]

ד̱הון מינה̱ מאניא רורביא כאביריא

from whom the great and mighty *manas* came into being,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡆࡉࡅࡀࡄࡅࡍ[679] ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[680]

ד̱נפיש זיואהון וכאביר נהוראיהון

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[674] Concerning the *raza* "mystery" Wasserstrom writes: "The "great mystery" of Mazdak, the "raza rabba" of the Mandaeans, and the "*raza rabba*" of Jewish mysticism appear to have been technical terms in a common late-antique Mesopotamian cosmic semiotics" (Wasserstrom, 1995: 42 n. 115).

[675] ࡐࡉࡓࡀ *pira* (פירא) fruit, used often as gnostic term (καρπος) as an expression of emanation. (MD p. 371), (see above §2.1.1).

[676] ࡀࡉࡀࡓ *aiar* (αηρ) the upper atmosphere, air, ether, wind. The genie of the Upper Air. (MD p. 14) (see above § 2.2.2)

[677] ࡌࡀࡍࡀ *mana* (מאנא) vessel, garment, utensil, instrument, implement (ibid p. 246). The word *mana* when meaning "mind', "thought", "intelligence" is of non-Semitic derivation: the Aramaic *mana* is "garment", "robe", "vehicle", "vessel", "instrument". Lady Drower stated: "There is often word-play on the two meanings, and this passed into other Gnostic literature so that "robe" or "vessel" or "vehicle" is used as a cryptogram for *mana* meaning "mind" or "soul". In general, *Mana* in a cosmic sense is equivalent to the Stoic, Valantinian, and Sethian *Νους*, 'the emanation of the Forefather" (SA, p. 2 n. 1), (see above § 2.1.2).

[678] The word *kabbīr* "strong, mighty" appears in the Bible: Isa 10: 13, 16: 14, Job 8:2, 15: 10 etc. (for more details concerning *kabbīr* see Rendsburg G. A., "kabbīr in Biblical Hebrew", JAOS, vol. 112, (1992), pp. 649-651).

[679] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *ziua, ziu* (זיוא) (a) brightness, brilliance, light, radiance (b) often used as an attribute or name of uthras, being of light, glorious being (MD p. 166), (see above § 2.3. 2).

[680] ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ *nhura, anhura* (נהורא) light. The implication that *ziwa* (radiance is an approximate translation), the conjuction of *nhura*, is an active creative male principle and light a receptive, passive (female) principle occurs more than once in ATŠ. (SA p. 6), (see above § 2.3. 2).

whose radiance is so vast and their light is so great,

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

דעניש קודאמאיהון לא הואבה בפירא רבא

that no one before them was in the great fruit,

ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

דנפיש וסאכא ליתלה

which was so immense and without limit.

ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡐࡅࡌࡀ

דזיוה נפיש מן מימריא דפומא

His radiance was greater than the words of the mouth (or: what can be told by the mouth)

ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡎࡐࡉࡄࡀࡕࡀ

ונהורה כאביר מן עשתאיוייא בספיהאתא

and his light was bigger than what the lips can portray.

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ

דהואבה בהאנאתה פירא

As He was inside (or: in the matrix of) the Fruit,

(GRR p. 84)

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡎࡀࡊࡀ

הון מינה אליף אליף פיריא דלאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits

ࡅࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ[681] ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ[682] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא דליתלון מיניאנא

and countless myriads of *šikinas* (celestial dwellings) emanated from Him.

ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ

ד הוא בה בהאד האד פירא

As in each fruit there were

ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡀࡋࡉࡐ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡎࡀࡊࡀ

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[681] ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ pl. *škina* (Heb. שכינה) celestial dwelling, abode. (see above §2.1.5).

[682] BL 23601: 33r ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡍ.

אליף אליף פיריא ד̲לאסאכא

a thousand thousand fruits without limits,

ࡅࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡓࡅࡁࡀࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡉࡉࡍ[683] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡉࡀ

ורובאן רובאן שכינאתא ד̲ליתלאיין מיניאיא

and countless myriads of *šikina*,

ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡍ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ד̲קאימין ומשאבין להאך מאנא רבא

who all stand there and praise the great Mana

ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ד̲עקארא ד̲שריא באיאר רבא ד̲הייא

of glory who exists in the great Ether of Life,

ࡖࡏࡉࡕ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ[684] ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡓࡀ

ד̲עית בגאוא ד̲יארדנא ד̲מיא היואראּ

which lies inside the Jordan (river) of the white waters,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̲מן מאנא רבא הון

which came into being from the great Mana,

ࡖࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡄࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ[685] ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ד̲ריהאיון באסים ד̲בה̲ מארהין כולהון שארשיא ד̲נהורא

whose fragrance is so pleasant that all the roots of Light

ࡅࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ

וזיוא רבא קאדמאיא

and the first Sublime Radiance inhale it.

[illegible] ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[683] BL 23601: 33r ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡉࡀࡍ

[684] ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ *iardina* (Aram. st. emph. for הירדן) Jordan, running water, river, flowing stream. The name of the Biblical Jordan was employed in the earliest Gnostic systems, and notably in that of the *Peratae* (who were in the Euphrates region) (*Schaf-Herzog* VII-§11, 12 [p. 150-1]. See also Albright, AJSLL, 1920: 292-3) Drower believes that *yardina* has no reference to the river Jordan in Palestine. By Mandaeans, both Jordan and Nile are called the Ardana or Ardan (MII p. xxiv note 4.), (See above § 2.1.4).

[685] ࡔࡀࡓࡔࡀ *šarša* or *širša*: root, tribe, family. Sometimes with religious meaning *širša taqna* "the Mandaean faith" (MD pp. 463-4) BL 23601 ࡔࡉࡓࡔࡉࡀ.

והוא יארדנא רבא דסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלה

Then the great Jordan (river) came into being, which was without limit or count,

ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ[686] ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡍ

דעלאוה קאימיא שיתליא והאדין וראוזין

on whose banks rejoicing and thriving shoots grow,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡊࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

דכולהון בתושכיהתא מלין וקאימין מן ריש בריש

which all of them are full of glory and confirmed for eternity.

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ומן יארדנא רבא הון יארדניא דסאכא ומיניאנא ליתלון

And from the great Jordan countless Jordans, without limit or count, came into being.

ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ

כד הוא פירא בגו פירא וכד הוא איאר בגו איאר

When the Fruit was still inside the Fruit, and when the Ayar was still in the Ayar

ࡅࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡅࡓࡀ[687] ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓ

וכד הוא יורא רבא דזיוה ונהורה נפיש וכאביר

and when Yura the great whose radiance and light were so vast and extensive,

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ

דעניש קודאמה לאהוא

which no one ever existed before him, came into existence,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ[688] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

דמינה הוא יארדנא רבא דמיא הייא

the great Jordan of the Living Water generated from him,

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

דהייא מינה דילה הון

from which the Life Himself came into being.

[illegible] ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡓ [illegible] [illegible] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible]

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[686] ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ not in BL 23601

[687] ࡉࡅࡓࡀ *iura, iur* (< יוהרא) being of light, light, brilliance. (See above § 2. 2. 1).

[688] Genisis too includes "water" in the first act of creation.

ועשתפון לארקא ד̱איאר ד̱בה̱ שכאן הייא נאפשאיהון

And (the Jordan) poured forth on the earth of Ayar, in which the Life himself dwells.

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

וקאיים הייא נאפשאיהון בדמו מאנא רבא ד̱מינה̱ הון

The Life presented himself in the likeness of the Great Mana, from whom he came into being,

ࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ובון בותא על נאפשאיהון

and he addressed a request to himself.

ࡁࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[689] ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ

בבותא קאדמאיתא הוא עותרא מקאימא

By the first request an eternal Uthra came to being,

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ[690]

ד̱הייא קירויא הייא תיניאניא

whom the Life called the Second Life,

ࡅࡀࡐ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ואף הון ותריא ד̱סאכא ומאניאנא ליתלון

also, *uthras* without limit or count came to being.

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱מן הייא יארדנא הוא

Then from the Life, a Jordan came into being

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

כד̱ יארדנא קאדמאיא עשתפיא לארקא ד̱נהורא

like the first Jordan, poured forth on the Earth of Light,

[illegible] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ

---

[689] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ‘utra (Nöld. עותרא “wealth” *cf.* *δύναμις*, *αἰών* etc. of Gnostic systems Ar. جيوش heavenly spirit, a generic name given to spirits of life (MD p. 347). An *uthra* is an ethereal being, a spirit of light and life. *Uthras* were created when the ether-world came into being (See above § 2.3.3).

[690] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ *Hiia Tiniania*, “the Second Life” or: “the second emanation”, also called Yōšamin. He proceeded from the fusion of the First Life with Dmut-Hiia “the image of Life” (GRR book 14, p. 356: 9).

ועתקאיאמבה̱ הייא תיניאניא

and the Second Life established (or: baptized) himself in it.

(GRR p. 85)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

הינון הייא תיניאניא עותריא קרון

The Second Life created *uthras*,

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

ושכינאתא קאיים ויארדנא קרון

erected *škinas* and created a river

ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡀ[691]

ד̱עתריא עתקאימבא

in which the uthras were set up.

ࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ

והון עותריא תלאתא

Then, three uthras came into being,

ࡖ[692] ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ

ד̱בותא בון מן הייא תיניאניא

who addressed a request to the Second Life;

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡖࡍࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ושכינאתא באיין ד̱נשאוון לנאפשאיהון

they asked permission to raise *škinas* for themselves,

ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ

ומא ד̱עותריא תלאת בון מן הייא תיניאניא עהאבלון

and what the three *uthras* asked from the Second Life, was granted to them.

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ

ומיתנלכיא ושכינאתא משאויאבון

They (began) to confer with each other and create *škinas*.

ࡁࡅࡍ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[691] BL 23601 and BLO 1236 ࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡁࡄ.

[692] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 33v.

ואמרילה לאבוהון ומשאילילה ואמרילה לאבוהון

They requested their father and spoke to him; they asked their father and spoke to him:

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

האזין יארדנא דמיא הייא

"Are you the one who created this Jordan of the living water,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡔࡀࡍࡀࡉ ࡅࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ

דהאזין שאנאי וריהאיון דהאזין באסים

which is so fabulous and whose scent is so sweet?

ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡉࡀ[693] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡄ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡒࡓࡉࡕ

וכאביריא עותריא דעתקאיאמבה אנאת הו דקרית

Are you the one who created those great *uthras* which are established (or: baptized) in it?

ࡏࡅ[694] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡄ

עו עותריא דילאך הינון דעתקאיאמבה

Are those your *uthras* who are established (or: baptized) in it?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאליל הייא תיניאניא לעותריא תלאתא דנימארלון

The Second Life spoke to the three *uthras* and said:

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡁࡅࡊࡅࡍ[695] ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ

אנא אבוכון אנא הייא קרון

"As for me, your father, the Life created me

ࡅࡉࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ

וירדנא דהייא הו

and the Jordan is (the Jordan) of the Life,

[illegible] [illegible] ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible]

---

[693] ࡅࡊࡀࡁࡉࡕ in BL 23601.

[694] ࡏࡅ here is for (ࡅ): 'and'; not 'or'. However, ࡏࡅ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡄ: "Are those your uthras who are established (or: baptized) in it ?" not in BL 23600 34r: 5 & BLO 1236: 34r: 5.

[695] BL 23601 and BLO 1236 ࡖ ࡀࡁࡅࡊࡅࡍ

ואנאתון בהאילאיהון ד̱הייא הואיתון

and you were brought to being by the power of the Life."

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ

ואמרילה̱

And they said to him:

ࡀࡄࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ[696] ࡌࡍ ࡆࡉࡅࡀࡊ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡊ

אהבאלאן מן זיואך ומן נהוראך ומן מא ד̱באך

"Give us some of your radiance and some of your light, and some of what you have,

ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡕ ࡀࡕࡅࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ[697] ࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱ניזאל וניהות אתותיא האפיקיא מיא

so we depart and descend below the streams of water,

ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

ושכינאתא ניקרילאך ואלמא נשאוילאך

and we shall establish *škinas* (abodes) for you, and call forth a world for you,

ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡅࡖࡉࡋࡀࡊ

ואלמא ניהויא דילאן ודילאך

and the world be ours and yours,

ࡅࡀࡍࡏࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡁࡁࡄ

ואנען ניתקאימבה̱ ואנין ניתיבה̱

and we shall be raised in it and we shall live in it,

ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡖࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡅࡖࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

ועותריא נישאויבה̱ דילאן ודילאך ניהון

and we shall create uthras in it, for you and for us,

ࡅࡔࡅࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ[698]

ושום הייא לאעיאדכאר

and the name of the Life not to be mentioned."

---

[696] In BL 23601 ࡄࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ

[697] ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ *apiqia, hapiqia* (אפיקי – מים) streams (*plurale tantum*), waters separating the world of light from this world.

[698] BL 23601 ࡋࡏࡉࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ לעיאדכאר, BLO ࡋࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ . See MG p. 216. (Cf. ࡔࡅࡌࡀ [illegible] ࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓ GRR 164: 2).

ࡅࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡋࡅࡍ[699]

ובִיסמאת עלה̱ ואמאר ד̱עתילון

And (this) pleased him (the Second Life) and said: "I will grant it to them!"

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡇࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ

כד̱ האחזין אמאר על רביא לא ביסמאת

When he spoke thus, it did not please the Great One

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡏࡕࡊࡉࡔࡓࡀࡕ[700]

ועל הייא לא עתכישראת

and the (First) Life did not approve of it.

ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[701]

ועלאוה̱ בותא בון ושאבויא למאנא רבא

He (the Life) addressed a request to the Great Mana,

ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ד̱שריא בפירא רבא

who dwells in the Great Fruit, and praised Him.

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ[702]

והאיזאך קאם מאנא רבא בזיוא ונהורא ועקארא

Then the great Mana stood in brilliance, light and glory

ࡅࡒࡓࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡁࡀࡓ[703] ࡓࡁࡀ

וקרייא לכבאר רבא

and called into being Kbar the Great

ࡖࡄࡅ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

ד̱הו כבאר זיוא

who is in fact "Kbar-Ziwa."

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[699] See GRR p. 111.

[700] BL 23600 34r, BLO: 34r ࡏࡕࡊࡉࡔࡀ

[701] BL 23600 34r: 16 & BLO 1236: 34r:16 ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ "to the Great Mana of Glory".

[702] BL 23600 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡅࡏࡒࡀࡓࡄ "in his brilliance, light and glory".

[703] *Kbar*: a name given to higher beings. (MD, p. 202)

(GRR p. 86)

ࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡍࡁࡀࡈ ࡉࡀࡅࡀࡓ[704] ࡁࡓ[705] ࡉࡅࡐࡉࡍ ࡉࡅࡐࡀࡐࡉࡍ[706]

שומה נבאט יאואר בר יופין יופאפין

His names are: Nbaṭ-Yawar the son of Yofin Yofafin,

ࡎࡀࡌ[707] ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡌࡉࡓࡀ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

סאם מאנא סמירא גופנא דכולה הייא

Sam Mana Smira (the well-preserved Mana) [708], the Vine which is full of life

ࡌࡉࡕࡓࡀࡄࡀࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מיתראהאם על עותריא

and that is dear to the *uthras*.

ࡁࡂࡉࡅࡀࡕ[709] ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

בגיואת עקארא ואמארלה

(Mana), in the splendour of glory, spoke to him:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ[710] ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת עתראוראב על עותריא

"You mount up above the *uthras*

ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

והזיא עותריא מאהו דאבדיא

and see what they are up to

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ[711] ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ[712] ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ועל מאהו מיתהאשביא ואמריא

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[704] *Nbaṭ*: the root NBṬ "to spring forth, burst forth", "spring upward" & c. (SA, p. 63 n. 1). The root from which Yawar is derived, 'UR or AWR. It has a double meaning, "to blind or dazzle with light" or "to awaken". (Ibid, 63)

[705] ࡁࡓ not in BL 23601 and not in BL 23599.

[706] *Yofin Yofafin*: a genie or pair of genii. *Cf.* the angel name יפיפיה Targ. Jon. Deut. 34: 6 (MD, p. 191).

[707] *Sam* (rt. SUM hence "he placed", not P. سام) (MD, p. 312-3).

[708] *Mania smiria* "*manas* kept in reserve?" Lady Drower wrote: "The language is so high-flown that any precise meaning attached to such an expression is probably incorrect." (CP, p. 4 n. 2)

[709] BL 23600, 34r: 19 & BL 23601 33v: 20 ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡀࡕ "in the gardens ..."

[710] BL 23600, 33v ࡀࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ

[711] BL 23600, 34v ࡄࡀࡄࡅ

[712] BL 23600, 34r: 25 ࡏࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

and what they intend, they who say,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא ניקריא ושכינאתא נישאויא

"We will create a world and build *škinas*

ࡗ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

כד̱ עותריא רורביא בניא נהורא

like the supreme *uthras*, the sons of Light.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[713] ࡌࡉࡁࡉࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ

אנאת מאנדא ד̱הייא מיביסמאת עלאך

Is it agreeable to you Manda ḏ-Haii

ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀࡒ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ד̱עותריא ד̱נהורא שאבאק נהורא

that the uthras of light leave the light

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[714] ࡋࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון להשוכא

and turn their faces towards the darkness,

ࡅࡋࡉࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ[715]

ולימא רבא ד̱סוף

towards the great ocean of Sup,

ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡂࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ

ולהאבארא גאהיא ולמיא אכליא והאמבאליא

towards the hideous darkness, towards the devouring and vicious waters,

[illegible] [716] [illegible]

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[713] ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ γνώσις ζωης "Knowledge-of-Life", "Gnosis-of-Life", the outstanding Saviour-spirit of Mandaean religion. The spelling of ࡌࡍࡃࡏࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ (מנדעא ד̱הייא) with a consonantal (ע) occurs only in Lead amulet published by Lidzbarski in 1909 (Yamuchi's 1967: 7). (See above § 2.2.7).

[714] ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ BL 23601, 34r, BL 23599, 35r, Bl 23600, 34v and BLO 1236, 35r.

[715] ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ *iama rba ḏ-sup* "The Great Ocean of Destruction" (MD, p. 323). The Red or Reed Sea, Sea of the End (SA, p. 83 n. 2) According to the Mandaeans it is the Sea of Reeds, which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host (CP, p. 251 n. 4). Cf. ים סוף "the Read Sea" throughout the Old Testament (*e.g.*, Num 14:25, Deut 1:40, Josh 4:23, Ps 106:7. etc.). *iama ḏ-sup* is "a Gnostic metaphor for crossing from the world of matter into that of spirit" (SA, p. 48 n. 1).

לאתרא ד̲כולה̲ סאהריא בקאלא ראבא מאליליא

and towards the place full of demons who talk with loud voices,

ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡉ

ועשאתא עכילתא מאמלילבי

and (towards) the blazing flame which flares up inside it?"

[717] ࡄࡅ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡈࡉࡓ

הו עותריא ד̲הייא שידקא נאטיר

The Uthra of Life kept silent,

ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ולאהואבה̲ האסיר ובציר

not because of a blunder or deficiency.

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡀࡕࡍࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡋࡄ

תום אתנא ואמרלה̲

Then He addressed him for the second time:

ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ

הזיא מאנדא ד̲הייא ד̲עותריא ד̲נהוריא על מאהו מיתימליך

"Behold, Manda d̲-Haii, for what purpose do the uthras of Light confer between themselves?

[718] ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ

ליבאיון מאהו עשתאגשלון

Why are their minds confused,

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתרא ד̲כשאשא ומשאשא ליתבה̲

so they turned their faces towards the place which is fathomless and measureless;

ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡓࡉࡀࡁࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

לאתרא ד̲ליתבה̲ מיא הייא ולאשאריאבה̲ צאותא

to the place of no living water and of no spreading of luster?"

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[716] BL 23599: 35r and BL 23601: 34r ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡋࡅ

[717] read ࡍࡀࡈࡓ (absolute state of NṬR). ࡍࡀࡈࡓ is found in the other copies. (see MD, p. 282)

[718] ࡀࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ BL 23599: 35r, 23601: 34r. ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡂࡔࡋࡅࡍ.

ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡈࡀࡓ

ועותרא דהייא שידקא נטאר

and (once more) the Uthra of Life kept his silence.

ࡋࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡆࡉࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[719] ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡌࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

לתלאתא זיבניא מאליל מאנא בראבותון ולמנדא דהייא אמריא

For the third time Mana, in his majesty, spoke to Manda d-Hiia and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡅࡑࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת הו מאלכא דעותריא מאריא דכושטא משאויאנון דעוצריא

"You are the king of *uthras*, the Lord of *kušṭa* (and) the creator of the treasures.

ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ

על אלמיא דנהורא כולהון שאליטנאך

We give you authority upon all the worlds of Light

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ[720] ࡁࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

ועל עותריא כולהון דנהורא דשכיניא בשכינאתא

and upon the *uthras* who dwell in the *škinas*,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ועל אלמיא תיתאייא דהשוכא

and upon the underworld of darkness.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡏࡕࡉࡕࡋࡀࡊ[721] ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡀࡕࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ

אנאת הו עתיתלאך ושיהאתלה לאלמא האנאתה

You are the one who is predestined and made worthy of that (i.e. the other) world.

(GRR p. 87)

ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קודאם לאלמא הותלה מן קודאם דניזלון עותריא

Descend to the world first, before the uthras go thither

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[719] BL 23599 35r: 20 & BL 23601 34r: 1 ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ. Sometimes plural is used instead of singular for exaltation and adoration.

[720] ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀ BL 23601: 34r and BL 23599: 35v.

[721] read ࡏࡕࡉࡃࡋࡄ . In the other copies ࡏࡕࡉࡕࡋࡄ is found. ࡏࡕࡉࡃ, ࡏࡕࡉࡃࡀ (עתיד Ar. عتيد) destined, predestined, equipped, established, brought about (MD p. 358).

ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡉࡀࡍ[722] ࡎࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ

ניבדון מינדאם דעלאואיאן סניא ולאשאפיר

and do something that is odious and ugly for us,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ

ועל הייא לאמיתאכשאר ועלאך מאנדא דהייא לא באסים

what is disagreeable to the Life, and what is not acceptable to you, Manda d-Hiia.

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אמינטול דאנאת הו דמתאקנית עותריא

Because you are the one who can restrain the Uthras,

ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ[723] ࡅࡕࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡊࡅࡃࡊࡀ[724]

וראמית דירכא ותרצית כודכא

set the path and erect the boundary stones.

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡗ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ[725]

ואנין כד קרינאך על מאהו קרינאך

And when we called you, for what reason did we call you?

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡗ ࡒࡓࡉࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡉࡕ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡍ ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ

אמינטול דאנאת כד קריית ושיהית ומשאוית להאזן קריתא

Because you, when you were called and made worthy and fit for this calling."

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡉࡓࡀ

מאליל מאנדא דהייא ואמארלה למאנא רבא כאבירא

Manda d-Hiia spoke to the great glorious Mana saying:

ࡗ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡋࡌࡀࡍ ࡏࡄࡆࡉࡀ

כד מאיינאך למאן עהזיא

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[722] ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡉࡍ in BL 23601 and BLO 1236.

[723] To set the "path of the soul to the World of Light" is one of the obligations of the Redeemer in the Mandaean doctrine. (See Rudolp, 1983: 172)

[724] ࡊࡅࡃࡊࡀ (Akk. *kudurru*?) boundary stone. The boundary stone (*kudurru*) was a Kassite invention, a block stone that served as a record of a grant of land by the king to favored person. Kudurru II boundary; boundary stone, (A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian (2000) p. 165. See also Marcus, M. I., The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution, The Art Bulletin Vo. 73, No. 4 (Dec. 1991) pp. 536-560 esp. pp. 548-9).

[725] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡀࡊ 'for what reason did we call you' is not found in BL 23600 34v: 19 & BLO 1236: 34v: 19.

"If I seek you, whom do shall I see?

ࡅࡗ ࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡉࡀ[726] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡑࡀࡍࡀ

וכד̱ אכצאליא על מאן ניהוויליא רוהצאנא

If I am in distress, on whom shall I rely?

ࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ

תיראת ד̱הואת מינאיכון על מאהו עסימכא

Upon what shall I lean (my) conscience, which was with you?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

מאליל מאנא בראבותה̱ ולמאנדא ד̱הייא ד̱נימארלה̱

Mana, in his magnificence, spoke to Manda d̲-Hiia and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊ

אנאת מינאן לא תיפסיק ואנין ואתאך

"You shall not break away from us. We are with you.

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡍ[727] ࡕࡓࡉࡑ

אנין כול ד̱אנאת אמרית לקודאמאן תריץ

That of which you spoke before us is established.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀࡕ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ

ואנאת לואתאן מיתקאימאת ומן לואתאן לא תיפסיק

You with us are established and you shall never be separated from us,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ[728] ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ

ואנין לואתאך אנין ד̱הייא עלאך בטאבותא עתימלון

and we are with you because the Life is full of goodness towards you.

ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ[729] ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ[730]

ואדיאוריא נצאבלאך נצאבלאך עתריא ניהא ומתקאימיא

And he set up helpers for you. He created for you calm and confirmed *uthras*

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[726] ࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 34r.

[727] ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡍ not in BL 23600: 35r and in BLO 1236: 35r.

[728] [illegible] BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 35v.

[729] ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡀ *adiaura* "helper", "assistant" (MD, p. 7). This expression is often found in Mandaean literature which depicts the helpers as being part of the Redeemer's preparations against the forces of evil (See Widengren, 1961:94).

[730] BL 23601 [illegible] ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀࡍ[731] ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

דניהון ניתקאימאן בנאך דהאתאם בנאך ניקרון קאלא דהייא

who will be established as your sons in that place where they recite the word of Life.[732]

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡕࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ

וניהון תאנגארא דמיתאנגריא

They will be the merchants, who traffic,

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡒࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ומאסקיא תאנגארותון לבית ריש בריש

and bring their (good) work to complete achievement."

* * * * *

ࡄࡅ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡉࡓࡀ

הו רבא עהאבלה זיוא ונהירא

He, the Great One, presented him with radiance and light

ࡅࡀࡈࡐࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡄ

ואטפילה על דעתלה

and added to him to what he had.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

עהאבלה לבושא רבא

He gave him a great garment,[733]

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

דשאניא וסאכא ליתלה

which was wonderful and without limit.

ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡓࡊࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ

בירכה בבירכתא ראבתיא

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[731] ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ in the other copies.

[732] or: "call out the voice of Life".

[733] The "Primal Man", whom the Iranian Manicheans identified with Ohramazd, armed himself with a garment (armour) in order to do battle with the powers of darkness. (Zaehner, 1955: 118) Zaehner also writes: "The garment of Ohrmazd is the robe of priesthood . . . This robe has such power that it alone ensures the utter defeat of Ahriman and his ejection from Ohramazd's creation." (Ibid, 120)

He blessed him with the great blessing,

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡊࡁࡄ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱עתיבריכבה̱ רורביא

with which the great ones were blessed.

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אבא שאויויא ד̱עותריא

He made him the father of the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡀࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ

ומזאויד זאואדיא לראהמה̱

and the one who provides his friends with provisions.

(GRR p. 88)

ࡁࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ

בפאקאדתא ד̱פירא רבא ד̱עקארא

By the command of the Great Fruit of Glory,

ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ[734] ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* (pact) from them (or: I took an oath with them),

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[735] ࡏࡕࡉࡕ

ואסגית בית הייא עתית

and I traveled and I came to the House of the Life.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡉࡋࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ

הייא משאיליליא על מאנא

The Life questioned me about the Mana,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡍࡉࡑࡁࡉࡕ[736]

ד̱מינא עתניצבית

By whom I was planted (or: created):

---

[734] ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ *kušṭa* (קושטא, קשט) oath, vow, pact, truth, good-faith; the action of giving the right hand in troth; the ritual hand-clasp which occurs during sacraments (baptism, marriage & c) MD p. 209. It is not clear in this verse whether Manda d̲-Hiaa took the oath with the Mana or with the other uthras.

[735] ࡋࡁࡉࡄࡉࡉࡀ in BLO 1236: 35r and BL 23600: 35r.

[736] ࡏࡕࡍࡉࡑࡁࡀࡉࡕ in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.

ࡊࡃ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡕ

כד̱ בטאבו רביא עתית

"Since you came through the kindness of the Great One,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ[737] ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ

האיזין נצאב ניצובתאך

how was your nature created?"[738]

࡞

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

הייא בראבותון למאנדא ד̱הייא אמריא

The Life in His greatness spoke to Manda ḏ-Hiia:

ࡄࡆࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

הזית מאנדא ד̱הייא עותריא מאהו ד̱אבדיא

"Did you see, Manda ḏ-Hiia, what the *uthras* are doing?

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מאהו ד̱אבדיא עותריא

What the *uthras* are doing,

ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ומאהו ד̱מהאשביא על דה̱ ודה̱

and how they ponder about all and sundry?

ࡄࡆࡉࡕ[739] ࡖࡔࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הזית ד̱שבאק בית הייא

Did you see that they forsook the House of the Life

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[740] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ואזבאר אנפאיהון לאתאר השוך

and turned their faces towards the place of darkness?

ࡔࡉࡁࡁࡅ[741] ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

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[737] read ࡍࡑࡉࡁࡀ (planting) as in the other four copies.
[738] or: how your plant was planted?
[739] Not in BL 23601: 34v and BL 23599: 36r.
[740] ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡄࡅࡍ in the other four copies.

שיבקו לצותא דהייא
They forsook the company of Life
ࡅࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ
וצאותא דהשוכא רהים
and loved the company of darkness.
ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
שיבקויא לאתרא דזיוא ונהורא
They forsook the place of radiance and light,
ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
ואזאל ריהמויא לדאורא באטלא
and went (and) loved the futile home.
ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡋࡉࡅࡕࡀ
שיבקויא להאליותא
They renounced sweetness
ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ
ואזאל מארירותא רהים
and went (and) loved bitterness
ࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ
אזאל רהים מארירותא
They went and loved bitterness,[742]
ࡖࡄࡀࡋࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ
דהאליותא ליתבה
in which there is no sweetness.
ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
שיבקויא ליארדנא דמיא הייא
They forsook the Jordan of the Living Water
ࡍࡎࡁࡅ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ[743]

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[741] ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅࡉࡀ in the other copies.
[742] Lit. "went loving".

ואסגון למיא תאהמיא

and went to the deep waters.

ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

למיא תאהמיא אסגון

They approached the deep waters

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

ואסגון על נורא ד̠יאקדא

and approached the burning fire.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡅ ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

שיבקו לעשאתא האיתא

They forsook the living fire,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ

ואזאל עשאתא עכילתא רהים

and went and adored the consuming fire.

ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡅ[744] ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ריהמו לעשאתא עכילתא

They adored the consuming fire

ࡅࡓࡄࡉࡌࡅ ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

ורהימו לנורא ד̠יאקדא

and adored the burning fire.

ࡄࡀ ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הא הזיא מאנדא ד̠הייא

Yes! Behold Manda d̠-Hiia,

ࡖࡄࡀࡃࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

ד̠האדא עותריא אבאד

that which the *uthras* have done.

ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

---

[743] תהום depth, water of the deep (DJPA, p. 576) מיא חאהמיא trübes Wasser (MG, p. 66). *tahma*: blackish, turbid (MD, p. 477).

[744] ࡓࡉࡄࡌࡉࡀ in BLO 1236: 35v and in BL 23600: 35v.

הזיא דׇאבאד עותריא

Behold that which the uthras have done,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

והואבון האסיר ובציר

and (how) they produced in them(selves) imperfection and deficiency.[745]

ࡍࡉࡃࡉࡄࡀ[746] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ

נידיהא לאלמא ונישיבקהּ

(If) we shake up the world and leave it,

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ

מאן ניהויבון סידרא

who will bring order to them?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ

מאן סידרא ניהויבון

Who will bring order to them?

ࡅࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ומאן ניפארקינון מן האסיר ובציר

and deliver them from flaw and deficiency?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

מאן ניפארקינון מן הוסראנא

Who will deliver them from blunder,

ࡃࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

דׇהינון עבדויא מן נאפשאיהון

which they manufactured by themselves?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡔࡌࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡓࡁࡉࡀ

מאן נאשמינון קאלא דׇרביא

Who will make them hear the voice of the Great [one],

[illegible]

---

[745] The "fall of the uthras" bears traces of the "Fallen Angels and the Giants who were responsible for the corruption of the world before the Flood" mentioned in the Book of Watchers. (See Bauckham, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1985: esp 314)

[746] ࡍࡉࡃࡉࡄࡀ ࡃ in BL 23601: 35r.

ד̲יאתביא בית תושלימא

who sits in the House of Perfection?”

(GRR pp. 89)

◆

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡇ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מאליל ואמארלה̲ הייא

The Life spoke to him,

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

לעותרא זריזא ומזארזא

to the valiant and well-equipped Uthra and said:

ࡋࡀࡅ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

לאו מן קודאם ד̲ניהון עותריא

“Was it not from before the uthras came to being

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ[747] ࡄࡅࡀ ࡍࡑࡅࡁࡀ[748] ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ

אנאת הוא נצובא ניצובתאך

you are the one (whose) plant was planted (or: your creation was completed)[749]

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מן קודאם ד̲ניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* came to being,

ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡊ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ

ד̲קרוך רביא ופאקדוך

the Great One created you and instructed you.

ࡒࡓࡅࡊ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

קרוך ופאקדוך רביא

(The Great One) created you, instructed you,

ࡅࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡊ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡅࡔࡀࡃࡓࡅࡊ

וזארזוך ופאקדוך ושאדרוך

---

[747] Not in BL 23601: 35r and BLO 1236.
[748] Read: ࡍࡑࡉࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀࡊ “your plant is planted”.
[749] Not in BL 23600 35v.

equipped you, commanded you, commissioned you

ࡅࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ[750] ࡑࡁࡅ

ושאלטוך על כול צבו

and made you rule over everything.

ࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

פאקדוך על שכינאתא

He commanded you concerning the *škinas*,

ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̲אתאר כסיא ועל תיריא רורביא

and the great portals of the concealed (or: mystic) place.

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[751] ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ

שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא

He made you rule over the concealed *uthras*,

ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ד̲קאימיא ומשאביא לרורביא

who are standing and praising the Great (ones).

ࡔࡀࡋࡈࡅࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

שאלטוך על יארדנא ד̲רורביא

He made you rule over the Jordan (river) of the Great (ones),

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[752] ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ

ועל מיא הייא וראוזיא

and over the living and vigorous waters.

ࡗ ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̲ פאקיד רורביא

When the Great (ones) ordered,

ࡄࡅࡀ [illegible] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

---

[750] ࡋࡊࡅࡋ in BL 23601 35r, BLO 1236 35r, BL 23600 and BL 23599: 36r.

[751] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ *'utria* eternal beings, spirits of light and life. The *'utria* are the inhabitants of the Ether-World. (for more about the 'utras see SA, Ch. VII pp. 56 ff. and § 2.4.3 above)

[752] ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ *mia hiia* : (*very often*) living (i.e. flowing) water (an expression borrowed from Judaism ?) a gnostic term.

הוא נצאבלאך עותריא

He created *uthras* for you.

ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡀࡊ ࡐࡀࡃࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ[753]

נצאבלאך פאדיבריא

He created messengers for you,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא

the mild and firm *uthras*.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̲ האזא אמארליא הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

ࡎࡉࡂࡃࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕ[754] ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

סיגדית ושאבית לרורביא

I bowed (in worship) and praised the Great ones (or: the Great Life).

ࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

שאביתינון להייא רביא

I praised the Great Life,

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ

ד̲הייא נצאבליא ניצובתא

the Life who planted for me a plant.

ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡑࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ

ניצובתא ד̲הייא נצאבליא

He planted for me a plant of Life

ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ[755]

ועהאבליא אדיאוריא

and provided me with helpers.

---

[753] ࡐࡀࡃࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ pl. *padibra* (< Iranian *paδgām* cf. mod. P. پیغمبر، پیامبر) messenger. (MD p. 260)
[754] ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕ BL 23601.
[755] ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ pl. *adiaura* (M. Prth. Aδyāvar) (a) helper assistant (b) aid, assistance. (MD, p. 7)

ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ[756] ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀࡉ

בארית בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ[757]

במא דהייא עהאבליא

with what the Life bestowed on me.

ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ[758] ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀࡉ

באניבא בתושביהתאי

I shone in my glory

ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

על כול צבו דאתאר כסיא

upon everything in the concealed place.

ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡉࡀ

באניבא בערותיא

I shone in my lustre

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ[759] ࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

ואיניא אזברית על מארדיא

and I raised my eyes to the rebellious.

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

מן קודאם דניהון עותריא

From before the *uthras* appeared (there),

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

אנא אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went to the place of darkness.

ࡏࡋ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible][760]

---

[756] ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ PE. Pf BAR, BHR (בהר ܒܗܪ) to break forth, come to light, shine out, shine forth. (MD, p. 49) ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ not in BL 23600, not in BLO 1236.

[757] this verse is not in BL 23600.

[758] ࡁࡀࡍࡉࡁࡀ *banibh* (var. *baribh*) shone (MD p. 357). *banibh b'rutai = baribh b'rutai.* BL 23600 35v: 21 & BLO 1236: 35v: 21 ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡉࡀ.

[759] ࡏࡉࡍࡀࡉ in BL 23601: 35r and BL 23599: 36v, ࡏࡉࡍࡀ in BL23600: 35v and in BLO 1236: 35v

על ד̱קאיימנא בית הייא

As I stood in the House of Life,

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון למארדיא

I beheld the rebellious.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

הזאיתינון לתיריא השוך

I beheld the portals of darkness.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡒࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

הזאיתה̱ לעומקיא ד̱כולה̱ השוך

I beheld the depths full of darkness.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון להאמבאליא

I beheld the destroyers

[761] ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ

ולמארה̱ ד̱אורא האשכא

and the Lord of the abode of darkness.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון לקאראבתאניא

I beheld the warriors

[762] ࡖࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱בהשוכא מיתקיבריא

who are buried in darkness.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ

הזאיתינון לתיריא יאקדאנא

I beheld the portals of the conflagration,

---

[760] ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ Mesopotamian influence on Mandaean beliefs. The chief temple of Babylon, Esagila, is called '*bīt balāṭi*' "The House of Life": *šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na É-sag-ila, ēkal ilāni bīt balāṭi*) "Cause me to enter into Esagila, the palace of the gods, the House of Life (Langdon, 1923: 143: 25).

[761] This verse not in BL 23601.

[762] Read ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ Ethpa. Pt. QBR: covered, buried.

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ

כד יאקדיא ומהאבאביא

how they burn and blaze.

(GRR p. 90)

ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

יאקדיא ומהאבאביא בישיא

The evil ones burn and blaze

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡌࡉࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ומיתמילכיא על האסיר ובציר

and deliberate upon flaw and imperfection.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ[763] ࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ[764]

הזאיתה להיואת נוקובתא

I beheld Hewath the female,

ࡗ ࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡅࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡀ

כד בהשוכא ובבישותא מיתהאשבא

how she plots in malice in darkness.

ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ

בבישותא מאמלילא

She speaks with evil.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מאמלילא בבישותא

With evil she speaks,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ[765] ࡖ[766] ࡀࡁࡃࡀ

ובהארשיא ופודריא דאבדא

and with witchcraft and sorcery which she practices

---

[763] ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ *hiuat* (Nöld. A fem. of *hiua*, hence ܚܘܝܐ Lidzb. From *hiuia*, pointing to חוות a name of a goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscriptions *Ephemers*. Name of a female demon. *Hiuat nuq(u)bta* (var. *niqubta*) (MD P. 142, see § 2.3.8).

[764] BL 23601 35v: 6 ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ.

[765] ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ pudra witchcraft, spell. AHW *Dict*. 884: dung.

[766] ࡖ not in BL 23601.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡌࡀࡕ ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ[767]

מאמלילא בהוכמאת הרארא

She speaks with the wisdom of an illusionist

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡆࡉࡐࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ

ועל זיפא יאתבא

and sits enthroned in falsehood.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[768]

הזאיתה לתיריא השוך

I beheld the portals of darkness

ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ[769] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ[770] ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ

ולשיריאנא דארקא סיניאויס כד דהון

and the vein (or: stream) of the earth Siniauis, (just) as it was (there)

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

הזאיתינון למיא סיאויא דבגאואיהון

I beheld the black water in it,

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

דסאלקיא וראהתיא ומיתאפכיא

which rose up boiling, seething and bubbling,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

וכול דאריכבון מאיית

and whoever enters there dies,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכול דהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever behold it is scorched.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא

I beheld the dragons,

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[767] ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ hrara (cf. Bibl. – Aram. הרהרין) illusion, delusion (MD. p 152).

[768] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ in BL 23601:35v.

[769] ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ *širiana d-arqa* (lit. "blood vessels of the earth").

[770] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ siniauis : underworld, abode of darkness (Ibid. p. 328).

ࡖࡓࡌࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

ד̲רמין בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא

who were hurled there and writhe about.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון לתאניניא ד̲גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

I beheld the dragons of every kind and every colour.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ[771] ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

הזאיתינון למארכאבאתון ד̲השוכא

I beheld the chariots of (the sons of) darkness,

ࡖࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ[772]

ד̲להדאדיא לאדאמיא

which do not resemble one another.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡊࡖ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

במארכאבאתון כד̲ יאתביא

as they are seated in their chariots.

ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הזאיתינון למארדיא בישיא

I beheld the evil rebels,

ࡊࡖ ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ

כד̲ בזאינא ד̲בישיא מיתלאבשיא

How they are arrayed with weapons of evil.

ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

בזאינא מיתלאבשיא ד̲בישיא

They are arrayed with weapons of evil,

ࡅࡊࡋ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡋ ࡀࡕࡀࡁ ࡊࡍࡁ

---

[771] BL 23600 36r: 13 ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ “the chariots of darkness”.

[772] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀࡍ BL 23601: 35v, BL 23600: 36r and BLO 1236: 36r.

ועל ביש מיתהאשביא על אתאר נהור

and plot evil against the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אנא כד הזאיתינון

I, when I saw them,

ࡏࡄࡉࡃࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ

עהידרית לבית אבו

I turned back towards my father's house.

ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ

לקודאם הייא קאמית

I stood in the presence of the Life

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[773]

ואמארנאלון אנא כד דהזאיתינון

and I told Him as how I beheld them.

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ[774] ࡏࡋ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

ואמארילון על מליך השוכא

I spoke to Him about the king of darkness,

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ואמארילון לדה ודה

and I spoke to Him about all and sundry.

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡆࡉࡕ ࡋࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡕ

כד דהזית לקודאם הייא אמרית

What I beheld, I said it in the presence of the Life.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

אנא האיזין עיאסגיא להאך דוכתא

"How can I go to that place;

ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

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[773] BL 23600 36r: 17 & BLO 1236: 36r: 17 ࡖࡄࡆࡉࡕ

[774] ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ BL 23601.

לאתאר דהשוכא

to the place of darkness

ࡅࡁࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡑࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ

ובהשוכא דעוצבא דנהורא ליתבה

and into the darkness which has no glimmer of light.

ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

על שיריאנא דמיא דארקא דהשוכא

To the vein (or: stream) of water of the earth of darkness

ࡖࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ

דראהתיא וסאלקיא ומיתאפכיא

which is boiling, seething and bubbling

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

וכול דאריכבון מאיית

Whoever enters there dies,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכול דהאזילון מיתיקליא

and whoever beholds it is scorched.”

ࡏࡎࡀࡒ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓ

עסאק לרביא עמאר

Let me rise and ask the Great (Life):

(GRR p. 91)

ࡖࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

דמנא השוכא הוא

“Whence is the darkness?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

מנא הוא השוכא

Whence is the darkness

ࡅࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡄ

ומנא הון דאיאריא דעתבה

and whence are its inhabitants, who sit in it?

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

מנא האויאן עבידאתון

Whence are their deeds,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡅࡌࡃࡀࡄࡋࡄ

ד̲האזין סאינה̲ ומדאהלה̲

which are so repulsive and dreadful.

[775]ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ

מנא הוא הוסראנון

Whence is their deficiency,

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ

ד̲האזין נפיש

which is so far-reaching?

ࡄࡆࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡌࡃࡅࡄࡋࡀ

הזותה̲ סאינא ומדוהלא

Its appearance is so ugly and appalling,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ

ד̲כולה̲ הראריא

as it is full with delusions.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡒࡀࡒࡉࡀ

כולה̲ מליא הקאקיא

It is full with cracks.

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מנא הון בוריא דורביא בישיא

Whence are the mighty, evil monsters

[776]ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

ד̲עתבה̲ ביאקדאנא יאתביא

who sit (or: live) in the glowing fire?

---

[775] ࡅࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡆࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡌࡃࡅࡄࡋࡀ not in BL 23600 36v: 3 & BLO 1236: 36v: 3.

[776] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡍ in BL 23601

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ
מנא בון מיא סיאויא
Whence are the black waters,
ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡓࡀࡄࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡐࡊࡉࡀ
דַהאיזין ראהתיא ומיתפכיא
which boil and bubble?
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡃࡀࡓࡉࡊࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ
דַכול דַדאריכבון מאיית
Whoever enters them, dies,
ࡅࡊࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ
וכל דַהאזילון מיתיקליא
and whoever beholds them is scorched.
ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡉࡀ
מנא הון תאניניא
Whence are the dragons,
ࡖࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ
דַרמון בגאואיהון ומיתאפכיא
which are cast therein and writhe about?
ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ
מנא הון מארכאבאתון
Whence are their chariots,
ࡅࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡁࡅࡍ
ומנא הון בישיא דַעתבון
and whence are the wicked ones who are seated in them?
ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ
מנא הואת היואת ניקובתא
Whence is Hiwat Niqubta[777]
ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

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[777] Hiwat the female: name of a female demon sometimes assotiated with the queen of Darkness "Rūha" (see §2.3.9).

דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא וזניא

which is of every kind and variety?"

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ[778] ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד האיזין עמרית קודאם הייא

When I spoke thus in the presence of the Life,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡀࡓ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡎࡀࡓ

הייא אבאהאתאי מיתאר עתאר ולאהסאר

the Life, my Father, became surpassingly rich without lacking

ࡌࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מידא יאדין הייא

The Life is well informed.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡅࡔࡉࡃࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡍ

הייא יאדין ושידקא נאטרין

The Life is well informed but kept his silence.

ࡌࡉࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

מידא יאדין הייא ואמריליא

The Life is well informed, then He said to me:

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אתא דנאפרישאך מאנדא דהייא

"Come in order that we may explain to you Manda d-Hiia;

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *Uthra*.

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

מן קודאם דניהון אלמיא כולהון

Before all the worlds came into being,

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡊࡉࡃࡀ ࡃࡃࡀ ࡄࡀ

---

[778] ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ not in BL 23600 36v: 10 & BLO 1236: 36v: 10.

האזין פירא רבא הוא
there was this great Fruit.
ࡗ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[779]
כ̱ד הוא פירא רבא בגו פירא רבא
When the great Fruit was in the great Fruit,
ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ
הוא מאלכא רבא ד̱נהורא ד̱עקארא
the great glorious King of Light came into being.
ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ
מן מאלכא ד̱נהורא ד̱עקארא
From the great glorious King of Light
ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
איאר זיוא רבא הוא
the great radiant Ayar - Ayar Ziwa Rba - came into being,
ࡅࡌࡍ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
ומן איאר זיוא רבא
and from the great radiant Ayar
ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
הואת עשאתא האיתא
the Living Fire came into being.
ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
מן עשאתא האיתא נהורא הוא
From the Living Flame, there was Light,
ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
ובהאילא ד̱מאלכא ד̱נהורא
and by the might of the King of Light,
ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
הייא ופירא רבא הוא

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[779] ࡓࡁࡀ not in BL 23601.

the Life and the great Fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

הוא פירא רבא

The great Fruit came into being

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ

והואבה יארדנא

and in it the Jordan came into being.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

הוא יארדנא רבא

A great Jordan came into being,

ࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

והון מיא הייא

and the Living Water came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ

הון מיא עריא וראוזיא

Radiant and resplendent water was brought into being.

(GRR p. 92)

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מן מיא הייא

From the Living Water

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ

אנין הייא הואינין

I, the Life, came into being

ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

הואינין אנין הייא

I, the Life, came into being,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

האיזאך כולהון עותריא הון

then all the *uthras* came into being."

࡞

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ

אנא קודאם הייא עמרית

I spoke before the Life and said:

ࡊࡃ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ

כד̲ אנאתון הייא הואיתון

"Since you, Life, were there,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ[780] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ

האיזאך השוכא האיזין הוא

then how did darkness come into being (there)?

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

האיזין הוא השוכא

How did darkness come into being,

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

האיזין הוא האסיר ובציר

(and) how did imperfection and deficiency come into being?"

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̲ האיזין אמארילון הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

בטאבותא הון הייא

the Life became full of bounty.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

הייא הון בטאבותא

The Life became full of bounty

ࡅࡋࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ולמאנדא ד̲הייא אמריא

---

[780] not in BL 23601.

and said to Manda d̲-Hiia:
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
אנאת עותרא זריזא
“You are the valiant *uthra*,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ
עותרא זריזא ומזארזא
the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡆࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕ
אנאת עותרא זרזא לאיאדית
know you not, valiant *uthra*,
ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ
לאיאדית השוכא האיזין הוא
know you not how darkness came into being.
ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
האיזין הוא השוכא
How darkness came into being,
ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
והאיזין הוא האסיר ובציר
and how imperfection and deficiency occurred?”

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כד̠ האיזין אמארליא הייא
When the Life said thus to me,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡋࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡌࡀࡓ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀ
אנא עשתאלטית מימאר כד̠ ד̠הוא
I was allowed to tell how it was.
ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ
עמרית להייא רביא
I spoke to the Great Life

ࡅࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ולהייא ד̱מן לא קאדמיא הון

and to the Life who existed since eternity,

ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ

עו אנא לאעמרית עלה̱

If I were not (allowed) to speak about it,

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לאהוית אנא מן רורביא

I should not (have) belonge(ed) to the Great ones.

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כ̱ד אנא הוית מן רביא

(But) since I came into being from the Great One,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡗ[781] ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ

הייא הינון ד̱אפרישוליא כ̱ד ד̱הואת

the Life himself explained to me how it was.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡅࡍ[782]

הייא בראבותון אמריליא בתושביהתון

The Life in his greatness and glory spoke to me:

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

"We authorize you valiant *uthra*;

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותריא זריזא ומזארזא

the well armed and better equipped *uthra*,

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ

שאליטנאך עותריא זריזא

we authorize you, valiant *uthra*,

[illegible] ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ

---

[781] ࡗ not in BL 23601.

[782] ࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ *tušbihta* (rt. ŠBH) praise, glory (MD, p. 484).

למימאר כד דהואת

to speak of how it was,

ࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡃ ࡃࡄࡅࡀࡕ[783]

לאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא כד דהואת

to explain to the concealed *uthras* how it was,

ࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡃ ࡃࡄࡅࡀࡕ[784]

לאפרישינון לכולהון בהיריא כד דהואת

to explain to the chosen ones how they came into being,

ࡊࡃ ࡃࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

כד דהון עותריא דאתאר כסיא

(and) how the *uthras* of the hidden place came into being."

◆

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד האיזין אמארליא הייא

When the Life spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡃࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא מאלאלית בתושביהתא דרורביא

I cheered with praise of the Great Ones,

ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

בהאדותא דהייא רביא

with the bliss of the Great Life,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

במא דהייא אמארליא

with what the Life said to me:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנאת עותרא קום אזיל לבית רביא

"You, Uthra, rise and depart to the Great House,

[illegible]

---

[783] ࡊࡃ ࡃࡄࡅࡀࡕ not in BL 23601.

[784] Read ࡃࡄࡅࡍ "how they came into being" in BL 23601: 36v and BL 23600: 37r.

ד̱וכתא ד̱יאתביא רורביא

the place where the Great Ones dwell,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ד̱נימארלאך על דה̱ וד̱ה̱

in order to tell you about all and sundry."

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא אסגית לבית רורביא

I went to the house of the great ones,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

דוכתא ד̱יאתביא רביא

the place where the great ones dwell,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡕࡉࡌ ࡔࡓࡉࡍ

דוכתא ד̱טאביא האתים שרין

the place where the virtuous dwell.

(GRR p. 93)

ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

קאמית קודאמאיהון אנא בית ד̱עמארלון

(As) I stood before them, I wanted to ask them:

ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡀ

כד̱ ד̱הואת מן לאקאדמיא

"How did the first beginning take place?"

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

כד̱ אנא בית עמארלון

As soon as I was saught to address them,

[illegible]

הינון האנאנון ונישקון
they embraced me, kissed me,
ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ
וקאימון באתראי ואמריא
and seated me in my place and said:
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא
“We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa;
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ[785]
עותרא ניהא ומקאימיא
gentle and confirmed Uthra.
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡊࡁࡀࡓ[786] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
שאליטנאך כבאר זיוא
We authorize you Kbar-Ziwa,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ
עותרא מקאיים ראהמה̱
the *Uthra* who sustains his friends,
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא
we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ
עותרא זריזא ומקאימא
the well equipped and confirmed *Uthra*,
ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡍࡀࡊ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ
שאליטנאך עותרא זריזא
we authorize you valiant *Uthra*,
ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡀࡓ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ
למימאר כד̱ ד̱הואת

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[785] In BL 23600 37r: 22 & BLO 1236: 37r: 22 ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ
[786] *kbar* (rt. KBR) a name given to higher beings.

to speak of how it took place,
ࡋࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡉࡀ
למאפרישינון לעותריא כאסייא
and to explain to the concealed *uthras*.
ࡗ ࡕࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡕࡓࡀ
כד̲ תיזאל להאך דוכתא ואתרא
When you go to that location and place,
ࡕࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡀࡊ
תאפרישינון לראהמאך
you shall explain it to your friends,
ࡕࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ
תאפרישינון לבהיריא זידקא
You shall explain it to the righteous elect,
ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡉࡀࡌࡍࡉࡀ
גובריא כשיטיא ומהיאמניא
the true and faithful men.
ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ
ד̲נימארלאך על דמותא עקארא
We shall speak with you concerning the glorious “Form”.
ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ
ד̲האיזין מיצרא לנהורה̲ לאהואלה̲
There is no boundary for its light.
ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
לאהואלה̲ מיצרא לנהורא
There is no boundary for the light,
ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡀࡅࡃࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡀ
ולאעתאודא עמאת הוא
and it was not known when it came into being.
ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
לאהוא כד̲ ד̲לאהוא נהורא

Nothing existed when there was no light,

ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ[787]

ולאהוא כד̱ ד̱לאהוא זיוא הוא

and nothing existed when there was no radiance.

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לאהוא כד̱ ד̱לאהון רורביא

Noting existed when there were no Great Ones.

ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡄ

מיצרא לנהורא לאהואלה̱

There never was a boundary for light.

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

לאהוא כד̱ לאהואן מיא

Nothing existed when there was no water;

ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡉࡀ

מיא מן השוכא מקאשאשיא

water is prior to darkness.

ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

מיא מקאשאשיא מן השוכא

Prior to the darkness is water:

ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ליכא ד̱סאכא ליתלה̱

there is nothing without end,

ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ[788] ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ

וליתלה̱ מיניאנא ד̱נימארלאך

and there is no reckoning of which we (could) say to you,

ࡊࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

כמא הוא כד̱ ד̱לאהון עותריא

---

[787] In BL 23600 37v: 2 ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ "and nothing was when radiance did not yet exist and appear."

[788] *miniana*: number, count, enumeration, summing up, reckoning (MD p. 268).

how it was when the *uthras* were not yet there."

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ

עותריא מן השוכא מקאשישיא

The *uthras* are prior to the darkness,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

עותריא מקאשישיא מן השוכא

prior to the darkness are the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡀࡉࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡁࡄ

ומקאשישיא מן דאיאריא דבה

and more ancient than its inhabitants.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[789]

קאשיש טאבותא מן בישותא דאתאר השוך

Goodness is prior to the wickedness of the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡓࡉࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

קאשיש ניהותא מן מרידותא דאתאר השוך

Tranquility is prior to the rebellion of the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

קאשיש עשאתא האיתא

The living fire is prior to

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן עשאתא עכילתא דאתאר השוך

the consuming fire of the Place of Darkness,

(GRR p. 94)

ࡅࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ

וקאשיש תושביהתא

and praise is prior

ࡌࡍ [illegible]

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[789] In BL 23599 38v: 12 & BL 23601 37r: 12 ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡃࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ is not found.

מן הארשיא ופודריא ד̱בניא בישא ד̱אבדיא

to witchcraft and sorcery, which the sons of evil practice.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡀ

קאשיש יארדנא תליתאיא

The Third Jordan is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן מיא אכליא ד̱אתאר השוך

to the devouring waters of the place of darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡎࡉࡁࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡇ ࡅࡃࡇ

קאשיש סיברותא מן דה̱ ודה̱

Faith is prior to this or that,

ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ד̱בישיא אבדיא ד̱אתאר השוך

which the wicked ones of the Place of Darkness practice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ

קאלא ד̱עותריא קאשיש

The call of the *uthras* is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מן בישיא רורביא ד̱אתאר השוך

to that of the powerful wicked ones of the Place of Darkness.

◆

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ

אמארנאלאך על קאדמאיא

We told you about the First,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱נימארלאך על תיניאנא האזין הון

in order that we shall tell you about the Second, how they came into being.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡀ

קאשיש כורסיא ד̱ניהא

The throne of rest is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ

מן כורסיא מארדא

to the throne of rebellion.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ[790] ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ

קאשישיא דראשיא וסידריא

Hymns and liturgies are prior

ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡃࡀࡄࡋࡀ

מן הארשיא ד̲היואת נוקובתא ד̲מדאהלא

to the witchcraft of Hiwath, the woman who terrifies.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡀ

קאשיש כאנא ד̲איאר סאגיא

The *kanna* (receptacle) of *Ayar-Sagia* “Abounding-Ether” is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ[791] ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

מן מימרא ד̲רוהא אמרא

to the talk which Rūha speaks.

◆

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

אמארנאלאך על תיניאנא

We informed you about the Second,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡖ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ

ד̲נימארלאך על תליתאייא כד̲ ד̲הון

in order that we shall tell about the Third parties, when they came into being.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[792]

קאשיש בהאק זיוא

Bhaq-Ziwa is prior

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[790] ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ not in BL 23599 38v: 21 & BL 23601 37r: 23.

[791] ࡓࡅࡄࡀ *rūha*: evil spirit, the goddess (queen) of the underworld, the breath of Physical Life. *Rūha* is also the mother of the malignant zodiac spirits and of the planets (See above §2.3.9).

[792] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡒ Bhaq-Ziwa : Abathur; the Third Life, the Father of the uthras . He is the Father of Ptahil; the Demiurge and the Fourth Life (see § 2. 2. 5).

ࡌࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ
מן רוהא כד דהואת
to Rūha when she came into being.

ࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
האשאבתא דעותריא כולהון
The design of all the *uthras*

ࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ[793]
קאשאשא מן קאלא דמארדא
is prior to the call of rebellion.

ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡔࡀࡔ
מיצרא דטאביא קאשאש
The boundary of the good is prior

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ
מן מארא דכולה אתאר השוך
to the lord of the whole place of darkness.

ࡒࡀࡔࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡒࡀ
קאשיש בהיריא זידקא
The chosen righteous are prior

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ
מן קיריאתא כולהון דהשוכא כד דהאוין
to all the creatures of darkness when they came into being."

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[793] The idea of rebels who are subdued by "Manda d-Hiia" is common in Mandaean writings. The following passage describes the conflict between Light and Darkness, the main Gnostic principle in the Mandaean belief. It also refers to Yōšamin's "the Second Life" revolt against his father, "the Life" :
"From the day when the Evil one began to think , the evil was molded in him. He was angry in a great anger and made war with the Light. The Messenger was sent out to tread down the power of the Rebels." (*Draša dYahya* 'The Book of John" p. 48 = Lidzbarski's manuscript, *Das Johannesbuch* p. 51) The text:
[illegible]
[illegible]

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ[794]

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רביא

When the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡖࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רורביא אבאהאתאי ד̱ניצבון

when the Great Ones, my ancestors, who fashioned me, spoke thus to me,

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ האיזין אמארליא רביא

when the Great One spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ

אנא פירשית מן עוצראי

I understood it in my mind.

ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ[795]

כד̱ מן עוצראי פירשית

When I understood it in my mind,

ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱אמארלון השוכא האיזין הוא

I spoke to Him: “How was the darkness formed?

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

האיזין הוא השוכא

How was the darkness formed,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡕࡂࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ומן מאהו עתגביל מן דוכתה̱

and from what was it formed in its place?

ࡗ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡁࡉࡀ

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[794] Not in BL 23600: 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

[795] ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ ࡐࡉࡓࡔࡉࡕ not in BL 23599 39r: 7 & BL 23601 37v: 8 . ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉ not in BL 23600 38r & BLO 1236: 38r.

כד̲ רביא אנאתון בהיריא
Since you are the Great Chosen ones,
ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋ
השוכא אלמא לא באטיל
why does the darkness not disappear?
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
אלמא לא באטיל השוכא
Why does the darkness not disappear
ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡄࡉࡑ ࡐࡀࡎࡅࡌࡊࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ועתירהיץ פאסומכא מן ריש בריש
and the beams of light are set in perfection?"

(GRR p. 95)

◆

ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ
מן קודאם ד̲אנא לרביא עמארלון
Just before I spoke to the Great (Life),
ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ
הינון רביא אמארליא
the Great (one) spoke to me,
ࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡃࡉࡓࡀ
יא עותרא סדירא
"Behold, the well-ordered Uthra,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡃࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡎࡀࡃࡓࡀ
עותרא סדירא ומסאדרא
the well-ordered and perfect Uthra,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[796] ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ[797] ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ
עותרא מקאיים ראהמה̲

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[796] ࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ in BL 23600: 38r.
[797] ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ BL 23600 38r: 8, BL 23601 37v: 14 & BLO 1236: 38r: 8 .

the Uthra who sustains his friends.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ

טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness

ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

לאהואבה האסיר ובציר

suffers no flaw or defect.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ

טאבא בטאבותה

The good one in his goodness,

ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ[798] ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

מקאיים מן ריש בריש

is confirmed for eternity.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡔࡉࡓࡔࡉࡀ

טאבא בטאבותה שירשיא

The roots of the good in his goodness

ࡍࡉࡑࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ניצבא מן דוכתה

are implanted in their place.

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡉࡀࡒࡉࡃ

טאבא בזיוה יאקיד

The good is ardent in his radiance.

ࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡏࡉࡀ[799] ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מיא כסיעיא בלבושאיהון

The waters are concealed by their garments.

ࡐࡅࡂࡃࡀࡌࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡊࡎࡉࡏࡉࡀ[800]

פוגדאמא כסייא כסיעיא

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[798] Read : ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡅࡌ BL 23600 38r: 10 & BL 23601 37v: 16.
[799] ࡊࡎࡉࡀ BL 23601, ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ BL 23600.
[800] ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ ࡃ ࡊࡎࡉࡉࡀ BL 23600.

The hidden words are concealed
ࡅࡍࡈࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
ונטיריא בסידראיהון
and preserved in their liturgies.
ࡌࡉࡀ[801] ࡁࡒࡉࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡁࡉࡀ
מיא בקירא לארביא
As water mixes not with pitch,
ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ
השוכא בנהורא לאמיתימניא
Darkness is not reckoned with Light.
ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
לאמיתימניא השוכא בנהורא
Not reckoned Darkness with Light,
ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ
ולאמאנהאר דאורא האשכא
and the dark abode is not illuminated.
ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡊࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ
דאורא האשכא לא מאנהאר
The abode of darkness is not illuminated,
ࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ
ומיא תאהמיא לא ראוזיא
and the stagnant waters does not shine.
ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
מיתאר תאר השוכא
Darkness expanded
ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡀࡓࡉࡀ[802] ࡌࡉࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ
ודאיאריא מיגבאל גבאל
and its inhabitants were formed.

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[801] ࡌࡉࡀ ࡊ BL 23600.
[802] ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡀࡓࡄ in BL 23600.

ࡌࡉࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

מיגבאל גבאל השוכא

The darkness was formed,

ࡗ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ ࡀࡉࡀࡊ ࡌࡍࡀࡎࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

כד̱ גבאל איאך מנאסיא האילה̱

(and) as soon as it was formed, it tested its strength.

ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ

בבישותא ד̱מהאשיב

Because of the evil which possessed its mind,

ࡄࡅ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡕࡀࡓ

הו בכאנא ד̱נאפשה̱ מיסתאר

it is confined in its own *kanna* “receptacle”,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ[803]

וכולהון עבידאתה̱ באטלא

and all its works are void.

ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ[804] ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

באטליא בניא השוכא

The sons of darkness are void,

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ומיתקאימיא בניא רורביא

but the sons of the great ones are established.

ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

באטלא ד̱בישיא באיתא

The house of the evil ones is void,

ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ

ודאיכא עשאתא אכלא

and the devouring fire is extinguished.

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[803] In BL 23600 38r: 16 & BLO 1236: 38r: 16 there is ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀࡍ

[804] In BL 23600 38r: 20 & BLO 1236: 38r: 20 there is ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡉࡀ

הארשאיון מאיתיא ודאיכיא

Their spells will die and disappear,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡀࡅ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡃࡉࡌ[805]

אמינטול ד̱לאו מן קדים

because they did not exist from the beginning.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡎࡉࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ[806]

הון עבידאתון מיסיף סאיפיא

Their deeds will come to an end,

ࡅࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ושורבאתא ד̱הייא מיתקאימיא מן ריש בריש

but the family of the Life remains established for ever and ever.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

האויא שותא האיתא

The living doctrine is existing

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאנהיראלא לדאורא באטלא

and enlightening the perishable abode.

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ האזא אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) thus spoke to me,

ࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡉ ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

תריץ ליבאי על סאמכה̱

I regained my confidence (lit: my heart set up on its support).

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא בהאילאיהון ד̱רביא

---

[805] ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ "aforetime" in BL 23600.

[806] Read ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ Inf. SUP to end, finish, cease, vanish etc.(MD, p. 323). ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ in BL 23601. ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ in BL 23600.

I, by the strength of the Great One,

(GRR p. 96)

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

מאלאלית ועמרית ושאבית לרורביא

spoke to the Great Ones, praised them, and said to them:

ࡊࡃ ࡁࡃࡉࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

כד̱ בדילכון טאביא לאהואתון בישותא

“Since you, in your goodness, did not produce evil in them,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

אנא האיזין עזאל להאך דוכתא

then why should I go to that place?”

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓ

כד̱ האיזין בית ד̱עמאר

When I wanted to speak,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

הייא רביא אמריליא

the Great Life said to me:

ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡍࡕࡀ[807] ࡁࡉࡈࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡍࡀ[808]

באטינתא ביטנאת בתאנינא

“The pregnant became pregnant with the Second,

ࡒࡅࡌ[809] ࡄࡅࡕࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קום הותלה̱ לאלמא

Rise, descend to the world.

ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

בהאילאך דילאך ניהון עותריא

By your strength, *uthras* will come into being,[810]

---

[807] ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡍࡕࡀ not in BL 23600 38v: 3 & BLO 1236: 38v: 3.

[808] The Second Life ‘Yōšamin’ became obsessed with the thought of a second creation.

[809] ࡒࡉࡀࡌࡕ in BL 23601.

ࡅࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ובערותאך ניתקאימון רורביא

and by your splendour the Great Ones will be established."

࡞

ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ

רביא בראבותון

The Great One, in his greatness,

ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡏࡄࡉࡁࡋࡉࡀ

אנפיש זיוא עהיבליא

bestowed on me an overflowing radiance.

ࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

אנפיש עהאבליא זיוא

He bestowed on me an overflowing radiance

ࡅࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ

ואנפיש נהורא

and ample light.

ࡀࡋࡅࡉࡍ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡅࡕࡀ

אלוין עהאבליא זאכותא

He provided me with victory,

ࡃࡌࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡎࡍࡉࡀ[811]

דמנאטראליא מן כול סניא

which preserves me from every hateful thing.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

עהאבליא לבושא רבא

He gave me a great attire,

ࡃࡀࡍࡐࡉࡔ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[810] Another translation: "By your strength, uthras will calm down" since ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ is Impf. of HUA and also of NHA (=NUH) to calm, to ease, to rest. (MD, pp. 290 and 293) The second translation is more likely because Manda d̲-Hiaa "Gnosis of Life" is a messenger of the World of Light and not a creator.

[811] ࡃ ࡎࡍࡉࡀ in BL 23601, in BL 23600.

דַנפיש וסאכא ליתלהַ

which was so extensive and without limit,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ושאוין רבא מן ריש בריש

and made me great for ever and ever.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

עהאבליא מארגנא דַמיא הייא

He gave me the *margna* (staff) of the Living Water,

ࡂࡀࡅࡀࡆࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡀࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

גאואזא מיתכאבשאבהַ מארדיא

gauaza (a rod) wherewith the rebels are laid low.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

עהאבליא כליל עשאתא האיתא

He gave me the crown of the Living Flame,

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ[812] ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ

דַשאניא ומאנהאר מן כול דמו

which is so wonderful and lucid more than any likeness.

ࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡅࡕࡅࡍ

זארזון במזארזותון

He equipped me with his armor,

ࡅࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

והאנאנון ונישקון כַדַ רורביא

then embraced me and kissed me like the Great Ones.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

אמאריליא עזאל על מארדיא דַהשוכא

He said to me: "March against the rebels of darkness

ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

דַעלאן לביש מיתהאשביא

---

[812] ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡀࡉ in BL 23600 and BL 23601.

who think out evil designs against us.

ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מיתהאשביא בבישותא

They ponder evil,

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ[813]

בישא ניסתאר בכאנא

and the Evil conceals Himself in his place,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀࡊ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ

ומן מינילתאך דילאך לאתיהויא עלה̱

and none of your own words will reach him."

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡊࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡍࡉࡎࡀࡒ

אמריליא טאבא כטאבותה̱ ניסאק

He said to me: "The good, through his virtues, will rise

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ניהזיא לאתאר נהור

and see the place of Light.

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡓࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

בישא בבישותא ניסרא לתיריא השוך

The evil, through his evilness, will be hurled down to the doors of Darkness.

ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡏࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ

מיקריא קרעייא קאלא

Voices are proclaimed aloud

ࡅࡌࡉࡄࡔࡉࡁ ࡄࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ[814]

ומיהשיב השיביא מאמלאליא כולהון

and all words are reckoned.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ

אתיא הדא קאלא

One voice comes

---

[813] ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡄ ࡁࡀࡍࡀࡔࡉࡄ in BL 23600 38v: 13 & BLO 1236: 38v: 13.

[814] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ not in BL 23601.

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על קאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all voices.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ[815] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

אתיא הדא מאמלא

One word comes

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and instructs concerning all the words.

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ[816] ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

אתא הדא גאברא ומאפריש על דה ודה

One Man comes and instructs concerning all and sundry (or: concerning everyone)."

(GRR p. 97)

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד האיזן אמארליא רביא

When the Great (Life) spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

אנא בהאילאיהון אסגית לאתאר השוך

I went by his power to the place of darkness,

ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ[817] ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

לאתאר דשרין בישיא

To the place where the wicked ones dwell,

ࡅࡋࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡉࡀ

ולדאורא דכולה האמבאליא

and to the dwelling which is full of destroyers.

ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡖࡕࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ

---

[815] not in BL 23600.
[816] Read ࡄࡃ
[817] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓࡀ in BL 23600: 38v.

לאתאר ד̱תאנאניא

To the place of the dragons,

ࡅࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ

ולדוגיא ד̱עשאתא אכלא

and to the furnaces of the consuming flames.

ࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ[818] ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ

לדוגיא ד̱נורא

To the furnaces of fire,

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ[819] ࡀࡋࡅࡊࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡑࡉࡀ ࡓࡒࡏࡉࡀ[820]

ד̱סאליק אלוכין מאטיא מיציא רקעיא

whose flames ascend (and) reach the middle of the firmament.

ࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

עזלית ואשכיתינון

I descended and found them,

ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

לבוריא מארדיא ד̱השוכא

the rebellious monsters of darkness.

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

ועזלית ואשכיתינון

I descended and found them,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡍ

ד̱כולהון בבישותא מיתהאשבין

as all of them were plotting in wickedness.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

קאימיא ומיתהאשביא בבישותא

Standing and plotting in wickedness,

ࡋࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡄࡓࡀ ࡎࡅࡌࡒࡀ

---

[818] ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡉࡀ in BL 23601.

[819] In BL 23599 40r: 9 & BL 23601 38v: 7 ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡋ is found. In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ is found.

[820] In BL 23600 38v: 25 & BLO 1236: 38v: 22 ࡓࡒࡉࡀ is found.

וקאימיא וזאינא האשליא

and standing and forging weapons.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ

קאימיא והאשליא זאינא

Standing and forging weapons

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[821] ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

ועל טאביא לביש מיתהאשביא

and plotting evil against the good ones.

ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

מיתהאשביא בבישותא

Plotting in wickedness,

ࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡀࡋࡊࡉࡀ

וביהדאדיא מיתמאלכיא

and taking counsel with each other.

ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡀࡋࡊࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

מיתמאלכיא ביהדאדיא ואמריא

They take counsel with each other and say:

ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡀ

מיאכא אלמא הורינא

“Is there any other being

ࡃࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ[822]

דַפאליג פלוגתא באלמאן

who (wants to) carry out a division among our world?

ࡏ ࡀࡊࡀ ࡃࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ

עו אכא דַגאביר מינאן

If there is anyone mightier than us,

ࡍࡉࡂࡁࡀࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡉࡐࡋࡅࡂ

---

[821] In BL 23600 39r: 1 & BLO 1236: 39r: 1 ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ.

[822] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ BL 23600 39r: 3 & BLO 1236: 39r: 3.

ניקום מינה̱ ניפדאר

we shall rise and fight him.

ࡅࡍࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

ונהזיא ד̱מנא הוא

and find out who he is,

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מנא הוא דאורא ואלמא

and where is his abode and the world (he belongs to).

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡊࡅࡋࡇ

באיתא האזין דילאן הו כולה̱

This house belongs entirely to us,

ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡁࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

וליתבא פלוגתא באלמאן

and there will be no dissension in our world.

ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מיאכא ד̱נפיש האילאיון מן בוריא

Is there anyone whose strength is greater than (that of) the monsters?

ࡅࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ

וליכא ד̱נפיש האילאיון

No, there is no one whose strength is greater.

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ

מן מאלאכיא ד̱אתראן

than (that of) the Angels of our place."

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡍ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡉࡍ[823]

כולהון האישין ובאהשין

All of them ponder and seek,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכולהון ביהדאדיא מיתיקליא

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[823] ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡉࡀ in BL 23600.

and they are inflamed against one another.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡀࡔࡕࡀ[824] ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

רוהא קאדאשתא עוצרא נכילא ד̲כאדבא

Rūha Qadašta's mind is cunning and (full) of lies.

ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡀ

ד̲כאדבא עוצרא נכילא

(full) of lies and deceitful is her mind,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ

ד̲כולה̲ הארשיא מליא

which is completely full of sorcery.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ

כולה̲ מליא הארשיא ומליא פודריא והוכומתא

She is completely full of sorcery, full of witchcraft and (false) wisdom.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡕ[825] ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀ

יאתבא היואת ניקובתא רוהא והומרא

Hiwath the Female, Rūha sits there with her *humurtas* (female spirits),

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[824] ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡀࡔࡕࡀ *Rūha Qadašta* , lit. "Holy Spirit", one of Rūha's epithets, a devalued Christian "Holy Ghost". In the Mandaean literature *Rūha* as a fallen wisdom figure resembles Sophia (Wisdom) in other Gnostic traditions. However, *Qadishtu* is an Akkadian name meaning Sacred women. In Babylon they were known as Ištaritu – women of Ištar. In (GRR f. 31v: 19) she is *Rūha d̲-Qudša* whose name is Libat-Ištar-Amamit ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡓ ࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡕ . *Rūha* is the daughter of Qin, she was married to her brother Gaf. She was taken to the upper world by Hibil-Ziwa, and brought the monster-child 'Ur to birth. She became 'Ur's paramour, and had by him two sets of children, the seven planets and the twelve Houses of the Zodiac. (see above §2.3.9).

[825] *Hiwat* or *Hivat* Lidzbarski from *hiuia*, pointing to חות as a name of the goddess of the underworld in Carthaginian inscription (MD p. 142). Cf. רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכרא "the lady Hebat (i.e. the Hurrian goddess H̱epat), the goddess queen of Išẖara. Also Hewwat the goddess (See G. Levi Della Vida, "A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?", JAOS, vol. 68, No. 3, 1948, pp. 148-149). A Hurrian rock relief (mid-thirteenth cent. B.C.) shows the great queen Puduhepa pouring libation to Hepat (Alexander, JNES, vol. 36, No. 3, (1977) pp. 199-207, esp. 199). Mountain gods and goddesses were commonly worshiped in Anatolia and Syria. At Yazili Kaya, the goddess Hipat stands on an animal, standing itself on blocks suggesting mountains, while her consort Teshub stands on the necks of two mountain-gods (Barnett, "A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque", Anatolian Studies, vol. 3, (1980), pp. 169-178, esp. p. 177). H̱epat is a Hurrian goddess, the consort of the weather god Teshub. She was called Queen of Heaven and was assimilated by the Hittites to their national goddess, the sun goddess of Arinna. Teshub and Hebat had cult centres at Kummanni (classical Comana Cappadociae) and at Aleppo (Halab) and other cities in the region of the Taurus Mountains. (http://www.britannica.com/eb/topic-258989/article-9039751).

ࡗ ࡂࡃࡅࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡀࡌࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ

כד̠ גדולא ברישא אמסאתרא

whist she tears out the locks of her head.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡅࡀࡁࡃࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

יאתבא ואבדא הארשיא ד̠כאדבא

She sits there and practices false magic.

ࡄࡏ ࡅࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡃࡓࡀ

הע וכומרא ובהוכומתא האדרא

She and her *kumras* (amulet spirits) are indulged in (fake) wisdom.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡄࡔࡀ

כד̠ האישא ובאהשא

How she ponders and seeks,

(GRR p. 98)

ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡍࡃࡉࡃࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

ומראנדידאבון בהארשיא ד̠כאדבא

she disturbs them with false magic.

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡁࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

ומאסבא בהארשיא בישיא

And is possessed by evil sorceries,

ࡖࡄࡏ[826] ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡂࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀ

ד̠הע בגאואיהון מגאלאלא

in which she is involved.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡓࡀࡍࡃࡉࡃࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ

כד̠ האישיא ומתראנדידאבון בהארשיא

How she ponders and is aroused by sorcerers,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

רוהא עדאת על דה̠ ודה̠

Rūha perceived this and that.

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[826] ࡖࡄࡀ BLO 1236: 39r: 15.

ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ

לרוהא מאן אמארלא

As for Rūha – who told her?

ࡋࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀ

להאסירתא ובצירתא מאן אפרישא

The faulty and deficient one – who gave her instructions?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ

מאן אפרישא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar,

ࡋࡍࡅࡒࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡏࡌࡄ ࡖࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

לנוקובתא עמה̱ ד̱בורא נאפלא

the female, the mother of the base monster?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡀࡐࡓࡀࡔࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ

מאן אפראשא לכאדאבתא

Who instructed the liar

ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀ

ד̱גאבאר נוכראיא אסגיא לכא

about the Strange Man who came hither?

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡄࡏ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

קאמאת כאדאבתא הע והומרא כולהון

The liar ascended with all her *humrtas*,

ࡀࡕࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אתאת ואשכיתינון

she came and found them,

ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

לבורא רורביא כ̱ד יאתביא

the great monsters as they sit there,

ࡗ[827] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ [illegible] [illegible]

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[827] ࡗ not in BL 23600 39r: 23, BL 23601 39r: 8 & BLO 1236: 39r: 23.

כד̱ כולהון בזאינא מלאבשיא

as they were all arrayed with weapons.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ

כולהון מלאבשיא בזאינא

They were all arrayed with weapons

ࡅࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡄ ࡖࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וקודאמה̱ ד̱מליך השוכא יאתביא

and seated before him, the King of Darkness.

ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡅࡕࡀ

מליך השוכא בגאבארותא

The King of Darkness in his mightiness,

ࡌࡀࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆࡁࡄ ࡁࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

מאתנאהאזבה̱ בשכינתה̱ ואמאר

blustered about in his *škina* and he cried:

ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ

מיאכא ד̱גאביר מינאי

"Is there anyone who is mightier than I,

ࡖࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱פאהלילה̱ כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds serve?

ࡏࡅ ࡌࡉࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡉࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ

עו מיאכא ד̱גאביר מינאי

If there is someone who is mightier than me,

ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ[828] ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉ ࡍࡉࡐࡃࡀࡓ

ניקום מינאי ניפדאר

(then) let him come forward and fight with me, [829]

[illegible]

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[828] ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ not in BL 23599 40v: 16. ࡖࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ BL 23600 39r: 26 & BLO 1236: 39r: 26.

[829] Cf. the demiurge issuing the cry "I am God and there is no other God than I." (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

דמיכלה טאריא
(with the one) whose food are mountains,
ࡁࡄࡉࡌࡑࡄ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ[830] ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡔࡏࡀ
בהימצה דהימתאיון לא מיתאשעא
(and) in whose belly poison no blood is found."
ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ
כאלהון רביא וגאבאריא
All the mighty and the powerful,
ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡀࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
הינון וסאהראיהון ודאיואיהון
along with the demons and the evil spirits,
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ
כולהון לדיליא פאהליא
they all serve me.
ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀ
קאימיא ופאהליליא
They stand by to serve me,
ࡅࡊࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡃࡉࡀ
וכל יום לדיליא סאגדיא
and worship me everyday.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
כד האזא אמאר מליך השוכא
When the King of Darkness spoke thus,
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡀࡃࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ
רוהא נאדאת מן כורסיא
Rūha trembled down from her thrown.
ࡂࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡐࡉࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

---

[830] Read: *bhimṣh d-himtaiun udma lamitaška* ࡁࡄࡉࡌࡑࡄ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡃࡌࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡔࡊࡀ as suggested by Drower (MD P.146 under himta 1).

גאהיא ובאכיא רוהא
Rūha sobbed and wept,
ࡄࡏ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ
הע וכולהון הומריא
she and all her *humurtas* “spirits”.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡀ[831] ࡕࡉࡌࡀࡓ
רוהא לעברא תימאר
Rūha spoke to her son
ࡅࡕࡀࡅࡃࡄ ࡋࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ
ותאודה̲ למליך השוכא
and made it clear to the King of Darkness:
ࡏࡊࡀ ࡖࡓࡀࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ
עכא ד̲ראב מינאך
“There is someone who is mightier than you,[832]
ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ[833]
והאילה̲ מיתאר מן כולהון אלמאך
and whose strength surpasses all your worlds.
ࡏࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ
עכא אלמא ד̲נפיש מן דילאך
There is a world more far-reaching than yours,
ࡖࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ
ד̲ורביא בגאואיהון יאתביא
in which the great ones dwell.

(GRR p. 99)

ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
רורביא יאתביא בגאואיהון

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[831] ࡋࡁࡓࡀ BL 23599 40v: 23 & BLO 1236: 39v: 4.

[832] Cf. the retort from on high to the demiurge who thinks that he alone exists and there no other god “Thou art mistaken (or “don’t lie”) . . . The is above thee . . . (according to the Gospel of Thomas) (See Jonas, JR, 1962: 267).

[833] ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ BL 23599 41r: 2, BL 23600 39v: 7, BL 23601 39r: 20 & BLO 1236: 39v: 7.

The great ones dwell in it,

ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡓࡀ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ובאירא דמותאיהון מן אלמיא

and their forms are more bright than the worlds."

⁂

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ[834]

כד̠ האזא עמראת נימרוס

When Nimrus thus spoke,

ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡄ ࡖࡈࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

קודאמה̠ ד̠טורא נאפלא

before the falling mountain,

ࡏࡋ ࡏࡕࡓࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ[835]

על עתרה̠ עתימליא באלבושיא

at once his garment was filled,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ[836] ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והוא מלאייא ד̠אלמא

and became the fullness of the world.

ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡌࡓࡉࡓࡕࡄ[837]

עמראר במרירתה̠

He was bitterly grieved,

ࡁࡉࡔࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

בישתא ראבתיא בבישותא

and the evil became boastful in wickedness.

ࡅࡐࡀࡎࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡕࡌࡋࡀ ࡄࡀࡕࡌࡕࡌࡀ[838]

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[834] ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ nimrus, namrus: a name of Rūha. *Cf.* Manichaean *Namrae* (see Zaehner, 1955: 78 n. B).

[835] ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡄ in BL 23601: 39r, 23600: 39v.

[836] ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ or ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡄ *mlaiia* or *mlaiih̲* "fullness." In Gnostic cosmology, the Pleroma is the region of god himslef and the dwelling place of Archons and Aeons, spirits, and the non material world. (for the full definition of the Pleroma see Scholem, 1987: 68).

[837] ࡁࡌࡓࡉࡓࡅࡕࡄ BL 23601: 39r.

[838] ࡏ ࡄࡀࡕࡌࡕࡌࡀ BL 23600: 39v.

וגאסיא ושאדיא הימתא האמימא
He spattered and vomited his fiery venom,
ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ
לנורא דאמיא
which was (hot) like fire.
ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
עתימליך בבישותא
He deliberated in evil,
ࡅࡊࡍࡀࡐ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ
וכנאפ גונדא נאפלא
and gathered an unworthy a army.
ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ ࡊࡍࡀࡐ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
גונדא נאפלא כנאף ואמאר
He gathered an unworthy army and said:
ࡖࡏࡒࡅࡌ[839] ࡏࡎࡀࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ
ד̱עקום עסאק מן אתאר השוך
"I will rise up and ascend from the Place of Darkness.
ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡓࡉࡊࡀ[840] ࡋࡆࡉࡍࡒࡀࡉ[841] ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡅࡏࡒࡓࡀ
עיאסריכא לזינקאי בארקא ועקרא
I will fasten my chains to the earth and uproot it,
ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡁࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡊࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ובהאבלאי עכלה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא
and clasp my rope around the whole world.
ࡏࡎࡓࡅࡐ ࡁࡎࡉࡓࡅࡐࡕࡀࡉ
עסרוף בסירופתאי
I will swallow (it),
[illegible] [illegible] ࡌࡍ [illegible]

---

[839] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 39v.
[840] ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡓࡉࡊ BL 23600: 39v.
[841] ࡋࡆࡉࡒࡀࡉ BL 23599 41r: 11& BL 23601 39v: 4.

ורמינון לרורביא מן כורסיאיון

and I will cast the great ones down from their thrones."

ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

עמראר בישא בבישותא

The evil one was embittered with evil

ࡅࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ

ופיהתה̱ לפומה̱ מהאמבלא

and opened his corrupt mouth,

ࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡎࡀࡓࡉࡀ

פיהתה̱ לפומה̱ סאריא

he opened his putrid mouth,

ࡖࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡀ

ד̱אתיא ריהא ד̱סרותא

so that bad smell emanated from within.

ࡐࡉࡄࡕࡄ ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡎࡀࡓࡉࡀ

פיהתה̱ לפומה̱ סאריא

He opened his putrid mouth,

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱האויא מלאייא ד̱אלמא

which became the fullness of the world.

⁂

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ

אנא ד̱הזאיתה̱

When I (Manda ḏ-Hiia) saw him,

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

עתאהזילה̱ בלבושא ד̱רורביא

I appeared to him in the garment of the Great (ones).

ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ[842]

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[842] ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ in BL 23601: 39v.

בלבושא דרורביא עתאהזילה
In the garment of the Great (ones) I appeared to him,
ࡃࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
דנפיש וסאכא ליתלה
which is so extensive and infinite.
ࡊࡃ ࡏࡕࡉࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
כד עתיהזילה בזיוא נאפשיא
When I appeared to him in a far-reaching radiance,
ࡃࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡌࡉࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[843]
דנפיש ומיאתאר מן אלמיא
which is more immense and surpassing from the world,
ࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡃࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[844]
אהויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא
I showed him the *margna* (staff) of Living Water,
ࡃࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ
דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא
which my fathers gave me.
ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡍࡀ ࡃࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
האויתה מארגנא דמיא הייא
I showed him the *margna* (staff) of living water,
ࡃࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ
דמיתכאבשיבה מארדיא
by which the rebels are crushed down.
ࡅࡀࡄࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡊࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
ואהויתה כליל עשאתא האיתא
I showed him the wreath of the living fire,
ࡃࡄࡀࡁࡉࡋࡄ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[843] ࡌࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ in BL 23600: 39v.
[844] Cedar staff is a symbol of rulership in Mesopotamia (Widengren, 1950: 8, 9).

ד̱האזילה̱ סאהריא ומדאהליא

which instills terror into demons, when they see it.

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ

כד̱ עתאהזילה̱ לנימרוס

When I appeared to Nimrus,

ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ

הבאל הבאל קאריא

she cried "Alas, Alas!."

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ

כד̱ עתאהזילה̱ לגאבארא

When I appeared to the giant,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡄ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ

כולהון גונדה̱ עתבאדרויא

all his army scattered.

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡄ[845]

כד̱ עתבאדרויא גונדה̱

When his army scattered,

ࡄࡅ ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡄ[846]

הו שאריבון בשורבאתה̱

he tore his troops (lit: tribes) asunder,

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡓࡀࡐࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ

שאריבון בקאראפתאניא

he tore his warriors asunder,

(GRR p. 100)

ࡖࡆࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡀࡁࡀࡋࡄ

ד̱זאינא קאבאלה̱

who had taken arms against him.

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[845] ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡂࡅࡍࡃࡄ not in BL 23600 39v: 27. ࡗ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ not in BLO 1236: 39v: 27 .

[846] Cf. ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡉࡀ *šaribun bšurbata šaribun bqarabtania*: "he encamped amongst the tribes, he encamped amongst the warriors" (MD p. 474).

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡎࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

שאריבון בסאבריא נאסביא

He tore asunder all the demons,

ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ[847] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡉࡍ

ודאיויא והומריא וליליאתא כולהין

dewis, *humrtas* and *liliths*,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡐࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קאם ואסיפה לכולה אלמא

he rose up and annihilated the whole world.

ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

הבאק בכולה האילה

He contained it with all his strength

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡀ ࡖࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡅࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡒࡁࡀࡓ

ופאלגא דפומה ובארקא קבאר

and buried half of his mouth in the earth.

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡀ ࡀࡐࡓࡀ ࡍࡎࡉࡁ

תריסאר נאסכיא אפרא נסיב

He took twelve measures of dust

ࡅࡁࡋࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ובלא מן אתאר השוך

and engulfed part of the Place of Darkness.

ࡁࡀࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ[848]

באלילון למיא סיאויא

He swallowed the black water,

ࡅࡁࡉࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡅࡍ

ובילילון לכולהון סאהריא ודאיויא דבון

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[847] ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ pl. ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕ *lilith* a female demon or genie (MD, p. 236). Montgomery writes "In the Babylonian the Lilith (*ardat lili*) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice" (Montgomery, 1913: 76).

[848] ࡅࡁࡉࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡉࡋࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ BL 23600 40r: 2 & BLO 1236: 40r: 2.

and swallowed all the demons and *dewis* who were in it,

ࡅࡋࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡉࡍ

ולהומריא וליליתא כולהין

and he swallowed all the *hmurtas* and *liliths*.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡐࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

קאם ואסיפה לכולה אלמא

He rose up and annihilated the whole world.

ࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡁࡃࡌࡀ[849] ࡓࡀࡉࡂࡀ

אינה בדמא ראיגא

His eyes blushed blood-red.

ࡅࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

וליבה בתיניהתא קאם

and his heart heaved with groans.

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה בתיניהתא קאם

His heart heaved with groans,

ࡖࡒࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡒࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דקאם ריקאן באלמא

as he stood empty in the world.

ࡕࡍࡉࡕ ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

תנית עתאהזילה בקאלא דרביא

A second time I appeared to him with the call of the Great One,

ࡕࡀࡂࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ[850] ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

תאגה מן רישיא נפאל

his crown fell from his head.

ࡗ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡕࡀࡂࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ

כד נפאל תאגה מן רישיא

When his crown fell from his head,

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[849] ࡁࡉࡃࡌࡀ In BL 23600 40r: 4 & BLO 1236: 40r: 4.
[850] ࡓࡉࡔࡄ in BL 23601: 40r and in BL 23600: 40r.

ࡌࡉࡓࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡂࡀࡓࡀࡓࡀ

מירתה בארקא מיתגארארא

his gall was trailed along the earth.

ࡁࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ

בתיהא דנפאק מן פומה

By the breath which poured out from his mouth,

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ

קאימיא טוריא ובאשליא

the mountains start up and boil.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ

קאימיא ובאשליא טוריא

The mountains start up and boil.

ࡁࡆࡉࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡖࡏࡅࡓ[851] ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

בזיהירא דמן פורה דעור נפאק

by the poison which poured out from the mouth of Ur.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡄࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ[852]

עתאהזילה באהילא דרביא

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,

ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ

דאבאהאתאי עהאבליא

which my father had given me.

ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡄࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ

עתאהזילה באהילא דרביא

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[851] ࡏࡅࡓ 'Ur, the Leviathan, in the Mandaean system is the father of the Seven (planets), the Twelve (signs of the Zodiac) and the Five (monsters). The mythological archetype of this figure is he Babylonian Tia'mat, the chaos-monster slain by Marduk in the history of creation. Jonas believes that the closest Gnostic parallel to our tale is to be found in the Jewish apocryphal Acts of *Kyriakos* and *Julitta*, "where the prayer of *Kyriakos* relates how the hero, sent out by his Mother into foreign land, the "city of darkness," after long wandering and passing through the waters of the abyss meets the dragon, the "king of the worms of the earth, whose tail lies in his mouth. This is the serpent that led astray through passions the angels from on high; this is the serpent that led astray the first Adam and expelled him from Paradise . . . " (Jonas, 1958: 117), (See above § 2.3.7).

[852] This verse is not found in BL 23600 40r & BLO 1236: 40r.

I appeared to him in the strength of the Great One,

ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡄ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ[853] ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ

מן תיהה̲ מאטיא לילבושיא

and some of his breath reached my garment.

ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ

כד̲ מן תיהא לילבושיא מאטיא

When some of his breath reached my garment,

ࡃࡉࡄࡊࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

דיהכאת עשאתא ד̲יאקדא

the burning flame (of his breath) was extinguished.

ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ ࡃࡉࡄࡊࡀࡕ

עשאתא יאקדא דיהכאת

The burning flame was extinguished,

ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡁࡄࡁࡀࡒࡄ ࡅࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡁࡋࡀ

הבאק בהבאקה̲ וארקא בלא

he embraced the earth in his embrace and swallowed it up.

ࡗ ࡄࡁࡀࡒ ࡅࡁࡋࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד̲ הבאק ובלא ארקא

When he embraced and swallowed up the earth,

ࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

שורה̲ על תאר שיריאנא ד̲השוכא נפאל

his navel fell upon the gate of the stream (lit: vein) of darkness.

ࡗ ࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡓࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

כד̲ שורה̲ עתיגנא בשיריאנא ד̲השוכא

When his navel lay in the vein of darkness,

ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡂࡁࡀࡋ

השוכא כולה̲ מינה̲ גבאל

all the darkness was formed from him.

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[853] In BL 23600 40r: 9 & BLO 1236: 40r: 9 we read: ࡅࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡄ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡉࡅ .

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ[854] ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡕࡀࡓ

האיזאך אתאר השוכא תאר

Then the place of darkness was enlarged,

ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡈࡄ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וליגטה̱ בליבה̱

and he grasped it with its heart.

ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡄ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ

בליבה̱ ליגטה̱ השוכא

In his heart he grasped the darkness,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כאנא ד̱מינה̱ הוא

the *kanna* (place), from which he came to being.

ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡉࡍࡄ

נסאבתינון לאינה̱

I seized his eyes

ࡅࡊࡀࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וכאפתינון לליבה̱

and fettered his heart.

ࡔࡀࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡉࡋࡅࡐࡕࡄ

שארינין לילופתה̱

I dissolved his joints

(GRR p. 101)

ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡎࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡀࡁࡀࡃࡄ

ומראסינון לכאבאדה̱

and crushed his liver.

ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡄ ࡁࡌࡏࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡕࡍࡀࡕࡄ

כארסה̱ במעייא אתנאתה̱

I folded his stomach with his bowels,

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[854] ࡕࡀࡓ in BL 23599 41v: 19, BL 23600 40r: 15, BL 23601 40r: 15 & BLO 1236: 40r: 15

ࡅࡀࡐࡕࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡏࡐࡉࡀ

ואפתה̱ על ארקא עפיא

and I wrapped him with four shawls.

ࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡄ ࡊࡀࡍࡉࡋࡄ

כינתה̱ בשורה̱ כאנילה̱

I put a band on his navel,

ࡅࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ[855] ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

וגטארילה̱ גיטרא בליבה̱

and tied a knot around his heart.

ࡆࡉࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡉࡀ ࡔࡃࡉࡋࡄ

זיהירא במייא שדילה̱

I cast poison into his bowels,

ࡅࡌࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

ומירתא בכילה̱ קומתה̱

and gall into his whole stature.

ࡃࡉࡌࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡉࡋࡄ[856]

דימיהתא באינה̱ נפאלילה̱

A tear filled his eye,

ࡖࡄࡀࡌࡉࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱האמימא לנורא דאמיא

which was flaming like fire.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡉࡀࡕࡀ[857]

עסתארבה̱ במאצפוטיאתא

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[855] The knots (usually odd in numbers) are used in exorcism, to break the spells, or for healing, and the magician had recourse to several options are used as a powerful means to subdue evil. In text 22:213 ff. Hibil says, "I sent against him (the demon) the knot which was above all knots .." (Yamauchi, 1967: 249). In Surah no. 113 of the Qur'an "Muhammad seeks refuge from the "evil of blowers (feminine) upon knots النفاثات في العقد." (Ibid 60) The story tellers say that "a Jew called Lubaid and his daughters bewitched Muhammad by tying eleven knots in a cord which they hid in a well. The result was that the Prophet fell seriously ill and would undoubtedly have died had not God intervened" (Budge, 1930: 62).

[856] ࡍࡐࡀࡋ in BL 23600 40r: 21 & BLO 1236: 40r: 21.

[857] ࡁࡌࡀࡎࡐࡅࡈࡉࡀࡕࡀ in BL 23601: 40r.

He was bound with a fetter,

ࡖࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ

ד̱אביא מן דילה̱

which was thicker than he was.

ࡌࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡁࡉࡀ

מן דילה̱ אביא

It was thicker than he was

ࡅࡓࡀࡎࡉࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[858] ࡋࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ

וראסיסתינון לגירמה̱

and it crushed his bones.

ࡒࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ

קאבא בפומה̱ נפאלה̱

A muzzle was placed (lit. fell) on his mouth,

ࡅࡏࡆࡃࡉࡌࡉࡌ ࡁࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡓࡉࡆࡋࡀ

ועזדימים בזמאמא ד̱פאריזלא

and he was bridled with an iron bridle.

ࡏࡕࡀࡓࡊࡉࡔ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

עתארכיש בעדה̱ וליגרה̱

He was bound hand and foot,

ࡅࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡃࡅࡐࡍࡄ

ועלה̱ נפאלה̱ בדופנה̱

and pain assailed his side.

ࡄࡉࡑࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋࡄ

היצביא ברישיא נפאלה̱

Convulsions attacked (lit. fell on) his head,

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡎࡀࡉࡌࡀࡋࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀࡄࡓࡀ

ואינה̱ סאימאלה̱ ולאנאהרא

and his eyes went blind and shone no more.

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[858] Read ࡓࡀࡎࡉࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ (PE. Pf. RSS to crush, to break to pieces). ࡓࡀࡎࡉࡎࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ in the other copies.

ࡀࡂࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡄ[859] ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡋࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀ
אגארלה מאלאלה בפומה לדאיוא
The wretched became tongue tied
ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ
בכאנא דנאפשיא עסתאר
and confined himself in his own *kanna* (place).
ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
עסתאר בכאנא דנאפשיא
In his own *kanna* (place) he confined himself.
ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[860] ࡒࡓࡀ
הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא קרא
"Alas, Alas onto myself", he cried.
ࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
קרא הבאל הבאל על נאפשיא
"Alas, Alas, onto myself," he cried,
ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡌ ࡏࡋࡄ
ועשאתא דנאפשיא האמים עלה
and his own fire scorched him.
ࡅࡀࡉ ࡅࡀࡉ ࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
ואי ואי קרא לנאפשיא
"Woe, woe", he cried for himself,
ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
דעלאוה רוגזא הוא
as anger overtook him.
ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ
עלאוה הוא רוגזא
Anger overtook him,
ࡔࡉࡄࡀࡍࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡊࡊࡀ[861] ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡔ ࡁࡁࡉࡔ

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[859] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡄ BL 23600: 40r.

[860] ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉ BL 23599 42r: 3, ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ BLO 1236: 40r: 23.

שיהאניא כיסיויא מן ריש בריש
and ulcers covered him from head to toe.
ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
אלאי אלאי קאריא בישא
"Woe, Woe," cried the evil one,
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ
כולהון מיא תאהמיא הון
(and) all the waters became turbid.
ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
הון מיא תאהמיא
All the waters became turbid,
ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡏ ࡄࡔࡀࡊࡋࡏ[862] ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀࡄࡓࡀ
ואינה̲ השאכלה̲ ולאנאהרא
and his eyes darkened and shone no more.
ࡂࡀࡍࡐࡏ ࡄࡁࡀࡈ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
גאנפה̲ הבאט בארקא
His wings pounded the ground
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡏ
גוהא עתיגנא בליבה̲
(and) thunder pealed in his heart.
ࡏࡒࡁࡏ ࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
עקבה̲ גנא בארקא
His heel stamped on the ground,
ࡄࡑࡀࡁࡋࡏ ࡄࡉࡑࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡃࡅࡐࡍࡏ
הצאבלה̲ היצביא בדופנה̲
spasms attacked his sides.[863]
[illegible]

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[861] [illegible] BL 23601: 40v.
[862] [illegible] BL 23600: 40v.
[863] or: sores filled his chest (MD, p. 105).

מליך השוכא עסתאר בכאנא ד̱נאפשיא

The King of Darkness concealed himself in his own *kanna* (place),

ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀࡉ[864] ࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ

מן מינילתאי דיליא לאהואת עלה̱

and none of my words reached him.

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡄࡀࡈ ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡒࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

עשתאהאט בתיניקתה̱ ואמאר

He hurled himself down with moans and cried:

ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡎ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

האיאסא הוס עלאי

“Compassionate one, have mercy upon me.”

ࡊࡃ ࡃࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡎ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

כד̱ ד̱אמאר האיאסא הוס עלאי

When he cried: “Compassionate one, have mercy upon me!”

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡔࡃࡀ

כול ד̱אכאל מן פומה̱ שדא

Whatever he had devoured he cast out of his mouth,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡔࡃࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡄ

כול ד̱אכאל שדא מן פומה̱

everything he had devoured he cast out from his mouth,

(GRR p. 102)

ࡅࡎࡍࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡃࡎࡓࡅࡕࡀ

וסניא ריהא ד̱סרותא

and its foul stench was repulsive.

ࡊࡃ ࡃ[865]ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡕࡀࡉࡁࡀ[866] ࡕࡅࡁ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

כד̱ ד̱אמאר תאיבא תוב עלאי

When he said: “Compassionate One, have compassion on me,”

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[864] ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀ BL 23600: 40v.
[865] ࡃ not in BL 23600: 40v and BL 23601: 40v.
[866] ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡎࡀ in BL 23601: 40v.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ

כולהון סאגאדה̱ עתבאדרויא

all his worshipers scattered.

ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ

עתבאדרויא סאגאדה̱

His worshipers scattered,

ࡅࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡃࡀࡓ

וטונא ד̱נאפשיא עלה̱ כדאר

and his own burden pressed hard on him.

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡃࡀࡓ ࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

עלה̱ כדאר טונא ד̱נאפשיא

His own burden pressed hard on him,

ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ד̱נפאש וסאכא ליתלה̱

which was colossal and had no end.

ࡗ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡄࡉࡆ ࡉࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆ

כ̱ד̱ מיתינהיז ימיתנאהאז

When he clattered about boisterously,

ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ

אנידה̱ לשכינתה̱

he shook his *škina*.

ࡗ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ

כ̱ד̱ לשכינתה̱ אנידה̱

When he shook his *škina*,

ࡏࡕࡂࡀࡍࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ

עתגאנאר עלה̱ נאטריא

guards were provided for (: set over) him.

ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡂࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡄ

נאטריא ד̱עתגאמאר עלה̱

The guards who were set over him

ࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
גאבאריא בוריא ד̱אלמא
were giants and monsters of the world.

◆

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מן בוריא וגאבאריא
Because of the giants and monsters,
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡉࡋࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡌࡀ
גוהא בילבא ד̱רוהא עתיגמא
a spasm shook the heart of Rūha.
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ
גוהא עתיגנא בליבא ד̱רוהא
A spasm shook the heart of Rūha,
ࡁࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡉࡀ
באכיא ונאהמא וקאמיא
she wept, groaned and sobbed,
ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡀ
ואמראלה̱ לבורא שאפלא
and addressed the base monster,
ࡄࡀࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡍࡃࡀࡃࡀ
האיותא ד̱סאינא ונדאדא
the repulsive filthy snake,
ࡖࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡄ
ד̱ אתיא ריהא ד̱סרותה̱
whose foul breath rose up (from him):
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡀࡊ
מאן האיזין אבאדבאך
“Who has done this to you,
ࡄࡀࡋࡍ ࡁࡀࡊࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡊࡀࡊࡀࡊ

והאלין דנאניא מאן דאנאנאך

who has caused you this humiliation?”

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡌࡓࡅࡎ

מאליל דנימארלא לנאמרוס

He talked as he spoke to Namrus,

ࡋࡏࡅࡑࡀࡓ ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡀࡕ[867] ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

לעוצאר בגינאת דמינה הוא

to the treasure in the garden (?) from which he came into being.

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ

כד הא דנימארלא

When he would speak to her,

ࡓࡄࡉࡔࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ[868] ࡐࡅࡊࡕࡀ

רהישאלה בפומה פוכתא

the bridle moved about in his mouth.

ࡐࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡓࡄࡉࡔࡀࡋࡄ

פוכתא בפומה רהישאלה

The bridle moved about in his mouth,

ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡁࡂࡀࡍ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡐࡅࡄࡀ

אשליא ואבגאן גאברא פוהא

(and) the man screamed and howled, “Alas!”

ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ[869] ࡐࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡍ[870] ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ

אשליא פוהא בגאן גאברא

“Alas,” the man cried and howled,

ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מארא דכולה אלמא

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[867] ࡂࡉࡍࡀࡕ in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.
[868] ࡋࡐࡅࡌࡄ in BL 23600 40v: 18 & BLO 1236: 40v: 18.
[869] The second ࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23599 42v: 6 & BL 23601 41r: 1.
[870] ࡅࡁࡂࡀࡍ BL 23600 40v: 19 & BLO 1236: 40v: 20.

the Lord of the whole world.
ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡃࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡌࡓࡅࡎ
מאליל דנימארלא לנאמרוס
He talked as he spoke to Namrus,
ࡏࡌࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
עמא דהאזין אלמא
the mother of this world:
ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡏࡁࡀࡃࡋࡉࡀ
גאברא דהאזין עבאדליא
"The man who has done this to me
ࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
נפיש מן כולה אלמא
is greater than all the world.
ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡃࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡄࡆࡉࡕ
דמותה דאנפה הזית
I beheld the countenance of his face,
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ
ועל כולה קומתה לאקאמית
but I did not equal his whole stature.
ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡊ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
לאקאמית עך כולה קומתה
I did not equal his whole stature,
ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
אמינטול דנפיש מן כולהון אלמיא
because he is greater than all the worlds."

⁂

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡄ
כד האזא אמארלא לעמה
When he had thus spoken to his mother,

ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡀࡉࡓࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[871]

באייא דניגאירא לנאפשיא

he wanted to commit adultery with her.

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ

מאלאכיא דמיזדאהריבה

The angels who were watching him

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

אסיקלה שומא באטלא

called him by his worthless name.

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ

הדא להאברה אמאר

One says to the other:

ࡏࡅࡓ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

עור מיתנאהאז מן דוכתה

"Ur is moving from his place!"

(GRR p. 103)

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡉࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד האזא שימאת רוהא

When Rūha heard this,

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדא לרישא שאדיא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head.

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ

עדא שאדיא לרישא

She clasps her hand(s) to her head,

ࡅࡂࡅࡃࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ

וגודלא ברישא סאתרא

and ravages the plait(s) of her head.

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[871] In BL 23600 40v: 26 & BLO 1236: 40v: 26 ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ is not found.

ࡂࡅࡃࡋࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

גודלא סאתרא ברישא

She ravages the plait(s) of her head

ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ

ואלאי אלאי ד̱מקאריא

and cries: "Alas, alas!"

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ[872]

רוהא ועסתיראתא

Rūha and the *astartes* (female demons)

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡄࡀࡔࡋࡀ

קאימא וראזא האשלא

stand there and devise mysteries.

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ

קאימא והאשלא ראזיא

They stand there and devise mysteries

ࡏࡋ ࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ[873] ࡖࡏࡅࡓ

על גאבאריא נאטריא ד̱עור

against the giants, the guards of ʻUr.

✠

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡄ

אנא ד̱הזאיתה̱

I, when I saw it,

ࡀࡄࡃࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ

אהדארילה̱ פארקסא

I encircled him with a chain

ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡖࡄࡃࡀࡓࡋࡄ[874]

פארקסא ד̱הדארלה̱

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[872] ࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀ *ʻstira* or *ʻstra* Akk. Ištar (Venus-Libat) used of female demons (MD p. 355).
[873] BL 23600 41r: 1 & BLO 1236: 41r: 1ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ
[874] Read ࡄࡃࡀࡓࡋࡄ.

the chain which I encircled him with
ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡎࡁࡀࡋ[875] ࡁࡋࡄࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱האויא סבאל בלהאב שומיא
became a ladder (?) in the heart of the sky
ࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡓ ࡐࡀࡓࡆࡋࡀ
קרית ועשאוילה̱ שורא שור פארזלא
I created and erected a wall for him, an iron wall,
ࡅࡄࡃࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡀࡉࡓࡄ
והדארתא לכולה̱ דאירה̱
and I surrounded his dwelling.
ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ
שורא דהאדרילה̱ נאטריא שאוית עלה̱
Upon the wall with which surrounded him, I appointed watchers;
ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡁࡀ
נאטריא ד̱מיזדאהריבה̱ במארבא
watchers who kept a watch over his lair.
ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ
שאויבה̱ סרין וארבא באביא
I set in it twenty four gates,
ࡖࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱בון מיתנאטאר אלמא
by which (his) world is guarded.
ࡁࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡈࡀࡓ
בון אלמא מיתנאטאר
Through them (his) world is guarded
ࡅࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡒࡓࡐࡓࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ
וסאליק אקרפרא עלה̱

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[875] ࡎࡁࡀࡋ, *Nöldeke*: ladder (doubt) (MD p. 316) Arabic سبيل way, path, road. (Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, p. 396).

and dust rises on him.

ࡊࡃ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡅࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ

כד̱ שאויבה̱ סרין ורבא באביא

When I set the twenty-four gates in it,

ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡐࡅࡄࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ

אלאי אלאי פוהא אמאר

he cried: “Woe, alas, alas!

ࡊࡃ ࡊࡀࡐࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡊࡅࡋ

כד̱ כאפינא מאהו עכול

When I am hungry, what shall I eat?

ࡅࡊࡃ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡕࡉࡀ

ו כד̱ צאהינא מאהו עשתיא

When I am thirsty, what shall drink?

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡏࡔࡊࡅࡁ

ועל מאהו עשכוב

and on what shall I lie down,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ומאן ניהויליא צאותא

and who will be my companion ?”

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡃࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

מאלאלית ד̱עמארלה̱

I spoke and said

ࡋࡏࡅࡓ ࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

לעור מליך השוכא באטלא

to Ur, the futile King of Darkness:

ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ

טאבא בטאבותה̱ סאליק

“The good one because of his virtue ascends

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡏ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

האזילה לאתאר נהור

and beholds the Place of Light.

ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡏ ࡌࡉࡐࡎࡒ[876]

בישא בבישותה מיפסק

The evil one because of his wickedness is cut off

ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

באתאר התוך

in the place of darkness.

ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ[877] ࡄࡔࡅࡊ[878] ࡕࡉࡔࡊࡅࡁ

בתיריא השוך תישכוב

You will lie at the gates of darkness,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡏ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ

כאנא דמינה הוית

the *kanna* (place), whence you came.

ࡄࡅ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

הו צאותא נאהוילאך

It shall be your companion,

ࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡁࡏ ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡁࡏ

כאנא דבה עסתארבה

the *kanna* (place), in which you concealed yourself.

ࡗ ࡊࡀࡐࡍࡉࡕ ࡀࡊࡅࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀࡊ

כד כאפנית אכול מן שורבאתאך

When you are hungry, (then) eat from your own tribe (or: hosts),

ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡄࡅࡀ

מן כול דמינאך הוא

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[876] ࡌࡐࡎࡒ in BL 23601: 41r.

[877] BL 23600 41r: 13 ࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ. In BL 23600 41r: 13 ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ. ࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ not in BL 23601 41r: 25 ࡕࡓࡉࡀ.

[878] ࡄࡔࡅࡊ not in BL 23601 41r: 25.

of everything which has come from you.
ࡌࡉࡔࡉࡕࡉࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡅࡉࡀ
מישיתיאך מן מיא סיאויא
Your drink shall be from those black waters,
ࡄࡀࡍࡉࡊ ࡖࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡀࡓࡉࡕ[879]
האניך ד̱בגאואיהון דארית
where you have dwelt."

◆

ࡗ ࡏࡊࡅࡋ[880] ࡅࡋࡀࡎࡉࡁࡉࡕ
כד̱ עכול ולאסיבית
"When I eat and have not had enough,
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
מאן ניסימכא לתיראת על דוכתה̱
who will sustain my inner parts in their place?
ࡅࡗ ࡏࡔࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡎࡁࡀ
וכד̱ עשתיא ולאעסבא
When I drink and am not satisfied
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ
מאן ניהיליא לצאותא
who will quench my thirst?"

(GRR p. 104)

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
כד̱ האזין אמאר בישא
When the evil one spoke thus,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡂࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡔࡀࡉ
אנא עהכית ועתגאיית באלהושאי

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[879] BL 23599 43r: 5, BL 23600 41r: 13 & BL 23601 41r: 25 ࡃࡀࡓࡕ.
[880] ࡏࡊࡅࡋࡉࡕ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41r.

I laughed and I was resplendent in my garment.
ࡅࡀࡎࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡂࡉࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ
ואסברית וגיהכית עלה̱
I mocked and laughed at him,
ࡏࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡏࡃࡀ[881] ࡅࡋࡀࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉࡀ
על היותא ד̱לא עדא ולאליגריא
at the serpent who is without hands and feet.
ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡕࡉࡊࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱בית ד̱תיכלה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא
"You sought to devour the whole world,
ࡌࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡈࡉࡀࡕ
מנילתא ד̱הייא ניטיאת
(but) the word of Life came,
ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ
ד̱הינון שאליטיא ומפאקדיא
which was powerful and commanding."

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ
כד̱ האיזין אמארילה̱
When I thus spoke to him,
ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀ
האוליל ועל נאפשיא בכא
he wailed and wept unto himself.
ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡁࡊࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[882] ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא ואנאר
He wailed and wept unto himself, and said:
[illegible]

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[881] BL 23599 43r: 10 & BL 23601 41v: 4 [illegible].
[882] BL 23599 43r: 14, BL 23600 41r: 22, BL 23601 41v: 8 & BL 23600 41r: 22 [illegible].

מיאכא ד̱ראב מינאך

“Is there anyone who is greater than you,

ࡖࡌࡔࡀࡋࡀࡈ[883] ࡏࡋ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱משאלאט על אלמיא כולהון

who has the authority upon all the worlds?

ࡏࡅ ࡏࡊࡀ ࡖࡓࡀࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ

עו עכא ד̱ראב מינאך

If there is anyone who is greater than you,

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡀ[884] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ

אנאת הויא עלאי במאטותא

be you lenient to me.

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡖࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡂࡆࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ[885]

ועל ד̱הטית לאתאגזאר עלאי

If I sinned, do not condemn me,

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡏ[886] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

אנאת במאטותא הוע עלאי

be, you, lenient to me.

ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡅࡄࡈࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ

מאראן הטין והטאינין

Lord ! we have greatly sinned.

ࡄࡀࡈࡀࡉࡀࡍ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡕࡉࡔࡁࡅࡒࡋࡀࡍ

האטאיאן והאובון תישבוקלאן

Forgive our sins and trespasses.

ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ[887] ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ

תיהוילאך עלאי במאטותא

Be compassionate to us,

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[883] ࡖࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡀࡈ BL 23601: 41v.

[884] ࡄࡅࡏ BL 23601: 41v. ࡄࡅࡉࡕ BL 23600: 41r and BLO 1236: 41r.

[885] This verse not in BL 23600 41r: 25.

[886] ࡅࡄࡅࡉࡀ BL 23600: 41v.

[887] BL 23601 ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ.

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡐࡉࡋ ࡋࡀࡕࡅࡕࡀࡊ
וכולאן נישתפיל לאתותאך
and we all will abase ourselves beneath you."

◆

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ
אנא טאבא אנא על טאביא
"I am the good, I am for the good,
ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ
עלאואיכון הייא משאלטיא
(but) Life has the authority over you."
ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ
מאלאלית ואמארילה̱
I spoke and said to him:
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡃࡍࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ[888]
אלמא ד̱ניבון הייא
"Until the Life wishes it,
ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡋࡄࡀࡊࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ
ואבאתאר להאכא ניתינציב
and Abatur is planted hither.
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡃࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ
אלמא ד̱מיתיקריא אבאתאר
Until Abatur is called into being,
ࡅࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡓࡅࡍ[889]
ובניא שלאמא ניתקרון
and the sons of perfection are called into being,
ࡏࡉࡍࡄࡀࡉ ࡔࡅࡌࡄࡀࡉ ࡆࡉࡅࡄࡀࡉ ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄࡀࡉ

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[888] ࡀࡄࡉࡉࡀ BLO 1236: 41r: 22.

[889] BL 23599 43r: 21, BL 23600 41v: 6, BL 23601 41v: 15 & BLO 1236: 41v: 6 ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ. The four sons of perfection are: ʿyn-hai, šum-hai, ziu-hai and nhūr-hai (GRR, p. 226: 6). Cf. the four archangels (or: light-givers) Raphael, Michael, Uriel, and Gabraiel mentioned in Enoch 9-10 (Stroumsa, 1984: 55 and n. 77).

ניתאקאן משאוניאת עשאתא האיתא

until (the Life) provides the sublime living fire

ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡓࡏࡉࡋ[890] ࡔࡋࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

וגאברעיל שליהא ניתיקריא

and Gabriel, the envoy, is called into being,

ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ[891] ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ניתפאקאד וניקריא אלמא

(then) he will be instructed and create the world.

ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡎࡉࡀ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ

ניתיא נימסיא מסותא

He will arrive and cause a condensation,

ࡅࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡉࡀࡅࡍࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

וארקא יאונאיית ניקריא

and creates the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks.[892]

ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡉࡀࡅࡍࡀࡉࡉࡕ[893]

ניקריא ארקא יאונאיית

He will create the earth (skillfully) as the Greeks,

ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡉࡌࡀ[894] ࡋࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

וניטימא לבירא ד̱מיא תאהמיא

and stops up the well of the stagnant water.

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡐࡓࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ

מן אקאפרא ד̱סאליק מן סיניאויס

From the dust which rises up from Siniawis (the underworld),

---

[890] Gabriel is associated with Ptahil (see above 2. 2. 6).

[891] BL 23599 43r: 21 ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡌࡀ. BL 23600 41v: 6 ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡌࡀ . BL 23601 41v: 15 ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡉࡕࡐࡀࡒࡀࡃ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

[892] This verse is a reflection of the Hellenistic influence on Mesoepotamia. We recall the distinguished works of Berosus (a Hellenistic Babylonian writer and astronomer 3rd century B.C.E.) who introduced the writings of the Babylonians concerning astronomy and philosophy amongst the Greeks.

[893] ࡉࡀࡅࡍࡀࡉࡕ [illegible] BL 23601.

[894] BL 23600 41v: 10 ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡉࡌࡀ.

ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡌࡀࡓࡆࡁࡀࡌࡀ[895] ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

עלאך במארזבאמא ניהויא

there will be a conduit for you,

ࡋࡎࡄࡀࡈ[896] ࡁࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

לסהאט בעשאתא האיתא

to mingle with the living fire,

ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ[897] ࡌࡉࡀ[898] ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡀ

ונימאליליבה̱ מיא הייא וראוזיא

and it will be filled with living and bright water,

ࡖࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌࡀ

ד̱ריהאיון באסימא

whose fragrance is sweet,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀ

ומינאיון טאבותא מיתניסבא

and from them goodness is obtained.

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

ומן שפיתון ד̱האנאתון מיא

And from the overflow of those waters

(GRR p. 105)

ࡏࡅ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡉࡔࡉࡕࡉࡀࡊ

עו צאהית ניהויא למישיתיאך

shall be your drink if you get thirsty.

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡊࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

מן עכילתא ד̱עכלא עשאתא עכילתא

From the food which the devouring fire devours;

ࡖࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡄࡅࡊ

---

[895] ࡌࡀࡓࡆࡀࡁࡀࡌࡀ BL 23601: 41v.

[896] ࡋࡎࡄࡀࡎࡈ BL 23601: 41v, BL 23600: 41v and BLO 236: 41v.

[897] BL 23599 43v: 5 there is ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ. BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ

[898] BL 23600 41v: 13 & BLO 1236: 41v: 13 ࡌࡉࡉࡀ.

ד̱עלאך נאפיל מן האך

the (scraps) which falls upon you from that;

ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓ ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡌࡍࡄ

ד̱יאתיר ונאפיל מנה̱

the leftovers which drop form it,

ࡌࡀࡅࡊࡋࡕࡀࡊ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

מאוכלתאך תיהויא

shall be your food.

ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡊ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀࡊ

מן סאהראך ודאיואך הומראך וליליאתאך

(Let) some of your demons, *diwis*, *humras* and *liliths*,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡀࡊ[899]

הינון ניהוילאך מאכולתאך

become your food.

ࡗ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

כד̱ מיתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament is spanned out

ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡊ ࡕࡉࡔࡕࡉࡐࡉࡋ

הימתא עלאואך תישתיפיל

wrath will fall on you.

◆

ࡏࡅࡓ[900] ࡁࡍࡉࡄࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡉࡌ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

עור בניהמתא נאהים ואמארליא

'Ur groaned loudly and said to me:

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡀࡕ ࡏࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡉ

אלמא לעמאת עהויא באלהודאי

---

[899] ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡀ in BL 23600 41v: 18.

[900] Mead believes that 'Ur is originally the Caldaean Deus Lunus (snake); he is the oldest son of Rūha, the world-mother, and corresponds in some respects with the Yaldabaōth of "Ophite" origin. (See Mead, 1924: 35 note 2, and §2.3.7 above).

“How long must I live alone
ࡏࡎࡉࡁࡋࡇ ࡋࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
עסיבלהַ לטונא דַאלמא
and bear the burden of the world?’

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡅࡓ
כדַ האזא אמאר עור
When Ur spoke in this way,
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ
רוהא עמא נאידא ומיתנאידא
Rūha his mother shook and trembled.
ࡄࡀࡉࡒࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡃࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
האיקא ומיתנאדא רוהא
Rūha feared and trembled,
ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
ואלאי אלאי קאריא
and cried: “Alas, alas!”
ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ[901]
נהימתא נאהמא רוהא
Rūha groaned loudly
ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡐࡉࡋ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡇ
לגאבארא דַשפיל אמראלהַ
and said to the giant who was abased:
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ
מאן ניהויא דַאכויתאך
“Who will be like unto you,
[illegible] [illegible] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ[902]

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[901] BL 23600 41v: 24 & BLO 1236: 41v: 22 ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡄࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡒࡀ ࡅࡋࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡐࡉࡋ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡇ
[902] ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ BL 23601: 42r.

וניקום ונידאבריא לאלמאך

and rise and lead your world?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡋࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

מאן מארה לסאהראך ניהויא

Who will be lord over your demons,

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡄࡅࡌࡓࡀࡊ

ומשאלטאנא להומראך

and master of your *humras*?

ࡏࡅࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡀ

עותאנא וגאבארא

(Is he) a powerful one, a giant?

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡎࡉࡁࡋࡄ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀࡊ

מאן נאסיבלה לצאותאך

Who will hold your colours (or: banners),

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

האיזאך ענשיא לגיואת ענשיא

(the women, the splendour of the women ?"

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד האיזין אמאר בישא

When the evil one(s) had thus spoken,

ࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡅࡍ[903] ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ

מלאלית ואמארנאלון על כול צבו

I answered and spoke to them about all things,

ࡗ ࡑࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡊ

כד צאביא רביא האך

"As the Great One wills it,

ࡊࡄࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡓࡍࡀࡊ

---

[903] BL 23600 42r: 2 & BLO 1236: 42r: 2 ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡍࡀࡋࡀࡊ

ד̲הואת מן דוכתה̲

thus it came to pass immediately.

ࡊࡃ ࡑࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

כד̲ צאביא רביא

As the Great One wills it,

ࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡖࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

אבאהאתאי ד̲ניצבון אמריליא

my Father, who planted (or: created) me, told it to me,

ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ[904] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ

מיקרא מאמלאליא

The voices proclaim:

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

מא ד̲מהאשבא רוהא

that which Rūha planned

ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ניהון קאלא באטליא

will be idle voices.

ࡊࡃ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

כד̲ ניהון שובא

When the Seven planets came to being

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[905] ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

ד̲מינאיהון הוסראנא האויא

from whom need is produced.

ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

שאמאיהון ד̲האנאתון קאליא

(Then) the names of those voices

[illegible][906] [illegible] [illegible]

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[904] BL 23599 44r: 3, BL 23600 42r: 4, BL 23601 42r: 14 & BLO 1236: 42r: 4 [illegible] [illegible] ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ [illegible] [illegible] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡀ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡀ ....

[905] (ࡖ) not in BL 23600 42r: 8 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8.

כתיב ומאפראש עלאואיהון

will be written down and pronounced over them.

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

תום האויאן תריסאר קאליא

Thereupon the twelve voices come into being,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ[907] ࡄࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ד̱מינאיהון האויא האסאר ובציר

from which all the flaws and defects are produced.

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡀࡁࡕࡉࡀ

ובהאשאבתא ד̱כאדאבתיא

Because of the plan of the liar,

ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡉࡍ ࡁࡊࡀࡓࡉࡅࡕࡀ

מיתיסרין בכאריותא

they are seized by sorrows.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

האוין האמשא קאליא

Five voices come into being,

(GRR p. 106)

ࡖࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡍ

ד̱בזיוהתא מיתאהזין

who make a terrifying appearance.

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡃࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱האזילון אלמיא ומידאהליא

The worlds behold them and are petrified;

ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ[908]

ומיתאהזיא בכאנא ד̱נורא ד̱יאקדא

and they appear in the *kanna* (place) of the burning fire.

---

[906] BL 23599 44r: 6, BL 23600 42r: 8, BL 23601 42r: 17 & BLO 1236: 42r: 8 ࡊࡕࡉࡁ.
[907] ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 42r: 10 & BLO 1236: 42r: 10.
[908] ࡖࡉ ࡀࡒࡃࡀ in the other manuscripts.

ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡂࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡂࡉࡍ

בגירגליא דרוגזא מאסגין

They march in the wheels of anger,

ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡍ

בגאונא דנורא מיתאהזין

and appear in the colours of fire.

࡞

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡉࡉࡀ[909]

אמריליא על קאדמייא

They spoke to me about the first (events),

ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ

ואפרישון על דה ודה

and clarified all and sundry.

ࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

מאפרישיליא על כולהון קאליא

They informed me about all voices,

ࡊࡃ ࡖࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד דהון מן דוכתאיון

as they happened in their place.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ[910]

אתיא הדא קאלא

One call comes

ࡅࡌࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומאפריש על קאלא כולהון

and explains about all calls.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

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[909] BL 23600 42r: 15 & BLO 1236: 42r: 15 ࡋࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ.

[910] Jonas states: "The symbol of the call as the form in which the transmundane makes its appearance within the world is so fundamental to Eastern Gnosticism that we may even designate the Mandaean and Manichean religions as "religions of the call."" (Jonas, 1958: 74).

אתיא הדא מאמלא

One speech comes

ࡅࡌࡉࡐࡓࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ומיפריש על מאמלאליא כולהון

and explains about all speeches.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡁࡓࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌࡀ

אתיא הדא ברא רהימא

A cherished son will come,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡏࡑࡈࡓࡀࡓ

ד̱מן כאנפיא ד̱זיוא עצטראר

who was formed from the bosom of the radiance.

ࡏࡑࡈࡓࡀࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ

עצטראר מן כאנפיא ד̱זיוא

From the bosom of the radiance he was formed,

ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡌࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ[911]

ודמותה̱ מנאטרא באתרה̱

and his counterpart is preserved in its place.

ࡀࡕࡉࡀ[912] ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אתיא בערותא ד̱הייא

He arrives with the splendour of Life,

ࡅࡁࡐࡀࡒࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ

ובפאקדתא ד̱אבויא פאקיד

and by the command which his father gave him.

ࡀࡕࡄ ࡁࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

אתה̱ בלבושא ד̱עשאתא האיתא

He comes in a garment of the Living Flame,

ࡅࡌࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ

ומאסגיא על אלמאך

---

[911] BL 23600 42r: 19 & BLO 1236: 42r: 19 ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ "in the place of Life".

[912] BL 23600 42r: 22 & BLO 1236: 42r: 22 ࡅࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ.

and set off towards your world.

ࡎࡂࡅࡃࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡃ

סגודתא דרביא סאגיד

He makes a profound obeisance to the Great One

ࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡐࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ

ערותא מאפיק מן עוצרה

Splendour is brought out from his thought

ࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ ࡌࡀࡐࡉࡒ

ערותא מן עוצרה מאפיק

From his thought splendour is brought out.

ࡅࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡉ

ומאיתיא מסותא וראמיא במאי

He brings solidity and throws it in the water.

ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡉ ࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ

מסותא במאי ראמיא

He throws solidity in the water

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡑࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ

ומשאויא מיצרא לאלמאך

and he appoints a limit to the worlds.

ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀ ࡋࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאיתילא לעשאתא האיתא

He brings the Living Flame

ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

וראמילא במיא תאהמיא

and casts it into the deep waters.

ࡌࡔࡀࡃࡉࡊࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡑࡉࡀ

משאדיכלון לכומציא

He fills in the ditches,

ࡅࡌࡉࡀࡁࡉࡔࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

ומיאבישלון למיא תאהמיא

and dries out the stagnant waters.
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡇ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
אלמא לנאפשיה̱ קאריא
He creates a world for himself,
ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡁࡉࡕࡀ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
ובאיין ביתא כד̱ רורביא
and builds a building like the Great Ones.
ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
צאותא מאיתיא מן בית הייא
He brings glory from the House of Life
ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡀ ࡋࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ
ומאנהארלא לשכינתא
and illuminates the *škinas*
ࡌࡋࡊࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מלכא לאלמא קאריא
He creates a king to the world
ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ
וראמיא בפאגרא נישימתא
and casts a soul into his body. [913]
ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ
נישימתא בפאגרא ראמיא
Into his body he casts a soul,
ࡅࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ
ועכילתא ד̱פאגרא אכליא
and allows him to eat food of the body.
ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
בהאילא ד̱עשאתא האיתא

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[913] Cf. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
"Ptahil threw the form which the Second (Life) had formed into the world of darkness. He made creations and formed tribes outside the Life" (GRR 287: 7).

By the strength of the living fire,
ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ
עשאתא עכילתא מאמלילא
the devouring fire spoke.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ
מאמלילא עשאתא עכילתא
The devouring fire spoke,
ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡉ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ
והאויא מיני כול דה ודה
and from it all and sundry was formed.

(GRR p. 107)

ࡊࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡉࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ[914]
כת האוין עוצאניא ופיקוניא ויארקוניא
When leaves, flowers and vegetables came to being,
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ
וכולהון פיריא עמביא ועלאניא
and all fruits, grapes and trees,
ࡖࡌࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דמראוזיבה באלמא
which (begin) to thrive in the world,
ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
בריהא דמיא הייא
(then) by the odour of the living water,
ࡅࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
ובריהא דעשאתא האיתא
and by the odour of the living flame,
ࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡎࡓࡅࡕࡅࡍ
באסים ריהא דסרותון

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[914] In BL 23600 42v: 6 & BLO 1236: 42v: 6 ࡅࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ is not found.

the stink of their putridity becomes pleasant.

ࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡋࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

מן עכילתא ד̱אכלא עשאתא עכילתא

From the food which the devouring fire devours,

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡋࡌࡉࡊࡋࡀࡊ

מינה̱ תיהוילאך למיכלאך

will be your food.

ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[915]

ניתון תלאתא עותריא

Three *Uthras* will arrive

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡀࡍࡈࡓࡅࡍࡄ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ונינאנטרונה̱ לנישימתא

and safeguard the souls (*nišimata*).

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ

קאלא ד̱הייא ניקרון

They will call aloud the voice of Life,

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡄࡉࡓࡅࡍࡄ ࡋࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

ונינהירונה̱ לבאיתא נאפלא

and illuminate the perishable house (the earthly world).

ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[916]

ניתון תרין עותריא

Two Uthras will arrive,

ࡅࡁࡓࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

ובריש מיא נאסגון

and go to the watersheds.

ࡋࡊࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

לכא ניתון מיא

They will bring water hither,

---

[915] They are Hibil, Šitil and Anoš: the head of the whole race (CP, p. 58).

[916] they are Šalmai and Naidbai, guardian uthras of the Jordan (CP, p. 58).

ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניניצבון יארדנא באלמא

and establish a Jordan (river) in the world.

ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡅࡍ

יארדנא באלמא ניניצבון

A Jordan they will establish in the world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡓࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ונישרון עלה צאותא

and spread luster over it.

ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ ࡖࡊࡉࡔࡓࡉࡀ[917]

שיתליא נישיתלון דכישריא

They will plant worthy plants

ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡌࡀࡍࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡁࡓࡅࡕࡀ

ניתימלון בהאימאנותא ובהוכומתא וסאברותא

They will be full of faith, wisdom and insight,

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

וניקרון קאלא שאניא

and call (aloud) a wonderful voice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡅࡍ

קאלא שאניא ניקרון

A wonderful voice they will call (aloud),

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

ונישרון בבאיתא צאותא

and spread luster in the House.

ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡐࡉࡀ ࡇࡍ ࡌࡉࡀ

שפיתא דשאפיא חן מיא

The outflow that flows out of the water,

---

[917] *kišria* pl. *kišra*: success, successful. *šitlia nišitlun ḏ-kišria* (doubtful) (MD, p. 216)

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ[918]

ד̲על ארקא תיביל נאפליא

falls onto earth Tibil.

ࡔࡐࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

שפיתא ד̲ארקא ד̲תיביל

The outflow of the earth of Tibil,

ࡏࡅ ࡑࡀࡄࡉࡕ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡉࡀ

עו צאהית ניהוילאך מיא

if you thirst, it shall be water for you.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

באיתא ד̲ארקא ד̲תיביל

The house of the earth of Tibil,

ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡊ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ

ניהויא עלאואך בנאטריא

shall be your prison.

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ[919]

מן בנאך ד̲האוין מינאך

Some of your sons, who are from you,

ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ[920]

עלאך ניהון בנאטריא

will be watchmen over you.

ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀࡊ

עלאך ניהון ד̲מיזדאהריבה̲ בפארקסאך

They are charged to look after your bond.

ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀࡊ

מיזדאהריבה̲ בפארקסאך

They are charged to look after your bond,

---

[918] BL 23600 42v: 16 & BLO 1236: 42v: 16 ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ.

[919] this verse is not in BL 23601: 43r.

[920] ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ is not in BL 23601: 43r.

ࡁࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

במאצפוטתא ד̲האויא מלאייא ד̲אלמא

(to look after) the chain which is the fullness of the world.

ࡍࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡉ ࡁࡎࡀࡃࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ניזדאהריבי בסאדא רבא

They are charged to look after your foot block,

ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡉࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̲כאדיר מן כולהון אלמא

which is heavier than all of the worlds.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ[921] ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̲ האזא שומא בישא

When the evil one heard this,

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡌࡀࡕ[922] ࡏࡕࡌࡋࡉࡀ

ליבה̲ הימאת עתמליא

his heart became full with anger.

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡏࡕࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ליבה̲ עתמליא הימתא

With anger his heart became full,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡉ ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

ואנידי לסאדאנא ד̲ארקא

and he shook the anvil of the earth.

ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ[923] ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ

לסאדאנא ד̲ארקא אנידה̲

He shook the anvil of the earth,

[illegible] [illegible]

---

[921] BL 23600 42v: 24 & BLO 1236: 42v: 24 ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ

[922] ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ in BL 23601: 43r.

[923] ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ is not found in BL 23600 42v: 24.

ואנדינון לפארקסיא

and shook the chains.

ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡑࡐࡅࡈࡉࡕࡀ

אנידה̱ למאצפוטיתא

He shook the chains,

(GRR p. 108)

ࡃࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡋࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱האויא מלאייא ד̱אלמא

which are the fullness of the world.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ

אנא בהאילאיהון ד̱הייא קאמית

I rose up by the strength of the Life,

ࡅࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡕ

ובותא מן הייא רביא בית

and I put a request to the Great Life,

ࡅࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡔࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡓ ࡐࡀࡓࡆࡋࡀ

וקרית ושוילה̱ שורא שור פארזלא

and I created and set a wall around him, an iron wall,

ࡅࡀࡄࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ

ואהדרילה̱ פארקסא

and I entangled him in a bond.

ࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡃࡄࡀࡃࡓࡉࡋࡄ

פארקסא ד̱האדרילה̱

In a bond I entangled him,

ࡃࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡀ

ד̱עניש בהאילה̱ לאמציא

whose strength none can attain.

ࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ

עניש לאמציא בהאילה̱

None can attain his strength,
ࡖࡍࡀࡍࡃࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
ד̱נאנדה̱ מן דוכתה̱
or shake him from its place.
ࡏࡒࡁࡀࡉ ࡂࡉࡄࡍࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ
עקבאי גיהנית בארקא
My heels stamped on the ground,
ࡅࡀࡍࡃࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ
ואנדיתה̱ לליבה̱ מן סאמכה̱
and shook down his heart from its pillar.
ࡊࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡀࡍࡉࡋࡄ
כינתה̱ בליבה̱ כאנילה̱
I wrapped his heart with a veil,
ࡅࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
וגטארילה̱ גיטרא בקומתה̱
and tied a ligament around his body.
ࡂࡈࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡉࡀ
גטאריבה̱ שובא גיטריא
I tied seven knots around him
ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ
ד̱קאלא ד̱השוכא מינה̱ נפאק
so the voice of darkness departed him.
ࡂࡈࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
גטארתא לגיטרא רבא
I tied the great knot,
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡕࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡄ
ובאטילתה̱ לכולה̱ מימרה̱
and foiled all his words.
[illegible] [illegible] ࡊࡀࡍࡕࡄ

בתריסאר כינע כאנתה̱
I wrapped him with twelve veils,
ࡖࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡌࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ
ד̱תריסאר מהאשאבאתא מינה̱ הון
so the twelve (evil) schemes departed him.
ࡀࡎࡓࡕࡄ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
אסרתה̱ בקאלא רבא
I bound him by the great voice,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡎࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡉࡋ
ד̱כולה̱ הסראנון מינאיון בטיל
so their whole blunder was annulled from them.
ࡊࡀࡐࡕࡄ ࡁࡊࡉࡐࡅࡕࡀ[924]
כאפתה̱ בכיפותא
I fettered him with a fetter,
ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡆࡀࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ
ד̱שובא זאהריריא מינה̱ הון
so the seven flashes departed him.
ࡔࡃࡉࡕ ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ
שדית בקולפא מהאיתה̱
I flung my club and struck him,
ࡅࡐࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡄ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡄ
ופלאגילה̱ ברישה̱ פלוגתה̱
and split his head open.
ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡍࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ
אנהימתה̱ נהימתא ד̱ענשיא
I made him shriek a womanish shriek,
ࡅࡀࡁࡊࡉࡕࡄ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡍࡒࡀ
ואבכיתה̱ כד̱ יאנקא

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[924] BL 23599 45r: 16 & BL 23601 43r: 21 ࡁࡊࡉࡐࡅࡕࡀ. BL 23600 43r: 9 & BLO 1236: 43r: 9 ࡁࡊࡉࡐࡕࡀ.

and I made him weep like a child.

ࡄࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡊࡅࡋࡕࡄ

הרא שאוילה̱ מאכולתה̱

I made dung his food,

ࡅࡕࡉࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ

ותינא שאוילה̱ מישתיא

and urine his drink.

ࡃࡀࡄࡉࡊࡕࡄ ࡋࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡅࡌࡀ

דאהיכתה̱ ליאקדאנא ולהאומא

I extinguished the fire and the glow

ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡊࡋࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ

ד̱עשאתא אכלא ומהאמבלא

of the devouring and destroying fire.

ࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

שיהא ניסבית מינה̱

I deprived him of his greed (or: lust),

ࡅࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡕࡄ ࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ואלבישתה̱ הימתא

and I clothed him with wrath.

ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡉࡕ

דירכא לטאביא דירכית

I trod out a path for the good,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושאוית באבא לאלמא

and I made a gateway for the world.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ

באבא לאלמא שאוית

A gateway for the world I made

[illegible]

ותראציבה̱ כורסיא

and erected a chair (throne) in it.

ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ

כורסיא לטאביא תירצית

I erected a chair (throne) for the good ones,

ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡁࡄ ࡐࡀࡎࡅࡌࡊࡀ[925]

ותאקניבה̱ פאסומכא

and I set up a light beside it.

ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡁࡄ

פאסימכא תאקניבה̱

A light I set up beside it,

ࡖࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ד̱משאלית מן ריש בריש

which is completely perfect.

ࡅࡌࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ

ומאטרא ד̱בניא שלאמא

And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection,

ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡉࡀ

באתרא ד̱יאתיריא ולא האסיריא

is the place where they live and without lacking anything.

(GRR p. 109)

ࡕࡀࡓࡑࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

תארצילון כארסאואתא

I set up thrones for them,

ࡅࡀࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡋࡅࡍ[926] ࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ואשלימילון עוצטליא

and presented them with robes.

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[925] BL 23599 45r: 23 & BL 23601 43v: 3 ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ. Not in BL 23600 43r: 17 & BLO 1236: 43r: 15.

[926] BLO 1236: 43r: 18 ࡖࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡋࡅࡍ.

ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ
יארדמא ד̲רביא תירצית
I established the Jordan of the Great [one],
ࡅࡀࡒࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ
ואקמית עלה̲ נאטריא
and appointed guardians over it.
ࡀࡒࡌࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[927]
אקמית עלה̲ תרין עותריא
I stationed two *uthras* beside it,
ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡀࡓ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡄࡎࡀࡓ
ד̲מיתאר עתאר ולא הסאר
who were surpassingly rich and without lacking.
ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡋࡓࡀࡁ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
כורסיא תירצית לראב זיוא
I set up a throne to Rab-Ziwa (the lord of beings of light)
ࡅࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡉ ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ
ותירצית קודאמי פאסימכא
and erected a light before it.
ࡐࡀࡎࡉࡌࡊࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡓࡑࡉࡕ
פאסימכא ד̲תירצית
A light which I erected,
ࡖࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ד̲מישתאלאם מן ריש בריש
which was completely perfect.
࡞
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡕࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ
אנא בערותא ותשביהתא

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[927] They are Šalmai & Nadbai, the two spirits regarded generally as the guardians of the Yardina (Jordan) river.

I with fervour and praise,

ࡁࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡍ

במא ד̲הייא אשמון

with what the Life had caused me to hear.

ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡕࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ

בערותא ותשביהתא

With fervour and praise,

ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אסגית עזלית לבית רורביא

I set forth and went towards the House of the Great Ones.

ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡀ

בהאדותא ד̲האדינא

In the joy that I felt,

ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

עשתאיילון לרורביא

I reported to the Great Ones.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ

הייא הדון ועתקאיאם

The Life rejoiced and was in high spirits,

ࡅࡄࡃࡅࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

והדוביא מן ריש בריש

and they were overjoyed with me.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ

הייא לגאט טאבותאי

The Life thanked me,

ࡅࡀࡍࡐࡀࡔࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡆࡉࡅࡀࡉ ࡏࡋ ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ[928]

ואנפאשויא לזיואי על ד̲עתליא ואמריא

and he gave me more radiance than I had (before) and spoke (to me):

---

[928] BL 23600 43v: 1 & BLO 1236: 43v: 1 ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ.

ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡀࡎࡉࡀࡊ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ

כושטא אסיאך טאבא

"*Kušṭa* preserve you, good one,

ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡕࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡀ

למאלאלא ד̠מאמלילתבה̠ ואסיא

and preserve the word you have spoken."

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡃࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋ

הייא בהאדותון מאלאל

The Life spoke blissfully

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

לעותריא אמריא

to the *uthras* (and) said:

ࡋࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ

להאילה̠ ד̠גאברא שאבא

"Praise the strength of the man

ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ[929]

ד̠מיא בגו נורא

who cured water through fire

ࡋࡄࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡁࡀ

להאילה̠ ד̠גאברא ד̠שאבא

Praise the strength of the man,

ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡃࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡈࡀࡕ

ד̠נורא בדילה̠ לא הטאת

against whom the fire sinned not.

ࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡄࡈࡀࡕࡀࡁࡄ

נורא לא הטאתאבה̠

The fire did not sin against him!"

---

[929] see above page 74 ࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡀࡋࡄࡅࡁࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡕࡀ ࡅࡓࡀࡌࡉࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡉࡒࡉࡀ "he brings the living flame and casts it into the deep waters".

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡓ

עותרא בערותה̱ באר

The *uthra* shone in its radiance;

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡓ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ

עותרא באר בערותה̱

the *uthra* shone in its radiance,

ࡅࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑ

ודירכא לשאלמאניא תראץ

and trod out a path for the perfect ones.

ࡃࡉࡓࡊࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑ ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ

דירכא תראץ לשאלמאניא

A path he trod out for the perfect ones,

ࡅࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ

ולשאלמאניא משאלימלון

and he rewarded them fully.

ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ

משאלימלון לשאלמאניא

He rewarded the perfect ones,

ࡅࡃࡀࡊࡀࡓ ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ודאכאר שומאיהון בית רורביא

and remembered their names in the House of the Great Ones.

࡞

ࡍࡄࡀ ࡅࡁࡎࡅࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

נהא ובסום עותרא

The *uthra* was cheerful and delighted

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ[930] ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

כד̱ הייא בטאבותא לגאט

when the Life thanked him.

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[930] BL 3600 43v: 9 ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ . In BLO 1236: 43v: 9 ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ.

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡅࡉࡀ

האנאנויא ונישקויא

He embraced and kissed the *uthra*

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉ ࡗ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לעותרא וכושטא עהאבלי כד רורביא

and gave him the *Kušṭa*, like the great (ones).

ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

אבאד וכשאר קרויא לעותרא

"He worked and succeeded.' They hailed to the *uthra*.

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ[931]

דכול תיבאד תיכשאר

"In whatever you do you will succeed.

ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡕࡉࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

עו תיבאד ותינצאב עותריא

If you create and plant *uthras*,

ࡗ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀࡊ ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡂࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

כד עותראך ונאסגולה להאך דוכתא

then your *uthras* may go to that place.

(GRR p. 110)

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

אבא רבא

(You are) the great father;

ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

דהייא נאפשא טאבותאך לגאט

(and) to you Life has proven his immense gratitude."

࡞

ࡅࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡕࡌࡀࡍࡉࡍ

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[931] ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ not in BL 3600 43v: 11 & BLO 1236: 43v: 11 .

כושטא ניסבית מינאיהון

I received the *kušṭa* from them,

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

ואסגית לבית רורביא

and went to the house of the great (ones),

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡓࡉࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[932]

דוכתא ד̱שרין טאביא

the place where the good ones dwell,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡕࡉࡌ ࡔࡓࡉࡍ

דוכתא ד̱טאביא האתים שרין

that place in which the good ones dwell.

ࡌࡀࡈࡅࡉࡀࡉ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

מאטויאי בית טאביא

When I arrived to the house of the good ones,

ࡎࡉࡂࡃࡉࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

סיגדית קודאמאיהון ד̱רורביא

I bowed down (in worship) before the Great Ones.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡖࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡌࡀࡓ

מא ד̱בית ד̱לרביא עמאר

As I wanted to address the Great One,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

הינון רביא אמארליא

the Great One spoke to me.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ

מא ד̱בית עשתאיילון

As I wanted to relate to them,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ[933] ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

הינון רביא טאבותאי לגאט

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[932] BL 23601: 44r ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ.

[933] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 44r.

the Great One thanked me.

ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀࡉ

רביא לגאט טאבותאי

The Great One thanked me,

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡑࡁࡅ

ואמארליא על כול צבו

and spoke to me about everything.

ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ

רביא בראבותון קיריון רבא

The Great One, in his majesty, called me: "The great

ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

מן ריש בריש

beyond all measures!"

ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא

"He worked and succeeded," hailed the Great One.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌ ࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ

עותרא מקאים ראהמה̱

"The uthra who sustains his friends,

ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אבאד וכשאר קרון רביא

worked and succeeded!" hailed the Great one.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡕࡉࡊࡔࡀࡓ

כול ד̱תיבאד תיכשאר

"In whatever you do, you will succeed.

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אבא תיהויא ד̱עותריא

You will be the father of the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡄ

ומזאויד זואדיא לראהמה̱

who provides his friends with provisions.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת בהירא תיהויא ד̠עותריא

You are the chosen one of the *uthras*,

ࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡒࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אמיתאקאן עבידאתא כולהון

and makes all works right.

[934]ࡕࡉࡕࡀࡒࡀࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ

תיתאקאן עבידאתא

You make all works right,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡅࡊࡔࡀࡓ

אמינטול ד̠אבאד וכשאר

because (you are the one who) "worked and succeeded."

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אנאת מאנדא ד̠הייא

"You, Manda d̠-Hiia,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡆࡓࡉࡆࡀ ࡅࡌࡆࡀࡓࡆࡀ

עותרא זריזא ומזארזא

the valour and well-prepared *Uthra*,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡂࡅࡃ ࡍࡉࡂࡃࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

קום נגוד ניגדא ד̠מיא הייא

arise, draw off a channel of living water

ࡅࡀࡅࡉࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואויל להאך אלמא

and lead it into that world.

[935]ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קרילון לתלאתא עותריא

Summon the three *uthras*,

---

[934] BL 3600 43v: 23 & BLO 1236: 43v: 23 ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ.
[935] They are: Hibil, Šitil & Anoš.

ࡖࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱גינזא ד̱הייא מיזדאהריא

who shall care for the treasure of the Life.

ࡌࡉࡆࡃࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡉࡍࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

מיזדאהריא בגינזא ד̱הייא

They shall care for the treasure of Life,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ

ד̱מן האכא מיתינסיב

which is taken from here.

ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡌࡉࡌࡉࡀ

נאסבילה̱ עותריא תמימיא

Imprudent *uthras* take it,

ࡅࡌࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡊ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומאולילה̱ להאך אלמא

and bring it into that world.

ࡌࡎࡀࡊࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ

מסאככילה̱ ביסיאנא

They put it in filth

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡑࡁࡀ ࡁࡎࡀࡓ[936]

ומאלבישילה̱ עצבא בסאר

and clothe it in the colour(s) of the flesh.

ࡌࡎࡀࡊࡊࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ

מסאככילה̱ ביסיאנא

They put it in the filth,

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאלבישילה̱ לבושא באטלא

and clothe it with a perishable garment.

ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡋࡄ

---

[936] In BL 23600 44r: 2 there is [illegible]

לבושא באטלא מאלבישילה̱
With a perishable garment they clothe it
ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
ומשאויבה̱ האסיר ובציר
and produce in it defect and blunder.
ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ ࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ
האסיר ובציר משאויבה̱
Defect and blunder they produce in it,
ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ
והאויאבון הארגתא
and distortion afflicts them.
ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ
הארגתא האויאבון
Distortion afflicts them,
ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ
והאויאבון דה̱ ודה̱
and ensue in them all and sundry."

(GRR p. 111)

࡞

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡀࡊ ࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ
האיזאך תריץ תיניאנא
Then the Second (Life) straightened up,
ࡅࡒࡀࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡋࡊࡅࡉࡀ
וקאם עותרא ומילכויא
and the *Uthra* rose up and held counsel.
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡌࡉࡋࡊࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ
עותריא קאם ומילכויא ואמארלה̱
His *uthras* stood and gave him advice, and spoke to him (to the Second Life):

ࡀࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀࡍ[937] ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אהאבאלאן ניקריא אלמא

“Grant us to call forth a world,

ࡅࡍࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

ונשאוילאך שכינאתא

and establish *škinas* for you,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱הינון דילאך ניתיקריא

which will be declared as yours!”

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡄ ࡅࡌࡍ ࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡄ

ומן נהורה̱ ומן מא ד̱הייא עהאבלה̱

and his light and some of that which the Life gave him.

ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡆࡉࡅࡄ

עהאבלון מן זיוה̱

He gave them some of his radiance

ࡅࡍࡂࡀࡃ[938] ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונגאד מיקריא אלמא

and ordered(?) them to call forth a world.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡍࡄ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ

קאם בנה̱ תיניאנא ואסגון

The sons of the Second (Life) arose, set forth

ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ונהות לאתאר השוך

and descended towards the Place of Darkness.

ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ[939] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

קירויא לפתאהיל עותרא

They called forth Ptahil-Uthra

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[937] BL 23599 46r: 18 ࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀ. BL 23600 44r : 8, L 23601 44r: 22 & BLO 1236: 44r: 8 ࡀࡄࡀࡁࡀࡋࡀ

[938] *ngad* PE. Pf. NGD “to draw (forth or out), stretch out, extend etc. for *pqad* (idiom) (MD, p. 288). נגד to flow, pull, draw, guide (DJPA, p. 340).

[939] Ptahil the Mandaean demiurge who created the physical world (See above § 2.3.6).

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ

קירויא וקאימויא באתרה

They called him forth and set him in his place.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ[940]

קרונון לבניא שלאמא

They called the sons-of- perfection

ࡅࡕࡓࡀࡑࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡉࡅࡍ

ותראצונון על כורסיאיון

and set them on their thrones.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ

קרון ושאוין שכינאתא

They called forth and created *škinas,*

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ומשאויבון עותריא

and created *uthras* in them.

ࡀࡎࡂࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡐࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ

אסגון על האפיקיא מיא

They arrived at the streams of water

ࡅࡀࡃࡉࡒ ࡄࡉࡆࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ואדיק היזויא לאתאר השוך

and looked intently at the Place of Darkness.

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ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[941] ࡁࡀࡓ ࡁࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

בהאק זיוא באר בנאפשיא ונאפשיא

Bhaq-Ziwa shone by himself and became arrogant,

[illegible]

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[940] Šum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, ‘In-Hai and Zamar-Hai: the four beings of perfection who come towards sincere and believing people and take them out of bonds (See CP, p. 87).

[941] ࡁࡄࡀࡒ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ *bhaq-ziwa* name of a light spirit. He is created by the Second (Life) and he is identified with Abathur. His other name is “the Father of the *Uthras*” (See above §2. 2.5).

כד̠ רורביא לגאט נאפשיא

and conducted himself like the great ones.

ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡊࡃ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

לגאט כד̠ רורביא

He conducted like the great ones,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

ושיבקה̠ לשומא ד̠אבויא קרא ואמאר

and abandoned the name that his father called him by. And he spoke:

ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ

אבא ד̠עותריא אנא

“I am the father of the *uthras*,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אנא הו אבא ד̠עותריא

the father of the *uthras* am I,

ࡖࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ד̠שאוית שכינאתא לעותריא

who made *škinas* for the *uthras*.”

ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

עתהאשאב על מיא תאהמיא

He pondered over the deep waters

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡖࡏࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואמאר ד̠עקריא אלמא

and said: “I shall call forth a world!”

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ[942]

ולאעתימליך

He took no advice

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ

ולאעדא על מיא תאהמיא

---

[942] BL 23600 44r : 20 & BLO 1236: 44r: 22 ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ.

and did not perceive the deep waters.

ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀ

על מיא תאהמיא לא עדא

He did not perceive the deep waters

ࡏࡋ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀ

ולאעדא על עשאתא עכילתא

and he did not perceive the devouring flame,

ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ

דלאהואבה צאותא

which has no splendour.

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ולאעתימליך אבא דעותריא

The father of the uthras took no advice

ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

ולאעהאבלון אדיאוריא

and he offered them (the *uthras*) no support.

◆

ࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ

קרא לפתאהיל עותרא

He called Ptahil-Uthra,

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡄ ࡊࡖ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

האנאה ונישקה כד רורביא

embraced him, and kissed him like a great one.

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡌࡄࡀࡕࡀ

אסיקלה שומהאתא

He bestowed names on him,

[illegible][943] [illegible][944] [illegible]

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[943] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 [illegible]. BL 23599 46v: 10 & BL 23601 44v: 10 [illegible].

[944] BL 23600 44r : 24 & BLO 1236: 44r: 24 [illegible] [illegible].

ד̱כסעיא ומנאטרא באתראיין

which are concealed and guarded in their place.

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡏࡉࡋ ࡔࡋࡉࡄࡀ

אסיקלה̱ גאברעיל שליהא

He gave him the name "Gabriel, the messenger,"

ࡅࡒࡓࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

וקרא ופאקדא ואמארלה̱

He summoned him, gave command and spoke to him:

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡕࡉࡕ[945] ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

קום אסגיא הות לתית דוכתא

"Arise, go, descend to the lower place,

ࡖࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱ליכא שכינאתא וליכא אלמא

where there are no *škinas* nor worlds.

(GRR p. 112)

ࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡊ

קריא ושאויא אלמא לנאפשאך

Call forth and make a world for yourself,

ࡀࡊࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡔࡋࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡉࡕ

אכואת בניא שלאמא ד̱הזית

just like the sons of perfection, whom you saw.

ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡅࡕࡀࡒࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עביד ותאקין אלמא

Set up and establish a world,

ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡊ

עביד אלמא לנאפשאך

establish a world for yourself,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡓࡄ [illegible]

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[945] BL 23600 44r : 26 & BLO 1236: 44r: 26 ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡕ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ.

ושאויבה̱ עותריא
and make uthras in it.
ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡄ
אבא ד̱עותריא בראבותה̱
The father of the uthras, in his arrogance,
ࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ
לא מארלה̱ על האמבאגותא
said to him nothing about the hostility,
ࡅࡋࡀࡆࡀࡓࡆࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡄ
ולאזארזה̱ ולאפרישה̱
and he neither armed him nor instructed him.
࡞

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ
קאם פתאהיל עותרא ואסגיא
Ptahil-Uthra rose up, set forth
ࡅࡍࡄࡅࡕ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡔࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ
ונהות לאתיתאיון ד̱שכינאתא
and descended below the *škinas*,
ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡏࡊࡀ[946] ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דוכתא ד̱לעכא אלמא
to the place where there is no world.
ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡊࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡎࡉࡀࡍࡀ
קאם בכינאתא סיאנא
He stepped in the lump of filth
ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
וקאמבון במיא תאהמיא
and waded in the deep water.
[illegible]

---

[946] ࡋࡉࡊࡀ in the other copies.

אמאר במימרה̱
He spoke with his voice,
ࡗ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ
כד̱ עשאתא האיתא שנאת
as the living flame (in him) changed.
ࡗ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ[947] ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
כד̱ שנאת עשאתא האיתא
When the living flame (in him) changed
ࡀࡕࡉࡍࡈࡉࡈ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
אתינטיט בליבה̱ ואמאר
he was troubled in his heart and said:
ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀ
כד̱ אנא בר רביא אנא
“Since I am the son of the Great One,
ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ
עשאתא האיתא אלמא שנאת
why has the living flame (in me) changed?”

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
כד̱ האיזין אמאר פתאהיל עותרא
When Ptahil-Uthra spoke thus,
ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡉࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ
הע רוהא מיהאילא
She, Rūha, strengthened.
ࡌࡉࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀ ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
מיהאילא הע רוהא
Strengthened was she, Rūha,
[illegible] [illegible][948] [illegible][949]

---

[947] ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡀࡕ in the other copies (when the Great One changed the Living Flame (in him ?).

ונאפשא רבותא נסאבתה̱

and she herself became arrogant.

ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡖࡔࡍࡀ ࡆࡉࡅࡄ

עמראת ד̱שנא זיוה̱

She spoke: “His radiance has changed,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ

והואבה̱ בזיוא האסיר ובאציר

his radiance has become deficient and imperfect.”

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She arose, destroyed her property,

ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ

ועתלאבשאת בתותבא נאפשא

and clothed herself in a flowing dress.

ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

אשניאת רוהא בראבותא

Rūha removed her majesty,

ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡈࡀࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ ࡊࡖ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ

וליגטאת נאפשא כד̱ ד̱לאהואת

and conducted herself as she was not.

ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡀࡊࡋࡀ

אמראלה̱ לקאראבתאנא סאכלא

She spoke to the foolish warrior (the King of Darkness),

ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡔ[950] ࡅࡋࡀࡐࡓࡀࡔ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ

ד̱לאהאש ולאפראש אמראלה̱

who has no sense or understanding. She spoke to him:

[illegible] ࡇࡆࡉࡀ [illegible] ࡆࡉࡅࡀ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[948] [illegible] in BL 23601 44v: 23.

[949] [illegible] in BL 23600 44v : 8 & BLO 1236: 44v: 8. [illegible] In BL 23601 44v: 23.

[950] BL 23601 45r: 2 ࡖࡀࡄࡀࡔ.

קום הזיא ד̱בצאר זיוא ד̱גאברא נוכראיא

“Arise and behold how the radiance of the strange man has diminished,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

והואבה̱ בזיוה̱ האסיר ובציר

and how his radiance has become deficient and imperfect.

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡏࡌࡀࡊ

קום שכוב לואת עמאך

“Arise and sleep with your mother,

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡌࡀࡎࡐࡅࡈࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓࡕࡁࡄ

ועשתריא מן מאספוטיתא ד̱עסתארתבה̱

and you will be released from the chain which binds you,

ࡖࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱אביא מן כולא אלמא

which is thicker than the whole world.”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כד̱ האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked one heard this,

ࡏࡕࡍࡀࡄࡀࡆࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ

עתנאהאזבון בגירמה̱

he rattled his bones.

ࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

שכיב לואת רוהא

He slept with Rūha,

ࡅࡔࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ

ושבא דמו קאבלאת מן האד צבו

and she conceived seven forms from the one intercourse.

ࡅࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ

ושובא יומיא האמבלאת

And (after) seven days she was in labour

ࡅࡏࡃࡀࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ

ועדאלתינון לשיטיא

and gave birth to the follies,

ࡅࡏࡃࡀࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ[951]

ועדאלתינון לשיביאהיא

She gave birth to the Seven (Planets),

(GRR p. 113)

ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

ד̱שובא דמו מינאיהון נפאק

from which seven figures originated.

ࡗ ࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

כד̱ זאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכה̱

when she caught sight of them, her heart fell down from its support,

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

ואמרא

and she said:

ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ[952] ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ

עמרית ולאעתמארליא

"I spoke and am not spoken to.

---

[951] ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ Lidzbarski translates the word: "planets", presumably from *šaba ahia*, "seven brothers" (MII n. 5 p. 254). The Planets are, indeed considered little better than demons since actions swayed by emotions are harmful to the soul, and faults committed under planetary influence must be expiated after death in the *maṭarata*, realms equivalent to purgatories (Drower, *The Coronation of Great Šišlam*, 1962: xvi). The planetary deities survived among Mandaeans as forces governing the days of the week. (Budge, 1939: 380) The official Mandaean religion condemns the worship of the old Babylonian planetary deities, even though popular magic has seen fit to invoke their aid, e. g. in the unpublished text (DC 18) "Zrazta d̠-Šuba Šibiahia" or The Protection of the Seven Planets. We read of the evil designs in the marriage ceremony of the *Great Šišlam*: "I laughed at the planets, (and) at what they planned and did. I dwelt amongst the Seven (planets) but they laid no hand upon me. For the Elect that loved the Life there shall be good things. Woe to the planets that scheme wickedness against my Chosen Ones" (Drower, *Šarh d̠-Qabin*, 1950: 63. Also, Yamauchi, 1967: 32). As for demonizing the planets, Zaehner writes: "The stars proper followed their regular courses and so reflected the divine order: the planets, however, followed eccentric courses and for this reason could not be fitted into that order: hence they must be diabolical" (Zaehner, 1955: 152).

[952] ࡀࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ in BL 23601: 45r.

ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ
מינדאם ד̱בית לאהואת
The thing I wished for did not become true,
ࡖࡄࡀࡃ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱האד לגאברה̱ לאדאמיא
that no one resembles the other."

* * *

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
כד̱ האזא עמראת רוהא
When Rūha spoke in this way,
ࡁࡍࡀ[953] ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ
בנא בהאמבאגותא הון
her sons became hostile.
ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ
הון בהאמבאגותא וכפארבה̱ באבוהון
They became hostile and denied their father.
ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡎࡀࡊࡀ
ליכא ד̱ליתלה̱ סאכא
There is nothing without an end.

* * *

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡌࡔࡀ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
פתאהיל עדה̱ משא במיא תאהמיא ואמאר
Ptahil washed his hands in the deep water and spoke:
ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ
תיהויא ארקא
"May an earth come into being,
ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
כד̱ ד̱הואת בית רורביא

---

[953] not in BL 23601: 45r.

like it did in the House of the Great Ones."

ࡗ ࡖࡈࡌࡀࡔ ࡏࡃࡄ

כד דטמאש עדה

When he immersed his hands

ࡄࡀࡃ[954] ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

האד מסותא הואת

a solidity was formed.

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ

הואת האד מסותא

A solidity was formed

ࡖࡓࡌࡏࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡓࡀࡄࡈࡀ ࡗ ࡋࡀࡌࡎࡀࡕ

דרמעיא ומראהטא כד לאמסאת

which was thrown down and ran about, as though there was no matter.

ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ[955] ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡎࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד דלא הואת ולאמסאת ארקא

When no earth came into being and was solidified,

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה בפלוגתא קאם

his heart was torn with discord.

ࡗ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ

כד ליבה קאם בפלוגתא

When his heart was torn with discord,

ࡄࡏ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡕࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡕ

הע רוהא תנאת עהאילאת

Rūha, again became stron

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡐࡅࡎ[956] ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉ

ואמרא עקום עפוס מאלאי

---

[954] ࡄࡀࡃࡀ BL 23601: 45r.
[955] ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ not in BL 23599 47r: 17 & BL 23601 45r: 18.
[956] ࡏࡐࡅࡔ BL 23601: 45r.

and spoke: “I will rise and destroy my property,

ࡅࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועזאל לואת מאלכא ד̠אלמא

and depart to the King of the World.”

࡞

ࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ[957] ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ

מן ריש קאמאת

She arose at once,

ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ

פאסאת מאלא ועתלאבשאת בתותבא

destroyed her property and put on a dress

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

she got up and destroyed her property

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀ

ועזלאת לבורא אמרא

and went to the monster and spoke to him:

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡁࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

קום בורא רבא

“Rise! great monster,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡅ

קום הזיא ד̠אלמא כולה̠ דילאך הו

rise, behold the whole world is yours!

ࡔࡉࡌࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡔࡕࡁࡉࡒ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

שימית ד̠עשתביק באיתא

I heard that the House was deserted

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡉࡈࡓࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡓࡉࡍ

וכולהון גיטרה̠ מישתרין

---

[957] ࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡓࡉࡉࡔ in BL 23600 44v : 30 & BL 23601 45r.

and all its knots are loosed."

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ
כד̠ האזא שומא בישא
When the wicked heard this,
ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡋ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ
עהאיל ליבה̠ האד תרין
his heart became twice as strong
ࡊࡃ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡉࡋ[958] ࡋࡉࡁࡄ
כד̠ עתהאיאל ליבה̠
When his heart became strong
ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡃࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡌࡀ
אמראלה̠ ד̠אהאתאך אמא
She spoke to him: "I am your sister
ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡊࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ
עו אנאת שאכבית לואתאי
If you sleep with me,
ࡄࡀࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ
האילאך האויא האד תרין
your strength will be twice as much."
ࡊࡃ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ
כד̠ שכיב לואתא
When he slept with her,
ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ
מן האד צבו
by the one intercourse,
[illegible]

---

[958] ࡏࡄࡀࡉࡋ in BL 23599 47r: 24 & BL 23601 45r: 25.

מינה̱ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא

she conceived twelve monsters by him.

ࡌࡉࡍࡏ ࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מינה̱ קאבלאת תריסאר בוריא

She conceived by him twelve monsters,

ࡖࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ

ד̱האד מינאיהון לא מיתאכשאר

but none of which was worthy.

ࡋࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡋࡀࡑࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ

לתריסאר יומיא הלאצאלא לרוהא

Pains overtook Rūha for twelve days.[959]

(GRR p. 114)

ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡉࡃࡋࡀࡕ

האמבלאת וידלאת

She was in labour and gave birth

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

תריסאר דמאואתא

to twelve forms,

ࡖࡄࡃࡀ[960] ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡏ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱הדא להאברה̱ לאדאמיא

none of which resembled any other another.

ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

לאדאמין להדאדיא

The did not resemble one another,

ࡖࡁࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡊࡁࡉࡀ[961]

ד̱בכאנפיא ד̱הדאדיא ראכביא

and each one rose on the other's lap.

---

[959] For these acts of insect see above § 2.3.9.1

[960] ࡖࡄࡀࡃ in the other manuscripts.

[961] Cf. one demon is described as biting another in an old Babylonian text (cited by Yamauchi, 1967: 53).

ࡗ[962] ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

כד̲ הזאתינון ליבא נפאל מן סאמכה̲

When she caught sight of them, her heart fell from its support.[963]

ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

ליבא מן סאמכה̲ נפאל

Her heart fell from its support,

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡐࡔࡀ ࡅࡁࡊࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ

והאולילאת על נפשא ובכאת ואמרא

and she howled and wept onto herself, and she said:

ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡁࡈࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡃࡅࡋ

עמרית ד̲עבטון ועדול

"I said I shall be pregnant and bear forth,

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניהון כד̲ מארה̲ ד̲אלמא

and they will resemble the Lord of the World.

ࡓࡉࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡈࡉࡕ

ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית

I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive,

ࡅࡍࡉࡋࡀ ࡀࡎࡉࡁࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ

ונילא אסיבתא לנאפשא

and I have brought disgrace on myself."

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡏࡌࡓࡀࡕ[964] ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ

כד̲ האזא עמראת נימרוס

When Namrus spoke thus,

[illegible]

---

[962] not in BL 23601: 4v.

[963] Cf. H̲ubur giving birth to giant serpents. "Mother H̲ubur, who forms everything, supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless ... with poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread. She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. . . " The Babylon Epic of Creation *Enûma elish* translation by: W. G. Lambert, edited by M. Geller & M. Schipper, *Imagining Creation*, Brill (2007), p. 7: 19-24.

[964] BL 23600 45r: 17 BLO 1236: 45r: 16 ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡕ.

תריסאר כולהון בבישותא הון
the Twelve became wickedly infuriated
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
כולהון הון בבישותא
The Twelve became wickedly infuriated,
ࡅࡊࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ[965]
וכאפריא באבוהון
and denied their father.
ࡋࡉࡊࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ליכא ד̲סאכא ליתלה̲
There is nothing without an end.

* * *

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ
פתאהיל בהאשאבתא קאם
Ptahil stood engrossed in thought,
ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
פתאהיל קאם בהאשאבתא ואמאר
engrossed in thought Ptahil stood and cried:
ࡖࡏࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̲עשיבקה̲ לאלמא
"I shall leave the world!"
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
כד̲ האזא שאמאת רוהא
When Rūha heard this,
ࡋࡉࡁࡀ[966] ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡀ[967] ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ
ליבא תראצלא על סאמכה̲ ואמרא
her heart righted itself on its support and she said:

---

[965] In BL 23600 45r : 17 & BLO 1236: 45r: 16 there is ࡁࡀࡁࡅࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
[966] In BL 23600 45r : 21 there is ࡋࡁࡄ
[967] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BL 23601 45v: 15 there is ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡄ

ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ[968] ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡀ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ

ד̱ליתלה̱ האמבאגא נוכראיא

“The alien has no hostility,

ࡅࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונוכראיא לא מישתאלאטבה̱ באלמא

and the alien has no (more) power in the world.”

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property

ࡅࡏࡕࡋࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡁࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ

ועתלאבשאת בתותבא

and put on her dress

ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡐࡀࡎࡀࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀ

קאמאת פאסאת מאלא

She stood and destroyed her property.

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡊࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

ועזלאת לכיאנא ד̱אתאר השוך

and went to the source of the Place of Darkness.

ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡕࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡀ

אמראלה̱ לקאראבתאנא שאפלא

She spoke to the degraded warrior,

ࡖࡏࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

ד̱עדיא וליגריא ליתלה̱

who is without hands or feet:

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡀࡁ ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ

קום אב והזיא

---

[968] In BL 23600 45r : 21 & BLO 1236: 45r: 20 ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ is found without ࡖ

"Rise, my father, and behold!

ࡖࡁࡓࡀࡕࡀࡊ ࡀࡍࡀ

דבראתאך אנא

I am your daughter!

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡅࡍࡅࡔࡒࡀࡍ

האנאנאן ונושקאן

Fondle me and kiss me,

ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉ

ולואתאי שכוב עקאראי

and sleep with me,

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡌࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואינאך מליבה באלמא

and gaze your fill at the world.

ࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡌࡋࡉࡁࡄ

אינאך באלמא מליבה

Gaze your fill at the world,

ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡄࡅ

והזיא דכולה דילאך הו

and behold (the world) which fully belongs to you.

ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀࡊ

נוכראיא דאתא לאלמאך

The Stranger who came to your world

ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡅࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ

שאמאר שיבקה ולאתרה סליק

set out urgently and ascended to his place.

ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡔࡊࡅࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡉ

עו תישכוב לואתאי

If you sleep with me

ࡀࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ

אינאך האויא כד האוין

your eyes will remain as they are!"

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

כ̱ד האזא שומא בישא

When the wicked heard this

ࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡀ ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ

האנאנא ונישקא ולואתא שכיב

he embraced her, kissed her and slept with her.

ࡍࡀࡔࡒࡀ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ

נאשקא ושכיב לואתא

He kissed her and slept with her,

ࡅࡒࡀࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡁࡉࡈࡍࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ

וקאבלאת מינה̱ ביטנא הדא

and she became pregnant from him.

(GRR p. 115)

ࡒࡉࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡆࡉࡃࡀࡍࡉࡀ

קיבלאת מינה̱ האמשא זידאניא

She conceived five wrathful ones by him,

ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱הינון הדאדיא מכאדביא

who disavowed each other.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

הינון מכאדביא הדאדיא

They disavowed each other,

ࡅࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁ[969] ࡅࡋࡀࡔࡀࡐࡒࡉࡓ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

וצבו ד̱לאהאיאב ולאשאפקיר אבדיא

and practiced anything which was unseemly and awful.

---

[969] ࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁ PE. Pt. *HUB* (always with la) *lahaiab ulašapir* "unseemly and not good"; la is to emphasize *haiib* which itself is negative (MD p. 134).

ࡁࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡀ ࡐࡉࡒࡀ ࡅࡁࡓࡀࡒ ࡁࡉࡓࡒࡀ

ביומא הדא פאקא פיקא ובראק בירקא

On the first day (the sky) split opened and there was lightning.

ࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ ࡓࡀࡌ[970]

בתיניאנא רימא ראם

On the second day it thundered.

ࡁࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡆࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ[971] ࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡓࡊࡉࡀ

בתלאתא יומא בזהריריא מיתכארכיא

On the third day it was surrounded by flames.

ࡁࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

בארבא יומא גוהא עתיגנא בתיריא השוך

On the fourth day an earthquake shook the portals of the Darkness.

ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡑࡓࡀࡐ ࡅࡃࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡁࡄ

בהאמשא יומא צראף ודאויא ליבה̱

On the fifth day her heart was afflicted and mournful.

ࡄࡁࡀࡋ ࡓࡉࡅࡉࡀࡍࡀ

הבאל ריויאנא

Her mind was convulsed,

ࡄࡁࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡃࡋࡀ

הבילתא ד̱האיאתא מהאמבלא ויאדלא

as a convulsed labouring woman confined in childbed.

࡞

ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡉࡀࡃࡋࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡔ[972] ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ[973]

האמבלאת ויאדלאת האמיש דמאואתא

She was in labour and gave birth to five forms,

[illegible][974] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[970] In , BL 23600 45v: 8 ࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ. In BL 23599 48r: 4 & BLO 1236: 45v: 8 ࡓࡀࡌ ࡓࡉࡌࡀ

[971] ࡆࡄࡓࡉࡓࡉࡀ *zahriria* pl. *zahrira*: flashes, flames (found only in plural) (MD. p. 157).

[972] *hamiš* feminine *hamša* "five" (MD p. 124).

[973] ࡄࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ *hamiš dmauata* the five planets excluding the sun and the moon.

דהדא להאברה לאדאמיא

but none of which resembled any other.

ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ

לאדאמיא הדא להאברה

None resembled any other,

ࡅࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וביהדאדיא מיתיקליא

and they are inflamed against one another.

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ[975] ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

דהאויא מינאיהון הוסראנא

Through them imperfection originated,

ࡖࡋࡀࡌࡑࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דלאמציבה כולהון אלמיא

with which all the worlds are unable to cope.

࡞

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

כד הזאתינון

When she beheld them,

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדא לרישא שאדיא

she hit her head with her hand(s)

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔࡀ

עדא שאדיא לרישא

She hit her head with her hand(s)

ࡅࡂࡃࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ

וגדאלא ברישא סאתרא

and tore out the tress(es) on her head.

ࡅࡂࡃࡀࡋࡀ ࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

---

[974] In BL 23600 45v : 13 & BLO 1236: 45v: 13: ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡀࡕ.

[975] In BL 23599 48r: 9 & BL 23601 46r: 9 ࡌࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ.

גדאלא סאתרא ברישא
She tore out the tress(es) on her head.
ࡅࡀࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ[976] ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀ
ואילאת לליבא הארגתא ואמרא
and she brought distortion to her heart, and she spoke:
ࡓࡉࡄࡈࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡉ ࡅࡋࡀࡌࡈࡉࡕ
ריהטית מאראי ולאמטית
"I ran, my Lord, and did not arrive.
ࡅࡍࡉࡅࡋࡉࡀ[977] ࡀࡎࡉࡁࡕࡄ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ
וניוליא אסיבתה̱ לנאפשאי
I brought disgrace upon myself.
ࡋࡀࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[978] ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡕࡍࡉࡄࡉࡕ[979]
לאהזאיתינון ולאעתניהית
I did not see them and I was not relieved.
ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ
ועמרית ולאהואת
I spoke and it did not happen.
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡀࡉ ࡏࡅࡃࡅࡍ
כולהון הארשאי עודון
All my spells were lost
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡕࡁࡀࡃࡓࡀࡍ
וכולהון מינילאי עתבאדראן
and all my words were scattered.
ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡎࡉࡕ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡉ
למאליא ד̱פאסית מאלאי
Wherefore I destroyed my property,
ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ [illegible] [illegible]

---

[976] [illegible] in BL 23601: 46r.
[977] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 1 [illegible].
[978] In BL 23599 48r: 13 & BL 23601 46r: 13 [illegible].
[979] [illegible] in BL 23601: 46r.

ולמאליא ד̲ליבשית תותבאי
and wherefore I clothed my self with my gown?
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡃࡋࡉࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀࡉ
לימאליא ד̲ליבשית תותבאי
Wherefore I clothed myself with my gown,
ࡃࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[980] ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡉࡀ
ד̲מנאתא בא באיתא ליתליא
while I have no share of it the House?”

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡀࡍࡀ
פתאהיל האשיב ברויאנא
Ptahil pondered in his mind
ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊࡁࡄ ࡁࡄࡉࡊࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
ועתימליכבה̲ בהיכימתה̲ ואמאר
and he conferred with his wisdom, and he spoke:
ࡃࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡏࡃࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ
ד̲עקום להייא עסגוד ועדניא לרביא
“I shall rise, prostrate to the Life and submit (myself) to the Great (One),
ࡏࡋ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡃࡏࡎࡀࡁ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡃࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ[981] ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
על בית ד̲עסאב מן לבושא ד̲עשאתא האיתא
My wish is to get a garment of the Living Flame,
ࡅࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
ועהדאר במיא תאהמיא
and wade in turbid water.
ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ
במיא תאהמיא עהדאר
In the turbid water I shall wade,

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[980] In BL 23600 46r : 1 & BLO 1236: 46r: 1 ࡁࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ
[981] In BL 23600 46r : 3 & BL 23601 46r: 19 there is ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ

(GRR p. 116)

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ
ומינדאם ד̠האויא עהאויא
and reveal all that shall take place."

◆

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ
פתאהיל בהוכומתא ד̠האשיב
When Ptahil, by the wisdom he devised,
ࡊࡃ ࡖࡎࡂࡉࡃ[982] ࡅࡔࡁࡀ ࡋࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כד̠ ד̠סגיד ושבא להייא
worshiped and praised the Life.
ࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡌࡍ ࡋࡁࡅࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
נסיב מן לבוש עשאתא האיתא
He received the garment of the Living Flame
ࡅࡄࡃࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ[983]
והדארבון במיא תאהמיא
and waded in the turbid water.
ࡊࡃ ࡏࡌࡉࡆࡂࡀࡕ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
כד̠ עמיזגאת עשאתא האיתא
When the Living Flame mingled
ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
בגאואיהון במיא תאהמיא
with the turbid water,
ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓ
בריהא ד̠לבושא ד̠עשאתא האיתא נימאר
at the scent of the garment of the Living Flame
[illegible][984] ࡌࡍ [illegible][985] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[982] In BL 23599 48r: 22, BL 23600 46r : 6 & BLO 1236: 46r: 6 ࡊࡃ ࡎࡂࡉࡃ.
[983] The above six lines not in BLO 1236: 46r.

אפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא סליק

dust ascended from the earth Siniawis.

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡒࡐࡓࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ[986]

סליק אקפרא מן סיניאויס ארקא

Dust rose up from the earth Siniawis

ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

באתאר נפאל

and fell in (every) place.

ࡏࡈࡌࡀࡌ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡌࡉࡀ

עטמאם כולהון ואמאמיא

All the seas were stopped up

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡃࡊࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡌࡑࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ועשתאדכון כומציא כולהון

and all the hollows were leveled.

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡀࡁࡀࡔࡕࡀ

הואת מיאבאשתא

There became dry land,

ࡅࡏࡕࡌࡉࡎࡉࡀࡕ ࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡐࡋࡀࡕ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ

ועתמיסיאת מסותא וניפלאת במיא

and a solidification was formed and fell into the water.[987]

ࡅࡃࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡓ ࡂࡅࡃࡀ[988]

ודאליא בר גודא

Then a curtain was raised,

[illegible][989] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

---

[984] BL 23599 48r: 24 & BL 23601 46r: 25 [illegible].

[985] ࡎࡉࡍࡉࡀࡅࡉࡎ *siniauis*: underworld; abode of darkness (MD, P. 328).

[986] Not in BL 23600 46r : 11 & BLO 1236: 46r: 11.

[987] Cf. Genesis 6-10.

[988] ࡁࡓ ࡂࡅࡃࡀ *br guda* (a popular etym. of Parthian "*bargōd*", Aram, (MD p. 69), Iraqi پرده *parda* פרגודא "curtain". Also expressed in the Jewish tradition "*Pargod*" is a religious notion borrowed from Middle Persian indicate the separation between the "here" and the "hereafter". This curtain (barrier) can be lifted from time to time (for more details concerning " *pargod*", see Shaked 1994: 5).

וסליק וקאם בילבאב עשומיא

ascended, and was installed in the heart of the heavens.

ࡅࡗ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

וכד̱ עתינגיד רקיהא

When the firmament was spanned out,

ࡅࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡍࡀࡑࡁࡄ

וסגוד ושאבא לגאברא נאצבה̱

(Ptahil) prostrated and praised the Man, his creator.

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ

כד̱ היזיא לכורסיא ראמא

When he saw the lofty Throne,

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ

הדא ועתבאסאר בליבה̱

he rejoiced, and his heart was pleased.

ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

ניסבה̱ לשורא ד̱ארקא

He seized the navel of the earth

ࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀ[990] ࡁࡉࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ובא ד̱ניגיטרא בילבאב שומיא

and tried to bind it to the heart of the heavens.

ࡗ ࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד̱ בא ד̱ניסבה̱ לשורא ד̱ארקא

When he sought to seize the navel of the earth,

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבה̱ נאפליא

the perishable ones (the Planets) surrounded him.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡒࡅࡐࡀࡕ ࡍࡊࡉࡋࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבה̱ קופאת נכיליא

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[989] ࡍࡀࡑࡁࡄ not in BL 23599 48v: 6, BL 23600 46r : 13, BL 23601 46v: 5 & BLO 1236: 46r: 13 .
[990] ࡖࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡓࡀࡍࡀ in BL 23600 46r : 15 & BLO 1236: 46r: 15.

The basket (or: bundle) of the crafty ones surrounded him,

ࡖࡌࡋࡏࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ

דַמלעיא בהוכומתא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

ࡌࡋࡉࡀࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ

מליאבהַ ביהרארא

It is full with delusion,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡕࡋࡉࡀ[991]

דַכולהַ הוכומתא תליא

which is full of (false) wisdom.

ࡗ ࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡄࡓࡀࡓࡀ[992]

כדַ מליא בהַ ביהרארא

How full it is with delusion,

ࡁࡎࡉࡋࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡒࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ

בסילאת נוקבאתא דַהארשיא

a woman’s market basket of witchcraft (spells).

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

עתכאראכבהַ שובא שיביאהיא

The Seven Planets encircled him

ࡅࡕࡓࡀࡎࡀࡓ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ[993]

ותראסאר מאשתוציא באטליא

and the twelve good-for-nought monsters.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡀࡈࡓࡐࡀࡍ ࡅࡋࡅࡐࡀࡍ[994]

עתכאראכבהַ אטרפאן ולופאן

Aţrapan and Lupan surrounded him,

ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

תרין סינגיאניא דַאלמא

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[991] ࡕࡋࡉࡀ not In BL 23599 48v: 11 & BL 23601 46v.

[992] Not in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.

[993] ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ in BL 23599 48v: 12 & BL 23601 46v: 11.

[994] ࡀࡈࡓࡐࡀࡍ ࡅࡋࡅࡐࡀࡍ *aţarpan ulupan* : two demons (MD, p. 13).

the two viceroys of the world.

ࡏࡅࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ[995]

עורפעיל ומארפעיל

Urp‘il and Marp‘il,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

ד̲על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

who have dominion over wrath in the Tibil.

ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡁࡕࡀࡋࡉࡀ[996] ࡓࡁࡀ

עתכאראכבה̲ בתאליא רבא

They encircled the great dragon,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡅࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡒࡀࡌࡁࡕࡀ

וסליק וקאם בקאמבתא

ascended, and stood in the vault.

ࡗ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

כד̲ ניסבה̲ לשורא ד̲ארקא

When he grasped the navel of the earth

ࡅࡀࡎࡒࡄ ࡏࡎࡓࡄ[997] ࡁࡒࡀࡌࡁࡕࡀ

ואסקה̲ עסרה̲ בקומבתא

he raised it and tied it to the vault.

(GRR p. 117)

ࡗ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡐࡀࡓࡒࡎࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ

כד̲ ניסבה̲ לפארקסא ראמא ד̲רקיהא

When he held the high circumference of the firmament,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡏࡎࡓࡀ ࡁࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

וסליק עסרא בכורסיא

ascended and tied it to his throne.

---

[995] ࡏࡅࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡐࡏࡉࡋ *‘urpail & ‘urp(a)iil*: two light spirits (MD, p. 346).

[996] ࡕࡀࡋࡉࡀ *talia* fictive dragon causing eclipse Ginza talia rba: the great dragon, *kbašt̲h̲ ltalia rba d̲-alahia* “I subdued the great dragon of the gods” (MD p. 479).

[997] ࡏࡎࡓࡄ is not found in BLO 1236: 46r: 26.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

עסתאר שיביאהיא

The Seven (planets) concealed themselves,

ࡅࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡒࡀࡌࡁࡄ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡁࡕࡀ

וסליק קאמבה בקומבתא

climbed and took their place in the vault.

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

קאם מאשתוציא

The (Twelve) monsters took up position,

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡊࡐࡀࡓ ࡁࡐࡀࡓࡍࡅࡍ[998]

ועתיכפאר בפארנון

and were fettered by their bonds.

ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡌࡃࡀࡁࡓࡀࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ ࡏࡋࡀࡉ

האמשא מדאבראנון עלאי עלאי

As for their Five leaders, they (cried): "Alas, alas!"

◆

ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡄ

דמנאסביא פתאהיל בהוכומתה

Ptahil put up with his wisdom,

ࡉࡀࡕࡉࡁ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡄࡃࡀ

יאתיב ומשאיילון להדא והדא

he sat down and questioned them one by one:

ࡌࡍࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מנא הואיתון בישיא

"Where do you come from, you wicked,

ࡖࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ[999]

דדמותאיון לאהואת מן בית אבו

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[998] ࡐࡀࡓࡅࡍࡉࡀ *parunia* = *pirunia*: sneers, fetters, bonds. (MD p. 372) See also *parunia* (MD, p. 363).

[999] In BL 23600 46v : 5 & BLO 1236: 46v: 5 there is ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ.

whose forms are not from the father's house?"

◆

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ
כד̱ האזא אמארלון
When he spoke thus to them,
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡕࡉࡕ
רוהא אנאתה̱ מן תית
Rūha answered him from below:
ࡀࡕࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡓ[1000]
אתין ניהוילאך ראבאיגאר
"We come to be your humble servants,
ࡅࡍࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡀ
ונקום ניהוילאך אדיאורא
we step forward and would be your helpers.
ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡀࡁࡃࡉࡕ
אדיאורא ניהוילאך בכול ד̱אבדית
We would be your helpers in everything you do,
ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡉࡄࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡊ
ונאניהאך על כורסיאך
and leave you in peace on your throne.
ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀࡊ ࡍࡀࡍࡉࡄࡀࡊ
על כורסיאך נאניהאך
On your throne we would leave you in peace,
ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡕࡀࡒࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניקום וניתאקנה̱ לאלמא
we would rise and restore order in the world.
ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡌࡁࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ניהויא טאביא ונישתאלאמבאך מן ריש בריש

[1000] ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡓ or ࡓࡀࡁࡀࡉࡂࡀࡋ: servant (see MD, p. 418).

We would be praiseworthy and entirely surrender to you."

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡇ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
כד̱ האזא אמארלה̱ שאבא שיביאהיא
When the Seven had thus spoken to him,
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡖࡁࡍࡀࡉ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ
אמארלון ד̱בנאי אנאתון
He said to them: "You are my sons!
ࡏࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ
עו תיבדון עבידאתא ד̱טאבותא
If you perform good deeds,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ[1001] ࡁࡋࡉࡂࡅࡈࡕࡀࡉ
אנא לגיטינכון בליגוטתאי
then I will reckon you on my side!"

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
כד̱ האזא אמאר פתאהיל
When Ptahil spoke thus,
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ
באיתא מינה̱ עתינסיב
his house was taken away from him.
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ
באיתא עתינסיב מינה̱
His house was taken away from him,
ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡇ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ
ועשתאלאטבה̱ נאפליא
and the feeble ones gained authority over it,

[1001] BL 23600 46v: 11 & BLO 1236: 46v: 11 ࡁࡋࡂࡉࡈࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ .

ࡗ ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡍࡂࡉࡃ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ
כד̱ מן קודאם ד̱עתינגיד רקיהא
as before the firmament was spanned out
ࡅࡔࡀࡓࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡁࡌࡎࡅࡕࡀ
ושאראת ארקא במסותא
and the earth settled in solidification.
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
כד̱ האזא אמאר פתאהיל
When Ptahil spoke thus,
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ
באיתא מינה̱ עתינסיב
His house was taken away from him.

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
פתאהיל בהוכמתא באיין ואמאר
Ptahil discerning in his wisdom and said:
ࡏࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡎࡅࡒ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁ
עקום עסוק לבית אב
“I will rise (and) descend to the House of my Father
ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡁ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ
ד̱עמארלה̱ לאב ראמא
to tell my Lofty Father:
ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡕࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ
כול ד̱אמארתליא עבדית
“I have done all that you have asked me to do.”

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
כד̱ האיזין אמאר פתאהיל
When Ptahil spoke thus,

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ[1002] ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡀ[1003] ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ[1004] ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡀ

רוהא באינא בהוכומתא ואמארא

Rūha perceived in her wisdom and said:

ࡏࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ

עקריא הומריא ועסתיראתא

"I shall call forth *hmurtas* and *astartes*,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡉ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱ניהון בנאי באלמא

who shall be my children in the world.

ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

שיביאהיא וסאהראיהון בהאמבאגותא ניקמון

The planets and their demons shall rise up in defiance.

(GRR p. 118)

ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

מאשתוציא ודויא ניקמון

The monsters and *dewis* shall rise in defiance,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ[1005]

וכולה̱ אלמא נאפריא

and we shall disorganize the whole world.

ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ

האמשא סינגיאניא ד̱באיתא ניקמון

The five potentates of the house shall rise up

ࡅࡒࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡅࡍ

וקראבא ניבדון

and wage war."

◆

[1002] not in BL 23601: 47r.

[1003] BL 23599 49r: 12, BL 23600 46v: 18, BL 23601 47r: 1 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ࡁࡉࡍࡀ.

[1004] BL 23600 46v: 18 & BLO 1236: 46v: 17 ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡀ

[1005] PRA (פרע) to destroy, to disarrange. *kulh̲ alma naprh̲* "we will disorganize the whole world." (MD, p. 378) in the other manuscripts ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡉࡀ.

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ
כד̱ הזינון פתאהיל
When Ptahil beheld them,
ࡏࡕࡉࡀࡄࡀࡓࡁࡇ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡇ
עתיאהארבה̱ בהוכומתה̱
he was enlightened by his wisdom.
ࡌࡋࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡆࡉࡀ
מלא בגורמאיזיא
He clenched his fist
ࡅࡔࡒࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡀࡓࡁࡀࡑࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ
ושקאף על תארבאציא האדיא ואמאר
and beat upon the forecourt of his chest and said:
ࡌࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡏࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁࡅ
מן קודאם ד̱עזאל לבית אבו
“Before I depart to the father’s house,
ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡇ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
שאוילה̱ מארא להאזין אלמא
I shall appoint a master over this world.
ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡇ[1006] ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ
לאיאדיא מארה̱ ד̱באיתא
The masters of the House do not realize,
ࡖࡏࡕࡋࡇ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ[1007] ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱עתלה̱ מארא להאזין אלמא
that this world has a master.”

◆

ࡗ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
כד̱ אסגיא לבית הייא

[1006] The Planets.
[1007] Adam is the new master of the world.

When he went to the house of the Life,
ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
לאבויא עותרא אמארלה̱ עבדית אלמא
the *uthra* said to his Father: "I created the world!"
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ
רוהא קראת הומריא
The Rūha created *hmurtas*
ࡅࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡏࡎࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡀ ࡗ ࡌࡎࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ
וקראת עסתיראתא כ̱ד̱ מסאתראן
and created *astartes* that are veiled.
ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ ࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ
שאויאת ליליאתא ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא
She created *liliths* in various kinds and colours.
ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ
שיביאהיא קרון סאהריא
The planets created demons,
ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ
ד̱נאפשיא וסאכא ליתלון
powerful and great in number.
ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡃࡀࡉࡅࡉࡀ
מאשתוציא קרון דאיויא
The obscene beasts created the *dewis*,
ࡗ ࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
כ̱ד̱ איית דמותון באלמא
according to their images in the world.
ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡁࡀ[1008]
האמשא שאוון הארבא
The five (planets) who created the sword,

[1008] ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡁࡀ not in BL 23601: 47r.

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ
ד̲על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא
were given authority over the wrath in the Tibil.
ࡏࡉࡕ ࡖࡃࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
עית ד̲דמותאיהון בארקא תיהויא
Some of their forms exist on land,
ࡅࡏࡉࡕ ࡁࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡄࡌࡉࡀ
ועית במיא תאהמיא
and some in the murky waters.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ
אנין בשומיא ניקום
“We want to stay in Heavens
ࡅࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וקיריאתאן בכולה̲ אלמא
and (yet), our creatures dominate the whole world.
ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
ארקא דילאן תיהויא
Earth will become ours,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡋࡀࡈࡁࡄ ࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡁࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ולאנישתאלאטבה̲ עניש בהאזין אלמא
and nobody else has the authority over this world.
ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡄࡀࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡋࡀࡍ
באיתא ד̲אבוהאן בנאלאן
The house that our father had built for us,
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡃࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡄ
אנין נידארבה̲ מן אבאתרה̲
we shall dwell in it after him,
ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ
אמינטול אנין מארא ד̲באיתא
because we are the masters of the House.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡇ ࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡍ
רוהא תיהוילה̱ מארתא באתראן
Rūha will be the Mistress of our place.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡒࡅࡃࡔࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡀࡍ
רוהא ד̱קודשא מינאיאן
Rūha d̲-Qudša "The Holy Ghost" is with us,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡇ ࡁࡍࡀࡈࡓࡉࡀ
ואנין ניהויבה̱ בנאטריא
and we shall be her guardians.
ࡍࡉࡒࡌࡅࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ
ניקמון תריסאר כוכביא
The twelve stars will rise
ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ ࡉࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡉࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ
ונאפאלגון יומיא ויאהריא
and divide the days and the months.
ࡅࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ
ושאייא ושושיא ניפאלגון
They must divide the hours and the *šušias*,
ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ[1009] ࡅࡐࡅࡄࡓࡉࡀ
ונאפאלגון נאגיא ופוהריא
and divide the minutes and the seconds.
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
כד̱ האיזין ניבאד
When we accomplish this,
ࡊࡅࡋࡇ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ
כולה̱ באיתא דילאן ניהויא
the whole House will belong to us."

◆

[1009] ࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ *nagia* found only in plural: a small unit of time (MD p. 281. See also MG, p. 64).

(GRR p. 119)

ࡌࡍ ࡖࡏࡕࡌࡉࡎࡉࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡕࡀ

מן ד̱עתמיסיאת ארקא ואלמא ד̱אדאם אתא

Since the earth became condensed and until Adam came (into being),

ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡌࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡕࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

תלאתמא ושאתין אלפיא שניא האויא

there had been three hundred and sixty thousand years.

ࡌࡍ ࡖࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡊࡉࡌࡑࡀࡕ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

מן ד̱אתא אדאם ואלמא לכימצאת אלמיא

Since Adam came (into being) and until the end of the worlds,

ࡀࡓࡁࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡕࡌࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

ארבימא ותמאנאן אלפיא שניא האויא

there will be four hundred and eighty thousand years.

ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

שובא שיביאהיא פאליג שניא כד̱ הדאדיא

The Seven planets distributed the years into even parts,

ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡁࡑࡀࡓ

האד מן האברה̱ לאבצאר

that none fell short of his companion.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡄ ࡋࡁࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

רוהא מאסטאניתא פאליגתה̱ לבולה̱ אלמא

Rūha, the seductress, divided the whole world,

ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡁࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡁࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡁࡑࡀࡓ

תריסאר בניא ד̱האסירתא האד מן האברה̱ לאבצאר

(that) none of the twelve sons of the faulty fell short of his companion.

ࡋࡀࡉࡃࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡏࡃࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

לאידיא ולאעדאת רוהא ושיביאהיא כולהון

Rūha and all the planets did not perceive and did not realize

[illegible]

דעתלה מארא לאלמא ועתלה אדיאוריא

that the world has a lord and his helpers are beside him.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

על דקאימיא ומתהאשביא ומשאוילה מארא לאלמיא

Nevertheless, they stand there forging plans in order to create a lord for the world.

ࡋࡀࡊࡀ ࡖࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡎࡀࡊࡀ

לאכא דליתלה סאכא

There is nothing without an end.

࡞

ࡏࡄࡃࡀࡓ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עהדאר פתאהיל לאלמא

Ptahil returned to the world.

ࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

אתא ומא דאבויא אמארלה שובא

He came and listened to what his father said to him.

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡏࡕࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡁࡓࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌࡀ

ואמאר עתית דענצאב ברא רהימא

Then he spoke, "I came here in order to create a beloved son,

ࡏࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ ࡀࡏࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡄ

עניצבה אעקאיאמה

I want to create him and raise him

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

וניקום ונישאבא לרורביא

in order he rises and praises the Great Ones.

ࡗ ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡌࡄࡉࡀ

כד ניקום על ליגרה עדה בהיוא באלא נימהיא

When he stands on his feet he will hit the wild beast(s) with his hand.

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡍࡉࡌࡄࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡅࡁࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ

עדה נימהיא בהיוא באלא ובהיוא בירא

With his hand he will hit the wild beasts and the cattle as well.

ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

ומהאוילה̱ ד̱ניבאד טאבתא אמינטול מינדאם ד̱אבאד שיביאהיא

It would do them benefit, because of what the Planets had committed.

ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ

פאליג מאלכותא ד̱האויא

They (the planets) divided the government (?)[1010]

ࡋࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡅࡋࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

לפאגריא ד̱אכליא לכאל היוא בירא ולפירא ד̱ארקא

so the bodies feed on all beasts of the field and on the fruit of the earth,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כולהון מן פירא מיא הון

which everthing came to being from the water fruits."

࡞

ࡗ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

כ̱ד̱ אתא פתאהיל ואמארלון לשאביאהיא כולהון

When Ptahil came and spoke to all the planets:

ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱ניבאד לאדאם ד̱ניהויא מאלכא באלמא

"Let us create Adam that he may be the king of the world!"

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡏࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡌࡉࡋࡊࡉࡀ

כ̱ד̱ האזען אמארלון כולהון ביהדאדיא מיתמילכיא

When he thus spoke to them, they all conferred together:

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ

ד̱נימארלה̱ וניבדה̱ לאדאם ולהאוא

"We will tell him: We want to create Adam and Hawa (Eve)

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ

אמינטול ד̱הו דילאן הו

[1010] Doubtful (see MD, p. 245).

because he belongs to us."

ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ[1011]

אמרילה אתא ניבדה לאדאם והאוא

They said to him: "Come now, we will create Adam and Eve;

(GRR p. 120)

ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

ריש דכולה שורבתא

the head of the whole generation."

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כד האיזן אמארלה שיביאהיא

When the Planets thus spoke to him,

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡍࡈࡉࡈ[1012] ࡁࡋࡁࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ

פתאהיל נטיט בלבה ואמאר

Ptahil was troubled in his heart and said:

ࡏࡅ ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡄ ࡏࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

עו אנא באלהודאה עבדה לאדאם והאוא רישא דכולא שורבתא

"If I by myself create Adam and Eve the head of the whole generation,

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡉࡀࡃࡄ ࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אדאם מאהו דיאדה מיבאדבה באלמא

what does Adam know what to do in the world?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡋࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאלאל פתאהיל עותרא לשאביאהיא דנימארלון

Then Ptahil-Uthra spoke to the planets and said:

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓࡀࡉ ࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אדאם בראי דיליא הו מאלכא דהאזין אלמא

"Adam is my son. He is the king of this world!"

ࡌࡀࡋࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡏࡋࡄ

[1011] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡀࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡃࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡀ not in BL 23600 47v: 4 & BLO 1236: 47v: 3.

[1012] Read: ࡏࡍࡈࡉࡈ *ʿnṭiṭ blibh* Ethpe. Pf. NṬṬ: to be afflicted, troubled. (MD, p. 295) ࡏࡍࡈࡉࡈ in the other manuscripts.

מאליל שיביאהיא לפתאהיל ד̲נימארולה̲ עלה̲

(Then) the Planets spoke to Ptahil and said:

ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡓࡄࡉࡑࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍࡉࡍ

אנין על מאהו רהיצינין וקאימינין

"Whom do we trust and rely on,

ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומאהו משאלטאנין באלמא

and what is our authority in the world?"

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ

מאליל פתאהיל ד̲נימארלון

Ptahil answered them and said:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡍࡒࡀ ࡌࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ

אנאתון מונקא מיהוילה̲

"You shall be his fosterer(s)

ࡅࡕࡉࡐࡋࡉࡄࡅࡍࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ותיפליהונה̲ מן ריש בריש

and render him full service."

࡞

ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡓࡅࡌࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

עבדויא ורומיויא לאדאם

Then they created Adam and laid him down,

ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

וליתבה̲ נישימתא

but without a *nišimta* (soul) in him.

ࡗ ࡏࡁࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡋࡀࡌࡑࡅࡍ

כ̲ד̲ עבדויא לאדאם לאמצון

When they created Adam they were unable

ࡖࡍࡉࡓࡌࡅࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

ד̲נירמובה̲ נישימתא

to cast the *nišimta* (soul) into him.

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡒࡀ

קירויא לאיאר זיקא

They appealed to *Ayar-Ziqa* “the Ether wind”

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡂࡓࡌࡄ

ד̲ניהאלילינון לגרמה̲

to hollow out his bones,

ࡋࡂࡓࡌࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ

לגרמה̲ ניהאלילינון

to hollow out his bones,

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ

וניהויבון מוקרא

and to form marrow in them,

ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡅࡍ

מוקרא ניהויבון

to form marrow in them,

ࡍࡀࡔࡅࡀࡓ[1013] ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

ונאשאר וניקום על ליגרה̲

then he might spring up and stand on his feet.

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

קירויא לצאותא ד̲עשאתא האיתא

They summoned the splendour of the Living Flame,

ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ ࡋࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ

ד̲מאנהרה̲ ללבושיא

that might illuminate his attire.

ࡋࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ

ללבושיא מאנהרה̲

To illuminate his attire,

[1013] ࡍࡀࡔࡅࡀࡓ or ࡍࡔࡅࡀࡓ var. ࡍࡉࡔࡅࡀࡓ *nišuar* Impf. ŠWR: to leap, jump (MD, p. 436).

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה

and make him spring up and stand on his feet.

ࡒࡉࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡁࡋࡀ ࡖࡔࡀࡁࡒࡉࡀ

קירויא להאבלא דשאבקיא

They sent for the mist of the streams

ࡅࡋࡕࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ

ולתיהא דעשאתא עכילתא

and the fumes of the consuming fire,

ࡖࡀࡉࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡄ

דאיאלה בעוצטונה

to enter his trunk,

ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡆࡉࡀ

דנימליא בגורמאיזיא

so he might clench his fist,

ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡓࡉࡐࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡍࡐࡄ

וניטאריפבון בגאנפה

and beat with his arm(s) (wings).

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡄࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡌࡓࡀࡍࡃࡀࡃ

וניכהיבה ונימראנדאד

That he might grumble and shake himself,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡄ

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה

and springs up and stand on his feet.

࡞

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡐࡕࡉࡄࡉࡋ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

מאליל שיביאהיא ולפתיהיל אמריא

The Planets spoke to Ptahil saying:

[illegible]

האב נירמיבה מן רוהא

"Allow us to cast into him some of the spirit (*rūha*),

ࡖࡀࡉࡕࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡀࡁ

דאיתית עלאך מן בית אב

which you brought with you from the House of your Father."

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כולהון אבאד שיביאהיא

All the Planets exerted themselves

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואבאד מארה דאלמא

and the Lord of the world exerted himself.

ࡗ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

כד אבאד כולהון

Despite of all their efforts,

(GRR p. 121)

ࡋࡉࡔࡊࡄ[1014] ࡋࡀࡒࡅࡌࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡓࡉ

לישכה לאקומה על ליגרי

they were unable to make him stand on his feet.

࡞

ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ

פתאהיל בערותה אסגיא

Ptahil set off, in his glory,

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ[1015] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

סליק לאתאר נהור

and ascended to the Place of Light.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible][1016]

[1014] ࡋࡉࡔࡊࡄ = ࡋࡀࡔࡊࡄ only in idiomatic "to be unable". ŠKA (< Aram. שכח) af. to find, discover, aquire, attain (MD, p. 464).

[1015] BL 23600 47v: 27 & BLO 1236: 47v: 27 ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

קאם קודאמה͟ ד͟אבא ד͟עתריא

He stood in the presence of the Father of the *uthras*

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ

ואמארלה͟ אבויא

His Father spoke to him:

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡕ

מאהו אבאדת

"What have you accomplished?"

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡒࡍࡀࡕ

אמארלה͟ כול ד͟עבדית תיקנאת

He answered him, "Everything I made, I put in order,

[1017]ࡖࡌࡅࡕࡀࡉ ࡅࡖࡌࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡕ

דמותאי ודמותאך לאתיקנית

(however), I could not put my counterpart and your counterpart in order."

࡞

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ

קאם אבא ד͟עתריא

The Father of the *uthras* raised himself up

ࡅࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡎࡉࡀ

ואסגיא אזאל לאתאר כסיא

and set off and hastened to the secret place.

[1018]ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

נאסבה͟ למאנא רבא

He fetched the *mana* ,

ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡉࡋࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ד͟מאנהארלון לקילומיא כולהון

[1016] ࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ *aba d̲'uthria* "the father of the *uthras*, Bhaq-Ziwa or Abatur (see §2.2.5).

[1017] BL 23600 47v: 29 has: ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡒࡍࡀࡕ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡉ ࡅࡖࡌࡅࡕࡀࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡕ : "(all) I did was in order before me, (however), I could not put your counterpart in order."

[1018] The Great Mana (the highest being) is not meant in this verse. '*mana*' is the soul matter which fills the bodies and make them alive, therefore, ࡓࡁࡀ is to be ignored.

which illuminates all corruptible things.

ࡌࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓࡋࡇ ࡋࡊࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

מאנהארלה לכיתון פאגריא

It illuminates the physical garments,

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

דגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and colour.

ࡊࡀࡍࡇ[1019] ࡁࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡇ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

כאנה בטארטאבונה דאכיא

He wrapped it in his pure turban,

ࡅࡁࡔࡅࡌࡄࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡇ

ובשומהאתא דהייא עהאבלה

by the (secret) names which the Life gave him.

ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡇ ࡅࡁࡏࡀࡍࡐࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡀ

ניסבה ובעאנפיא טארטאבונא

He fetched it by the ends of his turban,

ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡄࡁࡇ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡓࡇ

ואתיא יאהבה לפתאהיל ברה

and brought it hither and gave it to Ptahil his son.

ࡗ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡇ ࡋࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡕࡓࡀ

כד עהאבל ה לפתאהיל עתרא

When he gave it to Ptahil-Uthra,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

הייא קרונון לאדיאוריא

the Life called for the helpers.

ࡒࡓࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ

קרינון להיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

He called for Hibil, Šitl and Anoš,

[1019] Not in BL 23601: 48v.

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡉࡀ

עותריא ד̲יאתיריא ולאהאסיריא

the outstanding flawless *uthras*.

ࡒࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍࡅࡍ

קרונון ופאקדונון

He summoned them and commanded them,

ࡅࡆࡀࡄࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ

וזאהרונון לנישמאתא

and warned them about the *nišmata* (soul).

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡋࡄ

אמארלון אנאתון נאטרא הולה̲

He said to them: "You, be a guardian over her,

ࡅࡆࡀࡄࡓࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ

וזאהרונון לנישמאתא

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ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡋࡄ

אמארלון אנאתון נאטרא הולה̲

He said to them, "You, be a guardian over her,

ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̲לאנידון עלה̲ כולהון אלמיא

so all the worlds may know nothing about her.

ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡀ[1020]

לאנידא פתאהיל בלילא

Let not Pthahil, the muddle-headed, know

ࡖࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ

ד̲נישימתא בפאגרא האיזין נאפלא

how the *nišimta* "soul" falls into the body.

[1020] ࡁࡋࡉࡋࡀ *blila*: idle, confused, useless, muddle-head, irrational (MD pp. 65-6). Cf. *Sakla* "the prince of darkness" (Stroumsa 1984: 120), Sakla "fool" 'so called because he does not know that there is One higher than he (Churton 2005: 40-1) Sakla is the "the Gnostic Demiurge" (Deutch 1999: 75).

ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡀࡐࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ

האיזין נאפלא נישימתא בפאגרא

How the soul falls into the body,

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡆࡌࡀ

והאיזין מאמליליבה̱ זמא

and how the blood fills it,

ࡆࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ

זמא האיזין מאמליליבה̱

how the blood fills it,

ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡑࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡀࡂࡉࡀ

והאיזין ניצריבה̱ אגיא

and how the channels (veins) permeate it.

ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ[1021] ࡃࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ[1022]

מאולאנא ד̱אדאכאס מאנא

Let the (supporter?) of Adakas-Mana,

ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡈࡓࡀ

הו ניהוילה̱ נאטרא

be her protector.

ࡊࡃ ࡌࡉࡕࡋࡀࡁࡀࡔࡁࡄ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡃࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מיתלאבאשבה̱ בזיוא ד̱הייא

When (Adam) is clothed in radiance of the Life,

ࡍࡉࡐࡅࡒ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ

[1021] ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ *Maulānā* “Our Lord.” Stroumsa writes: “According to the Kalām-i-Pīr, the Divinity (Maulānā, “Our Lord”) manifested itself in each generations of mankind, *Maulānā* appeared under three different names which are, in fact, variations upon Melchizedek’s name or title (*melekh šalem*, King of Salem, Gen 14: 18). The people of the first prophet, Adam, were the Sabaeans. They identified Melchizedek with Seth and said that at the resurrection he would appear as a judge and as a revealers of the teachings kept secret during history. Melechizedek appeared again during the generations of Noah and Abraham, i.e. at the time of the flood and of Sodom’s punishment” (For the conception of ࡌࡀࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ *maulana* in the Isma'īlī belief, see Stroumsa 1984: 111).

[1022] ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ Adakas-Mana, Adakas-Ziwa = Adam Kasia “the Hidden Adam” the mystic or occult Adam, who completes the unsuccessful creation of Ptahil.

ונישאר וניקום על ליגרה
he will spring up and stand on his feet.
ࡊࡃ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
כד מאליל בפומא דאכיא
When he speaks with pure mouth,
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ ࡀࡕࡉࡀ
אנאת אכמאר לדוכתה אתיא
you bring him back again to his place.
ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
אכמאר אתיא לדוכתה
Bring him back to his place,
ࡅࡐࡀࡓࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡄ ࡅࡃࡄ
ופארהיזיא מן דה ודה
and protect him against all and sundry.
ࡊࡀࡍࡄ ࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡁࡈࡀࡓࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍࡄ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
כאנה פתאהיל בטארטאבונה דאכיא
Ptahil wrapped him in his pure turban,
ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡍࡉࡍࡁࡄ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡄ[1023]
ומהאנינבה בעוצטלה
and enfolded him in his garment (or: : he enfolded him by the body) .

(GRR p. 122)

ࡐࡀࡄࡓࡀ ࡅࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
פאהרא ואזיל עותרא
The uthra flies and goes (down)
ࡅࡆࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ
וזליא מינה אדיאוריא

[1023] BL 23599 51r: 5 & BLO 1236: 48r: 16 we read ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡍࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡏࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ *'umhanibh̲ b'ṣṭuna'*: "They embraced him by the body" under HNN: *'mhaninbh̲ b'ṣṭla* Gy 102:10 (where Lidzbarski proposed *mkanibh̲,* Ginzā 110 n. 2) he enfolded him in the garment, but where DC 22. 97 has *b'uṣṭunh* instead of *b'ṣṭla,* hence: "he enfolded him by the body" (MD, p. 150).

and his helpers go (down) with him.

ࡖࡀࡆࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ

ד̲אזליא מינה̲ גובריא

Those who go down with him are the men

ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ

ד̲מפאקדיא על נישנמאתא

who have been set in charge of the souls.

◆

ࡗ ࡌࡈࡉࡍ ࡋࡂࡅ ࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

כד̲ מטין לגו תיביל

When they reached Tibil,

ࡅࡋࡏࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

ולעצטונא ד̲פאגריא

and the physical trunk

ࡗ ࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ

כד̲ בא ד̲נירמיא בעוצטונא

When he (Ptahil) wanted to cast her (the soul) into the trunk,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡒࡀࡋࡕࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡍࡐࡄ

אנא שקאלתה̲ מן כאנפה̲

I (Manda d̲-Hiia) snatched her from his pocket.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡐࡕࡀࡄࡉࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡒࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

על ד̲פתאהיל נישקלה̲ לאדאם

While Pthahil lifted Adam up,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡑࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡂࡉࡓࡌࡄ

אנא תריצתינון על גירמה̲

I erected him on his bones.

ࡏࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡃࡄ ࡏࡋࡄ

על ד̲שאדיא עדה̲ עלה̲

While he laid his hands on him,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡓࡄࡀࡕࡄ ࡁࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אנא ארהאתה̱ בריהא ד̱רורביא

I made him breathe the breath of the Great Ones.

ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡁࡈࡅࡍ ࡌࡅࡒࡓࡀ

פאגרא בטון מוקרא

The body became full of living substance (marrow),

ࡅࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ

וזיוא ד̱הייא מאמלילבה̱

and the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him.

ࡗ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מאמלילבה̱ זיוא ד̱הייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared (lit. spoke) in him,

ࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡐࡕࡀ ࡁࡏࡅࡑࡈࡅࡍࡀ ࡖࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ

אינא פתא בעוצטונא ד̱פאגריא

he opened his eyes in the bodily trunk.

ࡗ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

כד̱ מאמלילבה̱ זיוא ד̱הייא

When the radiance of the Life appeared in him (lit: spoke in him),

ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1024] ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ

אדאכאס זיוא לאתרה̱ סליק

Adakas-Ziwa ascended to his place.

* * *

ࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

אסיקתה̱ לאתרה̱ לבית רורביא

I led him upwards to the House to the Great Ones,

[illegible]

[1024] ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ Adakas-Ziwa or Adam-Kasia, the light Adam. His wife Anana-Ziwa, also called Hawa-Kasia, begets three pairs of of twins, male and female and the triad *uthras* Hibil, Šitl and Anoš. Lady Drower explains: " Adakas is the metaphysical Adam, the wholly spiritual humanity. He is the macrocosm conceived not only as an Idea but as an Ideal" (SA, p. 36 f.).

דוכתא דרביא יאתביא

to the place where the Great One is seated (or: enthroned).

ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡉࡀ[1025]

שאלימתה לגאנזיבריא

I handed him over to the treasurers,

ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡂࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡓࡃࡍࡉࡀ

לעותריא דלגיטיא יארדניא

the *uthras* who hold the Jordans.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡈࡀࡁࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓ

הייא לגיט טאבטתא דעותר

The Life thanked the *uthra*

ࡖࡀࡕࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

דאתיא לנישימתא

who had brought the *nišimta* (soul).

ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

קרון ופאקדון רביא ואמריליא

The Great One summoned me and commanded me and said to me:

ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ[1026] ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

אזיל קרילה קאלא שאניא

“Descend, bestow on him with a sublime call,

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ

קאלא שאניא קרילה

a sublime call bestow on him,

ࡖࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ

דבישיא לאנידון עלה על נישימתא

[1025] ࡂࡀࡍࡆࡉࡁࡓࡀ *ganzibra*: treasurer, the ecclesiastical rank above that of *tarmida* (priest). (MD p. 77) These celestial *ganzibras* represent the heavenly priests who are responsible for purifying spiritual entities. The Mandaeans modeled their eartly rituals, especially baptism, according to the celestial ones.

[1026] ࡒࡀࡋࡀ *qala* “call”. The call is the revelation of the divinity bestowed on the *bhiri zidqa* “the righteous elect”, while Ptahil “the demiurge” and his followers remain in ignorance towards the nature and the presence of *mana* the particle of light *nišimta* “soul”.

so the evil ones may learn nothing about the *nišimta* (soul)."

⁂

ࡏࡕࡉࡕ[1027] ࡅࡀࡔࡊࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

עתית ואשכיתינון

I came and found

ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

לבישיא כולהון כד יאתביא

all the wicked, as they sit there.

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ[1028] ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ[1029]

כד יאתביא בישיא

As the wicked ones sit there,

ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡉ ࡍࡉࡀࡑࡉࡀ

ופודריא עלי ניאציא

and discharge witchcraft over it (over the soul).[1030]

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡀࡐࡑࡏ ࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ

עלה נאפצע פודריא

Over it they discharge witchcraft,

ࡅࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡄ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡍࡀ ࡌࡍࡀ

ובאייא דניפאלגונה בישיא במנא מנא

and the wicked ones seek to divide it (the soul) into single pieces.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡆࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ

אנא דהזאיתינון

When I saw them,

ࡏࡕࡉࡀࡄࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ

עתיאהריבה באלבושאי דאכיא

[1027] ࡏࡕࡉࡕ not in BL 23599 51r: 20 & BL 23601 49r: 6.
[1028] ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ is not in BL 23599 51r: 21.
[1029] ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ not fin BL 23601 49r: 7.
[1030] This motif is common in many Gnostic imagery where the soul descends to earth and the hostile planets seek to endow it with their own evil nature in order to ensnare it. (Jonas, 1958: 156ff.)

I glowed in my pure attire.
ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀ
עתאהזילון לאלמיא בזיוא נאפשא
I appeared to the worlds in the great radiance,
ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ
ד̱אבאהאתאי עהאבליא
which my father had given me.
ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡐࡕࡉࡄࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
עתאהזילה̱ לפתיהיל עותרא
I appeared to Ptahil-Uthra,
ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ[1031] ࡅࡁࡊࡀ
האוליל על נאפשיא ובכא
who (then) wailed and wept onto himself.
ࡄࡀࡅࡋࡉࡋ ࡅࡁࡊࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ
האוליל ובכא על נאפשיא
He wailed and wept onto himself,
ࡏࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ
על מינדאם ד̱אבאד
because of the what he had done.
ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ[1032]
עתאהזילה̱ לרוהא מאסטאניתא
I appeared to Rūha, the seductress,

(GRR p. 123)

ࡖࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
ד̱מאסטיא כולהון אלמיא
who seduces all the worlds,
[illegible]

[1031] BL 23599 51r: 24 & BL 23601 49r: 10 ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ. BL 23600 48v: 9 & BLO 1236: 48v: 9 ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡄ

[1032] read ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀࡍࡉࡕࡀ *masṭianita* "seductress" or "tempter" (MD, p. 249). See above § 2.4.8.1.

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡀ

ד̱מיתכאבשיבה̱ מארדיא

by which the rebels are crushed down.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

האויתא ראזא רבא

I revealed to her the great mystery,

ࡎࡀࡉࡌࡉࡍ ࡅࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡀ

סאימין ולאהאזיא

(yet) she remained blind and did not see.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ

האויתא תיניאנא

I revealed to her the second (secret).

ࡆࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡂࡅࡌࡋࡀ

זאמתא זמאמא דגומלא

I held her back with a camel bridle.

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡕࡋࡉࡕࡀࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ

והאויתא תליתאיא ראזא

I revealed to her the third mystery,

ࡅࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ

ופלאגלאברישא פלוגתא

and I split her head open. [1033]

ࡗ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡉࡒࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡉࡁࡉࡀ

כ̱ד היזיון כולהון האיקיא ומיתהאיביא

When they saw me, they all became afraid and declared themselves guilty.

[1033] Lupierie blieves that the term "mystery" is "emission or manifestation of power and of knowledge." He assumes that this '"knowledge" is able to blind, subjectand finally destroy its adversaries.' The head represents the seat of prophecy and that the splitting of Rūha's head should mean that the knowledge is designated to the elect and cannot be contained inside the mind of the evil (Lupieri, 2002: 190 n. 17).

ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ
שובא נאפשאיהון בהאיאביא לגיט
The Seven (planets) declared themselves guilty.
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡂࡉࡈ[1034] ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ
נאפשאיהון לגיט בהאיאביא
They declared themselves guilty,
ࡅࡏࡎࡕࡉࡄࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ
ועסתיהאף על אנפאיהון נפאל
and were hurled down and fell on their faces.
ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡅࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
עסתאהאף ונםאל על אנפאיהון
They were hurled down and fell on their faces,
ࡅࡏࡉࡃࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡒࡀࡋ
ועידאיון על אנםאיון שקאל
and raised their hands to their faces.
ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀࡍ ࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡄࡈࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ
ואמריא מאראן הטין הטאינין
They spoke, "Our Lord! We have greatly sinned,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡈࡉࡍ ࡕࡉࡔࡁࡅࡒࡋࡀࡍ
ד̲כול ד̲הטין תישבוקלאן
forgive us all our sins."

⁂

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ
כד̲ האזא אמאר בישיא
When the wicked ones spoke thus,
ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡁࡐࡀࡋࡉࡍࡂࡅࡍ[1035]
פלאגילון פלוגתא בפאלינגון

[1034] Read: ࡋࡂࡀࡈ
[1035] ࡐࡋࡀࡍࡂࡀ *planga* (Gr. φάλαγξ) phalanx, host, army (MD p. 373).

I made a breach in their phalanx,
ࡀࡅࡌࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
אומיתינון בראזא רבא
I adjured them by the Great Mystery,
ࡖࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡈࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ
ד̲לאתיהטיבה̲ בנישימתא
not to harm the *nišimta.*
ࡏࡕࡉࡊࡎࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡅࡊࡉࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ
עתיכסית מן שובא וכיבשית נאפשאי
I concealed myself before the Seven and restrained myself.
ࡋࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉ
לדמו פאגריא דאמית נאפשאי
I took on a bodily form.
ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡋࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ
שאוית לדמו פאגריא
I took on a bodily form.
ࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡖࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡄࡉࡒࡀ ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ
עמרית ד̲לאעיאהיקא לנישימתא
I said to myself, “I would not startle *nišimta* the soul.
ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡉࡀࡄࡒࡀ
לנישימתא לאעיאהקא
I would not frighten *nišimta* the soul,
ࡅࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡒ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ
ולאתיהוק באלבושא
and she (it) would not be alarmed in her (its) garment (body).”
ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡌࡉࡋࡀ
בדמו פאגריא עדאמילא
I assumed bodily for its sake,
ࡅࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ
ויאתבית לואתא בצאותא

and I sat beside it with the splendour.

ࡅࡔࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡀ[1036] ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ[1037]

ושרית עלא צאותא ד̲מאנא רבא

And I sprinkled over him (Adam) the splendour of the Great Mana,

ࡖࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

ד̲הו מינה̲ עתינציב

from which he was created.

ࡖࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ

ד̲יאתבית לואתא ואליפתא

I sat beside him and instructed him

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡒࡃࡅࡍ

מא ד̲הייא פאקדון

what the Life commanded me.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

דראשילא בקאלא שאניא

I instructed with a calm voice,

ࡖࡔࡀࡍࡀࡉ ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡅࡓ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̲שאנאי ונאהור מן כולהון אלמיא

which was more sublime and luminous than all the worlds.

ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ

דראשילא בקאלא ניהא

I instructed him with a sublime voice,

ࡅࡀࡉࡀࡓࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡀ

ואיארתה̲ לליבא מן שינתא

and awakened his heart from his sleep.

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ

ועשתאיילא בשותא ד̲עתריא

[1036] From now on the subject is Adam and not the soul. ࡏࡋࡄ BL 23599 51v: 17 & BLO 1236: 48v: 24.

[1037] This verse not in BL 23600 48v: 21 & BLO 1236: 48v: 22.

I spoke to him in the speech of the *uthras*,

ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀࡉ[1038]

ואליפתא הוכומתאי

and taught him my wisdom.

ࡌࡍ ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀࡉ ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡀ

מן הוכומתאי אליפתא ואמארילא

From my wisdom I taught him, and I told him,

ࡃࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

דניקום וניסגוד ונישאבא לרורביא

that he should arise, prostrate himself and praise the Great Ones.

ࡍࡉࡔࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡎࡀࡂࡉࡀ

נישבא לאתרא סאגיא

That he should praise the exalted place,

(GRR P. 124)

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡃࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

דוכתא דטאביא יאתביא

the place where the good ones reside,

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

נישאבא לאדאכאס זיוא

That he should praise Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡋࡀࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅ

לאבא דמינה הו

the Father from whom he came into being.

⁂

ࡊࡃ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡄ

כד יאתבית ואליפתה

As I sat there and instructed him,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡎࡂࡉࡃ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ

[1038] ࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡀ BL 23600: 48v, BL 23601: 49v and BLO 1236: 48v.

קאם סגיד ושאבא לרורביא
he rose up, prostrated himself and praised the Great Ones.
ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
שאבא לאבויא אדכאס זיוא
He praised his Father Adakas-Ziwa,
ࡋࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ
למאנא ד̱מינה̱ עתינציב
the Mana, from whom he was created (or: planted).
ࡊࡃ[1039] ࡎࡂࡉࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
כד̱ סגיד ושאבא לאבויא עותרא
When he prostrated himself and praised his father, the *uthra*,
ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ[1040]
עתאהזילה̱ מן אתאר כאסיא
he appeared to him out of the concealed place.
ࡊࡃ ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
כד̱ היזיא לאבויא עותרא
When he beheld his father, the *uthra*,
ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡕࡅࡔࡁࡉࡄࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
עתימליא בתושביהתא מן ריש בריש
he became full of praise, beyond all measures.
ࡃࡓࡀࡔ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
דראש בקאלא רבא
He chanted (hymns) with a loud voice
ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ
ולשיביאהיא מקארקילון
and overturned the planets.
ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

[1039] not in BL 23601: 49v.
[1040] This verse not in BL 23600 49r: 3 & BLO 1236: 49r: 3.

מקארקילון לשיביאהיא

He overturned the planets

ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומקארקילה̱ למארה̱ ד̱אלמא

and overturned the Lord of the world.

ࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

כפארבון בבנה̱ ד̱באיתא

He disowned the sons of the House (or: this world)

ࡅࡁࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ

ובעבידאתא כולהון ד̱אבאד

and the all the deeds that they have done.

ࡎࡄࡀࡃ ࡁࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

סהאד בשומא ד̱הייא

He bore witness to the name of the Life,

ࡅࡁࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[1041] ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡄ

ובעותרא ד̱קאלה̱ אשמה̱

and the *uthra* who had let him hear his voice.

ࡊࡐࡀࡓࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ

כפארבון בעבידאתא ד̱תיביל

He disowned the works of Tibil

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ואזבאר אינה̱ לאתאר נהור

and raised his eyes to the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

כד̱ האזא אבאד

When he did this,

[illegible] ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ [illegible]

[1041] BL 23600 49r: 7 ࡅࡁࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ.

עותרא דהייא בטאבו עתימלון עלה

the *uthra* of Life became full of kindness towards him.

ࡏࡋࡄ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ

עלה עתימלון בטאבותא

He became full of kindness towards him,

ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡁࡍࡉࡋࡄ

ופאקיד בינתא בנילה

and commanded a building to be erected for him.

ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡍࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ

פאקיד בנילה בינתא

He commanded a building to be erected for him,

ࡅࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡍࡉࡑࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ

ופאקיד ניצאבלה ניצובתא

and commanded a plantation to be planted for him.

ࡐࡀࡒࡉࡃ ࡍࡉࡑࡀࡁࡋࡄ ࡉࡓࡃࡍࡀ

פאקיד ניצאבלה ירדנא

He commanded a Jordan to be hewed for him.

ࡗ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡄ ࡊࡉࡋࡄ

כד שאלימלה כילה

When his measure is full,

ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒ ࡕࡀࡓࡉࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡍࡕࡄ

מאסיק תאריצלה בבינתה

he will make him ascend and sets him up in his building.

ࡕࡀࡓࡉࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

תאריצלה באתאר נהור

He sets him up in the Place of Light

ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

לואת אבויא אדאכאס זיוא

beside his father Adakas-Ziwa,

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ[1042]

ומשאוילה̱ _ עותרא באתאר נהור

and make him an *uthra* in the Place of Light.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כ̱ד האזא שאמאת רוהא ושיביאהיא

When Rūha and the Planets heard this,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

כולהון במאליא יאתביא

they all sat in lamentation.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ

כולהון יאתביא במאליא

They all sat in lamentation

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡏ

וקאימיא ומיתהאשביא ואמרע

and commenced forging (evil) plans, and said:

ࡖࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ

ד̱נישאביא לאדאם וניניסבה̱

“We shall entrap Adam and catch him.

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

נישאביא וניניסבה̱ לאדאם

We shall entrap Adam and catch him,

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1043]

וניכאתרה̱ לואתאן באלמא

and detain him with us in the world!”

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ואמריא

and they said (to each other):

[1042] The last two verses are not found in BL 23600 49r: 12 & BLO 1236: 49r: 12.

[1043] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ not in BL 23600 49r: 16 & BLO 1236: 49r: 16.

ࡗ ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ
כד הו נימאליל בקאלא ניהא
"When he speaks with a mild voice,
ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡍ[1044] ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ
אנהין נימאליל בקאלא מארדא
we shall speak with the voice of rebellion.

(GRR p. 125)

ࡗ ࡄࡅ ࡍࡉࡊࡅࡋ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ
כד הו ניכול ונישתיא
When he eats and drinks,
ࡀࡍࡄࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
אנהין נישיביא לאלמא
we shall entrap the world.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ
אנין לאלמא נישיביא
We shall entrap the world,
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡃࡌࡅ
ונישאויבה דמו דמו
and create all kinds of forms in it.
ࡍࡉࡋࡂࡅࡈࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀ
נילגוטבה היגניא
We shall take snares,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡁࡅࡒࡁࡄ ࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניהבוקבה היבקא באלמא
and shall practice embracing in the world.
ࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡁࡅࡒࡁࡄ
היבקא באלמא ניהבוקבה
Embracing shall we practice in the world,

[1044] Read ࡀࡍࡉࡍ *anin*: we. (MD, p. 27)

ࡅࡍࡉࡊࡍࡅࡔࡁࡄ ࡊࡉࡍࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניכנושבה̱ כינשא באלמא

and found a congregation in the world.

ࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡊࡍࡅࡔ

כנישתא באלמא ניכנוש

A congregation we will found in the world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ

ונישיביא ונאילה̱ לכנישתאן

and entrap him (Adam) and lead (or: install) him into our congregation.

ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡀࡉࡋࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ

לכנישתאן נאילה̱ ונישיביא

We shall entrap him and install him in our congregation,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ

ונישיביא לליבה̱ וניניסבה̱

we shall catch and pack his heart,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡐࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡁࡅࡁࡉࡀ

ונישיביא בשיפוריא ואמבוביא

and entrap him with horns and flutes

ࡄࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡐࡎࡉࡒ[1045]

הו מינאן לאניפסיק

(so that) he will not break away from us.

ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡁࡄ ࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡃࡌࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

נישאבה̱ שאבא דמאואתא

We will produce seven forms (or: counterparts) in it (in the world)

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

[1045] Cf. [illegible] “They shall not hear the words of the alien Man who has come here. .... Since we have created Adam, he shall come and obey us and our father Ptahil” (GRR 291 : 3).

of every kind and variety."

࡞

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ
כד̱ עתהאשאב בישיא בבישותון
As the wicked considered in wickedness,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ
אנא עתהאשבית על טאבתא
I considered in goodness,
ࡖࡏࡁࡀࡃ ࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱עבאד טאבותא באלמא
to donate goodness in the world.
ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי
I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ
גובריא ד̱מקאימיא שורבתא
the men who confirm the generation.
ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קראיתינון לעותריא אהאי
I summoned the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ
עותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא
the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.
ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
קאמית ואמארילון לעותריא אהאי
I approached and addressed my brothers the *uthras*,
ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ[1046] ࡏࡋ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ
ד̱מפאקדיא על שורבאתא

[1046] ࡖࡌࡐࡀࡒࡃࡉࡀ is not found in BL 23600 49v: 2 & BLO 1236: 49v: 2.

who received the command over the generation:

ࡏࡀ ࡉࡀࡃࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ

עא יאדיתון עותריא אהאי

“Do you not know *uthras*, my brothers,

ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡌࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

דשיביאהיא מאהו דמהאשביא

what are the Planets plotting?

ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡕࡄࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ

קאימיא ומתהאתביא שובא

the Seven stand there, they plot

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[1047]

ואמריא דנאסכילבה בשורבאתא דהייא

and say: “Let us seduce the Family of Life (or: the Stem of Life)!

ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡎࡊࡉࡋࡁࡄ

בשורבאתא דהייא דנאסכילבה

Let us seduce the Family of Life (or the Stem of Life),

ࡅࡍࡉࡐࡉࡎࡒࡀ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וניפיסקא לואתאן באלמא

and cut it off with us in the world!”

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

כד האזא שומא עותריא

When the uthras heard this,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

עותריא ניהא ומקאימיא ואמריא

the gentle and confirmed uthras, they said:

ࡄࡀࡁ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡑࡅࡁࡋࡄ[1048] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

האב ניצובתא נינצובלה לאדאם

[1047] ࡁࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ is not found in BL 23601 50r: 13.

[1048] In BL 23599 52v: 12 & BL 23601 50r: 15 there is ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ.

“Allow us to create a wife for Adam, [1049]
ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ
ונינאפשיא לשורבתה̱
and make his race plenteous.
[1050]ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ
ניקרילה̱ לאדאם עותרא
We will call forth an *uthra* for Adam
ࡅࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ
וניניצבה̱ בניצובתא
and we will make him take a spouse.[1051]
ࡁࡍࡉࡑࡅࡁࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡉࡑࡁࡄ
בניצובתא ניניצבה̱
In a planting we will plant him,
ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡅࡃࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ
וניבודלה̱ הילולא
and arrange a wedding for him.
ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡁࡅࡃࡋࡄ
הילולא לאדאם ניבודלה̱
We will arrange a wedding for Adam,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡋࡂࡉࡈࡄ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ
וניהאויא ונילגיטה̱ ענתא
and instruct him (how) to take a wife.
ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡄ
ענתא לאדאם ניתילה̱
We will give to Adam a wife,
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ
ונישאוילה̱ צאותא

[1049] lit. plant a planting for Adam.
[1050] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ uthra: Referring to Eve as a heavenly being ?
[1051] lit. we will plant him in a planting.

and make *ṣauta* a “companion” for him.

(GRR p. 126)

ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ

צאותא נישאוילה

will make for him *ṣauta* a “companion”,

ࡅࡍࡉࡀࡕࡓࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

וניאתרה לשורבתה

and make his race plentiful.

ࡖࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

דראשיא וסידריא ניקריא

We will recite hymns and (ritual) books,

ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ[1052]

וניבון הייא בינתא

and the Life will build a building,

ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡉࡍ[1053] ࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

וניקארקילין הון לשיביאהיא

and we will summon the Planets to us,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ

אלמא דניתון לכנישתאן

that they may come to our congregation.

ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡅࡍ

לכנישתאן ניתון

They shall come to our congregation

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

הינון לואתאן ניהון

and stay with us.

[1052] If we read ࡁࡀࡅࡕࡀ instead of ࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ as in page 4:6 ࡍࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡅࡕࡀ, then this verse will read: “and the Life will make a prayer”.

[1053] If we read ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡀࡓࡒࡉࡋࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ: “we will overthrow the planets” the meaning of the whole verse will be obscure. Therefore we should read ࡅࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡋࡉࡍ: “and we will call them”, or “and we will summon them.”

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀࡍ

הינון ניהון לואתאן

They shall stay with us,

ࡅࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡉࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡀࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ואדאם ניתראוראב על כולהון

and Adam shall be exalted above them all."

◆

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡅࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡄ

אנא ועותריא אהאה̱

I and the *uthras*, my brothers,

ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ

אבאדאנא לכולה̱ טאבתא

prepared all good things *(ṭabta)*.

ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀ

לטאבתא אבאדנא

We prepared good things *(ṭabta)*,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואבאדנאלה̱ הילולא לאדאם באלמא

and arranged a wedding for Adam in the world.

ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡋࡉࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ

הילולא לידאם אבאדנאלה̱

We arranged a wedding for Adam,

ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ

ועהאבנאלה̱ ענתא

and we gave him a wife.

ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡁࡆࡀࡅࡄ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡍࡀࡋࡄ

האוא בזאוה̱ עהאבנאלה̱

We gave him Hawa (Eve) as a wife,

[illegible]

כד̲ דעניצאבלה̲ מן דוכתה̲

just as if she had been planted in her place.

ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡉࡍ

קאמינין והאדינין

We stand there and rejoice,

ࡅࡄࡀࡃࡉࡍࡀࡁࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

והאדינאבה̲ מן ריש בריש

and we are overjoyed on his account.

࡞

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡊࡑࡀࡋࡀ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ

אלמא ד̲אכצאלא לרוהא

But Rūha was in distress

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡓࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ושיביאהיא כראתאלהון לכולהון

and all the Planets were grieved.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀࡕ

רוהא ריהא ניסבאת

The Rūha took incense

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡏࡋࡄ

ומינילתא ד̲כאדבא אמרא עלה̲

and uttered a word of lie over it.

ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ[1054] ࡏࡅࡑࡈࡋࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ

שאמיש עוצטלא איתיא

[1054] Concerning the old deities of Mesopotamia during the Sasanian dynasty Morony writes: “Several ancient native deities were still venerated in late Sasanian Iraq. Šamiš or Shamash (the sun), Sīn (the Moon), Bel (Jupiter), Nanai and Nergal are all invoked as benevolent powers on a Syriac incantation bowl from Nippur. Bel and Nbu (Mercury) were associated with Babil and were objects of sacrifice at the court of Shāpūr II. . . The great goddess of Mesopotamia had several names during the Sasanian period, but she was also still known by her original name of Nanai (from Sumerian Inanna), ‘the great goddess of the entire earth’. The cult of Nanai was originally associated with the regions of Maysan and Babylonia” (Morony, 1984: 386).

Šamiš (sun-god) brought a garment,
ࡅࡎࡉࡓࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡀ
וסירא איתיא תותבא
and Sirra (moon-god) brought a skirt.
ࡏࡍࡁࡅ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ
ענבו דאהבא איתיא
ʻNbo (Mercury) brought gold.
ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡌࡎࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡓࡒࡌࡉࡀ
כיואן מסאניא ונארקמיא
Kiwan (Saturn) brought sandals and shoes.
ࡁࡉࡋ ࡋࡄࡀࡌࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ
ביל להאמא והאמרא איתיא
Bel (Jupiter) brought the bread and wine.
ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ ࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ
ניריג איתיא אנאפקיא
Nirig (Mars) brought the drinking cups.
ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
כולהון כוכביא תריסאר
All the twelve stars,
ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ
בגאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא
of every kind and variety:
ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡍࡂࡀࡓࡉࡀ
מינאיהון הון נאנגאריא
Some of them were carpenters,
ࡅࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡋࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡃࡋࡉࡀ
ומן סאהראיהון כליליא גאדליא
and some of their demons twined wreaths.
ࡃࡀࡉࡅࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡔࡕࡉࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ
דאיואיהון במאשתימאניא

Their Dewis were obedient servants,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡏࡊࡅࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡀࡒࡅࡀࡕࡀ

ומן עכוראיהון בשאקואתא

and some of their temple-demons were cup-bearers.

ࡅࡄࡉࡌࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡒࡀࡃࡉࡀ

והימראיהון בראקאדיא

Their *humurtas* were dancers.

ࡅࡍࡉࡅࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡎࡉࡌࡀࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡎࡀ[1055] ࡁࡌࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡅࡍ

וניולאיהון בסימאדריא אסא במאבליא איתון

And their hobgoblins brought myrtle blossoms by the load,

ࡅࡓࡉࡄࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡁࡃࡂࡅࡓ ࡃࡂࡅࡓ

וריהאניא בדגור דגור

and sweet basil in heaps.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡎࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

ࡌࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅ

מן שכינתא דהייא הו

from the *škina* of the Life.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡀࡎࡌࡉࡍ ࡓࡁࡀ

אתיויא ליאסמין רבא

They brought the big jasmine

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ואבאדבה האסיר ובציר

and produced in them flaw and defect.

[1055] ࡀࡎࡀ Myrtle, which was used for bridal wreaths is mentioned in one of the rare positive appearances of Ishtar on a Mandaic bowl from Khuabir, on which she is invoked by saying, "You will come with this wine and perfume and myrtle" (Yamuchi, 1967: 205-7). Myrtle wreaths are given to Mandaeans by their priests as part of the rite of *maṣbūta* "baptism" (MII, p. 100).

Lady Drower states: "Magian priests wore myrtle wreaths. Sumerians and Babylonians apparently held foliage before the god for the promotion of fertility" (MII, p. 121-2).

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡅࡀ ࡀࡔࡕࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡀ

אתיויא למארוא אשתארגאנא

They brought the camel's foot marjoram,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה̱ כול ד̱ביש

and produced in them every evil.

(GRR p. 127)

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡎࡅࡎࡉࡌࡁࡀࡓ[1056] ࡅࡕࡀࡐࡎࡀࡓࡀࡌࡊࡀ[1057]

אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡔࡊࡉࡍࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡈࡅࡓࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡀࡕࡀ

ד̱מן שכינתון ד̱תרין טוריא דאכיא ריהא אתא

whose fragrance came from the *škinas* of the two pure mountains.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡎࡅࡎࡉࡌࡁࡀࡓ ࡅࡕࡀࡐࡎࡀࡓࡀࡌࡊࡀ

אתיויא לסוסימבאר ותאפסאראמכא

They brought the water mint and the rosemary,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡎࡍࡉࡀ

ואבאדבה̱ כול ד̱סניא

and produced in them every ugly thing.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡓࡂࡉࡎ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡀࡎࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡌࡀࡄࡅࡆ

אתיויא לנארגיס רבא אסא ומארמאהוז

They brought the big narcissus, myrtle and wild marjoram

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ

ואבאדבא הארגתא

and they wrongly used them.

ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡉࡄࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אתונון לריהאניא כולהון

They brought all the basil,

[1056] Gr. σισύμβριον: watermint (MD, p. 322).

[1057] tapsramka *Ocimum basilicum*, Odoriferous plant (MD, p. 480).

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡍࡉࡀ

ד̲גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא

of every kind and every colour,

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה̲ כול ד̲ביש

and produced in them every evil.

࡞

ࡍࡉࡅࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ

ניולאיהון בטאבאייא

Their hobgoblins became cooks,

ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡐࡀࡉࡉࡀ

וסאהראיהון באפאייא

and their demons became bakers.

ࡀࡋࡂࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡀࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡍ

אלגאיון בנאכאסיא שאוון

They made their stammerers butchers,

ࡅࡐࡉࡒࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡀࡉࡉࡀ

ופיקאיון בטאבאייא

and their demon visitants cooks.

ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡀࡒࡅࡀࡕࡀ

לאטאבון כולהון בשאקואתא

All their imps became cup-bearers.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡀࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ

כולהון מאשתאמאניא

All of them were obedient servants,

ࡅࡏࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

ועשתאמולה̲ לאדאם וכולה̲ שורבתה̲

and obeyed Adam and all his race.

[illegible]

אנא ועותתריא אהאי
I and the *uthras*, my brothers,
ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ
באטילנא לבישותון
destroyed their evil.
ࡋࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ
לבישותון באטילנא לאדאם
We destroyed their evil against Adam
ࡅࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ
ובאדנאלה̲ טאבתא
and prepared all good things for him.
ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ
טאבתא לאדאם אבאדנאלה̲
We prepared all good things for Adam
ࡅࡀࡎࡉࡒࡍࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ואסיקנה̲ מן ריש בריש
and we promoted him for ever.
ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡄࡉࡋࡅࡋࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
אבאדנאלה̲ הילולא רבא
We arranged a great wedding for him
ࡁࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡀࡒࡍࡉࡀ
בדראשיא וסידריא תאקניא
with fabulous hymns and liturgies.
ࡁࡀࡄࡕࡍࡄ ࡋࡕࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ
באהתנה̲ לתותא ד̲רוהא
We disgraced the words of Rūha
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡉࡋࡍࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ
ובאטילנה̲ לקאלא מארדא
and suppressed her rebellious call.
[illegible]

אנהאינא לבישותא ד̱שיביאהיא
We abolished the evilness of the Planets
ࡅࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
ובאטלינין למאשתוציא כולהון
and brought all the monsters to naught·
ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡍࡄ ࡋࡔࡉࡓࡔࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ
תראצנה̱ לשירשא ד̱הייא
We set up the root of Life;
ࡆࡊࡀ ࡅࡆࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ
זכא וזאכיא לכאלה̱ שורבתא
(The Life) triumphed and brought victory to his entire race.

* * *

ࡏࡒࡀࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ
עקארא הואינין ד̱אדאם
We stayed with Adam
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡀࡕ
אלמא ד̱האוא האמבאלאת
until Hawa (Eve) was in labour.
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡋࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ
אלמא ד̱האמבאלאת האוא
Uuntil Hawa was in labour,
ࡀࡍࡀࡄࡉࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡉࡍ
אנאהין אקאראיון הוין
we remained with them.
ࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡄࡅࡀࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡒࡀࡓࡀࡉࡅࡍ
אנין הואינון אקאראיון
We remained with them
[illegible] [illegible][1058] [illegible] [illegible][1059]

[1058] BL 23599 53v: 4 [illegible] “for him”.

ואנא הוילא סאבוס ענשיא

and I was for him Sabūs (instructor ?) of the women.

ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

ואנא האויתה̱ מילגאט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife,

ࡗ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

כד̱ גובריא ד̱זאוא לאגטיא

as men take wives.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡆࡀࡅࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

אנא האויתה̱ מילגיט זאוא לאדאם

I instructed Adam to take a wife

ࡅࡏࡌࡓࡉࡕ ࡕࡉࡕࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ועמרית תיתנפאש שורבאתא ד̱הייא

and I said (to myself), “May the race of the Life be bountiful!

(GRR p. 128)

ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡕࡍࡀࡐࡀࡔ

שורבתא ד̱הייא תיתנאפאש

May the race of the Life to be bountiful,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומיניהון ניתיאיאר אלמא

and by them the world will be roused.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡓ ࡌࡉࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ

אלמא ניתיאיאר מיניהון

The world will be roused by them,

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡅࡍ

הייא טאביתון ניליגטון

and the Life will be grateful to them.

ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡕࡅࡍ

[1059] ࡎࡀࡁࡅࡎ ࡖࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ *sabūs d̠-ʿnšea*: ناصح الأزواج one who instructs about conjugal life (?).

הייא ניליגטון טאביתון
The Life will be grateful to them,
ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡀࡎࡒࡅࡍࡅࡍ
וניפארקונון ונאסקונון
deliver them, and make them rise up
ࡌࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ
מן אלמא האזין דַביש
from this world of the evil."

* * *

ࡁࡓࡉࡔ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ
בריש שורבתא קאדמאיתא
At the head of the first generation
ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
אדאכאס זיוא הוא
was Adakas-Ziwa.
ࡄࡅࡀ ࡀࡃࡀࡊࡀࡎ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ
הוא אדאכאס זיוא
There was Adakas-Ziwa,
ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ[1060] ࡄࡅࡀࡕ
ואנאנא דַנהורא הואת
and there was Anana d̲-Nhura [the cloud of light).
ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
הואת אנאנא דַנהורא
Anana d̲-Nhura was there.
ࡊࡖ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀ
כדַ דַהואתאלהַ הדא כארסא
When she had her first pregnancy,
ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ[1061] ࡄࡅࡉࡍ

[1060] "Cloud of Light" or "Cloud of Radiance" also called Hawa-Kasia "Occult Breath of Pneuma-Eve), spouse of Dakas-Ziwa (SA, p. 36).

הורינתין היביל ואנאתהייא הון

Hibil and Anat-Hiia came into being

ࡊࡖ ࡄࡅࡀࡕࡀࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀ ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡕࡉࡍ[1062]

כד̱ הואתאלה̱ כארסא הורינתין

When she had her another pregnancy,

ࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ[1063] ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1064] ࡄࡅࡍ

אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא הון

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ

הון אנאן נצאב ואנהאר זיוא

Anan-Nşab and Anhar-Ziwa came into being,

ࡖࡁࡀࡎࡉࡌ ࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱באסים שומה̱ על אלמא

whose names are pleasant to the worlds.

ࡀࡍࡀࡍ ࡍࡑࡀࡁ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ

אנאן נצאב זיוא שיתיל

Anan-Nşab Ziwa-Šitil

ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡓ ࡆࡉࡅࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ואנהאר זיוא האוא ד̱מן האוא הואת

and Anhar-Ziwa-Hawa who was born from Hawa

ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡅࡖࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡀ ࡒࡉࡌࡕࡀ[1065]

ד̱אלמא ודאריא קארילא קימתא

to whom all the worlds and generations (aeons) call out for his perpetuity,

ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱מקאיאם שומא על אלמיא

whose name is established in the worlds.

[1061] *Anathiia* ("Thou-art-the-Life"): a higher female being (MD, p. 25).

[1062] BL 23600, O 1236 ࡄࡅࡓࡉࡍࡕࡀ

[1063] Anan-Nşab: a spirit (MD, p. 24).

[1064] Anhar-Ziwa: a supernatural female being (MG, p. 26)

[1065] *qimta* Var. *qaiamta:* (a) raising up, resurrection, (b) a prayer of dedication or consecration (MD, p. 400).

ࡁࡕࡋࡀࡕ ࡊࡀࡓࡎࡀࡕࡀ

בתלאת כארסאתא

With the third pregnancy

ࡁࡓࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ

ברהייא ודמותהייא הואת

Bar-Hiia (son of life) and Dmūt-Hiaa (counterpart of life) came into being.

ࡁࡓ ࡀࡍࡅࡔ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

בר אנוש אדאם ד̱מקאיאם שורבתה̱

Bar-Anoš-Adam who confirmed his race.

ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דמותהייא ד̱מינא מיתיקריא אלמא

Dmūt-Hiia, by whom the world was called forth.

ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ[1066] ࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ

היביל מאריא ד̱ארקא

Hibil, Lord of the earth,

ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡆࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡄࡉࡋ

ד̱אלמיא היזויא ומינה̱ דהיל

whom the worlds saw and (stood) in fear before him.

ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ[1067] ࡔࡉࡕࡋࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡀ

שיתיל שיתלא טאבא

Šitil (Seth), the good child,

ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡕࡅࡔࡋࡉࡌࡉࡀ

עותרא מקאיים תושלימיא

the *uthra* who confirms the perfect ones.

ࡀࡍࡅࡔ[1068] ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ [illegible]

[1066] Hibil is one of the heavenly triad (Hibil, Šitil and Anoš). He is usual Hibil-Ziwa "the Light-Bearer"; a spirit of Light who descended to the underworld and triumphed over the forces of Darkness. (SA, p. 36)

[1067] *Šitil* (Seth) – *Šitil-Ţaba* "the good plant"; the origin of the pure generation of mankind (SA, p. 36. See also, Stroumsa, 1984: 59). "Seth is an important figure among Essenes, Gnostics and early Christians, and closely connected with such characters as Shem and Melchizedek as well as Jesus" (Welburn, 1991: 44).

אנוש עותרא ניהא
Anuš, the gentle *uthra*,

ࡖࡌࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ

ד̱מקאיים שורבתא
who confirms his race.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אדאם מאלכא ד̱עותריא
Adam the king of the *uthras*,

ࡖࡐࡀࡄࡋࡉࡋࡄ[1069] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱פאהליל̱ה כולהון אלמא
whom all the worlds serve.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡄ[1070]

אדאם בדמו רביא תראצת̱ה
I put Adam on a par with the great ones,

ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡁࡉࡍࡕࡀ

ברישא ד̱בינתא
at the head of the building.

ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀ

האוא בדמו אנאנא ד̱נהורא שאויתא
I made Hawa (Eve) equal with Anana d̲-Nurah (the cloud of light),

ࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מארתא ד̱כול̱ה אלמא
mistress of the whole world.[1071]

⁂

[1068] Anuš (Biblical אנוש). He is the "patron and promoter of Naṣiruta – and of Naṣoraeans who profess and practice it. In Haran Gawaita Anuš guides the persecuted Naṣoraeans to Harran and later into Babylonia, and he avenges them by destroying Jerusalem" (SA, p. 37).

[1069] ࡖ not in BL 23601: 51r.

[1070] BL 23601: 51r ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡉࡍ.

[1071] The elevation of "Man" to a transmundane deity is one of the "most significant traits of Gnostic theology in the general history of religion." (Jonas, h., The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, (JR), 1962: 268).

ࡗ ࡀࡒࡉࡌࡕࡇ[1072] ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ
כד̱ אקימתה̱ לאדאם
When I (Manda d̲-Hiia) installed Adam
ࡀࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡇ
אקרית תלאתא עותריא עלה̱
I appointed three *uthras* over him.
ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡀࡒࡓࡉࡕ ࡏࡋࡇ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡄࡅࡀ
עותריא ד̱אקרית עלה̱ ד̱אדאם והוא
The *uthras* whom I appointed over Adam and Hawa,
ࡖࡁࡓࡉࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡉࡕ
ד̱בריתאיהון הוית
I set myself at their head.

(GRR, p. 129)

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡃࡓࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡉࡀ
וקאמית ואליפתינון דראשיא שאנייא
And I stood before them and taught them wonderful *drašê* “hymns”.
ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡀࡕࡀ[1073]
אליפתינון סידריא ד̱מאסיקאתא
I taught them liturgies in order to perform the ritual of *masiqta* “ascension”
ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡒࡅࡍ
ד̱עותריא ניסקון
according to the way of the *uthras*.
ࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ
אליפתינון באואתא
I taught them prayers,
ࡖࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ
ד̱בא באואתא ד̱הייא ניתקאימון
so that they might be confirmed through the prayers of the Life.

[1072] In BL 23601: 51r there is ࡀࡒࡀࡉࡌࡕࡀ
[1073] ࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡕࡀ *masiqta* (ascension): ritual of the dead. (See above § 1.4.2)

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡓࡀࡑࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ
אמארילון עתראצתון ועתקאיאמתון
I said to them, "You are set up and confirmed,
ࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ
באתאר ד̱טאביא מיתקאימיא
in the place where the good are confirmed,
ࡁࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
ביניא מאניא ד̱נהורא
amongst the Manas of Light,
ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ
האתאם מיתקאימון
there, you shall be confirmed."
ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡋࡉࡐࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ
יאתבית ואליפתינון
I sat and taught them,
ࡗ ࡖࡓࡁࡇ[1074] ࡋࡔࡅࡀࡋࡉࡀ[1075]
כ̱ד̱ ד̱רבה̱ לשואליא
as a master (teaches) his novices.
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡅࡁࡓࡀࡊࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ
אמארילון ובראכתינון
I spoke with them and I blessed them,
ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ
מן בירכתא ד̱טאביא
(and) the bless of the good ones,
ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡀࡅࡍ
תיהויא עלאואון
shall rest upon them.

[1074] In BL 23599 54r: 10, BL 23600 50v: 23, BL 23601 51v: 5 and BLO 1236: 50v: 23 there is ࡖࡓࡁࡀ

[1075] ࡔࡅࡀࡋࡉࡀ *šualia*: postulant. The name given to a candidate for priesthood (ATŠ p. 15).

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡁࡍࡄ ࡅࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡄ

אדאם ובנה̱ ושורבאתה̱

Adam, his children and his race

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ[1076] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ניהזונה̱ לאתאר נהור

shall behold the Place of Light.

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד̱ הזאתינון רוהא

When Rūha saw them,

ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡅࡍ

למאשתוציא קאריאלון

she called her demons.

ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

קאריאלון למאשתוציא

She called her demons,

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ[1077] ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ

ומאלכאלון מילכא באטלא

and gave them worthless advice.

ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ

מילכא באטלא מאלכאלון

She gave them worthless advice,

ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ד̱לאשיה לאתאר נהור

which was unworthy of the place of Light,

ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡉࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

ואראלון מאהו ד̱איתינין בגו באיתא

[1076] In BL 23600 50v: 24 & BLO 1236: 50v: 25 there is [illegible] ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ

[1077] ࡌࡀࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡍ in BL 23601: 51v.

and she said to them, “What will come to us from being in the House
ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ומאנהירינין בגאוה̱ ד̱אלמא
and illumine in the world?
ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡀࡍ ࡖࡌࡀࡍࡄࡉࡓࡉࡍࡉࡍ
לימאלאן ד̱מאנהירינין
Why should we illumine
ࡖࡌࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡀࡍ
ד̱מנאת בגאוה̱ ליתלאן
when we have no share in it?
ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡋࡀࡍ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ
מנאתא לאתלאן בגאוה̱
We have no share in it,
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ
וכולה̱ באיתא לאו דילאן
and the whole house is not ours.
ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡉࡀ
קום נימארלה̱ לנוכראייא
Step forward. Let us speak to the stranger
ࡖࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ד̱ניתילאן מנאתא באלמא
so he might grant us a share in the world.
ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ
עו לאניתילאן מנאתא
If he denies us a share,
ࡏࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ
עלה̱ נירמיא תיגרא
we shall pick a quarrel with him.

ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ[1078]
עו לאניתילאן
If he denies us (a share),
ࡏࡋࡇ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡇ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
עלה̱ נישאמאר ונישיבקה̱ לאלמא
we will completely forsake the world.
ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡒࡇ
נישאמאר לאלמא נישיבקה̱
If we forsake the world completely,
ࡌࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁ ࡏࡋࡇ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ
מאן הו ד̱ניהויב עלה̱ צאותא
who will be its brightness?
ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡇ
צאותא מאן ניהויבה̱
Who will be its brightness
ࡅࡍࡀࡄࡉࡓࡇ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ונאהירה̱ לאלמא
and illuminate the world?"

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
כד̱ האזא אמראת רוהא ושיביאהיא
When Rūha and the planets,
ࡁࡍࡇ ࡖࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
בנה̱ ד̱אורא באטלא
the children of the perishable abode, spoke thus,
ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ
מאלאלית ואמארילון
I spoke and said them,

[1078] BLO 1236: 51r: 4 has ࡏࡅ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡕࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ 'if he denies us a share'.

ࡋࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

למאשתוציא באטליא

to the vile monsters:

ࡏࡅ ࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡅࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

עו נאפקיתון פוק מן באיתא

“If you want to leave, leave the house at once.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡅࡃࡀࡉ ࡏࡉࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ

אנא באלהודאי עיאנהרה̲

I, by myself, shall illuminate it.

ࡏࡉࡀࡍࡄࡓࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

עיאנהרה̲ להאזין באיתא

I shall illuminate this house,

(GRR p. 130)

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡑࡄ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ועתירצה̲ מן ריש בריש

and set it up in perfect order.”

࡞

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡁࡀࡂࡅࡕࡄ

כולהון מאשתוציא הון בהאמבאגותה̲

All the demons rose up against him,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ

וקאימיא והאשליא ראזיא

and began contriving secret plots,

ࡅࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ

וכאלהון לביש מיתהאשביא

and all of them plan evil,

[1079]ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡐࡓࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ

ואמריא קום ניפריא פורא

and say to each other, “Arise, let us arrange a feast,

ࡅࡒࡅࡌ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡀ

וקום נישתיא מישתיא

arise, let us make a drinking banquet!

[1080]ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ

ראזיא ד̠רהאמתא ניבאד

Let us practice the mysteries of love,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡈࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונישיטא לכולה̠ אלמא

and seduce the whole world.

ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ראזיא ד̠הארשיא ניקריא

Let us recite the secret spells,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

ונישאויא כילא באלמאן

and set a term for our world.

ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡅࡕࡀ

ניבאד מארגאנותא

We shall cause an uprising

ࡖࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡈࡋࡄ

ד̠לקאלא ד̠הייא ניבאטלה̠

in order to foil the voice of Life.

ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡈࡋࡄ ࡋࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ [illegible] [illegible]

[1079] “The orgiastic feast prepared by world for the seduction of man, or more generally of the alien Life from beyond, is repeatedly described in extensive scenes in Mandaean writings” (Jonas, 1958: 71).

[1080] This is a general Gnostic motif, nevertheless, the Mandaeans abhore celibacy and encourage marriage and have children. According to Jonas, seduction with “love” is the main weapon of the material world with which it entraps man and makes him remain in the world of darkness. (Ibid pp. 72, 3).

ניבאטלה̱ לקאלא ד̱הייא מן ריש בריש

We want to foil the voice of the Life for ever.

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאן ניקריא תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

Who will pick a quarrel and cast it in the house,

ࡖࡋࡀࡃࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡌࡀࡔࡕࡓࡉࡀ[1081]

ד̱לדארדאריא לאמאשתריא

that might not be settled for eternity?

ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

תיגרא נירמיא בגו באיתא

We shall cast a quarrel in the house

ࡅࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡋࡄ

ולנוכראיא ניגיטלה̱

and kill the stranger!

ࡍࡉࡂࡉࡈࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ

ניגיטלה̱ לנוכראיא

We shall kill the stranger

ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡒࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

ונאסקה̱ לכולה̱ שורבתה̱

and annihilate his whole race.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡋࡉࡂࡅࡈࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡋࡉࡂࡈࡄ

אדאם בליגוטאן ניליגטה̱

We shall take Adam into our party

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡐࡉࡓࡒࡀ

וניהיזיא מאן ד̱ניהוילה̱ פירקא

and see who will be a deliverer for him?”

* * *

[illegible] [illegible] ࡀࡆࡀࡋ

[1081] This verse in not found in BL 23600 51r: 16 & BLO 1236: 51r: 17

רוהא ושיביאהיא אזאל

Rūha and the Planets departed

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡋࡈࡅࡓ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ[1082]

סליק לטור כארימלא

and ascended to the Mount Carmel.

ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡅࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ

סליק והאשיב על ראזיא ד̱רהאמתא

They ascended and thought of the secrets of love.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡄࡀࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡔࡕࡅࡑࡉࡀ

יאתביא ומיתהאשביא מאשתוציא

The demons sat there and indulged themselves in plotting.

ࡅࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ונאסביא מן ראזאיון ד̱כולהון

They took from the mysteries of every one,

ࡅࡌࡍ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

ומן ראזא ד̱רוהא נאסביא

and from the mystery of Rūha they took some,

ࡅࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

ויאתביא והארשיא אבדיא

and they sit and practice witchcraft.

ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡄࡀࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡅࡊࡅࡌࡕࡅࡍ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

יאתביא והאישיא בהוכומתון ואמריא

They sit and think over in their sagacity and say (to each other):

[1082] ࡈࡅࡓࡀ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ *ṭura karimla* Mt. Carmel is identified with the story of Elijah and has always continued to be a sacred mount. Doubtless communities of 'Sons of the Prophets' and the rest had continuously there their retreats. Carmel had been sacred spot long before the days of Elijah, who hid there from his pursuers. The Arabs still call it Jebal Mar Elyas (Mount Lord Elijah). Mead says "Yamblichus in his *Life* of the sage says that Pythagoras visited it." (Mead, 1924: 47 n. 4) Biblically, Mt. Carmel is referenced most often as a symbol of beauty and fertility. To be given the "splendor of Carmel" was to be blessed indeed (Isa 35: 2). Solomon praised his beloved: "your head crowns you like Mount Carmel" (Song of Songs 7: 5).

ࡍࡉࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ
ניקום ונישאויא פורא
“Arise , let us arrange a feast
ࡅࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡍࡀࡍࡃࡁࡉࡀ
ונירמיא בגאוה̱ נאנדביא
and we shall cast therein offerings.
ࡍࡉࡊࡀࡍࡐࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ
ניכאנפינון לכוכביא תריסאר
We will gather the twelve planets
ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ
וכולאן נישאויא ראזיא
and all of us will manufacture mysteries.
ࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡏࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡀࡍ
כולאן נימיא בעמאמאתא כולאן
All of us will swear, with oaths,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ
ולאניגאליל על ראזיא ד̱רהאמתא
not to reveal the mysteries of love.
ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡎࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
ראזא ד̱רהאמתא באסא ניבאד
Let us practice the mystery of love with myrtle
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ונישיביא לכולה̱ אלמא
and seduce the whole world!
ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡌࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ
ראז רהאמתא בהאמרא ניבאד
Let us practice the mystery of love with wine
ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀࡍ
ונישיביא לאלמא בירויתאן
and entrap the world by our drunkenness.

(GRR p. 131)

ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ[1083] ࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃ

ראזא ד̱רהאמתא למיא מיבאד

We will perform the mystery of love with water,

ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡃࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונאנדה̱ לכולה̱ אלמא

and stir up the whole world.

ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡉࡍࡀࡃࡄ

לכולה̱ אלמא נינאדה̱

We will stir up the whole world,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ

ונישביא בשיביא

and take it captive

ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ

בראזא רבא ד̱רהאמתא

by the great mystery of love.

ࡖࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡏࡋࡉࡍ

ד̱עניש לאנידא עלין

No one will know about us.

ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡃࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀࡍ

לאנידא בראזא ד̱עומאמאתאן

(No one) will know the secret of our vows,

ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡌࡉࡌࡓࡀࡍ

ולאניגאליל מימראן

and (no one) will reveal our word.

ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀࡍ

ולאניגאלילינין לעומאמאתאן

[1083] Cf. “From the Lord’s spring came speaking water in abundance to my lips. I drank and was drunken with the water of everlasting life, yet my drunkenness was not that of ignorance, but I turned away from vanity.” (Charlesworth, Odes of Solomon XI. 6-8, 1977: 52).

We will not reveal our vows

ࡅࡌࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡀࡔࡉࡁࡍࡉࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

ומא על כול ד̱האשיבנין באלמאן

and all what we designed for our world.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1084] ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אלמא לאניגאליליניו לראזיא כולהון

We will not reveal all the secrets,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡔࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ

ונישאושא על ליגטתא

and we will cause confusion in the faction,

ࡏࡋ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡂࡉࡈ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ[1085]

על ליגטתא ד̱לגיט נוכראיא

in the faction which the Alien founded,

ࡖࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱לאתיהוילה̱ מנאתא באלמא

so that no share will be his in the world.

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡄ

מנאתא באלמא לאתיהוילה̱

No share in the world will belong to him,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ

וכולה̱ באיתא דילאן ניהויא

and the whole house will belong to us.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ

כולה̱ ניהויא דילאן

The whole (house) will belong to us,

ࡅࡏࡍࡉࡔ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועניש לאניהויא בהאזין אלמא

and nobody's else in this world.

[1084] In BL 23599 55r: 7 & BL 23601 52r: 18 we read ࡋࡌࡀ

[1085] ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ not in BL 23601: 52r.

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡍࡅࡊࡓࡀࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡅࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו דאבאד נוכראיא בגוא דבאיתא

What has the stranger done in the house,

ࡖࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡕࡀ

דלגאט בגאוה ליגטתא

that he could found himself a faction therein?

ࡋࡀࡉࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[1086]

לאיאדיא מארא דבאיתא

The master of the house does not know

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ[1087] ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅ

דכולה באיתא דילאן הו

that the whole house belongs to us.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡀࡍ

באיתא הו דילאן

The house is ours,

ࡅࡋࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡅࡍ

ולדילון מנאתא ליתלון

and the others have no share (in it)."

⁂

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡅࡔࡅࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

קאם שאושונין לעבידאתון

They rose (and) cast confusion on their deeds,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ושאובון האסיר ובציר

and produced in them blunder and defect,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡅ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡄࡅ

אמינטול דבאיתא לאו דילון הו

because the house is not theirs.

[1086] this verse and the above not in BL23601: 52r.

[1087] ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ not in BL23601: 52r.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ

באיתא לאהוא דילון

The house is not theirs,

ࡅࡋࡀࡅ ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

ולאו אמינטול דילון עתיקריא

and it was not created for their sake.

ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

באיתא דקרון עותריא

To the house which the *uthras* created,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡄࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡋࡄ

לדיליא שיהלון עלה

they have sent me in person,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ[1088] ࡀࡄࡀࡉ

לדיליא לעותריא אהאי

me in person (and) the *uthras,* my brothers,

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡀ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡁࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ

דעתיא עבידבה טאבתא

in order to descend and do good therein.

ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡁࡄ

טאבתא עבידבה

To do good therein,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡉࡁࡅࡍ

דניהזון טאביא וניטאיבון

hence, the good ones will see (the good) and be restored.

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡈࡀࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

ניהזון וניטאיבון טאביא

The good ones will see (the good) and be restored,

[illegible]

[1088] In BL 23600 51v: 16 and BLO 1236: 51v: 16 we find [illegible]

וניסקון ניהזונה̱ לאתאר נהור

then rise and behold the place of Light.

ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍ ࡅࡍࡉࡁࡉࡄࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

ניהזון וניביהתון בישיא

The wicked ones will only observe and be ashamed,

ࡖࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱לדוגיא ד̱נורא שאפליא

(and) into the glowing ovens they shall sink.

ࡔࡀࡐࡋࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡅࡂࡉࡀ ࡔࡂࡉࡓࡔࡀࡕࡀ

שאפליא לדוגיא שגירשאתא

They shall sink into the burning ovens,

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ

דוכתא ד̱מינה̱ עתינציב

into the place from which they were created.

ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ

דוכתא ד̱עתינציב מינה̱

The place from which they were created,

ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ

האתאם רוהאיון שאלמא

there, their spirits will yield[1089].

ࡄࡀࡕࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ

האתאם שאלמא רוהאיון

Their spirits will yield there,

(GRR p. 132)

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡃ

אמינטול מינדאם שאפיר לאבאד

because they did nothing satisfying.

ࡗ ࡋࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡔࡀࡐࡉࡓ

[1089] or: they will die

כד̠ לאבאד מינדאם ד̠שאפיר
Since they did nothing satisfying,
ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ
מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא ד̠סוף
they will end on the day of the end.

◆

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡐࡓࡉࡍ ࡐࡅࡓࡀ
קאם פרין פורא
They stood and cast a lot,
ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
ופאליג מנאתא לנאפשאיהון
and allotted a portion for themselves.
ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ
מנאתא לנאפשאיהון פאליג
They allotted a portion for themselves,
ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ[1090] ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡇࡅࡓ
ד̠לאשיהיא לאתאר נחור
as they are unworthy of the place of Light.
ࡀࡐࡊࡅ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ
אפכו לטאבותא
They perverted goodness,
ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
מינדאם ד̠אבאד מארה̱ ד̠אלמא
the thing which the Lord of the world has made.
ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡑࡉࡀ
אפכונון לראזיא תריציא
They perverted the right mysteries (or: the orthodox rites),
ࡌࡉࡍࡃࡀࡌ [illegible] ࡀࡁࡀࡃ

[1090] BL 23600 51v: 24 & BLO 1236: 51v: 24 ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅ

מינדאם דקאדמאיא אבאד

something which the First (Life) made.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ

אפכונון למאלאליא דכושטא

They perverted the words of truth (*kušṭa*),

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

ומאלאליא דכאדבא אבדיא

and held the words of lie (*kadba*).

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

מאלאליא אבדיא דבאדבא

They held the words of lie,

ࡀࡍࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡀࡔࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

אנמינטול דלאשיהיא לאתאר נהור

because they are unworthy of the place of Light.

ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡉࡀ ࡃࡉࡍࡁࡀ

רישא שאוויא דינבא

They changed head into tail

ࡅࡃࡀࡍࡁࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ

ודאנבא שאוויא רישא

and changed tail into head.

ࡀࡐࡊࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אפכונון לעבידאתון

They perverted their deeds (or: rites),

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואמאר בישותא באלמא

and did evil into the world.

ࡀࡑࡁࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡐࡎࡉࡒࡉࡍ[1091]

[1091] In the Book of *Jue* it is written that "After reciting magical prayers, Jesus administers to his disciples baptism of water, of fire, and of Holy Spirit. As preparation of the baptism of water

אתונון לפיריא כולהון
They brought all the fruit
ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ
ואבאדבון כול דביש
and did every evil in them.
ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡓࡒࡅࡍࡉࡀ
אתונון ליארקוניא
They brought the vegetables
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ
ושאובון האסיר ובאציר
and made blunder and defect in them.
ࡀࡕࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ
אתונון למיא הייא
They brought living water
ࡅࡀࡔࡀࡃ ࡓࡌࡅࡁࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡓࡂࡕࡀ
ואשאד רמובון הארגתא
and poured turbidity into it.
ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ[1092]
אתיויא לריש כאנא
They brought the head of the race
ࡅࡀࡁࡃࡀࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡔࡉࡄࡀ
ואבדאבה ראזא דרהאמתא ושיהא
and practiced on him the mystery of love and of lust,
ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡑࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ
דבה מישתאציבה כולהון אלמיא
through which all the worlds are inflamed.
[illegible][1093]

---

the disciples bring to Jesus various plants, the juniper, the terebinth, etc., probably for their magical properties" (cited by Yamauchi, 1970: 12).

[1092] ࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡀࡍࡀ Adam is the head of the race.

אבאדבא מאסטיאנותא

They practiced on him seduction,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡎࡀࡈࡉࡍ[1094] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה סאטין כולהון אלמיא

to lead the whole world astray.

ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ

אבאדבה ראזא דרויתא

They practiced on him the mystery of drunkenness,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה ראויבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are drunken.

ࡌࡀࡔࡒࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡀࡎ ࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ

מאשקילון מן כאס רויתא

They made them drink from the cup of drunkenness,

ࡖࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡀ[1095] ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

דמאזבריא אנפאיון ליאמא רבא דסוף

so that they turn their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ[1096] ࡅࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver

ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡉࡀ[1097] ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומארגאניא דהאזין אלמא

and the pearls of this world.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ ࡅࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ

אתיויא לדאהבא וכאספא

They brought gold and silver,

[1093] BL 23600 52r: 6 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 ࡌࡀࡎࡕࡉࡀࡍࡅࡕࡀ.

[1094] BL 23599 55v: 12, BL 23600 52r: 6, BL 23601 52v: 19 & BLO 1236: 52r: 6 ࡔࡅࡈࡉࡍ.

[1095] BL 23599 55v: 14 & BL 23601 52v: 19 ࡖࡌࡀࡆࡁࡁࡓࡉࡀ.

[1096] BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9 ࡋࡃࡄࡁࡀ.

[1097] ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡂࡀࡍࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 52r: 9 & BLO 1236: 52r: 9.

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱בה̱ ראויבה̱ אלמא

by which the worlds became drunk.

ࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ[1098] ࡓࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ[1099]

בה̱ אלמיא ראויבה̱

The worlds became drunk,

ࡅࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡃࡎࡅࡐ

ומאזבריא אנפאיון ליאמא רבא ד̱סוף

and turned their faces towards the great ocean of Sup.

ࡀࡕࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡂࡁࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡅࡍࡀ

אתיויא לארגבא ומינונא

They brought money and possessions

ࡅࡀࡁࡀࡃࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡁࡉࡔ

ואבאדבה̱ כול ד̱ביש

and did with them every vileness.

࡞

ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡀ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ

לרוהא פלאגלא שיהא

They allotted lust for Rūha,

(GRR p. 133)

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡍࡉࡄࡆࡅࡍࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡑࡅࡍ

ד̱בה̱ ניהזונה̱ אלמיא ונישתאצון

by which the worlds get agitated when they see it .

ࡋࡉࡁࡀࡕ[1100] ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡉࡁࡄࡀࡕࡀ

[1098] ࡁࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ not in BL 23600 52r: 10 & BLO 1236: 52r: 10 .

[1099] In this concern Jonas writes: "The "drunkenness" of the world is a phenomenon peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual aspect of what the Gnostics understood by the term "world." . . The drunkenness of ignorance is opposed by the "sobriety" of knowledge, a religious formula sometimes intensified to the paradox of "sober drunkenness."" (Jonas 1958: 71).

[1100] The planets continued to be worshiped in Iraq inspite the Sasanians attempts to close the old temples. In this concern Morony wrties: "Although paganism was declining in Sasanian Iraq, ancient Mesopotamian religious traditions survived in several important ways. . . There

לנבא פלאגלה הוכומתא

They allotted wisdom for Nbū

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡓࡀ ࡖࡓࡄࡀࡌࡕࡀ

ושאויויא מארא דרהאמתא

and made him the Lord of love.

ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ[1101] ࡈࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡁࡅࡁࡉࡀ

פלאגלה טאבליא ואמבוביא

They allotted for him drums and flutes,

ࡖࡌࡉࡔࡕࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דמישתביבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the world are lured.

ࡋࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ

לכיואן פלאגלה בישותא

To Kiwan they allotted wickedness,

ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

דמינה האויא האסיר ובציר

from which flaw and defect came into being.

ࡋࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

לשאמיש פלאגלה כאדבא

To Šamiš (Sun-god) they allotted deceit,

ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה מישתאמשיא כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are befooled.

ࡋࡎࡉࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

לסין פאלגלה הוסראנא

---

may have been temples of Bel and of Nabu at Burs as late as third century. There are references to pagan temples with idols in the late sixth and early seventh centuries in Beth 'Arbhaye, Arzon, Margha, Adiabene, Beth Garme, Kaskar, and Maysan. . . By the fourth century, pagans were already beginning to celebrate their festivals in secret. Such a festival was held in honour of Nabu at his altar in a mountain village near 'Anat and included dancing, raillery, and the playing of the lyre and drums" (Morony, 1984: 384-85).

[1101] In BL 23600 52r: 13 & BLO 1236: 52r: 13 we read ࡊࡋࡄ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ

To Sin (Moon-god) they allotted imperfection,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡄࡅࡍ

דכול הוסראנא מינה הון

from which all the blemish generated.

ࡋࡁࡉࡋ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡇ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡖࡌࡉࡀ

לביל פלאגלה ראזא דמיא

To Bil they allotted the mystery of the water,

ࡖࡁࡇ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡃࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבה מאנידלון לכולהון אלמיא

with which he stirs up all the worlds.

ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡉࡃࡋࡅࡍ

לכולהון אלמיא מאנידלון

He stirs up all the worlds,

ࡅࡀࡓࡉࡁࡋࡇ ࡋࡈࡀࡁࡅ ࡁࡁࡉࡔ

ואריבלה לטאבו בביש

and blends good with evil.

ࡋࡍࡉࡓࡂ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡇ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ

לנירג פלאגלה זאניא

To Nirig (Mars) they allotted arms,

ࡋࡌࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡒࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

למיבאד קראבא באלמא

to wage the war in the world.

ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ

קארילון לכוכביא תריסאר

They called the Twelve Stars,

ࡅࡌࡀࡋࡅࡀࡔࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ

ומאלואשיא אלאגלון

and divided the signs of the zodiac (*milwašia*) between them.

ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡕࡉࡀ

פלאגלון באתיא

They divided them (the planets) into Houses

ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ[1102]

אכמאר בבישותא רמון

and once more they cast them into wickedness.

ࡀࡊࡌࡀࡓ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ[1103]

אכמאר רמון בבישותא

Once more they cast them into wickedness,

ࡎࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡐࡋࡅࡂࡉࡀ

סינא קינא ופלוגיא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡅࡉࡄࡓࡉࡀ[1104]

פלאגלון ליומא ויהריא

They divided the days and the months.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ

פאלגונון לשאייא ושושיא

They divided the hours and the *šušias* (five minutes?).

ࡋࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ

לשאייא ושושיא פאלגונון

They divided the hours and *šušias*.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡂࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡄࡓࡉࡀ

פאלגונון לנאגיא ופוהריא

They divided the minutes and seconds.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ

פאלגו לכולה̱ האסירותא

They spread every deficiency,

ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

ופאלגויא לכולה̱ האסיר ובציר

[1102] Instead of this verse we read in BL 23600 52r: 20 & BLO 1236: 52r: 20: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1103] In BL 23600 52r: 22 & BLO 1236: 52r: 22 as above.

[1104] [illegible] [illegible] in BL 23601: 53r.

and they spread all the flaw and blunder.

ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

פאלגויא לכולה אלמא לנאפשאיהון

They divided the whole world between them,

[1105]ࡅࡔࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡏࡃࡊࡀࡓ

ושומא דקאדמאיא לאעדכאר

and the name of the First was not mentioned.

ࡏࡎࡓࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡎࡀࡓࡅࡍ

עסרויא לאסארון

They made an alliance,

[1106]ࡅࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡀ ࡆࡉࡌࡀࡉࡅࡍ

ורמון בראבא זימאיון

and discarded their great fetters(?).

ࡀࡔࡀࡓ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ

אשאר לעומאמתון

They confirmed their oaths,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡌࡀࡅࡃࡉࡍ

דכולהון בכאדבא מאודין

which all of them confess with lies.

ࡀࡔࡀࡓ[1107] ࡏࡋ ࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡀ[1108]

אשאר על עומאמתא

They confirmed their vows,

ࡖࡏࡁࡃࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡅࡓ ࡊࡀࡓࡉࡌࡋࡀ

דעבדון בטור כארימלא

which they made on the Mount Carmel.

[illegible]

[1105] Cf. ࡔࡅࡌࡄ ࡅࡋࡀ ࡀࡉࡕࡃࡊࡀࡓ GRR, p. 85: 20.

[1106] In BL 23600 52r: 27 & BLO 1236: 52r: 27 there is ࡆࡀࡌࡀࡉࡅࡍ

[1107] ࡀࡔࡀࡓ is not fouhnd in BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1.

[1108] In BL 23600 52v: 1 & BLO 1236: 52v: 1 we read: ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡕࡅࡍ

פורא דפרון שובא

In the feast which the Seven (planets) prepared,

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

רישאיהון דהארשיא כולהון

the head (foundation) of all sorcery,

ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

דבה מאמליליבה כולהון אלמיא וסאהריא

all the aeons and demons spoke.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡁࡄ ࡈࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ

מאמלילבה טאבליא וזמאריא

They played the drums and (sung) songs;

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

רישאיהון דהארשיא כולהון

the heaed (or: foundation) of all sorcery;

ࡓࡉࡔ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ

ריש שיביא רבא

the head of great captivity,

(GRR p. 134)

ࡅࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡉࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ובה מישתיביבה כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds are entrapped.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡒࡀࡓࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡁࡀࡋࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מאמליליבה קארניא ובאלוריא

They played the horns and *balūria* “cymbals”;

ࡓࡉࡔ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡍࡊࡉࡎࡕࡀ

ריש כולה נכיסתא

the head of every (sacrificial) slaughter;

ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡓࡀࡁࡉࡀ

רישאיהון דכולהון קראביא

the beginning of every hostility,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡀࡁࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבַּהַ מישתאביבהַ כולהון אלמיא

by which all the worlds were captivated.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡉࡍࡀࡓ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ

מאמליליבהַ כינאר שיהא

They played the lute of lust,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡏࡑࡈࡀࡓ ࡏࡋࡀࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

דַבהַ שיהא עצטאר עלאשאיהון

by which lust was formed amongst them.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡃࡀࡓࡁࡅࡊࡀ

מאמליליבהַ בדארבוכא

They played the tambourines,

ࡃࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡁࡄ[1109] ࡓࡅࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

דַבהַ מאמלאליבהַ רוהיא כולהון

by which all the *rūhas* “spirits” spoke.

ࡁࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡅࡄࡉࡀ

בהַ מאמללא כולהון רוהיא

With which all the *rūhas* “spirits” spoke,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושיביא שיביא באלמא

and made a catch in the world.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡔࡉࡐࡅࡓࡉࡀ

מאמלליבהַ בשיפוריא

They played the trumpets,

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

מאמלליבהַ ברוגזא כולהון

they all played with excitement.

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡍࡀࡁࡋࡀ ࡁࡊࡉࡍࡀࡓࡀ

[1109] In BL 23599 56r: 17 & BL 23601 53r: 20 there is ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋ

מאמלליבה באמאמיא דכאדיבתא
They played the flutes of the liar,
ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ
דכולה כאדבא מינאיון הוא
by which all the lie came forth from them.
ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ
מאמלליבה בגוהא רבא
They played with a loud din,
ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דעתיגנא גוהא באלמא
so a thunder pealed in the world.
ࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡂࡍࡀ
גוהא באלמא עתיגנא
A thunder pealed in the world,
ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ[1110] ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ
אלמא דאנידויא לכולה אלמא
and they shock the whole world.
ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ
לאלמא כולה אנידויא
They shock the whole world,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
ואנידו לארקא מן ריש בריש
and they shook the earth entirely.
ࡋࡎࡀࡃࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ
לסאדאנא דארקא אנידויא
They shook the anvil of the earth,
ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ
ואנידויא לכולה רקיהא

[1110] ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ BL 23601: 53r.

and quaked the whole firmament.

ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ ࡀࡍࡉࡃࡅࡉࡀ

לכולה רקיהא אנידויא

They quaked the whole firmament,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡓࡌࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ

ושיביא רמון בכול דוכתא

and made a catch in every place.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡅࡒࡀࡋ ࡂࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ

קאלאיון וקאל גוהאיון

Their voices and the sound of their din,[1111]

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ[1112]

מאנא מן יאמא סליק

made one mana to ascend upwards from the sea.

ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡌࡍ ࡉࡀࡌࡀ

מאנא סליק מן יאמא

One mana ascended upwards from the sea,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ[1113]

וכולהון עמביא ועלאניא עתינסיב

and all vines and trees were planted.

࡞

ࡗ ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡎࡉࡁ[1114] ࡏࡌࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ

כד עתינסיב עמביא ועלאניא

When the vines and trees were planted,

ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡅࡃࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ

קאלאיהון בעודנה דאדאם נפאל

[1111] Jonas comments: "The Mandaean scene of the conspiracy of the world prompts an additional observation. The orgiastic feast, intended to draw man into its drunken whirl, has besides intoxication another aspect: its noise is to drown out the "call of Life" and deafen man to the voice of the alien Man" (Jonas 1958: 73).

[1112] A recollection of Ea-Oannes myth.

[1113] In BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 read: ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ "were planted".

[1114] BL 23600 52v: 17 & BLO 1236: 52v: 17 ࡏࡕࡉࡍࡑࡉࡁ.

their noise fell into Adam's ear(s).

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡏࡅࡃࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד אנפאל קאלאיון בעודנה דאדאם

When their noise fell into Adam's ear(s),

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡄ ࡒࡀࡌ

אדאם מן שינתה קאם

Adam awoke from his sleep.

ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡒࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡔࡉࡍࡕࡄ

אדאם קאם מן שינתה

Adam awoke from his sleep,

ࡅࡀࡆࡁࡀࡓ ࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

ואזבאר אנפה לאתאר נהור

and raised his face to the place of Light.

ࡒࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡀࡅࡓࡉࡀ

קראלון לאדיאוריא

He called his helpers.

ࡒࡓࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

קראלון לעותריא ניהיא ומקאימיא

He called the gentle and confirmed *uthras*.

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ[1115]

אמארלה להיביל עותרא

He spoke to Hibil-Uthra,

ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ ࡖࡒࡀࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡀ

גאברא דקאלה אשמא

the Man who heard his voice, :

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡄࡅ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו הו בגו באיתא

"What ensued in the House,

[1115] Hibil-Uthra appears here as a redeemer in place of Manda d̲-Hiia. Their names exchange places more often in the Mandaean texts.

ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

בגאוה̲ ד̲האזין אלמא

(what ensued) in this world?

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡁࡂࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡕࡀ

מאהו הוא בגו באיתא

What ensued in the House,

(GRR p. 135)

ࡖࡎࡀࡋࡉࡒ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡄࡀ ࡌࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ד̲סאליק קאלא ד̲גוהא מאטיא שומיא

that made the noise of the din rise and reach the heavens?"

ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡀࡓࡒࡀ ࡍࡀࡃࡀࡕ

כולא ארקא נאדאת

The whole earth shock,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡒࡉࡄࡀ ࡏࡕࡌࡀࡎࡀࡓ

וכולה̲ רקיהא עתמאסאר

and the whole firmament was crushed[1116]

ࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡀࡍࡎࡀࡁ

לבאב אלמיא כולהון עתאנסאב

The mind of all the worlds was grasped,

ࡅࡀࡔࡍࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ

ואשנא מן דוכתה̲

and was deviated from its place.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד̲ האזין אמאר אדאם

When Adam spoke thus,

ࡏࡑࡈࡀࡓࡀࡓ ࡁࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡃࡉࡌࡉࡇࡕࡀ

עצטאראר באינה̲ דימיחתא

[1116] *rqiha 'tmasar* "the firmament was rendered to (earth)? (MD, p. 267).

tears were formed in his eyes.
ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ
כד̱ האזין אמאר אדאם
When Adam spoke thus,
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡕ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ
אנא בארית באלבושאי
I shone forth in my attire.
ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ
באריבה̱ באלבוש עשאתא האיתא
I shone forth in the attire of the living flame,
ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕࡀࡉ ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡋࡉࡀ
ד̱אבאהאתאי עהאבליא
which my father bestowed on me.
ࡁࡀࡓࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
באריבה̱ באלבושא דאכיא
I shone forth in a pure garment,
ࡖࡍࡐࡉࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ד̱נפיש וסאכא ליתלה̱
which is so wide and infinite.
ࡒࡀࡓࡁࡉࡕ ࡅࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ
קארבית ולגאטתה̱ לאדאם
I drew near and held Adam,
ࡁࡀࡐࡓࡀࡎ ࡉࡀࡌࡉࡍࡄ
באפראס יאמינה̱
by the palm of his right hand,
ࡅࡀࡍࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡋࡁࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ
ואנהאיתה̱ ללבה̱ על סאמכה̱
and I let his heart rest on its support
ࡀࡍࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ
אנהאיתה̱ ואמארילה̱

I calmed him and told him,
ࡗ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ
כד̱ ד̱שובא אבאד
how the Seven behaved.
ࡕࡅࡌ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡄ ࡗ ࡖࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ
תום אמארה̱ כד̱ ד̱הואת מן דוכתא
Then I told him of what happened there and then,
ࡅࡗ ࡓࡀࡆࡀ ࡊࡀࡁࡔࡉࡀ
וכד̱ ראזא כאבשיא
and how they devise a secret plot.
ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡄࡅ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
קאלא הו ד̱שיביאהיא
That was the voice of the Planets,
ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
ד̱עתימליך מילכא באטלא
who took a worthless advice.
ࡌࡉࡋࡊࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡌࡋࡉࡊ
מילכא באטלא עתימליך
They took a worthless advice,
ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ
ד̱אמאריא נירמיא תיגרא
when they said, "We will pick a fight."
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡌࡉࡀ
אמאריא תיגרא נירמיא
"We will pick a fight," they said.
ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡄ
ואמריא לאלמא נאפרה̱
And they said, "We will disorganize the world!"
ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡓࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ
אמריא נאפרה̱ לאלמא

(When) they said, “We will disorganize the world,
ࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡉࡁࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡀࡑࡉࡓ
ונישאויבה האסיר ובאציר
and cause in it flaw and defect.”
ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡊࡀࡍࡀࡍ[1117] ࡀࡃࡀࡌ
ואמרילה כון ועתכאנאן אדאם
I said to him, “Be calm and steady,
ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡊࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋࡀࡅࡉࡄࡅࡍ
לאתיכרילאך עלאואיהון
be not troubled about them.
ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡊࡓࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
לאתיכרילאך על שיביאהיא
Be not troubled about the Planets,
ࡅࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡌࡓࡅࡎ ࡏࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ
ועל נימרוס עמא דאלמא
and about Namrus, the mother of the world.
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀࡊ ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ
אנא עהאויאך בראדופאך
I will show you part of your persecutors,
ࡅࡏࡉࡀࡔࡀࡉࡋࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ
ועיאשאילינון לראדופאך
and (then) I will abase your persecutors.
ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡍࡄࡀ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡀࡊ
אנאת אנהא להאוא זאואך
Calm Hawa, your woman,
ࡅࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡁࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ
ולאניהויבאך האסיר ובציר
and flaw and blunder will not afflict you.”

[1117] In BL 23599 56v: 23 & BL 23601 53v: 21 we read: ࡏࡊࡅࡍ ࡅࡏࡕࡊࡀࡍࡀࡍ

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡉࡌ

כד̱ האיזין אמארילה̱ לאדים

Once I spoke thus to Adam,

ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡍࡄ

אמארילון לכולהון בנה̱

then I spoke to all his sons.

ࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡁࡆࡉࡅࡄ ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ

היביל בזיוה̱ האדיא

Hibil is pleased with his radiance,

ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡌࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡍࡀࡑࡁࡄ

ושיתיל מקארילון לנאצבה̱

and Šitil calls aloud for his helpers.

ࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡁࡏࡓࡅࡕࡄ

שיתיל בערותה̱

Šitil (rejoices) in his illumination,

ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ ࡁࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ

ואנוש בשותא ד̱עותריא אהה̱ אשמויא

and Anoš (is pleased) by the voice which his brothers the *uthras* let him hear.

ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡉࡑࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡉࡕࡐࡀࡓࡐࡉࡀ

האדיא דאיציא ומיתפארפיא

They make merry, exult and rejoice.

ࡅࡋࡀࡊࡀࡓࡉࡀࡋࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ולאכאריאלה̱ על כולהון אלמיא

and they are not troubled about all the worlds.

◆

(GRR p. 136)

ࡗ ࡀࡊࡀࡋ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡌ

כד̱ אכאל אדאם ועתבאסאם

Once Adam finished eating he rejoiced and was glad,
ࡒࡀࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡄ ࡅࡀࡎࡁࡓࡀ ࡁࡓࡅࡄࡑࡀࡍࡀ
קאראלה להאוא זאוה ואסברא ברוהצאנא
he called Hawa, his woman, and inspired her with confidence.
ࡖࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡏࡅࡕࡓࡀ ࡏࡕࡊࡀࡋࡀࡋ ࡅࡔࡊࡉࡁ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
דהיביל עותרא עתכאלאל ושכיב על דוכתה
Whilst Hibil-Uthra was asleep in his place from exhaustion,
ࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡁࡍࡄ ࡖࡀࡃࡀࡌ
הדא מן בנה דאדאם
one of Adam's sons,
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ
נאפשה בהאסירותא הואת
his soul was inflicted with blunder.
ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡁࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡅࡕࡀ
נאפשה הואת בהאסירותא
His soul was inflicted with blunder,
ࡅࡔࡉࡍࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡕ
ושינתא לאינה לאתאת
and sleep did not visit his eyes.
ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡂࡍࡀࡋࡄ ࡂࡅࡄࡀ
בליבה גנאלה גוהא
There was a groaning in his heart
ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡉࡃࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
וקאימא ונאידא קומתה
and his body began to shake.
ࡏࡕࡄࡀࡔࡀࡁ ࡁࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ
עתהאשאב בבישותא
He thought out in vice,
ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡀࡁࡅࡉࡀ
ושיבקה לאדאם אבויא

and forsook his father, Adam,

ࡅࡔࡉࡁࡒࡇ ࡋࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡏࡌࡇ

ושיבקה להאוא עמה

and his mother, Hawa,

ࡅࡏࡔࡁࡀࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡇ ࡗ ࡔࡊࡉࡁࡉࡀ

ועשבאקינון לאהה כד שכיביא

and forsook his brothers whilst they were asleep.

ࡔࡁࡀࡒࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡇ ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ

שבאקינון לאהאה כאלהון

He forsook all his brothers,

ࡅࡀࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡔࡉࡕࡇ[1118] ࡎࡋࡉࡒ

ואקריא באשיתה סליק

and climbed the fortress by the wall.

ࡀࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡎࡋࡉࡒ ࡁࡀࡔࡀࡕࡇ

אקריא סליק באשאתה

He climbed the fortress by the wall,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡁࡂࡀࡅࡍࡇ[1119] ࡖࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡅࡍ

ואזאל בגאונה דכנישתון

and went into their assembly.

◆

ࡗ ࡄࡆࡀࡕࡇ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

כד הזאתה רוהא

When Rūha saw him,

ࡏࡄࡊࡀࡕ ࡄࡃࡀࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡌࡀࡕ

עהכאת הדאת ועתבאסמאת

she laughed, gladdened and became rejoiced.

ࡄࡃࡀࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

[1118] In BL 23599 57r: 13 & BL 23601 54r: 10 ࡁࡀࡔࡉࡕࡇ is not found.

[1119] In BL 23599 57r: 13, BL 23600 53r: 22, BL 23601 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 53r: 22 read: ࡋࡂࡀࡅࡍࡇ

הדאת ועתבאסמאת רוהא
Rūha gladdened and became rejoiced,
ࡅࡄࡃࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ
והדון שיביאהיא כולהון
and all the Planets were pleased.
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡁࡀࡕ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ
רוהא ניסבאת נורא
Rūha fetched the fire,
ࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ ࡍࡎࡀࡁ
ושאמיש ריהא נסאב
and Šamiš brought the incense.
ࡂࡀࡄࡍࡀ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡃࡀ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ
גאהנא וסאגדא רוהא
Rūha bowed herself and worshipped,
ࡅࡌࡀࡄࡕࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡀ
ומאהתא קומתא ומשאבא
prostrated herself and praised him (Adam's son).
ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡌࡀࡕ ࡓࡉࡄࡀ
רוהא רמאת ריהא
Rūha cast the incense (into the fire),
ࡅࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡎࡂࡉࡃࡋࡄ ࡎࡉࡂࡅࡕࡀ
ושאמיש סגידלה̱ סיגותא
and Šamiš made obeisance and bowed to him.
ࡁࡉࡋ ࡁࡔࡅࡄࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡍࡎࡉࡁ ࡀࡎࡀ
ביל בשוהבא ד̱נאפשה̱ נסיב אסא
Bil in his own pride took myrtle
ࡅࡀࡋࡀࡍࡐࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ
ואלאנפה̱ נפאק
and went to meet him.
[illegible]

קאימיא ומבארכילה̱ ואמרילה̱

They approached him and blessed him and said to him:

ࡌࡍ ࡁࡉࡓࡉࡊࡕࡀࡍ ࡕࡉࡉࡅࡋ[1120] ࡏࡋࡀࡊ

מן בירכתאן תייול עלאך

"May our bless be bestowed upon you."

ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ ࡁࡕࡉࡓࡀࡕࡄ[1121] ࡕࡓࡀࡑࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡎࡉࡌࡀࡃࡓࡀ

כיואן בתיראתה̱ תראצלה̱ בעדה̱ סימאדרא

Kiwan courteously (?) set a blossom in his hand.

ࡅࡊࡋࡉࡋࡀ ࡀࡋࡂࡉࡈࡋࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ

וכלילא אלגיטלה̱ בעדה̱

and passed a wreath into his hand,

ࡅࡎࡂࡉࡃ ࡅࡄࡀࡍࡀࡍࡄ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡄ

וסגיד והאנאנה̱ ונישקה̱

then he bowed to him (in worship), embraced him and kissed him.

ࡎࡉࡍ ࡁࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡉࡓࡊࡄ

סין בליבה̱ בירכה̱

Sin blessed him with his heart,

ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡊࡕࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡍࡊࡀ

ורוהא בראכתה̱ בהאנכא

and Rūha blessed him with her jaws (or: voice).

ࡁࡀࡓࡊࡀࡋࡄ ࡁࡁࡉࡋࡅࡓࡀ

בארכאלה̱ בבילורא

They blessed (or: welcomed) him with cymbals (*bilūria)*

ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡔࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡉࡋࡕࡄ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀ

ושאבשאת איילתה̱ לכנישתא

and leading astray she brought him into a church.

࡞

ࡊࡃ [illegible] [illegible]

[1120] BL 23599 57r: 19 & BL 23601 54r: 16 we read: ࡕࡄࡅࡋ. In BLO 1236: 53r: 27 ࡕࡀࡉࡅࡋ

[1121] *tirat, tirta*: inner part of the pody, inner conviction, conscience. (MD, pp. 486-7)

כד מיתכארכיבה שיביאהיא

When the Planets surrounded him,

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ

עדה שאדיא על תותבה

he laid his hand on his garments.

ࡏࡃࡄ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ ࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדה על תותבה שאדיא

He laid his hand on his garments,

ࡅࡌࡍࡀࡐࡉࡑࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡕࡅࡕࡁࡄ

ומנאפיצלון לתותבה

and he shook for them his garments,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡌ ࡅࡔࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡓࡕࡀ

וקאיים ושאדיא מירתא

He began to spit bile.

ࡌࡍࡀࡐࡉࡑࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡒࡀࡓࡒࡍࡀ[1122]

מנאפיצלון לקארקנא

He shook for them his sandals (?).

(GRR p. 137)

ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ[1123]

מאדכארלון לעותריא אהה

He remembered his brothers, the *uthras*,

ࡅࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ

ומאדכארלון לשותא דעתריא אהה אשמויא

and remembered the speech which his brothers, the *uthras*, let him hear.

ࡀࡈࡀࡓ ࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡋࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

אטאר מאדכארלה לשותא דעותריא

Remembering for sometime the speech of the *uthras*,

[1122] or *qirqna* dress, sandals, shoes (?) MD p. 412

[1123] in BL 23599 57v: 2 & In BLO 1236: 53v: 5 we read: ࡅࡌࡀࡃࡊࡀࡓࡋࡄ ࡀࡔࡌࡅࡉࡀ

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא דברישא אותבויא

until they seated him on top.

ࡗ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ

כד אותבויא ברישא

When they seated him on top,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡎࡀ ࡀࡋࡂࡉࡈࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא דכאסא אלגיטויא

they offered him the drinking cup.

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡔࡒࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡎࡀ

אלמא דאשקויא כאסא

Until they offered him the cup to drink,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡕࡉࡍࡉࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡕࡉࡋࡕࡅࡉࡀ

אלמא תיניויא ותילתויא

until they (offered him the cup) twice and three times,

ࡋࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡌ

ליבה בפלוגתא קאם

his heart misgave him (lit. stood in doubt),

ࡅࡔࡉࡀࡋࡕࡄ ࡓࡒࡅࡃࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

ושיאלתה רקודא קומתה

and his body desired dance.[1124]

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡁࡓ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כד האיזין אבאד אדאם בר אדאם

When Adam, the son of Adam, had done that,

[illegible][1125]

[1124] The Mandaean scriptures warns frequently against lust, dance and consuming wine which results in adultery and fornication. (GRR, p. 26: 1, 35: 6, 48: 15, etc.)

[1125] BL 23601 54v [illegible] “from their scroll”.

עותריא כאפרויא לשומה̱ מן שאפתא
the *uthras* wiped out his name from the(ir) scroll.

ࡊࡖ ࡓࡅࡄ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ
כד̱ רוה̱ ברויתא ד̱שיביאהיא
When he became drunk from the drink of the Planets,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡅࡓࡒࡉࡃ ࡁࡓࡅࡉࡕࡀ
קאם ורקיד ברויתא
he stood up and danced in intoxication.

ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡖࡍࡄࡀ ࡅࡉࡕࡁ
אבאתאר ד̱נהא ויתב
After he was calm and sat down,

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡁࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡆࡀࡋ ࡋࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
קאם בה̱ ד̱ניזאל לדוכתה̱
he stood up in order to go back to his place.

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ ࡁࡀࡃࡌࡅ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡄ ࡖࡄࡏ ࡀࡄࡀࡕࡄ
רוהא עשתאויאת באדמו האוא זאוה̱ ד̱הע אהאתה̱
Rūha took the form of Hawa, his wife, who is in fact his sister,

ࡅࡒࡀࡌࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡐࡀࡋࡂࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡄࡓࡀ
וקאמאלה̱ לפאלגא ד̱עוהרא
and approached him half way.

ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡐࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀࡕ
פיריא ד̱זיפא שאויאת
She prepared the bed of deceit,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡀ ࡖࡀࡅࡋࡀ
ושאוית דוכתא ד̱אולא
and created the site of sin.

ࡀࡓࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡃࡀࡍࡉࡀ
אריבתינון לעדאניא
She mixed up the times,

[illegible]

וקאמאת ולאגאטה בעדה

and she arose and took him by the hand.

[1126]ࡗ ࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ

כד לגאטתה בעדה

When she took him by the hand,

ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡋࡕࡄ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡅࡕࡀ

נאפשיא שאלתה זאניותא

She, herself, asked him to fornicate with her.

ࡁࡐࡅࡌࡄ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡄ

בפומה דנימארלה

He desired to kiss (lit. address) her by the mouth,

ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

וניהיבקא בקומתה

and embrace her body.

ࡁࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡎࡁࡄ ࡋࡓࡅࡉࡍࡄ

בשיהא דניסבה לרוינה

In the hot desire that occupied his mind,

ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡋ ࡋࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡌࡀࡓࡋࡀ

מאליל לרוהא דנימארלא

he spoke to Rūha and said:

ࡗ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡕ

כד אנאת האוא אהאת

"Since you are my sister Hawa

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡕࡅࡕࡁࡉࡊ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡓࡉࡀ

אנאת תותביך היואריא

and your outfits are white,

ࡌࡀࡄࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡁࡔࡉࡕ ࡊࡉࡕࡅࡍࡉࡀ

מאהו דלאבשית כיתוניא

[1126] ࡁࡏࡃࡄ not in BL 23599 57v: 14, BL 23600 53v: 17, BL 23601 54v: 7 & BLO 1236: 53v: 17.

why do you wear a skirt,

ࡖࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡂࡀࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡍࡉࡀ
ד̱גאוניא גאוניא וזניא זניא
which is so colourful and exciting ?

ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀࡊ[1127] ࡀࡓࡆࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡀ
קומתאך ארזא ראמא
Your figure is (like) a high cedar,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡉࡕ ࡌࡉࡀ
לימאליך ד̱סאיית מיא
why do you to wash with water?

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡔࡀࡒࡉࡊ ࡂࡅࡐࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ
אנאת שאקיך גופניא איאר
Your thighs are vines of ether,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡃࡀࡄࡁࡀ[1128]
לימאליך ד̱ראמית דאהבא
why do you wear gold?

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡏࡁࡓࡉࡊ[1129] ࡊࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡀࡓ
אנאת עבריך כיניא איאר
Your wings (arms) are veils of ether,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡓࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡊࡀࡎࡐࡀ
לימאליך ד̱ראמית כאספא
why do you wear silver?

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡊ ࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ
אנאת רישיך אנאנא ד̱נהורא
You, your head is a cloud of light,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡄࡀࡉࡒࡉࡕ ࡅࡎࡀࡓࡒࡉࡕ
לימאליך ד̱האיקית וסארקית

[1127] BL 23600 53v: 21 & BLO 1236: 53v: 21 ࡊࡃ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡀࡊ
[1128] ࡆࡀࡄࡁࡀ in BL 23600: 53v, BLO 1236:53v.
[1129] GRR, p. 137: 22 ࡀࡁࡓࡉࡊ

Why do you wash and comb (yourself)?

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡊ ࡀࡉࡍࡉࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ

אנאת איניך איניא דַזיוא

Your eye is an eye of radiance,

ࡋࡉࡌࡀࡋࡉࡊ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ[1130]

לימאליך דַכולא מאליאתבהַ

why do you fill it with kohl?

࡞

(GRR p. 138)

ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡀࡕ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡄ ࡋࡍࡁࡉࡄࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

מאלאלאת ואמראלהַ לנביהא דַכאדבא

She spoke and said to the false prophet,

ࡋࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

להאסירא דַהאסיר ובציר

to the deficient who is flawed and lowly,

ࡔࡃࡅࡒ ࡒࡀࡋࡀࡍ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ[1131]

שדוק קאלאן אדאם

"Keep your voice quiet, Adam!

ࡏࡋࡀࡅ ࡖࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ[1132] ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ

עלאו דַתורצא לאהוא

If no inequality there were,

ࡏࡋࡀࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ

עלאו דַלאהוא תורצא

if there were there no inequality,

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡂࡅࡁࡋࡀࡍ ࡄࡅࡀ

הדא גובלאן הוא

[1130] BL 23599 57v: 21 & BL 23601 54v: 15 ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ. BL 23600 53v: 25 & BLO 1236: 53v: 25 ࡊࡅࡋࡀ ࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀࡕࡁࡄ

[1131] BL 23600 53v: 27 & BLO 1236: 53v: 27 ࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡒࡀࡋࡊ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡃࡅࡒࡄ

[1132] BL 23599 57v: 24 & BL 23601 54v: 17 ࡖࡕࡅࡓࡑࡉࡀ

one our nature would be.

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡂࡅࡁࡋࡀࡍ

הדא הוא גובלאן

One would be our nature,

ࡅࡄࡃࡀ ࡌࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍࡀࡍ

והדא מאנא שאוינאן

and as one mana would he have made us both.

ࡋࡕࡀࡓࡕࡉࡍࡀࡍ ࡄࡀࡔࡕࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀ ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ[1133]

לתארתינאן האשתא ד̱לאהוא תורצא

Now, as there is no equality,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡀࡊ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡊ ࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ

לדילאך שאויך גאברא

You they have made a man,

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍ

לדיליא ענתא שאוין

and me a woman they have made.

ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ

לדיליא שאוין ענתא

Me they have made a woman,

ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡅࡍ ࡒࡅࡃࡀࡌࡀࡊ ࡀࡒࡌࡅࡍ

ואתיון קודאמאך אקמון

and brought me and put me before you,

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡕࡓࡀࡂࡀࡂࡁࡉࡀ[1134]

ואמראליא ד̱תיתראגאגביא

and said to me that you desire me,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡊ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡑࡁࡅ

ומינאך ניבאד צבו

and with you I should have an affair,

[1133] ࡕࡓࡑࡀ in BL 23601: 54v. ࡕࡅࡓࡑࡀ turṣa (rt. TRṢ) evenness, equality (MD, p. 484).

[1134] BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3 ࡖࡕࡉࡕࡓࡀࡂࡀࡂࡉࡀ

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ[1135] ࡍࡉࡕࡉࡀࡉࡓ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומינאיכון ניתיאיר אלמא

and by us the world will be awakened."

࡞

ࡗ ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡀ ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡒࡀ

כד̱ ליגטא ונישקא

When he held her and kissed her,

ࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃ ࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡑࡁࡅ

ובא ד̱ ניבאד מינא צבו

and wanted to something with her,

ࡀࡍࡀ[1136] ࡏࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡀࡍࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡆࡉࡅࡀ[1137]

אנא עתאהזילה̱ באנאנא ד̱זיוא

I appeared to him in a cloud of radiance,

ࡅࡀࡔࡉࡌࡕࡄ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ

ואשימתה̱ קאלא שאניא

and I made him hear a wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡔࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡉࡌࡕࡄ

קאלא שאניא אשימתה̱

A wonderful (or: an overwhelming) voice I made him hear,

ࡅࡓࡌࡉࡕࡀ ࡋࡉࡁࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡎࡀࡌࡊࡄ

ורמיתא ליבא מן סאמכה̱

and I threw his heart from its support.

ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡐࡀࡔࡓࡉࡕ

הארשיא ד̱רוהא פאשרית

I undid the spells of Rūha,

[illegible]

[1135] BL 23599 58r: 4, BL 23600 54r: 3 & BLO 1236: 54r: 3ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡅࡍ

[1136] The speaker is Manda d̲-Hiia.

[1137] Anana d̲-ziwa or anana d̲-nhura "the cloud of radiance or: of light" frequently appear in gonistic writings as the secret place of 'uthras or angels (Stroumsa, 1984: 36 n. 7).

האויתה דלאו האוא הואת

I showed him that it was not Hawa (Eve).

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡇࡄ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡄࡀࡅࡀ

והאויחה דלאהואת האוא

I showed him that it was not Hawa,

ࡅࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ

והזיא לנאפשיא

he beheld himself,

ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡕ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡄࡀࡕ

ומינא בהית ועתבאהאת

and he felt ashamed of it,

ࡅࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ

ונאפשה בהאיאביא לגאט

and he recognized himself as guilty.

ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡈ ࡁࡄࡀࡉࡀࡁࡉࡀ

נאפשה לגאט בהאיאביא

He recognized himself as guilty,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ[1138]

אמינטול דכול דמו סאינא מינה

because all kinds of repulsive thing came from him.

ࡅࡋࡀࡋࡉࡂࡈࡉࡕ ࡊࡅࡔࡈࡀ

ולאליגטית כושטא

I did not offer him the *kušṭa*,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡊࡀࡋࡅࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀ

אמינטול דכאלוזא דהייא אשניא

because he deviated from the proclamation of the Life.

ࡀࡔࡍࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀࡋࡅࡆࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ[1139]

אשניא לכאלוזא דהייא

[1138] ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ is not found in BL 23600 54r: 9 & BLO 1236: 54r: 9.

[1139] This verse is not found in BL 23600 54r: 10 & BLO 1236: 54r: 10.

He deviated from the proclamation of the Life,

ࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡄ

ומא דרביא אמרילה

and from what the Great One commanded him.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡀ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡄ

שיבקא לצאותא דעותריא אהה

He left the company of his brothers, the *uthras*,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡓࡄࡉࡌ

ואזאל צאותא דשיביאהיא רהים

and went and cherished the society of the Planets.

ࡔࡉࡁࡒࡄ ࡋࡑࡀࡅࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡀ ࡆࡀࡅࡄ

שיבקה לצאותא דהאוא זאוה

He left the company of his woman, Hawa,

ࡅࡀࡆࡀࡋ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡁࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡒࡃࡀ

ואזאל נפאל בנורא דיאקדא

and went (and) fell into the blazing fire.

ࡄࡉࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡀࡃࡅࡂࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ

היזיא לאדוגא דנורא

He beheld the furnace of fire,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ[1140] ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡉࡉࡕ

דכול דהאזילה מאיית

that whoever beholds it (her) dies,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡊࡀࡓࡀࡊࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡕࡀࡒࡋࡉࡀ

וכול דמיתכאראכבה מיתאקליא

and whoever is embraced by her inflames.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡄࡋࡀ ࡅࡋࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡊࡉࡁ

כול דשאהלא ולואתא שאכיב

Whoever undresses and sleeps with her,

[1140] ࡖࡊࡅࡋ is not found in BL 23600 54r: 14 & BLO 1236: 54r: 14.

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

נאפיל בסאופא ד̱אלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

(GRR p. 139)

ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ

בסאופא ד̱אלמא נאפיל

He will fall into the end of the world,

ࡅࡀࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡀ

ואינה̱ נהורא לאהאזיא

and his eyes will never behold the Light.

࡞

ࡁࡃࡌࡅ ࡐࡀࡂࡓࡀ ࡏࡃࡀࡌࡉࡕ

בדמו פאגרא עדאמית

I took on a bodily form,

ࡅࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡎࡋࡀࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡅࡍ

ועזלית סלאקילא לכנישתון

and traveled upwards to their assembly.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ[1141] ࡌࡉࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡆࡉࡅࡍ

כולהון מיהזיא ד̱היזיון

When they all saw me,

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡍࡐࡀࡋ

עסתאהאפ על אנפאיהון ענפאל

they were hurled down and fell onto their faces.

ࡏࡎࡕࡀࡄࡀࡐ ࡍࡐࡀࡋ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

עסתאהאפ נפאל על אנפאיהון

They were hurled down and fell onto their faces,

ࡅࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡃࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ

וקאימיא לדיליא מידניא

[1141] ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ is not found in BL 23599 58r: 20 & BL 23601 55r: 10.

then, they stood and subjected themselves to me.

ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ[1142] ࡅࡌࡁࡀࡓࡊࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡋࡉࡀ

מידניא ומבארכיליא ואמריליא

They subjected themselves (to me), blessed me and said to me:

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡍ

אנאת הויא רישאן

"Be our leader,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡊ

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡍ ࡅࡓࡉࡔ ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍ

אנאת הוילאן רישאן וריש דכולה אלמאן

Be our leader and the head of our entire world.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ

אנאת הוילאן רישא

Be our leader,

ࡅࡀࡍࡉࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡕࡓࡀࡊ[1143]

ואנין ניהויא מן אבאתראך

and we shall be your followers

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡓࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡀ

רוהא בראבותא אנאת בענשיא אותבא

Place Rūha, in her majesty, amongst your women.

ࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡀࡅࡕࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

אנאת אותבא בענשיא

Place her amongst your women,

ࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕ ࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡁࡄࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ואנאת הוילאן רישא בהיזין אלמא

and be our leader in this world."

[1142] ࡌࡉࡃࡍࡉࡀ is not found in the other four manuscripts.
[1143] This verse and the above two verses not found in the other manuscrips.

ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ[1144]

כד̲ האיזין אמארליא שיביאהיא

When the Planets spoke thus to me,

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡅࡂࡉࡄࡊࡉࡕ ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

אנא אסברית וגיהכית על כולהון

I mocked and laughed at all of them.

ࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡕ ࡖࡏࡌࡀࡓࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡖࡀࡂࡆࡀࡓ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מלאלית ד̲עמארלון לשובא ד̲אגזאר על נאפשאיהון

I spoke to the Seven, who condemned themselves, and said:

ࡏࡅ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡓࡉࡔࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

עו באייתון ד̲עהויא רישאיכון

“If you want me to be your leader,

ࡅࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡁࡀࡉࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡖࡏࡉࡀࡕࡁࡀ ࡁࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ

ורוהא באייתון ד̲עיאתבא בענשיא

and place Rūha amongst my women,

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡋࡐࡅࡓࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡁࡅࡆࡅࡉࡀ

קום לפוראיכון בוזויא

arise and disengage your feast.

ࡒࡅࡌ ࡅࡔࡅࡁࡒࡅ ࡋࡊࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

קום ושובקו לכנישתאיכון

Arise and leave your assembly

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ

ואמארוליא על ראזאיכון

and tell me your mystery,

ࡅࡂࡀࡋࡅࡋࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

וגאלוליא על מאלאלכון כולהון

and reveal to me all your words.”

[1144] In BL 23601 55r: 15 we read: ࡊࡃ ࡄࡀࡉࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡋࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡌࡀࡎࡅࡋࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡅࡄࡀ

ࡗ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡍࡀ ࡁࡉࡍࡀࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
כד̱ יאתבנא בינאתאיהון
When I sat amongst them,
ࡋࡉࡂࡈࡉࡕ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
ליגטית נסאבתינון לראזאיהון
I took away their secrets,
ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡓࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀࡉ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
ועתבארבה̱ באלבושאי דאכיא
and I shone in my pure garment,
ࡖࡍࡐࡀࡔ ࡅࡎࡀࡊࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ
ד̱נפאש וסאכא ליתלה̱
which is so vast and boundless.
ࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡀࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ
גאלילתינון לראזאיהון
I exposed their mystery,
ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1145] ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ
וכאדיבתינון למימרון
and discredited their speech.
ࡋࡌࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ ࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1146]
למימרון כאדיבתינון
I discredited their speech,
ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡏࡅࡌࡀࡌࡀࡕࡅࡍ
וכאדיבתינין לעומאמאתון
and I belied their oaths,
[illegible]

[1145] In BL 23599 58v: 13 we read: ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡄ. In BL 23600 54v: 3, BL 23601 55r: 24 & BLO 1236: 54v: 3 we read: ࡅࡊࡀࡃࡁࡕࡄ.
[1146] In BL 23599 58v: 14 & BL 23601 55r: 25 we read: ࡊࡀࡃࡉࡁࡕࡄ. In BL 23600 54v: 4 & BLO 1236: 54v: 4 we read: ࡊࡀࡃࡁࡕࡄ.

ד̠עמומון בטור כארימלא

which they took on mount Carmel

ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡓࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

רוהא רמאיתא מן כורסיא

I threw Rūha off her throne,

ࡅࡆࡀࡌࡕࡀ ࡆࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡌࡋࡀ

וזאמתא זמאמא ד̠גומלא

and I held her back with a camel-bridle.

[1147]ࡔࡃࡉࡕ ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀࡉ ࡌࡅࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

שדית בקולפאי מוהאיתא

I threw down and struck her with my scourge,

ࡅࡐࡋࡀࡂࡉࡋࡀ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ

ופלאגילאברישא פלוגתא

and I split her head open.

ࡓࡊࡀࡔࡕࡀ ࡁࡂࡃࡅࡋࡉࡀࡕࡀ

רכאשתא בגדוליאתא

I bound her by her tresses,

[1148]ࡅࡀࡎࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ואסארתא באלבאב שומיא

and I tied her up to the heart of the heavens.

(GRR p. 140)

ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡋࡂࡀࡈࡕࡄ

שאמיש בראזיא לגאטתה̠

I grasped Šamiš by the secret things (genitals),

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡊࡖ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ

ושאויתה̠ כד̠ ענתא

and I made him just like a woman.

ࡊࡖ ࡏࡍࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡂࡀࡁࡓࡀ

[1147] In BL 23600 54v: 6 & BLO 1236: 54v: 6 we read: ࡁࡒࡅࡋࡐࡀࡉ ࡌࡅࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ.

[1148] In BL 23600 54v: 7 we read: ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

כד̱ ענתא שאויתה̱ ליורבא
I made Yorba just like a woman,
ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ ࡔࡊࡉࡁ
אמינטול ד̱לואת רוהא שכיב
because he slept with Rūha.
ࡎࡉࡍ[1149] ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ
סין בשאוטא מהאיתה̱
As for Sin, I struck him with my scourge,
ࡅࡀࡔࡋࡉࡕ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡄ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ
ואשלית נסאבתה̱ לילבושיא
and I undressed him and took away his clothes.
ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡅࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡎࡀࡁࡕࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ
לילבושיא נסאבתה̱ מינה̱
I took away his clothes,
ࡅࡔࡁࡀࡒࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
ושבאקתה̱ באלבושא באטלא
and I left him behind in a vain garment.
ࡅࡔࡁࡀࡒࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡏࡔࡀࡕࡀ ࡏࡊࡉࡋࡕࡀ
ושבאקתה̱ באלבושא עשאתא עכילתא
I left him behind in the garment of the devouring flame,
ࡖࡏࡋࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ
ד̱עלה̱ רוגזא הוא
wrath of which overwhelmed him.
ࡏࡋࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ
עלה̱ הוא רוגזא
Wrath overwhelmed him
ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡁ ࡁࡂࡉࡓࡁࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡃࡅࡊࡕࡄ
ועתיב בגירבא על דוכתה̱

[1149] Sin: Moon, moon god (MD p. 327)

and he retired in leprosy to his place.

ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡉࡀ[1150] ࡖࡍࡁࡅ[1151] ࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡕ

פיסניא דנבו תיברית

I broke Nabu's reed pipe,

ࡅࡕࡉࡁࡓࡉࡕ ࡁࡏࡃࡄ ࡄࡀࡓࡆࡉࡍࡄ[1152]

ותיברית בעדה הארזינה

and I destroyed the amulet in his hand.

ࡂࡀࡋࡉࡋࡕࡉࡍࡉࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡄ

גאלילתינין לשיטואתה

I revealed his shameful parts (or: nudity),

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡂࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ[1153] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והאויתה גבארתה באלמא

and I displayed his male organs to the world.

ࡏࡅࡌࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡃࡅࡌࡀࡉࡀ[1154]

עומילה לדומאיא

I adjured the wicked Edomite(?)

ࡖࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡄࡆࡉࡀ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דלאמיתאהזיא דמותה באלמא

that his image not to be seen in the world.

ࡋࡀࡁࡈࡋࡄ[1155] ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ[1156]

[1150] In BL 23599 59r: 3, BL 23601 55v: 9 & BLO 1236: 54v: 14 we read: ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡀ. In BL 23600 54v: 14 we read: ࡐࡉࡎࡍࡄ

[1151] *nbu* or *ʿnbu*: (Bab. Nabu) Nebo, the planet Mercury (MD p. 287). "Babil had a reputation as the place where the Planet Mercury (Nabu or Tir) was bound and as the earthly location of the "houses" of the planets and the signs of the zodiac" (Cited form Ibn an-Nadim, *Fihrist* by Morony, 1984: 392).

[1152] ࡄࡀࡓࡆࡉࡍࡀ (הארזינא) حروز، احراز amulet. The Hans Wehr Arabic-English *Dict*. p. 167.

[1153] In BL 23599 59r: 4 & BL 23601 55v: 10 we read: ࡂࡀࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ. In BL 23600 54v: 15 & BLO 1236: 54v: 15 we read: ࡂࡁࡀࡓࡕࡄ

[1154] In BL 23600 54v: 15 we read: ࡃࡅࡌࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ "the wicked Edomite". The *dumaiia* are probably the Idumaeans or Edomites, as suggested by Drower. (For more about the *domaia* or Edomites see Drower, *Diwan Abatur*, 1950, Appendix. II).

[1155] In the other four manuscripts we read: ࡋࡁࡈࡋࡄ.

[1156] ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ (כוכבא בישא) Mercury in the Jewish literature (See Lidzbarski, Ginza, p. 132 n. 10).

לגאטתה̱ לכוכבא בישא

I seized the evil planet.

ࡎࡄࡀࡐࡕࡇ ࡅࡓࡌࡀࡉࡕࡇ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

סהאפתה̱ ורמאיתה̱ מן כורסיא

I hurled him down and threw him off his throne.

ࡕࡁࡀࡓࡕࡇ ࡋࡄࡅࡌࡀࡓࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡀࡋࡑࡇ

תבארתה̱ להומארתא ד̱האלצה̱

I broke his backbone,

ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡕࡇ ࡖࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושאויתה̱ ד̱שיטואתא באלמא

and I made him despicable in the world.

ࡕࡁࡀࡓࡕࡇ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡕࡇ ࡅࡀࡕࡉࡁࡕࡇ ࡁࡊࡀࡎࡉࡀ

תבארתה̱ ומשאיתה̱ ואתיבתה̱ בכאסיא

I broke him, stretched him out and placed him in isolation.

ࡓࡌࡉࡕࡉࡋࡇ ࡋࡊࡅࡊࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

רמיתילה̱ לכוכבא בישא

I hurled down the evil star,

ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡇ ࡆࡉࡃࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱לאניהוילה̱ זידא באלמא

so no malice will afflict the world.

ࡋࡁࡉࡋ[1157] ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ

לביל בשאוטא מהאיתא

As for Bel, I struck him with the scourge,

ࡅࡕࡀࡂࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡉࡒࡋࡉࡕ

ותאגא מן רישיא שיקלית

and I removed the crown from his head.

ࡕࡀࡂࡀ ࡔࡀࡒࡋࡉࡕ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔࡉࡀ

תאגא שאקלית מן רישיא

[1157] Bel (god), Jupiter (planet) (MD p. 60).

I removed the crown from his head,
ࡅࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡌࡀࡌࡀ ࡁࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ
ושאוילה מאמא בקומתה
and I incurred blemish to his body.
ࡋࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ[1158] ࡁࡂࡅࡆࡓࡀ ࡌࡄࡀࡉࡕࡄ
לניריג בגוזרא מהאיתה
I smote Nirig with a mace,
ࡅࡐࡎࡀࡒࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡄ
ופסאקתינון לעברה
and I amputated his limbs.
ࡋࡏࡁࡓࡄ ࡐࡎࡀࡒࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ
לעברה פסאקתינון
I amputated his limbs,
ࡅࡏࡄࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡓࡄ
ועהאבתינון לכומרה
and I gave them to his priests.
ࡋࡊࡅࡌࡓࡄ[1159] ࡏࡄࡀࡁࡕࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡅࡋࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡄ
לכומרה עהאבתינון ולסאגאדה
I gave them to his priests and his worshipers,
ࡃࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
דניסיהרון בצאויא באלמא
so they will move about in the wilderness of the world.
ࡁࡀࡋࡄࡀ ࡃࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ[1160]
באלהא דניסיהרון
They will move about in the world,
ࡅࡍࡉࡄࡀࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ
וניהאון שיטואתא באלמא

[1158] Nirig (Bab. Nirgallu) the planet Mars (MD P. 299).
[1159] ࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀ *kumra*, priest (not mandaean), not in BL 23600 54v: 22 & BLO 1236: 54v: 23.
[1160] Read: ࡃࡍࡉࡎࡉࡄࡓࡅࡍ

and they will show their follies to the world.

ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

אבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡓࡀࡅࡓࡉࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱על שורבאתא ד̱ הייא מיתראוריביא

who became arrogant towards the family of Life.

ࡀࡁࡉࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ [1161]

אבידיבון בשיביאהיא

I dealt with the Planets,

ࡖࡓࡌࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡆࡕࡀ

ד̱רמיבון ביזתא

whom I accused of plundering.

ࡁࡉࡆࡕࡀ ࡓࡌࡉࡁࡅࡍ

ביזתא רמיבון

I accused them of plundering,

(GRR p. 141)

ࡅࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ [1162] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והאוית שיטואתון באלמא

and I exposed their follies to the world.

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

מא ד̱אבאדיבון בשיביאהיא

What I did to the Planets,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡁࡀࡃࡉࡁࡅࡍ ࡁࡊࡅࡌࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡅࡍ

הינון ניבאדיבון בכומראיהון וסאגאדון

they will do to their priests and worshipers,

ࡖࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱לאניהון באלמא

[1161] In BL 23600 54v: 25 & BLO 1236: 54v: 25 we read: ࡁࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀ

[1162] In BL 23599 59r: 16 & BL 23601 55v: 23 we read: ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡀ

and they will disappear from the world.[1163]

◆

ࡗ ࡀࡕࡉࡕ ࡋࡅࡀࡕ ࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כ̱ד אתית לואת אדאם

When I drew near Adam,

ࡅࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ[1164]

ואמארילה̱ האויתאך בראדופאך

I said to him: "I showed you your persecutors.

ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡀࡊ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡀࡊ

בראדופאך האויתאך

I showed you your persecutors,

ࡊࡔࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ[1165] ࡖࡌࡉࡕࡂࡀࡈࡋࡄ

כשארבא בישא ד̱מיתגאטלה̱

the evil race, who deserve to be killed.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡌࡓࡅࡍ ࡅࡎࡀࡂࡀࡃࡅࡍ

כולהון כומרון וסאגאדון

All their priests and worshipers,

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡀࡊ

הינון באבדיא ניהוילאך

will become your slaves.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

הינון ניהון באבדיא

They will become your slaves,

[1163] Cf. Marduk who bound, by his magic seal, the seven stars and the twelve signs of the zodiacs. (Morony, 1984: 392) Morony also states: "By the end of the Sasanian period, paganism in Iraq was characterized by sacrifice, magic and astrology. The ancient native deities survived and were venerated mainly because of their association with the planets in astrology and with imported Hellenistic and Iranian gods. But even among pagans, the old gods were being relegated to the position of demons. This was probably due to the influence of Gnosticism, which emphasized the harmful aspect of the planets in astral paganism" (Ibid 394).

[1164] BL 23601 55v: 26 we read: ࡁࡓࡀࡃࡅࡐࡄ

[1165] ࡁࡉࡔࡀ is not in BL 23601: 55v.

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡌࡅࡋࡀࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ונישתמולאך מן ריש בריש

and they will be obedient to you totally.

ࡌࡀࡈࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

מאטותא לאניהויא על שיביאהיא כולהון

There will be no clemency to all the planets,

ࡅࡋࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡖࡎࡀࡂࡃࡉࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ולא על גובריא ד̱סאגדילהון

nor to the men who worshiped them.

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱כול דאבאד עבידאתון

Because anyone who performs their rites,

ࡋࡀࡌࡉࡕࡀࡊࡔࡀࡓ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאמיתאכשאר לאתאר נהור

will not be worthy of the place of Light.

ࡀࡍࡀ ࡖࡏࡆࡋࡉࡕ ࡋࡁࡉࡕ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ

אנא ד̱עזלית לבית הייא

If I go the House of the Life,

ࡏࡔࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡀࡒࡍࡄ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עשאויא ועתאקנה̱ לאלמא

I will create the world and put it in a perfect order.

ࡏࡉࡀࡎࡒࡄ ࡋࡔࡉࡓࡔࡀࡉࡅࡍ

עיאסקה̱ לשירשאיון

I will raise their roots (to the summit),

ࡅࡏࡕࡉࡓࡑࡄ ࡋࡔࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

ועתירצה̱ לשארבא ד̱הייא מן ריש בריש

and I will confirm the Family of the Life for eternity.

ࡗ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡌࡀࡋࡅࡀࡔࡉࡀ

כד̱ שובא פאליג מאלואשיא

When the Seven allotted the destinies,

ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡎࡋࡄ ࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ

עתיקניסלה מותא לאלמא

the world was doomed by death.

ࡌࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡏࡕࡉࡒࡍࡉࡎࡋࡄ

מותא לאלמא עתיקניסלה

The world was doomed by death,

ࡋࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡂࡅࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡉࡌࡍࡉࡀ

לנישמאתא דגובריא כשיטיא ומהאימניא

Yet, the souls of the true and faithful men

ࡅࡃࡏࡍࡔࡉࡀ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀࡕࡀ

ודענשיא שאלמאניאתא

and (the souls) of the complete women,

ࡎࡀࡋࡒࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

סאלקיא האזילה לאתאר נהור

will ascend and behold the place of Light.

ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

נישמאתא דשיביאהיא

But the souls of the Planets

ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡀ

במאטאראתון מיתיסרא

will be detained in their purgatory.

ࡌࡉࡕࡉࡎࡓࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡈࡀࡓࡀࡕࡅࡍ

מיתיסרא במאטאראתון

Their souls will be detained in their purgatory,

ࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡖࡓࡅࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡋࡌࡀ

אלמא דרוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield (or: their lives come to an end)

ࡅࡌࡀࡉࡕࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡀࡉࡊࡉࡀ ࡗ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡅࡍ

ומאיתיא ודאיכיא כד דלאהון

and die and vanish, as if they were never existed.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̲קראת רוהא

The sects (doors) that Rūha created,

ࡌࡀࡎࡈࡉࡀࡍࡕࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ[1166]

מאסטיאנתא ד̲כאדבא

(Rūha) the seducer of lies,

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̲קראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡉࡓࡁࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡎࡁࡉࡀ

כולהון בהירבא מיתנאסביא

will be taken all by the sword.

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡓࡅࡄࡀ

באביא ד̲קראת רוהא

The sects that Rūha created,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

כול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

the whole day they sit with fasting.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ

כול יומא יאתביא בצאומא

They sit fasting the whole day,

(GRR p. 142)

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡌࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וכול יומא במאליא יאתביא

and the whole day they sit with lamentation,

ࡅࡋࡀ ࡁࡊࡎࡅࡉࡍ ࡐࡅࡋࡀ

[1166] This line is not in BL 23601 56r: 15.

אלמא ד̱רוהאיון שאלמא

until their souls yield.

ࡗ ࡔࡀࡋࡉࡌࡋࡅࡍ ࡊࡉࡋࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד̱ שאלימלון כילאיון

When their measures are full (or: their lives come to an end),

ࡌࡀࡆࡁࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡀࡍࡐࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡄࡔࡅࡊ

מאזברילון אנפאיון לאתאר השוך

they will turn their faces towards the Place of Darkness.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ

באביא ד̱קרא משיהא

As for the sects that *mšiha* "Messiah" produced,

ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ

כאלהון להדאדיא מכאדביא

they all belie each other.

ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡊࡀࡃࡁࡉࡀ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

כאלהון מכאדביא להדאדיא

They all belie each other,

ࡅࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ

ובהאד מאמלא לאקאימיא

and they do not stick to one opinion. (lit. to one word)

ࡋࡀࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡁࡄࡀࡃ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

לאקאימיא בהאד מאמלא

they do not stick to one opinion,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡌࡍ ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱מן קריתא ד̱שיקרא הון

because they come into being from a deceitful creation.

ࡄࡅ ࡀࡐࡉࡊࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ

הו אפיכלון למאלאליא

He perverts the speeches,

ࡅࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡓࡀࡌࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ושיטיא ראמיבה באלמא

and casts folly into the world.

ࡔࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡃࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ

שיטיא דשאטיא משיהא

The abominations which *mšiha* "Messiah " commits,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡎࡅࡐ

כולה מיסאף סאייף ליומא דסוף

will all end on the day of the end.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡔ

באבא דקרא שאמיש

From the sect which Šamiš created,

ࡃࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דאדונאי קארילה כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds called Adoni.[1167]

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡃࡅࡍࡀࡉ

באבא דקרא אדונאי

From the sect that Adonai created,

ࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡁࡉࡕ ࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ[1168] ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

אמא דבית סראייל כולה מינה נפאק

the whole people of Israel came into being.

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡃࡁࡉࡕ ࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ

מן אמא דבית סראייל

From the people of Israel,

[1167] The Mandaeans identified Šamiš (the sun god) with Adonai as a result of the mutual enmity between the Naṣoraeans and the Jews during the first century B.C.E (for more on this subject see Drower, Mandaean Polemic, BSOAS, 1962).

[1168] BL 23599 59v: 22 & BL 23601 56v: 3 ࡏࡎࡓࡀࡉࡉࡋ (עסראייל).

ࡖࡏࡃࡀ ࡋࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡌࡄࡅࡍ

דַעדא להדאדיא מהון

who slap each other by the hand.

ࡏࡃࡀ ࡌࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ

עדא מהון ביהדאדיא

They slap each other by the hand,

ࡅࡑࡁࡅ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡉࡁ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ

וצבו דַלאהאייב אבדיא

and they do something unseemly.

ࡑࡁࡅ ࡀࡁࡃࡉࡀ ࡖࡋࡀࡄࡀࡉࡉࡁ

צבו אבדיא דַלאהאייב

They do something unseemly,

[1169]ࡅࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

ומיסאף סאייף ליומא דַסוף

and they will end on the day of the end.

࡞

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡄࡅࡈࡀࡉࡀ

מן אמא דַיאהוטאיא

From the people of the *yahuṭaia* "Jews"

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡁࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

כולהון באביא מינאיהון נפאק

all sects (lit: gates) came forth.

[1170]ࡍࡐࡀࡒ ࡀࡌࡀ ࡖࡉࡀࡆࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡀ

נפאק אמא דַיאזוקאייא

The people of Yazuqaians came forth,

ࡐࡀࡋࡇࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡌࡀࡂࡅࡔࡀࡉࡀ

[1169] BL 23600 55r: 27 & BLO 1236: 55r: 27 ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ "on the great day of the end (or: destruction)".

[1170] Fire-worshipers (etym. doubtf.) (MD, p. 185). In the CP *iazuqaeans* reverence fire. They are mentioned along with *kiwanaiia, idumaeans* and *zandiqs* (Manicheans?) as blasphemous peoples (CP, p. 251).

שיטיא ד̱נורא מאוקריא

the scornful who worship fire.

ࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ ࡖࡌࡀࡅࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡓࡀ

שאטיא ד̱מאוקריא נורא

The scornful who worship fire,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡖࡋࡁࡅࡔࡀ ࡖࡌࡔࡉࡄࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱מן דמותה̱ ד̱לבושא ד̱משיהא הון

came forth from the likeness of the garment of *mšiha* "Messiah".

ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡆࡅࡒࡀࡉࡉࡀ

סאיפיא יאזוקאייא

The Yazuqaians shall take an end,

ࡅࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡔࡀࡌࡉࡀ

וסאיפיא בקאלאיהון שאמיא

and those who listen to their calls.

◆

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡂࡆࡉࡏࡉࡋ[1171]

באבא ד̱קרא אגזיעיל

The sect that Agz'il created,

ࡖࡎࡉࡍ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱סין קארילה̱ כולהון אלמיא

whom all the worlds called Sin.

ࡎࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡄ

סין כולהון אלמיא קארילה̱

All the worlds called him Sin,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡎࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡄ ࡁࡊࡅࡋ ࡀࡕࡀࡓ

אמינטול ד̱סאינא דמותה̱ בכול אתאר

because his ugly image was every where.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡎࡉࡍ

[1171] *agz'il* a byname of Sin (the moon) (MD p. 5)

באבא ד̱קרא סין

The sect that Sin created,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡊࡉࡁࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡈࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כול כיביא ונטיטיא מינה̱ הון

all pains and infirmities came forth from them.

(GRR p. 143)

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡀࡓࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡐࡅࡃࡓࡉࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱כול הארשיא ופודריא יאתביא

Those who perform witchcraft and sorcery (lit: sit on witchcraft and sorcery)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡐࡊࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡋࡁࡉࡀ

הינון אפכיא לילביא

twist the hearts,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡊࡔࡋࡉࡀ ࡊࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ[1172] ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

והינון מאכשליא כשיליא באלמא

and put stumbling-blocks into the world.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כול ד̱שאמא שומאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ[1173]

נאפיל בסאופא ד̱אלמא

will fall into the end of the world.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡊࡉࡅࡀࡍ[1174]

באבא ד̱קרא כיואן

The cult (gate) that Kiwan found,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1172] ࡊࡔࡉࡋࡉࡀ not in BL 23601 56v: 14

[1173] In BL 23600 55v: 8 & BLO 1236: 55v: 8 we read:
ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ [illegible] [illegible] ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡁࡎࡀࡅࡐࡀ ࡖࡀࡋࡌࡀ

[1174] *Kiwan* Saturn, star of Saturday, god of the Jews. (MD, p. 212) The old Persian religion considered Saturn as the planet of death (Zaehner, 1955: 160).

ליומיא ושאייא דאהליא

fears the days and the hours.

ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡃࡀࡄࡋࡉࡀ ࡅࡔࡀࡉࡉࡀ[1175]

ליומא דאהליא ושאייא

Fears the days and the hours,

ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ[1176] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

וכול יומא בצאומא יאתביא

(therefore), they sit the whole days fasting.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡌࡀ

כול יום יאתביא בצאומא

They sit the whole day in fasting,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡍࡁࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡖࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡄࡅࡍ

ומאנביא נביהיא ד̱כאדבא הון

and produce prophets of lying.

ࡑࡀࡉࡀࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡑࡀࡉࡀࡌࡀࡕࡀ

צאיאמיא וצאיאמאתא

Their male and female ascetics

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ[1177] ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

ד̱על שיקרא יאתביא

sit upon falsehood.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ

הינון יאתביא על שיקרא

They sit upon falsehood,

ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡄࡅࡊࡌࡕࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ

ומאנביא הוכמתא מן עוצראיהון הינון

and produce (false) wisdom from their (weak) minds.

[illegible]

[1175] not in BL 23600 55v: 10.

[1176] ࡁࡉࡅࡌࡀ in BL 23601: 56v.

[1177] BL 23600 55v: 12 & BLO 1236: 55v: 12 ࡋࡔࡉࡒࡓࡀ

ופתוליא וקאדישיא כולהון

Those who are celibates and "saints"

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡐࡉࡀ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאיפיא ליומא דסוף

will all end on the day of end.[1178]

ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ[1179] ࡔࡅࡕࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

מאן דשאמא שותאיהון

Anyone who listens to their speeches,

ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡇ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאהאזילה לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

◆

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡍࡂࡉࡏࡉࡋ[1180]

באבא דקרא אנגיעיל

The sect that Angi'il found,

ࡖࡁࡉࡋ ࡒࡀࡓࡉࡋࡇ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דביל קארילה כולהון אלמיא

Angi'il whom all the worlds call Bel.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡁࡉࡋ

באבא דקרא ביל

From the sect that Bel found,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡃࡀࡉࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡄࡅࡍ

כולהון סינגיאניא ואראדאייא מינה הון

came out all the potentates and dignitaries.

ࡌࡉࡍࡇ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡎࡉࡍࡂࡉࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡀࡓࡀࡃࡀࡉࡉࡀ

מינה הון כולהון סינגיאניא ואראדאייא

[1178] Cf. the baptized Marcionites who were common in the upper Mesopotamia during the fourth and fifth centuries. They remained pure through celibacy and continual fasting and excessive prayers (Morony, 1984: 402).

[1179] BL 23599 60r: 16 & BL 23601 56v: 22 ࡌࡀࡍ ࡖࡔࡀࡌࡀ

[1180] *ang'il* a name given to Bel-Jupiter (MD, p. 25).

The potentates and dignitaries who came out therefrom,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

ד̱ על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority over wrath in the Tibil.

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌࡀ

כול יום וכול יומא

Every single day,

ࡏࡋ ࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ[1181] ࡖࡌࡀࡓࡃࡀ ࡉࡀࡕࡁࡉࡀ

על כורסיא ד̱מארדא יאתביא

they sit on the throne of rebellion.

ࡐࡀࡊࡓࡉࡀ ࡊࡀࡃࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡍࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡀࡍࡉࡄࡉࡀ ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡉࡋࡉࡀ

פאכריא כאדשיא ונאנגריא ומאניהיא ומשאיליא

They fetter, beat, torture, restrain and interrogate

ࡀࡁࡉࡃࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡀࡄࡌࡉࡕࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡀࡌࡀࡎࡉࡒࡋࡄ ࡋࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ

אבידלה̱ לראהמיתון אלאמאסיקלה̱ לריש בריש

(whoever) works for their charity and fails to fulfill.

ࡌࡀࡄࡉࡋࡄ ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡂࡉࡋࡃࡉࡀ

מאהילה̱ בשאוטא גילדיא

They scourge him with leathern lashes.

ࡁࡔࡀࡅࡈࡀ ࡖࡍࡅࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡍࡀࡍࡂࡓࡉࡀ

בשאוטא ד̱נורא מיתנאנגריא

He will be flogged with a scourge of fire.

ࡖࡓࡀࡊࡔࡉࡀ ࡅࡆࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡅࡕࡀࡋࡉࡍ

ד̱ראכשיא וזאימיא ותאלין

Those who harness, restrain and hang up,

ࡋࡀࡄࡀࡆࡉࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ

לאהאזילה̱ לאתאר נהור

will never see the place of Light.

[1181] BL 23600 55v: 19 & BLO 1236: 55v: 19 ࡋࡊࡅࡓࡎࡉࡀ

ࡖࡔࡀࡈࡉࡀ[1182] ࡁࡔࡀࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ

דשאטיא בשאטואתון

He who acts in their foolish ways,

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡅࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ ࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ

נאפיל ומיקרא ליתלה

will fall and there will be no rising for him.

ࡍࡀࡐࡉࡋ ࡅࡋࡉࡕࡋࡄ ࡌࡉࡒࡓࡀ

נאפיל וליתלה מיקרא

He will fall and there will be no rising for him,

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡐ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאייף ליומא דסוף

He will end on the day of the end.

࡞

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ[1183]

באבא דקרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ ࡏࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ

כולה בכאדבא עמיקריא

it was all created with deception.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡏࡌࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡊࡀࡃࡁࡀ

כולה עמיקריא בכאדבא

It was all created with deception,

ࡅࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

וסאהריא בצאויא באלמא

and their demons move about in the wilderness of the world.

ࡁࡑࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡎࡀࡄࡓࡉࡀ

בצאויא באלמא סאהריא

[1182] ࡔࡀࡈࡉࡍ in BL 23601: 57r.

[1183] *nirig*, *n'rig* (<Bab. Nīrgallu, H. נרגל) the planet Mars, identified with Muhammad and regarded as a symbol of the Arabs. (MD, 229)

Their demons move about in the wilderness of the world,

(GRR p. 144)

ࡅࡌࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡔࡉࡈࡅࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ומהאוין שיטואתון באלמא

and they show their foolishness to the world.

ࡄࡅࡌࡓࡉࡀ[1184] ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

הומריא ד̲נאפקיא מינה̲

The *humras* who came out from him,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡁࡕࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡌࡔࡀࡋࡈࡉࡀ

ד̲על רוגזא בתיביל משאלטיא

are given authority upon the wrath in the Tibil.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ ࡂࡉࡈࡋࡀ

הינון גאטליא גיטלא

They commit murder,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡀࡔࡃࡉࡀ ࡆࡌࡀ

והינון אשדיא זמא

and they shed blood.

ࡄࡅ ࡖࡒࡓࡉࡍࡅࡍ

הו ד̲קרינון

The one who summoned them,

ࡀࡆࡉࡋ ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

אזיל ברישא ד̲תיגרא

strides at the head of the war troops.

ࡁࡓࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ ࡀࡆࡉࡋ

ברישא ד̲תיגרא אזיל

He strides at the head of the war troops,

ࡋࡌࡉࡔࡀࡃ ࡆࡌࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

למישאד זמא באלמא

[1184] *humra* or *humarta* (amulet-) spirit (MD p. 135).

and he sheds blood in the world.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא ד̱גאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a slaying,

ࡄࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡁࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡈࡀࡁࡕࡀ

האדיא בגאטלא מן טאבתא

he enjoys the slaying more than good deed.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא ד̱גאטלא גאטיל

On the day which he commits a murder,

ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋ[1185] ࡅࡂࡀࡄࡉࡊ ࡌࡍ ࡏࡅࡑࡓࡄ

מאמליל וגאהיך מן עוצרה̱

he chatters and laughs from his heart.

ࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡈࡋࡀ ࡋࡀࡂࡀࡈࡉࡋ

יומא ד̱גאטלא לאגאטיל

On the day which does not commit murder,

ࡁࡌࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ[1186] ࡑࡁࡏࡉࡀ ࡒࡅࡌࡕࡄ

במראריא צבעיא קומתה̱

his body is dyed with bitter herbs.

ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡉࡂ

באבא ד̱קרא ניריג

The sect that Nirig created,

ࡌࡉࡎࡀࡐ ࡎࡀࡉࡉࡊ ࡋࡉࡅࡌࡀ ࡖࡎࡅࡐ

מיסאף סאייך ליומא ד̱סוף

will end on the day of the End.

࡞

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

אפרישתינכון על שיביאהיא

[1185] ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡉࡋ not in BL 23599 60v: 8 & BL 23601 57r: 13.

[1186] ࡌࡓࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡅࡓࡀࡉࡓ *mūrrair* a strongly bitter herb which grows in southern Iraq.

I explained to you about the Planets,

ࡅࡏࡋ ࡁࡀࡁࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ועל באבא ד̱קרון באלמא

and about the sects (gates) which they created in the world.

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡏࡁࡉࡃࡀࡕࡅࡍ

אפרישתינכון על עבידאתון

I explained to you their works.

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ

כולהון בהוסראנא עתקריא

They were all created with flaw.

ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ[1187] ࡁࡄࡅࡎࡓࡀࡍࡀ

עתקריא בהוסראנא

They were created with flaw,

ࡎࡉࡍࡀ ࡒࡉࡍࡀ ࡅࡐࡋࡅࡂࡀ

סינא קינא ופלוגא

hatred, jealousy and discord.

ࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡓࡀࡆࡉࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡁࡀ

אפרישתינכון על ראזיא ד̱שובא

I explained to you about the secrets of the Seven (planets),

ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡉࡍࡊࡅࡍ ࡏࡋ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ

ואפרישתינכון על תריסאר כוכביא

and I explained to you about the Twelve stars

ࡖࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡉࡅࡍ

ד̱האזין פאלאגתא פאליגיון

who made this division.

ࡗ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡉࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ[1188] ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

כד̱ פאליגיון הינון פאליג לנאפשאיהון

When they carried out the division, they allotted (the shares) to themselves.

[1187] BL 23600 56r: 6 & BLO 1236: 56r: ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡏࡕࡒࡓࡉࡀ

[1188] ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ not in BL 23601: 57r.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡏࡌࡁࡓࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡄ

כד מנאתא לעמברא פלאגה

When they allotted Aries a share,

ࡔࡀࡅࡉࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡏ ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ

שאוילה שנע במיניאנא פלאגלה

they allotted him a number of years

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

מנאתא תריסאר אלפיא שניא

totaling twelve thousand years.

ࡋࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ[1189] ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

לתאורא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Taurus a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡉࡃࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא הידיסאר אלפיא שניא

totaling eleven thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡑࡉࡋࡌࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד מנאתא לצילמיא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Gemini a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡎࡓࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא אסרא אלפיא שניא

totaling ten thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡎࡀࡓࡈࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד מנאתא לסארטאנא פלאגלה שניא

They allotted Cancer a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡔࡀ[1190] ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא תשא אלפיא שניא

totaling nine thousand years.

[1189] BL 23600 56r: 10 & BLO 1236: 56r: 10 ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ

[1190] BL 23600 56r: 12 & BLO 1236: 56r: 12 ࡕࡉࡔࡀ.

ࡊࡖ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לאריא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Leo a portion
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡌࡀࡍࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא תמאניא אלפיא שניא
totaling eight thousand years.
ࡊࡖ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡌࡁࡉࡋࡕࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לשומבילתא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Virgo a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא שובא אלפיא שניא
totaling seven thousand years.
ࡊࡖ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡒࡀࡉࡍࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לקאינא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted to Libra a share

(GRR p. 145)

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡔࡉࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא שיתא אלפיא שניא
totaling six thousand years.
ࡊࡖ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡓࡒࡁࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא לארקבא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Scorpio a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡀࡌࡔࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
במיניאנא האמשא אלפיא שניא
totaling five thousand years.
ࡊࡖ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡄࡉࡈࡉࡀ ࡐࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ
כד̱ מנאתא להיטיא פלאגלה̱ שניא
They allotted Sagittarius a share
ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡓࡁࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא ארבא אלפיא שניא

totaling four thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡂࡃࡉࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לגדיא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Capricorn a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡋࡀࡕࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא תלאתא אלפיא שניא

totaling three thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡃࡀࡅࡋࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לדאולא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Aquarius a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡀࡋࡐࡉࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא תרין אלפיא שניא

totaling two thousand years.

ࡗ ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡋࡍࡅࡍࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡀࡂࡋࡄ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כד̱ מנאתא לנונא פלאגלה̱ שניא

They allotted Pisces a share

ࡁࡌࡉࡍࡉࡀࡍࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡀࡋࡐࡀ ࡔࡍࡉࡀ

במיניאנא הדא אלפא שניא

totaling one thousand years.

࡞

ࡗ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ ࡔࡍࡀࡉࡅࡍ

כד̱ פאליג שנאיון

When they distributed their years,

ࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡃࡌࡅࡕࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

שאון דמותון באלמא

they produced their images to the world.

ࡅࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

ואמריא

Then they said:

ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡉࡀ ࡍࡀࡔࡊࡅࡍࡄ

ד̱נאפשיא נאשכונה̱

"We will find by ourselves

ࡋࡀࡋࡌࡀ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡃࡀ ࡄࡃࡀ

לאלמא כול הדא הדא

the whole world one by one.

ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡒࡉࡋࡀ[1191]

ניקריא תריסאר קילא

We will utter twelve voices,

ࡖࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡐࡀࡒ

ד̱תריסאר דמו מינאיהון ניפאק

hence twelve appearances will come forth from them."

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡏࡌࡁࡓࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא עמברא

From the voice that Aries uttered,

ࡖࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱האויא מינה̱ היואנאתא כולהון

all creatures came to being.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡀ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡉࡀࡕࡀ[1192]

האויא כולהון היואניאתא

All the creatures that came to being,

ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡀࡅࡍ ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱קאיאון בקאלא בישא הוא

their voice came to being by the evil call.

ࡁࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡖࡀࡌࡀࡓ

בקאלא בישא ד̱אמאר

[1191] ࡒࡀࡋࡀ not in BL 23599 61r: 8 & BL 23601 57v: 12.
[1192] BL 23600 56r: 26 & BLO 1236: 56r: 26 ࡖࡒࡀࡉࡀࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡉࡅࡀࡍࡀࡕࡀ.

By the evil call which said:

ࡌࡍࡀࡕࡀ ࡕࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡉࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

מנאתא תיהויליא באלמא

“A portion of this world should be mine.”

ࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡕࡀࡅࡓࡀ

קילא ד̱קרא תאורא

From the call which Taurus uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡃࡌࡅ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כול דמו היוא בישא מינה̱ הוא

all evil forms came forth.

ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡉ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

האוין מיני היוא בישא

Evil creatures which developed from him,

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡎࡉࡍ ࡂࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ד̱מן פומאיהון גאסין גומיא

spit forth scum from their mouths.

ࡂࡅࡌࡉࡀ ࡖࡂࡀࡎࡉࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

גומיא ד̱גאסין מן פומאיהון

They spit scum from their mouths;

ࡖࡌࡍ ࡐࡅࡌࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡔࡓࡉࡀ

ד̱מן פומאיון פאשריא

They expectorate from their mouths,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖࡄࡉࡌࡕࡀ ࡖࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד̱הימתא ד̱נאפשאיהון

because they try to expel their own venom

ࡌࡀࡐࡒࡉࡀ ࡌࡍ ࡂࡅࡀࡓࡅࡍ[1193]

מאפקיא מן גוארון

from their digestive organs (from their inside).

[1193] ࡂࡅࡀࡓࡀ *guara*: (cf. P. گوارا digestion) digestive organs, stomach, belly, interior, inside; (= *gubara*) male organ (MD P. 82).

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡕࡓࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡒࡉࡓࡉࡀࡕࡅࡍ

האלין תרין כוכביא קיריאתון

The creatures of those two stars

ࡗ ࡄࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ

כד̱ הדאדיא האוין

are like each other.

ࡒࡓࡉࡕࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡑࡉࡋࡌࡉࡀ

קריתא ד̱קרון צילמיא

From the creation which Gemini created,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ[1194] ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡐࡀࡒ

ד̱כולהון לאטאביא מינאיהון נפאק

all the devils came forth.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ

הון מינאיהון לאטאביא

The devils who were from them,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡓࡉࡊࡉࡀ[1195] ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

ד̱כולהון פריכיא לאגטיא

include all alter-demons.

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ ࡐࡓࡉࡀࡊࡉࡀ

הינון לאגטיא פריאכיא

They include all alter-demons,

(GRR p. 146)

ࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡂࡀࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ[1196] ࡋࡀࡂࡈࡉࡀ

הינון גאדאדיא לאגטיא

and they hold the river-banks (or: destinies?)

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡎࡀࡓࡈࡀࡌࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא סארטאמא

[1194] ࡋࡀࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ pl. *laṭaba* (lit. 'not-good-one') fiend, evil one, devil (Ibid p. 228).
[1195] ࡐࡓࡉࡊࡉࡀ pl. *prika* (Akk. Parakku(m)) shrines. A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 265.
[1196] ࡂࡀࡃࡀࡃࡉࡀ BL 23601: 57v. See *gada* (MD, p. 73).

From the call which Cancer uttered

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡊࡀࡊࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱כול היוא כאכא מינה̱ הוא

issued all voracious animals.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡊࡀࡊࡀ

מינה̱ הוא היוא כאכא

Voracious animals issued from this

ࡖࡏࡕࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡁࡉࡔ ࡏࡋ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱עתיקריא לביש על אלמא

cause evil in the world.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡀࡓࡉࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא אריא

From the call which Leo uttered

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

ד̱כול היוא באלא מינה̱ הוא

issued all wild animals.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡀ

מינה̱ הוא מיוא באלא

The wild animals that issued therefrom,

ࡖࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ[1197]

ד̱על ניתשמאתא מישתלא

are sent against the souls.

ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ ࡏࡋ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ

מישתלא על נישמאתא

They are sent against the souls,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡒࡀ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ונישאון האוקא באלמא

and produce panic in the world.

[1197] ࡌࡉࡔࡕࡋࡀ not in BL 23601 57v: 26.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡔࡅࡌࡁࡋࡕࡀ

קאלא דקרא שומבלתא

From the call which Virgo uttered,

ࡃࡊࡅࡋ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ

דכול פיריא מינאיהון הון

all the fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡏࡍࡁࡉࡀ ࡀࡉࡋࡀࡍࡉࡀ

הון מינאיהון כול פיריא

All the fruit, grapes and trees that came therefrom,

ࡃࡌࡓࡀࡅࡆࡉࡁࡄ ࡁࡀࡋࡌࡀ

דמראוזיבה באלמא

are flourishing in the world.

ࡒࡉࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀ ࡒࡀࡉࡍࡀ

קילא דקרא קאינא

From the call which Libra uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

כולהון פיריא מיא מינה הון

the water-fruit came into being.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡐࡉࡓࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

הון פיריא בישיא

The evil fruit came into being,

ࡃࡁࡅࡍ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡁࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡋࡌࡉࡀ

דבון מיתקאבריא אלמיא

wherewith the worlds was covered.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡃࡒࡓࡀࡕ ࡀࡓࡒࡁࡀ

קאלא דקראת ארקבא

From the call which Scorpio uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋ ࡁࡉࡔࡍࡉࡀ[1198] ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

[1198] BL 23600 56v: 15 & BLO 1236: 56v: 15 ࡃࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡁࡉࡔࡍࡉࡀ

כול ריהשיא בישיא מינה̱ הון

all evil vermin (or: harmful reptiles) came into being.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡉࡄࡔࡉࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡉࡀ

מינה̱ הון ריהשיא בישיא

The evil vermin that came forth from it,

ࡖࡁࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡌࡀࡕࡀ ࡂࡀࡈࡋࡉࡀ

ד̱ברוגזאיהון נישמאתא גאטליא

kill people with their wrath.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡄࡉࡈࡉࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא היטיא

From the call which Sagittarius uttered,

ࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ

כולה̱ רוגזא מינה̱ הוא

all the wrath came forth.

ࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡓࡅࡂࡆࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡁࡉࡔࡀ

הוא מינה̱ רוגזא רבא בישא

By the great evil wrath which developed from it,

ࡖࡁࡄ ࡌࡉࡎࡕࡀࡐࡉࡁࡄ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡀࡋࡌࡀ

ד̱בה̱ מיסתאפיבה̱ כולהון אלמא

all the worlds are destroyed.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡂࡀࡃࡉࡀ

קאלא ד̱קרא גאדיא

From the call which Capricorn uttered,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

ד̱כול היוא בירא מינה̱ הון

all the domestic cattle came into being.

ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡀ ࡄࡉࡅࡀ ࡁࡉࡓࡀ

מינה̱ הוא היוא בירא

Of the domestic cattle which came into being therefrom,

[illegible]

דגאנפה האסיר ובציר מן ציפרא

their wings are weaker and less perfect than (those of) birds.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡃࡀࡅࡋࡀ

קאלא דקרא דאולא

From the call which Aquarius uttered,

ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡀࡐࡀࡊࡕࡀ

הואת מינה אפאכתא

perversity came forth.

ࡀࡐࡀࡊࡕࡀ ࡄࡅࡀࡕ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ

אפאכתא הואת מינה

The perversity that came forth thereform,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡀࡎࡉࡓ ࡅࡁࡑࡉࡓ

והוא מינה האסיר ובציר

generated the defection and error.

ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡀ ࡍࡅࡍࡀ

קאלא דקרא נונא

From the call which Pisces uttered,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡄࡅࡍ

דכולהון נוניא מינה הון

all (kind) of fish came forth.

ࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡅࡍࡉࡀ ࡅࡃࡉࡋࡐࡅࡍࡉࡀ

הון נוניא ודילפוניא

The fish and dolphins came forth,

ࡅࡄࡅࡀ ࡌࡉࡍࡄ ࡊࡅࡋ ࡖࡁࡉࡔ

והוא מינה כול דביש

and everything evil generated from it.

◆

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡕࡓࡉࡎࡀࡓ

האלין כולהון הון מן כוכביא תריסאר

All those who came forth from the twelve stars

ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡅࡎࡒࡀ

דאמריא לשורבתא דהייא נוסקא

declared, "We want to remove the family of Life."

ࡒࡀࡌ ࡊࡅࡊࡁࡉࡀ ࡔࡅࡁࡀ ࡅࡐࡀࡋࡂࡍࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡍࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ

קאם כוכביא שובא ופאלגנון במנאואתא

The Seven (planets) set out to allot the shares.

ࡌࡍࡀࡅࡀࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡂࡍࡅࡍ

מנאואתא פאלגנון

The allotted the shares,

ࡅࡌࡀࡓࡊࡀࡁࡀࡕࡀ ࡔࡀࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡋࡁࡀࡁ ࡏࡔࡅࡌࡉࡀ

ומארכאבאתא שאון באלבאב עשומיא

and produced (launched ?) (celestial) chariots in the centre of heavens.

(GRR p. 147)

ࡌࡀ ࡖࡀࡁࡀࡃ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ[1199]

מא דאבאד כולהון דאמריא

As soon as they have done all that, they said:

ࡍࡀࡎࡒࡀ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

נאסקא לשורבתא דהייא

"Let us remove the Family of Life.

ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡍࡉࡎࡒࡀ

לשורבתא דהייא ניסקא

Let us remove the Family of Life,

ࡖࡊࡅࡋ ࡉࡅࡌ ࡒࡀࡉࡌࡉࡀ ࡋࡕࡉࡂࡓࡀ

דכול יום קאימיא לתיגרא

who set off a strife every day."

[illegible]

[1199] BL 23600 56v: 27 & BLO 1236: 56v: 27 ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡖࡀࡌࡓࡉࡀ

לאיאדיא שיביאהיא
But the Seven Planets,
ࡁࡍࡇ ࡖࡃࡀࡅࡓࡀ ࡁࡀࡈࡋࡀ
בנה̱ ד̱דאורא באטלא
the sons of the futile abode,
ࡖࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡐࡋࡅࡂࡕࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂ
ד̱הינון פלוגתא פאליג
who made the division,
ࡅࡀࡍࡀ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡇ ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ
ואנא פאליגתה̱ לשורבאתון
did not realize that I am the one who divided their race.
ࡋࡔࡅࡓࡁࡀࡕࡅࡍ ࡐࡀࡋࡉࡂࡕࡇ
לשורבאתון פאליגתה̱
I divided their race,
ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡋࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡕࡀ
ד̱מינאיהון האוין למארדיתא
and allocated some of them for cultivation (?),
ࡖࡌࡉࡍࡀࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡍ ࡋࡍࡊࡉࡎࡕࡀ
ד̱מינאיהון האוין לנכיסתא
and some for slaughter,
ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡓࡅࡊࡁࡀ
ומינאהון ניהון לרוכבא
Some of them were allocated for riding,
ࡅࡌࡉࡍࡀࡄࡅࡍ ࡋࡌࡉࡊࡀࡋ
ומינאהון למיכאל
and the other for eating.
ࡊࡀࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ
כאלהון קאליא ד̱קרון
All the calls they made,
[illegible]

אמינטול לאדאם עתיקרון

were made for the sake of Adam,

ࡀࡌࡉࡍࡈࡅࡋ ࡖ ࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ ࡓࡉࡄࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡌࡍ ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ[1200] ࡄࡅࡍ

אמינטול ד כולהון ריהאיון מן ניקריא הון

because they all obtained their smell from the sacrifices.

ࡄࡀࡋࡉࡍ ࡖࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡉࡀ

האלין ד̱קרון קאליא

Those who made the call,

ࡌࡀࡓࡃࡉࡕࡀ ࡍࡉࡓࡃࡅࡍ

מארדיתא נירדון

should pursue the course,

ࡅࡄࡉࡍࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

והינון נישתאמולה̱ לאדאם

and they must obey Adam,

ࡅࡍࡉࡔࡕࡀࡌࡅࡋࡄ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ

ונישתאמולה̱ לכולה̱ שורבתה̱

and obey all his race.

࡞

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡀࡁࡀࡃࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡋࡔࡉࡁࡉࡀࡄࡉࡀ

כ̱ד האזין אבאדילון לשיביאהיא

When I dealt with the Seven in this way,

ࡕࡅࡌ ࡋࡀࡄࡅࡀࡋࡅࡍ ࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀ

תום לאהואלון מאמלא

they were unable to speak.

ࡗ ࡄࡀࡅࡉࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ

כ̱ד האויתה̱ לאדאם

When I disclosed the matter to Adam,

[1200] ࡍࡉࡒࡓࡉࡀ Akk. *nuqu(m)* also *niq'um* 'offering, sacrifice'. (A Concise *Dict.* of Akk. p. 255. See also MD, p. 229)

ࡄࡃࡀ ࡅࡏࡕࡁࡀࡎࡀࡌ ࡌࡍ ࡓࡉࡔ ࡁࡓࡉࡔ
הדא ועתבאסאם מן ריש בריש
he rejoiced and was fully glad.
ࡀࡍࡀ ࡀࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ ࡀࡄࡀࡉ
אנא אעותריא אהאי
My brothers, the *uthras*, and I
ࡒࡀࡌࡉࡕ ࡅࡀࡐࡓࡉࡔࡕࡄ ࡋࡀࡃࡀࡌ ࡅࡊࡅࡋࡄ ࡔࡅࡓࡁࡕࡄ
קאמית ואפרישתה̱ לאדאם וכולה̱ שורבתה̱
set off to teach Adam and all his family.
ࡀࡌࡀࡓࡉࡋࡅࡍ ࡏࡁࡉࡃ ࡏࡁࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡈࡀࡁࡉࡀ
אמארילון עביד עבאדיא טאביא
We spoke to them, “Do the good deeds,
ࡅࡆࡀࡅࡉࡃ ࡆࡅࡀࡃࡉࡀ ࡋࡍࡀࡐࡔࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ
וזאויד זואדיא לנאפשאיכון
and provide yourselves with provisions.
ࡒࡓࡅࡍ ࡒࡀࡋࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ
קרון קאלא ד̱הייא
Recite the word of Life,
ࡔࡅࡌࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡍࡉࡕࡓࡉࡑ ࡁࡉࡕ ࡓࡅࡓࡁࡉࡀ
שומאיכון ניתריץ בית רורביא
so your names will be established in the House of the Great Ones.
ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡌࡀࡌࡋࡀࡋࡉࡀ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ
עשתאיון במאמלאליא דאכיא
Speak with pure words,
ࡖࡁࡔࡋࡅࡌ ࡃࡀࡊࡉࡀ ࡌࡉࡕࡒࡀࡉࡌࡅࡍ
ד̱בשלום דאכיא מיתקאימון
so you will be confirmed in pure peace.
ࡏࡔࡕࡀࡉࡅࡍ ࡁࡈࡀࡁࡅࡕࡀ
עשתאיון בטאבותא
Speak with kindness,

ࡅࡀࡐ ࡁࡉࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡋࡀࡕࡉࡌࡓࡅࡍ

ואפ בישותא לאתימרון

and do not speak with evilness (or: cruelty).

ࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡓࡁࡉࡀ

סגוד ושאבא לרביא

Worship and praise the Great one

ࡅࡋࡍࡄࡅࡓࡀ ࡓࡁࡀ ࡖࡀࡎࡂࡉࡀ ࡋࡊࡀ

ולנהורא רבא ד̱אסגיא לכא

and the great Light that arrived hither.

ࡎࡂࡅࡃ ࡅࡔࡀࡁࡀ ࡋࡏࡅࡕࡓࡉࡀ

סגוד ושאבא לעותריא

Worship and praise the *uthras*,

ࡖࡍࡉࡄࡅࡉࡋࡊࡅࡍ ࡁࡀࡄࡀࡃ ࡏࡃࡀ

ד̱ניהוילכון באהאד עדא

who will be your helper(s).

ࡀࡄࡀࡃ ࡏࡃࡀ ࡅࡎࡉࡌࡀࡊࡀ

אהאד עדא וסימאכא

They will be your helper(s) and support,

ࡌࡍ ࡀࡕࡓࡀ ࡖࡄࡔࡅࡊ ࡋࡀࡕࡀࡓ ࡍࡄࡅࡓ.

מן אתרא ד̱השוך לאתאר נהור

from the place of darkness to the place of Light."

࡞

ࡅࡌࡔࡀࡁࡉࡍ ࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡀࡌࡒࡀࡉࡀࡌ ࡌࡀࡍࡃࡀ ࡖࡄࡉࡉࡀ

ומשאבין הייא אמקאיאם מאנדא ד̱הייא

The Life is praised and Manda d̲-Hiia is confirmed.

ࡁࡓࡉࡊ ࡔࡀࡌࡀࡉࡊࡅࡍ ࡔࡉࡋࡌࡀࡉ ࡅࡍࡉࡃࡁࡀࡉ ࡅࡄࡉࡁࡉࡋ ࡅࡔࡉࡕࡉࡋ ࡅࡀࡍࡅࡔ

בריך שאמאיכון שילמאי ונידבאי והיביל ושיתיל ואנוש

Blessed are your names Šelmai, Nedbai and Anoš.

ࡅࡄࡉࡉࡀ ࡆࡀࡊࡉࡍ ࡋࡊࡅࡋࡄࡅࡍ [illegible]

הייא זאכין לכולהון עובאדיא וזאכיא יאואר זיוא ואדיאורה̱

Life is victorious upon all deeds. Yauar Ziwa and his helpers are triumphant.

ࡄࡀࡆࡉࡍ ࡎࡉࡃࡓࡀ ࡖࡔࡅࡕࡀ ࡄࡀࡉࡕࡀ ࡒࡀࡃࡌࡀࡉࡕࡀ

האזין סיברא ד̱שותא האיתא קאדמאיתא

This is the First Book of the Living Doctrine

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